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PANNONIA AND BEYOND
STUDIES IN HONOUR OF
LÁSZLÓ BARKÓCZI

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PANNONIA AND BEYOND
Studies in Honour of László Barkóczi

Edited by Andrea Vaday

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László Barkóczi, sketch by László Vértes, c. 1955

THE BIOGRAPHY OF LÁSZLÓ BARKÓCZI[1]

Dr. László Barkóczi was born in Berettyóújfalu on 20 May 1919.

In 1938 he received his degree (maturity exam) at Ferenc József Royal Catholic Secondary School in Budapest's 2nd district.

From 1938–44 he studied at the Faculty of Arts of Péter Pázmány University of Arts and Sciences. His specialities were Archaeology of the Hungarian Land, Classical Archaeology and Ancient Christian Archaeology.

In 1941 he served as aid to Professor András Alföldi. In 1942 he graduated and became an assistant of Professor Alföldi, as well as an unpaid assistant at the Hungarian National Museum.

He carried out his first excavations (together with Aladár Radnóti) in Szőny and in Porolissum (Moigrad, now Romania), in 1939–42.

In 1944 he received his Ph. D. degree for his dissertation on *Brigetio*. The dissertation surveys the Roman city's stone monuments in general and its inscriptions in particular.

He completed his military service (from 1944) in World War II, became prisoner of war in Strasbourg, France and returned to Hungary in 1946.

The same year he started regular work at the Hungarian National Museum.

*

At the beginning, he concentrated on the research of the Roman *limes*.

He made excavations at Dunapentele (Intercisa) in 1949–50 and excavated the Roman camp at Adony and several early Roman *tumuli* at Pusztaszabolcs in 1951. He invited Éva Bonis to join him at the digs and to publish the results of his findings in Pusztaszabolcs.

In 1951 he also started a series of excavations at Fenékpuszta (Valcum), continued research in Brigetio, and carried out several rescue digs.

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[1] compiled by Andrea Vaday

In 1955 he received the degree of *kandidátus* (a former senior scholarly degree) of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. His dissertation was the summary of the history of Intercisa.

He became head of the Archaeological Department of the Hungarian National Museum in 1960.

He was head of excavations of the Hungarian expedition in Egypt in 1964, revealing the Coptic city of Abdallah Nirqi later flooded by the reservoir of the Assuan Dam.

Later, in 1967, he also took part in an international excavation in Tunis.

He was invited to be a senior fellow of the Archaeological Research Group of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in 1963.

The Research Group was renamed the Archaeological Research Institute in 1968, at which time Dr. Barkóczi became head of the Antiquities Department.

In 1970 the Institute organised teams to handle particular fields, and Dr. Barkóczi was appointed head of the one studying the „Peripheries of the Roman Empire".

In 1979 he was appointed deputy director of the Institute.

Not willing to become director, he retired in 1982.

*

His scholarly achievements were acknowledged by the silver (1976) and gold (1982) medals of the Order of Labour, by the Flóris Rómer medal (1980) of the Archaeological and Art Historical Society and the Pro Arte Vitraria medal (1990), a foundation of Mrs. Klára Tasnády-Marik.

*

Dr. László Barkóczi took an active part in the Archaeological Committee, in the Roman-Period sub-committee and in the Excavation Committee of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

He was also on the board of two periodicals: *Magyar Múzeum* and *Archaeologiai Értesítő*.

He is a member of the Hungarian Archaeological and Art Historical Society, the Classical Society, the Austrian Archaeological Society and the German Archaeological Institute.

He took part in several Hungarian and international conferences and gave lectures in many countries, e. g. Austria, France, Italy, Romania, Chechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union.

*

Dr. László Barkóczi's scholarly interest has been manifold.

His oeuvre embraces the chronological period from the *La Tène* period to the 6th century AD. He analysed historical-archaeological minor problems with

the same expert knowledge, precision and thoroughness as monographic problems of wider range.

In his early career he dealt with the *limes* of Pannonia, with military history and with *epigraphy* in general.

Besides the remarkable observation (developed together with Aladár Radnóti) that during the first half of the 2nd century, on the military diplomas of Pannonia Inferior the troops were enumerated in topographical order, he also observed a similar order on diplomas of Pannonia Superior during the same period.

In the field of *epigraphy*, he summed up and evaluated the names of Pannonia of the 3rd and 4th centuries.

He was editor and co-author of the double, monographic volume, *Intercisa*. It was in these volumes that he drew attention to the systematic occupation of Pannonia, north of the river Dráva, during the Claudian period.

He succeeded in identifying, documenting and defining the structure of one picket-fence camp in Intercisa, and several ones in Vetus Salina.

In Intercisa he managed to point out the importance of the Constatine period, which later was also discovered on the whole *limes*-line.

He was editor and co-author of the first 3 volumes of RIU (Römische Inschriften Ungarns).

He dealt with stone-monuments in several studies, where he drew attention to their marked eastern – southeastern connections within the Roman Empire. He also drew attention to the fact that as late as the 4th century there was regular stone carving in Pannonia.

Regarding the late Roman period, partly alone, partly with Ágnes Salamon, he tried to define the survival of certain groups of finds and cemeteries and outline the position of Pannonia in the 5th century.

He also attempted to define the building chronology and survival of the fortified cities in the interior of the province in the same period.

Dr. Barkóczi excavated a cemetery of the late 5th – early 6th century in Fenékpuszta, by the *horreum*. This cemetery turned out to be of key importance for the evaluation of the area's post-Roman history.

In a monographic volume, he surveyed Hungary's glass finds from the Roman period. Considering both local glass-craftsmanship and glass commerce within the Empire, he defined the current shapes of the different periods.

He also catalogued the ancient glass collection, from different provinces, of the Budapest Museum of Fine Arts.

*

We would like to express our deep gratitude to Dr. *László Barkóczi* for his remarkable contributions to the field of archaeology and for the tireless and enthusiastic support which he has given his younger colleagues.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AA	Archäologischer Anzeiger. Bleiblatt zum Jahrbuch des DAI (Berlin)
AASzeg	Acta Antiqua. Acta Universitatis Szegediensis (Szeged)
AAWG	Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse (Göttingen)
ActaAntHung	Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae (Budapest)
ActaArchHung	Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae (Budapest)
ActaMP	Acta Musei Porolissensis (Zalău)
ActaMusNapoc	Acta Musei Napocensis (Cluj-Kolozsvár)
Acta RCRF	Rei Cretariae Romanae Fautorum. Acta.
AEM	Archäologisch-Epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Oesterreich(-Ungarn) (Wien)
AEp	L'Année Épigraphique (Paris)
Agria	Agria. Az Egri Múzeum Évkönyve (Eger)
AHSzeg	Acta Universitatis Szegediensis. Acta Historica (Szeged)
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology (New York)
AlbaReg	Alba Regia (Székesfehérvár)
AncSoc	Ancient Society (Louvain)
ANRW	W. Haase – H. Temporini (hrsg.): Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt. (Berlin – New York)
Antaeus	Antaeus. Communicationes ex Instituto Archaeologico Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae (Budapest)
AntHung	Antiquitas Hungarica (Budapest)
AntJ	The Antiquaries Journal (London)
AP	Arheološki Pregled (Beograd)
APA	Acta Praehistorica et Archaeologica (Berlin)
AqN	Aquileia Nostra (Aquileia)
AR	Archelogické Rozhledy (Praha)
ArchA	Archaeologia Austriaca (Wien)
ArchÉrt	Archaeologiai Értesítő (Budapest)
ArchHung	Archaeologia Hungarica. (Budapest)
ArchKözl	Archaeologiai Közlemények (Budapest)
Arrabona	Arrabona. A Győri Xantus János Múzeum Évkönyve (Győr)
AT	Antik Tanulmányok (Budapest)

ATIÉ	Alföldi tudományos gyűjtemény. Az Alföldi Tudományos Intézet évkönyve (Szeged)
AV	Arheološki Vestnik (Ljubljana)
AVANS	Archeologické Vyskumy a Nálezy na Slovensku (Nitra)
AW	Antike Welt. Zeitschrift für Archäologie und Urgeschichte (Feldmeilen)
BalácaiKözl	Balácai Közlemények (Veszprém)
BCH	Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique (Paris)
BEFAR	Bibliotheque des Écoles Françaises de Rome (Paris)
BMAVW	Berichte und Mitteilungen des Altertumsvereins zu Wien (Wien)
BMJ	Bodendenkmalpflege in Mecklenburg, Jahrbuch (Berlin)
BollArch	Bollettino di Archeologia (Roma)
BonnerJb	Bonner Jahrbücher des Rheinischen Landesmuseums in Bonn und das Vereins von Altertumsfreunden im Rheinlande (Köln)
BRGK	Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission (Berlin)
BudRég	Budapest Régiségei (Budapest)
BullMHB	Bulletin du Musée Hongois des Beaux-Arts (Budapest)
BVbl	Bayerische Vorgeschichtsblätter (München)
BVLkNÖ	Blätter des Vereins für Landeskunde von Niederösterreich (Eisenstadt)
CarnuntumJb	Carnuntum Jahrbuch (Graz)
CIL	Corpus insciptionum Latinarum.
CJ	Classical Journal (Columbia, Ky)
CommArchHung	Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungariae (Budapest)
CSIR	Corpus signorum Imperii Romani.
Dacia	Dacia. Revue d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne (Bucureşti)
DebreceniMÉ	A Debreceni Déri Múzeum Évkönyve (Debrecen)
DissPann	Dissertationes Pannonicae. (Budapest)
Dolg	Dolgozatok a Szegedi Tudományegyetem Régiségtudományi Intézetéből (Szeged)
EgriMÉ	Agria. Az Egri Múzeum Évkönyve (Eger)
EPRO	Études préliminaires aux réligons orientales dans l'Empire romain. (Leiden)
FBBW	Fundberichte aus Baden-Württemberg (Stuttgart)

FolArch	Folia Archaeologica (Budapest)
FontArchHung	Fontes archaeologici Hungariae. (Budapest)
Germania	Germania. Anzeiger der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission des DAI (Mainz)
HABES	Heidelberger Althistorische Beiträge und Epigraphische Studien. (Stuttgart)
HAW	W. Otto (hrsg.): Handbuch der (klassischen) Altertumswissenschaft. (München)
HelvA	Helvetia Archaeologica (Basel)
HOMÉ	Miskolci Herman Otto Múzeum Évkönyve (Miskolc)
IIL	Zs. Visy (hrsg.): Instrumenta inscripta Latina. Das römische Leben im Spiegel der Kleininschriften. Ausstellungskatalog. Pécs 1991.
ILS	H. Dessau: Inscriptiones Latinae selectae I–III. (Berolini 1896–1916)
IPEK	Jahrbuch für Prähistorische und Ethnographische Kunst (Berlin)
ISM	Inscriptiones Scythiae Minoris.
JAS	Journal of Archaeological Science (London)
JBBD	Jahresbericht der Bayerischen Bodendenkmalpflege (München)
JbRGZM	Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums (Mainz)
JfA	Jahrbuch für Altertumskunde (Wien)
JGS	Journal of Glass Studies (Corning, N.Y.)
JHS	The Journal of Hellenic Studies (London)
JIES	The Journal of Indo-European Studies (Washington)
JMV	Jahresschrift für Mitteldeutsche Vorgeschichte (Halle/Saale)
JÖAI	Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts in Wien (Wien)
JPMÉ	A Janus Pannonius Múzeum Évkönyve (Pécs)
JRA	The Journal of Roman Archaeology (Ann Arbor)
JRS	The Journal of Roman Studies (London)
KMS	Kärntner Museumsschriften (Klagenfurt)
KomáromMMK	Komárom Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei (Tata)
KölnerJb	Kölner Jahrbuch für Vor- und Frühgeschichte (Köln)
LIMC	Lexicon Iconographicum mythologiae classicae. (Zürich, etc.)
MAAR	Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome (Rome)

MAGW	Mitteilungen des Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien (Wien)
MBV	Münchner Beiträge zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte (München)
MedArch	Medieval Archaeology (London)
MEFRA	Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome: Antiquité (Roma)
MFMÉ	A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve (Szeged)
MIA	Materialy i issledovaniâ po arheologii SSSR. (Moskva)
MittArchInst	Mitteilungen des Archäologischen Instituts der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Budapest)
MKCsM	Múzeumi kutatások Csongrád megyében. (Szeged)
MM	Magyar Múzeum (Budapest)
MMMK	A Magyar Mezőgazdasági Múzeum Közleményei (Budapest)
MÖAG	Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Ur- und Frühgeschichte (Wien)
MTAK	A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia II (Társadalmi-Történeti) Osztályának Közleményei (Budapest)
MúzMF	Múzeumi módszertani füzetek. (Budapest)
MVM	Magyar városok monográfiája. (Budapest)
MVV	Magyarország vármegyéi és városai. (Budapest)
MZK	Mitteilunger der k.k. Zentral-Kommission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung des Kunst- und Historischen Denkmale (Wien)
NAR	Norwegian Archaeological Review (Oslo)
NK	Numizmatikai Közlöny (Budapest)
NotSc	Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità (Roma)
NyíregyháziMÉ	A Nyíregyházi Jósa András Múzeum Évkönyve (Nyíregyháza)
OA	Opuscula Archaeologica (Zagreb)
OJA	Oxford Journal of Archaeology (Oxford)
OPEL	B. Lőrincz – F. Redő (ed.): Onomasticon provinciarum Europae Latinarum I. Budapest 1994.
PamArch	Památky Archelogické (Praha)
PArch	Prace Archeologiczne. Zeszyty naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellonskiego (Kraków)
PECS	The Princeton encyclopedia of classical sites. (Princeton)

PIR	Prosopographia Imperii Romani.
Poročilo	Poročilo o raziskovanju paleolita, neolita i eneolita v Sloveniji (Ljubljana)
Pulpudeva	Pulpudeva. Semaines Philippopolitaines de l'histoire et de la culture Thrace. (Sofiâ)
PWRE	Paulys Realencyklopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft. Neu begonnen von G. Wissowa. (Stuttgart)
PZ	Praehistorische Zeitschrift (Berlin)
RA	Revue Archéologique (Paris)
RCHM	Royal Commission on Historical Monuments. Supplementary series. (London)
RégFüz	Régészeti füzetek. (Budapest)
RGA	Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde. (Berlin – New York)
RGF	Römisch-Germanische Forschungen (Berlin)
RIC	M. Mattingly – E. A. Sydenham: The Royal imperial coinage. (London 1962)
RIU	Die römischen Inscriften Ungarns. (Budapest)
RLiÖ	Der römische Limes in Österreich. (Wien)
RM	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung (Mainz)
RÖ	Römisches Österreich (Wien)
RVM	Rad Vojvodanskih Muzeja (Novi Sad)
SA	Sovetskaâ Arheologiâ (Moskva)
SBWien	Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. (Wien)
SCIVA	Studii şi Cercetări de Istorie Veche şi Arheologie (Bucureşti)
SJb	Saalburg Jahrbuch (Berlin)
SlovArch	Slovenská Archeológia (Bratislava)
SomogyMMK	Somogy Megyei Múzeumi Közlemények (Kaposvár)
SÖAI	Sonderschriften des Österreichischen Instituts in Wien (Wien)
SpecN	Specimena Nova. Dissertationum ex Instituto Historico Universitatis Quinqueecclesiensis de Iano Pannonio nominatae (Pécs)
SPFFBU	Sborník Praci Filosofické Fakulty Brnenské University (Brno)
SSz	Soproni Szemle (Sopron)
StudArch	Studia archaeologica. (Budapest)
StComit	Studia Comitatensia (Budapest)
ŠtZ	Študijné Zvesti Archeologického Ústavu Slovenskej Akademie Vied (Nitra)

SzekszárdiMÉ	A Szekszárdi Béri Balogh Ádám Múzeum Évkönyve (Szekszárd)
TapolcaiMK	Tapolcai Városi Múzeum Közleményei (Tapolca)
ThLL	Thesaurus linguae Latinae. (Leipzig)
TrZ	Trierer Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst des Trierer Landes und seiner Nachbargebietes (Trier)
VAH	Varia archaeologica Hungarica. (Budapest)
VAMZ	Vjestnik Arheološkog Muzeja u Zagrebu (Zagreb)
VeszprémMMK	A Veszprém Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei (Veszprém)
VHAD	Vjesnik Hrvatskog Arheološkog Društva (Zagreb)
WMMK	Wosinsky Mór Megyei Múzum Évkönyve (Szekszárd)
ZalaiGyűjt	Zalai gyűjtemény. (Zalaegerszeg)
ZPE	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik (Bonn)

Maria R.-Alföldi

DER REBELL ALS RETTER

Was geschieht mit dem, der gegen den römischen Kaiser den Aufstand wagt und unterliegt? Er hat ein Majestätsverbrechen begangen und verfällt strengster Strafe. Der Jurist Ulpian faßt zu Beginn des 3. Jhs. den Tatbestand zusammen:[1] *„Dem Religionsfrevel kommt jenes Verbrechen am nächsten, das Majestätsverbrechen heißt. Das Majestätsverbrechen richtet sich gegen das römische Volk oder gegen seine Sicherheit."* In der nun folgenden Aufzählung der einzelnen Tatbestände des *crimen laesae maiestatis* stehen unter anderem die Ermordung eines Magistrats des römischen Volkes, eines Imperiumträgers und verschiedene Formen des Hochverrrats, nicht zuletzt auch der bewaffnete Aufstand.[2] Der Kaiser ist unter den geschützten Würdenträgern nicht explizit genannt, gehört aber ohne jeden Zweifel dazu, wie die Praxis seit Beginn der Kaiserzeit immer wieder zeigt. Die Nachfolger verratener, ermordeter Kaiser treten wiederholt als Rächer ihrer Vorgänger auf, so etwa Diocletian 284 an der Schwelle der Spätantike.[3] Die Tatsache muß daher denn doch zu denken geben, daß gerade in der Spätantike nicht jeder Rebell, obwohl unterlegen, der Ächtung und dem Tod verfallen ist, wie zu erwarten wäre. Vetranio kann als Beispiel für so einen besonderen Fall dienen, hier umso mehr aktuell, als seine kurze Herrschaft eng mit den Donauprovinzen verbunden ist.[4] Fassen wir die Ereignisse kurz zusammen.

Vetranio und Constantius II.

Constantins des Großen jüngster Sohn Constans, Regent im westlichen Reichsteil und in Italien fällt im Januar 350 einem Aufstand zum Opfer. Der Anführer Magnentius stabilisiert seine Macht im Westen, er kann Ende Juni des gleichen Jahres sogar die gegen ihn gerichtete Rebellion Nepotians eines Neffen Constantins, in Rom niederschlagen.[5] Da die Truppen Magnentius durchaus begrüßen, ist ein Anschluß der Donauprovinzen und Illyricums für ihn in greifbarer Nähe. Constantius II., der Erbe Constantins des Großen, wird zur gleichen Zeit

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[1] Dig. 48,4,1,1; zusammenfassend *Th. Mommsen:* Römisches Strafrecht. Leipzig 1899, bes. 554f.; *G. Pugliese:* Linee generali dell'evoluzione del dritto penale pubblico durante il prinzipato. ANRW II:14. Berlin – New York 1982, 722ff., bes. 750ff. Vgl. *Dahlheim 1984* 42f. mit weiterführenden Literaturhinweisen.

[2] Dig. 48,4,1,1: Proximum sacrilegio crimen est, quod maiestatis dicitur. Maiestatis autem crimen illud est, quod adversus populum Romanum vel adversus securitatem eius committitur. quo tenetur is,... quis magistratus populi Romani quive imperium potestatemve habet occidatur:... quis contra rem publicam arma ferat:... quive milites sollicitaverit concitaveritve, quo seditio tumultusve adversus rem publicam fiat.

[3] *F. Kolb* in *Szidat 1997* 35 mit weiteren Hinweisen. Zu Diocletian vgl. *Bellen 1998* 244.

[4] PWRE 8 A (1958) Sp. 1838ff. (*W. Enßlin*); PLRE 1 (1971) 954 mit allen Hinweisen auf die Textquellen; s. auch *Bleckmann 1994* bes. 42ff.

[5] Zu Nepotian: PLRE 1 (1971) 624; vgl. auch *J. Gricourt – D. Gricourt*, in: Mélanges de numismatique offerts à Pierre Bastien à l'occasion de son 75e anniversaire. Wetteren 1987, 217ff.

mit dem Großteil seiner Truppen wegen der persischen Gefahr im Osten festgehalten. Seine Schwester Constantina[6] ergreift in diesem schwierigen Moment die Initiative und ermutigt den *magister militum* Vetranio, den langjährigen, bejahrten Kommandanten der illyrischen Truppen, die Macht zu ergreifen, um das Donaugebiet und Illyricum zu beschützen. So wird Vetranio am 1. März 350 zum Kaiser ausgerufen. Constantius II. bestätigt ihn; er kann garnicht anders, so wie die Dinge liegen. Magnentius jedoch fordert Vetranio auf, mit ihm zusammen gegen Constantius vorzugehen. Daß dieser darauf nicht eingeht,[7] beweisen seine Münzen, wie ein kurzer Blick auf die Prägetätigkeit in seinem Namen zeigt.

Zwei Münzstätten arbeiten in Vetranios Herrschaftsgebiet für den neuen Kaiser, Siscia und Thessalonica. Die Gold- und Silberprägung ist nicht besonders umfangreich. Zunächst die Solidi: eine Reihe in Siscia mit SALVATOR REI PVBLICAE stellt den neuen Kaiser vor, stehend mit dem *labarum*, die Victoria hält ihm den Siegeskranz über den Kopf. Die andere Reihe kommt aus Thessalonica, sie feiert und beschwört die Armee mit VIRTVS EXERCITVM als Legende. Im Bild erscheint wieder der Kaiser als Sieger mit der Trophäe in der Hand, an der ein Gefangener kauert. In Siscia scheint wegen des Münzstättenzeichens ASIS* eine Reihe des Constantius II. in diese Zeit zu gehören.[8] In Thessalonica fehlt ein Solidusausstoß in seinem Namen nach dem aktuellen Stand der Kenntnisse; man bedenke aber, daß das Prägevolumen in Edelmetall dort überhaupt schwach ist.

Die Silberemission ist jedenfalls in Siscia, der Hauptmünzstätte Vetranios erheblich stärker: Das Antrittsdonativ an die Armee wird ja in Silber gezahlt. Daher ist es kaum verwunderlich, daß das größere Nominal, *miliarensis*, nur für Vetranio, das kleine, *siliqua* aber für beide Kaiser gleichmäßig produziert wird.

	Vetranio		**Constantius II.**
schwere miliarenses			
GAVDIVM POPVLI ROMANI	O O ♦♉♦	um 4,90 g	
leichte miliarenses	O ♦♉♦	um 4,10 - 4,36 g	
	O ♦♉♦O		
siliquae	♦♉♦	Victoria mit Kranz und Trophäe	♦♉♦
	♦♉♦S		♦♉♦S
	♦♉♦	Victoria m. Palmzweig und Trophäe	♦♉♦

[6] PLRE 1 (1971) 222; *Bleckmann 1994* 32ff.; zur Namensform: HAW III/6 83 Anm. 20 (*A. Demandt*).

[7] Julian, der nachmalige Kaiser, behauptet in seinen beiden Lobreden auf Constantius II. und an Kaiserin Eusebia das Gegenteil, vgl. die Stellen PWRE 8 A Sp. 1839 (*W. Enßlin*). Die Reden wurden im Winter 356–357 fertiggestellt, also Jahre nach den hier behandelten Ereignissen, s. *J. Bidez:* L'Empereur Julien. Oevre complètes. I:1: Discours de Julien César. Paris 1932, 3, 71. Das Lob des Kaiserpaares ist höher, wenn Vetranio mindestens zeitweilig als illoyal hingestellt wird, hat ihm Constantius am Ende doch noch seinen Willen aufzwingen könne. Es geht hier wohl eher um Kaiserlob, nicht um Tatsachen; vgl. jedoch *Bleckmann 1994* 44ff.; 49f.

[8] RIC 259, ein Typ, der in der Zeit von 340–350 sehr häufig ist.

Diesem Befund entspricht im kleineren Ausstoß in Thessalonica die einzige Serie von schweren *miliarenses* mit Vetranio auf der Vorderseite, soweit man heute sehen kann.

Der kleinere Aes-Ausstoß in Thessalonica scheint auf den ersten Blick nicht ganz so ausgewogen zu sein; berücksichtigt man aber die Tatsache, daß für Constantius II. alleine zwei FEL TEMP REPARATIO-Typen produziert werden,[9] und der CONCORDIA MILITVM-Typ für ihn mitgeprägt wird, ist das Gleichgewicht wiederhergestellt. Lediglich das Aes 3 führt nur Vetranio-Vorderseiten, soweit unser Material einstweilen zeigt. Magnentius-Münzen sind, und das ist entscheidend, in Vetranios Regie nicht geprägt worden.

Die Thematik der Vetranio-Münzen bereitet nur zum Teil Überraschungen. Auf der Solidus-Reihe in Siscia präsentiert er sich mit der neuen aber aus der Situation gut verständlichen Legende SALVATOR REI PVBLICAE, als *Retter der res publica* und gibt damit die offizielle Lesart seiner Usurpation an. Daß dazu ein Rückseitenbild Constantins des Großen wiederholt wird, entspricht, wie noch zu sehen sein wird, seiner Selbstdarstellung insgesamt. Ein anderer Aspekt ist für ihn mindestens ebenso wichtig. Er muß das Heer in den Mittelpunkt stellen. Es ist sinnvoll, wenn ein soeben durch einvernehmliches Handeln seiner Soldaten zum Kaiser Erhobener diese Schicht hofiert. Im Falle Vetranios entspricht der Inhalt der Münzpropaganda den Tatsachen, sie hat zudem für die kommende Zeit beschwörenden Charakter. CONCORDIA MILITVM (*Taf. 1.3*), *Eintracht der Soldaten*, steht als Devise um das Bild des neuen Kaisers, der in jeder Hand eine Kommandofahne hält; er spricht beide großen militärischen Gruppen an, die Reiter *(equites)* und die Infanterie *(pedites)*. Die *concordia* ist das überragende Thema der Münzen Vetranios in seinen beiden Münzstätten Siscia und Thessalonica. VIRTVS EXERCITVM (*Taf. 1.4–5*) lobt die Tapferkeit der Armee, GLORIA ROMANORVM, *Ruhm den Römern* (*Taf. 1.8–9*) und VIRTVS AV-G-VSTORVM, *Virtus*[10] *der Augusti* (*Taf. 1.11*) auf dem Kleingeld erinnern an den Kaiser als Träger des Sieges für beide Regenten, Vetranio wie Constantius II.

Die kaiserlichen Gaben anläßlich des Antritts — *donativa* — werden in Gold und Silber verteilt. Sehr bezeichnend ist daher die Konzeption der Miliarenses *Taf. 1.1:* Die Legende GAVDIVM POPVLI ROMANI, Freude *des römischen Volkes*[11] umgibt den kaiserlichen Kranz, darin das Antrittsgelübde für glückliche Regierungsjahre VOT(*a*) V(*quinquennalia*) / MVL(*ta*) / X(*decennalia devota*), zu deutsch: *Fünf- und Zehnjares-Regierungsjubiläen wurden gelobt.* Das Silberstück *Taf. 1.10* mit VICTORIA AVGVSTORVM, *Sieg der Kaiser,* bedarf nach der starken Betonung des Militärs keiner besonderen Erklärung. Interessant, aber ebenso wenig überraschend ist die Adaptation für Vetranio eines Typs der vielfachen Silberstücke der Brüder Constantius II. und Constans in Siscia[12] *Taf.1.2.* Er be-

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[9] LRBC 1660ff.; bzw. 1665ff., Schiff und Reitersturz.

[10] Zum Begriff *virtus* vgl. *Dahlheim 1984 passim* unter dem Stichwort und 224 zur weiterführenden Literatur.

[11] Der Wortlaut der Legende spricht die öffentlichen Freudenfeste Roms, das *gaudium publicum* an, wie es in den spätrömischn Gesetzeswerken formuliert ist: CTh 8,11,4 = CJ 12,63,1; s. auch *A. Alföldi:* Die monarchische Repräsentation im römischen Kaiserreiche. Darmstadt 1970, 219.

[12] Zur Serie insgesamt s. *M. R.-Alföldi* in: Festschrift für Edith Schönert-Geiß. Berlin 1998, in Druck.

schwört unverändert den Sieg des gottgewollten Kaisers. Die neue Vorderseite trägt das verbindliche Münzporträt des Vetranio, von dem alle anderen abhängen.

Vetranio						**Constantius II.**				
CONCORDIA MILITVM Dm: 25/24 mm., 4,7 g Vs: ♉										
♉ / ♉♠♋♠						♉ / ♉♠♋♠				
♉ / ♍♉♠♋♠ ♍		♑				♉ / ♍♉♠♋♠ ♍		♑		
		♉ / ♑♠♋♠*						♉ / ♑♠♋♠*		
♉ / ♍♉♠♋♠ *	♐	♑	♎	♏		♉ / ♍♉♠♋♠ *	♐	♑	♎	♏
CONCORDIA MILITVM Dm: 23/22 mm., 4,7 g Vs: ♉ *										
♉ / ♍♉♠♋♠ ♍	♐	♑	♎	♏		♉ / ♍♉♠♋♠ ♍	♐	♑	♎	♏
♉ / ♍♉♠♋♠ *						♉ / ♍♉♠♋♠ *				
HOC SIGNO VICTOR ERIS Dm: 25/24 mm, 4,7 g Vs.: ♉ .										
				♉ / ♏♠♋♠*						
♉ / ♍♉♠♋♠ *	♐	♑	♎	♏		♉ / ♍♉♠♋♠ *	♐	♑	♎	♏
HOC SIGNO VICTOR ERIS Dm: 23/22 mm, 4,7 g Vs.: ♉ *										
♉ / ♍♉♠♋♠ ♍	♐	♑	♎	♏		♉ / ♍♉♠♋♠ ♍	♐	♑	♎	♏
♉ / ♍♉♠♋♠ *	♐	♑	♎	♏		♉ / ♍♉♠♋♠ *	♐	♑	♎	♏
GLORIA ROMANORVM Dm: 19/17 mm, 2,5/2,3 g										
/ ♉♠♋♠	♐	♑	♎	♏		/ ♉♠♋♠	♐	♑	♎	♏
VIRTVS AVGVSTORVM Dm: 19/17 mm, 2,5/3,9 g										
/ ♉♠♋♠	♐	♑	♎	♏		/ ♉♠♋♠	♐	♑	♎	♏

Völlig neu und politisch von tiefer Bedeutung ist die Rückseite HOC SIG-NO VICTOR ERIS, *in diesem Zeichen wirst du* Sieger, *Taf. 1.6–7* mit dem Münzbild der den Kaiser krönenden Victoria, er hält die Kommandofahne mit dem sieghaf-

ten Zeichen, nämlich mit dem Christusmonogramm (*labarum*) in der Hand.[13] Der Typ wird in völlig gleicher Stärke auch für Constantius II. geprägt. Es ist eine betont constantinische Devise, gegen die sich etwas später, nach dem Ende der Vetranio-Episode und nach der verlorenen Schlacht gegen Constantius II. bei Mursa Magnentius mit den gleichen Waffen der Münzpropaganda wenden wird.[14]

Ob nun Vetranio eigene Ziele verfolgte, oder sich am Ende sogar vor den Karren der Machtgelüste und -ansprüche Constantinas hat spannen lassen,[15] ist in unserem Zusammenhang weniger wichtig, als die Tatsache, daß er — verraten, gezwungen oder freiwillig — am 25. Dezember 350[16] vor Constantius II. in Naissus in aller Form abdankt. Es ist ohne Zweifel sein Verdienst, daß er Magnentius' Vormarsch gen Osten zum Stehen gebracht und damit der Ausweitung seiner Usurpation Einhalt geboten hat. Vetranio darf sich nach der Abdankung nach Prusa in Bithynien zurückziehen, wo er sechs Jahre später, 356 als Privatmann stirbt, ein Usurpator also, zeitweise halbwegs anerkannt, vor allem aber nicht bestraft für sein Tun. Er hat sogar — sicher wegen des lebhaften Sammlerinteresses für seine Münzen — einen Platz in der gewiß eigenwilligen Porträtgalerie der Herrscher bekommen, die der Medailleur C. Wermuth um die Wende des 17. zum 18. Jh. geschaffen hat. *Taf. 1.12* zeigt das Silbermedaillon[17] mit einem Phantasieporträt und einer durchaus korrekten Kurzfassung seiner Herrschervita auf der Rückseite.

Die geschilderte Vetranio-Episode hat, bei eher schwacher Quellenangabe freilich ihre Vorgänger schon im 3. Jh., wie viele Entwicklungen in der Spätantike. Sie wurden in der Forschung nicht immer genügend berücksichtigt. Schuld daran ist wohl die allzu rigide Handhabung der (künstlichen) Epochengrenze zur Spätantike, die manche Entwicklung zerschneidet. Es lohnt sich also, hier einige Beispiele kurz zu betrachten.

Uranius Antoninus und Valerian

Die Lage an den Ostgrenzen des römischen Reiches wird mit den 40er Jahren des 3. Jhs. bei wachsender Überlegenheit der Perser immer gefährlicher. Militärische Niederlagen, schwere finaziellen Belastungen sind die Folge.[18] Als der mächtige sasanidische Großkönig Schapur I. im Frühjahr 253 erneut zu einem Feldzug aufbricht, ist ihm der Erfolg sogut wie sicher, umso mehr, als Rom wieder in Thronwirren verstrickt ist: Aemilius Aemilianus hat sich gegen Trebonianus Gallus und seinen Sohn und Mitregenten Volusianus erhoben. Auf dem Zug gegen ihn werden beide im Sommer 253 ermordet. Aemilian selbst überlebt aber den

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[13] *A. Alföldi:* Pisciuli. Studien zur Religion und Kultur des Altertums. Franz Joseph Dölger zum sechzigsten Geburtstag. Münster 1939, 5ff. zur Deutung; vgl. auch *Bleckmann 1994,* 47ff.

