The periodical Antaeus, Communicationes ex Instituto Archaeologico
Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae is the continuation of the
periodical (Antaeus) Mitteilungen des Archäologischen Instituts
der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften

A N T A E U S
COMMUNICATIONES EX INSTITUTO ARCHAEOLOGICO ACADEMIAE SCIENTIARUM HUNGARICAE 19-20/ 1990-1991

CONTENTS

Plates

Editor's note

Part I of Vol. 19—20 of Antaeus, Communicationes ex Instituto Archaeologico Academiae Scientia-rum Hungaricae contains the text of twelve main papers and of three contributions delivered at the conference "Continuity and Discontinuity" held in conjunction with the thirtieth anniversary of the Archaeological Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Budapest, January 19—20, 1989.

In Part II we publish one shorter and two longer papers discussing seemingly unrelated topics and reflecting apparently radically different methodological approaches. Yet their publication under a common general title is nevertheless justified by the fact that they demonstrate with remarkable clarity the chances and the limits of interdisciplinary research in archaeology, history, philology, lin-guistics, and ethnography. The editorial board of Antaeus regards it as a privilege that we may publish here two papers by the doyen of Hungarian medieval history, Professor Péter Váczy. The third paper in Part II, on Cult and Archaeological Context in Central and South-Eastern Europe in the Neolithic and the Calcolithic, is an abbreviated version of the doctoral thesis of E. Bánffy.

PART I

Papers delivered at
the conference ''Continuity and
Discontinuity'', held in conjunction
with the thirtieth anniversary of the
Archaeological Institute,
Budapest, January 19—20, 1989

K. Simán

SOME FEATURES OF POPULATIONAL FLUCTUATIONS IN EUROPE
BETWEEN 50 TO 15 THOUSAND BP

In studying the movement of a population or populational group during the Palaeolithic, the first step must be an examination of the natural surroundings. Man's ability to adapt might have been high, but, in any case, adaptation was still a must. It is this factor which defined not only the dispersion area but which also had a great impact on the behaviour of groups and consequently the material manifestations detectable by archaeology.

The reconstruction of the palaeohistory has always been a favourite topic in palaeolithic research. Nevertheless, the accumulation of finds has rendered the picture more complex and the elegant, continuous chain of development set up at the beginning of the century fell to branches and sub-branches. The separation of the groups evokes, at the same time, the following problem: how close must be the similarity to link find assemblages? This question is especially important considering that sites with various functions (permanent settlement, temporary hunters' camp, butchering site, workshop etc.) may contain finds highly divergent in nature. In many cases even habitation circumstances may vary. As it has been recently shown by Belgian specialists[1] adaptational features and preconceptions were present in a rather developed form, as early as the beginning of the Middle Palaeolithic. There are several more examples attesting to the conscious exploitation of the surroundings form the Middle Palaeolithic.[2] It appears that some features which were earlier considered signposts of cultural stages are not only insufficient chronologically but often cannot even be considered criteria for cultural attribution.

Another problematic point is the nomenclature of cultures. The question of parallel evolution is generally known. The question is whether two industrial circles derived from various backgrounds should have the same name even if the form of their appearance might be similar (e.g. Gravettian, Aurignacian etc.). This problem is further complicated when during expansion, the industrial circles happen to meet. Another side of the problem should also be mentioned. Should the denotion 'culture' even be used to connote what was more a techno-typological trend widespread over the whole of Europe?

The other side of the coin is that these trends are often manifested in specific forms in which only traces of the original feature of the supposed 'original' industry or group are preserved. If, in any case, even these traces should be lost in the process of development (or just absent from the relevant site) does it reflect a new culture? The situation is the same when two industries influence each other. For this latter, an outstanding example is provided by the various views on the Bohunician industry in Moravia. Here, the Aurignacian, the Micoquian and the Szeletian are alternatively referred to depending on the author.[3] The data at hand is not sufficient to explain the reason for the manner of as well as the rythms of changes

in the industries. A good description of the colourful picture and an excellent essay attempting to make order from the 'chaos' has recently been published by *C. Gamble*.[4]

Many books, articles and studies have dealt with the development of and contacts between various cultures and industrial circles. It would be worthwhile examining how populations react the major changes. In other words, how are the climatic changes mirrored in the various zones, how far do they define the movements of human groups and lay a framework for the above phenomena? In the following pages a possible solution to this aspect will be sketched out.

Before diving into the problem some remarks must be made on chronology. Basically one may choose between a short an a long chronology. In addition there are several other local chronological systems based, mostly, on geology and sedimentology, the correlation of which is problematic or often impossible. If the areas would be discussed according to their local chronological order, larger geographical units could not be discussed together. It is for this reason that a methodology was adopted which has a more universal application: the absolute chronology. It should not, of course, be taken for granted that absolute chronology really provides absolutely reliable data. All methods have technical limitations. There are numerous sources of error and the limits of error may be broad even during measurement. These data, nevertheless represent a variety which may be handled uniformly.

In order to exclude some possibilities in error the lower limit of the analysis was placed to 50 Kyr BP. With advancement in methods it has become possible to go back farther with greater exactitude. Still, the quality of these data is not always convincing and the quantity is not sufficient for statistical analysis. The upper limit of 15 Kyr was defined not by technical parameters but by cultural development. The main data source was C-14 dating, sometimes complemented with TL measurements. The latter, though allowing wider limits of error, comes from territories where no C-14 dating has been made. The data were used in the following way:

All the data (with the limits of error) were placed within a chronological scale. The cumulation of the data resulted in a graph which contains information relevant to the source of the data.

The first graph (Fig. 1) contains data from samples taken from geological sections, borings, and which, according to sedimentological and pollen analyses, displays interstadial features. Accordingly, the graph mirrors the climatic changes in Europe. SInce all the data from the Mediterranean and the Northern Plains are collected in one graph, the pace and intensity of the spread of the stadials is not illustrated. What, however, can very well be seen on it, is the length, intensity and degree of effect of the climatic periods on the whole of the continent. The graph shows a strong interstadial following 46—44 Kyr and an expressed cooling between 37 and 34 Kyr. Afterwards, the warm period is less strong but longer and, ignoring smaller oscillations around 30.000, displays a gradual cooling. The next warm period, following the very cold stadial around 20.000 occurs in the final stage of the glacial period leading to the Holocene.

The curve next to the first graph is the calculated July mean temperature in NW Europe.[5] There is an observable discrepancy between the curve and the graph in the initial phase of the Hengelo, certainly due to the fact that the elevation of the temperature appeared later in the northern territories, while the southern dates on the graph indicate the early effects of the amelioration in the climate.

Nevertheless, this shift is present over the whole scale: the temperature curve is 'late' by ca. 1 to 2 thousand years as compared to the data complex for the whole of Europe.

The second cumulative graph, built up in the same way as the previous one, contains absolute dates from archaeological sites divided by territorial zones. The first zone, with the smallest amount of data, is the northern one, a territory mostly covered by ice during the stadials. It refers to areas north of the Carpathian Mountains and the Alps as well as the northern part of the Russian Plain. The second is the periglacial zone, comprising Central France, the Carpathian Basin and the Ukraine. The third, the southern zone, is made of the Mediterranean together with the coast line of the Atlantic Ocean.

It is logical and natural that the quantity of settlements is the largest during the interstadials. A more complex picture can be gained, however, by the comparison of the graphs.

According to C-14 data, settlement density was uniform in the Mediterranean until the first stadial of the period under examination. In the short period preceding it, however, sites accumulate abruptly and after a temporary regress, reach a peak. Interestingly enough, the next peak coincides with the stadial or rather the small oscillation during the stadial. In the periglacial zone, the greatest populational density, as attested to by the graph was first reached before the first stadial. After, site density is rather uniform with only slight divergences. It should be mentioned here that there are fewer C-14 dates from this zone than from the Mediterranean. Actually, more sites are known, however, and if the sedimentological, faunal and archaeological data would also be taken into consideration, these slight changes would be more pronounced. A similar method would underline the picture reflected in the graph for the northern zone. It clearly stands out that during the cold phases these areas are depopulated. Even the effect of the oscillations in the last stadial can be comprehended.

On the whole, the graphs show that the most densely populated territory around 50 Kyr was the Mediterranean. This situation contiuned until ca. 44 Kyr when the amelioration in the climate indicates the onset of the Hengelo interstadial. In the same period, isolated industries may be found in the periglacial zone, usually directly related to southern areas.[6] Some scattered data suggest that these groups even got as far as the northern zone.

The real population of the periglacial zone came into being in the Hengelo. First (between 45 to 42 Kyr) isolated groups began to move towards the zone. Southern relations can be demonstrated from either east of the Carpathians or north of the Alps as well as the in the Carpathian Basin. Following this period, specific closed technological groups form as the result of inner development.

The C-14 dates place the population of the northern zone to earlier than 41 Kyr. Indirect proofs suggest an even earlier occupation of this territory, namely, that the industries dispersed over, the whole Carpathian Basin arrived there from north of the Alps and east of the Carpathians. Comparison of the graphs reveals a shift of 1000 to 2000 years between the zones, so that the population of the northern zone must have, at least theoretically, arrived there during the first phase of the inter-pleniglacial. It stands out also clearly that the peak of the archaeological C-14 data precede that of the geological ones in the Mediterranean but coincide in the periglacial zone and show an inverse relationship in the northern territories. Thus, climatic changes exercised less of an effect in the south than in the north. The human groups followed the ameliorating climate in northerly migra-

tions and back to the south, probably following changes in the natural surroundings, especially the fauna. In the periods preceding the stadials there is an equilibrium between the zones, when long-distance migrations cease or become sporadic and local development dominates.

Following the Hengelo interstadial, a relatively long, although not very strong cooling effected the zones, to various degrees. The glacial area drew south driving the animals and consequently the people before it. It also had considerable effect on the periglacial zone: the Carpathian Basin became seemingly void of human groups. At the same time an accumulation of sites can be observed in the Mediterranean.

It may seem farfetched to deduce that cooling of the climate resulted in withdrawal of human groups towards the south causing the quantitative growth of the sites there. There is something else, in any case, which may support this view.

It is a generally accepted fact that the Middle Palaeolithic is connected in Europe with Homo sapiens neanderthalensis. It is similarly accepted that the Upper Palaeolothic is linked to H. sapiens fossilis. An industry, which is attributed to the H. sapiens (the Aurignacian) appeared as early as the Hengelo. In the Near East, at the same time, the H. sapiens development is interrupted by the appearence of the Neanderthal man ca. 70.000 years ago. The palaeoanthropologists related these groups to the European form, and accordingly place their origin in the European continent.[7] This immigration had ended by ca. 40.000 years when the northern ice-cover started to move southwards, and the site density started to grow in the Mediterranean. Be it a direct consequence of climatic changes or not, it remains a fact that a migrational pulsation took place between Middle and Southeast Europe on the one hand and South-West Asia on the other.

As noted earlier, the period following the Hengelo appeared as a setlement hiatus in the periglacial and northern zones. The new wave of immigration, however, soon arrived. Just as in the Hengelo, we are witness to a double developmental phase. Middle palaeolithic cultures re-appear in the northern territories[8] but new cultures also appear, especially the Aurignacian. Parallelly, local development retains its importance in southern areas (cf. Chatelperronian and Uluzzo). By the end of this phase (30 to 28 Kyr) local development begins on a new basis in the periglacial zone, too. The shift of one to two thousand years still exists, as justified in cultural affinities if the South to North migration is accepted. In the next period (28 to 22 Kyr) the same phenomenon as in the Hengelo may be observed: the southern influence is no longer of importance in the periglacial and northern zones, while in the meantime, there is a characteristic local developmental trend with East-West migrations. This period was extremely favourable for development, since

1) the climate was relatively stable and mild; 2) human adaptational possibilities and capacities attained a much higher level (e.g. building techniques, hunting strategies, inter-group communication etc.); 3) population density was larger. By this time, one should rather speak of technocomplexes than independent cultures. It is difficult to follow larger groups. Many more marginal contacts must have taken place than previously. It should also be remembered that the number of C-14 dates is much lower than that of the sites. So, although the movements of the groups can no longer be followed, the presence of local groups retaining their special character provide evidence for a North-West — South-East series of movements and contacts.

This peaceful situation lasted up until the last Würm glaciation. The intense cooling of the climate from 22.000 once more caused depopulation of the northern territories and pushed the human groups back to the periglacial in part, and the southern zone for the most part. The effects, however, were no longer so undisturbed and definitive as with earlier glaciation. It was interrupted by two slight, but effective oscillations during which a southern migratory wave appeared between 20 to 16 Kyr in the periglacial zone, penetrating even into more northern territories. This is the period when the groups from the previous phase dissolve, become disintegrated and lose their individual characters. From this time, we should speak either of technocomplexes (such as the Gravettian) or of independent sites.

To sum up the conclusions deduced from comparison of the C-14 graphs the following becomes clear:

1) The mass population migrations reflect adaptations to major climatic changes. They display a characteristic double feature. Following the stadials and at their very beginning the direction of the migrations is dominantly South-North-South, which turns to a West-East-West movement in the balanced climatic phases.

2) In the Mediterranean zone, local development is characteristic and dominant, while major climatic changes coincide with the immigration/emigration of new cultures in and out of Europe.

3) In the periglacial and northern zones, the amelioration phases bring new human groups, which begin their local development in the balanced phase. They finish by disappearing with the arrival of the next stadial.

4) The trend of the development shows a constant shift to a higher and higher level from independent small groups to larger ones with marginal, later also trade contacts, so that by the end of the glacial a seeming disintegration of small systems takes place. At the same time, newly appearing isolated groups from the periglacial and northern zones always generate from the same roots as those wich disappeared before the stadial.

5) There is a 1000 to 2000 years shift in the population density of the geographical zones which seems to occur in parallel with the spread of faunal and vegetation elements influenced by the changes in the climate.

REFERENCES

Allsworth-Jones 1986   P. Allsworth-Jones: The Szeletian and the transition from Middle to Upper Palaeolithic in Central Europe. Oxford, 1986.

Bar-Yosef 1986   O. Bar-Yosef: The date of Near Eastern Neanderthals. in: L'Homme de Neanderthal — colloque international. Liège 1986, 47—50.

Bánesz—Kozlowski 1980   L. Bánesz—J. K. Kozlowski (eds.:) L'Aurignacien et le Gravettien (Périgordien) dans leur cadre écologique. Colloque international. Nitra 1980.

Boriskovsky 1984   M. Boriskovsky (ed.): Paleolit SSSR. Moscow 1984.

Gamble 1986   C. Gamble: The palaeolithic settlement of Europe. Cambridge 1986.

Gábori-Csánk 1968   V. Gábori-Csánk: La station paléolithique moyen d'Érd — Hongrie. Bp. 1968.

Kretzoi 1968   M. Kretzoi: Étude paléolithique. in: Gábori-Csánk 1968 59—104.

16

de Lumley 1976 — H. de Lumley: La préhistoire française I. 1—2. Paris 1976.

Oliva 1981 — M. Oliva: Die Bohunicien-Station bei Podolé (Bez. Brno-Land) und ihre Stellung im beginnenden Jungpaläolithikum. Acta Mus. Morav. 66 (1981) 7—33.

Oliva 1986 — M. Oliva: From the Middle to the Upper Palaeolithic. A Moravian perspective. The Pleistocene Perspective — WAC, Southampton—London 1986.

L'Homme de Néanderthal — L'Homme de Neanderthal — colloque international. Liège 1986.

Otte 1987 — M. Otte (ed.): Le paléolithique supérieur européen. UISPP Commission 7. Liège 1987.

Panescu 1984 — Al. Panescu: Cronologia paleoliticului şi mezoliticului din Romania in contextul paleoliticului central-est şi sud european. SCIVA 35 (1984) 235—265.

Praistorija Jugoslavskin Zemelja — Praistorija Jugoslavskih Zemelja. I. Paleolit i mezolit. Sarajevo 1979.

Roerbroeks et al. 1988 — W. Roerbroeks—J. Kolen—E. Resnik: Planning depth, anticipation and the organization of the Middle Palaeolithic technology: The 'Archaic natives' meet Eve's descendants. Helinium 28 (1988):1 17—34.

Ronen 1985 — A. Ronen: Human remains in Israel in their archaeological context. in: Hominid Evolution: past, present and future (A. R. Liss ed.) 1985 329—334.

Schild—Sulgostowska 1988 — A. Schild—Z. Sulgostowska: The Middle Palaeolithic of the North European Plain at Zwolen: Preliminary results. in: L'Homme de Neanderthal. vol. 8. La mutation. Liège 1988 149—167.

Svoboda 1986 — J. Svoboda: Origins of the Upper Palaeolithic in Moravia. The Pleistocene Perspective — WAC, Southampton — London 1986.

Ulrix-Closset et al. 1986 — Ulrix-Closset et al.: Le 'Trou de l'Abime' à Couvien (province de Namur, Belgique). in: L'Homme de Neanderthal — colloque international. Liège 1986.

Valoch 1982 — K. Valoch: Neue paläolithische Funde von Brno—Bohunice. Acta Mus. Morav. 17 (1982) 31—45.

Valoch 1986 — K. Valoch: Stone industries of the Middle/Upper Palaeolithic transition. The Pleistocene Perspective — WAC, Southampton — London 1986.

Vogel—Waterbolk — T. C. Vogel—H. T. Waterbolk: Groningen radiocarbon dates IV. Radiocarbon 5 (1963) 163—202; 6 (1964) 349—369.

NOTES

1 Roerbroeks et al. 1988.
2 e.g. Kretzoi 1968; Schild—Sulgostowska 1988, etc.
3 Valoch 1982; Oliva 1981, 1984; Svoboda 1986.
4 Gamble 1986.
5 Gamble 1986, 89.
6 e.g. Érd: Gábori—Csánk: 1968.
7 Ronen 1985; Bar-Yosef 1986.
8 Ulrix-Closset et al. 1986.

CAPTION

Fig. 1. Climate and population density in Europe
    A. Quantitative cumulative graph of the absolute data from 'interstadial' soils
    B. July mean temperature
    C. Cumulative graphs of absolute data from archaeological sites in the Mediterranean (1), periglacial (2) and northern zones (3).

V. T. Dobosi

REMARKS ON K. SIMÁN'S PAPER

The paper by K. Simán (in: Antaneus 19—20 (1990—1991) 11—17) enumerates, already in the introduction, a series of problems, enough to fill several more studies, without being able to sketch even a partial solution. These problems have always been present, with shifts of emphasis, in the palaeolithic research. Sometimes they are pushed back by the solution of some partial problems, sometimes they get in the focus of research, a process depending on the success of application of the old research methods, or to the contrary, to what degree this traditional aspect hinders a synthesizing approach.

The theoretical problem is the following: what are the ecological, typological and chronological criteria, the presence or lack of which defines a so hardly determinable notion which, nevertheless, is commonly used and abused, like archaeological culture. What are the criteria, a given archaeological unit has to meet, if it is expected to represent a continuous development or its interruption, when the accumulated knowledge results in a qualitatively new category? How could it be proved if a new piece of knowledge is the manifestation of the innovative skill of a given community, that of a regular inner development determined by the circumstances, or the materialization of a by-chance co-occurence or even of an alien effect.

Simán deals first of all with the climatic events influencing the changes of cultures, within wide topographical and chronological frames, remaining on theoretical grounds. The branch of the science would gain much if she would carry on the research on the historic events of more restricted areas, which would bear more relevance for us.

The synthesis of the information provided by the palaeolithic find material can be approached from at least three aspects. In the followings I would like to call attention to the arising difficulties through some Hungarian examples.

If too much importance is owed to the *ecological background* when starting the cultural attributions we may get entangled in unsolvable contradictions. In the northwestern corner of the Transdanubian Mid-Mountains thè sites of three cultural fili are known from the same geological period, which have different roots, attachments, descendants. They are Érd of Charentian characteristics, the Jankovichian rooting in the Micoquian and Tata, analogous with the Pontinian. The closed geographical zone, obviously means an identical economic base. The habitation circumstances, however, are different (lime-tuff basin, cave, valley-head). The various ecological microzones may have been the reason for the various hunted animals, more exactly for specialization on various species of the identical fauna.

No more should one rely exclusively on *typological features*. The presence or lack of an implement regarded as 'leading type' seems to bear less and less absolute significance, and similarly the far-going consequences drawn from them are

less justified. An example for it: L. Vértes stuck to his theory on the origin and migration of the Aurignacian till the mid-60s. Relying on the fact that the characteristic (carenoid) lithic material was missing on the two Hungarian sites, he drew far-fetching consequences concerning the origins of the bone- and lithic components of the industry, their meeting and joint migration towards the west. His theory touches also on the contact of the Middle Palaeolithic and the Aurignacian, and sketches a series of historical events through continents. Now it seems that the lack of some lithic implement types cannot support the otherwise also originative theory (which, anyhow, may just as well prove to be true). In our present and much more puritan view, the Istállóskő and Peskő caves were simple hunters' camps, explaining the occurence of so many bone points/hunting weapons. (The 'lithic' Aurignacian in Slovakia is, one may say, in the neighbourhood!)

Some remarks on the difficulties of chronological grouping of the cultures. K. Simán's starting point, that the rythm of the ecological changes are reflected in the absolute chronological data, seems to be justified. The reconstruction of the history of events, supported by clearly correlated natural historical data, seems to be reliable if the heterogeneous character of the data is also considered. This unbalanced situation may be indicative of the population of the territory during the Pleistocene, just like of the present state of research or even of the age determination inside it. That is why the results illustrated on the graph by K. Simán are no attractive. If the defective stock of data may give so unilaeral results, the accumulation of data, and the further studies by K. Simán may become even more convincing.

The development of the palaeolithic industries in Hungary may be characterized by discontinuity in wider sense and in some cases by continuity in strict sense. Discontinuity in wider sense means that in the inter-period new and new populational groups arrive in the inner part of the basin following the changing fauna waves. Up till now no find material is known which would attest a local development to a new culture on the territory of Hungary. The people of the new industries arrive mostly from the south, southwest during the Middle Palaeolithic, while the direction of migration somewhat alters in the Upper Palaeolithic. Nevertheless, the local development of the groups, finding favourable circumstances in the Carpathian Basin, can be proved on several sites (Vértesszöllős, Érd, Ságvár).

Based on the research of the Upper Palaeolithic it can be stated that the final Pleistocene events in Hungary make a part of an east-west directed populational movement of the whole continent. The most probable place of this populational movement must have been, most certainly, the ice free corridor north of the Carpathians. The Hungarian finds can be linked to this main trend by two routes:

— along the river valleys of north-south direction through direct Slovakian analogies,

— the outlet of the overpopulated Vienna-Moravian Basin from the west, or a permanent hunting area of the same populations.

For some other sites other directions may also be considered. For instance in Esztergom-Gyurgyalag the ratio of the raw material identified as silex from the Prut region is no high that even a direct SE contact maybe supposed.

Calculations were made in order to estimate the theoretical quantity of the population in the Carpathian Basin during the different periods of the Upper Palaeolithic. The basis was provided by the ideal values estimated from ethnographical data:

— the ideal, in the same time, maximal number of a hunter-gatherer group is about 30 members;

— the area which can be covered for food procurement during a day is not larger than a square of cca 20 km long sides (i.e. a circle of a radius of 11—12 km).

This estimation of the territory under control was supported by M. Kretzoi. From the bone debris of the Érd settlement he calculated the meat-quantity consumed during the life-time of the settlement. Regarding the natural food supply capacity of the territory he arrived to the conclusion that the hunted animals must also have come from a territory of such a dimension. On the whole 30 persons may be considered in a group in a living area of 400 km^2. It means that on the territory of the present Hungary (93 thousand km^2) cca 7000 persons could have theoretically lived in a given moment, in 230 groups.

Considering a more realistic geographical unit, the Carpathian Basin (with the border on the watershed, in an area of cca 300 km^2) the result is 22—23 thousand persons in 750 groups. This is a high number especially if regarding the ratio of the moist plainland, unsuitable for settlement, as compared to the more favourable territories. The reality must be far from the ideal situation, consequently from the calculations, too. Nevertheless, a lot is to be done yet by the Hungarian palaeolithic research.

E. Bánffy

CONTINUITY OR DISCONTINUITY? SOME QUESTIONS ON THE TRANSITION FROM THE NEOLITHIC TO THE COPPER AGE IN THE CARPATHIAN BASIN

The expert who embarks on the problem of continuity or discontinuity between two cultural periods in any geographical region is bound to come up against methodical and terminological difficulties almost immediately. What's the meaning of continuity and discontinuity? Can the former term be taken to mean that the very same population lived on in the given area, does it mean that their language remained (almost) unaltered, and that their economic and social structure, their manners and their intellectual-ideological basis suffered no significant changes? Or can we qualify developments as "continuous" if only some of the above-named conditions are met? Is the question of continuity a matter of quality or quantity? Where is the dividing line between continuity and discontinuity? Do we have to seek a sharp contrast between the two terms, or are there factors of uncertainty to be reckoned with?[1]

Immersed in such thoughts and worries, the expert is indeed apt to be suspicious when the question comes up of the transition from the Neolithic to the Copper Age in the Carpathian Basin and its environs. On account of these thoughts and worries, the contradictions that emerge during the analysis of the archaeological material require special attention. The aim of the present paper is to outline one such contradiction and also offer a solution.

The general literature on the period of transition from the Neolithic to the Copper Age reveals the existence of two main schools of thought. According to the first, rather traditional view, the changes can be accounted for primarily by the immigration of new ethnic groups. On the other hand, those who think along the lines of the latest archaeological developments tend to ascribe these changes to local developments, internal renewal or individual inventions. Owing primarily to domestic research, the period of transition from the Neolithic to the Early Copper Age in the Carpathian Basin has come to the centre of interest of palaeoarcheologists over the past three decades. This applies primarily to the Eastern territories of Hungary.[2] In the Late Neolithic, the Carpathian Basin was inhabited by the descendants of the various ethnic formations who could be characterised by the use of linear pattern pottery.[3] Researchers have managed to reliably clarify those chronological questions which related to the period of transition that was introduced by the so-called Prototiszapolgár horizon[4] (between the Tisza-Herpály-Csőszmalom group and the Tiszapolgár culture) on the one hand, and by the emergence in Transdanubia of the Balaton-Lasinja culture, on the other (this culture succeeded the late, unpainted phase of the Lengyel culture, which existed parallel with the Tiszapolgár culture).[5] In his works on the internal chronology of the Balaton-Lasinja culture and the subsequent Bajč-Retz-Furchenstich horizon,[6] N. Kalich underlined the importance in the formation of the Balaton I. culture of

the influences from the South, which are believed to have originated from the late Vinča-Pločnik culture. These influences are demonstrable by the presence of certain pottery types, but first and foremost by the use of glossy black wares. Summing up the traits characteristic of the Balaton region, N. Kalich also mentions a few local elements from Lengyel.[7] Recent researches have revealed a host of new phenomena which show that the Balaton-Lasinja culture was deeply rooted in the Lengyel culture. According to researches conducted in the environs of Veszprém, in the Hahót Valley or in the so-called Small Balaton region, the settlements of the two cultures were very often situated quite close to each other.[8] Consequently, we have every ground to state that the late Lengyel and the early Balaton populations preferred similar habitats. The clay spoons, which were fairly common in the Lengyel III culture, were also in use in large numbers in the early phase of the Balaton-Lasinja culture. The filling of the late Lengyel period circular ditch excavated at the Déli rév site near Balatonmagyaród-Hídvégpuszta has yielded sherds which the excavators associated with the Balaton-Lasinja I culture on account of their sharp profile and the apparent use of temper. Also, some of the early Balaton period finds recovered at Balatonmagyaród-Homoki dűlő are reminiscent of the Lengyel culture.[9] The same site has yielded a sacrificial set, which I identified as a foundation sacrifice. In this connection I made recently an attempt to prove that the type of sacrificial offering which was common in the Lengyel culture[10] also existed in the Balaton-Lasinja culture, and that the latter culture could well have transmitted this cultic practice to the subsequent Copper Age.

The Furchenstich potteries, which postdated the Balaton-Lasinja culture and had a distinct Central European character, were contemporaneous with the Bodrogkeresztúr B and the Hunyadihalom horizons, which in turn were direct derivatives of the Tiszapolgár culture. Consequently, here the Copper Age culture succeeded the Neolithic one uninterruptedly. As it was also revealed by N. Kalicz,[11] the Boleráz-Baden horizon was the first cultural formation in the Carpathian Basin which did away with the long-standing differences between the Transdanubian and the Great Plain regions and became equally common in both areas, but at the same time this culture introduced a cultural discontinuity, let alone the occasional minor similarities between this and some of the Balaton and Furchenstich cultures.[12]

The cultural formations and developments that took place outside the Carpathian Basin were similar in many repects.

If we proceed towards the East from the West: the vast area which was marked by the dominance of the late Lengyel culture — and also by its phase which stretched into the Early Copper Age — can be divided into several smaller units, including the so-called Post-Rössen cultures.[13] In the meantime, Central Europe also got under the influence of the flourishing commercial activity and the migration of minor ethnic groups, and the inhabitants of this region got acquainted with the copper tools and later with the technique of copper casting. Accordingly, the Lengyel circle played an active, or at least an intermediary, role in the shaping of the Copper Age character of Europe. However, as compared with the Late Neolithic, the continuity of the cultural development was uninterrupted, the marked local traits remained unaltered and the new, Copper Age structure evolved after a slow development.

The so-called Nach-Lengyel or Epi-Lengyel horizon in Burgenland and Lower Austria[14] was chronologically parallel with the Münchshöfen and Kanzianberg cultures, with the Jordansmühl and early Ludanice cultures in the NE, and with

the Balaton-Lasinja I culture in Transdanubia. As far as their stylistic marks are concerned, the products of the Nach-Lengyel or Epi-Lengyel culture and the Balaton-Lasinja I culture exhibit no significant differences: the greyish-brown and yellowish-red potteries, as well as the pouched pots with cylindrical neck and the biconical bowls with slanted knob were typical of both cultural circles. In other words, the Austrian Epi-Lengyel horizon was not only contemporaneous with the Balaton culture, but was a variant of it.

Moving further East from the Lengyel culture, the Early Copper Age was represented by the various groops of the Tiszapolgár culture.[15] It was approximately in this period that the cultural circle hallmarked by the Boian-Vadastra-Marica-Karanovo V-Perecucuteni culture, the early Tripolje A culture, the Vinča C culture in the centre of the Balkans and the late Dimini culture in Thessalia became disintegrated and started to develop into a new, Copper Age structure. Meanwhile, the cultural units had remained unaltered, and the relations among them had also remained as they were during the Late Neolithic. The Tiszapolgár culture was succeeded by the Bodrogkeresztúr culture without interruption, and the same applied to the Sălcuţa-Krivodol circle (which succeeded the Vadastra culture), the Cucuteni-Tripolje cultures outside the eastern ranges of the Carpathians, the Vinča D_2 culture in the Balkans or the Karanovo VI-Kodjadermen cultures. In the northern part of the Aegean, this period coincided with the period which immediately preceded the birth of the Rachmani I culture. The termination of the Bodrogkeresztúr culture, the Hunyadhalom horizon and the related movements in South-Eastern Europe as well as the increasing influence of the Pontus region were already indicative of the end of the Copper Age proper.[16]

This brief chronology should not be read as indicative of drastic changes between the separate cultures. Quite the contrary: it definitely shows that the developments took place at a slow pace, in the course of a few calm, peaceful centuries.[17] The slow process of changes that took place during the transition from the Neolithic to the Copper Age can be accounted for by several causes. The late Neolithic ''domestication fever'', the increasing livestock, the increasing share of animal protein, milk and dairy products in foodstuffs and the introductiuon of crop rotation were presumably the results of the increasingly arid climate, but various social factors could also have a role here.[18] The coming into prominence of animal husbandry was favourable for the development of long-distance trading, but at the same time it resulted in the loosening of the concentrations of the earlier small settlements. The large tell-settlements along the river Tisza were presumably abandoned gradually, and the population became dispersed in the nearby small settlements. For example the above-mentioned transitional Prototiszapolgár horizon is clearly discernible at Herpály,[19] and the number of the known small settlements at Tiszapolgár is disproportionately smaller than that of the tellsettlements along the Tisza.[20] The differences were still less marked amid the social-economic conditions of the white-paint-marked Lengyel culture and the unpainted Copper Age phase in Transdanubia. The main indicators of development there were the coming into prominence of trade and the increasing use of copper.

The social, economic and cultural-ideological conditions of an era fit into a coherent system, and the elements of this system mutually effect each other. Should one or the other element undergo certain changes, it will upset the equilibrium of the whole system and this in turn will make its effects felt in all the remaining elements. In other words, the new balance, which can meet all the new requirements, is conditional on the reorganization of all the constituent elements.[21]

Accordingly, if we consider that a slow development and a kind of structural reorganization is demonstrable between the cultures of the Late Neolithic and Early Copper Ages — which involved changes in the economic conditions, the widening of trade ties and structural changes in, or occasionally the polarization of, society — then we have very ground to presume that similar or comparable developments took place in the culture-bearing mentality and in the beliefs and rites of the individual cultures. As C. Renfrew put it, the religious beliefs constitute a more or less coherent system even within the more comprehensive cultural system, and the archaeological heritage must have some kind of reference to it.[22] Thus we have good reason to presume that the above-described slow changes will also be discernible in the archaeologically analysable cultic assemblage.

However, in contrast with this expectation there is the fact of common knowledge that the finds of cultic character (e.g. the idol sculptures, the anthropomorphic vessels, the house models or miniature pieces of furniture) which were present in large numbers — although in uneven distribution — throughout the Neolithic were competely missing from the Early and Middle Copper Age assemblages. No such cultic objects are known from the last phase of the Lengyel culture, and they are also missing — apart from a few exceptions — from the Balaton-Lasinja culture, the finds of Furchenstich character recovered in Transdanubia and the Tiszapolgár-Bodrogkeresztúr assemblages coming from the Great Plain.

One of the exceptions here is an idol head with long neck, which came to light in the vicinity of Szombathely.[23] It can be assigned either to the very last phase of the Lengyel culture or to the so-called Epi-Lengyel horizon, i.e. the early Balaton-Lasinja culture in Burgenland. Another of these exceptions is the ''female idol of Becsvölgy'',[24] which is decorated with punctate fluted motifs. The few idol fragments recovered at Bajč date from the same period,[25] and a comparable find was discovered recently at Nagytarcsa.[26]

To our knowledge, the sculptures and other objects of cultic character are completely missing from the East Hungarian Tiszapolgár culture. At sites dating from the Bodrogkeresztúr culture J. Makkay collected a number of animal-shaped lids and vessel stands imitating animal feet.[27] The female idol and two fragmentary idols published by N. Kalicz from Tiszafüred-Majoros are believed to have formed parts of a lid-handle.[28] As Kalicz himself put it, the depictions of this kind are so utterly unparalleled in the Bodrogkeresztúr-Hunyadhalom culture that ''had (one of the fragments) not come to light in a closed pit, we'd be compelled to question their cultural affiliation.''[29] True enough, he added, these fragments are impossible to assign to any other period.

If we add to the above-named finds the two idol fragments originating from the Lasinja culture[30] then we'd get a roughly overall picture of how rare the objects of cultic character were in the Early and Middle Copper Age. The subsequent Late Copper Age Baden circle and the related cultures in SE Europe then saw the reoccurrence of the idols, among them the extremely interesting headless variants[31] which have sufficient cultural paralles. The occurrence in NE Hungary of the anthopomorphic vessels and the face-shaped urns can also be assigned to the Baden period.[32]

The relative abundance of cultic objects in the Neolithic assemblages contrasts sharply with their almost complete absence from the Early Copper Age onwards. This drastic change indicates a marked discontinuity. At the same time, as I have said above, we have every ground to reckon with continuity and peaceful

development during the transition from the Neolithic to the Copper Age in the whole of Central and South-Eastern Europe. This assumption is supported by the other kinds of objects and all the archaeologically analysable phenomena. This contradiction is only strained further by the fact that the economic conditions of any given period have an effect on the social conditions, which in turn influence the religious and cultic life of that society. How can we account for this contradiction?

Among the probable explanations, let us now focus our attention on the period immediately preceding the Copper Age. What we find is that the occurrence of idol sculptures and other cultic objects had already been uneven in that period. In the Tisza culture, the schematic objects which were common in the earlier phase were replaced by finely wrought, non-series sculptures and anthropomorphic vessels, which were present in far smaller numbers. The original types of idol sculptures, which were so common in the Neolithic settlements, were extremely rare or completely missing in the Tisza culture.[33] On the other hand the cultic objects we have every ground to consider dumping wares in the coeval Vinča C culture, which was the souther neighbour of the Tisza culture. More than 1300 idols have come to light at the Vinča site alone, where each house could own dozens of idols or small altars. Let me add here that barter trade was rather bustling between the people of the Tisza culture and the inhabitants of the Vinča settlements. Indicative of this are the numerous imported wares discovered in both regions.[34] However, in spite of the trade contacts, the two cultures had retained their differences in the field of cultic traditions.

The question of the Late Neolithic sculptures in Transdanubia is even more intriguing, as there the polarization occurred within the Lengyel culture itself. The idol sculptures were common in the area west of the Lake Balaton, where they were produced according to a strict canon. However, in the area east of this region the idol sculptures were rarities, and each of them differed from the other.[35] The eastern and western groups of the Lengyel culture differed in other respects as well (e.g. in burial customs), but the cultic customs of both the Tisza and the Lengyel cultures were undeniably Neolithic, as is proved by the assemblages coming from Vésztő, Kökénydomb, Herpály, Gorzsa, Zengővárkony, Mórágy, Aszód, etc. These examples also show that no conclusion can be drawn solely from the quantity of the imperishable cultic objects.

For this reason, even if we have no sculptures at our disposal from the Early and Middle Copper Age, we have every ground to carry on with our analysis of the *phenomena* that may be considered cultic. Just a few examples:

The forts and circular ditches which marked a vast geographical area in both the Neolithic and the Copper Age have already been discussed in detail by several researchers.[36] Most recently, a comprehensive study was published on the Early Copper Age fort at Tiszaug.[37] In her study, Cs. Siklódi gave voice to her view that it were these fortified settlements defended by an encircling trench that had developed into the commanders' or cultic centres in the course of the population's social differentiation.[38] Although no considered opinion is due on this issue before the publication of the most recent finds, it appears highly probable that the Copper Age ditch systems had retained several elements of the Middle Neolithic canon (cf. the most at Hídvégpuszta or the "cultic site" at Szarvas), i.e. that this phenomenon was not isolated from the Neolithic developments. The recently discovered circular ditches at Tiszanána and Füzesabony, which in all probability

were used for cultic purposes, are expected to shed more light on this question, and also on the cultic customs of the Copper Age.[39]

The omphalos formation, which had the same symbolic meaning over a wide time and space — i.e. which was used to mark a central location —,[40] is clearly discernible on the floor of the so-called sanctuary model of Öcsöd.[41] Clay plateaus of identical execution are also known from houses at Herpály,[42] which date from the final phase of the Late Neolithic. These houses belong to the Prototiszapolgár horizon. The sanctuary pit at Balatonmagyaród-Homoki dűlő had a circular sink in the bottom, and in the centre of it a small mound was found pasted together from lime concretions. The result was also an omphalos formation. A cultic site of similar execution was excavated at Szarvas-Érpart by J. Makkay.[43] That site dated from the Bodrogkeresztúr culture. On the strenght of these examples it can be considered highly probable that both the form and the symbol behind it were already known for the men of the Neolithic and Copper Ages.

Our conclusion is similar if we turn to the assemblages of finds which are identified as foundfation sacrifices. The practice of burying the dead in a pit was already known for the Middle Neolithic men,[44] and was fairly common among the special burials of the Lengyel, painted Moravian and Stichband cultures.[45] Such burials are also known from the territories south of the Carpathian Basin, i.e. from the Sopot and Late Vinča cultures.[46] Most of the inhumation burials contained the remains of children or subadult persons. The child skeletons recovered at such settlements under or among the houses are usually interpreted as foundation sacrifices (we have no room here for further explanation). The more than thirty such skeletons uncovered at Herpály can be dated to the transition period beteween the Neolithic and the Copper Ages. That this practice was also known in the Early Copper Age is shown by the assemblage coming from Veszprém-Felszabadulás út and by the offering recovered at Balatonmagyaród-Homoki dűlő.[47] The practice of inhuming the dead survived into the Late Copper Age. In his study on the ritual life of the Baden-Ossarn culture, J. Makkay made mention of a number of human bones which were discovered in pits regardes as cultic.[48] It was presumably this tradition, i.e. the conception of infant death as a special phenomenon, that had survived into the Vučedol culture. The cellar of the so-called "Herrenhaus" at Vučedol (the site which gave its name to the whole culture), which had earlier been used by the Copper Age men of the Baden culture, served as a burial site for the deceased infants and children of the community.[49]

Our knowledge is still rather limited of the Early and Middle Copper Age cultic life of both the Transdanubian and the Great Plain territories. The ongoing research into the survival of the ritual traditions is expected to considerably increase our current factual knowledge. Of course, the survival of these cultic phenomena can in no way explain the absence of sculptures at the sites. But if we concentrate on the whole of South-Eastern Europe rather than on Hungary alone then we'll find that the absence of these finds is typical for a relatively small area only. Those cultures in the territories SE on the Carpathian Basin which have left behind the most cultic relics were flourishing in exactly that period, i.e. in the Early and Middle Copper Ages. What I have in mind here are not only the well-known Late Vinča sculptures or the idols, house models and "small altars" of the Cucuteni-Tripolje and Karanovo VI cultures, but e.g. the parts of houses with cultic function or the cultic corners which know from sites like Tirpesti,[50] Cascioarele,[51] Ovcarovo[52] or Drama.[53] The cultic phenomena of the settlement of Dolnoslav in

SW Bulgaria, which date from the Gumelnita culture, even the most cautious expert has every right to consider exceptional.[54] We can only hope that the interpretation of these assemblages would remove at least some of the blank spots of the cultic life of the Copper Age people.

Last but not least let me touch briefly upon the gold objects. The gold finds of the Carpathian Basin and SE Europe, which appeared in several horizons during the Early and Middle Copper Ages, have already been the targets of a variety of typological, chronological or technological analyses, and most recently they became the number one moot point for experts of prehistory. The excavation of the cemetery at Varna and the identification of the centres in the Carpathian Basin and in the northern Balkans had demolished the theory of the Aegean-Anatolian priority, but at the same time these findings raised a host of questions which are still unsolved.[55] Let me mention here only one of these questions, namely that whether the objects at issue can be considered anthropomorphic depictions.

Summing up these problems, J. Makkay in 1976 gave an assessment of the various standpoints and in conclusion denied the anthropomorphic character of the Copper Age gold objects.[56] Obviously, those views are mistaken which consider each golden pendant a schematic depiction of a female figure. Most probably the gold objects had no uniform function. But since we know some gold objects which are undeniably anthropomorphic (like e.g. the one found at Ruse[57]), it is conceivable that at least part of these pendants were meant to depict a human figure. These latter objects could well have been related to the violin-shaped idols, which in turn demonstrably influenced the evolution of the Cycladic sculptures, as it was rightly observed by C. Renfrew.[58] It is also remarkable that an inverse proportionality appears to have existed between the metal objects and the idol sculptures of the individual cultures of the Carpathian Basin in the period between the Late Neolithic and the end of the Copper Age. The occurrence of the copper jewels in the early phases of the Tisza and Lengyeli cultures coincided with a decrease in the number of the idols. Moreover, the famous golden horizons of the Copper Age were contemporaneous with the Tiszapolgár and Bodrogkeresztúr cultures and with the Balaton-Lasinja and Furcghenstich pottery cultures in W Hungary, i.e., they existed in the very age and areas which have become known as deficient in cultic objects. The Baden culture, i.e., the last phase of the Copper Age in the Carpathian Basin, is known to have produced less metal objects again, but (consequently?) the practice of idol production was markedly on the increase. These coherences also appear to support the assumption that in the cultures at issue the clay idol sculptures were gradually replaced by other objects, perhaps partly by the golden pendants which we consider anthropomorphic. In other words, we do not have to reckon with a discontinuity in the cultic traditions as only some of the cultic fittings were replaced — and the new objects could well have been made from materials other than gold (perishable?). Meanwhile, the substantial elements of cultic life retained their continuity.

To sum up, it may be established that the questions concerning the chronological and cultural continuity between the Neolithic and Copper Ages in the Carpathian Basin have already been answered to our satisfaction by the researches of the past few decades. My aim with this brief survey was to point out that, contrary to appearance, this continuity also applied to the cultic customs.

However, the known traces of the Copper Age cultic customs are still exceptional in at least one sense. In the Neolithic, the rites were conducted at the settle-

ments, or more precisely in a specific part of the dwelling houses. Accounting for this practice were the small family units and the fully localized habit of life. As a result of the more bustling way of life during the Copper Age — which was due primarily to the emergence of animal keeping and trade — the settlements decreased in size and consequently lost their significance. This is believed to have forced people to use plots outside the settlements as burial grounds and to establish separate cultic sites. As opposed to the earlier settlements, these latter sites are believed to have become the symbols of continuity. All these developments coincided with the gradual prevalence of the use of metal objects, and the economic and social effects of these changes were beyond expression. The fact that the use of metals had sacral and symbolic significance as well is proved by a host of data: suffice it to mention here the grave-furniture,[59] the metal insignia of power[60] or the finds recovered at the cemetery at Varna. Similarly to the above-discussed changes, these developments also took place gradually, i.e. we again have no reason to presume discontinuity here. (Of course the word "development" I use here in the sense of "formation" or "evolution".) These processes, which also marked the changes in the cultic customs, signify that the man of the Copper Age had already been able to influence and formulate — through the creation of new structures — the economic, social and intellectual heritage which the inhabitants of the Early Bronze Age Europe received from their ancestors, and which they were shaping further upon the fresh external and internal influences that marked the period of transition from the Copper Age to the Bronze Age.

NOTES

1 On these questions cf. C. Renfrew (ed.): The explanation of cultural change. London 1973

2 I. Kutzián: The Early Copper Age Tiszapolgár culture in the Carpathian Basin. ArchHung 48, 1973; N. Kalicz: Über die Probleme dere Beziehungen der Theiss- und der Lengyel-Kultur. ActaArchHung 22 (1970); N. Kalicz: A rézkori Balatoni csoport Veszprém megyében (The Copper Age Balaton group in Veszprém County). VeszprémMK 8 (1969).

3 J. Makkay: A magyarországi neolitikum kutatásának új eredményei (The latest results of Neolithic research in Hungary). Budapest 1982, 47—76.

4 N. Kalicz—P. Raczky: Preliminary report on the 1977—1982 excavations at the Neolithic and Bronze Age tell settlement of Berettyóújfalu-Herpály. Part I: Neolithic. ActaArchHung 36 (1984) 133ff.

5 P. Raczky: A lengyeli-kultúra legkésőbbi szakaszának leletei a Dunántúlon (Finds from the last phase of the Lengyel culture in Transdanubia). ArchÉrt 101 (1974).

6 N. Kalicz: A rézkori Balatoni-csoport Veszprém megyében (The Copper Age Balaton group in Veszprém County). VeszprémMK 8 (1969); N. Kalicz: A Balatoni-csoport emlékei a Dél-Dunántúlon (Relics of the Balaton group in S Transdanubia). PécsiMÉ 14/15, (1969/70); N. Kalicz: A Balaton—Lasinja-kultúra történeti kérdései és fémleletei (Historical questions and metal finds of the Balaton—Lasinja culture). ArchÉrt 109 (1982); N. Kalicz: Über die chronologische Stellung der Balaton-Gruppe in Ungarn. In: Symposium...Badener Kultur. Bratislava 1973.

7 N. Kalicz: über die chronoligische Stellung der Balaton-Gruppe. In: Symposium...Badener Kultur. Bratislava 1973 136.

8 P. Raczky: ibid; Field surveys by L. Horváth, B. Szőke, M. Bodnár and E. Bánffy (1986).

9 Oral information by the excavator, B. M. Szőke.

10 P. Raczky; I. Zalai-Gaál: Neolitikus koponyakultusz és emberáldozat leletek Tolna megyéből (Neolithic finds indicative of skull cult and human sacrifice in Tolna County). SzekszárdiMÉ 12 (1984); I. Zalai-Gaál: Közép-európai neolitikus temetők szociálarchaeológiai elemzése (Socio-archaeological analysis of Neolithic cemeteries in Central Europe). SzekszárdiMÉ 18 (1988).

11 N. Kalicz: Über die chronologische Stellung der Balaton-Gruppe in Ungarn. In: Symposium...Badener Kultur. Bratislava 1973, 163; N. Kalicz: Die terminologischen und chronologischen Probleme der Kupfer- und Bronzezeit in Ungarn. In: Atti del X Simposio Internazionale sulla fine del neolotico e gli inizi dell'età del bronzo in Europa. Verona 1982 124, 126.

12 *N. Kalicz:* Über die chronologische Stellung der Balaton-Gruppe in Ungarn. In: Symposium...Badener Kultur. Bratislava 1973 162—163; *I. Torma:* Die Boleráz-Gruppe in Ungarn. In: Symposium...Badener Kultur. Bratislava 1973, 503—509.
13 *W. Meier-Arendt:* Zur relativen Chronologie der Gruppen Hinkelstein und Grossgartach sowie der Rössener Kultur. In: Aktuelle Fragen der Bandkeramik. Székesfehérvár 1972; *E. Ruttkay:* Beitrag zum Problem der Epi-Lengyel Horizontes in Österreich. ArchAustr Bh 13 (1976).
14 *E. Ruttkay:* ibid.
15 *I. Kutzián:* The Early Copper Age Tiszapolgár culture in the Carpathian Basin. ArchHung NS 48, Budapest 1973.
16 *I. Kutzián:* Probleme der mittleren Kupferzeit im Karpatenbecken. StZv 17 (1969); *P Raczky:* Adatok a Bodrogkeresztúri kultúra déli kapcsolataihoz és kronológiájához (Data on the southern contacts and chronology of the Bodrogkeresztúr culture). ArchÉrt 109 (1982).
17 *I. Kutzián:* The Early Copper Age Tiszapolgár culture in the Carpathian Basin. ArchHung NS 48. Budapest 1973.
18 *A. Sherratt:* The secondary exploitation of animals in the Old World. WorldArch 15 (1983) 1; *S. Bökönyi:* Environmental and cultural effects on the faunal assemblages of four large 4th millennium B.C. sites. SzekszárdiMÉ 13 (1985); *S. Bökönyi:* Von kupferzeitlichen Schafen und Pferden. In: Macht, Herrschaft und Gold. Das Gräberfeld von Varna (Bulgarien) und die Anfänge einer neuen europaischen Zivilisation. Saarbrücken 1988; *J. Chapman:* The Vinča culture of South-East Europe. BAR IS 117. Oxford 1981, 113.
19 *N. Kalicz—P. Raczky:* ibid. 133.
20 *I. Kutzián:* The Early Copper Age Tiszapolgár culture in the Carpathian Basin. ArchHung NS 48. Budapest 1973; *Cs. Siklósi:* A kisrétparti csoport (The Kisrétpart group). Ph. D. thesis, Budapest 1984.
21 *V. N. Sadovsky:* Az általános rendszerelmélet alapjai (Grounds of the general system theory). Budapest 1976, 137—153; *D. L. Clarke:* Analythical archaeology. London 1968, 46—52.
22 *C. Renfrew:* The archaeology of Cult. The sanctuary of Philakopi. Oxford 1985, 17.
23 *Idole.* Prähistorische Keramiken aus Ungarn. Ausstellung des Ungarischen Nationalmuseums Budapest im Naturhistorischen Museum Wien. Wien 1972, 24 t., Cat. 205.
24 *I. Bóna:* A becsvölgyi női idol (The female idol of Becsvölgy). Göcsej Múzeum Közleményei, Zalaegerszeg 1960.
25 *A. Točik:* Die Furchenstichkeramik in der Südwestslowakei. PamA 52 (1961) 343—344.
26 *M. Bondár:* Rézkori idol Nagytarcsáról (Copper Age idol from Nagytarcsa). ArchÉrt 112 (1985).
27 *J. Makkay:* Adatok őskori állatplasztikánk déli kapcsolataihoz (Data on the southern contacts of our prehistoric animal sculptures). ArchÉrt 86 (1959).
28 *N. Kalicz:* Újabb adatok a rézkori Hunyadihalmi csoport időrendjéhez (New data on the chronology of the Copper Age Hunyadihalom group). SzolnokMÉ 1979/80, Fig. 6, 53—54.
29 *N. Kalicz:* ibid. 55.
30 *S. Dimitrijevič:* Problem des Neolithikums und Äeneolithikums in Nordwestjugoslawien. OpArch 1961.
31 *N. Kalicz:* Die kopflosen Idole der Badener Kultur und ihre südlichen Beziehungen. Symp. Thracica 1981; *B. Novotny:* Zur Idolatrie der Badener Kultur in der Slowakei. SlovA 29 (1981).
32 *I. Kovács:* Arhéologické vyskumy v. okreze Rimavská Sobota 1978—1984 (Archaeological excavations in Rimaszombat County). Gömör Museum, Rimaszombat.
33 Cf. The Late Neolithic of the Tisza region. Budapest—Szolnok 1987.
34 *Raczky et al:* Öcsöd—Kovácshalom. The intensive topographical and archaeological investigation of a Late Neolithic site. Preliminary report. MittArchInst 14 (1985); *M. Garašanin:* Vinčanska kultura. In: Praistorija Jugoslavenskog Zemelja 2. Sarajevo 1979.
35 *N. Kalicz:* Kőkori falu Aszódon (Neolithic village in Aszód). Aszód 1985 72—73.
36 *O. Höckmann:* Wehranlagen der Jüngeren Steinzeit. In: Ausgrabungen in Deutschland 3. Mainz 1975; *P. Moddermann:* Einige Gedanken zur Deutung der mittelneolitischen Grabenanlagen. In: MUAG 34 (1983—84).
37 *Cs. Siklódi:* ibid.
38 *Cs. Siklódi:* ibid. 96—102.
39 Oral information by *Á. Sz. Kállay.*
40 *J. E. Cirlot:* A dictionary of symbols. London 1962 (1978) 243—244.
41 *E. Bánffy:* Neolithic house models from Hungary — attempt at a general interpretation. In: Archaeological „objectivity" in interpretation — preliminary volume to World Archaeological Congress, September 1—7, 1986, Section B, Vol. 2.
42 *N. Kalicz—P. Raczky:* ibid. fig. 29.
43 *J. Makkay:* Eine Kultstätte der Bodrogkeresztúr-Kultur in Szarvas und Fragen der sakralen Hügel. MittArchInst 10/11, (1980/81) 349.

32

44 J. Makkay: Foundation sacrifices in Neolithic houses of the Carpathian Basin. In: Prehistoric art and religion. Valcamonica Symposium 1979. Capo di Ponte 1983; J. Makkay: Hausgrundrissopfer der Lengyel-Kultur mit besonderer rücksicht auf seine Beziehungen zu den Opferformen der LBK. In: Internationales Symposium über die Lengyel-Kultur. Nové Vozokanỳ 5—9. November 1984. Nitra—Wien 1986.

45 J. Kosturik: Die Lengyel-Kultur in Mähren. Studie...Brne 1972; B. Novotnỳ: Lužianska skupina a počiatky malovanej keramikou a Slovensku. Bratislava 1962; M. Zápotocká: Die Stichbandkeramik zur Zeit des späten Lengyel-Horizontes. StZ 17 (1969).

46 S. Dimitrijevič: Sopotska-Lendelska kultura. Zagreb 1968; B. Brukner: Gomolava, APregl 18 (1976).

47 P. Raczky: A lengyeli-kultúra legkésőbbi szakaszának leletei a Dunántúlon (Finds from the latest phase of the Lengyel culture in Transdanubia). ArchÉrt 101 (1974); E. Bánffy: Kultikus rendeltetésű leletegyüttes a Kis-Balaton középső rézkorából (Cultic assemblage from the Middle Copper Age of the Small Balaton region). ArchÉrt 112 (1985).

48 J. Makkay: Adatok a péceli (badeni) kultúra vallásos elképzeléseihez (Data on the religious beliefes of the Pécel [Baden] culture). ArchÉrt 90 (1963).

49 R. R. Schmidt: Die Burg Vučedol. Zagreb 1945, 45.

50 S. Marinescu-Bilcu: Tirpeşti. BAR 107. Oxford 1981.

51 V. Dumitrescu: Édifice destiné au culte découvert dans la couche Boian-Spantov de la station-tell de Cascioarele. Dacia 14 (1970).

52 H. Todorova: Ovčarovo. Sofia 1983.

53 J. Lichardus: Der westpontische Raum und die Anfänge der kupferzeitlichen Zivilisation. In: Macht, Herrschaft und Gold. Saarbrücken 1988.

54 N. Genov—A. Radunčeva: Periodat ne hipotezite. Otečestvo 21 (November 1985) 12.

55 C. Renfrew: The autonomy of the South East European Copper Age. In: Problems in European Prehistory. Edinburgh 1979; H.—J. Weisshaar: Varna und die agäische Bronzezeit. AKorrBl 1982/3.

56 J. Makkay: Problems concerning Copper Age chronology in the Carpathian Basin. ActaArchHung 28 (1976).

57 G. Georgiev—N. Angelov: Razkopki na selisnata mogila do Russe (1950—53) BIBulg 21 (1957); J. Lichardus: Der westpontische Raum und die Anfänge der kupferzeitlichen Zivilisation. In: Macht, Herrschaft und Gold. Saarbrücken 1988, 114.

58 C. Renfrew: The development and chronology of the early Cycladic figurines. AJA 68 (1964).

59 P. Patay: SZentesvidéki rézkori temetők (Copper Age cemeteries in the environs of Szentes). ArchÉrt 73 (1943); P. Patay: A magyarhomorogi rézkori temető (The Copper Age cemetery at Magyarhomorog). DebreceniMÉ 1975; P. Patay: A tiszavalk-tetesi rézkori temető és telep (The Copper Age cemetery and settlement at Tiszavalk-Tetes). FolArch 29 (1978).

60 I. Marazov: Tod und Mythos. Überlegungen zu Varna. In: Macht, Herrschaft und Gold, Das Gräberfeld von Varna (Bulgarien) und die Anfänge einer neuen europäischen Zivilisation. Saarbrücken 1988.

M. Bondár

THOUGHTS ON CONTINUITY (The Baden culture)

Until recent years, the study of prehistory in Hungary had been characterized by a kind of monolithic approach. The different cultures were treated as blocks which developed and existed separately. Prehistoric changes can be detected only through the appearance of new elements in archaeological finds. Whenever such a penomenon observed, researchers reckoned great masses of immigrants who brought along the new elements and swept away the old ones almost overnight. This monolithic way of thinking was characteristic not only of the geographical but also the chronological approach, as research almost exclusively reckoned with consecutive cultures which closely followed each other in time. It was only during the recent years that emphasis has been laid on the analysis of the relations between the subsequent cultures both in time and space. This new approach has regard for the continuity of the population in periods when the cultures were changed, and research now reckons with an overlap between the old and the new cultures. The above-mentioned monolithic approach eliminated the concept of motion as permanent change and the concept of autotelic inherent development from the study of history, which thus became the archaeology of objects rather than the study and reconstruction of man and his environment.

In certain areas of research, among them in archaeology, the still existing respect for authority often hinders development. The statements proclaimed by ''the authority'' had for years been the only manifestations of continuity in one or the other field, and it took years before these tenets could be reconsidered and reinterpated.

The Baden culture was the first prehistoric culture during which the areas of the Great Plain and Transdanubia constituted a homogeneous cultural block. In a geographical sense, this block even extended beyond the Carpathian Basin. Within the vast area covered by the Baden complex, the role of the Carpathian Basin was still outstanding as it was the centre of the culture and also a transit point of the various connections within the culture. Let us see now how the dialectics of continuity and discontinuity was manifest in this vast cultural block.

A culture is determined by the simultaneous presence of its specific criteria: area of prevalence, origins, chronology, economic and social particulars (settlements, burials, way of life, social structure, artefacts), body of beliefs, arts, etc. In the following we'll study only some of these criteria, relying on the evidence offered by the domestic finds.

The expert faced with the task of dating the Baden culture is bound to realize that the collation of the so-called short- and long-term chronologies would lead to marked extremes (Fig. 1). The researchers hold widely different views on the dating and duration of the Baden culture.[1]

The internal chronology of the culture shows a slightly more homogeneous pucture. There is a general consensus among researchers that the earliest phase of the culture can be characterized by the Boleraz group.[2] However, opinions

widely differ when it comes to the dating of the last phase of the culture. For a long while following the publication of Banner's monograph the opinion had prevailed that in the territory of today's Hungary the late phase of the Baden culture could be characterized by four groups: the Fonyód, Uny, Viss and Kostolac ones.[3] Remarkably, research has still not clarified the criteria of the groups established by János Banner, and no decision has yet been reached on whether these should be seen as exclusively chronological or also geographical units. Nevertheless, the four groups are still widely used by researchers. Discussing the Fonyód-type finds, I. Torma conclusively proved that they can be dated to the last phase of the Boleraz group, i.e. that they are part of this culture.[4] According to the authors of the Esztergom volume of the Topography of Komárom County, the Uny group should also not be dated to a late phase.[5] The Viss group has direct links with Cotofen, although its internal chronology and the grounds for its separate treatment require further studies. As regards the Kostolac group, which is known to have 23 sites in the territory of Hungary, research has managed to prove — first and foremost on the authority of the Yugoslav experts — that it did not form part of the Baden culture. Instead, it was an independent culture centered in Yugoslavia which found its way into Hungary (for the purpose of trade) by the rivers Danube and Tisza.[6]

Instead of the above-named four ''late-period'' groups, there is a characteristical late-Baden pottery which had for a while existed parallel with the Kostolac culture. This period can be characterized by the sites Hódmezővásárhely-Bodzáspart, Palotabozsok and Pécs-Vasas.[7]

Having briefly surveyed the initial and closing phases of the Baden culture, let us now concentrate on the ''intervening'' period. This is where the problems become really marked! Opposed to the elaborate typology of the Boleraz period,[8] this so-called classical period has been left out of consideration so far. This central period has been made into a kind of receptacle which took in everything that could not be fit in the early or late phases of the culture. In this, at least, research has been consequent. However, the problem is bound to resurface if we take a closer look at the finds dated to this period. What we find is a lack of published material coming from authentic excavations in the territory of origin. A reassuring typology is also missing, without which it is impossible to classify the stray finds or establish an internal chronology. And still, scholars keep referring to groups, stages, types and phases, and they often borrow the statements of their predecessors without reservations. It is not going too far to assert that the classical phase of the Baden culture has as many groups, sub-groups and phases as many experts are studying it. Consequently, the internal chronology is likewise far from settled. To illustrate this point, let us collate the chronologies of E. Neustupný[9] and V. Nemejcová-Pavúková[10] (Fig. 2). The restoration of the proportions within this diagonally protracted chronology is expected to be facilitated by the scheduled publication of the full report on the excavation of the Budakalász cemetery and also by the publication of the other relevant excavations in Hungary.

In the period at issue, the term ''topology'' is almost exclusively used in the context of the pottery. The analysis of the vessel forms and decorations reveals that the fairly common Baden forms (bowls, cups, jugs, pots, amphorae) are easily traceable in both space and time throughout the culture, and the marks of their internal development are also clearly discernible.

On the other hand, there are the special pottery forms in the Baden culture (e.g. bowls divided into two compartments, fishing boat-shaped vessels, sauceboats, human-shaped urns, coach models, animal sculptures, headless idols, the

Vörs diadem and rhyton, etc.) which indicate the extensive relations of this period and also raise a number of intriguing historical questions. Our present knowledge is not sufficient for defining each and every find-type according to whether it was the result of an internal development or should be seen as a proof for external ties. Therefore we should keep in mind that these external ties differed markedly in both time and space, and their mechanical comparison could only result in distorted horizons.

In typology, we have the same problem to reckon with.

As we have seen, Nemejcová-Pavúková used a meticulously worked out typology and a chain of sites to draw up the continuity development within the Baden culture.[11] In my opinion, this typology is acceptable in its main conclusions, but it is over-particular, extremely difficult to handle and hardly applicable in everyday analyses. On the other hand, this typology clearly shows the present state of research on the Baden culture, i.e. that while the internal chronology and typology of the Boleraz group is worked out in detail, the so-called classical period, and expecially in Hungary in the central area, has remained a neglected field. According to my calculations which I based on the material I had collected throughout the country, the finds of 15 excavations (out of the more than one thousand Baden sites in Hungary) have been published in the traditional sense in the period since the publication of Banner's monograph, and a few other sites have been published in preliminary reports.[12] This means a mere 10,6 % of the total number of excavations in the period since Banner's publication, and these publications cover only 1,4 % the total number of Baden sites in Hungary! The situation is practically the same in the neighbouring countries, and thus it is understandable that Nemejcová could not but establish such a typology on the basis of the few publications at her disposal. The finds of her own excavations she could use primarily for making the internal chronology of the Boleraz period are more detailed,[13] but this she did at the expense of the internal chronology of the subsequent period. I think this explains why Pavúková considers the duration of the Boleraz period excessively long[14] — in her version this period extended over half of the full duration of the culture.

Without going into further details, let me touch upon a few other problems.

I made no mention so far of the intriguing and as yet undecided historical questions of the Baden culture, and I also bypassed the questions related to its origins and precedents. The burials I also left unmentioned, because the lack of publications on the cemeteries would make it almost impossible to account for the variety of burial types during the Baden culture, the coexistence of the cremation and inhumation rites, the ethnic and religious backgrounds of the 432 graves of the Budakalász cemetery and of the family burials at Balatonmagyaród where only four graves were found, the practice of interring cattles and coach models, the symbolic burials or the human-shaped urns. Also, I did not touch upon the conspicuous lack of metals in the Baden culture, which was especially marked following the Bodrogkeresztúr-Balaton-Lasinja period, but which we haven't yet been able to explain. Instead of these aspects, I decided to concentrate on the cardinal issues of chronology and typology.

I hope that these brief remarks were enough to give an idea of how obscure this phase of the Late Copper Age is for the researchers. Remarkably, the bulky volumes on the Baden culture and its seemingly well worked out internal chronology would still suggest that this period is very well known, it is hard to say something that is new. However, if we scratch the surface and launch a critical analysis,

we find that the whole theory rests on dubious foundations. The chronological framework is far from clear-cut; the difference between the durations asserted by the various studies amounts to hundreds of years; the internal chronology has not yet been worked out in detail; and the number of the authentic and well-documented publications is still extremely low. For this reason we act under the pressure of necessity when we use the few stray finds that have appeared in print as the basis for conclusions on the pre- and post-periods, influences, relations, continuity and discontinuity, integration and disintegration, Badenization or horizons, etc. to mention only the most significant ones. Are we really able to fill these concepts with archaeological and historical content? Aren't we bound by the inherited methodological mistakes? Are we really able to define satisfactorily by archaeological means the length of time needed for the transformation and spreading over a larger area of a pottery form or decoration? Can we really rest assured that the major changes which are describable archaeologically also meant the introduction of a new culture in an ethnic sense? Are the currently used maps of prevalence accurate when there are signs of identical size to mark the isolated burial, the Budakalász cemetery which has 432 graves, the trace of a settlement which has been identified by two sherds during a field survey or the settlement at Pilismarót-Szobi rév which includes more than 500 Baden pits?

I firmly believe that these questions, along with our traditional methods, must be reconsidered. We should strive to be as optimally objective as possible to be able to define the *man* of that period, the reasoning creature, innovative brain and human communities of the day as determined by the technical-economic level of the period. Let me finally raise two specific points here.

It is an ever increasing demand rooted in our daily experiences that it's not enough to rely on the preceding publication when treating a specific topic. Instead, we have to reach back to the original source, and if possible it is also a must to study the object at issue. Obviously, the information might become badly distorted when it is transmitted through a series of publications. (For this latter point, a series of examples could be cited from the recent publications on practically all the historical periods.) Suffice it now to mention only two examples.

Discussing the string of beads unearthed at Balatonmagyaród-Hídvégpuszta in 1986, Nándor Kalicz underlined that a similar object was brought to the National Museum from a site at Köveskál. Checking up on the report, we found the following: the Köveskál find reached the National Museum in 1871. It consisted of a stone axe, five vessels, a string of beads and a number of copper tubes.[15] The finds were first mentioned by József Hampel in 1895.[16] After that, the find had for more than a century been lost to memory, except for a few scattered references to the pottery. Finally, a new and authentically excavated burial at the site prompted researchers to see after the earlier finds and treat them at long last as a find coming from a burial.[17]

The other example is the vessel which comes from Bodrogkeresztúr and which is ranked among the nicest pieces in the Kostolac group. The vessel was published in 1961 by J. Banner and I. Kutzián.[18] A few years ago, István Torma was thumbing his notes when he hit upon a beautiful vessel in the 1917 volume of the periodical 'Barlangkutatás' (Speleology). At first sight it appeared to be the same with the Bodrogkeresztúr vessel.

Finally, the inventory of the National Museum revealed that the findspot of the Bodrogkeresztúr vessel, which was itemized under the number 52.24.24, was

written in the records subsequently and by a different hand. Consequently, it was by accident that the problem of this ''curious'' vessel[19] could be solved: the vessel, which was published by Lajos Bella in 1917,[20] came to light in the Rabló cave at Herkules-fürdő during Ottó Kadic's excavations there in 1916. On this ground it can duly be considered an outstanding product of the Cotofeni culture.

Summing up we can state that the problems mentioned above could be solved only on the strength of publications of authentically excavated Baden settlements and cemeteries. It is necessary to define groups and to list their sites but this requires the availability of a sufficient number of publications. Starting out from those publications, we could shed light on the particulars of the internal chronology of the Baden culture, set out from the territory of origin right now.

REFERENCES

Banner 1956   J. Banner: Die Péceler Kultur. ArchHung 35. Budapest 1956.
Banner—Kutzián 1960   J. Banner—I. Kutzián: Angaben zur Kupferzeitlichen Chronologie des Karpathenbeckens. Swiatowit 23 (1960) 341—361.
Banner—Kutzián 1961   J. Banner—I. Kutzián: Beiträge zur Chronologie der Kupferzeit des Karpathenbeckens. ActaArchHung 13 (1961) 1—32.
Bella 1917   L. Bella: Próbaásatás a Rabló-barlangban. (Trial ex cavation in the Rabló-cave). Barlangkutatás 5 (1917):2 111—114.
Bondár 1982   M. Bondár: Spätkupferzeitliche Siedlung in Pécs-Vasas (Komitat Baranya). MittArchInst 10—11 (1980—1981) 25—44.
Bondár 1984   M. Bondár: Neuere Funde der Kostolac- und der spätbadener Kultur in Ungarn. ActaArchHung 36 (1984) 59—84.
Bondár 1987a   M. Bondár: Késő rézkori kemence Esztergom-Diósvölgyben. (A late Copper Age oven in Esztergom-Diós Valley). ComArchHung 1987 31—44.
Bondár 1987b   M. Bondár: Újabb adatok a badeni kultúra temetkezéseihez (Newer data to the burials of the Baden culture). ZalaiMúz 1 (1987) 47—58.
Brukner 1974   B. Brukner: Severoistočna Jugoslavija u srednog eneolitu. Istrživanja 1974 25—37.
Ecsedy 1977   I. Ecsedy: Die Funde der Spätkupferzeitlichen Boleráz-Gruppe von Lánycsók. PécsiMÉ 22 (1977) 163—183.
Ecsedy 1982a   I. Ecsedy: A kelet-magyarországi rézkor fejlődésének fontosabb tényezői (On the factors of the Copper Age development in Eastern Hungary). PécsiMÉ 26 (1981) 73—95.
Ecsedy 1982b   I. Ecsedy: Késő rézkori leletek Boglárlelléről (Late Copper Age finds from Boglárlelle) ComArchHung 1982 15—26.
Hampel 1895   J. Hampel: Újabb tanulmányok a rézkorról (Newer Studies about the Copper Age). Budapest 1895.
Honti 1981   Sz. Honti: Rézkori temetkezés Balatonbogláron. (A Copper Age burial of Balatonboglár). SomogyiMK 4 (1981) 25—42.
Kalicz 1958   N. Kalicz: Rézkori stratigráfia Székely község határában (Copper Age stratigraphy in the border of the village Székely). ArchÉrt 85 (1958) 3—6.
Kalich 1959   N. Kalicz: A baktalórántházi sírfelirat (The grave of Baktalórántháza). NyíregyháziMÉ 2 (1959) 7—15.
Kalicz 1963   N. Kalicz: Die Péceler (Badener) Kultur und Anatolien. StudArch 2. Budapest 1963.
Kemenczei 1966   T. Kemenczei: A péceli kultúra újabb emberalakú edénye Centeren (A newer anthropomorph vessel of the Pécel culture at Center). MiskolciMK 6 (1966) 10—13.

38

Kemenczei 1971   *T. Kemenczei:* Az őskor művészetének emléke a Herman Ottó Múzeumban (A remain of prehistoric art in the H. O. Museum). MiskolciMK 9 (1971) 36—49.

Korek 1968   *J. Korek:* Eine Siedlung der Spätbadener Kultur in Salgótarján—Pécskő. ActaArchHung 20 (1968) 37—58.

Korek 1980   *J. Korek:* Alsónémedi történetének régészeti forrásai a honfoglalás koráig (Archaeological sources of the history of Alsónémedi untill the period of the Conquest). in: Alsónémedi története és néprajza (History and ethnography of Alsónémedi). Alsónémedi 1980 9—47.

Korek 1984   *J. Korek:* Közép-Kelet-Európa a rézkor végén (Middle East Europe of the end of the Copper age) (Ph. D thesis, manuscript). Budapest 1984.

Korek 1984b   *J. Korek:* Ásatások Szigetcsép-Tangazdaság lelőhelyen. I. A késő rézkori település leletei (Excavations at Szigetcsép-Tangazdaság, I. Finds of the late Copper Age settlement). ComArchHung 1984 5—30.

Kővári 1985   *K. Kővári:* A tahitótfalui késő rézkori gödör (The late Copper Age pit at Tahitótfalu). StudCom 17 (1985) 7—10.

Kutzián 1972   *I. B. Kutzián:* A korai rézkori tiszapolgári kultúra a Kárpátmedencében (The Early Copper Age Tiszapolgár Culture in the Carpathian Basin). Budapest 1972.

Makkay 1970   *J. Makkay:* A kőkor és a rézkor Fejér megyében. Fejér megye története az őskortól a honfoglalásig (Stone and Copper Ages in County Fejér. History of County Fejér from prehistory to the period of the Conquest) in: Fejér megye története I/1. (History of County Fejér I/1). Székesfehérvár 1970 9—52.

MRT 5   *I. Horváth—M. H. Kelemen—I. Torma:* Komárom megye régészeti topográfiája. Esztergom és a dorogi járás (Archaeological Topography of Komárom county). MRT 5. Budapest 1979.

Neustupný 1959   *E. Neustupný:* Zur Entstehung der Kultur mit kannelierter Keramik. SlovArch 7 (1959) 260—283.

Neustupný 1973   *E. Neustupný:* Die Badener Kultur. Symposium...Baden. Bratislava 1973 317—352.

Nováki 1966   *Gy. Nováki:* Őskori települések Fertőrákos mellett (Prehistoric settlements near Fertőrákos). Arrabona 1966 53—66.

Pavúková 1964   *V. Nemejcová—Pavúková:* Sídlisko bolerázskeho typu v Nitrianskom Hrádku. SlovArch 12 (1964) 163—268.

Pavúková 1981   *V. Nemejcová—Pavúková:* Načrt periodizácie badenskej kultúry a jej chronologických vztahov k Juhovýchodnej Európe. SlovArch 29 (1981) 261—290.

Pavúková 1984   *V. Nemejcová-Pavúková:* K problematike trvania a konca bolerázskej skupiny na Slovensku. SlovArch 32 (1984) 75—146.

Petrasch 1984   *J. Petrasch:* Die Absolute Datierung der Badener Kultur aus der Sicht des süddeutschen Jungneolithikums. Germania 1984 269—287.

Sochacki 1982   *Z. Sochacki:* Z zagadnien wachodniej peryferii kultury ceramiki promienistej w kotline Karpackiej. Przegl. 30 (1982) 119—140.

Sochacki 1987   *Z. Sochacki:* Some questions concerning the appearance of rectangular vessels in the European Neolithic and Aeneolithic. JIES 15 (1987) 227—238.

Symposium...Baden   Symposium über die Entstehung und Chronologie der Badener Kultur. Bratislava 1973.

Szabó 1982—1983   *J. J. Szabó:* Késő rézkori temető és középkori falu leletmentése Gyöngyöshalász határában (Rescue excavation of a late Copper Age settlement and a medieval village in the neighbourhood of Gyöngyöshalász). Agria 19 (1982—1983) 5—34.

Tari 1986   *E. Tari:* Vecsés és környéke régészeti emlékei (Archaeological finds of Vecsés and its environs). in: Vecsés története (History of Vecsés). Vecsés 1986 25—45.

Tasič 1967   *N. Tasič:* Badenski i vucedolski kulturni kompleks u Jugoslaviji. Beograd—Novi Sad 1967.

Tasič 1982   *N. Tasič:* Jugoslovensko podunavlje od indoevropskoe seode do nrogoda skita. Novi Sad—Beograd 1983 15—37.

Tasič 1983   *N. Tasič:* Relativchronologische Verhältnisse äneolithischer Kulturen im jugoslawischen Donauraum. in: Atti del X Simposio Internazionale sulla fine del Neolitico e gli inizi dell' età Bronzo in Europa. Verona 1982 71—76.

Torma 1969   *I. Torma:* Adatok a bedeni (péceli) kultúra bolerázi csoportjának magyarországi elterjedéséhez (Contributions to the distribution of the Boleraz group of the Baden [Pécel] culture in Hungary). VeszprémiMK 8 (1969) 91—108.

Torma 1975—1976   *I. Torma:* Rézkori telep Páriban (Copper Age settlement at Pári). SzekszárdiMÉ 6—7 (1975—1976) 29—59.

NOTES

1 *Banner* 1956 243; *Kalicz* 1963 84; *Tasič* 1967 80; *Makkay* 1970 44; *Kemenczei* 1971 42; *Kutzián* 1972 9; *Neustupný* 1973 344; *Bruckner* 1974 P1. 1; *Korek* 1980 10, 27; *Ecsedy* 1982a 74; *Sochacki* 1982 137; *Tasič* 1982 74; *Tasič* 1983 19; *Korek* 1984a 12; *Pavúková* 1984 130; *Petrasch* 1984 285; *Sochacki* 1987 232.
2 *Neustupný* 1959 263; *Pavúková* 1964; *Torma* 1969; Symposium...Baden 1973.
3 *Banner—Kutzián* 1960; *Banner—Kutzián* 1961 31.
4 *Torma* 1975—1976 55.
5 *MRT 5* 348.
6 *Bondár* 1984.
7 *Bondár* 1982.
8 *Pavúková* 1981; *Pavúková* 1984.
9 *Neustupný* 1973 321—328.
10 *Pavúková* 1981 261; *Pavúková* 1984 129.
11 Ibid
12 *Baktalórántháza (Kalicz* 1959), Balatonboglár (*Honti* 1981), Boglárlelle (*Ecsedy* 1982b) Center (*Kalicz* 1963, *Kemenczei* 1966) Esztergom-Diósvölgy (*Bondár* 1987a), Gyömrő-Vízmű (*Tari* 1986), Fertőrákos (*Nováki* 1966), Gyöngyöshalász (*Szabó* 1982—1983), Lánycsók (*Ecsedy* 1977), Pári-Altacker (*Torma* 1975—1976), Pécs-Vasas (*Bondár* 1982), Salgótarján-Pécskő (*Korek* 1968), Székely-Zöldtelek (*Kalicz* 1958), Szigetcsép-Tangazdaság (*Korek* 1984b), Tahitótfalu (*Kővári* 1985).
13 *Pavúková* 1984.
14 *Pavúková* 1984 144.
15 *MNM* 84.1871 1—8.
16 *Hampel* 1895 43.
17 *Bondár* 1987b
18 *Banner—Kutzián* 1961 Abb. 2.
19 *Bondár* 1984 67.
20 *Bella* 1917 112.

K.T. BÍRÓ

THE PROBLEM OF CONTINUITY IN THE PREHISTORIC UTILIZATION OF RAW MATERIALS

1. Introduction

The problem of continuity-discontinuity usually emerges in cases when considerable changes are discovered in the assemblages coming from a specific areas ascribable to a specific period and type. The question can be approached from various sides: from the density or finds, the specific elementes of the material culture, the type of man associable with the given culture, and perhaps also the assumed knowledge of the contemporary people about the surrounding world. These all from part of the general human knowledge inherited through generations, similarly to the niceties of workmanship which furnish a basis for the chronological systems compiled on typological grounds. The knowledge of the sources of raw material (or the possibilities of supply) forms part of the treasured knowledge of a given community. And, conversely, the fact that a community made use of raw materials is a proof in itself for the knowledge about the sources and significance of those materials even if the immediate vicinity of the materials' place of occurence offers no detable proof for this. The researches on the source of the raw materials utilized by a community highlight an aspect different from that revealed by the typological anthropological examinations.

2. Raw material and the prehistoric man

The contact between the prehistoric man and the surrounding world was markedly different from our present-day practice. Prehistoric people collected and used quite a variety of materials which are of no practical use for us, or perhaps are already exploited. Also, there are lots of raw materials precious to us which the prehistoric peoples considered useless. In this sense, all the organic and inorganic matters which man has contacted have their own "cultural history", which forms part of universal human knowledge and development, and through this, of human history in general. It constitutes in itself a question to be settled what proportion of this accumulated knowledge has survived and to what extent it is analysable today.

The two main types of raw material that came to be used in the earliest times are stone and bone. These materials carry considerable amount of information which can be approached from several aspects (typology, chronology, ecological reconstruction, etc.). Among these, the analysis of the provenance of the raw material is of prime importance, as it sheds light on the prehistoric man's technical-technological, geographical and geological knowledge, scope of activity and system of relations. Consequently, these researches are also crucial in answering the questions of archaeological continuity.

The researches into the utilization of stone as a raw material from the point of view of the system of relations among the prehistoric people are practically contemporaneous with the first archaeological researches (see in *Renfrew et al.,* in *Brothwell and Higgs* 1970, *Rómer* 1866). However, the practical implementation of these researches took place only after modern methods of material research came into use worldwide. Although the degree of these researches' efficiency is not expected to reach 100% in the near future, the achievements of the past couple of years already enable us to accurately and reliably identify the raw material provenance of stone tols. An outstanding achievement in this field was the establishment of the comparative collections and data banks in recent years. In Hungary, we can find a comparative lithic raw material collection for building and decorative stones at the Budapest Technical University, Department of Mineralogy. This collection was founded, originally, by F. Schafarzik at the turn of the century, completed by the activity of experts working on recent petroarchaeological study of architectural monuments. The comparative collection and related data base at the Hungarian National Museum, Budapest is specialized on collecting raw material samples of the prehistoric stone tools (*Bíró — Dobosi* 1987). These efforts can by no means be considered isolated examples. We are witnessing today a renewal of the collectors' approach thanks to the influence of the similar or divergent collections both at home and abroad (e.g. *Demars* 1982). Experiments have also been conducted to computerize the identification and analysis of the raw materials (*Pawlowski* 1989). The datailed critical introduction of these efforts falls beyond the scope of the present paper, but I still wish to state that it appears possible to satisfactorily identify the raw materials uncovered at sites lying remote from the provenance of the material. However, open questions and differring interpretations are bound to remain.

The concrete physical contacts between the provenance of the material and the site of its discovery is another question. The collection, shaping and conveyance of the various materials, and also the changes in the related forms of ownership (barter, present, takings, etc.) are complex problems of prehistory, which cannot be tackled separately. The raw material spectrum of the individual archaeological sites is a self-contained fact the interpretation of which requires the complex analysis of the typology and technology of the stone tools, the structure of the settlement (inside both the given settlement and the cultural unit at issue) and the geographical conditions. Accordingly, the following categories can be set up:

1. Self-supporting community

The narrow or wide surroundings of the community offers a supply of all the raw materials used in the material culture of the given community. The members of the community do not use sources outside their immediate reach neither do they supply other communities.

2. Raw material exporting community

The area controlled by the community has an ample supply of high quality raw material, and the community is "specialized" in the collection, utilization (and perhaps also protection) of these places of occurrence.

3. Raw material importing community

The territory inhabited by the community is poor in raw materials, and therefore the people there have to obtain the necessary materials from "outside", through barter, trade ties or various "expeditions".

Of course, these categories only rarely occur in isolated form. In most cases they are subject of changes in history. Moreover, we do not know how "permeable" the one-time borders were and we are also in the dark about the level of organization in these communities. In the present paper, I adopt as a "unit" the concept of culture established in prehistory (*Székely ed.* 1984), and I conditionally identify the typological-cultural units with the economically related communities. The data at our disposal are irregular and incomplete both in time and in space, and therefore they cannot lead us to canonized, dogmatic statements. In fact, they reflect only the current (initial) stage of research.

3. The characteristics of the utilization of lithic raw materials in prehistoric times

As it was mentioned above, each kind of raw material has its own peculiar "history", which is closely related to the function and shaping of the tools made of them. In respect of lithic assemblages, different types of rocks used for the production of stone artefacts can be treated separately (*Bíró* 1987, 1988). For the investigation of the problem of continuity, however, a brief chronological survey appears to be necessary.

3.1 Palaeolithic

The earliest phase of the utilization of stone has been for long the best (or even exclusively) researched phase as well. Analyses aimed at establishing the provenance of the raw materials used by the local communities have been conducted at all the major Lower- and Middle Palaeolithic sites in Hungary (*Vértes* 1965 and Mrs Varga, K. Máthé, Vendl in *Kadič et al* 1938, Végh—Viczián in *Vértes* 1964, Dienes in *Gábori-Csánk* 1968). The basis and opportunity for these researches were furnished partly by the natural attention attracted by the older and relatively rare materials, and also by the fact that Hungarian students of the Palaeolithic period were basically involved in sciences — more specifically in geology and stratigraphy, and consequently, a thorough petrographic knowledge was inherently at hand. Another important fact that these ancient communities had all lived "above", or in the vicinity of, the provenance of the raw materials they had used (Fig. 1). Dominant among the earliest materials was the easily collectable pebble. Consequently, these communities i.e. can be considered basically self-supporting where the occupied territory included the place of the raw materials' occurrence.

The earliest examples for the trade of raw materials between distant areas in the Carpathian Basin are known from the Middle Palaeolithic period. These contacts were revealed by the stray occurrence of peculiar raw materials of outstanding quality (obsidian, Swieciechów flint, Szeletian felsitic porphyry: *Vértes* 1960, *Vértes—Tóth* 1963, *Kozłowski* 1972—73). In my opinion, it is highly improbable that these communities were engaged in any kind of "commercial activity", notwithstanding that there are signs indicative of a primitive form of raw material exlploitation (*Mészáros—Vértes* 1955, *Dobosi—Vörös* 1979, *Gábori-Csánk* 1985, 1989, *Wolf—Simán* 1985) whereby the people of the period could obtain better quality material for their technological advancement. A significant, and as yet unanswered. question is how the Middle Palaeolithic people could obtain obsidian: the communities that had demonstrable access to obsidian deposits are detable

to the Upper Palaeolithic (*Dobosi* 1975, *Bánesz* 1967) and Middle Neolithic only, whereas the presence of obsidian at the sites had been continuous since the Middle Palaeolithic (*Bíró* 1984). The presence of obsidian in the archaeological assemblages is proof for a direct contact with the obsidian quarries even if we cannot specify the nature of this contact yet.

During the Upper Palaeolithic, the settlements were often lying relatively far from the sources of raw materials. The Upper Palaeolithic settlements, and especially those unearthed in recent times, have yielded good quality raw materials that had reached these sites from faraway lands. J. K. Kozłowski in this period also saw the emergence of a more or less regular and conscious barter to be supported by the existence of specialized workshop-settlements around the sources (*Kozlowski,* 1972—73). During the Gravettian culture, which was characterized by the (pursuance of the) sturdy animals of the steppe, the territories and the settlements became completely detached from the sources of raw materials (Szeged-Öthalom, Madaras, Ságvár: *Gábori* 1964, *Dobosi* 1975). Parallel to this, the chipped flint implements became optimized, i.e. the germs of a network of regional raw material supply emerged and a differentiation began between the ''local'' and the ''imported'' raw materials.

We are still in the dark about the extent to which the Upper Palaeolithic huntsmen could supply themselves with raw materials from their own hunting grounds, but it has already been proved that their knowledge of the raw materials was neither incidental nor local. Indicative of this is the frequent occurrence of the various northern fire-stones and obsidian on Hungarian sites (Fig. 2).

3.2 Mesolithic

The Mesolithic, which is proverbial for the scantiness of finds thanks to the separation from it of the workshop objects, primarily of those dating from the Middle and later uppere Palaeolithic, and also to the elimination of the ''Eger culture'', brought with it considerable changes in the flora and fauna and dramatic drops in the resources necessary for preserving the traditional way of life. These in turn had resulted in a considerable reduction in the Upper Palaeolithic population of the Carpathian Basin. Supporting this assumption were the findings of the typological and raw material analyses conducted at the few known sites dating from the period (Barca, Sered, Smolin, Pribice: *Valoch* 1978, *Bárta—Bánesz* 1981). Mesolithic flint industries are often distinguished by an abundance of microliths, which indicates major changes in subsistence and also a scantiness of raw materials. As far as we can judge from the data at our disposal, the return to the intensive use of the locally found raw materials, and especially the wide use of pebble, are all indicative of these changes. The abundance of pebble can of course be accounted for by the proximity of rivers, which was characteristic of most of the Mesolithic settlements, and also by the changes in subsistence system (fishing, preference for small animals in hunting). The data on the spread of obsidian prove that the network for raw material supply that had emerged during the Upper Palaeolithic was not eliminated completely: this was the time when the use of obsidian became widespread, and not only in the obvious northern direction but also in the area of the Iron Gates (*Kostrzewski* 1930, *Paunescu* 1970).

The mesolithic and presumed mesolithic finds coming from Hungarian sites have not been investigated yet either typologically or from the point of view of their basic material. The presence of obsidian at some of the sites in the territory of Hungary which are still considered Epipalaeolithic or Mesolithic indicates that we

cannot presume an absolute vacuum in the period at issue, or at most we can re-ckon with a marked decrease in the frequency of settlements. The data at our dis-posal show that the population became restricted to those people who lived along the rivers, and who thus knew well and presumably also utilized the natural waterways.

3.3 Neolithic

The stone implements of the Körös culture, which was the earliest Neolithic culture in Hungary, are fairly unknown to us. The findings show that the people of southern origin who moved to the Great Plain region of Hungary used only a few stone implements (*Bácskay* 1976, *Kozłowski et al.* 1981, Bácskay—Bíró in *Raczky* 1983, *Bácskay—Simán* 1987), which were made primarily of obsidian and flint brought there from the Bánát region in the southeast (Fig. 3). In the early phase of the Körös culture efforts are believed to have been made to facilitate the access to obsidian (Méhtelek: *Kalicz—Makkay* 1976, *Chapman* 1987). Indicative of this were the finds at the early-period site of the classical AVK period "Barna-III" (*Siska* 1966). Besides obsidian, these sites have also yielded a great number of ob-jects made of limno- and hydroguardsites of the Tokaj Mountains.

The analysis of lithic finds dating from the period of the linear pattern pottery is of prime significance from the point of view of "continuity". As it has been poin-ted out already, the earliest appearance of this culture is demonstrable in the Car-pathian Basin, presumably due to the extremely successful adaptation of the fairly thin Mesolithic basic population, and also to the independent and peculiar in-heritance of the producing economic model transmitted by the Körös culture. However, the analyses conducted so far on the LBC stone objects have produced only scarce evidence of Mesolithic contacts (*Bácskay* 1976, *Bíró* 1987). On the other hand, the findings from the Earliest LBC horizon, which was separated only recently (*Kalicz* 1980), show a few peculiarities which can in no way be passed unnoticed.

Among the small number of Earliest LBC stone objects published recently (*Bíró* 1987, Szentlőrinc-Téglagyár) the presence of a variety of a good quality raw materials that originate from faraway lands is remarkable (Bakony radiolarit and Tokaj obsidian). At the recently unearthed Budapest-Aranyhegy út site, which was fairly rich in stone objects (*Schreiber* 1988), the excavators found proof not only for a developed raw material structure but also for the presence of forms generally related to the Mesolithic or the Epipalaeolithic. These forms include tiny D-shaped scrapers, cutting chisels and blunt-edged forms that resemble microgravettes (Fig. 4). Remarkably, the local poor quality Triassic "homstone" was apparently not used at all, whereas the raw materials typical of the mountainous regions are represented without exception. The presence of polished flint amphibolite tools and the so-called Cracovian Jurrassic are proofs for the region's contacts with the north. This assemblage is more variegated and complex in LBC terms of both its material and its types than the classical horizon, which was characterized by a simple, rational raw material structure and plain, poorly retouched blade-based blank forms.

The use of stone implements was at its height during the Late Neolithic. In-dicative of this was not only the large number and high technical quality of the chipped flint implements but also the mass occurrence of the stone-tools, polished artefacts and tool-making tools. Compared to the LBC objects, the de-velopment of these tools was gradual and unbroken. The mass-produced micro-

blades and geometric sickles are proofs for the high level of specialization. A clear-cut regional division of labour emerged between the "highlander craftsmen" and the ploughmen of the plains: this is manifested especially in the case of the Bükk culture and the Late Neolithic population of the Great Plain. The contacts with the North became increasingly intense after by the Zseliz culture, and culminated during the Lengyel culture (Cracovian Jurrassic flint, Carpatian radiolarite Moravian cherts, as well as amphibolite and green schist within the polished stone tools). The occurrence in large quantities of the northeastern ("Chocolate" and Volhynian) flint can be ascribed to the period of the Late Lengyel (Csesztve) and the Csőszhalom—Herpály—Oborin groups. These flint varieties became the prevalent raw material in the eastern half of the country during the Early and Middle Copper Age.

The scarce data at our disposal indicate that by the Baden (Pécel) culture the use of stone tools had become reduced in quantity, form and also in material structure. The assemblages coming from the region of Budapest and from southern Transdanubia which I have studied show that the raw materials brought there from faraway lands had gradually disappeared and the poor quality local materials became widely used. The principal reason for this must have been the gradual spread of the metal tools and the parallel "devaluation" of the stone implements. However, the stone tools had definitely remained in use until the end of the Bronze Age (*Mozsolics* 1967). The analysis and evaluation of the Bronze Age stone tools is yet to be started. Besides a few outstanding objects — like e.g. the Krummessers (presumably northern imports, *Kalicz* 1968, *Bóna* 1975) — the Middle Bronze Age graves often yield finely wrought arrow-heads and other stone objects. When discussing the problem of continuity, mention must be made here of the assemblage of the Csepel-Hollandi út site, which is one of the few Hungarian sites that have offered Bronze Age stone tools in large numbers (*Schreiber* 1974). Contrary to the earlier reports that originated the material of these finds from the Tokaj hills, we can state that the objects were almost exclusively made of the Triassic "homstone" of the Buda hills as well as of pebble coming from the Danube. It is commonly known that the small Bellbeaker groups lived as "foreigns bodies" among the more or less established Early Bronze Age people. The use (by them) of the locally found materials is a further proof for the "alien" or "discontinuous" nature of their culture.

4. Raw material structure and continuity

Here we get back to our starting question, i.e. to what extent can the results of the raw material analyses be used for shedding light on the problem of continuity/discontinuity.

Obviously, the structure of lithic supply of different communities differs according to their subsistence system and stage of development. In those places where the raw material structure indicates the exclusive reliance on local materials we have reasons to presume that the choice of the location for the settlement was determined primarily by the access to the material (let us remark that this holds true not only of the earliest prehistoric settlements but also of the mines, workshops and workshop settlements that were established following the emergence of a differentiated raw material network).

The situation is completely different in those cases where the settlements were located at a longer distance from the sources of the raw material (steppe hunters on strudy animals, ploughmen). Here the knowledge of the quarries had been passed on from generation to generation, and we can also presume more or less regular expeditions of groups and/or individuals specialized in exploiting raw materials and forwarding the semi-finished tools. Of course, the access to the raw material was ultimately determined by the density of the population, the relative supporting capacity of the area, the regional distribution of the population, and last but not least by the economic method practiced there.

It is impossible to reckon with a "freshly arriving" group that could have sized up the optimal raw material resources in its few thousand square kilometre territory right upon its isolated arrival. As far as we can judge it today, the knowledge of the individual raw material resources could be either continuous (e.g. obsidian after the Middle Palaeolithic) or non-recurrent (discontinuous). In our case, the latter alternative means that the source was known only for a limited period, or was buried in oblivion and was rediscovered only by later generations. At present we can determine the "continuity" of those raw material resources only which existed in "isolated spots", and even in these cases the clue is not the actual findspot but instead the data on the archaeological prevalence (e.g. Tevel flint,
Fig. 5.).

Meanwhile, we should not forget that the raw material cannot "fly" between the place of its occurence, which can be determined, in the optimal case, as a geographically more or less limited area, and the actual archaeological findspot. In fact these materials have always been transported from one place to another through hard and often dangerous human work. We are still in the dark about some of the concrete questions of the regional distribution of labour, the access to the materials and the specialization in later phases of production, although research has managed to point out a few important points (*Renfrew* 1970, *Earle—Ericson* 1977, *Torrance* 1986). Besides the sheer "quantitative" accumulation of the data, further research is expected to shed light on these questions.

Summary

The knowledge of raw materials formed an important part of the prehistoric man's stock of learning. As a collective knowledge, it postulates the passing down of the information from generation to generation and/or an advanced supplying network. Accordingly, the researches into the spread of these materials can demonstrate concrete ties in the range of a couple of years, or the knowledge of an outstandingly important resource over a longer period. Meanwhile, they also reflect on the collective knowledge of a community over several generations.

LITERATURE

Bácskay 1976 — E. Bácskay: Early neolithic chipped stone implements in Hungary. DissArch Ser. II:4. Budapest 1976.

Bácskay — Bíró 1983 — E. Bácskay — K. Bíró: Függelék. Kötelek Huszársarok 8. gödör kőeszközanyaga (Appendix. Stone implements of pit 8 Huszársarok). in: Racky 1983 192, Fig. 25.

Bácskay — Simán 1987 — E. Bácskay — K. Simán: Some remarks on chipped stone industries of the earliest Neolithic populations in present Hungary. Archaeologia Interregionalis 240 (1987) 107—130.

Bánesz 1967 — L. Bánesz: Die altsteinzeitlichen Funde der Ostslovakei. Quarter 18 (1967) 81—98.

Bárta — Bánesz 1981 — J. Bárta — L. Bánesz: The Palaeolithic and the Mesolithic. Papers for the Xth Int. Congr. of Prehist. and Protohist. Sci 5 (1981) 11—29.

Bíró 1984 — K. Bíró: Distribution of obsidian from the Carpathian sources on Central European palaeolithic and mesolithic sites. ActaArchCarp 23 (1984) 5—42.

Bíró 1987 — K. Bíró: Chipped stone industry of the Linearband pottery culture in Hungary. Archaeologia Interregionalis 240 (1987) 131—167.

Bíró 1987 — K. Takács-Bíró: Fluctuation of the lithic raw material access and utilization from the Palaeolithic till historical times. Contribution of the INQUA HNC to the XIIth INQUA Congress 1987 143—162.

Bíró 1988 — K.T. Bíró: Distribution of lithic raw materials on prehistoric sites. ActaArchHung 40 (1988) 251—274.

Bíró — Dobosi 1987 — K. Bíró — V. Dobosi: The Lithotheca of the Hungarian National Museum. Vth International Symposium on Flint, Bordeaux (lecture, in print).

Bóna 1975 — I. Bóna: Mittlere Bronzezeit im Karpatenbeckens. ArchHung 49. Budapest 1975 1—317.

Cann — Renfrew — Dixon — J. R. Cann — C. Renfrew — J. E. Dixon: Obsidian analysis and the obsidian trade. in: Higgs — Brothwell, Science in archaeology. London 1969 578—591.

Chapman 1987 — J. Chapman: Technological and stylistic analysis of the early Neolithic chipped stsone assemblage from Méhtelek, Hungary. Sümeg Proceedings 31—52.

Demars 1982 — P. Demars: L'utilisation du silex au paléolithique supérieur: choix, approvisionnement, circulation. Cahiers du Quaternaire 5 (1982) 1—253.

Dienes 1968 — I. Dienes: Examen petrographique de l'industrie. in: Gábori-Csánk 1968.

Dobosi 1975 — V. Dobosi — D. Jánossy — E. Kropp — J. Stieber: Adatok a Bodrog-völgy őskőkorához (Contributions to the palaeolithic of the Bodrog Valley) FolArch 25 (1975) 9—32.

Dobosi 1975 — V.T. Dobosi: Magyarország ős- és középsőkőkori lelőhely katasztere (Palaeolithic and Middle Stone Age site-register of Hungary). ArchÉrt 102 (1975) 64—76.

Dobosi 1978 — V.T. Dobosi: A pattintott kőeszközök nyersanyagáról (About the raw material of chipped stone implements). FolArch 29 (1978) 7—19.

Dobosi — Vörös 1979 — V.T. Dobosi — I. Vörös: Data to an evaluation of the finds assemblage of the palaeolithic paint mine at Lovas. FolArch 30 (1979) 8—25.

Earle — Ericson 1977 — T. K. Earle — J. E. Ericson: Exchange Systems in Prehistory. Studies in Archaeology 1977.

Gábori-Csánk 1968 — V. Gábori-Csánk: La station du Paléolithique moyen d'Érd, Hongrie. Budapest 1968.

Gábori-Csánk 1985 — Gáboriné Csánk V.: Budapest, XII (Farkasrét) Denevér út 8657/3 hrsz. in: RégFüz 38 (1985) 7.

Gábori-Csánk 1989   V. *Gábori-Csánk:* Európa legrégibb bányászati emléke Farkasréten (The oldest mining remain of Europe at Farkasrét). Magyar Tudomány 1989/1 13—21.

Higgs-Brothwell   *Higgs-Brothwell:* Science in archaeology. London 1969.

Kaczanowska et al. 1981 M. *Kaczanowska — J.K. Kozlowski — J. Makkay:* Flint hoard from Endrőd, site 39, Hungary (Körös culture). ActaArchCarp 21 (1981) 105—117.

Kaczanowska 1985   M. *Kaczanowska:* Rohstoffe, Technik und Typologie der neolitischen Feuersteinindustrien im Nordteil des Flussgebietes der Mitteldonau. Warszawa 1985.

Kadić et al. 1939   O. *Kadić:* A cserépfalui Mussolini barlang (Subalyuk) (The Mussolini (Subalyuk) cave at Cserépfalu). GeolHung Ser. Paleont. 14 (1939).

Kalicz 1968   N. *Kalicz:* Die Frühbronzezeit in Nordost-Ungarn ArchHung 45. Budapest 1968.

Kalicz 1980   N. *Kalicz:* Funde der ältesten Phase der Linienbandkeramik in Südtransdanubien. MittArchInst 8—9 (1978—79) 9 13—46.

Kalicz — Makkay 1976 N. *Kalicz — J. Makkay:* Frühneolithische Siedlung in Méhtelek-Nádas. MittArchInst 6 (1976) 13—24.

Konstrzewski 1930   J. *Kostrzewski:* Obsidian implements found in Poland. Man 30 (1930) 95—98.

Kozłowski 1972—73   J. *Kozłowski:* The Origin of lithic raw materials used in the Palaeolithic of the Carpathian Countries. ActaArchCarp 13 (1972—73) 5—20.

Kutzián 1972   I. *Bognár-Kutzián:* The Early Copper Age Tiszapolgár Culture in the Carpathian Basin. ArchHung 48. Budapest 1972.

Mészáros — Vértes 1955 Gy. *Mészáros — L. Vértes:* A paint mine from the early Upper Palaeolothic Age near Lovas (Hungary, county Veszprém). ActaArchHung 5 (1955) 1—31.

Mozsolics 1967   A. *Mozsolics:* Bronzefunde des Karpatenbeckens. Depotfundhorizonte von Hajdusámson und Kosziderpadlás. Budapest 1967.

Patay 1976   P. *Patay:* Les matières premières lithiques de l'âge du cuivre en Hongrie. ActaArchCarp 16 (1976) 229—238.

Paunescu 1970   A. *Paunescu:* Evolutia uneltelor şi armelor de piatra cioplita descoperite pe teritoriul Romanei. Bucureşti 1970.

Pawlikowsky 1988   *Pawlikowsky:* Lecture held at the Kraków-Mogilany Round Table Meeting on Erratic (Baltic) Flint, in 1988.

Raczky 1983   P. *Raczky:* A korai neolitikumból a középső neolitikumba való átmenet kérdései a Közép- és Felső Tiszavidéken (Questions of the transition from the Early Neolithic to the Middle Neolithic on the Middle and Upper Tisza region). ArchÉrt 110 (1983) 161—194.

Renfrew 1970   C. *Renfrew:* Trade and cultural process in European prehistory. Current Anthropology 10 (1970) 151—170.

Romner 1866   F. *Rómer:* Műrégészeti kalauz. Ősrégészet (Archaeological manual. Prehistory). Pest 1866.

Schreiber 1974   R. *Schreiber* in: Glockenbecher Symp.
Schreiber 1988   R. *Schreiber:* Budapest, III Aranyhegyi út 22590 hrsz. RégFüz 41 (1988) 7.

Siska et al. 1966   S. *Siska, et al.:* Právek vychodného Slovenska. Kosice 1966.
Székely (ed.) 1984   Gy. *Székely (ed.):* Magyarország Története (History of Hungary) I. Budapest 1984.

Torrance 1986   R. *Torrance:* Production and exchange of stone tools: prehistoric obsidian in the Aegean. New Studies in Archaeology 13 (1986) 1—256.

Valoch 1978   K. *Valoch:* Die endpaläolitische Siedlung in Smolin. Stud. AU CSAV 1978 1—116.

Varga-Máthé n. d.   K. *Varga-Máthé:* A vértesszöllősi kőeszközök petrográfiai vizsgálata (Petrographic examination of the stone implements of Vértesszöllős) (in print).

50

Végh — Viczián 1964   A. Végh — I. Viczián: Petrographische Untersuchungen an den Silexwerkzeugen. ArchHung 43. Budapest 1964 129—131.

Vendl 1939   A. Vendl in: Geol Hung. Ser. Paleont. 1939.

Vértes 1960   L. Vértes: Aus Polen stammendes Silexmaterial im ungarischen Paläolithikum und Mesolithikum. ActaArchCarp 1 (1960) 167—172.

Vértes — Tóth 1963   L. Vértes — L. Tóth: Aus Polen stammendes Silexmaterial im ungarischen Paläolithikum des Bükk-Gebirges. ActaArchHung 15 (1963) 3—10.

Vértes 1965   L. Vértes: Az őskőkor és az átmeneti kőkor emlékei Magyarországon (Remains of the palaeolithic and the transitional stone age in Hungary). A magyar régészet kézikönyve (Handbook of Hungarian Archaeology) I. Budapest 1965.

Vértes et al. 1964   L. Vértes et al.: Tata, eine mittelpalaeolithische Travertin-Siedlung in Ungarn. ArchHung 43. Budapest 1964.

Wolf — Simán 1985   M. Wolf — K. Simán: A Herman Ottó Múzeum ásatásai és leletmentései 1983-ban (The 1983 excavations and rescue excavations of the Herman Otto Museum). MiskolciMÉ 1985.

CAPTIONS

Fig. 1. The location of raw material resources in Hungary (striped) and the major Lower and Middle Palaeolithic sites

Fig. 2. "Imported raw materials" at the Upper Palaeolithic sites in Hungary:
1. "Northern flint" from beyond the Carpathians
2. Obsidian

Fig. 3. Stone implements from the Earliest LBC assemblage of the Budapest-Aranyhegyi út site

Fig. 4. The raw material spectrum of the Earliest LBC stone implements discovered at the Budapest-Aranyhegyi út site:
1: Obsidian of Carpathian 1 type (Slovakian); 2: Obsidian of Carpathian 2 type (Hungarian); 3: radiolarites from the Transdanubian Central Range; 4: Northern (Cracovian Jurrassic) flint; 5: limnitquartzite (Mátra Mts); 6: Amphibolite-green schist; 7: Quartzite; 8: Other

Fig. 5. The occurrence of the Tevel flint
1. according to geological location
2. at LBC (Transdanubian LBC, Zseliz) sites
3. at Lengyel sites
4. at archaeological sites of uncertain or mixed date

D. Gabler:

THE SHAPING OF THE LIFE OF THE LATE LA TÈNE SETTLEMENTS IN THE ROMAN PERIOD

It is rather unusual for researchers of bygone ages to be able to trace the history, the linguistic, ethnic, material and even intellectual culture of a population that had lived in a period immediately preceding the beginning of a new era in history. This exactly is the case with the original inhabitants of Pannonia during the 1st and 2nd centuries, whose presence in the new historical situtation is demonstrable at almost all times and all places, notwithstanding the changes that had taken place in the political, economic and cultural life. The historical and epigraphic sources, and also the onomastic researches based on them, provide ample evidence for the survival of the native — mainly Celtic — population,[1] and the same sources also prove the continuity of their cults.[2] The tomb-stones as well as the data on the cemeteries and settlements demonstrate the persistence of the traditional costumes,[3] and the uncovered graves prove that the burial customs also lived on. Meanwhile, the researches conducted in the Roman settlements prove the preservation, or occasionally the renaissance, of the Late La Tène industry and craftsmanship. This holds true especially of the potters traditions: the forms, the ornaments and the technical execution. Consequently, we have every reason to consider the statement undeniable that the Romanization of Pannonia was characterized first and foremost by the decisive participation in it of the native population[4] or at least of its leading strata. Accounting for this presence was the ability of the natives to identify the interests of the local aristocracy with those of the Romans (this is what the natives in e.g. Dacia or Raetia could not achieve).[5] From the quarry of the symptoms of continuity I would like to concentrate here on one major subject only, namely on the way the Late La Tène settlements developed in the Roman Period. I would like to find out whether there is evidence for the survival of these settlements, and I would also like to sum up the structural changes these settlements had undergone in different parts of Pannonia, in the heart of the province and alongside the limes. Finally, I shall discuss the changes in these settlements that had taken place in the wake of their occupation. These questions have been dealt with at lenght by É. Bónis[6] — she concentrated on the whole of the province —, and by É. Petres[7], who focussed on the fortified settlements. However, the excavations and field surveys conducted during the past decade have produced a number of new data which justify the rewording of these questions and promise new, more detailed answers.

The researchers of the settlements have always treated the fortified settlements and the oppida separately from the settlements situated in open, plain regions. In the following I also adopt this practice. Some of the fortified settlements (Budapest-Gellérthegy, Velemszentvid, Nagyberki-Szalacska, Regöly, Braunsberg near Hainburg, Dévény or Bratislava—Pozsony) meet the criteria which B. Cunliffe used to describe the territorial oppida.[8] Accordingly, these sett-

lements were centres of power and organization with urban perspectives, market-places on major commercial routes, leading centres of craftsmanship with mints, and occasionally tribal cultic centres with sanctuaries. There were other fortified settlements (e.g. Szabadhídvég, Balatonföldvár) which were refugium-like fortifications rather than oppida.[9] However, the existence next to these of a series of smaller agricultural communities or villages can also be presumed.[10] These surrounding settlements are belived to have served as the economic bases of the fortifications. According to a study by M. Pető and Gy. Nováki, the refugium-like high-altitude fortifications included Nagycsikóvár near Pomáz, where Late La Tène vessel fragments were found.[11]

In some of the western provinces the territorial oppida had not only survived into the Roman Period, but they demonstrably lived on, although in considerably different forms. Accounting for this is the fact that the Roman authorities relied on the existing organizational frames, and thus they retained these well-organized protourban centres.[12] This did not apply to the Danube region and to several other provinces, where the Romans chose to eliminate the high-altitude settlements (both the oppida and the refugium-like ones). The population they resettled in the plains where they were much easier to control by the military. Moreover, the Roman-type settlements there also facilitated the romanization of these people: the usual examples cited here are Bibracte (Mt. Beuvray), Augustodunum, Magdalensberg and Virunum.[13] So far researchers have linked the termination of the fortified settlements with the Roman Conquest — which they tacitly narrowed down to the occupation by the military. Until quite recently the date of this occupation had been a hotly debated question.[14] The completion of several key forts and military posts could only be dated in the recent past. In the following we'll make an attempt to suggest a date for the abandonment of the Late La Tène fortified settlements, and we'll also try to describe the way this was executed. We base our approach on the comparative analysis, or synchronization, of the finds coming from the oppida and the nearby Roman forts.

In our opinion it is especially important to fix the date of the abandonment, or eventual destruction, of the key forts which defended the "gate" of the Carpathian Basin. The dating of the doom of the Celtic high-altitude settlements at Dévény, Bratislava—Pozsony and Braunsberg near Hainburg is facilitated by the finds of the excavations conducted recently at Dévény (1966—1986) and Braunsberg (1978—1988). The termination of the settlement at Dévény was earlier connected by Dekan with the construction of the legionary fortress at Carnuntum.[15] However, since earlier researches dated the completion of the Carnuntum fort to 15 AD, the abandonment of Dévény they "adjusted" to this presumption. The latter date can now be made accurate on the strength of the numerous Roman finds at our disposal: significant among these are the 14 late Augustan Samians (four of which came to light earlier), the 13 Augustus coins which were identified by Fiala, the Rödgen 65 B-type amphorae, the Haltern 51-type two-handled jug and the Roman pots.[16] Although Roman imported wares occasionally crop up in the Celtic oppida (e.g. amphorae and Millefiori glass at Stare Hradisko,[17] Aucissa fibula and Italian bronze vessel at Stradonice[18] and Bratislava-Pozsony,[19] at Nitriansky Hrádok[20]) such a marked concentration of late Augustan Roman coins and vessel types can still be considered exceptional at a Late La Tène fortified settlement. This is especially true if we compare the number of Roman wares coming from

the Celtic objects at Dévény with that of the respective finds recovered in Trans-
danubian forts. Moreover, it is also remarkable that the types discovered at
Dévény[21] (e.g. the decorated Arretine bowl) have only scant parallels on Mag-
dalensberg,[22] which is a throughly excavated site extremely rich in Italian impor-
ted wares. These facts indicate that the chronologically well-defined late Au-
gustan assemblage should not be ascribed to the intensive trade relations
between the Romans and the Dévény settlement, but instead it most probably
was part of the shipment which was destined for *"hiberna ad Danuvium"*, the
Carnuntum base of Tiberius, in 6 AD.[23] Tiberius was then preparing for a military
campaign against Maroboduus, and the shipment presumably reached the forti-
fied settlement at Dévény upon the abandonment of the military base (Carnuntum
I) at the news of the Pannon-Dalmatian revolt. The circumstances of the discovery
of the Late Augustan Samians and amphorae unambiguously indicate that the Italian
bowls, containers and jugs had remained in use for a longer period following the Late
Augustan period (i.e. around 6 AD). Finally these wares got into the plaster of ovens
or were discarded in refuse pits.[24] Consequently, life at the late Celtic settlement
could well have continued for decades. The researchers who excavated the Car-
nuntum legionary fortress between 1968 and 1977 dated the completion of the
permanent legionary fort (Carnuntum II) to the late 30s, or perhaps the early years
of the reign of Claudius.[25] This dating corresponds to the above-named observa-
tions on the Dévény fort and to the data which provide a *terminus-post-quem*.
Thus we have every ground to presume that the abandonment or elimination of
the settlement took place during the completion of the permanent legionary fort-
ress at Carnuntum. Supporting this assumption is the fact that the Celtic fort some
10 air kilometres from Carnuntum could have posed a constant threat to the
legion which was stationed on the Danube, relatively far from its base. Conse-
quently, life at the Dévény fortified settlement had been undisturbed right until the
completion of the legionary fortress sometime at the end of the reign of Tiberius
or during the early years of Claudius. My earlier hypothesis to this effect was ac-
cepted and confirmed by Slovak colleagues. On the ground of recent observations
they also reckon with the possibility that the Celtic settlement "durch einen
gewaltsamen Eingriff gestört wurde."[26] However, here the conquest of German
groups can also be presumed alongside the effects of the Roman military measures.

The fate of the oppidum at Bratislava-Pozsony was presumably similar to that
of the Dévény settlement;[27] the finds recovered at Pozsony were dated by J. Collis
to the age of Augustus, and he considered them contemporary with the Dévény
assemblage. The Early Roman finds (Republican coins,[28] bronze vessels) indicate
that the settlers of Pozsony maintained close contacts with the Romans. Relying
on stratigraphic observations, the topographic and chronological questions of the
Bratislava-Pozsony oppidum were last tackled by L. Zachar.[29] According to his
reading of the finds, a destruction caused by a war (?) should be presumed in Po-
zsony sometime during the La Tène D 2 period. Zachar was positive that this
devastation was also manifest in the wider surroundings of the oppidum. He was
cautious enough not to refer directly to the German conquest or to the Roman
military measures, although these are the most obvious presumptions in the light
of the parallels (from the cemeteries at Persona and San Bernardo) he himself
quoted for the finds dating from the great age of the oppidum, and also on the
ground of the Roman (*militaria*) finds recovered from the burnt destruction layer
with charcoal of the fort.[30]

The latest phase of the excavations at Braunsberg near Hainburg was started in 1986 by O. Urban.[31] There the excavators also recovered a few Roman sherds. Similarly to Dévény, these finds may also be related to the stationing at Carnuntum, and the preparations against Maroboduus, of Tiberius in the year 6 AD. However, the excavator still keeps away from stating his views on the role the fort had played in the history of the Bois and on the presumed connections between the occupation of Braunsberg and Carnuntum under Tiberius and Claudius.[32] Accounting for this deliberation are the potential surprises of the ongoing excavations and also the fact that the Roman pottery finds recovered to date are far less characteristic as those coming from e.g. Dévény. Nevertheless, he also ventured to establish connection between the abandonment of the fort and the completion of Carnuntum II.

A publication by M. Károlyi and preliminary reports give account of the excavations conducted at Velemszentvid.[33] These reveal that the earlier excavations have recovered coins from the age of Augustus and a few Roman pottery sherds, and recently an early Roman (mid-1st century) brooch was found on the road adjoining the inner side of the wall of the late Celtic oppidum.[34] In addition, I also know of a Goudineau 39 c-type North Italian sigillata fragment from Velem by courtesy of M. Fekete.[35] This fragment cannot be dated to the period preceding the reign of Claudius[36] (it came to light in the hollow of the road outside the western rampart of the hill-fort). The Roman finds indicate that the oppidum was abandoned not in the early 1st century or in the 10s, as was suggested by M. Károlyi,[37] but instead in a later period, more precisely under Claudius at the earliest. Not improbably the evacuation of Velem took place simultaneously with the abandonment of Magdalensberg (in 45 AD) or a few years prior to the foundation of Savaria.[38] This dating is supported by the assumption that the Celtic fort could pose a potential threat to the new colony and the Amber Road, which was a main supply route. (On the strength of late Roman finds recovered at Velemszentvid it may well be presumed that the Romans established a kind of out-post there in later times).[39]

M. Károlyi brought the publication of her observations made at Velem in logical sequence with her report on the excavation of the Ostffyasszonyfa hill-fort.[40] Although the Ostffyasszonyfa site has yielded no Roman pottery — perhaps because the excavations were confined to a relatively small area — she still considered it probable that the elimination of the hill-fort at Földvár-major took place simultaneously with that of the defended site of Velem. In her opinion these events coincided with the translocation of the legio XV Apollinaris from Emona to Carnuntum.[41] But since we already know that this translocation took place not in the year 15 but later, presumably in the late 30s or early 40s,[42] we have to modify the date of the fort's abandonment accordingly. The Roman high command eliminated the Ostffyasszonyfa hill-fort out of necessity, as it made unsafe the route linking Savaria with Arrabona and the ford on the river Rába, and thus could have severed the supply route of the fort Arrabona, which was occupied fairly early.[43]

The hill-fort on Esztergom's Várhegy, upon which the Roman fort of Solva was erected in later times, was excavated in 1964—1968.[44] S. Soproni dated the structures of the first fort there to the Trajanic period.[45] However, a much earlier date is indicated by the remarkably high number of North Italian sigillata and Drag. 29-bowls imported from La Graufesenque[46] (courtesy of M. Kelemen) and the Pompeian red plates imported from Italy. It may well be presumed that this strate-

gic point, which could keep the Barbaricum road in the Garam valley, the Danube limes and the diagonal route leading to Aquincum under simultaneous control, was occupied by the Romans under Vespesian at the latest, and Solva was thus turned into a permanent garrison. Consequently, the abandonment of the Celtic fortified settlement could also have taken place there not later than under Claudius.

The series of excavations conducted at the defended site of the Eravisci on Budapest, Gellért hill are described in detail in the recently published paper of Gy. Nováki and M. Pető.[47] The few Roman pottery sherds found in the areas adjoining the rampart prove that the oppidum was abandoned only following the permanent stationing of an ala troop in the first fort Aquincum somewhere in the region of today's Bem square.[48] This event took place in the late Tiberian or in the early Claudian period.[49] The fate, settlements and pottery workshops (Kende street, Gellért bath) of the Celts relocated from the oppidum are discussed in detail in M. Pető's earlier papers.[50]

According to the excavators, the defences of both the Gellért hill, Ostffyasz-szonyfa, Pozsony and Velem settlements were destroyed by fire.[51] Indicative of this was the burnt layer which covered the layers of the defended sites there. And still it is probable that the Romans did not have to take the oppida by storm. We thus have every ground to uphold our opinion that the hill-forts were evacuated, notwithstanding that it was undeniably the easiest for the settlers to prevent the elimination and re-occupation of the forts, the defences and even the dwelling houses by setting them on fire.

From the point of view of the Roman high command, the elimination of the above-named hill-forts might appear a logical move, since they were all situated at major strategic points, fords or road junctions, and thus they posed a potential danger to the supply routes of the advanced troops. Most of the defended sites became deserted (Braunsberg, Ostffyasszonyfa, Gellért hill), and the rest were occupied by the Romans themselves following the resettlement of the locals. Later — presumably under Claudius but not later than under Vespasian — the Romans erected forts over the hill-forts (Solva, Lugio-Dunaszekcső,[52] Acumincum-Stari Slankamen,[53] most of the forts of the Scordisci and, on the evidence of the tile-stamps and other *militaria*, Roman posts can be presumed at Dévény,[54] Bratislava-Pozsony and Velem from the 2nd century). The abandonment of the defended sites at e.g. Regöly or Szabadhídvég is far less comprehensible. These forts were situated far from the early Roman military routes, but their elimination is still demonstrated by the findings of the excavations at Regöly.[55] This assemblage includes early Roman finds datable to the 1st century, but there was no evidence for a later occupation.

We have no knowledge on the abandonment of the oppidum at Szalacska. Recently É. Petres raised the possibility, on the authority of I. Paulovics,[56] that the Roman rural settlement at Szalacska developed directly from its Late Iron Age predecessor, and thus its development differed from that of the other oppida.[57] The excavations conducted at the site recently by Sz. Honti have brought to light Roman objecrts from the upper layers, but no feature indicative of a Roman occupation were found.[58] A Celtic pit has yielded two Roman bronze vessels. Whether this pit antedated the conquest (i.e. the imported wares reached the site by trade as was the case at Bratislava-Pozsony) or it was a feature dating from the period after the Roman Conquest is impossible to tell before a detailed analysis and dating of the bronze vessels.[59] A Roman female grave found cut in a Celtic

layer might perhaps be taken to indicate that the earlier Celtic fort was definitely abandoned during a later phase of the Roman Age (unfortunately, the age of the burial is not known).[60] According to Paulovics, no further occupation of the oppidum should be presumed after the second half of the 3rd century.[61]

The findings of the latest excavations leave us in doubt on whether the late Celtic hill-fort did survive undisturbed the middle of the 1st century or it was resettled sometime during the 2nd century.

Summing up what has been said so far we can state that parallel with the extension of the Roman Conquest and the development of its organization the hill-forts were eliminated through military measures. Although the abandonment of certain hill-forts (Szalacska), which was established by earlier researches, has again become questionable, our knowledge on the date and ways the oppida and the refugium-like settlements were abandoned is more well-founded thanks to the latest archaeological observations.[62]

Most of the late Celtic flatland settlements could also have survived into the period of Roman occupation; indicative of this is the occurrence of Roman finds there (e.g. Lébény-Magasmart).[63] However, researchers earlier lacked proof for their survival into the Roman Period. The occupation of the La Tène D settlements was wound up with the Roman Conquest ("Das Bestehen der LTD Siedlungen hörte im allgemeinen mit der römischen Eroberung auf").[64] Similarly, there was no sign of continuity in the Late La Tène D cemeteries. The observations to this effect were only supported by the historical sources. These reveal that Rome deliberately dispersed and neutralized by means of resettlement first and foremost those tribes which put up resistance or participated in the Pannon-Dalmatian revolt. Although the existence of these Roman-organized groups is demonstrable primarily in the valley of the river Sava, the forceful intervention of the Romans was also manifest in the Roman villages excavated to date.[65] Notwithstanding that in many of these villages the original settlers demonstrably belonged to one or the other group of the Celtic natives (like e.g. in most of the settlements of the Eravisci), but these *vici* had no Late Iron Age antecedents and no topographical juncture could be established between them and the Pre-Roman Iron Age settlements.[66] In other words, researchers have not been able so far to provide evidence for continuity between the earlier settlements of the Celts and the *vici* of natives of the Roman Age, and thus the historical data and the settlement-historical observations led them to presume some kind of a *caesura* here.

But let me note here that the research of the settlements, which could provide an important link in the chain of reasoning, has been neglected so far. Our present knowledge of the Late Iron Age flatland settlements is based on the findings of the field surveys, on some stray finds and on the one or two houses analysed at each of the 10 Transdanubian settlements.[67] Similarly, we have but scarce information on the imperial rural settlements whose original settlers were Celts.

A new type of the Late Iron Age flatland settlements, which was not yet reconded earlier in Transdanubia, was hit upon during the excavations at Réti földek near Szakály between 1973—1982. The settlement and the type itself I would not like to dwell upon here, as a detailed report on the excavations was published in 1982 in a volume of the BAR.[68] This settlement, which was situated in the Kapos valley in the area occupied by the Hercuniates, not only survived into the Roman Period but, unlike the other comparable settlements known to date, it had

also developed unhampered under the Roman rule. On the strength of the La Tène D finds recovered there (sapropelite bracelet, wire-brooch of mid-La Tène-scheme, graphitic pottery) the establishment of the settlement can presumably be associated with the settling of the Hercuniates in southern Transdanubia. This development can be dated to the middle of the 1st century. B.C.[69] Characterizing the Szakály settlement during the 1st-2nd centuries AD were poorish, sunken-floored dwellings — which were practically identical with the Late Iron Age structures — and storage pits and ovens. Perhaps the only change was manifest in the slow introduction of the products of the provincial industry.[70] The assemblage recovered at Szakály was scarce in costly Roman imported wares. Samians, glass or bronze vessels, and no early Roman coin is known to have been found. Even the *mortaria*, which were specific piece of the Roman household-equipment,[71] were extremely scarce in this period. The decade-long excavations have brought to light not a single lamp, indicating that even the more important products of the provincial industry had not reached this settlement. At the same time the LT D 2-type finds, i.e. the typical products of the Late Iron Age handicraftsmen, were amply represented even in the features datable to the first half of the 2nd century.[72] The continuous activity of the natives' industrial workshops, which had lasted at least until the mid-2nd century, is proved by an off-cast fragment of a winged brooch, which is considered the most characteristic piece of the natives' wear.[73] The relatively modest living conditions and settlement forms, which corresponded to those in the prehistoric times, can be traced back to a primitive economic system which is manifest by the animal bones,[74] charred vegetal remains and seeds in the assemblage and which fell far below the economic standards introduced by the Romans. These features of the surviving, basically agricultural settlement can presumably be not considered unique and specific phenomena. The often intensive surface explorations conducted so far in the Kapos valley in the area of the *civitas Hercuniatium* have revealed no *villa* farms or inscribed relics which formed an essential part of the Roman way of life.[75] The traces of early Roman stone structures were also fairly scarce in the area. At the same time we have every ground to presume the existence of similar surviving Celtic settlements in at least 9 other sites.[76] While most of the Pannonian *vici* known to date were brought to life by the deliberate settlement policy of the Romans (and in these settlements the manners, the settlement forms, the way of life, the economy and the tools themselves were changing faster), the pace of development was much slower in the Szakály-type settlements in the Kapos valley. Since the only agricultural manifestation was that practiced before the conquest, the prehistoric pattern had survived practically unaltered into the Roman political era. The lack of the inscriptions and the *villa* estates — which represent a more productive economy — in the 1st-2nd centuries indicates that in this region the Roman-type land-division, the veteran allotments and the municipal decium-size farms had not been established for quite a long period. Elsewhere, these economic developments precipitated the process of transformation. Also, we have no data on the municipalization of the territory;[77] the remoteness of the Roman industrial centres and markets impeded the introduction of the provincial wares there. The village communities of the natives are believed to have been left unaltered by the Roman Conquest.[78]

The area which was densely populated by the Celts[79] was bypassed by the network of the early Roman supply routes, and it was also far off from the Danubian limes which gradually became the economic centre of the province after the

early 2nd century. This is why the imported wares were still scarce there under Severi, in the golden age of Pannonia. The frameworks of the *civitas* were presumably maintained to ensure the recruiting of the auxiliary troops.[80] The model represented by the Szakály settlement is known to have had parallels in other provinces of the empire, but in general this economic form was relegated to less productive and backward regions.[81] The other type of the natives' surviving settlements is known primarily in the southern part of the province. The areas occupied by the Scordisci had prime strategic and commercial importance.[82] The development of these areas also started on the ancient basis, but soon decisive changes had taken place as compared with the Late Iron Age status. The surplus-producing more productive economy in these areas was necessitated by the demand to supply the army. (It was not accidental that the natives had survived longer in the non-urbanized regions of Moesia which were situated farther away from the Danubian *limes* — like e.g. in central or southwest Dardania — than in the military territories, from where they were soon driven out.[83] Some native peoples, like e.g. the Moesi, did not establish towns at all: most of the population there remained intact from romanization.)[84]

The development of the Szakály settlement developed continuously into the 3rd-4th centures: even the Marcoman-Sarmatian wars had made no effect on it. However, the Late Roman Period introduced certain changes in the settlement. By that time the sunken-floored huts were replaced by timber structures erected on the surface, Roman-type overground storers, larger-size pits, cellared structures and ovens built of sundried bricks. The assemblage dating from this period is characterized by standard pottery and by gradually barbarized vessels as from the 4th century. The first coins date from the 4th century, although their number is still low. These changes were presumably rooted in the development of the large estates, which had led to the disappearance of the frames of the earlier rural communities and the small-peasant farms.[85] Although the areas south of Lake Balaton have yielded only a few tombstones or *villa* estates — which would suggest the existence of the strate of small- and medium-landholders — the toponyms formed of family names still lead us to believe in the existence of *villae* in the centre of large estates in the Late Roman Period.[86] These large estates, whose output had gradually became indispensable for the state economy,[87] are presumed to have forced the smaller economic units to adopt the new and more productive forms of economy. The above-named new types of structures can perhaps be regarded as manifestations of this process. The excavations conducted at Szakály have furnished data on the manners and economy of one stratum of the Pannonian native population. These people, who survived uhampered the Late Iron Age, had maintained the frames of the rural community, the relatively low, prehistoric level of economy and the appropriate types of settlement, structures and material culture during the first centuries of the Roman Period.