[14] *M. R.-Alföldi:* Bild und Bildersprache der römischen Kaiser. Mainz 1998, Kapitel *Alpha und Omega*, in Druck.

[15] *Bleckmann 1994* 46ff. *passim* auch zur Abdankung.

[16] *Kienast 1990* 316.

[17] Weiteres s. *B. Peus* Nachf. Auktionskatalog 299, 1980, Nr. 750.

[18] Zusammenfassend: *Kettenhofer 1982.*

Herbst des gleichen Jahres auch nicht.[19] Erst der im Sommer ausgerufene Valerian kann sich in den folgenden Jahren auf dem Kaiserthron behaupten.

Dem Siegeszug Schapurs in Syrien scheint die reiche Stadt Emesa, Sitz eines mächtigen Ba'al-Kultes erfolgreich Widerstand geleistet zu haben. Der Name Emesa fehlt jedenfalls in der Aufzählung seiner Eroberungen.[20] Darüber hinaus wird berichtet, daß eine lokale Milizarmee unter dem Priester Sampsigeramos die Perser erfolgreich von Emesa fernhalten kann, dies alles im Jahre 253, wie auch die gesamte Prägung in Gold, Silber und Bronze des Emeseners Uranius Antoninus mit wiederholten Hinweisen auf Kampf und Sieg datiert werden muß.[21]

Die Gleichsetzung beider Personen bzw. Namen ist sehr wahrscheinlich, auch wenn ein direkter Beweis fehlt.[22] Wozu wäre die Usurpation des Uranius Antoninus zur Zeit des für Emesa bedrohlichen Perserfeldzuges mit kräftiger lokaler Münzprägung gut, wenn nicht für die Abwehr des Angriffs, für den Schutz der Stadt? Erfolgreich im Übrigen, wie wir (unter dem alten Emesener dynastischen Namen Sampsigeramos) erfahren. Uranius Antoninus' Münzprägung ist noch voll im Gange[23] als der neue römische Kaiser Valerian Anfang 254 in Syrien eintrifft und Sitz in Antiochia am Orontes nimmt. Über das weitere Schicksal des Usurpators ist nichts bekannt; wir hören auch von keiner Absetzung oder von sonstigen Strafmaßnahmen. Er hat in einer lokalen Krise tatkräftig gehandelt und hatte Erfolg. Es ist übrigens interessant festzustellen, daß er auf den staatsrechtlich relevanten, lateinisch beschrifteten Goldmünzen auf eine kaiserliche Ausstattung ebenso verzichtet, wie auf die kaiserliche Titulatur.[24]

Rom und das palmyrenische Fürstenhaus

Daß unter dem Druck der Ereignisse eine lokale Verteidung dem Kaiser nicht ungelegen kommt, zeigt der weitere Verlauf der römisch-persischen Auseinandersetzungen nach der Katastrophe Valerians, nach seiner Gefangennahme 260 durch Schapur[25] und nach seinem Tod in der Gefangenschaft. Die Ereignisse weisen zugleich darauf hin, daß Gallienus aus der erfolgreichen Abwehr der Perser vor Emesa vielleicht doch gewisse Lehren gezogen hat. Die Angriffe Schapurs hören auch nach dem Sieg über Valerian nicht auf.[26] In diesen Kämpfen, aber auch gegen Thronprätendenten erfolgreich, wird Septimius Odaenathus, Fürst von Palmyra 262 von Gallienus zum dux Romanorum ernannt,[27] erhält den im-

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[19] *Kienast1990* 207ff.

[20] *Baldus 1971* 231ff. mit weiteren Hinweisen.

[21] *Baldus 1971* 246ff.; 265ff. zusammenfassend.

[22] *H. Castritiu* Gnomon 46 (1974) 594f.

[23] Zum Ende der Prägung s. *H. R. Baldus* Chiron 5 (1975) 443f.

[24] *Baldus 1971* 127ff. passim.

[25] *Kienast 1990* 212f.; *Kettenhofer 1982* 59ff.

[26] Vgl. zusammenfassend *Kettenhofer 1982 passim*; *Drijvers 1977* 799ff., vgl. *ders.* in: *Palmyra*, 128ff.; Karriere des Odaenathus und Textquellen: PIR III. Berlin 1898, Nr. S 339.

[27] Die jüngere antike Tradition erwähnt gelegenlich, er habe eine Verbindung auch zu Schapur gesucht, sei aber zurückgewiesen worden; vgl. PIR III Berlin 1898, 211.

perator-Titel und wird schließlich corrector totius Orientis. Seine Position im Gebiet charakterisiert der weitere Titel rex regum, König der Könige. Er kämpft weiter; 266–267 belagert er sogar die sasanidische Hauptstadt Ktesiphon und gewinnt die an Schapur verlorengegangenen Städte Nisibis und Carrhae für Rom zurück. Seine Ernennung zum Vertreter Roms an der gefährdeten Ostgrenze könnte man als vorsorgliche Legalisierung einer in der gegebenen schwierigen Lage fast schon unvermeidlichen „Usurpation im Sinne römischer Interessen" auffassen. Odaenathus wird in der zweiten Hälfte des Jahres 267 mitten im Siegeszug ermordet; er wurde wohl das Opfer einer (Familien) Intrige.

Auf Odaenathus folgt sein jüngerer Sohn Vaballathus im Rang des corrector totius Orientis mit dem väterlichen Titel rex regum. Seine Mutter Zenobia führt als Königin die Regentschaft für ihn.[28] Ob nun lokale Probleme, die Eigendynamik der Situation oder persönliche Motive der Grund sind, sie läßt auf Ägypten, dann auf Kleinasien übergreifen und erhöht 272 einseitig ihrer beider Titel: Vaballathus wird zum Augustus, sie selbst zur Augusta. Noch in dieser Phase wird versucht, Kaiser Aurelian, der seit 270 regiert, friedlich zu stimmen: Die Vaballathus-Münzen in Alexandria und in Antiochia tragen zeitweise auf der einen Seite, seine, auf der anderen aber Aurelians Büste,[29] anschließend in Alexandria freilich die der Zenobia und des Vaballathus. Aurelian geht auf Verhandlungen nicht ein; es kommt zum Krieg und zum Verlust der eben durch Palmyra eroberten Gebiete. Zenobia wird auf der Flucht zusammen mit ihrem Sohn von den Römern gefangengenommen und nach Rom gebracht. Über ihr weiteres Schicksal äußern sich die schriftlichen Quellen widersprüchlich.[30] Zosimos und Zonaras berichten von ihrem Tod auf dem Weg nach Rom, Malalas, daß sie nach dem Triumph Aurelians enthauptet worden wäre; die anderen — spätaniken wie byzantinischen — Autoren sagen, daß sie und ihr Sohn nach dem Triumph in Tivoli und in Rom unbehelligt weitergelebt haben. Eutrop weist (9,13,2) knapp 100 Jahre nach den Ereignissen darauf hin, daß Zenobias Nachfahren zu seiner Zeit noch in Rom leben. Diese Meinung ist heute in der Forschung am häufigsten vertreten, nicht ganz ohne Grund. Aurelians Konzilianz dem ebenfalls besiegten Tetricus gegenüber, wie unten noch zu zeigen sein wird, verleiht ihr doch eine gewisse Bestätigung.

Tetricus und Aurelian

Zur gleichen Zeit, im Jahr 260, als im Osten die persische Gefahr am größten ist, entsteht im Westen das sog. Gallische Sonderreich. Die Gründe sind ähnlich, auch wenn der Anlaß zur Ausrufung des Postumus zum Kaiser zunächst ein Streit um eine von Germanen abgenommene Beute ist: An der Rheingrenze fühlt

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[28] Vaballathus: PIR III. Berlin 1898, Nr. S 347; Zenobia: S 355. Vgl. *E. Equini Schneider:* Septimia Zenobia Sebaste. Stud. Arch. 61. Roma 1993, 61ff. zur Geschichte; *Drijvers 1977* passim; *J. Long* in: (R. W. Mathisen – H. S. Sivan) Shifting Frontiers in Late Antiquity. 1996, 59ff., bes. 69f.; *B. Kytzler:* Frauen der Antike. Von Aspasia bis Zenobia. Zürich 1994, 176ff. mit weiterer Literatur.

[29] Vgl. zusammenfassend: *W. Szaivert* in: *Palmyra* 244ff., bes. 246ff.

[30] Vgl. *F. Paschoud's* Kommentar zu Zos. 1,59. Paris 1971, 168f.

man sich bedroht, man wünscht die schützende Präsenz eines Kaisers und seiner Armee.[31] Gallienus versucht wiederholt, die Westprovinzen wiederzugewinnen; es gelingt ihm nicht. Das *Imperium Galliarum* bleibt im ganzen 14 Jahre, von 260 bis 274 unter wechselnden Kaisern selbstständig. Nach dem Tod des Postumus 269[32] folgen weniger souveräne Persönlichkeiten auf dem gallischen Thron; innere Unruhen erschweren die ohnehin nicht einfache Lage. Nachdem Aurelian im Spätsommer 272[33] das Problem Palmyra im Osten gelöst hat, wendet er sich nunmehr dem westlichen Parallelfall, dem Gallischen Sonderreich zu. Es kommt zu einer Schlacht zwischen seiner Armee und der des Tetricus auf den Katalaunischen Feldern. Eutrop berichtet in seiner kurzgefaßten römische Geschichte knappe 100 Jahre später darüber:[34] *Er besigte in Gallien Tetricus auf den katalaunischen Feldern,* (wobei) *Tetricus selbst sein Heer verriet, da er dessen andauernde Aufstände nicht* (mehr) *ertragen konnte. Er bat also in einem Geheimschreiben Aurelian flehentlich unter anderm mit Versen Vergils: 'Rette mich, oh du Unbesiegter, von diesen Bösen.'* Nach Aurelians Sieg wird Tetricus mit seinem Sohn gleichen Namens zusammen mit Zenobia und den Palmyrenischen Anführern als besiegter Herrscher der gallischen Gebiete im Triumphzug Aurelians 274 in Rom mitgeführt.[35] Anschließend wirkt er als *corrector Lucaniae* in einem hohen Verwaltungsamt in Süditalien noch Jahre bis zu seinem Tod in hohem Alter.

Zusammenfassend

fallen dem Betrachter gewisse gleiche oder jedenfalls vergleichbare Elemente der erzählten Episoden trotz aller Unsicherheiten der Überlieferung aus dem 3. und 4. Jh. ins Auge.

Alle „Aufstände" entstehen aus einer (lokalen) Notlage; die Abhilfe und die Rettung der betroffenen Gebiete wären Aufgaben des regierenden Kaisers, der aber zu weit weg ist, um schnelle Hilfe zu leisten. Die Befehlsgewalt kann der „Rebell als Retter" freilich besser mit der Aneignung der vollen Kaisergewalt ausüben als ohne sie. Trotzdem: Vetranio wird dazu von der Kaisertochter Constantina ermutigt, Uranius Antoninus hält sich loyal zurück, wie die Wahl der Insignien und der Titulatur jedenfalls auf den staatsrechtlich relevanten Goldmünzen zeigt. So handelt zunächst auch Zenobia. Tetricus steht in der Tradition der vollen kaiserlichen *auctoritas*, er kann gar nicht anders, als sich selbst als Kaiser zu geben.

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[31] *Bellen 1998* 224; *I. König:* Die gallischen Usurpatoren von Postumus bis Tetricus. München 1981, 158ff. mit der weiterführenden Literatur, sowie 182ff. zum Gesamtphänomen.

[32] *Kienast 1990* 240 bzw. 240ff. für die Regierungsdaten der Periode.

[33] *Kienast 1990* 238.

[34] *Eutrop*. Brev. (ed. *C. Santini* 1979) 9, 13, 1: Superavit in Gallia Tetricum apud Catalaunos ipso Tetrico prodente exercitum suum, cuius adsiduas seditiones ferre non poterat. quin etiam per litteras occultas Aurelianum ita fuerat deprecatus, ut inter alia versu Vergiliano uteretur: 'Eripe me his, invicte, malis.'

[35] Vgl. *E. W. Merten:* Zwei Herrscherfeste in der Historia Augusta. Untersuchungen zu der Pompe der Kaiser Gallienus und Aurelianus. Antiquitas 4/5. Bonn 1968.

Vetranio ergibt sich freiwillig dem Constantius II., Tetricus sucht unterwürfig die Aussöhnung mit Aurelian, wenn Eutrops Bericht korrekt ist; Zenobia und Tetricus nehmen beide die öffentliche Demütigung im Triumphzug auf sich. Vom Verhalten des Uranius Antoninus Kaiser Valerian gegenüber hören wir nichts.

Allen aber ist die Kapitalstrafe, wie sie die römische Majestätsklage vorsieht, erspart geblieben. Mehr noch, sie führen, soweit ersichtlich, ein freies und geachtetes Leben nach ihrer Ergebung: Vetranio verbringt seine letzten Jahre unbehelligt als Privatmann im bithynischen Prusa, Tetricus in Süditalien im hohen Rang eines *corrector Lucaniae*, Zenobia scheint in Rom und in Tivoli weitergelebt zuhaben. Man wird unschwer etwas Vergleichbares von Uranius Antoninus annehmen, freilich kaum als Hohepriester seines Ba'als in Emesa, denn das Prinzip ist offenbar, die „rebellischen Retter" möglichst weit weg vom ursprünglichen Ort ihrer Taten eine neue Existenz aufbauen zu lassen. Um dies noch einmal zu wiederholen, im Falle des Uranius Antoninus fehlen uns weiterführende Hinweise, abgesehen davon, daß von einer Bestrafung nicht berichtet wird.

Knapp 10 Jahre nach Aurelians Tod im Jahre 275 beginnt Diocletian mit seinem Reformwerk, das offenbar aus seiner Erfahrung mit dem Zustand des Imperiums stammt. Ein wesentlicher Teil der Neuorganisation betrifft die Reform der Herrschaftsordnung. Er verdoppelt bzw. vervierfacht das Kaiseramt, um die ungestörte Nachfolge zu sichern, mit abgestufter Befugnis freilich; er selbst bleibt das Oberhaupt der Tetrarchie kraft Autorität und Ancienität. Das neue Herrschaftssystem soll unter anderem den/die Kaiser näher an die Gefahrenzonen heranbringen, damit sie selbst die gefährdeten Gebiete schützen können, um so den Zerfall des Imperiums zu verhüten. Daß bei dem Gedankengang die Erfahrungen aus den Jahrzehnten vor seinem Thronantritt eine wesentliche Rolle gespielt haben, sah bereits H. R. Baldus richtig;[36] der Rebell konnte schon in der Krise des 3. Jhs. in besonderen Fällen zum Retter werden, wenn bestimmte Elemente des Handelns insgesamt stimmten: Erfolgreiche Abwehr der lokalen Gefahr in sonst auswegsloser Situation, (freiwillige) Ergebung in die charismatische Macht des regierenden Kaisers, der dadurch selbst zum Sieger und Retter wird. Es ist alles in allem die (wiederkehrende) Ausnahme, nicht die Regel. Das Prinzip der Ächtung des Aufstandes wird durch solche Vorkommnisse nicht aufgehoben.[37]

Daß aber einem Machtmenschen mit der gehörigen Fortune trotz aller Theorie immer die Herrschaft über das gesamte römische Imperium als Ziel vorschweben wird, zeigt allein schon die Karriere Constantins des Großen, die 306, also rund 20 Jahre nach dem Einsetzen der Mehrerherrschaft beginnt. Der Kampf um die Alleinherrschaft wird fortan im 4. Jh. die römische Geschichte störend mitbestimmen.[38]

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[36] *Baldus 1971* 268f.

[37] Es ist bezeichnend, daß in den stürmischen Jahren des 5. Jhs. es die Stadtbischöfe sind, die ganz selbstverständlich die Verteidigung gegen die Barbaren vor Ort organisieren: vgl. HWA III/6 (München 1989) 4/2 und Anm. 55 (*A. Demandt*).

[38] Anders *Szidat 1977* bzw. E. Flaig, 12 bzw. 27; schon die aufgeführten Beispiele sprechen gegen die These, daß die spätantiken Usurpatoren lediglich als Teilherrscher in einem begrenzten Bereich anerkannt werden wollten. Sie haben ihre Grenzen immer wieder versucht, zu überwinden. Eine anfängliche Anerkennung erleichterte lediglich ihren (selten ganz erfolgreichen) Weg.

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TAFELVERZEICHNIS:

Taf. I

1 Vetranio RIC (Siscia) 261, AR 5,02 g – Leu 13, 1975 Nr. 507
2 " AR Mult. 13,34 g – Tkalec 25. 10. 1996 Nr. 296
3 " RIC (Siscia) 281 AE – B. Peus Nachf. 292, 1977 Nr. 5264
4 " RIC (Thessalonica) 124 AV 4,57 g – Hess-Leu 49, 1971 Nr. 468
5 " RIC (Thessalonica) 126 AE – Mzhdlg Basel 3, 1935 Nr. 1002
6 " RIC (Siscia) 281 AE – Mzhdlg Basel 3, 1935 Nr. 1085
7 " RIC (Siscia) 279 AE – Athena München 1, 1987 Nr. 352
8 " RIC (Siscia) 294 (mit g) AE – B. Peus Nachf. 290, 1976 Nr. 441
9 " RIC (Siscia) 294 (mit A) AE – B. Peus Nachf. 301, 1981 Nr. 1029
10 " RIC (Siscia) 267 AR 3,25 g – Sternberg Nov. 1973 Nr. 451
11 " RIC (Siscia) 296 AE – SKA monetarium 39, 1983 Nr. 218
12 " Medaillon AR – B. Peus Nachf. 299, 1980 Nr. 750

László Bartosiewicz

A SYSTEMATIC REVIEW OF ASTRAGALUS FINDS FROM ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES

Introduction

During the identification and analysis of animal bones from archaeological sites, astragalus (talus or knuckle-) bones usually from domestic[1] ruminants[2] often seem to have been separated out from the mass of refuse bone. Although many other remains of the animal skeleton seem to be more spectacular (e. g. skulls, trophies of *Kopfbewaffnung*, carefully decorated ornamental pieces) these modest-looking short bones from the autopodium with their clearly-defined brick shape stand out by reason of their frequent occurrence in major archaeological deposits and the variety of their worked forms. This paper attempts to outline an interpretative framework for the chief forms in which such astragali may be systematically reviewed.

Playing with „hock bones" has been a continuous tradition since prehistoric times. There are modified sheep/goat astragali from Early and Middle Bronze Age levels (3rd millennium BC) from the eastern Anatolian site of Arslantepe.[3] Erasmus of Rotterdam traced back this game to ancient Greece.[4] Indeed, in Homer's *Iliad* there is a direct reference to astragali within the context of a tragic murder resulting from a „silly quarrel over the knuckle-bones".[5] According to Plutarch, Alchibiades showed great courage as a child when he threw himself in front of a wagon thereby preventing it from driving over his precious knucklebone that had fallen on the street.[6] Numerous other such references occur in the classical literature, and iconographic evidence is also common.[7] Two girls playing with knuckle-bones, depicted in a Tanagra figurine from the 3rd century BC Capua,[8] may be mentioned here as a typical example. In addition to archaeological finds, medieval documentary evidence of playing with knuckle-bones is available from the Buda Castle.[9] By that time, however, dice *de facto* carved from bone had increasingly replaced the use of these barely modified modified astragalus bones in gambling.

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[1] A rare example of worked red deer astragalus from red deer was identified by Alice M. Choyke from the Middle Bronze Age layers of Jászdózsa-Kápolnahalom; *Csányi – Tárnoki 1992* 196, Fig. 291.

[2] Rare examples of drilled pig astragali are known from cremation burials at Dargardt and Pritzier (Mecklenburg, Period of the Roman Empire) published by *Lehmkuhl 1985* 242–243.

[3] *Choyke,* personal communication

[4] *Hindman 1981* 452.

[5] *Homer 1938* XXIII 88. In the origina Greek text, the word „astragalos" is indeed used.

[6] *Plutarch 1965* 300.

[7] e. g. *Rieche 1984* Abb. 11.

[8] *Boardman 1964* 233.

[9] *Endrei – Zolnay 1986* 26; *Mályusz 1951* 35–38.

Interpretive framework for archaeological finds

In this paper, only two major archaeological dimensions of the topic will be analyzed, each representing two categories. One is quantitative and refers to the actual number of astragali recovered within the same archaeological feature or excavation unit. The other dimension is qualitative and is based on the degree of modification on individual pieces. Possible combinations of these two dimensions are shown below:[10]

QUANTITATIVE	QUALITATIVE	
	Unmodified	modified
single deposit	**A**	**C**
multiple deposit	**B**	**D**

In this study, some remarkable archaeological finds and historical sources will be reviewed within the structure provided by this two-way table.

A/ Single, unmodified finds

Undecorated but intact single astragali may occur commonly in any archaeological deposit for purely taphonomic reasons. The compact shape and great density of this skeletal element makes it one of the most frequent sources of metric information.[11] This trend of excellent preservation in cultural deposits, to some extent contradicted by evidence from natural accumulations, where due to scavenging, water transport and the like, the more distally located segments of extremities tend to disappear first.[12] These relatively small and compact bones are more resistant than many other parts of the skeleton, thus they are less prone to destruction by taphonomic factors than crania, vertebrae or large, proximally located long bones. Them absence of this bone in cultural deposits is always related to their deliberate destruction during some kind of food processing. At the Roman site of Aquincum, for example, these bones are rarely found whole but chopped into small, almost geometrical pieces by butchers to create pot sized cuts of meat. Therefore at this site, astragali are rare or badly damaged due to a cultural factor.[13] Any resulting increase or decrease in their relative frequency, at archaeological sites, thus should not be attributed to any particular form of cultural behavior other than butchering, as is actually often indicated by cutmarks on these bones made during the disarticulation of the hock joint.

B/ Multiple deposits of unmodified finds

Undecorated astragali have been known from both settlements and burials since prehistoric times. Forty-four such pieces were found in Pit 55 at the Middle Bronze Age (Vatya culture) site of Lovasberény-Mihályvár,[14] and 31 cattle astragali were recovered from Pit 38 at the AD 3rd–4th century component of the

[10] *Bartosiewicz 1988.*
[11] *von den Driesch 1976,* 7.
[12] *Binford – Bertram 1977.*
[13] *Choyke*, personal communication
[14] *Choyke – Bartosiewicz 1982.*

Sarmatian settlement of Gyoma 133 in Southeastern Hungary.[15] Cattle astragali from the first site were subjected to a detailed morphometric evaluation whose results suggested that both sexes and a broad range of ages were represented in that particular pit.[16] A quantitative analysis of cutmarks and heat related discoloration seems to support the hypothesis that this deposit contained waste from craft activities.[17] The Sarmatian deposit of intact astragali also originates from a settlement feature whose ritual character could not be ascertained on the basis of location or external archaeological evidence. There is another description, however, of a similar multiple deposit of intact astragali came to light from an Iron Age cremation burial (Grave 236) excavated in the courtyard of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Ljubljana.[18] This report shows that the ritual significance of other multiple deposit of intact astragali cannot be ruled out.

Ethnographic parallels to grabbing games, which must have had a long, continuous tradition in many cultures, show that they are always played with several astragali at the same time, which were not necessarily marked or modified. This seems to be the case with the *basketful* of cattle astragali (plus some mid-air during a playing session between two females) in the picture painted by Pieter Bruegel the Elder, entitled „Children's games".[19] Players were supposed to be able to quickly grab several bones thrown up in the air in various combinations. This was more of a test of dexterity and good reflexes than actual gambling.

C/ Modified single finds

Cattle and sheep/goat astragali occur at archaeological sites from many periods. Of these, most characteristic are those on which patterned incisions were made, although, perforated or simply faceted specimens of all sorts are also known. This latter group includes several sheep and cattle astragali (in addition to the aforementioned specimen from red deer) worn on both their lateral and medial sides, recovered from the early Middle and Middle Bronze Age layers at Jászdózsa-Kápolnahalom (1700–1500 BC).[20]

A relatively early example of the astragalus type with incised decoration[21] from Hungary is known from the aforementioned Sarmatian settlement of Gyoma 133 (*Fig. 1.1*).[22] In this case, a five point star was carved into the bone's large caudal articular surface (*facies articularis calcanealis*). As far as this motif is concerned, simple pentagons often occur in Gothic and Lombard decorations as well as antique design.[23]

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[15] *Bartosiewicz 1996a* 412.

[16] *Bartosiewicz 1984.*

[17] *Choyke – Bartosiewicz 1982.*

[18] *Puš 1971.*

[19] *Brown 1980* 7. *Kovács* (*1989* 108) also cites a 1644 Hungarian source in which „fetlock tossing" is mentioned. A game with horse phalanges, possibly corresponding to this description, is played in the shadow in the upper right quarter of the same painting.

[20] *Csányi – Tárnoki 1992* 196, Fig. 291.

[21] Incised phalanges of various ungulates are also known from the Hungarian Middle Bronze Age (*Csányi – Tárnoki 1992* 196, Fig. 292–293), however, they are not subject to this study.

[22] *Choyke 1996* 309.

[23] *Petrie 1974.*

Later examples of decorated cattle astragali include five 9th-10th century specimens (found separately) at the early medieval settlement of Pontes in the Iron Gates Region of Eastern Serbia on the right bank of the Danube.[24] The broad articular surface on three of these specimens is decorated with incised line patterns of varying complexity, while one of them is ornamented by dots. Finally, a cattle astragalus was found whose protruding surfaces were simply polished. Forms decorated with incised lines are also known from coeval sites in Romania in the same region but across the Danube[25] and at Karasura, Central Bulgaria.[26] Such pieces are variably considered dice, calendars or counting devices.

A sheep astragalus dated to the Period of the Árpád Dynasty (13th century), found in an oven fill from the urban settlement at Vác-Köztársaság Street,[27] shows nothing but heavy handling polish. Coeval specimens were also recognized at a number of rural sites in Hungary.[28] Due to their natural shapes these bones could have been used as dice without major modifications. Sometimes, however, similarly to ancient, Bronze Age astragali, flat surfaces were ground even flatter on medieval specimens (examples from Southern Germany[29]). Two knuckle-bones are also known from 16th-17th century Visegrád in Hungary.[30]

D/ Multiple deposits of modified finds

While the occurrence of single decorated and clusters of undecorated cattle astragali at archaeological sites is relatively well documented, ornamented pieces are less commonly found in groups. Twenty-six drilled sheep astragali were found in Grave 1 at the Hallstatt Period site of Halimba-Cseres.[31] Other examples of such bones from Iron Age and Celtic cemeteries have been reported from our region.[32] A deposit of almost 16,000 astragali found in Corycian Cave (representing a time period until 300 BC) were attributed to Hellenistic influences.[33] Many of these bones were perforated, while some others had the names or initials of deities or heroes incised into them. Sheep and goat astragali were often carved into *sets* of dice during the Roman Period as well.[34]

In Hungary, 25 unmodified sheep astragali were found together with 11 drilled, 9 incised and 12 polished specimens in a 10–11th century child's burial at the site of Majs-Udvari rétek. The hole in another specimen in this assemblage was filled with lead as has often been the case with gaming pieces.[35] Such specimens have also been reported from settlement layers dated to the Turkish Period

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[24] *Bartosiewicz 1996b* 297, Fig. 2.
[25] *Comša 1978.*
[26] *Bartosiewicz n. d.* Field notes by the author at Karasura, Bulgaria.
[27] *Bartosiewicz 1995* 178, 18, upper right corner.
[28] e. g. Feldebrő, Bashalom, Tiszalök-Újtelep as listed in *Petényi 1994* 75.
[29] *Röber 1994* 113, Abb. 8.
[30] *Petényi 1994* 75.
[31] *Patek 1993* 88, Abb. 68/1–21; identification by István Vörös.
[32] Süttő: *Vadász 1983* 31; Vác: 1994, 88; Ljubljana: *Puš 1971.*
[33] *Fraser 1971* 16.
[34] *Schmid 1982.*
[35] *Kiss 1983* 127; cited by *Kovács 1989* 108.

of the Szolnok Castle.[36] On the other hand, the use of unworked sets of astragali as dice is also known, with different values assigned to the various sides defined by characteristic morphological features.[37]

Conclusion and perspectives

Human influence on both the final shape and deposition patterns of astragalus bones may both occur in two major forms: throughout European history, noteworthy astragalus finds are either characterized by an unusually great concentration of largely undecorated specimens or various degrees of ornamentation on more sporadically occurring pieces. In the first case, the separation of debris from craft activities vs. ritual accumulations is difficult. An even more puzzling variety of individual ornamented astragali are equally likely to represent bones used in gambling, calculating or fortune telling.

In addition to the qualitative/quantitative dichotomy, a third dimension deserves similar attention. Future studies should focus on additional iconographic and ethnographic data in order to clarify the, as yet, intangible deeper mythological/religious vs. mundane aspects of these bones. This point is supported by the existence of astragali copies made from a great variety of media (*Fig. 1.2*). Astragalus-shaped vases by the early Archaic Period (c.a. 470 BC) potter Syriskos are decorated by mythological scenes shown in red figures.[38] A particularly splendid Attic red figure vase in an stragalus shape is kept in the collections of the British Museum, that was used for storing the astragalus bones themselves.[39] The culture-historical interpretation of symbolism incorporated in such complex artwork, however, is beyond the scope of archaeozoological research. In a completely different culture historical context in 13th century Asia, a roe deer astragalus is exchanged for a *copper copy* as a symbolic kin bond in the „Secret history of Mongols".[40] A 20th century lead copy of a sheep astragalus[41] made in Belgium during the 1950's was used in clusters of three in traditional grabbing games.[42] More recently such pieces have been made from plastic and, in addition to eastern countries, remained in use in the Netherlands, Germany and France as well.[43]

The long tradition and immense geographical/cultural variability of astragalus uses makes the interpretation of relevant archaeological artifacts difficult. The simple scheme presented in this paper, hopefully, will be of help in the primary classification of individual finds.

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[36] *Kovács 1989.*
[37] *Endrei – Zolnay 1986* 26.
[38] *Boardman 1975* 113–114.
[39] *Walker 1929* 219, Pl. 26.
[40] *Ligeti 1962* 37.
[41] *Bartosiewicz 1995* Plate 18 (top right).
[42] *Wim Van Neer*, personal communication.
[43] *Lehmkuhl 1985* 247.

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CAPTIONS

Fig. 1.1. Cattle astragalus from Gyoma 133 with a five point star incised into large the articular surface.

Fig. 1. 2. Giant bronze ruminant astragalus from the Susa Acropolis. Length: c.a. 40 cm (reign of Darius I, 522–468 BC; Le Louvre.

Ágnes Bencze – Dénes Gabler

RECIPIENTI VITREI DALLA VILLA ROMANA DI SAN POTITO DI OVINDOLI (AQ)

Luoghi e condizioni del rinvenimento

Il repertorio dei recipienti vitrei provenienti dagli scavi della villa romana di San Potito non contiene — a parte, forse, una sola eccezione — oggetti di caratteristiche singolari per la lavorazione o per l'appartenenza tipologica, ma quasi sempre suppellettili vitrei piuttosto comuni, appartenenti ai tipi prodotti nei secoli I–III in grandi quantità per l'uso quotidiano. Nella maggioranza decisiva dei casi tali reperti sono venuti alla luce per di più in uno stato irrimediabilmente frammentario, che in molti casi impedisce la classificazione tipologica del pezzo, in alcuni casi ne permette solo una collocazione generica all'interno del quadro tipologico fornito dai rinvenimenti costituiti da esemplari integri; infine, in altri casi, ci siamo permessi di avanzare delle ipotesi riguardo la ricostruzione tipologica di pezzi meglio conservati, utilizzando come punto di riferimento l'analisi delle soluzioni particolari, riscontrabili anche altrove nel mondo romano.

Una pubblicazione riassuntiva del materiale ci è parsa non solo opportuna, ma addirittura indispensabile — a parte il suo valore cronologico e l'evidenza da essa fornita riguardo il repertorio di recipienti da tavola utilizzati nella villa — anche per l'urgente necessità di contribuire a rimediare allo stato estremamente lacunoso delle ricerche e pubblicazioni sistematiche dei vetri romani rinvenuti nelle regioni centrali e meridionali dell'Italia. Sarà da ascrivere a queste mancanze della ricerca anche il fatto che numerosi esemplari del nostro repertorio ci sembrano per ora privi di confronti perfettamente corrispondenti, benché in altri casi si notino analogie precise con tipi attestati nei materiali ben conosciuti dell'Italia settentrionale e delle provincie orientali e settentrionali del mondo romano. La questione più stringente che quindi emerge pare essere quella dei centri di produzione e di impiego del vetro romano nell'Italia centrale.

Desideriamo esprimere con la pubblicazione presente il nostro più sentito riconoscimento nei confronti di un eminente Studioso dell'archeologia romana, a cui si devono risultati di grande portata nella ricerca dell'arte vetraria sia per la Pannonia che per il Mediterraneo di epoca imperiale.

Durante le campagne del 1983–1997 gli scavi di San Potito hanno restituito 123 frammenti vitrei attribuibili a recipienti e, inoltre, qualche gettone in vetro, una quantità notevole di vetri da finestra ed un numero infinito di tessere di mosaico in vetro blù scuro traslucido od opaco. È prima di tutto a proposito di queste due ultime classi di materiale che sembra valido il sospetto di una produzione vetraria locale, legata forse appunto alla villa stessa. Tale ipotesi viene confermata dalla presenza di detti frammenti in ogni zona del complesso residenziale e anche sporadicamente; l'ipotesi della manufattura locale delle tessere di

mosaico è confermata dal rinvenimento di interi blocchi in vetro blù scuro, dai quali dovevano essere tagliate altre tessere musive del tipo medesimo. La presenza *in situ* di tessere vitree nella decorazione pavimentale è stata verificata finora solo negli ambienti II, V e XIV[1] (cfr. *fig. 1*), ma i cospicui rinvenimenti sporadici delle stesse non si possono giustificare se non in base all'ipotesi di un loro impiego anche nelle decorazioni parietali.

In forte contrasto con i reperti vitrei di funzione architettonica o decorativa, i frammenti di recipienti vitrei non si trovani sparsi per tutto il complesso, ma concentrati prevalentemente in tre aree ben circoscritte, che del resto si presentano anche come contesti di rinvenimento chiusi e forniscono indizi utili riguardo la collocazione cronologica dei reperti. Ad essi si aggiunge un quarto contesto chiuso, da dove si hanno due ulteriori frammenti. I quattro punti di rinvenimento chiusi sono i seguenti (cfr. *fig. 1*):

a) pozzo sotto il cosiddetto impianto idrico (frr. 2)

b) fognatura sotto gli ambienti N del lato W del cortile centrale (frr. 7)

c) riempimento di fognatura conducente dal cortile centrale sotto gli ambienti del lato N fino all'estremità NW del cortile meridionale (frr. 19)

d) fognatura individuata nella parte orientale del cortile meridionale (frr. 6)

Il più antico di questi contesti risulta quello del pozzo menzionato al primo punto, contenente grosso modo il modesto materiale appartenente al primo periodo della villa, formatosi, secondo la testimonianza di una moneta di Traiano, coniata nel 102 d.C., all'inizio del II secolo.[2] I pochi reperti vitrei quivi rinvenuti appartengono indubbiamente a classi tipologiche tipiche della seconda metà del sec. I.

I due canali descritti sotto i punti b-c sono costruzioni più o meno contemporanee, legate alla seconda fase di costruzione del complesso e databili con approssimazione in base alla moneta del 102 d.C. rinvenuta nel pozzo. Il secondo — e possiamo dire — principale periodo di vita della villa è da collocare comunque nella prima metà del I sec., dato che il più antico dei reperti monetali del grande cortile settentrionale appartiene alle coniazioni di Adriano.[3] Nel riempimento del canale sotto la serie di ambienti a W si sono trovate anche monete di Vespasiano, per cui sembra possibile che vi si trovino anche vetri della fine del I. sec., ma in grande maggioranza i reperti devono appartenere al secolo seguente, anzi, considerato l'uso continuo del canale anche nel terzo periodo (quello finale) del complesso, non si può escludere nemmmeno la possibilità di trovarvi vetri dell'inizio del III sec. d.C.

Il contesto di rinvenimento più recente è senz'altro quello della buca situata nel cortile meridionale: il tratto S del complesso è il risultato di aggiunte al resto della villa eseguite in un periodo piuttosto tardo, la costruzione del quale fu seguita ancora più di recente dalla realizzazione della fognatura. Queste ultime costruzioni sono databili all'epoca severiana, in base a monete di Gordiano III, quali coniazioni più recenti individuabili nel rinvenimento, e frammenti di terra sigillata

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[1] *Gabler – Redő 1994* 141, 163–166, 171.
[2] *Gabler – Redő 1991* 484; *Gabler – Redő 1994* 161–162.
[3] *Gabler – Redő 1994* 191–192.

africana. Ciononostante nel repertorio di forme vitree si riscontrano qui anche tipi meno recenti accanto a quelli di fine II sec. – inizio III sec.

Dato che nemmeno il periodo più antico della villa è precedente all'epoca claudia, e che il complesso sembra esser stato abbandonato al più tardi verso la metà del III. sec.,[4] una collocazione cronologica all'interno del periodo compreso fra la metà del I. sec. e la prima metà del III. sec. risulta valida anche per i reperti sporadici meno specifici.

Tipi e confronti cronologici dei recipienti vitrei

Per ovvi limiti di spazio dovevamo rinunciare nell'articolo presente ad una pubblicazione integrale di tutti i pezzi finora rinvenuti e catalogati sul sito. Di conseguenza cercheremo in questa sede di dare un quadro riassuntivo delle maggiori tendenze riconoscibili nel materiale, arrivando a valutazioni cronologiche sia in base ai confronti che ai contesti di rinvenimento già datati sul nostro sito. Mettiamo in rilievo prima di tutto i tipi che sembrano quelli più caratteristici nel repertorio, a volte rappresentati anche da più esemplari.

Piatti

Gli esemplari appartenenti a questa classe di forme sono rappresentati nel materiale in un numero piuttosto basso (12 pezzi), costituendone all'incirca il 10 %. Tale situazione troverà spiegazione nel fatto che la forma di piatto è molto frequente nella ceramica, il che fa pensare che la terra sigillata e le varie ceramiche comuni dei tipi Consp. 20 e Goudineau 43 abbiano funzionalmente sostituito i piatti in vetro a San Potito.[5]

In connessione con ciò bisogna notare la presenza di alcuni piatti in vetro che ovviamente si ispirano a forme ben note della terra silligata: così un tipo di piatto dall'orlo tubolare si connette con la forma Drag. 17 A,[6] mentre tali corrispondenze sembrano diventare ancora più naturali nel caso dei tipi colati entro stampo. Fra questi ultimi, si sono trovati nel repertorio di S. Potito due piatti circolari a doppia gola, ricordanti il profilo dei piatti di terra sigillata Drag. 27, con la sola differenza dell'assenza del tipo di labbro a quarto di cerchio, caratteristico di quest ultimi.

1. Piatto dal fondo piano, con piede ad anello tubolare, ottenuto dalla parete stessa ripiegata; diam. piede: cm 13,5; verdazzurro, trasparente; prov. dal corridoio verso W del cortile centrale, da riempimento di fognatura. Paragonabile alla forma Isings n. 48 o n. 23. Diffuso nell'Italia settentrionale,[7] presente ad Ercolano; fuori dell'Italia ad Augusta Raurica,[8] e a Cipro.[9] II–III sec. d.C.

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[4] *Gabler – Redő 1986* 69–73.

[5] *D. Gabler:* Terra sigillata della villa romana di San Potito. Acta RCRF 31–32 (1992) 142, 147, 150, 167.

[6] *Chr. Simonett:* Necropoli romane nelle terre dell'attuale Canton Ticino. Bellinzona 1967–1971, 1941(1 ed.).

[7] *Biaggio Simona 1991* tav. 2; *Roffia 1993* nn. 91–92.

[8] *Rütti 1991* Taf. 75, 1661, forma AR 86/I.

[9] *Vessberg 1952* Pl. I, 6–7.

1. 2. Piatto (patera?) dalla parete svasata e dall'orlo a cordoncino, modellato a sezione triangolare; diam. orlo: cm 20,2; vetro verde pallido, semitrasparente; prov. dall'angolo NW del cortile centrale.
Confronti da Augusta Raurica[10] e da Cipro.[11] Fine II- prima metà III sec. d. C.
3. Piatto colato entro uno stampo dall'orlo svasato e parete biconvessa, con rigonfiamento superiore arrotondato; diam. orlo non ricavabile; vetro verde-giallastro semitrasparente; prov. dal taglio B+11, fuori il cinto murario. Paragonabile a *Scatozza Höricht 1986*, forma 13. Confronti da Dura Europos,[12] da Tipasa,[13] da Britannia,[14] da Conimbriga,[15] da Classe,[16] da Augusta Raurica[17] e da Aventicum.[18] Età flavia – II secolo d. C.
4. Piatto dal fondo piano e alto piede ad anello; diam. piede: cm 8; incolore con riflessi azzurri, trasparente; prov. dal taglio 3 B+1, sotto livello muro. Confronti da Augusta Raurica[19] e da Aventicum.[20] I–II sec. d.C.
5. Piatto con alto piede ad anello, colato entro uno stampo e levigato mediante molatura, con sottilei costolature sulla superficie esterna e su quella interna, ottenute mediante intaglio della superficie; diam. piede: cm 10,5; verde intenso traslucido; prov. dal taglio k-3, parte N. Cfr. *Scatozza Höricht 1986*, forma 15 (n. 2930). Altri confronti dalla Pannonia[21] e da Augusta Raurica.[22] Seconda metà del I sec. d. C.

Coppe

1. 17 esemplari sono assegnabili a questa classe, con qualche dubbio per l'identificazione della forma in 7 casi. Fra le coppe si trovano sia pezzi colati entro uno stampo che realizzati mediante la soffiatura libera. Un buon esempio del primo tipo è il n. 6, identificabile con la forma Isings 2 (= Trier 17), corrispondente vitreo della forma Drag. 27 della terra sigillata. Le coppe vitree di questo tipo si dividono in due gruppi in base alle misure e si completano in veri e propri servizi da tavola con i piatti di forma e tecnica analoghe (tipo Isings 5), come anche il nostro n. 3. Il tipo si attesta come ampiamente diffuso in Italia e nelle provincie occidentali, sempre in contesti di I sec. d.C. L'esemplare di San Potito proviene da un rinvenimento sporadico, per cui il suo inquadramento cronologico non si risolve con sicurezza. In stretto rapporto con il precedente per la tecnica, e apparentemente analoga, almeno in parte anche per la forma, si presenta la coppa riportata qui di seguito con sotto il n. 7, che perciò si potrà forse considerare una

[10] *Rütti 1991* Taf. 155, 4105.
[11] *Vessberg 1952* Pl. I, 11.
[12] *Clairmont 1963* fig. 2.
[13] *Lancel 1967* fig. 25.
[14] *Fishbourne* fig. 137,4.
[15] *Conimbriga* 160, 164, tav. XXXIV. 14.
[16] *Maioli 1974* 31, fig. 31.
[17] *Rütti 1991* taf. 39, 830, forma AR 24. 1.
[18] *Bonnet Borel 1997* Pl. 7,32.
[19] *Rütti 1991* Taf. 38, 810, forma AR 19.
[20] *Bonnet Borel 1997* Pl. 3, 14.
[21] *Barkóczi 1988* 55, n. 13.
[22] *Rütti 1991* Taf. 38, 809 forma 18/I.

variante del tipo Isings 2, con una soluzione di profilo dell'orlo alquanto diversa. Essa trova confronti prima di tutto fra i vetri di Augusta Raurica. Il suo contesto di rinvenimento conferma anche a San Potito una datazione piuttosto antica, probabilmente dell'epoca claudio-traianea. La coppa n. 8 appartiene al gruppo degli esemplari soffiati liberamente, con confronti per una datazione a cavallo della fine del I sec. e l'inizio del II sec. d.C. Il contesto di rinvenimento a San Potito fornisce una data di I sec.

1. (6.) Coppa carenata dalla parete svasata biconvessa, colata entro uno stampo (fr. di parete immediatamente sotto l'orlo); biancastro opaco, con sfumatura violacea; rinvenimento sporadico. Variante della forma Isings 2, ricordante la forma Drag. 27 della terra sigillata. Confronti dall'area vesuviana,[23] dall'Italia settentrionale,[24] da Aventicum,[25] dalla Penisola Balcanica.[26] Cfr. ancora Grose 1989, 304, nn. 412–414; Grose in Roman Glass 1991, 1–11; Vetri dei Cesari 1988, 44, n. 20. Seconda metà del I sec. d. C.

2. (7.) Coppa carenata dall'orlo svasato e convesso, colata entro uno stampo e levigata al tornio; orlo arrotondato a freddo; diam. orlo: cm 13,2; incolore, trasparente in origine, oggi traslucido; prov. dal taglio G-4, riempimento di buca sotto muro. Presumibilmente una variante della forma Isings 2, ricordante la forma Drag. 27 della terra sigillata (= Trier 17). Confronti da Augusta Raurica,[27] da Poetovio.[28] Cfr. ancora Harden 1971, fig. 137,2. Seconda metà del I sec. d.C.

3. (8.) Coppa a pareti convesse, dal fondo piano, con piede ad anello tubolare, ottenuto dalla parete stessa ripiegata; diam. piede: cm 5; incolore, trasparente; prov. da W dell'angolo SW del vano con muro doppio. Isings 44. Confronti dall'Italia settentrionale,[29] da Augusta Raurica,[30] dalla Cilicia.[31] Età flavia- fine II sec. d.C.

Bicchieri

I bicchieri costituiscono il gruppo più numeroso nel repertorio vitreo: un terzo dei vetri rinvenuti a San Potito si ascrive a questa classe, benché in molti casi la classificazione tipologica non è del tutto sicura. Il frammento n. 9 appartiene ad un esemplare decorato mediante sfaccettatura, tipo di lavorazione originario della Siria e dell'Egitto,[32] ma infine diffuso in tutto l'impero romano, e in fioritura da una prima fase fra l'epoca flavia e l'epoca di Adriano[33] fino alla fine del sec.

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[23] *Scatozza Höricht 1986* forma 3.

[24] *Roffia 1993* n. 37.

[25] *Bonnet Borel 1997* Pl. 3,13.

[26] *Damevski 1976* Tab. I. 1.

[27] *Rütti 1991* Taf. 31, 731, forma AR 6. 2.

[28] *Z. Šubic:* Revue typologique et chronologique du verre romain de Poetovio. AV 25 (1974[1976]), pl. I,1.

[29] *Roffia 1993* n. 53.

[30] *Rütti 1991* Taf. 178, 4816–17.

[31] *E. M. Stern:* The production of glass vessels in Roman Cilicia. KölnerJb 22 (1989) 124, fig. 6.

[32] *Isings 1957* 38; *Harden 1936* 100.

[33] *Rütti 1991* 93.

III.[34] Gli esemplari della fase a cavallo la fine del I e l'inizio del II sec. d. C., furono legati ad una produzione italica da L. Barkóczi,[35] mentre quelli più recenti sono ritenuti originari delle regioni del Mar Nero,[36] della Germania e della Siria.[37] La classificazione e la datazione dell'esemplare di San Potito sembra alquanto problematica, perchè in base ai suoi tratti tipologici sembra riferibile alla produzione della prima fase, mentre il suo contesto di rinvenimento all'interno della villa suggerirebbe una datazione più recente, del II sec. – inizio III sec. d.C.

Si trovano nel materiale 3 o 4 frammenti appartenenti a bicchieri a depressioni, i quali però, dato il loro stato estremamente frammentario, non si possono collocare con certezza nei vari sottogruppi tipologici di questo gruppo. La forma Isings 35 (=Scatozza Höricht 21) in Italia è presente già dal sec. I d.C.,[38] ma durante il secolo seguente si diffonde anche a Cipro,[39] in Gallia,[40] nell'Africa del Nord,[41] in Egitto[42] e in Pannnonia[43]. I contesti di rinvenimento degli esemplari di San Potito si possono datare ad una fase comunque non molto precedente all'epoca di Adriano. Il frammento n. 13 èta senza confronti all'interno del nostro materiale, ma sembra comunque rappresentare il fondo di un bicchiere di questo tipo.

1. (9.) Parete di bicchiere, presumibilmente della forma Isings 21, decorato con due fascie di ovali sfaccettate mediante intaglio alla ruota, e con una costolatura in rilievo, realizzata sempre con intaglio; spessore notevole, vetro incolore biancastro, traslucido; prov. da crollo nel taglio f-6. Per la classificazione tipologica cfr. Oliver 1984, 52, n. 46; confronti dall'Italia settentrionale,[44] da Efeso,[45] dalla Pannonia,[46] dalle provincie occidentali.[47] Seconda metà I – prima metà II sec. d.C.

2. (10) Bicchiere troncoconico con labbro non distinto, orlo arrotondato e leggermente ingrossato verso l'esterno; diam. orlo: cm 9; vetro verdazzurro trasparente. Tipo Isings 85 c. Confronti da Cipro,[48] dall'Italia settentrionale,[49] dalla Germania.[50] Metà II – fine III sec. d.C.

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[34] *B. Czurda Ruth:* Zu den römischen Gläser aus den Hänghäusern von Ephesus. KölnerJb 22 (1989) 133.

[35] *Barkóczi 1986* 166.

[36] *N. Sorokina:* „Facettenschliffgläser des 2-en – 3-en Jahrhunderts u. U. aus dem Schwarzenmeergebiet. Annales du Congres des Journées Internationales du Verre. Liège 1976, 111–112.

[37] *Barkóczi 1986* 182.

[38] *Scatozza Höricht 1986* 40, forma 21.

[39] *O. Vessberg,* „Roman Glass in Cyprus", in: *D. Vessberg – A. Westholm* The Hellenistic and Roman Periods in Cyprus. The Swedish Cyprus Expedition IV:3. Lund 1956, 145, fig. 45, n. 13.

[40] *Morin Jean* 141, fig. 191, forma 103.

[41] *Lancel 1967* 76–84.

[42] *Harden 1936* 147, n. 391.

[43] *Barkóczi 1988* 120.

[44] *Simonett 1941* 84.

[45] *Czurda-Ruth 1989* 129–140, Abb. 3, 30.

[46] *Barkóczi 1988* n. 161.

[47] *Rütti 1991* Taf. 52, 1204; *Arveiller – Arveiller Dulong 1988* nn. 86–89.

[48] *Vessberg 1952* IV, 23.

[49] *Roffia 1993* n. 76.

[50] *Rütti 1991* Taf. 77, 1704; *Nida II* nn. 161–2.

3. (11) Bicchiere cilindrico con labbro non distinto, orlo leggermente ingrossato e ribattuto all'interno, parete verticale, decorato con filamento di vetro dello stesso colore, applicato sotto l'orlo; diam. orlo: cm 7,6; verde giallastro, trasparente; prov. dal cortile centrale. Confronti dall'Italia settentrionale,[51] da Augusta Raurica,[52] dalla Pannonia.[53] Metà II – metà III sec. d.C.

4. (12) Bicchiere troncoconico con orlo leggermente ingrossato e arrotondato, decorato con filamento di vetro dello stesso colore, applicato sotto l'orlo; diam. orlo: cm 7; vetro incolore, trasparente; prov. da W della fognatura. Confronti da Cipro,[54] dall'Italia settentrionale,[55] da Aventicum,[56] da Augusta Raurica.[57] Esemplari analoghi finora inediti nell'Italia meridionale a Scolacium – Roccelletta di Borgia (CZ). II – III sec. d.C.

5. (13) a-b. Fondo e parete di bicchieri a depressioni, con il fondo piano, pareti quasi verticali con incavi ovali; diam. fondo: cm 3,6; vetro quasi incolore con riflessi giallastri, trasparente; tipo conosciuto nel sito finora in 4 esemplari. Tipo Isings 35 (?). Confronti dall'area vesuviana, da Cipro, dalla Gallia, dalla Pannonia.[58] Metà I – fine II sec. d.C.

6. (14) Bicchiere ovoidale con orlo estroflesso e rimontante, tagliato a spigolo vivo; diam. orlo: cm 8,2; vetro incolore con tenuissimi riflessi verdazzurri, trasparente, con molte bolle d'aria; prov. dal taglio 8A. Confronti dalla Campania,[59] dall'Italia settentrionale,[60] dalla Penisola Iberica,[61] da Cartagine,[62] da Augusta Raurica.[63] Metà II – terzo quarto III sec. d.C.

Balsamari

Fra i pochi frammenti vitrei sicuramente appartenenti a questa classe, quello meglio conservato è il pezzo n. 15, il labbro, il collo e la spalla di un balsamario probabilmente del tipo De Tommaso 13, variante della forma Isings 10, un tipo diffuso in Italia già dai tempi di Augusto e sempre con una data del I sec. d.C. anche nelle provincie occidental. i.[64] A San Potito la sua provenienza dall'area più antica della villa conferma tale datazione.

Si può inserire ancora nel gruppo dei balsamari il piccolo vaso ariballoide, in due frammenti, riportato sotto il n. 16: la forma è vicina al tipo Isings 61,

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[51] *Roffia 1993* n. 83.
[52] *Rütti 1991* Taf. 82, 1813, forma AR 98.
[53] *Barkóczi 1988* n. 62.
[54] *Vessberg 1952* pl. IV, 8.
[55] *Roffia 1993* n. 79.
[56] *Bonnet Borel 1997* pl. 16, 84.
[57] *Rütti 1991* Taf. 82, 1814 forma AR 98.
[58] Cfr. note 29–31 e 34.
[59] *Miraglia 1993* n. 5.
[60] *Roffia 1979 114–115, fig. 5; Mercando 1974* 161, fig. 16.
[61] *Nollen 1988* pl. IV, 89.
[62] *Tatton Brown 1994* n. 23.
[63] *Rütti 1991* Taf. 53, 1231 forma AR 53,2.
[64] *F. Fremersdorf:* Römische Gläser mit fadenauflage in Köln. Köln 1959, 36, Taf. 3 *Goethert-Polaschek 1977* 253–256. *Isings 1957* 64–65.

particolarmente popolare ad Aquileia. Il tipo risale alla fine del sec. I, ma diventa veramente diffuso soltanto nel sec. II d.C.

1. (15) Balsamario con corpo globulare, collo cilindrico con strozzatura alla base, labbro orizzontale, orlo arrotondato e leggermente ingrossato verso l'interno; diam. orlo: cm 2,6; verdazzurro intenso, trasparente; prov. dal taglio 13. De Tommaso 13. Confronti dalla Germania[65] e dalla Pannonia.[66] Fine I – inizio II sec. d.C.

2. a-b. (16) Frammenti di fondo e di parete appartenenti probabilmente ad un unico balsamario dal corpo globulare e dal fondo pressocché piano; diam. orlo cm 3,6; incolore con tenui riflessi verdi, trasparente; prov. dal taglio f-6; De Tommaso 8 (?). Confronti dall'area vesuviana,[67] dall'Italia settentrionale[68] e da Cipro.[69] I – II sec. d.C.

Bottiglie

Conosciamo 19 frammenti di bottiglie dalla villa di San Potito, fra i quali il tipo più frequente in assoluto sembra che sia la bottiglia monoansata dal corpo prismatico o cilindrico, dal collo corto e dall'orlo appiattito, tipo ampiamente diffuso in tutto l'impero romano, a partire dalla seconda metà del I sec. d.C. La forma sembra caratteristica della soffiatura del vetro, al punto che le forme analoghe della ceramica dovrebbero derivare dall'imitazione di essa. Gli esemplari di fondi di tali bottiglie provenienti dagli scavi di San Potito attestano tutti l'altra caratteristica di questo gruppo, ossia quello del bollo in rilievo. In tre casi (dei quali due sono riportati qua sotto i nn. 19–20) sono decorati con semplici cerchi concentrici, motivo che secondo la teoria di P. Donati dovrebbe forse riferirsi piuttosto alla capacità volumetrica del recipiente che all'officina produttrice di esso o del suo contenuto.[70] Si deve interpretare al contrario sicuramente in chiave di marchio di fabbrica il bollo del fondo riportato in. fig. 5, appartenente ad una bottiglia cilindrica, recante le lettere C•TIOII. Tale abbreviazione risulta finora priva di confronti fra i marchi di fabbrica delle bottiglie simili; se ne potrebbe proporre la lettura C•TIGR, che potrebbe quindi riferirsi ad un nome di origine orientale. Il pezzo proviene da un riempimento individuato fra le colonnette di peristilio dell'angolo SE del cortile centrale.

1. (17) Bottiglia dal collo cilindrico, orlo ripiegato verso l'interno e appiattito orizzontalmente; diam. orlo: cm 3,9; vetro azzurro pallido, trasparente; sporadico. Probabilmente appartenente ad una bottiglia del tipo Isings 50. Confronti dall'Italia settentrionale,[71] da Carnuntum,[72] da Augusta Raurica.[73] I. sec. d.C.

2. (18) Bottiglia (lagoena?) con collo cilindrico, orlo ripiegato e appiattito a formare

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[65] Trier (= *Gothert-Polachek 1977)* 565; *Nida II* n. 74.
[66] *Barkóczi 1988* n. 195.
[67] *Scatozza Höricht 1986* forme 41–2.
[68] *Roffia 1993* n. 298.
[69] *Vessberg 1952* pl. XVI, 2.
[70] *P. Donati:* Un nuovo vetro firmato Grati-Locarno. NumANtCl 3 (1980) 291–292.
[71] *Roffia 1993* n. 342.
[72] *Grünewald 1986* taf. 15, 4–5.
[73] *Rütti 1991* Taf. 132, 3345, forma AR 160/1.

una linea obliqua scendente verso il basso; diam. orlo: cm 4; vetro azzurro intenso, semitrasparente; prov. dall'ambiente I, sopra il pavimento a coccio pesto; Isings 14 o 16. Confronti dall'area vesuviana,[74] dall'Italia settentrionale,[75] da Cipro,[75] da Augusta Raurica,[77] dalla Pannonia.[78] Confronta ancora: Hayes 1975, nn. 224–5, 229; Seconda metà I – II sec. d.C.

3. (19) Bottiglia dal corpo cilindrico, fondo piano, decorato all'esterno con due cerchi concentrici in leggero rilievo, ottenuti mediante soffiatura entro uno stampo; diam. fondo: cm 6; veradzzurro molto tenue, trasparente; prov. tglio 16c, superficie. Isings 51; Confronti da Augusta Raurica.[79] Metà I – metà II sec. d.C.

4. (20) Bottiglia dal corpo a sezione quadrata, fondo leggermente concavo e decorato all'esterno con due cerchi concentrici in leggero rilievo, ottenuti mediante soffiatura entro uno stampo; diam. fondo: cm 5,4; incolore con tenuissimi riflessi giallastri; prov. dal taglio 10, superficie. Isings 50 a-b; Confronti dalla Pannonia,[80] dalla Germania[81] e da Aventicum.[82] Seconda metà del I sec. d.C.

5. (21) Bottiglia a base quadrata (?), dal fondo piano leggermente concavo all'interno, recante all'esterno un bollo costituito da segmenti di cerchi o da archi; diam. fondo non ricavabile; verdazzurro intenso semitrasparente; prov. dai tagli b+7, e+6, riempimento di fognatura. Isings 50 a-b; Charlesworth 1966, 29, fig. 7, 37, fig. 18. Confronti dalla Sardegna,[83] da Trier,[84] dalla Britannia.[85] Confronta ancora: Hayes 1975, 58, n. 143. Seconda metà del I sec. d.C.

Brocche

7 pezzi rinvenuti sono stati definiti frammenti di brocche, ma in molti casi c'è da rendersi conto dell'estrema difficoltà di ascrivere frammenti di fondo o di parete a tali recipienti. In alcuni casi, come nel descrivere i frequenti frammenti di fondi concavi con anelli di base applicati, abbiamo proposto una definizione, lasciando però senza una risposta definitiva la domanda se si trattasse di brocche, bottiglie, olle od altre forme chiuse.

1. (22) Brocca (?) con fondo concavo, piede ad anello applicato e modellato a caldo; diam. piede: cm 4,4; incolore con tenui riflessi verdastri, trasparente; prov. dal taglio k-3, crollo pietre e mattoni; Confronto da Augusta Raurica.[86] III sec. d.C. (?)

2. (23) Frammento di piede ad anello deformato di una brocca; diam. non ricavabile con sicurezza; verdastro pallido, traslucido; prov. dall'angolo NW del

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[74] *Scatozza Höricht 1986* 54 forma 37.

[75] *Calvi 1968* tav. B, 6; *Meconcelli-Notarianni 1979* 56, n. 40.

[76] *Vessberg 1952* pl. VII, 3–6.

[77] *Rütti 1991* Taf. 134, 3416, forma AR 156–160.

[78] *Barkóczi 1996* nn. 254–255.

[79] *Rütti 1991* Tf. 46, 1019.

[80] *Damevski 1976* tav. 4, 2; *Barkóczi 1988* n. 415

[81] *Rütti 1991* Taf. 111, 2622 e Taf. 118, 3080; *Nida I* n. 157; *Arveiller – Arveiller Dulong 1988* nn. 114, 120.

[82] *Bonnet Borel 1997* pl. 25, 140.

[83] *Cagliari* 131, tav. 72, n. 352.

[84] *Goethert-Polaschek 1977* forma 119, n. 1238.

[85] *Harden 1971* 101, fig. 143.

[86] *Rütti 1991* Taf. 179, 4877.

cortile centrale. Lo stato deformato del pezzo può essere il risultato di fusione ad alta temperatura, ma non si può escludere nemmeno che sia indizio di una produzione di officina locale, di cui questo potrebbe essere uno scarto.

3. a-b. (24) Due fondi concavi con anelli applicati e modellati: la loro appartenenza a brocche, ollette o bicchieri può essere messa in discussione.

a. diam. piede: cm 5,4; incolore, trasparente; con segno del pontello all'esterno del fondo, molte bolle d'aria nell'anello di base; prov. dal taglio k-3, crollo pietre e mattoni;

b. diam. piede: cm 7; incolore con tenui riflessi gialli, trasparente molte bolle d'aria nell'anello di base; prov. dal vano II, sopra pavimento musivo.

Olle

Sono elencati sotto questo titolo alcuni frammenti appartenenti a forme di profondità notevole a giudicare dal presumibile andamento delle pareti, ma allo stesso tempo aventi un diametro di orlo molto maggiore rispetto alle brocche e bottiglie. Tali recipienti saranno da considerare un gruppo di passaggio fra le forme aperte e le forme chiuse, associabili comunque forse di più alla funzione di contenitori di liquidi.

1. (25) Olla o piatto fondo con orlo a cordoncino tubolare, ottenuto dalla parete stessa ripiegata all'esterno, con una cavità notevole, messo in linea quasi verticale con la parete; diam. orlo: cm 16; verdazzurro intenso, semitrasparente; prov. dal taglio 8; Due altri esemplari dello stesso tipo sono stati finora rinvenuti sul sito. Isings 41a?; Confronti dall'Italia settentrionale,[87] dalla Germania,[88] da Carnuntum.[89] Metà del I – metà del II sec. d.C.

2. (26) Olla con labbro estroflesso e orlo ripiegato verso il basso, corpo cilindrico con una ripiegatura della parete S sotto il labbro; diam. orlo: cm 17; vetro verdastro pallido, trasparente; prov. dal taglio B+11, riempimento di fognatura sotto muro perimetrale. Confronta Isings 69 b, e per la ripiegatura della parete cfr. ancora Hayes 1975 n. 472 e Barkóczi 1996, n. 32. Confronto da Cipro.[90] Età flavia – II sec. d.C.

Coperchi

Sempre con qualche incertezza di attribuzione, abbiamo definito 5 pezzi come appartenenti a coperchi, generalmente prodotti con soffiatura libera, con labbro arrotondato a caldo. Alcuni di essi, come il n. 27 qui riportato, sembrano corrispondere a tipi ampiamente conosciuti nell'impero, mentre altri sono confrontabili solo con paralleli finora inediti provenienti dalla stessa Italia meridionale (n. 28), oppure sono assolutamente privi di confronti validi, forse anche per lo stato frammentario dell'esemplare (n. 29).

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[87] *Calvi 1968* tav. C 7; *Biaggio Simona 1991* 102, fig. 32, tav. 7.
[88] *Nida II* nn. 49–50; *Rütti 1991* Taf. 90, 2030 forma AR 109.
[89] *Grünewald 1986* Taf. 14, 7.
[90] *Vessberg 1952* n. 147.

1. (27) Coperchio dal labbro obliquo, orlo leggermente ingrossato e arrotondato a caldo; diam. incerto; forma associata ad urne; incolore, di origine trasparente, oggi leggermente opaco; prov. dal vano XXIV, angolo NW. Isings 66 b. Confronti dall'Italia settentrionale,[91] da Augusta Raurica[92] e dalla Pannonia.[93] Seconda metà del I – inizio II sec. d. C.

2. (28) Frammento probabilmente di un coperchio, con labbro non distinto, orlo leggermente ingrossato e arrotondato a caldo, solcatura incisa vicino all'orlo; diam. non ricavabile; incolore, trasparente; prov. dall'ambiente XII, angolo SW, crollo sopra pavimento. Paralleli inediti dall'Italia meridionale (Scolacium-Roccelletta di Borgia)

3. (29) Frammento probabilmente di un coperchio; diam.: cm 5,8; biasncastro opaco.

Trulla

Questa celebre forma originante dalla toreutica del I sec. d.C.[94] è rappresentata nel nostro materiale da un solo frammento di manico. Il frammento proviene dall'area meridionale del cortile centrale della villa di San Potito, da una contesto che ne rende probabile un uso continuato fino al II sec. d.C.

(30) Manico orizzontale di una salsiera (trulla), a nastro, espanso a tenaglia in corrispondenza della saldatura; verde pallido, traslucido; prov. dal taglio C+1, accanto alla fognatura. Isings 75 b. Confronti dall'area vesuviana,[95] dall'Italia settentrionale,[96] da Cipro,[97] da Aventicum,[98] dalla Gallia,[99] dalla Pannonia,[100] da Augusta Raurica.[101] Confronta ancora: Hayes 1975, 59; D. von Boeselager in KölnerJb 22 (1989) 28, Abb. 8. Seconda metà del I – inizio del II sec. d.C.

Appunti sui colori e sulle tecniche di lavorazione dei vetri di San Potito

Trattandosi spesso di minutissimi frammenti l'osservazione delle tecniche adoperate può risultare particolarmente significativa. Analogamente a quanto poteva essere assunto dall'analisi delle forme e dalla relativa evidenza cronologica, anche il quadro delle tecniche di lavorazione riscontrabili a San Potito si puo riconoscere come quello in uso diffusamente dalla metà del I fino al III sec. d.C.