A process of development similar to that in the Kapos valley is presumed to have taken place in the well-explored areas of souther Zala County. Until 1979, László Horváth had revealed 52 Celtic sites during his field surveys.[88] Before World War Two, only 9 such sites were known in the whole county. Nineteen of the explored sites can be dated to the LT D or LT C-D periods. Horváth unearthed LT D huts at Balatonmagyaród-Kiskányavár A and B, Balatonmagyaród-Szarkavár, Homokkomárom, Sormás-Hosszúdűlő and Magyarszentmiklós-Újréti dűlő.[89] Through these excavations he multiplied our knowledge of the Late La Tène period.

Drawing a comparison between the location of the Celtic and Roman settle-ments he could establish as early as in 1979 that the Roman sites practically coin-cide with the Late Iron Age ones:[90] seven out of the 19 late Celtic sites have also yielded signs of late Roman occupation. However, we have to add that the topographical coincidence of the LT D and the early Roman settlements should not as a rule be taken to indicate an unhampered development. Supporting this reservation is the excavation conducted by E. Vágó at Nagyvenyim:[91] there an over 100-year chronological hiatus could be established between the LT D cemetery and the early Roman cemetery of the Eraviscans, which means that the occasional continuity of the settlement does not necessarily imply the continuity of the population. At the same time, however, the possibility of the population's survival and continuity cannot be fully excluded considering the data of the Sza-kály settlement and the comparable ones elsewhere. It can thus be considered possible that at least one third of the Late Iron Age settlements in southern Zala County not only survived into the Roman period but also developed unhampered during the 1st-2nd centuries. Or, to put it more cautiously, this possibility can also not be excluded at one third of the settlements.[92] Examining the areas where the LT D and the Roman settlements coincide, we find that the occasionally surviving sites were situated nearby the Poetovio-Aquincum diagonal route. Consequently, the proximity of the route could be the attractive force, i.e. the basic condition for further development. This assumption would suggest that, similarly to certain areas of Noricum,[93] the settlement pattern here was influenced not by the direct political measures of the Romans (resettlement or the violent elimination of the settlements) but instead by the achievements of the Roman civilization and by the chance to join in the Roman economic system. This suggestion, however, could only be justified by the exploration of those settlements where survival can be reckoned with.

If it is possible and justified to presume the survival of settlements and smaller communities in these two areas of Inner Pannonia (in the Kapos valley remote from the Roman route network and in southern Zala Country near the Poetovio-Aquincum main route) the question arizes what perspectives the settlements on the Danubian frontier had, considering that these were much more exposed to changes. In the following we make an attempt at reviewing the data coming from various parts of the limes which refer to the changes or continuity of the settle-ment pattern. One such area is Esztergom and its environs where, thanks to the topographical explorations, we could recognise the system of Late Iron Age settle-ments in its entirety.[94] Moreover, one of the excavators was M. Kelemen, who is an expert in the field and who was one of the authors of the first volume of Corpus of Celtic Finds (Komárom County). Besides the oppidum-like and in all probability fortified settlement on Esztergom's Várhegy, the 5th volume of the Archaeological Topography of Hungary gives account of 36 LT D settlements.[95] The density and location of the settlements is remarkable in two respects. On the one hand, such a density of settlements characterized by late Celtic finds is striking in an area where experts have long presumed the dominance of the Azali, a people of Illyrian origin (this idea was put forward by É. Bónis 17 years ago).[96] On the other hand, the density of the agricultural flatland settlements which surround the hill-fort on Várhegy is also remarkable (13 late La Tène settlements are recorded in the territo-ry of present-day Esztergom). Similarly to Gaul, these satellite settlements were obviously also linked to the hillfort both economically and socially — as this was

made clear by É. Petres. Fifteen out of the 36 Late Iron Age settlements have been probably occupied in early Roman times (over 40 %). Consequently, it may well be presumed that there the late La Tène settlement survived into the Roman Period, or at least into its early centuries. At two sites this suggestion was supported by the rescue excavations. At Tokod-Erzsébet akna the lowermost layers of almost all the Roman buildings have offered late Celtic-type Romanage features,[97] which are considered remains of the earlier sunken floored dwellings of the natives. At this site the native Celts definitely survived into the 1st century. Comparable dwelling houses of surviving Celts were discovered by M. Kelemen during her excavations at Uny-Baráthegy dűlő.[98] In two of the sunken-floored huts LT D-type dish fragments were found together with Roman provincial pottery. The same site has also yielded transitional types representing the period of transformation into the Roman Age among the Celtic pottery finds which also include a wide variety of LT C-D-Age wares. Consequently, it seems well-grounded to presume the unhampered, continuous development of most of the flatland settlements. Here the questions also emerge: how could some of the settlements survive and why was the rest abandoned? Is there any regularity to be sought here in the structure of these settlements? In my view the answer is yes. First and foremost it is the survival of the agricultural-type settlements around the Várhegy that can be rendered probable.[99] These settlements presumably supplied the Roman fort erected in the place where the hill-fort had stood. Also, these settlements in the flatland could accommodate the population of the oppidum-like settlement. Most probably the Romans evacuated most of the Late Iron Age settlements that were situated on the Danube, remote from the limes establishments. This move was based on the fact that they were unable to keep these settlements under control. The survival into the 1st entury of the settlements at Tokod near the border zone can be ascribed to the presumed existence nearby of an early Roman military post.[100] This suggestion is supported by data from other sources.[101] The answer is more difficult to find in the case of the settlements which were situated farther off from the *limes* area and the main Roman routes: the survival of some of these settlements can be proved, while elsewhere discontinuity could be established.

We have also extended our studies to the Danube limes region situated west of the Esztergom limes. This area stretches approximately between the forts Quadrata and Crumerum. This area is not as well explored as e.g. the southern part of Zala County or the vicinity of Esztergom, since no topographic explorations have been conducted there to date. Still we should not consider this area an unexplored white spot, since e.g. in 1950 S. Mithay conducted systematic field surveys in Győr district,[102] and the western part of Komárom County was discussed in detail in the first volume of the Corpus of Celtic Finds published in 1987.[103] If we compare the Late Iron Age settlement of Esztergom and its environs with that of the Rába delta, we find that the latter region is lacking in LT D settlements, and that the number of stray finds — which are far less usable for drawing the settlement pattern — is also insignificant. This absence is all the more conspicuous if we compare our map with that showing the LT B-C sites as compiled by A. Uzsoki.[104] This comparison would reveal that the Rába delta region, which had been densely populated by the Celts in earlier periods, is only scarcely dotted by findspots in the Pre-Roman Iron Age.[105] Earlier, scholars presumed that, having realized the strategic importance of the area, the Győr basin had already been used

by the Celts as a bridgehead. Accordingly, they cited the strong-post over the river at Győr's Káptalandomb for (Újváros) as an outstanding example of military organization.[106] J. Fitz did not exclude the possibility that Arrabona had earlier been a tribal centre of the Eravisci.[107] However tempting it may sound to presume the continuity of the strategic point at Győr or to suppose some kind of a Celtic antecedent for the Roman fort at Káptalandomb, the data at our disposal seem to contradict these suggestions.[108] For one thing, the finds identified as Celtic are missing (were lost) from the deposit brought to light by excavations of L. Barkóczi in 1955. Thus it is impossible to determine whether the pottery dated from the Early, Middle or Late La Tène Period, or perhaps from the Roman Age. Then again the subsequent excavations which explored larger areas at Káptalandomb — like e.g. the ones in 1969,[109] 1974, 1978[110] and 1984[111] — also failed to spot Celtic layers. Now is this blank spot merely accidental in the area of the Danube bend and the Fertő region which is extremely densely dotted by late Celtic settlements? Can we account for this only by the lack of explorations? To answer these questions, we projected the findspots of the Roman finds of native-type on the map. However, the Roman inscriptions did not "acquaint" us with a single native, contrary to what we have experienced in the Leitha region or the areas of the *Eravisci*. The Pannonians mentioned by their Illyrian names on the Győr inscriptions — like. e.g. Bato the Colapian, Sasius the slave, Crispus the Siscian, Scilus the Breucan[112] — all reached the *castellum* on the river Rába in the mid-1st century as soldiers in the *ala Pannoniorum* or the *ala I Aravacorum*, and thus they had nothing to do with the native population of the Small Plain-Kisalföld before the Roman Conquest. Besides the absence of native names, the lack of other signs indicative of a native population is also remarkable: unlike in the areas of the Boi and the Eravisci, here no figures depicted in native costume are known to have been found (the only such representation recorded in Szőny is that of a figure in turbane).[113] As opposed to the Leitha region, here only one representation is recorded which could provide a clue to the burial customs of the leading strata of the natives. Just on a single tombstone recovered at Bőnyrétalap is represented a charriot-scene.[114] The natives were left practically unmentioned among the relatively rich inscriptions and reliefed stone relics. The tombstones with military inscriptions were decorated with horsemen of the Roman cavallry units. The archaeological record is characterized by the same imbalance: the Doppelknopffibel or the winged brooch, which belonged to the typical costume in Noricum-Pannonia, turn up only rarely.[115] Only four sites are recorded to have yielded brooches of these two types, and the reticulated belt-mounts, which are common in western Pannonia, were completely missing here. Let me recall here a warning by Garbsch that the occurrence of a part of a costume at a site should not as a rule be taken to indicate that the site belonged to the tribe or ethnic group associable with the costume. These accessories could well have got to places remote from the place of origin as commodities or through marrying (for example this is how one of the earliest types is believed to have reached Carnuntum, the region of the *hiberna ad Danuvium*). For all these, the brooches specified above have remained rare in the area of the Rába delta and in Carnuntum.[116]

The area was also devoid of *tumuli*, in spite of the fact that only part of the *tumuli* in Noricum-Pannonia can be considered burials of the tribal aristocracy. On the strength of all these we can state that the native population in the western part of the Upper Pannonian *limes* failed to give sign of their life either because they

were weak economically, or because they soon gave up their "native" traditions and adapted themselves to the "Roman" burial customs, way of life, costumes and naming, or because their number was insignificant and were negligible from a military-political point of view. The scarcity of the late La Tène finds appears to support the third option: the observations on the Late Iron Age and early Roman settlement pattern of this area are fully consistent.

On the authority of É. Petres we could perhaps account for the low number of the LT D settlements by presuming that the natives in the area had preserved their retarded LT C culture before they assimilated into the conquering people[117] (Petres raised this theory e.g. in connection with the contacts between the Csákberény finds and the early Roman relics). This hypothesis might also hold for the population of the area east of the river Rába. This area is believed to have been occupied by the Azali who spoke Illyrian language and whose archaeological record have not yet been identified properly and separated from the LT C finds[118] (provided that we can consider this ethnic group the native population in the area). [119] On the other hand we consider it futile to seek contact between the material culture of the pre-conquest native population of the Rába delta region and the close-set LT C findspots, as this important region was undoubtedly affected by those tribal movements which resulted in an ethnic exchange and which can be related to the migration of the Boi and the Dacian wars of Burebista. Moreover, if we accept the Arrabo-Aravisci etimology set forth by Guyonvarc'h,[120] then we also have to presume that the earlier homeland of the Eravisci had extended to the river Rába, and that after the victory of Daci over the Boi they migrated from there to the area south of the Danube bend or to the triangle included by the NE tip of Lake Balaton and the river Danube (on the other hand E. Tóth seeks the earlier abodes of the Aravisci in the territorium of the later *colonia* Savaria).[121] By all accounts, this transformation could hardly have left the vicinity of the important road junction and the ford unaffected, i.e. we have hardly any ground to presume the unbroken development of the earlier LT C settlements. The other solution to this problem should perhaps be sought in the historical sources. We know it from Pliny that the area west of the river Rába was called *deserta Boiorum*. According to I. Borzsák, this name should be taken to signify that the area was abandoned by the Boi and not that it was a Boi desert or an uninhabited land.[122] However, the above-named data of the settlement-pattern (both the LT D and the Roman Age ones) still drive us to conclude that the Dacian wars, which took place around 45 BC whose effects (according to L. Zachar)[123] were demonstrable even in the Bratislava-Pozsony *oppidum,* could well have decimated the Celtic population which lived on the right bank of the Danube. (Let us remark here that the number of the late La Tène settlements was likewise low on the left bank, in the area between Pozsony and the Vág valley.)[124] It was presumably this decimated population, which was diminished further by the migration of the *Aravisci* from the area, which lived to see the Roman Conquest (provided that the tribe lived in the Rába delta and not at the upper reaches of the river). Since this Celtic group was insignificant in number and negligible politically, its members could not make it to the leading stratum of the new province. In spite of all these, we do not have to reckon with a total ethnic vacuum here during the Roman occupation: there are evidences, although considerably weak, for the survival of the natives into the Roman period. Indicative of their presence there in the Early Imperial Period are the

hand-made pottery that have come to light in 1st century layers at Győr's Káptalan hill or Széchenyi square.[125] E. Szőnyi associated some of the late 1st-2nd century inhumation burials in Győr's Kálvária street cemetery with a native population which had retained the custom of simple inhumation-burial similarly to certain groups of the *Eravisci*.[126] The assemblage recovered in the fort Ács-Vaspuszta is fairly rich in hand-made pottery,[127] and the same applies to the 1st century deposit found at the Carnuntum legionary fortress.[128] These finds account for 3 % of the total early Imperial pottery finds. The assemblage includes corse, greyish-black pots with S-shaped section. Their fabric is rich in grits or lime. Several of these wares were discovered in the refuse pit near the *porta decumana* of the stone fort which included material from Antonine burnt layers. Many of the pots are comb decorated, as were those found at the Carnuntum legionary fortress.

The presence of the hand-made pottery in the early Roman deposits on the Pannonian *limes* is not an isolated phenomenon, although their quantity is not remarkably high. Besides Carnuntum, Grünewald cites comparable types from Wien-Unterlaa.[129] Hand-made pottery was also used in Brigetio as late as in the 3rd century.[130] Besides the frontier-area, similar types are also recorded from western Pannonia and Gorsium.[131] This pottery type was associated by Grünewald with the local native Boi population.[132] The Gorsium assemblage E. Kocztur related to an ethnic group which transmigrated from western Pannonia to eastern Pannonia. The hand-made pottery types were presumably used as containers or storage vessels, in which for the garrison of the fort food was brought from the Celtic natives. E. Ettlinger leaves open the possibility that certain local workshops which maintained the traditional production technology also sold such wares to the garrison.[133]

Summing up what has been said so far we can state that the hill-forts and the *oppida* (both the refugium-like ones and the protourban centres) were most probably abandoned or evacuated by the Romans in the wake of the Roman Conquest, sometime in the late years of Tiberius or under Claudius. Some of the hill-forts became deserted, while others were taken over by the Roman garrisons. A few of these settlements could live on for centuries as tribal cultic places[134] or religious centres of the *civitas* (cf. the inscriptions of of Teutates found on Gellért hill). S. Soproni and E. Tóth are at present studying the inscriptions found in the bed of river Danube at Bölcske to find out more about the dating of these cultic places.

The occupation of most of the Late Iron Age flatland settlements (60—70 %) was also terminated by the Roman Period, notwithstanding that their abandonment antedated the Roman occupation. It is highly improbable that these settlements were destroyed in the wars or that their population was fully resettled by the Romans — although in some cases the possibility exists. It is more probable that these settlements were simply unable to live on amid the new economic conditions. Besides these settlements, whose occupation was terminated by the Roman Conquest, there was another group of settlements which also had to cope with the new political system. This group included the multitude of the *vici* and rural settlements which had no direct Late Iron Age antecedents. This model can be contrasted with that of the surviving settlements, whose development can be followed through the Imperial Period in the 1st century and on rare occasions also in the first half of the 2nd century. The settlements of this type could develop in two different ways: they either transformed considerably and adapted themselves fast to the Roman way of life and culture (this was primarily the case in the territo-

ries of the Scordisci, but the same happened with the Tokod settlement after the 2nd century) or they retained the prehistoric living conditions and economy (as did e.g. the Szakály-type settlements). Surviving settlements of the natives are recorded from practically all areas of the province: they demonstrably existed in areas remote from the network of main routes (e.g. Kapos valley), along the Roman routes (e.g. southern Zala County), and in the *limes* region (e.g. around Esztergom). From among the latter settlements primarily those could survive which took advantage of their proximity to the main commercial routes or which supplied nearby military forts. Although nearly one third of the settlements could develop unhampered in the Roman Period, the settlement pattern suffered decisive changes, notwithstanding that the Late Iron Age conditions influenced the development during the Imperial Period. The native population, or more precisely its quickly romanized aristocracy, played an important role in the development under the Romans in the areas densely populated by the Celts. Meanwhile, in the areas where Celts were scarce the Romans managed to put them at such a tremendous economic handicap that ultimately these people melted into the great furnace of romanization without giving more sign of their life.

NOTES

1 On the Celtic nameing of the Pannonian natives cf *M. Szabó:* Néhány nyelvészeti szempont a pannóniai kelta személynévanyag vizsgálatához (Some linguistic considerations for the investigation of Pannonian Celtic personal names). AntTan 10 (1963) 220ff.; *idem:* A pannóniai kelta személynévanyag vizsgálata (Recherches sur l'anthroponymie celtique de Pannònie). ArchÉrt 91 (1964) 165—175; *R. Katičić:* Die neuesten Forschungen über die einheimische Sprachschicht in den illyrischen Provinzen. Symposium sur la délimitation territoriale des illiriens à l'époque préhistorique 1964. Sarajevo 1964, 31 ff. *Idem:* Keltska osobna imena u antickoj Sloveniji (Die keltischen Personennamen im antiken Slovenien). AVest 17 (1966) 145ff.; *A Mócsy* 1974, 61. On survival of Celtic traditions in the Roman plastic relics cf. *É. Petres:* Angaben zum römerzeitlichen Fortleben der keltischen Plastik in Pannonien. Alba Regia 14 (1975) 225ff.
2 On local roots of cults of Celtic populaton cf. *G. Alföldy:* Aquincum vallási életének története (Geschichte des religiösen Lebens in Aquincum). BpR 20 (1963) 49, 57; *T. Nagy:* Quelques aspects de la romanisation dans la Pannonie orientale. in: Actes du VIIIe Congrès int. d'arch. classique. Paris 1965, 375ff. *Idem*, ArchÉrt 83 (1956) 222ff.; *G. Alföldy:* Zur keltischen Religion in Pannonien. Germania 42 (1964) 54—59; *M. Szabó:* A kelták nyomában Magyarországon (Auf den Spuren der Kelten in Ungarn). Budapest 1971, 62—67. *Mócsy* (1974 253) threw any doubt on revealing of religious ideas of the natives, apart from cult of Aecorna or Aequorna in Emona.
3 *J. Fitz:* Az eraviszkusz női viselet (Eraviscan female costumes). ArchÉrt 84 (1957) 133; *J. Garbsch:* Die norisch-pannonische Frauentracht im 1. und 2. Jh. MBV 11. München 1965; *J. Fitz:* Gnomon 37 (1956) 619 ff.
4 *Mócsy* 1974, 70
5 *S. von Schnurbein:* Die kulturgeschichtliche Stellung des nördlichen Räten. Ein Beitrag zur Deutung archäologischer Fundgruppen. BRGK 63 (1982) 12. On the participation of the native society in establishment the new regime cf. *A. Mócsy* in; Erdély története I. A kezdetektől 1606-ig (History of Transylvania I. From the beginning till 1606). Budapest 1987, 82, 559; *G. Alföldy* review of *M. Constantinescu—St. Pascu—P. Diaconu* (red.); Relations between the autochtonous population and the migration populations on the territory of Romania. Bucuresti 1975, HZ 224 (1977) 416. On the auxiliary units recruited by Dacians cf. *D. Protase:* Der Forschungsbestand zur Kontinuität der bodenstandigen Bevölkerung in nördlichen Dacia (2—3. Jh). ANRW II. 6. Berlin—New York 1977 993—994.
6 *É. Bónis:* Die Siedlungsverhältnisse der pannonischen Urbevölkerung und einige Fragen ihres Weiterlebens. ActaArchHung 23 (1971) 33—38.
7 *Petres* 1976 51—80.

65

8   B. Cunliffe: The Development of Hill-forts. 1974, 262; Idem; Hill-forts and oppida in Britain. in:
    G. de Sieveking—I. H. Longworth (eds): Problems in economic and social archaeology. London
    1976 343—358.
9   V. Kruta—M. Szabó—C. Spaeman: Die Kelten. Entwicklung und Geschichte einer eu-
    ropäischen Kultur. Freibur—Basel—Wien 1979 86; J. Bren: Earliest settlements with urban
    character in Central Europe. BAR suppl. ser. 2. Oxford 1976 88.
10 E. Wightman: The Pattern of Rural Settlement in Roman Gaul. ANRW II. 4. Berlin—New York
    1975 605, 608. Oppidum and fortified settlement is exactly defined in her discussion cf.
    606—609.
11 Gy. Nováki—M. Pető: Neuere Forschungen im Oppidum auf dem Gellértberg in Budapest.
    ActaArchHung 40 (1988) 99.
12 W. Groenmann van Waateringe: Urbanization and North-West Frontier of the Roman Empire.
    Roman Frontier Studies. Papers presented to the 12th Int. Congress of Roman Frontier Studies
    (eds. W. S. Wilson-L. J. F. Keppie). BAR. Int. ser. 71. Oxford 1980 1040.
13 H. von Petrikovits: Das Dorf der Eisenzeit und des frühen Mittelalters. Kolloquien der Kommis-
    sion für die Altertumskunde Mittel- und Nordeuropas in den Jahren 1973 und 1974. AbhAkad-
    Wiss. in Göttingen, Phil-hist. Klasse III. Göttingen 1977 94.
14 E. Tóth: Pannonia provincia kialakulásához (To the emergence of Pannonia province). ArchÉrt
    103(1976) 197ff. Idem: Pannónia történetének problémái (Problems of the history of Panno-
    nia). AntTan 23 (1976) 114; J. Fitz: Die Eroberung Pannoniens. ANRW II. 6 Berlin—New York
    1977 543fff.; H Braunert: Omnium provinciarum fines auci. Chiron 7 (1977) 207ff. A. Mócsy:
    Illyrium északi határa Claudius előtt (The northern border of Illyricum prior to Claudius). ArchÉrt
    106 (1979) 177ff.; D. Gabler: Pannónia megszállásának néhány kérdése a terra sigilláták tükré-
    ben (Some questions of the occupation of Pannonia as reflected by the Samian wares). ArchÉrt
    106 (1979) 199ff. E. Tóth: Megjegyzések Pannónia provincia kialakulásának kérdéséhez (Be-
    merkungen zur Entstehung der Provinz Pannonien). ArchÉrt 108 (1981) 13—33.
15 J. Dekan: Nálezy vcasnej sigillaty v keltských objektoch na Devine (Die Funde der frühen Sigil-
    laten in den keltischen Objekten auf Devin). Musaica (Zbornik filizoficikej fakulty Univerzity
    Komenského) 12 (1961) 55.
16 D. Gabler: Zum Anfangsdatum des römischen Carnuntum. Mitt. Gesellschaft der Freunde Car-
    nuntums 3/1981 10—13. Recently V. Plachá—K. Pieta: Römerzeitliche Besiedlung von
    Bratislava-Devin. ARozh 38 (1986) 347.
17 J. Bouzek: Antike Importe im Gebiet der heutigen Tschechoslowakei im 1. Jh. v.u.z. Savaria 16
    (1982) [1983] 197; J. Meduna: Straré Hradisko I, II. Fontes Arch. Moraviae, Brno 1961 55, Taf.
    50,8—9.
18 J. Meduna: Das keltische Oppidum Straré Hradisko in Mähren. Germania 48 (1970) Taf.3,1; J.
    Kollis: Defended sites of the La Tène in Central and Western-Europe. BAR. suppl. 2. Oxford 1975
    89; Bouzek op. cit. 196.
19 T. Kolnik: Zur Stellung der Slowakei in Süd—Nord Beziehung (von der ausgehenden Hallstatt-
    zeit bis zum Ende der römischen Kaiserzeit). Savaria 16 (1982) [1983] 251; L. Zachar: Beitrag
    zur Problematik des Bratislavaer Oppidums. ZborSlovMuzHist 22 (1982) 45.
20 A. Tocik: K otázke osidlenia junozápadného slovenska na zlome letopoctu. ARozh 11 (1959)
    Abb. 326, 13.
21 The decorated Arretine sherd is published by J. Eisner, HistSlov 3 (1933—1937) Taf. V. 12; Fr.
    Krizek: Römische Keramik in der Tschechoslowakei. Acta RCRF 1 (1958) 19ff. recently dis-
    cussed by D. Gabler: Zum Anfangsdatum des römischen Carnuntum. Mitt. Gesellschaft der
    Freunde Carnuntums 3/1981 10.
22 Cf. E. Schindler—Kaudelka: Die römische Modellkeramik vom Magdalensberg. Arch.Forsch. zu
    den Grabungen auf dem Magdalensberg 7. Kärtner Museumsschriften 66. Klagenfurt 1980
    Taf. 6.
23 Gabler op. cit (note 21) 17.
24 Dekan op. cit 55.
25 M. Kandler: Die Ausgrabungen 1968—1972 im Legionslager Carnuntum, Kultur und Natur in
    NÖ 1. Neue Forschungen in Carnuntum. Wien 1976, 59; Idem: Vorläufiger Bericht über die
    Grabungen im Legionslager Carnuntum in den Jahren 1974—1977. AnzWien 115 (1978) 355ff.
    Idem: Archäologische Untersuchungen im Bereich der Canabae legionis 1986. CarnJb 1987
    255ff. On the recent excavations in the canabae cf. M. Kandler: Die Ausgrabungen auf dem Flur
    „Mühläcker" in Bad Deutsch-Altenburg. Carnuntum. Canabae legionis. Die Ausgrabungen auf
    der „Mühlacker" in Bad Altenbuerg. Zusammengestellt anläßlich des 14. Int. Limeskongresses
    in Bad Deutsch Altenburg 1986 2ff. On the Italian terra sigillata cf. S. Zabehlicky: Italische Terra
    Sigillata. Ibidem 37. A similar dating was suggested by M. Grünewald: Die Funde aus dem
    Schotthügel des Legionslagers von Carnuntum (Die Baugrube Pingitzer). RLiÖ 32. Wien 1983 52.

26 *Plachá-Pieta* op. cit. 347.
27 *Collis* op. cit. 73.
28 *A. Fiala:* Nálezy rimskych minci na Devine. SlNum 9(1986) 157—178.
29 *L. Zachar:* Beitrag zur Problematik des Bratislavaer Oppidums ZborSlovMuz.Hist. 22, 76 (1982) 48 ff.
30 Ibidem.
31 *O. H. Urban:* Ausgrabungen auf dem Braunsberg bei Hainburg 1986, mit einem Beitrag von W. Neubauer. CarnJb 1987 271.
32 *Ibidem 281—285.*
33 *M. Károlyi:* The Late Celtic Hillfort at Ostffyasszonyfa-Földvár-major (Vas County). ActaArchHung 37 (1985) 411—416.
34 *M. Fekete,* RégFüz (1984) 33. On the brooches form Velem-Szentvid see *E. Patek:* Verbreitung und Herkunft dere römischen Fibeltypen von Pannonien. DissPann Ser. II.19. Budapest 1942 pl. I.4, Pl. XXII.7; pl XXV.4.
35 I am indebted to M. Fekete for this data. This sherd of a plain platter with rouletted ring on the bottom was found on 6th Sept. 1983. Among the notices of the late Prof. I. Paulovics in the Archives of the Hungarian National Museum was found a sketch depicting a fragment of a similar platter with leaf decoration of a garland. For this data I am indebted to Dr. E. Tóth. The provenance of the sherd is not known.
36 On the urbanisation under the reign of Caudius see *A. Alföldy iun.:* Adatok Szombathely római településtörténetéhez (Contributions to the Roman settlement history of Szombathely). ArchÉrt 1943, 71 ff.; *G. Alföldy:* Noricum. The Provinces of the Roman Empire. London—Boston 1974, 81; *E. Tóth:* Geschichte der oberen Wart im 1. Jahrtausend. Die Obere Wart (Red. *L. Trieber).* Oberwart 1977 80, 97. ,,kam es...bei der Gründung von Savaria und Besetzung des östlichen Transdanubiens in Noricum und in Pannonien zur errichtung einer endgültigen Ordnung. All diese Geschenisse können am ehesten mit dem Fall des Königreiches des Vannius in Verbindung bringen."
37 *Károlyi* op. cit. 417.
38 See note 36. On the recent excavations on the Szentvid hill at Velem cf. *O. Buchsenschutz—V. Cserményi—J.P. Guillaumet—M. Szabó;* La campagne franco—hongroise de fouilles de 1988 à Velemszentvid. ActaArchHung 42 (1990) in press.
39 On the late Roman finds discovered in Velem cf. *M. Fekete,* RégFüz 37 (1984) 33; tiles and bricks found during the previous explorations see *K. Miske:* Die prähistorische Ansiedlung Velem St. Vid. Bd. I. Beschreibung der Raubbaufunde. Wien 1908 50, 71. Excavations were carried out on the Iron Age-Late La Tène hillfort Burgstall at Sopron. The recent excavations have yielded Late Iron Age dwellings and pits, cf. *E. Patek:* Neuere Untersuchungen auf dem Burgstall bei Sopron. BRGK 63 (1982) 1983 157. Some fragments, like a flagon, have been recorded by previous reports — cf. *L. Bella—D. Müller:* Prähistorische Funde in der Umgebung von Oedenburg in Ungarn. MAGW 21 (1981) 171.
40 *Károlyi* op. cit. 408 ff.
41 Ibidem 417.
42 See note 25; *D. Gabler:* Zum Anfangsdatum des römischen Carnuntum. Mitt. Gesellschaft der Freunde Carnuntums 3/1981 20.
43 *E. Szőnyi:* Forschungen im Auxiliarkastell von Arrabona. Alba Regia 19 (1982) 136. An early Roman fort along the road Savaria — Arrabona is discussed by *T. Buocz:* Római kor (Roman period). in: Sárvár monográfiája (History of Sárvár). Szombathely 1978, 67—76.
44 *É. B. Bónis:* Beitrage zur Rolle der La Tène Siedlungen in Pannonien. ARozh 1971, 522; *M. Kelemen* in: *I. Horváth—M. Kelemen—I. Torma:* Magyarország régészeti topográfiája 5. Esztergom és a dorogi járás. (Archaeological Topography of Hungary 5. Esztergom and the Dorog district). Budapest 1979 78, 80; *M. Kelemen* in: Corpus of Celtic Finds in Hungary I. Transdanubia (eds. *T. Kovács—É. Petres—M. Szabó).* Budapest 1987 184.
45 *S. Soproni:* Der spätrömische Limes zwischen Esztergom und Szentendre. Budapest 1978 18.
46 *D. Gabler:* A dunai limes I—II. századi történetének néhány kérdése (Some remarks on the history of the Roman frontier in the first and second century). ArchÉrt 104 (1977) 150.
47 *Gy. Nováki—M. Pető:* Neuere Forschungen im spätkeltischen oppidum auf dem Gellértberg in Budapest. ActArchHung 40 (1988) 83—99.
48 *A. Radnóti:* Buda régészeti emlékei (Archaeological remains of Buda). in: Magyarország műemléki topográfiája (Monument Topography of Hungary) 4. Budapest 1955; *M. Kaba:* Római kori épületmaradványok a Király fürdőnél (Roman building remains at Király Bath). BpR 20 (1963) 259 ff. *T. Nagy:* Budapest története az őskortól az Árpádkor végéig (History of Budapest from prehistory till the end of the Árpádian period). Budapest 1973 113.

49 According to T. Nagy in Buda already under the reign of Tiberius stationed an ala — not yet identified (Studien zu dem Militärgrenzen Roms II. Vorträge des 10. Int. Limeskongresses in der Germania inferior. Bonn—Köln 1977 259) which was transferred from the area of Carnuntum to Buda before the stationing of the ala I Hispanorum — see *T. Nagy:* Kőfaragás és szobrászat Aquincumban (Stone carving and plastic art in Aquincum). BpR 22 (1971) 107. But the legionary fortress in Carnuntum was erected just in the last years of reign of Tiberius, and there is no evidence for a permanent legionary fortress or auxiliary fort in the Augustan-early Tiberian time. The *castellum* in Aquincum (Buda) must be dated at a later period than the one in Carnuntum. This later dating is supported by the formula of the tombstones and the Tiberian-Claudian terra sigillata-material. Cf. *D. Gabler:* Pannonia megszállásának néhány kérdése a terra sigilláták tükrében (Some questions of the occupation of Pannonia as reflected by the Samian wares). ArchÉrt 106 (1979) 210.

50 *M. Pető:* Neuere topographische und archäologische Angaben zum Leben der Siedlung Gellérthegy-Tabán und Umgebung in der frühen Kaiserzeit. ActaArchHung 31 (1979) 271—286; *Eadem:* Koracsászárkori fazekastelep a Gellérthegy déli oldalán (The potter's settlement on the Southern side of Gellért hill from the early Imperial Period). ArchÉrt 103 (1976) 86—95.

51 Distructions caused by fire were observed at the Gellért-hill — see *Nováki—Pető* op. cit. 93—94, Ostffyasszonyfa: *Károlyi* op. cit. 411, Bratislava—Pozsony: *Zachar* op. cit. 49.

52 *F. Fülep* in: Der römische Limes in Ungarn. IKMKözl. A. 22. Székesfehérvár 1976 113; *V. Kovács:* Mark Aurel's Porträt aus Lugio. Alba Regia 21 (1984) 1985 89—91.

53 *D. Piletič:* Prilog proucavanju upotrebe zemunica u praistoriju naseg Podunavlja. Vesnik Vojnog muzeja 3 (1956) 20; *D. Dimitrijevič:* Nekoliko podatka o rimskom limescu u istočno Sremu. Limes u Jogoslaviji I. Beograd 1961, 100; *Idem:* Protoistorijski i antički Acumincum. Zbornik za likove umetnosti 6, Novi Sad 1970. *Idem:* Spätlatènezeitliche Oppida in Jugoslavien. ARozh 23 (1971).

54 Late Roman shereds and another finds in Devin cf. *Plachá — Pieta* op. cit. 350, on the Braunsberg bei Hainburg: cf. *Urban* op. cit. 271, on the St. Vid hill at Velem cf. *K. Miske:* Die prähistorische Ansiedlung Velem, St. Vid. Bd. I. Beschreibung der Raubbaufunde. Wien 1908 50, 71; *M. Fekete,* RégFüz 37 (1984) 33.

55 On the Roman finds (1st century AD) at Regöly see *E. Jerem:* Vaskori kutatások a Dél-Dunántúlon (Iron Age researches in South Transdanubia). SomogyiMK 2 (1975) 269—274; *Eadem,* ArchÉrt 98 (1971) 267.

56 *I. Paulovics:* Szalacska, egy kaposvölgyi római kori fémművességi központ (Szalacska, a centre of metallurgy of the Kapos valley in the Roman period). ArchÉrt 80 (1953) 123; *K. Sági:* Nagyberki-Szalacska. ArchÉrt 81 (1954) 76.

57 *Petres* 1976 76.

58 *Sz. Honti* RégFüz 36 (1983) 21.

59 *Eadem* RégFüz 38 (1985) 20. A hole for the Roman bronze vessels was additionaly cut into the Celtic pit. Kind verbal communication of L. Horváth.

60 *Eadem* RégFüz 36 (1983) 21. A Roman female grave cut into a Celtic layer, which contained an iron and silver bracelet.

61 *Paulovics* op. cit. 123. A coin hoard found at the site; its latest piece was minted during the reign of Gallienus indicates that after the 2nd half of the 3rd century the hillfort was abandoned.

62 Explorations have been conducted by B. Maráz at the hillfort Pécs-Jakabhegy, where above a Hallstatt occupation layer finds of the La Tène "oppidum" were recovered. No features have been recorded because an erosion heavily demaged the site — cf. RégFüz 39 (1986) 23.

63 *R. Pusztai:* Késő-vaskori házak Lébényben (Späteisenzeitliche Häuser in Lébény). Arrabona 9 (1967) 5—11.

64 *É. Bónis:* Die Siedlungsverhältnisse der pannonischen Urbevölkerung und einige Fragen ihres Weiterlebens. ActaArchhung 23 (1971) 38.

65 For the Roman policy concerning the native settlements cf. *L. Barkóczi:* Császárkori kelta edényégető kemence Bicsérden (Celtic pottery kilns from the times of the Roman Empire at Bicsérd). FolArch 8 (1956) 87; *J. Fitz:* Herkunft und Ethnikum der Eravisker. ActaAnt 6 (1958) 395; *Mócsy* 1974 55—57.

66 *J. Fitz:* Gebietsveränderungen der Civitas Eraviscorum. ActaArchHung 23 (1971) 52; *É. Petres:* The Position of archaeological research on the Celts in Hungary. in: Celtic Cultures Newsletter. The Int. Committe for the Study of Celtic Cultures. Dublin 1984. 16.

67 On the pre-Roman Iron Age settlements cf. *D. Gabler:* Forschungen in der späteisenzeitlich-römerzeitlichen Siedlung von Szakály. MittArchInst 10—11 (1980—1981) 97; *Kl. Kuzmova:* Niederlassungen der Spätlatènezeit im mittleren Donaugebiet. SlovArch 28 (1980) 317—320. Recently: *L. Horváth:* Késő vaskori ház és településtípusok Dél-Zalában (Late Iron Age house and settlement types in South Zala). zalai Múz. 1 (1987) 59—80.

68 D. Gabler; Aspects of the development of Late Iron Age Settlements in Transdanubia into the Roman Period (Evidence based upon the excavations at Szakály, in southern Hungary). in: Studies in the Iron Age of Hungary. BAR. Int. ser. 144 Oxford 1982 57—127; L. Horváth—M. Kelemen—A. Uzsoki—É. Vadász: Corpus of Celtic Finds in Hungary I. Transdanubia (eds. T. Kovács—É. Petres—M. Szabó) Budapest 1987 179—238.

69 According to M. Szabó (1971 17) the Hercuniates left their homeland at the very beginning of the 1st century B.C. as a consequence of the migration of the Cimbri. On the other hand A. Mócsy (1974 17) and É. Petres (Beziehungen der keltischen und römerzeitlichen einheimischen Bevölkerung in 1. und 2. Jh. Alba Regia 6—7 (1965—1966) [1967] 197) related it to a situation following the events of 58 B.C. Gabler op. cit (note 68) 84.

71 D. Baatz: „Reibschale und Romanisierung''. Acta RCRF 17—18 (1977) 147ff.

72 D. Gabler—K. Ottományi: Későrómai házak Szakályban (Late Roman post-houses at Szakály). ArchÉrt (in press).

73 Gabler op. cit (note 68) 89, Fig. 19.

74 I. Vörös: The animal bones from the Late La Tène and Roman settlement of Szakály—Réti földek. in: Studies in the Iron Age of Hungary. BAR. Int.ser. 144. Oxford 1982 142ff.

75 Gabler op. cit. (note 68) 105.

76 No evidence of any villa has been recorded on the well-explored territory of the Hercuniates. The lararium of Tamási in the vicinity of the settlement at Szakály was a hoard (E. Thomas: Laren und Lararien aus Pannonien. Antike Welt 6 (1975) 29ff.; H. W. Böhme: Archäologische Zeugnisse zur Geschichte der Markomannenkriege (166—180 n. Chr). JbmusMainz 22 (1975) 1977 176).

77 On the urbanisation of the territory southwards of the Lake Balaton see E. Tóth: Zur Urbanisierung von Pannonien I. Municipium Volgum. FolArch 37 (1986)

78 Compare with Britannia S.S. Frere: Britannia. A History of Roman Britain. 1967 265. On the slow introduction of the Roman pottery: J.H.F. Bloemers: Rijswijk (z.H) De Bult. Eine Siedlung der Cananefates. Nederlandse Oudheiden 8. Amersfort 1978 88ff.

79 Jerem op. cit. 270.

80 J. Fitz observed a similar development in the southern part of the nieghbouring civitas Eraviscorum (Angaben zu den Gebietsveränderung der civitas Eraviscorum). ActaArchHung 23 (1971) 52—53).

81 Petrikovits op. cit. 101, 121.

82 J. Todorović: Scordisci. Istorija i kultura. Novi Sad 1974 266.

83 M. Mirković: Einheimische Bevölkerung und römische Städte in der Provincz Obermoesien. ANRW II. 6. Berlin—New York 1977 643.

84 Ibidem 843.

85 Gabler—Ottományi op. cit.

86 On the centres of imperial estates south to the Lacus Pelso see E. Tóth: Előzetes jelentés az 1971—1974 évi ságvári ásatásokról (Preliminary report of the 1971—974 excavations at Sárvár). SomogyiMK 2 (1975) 187ff.; A. Mócsy: Pannonia Forschung 1973—1976. ActaArchHung 29 (1977) 391. On the basis of a decree issued from Tricciana? (Sárvár) the suggestion had been put forward that the emperors visited these forts for shorter or longer periods of time (according E. Tóth op. cit. 188—189 the place of issue of the imperial decree N° CTH XI, 32, 36 (TRIE) may not refer to Tricciana but perhaps Tricornium).

87 Gabler—Ottományi op. cit. This more productive economy made possible, that in the 2nd half of the 4th century Valeria exported corn to Italy — cf. L. Várady: Das letzte Jahrhundert Pannoniens 376—476. Budapest 1969 530, yet overestimating the significance of this data.

88 L. Horváth in: Corpus of Celtic Finds in Hungary I. Transdanubia. Budapest 1987; Idem: Késő vaskori ház- és településtípusok dél Zalában (Late Iron Age house and settlement types in south Zala). ZalaiMúz 1 (1987) 59—68.

89 L. Horváth: Késő vaskori ház és településtípusok Dél Zalában (Late Iron Age house and settlement types in South Zala). ZalaiMúz 1 (1987) 63, 65.

90 Idem: A magyarszerdahelyi kelta és római temető (Celtic and Roman cemetery of Magyarszerdahely). ZalaiGyűjt 14 (1979) 65.

91 E.B. Vágó; Kelten- und Eraviskergräber von Nagyvenyim und Sárkeszi. Alba Regia 1 (1960) 62. It is open to doubt if native settlements had had any predecessor in the Pre-Roman Iron Age. The occupation of the settlement at Rijswijk began under the reign of Tiberius — cf. J.H.F. Bloemeres; Rijswijk. Eine Siedlung der Cananefates. Nederlandse Oudheiden 8. Amersfort 1978 88.

92 Balatongyörök-Kövesmező, Keszthely-Fenékpuszta, Keszthely-Halászcsérda, Magyarszentmiklós-Újréti dűlő, Magyarszerdahely-Újnéppuszta, Ormándlak, Sármellék-Égenföld. Sormás-Hosszúdűlő can be excluded because there is not any evidence for a continuous occupation between the late La Tène settlement and the late Roman burials; L. Horváth: A magyarszerdahelyi kelta és római temető (Celtic and Roman cemetery of Magyarszerdahely). ZalaiGyűjt 14 (1979) 91.

93 *N. Heger:* Das Weiterleben keltischen Volkstums und keltischer Kulturelemente in der römischen Kaiserzeit. in: Die Kelten in Mitteleuropa. Salzburger Landesausstellung. Salzburg 1980 48.

94 *I. Horváth—M. Kelemen—I. Torma:* Komárom megye régészeti topográfiája. Esztergom és a dorogi járás (Archaeological Topography of Komárom County. Esztergom and the Dorog district). Budapest 1979 78 ff.

95 Bajna-Szabadság street, Bajna-Józsahegy, Bajna-Vízállás alatti dűlő — cf. *M. Kelemen* in: Corpus of Celtic Finds in Hungary I. Transdanubia. Budapest 1978 179—180; Esztergom-Búbánatvölgy, Esztergom-Vár, Esztergom-Duna dűlő, Esztergom-Szentgyörgymező, Esztergom-Szentgyörgymező-Dunapart, Esztergom-Víziváros, Esztergom-Hévíz, Esztergom-Löwy S. u. 1., Esztergom-Széchenyi tér, Esztergom-Sziget, Esztergom-Kovácsi, Esztergom-Szentkirályi, Esztergom-Bánomi dűlő, Esztergom-Vári u.—Béke tér, Esztergom-Hideglelőskereszt—Esztergom-Hármaskút, Esztergom-Fűzfáskút cf. *Kelemen* op. cit. 181, Lábatlan-Hosszúföldek, Nagysáp-Kertekalja, Nyergesújfalu-Papírgyári földek cf. *Kelemen* op. cit. 192ff. Pilisszentlélek, Tát cf. *Kelemen* op. cit. 194; Tokod-Erzsébet akna, Tokod-Szorosok *Kelemen* op. cit. 198 Uny-Baráthegy dűlő, Piliscsév-Od Szántova II — *Kelemen* op. cit. 207—208, Pilismarót—Basaharc, Pilismarót-Homoki szőlők III. Pilismarót—Basaharc—Szobi rév, Pilismarót-Felső kút (?), Sárisáp-Anna völgy, Tát-Elementary schooll, Dömös-Tófenék.

96 *É.B. Bónis:* Siedlungsverhältnisse der pannonischen Urbevölkerung und einige Fragen ihres Weiterlebens. ActaArchHung 23 (1971) 38.

97 *M. Kelemen* in: Magyarország régészeti topográfiája 5. Esztergom és a dorogi járás (Archaeological Toporgarphy of Hungary 5. Esztergom and the Dorog district) Budapest 1979 332; *Eadem:* Corpus of Celtic Finds in Hungary I. Transdanubia (eds. *T. Kovács, É. Petres, M. Szabó*). Budapest 1987 198.

98 Ibidem 179 ff.; *M. Kelemen* in: Magyarország régészeti topográfiája 5. Esztergom és a dorogi járás (Archaeological Toporgaphy of Hungary 5. Esztergom and the Dorog district). Budapest 1979 349.

99 Petres 1976 57.

100 On the supposed early Roman fort at Tokod see *B. Lőrincz* In: Die spätrömische Festung und das Gräberfeld von Tokod (ed. A. Mócsy). Budapest 1981 121—122.

101 An early military post can be suggested by the great number of terra sigillata from the Po valley cf. *D. Gabler:* Az importált terra sigilláták forgalma Pannóniában (The circulation of imported Samian wares in Pannonia). ArchÉrt 91 (1964) 96; *Kelemen* op. cit. 338.

102 *S. Mithay:* Régészeti adatok a győri járás történetéhez (Archaeological Data to the History of the Győr District). Győr 1956.

103 *É. Vadász* in: Corpus of Celtic Finds in Hungary I. Transdanubia (eds. *T. Kovács—É. Petres—M. Szabó*). Budapest 1987 231—248.

104 Győr—Likócs: *A. Börzsönyi:* Győr vármegye őstörténete (The prehistory of County Győr) in: Magyarország városai és vármegyéi (Towns and Counties of Hungary) (ed. S. Borovszky). Budapest 1911 258; *Mithay* op. cit. 99, Öttevény: *Mithay* op. cit. 99, Lébény: *Pusztai* op. cit., Győr-Kálvária: *E. Lovas:* Kelta leletek a győri Kálvária és újszállási temetőkből és Rábatamásiból (Celtic finds from the cemeteries of Kálvária and Újszállás in Győr and from Rábatamási). FolArch 1 (1939) 88—89; cf. *I. Hunyady:* Kelták a Kárpát-medencében. Leletanyag (Celts in the Carpathian Basin. The find material). RégFüz 2. Budapest 1957 9 pl. LXXXI. 12.

105 *A. Uzsoki:* Die Siedlungsgeschichte der La Tène B—C Periode des Komitats Győr-Sopron. SzegediMÉ 1969/2 69—82.

106 *Idem:* in: Győr. Várostörténeti tanulmányok (Győr. Town historical studies) (ed. L. Dávid and A. Lengyel). Győr 1971 14.

107 *J. Fitz:* Arrabona, Arrabo, Aravisci. Alba Regia 4—5 (1963—1964) 1965 255

108 For a report on this excavation see *V. Borbíró—I. Valló:* Győr városépítéstörténete (The town building history of Győr). Budapest 1956 131.

109 *K. Kozák—A. Uzsoki:* A győri székesegyház feltárása (Les fouilles executées dans la catédrale de Győr). Arrabona 12 (1970) 111—159

110 *B. Szőke—E. Szőnyi—P. Tomka:* Ausgrabungen auf dem Káptalandomb in Győr. MittArchInst 8—9 (1978—1979) 137—142.

111 *E. Szőnyi:* Forschungen im Auxiliarkastell von Arrabona. Alba Regia 19 (1982) 135—143.

112 Dasius: RIU 239; Bato: RIU 255; Scilus: RIU 256; Crispus: RIU 259.

113 *J. Garbsch:* Die norisch-pannonische Frauentracht im 1. und 2. Jh. MünchBeitr. zur Vor- und Frühgesch. 11 (1965); *L. Barkóczi:* Brigetio. Diss Pann II:22. Budapest 1944—1951 Taf. I. 2, 4.

114 *E. Lovas:* Győr város és vármegye feliratos és domborműves római emlékei (Roman epigraphic and relief remains of the town and county of Győr). Győri Szemle 1 (1930) 198; *K. Sági:* Kocsiábrázolások Pannónia szepulchrális vonatkozású kőemlékein. (Chariot representations on the sepulchral stone monuments of Pannonia). ArchÉrt 1944—1945 230; *D. Gabler:* Arrabona és környékének kőplasztikai emlékei (Stone sculpture remains of Arrabona and its environs). Arrabona 10 (1968) 56.
115 *Garbsch* op. cit. 429 (Gyirmót: winged brooch) 430 (Győr), 441 (Koroncó: Doppelknopffibel), 490 (Szőny: winged brooch); *J. Garbsch:* Ein Flügelfibelfragment vom Lorenzberg bei Epfach. Studien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte. München 1974 238; *E. Szőnyi,* Arrabona 16 (1974) Fig. 6 (winged brooch).
116 *A. Mócsy:* Die Bevölkerung von Pannonien bis zu den Markomannenkriegen. Budapest 1959 47; *H.U. Nuber:* Kanne und Griffschale. Ihr Gebrauch in täglichen Leben und die Beigabe in Gräbern der römischen Kaiserzeit. BRGK 53 (1982) 150, 216; *É. Bónis:* A noricumi—pannoniai halomsíros temetkezés korhatározásának kérdése. A Fejér megyei tumulusok jellegzetes emlékanyaga (The problem of the chronology of tumulus burials in Noricum and Pannonia. The characteristic findmaterial of tumuli in Fejér county). ArchÉrt 102 (1975) 249; *O. Urban:* Das Gräberfeld von Kapfenstein und die römischen Hügelgräber in Österreich. MünchBeitr. zur Vor- und Frühgesch. 35 (1984) 141—143.
117 *É Petres:* Beziehungen der keltischen und der römerzeitlichen einheimischen Bevölkerung im 1. und 2. Jh. Alba Regia 6—7 (1965—1966) 200.
188 Ibidem. In contrary to *M. Szabó's* review of *É. Bónis:* Die spätkeltische Siedlung Gellérthegy-Tabán in Budapest. ArchÉrt 47. Budapest 1969. In: ActaArchHung 22 (1970) 433, note 17.
119 *E. Tóth:* Megjegyzések Pannonia provincia kialakulásának kérdéséhez (Comments on the development of the province Pannonia). ArchÉrt 109 (1981) 27 rejected rightly the suggestion of settling the *Azali* in the Danube bend from their homeland in South Pannonia; cf. *A. Mócsy:* Pannonia Forschung 1983—1976. ActaArchHung 29 (1977) 383.
120 *C.J. Guyonvarc'h:* Arrabona, Arabo-, Aravisci. Notes sur un toponyme celtique de Hongrie. Arrabona 5 (1963) 96—100; on his observations see remarks by *J. Fitz* Alba Regia 4—5 (1963—1964) [1965] 255. On the movements caused by the Boi migration cf. *É. Petres:* Fejér megye története I:3. A kelták Fejér megyében (The History of County Fejér I:3. The Celts in county Fejér). Székesfehérvár 1971, 129; *J. Fitz:* Herkunft und Ethnikum dere Eravisker. ActaAnt 6 (1958) 398ff.
121 *E. Tóth:* Geschichte der Oberen Wart im ersten Jahrtausend. Die Obere Wart. (hrsg. L. Trieber). Oberwart 1977 82.
122 *I. Borzsák:* Die Kenntnisse des Altertums über das Karpatenbecken. DissPann I:6. Budapest 1936 31; *A. Graf:* Übersicht der antiken Geographie von Pannonien. DissPann I:5. Budapest 1936 20ff; *A. Alföldi:* Zur Geschichte des Karpatenbeckens im 1. Jh. v. Chr. Ostmitteleuropäische Bibliothek 37 (1942) 16ff.
123 *Zachar* op. cit. 48.
124 *Kuzmová* op. cit. 315, Abb. 1.
125 *D. Gabler:* Kutatások Arrabona canabaejában (Research in the canabae of Arrabona). Arrabona 13 (1971) 14.
126 *E. Szőnyi:* A győri Kálvária utcai római temető csontvázas sírjai (Skeletal burials in the Kálvária Street Roman cemetery of Győr). Arrabona 16 (1974) 30.
127 The Roman fort at Ács-Vaspuszta (Ad Statuas) on the Danubian *limes* in Hungary. BAR. Int. ser. (forthcoming).
128 *M. Grünewald:* Die Funde aus dem Schutthügel des Legionslagers von Carnuntum (Die Baugrube Pingitzer). RLiÖ 32. Wien 1983 37.
129 *Eadem:* Die Gefäßkeramik des Legionslagers Carnuntum (Grabungen 1968—1972). RLiÖ 29. Wien 1970 52.
130 *L. Barkóczi—É. Bónis:* Das frührömische Lager und Wohnsiedlung in Adony (Vetus Salina). ActaArchHung 4 (1954) 150.
131 *É. Bónis:* Urnen mit Meisterzeichen aus einer südwestpannonischen Töpferei. FolArch 14 (1962) 23—31; *É. Kocztur:* Ausgrabungen im südlichen Stadtviertel von Gorsium. Alba Regia 13 (1974) 124.
132 See note 128.
133 *E. Ettlinger:* Cooking pots at Vindonissa. Roman Pottery Studies in Britain and Beyond (ed. J. Lore—K. Greene). BAR supp. 30. Oxford 1977 50.
134 On survival of pre-Roman cult-places in Raetia cf. *R.A. Majer:* Ein römerzeitlichere Brandopferplatz bei Schwangau und andere Zeugnisse einheimischer Religion in der Provinz Rätien. Forschungen zur provinzialrömischen Archäologie in Bayerisch-Schwaben. Augsburg 1985 247 „die Existenz der alten Religionslandschaft oder Kultprovinz könnte nämlich eine für die Herausbildung der römischen Reichsprovinz Rätien nicht unwichtige Voraussetzung gewessen sein."

É. B. Bónis

COMMENTS ON DÉNES GABLER'S PAPER

The paper of D. Gabler (in: Antaeus 19—20 [1990—1991] 51—70) sheds light on several aspects of the continuity of the native population and the Roman conquerors. It is a summary of his decades-long studies of the subject. Having perfected the dating value of the Samian wares, Dénes Gabler managed to clarify such questions of historical significance as for example the chronology of the Dévény oppidum, the role of the high-altitude forts at Dévény, Pozsony and Braunsberg, or the foundfation of Carnuntum. His article on the latter problem in the Mitteilungen of Carnuntum proved to be a landmark work.[1] His results were recognized by the researchers in Austria and Slovakia. Mention must be made here of some of the most recent achievements as well: the houses of the late Celtic settlement at Pozsony were hit upon by Lev Zachar, and Otto Urban launched excavations at Braunsberg. The excavation of this key mountain settlement — most probably oppidum — still has lots of surprise in store. Outstanding among the latest achievements of the late LT and early Roman researches is the fact that the rampart and walls of the Gellérthegy oppidum were brought to light by Gyula Nováki and Mária Pető.[2] Now there is no more need for the circumspect term ''oppidum-like''. Among the other landmarks, let us refer to Gabler's summary, in which credit was given to Márta Kelemen for uncovering the LT settlements in the area of Esztergom and to László Horváth, who brought to light similar settlements in the southern part of Zala County.

Speaking of the high-altitude settlements, mention must be made of the mountain fort at Sopron-Várhegy, which also had a prime role to play in the transition period from the late Celtic to the Roman Age. In her study published in the 1982 volume of the Berichte, Erzsébet Patek pointed out a settlement hiatus that lasted from the HD to the LT D.[3] In the LT D period, however, she established that not only the circular rampart was renewed but also LT D ramparts were raised across the centre of the fortified settlement. Moreover, she uncovered two LT D pits, one of which contained a millstone typical of the period and the other LT D pottery sherds.[4] Only stray finds have come to light at the Várhegy site that could be assigned to the Roman period. In other words, this site proved to be a typical instance of discontinuity: the Romans could not put up with a mountain settlement of the natives above the Amber Road and Scarbantia.

Since the paper dealt with the survival of native settlements, no mention was made of the structures — most probably dwelling pits — which were uncovered in the canabae of the forts and in the auxiliary *vici*. Before World War Two, experts believed that only stone structures or occasionally wooden barracks existed in the Pannonian forts. However, the excavations conducted after the war — by László Barkóczi at Adony, Jenő Fitz and Éva Kocztur at Gorsium, Melinda Kaba at Aquincum and Tibor Nagy, Klára Póczy and myself at Albertfalva — have revealed that the stone structures appeared very late at the military settlements of Pannonia

Inferior. In fact it is rather difficult to differentiate the dug-out dwelling houses with wooden pile structure and wattle-and-daub wall from the comparable houses of the civilian natives. This similarity is clearly shown by Éva Kocztur's comparative chart,[5] according to which the houses of the No II castrum at Gorsium were almost completely identical with the houses of the natives in Fejér county — which were described by Éva Petres[6] — and also with the houses uncovered in the Barbaricum.

As it was revealed by Gabler, in many cases the native-like settlements cannot be considered the direct continuations of the LT D settlements. One such colony was the rural settlement at Balatonaliga, which was inhabited by rural folks after the late 1st century. These people lived on agriculture and animal husbandry. Remarkably, they used the stones and bricks that had remained from the Roman constructions for skirting their dug-out houses. The buildings of this group of people, who lived on the margin of a more advanced architectural culture, resembled those of today's slum-dwellers in South America, who make makeshift structures from the wastes of a superior industry.

The similarity which characterized the dug-out houses described above was also manifest in the areas which were enclosed for the dead. In Pannonia, the most attractive example for the latter phenomenon is known from Halimba. The circular and square plots which were encircled by shallow V-shaped ditches and are known from the 1961 issue of the Folia Archaeologica[7] were not dwelling sites but graveyards. However, the burials there had already been destroyed by the cultivation. Let me cite only two examples to prove how common these "encircled graves" ("umgegrabene Gräber") were throughout Europe. First, there is the early imperial-period cemetery with circular and square plots at Kryspinów, near Krakow. It was described by the Polish expert Godlowski. According to him, the cemetery, which was first introduced in Vozokany in 1977 at a symposion which was also devoted to the questions of continuity,[8] was characteristic of the period of transition from the late LT period to the early imperial era. The other comparable cemetery was introduced by J. K. Haalebos at the 15th international conference of the Rei Cretariae Romanae Fautores held in Worms in 1986. This cemetery, situated at Nijmegen-Hetert, came into use as a burial ground after the reign of Flavius. The graves there were also surrounded by circular and square ditches. At both Halimba and Nijmegen-Hetert, the ditches were cut off to leave room for the entrance to the plot.

The author made mention of the coarse, poorly turned pots, which are considered the principal representatives of the natives' traditions. In fact, pots of this kind are also known from burials in Brigetio which date from the 3rd century. These so-called "Patka pots" I have already had the chance to discuss in more detail,[9] and much earlier I also treated a workshop in Poetovio — that of AVINIA.[10] My conclusions were fully accepted by the Yugoslav experts. In my opinion these coarse pots, which were decorated with incised lines or were slashed, were not used for transporting foodstuffs as their gritty fabric was too fragile. Let me underline here that the lids of these pots require very careful study: quite often the experts are misled by their gritty fabric and cone-frustum shape if they analyse these lids *upside down*. It is indeed easy to mistake these lids for the so-called handleless "Dacian" cups — expect for the fact that the fabric of the latter objects is much harder, they have no incised decoration on the inside and often have handles with cylindrical section.

NOTES

1 *D. Gabler:* Zum Anfangsdatum des römischen Carnuntum. Mitt d. Ges. d. Freunde Carnuntums, 1981 Heft 3, 2—32.
2 *Gy. Nováki — M. Pető:* Neuere Forschungen im spätkeltischen Oppidum auf dem Gellérthegy in Budapest. ActArchHung 40 (1988) 83—99.
3 *E. Patek:* Neue Untersuchungen auf dem Burgstall bei Sopron. BRGK 63 (1982) 154.
4 Ibid. 171, Note 162.
5 *É.V. Kocztur:* Újabb adatok Gorsium őslakosságának háztípusaihoz (New data on the house types of the native Celtic inhabitants of Gorsium). FolArch 23 (1972) 55—547.
6 *É.F. Petres:* A kelták Fejér megyében (The Celts in Fejér County). Fejér megye története (History of Fejér County) 1:3. Székesfehérvár 1971 132—133.
7 *Gy. Török:* Rómaikori faházak nyomai Halimbán (Traces of Roman Age wooden houses at Halimba). FolArch 16 (1961) 63—71.
8 *K. Godlowski:* Das Gräberfeld in Kryspinów bei Kraków und seine Bedeutung für den Übergang zwischen der Latène- und der römischen Kaiserzeit in Kleinpolen. Symposium, Ausklang der Latène-Zivilisation und Anfänge der germanischen Besiedlung im Mittleren Donaugebiet. Bratislava 1977 59—80, Figs 8—10.
9 *É.B. Bónis:* A noricum-pannóniai halomsíros temetkezés korhatározásának kérdése. A fejérmegyei tumulusok jellegzetes emlékanyaga (Questions of the dating of the tumulus burials at Noricum — Pannonia. The characteristic finds of the tumuli in Fejér County). ArchÉrt 102 (1975) 244—249, Fig 2.
10 *É.B. Bónis:* Mesterjegyes urnák egy délnyugat-pannóniai fazekasműhelyből (Urns with masterstamps from a potters' workshop in southwest Pannonia). FolArch 14 (1961) 23—34.

A.H. Vaday

THE DACIAN QUESTION IN THE SARMATIAN BARBARICUM

The question of the Dacians in the Carpathian Basin was summed up most recently by Zsolt Visy.[1] He established the following periods in his historical study: 1. the age of Burebista, i.e. the period of the centralized Dacian state; 2. the period between the death of Burebista and the Dacian wars of Trajan, which was characterized first by the decentralization of power and then by a new political-administrative centralization under Decebal; and 3. the period following the Dacian wars of Trajan and the foundation of Dacia province.[2] Since the present paper approaches the problem from the point of view of Sarmatian research, I took as chronological starting point the occurrence of the Sarmatians in the Great Hungarian Plain, which resulted in considerable changes there both technically and politically.

It has long been considered a fact beyond dispute that the Yazigs were settled in the Great Plain by the Romans in order to create a buffer state between the Romans and the Dacians in the territory of the so-called Pannonian pouch.[3] However, the occurrence of the Yazigs took place during the breaking up of the centralized Dacian state, i.e. in a period when the creation of another Barbarian buffer state was not necessarily justified by the political situation and the power relations. In an earlier study I have already raised the point that the settlement of the Yazigs did not necessarily took place under the Romans' inspiration. Such a large-scale diplomatic and political move must have left a trace in the rather accurate and reliable chronicles of the day, which painstakingly covered and evaluated even the minor diplomatic feasts of the Romans. The epithet metanastae-μετανασται before the name of the Yazigs was undeniably misleading for the interpreters of the sources. It was on the basis of this epithet that research had earlier associated the settlement of the Yazigs withthe Romans. However, the epithet was used only to differentiate the Yazig splinter tribe which settled in the Great Plain from the main Yazig tribe which remained at the lower reaches of the Danube.[4] Another argument against the settlement of the Yazigs by the Romans is that the immigration of the Yazigs could not take place within a definite brief period. Instead, it must have taken quite a long while for the main tribe and its kings to arrive in the territory between the rivers Danube and Tisza. In the years 68—69, neither the king nor the main tribe were in this area yet. The Yazigs, who played a subordinate role within the alliance system of the Quads, were represented at the negotiations by the tribal chiefs.

There is still another argument based on archaeological evidence, i.e. on the geographical location of the early Sarmatian finds. Contrary to the points raised above, this argument bears closely upon the Dacian question, since the finds were hit upon in regions other than the presumed site of the buffer state, and their concentration was the most marked in zones which could hardly pose a real Dacian threat to the Romans in the first half of the 1st century.

In analysing the question of continuity and discontinuity we have to define first the location and ethnic composition of the population that preceded the immigrating Yazigs. Relying on historical sources, András Alföldi stated that in the Great Plain the 'hegemony of the Celts was eliminated by the attack of the Dacians' under Burebista, and that in this period the boundary beteween the territories of the Celts and the Dacians was situated along the river Tisza or in the region between the rivers Danube and Tisza.[5]

This boundary line was still existing under the rule of Diurpaneus and Decebal, although by then it separated the Dacians from the Sarmatians. We should of course also clarify the nature and extent of the Dacians' rule in the Great Plain, and also whether it was a direct ethnic presence or the area just belonged to the Dacians' sphere of interest. Here again the archaeological finds offer appropriate clues. To quote András Alföldi: 'The overwhelming majority of the Sarmatian finds discovered in Hungarian territory are objects with demonstrable local roots. Consequently, we have ground to presume that the population conquered in this territory by the intruding Sarmatians outnumbered the conquerors'.[6] As regards the ethnic composition of the conquered population let us quote Mihály Párducz, who based his conclusions on the archaeological finds: 'The basis for the Sarmatian material culture was most probably furnished by the influence of the ancient Celtic and the contemporary Dacian peoples'.[7] János Harmatta was still more specific: 'The Sarmatians were dependent on the Celtic-Dacian metallurgy'.[8] And a further observation by András Mócsy: '...the Dacians gained footholds at several points of the Carpathian Basin. The Dacian cups with handle and the other typically Dacian vessels that have often come to light at the late Iron Age and early imperial period sites of the Carpathian Basin are proofs for the expansion of the Dacian rule and also for the gradual ''Dacianization'' of the contemporary populatiuon. The spread of the Dacian vessels provers that this ''Dacianization'' was especially marked in the area of today's Slovakia, where part of the Dacians who fled from Dacia under Trajan had settled. Only a few of the Dacian finds coming from Transdanubian sites can be associated with a transitory Dacian occupation. Their occurrence among the Roman objects was more probably the result of settlements that took place later, during the Roman period'.[9] This conservation clearly indicates how the various problems have become merged into one another rather voluntarily. It speaks about the Dacians' conquests, which reputedly continued in the 'Dacianization' of the Celtic objects during the late Iron Age and the early imperial period. However, the rub here is that these objects became considerably more characteristic of the later post-Trajan period, which points to a repeated settlement by the Romans rather than mere continuity. Since the present paper is devoted to the Dacians' presence in the Great Plain, I do not wish to touch upon the chronological questions of the above-mentioned Dacian finds that come from Transdanubia. Also, I only wish to highlight here a few questions relating to the dating and identification of the pottery finds.

In her analysis of the finds dating from the period between the rule of Burebista and the settlement of the Sarmatians, Borbála Maráz concluded that the Dacian objects were completely missing 'in the eastern half of the Carpathian Basin'.[10] This opinion was not shared by Ibolya Nepper, who argued that the influence of the Dacian potters was clearly marked on the Sarmatian wares turned out between the earliest times and the 3rd century. Moreover, Nepper stated that this influence was also indicative of a longer coexistence of the Sarmatians with the Dacians.[11]

These opinions would lead us to conclude that in the early years of the 1st century the Sarmatians conquered the mixed Dacian population which earlier occupied the territories of the Celts. In that period the conquerors had to rely on the Celtic-Dacian metallurgy and had thus lived side by side with the Celtic-Dacian original population. In other words, there was a continuity of the original population under the new Sarmatian rule. However, there are counter-arguments that stress the conspicuous lack of Celtic-Dacian finds from the fifty-odd years that preceded the Sarmatians' arrival! Moreover, I also wish to add here that we have found no material proof yet at any of the known sites for such a cohabitation. The results of the most recent researches could not solve this contradiction either. Having completed a comprehensive research in the Upper Tisza region in NE Hungary, Eszter Istvánovits found that 'the Upper Tisza regiuon was archaeologically empty between the LT-D period, i.e. the 1st century B.C., and the settlement of the Sarmatians, i.e., the second half of the 2nd century A.D, The area that was densely occupied by the Celts had become completely depopulated by the LT-D period. Only one or two minor settlements and some stray burials have survived from that period. In the nearly three centuries that followed, the region at issue was almost completely deserted.'[12] The similar researches I have conducted in the central Tisza region could likewise not hit upon Celtic-Dacian or purely Dacian objects from the pre-Sarmatian conquest period. The problem also applies to the areas in the south, and on the other banks of the Körös rivers. This question there was first raised during the excavation at Hódmezővásárhely-Kakasszék. That assemblage was published by Gyula Gazdapusztai,[13] with coments added by Mihály Párducz.[14] According to Párducz, the finds represent two chronological periods: the era preceding the Sarmatian conquest and the period of Sarmatian-Dacian cohabitation. He established that 'the site offered the first example in the Great Plain for the natives' typical burial custom of contracting the corpses. This custom differed markedly from that of the Sarmatian Yazigs. However, it appears undeniable that the contracted burials were furnished with Dacian pottery wares.' According to Párduch, burials Nos. 1, 2 and 5 at Kakasszék could be ascribed to this period. All three burials were S-E orientated. Grave No. 1 was a distrubed male burial. It offered a so-called Sarmatian iron buckle with oval head and covered with punched gold plate. The buckle can be dated to the second half of the 2nd century. Grave No. 2 was the burial of a woman clad in typical 2nd century beaded wear. The grave also offered a 2nd century enamelled brooch and a Roman brooch with trapezoid legs and marked profile. The partially disturbed grave No. 5 also included beads of similar type. I wish to add here the knee-brooch with partitioned leg that came to light in grave No. 10, as these graves all offered typically Sarmatian wares as well as imported Roman objects with dating value. The graves were all purely Sarmatian both in rites and in wear. Párducz identified three other Kakasszék finds as Dacian:[15] all three vessels were stray finds discovered prior to the excavation proper. According to Gazdapusztai, the workers at the site reportedly hit upon two of these vessels in graves with contracted burials. Let me stress here how misleading these oral reports could be by hinting only at the reputed Sarmatian practice of burying the dead in sitting or standing position. It is rather doubtful that at the Kakasszék site these finds belonged to natives who buried their dead exclusively in contracted position. It is more likely that the workers hit upon previously disturbed burials. The composition of the Kakasszék assemblage is not different from that of the common 2nd century assemblages in the Great Plain: it includes

mostly Sarmatian-Roman objects and a few 'Dacian' potteries. The same observation applies to the site at Jánosszállás in the southern part of the Great Plain.[16] In another of his studies Mihály Párducz[17] tried to account for this problem by presuming that the Dacians and the Sarmatians buried their dead separately in the initial period, and that the joint burials of the 'agrarian natives', i.e. the Celtic-Dacians and the pastoral Yazigs, occurred after the second half of the 2nd century. This, according to Párducz, 'indicated the advenced stage of their amalgamation.' This view was shared by Ibolya Nepper.[18] However, the problem is that we know of no individual and separable burial in the Great Plain from either the 1st or the 2nd century A.D. that could be identified as purely Dacian. Elsewhere Párducz also admitted that the metal objects typical of the Dacians were missing from the Sarmatian territories.[19] Accordingly, the 'Dacian' assemblages were limited only to the hand-made cups and pots. In one of her studies Éva Bónis added that even the wheel-turned Dacian pottery was missing.[20] At the same time it is worth noting here that both the typical metal objects and the wheel-turned Dacian pottery are present in great strength in the assemblages coming from Eastern Slovakian and Sub-Carpathian sites.[21] A survey of the so-called Dacian pottery finds would support the theories formulated earlier.

'Dacian' vessels were found in S-E orientated Sarmatian burials in the Great Plain in Debrecen Szabolcs utca,[22] Érpatak-Zsindelyes tanya,[23] Felsőpusztaszer,[24] Maklár-Koszperium domb[25] and Mezőtárkány.[26] The only exception here is the assemblage coming from the Tiszavasvári Krúdy Gyula utca site, which can be considered hundred percent Dacian. All the other objects discovered in its surroundings are associable with the Sarmatians.[27] (We shall return to this issue below.) Consequently, we have to leave out of consideration the stray finds, but the objects coming from the excavated settlements are all relevant to the 'Dacian question'. At the Hajdúböszörmény Sarmatian site, Ibolya Nepper identified a few Dacian pottery.[28] Consequently, we know of no purely Dacian burials or settlements in the Great Plain of the 1st-2nd centuries, i.e. during the Sarmatian conquest.

Most typical among the above-mentioned Dacian pottery finds are the so-called Dacian cups. According to Éva Bónis,[29] this type became common from Silesia down to the Balkans after the 1st century A.D. They were typical of the period between the 1st century B.C. and the 1st century A.D.,[30] and some are known from as late as the 3rd century,[31] and also from a burial at Chernakhov, where these wares were dated by a coin of Honorius.[32] Accordingly, it is rather difficult to assing a more specific date to the type. It has been observed earlier that the cups which are datable by other accompanying finds normally come from the period when the whole area of the Great Plain was already occupied by the Sarmatians.[33] Besides the conclusion of the Hungarian experts mention must be made here of the opinion of foreign scholars, not least because they are rather informative. With reference to Párducz's publications, Bichir[34] stated that the presence of the Dacian wares in the Sarmatian Barbaricum should be considered a clear sign of the fact that the Dacians were living side by side with the occupying Sarmatians, i.e. that they were not driven away as it was stated by Pliny.[35] Bichir said that 'in the light of these data (i.e. Párducz's works cited above) the words of Pliny the elder — according to which the Dacians were driven away from the plain straight to the banks of the river Tisza — we should not misinterpret, i.e. his report should be taken to mean that following the settlement of the Sarmatians the area between the rivers Danube and Tisza came under their (political and military)

authority, and that the majority of the native Dacians continued to live together with the new arrivals'. This is proved by a number of archaeological finds, especially by those coming from Jánosszállás. This is how a superficial view could consider an assemblage proof for continuity when the assemblage itself dates the conquest by the Sarmatians to one century later.

And this is why we have to refer here to the assemblage coming from the Békéscsaba-Fényes site. According to András Mócsy, 'The traces of the Dacian period have so far been relatively scarce in the territory east of the river Tisza'. However, we have ground to expect finds in the region of Orosháza which could be compared to those coming from Békéscsaba-Fényes and which could furnish proof for a Dacian occupation'.[36] Indeed, the Békéscsaba-Fényes assemblage appears to be a 'pure' find at the first glance, i.e. one that has no Sarmatian objects in it. Let us give here a brief description of this assemblage. Párducz published 20 vessels, most of which come from unknown findspots or from the 'wider area' of Békéscsaba. Only one pottery comes from Békéscsaba-Fényes.[37] According to Párducz, the form and fabric of the vessels indicate not only the contemporaneity of this group of pottery, but also that they might well come from the same findspot'.[38] Let us not enter into the debate whether we have ground to associate 19 stray vessels with one that has a more specific findspot, especially in view of the fact that the vessels are kept separately in two museums. Suffice it to state here that the purely Dacian assemblage — which is considered a proof for the Dacian occupation — consists of three prehistoric vessels[39] and two 7th century vessels[40] further hand-made wares that do not fit for dating. Having thus summed up the Dacian wares, let me refer to the fact that in his research Zsolt Visy had to face similar problems since the finds he had collected in the Great Plain were likewise mixed.

The question comes natural at this point: are we entitled to speak about Dacian continuity here when we have no 'pure' Dacian assemblages from either settlements or cemeteries that could be dated to the period of the Sarmatian conquest? One might refer here to some rather off-chance inadequacies in the excavations or the dating procedures, but the standard and quantity of the researches render these 'adversities' highly improbable. It is far more likely that the rule of the Dacians was manifest primarily in the political field and not in their direct ethnic presence.

Consequently, the river Tisza should be considered the boundary for the Dacians' sphere of interest rather than for their territory. This is all the more probable since the early Sarmatian objects are represented in strength on the right bank of the Tisza, while this does not apply to the Dacian objects on the left bank.

We have to mention here two other excavations, both of which were conducted at Sarmatian settlements. The excavation at Tiszaföldvár-Téglagyár (Sarmatian settlement dating from the age of the Huns) has brought to light objects from an earlier Sarmatian settlement datable to the 2nd century. The early settlement has yielded a few pits and fireplaces, which contained Sarmatian and Roman imported potteries as well as hand-made, so-called Dacian wares. The early settlement is datable to the LT-B period. The excavated area has yielded no proof for continuity.

In 1987—88 rescue excavations were conducted at 133 sites in the area of Gyoma. Part of this rather extensive area had earlier been destroyed by mining. On the eastern bank of the mine lake Bruno Genito hit upon traces of late Sarmatian-Hunnish settlements and also a few pottery sherds dating from the 2nd-3rd cen-

turies. The rescue excavations were conducted on the western shore of the lake, in a huge contiguous area. The settlement is so far unparallelled in the Great Plain both in its age and in its size. Besides the rather common houses, wells, storage and refuse pits, the settlement has also yielded huge workshop pits and special industrial furnaces of various kind. The latter objects are unique both in Hungary and in a wider geographical context. We could identify the original function of some of these furnaces: they were used for processing pig-iron brought there from other places. The accompanying finds and tools also helped in the identification of the furnaces, which survived in rather bad repair. There were a few pits in the northern part of the area that have yielded a small number of exclusively Dacian objects. This assemblage was similar to that discovered at the Tiszavasvári-Krúdy Gyula utca site. The excavators' first impression was that they hit upon a pre-Sarmatian conquest settlement. However, this opinion of ours was altered by later observations, namely by the objects uncovered next to these pits. These objects included both Dacian and Roman wares, which dated the find to a later period and could be compared both chronologically and in its associations to the other pits containing Sarmatian objects. In other words, the objects from the 'Dacian' pits were mixed with finds from other pits that contained both Sarmatian and Roman objects. The typically Sarmatian wares were mixed in the latter pits with painted Roman potteries, glazed wares and Westerndorf and Rheinzabern sigillatae. However, the Dacian objects uncovered at this site differed from those found at other sites in the Great Plain and identified earlier as Dacian. The assemblage at issue included a large number and variety of typical Dacian cups, and also lids of various type, bowls, larger and smaller pots decorated with festoons, knobs or occasionally impressed ornaments, wheel-turned Dacian jugs, bowls, storage vessels, wheel-turned bowls with high base and incised ornament and bowls with handle of the Balkan type. Some of the bone tools also had parallels at other Dacian settlements. However, no 'purely' Dacian stratum has been brought to light at the site. The data at our disposal indicate that this part of the settlement began to thrive after the second half of the 2nd century. The settlement was not destroyed: instead, the workshops were deserted only for functional reasons. One such huge deserted pit was discovered in the SW part of the area. There a Sarmatian grave was dug above a pit filled up in the 3rd century. All the other burials (in a cemetery) were situated further west from the excavated area. At the same site a furnace and a related pit, and also another pit were dug into the earlier layer sometime at the end of the 4th century. Since the layer between was intact, we could prove there as well as at several other points that the 2nd century settlement was still existing in the 3rd century. The subsequent structural changes moved the settlement gradually towards the east, and the objects on the edge of this later settlement were erected above, or cut into, the central part of the earlier settlement.

Since the excavation was completed only recently and the finds are still being processed, we have no ground yet for quantified comparisons. However, it remains certain that the settlement at issue was inhabited by an amalgamated Dacian-Sarmatian populatiuon, although this should not be seen as a continuous Dacian seettlement but instead as one where the Sarmatians made home for some of the Dacians who fled from their original homeland. The presence of pig-iron at the sites indicates that the raw material was shipped to the workshops — presumably by water from Dacia — and that the Dacian craftsmen were engaged

in processing it. Regrettably, the excavated area has offered no Dacian burial, and thus we cannot settle the question comprehensively.

All things considered, this was the earliest excavated site where Dacian objects in considerable quantities have been brought to light in the central Sarmatian Barbaricum.

REFERENCES

Alföldi 1942 — A. *Alföldi:* Budapest története (History of Budapest) I. Budapest 1942 172—235.

Bónis 1969 — É.B. *Bónis:* Die spätkeltische Siedlung Gellérthegy-Tabán in Budapest. ArchHung 47. Budapest 1969.

Bichir 1976 — G. *Bichir:* Relatiile dintre Sarmati si Geto-Daci pina la sfirsitual secolului I. e.n. SCIVA 27 (1976) 203—214.

Diaconu 1965 — G. *Diaconu:* Tirgsor, Necropole din secolele III—IV e.n. Bucuresti 1965.

Gazdapusztai 1960 — Gy. *Gazdapusztai:* Dák-szarmatakori temető és telep Hódmezővásárhely-Kakasszéken (Dacian-Sarmatian cemetery and settlement at Hódmezővásárhely-Kakasszék). ArchÉrt 87 (1960) 47—50.

Harmatta 1949 — J. *Harmatta:* A magyarországi szarmaták eredetének és bevándorlásának kérdéséhez (On the origins and immigration of the Sarmatians of Hungary). ArchÉrt 76 (1949) 30—36.

Harmatta 1970 — J. *Harmatta:* Studies on the history and language of Sarmatians. ActaAntSzeged 13 (1970).

Istvánovits 1986 — E. *Istvánovits:* Északkelet-Magyarország területének római kori története (Roman Age history of northeastern Hungary). Budapest 1986 (manuscript).

Maráz 1974 — B. *Maráz:* Chronologische Probleme der Spätlatènzeit in der Südtiefebene (Südost-Ungarn). PécsiMÉ 19 (1977) 107—128.

Maráz 1977 — B. *Maráz:* Délkelet-Magyarország La Tène korának kronológiai kérdései (Chronological questions of the La Tène period of southeastern Hungary). ArchÉrt 104 (1977) 47—64.

Mesterházy 1984 — K. *Mesterházy:* Debrecen és környéke a népvándorlás és honfoglalás korában (History of Debrecen and its environment in the migration period and the age of the Conquest). In: Debrecen története 1963-ig (History of Debrecen until 1963) I. Debrecen 1984 69—98.

Mitrea — Preda 1966 — B. *Mitrea* — C. *Preda:* Necropole din secolui al IVlea e.n. In Muntenia. Bibliotheca de archeologie 10 Bucuresti 1966.

Mócsy 1965 — A. *Mócsy:* A kora római időszak (The early Roman period). In: Orosháza története (History of Orosháza). Orosháza 1965.

Mócsy 1975 — A. *Mócsy:* Pannónia a korai császárság idején (Pannonia during the early imperial period). Budapest 1975.

Nepper 1973 — I.M. *Nepper:* Hajdúböszörmény határának népei és kultúrája az őskőkortól az i.sz. III. sz. végéig (The inhabitants of the environs of Hajdúböszörmény and their culture from the palaeolithic age till the late 3rd century A.D.). in: Hajdúböszörmény története (History of Hajdúböszörmény). Debrecen 1973 9—13.

Nepper 1974 — I.M. *Nepper:* Polgár és környéke a népvándorlás koráig (Polgár and its environs until the migration period). in: Polgár története (History of Polgár). Polgár 1974 12—33.

Nepper 1985 — I.M. *Nepper:* Császárkori szarmata telep Biharkeresztes-Ártánd Nagyfarkasdombon (Imperial period Sarmatian settlement at Biharkeresztes-Ártánd Nagyfarkasdomb). DebreceniMÉ 1982 (offprint 1985) 101—249.

Párducz 1941 — M. *Párducz:* Denkmäler der Sarmatenzeit in Ungarns. I. ArchHung 25 Budapest 1941.

82

Párducz 1956 M. *Párducz:* Dák leletek Jánosszálláson (Dacian finds from Jánosszállás). SzegediMÉ 1956 15—30.

Párducz 1958—59 M. *Párducz:* Hunkori szarmata temető Szeged-öthalmon (Hunnish Sarmatian cemetery at Szeged-Öthalom). SzegediMÉ 1958—59 71—99.

Párducz 1960 M. *Párducz:* Megjegyzések a Hódmezővásárhely-kakasszéki szarmatakori lelet értékeléséhez (Comments on the evaluation of the Sarmatian finds from Hódmezővásárhely-Kakasszék). ArchÉrt 87 (1960) 51.

Párducz 1967 M. *Párducz:* Cegléd környékének régészeti emlékei (Archaeological relics in the area of Cegléd). in: Ceglédi Füzetek 16—17. Cegléd 1967 93, 142.

Párducz 1973 M. *Párducz:* Neue Angaben zur Geschichte der Grossen-Ungarischen Tiefebene des Mitteldonaugebietes im 4. Jahrhundert. u.z. MittArchInst 4 (1973) 61—68.

Szabó 1969 *Gy.J. Szabó:* Heves megye régészeti emlékei (Archaeological relics in Heves County). in: Heves megye műemlékei I. Magyarország Műemléki Topográfiája VII. (Monuments of Heves County I. Monument Topography of Hungary VII.) Budapest 1969 41—63.

Vaday 1982—83 *A.H. Vaday:* Das Gräberfeld der Jazyges Metanastae in Mezőcsát-Hörcsögös. MittArchInst 12—13 (1982—83) 167—188, 383—392.

Visy 1970 *Zs. Visy:* Die Daker am Gebiet von Ungarn. SzegediMÉ 1970 5—29.

NOTES

1 *Visy* 1970.
2 *Visy* 1970 5.
3 András Alföldi and later András Mócsy in several of their relevant studies.
4 *Vaday* 1982—83 179.
5 *Strabon* VII, 3, 13; VI, 5, 2; *Ptolemaios* III, 7, 1; 8, 1. *Alföldi* 1942 143—144; see also *Mócsy* 1975 20—22.
6 *Alföldi* 1942 175.
7 *Párducz* 1941 39.
8 *Harmatta* 1949 36; *Harmatta* 1970 45.
9 *Mócsy* 1975 21.
10 *Maráz* 1974 16; *Maráz* 1977 59.
11 *Nepper* 1974 21.
12 *Istvánovits* 1986 16—17. I wish to thank hereby for the author's kind permission to read the manuscript.
13 *Gazdapusztai* 1960.
14 *Párducz* 1960 51.
15 *Párducz* — *Gazdapusztai* 1960, with reference to XVI, 1, 2, 10.
16 *Párducz* 1956.
17 *Párducz* 1958—59, 96; *Párducz* 1967 123.
18 *Nepper* 1985 236.
19 *Párducz* 1956 21.
20 *Bónis* 1969 190.
21 See Note 12.
22 *Mesterházy* 1984 70.
23 *Istvánovits* 1986 18, 22, Cat. 38/2—3.
24 *Párducz* 1956 26.
25 *Szabó* 1969 41.
26 *Szabó* 1969 41; *Visy* 1970 12.
27 *Istvánovits* 1986 22, Cat. 241.
28 *Nepper* 1973 11.
29 *Bónis* 1969 189.
30 *Diaconu* 1965 73.

31 *Mitrea — Preda* 1966 22.
32 *Diaconu* 1965 grave 96, LXXXIX. 1.
33 *Szabó* 1969 41; *Visy* 1970 24—27; *Párducz* 1973 64.
34 *Bichir* 1976 210.
35 *Pliny*, N. H., IV, 80.
36 *Mócsy* 1965 104.
37 *Párducz* 1941 VIII, 12.
38 *Párducz* 1941 12.
39 *Párducz* 1941 VIII. 2 = Békéscaba Museum Inv. No. 52.866.1; VIII. 6 = Inv. No. 52.863.1; VIII. 21 = Gyula, Erkel Ferenc Museum Inv. No. 61.1.91.
40 *Párducz* 1941 VIII. 1 = Békéscsaba Museum Inv. No. 52.865.1; VIII. 5 = Inv. No. 52.870.1.

T. Nagy

TRANSFER OF POWER IN THE LAST CENTURY OF THE WESTERN ROMAN EMPIRE

The economic foundations and the political and military organization of the Late Roman state were laid down during Diocletian's Tetrarchy. It rested on a synthesis and improvement of the 3rd century precedents. It thus appears acceptable to date the beginnings of the Late Roman state to those decades — mindful, of course, of the preceding events. It also seems justified to speak about the state order of the Roman *dominatus* that replaced at the turn of the 3rd—4th centuries the *principatus* established under Augustus. This view can be considered tenable even in view of the fact that for example the title *dominus noster* of the Roman emperor — as an alternative to the title *princeps* — came into use among the Romans as early as during the Severan dynasty,[1] or that the exlusive use of the former *titulus* can be dated only to the reign of Valentinian I.

The era of the above-named Pannonian emperor marked a turning point also in the way the empire was governed. Immediately after his election, Valentinian named his brother Valens as his co-emperor. Valens was endowed with full imperial powers, and Valentinian left in his hands the governing of the eastern provinces from Thracia to Armenia and Aegyptus. Later in time, at a meeting in the suburb called Mediana of the town of Naissos, the two brothers also divided among themselves the top state positions and the command over the military units belonging to the manoeuvring *comitatenses* troops.

Partiti sunt comites et militaris partiti numeri, as the contemporary author Ammianus Marcellinus put it.[2]

By implementing the principle of *partitio imperii,* Valentinian I broke with the monarchic practice of his immediate predecessors Iovianus and Iulianus, and also with that of the whole Constantinus dynasty. He returned to the diarchic form of co-regency which characterized the Late Roman state system of Diocletian. The only major difference in his case was that the *senior Augustus* chose to govern the western rather than the eastern part of the empire.[3]

Discounting a few insignificant divergences, the co-regency of the *fratres concordissimi* Valentinian I and Valens[4] paved the way for the permanent rule of two emperors — the *dominus* in the West and the βασιλεὺς in the East — following the death of Theodosius I. Both emperors were seen as omnipotent rulers by their dependants *(plena imperii potestate).* One of the emperors governed the western half of the empire, from Britannia to the Illyricum and Africa, while the other ruled the eastern half, from Thracia to Arnemia and Aegyptus. However, this division which had existed until 476 with only a few interruptions, did not affect the principle of the *unity* of the empire.

Arcadius and Honorius, who succeeded Theodosius I in January 395, the contemporary author Orosius described as follows: *commune imperium divisis tantum sedibus tenere coeperunt.*[5] Although the rulers of the eastern and

western provinces resided far from each other — in Constantinople and in Medi-olanum (after the year 402 in Ravenna) —, they practiced their rights (e.g. to legis-late or to annually appoint the two denominating consuls) jointly. Meanwhile, each emperor acted as *plena imperii potestate* over his own territory, and their for-eign policies were also independent from each other. The senior Augustus, i.e. the one who acquired the title of emperor earlier, received a honorary precedence. For example his name was stated first on the jointly issued law-decrees. The *com-mune imperium* was also manifest in the practice that upon the death of one of the co-emperors, the surviving emperor was entitled to rule the abandoned territories as a monarchos — provided that the deceased left no appointed successor to the posts of Caesar or Augustus.

Such a situation occurred first in the 5th century, when the death of Honorius left his nephew, Theodosius II, as the sole legal monarch of the whole empire. *Theodosius post obitum Honorii patrui monarchiam tenet imperii,* wrote[6] the contemporary Hispanic chronicler making it plain that in the last month of the year 423 Theodosius was recognized as legal monarch even in the westernmost provinces of the *pars Occidentis* (with Britannia all kinds of official contacts were broken after 410).[7] Let us now see the major phases of this transition from monarchy into co-regency.

When Honorius died, Valentinian III, the other nephew of the deceased em-peror, was staying in the Eastern court together with his mother, Galla Placidia. Ini-tially, Theodosius II did not contemplate the possibility of appointing the then 5-year-old child to the post of co-emperor, notwithstanding that he himself was raised to the post of Augustus by his father Arcadius in 402, when he was still an infant.[8] Finally Theodosius II decided to entrust Fl. Castinus, the senior military commander *(magister utriusque militiae)*[9] of the western part of the empire and the consul-designate for the following year, with the executive power over the western provinces.[10] Such a solution could hardly have occurred to Theodosius II had the senior *magister militum praesentalis* not fulfilled an exceptional role in the Western Roman state organization during the previous 25 years (just consider the role of Stilicho and Constantius, or of Arbogast earlier). Under that special power, this post was second to the emperor, the *dominus,* in terms of military authority if not in dignity and rank.

This decision pointing towards a monarchy by the Eastern Roman *basileüs* concerned the vital interests of the high-ranking Western Roman court officials and the imperial guards, since the prospect of the consolidation of the monarchy amounted to the elimination of the Western Roman household. It is thus small wonder that the shunted leaders of the imperial bureaucracy and the degraded commanders of the guards formed a league and saluted Johannes, the former personnel chief *(ex primicerio notariorum)* of Honorius, as their new emperor in Rome in November 423. Thus move was approved by the Senate of Rome, and in the first months of 424 Castinus also demed it wiser to join the new Italian political front of the court bureaucrats, the elite military troops and the latifundial senatori-al aristocrats.[11] As a matter of course, Theodosius II did not recognize Johannes as co-emperor,[12] and upon the collapse of his monarchic plans he could not but return to the political pattern of co-regency based on dynastic links. Initially, he wanted to revive the practice of the Constantius dynasty (and not that of Valentini-an I — Theodosius) in that he appointed his nephew Valentinian to the head of the *pars Occidentis* only as *Caesar* and not as a co-emperor with equal rights.[13] The last example for such a move (let alone here the tyrants of Gaul) was furnished by

Constantinus II, who in November 355 *indutum avita purpura Iulianum et Caesarem declaravit.*[14] Theodosius II recognized Valentinian as equal co-emperor only after the latter was proclaimed Augustus by the Eastern Roman expeditionary forces upon their victorious return to Ravenna from a civil war between the two parts of the empire.[15] The ceremonial recognition of the army's *acclamatio* took place in Rome in October 415. There Valentinian III was dressed into the imperial ornatus due to an Augustus by the partician Hélio, who was chancellor of the Eastern Roman court *(magister officiorum)* appearing in place of the *basileüs.*[16]

The developments summed up above are crucial to understanding the subsequent events for many reasons.

First, because the first attempt to replace the traditional co-regency of the empire with the monarchic rule of the *basileüs* took place in the period after the death of Honorius. Taking into account the political situation in the *pars Occidentis,* the executors of the idea wanted to entrust the local senior military leader — as the representative and procurator of the Eastern Roman monarchy — with the executive power.

Secondly, because the involuntary return to the practice of co-regency took place among such legal forms which retained the right of the *basileüs* to *appoint* and *confirm* the Western Roman co-emperor. After the reign of Valentinian III, the Eastern Roman emperors acknowledged only those people as legal co-emperors of the *pars Occidentis* who had earlier proved worthy of the title of Caesar and whom they themselves had appointed as *imperator designatus* to the post of Augustus (this latter condition was an improved version of the original practice). At the same time, they regarded all those as tyrants who were raised to the imperial throne legally by the acclamatio of the westeren Roman army and the Senate of Rome, but who lacked the *designatio* of the *basileüs* and applied for their recognition by the Eastern Roman emperor only subsequently. This monarchic endeavour of the Eastern Roman rulers, plus the drive to enforce the Eastern Roman stance that if monarchy is not possible to create than it is the exlusive right of the *basileüs,* and NOT the military elite of the *pars Occidentis* and the Senate, to initiate the filling of the vacant Western Roman throne, run through the political history of the *pars Occidentis* during the two decades that followed the death of Valentinian III. Due mainly to the policy of the court at Constantinople towards the West, none of the Western Roman emperors could consolidate their power during those 20 years, which saw the succession of 9 *domini.* This situation, along with other developments like e.g. the constant rivalry between the *dominus* and the *patricius,* finally led to the disintegration of the Western Roman empire in 476.

It is rather instructive to survey the last 20 years of the *Hesperium Romanae gentis imperium* in the context outlined above. After the death of Valentinian III, the army and the Senate elected the Senator Petronius Maximus to power.[17] Regarded as a tyrant by the Eastern Roman court,[18] P. Maximus rushed to forge dynastic links with Marcianus *basileüs*[19] by forcing into a marriage the widowed Augusta Eudoxia. Fl. Eparchius Avitus of Auvergne, who succeeded Maximus as a representative of the Gallic big estate owners (he was also the father-in-law of Sidonius Apollinarus) asked Marcianus through his envoys for his recognition with reference to the necessary *unanimitas imperii.*[20] However, Marcianus turned down the request.[21] And this refusal furnished sufficient legal ground to Fl. Ricimer, who was appointed by Avitus in second command of the military

magisterium for his services rendered during the successful campaign against the Vandals in the spring or summer of 456,[22] to pool forces with the commander of the guards *(domestici)* and *comes domesticorum* Fl. Iul. Val. Maiorianus[23] and turn against his monarch Avitus in the autumn of 456 and force him into resigning from his post of emperor.[24] Having learnt this development, the *basileüs,* Leo who succeeded Marcianus after his death on January 26, 457, reacted by appointing Ricimer in February to the post of senior *magister militum* of the western part of the empire, and by parallelly creating him patrician.[25] Leo *basileüs* also appointed Maiorianus, who was grandchild in the paternal line of Fl. Maiorianus, *magister militum per Illyricum* in Aquincum between the end of 378 and the early months of 379,[26] to the post of second *magister militum praesentalis.*[27] Thus Maiorianus could occupy the post held earlier by Ricimer.

Remarkably, the Eastern Roman court did not take immediate steps to fill in the post of the Western Roman emperor vacated after the deposition of Avitus. This may well be taken as a clear indication that Leo I also aspired for the power over the *pars Occidentis.* Consequently, the political situation in the western part of the empire in the first months of 457 resembled that which marked the period after the death of Honorius I some 34 years earlier. Moreover, the similarities persisted inasmuch as on April 1, 457 (barely a month after February 27) Maiorianus was proclaimed emperor in the fields of *ad Columellas* near Ravenna — obviously with the silent consent of the Suebian patrician Ricimer.[28] Leo I solved the subsequent conflict with the Eastern Roman court by a diplomatic move: he declared his readiness to recognize Maiorianus as Ceasar. After this compromise was accepted in Ravenna, *(Leonis) voluntate maiorianus aput Ravennam Caesar est ordinatus* by May that year.[29] However, the procrastination by Leo *basileüs* to take the expected next step (i.e. to establish Ceasar Maiorianus, who was already seen as *imperator designatus,* as co-emperor) led the army to proclaim Maiorianus as Augustus in Ravenna in late December, 457.[30] This move by the army was initiated by the Senate of Rome. Understandably, this development threw a shadow on the subsequent ties between the Western Roman *dominus* and the Eastern Roman *basileüs*, who insisted on the monarchy and who recognized Maiorianus only as *Caesar.* The growing *dissensio* that replaced *unanimitas*[31] between the two leaders largely contributed to the fall of Maiorianus, which was finally triggered by the fiasco of the campaign against the Vandals and the subsequent disadvantageous peace treaty, which Joannes Antiochenus described as a shameful deal.[32]

After the fail of Maiorianus in the autumn of 461, the patrician Ricimer, who was in command of the millitary, remained the master of the situation in Italy. Initially the *patricius* strived to persuade Gaisaric to refrain from attacking with his fleet the shores of Italy and Sicily. In this, the *patricius* concerted his diplomatic efforts with those of the Eastern Roman court.[33] However, when the ''prince of the Vandals and Alans showed willingness to accept this only on condition that the aristocrat Anicius Olybrius, who was the brother-in-law of his Hunerich, be proclaimed the Western Roman emperor (which at the same time involved the *possibility* that Hunerich be appointed to the senior military *magisterium),* and by Leo basileüs was this solution not unambiguously rejected, the threatened *patricius* Ricimer decided in November 461 to proclaim emperor in Ravenna the Lucanian Senator Libius Severus, whose earlier career is unknown.[34] The Eastern Roman court, which of course did not accept this decision, responded by signing a peace treaty with Gaisaric in 462. According to a fragment of Priscos' work, in this

treaty the Eastern Roman court undertook to refrain from rendering military help to the tyrant Libius Severus in his fight against the Vandals.[35] Although in those years Ricimer exercised a firm power over Italy and he also managed to make the southern parts of Gaul and the western parts of Hispania recognize the reign of Libius Severus (in this be received help from the western Gotic *foederati,* as he was the grandhild of Wallis on the mother's side,[36] he proved to be unable to cope with the blows the Vandals dealt on the shores of Italy and Sicily (this was primarily due to the fact that his fleet was destroyed by Gaisaric in 460 in the port of Carthagena). Meanwhile, the war preparations by Marcellinus, the one-time follower of Aetius, took menacing proportions. Marcellinus had been governing Dalmatia, independently of the Western Roman part of the empire, since 455 in his capacity as αὐτοδέσποτος ἡγεμών. He could never forget that when he drew the Vandals out from Sicily in alliance with Maiorianus, Ricimer did his best to persuade, by promising higher pay, his soldiers into desertion (the army of Marcellinus consisted mainly of Germans and Huns who came from the Danube valley).[37] For this reason, Italy had to seriously reckon with a continental and naval attack on the peninsula by Marcellinus in 464.

In this rather disadvantageous situation, Ricimer made repeated overtures to the Eastern Roman court. As a first sign of his aspirations, he decided to make public the names of the consuls appointed by the Eastern Roman emperor in the territory of the *pars Occidentis* in the spring of 464 — for the first time in the wake of the election of Libius Severus. Later on, he called on the *basileüs* through his envoys to intercede with Gaisaric for ending the state of war and for keeping Marcellinus back from attacking Italy.[38] Characteristic of Marcellinus' independence was the fact that the Eastern Roman court employed special envoys, and not a decree, to persuade the one-time protegé of Aetius to cease from his planned attack on Italy. The same legation then called on Gaisaric, but there the negotiations were barren of results. The prince of the Vandals was willing to cease hostilities only on condition that he receive the imperial domains, which were the legal due as dowry of his daughter-in-law, Eudochia, the daughter of Valentinian III, and also the estates of Aetius, which were confiscated following Aetius' assassination. Of course, these conditions were not met, and thus peace could not be restored between the *pars Occidentis* and the Vandals. Consequently, the Vandals launched an attack on Sicily and occupied it in the following year. Ricimer's renewed attempt to effect a compromise with the Vandals through the offices of the Eastern Roman court proved abortive again.[39]

The repeated supplication by the West prompted the Eastern Roman court, which had until then adhered strictly to the terms of the peace treaty it signed with the Vandals in 462 and extended no sort of military support to the leaders of the *pars Occidentis,* to incite Marcellinus (who was not bound by this treaty) to liberate Sicily. Marcellinus, who commanded over a large fleet, obeyed the call for a second time.

This is how the balance of power looked like in the Mediterranean in late 465, when Libius Severus suddenly died in Rome. The circumstances of his death are still unclarified. During the year-long *interregnum* that followed, emperor Leo I was recognized as the sole legal ruler even in the *pars Occidentis. Severo mortuo regnat Leo in monarcia anno uno,* noted the author who continued the Chronicon of Prosper Tiro.[40] During that year power in the Western provinces was practiced by patrician Ricimer in the name of the *basileüs* ῾Ρεκίμερ ᾿εδίοικει τὰ πράγματα.[41]

In foreign policy, the patrician remained untiring in his efforts to obtain military help from the Eastern Roman empire against the Vandals. His priority was to win the support of the East's mighty naval fleet. For this reason he took care not to create an emperor in Italy arbitrarily: instead, he repeatedly dispatched envoys to the *basileüs*, calling on him to appoint a co-emperor. Ricimer was aware of the risk that Leo might designate Anicius Olybrius, a relative of Gaisaric who was then staying in Constantinople, as ruler of the *pars Occidentis*. However, the political situation in the Eastern provinces was then changing to the advantage of Ricimer. After 466, the influence in the Eastern Roman court of patrician Aspar, who was championing the obeyance of the peace treaty signed with the Vandals, was gradually falling into the background. Meanwhile, the political weight of Procopius Anthemius was increasing. The son-in-law of the late emperor Marcianus, he was pushing for a more vehement policy against the Vandals. His rise in importance was due mainly to his victories against the Eastern Goths and the Huns. Following the repeated dismissal by Gaisaric of the legations and the military successes of Marcellinus (in 466 he drew the Vandals out from the island of Sardinia), Leo had no choice but to accept a policy against the Vandals which was willing to run the risk of a war.[42] Of course, under the prospective armed solution of the conflict it became impossible to appoint Anicius Olybrius, who was kin to the princely house of the Vandals, as co-emperor of the *pars Occidentis*. But the choice for the post of Procopius Anthemius appeated to be obvious, all the more so since — as the son-in-law of Marcianus — he was also a potential claimant to the throne alongside the ruling *basileüs*. Having weighed these and perhaps some other still unknown circumstances, the *basileüs* created Anthemius Caesar in March 467 (just as he did earlier with Valentinian III and Maiorianus). After this, Anthemius set foot on the shore of Italy under the escort of a large army and fleet and in Rome he was proclaimed Augustus.[43]

Emperor Leo I informed Gaisaric of the election of Anthemius through envoys, and he also called on the Vandal leader to refrain from future armed attacks on the *pars Occidentis*. Having received the message, Gaisaric declared the treaty of 462 null and void. This decision implies that the treaty must have included a paragraph (the details of the treaty were not broken by Priscos) that upon the vacation of the throne of the Western Roman emperor the *basileüs* appoints Olybrius, the brother-in-law of Hunerich, to the post of emperor. The designation and election of Anthemius to the post amounted to a violation of this presumed paragraph, so Gaisaric had no choice but to annul the treaty.[44]

In the following year, a concentrated assault was launched by the mobilizable forces of the two parts of the empire and the seasoned military leaders (Heraclius, Marcellinus) on the African haunt of the Vandals. However, due to mistakes committed by patrician Basiliscus, who as the brother of empress Verina was the commander of the most effective eastern Roman fleet but was inexperienced in naval battles, the attack ended in a complete fiasco.[45]

This fiasco of the last joint military undertaking by the two parts of the empires also sealed the fate of Anthemius. It became manifest that the emperor, who enjoyed the military support of the Eastern Roman empire, was unable to solve the conflict with the Vandals by military means. The fleet of Gaisaric returned to the shores of Italy and held the coastal region to ransom — except of course for the strongly fortified parts. Finally the military leaders of the *pars Occidentis* had to realize that a truce was conditioned upon the fulfilment of at least one of Gaisaric's

demands, namely that Olybrius had to be elected emperor. It appears from the chronicle of Theophanes,[46] who epitomized the work of Priscos, that Ricimer obtained the tacit agreement to this solution of emperor Leo. After this, the patrician, heading his *buccellarii* (one of whom was — according to Joannes Antiochenus — Odovacar), laid a siege in February 472 on the Rome headquarters of Anthemius, and after five months of fighting (in which the people of Rome supported Anthemius) the emperor finally lost his life.[47]

Olybrius, whom Leo had earliere named Caesar similarly to Anthemius and who was proclaimed Augustus in Rome upon the death later of Leo, arrived in the camp of Ricimer during the *bellum civile*. However, the rule of the pro-Vandal *dominus* lasted only five months. Exceptionally, he died a natural death in November 472, a few month after Ricimer's death.[48] During the four-month *interregnum* that followed, power in Italy was practiced by *patricius* Gundobad, who was Ricimer's brother-in-law and was appointed by Olybrius to succeed his uncle. It is just possible that the Eastern Roman emperor, who was recognized *in partibus Occidentis*,[49] again wanted to make his monopoly permanent. Indicative of this is the fact that he did not initiate the appointment of a co-emperor. The eventuality of that situation becoming permanent could well have caused alarm among the guards, as was the case earlier, after the death of Honorius I. It is possible to ascribe to this concern the fact that in March 473 a certain Glycerius, who was commander of the guards, had himself proclaimed Augustus at the encouragement of *patricius* Gundobad.[50]

Of course, emperor Leo did not acknowledge this proclamation. In response, he raised Iulius Nepos, nephew of *patricius* Marcellinus who was killed in 468, to the rank of *patricius* in the second half of 473. Parallel with this or somewhat later he gave a relative of his wife Aelia Verina in marriage to Nepos, who was the heir to the Dalmatian *magisterium*. Through this marriage, Leo created a formal bind between Nepos and the Eastern Roman imperial house, and thus he was free to entrust Nepos with the owerthrow of Glycerius' rule. The takeover took place only in the spring of the following year, when *particius* Nepos commanded his fleet to the port of Rome. The startled Glycerius did not put up resistance, and thus he was consecrated a bishop and was escorted to Dalmatica for spiritual care by the faithful of Salona.[51]

Following this successful undertaking, Iulius Nepos was created Augustus by his soldiers on June 19 or 24. However, Zeno *basileüs*, who succeeded Leo I on January 18, 474, recognized Nepos only as Caesar. Just like Maiorianus did 15 years earlier, Nepos also bowed to this decision and was accordingly dressed in the Caesars' purple robe by a certain Domitianus, who acted as delegate of Zeno. This ceremony took place in Ravenna, which by that time became the headquarters of Nepos, i.e, sometime after August 474.[52]

Gaisaric was hard put to consider a friendly gesture the instalment into power of the nephew of Marcellinus, who was always on fighting terms with the Vandals. But by then the Vandal prince, who was over 80 at the time,[53] became more conciliatory towards both parts of the empire. Still in 474 he made peace with emperor Leo's successor Zeno[54] and — unlike in the peace treaty concluded in 462 — he also extended the truce to the area of the *pars Occidentis*. The price of this move was that Sicily also fell to the Vandals after Sardinia and Corsica.[55] The Roman aristocrats who had estates in Sicily — cf. the signature in Volume 8 of the Livius manuscripts: *Nicomachus Flavianus v. c....emendavi apud Hennam,*[56] which was the name of a senatorial estate in central Sicily (today: Castro Giovanni[57]) — were pitched by this move against the Eastern Roman *basileüs* and his deeds.

Contributing to this development was, among other things, the fact that Iulius Nepos initially relied on the large estate owneres of Gaul. For example he chose to appoint to the head of the *praefectura* of Rome the Gallic senator Castalius Innocentius Audax rather than an Italian aristocrat. The post vacated by *patricius* Gundobad (who escaped) he filled with the likewise Gallic *patricius* Ecdicius, who was son of emperor Avitus and brother-in-law of Sidonius Apollinaris.[58] However, when *patricius* Ecdicius proved to be unable to cope with the Western Goths of Eurich and as a result Iulius Nepos made peace with Eurich behind the back of the large estate owners of Auvergne (in which Nepos ceded the area extending to the river Rhodanus to the Western Goths[59]), the lords of the Gallic dominiums also fell away from him. Consequently, Nepos became isolated in both Italy and Gaul, and he also lost social backing. In additon, his patron, emperor Zeno, was deposed in early 475 by the same Basiliscus, who was so luckless at the head of the military campaign against the Vandals in 468. Iulius, who was completely isolated both at home and abroad, made efforts to consolidate his position by relieving Ecdicius of his post and appointing his compatriot the south Pannonian Orestes as senior head of the military *magisterium*.[60] But soon after his appointment the new-fangled *patricius* turned against his ruler (to all appearances at the inspiration of the Senate of Rome, which could not forgive the emperor for giving up Sicily). This development forced the isolated Nepos to escape by boat to Dalmatia in August 475, where he spent the last five years of his life, never renouncing from the domination of the *partis Occidentis*.[61]

With this, the curtain was raised for the last act in the history of the transfer of power *in partibus Occidentis,* in which the leading roles were played by Pannonians and Germans from the Danube valley who entered into Western Roman service in the wake of the fall of Attila's empire and the wars that followed.

Orestes, son of Tatulus,[62] came from the Sava region which was occupied by the Huns in 433. On the father's side Orestes was a romanized native, while on the mother's side he was presumably a descendant of Greek settlers.[63] Through his marriage with the daughter of Romulus *comes* of Poetovio he established links with the military aristocracy of the perios of Aetius. It was presumably due to these family connections that he was taken on by Attila during one of the latter's visits to southern Pannonia (at least this is suggested by the related data in the *excerpta Valesiana,*[64] and was given a leading job at (what we would call today) the secretariat for foreign affairs as ὑπογραφεὺς or *notarius*. By the 40s, Orestes had emerged to the leading stratum (λογάδες) of the Huns,[65] and the also visited Byzantium twice as envoy of Attila. First he was accompanied by Edecon, father of Odovacar,[66] while his escort on the second visit was Esla, the great old man of the "royal Scythes".[67] After the death of Attila, Orestes "disappeared" for more than 20 years. It is just possible that he took servide with Marcellinus, *patricius* and *comes rei militaris Dalmatie*, who was keeping the memory of Aetius. He first appeared in Italy in the company of Marcellinus' nephew, Iul. Nepos. Orestes was in good health still in his 60s when he obtained real power as holder of *magisterium:* he was named to suceed Stilicho, Aetius and Ricimer. A peculiar feature of the third quarter of the 5th century was that the (natural or, in most cases, forceful) death of the *dominus* was followed by a few months' long *interregnum,* during which the Eastern Roman *basileüs* was considered legitimate ruler even in the West, and he was expected or — as it was in the case of Anthemius and presumably also Olybrius — even requested to appoint the co-emperor. The escape of Iul. Nepos was also followed by a two-month wait, after which — in absence of an

initiative from the East — Orestes had his adolescent son Romulus elected as Western Roman emperor in the last days of October 475. Prior to the election, Romulus received the name Augustus as a *signum*.[68] The principal reasons for this unusual move by the *patricius* — i.e. that he did not take his choice from among the military or senatorial aristocrats — were rightly illuminated by the chronicler of Ravenna, who wrote thus: *cum Nepos fugiens Italiam ac Urbem reliquisset, Orestes primatum omnemque sibi vindicans dignitatem, Augustulum filium suum apud Ravennam positus imperatorem facit, ipse vero omnem curam externorum praesidiorum gerit.*[69]

In other words, Orestes did not want to share his power with either a soldier-emperor or a senator-emperor. For this reason, he appointed his minor son as Augustus, because this way he could practice full power on his son's behalf. Through this *familiaris* solution, Orestes wanted to resolve the almost antagonistic conflict that had emerged in the preceding decades between the *dominus* and the *patricius* and had resulted in renewed internal power struggles.

The nominal power of the last minor Pannonian emperor, who at the same time was the last Western Roman *dominus* seated in Italy, lasted only ten months. During that period, Orestes — who was described as an "exceptionally wise man" by Procopios, and perhaps not fully without foundation[70] — was indeed circumspect in his efforts to consolidate the international position of the *pars Occidentis*, which by that time had shrunk to include only Italy, South-Eastern Gaul (today's Provence) but from 473 without Massilia and Arelate; the Alpine regions of Raetia, and Noricum.

Helping him in consolidating his ties with the Eastern Roman empire was the fact that Basiliscus, who came to power there in early 475, was preoccupied with the avoidance of a civil war with Zeno (who was ousted by Basiliscus, but who found support in his homeland of Isauria) and with the rehabilitation of the Monophysite Eutyches, who was condemned by the Synod of Chaldecon in 451. Accordingly, Orestes could enter into direct talks with the Vandals. However, we have no data to prove whether he was striving to maintain the *status quo* or was pushing the modification of the paragraphs in a peace treaty of the previous year which were disadvantageous for Sicily. The summary statement by Paulus Diaconus[71] — which we feel should in no way be confused with the references to an earlier Eastern Roman legation by Malchus of Philadelphia and Victor Vitensis of Africa[72] — leaves us in the dark about the details of their agreement *(foedus)*. In his policy towards Gaul, Orestes was successful in preventing a further expansion of the Western Goths, but he could not arrive at an understanding with Syagrius, who was son of Aegidius and who achieved independence in the early 70s with the help of the Frankish *foederati*.[73]

In the summer of 476, difficulties emerged in the army supply. By that time, Italy had long lost its subsistence economy and had to cover its grain demand by exports from overseas regions, from Africa and from the nearby islands of Sicily and Sardinia. The unknown author of the *Expositio totius mundi*, which dates from the last years of the reign of Constantius II, as well as Q. Aurelius Symmachus (cos.a.391), who was a prominent senatorial aristocrat of the age of Theodosius, spoke highly about the rich grain crop output of Sardinia,[74] adding that an occasional poor harvest could mean a great trouble in the supply of the city of Rome.[75] In terms of corn production, Sicily and Africa are famous for their prominence. In the years at issue, both islands and also Africa were on the hands of the Vandals. Under Iul. Nepos, Dalmatia could still contribute to the food supply of

Italy — at least this is suggested by Zosimos, who stated that Dalmatia was the source of an annona that could feed a 10.000-strong military unit in Northern Italy in the years of Honorius I.[76] However, this source had become exhausted by the year 476. The yield of the large senatorial estates in Southern Italy went primarily to the supply of the inhabitants of Roma. Meanwhile, in absence of manpower, the areas left unutilized were steadily increasing in Central and Northern Italy. These facts, plus an eventual poor harvest could indeed put the supply of the Barbarian *foederati* to great trouble, especially since they were used to a relatively high quota of annona.

It was under such circumstances that the *foederati* stationed in Northern Italy advanced a self-evident wish, which at the same time perplexed the traditionalist leaders who professed the exceptional situation of Italy: they wanted to obtain lands on the peninsula,[77] where they said they will fend for themselves. Seen from today, this wish may well be considered reasonable. Initially, it was not directed at all against the government, which could have satisfied the *foederati* by simply distributing the unutilized lands. After all, the *foederati* in the western provinces outside Italy, especially in Gaul, had been given land decades earlier.

In 418, the Western Goths, under a decree by Constantius *particius*, *"sedes in Aquitania a Tolosa usque Oceanum acceperunt".*[78] In 440, the Alans of Gaul *"terrae Galliae ulterioris cum incolis dividendae a patricio Aetio traditae fuerant.".*[79] And three years later *"sapaudia Burgundionum reliquis datur cum indigenis dividendis".*[80]

We could cite other examples as well,[81] but let us instead highlight just one case which was presumably known to the Italian *foederati* as well.

In 473, emperor Leo I recognized Theodoric Strabi as *rex Gothorum* (Strabo was in Eastern Roman service and was the elected prince of an army of mixed original). Moreover, Leo I allocated an area in Thracia to for these people and he also obliged himself to extend an annual *"present"* of 144,000 gold solidi to them.[82] This was a fair sum, especially if we consider that in their agreement of 438 in Margus, Bleda and Attila *together* earmarked only 50,200 (i.e. less than a third of the above sum) as an annual *"grant".*[83]

However, as it is revealed by his rejection of the *foederati's* claim, the provincial-minded Orestes could not rid himself of the concept of a privileged Italy, notwithstanding that L. Vassili's description of him as *"l'ultimo esponente del tradizionalismo romano"*[84] may well be considered an overstatement.

Besides emotional motivations, financial considerations could also prompt Orestes to turn down the demand-like claims of the Barbarian *foederati,* who were seen as the elite unit of the army. The distribution of the land could have affected not only the imperial dominiums but also the latifundial estates of the senators who were buttresses of the imperial power, and the lands of the church which was intertwined with the secular power. In view of the latter fact we can easily understand the cleric Ennodius' passionate outburst in his biography of the Pavian bishop Epiphanius (who died in 496), where he described the army's demand as the devli's impulse: *Satanas exercitum adveresus Orestem patricium erigit.*[85]

Upon the rejection of their demand, the *foederati,* who included Germans from the Danube region as well as Heruls, Sciri and (according to Jordanes) Thurciligs[86] along with other nationalities, rose in revolt and elected the Scirian Odovacar (the son of Edecon, former fellow envoy of Orestes, who joined the western Romans in the late 460s) as their prince.

After this, the events accelerated. A couple of days later Orestes, who had fled from Ticinum, fell victim to the fury of the insurgents, who in early September took the town of Ravenna and deprived there Romulus Augustus of his title of emperor. However, the insurgents did not take his life. The *Excerpta Valesiana* accounted for this by saying that Odovacar *"misertus eius infantiae"*, and thus *concessit ei sanguinem.*[87]

Undeniably, this humanitarian compassion by Odovacar was rooted partly in his conviction that the legalization of his situation hinged on the cooperation of the Augustus. He did not have to wait long for this: Rome soon opened its gates before Odovacar, and in late September-early October it also became known that Zeno, who was ousted one and a half years ago, regained power in the East. Consequently, the restoration of the power of his protegé, Iul. Nepos, in Italy became an imminent threat to both Odovacar and the Senate. These developments shed light on the series of events which had sealed the destiny for a long while of Italy and the Western Roman empire. The only surviving account of those days is the chronicle of the contemporary Malchus of Philadelphia.[88]

Having learnt about the reemergence to power of Zeno upon the ouster of Basiliscus, Odovacar and Romulus Augustus persuaded the Senate of Rome to dispatch a legation to the *basileüs* (the Senate of Rome was the only body considered legitimate by the Eastern Romans). According to Malchus, this legation, which included perhaps the personal envoys of Odovacar, was authorized to tell the Eastern Roman court that there was no need for a separate ruler in the *pars Occidentis*. Instead, the message said, both parts of the empire should be ruled by only one emperor in the future. However, starting out from the conviction that Odovacar was cut out both as a politician and as a soldier to directly manage the affairs of Italy and the annexed territories, the anvoys called on the emperor to create Odovacar a *patrician* and entrust him with authority over Italy.

According to a remark in the *Excerpta Valesiana,* this legation also handed over to the emperor the *insignia* belonging to the Western Roman emperor *(ornamenta palatii).*[89]

Almost concurrently with the envoys of Rome, a legation sent by Iul. Nepos also arrived in Constantinople to congratulate Zeno on behalf on Nepos on the occasion of his return to power, and also to ask for military aid in their drive to reinstal their mandatarius to power in Italy. In this delicate situation, Zeno, who could not repudiate Nepos since he was behind Nepos' return to power a couple of years ago, and who was also bound to heed the *de facto* power situation in Italy and the related proposals of the Senate, chose what we may call the only diplomatic solution.

Having reprehended the envoys of the Senate for the expulsion of one of the co-emperors (Iul. Nepos) appointed by the Eastern Roman ruler a few years earlier, and also for their role in the assassination in Rome of the other (Anthemius), Zeno proposed that the expelled ruler be taken back again.

He then turned to the personal requests of Odovacar and expressed his words of praise for the ruler while assuring him of his goodwill. At the same time Zeno noted that he would consider it better if Odovacar asked for the rank of *patricius* directly from Iul. Nepos. However, Zeno rushed to add that he himself would meet the claim should Nepos show reluctance. Then Zeno handed over an imperial document to the envoys of Rome, in which Odovacar was already mentioned with the title of *patricius.*

Accordingly, it appears that while the *basileüs* admitted in his words Iul. Nepos' right to rule as co-emperor the *pars Occidentis*, he left it to the initiative and discretion of his Western negotiating partner to re-establish Nepos in his rights. With this, Zeno acquiesced in the situation that had emerged in Italy, and he empowered Odovacar (whom he failed to create a *patricius* but whom he *called* by this title in his reply letter) to rule in Italy in the name of the *basileüs* recognized as *monarcha*. It had often happened in the previous decades that the two parts of the empire were united under the rule of the Eastern Roman emperor, and that the *pars Occidentis* was governed by the chief commander of the army on the authority and in the name of the *basileüs*.

By late 476 the situation had changed considerably. In Italy, and also *in partibus Occidentis* in general, the post of the Western Roman emperor ceased to be considered vacated and became known as extinct. By accepting the *ornamenta palatii*, Zeno *basileüs* also expressed his acquiescence in this. Most of the functions as head of state which had earlier been practiced by the *dominus* were taken over by Odovacar, who was a military leader recognized as patricius by the *basileüs*. Odovacar was entiled to appoint the top state officials (for example the *praef. praetorio Italiae* or the *praef. urbi*), and he also designated one of the name-giving consuls of the year. After some hesitation, this latter appointment was accepted by the Eastern Roman emperor. Odovacar had the right to issue coins bearing his name and to issue decrees. After the year 476, the status of Odovacar was indeed "'als eine Art Vizekaiser''.[90] However, this vice-emperor was also the *rex* of the former *foederati,* and in this latter capacity he was independent from the *basileüs*.

Consequently, by late 476 a German kingdom had emerged in Italy in the guise of a Roman monarchy. The ruler Odovacar, in his capacity as *domnus* (as Q. Aur. Memmius Summachus *praef. urbi* called him),[91] governed Italy and the Roman population in the *partium* as if he were an emperor, while in his capacity as *rex* he ruled over his German subjects whom he had made landholders.[92] The fact that the Western Roman empire ceased to exist institutionally was not affected by Iul. Nepos' extended claim to the throne (right until his assassination on May 9, 480),[93] or by the decision of Odovacar to raise his son Thela to the rank of Ceasar during a favourable spell in his life-and-death struggle with the eastern Gothic Theodoric.[94]

The historical significance of the year 476 lies in the parallel termination of the *institution* of the Western Roman empire and the establishment of the last Barbarian principality in Italy following those created earlier in Africa, Hispania, Gaul and Pannonia. These two crucial events were regarded both in Rome and in Constantinople as epochal developments that closed down a long historical era and opened a new one. In his Chronicon, which has come down to us in fragments, Marcellinus comes had this to say: *Hesperium Romanae gentis imperium, quod septingentesimo nono urbis conditae anno primus Augustorum Octavianus Augustus tenere coepit, cum hoc Augustulo periit, anno decessorum regni imperatorum quingentesimo vigesimo secundo, Gothorum dehinc regibus Romam tenentibus.*[95]

The transfer of power at the top of the political leadership of Italy and the annexed provinces that took place in 476 did not result in discontinuity in other respects. Contrary to e.g. A. Piganiol's view, we see no ground to state that this development dealt the ultimate deadly blow on the culture of the Romans.[96] This culture had lived on and had been transmitted — although only fragmentarily —

through the sacrifices of the generations during the Carolingian renaissance and the Humanist age. And we, the present-day inhabitants of the historical Pannonian lands, are bound by this heritage to time and again recall the epochal changes that marked the political structure behind this culture. The present paper was meant to satisfy this need.