I rapporti quantitativi dei vari colori all'interno del materiale di S. Potito sono i seguenti:

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[91] *Calvi 1968* tav. F 3.

[92] *Rütti 1991* Taf. 72, 1575.

[93] *Barkóczi 1996* n. 338.

[94] *Isings 1957* 75 b; *W. B. Stern:* Die Zirkusbecher der Schweiz. Eine Bestandesaufnahme. Jb. Ges. Pro Vindonissa 1987. Brugge 1988, 27–104.

[95] *Scatozza Höricht 1986* forma 16, n. 75.

[96] *Biaggio Simona 1991* tav. 8; *Maccabruni 1983* 43, n. 10; *Maccabruni 1991* 119, fig. 16.

[97] *Vessberg 1952* 118, tav. II, nn, 21–22.

[98] *Bonnet Borel 1997* 21, pl. 3,13.

[99] *Morin Jean* 178, forma 36.

[100] *Petru 1972* Taf. LXVI, 14 e Taf. LXVIII, 8; *Barkóczi 1988* n. 540.

[101] *Rütti 1991* Taf. 30, 722 forma AR 4.

1. Incolore	pezzi 37	30,08%
2. Verdazzurro	pezzi 12	10,00%
3. Varianti dell'azzurro	pezzi 14	11,38%
4. Verde (intenso o pallido)	pezzi 25	20,32%
5. Giallastro	pezzi 14	11,38%
6. Biancastro opaco	pezzi 14	11,38%
7. Violaceo	pezzo 1	0,81%

Le sfumature verdazzurre vanno considerate varianti di varia intensità del colore naturale del vetro, causato dagli ossidi di ferro contenuti nella fritta. Si possono ritenere con grande probabilità colori naturali anche quelli verdastri, sebbene non si possa escludere del tutto una certa coscienza nel proporzionamento degli elementi come il ferro o il rame per ottenerne le varianti più intense. Si deve vedere un intenzionale processo di decolorazione nell'effetto dei vetri quasi perfettamente incolori, con pochi e tenui riflessi di un verde o verdazzurro originale; la produzione diffusa di tale qualità di materiale è tipica prima di tutto del II–III sec. d.C. I colori particolari degli esemplari n. 5 e n. 6 furono ottenuti con la voluta aggiunta di coloranti artificiali alla fritta.[102]

Prendendo in esame i colori dei vetri di San Potito in rapporto alla loro divisione cronologica, si nota per la prima fase della villa la presenza di tutti i tipi principali, dominata però innanzitutto dal verdazzurro intenso, mentre i vetri incolori, rappresentanti la maggiore percentuale nell'intero materiale, risultano invece, in questa fase iniziale relativamente pochi (meno di 10%). Si ascrivono a questa fase tutti i pezzi artificialmente colorati con colori intensi.
Per la seconda metà del II sec. e la prima metà del III sec., la situazione cambia radicalmente, col diminuire dei vetri verdazzurri e con la parallela crescita del numero dei pezzi verdi, verdastri e giallastri (da 20 a 35 %), e dalla dominanzadel vetro incolore (da 10 a 46 %).

Riguardo le tecnologie vetrarie riscontrabili sul sito, innanzitutto è da notare la cospicua assenza di alcune tecniche vetrarie diverse della soffiatura libera e in voga generalmente nelle provincie mediterranee durante i primi decenni della stroria del vetro soffiato, cioè gli ultimi del I sec. avanti e i primi del I sec. dopo Cristo. Non si sono trovati, vale a dire, frammenti di vetro a mosaico, tipo di materiale assai frequente ancora nella prima metà del I sec. d.C.[103] Similmente non si trovano pezzi di alcune classi ben note dei vetri colorati artificialmente con colori intensi e colati entro uno stampo, caratteristici ancora del medesimo periodo: si tratta delle coppe a costolatura, conosciute altrove sia in vetro colorato che artificialmente decolorato,[104] e delle coppette a costolatura fine, con filamenti bianchi applicati.[105] Mancano inoltre anche indizi riguardo la presenza dei delicatissimi vasetti decorati a rilievo, ottenuti con soffiatura entro uno stampo, pro-

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[102] *Stern – Spichtig 1988* 73.

[103] *Grose 1989* 30–35; *Idem:* Glass forming methods in Classical Antiquity. Some considerations. JGS 26 (1984), 25–34.

[104] I*sings (1957)* 3, dal tardo sec. I a. C. fino alla metà del sec. I d.C., conosciuto anche nell'Italia meridionale: ad Ercolano: *Scatozza Höricht 1986* nn. 2341a, 2881, 153) e a Scolacium (due frammenti inediti).

[105] *Isings (1957)* 17, dalla metà del sec. I fino all'età flavia, cfr. *Isings 1957* 35–36.

dotti da vetrai siro-fenici, prima nell'Oriente, più tardi nelle officine trasferite nell'Italia stessa.[106]

Tali asenze si spiegano bene considerando da una parte il periodo di produzione ed il prestigio particolare di questi vetri e, dall'altra, l'orizzonte cronologico individuato sul sito, il quale attesta un uso della villa non antecedente alla metà del I sec. d.C. e non eccessivamente importante nemmeno durante la seconda metà del secolo. Diventa così comprensibile la mancanza sia dei prodotti caratteristici dei decenni precedenti alla costruzione, sia di oggetti di prestigio particolare durante la prima fase di vita del complesso.

Non mancano invece altri tipi di vetro colato entro stampo, tipici ancora del I sec., ma piuttosto della seconda metà di esso. Si devono menzionare qui il piatto e la coppa carenati ricordanti forme della terra sigillata (nn. 3 e 6–7) e i piatti piani o vassoi su alto piede ad anello (nn. 4–5). Le forme appartenenti a questa produzione sono ovviamente, a causa dei limiti della tecnica, tutte aperte, e anzi, tendenzialmente piuttosto piane e basse. Generalmente sono contraddistinte da una colorazione artificiale molto cospicua, come vediamo qui nel caso dei nn. 5 e 6, e da una rifinitura eseguita mediante molatura, spesso addirittura al tornio. L'uso di quest'ultimo è particolarmente ben osservabile nei casi dove abbiamo l'orlo del recipiente conservato, leggermente arrotondato a freddo, o nel caso del n. 5, con le sottili costolature ottenute invece che con applique, con la rimozione di parte della superficie.

Sia l'uso dei colori intensi e delle superfici traslucide, sia la stessa lavorazione a stampo vengono gradualmente abbandonati sul finire del I sec. d.C., per cedere il posto alla produzione di massa della soffiatura libera e alla moda dei vetri di colore naturale o anche decolorati.

La lavorazione a freddo, al contrario, rimane sempre una tecnologia ritenute molto adatta alla decorazione del vetro, materia magari meno plasmabile a caldo, ma ehe a freddo offre ottime qualità per l'intaglio, per l'incisione o per l'abrasione a mano libera o con la ruota.

Il repertorio vitreo di San Potito si vanta di un frammento decorato con una delle tecniche di lavorazione a freddo più popolari nell'arte vetraria romana, quella della sfaccettatura a carattere di intaglio, eseguita con la ruota, procedimento che era in uso dalla seconda metà del sec. I fino alla fine del sec. III, a che cessò anche da allora solo per essere sostituito da tecniche da esso derivate.[107] Il bicchiere n. 9 del materiale di San Potito è un pezzo caratteristico della fase iniziale di questa produzione: con uno spessore di pareti notevole, ma ottenuto mediante soffiatura, decorato con fascie di ovali intagliati e una costolatura realizzata ugualmente mediante l'intaglio della superficie.[108]

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[106] Vd. ad esempio, anche per bibliografia integrale *Grose 1989* 254–256; *J. Price:* Decorated mould-blown glass tablewares in the first century AD. Roman Glass 1991, 56–75.

[107] *Oliver 1984*; *F. Fremersdorf:* Die römischen Gläser mit Schliff, Bemalung und Goldauflage aus Köln. 167; *Barkóczi 1986*; la molatura superficiale di ovali su recipienti di forme varie, iniziata dal sec. IV d.C. può essere una derivazione della sfaccettatura dei secoli precedenti, cfr. *Harden 1936* 100.

[108] Appunto per l'elemento menzionato per ultimo il pezzo deve appartenere al Group II dell'Oliver, sebbene l'esecuzione dei suoi ovaletti meno accurati, piuttosto stretti e non sempre contigui non trovano confronti del tutto precisi. Cfr. *Oliver 1984* 53, n. 46.

La soffiatura libera è la tecnica usata nel caso della maggioranza decisiva dei pezzi provenienti da San Potito. Di conseguenza troviamo, come è già stato affermato sopra, in maggior parte frammenti di vetro dei colori e qualità tipici delle produzioni di massa degli anni tra la fine del I sec. e la metà del II sec. Conformemente alle possibilità di variazione infinite che caratterizzano questa tecnologia, è con essa che praticamente tutte le forme chiuse (bicchieri, balsamari, bottiglie, brocche, olle) sono state prodotte. In corrispondenza con il carattere di „prodotti di massa" di questo materiale, troviamo pochi pezzi decorati e, a parte il bicchiere sfaccettato sopra descritto, sempre con decorazione applicata, quella più comodamente eseguibile durante la lavorazione a caldo, anch'essa ridotta nel nostro materiale all'essenziale. L'unico tipo di applique finora attestato è quello del semplice filamento orizzontale, generalmente con vetro dello stesso colore del recipiente. Sembra un'eccezione particolare il caso di un piatto, dall'orlo ripiegato all'interno, recante sulla superficie esterna dell'orlo un sottile filamento di colore scuro (blù?), non emergente dalla superficie grazie al processo di *marvering* al caldo.[109]

Legata alla soffiatura libera sono anche le varie soluzioni di lavorazione a caldo, responsabili più che altro delle diverse varianti di orli ingrossati e arrotondati o modellati, ripiegati, o addirittura appiattiti per formare dischi di apertura orizzontali delle bottiglie (nn. 17–8), non meno che per le anse con o senza nervature e per i vari tipi di basi applicate. Va aggiunta a questi anche l'uso dello stampo per modellare la parte inferiore dei recipienti o per imprimere sul fondo di bottiglie qualche tipo di decorazione, significativa, come sappiamo, almeno in tanti casi, anche come bollo di fabbrica. Tale soluzione più spesso si collega con le forme Isings 50–51 e varianti, e in connessione con esse si può definire anche la sua estensione nello spazio e nel tempo. Ad essa si possono ascrivere a San Potito i tre frammenti nn. 19–21, un'ulteriore esemplare con cerchi concentrici e il fondo recante il bollo con un'abbreviazione di cinque lettere.

Appunti sui centri produttivi di vetro nell'Italia centrale e conclusioni sulla manufattura e cronologia del materiale di San Potito

Come è già stato accennato sopra, il problema dei centri produttivi dei vetri rinvenuti sul nostro sito presenta difficoltà rese ancora più gravi dalla mancanza di ricerche e di pubblicazioni sul vetro di epoca romana proveniente da scavi dell'Italia centrale e meridionale. Eppure, considerati anche i termini cronologici entro i quali i rinvenimenti di San Potito si estendono, sembra inevitabile pensare prima di qualsiasi altra zona ai centri produttivi di queste regioni, sia per la natura stessa del vetro che ne rende estremamente difficile — e nel caso dei pezzi di comune produzione di massa anche irrazionale — il trasporto a distanza, sia per quanto comunque sappiamo dell'importanza privilegiata delle offcine italiche, soprattutto dopo il trasferirsi dei vetrai orientali, e prima dell'inizio della fioritura dei grandi centri produttivi delle provincie nord-occidentali.[110]

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[109] L'unico confronto tecnico conosciuto dagli autori è quello di un frammento di orlo di colore verde intenso, decorato similmente con un filamento rosso, rinvenuto a Scolacium, per ora inedito.

[110] Cfr. *Isings 1957* 1–13.

Per quanto riguarda i primi tre quarti del I sec. d.C. abbiamo la fortuna di poter disporre dell'evidenza dei vetri trovati ad Ercolano, attestanti il consumo della manifattura della zona forse più importante dell'Italia meridionale, pubblicati in modo esemplare dalla Scatozza Höricht.[111] Il repertorio ivi attestato però viene a concludersi con la catastrofe dell'area vesuviana, lasciando così senza alcuna testimonianza anche gli ultimi due decenni del I. sec. d.C.

Soltanto piuttosto recentemente la ricerca archeologica comincia occuparsi del vetro di epoca romana proveniente dall'Italia centro-merdionale. La pubblicazione dei vetri rinvenuti in un complesso archeologico della Napoli romana e tardoantica[112] contribuisce con validi, ma non molto numerosi confronti alla nostra ricerca: in effetti, il materiale ivi messo alla luce sembra piuttosto appartenente ai secoli dell'antichità tarda, che della piena epoca del principato. La stessa distanza cronologica ci separa dalle manifatture romane individuate da M. Sternini[113] e da G. De Tommaso.[114]

Una ottima ricerca condotta sugli elementi decorativi vitrei conservati nella collezione Gorga[115] al contrario ci ha offerto un confronto interessante riguardo la possibilità dell'esistenza di una manufattura vetraria legata appunto ad una villa imperiale, propprio in epoca antonina, nelle vicinanze di Roma. L'esempio della manufattura di elementi di mosaico e di tarsia nella villa di Lucio Vero sulla Via Cassia ci aiuta più che altro confermando l'ipotesi riguardo una produzione legata ad un complesso abitativo di prestigio, specializzata in prima linea a procurare elementi decorativi per esso.

Rimane invece aperta la questione dei possibili centri produttivi di recipienti di vetro, da cercare ipotetiziamente nelle dirette o meno vicinanze del nostro sito. Per quanto riguarda l'esistenza di tali centri, essa risulta strettamente legata anche alla questione cronologica che emerge dall'analisi del nostro materiale.

L'inquadramento cronologico dei nostri pezzi naturalmente è stato estremamente difficile sia a causa dello stato di conservazione dei reperti, sia per la lunga durata di uso e di produzione che caratterizza i singoli tipi di forme vitree, prima di tutto appunto quelle destinate ad uso quotidiano e prodotte in grandi quantità. Siamo riusciti a proporre una datazione alquanto precisa nel caso di 58 pezzi, all'interno dei 123 rinvenuti.

Dai confronti cronologici delle datazioni generalmente diffuse da un lato e dei contesti di rinvenimento documentati a San Potito dall'altro, ne è risultata un'osservazione di qualche interesse: numerosi tipi vitrei datati finora nella ri-

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[111] *Scatozza Höricht 1986.*

[112] *Miraglia 1993.*

[113] *M. Sternini:* A glass workshop in Rome (IVth-Vth century A. D.) KölnerJb 22 (1989) 105–114.; *Ead.:* Verres tardifs de Rome. Annales du 12 Congrès de l'AIHV, Vienne-Wien 26–31 aout 1991. Amsterdam 1992, 121–128.

[114] *G. De Tommaso:* Vetri incisi dalle Collezioni del Museo Nazionale Romano di Roma. KölnerJb 22 (1989) 99–104.

[115] *B. Bacchelli – M. Barbera – R. Pasqualucci – L. Saguì:* Nuove scoperte sulla provenienza dei pannelli in opus sectile vitreo della collezione Gorga. Atti del II Colloquio dell'Associazione Italiana per lo Studio e la Conservazione del Mosaico (Roma 1994). Bordighera 1995, 447–446. Dobbiamo ricordare a tal proposito che appunto dall'epoca degli Antonini anche la villa di San Potito si presenta col titolo di villa imperiale.

cerca in base ai rinvenimenti dell'area vesuviana o delle necropoli nord-italiche ad una periodo che si conclude con la seconda metà del sec. I. d. C., sembrano invece esser rimasti in uso anche nel II sec., in base alle osservazioni stratigrafiche e architettoniche della villa di San Potito. Il motivo della discrepanza cronologica potrebbe cercarsi sempre nel fatto che le conoscenze sui reperti vitrei provenienti dall'Italia peninsulare sono estremamente scarse per l'epoca adriano-antonina.

15 esemplari rinvenuti so possono attribuire alla prima fase di vita della villa, oltre la trulla, il balsamario tipo de Tommaso 13 e alcune bottiglie, in maggioranza rilevante frammenti di coppe e piatti – si è osservata invece una mancanza di bicchieri da tale repertorio, perchè i bicchieri presenti nel nostro materiale sembrano tutti datarsi ad un periodo posteriore la fine del I sec. d.C. Una spiegazione valida per tale mancanza si può vedere nella prevalenza di bicchieri di ceramica per lo stesso periodo, come la forma Goudineau 38 della terra sigillata, o certi tipi della ceramica comune.

Durante il secondo periodo della villa, vale a dire fra la fine del I sec. e la seconda metà del II sec. si possono individuare 17 esemplari di recipienti vitrei. Nel repertorio fornito da essi, si possono osservare alcuni bicchieri, mentre il numero delle coppe, diminuisce.

Il maggior numero di pezzi si ascrive al periodo finale della villa: 20 frammenti sono stati datati a questo periodo, orrero dal secondo quarto del II sec. fino alla metà del III. Da questo semplice rapporto numerico però non risulta un uso maggiore del vetro per questo periodo in termini assoluti, perchè se consideriamo insieme il numero di reperti del I e del II periodo della villa (modo di fare piuttosto legittimo, visto che si tratta in gran parte di tipi risalenti alla seconda metà del sec. I, ma restanti in uso anche nel secolo seguente) si verifica per i primi 75 anni del complesso (I e II periodo) la presenza di 23 pezzi, mentre per gli ultimi 125 anni la presenza di 29 pezzi. Così in rapporto alla durata dei periodi in questione si potrebbe parlare piuttosto di un uso più ristretto del vetro nella fase più recente.

Tali tendenze si devono insederendole piuttosto in un quadro più ampio della produzione e del consumo del vetro nell'Italia di epoca romana. Prendendo in considerazione le conosciute tendenze del restringersi della produzione artigianale dei centri produttivi italici in generale verso la fine del sec. II e l'inizio del sec. III,[116] emerge la questione dell'influsso di tale situazione su quanto si è attestato nel repertorio vitreo di San Potito. Partendo dall'osservazione stratigrafica dei contesti di rinvenimento dei pezzi che suggeriscono la possibilità di una manuiattura locale legata forse alla villa, tale attività non si può ipotizzare che non nello stesso periodo tardo, nella seconda metà del II sec., o ancora più verosimilmente all'inizio del terzo. In base a questa osservazione possiamo chiederci, se questa piccola manifattura non sia stata legata prima di tutto appunto al cessare della produzione dei grandi centri italici, cercando di sostituire, almeno in qualche misura i prodotti mancanti, avviando una produzione locale, preferibile nel caso

[116] Attestato più che altro dal commercio della ceramica fine in questo periodo, cfr. per la sostituzione della manufattura della terra sigillata italica *M. Medri:* Terra sigillata tardo-italica decorata. Studia archaeologica 60. Roma 1992, 27–30.

del materiale vitreo al più rischioso trasporto ai distanza, il quale fu invece praticabile nel caso della ceramica.

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ILLUSTRAZIONI

Fig. 1. Ritrovamenti vitrei sulla planimetria della villa romana di San Potito di Ovindoli (AQ).

Fig. 2. Recipienti vitrei sulla planimetria dalla villa di San Potito: piatti, coppe e bicchieri.

Fig. 3. Recipienti vitrei sulla planimetria dalla villa di San Potito: bicchieri, balsamari e bottiglie.

Fig. 4. Recipienti vitrei sulla planimetria dalla villa di San Potito: brocche, olle, coperchi e manico di trulla.

Fig. 5. Fondo di bottiglia con marchio di fabbrica in rilievo.

Tamás Bezeczky

NEW AMPHORA FINDS FROM BRIGETIO

Research in the region of Brigetio largely contributes to the history of Pannonia province. Following the initial topographic surveys, scientific excavations started in 1927.[1] The first detailed publication about Brigetio was made by László Barkóczi.[2] He described the auxiliary **fort** and the legion **fortress**, the canabae, the potters' settlements in Gerhát and on the Kurucdomb, the civil town and the topography of the cemeteries. He summed up the history of Brigetio and collected the inscriptions. The majority of the finds and their documentation perished during the 2nd World War. The surviving **objects** were published one after the other.[3] After the war, excavations were only made in the area of the civil town.[4] The recent excavations (started in 1992)[5] unearthed a richly decorated Roman living house in the area of the **modern** Market place with numerous finds. The publication of the fresco with figural depiction, the terra sigillata, glass and jewellery finds[6] are being published. The present short communication is part of this series and it deals with the amphorae in which food was transported.

The food products stored in the amphorae were imported from the Mediterranean. Only a few amphora finds were earlier known from Brigetio, they contained wine (Dressel 2–4, Kapitän II. LR 3) and olive oil (Dressel 20). They can be dated from the middle and late imperial periods. The recent finds contain a few early imperial forms which have already been described at other Pannonian sites.

Beside the rim fragment of a Dressel 2–4 type amphora,[7] neck, handle and wall fragments of Kapitän II type amphorae have been recovered.

The Dressel 2–4 form, (*Fig. 2.1*) one of the most common containers in the early imperial period,[8] came from Italy or South Gallia, the exact definition of the origin will only be possible after the analysis of the fabric. The dating of the

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[1] *Paulovics 1941* 118–164 gives the complete reference of the earlier research; *Láng 1941* 165–181.

[2] *Barkóczi 1949* 67–77; *Barkóczi 1951* 5–49.

[3] *Juhász 1935*; *Barkóczi 1957*; *Barkóczi – Kerényi 1958*; *Barkóczi 1958a*; *Barkóczi 1958b*; *Barkóczi 1958c*; *Barkóczi 1961*; *Barkóczi – Sey 1964*; *Barkóczi 1965*; *Barkóczi 1967*; *Barkóczi 1968a*; *Barkóczi 1968b*; *Barkóczi 1988*; *Bónis 1970*, 71–90; *Bónis 1976*, 73–88; *Bónis 1977*, 105–142; *Bónis 1979*, 99–155; *Bónis 1992*, 587–595; *Bónis 1993*, 301–306.

[4] *Biró 1992*; *Biró 1993* 37–45.

[5] *Borhy 1994*, 71–82.

[6] *Borhy et al. 1996* 3–26.

[7] They were produced at various sites of the Roman Empire, e. g. in Italy (Campania, Latium, Etruria and the Adriatic coast), in central and southern France, in Spain (Catalonia and Baetica) as well as in the eastern Mediterranean. According to the latest publications, there were production sites in England (Brockley Hill) and Raetia (Augst) as well: e. g. *Grace 1979*; *Hesnard 1980* 143–145; *Peacock – Williams 1986* 105–108; *Hesnard 1986* 75–78; *Tchernia 1986*; *Miro 1988* 78–91, 144–170; *Laubenheimer 1989* 118–123; *Panella 1989* 141–156; *Arthur – Williams 1992* 250–258; *Keay 1992* 355–357; *Martin-Kilcher 1994* 337–346.

[8] It is well-known in Panonia (in the sites along the Amber Route, the Danube limes and the Drava river) e. g. *Kelemen 1988* and *Brukner 1981*; *Bezeczky 1987*; Emona: *Bezeczky 1994a; 1997a, 1997b*.

amphora to the Trajanic-Antonine period is allowed by the Samian wares uncovered in the same layer.

The other wine-container, the Kapitän II form,[9] can be dated from a later period *(Fig. 2.2)*. The time of its use was dated, up to now, from the end of the 2nd century A. D. to the end of the 4th century.[10] The place of their production cannot be defined exactly within the Aegean.[11] The problem is further complicated by the fact that two totally different fabric types were used during the manufacture.[12] Only the most common, 'traditional' fabric (orange red 2.5 YR 5/8–6/8) can be found among the fragments from Brigetio. Their distribution can be observed in several parts of the Empire[13] and also in Pannonia.[14]

Olive-oil was used for cooking. The oil arrived from Baetica (the valley of the Quadalquivir) in globular, Dressel 20 amphorae (*Fig. 2.3*)[15] and can be demonstrated in Pannonia from the second quarter of the 2nd century AD.[16] The distinctive rim and handle fragments from Brigetio are characteristic of the Antonine period, also supported by the dating of Samian ware finds. The amphorae from Baetica occur most frequently in camps and settlements on the Pannonian limes. Some amphorae, nevertheless, are known from the region of the Amber Road and from Gorsium.[17]

The fragments of the Schörgendorfer 558 type amphorae with unique shapes[18] (*Fig. 2.4*) suggest that olive drupe was also transported to Brigetio. The use of this amphora type can be followed from the middle of the 1st century AD until the middle of the 2nd century. The fragments in Brigetio were found together with Samian wares dated from the Domitian-Antonine period. The amphorae

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[9] *Kapitän 1972* 243–252.

[10] *Riley 1979* 192; *Peacock – Williams 1986* 193; *Panella 1986* 617.

[11] *Riley 1979* 192; *Peacock – Williams 1986* 193; *Panella 1986* 617; Based on morphological considerations, V. *Grace 1979* 72, footnote 51; *Riley 1979* 192 Riley did not share this view, he thought the amphora came from Samos. Recently *Outschar 1993* 49 suggested Ephesos as the production site but this hypothesis requires further research.

[12] *Majcherek 1990* distinguished two types of fabric in the amphorae of Marina el-Alamein, Egypt: a) the standard Kapitän II fabric commonly reported from other sites throughout the Mediterranean area. It is orange red (2.5 YR 5/8–6/8; *Peacock – Williams 1986* 195; b) a fine, hard fabric, creamy buff (10 YR 8/4) covered with pale, creamy slip. Its characteristics show close similarities with one of the Rhodian fabrics distinguished by *Peacock (1977* 267–268, fabric no. 2). We have two amphorae in Vindobona with both fabric types.

[13] *Panella 1986.*

[14] It is known from two sites along the Amber Road (Poetovio and Scarbantia) but it was quite frequent in the settlements on the Danube (Vindobona, Carnuntum, Aquincum, Gorsium, Matrica, Intercisa, Mursa and Sirmium) e. g. *Brukner 1981*; *Gassner 1989*; *Kelemen 1990*; *Vidrih Perko 1994*; *Bezeczky 1987*; *Bezeczky 1995*; *Bezeczky 1997a*; *Bezeczky 1997b.*

[15] *Rodriguez-Almeida 1984*; *Martin-Kilcher 1987*; *Remesal-Rodriguez 1997.*

[16] *Bezeczky 1994b* 161, Fig. 5.

[17] Poetovio: Q. L. S, GMM; Vindobona: QIAFSF, ICM, ACIRGI, NTCEI.. \...; Carnuntum: P.M.S., P.CLODIICELI, MMC.SAIP,?..RAMS,?..VITA, POR...?; Ad Statuas: LCMY; Brigetio: FCCVFPAC, FCVCVM, [F]SCIM/NIANO; Azaum: P.M.S.P; Aquincum: DOMS, ST.PL, LCM SA IS, FGRVMESEA / GGGNNCE, FSCIM / NIANO,...VCVM, PN, L.....M ,... / P..; Gorsium: [IVNI]M/[ELI]SSI, TFAMV; Mursa: DOMS; Cibalae: LIVNIM/ELISSI; Sirmium: SFF or SFE; Unknown ACIRGI.

[18] The description of the two basic types: *Muffanti Musselli 1987* 187–188, Tav. I. and lately *Bezeczky 1997a* 158–161.

were found at several sites in Cisalpina, Noricum, Pannonia and Moesia,[19] their production site is not known.[20]

The two Camulodunum 189 type amphorae[21] (*Fig. 2.5*) only represented by their wall fragments, belong to the earliest finds. One of the amphorae was found together with Samian wares dated from the Vespasian and Trajanic period. The other one was in a disturbed layer. These amphorae were used from the time of Augustus to the beginning of the 2nd century AD. Their occurrence is well documented not only in Italy (Pompeii) but also in the northern provinces of the Empire[22] (Britannia, Germania, Raetia, Noricum, Pannonia). These amphorae are supposed to have contained dried fruit (date, fig, raisin or olive).[23] Their origin is difficult to tell, the petrographic analyses, however, found desert sand in the fabric of the amphorae, which suggests a North-African origin. The fruit of the doum palm of Egyptian origin is implied by a painted inscription in Greek letters.[24]

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The amphorae arrived in Brigetio from Italy (perhaps Southern Gallia), Spain, the Aegean and probably from Egypt. The food they contained were exotic goods here in the northern province of the Empire. In the Panonian camps and civil towns relatively few amphorae were found in the course of earlier excavations, which is also true for Brigetio, although in this case the disappearance of the majority of the finds is due to war losses. Recent excavations, nevertheless, yield more and more information. The amphora finds in the living house unearthed in the civil town of Brigetio testify that imported food arrived from the last third of the 1st century AD until the 3rd century.[25]

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[19] The Cisalpine amphorae were found in Milan, Vercelli, Chiavenna, Como, Cremona, Asti, Feltre, Oderzo, Caorle, Altino, Portogruaro and Aquileia, in Raetia the settlement of Chur, in Noricum: Ovilava, Aguntum, Iuvavum (Salzburg), Flavia Solva, Virunum, Celeia, Cetium (St. Pölten) and Magdalensberg, and in Panonia: in the settlements of the Amber Route as well as in Gerulata, Brigetio, Aquincum, Gorsium, Azaum and Balatongyörök, in Upper Moesia, in two settlements: Singidunum and Viminacium.

[20] *Degrassi* (*1953* 60 and *1956* 108–109), *Baldacci* (*1972* 7–28. App. II. 27–28) and *Muffanti Musselli* (*1987* 201–206) thought these amphorae had been produced on the Istrian peninsula. The petrographical analyses may take us closer to the solution. For the time being, these analyses show the amphorae were not produced in Istria (*Bezeczky 1998* 6–9).

[21] The varieties of the type were described in details by *Reusch* (*1970* Abb. 1 and 2).

[22] *Tomlin 1992* 307–308; *Sealey 1985* 87–89; *Reusch 1970*; *Martin-Kilcher 1994* 434–436; Noricum, Magdalensberg: *Maier-Maidl 1992* 20; *Bezeczky 1994* 111. Abb. 43; Flavia Solva: *Sakl-Oberthaler 1994* 16 T. 10; Emona: *Bezeczky 1994a* 86, Nos. 62–67; Vindobona: *Bezeczky 1998*; Carnuntum: *Bezeczky 1997b* 176, No. 21, Fig. 5; Brigetio: Inv. nos: 995. B. 15.060 and 993. E. 11.127 unpublished, excavation of *L. Borhy*; Ia: unpublished, excavation of M. Pichlerová; Aquincum and Tokod: *Kelemen 1990* 149, nos: 1–2, fig. 1.

[23] *Martin-Kilcher 1994* 434.

[24] *Tomlin 1992* 308–311, the inscribed vessel mentioned earlier refers not only to the content but to the origin as well. The Caerlon amphora has it in black Greek letters: KOYK, (), Latin *cuci*, the fruit of the doum palm. This palm in antiquity was limited to the Nile valley, Upper Egypt and Sudan.

[25] I should like to express my gratitude to László Borhy for his permission of the publication of the material.

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CAPTIONS

Fig. 1. Map of Brigetio

Fig. 2.1. Dressel 2–4; 2. Kapitän II; 3. Dressel 20; 4. Schörgendorfer 558; 5. Camulodunum 189 amphorae.

Katalin T. Biró – Katalin Simán

PLEISTOCENE PALAEOANTHROPOLOGICAL REMAINS IN HUNGARY

The present study was made by the authors in the mid-70s. The primary aim was to examine if any trace of burial existed on the territory of Hungary during the Pleistocene. The analysis of the data implied that burial rites may have been excercised in the Subalyuk cave during the Middle Palaeolithic and probably also in the Balla cave during the Upper Palaeolithic. The other, equally important result was a critical review of Pleistocene human remains in Hungary. The last similar list was compiled by L. Bartucz in the mid-sixties.[1] Although human finds from this period have not accumulated significantly, it is proper to remind the professional public about the legacy of the earliest populations inhabiting our country.

The first appearance of man in the Carpathian Basin can be dated to the Lower Palaeolithic. In Hungary this period is represented by the site *Vértesszöllös*. The site was published in a comprehensive monograph edited by Kretzoi and Dobosi.[2] The dating is rather controversary, it was dated from the lower Mindel up to the Mindel/Riss interglacial depending on the method of analysis and its interpretation. From the end of the Mindel period till the end of the R/W interglacial there is no attestable trace of human activity on the territory of Hungary. The number of the sites, however, grew quickly during the early Würmian period. The find assamblages can be classified into several technocomplexes from the Middle Palaeolithic Charentian and Mousterian up to the early appearance of the Aurignacian. The interpleniglacial can be characterised by the temporary presence of the Aurignacian and the spread of the various forms of the Gravettian.

The Mesolithic period is poorly known in Hungary, and even so mostly from surface finds. This period seems to show a double feature: a Tardenoisian type Mesolithic of foreign origin and a Gravettian survival.

Fossil human finds in Hungary:

1. Lower Palaeolithic:		
Vértesszöllös	1965	László Vértes
2. Middle Palaeolithic:		
?Csákvár	1925	Ottokár Kadic – Miklós Kretzoi
Subalyuk cave	1932	Ottokár Kadic – János Dancza
Remete Upper Cave	1969	Veronika Gábori-Csánk
3. Upper Palaeolithic		
Nagysáp	1871	Miksa Hantken
Balla	1909	Jenő Hillebrand
?Istállóskő cave	1912	Jenő Hillebrand
Pilisszántó rockshelter	1915	Tivadar Kormos
Görömböly-Tapolca	1931	Andor Saád – Géza Megay

[1] *Bartucz 1966.*
[2] *Kretzoi – Dobosi 1990.*

Vértesszöllös (*Fig. 1*)[3] is the oldest archaeological as well as palaeoanthropological site in Hungary. In the third year of the excavations, in 1965, levigation resulted 4 milk tooth remains (Homo I – 1966). The tooth fragments — a canine and three molars — belonged to an approximately 7 years old child. In the same year the occipital bone of an adult man was also found (Homo II – HIV 1967). The finds were analysed by A. Thoma[4] who gave them the name *Homo (erectus seu sapiens) palaeohungaricus*. He supposed that the finds show genetic links to the man from Swanscombe. The regression equation told that the brain capacity was smaller than 1400 cm^3. The occipital bone was found in a secondary position embedded in a travertine block. Its original stratigraphical position could not be specified, still it certainly belonged to one of the archaeological layers.

A human metacarpal bone was found in the Pleistocene layers of *Csákvári* (Báracháza or Eszterházy) *cave* in 1925.[5] The bone belonged to the first finger of the left hand. Based on a pierced red deer canine found in the same layer, the finds were attributed to the Aurignacian, although the accompanying fauna (*Cervus megaloceros*) and the features of the finds would denote earlier periods. Anyhow, the stratigraphical situation is far from being clear in the cave, and the archaeological finds, which had probably belonged to two different cultures of two different periods, got mixed. Consequently, the only positive argument concerning the human remains is that it came from the Pleistocene.

The bones of two Neanderthal humans were found during the trial excavations in the *Subalyuk cave* in 1932 (at the time called Mussolini cave).[6] The human remains were found in the fore-ground of the cave, on the bottom of the upper cultural layer with Mousterian industry. The finds contained the jaw and the teeth, the breast bone fragment, vertebrae (also the 1st one), metacarpals and metatarsals, the sacrum and a patella of an adult female. It is interesting that neither the skull nor the long bones were found. At the same time the fragmets of the cranium with the maxilla and the teeth, the vertebrae, the ribs, long bones, carpal and tarsal bones and even the left nasal bone of a 6–7 year old child were unearthed (*Fig. 2 A-B*). The bones of the two humans were lying 2–3 m from each other. The bones of the female were in a poor state of preservation while those of the child were in a better condition, which means, according to the anthropologist L. Bartucz, that they got into the soil separately. Typologically they represented the specialized Neanderthal type, similar to the Krapina finds. Although the excavation methods were not favouring the reconstruction of their original position, the section and the surface drawings suggest that the two persons were buried. (*Fig. 2. C*) J. Dancza who actually found the human bones rejected the possibility of a burial alluding to a thick burnt level above the finds. The fact that archaeological finds were found in the level above the anthropological remains suggests, anyhow, that the dead were buried. The preservance of the child's complete skeleton also stands in favour of a burial. As for the female

[3] The map illustrates the distribution of the sites with the indication of the recovered parts of the body.

[4] *Thoma 1966a; Thoma 1966b; Thoma 1967.*

[5] *Kadic – Kretzoi 1926* 27.

[6] *Kadic et al. 1938.*

skeleton the lack of the long bones and the skull is conspicious. They could not have been cut off for some cultic reasons because in this case the jaw, the first vetebra and the patella would be also missing. Regrettably enough the incongruous excavations hamper forever the authenthic reconstruction of the original situation.

In 1969, a canine and two incisives were found by V. Gábori-Csánk in the *Remete-Upper cave*, in the outskirts of Budapest.[7] There were three teeth from a jaw in the layer that yielded the remains of the Jankovichian. The anthropological finds, defined by M. Kretzoi, belonged to a Neanderthal man.

The skeleton of a less than one-and-a-half years old child with an expressedly long skull was found in the entrace of the *Balla cave* during the trial excavations.[8] The exact position of the skeleton is not known. By the time the archaeologist arrived, it had alredy been removed from the layer. Most of the bones were complete, with no traces of burning or chewing. No traces of inhumation were observed, either. Hillebrand supposed a burial here and he found his theory justified when from the back part of the cave metacarpals (ring and middle finger) of two individuals were found. The inarticulated bones reminded him of ethnographical data about ritual amputation of fingers. The finds were found in an undisturbed Pleistocene yellow clay with Late Pleistocene fauna and a few Gravettian finds. The *C-14* dating made by Oakley resulted cca. 12,000 years.[9]

A first phalanx of the right thumb of a female was found during the excavation of the Pilisszántó rock shelter in 1915 together with Gravettian industry.[10]

The *Görömböly-Tapolca cave* in Miskolc contained Aurignacian and Gravettian finds in a mixed layer.[11] Beside the lithic industry and three pierced red deer teeth, the occiput of an adult woman was found. The palaeoanhropological analysis of the remains was published by A. Thoma.[12]

The above finds came from excavations and were beyond doubt in Pleistocene layers. There are some finds, however, the original position of which is still debated.

The most problematic of them are the *Nagysáp* skeletons found in 1871. It was presented by Miksa Hantken on the meeting of the Geographical Society.[13] Later, he sent a part of it to the Anthropological Institute in Vienna. The first crucial point of the debate started in the publications of the Institute was that at the time several scientists did not accept the existence of Pleistocene, and even early Holocene man in Hungary.[14] It took another twenty years untill Ottó Herman succeeded in proving the prescence of Pleistocene man in the Carpathian Basin.

The Nagysáp landowner sent message to the Geological Institute that human bones were found in undisturbed loess in the depth of 5–6 feet (150–200 cm), the same depth from which mammoth bones had alredy been unearthed. The geologists arriving to the site collected two skulls and the skeletal bones stating that

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[7] *Gábori-Csánk 1983.*
[8] *Hillebrand 1911a; Hillebrand 1911b; Hillebrand 1913; Hillebrand 1914.*
[9] *Oakley 1964.*
[10] *Kormos 1916.*
[11] *Vértes – Kretzoi – Bertalan 1962.*
[12] *Thoma 1957.*
[13] *Geduly 1873.*
[14] *Luschan 1872; Woldrich 1873.*

they were contemporary to the embedding loess. Anthropologists found that the better preseved skull was strikingly short as opposed to the Pleistocene ones known at that time, which had long skulls. In the meantime, an iron buckle was also found in the loess, which questioned the original position of the skeletons. Some argued that the buckle was in original position and the skeletons were washed in the loess. The mysterious „Nagysáp skull" seems to re-appear from time to time but has evaded any trial to investigation ever since. The authors of this paper, however, would rather agree with those who say that it is easier for a buckle to be washed into the loess than for two skeletons, and accept the authentic observation of the two prominent geologists. It is also to be mentioned that those who invented the first argument knew only about the skull sent to Vienna, while the other skull and the skeletal bones have, by that time, disappeared.

The trial excavations in the *Istállóskő cave* in 1912 also yielded some human remains.[15] The clavicle of an about 3 years old child was found on the border of the Pleistocene and the Holocene layers. Hillebrand attributed it to the underlying Aurignacian. Nevertheless, it is probable that the calvicle originally belonged to the overlying Neolithic, from where several skeletons are known. Vértes found the tooth of a nine year old child in the cave, which, coming from the uppermost layer, certainly does not belong to the Palaeolithic material of the cave.[16]

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Hungary is not particulary rich in palaeoanthropological finds. Even the existing ones are too defective — in quantity and quality just as well as in documentation — to serve as a firm base for a scientifis analysis. The hope, however, lives in specialists, that sooner or later more finds, perhaps authentic burials would be discovered. Partly this may be the reason that from time to time the rumour goes round that Pleistocene human bones were found. The same was the situation with the skull and long bones found in the bed of the Danube. Regrettably, up till now, all these news, together with this last one, have proved false.

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CAPTIONS

Fig. 1. Sites with palaeoanthropological finds in Hungary; 1: Vértesszőlős; Nagysáp; 3: Csákvári cave; 4: Pilisszántó rockshelter; 5. Remete; Upper cave; 6. Istállóskő cave; 7. Balla cave; 8. Subalyuk cave; 9. Görömböly-Tapolca cave.

Fig. 2. Subalyuk cave A. and B. Horzizontal and verticcal distribution of the anthropological finds (After J. Dancza); Bones of woman: 1. Jaw, 2. Sternum, 3: Metacarpal, 4. Patella, 5. Vertebra, 6. Sacral bone, 7. Metatarsal (The chidren's bones are not marked.; C. Suggested dislocation of the skeleton).

Mária T. Bíró

PINS WITH FEMALE BUST DECORATION AND THE EMPEROR CULT

The first comprehensive study about the so-called pin heads with „Frauenbüst" decoration appeared in 1995. D. Stutzinger created in this study the basis of scientific analysis of carvings with female bust depictions.[1] He collected the data on the hairpins from the antique authors and the hair depictions in artistic remains where the position of the hairpins could be seen. He made the typology of the carvings he had found and, dating them, turned a new find material group into a standard with dating force. The study is a pioneering work and, at the same time, a basis for further research. The Pannonian carvings can also be inserted into Stutzinger's groups although the especially rich bone material in the province displays unique products the analogues of which are missing from his collection composed mostly from finds in the museums in western provinces. It can also be observed that the Pannonian carvings are often nicer and richer in details than their western analogues. This phenomenon may be explained by the fact that the Hungarian bone carvers' workshops were strongly effected from the east. It is also conspicuous at other groups of the archaeological bone finds (bone distaffs also displaying human representations) that the quality of the carvings deteriorated in the European provinces from the east to the west.[2]

The large number and the popularity of bone objects in our province was not only characteristic of the 4th century when, as a result of inner impoverishment and the influence of alien (Germanic) fashion, the quantity of bone objects of common use grew to an unexpected amount and new, up to then unknown shapes appeared. There already existed a tradition of bone carvers' workshops in earlier centuries and the inhabitants of the province had fancy for bone jewellery, boxes and implements.[3]

The number of hairpins decorated with female busts, their variability in execution and richness in types surpass in amount and finery what could be expected in a province with an extension as ours. Stutzinger's collection embraced all other European provinces still there are types that only occur in Pannonia. The item number of the carved wares in the province is also large as compared to the other provinces.

Bone carvers' workshops worked in the whole empire from pattern books or sample pieces. A unique „piece of art", a carving without an analogue did not, practically, exist in the Roman period. Identical knife handles, hairpins, whorls

[1] *D. Stutzinger*: Römische Haarnadel mit Frauenbüste. Bonner Jb 195 (1995) 135–208.

[2] *M. T. Biró*: The unknown goddess of late-roman popular religious belief. Acta ArchHung 46 (1994) 195–229.

[3] *M. T. Biró*: The Bone Objects of the Roman Collection. Catalogi Musei Nationalis Hungarici, Ser. arch. 2. Budapest 1994, 11–14.

etc. can be found in Korinthos, Sirmium, Arrabona and at the Black Sea or in Britannia. This feature of the production, explained either by central manufactures or the copies from pattern books, allows exact dating. The shapes were frequently changed and the objects quickly went out of fashion. There can a always be found one among the carvings used over a large area for a short time that can exactly be dated with a coin or Samian ware so bone objects can certainly be dated by their analogues. Qualitative differences within the types allow the definition of the workshop or the bone carver himself. The following description of the hairpins with female busts from Pannonia colours but does not alter the typological and chronological system elaborated by Stutzinger.

The dating of pins with female bust representations is rendered apparent by the copy of monumental sculptures, the portrait sculptures of the female members of the imperial house. The miniature pieces of art always follow the fashionable hair style. They probably copy statues in the province with more or less success.

In the case of the bone pin heads with a female head or bust, it is not the Roman ladies' hairstyle, the changing hairstyle fashion that is to be emphasised. The female representations on provincial tomb stones, the hairstyle on the mummy portraits (which have preserved the faces of masses of the anonymous provincial inhabitants) are much simpler and routine than the hairstyles on the pin heads. Written sources vary between two extremities. Poets praise the charms of their elegant friends, while Christian authors propagate womanly simplicity and modesty. Tertullian disapproves in female hairdo that girls more and more often imitate women's more striking, 'frolicsome hairstyle'.[4] Even in the antiquity, the local population expected, similarly to the rural customs in modern Europe, that girls should also be different from married women in their hairstyle. Wigs, which stand on the women's heads „as leather helmets or orators' pulpits", must have only been scandalising exeptions as judged from contemporary provincial depictions. Many types of shreds, hair-nets, turban-shaped head-dresses can be seen on tomb stones or mummy sarcophagi. Contrary to the men's fashion, the provincial women's dress and hairstyle preserved local traditions for a long time e.g. the Celtic tribal traditions in Pannonia and Noricum or the rich Syrian-Aramean pomp in Palmyra, etc.).

The Roman hairstyle, the fantastic poetic hairdo can mainly be seen on Italian statues. These portraits depicted the female members of the imperial family and the wives of the senators and knights. The hairstyle of the Roman fashion ladies was far not unified. Based on the surviving reliefs and portrait statues, the hair was done according to one's age and personality. Ovid said: „hairstyles are several: so all should weigh what fits: first look into the mirror. / Parting fits a long face, not the tower, etc."[5] Contrary to it, no more than four or five hairstyles are depicted on the bone carvings from the four centuries. Archaeological literature usually cites these bone carvings because of the hairstyle as it has a dating force. Nevertheless, the contemporary bone carvers must have made the pins not

[4] *Tert. virg. vel.*
[5] *Ov. ars. amat.* 3.135–148.

for the fashionable hairstyle but because of a certain bust (empress?). The Malalas Chronostratigraphy,[6] which is often no more than the anachronistic reflection of the contemporary situation back to the time of the foundation of the town, mentions the custom, probably from the imperial period, that the emperor sent his statues to the town magistrates. The same may have been true for the statues of some empresses. The shape of the busts, the pedestal etc. are just as characteristic of the carvings as the hairstyle.

The hairstyle of the female members of the Julius–Claudian dynasty, that of Agrippina jr. are missing from Pannonia but they can be found elsewhere. The most frequent type is the decorative hairstyle of the females in the Traian family where the hair is pulled up on the forehead and collected in a bun at the nape. The hairstyle of the females of the so-called military emperors and the Constantine dynasty can easily be differentiated in the second half of the 3rd century. The latest finds represent female busts of the Valentinian and Theodosius periods with a diadem on the forehead. The pins decorated with female heads are not evenly dispersed, they are characteristic of certain years and dynasties. It is possible that the hair pins were fashionable at dynasties where the females of the emperor's house were really popular e. g. Traian's wife or Constantine the Great's mother, or they are popular in the province because of the origin of the emperor's house itself. Several statues were made of the empresses and the honour of the empress was also included in the emperor cult. History offers examples when that the queen standing at the head of the state, the princess or the „first lady" becomes popular by her own personal charm, womanly beauty (e. g. Franz Josef's wife, Peron's wife, etc.). These cultic pictures appear on the mass objects of everyday use as well. I think, the majority of the pins decorated with female busts copies the statue of a popular empress. It is rather a propaganda object, an emblem made for some political event than a pin of everyday use for fastening a braid or a bun. Regrettably, the majority of the Pannonian carvings was purchased by the Museum or they are stray finds, while the early pins came from cremational burials. So we cannot answer the question where and how these pins were worn. It is interesting that a similar pin was found in the grave of an infant at Oroszvár and it certainly did not decorate the child's hair. In the Tác cemetery, another rare pin with an animal depiction on the head, also described as a hairpin, fastened the dress of a man at the left arm.[7] Stutzinger has no doubts about the wearing of the hairpins with female bust decorations although the depictions listed by him only prove that Roman women used hairpins but the surviving depictions do not reveal if the pins decorated with busts were also used for fastening the hair, a hair-net or a kerchief. Beside the fact that our present womanly aesthetic sense would protest against inserting another head on our head, it must have been the respect of an authority that prevented putting the head of an empress into somebody's hair. It should also be remembered that the head-dress, the covering and decoration of the head was part, in certain sense, of the sacral sphere so it would be difficult to imagine that anybody would have fastened her hair with

[6] *Malalas* 7. p. 172.
[7] *M. T. Biró*: Gorsium bone carvings. AlbaReg 13 (1987) 25–63)

a bone pin bearing the statue of an empress. It seems contradictory, still, the depiction of a goddess, e. g. of Venus, is more likely to be profanised than that of a member of the emperor's house. The goddess is an ancient symbol of love and beauty, while the iconographic declaration of an empress is actual political loyalty. The full figure depiction of a goddess or goddesses often appears on the objects of common use, as hairpins, mirrors, distaffs etc. but the hairdo of e. g. the Venus carving is not in harmony with the hair pins supposing it would follow the fashion. The Venus depictions on the bone distaffs from the 4th century wear long and loose locks down to the shoulder while on hair pins the hair is pulled high up.[8] It was probably not the hairstyle but the statue that was copied. When a statue type is rare, so is the bone carving made after it. The high tutulus at a variant of the very decorative hairstyle of the Traian period is made if many superposed ringlets, which is indicated with numerous tiny incised squares on the carvings (*Fig. 1*). Another variety is when the long locks are not separated on the statues but fastened side by side on the tutulus (*Fig. 10*). The former is often met on bone carvings, while the latter is known on a single one from Szombathely (*Fig. 11, 12*). This fact also supports that the statues and not the hairstyle fashion was copied.

A specific group is to be separated among the pin heads with bust representation (Stutzinger Cat. 96–101) where the hairstyle resembles a closely folded turban (*Fig. 40, 41*).[9] The quality of the bone carvings is very similar from Rome to Dunaújváros. This fact is striking in itself, namely that equally poor quality bone carvings were made in the town of Rome as in a remote camp on the borders. These hairstyles cannot be attributed to any known empress portray. At the same time, the depictions of the hair pins are totally identical with those of the toy dolls discovered in great numbers in the catacombs of Rome (*Fig. 39. a, d*).[10] A similar doll fragment is also known from Pannonia. The trunk of such a doll survived in the show case of the bone objects from Brigetio (*Fig. 42*). The arms and legs, which can separately be jointed to the trunk, are missing still it could exactly be identified with the smaller toy dolls in the Vatican Museum. Regrettably, the doll itself has disappeared in the 'whirl of history' only a photo taken of the exhibition documents its existence. The hair pins and the dolls represent not only the same technique but also the same style. This hairstyle and even its stylised variety of a triangular shape are frequent on full figure Venus depictions (hair pins, distaffs).

Their execution is very simple and undemanding wherever they were made. These dolls are the same in Rome, in Aquilea, Lauriacum, Brigetio, Savaria or even in Egypt. Perhaps we are right to suppose that they were wares definitely made for children.

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[8] *M. T. Biró*: The unknown goddess of late-roman popular religious belief. Acta ArchHung 46 (1994) 195–229.

[9] *D. Strutzinger*: Römische Haarnadeln mit Frauenbüste. Bonner Jb 195 (1995) 183–185.

[10] *C. R. Morey*: Catalogo del Museum Sacro Vaticano, gli oggetti di avorio e di osso. Vatican 1936, A 6–10.

I.

Three types of female representations on bone objects of common use must be separated in the Roman period: 1. empress portraits, 2. goddess depictions and 3. dolls. The doll depictions have the deepest roots and these are the ones that changed the least in time and space. The Hellenistic effect of Aphrodite-Venus representations as decorations of the objects of cosmetics, make-up and women's household work is reflected in the minor objects of common use made by the Roman applied art. The pins decorated with Roman empress portraits appear only in certain periods. They form clearly discernible groups in the whole Europe and the discrepancies within the groups are little against the large geographical distances. It seems as if it were a fashion directed from above, a conscious diffusion. The preparation of these miniature statuettes needed good skill considering that the height of a bust together with the pedestal is not larger than 2 cm. The statue itself together with the complicated hairstyle is no higher than 1 cm. I think these statues are 'emblems, brooches' made on a certain occasion. Crowns of priests or priestesses decorated with busts are mainly known from the eastern provinces, although a similar one can be observed on the head of the priest of Magna Mater in a relief from Ostia.

Plancia Magna, priestess of the emperor cult in Perge (*Fig. 35*), wore a crown decorated with three busts (two emperors and an empress). Priest's and priestess' crowns decorated with busts are known from the Flavii to Theodosius (Phrygia, Lydia, Kilikia, Kappadokia, *Fig. 35, 36, 37, 38*). The wearers of the „Büstenkronen" are the priests and the priestesses of the provincial or municipal emperor cult.[11] The edict by Valentinian, Valens and Gratian mentions the *coronatus provincae* worn by the *arkhiereus*. In North-Africa, the imperial cult existed even in the 5–6th centuries. The wearing of the crown decorated with the bust of the emperor or the empress was reserved for the sacral sphere. On the surviving depictions, the 'Büstenkronen' were partly made of metal, their width varied between 5 and 15 cm. The busts were joined to the upper edge of the metal band or rarely (the priest's crown of Pompeiopolis) they were applied to the surface of the band. The simpler variety of the priest's or priestess' diadem was a broad ribbon to which the portraits were sewn or fastened. This type can be seen on the priestess of the Kimbell Art Museum (Texas, *Fig. 33*). The crowns decorated with busts known from the western provinces rarely appear and only in relation to eastern cults (Magna Mater relief in Ostia, a floor mosaic from Aquilea).

Similar priest's or priestess' crowns are not known from the find material of the emperor cult in the western provinces. Regarding, however, that even the place of the *concilium provinciae* temple is questioned in Pannonia for the scarcity of archaeological find material, the lack of the find type does not prove that it never existed. Two consequences can certainly be drawn from the eastern „Büstenkronen". The wearing of the emperor's or the empress's busts can only be accepted within the frames of the emperor cult. Consequently, we either suppose that the hairpins decorated with the busts of the empresses were worn by the

[11] *J. Inan – E. Alföldy-Rosenmbaum*: Römische und frühbyzantinische portratplastik aus der Türkei I-II. Mainz am Rhein 1979, 38–47.

priestesses of the municipal or provincial emperor cult or that those attending the festivals of the emperor cult could buy them as „devotional articles" and wear them during the ceremony. The presence of these tiny bone carvings might prove the existence of the 'Büstenkrone' in the western provinces and also in Pannonia. Three interpretations are possible for the carving protruding in the middle of the head-dress of the bone statuette found in the uppermost layer of the Intercisa castrum, a bust with a diadem from the Valentinian or Theodosius period. The protruding decoration is similar to the *ureus* snake on Egyptian head-dresses (*Fig. 31, 34*) which, however, can be excluded because of the dating of the object. The empress' diadems on the contemporary diptychs are decorated with strings of beads and large precious stones. The rectangular precious stones in the centre of the diadems, however, do not protrude. The decoration in the middle of the head of the bone pin from Dunaújváros, however, stands far out from the surface of the head-dress and the decoration itself, as it can be seem from the side, is segmented and ends in a globe. It is possible that it depicts a priestess wearing a 'Büstenkrone'.

The profane use of the bone pins decorated with female busts does not seem to be probable as judged from the priest's and priestess' diadems related to the emperor cult observed in the eastern provinces. The sacral feature is strengthened by the fact that similar busts decorated the crowns of deities, also from eastern origin, in the western provinces. Probably, this eastern ritual costume appeared automatically in the emperor cult in the eastern towns. In the western provinces and, naturally, in Pannonia as well, the wearing of the pins decorated with bone busts can be imagined only within this circle.

CATALOGUE

I. 1. Szombathely (SAVARIA) (*Fig. 11, 12*)

Inv. no. 132.1872. Hungarian National Museum

4.7 cm, broken

A female bust carved on top of a globular pin head. It shows a unique technique that excels from among the bust representations in Pannonia. The locks of the pulled up tutulus are indicated with protruding bone vaults separated by horizontal incisions. The horizontal lines of the upwards widening bone vaults and the deeper incisions between them create a perfect imitation of locks on the 11 cm high hairdo. They offer the same picture as the curled locks of the „Busto Fonseca" from the late Traianic period viewed from a little distance (Rome, Captolium Museum). The plastic, convex vaults disappear on the backside of the hairdo, only simple vertical lines indicate the pulled up frontal hair and rectangular network incisions suggest the locks collected in a bun at the nape.

I. 2. Szőny (BRIGETIO) (*Fig. 2*)

Inv. No. 5.1935.20. Hungarian National Museum

1.8 cm, broken.

Probably a bust broken at the neck. The narrow, fine, regular face of the statue is identical with the above described carving from Szombathely. The high hairdo, simi-

larly to the monumental statues, widens upwards from the forehead. The elaboration of the locks is simpler, they are indicated by incised small squares. Unlike on the Szombathely carving, the hair is divided in the middle as it can be seen on the statue of Julia Titi (Rome, Therme Museum). The backside of the carving is concave and strongly calcined. The Hungarian National Museum bought the small statue head from Jenő Petrovits, so it probably had come from a grave.

I. 3. Rusovce-Oroszvár (GERULATA) (*Fig. 3*)

M. Pichlerová: Gerulata Rusovce (1981) grave I., fig. 4, I-II, Pl CLXXXVIII.

4.5 cm, Total pin 11 cm.

It came from an infant grave with rich grave goods. The pin was lying beside a lamp, two perfume bottles and a cup. The bust was on the top of a pin with a globular head. The narrow chin and the fine, narrow face of the statuette indicate again that the carving was made in a good workshop. The hairstyle, however, is more primitive, the high hair resembles a fur cap and does not have a trapezoid outline. The locks are indicated by depressed squares and, similarly to the Brigetio carving (I.2.), the hair is divided in the middle. Unlike the former hairstyles, the hair is also divided on the back of the head. The locks are not indicated with straight lines but by oblique hatching toward the outer edges (from the back, the statue resembles a fir branch). The bun at the nape is very small and flat.

I. 4. Rusovce-Oroszvár (GERULATA) (*Fig. 4, 16*)

Pichlerová 1981[12] grave 85, pl. CIX, CXIV.

2.0 cm, broken.

There were two small bone pins found in the cremational burial beside a perfume bottle, a bronze mirror without a handle and a jug. The small heads were so much broken that even the necks are missing although it should be noted that, based on the fragmentary pins (more details later), pins most often broke at this point, the neck part usually stayed with the bust. The breakage type of Brigetio (I. 2.) is much rarer. Grave-good No. 5. from grave 85 wears a high hairstyle indicated with a square pattern which is not divided in the middle. On the backside, the hair indication resembles a fir branch, the bun is indicated at the nape with flat horizontal lines.

I. 5. Rusovce-Oroszvár (GERULATA) (*Fig. 5*)

Pichlerová 1981 grave 85. Pl. CIX, CXIV.

1.7 cm, broken.

The pin head found together with another one in the cremational burial was broken not only at the neck but also in an oblique line on the left side of the head. The high hairstyle is indicated with small squares in a network from the front, and a

[12] *M. Pichlerová*: Gerulata Rusovce. Rimske pohrebisko. Fontes Archeologické Ústavu Slovenského Národného Múzea v Bratislave. Bratislava 1981.

fir-branch pattern from the back. The bun is bounded by horizontal lines. The hair was probably not divided in the middle.

I. 6. Rusovce-Oroszvár (GERULATA) (*Fig. 6, 15*)

Pichlerová 1981 grave 101, Pl. CLXXXVII, CXXVI.

2.5 cm, broken.

A female head from a cremational burial. The grave contained a convex bone ring and two intact and two fragmentary vessels. The breakage of the bone head also removed the chin. The hairstyle indicated with a network of squares is divided in the middle. From the back, straight vertical lines indicate the pulled up tutulus and the bun at the nape is indicated, similarly to the Szombathely carving (I. 1.), by a square network of superficially incised lines.

I. 7. Szombathely (SAVARIA) (*Fig. 7*)

Inv. no: none. The head is lost, only a drawing by Margit Kanozsay has remained. A pin fragment in the Szombathely museum probably belonged to this head. The head broke off the bust on a globular pin head with round collar.

2.5 cm (only the head). A bust on top of a globe, 2.5 cm, pin l.: 7.5 cm. The point of the pin also broke off.

The locks on the high forehead are indicated with the network of small squares, the hair is not divided in the middle. From the back, the hairstyle resembles a fir-branch and the bun is indicated with incisions of square network. The original size of the pin must have been identical to that of I. 1.

I. 8. Sopron (SCARBANTIA) (*Fig. 8*)

Inv. No. 55.109.183 /old inv. no. 57.17.1./ Deák square.

4.5. Total pin l.: 14.5 cm.

The tutulus is covered with the network of small deeply incised squares. The hair was divided in the middle. From the back, a fir branch pattern and a bun indicated with horizontal lines build the hairstyle. A necklace and the border of a tunic can be seen at the neck of the carved statue, while the V-shaped cuttings probably model the *palla*. The earlier described busts did not show any sign of costume.

I. 9. Óbuda (AQUINCUM) (*Fig. 9*)

Inv. no. lost. Literature: Budapest Régiségei 2. 198. p. 133, fig. 2.

no measurement

The head broke off at the neck. The locks of the high hairstyle were indicated with incised squares. It is not divided in the middle. The depiction has not been preserved on the backside of the hair.

I. 10. Osijek-Eszék (MURSA) (*Fig. 13*)

Inv. No. 1651 Arheološki Muzej Zagreb

5 cm. Total pin 13.9 cm. Ebony.

The high-drawn hairstyle consists of three parts. Right above the forehead, a narrow stripe protrudes indicated with incised hatches as if representing a fringe. The high-

drawn hair is covered with an incised network of squares, and a horizontally coiled bun tops the head. This hairstyle is unique among the bone carvings although it is frequent among the small terracotta heads in Alexandria (*E. Breccia*: Alexandriea ad Aegyptum. 1914, 272, fig.138.). Not only the hairstyle of the carving is different from the rest, the upper body part on the cylindrical pedestal segmented with horizontal grooves is at least the double size. The strongly elongated shape is not broken by the indication of the arms or the shoulder.

Fragments of busts without the head (Group I)

1. Szombathely (SAVARIA) (*Fig. 17*)

Inv. No. 225.

l.: 5.8 cm. The point is broken.

A bust carved on a globular head above a double round collar.

2. Szombathely (SAVARIA) (*Fig. 18*)

Inv. no. none

l.: 5.0, the point broke off.

A triangular bust on a rectangular, segmented pedestal bordered by far protruding surfaces. Neither the shoulders nor the arms are indicated.

3. Dunaújváros (INTERCISA) (*Fig. 19*)

Inv. no. 74.27.97.

l.: 5.1 cm, broken point.

A cylindrical pedestal segmented by horizontal grooves with the fragment of a triangular, undecorated bust on it.

4. Albertfalva (CAMPONA) (*Fig. 20*)

Inv. no. 61.01.421.

l.: 7.6 cm. broken point.

The fragment of a bust on a globe standing on a double divided pedestal.

II. 1. Unprovenanced (*Fig. 23*)

Inv. no.: 54.66.1. Hungarian National Museum

3.7 cm.

A bust on a segmented cylindrical pedestal. The execution of the statuette excels from among the Pannonian bone carvings. The bust is not in a frontal position. The woman slightly turns her head to the right from the axis of the statuette. The regular oval face, the strikingly long neck and the raised chin distinguish it from the other bone carvings. The hair is divided in the middle and ends in a bun on top of the head. The dense folds of the tunic and the palla make a plastic impression. The statuette depicts Annia Faustina, Antoninus Pius's wife (Vatican Museum and Algerian National Museum).

III. 1. Dunaújváros (INTERCISA) (*Fig. 25*)

Inv. no. 1832. stray find (Szt. István Király Museum)

2.5 cm. The point of the pin broke off. l.: 8.2. cm.

The details of the face are largely different from carvings of the earlier centuries. The face is wider, the chin is stronger and more squared, the nose is emphasised, the eyes are large and bulging. The hair is divided in the middle. The locks collected at the nape are plaited into several plaits which are fastened to the back of the head in a width of 10–15 cm. The plaits are pulled forward nearly to the forehead where they are recoiled. The hairstyle offered the best view in profile, while only the „ridge" of the recoiled locks could be seen from the front. The same hairstyle can be seen on coins from the middle of the 3rd century (Tranquillina, III. Gordianus's mother, Salonina, Gallienus's wife, Severina, Aurelianus's wife, and the latest on Valeria, Diocletian's daughter). This hairstyle copied the statue or any known portrait of an empress in the times of the so-called military emperors or the tetrarchy. It is also possible that the statue of the name donator of Valeria province, Galenia Valeria Augusta was the model. The statue is not on the usual pedestal. The pedestal is only represented by a narrow double collar. The bust wears a tunic and a fine, densely folded, plastic palla.

III. 2. Dunaújváros (INTERCISA) (*Fig. 26*)

Inv. no. 333/67.2.135.2.

1.4 cm Total pin l.: 9.2 cm.

The bone hair pin came from a brick grave of inhumational burial. The other grave goods were a cylindrical bronze box and a mirror. The grave can be dated by a coin. The pin does not depict a bust on a pedestal but simply a female head. The hairstyle must have been the same as on hair pin III. 1. but its quality was more primitive. The hair is indicated with superficial incisions. Still, the division and the ridge of the recoiled plaits can be recognised on the front. The plaits are indicated with an incised square network on the backside. There are only holes in the place of the eyes. It may be supposed that the eyes were made of metal or glass bead inlays.

III. 3. Dunaújváros (INTERCISA) (*Fig. 27*)

Inv. no. 164.1908.96. (Hungarian National Museum)

1.3 cm. Total pin l.: 9.7 cm.

The pin is totally identical with find III. 2. In one eye hole, the colour of iron implies an inlay.

IV. 1. Szőny (BRIGETIO) (*Fig. 29*)

Inv. no. X 382 (Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum)

unknown measurement

The hair on the bust is encircled by a diadem above the forehead indicated with vertical lines. The hair rising above it is perfectly smooth. The costume of the woman are naturally falling and folding tunic and palla. Contrary to earlier carvings, the folds of the coat represent a really good imitation of bronze and marble statues. The

pedestal of the statue is a narrow, rectangular bone plate. On the back of the statue, vertical notches indicate the diadem and a specific inverted V-shaped incision marked the arms on the coat.