NOTES

1 The collection and regional and sociological analysis of the late 2nd—3rd century inscriptions is a task to be solved in the future. The survey of the finds of *Dessau*:ILS have already revealed that those who had used the imperial title D.N. in their inscriptions (discounting here the inscriptions originating from *liberti AVG.* or *AUGG.* personalities) were primarily soldiers and civil officials in imperial service, members of the municipal councils and *minicipies,* or various religious or professional *collegia.* Remarkably, the surviving minutes on the meetings of the *fratres arvales* clerical college of senators (of which only a few-line fragment has survived from the period of Septimius Severus (AEp 1964 71), usually use the title of D.N. with the name of the ruler (AFA CXCVIIsq). *L. Perret* put down a few Hadrianic examples from the pre-Severian period (La titula-ture impériale d'Hadrien. Paris 1929 31ff); for the title of Commodus as D.N. see e.g. D 6870, IV. AEp 1969/70, 578. The recorded title of *Dominus et Deus* of Caligula and Domitianus was discussed in a wide cultural and religious-historical context by *Fr. Taeger:* Charisma II. Stuttgart 1960 281ff., 353ff. We wish to note here that Suet.'s datum (Dom 27,2) that (Domitianus) *cum procuratorum suorum nomine formulam dictaret epistulam, sic coepit; Dominus et Deus noster haec fieri iubet...* is contradicted by his letter addressed to the Syrian procurator (SEG 16, 755), where the words δεσπότης καὶ θεός are missing from the title. *M. Hammond* could cite only one case for the use of this title under Antonius Pius (The Antonine Monarchy. Rome 1959 237, note 86.) According to *I. Eckhel* (Doctrina numorum, 8. 13ff.), the title D.N. had been missing from the coins until the age of the Second Tetrarchy. The title first appeared on the coins of Licinius — cf. *A. Alföldi* (RM 49 [1984] 92).
2 Amm. 26,5 2—3. For the details of this distribution cf. *D Hoffmann:* Das spätröm. Bewegungs-heer I. Düsseldorf 1969 387ff.
3 This was rightly noted by *E. Kornemann:* Doppelprinzipat und Reichsteilung im Imperium Roma-num. Leipzig und Berlin 1930 (Nachdruck: Groningen 1968) 113.
4 The Inspiration of Solva, which dates from the months preceding August 367 and was made un-der Augustinianus *dux Valeriae,* uses this title for both rulers (RIU 770).
5 Oros. 7.36, 1. For the detailed history of the subsequent 15 years cf. *E. Demougeot:* De l'unité à la division de l'empire romain. Paris 1951; see also *S. Mazzarino:* Stilicone. La crisi imperiale dopo Teodosio. Roma 1942.
6 *Hydat.* Chron. 82. Cf. also *Prosper Tiro,* 1283 and *Cassiodor,* Chron. 1207. However, we cannot refer in this sense to Articius Faustus' inscription of Aricia (D 1283), and specifically to its words *tertio praefecto urbi utriusque imperii iudicii (sic) cublimitato,* which *J.R. Palanque* (REA 46 [1944] 290 note 3) considered a proof for the nomination for the third time by Theodosius II of Faustus to the office of *praef. urbi.* In fact, Theodosius II could hardly appoint Faustus *praefectus* of Rome for the third time since Faustus already filled the post of *praef. urbi* for a second term in 425 (D 803), and the appointment could likewise not take place during the interregnum two years earlier. For the correct interpretation of the text cited above cf. *J.R. Martindale:* The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire II. Cambridge 1980 (hereinafter: PLRE) 453; and also *A. Chastagnol:* Les Fastes de la Préfecture de Rome au Bas-Empire. Paris 1962 288.
7 Cf. e.g. *S.S. Frere:* Britannia.[3] London 1977 409ff.; *A. Chastagnol:* Le fin du monde antique. Paris 1976 49. *I. Woodi* Britannia 18 (1987) 257—262, especially p. 261.
8 *Marcellin,* Chron., 402, 2. This was done a year later by the Fasti Vind. priores, 535 (Chron. Min. I. 299).
9 *W. Ensslin,* Klio 24 (1931) 474ff.
10 *E. Stein:* Histoire de Bas-Empire I. Paris 1959 (hereinafter: *Stein:* HBE) 482. We do not know the datum which *G. Zecchini* (Aezio. Roma 1983 133) considered a proof for Honorius' appointment of Castinus to the consulatus. The opinion in the PLRE (II 2709) that Castinus could owe the con-sulatus to Johannes is hardly acceptable, since Castinus was accepted as one of the name-giving consuls of the year 424 also in the Eastern part of the empire. Cf. *Marcellin,* Chron. (Chron. Min. II. 76.), and also *O. Seeck:* Regesten der Kaiser und Päpste für die Jahre 311 bis 476. Stutt-gart 1919 (Nachdruck: Frankfurt a.M 1964) (hereinafter: *Seeck:* Regesten) 349. The C. Th. I. 8,

2, which was compiled on April 26, 424, dates only with the name of *Victore V.C. consule.* In connection with this, *Zecchini* (ibid. 133, note 27) rightly noted that this datum should not be taken to mean that the consulatus of Castinus was not recognized in the Eastern Roman empire. However, the C. Th. loc. cit. C. Iust. I, 30. 1 mentions *Castino et Victore conss,* which *Stein* (HBE I. 282) cited as a decisive proof for recognition. This can in no way be accepted, if only because of the sequence of the name of the consuls. According to the PLRE II 270, this "is probably a copist's correction".

11 Datum: PLRE II. 595. *O. Seeck:* Geschichte d. Untergangs d. antiken Welt VI. Stuttgarat 1920 (hereinafter: *Seeck:* Untergang) 90, considered this highly probable, since Johannes was proclaimed emperor not by the army units in Ravenna but by the Senate of Rome, and also because the halting by the then *comes Africae,* Bonifatius, of the grain shipments to Italy, and especially to Rome, was the spark behind the Senate's counter-action. *Stein* (HBE I. 427), citing two paragraphs (see below), accepted the theory of a grain embargo by Bonifatius, but at the same time pointed out that the paragraphs adopted as a starting point by Procopius (B. V. I. 1, 27) from *Seeck* cannot be interpreted as a reference to an initiative by the Senate. In his view, the initiative was taken by the officials at the abandoned Western Roman imperial court who were threatened by the prospect of dismissal. Consequently, they were the ones who urged the election of Johannes, their personnel chief *(primicerius notariorum),* as emperor. This view of *E. Stein,* modified and improved later by *O. Seeck,* was then accepted by *J.L. Lepper* (De rebus gestis Bonifatii. Nijmegen 1941, 44) and most recently by *G. Zecchini* (Aezio 133ff.). However, we have to note here that there is no reference in either Olympiodor (frg. 40, FHG IV. 66) or *Prosper Tiro* (1286) to the presumed halting by Bonifatius of the grain shipments to Italy, and especially to Rome, in the period before November 423. It is difficult to presume that while in the *pars Occidentis* Theodosius II was regarded as the only monarch, Bonifatius, who supported the cause of Galla Placidia who found refuge in the Constantinople court, would have launched such an "attack" against Theodosius II, whom he himself also recognized as a legitimate ruler. The African grain embargo is conceivable only in the period after November 423, and we have every ground to exlude the possibility that Bonifatius had any role to play in the election of Johannes to the throne. We also have to rectify the statement according to which the officials of various rank who served in the court of Honorius were only threatened by the prospect of dismissal in November 423. In fact, such dismissals took place also prior to that date. Prior to his election as emperor, Johannes had not acted as a *primicerius notariorum* proper, but he took the throne as an already dismissed personnel chief *(ex primicerio notariorum)* — cf. Chron. Gall. 659, 92 of 452. Accordingly, the initiative could well have originated from the dismissed *officiales palatini. S.I. Oost* (Galla Placidia Augusta, Chicago and London 1968 181 and note 41) considers Fl. Castinus as "the essential principal mover in the elevation of John". The same view was shared by *W.E. Kaegi:* Byzantium and the Decline of Rome. Princeton 1968 19ff. Undeniably, this view has already been raised by the authors of the day, but it was treated critically by e.g. Prosper Tiro (1282): *imperium eius (sc. Honorii) Johannes occupat conivente, ut putabatur, Castino...* However, it is very unlikely that Castinus, who filled the senior military rank in the West, who was designated as a name-giving consul for the year 424 by Theodosiud II (this latter view was accepted by *S.I. Oost*) and whose consulatus was already recognized in the Eastern part of the empire as early as in the first months of 424 (see Note 10 above), played an active role in the election of Johannes as emperor in November 423. Nevertheless, it is possible to presume that Theodosius II, having learnt about the proclamation of Johannes, ordered Castinus to eliminate the *tyrannus.* However, the *magister militum* did not obey this rule and decided instead to the side of Johannes.

12 *Philostorg.,* h.e. 12, 13 (GCS 21, 148), *Sokr.,* h.e. 7, 23 (*W. Bright* 306), *Joan.,* Ant. frg. 195 (FHG IV. 612).

13 *Prosper Tiro,* 1289. *Marcellin.,* Chron. 424, 2.

14 *Amm.,* 15, 8.11.

15 *Prosper Tiro,* 1289. *Marcellin.,* Chron. 425, 2.

16 *Olympiodor,* frg. 46 (FHG IV. 68). The author witnessed the ceremonial act of the *investitura* as a member of the Eastern Roman delegation. For the evaluation of his historical work cf. *I.J. Matthews* JRS 60 (1970) 79ff.

17 *Hydat.,* Chron. 162; *Joan.,* Ant. frg. 201, 6 (FHG IV. 615). A highly coloured description of the events preceding this *pronunciamento* is to be found in *Procop.,* Bella III, 4, 16. sq. (*J. Haury* I 327 sq.) On this basis, a detailed analysis of the antagonism between Patronius Maximus and Aetius, and later Valentinian III was compiled by *M.A. Wes:* Das Ende des Kaisertums im Westen d. römische Reiches. 's Gravenhage 1967 127ff. Cf. *B.L. Twyman* Historia 19 (1970) 480ff.

18 Cf. *Marcellin.,* Chron. 455, 2. *Procop.,* Bella III, 4, 36 (*J. Haury* I 330).

19 As it is known, Marcianus contracted a formal marriage in 459 with his aunt Eudoxia, who was also the aunt of Theodosius II. Cf. e.g. *Hydat.,* Chron., 147. *Theophan.,* A.M. 5942 (*De Boor* 106).

20 *Hydat.*, Chron., 166.

21 As this clearly follows among others from the non-recognition of Avitus' consulatus of 456 (*Seeck:* Regesten 402—3). For the Pannonian campaign of Avitus or rather one of the *comes rei militaris* in the autumn of 455 cf. *I. Bóna* ActaAnt 21 (1973) 306.

22 This appointment follows from a comparison of the data in *Hydat.,* Chron., 176 and the Fasti Vid. priores 580 (Chron. Min. I 304). Cf. *Stein:* HBE I 549. PLRE II 943.

23 This rank was then held only by the Chron. Gall. a. DXI (Chron. Min. I 628). He was preceded as *comitem domesticorum* by only the two *magistri militum praesentales. Seeck:* RE IV, s.v. Comites 648ff.

24 Auctar. Prosper. Havn, 456, 2 (Chron. Min. I 304). *Joan.* Ant. frg. 202 (FHG IV. 616). For further sources cf. *R.W. Mathisen* Historia 35 (1986) 125.

25 The Fasti Vind. priores 582 (Chron. Min. I 305) mentions only the latter. The parallel appointment of Maiorianus to the post of second-ranking *magister militum praesentalis* (which in our view is unjustly contested by *H. Meyer* in ByzZ 62 [1962] 12) obviously meant that Ricimer was also appointed to the post of the senior military *magisterium.*

26 *Sid. Ap.*, Carm., V, 107sq. (MGH AA. VIII p. 190). For a correct interpretation cf. *D. Hoffmann* ibid. note 2, 189ff., note 234. The controveresial view of *L. Várady* (Das letzte Jahrhundert ... Budapest 1969 38ff.) that Maiorianus was *dux et praeses Valeriae* at the time was rightly rejected most recently by *J. Fitz:* L'administration des provinces pannoniennes sous le Bas-Empire romain. Bruxelles 1983 22.

27 Chron. Min. I 305, 582, and also *W. Ensslin* Klio 24 (1931) 490; Cf. *R.W. Mathisen* Historia 35 (1986) 125.

28 Chron. Min. I 305, 583, *Seeck:* Untergang, VI 339, and later *W. Ensslin* RE XIV (1928) , s.v. Maiorianus, 585, and most recently *Gerald E. Max* Historia 28 (1979) 234. According to Max's acceptable view, this was the result of the victory of Burto, who was the second in command (*? comes rei militaris*) of Maiorianus, over a group of invading Alemans in the Bellizona area of Tessini *(campi Canini)* in March 457. Cf. *Sid. Ap.* Carm. V 373sq. (MGH AA. VIII p. 197). The reference to this was rejected by *Stein* (HBE I. 554, note 1) and later by *A. Loyen* (Recherches historiques sur les Panegyriques de Sidone Apollinaire. Paris 1942, 75). *Loyen* added that the Alemans could hardly undertake such a campaign during snowbreak, when the Alpine rivers and brooks normally leave their course. However, *Sid. Ap.* loc. cit. clearly stated that Maiorianus ordered Burto against the Alemans still in his capacity as *magister militum,* i.e. in the period between February 27 and April 1, 457. The Alemans could thus easily cross the Alps, similarly to e.g. Fl. Stilicho, who did the same with his army in the winter of 401/402. Claudian, bell. Poll., 321sq: *scandit in accessos brumali sidere montes; nihil hiemis coelique memor.*

29 *Marcellin.*, Chron., 457, 2. These paragraphs have so far been linked in the literature to the note in the *Fasti Vind. priores* cited in the note above. While that is an obvious reference to the proclamation as emperor of Maiorianus (D.N.IMP.), the reference in Maiorianus speaks about his inauguration as Caesar of the will of Leo I. We have pointed out already (ActaAnt 15 [1967] 183, note 105) that the title *Caesar* can in no way be identified with the title *d.n.imp=Augustus* in the *fasti Vind. priores* (contrary to the opinion of *J.B. Bury* JRS 23 ([1922] 223ff, and later *Stein:* HBE I. 554, note 1) and that these were two different events that took place subsequently. Cf. *S.I. Oost:* CIPh 65 (1970) 239, note 57. Consequently Maiorianus was already a *Caesar* and not a *magister militum praesentalis* when in late 457 he was named *Augustus* by the Eastern Roman ruler.

30 *Prosp. Tironis* Auctuar. n. 8. (Chron. Min. I 492).

31 In 461, this was already manifest in the fact that the consulatus of Fl. Dagalaifus (which originated from Leo I) was not made public in the West. Cf. *Seeck:* Regesten, 410, 411, *Degrassi:* FC 92. For a correct assessment of the preceding years between 458—460 cf. *Gerold E. Max:* ibid. note 28, 237.

32 According to *Joann.*, Ant. frg. 203 (FHG IV 616).

33 For the role of Gaisaric in these decades cf. *L. Schmidt:* Die Vandalen, 298ff., especially 317ff., *Chr. Courtois:* Les Vandales et l'Afrique. Paris 1955, 185ff. A good and brief survey is to be found in *H.J. Diesner:* Das Vadalenreich. Aufstieg und Untergang. Stuttgart—Berlin—Köln—Mainz 1966 63ff.

34 Datum, *Seeck:* Regesten, 410. In our view *S.I. Oost* correctly considered Libius Severus a senator (ibid. note 29, 237).

35 *Prisc.*, frg. 30 (FHG IV 104). It was undeniably related to this agreement that Gaisaric gave leave to Eudoxia Augusta and her younger daughter Placidia for Constantinople. The two women stayed in his court since the sacco di Roma of 455 (*Hydat.,* Chron., 216). Since this Hispanian chronicler gave a chronological account of the wife and younder daughter of Valentinian III took place after March 2, 462 (*Hydat.,* Chron., 214), a couple of weeks before Agrippianus *comes* took over the post of Aegedius in the summer of 462 (cf. *Ensslin:* Klio 1931 491). *Narbonam tradidit*

Theudorico (*Hydat.*, Chron., 217), which *Schmidt* was right in dating to the year 462 (Ostgermanen 485). Consequently, the dating by *Courtois* to the year 461 of the agreement between Leo I and Gaisaric we consider too early (ibid. 200).

36 For the related data cf. PLRE II 942.
37 *Prisc.*, frg. 29 (FHG IV 103).
38 Cf. the fragment by Priscos cited in Note 35 above.
39 *Prisc.*, frg. 31 (FHG IV 105).
40 Chron, Min. I 492, Ind. 8.
41 *Theophan.*, A.M., 5947 (*De Boor* p. 109).
42 For the turnabout in the Vandal policy of the Eastern Roman court cf. e.g. *J.B. Bury:* History of the Later Roman Empire I. London 1923 318ff; *Stein:* HBE I 529ff.
43 Fasti *Vind.* priores, 598. *Hydat.*, Chron., 234 and 235.
44 *Prisc.*, frg: 40 (FHG IV 109).
45 *Prisc.*, frg. 42 (FHG IV 110). *Procop.*, Bella III 6 (*J. Haury,* p. 337sq.), Cf. *Hydat.*, Chron., 247.
46 *Theophan.*, A.D. 5964 (*De Boor*, p. 118).
47 *Joan.*, Ant. frg., 209 (FHG IV 617): a detailed account of this civil war. See also *Seeck:* Untergang VI 491, Note 11.
48 For the correct sources cf. PLRE II 796ff. and 942ff.
49 Cf. e.g. ILCV 697 adn, 1519 adn.
50 *Cassiodor.*, Chron., 1295: *Gundibado hortante Glycerius Ravennae sumpsit imperium.* Cf. also *Cons.*, It. 306, 611. *Marcellin.*, Chron., 473, *Jord.*, Get., 45, 239.
51 The decree of 460 by Maiorianus had still been in force (C. Th. II p. 176ff.) under which the consecration to *Clericus* of those who did not give their consent to such a move could be declared invalid. At the same time, however, *si quis invitus episcopus fuerit ordinatus, hanc consecrationem nulla violari accusatione permittimus.* Nepos acted according to this, and so did Ricimer and Maiorianus in the case of Avitus earlier.
52 We relied primarily on the analyses of *A. Demandt* (RE Suppl. XII [1970] s.v. *magister militum,* 553ff., and especially 677ff.), who was selective with the story above, and who gave a critical assessment of the earlier — rather contradictory — literature (*Seeck:* Untergang, VI 375, *W. Ensslin* Klio 1931 494ff., *Idem* RE XVI [1935] s.v. Nepos, n. 6, Sp. 250ff., *Schmidt:* Ostgermanen 315). A slight difference is that we consider the wife of Nepos a relative of empress Aelia Verina and not the grandchild of Leo I (as did *Jord.*, Rom., loc. cit.: *Malchus*, frg. 10, FHG IV 119), cf. PLRE II 1312 and Stemmata 7.
53 He was born in 389 A.D., as it was convincingly proved by *Chr. Courtois* (ibid. 394).
54 *Procop.*, Bella III, I, 7. 26 (*J. Haury,* p. 344). Cf. *Stein:* HBE I. 536.
55 That Sicily had been on the hand of the Romans immediately prior to this peace treaty is proved by *Malchus*, frg. 3 (FHG IV 115).
56 *H. Bloch:* The Pagan Revival in the West at the End of the Fourth Century. in: *A. Momigliano* (ed.): The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century. Oxford 1963 215.
57 Cf. RE VIII (1913) s.v. Henna 384ff. (*Ziegler*). On the senatorial estates there cf. also *A.H.M. Jones:* The Later Roman Empire II. Oxford 1964 782.
58 Cf. PLRE II 184ff, 1254 and 383ff.
59 *Seeck:* Untergang VI 376ff.
60 *Jord.*, Rom., 240sq.
61 *Anon. Val.*, posterior 7, 36. Fasti *Vind.* priores 616 (with the exact date). Cf. *Malchus*, frg. 10 (FHG IV 119).
62 *Prisc.*, frg. 7 (FHG IV 84). The rare Celtic name of the father is known only in the form of *Tatulo* in Pannonia CIL III 3553 (Aquincum), 10299 (Lussonium). The name of a certain *Tatul(us) Tric(c)i f(ilius)* is mentioned on a gravestone in Celeia in the neighbouring Noricum (*E. Weber:* Die Römerzeitl. Inschriften d. Steiermark. Graz 1969 n. 356). The completion there of the name can be considered justified in view of the photographs published in *O. Cuntz:* Jb. f. Ak. 3 (1909/1910) 18, n. 3, fig. 27 and *Hoffiller—Saria* AIJ n. 34. This latter inscription could still not be registrated by *A. Holder* (Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz II. Leipzig 1908 1754).
63 Orestes is a Greek personal name. *H. Solin:* Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Griechischen Personennamen in Rom. 1971 88ff. *Idem:* Die griechischen Personennamen in Rom. Berlin—New York 1982 506. The derivation of this name from either the Estruscan language (*W. Schulze:* Zur Gesch. lateinischer Eigennamen 2. Berlin 1933 203) or from the name of the region ''Orestis'' in Western Macedonia (*E. Petersen* in: Studia in honorem V. Beševliev. Sofia 1978 228ff.) appear to be equally rejectable. In Pannonia, this name has so far been *hapax*, cf. *A. Mócsy:* Nomenclator. Budapest 1983 209. The name V.P. *variv.ore. Vet(eranus)* in the second line of the missing Győr inscription (RIU 267) can hardly be completed as Ore(stes), as it was proposed by *Pape — Benseler* (Wörterbuch d. griechischen Eigennamen. Braunschweig 1911 1071). In our view

Romulus, the son of patrician Orestes, inherited the name of *comes* Romulus of Poetovio, who was his grandfather on the mother's side, and the same applies to the personal name of Orestes patricius. This practice of naming was rather common in Pannonia.

64 *Anon. Val.,* posterior 8, 38; *quando Attila ad Italiam venit.* The year 452 proposed in the PLE II 811 is obviously too late, since Orestes already visited Constantinople in 448 as an envoy of Attila.

65 Cf. *Prisc.,* frg. 8 (FHG IV 79).

66 Provided that we identify the person of Edekon (*Prisc.,* frg. 7 [FHG IV 76sq]) with that of Idikon (*Joan. Ant.* frg. 209 [FHG 617]), contrary to the view held by *J.O. Maenchen-Helfen* (AmHistRev 52 [1946] 7, 846ff.) but similarly to e.g. *E.A. Thompson:* A History of Attila and the Huns. Oxford 1948 155, PLRE II 278 and 791. *St. Krautschick* Historia 35 (1986), 344ff.

67 *Prisc.,* frg. 8 (FHG IV. 95).

68 His original name was Romulus. *Anon. Val.* prosterior, 8. 37. At the time of the enthronement of the patrician son of Orestes, "nicht nur den Titel, sondern auch den Namen Augustus beigelegte." *Seeck:* Untergang, VI 378, and similarly PLRE II 947ff. Consequently, the name of the child emperor imitated the names of the founderes of Rome and of the Principatus. The *signum* Augustus can thus be ranked only formally among the *cognomen* Augustus which was common in Upper Italy (*Mócsy:* Nomenclator 38) and especially in the area of the Gallia Belgica (*J. Kajanto:* The Latin Cognomina. Helsinki 1965 316).

69 Auctarii Havniensis ordo prior, Chron. Min. I. 309.

70 *Procop.,* Bella V, 1, 2 (*J. Haury,* II p. 4).

71 *Paul. Diac.,* Hist. Rom., 15, 7 (*A. Crivelucci,* p. 213).

72 Contra *Chr. Courtois:* ibid. 204, note 3.

73 Cf. *Schmidt:* Ostgermanen 492 and *Stein:* HBE I 586.

74 Expos. tot. mundi, 66 (Sources chrétiennes, 124, p. 210): *Sardinia ditissima fructibus... Symm.* Ep. 42 (MGH AA. VI. 1. p. 248): *de Sardinia-... horreis autem tantum frugis invexit, quantum illi provinciae anni fortuna contulerat.* For the earlier data cf. *H. Philipp:* RE IA s.v. Sardinia, 2492. *M. Rostovtzeff:* Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft im römischen Kaiserreich I. Leipzig 1930 174, 326.

75 *Prudent.,* Contra Symm. II 945sq. On the difficulties in the supply in the years 383—384 cf. *H.P. Kohns:* Versorgungskrisen ... Bonn 1961 158ff.

76 Zosim., 5, 50, 1 (*Mendelssohn,* p. 280).

77 *Procop.,* Bella VI, 1, 4—5 (*J. Haury,* p. 4). Under the *Tertia* that went into effect at the end of the 4th century (cf. C. Th. 7.8, 5 from the year 398), they also demanded the expropriation of one third of the land belonging to their home.

78 *Hydat.,* Chron., 69; *Prosp. Tiro,* 1271 mentioned this at the year 419.

79 Chron. Gall. a. CCCCLII, 127 (Chron. Min. I. 660).

80 Chron. Gall. 128 cited in Note 79 above.

81 For Hispanian and African examples cf. e.g. *J.B. Bury:* History ... I. 408ff.

82 *Malchus,* frg. 2 (FHG IV 114). *Stein:* HBE I 534.

83 The *terminus post quem* for this peace treaty is the datum of *Prisc.* frg. 1 (FHG IV 72), according to which the eastern Roman delegation included Epigenes *quaestor sacri palatii* (ἀρχὴν ἔχον-τατοῦ κοιαίστορος),who had held the post of *magister memoriae* at least until February 15, 438 (Novella Theodosii I and 7). Accordingly, the peace of Margus can be dated to the summer or autumn of 438 at the earliest. Cf. *W. Ensslin:* RE Suppl. V. s.v. Maximanus, n. 17. Sp. 665 *J.O. Maenchen-Helfen:* The World of the Huns. Berkeley — Los Angeles — London 1973 93 — here the dating to November 15 of the above-mentioned Nov. Theod. is a misprint, cf. also PLRE II 396 (probably not later than 440). As against this date, a dating to the year 435 is favoured by *E.A. Thompson* ibid. note 63, 216ff. His main argument that Priscos has prematurely described Epigenes as "quaestor" is hardly convincing. Cf. *W. Ensslin* ByzZ 45 (1952), 73 and RE XXIII (1957), s.v. *Priscus,* n. 35, Sp. 9—10. *B. Baldwin* Byzantion 50 (1980) 39.

84 *L. Vassili* Riv. d. Filol. 65 (1939) 261ff.

85 *Ennod.,* Vita S. Epiphanii, CSEL VI p. 355.

86 *Jord.,* Get., 46, 242; 57, 291. *Paul. Diac.,* Hist. Rom., 14, 2 (*A. Crivelucci* p. 191). He mentions that together with te Marcomans, the Quads and the Heruls. However, it is just possible that this was not a people but the name of the princely Skhirian clan. *Schmidt* Ostgermanen 99.

87 *Anon. Val.,* pars posterior, 8,38. In his reference to the nickname Augustulus, *Procop.,* Bella V, I, 2 (J. Haury, II. p. 4) obviously used the name μειράκιον in a sense referring to the child Romulus.

88 *Malchus,* frg. 10 (FHG IV 119). For the dating of these cf. *Stein:* HBE II 47 and note 1.

89 *Anon. Val.,* pars posterior, 12, 64.

90 According to the wording in *W. Ensslin:* Serta Hoffilleriana. Zagreb 1940 383.

91 D 8955: *salvo D.N. Zenone et Domno Odovacre Symmachus V.C. praef. urbi fecit.*

92 For details cf. *Stein:* HBE II 42.

93 Whether Odovacar himself had acknowledged this or not is hardly possible to read off from the so-called group II of the *solidi* minted in the Mediolanum in 474—75 with the name Iul. Nepos. This group of coins *John P.C. Kent* dated to the years 476—488 (Corolla memoriae E. Swoboda dedicate. Graz—Köln 1966 146ff.).

94 *Joan. Ant.* frg. 214a (FHG V 29): Odovacar Καίσαρα ἀπέδειξεν his son. Joannes did not use the name καῖσαρ in the sense of βασιλεὺς. Cf. frg. 168: Constantius Ι ὃ ἀπὸ Καισαρος βασιλεύσας frg. 169: Galerius sent τὸν Σεβῆρον Καίσαρα against Maxentius; frg. 174: during the reign of Constantius II Γάλλος ὃ Καῖσαρ In view of these and other such examples it is hardly debatable that Odovacar his son "zum Ceasar ernannte". *L.M. Hartmann:* Geschichte Italiens im MA. Gotha 1897 73. Similarly: *Schmidt:* Ostgermanen 335. *Stein:* HBE II 55, PLRE II 1064. However, we cannot agree with the interpretation that Odovacar his son "zum Kaiser ernannte" (*W. Ensslin:* Serta Hoffilleriana 388) or "zum Kaiser in Western machte" (*M.A. Wes:* Das Ende d. Kaisertums ... 80).

95 *Idem:* 476, 2. Cf. *Jord., Get.,* 46, 243 and Rom. 345, and also later *A. Oemandt:* Der Fall Roms. München 1984 219ff. See to this ample containing work *G. Alföldy:* Die Kriese des römischen Reiches. Heidelb. Althist. Beitr 5(1889) 464ff. The quoted paragraphs by *Marcellinus* — in spite of the strict criticism of *A. Demandt* (ByzZ 62 (1969) 96ff) — were derived from Q. Aur. Memmius *Symmachus'* (cos. 485) work Historia Romana (which has not survived except for the paragraphs used by *Jordanes* in Get. 15, 83sq by *W. Ensslin* BASB 1948, 3 (1949), cf.p. 80 and then by *M.A. Wes:* (Note 17), 1 and expecially 73ff. This view was then adopted among others by *A. Momigliano* RStIt 85 (1974), 8. *G. Zecchini:* ibid. (Note 10), 51ff. *A. Chastagnol:* La fin du monde antique. Paris 1976 24. At the source critical analysis of another text by Marcellinus comes (Chron. 427, 1), we have already argued for his knowledge of Symmachus' work (ActaAnt 15 [1967] 159ff). Among the most recent works, this was considered a reaction to the view of the Roman circles in Constantinople by Chronicon 476, 2. *B. Croke* Chiron 13 (1983) 84ff. In his view the epochal significance of the year 476 was to be found ''not in the view of the Romans of Rome but the 'Romans of New Rome'' (p. 113). Furthermore, *St. Krautschick* (ibid. note 68) came forward with the daring idea that the significance of the year 476 burst forth from the head of Iustinianus. At the end of his work (p. 371) he states that: ''Auctor primus der Epochengrenze ist Justinian. Scriptor primus bleibt der Gefolgsmann Justinians, Marcellinus.'' *L. Várady* (Chiron 4 [1974] 476ff.) is completely mistaken in stating that in wording the lemma 476,2 Marcellinus relied on the work of *Eustathios of Epiphaneia* entitled Chroniké epitomé, which has survived only in parts. Perhaps it escaped the attention of the author that *Eustathios* dated the beginning of the Principatus of Rome to a completely different period — as this is clear from the fragment of his work Euagrios Scholastikos, h.e. III 29 (*J. Bidez* et *L. Parmentier*) — than that stated by Marcellinus in his Chronicon (476, 2).

96 *Idem:* L'empire chrétien 2. Paris 1974 466: ''La civilisation romain n'est pas morte de sa belle mort. Elle a été assasiné.''

L. Bartosiewicz

ANIMAL BONES AS INDICATORS OF CONTINUITY AT ROMAN PROVINCIAL SITES[1]

(Figs 1—5, Tabl. 1—7, Pls 1—2)

> "Like an hour-glass, now the year tips over,
> the old year's out, the new will long hover,
> and as sand in hour-glasses will flow on,
> so are old year's woes left to the new one."
>
> Mihály Babits[2]

1. Introduction

Continuity as an archaeological concept has largely been undefined in Hungarian research. A variety of essential characteristics were discussed during the 30th Anniversary meeting of the Archaeological Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences where this paper was presented. The topic proved so complicated, however, that no comprehensive definition could be put forward. Most of the participants agreed, that continuity should be interpreted in a well-defined chronological context and should be considered for each group of archaeological artifacts. None of the detailed definitions were more expressive than the general, philosophical approach.

1.1 Definitions

Before preceeding to the testing of the hypothesis to be outlined here, continuity must be defined from an archaeozoological perspective. According to the Encyclopedia Britannica "Physical space and time are commonly considered as continuous".[3] These two factors may be relatively easily accounted for in the archaeological record. In addition to *spatial coordinates* which are an indispensable part of basic documentation, broad dating efforts underline the fundamental importance of the *chronological position* of sites.

The third characteristic of a settlement is *adaptive function* which is expressed by meat procurement strategies from an archaeozoological point of view. This function changes through time and is influenced by the site's geographical location. This latter, in addition to defining natural means of production, also effects socioeconomic characteristics such as access to markets, information flow, strategical position etc.

The continuity of adaptive function may be appraised in terms of changes. Since archaeozoology deals with living matter these may be classified into three groups:[4]

1 *Short-term changes* occur in small, often reversible cycles. Of these, seasonality of meat and milk production and culling strategies in general may be good examples. In archaeozoology, seasonality *per se* may be evaluated using a wide range of animal remains.[5]

2 *Long-term changes* are often minute but typically less reversible since their selected effects are manifested in a cumulative form. Aside from evolutionary trends brought about by breeding in individual domestic animal species, the decision making process defining long term animal husbandry strategies (e.g. domestication itself or the gradual acceptance of a new domestic animal species) is a good example.[6]

3 *Developmental events* are one time phenomena. Their tempo is neither as rapid as short-term changes, nor as slow as long-term changes. Moreover, they may be considered, in general, progressive since most of them usually occur in a more-or-less regular sequence with little essential variation. Culturally defined animal husbandry techniques and the development of local markets for animal products exemplify developmental events which usually mirror the dialectical development of property distribution systems.

While developmental events seem most relevant when archaeological continuity is studied, the three types of change are interrelated by a series of feedback and overlapping phenomena. According to Binford's rather general statement ''the driving forces of change lie in the interaction between the environment and the adaptive system being considered... Selection for change occure when the system is unable to *continue* previously successful tactics in the face of changed conditions in its environment''.[7] Environment in a broader sense may include historical situations as well.

1.2 Hypothesis

In the concrete case of Roman sites under discussion here, a number of gross archaeozoological characteristics were studied in order to test the following hypothesis. According to various observations by Bökönyi[8] peripheral areas of the Roman Empire in Central and Eastern Europe displayed notable variability in the degree of dependence on meat from domestic *versus* wild animals. ''This ratio was strongly influenced by the character of the settlement. In towns and villas the ratio of wild animals was small showing the smaller importance of hunting, while in military camps and watchtowers the faunal material shows precisely the opposite tendenciy''.[9] As far as meat consumption at Roman sites listed in Table 1 (and detailed in Tables 2 to 5) is concerned such changes may have been dependent on political stability which defined the sites' access to centrally situated markets *versus* locally raised livestock. This tendency may be detected in a number of faunal lists.

The alternative to this hypothesis is that no variables commonly used by archaeozoologists would unambiguously mirror continuity this way. As was written by Cohen and Nagel[10] ''the canons of inquiry are themselves discovered in the process of reflection and may themselves become modified in the course of study. The method makes possible the noting and correction of errors by continued application of itself''.

1.3 Test Implications

The primary aim of this paper was not the establishment of formal statistical terms under which this hypothesis may be accepted or rejected. The main focus is the study of general tendencies which may express this complex phenomenon in the simplest possible way appraising, at the same time, the biasing factors which may flaw conclusions especially in the case of faunal assemblages i.e. sites with no remarkable faunal characteristics.

The numerical terms of test requirements were chosen on a conventional basis. In the evaluation of all coefficients of correlation ranging from −1 to +1 (0 being indicative of no relationship) the criteria of Guilford[11] were used. In the factor analysis only factors with latent roots exceeding 1 were taken into consideration.[12] Factor loadings were squared in order to decide their significance using the table of critical values compiled for coefficients of correlation as was suggested by Sváb.[13]

All these values were expected to be statistically significant at the $P \le .05$ level of probability.[14] Many of the relationships, however, were significant even on the $P \le .001$ level. This was also indicated.

2. Material

2.1 Description of Data

The calculations are based on the selected archaeozoological characteristics of 34 Roman Period faunal assemblages listed in Table 1. With the expection of sites 1, 2, 7, and 9 to 13 the materials from Pannonia were studied by Bökönyi.[15] Preliminary data from additional, unpublished faunal lists from Budapest-Aquincum were contributed by A.M. Choyke.[16] The last item adapted from the literature (25) represents Germania Romana.[17]

Other assemblages studied outside Pannonia include 14, 15 and 18 (Moesia Inferior and Thracia respectively) 19 and 24 (Moesia Superior) and 20 (Italia).[18] Consequently, this paper is also intended to serve as a background study for these sporadically located Late Roman archaeological sites (Fig. 1).

Although detailed faunal lists were not analyzed in this study, the main groups of animal species (domestic animals, wild mammals and birds and poikilotherm animals) are summarized in Tables 2 to 5.

2.2 The Grouping of Sites

The sites listed in Tables 1—5 were roughly subdivided into two major functional groups: civilian and military settlements which may hypothetically represent two gross types of adaptive systems from the viewpoint of animal exploitation. The first of these are assumed to show stability in the procurement of meat, while the second are expented to have relied on a broader, temporally more variable scale of animal protein resources. These include hunting and fishing. Both groups of settlements clearly represent heterogeneous data sets. However, this dichotomy was expected to be most indicative of the traits which may show oscillations in the quantitative characteristics chosen to outline continuity by means of archaeozoological data. Settlement type defined this way was introduced in the calculations as a dummy variable (civilian settlements coded as 1, military sites as 2). The first group contained 22, the second 12 cases so that the proportion between these two subsets of data allowed the use of such dichotomic variables in multivariate calculations.[19]

2.3 Continuous Variables

In addition to the grouping variable, a number of other descriptors are listed in Table 1. Of the traditional archaeozoological characteristics the number of bone specimens identifiable to species (NISP) from each site was used. Detailed faunal data, however, would have unnecessarily broken down sample sizes. The calculation of numbers of individuals was also omitted because in the case of sufficiently large sample sizes it carries information more or less identical to that of NISP in spite of the nonlinear relationship between these two measures.[20] On the other hand, if not enough bones are available the calculation of numbers of individuals may introduce additional bias into the analysis disregarding effect of aggregation and distorting first hand information on the effect of selective bone fracturing in different ways. Taphonomic bias may pose grave problems when bone assemblages by various authors are compared in terms of the number of individuals.

Rather than the contribution of each species to the faunal list, the *number of animal species identified* (taxonomic richness: R) was used in the calculations.[21] It was hoped that this simplification would not blur any major shifts which occurred in the emphasis on various forms of animal use.

The analysis of taxonomic richness was completed by the evaluation of the *percentual contribution of domestic animal bones* (NISP) to the assemblages under discussion. While these values are rather uniformly high at Roman sites due to the highly developed animal husbandry of the Roman Empire it was difficult to tell if relatively low percentages may be regarded as statistically significant in light of sometimes small assemblage sizes. This is why, as much as was sensible, values of *binomial standfard error* (BSE) were calculated for each site as described by Buday[22] and McCullagh[23] for example. This procedure showed if proportions observed between domestic and wild animals were in fact justified by appropriate assemblage size (NISP).

In Table 1 BSE values smaller than 2.5 indicate that the percentage of domestic animals may be regarded as significant at the $P \leq 0.05$ level of probability. One must note, however, that these results may also be slightly biased by specific forms of natural fragmentation,[24] as well as selective depositional processes related to differential butchering techniques.[25]

The use of NISP and R values was completed by the ratio (called "Index" in Table 1) between these two which shows, the *average number of identifiable bone specimens per species* in each of the faunal lists.

The last column of Table 1 already shows the results of subsequent calculations and as such will be discussed later.

3. Analytical Procedures

Relationships between the previously described variables were analyzed in two groups. The first of these was concerned with possible differences between the taxonomic richness of the two settlement types. The second group of calculations was intended to help the critical review of results and their actual relevance to the problem of continuity.

3.1 Regression Analysis

The relationship between assemblage size (NISP) and taxonomic richness (R) was evaluated using a linear regression analysis. Although, as may be seen in Table 1, these variables are not normally distributed (regrettably the great number of small assemblages resulted in a considerable positive skew[26]), in general, a positive correlation may be expected between them. This relationship, on the other hand is not linear as may be visually appraised from the Index values listed in Table 1. In fact, larger and larger assemblage sizes are required to detect increasingly rare species.[27]

The graphic representation of this phenomenon would most commonly be a degressive curve when the number of identified species are plotted against the number of identifiable bone specimens.[28] Both heteroscedasticity resulting from the skewed univariate distribution of data[29] and the curvilinearity discussed above were reduced by the decimal logarithm of R against the decimal logarithm of NISP by settlement type to detect differences between their taxonomic richness in light of sample size.

Residuals calculated relative to the main trend (pooled civilian and military sites) are listed in column 7 of Table 1.

3.2 Factor Analysis

The relationships between all variables listed in Table 1 were synthetized using a factor analysis. This multivariate method was developed to separate out and graphically present clusters of intercorrelated variables, thus identifying fewer, underlying ''background'' variables, which may be more easily interpeted.[30]

3.2.1 *Input data* for this calculation were provided by composite variables in several cases. The percentage of domesticates and the values of binomal standard error are both based on proportions. The use of such ratios in multivariate calculations has been vehemently criticized, since depending on the proportion between the coefficients of variation of the numerator and denominator ratio values may display unstable correlations. As has been pointed out by Atchley et al.[31] ''parametric statistical methods, such as factor analysis, generally have the underlying assumption of normality of distribution. Ratio data would violate this assumption''.

In order to prevent this distortion, correlations were calculated using the ranks of observations rather than their actual values.[32] The Spearman rank correlation coefficient chosen for this purpose is obtained by computing the product moment correlations between the rank order values directly.

3.2.2 In the factor analysis pairwise Spearman rank correlation coefficients between the seven variables (Table 1) served as input.[33] A relatively recent, detailed review of the available literature suggested that this method has not yet been used in multivariate analyses in archaeozoology.[34]

Factor loadings obtained from this correlation matrix express the relationship between the seven items listed in Table 1 and fewer, abstract variables (factors). These latter were subjected to a Varimax rotation procedure in order to achieve a more clearly polarized correspondence between the groups of variables and fac-

tors. The configuration of factor loadings plotted against each other in the plane of factors provided a pattern of variables in which multivariate relationships can usually be better perceived and thus nicely classified.

4. Results and Discussion

Continuity and the phenomena influencing its appraisal in archaeozoological data sets will be discussed in two steps.

4.1 Taxonomic Richness

Sites where hunting was more widely practiced, in general, are expected to show greater taxonomic richness. In peripherally located military settlements during late Roman times, this may be perceived as an indicator of disruption in the settlement's supplies of meat. At the same time, Roman animal husbandry exploited a variety of domesticates and even luxury items for the gourmet.[35] Last but not least, the absolute value of taxonomic richness is increasing with assemblage size (as was mentioned above), so that the number of species exploited cannot be compared directly between a large military and small civilian settlement and *vice versa*.

4.1.1 General Tendencies

When the relationship between log NISP and log R is studied in all settlements their relationship in the pooled sample may be described as follows:

$$\lg R = .246 \lg NISP + .389$$
$$(r = .891)$$

As is shown by the coefficient of correlation this relationship is positive and highly significant. Linearity could be achieved by the logarithmic transformation. The parameter of most interest from the viewpoint of interpretation is the coefficient to the right of the equal sign. Its value closely corresponds to those obtained in a variety of studies[36] carried out on a wide range of archaeozoological materials. There is no great variety in the degressivity of the curve describing the increase of taxonomic richness as the function of assemblage size.

Figure 2 is a graphic representation of this relationship. As may be seen, the dashed line represents a trend which more-or-less divides the cluster of sites into two major groups: only one of the military settlements falls below this line. This settlement provided fewer identifiable species than the average expected on the basis of its assemblage size.

Civilian settlements show a greater variety, some of them displaying as much taxonomic richness as military sites. Due to this overlap and the previously mentioned skewed distribution of NISP values mean assemblage size and taxonomic richness counts show no significant differences. (They will be, however, briefly described at the individual discussion of the two groups.)

The deviation of individual sites from the main trend calculated for the whole, pooled data set provided the residuals listed in Table 1, These averaged -.224 for civilian and 1.75 for military settlem ents thus supporting the visual appraisal of the graphic presentation of data in Figure 2.

4.1.2 Civilian Settlements

The equation used to describe the relationship between NISP and R at Roman civilian settlements is as follows:

$$lgR = .257 \ lgNISP + .326$$
$$(r = .932)$$

The coefficient of correlation indicates an even closer connection between the two variables in this case, since the source of great variability (some extremely high values of taxonomic richness) were removed by excluding military settlements from the calculation. At the same time, the coefficient describing the slope of the main trend characteristic of settlements is higher. This means that increasing assemblage size results in a faster rate of discovery of new species than at military settlements. This result is partly due to the presence of some large urban settlements' faunal material in the data set. In spite of this, the number of identifiable specimens everaged only 370.7 bones in this sub-sample with a standard deviation of 13.4 after the logarithmic transformation. Corresponding values for taxonomic richness were 9.7 ± 2.1.

Figure 3 serves the visual appraisal of this relationship. Sequence numbers are shown to facilitate the identification of settlements listed in Table 1. Most of the sites marked this way are original data first published in this paper. As such they will be briefly described. Similarly to the scattergrams, parenthesized numbers used in the description correspond to the codes listed in Table 1.

4.1.2.1 Aquincum: In addition to the short faunal list published by Bökönyi[37] the material from five smaller sites from and around the provincial capital of Pannonia were analyzed by Choyke (n.d.).[38] Most of these (9: west of the city's aquaduct, 11: No 135 Szentendre Road, 12: excavations near the aquaduct, 13: small villa of undetermined function at Aquincum-Csikós street) represent later materials and reflect considerable monotoneity in terms of the relatively small number of species. Only one material (10: bones from the southern city wall) seems somewhat exceed the norm indicated by the dashed line in Figure 2.

4.1.2.2 Iatrus-Krivina was a major urban settlement located on the Danube limes east of Novae in Moesia Inferior. The particular characteristic of this site within the date set available for study is that the earliest component of this settlement was in fact a castrum which originates from the first half of the 4th century A.D. (14)[39] and is consequently somewhat richer in species than the average predicted on the basis of its size. Animal bones from the second half of the 4th century (15) fall in line with the main trend of the settlements under discussion. Taxonomic richness starts to increase in the first half of the 5th century (26) and reaches its maximum in the surviving settlement during post-Roman times (second half of the 5th century: 17). According to Table 1, the remains of domesticates strongly dominate throughout these times, although the smallest percentages were observed in the cases of 14 and 17.

4.1.2.3 Karasura the late Roman material from the civilian part of this important trading post in Thracia[40] does not in fact deviate from the main trend as is shown by point 18 in Figure 3.

4.1.2.4 *Most na Soči* is located in the northwestern corner of Italia. It was a civilian settlement of long, even prehistoric agricultural tradition.[41] The small early Roman animal bone material analyzed from this site is rather poor in species (20), comparable to assemblages identified from the definitely urban settlement of Aquincum.

4.1.2.5 *Pontes* in the last settlement discussed here (24). Although earlier Roman faunal materials from this site have not yet been analyzed, the faunalist shows that this important trading point where Traian had his famous bridge built across the Danube towards Dacia[42] relied on the exploitation of a relatively few animal species for meat at least until the settlement stopped being an important crossroads after the heyday of the Roman Empire.[43]

4.1.3 Military Settlements

The equation obtained for the smaller data set composed of faunal lists from Roman military sites runs as follows:

$$lgR = .232 \, lgNISP + .485$$
$$(r = .750)$$

Even this coefficient of correlation, however, falls within the lowest range of values considered "high" and is statistically significant at the $P \leq .01$ level of probability. The coefficient of the NISP value (to the right of the equal sign) is indicative of a more sharply degressive tendency in the increase of R relative to assemblage size than in the case of civilian settlements (Figure 4). The mean of the number of identifiable specimens was only 184.6 with a standard deviation of 3.6 after the logarithmic transformation, the corresponding values of taxonomic richness were 10.3 and 1.5 respectively. Due to the questionable normality of these two variables' distribution the comparison of these parameters to those of the civilian sample display no statistically significant differences between the two sub-samples.

4.1.3.1 *Ács-Vaspuszta*, a small Roman castrum on the Danubian limes of Pannonia was divided into two major periods for the purposes of this study. Between 100 and 178 A.D.(1). The great taxonomic richness of the site was far above the average expected on the basis of its assemblage size. By the 4th to 5th centuries (2) fewer species occur, although the data point representing this period is still located above the main trend marked by the dashed line in Figure 4.

4.1.3.2 *Budapest-Albertfalva* was a Roman castrum where earlier studies by Bökönyi[44] resulted in a number of species slightly fewer than would have been expected on the basis of assemblage size at military settlements. More recent studies of the late Roman material (7) show an even smaller variety in terms of taxonomic richness in this material dominated by domesticates. Probably due to its geographical position this site is comparable to most civilian locations in Aquincum from which animal bone data were available for study. This is particularly well shown by the residuals listed in Table 1. A special trait within the site's faunal list, the major contribution of horses to the domestic fauna, is the reverse of civilian settlements where relatively few horses were used in comparison with equestrian military unite.[45]

4.1.3.3 *Mora Vagei* represents a small 2nd to 3rd century castrum in the southern end of the Iron Gates region of the Danube. According to Figure 4 an unusually high number of species occurred here relative to the size of this assemblage.

4.2 Effects Influencing Taxonomic Richness

In order to size up the usefulness of taxonomic richness as an indicator of continuity in animal exploitation strategies further calculations were deemed necessary.

As may be seen from the previous section, the assessment and interpretation of R is strongly dependent on assemblage size (NISP). This is reflected not only in the high and positive coefficients of correlation which (in addition to analogous results in the literature) support the equations obtained. The brief individual evaluation of some sites also confirmed that the interpretation of taxonomic richness becomes really meaningful only when assemblage size is taken into consideration.

4.2.1 Pairwise Relationships

In order to outline the relationships of adaptive function (represented by the gross civilian/military dichotomy) to other archaeozoological measures the Spearman rank correlation matrix (shown in Table 6) was calculated. Outstanding values of this matrix are shortly reviewed here.

Military settlements which were coded with a *numerically* greater value as a dichotomic variable contain a smaller percentage of domestic animal bones ($\rho=-.405$). The calculation of this value is also more biased ($\rho=.396$) at these sites. NISP and R are highly correlated on the basis of rankings as well ($\rho=.793$). Although assemblage size is not correlated with the percentage of domesticates (the difference between the 94.1 percent calculated for civilian and 89.8 percent obtained for military settlements was not significant at the required level of probability since the sample included small settlements where this proportion was previously disqualified by BSE calculations), larger sample sizes make the prediction of this ratio after ($\rho=-.537$). Understandably, in larger samples more bones are identified to species ($\rho=.894$) as was mentioned during the previous discussion of curvilinearity. As far as heteroscedasticity is concerned, residuals representing differences relative to the average clearly inrease with assemblage size ($\rho=1.000$). Taxonomic richness is, by definition, highly correlated with these two latter values. On the other hand, it is important to see that the number of species identified is independent of the percentage of domesticates ($\rho=-.099$). This latter value is in essential negative correlation with binomial standard error ($\rho=-.861$) and, more interestingly, increases the value of bone per species as expressed by the Index ($\rho=.364$).

4.2.2 The Grouping of Variables

This lengthy but still sketchy review of pairwise rank correlations was complemented by a factor analysis. While the computational schedule is complex, it reduced the number of variables into two factors which are shown in Table 7.

The last two lines of this table show the latent roots exceeding 1, which express the proportion of total variance encompassed by each of these factors. The two of them represent 85.5 percent of the studied phenomenon, Factor 1 being

of more explanatory value. The same way, communalities listed for each variable express their individual explanatory values in a more-or-less decreasing order. It is immediately visible that settlement type, one of the variables of most interest in this paper, contributes to the interpretation of data.

Of the two factors, the first is most closely correlated with indicators of assemblage size (such as NISP, R, Index and the residuals). Thus it may be shortly termed "Size". Factor loadings calculated for Factor 2 are most highly correlated with the percentage of domesticated (the negative value again being related to the higher numerical code of military settlements). The high positive scores of BSE and settlement type define the content of this factor labeled "Type".

Both factors are to some extent bipolar, displaying high positive, but rather small negative factor loading values.[46] The factors are *by definition* uncorrelated i.e. independent of each other. Varimax rotation is designated to increase the emphasis of this polarization to some extent on the expense at accuracy. The factor loadings listed in Table 7 are plotted agains each other in Figure 5.

Table 7 and Figure 5 suggest that assemblage size ("Size") and settlement type ("Type") are more-or-less independent of each other. In the case of Factor 1 NISP, the residuals and to some extent Index and R carry the same information. The binomial standard error, of course, decreases with sample size. Factor 2, "Type" indicates that while animal bone assemblages from military settlements are not substantially smaller than civilian sites, they are definitely characterized by a smaller percentage of domestic animal remains. Of the size indicators, only taxonomic richness is positively correlated with settlement type thus representing an overlap between the two factors. It is, however, much more dependent on assemblage size than the type of site.

5. Conclusions

In the case of faunal remains, which may not be precisely dated in themselves over a short period of time in the near past, functional continuity may be the easiest aspect to be studied. Without external evidence, however, as defined by Neustupný[47] such archaeological symptoms of developmental events cannot be integrated into a coherent picture. While geographical coordinates are available by definition, the exact chronological position of each find complex must be ascertained by archaeological research, thus resusciating functional theory to become a plausible model.[48]

5.1 General Observations

Continuity in this paper was discussed on the basis of animal bones. Due to the special, multidisciplinary character of these excavation materials the problem was approached from the general aspect of change. Of the possible aspects of change, short term modifications, such as seasonality[49] and long term changes[50] were excluded as possible direct sources or even simple indicators of archaeological continuity.

Developmental events, such as documented historical change often dealt with in Roman archaeological research, were considered most likely to coincide with at least oscillations in the continuity of animal exploitation (especially meat

procurement) strategies. These phenomena, however, were studied by means of methods strictly archaeozoological in nature, using a selected set of *quantitative* data.

Investigations in this paper largely support the hypotesis put forward in the introduction that peripheral parts of the Roman Empire witnessed a decline in the role of animal husbandry as a resource of animal protein as a result of increasing political instability. This observation, however, must be supervised and integrated into the evaluation of material from each individual site, since formal statistical significance does not necessarily represent archaeological facts. Possible sources of diversity in the final conclusions must be reviewed by considering the properties of both the material and methods used in this study.

While some of the procedures applied in testing the alternative hypothesis put forward in this study may seem too complicated and powerful, they were also chosen to demonstrate the advantages and limitations of their application. When tackling the problem of continuity, this paper has been primarily concerned with phenomena "that are thought to be redundant in their patterning and general in their relevance. *A science that lacks robust methodology cannot operate as a science*. In the absence of reliable methods it cannot evaluate the ideas that are set forth about the subject matter of the field, and that is, of course, its function".[51] The message of this otherwise quite dramatic statement should not be missed, although material evidence, that is, real data, must provide a firm basis to any analytical schedule selected for use.

5.2 Choice of Material

Continuity may be defined in as many ways as many classes of artifacts are being studied. These definitions may encompass different time periods depending on the continuity of various aspects of the material culture.

5.2.1 The Advantage of Roman Settlements

Roman faunal materials are fortunately recent enough so that at least some written sources may be of help in defining underlying developmental events controllable by historical continuity. This may serve as a guideline during the archaeological evaluation of zoological data. On the other hand, since precise chronological data are not consistently available throughout the sample, dates were not directly included when norms for further research were set.

5.2.2 The Disadvantage of Roman Faunal Materials

By the time of the Roman Period no dramatic developmental events, such as domestication, effected anirnal husbandry. Most of the assamblages studied contained over 90 percent domestic animal remains which may be considered usual in this period. Domesticates dominated in most other European provincial sites of the Roman Empire.[52] The remaining small portion of wild animal bones may be an indicator of disruptions of continuity in a settlement's life but *animal keeping was continuous throughout the period under discussion*.

5.2.3 Selection of Variables

5.2.3.1 *Settlement type* could only be roughly defined by a dichotomic variable. The obvious diversity within both the group of civilian (urban center, villa etc.) and

military (castrum, watchtower etc.) settlements introduced a bias into the calculations which may be controlled only by individual supervision of at least some sites (external evidence). This work, however, is an inevitable necessity even without the statistical analysis of data.

5.2.3.2 *The number of identifiable specimens* is a basic quantitative unit and should be given more consideration before conclusions are drawn. It effects the interpretation of many variables, including those which may be relevant to continuity.

5.2.3.3 *Taxonomic richness* did not prove as useful in indicating changes in animal keeping as the percentage of domesticates. In spite of its methodological advantages (it is a raw count applicable in multivariate calculations, it may be comfortably used in inter-site comparisons), taxonomic richness is more highly correlated with assemblage size than with the type of settlement as defined in this study. Taxonomic richness, however, is influenced by at least three dimensions of the zoological remains. These include the wild/domestic, meat purpose/other use as well as local/imported dichotomies (Figure 5). Of the domesticates, comprising the major part of faunal lists from Roman sites, many occur but rarely in the excavated material since their meat is hardly ever eaten. Bones of asses (Plate I/a) exemplify this group of animals, which were of great economic importance but are most typically missing from the kitchen refuse. Taphonomic loss resulting from the specific ways a carcass may be treated often reduces the observed value of taxonomic richness.

The next group is represented by meat purpose animals which may equally have been kept and/or hunted. *Suids* are representative of this type: both wild and domestic pig were often killed especially in military settlements.[53] The domesticated status of this species is blurred by the potential occurrence of feral forms resulting from the presence of the wild ancestor in the proximity of most rural sites. Thus, pig's function as a resource of meat becomes dominant (Plate 1/b-c) relative to the problem whether its bones originate from the wild vs. the domesticated form. Identification bias (when wild pig bones are not recognized) may actually reduce taxonomic richness in this case.

The third dimension constitutes of animal remains which usually come from neither domesticates not typically meat purpose animals. They are remains of wild animals which may have been imported such as bear bones and teeth (Plate 1/c and 1/d) or alternatively hunted in the site's environment. At Roman sites of the Danubian Limes, the variety of bones from water birds may be mentioned in this group (Plate II). These bones all contribute to taxonomic richness in different ways. Consequently, this descriptor of the fauna is not very sensitive to changes in overall animal exploitation strategies. In spite of its shortcomings, however, the number of animal species identified was different for civilian and military settlements and contributed greatly to the general understanding of the problem.

5.2.3.4 *The index* calculated using the two previously mentioned variables is of minor significance, carrying burdens of all the potential bias inherent to taxonomic richness. In addition, as a ratio value, it is of limited use in multivariate statistical analyses.

5.2.3.5 *The percentage of domesticates* is a widely used, practical indicator of animal keeping and is relevant to continuity as well. It should be considered very cautiously, however, *always in light of assemblage size* as any other ratio within the faunal list. Due to the composite nature of this variable, the percentage of domesticates should be avoided, if possible, in multivariate calculations.

5.2.3.6 *The binominal standard error* was successful in judging the usefulness of the abovementioned variable and directed additional attention to the importance of assemblage size.

5.2.3.7 *The residuals* obtained from the regression analyses are good descriptors for the ranking of individual sites. They are, on the other hand, composite values in addition to being highly correlated with assemblage size. This is why they carried redundant information in the multivariate analysis.

5.3 Choice of Methods

As pointed out in the general conclusions, the methodology used is as useful as reliable are the data to which the analytical procedures are applied.

5.3.1 Regression Analysis

The decision to use this statistical tool in the evaluatiuon of taxonomic richness was expressive and successful, as far as was permitted by the basic variables considered. High and significant correlations achieved by the logarithmic transformation of data contributed to the understanding of differences between civilian and military settlements and highlighted trends indicative of continuity.

5.3.2 Factor Analysis

In spite of the inclusion of numerous composite variables (index, percentage of domesticates, BSE and residuals) calculating the matrix of Sperman correlations made this analysis possible. Two basic factors, ''Size'' and ''Type'' could be assessed thus creating a broader context for the interpretation of taxonomic richness.

Since the basic data set was relatively small (7 variables by 34 cases) this attempt contributed to testing the potential applications of factor analysis to purely archaeozoological problems.[54]
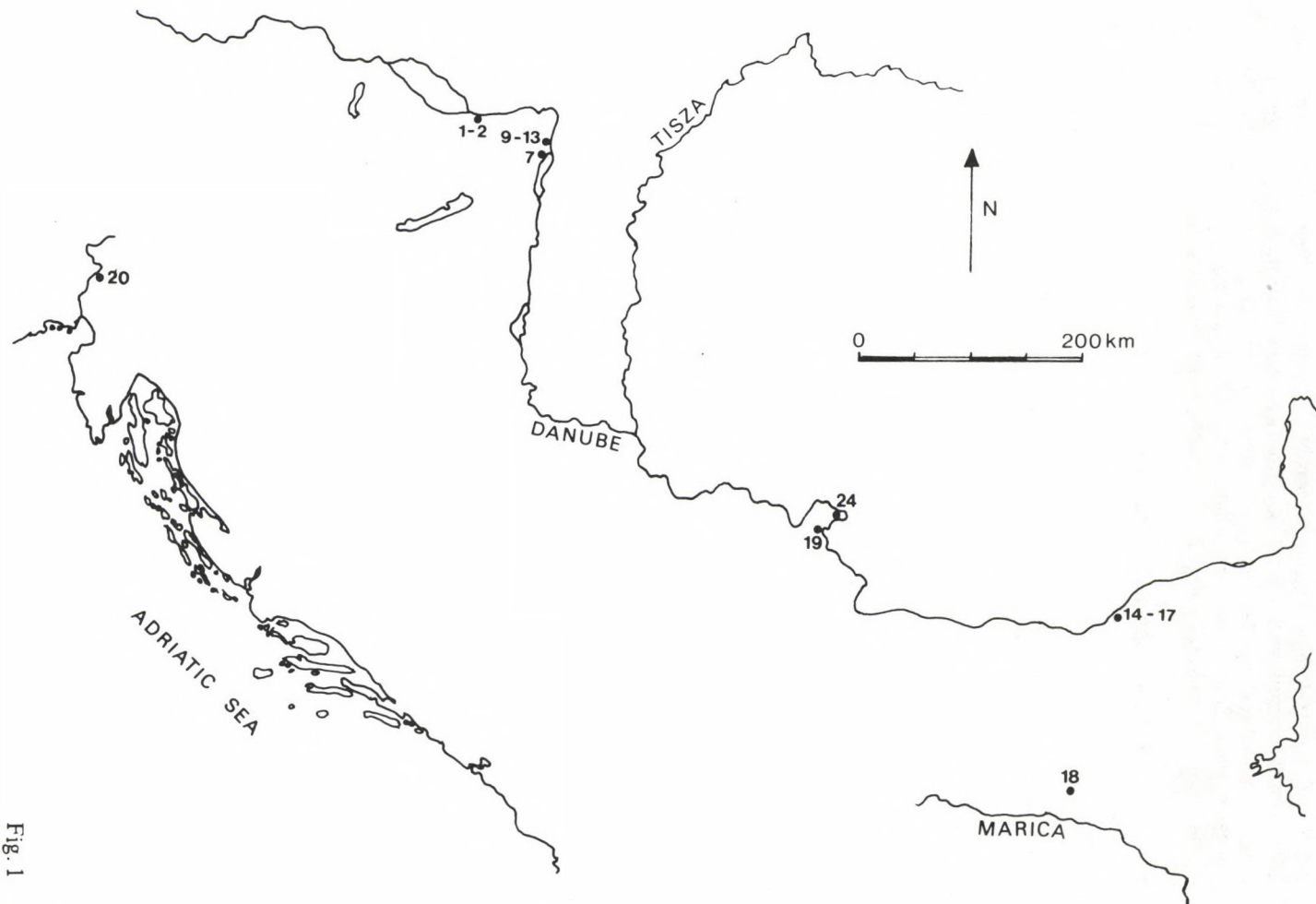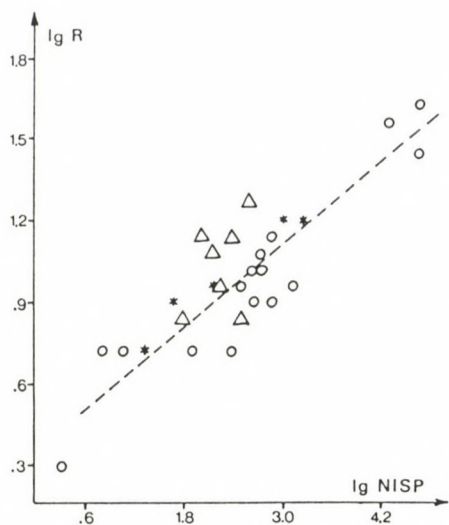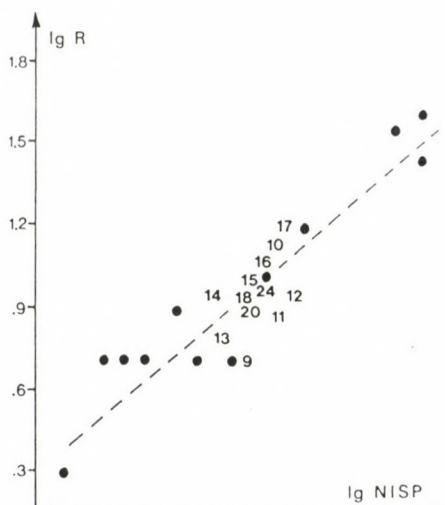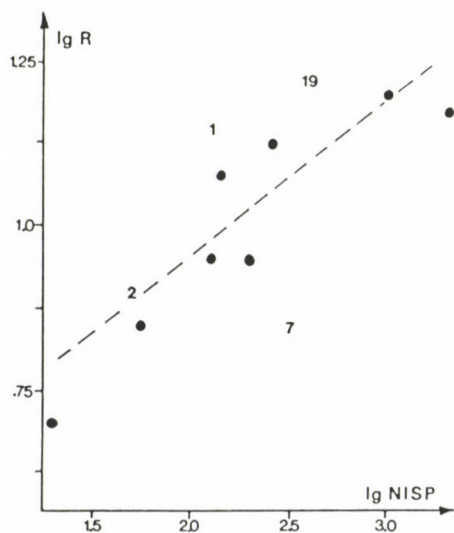
Fig. 1

Fig. 2

Fig. 3

Fig. 4

Fig. 5

Table 1

SITE NAME	Settlement type	NISP	R	DOM. %	BSE	INDEX	RESID- UALS
1. Ács-Vaspuszta, 100—178 AD	MILITARY	124	14	86.3	3.088	8.8	5.984
2. Ács-Vaspuszta, 4—5th c.	MILITARY	50	8	84.0	5.184	6.3	1.589
3. Ács-Vaspuszta (Bökönyi 1974)	MILITARY	55	7	100.0	0.000	7.9	0.437
4. Adony	CIVILIAN	19	5	94.7	5.139	3.8	-0.053
5. Balatonaliga	CIVILIAN	525	10	99.0	0.425	52.5	-1.433
6. Bp. Albertfalva (Bökönyi 1974)	MILITARY	1 888	15	97.4	0.366	125.9	-0.664
7. Bp. Albertfalva	MILITARY	328	7	98.8	1.837	46.8	-3.184
8. Bp. Aquincum, (Bökönyi 1974)	CIVILIAN	77	5	100.0	0.000	15.4	-2.130
9. Bp. Aquincum 1 (Choyke n.d.)	CIVILIAN	220	5	100.0	0.000	44.0	-4.231
10. Bp. Aquincum 2 (Choyke n.d.)	CIVILIAN	1 027	15	99.2	0.274	68.5	1.515
11. Bp. Aquincum 3 (Choyke n.d.)	CIVILIAN	776	8	100.0	0.000	97.0	-4.587
12. Bp. Aquincum 4 (Choyke n.d.)	CIVILIAN	1 413	9	99.9	0.005	157.0	-5.586
13. Bp. Aquincum 5 (Choyke n.d.)	CIVILIAN	234	6	100.0	0.000	39.0	-3.441
14. Iatrus-Krivina A	CIVILIAN	140	9	92.9	2.177	15.5	0.741
15. Iatrus-Krivina B/C	CIVILIAN	601	11	94.7	0.916	54.6	-0.820
16. Iatrus-Krivina C	CIVILIAN	551	12	96.9	0.737	45.9	0.430
17. Iatrus-Krivina D	CIVILIAN	784	14	93.9	0.856	56.0	1.382
18. Karasura	CIVILIAN	452	10	98.2	0.625	45.2	-1.020
19. Mora Vagei 1nd-2rd c.	MILITARY	398	17	71.8	2.254	23.4	6.320
20. Most na Soči, 3—4th. c.	CIVILIAN	484	8	93.3	0.579	60.5	-3.207
21. Nagytétény	MILITARY	207	9	91.3	1.959	23.0	-0.093
22. Örvényes-Hosszúrétek	CIVILIAN	49	8	97.9	2.048	6.1	1.620
23. Pilismarót-Őrtorony 4th c.	MILITARY	1 005	16	77.0	1.327	62.8	2.587
24. Pontes	CIVILIAN	315	9	95.8	1.129	35.0	-1.083
25. Rottweil	CIVILIAN	51 518	29	99.5	0.031	1776.5	-6.330
26. Sopron-Scarbantia	CIVILIAN	1 614	16	97.9	0.357	100.9	0.929
27. Százhalombatta-Dunafüred	CIVILIAN	7	5	71.4	7.079	1.2	1.047
28. Tác-Gorsium (Bökönyi 1974)	CIVILIAN	19 968	38	98.8	0.077	525.5	10.018
29. Tác-Gorsium (Bökönyi 1984)	CIVILIAN	47 941	43	97.6	0.069	114.9	8.370
30. Tárnok	CIVILIAN	2	2	50.0	35.355	1.0	-0.904
31. Tokod-Erzsébetakna 2—4th c.	CIVILIAN	35	5	100.0	0.000	2.6	0.397
32. Tokod-Erzsébetakna 2—4th c.	MILITARY	242	13	90.9	1.489	18.6	3.550
33. Visegrád-Kőbánya	MILITARY	147	12	91.8	2.259	12.3	3.641
34. Visegrád-Sibrikdomb	MILITARY	20	5	5.0	4.873	4.0	-0.117
35. Visegrád-Várkert-dűlő	MILITARY	126	9	93.6	2.180	14.0	0.952

Table 2

Domestic animals per site (NISP)	Cattle (Bos taurus L.)	Sheep (Ovis aries L.)	Goat (Capra hircus L.)	Sheep/goat (Caprinae subfamily)	Domestic pig (Sus domesticus Erxl.)	Horse (Equus caballus L.)	Ass (Equus asinus L.)	Dog (Canis familiaris L.)	Cat (Felis domesticus Briss.)	Domestic hen (Gallus domesticus L.)	Domestic goose (Anser domesticus L.)	Domestic pigeon (Columba livia domestica L.)	Domestic (?) duck (Anas platyrhynchos domestica L.)
1. Ács-Vaspuszta	43	16	3	–	15	4	–	–	–	16	1	6	–
2. Ács-Vaspuszta	19	4	–	–	5	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3. Ács-Vaspuszta	19	–	–	7	23	5	–	1	–	2	–	–	–
4. Adony	12	–	–	5	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
5. Balatonaliga	176	–	–	87	61	96	–	95	–	5	–	–	–
6. Budapest-Albertfalva	668	–	–	267	489	323	–	39	14	36	3	–	–
7. Budapest-Albertfalva	154	26	4	38	52	42	–	8	–	–	–	–	–
8. Budapest-Aquincum	68	–	–	1	7	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
9. Budapest-Aquincum	126	12	7	27	34	14	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
10. Budapest-Aquincum	682	46	11	87	167	12	1	9	–	3	1	–	–
11. Budapest-Aquincum	569	27	4	68	92	8	–	3	–	5	–	–	–
12. Budapest-Aquincum	959	24	3	181	213	9	–	13	–	9	–	–	–
13. Budapest-Aquincum	189	4	1	12	18	4	–	6	–	–	–	–	–
14. Iatrus-Krivina	56	9	3	16	41	4	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
15. Iatrus-Krivina	389	21	4	43	82	22	–	7	14	–	–	–	–
16. Iatrus-Krivina	386	14	6	48	82	6	–	2	4	–	–	–	–
17. Iatrus-Krivina	468	17	9	65	144	18	3	14	–	–	–	–	–
18. Karasura	206	64	21	79	36	16	4	22	4	–	–	–	–
19. Mora Vagei	114	29	9	–	108	11	–	6	1	6	1	–	–
20. Most na Soči	236	45	12	141	37	5	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
21. Nagytétény	93	–	–	17	23	31	–	25	–	–	–	–	–
22. Örvényes-Hosszúrétek	18	–	–	3	7	11	–	8	1	–	–	–	–
23. Pilismarót-Őrtorony	245	–	–	170	221	121	–	17	–	–	–	–	–
24. Pontes	116	14	1	52	76	18	2	23	–	–	–	–	–
25. Rottweil	41 999	–	–	3303	5694	199	–	78	2	236	2	1	4
26. Sopron-Scarbantia	997	–	–	166	256	113	–	23	2	17	6	–	–
27. Százhalombatta-Dunafured	1	–	–	–	–	3	–	1	–	–	–	–	–
28. Tác-Gorsium	6 781	–	–	4274	3172	1499	17	3132	49	665	133	3	–
29. Tác-Gorsium	17 942	9908	9017	9908	9017	3072	34	4386	112	2028	310	3	–
30. Tárnok	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
31. Tokod-Erzsébetakna	1	–	–	7	3	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
32. Tokod-Erzsébetakna	98	–	–	50	41	26	–	3	–	2	–	–	–
33. Visegrád-Kőbánya	33	–	–	18	53	11	–	2	–	15	3	–	–
34. Visegrád-Sibrikdomb	11	–	–	6	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
35. Visegrád-Várkert-dűlő	19	–	–	36	55	5	–	–	–	3	–	–	–

Table 3

Wild mammals per site (NISP)	Aurochs (Bos primigenius Boj.)	Elk (Alces alces L.)	Red deer (Cervus elaphus L.)	Roe deer (Capreolus capreolus L.)	Wild pig (Sus scrofa L.)	Brown bear (Ursus arctos L.)	Wolf (Canis lupus L.)	Fox (Vulpes vulpes L.)	Badger (Meles meles L.)	Marten (Martes martes L.)	Wild cat (Felis silvestris Schreb.)	Brown hare (Lepus europaeus Pall.)	Beaver (Castor fiber L.)	Squirrel (Sciurus vulgaris L.)
1. Ács-Vaspuszta	–	–	1	1	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2. Ács-Vaspuszta	–	–	1	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
4. Adony	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
5. Balatonaliga	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	1	–	–
6. Budapest-Albertfalva	28	–	8	6	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
7. Budapest-Albertfalva	1	–	3	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
10. Budapest-Aquincum	2	–	2	1	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–
12. Budapest-Aquincum	–	–	1	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
14. Iatrus-Krivina	–	–	9	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
15. Iatrus-Krivina	–	–	21	1	4	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
16. Iatrus-Krivina	–	–	8	1	3	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
17. Iatrus-Krivina	–	–	32	–	7	1	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	–
18. Karasura	–	–	3	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
19. Mora Vagei	6	–	40	5	54	2	–	–	–	1	–	4	–	–
20. Most na Soči	–	–	7	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
21. Nagytétény	4	–	13	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
22. Örvényes-Hosszúrétek	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
23. Pilismarót-Örtorony	7	–	84	3	78	–	1	–	3	–	–	3	1	–
24. Pontes	–	–	4	–	6	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
25. Rottweil	–	4	132	22	39	2	–	1	–	–	–	44	3	1
26. Sopron-Scarbantia	7	–	8	5	9	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	–	–
27. Százhalombatta-Dunafüred	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–
28. Tác-Gorsium	49	–	37	5	30	–	1	3	2	–	–	45	–	–
29. Tác-Gorsium	106	–	158	30	48	–	7	38	3	–	4	155	1	–
30. Tárnok	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
32. Tokod-Erzsébetakna	2	–	6	–	2	–	–	–	1	–	–	1	–	–
33. Visegrád-Kőbánya	–	–	5	–	4	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–
35. Visegrád-Várkert-dűlő	–	–	7	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

Table 4

Wild birds per site (NISP)	White stork (*Ciconia ciconia* L.)	White pelican (*Pelecanus onocrotalus* L.)	Cormorant (*Phalacrocorax carbo* L.)	Marsh harrier (*Circus aeruginosus* L.)	Goshawk (*Accipiter gentilis* L.)	White-tailed eagle (*Haliaetus albicilla* L.)	Black vulture (*Aegypius monachus* L.)	Griffon vulture (*Gyps fulvus* Habl.)	Black grouse (*Lyrurus tetrix* L.)	Grane (*Grus grus* L.)	Little bustard (*Otis tetrax* L.)	Wood pigeon (*Columba palumbus* L.)	Mute swan (*Cygnus olor* Gm.)	Tufted duck (*Aythya fuligula* L.)	Common pochard (*Aythya ferina* L.)	Teal (*Anas crecca* L.)	Garganey (*Anas querquedula* L.)	Mallard (*Anas platyrhynchos* L.)	Goosander (*Mergus merganser* L.)	Jackdaw (*Corvus monedula* L.)	Rook (*Corvus frugilegus* L.)	Carrion crow (*Corvus corone* L.)	Aves sp.
1. Ács-Vaspuszta	–	1	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
5. Balatonaliga	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2
6. Budapest-Albertfalva	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2
16. Iatrus-Krivina	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
17. Iatrus-Krivina	1	3	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
19. Mora Vagei	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
23. Pilismarót-Őrtorony	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9
24. Pontes	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
25. Rottweil	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	2	1	2	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	2	1	–	1	–
28. Tác-Gorsium	1	–	–	1	1	6	–	–	–	5	1	1	–	1	3	1	1	2	–	1	2	3	–
29. Tác-Gorsium	3	–	–	1	2	6	–	–	–	5	1	1	–	1	3	1	1	2	–	1	2	3	344
32. Tokod-Erzsébetakna	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	10	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
34. Visegrád-Sibrikdomb	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1

Table 5

Poikilotherm species per site (NISP)	Pond tortoise (Emys orbicularis L.)	Sturgeon (Acipenser huso L.)	Pike (Esox lucius L.)	Carp (Cyprinus carpio L.)	Catfish (Silurus glanis L.)	Pikeperch (Stizostedion lucioperca L.)	Pisces sp.	Riverine mussel (Unio crassus Philipsson)	European oyster (Ostrea edulis L.)
1. Ács-Vaspuszta	–	1	1	7	–	1	–	2	–
2. Ács-Vaspuszta	–	–	–	2	–	–	–	–	–
6. Budapest-Albertfalva	1	–	–	–	–	–	4	–	–
15. Iatrus-Krivina	–	–	–	2	6	–	–	–	–
16. Iatrus-Krivina	–	–	–	3	3	–	–	–	–
17. Iatrus-Krivina	–	–	–	–	2	–	–	–	–
18. Karasura	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	5
23. Pilismarót-Őrtorony	–	–	–	–	–	–	22	–	–
24. Pontes	–	–	–	3	–	–	–	–	–
25. Rottweil	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	24	6
28. Tác-Gorsium	8	–	2	–	–	–	15	–	–
29. Tác-Gorsium	22	–	9	12	29	–	112	–	–
33. Visegrád-Kőbánya	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	–
34. Visegrád--Várkert-dűlő	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–

Table 6

SPEARMAN RANK CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS

	TYPE	NISP	R	DOMESTIIC %	BSSE	INDEX	RESI-DUALS
TYPE	1.0000						
NISP	–0.1945	1.0000					
R	0.0946	0.7930	1.0000				
DOMESTIC %	–0.4053	0.2916	–0.0994	1.0000			
BSE	0.3958	–0.5370	–0.1609	–0.8617	1.0000		
INDEX	–0.2384	0.9847	0.6978	0.3640	–0.5982	1.0000	
RESIDUALS	–0.1945	1.0000	0.7930	0.2916	–0.5370	0.9847	1.0000

Table 7

SORTED ROTATED FACTOR LOADINGS (INPUT: SPEARMAN RANK CORRELATIONS)

VARIABLES	FACTOR 1	FACTOR 2	CUMMUNALITIES h	%
NISP	.961	–.242	.982	14.0
RESIDUALS	.961	–.242	.982	14.0
INDEX	.920	–.332	.957	13.7
R	.909	.216	.874	12.5
DOMESTIC %	.084	–.920	.854	12.2
BSE	–.367	.857	.870	12.4
TYPE	.008	.683	.467	6.7
LATENT ROOTS λ	3.664	2.322	5.986	
%	52.3	33.2		85.5

ABREVIATIONS

Atchley et al. 1976   *W.R. Atchley, C.T. Gaskins* and *D. Anderson:* Statistical properties of ratios I. Empirical results. Syst. Zool. 25 (1976) 137—138.

Bartosiewicz 1985   *L. Bartosiewicz:* Most na Soči: A preliminary faunal analysis of the Hallstatt period settlement. AVes 36 (1985) 107—130.

Bartosiewicz 1986a   *L. Bartosiewicz:* Species interferences in prehistoric animal husbandry. In J. Clutton-Brock (ed.): Interaction of human and animal behaviour and the control of animals. The World Archaeological Congress Precirculated Papers, Southampton (1986) 1—16.

Bartosiewicz 1986b   *L. Bartosiewicz:* Roman Period animal remains from Most na Soči. AVes 37 (1986) 287—296.

Bartosiewicz 1986c   *L. Bartosiewicz:* Multivariate methods in archaeozoology. ActaArchHung 38 (1986) 279—294.

Bartosiewicz 1986d   *L. Bartosiewicz:* Az állatcsontok eloszlási rendszere az avar temetkezésekben (Animal offering distribution patterns in Avar burials). SzegediMÉ 1984/1985:1 (1986) 777—95.

Bartosiewicz 1987   *L. Bartosiewicz:* Metacarpal measurements and carcass weight of moose in Central Sweden. J. Wildl. Manage. 51/2 (1987) 356—357.

Bartosiewicz and Takács 1989   *L. Bartosiewicz* and *I. Takács:* Data to the history of fish exploitation in Hungary. BAR IS Oxford (1989) in press.

Binford 1981   *L.R. Binford:* Bones. Ancient Men and Modern Myths. New York 1981.

Binford 1983   *L.R. Binford:* In Pursuit of the Past. New York 1983.

Binford and Bertram 1977   *L.R. Binford* and *J.B. Bertram:* Bone frequencies and attritional processes. In L.R. Binford (ed.): For Theory Building in Archaeology. New York 1977, 77—153.

Boessneck 1958   *J. Boessneck:* Zur Entwicklung vor- und frühgeschichtlicher Haus- und Wildtiere Bayerns im Rahmen der gleichzeitigen Tierwelt Mitteleuropas. Stud. an vor- u. frühgesch. Tierrest. Bayerns II. 1958.

Bökönyi 1974   *S. Bökönyi:* History of Domestic Mammals in Central and Eastern Europe. Budapest 1974.

Bökönyi 1986   *S. Bökönyi:* Animal Husbandry and Hunting in Tác-Gorsium. StudArch 8. Budapest 1984.

Bökönyi 1986   *S. Bökönyi:* Animal remains from the Roman forum of Sopron-Scarbantia. ActaArchHung 38 (1986) 399—422.

Buday 1943   *L. Buday:* Orvosi alkattan (Medical Typology). Magyar Orvosi Könyvkiadó Társulat, Budapest 1943.

Casteel 1976   *R.W. Casteel:* Fish Remains in Archaeology. New York 1976.

Choyke 1983   *A.M. Choyke:* An Analysis of Bone, Antler, and Tooth Tools from Bronze Age Hungary. Dissertation. SUNY Binghamton 1983.

Choyke 1987   *A.M. Choyke:* The exploitation of red deer in the Hungarian Bronze Age. Archaeozoologia (1987) 109—116.

Choyke and Bartosiewicz 1984   *A.M. Choyke* and *L. Bartosiewicz:* Interactions between game biology, environment and human behaviour in patterns of deer hunting. MittArchInst 12/13 (1982—1983) [1984] 253—262.

Cohen and Nagel 1934   *M.R. Cohen* and *E. Nagel:* An Introduction to Logic and Scientific Method. New York 1934.

Daly 1969   *P. Daly:* Approaches to faunal analysis in archaeology. AmAnt 42 (1969) 350—368.

Dixon et al. 1981   *W.J. Dixon, M.B. Brown, L. Engelman, J.W. Frane, M.A. Hill, R.I. Jennrich* and *J.D. Toporek:* BMDP Statistical Software. Berkeley and Los Angeles 1981.

Ducos 1975   *P. Ducos:* Analyse statistique des collections d'ossements d'animaux. In A.T. Clason (ed.): Archaeozoological Studies. Amsterdam and New York 1975, 35—44.

Fitz 1980   J. Fitz: Economic life. In: A. Lengyel and G.T.B. Radan (eds.): The Archaeology of Roman Pannonia. Budapest 1980.

Frane et al. 1981   J.W. Frane, R. Jennrich and P. Sampson: Factor analysis. In W.J. Dixon et al. BMDP Statistical Software. Berkeley and Los Angeles 1981 480—499.

Grayson 1984   D.K. Grayson: Quantitative Zooarchaeology. New York 1984.

Guilford 1956   J.P. Guilford: Fundamental Statistics in Psychology and Education. New York 1956.

Harman 1967   H.H. Harman: Modern Factor Analysis. Chicago and London 1967.

Herrmann 1979   J. Herrmann: Die Siedlungsperioden von Iatrus/Krivina und deren Datierung. In J. Hermann (ed.): Iatrus-Krivina I. Berlin 1979 11—14.

Herrmann et al. 1986 J. Hermann, D. Nikolov and M. Wendel: Karasura — antike Strassenstation und mittelalterliche Siedlung bei Rupkite (V.R. Bulgarien). Das Altertum 32/2 (1986) 85—91.

Keller 1919   C. Keller: Geschichte der Schweizerischen Haustierwelt. Frauenfeld 1919.

Kokabi 1982   M. Kokabi: Arae Flaviae II. Viehhaltung und Jagd im römischen Rottweil. Stuttgart 1982.

McCullagh 1974   P. McCullagh: Data use and interpretation. Science in Geography 4 (1974).

Mócsy 1974   A. Mócsy: Pannonia and Upper Moesia. London and Boston 1974.

Neustupný 1978   E.F. Neustupný: Mathematics at Jenisův Újezd. In J. Waldhauser (ed.): Das keltische Gräberfeld bei Jenisův Újezd in Böhmen. Krajske Muzeum, Teplice 1978 40—66.

Smith 1975   B.D. Smith: Middle Mississippi exploitation of animal populations. Museum of Anthropology. University of Michigan, Anthropological Papers 57. Ann Arbor 1975.

Sussman 1961   M. Sussman: Animal Growth and Development. Englewood Cliffs N.J. 1961.

Sváb 1979   J. Sváb: Többváltozós módszerek a biometriában (Multivariate Methods in Biometrics). Budapest 1979.

Teichert 1962   M. Teichert: Die Rinder aus dem Opfermoor Oberdorla. Zeitschr. f. Tierzüchtg. u. Züchtgsbiol. 77 (1962) 74—86.

White 1970   K.D. White: Roman Farming. London 1970.

Williams 1979   F. Williams: Reasoning with Statistics. New York 1979.

Wolff 1975   R.G. Wolff: Sampling and sample size in ecological analyses of fossil mammals. Palaeobiology 1 (1975) 195—204.

NOTES

1 I would like to acknowledge the help of my co-referees, István Vörös and Gyula Muzsik, who reviewed the paper and contributed valuable comments to its final form. The English text was prepared by Alice M. Choyke.
2 M. Babits: Between autumn and spring. Translated by I. Tótfalusi.
3 Encyclopedia Britannica 6. 343.
4 Sussman 1961 2.
5 Casteel 1974 31, 65, 78; Choyke 1987 114.
6 Choyke 1983 136; Bartosiewicz 1986a 15. Changes of evolutionary character brought about by Roman animal breeding often survived the Roman period. A few generations of ''improved'' domestic animals probably influenced early medieval animal husbandry. This effect depended on the length of the reproduction cycle and on how much their owners valued such animals.
7 Binford 1983 203.
8 Bökönyi 1974.
9 Bökönyi 1984 14.
10 Cohen and Nagel 1934 395.
11 Guilford 1956 145.
12 Frane et al. 1981 486.

13 *Sváb* 1979 106.
14 *Williams* 1979 62.
15 *Bökönyi* 1974 340—436; *Bökönyi* 1984 15; *Bökönyi* 1986 401.
16 Grateful thanks are due to *A. M. Choyke* for allocating these unpublished data for the purposes of this study.
17 *Kokabi* 1982 16.
18 *Bartosiewich* 1986b 292.
19 *Sváb* 1979 30.
20 *Ducos* 1975 42.
21 *Smith* 1975 128.
22 *Buday* 1943 123.
23 *McCullagh* 1974
24 *Binford and Bertram* 1977 92.
25 *Daly* 1969 150.
26 *Williams* 1979 29.
27 *Wolff* 1975 198.
28 *Grayson* 1984 134.
29 *Bartosiewicz* 1987 356.
30 *Sváb* 1979 70.
31 *Atchley et al.* 1975 139.
32 *Dixon et al.* 1981 444.
33 *Frane et al.* 1981 494.
34 *Bartosiewicz* 1986c 280.
35 *White* 1970 274.
36 *Grayson* 1984 144; *Bartosiewicz and Takács* 1989
37 *Bökönyi* 1974 351.
38 *Choyke* unpublished, preliminary results.
39 *Harman* 1979 11.
40 *Herrmann et al.* 1986 87.
41 *Bartosiewicz* 1985
42 *Mócsy* 1974 98.
43 *Bartosiewicz* unpublished, preliminary data.
44 *Bökönyi* 1974 351.
45 *Fitz* 1980 324.
46 *Harman* 1967 100.
47 *Neustupný* 1978 46.
48 *Binford* 1983 196.
49 *Choyke and Bartosiewicz* 1984 260.
50 *Keller* 1919 48.
51 *Binford* 1971 289.
52 *Boessneck* 1958 21; *Teicher* 1962 74.
53 *Bökönyi* 1974 36.
54 *Bartosiewicz* 1986d 81.

CAPTIONS

Plate I.   A: Domestic ass articulated autopodium bones from Ács-Vaspuszta; B and C: Domestic and wild pig metacarpals from Mora Vagei; D: Bear canine tooth from Iatrus-Krivina; E: Bear distal phalanx from Ács-Vaspuszta

Plate II. A: White neurocranium, lateral view (left) from Ács-Vaspuszta; B: White pelical humerus fragment from Mora Vagei; C: White tailed eagle carpometacarpus from Ács-Vaspuszta

LIST OF FIGURES

I. Vörös

COMMENTS ON THE PAPER "ANIMAL BONES AS INDICATIONS OF CONTINUITY AT ROMAN PROVINCIAL SITES" BY L. BARTOSIEWICZ*

Both main research areas within archaeozoology, the history of domestic and wild faunas, have long been occupied with the origins of individual animal species, as well as the chronological and regional distribution of species, breeds and types.

One of the most intensively and comprehensively studied fields of archaeozoology in Europe (analyses of bone remains, animal representations and written sources) has been the Period of the Roman Empire. The primary aim of research into the history of domestic animals over the territories of the Roman provinces is the study and identification of and distinction between stocks kept by the local, indigeneous inhabitants and those introduced by the Romans. It is similarly important to compare animal stocks from the Barbaricum respectively.

Typical faunas characteristic of Roman Pannonia and the Barbaricum during the Imperial Period were first summarized by Sándor Bökönyi in 1969.[1] SInce that time, several studies and monographs have been dedicated to the documentation of local domestic and wild animals,[2] and the survival of indigeneous domestic animal stocks following the Roman occupation.[3] The trading of animals between Italy and Pannonia[4] as well as between Pannonia and the Barbaricum have likewise been discussed.[5]

The paper by L. Bartosiewicz is connected to this research program as well.

L. Bartosiewicz approaches the question of archaeological continuity from a special aspect. He investigated two types of archaeological sites within the same culture, the Roman Imperial Period. That is, he focused on the role *domestic* and *wild* animals played in meat procurement strategies in food production at civilian and military settlements of the Roman Imperial Period.

For the purpose of this study L. Bartosiewicz used bone materials from 34 sites (22 civilian and 12 military settlements). These came predominantly from the province of Pannonia in addition to a few sites in Germania Romana, Moesia and Thracia.

This work is based on two archaeozoological hypotheses:

1) The number of bone remains from wild animals is fewer in urban settlements and villas, since hunting played a smaller role in such places, while the opposite holds true for military camps and watchtowers.[6]

2) The quality and origin of meat consumed at Roman sites is dependent on the geographical location, economic-political character and changes in political stability of these settlements.

These tendencies and interrelationships may be reconstructed from the data of the so-called faunal lists.

Of the basic data summarized in the faunal lists, the number of identifiable bone specimens (NISP), the number of all identified animal species (R. taxonomic

variability), the percentual contribution of bone fragments from domesticates (Dom %), and the theoretical number of bones per species (Index) were chosen in order to study their interrelationships.

L. Bartosiewicz confirmed quantitatively previous qualitative studies and evaluations of these data from individual faunal lists using mathematical methods.

In the faunal lists from these sites, a positive correlation and a strong exponential relationship was found which was, on the other hand, different between civilian and military settlements.

The author's statements concerning the relationships between faunal parameters are correct.

L. Bartosiewicz considers the *number of domestic animal species* to be indicative of the continuity of meat resources ensured by animal keeping. Consequently, the presence of remains from wild animals (hunting), marks a disruption in meat consumption based on domestic animals. The author emphasizes, however, that this does not reflect a major decrease or cessation in animal keeping.

Recently, gross "nomenclatural" categories such as "large/small mammals" (not micromammals!), "mammals/birds/fish", "domestic/wild animals" have made a comeback in archaeozoological publications. These sometimes even cross-out zoological terminology. Research and interpretations limited exclusively to the publication of such large scale "macro-groups" represent a step back relative to comparative studies on the level of species and breeds.

Some further remarks on the archaeozoological portion of the paper:

1) A great variability may be observed in the geographical location, economic function, and both the quantity and quality of animal bone materials from the civilian and military sites included in the study. The number of species ranges between 5 and 43 while the number of identifiable bone specimens lies between 7 and 51,518. The sites are dated to the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 5th centuries respectively. There are extreme differences between the level of excavations, the representative value of animal bone materials as well as the producing, consuming or subsistence characters of both types of settlements. Such differences, naturally do not bias the mathematical model itself, but make the economic-historical evaluation of results less feasible or even impossible.

2) Archaeological sites for this study were not selected using a uniform standard: some settlements are represented by several periods (e.g. Ács-Vaspuszta), other sites are represented by various locations (e.g. Budapest-Aquincum). In other cases, several periods were pooled (e.g. Tác-Gorsium).

3) The animal bone material from Budapest-Albertfalva[7] probably does not exlusively represent the military camp but the nearby civilian settlement as well. This seems to be shown by the animal bone assamblage as well, which similarities to the finds from the Budatétény vicus.[8] The relatively great number of horse bones at Budapest-Albertfalva has also been noted by the author of the paper under discussion here.

4) The number of remains from hunted animals is, in general, small at Roman sites in Hungary. This may be related to the fact that from the Iron Age on, hunting ceased to be a complementary food resource becoming mostly trophy and sportshunting oriented. As opposed to Prehistoric, meat purpose hunting, from this time on remains of the hunted animals do not represent the quantitative output of hunting but rather a selected set of species and skeletal parts. The evaluation of such remains is defined by their qualitative character, thus for the pur-

poses of further studies the number of wild animals should be sub-divided into mammals, birds and reptiles, fishes etc. In a subsequent statistical comparison these animals would not play an equal role: their occurrence, procurement and exploitation are all different.

5) Without more precise chronological definitions one cannot make the generalization that (according to previous observations) in urban settlements and villas fewer wild animal remains occur than at military sites in Hungary.[9] If only wild animals are considered (which are potential sources of meat, leather and bone) anywhere from 5 to 8 such species occur in towns and villas. Naturally, they are not represented in small find materials and in habitation layers of large urban settlements which had their own domestic animal meat supplies from farmsteads.

In the representative materials from camps and watchtowers (with the exception of the small fortress at Pilismarót) from 2 to 5 wild mammalian species are found. Raw materials and semi-finished products from a 2nd—3rd century antler manufacturing workshop were discovered in the inner area of the Roman camp at Budapest-Nagytétény. On the basis of 92 red deer remains,[10] the camp and its immediate neighbourhood would qualify as intensive hunting grounds. Deer antler, however, may be procured by gathering and trade as well.

At present, 14 wild mammalian species are known from Roman Period Hungary: five large game animals — aurochs, red deer, fallow deer, roe deer and wild pig; seven carnivores — wolf, red fox, badger, otter, wild cat, brown bear and polecat. In addition to these, brown hare and beaver occur as well.

The number of animal remains from hunted species is higher in early (1st century A.D.) and later (end of the 4th and 5th centuries) constructions of a military character.

6) In relation to the "decreasing tendency" of animal keeping and "growing intensity" of hunting one should note that this picture may be partly due to the small size of the assemblages found. On the other hand, the function of army units stationed in the military installations along the limes was defence and the control of border trade. Several Roman watchtowers and small fortresses are known from the Danube Bend. The homogeneous nature of the animal bone material makes it seem likely that during the 2nd and 3rd centuries these watchtowers and small forts had some sort of central meat supply. During the 4th century, a reorganization took place in the army. As a result, these supplies decreased or even ceased. In addition, as may be seen in the small fort at Pilismarót-Malompatak,[11] for example, newly recruited soldiers hunted more intensively.

In spite of the variability in the number of identifiable bone fragments and species composition observed at civilian and military settlements from the Period of the Roman Empire, the archaeological culture remained unchanged. Changes, on the other hand, occur in the meat consumption patterns and activities of people as defined by the geographical environment and economic function.

In my opinion, within a given archaeological culture the variability of animal species and the proportion between domestic to wild animal does not reflect "archaeological continuity". It rather represents the *continuity of animal keeping* as a source of animal protein. It may also illustrate the composition of species as influenced by the sites' geographical and economic circumstances.

Finally, the development of archaeozoological research in Hungary is in need of basic research. The paper by L. Bartosiewicz is a welcome contribution in this regard.

ABBREVIATIONS

Bökönyi 1969a
S. *Bökönyi:* Az állattartás történeti fejlődése Közép- és Kelet-Európában (The historical development of animal keeping in Central and Eastern Europe). Agrártört. Szemle 10 (1969) 277—342.

Bökönyi 1969b
S. *Bökönyi:* Untersuchung des Tierknochenmaterials der Siedlung Gellérthegy-Tabán. In: É. Bónis: Die spätkeltische Siedlung Gellérthegy-Tabán in Budapest. ArchHung 47. Budapest 1969 238—244.

Bökönyi 1974
S. *Bökönyi:* History of Domestic Mammals in Central and Eastern Europe. Budapest 1974.

Bökönyi 1976
S. *Bökönyi:* Animal remains of Sarmatian sites from Bács-Kiskun county. Cumania 4 (1976) 41—72.

Bökönyi 1982
S. *Bökönyi:* Trade of domestic animals between Pannonia and Italy. Savaria 16 (1982) 335—339.

Bökönyi 1984
S. *Bökönyi:* Animal Husbandry and Hunting in Tác-Gorsium. StudArch 8. Budapest 1984.

Bökönyi 1985
S. *Bökönyi:* Szarmata állatcsontleletek Biharkeresztes—Ártánd Kis- és Nagy-farkasdombról (Animal remains from the Sarmatian settlements of Biharkeresztes—Ártánd Kis- and Nagyfarkasdomb). DebreceniMÉ 1982 (1985) 251—265.

Matolcsi 1976
J. *Matolcsi:* A Budapest, XI., Kende utca 8—10. szám alatt feltárt kora császárkori település állatcsontanyagának meghatározás (The identification of animal bone material from the Early Roman Imperial Period settlement excavated at Budapest, XI. Kende street 8—10). ArchÉrt 103 (1976) 96—97.

Matolcsi 1979
J. *Matolcsi:* Die Tierknochenfunde von der Siedlung Gellérthegy-Tabán. ActaArchHung 31 (1979) 287—291.

Matolcsi 1984
J. *Matolcsi:* A budatétényi római kori állatcsontleletek (Römerzeitliche Tierknochenfunde Budatétény). BpRég 26 (1984) 183—201.

Vaday and Vörös 1977
A.H. *Vaday and I. Vörös:* Szarmata telep Bánhalma határában (Sarmatische Siedlungsspuren in der Gemarkung von Bánhalma). ArchÉrt 104 (1977) 98—105.

Vaday and Vörös 1980
A.H. *Vaday and I. Vörös:* Szarmata település Kunszentmártonban (Sarmatian settlement at Kunszentmárton). SzolnokiMÉ 1979—1980 (1980) 117—139.

Vörös 1982
I. *Vörös:* The animal bones from the La Tène- and Roman settlement of Szakály—Réti földek. in: D. Gabler, E. Patek and I. Vörös: Studies in the Iron Age of Hungary. BAR IS 144 Oxford 1982 129—179.

Vörös 1987
I. *Vörös:* The animal remains from the Roman Imperial period of Kővágószőlős. PécsiMÉ 30—31 (1985—86) [1987] 243—247.

Vörös I in press
I. *Vörös:* Észak-magyarországi császárkori telepek állatcsontleletei (Szilvásvárad, Garadna, Arka, Zalkod) (Animal bone finds from Roman Imperial Period settlements in Northern Hungary: Szilvásvárad, Garadna, Arka, Zalkod). In press.

Vörös II in press
I. *Vörös:* Római császárkori telep állattartása Szirmabesnyőn (Animal keeping at the Roman Imperial Period settlement in Szirmabesnyő). In press.

Vörös III in press
I. *Vörös:* Nagytétény-Campona római tábor állatcsontleletei (Animal bone finds from the Roman camp at Nagytétény-Campona). In press.

NOTES

* See Antaeus 19—20 (1990—1991) 103—124

1 *Bökönyi* 1969a

2 *Bökönyi* 1969b, 1974, 1976, 1984, 1985. *Matolcsi* 1976, 1979, 1984, *Vaday and Vörös* 1977, 1980, *Vörös* 1982, 1987 and I, II, III in press.

3 *Vörös* 1982, *Bökönyi* 1984.

4 *Bökönyi* 1982, 1985.

5 *Bökönyi* 1974, 1976, 1985.

6 *Bökönyi* 1969a, 1974, 1984.

7 *Bökönyi* 1974.

8 *Matolcsi* 1984.

9 *Bökönyi* 1969a, 1974, 1984.

10 *Vörös* III. in press.

11 *Bökönyi* 1974.

T. Vida

CHRONOLOGIE UND VERBREITUNG EINIGER AWARENZEITLICHER KERAMIKTYPEN

Innerhalb der chronologischen Ordnung, die mit Hilfe der awarenzeitlichen Münz- und Metallfunde aufgestellt wurde, lassen sich Ort und Bedeutung der Keramik noch immer nicht klar überblicken.[1] Gleichzeitig sind die in den letzten Jahrzehnten vervielfachten Siedlungsfreilegungen — mangels anderer, zeitbestimmender Funde — den Schwierigkeiten einer Zeitbestimmung ausgesetzt. Genauer: im Besitz von Kenntnissen sind wir nur im Fall einiger bestimmter Typen, die sich aufgrund bestimmter Merkmale mit Sicherheit bestimmen lassen (graue[2] und gelbe[3] Keramik, Feldflaschen[4]). Die Aufarbeitung der meisten Gefäßtypen ging jedoch bis jetzt nur selten über das Fundmaterial dieses oder jenes Gräberfeldes oder einer Siedlung hinaus, auch steht die komparative Analyse der Töpferei innerhalb regionaler Einheiten und der verschiedenenen Perioden der Awarenzeit aus. Wir wissen, daß die Untersuchung des Problemkreises im Hinblick auf geschichtliche Schlußfolgerungen ein recht bescheidenes Ergebnis verspricht. Das angehäufte Fundmaterial gestattet jedoch heute bereits eine typologische und chronologische Analyse, mit deren Hilfe man dennoch somanches klarstellen kann, etwa das Verhältniss der Ureinwohner und der vom Osten eingewanderten Völker und über die Entwicklung des awarenzeitlichen Fundmaterials.

Dieser Aufsatz widmet sich nur der Bestimmung gewisser awarenzeitlicher Keramiktypen bzw. der Untersuchung ihrer Chronologie und Verbreitung, sozusagen als kurzes, vorläufiges Exzerpt einer auf ansehnlicher Materialsammlung beruhenden, die gesamte awarenzeitliche Keramik berücksichtigenden Zusammenfassung. Die Feststellungen des Aufsatzes beruhen v.a. auf der Untersuchung der Grabkeramik.

Wir wollen einige kennzeichnende Gefäßtypen der frühen Awarenzeit betrachten. In den Regionen Szabolcs und Bácska sowie in der Umgebung der Maros sind die *Gefäße mit Trichtermund*[5] verbreitet (Karte I). Die großen — gelblichen, braunen, grauen Gefäße, manche mit schwarzen Flecken — sind in der Regel schwach, selten mittelmäßig geschlämmt und ausgearbeitet. Häufig wurden sie mit Keramikscherben und Sand gemagert. Ausnahmslos alle sind handgeformt und mittelmäßig gebrannt. Vier Typen lassen sich unterscheiden:
1. längliche Tonkrüge mit trichterförmigem Mund;
2. bauchige Tonkrüge mit Trichtermund und langem Hals;
3. bauchige Tonkrüge mit umgekehrtem Trichtermund, verengtem Hals und Mund;
4. Gefäße mit Trichtermund und ringförmigen Henkeln, die an Hals und Schulter fixiert sind;
5. Gefäße mit umgekehrtem Trichtermund und konischem Hals.

Es ist zu bemerken, daß die Krüge des zweiten Typus in der Gegend von Theiß und Maros erscheinen. Es wurde nie in Frage gestellt, daß sie aus dem 7. Jh. stammen. Ein Krug aus Nyíregyháza ist durch eine Goldmünze des Mauritius Tiberios (538—601) datiert.[6] Es ist eine wichtige Tatsache, daß bisher noch kein einziges Stück mit Gußbronzemünzen gefunden worden ist. Innerhalb des Keramikmaterials aus der Mitte des 7. Jhs. ist keine wesentliche Veränderung der Formen zu konstatieren, höchstens daß die Gefäße etwas bauchiger geworden sind. Die Kontinuität dieser Typen ist bis zum Ende des 7. Jhs. zu beobachten, d.h. bis zur mittleren Awarenzeit.[7]

Unbeachtet geblieben ist bis jetzt ein *in der Mitte bauchiger* Gefäßtypus mit kürzerem Rand, nur sehr mäßig trichterförmigem Aspekt; der äußereste Rand ist kaum merklich zurückgebogen. Vereinzelt begegnet man diesem Typus in Ostungarn, in Südungarn und sogar in Westungarn. Im Fall der handgeformten, verhältnismäßig großen Gefäßte mit breitem Mund kommt wahrscheinlich ein osteuropäischer Einfluß zur Geltung, dessem Präsenz in der frühawarischen Keramik schon früher vermutet wurde.[8] Stücke, die man mit den Traditionen der Penkovka-Kultur in Verbindung bringen kann, sind aus Tiszavasvári,[9] Verbász[10] und Oroszlány[11] bekannt. Typologisch gesehen widerspricht der Wahrscheinlichkeit dieser Beziehung allerdings der leicht zurückgebogene Rand der Gefäße aus dem Karpatenbecken, dies ließe sich jedoch auch als örtliche Entwicklung interprätieren. Die Frage muß unbedingt noch weiter untersucht werden.

Der Menge und vielleicht auch der Bedeutung nach sind die *Gefäße mit Buckeln, eingezwicktem Rand und viereckigem Mund*[12] ebenso wichtig wie die sonstigen Typen. Aus dem 7. Jh. ist kaum ein Gräberfeld bekannt, in dem sie nicht vorhanden wären; auch muß es auffallen, daß diese drei Typen meist gemeinsam vorgekommen sind. Innerhalb des frühawarischen Siedlungsgebiets fehlen sie nur östlich der Theiß und in Südpannonien. Auf ihre Analogien in Innerasien und Südsibirien wurde bereits früher aufmerksam gemacht,[13] neuerdings sind in Dschety-Assar (Mittelasien) vortreffliche, zeitlich den Funden aus dem Karpatenbecken vorangehende Parallelen geborgen worden.[14] Beachtenswert ist die Tatsache, daß ähnliche Stücke in der osteuropäischen Steppe noch nicht geborgen worden sind. Mit Hilfe entsprechender Fundkomplexe aus der osteuropäischen Steppe konnte auch die Chronologie dieser Gefäße im Karpatenbecken erstellt werden. Es wurde klar, daß die frühere Datierung — 7. Jh. — richtig war.[15] Ebenso erwies es sich — und daraus ergeben sich weitere Fragen —, daß diese Gefäße nicht nur mit frühawarischen, sondern auch mit mittelawarischen Funden zusammen in Erscheinung treten.[16] Es gilt also festzustellen ob man es mit einer länger überlebenden frühawarischen Tradition zu tum hat, oder aber ob ein Teil der einwandernden mittelawarischen Bevölkerung die Kenntnis dieser besonderen Formen mit sich gebracht hatte.

Von den sonstigen handgeformten Typen sind die *Gefäße mit gezacktem oder eingedrücktem Rand* zu erwähnen, die eine Verwandschaft mit Osteuropa nahelegen. An sich eignen sie sich nicht zur Zeitbestimmung, da sie in Zeit und Raum die ganze Awarenzeit hindurch allgemein verbreitet waren.[17] Ähnliche Schwierigkeiten kommen in Zusammenhang mit dem *Prager Typus* auf, dessen Ausstehen im Inneren des Awarenreichs die slowakische Forschung schon früher konstatiert hat. Eine gründliche Untersuchung durch die man entscheiden könnte, ob diese Gefäße über die bloße Ähnlichkeit in der Form hinaus auch andere, technologisch und sodann kulturell auswertbare gemeinsame Züge aufweisen, steht heute noch aus.[18]

Innerhalb der frühawarischen, Drehscheibenkeramik hat man sich — wie bekannt — am ehesten mit der grauen Keramik beschäftigt.[19] Solche Exemplare finden sich im gesamten awarischen Siedlungsgebiet, von Sommerein[20] (Ö) bis Biharea (SRR),[21] von Obid[22] (ČSSR) bis Bjelo-Brdo[23] (J). Früher wurden diese Gefäße auf germanische,[24] später auf mittelasiatische[25] Werkstatttraditionen zurückgeführt. In der ungarischen Forschung hatte die Mittelasientheorie die Dominanz, doch wurden die, die Herkunft betreffenden Zweifel nicht eliminiert. Manche ziehen die örtlichen Töpferwerkstätten der Langobarden in Westungarn oder der Gepiden in Südungarn bzw. deren späterem Wirken[26] in Betracht; eine dritte Auffassung erwähnt eine mögliche Verwandschaft mit der Töpferei der Ipotesti-Cindesti-Kultur.[27] Trotz der teilweise vorhandenen Verwandschaft mit den germanischen Gefäßen in der Qualität (schnellrotierende Drehscheibe, gute Ausarbeitung des Materials, Ausbrennung in Grau), und in der Typologie (Gefäße mit Ausgießrohr, bestimmte Topfformen), läßt die Ausführung der awarenzeitlichen grauen Keramik eher einen orientalischen Geschmack erkennen.

Eine realistischere Möglichkeit der Klärung als im Fall der Frage nach dem Ursprung bietet sich in der Frage, ob die Aktivität der graue Keramik herstellenden Werkstätten am Ende der Frühawarenzeit ein Ende hat. Gewisse, bislang noch nicht ausreichend bewiesene Annahmen gehen dahin, daß die Werkstätten auch in der mittleren Awarenzeit tätig waren, dafür aber bieten die in einigen spätawarischen Gräberfeldern verstreut auffindbaren grauen Gefäße nur einen recht schwachen Beweis. Bislang ist kein mittelawarischer Fundkomplex beschrieben worden, der die spätere Datierung tatsächlich bestätigen würde. Aufgrund provisorischer Informationen hat man jedoch den Eindruck, daß die frühawarischen Keramikzentren in SW-Ungarn noch am Ende des 7. Jhs. tätig waren.[28]

An örtlichen Traditionen orientieren sich im östlichen Teil Westungarns die Ende des 6. — Anfang des 7. Jhs. verbreiteten Gefäße mit *Stempelmuster*: bis jetzt sind etwa 30 solche Gefäße von sieben verschiedenen Fundstätten bekannt. Heute ist es allerdings noch nicht klar, welche Population auf welche Art und Weise diese der awarischen Keramik fremde, germanischen Geschmack wiederspiegelnde Ornamentik hierher vermittelt hat. Es ist zu bemarken, daß diese Gefäße zusammen mit den allerfrühesten awarischen Funden zusammen in Erscheinung treten.[29]

Ebenfalls an den Beginn der Awarenzeit das Gefäßensemble ist anzusetzen, das aus lauter schön gedrehten und wohl ausgearbeiteten, gelb ausgebrannten Gefäßen guter Qualität besteht, das in Csákberény und im Gymnasium von Várpalota zutage gekommen ist.[30] Die Formen der Töpfe mit nach oben sich verengendem Hals und mit Wellenmuster sind innerhalb der Welt der awarischen wie auch der früheren, örtlichen germanischen Keramik fremd. Es ist zu untersuchen, ob die Wurzeln dieser *mittelwestungarischen Gruppe* in der örtlichen oder eher in der balkanisch-byzantinischen spätantiken Tradition zu suchen wären.

Besonders in den inneren Teilen des awarischen Siedlungsgebiets fanden die eindeutig aus dem Osten stammenden *Feldflaschen* Verbreitung (Karte II). Über sie liegt eine ausführliche typologische und chronologische Aufarbeitung vor.[31] Diese Gefäßform ist eine von jenen orientalischen Typen, die im 7. Jh. durch Vermittlung der Awaren aufgetaucht waren.[32]

Über Handelsbeziehungen, oder eher als Kriegsbeute mochten die *Amphoren* hierher gelangt sein — wahrscheinlich nur zu der führenden Schicht der Awaren (Karte III). Sie gehören dem mediterranen (balkanisch-byzantinischen) Kulturkreis an und sind von guter Qualität; sie wurden nicht hierzulande angefertigt, und

sie sind überzeugende gegenständliche Beweise für die politische Orientierung der Awaren. Je ein schönes, auf der Drehscheibe hergestelles Exemplar ist bis jetzt aus Dány,[33] Kiskőrös-PM.,[34] Kunbábony[35] und Tiszavasvári[36] bekannt; wahrscheinlich schon örtlich hergestellte, handgeformte Nachahmungen wurden in Gátér,[37] Csákberény,[38] Óbecse[39] gefunden. In der späten Awarenzeit treten die Amphoren nicht mehr in Erscheinung, die in Gátér und in Kiskőrös-PM. gefundene Stücke stammen aus der zweiten Hälfte des 7. Jhs.

In den frühen awarischen Gräbern finden sich auch dann und wann *echte byzantinische Gefäße* (Sükösd-Ságod,[40] Tatabánya-Alsógalla[41]). Diese sind stets individuelle Exemplare und kommen nur vereinzelt zutage.

Einen byzantinischen Einfluß erkennt die Forschung auch im Fall der großen *gelben Flaschen* aus dem 7. Jh. Die feine Ausarbeitung des Materials entspricht voll und ganz der der späten gelben Keramik, die Formen jedoch sind völlig anders. Das Fortleben der Flaschenform mit kurzem, engem Hals, leicht nach außen neigendem, abgerundetem Rand und in der Mitte leicht ausbuchtendem Körper ist — mit geringen Abänderungen — noch in der mittleren und sogar zu Beginn der späten Awarenzeit zu beobachten. Die frühen Exemplare befinden sich im zentralen Teil des Siedlungsgebiets.[42] Im südlichen Teil des awarischen Siedlungsgebiets — im Süden der Tiefebene und in der Batschka, ferner im SO-Teil Westungarns — erscheint ein Typus der Töpfe mit breitem Mund, ausbuchtendem Mittelteil und am rand bzw. am Bauch befestigtem Henkel.[43] Diese *Henkeltöpfe* (Karte IV) sind auf der Drehscheibe gefertigt worden; typologisch weisen sie eine Verwandschaft mit den ähnlichen Stücken der grauen Keramik auf, unterscheiden sich von diesen jedoch durch die feine Ausarbeitung des Materials, der Art und Weise der Magerung, der Maße und der Herstellungsweise auf der Drehscheibe. Es ist daher begründet, sie separat zu behandeln, doch ist ihre Herkunft fraglich. In den erwähnten Gebieten erscheinen in ansehnlicher Zahl auch handgeformte Varianten der Henkeltöpfe,[44] nach deren Vorbild den örtlichen Ansprüchen entsprechende Stücke auch auf der Drehscheibe hergestellt werden mochten; nicht auszuschließen ist jedoch auch ein Einfluß der spätantiken Töpferkultur der Balkanhalbinsel. Dafür mag vielleicht auch der Umstand sprechen, daß diese Gefäße größtenteils im Süden des Karpatenbeckens verbreitung fanden, und daß auch aus den benachbarten Teilen des Balkans reichlich parallele Stücke bekannt sind.[45]

Als Nachahmungen von Metallgefäßen, unter dem Einfluß östlicher Nomaden oder von Byzanz, mochten in der frühen Awarenzeit die *Tonkelche* entstanden. Ihre geringe Bedeutung geht auch daraus hervor, daß bisher bloß drei Exemplare gefunden wurden: in Gátér,[46] Sükösd-Ságod[47] und in Érsekújvár.[48] Ob das letztgenannte Stück typologisch überhaupt zu dieser Gruppe gehört, ist fraglich; es könnte vielleicht eher als Stielbecher eingestuft werden.

Einen Kontakt zwischen der Keramik der frühen und der mittleren Awarenzeit stellt die dunkelgraue oder die *schwarze Keramik* her[49] (Karte V). Verbreitung fand diese Gruppe der Keramik ab Mitte des 7. Jhs. in der östlichen Hälfte Westungarns (in den Bezirken Fejér, Tolna und Baranya). Ihre schwarze oder dunkelgraue Farbe erhielten die Gefäße beim Ausbrennen, als sich viel Kohle in das Material einbaute. Die fein geschlämmten, mit Sand schnellrotierender ein wenig gemagerten, auf schnellrotierender Drehscheibe hergestellten Töpfe orientieren sich in der Technik und teilweise auch in der Form an der Herstellungstradition der frühawarischen grauen Keramik. Vom nach außen geneigten, schrägen oder abgerundeten Rand fehlt nur selten der innere Bogen, der den Deckel hält. Der Ge-

fäßkörper ist ausladend, schön gedrechselt, kugelförmig; die Oberfläche ist glatt. Sie sind entweder unverziert, oder sie weisen ein charakteristisches Bündel gerader Linien auf der Schulter auf. Später wurde die Magerung kräftiger, und neben den Töpfen aus körnigem Material wurden bereits auch die Krüge (auch die mit Ausgußrohr) schwarz ausgebrannt. Es ist ein wichtiger Fakt, daß dieser Typus in den Gräbern wie auch in den Siedlungen bereits in der ersten Hälfte des 8. Jhs. zu finden ist.

Es mag scheinen als ob gäbe es in der mittleren Awarenzeit keinen einzigen Keramiktypus, bei dem man nicht mit einem unmittelbaren oder vermittelten Einfluß aus der frühen Awarenzeit rechnen müßte. Für den unmittelbaren haben wir bisher schon Beispiele angeführt. Ein indirekter Einfluß hat sich wahrscheinlich Ende des 7. — Anfant des 8. Jhs. zwischen Donau und Theiß, im Fall der auf der schnellrotierenden Drehscheibe hergestellten *gelblichroten Gefäßgruppe*[50] geltend gemacht. Von der spätawarischen gelben Keramik unterscheidet sich diese sorgfältig ausgearbeitete Gefäßgruppe durch ihre Form, die etwas kräftigere, doch nicht grobe Mägerung und durch manchmal rötlichgraue Farbnuancen. Diese Gefäße wurden — mit einer einzigen Ausnahme — zwischen der Donau und Theiß gefunden (die Ausnahme: Dunaújváros-Simonyi dűlő 230[51]). Die Fundorte sind: Fajsz-Ártér, Grab Nr. 76,[52] Homokmégy-Halom Grab Nr. 110,[53] Kecel-Határdűlő Nr. 63, 68, 74,[54] Kiskőrös-VH, Grab Nr. 2,[55] Madaras-Lehmgrube, Grab Nr. 7,[56] Üllő II, Grab Nr. 137[57] usw. Der Gefäßrand ist stets klar profiliert, nach außen geneigt und schräg abgeschnitten; kurzer, geschwungener Hals, der von der Schulter an ausladende Gefäßkörper ist stark, die größte Breite erscheint etwa in der Mitte des Körpers. Eine auf die frühawarische Keramik hinweisende Eigenart zeigt sich auch darin, daß das Maß der größten Ausbuchtung fast ebensogroß ist wie die Höhe des Gefäßes. Sämtliche Gefäße lassen sich mit Wahrscheinlichkeit in die mittlere Awarenzeit bzw. an den Anfang der Spätawarenzeit datieren.[58]

Aufgrund der Verbreitung und der Qualität der Ausarbeitung gehören wahrscheinlich auch die 20—25 cm großen *gelben Flaschen* zwischen Donau und Theiß zum Kreis dieser Werkstätten.[59] Sie sind schön gedreht und mittelmäßig gemagert. Typologisch lassen sich zwei Typen erkennen:

1. Flaschen mit kurzem geschwungenem Hals, ausladendem Mittelteil, leicht nach außen geneigtem und abgeschrägtem Rand;
2. Flaschen mit längerem, zylindrischem Hals, stark nach außen geneigtem und senkrecht abgeschnittenem Rand.

Im Vergleich zu ihren Vorläufern aus der frühen Awarenzeit haben diese Flaschen schon einiges von ihrer Feinheit eingebüßt, auch die Magerung ist etwas gröber. Auch diese betreffend gilt die noch immer nicht überzeugend untermauerte Annahme als Topos, daß der Usprung dieser Flaschenform bei einem byzantinischen Typus zu suchen wäre.[60] Die zwischen Donau und Theiß gefundenen Stücke lassen sich recht gut am Ende des 7. bzw. dem Anfang des 8. Jahrhunderts ansetzen.[61]

Die untersuchten gelben Töpfe und Flaschen lassen sich wahrscheinlich mit der Aktivität der Töpferwerkstätten korrelieren, die in der Mitte des awarischen Siedlungsgebiets tätig waren. Ihr Vorhandensein wurde von der Forschung schon früher vermutet und mit dem Wirken der Töpferwerkstätten im Schwerpunkt des awarischen Siedlungsgebiets in Beziehung gebracht. Daß es solche gab, wurde

von den Forschern schon früher vermutet; es wurde angenommen, daß ihr Schwerpunkt in der Umgebung von Kiskőrös zu suchen sei.[62] Die Produkte dieser auf frühawarischen Grundlagen entstandenen Keramik zwischen Donau und Theiß dürften in der mittleren Awarenzeit sogar die Funktion des Tafelschmucks u. Ä. erfüllt haben. Ihr Vorhandensein ist noch im frühen 8. Jh. nachweisbar, mit den für die zweite Hälfte des 8. Jahrhunderts kennzeichnenden Gürtelgarnituren und Schmucksachen kommen sie jedoch nicht mehr gemeinsam vor. Ihre Zurückdrängung im 8. Jh Kann mit dem Raumgewinn der recht dekorativen spätawaraischen gelben Keramik erklärt werden, die damals die Funktion der Prunkkeramik übernommen hatte.

Die in spätawarischen Zeiten ersheinende *gelbe Keramik* ist bereits das zeichen einer neuen Ära; typologische Vorbilder hat sie nicht, sie ist ein Signal sehr kräftiger kultureller Veränderungen im 8. Jh. Mit ihrem Ursprung, ihrer Verbreitung und Chronologie hat sich die Forschung vielfach beschäftigt. Hier sei nur ein wichtiger Fakt hervorgehoben: bis jetzt wurde gelbe Keramik noch kein einziges-mal in Gesellschaft von für die frühe oder die mittlere Awarenzeit charakteristischen Typen zusammen geborgen. Daraus folgt, daß ihr Erscheinen immere und überall den späten Abschnitt der Awarenzeit überzeugend belegt.[63]

Im 8. Jh. finden die auf der langsam rotierenden Drehscheibe *hergestellten bräunlichschwarzen Gefäße allgemeine Verbreitung.* Das schwach oder mittelmäßig bearbeitete Rohmaterial wurde mit einem körnigen Material stark gemagert und bei hoher Hitze gebrannt. Der neue Gefäßtypus spiegelt eine Veränderung der Eßgewohnheiten; die Forschung vertritt die Auffassung, daß die Gefäße ihrem Ursprung in Mitteleuropa haben, obwohl die Entstehungsumstände dieser Formen noch nicht geklärt sind. Bei den Awaren finden sie von der zweiten Hälfte des 7. Jhs. an immer größere Verbreitung. Der Typologie und der Technologie des von mir gesammelten Materials zufolge wurden diese Gefäße überall in Werkstätten hergestellt, die innerhalb eines geringen Radius (max. 25 km) liegen. Die Form betreffend, weisen die Objekte zeitspezifische Merkmale bedauerlicherweise nur selten auf: bei der Herstellung der generalisierten, zweckorientierten Formen wurden nur selten technische Kniffe oder Merkmale angewandt, die als Basis für eine genau abgrenzbare Typologie dienen könnten. Es ist kein Zufall, daß der frühere Typologisierungsversuch, der von den Zufälligkeiten der primitiven Herstellungsweise ausgeht, im Fall dieses homogenen Materials sich als unverwertbar erwiesen hat. Ich bin überzeugt, daß ein Erfolg nur davon zu erwarten ist, daß in der Zukunft die Eigenarten kleinerer Gebiete ins Auge gefaßt werden; fallweise, könnte man bei Siedlungsgrabungen durch die Beobachtung der stratigraphischen Verhältnisse zu einem Erfolg gelangen. Im Zuge dieser Arbeit muß man — ohne die unterschiedlichen Entwicklungsläufe zu überschätzen — zur Kenntnis nehmen, wie sich die auf langsamer Drehscheibe hergestellte Keramik innerhalb eines bestimmten Gebiets verhält. Um diesen letzten Gedanken nahezulegen, möchte ich einige Beobachtungen an der Hand meiner laufenden Untersuchungen kurz bekanntgeben.[64]

1. In großer Zahl findet die auf der langsamen Drehscheibe angefertigte Keramik von der zweiten Hälfte des 7. Jhs. an Verbreitung; am NO-Rand der Tiefebene tritt sie jedoch erst im 8. Jh. in Erscheinung.

2. Einer Verzierung der Innenseite des Gefäßrandes begegnet man bereits Ende des 7. Jhs. in Zsélye[65] und Pókaszepetk,[66] am NO-Rand der Tiefebene aber erst von der zweiten Hälfte des 8. Jhs. an.[67]

3. Dank der Freundlichkeit von A. Kralovánszky wurde ich mit dem Material des Gräberfeldes von Ártánd (unveröffentlicht) bekannt. Kennzeichnend für die fortige Keramik ist ein Gefäßtypus, der im oberen Drittel kräftig ausbuchtet und einen stark nach außen geneigten Rand hat. Der ganze Körper ist mit Ornamenten bedeckt, eine Erscheinung, die in den Benachbarten slawischen Gebieten Siebenbürgens häufig zu beobachten ist. Am inneren Rand der Gefäße ist ein konkaver Bogen zu sehen, weshalb man den Gebrauach eines Deckels vermuten kann. Im Falle der auf langsamer Drehscheibe hergestellten Keramik, ist dies in der spätawarischen Zeit ein praktisch alleinstehendes Phänomen.[68]

4. Zwischen Donau und Theiß begegnet man — wahrscheinlich dank einem aus dem östlichen Teil Westungarns kommenden Einfluß — häufig auslandenden, rundlichen Formen.

5. Südlich vom Balaton zeichnet sich eine auf schnellrotierender Drehscheibe hergestellte, schön ausgearbeitete, gelblichbraune Keramik ab. Die Gefäße mit relativ dicken Wänden und rundlichem Körper sind aufgrund der mit ihnen zusammen geborgenen Gürtelgarnituren mit Gewißheit in das 8. Jh. anzusetzen.[69]

6. Ein einzigartiges Phänomen ist am Nordufer des Balatons die, am Wende des 8. und 9. Jhs. anzusetzende, auf langsamer Drehscheibe hergestellte gelbe Keramik von Alsógyenes.[70]

7. In das 9. Jh. zu datieren sind, den neuesten Freilegungen zufolge, die südwestungarischen Schüsseln mit eingezogenem Rand. Typologisch und regional lassen sich zwei Gruppen unterscheiden. Eine davon findet sich in der Umbegung des Kis-Balaton (Garabonc-Ófalu 17,[71] Vörs-Papkert B 74,[72] Fonyód[73]), die andere westlich der Raab (Velemszentvid: 3 St.,[74] Sopronkőhida[75] Vortreffliche Parallelen finden sich für die erste Gruppe auf bulgarischem[76] für die letzteren auf karantanischem Gebiet.[77]

8. Die das Vorhandensein einer selbständigen Töpferschicht markierenden *Bodenstempel* erscheinen entlang des von im Norden Westungarns bereits in der Mitte des 8. Jhs.;[78] im Süden Westungarns Ende desselben Jahrhunderts, in der Tiefebene fehlen jedoch vollkommen.[79] Mit Hilfe des Bisherigen konnte hoffentlich bewiesen werden, daß man im Fall der auf langsamer Drehscheibe hergestellten Keramik in der Zukunft tatsächliche Erfolge erzielen kann durch die Absonderung der regionalen Typen und Charakteristika.

Die Wende des 8.—9. Jhs. betreffend besteht der Fundkomplex, den man aufgrund der *roten Färbung* auf der Oberfläche abgrenzen kann, bis jetzt aus bloß drei Flaschen (Pusztamérges, Grab B 9 und 12,[80] Szeged-Kundomb, Grab Nr. 270[81]) und dem Fragment aus der Siedlung in Eperjes.[82] Die dünnwändigen Gefäße aus gut geschlämmtem, mit Sand ein wenig gemageretem Ton wurden auf schnellrotierender Drehscheibe hergestellt. Für die Form sind ein kurzer Hals, ein trichterförmig auslandender Rand mit abgerundetem Ende und ein in der Mitte stark ausbuchtender Körper kennzeichnend. Es ist noch zu klären, ob diese Gefäße an Ort und Stelle angefertigt wurden. Auf ihren Ursprung wirft vielleicht ein Henkelkrug von ostmediterranem Typus ein Licht,[83] der eine ähnliche Bearbeitung der Oberfläche aufweist und dessen Parallelen auch im Balkan zum Vorschein gekommen sind.[84]

Ebenfalls nach Süden, in die Richtung des balkanisch-byzantinischen Kreises weisen die im 9. Jh. in Westungarn in Erscheinung tretenden gelben Flaschen mit polierter Oberfläche vom *Zalavár—Keszthely—Fenékpuszta-Typus*. Im 9. Jh. hatten sie in Westungarn die Funktion der Prunkkeramik erfüllt; zu gleicher Zeit dürfte

der oben erwähnte Typus die Kriterien der Zierkeramik in der Tiefebene erfüllt haben. Ihr Erscheinen in den besagten Regionen dürfte auf die höheren Ansprüche einer vermögenden, über weitläufigere Beziehungen verfügende Schicht hinweisen.

Wahrscheinlich sind die Wurzeln auch der *bräunlichroten Gefäßgruppe* unter den balkanischen (bulgarischen?) Funden zu suchen;[85] Exemplare dieses Typus wurden auch im Süden der Tiefebene geborgen. Diese Gefäße aus mittelmäßig ausgearbeitetem Material, das mittelmäßig gemagert wurde und eine leicht rauhe Oberfläche aufweist, haben in der awarischen Keramik keine Vorläufer. Über ihren Ursprung kann man — die lokale Entwicklung vor Ort auch nicht ausschließend — vorläufig höchstens Vermutungen anstellen.

Über die vielen Charakteristika der awarenzeitlichen Keramik hinaus wurden so wichtige Fundgruppen noch nicht behandelt, wie die von Sopronkőhida, Letenye oder Mátraszőlős, oder die handgeformten Tontöpfe und die späte Keramik mit Stempelmustern. Ihre Problematik reicht jedoch bereits über die Rahmen dieser Arbeit hinaus. Das Bisherige kurz zusammenfassend kann man folgendes feststellen:

1. Die awarische Töpferei ist auf der Basis bedeutender orientalisch-nomadischer, balkanisch-byzantinischer und — im aktuellen Stadium der Forschung noch nicht in genauem Umfang bestimmbarer — germanischer bzw. slawischer Einflüsse entstanden. Für das Fortbestehen der Traditionen provinziellen Werkstätten liegen keine Beweise vor.[86]

2. Der Gebrauch und vielleicht auch die Herstellung der wichtigeren awarenzeitlichen Keramiktypen ist noch Ende des 7. Jhs., in der mittleren Awarenzeit zu beobachten (Gefäße mit Trichterrand, eine Gruppe mit Buckelverzierungen an den Rändern, graue Keramik).

3. In der mittleren Awarenzeit fanden neuere, durch frühawarische Traditionen vermittelt oder auf solche direkt zurückzuführende Typen Verbreitung, gewisse Formen sind bereits auf ein kleineres Gebiet beschränkt (schwarze Keramik, rote Töpfe und Flaschen zwischen Donau und Theiß).

4. Bestimmte, in der mittleren Awarenzeit verbreitete Typen kann man noch in der ersten Hälfte des 8. Jhs. beobachten (Gruppe der roten Töpfe und Flaschen zwischen Donau und Theiß).

5. Man kann feststellen: die Keramik betreffend findet man keine so scharfen Zäsuren zwischen den drei zeitlichen Perioden, wie im Fall der Metallgegenstände. Im Hinblick auf die Kontinuität im Inneren ist zu bemarken, daß sich gewisse Elemente von Technik und Formen vererbt haben können.

6. Ebenso ist auch zu bemerken, daß in den verschiedenen chronologischen Abschnitten jeweils ein neuer Typus der Keramik die Funktion des Prunkstückes erfüllt hat. Dies wiederum ist ein Wesenszug, der die Unterschiede der Abschnitte — die Diskontinuität — herausstellt.

7. Mit Rücksicht auf die verhältnismäßig hohe Zahl der Typen und der Qualität darf man sich getrost der früheren einseitigen Auffassung widersetzen, die die Töpferei der Awaren ausschließlich aufgrund der bloß mit der Hand geformten Keramik (der sog. „nomadischen" Keramik, des „Theiß-Typus") beurteilt hat. Die Ausführung bestimmter Typen hat nämlich offensichtlich das Niveau der spätantiken Werkstätten in Europa wie in Asien erreicht (s. die frühawarische graue, früh- und mittelawarische schwarze, sowie die spätawarische gelbe Keramik), andere Gruppen haben jedoch die Qualität der von slawischen und anderen nomadischen Völkern erreichten Stand der Keramik nicht überschritten. Dies ist ein spannendes

Problem, das lange Zeit hindurch Grund genug gab für einseitige Erklärungen. Heute wird es zunehmend wichtig, sich mit der Frage ohne Voreingenommenheit, den zur Vewrfügung stehenden Angaben entsprechend auseinanderzusetzen.

8. Die Keramik als Bestandteil der gegenständlichen Kultur ist ein getreues Spiegelbild jener kulturellen Einheit, die von den Awaren in das Karpatenbecken gebracht worden war. Man kann freilich auch Typen, Gruppen und Merkmale finden, die sich auf einen engeren Kreis beschränken. Die Aufgabe der Forschung, die sich in Hinblick auf die Möglichkeiten und die Zielsetzungen qualitativ verändert hat, muß in der Zukunft darin erblickt werden — und dies gilt nicht nur allein für die Keramik —, daß neben den, die Einheit der Kultur herausstreichenden Angaben auch diejenige selbständigen Elemente der Kultur der innerhalb unterschiedlicher ethnischer und politischer Verhältnissen sich entwickelnden Regionen mit berücksichtigt werden müssen, die auf unterschiedliche Naturverhältnisse, unterschiedliche geschichtliche Traditionen und Wirtschaftätigkeiten hinweisen, und die unterschiedliche ethnische und politische Verhältnisse widerspiegeln.

LITERATUR

Awaren in Europa	Awaren in Europa. Schätze eines asiatischen Reitervolkes 6.—8. Jh. Ausstellungkatalog, Frankfurt am Main 1985.
Bálint	*Cs. Bálint:* Die spätawarenzeitliche Siedlung von Eperjes (im Druck).
Bialeková 1967	*D. Bialeková:* Žlta keramika z pohrebisk obdobia avarskej ríse v karpatskej kotline. SlovArch 15 (1967) 5—67.
Bialeková 1968	*D. Bialeková:* Zur Frage der grauen Keramik aus Gräberfeldern der Awarenzeit im Karpatenbecken. SlovArch 16 (1968) 205—227. (Gräberfeld von Ürböpuszta).
Bóna 1957	*I. Bóna:* Az ürböpusztai avar temető (Das awarische Gräberfeld von Ürböpuszta). ArchÉrt 84 (1957) 155—174.
Bóna 1973	*I. Bóna:* VII. századi avar települések és Árpád-kori magyar falu Dunaújvárosban (Awarische Siedlungen aus dem VII. Jh. und árpádenzeitliches Dorf in Dunaújváros). FontArchHung Budapest 1973.
Bóna 1986	*I. Bóna:* Szabolcs-Szatmár megye régészeti emlékei I. in: Szabolcs-Szatmár megye műemlékei I (Archäologische Denkmäler des Komitats Szabolcs-Szatmár I. in: Denkmäler des Komitats Szabolcs-Szatmár I). Budapest 1986 15—91.
Csallány 1940	*D. Csallány:* Frühawarische Gefässe in Ungarn. Dolg. Szeged 16 (1940) 133—144.
Fancsalszky 1983	*G. Fancsalszky:* Három avar temető Tiszavasváriban (Drei awarische Gräberfelder in Tiszavasvári). (im Druck).
Fettich 1965	*N. Fettich:* Das awarische Gräberfeld von Pilismarót—Basaharc. StudArch 3. Budapest 1965.
Garam 1969	*É. Garam:* A késő avar kori sárga kerámia. ArchÉrt 96 (1969) 207—241.
Gróf 1983	*P. Gróf:* Az abonyi avar kori temető. (Das awarenzeitliche Gräberfeld von Abony). Budapest 1983 (Manuskript).
Horváth 1935	*T. Horváth:* Die awarischen Gräberfelder von Üllő und Kiskőrös. ArchHung 19. Bp. 1935.
Kiss 1984	*A. Kiss:* Die Keramik aus dem awarenzeitlichen Gräberfeld von Kölked-Feketekapu, Ungarn. ArchA 68 (1984) 335—338.
Kürti 1983	*B. Kürti:* Az avarok kora. in: Szeged története I (Das Zeitalter der Awaren. in: Geschichte von Szeged I). Szeged 1983.
Nagy 1971	*S. Nagy:* Das frühmittelalterliche Gräberfeld auf dem Gelände der Ziegelei ''Polet'' bei Vrbas. RVM 20 (1971) 187—268.

140

Rosner 1971   Gy. Rosner: Die Fragen der Schmuckkeramik der frühen Awa-
                       renzeit. ActaAntSzeged 14 (1971) 95—104.
Rosner 1984   Gy. Rosner: Megjegyzések az avar kulacsok kérdéséhez. (Be-
                       merkungen zum Problem der awarenzeitlichen Pilgerfla-
                       schen). SzekszárdiMÉ 1984, 81—104.
Cs. Sós 1958a   Á. Cs. Sós: A keceli avar kori temetők (Die awarenzeitlichen
                       Gräberfelder von Kecel) RégFüz II:3. Budapest 1958.
Cs. Sós 1958b   Á. Cs. Sós: Das frühawarenzeitliche Gräberfeld von Oroszlány.
                       FolArch 10 (1958) 105—124.
Vida 1986   T. Vida: Késő avar korongolt sírkerámia a Dunától keletre
                       (Spätawarische Drehscheibenkeramik östlich der Donau). Bu-
                       dapest 1986 (Manuskript).
Wicker 1976   E. Wicker: A sükösd—ságodi avar temető (Das awarische
                       Gräberfeld von Sükösd—Ságod). Budapest 1976 (Manu-
                       skript).

ANMERKUNGEN

1 Im Rahmen dieses Kurzen Vortragstextes Mußte ich mich auf die grundlegenden Fakten be-
   schränken und mußte auch von der Beweisführung und von der Aufzählung der rund tausend
   Stücke, die ich gesammelt hatte, Abstand nehmen. Sie soll, zusammen mit einer ausführlichen
   archäologischen und historischen Beweisführung, in einer umfangreicheren Arbeit Platz finden,
   die auch eine ausführliche archäologische und historische Auswertung enthält. Unbedingt
   möchte ich jedoch schon jetzt allen danken, die mir Einblick in ihre bislang nicht veröffentlichten
   Funde gestatteten, namentlich Falko Daim, Gyula Fülöp, Éva Garam, Gábor Kiss, Mihály Kőhegyi,
   László Költő, Alán Kralovánszky, Béla Kürti, Róbert Müller, Erzsébet Nagy, Gyula Rosner, János
   Győző Szabó, Sarolta B. Szatmári, József Szentpéteri, Béla Miklós Szőke, Sarolta Tettamanti, Pé-
   ter Tomka und Erika Wicker. Ebenso bin ich auch Csanád Bálint, László Gere, Péter Gróf, Gábor
   Fancsalszky und Erika Wicker zu Dank verpflichtet, die mir Einblick in ihre noch nicht veröffent-
   lichten Manuskripte gestatteren. Besonders danken möchte ich Csanád Bálint und István Bóna,
   die mir mit Rat und Tat bei der Aufarbeitung Beistand leisteten.
2 Bialeková 1968 205—277, Rosner 1971 59—104.
3 Bialeková 1967 5—76, Garam 1969 207—241.
4 Rosner 1984 81—104.
5 Obwohl bahnbrechend, ist die Arbeit von Csallány 1940 dennoch irreführend; durch sie ist eine
   falsche Auffassung aufgekommen, wonach man die handgeformten Gefäße mit Trichterhals mit
   der Gesamtheit der frühawarischen Keramik gleichsetzen könnte, vgl. M. Schulze—Dörlamm: J.
   Werner: Der Grabfund von Malaja Peresćepina und Kivrat, Kagan der Bulgaren. BJb 187 (1987)
   852—854.
6 Bei der Datierung des Fundkomplexes muß man berücksichtigen, daß die Münze stark abgenützt
   ist. Ich danke István Bóna, der mich darauf aufmerksam gemacht hatte. Bóna 1986 76.
7 Z. B. Tiszabercel-Vékásdűlő, Grab 1, Bashalom-Csengőspart Grab 2: die Gefäße sind etwas bau-
   chiger (Csallány D.: Szabolcs-Szatmár megye avar leletei (Awarische Funde im Bezirk Szabolcs-
   Szatmár), Nyíregyházi MÉ 1 (1958) T. XX [1,12]). Zeitlich bestimmt sind die Gefäße mit Trichter-
   mund aus den Fundorten Tiszavasvári, Petőfi-Str. und Tiszavasvári, Zöld Mező MGTSZ durch Ohr-
   ringe mit kleinen Kugeln und aus Silberplatten geprägte Gürtelbeschläge mit Greifenmuster
   (Fancsalszky 1983). Die Verfasser setzen die Gefäße, die in den Gräbern Nr. 20 und 40 im Gräber-
   feld von Csóka geboren worden sind, am Ende des 7. Jhs. an (I. Kovrig—J. Korek: Le cimetière
   de l'époque avare de Csóka [Čoka]. ActaArchHung 12 [1960], 261, Fig. 2, 3).
8 Die Frage der osteuropäischen Beziehungen der awarischen Keramik ist heute noch nicht ge-
   klärt. Es ist umstritten, ob es die Tradition der Keramikherstellung einer orientalisch-slawischen
   Nomadenpopulation war (Cs. Sós 1958 121—126, Kiss 1984 335—339), oder ob eine Gruppe
   osteuropäischer Nomaden die awarische Töpferei durch ihre Keramiktraditionen beeinflußt hat-
   te. Die letztere Annahme kam in der sowjetischen wie in der ungarischen Literatur in Zusammen-
   hang mit der Penkowka-Kultur auf (I. P. Rusanowa: Slawjanskie drewnosti VI.—VII. vv, Moskwa
   1976 96, 101; V. D. Baran: Slavjabe v seredine I. typs. n. e., in: Problemy 1978 18; Cs. Bálint: Über
   einige östliche Beziehungen der Frühawarenzeit (568 — cca. 670/680) MittArchInst 10/11
   ([1980/81] 135).
9 Fancsalszky 1983.
10 Nagy 1971 T. XLIII/3.

11 *Cs. Sós* 1958 113, Abb. 23/12, 14.
12 *Vida* 1986 Anhang 1—40, Abb. I—X.
13 *Bialeková* 1967 32—50; *Bóna* 1973 77.
14 *L. M. Levina:* Keramika Niznej i Srednej Syr-Dari v tysjaćiletii n.e. Moskva 1971 65, Abb. 16/4, 12, 16—18, 23, 32.
15 *Bóna* 157 161; ders. 1973 77.
16 Für den frühen Gebrauch sprechen die zusammen mit den Gefäßen zutage gekommenen Ohrrin-ge mit großem Kugelanhänger, die frühen Augenperlen und die Panzerüberreste aus Grab 131 in Sükösd—Ságod (*Wicker* 1976), die Schnalle mit Schlangenkopf aus Ürbőpuszta (Bóna 1957 159), die Ohrringe mit Kugelanhänger aus Adorján (*L. Gere:* Avar leletek a Bácskában, 1983, MS, ELTE, Lehrstuhl f. Archäologie), oder das aus dem frühen Teil des spätawarischen Gräberfeldes zutage gekommene Gefäß (*S. Trugly:* A Komárom-munkásnegyedi avar kori temető; A Dunamen-ti Múzeum Értesítője, Komárom 1982 32). Für die Verbreitung in der mittleren Awarenzeit spre-chen die Ohrringe von Igar-Typus in Kishegyes (*K. Gubitza:* A kishegyesi régibb középkori temető. ArchÉrt 31 ([1911] 128) und in Tiszakécske (MNM Inv. Nr. 8. 1931. 17—18), die Riemenenden mit geprägtem Rankenmuster aus Adony (*Gróf* 1983), die melonenkernförmigen Perlen ebendort (*Gróf* 1983) und in Kecel (*Á. Cs. Sós:* A keceli avar kori temető. RégFüz II:3. Budapest 1958 20) sowie der zylindrische Ohrring mit granulierter Verzierung und abgerundetem Ende aus Hernád-puszta (*L. Éber:* Sírleletek a régibb középkorból Abonyban és Hernádpusztán. ArchÉrt 21 ([1901] 311).
17 Zur Datierung sind sie höchstens dann geeignet, wenn sie etwa in einem Gebiet als Neuheit er-scheinen. In der Szabolcs-Region sind sie in der frühawarischen Zeit nicht bekannt, ihr Erschei-nen kann daher in der mittleren Awarenzeit als Zeitangabe gelten, doch hat dieses Phänomen nur örtliche Bedeutung (*Bóna* 1986 81—84; *Fancsalszky* 1983).
18 Der Form begegnet man bei der handgeformten Keramik der Langobarden, Slawen und Awaren. Für die Bestimmung der ethnischen Zugehörigkeit ist sie daher im Karpatenbecken selbst nicht zu gebrauchen, worauf in der ungarischen Forschung rechtzeitig aufmerksam gemacht wurde: *I. Bóna:* Über einen archäologischen Beweis des langobardisch-slawisch-awarischen Zusam-menlebens, StZ 16 ([1968] 44.); *I. Bóna:* Die langobardische Besetzung Südpannoniens und die archäologischen Probleme der langobardisch-slawischen Beziehungen. Zeitschrift für Ostfor-schung 28 (1979) 399.
19 S. Anm. 2, ferner *Gy. Rosner:* A VI.—VII. sz.-i szürke kerámia és etnikai vonatkozásai a Kárpát-me-dencében. SzekszárdiMÉ 2/3 (1971/72) 223—228; *Gy. Rosner:* La cémique grise des VIᵉ—VIIᵉ siècles et ses problèmes ethniques dans le Bassin des Carpathes. Les questions... Budapest 1972 45—50; *Bóna* 1973 74—75.
20 *F. Daim—A. Lippert:* Das awarische Gräberfeld von Sommerein an Leithagebirge, NÖ. Wien 1984 259.
21 *S. Dumitraşcu:* Ceramica romanesca descoperotă in Crísana, sec. VII.—IX. Crisia 8 (1978) 53, Fig. 17
22 *J. Zábornik:* On the Problems of Settlements of the Avar Khaganate Period in Slovakia. ARozh 40 (1988) 4.
23 *D. Mrkobrad:* Arheološki nalazi seobe naroda u Jugoslaviji. Beograd 1980 T. XCII.
24 *Bialeková* 1968 218—115; *Rosner* 1971 102—104
25 *Bóna* 1973 74—75.
26 *Kürti* 1983 203.
27 *G. Vékony:* A koraavar kori keramikatípusok történeti topográfiáhához. ArchÉrt 101 (1974) 211—234
28 *Vékony* a. a. O. 211; *Gy. Rosner:* Avar kerámiaközpont Szekszárd környékén. SzekszárdiMÉ 8/9 (1977/78) 106.
29 *Bóna* 1968 35—44; *Kiss* 1984, 335—338. Eine Forschungsrichtung leitet die Ornamentik und die Herstellungstechnik von der früheren langobardischen Töpferei her. Die andere Richtung lehnt diese Theorie in Kenntnis der langobardischen Keramik und mit Rücksicht auf die einiger-maßen veränderte Form der Gefäße, das Material und die Stempelmuster ab (*I. Bóna:* Otto von Hessen: Die langobardische Keramik aus Italien. ArchÉrt 95 ([1968] 279). Zweifellos weist diese Keramik germanische Züge auf, die Forschung kann jedoch dieses Phänomen vorderhand noch nicht mit dem gesichtlichen Aspekt in Einklang bringen. Fest steht, daß die Gefäße mit Stempel-muster zusammen mit dem Fundmaterial der landnahmenden Awaren zutage gekommen sind. Die Frage lautet also, welche Gruppe(n) in welcher Form diesen Nachlaß zu Beginn der Awaren-zeit vermittelt haben, der dem Material aus den Steppen so fremd ist.
30 Mit dieser Keramik hat sich die Forschung bislang nicht beschäftigt, selbst ihre Veröffentlichung war nicht ganz korrekt, abgesehen von einem Hinweis bei N. Fettich (*Fettich* 1965 110—111). An-dere Funde aus dem Gräberfeld weisen einen starken byzantinischen Einfluß auf. Auch stellt sich

die Frage, ob der Krug aus dem Grab Nr. 185 in Csákberény verwandt wäre mit dem Henkelkrug aus Csengele, der gleiche Maße, Ausarbeitung und Ornamentik aufweist, sich jedoch typologisch und die Farbe betgreffend dennoch ein wenig unterscheidet (*Csallány* 1940 T. XV. 5).

31 *Rosner* 1984 81—90
32 *I. Erdélyi:* Die Kunst der Awaren. Budapest 1966 38—39; *Bóna* 1973 75.
33 *S. Tettamanti:* Der awarische Grabfund von Dány. ActaArchHung 32 (1980) 157, Abb. 4.
34 *Gy. Török:* The Kiskőrös-Pohibuj-Mackó dűlő Cemetery. in: Avar Finds in the Hungarian National Museum. Budapest 1975 293.
35 *E. H. Tóth:* Preliminary account of the Avar princely find in Kunbábony. Cumania 1 (1972) 149, Fig. 3. *E. H. Tóth:* A kunbábonyi lelet amphorája és kapcsolatai. Múzeumi kutatások Bács-Kiskun megyében 1986. Kecskemét 1987 51—56.
36 Awaren in Europa 1985 38, Abb. 24. *Bóna* 1986 79 Abb. 27.
37 *E. Kada:* Gátéri (Kun-Kisszállási) temető a régibb középkorból. ArchÉrt 24 (1904) 120.
38 *Fettich* 1965 111.
39 *N. Stanojević:* Ulica Pionorska, Bečej. APregl 21 (1980) T. Cl.
40 Mitteilung von Erika Wicker; ich danke ihr für ihre Freundlichkeit.
41 *S. B. Szatmári:* A Tatabánya-Alsógallai avar temető és telep ásatása. in: Régészeti kutatások a Dunántúlon 4 (1985) 16.
42 *Vida* 1986 43—44.
43 Kishegyes, Grab Nr. 56. — *K. Gubitza:* A kishegyesi régibb középkori temető. ArchÉrt 27 (1907) 355. —Szeged-Fehértó, Gräber Nr. A 9 und 33. — *L. Madaras:* Vergleichende Untersuchung der Gräberfelder in Szeged-Újfehértó A und B. SzolnokMÉ 1981 45, T. 1,49, T. 5. Nagyharsány, Gräber Nr. 44, 61, 63. — *L. Papp:* A nagyharsányi avar kori temető. PécsiMÉ 1963 116, Taf. III/1, 2 XV/2.
44 Aradka—*S. Nagy:* Nekropola kod Aradca iz ranog sredneg veka. RVM 8 (1959) Tf. XXVIII/1. — Tatabánya-Alsógalla (*S. B. Szatmári:* A tatabánya-alsótelepi avar temető és telep ásatása. in: Régészeti kutatások a Dunántúlon 4 (1985) 29; *S. Szatmári:* Avar kori lelőhelyek Komárom megyében. in: Komárom megye története I 198, 230, T. IV; Verbász (Vrbas, Jugoslawien, *Nagy* 1971 260, T. XLIII. 2).
45 *D. Janković:* La partie Danubienne de la région d'Aquis au VIe et au début du VIIe siècle. Institut Archéologique, Matériaux Vol. 5. Beograd 1981 235, T. I/3, 4, 236. T. II/1, 238, T. IV/6, 242, T. VIII/1.
46 *Horváth* 1935 111, Abb. 32.
47 *Wicker* 1978 85, T. XXXIX.
48 *Z. Čilinska:* Slawisch-awarisches Gräberefeld in Nové Zamky. Nitra 1973 27, 324, T. LXXXII. 10.
49 *Bóna* 1973 76.
50 *Vida* 1986 27—29.
51 Für den Einblick in das unveröffentliche Keramikmaterial des Gräberfeldes danke ich Gyula Fülöp.
52 *E. Zalotay:* A fajszi avar temető. Népkutató füzetek 12—13. Kecskemét 1952 12.
53 *É. Garam:* The Homokhegy-Halom Cemetery. in: Cemeteries of the Avar Period (567—829) in Hungary. Budapest 1975 22, Fig. 10.
54 *Cs. Sós* 1958 10—11.
55 *Gy. László:* Études archéologiques sur l'histoire de la société des Avars. ArchHung 34. Budapest 1955 25.
56 Für den Einblick in den unveröffentlichten Grabkomplex danke ich Mihály Kőhegyi.
57 *Á. Cs. Sós:* Le deuxième cimetière avare d'Üllő. ActaArchHung, (1955) 205, T LXXIX/15.
58 Die chronologische Position der Gefäße zeigt ein einheitliches Bild. Datiert wird das Gefäß aus dem Grab von Madaras durch das Ohrgehänge mit rundem Reifen und Pastaanhänger. Somit ist auch das runde, mit Reifen versehene Ohrgehänge aus dem Grab Nr. 74 in Kecel in der mittlere Awarenzeit anzusetzen; sein kugelförmiger Anhänger aus Glaspasta schließt mit einem gerippten Blatt an den Reifen an. Ebenfalls in das ausgehende 7. Jh. anzusetzen ist das kleine Riemenende mit Rankenmuster aus Kecel, Grab Nr. 63. Schon auf das frühe 8. Jh. weist die versilberte Garnitur aus Gußbronze. Dasselbe gilt für Grab 110 in Homokmégy-halom, weil neben dem großen, gegossenen Riemenende Beschläge mit Reifenanhänger gefunden wurden, die eine etwas frühere Entstehungszeit nahelegen.
59 *Vida* 1986 43—44.
60 *Garam* 1975 42; *Gy. Török:* The Kiskőrös-Pohibuj-Mackódűlő Cemeterey. in: Cemeteries in the Avar Period (567—829) in Hungary 1. Budapest 1975 300—302.
61 Aus Bronze geprägtes Riemenende mit Rankenmuster, Melonenkeren- und Hirseperlen setzen die Flasche aus Grab Nr. 3 in Kecel am Ende des 7. Jhs. an. Aus dem Grab Nr. 23 von Kiskőrös-Pohibuj-Mackó dűlő kam eine für die Awarenzeit kennzeichnende Zopfspange in Gesellschaft mit einer Gürtelgarnitur mit Greifenmuster aus Bronze zutage. Das aus dem Grab Nr. 173 bekannte

Gefäß aus dem Gräberfeld in Kiskőrös — Város alatt wird durch die Riemenenden mit Rankenmuster aus Blei als aus dem frühen 8. Jh. stammend bestimmt, das bereits erwähnte Gefäß aus Homokmégy-halom, Grab Nr. 110 wiederum durch die mit gegossenen Riemenenden zusammen gefundenen Gürtelbeschläge in Gußtechnik, wird durch Reifenanhänger und plattierte Gürtelbeschläge auf das frühe 8. Jh. angesetzt.

62 Horváth 1935 75—89.
63 S. Anm. 3; É. Garam: Sie spätawarenzeitliche gelbe Keramik. SzegediMÉ 1969/2 150—162.
64 Vida 1986 43—59.
65 Z. Čilinska: Frühmittelalterliches Gräberfeld in Želovce. ArchSlovFont 7 (1966) 189—256.
66 Á. Salamon—Á. Cs. Sós: Cemeteries of the Early Middle Ages at Pókaszepetk (im Druck).
67 É. Garam: VIII.—IX. századi telepnyomok Tiszafüred határában. ComArchHung 1 (1981) 141—144
68 Ich danke Alán Kralovánszky dafür, daß ich die Keramik des unveröffentlichten Gräberfeldes untersuchen konnte. Ebenso danke ich László Költő und József Szentpéteri dafür, daß ich ihre unveröffentlichten Materialien einsehen konnte (Vörs-Papkert A, Siófok-Kilit usw.)
70 Die Freilegung des Gräberfeldes wurde 1963 von Károly Sági begonnen, 1983 von Róbert Müller 1983 fortgesetzt. Ich danke für die Möglichkeit, das unveröffentlichte Fundmaterial studieren zu können.
71 Das Gefäß kenne ich dank der Freundlichkeit von Béla Miklós Szőke.
72 Das Gefäß kenne ich dank der Zuvorkommenheit von László Költő und József Szentpéteri.
73 Das Material der Ausgrabung von Alán Kralovánszky (1964) wurde von Miklós Takács begearbeitet. Ich danke für die Möglichkeit, das unveröffentlichte Material einzusehen.
74 G. Kiss: Népvándorlás kori edények a Savaria Múzeumban (im Druck).
75 Gy. Török: Sopronkőhida IX. századi temetője. FontesArchHung Budapest 1973 38, Abb. 20.
76 Dončeva—Petkova: Bolgarska bitowa keramika pres rannoto srednekowie. Sofia 1977 95, Abb. 27/339.
77 P. Korošec: Zgodnjesrednevška archeološka Slika karantanskih Slovanov. Ljubljana 1979 T. 125/3, 6b.
78 I. Kovrig: Avar kori sírok Alsógalláról. AntHung 1948.
79 Das einzige Gefäß mit Bodenstempel aus der ungarischen Tiefebene wurde in Szentes-Nagyhegy geborgen. Die Fundumstände sind leider nicht verläßlich, weshalb selbst die Datierung ungewiß ist; s. auch Vida 1986 149.
80 J. Korek: Zwei awarische Gräberfelder aus der Umgebung von Szeged. FolArch 5 (1946) 118, T. VII/21.
81 Unveröffentlicht. Móra Ferenc Museum, Szeged.
82 Cs. Bálint: Die spätawarenzeitliche Siedlung von Eperjes (im Druck).
83 Awaren in Europa 1985 44, Abb. 35.
84 Gh. Stefan—I. Barnea—M. Comşa—E. Comsa: Dinogetia I. Aşezarea feudală timpurie de la Bisericuţa-Garvan. BiArch 13 (1967) 145. Fig. 84/14.
85 Kürti 1983 216, Anm. 340 (Kiszombor G 35, 37, 49).
86 Aus dem frühen Abschnitt der in dieser Hinsicht am ehesten in Frage kommenden Geräberfelder der Keszthely-Kultur fehlt die Keramik. Wenn hier und da ein Gefäß erscheint, so ist es ein römisches Fabrikat.

Fundlisten zu den Karten

Karte I   *Gefässe mit Trichtermund*
1. Tiszabercel 2. Tiszaeszlár 3. Basahalom 4. Tiszavasvári 5. Nyíregyháza 6. Újfehértó 7. Érmihályfalva 8. Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg m. szórvány 9. Rákóczifalva 10. Csongrád 11. Csengele 12. Szeged-Fehértó 13. Szeged-Makkoserdő 14. Szeged-Kundomb 15. Hódmezővásárhely 16. Deszk 17. Szőreg 18. Kiszombor 19. Csóka (Čoka, J) 20. Péterréve (Cik, J) 21. Verbász (Vrbas, J) 22. Békés m. Streufund

Karte II   *Awarenzeitliche Feldflaschen*
1. Győr-Repülőtér 2. Mór-Akasztódomb 3. Veszprém-Jutas 4. Zamárdi-Rétiföldek 5. Dunaújváros-Simonyi dűlő 6. Tolna m. Streufund 7. Zomba-Paradicsompuszta 8. Szekszárd-Bogyiszlói út 9. Szekszárd-Bogyiszlói út 10. Szekszárd-Palánk 11. Cikó 12. Kölked-Fekete kapu 13. Tószeg 14. Tószeg 15. Martfű 16. Kiskőrös-Pohibuj-Mackó dűlő 17. Bács-Kiskun m. Streufund 18. Hódmezővásárhely 19. Horgos (Horgos, J) 20. Gakovo (J)

144

M. B. Szőke

THE QUESTION OF CONTINUITY IN THE CARPATHIAN BASIN
OF THE 9TH CENTURY A.D.

Did the avars survive into the 9th century and did their archaeological heritage remain unaltered? Or did their material culture suffer changes as a result of their survival? Should we believe those who insist that the consequences of the late 8th century Frankish-Avar wars were catastrophic and that the Avars themselves were physically annihilated, or should we accept the more moderate view according to which ''90 per cent of the Avar Period cemeteries were abandoned in the early 9th century'', the remaining part of the population assimilated into the Carolingian Empire, the Avar noblemen became Carolingian landowners and the Avar freemen of yore degenerated into ''soil-digging Christian servants and swineherds''?[1] Was the culture of the late Avar people continuous or discontinuous in the Carpatian Basin of the 9th century? The scholar of our early medieval history is still bound to be undecided when asked about the ethnic and cultural situation which characterized the Carpatian Basin in the 9th century or about the destiny of the late Avar Period population there.

To answer these questions, we first and foremost have clarify our stand on the historical developments of the late 8th-early 9th centuries, i.e. we have to decide whether or not the late Avar Period kaganate suffered catastrophic war-losses and became extinct culturally. For this reason, let us first recall briefly the events that took place at the turn of the 8th—9th centuries.

In the autumn of 791 a huge army led by Charlemagne himself launched an attack on the Avars. However, the assault did not take the Avar kaganate by surprise, as its leaders had long been preparing for such a move. When in the early 780s Charlemagne established contact with the Slavs (who lived behind the Saxon territories and presumably under the partial authority of the Avars) to involve them into the fight against the Saxons, a series of diplomatic frictions emerged which the envoys of the Avar kagan and tried to settle at a meeting in Lippsring in 782. Success is believed to have passed this effort, since a year later the Avars were already reinforcing their border guards at the Enns. Soon another menaceful event took place: in 787 Charlemagne occupied an subdued the Bavarian principality, which had till then been relatively independent. In 788 an attempt was made by Liutberge, the wife of Bavarian Prince Tassilo III, to forge an Avar-Bavarian-Longobard-Byzantine coalition to regain independece. This attempt was condemned to failure as Charlemagne had by then managed to split the ranks of the Bavarian nobility (as he did earlier with the Langobards), and thus the in majority pro-Frankish nobility needed not much effort to have Charles elected as their king. In the same year the Frankish troops crossed the Avar border as well, but the Avars managed to drive them back first at the river Ybbs and then at the Danube. As a token of his open combativeness, Charles demanded the readjustment of the frontiers, but in 790 these demands were turned down by the Avars. Conse-

quently, they had every ground to consciously prepare themselves for Charlemagne's assault in 791, and both sides were obviously aware of the historic significance of this encounter. It was far from accidental that Charlemagne mobilized all the forces of his empire: Frankish, Alemannic, Saxon, Thuringian and Bavarian soldiers converged on his Regensburg fort to fight under his banner. The campaign was launched by a diversionary manoeuvre. Led by the Istrian dux Johannes, a troop crossed the Alps in late August to rush on the Avars. It was only upon the success of this thrust that the main body was mobilized along the Danube. The encounter took place near the river Kamp and at Cumeoberg, not far from modern Tulln, in late September and early October. Both sides suffered heavy losses, and finally the Avars decided to retreat, burning down everything on their way. The Frankish troops pushed forward till the region of today's Győr and Gönyű, but no further engagement is known to have taken place as they were also forced to withdraw by the autumn rainfalls and the snags in supplies. By early November the Frankish troops returned to the river Enns. Although Charlemagne failed to gain a decisive victory, the psychological effect of his campaign was still worth a triumph. The Avar leaders blamed each other for the fiasco, and the already disorganised nobility of the kaganate split into two parties. The split was presumably precipitated by Charlemagne's diplomatic machinations, which he successfully applied earlier with the Langobards and the Bavarians and which bore fruit by the year 795. The two parties, i.e. those of the kagan and the *yugurrush*, measured swords in a bloody inside fight. Both leaders were slain on the battle-field, an thus the possibility of united resistance was gone for good. Through an envoy, the *tudun,* who was an Avar high dignitary above the Avars and Slavs living along the western frontiers, offered his land and people to the Frankish king. The answer was favourable, so he and his large retinue soon left for Aachen where he recieved baptism and then returned to his homeland "in peace and with presents". In the end of the same year Wonimir, the prince of the Slavs living along the rivers Sava—Mura—Kulpa, and presumably also Erik, the prince of Friaul, pushed unhindered till Hring, which was one (?) of the kagan seats, and sacked it completely. In 796, the Avars had to suffer another attack by Pepin, the son of Charlemagne and king of Italy. However, the actual encounter was averted by the kagan, who surrendered to Pepin immediately after the king crossed the Danube. According to certain sources Pepin ransacked the seat of the kagan, while others say that the king was showered with treasure by the kagan himself before his peaceful return. Later on Pepin held a conference at the Danube on the questions of religious conversion and church organization with Paulinus, patriarch of Aquileia, and Arno Bishop of Salzburg taking part. Pepin divided the area of the kaganate west of the Danube into missionary regions. To all appearences, his efforts to weaken and pacify the Avar kaganate met with success, and seemingly he also managed to strike a deal with the kagan under which the western half of the country was to go under Frankish control. However, this appearance is massively delusive. The *tudun* flatly refused to give up his power, and the year 797 saw Erik, the prince of Friaul, warring again with the "Huns". Upon his subsequent victory, the Avars did their best to appease Charlemagne by heaping presents on him. This faith the Avars breached again a year later, so in 798 Prince Erik and Gerold, the Bavarian praefect, went to war against the Avars. But no sooner than they had set foot on the Avar territories they encountered a stout resistance. Erik was ambushed and stoned to death in the town of Tarsatica (near Trieste at the border of Liburnia and Istria), and Gerold fell in a battle near the Bavarian border. Thus the

Pannonian Avars successfully defended themselves and regained their independence. In 802 the Franks launched another assault on the Avars under the leadership of praefects Goteram and Gadaloc. But the bloody encounter at *ad castellum Guntionis* (not identical with Kőszeg) ended with their crushing defeat. Several Bavarian knights and leaders were lost in the battle. Then the events took an unexpected turn: in the year 803 *Zodan (=tudun?) princeps Pannoniorum* appeared before Charlemagne at Regensburg to receive baptism and surrender to the Frankish king. Sources suggest that a new *tudun* took over at the head of the Pannonian Avars, but they fail to account for this unexpected and inexplicable surrender.[2] Recent researches try to explain this move by the effects of the bloody campaign Krum, the Bulgarian khan led on the Avar forces stationed at the river Tisza. According to this theory, this campaign was fatal for the recovering Avar kaganate, and thus the onslaught definitively crushed its resistance. However, P. Váczy[3] and I. Bóna[4] based their reconstruction of the Bulgarian raid on a rather obscure reference. The only source at our disposal is the Suda lexicon, which was compiled more than 200 years later, and which has the following to say under the entries "Abaris" and "Bulgaroi:"[5] "(and) the Avars were fully (all to a man) exterminated by the Bulgarians". Under the entry *"Abaris"* an excerpt from one of Priscos rhetor's works precedes this statement, which explains the reasons behind the migraton of the Avars from their original home. Under the entry *"Bulgaroi"* the sentence quoted above appears twice (in the beginning and at the end of the text). The fact that it "enframes" the entry suggests that the author wanted to highlight this bit of information. The entry itself relates that the Bulgarians were still wearing the costume they had inherited from the Avars, that the heyday of Bulgarian leader Tervelis (700—718) coincided with the reign of Justinian, and that Krum was cross-questioning the Avar prisoners of war about the causes behind the death of their leader and people. Obviously there is no coherence whatsoever between these brief passages and the above-quoted sentence, and the confessions of the Avar captives likewise fail to touch upon the role of Krum. According to these confessions, the captives accounted for the perdition of their people by the over-indulgence in wine, the corrupt nature of the leaders and the generally loose morals. Since this excerpt is also believed to have had its original in a work whose moral lessons were addressed to the Bulgarians, we'd better attach no importance to the fact that the author put these words into the mouth of Avar captives. It is thus obvious that the author compiled the entry by putting in a rough chronological order a series of passages which he took from various sources and which he considered important. But unfortunately even this chronological footing is missing at the sentence at issue, and we are also in the dark about the name of the Bulgarian ruler under whom the reported event ocurred. Consequently, it is hardly more than pure guess-work to presume that the sentence refers to the war of independence of 634—635, which was a turning point in the history of the Danube Bulgarians as it meant that they shook off their Avar vassalage. The Bulgarians, who had still resided in southern Russia in that period, could indeed exterminate the Avars "all to a man". However, the subsequent history of the Avars and the Bulgarians was characterized by peaceful coexistence, and this was only strengthened by the presumed accession to the throne of the Avar kaganate of a Bulgarian dynasty around the year 670. For both the Danube Bulgarians and Krum himself the greatest adversary was the Byzantine Empire and not the Avars, since there was no long-standing hostile feeling between them which could have prompted the Bulgarians to square accounts with the Avars. I also consider un-

founded the hypothesis according to which the Frankish annals left Krum's massacre war unmentioned because they wanted to "deliberately keep it unrecognized". Had this presumed campaign really been a success for the Frankish diplomacy then the annals would definitely have mentioned it, and the same applies to the other possible case, i.e. that the campaign was a "primate undertaking" by Krum, since this would have meant the appearance of a power much stronger and more dangerous than that of the Avars in the eastern borderland of the Frankish Empire. Indeed, when a few decades later the Bulgarians did finally turn up at the Lower Danube and in the area between the rivers Drava and Sava, the Frankish annals gave lengthy and detailed accounts of the negotiations and clashes with them. And last but not least the archaeological data also seem to contradict the theory of the Bulgarian occupation of the territory east of the river Tisza. We know of no archaeological finds to prove this hypothesis, whereas in all the other occupied areas (like e.g. in Transylvania) their archaeological relics are clearly separable.[6]

It follows from the foregoing that the unexpected surrender of the *tudun* in 803 must have had other reasons. One possible reason should be suspected in the *tudun*'s own court, where the Franks, alarmed by his quickly growing power and authority, resorted to their time-honoured tactics and drummed up an opposition camp by sowing dissension among the *tudun*'s people. The first thing the new *tudun* (Zodan), who was raised to power by a "court revolution", is believed to have done was to call on Charlemagne, receive baptism and assure him of his loyalty. Another reason could be that the Franks, taking advantage of the Slavs' long-standing wish to emancipate themselves from the Avars, incited the Bulgarians against the Avars. It did not take long for the chroniclers to report on the success of this scheme: Theodorus *capcan* soon appealed to Charlemagne for help in allocating new abodes for his people as they were constantly pestered by the Slavs in their earlier homeland. Charlemagne marked out the new abodes *inter Sabariam et Carnuntum*. Also in 805, Abraham kagan was baptised in the river Fischa and his power was reinstated over the Avars. However, the skirmishes between the Avars and their former Slavic subjects continued unabated, and therefore Charlemagne dispatched an army to Pannonia to defend the Avars and to stop dissension. Peace was finally concluded in 811 in Regensburg by Khan (kagan) Isauni, the *tudun* and the notability and princes of the Danube Slavs. The treaty was based on an agreement which could satisfy all the concerned sides, and thus discord was wound up for good between the Avars and the Slavs, and also between the Avars and the Franks.

The strifes that took place during the 20 years following the Frankish campaign of 791 can be divided into three main phases:

1) The years between 791 and 797 can be considered a period of crisis. The Avars could prepare themselves well in advance for Charlemagne's campaign of 791, and perhaps this was why the Avar leaders were shocked by their battlefield fiasco. In all probability the armed forces were fully mobilized by both Charlemagne and the Avar kaganate. For the Avars, the drawn battle was the equivalent to a defeat, and its effects were comparable to those of the Constantinople fiasco in 626. For the allied and dependant tribes alike the outcome of the clash proved that the kaganate and high command of the Avars were but spiritless ghosts of their former self and were living only in myths. The drawn battle sparked discord among the Avar nobility as well. The coals were presumably also blown by the Franks, who resorted to the same methods which they had successfully applied

earlier with the Langobards and the Bavarians. The crisis culminated in 795: an internal fight broke out between the two Avar parties, and the *tudun*, who was the master of the Avars and Slavs living in the western border region, surrendered to the Frankish ruler.

2) The period between 798 and 803 was that of recovery and the consolidation of the *tudun*'s power. The reconstructible developments indicate that the *tudun* was the only political realist among the Avar leaders. During the crisis he did not let his people become possessed by defeatism and despair. He did his best to square matters, consciously avoided involvement in the internal strife, and when the threat of anarchy left no other choice he even surrendered to the Frankish king. After 795 he managed to extend his rule over the whole of Pannonia, and this consolidation enabled him to successfully engage the Franks.

3) The years between 803 and 811 saw the emancipation of the constituent parts of the kaganate, and in this period a compromise solution was reached in the "Avar question". To counter the consolidating power of the *tudun* and to stop him from restoring the Avar kaganate, the Franks organized a "Francophile" camp which finally succeeded in ousting him. Their new leader, *Zodan, princeps Pannoniorum,* surrendered to Charlemagne and received baptism without delay. But the Franks were by then consciously out to avoid the recurrence of the earlier events, and thus they were also negotiating with the local Slav leaders to ensure their dominance through dividing the territory of the *tudun.* This period witnessed the establishment of the germs of the later Slavic principalities at Morava, Nitra and in the area between the rivers Drava and Sava, and the first Frankish provinces of *Sclavonia and Avaria* in the Upper Danube region also date from these years. The kagans of the Avars living east of the river Danube also received baptism by turns and they also swore allegiance to the ruler of the Franks to ensure peace for their people. In 811, when the Slavs' fight for independence transgressed the tolerable bounds and appeared to threaten peace in the region, the Franks considered the time ripe for squaring the positions of power in the Carpathian Basin. All the concerned sides were present in Regensburg, including the kagan, the *tudun,* and the nobility of the Slavs. The negotiations are believed to have resulted in the stabilization of the established power statuses, which also determined the developments in the region over the subsequent decades. The status of the kagan was left unchanged, but the powers of the *tudun* were curtailed further. As the Franks themselves laid claim to Pannonia, actual authority in the region was assumed by Frankish officials, and the *tudun* disappeared from the political stage for good.

Consequently, parts of the western half of the Avar kaganate fell under direct Frankish authority while the other parts were attached to the Frankish Empire through the network of Slavic vassal principalities. In conformity with the ancient nomadic traditions, the Avar kaganate, which was confined to the territory east of the river Tisza, attempted to secure its remaining power by creating an uninhabited march-land in the territory between the rivers Danube and Tisza. This march-land was described by Alfred The Great as a waste land situated between the land of the Karantans and Bulgaria,[7] and Regino's Chronicle of 889 mentioned it as a waste land between Pannonia and Avaria.[8] Soon the Bulgarians narrowed further the living-space of the Avars: they took possession of the salt and gold mines in Transylvania and occupied the territories of the Timochans and Abodrites in the south. The 9th century archaeological relics indicate that the Avars, who were driven back to the territory east of the river Tisza and to the plain at the foot of the

Northern Central Mountains, re-established contact there with their kinsfolk among the tribes living in the Khazar Empire.[9] The envoys of these Avar groups were presumably the last to represent their people before Luis le Débonnaire at the Frankfurt imperial assembly in 822. However, it must be considered a common fallacy that this legation was a kind of "swan-song" of the Avars. This erroneous belief is rooted in the fact that the Avars gave no further sign of life following this assembly. But in fact the Avars ceased to exist only as a political factor: the leaders of the Avars, who were confined to the territory east of the river Tisza, sensibly kept themselves clear of the power disputes which characterized relations between the Slav principalities and the Franks in the 820s and 830s, and they also kept out of the subsequent strifes between the Moravian principality and the Eastern Frankish Empire. But the Avar people did not cease to exist: their annals history clearly proves that no catastrophic destruction should be reckoned with in their life. The losses they had to suffer in the sporadic clashes with the Franks, the internal strifes and the skirmishes with the Slavs could hardly have endangered the existence of the whole Avar community. The war-losses were much more considerable for the Saxons in their fight with the Franks or for the Moravans during their nearly 100-year-long warfare, and still both people had lived on for centuries in undisturbed prosperity. As P. Váczy wittily proved, the Russian provereb quoted in the Kiev Annals — "they disappeared like the Obors (=Avars), devoid of kins or progenies" — had nothing to do with the events of the 9th century and, moreover, it was not a proverb but a quotation from a letter Nikolaos Mystikos, the early 10th century patriarch of Constantinople, sent to Bulgarian Czar Simeon. In the letter the patriarch recalled and evaluated the defeat the Avars suffered at Constantinople in 626.[10] It can thus be stated with certainty that the Avar people were not exterminated, notwithstanding that their archaeological relics have still not been indetified, or more precisely have been misinterpreted, as a result of the long-standing erroneous historical hypotheses. In the following I'll try to identify these relics.

For the identification of the 9th century relics of the Avars I chose the cemetery at Zalakomár[11] as a model example. This cemetery appeared to be the most suitable for this purpose in several respects. The early period of the cemetery was terminated in the second third or end of the 7th century, and its late period began after a longer interval. Indicative of this time-span was the fact that when burials were resumed there the individual graves of the earlier cemetery were not identifiable any more. Consequently, it often happened that the new graves were dug over or into the burials which were situated along the edge of the earlier cemetery. The same phenomenon was observed at other Zala County cemeteries of similar age and structure (e.g. Kehida,[12] Pókaszepetk,[13] Gyenesdiás-Algyenes,[14] etc.). The absolute dating of the early-period cemetery can be made more accurate with the help of the western imported wares found as grave-goods there. Wares of this kind are known to have been recovered in the earliest graves of the late-period cemetery (e.g. *Langsax, Bommelohrringe,* etc.). The other group of dating finds includes the types which normally belong to the latest horizon of the late Avar Period cemeteries but here they came to light in the earliest graves of the late-period cemetery (e.g. iron phalearum, foliated belt-mounts with punched background, trappings). Accordingly, the beginning of the late period of the Zalakomár cemetery can be assigned with relative certainty to the late 8th or early 9th century. The same date could be assigned to the cemeteries at Kehida, Sujtor,[15] Nagypál,[16] Gyenesdiás, Vörs,[17] etc. It would lead us too far if we took up

here the question of why the area was re-settled by a mixed Avar-Slavic population, which is believed to have abandoned its cemeteries there in the end of the 7th century. Suffice it to state here that these people maintained lively contacts with the predominantly Slavic people who lived west of the Zala woods, in the river valleys of the Eastern Alps.[18]

We could come to interesting conclusions if we put the individual types of finds on the map of the Zalakomár cemetery and analyse how they were spread or replaced by other types. The development and transformation was the most unintermitted in the case of the various bead types. The predominance of the melonseed-shaped beads characterized the earliest graves of the late-period cemetery. They were gradually replaced by the amphora-shaped glass beads and the amphora- or barrel-shaped lead beads. This period was also rich in lead pendants and lunules. Characterizing the next phase were the yellow-plaited black glass beads and the silver- or gold-foliated segmented cylindrical beads. The necklaces found in the latest burials consisted exclusively of segmented cylindrical beads (with blue and green ones among them) and millefiori beads. The circulation of the various pendant forms in this cemetery was in a way typical of the other late Avar Period cemeteries of the Carpathian Basin. Although the wire pendants (primarily the earrings with twisted endings) were present in the earliest graves of the Zalakomár cemetery, they were usually accompanied in the female burials by amphora-shaped beads, black beads with plaited ornament and silver- or gold-foliated segmented cylindrical beads. The earring with twisted terminals were accompanied in some graves by earring types with single and multiple S-shaped endings, earrings with tapered spiral pendants and earrings with chain pendants. The various necklaces also date from this period: these included ones with looped or hook-like or S-shaped ending, plaited silver or tin-plated copper necklaces with serpent-head ending, and head-dresses or cap-ornaments with chain pendants. It is remarkable that the earrings with pyramidal glass bead pendant were present in graves dating from practically all the phases of the cemetery. These jewel types were typical of the late Avar Period female burials, and their altered forms (with twisted or looped or hook-like ending) occurred only in the latest burials where they were accompanied by Millefiori beads. This type of ending presumably developed from the earring with globular plate pendant, which were typical of the cemetery's middle period and turned up in female burials accompanied by amphora-shaped and segmented cylindrical beads and other wire jewellery. The earrings coming from the latest burials differ very little from the earrings found in other "classical" mid-9th century cemeteries, which were mostly ornamented with grape cluster and had looped or hook-like ending and plate bead pendant. Most of these rings were plate rings with longitudical ribs or spiral rings, and the punched plate rings with slightly shielded head occurred only in the late period.

The belt-sets decorated with cast repousse mounts were the most typical finds of the male burials. As opposed to the traditional views we have every ground to state that these belt-sets had remained in use for quite a long period, and the replacement of the complete sets with incomplete or substituted pieces took place only at the end of the use of the area as a burial ground. In the latest burials only an iron buckle indicated that the clothes of the deceased were gathered up by a belt. The same phenomenon applied to the weapons: even the latest burials have contained single-edged, straight swords, *Langsax,* socketed or barbed arrowheads or barbed axes.

The model-character of the Zalakomár cemetery is proved by the fact that the changes — or constancies — observed there applied fully to the assemblages coming from other SW Transdanubian cemeteries. Hardly any objects (like e.g. the two hooked spurs coming from the cemetery at Söjtör and the settlement on Gelse island)[19] or phenomens (like e.g. the plate imitation of a cast belt-set also from the Söjtör cemetery) are known that would alter this general observation. Finally we also have to mention here that the equestrian burials — which were not too common in this region except for the cemetery at Vörs — were also furnished with objects which were common in the period at issue. The horse equipment coming from these graves were decorated with iron mounts ornamented with gilded or silver-plated copper inlay, iron phalearum or gilded bronze mounts so typical of the SW Slovakian cemeteries.

The absolute dating of the Zalakomár-type cemeteries is facilitated by the data collected in the cemeteries of Upper Austria. The early-period burials in the Upper Austrian cemeteries (e.g. Krungl,[20] Hohenberg,[21] Auhof,[22] Gusen,[23] Micheldorf-Kremsdorf,[24] Pottenbrunn,[25] Wimm,[26] Mühling,[27] Absdorf,[28] Kronstorf[29] or Dolni Vestonice[30]) are closely related in many respects with the burials in the SW Transdanubian cemeteries. These burials were still rich in late Avar period object types like e.g. the turned bone or metal needle-case, the spindle-whorl or especially the punched bracelet with rhomboid section. The iron brooches made with a technique similar to that used in producing the iron phalearum were also typical of these burials. The pendants coming from the Upper Austrian graves also have their analogies among our wire jewellery: those burials are known to have offered earrings with twisted endings, with multiple S-shaped endings, with tapered or cylindrical spiral pendants or with chain pendants, and the various globular plate pendants were also amply represented, whose form and structure (like e.g. the twisted, S-shaped, looped or hook-like endings) also had their parallels in the Zalakomár-type cemeteries. The rings found in the Austrian cemeteries also included plate rings with longitudinal ribs or shielded head and late Avar-type glass-pasted rings. The beads, however, were exclusively segmented cylindrical or millefiori ones, and only stray examples of melonseed-shaped beads were found in necklaces. These burials are dated to the first half or middle of the 9th century by the other later-period graves in the cemetery and also by the Carolingian objects (crosses, needles, brooches) found in them. This dating is supported by the few burials of armed soldiers with cast belt-sets (Krungl, Hohenberg, Micheldorf-Kremsdorf). These soldiers were presumably the leaders of these communities. The objects coming from the male burials are also known to have had exact parallels in the SW Transdanubian soldier burials.

Accordingly, the Zalakomár-type cemeteries can likewise be dated to the first half or middle of the 9th century. In these cemeteries the latest burials were completed in the 840s or 850 at the earliest, and some of the burials may even date from a still later period.

Now if we accept that the SW Transdanubian cemeteries were used as burial grounds in the first half of the 9th century, the question arises on what basis do we date to a late period the other late Avar Period cemeteries of the Carpathian Basin. Considerations of space prevent us from dwelling long on this issue, but I would still like to highlight a few important points here.

The above analysis of the Zalakomár-type cemeteries has revealed that the female personal ornaments were much more responsive to the changes of time than the male ones. New bead-types occurred as early as at the turn of the centu-

ry, and the traditional earrings with pyramidal glass pendants were gradually replaced by a variety of wire jewels and earrings with plate pendants. The traditional late Avar Period female personal ornaments completely disappeared by the middle of the 9th century. However, it is still remarkable that, on the evidence of the Austrian cemeteries, certain typically Avar personal ornaments and commodities (e.g. bracelets, needle-cases, spindle-whorls, etc.) had for a longer while remained in use there, and the same phenomenon also applied to the cemeteries in SW Transdanubia. This peculiar duality of traditonalism and change was also characteristic of the late Avar Period cemeteries in the tribal lands of the Avar kaganate, but the prevalence of the late Avar Period objects was the more marked in the cemeteries situated in the eastern territories. Consequently, we are bound to encounter major difficulties in the dating of the late Avar Period cemeteries in the area east of the river Tisza. This dating could perhaps be facilitated by a modern, biomechanical analysis of the anthropological finds.[31] Pending the time when completely excavated and fully analysed cemeteries will be at our disposal, it is worth stressing that the personal ornaments which occurred as new in the western part of the country in the early years of the 9th century were already present in at least one third of the late Avar Period cemeteries. According to my knowledge, these cemeteries included Brodaki Drenovác[32] and Čelarevo (Dunacséb)[33] in the area between the rivers Drava and Sava, the Bogyiszló út cemetery in Szekszárd,[34] a considerable part of the cemeteries in Baranya County,[35] the cemeteries in the environs of Kaposvár,[36] Balatonberény,[37] Balatonszentgyörgy,[38] Keszthely,[39] Lukácsháza,[40] Velem,[41] Jutas, Öskü,[42] Halimba,[43] Várpalota,[44] Győr[45] and Komárom,[46] most of the Slovakian cemeteries,[47] the cemeteries at Pilismarót,[48] part of the cemeteries in Budapest,[49] Szob,[50] and further east the cemeteries at Üllő,[51] Abony,[52] Jánoshida,[53] Szirák,[54] Visnek,[55] Nyékládháza,[56] Sajószentpéter,[57] the cemeteries in the Kassa basin,[58] Tiszafüred,[59] Hortobágy-Árkus,[60] Homokmégy-Halom,[61] Mátészalka,[62] Szentes-Kaján[63] and finally the cemeteries in the environs of Szeged.[64] These cemeteries have all offered new-type beads like the amphora-shaped beads and/or segmented cylindrical and millefiori beads, wire jewels like e.g. the tapered or cylindrical spiral pendants or the pendants with twisted, multiple S-shaped or chain ending, earrings with globular plate pendants (primarily the Transdanubian cemeteries), and the simple or double-faced pendants decorated with grape cluster were also fairly common. Accordingly, the large number of finds appear to offer a positive proof for the survival of the late-period Avars at least until the middle of the 9th century. The developments that took place in the second half of the 9th century are still open to question. In the western part of the country, in the area north of the Danube and in large territories of Transdanubia the "standard" cemeteries of the 9th century were used as burial ground by at least part of the Avar population. However, the difference between the archaeological relics coming from these cemeteries and those typical of the first half of the 9th century is too small to suggest that their influence was marked on the material culture of the surviving Avars. The basic types of the beads and pendants had remained unchanged or were only slightly altered. They were characterized by a general formal simplification, which normally is a concomitant of homogenization. The male ornaments also became extremely simplified: iron buckles, iron knives, and flint and steel were the only common grave-goods. Consequently, I consider it conceivable that the new elements which became absorbed into the late Avar articles in the first half of the 9th century had remained in use in unchanged form. This I believe applied especially

to the areas east of the river Danube, where the deliberate isolationism from the political developments in the Carpathian Basin was coupled by a similarly conscious cultural seclusion. According to the recently revealed archaeological phenomena, this region maintained ties primarily with areas east of the Carpathians durding the 9th century.[65]

Let me finally touch upon the subsequent history of the Avar people. As it has already been proved by the comparative anthropological analyses, an anthropological continuity can be established both in Transdanubia and in the Great Plain region.[66] However, it would be futile to expect archaeological proofs for this continuity. The Hungarians who arrived in the Carpathian Basin duly stirred up the backwaters there: the people whom they found there (including the Avars) they considered their subjects and resettled them according to their own interests. Having disarranged their smaller communities, the Hungarians enlisted these people and replaced the aboriginal cultural traditions with their own. This, however, does not apply to the popular legacy of the eastern Frankish border region. In the first half of the 10th century these articles had still been in use in the Moravian principality, in certain parts of Transdanubia and in the Upper Danube valley. These articles clearly influenced the freshly developing personal ornaments of the Hungarians, who finally inherited and organically developed further a number of these outside elements.

NOTES

1 *I. Bóna:* A népvándorlás kor és a korai középkor története Magyarországon (History of the migration period and the early Middle Ages in Hungary). In: Magyarország története I. Előzmények és magyar történet 1242-ig (History of Hungary Vol. I., Preliminary Events and History of Hungary till 1242). Budapest 1984 352.

2 Literature used for the historical survey: *P. Váczy:* Magyarország kereszténysége a honfoglalás korában (Hungarian Christianity in the period of the Conquest). In: Szent István Emlékkönyv I (St. Stephen Memorial. Volume I). Budapest 1938 215—220; *B. Szőke:* Fejezetek Győr koraközépkori történelméből (Chapters from the early medieval history of Győr). Arrabona 1 (1959) 83—99; *J. Deér:* Karl der Grosse und der Untergang des Awarenreiches. In: Karl der Grosse, Lebenswerk und Nachleben I. Düsseldorf 1965 719—791; *Á. Cs. Sós:* Die slawische Bevölkerung Westungarns im 9. Jahrhundert. Münchner Beiträge zur Vor- und Frühgeshichte 22. München 1973 3—27; *P. Váczy:* A frank háború és az avar nép (The Frankish War and the Avar People). Századok 108 (1974) 1040—1061; *I. Bóna:* ibid. 336—346.

3 *P. Váczy* ibid (1974) 1059—1060.

4 *I. Bóna* ibid. 343—346.

5 Suidae Lexicon, ed. *A. Adler.* Lipsiae 1928 4, 483—484. The first doubts on the issue were expressed by *V. Gjuselev:* Bulgarisch-fränkische Beziehungen in der ersten Hälfte des IX. Jhs. Byzantinobulgarica 2 (1966) 15—39.

6 *M. Comşa:* Die bulgarische Herrschaft nördlich der Donau des IX. und X. Jh. im Lichte der archäologischen Forschungen. Dacia 4 (1960) 395—422; *K. Horedt:* Die frühgeschichtliche Siedlungslandschaft Siebenburgens. Aluta 10—11 (1980) 77—95; *K. Mesterházy:* A Tiszántúl IX—X. századi bolgár emlékei (The 9th-10th century Bulgarian relics in the area east of the river Tisza). FolArch 28 (1977) 157—170; *I. Bóna:* Erdély története I. A kezdetektől 1606-ig (History of Transylvania Vol. I. From the Beginnings till 1606). Budapest 1986 189—194; *B.M. Szőke:* Zur awarenzeitlichen Siedlungsgeschichte des Körös-Gebietes in Südost-Ungarn. ActaArchHung 32 (1980) 181—203; *K. Mesterházy:* Népvándorláskori cserépüstök (Migration period earthen kettles). FolArch 36 (1985) 149—163; *I. Fodor:* Bolgárok a honfoglaláskori Magyarországon (Bulgarians in period of the Conquest in the Hungary). Honismeret 11:5 (1963) 19—23.

7 Boc pe man Orosius nemned (Magnae Moraviae Fontes Historici III. Brno 1969 338).

8 Reginonis abbatis prumiensis Chronicon, 889 (Magnae Moraviae Fontes Historici I. Brno 1966 137).

9 *B.M. Szőke:* Zur awarenzeitlichen Siedlungsgeschichte des Körös-Gebietes in Südost-Ungarn. ActaArchHung 32 (1980) 181—203.

10 *P. Váczy* ibid (1974) 1059—1060.

11 Excavated by B.M. Szőke and L. Vándor between 1977—1982. Unpublished. For a preliminary report cf. *B.M. Szőke — L. Vándor:* 8.—9. századi birituális temető Zalakomár határában (8th-9th century biritual cemetery in the environs of Zalakomár). ZalaiGyüjt 18 (1982—1983) 69—86.

12 Excavated by B.M. Szőke and L. Vándor since 1985, still uncompleted.

13 *Á.Cs. Sós:* Das slawische Urnengräberfeld von Pókaszepetk, Pannonien. Studien zur europäischen Vor- und Frühgeschichte. Neumünster 1968; *Á.Cs. Sós:* Jelentés a pókaszepetki ásatásokról (Report on the excavations at Pókaszepetk). ArchÉrt 100 (1973) 66—76; *Á.Cs. Sós:* Die slawische Bevölkerung Westungarns im 9. Jahrhundert. Münchner Beiträge zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte 22. München 1973 84—88.

14 Excavated by R. Müller in 1987; the excavation is to be continued.

15 Excavated by B.M. Szőke in 1985.

16 *R. Müller:* IX. századi sírok Nagypáliból (9th century graves at Nagypáli). Zalai gyüjt. 8 (1978) 31—46.

17 Excavated by L. Költő and J. Szentpéteri since 1986; the excavation is to be continued.

18 Cf. *B.M. Szőke:* A népvándorlás kor és a korai középkor története Nagykanizsán és környékén (The history of the Migration period and the early Middle Ages in Nagykanizsa and its environs). In: Nagykanizsa története I (History of Nagykanizsa Vol. I) (manuscript).

19 Excavated by B.M. Szőke in 1985 and 1988. Unpublished.

20 *O. Fischbach:* A krungli leletről (About the Krungl find). ArchÉrt 14 (1894) 359; *O. Fischbach:* Újabb leletek Hohenbergről és Krunglból (New finds from Hohenberg and Krungl). ArchÉrt 17 (1897) 113—147; *W. Modrijan:* Die Frühmittelalterfunde (8. bis 11. Jhdt.) der Steiermark. Schild von Steier 11 (1963) 45—84.

21 *O. Fischbach:* A hohenbergi leletről (About the Hohenberg find). ArchÉrt 15 (1895) 249—253; *O. Fischbach:* Újabb leletek Hohenbergről és Krunglból (New finds from Hohenbereg and Krungl). ArchÉrt 17 (1897) 133—147; Modrijan op. cit. (note 20).

22 *V. Tovornik:* Die frühmittelalterlichen Gräberfelder von Gusen und Auhof bei Perg in Oberösterreich. Teil 2: Auhof bei Perg. ArchA 70 (1986) 413—460.

23 *V. Tovornik:* Die frühmittelalterlichen Gräberfelder von Gusen und Auhof be Perg in Oberösterreich. Teil 1: Gusen. AAustr 69 (1985) 165—250.

24 *V. Tovornik:* Die Gräberfelder von Micheldorf-Kremsdorf, Nö. In: Die Bayern und ihre Nachbarn II. Wien 1985 213—216, Taf. 1—14.

25 *H. Friesinger:* Frühmittelalterliche Körpergräber aus Pottenbrunn, Stadtgemeinde St. Pölten, Nö. AAustr 51 (1972) 113—190.

26 *H. Friesinger:* Das slawische Gräberfeld von Wimm, Gem. Maria Taferl, Nö. Ein Katalog mit Beiträgen von Szameit E. und Stadler P. AAustr 68 (1984) 203—277.

27 *H. Friesinger:* Studien zur Archäologie der Slawen in Niederösterreich I. Wien 1974—1977 56—58.

28 Ibid. 72—74.

29 *M. Pertlwieser:* FÖ 22 (1983) 321, Abb. 906.

30 *J. Poulík:* Jizní Morava zeme davnýcj Slovanu. Brno 1948—1950 155—169.

31 The relative chronology of the cemetery, i.e. the time-span during which it had been used as a burial ground, can be established with I. Lengyel's methods.

32 *K. Vinski-Gasparini — S. Ercegović:* Ranosrednjovjekovno groblje u Brodskom Drenovcu. Vjesnik ArcheolMuz. u Zagrebu (1958) 129—161.

33 *R. Bunardžić:* Izložba menore z Čelareva. Beograd 1980.

34 Excavated by Gy. Rosner. Unpublished.

35 *A. Kiss:* Avar Cemeteries in County Baranya. Cemeteries of the Avar Period (567—829) in Hungary 2. Budapest 1977 (Gyód, Kékesd, Nagypall I., Szellő, Pécsvárad-Gőztéglagyár, Romonya); *É. Garam:* I—III Cemetery. In: Avar Finds in the Hungarian National Museum. Cemeteries of the Avar Period (567—829) in Hungary 1. Budapest 1975 (Szebény I); *Á.Cs. Sós:* A dunaszekcsői avarkori temető (The Avar period cemetery at Dunaszekcső). FolArch 18 (1966—1967) 91—122; *A. Kiss:* Some archaeological finds of the Avar period in county Baranya. PaksiMÉ 1974 130—133 Fig. 19 (Keszü); *E. Nagy:* Újabb késő avarkori temetők Baranya megyében (Recently discovered Avar period cemeteries in Baranya county). PécsiMÉ 1982 125—141 (Kővágószőlős); the cemeteries in Sarohin-tábornok-út in Pécs-Kertváros (excavated by E. Nagy) and at Hird (excavated by V. Kováts) are unpublished.

36 *É. Garam:* Késő avar sírok Kapospuláról (Late Avar burials at Kapospula). FolArch 22 (1972) 97—103; *E. Bárdos:* Kaposvár 33. lh. késő avar temetője (The late Avar period cemetery at Kaposvár, site 33). SomogyiMK 3 (1978); *E. Simonova:* Novij mogiljnik pozdnjeavarskogo vremeni v oblasti Somogy. SovArch 1976 261—266; *E. Bárdos:* RégFüz 36 (1983) 66 (Somogyszaló).

37 B. Kuzsinszky: A Balaton környékének archaeológiája (The archaeology of the Lake Balaton area). Budapest 1920 34—38; I. Kovrig: RégFüz 10 (1958) 34—35.

38 K. Bakay: Honfoglalás- és államalapításkori temetők az Ipoly mentén (Cemeteries along the river Ipoly dating from the period of the Conquest and the age of the establishment of the Kingdom). StudComPest 6 (1978) 188.

39 V. Lipp: A keszthelyi sírmező (The Keszthely burial ground). Budapest 1884; É. Garam: A bőcsi késő avarkori lelet és köre (The late Avar period find of Bőcs). ArchÉrt 108 (1981) 37 (Keszthely-Deák utca); MRT I. Budapest 1966 siste 17/2.

40 G. Kiss: A lukácsházi avar lovassír (The Avar equestrian burial at Lukácsháza). Savaria Múzeum Kiállítási Lapok 1.

41 K. Miske: Die prähistorische Ansiedlung Velem St. Vid. Wien 1908 Taf. XLVII—L, LII, LVII, LXX.

42 Gy. Rhé — N. Fettich: Jutas und Öskü, zwei Gräberfelder aus der Völkerwanderungszeit in Ungarn. Prag 1931; N. Fettich: A jutasi avarkori temető revíziója (The Avar period cemetery at Jutas reconsidered). VeszprémiMK 2 (1964) 79—105.

43 Gy. Török: Kétrétegű temetkezések a halimbai avar temeteőben (Two-layer burials in the Avar period cemetery of Halimba). FolArch 20 (1970) 79—98; Gy. Török: Újabb régészeti feltárások Halimbán (Latest archaeological excavations at Halimba). VeszprémiMK 5 (1966) 69—79.

44 I. Erdélyi — P. Németh: A Várpalota-gimnáziumi avar temető (The Avar period cemetery at Várpalota-Gimnázium). VeszprémiMK 8 (1969) 167—198.

45 N. Fettich — J. Nemeskéri: Győr története a népvándorláskorban (The History of Győr in the Migration Period). Győr 1943 (Győr-Téglavető dűlő, Újtemető, Újszállás, Sobor); the excavations at Csorna-Hosszúdomb and Szil are unpublished.

46 Z. Čilinska: Dve pohrebiská z 8.—9. storočia v Komárne. SlovArch 30 (1982) 347—393; A. Trugly: Gräberfeld aus der Zeit des awarischen Reiches bei der Schiffswerft in Komárno. SlovArch 35 (1987) 251—344.

47 Importants sites Slaves en Slovaquie, ed. B. Chropovský. Bratislava 1978, with further literary references: Barca, Bernolákovo (Cseklész), Bratislava (Pozsony)-Vajnory, Devínská Nová Ves (Dévényújfalu), Čierny Brod, Dvory nad Žitavou (Udvard), Gajary, Blatnica, Holiare (Alsógellér), Hranicná prí Hornade, Nové Zámky (Érsekújvár), Obid, Prsa (Perse), Radvan nad Dunajom (Dunaradváény), Virt, Sala, Sebastovce, Šturovo (Párkány), Trenčianské Biskupice, Valalíky-Všechsvätých (Kassamindszent). Velké Kosihy, Záhorská Bystrica, Želovce (Zsély), Žitavska Ton (Zsitvatő).

48 N. Fettich: Das awarenzeitliche Gräberfeld von Pilismarót-Basaharc. StudArch 3. Budapest 1965; J.Gy. Szabó: The Pilismarót Cemetery. In: Avar Finds in the Hungarian National Museum. Cemeteries of the Avar Period (567—829) in Hungary 1. Budapest 1975 241—282.

49 Gy. László: Budapest a népvándorlás korában (Budapest in the Migration period). In: Budapest története II (History of Budapest Vol. II). Budapest 1942 781—818 (Csepel szabadtéri kikötő, Lóverseny tér); M. Nagy: A Fehérvári úti avar temető (The Avar period cemetery in Fehérvári út). BpR 23 (1973) 59—84.

50 I. Kovrig: The Szob cemetery. In: Avar Finds in the Hungarian National Museum. Cemeteries of the Avar Period (567—829) in Hungary 1. Budapest 1975 121—155.

51 T. Horváth: Die awarischen Gräberfelder von Üllő und Kiskörös. ArchHung 19 (1935).

52 J. Hampel: Alterthümer des frühen Mittelalters in Ungarn II. Braunschweig 1905 786—801; III Taf. 465—474.

53 I. Erdélyi: A jánoshidai avarkori temető (The Avar period cemetery at Jánoshida). RégFüz II:1 (1958).

54 Alterthümer des frühen Mittelalters in Ungarn. Braunschweig 1905 II 77—94.

55 Gy. Török: The Visznek cemetery. In: Avar Finds in the Hungarian National Museum. Cemeteries of the Avar Period (567—829) in Hungary 1. Budapest 1975 321—346.

56 K.K. Végh: A nyékládházi avar temető (The Avar period cemetery at Nyékládháza). MiskolciMÉ 5 (1964—65) 177—211.

57 K.K. Végh: A sajószentpéteri avarkori leletek (The Avar period finds from Sajószentpéter). MiskolciMÉ 1964 15—23.

58 Cf. Note 47.

59 Excavation of É. Garam. Unpublished.

60 Excavation of E.H. Tóth. Unpublished.

61 É. Garam: The Homokmégy-Halom cemetery. In: Avar Finds in the Hungarian National Museum. Cemeteries of the Avar Period (567—629) in Hungary 1. Budapest 1965 11—48.

62 D. Csallány: Szabolcs-Szatmár megye avar leletei (Avar finds from Szabolcs-Szatmár county). NyíregyháziMÉ 1 (1960) 44, Pl. XIX. 41 and also Záhony-Railway station 46, Pl. XIX. 42 and the assemblasge from unknown site 46—47, Pl. XXVI. 33—39.

63 *J. Korek:* A szentes-kajáni avarkori temető (The Avar period cemetery at Szentes-Kaján). Dolg-Szeged 19 (1943) 1—129.
64 Unpublished cemeteries at Szeged-Kundomb, Szeged-Makkoserdő, Szeged-Öthalom. For a brief review cf. *D. Csallány:* Az átokháza-bilisicsi avarkori sírleletek (The Avar period finds from Átokháza-Bilisics). SzegediMÉ 1957 109—130 and *B. Kürti* in: Szeged története I (History of Szeged I). Szeged 1983 216.

István Torma

EXAMPLES OF CONTINUITY AND DISCONTINUITY IN THE SETTLEMENT HISTORY OF THE VÁC AREA

In my paper I wish to tackle those phenomena of the medieval settlement history of the one-time Szob and Vác districts which are relevant to the subject of the jubilee session of the Archaeological Institute. The settlement history of these districts is discussed in detail in the forthcoming volume of the Archaeological Topography of Pest County.[1] I sum up the data at our disposal concerning the dates of the establishment and depopulation of the settlements in the area, the duration of their existence and the changes in the structure of the settlement network. I'll also touch upon the question of the permanence and continuity of the boundaries that separated the built up areas of the villages from the fields and the villages themselves. I'll also cite a few examples for the changes that took place in the fields (plough-lands, vineyards, etc.).

From a geographical point of view, the 863,2 square kilometre area in the northern part of the county between Dunakeszi bordering on the outskirts of Budapest and Bernecebaráti on the Slovakian border is rather diversified. The Pest Plain, which belongs to the Great Plain and stretches along the Danube, is terminated by the city of Vác in the north. The northern part of the Gödöllő hills is situated east of this plain. Both areas are characterized by sandy soil. Farther north, the southern ranges of the Cserhát hills consist of lime and volcanic hills and loessial and clayey elevations. The lime block of the Naszály hill rises 652 metres above Vác. The largest geographical unit in the area is the 939 metres high volcanic Börzsöny mountains. At the western and northern foot of the mountain loessial and clayey ridges link the hills with the sandy and silty Ipoly valley. The hydrography of the region is determined by the river Danube, which meets the river Ipoly at the Danube Bend and is joined by several mountain streams. Some of the streams of the Cserhát and Cserhátalja hills meet the river Galga first to flow into the Tisza. The vegetation in the area fully corresponds to the diversity of the soil and the variegated configurations of the terrain. The flatland, which has by now become a fully cultivated area, originally belonged to the belt of wooded steppe. The elevations and the southern slopes of the hills are covered by oak forests, while the northern slopes of the higher mountains are wooded by beeches.

The villages situated in the area south of Vác have always belonged to Pest county. The Cserhát hills belonged to Nógrád County, and the Ipoly valley formed part of Hont County.

The settlement history of this area was already discussed at length by Zsuzsa Miklós, one of the authors of the volume at issue, in a work published some five years ago.[2] The researches conducted since then have justified her findings, so I'll often rely on her statements below. The topographical volume, whose ms. is almost 100 percent complete now, discusses the history of these settlements on the basis of the complementary data of the archaeological, historical and linguistic sources.

Nearly half of the sites named in the volume have offered medieval finds. The settlements (villages, country-towns, towns) and twin settlements (Alsó- (Lower) and Felső- (Upper) Orsány, Alsó- és Felsőpenc, Magyar (Hungarian) and Német- (German) Vác) mentioned by name in the written sources number 62. We can add to these three settlements which were deserted during the Árpádian Age and whose presumable names have survived only in later, indirect sources (Besenyő, Gány, Toronyalja). According to all indications, the names of most of the Árpádian Age settlements have come down to us in written sources, and the late Middle Age settlements we all know by name. Out of the 65 settlements we could identify by name the following ones we could not locate: Püspöki (mentioned only once, in 1219; in the vicinity of Csomád or Rátót?) and the predium of Szabadtelek (1431 and 1434; between Veresegyház and Szada). Whether the latter settlement had been inhabited at all in earlier times we could not determine. The localization of all the remaining settlements we were able to determine, and in 61 instances the identification was supported by archaeological or architectural evidence.

The decisive majority (at least 54, i.e. 80—90 percent) of the place names are Hungarian by origin.[3] But before going into details, let me first sum up the Slavic toponyms, which make up the remaining 10 percent. Remarkably, these place-names were concentrated around the Börzsöny mountain. Three of them (Bernece, Kemence and Verőce) were originally the names of streams which have their source in the mountains. The two other villages which had Slavic names (Perőcsény, Szokolya) were also situated in this area. The derivation of the name of the village of Börzsöny from the Slavic language we do not regard as proved. If the name of Naszály originally belonged to the hill, then it was also Slavic. However, it could as well have its origin in a personal name. In the northwestern part of the Börzsöny mountains there are other toponyms of Slavic origin to be found in the border districts: Budiho hegye at Bernece and Baráti (1283), Kalakacs (1432), Szuha (1245), Tordavacs (1468) and Varbók (1409).[4] As it was already underlined by István Kniezsa and György Győrffy, these toponyms are indicative ofd the presence in the region of Slavic people during and after the Magyar Conquest. Most of the fishermen registered in 1138 at Helemba (today Chl'aba, Slovakia, on the right bank of the river Ipoly in the area neighbouring the territory at issue), had Slavic names.[5]

On the evidence of the toponyms and the cemeteries we can state that the Ipoly valley was occupied by the conquering Magyars in the early 10th century.[6] In this area, the majority of the medieval village names also originate from the Hungarian language. But in all probability it was not accidental that in the area north of Vác almost all the plane name which had their origins in personal names could be derived from Slavic personal names: Letkés, Maros, Mikola, Nosztroj (Nosztre), Novák, Szob (?), Tésa and Vác itself. The only toponym which originated from a Hungarian personal name was Hanta. We know of no toponym of Slavic origin in the area east and south of Vác. In this region the toponyms had their origin mostly in Hungarian personal names. (While in the area north of Vác only 10 percent of the toponyms with known etymology derived from Hungarian personal names, the respective figure was 60—70 percent in the territory east and south of Vác. In Monor district, southeast of Pest, this figure was nearly 90 percent.) Nevertheless, most of the toponyms mentioned in the documents indicate that in the Börzsöny mountains the population of the villages of Slavic origin had already assimilated into the Hungarian people by the end of the Árpádian Age. In spite of the linguistic discontinuity, a series of geographical names coined by them have survived until the present day.

The presence of the Slavic ethnic groups and the at least partial continuity of the population are impossile to prove by archaeological finds. Although a remarkably high number of sites (some 150) have yielded pottery sherds which most probably date from the late Avar period (8th-9th centuries), almost all of these sites were only small spots, and the sherds found there shed no light on the ethnic groups which used them. The same applies to the large number of sites (105) which date from the 10-11th centuries.

In the following I'll discuss the toponyms of Hungarian origin primarily for chronological reasons. Of these place names, only Keszi and Kürt originated from tribal names, while Orsány (=Varsány) and Besenyő were ethnic names. (The first reference to the latter name is known only from the Modern Age.) Two toponyms originate from the names of services (Csitár, Kovácsi). Slightly more than half of the Hungarian toponyms had their origin in personal names. An insignificant minority of the toponyms include the possessive attribute "-i" (Baráti, Püspöki, Sügyi?), and the other possessive compounds were likewise rare: Dávidréve, Novákfölde (prior to its desertation, the name of the village was used as a personal name), Szabadtelki, Toronyalja.

The village names of Szentmárton, Szentmiklós and Szentvid (the alternative name of Csomád) derive from the names of the patron saints of the local churches. Veresegyház was named secondarily, presumably following the falling into oblivion of the original toponym. The names of four villages (Almás, Sikátor, Szilágy and Tölgyes) originate from standard words which are undatable on the basis of onomastics. The names of Csörög and Nemegy presumably also belong to this category. (I do not touch upon here the names which were extended by an attribute during the Middle Ages: e.g. Vámosmikola, Körtvélyeskeszi.) After the Mongol invasion, German people were settled in some of the villages. The influence of these ethnic groups on the toponyms was manifest at best in the use of the alternative names. The inhabitants of Vác used the name Waitzen, which was the earlier German name of the settlement. In some instances, the settlement of Maros was referred to by the name of Neustadt. In the 16th century, the alternative name of Szokolya was Martenau. The German toponym of Pilsen is believed to have its origin in the Hungarian name of Börzsöny. At Verőce, only the personal and vineyard names were indicative of the ethnic German population.[7] German family names were also in use at Perőcsény, where most of the inhabitants were Hungarian.[8] Although we are fully aware of the limitations facing the researcher of the chronology of the toponyms, we still feel positive that the settlement network of the area at issue was established in the Árpádian Age. Indicative of this is the total stock of the toponyms, and also the complete lack of the compound names that end with -falva, -laka, -háza or -ülése.

The settlements were mentioned in the written souerces much later than they were established. The reason for this was that the use of written records began to spread at a slow pace and in the case of the lands of the Vác episcopal and prefendal the rack and ruin of the documents. Only the names of Naszály (?)[9] and Vác[10] are known to have been mentioned in 11th century sources. Two 12th century documents mention four villages in the Börzsöny mountains by name.[11] In the 13th century, and especially in its second half, the number of the documents increased conspicuously: in these documents, 24 villages were mentioned by name for the first time.[12] The 14th century documents mentioned another 17 villages by name.[13] The names of 7 villages occur first in 15th century sources.[14] Three villages were mentioned only in the 16th century,[15] long after

their desertation, and two other villages of the same fate were named first only in the 17th century.[16] Meanwhile, on the evidence of the archaeological finds we can establish that the medieval villages were established at the following pace: 13—15 in the 10-11th centuries,[17] 8 in the 11-12th centuries,[18] 15 in the 12-13th centuries,[19] and 13 in the 13th century.[20] In the area at issue, only one village was established in the 14th century.[21] Let me add here that at some of the settlements which the finds dated to the 12-13th centuries the present-day buildings prevented us from conducting detailed field surveys. This, at least partly, accounts for the fact that the reference to some of the villages in the written sources antedates the archaeological finds recovered there.

So far I concentrated on the dating of the settlements which are mentioned in written sources. However, the field surveys have brought to light considerably more traces of settlements. As we have already mentioned, we know of 105 settlements dating from the 10-11th centuries. The number of the settlements (344) dating from the Árpádian Age (11-13th centuries) far exceeds that of the settlements known from any other period. Of course, this large number should not be taken to indicate that these settlements existed parallelly or that they were all independent ones. Some one third of the Árpádian Age settlements are datable to the first half of the period, the rest to the 12-13th centuries. A more accurate dating of these sites is prevented by the nature of the finds. The usually small-size sites bunched up in clusters indicate that these settlements formed part of a network of scattered dwellings. According to settlement historians, this settlement type is associable with the prevalence of the unregulated rotation of crops and animal breeding, which meant that the inhabitants of these settlements were perpetually on the move and regularly changed their abodes. In our view, this migration in the densely occupied central part of the country was concentrated to a relatively limited area right from the outset. This area was marked out by the estate boundaries, which were established at a fairly early stage. This accounts for the fact — taking for a basis the 65 settlements known from the written sources — that a medieval village, which had an average area of 13,3 square kilometrtes, has offered traces of 5 or 6 Árpádian Age settlements. In one and all of the settlements, which had survived into the late Middle Ages and are analysable archaeologically, the oldest finds date back to the Árpádian Age, i.e. 12-13th century. The 10-11th or 11-12th century pottery sherds found at nearly one third of these sites might well be considered proofs for the coexistence of a short-lived early-period settlement and the Árpádian Age village. On the other hand, the houses excavated at the Árpádian Age site of Ivacs prove that the village had been permanently settled from the 10-11th century.[22] Suming up, we can state that, as opposed to the earlier assumptions,[23] the establishment of the permanent villages on the left bank of the Danube (at least in the northern part of the present-day county) coincided with that on the more advanced right bank.

The regulated rotation of crops and the spreading of the system of serfs' parcels resulted in the reorganization of the settlement system: the scattered settlements had disappeared and they were replaced by village networks. Almost half of the 124 late medieval settlements the traces of which we have managed to record were situated in the area of the 49 settlements we know from the written sources. Over 10 of the sites indicate the border of the one-time built-up area. At 20 or 25 of these sites the date of desertation could be determined by the sherds which could be assigned to the 13-14th centuries or definitely to the 14th century. These sites can be considered the latest members of the earlier scattered settle-

ment system. The remaining 30 sites we could not specify for the lack of excava-
tions there. Those exclusively small-size settlements which existed over a brief
period during the 14th or 15th centuries and which lay hundreds or even thou-
sands of metres away from the villages can in no way be considered independent
villages. Depending on their geographical setting, these settlements were presu-
mably farm houses, vineyard buildings, herdsmen's huts or hunter's camps.

Parallel with the changes in the settlement structure, a number of the villags
became definitively inhabited. Eight out of the 12 Árpádian Age villages which
were deserted prior to the late Middle Ages were situated in the Börzsöny Moun-
tains, either in the basinal southern part (Almás, Csitár, Hanta, Kovácsi, Nosztra,
Toronyalja) or in the western part of the mountains (Besenyő and Novák), and two
of them were lying in the relatively narrow valley of the Southern Cserhát Hills
(Sügyi, Szór). The fact that these villages became deserted may presumably be
ascribed to certain natural phenomena. The site of some of the villages in the
Börzsöny mountains was overgrown later with woods, and two Pauline monaste-
ries were also erected in this area. The villags of Gány (?) and Nevel are believed
to have been destroyed during the Mongol invasion. We are more or less certain
that 10 of the late medieval villages were deserted prior to the Turkish occupation.
However, the lack of reliable data prevents us from determining the exact date of
their desertation. In the following list the question marks are meant to signify that
we are uncertain about the existence of the village in the early 16th century: Cseke
(?), Csomád (only half of the village), Dávidrév, Ganád (?), Ivacs, Kürt, Orsány
(Lower and Upper), Ság (Szentmárton), Szentmiklós (deserted before 1496, but
later an inhabited settlement again).

The following 10 villages, which were either mentioned as deserted areas al-
ready in the first Turkish land register of 1546 or turned up first in some of the later
lists only were presumably destroyed during the occupation of Vác and its envi-
rons: Csomád (the other half), Damásd, Garlan (?), Göd, Gyada, Kéménd (?),
Keszi, Sikátor, Társa and Tésa. The villages Alag, Battyán and Duka were deserted
between 1546 and 1559. Alsópenc was abandoned between 1579 and 1584, and
the same fate fell on Felsőpenc in the period between 1584 and 1593. The 15-year
war destroyed only the villages Csörög and Naszály, Cselőte was deserted in the
early 17th century, in the years between 1610 and 1625. If we leave the brief war-
time periods of abandonment out of consideration, the following 22 villages had
remained constantly inhabited: Baráti, Bernece, Börzsöny, Fót, Hartyán, Kemence,
Kosd, Letkés, Maros, Mikola, Nemegy, Rád, Rátót (destroyed during the liberation
of Buda and was resettled only in the 18th century), Szentmiklós, Szilágy, Szob,
Szokolya, Sződ, Vác (listed here with reservations as the town suffered regular
destructions during the sieges), Veresegyház and Verőce. Three of the villages
destroyed during the Turkish occupation were resettled in the 17th century: Keszi
(between 1640 and 1642), Cső (between 1653 and 1666) and Damásd (the date
we could not specify). It is to be noted here that while the birth of the villages we
could date by archaeological finds, their existence during the Turkish occupation
is known from written sources.

Sixteen out of the 18 villages which were destroyed during the Turkish period
were situated in the environs of Vác. The remaining two villages were situated in
the area of Hont County. The facts that the latter region had to suffer less and that
the population had continuously settled most of the villages there are proved by
the medieval toponyms and family names which in most of these villages have
survived up to the present day. In the Vác area, the medieval toponyms are much

less frequent, and there is practically no continuity in the family names. In the whole area at issue, the overwhelming majority of the then population was Hungarian. Most of the Germans fled the area of Vác in the early years of the period. Those Germans who remained in their mountain villages (the only exception here is the Börzsöny Mountains) were nearly entirely assimilated by the Hungarians. The civil Turkish — or more precisely Mohammedan — population was concentrated in the town of Vác, and the same applied to the Serbian marauders and the Gypsies. Towards the end of the period at issue, the Slowaks occurred at Csővár, which was resettled before 1666. These people, along with the Hungarians and the scattered German groups, played a crucial role in the resettlement of the region in the wake of the liberation campaign and Rákóczi's War of Independence.

In the introduction to his work on the boundary-marks and the delimitations of the late feudal period, Lajos Takács said that ''The land, where a whole people or a smaller ethnic group ... lived, had to be utilized and cultivated, but ... it also had to be defended from the strangers. ... One possible method of defence was the careful delimitation ... This is also why people have always attached great importance to the accurate demarcation of the borders.''[24] The countless legal records of trespasses and illegal occupations that have come down to us since the 13th century prove that it has always been necessary to mark out and defend the boundaries. For this very reason, in the area at issue, which became inhabited fairly early and was densely populated, the boundaries between the estates and villages must have been marked out well before the names of these settlements cropped up in the written sources. (NB: the estates mentioned in the Tihany deed of 1055 were also demarcated.) For all the exchanges and frequent trespasses, these boundaries were extremely long-lived. The over 10 kilometres long boundary line between Bernece(baráti) and Kemence has up to the present day remained the same as it was in 1283.[25] The boundary of comparable length between Kemence and Perőcsény also dates from the Middle Ages.[26] Owing to the continuity of the settlements and their inhabitants, almost all the toponyms mentioned in the delimitations are still in use. The medieval inhabitants of these settlements also kept record of the boundaries between the temporarily abandoned or definitively deserted villages. In 1636, for example, the boundary between the already deserted villages of Cső and Penc was stretching in the Hárs valley,[27] and the same line still exists. In those larger areas which had only one owner the deserted village became gradually incorporated with the neighbouring village or villages, and consequently even the memory has faded of the boundaries (e.g. Dávidrév, Ivacs, Kovácsi, Nevel). Elsewhere, decades-long litigation was needed to define the boundaries (Alag, Társa). Instead of citing examples here, let us state that the territories of most of today's settlements date from the Middle Ages, and that in certain cases these incorporated the likewise medieval territories of one or more deserted villages. The only known exceptions to this — rather simplified — statement are Kismaros and Kóspallag, which were established in the 18th century without medieval precedents, and the villages of Alsógöd, Felsőgöd and Sződliget, which were born in the 20th century.

In a few felicitous cases, the written sources provide information on such natural and artificial circumstances which are impossible to find out by archaeological means. In the delimitations of Bernece, the adjacent woods of the Börzsöny Mountains, the orchards and ploughlands are situated in the same place where they were in the 18th-19th centuries. This list can be completed with vineyards, meadows, gardens and small woods from the descriptions of the repeated

divisions of the estates in Baráti, a neighbouring village which became part of Bernece in the Middle Ages. The only perceptible difference between the ancient and modern scenery is the lack of the assertings which had existed until the early Modern Age at the edge of the mountains. The distribution of the fields according to the method of cultivation has remained unchanged primarily on account of the natural surroundings, but the continuity of the settlements and the population has also had a role in this. Until the late 18th century, the two villages had also retained their settlement structure, which we can infer from the documentary sources.[28] The members of the Penci family ended their long-standing litigation between 1425 and 1433 by dividing their estates at (Nagy)penc into two parts.[29] Besides the mansion and the serfs' parcels, they also included among their estates the gardens, the infields and outfields, the meadows and the woods. Since the village had been deserted for some 150 years, none of the name of the parts of the estate have remained in use, although we known of them from a detailed description in a document. However, the system of the division and the course of delimitation lead us to conclude that the distribution of the various forms of cultivation was the same in the period at issue as it has been throughout the Modern Age. Besides the natural factors, this constancy can also be ascribed to the fact that the new settlers, who came to the area in the middle of the 18th century, put to good use the advantages of this cultivated landscape, although for a while deserted, area. In this case, the geographical identity in the Middle and Modern Ages overlapped the chronological discontinuity.

Winding up this brief settlement historical survey and the references to the history of the village boundaries, let us make a few summarizing statements:

To our present knowledge, a partial ethnic continuity that began before the Magyar Conquest can be presumed in the northern half of the areas at issue. Although this continuity was terminated by the assimilation of the Slavic population, this is believed to have left the genetic continuity unaffected.

In the area at issue, the network and system of settlements during the Árpádian Age was similar to that observed in increasing number in other parts of Hungary's present territory. Characteristic in this period were the small, densely set and rather short-lived settlements. In my opinion the evolution of the proper villages — with boundaries settled at an early period — in many places started as early as in the 11th century. Parallel with the prevalence of the village system, the whole settlement system also underwent a radical transformation. In most cases the falling into the background, or almost complete disappearance, of the dwelling-like small settlements did not bring about a breach: the main elements of the settlement network had survived into the new structure. The late medieval villages lived on within the earlier boundaries and retained their names. The ethnic composition of their population also remained unchanged — except, of course, for the few settlements where German people were settled. Nevertheless, 12 villages (i.e. one fifth of the total number of villages) fell victim to this period of transformation. The reason for this should be sought primarily in the natural geographic factors. Howewer, this assumption cannot be applied to all the cases (cf. the Mongol invasion, economic problems, internal conflicts).

Of the 49 settlements that had survived into the late Middle Ages, at least seven, but definitely not more than 10 became uninhabited before the Turkish occupation. This in other words means that the village system was viable and that the process of desertation during the 15th century was not as marked as the literature had described it earlier.

The wars during the Turkish period destroyed altogether 15 or 20 villages. These wars, which destroyed the settlement network and cut the number of villages by half, caused far less damage in the remote parts of the Börzsöny Mountains than in the area of Pest and Vác, which were much more exposed to the ravaging. Nevertheless, the latter settlements also retained their continuity in many respects. Although the genetic continuity of the population is not demonstrable (owing to the internal migration, which did not apply to the Börzsöny region), the Hungarian population had lived on, though reduced in numbers. The county that fled to the territory of the Hungarian crown, was working. The landowners, who also fled, had remained firm in their effort to enforce their rights. The possessory right of the Vác episcopacy and of a number of the secular landowners (including the heirs of the female line) had remained continuous. As a result of all these developments, the relics of the decayed villages and their territories have survived in oral tradition or in writing. This in turn made it possible for us to locate all the late medieval villages. However, this does not apply to the right bank of the Danube — to the area of Buda, Esztergom or Visegrád — where continuity was far less demonstrable (to say nothing of the inner parts of the area under Turkish occupation — e.g. SE Transdanubia).

Let us finally make mention of a methodical aspect of the localization of the medieval villages. Similarly to a number of other places, in the area at issue those villages which had been continuously inhabited during and after the Turkish period are situated in the same site where their 13th century predecessors stood. Their archaeological remnants should be sought in the heart of the present-day settlements. With due patience, the field surveys (wherever they are physically possible) and the observations made at the constructions and earthworks could provide finds which are identifiable with the historical sources. For this reason, special emphasis should be placed in these villages on the thorough examination of the historical village centre. In cases where there are no finds coming from the heart of the settlement one should in no way identify the site which offers finds contradictory to the written sources with the village and should likewise not range the site among the unlocatable ones. Those villages which had been abandoned over a longer period and were resettled in the 18th century were normally (in the districts of Szob and Vác exclusively) situated in a site different from the medieval one. Of the 33 medieval settlements in the districts of Szob and Vác, 21 is known to have had topographic continuity since the Árpádian Age. As a result of expansion of the built-up area of the Modern Age villages, the site of some of the decayed villages coincides with built-up areas (Felsőgöd, Penc, Ipolydamásd). However, this topographical coincidence should in no way be seen as a token of continuity.

NOTES

1 *I. Dinnyés — K. Kővári — J. Kvassay — Zs. Miklós — S. Tettamanti — I. Torma:* Pest megye régészeti topográfiája. A szobi és a váci járás (The archaeological topography of Pest County. The Szob and Vác districts). MRT XIII/2. Ed. I. Torma, in print.

2 *Zs. Miklós:* Einige Fragen der mittelalterlichen Siedlungsgeschichte im Spiegel der archäologischen Topographie. MittArchInst 14 (1985) 235—242.

3 The etymologies below come from: *L. Kiss:* Földrajzi nevek etimológiai szótára (Etymological dictionary of toponyms). Budapest 1978, and its revised and enlarged edition, Budapest 1988, vols 1—2.

4 *I. Bakács:* Hont vármegye Mohács előtt (Hont County prior to the battle of Mohács), Budapest 1971 89, 93.
5 *I. Kniezsa:* Magyarország népei a XI. században (The peoples of Hungary in the 11th century). In: Emlékkönyv Szent István király halálának 900. évfordulójára (Memorial volume to the 900th anniversary of the death of King Saint Stephen). Budapest 1938 379, 406; *Gy. Györffy:* Az Árpádkori Magyarország történeti földrajza (Historical geography of Hungary in the Árpádian Age) 3. Budapest 1987 155.
6 *K. Bakay:* Honfoglalás és államalapításkori temetők az Ipoly mentén (Cemeteries along the river Ipoly dating from the periods of the Conquest and the state's foundation). Szentendre 1978 185ff.
7 1373: vineyard called Sessel, vineyards at Vrgurpergh and Altinperg. In 1383, the names of the vineyards were: Mikelhunagrl, Indemhac, Fewffel. In 1578, one of the vineyards was called Grwnth (MRT XIII/2, site 20/18, with sources inditated.
8 1414: Fredericus hospes. 1497, 1499: Johannes Herneczel. 1499: Johannes Frydet (correctly Frydel), a family name that has survived up to the present day in Perőcsény, in the form of Fidel). Between 1570 and 1626: Henzer ~ Henzel, Bagner ~ Barnár ~ Bannár (MRT XIII/2, site 23/5).
9 In 1075, King Géza I donated the authority over goldsmith Hesku (who lived nearby the Nazal wood), his brothers and five plough-turns of land to the abbey at Garamszentbenedek (Cod. Dipl. vol I. 428). The word Naszály here refers to the hill of the same name. We can only presume that the goldsmith and his brothers lived in the village of the same name (site 31/47).
10 1075 (Cod. Dipl. vol I. 428).
11 1138: (Nagy)börzsöny (site 18/14), (Ipoly)damásd (site 9/6) and Kürt (within the territory of Vámosmikola, site 36/32), in the deed of gift of Dömös. 1156: Kemence (site 11/6).
12 Almás: 1280 (the predecessor of Zebegény, site 38/15), Bernece: 1245 (today Bernecebaráti, site 2/18), Csomád: 1219 (site 3/7), Csitár: 1276 (within the territory of Nagymaros, site 19/1), Csörög: 1295 (east of Vác, site 31/39), (Vác)duka: 1295 (site 33/3), Ganád: 1270 (within the territory of Nagybörzsöny, site 18/30), Hanta: 1276 (the predecessor of Kóspallag, site 15/8), (Duna)keszi: 1255 (site 5/18), Kovácsi: 1295 (within the territory of Szob, site 26/48), Letkés: 1261 (site 16/14), (Nagy)maros: 1257 (site 19/2), (Vámos)mikola: 1262 (site 17/3), Novák: 1252 (within the territory of Vámosmikola, site 36/6), Orsány: 1252 (within the territory of Perőcsény and Vámosmikola, sites 23/3 and 36/16), Perőcsény: 1254—1259 (site 23/5), Püspöki: 1219 (unlocated), Rád: 1300 (site 25/11), (Vác)rátót: 1219 (site 35/28), Ság: 1225 (one of the predecessors of Ipolytölgyes, site 10/15), Szob: 1268 (site 26/44), Sződ: 1255 (site 28/6), Tésa: 1221 (site 30/1).
13 Alag: 1328 (within the territory of Dunakeszi, site 5/17), Baráti: 1353 (today Bernecebaráti, site 2/13), (Vác)bottyán: 1376 (site 32/4), Cseke: 1376 (within the territory of Rád, site 25/47), Cső: 1389 (today Csővár, site 4/7), Dávidréve: 1386 (within the territory of Letkés, site 16/21), Fót: 1343 (site 8/8), Göd: 1317 (site 7/3), (Vác)hartyán: 1325 (site 34/23), Nemegy: 1334 (today Kisnémedi, site 13/7), Penc: 1358 (site 22/19), Sikátor: 1362 (within the territory of Fót, site 8/1), (Őr)szentmiklós: 1344 (site 21/34), Szokolya: 1381 (site 27/3), Szór: 1317—1320? (this datum can be applied to the village on the confines of Püspökszilágy only with strong reserve, site 24/9), Veresegyház: 1375 (site 37/29), (Nógrád)verőce: 1324 (site 20/18).
14 Cselőte: 1449 (within the territory of Kosd, site 14/21), Garlan: 1470 (within the territory of Püspökladány, site 24/28), Gyada: 1449 (within the territory of Vác, site 31/22), Ivacs: 1425 (within the territory of Veresegyház, site 37/2), Kosd: 1405 (site 14/5), (Püspök)szilágy: around 1480 (site 24/22), (Ipoly)tölgyes 1412 (site 10/19).
15 Kéménd: 1570 (within the territory of Kosd, site 14/34), Nevel: 1578 (within the territory of Sződ, site 28/22), Társa: 1559 (within the territory of Nógrádverőce, site 20/6).
16 Gány: 1612 (within the territory of Vác, site 31/35), Sügyi: 1701 (within the territory of Penc, site 22/5).
17 Bernece, Cseke, Cselőte, Csitár, Csörög, Ivacs, Kemence?, Kéménd, Kovácsi, Nevel, Orsány, Penc, Sügyi, Szokolya?, Vác (Hungarian town).
18 Bottyán, Duka, Gány, Garlan, Göd, Maros, Mikola, Perőcsény, Veresegyház.
19 Csomád, Damásd, Hanta, Kosd, Letkés, Nemegy, Rád, Rátót, Sikátor, Ság, Szilágy, Szob, Sződ, Tésa, Verőce.
20 Alag, Cső, Fót, Gyada, Hartyán, Keszi, Kürt, Naszály, Szentmiklós, Szór, Társa, Toronyalja, Tölgyes.
21 Dávidrév, within the territory of today's Letkés (site 16/21).
22 *K. Mesterházy:* Településásatás Veresegyház-Ivacson (Settlement excavation at Veresegyház-Ivacs). ComArchHung 1983 133ff.
23 *L. Makkai:* Pest megye története (History of Pest County). In: Pest megye műemlékei (Monuments of Pest County) I. Budapest 1958 65—66.

168

24 *L. Takács:* Határjelek, határjárás a feudális Magdyarországon (Boundary marks, delimitations in feudal Hungary). Budapest 1987 9.
25 Mon. Eccl. Strig. vol II. 154.
26 The delimitation of the two villages was completed in 1505: Esztergom Primatial Archives, Archivum Saeculare, Radicalia I—29.
27 *L. Horváth:* A Galga-mente történetének írott forrásai a török hódítás korából 1526—1686 (Written sources on the history of the Galga area during the Turkish period). Aszód 1981 48.
28 *F. Maksay:* A magyar falu középkori településrendje (The settlement system of the medieval Hungarian village). Budapest 1971 Fig. 28.
29 Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 271.

CAPTION

Fig. 1. The Szob and Vác districts

Gy. Kovács

16TH—18TH CENTURY HUNGARIAN POTTERY TYPES

The 16th—18th century pottery and metal finds have so far failed to attract wider professional interest, and quite often they are treated as parts of the early medieval (or other period) stray finds of secondary importance. However, these objects should deserve special attention (even if they are just stray finds) because they are vestiges of an era characterized by a chequered annals history, a variegated ethnic picture and a culture of mixed origins. All these aspects are accurately reflected by the surviving objects, which should also be seen as the origins of the material culture of the 19th and 20th centuries. From this latter point of view the fairly unknown types of the 18th century are of prime importance as they represent the transition, the link between the late Middle Ages (16th—17th centuries) and the Modern Age (here: 19th—20th centuries).

The aim of the present paper is to introduce the 16th—18th century pottery finds discovered during trial excavations at Törökszentmiklós and Törökkoppány (Fig. 1). On the basis of these objects, we wish to specify some of the pottery types characteristic of the period, and we also wish to contribute to the question of continuity and discontinuity. The comparison of the two assemblages was meant to highlight the regional differences between ceramic types, and through this we also wish to shed light on the different ethnic backgrounds.

Törökszentmiklós, which was called Balaszentmiklós in the Middle Ages, came under Turkish control after the fall of the Szolnok castle in 1552. During the Turkish occupation of Hungary, Törökszentmiklós became the centre of the Szentmiklós *nahije* of the Szolnok-based Turkish *sanjak,* and it was also the ''advenced fort'' of Szolnok. Having suffered countless attacks and takeovers, the castle of Törökszentmiklós was ruined and rebuilt several times, and after its recapture from the Turks in 1865 it fell into ultimate ruin in the first half of the 18th century.[1]

In 1982—83, trial excavations were conducted at the presumed site of the Turkish period palisaded castle of Törökszentmiklós. Trial trenches were opened at several spots; five trenches were dug in the garden of the Rózsa tér Catholic parish church alone.[2] There we hit upon the remnants of a palisaded wall and a section of a most, and also a number of pits which most probably belonged to the one-time castle. The objects discovered there can be dated to the 17th century, or most specifically to the second half of the 17th century. The ''miscellaneous'' finds uncovered during the digging of the trial trenches (pottery dating mainly from the 16th—18th centuries and a few 19th—20th century pieces) point to the regulation of the area sometime during the modern age.

Törökkoppány, which was known as Koppány in the Middle Ages, was occupied by the Turks in 1543, some ten years before the fall of Balaszentmiklós. The castle remained on Turkish hands until 1689. The settlement, which became the headquarters of the Koppány *sanjak* of the Turks in the early 1550s, was considerably fortified in the 16th—17th centuries on account of its geographical location and administrative significance.[3]

Our excavations in Törökkoppány took place in the summer of 1984. The aim of the excavations in the plot opposite to the 15th century Gothic Roman Catholic church of the village (the plot of the later post office) was to establish the location of the one-time Turkish bath and to recover its accidental remnants. The area has yielded the foundations of a modern age building and two medieval graves, and also a few unidentified objects which presumably included stones from the bath which we could not find. (The only find associable with the bath was a stretch of an open water conduit set with carved ashlars discovered in a neighbouring plot.[4]) Most of the objects brought to light from the trial trenches date from the 16th—18th centuries. Their more accurate dating was hardly possible, except for the wheel-turned pottery, where we could rely on written sources relating the settlement in the local *sanjak* of certain people from the Balkans.[5]

The Hungarian pottery constituted the majority of the finds at both sites. However, its proportion was much higher in the Törökszentmiklós assemblage than in the Törökkoppány one. Compared with the earlier pottery, the wares produced during the Turkish occupation of Hungary were more colourful, and their local development was influenced by a variety of external effects. There were a few pottery froms which occurred first in the second half of the 15th century but became common only in the 16th or 17th—18th centuries. An example for this is the three-legged pan type with handle, which had Western — or more specifically Austrian — precedents,[6] and fragments of which have come to light in both assemblages (Pl. 4.1, Pl. 6.3). The bowls and plates also became common forms during the 16th century, as the main forms where lead-glaze was applied.[7] One of the groups of the 17th—18th century bowls and plates will be discussed separately below on account of its associations in the Balkans. The other group, which was specifically Hungarian, was characterized by the decoration with birds or stylized flowers. The Törökszentmiklós site has yielded a few remarkable specimens of the bowls with red-green colouring against light background and decorated with acanthus leaves with dark brown contour (Pl. 1.10, Pl. 3.7, 9), and the same site also produced the fragment of a bowl decorated with bird figure (Pl. 3.10).[8]

The emergence of the floral ornaments in Hungary has taken up the attention of several researchers. O. Soproni[9] highlighted the Byzantine-Islamic and western influences and also the Italian archetypes. Gy. Domanovszky[10] stressed the Habanic, Turkish and Balkan influences. According to M. Kresz and O. Soproni,[11] the spread of the pottery decorated with incised floral ornaments was ascribable to Italian, Habanic and Turkish wares and also to the influence of other pieces of fine workmanship, like e.g. the ornaments on the contemporary furniture, the embroideries or the painted ceilings. Through their use as well decorations, the bowls and plates have become the most decorative and colourful group within the Hungarian (folk) potteries, and it was through them that the rich ornamentation spread to other pottery types. (As a matter of curiosity, let us quote here an ethnographical observation by M. Kresz. Having realized that in certain regions of the Balkans the suspension hole was missing even from the ornamented bowls, she noted that the hanging up of the bowls and plates on the wall was a specifically Hungarian practice.[12] This observation will be important at the analysis of the bowls associable with the southern Slavs of the Balkans, since some of the bowls there do have suspension holes, which thus indicates a Hungarian link).

Noteworthy among the glazed wares with incised decoration is the body fragment from a vessel (mug?) recovered at Törökszentmiklós. The exterior of this fragment is decorated with yellowish-white spiral motif against a red background (Pl. 1.8).[13] The decoration may perhaps be traced back to Byzantine precedents.[14]

The Törökszentmiklós assemblage also included narrow-necked jugs of white fabric and fragments from bellied unglazed pots and pots with glazed interior and brownish-red or red earth colour (Pl. 1.2, 5; Pl. 3.1—6, 8). In most cases the paint covers the shoulder and side of the vessels, but some of them also have their handle painted. This kind of painted pottery is known primarily from the central, northern and eastern parts of the country, but is was not typical of Transdanubia (the site at Törökkoppány has yielded no fragments of this type). The brownish-red or red earth colour has been common throughout Europe since the Middle Ages. Its use in Hungary on jugs and mugs started in the 13th century,[15] and later it was applied on other vessel types.[16] The variants of red earth colour were also used by the Hungarian folk potters during the modern age, and at some places this practice can demonstrably be traced back to medieval traditions (e.g. in the pottery of Rév).[17]

Both the Törökszentmiklós and the Törökkoppány assemblages included undecorated cooking pots with unglazed exterior and lead-glazed interior (Pl. 1.9; Pl. 2.2; Pl. 6.4). Let us note here that the wheel-turned unglazed pot type which was more common in the Törökkoppány assemblage will be discussed in detail in the paragraph on the pottery of the southern Slaves of the Balkans. Ethnographical researches have revealed that the modern age cooking pot demand of the Great Plain region was supplied primarily by the potter's centre at Gömör,[18] although we have data to prove that the potters of Rimaszombat were suppliers of the Great Plain population as early as under the Turkish occupation of Hungary.[19] This pottery trade was presumably flourishing prior to the Turkish rule, and its origins some researchers date back to the 13th century.[20] Later in time, Gömör pottery was sold in the region of Törökszentmiklós as well, and thus some of the pots found there (including, perhaps, the above-mentioned vessels of white fabric) may well be considered wares produced in Gömör.

Besides the Hungarian wares, both the Törökszentmiklós and the Törökkoppány assemblages have offered Turkish pottery types. These wares included various pedestalled bowls of red fabric, with self-coloured, flown or stained glaze, fragments from jugs with pouring lip, pipes and fragments from candlesticks — all of which are proofs for the settlement of the Turks in the area (Pl. I. 1, 3—4, 7; Pl. 2.1, 4; Pl. 1.1—13). The jugs with pouring lip have their precedents in Hungary,[21] but their general use can be expressly ascribed to the Turkish period.[22] The typical Turkish glazed jug disappeared at around the end of the 17th century, but a variant of the lean arched pouring lip survived in the production of the Mohács potters.[23] Moreover, the word "ibrik", which was the Turkish name for "pot",[24] also survived after a slight change of meaning. As opposed to the jugs with pouring lip, the pedestalled bowls were comletely alien to Hungarian pottery of the day: these bowls were introduced by the conquering Turks, and their use lasted only until the end of the Turkish occupation. As regards their form and decoration, the pedestalled bowls had remained practically unchanged over the centuries, and it is difficult to point out the chronological differences on the individual pieces. As regards the Hungarian late Turkish-period assemblage (including the Eger[25] as well as the Törökszentmiklós and Törökkoppány assemblages) it may perhaps be

presumed that the multiple partitioning of the cone-frustum-shaped base, the horizontally everted wide rim which is often decorated with incised zones of wavy lines, and the lacerated edge of the rim of some of the bowls was common primarily in the later periods, although a positive proof for this assumption would require a larger comparative sample.

The bowls with sgraffito decoration constitute a special group within the pedestalled bowls. These bowls occurred in a few Turkish settlements (forts) only, and there in diverse proportions. They were demonstrably in use in the 16th and early 17th centuries, and their geographical currency was determined primarily by commercial considerations. In all probability this explains the lack of this typically Turkish-period ware in both the Törökszentmiklós and the Törökkoppány assemblages.[26]

The above-named pottery types are undeniably relics of the Turkish culture in Hungary, or more specifically of the Hungarian Turkish culture which had its roots in the Balkans and was transmitted by the Turks and the Turkized southern Slavs. Besides this „classical" Turkish pottery, 16th—17th century Hungarian pottery also includes a peculiar group which research distinguishes from the Turkish wares and regards as legacy of the southern Slavs of the Balkans. For example this group includes the thick-walled baking bowls and baking bells (also known as ''publika'') which were made of coarse fabric and were rather roughly executed. The use of the baking bells has long been rather wide-spread in the Balkans,[27] and thus we have reasons to presume that it also became common (was reintroduced?[28]) by the people of the Balkans who arrived in Hungary during the Turkish period. Indicative of this are the baking bell fragments in Turkish period assemblages.[29] (In all probability the Törökkoppány fragments — Pl. 8.7—8. — also date from the period of Turkish occupation, at least this is indicated by the general composition of the assemblage). The baking bells had remained in use in the countries of the Balkan, and also in some places in Hungary, until the 19th—20th centuries.[30]

The wheel-turned, unglazed pots and jugs, most of which are brick-red in colour and often bear a stamp on the bottom are also associable with the southern Slavs of the Turkish period. These vessels are decorated with horizontally incised lines or zones of lines, rusticated ornaments, patterns impressed with cog-wheel or sigil, or stripe patterns. These wares were completely missing from the Törökszentmiklós assemblage, whereas they constituted the bulk of the Törökkoppány finds (Pl. 4.1—10; Pl. 10.1—5). These wares, which are similar to those used during the age of the Árpáds, occurred in large quantities in certain parts of the country, primarily in southern Transdanubia (Pécs, Szigetvár, Márévár, Törökkoppány, Ozora, Szekszárd-Palánk, etc.).[31] The fact that these places are neighbouring on Yugoslavia inevitable draw our attention to their parallels in Yugoslavia. The wheel-turned wares with linear decoration and occasional base-stamp occurred in the territory of Yugoslavia in the 8th century, and have survived to the present day. Literature mentions numberous finds of this type from the 9th—17th centuries.[32] Pots with base-stamp coeval with the Törökkoppány pieces are known from the excavation of a house in Belgrade, which was built in the second half of the 17th century.[33] Comparable wheel-turned wares with base-stamp were produced by potters in the Balkans as late as in the beginning of this century.[34] (Let us note here that a reliable version of the turning wheel had been in use in Hungary throughout the Middle Ages, notwithstanding that its use was common only in the age of the Árpáds.[35] Stray finds indicate its use in southern Transdanubia in the modern age.[36]

In view of the influx of the Turks and also other, mainly Moslem, peoples from the Balkans (Serbians, Bosnians, Croatians, Albanians, Wallachians, etc.), the settlement policy of the Turks which also affected the Christians and the major migrations of the Catholic Bosnians and the Eastern Catholic Serbians in the (late) 17th century[37] — all of which had a major influence on the situation in southern Transdanubia — we have no ground to identify a single ethnic group as transmitter of this pottery type. Consequently, one of the names used in Hungarian for this pottery type (Bosnian pottery) is indeed not accurate.[38] The use of this name can be considered justified inasmuch as most of the migrations that ended in Transdanubia had their origins in Bosnia, where the use of the turning wheel has long been a specifically marked practice.

The peculiar spread in Hungary of this pottery type is a question still awaiting solution.[39] One possible explanation is that the people who produced and used these wares found a better place to live in Transdanubia than in the Great Plain. However, one cannot leave out of consideration here the changaes in the economy and population in southern Transdanubia, which enabled and even incited the people from the Balkans to settle there. The analysis of the traces of the southern Slavs (mainly Serbs) in the southern parts of the Great Plain, and perhaps also the re-evaluation of the finds ascribed earlier to the age of the Árpáds could furnish further data for research.

It is fairly difficult to establish the chronology of the relics of the people of various origins and religion who arrived in Hungary from the Balkans. Research in Hungary has associated some 17th—18th century ornamental bowls with the southern Slavs who settled in Hungary in the (late) 17th century.[40] As we have seen earlier, these bowls were flat with thin rim, and were decorated with zones of wavy lines incised in the engobe, zones of parallel straight lines, curtain-like motifs or flown glazed sedgeleaf-shaped patterns. On the bowls decorated with the latter pattern, stripes of different colour radiate from the centre, where they merge into a marble-like patch. In his study on the 18th century pottery of Turkish character found at Szekszárd Gy. Mészáros[41] also dealt with this vessel type and ascribed it to the 17th—18th century southern Slavid population in Hungary (Buda, Eger, Visegrád, Mórágy, Szekszárd, etc.). The Budapest-Tabán assemblage, which also contains dated pieces, I. Gerelyes[42] associated with the Serbs who settled in the Tabán around the end of the 17th century.

Supporting the assumption that the origins of this bowl type should be sought in the Balkans is the fact that the geometric patterns used on them are still common on the Serbian, Bulgarian and Wallachian wares.[43] Nevertheless, the connection between the occurrence of this pottery type in Hungary and the arrival here of the southern Slav (Serbian) people who practiced the late Turkish traditions requires more comprehensive proofs. In the 18th century, this type of decoration was used not only by the southern Slav potters but also by craftsmen of other nationality. In Hungary, this decoration style had been preserved until the late 19th century by the Sárköz potters.[44]

These bowls with incised decoration or glazed "sedgeleaf" pattern are represented in small numbers in both the Törökkoppány and the Törökszentmiklós assemblages (Pl. 4.5—8; Pl. 8.1—2, 4, 6). They are more common in the Törökkoppány assemblage, while the pits at Törökszentmiklós have yielded no such bowls. This appears to indicate that the pits were filled up prior to the arrival there of this pottery type (and its transmitters). Accordingly, this observation dates the occurrence of this pottery type there to the (end of the) 17th century. However, it

is also possible that the late 17th century migrating people were kept away from Törökszentmiklós by the constant warfare in the area.[45]

Fragments from black-burnt jugs, which were the typical wares of the 16th—18th centuries, have come to light at both Törökszentmiklós and Törökkoppány. However, their presence in the two assemblages differs both quantitatively and qualitatively. The few Törökkoppány sherds come from light-grey levigated thin-walled vessels decorated with patterns impressed with cog-wheel or incised zones of wavy lines. Remarkable besides the body fragments is a small sherd from a straight pouring lip (Pl. 10.6—13.). Most of the numerous Törökszentmiklós sherds are dark black in colour. Characteristic of them is the big, wide strap-handle with a grooving or deep slot in the middle, the filtered neck and the geometric pattern on the body (Pl. 2.3, 5—6; Pl. 5.1—7). In our view this marked difference between the black potteries of the two sites can in no way be considered a mere contingency, notwithstanding that the scarcity of the finds prevents us from drawing further conclusions. However, in view of the composition of the assemblages, we associate the Törökkoppány sherds with the wares of the Turks and the southern Slavs of the Balkans,[46] whereas the Törökszentmiklós pieces were in all likelihood products of 17th—18th century Hungarian potters. The latter pieces anticipate the folk pottery of the Great Plain, where this decoration was especially typical.[47]

Scholars disagree as to the origins of the Hungarian black pottery. Many of them date the spread of the type in Hungary, if not the technology, to the period of Turkish occupation.[48] Through the mass influx of the southern Slavs, the style of the Hungarian black pottery could be markedly influenced by the Balkan type of black pottery. This is manifest especially in the jug forms.[49] In the modern age, the forms and ornaments of the Balkan wares were preserved primarily by the potters in the Mohács workshops, partly because they sold their wares in the Balkans in the 18th—19th centuries.[50]

The two assemblages described above could not offer clues to chronological questions, since the pottery types represented in them have primarily topographical values. The composition of the two assemblages is markedly different: the Törökkoppány assemblage is dominated by southern Slav elements, whereas in Törökszentmiklós the wares are markedly Hungarian. The differences in the pottery types can most probably be accounted for by the ethnic differences between the population (or less specifically the area or environment) of the two settlements. The analysis of the pottery types reveals that the wares of the Turkish period maintained their medieval traits until the 16th—17th centuries, but they also became more variegated owing to the external western and eastern influences. These wares also clearly anticipated the style of 19th—20th century folk pottery. In connection with the vessels of white fabric and red earth colour and the black wares we could also refer to the regional differences between the potteries of the 17th—19th centuries. The Turkish and southern Slav wares introduced new forms and styles during the period of Turkish occupation, and their occurrence had a positive effect on the development of the forms and ornaments. The characteristics of the late Turkish and southern Slav wares survived primarily on the works of the Sárköz and Mohács potters. Accounting for this were (at least in the 18th century) the partial ethnic continuity and the renewed inspiration from the Balkans.[51]

LITERATURE

Bajalović-Hadži-Pešić 1981   M. Bajalović-Hadži-Pešić: Keramika u srednojovekovnoj Srbiji. Beograd 1981.

Birtasević 1970   M. Birtasević: Srednjovekovna keramika. Beograd 1970.

Fehér 1959   G. Fehér: A pécsi Janus Pannonius Múzeum hódoltságkori török emlékei (Turkish remains of the Janus Pannonius Museum in Pécs.), PécsiMÉ 1959 103—150.

Fehér 1972   G. Fehér: Adatok Eger török agyagművességéhez (Contributions to Turkish pottery in Eger). EgriMÉ 10 (1972) 191—214.

Fodor—Kozák 1970—71   L. Fodor—K. Kozák: Leletegyüttesek a románkori székesegyház környékéről. Adatok az egri vár XVII—XVIII. századi kerámiájának történetéhez I. (Finds from the area of the Romanesque Period cathedral. Contributions to the history of the 17—18th century pottery of the Eger castle I). EgriMÉ 8—9 (1970—71) 147—199.

Gál 1985   É. Gál: XVII—XVIII. századi kerámialelet Hódmezővásárhelyről (17—18th century pottery find from Hódmezővásárhely). ActaAntSzeged 1985 79—105.

Gaál 1985   A. Gaál: Török palánkvárak a Buda-eszéki út Tolna megyei szakaszán. (Turkish palisade castles alongside the Tolna section of the Buda-Eszék road). StudiaAgr (1985) 185—197.

Gerő 1978   Gy. Gerő: Türkische Keramik in Ungarn. Einheimische und Importierte Waren. In: Fifth International Congress of Turkish Art, Budapest 1975. Budapest 1978 347—362.

Gerő 1985   Gy. Gerő: Die Frage der Keramik und des Ethnikums im türkischen Fundmaterial von Ungarn. Wissenschaftliche Arbeiten aus dem Burgenland 71 (1985) 195—200.

Gerelyes—Feld 1986   I. Gerelyes—I. Feld: Hódoltságkori leletegyüttesek az ozorai várkastélyból (Findgroups of the Ozora castle under the Turkish rule). ComArchHung 1986 161—182.

Hegyi 1976   K. Hegyi: Egy világbirodalom végvidékén (On the frontier of an Empire). Budapest 1976.

Holl 1956   I. Holl: Adatok a középkori magyar fazekasság munkamódszereihez (Contributions to the working methods of Hungarian medieval potters). BpR 17 (1956) 177—193.

Holl 1963   I. Holl: A magyar középkori kerámia kutatásának problémái (Problems of the research of Hungarian medieval pottery). Műveltség és Hagyomány 5 (1963) 65—86.

István 1964   B. J. István: Sárközi népi cserépedények (Folk clay vessels of the Sárköz). NéprÉrt 46 (1964) 91—137.

Kovács 1984   Gy. Kovács: Török kerámia Szolnokon (Turkish pottery in Szolnok). Szolnok Megyei Múzeumi Adattár 30—31. Szolnok 1984.

Kresz 1960   M. Kresz: Fazekas, korsós, tálas (Potter, jar-maker, dish-maker). Ethn 71 (1960) 197—379.

Kresz 1977   M. Kresz: A magyarországi fazekasság. (Hungarian pottery). Budapest 1977 (manuscript).

Lázár 1986   S. Lázár: Az egri vár törökkori magyar cserépedényei (Hungarian clay vessels of the Eger castle under the Turkish rule). Agria 22 (1986) 35—63.

Lükő 1939—40   G. Lükő: A debreceni fazekasipar emlékei a XVI—XVII. századból (Remains of the Debrecen pottery from the 16—17th centuries). DebreceniMÉ 1939—40 159—164.