IV. 2. Szőny (BRIGETIO) (*Fig 30*)

Inv. no: X 383 (Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum)

no measurement

The carving is a primitive copy of bone pin IV. 1. The bust decorating the head of the pin is no more that one third of the previous carving. The hair is divided in the middle on the backside. The locks running to the sides are indicated with a fir-branch pattern also on the front above the diadem. The statuette shows the same inverted V-shape outline as the pervious. The difference between the Brigetio IV. 1. and IV. 2. carvings is the same as observed between the Intercisa III. 1. and III. 2–3 ones. Most probably, carvings imported to the settlement or made in a local workshops were copied at home.

IV. 3. Dunaújváros (INTERCISA) (*Fig. 31, 34*)

Inv. no. C 59/16

2.2 cm. Pin l.: 6.6 cm, the point broke off.

This is the most interesting carving with a female bust which was found in the area of the Intercisa castrum as a stray find on the surface. The bust placed on top of a white, very thin and totally intact pin proves that the band around the head of carvings from the 4th type indicated with vertical hatching can only be a diadem as an S-shaped decoration evidently protrudes and separates from the middle of the band. The hair is divided in the middle on the back. The bust wears a tunic and a coat collected in plastic folds. From the back, the depiction is schematic with the same inverted V-shaped indication of the arms as on the Brigetio carvings,

The Pannonian carvings came from the second half of the 1st century (Flavii), the first third of the 2nd century (Traian, Antoninus Pius), the second half of the 3rd century (Military emperors and the Tetrarchy) and the second third of the 4th century (Valentinianus, Theodosius). The carvings resemble the statues of Julia, Titus's sister and Faustina, Antoninus Pius's wife and the coin depictions of Ulpia Severina, Aurelianus's wife and Galeria Veleria, Diocletian's daughter. The diadems of the portraits from the Valerianus period foreshadow the rigid hairstyle of the court. This hair style and diadem can be seen on the female portraits in diptych frames of Anastasius. The Pannonian attribution of the Valetinianus house and its role in the history of the province may explain the popularity of the female members of the imperial house, and their representations on the bone pins (Brigetio two items and Intercisa).

Group II.

V. 1. Szombathely (SAVARIA) (*Fig. 40*)

Inv. no: 54.803.6.

3.1 cm, Total pin l.: 9.7 cm.

The composition of the bust is significantly different from the carvings of the previous groups. The bust reminds of the head carved on top of the pin with a schematised

pinea head common from the second half of the 3rd century and not of a bust. The hair of the statuette is divided with an oblique line. Horizontal and oblique hatching indicates the hair or the turban-shaped kerchief on the two sides of the diagonal line. The body of the statuette was covered with superficial incisions in a square network characteristics of the bone carvings from the end of the 3rd century. They did not consider the inner division of the depiction in this case, either.

V. 2. Dunaújváros (INTERCISA) (*Fig. 41*)
Inv. no. 76.31.72.
2.0 cm. Total pin l.: 9.6 cm.

The hair of the head carved on top of a pin head with a square network decoration is indicated with oblique lines running toward the two sides.

Pins identical with carvings V. 1. and 2. are known from Enns (Museum Lauriacum), Arles (Musée de l'Arles) and Aquilea (Wien, Kunshistorisches Museum) etc. Stutzinger dated this bust type to the end of the 3rd century and the 4th century from the portraits of the Tetrarchy. A similarly identical pin can be found in the Vatican Museum (l.: 8.5 cm) from the cemeteries around the city. So the poor quality of the pins cannot be explained by the decline of the provincial bone carving craft or the cessation of workshops but probably by social differences. Similarly poor quality pins were available for the poorer people in Rome and Aquilea as in Lauriacum or Intercisa, a hidden small camp on the border. There may be yet another explanation for the diffusion of such carvings. The execution of the pin heads, namely, is identical to the minimal details to the bone dolls popular in the 3rd and 4th centuries.

Many dolls were found in the infant graves of the catacombs in the city of Rome. Dolls pressed into the fresh mortar of the catacomb wall may have marked the graves. Two types of bone dolls were common. Only the legs could be moved at the simpler ones while the arms crossed in front of the breast were carved on the trunk. On finer items, the legs and the arms were separately jointed and they were movable. The heads and the hairstyles of the dolls were identical to the female busts from Savaria and Intercisa (V. 1. and 2.). Carving A 6 published from the Vatican Museum came from the cemeteries around the city, A 7, 8 and 10 from the Priscilla catacomb. C. R. Morey dated the carvings from the 3rd century. A similar doll was found in the sarcophagus of Maria, Stilicho's daughter and wife of Honorius emperor. According to Martingny, the position of the dolls into the Christian graves even with adults (see Maria, Honorius's wife) intended to symbolise Christ's bidding in the New Testament: „Verily I say unto you, except ye be converted, and become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven." Matthew 18. 3. I. Cor.13.11.[13]

We also have data from Pannonia on the existence of bone dolls similar to the ones found in the Roman catacombs. I found the photo of such a doll on a photo made of a show-case in the exhibition composed of the finds from Brigetio. The arms of the doll were not movable, it was one of the smaller, probably cheaper dolls where the arms crossed on the breast were depicted in relief.

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[13] *Mc. K. Elderkin*: Jointed dolls in antiquity. AJA 43 (1930) 455–479.

The dolls found in the catacombs were made in two forms. At some, the arms and the legs were made separately and jointed to the trunk with rivets. These dolls could be moved, the doll could sit. The dolls as the Brigetio one where the arms are crossed on the breast, were babies. European doll history knows these trunk dolls or wooden babies. Regrettably, the Brigetio doll has disappeared, I could not find it either in the Dunamenti Museum in Komarno (Slovakia) or in the Komárom, Tata and Budapest collections (*Fig. 42*). Beside the Brigetio doll, other doll fragments and a doll foot are known from Szombathely.

The dolls and the pins with doll depictions were made for little girls. These dolls did not really change throughout the centuries. A similar construction is characteristic of them until the beginning of the 20th century: the trunk and the extremities jointed with rivets, a schematic indication of the hair which can be covered with various wigs. Perhaps it maybe supposed that, similarly to the modern varieties (17–18th centuries), the Roman dolls were also coated with wax since the same technique was applied for the monumental sculptures in the Antiquity.

CAPTIONS

Fig. 1. Iulia, daughter of Titus (Roma, Nationale Museum)
Fig. 2. Szőny (Brigetio) Inv. 5.1935.20 Kat. I. 2.
Fig. 3. Rusovce-Oroszvár (Gerulata) Kat. I. 3.
Fig. 4. Rusovce-Oroszvár (Gerulata) Kat. I. 4.
Fig. 5. Rusovce-Oroszvár (Gerulata) Kat. I. 5.
Fig. 6. Rusovce-Oroszvár (Gerulata) Kat. I. 6.
Fig. 7. Szombathely (Savaria) Kat. I. 7.
Fig. 8. Sopron (Scarbantia) Inv. 55.109 Kat. I. 8.
Fig. 9. Óbuda (Aquincum) Kat. I. 9.
Fig. 10. „Busto Fonseca" (Roma, National Museum)
Fig. 11–12. Szombathely (Savaria) Inv. 132.1872 Kat. I. 1.
Fig. 13. Osijek-Eszék (Mursa) Inv. 1651 Kat. I. 10.
Fig. 14. Women's head (Alexandria)
Fig. 15. Rusovce-Oroszvár (Gerulata) see Fig. 6.
Fig. 16. Rusovce-Oroszvár (Gerulata) see Fig. 4.
Fig. 17. Szombathely (Savaria) Inv. 225 Kat. 1
Fig. 18. Szombathely (Savaria) Kat. 2.
Fig. 19. Dunaújváros (Intercisa) Inv. 74.2797
Fig. 20. Albertfalva (Campona) Inv. 61.01.421. Kat. 4.
Fig. 21. Annia (Galeria) Faustina (Roma, Vatican)
Fig. 22. Annia (Galeria) Faustina (Museé de l'Algérie)
Fig. 23. Hungarian National Museum (Budapest) Inv. 54.66.11 Kat. II. 1.
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Fig. 25. Dunaújváros (Intercisa) Inv. 1832. Szt. István Király Múzeum Székesfehérvár Kat. III. 1.
Fig. 26. Dunanújváros (Intercisa) Inv. 333/67. Kat. III. 2.
Fig. 27. Dunaújváros (Intercisa) Inv. 164.1908.9. Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum Kat. III. 3.

Fig. 28. Galeria Valeria (Bronze, in Nicomedia)
Fig. 29. Szőny (Brigetio) Inv. X382-Wien, Kunshistorisches Museum Kat. IV. 1.
Fig. 30. Szőny (Brigetio) Inv. X383-Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum Kat. IV. 2.
Fig. 31. Dunaújváros (Intercisa) Inv. C59/16 Kat. IV. 3.
Fig. 32. Consulares diptichon (Delbrück)
Fig. 33. Fort Worth (Kimbell Art Museum)
Fig. 34. Dunaújváros (Intercisa) Inv. C 59/16 Kat. IV. 3.
Fig. 35. Plancia Magna (Perge)
Fig. 36. Prist (Perge)
Fig. 37. Crown of Prist (Thera)
Fig. 38. Crown of Demetrius Diogenes (Aphrodisias)
Fig. 39. a, d: Dolls (Róma) b, c: (Sirmium)
Fig. 40. Szombathely (Savaria) Inv. 54.803.6 Kat. V. 1.
Fig. 41. Dunaújváros (Intercisa) Inv.76.31.72 Kat. V. 2.
Fig. 42. Doll (fragment) Komarno-Komárom (Brigetio)

*László Borhy – Emese Számadó**

INSTRUMENTA INSCRIPTA LATINA AUS BRIGETIO (FO: Komárom/Szőny-Vásártér)

Ladislao Barkóczi praecedenti Brigetionensi octogesimo successores dono dederunt

Es ist uns eine große Ehre, mit diesem kleinen Aufsatz Herrn Professor László Barkóczi, der nicht nur als einstiger Teilnehmer der alten, von István Paulovics und Andreas Alföldi in Brigetio geführten Ausgrabungen,[1] sondern als Verfasser der ersten und bisher immernoch maßgebenden und unentbehrlichen Monographie[2] über die Topographie, Geschichte und Gesellschaft des römischen Brigetio von uns verehrt wird, unsere Hochachtung zum Ausdruck bringen zu dürfen.

Es werden hier eingeritzte Inschriften und Ziegelstempel zusammengestellt, die aus den vom Lehrstuhl für Archäologie der Antike des Institutes für Archäologiewissenschaften der Eötvös Loránd Universität Budapest und des Klapka György Museums unter der Leitung von Univ.-Doz. Dr. László Borhy und Emese Számadó geführten Lehrgrabungen zwischen 1992–1997 ans Tageslicht gebracht wurden.[3] Damit möchten wir einen kleinen Beitrag zur Epigraphik von Brigetio liefern, die — neben seinen topographischen Beobachtungen — damals den Schwerpunkt der Forschungen von László Barkóczi in Brigetio darstellten.

I. Ziegelstempel

1. Dachziegel (tegula) mit Stempel *T[MV]* in tabula ansata, mit für diesen Typ charakteristischen scharfen Kanten. Tief eingestempelt. Inv.: 992.12.124.90.[4]

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* In Zusammenarbeit mit Tamás Beck, Gabriella Fényes und Mihály Miklósity Szőke

[1] Zu den Grabungen auf dem Territorium von Brigetio zwischen 1927–1941 s. *St. Paulovics:* Funde und Forschungen in Brigetio (Szőny). DissPann. II:11 (Laureae Aquincenses II). Budapest 1941, 118ff. Bis zum Ende des Zweiten Weltkrieges sind die Ausgrabungen von L. Barkóczi und A. Radnóti zu erwähnen: *Barkóczi 1951.* Zwischen 1945 und 1992 wurden in Brigetio von E. Bíró, É. Bónis, A. Burger, J. Cseh, A. Mócsy, S. Petényi, E. Számadó, G. Vékony Rettungsgrabungen durchgeführt. Zur Forschungsgeschichte s. *E. Számadó:* Brigetio kutatástörténete 1992-ig. Kézirat. (Die Forschungsgeschichte von Brigetio bis 1992. Manuskript, ung.). Komárom, 1992. Die vollständige Bibliographie der in Brigetio seit 1992 geführten Grabungen s. in der Appendix.

[2] *Barkóczi 1951.*

[3] Die Instrumenta inscripta Latina der Grabungskampagne 1998 werden hier nicht behandelt. – Vollständige Bibliographie der Veröffentlichungen zwischen 1992–1998 s. in der Appendix. Die Autoren verfassen diese Studie auch im Namen aller Studenten, die seit 1992 in Brigetio arbeiteten, und ihre Ausbildung als Archäologe in kleinerem oder größerem Teil in Brigetio bekamen. Ich verdanke die Bestimmung der Terrasigillatafragmente Herrn T. Beck MA, die der Importwaren bbzw. der gelben und roten Haushaltskeramik weiterhin der Öllampen Frau G. Fényes MA ferner die der grauen Haushaltskeramik Herrn M. Miklósity Szőke MA sowie die Fertigung der Zeichnungen.

[4] Bei den Inventarnummern folgen wir folgendem Schema:
1. Objekte aus stratigraphisch gesicherten Schichten: Grabungsjahr. Schnitt. Stratigraphische Einheit (= SE). Laufende Nummer des Gegenstandes.
2. Im Falle von Streufunden:
Grabungsjahr. Laufende Nummer statt SE. Laufende Nummer des Gegenstandes.

Größe: 22 x 8 cm
Zustand: fragmentarisch.
Auflösung: Diese Ziegelstempel gehören zu privaten Ziegeleien, und können nicht vollständig und eindeutig aufgelöst werden. Die erste Buchstabe bezieht sich wahrscheinlich auf das lateinische Wort tegularia (= Ziegelei), und die zweite und dritte Buchstaben stellen möglicherweise die Abkürzung der näher nicht bestimmbaren duo nomina des Besitzers der Ziegelei im Genitiv dar: *T[(egularia) M(---) V(---)]*.
Datierung: Die Schicht SE 124 aus dem Schnitt 12/1992 stellt ein eingestürztes Dach mit im Scheuer gespeicherten Vorratsgefässen und weiterer Keramik dar. Darunter kamen zahlreiche Terrasigillatafragmente ans Tageslicht, welche ganz einheitlich in die antoninische Zeit, genauer zwischen 140–190 verlegt werden können: 2 Fragmente mittelgallischer, rädchenverzierter Terrasigillata (S. z. B. unter Kat. II. 6., Drag. 18/31 mittelgallische Sigillata, mit dem Bodenstempel des Ma[mmius]. Inv.: 992.12.124.7. und zwei mittelgallischer Terrasigillata mit Stempel der Töpfer Albucius (140–170 n. Chr.) und Casurius (160–190). Aus der Zeit nach den Markomannenkriegen?
Unpubliziert.
Lit.: CIL III 11414.
Taf. 1.1.

2. Dachziegel (tegula) mit Stempel *TMV* in tabula ansata, mit für diesen Typ charakteristischen scharfen Kanten. Tief eingestempelt.
Inv.: 992.12.124.91.
Größe: 7,5 x 5,5 cm.
Zustand: fragmentarisch.
Auflösung: *T(egularia) M(---) V(---)*. S. oben Kat. I. 1.
Datierung: spätantoninisch. S. oben Kat. I. 1.
Unpubliziert.
Lit.: s. oben Kat. I. 1.
Taf. 1.2.

3. Dachziegel (tegula) mit Stempel *TM[V]* in tabula ansata, mit für diesen Typ charakteristischen scharfen Kanten. Tief eingestempelt.
Inv.: 992.12.124.93.
Größe: 6,5 x 5 cm.
Zustand: fragmentarisch.
Auflösung: *T(egularia) M(---) [V(---)]*. S. oben Kat. I. 1.
Datierung: spätantoninisch. S. oben Kat. I. 1.
Unpubliziert.
Lit.: s. oben Kat. I. 1.
Taf. 1.3.

4. Dachziegel (tegula) mit Stempel *TMV* in tabula ansata, mit für diesen Typ charakteristischen scharfen Kanten. Tief eingestempelt.

Inv.: 992.12.124.92.
Größe: 12 x 8 cm.
Zustand: fragmentarisch.
Auflösung: *T(egularia) M(---) V(---).* S. oben Kat. I. 1.
Datierung: spätantoninisch. S. oben Kat. I. 1.
Unpubliziert.
Lit.: s. oben Kat. I. 1.
Taf. 1.4.

7. Dachziegel (tegula) mit Stempel *TMV* in tabula ansata, mit für diesen Typcharakteristischen scharfen Kanten. Tief eingestempelt. Inv.: 992.12.124.12. Größe: 7,5 x 5,5 cm. Zustand: fragmentarisch. Auflösung: *T(egularia) M(---) V(---).* S. oben Kat. I .1. Datierung: spätantoninisch. S. oben Kat. I. 1. Unpubliziert. Lit.: s. oben Kat. I. 1. Taf. 1.5. Dachziegel (tegula) mit Stempel *[TM]V* in tabula ansata, mit für diesen Typcharakteristischen scharfen Kanten. Tief eingestempelt. Inv.: 992.12.124.95. Größe: 6 x 4,5 cm. Zustand: fragmentarisch. Auflösung: *[T(egularia) M(---)] V(---).* S. oben Kat. I. 1. Datierung: spätantoninisch. S. oben Kat. I. 1. Unpubliziert. Lit.: s. oben Kat. I. 1. Taf. 1.6. Dachziegel *(tegula)* mit Stempel *[TM]V* in tabula ansata, mit für diesen Typ charakteristischen scharfen Kanten. Tief eingestempelt.
Inv.: 992.12.124.11.
Größe: 5,5 x 5,5 cm.
Zustand: fragmentarisch.
Auflösung: *T(egularia) M(---) [V(---)].* S. oben Kat. I. 1.
Datierung: spätantoninisch. S. oben Kat. I. 1.
Unpubliziert.
Lit.: s. oben Kat. I. 1.
Taf. 1.7.

8. Dachziegel (tegula) mit Stempel *TM[V]* in tabula ansata, mit für diesen Typ charakteristischen scharfen Kanten. Tief eingestempelt.
Inv.: 992.12.124.94.
Größe: 7,5 x 6 cm.
Zustand: fragmentarisch.
Auflösung: *T(egularia) M(---) V(---).* S. oben Kat. I. 1.
Datierung: spätantoninisch. S. oben Kat. I. 1.
Unpubliziert.
Lit.: s. oben Kat. I. 1.
Taf. 1.8.

9. Dachziegel (tegula) mit Stempel *T[MV]* in tabula ansata, mit für diesen Typ charakteristischen scharfen Kanten. Tief eingestempelt.
Inv.: 992.12.124.98.
Größe: 16 x 10 cm.
Zustand: fragmentarisch.

Auflösung: *T(egularia) [M(---) V(---)].* S. oben Kat. I. 1.
Datierung: spätantoninisch. S. oben Kat. I. 1.
Unpubliziert.
Lit.: s. oben Kat. I. 1.
Taf. 1.9.

10. Dachziegel (tegula) mit Stempel *TMV* in tabula ansata, mit für diesen Typ charakteristischen scharfen Kanten. Tief eingestempelt.
Inv.: 992.12.124.89.
Größe: 14,5 x 9,5 cm.
Zustand: fragmentarisch.
Auflösung: *T(egularia) M(---) V(---).* S. oben Kat. I. 1.
Datierung: spätantoninisch. S. oben Kat. I. 1.
Unpubliziert.
Lit.: s. oben Kat. I. 1.
Taf. 1.10.

11. Dachziegel (tegula) mit Stempel *[TM]V* in tabula ansata, mit für diesen Typ charakteristischen scharfen Kanten. Tief eingestempelt.
Inv.: 992.12.124.100.
Größe: 17 x 16 cm.
Zustand: fragmentarisch.
Auflösung: *[T(egularia) M(---)] V(---).* S. oben Kat. I. 1.
Datierung: spätantoninisch. S. oben Kat. I. 1.
Unpubliziert.
Lit.: s. oben Kat. I. 1.
Taf. 1.11.

12. Dachziegel *(tegula)* mit Stempel *TM[V]* in tabula ansata, mit für diesen Typ charakteristischen scharfen Kanten. Tief eingestempelt.
Inv.: 992.12.124.97.
Größe: 9 x 8 cm.
Zustand: fragmentarisch.
Auflösung: *T(egularia) M(---) [V(---)].* S. oben Kat. I. 1.
Datierung: spätantoninisch. S. oben Kat. I. 1.
Unpubliziert.
Lit.: s. oben Kat. I. 1.
Taf. 1.12.

13. Dachziegel *(tegula)* mit Stempel *T[MV]* in tabula ansata, mit für diesen Typ charakteristischen scharfen Kanten. Tief eingestempelt.
Inv.: 992.12.124.101.
Größe: 4,5 x 3,5 cm.
Zustand: fragmentarisch.
Auflösung: *T(egularia) [M(---) V(---)].* S. oben Kat. I. 1.
Datierung: spätantoninisch. S. oben Kat. I. 1.

Unpubliziert.
Lit.: s. oben Kat. I. 1.
Taf. 1.13.

14. Dachziegel *(tegula)* mit Stempel *TMV* in tabula ansata, mit für diesen Typ charakteristischen scharfen Kanten. Tief eingestempelt.
Inv.: 992.12.124.96.
Größe: 8 x 8 cm.
Zustand: fragmentarisch.
Auflösung: *T(egularia) M(---) V(---).* S. oben Kat. I. 1.
Datierung: spätantoninisch. S. oben Kat. I. 1.
Unpubliziert.
Lit.: s. oben Kat. I. 1.
Taf. 1.14.

15. Dachziegel *(tegula)* mit Stempel *TM[V]* in tabula ansata, mit für diesen Typ charakteristischen scharfen Kanten. Tief eingestempelt.
Inv.: 992.12.124.102.
Größe: 9,5 x 8 cm.
Zustand: fragmentarisch.
Auflösung: *T(egularia) M(---) [V(---)].* S. oben Kat. I. 1.
Datierung: spätantoninisch. S. oben Kat. I. 1.
Unpubliziert.
Lit.: s. oben Kat. I. 1.
Taf. 1.15.

16. Dachziegel *(tegula)* mit Stempel *T[MV]* in tabula ansata, mit für diesen Typ charakteristischen scharfen Kanten. Tief eingestempelt.
Inv.: 992.12.124.103.
Größe: 9,5 x 7 cm.
Zustand: fragmentarisch.
Auflösung: *T(egularia) [M(---) V(---)].* S. oben Kat. I. 1.
Datierung: spätantoninisch. S. oben Kat. I. 1.
Unpubliziert.
Lit.: s. oben Kat. I. 1.
Taf. 1.16.

17. Dachziegel *(tegula)* mit Stempel *T[MV]* in tabula ansata, mit für diesen Typ charakteristischen scharfen Kanten. Tief eingestempelt.
Inv.: 992.12.124.99.
Größe: 7 x 6 cm.
Zustand: fragmentarisch.
Auflösung: *T(egularia) [M(---) V(---)].* S. oben Kat. I. 1.
Datierung: spätantoninisch. S. oben Kat. I. 1.
Unpubliziert.

Lit.: s. oben Kat. I. 1.
Taf. 1.17.

18. Dachziegel *(tegula)* mit Stempel *TMV* in tabula ansata, mit für diesen Typ charakteristischen scharfen Kanten. Tief eingestempelt.
Inv.: 995.-A15.069.718.
Größe: 16 x 12,5 cm.
Zustand: fragmentarisch.
Auflösung: *T(egularia) M(---) V(---).* S. oben Kat. I. 1.
Datierung: spätantoninisch. S. oben Kat. I. 1.
Unpubliziert.
Lit.: s. oben Kat. I. 1.
Taf. 1.18.

19. Dachziegel *(tegula)* mit Stempel *TMV* in tabula ansata, mit für diesen Typ charakteristischen scharfen Kanten. Tief eingestempelt.
Inv.: 993.D11.056.
Größe: 10 x 9 cm.
Zustand: fragmentarisch.
Auflösung: *T(egularia) M(---) V(---).* S. oben Kat. I. 1.
Datierung: spätantoninisch. S. oben Kat. I. 1.
Unpubliziert.
Lit.: s. oben Kat. I. 1.
Taf. 1.19.

20. Dachziegel *(tegula)* mit Stempel CIA in tabula ansata.
Inv.: 994.-B13.176.330.
Größe: 11,5 x 8 cm.
Zustand: fragmentarisch.
Auflösung: C(ohors) I(prima) A(lpinorum)?
Datierung: Mitte des 1. Jh. n. Chr., nach Lőrincz 1979, 25 jedoch 2–3. Jh. n. Chr.
Unpubliziert.
Lit.: Barkóczi 1951 18; Szilágyi 1952 201; Lőrincz 1979 25–26.
Taf. 2.1.

21. Dachziegel *(tegula)* mit Fragment einer tabula ansata, ohne Stempel, ohne Buchstaben.
Inv.: 994.-B13.071.46.
Größe: 6,5 x 5,5 cm.
Zustand: fragmentarisch.
Auflösung: entfällt.
Datierung: kann nicht datiert werden.
Unpubliziert.
Lit.: entfällt.
Taf. 2.2.

22. Dachziegel *(tegula)* mit einem eingestempelten „*A*".
Inv.: 992.3.228.248.
Größe: 12 x 8,5 cm.
Zustand: fragmentarisch.
Auflösung: *[---]A[---]*. Kann nicht ergänzt werden.
Datierung: Streufund. Kann nicht datiert werden.
Unpubliziert.
Lit.: entfällt.
Taf. 2..3.

23. Dachziegel *(tegula)* mit dem Fragment einer tabula ansata, ohne Stempel, ohne Buchstaben, mit einer in den Stempel eingetieften („negativen") quergerichteten Linie.
Inv.: 998.114.1.
Größe: 20 x 12 cm.
Zustand: fragmentarisch.
Auflösung: Kann nicht ergänzt werden.
Datierung: Streufund. Kann nicht datiert werden.
Unpubliziert.
Lit.: entfällt.
Taf. 2.4.

24. Dachziegel *(tegula)* mit dem Fragment einer tabula ansata, ohne Stempel, ohne Buchstaben.
Inv.: 998.114.2.
Größe: 20 x 12,5 cm.
Zustand: fragmentarisch.
Auflösung: Kann nicht ergänzt werden.
Datierung: Streufund. Kann nicht datiert werden.
Unpubliziert.
Lit.: entfällt.
Taf. 2.5.

25. Dachziegel *(tegula)* mit einem Stempel [.]T *[...]*, mit scharfen Kanten. Tief eingestempelt, der obere Teil der Buchstaben fehlt jedoch.
Inv.: 994.B16.318.1.
Größe: 5,5 x 3,5 cm.
Zustand: fragmentarisch.
Auflösung: *[A]tili[a Firma]*
Datierung: 2. Jh n. Chr.
Unpubliziert.
Lit.: CIL III 11414; *Lőrincz 1981* 52, Taf. 14/5 = 3/2 und Taf. 15/1 = 3/3 mit Literatur und Parallelen unter Anm. 226.
Taf. 2.6.

26. Dachziegel *(tegula)* mit dem rechten Fragment eines Stempels in tabula ansata: *DPF.* Der D steht offenbar in Ligatur mit einem nur teilweise erhaltengebliebenen A.
Inv.: 994.R11.249.377.
Größe: 10 x 9 cm.
Zustand: fragmentarisch.
Auflösung: [*Leg(io)* oder *Legio I(prima) A]d(iutrix) P(ia) F(idelis)*
Datierung: 2/3. Jh. n. Chr. Die Schicht zeigt ein einheitliches Bild an Terrasigillatafragmente, auf deren Grund sie auf das Ende des 2. Jh. n. Chr. datiert werden kann: abgesehen von einer padanischen Terrasigillata mit Applikation (Concpectus 20, flavisch) und von zwei reliefverzierten Fragmenten aus Rheinzabern (Bernh Iia) kommen 6 südgallische (2 Fragmente des Natalis und 1 Fragment des Germanus aus Banassac bzw. ein Drag. 18 Gefäß mit Stempel des Patricius), weiterhin 7 mittelgallische Fragmente (darunter reliefverzierte Stücke des Cinnamus) ans Tageslicht. Aufgrund der Abwesenheit der Terrasigillata von Westerndorf erlauben wir uns die oben genannte Datierung.
Unpubliziert.
Lit.: *Lőrincz 1979* 10–11; *Lőrincz 1981* 17.
Taf. 2.7.

27. Dachziegel *(tegula)* mit dem rechten Fragment eines Stempels in tabula, ohne ansa: *APF.*
Inv.: 995.F13.004.22.
Größe: 7 x 6 cm.
Zustand: fragmentarisch.
Auflösung: [*Leg(io)* oder *Legio I(prima)] A(diutrix) P(ia) F(idelis).*
Datierung: 2/3. Jh. n. Chr. Aus dieser Schicht kam ein Fragment eines reliefverzierten Terrasigillatagefässes aus Pfaffenhofen ans Tageslicht, das dem Töpfer Dicanus zugeschrieben und auf das zweite Drittel des 3. Jh. n. Chr. datiert werden kann.
Unpubliziert.
Lit.: *Lőrincz 1979* 10–11; *Lőrincz 1981* 17.
Taf. 2.8.

28. Fragment einer imbrex mit einem Stempel in tabula ansata: CFH.
Inv.: 992.1.224.87.
Größe: 15 x 14 cm.
Zustand: fragmentarisch.
Auflösung: Es handelt sich dabei entweder um den Stempel einer Privatziegelei[5] (in diesem Fall kann keine Lesung gegeben werden), oder — akzeptiert man den Lösungsversuch von J. Szilágyi — um der der *C(lassis) F(lavia) H(istrica).* Dieser Stempel ist bereits aus dem Auxiliarkastell von Ad Statuas (Bereich der praetentura) bekannt, wo nur

[5] Vgl. den Stempel CVS ebenfalls in tabula ansta, welcher aus Pannonien in Vindobona, Carnuntum, Aquincum, Arrabona bekannt ist: *Lőrincz 1981* 53., Taf. 15/2.

die untere Querhasta des F zu sehen ist, und wurde daher als *C(ohors) I(prima) H(ispanorum)* interpretiert. Es ist jedoch eindeutig, daß die obere Querhasta, und die oberen Ende des H nicht tief genug in den Lehm eingestempelt worden sind, und es sich dabei nur um den Stempel CHF handeln kann. Auf diesem Grund kann die *C(ohors) I(prima) H(ispanorum)* — von der im Kastell von Ács-Vaspuszta sonst jede Spur fehlt — als frühe Besatzung nicht in Frage kommen.[6]
Datierung: Streufund. Zur Datierung dieses Stempeltypes s. No. I.29 und I.30.
Unpubliziert.
Lit.: CIL III 11415 (Barkóczi 1951 20; (Szilágyi 1952 206, Anm. 136; *A. Mócsy*: s. v. Pannonia. PWRE Suppl. IX. Stuttgart 1962, 626.; *Lőrincz 1981* 94., Nr. 15/16, Taf. 10/4; *Gabler 1989* 138., Nr. 208, Abb. 66,4. und 422.
Taf. 3.1.

29. Fragment einer tegula mit einem Stempel *CFH*. Der Stempel wurde direkt in den Lehm, ohne tabula eingetieft. Die Buchstaben vefügen über keine scharfen Kanten, sind von sehr geringer Qualität.
Inv.: 995.F13.017.191.
Größe: 17,5 x 12 cm.
Zustand: fragmentarisch.
Auflösung: *C(lassis) F(lavia) H(istrica)*? S. oben, Kat. I.28.
Datierung: Aus dieser Schicht kam eine Prägung des Elagabals ans Tageslicht: Rom, BMC 5.232, 220–222 n. Chr. (Inv.: 995.F13.017.6.) und enthielt sie zahlreiche Terrasigillatafragmente: 1 aus Mittelgallien, 3 aus Rheinzabern und 9 aus Pfaffenhofen, unter denen ein Fragment des Dicanus, dessen Tätigkeit in die Zeit nach 260 fällt. Die Schicht scheint eher nachseverisch zu sein.
Unpubliziert.
Lit.: S. oben, Kat. I.28.
Taf. 3.2.

30. Fragment einer *tegula* mit einem eingestempeltem *C*, welcher direkt in den Lehm, ohne tabula eingetieft wurde. Die Buchstabe verfügt über keine scharfen Kanten, ist von sehr geringer Qualität. Die Art des Stempels erinnert an den oben, unter Kat. I.29. behandelten Stempel.
Inv.: 995.E14.014.103.
Größe: 8 x 4 cm.
Zustand: fragmentarisch.
Auflösung: *C(lassis) [F(lavia) H(istrica)]*? S. oben, Kat. I.28.

[6] B. Lőrincz datiert die Errichtung der ersten Kastellperiode in Ad Statuas aufgrund dieses Ziegelstempels auf das Ende des 1. Jhs n. Chr., „although the earliest Samian wares coming from the area of the fort date from the late-Traian period, this very tile dates the erction of the earliest fort to the end of the 1st century, to the years after the bellum Suebicum, and the cohors can well be considered the first garrison of Ad Statuas" – s. bei *Gabler 1989* 422. Deswegen kann der Stempel CFH aus Ad Statuas nicht als Beweis für die Errichtung der frühesten Kastellperiode verwendet werden.

Datierung: Aufgrund der Terrasigillatafragmente, dessen Spektrum von Hadrian (sekundärverbranntes Fragment eines Schüssels des Cinnamus aus Mittelgallien bzw. ein mittelgallisches Drag. 33 Schüssel) bis zum Ende der Severerzeit reicht (Drag. 37 aus Westerndorf), kann diese Schicht in die Severerzeit (zahlreiche Fragmente aus Rheinzabern wie Drag. 32, Drag. 33 und Drag. 52/54) datiert werden.
Unpubliziert.
Lit.: S. oben, Kat. I.32.
Taf. 3.3.