Mészáros 1968   Gy. Mészáros: Szekszárd és környéke törökös díszítésű kerámiai emlékei (Pottery remains with Turkish elements from Szekszárd and its environment). Szekszárd 1968.

Popović 1956   C. Popović: Loncarstvo u. Bosni i Hercegovini I. Glasnik Zemaljskog Muzeja u Sarajevu 11 (1956) 95—122.

Rőmer 1966   B. Rőmer: A sütőharang a történelem előtti időktől napjainkig (The bakery bell from prehistory to our days). Ethn 77 (1966) 290—422.

Sarosácz 1972

Simić-Milovanović 1954

Soproni 1961

Soproni n. d.

Szabadfalvi 1986

Tomić 1966

Urosevics 1969

Velics—Kammerer

Gy. Sarosácz: A mohácsi kerámia és története (Pottery of Mohács and its history). Dunántúli Dolgozatok 6 (1972).

Z. Simić-Milovanović: Beograd kroz Muzejski Materijal. Godisnjak Muzeja grada Beograda 1 (1954) 1—44.

O. Soproni: Leadglazed Turkish and Hungarian Pottery from the Time of the Turkish Occupation of Hungary. Faenza 47 (1961) 26—31.

O. Soproni: A magyar művészi kerámia születése. A török hódoltság kerámiája (The birth of Hungarian artistic pottery. The pottery under the Turkish rule). Budapest n. d. [1981]

J. Szabadfalvi: A magyar feketekerámia (Hungarian black pottery). Budapest 1986.

P. Tomić: Narodna keramika u Jugoslaviji. Beograd 1966.

D. Urosevics: A magyarországi délszlávok története (The history of southern Slavs in Hungary). Budapest 1969.

A. Velics—E. Kammerer: Magyarországi török kincstári defterek I—II (Turkish treasury defters of Hungary I—II). Budapest 1886—1890.

NOTES

1 For a comprehensive summary of the Turkish period history of Törökszentmiklós and its castle: *S. Tóth:* Vázlatok Törökszentmiklós múltjából (Sketches from the past of Törökszentmiklós). Törökszentmiklós 1957 33—60; *I. Sugár:* Török végvárrendszer Északkelet-Magyarországon (Heves, Külső Szolnok, Borsod vármegyék és a Jászság) (The System of Turkish border castles in Northeastern Hungary (Heves, Outer Szolnok, Borsod Counties and the Jászság area). In: Magyar és török végvárak 1663—1684 (Hungarian and Turkish border castles 1663—1684). StudAgr 5 (1985); Balaszentmiklós, Szentmiklós in Turkish registers: *L. Győrffy:* Adatok az Alföld törökkori településtörténetéhez (Az 1571-es szolnoki török defter fordítása) (Data on the Turkish period settlement history of the Great Hungarian Plain (Translation of the Turkish defter of Szolnok of 1571). Szolnok 1956 23; *G. Ágoston:* A szolnoki szandzsák 1591—92. évi összeírása I (The 1591—92 registers of the *sanjak* of Szolnok I). Zounuk 3 (1988) 278—281; on the strength of the castle guards: *Velics—Kammerer* I 99—100, 130, 265; *Hegyi* 1976, 69. Speaking of the significance of the border castles and the related changes in the military strength, Hegyi stresses that (in the 16th century) the troops stationed at Szentmiklós numbered an average 200.

2 *Gy. Kovács:* Törökszentmiklós-Rózsa tér. Az 1982 év régészeti kutatásai (Archaeological excavations in 1982). RégFüz ser. I. 36 (1983) 125—126; Az 1983. év régészeti kutatásai (Archaeological excavations in 1983). RégFüz ser. I. 37 (1984) 130

3 On the emergence of the *sanjak* of Koppány: *E. Vass:* Törökkoppány 1556. évi első török adóösszeírása. Somogy megye múltjából (The first Turkish tax register of Törökkoppány of 1556. From the past of Somogy County). Levéltári Évkönyv, Kaposvár 1972 57—73; *L. Fekete—Gy. Káldy-Nagy:* Budai török számadáskönyvek 1550—1580 (Turkish account books of Buda 1550—1580). Budapest 1962 436; *Gy. Káldy-Nagy:* A budai szandzsák 1559. évi összeírása (The 1559 register of the *sanjak* of Buda). Budapest 1977 9, note 20. On the castle guards: *Velics—Kammer* I 86, II 235, 347, 388.

4 On the bath: *I. Karácson:* Evlia Cselebi török világutazó magyarországi utazásai 1660—1664 (Travels of the Turkish globe-trotter Evlia Celebi in Hungary 1660—1664). Budapest 1904 83; *Gy. Gerő:* Az oszmán-török építészet Magyarországon (Dzsámik, türbék, fürdők) (Osman-Turkish architecture in Hungary [djamis, turbes, baths]). Budapest 1980 122.

5 The Wallachians turned up in the Simontornya *sanjak* in 1578. They occupied seven farmlands: *G. Dávid:* A simontornyai szandzsák a 16. században (The Simontornya *sanjak* in the 16th century). Budapest 1982 67; the Wallachians appeared in the Koppány *sanjak* in the early 1580s. The 1581 register of the Wallachian villages in the Koppány *sanjak: Velics—Kammerer* I 331—333; on the immigration of southern Slavs in general: *L. Fenyvesi:* Az igali portya és a körmendi kótyavetye balkáni tanulságai. Adalékok a hódoltsági rác-vlah-iflák-vojnik problematikához, 1641 (The Balkan lessons of the plunder of Igal and the sale of Körmend (Data to the debate on the Serb-Wallachian-Vojnik problem during the Turkish occupation, 1641). In: Magyar és török végvárak 1663—1684 (Hungarian and Turkish border castles 1663—1684). StudAgr 5 (1985) 204; *Urosevics* 1969, 91—94; the 18th century data on the Serbs can in certain cases ascribe the potteries to the 18th century, cf. *L. Takács:* Határjelek, határjárás a feudális kor végén Magyarországon (Bordery marks, delimitations in late feudal Hungary). Budapest 1987 197—198, 203, etc.

6 *Holl* 1963 70, 80; *Fodor—Kozák* 1970—71 153.
7 *Holl* 1963 76—77; *Lázár* 1986 41.
8 A 16th—17th century bowl decorated with bird was published by *Lükő* 1939—40 161 and Fig. 2. A nice bowl with bird similar to the Törökszentmiklós piece is known from Belgrade. It is mentioned repeatedly in Yugoslav literature: as a 14th century bowl: *Simić—Milovanović* 1954 Figs 13 and 4; as a 15th century Italian ware: *Birtasević* 1970 Cat. 208 and Fig. 96; as a 16th century Hungarian bowl: *Bajalović—Hadži—Pešić* 1981, Fig. 160. In her summary, *Soproni* (n. d. 174—182) discusses at length the bird motif and also the bowl with bird, mentioning several Hungarian examples. She also treats the bowl at issue as a Hungarian product (179).
9 *Soproni* 1961 29; *Soproni* n. d. (1981), 193
10 *Gy. Domanovszky:* Régi fazekasság (Folk pottery). Budapest 1942, 7; *Idem:* Magyar népi kerámia (Hungarian folk pottery.) Budapest, 1968, 29
11 *Kresz* 1977, 363—364; *O. Soproni:* Régi magyar ólommázas kerámia (Ancient Hungarian leadglazed pottery.) IparÉ 3—4 (1959), 233—234; *Soproni* n. d. 193
12 *Kresz* 1977, 386
13 A small pan from Eger is decorated with a similar pattern. It is dated by its publisher to the 17th or early 18th century: *Lázár* 1986, 44 and Fig 12.2
14 Cf. *Ch.H. Morgan:* The Byzantine pottery. Corinth XI. Cambridge—Massachusetts 1942, 120; *Bajalović—Hadži—Pešić* 1981, 76—77, Pl. XXXI—XXXII and Fig. 55; *Boldizsár:* Bizánci és délitáliai kerámiák egyes magyarországi középkori lelőhelyekről (Byzantine and southern Italian potteries from medieval sites in Hungary.) SzegediMÉ 1987:1, 38—39 and Fig. 4
15 *Holl* 1963, 67
16 *Holl* 1956, Fig. 16; *K. Szabó:* Az alföldi magyar nép művelődéstörténeti emlékei (Kecskeméti th. város múzeumának ásatásai) (Cultur historical relics of the Hungarians of the Great Plain. Excavations by the Museum of Kecskemét). Budapest 1939, 107 and Figs. 489—492; *I. Gerelyes:* Előzetes jelentés a Békés-kastélyzugi törökkori palánkvár ásatásáról 1975—1978 (Preliminary report on the excavation of the Turkish period palisaded castle at Békés-Kastélyzug 1975—1978.) ArchÉrt 107 (1980), 110 and Fig. 9; *Gál* 1985, 86—87 and Pl. VII. 1—8, Pl. XIV. 1; *Lükő* 1939—40, 159—160 and Fig. 1.; *Fodor—Kozák* 1970—71, 147—148, 152, 155 and Figs. 2—6, 22—25; *Lázár* 1986, 41—43 and Fig. 5, 1—4, Fig. 8, 2—3, Fig. 10, 1, 2—3; *J. Kalmár:* The 15th century relics of the Fülek (Filakovo) castle. RégFüz Ser II. 4 (1959) 34; *J. Hosso:* Prehlad vyvoja stredovekej keramika na Slovensku. ArchHist 8 (1983) 224—225 and Figs 4—5; *Birtasević* 1970 Cat. 155—157, 187 and Figs 75—77; etc.
17 *Holl* 1963 71; *Kresz* 1960 310, 316; *Kresz* 1977 350—353.
18 *Kresz* 1960 304—306.
19 *Kresz* 1960 308. The 1661 account book of Nagykőrös repeatedly states that ''We have bought pots etc. from the people of Rimaszombat''.
20 *Kresz* 1960 315; cf. *Holl* 1956 192.
21 *Holl* 1963 71 and Fig. 6.
22 *Gy. Domanovszky:* Kiöntőcsöves edények és magyarországi elterjedésük (Vessels with pouring lip and their spread in Hungary). Ethn 51 (1940) 221.
23 *Sarosácz* 1972 Figs 72—74.
24 *S. Kakuk:* Les monuments de la dinanderie turque dans les langues balcaniques et le hongrois. ActaOrHung 19 (1966) 70; *S. Kakuk:* Cultural words from the Turkish occupation of Hungary. Studia Turco-Hungarica 4 (1977) 99—101.
25 *Fehér* 1972; *Fodor—Kozák* 1970—71.
26 Recent studies on sgraffito bowls: *Gerő* 1978 350; *Soproni* n.d. 43—60; Kovács 1984 20—31; *I. Gerelyes:* Adatok a sgraffito-díszes török kerámia keltezéséhez (Data on the dating of the Turkish pottery with sgraffito decoration). Keletkutatás 1986 autumn, 69—84; *Eadem:* Sgraffitodíszes török kerámia az ozorai várkastélyból (Sgraffito decorated Turkish pottery from the Ozora castle). FolArch 38 (1987), 247—261.
27 *Römer* 1966.
28 During the excavation of Árpádian Age villages several baking bell fragments have been brought to light, which proves the use of this vessel in the period. *J. Kovalovszky:* Ásatások Szarvas környéki Árpád-kori falvak helyén (Excavations in the area of the Árpádian Age villages near Szarvas). ArchÉrt 87 (1960) 37 and Pl. XII. 1—5; *Eadem:* Előzetes jelentés a dobozi Árpád-Kori faluásatásról 1962—1974 (Preliminary report on the excavation of the Árpádian Age village near Doboz 1962—2974). ArchÉrt 102 (1975) 209 and Fig. 5.1—10, Fig. 6.2. In the two works quoted above, the author also mentions other sherds coming from Árpádian Age sites: Tiszalök-Rázom, ibid. 1960, 37; Tiszavalk-Tetes, ibid. 1975, note 10.

29 *Fodor—Kozák* 1970—71 155 and Figs. 46—47; *Kovács* 1984 Pl. 34. I. Similarly to the Törökkoppány piece, the dating of the Szolnok baking bowl sherds to the Turkish period is only made probable by the assemblage (and its composition) coming from Szolnok-Tisza-part; *K. Magyar:* A középkori Segesd város és megye története (Egy királynéi központ a X—XVIII. században) (The history and archaeological excavation of the medieval town and county of Segesd [A queenly centre in the 10th—18th centuries]). Somogyi Almanach 45—49 (1988) Fig. 13.4.

30 *Rómer* 1966 400—410; *A. Onuzi:* Le métier domestique du travail de la poterie. EthnAlb 10 (1980) 145—146 and Figs. 5—11; *Popivić* 1956 P. I. 1 and 8; *Tomić* 1966 17 and Figs 1—2; *A. Magyar:* Déldalmácziai konyhák (Kitchens in Southern Dalmatia). NéprÉrt 14 (1913) 143—144; *Z. Szilády:* Erdély régi tűzhelyei (Ancient fireplaces in Transylvania). NéprÉrt 10 (1909) 7—9; On the origins and name of the object: *Zs. Bátky:* Tárgynévmagyarázások (Explanations of object names). Puplika. NéprÉrt 27 (1935) 16—17; *Zs. Bátky:* "Puplika" again. NéprÉrt 28 (1936) 113—117.

31 *Fehér* 1959 126—127; *N. Parádi:* Beszámoló a pécsi Tettyén 1957. évben végzett ásatásról (An account of the excavations conducted in Tettye, Pécs, in 1957). PécsiMÉ 1958 (1959) Pl. LXII. 18 and 132, Here the author also quotes the Nagykanizsa pieces; *Gerő* 1978 351 and Fig. 13; *Gerő* 1985 197—200; *M. G. Sándor:* Régészeti kutatások Márévárban (Archaeological excavations at Márévár). Magyar Művéd 1959—60 (1964) 126; *Gaál* 1985 189; *Gerelyes—Feld* 1986 165—177.

32 *Bajalović—Hadži—Pešić* 1981 41—50 and Figs. II—X; *Birtasević* 1970 29—41, 57—71 and Pl. II—XII, Figs 21—39; *Idem:* Srebna ostava u novca iz sela Ritopeka. Godisnjak Muzeja grada Beograda 4 (1957) 55—56; cf. also Note 33.

33 *G. Marjanović—Vujović:* Kuca iz druge polovine XVII. veka otkopana u utvrcebin oidgraću Beogradskog grada — Donjem Gradu. Godisnjak grada Beograda 20 (1973) 227, Pls. IV, VI

34 *Popović* 1956 96—99; *Idem:* Loncarstvo Bosne i Hercegovine II. Gimsar 12 (1957) 17—46; *P. Tomić:* O tipovima grncarskog kola u keramike u Srbiji. Glasnik Etnografskog Muzeja 22—23 (1960) 20; *Idem:* 1966 17—18 and Figs. 3—6; *Holl* 1956 182—186, 191 and literature cited in notes 5 and 11.

35 *Holl* 1956 189—191; *Idem* 1963 80; For example: *J. Kovalovszky:* Ásatások Csepelyen (Excavations at Csepely). VeszprémMK 8 (1969) Figs. 32—34; sherds of this kind have come to light from a house dated to the late 15th century, and from another early 16th century house.

36 *Kresz* 1977 207 cites a datum from Tolna County and refers to the female potters of Magyarhertelend, Baranya County (*I. Dankó:* A magyarhertelendi női fazekasság (The female potters of Magyarhertelend). PécsiMé 1967 (1968) 123—133; *Gy. Domanovszky:* A magyar nép díszítőművészete (The decorative art of Hungarian people) I—II. Budapest 1981 I. 199. According to the authors the knowledge of this relatively primitive pottery was inherited by the Magyarhertelend people from the southern Slavs of the Turkish period). According to Gy. Gerő's oral information, which I wish to thank hereby, there was a potter working in the early years of this century in Basal (near Szigetvár) who produced wares similar to those at issue but already on foot driven turning wheel. Here the effects of the southern Slavs can also be presumed.

37 Cf. Note 5, and also *Hegyi* 1976 182—184; on the major influx of the southern Slavs in the second half and end of the 17th century cf *L. Hadrovics:* A magyarországi szerb kérdés balkáni gyökerei (The Balkan roots of the Serbs in Hungary). Budapest 1942 36; *L. Nagy:* Rácok Budán és Pesten 1686—1703 (Serbs in Buda and Pest 1686—1703). TBM 13 (1959) 62; *I. Taba:* Baranya megye népessége a XVII. század végén (The late 17th century population of Baranya county). Pécs 1941 45—46. On the southern Slavs of the Great Plain: *S. Borovszky:* Egy alajbég telepítése. Adatok az Alföld XVII. századi történetéhez (The settlement of an *alai beg.* Contributions to the 17th century history of the Great Hungarian Plain). Budapest 1901; *Gy. Káldy—Nagy:* A gyulai szandzsák 1567 és 1579. évi összeírása. (The 1567 and 1579 registers of the *sanjak* of Gyula.) Békéscsaba 1982. 18; On the southern Slavs of Transdanubia: *A. Gaál:* A Dombóvár-békatói XVI—XVII. századi temető (The 16th—17th century cemetry at Dombóvár-Békató). SzekszárdiMÉ 1979—80 (1982) 133—223; *L. Hegedűs:* Tolna megye nyugati felének települései 1580—1704 (Settlements in the western half of Tolna county 1580—1704). Tanulmányok Tolna megye történetéből (Studies from the history of Tolna county) 19. Szekszárd 1979 5—103, etc.

38 The terms southern Slav or late Slav are used by *Gerelyes—Feld* 1986 177, Note 6; *Gerő* 1985 200.

39 *Urosevics* 1969 61, the author deals with the reasons behind the settlement of the southern Slavs in Bačka in the 17th century.

40 The pottery at issue was discussed by O. Soproni in several works: *O. Soproni:* Visegrádi folyatott mázas kerámia (Flown glazed pottery from Visegrád). MűvtörtTan 1956—58 (1960) 35—50; *Eadem* 1961 27—28 and Pl. XII; *Eadem* n. d. 87—116. On the occurrence of the pottery in the Great Plain cf. also *Kovács* 1984 34—35 and Fig. 33; *Gál* 1985 89 and Pl. XII. 5, Pl. XIII. 5; *Lázár* 1986 41—42 and Fig. 6.3—4. Latter author dates the Eger bowls to the second half of the 16th century or the early 17th century. This dating is too early.

41 *Mészáros* 1968 20.
42 *I. Gerelyes:* Adatok a tabáni török díszkerámia keletkezéséhez és etnikai hátteréhez (Contributions to the dating and ethnic background of the Turkish ornamental pottery from the Tabán). Fol-Arch 36 (1985) 238—240.
43 *Soproni* 1961 27; *Eadem* n.d. 105, 108 and Figs 23—24; *B. Slatîneanu:* Ceramica Romineasca. Bucuresti 1938 Pls. VI. c., XIV. a, XVI. b, XIX. a—b, XX. d; *B. Kencev:* Bolgarskoe keramičeskoe iskusstvo. Sofija 1947 12, 21; *G. Bakirdžijev:* Keramikata v Balgarija. Sofija 1956 118, 120, 125. *Tomić* 1966 20 refers to the fact that the pottery finds of W Bulgaria and of Pirot are rather similar.
44 *Mészáros* 1968 21—22; *István* 1964.
45 Slightly different from these sedgeleaf-decorated bowls with marbled centre is the sherd from a finely marbled glazed bowl that came to light from a mixed layer in the garden of the school in Törökszentmiklós (Pl. 4.4). Similar bowls are published by *I. Gerelyes:* Török kerámia a visegrádi Alsóvárból (Turkish pottery from the lower castle of Visegrád). CommArchHung 1987 175 and Fig. 3.3; it is dated to the second half of the 16th century (?) or the first half of the 17th century.
46 Cf. e.g. *Fehér* 1972 195 and Pl. X. 1—2; *I. Horváth—M. H. Kelemen—I. Torma:* MRT. Komárom megye régészeti topográfiája. Esztergom és a dorogi járás. (Archaeological topography of Komárom county. Esztergom and Dorog districts). Budapest 1979 428 and Pl. 54.6; *I. Dankó:* A gyulai fezekasság (The potters of Gyula). A Gyulai Erkel Ferenc Múz. kiadv. 48—49. Gyula 1963 7; *Gaál* 1985 Fig. 16; *Gerő* 1985 196 and Fig. 3; *Kovács* 1984 38—41 and Fig. 24; *G. Fehér:* Törökkori iparművészeti alkotások (Applied art under the Turkish rule). Budapest 1975, Figs. 25 and 68; *G. Fehér* 1959 124—1926; *Soproni* n. d. 17—33; *S. Nadj:* Tvrćava Bać. RadVojMuz 10 (1961) Pls. XI. 1, XII. 1; *Simić—Milovanović* 1954 17 and Fig. 7.
47 *A. Béres:* A nádudvari fekete kerámia (The black pottery of Nádudvar). Hajdú-BiharMÉ 6 (1965) 3—101; *Idem:* A Déri Múzeum nádudvari fekete edény gyűjteménye (The collection of black Nádudvar potteries in the Déri Museum). DebreceniMÉ 1965 (1966) 441—566; *M. Kresz:* Mezőtúr fazekassága 1813—1914 (The pottery of Mezőtúr 1813—1914). Budapest 1978 3; *J. Szabófalvi:* A magyar fekete kerámia és Kelet-európai kapcsolatai (The Hungarian black pottery and its East European relations). Műveltség és Hagyomány 1—2 (1960) 165—192; *Idem:* Die Schwarze Keramik in Ungarn und ihre Osteuropaischen Bezeihungen. ActaEthnHung 7 (1958) 387—428; *Idem:* Die Ornamentik der Ungarischen Schwarzkeramik. ActaEthnHung 9 (1960) 25—327.
48 A brief summary: *Szabadfalvi* 1986 9—10.
49 *Fehér* 1959 126; *Sarosácz* 1972 8—82; *Szabadfalvi* 1986 10.
50 *Sarosácz* 1972 32—33; 32—33; *István* 1964 114.
51 I wish to thank hereby the help of M. Kresz, I. Holl and I. Torma in writing this paper.

ILLUSTRATIONS

180

E. Bánffy

CULT AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT IN MIDDLE AND SOUTH-EAST EUROPE IN THE NEOLITHIC AND THE CALCOLITHIC

Contents

Introduction

Numerous studies have been published to date on the athropomorphic figurines, house models an other objects of cult associations, and in fact these finds have been ranked among the "interesting small finds" ever since the threshold of archaeology. And this is where one of the main difficulties lies for the present researcher: while the settlement phenomena and the coarse household vessels of the early-period excavations have been left unprocessed, quite often the ornamented wares and figurines were treated in the publications independently, out of their context and associations, or even as mere curiosities of art history.

In most cases the analysis of these objects was restricted to typological and art historical considerations, and the conslusions thus drawn the researcheres attempted to contrast to, or even reconcile with, the written accounts of the religious practices and divine images of the classic cultures.

Clearly, this method has its faults. Firstly, it leaves out of consideration the at least five hundred year hiatus between the end of the Chalcolithic and the late Middle Bronze Age. Secondly, it presumes that the images (we deliberately avoid using the word "developments" here) associated with religion, magic and superstition had remained fundamentally unchanged for centuries or even for millennia. *Based on* thorough, extensive and appropriately detailed culture-historical analyses (i. e. not just stylistic considerations), we can at best establish *relationships* between the prehistoric and historic religious images. Only on rare occasions can we substantiate identity between them, and still less between the "divine images" of the classical and the prehistoric peoples. Conclusions of this kind should

always rest on the comprehensive analysis of the objects and their archaeological associations. Logical and self-evident as this requirement may seem, to my knowledge no such analysis has been carried out as yet.

Since the term ''idol'' is used extensively in the present paper, I feel obliged to sum up the related problems herewith. On what grounds can we use the term ''idol'' to identify the figurines dating from the period between the Palaeolithic and the Late Chalcolithic? How can we make a distinction between the figurines dating from different phases of this period? What, after all, is the meaning of the term ''idol'', and is this usage justified?

Until recently, archaeological research had apparently remained unconcerned with these questions, so much so that quite often the two notions were blended into one under the umbrella term ''idol figurines''. This, clearly, is unacceptable, since the two terms come from two distinct conceptual spheres. ''Figurine'' means a three-dimensional, spatial piece of art, while the Greek original of the word ''idol'' ($\tau\grave{o}$ $\epsilon\check{\iota}\delta o\lambda o\nu$) means picture or image. (The a priori usage of the term ''divine image'' is incorrect, as this would be the tracing back of a conclusion to the original meaning.) In other words, not all the figurines can be considered idols on the theoretical level. Consequently, the term ''Idolplastik'' makes sense only if the word ''idol'' features as a qualifier.

However, we cannot say for certain that this distinction between the idol figurines and the figurines of other kind applies to the prehistoric period as well. The question whether there were also l'art pour l'art figurines is impossible to answer on the strength of the above-mentioned stylistic analyses. (The works of art whose prime objective is to elicit emotions and thought provoking is just of minor importance are peculiar primarily to the art of the 19th and 20th centuries.)

Accordingly, we have every ground to presume that, irrespective of their material or quality of execution, the prehistoric figurines always carried a kind of concrete meaning, that they were the representations of persons or objects, and that this meaning was as a rule clear and unequivocal for both the maker and his cultural environment. And yet, as I have already suggested above, this presumption should in no way lead us to conclude that the figurines at issue were necessarily depictions of divine figures, taken in either the classical or the dogmatic sense.

Approaching the issue theoretically, we can thus establish that the pre-Chalcolithic figurines and cult objects all had a denotational content which the contemporary people could easily construe, and also that this ''meaning'' was extraneous to (or, to put it more guardedly, was not identical with) the rational observations. I set as the task of the present paper to examine whether the cult life of the Neolithic and Chalcolithic people of SE Europe was ''super'-natural, it existed ''alongside'' nature, or it formed an integral part of nature. This task I wished to accomplish by attempting to build a bridge between the hypotheses rooted in the archaeological finds and those based on the theoretical history of religion.

In compiling my paper, I focussed my attention on the sufficiently examined archaeological assemblages, and relied only secondarily on art historical and typological considerations (let me stress here that none of these three approaches can be considered expedient *in itself*). My prime goal was to find out whether it is possible to establish any kind of relationship between the type, the naturalistic or abstract qualities, or the intact or fragmentary state of a given cult object and the location — and circumstances of its discovery, and also the occasional accompanying finds. I also raise the question whether the function of these depictions can be considered uniform.

The consequential positive and negative results I compare with the relevant findings of some noted experts of religious history and comparative ethnography in order to let the concordant and divergent points in the two approaches mutually prove the justness and eventual shortcomings of the partial conclusions.

1. Observations on the collection of research material

I wound up collecting objects for the present research in early 1986. To facilitate the handling of the data, I ranged the objects according to geographical, and subordinately chronological, considerations. Consequently, I collected anthropomorph figurines ("idols") with archaeological context from among the published finds uncovered in Germany (both East and West), Austria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, the Ukraine and the Moldavian part of the Soviet Union, Romania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Albania, Greece (primarily the mainland and the Cycladaes), the Anatolian part of Turkey and certain Middle Eastern sites, and dating from the years between the Early Neolithic and the period of transition from the Chalcolithic to the Bronze Age. Also, I collected anthropomorph vessels, house models, "altarpieces" and miniature pieces of furniture irrespective of their archaeological context.

I wish to emphasize that the collected material was meant to support my arguments set forth in the text. For this reason I did not seek after strict geographical or chronological boundaries, and I was not aiming at completeness by absolute standards either. In view of the large quantities of unpublished finds, any such attempt would no wonder be doomed to failure. For example, this is why Albania crops up in the chapter on "Altarpieces" only, and the recently discovered major find of Nahal Hemar (Israel) is mentioned only by way of example for the idols associable with burials.

As regards chronological considerations, I must begin by stating that the description of the religious life of the Palaeolithic people falls far beyond the scope of the present paper. For this reason, I collected finds exclusively from the period between the Early Neolithic and the Late Chalcolithic-Early Bronze Age. In my opinion the subsequent period introduced radical changes in both the "cultic" and the "profane" material cultures, and thus the period of transition from the Late Chalcolithic to the Early Bronze Age may well be considered the beginning of a new era.

Let me also state here that while the individual finds I discuss in chronological sequence, their dating to specific periods ("Early Neolithic", "Late Neolithic/Chalcolithic", etc.) was meant primarily to facilitate the guidance of the reader. Having made this clear, I believe that the adherents of the other chronological approaches will not mistake my datings for firm chronological conclusions. While for example the age of the linear pattern potteries is identified as Early Neolithic in Austria (for the lack of the Starčevo culture there) and Middle Neolithic in Hungary, the cultures dated to the Late Neolithic in Hungary are considered

Chalcolithic to the southwest of this country. Similarly, the Thessalian and Anatolian cultures contemporaneous with the Baden culture are considered Early Helladic there. The chronology below lists the cultures mentioned in the material collected up:

Early Neolithic:
— Körös (Hungary)
— Szatmár Group II (Hungary)
— Criş (Romania)
— Lepenski Vir (Yugoslavia)
— Karanovo I (Bulgaria)
— Groups coeval with Karanovo I
  (Čavdar—Kremikovci—Pernik—Galabnik) (Bulgaria)
— Karanovo II (Bulgaria)
— Macedonian and Pelagonian Early Neolithic (Anza I)
  (Yugoslavia)
— Protosesklo (Greece)
— Khaironeia-type finds (Greece)
— Praesesklo (Greece)
— 'Çatal Hüyük'' (Turkey)
— Hacilar (Turkey)

Middle Neolithic:
— Central European linear pottery (East and West parts of Germany, Austria,
  Czechoslovakia)
— Transdanubian linear pottery (DVK) (Hungary)
— Transdanubian LP-Zseliz group (Hungary, Czechoslovakia)
— Alföld linear pottery (Hungary)
— Szakálhát group (Hungary, Romania)
— Vinča—Tordos (Yugoslavia, Romania)
— Boian (Romania)
— Dudeşti (Romania)
— Vadastra (Romania)
— Hamangia (Romania)
— Anza—Vršnik-retarded Starčevo (Anza IV) (Yugoslavia)
— Karanovo III (Bulgaria)
— Karanovo IV (Bulgaria)
— Gradešnica (Bulgaria)
— Sesklo (Greece)

Late Neolithic:
— Lengyel (Austria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary)
— Lengyel-Moravian painted (Austria, Czechoslovakia)
— Tisza (Hungary, Czechoslovakia)
— Herpály (Hungary)
— Gorzsa group (Hungary)
— Tripolje, early period (Soviet Union)
— Stoicani-Aldeni (Romania)
— Praecucuteni (Romania)
— Cucuteni A, early AB (Romania)

— Petreşti (Romania)
— Vinča—Pločnik (Yugoslavia)
— Butmir (Yugoslavia)
— Karanovo V (Bulgaria)
— Karanovo VI, early period (Bulgaria)
— Gumelniţa, early period (Romania, Bulgaria)
— Poljanica, early period (Bulgaria)
— Gradešnica (Bulgaria)
— Varna, early period (Bulgaria)
— Tsangli (Greece)
— Arapi (Greece)
— Classic Dimini (Otzaki A) (Greece)
— ''Larisa'' (Greece)

Early and Middle Chalcolithic:
— Tiszapolgár (Hungary, Czechoslovakia)
— Bodrogkeresztúr (Hungary, Czechoslovakia)
— Balaton-Lasinja (Hungary)
— Tripolje, late period (Soviet Union)
— Cucuteni, late AB, B, C (Romania)
— Karanovo VI, late period (Bulgaria)
— Krivodol-Salcuţa (Romania, Bulgaria)
— Cernavoda I (Romania)
— Gorodsk-Usatovo (Soviet Union, Romania)
— End of Classic Dimini (Otzaki B, C) (Greece)
— Rachmani I (Greece)
— Beyçesultan XVII (Turkey)

Late Chalcolithic—Early Bronze Age:
— Boleraz group (Czechoslovakia, Hungary)
— Baden (Czechoslovakia, Austria, Hungary, Yugoslavia)
— Cernavoda III (Romania)
— Coţofeni (Romania)
— Rachmani II—III (Greece)
— Protohelladic (Greece)
— Protocycladic (Greece)
— Early Helladic (Turkey, Greece)
— Early Cycladic (Greece)
— Yortan-Troy I (Turkey)

1.1 Nature and Quantitative Distribution of the Finds

Before embarking upon the analysis and interpretation of the finds, I feel it necessary to clarify how the objects at issue divide into groups, at which sites were they abundant or scarce, to what extent did this abundance/scarcity reflect the actual archaeological potential of the given sites, or else the intensity of research.

The Early Neolithic sites of the Körös-Starčevo-Criş cultures are rich in figurines, notwithstanding that their geographical distribution is far from uniform. Characteristic of these sites are the pillar-headed *(Kutzián 1944, 1947)* and

steatopygeous types *(Kutzián 1944, 1947, Karmanski 1968a, 1968b, 1977, 1979)*, and quite often these marks occur together on the same idol *(Raczky 1979—80)*. If we add to this culture complex the related Karanovo I—II cultures, we find that the number of the "altarpiece" fragments becomes remarkably high *(Radunčeva 1976b, Kančev 1973, Jungsteinzeit in Bulgarien 1982, Georgiev 1961)*. Also typical of the Early neolithic period of South-East Europe is the small-sized anthropomorphic vessel *(Georgiev 1981, Kutzián 1944, 1947, Gazdapusztai 1957, Kalicz 1970)*. As regards house models, so far only one such object has been brought to light *(Trogmayer 1966)*. The likewise related Protosesklo and Praesesklo cultures have also yielded numerous idols. Besides a few idols of the pillar-headed type, these cultures have offered relatively less of the types exhibiting steatopyg sings, but more of the "coffee-beans", which were prevalent exclusively in Macedonia and Thessalia *(Rodden 1964, Milojčić-Zumbusch 1971, Nandris 1971)*.

The Early Neolithic finds coming from the Anatolian sites of Çatal Hüyük and Hacilar must be considered singular phenomena, notwithstanding that recent research has brought to light Hacilar-type objects at other sites as well. Nevertheless, it remains a fact that the establishment of relation of the exceptionally rich assemblages offered by these two sites to the objects characterizing this historic period in general will require further thorough research *(Todd 1980)*.

In the Middle Neolithic the finds had remained abundant within the linear pottery circle, although their distribution was relative and rather uneven. Each of the (mainly Western) sites has offered numerous idols. The depictions on these idols are more realistic and quite often they carry incised decorations *(Höckmann 1965, 1968, Pavlù 1966, Kaufmann 1976)*. By the end of the period, this abundance had increasingly become characteristic of the anthropomorphic vessels, whose size often exceeded that of the Early Neolithic vessels. The sites of the Szakálhát group have offered huge human-faced tankards *(Csallány 1939, Goldman 1984)*, and sherds from at least ten times as many anthropomorphic vessels as (schematically executed) idols *(Kalicz—Makkay 1977, Goldman 1984, Bánffy 1985)*.

To the East and South-East of Hungary, there are remarkably rich Middle Neolithic sites we know of in Yugoslavia, Romania (Transylvania and the Banat) and Bulgaria. Outstanding among these are the figurines of the Hamangia culture, which to my mind remain inexplicably sublime and whose artistic qualities far exceed those of the products of the neighbouring cultures *(Berciu 1966)*. I also consider it noteworthy that almost all these idols were grave-goods (I come back to this in the evaluation).

While a number of the figurines assigned to the Sesklo culture can rightly be termed as sculptures on account of their fine and unique execution, this culture has also offered numerous sherds from primitive and poorly baked vessels produced for "domestic use" only *(Theokharis 1973, 1981, Papathanassopoulos 1981, Khourmosiadis 1974)*.

The Late Neolithic period then introduced significant changes to the more or less homogeneous picture drawn up above. The number of figurines turned out by the successors of the Central European linear pattern peoples began to dwindle. The sites of the East Lengyel and Moravian painted pottery cultures have yielded less idols, nothwithstanding that these sites abounded with other cultic objects (house models, "lamps", "altarpieces") and cultic phenomena. At the same time, numerous idols are known to have been recovered in the Western areas of

the Lengyel culture. This Late Neolithic polarization is especially conspicuous in the case of the neighbouring Tisza and Vinča cultures. While the Vinča culture has offered large quantities of figurines (a single house there could yield dozens of them), the Tisza culture — which in fact was engaged in brisk barter with its neighbours in the South, as is proved by the imported wares in both areas — yielded hardly any such finds. The few objects coming from the area and dated to the Late Neolithic appear to be non-series products *(Bánffy 1986c)*.

The abundance of cultic objects in the Cucuteni, Tripolje, Gumelniţa and Karanovo VI cultures is comparable only with that in the Vinča culture. On the strength of the archaeological material coming from these sites, we can assume that, in terms of both quality and quantity, the idols, anthropomorphic vessels, house models and miniature pieces of furniture represented the zenith of the cultic life of the Neolithic-Chalcolithic agrarian cultures. Consequently, the number of idols with sufficiently observed and recorded circumstances of discovery was relatively higher at these sites, which have yielded a large proportion of the catalogued finds.

The Tiszapolgár culture, which succeeded the Tisza, Herpály and Csőszhalom cultures in Hungary in the Early and Middle Chalcolithic, brought the inherited traditions to perfection, and the same applied to the subsequent Bodrogkeresztúr culture. The number of idols dating from this period decreased to the minimum, and the other objects of presumed cultic use were also scarce *(Kalicz 1979—80)*. The cultic life of the period is known to the researchers primarily from the *phenomena* (like e.g. the burials with grave-goods, foundation offerings, cultic sites). This conclusion also applies to the Balaton-Lasinja culture, which succeeded the Lengyel culture in Transdanubia and Slovenia, and which most probably was an offshoot of the Lengyel culture similarly to the transformation of the Tisza culture into the Tiszapolgár culture *(Kalicz 1969, 1969—70, Bánffy 1985b, 1987)*.

Simultaneously with these negative developments, the period witnessed the occurrence of gold objects, most probably in the form of stylized anthropomorphic pierced pendants. The few such horizons we know of in the Eastern and Western parts of the Carpathian Basin were presumably related to the South-East European goldsmith's craft, which in turn relied on the iron ore of Transylvania. Since this question has come to the forefront of research recently, I would rather omit here the survey of the various views. (On the assemblages coming from Romania and from the cemetery near Varna in Bulgaria: *Makkay 1978, Weisshaar 1982, Ivanov 1972, 1978)*. Since the gold objects have come to light either in depots or in burials, we have every ground to presume that they were re-melted. The catalogue lists the anthropomorphic gold pendants published as grave-goods of the Tiszapolgár and Bodrogkeresztúr cultures *(Patay 1943, 1958, 1975, 1979)*.

This drastic drop in the number of cultic objects dating from the Early and Middle Chalcolithic applies to the whole of South-East Europe. The stylistic marks of the idols published from the Transcarpathian territories also manifest a marked decline as compared with the figurines of the preceding period *(Hauptmann 1967)*. The early-period "kurgan"-waves left behind only a few poorly executed pieces, some of which were decorated with impressed cord ornament *(Gimbutas 1956, Masson—Merpert—Munčajev—Cerniš 1982)*.

The decline in the quantity of cultic objects which marked the Early and Middle Chalcolithic was followed by an upward trend in the beginning of the Late Chalcolithic (although this upswing did not compare to that of the Late Neolithic period). The horizon of the Crnobuki—Šuplevec—Bakarno Gumno—Maliq IIa

—Rachmani groups and cultures (which was contemporaneous with the Hunyadihalom and Salcuta IV cultures) introduced the unusual, headless idols throughout SE Europe. These figurines had a hollow in place of the neck, in which the head of the idol could be inserted. Quite often these idols were accompanied by more than one such head *(Dumitrescu, V. 1960, Weisshaar 1977, Raczky 1982)*.

These headless idols were fairly common in the Baden culture *(Kalicz 1981)*, where a rare, schematic, and presumably headed type also existed *(Novotny 1981)*.

The last remarkable type dating from the Late Chalcolithic is the human-faced urn, which occurred first during the heyday of the Baden culture. To date, such vessels have come to light in three inhumation burials at Ózd-Center *(Kalicz 1963, 1970)*, and most recently at the nearby Včelince (Méhi) and Gömör, respectively (the finds from the latter site are unpublished as yet). The site at Méhi has also yielded a small-sized idol with stylistic marks similar to those of the urns *(Kovács 1985)*. To all appearances it is justified to trace the remote relationship of these finds with the human-faced vessels recovered at Troy I—II *(Kalicz 1963)*, nothwithstanding that no find has come to light in South-East Europe so far which could be considered a link between the two geographically remote areas.

In the postbloom period of the Baden culture in the area between Anatolia and Southern Germany the cultic objects ceased to be abundant in Europe. With the exception of the two ''islands'' of the Early Bronze Age Vučedol culture and the Cycladic culture, the idol figurines practically disappeared, and the cultic life which required the figurines, anthropomorphic vessels, house models and ''altarpieces'' was replaced by totally different rites. The causes of these changes, as well as the Late Middle Bronze Age ''revival'' which was reminiscent of the Vučedol and Cycladic cultures, are questions which fall beyond the scope of the present paper.

Distribution of finds according to the circumstances of discovery
Among the estimated 1300 cultic objects collected up, 103 pieces were published as finds originating from so-called ''sanctuaries'': 94 figurines, 3 anthropomorphic vessels and 6 ''altarpieces''. They come from the following sites: Sabatinovka II. (figurines), Lepenski Vir (figurines), Smederevska Palanka/Medvednjak (figurines), Dolnoslav (figurines), Nea Nikomedeia (figurines), Çatal Hüyük (figurines), Beyçesultan XVII (figurines), Tell es-Sawwan (figurines), Nea Nikomedeia (anthropomorphic vessels), Kusura (''altarpieces''), Beyçesultan XVII, XVI, XV, XIV (''altarpieces'').

Similarly, 73 finds were said to have come from inside houses that can be reconstructed as cult corner accessories: 68 figurines, 1 house model, 1 anthropomorphic vessel and 3 ''altarpieces'' or small pieces of furniture. They were found in the following sites: Szolnok—Szanda—Tenyősziget (figurine), Gorzsa-Cukormajor (figurine), Tirpeşti (figurines), Jakovo (figurines), Ovčarovo (figurines), Khaironeia (figurines), Farsala (figurines), Saliagos (figurines), Hacilar (figurines), Szegvár-Tűzköves (anthropomorphic vessel), Cascioarele (house model), Razgrad (''altarpiece''), Vinica (''altarpiece''), Farsala (''altarpiece'').

Forty-three cultic finds could be observed in the vicinity of fireplaces inside dwelling houses: 37 figurines, 1 house model, 5 ''altarpieces'' coming from the sites Tiszadada-Kálvinháza (figurine), Sabatinovka II. (figurines), Franchthi-cave (figurines), Akhilleion (figurines), Platia Magula Zarkou (figurines), Beyçesultan

XVII (figurines), Platia Magula Zarkou (house model), Lepenski Vir (''altarpiece''), Hódmezővásárhely-Kökénydomb (''altarpieces'').

Ritual objects occurring inside houses are more numerous: 205; including 154 figurines, 8 anthropomorphic vessels, 27 house models and 16 ''altars'' or miniature pieces of furniture. The sites are as follows: Szolnok—Szanda—Tenyő-sziget (figurine), Sonkád (figurines), Bicske-Galagonyás (figurines), Miskolc-engine house (figurine), Tiszadada-Kálvinháza (figurine), Tiszavasvári-Paptelekhát (figurine), Zengővárkony (figurine), Szemely (figurine), Lébő (figurine), Gorzsa-Cukormajor (figurine), Kolomijshcina (figurines), Cernica (figurines), Tirpeşti (figurines), Unirea (figurines), Lepenski Vir (figurines), Selevac (figurine), Butmir (figurine), Smederevska Palanka/Medvednjak (figurine), Jakovo (figurines), Valač (figurine), Vučedol (figurine), Karanovo (figurine), Vinica (figurines), Servia (figurine), Itzaki Magula (figurine), Khaironeia (figurine), Lerna (figurine), Farsala (figurines), Akhilleion (figurines), Paradimi (figurine), Platia Magula Zarkou (figurines), Tsangli (figurines), Rachmani (figurines), Pevkakja Magula (figurines), Saliagos (figurines), Kephala-Keos/Ayia Irini (figurine), Hacilar (figurines), Tell es-Sawwan (figurines), Sonkád (anthropomorphic vessel), Battonya-Gödrösök (anthropomorphic vessel), Čavdar (anthropomorphic vessel), Öcsöd-Kováshalom (house model), Izvoarele (house model), Cascioarele (house models), Porodin (house models), Bereketska Mogila (house model), Gradešnica (house models), Ruse (house models), Vinica (house models), Asmaška Mogila (house models), Veliko Tarnovo (house model), Stara Zagora, Mineralskaja Banja (house model), Platia Magula Zarkou (house model), Hódmezővásárhely-Kökénydomb (''altarpieces''), Lepenski Vir (''altarpieces''), Razgrad (''altarpiece''), Vinica (''altarpiece''), Farsala (''altarpiece'').

From pits belonging to dwelling houses 72 cultic objects have been collected up: 49 figurines, 11 anthropomorphic vessels, 9 fragments of house models and 3 ''altars'' or pieces of miniature furniture. Their provenances are as follows: Hluboké Masúfky (figurine), Oborin (figurine), Šarovce-Makóczadomb (figurine), Endrőd-Szujókereszt (figurines), Méhtelek-Nádas (figurines), Tiszacsege-Homokgödör (figurine), Ebes-Agyaggödör (figurine), Hajdúszoboszló-Téglagyár (figurine), Tököl (figurines), Butmir (figurines), Jaša Tepe (figurine), Otzaki Magula (figurines), Saliagos (figurine), Kephala-Keos/Ayia Irini (figurines), Zauschwitz (antropomorphic vessel), Erfurt (anthropomorphic vessel), Močovice (anthropomorphic vessel), Patince (anthropomorphic vessel), Čifer-Pać (anthropomorphic vessel), Méhtelek-Nádas (anthropomorphic vessel), Kustánszeg-Lisztessarok (anthropomorphic vessel), Berettyószentmárton-Morotva (anthropomorphic vessel), Csanytelek-Halastó (anthropomorphic vessel), Röszke-Lúdvár (house model), Aszód-Papi földek (house models), Popudnia (house models), Vadastra II. (house model), Zelenikovo (house model), Ujezd-Zadlovice (''altarpiece''), Öcsöd-Kováshalom (''altarpieces''), Aba-Felsőszentiván-Ángyihegy (''altarpiece'').

There are 33 cultic objects from ritual pits, so-called bothroi; 32 figurines and one miniature piece of furniture, coming from the sites: Čičarovce (Csicser) (figurine), Velké Lomnic (Nagylomnic) (figurine), Šarovce-Makóczadomb (figurine), Endrőd-Szujókereszt (figurines), Tartaria (Alsótatárlaka) (figurines), Cernica (figurine), Cernavoda (figurine), Nedea-Ghelaesti (figurines), Bubanj (figurine), Žitkovac (figurine), Elateia (figurines), Ain Ghazal (figurines), Žitkovac (''altarpieces'').

117 pieces were registered as found in graves: 100 figurines, 15 anthropomorphic vessels and 2 ''altarpieces'', from the sites Velké Raskovce (Nagyráska)

(figurines), Vcelince (Méhi)-Feketesár (figurines), Zengővárkony (figurines), Bakonycsernye (figurine), Magyartés (figurines), Tiszavalk-Tetes (figurine), Magyarhomorog (figurines), Vihvatinski (figurine), Karatepe (figurine), Ul/Maikop (figurines), Cernavoda (figurines), Folteşti-Stoicani (figurine), Lepenski Vir (figurines), Khaironeia (figurines), Platia Magula Zarkou (figurines), Kephala Keos/Ayia Irini (figurine), Hacilar (figurines), Alaca Hüyük (figurines), Yortan (figurines), Horoztepe (figurines), Karataş-Semeyük (figurines), Tell ໐-Sawwan (figurines), Halle-Trotha (anthropomorphic vessel), Včelince (Méhi)-Feketesár (anthropomorphic vessels), Center (anthropomorphic vessels), Dodeşti (anthropomorphic vessels), Birlaiesti-Stantia (anthropomorphic vessels), Sárpilis-Újberekpuszta ("altarpiece"), Cheile Aiudului ("altarpiece").

There are also 20 cultic finds (17 figurines and 3 anthropomorphic vessels) that occurred in cemeteries but did not belong to any graves. They mostly came to light in sacrificial places, possibly being burial or subsequent sacrifices. The sites are the following: Mórágy-Tűzkődomb (figurine), Nalčik (figurine), Usatovo (figurine), Cernavoda (figurine), Vinica (figurine), Souphli Magula (figurine), Kephala Keos/Ayia Irini (figurine), Ain Ghazal (figurines), Nahal Hemar (figurines), Svodin (anthropomorphic vessel), Lužianky (anthropomorphic vessel).

Assemblages regarded as construction offerings

Austria
∗ Poigen.   Early Lengyel culture
A pit associable with the settlement has yielded four human skulls and the antler of a stag
Berg 1956 70—76

Czechoslovakia
∗ Brudek (Snéhotice).   Moravian painted culture
A dwelling pit has yielded two human skeletons, a skeleton of a dog and a few painted wares
Koštuřik 1972 23—25
∗ Cezavý (Blučina).   Moravian painted culture
One of the pits at the settlement included a fireplace with four human skulls and a number of human bones on it
Koštuřik 1972 23—25
∗ Unicov.   Moravian painted culture
A pit at the site has yielded human bones
Koštuřik 1972 23—25
∗ Hluboké Masůfky.   Moravian painted culture
A pit at the site has yielded human bones
Koštuřik 1972 23—25
∗ Branc   (Berencsváralja) Ludanice culture
One of the 14 sacrificial pits found near the houses (No 271) contained the body of a child thrown into the pit head first. Another pit offered a spondylus bracelet, while a third yielded the house model described above.
Vladar 1967 497
∗ Mlynárce.   Moravian painted culture
A settlement pit with scattered human bones and stray pottery sherds

Novotny 1962 161—163, 221—222
∗ Telnice.   Moravian painted culture
A settlement pit with scattered human bones and stray pottery sherds
Novotny 1962 161—163, 221—222
∗ Drbánice.   Moravian painted culture
A settlement pit with scattered human bones and stray pottery sherds
Novotny 1962 161—163, 221—222
∗ Brno—Královo Polje.   Moravian painted culture
A settlement pit with scattered human bones and stray pottery sherds
Novotny 1962 161—163, 221—222
∗ Vycapy Opatovce
(Vicsápapáti)   Moravian painted culture
A settlement pit with scattered human bones and stray pottery sherds
Novotny 1962 161—163, 221—222

Hungary
∗ Endrőd 39.   Körös culture
The excavator hit upon a house in pit No XX. The floor of the house was covered
with a thick layer of mud-flakes. Considering that the walls were yellow and un-
burnt, it was remarkable that this rubble — which presumably came from ado-
be — was red-burnt. Below the floor was a beehive-shaped pit 1.2 m × 4.5 m in
size, which contained an in situ depot of vessels. In all probability this pit was used
for storing all the broken vessels, while the floor of the split-level house originally
sereved as a depot for the intact vessels. The post-holes at the site were found to
be contemporaneous with the beehive-shaped pit. Accordingly, the pit must have
been dug prior to the construction of the house. The excavator believed that the
sacrificial vessels were broken to fragments in a ritual way. But this view appears
to be countered by the fact that sherds he himself found in the pit did not fit toge-
ther to form complete vessels.
Makkay 1983 157—167
∗ Káloz-Nagyhörcsök   Linear pottery Zseliz culture
Two sacrificial pits in a large house. Pit No 13 had two layers. The bottom 25 cm
was filled with brown soil, and above it the ashy soil was mixed with a variety of
unburnt animal bones and stones. On top of this layer a goat-skull was found. The
stray animal bones discovered in the area must have belonged to this goat. The
size of pit No 14 was 120 cm × 125 cm, and its depth was 124 cm. Its bottom lay-
er definitely antedates the house. Filled up with loose brown soil, it contained
sherds and charcoal. The upper layer has yielded meticulously arranged but dis-
sected human bones, which were covered by a thin layer of burnt soil. According
to the excavator the two pits were coeval. In his view they were used to sacrifice
humans and animals, respectively.
Makkay 1983 157—167
Makkay 1986
∗ Bicske.   Sopot-Bicske culture
In the upper layer of a pit nearby the houses the excavators hit upon two stone
axes. The filling of the pit contained two superimposed bull skulls.
Makkay 1983 157—167
∗ Veszprém Felszabadulás út. Last phase of Lengyel culture
Between two stake-holes in the foundation pit of a pile-dwelling the skeleton of a
12—14-year-old child was found.

Raczky 1974 pp. 187—189
∗ Balatonmagyaród-Homoki
  dűlő.   Early phase of Balaton-Lasinja Culture
Object No 7 at the site was an unusually arranged pit which has yielded a human
skeleton. The slightly oval-shaped 190 cm × 180 cm pit was somewhat extended
towards the bottom and was 130—140 cm deep. It was filled up with alternating
layers of burnt mudflake and charcoal, and sterile white sand. In the middle of a
ring-shaped hole in the bottom of the pit there was a regular-shaped heap of
stamped lime concretion. The size of its foundation was 100 cm × 110 cm. The
circular pit contained the skeleton of an approximately five and a half years old
child and a roughly worked, unusable millstone next to it.
Bánffy 1985
Bánffy 1987

∗ Herpály.   Herpály culture
Traces of two different types of sacrifices have been discovered under the split-
level houses, some of which had more than one storey. The excavators hit upon
the skeletons of over 25 infants or children who had been buried under the corner
of the houses prior to construction. The soil under the houses also contained a
few aurochs horns. Both the excavator and S. Bökönyi, who analysed the animal
bones, considered the site at Herpály a cattle domestication centre. In addition,
the site has offered finds which can rightly be considered collective sacrifices. In
the middle of a small area enclosed by buildings Nos 7, 6/b, 11 and 12 a nearly 3
metres deep, regular-shaped pit was unearthed. Lying on the bottom of the pit
were eight canine skeletons, arranged regularly along the wall. The skeltons were
arranged in anatomical order.
Kalicz—Raczky 1984
Bökönyi 1986
Bánffy 1986

2. The archaic cult — religiohistorical conclusions

The analysis of the archaeological finds and associations should to my mind
be preceded by an outline of those generally accepted religiohistorical conclu-
sions which will serve as a basis for our subsequent comparisons.

1. Discovering the "cultic" on the basis of classical and ethnographical
parallels.
The germs of the comparative study of religious history should be sought in
the age of the Christian conversions. Having contacted a variety of nature peoples,
the missionaries gave account of the "primitive" religions of the "savages". The
term "primitive" meant that the missionaries found these religions inferior to the
Christian faith, and that they considered these creeds the "witchery" of the
"damned".
Later on, these descriptions gradually matured into an approach which could
at last be considered scientific. Among the pioneers of this approach were
Bachofen, Morgan or Engels, whose scientific attempts to systematize religions
have stood the test of time despite all their misapprehensions. Bachofen's theory
of matriarchy, which originated patriarchy in matriarchy, has become one of the

major inspirers of subsequent religiohistorical theories. Perhaps the most impor-
tant work of this "preparatory" period was J. G. Frazer's Golden Bough, which in-
troduced the *comparative method* in research. Through an almost superhuman
persistence, Frazer managed to collect thousands of examples from the ethnogra-
phy and religion of the prehistoric people into twelve bulky volumes. While his in-
ferences are often questionable, we may well counter the comments of his cri-
tiques *(Munz 1973)* by proving him right in at least two respects: on the one hand,
his chrestomathy still ranks among the most expedient sources for the present-
day researcher, and on the other hand we must not forget that many an expert
have sunk into oblivion during the past one and a half century just because their
theories had been rashly "purged" of their weaknesses... The structure and chap-
ter headings of the Golden Bough have in fact drawn up a programme for subse-
quent research. While Frazer inferred that magic preceded religion in the history
of mankind, Przyluski already came to the conclusion that the magic of the nature
peoples was not *essentially* different from religion (1950, p. 198), and that it was
during Bachofen's age of the cult of the Grand Mother when mankind almost im-
perceptibly switched from magic to religion.

Later on, several schools have sprung up on the basis of these theories, and
the number of their disciples seemed to duly multiply. For example, the Austrian
and German schools are linked with the name of L. Frobenius, who won renown
with the researches he conducted in Africa and also with the poetic African folk
tales he published. Accounting for the diversity of research was quite often the
radically different emotional-political background of the researchers themselves.
But, as M. *Eliade* put it, "The spiritistic movement as well as the theosophical so-
ciety expresses the same Zeitgeist as the positivistic ideologies" (*1969* 43–44).
He also added that, for all their differences, the spiritists, the theosophists and
Darwin himself derived from the same root, and that they were equally through
with Christianity. The historical, diachronic approach has become gradually over-
shadowed by the various synchronic and systematic analyses. For example the
ethnological functionalism of Malinowski maintains that each datum can only be
construed in its own environment or system. While the depth-psychological
trends are likewise hostile to the historical approach, they remain committed to
the fundamental constancy of human soul, and are thus bound to base their argu-
ments on a wide variety of sources both in time and in space.

Consequently, the discovery of the "cultic" has produced a series of rational
explications, each corresponding to the spirit of the day. *Radin (1950)* realized that
even the most archaic peoples had faith in some kind of a supreme power. This led
him and his colleagues to conclude that man conceived the idea of God through
relating cause and effect, i. e. through answering a logical question. (Based
primarily on Eliade's findings, most of the contemporary thinkers now consider
religion a highly complex concept, and primarily a *sui generis* experience.)

Otto, Altheim, James, Nilsson, Glasenapp, Zimmer, Dumezil — they all have
contributed to the currently accepted, and in fact highly imperfect, concept of the
"cultic". That there is no such thing as pure religious concept seems unequivocal
today. Religion is a "human affair", and as such it has social, economic and lin-
guistic facets as well. (The question whether religion was similarly multifaceted in
the archaic period, or more specifically in the Neolithic and Chalcolithic, I wish to
raise below.) Meanwhile, we now have every ground to reject as erroneous the
theory which holds that religion evolved "from the simple toward the complex".
The evolutionary theory which derived religion from the chain of "mana — totemism

— fatishism — nature worship and spiritism — monotheism" had already been questioned prior to the publication of the first criticism of Darwin's theory of evolution. Parallel with this negative conclusion, it was again Eliade who made researchers accept that all the cultic manifestations should be considered historical phenomena, and should thus be construed within a given historical context (1976a, p. 22).

2. The "numinosus" and the "mysterium tremendum"

R. Otto, whose terminology has by now become an integral part of religio-historical research, was the first to contrast the generic concept of a "saint" to the Christian meaning of the term (1963). According to Otto, "saint" means "something additional", a quality which transforms a thing into something else. The terms has subsequently assumed additional meanings (cf. Kant's "saint obligation" or "virtuousness"), but these have nothing in common with the original sense. To avoid any misunderstandings and misinterpretations of this kind, Otto proposed that the term "numinosus" (a derivative of "numen") be used instead of "heilig" in this sense. The ultimate "product" of this extra-rational cause (which according to Otto was the germ of the concept of God) was *reverence,* which psychologists now identify as being the principal religious experience. Subsequent reasoning has then created the concept of "mysterium tremendum", which translates as the awe of the "saint". This sense of the "unheimlich" is now regarded as the root of all religious development — from the demons through the world of the gods to mythology.

3. The difference between the "sacré" and the "profane"

Influenced not only by the terminology but also by the mentality of R. Otto, Eliade developed the concept of the "numinosus" further and ultimately created the concept of the 'sacré', to which he gave two definitions.

a) Describing the concept, Eliade says that, similarly to the "numinosus", an object or notion becomes 'sacré', if it expands beyond its original identity and becomes "something else". This is how one slab of stone becomes an altar, while the other remains what it has always been, i. e. just one slab of stone. An object or notion can be made 'sacré', through the interference of an authority, through the symbolic significance of the given environment or through some "heavenly" manifestations or phenomena, like e. g. the memory of the holy times or simply a thunderstrike, a conflagration, etc. (*Eliade 1976a* 35—37).

The "holy phenomenon", or hierophany, is cratophany at the same time, since the manifestation of power gives rise to fear and respect among the people. Accordingly, whatever is considered "saint" is seen as obscure at the same time, which is thus dangerous to approach. Starting out from these principles of Otto, *Eliade* deduced the emergence of the "taboo" from this inconsistent approach of man towards the sacral *(1976b)*.

Characteristic of the concept of the 'sacré' are its numerous negative qualities, i. e. that it is difficult to reach, it is fraught with dangers, or that it is guarded and controlled by monsters (*Eliade 1976b* 384). According to Eliade, the initiation ritual, which was widely practised in both time and space, was meant to signal that the initiated could establish an adult relationship with the 'sacré' (*1978,* passim).

b) Approaching the concept from a different angle, *Eliade* defines the 'sacré' as being the opposite of the profane, i. e. everything is sacré which is not profane

(*1976b* 459). However, at this point he contradicts himself, since he also states that any phenomenon has the potential for becoming 'sacré' at any time. Now how should we construe the difference between the sacral and the profane? Although this contradiction was noticed by *Eliade* himself (*1976a* 34), his explanation which makes the solution to the problem conditional on time and space I cannot consider acceptable. For this reason, I paid special attention to finding out whether this contradiction can be solved, at least to a certain extent, by the analysis of the archaeological finds.

4. The concept of the fertility rite

Bachofen's theory of maternalism along with the other theories on the matriarchate, and also the sources on the classical religions, the majority of the ethnographic and ethnologic relics, and even the female figurines dating from the period between the Palaeolithic and the classical age have all prompted the researchers of religious history, the archaeologists and the ethnographers to attach prime significance to the fertility cults in all the religious manifestations.

Now once the idea became commonly accepted that archaic thinking rested on symbols rather than notions, practically all the recovered or conceived relics have become treated as fertility symbols (of course, I do not want to call into question here the existence of such symbols!).

In 1938, Przyluski revealed the connections he managed to establish between the names of certain rivers and those of the fertility goddesses. The fertilizing role of water was equally known to the people in India, Iran and Europe, as is indicated by the existence of countless water goddesses there. The Satapatha Brahmana likens the effect of rainfall on the soil to that of the sperm on women (VII, 4, 2, 22; *Helck 1971* 62). This observation admits of several conclusions. The fertility rites and sexuality in general had some bearing on agriculture as well. Men could get down to agricultural work in a "purus" (ritually clean) state only, and in several places naked women run across the fields to stimulate the virility of the sky and thereby to make the heavens open (*Eliade 1976b* 356—357). Accordingly, the intercourse was as a rule ἱέρος γάμος, whether it took place between humans or between the heaven's rainfall (or the plough) and the fertile soil. It follows from this that the corn was also considered part of the 'sacré' of fertility. That the corn (=''life'') was associated with death as well is indicated by the fact that it was quite often protected by seprents, which were traditionally indentified as the animals of death and eternity. Moreover, there were goddesses who had equal authority over agriculture and death, like e. g. Feronia, who was considered ''dea agrorum sive inferorum'' (*Eliade 1976b* 352), or the dreadful Durga aspect of the Indian fertility goddess who was known for dancing on skulls. This concept, which has gained wide acceptance throughout the world, and thus in Europe as well, Eliade chose to illustrate by citing a fairly remote example (*1976* 350). In China, the bridal bed was traditionally placed in the darkest corner of the house, precisely above the spot where the deceased were buried under the floor. And, remarkably, the same room was used for storing the sowing seed. Consequently, we can establish that a close connection existed there between the ancestors, the corn and sexuality.

The practice of carrying the general purport of death as a sexual act to the extreme is also known to the researchers of the psychology of religion (an unsurpassable paraphrase of this was offered by Antal Szerb in his book 'Utas és hold

világ' [Traveller and Moonlight]. especially in the paragraphs on the conversation between the protagonist and Professor Waldheim—Altheim!).

We can thus establish that the goddess of fertility was in command of both life and death, and she also had a creative power which applied to the whole universe.

Commenting on this organic perfection, James said that while several goddesses bore the marks of the Magna Dea and were thus seen as vested with destructive powers as well, they were still considered by people as protective authorities. This chthonic quality is put in high relief by the majority of the researchers dealing with the fertility gods and cults.

5. Connections between fertility and the earth, "Mother Earth"

The idea of the above-mentioned holy act, i. e. the insemination of the earth with seeds, can in all probability be traced back to the dawn of agriculture in the Neolithic. The sexual symbols of the Palaeolithic already comprised the phenomena associated with the earth. Consequently, only one logical step was needed for the contemporary people to devise the concepts of the pregnant earth, the birth from the earth, and ultimately to create "Mother Earth". Ever since the Neolithic, the sacral thinking of man has been focussed on the earth on account of the fact that the two key conditions of survival (food and succession) were both seen as rooted in it. Let us mention here just a few examples which unequivocally prove that the notions associated with the soil and with Mother Earth, and also the researches related to them, were bound to grow beyond the limits of religious history and assume a more general purport: "Go to the earth, your mother" (Rgveda X, 18, 10); "haec terra, quem matrem apellamus" (Livius IV, 54, 2); Solon's γῆ μελαίνα; Aeschylus' παμμήτηρ γῆ; the paragraph in Manu's law-book which banned the cremation of infants under the age of two according to the common rite, and ruled instead that they must be buried in the earth to facilitate their revival; Demeter in the mysteries of Eleusis, whose identification with Mother Earth had never been challenged; the examples cited by Dieterich (1913 8), according to which the newborn babies were laid on the earth to recommend them to Mother Earth's care; the Greek fertility rite of throwing phalluses in the depth of the earth to make it fertile; countless other beliefs old and new, and even the linguistic facts that in almost all the languages the word "earth" is used in the feminine gender while the "sky" is masculine (J. Grimm), or that the words "homo" and "humus" shared a common root which meant "earthly, deriving from the earth".

The ultimate conclusion here is that the earth is the mother of man, and that all humans originate from, and return to, the earth just to revive from there again. And now we have come close to the theory which sees a direct link between "earth and death".

6. Connections between fertility and nature — "Raumnetz"

The brief summary above has made it clear how closely related the cultic concepts are. Having realized this fact, Eliade set forth his "Raumnetz" theory, which holds that all the things in the world are interrelated (1976a, p. 31). This "Netz" links the objects and notions in a cobweb-like structure, and thus it is possible to take an optional starting point for our example.

Heavenly god — (Sun, Moon, the stars) — gods of tempest — creator of the world — fertilizer of the Earth — holy marriage — fertility god — abode of the gods — sky-high holy mountain — height — super-human — sacré

Sun — consort of Magna Dea — (solar symbols) — Moon — vegetation — menstruation, fertility — trinity of the Moon — waxing, full, waning (old), ''dead'' for three days — fate (the Moiras are also lunar goddesses)

Moon — crescent — holy horns — cattle cult — lunar symbolics — connection between moon and water (soma) — water — origin — fertilization of the Earth — sperm — primordial water — deluge — pristine state — water of life — immersion, rebirth — water symbolics — holy springs — water-related gods — their fertilizing aspects — fertility — female — birth — birth from fertilized earth — vegetation — corn and tree — tree of the world — centre of universe — reaching to the sky — abode of the gods — god of heavens.

And now we could either start the list afresh or could go into further details. According to Eliade, the ''creator'' of the system, it makes no difference whether those who actively practise the cult are aware of this fact. Their religious ideas fit into this system, which exists independently of the individual's cogitation (*Eliade 1976a* 31).

Having identified and described this phenomenon, Eliade settled down to explain it and also to quote examples. The question of why and how this all came about he left out of consideration. The solution to these problems appears to be pending on the further clarification of man's general cogitative mechanism (I would not consider it impossible that the method Chomsky used to reveal the deep structures in his generative grammar theory could serve, if not exclusively, as a model here).

7. Structures within the rite and the myth

In his explanation of the ''Raumnetz'', *Eliade* derives these phenomena from a variety of sources (*1976a* 28). In his view the stories associated with the plants (like e. g. the tree of the world, the tree of life, or the maypole) are different not only in their epic content but also in their structure. While their symbolic qualities are more or less obvious, the meaning of the rites is bound to remain concealed. The structure and types of these concealed intents were revealed and analysed by C. Lévi-Strauss. He processed a vast amount of mostly recent ethnographical data, be them myths, objects or customs. In terms of size, his undertaking comes close to that of *Frazer (1963, 1973, 1978, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1975, 1979)*. And yet his structural anthropology could not become generally accepted. Accounting for this, according to C. Renfrew, was the fact that Lévi-Strauss' race theory, which had a bearing on structuralism as well, was also utilized by the ideologues of fascism, and was therefore highly unpopular. It is also possible that the deserved authenticity of Levi-Strauss' method was also diminished by its explicit attempt at exclusivity (*Renfrew 1979* 6).

8. Cult and psyche

I have to advert here briefly to the most controversial branch of the history of religion, namely to the one which links it to psychology. Of course, the roots of ''religious psychology'' can be traced back to Freud, even though his only work in this line was his study on Moses *(Freud 1946)*. Jung, his spiritual successor, was prompted to create the concept of the collective unconscious by the striking similarities he observed between the myths, symbols and mythological heroes of peoples living remote from each other *(Jung 1958)*. Having defined a series of different archetypes, Jung came to the conclusion that the participation mystiques can be considered proof for the existence of the collective unconscious. In-

spired with the Freudian school, the analythic ethnographer G. Róheim introduced new ethnological arguments to prove the existence of the archetypes *(Róheim 1984a 1984b)*. E. Neumann's researches also had their roots in Jung's findings *(Neumann 1957)*. He contrasted the visions of psychotic patients to the archaic images, and the conclusions he drew on archaic thinking — like e. g. on the mystery of blood or on the feminine nature of the objects in the universe (vessel, Moon, gate, house, wall) — often verge on the extreme. However, I believe that the school of which Neumann was a prominent member must not be swept aside forthwith. While acknowledging the significance of the works of Bergson, Heidegger and Toynbee, I believe that the treatment of the problem should be judged by the standard of Károly Kerényi, who was one of the paramount thinkers of this century and whose activity was strongly influenced by his friendship with Jung (their joint publication: *Jung—Kerényi 1985*) and also by psychology in general. Let us listen to *Kerényi* now (*1984* 275): ''Only when he senses the cosmos does man sense reality. And this applies fully to the religious people of the antique period: their religious faith rested on the firm belief that religion is the full manifestation of cosmic reality. Instead of 'belief', these people possessed a 'sense of reality'...'' Now how does ''heilige'' fit into this concept? According to Kerényi, the religio-psychologist seeking an answer to this question should first have notice of those religions as well which assume a sense of reality based on the cosmos itself rather than a supra-naturalistic creed. Kerényi also draws attention to the dangers of interpreting nature-worship as an *exclusively* supernatural form of religion. Τοῦ γὰρ ἐόντος ἀληεινοῦ κρεῖσσον ὄυδεν. Nothing is stronger than what really exists, Kerényi quotes the saying attributed to Melissos in his ''religio-psychological'' context. With this conclusion in view, we could perhaps put out of our mind the distorted approach of psychologism to the individual religiopsychological theories, in order to retain only ''what really exists''.

9. Agrarian rites and cyclic time

Describing the birth of the religion of the Greeks, Nilsson says that they originally revered several gods who were mortal and could rise from the dead again. Gods of this type were also worshipped by the people of the East (*Nilsson 1968* 553—554). Zeus, the son of fertility, was originally believed to pass away and then revive every year. However, this belief the Greeks found so alien to their way of thinking that ultimately they chose to be oblivious of it. They totally refrained from commemorating the death of Zeus, and his birthday they marked with undistinguished celebrations. Accordingly, Nilsson also concludes that this concept can obviously be assigned to the prae-Greek world.

In fact, the concept at issue most probably dates back to the dawn of agriculture, and it must have been originally related to some agrarian activities. In the agrarian societies of yore, the alternating seasons provided one of the main foundations for religious experience. As we have seen already, the sacrés of this period included the fertile soil, the powers nestling in the seeds, the buds and the flowers. These manifestations of sacral power, and also the cyclic alternation of the seasons, were controlled by *time*. In fact, there could hardly be any other way to measure continuity: this cyclic time created a sequence out of the agrarian rites from sowing to harvesting, and thus from birth to death.

According to Eliade this time-concept represents the most difficult chapter in religious phenomenology. The nature of sacral time differs from that of profane time, and the actual temporal experience of the archaic people is not necessarily identifiable with that of the men of our age.

Cyclid time and regeneration are related concepts. Both of them involve the revival of the powers of the sacré. Eliade says that all those rites or dramas which aim at reviving the "power" can be identified as imitations of certain primal and creative acts which exist "ab initio". The regenerative sacrifice is the repetition of creation and an attempt to retrieve the *in illo tempore*. Eliade also notes that even human beings could be sacrificed in the spirit of cyclic time and regeneration (*Eliade 1976b* 345—346).

The theory of the role of time in religion and magic is perhaps the most outstanding achievement in Eliade's oeuvre. In his view, periodic repetition means that mythic time has become present time. However, he does not fail to warn us not to conceive this as a matter of the past only. He underlines that this phenomenon applies simultaneously to the present and future as well, and that it is as much a condition as a period (*Eliade 1976b* 392—395). To my mind, this phenomenon could protect the archaic people against the dark future by presenting a secure framework for their life. While cyclic time is incompatible with contingency, it presented a secure shield against blind fate and fortuity.

10. Death, the hereafter, renascence

Although implicitly, the nine chapters above all contained references to the notions related to death. Under the concept of the "Raumnetz", there is a close relationship between death and sexuality; death and the return to the womb of Mother Earth; death and the cult of water *(Maringer 1975);* and death and renascence as a cyclic transformation. According to G. R. *Levi* (*1963* 63—64), the cycle is as follows:

a) from death to burial
b) from burial to the end of mourning
c) from the end of mourning to renascence
d) from birth to the assigning of a name
e) from assigning a name to initiation
f) from initiation to death.

The parallels between the female and the field, and between sexuality and sowing, have led the humans to the intellectual realizaton of the fact that life, death and renascence are but parts of a rhythmic alternation. And at this point Eliade adds a bitter comment: the archaic people could well reach another, and far more lamentable, conclusion as well, namely that human life very closely resembles the life of the flowers in the fields...

It appears that the various, and sometimes contradictory, religiohistorical theories that have come down to us are all affected by the law of the "Raumnetz", and that they create a quasi-impenetrable circle around the gist of religion. The cults and beliefs practiced by man, and the roots and nature of religion in general, are still way beyond man's comprehension. This sense of helplessness *Eliade* put into the following words (*1969* 52—53):

"We must not confuse the historical circumstances which make a human existence what it actually is with the fact that there is such a thing as a human existence. For the historian of religions the fact that a myth or a ritual is always historically conditioned does not explain away the very existence of such a myth or ritual." For the time being, all the religious phenomena can be interpreted only through the relevant historical conditions. But this leaves us without an answer to the question of what sacré is? What is the meaning of religious experience?

''...the historian of religions who does not accept the empiricism or the relativism of some fashionable sociological and historistic schools feels rather frustrated. He knows that he is condemned to work exclusively with historical documents, but at the same time he feels that these documents tell him something more than the simple fact that they reflect historical situations. He feels somehow that they reveal to him important truths about man and man's relation to the sacred. But how to grasp these truths? This is the question that obsesses many historians of religions. A few answers have been proposed already. But more important than any single answer is the fact that historians of religions asked this question. As so often in the past, a correct question may infuse new life into a wornout science.''

Having realized the soundness of these thoughts, I also chose to raise a single, concrete question here. Taken in a qualified sense, this question is meant to reveal which of the religiohistorical theories can be buttressed (and to what extent) by the finds considered cultic and also by the relevant archeological contexts. The more comprehensive purport of my question is to find out the extent to which palaeo-archeology can be considered a source for religiohistorical analyses *today*.

3. Cultic life at the settlement

3.1 On the archaeological finds regarded as cultic

The excavations conducted at settlements dating from the period between the Early Neolithic and the Late Chalcolithic have yielded an excessive quantity of figurines. The majority of these objects identifiably depict females, but only a few of them exhibit sexual characteristics. Figurines depicting males are very scarce among these finds. It is impossible to put reliable constructions on those idols which come from settlements but whose circumstances of discovery are not known to us (besides their large quantity, this was the other consideration which made me omit from my collection the finds without reliable context). But there is a phenomenon whose interpretation appears to be possible irrespective of the actual findspot of the idol: this is fragmentariness.

Almost 100 per cent of the Neolithic and Chalcolithic idols come to light in a fragmentary state. For example, there were only a handful of intact idols among the 1,300 such finds recovered at the Vinca site. The logical conclusion here would be that, similarly to the vessels, the idols were simply worn away by their users. Had this been the case, it would also imply that the idols were *used* for some purpose, and also that the users stored the fragments of the broken idols in the same spot. As regards the question whether the idols were put to a certain use or not, the definitive answer will be provided by those finds where the circumstances of discovery are also known. But, remarkably, the juxtaposed fragments practically never fit together. Moreover, I know of two examples where the fragments of the same idols have come to light in the remotest corneres of the same settlement (Vinča). Or in three adjacent pits (Hluboké Masúfky) *(Altgräfin— Vildomec 1936—37)*. In all probability this arrangement was deliberate. The idea of accidental fracture is countered, among others, by the theory of *Höckmann* (*1965* 14—23). In his study, Höckmann points out that the figurines belonging to

the Tisza culture are likewise fragmentary: one of the legs is missing of the male figurine with sickle which came to light at Szegvár-Tűzköves. Although the head of this figurine exhibits traces of repair, its broken foot has never been restored. Höckmann's conclusion that the idea behind the mutilation of the god figurines with presumed magic power was to arrest their motion I consider unacceptable, as this obviously does not apply to the thousands of fragmentary idols we know of. And yet, this theory also suggests that the idols were broken deliberately.

The finds with reliable archaeological context seem to support this assumption: although they were generally not exposed to direct decay (in fact part of them come from burials), over 300 out of the 426 such objects were uncovered in a fragmented state. The findspot and position of most of these 300-odd objects preclude the possibility that they were cast off as useless by their original owners. In all probability, they were broken according to cultic rites. But when and why did these people break their figurines?

There are two logical answers to the question "why?". These idols were shattered either because they had lost their efficiency and the power of the "sacré" became exhausted (cf. I. *Ecsedy*'s comparable interpretation — *1976*, p. 51), or because the people were frightened by the idols' residual power. As regards the question "when?", the answer is bound to remain statistical unless the finds with reliable archaeological context are thoroughly analysed. Accordingly, judging by the relatively large quantity of such fragments dating from each period at issue, we can establish that these people *systematically* produced, used and then shattered their idols. It is also the task of the present paper to reveal what exactly this "system" was. For the moment, we appear to have every ground to conclude from the fragmentariness of these finds, and also from my assumption that they were shattered voluntarily, that the idols were part of a ritual activity and not just fancy articles.

The typological analysis of the idols falls beyond the scope of the present paper. And yet I consider it important to find out whether there was any relationship between the types and the place of their discovery. In other words, I wish to find out whether the finely executed, quality idols (some of which are painted or incised) have primarily cultic associations, as against the poorly burned and roughly executed figurines, which are believed to have come primarily from refuse pits.

The finds I have collected give the following answer:

	Finely executed Ornamented Seated* Idol With attribute	Poorly executed Coarse Primitive Idol
Inside house, with cultic associations	89	86
Inside house	41	43
From pit of cultic nature	14	18
From burial or proximity	91	26
From refuse pit	26	23

(*In the prehistoric period, the fact that a figurine was seated is believed to have had a concrete, and not profane, meaning.)

The figures above indicate that, with the exception of the burial offerings, practically no relationship can be established between the finely and the roughly executed idols in terms of their use. Refuse pits have yielded well-burnt idols with painted, incised or burnished decoration, and the "sanctuaries" just as well included primitive, sun-burnt clay figurines. Consequently, we cannot but admit that the typological analysis of an idol does not in itself provide a clue to its interpretation. For the people of yore who produced and used the cultic idols, artistic value was of no interest.

Research is still in the dark about the function of the anthropomorphic vessels, which were remarkably common in certain Neolithic cultures. Before going into the analysis of the circumstances of the discovery of these objects, I wish to establish that there is a single common spiritual denominator which links the small-sized anthropomorphic vessel of the Körös culture which came to light at Gorzsa and which (reportedly) contained fragments from a child's skull, with the large-sized, "M"-marked human-faced storage vessels of the linear pattern cultures and the Szakálhát group, the smaller figurines bejewelled with spondylus bracelets coming from the sites of the Szakálhát group, the depictions of Venus uncovered at Kökénydomb, the painted anthropomorphic vessels of the Karanovo VI circle, the urns from Center-Méhi and the anthropomorphic vessels found at Troy: namely that in all these cases the vessels were meant to denote the essence of man. The metaphoric identification of the vessel with the human being is supported by a series of historical parallels from the classical and the subsequent periods. Moreover, the parts of the vessels were named after the respective parts of the human body ("neck, shoulder, belly, bottom, ear"). From among the numerous ethnographical examples to this point, let me mention here only the fact that the mouth of the anthropomorphic vessles was indeed used as the spout.

Consequently, I see a basic functional difference between the human-*shaped* vessles and those which exhibit the painted or carved figure of man on their body. The former can be identified with man, while the latter was just a vessel (of some specific function?).

Our presumption that the anthropomorphic vessels had a distinctly cultic role is thus supported by their "human essence", by the fact that most of them were patterned after females, and also by the circumstances of these vessels' discovery.

The abundance at certain settlements of the so-called "altarpieces" (also known as miniature pieces of furniture) is a fact worthy of furthere consideration. Those archaeologists who refer to these objects as "altarpieces" most probably consider them cultic tools, while those who prefer the other term tend to treat them as playthings. Since the interpretation of these objects, and thus the settlement of the dispute, hinges exclusively on the analysis of the circumstances of their discovery, I do not feel the need to enter into the description of their typology here, and the same applies to the house models, which in fact were rather scarce in the assemblages. The poorly executed house models are often referred to in the literature as "oven models" (cf. *Petrasch*'s diploma thesis — *1984*), while the uniquely-shaped or nicely ornamented pieces are known as "sanctuary models". I feel it necessary to state right here that the choice between these two terms is solely a matter of individual taste, and it has nothing to do with the actual shape of these finds. This distinction is all the more arbitrary since, as we will see below, the dwelling houses and the so-called "sanctuaries" were structurally identical in the Neolithic and Chalcolithic, and it had remained so for at least 1,500 years onwards.

The four types of archaeological objects described above (i. e. the idols, the anthropomorphic vessels, the house models and the miniature vessels) are known from a series of sufficiently observed archaeological contexts. The study below will focus on the analysis of these objects and phenomena. The ultimate question I wish to answer here is whether it is possible to systematize the bits and pieces of information at our disposal, and whether this prospective system will confirm or contradict the religiohistorical conclusions detailed above.

3.2 "Sanctuaries"

There are only a few buildings in the area between Central Europe and the Middle East which have come down to us in the archaeological literature as "sanctuaries", i. e. which experts have identified as exclusively cultic sites.

In the territory of Hungary, no such building is known to have been identified yet from the Early Neolithic period. And still, the trapezoidal buildings discovered at Lepenski Vir (a site on the Danube near the Iron Gate) have deservedly attracted special attention (Srejović 1975). While researach has not managed yet to reconstruct the wall and roof structures of these buildings, the excavator of the site believes that they may well have been uncovered in their original form. The red-painted trapezoidal rammed floors of the buildings have survived practically undamaged. Below some of the stonework fireplaces inside the houses the excavators hit upon human skeletons lying with bent and outstretched legs. The position of the bones suggested that the corpses were intentionally buried in a trapezoidal pattern. This geometircal pattern, which in fact was rather uncommon in the prehistoric period, was also discernible on the fish-mouthed stone-heads recovede mostly inside these "sanctuaries". To all appearances this settlement was not inhabited in the Mezolithic and Early Neolithic periods. The site has yielded potteries only from the latest, Lepenski Vir III horizon, which belongs to the early Starčevo culture. Besides the bones of animals with presumed cultic associations, the only finds indicative of life at the site were the remains of fish. The highest hill on the opposite bank of the Danube has a huge, twin rock pinnacle. The rugged wilderness there (which has become seen as wildly romantic by now) must have presented an excellent setting for the contemporary people to enter into the spirit of the "mysterium tremendum". On the grounds of the archaeological evidence at our disposal, we can presume that the (roofless?) houses at the settlement were not used as dwellings, but were regularly visited by the locals. The deceased were buried under the fireplaces. To all appearances this "sacré" site was visited not only during the burial ceremonies, but also on some other occasions, when the people there consumed ritual food and fish. Let us now approach this problem from a religiohistorical viewpoint. What activity and which period can be described on the following premises: 1. Sacred, 2. presumes a distance from the actual abode, 3. requires the proximity of the deceased ancestors, and 4. associable with unusual activities (consumption of specific foods, erection of stone sculptures, and perhaps other activities beyond archaeological interpretation)? The answer comes obvious: it must be the initiation ceremony of children into adulthood, which in other words means the adoption of the individual into the community. In this specific case, the archaeological phenomena and the religiohistorical-ethnographical conclucions appear to overlap. Accordingly, I regard community as the key term here, and I take it as a starting point for interpreting the other "shrines" as well.

The buildings uncovered in Anatolia and elsewhere in the Middle East dating from the dawn of food production and associable with burials and other community rites are believed to have served a similar purpose: cf. Cayönü and the so-called "skull-house" at Nevali Cori (*Braidwood 1982* and courtesy of H. Hauptmann). The famed "shrines" at Çatal Hüyük also answer these criteria: the depictions of birth (relief of woman in labour, sculpture of mother and child, the holy wedding — *Mellaart 1962* Figs 8/a, b, c, d, 9/a, b, d; *Mellaart 1963* 19/a, b, c, d, 20/a, b, c, d, 21/a, b, c, d, 22/a—b, c, 23/a, b, c, d; *Mellaart 1964* 15/c, d, 16/d, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30/a, b, 31/a, b, c, d, 32; *Mellaart 1967* 24/a—d, pictures of bulls symbolizing the procreative power of males, and the bucrania, their "pars pro toto" depictions) and death (burials under the walls opposite the "birth-walls") logically suggest that the site was the venue for the community act of initiation.

The discovery in the early 1960s of the "sanctuary" at Nea Nikomedeia in Macedonia produced a real sensation (*Rodden 1962*, 1964). Regrettably, the finds dating from the Early Neolithic Protosesklo period have remained partly unprocessed, and thus the site is known only from premilinary reports and newspaper articles. According to the excavator, the four buildings unearthed there originally surrounded a fifth structure identified as a shrine. Judging by its central location, the latter building must have served some communial purpose. However, the phenomena observed inside the building were indicative of sacral as well as profane activities there (*Rodden 1964* 5, 4, 6, 7). Belonging to the former category were the seven figurines which are believed to have stood on a table or shelve in one end of the building, and also the other idols recovered there. The structure of the building, i. e. that it was divided into three rooms similarly to the dwelling houses, was clearly profane. The hundreds of round clay objects discovered inside the building require further explanation. Their shape is inconclusive in that it reveals neither profane nor religious characteristics. Accurate as this conclusion may sound, it is clearly idle at the same time. But a different approach to the problem may well yield result. Let us try instead to find out which of the neither expressly sacral nor plainly profane activities required separation (preferrably in a separate building). As we have already seen above, this must have been the initiation ceremony. This ceremony was always conducted in a communal building which was simultaneously sacral, cultic and profane in its structure and appearance. Since the initiation ceremony took place *regularly* (mostly annually), we appear to have every ground to interpret along this line those finds which were found *in abundance* at a given site. (It is worth noting here that ethnography and religious history knows of a series of objects which were made specifically for use during the initiation ceremonies, or their contemporary equivalent, the confirmation.)

Consequently, I consider it acceptable in all respects to establish that the Early Neolithic assemblages identified as "shrines" or "cultic sites" served clear-cut communal purposes. And I would *assume* here that these communal buildings (also) served as venues for the initiation ceremonies.

This situation had survived unchanged into the Middle Neolithic. The excavators of the Szakálhát-group site of Tiszaföldvár-Téglagyár (Hungary) hit upon the traces of the foundations of a huge (6,7 metre × 38 metre) building (courtesy of the excavator, A. Vaday). There was a row of post-holes discovered along one wall of the house, but no trace of such holes was identified elsewhere. Since a huge construction like that could not conceivably be erected without a series of supporting pillars, we are bound to conclude that the house was either open to the

sky, or was roofed only partly, in the area where the posts had stood. Along the walls, several pieces of thick, trapezoidal mud-flakes were found. Judging by their position, they must have come from the daubing on the inside surface of the walls. The roofless part of the building included a furnace/fireplace, with sherds from three or four huge tankards and silex snippets lying next to it. The house has yielded no idols, but a figurine was still discovered there. The traces of daubing are still discernible on the back of the bullhead-shaped gable ornament which has come to light in the debris covering the surface along the shorter wall opposite the fireplace. In my opinion, these latter phenomena may well be construed as sacral, but should be considered of secondary importance only, as they were meant to highlight the primary function of the building. Judging by its unusual size, the building must have served communal purposes. Since the excavations at the site are still in progress, a more detailed analysis of the finds is pending on their completion.

The building idenified as a "sanctuary" at Parác (Parţa in the Romanian Banat) is deservedly rising to notice these days. Although the excavator, Gh. Lazarovici, is still busy processing the finds (he is writing a book now on this site and also on the early-period sanctuaries in South-East Europe), we can already establish the predominance of the sacral elements there as compared to the Tiszaföldvár site. The building at Parác had three rooms, and its dimensions resembled most those of an average building at Szakálhát (comparable structures with three rooms have also come to light most recently at Öcsöd-Kovácshalom). A bullhead-shaped gable ornament has survived at Parác as well. The walls of the house were painted red on the inside. The rooms were connected by narrow corridors. Tankards filled with corn were found on an almost one metre high clay bench in the middle room. Whether the corn was a votive present or simply the reserve of the community is a question unanswered as yet. We can asign cultic significance to the inner room only, which has yielded clay depictions of the Sun and a crescent, and also an over one metre high sculpture of a man and a woman. Carved out of a single slab of stone, one of the two heads of the body depicts a bull. The other head is missing, but it definitely depicted a woman. Indicative of this is the big — pregnant — belly below the head (courtesy of Gh. Lazarovici). The closest parallels of this sculpture (or pair of sculptures) are the Late Neolithic "altars" of Truşeşti, which depict buildings in their bottom part (*Petrescu-Dimboviţa 1963* pp. 172—186).

However, for all its cultic traits, we cannot exclude the possibility that the Parác "sanctuary" served a fundamentally communal purpose. As I have said above, the structure of this building was identical with that of the contemporary dwelling houses. If we presume that the corn in vessels in the middle room was not offered to the gods but was committed to their trust instead, then we have every ground to consider the shrine in the third room another example for the common cultic practice of the Neolithic people — this time, perhaps, in a house built originally for communal purposes.

The detailed analysis of a number of Middle and Late Neotihic "sanctuaries" has revealed that in those houses where one or two rooms were used for daily communal purposes only the third room contained objects with cult associations. Examples for this are known from Sesklo, from the "shrine" near Akhilleion/Farsala *(Gimbutas 1980)*, and from Cascioarele. The terms used in the literature to identify these buildings are alternately "shrine" and "sanctuary". I opt for the former, admitting that this point is arguable. But there is no denying that the term "temple", which was introduced by Gimbutas and adopted subsequently by a number

of researchers, cannot be used to identify these buildings. ''Temple'' refers to the antique (non-Christian) sanctuaries, which served for worshipping and other religious activities, as against the other houses, which were used for profane porposes.

The buildings referred to above, however, exhibited both sacral and profane traits. While there were ceretain phenomena in these houses which could not be identified with profane purposes (e. g. dimensions, painted walls, idols, sculptures of ''gods''), there were others as well which proved just the opposite. In other words, the majority of these ''sanctuaries'' included one or more rooms which were used as living quarters or workplaces. Those few unique constructions where this could not be established with absolute certainty we tend to identify as community buildings.

Mention must be made here of the settlement belonging to the Gumelni-ţa—Karanovo VI culture which was discovered at Dolnoslav near Rodope in 1985. According to A. Radunčeva, the excavator, this settlement was built exclusively for cultic purposes (cf. also *Genov—Radunčeva 1985*). In one of the houses there were a number of clay phalluses lying on a clay bench at the wall. A small pit in front of the bench has yielded the skeleton of a piglet. Applied on the wall was a life-size clay depiction of a male head. Its eyes were filled with whitish-yellow powdered lime. Besides a number of comparable finds, the excavators hit upon some 700 figurines during one excavation season. Many of these idols were 60—70 cm high, and were piece produced (*Genov—Radunčeva 1958*; oral information by A. Radunčeva).

We should observe care in analysing the Dolnoslav finds for at least two considerations. On the one hand, we must not forget that their excavator has dedicated her life to the cultic finds, and may thus be inclined to seek ''religious centres'' on the basis of preconceived notions. On the other hand, it is just possible that the findings of the ongoing excavations will considerably alter or modify this picture. Our moderate conclusion on this point is as follows: the buildings unearthed at Dolnoslav date from the same period and, judging by the accompanying finds, were used for similar purposes. These purposes were partly sacral (cf. the phalluses, the idols and the sculptures) and partly profane (tankards, corn residues, tools). Moreover, the excavator said that one of the houses appeared to have been set on fire with a pinioned man in it, and then the locals abandoned the whole settlement and built new houses some 100 metres from there. Be these phenomena sacral, profane or both, we consider them the manifestations of the activities and rites of a community.

The 70 square metre house unearthed at Sabatinovka belonged to the Tripolje culture. The site has offered countless idols (*Makarevic 1960* 290—301, *Gimbutas 1982* 73, 26). Some of these idols were found in a position indicative of everyday use (e. g. next the the furnace, in the proximity of tankards and millstones, or accompanied by corncake-shaped pieces of clay), while the others were lying on a bench and a miniature chair in the end of the room. The room also included a normal-sized, throne-like chair (*Gimbutass 1980, 1982, Makkay 1978*). I cannot say whether this building was used for communal purposes or not, but I believe that it should undeniably be considered a model. The building was patterned after an average Tripolje-type dwelling house, which must have included fireplaces, tankards and milling equipment. The bench with the idols at the back of the building must have represented the cult corner. The explanation of why I consider this specific house a model will come in the paragraphs on the house models in general below.

I wish to note here that while there is a similarity between the early-period "sanctuaries" and the Late Chalcolithic-Early Bronze Age sacral buildings of Anatolia and the Middle East in terms of their peculiar features (altar, omphalos, horn depictions, etc.), they should still be considered different in their fundamental traits (Kusura, Mersin, Beycesultan, etc.). These latter building were "sanctuaries" proper, and they differed markedly (both in their architecture and in their full inventory) from those dwelling houses which were built to meet "profane" demands. The Neolithic buildings erected for communal purposes may well have served as the archetype for the "temenos". This hypothesis, however, would require further analyses which the present paper cannot undertake.

Also, we cannot pass lightly over the statistical fact that only a few cultic buildings have been brought to light at the hundreds, or even thousands, of thoroughly excavated Neolithic settlements in SE Europe. This fact is all the more striking since there are thousands of idols, altarpieces and similar objects coming from all over the area to prove that the Neolithic peoples did indeed live a cultic *life*. For all the sketchiness of this theory, it appears well-founded to try and resolve this contradiction by introducing the term "communal building" in place of the "sanctuary". This new notion would rest on the assumption that there were certain rites (initiation, joint agricultural activities like sowing, harvesting, rainmaking) which could only be practiced by the community, and not by the religious individual. At those sites where the "communal building" could not be identified by archaeological means, we have every ground to presume that these activities were practised in the open. The enclosed wattle-and-daub construction, possibly a temporary shelter, which was discovered at Tiszaföldvár-Téglagyár we may perhaps consider a transition. While all the "sanctuaries" were originally erected to serve communal purposes, we appear to have every reason to believe that the real venue for religious and cultic life should be sought somewhere else.

3.3 "Cult corner"

The few buildings mentioned above have yielded cultic objects as well. However, their number was insignificant compared to those countless idols, anthropomorphic vessel and other such finds which have come to light at settlements. From among the figurines, I added only those to my collection whose circumstances of discovery have been accurately recorded. The number of these idols is 426. According to my estimation, they represent not more than 5 per cent of the idols published so far. As far as the anthropomorphic vessels, house models and miniature tables and chaires are concerned, the figures at my disposal are more accurate: I know of 274 anthropomorphic vessels and house models, and 272 "altarpieces" from publications on the Neolithic-Chalcolithic assemblages of South-East Europe. The number of the unprocessed assemblages could of course be way higher than this, especially in those countries where the abundance of finds from later periods relegated the research of pre-Bronze Age assemblages to the background. (For example, private collectors in Greece can boast of more painted idols and house models than those mentioned in the publications to date! — courtesy of H. Hauptmann and P. Raczky.)

The question of where and, more importantly, how this plethora of objects was used has not been answered satisfactorily as yet. My attempt below to find an appropriate answer starts out from the archaeological context of these objects.

The structures described in the previous chapter as cultic I consider communal buildings. However, the number of "shrines" mentioned in the archaeological literature is way higher. These latter buildings were characterized *in part* by sacral finds and phenomena (cf. Akhilleion, Sesklo, Cascioarele). Elsewhere, the buildings of this kind were mostly identified as dwelling houses on account of the household potteries, personal belongings and other non-sacral objects recovered there, even though they have also yielded idols, altarpieces or anthropomorphic vessels in explicitly cultic setting.

There is a building unearthed at Szolnok—Szanda-Tenyősziget and associable with the Körös culture which the publishers have identified as a dwelling house. The building has yielded several idols and also a number of bullhorn-shaped clay altars *(Kalicz—Raczky 1980—81, 1981)*. Consequently, the house must have served both profane and sacral purposes. The two buildings uncovered at the Stara Zagora-Hospital site and associable with the Karanovo I—II culture date from the same period. They have survived in a relatively good state of preservation, with stretches of the walls also extant (courtesy of M. Dimitrov). The household furnishings are all there in these houses: the tankards, the bench, the stone and bone implements, and even the bucrania at the fireplace known already from the Szolnok—Szanda site. In this case we have every reason to presume that the non-profane part of the building was the fireplace area (I will come back to this phenomenon, and also to its relations with the other comparable phenomena, in the end of this chapter).

A Late Neolithic 12 × 6 metre house in Hungary has survived intact from the early Tisza culture *(MRT 6* 1982, excavated by K. Hegedűs, p. 185). The "sacrificial assemblage" that has come to light from behind a separation wall of the house divided into several rooms at the Vésztő-Mágor tell includes a number of strangely-shaped vessels, a sherd from an idol and three ornamented alterpieces. Without specifying the findspot, the excavator also makes mention of a fragment from a tall — approximately 80 cm high — sculpture of a "god seated on an altar". This latter object is believed to have been discovered in the proximity of the "sacrificial assemblage" (ibid. p. 185), which abounded with burnt animal bones and tools used for disjointing animals. Judging from the quantity of objects found heaped up there, we may well presume that this corner of the house was regularly used for cultic purposes.

The Vésztő houses somewhat antedated the Herpály tell settlement. The dwelling houses with inner division and their environs there have offered several cultic objects and phenomena. Most significant among them were the aurochs horns discovered under the floor, the clay bucrania applied on the wall and on top of the fireplace, and the omphalos-shaped altar-place *(Kalicz—Raczky 1984)*. The three-room building at Gorzsa was coeval with the Herpály house. It also had a cultic part at one of the partition walls, and has yielded fragments from a large-sized, unburnt clay sculpture (courtesy of F. Horváth, and *Horváth 1986*).

Excavating a house at the Late Neolithic site of Tirpeşti, S. Marinescu-Bilcu hit upon a complete genre scene on the earlier floor level *(Marinescu-Bilcu 1981* Figs. 103/11, 104/2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 94/1, 3, 6, 11, 12, 17, 18, 95/1, 4, 105/1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 11, *Comsa 1980* Figs. 6/1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8). Scattered over an approximately 20 square metre area, the excavator discovered 34 idols and idol fragments and several miniature chairs and tables. Although the excavator qualified the assemblage as a "shrine", we have every ground to consider it a "cult corner", if only because it was discovered at the back of an internally divided

house. This arrangement, and also the function of the objects, are clearly asso-
ciable with those recorded at Ovčarovo *(Todorova 1983)*, notwithstanding that the
latter assemblage could not be associated with a house.

The reader may find it unusual that in the paragraphs above I kept referring
to the most recent publications or to finds unpublished as yet. Accounting for this
is the fact that the evidences for the presumed existence of the ''cult corners''
should be sought in the latest, and consequently most accurate, research find-
ings. The comparable assemblages that have been brought to light earlier were
usually identified as ''sanctuaries''. The majority of the ''cult corners'' were ob-
served in divided houses, but this problem only means that in those places they
were easier to be perceived — and also two frequent mistakes could be avoided:

a) the assembled cultic finds were not conspicuous among the other objects
of everyday use, or

b) the cultic finds did as a rule prompt the excavator to draw a generalized
conclusion that the whole building was merely used for cult purposes.

Perhaps it will not amount to carrying things to extremes if we presume that
those idols which have come to light from findspots other than burials or their
proximity, or from sacrificial pits, are associable with the ''cult corners''. I would
rank in this latter group those idols which were discovered inside houses but out-
side a cultic context, and also those which came to light in refuse pits belonging
to houses. I believe that in these cases (which in fact represent a clear majority)
we can reckon with two scenarios: either the cultic parts of the buildings at issue
had been damaged beyond recognition prior to their discovery, or the idols were
deliberately cast off as useless by their original owners (and were thus thrown into
the refuse pit, trampled into the ground together with the household sweepings,
or thrown out together with the broken tiles). The idols discovered at such find-
spots are only rarely mentioned among the finds of cultic nature. Should an an-
thropomorphic vessel or an altarpiece come to light from such a context, the exca-
vators would generally treat them as curiosities. I firmly believe that far more
attention should be paid even to the bare fact that the Neolithic sites are so rich
in cultic objects.

The number of the sufficiently researched and recorded ''cult corners'' is still
too small to enable us to reliably reconstruct or typify them. Consequently, the ex-
position below should be seen as a first attempt.

In the single-room houses, the cultic part was most probably situated in a
corner near the wall. In the Late Neolithic three-room houses, the cultic part
should be sought in one of the outside rooms. For reasons specified below, the
proximity of fire must also have been important. These cultic parts often included
clay benches or (wooden) stands, and occasionally pits dug in the floor. Other
common inventory items were the omphalos, clay ornaments applied on the floor
or on the wall of the ''cult corner'' (e. g. bull's horn), idols of various quality (both
finely executed and coarse — we have no ground to consider the difference es-
sential yet), and occasionally the ''altarpieces'' (miniature or life-size ornamented
pieces of furniture). In those houses where there was no separate store-room, this
''cult corner'' must have been used for storing the anthropomorphic vessels filled
with the life-giving corn. (The vessels with facial lid discovered at Vinča are be-
lieved to have served a similar — chthonic — function, and the same should apply
to those assemblages where there were idols hidden in the vessels filled with
corn: cf. the Cucuteni-Tripolje culture and the Selevac site of the Vinča culture
(Gimbutas 1982 passim, *Chapman 1981* Pl. 26). However, the proximity of some

other vessels, stone objects and the fireplace all indicate that the "cult corner" was also the venue for other religious activities and offerings.

The researcher attempting to interpret the cultic objects discovered in the sacral part of the buildings is bound to walk on real thin ice. And yet, there is no disregarding the following questions: why were there ornamented and finely executed idols at one place and coarse and roughly executed ones at another, and also what was the purpose of the other, non-cultic objects which accompanied the idols? Since we know of a number of assemblages which contained both finely executed and coarse pieces, it appears to be justified to leave the talents of the craftsman who produced them out of consideration here. The significance of this qualitative difference, which applied not only to the idols but also to the house models, should thus be sought somewhere else.

Researchers have come out with countless hypotheses and theories to date on what the actual use of the idols could be. The views of Khourmoziadis, Höckmann and Gimbutas I consider markedly static, as they treated the issue of depiction on level with the matriarchal cult (*Khourmoziadis 1973, Höckmann 1968, Gimbutas 1982*). Consequently, I leave their approach out of consideration here. Ucko and his disciple, Talalay, based their reasoning on a broader basis. Having analysed a large collection of finds coming from the Mediterranean, they concluded that the function of the figurines was far from uniform (*Ucko 1968, Talalay 1983* and *Talalay n.d.*). While Ucko never stepped beyond this conslusion, Talalay went further by stating that the idols should be seen as a form of non-verbal communication. According to Talalay, the human body as a social symbol has always had a prime significance throughourt history. Accordingly, it appears to be possible to create an artificial language whereby this system of signals could be deciphered according to historical periods and geographical regions. Once this visual language is deciphered, Talalay would like research to concentrate on the following issues:

a) the subject of the depiction.
b) anomalies dictated by expedience,
c) ornamentation, and
d) deliberate alterations made subsequently (e. g. shattering).

Talalay's conclusion is definitive on two points: on the one hand, he considers the idols symbols which are approachable through the social aspects of religion, and on the other hand he agrees with Ucko that the idols should be regarded as the manifestations of more than one religious concept.

A new approach like this must definitely take the archaeological context as its point of departure. Since this research has yielded only initial results to date, it would clearly be premature to try and summarize it now. I agree with Ucko and Talalay that the idols differed according to their functions. However, we cannot specify as yet the function of the finely executed pieces as contrasted to that of the coarse ones. But there are two questions we may attempt to answer right now: *what dates* can we assigned to the former and the latter types, and *how* were they used in the "cult corner"?

Since these questions would be difficult to answer exclusively on the strenght of the available idols, I decided to approach the problem through another group of finds, which are more specific, whose form is easier to interpret, and whose quantity is easier to cope with: the finds at issue are the house models. I believe that the research into the function of the house models can be likened to the point at issue here in terms of both the methods and the projected results. Perhaps the only significant difference is that the house models are much easier to analyse.

The number of the house models coming from Central and South East Europe and dating from the period between the Early Neolithic and the Chalcolithic varies widely by their age. For example, the house models discovered in Hungary date from three periods: the Kőrös culture, the transition period between the Middle and Late Neolithic (I assign to this date the stray find from Mártély — *Banner 1942a* 56, Fig. 5), and the Lengyel culture (Aszód site). This fluctuation cannot be accounted for by the varying intensity of archaeological research, since all the periods, including the one at issue, have been studied steadily and uniformly.

From a typological point of view, the house models can be classed into five groups. The first group includes the Early Neolithic house model from Röszke (*Trogmayer 1966* 235—240, Figs. 1—2) and the somewhat younger pieces associated with the Thessalian Sesklo culture (Khaironeia: *Theokharis 1981*, Fig. 6, Krannon: *Theokharis 1973*, Fig. 29, Stephanovikaios region: *Papathanassopoulos 1981*, Fig. 19). Characteristic of these models is their naturalistic execution, to the extent that some of them even exhibit architectural motifs.

The second group is represented by the simple models applied on lids. These models are often termed by literature as "ovens". I have to add here that this term I consider fairly obscure, and for the lack of an exact definition it remains a matter of taste whether we identify a model as a "house" or an "oven". Besides the above-mentioned five pieces from Aszód, and the Slovakian finds which undoubtedly depict houses, finds of this kind have come to light in large numbers at the sites of the Gumelnita culture (Ovčarovo: *Todorova 1979* Figs. 63, 23/1, 2, 3, 4, 5, Kodzadermen: *Müller-Karpe 1968* Figs. 157/C/1, 2, 3, 6, *Perniceva 1978* 2, Fig. 1, Ruse: *Kostov 1916* Fig. 117, *Gaul 1948* 49, Vinica: *Radunčeva 1976a* Figs. 5/4, 10/13, 29/6, 42/5, 10, *Radunčeva 1976* Fig. 7/9, Azmaska Mogila: *Georgiev 1962* Figs. 2/a, b, Nevski: *Perniceva 1978* Figs. 3/3, 6/7, 6/9, Deve Bargan: *Popov 1926* Fig. 157). Since these latter finds postdate the Aszód pieces, and were discovered at a remote site as well, we have no ground to prove as yet their relationship with the objects of the Lengyel culture.

The models in the next two groups depict only certain parts of the houses. Quite often this part is the floor, and the interior depicted in these models includes the fireplace, the furnace, and occasionally the bed and some pithoi. Perhaps the best known of these models are the ones recovered at Ovcarovo and Popudnia (*Todorova 1979* Fig. 63, *Müller-Karpe 1974* Figs. 677/1/1—2, *Gimbutas 1982* Fig. 23).

I know of only one model which depicts the walls and roof of a house. This model has been brought to light recently from the early Tisza period layer of the Öcsöd-Kováshalom settlement (*Bánffy 1985* Pl. 26/1). The structure of this model resembles closely that of the real houses of the period. Its surface is decorated with incised Tisza patterns and with white and yellow painting. The fragmented model has no door, window or roof-hole. This model is considered unique on the grounds that it has no floor or footing, as contrasted to the majority of the Chalcolithic or even Bronze Age house models that have come to light anywhere between the Middle East and Central Europe, which were box-shaped and were thus fit for storing things in them. Not improbably this find could be identified as the upper part or cover of an Ovčarovo-type house model. Reasonable as this presumption may seem, the lack of parallels prevents us from jumping to conclusions here.

The main peculiarity of the models in the last group is that they depict "unusual" houses. On the strength of this apparently symbolic depiction, the majority

of these models have been identified as "sanctuary models". By way of example, we can cite here the models discovered at Trusesti and Porodin (*Petrescu-Dimbovita 1963* 172—186, *Grbić 1960* Fig. 34/1). The "unusual" character of these models is exemplified by the animal and human heads applied on their lids. The Cascioarele model depicts an unusually arranged group of houses on a stand. The incised patterns on it, which Gimbutas identified as a water motif, emphasize further the ritual character of the find (*Dumitrescu, V. 1965a* 215—218, Figs. 2/a—b, *Idem. 1965/b* Lecture delivered by Gimbutas in Malta on September 4, 1985). There is another peculiar type of these so-called "sanctuary models": there the house was fit together with a dish, which was most probably used for sacrificial purposes. An example for this type is the model discovered in 1984 at Öcsöd-Kováshalom (*Bánffy 1986* Fig. 2). The symbolic signs on this model indicate that it was used for non-profane purposes. These signs include the stylized "holy horns" on the thresholds of the four doors, the omphalos-like double ring in the middle of the floor, the bowl painted red and yellow on both sides and applied on the top of the house, and finally the four figurines fit on the rim of the model. Adding to the significance of the Öcsöd model is the fact that its quality of execution is beyond compare in the Middle and Late Neolithic period of Hungary. At first, this model had been treated as unparallelled. But the "altarpieces" discovered at the Hódmezővásárhely-Kökénydomb tell site (which slightly postdates the Öcsöd site) apparently disprove this belief. Although the Hódmezővásárhely-Kökénydomb "altarpieces" were first published by Banner with bottom upwards, and were thus difficult to associate with the Öcsöd model, I wish to call attention here to the fact that the two finds are structurally identical, i.e. that both have a house with doors at the bottom and a bowl on the top.

Having specified the types of the house models, we could now enter into the discussion of their geographical distribution or chronology but, unfortunately, this would clearly provide no clues to the main question of how these models were used. Accordingly, this approach is bound to bring us back to the conclusion reached on the idols above.

Let us now try to approach the problem of the house models from a peculiar angle, which I believe will lead us to some valuable conclusions on the idols themselves, and more generally on the cultic life of the Neolithic and Chalcolithic peoples. I must begin by stating that I am fully aware of the limited scope of such an approach, and that my exposition is bound to remain sketchy for the lack of reliable data and research background.

On the strength of the associations between the archaeological assemblages we can establish that the house models are markedly homogeneous in terms of their provenance: all of them come from settlements, and the circumstances of their discoverey indicate that they were all used *in houses*. Several of these models were found inside buildings, on the floor or in waste layers. At the Aszód site, the models were discovered in the refuse pits next to the houses (Troy: *Blegen 1963* 53—55, Öcsöd-Kováshalom: *Bánffy 1985* Fig. 26, Aszód-Papi földek: *Kalicz 1985* Figs. 3, 4a—b, 27/5a—b, Popudnia: *Müller-Karpe 1974* Figs. 677/1/1—2, Vadastra II: *Mateescu 1962* Fig. 189/2, Trușești: *Petrescu-Dimbovița 1962* 172—186, Izvoarele: *Vulpe 1957 Gimbutas 1982* Figs. 69, 22, Cascioarele: *Dumitrescu, V. 1965a* 215—218, Figs. 2, 3, 4, 5, *Ibem. 1965b*, Porodin: *Grbić 1960* Fig. 34/1, *Müller-Karpe 1968* Fig. 150/1/18, Bereketska Mogila: *Jungsteinzeit in Bulgarien* Fig. 146/a, Gradešnica: *Nikolov 1974* Figs. 18, 65, Ruse: *Gaul*

1948 Figs. 119, 140, Vinica: *Radunčeva 1976* Figs. 5/4, 7/9, 10/13, 29/6, Platia Magula Zarkou: *Gallis 1985* 20—24). Consequently, the function of the house models must be associable with the houses themselves.

To the best of our knowledge none of the house models recovered to date have come to light as grave-goods (at least as far as the Neolithic and Chalcolithic are concerned). In the subsequent periods, the occurence of the house models can be likened to that of the idols, in that both find types were missing at the Early and Middle Bronze Age sites. They reappeared at sites in Italy and the East Mediterranean only after the 12th century BC, but then these objects already served as "house urns" (ash-urns) *(Oelman 1959, Trianti 1984, Staccioli 1968)*. I wish to emphasize here that I could establish no link between these latter objects and the pre-Bronze Age ritual models. (Any reference at this stage to the presumed relationship between these two types of objects is bound to remain hypothetical. However, the facts remain that the above-mentioned hiatus applies to both types, and also that while the majority of the Neolithic-Chalcolithic idols [71 per cent of those with context] come from settlements, the "revival"-period idols [i.e. those dating from the transition period between the Middle and Late Bronze Ages] were exclusively burial offerings — *Letica 1973*).

In a few instances the furnishings of the houses have survived intact, and thus it was possible to determine the original position of the house models. They were found in the proximity of the fireplaces (Platia Magula Zarkou: *Gallis 1985* 20—24).

I am inclined to subscribe to the theory which maintains that the houses with erect walls derive from the roofless abodes or the wind-breaks erected around the fires. Accordingly, the original notion behind the term "abode" must have been the fireplace and not "enclosed space". Ever since structures have been built around fireplaces, they have been considered the focal part of the buildings. In each house the fireplace signalled the link between the ancestors and the descendants, and it also symbolized continuity and survival. Consequently, the rites connected to these notions must have taken place at the fireside.

A recently discovered find from Thessalia proves sufficiently that it is far from accidental that thè house models regularly come to light in the proximity of fireplaces. At the Platia Magula Zarkou site a house model was found buried in a pit dug next to the fireplace of an early Dimini-period building (Platia Magula Zarkou: *Gallis 1985* 20—24). The inventory of this building bears a close resemblance to that of the houses dating from the Tripolje culture, and also to that of the Ovčarovo site. Besides a fireplace and some pieces of furniture, this house model also included figurines representing the members of a three-generation family (*Gallis 1985* 22): grandparents, adult and younger children, and even a young couple with a baby. The excavator interpreted this find as a construction offering common at the Neolithic and Chalcolithic sites of SE Europe. However, the arrangement of the find can clearly be considered unusual: as we will see below, the construction offerings were normally placed in pits which the builders had dug *prior to* the commencement of the building operations. In some instances these offerings were placed straight into the foundation pit. Undoubtedly, the aim of these offerings was to ensure the success of the *constructions*. But the pit at Magula Zarkou was dug next to the fireplace — and this could only be done subsequently. Accordingly, the purpose of these offerings must have been to serve the wellbeing of the dwellers.

The Magula Zarkou find appears to support the assumption that the house models were meant to protect the life and well-being of the dwellers, i.e. that their ritual function was primarily protective.

In reference to the conclusions reached above, I now make an attempt to analyse the function of the five house model types separately.

The function of the naturalistic types must have been to symbolize the building itself, and the same should apply to the models representing the top of the bottom parts of the houses. Although the ritual role of these models has been treated as a commonplace since the publication of Frazer's work, we have no ground to doubt that these models were used for signifying whatever the dwellers wanted to happen to their real house. Under this "microcosm in the macrocosm" principle, the dwellers kept the model in a well-protected spot near the fireplace in order to ensure the safety of their proper building. This in other words means that the people of the day attempted to control their fate by performing the impending series of acts *beforehand*. This is a clear example for Frazer's transmission magic.

Let me refer back at this point to the idols again. In my opinion, the key element of the rite described above is that the objects assumed an *active* role. Moreover, we have every right to believe that the house models were roofless just to enable their owners to furnish them with chairs, tables and anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurines. And there are three more facts to be considered here:

1. quite a number of these cultic objects are discernibly worn,

2. if we presume that the objects at issue were treated as "active participants" in a rite and not as images of some super-human and statically reigning gods imbued with the misterium tremendum, we get a step closer to understanding the marked abundance of them at certain sites,

3. the regular production, use and discarding of these ritual tools may well account for the fact that the idols often exhibit traces of intentional fracturing. The people of the day could well associate their cults and the related objects to limited periods only. The ritual accessories associated with the sowing season they could not — or perhaps were not allowed to — use again on other occasions, like e.g. during harvesting. Similarly, the ritual accessories used during burials or at the bedside of women in labour could well be considered disposable.

The next type of the house models is the one applied on lids. Their role must have been similar to that of the models described above, although they were relatively more "passive". I would liken the function of these models to that of the anthropomorphic vessels. A vessel with a lid which had a house model as a handle must have contained something to which the family attached special importance — sowing seed, for example.

I deliberately left the issue of the so-called "shrine models" last in this assessment. The reason is that at this point we have to decide whether these objects should be termed "house models" or "sanctuary models". In other words, the question is whether these models served sacral or profane purposes. On the one hand, as we have seen earlier, they could be naturalistic, i.e. they could be patterned after (parts of) real structural elements. On the other hand, however, there are countless characteristics of the models with archaeological context which lead us to conclude that they must have been associated with the notion of the "sacre". Now, is this a contradiction here?

I believe that the same questions could be asked in connection with the real dwelling houses as well. After all, while the houses obviously served a host of

profane purposes (the dwellers lived, worked, slept and ate in them), there are indications that they also had sacral singificance. In proof of the latter point we could cite the practice of burying the dead under the floor, the construction offerings, the existence of the "cult corners", the animal heads applied on the gable or the countless objects with presumed cultic significance found inside the houses.

On the strength of these facts, and approaching the problem from a purely archaeological viewpoint (i.e. disregarding the religiohistorical considerations), we are bound to conclude that the function of the dwelling houses in the Neolithic and Chalcolithic periods was neither exclusively sacral, nor exclusively profane, but instead was both sacral and profane. In all probability the distinction between these two qualities was far less marked at that time than it is today.

In short, we can establish that the house models were images of the dwelling houses, and were thus also profane and sacral at the same time. To all appearances, the same conclusion applies to the other objects typical of the "cult corners" — the idols, the anthropomorphic vessels and the "altarpieces". Just as the human- or animal-headed "sanctuary models", the ornamented idols or the miniature pieces of furniture with incised symbolic patterns were paraphernalia used for certain festive rituals, so were the poorly executed and coarse idols and the "furnace models" the reflections of the profane practices. This, I think, is what the archaeological data clearly suggest. If we wish to go beyond this point, i.e. if we want to find out why did the attractive and ugly, finely and poorly executed objects occur alternately at each site, we should approach the problem from a religiohistorical viewpoint. One possible (as yet unproved but at least logical) answer was provided by Eliade, the inspired systematizer of religious history. Notwithstanding the fact that in this branch of science verification is considered far less compulsory than in natural sciences in general, on this specific point Eliade's theory is still reliably buttressed by the available archaeological data. This way archaeology could prove to be a reliable source for the researcher of the history of religion.

4. Death and the archaeological context

The studies published so far on the rites associated with death and burial far outnumber those dealing with the settlement cults. The reason for this is simple: while the settlements normally yield worn sherds only, most of the burials are rich in intact vessels and other grave-goods. Consequently, the latter findspots have far more data to offer, the associations are much easier to establish there, and so the researchers are rather fond of focussing their attention on them. It is thus not surprising at all that the funeral cults have often been chosen by researchers as the subject of their articles, studies or even diploma theses. From among the latter works, I wish to mantion here only J. Wiesner's outstanding study, and the less successful thesis completed recently by Meyer-Orlac (Wiesner 1938, Meyer-Orlac 1982).

One way or another, almost all the archaeologists who have hit upon burials with grave-goods during their career are intrigued by the death cults, and the same applies to many a researchers of religious history. Understandably so, since the circumspect burial practices of the Neolithic people clearly indicate that these people maintained close links with the ethereal powers. And there are numerous sources at our disposal to support this point.

Considering the above-mentioned abundance of studies on the problem, I would skip the task of buttressing my arguments with quotations from these sources, and would like to raise two problems instead which I think have not been sufficiently worked up as yet. These problems are:
1. the presence of infant burials at settlements, and
2. the interpretation of the idols placed in the graves.

1. "In the Neolithic, settlement and cemetery were not separated yet", the oft-cited argument claims. However, this statement is at least as inaccurate as it is fallacious. It is inaccurate because it fails to specify when did a specific culture bury the dead in a separate cemetery, in pits dug along the walls or even into the floor, and it also fails to take into consideration that once the locals began to bury their dead in a deserted part of their settlement, they "opened" a cemetery proper without moving out of their domicile. And there are those archaeological cultures (cf. the two known cemeteries of the extensive Vinča culture or the Lengyel circle in the west) which have yielded no clues as yet to their death rites, and the researchers of which are still in the dark about the way those peoples "disposed of" their dead.

And the statement above is fallacious because it fails to differentiate between the burials under the houses, next to the houses or in separate cemeteries. On the strength of a series of examples we may conclude that the burials situated inside the settlements contained primarily the skeletons of embryos, babies and small children, whereas the adults were buried in cemeteries at a distance from the settlement. (Those out to determine the infant mortality rate and the average age when analysing a cemetery had better heed this fact!) Elsewhere, the children were buried in separate corners of the cemeteries.

During a previous excavation, a stretch of a cemetery consisting of at least 22 graves has been brought to light at the Vedrovice site in Czechoslovakia, which belongs to the linear pottery circle. In addition to this, the excavator, V. Ondruš, hit upon a separate group of five children's graves, and concluded that the children's burials were situated in two separate groups on each side of the burial ground (Ondruš 1970). A similar separation at a settlement was observed at the Obre II site by A. Benac. The excavator considered the unfurnished children's burials offerings made to protect the settlement, and added that this "Mediterranean practice" was common throughout the Neolithic (Benac 1973 81).

Nándor Kalicz hit upon some 40 graves under the buildings at the Late Neolithic Herpály tell site (Kalicz—Raczky 1984 111, Fig. 29). The deceased were in the 0 to 14-year age bracket, and in one of the graves even the remnants of a coffin could be discerned (grave 28). Some of graves were furnished with dentalium beads and copper objects. Since there was no sign of a hole cut into the floor, the excavator concluded that the burial must have taken place prior to the construction of the house. The same observation applies to the stake foundation of the apsidal house at Veszprém-Felszabadulás út (Lengyel culture), which contained the skeleton of an approximately 6-year-old child in a hole between two post-holes (Raczky 1974). I attach a similar interpretation to the child's burial unearthed at Balatonmagyaród-Homoki dűlő (Bánffy 1986b, 1986c, 1987). I will come back to this burial in the chapter on "Offerings".

According to A. Benac, the special treatment of the deceased children is a phenomenon peculiar to the Neolithic only. However, we have to cite here the cellar of the so-called "Herrenhaus" at the Vučedol fortified settlement, which had

already been used by the people of the Late Bronze Age Baden culture, and which served as a burial ground for infants and small children of the Vučedol community. The small bodies were laid to rest in an embryonic position on a wallside bench, and their graves were furnished with shells and meat (*Schmidt 1945* 41—45).

There are a number of other examples for the practice of burying the dead in the area of the settlement. But, regrettably, in most of these cases the stray bone finds were too decayed to enable the excavators to determine the age of the deceased. While the skeleton uncovered in the Körös house at Szajol-Felsőföld could be identified as that of a young female (*Raczky 1982—83* 5), the excavators of the Kőrös culture house at Szolnok—Szanda were unable to further specify the "skeleton" there (*Kalicz—Raczky 1978* 275). Most of the analyzable bones discovered at these sites turn out to be the remnants of children or sub-adults.

We thus have every reason to believe that the special treatment of the deceased children was a rather widespread practice. As against the adults, the children were buried in separate groups, or in plots marked out as building sites. In my opinion, there are three possible explanations for this fact:

— this arrangement was considered advantageous for the afterlife or eventual revival of the child,

— the interment of children together with adults was prohibited under some taboo or ban associated with the earth, or

— this arrangement was considered advantageous for the surviving members of the community.

I will come back to the last assumption in the next chapter, because I feel it also comes within the problems related to the "Foundation offerings". As regards the first two points, let us consider the following ethnographical observations:

As we have seen in Chapter 2 above, it was a common practice among the peoples of the day to place the newborn children on the ground in order to invoke the Earth's protection for them. According to Manu, it was not possible to cremate the infants who died before the age of two, and thus they could be interred only (ibid). According to a similarly expressive custom, the people in West Africa put the deceased infants in jugs and bury them along the road to enable the women — who regularly tread the road on the way to fetch water — to "receive" and "re-deliver" them (*Dieterich 1913* 8). The same people, however, cut the embryo out from the womb of the deceased women and bury the unborn child separately in order to avoid offending the taboo of the Earth (*Meyer-Orlac 1982* 81). According to Meyer-Orlac, these people consider the children under the age of six only potential human beings. Should a child die before this age, it would be seen as an act of cruelty by the child towards his or her parents, since they believe that a deceased infant is bound to recurrently revive and die again. To avert this threat, these people would do anything to prevent the infant from returning to the mother's womb. Accordingly, they lay down the deceased child on the ground, cover the body with a wicker basket and then stab it. Should the mother deliver a second child, they would also lay down the infant on the ground, and would put him or her to shame by shouting the following words: "we know well that the pervious one has returned!" The aim here is to prevent the death of the newborn (*Meyer-Orlac 1982* 81). The same author cites another example from West Africa, according to which the corpse of the deceased child is flogged just to show the spirits that they see through the wicked machinations. In China, the corpse of the deceased child is suspended from a tree in the belief that once the corpse loses touch with the ground it also loses its power to revive again (*Meyer-Orlac 1982* 82).

It appears that the death of a child is considered simultaneously "unclean" and dreadful, and also reversible. As regards the former approach, it explains the interment of the infant corpses in separate lots or in cellars. But there is also the belief in "reversibility", according to which these infants "had not lived enough", "they are not ripe enough for the afterlife", and should thus be given a chance to start their earthly life anew. Consequently, the corpse must not join the dead and should remain in the proximity of the living — and especially the women. Cremation is banned because it is irreversible.

Although none of the Neolithic and Chalcolithic sites in the Carpathian Basin and in South East Europe have yielded yet infant skeletons buried in jugs (pithoi?) along the roads (which, in fact, have not survived either!), I still believe that, on the strength of the phenomena described earlier, we can identify the child burials in, or in the proximity of, the settlements with the beliefs and motivations described above.

.2. The second problem I wish to raise here relates to the interpretation of the idols found as grave-goods.

The data collected clearly show the figurines discovered at the Neolithic and Chalcolithic settlements far outnumber the idols which came to light a grave furnishings. Thumbing through the various publications, the researcher is bound to realize this fact. Widely accepted as this observation is, there are quite a number of related phenomena which have remained unexplained to date:

— Is it possible to systemize the cultures which have offered idols as grave-goods?

— What was the function of the idol and the anthropomorphic vessel in the grave?

— Should the cenotaph be considered a burial or an offering?

— Why did the idols turn up exclusively as grave-goods in the end of the Middle Bronze Age, considering that they had been missing for centuries from both the cemeteries and the settlements?

This chapter is devoted to the discussion of the first two questions.

To the best of my knowledge, only the three outstanding Early Neolithic sites mentioned above (Çatal Hüyük, Hacilar, Lapenski Vir) have yielded idols as grave-goods. In the Middle Neolithic, the quantity of these finds became remarkably polarized: the linear pottery circle has offered only one anthropomorphic vessel from a grave; five such vessels are known to have come to light from the Stoicani-Aldeni culture; three burial idols are known from the Sesklo culture and two from the Dimini—Tsangli culture; and, remarkably, the (often artistic, marble) idols appear to have formed an integral part of the burial practices of the Romanian Boian-Hamangia cultures. More than a hundred figurines have come to light in the two major cemeteries at Cernavoda and Cernica. At Cernavoda alone, forty idols were demonstrably grave-goods (there are a few examples to the contrary as well: we know of idols that have come to light in the sacrificial pit of a cemetery — see for example the famous "reflective" couple).