31. Fragment eines Dachziegels *(tegula)* mit einer in den Lehm eingetieften („negativen"), quergerichteten Linie. Ziegelstempel?
Inv.: 994.B16.073.31.
Größe: 10,5 x 8 cm.
Zustand: fragmentarisch.
Auflösung: Es kann keine Lesung gegeben werden.
Datierung: Kann nicht datiert werden.
Unpubliziert.
Lit.: entfällt.
Taf. 3.4.

32. Dachziegel *(tegula)* mit Fragment eines Stempels in tabula ansata, ohne Buchstaben.
Inv.: 992.3.008.1.
Größe: 12,5 x 13,5 cm.
Zustand: fragmentarisch.
Auflösung: Es kann keine Lesung gegeben werden.
Datierung: Oberste Grabungsschicht, mit rezenten, für die Datierung irrelevanten Keramikfragmenten gemischt.
Unpubliziert.
Lit.: entfällt.
Taf. 3.5.

33. Dachziegel *(tegula)* mit dem Fragment einer tabula, ohne Stempel, ohne Buchstaben.
Inv.: 995.E14.014.102.
Größe: 9,5 x 8,5 cm.
Zustand: fragmentarisch.
Auflösung: Kann nicht ergänzt werden.
Datierung: S. oben unter I.30.
Unpubliziert.
Lit.: entfällt.
Taf. 3.6.

34. Dachziegel *(tegula)* mit dem fragmentarischen Stempel LV*PIC*[...]. Dieses fragment kommt nicht von Grabungsbereich, sondern wurde

während einer im Juli 1992 im Gebiet des Legionslagers durchgeführten Geländebegehung von meinen Studenten gefunden. Streufund.
Inv.: 992.227.1120.
Größe: 12 x 5 cm.
Zustand: fragmentarisch.
Auflösung: *Lupic[ini tr(i)b(uni)] oder Lupic[ino tr(i)b(uno)].* Wegen des fragmentarischen Zustandes kann nicht eindeutig entschieden werden ob es sich bei diesem Stück um welchen Typ handelt. Aufgrund der Buchstabenformen scheint jedoch der zweite Typ wahscheinlicher zu sein, welcher bisher nur aus einem engeren Kreis bekannt ist (Brigetio, Tokod, Solva)
Datierung: Dieser Ziegel gehört zum Typ der Ziegelstempel mit Offiziersnamen im Range eines tribunus, die in die Regierungszeit des Kaisers Valentinian I. datiert, näher zwischen 368–377 datiert werden können. Lupicinus tribunus hat 368 in der schola Gentilium gedient (*Amm. Marc. 27.10.12.*) und war 377 comes rei militaris in Thrazien (*Amm. Marc. 31.4.9–11),* weshalb seine Tätigkeit in Pannonien in diesen Zeitrahmen fallen muß.
Unpubliziert.
Lit.: *A. Alföldi:* Der Untergang der Römerherrschaft in Pannonien, I. Berlin – Leipzig 1924, 82–84; *J. Szilágyi:* Inscriptiones tegularum Pannonicarum. DissPann II:1. Budapest 1933, Taf. 26, Typen 33–36; *Soproni 1978* 187–188; *Lőrincz 1980 46–49*, Abb. 12–13, Taf. 13.4, Taf. 14.1.
Taf. 3.7.

II. Eingeritzte und bemalte Inschriften auf Sigillatagefässen, auf Importwaren und auf Haushaltskeramik[7]

1. Fragment eines Drag. 37 Sigillatagefässes aus Pfaffenhofen, unten, auf dem Fuß mit eingeritzten Buchstaben AMAN*[---]*.
Inv.: 995.F14.035.1.
Zustand: fragmentarisch.
Auflösung: Es handelt sich wahrscheinlich um die Abkürzung des Namens des Besitzers des Gefässes, der auf *Aman[cus, -dianus, -dus, -tius, -tinus]* etc. ergänzt werden kann.[8]
Datierung: 225–266 n. Chr.
Unpubliziert.
Lit.: *Gabler 1968; Schindler-Kaudelka 1991; Visy 1991a; Visy 1991b.*
Taf. 4.1.a-b

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[7] Es werden hier die Stempel der Öllampen und Sigillatagefässe nicht behandelt. Zu den Stempel der Öllampen aus der Grabung auf dem Vásártér in Szőny s. *G. Fényes.:* Mécsesek a Komárom/Szőny-Vásártéri ásatásokról (Öllampen der Grabungen auf dem Vásártér von Szőny, ung.). In: Ókortud. Ért. 2 (1998) 23–26. S. noch *Zs. Pongrácz:* Stempel und Inschriften auf Lampen. in: IIL 31–33. Die Sigillatafunde werden von T. Beck als Dissertation behandelt. Seine Magisterarbeit über die Sigillatafunde der ersten zwei Grabungskampagnen (1992–1993) als Manuskript bereits vorhanden (s. Appendix).

[8] *Mócsy 1983* 14–15; OPEL I., 87–88.

2. Fragment eines Drag. 31/32/LTb Sigillatagefässes aus Rheinzabern (Tellerform), unten mit Fragmenten eingeritzter Buchstaben (?).
Inv.: 9954.R11.198.19.
Zustand: fragmentarisch.
Auflösung: Kann nicht gelesen werden.[9]
Datierung: Aufgrund der Terrasigillatafragmente (insgesamt 18, teils aus Mittelgallien, teils aus Rheinzabern) kann die Schicht in die Zeit zwischen 150–233 n. Chr. datiert werden.
Unpubliziert.
Lit.: *Gabler 1968; Marichal 1988* passim (s. z. B. unten in Anm. 8); *Schindler-Kaudelka 1991; Visy 1991a; Visy 1991b.*
Taf. 4.2.a-b

3. Fragment eines Drag. 33 Sigillatagefässes aus Mittelgallien, mit dem Stempel *Cintusmus f(ecit)* und mit eingeritzten Buchstaben *ALAR[---]*, unten, auf dem Fuß. Streufund.
Inv.: 992.227.1080.
Zustand: fragmentarisch.
Auflösung: Es handelt sich wahrscheinlich um die Abkürzung des Namens des Besitzers des Gefässes, der als *Alar[curius, -ius]* ergänzt werden kann.[10] Die Form des Buchstabens „A" entspricht der der Zeichen auf dem Einhenkelkrug unter Kat. II.18.
Datierung: 2. Jh. n. Chr. (antoninisch).
Unpubliziert.
Lit.: *Gabler 1968; Schindler-Kaudelka 1991; Visy 1991a; Visy 1991b.*
Taf. 5.1.

4. Fragment eines Drag. 18/31 Sigillatagefässes aus Rheinzabern, mit einem gebrochenen Bodenstempel *[---]us* und mit einem nachträglich unten, auf dem Boden eingeritzten X.
Inv.: 992.4.074.8.
Zustand: Fragment eines in 12 Stücke zerbrochenen Gefässes.
Auflösung: Es handelt sich wahrscheinlich um ein Besitzerzeichen.[11]
Datierung: 150–233 n. Chr.
Unpubliziert.
Lit.: *Gabler 1968; Marichal 1988* passim (s. z. B. unter Anm. 10); *Schindler-Kaudelka 1991; Visy 1991a; Visy 1991b.*
Taf. 5.2.a-b

5. Fragment eines Drag. 33 Sigillatagefässes aus Mittelgallien, mit dem Stempel *Malluri* und unten mit eingeritzten Buchstaben *AMM[---]*.

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[9] Zahlreiche Beispiele für ähnliche Ritzungen auf dem Fuß der Sigillatagefässe aus La Graufesenque, die als Raab interpretiert werden. S. bei Marichal 1988 115 (I.1), 117 (I.2), 118 (I.3) usw.
[10] Mócsy 1983 11; OPEL I., 63.
[11] Zahlreiche Beispiele für ähnliche X-förmige Ritzungen unter dem Fuß Sigillatagefässe aus la Graufesenque. Eine große Auswahl s. bei Marichal 1988 123 (II.6), 133 (V.12), 142 (VII.17) usw.

Streufund.
Inv.: 992.227.298.
Zustand: fragmentarisch.
Auflösung: Es handelt sich wahrscheinlich um die Abkürzung des Namens des Besitzers des Gefässes, der auf *Amm[acius, -alenus, -edus]* etc. ergänzt werden kann.[12]
Datierung: Kann in die Zeit zwischen Hadrian und Antoninus Pius datiert werden.
Unpubliziert.
Lit.: *Gabler 1968; Schindler-Kaudelka 1991; Visy 1991a; Visy 1991b. Taf. 6.1.*

6. Fragment eines Drag. 18/31 Sigillatagefässes aus Mittelgallien, mit fragmentarischem Bodenstempel Ma[mmius] und mit unten, auf dem Boden eingeritzten Buchstaben *SIX[---]*. Sekundär verbrannt.
Inv.: 992.12.124.7.
Zustand: in 2 Fragmente gebrochen.
Auflösung: Es handelt sich wahrscheinlich um die Abkürzung des Namens des Besitzers des Gefässes, der als *Six[tus]* ergänzt werden kann.[13]
Datierung: 140–190 n. Chr. Dieses Fragment kommt aus der gleichen Schicht, aus welcher zahlreiche Ziegelstempel *TMV* und ein mit Gewichtangabe versehenes Steingewicht ans Tageslicht gebracht worden sind (s. unter Kat. I.1–17. und Kat. III. 1.). Aus der Zeit nach den Markomannenkriegen?
Unpubliziert.
Lit.: *Gabler 1968; Schindler-Kaudelka 1991; Visy 1991a; Visy 1991b. Taf. 6.2.a-b*

7. Seitenfragment eines Drag. 33 Sigillatagefässes aus Mittelgallien, mit nachträglich eingeritzten Zahlen *XXV*. Die Zahlen befinden sich senkrecht an der Wand der Keramik (s. Zeichnung). Streufund.
Inv.: 994.313.124.
Zustand: Fragmentarisch.
Auflösung: Es handelt sich wahrscheinlich um ein Besitzerzeichen, oder um eine Markierung, die mit der Herstellung bzw. mit dem Verkauf der Sigillatagefässe in Zusammenhang stehen kann.[14]
Datierung: Kann in die Zeit zwischen Hadrian und Antoninus Pius datiert werden.
Unpubliziert.
Lit.: *Gabler 1968; Marichal 1988* passim (s. z. B. unten in Anm. 8);

[12] *Mócsy 1983* 16–17; OPEL I., 95–100. Der Name Amma als cognomen ist in Pannonien mehrmals belegt: RIU 538 (Aurelia Amma, aus Brigetio), weiterhin RIU 1197, 1247.

[13] *Mócsy 1983* 268 – Sixtus als nomen gentile, aus Italien. Es gibt ein einziges cognomen aus Aquitanien, auf dessen Grund das Namensfragment auch als Sixio(ergänzt werden könnte.

[14] Zahlreiche Beispiele für ähnliche, eingeritzte Zahlenangaben auf Sigillatagefässen aus La Graufesenque. Eine große Auswahl s. bei *Marichal 1988* passim.

Schindler-Kaudelka 1991; Visy 1991a; Visy 1991b.
Taf. 7.1.

8. Bodenfragment eines Drag. 33 Sigillatagefässes aus Mittelgallien, mit eingeritztem Zeichen.
Inv.: 994.-B13.314.6.
Zustand: Fragmentarisch.
Auflösung: Kann nicht gelesen werden.
Datierung: Kann in die Zeit zwischen Hadrian und Antoninus Pius datiert werden.
Unpubliziert.
Lit.: *Gabler 1968; Schindler-Kaudelka 1991; Visy 1991a; Visy 1991b.*
Taf. 7.2.

9. Fragment des Fußringes eines Drag. 37 (Bernh Ia-b) Terrasigillatagefässes mit eingeritztem Zeichen X. Streufund.
Inv: 992.1.224.9.
Zustand: Fragmentarisch.
Auflösung: Kann nicht gelesen werden. Es handelt sich wahrscheinlich um ein Besitzerzeichen.
Datierung: 150–178 n. Chr., aber eher aus der Zeit vor den Markomannenkriegen.
Unpubliziert.
Lit.: *Gabler 1968; Schindler-Kaudelka 1991; Visy 1991a; Visy 1991b.*
Taf. 7.3.

10. Fragment eines Drag. 33 Terrasigillatagefässes aus Mittelgallien (mit Stempel PAVLINI) mit eingeritzten Zeichen an der Wand (ALV? oder ALX?), bzw. unten auf dem Fuß (D?).
Inv: 995.-A15.063.1.
Zustand: Fragmentarisch.
Auflösung: Können nicht gelesen werden. Es handelt sich wahrscheinlich um Besitzerzeichen.
Datierung: Aus der gleichen Schicht kamen 2 Fragmente aus Südgallien (Drag. 27), 4 Fragmente aus Mittelgallien und 1 Fragment aus Rheinzabern (Drag. 31) ans Tageslicht, auf deren Grund die Schicht nur in breiteren Zeitrahmen in die Zeit zwischen Domitian und 233 datiert werden kann.
Unpubliziert.
Lit.: *Gabler 1968; Schindler-Kaudelka 1991; Visy 1991a; Visy 1991b.*
Taf. 7.4.

11. Fragment eines Trierer Spruchbechers mit dem Fragment eines Buchtabens ---V---(in weißer Barbotinauflage.
Inv.: 994.S11.152.99.
Zustand: Fragmentarisch.

Auflösung: Es gibt zahlre iche Variationen mit dem Buchstaben *[---]V[---]*, wie z. B. [A]V[E DVLCIS] oder [AVE D]V[LCIS], [DA] V[*INVM MI*], usw., von denen keine ausgewählt werden kann.
Datierung: Wende des 2/3. Jh. n. Chr.
Unpubliziert.
Lit.: *Fényes 1998* 26–29, Taf. XXV.2; *Künzl 1997* passim.
Taf. 8.1

12. Fragment eines Trierer Spruchbechers mit dem Fragment eines Buchtabens ---R---(in weißer Barbotinauflage.
Inv.: 995.F14.053.238.
Zustand: Fragmentarisch.
Auflösung: Es gibt zahlreiche Variationen mit dem Buchstaben [---]*R*[---], wie z. B. *[VTE[R[E FELIX], [DA ME]R[UM]*, usw., von denen keine ausgewählt werden kann.
Datierung: Wende des 2/3. Jh. n. Chr.
Unpubliziert.
Lit.: *Fényes 1998* 26–29, Taf. XXV.5; *Künzl 1997* passim.
Taf. 8.2.

13. Fragment eines Trierer Spruchbechers mit dem Fragment eines Buchtabens *[---]N[---]* in weißer Barbotinauflage.
Inv.: 995.F14.020.155.
Zustand: Fragmentarisch.
Auflösung: Es gibt zahlreiche Variationen mit dem Buchstaben „*N*", wie z. B. DA VINVM MI, usw., von denen keine ausgewählt werden kann.
Datierung: Wende des 2/3. Jh. n. Chr.
Unpubliziert.
Lit.: *Fényes 1998* 26–29, Taf. XXV.4; *Künzl 1997* passim.
Taf. 8.3.

14. Fragment eines Trierer Spruchbechers mit dem Fragment einer senkrechten hasta eines Buchtabens *([---]T[---], [---]P[---] oder [---]I[---]?* – eventueller oberer Teil nicht mehr sichtbar), in weißer Barbotinauflage.
Inv.: 995.F14.057.823 und 995.F14.057.824.
Zustand: Fragmentarisch.
Auflösung: Es gibt zahlreiche Variationen mit dem Buchstaben ---T---, ---P---(oder ---I---, wie z.B. *ACCIPE ET VTERE FELIX, AMAS ME VITA*[15] usw., von denen keine ausgewählt werden kann.
Datierung: Wende des 2/3. Jh. n. Chr.
Unpubliziert.

[15] Wegen der Unsicherheit einer Interpretation verzichten wir bei der Schilderung der Ergänzungsmöglichkeiten auf die Verwendung der diakritischen Zeichen.

Lit.: *Fényes 1998* 26–29, Taf. XXV.3; *Künzl 1997* passim.
Taf. 8.4.

15. Fragment eines gelbtonigen Gefässes mit eingeritzten Buchstaben oder Zahlen *XX*.
Inv.: 994.S11.262.178.
Zustand: Fragmentarisch.
Auflösung: Es handelt sich wahrscheinlich um ein Besitzerzeichen, oder um eine Markierung, die mit der Herstellung oder mit dem Verkauf des Gefässes in Zusammenhang stehen kann.
Datierung: Anfang 2. Jh. – erstes Drittel des 3. Jh. n. Chr.
Unpubliziert.
Lit.: *Bilkei 1985* passim; *Bónis 1970; Bónis 1979; Fényes 1998 60–64; Schindler-Kaudelka 1991; Visy 1991a; Visy 1991b.*
Taf. 8.5.

16. Fragment eines rotbemalten gelbtonigen Gefässes mit eingeritzten, uninterpretierbaren Zeichen.
Inv.: 995.B15.031.1.
Zustand: Fragmentarisch.
Auflösung: Kann nicht aufgelöst werden.
Datierung: Anfang 2. Jh. – erstes Drittel des 3. Jh. n. Chr.
Unpubliziert.
Lit.: *Bónis 1970; Bónis 1979; Fényes 1998* 60–64.
Taf. 8.6.

17. Fragment eines rotbemalten gelbtonigen Gefässes mit eingeritzten Buchstaben *FIRA* (?) oder *FIPA* (?).
Inv.: 995.B15.031.2.
Zustand: Fragmentarisch.
Auflösung: Kann nicht interpretiert werden.
Datierung: Anfang 2. Jh. – erstes Drittel des 3. Jh. n. Chr.
Unpubliziert.
Lit.: *Bónis 1970; Bónis 1979; Fényes 1998* 60–64.
Taf. 8.7.

18. Gelbtoniger Einhenkelkrug mit zylindrischem Hals und ovalem Bauch und mit beidseitig auf dem Bauch eingeritzten, pfeilartigen Zeichen. Die Form der Zeichen entspricht der des Buchstabens „*A*" unter Kat. II.13.
Inv.: 992.3.020.8.
Zustand: Beinahe vollständig erhalten, am Mund jedoch gebrochen und unten weist ein Loch auf. Durch diese beiden antiken Beschädigungen ist das Gefäß zu unbrauchbar geworden und wurde in eine Abfallgrube geworfen.
Auflösung: Es ist auffallend, daß dasselbe Zeichen zweimal auf dem

Gefäß vorkommt: es wurde nämlich beidseitig auf dem Bauch angebracht. Um eine Interpretation geben zu können, müssen wir uns den Krug in seiner ehemaliger Funktion so vorstellen, als dieser auf einem Regal stand, mit dem Zeichen zum Anschauer. In dieser Position war der Henkel leicht zu fassen und der Krug abnehmbar. Der Benutzer mußte also auf ein der beiden Zeichen aufmerksam gemacht werden, das sich wahrscheinlich auf den Inhalt des Kruges bezogen hat. Die beiden, miteinander identischen Zeichen lassen sich daher m. E. als kursive Buchstaben ansehen, die auch aufgrund einer hier behandelten Inschrift als kursiver „*A*" interpretiert werden kann. Bauchige Krüge mit verhältnismäßig engem Mund waren für Flüssigkeiten bestimmt. Da die innere Fläche des Gefässes über keine Überzug oder Glasur verfügt, wäre es im Falle einer Flüssigkeit wie Milch oder Öl nicht leicht zu reinigen gewesen. Deswegen müssen wir mit einer solchen Flüssigkeit rechnen, die nach Gebrauch möglichst keine verderblichen oder schwer zu entfernenden Spuren hinterläßt. Als einfachste Lösung kann das Wasser in Frage kommen, das möglicherweise den standarden Inhalt dieses Kruges darstellte. Mit den beidseitig angebrachten Zeichen wurden die Benutzer bezüglich des Inhaltes und der Verwendung des Gefässes informiert. Damit konnte der mit *a(qua)* gefüllte Krug vom Regal hat gleich abgenommen oder der leere Krug — der in jenem Haushalt ausschließlich für Wasser bestimmt war — gleich mit *a(qua)* gefüllt werden. Um den für *a(qua)* bestimmten Krug mit anderen, wahrscheinlich sehr ähnlichen Krügen für andere Flüßigkeiten (z. B. *mul(sum), de(frutum)* oder ähnliches) nicht zu verwechseln, oder um zu vermeiden, daß aus Versehen in diesen Krug eine andere Flüßigkeit — wie Milch oder Öl, welche den Wasserkrug hätten zu unbrauchbar machen können — gefüllt wird, wurde dieses Zeichen so angebracht, damit es aus jeder Position zur Sicht bekommen werden kann.
Datierung: antoninisch bis severisch.[16]
Unpubliziert.
Lit.: *Schindler-Kaudelka 1991*, bes. 14–15.
Taf. 9.1.a-b

19. Unteres Fragment eines dunkelgrauen Topfes mit einem vor der Brennung eingeritztem Zeichen *X*. Streufund.
Inv.: 994.-B13.314.41.
Zustand: Fragmentarisch.
Auflösung: Es handelt sich wahrscheinlich um eine Markierung, die mit der Herstellung des Gefässes in Zusammenhang stehen kann. Die Form steht dem Töpfermarken von Dreifuß-Schüsseln vom Magdalensberg sehr nah.
Datierung: Römische Kaiserzeit, kann nicht näher datiert werden.
Unpubliziert.

[16] Zur Gefäßform s. *V. Gassner:* Feinware aus Carnuntum. CarnuntumJb 88 (1990) 253–292.

Lit.: *Zabehliczky-Scheffenegger 1997.*
Taf. 10.1.

20. Unteres Fragment einer grauen Haushaltskeramik mit einem nachträglich eingeritztem Zeichen *X*.
Inv.: 994.-B13.210.69.
Zustand: Fragmentarisch.
Auflösung: Es handelt sich wahrscheinlich um ein Besitzerzeichen.
Datierung: Aufgrund der Terrasigillatafunde aus dieser Schicht (Drag. 18, südgallisch(Drag. 18/31, mittelgallisch(näher unbestimmbare Fragmente aus Rheinzabern) kann sie in die Zeit zwischen Domitian – 233 n. Chr. datiert werden.
Unpubliziert.
Lit.: *Zabehliczky-Scheffenegger 1997.*
Taf. 10.2.

III. Steingewicht

1. In zwei Teile gebrochenes, kugelförmiges, unten jedoch flaches Steingewicht. Oberhalb ein tief und gut sichtbar eingemeißeltes Zeichen *X*.
Inv.: 992.12.124.83–84.
Durchmesser: 14 cm, Höhe: 12 cm, Gewicht: 3,05 kg.
Zustand: In 2 Teile gebrochen, teilweise fragmentarisch.
Auflösung: Das Zeichen stellt die Angabe des Gewichtes, *X (decem librae)* (= 3,24 kg) dar, das mit dem tatsächlichem Gewicht (3,05 kg) mehr oder weniger übereinstimmt, da ein kleines Stück von ca. 0,19 kg ausgebrochen ist.
Datierung: 160–190 n. Chr. (Datierungskriterien s. unter Kat. I.1–17 und Kat. II.6.). Dieses Gewicht kommt aus der gleichen Schicht, aus welcher zahlreiche Ziegelstempel *TMV* und unter anderen zahlreichen Sigillatafragmenten auch ein mit Graffito versehenes Terrasigillatafragment ans Tageslicht gebracht worden sind (s. unter Kat. I.1–17 und Kat. II.6.). Aus der Zeit nach den Markomannenkriegen?
Unpubliziert.
Lit.: *O. A. W. Dilke:* Mathematik, Maße und Gewichte in der Antike. Stuttgart 1991, 98–101.
Taf. 11.1.a-b

IV. Bronzener Ring

Bronzener Ehering, mit eingeritzten Buchstaben *MI* auf der inneren Seite.
Inv.: 992.SZ.227.1115.
Äußerer Durchmesser: 18 mm, Höhe: 4mm.
Zustand: Vollständig erhalten.
Auflösung: Die Buchstaben *MI* können m. E. als Vokativ für *meus, mea,*

meum interpretiert werden, und im Falle eines — höchstwahrscheinlich von einem Mann geschenkten — Eheringes scheint eine Ergänzung mit einem weiblichen Namen plausibel zu sein. Obwohl nach Prisc. gramm. III.11.12 *„nunquam vocative positum feminino vel neutro adiungitur"* und nach Caper gramm. VII. 102,7 *„mi Paula et mi Aemilia(non dicendum"*, kennen wir u. a. auch in der Historia Augusta und z. B. bei Amrosius zahlreiche Beispiele für einen solchen „unrichtigen" Gebrauch wie *„mi mater, mi parens, mi soror, mi uxor, mi mulier, mi domina"* usw. Der Ring stellt wahrscheinlich ein noch nicht beendetes — d. h. mit dem Namen einer Person noch nicht ergänztes — Stück dar.
Datierung: 2/3. Jh. n. Chr.
Unpubliziert.
Lit.: *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* VIII, 914.
Taf. 11.2.a-c

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TAFELVERZEICHNIS

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Gertrúda Brezinová

TÖPFERÖFEN AUS NITRA

Im Zusammenhang mit dem Bau der Tankstelle für Treibstoffe der Firma SHELL m. b. H. Bratislava in der Gasse Chrenovská ulica in Nitra wurde im J. 1996 eine archäologische Rettungsgrabung durchgeführt. Die Lage selbst ersteckt sich auf einer mäßig sich senkenden linksseitigen Terrasse im Inundationsgebiet des Nitraflusses mit 147 m Überseehöhe (*Abb. 1*). Sie zieht sich südostwärts vom Zobormassiv. Die Fläche, wo sich deutlich Objekte konzentrieren, bildete früher eine Art Rücken zwischen kleinen, in den Nitrafluß einmündenden Bächen. Das Grundstück ist in Richtung nach Süden geneigt, wobei sein Höhenunterschied 4–5 m beträgt. Die Fundstelle war bereits aus kleineren Geländeraktivitäten von Rettungscharakter wie auch aus Grabungs- und Geländebegehungstätigkeit bekannt.[1]

Während der Grabung im J. 1996 wurde eine Fläche von 600 m^2 untersucht (*Abb. 2*), von welcher 66 Siedlungsobjekte und 4 Körpergräber gerettet und dokumentiert wurden. Es handelt sich um eine polykulturelle Fundstelle mit der Datierung von der Steinzeit bis in die Neuzeit. Am zahlreichsten vertreten sind Objekte aus römischer Zeit (*Abb. 3*). Es sind Vorratsgruben, drei Töpferöfen zum Keramikbrennen, eine Lehmabbaugrube und mehrere Objekte, warscheinlich von Produktionscharakter.

Keramik bildet die frequentierteste Gruppe archäologischer Funde. Trotzdem sind Belege über die Tätigkeit im Zusammenhang mit ihrer Herstellung sehr wenige vorhanden. Die in unserem Falle freigelegten drei Töpferöfen waren warscheinlich der Bestandteil eines Produktionsteiles der Siedlung germanischer Quarden. Zwei Öfen (Objekte 38 und 39) waren im wesentlichen ungestört, nicht erhalten war nur ihr Brennraum. Der dritte Ofen (Objekt 56) erhielt sich ohne den Rost und Brennraum. Warscheinlich war er kurzfristiger in Betrieb, wovon die sekundäre Ausnützung des Heizkanal als Abfallgrube zeugt. Bei allen Öfen können eingehend Konstruktionsdetails verfolgt werden, an Hand welcher sich die Technik ihres Bauvorgangs bestimmen läßt. Es sind monolitische Zweikammeröfen, die vertikal in den Lößuntergrund der Terrasse ausgehöhlt wurden. Ungefähr 30 m ostwärts vom Objekt 56/96 wurde im J. 1984 ein gestörter Keramikofen freigelegt.[2] Auf der benachbarten Lage erfaßte man im J. 1983 beim Bau einer Sporthalle Teile von Wohnobjekten und zwei Brunnen mit der Datierung in die römische Zeit.

Beschreibung der Objekte

Objekt 38/96 (*Abb. 4, 7*)

Nach Entfernung der Ackerkrume skizzierte sich in 60 cm Tiefe vom ursprünglichen Geländeniveu ein rotgebrannter Kreis. Nach seinem Verputzten er-

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[1] *Chropovský – Fusek 1988.*

[2] Objekt 1/83, *Chropovský – Fusek 1988*, 150–153.

wies es sich klar, daß hier ein Ofenrost von 100 cm Durchmesser vorlag. Wir nehmen an, daß es zur Vernichtung des Brennraumes (der Kuppel) schon früher gekommen war, weil diese Parzelle intensiv landwirtschaftlich genutzt wurde. Nach dem Verputzen des Geländes zeigten sich deutlich Umrisse des Heizraumes, Heizkanals und des Voroffenraumes. Eindeutig kann gesagt werden, daß die Anfertigungstechnik von oben nach unten erfolgte. Am äußeren Umfang des Rostes waren fünf größere Luftlöcher von 13–15 cm Durchmesser regelmäßig verteilt. In der Mitte des Rostes befand sich eine Gruppe von sieben kleinen rosettenförmig angeordneten Luftlöchern von ovaler, nicht sehr regelmäßiger Form. Die Gesamttiefe der inneren Heizkammer betrug vom Niveau des Rostes 55 cm. Der Rost selbst hatte eine Dicke von 15–20 cm. Der Heizkanal weis 60 cm Länge und 40 cm Breite auf. Der Vorofenraum hatte ovale Form von 70 cm Länge, wobei die Breite nicht sehr die Breite des Heizkanals (50 cm) überschritt. Der Heizraum war oval und vorzüglich gebrannt. Den Rost hatte man von der Außenseite dreimal verputzt. Die Kuppel erhielt sich nicht, doch nach der Verteilung der Luftlöcher längs des Umfangs kann angenommen werden, daß sie kreisförmig war. In den kleineren zentralen Luftlöchern befanden sich Steinchen.[3] Das innere der Heizkammer und des -kanals war rotgebrannt, buckelig mit Spuren von entnommener Erde und war unverputzt. Die brennfarbe führte von schwarzer, über graue bis zu ziegelroter Schattierung. Mit dem Schnitt durch das Objekt in Richtung des Heizkanals konstatierte man gewisse Details, die bestätigten, daß der Rost nicht aus einem Stück angefertigt war. In der ersten Bauphase befand sich in der Mitte ein Loch von 30 cm Durchmesser, durch welches der Lehm aus der Heizkammer herausgenommen wurde. Außer dem Heizkanal war dies die einzige Stelle, von wo aus der ganze Innenraum des Ofens gestaltet wurde. Erst nach dem Verbrennen der Pfosten am Umfang und der teilweisen Brennung des Innenraumes war die Gestaltung des Rostes beendet. Abdrücke von Ruten und Spaltholz sprechen dafür, daß im Innern des Brennraumes eine Art Gerüst (Stütze) angefertigt war. Auf die Oberfläche des Rostes wurde dünnflüssiger Lehm aufgetragen, in welchen Löcher gemacht wurden (die zentrale Luftlöcher). Bestätigt ist dieser Arbeitsvorgang auch durch die Farbe des gebrannten Mittelteiles (gewissermaße eines Stöpsels) und ebenfalls durch die Struktur des Lehms. Nach der Dokumentierung sämtlicher Einzelheiten wurde auch die Abdeckung des ganzen Ofenkörpers durchgeführt. Im wesentlichen hatte er die Form einer Grubenlampe. Das Brennmaterial wurde von der Westseite eingelegt. Die Verfüllung des Objektes wurde einer paläobotanischen Expertise unterzogen. Sie enthielt eine Menge größerer wie auch kleinerer Holzkohlenstüchen der Eiche (*Quercus sp.*), in einem Falle der Ulme (*Ulmus sp.*), weiters verkohlte und unverkohlte Samen, Reste von Schneckengehäusen und Knochen kleiner Lebewesen, die in den Ofenraum nach dessen Untergang warscheinlich durch die Luftlöcher gelangt waren.[4] Der analysierte Lehmverputz repräsentiert im wahren Sinne gebrannten Lehm, dessen Farbe sich vom Innen des Ofens in Richtung zu seinem Außenrand ändert, und zwar in Schattierungen von grau bis schwarz bis rötlich. Rutenabdrücke von 1–2,5

[3] Wahrscheinlich zwecks Verringerung der Temperatur in der Brennkammer.
[4] *Mihályová – Hajnalová 1996.*

cm Durchmesser befinden sich an der Innenseite des Rostes. Ebenfalls sind dort Blätterabdrücke, warscheinlich von breiten Gräsern. Die Luftlöcher am Unfang haben, nach den Pfostenabdrücken zu schließen, einen Durchmesser von 13–15 cm.[5] Aus dem Innern der Heizkammer und des Heizkanals stammen auch Gefäßfragmente (auch Stück), von denen bloß zwei als typisch bezeichnet werden können.

Fundbeschreibung (Taf. 1)

117/1 – Fragment vom Körper eines größeren Gefäßes, auf dem Umbruch eine plastische umlaufende tröpfenförmige Verzierung, Oberfläche der Außenwandung graubraun, innen hellbraun, scheibengedreht, das Material mittelmäßig rauch, mit Zusatz kleiner Steinchen.

144/1 – Schüssel, profiliert, Mündungsdurchmesser 20 cm, scheibengedreht, das Material rauh, graubraun, die Bruchränder sind durch Linien hervegehoben.