The Late Neolithic witnesses a return to the earlier practices: only a few stray finds date from this period. The sufficiently excavated cemeteries of the Lengyel culture have yielded only three such idols to date (a fourth one has been discovered recently in the sacrificial pit of a cemetery — Mórágy-Tűzkődomb: oral information by I. Zalai-Gaál). There are three small-sized cubiform "altarpieces" which may perhaps also be considered cultic furnishings. They come from Len-

gyel burials near Szekszárd (Lengyel: *Mészáros 1962* Figs. 2/a—b, Sárpilis-Új-berekpuszta: *Mészáros 1962* Fig. 3). The idol furnishings of the Early and Middle Bronze Age were made primarily of gold, provided that we recognize the anthropomorphic qualities of the gold pendants found in the graves of the Tiszapolgár and Bodrogkeresztúr cultures, and also of the related South-East European finds. (I am of the opinion that the evolution of the pendants clearly seems to support this explication. Even if we accept that the spondylus-pendants, which occurred first in the Neolithic Szakálhát group, were the archetypes of the Bronze Age gold pendants, there is no denying that in the subsequent periods, and especially in the graves of the Bodrogkeresztúr culture, the pendants were clearly anthropomorphic. Related to these finds are the so-called Ringkopfidol *[Höckmann 1969]* and the violin-shaped idols, which Renfrew and many others consider the archetype of the Cycladic figurines *[Renfrew 1969]*. The anthropomorphic qualities of the two latter types are beyond the shadow of a doubt.) The number of the burial idols remained relatively low in the Late Bronze Age as well. Besides the human-faced urns which have created sensation, only three other idols are known from the Baden culture (the latter were found in the proximity of the urns!). The related Coţofeni culture has yielded only one burial idol. The practice of placing idols in graves was rather uncommon among the Bronze Age peoples of Anatolia and the Middle East: the sites at Alaca and Horoztepe have offered one such figurine each. This proportion was slightly higher in the Yortan-period cemeteries at Karataş—Semeyük (EH. I—II), presumably on account of the influence the flourishing Early Bronze Age burial sculptures of the Cycladic people exerted on them (Alaca Hüyük: *Müller-Karpe 1974* Figs. 313/E/17, 18, 19, Yortan: *Kamil 1982* Figs. 84/284, 290, 291, 292, Horoztepe: *Müller-Karpe 1974* Fig. 315/14, Karataş—Semeyük: *Mellink 1967* p. 254, Fig. 77/14, *Bilgi 1977* Fig. II/14, *Mellink 1967* Figs. 77/1, 77/14, 77/13a).

This brief survey clearly shows that no relationship can be established between the number of the idols found at settlements and in burials. Neither the periods nor the provenances are conformable to systems. The answer to the question whether there is an analysable difference between the furnishings of the cremation burials and those of the inhumation graves is also bound to leave us in the dark. Considering that in the pre-Bronze Age period cremation was not a common form of burial, it appears justified to expect that the difference between the cremating cultures (who obviously held peculiar views on afterlife) and those practicing inhumation burials is manifest on the grave-goods as well. The early-period cremation burials were most recently enumerated and interpreted by K. Gallis, who relied on his own finds *(Gallis 1982, 1983)*. Having analysed the burial furnishings, he found that even the cremated bodies had had rather mundane demands! This observation he bolstered up with a number of examples ranging from the early Neolithic sites of Souphli Magula and Platia Magula Zarkou to the Greek classics Homer and Herodotus. The latter authors also stated that even the cremated body remained in need of food, drink and clothes (*Gallis 1983* 103). Fitting well into Gallis' series are the cremation burials discovered at Center, and also the recently uncovered Baden period cremation graves in the cemeteries of Méhi and Gömör.

As we have seen in the chapter on the settlements above, I consider it an essential quality of the anthropomorphic vessels that they can fully be identified with man. Accordingly, the vessel which was patterned after a female and which was used for storing corn or sowing seed fully denoted the Magna Dea (irrespective of her actual name). This vessel treasured in its womb the food, and thus the "futu-

re'', of the whole community. I consider it an analogous case when the vessel, which denoted the ''goddess'', was used for holding the remnants of a human being rather than foodstuffs. The ''notion of containment'', which the religious psychologists have sufficiently described, applies here just as much as the chthonic function of the anthropomorphic vessels does: whatever is placed in a vessel is protected. It is not difficult to recall here a number of classical and ethnographical examples, which all maintain that the deceased are bound to return (occasionally ''creep back'') to the womb of the Magna Dea to hide there until their revival. (Further examples of ''the dead are delivered by Nut''-type can be found in my thesis submitted for a degree to the Ancient History Department of the Loránd Eötvös University of Sciences of Budapest in 1980. The phenomenon is discussed in much greater detail in Eliade's chrestomathy — *Eliade 1978* Vol. 3.)

The excavators of the cremation burials at Méhi, Gömör County (today Czechoslovakia) hit upon in 1984 an object to which I attach decisive importance, but which seems to convey at least as many questions as it can solve. Standing next to two 35—40 cm high urns of the Center type was a small, 10—12 cm high solid idol which was a speaking likeness of the urns. To the best of my knowledge this was the first joint occurrence of an identically-shaped *anthropomorphic vessel* and an *idol*. And, moreover, they were not just parts of the same assemblage but were furnishings of the same burial! In my opinion this fact proves that the anthropomorphic vessel was meant to denote the same image or notion as the idol did. Since a context like this excludes all kinds of profane interpretations, we are led to identify this image or notion with a transcendent being or a ''god'', whose presence in the grave can be accounted for by the sequence ''notion of containment — protection — accompaniment in the grave — protection in afterlife — help in revival''. Consequently, these few archaeological objects and their context appear to amount to a justification of a ''topos'' widely held in religious history.

The brief statistics on page 203 above reveal that while the finely and the poorly executed idols were found in equal numbers at the settlements, the ratio between the number of these types was approximately six to one in the burials. This significant difference fits well into my theory of cultic life at the settlements which I have briefly outlined above. My conclusion on this point was that the people at the settlements turned out the nicely and the poorly executed idols according to a regular pattern, which was determined by the alternation of the weekdays and holidays, i.e. by the cycle of profane time and sacral time. The death and funeral rites must definitely have belonged to the sacral period, not only because of their ''formidable'', numinosus nature but also because the closeness to the deceased and the funeral itself signified a kind of contact with the ancestry and with the other world. The act of the funeral, the feeling of establishing contact and the notion of sacral time must have occurred simultaneously and must have been closely related, and thus they must have determined the nature of the appropriate rites. Accordingly, it is small wonder that the people of the day put finely executed and durable (e.g. marble) idols in the graves on these ''sacred'' occasions. Also, it is understandable that no typological difference can be established between the idols coming from settlements and from the graves, since they produced similar idols for the living and the dead on festive occasions. Death itself did not exclude man from the cycle of time. Instead, it was seen as one of the phases of life which lasted until revival. Why then should the deceased require objects different from those he had used before his death or will use after his revival?

5. Offerings

The previous chapters were devoted to the "cult corners" and the phenomena associated with the burials. "Ensuring" the cycle of life and death and its *continuity* was the practice of offering various sacrifices, and thus the offerings represented an important, perhaps even key, element of cultic life in the Neolithic and Chalcolithic. These offerings are archaeologically discernible at several sites. For the archaeologist, it is much easier to identify an offering than to interpret it. Perhaps this is why the archaeological studies tend to leave the "offerings" largely unexplained.

The assemblages identified as offerings we know of can be divided into three groups:

1. grave goods — offerings associable with death and burial — subsequent offerings — cult of the dead

2. "cult corner" offerings and "bothros" — rituals, propitiation and prevention aimed to improve the fertility of man, the animals and the plants

3. rites associated with the laying of the foundations of houses (a specific form of the offerings above) — foundation offerings.

5.1 Archaeology recognizes a series of different offerings associated with burial. There are a number of *grave-good types* which can be considered parts of the funeral offerings. In his detailed analysis, Meyer-Orlac proposed to separate the "Ausstattung" from the "Grabbeigaben", i.e. the practice of decorating the grave from that of decorating the body or the clothes of the deceased. However, he also stopped short of defining how exactly the various grave-goods could be fit into these categories (*Meyer-Orlac 1982* 60). Which of the objects found as grave-goods can we consider parts of the apparel, which are the ones whose intended purpose was to facilitate entry for the deceased in the other world, and which of them can be regarded as offerings proper? Since these questions are bound to remain open at this point, we have to satisfy ourselves with theoretical reasoning only.

Regrettably, the proposal set forth by W.F. Otto is likewise impossible to buttress by archaeological facts. In his opinion the differentiation here should be between the "Lebensseele" and the "Totengeist", i.e. between the grave-goods and the offerings (*Otto 1958*). The problem is, we cannot identify the specific purpose of each object found in the graves. The objects commonly found in the Neolithic and Chalcolithic graves (vessels, jewellery, remains of food — i.e. animal bones — or finely executed tools and implements) could well have been intended to help the deceased "survive" and revive, but could also be considered offereings made to conciliate the dreadful and unearthly spirit of the dead.

Accordingly, we are justified in our belief that the furnishings of the burials and the funeral rites were all meant to facilitate the "rebirth" of the dead, who was thus supposed to remain part of the cycle of life and death, whereas the (preventive?) offerings made at specific points of time in or around the burial site were addressed to the spirit of the dead.

The notion of the "Lebensseele" appears to be identifiable with some of the burial phenomena, like e.g. the practices of dusting the corpse with red ochre, interring it in an embryonic position, or filling the skull with clay to emphasize lifelikeness.

The practice of painting the corpse ochre was common both in time and in space. In Hungary, it was especially widespread in the Szakálhát period. Since the

colour red ochre has always symbolized blood and thus life, we have ground for presuming that the aim of this practice was to make the corpse appear lifelike. In all probabilty the same explanation should apply to the fact that several of the expressly female idols were also found painted red. This practice had its parallels even in India, where the sacral sites, figurines or stones were dusted with vermilion during the fertility rites. The paint there substituted for menstrual blood (*Bhattacharyya 1971* 17).

A variety of interpretations have been attached to date to the markedly contracted Neolithic and Chalcolithic skeletons discovered at European sites. ''Imitation of a sleeping position'', ''incubation dream'', and ''fear from the dead'' are just some of these explanations. I, for one, would prefer to consider the contracted burials an imitation of the embryonic position. Notwithstanding that all the other interpretations may rest on logical reasoning, I believe that the available data clearly support the latter version.

The practice of plastering clay over the skull to imitate the face, and also the imitation of the eyes by placing shells in the eyeholes must also have been aimed to change the corpse into a ''living creature''. Examples for this are known from the earliest Neolithic period in the Middle East (Jericho PPN B, *Kenyon* 1960), although recent research has identified the technique (i.e. the life-size clay head with inlaid eyes) in the Bulgarian Gumelniţa culture as well (*Genov—Radunceva* 1985).

A number of offerings are known to have been recovered in cemeteries dating from the Neolithic and Chaltolithic periods of Hungary and South—East Europe. The excavator of the Lengyel culture cemetery at Mórágy-Tűzkődomb, István Zalai-Gaál, has hit upon a series of symbolic burials with furnishings, and he also discovered a regular-shaped pit among the burials which included an ''altarpiece'' and a number of other objects (*Zalai-Gaál 1984* and his kind oral information). K. Gallis uncovered in the Middle Neolithic cremation-rite cemetery at Souphli Magula two shallow cremation pits in the proximity of the burials. These pits have yielded sherds from deliberately broken (and originally unserviceable) vessels (*Gallis 1983* p. 99). Ciugudean made mention of a Late Chalcolithic example from the Baden-Coţofeni culture where a grave has offered food remnants from the funeral feast *(Ciugudean 1985b)*. Although a number of the grave-goods might well have been thrown into the pits at the close of the funeral feast, it is next to impossible to ascertain this today. According to Wiesner, it was common in the pre-Bronze Age period to hold funeral feasts (*Wiesner 1938* passim). Had this been the case, at least part of the objects recovered from graves should be considered remnants from such feasts rather than grave-goods proper. Regrettably, we have no grounds for identifying the finds on this basis. And yet I believe that the funeral feast was in itself an offering, and I am also positive that it was addressed to the ''Lebensseele''.

The genuine manifestations of the cult of the dead are the objects placed on the graves subsequently. These post-burial offerings were fairly common in later periods. We also know that these offerings were made at specific points of time. But, regrettably, here we also have to face the problem of how the presumed role of these objects could be ascertained. The practice of placing subsequent offerings on the graves must have lived on only until the memory of the deceased could survive among the living. Since this period could not exceed one or two decades, we can state for certain that in such a brief while the products of the craftsmen could not undergo ostensible changes. Also, the position of the objects is no reliable help either. The arrangement of the vessels and tools in the grave could

well be upset during backfilling, and these objects could easily get mixed up with the subsequent offerings.

It follows from the foregoing that while the existence of the cultic objects and phenomena is a clear indication that there existed the practice of funeral offering, we cannot as yet determine their qualities and meaning through archaeological means.

5.2 Since the offerings in general (which are associable with fertility or prevention) have received extensive coverage in the literature to date, I wish to focus my attention here on the more specific problems relating to the foundation offerings.

According to J. Makkay, who authored a number of studies on this specific issue, the sacrificial pits, which were peculiar to the Neolithic period in Europe, had also been common in the Middle East until the end of the pre-dynastic age (cf. also *Buren 1952, Mellaart 1975)*, and were typical, although to a much smaller extent, in the period leading up to Hellenism (*Makkay 1975* 166). We may add here that a number of such pits have also come down to us from the Roman period *(Moskovszky 1975, Muthmann 1975)*.

C. Colpe defined the sacrificial pit as follows: its context is always unusual, and it is normally stratified *(Colpe 1970)*. In most of the known instances there are sterile strata in these pits alternating with strata rich in finds and/or ash. The offering itself could be either bloody or bloodless.

Belonging to the first category were the human and animal sacrifices, which are also known by the term blood sacrifice. The expression ''human sacrifice'' has already caused much confusion in archaeological literature. A human skeleton in a bothros should not necessarily be taken as a proof that a man was *sacrificed* there, even if only a part of the body was interred there (cf. the skull burials characteristic of the Lengyel circle). Mention will be made below of a number of curiously interred children, and of the pit-burials typical of the Late Neolithic. And yet, none of those cases will offer proofs for deliberate sacrifice. This is why I cannot accept Makkay's conclusion that all the human remains can be identified as bloody human sacrifices (*Makkay 1983* 164). Makkay goes as far as stating that all the remnants of this kind dating from the linear pottery cultures should be considered human sacrifices: ''After killing the victim (probably a war captive)...'' (*Makkay 1983* 165).

Numerous examples could be cited for animal sacrifices as well: the bull cult was common throughout South—East Europe beginning with the Kőrös culture. The practice of applying animal (mostly bull or ram) heads on the gable was rather widespread. A bothros at Bicske has yielded two superimposed bullhorns (*Makkay 1983* 163, *Makkay 1986*). The people at the Herpály settlement, who were presumably engaged in domesticating aurochs, buried aurochs horns under their houses (*Kalicz—Raczky 1984* 111, Figs. 25—27, *Bökönyi 1986*). J. Makkay cited several examples for the bucrania among the earlier finds *(Makkay 1973)*. Most recently, a deep, regular-shaped pit was discovered in an empty lot among the houses at Herpály, in which the skeletons of eight dogs were found lying along the wall (*Kalicz—Raczky 1984* 135).

The blood sacrifices are demonstrable through the chemical analysis of the unctuous and organic soil at the sites.

The bloodless sacrifices included the food and drink offerings, and also the offering of various tools or cultic objects. This latter practice had survived into the Late Bronze Age swamp depots of Northern Europe.

Not improbably the ALP period vessel a sherd from which has come to light in a landslip between Rakamaz and Timár was a libation vessel, i.e. it was used for pouring a liquid as a sacrifice (*Jósa 1899* Fig. 264). A subsequently recovered comparable object from Buj-Feketehalom was identified by Makkay as a "cheese-squeezer" (*Makkay 1963* 7, Pl. I). Although the precise and reliable identification of these objects hinges on further archaeological and other research, I believe that my assumption is supported by the fact that a "libation vessel" of this type has come to light in a pit at Tiszadob-Poklos together with idols (*Istvánovits—Lőrinczy 1986* 30, site Pl. XI. 1., and kind oral information by E. Istvánovits).

We also have to observe care in approaching the problem of the cultic objects of votive puprose. In the foregoing I wished to emphasize that the idols, "altarpieces" and house models discovered in or around the "cult corners" all had "active" roles to play, i.e. they were not just artifacts made to please to eye. To my mind, the offering of sacrifice clearly entailed a series of acts. Once the "feast", i.e. the ritual act was over, the exhausted figurines and other sacrificial tools could be broken (for reasons detailed above). That is how they could reach the pits (even those identified as bothroi), since each stratum in these pits can be identified with a "sacrificial feast". On the strength of all these, I believe that it is impossible to furnish archaeological evidence in support of the presumed existence in the Neolithic and Chalcolithic of the "passive", votive figurines. Of course, the lack of evidence is no proof positive either, and thus the contrary may also be true.

As we have seen, sacrifices could be offered at sites and spots other than pits. Indicative of this are the ritual accessories, altars and bucrania discovered in the cultic parts of buildings. Unless I am mistaken, I identify the cultic activity that took place in the sacral parts of the buildings with the kind of sacrifice discussed in the present part of this chapter. In the chapter on the house models above I have outlined already what significance can be attached to the proximity of the fireplace, and why the cult and "calling up" of the ancestors should be seen as crucial here. The related difficulties of interpretation will also be raised in the chapter on "Evaluation", so I do not touch upon them here.

5.3 There are two considerations upon which a certain assemblage can be regarded as a foundation offering: firstly the archaeological circumstances of discovery, and secondly the ethnographical associations. In other words, a "sacrificial pit" can be considered a foundation offering only if it came to light in a settlement, under a building or in a lot among buildings, and in a position which corresponds to the relevant ethnographical descriptions (for a summary cf. *Bartha 1984*).

There is a Middle Chalcolithic assemblage which came to light in 1983 at the Balatonmagyaród-Homoki dűlő site and which had occupied me a lot before I identified it as a foundation offering (*Bánffy 1985b, 1987*). In the paragraphs below I wish to outline the process whereby we can *establish with relative certainty* whether an assemblage could be considered a foundation offering or not. In other words, the point here is not the assemblage but the method applied.

The objects dating from a Chalcolithic Balaton—Lasinja culture settlement were discovered at the Homoki dűlő site among Celtic and 8th—9th century phenomena. (The excavations were led by László Horváth, Béla Miklós Szőke and László Vándor.) Object No. 7 which has yielded a human skeleton and sherds from the early (I.) phase of the Balaton—Lasinja culture was presumably associable with this settlement. The slightly oval, 190 cm × 180 cm pit at the settlement was gently widening toward the bottom. Its depth was 130—140 cm. The stratification

of the pit was as follows (from above): humus (30 cm), subhumus (10 cm), greyish-brown sandy-clayey hollowed layer with mud-flakes and scattered sherds (40 cm), sterile white sand (20 cm), charcoal and mud-flakes (10 cm). This latter layer already included the tip of the heap of large-size lime concretions which occupied the bottom of the pit. This heap measured 100 cm × 100 cm at the bottom, and it was surrounded by a thin layer of scattered lumps of lime in an approximately 40 cm wide circle. It looked as if the people who dug the pit intentionally formed a "circular channel" in its bottom. This channel was filled in with a loose, brownish layer containing mud-flakes. Below this layer was a 3—4 cm thick layer which was rich in charcoal, mud-flakes and sherds. The level of this latter layer was higher than that of the thin layer of lime concretions, which in fact was the last artificial layer in the pit.

The lime concretions, which were otherwise common in the local soil, obviously could not be heaped up in the pit through natural processes. Indeed, the concretions must have been brought into the pit intentionally, and for some specific purpose. Supporting this assumption is the fact that the wall of the pit contained no lime concretions, i.e. these concretions could not reach the pit through the loosening of the soil there. These concretions in the heap stuck so strongly together that the excavators needed a pick-axe to break it up. The bottom of the pit below the heap was filled with fine, whitish-yellow sand.

This pit was all the more significant since it has yielded the skeleton of a child. It was dicovered in the "channel" between the heap of lime concretions and the wall of the pit (the skeleton was analysed and identified by I. Kiszely). The approximately 5-year-old boychild was lying on his back, with both arms held upwards and slightly bent at the elbow (the bone of the left forearm was missing). The skull was lying on its dome, and the jaw-bone was found 15 cm to the north of it. One leg was lying bent at right angle, and the other leg had been disturbed during recovery and thus its original position could not be determined. The skeleton had no burial context. Lying close to it was a large-sized, fashioned conglomerate (grindstone?). The base of a larger vessel was discovered next to the skull, at the heap of the lime concretions.

For pronouncedly methodological reasons, we have to consider here the other possible interpretations of this pit. Could it originally serve as a storage pit (and could the burial take place only subsequently)? This question is fairly easy to answer. As we have seen, the heap of the lime concretions was found stuck together in the centre of the circular pit. Had the concretions been thrown into a storage pit, they could hardly have come to light in such a regular formation. Also, the cross-section of the pit clearly shows that its bottom was not horizontal, but instead it was at least 10—15 cm higher below the heap than around it. Accordingly, this "channel" was hollowed out either subsequently (i.e. following the completion of the heap), or initially (i.e. as part of a plan of action). Supporting the latter version is the fact that the "channel" also included a thin layer of lime. On these grounds, we are entitled to believe that the lime concretions were heaped up in a pit whose bottom had previously been prepared for the purpose. On the strength of all these, we can safely preclude the possibility that the original purpose of the Balatonmagyaród pit was storage.

The next question that crops up relates to the contingent ritual significance of the pit. Archaeological literature abounds in references to finds which are considered sacrificial or summarily ritual, notwithstanding that the conclusions are only rarely supported by weighty arguments. In order to avoid jumping to such conclusions here, I would like to go into the particulars of this question.

If we try to pin down the parallels of the Homoki dűlő find, we have to compare it to the known burials of the Balaton—Lasinja culture on the one hand, and to the preliminary and contemporary burial customs on the other. The aim here should be to find out whether the practice of interring the deceased in pits (originally dug for other purpose) existed at other sites as well.

The available data on the Middle Chalcolithic period of Transdanubia are clearly too deficient to be used for comparison. No separate burial ground dating from this period has come to light in Transdanubia to date. The individual burials known from Nagyvázsony, Keszthely, Pécsbagota and Regöly each included a laterally contracted skeleton accompanied by a vessel (*Kalicz 1969* 86). The younger phases (II—III) of the Balaton—Lasinja culture have yielded a few examples for cremation burials as well: Nadap, Neszmély, Szerencs (*Makkay 1970* Fig. 26, *Kalicz 1969* 86). At the two latter sites, the calcinated bones were buried in jugs with stroked ''Furchenstich'' decoration.

Since the finds discovered in and around the pit are clearly associable with the early phase (I) of the Balaton—Lasinja culture, we are entitled to seek parallels for the practice of interring the dead in pits in the cultures immediately (or indirectly?) preceding that horizon. This burial practice was acknowledgedly widespread in the Late Neolithic cultures of the Carpathian Basin — primarily in the late Lengyel culture and in the Moravian painted Stichband circle, and also in the Sopot and late Vinča cultures to the south of the Balaton—Lasinja culture.

An example for an early-period pit burial in Transdanubia was cited by J. *Makkay (1986)*. The excavators of a settlement at Káloz (note-headed phase of the Transdanubian LP) hit upon a pit in the proximity of a long house. This pit was covered with burnt clay, and its infilling contained burnt human bones and pottery sherds. The Veszprém-Felszabadulás út site, which dates from the last phase (III) of the Lengyel culture, has yielded an apsidal house the foundation pit of which contained the skeleton of a six-year-old child (*Raczky 1974*, pp. 187—189). This find slightly antedated the objects recovered in the Homoki dűlő pit.

In the Late Neolithic, the burial grounds in the areas east of Lake Balaton were generally large and well-arranged (Zengővárkony, Aszód). In Central Europe, the end of the Neolithic introduced the practice of burying the dead, or only some bones, in pits. This practice was especially typical of the Moravian painted circle. Instead of burial grounds (*Podborský 1970*), these people used individual pits to bury the dead or their bones. A dwelling pit at Brudek (Snehotice) has yielded the skeletons of two humans and a dog, and also sherds from red and white painted wares (*Kostuřik 1972* 23—25). Lying on a fireplace in a pit at Cezavy (Blucina) were four human skulls and a number of broken human bones (*Kostuřik 1972* 23—25). Human bones were also discovered in settlement pits at Unicov and Hluboké Masufky (*Kostuřik 1972* 23—25).

Several Slovakian and Moravian sites dating from the Lengyel and the Moravian painted pottery cultures have offered human skeletons interred in pits. At the Nitra-Brodzany or Ludanice-phase burial ground and settlement of Branc (Berencsváralja) the excavators found the skeleton of a child thrown head first into pit No 271 (*Vladár 1969* 497). The site has yielded 14 ''sacrificial pits''. Scattered bones accompanied by pottery sherds were discovered in several pits at Mlynarce (*Novotny 1962* 161—163, 221—222) and at a number of other sites (Telnice, Hrábetice, Drbánice, Brno—Královo Polje [accompanied by Moravian paited wares], Nagykosztolány-Vel'ké Kostolany and Vicsápapáti-Vycapy Opatovce [accompanied by sherds from Ludanice-type potteries] — *Novotny 1962* 161—163,

221—222). This practice was also common in the area of the Stichband potteries (*Zápotocká 1969* 541—574).

Parallels for this practice and for the cultic "partial" burials are also known from the Austrian settlements of the Lengyel and the Moravian painted pottery cultures. A pit dated to the early phase of the Lengyel culture at Poigen, Lower Austria, contained four human skulls accompanied by antlers. Lying next to the skulls were sherds, mud-flakes, animal bones and heaps of ash (*Berg 1956* 70—76). Comparable stray burials were cited by E. Ruttkay from Bisamberg-Parkring, Eggendorf-Zogeldorferstr, Wetzleinsdorf and Bernhardstal (*Ruttkay 1983* 27).

The fact that this practice is not known in the area of the Sopot culture to the south of Transdanubia may well be accounted for by the deficiency of research there (*Dimitrijevic 1968*). Examples for such burials are known from the area of the Vinča culture, which was partly contemporaneous with the Sopot culture. While the settlements of the Vinča culture have been researched rather extensively, our knowledge of the burial practices there is rather limited. Besides a few scattered burials (*Korosec 1950*), only two burial grounds have been unearthed there to date (the early-period Botoš and the late-period Gomolava cemeteries). Of them, the latter is of interest for us. The excavator of the Gomolava burial ground, B. Brukner, made mention of 23 burials there. One of them was a double burial, which came to light in a pit in the Gomolava Ib layer (*Brukner 1976* 12—14, Fig. 2).

There are several known examples for the survival of this burial practice into the cultures which succeeded the Balaton—Lasinja culture. The cellar of the so-called "Herrenhaus" at the fortified Early Bronze Age settlement of Vučedol was used as burial ground for infants and small children . The practice of separating the corpses according to sexes was equally common in this culture and in the Hungarian Baden and earlier Bodrogkeresztúr cultures (*Schmidt 1945* 45—46). In his article on the ritual life of the Baden-Ossarn culture, J. Makkay made mention of several human bones coming from "cultic" pits (*Makkay 1963* 3—15).

The regrettable scarcity of data on the Neolithic and Chalcolithic burial practices prevents us from compiling a statistical analysis by comparing these examples with the other known burial practices. And yet, it appears justified to establish that, despite the prevalence in both time and space of the practice of interring the dead in pits, the burials of this kind are known to us from individual and stray examples only.

The majority of these pit burials are demonstrably associable with settlements. Quite often the excavators interpreted them as foundation offerings, because a number of them came to light under buildings or in foundation pits (Káloz, Veszprém-Felszabadulás út, Brančh, Brudek, etc.). The Middle Chalcolithic Balaton—Lasinja culture is known to us primarily through its potteries and pits, and thus we cannot tell as yet whether the practice of offering construction sacrifices was known to the people of the period. There are certain phenomena observed at object No 7 at Balatonmagyaród which point to this direction.

In the Late Neolithic and Early Chalcolithic, the practice of offering construction scarifices was widespread throughout the Carpathian Basin. These offerings had two basic types: they were either household objects, vessels or occasionally house models (e.g. Berencsváralja—Brančh: *Vladar 1962* Fig. 82), or human or animal corpses (or parts). Besides the examples mentioned above, the skeletons

of the forty-odd infants and children which came to light in the post-holes and un-
der the floor of the houses at the Herpály tell settlement can also be considered
foundation offerings. Moreover, the above-mentioned eight canine skeletons dis-
covered on the bottom of a deep pit in an empty lot among the houses there are
also associable with this practice.

A variety of theories have been published to date on why these foundation
offerings involved the burial of infants rather than adults. With reference to the
detailed discussion of this problem in the chapter on the "Infact burials at settle-
ments" above, let me add here only that I consider the infant corpses more "effi-
cient" offerings, which were considered "more advantageous" to the survivors
(see category "c" on page 225). But let me repeat here my conviction that the
skeletons coming from below buildings exhibit no sign of deliberate sacrifice or
ritual killing. There is no sign of violence on the skeletons coming from Herpály,
Balatonmagyaród and the neighbouring sites. With the exception of pit No 271 at
Branč, all these burials can safely be associated with "normal and regular" rites.

Another common feature of these burials is that most of them have yielded
pottery sherds or other objects as well. In the case at issue, the fashioned heap of
lime concretions can well be considered a grave furnishing of this kind. The heap
was flat and slightly dished on one side, and convex on the other. Its form resemb-
led that of a grindstone, notwithstanding that the grits in the limy sand were too
large to fit that purpose. On these grounds, there are two possible interpretations
to be considered here: the producer of this conglomerate was either working on
a grindstone but realized in the end that it was unfit for the purpose, or he delibe-
rately meant it to be a grave furnishing. Be that as it may, the conglomerate re-
mains associable (on either a practical or a theoretical level) with the corn, which
again is a peculiar feature of the foundation offerings.

The special execution of the bottom of the pit can be construed as follows.
The heap of lime concretions surrounded by a "channel" is a formation which
had numerous parallels at Neolithic and Chalcolithic sites in the Carpathian Basin.
Based on their qualities and associations, we have every reason to connect them
with the ancient "omphaloi" (Pausanias: Graeciae descriptio 10, 6, 3, 1981). A
comparable omphalos-shaped clay object was discovered on the floor of a house
at the Herpály tell settlement (*Kalicz—Raczky 1984* Fig. 24). The cultic site at
Szarvas (Bodrogkeresztúr culture) exhibited this shape (*Makkay 1980—81*
45—47, 349—350), and yet another omphalos is known from the floor of the
painted "sanctuary model" coming from Öcsöd-Kováshalom and dating from the
late Szakálhát period (*Bánffy 1986* in print). The term "omphalos" refers to the
navel of something, and thus it symbolizes a central point *(Cirlot 1981)*. Lacking
examples to the contrary, it appears justified to attribute this meaning to the finds
specified above, and also to the heap in the Homoki dűlő pit. Since all these "om-
phaloi" have come to light at settlements which of course required appropriate
defences, we can easily associate this symbolic "central point" with the pre-
sumed foundation offerings.

Subsequent deep ploughing at the site has prevented us from determining
whether the Homoki dűlő pit was originally dug below a house or in an empty lot
among the houses. Had it originally been situated under a house, it must have
served to protect that very building only. If we presume that the pit was dug in an
empty lot, than it must have been the joint foundation offering of a number of fa-
milies, similarly to the pit with canine skeletons at Herpály. In support of the latter
presumption we could cite the omphalos as a symbol of a central point, and also

the stratification of the infilling of the pit. And here the question also arises whether the pit should be considered a simple offering, or was it a venue for recurrent offerings?

On the strength of C. Colpe's definition cited above, we can establish that this pit differed from the "bothroi" in several respects. While the context of this pit was markedly unusual, we cannot take the stratification (two layers of burnt charcoal covered with sterile, white sand) as a proof for its recurrent use. The pit has yielded no trace of either bloody or bloodless sacrifice, and no remnants of vessels, plants or animals were discovered there. I have to stress here that the researcher of stratification should always observe care since the comparable effects of natural aggradation are always there to reckon with. However, in this specific case there appears to be no reason to reckon with slow and incidental aggradation. Similarly, the stratification of the pit is not indicative in itself of a bothros. In support of this "negative conclusion", let me also refer to the fact that none of the foundation offerings we know of were venues for recurrent rites.

There are two conclusions I wish to draw from this exposition:

First, that the body of beliefs and the cultic life of the people of the Balaton—Lasinja culture could not be radically different from those of their Neolithic ancestors in the Carpathian Basin. Instead, the Balaton—Lasinja culture should be considered a transition into the subsequent Late Chalcolithic cultures.

Second, that the reliable identification of a find or an assemblage as a foundation offering, or even as a sacrifice in general, hinges on the thorough analysis of all the relevant facts and circumstances. Such an approach to the problem may help prehistoric archaeology go beyond its own bounds. Instead of trying to disguise its shortcomings by borrowing resounding phrases from the history of religions, prehistoric archaeology and the history of religions should pool their findings to conquer new scientific heights.

6. Summary, evaluation

The aim of the present paper was to contrast certain generally accepted religiohistorical concepts with the relevant archaeological phenomena, and to find out the correspondences between the finds, assemblages or "cultic" phenomena and the related conclusions of theoretical researchers on the archaic religions.

As we will see below, there are some archaeological relics which appear to justify the theories on cultic life, and there are others which seem to counter them. I also have to admit that some of my conclusions (like e.g. the ones on the community buildings or the "cult corners") were rooted in subjective and as yet unprovable reasonings. Considering all these, I have to state that I attach at least as great an importance to the *negative* outcome of these comparisons as to the occasional correspondences.

Before dealing with the evaluation of the findings, I have to account for my decision to bracket the Neolithic and Chalcolithic relics of the region together, and I also have to establish the chronology of the available finds.

The number of the analysable assemblages was gradually increasing after the Eearly Neolithic (I could rely on 231 examples from the Early Neolithic and 419 examples from the Middle Neolithic). This was followed by a marked drop during the first half of the Chalcolithic (44 examples). At some of the Chalcolithic sites

this drop could demonstrably not be accounted for by the immigration of a new population professing a different faith. One such site was Herpály in Eastern Hungary: the settlements of the Late Neolithic Herpály culture evolved smoothly into the so-called Proto-Tiszapolgár horizon, which in turn was the immediate predecessor of the Chalcolithic Tiszapolgár culture. The preliminary findings of my on-going researches in the Little Balaton area suggest a similar conclusion, namely that there was no hiatus between the last (unpainted) phase of the Lengyel culture and the earliest phase of the Balaton—Lasinja culture. This conclusions, which runs counter to the earlier assumptions, has its roots not only in the comparison of the pottery fabrics and forms, but also in the cultic phenomena which both cultures shared (see the chapter on "Foundation offerings"). I may as well recall here the lecture N. Tasić delivered at the Szekszárd conference in 1985 *(Tasić 1986),* according to which the Salvonian Lasinja culture was also a direct descendant of the local Vlnča D culture.

A similarity on the level of cultic phenomena also existed between the Cucuteni-Gumelnița cultures and their successors, the Salcuța IV, and the Boleráz—Baden horizons. In the south, the late Dimini culture evolved into the Rachmani culture without a hiatus (the number of examples cited from the Late Chalcolithic was 93).

This relative homogeneity of those Central and South—East European cultic practices that existed between the Early Neolithic and the transition period between the Chalcolithic and the Bronze Age accords well with the theory which stresses the primacy of local development and continuity over the occasional impact of the immigrant peoples *(Renfrew 1973).* But while I presume a relationship between the lives and cultic practices of the Neolithic and Chalcolithic peoples (i.e. I bracket the cultures in this vast geographical region together), I wish to steer clear of subscribing to such commonly used terms like "eastern Mediterranean proto-European" or "Old European". My reservations are rooted in the fact that the adherents of this approach tend to contrast this "Mediterrranean" cultural circle (which they describe as matriarchal and centered on the Magna Mater) with the "Indo-European" culture and religion (which reached Europe in the Bronze Age and which adored male deities). This to my mind boils down to a rash and over-simplified resurrection of an approach that has already proved inadequate and ill-starred.

Similarly, I regard as premature those highly imaginative theories which intend to put down this Chalcolithic homogeneity as Indo-European *(Bánffy 1985d).* In my opinion it is always questionable to identify a culture with a people and their language. This applies especially to those periods which have not passed down direct written sources to us. Consequently, for the time being we have to be satisfied with recording the epic, non-verbal contents of certain customs and practices, and comparing them to other such findings. But any attempt to associate the language, myths and legends of some bygone peoples with the archaeologically recorded assemblages must be preceded by further thorough research.

Relying on the data at my disposal, I made an attempt to interpret some of the cultic phenomena associated with cultures believed to belong to the same circle. Random as my selection may seem, I cannot but admit that I was guided by the availability of the archaeologically evaluable contexts. And I have to emphasize that I could not draw a comprehensive picture for the clear lack of reliable data. I believe that my conclusions on the everyday life and festivities of the peoples at issue are tenable, but I have to admit that the data at my disposal did not permit

a thorough and reliable analysis of the cult of the dead, the grave furnishings and the few objects regarded as votive. But I wish to stress that my interpretations and conclusions appear to fit into a logical system, which in turn will hopefully provide a basis for future research into the cultic life of the Neolithic and Chalcolithic peoples.

Having analyzed the archaeological circumstances of the objects' discovery, I made in the present paper five conclusive statements, each of which is comparable with a religiohistorical "topos". These statement can be summarized as follows:

1. Those buildings which are normally termed as "sanctuaries" I consider community buildings. The ground-plan of all but a few of them was fully identical with that of the normal dwelling houses. However, the objects they included were different, and part of these finds could well be identified as cultic. But my point of departure was that practically all the buildings, including those which demonstrably served as dwelling houses, have yielded objects or phenomena indicative of religious or cultic activities. Accordingly, I believe that the venue for cultic life was primarily the dwelling house, and that the majority of the cultic rites were the concern of the families living there rather than of the whole community. Now what could be the purpose of the "non-dwelling" houses? The phenomena observed in such buildings at Lepenski Vir, Cayönü or Nevali Çori suggest that they must have been related to the cult of the progenitors. The unusually large size of the building of this kind at Tiszapolgár suggests that it must have been built for a larger community rather than for a single family. The abundance of the unusual objects and phenomena at Nea Nikomedeia and Lepenski Vir (clay balls, trapezoidal objects, fish leavings, stone heads) leads us to believe that these buildings could have been venues for such ceremonies like the initiation, which the nature peoples consider a major stage in the cycle of life and death. This assumption lends itself to be contrasted with Eliade's thesis on the archaic concept of time.

2. Besides the "community buildings", the dwelling houses at the settlements have also yielded objects and phenomena indicative of cultic purport (the sufficiently reconstructible sacral parts of the dwelling houses discovered at Stara Zagora, Szolnok-Szanda, Vésztő-Mágor, Herpály, Gorzsa and Tripeşti were definitely not isolated occurrences). Remarkably, almost all the cases where the circumstances of the cultic objects' discovery were accurately recorded date from the recent past. This was clearly not accidental: the buildings uncovered earlier must also have included such parts, but at that time the excavators had still treated the "sanctuaries" and the "dwelling houses" as completely unrelated units. Consequently, they classed the buildings in either of these two "exclusive" categories. This is why there are numerous references to "sanctuaries" in the literature. However, if we subject these buildings to further analyses we are bound to discover that in several instances the cultic phenomena and objects occurred in a specific part (one room) only. On the strength of this conclusion, it is still possible to draw subsequent inferences from the objects discovered inside these houses or in the proximity of the fireplaces there. Similarly, we can add here those objects which have come to light in refuse pits associable with houses, since they must also have belonged to the inventory of the "cult corners".

These idols, anthropomorphic vessels, house models and "altarpieces" have come to light in remarkably large numbers — in fact, they represent the majority of the recovered finds. Moreover, the majority of these "cultic" finds exhibit traces

of use or deliberate fracture. These facts have led me to conclude that these objects were accessories used in a specific activity, that they were produced on a regular basis and for specific occassions (their execution also equalled the occasion), and that they were ultimately "neutralized" under some ritual commandment (they were shattered and buried; quite often the sherds were hidden in the ground separately).

The traces of the initiation ceremonies discussed above, and also the conclusions that each house had a cultic part; that the cultic objects there were *actively* involved in the rituals; that these objects were executed to fit specific occasions; and finally that these occasions were *recurrent* all appear to enable us to contrast them with the relevant findings of religiohistory.

3. The Late Chalcolithic Méhi assemblage proved instrumental in the interpretation of the anthropomorphic vessels. These finds appeared to prove the soundness of our assumption that the anthropomorphic vessels should be interpreted along the same lines as the idols. Due to their contaning capacity, the anthropomorphic vessels were suitable for storing and protecting certain objects (sowing seeds, human bones). But their chthonic function was basically similar to that of the idols with pointed feet which the peoples of the Cucuteni—Tripolje cultures stuck into their corn bins.

Mention must be made here of yet another peculiarity of the anthropomorphic vessels: their proportioned execution (neck, ear, shoulder, belly) was meant to symbolize the human being (deity?). On this point, the anthropomorphic vessels are again comparable with the idols, and thus we are entitled to seek a direct relationship in archaic thinking between the concepts of idol — man — (deity?).

4. Numerous skeletons have been brought to light at the Neolithic—Chalcolithic settlements of the area at issue. The majority of these skeletons were those of infants, children or sub-adult people. The practice of subjecting the deceased children to a special treatment was common even beyond the geographical and time-frame of the present study. I believe that this special treatment can be accounted for by three considerations: a) the joint burial of children and adults fell under a certain ban, b) this arrangement was considered advantageous for the children (life in the other world, eventual revival), c) this arrangement was considered advantageous for the surviving members of the community.

As regards the presumed ban of joint burials, it must have been related to what the ethnographers and religio-historians term as "unclean death". Under this concept, the special treatment of the deceased child was meant to "exterminate" the evil spirits.

This special treatment could be considered advantageous for the children on the grounds that the peoples of the day failed to recognize death as the conclusion of the children's life. The child who died an early death had not lived long enough and was not ripe for the afterlife, and thus he or she had to be given a chance to return to the womb of a young woman and to be delivered again. This is why the corpse had to be kept at the settlement, and this is why it could not be cremated.

According to the third explanation, the surviving members of the community could turn the death of a child to their advantage. The foundation offerings buried in the foundation pits of houses were meant to ensure the success of the work and the well-being of the dwellers. Almost all the human remains that have come to light in sacrificial or foundation pits belonged to children's skeletons. This ar-

chaeological phenomenon can perhaps be accounted for by the oft-heard archaic religiohistorical and ethnographical concept according to which the newborn child maintained relatively closer contacts with the other world, with the ancestors and with the earth itself. Since the deceased child was believed to be closer in time to one of the key sacral stages in the cycle of life-death-revival, his corpse was considered more efficient for use as a foundation offering.

5. The objects associated with the regular activities pursued in the "cult corners" of the houses exhibited markedly different qualities even within the same site or period. The finds I have collected prove that finely executed and coarse, primitive pieces were present in equal proportions in both the houses and the pits associated with them. I discussed some of the house models in detail to prove that they were meant to be the images at any specific point of time of the house itself. The Neolithic—Chalcolithic dwelling houses exhibited sacral and profane qualities simultaneously. During the festive seasons the sacral aspects were highlighted, and thus the house models produced in those periode were ornamented, finely executed "sanctuary models". In other periods the profane aspects of the house came to the forefront, and the house models were coarser and simpler accordingly.

On the strenght of all these, I presumed that the same explanation should apply to all the other objects which were demonstrably used in the "cult corners". This assumption, i.e. the extension of this explanation to the idols, the anthropomorphic vessels and the "altarpieces", appears all the more justified since the proportion of the fine and coarse pieces among the latter objects was similar to that among the house models.

Having analysed the idols found as grave-furnishings, I found that the number of the finely executed pieces was six times higher than that of the poorly executed ones. The explanation above appearas to apply here as well: the finely executed idols must date from the festive, sacral periods, and the funerals must have fallen into this category.

Accordingly, I believe that the alternation of the fine and coarse pieces should be considered a reflection of the alternation of the weekdays and holidays. This rhythmic alternation I consider a key element of the Neolithic and Chalcolithic cults. For the people of the day, this regular cycle must have given a sense of time. "Accordingly, it was primarily through motion that duration became a homogeneous medium and time got projected into space", as Bergson put it (*Bergson 1924* 126). However, in the Neolithic and Chalcolithic this sense must have referred primarily to the cyclic, rather than to the linear time. Instead of thinking in the terms of past, present and future, the people of the day must have sensed the progress of time through the agricultural cycles, the alternation of the seasons, the cycle of birth and death and the rotation of weekdays and holidays.

Consequently, the following archaeological phenomena all appear to prove this cyclic sense of time: traces of initiation ceremonies in community buildings; grave furnishings identical with the festive cultic objects of the living; the proportion of fine and coarse objects in the "cult corners" and the graves. This cyclic concept also applied to the seasonally different agricultural activities, to the changes in the weather, and also to the sequence of birth-initiation-death-revival. The alternation of weekdays and holidays and sacral time and profane time must have been rhythmic and smooth. According to the religio-historians, the festive period amounted to the retrieval of the non-recurrent, ancient and mythic time. For

the "participants", i.e. for those who performed these rites with minute detail, these sacral periods assumed the meaning of "present". It is thus understandable why these people sensed time as a cycle rather than as a linear sequence.

From the foregoing it also follows that the people of the Neolithic and Chalcolithic regarded the mythic, sacral and "regular" times as natural experiences, and that a combination of these made up a full cycle for them. It is thus no wonder that — as the archaeological finds also prove — they did not see the sacral-religious and the profane aspects of life as separate.

There were no separate buildings used as "churches". The buildings erected for purposes other than dwelling must have provided venues for certain communal activities (e.g. initiation), but they clearly did not serve as designated religious centres. On the other hand, the traces of sacral activities were discernible in all those buildings which were defined as dwelling houses beyond dispute. A close correlation similar to the one which existed between the "sacral" and the "profane" aspects of time characterized the cultic (religious) and "everday" (profane) activities of the people of the Neolithic and Chalcolithic. Since these aspects were most probably closely intertwined in the contemporary people's way of thinking, we are entitled to believe that their frame of mind differed considerably from that of the men of our age.

7. Conclusion

The five fundamental inferences set forth in the present paper rest on archaeological observations. Having contrasted these points with the ten kinds of religiohistorical "topoi" detailed in chapter 2, I found that on two points no kind of overlap could be established between the two presumptions. The structural analysis detailed in point 7 is devoted on the one hand to revealing the different deep structures of the surviving myths — and the conclusion is that this problem cannot be solved in the absence of written sources, and exclusively by archaeological means. On the other hand, should the researcher hit upon the archaeological traces of a ritual, he would remain unable to describe and analyse its constituent elements for the lack of the explanatory myths. As regards the concepts of the other world discussed in point 10, we have to admit that the lack of relics relating to the subsequent cult of the dead prevented us from telling apart the objects of "cultic" purport and the other grave-goods. Since the other points have been clarified in the chapters above, I would like to concentrate here on the problem mentioned in point 8 only. I believe that, on the issues of the agrarian rites and cyclic time, the archaeological data and Eliade's conclusions sufficiently justify each other.

My approach in the present paper was that of an applied scientist inasmuch as I applied certain generally accepted religiohistorical conclusions in an archaeological context.

As we have seen, there was presumably no dividing line between sacral and profane in the Neolithic and Chalcolithic periods. Consequently, it appears to be justified to conclude that — at least to a certain extent — all the archaeological objects dating from the period fall within the competence of the history of regilions. On the one hand there is a mass of archaeological finds and associations waiting to be interpreted, and on the other hand there are those century-old, and at times well-worn, religiohistorical maxims which no one appears to challenge. Clearly,

the need is there for new approaches and fresh interpretations to throw a wider bridge over this gap. In this effort, I consider my present attempt a bridge-head only.

There are two possible ways for controlling my findings and also for proceeding further:

a) the five assumptions should be polished and specified further to make them applicable to smaller geographical regions and individual periods and cultures as well;

b) there is need to extend research both in space (towards the Middle East) and in time (to include the Bronze Age and the classical times). I firmly believe that research into the abrupt changes that marked the transition between the Chalcolithic and the Bronze Age, and into the sudden disappearance of the cultic objects and phenomena in large areas and their limited re-emergence at the turn of the 15th—14th centuries B.C., could produce key findings that would also amount to a verification of my work.

Rendering these researches more difficult is the fact that it will inevitably touch upon the so-called Indo-European question, which is clearly the most controversial and politically and emotionally most sensitive prehistoric issue of the day, besides those 19th and early 20th century theories which were thought to be ultimate conclusions. But none of the expected hardships can excuse the researchers from attacking these difficult tasks, since the ultimate aim is not just to reveal certain archaeological phenomena or to interpret them in themselves. But research should likewise keep clear of producing further theories of the "why not?"-type.

The task ahead for research in general, and for me in particular, is to establish a self-contained, logical system which is not countered by the available data. In other words, there is need for a system of conclusions that *may be* true.

And let me finally raise a question which concerns many and discourages some: Why should researchers be intrigued by the cultic life of the Neolithic peoples? The answer, which I will never forget, came from my professor, György János Szilágyi: "We must have enough turn for history to know that we will never be able to learn facts about the bygones. The odd thing about our mission is that we should know well what the past means for us and our contemporaries."

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aldea 1975	*I. Aldea:* "Altarul" magico-ritual descoperit asezarea neolitica de la Ghirbom (of: The magico-ritual "altar" discovered in the Neolithic settlement at Ghirbom). Apulum 12 (1975) 40—48.
Altgräfin—Vildomec 1936—37	*E. Altgräfin—F. Vildomec:* Ein wichtiges neolitisches Idol aus Mähren. IPEK 11 (1936—1937)
Bachofen 1978	*J.J. Bachofen:* A mítosz és az ősi társadalom (Myth and ancient society) Budapest 1978
Bakalakis 1981	*G. Bakalakis:* Paradimi. Mainz 1981
Balanescu—Lazarovici 1979	*D. Balanescu—G. Lazarovici:* Considerations sur la typologie et l'evolution des convercles de la culture Vinča. Banatica 5 (1979) 17—26.
Bánffy 1985b	*E. Bánffy:* Kultikus rendeltetésű leletegyüttes a Kis-Balaton középső rézkorából (Cultic assemblage from the Middle Chalcolithic of the Little Balaton region). ArchÉrt 112 (1985)
Bánffy 1985c	*E. Bánffy:* Trois fragments d'idole de la civilisation Vinča (A Vinča-kultúra három idol-töredéke). BullBAHongr 64 (1985) 3—11, 61—64

Bánffy 1985d   E. Bánffy: Makkay János: A magyarországi neolithikum rend-szere és fejlődésének főbb vonásai (The system and development of the Neolithic period in Hungary). BJb (97b) 185 (1985)

Bánffy 1986   E. Bánffy: House models from Neolithic Hungary — attempt at a general interpretation. In: Archaeological "Objectivity" in Interpretation — preliminary volume to World Archaeological Congress, 1—7. Sept. 1986, Section B, Vol. 2

Bánffy 1987   E. Bánffy: Cultic finds from the Middle Copper Age of Hungary — connection to South East Europe. In: Archaeology and Fertility Cult in the Ancient Mediterrranean. Papers presented at the first international conference on "Archaeology of the Ancient Mediterranean", Malta, 2—5. Sept. 1985. Ed.: A. Bonanno. Amsterdam, 1987

Bánffy in print   E. Bánffy: Neolithic house models in domestic cult corners. BCSP

Banner 1929   J. Banner: Adatok a neolithkori lakóház kérdéséhez (Data on the neolithic dwelling houses). DolgSzeged 5 (1929) 115—125

Banner 1930   J. Banner: A kökénydombi neolithkori telep (The Neolithic settlement at Kökénydomb). DolgSzeged 6 (1930) 49—106

Banner 1942a   J. Banner: Das Tisza—Maros—Körös-Gebiet bis zur Entwicklung der Bronzezeit. Szeged 1942

Banner 1942b   J. Banner: A kökénydombi Venus. DélvidékiSz 1942

Banner 1945   J. Banner: Újabb ásatás a hódmezővásárhelyi Kökénydombon (Further excavations at Hódmezővásárhely Kökénydomb). FolArch 5 (1945)

Banner 1959   J. Banner: Anthropomorphe Gefässe der Theiss-Kultur von der Siedlung Kökénydomb bei Hódmezővásárhely. Germania 37 (1959) 14—35

Banner—Korek 1949   J. Banner—J. Korek: Negyedik és ötödik ásatás a hódmezővásárhelyi Kökénydombon (The fourth and fifth excavations at Hódmezővásárhely Kökénydomb). ArchÉrt 76 (1949) 9—25

Barber 1984   N. Barber: Early Cycladic figurines: some thoughts on function. In: Cycladica. Studies in the memory of N.P. Goulandris. London 1984

Bartha 1984   E. Bartha: Házkultusz (House cult). Studia folcloristica et ethnographica 14. Debrecen 1984

Bar-Josef 1985   O. Bar-Josef: A Cave in the Desert: Nahal Hemar. 9000-year-old finds. Jerusalem 1985

Batović 1959   S. Batović: Neolitiko naselje u. Smilcicu. AP 1 (1959)

Bauern und Handwerker   Bauern und Handwerker. Jungsteinzeit in Bulgarien, 6. u. 5. Jahrtausend. Sofia 1982

Benac 1952   A. Benac Obre II—I. WMBH 3 (1952) Heft A

Berciu 1960   D. Berciu: Santierul archeologic Cernavoda. Dacia 11 (1960)

Berciu 1966   D. Berciu: Cultura Hamangia. Noi contributii. Bucuresti 1966

Bereciu—Morintz 1957   D. Berciu—S. Morintz: Santierul archeologic Cernavoda. MCArch 3 (1957)

Berg 1956   F. Berg: Ein neolitisches Schädelnest aus Poigen, Nö. AAustr 1956 18—20, 70—76

Bergson1924   H. Bergson: Idő és szabadság (Time and freedom). Budapest 1924

Bhattacharyya 1971   N.N. Bhattacharyya: The Indian Mother Goddess (Indian Studies). Calcutta 1971

Bilgi 1977   Ö. Bilgi: Some remarks on marble idols of an unusual type. Belleten 41 (1977)

Blegen 1963   C.W. Blegen: Troy and the Troyans. London 1963

Bökönyi 1986   S. Bökönyi: Environmental and Cultural effects on the faunal assemblages of four large 4th mill. B.C. sites. In: International Prehistoric Conference, Szekszárd, 1985. SzekszárdiMÉ 13 (1986)

Braidwood—Braidwood 1982   R. Braidwood—L. Braidwood: Prehistoric Village Archaeology in South Eastern Turkey. The eight Millennium B.C. site at Cayönü. BAR IS 138 Oxford 1982

Brukner 1976   B. Brukner: Gomolava. AP 18 (1976)

Buren 1952   D. van Buren: Places of Sacrifice (''Opferstätte''). Iraq 14 (1952) 76—92

Buttler—Haberey 1936   W. Buttler—W. Haberey: Die bandkeramische Ansiedlung bei Köln—Lindenthal. Berlin—Leipzig 1936

Cantacuzino 1963   Gh. Cantacuzino: Die junsteinzeitlichen Funde aus Cernica. Dacia 7 (1963) 27—90

Caskey 1951   J. Caskey: Neolithic sherds from Thespiai. Hesperia 20 (1951)

Caskey 1956   J. Caskey: Excavations at Lerna, 1956. Hesperia 25 (1956) 147—173

Caskey 1964   J. Caskey: Excavations at Keos, 1963 Hesperia 33 (1964) 314—317

Caskey 1974   J. Caskey: Addenda to the marble figurines from Ayia Irini. Hesperia 43 (1974) 77—79

Chapman 1981   J. Chapman: The Vinča cultura of South East Europe. BAR IS 117. Oxford 1981

Cirlot 1981   J.E. Cirlot: A Dictionary of Symbols. London 1981

Ciugudean 1983a   H. Ciugudean: Noi piece de plastica antropomorfa apartinind culturii Cotofeni. Apulum 21 (1983) 49—52

Ciugudean 1983b   H. Ciugudean: Funeral and magic practices in the cemeteries of the Cotofeni culture. In: Valcamonica Symposium 1979. Capo di Ponte 1983 169—176

Coleman 1977   J. Coleman: Keos I: Kephala. Princeton 1977

Colpe 1970   C. Colpe: Theoretische Möglichkeiten zur Identifizierung von Heiligtümern und Interpretation von Opferen in Ur- und parahistorischen Epochen. In: Vorgeschichtliche Heiligtümer und Opferplätze in Mittel- und Nordeuropa. Bericht über ein Symposium in Rheinhausen bei Göttingen in der Zeit vom 14. bis 16. Okt. 1968. Hrsg.: H. Jahnkuhn. Göttingen 1970

Comsa 1974   E. Comsa: Istoria communicatilor culturii Boian. Bucuresti 1974

Comsa 1976   E. Comsa: Figurinele de marmura din epoca neolitica de pe teritoriul Romaniei. Pontica 9 (1976) 23—28

Comsa 1980   E. Comsa: Despre obiectele de mobilier din apoca neolitica de pe teritoriul Romanici. Pontica 13 (1980) 32—56

Csallány 1939   G. Csallány: Gesichtsdarstellungen auf Gefässen der Theisskultur. Germania 23 (1939) 145—146

Csalog 1959   J. Csalog: Rejtélyes díszítések újkőkori idolokon (Puzzling ornaments on Neolithic idols). Csongrádm 1 (1959)

Csalog 1966   J. Csalog: Die Lehren der Ausgrabungen von Szentes-Ilonapart. ActaAntSzeged 10 (1966) 49—66

Cucos 1973   St. Cucos: Un complex ritual cucutenian descoperite la Ghelaesti (Jud. Neamt.). SCIV 1973/2

Detev 1950   P. Detev: Selisnata Mogila Banjata bei Kapitan Dimitrijevo (Der Siedlungshügel Banjata bei Kapitan Dimitrijevo). GodNAMPlovdiv 2 (1950)

Detev 1959   P. Detev: Materiali za praisborijata na Plovdiv. GodNAMPlovdiv 3 (1959)

Detev 1965   P. Detev: Trois miniatures de fours préhistoriques. Apulum 5 (1965) 35—38

Detev 1968   P. Detev: Praistoriceskata seliste pri selo Muldava. GodNAMPlovdiv 6 (1968)

Dieterich 1913   A. Dieterich: Mutter Erde. Ein Versuch über Volksreligion. Berlin—Leipzig 1913

Dimitrijević 1968   St. Dimitirjević: Sopotska—Lendelska kultura. Zagreb 1968

Dimitrijević 1969   St. Dimitrijević: Das Neolithikum in Syrmien, Slawonien und N—W. Kroatien. AJug 10 (1969)

Dombay 1960   J. Dombay: Die Siedlung und das Gräberfeld bei Zengővárkony. ArchHung 37. Budapest 1960

Dragomir 1977   *I.T. Dragomir:* Rit funerar şi credinţe în neoeneolitic. SCIV 1977

Draveczky 1971   *B. Draveczky:* Linearbandkeramische Gefässbruchstücke mit Gesichtsdarstellung im Museum von Kaposvár. ActaAntSzeged 1971

Dumitrescu, H. 1968   *H. Dumitrescu:* Un modéle du sanctuaire découvert dans la station énéolithique de Cascioarele. Dacia 12 (1968) 381—394

Dumitrescu, V. 1960   *V. Dumitrescu:* O nous statueta de tip tesalic descoperita la Gumelnita. SCIV 1960 245

Dumitrescu, V. 1965a   *V. Dumitrescu:* Les principaux resultats des deux premieres campagnes de fouilles dans la station néolithique récente de Cascioarele. SCIV 16 (1965) 215—238

Dumitrescu, V. 1965b   *V. Dumitrescu:* Cascioarele. Archaeology 18 (1965)

Dumitrescu, V. 1966   *V. Dumitrescu:* Gumelniţa. La sondage stratigraphique de 1960. SCIV (1966)

Dumitrescu, V. 1968   *V. Dumitrescu:* Arta neolitica in Romania. Bucuresti 1968

Dumitrescu, V. 1974   *V. Dumitrescu:* Acta preistorica in Romania. Bucuresti 1974

Ecsedy 1975   *L. Ecsedy:* Vinča finds in the collection of the Hungarian National Museum. FolArch 26 (1975)

Ecsedy 1976   *I. Ecsedy:* Two Neolithic idols from Hungary. FolArch 27 (1976)

Eliade 1969   *M. Eliade:* The Quest. History and meaning in religion. Chicago 1969

Eliade 1976a   *M. Eliade:* Die Religionen und das Heilige. Darmstadt 1976

Eliade 1976b   *M. Eliade:* Patterns in Comparative Religion. London 1976

Eliade 1978   *M. Eliade:* Geschichte der religiösen Ideen. Freiburg/Breisgau 1978

Fiala 1898   *F. Fiala:* Die neolitische Station von Butmir I—II. Wien 1898

Franz 1932—33   *L. Franz:* Mittelgriechische Steinzeitidole. IPEK 8 (1932—1933)

Frazer 1965   *J.G. Frazer:* Az aranyág (The Golden Bough). Budapest 1965

French 1978   *D.H. French:* Archaeology, prehistory and religion. In: Studien zur Religion und Kultur Kelinasiens (Festschrift für F.K. Dörner). Leiden 1978

Freid 1946   *S. Freud:* Mózes és az egyistenhit (Moses and the Monotheism). Budapest 1946

Gallis 1982   *K. Gallis:* Kafseis nekron apo ti neolithiki epokhi sti Thessalia (Cremation Burials from the Neolithic Period in Thessaly). Athinai 1982

Gallis 1983   *K. Gallis:* Evidence for funerary rituals at cremation burials since the Early Neolithic in Thessaly. In: Valcamonica Symposium 1979. Capo di Ponte 1983 99—104

Gallis 1985   *K. Gallis:* A late Neolithic foundation offering from Thessaly. Antiquity 65 (1985) 20—24

Galović 1962   *R. Galović:* Station neolithique à Tecic près Kragujevac. ZRNM 3 (1962)

Galović 1967   *R. Galović:* Zelenikovo. ZRNM 5 (1967)

Galović 1975   *R. Galović:* La groupe néolithique rituel de Smederevska Palanka, Medvednjak. ZRNM 8 (1975)

Garasanin—Spasovska 1976   *M. Garasanin—G. Spasovska:* Neue Grabung in Zelenikovo bei Skopje. MacAA 2 (1976)

Garasanin M.—Garasanin D. 1959   *M. Garasanin—D. Garasanin:* Jackov Rid. ZbStipN 1 (1959)

Gaul 1948   *J.h. Gaul:* The Neolithic period in Bulgaria. BASPR 1948

Gazdapusztai 1957   *Gy. Gazdapusztai:* A Körös-kultúra lakótelepe Hódmezővásárhely-Gorzsán (The Körös-culture settlement at Hódmezővásárhely-Gorzsa). ArchÉrt 84 (1957) 3—13

Genov—Radunceva 1985 nov. 12.   *N. Genov—A. Radunceva:* Periodat na hipotezite. Otecestvo 21 (1985)

Georgiev 1961   *G.I. Georgiev:* Kulturgruppen der Jungstein- und Kupferzeit in der Ebene von Thrazien (Südbulgarien). In: L'Europe à la fin de l'âge de pierre. Praha 1961 45—101

Georgiev 1962	G.I. Georgiev: Azmasjata selisna mogila kraj Stara Zagora. Archaeologia (Sofia) 4 (1962)
Georgiev 1974	G.I. Georgiev: Stratigrafia i periodizacija na neolita i kalkolita v dnesnite bulgarski zemi. Archaeologia (Sofia) 16 (1974)
Georgiev 1981	G.I. Georgiev: Die neolitische Siedlung bei Cavdar, Bezirk Sofia. In: Cultures préhistoriques en Bulgarie. BlBulg 36 (1981)
Gimbutas 1972	M. Gimbutas: Excavations at Anza, Macedonia: Further insight into the civilization of Old Europe, 7000—4000 BC. Archaeology 25 (1972)
Gimbutas 1974	M. Gimbutas: Akhilleion: A Neolithic mound in Thessaly. Preliminary report on 1973 and 1974 excatations. JFieldA 1 (1974)
Gimbutas 1976	M. Gimbutas: Neolithic Macedonia. Los Angeles 176
Gimbutas 1980	M. Gimbutas: The temples of Old Europe. Archaeology 33 (1980)
Gimbutas 1982	M. Glmbutas: The Goddesses and Gods of Old Europe. Myths and cult images. London 1982
Glisić 1962—63	J. Glisić: Stratigrafija Predionice. GMKM 7—8 (1962—1963)
Goessler 1924—26	P. Goessler (ed.): Fundberichte aus Schwaben N.F. 1924—1926
Goldman 1984	Gy. Goldman: Battonya-Gödrösök. Eine neolitische Siedlung in Südost-Ungarn. Békéscsaba 1984
Grbic 1960	M. Grbic: Porodin. Bitolj 1960
Hancar 1937	F. Hancar: Urgeschichte Kaukasiens. Wien 1937
Hanschmann—Milojcic 1976	E. Hanschmann—V. Milojcic: Die deutschen Ausgrabungen auf der Argissa-Magula in Thessalien III. Die frühe und beginnende mittlere Bronzezeit. BaM 13 (1976)
Hartuche—Anastasiu 1968	N.A. Hartuche—F. Anastasiu: Brailita. Muz. Brailei 1968
Hauptmann 1967	H. Hauptmann: Zum Neolithikum in Makedonien. IstMitt 1967
Hauptmann 1981	H. Hauptmann: Die deutschen Ausgrabungen auf der Otzaki Magula in Thessalien III. Das späte Neolithikum und das Chalkolithikum. BaM 21 (1981)
Hegedüs 1982—83	K. Hegedüs: The settlement of the Neolithic Szakálhát group at Csanytelek-Újhalastó. SzegediMÉ 1982—83 7—54
Helk 1971	F. Helk: Betrachtungen zur grossen Göttin und den ihr verbundenen Gottheiten (Religion und Kultur der alten Mitelmeerwelt in Parallelforschungen). Oldenburg—München 1971
Heurtley 1938	W.A. heurtley: Prehistoric Macedonia. Cambridge 1939
Hillebrand—Bella 1921	J. Hillebrand—L. Bella: Az őskor embere és kultúrája (Prehistoric Man and Culture). Budapest 1921
Hommel 1933—35	W. Hommel: Eine menschliche Gesichtsmaske der jüngeren Steinzeit von Seechselbach. FuBerSchwab N.F. 8 (1933—1935)
Horváth 1982	L. A. Horváth: Die neolitische Siedlung von Szentes-Ilonapart. DissArch. Budapest 1983
Horváth 1986	F. Horváth: Aspects of Late Neolithic changes in the Tisza—Maros region. In: International Prehistoric Conference Szekszárd 1985. SzekszárdiMÉ 13 (1986) 89—102
Höckmann 1965	O. Höckmann: Menschliche Darstellungen in der bandkeramischen Kultur. JbRgZM 12 (1965) 1—34
Höckmann 1967	O. Höckmann: Ein Grabinventar aus Hacilar. JbRGZM 14 (1967) 1—8
Höckmann 1968	O. Höckmann: Die menschengestaltige Figurplastik der südösteuropaischen Jungsteinzeit und Steinkupferzeit. Ménstersche-Beitr. zur Vörgeschichtsforschung 3—4. Hildesheim 1968
Höckmann 1969	O. Höckmann: Ringkopffiguren der Jungsteinzeit in Südosteuropa. JbRGZM 16 (1969) 1—16
Höckmann1971	O. Höckmann: Andeutungen zur Religion und Kultus in der bandkeramischen Kultur. Alba Regia 18 (1971)
Idole	Idole. Prähistorische Keramiken aus Ungarn. Austellung des Ungarischen Nationalmuseums Budapest im Naturhistorischen Museum Wien. Wien 1972

Ionescu 1971
B. Ionescu: Obiecte de cult descoperite la Gumelnita. SCIV 1971

Istvánovits—Lőrinczy 1986
E. Istvánovits—G. Lőrinczy: Régészeti ásatások és leletek Szabolcs-Szatmár megyében 1981—83 (Archeological excavations in, and finds from, Szabolcs-Szatmár County). In: Rétészeti tanulmányok Kelet-Magyarországról. Folklór és etnográfia 24. Debrecen 1986

Ivanov 1975
I. Ivanov: Razkopki na varnanska eneoliten nekropol prez 1972 g. Izvestija na Nar. Muz. Varna 11 (1971)

Ivanov 1978
I. Ivanov: Treasures of the Varna Necropolis. Sofia 1978

James 1959
E. O. James: The Cult of the Mother Goddess. An archaeological and documentary study. London 1959

Jósa 1899
A. Jósa: A Szabolcsvármegyei Múzeum ős- és középkori tárgyainak ismertetése (Prehistoric and medieval objects in the museum of Szabolcs County). Nyíregyháza 1899

Jovanović 1964
B. Jovanović: La céramique anthropomorphe de l'énéolithique des Balkans et de Bas-Danube. AJug (1964) 9—15

Jovanović 1982
B. Jovanović: Rudna Glava. Bor—Beograd 1982

Jovanović—Glisić
B. Jovanović—J. Glisić: Eneolitsko naselje na Kormadinu kod Jakova. Starinar 1960 113—139

Jung 1958
C. G. Jung: The Undiscovered Self. London 1958

Jung—Kerényi 1985
C. G. Jung—K. Kerényi: Science of Mythology. Essays on the myth of the divine child and the mysteries of Eleusis. London 1985

Jungsteinzeit in Bulgarien.
Braunschweigisches Landesmuseum. Wunstorf—Sofia 1981

Kalicz 1963
N. Kalicz: Die Péceler (Badener) Kultur und Anatolien. Budapest 1963

Kalicz 1969
N. Kalicz: A rézkori Balatoni-csoport Veszprém megyében (The Chalcolithic Balatoni group in Veszprém County). VeszprémMK 8 (1969)

Kalicz 1969—70
N. Kalicz: A Balatoni-csoport emlékei a Dél-Dunántúlon (Relics of the Balaton group in South Transdanubia). PécsiMÉ 14—15 (1969—1970) 75—96

Kalicz 1970
N. Kalicz: Siedlung und Gräber der Lengyel-Kultur in Aszód (Jahresbericht 1970). MittArchInst 3 (1972)

Kalicz 1974—75
N. Kalicz: Siedlung und Gräber der Lengyel-Kultur in Aszód. MittArchInst 5 (1974—1975)

Kalicz 1976
N. Kalicz: Die Hüttenmodelle der Lengyel-Kultur in Ungarn. JMV 60 (1976) 117—127

Kalicz 1977
N. Kalicz: Früh- und spätneolitische Funde in Lánycsók. PécsiMÉ 22 (1977)

Kalicz 1979—80
N. Kalicz: Újabb adatok a rézkori Hunyadihalmi csoport időrendjéhez (Further data on the chronology of the Chalcolithic Hunyadihalom group). SzegediMÉ 1979—1980 43—58

Kalicz 1981
N. Kalicz: Die kopflosen Idole der Badener Kultur und ihre südlichen Beziehungen. Symposia Thracica 1981 232—256.

Kalicz 1985
N. Kalicz: Kőkori falu Aszódon (Neolithic Village at Aszód). Aszód 1985

Kalicz—Makkay 1976
N. Kalicz—J. Makkay: Frühneolitische Siedlung von Méhtelek-Nádas (Vorbericht). MittArchInst 6 (1976)

Kalicz—Makkay 1977
N. Kalicz—J. Makkay: Die Lininenbandkeramik auf der grossen ungarischen Tiefebene. Budapest 1977

Kalicz—Raczky 1978
N. Kalicz—P. Raczky: Szolnok-Szanda-Tenyősziget, Dersi gát. In: Archäologische Forschungen im Jahre 1977. ArchÉrt 185 (1978) 275

Kalicz—Raczky 1980—81
N. Kalicz—P. Raczky: Siedlung der Körös-Kultur in Szolnok-Szanda. MittArchInst 10—11 (1980—1981) 13—24

Kalicz—Raczky 1981
N. Kalicz—P. Raczky: The precursors to the "horns of consecration" in the Southeast European Neolithic. ActaArchHung 33 (1981)

Kalicz—Raczky 1984   N. Kalicz—P. Raczky: Preliminary report on the 1977—1982 ex-
                        cavations at the Neolithic and Bronze Age tell settlement of
                        Berettyóújfalu-Herpály. Part 1: Neolithic. ActaArchHung 36 (1984)
Kamil 1982   T. Kamil: Yortan Cemetery in the Early Bronze Age of Western
                        Anatolia. BAR IS 145. Oxford 1982
Kancev 1973   M. Kancev: Praistoriceski i anticni materiali v muzeja grad
                        Nova Zagora. Nova Zagora 1973
Karmanski 1968a   S. Karmanski: Zrtvenici, statuete i amuleti sa lokaliteta donja
                        Branjevina kod Deronja. Odzaci 1968
Karmanski 1968b   J. Karmanski: Neolitski lokaliteti Jogozapadne Backe. Odzaci
                        1968
Karmanski 1977   J. Karmanski: Katalog antropomorfne i zoomorfne plastike iz
                        okoline Odzaka. Odzaci 1977
Karmanski 1979   J. Karmanski: Donja Branjevina. Odzaci 1979
Károlyi 1982   M. Károlyi: Az újkőkori falu (The Neolithic Village). Kiállítás-
                        vezető. Szombathely 1982
Kaufmann 1961   H. Kaufmann: Figürliches aus der Bandkeramik des Alten-
                        burger Landes. AusgrFu 1961
Kaufmann 1976   D. Kaufmann: Linienbandkeramische Kultgegenstände aus
                        dem Elbe-Saale-Gebiet. JMV 60 (1976)
Kaufmann 1982   D. Kaufmann: Zu einigen Ergebnissen der Ausgrabungen im
                        Bereich des Linienbandkeramischen Erdwerks bei Eilsleben,
                        Kreis Wanzleben. In: Siedlungen der Kultur mit Linearkeramik
                        in Europa. Internationales Kolloquium Nove Vozokany 17—20
                        Nov. 1981. Nitra 1982
Kenyon 1960   K. Kenyon: Excavations at Jericho 1957—58. PEQ 1960
                        1—21
Kerényi 1984   K. Kerényi: Halhatatlanság és Apollón-vallás (Immortality and
                        the Apollo Cult). Budapest 1984
khourmoziadis 1974   G. H. Khourmoziadis: Ta neolithika eidolia tis Thessalias.
                        Athinai 1974
Kisléghi Nagy 1911   Gy. Kisléghi Nagy: Az óbessenyői őstelep (The prehistoric site
                        at Óbessenyő). ArchÉrt 31 (1911)
Kitanoski 1977   B. Kitanoski: Neolitska naselba Cuka kaj selo Topolcany.
                        MacAA 3 (1977) 27—42
Kitanoski—Simoska—Todorović   B. Kitanoski—D. Simoska—J. Todorović: New archaeological
1978   excavations in the settlement Cuka at Topolcany near Prilap.
                        MacAA 4 (1978) 9—32
Kolnik, 1980   T. Kolnik: Vyskum v Ciferi-Páci v roku 1978. Archaeologicke
                        výskumy a nálezy na Slovensku v roku 1978. Nitra 1980
Korek 1958   J. Korek: Lebő-halmi ásatás 1950-ben (Excavation at Lebő-
                        halom in 1950). ArchÉrt 85 (1958) 132—155
Korek 1977   J. Korek: Die frühe und mittlere Phase des Neolithikums auf
                        dem Theissrücken. ActaArchHung 29 (1977)
Korfmann 1979   M. Korfmann: Eine weibliche Gottheit in der Frühbronzezeit
                        Anatoliens. PZ 54 (1979)
Korfmann 1984   M. Korfmann: Besik-Tepe. Vorbericht über die Ergebnisse der
                        Grabung von 1982. AAustr 1984
Korkuti 1983   M. Korkuti: Vendbanimi neolitik i Kolshit. Illiria 13 (1983)
Korosec 1950   J. Korosec: Grabovi v Vinci (The graves of Vinca). AVes (1950)
                        12—30
Korosec 1959   J. Korosec: Neolitska naselbina u Danilu Bitinju. Zagreb 1959
Korosec—Korosec 1973   J. Korosec—P. Korosec: Barutnica. Prilep 1973
Kosturik 1972   P. Kosturik: Die Lengyel-Kultur in Mähren. Studie AU CSAV V
                        Brne 6. Praha 1972
Kostov 1926   D. Kostov: predistoriceskata mogila da Ruse. Godisnik Sofia
                        1926
Kovács 1985   I. Kovács: Archéologické výskumy v okrese Rlmavská Sobota.
                        Régészeti ásatások a rimaszombati Járásban (1978—1984).
                        Gömöri Múzeum 1985
Krstić 1964   D. Krstić: Agglomération néolithique à Vitosevác près de
                        Razanj. ZRNM 4 (1964) 51—63

Kutzián 1944, 1947 — I. Kutzián: A Körös-Kultúra (The Körös Culture). DissPann II:23. Budapest 1944

Kutzián 1966 — I. Kutzián: Das Neolithikum in Ungarn. AA (1966) 249—280

Kuzma—Ozdani—Hanuliak 1982 — I. Kuzma—A. Ozdani—M. Hanuliak: Tretia sezona výskumy v Muzle-Cenkove. AVANS 1982 (1983)

Lamb 1956 — W. Lamb: Some early anatolian shrines. AnatSt 6 (1956)

Lazar 1974—75 — M. D. Lazar: Plastica culturii Vinca-Tordas, din colectiile Muzeului Judetean Hunedoara-Deva. Sargetia 11—12 (1974—1975)

Lazarovici 1972 — G. Lazarovici: Asezarea neolitica in Parta. Tibiscus 2 (1972)

Lazarovici 1979 — G. Lazarovici: Neoliticul Banatului. Cluj-Napoca 1979

Letica 1967 — Z. Letica: Miniature vessels from Vinca. ZRNM 5 (1967)

Letica 1973 — Z. Letica: Antropomorfne figurine bronzanog doba u Jugoslavii. Beograd 1973

Levi 1963 — G. R. Levi: Religious Conceptions of the Stone Age. New York 1963

Lévi-Strauss 1963, 1973 — C. Lévi-Strauss: Structural Anthropology I—II. Harmondsworth 1973, 1973

Lévi-Strauss 1965 — C. Lévi-Strauss: Das Ende des Totemismus. Frankfurt 1965

Lévi-Strauss 1971, 1972, 1973, 1975 — C. Lévi-Strauss: Mythologica I—IV. Frankfurt 1971, 1972, 1973, 1975

Lévi-Strauss 1978 — C. Lévi-Strauss: Myth and Meaning. Toronto 1978

Lévi-Strauss 1979 — C. Lévi-Strauss: Szomorú trópusok (Woeful Tropica). Budapest 1979

Lichardus—Siska 1970 — J. Licharadus—S. Siska: Záhranny výskum vo Svodine, roku 1965. SlovA 18 (1970):2

Lloyd—Mellaart 1957 — S. Lloyd—J. Mellaart: An early Bronze Age shrine at Beycesultan. AnatSt 7 (1957)

Lloyd—Mellaart 1958 — S. Lloyd—J. Mellaart: Beycesultan excavations: Fourth preliminary report, 1957. AnatSt 8 (1958)

Makarevic 1960 — M. L. Makarevic: Ob ideologiceshih predatavleniah u tripolskih plemen. Odesskoje arh. obsestvo Zapiski I Odessa 1960

Makkay 1963 — J. Makkay: Adatok a péceli (Badeni) kultúra vallásos elképzeléseihez (Data on the religious concepts of the Pécel [Baden] culture). ArchÉrt 90 (1963) 3—15

Makkay 1970 — J. Makkay: A kőkor és a rézkor Fejér megyében (Neolithic and Chalcolithic in Fejér County). Fejér megye története I.1. Székesfehérvár 1970

Makkay 1973 — J. Makkay: "Shrine with Bucranium". A tentative interpretation of the Tartaria sign 3.5. Kadmos 12 (1973)

Makkay 1974—75 — J. Makkay: Some stratigraphical and chronological problems of the Tartaria tablets. MittArchInst 5 (1974—1975) 13—31

Makkay 1975 — J. Makkay: Über neolithische Opferformen. Valcamonica Symposium 1972. Capo di Ponte 1975 161—173

Makkay 1978 — J. Makkay: Mahlstein und das rituale Mahlen in den prähistorischen Opferzeremonien. ActaArchHung 30 (1978) 13—36

Makkay 1978—79 — J. Makkay: Endrőd-Szujókereszt (Grabungen). MittArchInst 8 (1978—1979) 209—213

Makkay 1980—81 — J. Makkay: Eine Kultstätte der Bodrogkeresztúr-Kultur in Szarvas und Fragen der sakralen Hügel. MittArchInst 10/11 (1980—1981)

Makkay 1983 — J. Makkay: Foundation sacrifices in Neolithic houses of the Carpathian Basin. Valcamonica Symposium III, 1979. Capo di Ponte 1983 157—167

Makkay 1986 — J. Makkay: Bauopfer in der Lengyel-Kultur und seine Beziehungen zu den Bauopferformen der Körös-Kultur und der Linienbandkeramik. In: Internationales Symposium über die Lengyel-Kultur, Nové Vozokany, 5—9 Nov. 1984. Nitra—Wien 1986

Malinowski 1926 — B. Malinowski: Myth in Primitive Psychology. Westport, Connecticut 1926

Mallowan 1936 · M. E. L. Mallowan: The excavations at Changar Bazar. Iraq 3 (1936)

Marinescu-Bilcu 1981 · S. Marinescu-Bilcu: Tirpesti. From prehistory to history in Eastern Romania. BAR IS 107. Oxford 1981

Maringer 1975 · J. Maringer: Grave and water in prehistoric Europe. JIES 3 (1975)

Masson—Merpert—Muncajev—Cernis 1982 · V. M. Masson—N. Ja. Merpert—R. M. Muncajev—E. K. Cernis: Eneolit SSSR. Moskva 1982

Mateescu 1962 · C. Mateescu: Sapaturi archeologice la Vadastra. MCercArh 8 (1962)

Mellaart 1958 · J. Mellaart: Excavations at Hacilar. First preliminary report. AnatSt 8 (1958)

Mellaart 1968 · J. Mellaart: Excavations at Hacilar. Third preliminary report. AnatSt 10 (1960)

Mellaart 1961 · J. Mellaart: Excavations at Hacilar. Fourth preliminary report. AnatSt 11 (1961)

Mellaart 1962 · J. Mellaart: Excavations at Catal Hüyük. AnatSt 12 (1962)

Mellaart 1963 · J. Mellaart: Excavations at Catal Hüyük. Second preliminary report. AnatSt 13 (1963)

Mellaart 1964 · J. Mellaart: Excavations at Catal Hüyük 1963. Third preliminary report. AnatSt 14 (1964)

Mellaart 1964 · J. Mellaart: Catal Hüyük. London 1964

Mellaart 1975 · J. Mellaart: The Neolithic of the Near East. London 1975

Mellink 1967 · M. Mellink: Excavation at Karatas-Semeyük I—II. AJA 1967, 1968

Mészáros 1962 · Gy. Mészáros: A szekszárdi múzeum agyagmécsesei (Clay Lamps in the Museum of Szekszárd). A Szekszárdi Balogh Ádám Múzeum tudományos füzetei. Szekszárd 1962

Meyer-Orlac 1982 · R. Meyer-Orlac: Mensch und Tod. Archäologische Befund-Grenzen der Interpretation. Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde der philosophischen Fakultäten der Albert-Ludwig-Universität zu Freiburg. Hohenschäftlarn 1982

Milojcić-Zumbusch—Milojcić 1971 · J. Milojcić-Zumbusch—V. Milojcić: Otzaki Magula I. BaM 10 (1971)

Morintz 1953 · S. Morintz: Santierul Spantov. SCIV 4 (1953) 220—239

Morintz—Berciu—Diaconu 1955 · S. Morintz—D. Berciu—P. Diaconu: Santierul archeologic Cernavoda. SCIV 6 (1955):2

Moskovszky 1975 · É. Moskovszky: Deutungsmöglichkeiten von sogenannten Opferfunden. ActaArchHung 27 (1975)

Munz 1973 · P. Munz: When the Golden Bough Breaks. London 1973

Muthmann 1975 · F. Muthmann: Mutter und Quelle. Mainz 1975

Müller-Karpe 1968, 1974 · H. Müller-Karpe: Handbuch der Vorgeschichte II—III. München 1968, 1974

Nandris 1971 · J. Nandris: The development and relationships of the earlier Greek Neolithic. Man 5 (1970)

Neolith na tlu Srbije. · A Belgrádi Nemzeti Múzeum katalógusa (Catalogue of the Belgrade National Museum). Belgrád 1977

Neumann 1957 · E. Neumann: Die grosse Mutter. Zürich 1957

Nica 1977 · M. Nica: Nouvelles données sur le néolithique ancien d'Olténie. Dacia 1977 13—54

Nica—Nita 1979 · M. Nica—T. Nita: Les etablissements néolithique de Leu et Padea, de la zone d'interference des cultures Oudesti et Vinča. Dacia 1979 31—64

Nokolov 1970 · B. Nikolov: Idolnata plastika ot s. Gradesnica. Archeologia (Sofia) 12 (1970)

Nikolov 1974 · B. Nikolov: Gradesnica. Sofia 1974

Nikolov 1975 · B. Nikolov: Seliste ot starija neolit pri s. Gradesnica. Vracanski okrüt. Archeologia (Sofia) 17 (1975)

Nikolov 1979 · B. Nikolov: Praistoricesko seliste pri s. Borovan, Vracansko. Izvmuz Severozapadna Bulg. 3 (1979)

Nikolov 1981 · B. Nikolov: Praistoriceski zrtvenici ot glina. Iskustvo 1981

Nilsson 1968 — M. P. Nilsson: The Mynoan-Mycenean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion. Lund 1968

Nitu 1968 — A. Nitu: Representari amane pe ceramica Cris si lineara din Moldova. SCIV 19 (1968) 387—393

Nitu 1973—74 — A. Nitu: Un vas antropomorf de tip Stoicani-Aldeni. Carpica 1973—1974

Novotny 1962 — B. Novotny: Luzianska skupina a počiatky malovanej keramikou a Slovensku. Bratislava 1962

Novotny 1981 — B. Novotny: Zur Idolatrie der Badener-Kultur in der Slowakei. SlovA 29 (1981)

Oates 1978 — J. Oates: Religion and ritual in the 6th millennium BC Mesopotamia. WorldA 10 (1978)

Oates 1960 — J. Oates: The baked clay figurines from Tell es-Sawwan. Iraq 22 (1960)

Oelman 1959 — F. Oelman: Pfahlhausurnen. Germania 37 (1959)

Ondrus 1972 — V. Ondrus: Detske pohrby na neolitickém sidlisti ve Vedrovicich (Kinderbestattungen auf der neolitischen Siedlung in Vedrovice). CasMorMus 17 (1972)

Orssić-Slavetić 1940 — A. Orssić-Slavetić: Bubanj, eine vorgeschichtliche Ansiedlung bei Niš. MittpräKom Wien 4 (1940)

Otto 1963 — R. Otto: Das Heilige. Über das Irrationale in der Idee des Göttlichen und sein Verhältnis zum Rationalen. München 1963

Otto 1958 — W. F. Otto: Die Manen oder von den Urformen des Totenglaubens. Darmstadt 1958

Papathanassopoulos 1981 — G. Papathanassopoulos: Neolithic and Cycladic Civilization. Athens 1981

Passek 1948 — T. S. Passek: Periodizacija Tripolskih posleniej. Mat. i isled po arh. SSSR. Moscow 1949

Patay 1943 — P. Patay: Szentesvidéki rézkori temetők (Chalcolithic cemeteries in the Szentes area). ArchÉrt 73 (1943)

Patay 1958 — P. Patay: Rézkori aranyleletek (Chalcolithic gold objects). ArchÉrt 85 (1958) 37—46

Patay 1975 — P. Patay: A magyarhomogori rézkori temető és telep (The Chalcolithic cemetery and settlement at Magyarhomorog). FolArch 30 (1975) 27—54

Pausanias — Graetiae descriptio. Leipzig 1985

Pavelcik 1982 — J. Pavelcik: Kleine Terrakotten aus Hlinsko bei Lipnik I. PamA 1982

Pavlu 1966 — I. Pavlu: Early "myths" relating to the Neolithic society. ARozh 18 (1966) 700—720

Pavuk 1969 — J. Pavuk: Chronologie der Zeliezovce-Gruppe. SlovA 17 (1969) 269—367

Pavuk 1980 — J. Pavuk: Ältere Linearbandkeramik in der Slowakei. SlovA 28 (1980) 7—90

Pavuk 1981 — J. Pavuk: Umenie a zivot doby kamennej. Bratislava 1981

Perniceva 1978 — L. Perniceva: Glineni modeli na zilista ot kalkolita v bulgarskite zemi. Archeologia (Sofia) 1978

Petkov 1959 — N. Petkov: Neolitno seliste pri selo Slatina. Archeologia (Sofia) 1959

Petrasch 1984 — J. Petrasch: Typologie und Funktion neolitischer Öfen in Mittel- und Südosteuropa. Tübingen 1984

Petrescu-Dimbovita 1950 — M. Petrescu-Dimbovita: Trusesti. Iasi 1950

Pfannenberg 1902 — G. Pfannenberg: Scherben einer Gesichtsurne aus Göttingen. Nachrichten über deutsche Alterthumsfunde 1902

Pittioni 1954 — R. Pittioni: Ungesichte des österreichischen Raumes. Wien 1954

Podborsky 1970 — V. Podborsky: Soucany stav výskumy kultury a moravskou malovanu keramikou. SlovA 18 (1970) 235—310

Popov 1916 — R. Popov: Kodzadermenskata mogila pri gr. IBAD 1916

Popov 1926 — R. Popov: Mogilata Deve Bargan. Godisnik (Sofia) 1926

Praistorija vo Makedonia — (Prehistory of Macedonia). Skopje 1976

Prendi 1966 — F. Prendi: La civilization préhistorique de Maliq. StAlb 19

Prendi—Andrea 1981   F. Prendi—Z. Andrea: Te dhëna të reja mbi neolithique en Al-
                            banie). Iliria 11 (1981) 15—40
Przyluski 1938   J. Przyluski: Ursprünge und Entwicklung des Kultus der
                            Mutter-Göttin. Eranos Jb. 1938
Przyluski 1950   J. Przyluski: La grande déesse. Paris 1950
Pusztai 1956   R. Pusztai: A szemelyi kőrézkori ház (The Neolithic-Chalcoli-
                            thic house at Szemely).ArchÉrt 86 (1956) 29—44
Raczky 1974   P. Raczky: A Lengyeli-kultúra legkésőbbi szakaszának leletei a
                            Dunántúlon (Finds from the latest phase of the Lengyel culture
                            in Transdanubia). ArchÉrt 101 (1974) 185—210
Raczky 1979—80   P. Raczky: A Körös-kultúra újabb figurális ábrázolásai a Közép-
                            tiszavidékről és történeti összefüggéseik (Figurines from the
                            Körös culture recovered in the central Tisza region and their
                            historical associations). SzolnokMÉ 1979—1980
Raczky 1982   P. Raczky: Adatok a Bodrogkeresztúri kultúra déli kapcsolatai-
                            hoz és kronológiájához (Data on the southern associations
                            and chronology of the Bodrogkeresztúr culture). ArchÉrt 109
                            (1982) 177—190
Raczky 1982—83   P. Raczky: Origins of the custom of burying the dead inside
                            houses in South—East Europe. SzolnokiMÉ 1982—1983
Radin 1950   P. Radin: Die religiöse Erfahrung der Naturvölker. Zürich 1950
Radunceva 1976a   A. Radunceva: Vinica. Eneolitno seliste i nekropol. Sofia 1976
Radunceva 1976b   A. Radunceva: Prehistoric Art in Bulgaria. BAR Suppl. S. 13.
                            Oxford 1976
Radunceva n.d.   A Radunceva: Die prähistorische Kunst in Bulgarien. Sofia
Renfrew 1969   C. Renfrew: The development and chronology of the early
                            Cycladic figurines. AJA 73 (1969) 1—32
Renfrew 1973   C. Renfrew (ed.): The Explanation of Cultural Change: models
                            in prehistory. London 1973
Renfrew 1979   C. Renfrew: Problems in European Prehistory. Edinburgh 1979
Renfrew—Evans 1968a   C. Renfrew—J. D. Evans: Saliagos: A Neolithic site in the Cy-
                            clades. Archaeology 21 (1968)
Renfrew—Evans 1968b   C. Renfrew—J. D. Evans: Excavations at Saliagos near An-
                            tiparos. London 1968
Rodden 1962   R. J. Rodden: Excavations at the Early Neolithic site at Nea
                            Nikomedeia, Greek Macedonia. PPS 18 (1962)
Rodden 1964a   R. J. Rodden: A European link with Catal Hüyük: Uncovering
                            a 7th Millennium settlement in Macedonia. ILN 1964 11 and
                            18 April
Rodden 1964b   R. J. Rodden: Recent discoveries from prehistoric Macedonia:
                            an interim report. BalkSt 5 (1964) 109—124
Róheim 1984a   G. Róheim: Primitiv kultúrák pszichoanalitikus vizsgálata (Psy-
                            choanalytic Study of Primitive Cultures). Budapest 1984
Róheim 1984b   G. Róheim: A bűvös tükör. Válogatás Róheim Géza tanul-
                            mányaiból (The Magic Mirror. Selected Studies). Budapest
                            1984
Roska 1941   M. Roska: A Torma Zsófia-gyűjtemény (The Collection of Zsó-
                            fia Torma). Kolozsvár 1941
Ruttkay 1983   E. Ruttkay: Das Neolithikum in Niederösterreich. Forschungs-
                            ber. zur Ur- und Frühgesch. 12. Wien 1983
Schmidt 1945   R. R. Schmidt: Die Burg Vucedol. Zagrab 1945
Schulz 1927   E. Schulz: Mitteldeutsche Tierplastiken der Bandkeramikkul-
                            tur I. Jahresschrift (Halle) 1927
Seper 1953   M. Seper: Neolitske naselja na Kormadinu. AVes 3 (1953)
Simmons—Rollefson 1984   A. Simmons—G. Rollefson: Neolithic 'Ain Ghazal (Jordan): In-
                            terim report on the first two seasons, 1982—83. JFA 11
                            (1984)
Simoska—Sanev 1975   D. Simoska—V. Sanev: The neolithic settlement Veluska Tum-
                            ba at Bitola. A report on the protecting excavations in 1971
                            and 1972. MacAA 1 (1975) 25—38
Simoska—Kitanoski—Todorović   D. Simoska—B. Kitanoski—J. Todorović: Neolitska naselba vo
                            selo Mogila kaj Bitola. MacAA 5 (1979) 9—30

Skutil 1939—40 J. *Skutil:* Die neolitischen Plastiken aus den Kreise der mährischen bemalten Keramik. IPEK 13/14 (1939—1940)

Sperling 1976 J. W. *Sperling:* Kum Tepe in the Troad. Hesperia 45 (1976) 305—364

Srejović 1975 (1969) D. *Srejović:* Lepenski Vir. Beograd 1969 (Serbian edition), Bergisch Gladbach 1975 (German edition)

Staccioli 1960 R. A. *Staccioli:* Modelli di edifici etrusco—italici. I modelli votivi. Roma 1968

Stalio 1967 B. *Stalio:* Pavlovac. ZRNM 5 (1967) 57—76

Stalio 1972 B. *Stalio:* Gradac. Beograd 1972

Stephan 1925 *Stephan:* Les fouilles de Cascioarele. Dacia 2 (1925) 138—197

Sz. Máthé 1978 M. *Sz. Máthé:* Újkőkori település Berettyószentmárton-Morotva lelőhelyen (Neolithic settlement at Berettyószentmárton-Morotva). DebreceniMÉ 1978

Talalay 1983 L. E. *Talalay:* Neolithic Figurines of Southern Greece: their form and function. PhD thesis, Indiana University 1983

Talalay n. d. L. E. *Talalay:* The case of the silent figurines. Interpreting human images in prehistory. Paper delivered at the 86th Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America

Tasić 1958 N. *Tasić:* Zitkovac und einige Fragen der relativen Chronologie der Jüngeren Steinzeit und des Äneolithikums. GMKM 3 (1958)

Tasić 1959—60 N. *Tasić:* Final investigations of the prehistoric settlement at Valac. GMKM 4—5 (1959—1960)

Tasić 1986 N. *Tasić:* Sopot-Lengyel, Lasinja und Boleráz Funde in Gradina am Bosut in der Nahe von Sid. Internationale prähistorische Konferenz, Szekszárd 1985. SzekszárdiMÉ 13 (1986)

Tasić—Tomić 1969 N. *Tasić—E. Tomić:* Crnokslacka Bara. Naselje Starcevacke i Vincanske kulture. Krusevac—Beograd 1969

Theokharis 1973 D. *Theokharis:* Neolithic Greece. Athens 1973

Theokharis 1981 D. *Theokharis:* Neolithikon politismon. Athinai 1981

Tichy 1958 R. *Tichy:* Antropomorphe Gefässe aus Mohelnice. PamA 49 (1958)

Tichy 1962 R. *Tichy:* Zur ältesten Volutenkeramik in Mähren. PamA 53 (1962) 301—305

Tocik 1977 A. *Tocik:* Záhranny výskum v Komjaticiach. AVANS 1977

Todd 1980 I. *Todd:* The Prehistory of Central Anatolia I: The Neolithic period. SMA 60. Göteborg 1980

Todorova 1975 H. *Todorova:* The Eneolithic in Bulgaria. BAR IS Suppl. 49. Oxford 1975

Todorova 1975 H. *Todorova:* Selisnata mogila pri Goljamo Delcevo. Sofia 1975

Todorova 1979 H. *Todorova:* Eneolit Bolgarii. Sofia 1979

Todorova 1982 H. *Todorova:* Kupferzeitliche Siedlungen in Nord—Ost Bulgarien. München 1982

Todorova 1983 H. *Todorova:* Ovcarovo. Sofia 1983

Todorova—Avramova 1982 H. *Todorova—M. Avramova:* Praistoricesko iskustvo v Bulgaria (exhibition guide). Sofia 1982

Tompa 1929 F. *Tompa:* A szalagdíszes agyagművesség kultúrája Magyarországon (Ribbon-Ornamented Wares in Hungary). Budapest 1929

Tompa 1936 F. *Tompa:* 25 Jahre Urgeschichteforschung in Ungarn, 1912—1936. BRGK 24—25 (1934—35) 27—127

Trianti 1984 I. *Trianti:* Hausmodelle aus Masi. MittDAI (1984) 113—119

Tringham 1971 R. *Tringham:* Hunters, Fischers and Farmers of Eastern Europe 6000—3000 BC. London 1971

Tringham 1980 R. *Tringham:* The early agricultural site at Selevac, Yugoslavia. Archaeology 33 (1980)

Trogmayer 1966 O. *Trogmayer:* A Körös-csoport lakóházáról (On the dwelling houses of the Körös culture people). ArchÉrt 93 (1966) 235—240

Ucko 1968   *P. Ucko:* Anthropomorphic Figurines of Predynastic Egypt and
                     Neolithic Crete with Comparative Material from the Prehisto-
                     ric Near East and Mainland Greece. London 1968
Vajsov 1984   *I. Vajsov:* Antropomorfnaja plastika iz praistoriceskovo
                     naselenija. StPraehist 7 (1984)
Vasić 1932—36   *M. Vasić:* Preistoriska Vinca I—IV. Beograd 1932—1936
Vildomec 1928—29   *F. Vildomec:* O moravské neolitické keramice malovane. Obzor
                     Prehist. 1928—1929
Vizdal 1970   *J. Vizdal:* Neskoroneolitické nálezy u z Oborina. SlovA 18
                     (1970) 217—234
Vizdal 1977   *J. Vizdal:* Tiszapolgárske pohrebisko vo Vel'kih Raskovciah.
                     Kosice 1977
Vizdal 1978   *J. Vizdal:* Kultovy objekt Potiskej kultúry na Vychodnom
                     Slovensky (Kultobjekte der Theiss-Kultur in der Ost-Slowakei).
                     ArchRozhl 30 361—371
Vladar 1962   *J. Vladar:* Vyskum v Branći pri Nitra v roku 1961. ArchRozl 14
                     (1962) 308—327
Vladar 1969   *J. Vladar:* Frühäneolithische Siedlung und Gräber in Branc.
                     StZ 17 (1969) 497—512
Vlassa 1963   *N. Vlassa:* Chronology of the Neolithic in Transylvania, in the
                     light of the Tartaria settlement's stratigraphy. Dacia 7 (1963)
Vlassa 1969   *N. Vlassa:* Einige Bemerkungen zu Fragen des Neolithikums in
                     Siebenbürgen. StZ 17 513—540
Vlassa 1970   *N. Vlassa:* Kulturelle Beziehungen des Neolithikums Sieben-
                     bürgens zum Vorderen Orient. ActaMN 7 (1970) 3—40
Vlassa 1971   *N. Vlassa:* Contributii la problema racordarii cronologiei rela-
                     tive e neoliticului Transylvaniei la cronologia absoluta a orien-
                     tului apropriat. Apulum 8 (1971) 21—63
Vlassa 1979   *N. Vlassa:* « Casutele de cult » de la Turdas (Les maisonettes
                     cultiques de Turdas). Apulum 17 (1979) 9—24
Vukanović 1979   *D. Vukanović:* A Neolithic terracotta mask from Pavlovac.
                     Vranski Gl 12—13 (1979) 1—15
Vulpe 1957   *R. Vulpe:* Izvoare. Sapaturile din 1963—1948. Bucuresti 1957
Wace—Thompson 1912   *A. J. Wace—M. S. Thompson:* Prehistoric Thessaly. Cam-
                     bridge 1912
Weinberg 1962   *S. Weinberg:* Excavations at prehistoric Elateia, 1959. Hespe-
                     ria 31 (1962) 158—209
Weisshaar 1977   *H.—J. Weisshaar:* Die Funde der Rachmani-Zeit von der Pev-
                     kakia Magula bei Volos, Thessalia (Manuscript). Heidelbereg
                     1977
Weisshaar 1982   *H.—J. Weisshaar:* Varna und die Ägäische Bronzezeit. AKorrBl
                     12 (1982)
Wiesner 1938   *J. Wiesner:* Grab und Jenseits. Berlin 1938
Wilke 1910   *G. Wilke:* Spiral-Mäander-Keramik und Gefässmalerei der
                     Hellenen und Thraker (Mannusbibliothek I). Würzburg 1910
Willvonseder 1940   *K. Willvonseder:* Die Venus von Drassburg. Germania 18
                     (1940)
Yeivin—Mozel 1977   *E. Yeivin—I. Mozel:* A fossil directeur figurine of the Pottery
                     Neolithic A. Tel Aviv 1977
Yakar 1974   *J. Yakar:* The twin shrines of Beycesultan. AnatSt 24 (1976)
Zalai-Gaál 1984   *I. Zalai-Gaál:* Neolitikus koponyakultusz és emberáldozat-
                     leletek Tolna megyéből (Finds associated with the Neolithic
                     skull cult and human sacrifice from Tolna County). Szek-
                     szárdiMÉ 12 (1984) 3—42
Zápotocká 1969   *M. Zápotocká:* Die Stichbandkeramik zur Zeit des späten Len-
                     gyelhorizontes. StZ 17 (1969) 541—574

P. Váczy

THE BYZANTINE EMPEROR CONSTANTINE VII PORPHYROGENITOS AND THE SAGA OF THE HUNGARIAN CONQUEST

Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitos (†959), who inherited the love of literature from his father, Leo the Wise, appears to have delighted in collecting the legendary material of foreign peoples. In his well-known book entitled *De Administrando Imperio* there are many passages that illustrate his interest in all kinds of popular manifestation. The tone and terminology of chapters on various peoples reveal that Constantine's informers came from the rank and file and that their words were often recorded in a rough and unrefined fashion. These passages of his book differ substantially from those where the author draws upon texts of Byzantine chroniclers which display literary elaboration. If we read, for instance, the material collected on Dalmatia — divided into two whole chapters (29, 30) — or the narrative on the origin, language, customs etc. of the coastal Croatians (31), the Serbs (32) and other minor Slavic people of the Adria seashore, we would agree with the Emperor that this material deserved to have been recorded, even if uncritically, at such great length.

Bearing this in mind, we are bound to see the chapters on the Magyars (13, 37—42, line 18) from a different angle. For the Hungarians, just as the Croatianes and other peoples living in a pristine community, when asked by the Byzantines to speak about their origin and past, did not enumerate the bare historical facts, but transposed these facts into the realm of myth, as they had heard them from their minstrels. As every genre, the heroic song too had its particular rules sustained by the force of a living tradition. Of our heroic songs dated from the age of the Conquest only a few fragments have survived in our Latin chronicle literature, but none has been preserved in its original language form. From these fragments, however, it is possible to establish, that our heroic songs cannot have been much different from the compositions and rendering of the Eurasian Turkic—Mongolian peoples. On the strength of certain traces it may be said that the bulk of our songs from the age of the Conquest was composed not in the Hungarian language, but in accordance with the requirements of the princely courts in Turkish, in plain Turkish, or Bulgarian—Turkish.

It is precisely through the work of Emperor Constantine cited here that the role of the Pechenegs in the history of the Magyar Conquest has become familiar. Regino, who writes in Latin, also imputes to the Pechenegs — gaining information from elsewhere — that the Magyars had left the Black Sea coastline and migrated to their present homeland (in the year 889). The Pechenegs attacked when the Hungarian warriors were far away in Italy staying there for one year (from August 899 to August 900). When they returned, the sight of the perished homeland ("Etelköz") caused the Magyars — late in the fall of 900 — to take possession of Pannonia which was not occupied by the Franks, but which they had plundered in transit not long before. This, I think, is the reality that may be gleaned from the data.

Let us now see how this historical reality has grown into a mythical narrative. We should be glad that it is precisely this initial part of the saga of the Conquest that has survived in a less revised form, though in Latin abstract and in prose. "As soon as the Magyars left the town of Kiev they crossed the Snowy Mountains at a region where they found innumerable eagles. They could not stay on for long here, as the eagles descended from the trees like flies and devoured and killed their cattle and horses" (Chron. s. XIV c. 26. Scriptores rer. Hung. I. 286). In this manner did the Pechenegs, agents of the destruction of the old homeland, become eagles in the saga. Another mythical element is that the passage through the Snowy Mountains took *three* months according to the account. As the Hungarians had to flee from the eagles, the figure three is clearly intended to denote a small quantity. This number was used in the same sense by the Hungarian who informed Niketas (the commander of the fleet, and presumably the envoy of Leo the Wise sent to Árpád and Kurszán) "of the three years" spent by the Magyars in Lebedia (894). It would be a mistake to take this dating literally. The envoy's report was employed as a source by Emperor Constantine in his work cited here (c. 38).

There is less favorable material for us in the fragment of the Conquest saga recorded in the 14th century Hungarian chronicle concerning Árpád (c. 28, cf. also c. 23). Undoubtedly, the saga in this form bears the marks of a late, scholastic revision. "In the middle of the country", on the Great Plain, reigns Svatopluk, a prince with a historical name. He is the adversary of Árpád, the Hungarian hero of the Conquest, or rather — and this is important — his sole adversary, from whom Árpád wants to obtain the future Hungary not in a duel, but through cunning and gift. When ultimately a fight breaks out, Svatopluk flees from the Magyars and "throws himself into the Danube and gets drowned in its swift waters". The revision is of a later date because Svatopluk's name occurs in it in its later form as *Zuatapolug*. This is all the more striking as in the later chapters of the Hungarian chronicle (122, 140) there appears a Czech prince of this name in the story of king Salamon and the princes, but under the name *Sentapolug, Sentepolug,* which is a transitory form between the newer and the original old Moravian *Svetoplk.* The Hungarian chronicler does not claim his hero to have been the renowned Moravian prince Svatopluk (870—894), apparently because he himself is not aware of the connection. Indeed, he states that Svatopluk started his rule after Attila's death "in the heart of Hungary", *circa partes Danubii.*

That the original name of the hero was changed by the later chronicler in the name of historical authenticity is clear from a remark to be found in our chronicle literature (Kézai, Gesta c. 23 and Chron. s. XIV c. 23). "There exists a tradition that the Magyars returning to Pannonia for the second time found there not *Zuatapolug* but Marót *(Morot)* as ruler". This is followed by an involved genealogical explanation which need not be discussed here. Later, more "erudite" ages attempted to bring the saga of the Hungarian Conquest closer to historical reality, but without much success. All the same, sure, Árpád's adversary was a Moravian in the saga, because, as we all know, Marót is the ancient Hungarian form of the name Moravian.

At this point in our inquiry we should take a closer look at the work of King Béla's clerk entitled *Gesta Hungarorum.* He belonged to the type of conceited scholar who looked down upon the popular, "peasant" tradition labeling it fabula, no matter how much delight he took in the performances of professional minstrels wandering from manor to manor. It would be more appreciated today if Anony-

mus had recorded the Magyars' saga of the Conquest in its pristine form. What he — as well as others — did, however, was to glean from the saga only those parts he considered compatible with historical reality. But while most of the chroniclers had come by their erudition at school, our Anonymus exploited his office in the chancellery to acquire information from foreigners visiting the royal court and from the local traditions of those clans with a rich past. On the whole, the view he had obtained in this fashion of the political conditions of the Danubian and Tisza region prior to the Conquest is surprisingly accurate.

In the saga Árpád the conqueror encountered only a prince called Marót. Anonymus realized that the saga had extremely simplified the events when recounting the Conquest as the struggle of two princes. The promised land was, in effect, divided up between several major and minor potentates. What Anonymus called the "pasture of the Romans" covered the same territory the Franks used to hold in Pannonia. On either side it was marked off by the Danube. To the north, on the other side of the Danube as far as the river Garam, our author knows of the existence of a Slavic country whose prince had his seat at Nitra and which fell under the sovereignty of the Czech prince. Although it is the Czechs and not the Moravians who are referred to here, the description also applies to the empire of the Moravians. Indeed, Cosmas' Czech chronicle covering the years up to 1125 states that Svatopluk's empire reached as far eastwards as the Garam (Vol. 1.14). Here the Moravians' immediate neighbours are the Bulgarians under whose reign there arose feudal principalities of varying sizes not only in the region between the Danube and the Tisza, but beyond the Tisza as well. Anonymus in this respect could even have cited the account of the so-called "Bavarian Geographer" (Descriptio 844—862), in which the Czechs (Betheimare) are followed by the Moravians (Marharii), who in turn are followed by the "enormous territory and population" of the Bulgarians (Vulgarii). Reliable data attests to the fact that the mining region of Transylvania was also under Bulgarian rule (Fulda Annals a. 892). What Anonymus writes about Gyalus's reign in Transylvania is therefore pure invention.

The basic texture of the saga may still be detected occassionally in Anonymus' work. He, too, locates the region between the Danube and the Tisza as the "middle of Hungary" where the Bulgarian Salan, the mightiest of princes has his seat. By ruse, Árpád asks the same sample of water and grass of him as he does of Marót, alias Svatopluk, in the saga. This scene from the saga is reproduced in the Gesta, but the characters are changed. Thus Marót had to move, if only temporarily, beyond the Tisza into Bihar. In Chapter 11 of the Gesta we learn that he started to rule "after Attila's death", just as Svatopluk had done according to 14th century chronicle construction. This Marót had therefore entered the work from a version of the Gesta which still used this name for Árpád's adversary.

Let us, however, read further into Anonymus' work. By contrast, the grandson of the Marót of Bihar "was named Mén-Marót by the Magyars, and the reason for this was that he kept more women (amicas)". In connection with our heroic songs we have already noted that Anonymus must have become ecquainted with this name-variant from a Bulgarian—Turkish version of the saga of the Conquest. He had, however, misunderstood the name. As is also confirmed by the former city-name Men-Kermen near Kiev, the Bulgarian—Turkish word men means in Hungarian nagy (great) and is used mainly in compounds like the Hungarian nagyhét (Holy Week), nagyapa (grandfather), nagynéni (aunt) etc. That the Magyars, prior to the Conquest and for a long time therafter, were a multilingual people is borne

out by Emperor Constantine VII's remark concerning the joining of the Kabars (c. 39). The Magyars' knowledge of Turkish, however, had certainly been lost by the age of Anonymus, while the heroic songs and legends had preserved the Turkish word-stock, primarily in the names of characters. Neither Anonymus nor anyone else could any longer grasp the meaning of these words and phrases. His only mistake was to interpret the Turkish word *men* meaning in Hungarian *nagy* (great) as identical with the Hungarian word *mén* (stallion).

The Magyar conquest of Hungary was depicted in the saga as the combat of two heroes, Árpád and Marót, or Menmarót. The word Marót, however, means Moravian, and actually embodies the Moravian people itself. It is known from the sequence of events of the Conquest that Moravia was the last territory to be occupied. This may perhaps account for the fact that Árpád's mythical foe was none other than the representative of the Moravian people. Consequently his princely seat was in the heart of the country, *in medium Vngariae,* as the chronicler put it, and his empire, of course, covered the entire territory the conquerors came to possess. The attribute *nagy* (great) in the names Menmarót, in the Hungarian *Nagymarót,* does not refer to the size of this empire (although it can also be interpreted in this way), but rather to the person who epitomizes the Moravian people. It is a common practice among Turkic—Mongolian peoples to derive the etymology of the ethnic name from the personal name of a ruler. In this case the name-giver is at the same time the progenitor of the people. If the people should subsequently divide into several branches, the new branches will derive their names from the sons of the prince-progenitor. The name and person of Marót or Menmarót should be conceived in this manner.

The eponym of the Moravians is, in actual fact, the river Morava which flows into the Danube from the north, and around which they had once settled. They appear as *marvani* among the tax-paying Avars and Eastern Slavs at that imperial assembly in Frankfurt which was summoned together by the East Frankish king Louis the German in 822. From then on their name can be found in the Frankish annals. Conspicuously, their country is never mentioned by the name Great Moravia, neither in the Frankish sources, nor in works like the Slavic legend of Cyrill and Methodius or Cosmas' Czech chronicle.

There is, however, one exception, and this is Emperor Constantine VII's book on ''the administration of the empire''. Of the five on the country of the Moravians, only three passages use the denomination Great Moravia, while in the two other passages it is simply called Moravia. By means of a close textual analysis of the passages in question, the following conclusion may be drawn. The entire 41st chapter of the book is about Moravia's archon, Svatopluk, recounting how the country disintegrated due to the discord of Svatopluk's sons. Here a foreign saga is narrated whose material is not of Hungarian origin. In the subsequent 42nd chapter, where the country's name is again simply Moravia, the emperor determines the place of residence of, among others, the Turks, i.e. the Magyars, within the framework of a geographical description (line 19). This does not rely on a Hungarian source either. The name of Great Moravia, on the other hand, occurs only in texts which are closely related to Hungarian history and obviously stem from Hungarian informants (13, line 5; 38, line 58; 40, line 33).

Even more important than this observation is the statement that, according to Constantine, the Magyars in their new home ''live on Moravian land''. Where he does cite from a foreign source, Moravia — without the attribute ''great'' — invariably denotes only present-day Moravia, lying north of the Danube. We find the

following in Chapter 41: "and the Turks came and utterly ruined them and possessed their country, in which even now then continue to live. And those of the folk who were left were scattered and fled for refuge to the adjacent nations, to the Bulgarians and Turks and Croats and to the rest of the nations." The emperor's phrasing is even more clear-cut at the relevant locus in Chapter 42: "The Turks live beyond the Danube river, in the land of Moravia, but also on this side of it, between the Danube and the Save river." Moreover, the emperor never tires of repeating that the Magyars, having left their home to the Pecheneg, "came and in their turn expelled the inhabitants of Great Moravia and settled in their land, in which the Turks now live to this day" (38, lines 57—60). Similarly, after defining the southern border of "Turkia" as ranging from Trajan's bridge to Belgrade, the emperor continues as follows: "and beyond lies Great Moravia, the unbaptized, which the Turks have blotted out, but over which in former days Sphendoplokos used to rule" (40, lines 33—34). The implication here is that the new home of the Magyars was identical to the territory of Moravia.

Fifty years after the Conquest the Magyars already presented the story of the Conquest as if they had had one sole enemy, the Moravian, and as if their whole country had formerly been the possession of the Moravians. Instead of listing facts, they recited the saga, their struggle with Ménmarót the Great Moravian and their settling down in the land of this mythical hero. The Greeks lent their ears to the Magyar informants, and Emperor Constantine recorder their account in his book as though it had been the authentic story of the Hungarian Conquest.

NOTE

Constantine VII's book is cited here on the basis of the critical edition by Gyula Moravcsik. The English translation of the original passages is the work of *R.J.H. Jenkins:* Constantine Porphyrogenitus, De Administrando Imperio. New, revised edition. Washington 1967.

On the heroic songs of the era of the Hungarian Conquest, see my lecture held in 1981, in: "Magyar vers" (Hungarian Verse), ed. *Miklós Béládi* et al., Budapest 1985 51—56.

A contemporary, Regino the abbot of Prüm writes in the year 889 about the Magyars' migration from "Scythia" and their taking possession of their present home: Chronicon, ed. *Fr. Kurze* (Scriptores rerum Germanicarum), Hannoverae 1890 pp. 131—133. The Conquest actually occurred late in the fall of 900, following the Italian campaign, and not in phases, but at once.

Hungarian chronicle literature was employed here as edited by Imre Szentpétery and his fellow compilers in vol. 1 of the Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum (Budapestini 1937), with the exception of P. magister's (Anonymus) *Gesta Hvngarorvm*, which was cited from the edition of László Juhász (Budapest 1932).

On Niketas' legation of the year 894: Georgius monachus continuatus, version "A", ed. *Gyula Moravcsik*. Fontes Byzantini Historiae Hungaricae, Budapest 1984 59.

The name Svatopluk in its original form (*Sventoplk*, where the *en* is a nasal e sound) caused difficulties of pronunciation for Germans and Hungarians alike. Concerning the German version we can refer to the data of the Annales Fuldenses a. 884 *Zwntibaldus dux Maravorum* (ed. Fr. Kurze pp. 111—113), and Regino's Chronicon a. 890 *Zuendibolch Marahensium Sclavorum rex* (ed. *Fr. Kurze* 134, etc.). The nasal variant of the name was borne by that Czech prince who took part in the battle of Mogyoród in 1074 in support of King Salamon and, wounded, was taken prisoner by the triumphant princes (Chron. s. XIV c. 122 and c. 140 ed. *Szentpétery*, Scriptores vol. 1 391, 140). The Hungarian chronicler writing in Latin rendered his name so as to avoid the cluster of consonants: *Sentepolug, Sentapolug.* If the name of the Czech prince was recorded in its ancient nasal form as late as the reign of the Hungarian king Saint Ladislas (died in 1095), it can safely be said that it was not the 11th century author of the "Ur-gesta" who subtituted Svatopluk for Marót. The name of Svatopluk replacing Marót occurs in the form *Zvataplug* in Kézai, and as *Zuatapolug* in our 14th century chronicles (ed. *Szentpétery,* Scriptores vol. 1 163—165; 281, 282, 288, 290, 304), which is in complete harmony with the changes that had taken place in the meantime in the sound development of Czech. In compliance with the new requirements, Cosmas of Prague in his chronicle running to

1125 amends even the name of the legendary Moravian prince Svatopluk to *Zuatopluk* (Lib. I c. 10, c. 14), so his name does not in any way differ from the *Zuatopluk, Zuatoplik* name-form of the Czech prince figuring in the 11th—12th centuries (Lib. II c. 43. etc.). This very same name-form is encountered in the records related to Czech history of the Annales Gradicensis a. 1107, a. 1108, or Vincentii Pragensis Annales a. 1164. The edition used: *B. Bretholz:* Die Chronik der Böhmen des Cosmas von Prag. Berlin 1955 (2nd ed.) 22, 32, and concerning the Czech annals Mon. Germ. Scriptores XVII 648, 681. The name has a nasal form in diplomas issued between 873 and 900 numbered 14; 22; 24; 26 and 30 in Vol. 1 of the "Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris regni Bohemias" (ed. *G. Friedrich*). To be sure, the change must have taken place early in the 12th century, cf. ibid. diplomas no. 115 (post-1131) and no. 227 (dated year 1165), where the name-form is already *Suatopluc.*

On the Svatopluk name, see the fundamental study of *János Melich,* Magyar Nyelv. 18 (1922) 110—114.

The romantic narrative titled Gesta Hungarorum of the "Hungarian Anonymus" (P. magister) is reassessed from a historical standpont by *Gyula Moravcsik:* Der ungarische Anonymus über die Bulgaren und Griechen. Revue des Études Sud—Est Européennes 7 (1969) 167—174, which is also a criticism of Győrffy's concept.

The edition of the text of the so-called Geographus Bavarus: *B. Horák—Trávnicek:* Descriptio civitatum ad septentrionalem plagam Danubii. Rozpravy Československé Akademie Ved. Rada Spolecenskych Ved 66/2 (1956) 19—21; Magnae Moraviae Fontes Historici III. Brno 1969 287 with a map which erroneously marks the country of the *merehani* in the place of the Moravians. Originally the description in the south ended with this people: *Istae sunt regiones, quae terminant in finibus nostris.* It intended to give an over-all picture of the peoples living on the border of the Frankish empire from the Danes down to the Adria. The original part is dated by *W. Fritze* as falling within the period from 844 to 862: Die Datierung des Geographus Bavarus und die Stammesverfassung der Abotriten. Zeitschrift f. slav. Philologie 21 (1952) 326—342. The Magyars *(Ungare)* are represented only in the appendix, in their present home.

On Menmarót: *P. Váczy;* The Diction and Presentation of our Heroic Songs of the Era of the Hungarian Conquest. In: Magyar Vers. Budapest 1985 55. A different explanation of the name of Nagymorávia (Great Moravia) is attempted by *R. Dostálová* in the Prague-besed journal Byzantinoslavica 27 (1966) 344—349.

It is at the imperial assembly in Frankfurt (822) that the Slave living along the Morava are called Moravians for the first time. Cf. Annales Regni Francorum a. 822. ed. *Fr. Kurze* 159.

It is generally overlooked in the specialist literature that apart from Constantine VII's book written in Greek there is not one relevant source which calls Moravia "great".

In Chapter 41 of the "De Administrando Imperio" the emperor elaborates on a Svatopluk saga of non-Hungarian origin. Here, where one would most expect the attribute "great" to precede the name of the country, the country is simply called Moravia, and the title and rank of its renowned ruler is simply *archon,* that is, prince. Concerning this chapter see: *V. Tille:* Svatopluk et la parabole du vieillard et de ses enfants. Revue des études slaves 5 (1925) 82—84.

It is generally assumed that Chapter 42 is based upon a Byzantine land-description, supplemented in several places by Constantine, with, e.g., the history of the building of Sarkel's. Cf. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, De Administrando Imperio Vol. II. Commentary, ed. *R. J. H. Jenkins.* London 1962.

Constantine VII knows only one Moravia, over which Svatopluk used to reign. In his book cited here he calls this Moravia great only on the basis of Hungarian information. When he draws upon other sources, however, the country's name, in harmony with the common usage of the age, is Moravia without the attribute great. Of the three data cited (13, 5; 38, 58; 40, 33) it is the description in Chapter 38 that exhibits most clearly the correspondence between the name of "Great Moravia" and the Hungarian "nagymorva" (Great Moravian) or *(Menmarót)* of the saga of the Hungarian Conquest. Indeed, this very chapter discusses Etelköz, Álmos and the election of Árpád as prince, which corroborates the Hungarian origin of the narrative.

P. Váczy

SOME QUESTIONS OF EARLY HUNGARIAN HISTORY AND
MATERIAL CULTURE

The history of the Hungarian people at the end of the first millennium is one of the most popular subjects of our historiographers. It is only understandable that the researchers have often tackled this period. How did a people leave its migration period status behind, and how did it link up with the European order? — these questions are indeed challenging for a researcher. Moreover, King István (Stephen), the prominent figure behind these developments, also deserves special attention both on account of his role and also because of his outstanding personality. The question of what role did King István play in Hungary's history has remained recurrent among scholars and laymen alike.

1. Italy and Lotharingia

For the historian, there are conclusions to be drawn from the fact that the cathedrals dating from the age of István, most of which have survived in ruins only, exhibit the influence of the Italian, Ravennese and Venetian architecture of the day.[1] The political and economic ties between the flourishing Venice and the emerging Hungarian state were rather close, with the main mediator being Bishop Gellért. Consequently, political and economic interests became entwined with religious conversion and other elevate intellectual endeavours.[2] Gellért, who had lived and worked in Hungary for a longer while, is ranked by all the philosophical manuals among the first representatives of medieval antidialectical philosophy.

To the best of our knowledge the oft-cited saying that philosophy is the maidservant of theology can be attributed to Gellért.[3]

This philosophical school was not exclusive at the time. Bonipert, bishop of Pécs, was representative in Hungary of the philosophical school of Chartres, which was markedly rhetorical with a touch of humanism, and whose followers included the Pope, Gerbert-Sylvester himself.[4] But the primacy of Venice and Ravenna remained indisputable.

Later on, the school of Gellért was swept away by the movements known as the rebellion of the pagans. By the time the restoration of István's stature began, the leading role had already been ceded by a mostly French-speaking circle of Lotharingians.[5] As is known, Lotharingia had an exceptional role to play in sparking off reformation within the church, primarily through the activity of the famous law school of the episcopal town of Lüttich. The first reformed Pope, Leo IX, was himself hailed from Lotharingia and had for a while served as bishop of Toul. Accordingly, the fact that Archbishop György of Kalocsa, who may well be considered a Lotharingian on account of his stay in Toul,[6] had a seat among the new pope's general staff and diplomats can in no way be considered irrelevant to Hun-

gary's development at the time. Abbot Péter of Szekszárd, who was also a 'Latin' in this sense, was perhaps also part of this Walloon circle. But the ultimate leader and the king's trustiest servant was most probably Liedvinus, bishop of Bihar. When the wars were over, it was he whom András I commissioned to take stock of King István's bequest, i.e. to carry out the restoration.[7] When Liedvinus visited his kinsfolk in his homeland, he also went to Lüttich and Ardenne, and recited a mass in the cathedral of Namur, on which he also bestowed some relics from Hungary. He may have had recourse there to the help of those (twenty-four?) canons of Verdun who quit the cathedral which was gutted by fire in 1047 and removed to Hungary.[8] On account of his name and also his stay in Lüttich, we may also consider Franco, the bishop of 'Belgrade', a Lotharingian.[9] In 1071, after the occupation of Belgrade, he was one of King Salamon's confidential aides. In 1075, the year when the deed of foundation of Garamszentbenedek was signed, Franco was already among the dignitaries of the new king, Géza I.[10] Although it took only a few years for the Emperor of Byzantium to recapture Belgrade, we have every reason to believe that Franco, as one of the king's right-hand men, became the bishop of Belgrade following the taking of the town, and had remained in the post at least in the name, without the right to exercise his powers.[11] Speaking of Franco, we have to exclude the possibility that he was the bishop of Dalmatian Belgrade on account of his activity in Hungary. It is likewise unsubstantiated to identify him with the bishop of Transylvania, since that bishop, whose seat was in Gyulafehérvár, went by the name *ultrasilvanus episcopus*[12] ('bishop of Transylvania') from as early as 1111, when the record of Zobor was signed. (The town of Székesfehérvár had no bishopric at the time.)

The townships of Lüttich, Namur, Toul and Verdun were situated in the French-speaking area of Lotharingia. Accordingly, the Lotharingians belonging to the general staff of the Hungarian king were French-speaking Walloons. It was on their advice that King András I appealed to the help of a French saint before a decisive battle, and it was obviously also their influence which made László I to establish a French monastery in Somogyvár in 1091. Since Somogyvár was subjected to Saint-Gilles, the French influence was fully ensured.[13] The ties between Lotharingia (and especially Lüttich) and Hungary began to shape up under King István, primarily through the activity of Archbishops Adalbert and Anastasius. It was far from accidental that the majority of the foreigners who crossed Hungary's borders were Lotharingians: the Abbot of Verdun came here on two occasions, and one visit was paid each by the Archbishop of Trier, the Abbot of Trier, the Abbot of Andain, schoolmaster Theodoricus of Lüttich and the Bishop of Cambrai. Most probably there were several other dignitaries who visited Hungary at the time, but whose names have not survived in the chronicles.[14] The public belief according to which the Lotharingian, Frankish and German troops headed for the Holy Land wished to name King László of Hungary as their leader was most probably rooted in the extensive ties between Hungary and Lotharingia.[15] It would be difficult to assign to a specific date the arrival in Hungary of the first Wallon settlers. Géza Bárczi has managed to establish that the Eger group settled only after the Mongol invasion.[16] However, there is no ground to exclude the arrival of smaller groups in earlier periods. The Hungarian—Walloon contacts were also significant from an economic point of view. Lotharingia, and especially its French-speaking area, was a highly developed part of Europe not only in religious and scientific thinking but also as regards economic output. Dinant, Huy, Verdun and Toul were among the first urbanized settlements in Europe. The 'heavy industry'

of Dinant or the glass-makers of Cologne gained fame as early as in the Roman times. The activity of the Maas (Meuse) Valley people has become a schoolbook example for urbanization.[17] We may perhaps identify the 'Latins' mentioned in article I, 31 of King László's laws with the Walloons settled in the region.[18] The settlement of Lüttich is believed to have had a 'Hungarian street and harbour'.[19]

The significance of the Ravenna—Venice axis is manifest in the artistic products of the first half of the 11th century. Similarly, Hungarian art was influenced by the primacy of the Lotharingians after King András I. Miniature painting was introduced in Hungary in the latter period, and the patterns were furnished by French Lotharingian artists, as is indicated by the Szelepchényi-Evangelistarium, which is the first known miniature painting in Hungary dating from the years before 1073.[20] Although the population of Lotharingia included Germans as well, the area enclosed by Cambrai in the west and Toul in the south was dominated by the French, who occupied the leading positions in the towns and villages there. The archetype of the Szelepchényi Codex originated from this French-speaking area. Indicative of this are the Old Gallican motives in its liturgic order, like for example the treatment of Easter Sunday as the beginning of the ecclesiastical year, or the featuring in the list of holidays of the names of French local saints. Accordingly, the pattern was French, although it did not come from France. This is suggested by the references in the sanctorale of the codex to saints characteristic of Cologne: Pantaleon, Gereon and the 11,000 virgins. The Lotharingian origin of the pattern is proved by the fact that the Germans are represented in the codex by these Cologne saints only. At the time, Cologne as well as Aachen and Trier were part of Lotharingia. Another proof for the Lotharingian origin is that the evangelical sequence of the Sundays and holidays of the ecclesiastical year in the Szelepchényi Codex corresponds to that in the codices of Utrecht, the Maastricht area (Süstern) and Trier. That the Szelepchényi Codex does not state the holidays of the Hungarian saints can be accounted for by the simple reason that it had been compiled prior to their canonization. However, the fact that there are references in it to Saint Adalbert, Saint Alexius, Saint Wenceslaus and a number of other Eastern saints (e.g. Demeter) proves that the codex was meant for use by Hungarians as well.[21] The French patterns are also manifest in the artistic execution of the codex, although much less plainly than in the liturgical parts.[22]

The Szelepchényi Codex is a telling example for the influence of the Lotharingian circle. The ecclesiastical sequence of the Pray Codex and the subsequent liturgical books had its roots in this Lotharingian pattern.[23] The French 'tone' of these works had gradually become prevalent, and this ultimately resulted in a direct influence from France. Somogyvár, which was founded by László, was the first manifestation of the direct influence from southern France (Saint-Gilles), and also of the increasing north—eastern French spell.[24] Later on, this influence manifested itself in the other forms of art as well. But it must be borne in mind that the full evolvement of the French school[25] was made possible by the Walloon Lotharingians, who filled leading positions under András I. That period witnessed the arrival in Hungary of a number of codices of Lotharingian origin. Some of these are still extant, like e.g. the Evangelistarium of Esztergom,[26] commissioned by Lüttich in the 11th century; the so-called Biblia Radonis of Zagreb, which was written in the textile-manufacturing town of Arras near the Lotharingian border around the year 800;[27] or the so-called Psalterium Gertrudis of Trier.[28]

The above description may well be considered inordinately detailed. However, we felt it was justified as research in general appears to have an inclina-

tion to underrate the significance of the age of István, and the period of András I and László that terminated it, citing a lack of perspective. We had to confine ourselves to outlining the main trends of development, and it was no part of our intention to compile chapters to a new monograph on István, notwithstanding that those chapters can, and will have to be compiled. Judging from the often fragmentary artistic and literary relics of 11th century Hungary, we have every ground to believe that the period was marked by an advanced intellectual life. A thorough analysis of the data at our disposal may also produce proofs for the high political and economic standards of the period. Those who introduced European literature and art in Hungary were at the same time the kings's chief advisers on the organization of the country and on political issues. It has also been revealed that out of self-defence and in its own best interest Hungary did not seek the help of either the Greek or the German empire, but instead tended to rely on powers which belonged only nominally to any of the two empires. First to come into prominence was Venice. However, when this connection finally broke up and the Hungarian kingdom ruined its reputation definitely with its Croatian—Dalmatian conquests, Lotharingia assumed the leading role. The fact that both Northern Italy and Lotharingia were ahead of all the other countries in social development was not a matter of indifference to Hungary, which at the time still attended the 'school of Europe'.

In the field of literature, it is appropriate to mention here the name of Mór, the bishop of Pécs, who became the first known Hungarian writer with his plain but splendid work Legenda S. Zoerardi et Benedicti. We must also stress here the high literary qualities of the Exhortations. Among Hungary's first libraries, the one at Pannonhalma may well be considered large with the 80 codices (some 200 works) it owned in the late 11th century.[29] The libraries of Esztergom, Pécs and Bakonybél could also boast sizeable collections, including Greek and Arabic manuscripts.[30] An Arabic manuscript was brought from Hungary to Germany as early as in the 11th century.[31]

2. Garments, dwellinqs and tools

Linguists have rendered a valuable service to historic research in Hungary when they undertook to separate our loan-words according to their origin and assign them into cultural groups. This enormous task will take long to accomplish. However, while rendering full justice to their work, we also have to add that they are reprehensible for failing to append 'instructions' to their findings. The lack of these notes has given rise to the belief among our historians that their work has already been completed by the linguists, and that they have got nothing else to do but to copy out the discoveries. A vital error! Etymology is not the exclusive domain of the linguists. The identification of a loan-word cannot be correct and complete unless the historical reality which it originally symbolized is also revealed. This, clearly, is also a historical task. In other words, if we want a loan-word to lead us to conclusions relating to the history of culture, we have to know the date when the word was taken from another language, and we also have to be familiar with its original historical 'milieu'. True enough, this latter task in turn requires linguistic assitance. Linguistics and historical research are thus complementary to each other.

The above statement also applies to the relationships between linguistics and ethnography, linguistics and archaeology, history and ethnography or history and

archaeology. What one scientific discipline is unable to reveal or confirm, the other may well establish. The ethnographer analyzes and describes the present state or recent past of human culture, bearing constantly in mind that the phenomena he focusses on date from the hazy past of history. Accordingly, the ethnographer cannot do without historical verification. He has the luck to study life 'at work', i.e. he can establish direct links between the words and the things they signify. Accordingly, the linguist has to consult the ethnographer whenever he wants to find out the relations between a word and its connotation on the basis of the vocabulary. The archaeologist shows up the object itself, thereby helping the linguist and the historian. And the ethnographer gains a firm footing when he can compare the objects dug up by the archaeologist to his own findings.

The above reflections boil down to the fact that any approach that claims itself to be scientific can only be 'complex', i.e. it per force has to collate the discoveries of all the relevant scientific branches. For a researcher of prehistory, whose face brightens at even the smallest bit of information, it is indispensable to approach the problems in a complex manner. His research process normally includes the following steps: first a list must be compiled of the words relevant to the garment, dwelling or furniture at issue, and preferably this list should also reveal the origin and age of the words. A list like this may acquaint us with the pre-Conquest Period Iranian and Turkish words, with the Slavic words which were loaned either before or after the Conquest, or with the subsequently adopted German words. The second task is to reveal the original meaning of the words, i.e. to assign the appropriate objects to the words listed by the linguist. Here the researcher has to rely on the discoveries of the archaeologist as well as on the historical records. This process is then complemented by the ethnographer, who approaches the problem in reverse order: he takes the present as his starting point to investigate the past.

In recent years, scholars have come closer to realizing the need to analyze the working tools and methods. The knowledge of the tools and the way they were applied enables the researcher to gain an insight in the process of production. It is not enough to know that the scythe was taken over from the Slavic people, unless we also know that initially it was a tool used for haymaking only. There is a brief quotation from Győrffy in the István monograph which raises this point, but the reader may easily misconstrue those words by believing that the limited use of the scythe was characteristic of the pre-Conquest Period 'Bulgarian—Turkish era' only, whereas there are data to prove that even in the 14th century the only harvesting tool was the sickle and not the scythe.[32]

Or there is another example, the coach. In the period at issue, both the two-wheeled and the four-wheeled coaches were in common use. The Bronze Age Sun-God already had a four-wheeled coach to travel on. In the Roman times, the two-wheeled coaches were used primarily in hilly areas or for brief and speedy journeys, whereas the four-wheelers were preferred in the open country, for longer trips or for carrying heavy loads. The medieval people adopted both types of the coach, and following the Roman practices, horses were used for transporting goods as well, while oxen were harnessed only for ploughing or for drawing heavy loads.[33]

This practice was different in the Eurasian steppes, where the most commonly used vehicles were the four- and six-wheelers. The people there knew the two-wheeled coach, but could not make much use of it. The reason for this was that the Scythians as well as the Sarmatians and the Mongols used the coaches not

only for transporting goods but also as dwellings. Understandably, the four-wheeled coaches could serve this latter purpose better. Besides a number of Scythian clay sculptures depicting coaches that have survived intact, we also know of the remains of a four-wheeled coach that has come to light in a 6th—5th century B.C. Scythian burial in the outskirts of Szentes (Vekerzug). This coach had six-spoked wheels with iron hub and rim.[34] However, there are signs to suggest that easy two-wheeled coaches made after Chinese pattern were also in use.[35] Travel books and other historical sources reveal that in the 13th century the use of coaches for transport and dwelling was quite common among the Mongols. Even the palace of the khan was running on wheels.[36] These coaches were normally drawn by oxen and cows and not by horses.

In the territory of Hungary, the practices of the steppe people had remained in use even after the year 1000. The Hungarians, similarly to the Huns or the Bulgarians, lived in tents erected on the ground. Nevertheless, they made good use of their coaches. Observing the ancient nomadic traditions, even our 11th century ancestors refrained from utilizing the power of their horses for transporting or drawing weight. Horses were not working animals: they were used for riding, and were milked. The draught animal was primarily the ox. The Major Gellért Legends make repeated mention of coaches, which were drawn by oxen.[37] Article II. 12. of King László's law mentions oxen used for ploughing: *'boves ad arandum aptos'*.[38]

It appears that the practice had remained unchanged until the first half of the 14th century, when the records still spoke about ploughs drawn by eight or ten oxen. Horses were first harnessed to ploughs in the mid-14th century.[39] The case was slightly different as regards harnessing to coaches. The first occurrence of the horse-drawn coaches coincided with the decline of the traditions of nomadic shepherding. The Csatár deed of foundation, which dates from the period between 1141—1161, specifies as the duty of certain liberti that *'currum dant cum equo et copertorio'*.[40] Similarly, the Minor Gellért Legend, which is believed to date from the 13th century, speaks about horses harnessed to coaches. However, the 11th century basic text makes no reference to horses:

Legenda minor	Legenda maior
collis equorum	everterunt currum eius
retortis plaustrum	...abstracto eo de
subvertunt patremque	curru eius in biga positum
humi proiciunt	de monte submiserunt

14th	Kézai
eventerunt currum eius	in biga
...abstracto eo de	de monte
curru eius in biga	submissus
positum de monte	
submiserunt	

A comparison of the texts reveals how faithful the Legenda maior was to the lost 11th century original, while exposing the late origin of the Legenda minor.[41]

The Major Gellért Legend also tells us about the coaches the Hungarians had made for different purposes. With a modesty becoming Frater Gellért, he used a small and simple coach rather than one with a large team of oxen.[42] The Latin expression *iumentum* was meant to signify that there were large and heavy coaches as well, which could only be drawn by a larger yoke of oxen. Bailiff Csanád is believed to have owned one such large and ornate coach which, according to the Major Gellért Legend, seated as many as ten people.[43] The currus used by the high-ranked Pechenegs for carrying their heavy loads and treasures into Hungary were most probably also of this latter type.[44] However, the coach used by Gellért was different: it was one of the light farm carts of the day.

That the coaches of both Gellért and Csanád were four-wheelers is stated in the part of the legend that describes the death of Gellért. According to the Major Legend, the insurgents threw Gellért out of his coach, forced him into a two-wheeled cart and then rolled it down the hill. The Latin original *'abstracto eo de curru eius in biga positus'* draws a clear distinction between Gellért's coach and the two-wheeled biga.[45] As we have seen, this part of the Major Gellért Legend corresponds to the respective part in the original basic text, which was written in the wake of Gellért's death. Accordingly, it reinforces the authenticity of the story. Having thus established that Gellért's light coach had four-wheels, we have every ground to believe that the coach of Bailiff Csanád was similarly a four-wheeler, more specifically a heavy and most probably ornate *iumentum* drawn by a larger team of oxen. Accordingly, there appears to be no ground to claim that in 11th century Hungary the most common means of travel and transportation were the two-wheeled *taliga* (cart) or *kordé* (tumbrel). All the less so since the Hungarian word *kordé*, whose original meaning was 'shoddy',[46] was coined later, most probably in the 19th century.[47] Consequently, the vocabulary used in the age of István could definitely not include the word *kordé*.

Originally, the word *'taliga'* also had a meaning different from 'a two-wheeled cart'. Indicative of this are the meaning of the word in the Osmanli Turkish language (small, hooded four-wheel cart with open sides),[48] and also the ethnographical observation according to which *'taliga'* was the name of the four-wheeled dwellings of the itinerant herdsmen. These dwellings, which were also used by the herdsmen for storing their 'possessions',[49] can obviously be considered 'degenerated' variants of the ancient nomadic coach-dwellings. The word *telěqa*, which is the Russian equivalent of 'taliga', has demonstrably been in use since the 11th century. In the Samoyedic languages, this Russian loan-word denoted the four-wheeled barrow cart,[50] which in fact was a wheeled tent or wooden booth.[51] The *'taliga'* had 'declined' simultaneously with the manners it belonged to.[52]

The other ancient Hungarian coach type, the *targan* (*'tärgän'* in Mongolian), had met the same fate.[53] The decline of the nomadic world introduced new types of comfortable coaches, the ancient *targan* became outdated and 'deformed', and ultimately its name became *targonca* (*'ca'* is a diminutive suffix in Hungarian).[54]

As we have mentioned earlier, initially ancient nomadic peoples refrained from using the horses as draught animals. They harnessed oxen to coaches and ploughs. Similarly, they used draught animals other than horses to turn the mills.[55]

The Gellért anecdote featured in both the minor and the major legends about the maid-servant singing a grinding song faces the researcher with a complex task. It may be considered a landmark relic by the historian dealing with Hungarian folk music and musical education, and it may also be seen as clue to the technical development of the day. Here we wish to focus on the latter aspect only.

The mill described in the Gellért anecdote was in fact a quern. 'The small grain crop did not necessitate a water mill,' Bónis wrote. ''The famous passages of the Gellért legend, which are known as the 'Symphony of the Hungarians', describe a primitive method of grinding.''[56] However, irrespective of the actual state of agriculture in Hungary in the age of Gellért, this anecdote must not lead us to infer that the grain crop was low in 11th century Hungary. According to the Major Legend, the scene where the story took place was a wooded area perfectly fit for feeding swine on mast. The less reliable Minor Legend also refers to a grazing ground in this context.[57] Since wooded pastures have never been prime spots for growing grain, it is not to be wondered that the quantity of the grain grinded there was also small. On secluded farms, as well as on household plots, querns had been in use at least until recently. The spread of the water mill did not necessarily render the querns redundant. There are historical data both in Hungary and in the West to support this point.[58]

Indeed, it would have been striking for Gellért if his night-time prayers were disturbed by the hum of a water mill. Although the water mill dates back to the Roman times, its spread beyond Italy and Gaul took place only after the conquest period, in the early Middle Ages. Water mills were demonstrably used in the Frankish Empire of the Merovingians. For example, interesting data on water mill equipment were recorded in the Franks' law-book,[59] and also in the chronicles of Gregoire of Tours.[60] In the areas of the Germans and Slavs beyond the river Rhein, the water mill was brought into use by the expanding Carolingians. The first reference to the water mill outside the Frankish Empire was made in Britain around the year 838. It reached Bohemia, Denmark, and the Baltic countries only in the 12th century.[61] As the first water mills occurred in Hungary in the middle of the 12th century, it goes without saying that this country was not lagging behind the West at the time.[62]

Summing up, it is highly improbable that there were water mills in Hungary in the 11th century. If we read the extant part of the Gellért anecdote carefully, we cannot but reach this conclusion. Of the two versions of the story, the one in the Minor Legend is brief and commonsensical, while the Major Legend tells the tale in a more detailed, narrative style. The original basic text (that of the 11th century Gesta) was reinterpreted more authentically by the Major Legend, although with minor alterations and additions.[63] According to the Major Legend, Gellért arrived in the village around noon. At around midnight, he heard the hum of a mill. He was astonished, all the more so since he 'had not seen a mill before' *('quod ipse alias non viderat'.* The word 'alias' translates here as 'otherwise'.) Gellért asked his companion, Walther, to find out the source of the noise. His answer was as follows: the maid-servant *('ancilla')* of our host is grinding the grain of her lord, as there is no other mill in the region *('tempore quo alia molendina in regione ista reperiri omnino non possunt')*. But the reply did not satisfy Gellért. He asked inquiringly: Are the millstones turned by a device, or only by human power? *('Arte, inquit, currit, an labore?')*. Walther's answer was likewise revealing: Both. The mechanism is turned by the girl's hands rather than drawn by an animal *('Arte et labore, non quolibet trahendo iumento, sed manu propria circumferente')*.[64]

The text may lead us to the following observations: Gellért would like to find out the source of the noise. In his first answer, Walther clarifies only that it comes from a household mill. There is no mill in the area where their host could take his grain. Accordingly, there were already mills operated by skilled millers. But those mills were not driven by water, as it does not even occur to Walther that a mill can be turned by water in Hungary. But he is familiar with that type of mill which is turned by draught animals. Consequently, this type must have been in common use in the country. The word *'trahendo'* expressively describes the way the harnessed animal dragged the driving rod. But the host of Gellért had a different mill: it was hand-driven. It was not a light mortar *(Kölyü)*, as it had a proper mechanism. The word *kölyü* was loaned from the Turkish language sometime before the Conquest Period.[65] But this should not be taken to mean that only the *kölyü* was used for grinding the grain. The pre-conquest Turkish loan-words *őr-öl, őr-vény* (grind and whirl) originally meant 'rotate' in Hungarian. The old-Turkish originals of the words were *äwir-, awir-* ('drehen'=turn, twist), and the verb *äwril* ('sich drehen'=turns by itself), with the reflexive suffix *-il*. The latter word also had a variety with a dropped consonant: *äril-*.[66] All this postulates a rotary mechanism. To all appearances, the mill described in the legend was a technically advanced quern, and not just a simple millstone on which grain was ground by a hand-help piece of stone. The word *ars* in the text is a definite reference to some kind of mechanism. And the term *'circumferente'* (which also occurs in the Minor Gellért Legend: *'manibus molam circumferens')*[67] proves beyond doubt that the hand of the maid-servant was 'going around' while grinding. These querns were in all probability similar to those L. Niederle has exhibited from Bohemian and Polish findspots. One of the latter querns was dated by Niederle to the year 1000.[68] Of course, the presumed similarity or relatedness should not as a rule be taken to indicate that the quern used by the Hungarians originated from the Slavs. Instead, it only shows that the type of quern at issue was also common among the Slavs, and perhaps elsewhere. The illustrations in Niederle's book show the two superposed millstones: the lower one was static, and the upper one was rotating. The groove encircling the lower millstone was used for collecting the ground flour, which then was removed through a mouth. A long wooden rod was fixed into a hole on the top of the upper stone. The other end of the rod was loosely fastened to a horizontal beam above. If the rod was rotated by hand, the grain between the rotating upper and the static lower stones was duly ground. The expression *'circumferre'* in the Gellért legends describes this very process.

For all these lengthy comments, we have not yet covered all the problems of the coaches and the mills. But suffice it to mention this much about the vast potentials of the so-called complex method of research. The history of our ancient tools can and must be studied in a very wide context only. The critical analysis of the written sources must be coupled with an extensive survey of the relevant archaeological and ethnographical data, and the results must then be reconciled with the evidence of the linguists. It is especially important to determine the original meaning of all the words in our vocabulary. However, we must not forget that the semanticist is bound to walk on shaky grounds unless he reckons with the historical potentialities. A new loan-word did not as a rule introduce a new notion or a new object in a language. The questions of what, how and why did a language adopt new words can only be answered jointly by the linguist and the historian. Accordingly, we have to mind our usage. When describing life during the Conquest Period, one should select his terms very carefully.

Entering upon the subject of our ancient garments, we have to state that here again we cannot rely on ethnographical data only. We must not forget that the ethnographer's records per se include the ancient as well as the later developments, which might include adopted or loaned elements. By applying the complex method, the researcher can point out the original elements of the ancient people's garments. The difficulties facing the researcher are far from insurmountable. The written sources, the archaeological evidence, the surviving authentic depictions and the ethnographical references may well give us an inkling of how the ancient Hungarians dressed themselves. Once the authentic objects are pinned down, the researcher has to find the relevant contemporary terms in the works of the semanticists. Paradoxical as it may sound, we cannot but agree that the garment of a Conquest Period Hungarian is easier drawn than named.

The work of Gyula László gives a reliable outline of the main elements of the contemporary garments. One such nomadic peculiarity was that the women lived and dressed after the men's fashion. The skirt was inherited from the Slavs.[69] The cultured people who settled among the Hungarians found the women's masculine look and manners strange and repulsive. The Greek, who translated everything including this nomadic peculiarity into poetry, devised the story of the amazons.[70] But Bishop Thietmar of Merseburg was simply scandalized when he met the 'White Lady' Sároltu, the wife of Hungarian Prince Géza, who drank and rode the horse just like a soldier and who was ready to kill out of spite.[71] We have to understand this peculiar trait of the ancient Hungarian people and their garments.

As regards the women's *kendő* (kerchief), suffice it to state here that originally the word had nothing to do with the headwear. The original verb was *ken,* meaning 'smear, wipe, paint', and our word has the frequentative suffix *-d* on it. Even today, we say *kendőzött arc* (made-up face). Accordingly, the word *kendő* came to connote whatever was used for smearing or painting (make-up, etc.), and also the towel which is used for drying or wiping our hand.[72] Thus the word *kendő* cannot lead us to conclusions on what the Conquest Period women's headwear was like.

The description of the garment of the nomads must advert to the *süveg* (high cap) and the *öv* (belt). When someone was deprived of liberty, his high cap and belt were taken away. No one could stand before God or the prince with his high cap on: it had to be hidden under the arm. The headwear is the best example for how closely the student of the history of the garment should consult the related social, political and religious questions. The high cap, which is considered a preconquest Turkish inheritance,[73] was not made exclusively of felt. Instead of the *kucsma* (fur cap) or the *sapka*[74] (cap), we had better mention here the *kalpag* (hat), which had a fur brim, as against the brimless high cap. We must consider it a pre-Conquest Period wear on the grounds that it was already known as a Hungarian wear, and also imitated by the Germans and the Italians as early as in the beginning of the 10th century.[75] It is believed to come from the Turkish word *qalpaq*.[76] The *kalpag,* similarly to the high cap, had its own specific social and political significance.[77]

The men 'wore sleeved, waist-long clothes with belt'.[78] Relying on contemporary descriptions, we can give a still more accurate picture of the men's wear of the time. These clothes were 1. open down the front, and were either buttoned or held together by belt; 2. tight above the waist, but loose and pleated below; and 3. knee-length at most. The material and fashion of the overcoat varied according to the occasion.

The *bekecs* (short overcoat) is the piece of cloth which we definitely have to cancel from the list of the Conquest Period Hungarians' garments. This wear of rather doubtful origin can hardly have occurred before the 19th century.[79] The following garments we likewise cannot date to the Conquest Period: the *kacagány* or *hátibőr* (animal skin thrown loosely over the shoulder), the *előbőr* or *mejjbőr* (animal skin thrown loosely over the chest), the *dolmány* (dolman) and the *zeke* or *kankó* (short jacket). The *kacagány* was introduced in Hungary by the Germans in the 18th century.[80] The *dolmány,* originally a robe of the janissaries,[81] reached Hungary through the Osmanli Turks. The age and origins of the *zeke* or *kankó* have not been clarified yet. In short, we had better leave these garments of unusual names completely out of consideration here. As regards the *köpönyeg* (cloak), we do not consider it related to the *szűr* (long embroidered felt cloak), 'whose name means *szőr* (hair or fur)'. According to Bárczi, the word *szűr* is a relative newcomer to the Hungarian language, and it derives from the word *szürke* (grey).[82]

In turn, the words *köpönyeg* (cloak), *ködmön* (frock), and perhaps also the *szokmány* and *suba* (wide sheepskin coat) can and should be associated with the garments of the conquering Hungarians. The word *köpönyeg* is undeniably related to the Turkish word *käpänäk*.[83] In all probability it was loaned prior to the conquest.[84] However, it is much more difficult to determine the contemporary meaning of the word. It could well be a felt mantle, which was spread or thrown on the shoulder in bad weather. This would explain why the word has come to mean 'raincoat' in certain languages, while elsewhere it denotes a 'stretched out canvas'. The *ködmön* was another Conquest Period robe.[85] On account of its generic and rather neutral meaning, the word *ködmön* suggests that this piece of cloth was commonly used at the time.

We have to dwell here longer on the history of two words: the *szokmány* and the *suba.* Although the first demonstrable occurrence of *szokmány* in the Hungarian language was in the 16th century, we still have to consider it an ancient Turkish loan-word.[86] The Hungarian word cannot be derived from either the Osmanli Turkish or the Chatagai languages, as there it denotes a footwear,[87] whereas in Hungarian *szokmány* means a frieze upper coat. In the Chuwash-type Bulgarian Turkish language, the equivalent of this word is *suxman* or *sukman,* meaning caftan or top-coat. Supporting our assumption is that the words *sukman* in the Wotyak and Ostyak languages, and also the Mordvinian word *suman,* derive from the language of the Volga Bulgarians.[88] As is known, the Mordvinian, Cheremissian and Permian peoples had adopted a large number of words from the language of the neighbouring Volga Bulgarians. The word *suxman* must have been one of these. Since the Bulgarians moved to the Volga—Kama region in the second half ot the 7th century, we cannot exclude the possibility that the Hungarian word *szokmány* or *szukmány* were loaned during the Hungarians' coexistence with the Bulgarians and the Turks.[89] In the Turkish and Finno—Ugric languages, the word *szokmány* generally denoted a long, wide overcoat made of thick and coarse wool, or in places a thick, grey fabric. Hungarian has retained both meanings of the word. In short, *ködmön* denoted fur coat, while *szokmány* was the name of a lighter overcoat made of coarse wool or half-wool.[90]

The derivation of the word *suba* represents a still more complex problem. A word of Arabic origin, it has spread among a variety of European peoples. Consequently, it is very difficult to establish how exactly it reached the Hungarian language from the Arabic. A Slavic mediation is out of the question here,[91] and it is similarly unlikely that it was introduced through an Italian and German mediation.[92] The Hungarians of the pre-conquest period may have maintained con-

tacts with the Arabic and Persian peoples of the day, either through direct commerce or through the mediation of other steppe people. Their influence is obvious in the field of garments, but it is also demonstrable elsewhere. According to Gardízi, one of the Hungarians' neighbours were the *Mrdāt* people, who maintained brisk commercial ties with the Arabs. Although a Christian people, the Mrdāts wore turban, shirt and *suba (džubba)* similarly to the Arabs.[93] If the neighbours of the Hungarians wore the *suba,* we have every ground to believe that this piece of cloth was also familiar for the Hungarians. The Arabic word *džubba* derived from the verb *džebbe* (cut), and had been loaned by the Hungarian on several occasions: *zsubé, zsupica, zubbony, zsupán.*[94] While in the Slavic languages the word denoted 'fur coat' or 'leather upper coat', in Hungarian it has retained its original Arabic meaning: 'long or short wide fabric upper coat hemmed or lined with fur'. By way of example, let us see György Thurzó's records of 1612. He put down what he bought for his daughter as follows: 'Taffeta velvet and golden fur for a long suba ...Black velvet with floral pattern for a small suba, and five furs plus marten-skin on it ...'[95] These words justify István Kniezsa, who doubted the Slavic derivation of the word *suba.*

The steppe people who lived in the western half of the Eurasian steppe dressed themselves after Persian and Arabic patterns. According to Ibn Rusta, the Volga Bulgarians 'dressed similarly to the Mohammedans'.[96] It may well be presumed that the Hungarians had also inherited clothes other than the *suba* from the Persian—Arab peoples. Szendrei speaks about their turbans (ibid. 7.1.). The Hungarian word *kurta* (short) can be identified with the Arabic—Persian word *kurtak.* In its original sense, it denoted a waist-deep (i.e. short) underwear. Accordingly, this word coexisted with the word *ing,* presumably of Iranian origin.[97] Describing the Volga Burdas people, Gardízi wrote that 'they are dressed in *kurtak* and *dsebe'.*[98] The Persian—Arab people used the word *gaba* for the long upper cloth slashed on the front. In the second half of the 10th century, Istakhrí insisted that the Khazars obtained all their garments from the Persian border regions and from Byzantium. He made specific mention of the *kurtak* and the *qaba,*[99] saying that the former was the characteristic wear of the Bulgarians and the Pechenegs (ibid. 239). In some Caucasian languages, *kurtak* and *qaba* mean shirt and underwear, respectively.[100] The Hungarian word *kabát* cannot be identified with the Arabic word on account of the terminal letter *t,* while it is associable with the Kirghizian verb *gaby-* and the Mongolian *qaba-,* both meaning 'quilt' or 'embroider'.[101]

The fact that the steppe people imitated the garments of the highly cultured people of the south can be accounted for by their general liking for finery.[102] That the Hungarians were fond of pomp and glamour was highlighted by both the Persian Gardízi and the Byzantine Emperor Leo the Wise.[103] In addition to their gorgeous dresses, the Hungarians preferred to wear arms decorated with silver and beads.[104]

Part of the fabrics used by the Hungarians was brought here by Arabic—Persian and Byzantine merchants. Although the Hungarian name for silk brocade derives from the Turkish, that language in turn is believed to have loaned it from the Persian. The word at issue is *bársony* (velvet), and it exists in the language of several Caucasian peoples.[105] The use of velvet as dress material must have been rather common. According to Ibn Rusta's lively description, the Hungarians delivered their captives to the Byzantines just to exchange them for silk brocade, various homespuns or other goods. Writing about the silk brocade dresses of the Hungarians,[106] the Mohammedan writer Gardízi confirmed the etymology of the

word. Of course, not all the Hungarians of the day could afford foreign garments, and even the wealthy had clothes other than silk. The Mohammedan chronicler put down only the conspicuous aspects of the Hungarians' dresses. Animal skin was so common a wear throughout the steppe that there was no need to make mention of it. The same applied to wool and linen. The word wool comes from the Turkish, who were famous for their herds. Its occurrence in Hungarians was close-ly related to the emergence of nomadic shepherding in Hungary.[107] However, the processing of wool into *felt* was one of the developments that marked the major influence of the Iranians on the nomadic people.[108] The presumed Iranian origin of the Hungarian word *vászon* (linen) is a prime example for the influence the country of Iran and the Iranian mounted nomads had exerted on textile proces-sing.[109] Walter Endrei was seeking to identify the Hungarian weaving looms of the Conquest Period with those common in India and Byzantium.[110]

The words *kender* (hemp), *len* (flax) and *tiló* (hemp-breaker) again require a more detailed treatment. The word *len* undeniably comes from the Slavs,[111] but it remains a question whether the knowledge and processing methods of the flax also originate from them. This word is an excellent example for how incorrect it is to infer cultural relations from the mere existence of a loan-word![112] The flax the Hungarians had already known prior to their coexistence with the Slavs. Originally, the word *kender* denoted both hemp and flax. Proving this point is the fact that the word had reached Hungarians prior to the conquest from one of those Turkish lan-guages where *kender* denoted both hemp and flax,[113] and even the homespun made of them. The Turkish word *kändir* was in itself loaned from the language of an Iranian equestrian people. In the Ossetic language, the word *gän* stands for 'kender'.[114] The Turks later added a Turkish suffix to the word. The history of the word 'kender' reveals how important a role the Iranians played in the introduction of textile industry. However, the gradual spread of flax made it necessary after a while to separate it from hemp also in the language. This is how hemp came to be called *kender*. Accordingly, the introduction of the Slavic word *len* in Hungarian was the result of a late development, and was closely related to the emergence of flax processing.

Meanwhile, the product itself also came to be called by a separate word, *len-vászon* ('linen'). The fine Eastern flax products occurred in the Caucasian region and among the neighbouring steppe peoples simultaneously with the Arabic word *katan*, meaning 'linen, linen cloth'.[115] The Hungarian word *kötény* ('apron') deri-ves from this Arabic word, and its original meaning was most probably 'linen cloth'. The wovel *ö* in the Hungarian word is the result of a regular phonetic change, like in the words *kentes—köntös, kepenyeg—köpönyeg, etc.*[116] The domestic processing of hemp, flax and also the *csalán*[117] ('nettle') can be consi-dered a certainty. The Hungarian word for 'flax-breaker' — *tiló* — was loaned from the Turkish before the conquest.[118] This tool was used for the processing of both flax and hemp. Remarkably, in the Georgian and Mingrel languages the word *tiló* means 'linen cloth'.[119]

As regards the trousers, the following description appears absolutely mis-taken: 'the *gatya* was the name of the not too wide linen trousers commonly worn by the equestrian peoples. In cold weather, it was used as an underwear...'[120] The contemporary depictions and the written sources authentically prove that the horsemen wore long, wide trousers tucked in their sandals. These trousers were generally made of leather; the European Hunnish people used goatskin[121] for this

purpose. As opposed to this, the *gatya* was a garment of the Slavs. It was made of linen, and was worn as an underwear, as it is indicated by the religious Slavic meaning of the word.[122] The Hungarian word *nadrág* was also loaned from the Slavic. Similarly, we cannot but reject the Conquest Period dating of the 'tight felt trousers similar to the *harisnya* (tight frieze trousers) of the Székely people' (Bónis ibid. 66). There are contemporary depictions to prove[123] that these tight trousers were worn by the knights. The tight stockings-like trousers came into fashion only in the middle of the 12th century. The word itself is believed to derive from the Slavic language.[124]

Let us now see how King István dressed himself. One of the embroidered medallions on his coronation cloak depicts the knee-deep figure of the king. On the evidence of the photograph available in the Historical Museum of the Hungarian National Museum, and also of the colour picture in Béla Czobor's study[125] we can establish that King István did not wear a long, sleeved robe. His tight-fitting tunic-like dress was held together by a waist-belt and was almost knee-length. Béla Czobor, who spent two long days studying the coronation cloak, gave the following description of István's dress: 'He wore a tunic-like attire with a waist-belt, and a cloak held together by a blue buckle on his right shoulder' (ibid. p. 112). Regrettably, the photograph fails to give further clues as to what the difference was between the princely dress of István and the comparable attire of the martyrs. The wide buckled cloak was common both in the West and in Byzantium.

The history of the Hungarian dwelling house has long been in the focus of ethnographical research here. In recent years, new advances have been made through the involvement of archaeology. Accordingly, we can consider outdated in several respects the summary study entitled 'The Ethnography of the Hungarians', which was published in 1930 and again in 1934, and also Gyula László's standard work (1944), with its detailed descriptions. At any rate, László should have relied on Kálmán Szabó's work 'Az alföldi magyar nép művelődéstörténeti emlékei' (The Relics of the Cultural History of the Hungarian People of the Great Plain. Budapest, 1938), which was based on excavations conducted in Kecskemét, and which can well be termed a pioneering work for all its shortcomings. There are two excellent studies by Aurél Vajkai which are highly recommendable for historians: 'Veszprém megye népi építkezése' (Folk Architecture in Veszprém County),[126] and 'A magyar népi építkezés és lakás kutatása' (Researach into Hungarian Folk Architecture and Dwelling. Budapest, 1948). The abandonment of the former principles held by Ottó Herman and Zsigmond Bátky was well exemplified by the lecture Béla Gunda delivered in 1954, under the title 'A magyar népi építkezés kutatása a két világháború között és annak kritikája' (Critical Assessment of the Research of Hungarian Folk Architecture between the Two World Wars).[127] From among the contributions to this lecture, mention must be made here of István Tálasi's comprehensive comments (ibid. pp. 390—399). The emergence of the new concept was greatly facilitated by the archaeologists, who had unearthed a number of medieval settlements. From among these, let us mention here only the excavations conducted by József Csalog (Csalogovits) at Ete,[128] István Méri at Rázom-puszta near Tiszalök,[129] and György Szabó in Bács County (cf. the above-mentioned contribution by Tálasi, p. 397). In recent years, a number of new such settlements have been unearthed elsewhere in the country, e.g. in Sopron County.[130] These discoveries served to confirm the conclusions drawn by Méri and his colleagues.

The 11th—12th century houses uncovered by the archaeologists were all rectangular and included one room only. Judging by their smoky walls, they had clay furnaces in corner but had no chimney. In all probability, these buildings differed according to region and purpose. This diversity was rightly underlined by Bertalan Korompay.[131] The tents were contrasted with the permanent dwellings (*in domo vel tentorio* ed. Závodszky p. 163.) as early as in paragraph I. 36. of King László's law. The variedness of the buildings was also observed by Otto, bishop of Freising, during his stay in Hungary.[132] We have every ground to presume the existence of a wide variety of structures ranging from the simple rest-house of the herdsmen to the 'palaces' erected of stone. The finds of the excavations undeniably prove that among the more massive constructions there were buildings other than the round, cone-shaped, so-called hip-roofed huts of the herdsmen.

Many of our ethnographers have surmised that the conquering Hungarians lived in cone-shaped tents. Starting out from this presumption, they wished to establish links between the tents and the hip-roofed huts. However, there are linguistic as well as historical data to prove that the tent of the conquering Hungarians was not cone-shaped but had a dome instead. And of course no relation should be sought between the dome tents and the cone-shaped huts.

The Mohammedan, Byzantine and Russian writers unanimously insist that, during their stay in the Black Sea region, the ancient Hungarians had nomadic habits and lived in tents. Although the work of Dzajhání (from around the year 920), which described the Hungarians in their pre-889 homeland, has not survived, we can almost fully reconstruct its text on the basis of the references to that work in the writings of Ibn Rusta (arcund 930), Bakrí (died in 1094) and Gardízi (between 1050—1052). Since both Ibn Rusta and Bakrí agreed that 'they had tents',[133] it can be considered proof positive that the sentence came from Dzajhání. Speaking about the developments in the year 898, the oldest Russian annals say that at the river Dnieper the Hungarians ''pitched up their tents, as they lived a nomadic life, just like the Palots people *(polovci)*'. These Palotses were the White Cumanians.[134] And let us finally cite Emperor Leo the Wise, who considered the Hungarians his allies and the 'subjects of the Romans'. His knowledge of the Hungarians the emperor compared to Pseudo-Maurikios' description of the Turks, and he modified the latter at points. Speaking about the nomadic herdsmen, he made mention of the 'Turkic tents'.[135] Based on all these, we have no ground to doubt that the tent was the most typical dwelling of the ancient Hungarians.

On the Eurasian steppe, the most common type of tent was rather advanced. It is known as the 'kibitka'-type. The nomadic people in Tibet, Afghanistan, Iran, Asia Minor and the Balkans used a different tent-type, known as 'tente noire' i.e. black tent. The tents used by the Arabs and the northern African Bedouins also belonged to this latter category. The 'black tents' were generally made of animal hair. They were oblong-shaped and resembled the tents of modern-day street vendors. In Arabic, their name was *bait sa'ar* or *hiba'.*[136] The 'kibitka'-type tent had a cylindrical body, its wall was railed with slit-and-tongue junctions, and the roof was supported by lathing held by rings. In the western half of the Eurasian steppe these laths were bent to form a dome-like roof. As against this, the roof of this tent-type was cone-shaped in Mongolia and in some northern Turkish tribal territories of Central Asia. These architectural variations between the eastern and the western parts of the steppe were only an example for the differences between the two regions.[137] The kibitka usually had felt, or occassionally leather or wool cover.

The Arab writers referred to the domed tents of the western steppes as *qubba*, a word meaning both 'tent' and 'dome.' Accordingly, the Arabic term clearly points to the most typical feature of the western kibitka: the dome-shaped roof. In his work dating from around the year 891, Yakubi gave an exceptionally detailed description of the structure of the *qubba*. 'The Turkish *qubba* is a dome', he wrote, 'with bent framing *(mudalla'a)*. It is held together by horse- and ox-skin straps, and is covered by felt.'[138] The bent laths mentioned in the description positively prove that the *qubba* already had all the advanced technical features of the 'kibitka'. Ibn Fadlan, who visited the Volga Bulgarians in 921 as a member of a delegation, spoke about such dome-like tents in the areas of the Oguz people, the Volga Bulgarians, the Khazars and even the Kiev Russians.[139] The authenticity of Fadlan's data is not questioned by Idrisi's report, in which he defined as cone-shaped the tents in Itil, the capital of the Khazars. Idrisi compiled his geographical work in 1154, and his knowledge of this area was mostly unreliable.[140] Accordingly, we can establish that at the time when the Hungarians lived in the Mediterranean region, the nomadic people there had already lived in kibitkas.[141] In view of the accuracy of the Mohammedan writers' terminology, we have to attach great importance to the fact that Ibn Rusta referred to the tents of the Hungarians as *qubba*.

Indeed, the tent of the ancient Hungarians was fit for use as a permanent abode. The kibitka was easy to take apart and pitch up again, and it was also spacious and cosy in both summer and winter. We believe that the ancient Hungarians were tent people all the year round, i.e. it would be wrong to assume that the kibitka they used as temporary shelter only, and the winter they spent in more massive buildings. We are positive that the kibitka was their permanent dwelling. If we collate the descriptions of the Mohammedan writers or the Russian annals with the words of Bishop Otto of Freising, who came to Hungary together with the German crusaders, we find that in later times they did switch over to the use of more massive buildings. While in the pre-conquest period the tent was their exclusive dwelling, in the middle of the 12th century the Hungarians used the tent as a temporary shelter only, and they spent the winter and spring in reed huts, wooden houses or occasionally in stone buildings.[142] Under King László, the most common building was the massive *domus*, followed by the tent or *tentorium* (I. 36.). King István also spoke about a raid on houses and huts *(curtim vel domum, mansiunculas)*,[143] making no mention of tents. These facts clearly indicate the changes in dwelling practices. As we will see below, the Hungarians had retained their nomadic traditions well into the 12th century. Wild shepherding had remained one of their pursuits, although its intensity was limited. The massive structures mushrooming as dwellings at the time were mostly described with contempt by the visitors from the west. The permanent dwelling became the winter shelter, and the tent was used only by the itinerant herdsmen.

The word *falu* 'village' dates back to the Ugric period,[144] and we believe that it originally denoted a settlement surrounded by *fal* ('wall'), i.e. by hedgerow or wickerwork.[145] Characteristic of the persistence of the ancient Ugric-period traditions is the fact that not even the word *aul* of the Turkish-speaking nomads could supersede the word *falu*, although it also meant 'encircled place, village, neighbourhood'. Although the word *aul* became established in Hungarian, it was limited to denote an enclosed housing for animals *(ól =* 'sty').[146] The sty was part of

the nomadic herdsmen's life similarly to the *karám* ('pen'), which was loaned from the Turkish-speaking nomads,[147] but these can in no way be considered proofs for the practicing of stabling by the ancient Hungarians. The word *ház* ('house')[148] also had Ugric roots, and it likewise survived the influence of the other words of this meaning that came from the nomads. To all appearances, neither the common Turkish term *jurt* ('flat') nor the Chuwash term *śyrt* ('grange')[149] could strike roots in the Hungarian language, and the same applied to the old Turkish word *äb* ('house, flat, tent'), which originally denoted a dug-out hut.[150] The obvious reason for this is that the Finno—Ugric word *ház* prevailed against them. The kibitka, however, was considered a novelty at the time, and under the name *sátor* it was commonly used by the pre-conquest Hungarians.[151]

The architectural heritage of the Ugric period had to become adapted to the new conditions of the steppe. Accordingly, only those structures were used by the ancient Hungarians which could be easily fit into the nomadic practices. The words *ajtó, küszöb, fél* ('door, doorsill, door jamb') have survived,[152] because they were all used in tents as well. The wickerwork *fal* has also remained in use by the fishermen or by the builders of rest-houses, pens or fences. The words *lak* (originally a shelter for the hunters and fishermen from wind and rain),[153] *nyék*[154] and *cserény*[155] (shelters for animals) had also remained in use in the post-conquest period. However, it is doubtful whether the Hungarian expression for the so-called 'hip-roofed hut' *(kontyos kunyhó)* can be derived from the Obi-Ugric word *csum.*[156] The Hungarian expressions describing parts of the log buildings are Slavic by origin.[157] Although the log buildings could well have been known to the ancient Hungarians earlier,[158] they became commonly used only in the conquered Carpathian Basin. The Hungarian word *kaloda* ('stocks') derives from the Slavic *klada*, whose original meaning was 'wooden frame with holes for locking feet and hands'.[159] Consequently, this word does not belong to our architectural terms.

The Hungarian words *eresz, ered, ereszt* ('eaves, to derive, to let go') are the derivatives of the same Finno—Ugric stem.[160] In other words, the meaning has remained practically unchanged. As opposed to this, the word *pitvar* ('porch') belongs to those loan-words which have lost their original meaning and became 'democratized' by time. Its original meaning in the Byzantine and old Bulgarian languages was rather exclusive, as it denoted the porch of the church or perhaps the secular palace. Having loaned this word,[161] the Hungarians began to use it to denote the more common 'portico'. Under King István, however, it still could not replace the word *eresz* in denoting this meaning. *Szín* ('barn') is an early period Slavic loan-word.[162] However, we do not think that it is identifiable with the word *pitvar*. From the very beginning, *szín* has denoted an open and shady area, but never a 'porch'. The word *tornác* is alien to this group. It derives from the Italian word *terrazzo*, and has reached the Hungarian and the Slavic languages through German mediation.[163] The first demonstrable occurrence of this word was in 1507. Accordingly, it must have been adopted during the renaissance constructions of the 15th century, and thus it has nothing to do with the vocabulary of the conquering Hungarians.

The words *pest* and *kemence* denoted two ancient baking equipments ('oven'). To avoid misunderstandings, we have to state right here that both were closed ovens. It would be beside the point here to try to determine which of the two is older, since each served different purposes. Although both words were

loaned from the Slavic language, *pest* derives from *peko* ('to bake') and was used to denote both 'bread-baking' and 'pottery baking', while *kemence* meant (and in Russian still means) 'bathing accommodation'.[164] Since the age of the Scythians it has been a practice in southern Russia to pour water on heated stone slabs in order to produce steam for bathing. This 'oven' was named after the stone slabs.[165] Archaeologists have recovered several such 8th—9th century 'ovens' in smoky, single-room buildings in the areas of Kiev, Poltava and the river Don. Later in time, these 'ovens' were used both for bathing and baking. Indicative of this is the term *peč-kamenka*. Besides stone, oblong-shaped clay slabs were also used for this purpose, like for example at the 11th—13th century site at Staraya-Ryazon uncovered by A.A. Mansurov. The name of this latter 'oven' was in all probability *peč* or the Bulgarian—Slavic word *pest*.[166] The 'ovens' used in Hungary differed from those found in Russia in several respects. The former were all made of clay, and were either carved into the corner of the room or were subsequently erected. The fact that the clay body of some of them included small slabs of stone is irrelevant here.[167] The Hungarian 'oven' could not be considered *kemence* according to the original sense of the word, but later the word still came to denote that type as well. As we have seen, the problems surrounding the words *pest* and *kemence* are indeed intricate. It is obviously not possible to answer all these questions from a purely ethnographical viewpoint.

3. Manners

The research of the manners and economy of the ancient Hungarians is a rather difficult task. The first precondition to gaining a clear historical perspective is that the researcher must forget about the prejudices of a civilized man, and must do his best to see the life of the ancient nomadic herdsmen in its true and original colours. Ever since the ancient times, urban people have had little understanding for the 'wandering' people of the steppe, whom they tended to see as 'outlaws'. However, thanks to the scholars of early history, we can now understand how significant a role those large pastoral peoples played in the history of mankind, and also that there is no reason to look askance at the nomads. There is no denying that as the grazing lands were gradually turned into ploughlands, the ploughman gained the ascendancy over the herdsman. But this change needed long centuries to come about, and it also required technical development and an increasing ability by man to act independently of the natural conditions. It would of course be an oversimplification to say that in its primitive form, agriculture (for example hoeing or rotational grazing with the use of plough) was potentially more advanced than nomadic shepherding. Regrettably, people tend to forget that agriculture also needed time to reach its current standards.

Understanding the economy of the ancient Hungarians is difficult because the sources are scarce, and also because it was a rather complex economic structure which bore the marks of a variety of external influences. The ancient Hungarians were not engaged in nomadic shepherding only. Indicative of this are the reliable Mohammedan sources, which speak about 'rich sowings'. It would indeed be much easier for the researcher of Hungarian prehistory to deal with an exclusively nomadic people only. But the fact remains that the researcher has to go thoroughly into analysing the life and activity of the nomadic shepherds if he wants to understand and describe the economic life of the ancient Hungarians.

The discoveries of historians, ethnographers, archaeologists and linguists studying the life of the other peoples of the day must also be taken into cosideration by those who want to find out whether the nomadic Hungarian herdsmen were also engaged in hunting, fishing or farming. In other words, the researcher must be aware of the potentials of the nomadic world before embarking on the description of the economy of the Conquest Period Hungarians.

Consequently, those who venture in the field of prehistory have no choice but to apply the so-called complex method. It is not enough to rely on the written sources and on the findings of the researcher of the contemporary vocabulary only. In his study entitled 'A mezőgazdaság Szent István korában' (Agriculture Under Saint Stephen), Sándor Domanovszky summed up the linguistic data as follows[168]: 'The Hungarian words listed below all derive from the Turkish language and were loaned prior to the conquest: búza (wheat), árpa (barley), tarló (stubble-field, the original meaning being plough-land), eke (plough), sarló (sickle), kéve (sheaf), kepe (shook), szór (to strew, denoting the winnowing of grain after threshing), ocsú (tailings), boglya (stack), kender (hemp), csepű (chaff), tiló (hemp-breaker), orsó (spindle), szőlő (grape), szűr (to filter) and borseprő (wine-lees)... the word pelyva (glume) ... derives from the Bulgarian Turkish language'. We have to cite here a more detailed description by István Győrffy from page 199 of the study 'A magyarság néprajza' (The Ethnography of the Hungarian People, Vol. 2, 2nd edition). According to Győrffy, the ancient Hungarians ''did not 'thresh' the wheat in a 'csűr' (barn), but instead treaded it out by horses in a circular threshing floor''. From the above list we definitely have to delete the words 'polyva' or 'pelyva', which derive from the Slavic language and have never denoted 'distichous wheat', and also the words kéve, kepe and ocsu, whose origins are unknown.[169] At the same time, we have to add to this list the words of Turkish origin which are related to grinding: őröl, kölyű (to grind and quern, respectively), dara (groats) and borsó (pea).

What crops did the ancient Hungarians grow and what animals did they keep? The growing of millet must have helped large-scale grazing, as millet is not a labour-intensive grain and it ripens fast. Accordingly, we can establish that millet was the most common crop of the ancient nomadic peoples. This was not the case with wheat and barley. They require ploughed soil and their ripening time is longer. Now what could the migrating Hungarians do with their seeded ground? Obviously, they could not just carry it along on pack-horses. And there are problems with the presumed animal stock as well. Besides horse, sheep and cattle, the sources make mention of swine and poultry. And we have to add here camel and goat (kecske, olló, the latter meaning goatling). The problem is that the swine, which originated in the south, cannot stand the strains of migration. But the pre-conquest Turkish loan-word disznó (swine) undeniably proves that this kind of animal was already known and kept by the nomads. This problem clearly requires explanation.[170]

Scholars have made repeated attempts to solve this contradiction by presuming that the Hungarian society of the day was divided according to the existing branches of production. Accordingly, they contrast the nomadic heredsmen with the settled ploughmen. These studies claim that while the majority of the ancient Hungarians were wandering in the pastures with their herds and were not engaged in farming, there was a separate group engaged in agriculture. In other words, these researchers insist that the economic life of the ancient Hungarians was not homogeneous: the majority of the people were nomadic herdsmen, with the minority engaged in farming.

Now let us have a closer look at the problem!

The ancient Finno-Ugric crafts like hunting and fishing survived only to the extent they were required by pasturing shepherding.

As regards hunting, it has never been a 'stationary' activity.[171] Accordingly, it could not prompt the Hungarians to settle down. The classical hunting peoples have always been on the move, similarly to the nomadic herdsmen. And still we should not liken the extent, methods and significance of hunting as pursued by the Hungarians to that common in the Finno-Ugric period. While all the steppe peoples were engaged in hunting, none of them lived on their game-bags alone. We know of such steppe peoples (like for example the Kirghizians of the mid-19th century) who lived in arid areas and were hunters but detested game. They went out hunting for the love of it, to exercise their weapons or to collect animal hide. The nomadic herdsmen gave chase to the game only during pasturing. Let us cite here the Chinese annals, which give an excellent description of the way the Hunnish people (hiung-nu) were hunting before our era. 'In peaceful times they are wandering about with their herds. Meanwhile, they shoot birds and quadruped animals to support themselves.' The art of hunting fox and hare was mastered in their early childhood. On some occasions the large princely hunting parties were meant to conceal preparedness for war.[172] According to Priskos, this was what Attila did prior to his campaign.[173] Certain tenter peoples in the areas north of the Caucasian were reportedly feeding on the meat of their tame animals, and also on game and fish in the 6th century.[174] The examples cited above may well prove that while hunting had a role to play in the life of the nomadic herdsmen, its extent was determined by the prevalent nomadic manners.

In the case of fishing, its inferiority is still more unambiguous. The Mohammedan authors Ibn Rusta and Gardízi had this to say about fishing:

Ibn Rusta:

'Their abodes are situated between these two rivers. In wintertime, those (tribes) which live close to one of the two rivers move to the riverside and spend the winter there. They use the river for fishing. That place is better for them during the winter.'

Gardízi:

'They live between these (two) rivers. In wintertime, those who live far from the river move closer to it and stay there until the spring. They support themselves by fishing.'

The texts were translated into Hungarian by Károly Czeglédi.[175] Gardízi's words only confirm us in our knowledge that Ibn Rusta's text was based on the lost Arabic basic text. These descriptions have led many researchers to conclude that the ancient Hungarians had remained a fishing people even during their nomadic period. However, while the Mohameddan authors describe fishing as an exclusively winter-time occupation, we should not forget that the genuine fishing peoples (including, perhaps, the Hungarians in the Finno-Ugric period) moved to the rivers during the summer because that was the time when the fishes moved to their spawning-grounds.[176] The question can thus be answered. In the winter, the nomadic herdsmen moved in the valleys and to the banks of the big rivers to find shelter from the cold winds and to seek pasture for the animals. In the winter months, these people went out fishing and hunting to replenish their food-stock. This is why the nomads used the winter for fishing. However, we have to add here that not all the nomadic peoples were engaged in fishing. The real wild nomadic tribes who lived in the arid steppes detested fish and never resorted to it.[177]

The differences between the manners of the individual steppe peoples are the most marked in the field of agriculture. This is just natural since farming is the most difficult to reconcile with the migrating life of the nomads. Their approach to farming was determined mostly by the natural potentialities of their domicile. The vast steppe, which extended from Manchuria to the Great Hungarian Plain, was far from homogeneous: it was interspersed with wooded grasslands and saline, sandy deserts. The arid steppe was typical primarily of the southern part of the area, while the northern timber-line was flanked by gallery forests with rich vegetation. The vegetation in the humic grasslands with rich water supply differed from that in the fringing forests or in the sandy, desert-like areas, where the weed-like plants grew only in scrubs.

The differences described above determined the way of grazing. In the arid parts of the steppe (for example in the land of the Kirghizians) the vegetation was quickly scorched by the sun, and the nomads were thus forced to drive their stock towards the north or to higher-level pastures. This is why pasturing in the arid steppe extended over vast areas. As opposed to this, the nomads did not have to move away from territories where the vegetation remained steadily rich throughout the year. One such area was the high-altitude steppe of the Altai mountains, where there was plenty of grass on the river-banks and along the high rocky walls for the animals to graze on.[178]

The differences in the way the nomads could pasture their animals greatly determined their attitude to farming. In the wooded parts of the steppe, where there was no need to cover great distances with the animals, the nomads could easily work their land. Consequently, their attitude to agriculture was more 'intimate', and thus they had no contempt for farming. Land in those areas was cultivated not only by servants and subjected or hired pariahs but also by a wide circle of the local society. An example for this was the way the Volga Bulgarians lived in their wooded steppe land: although they 'kept wandering about' (Gardízi), they nevertheless sowed all kinds of seeds, like for example wheat, barley, millet, leek, lentil or kidney bean.[179] Or we could cite here the Töles people, whom the Chinese sources described as follows: 'They lack a chief. True to their nomadic nature, they wander about in scattered groups in the area between the lands of the Eastern and Western Turks. They are wild and tough, and are excellent horsemen and archers. However, these people are exceptionally greedy and live on plundering and stealing. Those of them who live along the western borders have an inkling of the arts and know something about farming. They keep cattle and sheep in large numbers, and have a few horses as well.[180] It is remarkable that the bellicose horse-breederes are contrasted to the cattle- and sheep-breeders, who were also engaged in farming.

In the arid parts of the steppe, which were far less favourable for farming, the nomads still managed to cultivate plots by digging water-trenches. In these cases the nomads took pattern from the highland people of the south. But we should not be led astray by these data! Farming has always differed markedly in the arid zones from that in the wooded areas. In the arid area, the nomads had to wander away from their cultivated land and were thus unable to watch over their crops. Crop farming was hardly reconcilable with nomadic pasturing. Consequently, those who attended the crops were left out of pasturing. These people included mainly the women, the old and the impoverished herdsmen who were hired and

fed by the wealthy nomadic stock-breeders, and also the subjugated people and the slaves. This is why farming was associated with slavery in this zone.[181] The bellicose nomads of the arid steppe willingly put the burdens of farming on to the slaves and the subjugated farming peoples. Then the nomads collected from them those crops and goods, in the form of tributes, which they needed to compensate their one-sided life as stock-breeders. An excellent example for this kind of life was furnished by the early period Avar empire.[182]

The relatively greater potentials of the wooded steppe for reconciling pasturing with farming did not as a rule mean that the people there availed themselves of their natural advantages. There were exclusive animal-breeders living in wooded regions, and also people who cultivated land in the arid steppe. In the last resort, the cultural level of a people is always determined by its social and historical endowments. Even a bellicose nomadic people could turn into a peaceful group of farmers. The history of the Khazars could be an illuminating example here.[183] The geographical potentialities of an area cannot determine in themselves what level the local nomadic people can attain. The promise of good trading ties, the perspective of relative security or other historical considerations might also have prompted the nomads of the humic steppe to engage in extensive farming.[184]

We have to consider all these points when attempting to describe the ancient Hungarian nomadic herdsmen. Relying on the ethnographical data on northern Africa, the typology of nomadic shepherding was worked out by A. Bernard and N. Lacroix,[185] and was developed by Paul-Gerhard Merner.[186] Their results can be applied to the region of the Eurasian steppe. Two of Merner's four categories (the desert and the mountain) can be ignored by the researcher of Hungarian prehistory, while the other two — the 'Vollnomaden' and the 'Halbnomaden' — must be expounded here. In areas with an average precipitation of 250 mm, the nomads were forced to pasture their animals on an extensive land between their winter and summer abodes. Their modest cropland was situated close to the winter abodes. These people were termed as 'Vollnomaden' (full nomads) by Merner, and in the Eurasian terminology they are referred to as the 'nomads of the arid steppe'. The 'Halbnomaden' (semi-nomads) were those peoples who had equal interest in animal breeding and land cultivation. In regions where the average precipitation exceeded 300 mm, there was no need for major migrations. They could always reach good pastures within a distance of 20 or 50 kilometres, and thus they moved their tents or huts only on rare occasions, and then mainly for sanitary considerations. In these cases, agriculture became the prime source of fodder.[187] In Eurasia, this type can be identified with the nomadic life prevalent in the grassy and wooded parts of the steppe abounding in water. However, we feel the need here to introduce two sub-groups within this type. Sub-group a) should include those nomadic peoples who were engaged in year-round pasturing, and wandered about in a relatively small area only. Their use of dry fodder was rather limited as they retained the nomadic methods of stock-raising. As opposed to this, the nomads belonging to sub-group b) pastured their animals in the summer and autumn only, and used dry fodder for the rest of the year. As a result, the practice of hay production and storing emerged, simultaneously with the growth of the sowed lands. Accordingly, the term 'semi-nomads' can be applied to this latter group only.

Now let us try to apply these categories to the history of the Hungarians. The early period sources prove beyond doubt that the Hungarians were engaged in nomadic shepherding. We have already cited the Russian annals which state that the Kiev Russians considered the Hungarians a nomadic tenter people, and likened them to the White Cumanians. The work of Leo the Wise, known by the title 'Tactics', was also mentioned above. We will return to the analysis of his text below. Suffice it to state here that both sources describe the Hungarians as an equestrian nomadic people. Speaking about the Hungarians, paragraph 42. of Chapter XVIII describes the Scythian peoples as ''generally nomadic''.[188] In paragraph 60, the author says the following about the Hungarians: 'These are the characteristics of the Turks, who differ from the Bulgarians inasmuch as they were slightly changed by the Roman morals transmitted to them through the adoption of Christianity. Together with their infidelity, they also got out of their wildness and *nomadic manners'* (ibid.). In paragraph 52, Emperor Leo explains his reading of the term 'nomadic': 'dispersed according to clans and tribes, they are grazing their horses continuously throughout the year' (ibid.). The expression 'throughout the year' sufficiently proves that the Hungarians were engaged in nomadic stock-raising even at the time of the Conquest.

The Mohameddan sources lead us to the same conclusion. Their description of the life of the Hungarians in the Black Sea steppe regions is considered the most comprehensive to date. Three of them (Ibn Rusta, Bakrí and Gardízi) wrote about the Hungarians on the basis of Dzajhání's early 10th century work. Regrettably, Dzajhání's work has not survived, but it is still possible to establish that Ibn Rusta's version is the true copy of the original, aside, of course, from some minor omissions. Consequently, we must rely primarily on his text, and use the other sources for verification only (the works of Bakrí and Gardízi postdate the Conquest Period). Nevertheless, we have to add that the two latter sources offer a few exclusive information. The scholar of Hungarian prehistory must always keep track of the literature relating to these three authors (from among the latest publications, we could consider here the new translation by Wiet of Ibn Rusta's work), and must bear in mind that whenever he quotes from them he in fact cites a source that has been lost. The original basic text described the Hungarians in the region between the rivers Don and Danube, and thus it reflected their life in the 9th century.[189]

Comparing their texts we'll find that the Hungarians were a tent-dwelling and pasturing people:

Ibn Rusta

'They have tents and move to places where there is fodder by the plenty. Their land is great...'

Bakrí

'They have tents and move to places where rains water the soil and grass grows. The width of their land...'

Gardízi

'Their land is a great plain covered with grass. The width of their land...'

The above quotations were translated into Hungarian by Károly Czeglédy.[190] In his comments published with the Hudud al-Alam (Oxford 1937), V. Minorsky translated Gardízi's lines as follows: 'They possess a wide plain all covered with grass.'[191] As a friendly favour, Károly Czeglédy informed us that the rough translation of Ibn Rusta's Arabic text runs as follows: 'They have domed tents. They go together with (i.e. follow) the *kala* and the *hisb*'. The word *kala* means green or dry

fodder, while *hisb* denotes fertility and vegetation. Since the word *'hisb'* clearly indicates a rich, fresh and green vegetation, *kala* should be translated as 'green fodder' here. Gardízi's Persian text supports this reading. The word *qiyah* equally means 'green grass' and 'hay'. However, the other expression in the quote, *jay-i farrah,* means 'a ground that yields well, a rich vegetation'. Accordingly, the line should be translated as 'they move to places where there is fresh grass and rich vegetation'.

The questions relating to the translation of the texts reveal that the Arabic original which the Mohameddan authors relied on described the life of nomadic herdsmen in green pastures. Supporting this conclusion is the reference in the text to the domed tents. But there is also no denying that Géza Kuun's translation of Gardízi's text was wrong: 'hay-growing and rich in fertile places' (''A magyar honfoglalás kútfői'' — 'Sources on the Hungarian Conquest', p. 168). This is the more surprising as his translation of Ibn Rusta's words on the same point is correct: 'they move to places where there is (plenty) grass for grazing' (ibid.). Relying on Géza Kuun's mistaken translation, Sándor Domanovszky hypothesized that the conquering Hungarians already left their nomadic manners behind and were on the way towards ultimate settlement.[192] Indeed, had the Hungarians been producers of hay, they could not be nomads any more. This 'hay-theory' of Domanovszky was then accepted by a number of other researchers. In his summary work compiled in 1943, József Deér had the following to say about the Hungarians' economy: 'The Hungarians can hardly be considered nomadic shepherds comparable to the nomads of the arid steppes. The fact that they used fodder to feed their animals indicates that they were developing towards the ultimate settlement.'[193] However, the points raised above plainly contradict this conclusion, and prove that in the Conquest Period the Hungarians did not adopt the practice of stabling their animals yet. Although both the sty and the pen were used by the nomads, none of them can be confused with the stable. The wandering Arabic eyewitness described our ancestors as he saw them pasturing their stock. These contemporary descriptions also reveal that the Hungarians of the day gave the impression of a nomadic society, preoccupied with nomadic animal keeping.

There is need to stress here that the Conquest Period Hungarians were nomadic stock-breeders because the recently published historical works appear to be uncertain on this point. The terms like 'semi-nomadic' are clearly deceiving. They give the impression that the Hungarians were already becoming settled at the time, i.e. that they lived in a 'transition' period. However, there are the Mohameddan sources to prove beyond doubt that the Conquest Period Hungarians were a nomadic people both in their morals, their manners and their practices. In fact, their life closely resembled that of the Turkish people.

Each society can be characterized best by what it considers its prime values and assets. In this respect, Gardízi's report on the Hungarians' marital practices can well be considered illuminating. The purchase price of the woman was determined in proportion to her wealth. The price thus established the groom had to pay down in animals, movable properties or in gold or silver wares. The bride's dowry consisted of wearables like furs, silk-brocade fabrics or various hides.[194] On this point, Géza Kuun's translation of Gardízi is inaccurate again. Kuun says that the groom's dotal gift included 'cattle, money and furniture'. But, according to the dictionaries, the Persian word *sutur* does not mean cattle only. It is a generic

term denoting all kinds of animals, like e.g. horse, mule or ass. The word *kala* means all types of movables, including houseware. And the word *samit* denotes coined money as well as other 'valuables' like precious metal or jewelry.[195]

Although the paragraphs on the marital practices of the Hungarians are missing from Ibn Rusta's work, we have no ground to believe that it was not part of the original text. From Gardízi we learn what the nomadic herdsmen considered their prime valuables. These were all movables: animals, gold and silver wares, furs, brocade and household wares. The fact that the housewares were included in the groom's gift and the bride's dowry consisted mainly of furs and fabrics may well lead us to conclude that there was a marked difference in social status between men and women. The most important item in the purchase price was the animal, which was given but never received by the men. The animal stock was handed down in the male line, since shepherding was an exclusively male profession. The dwelling was also owned by the man. The woman moved to his place, and it was also he who had to supply the wares. On the other hand, the woman was in charge of the clothes.

The sources named above describe the pre-conquest Hungarians as pasturing nomads. Their animal stock was out grazing throughout the year. According to ethnographical sources, even the nomadic peoples gathered some hay, mainly to feed the young of the animals at the yurt. But we have no ground to presume a developed or regular practice of collecting and using hay.[196] Indicative of the insignificant role of hay in these people's life is that they did not even have a word to denote it. As we have seen earlier, the same word was used by the Mohammedan authors to denote both the green and the dry fodder. The Turkish-speaking nomads called both the grass and the hay as *ot*.[197] On rare occasions they added to it the word *kuru* ('dry').[198]

From among the peoples who lived in the neighbourhood of the Hungarians, the Bulgarian Turks had a marked leaning to settling down and working the land. But haymaking was not common even among them. In the Chuwash language, the word *ura* means hay, or more precisely dry grass. If the Bulgarian Turks had a specific word for hay, we may presume that they were about to adopt stabling. But, remarkably, their word was loaned by the Votyak, Cheremissian and Hungarian languages with different meanings. The word *kuro* in the Votyak language means 'straw'; the Cheremissian word *ora* denotes 'litter, bed of straw'; while in Hungarian *kóró* means 'dry stalk of weed'. In the other nomadic languages, the word at issue meant 'dry stalk' and not 'hay'.[199] Accordingly, we can establish that in the period of contacts between the Hungarian and the Bulgarian, and also the Bulgarian and the Permian peoples, the words *kóró* and *kuro* denoted a variety of dry weeds, straw or reed, but not 'hay'. This meaning must have emerged only in later times. All these may lead us to the conclusion that the Hungarians could not adopt the practice of haymaking from the Bulgarians who spoke a Chuwash-type language, even though these latter people contributed a lot to the Hungarians' agricultural knowledge. This conclusion is fully supported by the fact that the words related to hay in the Hungarian vocabulary all derive from the Slavic language.[200] This can by no means be considered an accidental development. Nevertheless, we should not rush to the conclusion here that haymaking was introduced to the Hungarians by the Slavs. Most probably in the preceding period hay had played a marginal role in the economic life of the Hungarians.[201]

The history of the word *szalma* ('straw') is closely related to the problems described above. The ancient variant of the Hungarian word was *szalama*. The terminal wovel clearly suggests a Slavic origin,[202] although in the Kipchak-type Turkish languages the form *salam*[203] also exists. The Chuwash form of the Turkish word, *ul m,* shows beyond doubt that the word reached the Cheremissian and the Hungarian languages through Bulgarian—Turkish mediation.[204] Since this word also means 'straw' in the Cheremissian, it is obvious that the Bulgarian Turks, who had preceded the other nomadic peoples in adopting agriculture, coined a word to denote 'straw' and thus moved a step closer to identifying and using hay and ultimately dry fodder. The Hungarian aspects of the etymology of the word are rather illuminating. During their stay in the Black Sea region, the Hungarians were acquainted with the straw by the Bulgarian—Turkish neighbours. As a basically stock-breeding people, the Hungarians used straw primarily for making litter. Consequently, the meaning of the generic word 'szalma' narrowed down to denote only 'litter' still in the period preceding the conquest. When the Hungarians started to settle down and adopted new economic methods, they had to learn the word 'szalma' again, then from the Slavs.

For a historian, things done have an equal significance with those that remained undone. When studying the history of cultural borrowings, one must also focus on things that had been left out. The reactions of a people living under foreign influence are determined equally by the positive and the negative developments. In any case, the conclusion remains the same: in the pre-conquest period, the Hungarians were not a 'semi-nomadic' people as defined in sub-group b) above. The ancient Hungarians were a genuine nomadic equestrian people. Their prime concern was the animal stock, which was grazing in the fields all the year round. But where did these people belong? Should we rank them among the equestrian nomads of the arid steppe, or rather among the nomads of the wooded, grassy steppe (sub-group a)? We'll try to answer this question below.

The geographical differences in the steppe region and the effect of these differences on the life of the people who lived there were pointed out in Hungary by the school of Pál Teleki, and primarily by Lajos Glaser. It was also Glaser who realized that the conquering Hungarians belonged to the nomads of the wooded steppe. Accordingly, in their new homeland these people avoided the arid, sandy areas and moved instead to the oak-woods which were excellent for grazing, not least because of the acorn, they also avoided the thick beech-groves. The river flats were also much-frequented pastures. These researches are of abiding value and have greatly contributed to our historical understanding.[205]

Reading the Mohammedan writers, we cannot but do justice to Glaser. Dzajhání's original text must definitely have included the following lines:[206]

Ibn Rusta

The land of the Hungarians abounds in trees and water. The soil there is damp.

Gardízi

The land of the Hungarians is covered with trees and lakes, and the soil there is watery.

The references to the trees and waters clearly indicate that the land of the Hungarians was a wooded area. This in itself can be considered a proof for which nomadic group the ancient Hungarians belonged to. We thus can establish beyond doubt that the ancient Hungarians cannot be associated with the nomads of

the arid steppe, i.e. they cannot be ranked into Merner's 'Vollnomaden' group. But let us see what else our Mohammedan authors had to say here:[207]

Ibn Rusta

Their soil is damp. They have huge sowings. Their rule extends over all those Slavs who live close to them. They *impose heavy tribute* on the Slavs, and treat them as captives.

Gardízi

The soil is watery. They have the Slavs fully in their power, impose *tribute* on them and treat them as slaves.

The texts of Ibn Rusta and Gardízi are fully concordant, obviously because they both used the same basic source. The fact that the reference to the worked land is missing from Gardízi's text can surely be ascribed to negligence. The agreement between the two authors on the issue of the Slavs is especially remarkable. This can well be considered a proof that the original text described the ties between the Slavs and the Hungarians in the same manner.

In fact, the structure of the texts describing the Hungarians also suggests that the sentence 'they have huge sowings' was already featured in Dzajhání's lost original. This latter work began the description with an outline of Hungary's location and political system. Then it detailed nomadic shepherding as a prime occupation, and fishing and agriculture as secondary pursuits. Finally it summed up the problems related to plunder and tribute, followed by an ethnographical summary of the religion and the prevalent customs of the Hungarians. The sentence specifying the agriculture began with a definition of the nature of the soil (abundance in trees and water). This in a way prepared the reader for understanding the statement 'they have huge sowings'. This part of the text was devoted to the description of the way the ancient Hungarians obtained food, including specifics about each aconomic branch. The paragraphs that followed summed up the profits made from fights, political subjugation and plunderings. The commercial ties with Byzantium were also mentioned here. In fact, the structure of the description is so well-considered and logical that we cannot but feel appreciation for the early 10th century author's talents.

The homogeneous structure of the work in itself contradicts the assumption that the sowings of the Hungarians were located in the lands of the Slavs they imposed tribute on.[208] However, the original Arabic and Persian texts made no explicit mention of 'tributes in kind'. Only the Hungarian translation of 'A magyar honfoglalás kútfői' (Sources on the Hungarian Conquest) mentions 'heavy tributes in products', or 'tributes in kind' (pp. 169, 172). As opposed to this, V. Minorsky's translation said: 'They always vanquish the Saqlab and constantly impose tribute on them...' (ibid. p. 321). According to Károly Czeglédy, 'heavy tributes are imposed on them...' And Wiet's version said, 'Ils...leur imposent un lourd tribut'. Consequently, the type of tribute imposed does not necessarily point to the ownership of the sowed lands. The tribute could consist of a veriety of goods other than grain, like for example honey, swine or homespuns.[209] The analysis of the Hungarians' vocabulary below will clear all the remaining doubts about where the sowings of the Hungarians were located.

We have every ground to presume that the Hungarians did not take all their slaves to the market in Byzantium. Most probably they used some of them for working their lands. If this was the case, we can establish that although the sowings were located in the region controlled by the Hungarians, they themselves

were not engaged directly in working those lands. The fact that the Hungarians took their slaves to the market does not necessarily mean that they sold *all* their slaves there. It is highly probable that they kept some slaves for their own household and economy. And still, we cannot but reject this conclusion. Had the major part of the Hungarians' lands been worked by Slavic slaves, the key terms in this field should also originate from the Slavic language. But — aside from a few Finno-Ugric loan-words[210] — the agricultural terminology of the Hungarian language derives almost fully from the Turkish language, and dates from the period of Hungarian—Turkish cohabitation.

It is thus clear that the adaptation of words does not necessarily mean the adaptation of the related culture. The scholar who leaves this fact out of consideration when analysing the history of the loan-words is bound to commit major mistakes. It would be well worth clarifying the process and rules of word adaptation. Until then, let us establish as a rule that cultural adaptation entails all those, and only those, cases where the loan-words cover the whole of the given field, or each stage of the given labour process. For example, the fact that words *búza, árpa, dara* (wheat, barley, grits) were loaned from the Turkish prior to the conquest[211] does not mean that these grains were grown by the Hungarians of the day. In fact they could as well get to know them through commerce or could obtain them as tribute. Since there are other pre-conquest Turkish loan-words related to agriculture in the Hungarian language, we can establish that it was not the slaves but the Hungarians themselves who became directly involved in agriculture.[212] This in turn gives additional significance to Ibn Rusta's words that the Hungarians had 'huge sowings'. The Hungarians could establish a link between nomadic shepherding and plant-growing, and this they did in a way which attracted the attention of the Arab merchants. In other words, the Hungarians went beyond the agricultural level which charecterized the contemporary arid steppe peoples. Their pastures in the wooded steppe region, which were abounding in water and trees, enabled them to be nomadic shepherds and farmers simultaneously. This type of nomadic life we have described under sub-group b) above.

Having reached their new homeland in the Danube and Tisza region, the Hungarians had retained their shepherding practices for a while. But the significance of agriculture, and also of the winter dwellings, was increasing steadily. The first law-book of King Kálmán (1095—1116) spoke about cultivated lands all around.[213] In his geographical work written in 1154, Idrisi made mention of the market and craftsmen of Bács, and he also referred to the farmlands in the area: 'The prices are always low due to the abundance of grain there.'[214] All these developments prompted the Hungarians to reduce the role of nomadic shepherding in their life. Consequently, this was the time when they went over from category a) to category b), and thus became 'semi-nomads'. The first unambiguous description of the Hungarians as a 'b) category people' was compiled by Bishop Otto of Freising, who crossed Hungary in 1147 along with the crusaders of Emperor Conrad III. In his witness report, he said that *toto estatis vel autumpni tempore papiliones inhabitant,*[215] i.e. that the people 'live in tents throughout the summer and the autumn'. The fact that they lived in tents had to do with their being a pasturing people. But if they stayed in the pastures in the summer and autumn only, they must have returned to their massive dwellings for the rest of the year, and there they must have fed their animals at least partly with dry fodder (rye, hay, etc.). The nomadic practices began to be adapted to agriculture. In the next stage, the people

stayed in their villages permanently, and only the shepherds drew the animals out according to the old nomadic practices.

However, until the rules of nomadic life remained prevalent, agriculture had to conform to them. Indicative of this are our pre-conquest Turkish loan-words, which give us a true picture of the agriculture of the day.

One of the most important relics of the cultural influence the Turkish-speaking nomads had exerted on the Hungarians is the word *eke* ('plough') in our language. The application of the plough meant that the ancient Hungarians left behind the primitive methods of working the land, with e.g. stake or hoe. Those Slavic loan-words which are associable with the plough in the Hungarian language date from a later stage of development. They furnish valuable information on what the primitive plough looked like. The Slavic word *patinq* denoted the strap or chain which connected the plough with the wheeled gallows.[216] The likewise Slavic word *gerendely* was the name of the beam which linked the plough to the gallows.[217] These terms were used to name the parts of the wheeled variant of the heavy plough. The word *csoroszlya* ('furrow splitter') also derives from the Slavic,[218] similarly to *lemez* ('plate'), whose original form was *lemes*.[219] It denoted the iron edge of the light plough, which in the Latin was called *aratrum*, or *rato*, *radlo* or *ralnik* in the Slavic.[220] On the light plough, the iron was either just a tip or a spade-like extension, while on the heavy plough it became a long iron plate.[221] The meaning of the Hungarian word *lemez* suggests that the Slavic word *lemes* was borrowed at a time when the plough-iron was already plate-shaped. But we also have reasons to presume — on account of parallels elsewhere — that the Hungarian plough had no iron edge in its original form. In this case the word *lemez* could denote the iron edge of the pough. Be that as it may, the fact remains that in the pre-Conquest Period the Hungarians used primitive 'Y'-shaped light ploughs.[222]

The Hungarian word *eke* derives from the language of the nomadic Turks. But since the Turkish verb *äk-*, of which the noun was formed, meant 'to sow' in the old Turkish,[223] we are bound to presume that ploughing and sowing were done simultaneously by our ancestors. Indeed, W. Radloff often witnessed the sowing of the freshly ploughed land by the Kirghizians. In his reports he also mentioned cases when the seeds were just spread about the unbroken soil, and ploughing was done only afterwards. The people there did not apply harrow for gathering in the crops and grading the soil. Instead, they used horse-drawn trunks for these purposes.[224] This practice must also have been common among the ancient Hungarians, all the more so since it had survived well into medieval times.[225] The *borona* ('harrow') was borrowed by the Slavs.[226] But let us proceed with the examples. In the Chuwash language, the word *aqa* ('plough') also denoted the spring sowing time and the spring crop. The Chuwash people marked the end of the sowing season with a celebration which they called *aqa-duj* ('the spring celebration of ploughing'). This meant that they offered a sacrifice to the ploughed and sowed soil. The Votyaks, who adopted the celebration of the plough together with the plough itself from the Bulgarian Turks, called this feast 'the taking out of the plough' or 'the beginning of ploughing'. The soup they made for the occasion was called 'plough soup'.[227] These Finno-Ugric borrowings suggest that the Bulgarian Turks, at the time of their cohabitation with the Hungarians, ploughed and sowed their land in the spring, and then marked the event with celebrations. Obviously, the Hungarians followed suit, as they also learned the

craft from the Bulgarian Turks. The practice of linking ploughing with sowing is as-
sociable with pasturing stock-breeding. The nomadic shepherds lost no time in
completing work in the land, just to be able to drive the animals out in the
pastures.

The soil thus worked the Turks called *tariɣlaɣ,* and the Hungarian word for it
is *tarló.* It means: a plot of land detached from the pasture, ploughed, sowed and
levelled up. In the Mongolian language, *tari-* meant 'to sow, to plant', while in the
middle Turkish the word narrowed down to the meaning 'to plough'.[228] According
to Gombocz, the words *tar, tarol* — which are also pre-conquest borrowings from
the Turkish — cannot be associated with this word.[229] But the word *dara* definite-
ly belongs here, as it can be traced back to the old Turkish *taraɣ* ('sowing,
corn').[230] In certain languages, this word also means 'millet'. These concor-
dances unambiguously suggest that millet was the most important grain of the
nomads, as they used the same word to denote this seed and the act of sowing.
Millet ripens fast and requires little attention. Understandably, the peasants in
Hungary used it for making bread and mush as late as in the 14th century.[231]

Once ripened, the grain was harvested by *sarló* ('sickle'), and was collected
in *boglya* ('stack') in the *szérű* ('threshing yard'), which was a *gyűrű-* ('ring')-
shaped area where threshing was made.[232] Instead of a flail (which was in-
troduced later by the Slavs[233]) or a piece of wood, they used animals for treading
out corn. According to W. Radloff, this method of threshing was common among
the Kirghizians,[234] and it had also remained in use until recently in the Hungarian
Great Plain.[235] The grains were cleaned by *szórás* ('spreading'), and then were
collected in a *teknő* ('trough').[236] This method had remained in use until the
14th—15th centuries, although the *teknő* was by then replaced by the likewise
Slavic *kas* ('cage').[237] To all appearances, grinding was done not only in the *kölyü*
('quern'), but also in a kind of rotating mill, since the Turkish equivalents of the
word *őröl* ('to grind') mean 'to rotate'.[238] The corn was stored in the *verem*
('pit'). This practice also originated in Southern Russia, although the Hungarians
learned it from the Alans and not from the Turkish people there.[239] Besides corn,
the ancient Hungarians also grew *borsó* ('pea').[240] Most probably they were al-
ready familiar with irrigation as well. This is suggested by the word *árok* ('ditch'),
whose Turkish original was *ariq.*[241] It is also possible that the word *vályú*
('trough') denoted some kind of conduit as well as a watering place.[242]

Although we did not aim at completeness, the results clearly defied us. A
glance at the long list of Turkish loan-words in the Hungarian language proves that
the Hungarians were not alien to agriculture. The nomadic herdsmen were skilled
in working the land. This appears to be the only explanation for the fact that the
pre-conquest Turkish loan-words comprise the whole process of agriculture. And
in fact we deliberately left the words *szánt, arat, kéve, kepe, ocsú* ('to plough, to
harvest, sheaf, shook, tailings') unmentioned here because their etymology has
not been settled yet. Whether wine-growing existed in Hungary or not remains a
much debated issue. Curiously, the Mohammedan authors remained silent on this
point, while elsewhere they regularly mentioned the vineyards. The word *szőlő*
meant 'berry' in the language of the ancient Hungarians, and the existence of the
words *szűr, bor, söprő* ('to tilter, wine, lees') has no probative force. Accordingly,
we'd better leave this question open here.[243]

4. Nomadic shepherding in the 11th—12th centuries

How long did the Hungarians live according to the rules of the steppe? When did they break with their restless nomadic manners? And how did the nomads become a peaceful, settled, farming people?

Although agriculture had already gained ground in Hungary, this country remained an autarchic producer around, and even after, the year 1000, i.e. our ancestors did not sell corn abroad. The neighbouring Germans, who were the only potential buyers, did not need external corn supply in the Middle Ages because they could cover their needs from their own resources even in the leanest years.[244] Throughout the medieval times, Hungary sold livestock and mining products to the Germans, and bought fabrics and other goods from them. Poland's potentials were different. The river Vistula they could use for transporting corn to the buyer nations in the West. Since the late 15th century, the Polish landowners have been seriously engaged in growing and marketing corn, because the Vistula ensured an excellent means of transport for them.[245] But the Danube cannot be compared to the Vistula, and the Hungarian large estate owners put the emphasis on improving their livestock rather than on developing their agricultural output. The 15th century Hungarian landowner was engaged in fattening and selling cattle abroad.[246] That is how the cattle trader *(tőzsér)* became a characteristic figure of Hungary's late medieval economy. The Hungarian word derives from the Arabic, and its original meaning was 'merchant'.[247]

The word *marha* ('cattle') is believed to date from this period. It drived from the German word *marchat*, which in turn came from the Latin word *mercatus*. Originally, it denoted the goods which were brought to the market.[248] Since the Hungarians sold mostly 'fattened cattle' (datum from 1585) on the German markets, the general meaning of the word narrowed down to mean only 'cattle' today. The etymology of the word suggests a late-period origin. We consider it a 15th century German borrowing, and thus it cannot be used by the historian studying the Conquest Period. The other word, *jószág* ('stock'), is also to be deleted from our list, as its meaning has always been too general (consider the variants *'jó, java, jóság'* — 'good, the choice part, goodness')[249] — to serve our purpose. But there is a pre-conquest Turkish loan-word which was used in the sense of 'property': this word is the *barom*.[250] Although the words *barom* and *marha* date from different periods, both can be used to prove the significance of stock-breeding in the life of the Hungarians. In the period before and after the conquest, the most valuable property of the Hungarians was undeniably the livestock.

This fact obviously requires due foresight from the historian studying the age of King István. The law-book of István still used the 'steer-money of stock-breeders' as a unit of accounting. Let us add that on two points the law-book broke with this archaic practice and quoted the fine in *pensa auri*, the byzantine gold coin which became common only later. These two points were the homagium to be paid for homicide (I. 14), and the case of the miles dissatisfied with the verdict of the comes (II. 9). That the *pensa auri* can be identified with the Byzantine gold is clear from article II. 11 of King László's law. All the laws and synodic decisions made under Kings László and Kálmán already reckoned in denarii and Byzantine gold. While this archaism disappeared from the life of the Hungarians, stock-breeding remained a top occupation. Articles II. 15 and 16 in King László's law made the sale of horses and cattle abroad conditional on royal licence. King Kálmán altered this rule only to the extent that he permitted the unlicenced sale

288 of oxen (boves masculos)

of oxen *(boves masculos),* but he retained the restriction on all the other animals (Kálmán I. 75, 77). However, we have to be cautious with the interpretation of these articles. The kings did not place a ban on livestock export, but instead they wished to secure the profits from these sales for the treasury. There was livestock by the plenty, and thus there was no need to protect the consumers' interests. These rulings plainly prove how significant a role stock-breeding played in the economy of the ancient Hungarians, and it is also clear that the horse and the cattle were top-value trade items in the period after King István's reign.

There is yet another aspect to be clarified here, namely the problems related to haymaking. All the Hungarian words relating to this subject derive from the Slavic language and date from a fairly early period.[251] The word, and also the activity itself, cropped up first in the records at early dates, specifically in 1055 (Pannonhalmi Rendtörténet) [History of the Benedictines of Pannonhalma] X, 489, 492); around 1067 (Wenzel: Árpád-kori Új Okm. I, 25. 1); and in 1075 (Knauz: Mon. eccl. Strigon. I, 58. 1. *ut fenum secent abbati).* All these references prove beyond doubt that the Hungarians of the day were familiar with the practice of haymaking. But however significant this activity might have been in the 11th century, we do not think it could replace the traditional, nomadic methods of stock-breeding. After all, haymaking as a secondary activity could well harmonize with nomadic shepherding. The fact that these people knew and practiced haymaking should not lead us to conclude that they were stabling their livestock.

In this respect the examples of the medieval Western states may well be considered illuminative. Surprisingly, we find that the intensive forms of pasturing were introduced as late as in the end of the 12th century even in the countries with advanced economy. Under this method, new meadows were created — often to the detriment of the old pastures — and these meadows were artificially watered and weeded. However, for all these efforts, hay had remained a scarce and valued fodder throughout the Middle Ages. The available quantity was too low for regular foddering. In the winter, the stock-breeders used foliage, and primarily rye, as additional fodder. Initially, rye was used a horse fodder not only in Hungary[252] but also in the West. For example, the name of rye in 13th century Norway was *hestakorn,* which means 'horse-corn'.[253] But the practice of stabling the livestock in the winter and pasturing them in the open woods or stubblefields was also common in Germany,[254] France and elsewhere.[255] Pasturing in the wooded areas (which in fact was the most common form) was banned for brief periods in May and again after mid-August almost everywhere. Consequently, the shepherds drew their animals out to the harvested ploughlands. In certain parts of Europe, nomadic shepherding was flourishing as late as in the 15th—16th centuries. Such 'backward' areas were to be found in Ireland, Wales or the Ardennes, where the animals were pasturing in the open throughout the winter. Nomadic stud farms *(equi silvestres, indomiti)* are known to have existed in the 13th century even in such regions as the Mosel valley, which can hardly be considered a 'backward' area. The development of textile industry in the 13th century prompted the landowners in e.g. Italy, Spain or Britain to turn vast fields into grazing lands for sheep. It was also in those years when alpine pasturing was introduced in the high-altitude areas of e.g. the Alps or Norway, mostly for commercial and exports purposes.[256] The researcher who wants to determine the ties between agriculture and stock-breeding in the 11th and 12th century Hungary must take all these into account. If this was the situation in the West, what can we expect in Hungary where nomadic shepherding was a deeply ingrained tradition? Indeed, the

sources appear to suggest that for all the advances of agriculture, nomadic shepherding had remained rather wide-spread at least until the middle of the 12th century. The new-type agricultural villages cropped up first in the lands of the churches and the monasteries of western origin. But the masses obviously continued to live according to the ancient patterns. The Kiev Russians considered the Hungarians who settled in the Danube and Tisza region a nomadic people. And the Byzantines, who called our ancestors as 'Turks', looked upon them as expressly nomadic tribesmen.

In the middle of the 10th century, Emperor Constantinos described the Hungarians as 'Turks leading a nomadic life'.[257] And Emperor Leo the Wise, who wrote his tactical work sometime after the year 904, gave a precious description of the way our ancestors bred their stock. As is known, Leo the Wise maintained direct contacts with the Hungarians' tribal confederation, and was thus able to obtain reliable information on their life. But when he decided to put pen to paper and relate his observations in a literary form, he followed the Byzantine practice and relied upon the tactics of the late 6th-early 7th century author Pseudo-Maurikios, and made only minor modifications on it. The belletrist emperor we must not consider a simple compiler, notwithstanding that all he compiled was an adaptation of Pseudo-Maurikios' description of the 6th century Turks on the Hungarians.[258] Moravcsik's work, which carries the works of Pseudo-Maurikios and Leo the Wise in parallel translations, reveals that Leo did indeed consider the Hungarians a nomadic people, and he identified them with the Turks in good faith. Paragraph 60 in chapter XVIII of Leo's Tactics[259] has no parallel in the other work. In Moravcsik's work, this paragraph is quoted as follows: 'These are the characteristics of the Turks, who differ from the Bulgarians only in that when they adopted Christianity and were slightly changed by the Roman morals, they got out of their savagery and nomadic manners.' In other words, the Hungarians, as a people fully identical with the Bulgarians, still lived a nomadic life in the age of Leo.

We are bound to reach the same conclusion if we read chapters 42, 51 and 52 in Leo's writing parallel with the text of Maurikios:

Maurikios

XI. 2 (42) 'We might say that the Scythian peoples have similar manners and organization; they live under several heads and are indifferent. Only the Turk and the Avar peoples pay attention to the battle order'.

Leo the Wise

(His text is the same, but after the word 'indifferent' he inserted the words 'generally they live a nomadic life'. Then he continues with 'Only...')

Remarkably, Emperor Leo deemed it important to note — obviously on the basis of his personal experience — that the Scythians were nomads. A similarly personal experience appears in the following paragraph:

Maurikios

51 'They are followed by a large number of stallions and mares, which serve partly for food and partly to give the impression of a swarm'.

Leo the Wise

51 'They are followed by a large number of horses, both stallions and mares, which serve partly for food and *as a source of milk* and partly to give the impression of a swarm'.

The fact that Leo mentioned milk as the main aliment of the nomads can well be considered an apt addition to Pseudo-Maurikios' taciturn text. But let us see paragraph 52, which for us is the most revealing:

Maurikios
52 'They do not raise entrenched camps as the Romans or the Persians do, but instead they disperse according to clans and tribes and graze their horses round the year until the very day of the war; then, before drawing up in battle array, they hobble them next to their tents and start to array during the night'.

Leo
52 'They do not raise entrenched camps as the Romans do, but instead they disperse according to clans and tribes and graze their horses round the year until the very day of the war; *during the war* they hobble their *horses* next to their *Turk* tents until they draw up in array; they start to array during the night'.

Leo the Wise adopted, and also modified, the text of Pseudo-Maurikios. He did not cite the Persians in connection with the camps because the Persian empire had already disappeared by his time. Accordingly, he 'updated' the text. From a Hungarian viewpoint it is interesting that he added the word 'Turk' to stress that the description applied to the Turks, i.e. to the Hungarians. But he also spoiled the text of Maurikios when he emphasized 'war' whereas the practice of tethering the horses was also common in peacetime. Both Pseudo-Maurikios and the emperor compiled tactics. Consequently, both of them described a peaceful nomadic life in the context of war preparations. But we are of the opinion that the highlighting of the practice of round-the-year pasturing separately according to clans and tribes was meant to describe the general characteristics of the nomadic Turks' — Hungarians' — manners. Paragraph 61 also refers to this nomadic life: the Turks are averse to the lack of pastures because of the multitude of horses they have.

Paragraph 52 in chapter XVIII of Leo the Wise's Tactics is especially significant for the understanding of the part of the Major Gellért Legend which describes the richness of Ajtony. It starts by stating the major power of Ajtony, which rested on the countless militis and nobile, and then specifies his wealth. It is obviously not accidental that the recounting begins with the horses: *Equorum etiam indomitorum multitudinem habebat innumerabilem, exceptis hiis, quos pastores in domibus sub custodia servabant... Erant ei et pecora infinita, que omnia habebant pastores suos deputatos, insuper allodia et curias...*[260] Listed after the horses are the other kinds of animals and their shepherds. Not accidentally, the landed estates are mentioned last in this specification. Accordingly, we can establish that the property valued most by the ancient Hungarians was not the ploughland or the manor but the livestock, more specifically the horse. The part of the legend which relates the method of horsebreeding is especially noteworthy: 'There were countless untamed horses living in a wild state, to say nothing of those kept by the shepherds at their houses.' In fact, the stud consisted of *equi indomiti*, i.e. of wild, untamed horses. Some of these animals the Hungarians separated from the stud and kept at their dwellings. This separation is clearly revealed by the text. It is also obvious that we must not consider the term *in domibus* an indication of stabling. Had that been the case, the author of the legend could have used any of them terms *stabulum, stuta, marstall or scuria*. In the first law-books of the Hungarians, the term *domus* always denoted a fixed dwelling, as opposed to the movable tent. For example, paragraph I. 36 in King László's law said *in domo vel tentorio*.[261] Clearly, the author of the text used the term *in domibus* to indicate that besides the wild stud there were also horses tamed at the houses.

To support this explanation, let us refer here to paragraph 52 in chapter XVIII of Emperor Leo the Wise's Tactics. The work of the Byzantine emperor and the

description of Ajtony in the Major Gellért Legend are complementary to each other. Besides the untamed stud, the shepherds kept a certain number of horses at the tents (Leo the Wise) or at the houses (Major Gellért Legend) for use as domesticated animals. But even these horses were kept in simple, open *karám* ('pound') and not in stables.[262] These animals were foddered according to need, but were not stabled.[263] They were turned out to grass similarly to the wild stud, but the pounded horses were hobbled. We have to exclude the possibility that in the time of Ajtony the major animal breeders were already practising dry foddering and stabling.

There is yet another part of the Major Gellért Legend which we consider highly illuminative. In chapter 10, the author relates what presents the faithful brought up to Bishop Gellért: the men offered horses, oxen, sheep and carpets, while the women gave gold rings and necklaces.[264] This paragraph is indeed revealing for the scholar of 11th century Hungarian society. The faithful bore their personal effects as presents. Consequently, the legend gives an authentic picture of the contemporary Hungarians' property status. Mentioned first in this list are the horses again, followed by the cattle and the sheep. We have already seen above what items the nomadic people regarded as property. Describing the marital practices of the Hungarians, Gardízí furnished good examples to this effect. At that time, the purchase price was mainly established in livestock, and the practice had remained common at least until the middle of the 11th century. In Gardízi's time, not only the livestock but also the precious metals and the fur were considered personal assets, and this applied to Gellért's period as well. We consider it important to stress here that the legend also makes mention of the carpets. Textile production must have been widespread among the nomads in the 11th century, and according to a mid-12th century record this activity remained common at that time. The inventory of the properties of Magdolna, the widow of comes Márton who was the founder of the Csatár monastery, lists items which are closely associable with the nomadic world. Besides the praedii and the folks living there, the inventory mentions untamed horses, swine and sheep. From among the servants, the inventory makes special mention of the weavers, who included the *texores tapecium,* i.e. the carpet weavers. Among the assets listed in the inventory, there are Byzantine golds, various jewelry and textiles, and also three carpets.[265] Consequently, we can establish nomadic origins not only for the craft of the goldsmiths, but also for that of the 'felt-cloak'-makers, the dyers and the carpet weavers. Suffice it to cite here the report written by Priscos Rhetor about his visit to the Huns, in which we find a colourful description of how the nomadic princely court looked like, with all its woolen carpets, various veils and fabrics woven of tinged threads.[266] The description of the Hungarian society of the day should in no way leave the carpets and the embroidery unmentioned.

To all appearances, the nomadic manners had remained characteristic of the Hungarians until the early 12th century. Article 13 in the records of the second Esztergom synod, which took place under the reign of King Kálmán, refers to the practice of nomadic pasturing: 'The villagers who have a church should not move away from their church for a longer period; if they do that, they should pay 10 pensas and then return.'[267] The attendance of church services was not guaranteed as the village folks kept moving their abodes between the winter and the summer pastures. Such 'commuting' villages are also mentioned in articles I. 11 and I. 19 of King László's law. Regrettably, the text is too obscure to be taken as proof positive for the nomadic manners of the contemporary Hungarians. The first article

specified above regulated the attendance of the masses by the villagefolk living remote from the churches,[268] while the other determined the fate of the churches abandoned by the villagers.[269] Based on the synodic ruling quoted above, we have every ground to presume that these regulations were also prompted by the nomadic conduct of the Hungarians.[270]

The Second Crusade brought two foreign writers to Hungary. One of them was Eudes de Deuil (Odo de Deogilo), a French monk, and the other was Bishop Otto of Freising. It would definitely not be without interest to know what they saw here during their stay.

Eudes de Deuil[271] stood proxy for his renowned abbot, Suger de Saint-Denis, in the crusade. King Louis VII promoted this Frenchman to the post of chaplain and personal secretary, and thus he had access to reliable information. Otherwise, Eudes de Deuil prepared for the trip just like an average tourist does today. He went to the librarian in his monastery and asked for some books on the countries he was to visit. He travelled with the disposition to put down his experiences, and thus he kept his eyes and ears open during his two-week stay in Hungary. He even specified his place of entry: The Hungarian border he reached via Bécsújhely (Wiener Neustadt). At the time when the Hungarian king invited Louis VII to his camp on the left bank of the Danube, the French troops were stationed near the town of Győr. Describing the town known as Belgrade today, he said that it was referred to as Bulgarian because the Hungarians also had a settlement called Belgrade. Clearly, this latter town can be identified with Székesfehérvár.[272] This town he must have seen as he was proceeding with the crusaders. Accordingly, we can establish that the French troops crossed the settlements of Győr, Mór and Fehérvár on their way to the crossing place on the river Drava, which was undeniably at the town of Eszék (Osijek).[273] Describing the difficulties they had to face while crossing the river, he made mention of the abandoned camp of the German crusaders, which the Franch duly made use of.

The crusaders of Emperor Conrad III, who preceded the French in the territory of Hungary, did indeed take this route on their way to the Holy Land. Otto of Freising even states that the troops of Louis VII followed the trace of the Germans.[274] According to Otto, the Germans started out from the river Fischa and, having crossed the river Leitha, they marched across Transdanubia. The adversities the troops had to face while crossing the river must have been caused by the floods, which are known to have taken place there from other sources as well. But only part of the imperial crusaders crossed the territory of Hungary on foot. Some of these troops travelled by boat down the Danube. Only a year earlier, the Hungarians and the Germans were still fighting at the river Leitha for the ownership of the town of Pozsony (Bratislava). The repercussions of this hostility are manifest in the German bishop's account of his Hungarian journey. Otto, who was staying here in the company of Conrad III, was doubtlessly well-informed. As a born writer and politician, he missed no opportunity to improve his knowledge of foreign lands. This inclination was especially manifest in his ties with Byzantium. His intimate circle of acquaintances included two Hungarian high priests. One of them was Lukács, the archbishop of Esztergom and former bishop of Eger, whom he knew from his university years and who is considered one of the most remarkable figures of the Hungarian church.[275] The other high priest he also knew from his years in Paris. This was Fredericus, the abot of the Austrian town of Baumgartenberg, who later became a bishop in Hungary.[276]

This introduction we believe was necessary to facilitate the understanding of the significance of Eudes's and Otto's reports on Hungary. Both of them travelled across Transdanubia, the part of Hungary which has always been considered 'more civilized' than the other regions. The things they saw there also existed in the eastern parts of the country, albeit in a relatively primitive form. With this in mind, we find it remarkable that both writers took notice of the predominance of the pastures in the countryside. While Eudes was focussing on the scenery, Otto took pains to specify the social and political structure of the country. Eudes had a bright but simple mind, whereas Otto was a philosopher and statesman. Consequently, the two accounts are complementary to each other. Eudes gives a detailed account of the scenery: first they crossed a wooded area, where the troops had to rely on the food they had obtained in the towns. He also speaks about countless marshlands, watery lands and shallow, flood-prone rivers. In general, he found the country abounding in water and meadow. The rich crops reminded him of a book, which claimed that the pastures of Julius Caesar were situated here.[277] According to Eudes, Transdanubia was charaterized by meadows and rich pastures, and not by ploughlands. The observations of Bishop Otto fully square with Eudes' report. For him, the beauty and wealth of this country was reminiscent of the Paradise. However, the inhabitants he found to be poor both in the towns and in the villages. He saw countless huts made of reed and wood, but only a few stone structures. The people he met spent the summer and autumn months in tents.[278] Accordingly, our ancestors were still living in tents at the time, i.e. were still nomads, but only in the summer and autumn months. This observation is crucial in that it proves that the practice of nomadic pasturing still existed in the middle of the 12th century.

The 11th and 12th century records also suggest that the country was rich in pastures' hayfields, woods fit for grazing and also in livestock. Time and again even the taciturn records carry references to the nomadic shepherds. Thus for example King István's deed of foundation of Pécsvárad (which has survived in a forged version) revealed that the estates there included woods fit for grazing the livestock.[279] The Tihany deed of foundation, which dates from 1055, mentions a place fit for pasturing'.[280] The Szász deed of foundation, which was compiled in 1067 and which can be considered largely authentic although its genuineness remains debatable, also names a plot of land between the borders where the horses of the king were grazing.[281] The record of Garamszentbenedek offers a detailed description of the fishing places and the pastures for horses, sheep and cattle along the rivers Nyitra, Tormás and Zsitva.[282] The record of Bozók of 1135 makes mention of an estate on the river Danube which was granted by King István to comes Hunt *ad pascendum animalia*.[283]

The practice of donating non-domesticated horses also points to the existence of nomadic shepherding. The 12th century data mentioned above already lead us to the beginning of the next century. The inventory of the movable and immovable properties transferred during the foundation of the monastery at Csatár spedified nine horses kept in the woods.[284] Other sources from the same period speak about untamed horses.[285] Of course, the contemporary people might as well have built stables for the horses they used. Similarly to the Western practice, the Hungarian landowner readily entrusted his peasants with tending the horses, especially during the winter. The first reference to the use of stables dates from 1135.[286] The landlords considered it one of the duties of their dependants to pasture their animals.[287]

Finally, let us refer to those data which specify the fairly large livestock of the Hungarians: 1015: Karácsonyi: Szent István okl. (The diplomas of S. Stephen) 83. I, 120 horses, 84 cattle, 1464 sheep, 137 swine and 94 goats in Pécsvárad; 1055: Pannonhalmi rdt. (History of the Benedictines of Pannonhalma) X. 493. 1. In Tihany, the abbey was entitled to receive 50 colts a year from the royal stud. In the year 1055, the abbey's livestock consisted of 100 cattle, 700 sheep and 100 swine; 1067: Wenzel: Code I. 25. 1.: *X copule equorum, C boves, D oves, CC porci;* 1083—95: Pannonhalmi rdt. I. 592. 1.: *CC insimul equi praeter poletros, LXX. Boues insimul. Mille. CCC. oues* in Pannonhalma; 1138: Knauz: Mon eccl. Strig. I. 95. 1., 70 horses with 20 colts in one village, 800 sheep and 50 cattle in another; etc. In the late 12th century, the average livestock of a smaller monastery consisted of some 70 horses, 100 cattle, 200 swine and 300 sheep.[288] The donation made by Goodwife Szines in 1146 reveals the livestock owned by a small praedium which otherwise had three ploughs and a 15-man mansion. Accordingly, it had 100 sheep, 30 swine and a 24-strong stud of stallions and mares.[289] In her testament dating from the mid-12th century, Goodwife Margit donated to Pannonhalma two families, each owning a plough, four oxen, five cattle and 50 sheep. To a free servant named Péter and his three-member family Margit donated an ox and 10 sheep, while some other families received two oxen and five sheep each.[290] For the sake of comparison, let us cite here article II. 1 of King István's decrees, which prescribed the implements to be owned by the rural parishes: *equo et iumento, sex bubus et duabus vaccis, XXX minutis bestiis* (ed. Závodszky 153). Another testament dating from the same period names two estates, each owning 12 oxen, and one having 30 horses and 45 sheep in addition.[291] One of these estates was run by two servant families, the other by three. Even in the late 12th century, the reference to the livestock was an integral part of a testament.[292] Similarly, it was a widely accepted practice to donate seigniorial servants or freedmen with or without land. However, the testament of scribe Márton, in which he dealt with his estate at Csicsal in 1251, may well be seen as a signal of a new era. The inventory of his properties included a building plot, a garden, a plot, ploughlands of various quality, a vineyard, a forest and hayfield, but it made no mention of people or animals![293]

5. Agriculture in the 11th—12th centuries

Let us see now how agriculture was related to the prevalent nomadic manners of the day.

First we have to cite here two articles from King István's decrees.

Article I. 8[294] inflicted punishment on those who failed to mark the Lord's day (Sunday) and chose to work instead. Under this article, the offenders were deprived of their horses and oxen, or of their tools and clothes. The Latin text of the decree *(tollatur equus, quem dominus bove redimat)* refers to the owner of the animals in general terms only, i.e. it fails to specify that it was the master or landlord of the offender. The laws from the Merovingian and Carlovingian periods which Závodszky cited to clarify his point (22—23) also spoke about the reprehensible freedmen in general terms only. This is only understandable, since the law was based on a general religious requirement and was applicable to the freedmen and servants alike. The words of the law also fail to specify the kind of work it considered punishable, but presumably this ban applied to all kinds of work', including that of the ploughman.

Article II. 1 regulated the foundation and furnishing of the parsonages. The church was to dispatch the priest and the supply of the books needed for the ceremonies also fell on it. The church robes and the table clothes came from the king, while the church itself was to be erected and supplied with servants and livestock jointly by the population of ten villages. The decree specified the need to supply slaves and animals, but contained no reference as to what kind of work the slaves were expected to fulfill. There was no explicit reference to agricultural work.[295] For the historian, the main message' of the law appears to be that the villages' of István were populated by free commoners, who had private property enough to build and furnish a church.

Let us quote here the original version of the famed Tihany deed of foundation of 1055: *Sunt igitur aratra XX cum LX mansionibus; vinitores cum vineis XX, equites XX, piscatores X,* etc. *Inter omnes namque sunt servorum ecclesie mansiones CXL.*[296] In other words, the abbey put its twenty ploughs in the care of its sixty dwellers, obviously in order to let the people use them. Twenty people were assigned to work in the vineyards, twenty others were working with the horses, while ten people were exclusively charged with fishing... Remarkably, the report treats the ploughs as a separate item. Even those people were not called farmhands' in the texts whose exclusive job was to work the land. Examples for this are known from as late as the second half of the 12th century.[297] However, the puzzle is solved immediately if we look into the large register of the abbey compiled 150 years later.[298] The reader may well expect that by that time the number of ploughmen had increased considerably. Not in the least. According to the register of 1211, there were only 38 ploughmen living in the estates of the abbey. This decline' is well beyond our reach. One would expect that agriculture was gradually developing, and the cultivated areas were increasing rather than diminishing. The solution should be sought in the fact that we misinterpreted the reference to the servicing duties of the 60 mansiones. In the register of 1211, 55 of the manorial dependants are referred to as *servi* and 38 as *aratores, agricole* and *cultores.* The number of the household people is 164.[299] It is understandable that the 60 mansiones mentioned in the 1055 deed of foundation were obliged to perform any kind of job — including agricultural socage — on account of their status as slaves.[300] They were not considered farmhands' proper yet.

In the late 11th century in Pannonhalma *C.XXX.I. mansiones ministrorum ad omnia genera operum debite, praeter uineas et athra* (correctly arathra) *C.XL. Familie seruorum, XXX. mansus piscatorum,* etc.[301] The record speaks about servant families' and makes no mention of ploughmen'. Although the *equites* of Tihany are not mentioned in the text, we should identify them primarily with the ministers. All the more so since the 60 mansiones at Tihany can be identified with the *familie seruorum* at Pannonhalma. The sequence of the servants was similar at the other estates. For example, let us see the Szászd deed of foundation dated to around 1067: *CIIII mansus seruorum, XXX equites: XX Ungari et (X) Bisseni, sex lanifice et linifice...*[302] In the early 12th century register of Bakonybél,[303] the list begins with the *liberi...equitantes,* followed by the servants: *equites...monasterio ministrent.* The expression used here can be considered the equivalent of the term *minister* in the Pannonhalma register. Similarly, the faked 1015 record of Pécsvárad says: *ministris quoque, qui serviunt cum equis.*[304]

What could be the task of those who are referred to as *familie seruorum,* or simply as *mansiones* or *equites,* at the beginning of the registers? The words *praeter vineas et arathra* in the register dating from the age of László can also be

found in Albeus' register from the years between 1237—40, in connection with the services of the *servientes equestres*. These people were obliged to render all kinds of services, except for work in the vineyards and the ploughlands: *ad alia omnia genera servitiorum preter vineas et aratra, sicut in privilegiis Sancti Ladizlai et Andree regnum plenius continetur et usu etiam approbavit.*[305] Accordingly, these people belonged to the descendants of the ministers referred to in László's register. Their priority task was to supply horses and perform socage service as carriers. The equestrian servants of Jenő were likewise obliged to render carrier and other services, with the exception of food supply *(ac alia honera preter victualia* ibid. p. 778). When the abbey came into conflict with its people over the services, the equestrian servants took exception to the very fact that the abbot wanted them to perform work in the fields.[306] While these people managed to shake off this duty, the *jobagiones equestres* were obliged to perform that job and also to pay tribute in food.[307] In other estates, the equestrian servants were obliged to perform a variety of socage services, like for example hay cutting and gathering, ploughing, harvesting, ingathering, livestock grazing and tending, heating 'by the seven', etc.[308]

The *servi*, i.e. the people listed as servants, were known to be obliged to render all kinds of services even by the 13th century register of Albeus.[309] This situation was far more typical of the 11th century. In connection with two villages — Hegymagas (Apáti) and Kapolcs — the Pannonhalma register of Saint László makes mention of 20 mansus servants donated by King László.[310] Let us now try to keep track of the descendants of these servants. According to Albeus, there were 62 mansiones in Hegymagos (he failed to specify the people there). Each month, two of them were obliged to render equestrian service, and also to tend the horses of the abbot in stables. They had to follow the abbot wherever he went, and the expenses were to be covered by the abbot. In Kapolcs, six mansiones were expressly *servientes equestres,* but as the remark *qui omnes tenentur ad servitia libertinorum* clearly shows, they lacked the rights and duties which were the due of the other equestrian servants. There were six other mansiones in Kapolcs who served as cooks. These latter people Albeus considered the descendants of the servants donated by King László, but in all probability most of the others there, and also in Hegymagas, were the offsprings of King László's servants.[311] Why did they serve with horses, and why were they cooks? The answer comes obvious: their ancestors were not just farmhands but were also obliged to render a variety of services. This general obligation had gradually disappeared and each of them specialized on certain jobs (like stableman, carrier or cook), but the trace of their servant origins had never disappeared.

According to Albeus' register, on the eve of the Mongol invasion there were still manorial people in Hungary whose job was recorded only as *servi* or *libertini.* The register dating from the reign of László, and also the Tihany deed of foundation, refers to almost all the servants by these terms only. All those who were not fishermen, vinegrowers, equestrian servants, cooks or other craftsmen were referred to simply as household people *(mansiones),* heads' *(capita), servi* or *libertini.* The high-ranked stratum of the equestrian servants had already become separated from the other servants, and the same happened to the craftsmen with specialized knowledge, like e.g. the vine-growers, the fishermen or the various tradesmen. But the majority of the mansiones remained distinguished according to freedom and slavery, i.e. there were *liberi, liberti* or *libertini* and *servi, mancipii.* These distinctions greatly determined the people's role in society. While the tradi-

tional nomadic society was disintegrating due to the emergence of the system of social dependence, the dichotomy of the freedmen and the slaves remained determinative. Under the manorial order, the *libertinik and the servi* were separated according to their status and responsibilities. In both this country and abroad, this separation was manifest in the fact that certain duties fell on the slaves only. For example, even the 13th century register of Albeus makes mention of such manorial slaves who did not fulfill the common services *(communia servitia)* just because they were free slaves *(liberi)*.[312] For this reason, the large registers normally stated the number and strength of the liberi right at the beginning. This free status could easily be lost even in the 12th century through indebtedness or legal conviction.[313] Also, this dichotomy enabled the landowner to demand whatever service he wanted. The charters often refer to cases where it was up to the new landowner to determine what services his dependants must render.[314] While this resulted in the emergence of a system of services in socage, the services also became specialized and thus set limits to the landowners' arbitrary rulings. With this in mind it is easy to understand why it was enough even in the 12th century to simply put down the strength or names of the liberi and the servi without any further specification.[315]

Consequently, it is not to be wondered that our early-period records make hardly any mention of the ploughmen. The references to the mansiones of the husbandmen remain scarce even in the first half of the 13th century. An example for this could be the pre-Mongol invasion Pannonhalma register of Albeus, which names only 79 aratoris from among the 2700 mansiones. The situation was similar in Tihany: in 1212, the abbey had 590 mansiones, but only 38 aratoris.[316] Now if the number of the servants regarded as aratoris was so low in the early 13th century, what can we reasonably expect in the 11th century? Indeed, the references in the records to the ploughmen are extremely scarce. It is also remarkable that the records which carry these references are generally suspectable of a later period intepolation or forgery. From among the diplomas of King István, the forged, or at least markedly tinkered, Pécsvárad deed of foundation makes mention of aratoris alongside the vinegrowers.[317] In its present form, Palatine Radó's record of 1057 can rightly be considered forged and subseqently amplified. It also makes mention of vinegrowers and aratories.[318] At the time of the foundation of the Szászd monastery, there were 20 mansiones staying in one of its estates, while on another there were a number of aratoris *ad quinque aratra*. The authenticity of the record is controversial.[319] The fairly lengthy Garamszentbenedek deed of foundation of 1075 speaks about ploughmen in only one place, namely in Szőllős.[320] This record is not considered authentic in its present form.[321] A register dated 1086 (?) from Bakonybél, which in fact was drafted sometimes between 1130 and 1140 and which was repeatedly amplified in the 13th century, makes mention in its authentic' part of ploughmen in three villages. But the abbey there owned 12 praedii and was part-owner in 15 other estates.[322] In 1138, there were ploughmen living in four villages of Dömös. The great register there makes mention of servants, fishermen, vineyardists, carriers and craftsmen in general terms only.[323] In his testament signed in 1199, a royal miles by the name Joachim bequeathed to the Veszprém church his estate with one ploughman and his family, and with a plough and a vinevard. Joachim's wife bequeathed another estate, a ploughman with his family, a plough, and land for five ploughs. The record also makes mention of stubble-fields, vineyardists and shepherds.[324] The register of the Arad church dated 1202—1203 specifies a large number of servants, equestrian ser-

vants, fishermen and craftsmen by name, but it says that only two of the man-
siones in a specific village were ploughmen.[325]

In short, we can conclude that there were only a handful of servants who
were specified as ploughmen in the great mass of the manorial people. The
records, and especially the large registers, ranked these people from two distinct
respects. The first was their separation into servants and freedmen, which can in
fact be considered a traditional approach in Hungarian society. The other was the
principle of service, i.e. the individual's obligations towards the landlord. The initial
prevalence of the first approach was later replaced by the second. We can estab-
lish beyond doubt that in the period at issue agriculture was still not regarded as
the typical job of the peasantry. The Hungarian villagefolks remained to be a pre-
dominantly stock-breeding people. Had the Hungarian peasant been predominan-
tly agriculturalist at the time, it would have found expression in his name as well.
The first signs that husbandry became the determinative factor in economy oc-
curred in the first half of the 13th century.[326] This was the period when the
records began to refer to the peasants as ploughmen. There is a forged mid-13th
century diploma bearing the signature of Béla II which consistently refers to the
servants as ploughmen. In the diploma, the list of the ploughmen is wound up by
the vinegrowers, the equestrian servants and the eight *homines condiciona-
les.*[327]

Now was it really the exclusive task of the servants qualified as ploughmen to
work the land? Not in the least. We can establish with absolute certainty that
those manorial people were also engaged in agricultural work who were other-
wise obliged to perform other services. Let us cite here the Greek diploma donated
by King István to the nuns of Veszprémvölgy, and also its Latin language copy
made under King Kálmán. The latter one has survived in two versions, one of
which is a fake.[328] Now let us compare these three documents. True to its age,
the Greek diploma makes mention of the mansiones only, but it also emphasizes
the various groups of servants by specifying their professions. This list includes
references to craftsmen, watermen, Danube fishermen, and also to two
vinegrowers and 60 equestrian servants in two villages.[329] While King István's list
carries no specific reference to ploughmen, the faked Latin language version al-
ready specifies them along with the household people. Both the faked and the
original Latin language versions carry a sentence which has no parallel in the
Greek text. This sentence says that besides those with specified profession 'all the
remaining people are vinegrowers or ploughmen' *(Ex omnibus istis villanis non
habet abbatissa servientes cum equis, nisi solummodo LX. et tres mansiones car-
pentariorum, eatc. Ceteri omnes sunt vel vinitores vel aratores.* In the faked ver-
sion, the latter sentence ends with: *vel alia seruitia exhibitores,* a reference to the
infiltrated court people).[330] Accordingly, all those servants whom the diplomas
treat as mansiones only were in fact ploughmen and vineyardists. Had this sen-
tence been ommitted from the record by accident, we would perhaps never have
learned this fact.

Indeed, the diplomas hint only obliqely to the agricultural activity of the *servi*
and the other craftsmen. For example in those cases when these servants' were
donated along with oxen and ploughs, we have every ground to believe that they
made use of those intruments.[331] Or in those cases when the non-agricultural'
servants paid their tribute in corn, flour or bread, we can presume that they relied
on their own produce. Although they were not expressly engaged in agriculture,
the land was undeniably one of their sources of income. Albeus' oft-cited Pannon-

halma register also mentions the tributes and socages called *communia servitia,* which were imposed equally on the farmhands and the other craftsmen. These services included the obligation to deliver bread and grain crops.[332]

Even those manorial people were engaged in working the land who were not considered farmhands by name. In other words, the ploughlands were much larger than those which were worked by the ploughman' servants themselves. This, in fact, is just as one would expect. The servants ranked into the various professional groups could be obliged to perform carrier and field work or to deliver farm produce precisely because they themselves were also engaged in working their land. They had 'independent' household plots and, besides practicing their specific crafts, they were obliged by the landowner to perform socage and pay tribute. Their main occupation could be riding the horse-drawn coaches, performing equestrian service or practising some specific craft. The secondary burden, which they all shared, was the *communia servitia:* each and every dependant was equally obliged to perform them.[333] When Palatine Miklós pronounced a judgement on behalf of the king on the complaints of the Pannonhalma manorial people around the year 1226, he obliged the household people to perform their specific services and also to deliver flour and perform field-work as part of their common burdens.[334]

But the landowner also had his own estate, where he relied on the socage service of the independent servants and also employed other labourers. This practice was common in other countries as well. The size and extent of this type of estate varied according to time and country, but it was always secondary to the total of the farmsteads dependent on it. A good example for the duality of manorial farming is to be found in a prebendal record compiled in the year 1181 in Veszprém. The local chapter ceded 28 *'holds'* (16 acres) of land to some of his freemen obliged to perform equestrian service. At the same time the chapter considered it necessary to state that the land at issue was staked out from the church's own lands and not from the worked fields of the manorial people.[335]

It appears that we can range the few agrarian mansiones mentioned in the register among the people who worked the manorial private lands. Remarkably, the records never specify the special services of these agrarian families, which in fact were so characteristic of the independent agrarian households. Although they were ranked together with the liberi and the equestrians in the order of importance of the manorial people,[336] their situation was worse than that of the other servants. This is clear from the fact that the court people found it prejudicial that the landlord ranked them among the ploughmen. Accordingly, once the elected justices ruled that they were free to return to their original professions, they willingly improved on the occassion. But in order to protect the interests of the landowner, the justices also declared the landowner's right to dispatch new people among the ploughmen in the place of the retiring court people.[337] How did this ruling help the landowner? Obviously, none of his dependants were prompt to obey a ruling which assigned them to the ploughmen. The legal verdict was thus necessary for the landowner to ward off any future complaints. If we want to understand the need for this coercion, we have to presume that the situation of the servants designated for agrarian tasks was not equal to that of the other servants but in fact was worse than that. It was worse because in that status the servants could not enjoy the advantages of independent farming: the agrarian servants had to work in and for the landowner's private economy. Despite the burdens like e.g. the socage service, the court people and the others in the same status were at

least free to maintain their independent households: the surplus product they could sell on the market, and thus they could raise money. As opposed to this, the servants assigned to work in the landowner's private economy were burdened by a series of restrictions and also by a tough delivery obligation.

These burdens were indeed greater. According to the Bakonybél register dating from the years around 1130—1140, the servants listed under the name *aratores* were obliged to deliver half of their produce. In addition, they were obliged to deliver ten ells of homespun *(tela)* and ten buckets of rye for feeding the horses. And above all these, they had to preform socage services like for example beer-making or millet pearling. They were not free to contract marriage (this was a sign of servitude in the West as well), but had the right to take their sons to the manorial court, and their daughters to the manorial spinnery.[338] The obligations of this kind were unknown among those people who run their farmsteads independently and who depended only loosely on the central will of the manorial estate. But we have every reason to believe that the obligations listed above applied to the servants assigned to the landowner's private economy. The sources cited above clearly emphasize the slavish origins of the people referred to as ploughmen. In fact, only drudges could be assigned to work under such negative conditions. Remarkably, László Erdélyi considered the 'backward situation of the aratores at Bakonybél' a mere fabrication by the faker of the record. But let us see what he had to say about the situation in Tihany: ''The lands staked off for the abbey were worked by *agrarian* and *ploughing* servants. The landowner collected only a title from the produce of the court people, but he was entitled to all the produce from the manorial lands worked by the agrarian and ploughing servants. All the servants had to take a share in harvesting and ingathering the crops. Each servant household was obliged to perform three days of service...''[339] As we know, the private farm of the landowner was small compared to the lands worked by his dependants. This is why there were so few ploughmen assigned to work the land-woner's land. From the landowner's viewpoint, these people were the agrarians' — and hence their name.

That the landowner employed these agrarian people to work his private land is also clear from the fact that the agrarians lived close to the centre of the manor. The dense population of these manorial centres included the belligerent 'jobagiones' who were in charge of running the estate, and also the craftsmen. The breakdown of the aratores was especially clear-cut at the *Tihany* estate. The first group of the aratores (5 houses) was working on the Tihany peninsula, where the abbey is situated. In the nearby settlements of Aszófő and Füred, there were four and two *agricole* mansiones, respectively. On the Somogy side of Lake Balaton, the two most populous estates were Gamás and Török, and both places had agrarian residents (their number was the highest — 12 — at Gamás). Füzegy was the centre of the estates lying remote from the lake. There were agrarians living in two houses there. At the river Danube, Fadd was the centre of the Tolna estate, and Besenyő (Aranyos) of the Bodrog estate. There were five and six agrarians there, respectively.[340] The ties between the arator settlements and the manorial estate are also easy to establish at *Bakonybél*. The great mid-12th century register names right at the beginning four villages as abbey properties, three of which were at the same time *arator* settlements. These were Koppány, Kajár and Árpás. Accordingly, these villages must have been the manorial centres. In the *Pannonhalma* estate, the monastery was practically encircled by the settlements of the agrarian mansiones: Újlak, Nyúl, the two villages named Ság, Perecse and

Selyemcsuk. That the mansiones were missing at the main estate of Nyalka can be accounted for by the fact that it was too populous and crowded (56 mansiones court people and hosts of other equestrian people and craftsmen) for the landlord to maintain private land there. But we have every ground to presume a manorial centre in Veszprém County, where there were numerous agrarian families living among the jobagiones, craftsmen and cooks in the villages of Varsány, Lázi and Szent-kereszt (also known as Keresztúr). Enying was another, albeit smaller, manorial centre. Its inhabitants included eight agrarian mansiones and there were also two mansions of the equestrian jobagiones. The abbey also owned manors in Komárom County, in the villages of Füss, Erecstő and Szántó. The centre for the aratores must have been at Füss, where there were also jobagiones living in large numbers. Yet another manorial private estate in Komárom County was Füzitő on the Danube. It was inhabited by agrarian families and jobagiones proficient in running manorial lands.[341] The *Dömös* deed of foundation of 1138 also helps us reveal the status of the aratores in the structure of the manorial estates. According to the record, there were aratores living in five settlements: in the manorial centre of Monostor, in Dömös, in the nearby village of Helemba, and in the large village 'on the island'. According to Knauz, who published the record the names of the fourth and fifth villages were illegible on the document. Quite probably these aratores families were employed in the landowner's private economy. We cannot consider it accidental that the record listed these families together with the manorial mills.[342]

The private lands of the landowner should be sought primarily in the manorial estates designated above. But the example of Pannonhalma warns us against jumping to generalized conclusions. While there were some arator mansiones who performed agricultural activities in the enclosed land of the landowner, some other aratores established farming communities with the local villagers.[343] An example for this is known from the estates of the Tihany abbey. In the village of Fadd, the abbey owned an enclosed plot, and it also had a leasehold in the communal lands of the villagers. In this village, the abbey had aratores as well.[344] It is far from surprising that the methods of working the land were more advanced in the private manorial estates. In Pannonhalma, the high-quality fertilized land' *(terra fimata)* was worked by the aratores.[345]

It appears from the foregoing that we cannot establish the prevalence of agriculture in Hungary on the basis of the manorial services and professional classification of the servants. After all, only a tiny proportion of these people was referred to as agrarians'. They were named so because they worked the private lands of the landlord. Besides them, the other servants in the manor also performed agricultural work on their own plots. These latter people were obliged to pay tax in kind. In the period at issue, working the land was still not the exlusive or main occupation of the peasants. Agricultural work gained in importance only by the middle of the 13th century. That was the time when the peasants began to be called 'ploughmen', provided that they had no other specific job or profession. This development can be associated with the changes in manorial farming. Throughout Europe, the landowners discontinued work on their private lands fully or partially, and focussed instead on the annuities and the freer forms of land leasing.[346] The first signs of this process occurred in Hungary in the middle of the 13th century. For example, we can infer the liquidation of one of the most significant manorial private farms in the estates of the Tihany abbey from a document dating from 1264.[347] There the landowner discontinued work on his private

lands, thereby rendering his 'ploughmen' redundant. From that time on, the reference to the agrarians' was gradually replaced in the records by the word 'peasants', which was generally meant to denote 'agricultural worker'.

The Hungarian pasturing herdsmen included agriculture in their economy as early as during their stay in the southern Russian steppes, and this practice they retained in their new homeland as well. But in the course of time they gradually increased their ploughlands, going by the example of the people whom they found as residents there. However significant this process was, it could not alter the prevalence of stock-breeding as the main occupation. The first signs of the shift to a new economic system occurred only in the first half of the 13th century. By that time the ploughlands had become prevalent in at least parts of the countryside, and thus agriculture could become the most important field of economy.[348] However challenging it might occur, the study of this transition period falls beyond the scope of the present paper. We had to content ourselves with an attempt to reveal the beginnings of this process only.

While research is generally inclined to apportion historical reality, we have to be aware of its indivisibility. This generally applied method has its pros, but the cons are also marked. We consider it one such methodological mistake that those of our historians who focussed on the development of agriculture in Hungary generally left stock-breeding, which was the main occupation of the conquering Hungarians, out of consideration. We believe that stock-breeding and agriculture are closely inter-related activities. Even a noted scholar like Károly Tagányi committed this mistake when he failed to devote even a single line to stock-breeding in his key study on the community of land. Although he kept referring to the ''nomads' community of land'', he failed to pin down its associations with the life and manners of the nomads. True enough, Tagányi's aim was limited to focussing the attention of research on the past of a long-forgotten institution, and thus he was preoccupied with demonstrating that the community of land had been prevalent throughout this nation's history and all over its lands. But he failed to analyse the legal and economic-historical aspects of the problem. Wherever he touched upon the origins of the community of land, he satisfied himself with mere references to the clan system and with statements like 'the land and the estate had no esteem at all, but the people living there were held in high respect'. This in other words would mean that the clans were prompted to use land on a communal basis by the abundance of land and by its consequential valuelessness.[349] Although Tagányi's views have recently been modified by researach on several points, its basic message has been left unaltered. The practice of the communal use of land had its roots in the clan system, in the subsequent village system, and in the abundance of land. But this explanation has left the ties between agriculture and stock-breeding as obscure as ever.[350]

The abundance of land is a fact beyond dispute. There was the endless plain, and the ploughlands were but spots in it. Consequently, there was no need to husband the land's resources or to adopt intensive forms of farming. Once exhausted by cultivation, the land was deserted and allowed to be overgrown with grass again. This so-called 'shift system' was indeed land-intensive. There was need for huge open spaces to practice this crop rotation. But this system did not nesessarily involve the communal use of land. In fact, it could well be practiced on an individual basis, and by putting the principle of first occupation' into practice. Under this principle, the ploughmen chose and worked plots commensurate to this periodicity. The practice of individual farming coupled with the shift system re-

mained prevalent until the land available permitted it. The ploughland was in a way contingent on the building ground. Now once the latter began to expand to the detriment of the former, the questions of who owns the fields and why could no more be ignored.[351] While the 'worked land' remained in community ownership, the 'building ground' was the exlusive property of its owner. Besides the 'plough-land belonging to the house', the contemporaries also considered the sties, and in places the waters and the meadows, as parts of this private property.

But the fields were not left unexploited. As we all know, there were hosts of animals grazing on them. In other words, the fields were not just a 'no man's land', and therefore the ploughlands could be extended only if it did not infringe on the interests of the stock-breeders. A series of restrictions and regulations had to be introduced, and thus the shift system was gradually adopted. 'The introduction of the shift system was undeniably related to the change in the relations between stock-breeding and agriculture', as István Balogh has rightly observed.[352] When stock-breeding was the main occupation, the determinative factor was not the ploughland but the pasture. In the spring, the villagers (or at least part of them) left their settlement and set out with their pasturing livestock. Accordingly, agriculture had to be adapted to the wandering life of the nomads. This meant that the ploughman could not become the owner' of the land.

And in fact the fields were far from endless. There was need to regulate the order of grazing, as it was a precondition to maintaining order among the wande-ring shepherds. While the private ownership of land emerged fairly early in the areas of the winter abodes, the vast pastures could not but remain under common control.[353] Grazing in these common fields required cooperation from the she-pherds. This is how the communal use of land was related to nomadic shepher-ding.[354] Later in time, this 'community principle' began to be enforced in the ploughlands as well. Parallel with the growth of the cultivated areas, there was need to introduce regulations and control in this field as well. In other words, the ancient 'community principle' of the pastures became gradually adopted by the ploughmen, and thus the communal use of the ploughlands emerged.[355]

As regards the Hungarian sources on this issue, we could cite here Károly Tagányi's work (ibid. 47 ff.) which carried a number of data from the 13th century. But let us quote instead those sources which prove the existence of the communal use of land in the 11th and 12th centuries. According to the Tihany deed of founda-tion of 1055, the servants of the church were initially the owners of certain lands and fishing sites jointly with certain other peoples.[356] The apparently original part of Palatine Radó's markedly interpolated record of 1057 (Codex I. 395) was quo-ted in Fejér's publication as follows: 'except for three fishermen and a ploughman, and also for a strip of the communal land which one plough can work' (exceptis tribus piscatoribus et vno aratore. Itta tamen terra communitate, que vno colitur aratro). The special term for the communal use of land was commonly used by our 13th century sources. We can find it in the Pannonhalma register which was compiled under King Saint László: Cetera autem loca, que habet commixtim cum populis, ista sunt...[357] and also in the Garamszentbenedek deed of foundation, which dates from 1075.[358] From the age of Kálmán, we could cite here the Latin version of the deed of foundation of the Veszprémvölgy nuns, which was originally written in Greek, or the Zobor register of 1113.[359]

The Bakonybél register, which was compiled around 1130—1140 and was amplified in the 13th century, also carries references to the community of land.[360] Despite Fejér's mistaken reference, the Bozók record of 1135 also makes repeated mention of this form of ownership.[361] Around the year 1186, Hoda do-

nated to Pannonhalma his share *(sors)* of the lands at Nyulas. The Latin term here derived from the practice of distributing land by drawing a bow, as it was made manifest in the Arad register of 1202—1203.[362]

We do not wish to dwell long here on the history of the communal use of land in Hungary, notwithstanding that this subject would deserve a more detailed treatment. The sources at our disposal prove beyond doubt that the communal use of land for agricultural and stock-breeding purposes was widespread in Hungary in the 11th and 12th centuries. The land was worked according to this principle, as the determinative factor remained to be the nomadic form of shepherding. There are hosts of records to prove that agriculture was secondary to stock-breeding. And the following words may well be considered a proof for the ancient Hungarians' esteem for the meadows and the pastures: *pratum cum terra arabili, pratum et terram arabilem.*[363]

6. Society and political order

During the two centuries at issue, the economy and manners of the Hungarians had undergone a rather slow transformation. There is nothing to indicate that nomadic shepherding reached a tragic crisis as early as in the middle of the 10th century. The ancient system and practices had survived not only the conquest but also the establishment of the statehood, and had remained prevalent, although in an altered form, until the end of the 12th century. The dawn of the new system can be dated to the 13th century only.

While the Hungarians had remained an essentially nomadic people, they were not opposed to the adoption of agriculture. They were willing to incorporate agriculture in their ingrained nomadic manners. The relations between agriculture and nomadic shepherding had remained basically unchanged until the turn of the 12th—13th centuries. In other words, agriculture remained secondary to stock-breeding. It would be a gross exaggeration to state that the ancient Hungarians were averse to agriculture, or that they considered it debasing to work the land. Is there any reason to consider it a 'tragic' end to the nomadic manners that the Hungarians paid an increasing attention to their sowings after the 11th century? Let us cite here Erik Molnár's lecture on the 11th—12th century survival of the nomadic manners among the Hungarians. According to Molnár, 'the Tihany deed of foundation...still reflects a situation where agriculture was only secondary to stock-breeding'. Under the reign of Saint László, 'the nomadic practices were still fully prevalent'. 'Among the true-born Hungarians, agriculture gained ground only in this period, and by the end of the [12th] century most of them had adopted it'. But it the areas between the rivers Danube and Tisza the Hungarians had remained a basically stock-breeding people from the Conquest Period till the late Middle Ages'.[364]

Consequently, we have no ground to speak about the grave crisis of the nomadic society in the middle of the 10th century. But there is no denying either that the new system of King István was preceded by a crisis. What exactly did this crisis entail and how did it pass off? The answers we'll try to find below.

The army's claim to the booty was accepted no only among the nomads but also among the settled peoples. For all the differences that might have existed between the free people according to authority and wealth, the free society was still

a homogeneous entity as it was identified with the army itself. While the princes and the nobility could lay claim on the most valuable parts of the booty, they were not entitled to take possession of the whole of it. This rule was equally accepted in Mongolia and among the Frankish people. The army's claim to the booty was sacrosanct. According to the Frankish chronicler Gregoire of Tours, even Chlodvig had to bow to this rule. After his victory at Soisson, his troops heaped up the booty, and when he laid claim to a jug in excess of his rightful share he had to ask for the consent of the whole community.[365] Let us cite here a few examples from the nomadic world as well. Describing the Huns of Attila, Priscos Rhetor said that 'the relatively wealthy captives are usually singled out by Attila and then by the Scythian nobility, as these captives can be sold for a higher price'.[366] At the same time, the Khazars obeyed the following practice: 'Whenever they obtain booty, they heap it up in their campsite. It is the right of the *isa* to sift through it first and select what he would like to own. Then the remaining part of the booty is up for the soldiers to divide.' According to Ibn Fadlan, each soldier was entitled to a share at the Volga Bulgarians.[367] In Mongolia, the booty was divided 'proportionately among the nobility and the commoners'. The Secret History of the Mongols' reveals that Genghis Khan once liberated two of his servants and entitled them to lay claim to the whole booty.[368] Consequently, there appears to be no ground to presume that the commoner Hungarians could lay no claim to the booty either during the conquest or in the era of raids.

This in turn leads us to conclude that while the commoners were driven to make incursions, they at leas could rest assured that the cream was not skimmed off by the bosses alone. Now why did they have to make those incursions? And who provided for them during the raids?[369] We cannot answer these questions by stating that these incursions were simple tribal undertakings. From among the Hungarian tribes, only those began campaigns who were living close to the southern and western borders of the country (i.e. the tribes of Gyula, Botond, Horka and Lél). The princely tribe of Taksony is known to have made only one incursion: it took place in Italy in the year 947. The fact that the border-area tribes took an active part in the campaigns can best be accounted for by their geographical proximity to the surrounding countries, and also by the political contacts between them and their neighbours.[370]

There can be no doubt than the nomads were driven to make the raids abroad by motives other than the lack of food. Certain nomadic peoples (like for example the Avars) had held their neighbours to ransom for quite a long while, and then they stopped these raids almost overnight and continued to live a peaceful life for centuries. They did not have to face starvation, because the nomads had their livestock to live on. Had they lost their stock for some reason or other, they could 'eat the salt' of one of their relatives or of the rich. In general, the booty was not considered a means of life, but instead it was used for making life more pleasant. The people who launched those incursions were not the downcasts. Instead, they were the ones who lived in pomp and circumstance. They were heroes, or the *'bátorok'* (courageous ones), as the Hungarians put it. The word *bátor* is a pre-conquest loan-word.[371] The Mongolian word *baγatur* (=*bátor*) denotes the warlike ideals of the nomads. The Secret History' refers to the father of Genghis Khan as the *baγatur*, i.e. the man who was able to rally the bests of his people.[372] This heroic approach was common among the Hungarians as early as during their stay in the southern Russian steppes, and it was easily maintained in the populous

households of the post-conquest period. Accounting for this was primarily the marked social stratification according to wealth and extraction. What the Moham-medan writers described as the Hungarians' intrepidity and liking for pomp[373] was in fact the major propelling force behind their subsequent raids. The extent of the raids made by the Hungarians all over Europe is comparable with that of the Vikings' campaigns only. While it might be possible to account for the minor raids on the neighbouring countries by the mere desire to obtain spoils, it is hardly pos-sible to apply this explanation to the Hungarians' major undertaking during the era of incursions.

Similarly, it is highly unlikely that the Hungarians felt themselves confied in their new homeland a mere fifty years after the conquest. The land the conquering Hungarians took by storm far exceeded their actual requirements. Just like the Avars did earlier, the conquering Hungarians also extended their rule over the whole of the Danube-Tisza basin, with the western borders established at Moravia and the river Enns.[374] Bónis believes that all the Slavs whom the conquering Hun-garians found in the area fell into servitude. But, in view of the political practices of the equestrian nomads, we have every ground to presume that only those Slavs were subdued who offered armed resistance. The masses of surrendered or sub-dued Slavs or other peoples could not present an effective obstacle to the expan-ding Hungarians. Relying on the demography of the Pechenegs and the increase in the number of castle governors, Lajos Glaser concluded that the conquering Hungarians were made up of some 30 clans. In the early 11th century this figure stood at 45, and thus we can reckon with a 50 per cent increase over a 100-year period.[375] Tracing back the emergence of the villages, Glaser found that the clans swarmed first across the deserted parts of their respective dwelling areas, and then they crossed the boundaries to reach the strip of land beyond the march-land. The counties of Abaúj and Heves were created this way. This 'crowding out' began in the second half of the 10th century,[376] and its extent was increasing in inverse ratio to the relaxation of the tribal and clannish bonds of society. István Szabó also considers the emergence of the new abodes both inside and outside the old dwelling sites the result of a 'natural' process.[377] But this expansion was checked by the consolidating royal power, which took early possession of the no man's land in the marches. From then on, all forms of expansion were made sub-ject to royal consent, and this in turn helped the king increase his authority.

And here we have reached the principal driving force behind development. The crisis which devolved upon the Hungarians was social and political at the same time. The era of raids increased the authority of certain tribes and power centres, but it also weakened others. The tribal system grew loose, and in fact it began to fall to pieces. Its elimination was started in a number of the existing po-wer centres simultaneously. The description in the Major Gellért Legend of Aj-tony's authority offers an example for this process. Ajtony, similarly to Gyula, was already a territorial authority, who practiced *dominium* over his valiants and nota-bilities.[378] The term *dominium*, and also his right to levy duty (regale right) on the salt shipments on the river Maros, suggest that Ajtony's land was a principality proper, which apparently enjoyed the support of its southern neighbour: *accepit autem potestatem a Grecis*. The question of who the Greek' people referred to in this sentence really were we would prefer to leave open here. The settlement of Marosvásár (subsequently Csanád) housed a princely household, headed by Bailiff Csanád.[379] The Major Gellért Legend referred to the officials of Ajtony as

nobility' *(nobiles),* and it called the militant guards by the term *milites,* which corresponded to the terminology used under István's reign. Although the Major Gellért Legend bears the obvious marks of a 14th century editing, the paragraphs on Ajtony can be considered the true copy of the lost 11th century original text. Indicative of this, among other things, are the references to the wild studs, and also the use of the term *milites* instead of the 14th century words *servientes* or *familiares.* The author of the paragraph on Ajtony was undeniably a contemporary of István, and thus we have to give credit to his words.

As is known, both Ajtony and Gyula fell from power at the outset of István's rule.[380] Their respective castles at Marosvár and Gyulafehérvár had already existed prior to their demise, and the same applies to the castle at Csongrád, whose name in the Slavic means 'Black Castle'. As opposed to the 'Fehérvár' (White Castle) of the people of Árpád, the Black Castle was the seat of the 'black Hungarians'.[381] As we know from the history of the steppe peoples, the colours had a symbolic significance for them. The white colour was a symbol of princely nobility, thence the names *roxolan* (white Alan) or *saragur* (white Ogur) of the ruling tribe or tribes, or the expression 'white bones' which in Kirghizian denoted the nobility. Similarly, the princely seat was called 'Fehérvár'.[382] Accordingly, when Gyula decided to call his new seat in Transylvania by the name 'Fehérvár', his most probable aim was to make his secession from the central power and the independence of his country manifest. It was not for nothing that the Byzantine court, which was the best-informed authority about the affairs of the Hungarians in the mid-10th century, identified the country of Gyula, its ally, with Turkia, i.e. with Hungary. In view of the opposition between Byzantium and the princely tribe of the Árpáds,[383] this indentification of Turkia with the territory enclosed by the rivers Temes, Maros and Kőrös amounted to a diplomatic act. The Byzantine diplomats, who attached much importance to subtle distinctions, used this statement to inform the world that for them 'official Hungary' was represented by the country of Gyula.[384] The 11th century Hungarian usage, which contrasted Transylvania to 'Hungary', was also a relic of this separation.[385]

The existence of this early-period (pre-1000) system of castles in the land of the 'black Hungarians' can be considered a proof that the bailiff system was rooted not exclusively in Pannonia, but also — perhaps simultaneously — in the territories beyond the control of the tribe of Árpád. The clarification of the problems related to the origins of the bailiff and county systems would obsiously fall beyond the scope of the present paper. Suffice it to state here that the Hungarians' knowledge of the castles and their organization dates back to their pre-conquest stay in the Black Sea region. The Hungarian word *vár* (castle') is in itself a pre-conquest borrowing from the Iranian language.[386] We know about two towns of the Khazars from the reports of our Mohammedan sources (A magy. honf. kútfői [Sources of the Hungarian Conquest] p. 154). In all probability, the Khazars erected their fortress called Sarkel ('Fehérvár') precisely because of their fear from the Hungarians.[387] According to Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, the Pechenegs erected a system of fortresses to defend their tribal order.[388] Their first-ranked fortress — not accidentally — was called 'White castle'. These random examples sufficiently prove that in the pre-conquest period the Hungarians lived in such neighbourhoods where the castle system was already introduced by the Iranians and the Byzantine.

Of course, we cannot exclude the possibility that in their new homeland the Hungarians began to erect their castles after foreign patterns. This question can only be settled by a thorough analysis of the Byzantine, Italian, German and Slav castle systems of the day. Since this issue is yet to be tackled by historiorgraphers in Hungary, let us note here only that the Slavic derivation appears to be rather questionable. The significance of a castle was markedly different in the nomadic and the Slavic societies. With the nomads, the castle was used as a power centre and the seat of the ruler, while the original purpose of the Slavic castles was to provide emergency shelter for the population.[389] From the very beginning, the Hungarian bailiffs were in charge of martial and political issues, and thus their castles differed markedly from the ancient earthworks of the Slavs. In short, the clarification of the 'Slavic theory' should be preceded by a thorough examination of when exactly did the Slavs begin to build their new, 'feudal-type' castles.

We do not hold with those who reject the identification of the county with a general administrative unit. The idea is not new: it was already a litigated issue in the time of Pauler, and József Holub built his theory on it.[390] They should not have done that, because the idea is simply unacceptable. Since we have already clarified our stance on this point elsewhere,[391] suffice it to note here that the general administrative role of the counties is clearly defined in both the records and the decrees of the day. The county was not just a framework that comprised the royal lands surrounding a castle, but in fact it was a comprehensive and all-embracing power unit. The borders of each county were determined in a way that they enclosed a specific number of settlements. The ties between the counties and the church were also fully settled. Each county could be identified with a deanery, and the episcopate exercised authority over several counties (but the latter had no territorial links with the counties!).[392] For example, when King István established the Veszprém bishopric, he defined the new episcopal area by listing the names of the civitatis (towns) that fell under its authority. The deed of foundation of the Pécs bishopric also specified the area of the new ecclesiastic unit.[393] There are Western examples as well to prove that the bishoprics regularly coincided with the administrative districts. The church required obedience from all the faithful, and at the same time it had to be aware where the tithe could be levied or which church the flock had to frequent. The church, in turn, relied on the state, as their interests and organization were intertwined. Consequently, we have every ground to state that the nationwide network of counties dates back to the age of István.

The fact that Gyula and Ajtony ruled an independent country suggests that the elimination of the tribal order and the emergence of the territorii had started prior to the establishment of the kingdom. This process presumably also applied to the western parts of the country, but there it was blocked by the early emergence of princely rule. Nevertheless, we can establish that this 'territorial development' occurred almost simultaneously in several parts of the Hungarian homeland. As a result, the decomposition of the tribal order antedated István's drive to eliminate it.

But this territorial reorganization should be see only as a concomitant sign of the changes. Simultaneously with the decomposition of the tribal order, the clan system also lost its strength. The decrees of Saint István furnish ample proof for this process. For example, they specify villages (i.e. settlements) and not clans as basic units. Also, these decrees highlight the right of disposal rather than the right of succession,[394] which is another proof for the decline of tne clan system.[395]

As a result of the slackening of the old order, the low-born Hungarians remained practically unprotected. The balance that had marked the free society was gone: the stronger rushed at the weaker, who often fell into servitude. The spreading of Christianity was yet another argument for resorting to violence. The author of the Major István Legend hinted at this anarchy when he reproached Géza with domineering over his people'.[396] King István, driven by a determination to break with these evil conditions, ruled that *'henceforward no bailiff or warrior should venture to force a free man into servitude'* (I. 22): *ut nemo comitum vel militum posthac liberam personam servituti subdere audeat.*[397] The word *henceforward* in itself marks the situation. The decree inflicts punishment on those only who deprive other persons from their freedom *henceforward*. The sins of the past go unpunished. Moreover, those who can bear evidence before the court of their free status are not entitled to claim damages against the offender, and the royal power also ceases from exercising the right of reprisal *ille, a quo in servitute tenebatur, nichil reddat).*

The paragraph cited above also reveals the identity of these domineering persons. They belonged to the rich and respected 'nobility' (*maiores natu et dignitate:* Decr. Steph. I. 21), whom the Latin language sources identify by the terms *maiores, comites, dives* or *principes,* and who were also referred to as *nobiles* after the age of King László. Their armed escorts and household people are referred to in the sources as *milites*. The decrees ranked these milites in the wealthy stratum of society (*miles vel alicuius vir ubertatis:* Decr. Steph. I. 15). The terms *comes* and *miles* were used in these decrees to separate the people according to their services. When it came to 'respect', there were 'majors and minors'; in terms of wealth, the distinction was between 'rich and poor'; and, of course, there were the 'freedmen and the servants'. The terms *vulgaris, plebeius, pauper, tenuis* applied to the subdued.[398] The *vulgares* (commoners) mentioned in the decrees were those freedmen who belonged to the 'minors' and the 'poor', and who formed part of the 'people' as against the officials and soldiers in the *comes-miles* stratum. Since the *vulgares* were free people, they were clearly marked off from the *servi*. The *liberi* were the simple and free smallholders, and also those freedmen who had settled in the land of some other people and lived among the servants of a landlord.[399] Accordingly, while not all the commoners could retain their independence, they remained to be considered *liberi* when they settled among some manorial people. In short, one should not think by any means that 'the majority of the Hungarians' were reduced to servitude during the years of the crisis. One such free smallholder was Padrag who, despite his Slavic extraction, could remain a freedman under King István in the village which was later named after him. His descendants also retained their freedman status and worked in a community of land with the people of the Veszprémvölgy nuns.[400] In the period around the year 1000, the society of the Hungarians was not made up exclusively of masters and servants.

Let us now take up the beginnings of serfdom in Hungary. Articles I. 21 and II. 5 in King István's decree incurred punishment on those who liberated the servants of other people without the latter's consent. These articles were meant to protect the property of the *third party*. However, article I. 18 empowered the landlord to liberate *his own* servants.[401] Nothing could be simpler: the king banned all forms of infringement on other people's rights, but supported those who voluntarily liberated their own slaves. This, in short, was the dawn of a new, seigniorial system. But the liberated servant was faced with the vital need to be able to look

after himself. However, this liberation drive was not connected with efforts to 'settle' these people. The chances to find access to land and building ground were similar for the *servi* and the *libertini*. In the 11th and 12th centuries, the building grounds of the *servi* and the *libertini* were situated side by side on the private estates. According to Albeus' register, this situation had remained prevalent in Pannonhalma until the Mongol invasion.[402] When goodwife Színes bequeathed her estate called Kutas with five mansiones and several animals to Pannonhalma in 1146, she also liberated some of her slaves. Instead of 'settling' them, she told them that they were free to take service with anyone they liked.[403] At the same time, she made mention of such free hospitis *(liberis hospitibus)* who wanted to settle in other people's lands as agrarians *(qui volunt terram inhabitare et colere)*. These latter people were able to retain their freedman status, and were even obliged to serve as soldiers in the king's army.[404]

Accordingly, there were *liberi, libertini* as well as *servi* subjected to the landowner. Some of our sources state that the *servi* lived in their own houses and worked their own land. According to the Decr. Lad (I. 40), the householder servi were title paying subjects: *servis, qui per se habent domos suas.*[405] They also owned livestock and money. The reports on the first Esztergom synod, which was held under the reign of Kálmán, carry references to such ecclesiastic servants who had their own oxen.[406] The money of an *Ancilla* is mentioned in both the Minor and the Major Gellért Legends.[407] Under article II. 6 of the Decr. Steph., the slave who committed larceny could buy off his ear and nose with five steers each.[408] But the right of redemption is discussed in the article in rather general terms only. The slave could either purchase the steer from his own money, or could receive it from his landlord. Now what did those servants do in such cases who worked in the household of their landlord and possessed no house or animal? The decree cared for them as well.

It would be an over-simplification of the matter to believe that once the *servus* obtained house and land, he became a serf by right as well. In fact, he remained a *servus*, both in Hungary and in the West. The names *servus* and *mancipium* clearly reflect the nature of his service. He remained subjected to his master, whose former role as slave-holder gradually died away. However, the process which turned a slave-holder into a landlord is an issue awaiting detailed clarification. This problem is far from simple. A domestic servant could become a serf, notwithstanding that he owned no property. Conversely, a slave was not turned into a serf once he became the owner of a house or a plot. The concept of serfdom presumably emerged at the time when the *servus* became a taxpayer similarly to the *liber*, when both had to pay tithe after the house they owned.[409]

The status of the *liber*, who worked as servant on other people's land, may provide important clues to the scholar investigating the emergence of serfdom and the related seigniorial rights. We agree with the current opinion that the roots of the homogeneous class of serfs should be sought in both the slaves and the freedmen. Indeed, we know of decrees and records which make mention of such freedmen who came under seigniorial authority. But it is not enough to simply establish this fact, since the status and the services of the freedmen varied widely according to their landlords. Some of them were practically reduced to slavery, while others lived and worked as *libere*.[410] According to King István's decrees, service also had a free, contractual form, which could be either knightly or agrarian.[411] The analysis of this stratification should be a priority task for research, since the emergence of the seigniorial rights was affected primarily by these rela-

tively free forms of service. The differences between these strata are very slight. The commoners who paid tax to the king for exemption from military service were judged differently from those who were armed escorts *(miles)* or were simple agricultural workers *(liber)*.

The term 'freedom' had widely different readings as early as under King István. And still, the "free" part of society remained separate from the "servants' class". The freedman who came under seigniorial authority retained his free status. In the 11th, and also the 12th century, the *servus* was marked off from the *liber,* irrespective of whether they were dependants or not. The complementary terms *servus* and *liber* turn up in almost all the Hungarian records compiled before the first half of the 13th century. All those attempts which aimed to turn a freedman into a slave were banned, but it also met with widespread opposition if a slave wanted to regain his freedom.[412] In the 12th century, the sale and purchase of slaves must have been a general practice. Indicative of this is King Kálmán's first law-book,[413] and also the reports of an Arab traveller, who spent three years in Hungary in the middle of the 12th century and bought an attractive slave girl here for 10 denars.[414] The freedman status meant not only legal distinctions but also social and economic advantages. Listed first among the manorial people were the freedmen, who were exempted from certain duties[415] but were often appointed to 'managerial' and military posts. Given this open contrast between the *servus* and the *liber,* there was no way for a homogeneous class of serfs to emerge. And, consequently, the nature of seigniorial authority was different towards the contractual freedmen, the hereditary freedmen, the libertini and the slaves. In other words, the seigniorial 'class' was likewise far from homogeneous.

The homogeneity of the 'free society' is clearly suggested by the article which established that those freedmen who committed first degree murder were liable to a uniform fine of 50 *pensa auri* (Decr. Steph. I. 14). In this case we have no ground to suspect that the text was corrupted, since the practice of translating penalty into fine (which later became known as the 'homagium') was already accepted under István and had remained in use throughout the Middle Ages. 'If someone draws his sword and injures another person whose wound later heals up, the offender must pay the fine for homicide' (Decr. Steph. II. 14). The offender who did not inflict a wound was charged half the sum (Decr. Steph. II. 15). According to article II. 4 of the Decr. Steph., this *homicidii compositio* was uniformly set at 50 *pensa auri* (i.e. 50 steers) for all the freedmen. The law declared that 'if a *servus* kills a freedman *(liber),* it depends on his landlord whether the culprit is fined 110 steers or he is handed over (to the family of the victim)'. As we have seen, only 50 steers were to be paid as homagium, while another 50 went to the king and the ramaining 10 to the arbitrators. If the judge had an innocent freedman hanged, he was charged 110 pensa and his properties were confiscated (Decr. Lad. II. 6). Homagium was also charged for baring a sword (Decr. Lad. II. 8) or raiding a house (Decr. Lad. II. 11).

The new feudal order was clearly rooted in the equestrian nomadic period. In this respect we can draw a comparison between the developments in Hungary and the emergence of nomadic feudalism in Mongolia. While the notions of 'people' and 'army' remained identical, society was split into the strata of the wealthy nobility and the commoners, also known as 'blacks' *(qaraču)*. In between them there were the armed escorts. This stratification was also manifest in the vocabulary: *ur ~ uruq, nyőgér ~ nökör* ('companion'), or *in ~ inaq,* which derived from the ancient word *enő.*[416] During the crisis period, these forces broke up the ancient

tribal and clannish bonds in Hungary and became the foundations for a new order. It is an established fact that the rich and the noble were the leaders of the freed-men as early as in the pre-conquest period. The armed escorts, who were likewise the forerunners of feudal order, had become transformed into a *serviens* institu-tion. The 'great ones' relied on these escorts in their campaigns at home and abroad and, as the decrees of István clearly prove,[417] also in their acts of tyranny. We would not say that this practice was peculiar to the Hungarians only: it existed among the German and Slavic peoples, and also in other countries. But we have to stress that this body of escorts included people from two different social strata. While some of these warriors were subjected to their masters' right of property and retained their servant status, there were freedmen and members of the nobili-ty among the escorts who joined this body on a contractual basis. Suffice it to cite here only one example for each case. At the dwelling place of Attila, Priscos Rhe-tor met with a rich merchant of Viminakion who had been taken prisoner by the Huns. This merchant told Priscos that, being a noble captive, he was subordinated to one of Attila's subalterns named Onegesios. In the campaigns waged against the Romans and the Atkazirs he obtained spoils enough to buy back his freedom. He married a Barbarian woman by whom he had children as well. Finally, he re-mained in the escort of Onegesios and was even entitled to eat his master's mut-ton.[418] In the Annales Mettenses, which covered the period until the year 908, we find the following words about the Hungarians: *Liberos ac servos suos equi-tare ac sagittare magna industria docent*.[419] This type of escort the Danube Bul-garians referred to in their inscriptions as 'fed man'.[420] Not accidentally, we find the Latin version of the same expression in one of King István's decrees: the 'guest' *(hospes)* must not part from his 'feeder' *(nutritor)* unless the latter ceases to treat him decently, as specified in their contract (I. 24). Since the decree carried this article between two other articles on the *militis*, we have every ground to pre-sume that the 'guests' at issue were hired primarily as *militis*. The fact that the masters *(seniores)* could lure the warriors away from each other suggests that the hiring was done on a free contractual basis (Decr. Steph. I. 23). Article I. 25 of the Decr. Steph. provides that the *miles vel servus* who fled to another master must be tracked down. Both types of nomadic warriors had remained known in medie-val society as well. The castle-serfs and the 'knights' and 'warriors' of the private estates were all seigniorial subjects and were sold and purchased similarly to the seigniorial freedmen and slaves. The members of the other group, the so-called 'servients' and 'familiars', were free to enter into contracts or change their masters. Both types are mentioned in article 69 of the records on the first synod held under Kálmán. This article banned the school education of those servants who could leave their service only with their masters' consent.[421] Accordingly, alongside the contracted servants, there were also those who were seignorial subjects.

It would be stretching things to suggest that the feudal order emerged in Hungary as a result of the measures taken by Prince Géza and King István. The new social hierarchy, which was so strikingly manifest in the fine system of the laws, had its roots in the nomadic society. Had the House of the Árpáds have an armed escort at its command, we could perhaps consider Géza and István the creators of feudal order in Hungary. But in fact each landlord maintained his own army and escort. Article I. 23 of King István's decrees stipulated that 'each master *(senior)* must have his own warrior *(miles)*'. Should this be taken to indicate that there had been no private armed escorts before? Not in the least. As we have seen

above, the rich and the noble had already owned armed escorts well before the monarchy was established. According to Ibn Rusta, the Khazar king obliged the rich to set up escorts proportionate to their wealth.[422] Emerging as victors from the fight waged by the nobility for power were the Árpáds, who also relied on their private warriors. The references in the sources to the role the foreign 'guests' played in these clashes clearly support this assumption. It was no part of the intentions of either Géza or István to eliminate the rich and dissolve their private armies. Quite the contrary: King István's above-named law explicitly recognized these powers as the foundations of a new order. While in the years of anarchy these powers played a basically destructive role, they became the buttresses of the new order once central power was consolidated. In István's new order, these private powers and armies were expected to support the central power. The king's success to achieve this goal hinged on his financial and military might, and also on his personal abilities. Ever since the reign of István, it has remained a cornerstone of central power to guarantee its own preponderance over the private powers.

Simultaneously with the fight waged for the new order, there was an internal struggle going on within the ruling princely clan. What did Prince Géza and his son want to achieve? Obviously, the right to establish the ruling dynasty. In this respect, Prince Géza reminds us of the Frankish King Chlodvig, who also sparked an internecine feud within his own family. Indicative of Géza's attempt to establish a dynasty is the fact that he named his son as his successor before his death, and he 'took the oath of all (his dependants on this)'.[423] Previously, there had been a hereditary succession to the throne among the Árpáds, and the collaterals' claim to power was also recognised. As we know, this practice was common among the Pechenegs.[424] But Géza reserved the right of succession to his family which, according to the story of Koppány, was a source of major irritation within his clan. This significant change was closely related to the adoption of Western Christianity and the establishment of the kingdom.

In the past decades, our historiographers have duly realized the significance of the foundation of the dynasty. However, we appear to have every ground to take exception to the reemergence of the theory that Edward, the exiled Anglo-Saxon king, contracted a marriage with Ágota, who allegedly was the daughter of István. It was shown, however, already in 1939 by József Herzog that the wife of King Edward was not the daughter of King István.[425] This gratuitous assumption most probably belongs to those guileless genealogical legends which have their roots in King István's fame and popularity, but which have nothing to do with historical reality. Another such legend is the assumed family relations between King István and Saint Ivan of Bohemia.[426]

Hungarian historiography is generally inclined to try and explain the fate of the Hungarians without paying due regard to the universal context and the European background. This bears the mark of the long-standing approach referred to in Hungary by the Latin saying 'extra Hungariam non est vita'. However, as we have seen, the comparative approach was one of the keys to understanding the life of the nomads. Similarly, the emergence of the feudal order must be studied by applying complex methods, especially if the issue to be clarified is the feudal country's international ties. The Hungarians were not forsaken in their fight for the new order. Indeed, they could rely on outside forces. Both the princely power and the adherents of particularism were seeking backing abroad. The 'issue' of the Hungarians became a general European concern. After the Carolingian period, Byzantium and the Frankish—German Empire were striving to set their cap at the

neighbouring 'Barbarian' countries. Around the years 950—1000, the fight bet-
ween East and West for the ownership of Northern and Eastern Europe entered a
new stage, as the peoples of the borderlands between the Kiev Russians to the
Danes ultimately adopted Christianity and joined the medieval world. The estab-
lishment of the Hungarian kingdom formed part of this process. In the fields of po-
litics, religious conversion and culture, the West and Byzantium were vying for in-
fluence in Hungary. Besides the two leading empires, this 'duel' involved almost
all the neighbours of this country. Among them, Bavaria and Venice exerted the
strongest influence.

The need for a comprehensive, universal approach is especially marked in
those cases where the foreign policy ties of the princely power and the followers
of particularism are to be clarified. The reader's hopes to obtain reliable informa-
tion on the policy of the princely house towards Byzantium, Bavaria—Germany
and Venice are bound to remain presumptuous. Bavaria did not keep the Hunga-
rian princely policy on leading strings. In fact, in the period after Quedlinburg,
Hungary was striving to maintain good relations with the Bavarian Empire. For
this, the country obtained the 'favour and support' of the emperor. Although in a
rather loose form, Bohemia and Poland became the tributary states of the German
Empire. Having emerged as loser from the Augsburg battle, Hungary never surren-
dered. In its capacity as an independent country, Hungary could lay claim to a
crown, while its two neighbours had to content themselves with the right to estab-
lish princedoms only. The emperor's 'favour and support' — to quote the contem-
porary Bishop Thietmar — towards the Hungarians' aspiration for a kingdom
amounted to the recognition of this country's sovereignty. Prior to receiving the
crown, both Géza and István worked as independent princes on the propagation
of Christianity in the country and on organizing the church.[427]

According to a number of historians, Prince Géza turned to the German em-
peror just because he feared the emperor's incidental attack the most. Perhaps it
was the other way round: we believe that in 973 Géza asked for the support of Em-
peror Otto I because by that time Byzantium had already destroyed the Bulgarian
Empire and in 972 it seized the Danube provinces of the Bulgarians as well.[428]
One of the daughters of Prince Géza was married to Gabriel Radomir, the son of
the Bulgarian Czar Samuel until his expulsion around the year 983.[429] According-
ly, the threat of an eventual Greek attack was presumably even more imminent
than that of a German onslaught. In our study on the Byzantine roots of Hungarian
Christianity[430] we have compiled an outline of the Western policy of the princely
house. Since both Gyula and Ajtony were seeking the support of Byzantium, and
they also favoured the spread of Greek Christianity, the princely power, which was
striving after the elimination of particularism, had no choice but to join forces with
the West. King István's choice was rooted in political considerations. In the same
study we have also established that around the year 948, i.e. prior to the emer-
gence of princely power, the whole of the Hungarian nation determined on siding
with Byzantium and adopting Greek Christianity. In those years, the leading Hun-
garian princes travelled to Constantinople to receive baptism. Subsequently, they
became the 'friends' of the emperor. First to do this was Termacsu, the great-
grandson of Árpád, obviously on the authority of the prince. He was followed by
Bulcsu *karcha,* the 'third prince of Turkia', and Gyula, who held the second highest
post after the prince. In the study we also concluded that Hungarian Christianity
had its roots in the Greek religion, and that the practices and rites of the two

religions had remained similar until the modern age. This fact clearly points to a long-standing relation between Byzantium and the Hungarians.[431] Accordingly, the Hungarians joined Byzantium first, and they switched over to the Western camp only as a result of the 'disloyalty' of their princely house. Now given this marked presence of 'Byzantinism' among the Hungarians, we have every ground to believe that the German influence was not as significant as the (primarily German) historiographers had claimed so far.

King István's Decrees and the 'Exhortations'

There are two other questions to be tackled here briefly: the first is the law-book of King István, and the second is the 'Exhortations'.

The hermeneutical analysis of István's decrees obviously falls beyond the scope of the present paper. And yet we wish to state here that there is no reason to question the authenticity of articles I. 1—5 and II. 17 in it.[432] It has long been considered established facts that articles I. 1—2 of the Decr. Steph. were copied word-for-word from the records of the Mainz synod of 847, and also that articles I. 3—5 were pseudo-Isidoric borrowings, similarly verbatim.[433] While the practice of borrowing texts this way was commonly accepted in the age of King István, in later periods it would have been highly exceptional. The adoption of the two canons from the Mainz synod can easily be accounted for by István's good relations with the German Empire. According to Bónis, article II. 17 of the Decr. Steph. should be considered an interpolation based on articles 2 and 3 of the records on the second synod held under King Kálmán.[434] Here we have to cite Schiller, who derived article II. 17 from article 5 of the Mainz synod of 847 (ibid. p. 396). There is nothing unusual in the agreement between the text of Kálmán and the decrees of King István, as the first law-book of Kálmán carried explicit references to the decrees of Hungary's first king.[435]

Since the 'Exhortations' had not been treated by Bónis in his earlier works, the theory he put forward in his mongraph on István may well be considere a novelty (pp. 134—139). In his opinion the 'Exhortations' most probably date from the era of King András, i.e. from the years between King István's death and his canonization. Bónis ascribes the 'Exhortations' to 'Bishop Miklós, the master of rhymed prose'. In fact, this theory is but the brushed-up veresion of Kálmán Guoth's view. The points which Bónis chose to borrow from Guoth had already been subjected to ample criticism by József Deér[436] and József Balogh.[437] Guoth's scruples concerning the 'Exhortations' were rejected as groundless most recently by János Horváth (ibid. p. 116). Bónis' clinching argument runs as follows: ''In the decrees of István, the term *principes* was never used to denote 'nobility'. The first known occurrence of this word was in the Garamszentbenedek deed of foundation of 1075...'' (p. 138). True enough, the word *principes* is missing from István's decrees. But this was out of sheer contingency, since the term was frequently used in the foreign literature and dating from the years before and after King István's reign.[438] As a conclusive proof, we could as well cite the word *senioribus* from the 'Exhortations' (c. VII). While it was frequently used in István's decrees (articles I. 21, 23, 28; II. 3, 4, 16, 17), the law-books of László replaced it with the term *dominus* (articles I. 18, 24, 225; II. 11, 12, 16, etc.), a word which had already been used in István's decrees as well (articles I. 8, 20, 35). This fact can in itself be considered a positive proof for dating the 'Exhortations' to the age of King István.

We have reached the end of our exposition. Although we could not fully exhaust our subject, we have tried to present a brief but comprehensive outline of the history of the Hungarians until the late 12th century.

Notes

1 *Tibor Gerevich's* general work: Magyarország románkori emlékei (Roman Relics in Hungary). Budapest 1938, and also the following works by *Dezső Dercsényi:* A székesfehérvári királyi bazilika (The Royal Basilica in Székesfehérvár). Budapest 1941; *Idem:* XI. századi királyi kőfaragóműhely Budán (11th Century Royal Stone-Cutting Workshop in Buda), in: Budapest Régiségei 13 (1943) 257—293)

2 The significance of the 'Hungarian way' was already highlighted by *Glaser* in his work Der Levantenhandel über Ungarn im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert. Ung. Jahrbücher 13. 363.

3 *Gy. Bónis:* István király (King István). Budapest 1956. Cf. *Ueberweg—Geyer:* Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie II. 1928 187.

4 Cf. *A. Clerval:* Les écoles de Chartres. Paris 1895 63, 109.

5 On the role of the French: A. *Balogh:* A tihanyi alapítólevél (The Tihany Deed of Foundation). in: Magyar Nyelv 53 (1957) 35—42.

6 Ex miraculis s. Gerardi auctore Widrico ed. Mon.Germ.SS. IV. 509. Cf. *A. Balogh:* Szent István egyházi kapcsolatai Csehországgal, Németországgal, Franciaországgal és Belgiummal (Saint István's Ecclesiastic Relations with Bohemia, Germany, France and Belgium). in: Szent István Emlékkönyv I. Budapest 1938 462.

7 Fundatio ecclesiae s. Albani Namucensis ed. Mon.Germ.SS. XV. 964. *J. Sawicki:* Zur Textkritik und Entstehungsgeschichte der Gesetze König Stefans Ung. Jahrbücher 9 (1929) 423—425.

8 *Laurentius de Leodio:* Gesta episc. Virdunensium ed. Mon.Germ.SS. X. c. 2, 492.

9 Chronicon s. Huberti Andaginensis ed. Mon.Germ.SS. VIII. c. 19, 579 and c. 40, 590.

10 14th century chronicle structure c. 109. ed. *Szentpétery* Scriptores I. 375; *Knauz:* Monumenta eccl. Strig. I. 60. Cf. *Gy. Pauler:* A magyar nemzet története az Árpádházi királyok alatt (History of the Hungarian Nation During the Reign of the Árpáds) I. 1899 (2nd ed.) 117ff.

11 About Belgrade as an episcopal seat: *H. Gelzer* published a decree on the Bulgarian bishopics issued by Emperor Basileios II around the year 1020, and also a number of 11th—12th century episcopal registers: Byzantinische Zeitschrift 1 (1892) 257 and 2 (1893) 43.

12 *L. Fejérpataky:* Kálmán kir. okl. (King Kálmán's Diplomas) 42.

13 *F. Baumgarten:* A Saint-Gilles apátság összeköttetései Magyarországgal (Contacts between the Saint-Gilles Abbey and Hungary). in: Századok 40 (1906) 403—406.

14 *A. Gombos F.:* Szent István a középkori külföldi történetírásban (Saint István in the Works of the Medieval Foreign Historiographers). in: Szent István Emlékkönyv III. 285ff.; *F. Galla:* Szent István apostoli tevékenysége és e téren ismertebb munkatársai (Saint István's Apostolic Activities and His Followers) ibid. I. 322ff.; *S. Eckhardt:* I. Endre francia zarándokai (The French Pilgrims of Endre I), in: Magyar Nyelv 35 (1939).

15 Legenda s. Ladislai regis c 7; Chronici hung. compositio saec. XIV. c. 139. ed. *Szentpétery:* Scriptores I. 521. and II. 417.

16 On the Hungarian-Walloon contacts in the Middle Ages Századok 71 (1937) 399—416.

17 *F. Rousseau:* La Meuse et le pays mosan en Belgique. Namur 1930; *E. Ennen.:* Frühgeschichte der europäischen Stadt. Bonn 1953 212ff.

18 Ed. *Závodszky: 'latini, qui Hungarorum consuetudini legittime consentire noluereint... Pecuniam vero, quam hic acquisierunt, hic relinquant...'* 163.

19 *Bárczi:* ibid. 411.

20 *P. Radó:* Libri liturgici manu scripti Bibliothecarum Hungariae. Budapest 1947 No. 49 176—181.

21 The Szelepchényi Codex was treated from a liturgical point of view by *P. Radó:* Hazánk legrégibb liturgikus könyve: a Szelepchényi-kódex (The Szelepchényi Codex, the Oldest Liturgical Book in Hungary). in: Magyar Könyvszemle 63 (1939) 352—412. We have followed his concept, except for the fact that we replaced the general term 'northern Frankish' with the more exact definition 'Lotharingian'.

22 *I. Berkovits:* A magyar miniatúra-festészet kezdetei (The beginnings of Manuscript Illumination in Hungary). Magyarságtudomány 1 (1942) 494ff.

23 On the Pray Codex: *K. Kniewald:* A Pray-kódex Sanctorale-ja (The Sanctorale of the Pray Codex); and also A Pray-kódex tartalma, kora és jelentősége (The Contents, Age and Singificance of the Pray Codex). Magyar Könyvszemle 63 (1939).

24 On m̩s. Zagreb MR, 126 see *K. Kniewald:* A 'Hahóti-kódex' jelentősége a magyarországi liturgia szempontjából (The Significance of the 'Hahót Codex' in Hungary's Liturgical Life). Magyar Könyvszemle 62 (1938) 97—112.
25 On the so-called Pécs workshop cf. *D. Dercsényi's* work: A magyarországi művészet története (History of Hungarian Art) I. Budapest 1956 31ff.
26 *Radó:* Libri liturgici No. 50. 181—183.
27 *K. Kniewald:* Zagrebački liturgijski kodeksi XI—XV. stoljeca. Zagreb 1940 2.
28 *T. Gerevich:* ibid. 231.
29 Most recently: *Cs. Csapodi:* A legrégibb magyar könyvtár belső rendje (The Organization of the Oldest Library in Hungary). Budapest 1957 (offprint from Magyar Könyvszemle).
30 After a Greek pattern: *M. Komjáthy:* A tihanyi apátság alapítólevelének problémái (Problems Relating to the Deed of Foundation of Tihany Abbey). Levéltári Közl. 1955 27—47.
31 *I. Zoltvány:* A magyar bencés irodalom a tatárjárás előtt. A pannonhalmi Szent Benedek-rend története (Benedictine Literature in Hungary Before the Mongol Invasion. The History of the Benedictine Order of Pannonhalma) I. Budapest 1902 360.
32 *M. Belényesy:* A földművelés Magyarországon a XIV. században (Agriculture of Hungary in the 14th Century). Századok 90 (1956) 543.
33 On the history of coaches: *C.F. Fox:* Sleds, Carts and Waggons. Antiquity 5 (1931) 185—199; *R. H. Lane:* Waggons and their Ancestors, ibid. 9 (1935) 140—150; and especially *Ch. Singer—E. J. Holmyard—A. R. Hall* (eds): A History of Technology II. Oxford 1956 537—562. The relevant chapter, entitled 'Vehicles and Harness', was written by *E. M. Jope;* on the use of horses and oxen in agriculture: *R. Grand:* L'agriculture au Moyen Age. Paris 1950 444—470. Cf. also *J. H. Clapham—E. Power* (eds): The Cambridge Economic History I. Cambridge 1942 132ff.
34 *S. Bökönyi:* A szkíták kocsija (The Coach of the Scythians). Budapest 1956.
35 *N. Rostowzew:* Skythien und der Bosporus I. Berlin 1931 601.
36 *B. Spuler:* Die Goldene Horde. Leipzig 1943 265, 409ff.; *B. Vladimirtsov:* Le régime social des Mongols (transl.). Paris 1948 46—51; *E. Haenisch:* Die geheime Geschichte der Mongolen. Leipzig 1948 (2nd ed.), Chapters I, III; esp 8, 34, 110.
37 C. 12 and 16, ed. *Szentpétery* Scriptores II. 497, 504.
38 Ed. *Závodszky* 170.
39 *M. Belényesy:* ibid., Ethnographia 65 (1954) 402ff., with a list of the Western parallels.
40 Magyar Könyvszemle NS 1. (1892—93) 16. Cf. also 1237—1240: Pannonhalmi rdt. I. 772.
41 For the texts cf. *Szentpétery* Scriptores I. 178, 341. and II. 478, 502. On their inter-relationship, cf. our article: A Vazul-hagyomány középkori kútfőinkben (The Vazul Legend in Our Medieval Sources). Levéltári Közl. 18—19. (1940—41) 320ff.; *C. A. Macartney:* The Medieval Hungarian Historians. Cambridge 1953. According to this author, the Minor Legend dates from the turn of the 11th—12th centuries. However, we agree with *J. Horváth's* dating to the 13th century: Árpád-kori latin nyelvű irodalmunk stílusproblémái (Stylistic Problems in Our Árpád-Period Latin Language Literature). Budapest 1954 176—187, 310ff.
42 *'non quolibet iumento, sed modico utebatur vehiculo':* in the Major and Minor Gellért Legends ed. *Szentpétery* Scriptores II. 474, 497. c. 12 and c. 4. The unusual expression *'non quolibet iumento'* is also present in the grinding-song anecdote of the Major Gellért Legend, and thus its dating to an early period appears justified. Cf. *J. Horváth:* ibid. 174—175.
43 C. 9. ed. ibid. 493.
44 Minor István Legend c. 6 ed. ibid. 398.
45 G. 15. ed. *Szentpétery* Scriptores II. 502.
46 *J. Waldapfel:* Corde > kordé. Egyet. Phil. Közl. 58. (1934).
47 *Bárczi:* Etymological Dictionary 171.
48 *Kniezsa:* Szláv jövevényszavak (Slavic Loan-Words), I. 759—761.
49 *I. Ecsedi:* A nomád pásztor enyhelyek a Hortobágypusztán (Shelters for Nomadic Herdsmen in Hortobágypuszta). Néprajzi Ért. 14. 203—204.; *Chr. Wakarelski:* Die bulgarischen wandernden Hirtenhütten. Acta Ethnographica 5 70.
50 *A. J. Joki:* Die Lehnwörter des Sajansamojedischen. Helsinki 1952 356.
51 Cf. *A. Zeki Validi:* Ibn Fadlán's Reisebericht. Leipzig 1939 120—121.
52 For the Mongolic origins cf. *Spuler:* ibid. 409; *Kowalewski* 1717b; *Ramstedt* Wb. 390a.
53 *Vladimirtsov:* Le régime social des Mongols. Paris 1948 41, 46—51.
54 *Bárczi:* Etymological Dictionary 302 and *Kniezsa:* Szláv jöv. (Slavic Loan-Words), I. 765. While accepting the possibility of Slavic derivation, both authors admit that the Hungarian word has no equivalent in the Slavic.
55 Major Gellért Legend ed. *Szentpétery* Scriptores II. 498.
56 Ibid. 60
57 Legenda maior c. 12., Legenda minor c. 5. ed. *Szentpétery* Scriptores II. 497, 475.

58 R. Grand: L'agriculture au Moyen Âge. Paris 1950 619ff. In Parma and Vervins, licences were issued for hand- or animal-driven mills as late as in the middle of the 13th century. Hand-driven mills are depicted in 14th and 15th century Polish miniatures, published by L. Niederle: Manuel de l'antiquité slave II. Paris 1926 197. Stones of late 12th century hand-driven mills were also brought to light at the Tiszalök excavations. Méri: Beszámoló a Tiszalök-rázompusztai és a Túrkeve-mórici ásatások eredményeiről (Report on the Excavations at Tiszalök-Rázompuszta and Túrkeve-Móric). ArchÉrt 79 (1952) 62.

59 Lex Salica 24, 1—2—3; 33, 3.

60 Historia Francorum III. 19.; Liber vitae patrum XVIII. 2 ed. MG Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum I. 129. and 734—735.

61 For a brief summary of the data cf. Bloch: Avénement et conquêtes du moulin à eau. Annales d'Histoire Economique et sociale 7 (1935) 538ff.; R. Grand: ibid. 620ff. For the use of the mills for other industrial purposes cf. B. Gille: Le machinisme au Moyen Âge. Archives Internationales des Sciences 6 (1953) 282.

62 The first authentic reference to water-mills (around 1157—58): L. Fejérpataky: III. Béla kir. okl. (King Béla III's Diplomas). No. 2. 28; 1171: Fejér Codex IX, 7. 632; 1181: L. Fejérpataky: III. Béla kir. okl. No. 4 29, etc. The datum in the Pécsvárad deed of foundation of 1015 (J. Karácsonyi: Szent István kir. okl. [King Saint István's Diplomas]. Budapest 1891, 83) was interpolated, and the Tihany deed of foundation of 1093 was likewise faked (Pannonhalmi rdt. X. 498). The driving method of the 'mills' mentioned in the other records is impossible to establish. In the early 13th century, fulling-mills were already used along the country's westerns borders (1206—18: Sopron vm. okl. I. 6).

63 J. Horváth: ibid. 174ff. and also the correct description in the Legenda minor ibid. 181ff. We could not make much use of J. Balogh's work: Szent Gellért és a 'symphonia ungarorum' (Saint Gellért and the 'Symphonia Ungarorum'). Budapest 1926.

64 For the texts cf. Szentpétery Scriptores II. 497—498.

65 Bárczi: Etymological Dictionary 175. Cf. also Gy. Németh: A zárt e bolgár—török jövevény-szavainkban (The Close e Sound in Our Bulgarian—Turkish Loan-Words). Magyar Nyelv 38 (1942) 7.: kölyü < *Bulg. kiliγ.

66 A. Gabain: Alttürkische Grammatik. Leipzig 1950 56, 300. Cf. Gombocz: Die bulg. —türk. Lehn-wörter in der ungarischen Sprache. Helsinki 1912 112; L. Ligeti: Régibb török jövevényszavaink magyarázatához (On the Explanation of Our Ancient Turkish Loan-Words). Magyar Nyelv 29 (1933) 279; Bárczi: Etymological Dictionary 229. Cf. J. Juhász: ibid. 44 (1948) 137. and D. Pais ibid. 48 (1952) 172

67 C. 5 ed. Szentpétery Scriptores II. 475.

68 L. Niederle: ibid. II. 67—69. The new edition carries the full text in Czech.

69 Kniezsa: Szláv jöv. (Slavic Loan-Words), 507.

70 Herodotos IV, 110—117.

71 Chronicon VIII. 4 ed. MG Scriptores rer. Germ. Nova Series IX. Berlin 1935 498—499.

72 A. Horger: A magyar szavak története (History of the Hungarian Words). Budapest 1924 99—100; Bárczi: Etymological Dictionary 159; Magyar Nyelv 39 (1943) 317.

73 Bárczi: Etymological Dictionary 277, although Z. Gombocz speaks about the difficulties in estab-lishing concord: Die bulgarish—türkischen Lehnwörter in der ung. Sprache Mémoires de la So-ciété Finno-Ougrienne 30. Helsinki 1912 118—19.

74 Cf. Bárczi: Etymological Dictionary 179, 265.

75 J. Balogh: A portyázó magyarok kucsmája és a német püspökök süvege (The Fur-Cap of the Marauding Hungarians and the Mitre of the German Bishops). Ethnographia 38 (1927) 42.

76 Bárczi: Etymological Dictionary 148 derives it from the Ottoman—Turkish map.

77 For all this cf. Géza Fehér: Tanulmányok a népvándorláskori steppei népek viseletéről (Studies on the Garments of the Conquest Period Steppe Peoples) I. ArchÉrt 83 (1956) Cf. A. Zeki Validi: Ibn Fadlán's Reisebericht 60, 63, 176, 178–79.

78 Cf. Bónis 66.

79 Bárczi: Etymological Dictionary 18.

80 Bárczi: Etymological Dictionary 145.

81 L. Ligeti: Régibb török jövevényszavaink magyarázatához (On the Explanation of Our Ancient Tur-kish Loan-Words). Magyar Nyelv 31 (1935); Bárczi: Etymological Dictionary 52.

82 Etymological Dictionary 297.

83 It derives from the old Turkish verb qap- bedecken, fangen'. A. Gabain: Alttürk. Gramm. 326–327. Cf. Z. Gombocz: ibid. 105; Kniezsa: Szláv jöv. (Slavic Loan-Words) I. 872.

84 Bárczi: Szókincs (Vocabulary) 51.

85   *L. Ligeti:* Régibb török jövevényszavaink magyarázatához (On the Explanation of Our Ancient Turkish Loan-Words) 282; *Gy. Németh:* A zárt e bolgár–török jövevényszavainkban (The Close e Sound in Our Bulgarian–Turkish Loan-Words). Magyar Nyelv 38 (1942) 7, also refers to a Bulgarian **kidmän; A. Gabain:* Alttürk. Gramm. 313. It derives from the Turkish verb verb *käd-, ked-* 'to clad, to put on'.

86   Cf. *L. Ligeti:* Régibb török jövevényszavaink magyarázatához (On the Explanation of Our Ancient Turkish Loan-Words). Magyar Nyelv 31 (1936) 284.

87   *Kunos:* Šejχ 173; *Kniezsa:* Szláv. jöv. (Slavic Loan-Words) I. 757.

88   Cf. *Y. Wichmann:* Die tschuwassischen Lehnwörter in den permischen Sprachen. Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne 21 Helsingfors 1903 95–96.

89   The word *szokmány* is missing from *Zoltán Gombocz's* list of Chuwash borrowinsg. *Kniezsa:* Szláv jöv. (Slavic Loan-Words) I. 757: the author says that 'most probably the word derives from the Romanian'. I consider this derivation unacceptable.

90   Presumably it derives from the verb *soq-* 'weben'. Cf. *Pröhle:* ibid. Keleti Szemle (1909) 132; *G. Bálint:* Kazáni–tatár szótár (Kazani–Tatar Dictionary) 142. *suk-* 'to beat', *kinder suk-* 'to weave'; *A. Gabain:* Alttürk. Gramm. 334, *soq-·* 'stampfen, zerstossen'.

91   *Kniezsa:* Szláv jöv. (Slavic Loan-Words) I. 945–946.

92   Cf. *Kniezsa:* ibid.

93   For the Hungarian translation of Gardízi's text cf. *Czeglédy* in: *L. Ligeti:* A magyarság őstörténete [The Prehistory of the Hungarians] 107: 'they are dressed in turban, shirt and coat'). In his explanation of Hudud al-Alam's work, *Minorsky* uses this translation: 'their clothes resemble those of the Arabs and consist of a turban, a shirt and a coat *(jubba)'* (321).

94   *Gy. Németh:* Keleti eredetű magyar ruhanevek (Names of Garments of Eastern Origin). NyelvtudKözl 50 (1936) 327–328; *Kniezsa:* Szláv jöv. (Slavic Loan-Words) I. 945; According to *Dezső Paizs,* the borrowing took place in a very early period, and thus the initial sound *ž* was adopted as *š* (Magyar Nyelv 37 [1941] 288).

95   Quoted in *J. Szendrei:* A magyar viselet történeti fejlödése (The Historical Development of the Hungarian Garments). Budapest 1905 17.

96   *G. Wiet:* Ibn Rusteh. Le Caire 1955 159.

97   *Bárczi:* Szókincs (Vocabulary) 52.

98   A magyar honfoglalás kútfői (Sources on the Hungarian Conquest) 162.

99   A magyar honfoglalás kútfői (Sources on the Hungarian Conquest) 235.

100 Cf. *R. v. Erckert:* Die Sprachen des Kauk. Stammes, 81, 142, 177, 359. On the meaning of *kurtak* cf. *A. Zeki Validi:* Ibn Fadlán's Reisebericht, Articles 80, 89, 226. In *Steingass'* Persian Dictionary of 1021: *kurtak* 'a short tunic close to the body like a cuirass, with sleeves reaching to the elbows'. The *qabā* 950. 'a short tunic open in front; a close long gown worn by men; a shirt'.

101 *Ramstedt* Wb. 173b; *Kowalewski* 751a; Cf. *Kniezsa:* Szláv jöv. (Slavic Loan-Words) I. 656.

102 Remarkable examples are cited in *R. v. Erckert:* Der Kaukasus und seine Völker. Leipzig 1887 102.

103 *Czeglédy:* ibid. 108; *Nimorsky:* ibid. 321. The Tactics' of *Leo the Wise* was published in A magyar honfoglalás kútfői (Sources on the Hungarian Conquest) 33, Chapter XVIII, Paragraph 44.

104 *Gardízi:* ibid. According to Czeglédy, the text carries a reference to *gyöngy* 'bead', which is a pre-conquest borrowing. *Bárczi:* Etymological Dictionary 104.

105 *Eckert:* Die Sprachen 127; *L. Ligeti:* Régibb török jövevényszavaink magyarázatához (On the Explanation of Our Ancient Turkish Loan-Words). Magyar Nyelv 31 (1935); *Bárczi:* Etymological Dictionary 17.

106 *G. Wiet:* ibid. 161; *Czeglédy:* ibid. 108–109; *Minorsky:* ibid. 321.

107 *Gombocz:* Lehnwörter 75, considers it a pre-conquest borrowing from the Chuwash or some other language.

108 *B. Munkács:* Árja és kaukázusi elemek (Arian and Caucasian Elements) I. Budapest 1901 482; *Bárczi:* Etymological Dictionary 214, Vocabulary 52.

109 *Bárczi:* Etymological Dictionary 333, but Vocabulary 52 ranges it here.

110 A lábítós szövőszék az Árpád-kori Magyarországon (The Pedal Loom in the Árpád Period Hungary). Magyar Tudomány 1957 309–329.

111 *Kniezsa:* Szláv jöv. (Slavic Loan-Words) I. 311–312.

112 This is especially conspicuous in the Hungarian terminology for horse-breeding. Cf. *E. Moór:* A magyar lótenyésztési és lovas-terminológia szláv elemei szó-, nép- és művelődéstörténeti szempontból (The Slavic Elements in the Hungarian Terminology for Horse-Breeding and Equestrianism from Etymological and Culture Historical Viewpoints). Magyar Nyelv 50 (1954) 67–71.

113 For the data cf. *Gombocz:* Lehnwörter 92.

114 *W. Miller:* Die Sprache der Osseten. 1903 104.
115 *Eckert:* Die Sprachen des kaukasischen Stammes 96. It is *keten* in the Kumuk, Karachai, the Caucasian Avar and Andi, and also in certain Cherkes languages, while it is *četen, čatan* or *katan* in other Caucasian languages. Cf. *N. Pröhle:* Karatschajischen Wörterverzeichnis. Keleti Szemle 10 (1909) 110; *W. Miller:* ibid. 105; *katan* in Ossetic; *H. Paasonen;* Chuwash Glossary. Budapest 1908 62; *kaDam* in Chuwash; *I. Kunos:* Šejx Sulejman Efendi's catagaj-osmanisches Wörterbuch. Budapest 1902 128; *ketun* 'Lein, Rock von Baumwollenzeug'; also *kitän* in the Kazani, *kidän* in the Baraba, *kädän* in the Teleut, Altai, Lebed and Sor, and *kätän* in the Crimean and Cumanian languages, cf. *Radloff.* It also existed in the Votyak: *Y. Wichmann:* Die tschuw. Lehnwörter. Helsingfors 1903 70; and in the Cheremissian: *M. Räsänen:* Die tatarischen Lehnwörter im Tscheremissischen. Helsinki 1923 85.
116 *Kniezsa:* Szláv jöv. (Slavic Loan-Words) I. 870, 872. According to *Bárczi*'s Etymological Dictionary (178), the word *kötény* derives from the Finno-Ugric verb *köt.*
117 *Gombocz:* Lehnwörter, 57. Pre-conquest Turkish loan-word.
118 *Gombocz:* Lehnwörter, 129.; *Kniezsa:* Szláv jöv. (Slavic Loan-Words) I. 961—62.
119 *Eckert:* Die Sprachen, 96.
120 *Bónis:* ibid. 66.
121 *Amm. Marcellinus* XXXI, 2, 6.
122 *Kniezsa:* Szláv jöv. (Slavic Loan-Words) I. 186, 352—353.
123 Cf. e.g. *H. H. Hansen:* Historie du costume. Paris 1956 Figs. 144, 145. depicting the trousers worn around the year 1000.
124 *Kniezsa:* Szláv jöv. (Slavic Loan-Words) 213—214.; *Bárczi:* Etymological Dictionary, 114.
125 *Gy. Forster:* III. Béla magyar király emlékezete (In Memoriam Hungary's King Béla III). Budapest 1900 105X14.
126 Néprajzi Ért. 32 (1940).
127 Offprint from: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Társadalmi-Történeti Osztályának Közleményei 1—4 (1954).
128 Népi építkezés emlékei a Tolna megyei Sárközben (Relics of Folk Architecture in Sárköz, Tolna County). NéprÉrt 27 (1935) 1—10.
129 ArchÉrt 79 (1952) 49—67.
130 Gy. Novák: Árpád-kori lakóház Répcevisen (Árpádian Age Dwelling House at Répcevis). ArchÉrt 83 (1956) 51—52.
131 A magyar ház hátteréből (Facts on the Hungarian House). Offprint from: NyelvtudKözl 56 (1954) [1955].
132 Gesta Friderici I 32 ed. MG Scriptores rer. Germ. 1912.
133 *Czeglédy:* ibid. 106.
134 The new edition of the annals: Povesti vremennüh let. Moscow—Leningrad 1950, Part I. 217. German translation: *R. Trautman:* Die Nestorchronik. Leipzig 1931 14. In Hungarian: *A. Hodinka:* Az orosz évkönyvek magyar vonatkozásai (The Hungarian Aspects of the Russian Annals). Budapest 1916.
135 Tactics Chapter XVIII, article 52. The texts of Leo the Wise and Pseudo Maurikios were published by *R. Vári:* A magyar honfoglalás kútfői (Sources on the Hungarian Conquest) 6, 36. The Hungarian translation of the texts were collated by *Gy. Moravcsik:* Bölcs Leó taktikája mint magyar történeti forrás (The Tactics of Leo the Wise as a Source on Hungarian History), Századok 85 (1951). For its historical significance cf. as below.
136 *C. G. Feilberg:* La tente noire. Köbenhavn 1944 192ff.
137 On the regional distribution of the cone- and dome-shaped tents cf. *M. A. Czaplicka:* The Turks of Central Asia, Oxford 1918 103—104; *W. Jochelson:* Peoples of Asiatic Russia. Amer. Mus. of Nat. Hist. 1928 198.
138 *A. Zeki Validi:* Ibn Fadlán's Reisebericht (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes. 23.3). Leipzig 1939 119.
139 Ibid. 15, 28, 118.
140 Translated by *A. Jaubert:* Recueil de Voyages et de Mem. VI. Paris 1840 II. 335.
141 Elemér *Moór's* scruples here are groundless. Cf. Sátor. Magyar Nyelv 50 (1954) 468.
142 Gesta Friderici I. 32.
143 Decr. Steph. I 35 ed. *Závodszky,* 151—152.
144 *P. Hajdu:* A magyarság kialakulásának előzményei (Precedents to the Emergence of the Hungarians). Budapest 1953 29.
145 *Korompay:* ibid. 6; *Bárczi:* Etymological Dictionary, 72.
146 *Gombocz:* Lehnwörter, 108—109.
147 *Bárczi:* Szókincs (Vocabulary), 77.
148 *Korompay:* ibid. 14.

149 Cf. *Poppe:* ibid. 68.
150 *Gy. Németh:* A honfoglaló magyarok (The Conquering Hungarians) 237.
151 For the linguistic data cf. *Gombocz:* Lehnwörter, 115; *Kniezsa:* Szláv jöv. (Slavic Loan-Words). pp. 939—940; *Gy. Németh:* Kun László király nyőgerei (The Neugaros of King László the Cumanian). Magyar Nyelv 49 (1953) 313; *E. Moór:* Sátor (Tent). Magyar Nyelv 50 (1954) 468. The interpretation of the word *sátor* as 'merchant's booth' is rather forced.
152 For example *ajtófél* ('doorjamb'): *Bárczi:* Szókincs (Vocabulary), 12.; Etymological Dictionary, 4, 182, 76.
153 *Korompay:* ibid. 21—22.
154 *Gy. Németh:* A honfoglaló magyarok (The Conquering Hungarians) 241ff.
155 *Kniezsa:* Szláv jöv. (Slavic Loan-Words) I. 813—14.
156 *Korompay:* ibid. 8—11.
157 *Kniezsa:* Szláv jöv. (Slavic Loan-Words), I. *borona* ('harrow'), *gerenda* ('beam'), *oszlop* ('pole'), *szelemen* ('purlin'), *rag* ('rafter'), *ablak* ('window'), *pad* ('attic'), etc.
158 *Gy. László:* A honfoglaló magyar nép (The Conquering Hungarian People) 303—304.
159 *Kniezsa:* Szláv jöv. (Slavic Loan-Words) I. 246.
160 *Bárczi:* Etymological Dictionary, 66.
161 *Kniezsa:* Szláv jöv. (Slavic Loan-Words) I. 425—426.
162 *Kniezsa:* Szláv jöv. (Slavic Loan-Words) I. 504—505.
163 *Kniezsa:* Szláv jöv. (Slavic Loan-Words) I. 963—964.
164 *Kniezsa:* Szláv jöv. (Slavic Loan-Words) I. 261—262, 418.
165 Cf. Ibn Rusta's expressive description of the Slavs: *G. Wiet:* Ibn Rusteh 162—163.
166 The data were summed up by *J. F. Simonenko:* Adatok a sütőkemence történetéhez Ukrajna területén (Data on the History of the Baking Oven in the Ukraine). Szovjet Néprajztudomány 1953, No. 4 40—44. For other Soviet works cf. *Tálasi's* contribution cited above, 394—395.
167 *I. Méri:* ibid. 58—59.
168 Szent István Emlékkönyv (Saint István Memorial Volume). Budapest 1938 II. 326.
169 For all this cf. *Kniezsa:* Szláv jöv. (Slavic Loan-Words) I. 433, 856; *Bárczi:* Etymological Dictionary, 239, 160, 163, 221.
170 For the researcher's views cf. the studies by *B. Gunda* (215) and *J. Deér* (142ff.) in: A magyarság története (The History of the Hungarians). and also *E. Molnár:* A magyar nép őstörténete (The Prehistory of the Hungarian People). 2nd ed. Budapest 1954 144ff.
171 This was rightly stressed by *P. Hajdu:* ibid. 29.
172 *J. J. M. de Groot:* Die Hunnen der vorschristlichen Zeit. Berlin—Leipzig 1921 I. 3, 148, 202.
173 ed. *C. Müller* Fragmenta IV. 79; Excerpta ed. *de Boor* I. 124—125.
174 Rhetor *Zachariah:* Egyháztörténet (Church History), ed. *K. Ahrens—G. Krüger* 1899, 253.
175 Cf. A magyarság őstörténete (The Prehistory of the Hungarians) 106—107.; *Wiet:* ibid. 160.; *V. Minorsky:* ibid. 320.
176 This was correctly observed by *I. Zichy:* A magyarság őstörténete és műveltsége a honfoglalásig (The Prehistory and Culture of the Hungarians Before the Conquest). Budapest 1923 49.
177 *Fr. v. Schwarz:* Turkestan. Freiburg 1900 88.
178 The most comprehensive description of nomadic life was compiled by *W. Radloff:* Aus Sibirien I. (2. ed.). Leipzig 1893 286, 417ff.
179 Cf. the descriptions by *Ibn Rusta* and *Gardízi* in: A magyar honfoglalás kútfői (Sources on the Hungarian Conquest) 163—64. Cf. *A. V. Kirjanov:* K voprosu o semledelii Volshkih Bolgar. Kratkie Soobščenia... (Moscow) 57 (1955) 3—16. Description of tools and plant products.
180 *L. Ligeti:* A magyarság őstörténete (The Prehistory of the Hungarians) 69 (translated by Ligeti).
181 *W. Radloff:* Aus Sibirien I. 463—466; *R. Karutz:* Unter Kirgisen und Turkmenen. 1911 42; *Fr. v. Schwarz:* ibid. 78—79.
182 *A. Kollautz:* Die Awaren. Saeculum 5 (1954) 160—162.
183 For the collected data cf.: A magyar honfoglalás kútfői (Sources on the Hungarian Conquest).
184 An interesting example is furnished by *A. Musil* in his work The Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins. New York 1928. The sheep-breeding nomads of the watery and grassy steppe sought defence with the bellicose camel-breeding Bedouin tribes. Subsequently, they left their sheep under the Bedouins' protection and took up agriculture.
185 L'évolution du Nomadisme en Algérie. Alger—Paris 1906.
186 Das Nomadentum im Nordwestlichen Afrika. Stuttgart 1937.
187 Cf. *R. Capot-Rey:* Le nomadische dans l'Afrique du Nord—Ouest d'après P. G. Merner. Annales de Géographie 48 (1939) 184—190.
188 Individual addition to Pseudo-Maurikios' text. For the Hungarian translation cf. *Gy. Moravcsik:* ibid. Századok 1951 334.
189 Cf. *Czeglédy:* ibid. 114.

190 106. *Wiet:* ibid. 'Ils vivent sous la tente et nomadisent...'
191 Ibid. 320.
192 Szent István Emlékkönyv (Saint István Memorial Volume) II. 325.
193 In: *Ligeti:* A magyarság őstörténete (The Prehistory of the Hungarians) 143.
194 A magyar honfoglalás kútfői (Sources on the Hungarian Conquest).
195 In translating the text into Hungarian I relied on the kind help of Károly Czeglédy. He considered Géza Kuun's translation ('the dowry was rolled up in a carpet') incorrect.
196 *W. Radloff:* Aus Sibirien I. 286 at the Altai Kalmuks, *G. Radde:* Berichte über Reisen in Süden und Ost-Sibirien 1855—59. St. Petersburg 1861 22 at the Buryats. However, the Mongols were not familiar with haymaking in the 13th century, and they were likewise not engaged in agriculture. Cf. *B. Vladimirtsov:* Le régime social des Mongols. Paris 1948 42—43.
197 *N. Poppe:* ibid. 65, 68. The Chuwash word for 'hay' derives from this *ot* or *ut* form. *Paasonen:* Chuwash Vocabulary 195 *uDâ.*
198 This expression was adopted by certain Caucasian languages. Cf. *Erckert:* Die Sprachen des Kaukasischen Stammes 83.
199 *Gombocz:* Lehnwörter, 99—100; *Wichmann:* Die tschuwassischen Lehnwörter in den permischen Sprachen. Helsingfors 1903 84; *M. Räsänen:* Die tschuwassischen Lehnwörter im Tscheremissischen. Helsinki 1920 167.
200 Cf. *Kniezsa:* Szláv jöv. (Slavic Loan-Words) I., the entries *széna* ('hay'), *murva* (in the sense of 'hayseed'), *kasza* ('scythe'), *villa* ('fork'), *gereblye* ('rake'), *pajta* ('barn'), *jászoly* ('crib'), etc.
201 Cf. *E. Moór:* Die Ausbildung der Betriebsformen der ungarischen Landwirtschaft im Lichte der slawischen Lehnwörter. Studia Slavica 2 (1956) 59ff.
202 E. g. the Ukrainian Russian *solóma.* Cf. *Kniezsa:* Szláv jöv. (Slavic Loan-Words) I. 486.
203 E. g. Karachai, Kazani Tatar, etc. *Pröhle:* Karatschajisches Wörterverzeichnis. Keleti Szemle 10 (1909) 129; *Bálint:* Kazani Dictionary 134; *Brockelmann:* Mitteltürk. Wortschatz, 170: *saman.*
204 *M. Räsänen:* ibid. 162; *G. J. Ramstedt:* Bergtscheremissische Sprachstudien. Helsingfors 1902 91; *Gombocz:* Lehnwörter, 174, but the Hungarian word *alom* is not featured in his list. According to *Bárczi* (Etymological Dictionary 7) its derivation is obscure.
205 This was laid down in his works 'Kelet-Dunántúl a honfoglalás és a vezérek korában' (Eastern Transdanubia in the Age of the Conquest and the Chiefs) and 'Fejér vármegye kialakulása' (The Emergence of Fejér County). Both works were published in: Fejér vármegye (Fejér County) in 1937. Glaser was the victim of fascism in Hungary.
206 The texts: A magyar honfoglalás kútfői (Sources on the Hungarian Conquest), 169, 171. *Wiet:* ibid. 160, Hungarian translation: *K. Czeglédy:* ibid. 108. We have to note that in *Czeglédy's* translation the text of Ibn Rusta was mistakenly printed in the column of Bakri. *V. Minorsky's* translation of Gardízi's text runs as follows: 'The country of the Majgheri is all trees and marshes and the soil is damp' (ibid. 320).
207 The translation according to K. *Czeglédy* (ibid. 108), except for the words printed in italics, for which cf. *Wiet* below: 'les récoltes sont abondantes.' Gardízi according to *Minorsky's* translation: 'The soil is damp. They always vanquish the Saqláb and constantly impose tribute on them and treat them as their slaves' (ibid. 320).
208 Most recently *J. Perényi* wrote that 'It is thus not improbable that these were the lands of the Slavs who lived under the rule of the neighbouring Hungarians. The Slavs had to pay the Hungarians tribute in kind.' (A magyarok és a keleti szlávok kapcsolatai a honfoglalás előtt. [Ties Between the Hungarians and the Slavs Before the Conquest] in: Magyar—orosz történelmi kapcsolatok [Hungarian—Russian Ties in History], ed. *E. Kovács.* Budapest 1956 28.)
209 The bee-farms and swine herds of the Slavs were described by both Ibn Rusta and Gardízi: A magyar honfoglalás kútfői (Sources on the Hungarian Conquest) 175. Homespuns as means of payment: *W. Endrei:* A lábítós szövőszék az Árpád-kori Magyarországon (The Pedal Loom in the Hungary of the Árpád Age), 317.
210 The issue is rather problematic. Cf. *Toivonen:* Über Alter und Entwicklung des Ackerbaus bei den finnisch-ugrischen Völkern. Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne 58 229—240; *Bárczi:* Vocabulary, 12.; *P. Hajdu:* ibid. 25ff.
211 *Bárczi:* Vocabulary, 77.
212 Cf. *István Kniezsa's* excellent observations on the issue of word borrowing: Nyelvészet és őstörténet (Linguistics and Prehistory) in: *L. Ligeti:* A magyarság őstörténete (The Prehistory of the Hungarians), 183.
213 Decr. I. 66, 75 ed. *Závodszky* 192, 193.
214 *Gy. Györffy:* A szávaszentdemeteri görög monostor XII. századi birtokösszeírása (The 12th Century Land Register of the Greek Monastery of Szávaszentbenedek). MTAOKII 1953, 340.
215 Gesta Friderici I 32 ed. *Simon* 1912; Mon. Germ. Scriptores rer. Germ.
216 *Kniezsa:* Slavic Loan-Words I. 402.

217 *Kniezsa:* Slavic Loan-Words I. 192—193.
218 *Kniezsa:* Slavic Loan-Words I. 142—143. Cf. *L. Niederle:* ibid. II. 189.
219 *Kniezsa:* Slavic Loan-Words I. 311.
220 *Niederle:* ibid. II. 188.
221 *M. Belényesy:* A földművelés fejlődésének alapvető kérdései a XIV. században (Basic Questions of the Development of Agriculture in the 14th Century). Ethnographia 65 (1954) 399ff.; *Eadem:* Talajmegmunkálás Szolnok-Doboka, stb. megyékben a XV. században (Working the Land in Szolnok-Doboka, etc. Counties in the 15th Century). ibid. 68 (1957) 599—608; *Niederle* published comparable irons: ibid. II. 190.
222 The problem will probably be clarified by new archaeological evidence. The burned plough of Judge Bere could have been of this type (Pannonhalmi rdt. VIII. 269) *ubi Martinus incendit aratrum Bere iudicis.* The datum dates from the 11th—12th centuries.
223 *Gabain:* ibid. 298; *Brockelmann:* ibid. 19; *Paasonen:* ibid. 2.
224 Aus Sibirien I. 465.
225 *M. Belényesy:* A földművelés Magyarországon a XIV. században (Agriculture in Hungary in the 14th Century). Századok 90 (1956) 529ff.
226 *Kniezsa:* Slavic Loan-Words I. 102.
227 *Wichmann:* Die tschuw. Lehnwörter, 37; *Räsänen:* Die tschuw. Lehnwörter, 110.
228 *Gabain:* ibid. 338; *Brockelmann:* ibid. 196; *Joki:* ibid. 314. a full survey of the data; *L. Ligeti:* Régibb török jövevényszavaink magyarázatához (On the Etymology of Our Ancient Turkish Loan-Words). Magyar Nyelv 29 (1933) 277—278.
229 Lehnwörter, 127—28. Cf. *Bárczi:* Dictionary of Etymology, 303.
230 *Gabain:* ibid. 338; *Brockelmann:* ibid. 196; *Gombocz:* Lehnwörter, 68; *Bárczi:* Dictionary of Etymology, 48.
231 *M. Belényesy:* A földművelés Magyarországon a XIV. században (Agriculture in Hungary in the 14th Century), 544—545. Cf. *E. Moór:* ibid. Studia Slavica 2 (1956) 39.
232 On the pre-conquest Turkish derivation of certain words, cf. *Gombocz:* Lehnwörter, 114—115, 49, 82—83 and 122—123.
233 *Kniezsa:* Slavic Loan-Words I. 125—126.
234 Aus Sibirien I. 465.
235 *Gy. Nagy:* Takarás és nyomtatás a kardoskúti (Békés m.) Kérdő-tanyán (Treading at the Kérdő farmstead in Kardoskút, Békés County). Ethnographia 65 (1954) 484—499.
236 *Bárczi:* Dictionary of Etymology, 293, 305.
237 *Kniezsa:* Slavic Loan-Words I. 257. Cf. *Belényesy's* article in Századok, 539.
238 *Bárczi:* Dictionary of Etymology, 175, 229.; *L. Ligeti:* Régibb török jövevényszavaink magyarázatához (On the Etymology of Our Ancient Turkish Loan-Words). Magyar Nyelv 29 (1933) 279.
239 *Bárczi:* Vocabulary, 54; *H. Sköld:* Die ossetischen Lehnwörter im Ungarischen. 1925 39. Such storage pits around medieval houses: *I. Méri:* ibid. ArchÉrt 79 (1952) 49—67.
240 *Gombocz:* Lehnwörter, 52.
241 *Gy. Győrffy:* A szávaszentdemeteri görög monostor (The Greek Monastery of Szávaszentdemeter) 93.
242 *Gombocz:* Lehnwörter, 223. From the Chuwash: *valak, kas. ulak,* etc, transition into the Cheremissian as well. Cf. *Räsänen:* Die tschuw. Lehnwörter, 122—123. Meaning: 'Rinne, Wasserröhre, Trog für Pferde'. *Bárczi:* Vocabulary, 76.
243 Cf. *Kniezsa:* Nyelvészet és őstörténet (Linguistics and Prehistory) 188; *Bárczi:* Vocabulary, 51; *Ligeti:* Régibb török jövevényszavaink (Our Ancient Turkish Loan-Words). Magyar Nyelv 29 (1933) 275—276.
244 *A. Pleidell:* A nyugatra irányuló magyar külkereskedelem a középkorban (Hungary's Trade with the West in the Middle Ages). Budapest 1925 11; *Th. Mayer:* Der auswärtige Handel des Herzogtums Österreich im Mittelater. Innsbruck 1909 20, 44, 95ff.
245 *D. Krannhals:* Die Rolle der Weichsel in der Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Ostens. Deutsches Archiv für Landes- u. Volksforschung 2 (1938) 352.
246 *L. Elekes:* Hunyadi. Budapest 1952 306, with reference to stock-breeding at the Hunyadi estates.
247 *Bárczi:* Etymological Dictionary, 318.
248 According to the data in *Kniezsa:* Slavic Loan-Words I. 885—886.
249 *Bárczi:* Etymological Dictionary, 143.
250 *Bárczi:* Vocabulary, 77.
251 Cf. *Kniezsa:* Slavic Loan-Words, the entries *széna, szalma, kasza, villa, kazal, kalangya,* etc. Cf. *Bárczi:* Vocabulary, 46.

252 *Kniezsa:* Slavic Loan-Words I. 563. The authentic part of the Bakonybél register: *auene ad pre-benda equorum* (Pannonhalmi rdt. VIII. p. 269.) Cf. also *Belényesi:* Földmüvelés Magyarországon a XIV. században (Agriculture in Hungary in the 14th Century), Századok 90 (1956) 548.

253 *O. A. Johnsen:* Norwegische Wirtschaftsgeschichte. Jena 1939 83.

254 *K. Lamprecht:* Deutsches Wirtschaftsleben im Mittelalter I. 1. Leipzig 1886 553.

255 *R. Grand:* L'agriculture au Moyen âge. Paris 1950 323.

256 For all this cf. *K. Lamprecht:* ibid. I. 1. 520ff; The Cambridge Economic History I. Cambridge 1942, 160ff; *Johnsen:* ibid. 88—90; *R. Grand:* ibid. 291ff; Crop rotation in the Rhein region around 1800: *W. Müller—Wille:* Die kulturgeographische Stellung des Rheinischen Schieferge-birges. Deutsches Archiv f. Landes- u. Volksforschung 6 (1942) 564.

257 De adm. imperio ed. *Moravcsik* c. 30, 141.

258 On this point cf. *Gy. Moravcsik:* Byzantinoturcica I. Budapest 1942 251, and also the 'Tactics' of Leo the Wise: Századok 85 (1951) 334ff.

259 Cf. *R. Vári's* translation in the work A magyar honfoglalás kútfői' (Sources on the Hungarian Conquest), which also includes the Greek text of Pseudo-Maurikios.

260 Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum, ed. *Szentpétery* II. c. 8, 489.

261 Ed. *Závodszky* 163.

262 Both the word and its denotation are pre-conquest Turkish borrowings. Cf. *Bárczi:* Vocabulary, 77.

263 The *stabula* was mentioned in the Bozók record of 1135. Hungarian National Archives D1. 5775.

264 Ed. *Szentpétery* Scriptores II. 494—495.; *equos, boves et oves, tapecia plurima, mulieres vero anulos aureos et monilia.*

265 Issued by *L. Fejérpataky* in: Magyar Kényvszemle NS 1 (1892/93) 18—20.

266 Ed. *C. de Boor:* Excerpta de legationibus. Berlin 1903, I. 139—140.

267 Ed. *Závodszky,* 208.; *Ut villa, in qua est ecclesia, ab ecclesia longius non recedat; quod si reces-serit, X pensas persolvat et redeat.*

268 Ed. *Závodszky,* 160.: *Si vero ville remote fuerint et ad ecclesiam suam parochianam villani ve-nire non potuerint, unus tamen ex eis in vice omnium cum baculo ad ecclesiam veniat...*

269 Ed. *Závodszky,* 161.: *Si derelicta ecclesia villani alias transierint...*

270 The oft-cited text by Guibert de Nogant highlights only the abundance of meat, and therefore it can hardly be considered a proof for nomadic stockbreeding. Perhaps the words *'quorum illa feracissima tellus est'* relate to this? Migne: Patr.Lat. CLVI. 705.

271 The new edition is *H. Waquet:* La croisade de Louis VII roi de France. Paris 1949.

272 *Quod Bellagrava Bogarensis, respectu cujusdam que in Hungaria est ejusdem nominis civitatis:* ed. *Waquet,* 31. The publisher had Zimony in mind. In the 1192 census of the Holy See, Székes-fehérvár was referred to as *castrum Bellegrave* (Mon. Rom. ep. Vespr. I. 6). A similar derivation of the name existed under King Kálmán, presumably after the pattern of the Dalmatian town of Belgrad. This was examined by *J. Melich,* based on the combinations of Šišić: A honfoglaláskori Magyarország (Hungary in the Conquest Period). Budapest 1929, 243. We can likewise sus-pect a Slavic translation of the word: *Gy. Pauler:* A magyar nemzet története az Árpád-házi kirá-lyok alatt (The History of the Hungarian Nation Under the Kings of the Árpád House) (2nd ed.) I Budapest 1899 458, Note 376.

273 For this route as an ancient postal track cf. *Görög's* Atlas of Hungary. Vienna 1802 37.

274 Gesta Friderici I c. 44. ed. *Simon:* Mon. Germ. Scriptores rer. Germ. 1912.

275 On this: *W. Map:* De nugis curialium II. 7, ed. *Th. Wright* 1850 73ff.

276 For details on the life and personal ties of Otto cf. *Hofmeister* in: Neues Archiv 37 119—161; 635—767. Cf. *M. Manitius:* Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters III. 1931 381.

277 *Rivis tamen habundant et fontibus et pratis:* ed *Waquet* 31. *Terra hec in tantum pabulosa est ut dicantur in ea pabula Iulii Cesaris extitisse:* ed. *Waquet* 31.

278 *Denique cum vilissima in vicis vel oppidis ibi, id est ex cannis tantum, rara ex lapidibus habean-tur habitacula, toto estatis vel autumpni tempore papiliones inhabitant:* Gesta Friderici I. 32. ed. Mon. Germ. Scriptores rer. Germ. Simon, 1912.

279 *Hec silva ad pasturam bestiarum.* Ed. *J. Karácsonyi:* Szent István oklevelei (Saint István's Diplo-mas) 81. These paragraphs are quoted from the original version.

280 Pannonhalmi ardt. X. 492.

281 *ab area equorum Regis: Wenzel* Codex I. 24.

282 1075: *Knauz:* Mon.eccl.Strig. I. 54.: *cum pratis et pascuis, que inter predictas aquas habentur, latissima enim et longa sunt ad pastum animalium, equorum, ouium, boum.*

283 *Fejér* Codex II. 84.

284 1141—61: Magyar Könyvszemle 1892—93, 18: *dedi novem silvestres equos cum pastore.*

285 1153?: Pannonhalmi rdt. I. 602.: *triginta equis indomitis et quadragintaquinque ovibus;* 1157: ibid. I. 604.; 1181: ibid. VIII. 277.; 1199: Hazai Okm. V. 4.; 1121: Pannonhalmi rdt. I. 651, on the estate of Perecse, etc.

286 1075: Mon. eccl. Strig. I. 58.: *in hieme duos abbatis equos nutriant,* which means that the horses were grazed in a different period; 1141—61: Magyar Könyvszemle 1892—93, 15, 17.; 1135: National Archives D1. 5775. *stabula* in the Bozók record; 1237—40: Pannonhalmi rdt. I. 779. At Hegymagos, the people of the abbey *in quolibet mense duo cum uno equo debent tenere et custodire equos abbatis, ubicunque ipse abbas fuerit, in stabulo non in campo in expensis abbatis.*

287 E. g. around 1130—40: Pannonhalmi rdt. VIII. 269. *pascunt iumenta monasterii;* 1141—61: Magyar Könyvszemle 1892—93, 16. *peccora ad vescendum ducunt;* etc.

288 1181: *Szentpétery*-jegyzék (Szentpétery Register) No 133. 44.

289 Pannonhalmi rdt. I. 598.

290 Ibid. I. 601.

291 1153?: ibid. I. 602—3. Leaves a special stock of animals for the poor: *Peccora boves, porcos, oves et reliqua victui pauperum dispono.*

292 E.g. around 1177: *Fejérpataky:* III. Béla okl. 28. Kaba; 1171: *Fejér* Codex IX. 7. 632—33. Benedek, etc.

293 Pannonhalmi rdt. X. 522—523.

294 Ed.*Závodszky,* 144.

295 Ed. *Závodszky,* 153.: *Decem villæ ecclesiam edificent, quam duobus mansis totidemque mancipiis dotent, equo et jumento, sex bubus...*

296 Pannonhalmi rdt. X. 493.

297 Cf. Note 315.

298 1211: lignis, rassima ex Pannonhalmi rdt. X. 502—517.

299 Cf. *L. Erdélyi*'s report, ibid. 450.

300 On the services of the court people 1138: *Knauz:* Mon. eccl. Strig. I. 94.: *qui ad omnia...parati sunt;* 1226?: Pannonhalmi rdt. I. 678—679.; 1237—40: ibid. I. 772.: *tenentur ad omnia serviciorum genera.*

301 1083—95: Pannonhalmi rdt. I. 592.

302 *Wenzel:* Codex I. 25. We do not share Imre *Szentpétery*'s reservations concerning the authenticity of the charter. Cf. Magyar oklevéltan (Hungarian Diplomatics). Budapest 1930 44.

303 Pannonhalmi rdt. VIII. 267—272. On the date and its authenticity cf. our article in Levéltári Közl. 8 (1930) 314—331.

304 *Karácsonyi* ibid. 80.

305 Pannonhalmi rdt. I. 772.

306 *Nec tenentur metere arundines, nec quinque capecias per singulas mansiones, nec tenentur fenum colligere vel portare:* ibid. 717. Cf. also 719, 720.

307 Ibid. 772.

308 E. g. 1130—40: Pannonhalmi rdt. VIII. 269. in Bakonybél; 1135: *Fejér* Codex II. 84., VII. 5, 100. in Bozók; 1181: *Fejérpataky:* III. Béla kir. okl. (King Béla's Diplomas) 29. On the estate of Froa, etc. This issue is also treated in *I. G. Bolla:* Az Aranybulla-kori társadalmi mozgalmak a Váradi Regestrum megvilágításában (Social Movements During the Period of the Golden Charta, in the Light of the Várad Regestrum). Annales Univ. Scient. Budapestinensis, Sectio Historica 1 (1957) 86.

309 *Isti tenentur ad omnia servitia, sicut alii servi ecclesie:* Pannonhalmi rdt. 781.

310 Ibid. 592.

311 Ibid. 779.

312 Pannonhalmi rdt. I. 774.

313 The liberi in the focus: 12th century Pannonhalmi rdt. VIII. 269; 1138: *Knauz:* Mon. eccl. Strig. I. 95 etc. Slavery due to debt: 1146: Pannonhalmi rdt. I. 599; ibid. 602; Slavery as a result of court ruling: 1141—61: Magyar Könyvszemle NS 1 (1892—93) 15; 1157: Pannonhalmi rdt. I. 604. etc.

314 E. g. 1075: *Knauz:* Mon. eccl. Strig. I. 55; 1141—61: Magyar Könyvszemle NS 1892—93 15 etc.

315 E. g. 1138: *Knauz:* Mon. eccl. Strig. I. 88.; LevKözl 1924, 156; 1152: Pannonhalmi rdt. I. 601 *do duas familias ad aratra cum octo bubus et decem vaccis et centum ovibus;* 1153?: ibid. I. 602 *predium Philes cum quatuor servis et uno aratro et triginta examinibus apium... Niwic cum duodecim bubus et tribus hominibus* etc.; 1174—78: *Fejérpataky:* III. Béla kir. okl. 15. *CCC iugera terre, VIII. boves, VIIII. capita hominum, II. vinee, unum molendinum,* this is the donation; 1181: *Szentpétery:* Az Árpád-házi kir. okl. kr. jegyz. No. 133 *equites... et alii qui faciunt, quid eis precepitur... et custos silvarum... In hiis omnibus supradictis prediis sunt XXXIII mansiones servorum, duodecim aratra, septuaquinta equi, centum pecora, CC porci... CCC oves.* etc.

316 Pannonhalmi rdt. I. 574—575; ibid. X. 448—451.
317 *J. Karácsonyi:* Szent István kir. okl. (King Saint István's Diplomas), 80. Cf. *I. Szentpétery:* Kritikai jegyzék (Critical Register), No. 6.
318 *Fejér* Codex I. 394. Cf. *Szentpétery*-jegyzék (Szentpétery Critical Register), No. 6.
319 *Wenzel* Codex I. 25, 26.
320 *Knauz:* Mon. eccl. Strig. I. 54.
321 Cf. *Szentpétery*-jegyzék, 20.
322 Pannonhalmi rdt. VIII. 270. For its criticism cf. our article in Levéltári Közl. 8 (1930).
323 *Knauz:* Mon. eccl. Strig. I. 95.
324 Hazai Okm. V. 1—4.
325 *Szentpétery*-jegyzék No. 202, 65.
326 The same conclusion drawn from different premises: *I. G. Bolla:* ibid. 86ff.
327 Pannonhalmi rdt. VIII. 273—274. E. g. in one of the estates *assignavit terram ad unum aratrum; aratorum autem nomina sunt hec: Tapa, Rupa; habet autem illud predium omnia necessaria ad humanum usum pertinencia mixtim cum villanis.* For the criticism of the record cf. ibid. 266.
328 *Szentpétery*-jegyzék No. 42.
329 The Greek text its Hungarian translation: *Gy. Czebe:* A veszprémvölgyi oklevél görög szövege (The Greek Text of the Veszprémvölgy Diploma). Budapest 1916 15—16. Cf. Századok 1917 129. The Greek charter is rather problematic from a text-critical point of view, cf. *Gy. Czebe:* ibid.
330 The original copy: *L. Fejérpataky:* Kálmán kir. okl. (Diplomas of King Kálmán) 34. The fake: *Fejér* Codex 47.
331 1055: Pannonhalmi rdt. X. 493; about 1130—40: ibid. VIII. 270—271 *VII aratra bovum cum XIII mansionibus... unum aratrum, III vaccas, II equos, X porcos cum tribus mansionibus;* 1135: *Fejér* Codex II. 83 *cum vno aratro et homine;* 1141—61: Magyar Könyvszemle, 1892/93. 15. *IIII-or aratra cum XII. mansionibus;* 1152: Pannonhalmi rdt. I. 601 *do duas familias ad aratra cum octo bubus* etc.; 1153?: ibid. I. 602 *cum duobus servis et uno aratro* etc.; 1157: ibid. I. 604 *cum duobus aratris et quatuor mancipiis* etc.; 1181: *Szentpétery*-jegyzék No. 133. *iobagiones in equis servientes, equites* and a list of other peoples: *XXXIII mansiones servorum, duodecim aratra;* 1186?: Pannonhalmi rdt. I. 612 *terram... cum aratro, octo bubus et duobus mancipiis* etc.
332 1075: *Knauz:* Mon. eccl. Strig. I. 59 *quodquod uoluerit abbas, hominse cum aratris ponat,* at the same time there weere only a few agrarians among the population; 1138: ibid. I. 95 the vinegrowers are ranked *in numero seruorum, qui dant Panem;* 1141—46: Magyar Könyvszemle NS 1892/93, 15—16, the libertini were obliged to deliver a fixed quota of grain; 1146: Pannonhalmi rdt. I. 598 *tria aratra cum V mansionibus XV hominum C oves...* donate under the obligation that they undertake agrarian work only: *ad agriculturam;* 1181: *Szentpétery* Register No. 133 among the equites services *cubulum annone, duos panes;* 1199: Hazai Okm. V. 1—4 the stubble-fields *ad exequias* deliver 100 loaves of bread, etc.; 1210: Pannonhalmi rdt. I. 618 they donate a servant *tali servitio cui concessit terram et araturam ad quatuor boves.* Pays tribute in *bove trienni, in centum panibus et in una tunella cervisie,* etc. 1237—40: ibid. I. 772—773.
333 An exemplary description of this obligation is carried in *Albeus'* register concerning the lathe operators: *isti...tenentur principaliter ad officium tornatorum plenarie et secundarie ad alia omnia communia servitia, sicut de equestribus jobagionibus et aliis dictum* est: Pannonhalmi rdt. I. 772—773.
334 Pannonhalmi rdt. I. 678: *debent facere communem araturam, que dicitur eneu, de unoquoque mense decem iugera et ea seminare ex grano ecclesie.*
335 *Non ex cultura agrorum eiusdem populi, sed ex iure Ecclesie, quod Ecclesia sibi habet proprium et ad suum arathrum pertinens, viginti scilicet et octo iugera concessit: Wenzel:* Codex I. 75—76.
336 1138: *Knauz:* Mon. eccl. Strig. I. 95; Pannonhalmi rdt. VIII. 270.
337 1233: Pannonhalmi rdt. I. 717, 721. The effect of this verdict is clear from the paragraphs on Tarján's estate in *Albaus'* register: 773.
338 Pannonhalmi rdt. VIII. 270.
339 Pannonhalmi rdt. VIII. 247; ibid. X. 130.
340 1211: Pannonhalmi rdt. X. 504—507; 510—511, 513—515.
341 Pannonhalmi rdt. VIII. 270; ibid. I. 651, 773—776, 778, 779, 781, 782, 784. Cf. also the description of the individual villages by *L. Erdélyi.*
342 *Knauz:* Mon. eccl. Strig. I. 95.
343 1237—40: Pannonhalmi rdt. I. 775, 781, 782, 784.
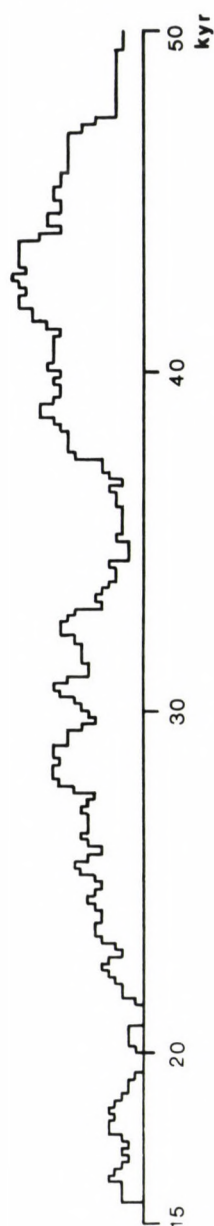344 1211: Pannonhalmi rdt. X. 511: *cum quibus villanis preter metatas terras communiter ecclesia colit terras.*

345 Ibid. I. 779. Six mansiones agrarians and vineyardists work the land in Zala *septuaginta iugera fimata prete pascua et nemora communia cum nobilibus*... Elsewhere: *preter pascua et nemora et campestria habet trecenta iugera arabilia et fenetum ad XIII iugera.* Márta Belényesy attempted to clarify the meaning of the words *terra fimata et campestris:* A földmúvelés fejlődésének alapvető kérdései a XIV. században (Basic Questions of the Development of Agriculture in the 14th Century). Ethnographia 65 (1954) 406ff.

346 From among the numerous studies, cf. e. g. *A. Doren:* Italienische Wirtschaftsgeschichte I. Jena 1934 196ff.; *Th. Mayer:* Deutsche Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Mittelalters. Leipzig 1928 109f; *Fr. Lütge:* Deutsche Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte. Berlin 1952 98ff.; The Cambridge Economic History I. Cambridge 1942 300ff.

347 Pannonhalmi rdt. X. 623.

348 Discussing the new obligations of the equestrian serfs, *I. G. Bolla* draws the same conclusion in her work cited above: 86—87.

349 A földközösség története Magyarországon (The History of Land Community in Hungary). Budapest, n. d. (new edition) 14, 65ff.

350 *E. Molnár:* A magyar társadalom története az őskortól az Árpád-korig (The History of Hungarian Society from the Prehistoric Period to the Age of the Árpáds). (2nd ed.) Budapest 1949 233ff; and also his introduction to the new edition of *Tagányi's* studies; *M. Belényesy:* A földmúvelés fejlődésének alapvető kérdései a XIV. században (Basic Questions of the Development of Agriculture in the 14th Century). Ethnographia 66 (1955) 57ff.; *I. Balogh:* Határhasználat Hajdúböszörményben a XVIII. században (Land Use in Hajdúböszörmény in the 18th Century). ibid. 65 (1954) 441—457, 66 (1955) 97—124.

351 On the special treatment of the ploughland belonging to the house cf. *I. Balogh:* ibid. 99—101.

352 Ibid. 120. On the interests of the stock-breeders cf. ibid. 119. The three-course rotation was also introduced in the West to substitute for the diminishing pastures. For a rather comprehensive study on this point cf. *R. Dion:* Essai sur la formation du paysage rural francais. Tours 1934 and *W. Müller—Wille:* Das Rheinische Schiefergebirge und seine kulturgeographische Struktur und Stellung. Deutsches Archiv für Landes-u. Volksforschung 6 (1942) 563.

353 The order of grazing with the Mongol people: *B. Vladimirtsov:* ibid. 143—146; *W. Radloff:* ibid. I. 417. In the second half of the 19th century he found that with the Kirghizians the winter abodes were owned by individuals, whereas the pastures belonged to the clans.

354 In the 13th—14th centuries, a new and relatively modern organization of nomadic shepherding was implemented in Spain. This was the *mesta.* Cf. the excellent study by *J. Klein:* The Mesta. Cambridge, Mass. 1920.

355 *Grekov:* Az orosz parasztság története a legrégibb időktől a XVII. századig (History of the Russian Peasantry from the Ancient Times to the 17th Century). I. Budapest 1956 61. Analysing the Kazakh manners and agriculture, he found that only the crop rotation system could have existed 'because there were vast uncultivated lands, and the people were engaged in nomadic shepherding. Once the latter fact changed, the agricultural system had to change accordingly...'

356 Pannonhalmi rdt. X. 489: *servi ecclesie illius cum terra et cum piscationibus, quam* (sic, incorrectly) *prius cum ceteris populis possidebant, ibidem pertinent.*

357 Pannonhalmi rdt. I. 592.

358 *Knauz:* Mon. eccl. Strig. I. 55; the Ladány servi of the church *mixtim cum villanis.* Cf. also 54, with the civitas of Bars, 58, joint fishing.

359 *L. Fejérpataky:* Kálmán kir. okl. (Diplomas of King Kálmán) 33—35; in several places *sed terra est communis;* in the record of 1113, in these two specific places: *habet communem terram et vineas cum ceteris rusticis* (p. 38.); *communem habemus silvam, insulas communes* (40.) Published ibid. 60.

360 Pannonhalmi rdt. VIII. 269.: *In omnibus hiis supradictis villis ubicumque sunt familie Sancti Mauricii, omnes mixtim habent agros, fanum et omnia ad humanum usum competantia cum villanis uniuscuisusque ville...*

361 *Fejér* Codex II. 84 and VII. 5, 103. *insuper cum villanis communem habere fünem.* Cf. *Tagányi:* ibid. 53. Note 2.

362 *I. Szentpétery:* Az Árpád-házi királyok okleveleinek kritikai jegyzéke (Critical Register of the Diplomas of the Kings of the Árpád House) No. 202.: *unusquisque istorum sortem habet cum villanis; Isti habent terram communem cum villanis eiusdem ville* 63, 64. The same diploma was mentioned by Tagányi as one dating from 1197: ibid. 65. For Hoda's record cf. Pannonhalmi rdt. I. 612.: *que ad sortem meam pertinet.*

363 Pannonhalmi rdt. I. 599. From 1146.

364 A magyar társadalom története az őskortól az Árpádokig (History of the Hungarian Society from the Prehistoric Times to the Age of the Árpáds). (2nd ed.) Budapest 1949 162—166.

365 Historia Francorum, Lib. II. c. 27. ed. MG SS rerum Merovingicarum I. 88.
366 Excerpta de legationibus ed. Boor I. 135—36.
367 A magyar honfoglalás kútfői (Sources on the Hungarian Conquest) 156—57, Ibn Rusta; and 211.
368 E. Haenisch: Die geheime Geschichte der Mongolen. Leipzig 1948 c. VII. 74; B. Vladimirtsov: Le régime social des Mongols. Paris 1948 147.
369 According to E. Molnár, the incursions were carried out by the warrior escorts. i. e. by those who did not take part in production. A magyar társadalom története (History of Hungarian Society) 116—118.
370 On this point cf. J. Deér: A magyar törzsszövetség és a patrimonális királyság külpolitikája (The External Policy of the Hungarian Tribal Confederation and the Patrimonial Monarchy). Kaposvár 1928 15—30.
371 Bárczi: Etymological Dictionary, 17.
372 Cf. B. Vladimirtsov's excellent book about Ghenghis: The Life of Ghenghis-Khan. London 1930 9.
373 A magyar honfoglalás kútfői (Sources on the Hungarian Conquest) 172.
374 Gy. Pauler: A magyar nemzet története Szent Istvánig (History of the Hungarian Nation Before Saint István). Budapest 1900 46.
375 Kelet-Dunántúl (Eastern Transdanubia), 17; Fejér vármegye (Fejér County), 26.
376 Glaser: Kelet-Dunántúl (Eastern Transdanubia), 19ff.
377 A magyarság életrajza (The Biography of the Hungarians). Budapest n. d. 21ff.
378 Confidens in multitudine militum et nobilium, super quos dominium exercebat: c. 8 ed. Szentpétery Scriptores II. 489.
379 Qui ceteros dignitate precellebat, quibus ipsum dominum preposuerat: c. 8 ed. ibid. 490.
380 On this point: Gyula és Ajtony (Gyula and Ajtony). Szentpétery Emlékkönyv (Szentpétery Memorial Volume). Budapest 1938 475—506.
381 Alba and Nigra Ungria: Ademarus Cabannensis, Chronicon c. 31. MG SS IV. 129, 131. The letter of Bruno of Querfurt: Mon Pol. I. 225; Vita quinque fratrum: MG SS XV. 2, 726.
382 Cf. O. Pritsak: Orientierung und Farbsymbolik. Saeculum 5 (1954) 376—383.
383 Cf. my paper in Nouvelle Revue de Hongrie 1941 99—108: Les racines byzantines du christianisme hongrois.
384 Constantinus Porphyrogenitus: A birodalom kormányzásáról (On Governing the Empire') c. 40 ed. Moravcsik. Budapest 1950 176—177.
385 E. g. 1075: Knauz: Mon. eccl. Strig. I. 59.
386 Bárczi: Vocabulary, 55.
387 Gy. Németh: A honfoglaló magyarság kialakulása (The Emergence of the Conquering Hungarians). Budapest 1930 153; M. I. Artamonov: Khazar-festningen Sarkel. Viking 19 (1955) 99—120.
388 A birodalom kormányzásáról (On Governing the Empire) c. 37 ed. Moravcsik, 168—169.
389 Even Gardízi mentions the castles of the Slavs as ones built for the population: A magyar honfoglalás kútfői (Sources on the Hungarian Conquest) 179. Cf. D. Simonyi: A szlávok földvárairól (On the Earthworks of the Slavs). Századok 1940 262—277.
390 Szent István Emlékkönyv (Saint István Memorial Volume) II. 73—106.
391 Cf. Die erste Epoche des ungarischen Königtums. Pécs 1935 30ff.
392 Most recently Gy. Győrffy: A szávaszentdemeteri görög kolostor (The Greek Monastery of Szávaszentdemeter) 338.
393 J. Karácsonyi: Szent István kir. okl. (The Diplomas of King Stephen) 57—59; 40—41.
394 I, 6 ed. Závodszky, 144. and also the full elimination of the clannish blood feuds (I, 34 ed. ibid. 151): tradatur in manus maleficio lesi, aut in manus parentum eius, only in the case of magic.
395 Cf. our book: Die erste Epoche des ungarischen Königtums Chapter II; and also L. Glaser: Fejér vármegye (Fejér County), 21.
396 Potentialiter agens in suos: c. 2 ed. Szentpétery Script. II. 379.
397 Ed. Závodszky, 148.
398 Cf. Szent István Emlékkönyv (Saint István Memorial Volume) II. 39ff.
399 Like e. g. Decr. Steph. I. 24 ed. Szent Závodszky, 148; Decr. Lad. I. 27. and 30. ed. ibid. 162; Decr. Col. I. 35. ed. ibid. 187; Decr. Col. I. 80. ed. ibid. 194; Liberi quique ac hospites, sicut Sclavi vel ceteri extranei, qui in terris laborant aliorum; Synod. Strig. prior 29 inter liberos ecclesie; 1075: Knauz: Mon. eccl. Strig. I. 59 tam liberorum, quam seruorum etc.
400 L. Fejérpataky: Kálmán kir. okl. 34. Padrag in the Greek diploma of King István: Gy. Czebe: ibid. 15—18.
401 Decr. I. 18, 21; II. 5 ed. Závodszky, 147, 154.
402 1237—40: Pannonhalmi rdt. I. 785—786.

403 1146: Pannonhalmi rdt. I. 598: *manumittibus et tali libertate donamus, ut post obitum nostrum ubicunque vel cuicunque voluerint, liberaliter serviant.*

404 Cf. 1164: LevKözl. 2 156.

405 1055: Pannonhalmi rdt. X. 489: *servi ecclesie illius cum terra ... quam prius cum ceteris populis possidebant,* etc.

406 c. 67: *servi ecclesiarum si boves proprios habuerint* ed. *Závodszky,* 205.

407 Ed. *Szentpétery* Scriptores II. 476, 4 and 498, 17.

408 *Si potest;* ed. *Závodszky,* 154.

409 Decr. Lad. I 40 ed. *Závodszky,* 165.

410 E. g. 1141—61: Magyar Könyvszemle NS 1892—93 18—19.

411 Decr. Steph. I 23, 24 ed. *Závodszky,* 148.

412 On the contrast between *liber* and *servus:* Decr. Lad. II. 11, 12; III. 13, 17; Synod.Strig. prior 29 altera 15 ed. *Závodszky:* 1075: *Knauz:* Mon. eccl. Strig. I. 59; 1111: Fejérpataky: Kálmán kir. okl. 43 *servi vel liberi;* 1113: ibid. 56. *se liberos esse asserebant* (3); 1138: *Knauz:* Mon. eccl. Strig. I. 95 *de seruis in liberos, vel de liberis in seruos auderet aliquos transferre;* 1229: Pannonhalmi rdt. I. 768—769 the libertini claim the status of liber, etc.

413 c. 74, 77 ed. *Závodszky,* 192, 193.

414 *Hrbek:* Ein Arabischer Bericht über Ungarn. Acta Orientalia 5 (1955) 208.

415 Pannonhalmi rdt. VIII. 269; 1237—40: ibid. I. 774. (4).

416 1226?: Pann. rdt. I. 678 *eneu; Vladimirtsov:* Le régime 91, 119, 154.

417 Decr. Steph. I, 22; 35 *sed suos milites miserit* ed. *Závodszky,* 151—155.

418 Excerpta de leg. *Boor* I. 135—136.

419 In 889: MG SS I. 330.

420 *G. Fehér:* A bolgár—török műveltség emlékei és őstörténeti vonatkozásaik (The Relics of the Bulgarian—Turkish Culture and their Prehistoric References). ArchHung 7. Budapest 1931 146—147.

421 *Servientem talem, qui domino suo sine ipsius voluntate alienari non potest:* ed. *Závodszky,* 205.

422 A magyar honfoglalás kútfői (Sources on the Hungarian Conquest) 155.

423 Major István Legend c. 5. ed. *Szentpétery* Scriptores II. 381.

424 Constantinus Porphyrogenitus: De administrando imperio, c. 37, 40 ed. *Moravcsik,* 167, 179.

425 The question of the extraction of Saint Margit of Scotland: Turul 53 (1939) 1—42; cf. *S. Fest:* Skóciai Szent Margit magyar származása (The Hungarian Descent of Saint Margit of Scotland). Debrecen 1939.

426 Fontes rer. Bohem. I 1873, 112 Život sv. Ivana.

427 The most recent summary of the problems of the coronation: *M. Uhlirz:* Jahrbücher des Deutschen Reiches unter Otto II. und Otto III. Bd. II. Berlin 1954 Exkurs XXIII.

428 *W. N. Slatarski:* Geschichte der Bulgaren I. Leipzig 1918, 71.

429 *J. Deér:* Külpolitika (Foreign Policy), 34.

430 Les racines du christianisme hongrois. Nouvelle Revue de Hongrie 1941 99—108. Also published in German.

431 Cf. also *Gy. Moravcsik:* Bizánc és a magyarság (Byzantium and the Hungarians). Budapest 1953 53ff; *Gy. Győrffy:* A szávaszentdemeteri görög monostor XII. századi birtokösszeírása (The 12th Century Land Register of the Greek Monastery of Szávaszentdemeter). MTAOKII 3—4 (1953) 333ff.

432 On this subject Bónis wrote a separate study under the title Szent István törvényének önállósága (The Independence of Saint István's Decrees). Századok 1938 433—487.

433 Cf. on this *F. Schiller:* Das erste ung. Gesetzbuch u. das deutsche Recht. Festschrift H. Brunner. Weimar 1910 386—391; *I. Madzsar:* Szent István törvényei és a Lex Bajuvariorum (Saint István's Decrees and the Lex Bajuvariorum). Tört. Szemle 9 (1920) 72.

434 Századok, ibid. 479—481.

435 Prologus, Articles 1, 15. ed. *Závodszky,* 182, 184, 185.

436 A szentistváni intelmek kérdéséhez (On the Issue of Saint István's Exhortations'). Századok 76 (1942) 435—452.

437 'Ratio' and 'Mos'. EgyPhilKözl 67 (1943) 273—336.

438 Some data: Johannes diaconus ed. *G. Monticolo:* Cronaca veneziana, 149, 15; 152, 21. *Italici principes* Emperor Otto was received in the year 996. — From the letters of Gerbert (Pope Sylvester II) ed. Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de France, X, in the year 994, 418; in the year 996, 422. — Wipo: Gesta Chuonradi imperatoris ed. *H. Bresslau.* 1915, Scriptores rer. Germ. cap. I; XXXIV (11, 54) *principes Italici;* XXVI, XXXIII, XXXVIII (45, 52, 58.) — Richeri Historiarum Libri III. ed. *Waitz* 1877, Scriptores rer. Germ. I. 14; II. 27, 28, 29 *rex principbus in pace dimissis;* III. 87.; IV. 11, 12, (40, 52, 53, 118, 132) — June 7, 983. Peace of Venice ed. MG Const. I. 38: *principibus ultramontanis et Ytalicis;* between 996—1002 Capitulare (ibid. 47) — from the chapters of Heinrich II. ed. MG DD: in the year 1007 *consentiente... omnium regni nostri principum* 201, 10; in the year 1009 231, 20.; in the year 1019 523, 25.; in the year 1021 579, 15 etc.
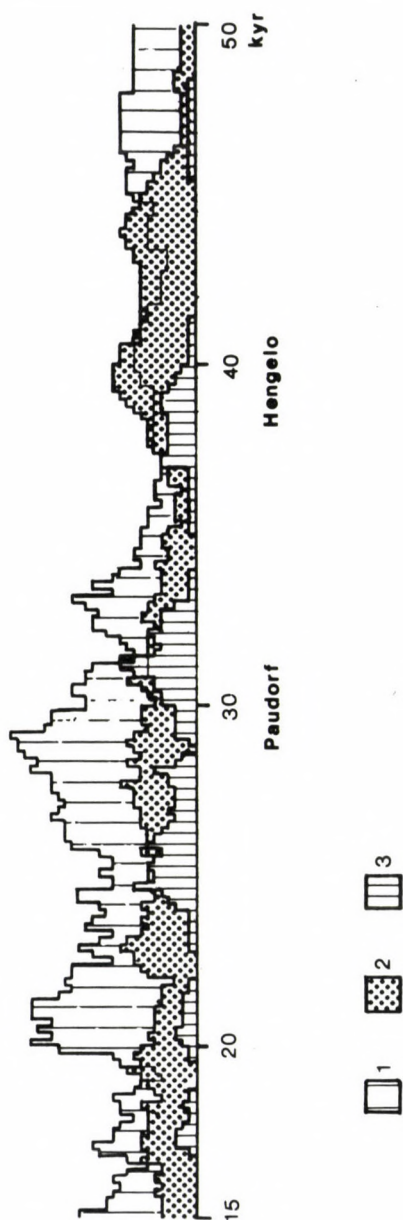
PLATES

A

B   20°C—
     15 –
     10 –
      5 –

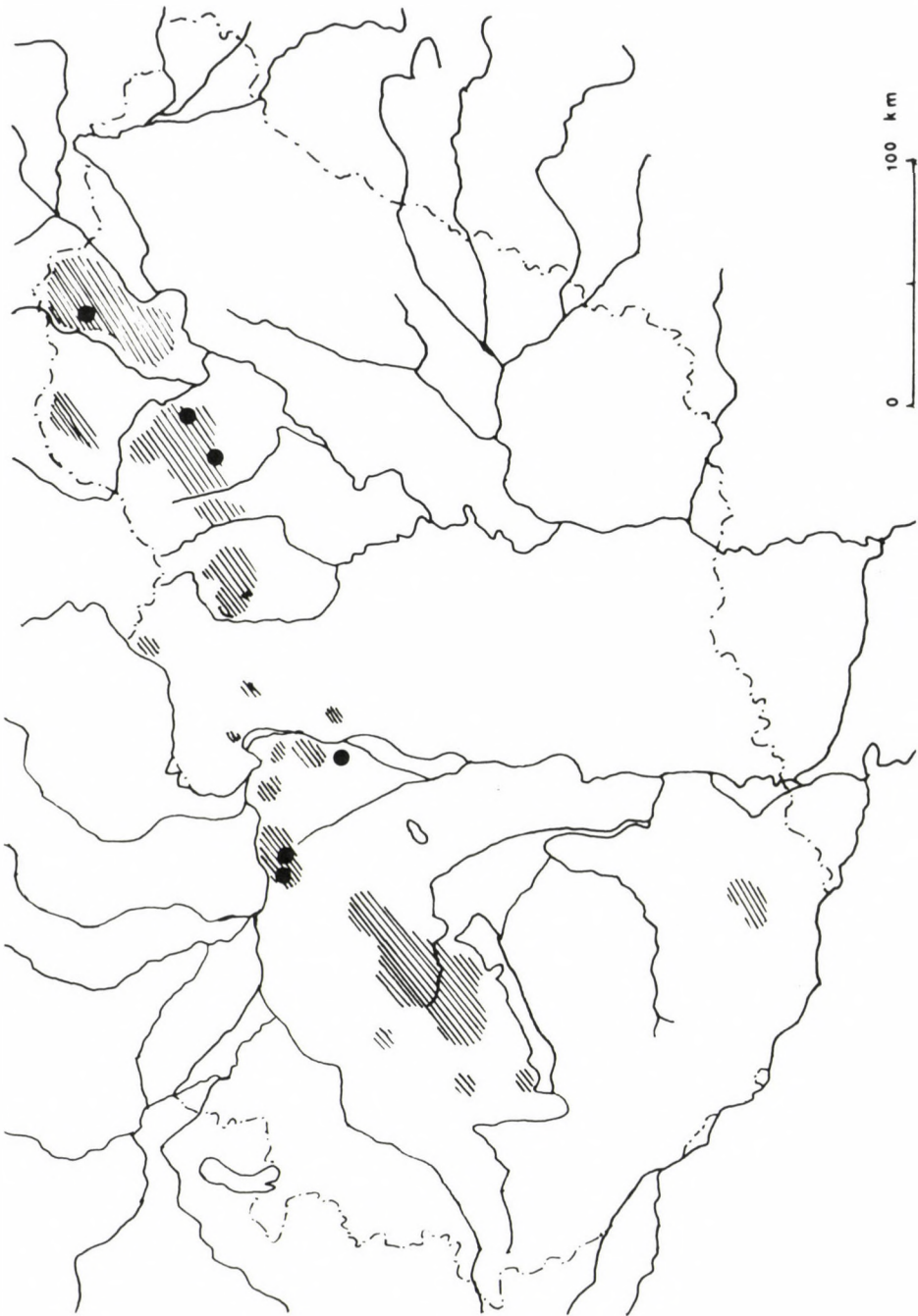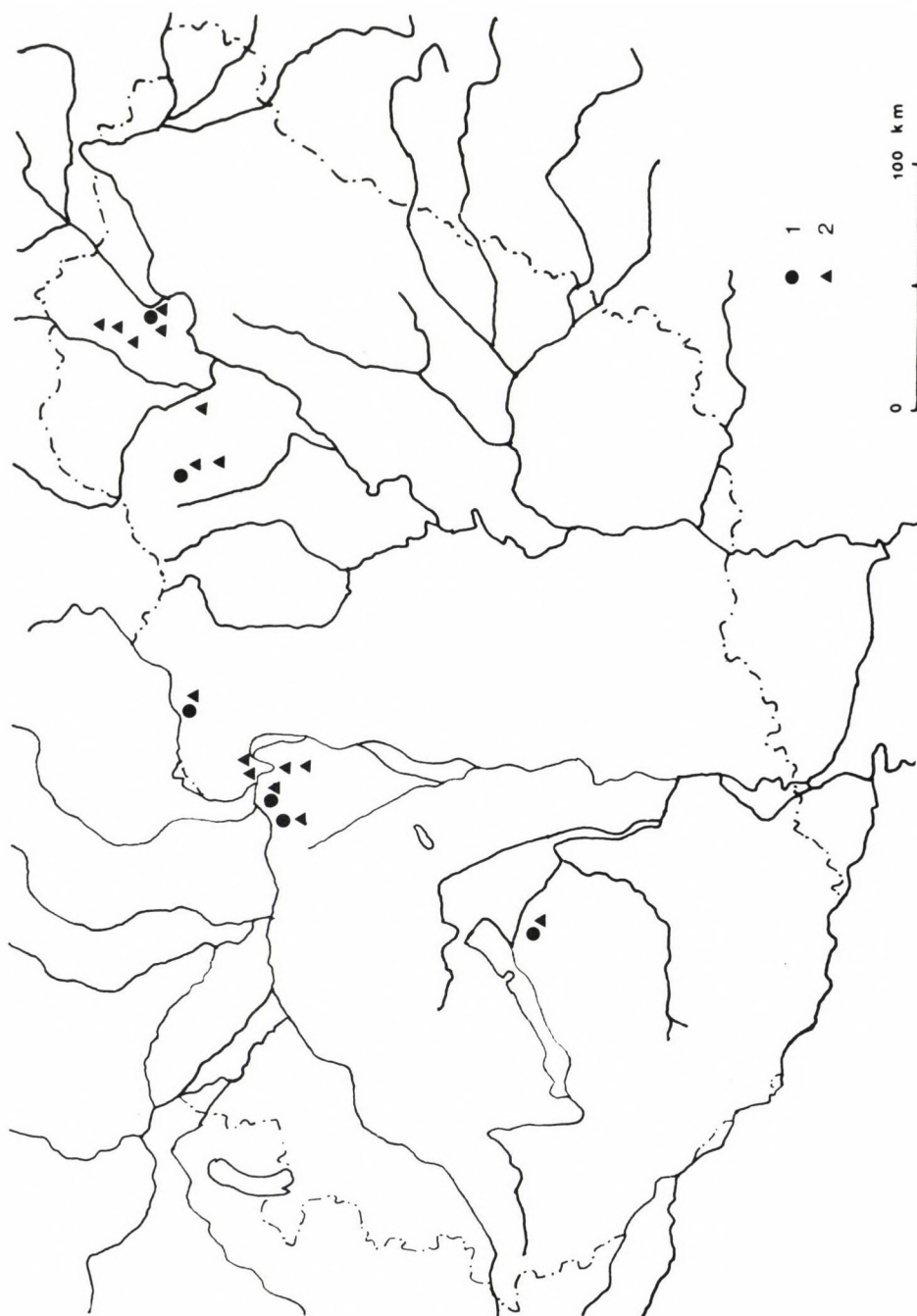C   Paudorf   Hengelo

     15   20   30   40   50 kyr

     □ 1   ▨ 2   ▦ 3

335

Fig. 1

Fig. 2

Fig. 3

Fig. 4

Fig. 5

Pl. I

Pl. II

I

VI

Legend:

○ 11-13. centuries
◑ 11-16. centuries
◒ 14-16. centuries
● 11-17. centuries

Veröce slavic place-name

Fig. 1

I

V

IX