Objekt 39/96 (*Abb. 5, 8*)

Nach Entvernung der Ackerkrume erschien in 60 cm Tiefe vom ursprünglichen Geländeniveau ein kreisförmiges rotgebranntes Objekt. Die Entfernung vom Objekt 38 betrug nich ganz 3 m. Außer dem Rost von 120 cm Durchmesser erhielt sich auch eine Scholle vom Umfang des Brennraumes (der Kuppel), die eine Höhe von 5–8 cm und Dicke vom 3–4 cm hatte. Auch an diesem Kuppelbruchstück kann mindestens ain dreifacher Lehmverputz des Auß – wie auch Innenteiles festgestellt werden, der in dünnen Schichten abplatzte. Der Heizkanal selbst wurde erst nach der Erniedrigung des Geländes um 20 cm im Umkreis des Ofens festgestellt. Sein untersuchter Teil wies 90 cm Länge und 40–50 cm Tiefe auf. Mit der Öffnung war er südwärts orientiert, mit kleiner Abweichung nach Westen. Der Vorofenraum und wahrscheinlich auch ein Teil des Heizkanals waren durch einen neuzeitlichen Graben gestört (Objekt 47/96), der sich quer durch die ganze Grabungsfläche zog. Die Heizgrube hatte man aus dem gewachsenen Boden ausgehöhlt, und zwar durch das zentrale Loch von 30 cm Durchmesser wie auch durch den Heizkanal. Die Dicke des Rostes betrug 40–45 cm. Die Tiefe des Heizraumes vom Niveau des Rostes betrug 80 cm, wobei der freie Raum 40 cm Tiefe vom Unterrand des Rostes aufweis. Der Heizraum war gerundet, mit Spuren von Lehmentnahme und mit Abdrücken eines Holzkonstruktion. In seinem Inneren wie auch Heizkanal fand man ganze verkohlte Eichenbalken. Der Rost hatte 6 Hauptentlüftungslöcher am Umfang von 14–15 cm Durchmesser und 5 kleine zentrale Luftlöcher. Das Bausystem war überstimmend wie beim Objekt 38. Nach der Präparierung das ganzen Ofenkörpers[6] konnten wir feststellen, daß der Körper eingentlich die Form einer Rosette hate. Gebrannt war er gleichmäßig und respektierte die Verteilung der Pfosten im Innenraum. Kreisförmig war nur der Brennraum des Ofens (die Kuppel). In den Luftlöchen steckten kleine Steinchen und Scherben, welche den Zustrom heißer Luft in den Brennraum regulieren sollten. Die Verfüllung der Ofeninnenräume wurde eingehenden Analysen unter-

[5] *Mihályová 1997.*

[6] Gemacht wurde dies zwecks des Transportes im Raum der Konservierung des Ofens als Freilichtmuseumsexponat im Raum des Agrokomplex in Nitra.

zogen. Außer Gefäßfragmenten, von denen 12 Stück typisch waren, befanden sich hier auch Lehmverputzbruchstücke, Holzkohlenstücken und verkohlte wie auch unverkohlte Pflanzensamen. Der analysierte Lehmverputz hatte den Charakter gebranten Lehms mit Abdrücken von Gras- und Getreidehalmen und ebenfalls mit Rutenabdrücken von 1–1,5 cm Dicke. Die Analyse der Luftlöcher bestätigte, daß sie eingentlich Abdrücke von Baumstämmen sind, die man in die Erde eingetrieben hatte. Diese waren unbearbeitet, ihre Abdrücke waren buckelig.[7] Aus der Verfüllung des Vorofenkanals stammt auch eine große Lehmverputzscholle vo 21 x 16 cm Ausmaß und 1,5–4 cm Dicke. Die Oberfläche ist mit einer grauen Schicht geglättet, an der Unterseite von rötlicher Farbe, mit Abdrücken von Blättern und Halmen von Gräsern und Haferspelzen (*Avena sp.*). Warscheinlich handelt es sich um den Rest der Decke über dem letzten Satz der gebrannten Keramik. In der analysierten Erdprobe und über der entnommenen Holzkohlenstückchen konstatierte man hautsächlich das Vorhandensein von Eiche (*Quercus sp.*), sogar 180 Proben, weiters Ulme (*Ulmus sp.),* 13 Proben, und der Hagebuche (*Carpinus betulus*), 7 Proben. Zahlreich sind auch Funde von verkohlten und unverkohlten Pflanzensamen und von Getreide. Andere Funde bildeten Schnekkengehäuse, ein Fischwirbel und Fischschuppen.[8]

Fundbeschreibung

65/1 – Randfragment eines Gefäßes, Mündungsdurchmesser 20 cm, grobkörniges Material mit reichlichen Zusatz von Steinchen, der Bruch grau, die Oberfläche zeigelfarbendschwarz, handgefertigt.

65/2 – Gefäßkörper, mit Drehspuren der Töpferscheibe, im Unterteil sind Kerben – Abdrücke von Spaltholz, das Material mittelmäßig rauh von grauer Farbe.

65/3 – Gefäßunterteil, von grauer Farbe, Spachtelabdrücke.

65/4 – Bauchfragment eines Gefäßes, handgefertigt, Verzierung in Form einer Wellenlinie, die mit einem Spaltholz eingetieft worden ist, das Material mittelmäßig rauh, handgefertigt.

191/1 – Schüssel von grauer Farbe, Mündungsdurchmesser 20 cm, handgefertigt, profiliert, seicht, da Material fein mit Steinchenmagerung.

191/2 – Gefäßfragment, erhaltener Teil von Rand und Hals, Mündungsdurchmesser 24 cm, grobkörniges dunkelgraues bis schwarzes Material, handgefertigt.

204/1 – Gefäßrand, Mündungsdurchmesser 17 cm, das Material grobkörnig, von grausschwarzer Farbe, auf der Schulter ein umlaufende, ungleichmäßig eingetiefte Verzierung, auf der Scheibe nachgedreht.

204/2 – Bodenstück von 14 cm Durchmesser, an der Innenseite Modellierungsspuren mit Fingern, scheibengedreht, rauhes braungraues Metrial.

204/3 – Fragment eines Vorratsgefäßes, Mündungsmesser 20 cm, das Material gut gebrannt, von graubrauner Farbe, auf der Schulter eine Verzeirung in Form einer Wellenlinie und von Einstichen, der Halsrand fein gekerbt.

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[7] *Mihályová 1997.*
[8] *Mihályová – Hajnalová 1996.*

204/4 – Bauchfragment eines Gefäßes, die Schulter mit einer gekerbten eingetieften Linie und Wellenlinie verziert.

Objekt 59/96 (*Abb. 6, 9*)

Ungefähr 12 m nordöstlich vom Objekt 38 wurde der weitere Ofen zum Keramikbrennen festgestellt (*Abb. 2*). Nach Entfernung der Ackerkrume bis 35 cm Tiefe vom Niveau des ursprünglichen Geländes zeigte sich eine Gruppierung etwa dreier Objekte von kreisförmiger Gestallt, die wir als Behelf mit A, B, C bezeichnet haben. Im Streben, die Superposition, evtl. zeitliche Abweichungen zu erfassen, wurde die Methode einer Querschnittes durch diese Gruppierung angewandt. Durch sukzessive Abdeckung kamen der Innenteil des Heizraumes (A), der Heizkanal (B) wie auch der Vorofenraum (C) zum Vorschein, der ziemlich ausgedehnt war und Spuren einer oberirdischen Konstruktion aufweis. Es war ein Ofen, der den Vorofenraum überdracht hatte. Dieser konnte dem Töpfer zugleich auch als Manipulationsraum dienen. Die Funde aus dem Inhalt der einzelnen Teile wurden selbständig evidiert. Obwohl sich nach der Verputzung des Profils keinerlei Spuren einer Superposition von Objekten zeigten, wurde nach dem Verputzen der Sohle des Heizkanals festgestellt, daß dieser nach dem Verlust seiner Funktion sekundär als Abfallgrube ausgenützt wurde.

Der Heizraum hatte kreisförmige Gestallt von 120 cm Durchmesser. Die Tiefe des erhaltenen Teiles betrug 54 cm. Wände und Sohle waren leich gerundet. Die Verfüllung war kompakt grauschwarz mit Holzkohlenstückchen, Lehmverputzklümpchen und vereinzelten Scherben. Auf dem freigelegten Teil ließen sich sehr genau. Einzelheiten des Innenraumes verfolgen. Längst des Umfangs befanden sich sechs Luftlöcher von 14–16 cm Durchmesser, Abdrücke von Baumstämmen, die man in die Erde eingeschlagen hatte Im wesentlichen kann angenommen werden, daß aus dem zentralen Loch der Lehm sukzessiv so entnommen wurde, bis der Erbauer die Baustämme berührte. Der Umfang der Innenwand war noch 10 cm tiefer unter die Pfosten ausgehoben. Die Sohle selbst wurde noch aus dem Raum des Haizkanals fertig verputzt und geglättet. Der Heizkanal wurde von der Abfallgrube gestört. Seine wahrscheinliche Länge maß 100–110 cm. Die Breite läßt sich nur an Hand der Öffnung im Heizraum auf 40 cm schätzen. Er endete an der Südseite mit kleiner abweichung nach Westen. Die Tiefe der Grube (des Teiles B) betrug 80 cm vom verputzen Niveau. Auf ihrer Westseite befand sich in 15 cm Tiefe von Verputzungsniveau der Rest einer Pfostengrube von 35 cm Durchmesser. Aus der Verfüllung der Grube stammen zwei Wetzsteinfragmente, mehrere große flache Sandsteinbänke, die wahrscheinlich Halbfabrikate für Schleifunterlagen waren, und große Steinblöcke.[9] Eine Forsetzung des Ofens stellt auch der Teil C dar – der Vorofenraum. Nach Herausnahme sienes Inhaltes zeigte sich eine ovale Form von 170 x 160 cm Ausmaß und einer Tiefe, die sich von 15 bis 40 cm Richtung zum Vorofenkanal senkte. Aus seiner Sohle vor der vorausgesetzten Ofenmündung, war eine Fläche von 100 x 60 cm rotgebrannten Lehms (Estrich). An den Seiten des Raumes waren zwei Pfostengruben: die westliche mit 75 cm Durchmesser und 70 cm Tiefe vom Sohlenniveau; die Wände senkten

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[9] *Illášová 1996.*

sich schräg zur gerundeten Sohle. Die Grube an der Ostseite war etwas kleiner, mit 60 cm Durchmesser und 30 cm Tiefe vom Sohlenniveau. Im Raum über der Pfostengrube fand man auf dem verputzten Niveau des Objektes zwei groß Steine, die vielleicht mit dem oberiridischen Bau zusammenhingen. Die Verfüllung des Objektes ergab außer Keramikmaterial auch Lehmputz, Holzkohlenstückchen, verkohlte und unverkohlte Samen. Aus dem Heizraum (A) stammt verkohlte Eichenholz (*Quercus sp.*), ein reichliches Pflanzensortiment, Muschelschalen und eine Fischschuppe.[10] Aus der Grube (Teil B) entnahm man viele Proben von verkohlten Eichenholz und eine Probe der Ulme. Außer Pflanzensamen wurden Schneckengehäuse und Lehmverputzklümpchen analysiert. Im Vorofenraum (Teil C) wurde verkohltes Eichenholz und je eine Probe der Eiche und eine Probe der Hagebuche gefunden. Die Verfüllung ergab Pflanzensamen, Fischschuppen und Schneckenhäuse. Die Analyse des Lehmverputzes bestätigte, daß es sich um einem Bestandteil der gestörten Ofenkonstruktion handelt. Mache Stücke sind geglättet, andere weisen Rutenabdrücke auf.[11] Von der Gesamtzahl der Gefäßfragmente (80 Stück) wurden lediglich 16 Stück dokumentiert. Die übrigen stellen kleine atypische Bruchstücke dar.

Fundbeschreibung (Taf. 3, 4, 5)

192/1 – Bauchfragment eines Gefäßes, an der Hals-Schultergrenze eine plastisch eingetiefte Linie, scheibengedreht, das Material fein, gut gebrannt und von grauschwarzer Farbe.

192/2 – Randfragment eines Gefäßes, Mündungsdurchmesser 16 cm, handgefertigt, das Material fein, die Oberfläche geglättet und von grauschwarzer Farbe.

B

196/1 – Bauchfragment eines Gefäßes, eigetiefte umlaufende Linien und formlose Aufklebungen, Körperoberfläche grau, das Material mittelmäßig rauh, scheibengedreht.

201/1 – Bauchteil eines Gefäßes, das Material sandig-lehmig, Oberfläche graubraun, auf dem Körper umlaufende Linien, scheibengedreht.

201/3 – Gefäßrand, Mündungsdurchmesser 20 cm, das Material mittelmäßig rauh und sandig, Farbe braun bis grau, auf Innenseite der Mündung eine umlaufende eingetiefte Linie etwa für einen Deckel, scheibengrdreht.

202/1 – Randfragment einer Schüssel, Mündungsdurchmesser 17 cm, Oberfläche poliert, grauschwarz, scheibengrdreht.

202/2 – Randfragment eines Gefäßes, Mündungsdurchmesser 23 cm, mittelmäßig rauhes graubraunes Material, plastische Verzierung, scheibengrdreht.

49 – Wetzstein, Fragment, aus einem Bruchstein, mit einer Arbeitsfläche, Quarzit, Ausmaße 65 x 62 x 24 mm.

50 – 4 Stück flacher Sandstein – „Bänke", wahrscheinlich Halbfabrikate für Schleifunterlagen, Dicke 27 mm, an den Spaltflächen des Sandsteines sind Glim-

[10] *Mihályová – Hajnalová 1996.*
[11] *Mihályová 1997.*

mereinschlüsse und ein schwarzes Manganoxid-Pigment, Ausmaß des größten 115 x 135 x 26 mm.

51 – Wetzsteinfragment, aus einem Gerölstein, Quarzit.

52 – 2 Stück bearbeiteter Steine, wahrscheinlich Halbfabrikate für Unterlagen, unregelmäßige Bruchstücke, Quarzit, Brandspuren.

B, C

193/1 – Schüssel mit eingezogener Mündung, handgefertigt, von grauer Farbe, aus grobförmigem Material.

193/2 – scheibengedreht Topf, Mündungsdurmesser 20 cm, auf der Schulter eine umlaufende eingetiefte Linie und Einstiche eines Spalthölzchens, das Material mittelmäßig rauh, mit Zusatz kleiner Steinchen.

193/3 – Schüssel mit ergezongener Mündung, Mündungsdurchmesser 16 cm, handgefertigt, das Material fein, von graubrauer Farbe.

193/4 – Grfäßunterteil, Bodendurchmesser 12 cm, das Material mittelmäßig rauh mit Steinchenzusatz, von graubrauner Farbe, scheibengedreht.

C

194/1 – Schüssel, Mündungsdurchmesser 18 cm, das Material grobkörnig mit Steinchenmagerung, auf der Scheibe nachgedreht.

203/1 – Gefäßrand, Mündungsdurchmeser 20 cm, Oberfläche schwarzgrau, der Bruch ziegelrot, das Material mittelmäßig rauh, scheibengedreht.

203/2 – Kleines Randfragment, Oberfläche graubraun, scheibengedreht, der Rand gekerbt.

Auswertung der Töpferöfen

Bautechnik

Die untersuchten drei Keramiköfen bedeuten eine Bereicherung der technischen Einrichtungen, die innerhalb des Stadtgebietes von Nitra gefunden wurden. Die erfaßten Konstruktionsdetails ermöglichen eine Lösung des Bauvorgangs dieser Brennvorrichtungen. Aus ihrer technischen Ausführung geht hervor, daß das Bauverfahren gut bekannt und im voraus durchdacht war. Sehr wichtig war in erster Linie die Auswahl einer geeigneten Lage. Sie war abhängig von ausreichend geeignetem Töpferton, Wasser, Holz und in nicht lezter Reihe auch von der Windrichtung.[12] Alle diese Bedingungen erfüllte die Lage Nitra, Chrenovská ulica. Es ist die Hauptlößterrasse des Nitra-flusses mit mächtigen angeschwemmten Schichten. Die zusammenhängende Waldgrenze befand sich in unmittelbarer Nähe.

[12] Diesbezüglich ist es interessant, daß die Orientierung des festgestellten Öfen in der Lage Chrenovská ulica „SHELL" und der Sporthalle abweichhend ist. Die Objekte 39 und 56 haben das Heizloch nach SW orientiert, die Objekte 38 und 1/83 wieder nach Westen. Die vorherrschende Windrichtung ist NW.

Die weiter Schritt war die Auswahl von Holzpfosten von beiläufig gleichem Durchmesser zur Anfertigung der Luftlöcher am Umfang. Die Pfosten wurden in die Erde längs des Kreisumfangs in genau eingehaltenen Entfernungen in den Boden eingeschlagen. Es war bereits klar, wo der Vorofen der Heizgrube untergebracht werden sollte. Wir schließen nicht einmal aus, daß allen diesen Arbeiten eine Skizze auf dem Geländeniveau voranging. Gleichzeitig dürfte man etwa wohl den Vorofenraum und das zentrale Loch auf künftigen rost ausgeschachtet haben.

Der Ofen wurde oben nach unter gebau, das bedeutet, daß durch das Loch in der Mitte des Rostes der Lehm herausgenommen und so der Heizraum gestaltet wurde. Die Form der Umfassungswände war duch die in die Erde eigerammten Baustämme bestimt. Von Vorofenraum aus schürfte man den Lehm aus dem künftigen Heizkanal heraus. Wahrscheinlich erfolgte von diesem Raum aus auch das Verputzen des Umfans der Heizkammer, wo der Raum bis unter die eingerammtes Pfosten vertrieft wurde. Die Innenteile der Heizkammer und des Kanals waren uneben, ohne Lehmverputz.

Nach Fertigstellung des Rohbaues des Ofens wurden in seinen Raum Holz, Gräser und Laub von Bäumen eingelegt. Nach dem Verbrennen dieses Satzes kam es auch zum Verbrennen der Baumstämme selbst, und so entstanden das gebrannte Innere der Heizkammer und die Hauptluftlöcher. Erst danach kam es zur Fertigstellung des Rostes. Wir setzen voraus, daß im Innern des Heizraumes eine Art Holzgerüst angefertigt wurde, das in der ersten Brennenphase als Stütze der Ausfülling des zentralen Rostteiles dienen sollte. Aus dünnflüssigem Lehm wurde eine Art Stöpsel angefertigt, in welche Löcher (die zentrale Luftlöcher) gemacht wurden (vielleicht auch mit Hilfe vom Hölzern). Der Rost wurde mit Lehm verschmiert und erneut gebrannt.

Ein weitere Schritt war die Angefertigung der Kuppel, die eine runde Form hatte und auch mehrmals sowohl von der Innen- als auch Außenseite verputzt wurde. In ihrer Mitte war wahrscheinlich ein Loch, das jeweils mit Lehmverputzschollen, Gras u. ä. überdeckt wurde.

Die Ofenobjekte wurden in die kompakte Bodenschicht in der Regel tief unter der Oberfläche des ursprünglichen Geländes ausgehört. In Anbetracht dessen, daß sie eine Einrichtung zum Brennen von Gefäßen waren, heizte man sie zu diesem Zweck mit dem günstigsten Brennmaterial. In unserem Falle war es Eichenholz (*Quercus sp.*).

Typologische Klassifikation

Die drei Öfen stellen einen Typ dar, der als vertikaler Zweikammerofen bezeichnet wird. Öfen dieses Prinzips wurden durch Zutum keltischer Töpfer in Mitteleuropa zu einem sehr verbreiteten und im Verlauf der Spätphase der Latènezeit zum gebräuchlich verwerdeten Typ. Im Milieu des von germanischen Stämmen besiedelten Barbarikums begannen diese Öfen erst spätrömischer Zeit mit der erneuerten Produktion vom scheibengedrehter Keramik aufzutauschen. Nach der Gliderung J. Hennings[13] gehören sie zur Variante der vertikalen Zwei-

[13] *Henning 1977 181–206.*

kammeröfen des Typs C, der im mittleren Donauraum vom 2.-12. Jh. u. Z. verbreitet war. Auf Grundlage der Aufarbeitung der Öfen aus römischer Zeit im mittleren Donauraum,[14] in Mähren,[15] Britanien[16] und Gallien[17] kann gesagt werden, daß es sich um einen territorial sehr verbreiteten Typ handelt. In sämtlichen Fällen wird jedoch ein einteiliger Rost angefürt, wobei es zur Aushöhlung des Heizraumes durch den Heizkanal kam. Die Öfen aus Nitra, Chrenovská ul. „SHELL" können nach der überreinstimmenden konstruktiven Lösung zu Variante C dahingehend gereiht werden, daß es sich wahrscheinlich um ihre Untergruppe handelt, die sich durch die Anfertigung des Rostes unterscheidet. Dieser ist nicht einteiling, sondern hat ein zentrales Loch von ungefär 30 cm Durchmesser, das nachträglich in Form einer Art Stöpsel mit Löchern (Luftlöchern) kleinerer Ausmaße fertiggestellt wurde. Die Zweikammertöpferöfen aus der jüngeren römischen Zeit sind aus dem Gebiet der Südwestslowakei bisher, außer Nitra selbst, aus Cífer-Pác bekannt, wo es sich um die Objekte 81 und 108/75[18] der Variante C handelt, mit der Datierung in die erste Hälfte des 4. Jh. Zwei Öfen sind aus Nitra-Párovské Háje bekannt. Nach vorläufigen Angaben[19] befaßen die Öfen 1 und 2/85 den Rost auf einem zentralen Pfeiler. Ein weiterer derartiger monolithischer vertikaler Ofen wurde während der Grabung B. Chorovsky im J. 1971 in Nitra-Chrenová II untersucht.[20] Eine mit Konstruktion völlig übereinstimmende Ofenvariante ist der Ofen 1/83, der auf der Nachbarparzelle in 30–40 m Entfernung östlich des Ofens 56/96 untersucht wurde, die in der Literatur als Lage „Sportareal" angefürt ist.[21] Zur zeitlichen Stellung der Öfen aus Párovské Háje, Chrenová I (Sportareal) und Chrenová II führt K. Pieta[22] an, daß sie in die jüngere römische Zeit und sind in die beginnende Völkerwanderungszeit gehören.

Zeitliche Stellung der Töpferöfen

Der Besiedlungsschwerpunkt der Fundstelle ertfällt in der römische Zeit. Aus dieser Epoche stammen die meisten Siedlungsobjekte, die zur Zeit den Gegenstand von Auswertungen bilden. Ihre Verfüllung enthielt, außer dem Objekt 52/96 (Lehmexploitationsgrube), wenig archäologisches Material. Deswegen nützen wir für die Datierung der Besiedlung auch die in Kulturschichten vorkommenden Funde aus. Zur ihnen gehören Bruchstücke von Glasgefäßen, zwei ganze und zwei Fragmente von Fibeln, Terra-sigillata-Scherben, Fragmente von importierter pannonischer Keramik (*Taf. 6*), auf Grundlage welcher die Existenz der Besiedlung dieser Lage schon im Verlauf es 2. bis 3. Jh. vorausgesetz werden kann. Die Menge des Abfalls von verarbeitetem Geweihrohrstoff erlaubt auch Erwägungen über eine derartig eingestellte Produktion. Aus dem Inhalt der Öfen

[14] *Henning 1977.*
[15] *Peškař* 1988.
[16] *Swan 1984.*
[17] *Dufay 1996.*
[18] *Kolník 1976.*
[19] *Pieta – Ruttkay 1986; Pieta 1883.*
[20] Objekt 15 – unveröffentlich.
[21] *Chropovský – Fusek 1988.*
[22] *Pieta 1993, 86.*

selbst gewann man eine sehr geringe Menge von Gefäßfragmenten. Es sind dies Schüsseln, topfförmige Gefäße und scheibengedrehte, eventuell nachgedrehte Vorratsgefäße. Wahrscheinlich handelt es sich um heimische Keramik, die gerade in diesen Öfen gebrannt wurde (*Taf. 6*). Zeitlich kann sie in die jüngere römische bis in beginnende Völkerwanderungszeit eingestuft werde.

Schlußbemerkungen

Die drei Öfen aus der jüngeren römischen Zeit erhöhen die Zahl der Töpferöfeneibrichtungen aus dem Gebiet des heutigen Nitra auf sieben. Durch präzise Dokumentation und Verfolgung verschiedener Details läßt sich die genaue Bautechnik um eine Rettungsgrabung handelte, kann gesagt werden, daß die Ergebnisse nicht nur die archäologiesche Karte Nitras ergänzen, sodern manche Funde mit ihrer Bedeutung diesen Rahmen überschreiten.

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ABBILDUNGEN

Abb. 1. Topographische Lage der Fundstelle Nitra-Chrenovská ul. „SHELL" (Autorin ing. E. Blažová.

Abb. 2. Nitra-Chronovská ul. „SHELL" – polykulturelle Fundstelle (Autor P. Červež).

Abb. 3. Nitra-Chronovská ul. „SHELL" – Objekte aus römischer Zeit (Autor P. Červež).

Abb. 4. Nitra-Chronovská ul. „SHELL" – Objekte 38/96, M 1:40.

Abb. 5. Nitra-Chronovská ul. „SHELL" – Objekte 39/96, M 1:40.

Abb. 6. Nitra-Chronovská ul. „SHELL" – Objekte 56/96. 1: Schnitt, 2: Grundriß, M 1:40.

Abb. 7. Nitra-Chronovská ul. „SHELL" – Objekte 38/96. 1: Grundriß, 2: Körper (Foto Autorin).

Abb. 8. Nitra-Chronovská ul. „SHELL" – Objekte 39/96. 1: Grundriß, 2: Körper (Foto Autorin).

Abb. 9. Nitra-Chronovská ul. „SHELL" – Objekte 56/96. 1: Grundriß, 2: Körper (Foto Autorin).

TAFELVERZEICHNIS

Taf. 1. Nitra-Chrenovská ul. „SHELL" – Keramik: Objekt 38/96, 39/96, M 1:2.

Taf. 2. Nitra-Chrenovská ul. „SHELL" – Keramik: Objekt 39/96, M 1:2.

Taf. 3. Nitra-Chrenovská ul. „SHELL" – Keramik: Objekt 39/96, 56/96, M 1:2.

Taf. 4. Nitra-Chrenovská ul. „SHELL" – Keramik: Objekt 56/96, M 1:2.

Taf. 5. Nitra-Chrenovská ul. „SHELL" – Keramik: Objekt 56/96, M 1:2.

Taf. 6. Nitra-Chrenovská ul. „SHELL" – 1, 3: Bronze Fibeln; 2, 5: Fragmente von Eisen Fibeln; 4, 6, 8, 9: Ts-Scherben; 7: Eisen-Schlüssel; 10, 11: pannonische Keramik (M 1:2).

Claus von Carnap-Bornheim

GERMANISCHE RANGABZEICHEN IM REITERNOMADISCHEN MILIEU DES 4. UND 5. JAHRHUNDERTS? – ODER: IST EINE „GOTISIERUNG" DER „HUNNEN" ARCHÄOLOGISCH NACHWEISBAR?

In den ersten fünf Jahrhunderten nach Christi Geburt sind Darstellungen von Personen sowohl im germanischem als auch im reiternomadischem Milieu der Sarmaten und Hunnen selten.[1] Trotz der großen Menge potentieller Bildträger (z.B. Keramik, größere Gegenstände aus Metall wie z.B. Gürtelschnallen etc.) werden entsprechende Motive in diesem Zeitraum nur sehr sparsam verwendet;[2] sie gehörten damit nicht zum üblichen Musterschatz. Häufiger erscheinen dagegen Tierdarstellungen, die allerdings sehr unterschiedlichen Kunsttraditionen entstammen können. Als Beispiel sei hier nur auf die spätsarmatischen Tierbildnisse aus Porogi oder an die zoomorphen Darstellungen auf den Bechern aus Himlingøje errinnert,[3] die im ersten Fall aus sarmatischen (und damit letzendlich aus ost-bzw. mittelasiatischen), im zweiten Fall aus provinzialrömischen Wurzeln stammen. Erst das frühe Mittelalter bringt ein ungleich umfangreicheres Inventar qualitätvoller Abbildungen von Menschen und Tieren, die oftmals von hohem künstlerischem Wert sind.[4]

Von den relativ wenigen kaiserzeitlichen bzw. spätantiken Belegen figürlicher Darstellungen sollen hier einige Preßbleche behandelt werden, die aus germanischem, sarmatischem und reiternomdisch/hunnischem Milieu bekannt sind. Dabei soll im folgenden der Versuch unternommen werden, durch eine technische und stilistische Analyse sowie durch einen Vergleich des jeweiligen archäologischen Kontextes, in dem entsprechende Stücke zu finden sind, möglichen Kontakten zwischen germanischen, sarmatischen und reiternomadisch/hunnischen Eliten der jüngeren römischen Kaiserzeit und der Spätantike nachzugehen und diese vor dem Hintergrund der historischen Entwicklung im ausgehenden 4. und frühen 5. Jahrhundert zu interpretieren.

Das Material

Ansichtsmasken aus Preßblech, meist als vergoldete Silberbleche oder als Goldblechauflagen auf bronzenen Unterlagen gehören — wie erwähnt — zu den

[1] Für zahlreiche Hinweise und durchaus kontroverse Diskussionen danke ich Valeria Kulcsár (Budapest), B. Anke (Berlin), H. W. Böhme (Marburg) und Tivadar Vida (Budapest).

[2] Vgl. all. *Werner 1966*. Für das späte 4. und frühe 5. Jh. in reiternomadischem Milieu s. zuletzt *Zasetskaya 1994*. Aus germanischem Milieu auf Keramik: s. *Bantelmann 1981; Lund 1990; Bugaj – Makiewicz 1995*.

[3] z.B. im reichen Fürstengrab von Porogi: *Simonenko – Lobaj 1991*. Zu den seeländischen Bildfriesen s. *Werner 1941* 44f. Taf. 20–22; zuletzt: Lund Hansen in: *Lund Hansen et al. 1995* 237.

[4] s. z.B. *Haseloff 1981* Bd. 1, 81ff. Abb. 53; oder als ein Beispiel aus angelsächsichem Zusammenhang mit Ansichtsmasken: *Avent – Evison 1982*.

Raritäten des 3. bis 4./5. Jhs. im europäischen bzw. eurasischen Barbaricum. Insgesamt konnten in der Fundliste mehr als 140 Belege von 32 Fundorten in Dänemark, Schweden, der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Polen und Ungarn sowie in Rußland und in der Ukraine erfaßt werden, die entweder aus vergoldeten Preßblechen hergestellt oder aber mit goldenen bzw. vergoldeten Preßblechen verkleidet sind. Sie konzentrieren sich einerseits auf den südskandinavischen Raum (Jütland, Fünen, Seeland, Bornholm, Gotland), vereinzelt treten sie in wielbarkischem bzw. sarmatischem Zusammenhang auf (Weklice, Nagyhegy), um schließlich in loser Streuung in einigen reiternomadisch/hunnischen Komplexen des ausgehenden 4. bzw. 5. Jhs. (z.B. Engels/Pokrovsk, Novogrigorievka, Wladimirskoie; z.T. abgebildet *Abb. 6*) vertreten zu sein. Dabei fällt das deutliche Übergewicht der skandinavischen Masken auf. So stammen aus Illerup allein 72 Ansichtsmasken unterschiedlicher Typen (eine Auswahl auf *Abb. 2.1–6*), auf den Thorsberger Phaleren sind insgesamt 18 stempelgleiche Masken zu finden (*Abb. 3.1*), aus dem Vimose sind drei Masken bekannt (u.a. *Abb. 2.7*). Auf den silbernen Bechern von Brokjær dürfte sich ein längerer Fries identischer Masken befunden haben, von denen heute nur noch drei Masken sicher nachweisbar sind, auf dem Becher von Himlingøje befinden sich zwei Ansichtsmasken. Das skandinavische/schleswig-holsteinische Material dürfte damit auf ca. 100 Masken geschätzt werden, während aus sarmatischem Zusammenhang nur fünf Masken aus Nagyhegy bzw. Rostov bekannt sind. Häufiger, aber immer noch relativ selten sind Ansichtsmasken aus dem reiternomadisch/hunnischen Milieu, wo bislang ca. 35 Belege erfaßt werden können. Dabei zeigt die Fundkarte einerseits die relativ weite Streuung dieser Stücke vom nördlichen Kaukasus-Gebiet bis hin zum Mittellauf der Wolga; das westlichste Stück stammt aus Novogrigorievka vom Unterlauf des Dnjeprs. Am häufigsten sind entsprechende Masken bislang aus der Gegend um Engels/Pokrovsk (Saratov) bekannt. Bemerkenswert ist hier die Serie von 23 Preßblechen mit jeweils zwei Gesichtsdarstellungen, die im Kurgan beim Sowchos „Woschod" entdeckt wurden (vgl. *Abb. 6.1,4*). Ähnlich wie im Norden des 3. Jhs. wurden also auch im Osten des 5. Jhs. größere Serien stempelidentischer Bleche hergestellt und als Zierat Waffen bzw. Pferdegeschirren verwendet.[5]

Ansichtsmasken aus Preßblech werden in den jeweiligen Fundlandschaften bzw. Kulturen auf unterschiedlichen Gegenständen angebracht. Auf Fibeln erscheinen entsprechende Darstellungen ausschließlich in nordgermanischem bzw. wielbarkischem Zusammenhang (Bøgeberg, Havor (*Abb. 4.1*), Slusegård (*Abb. 4.3*), Weklice (*Abb. 4.2*); auch Silberbecher mit Ansichtsmasken sind bislang nur aus nördlichem Kontext bekannt (Brokjær, Himlingøje). Aus Brangstrup stammt ein rechteckiges Blech mit Gesichtsdarstellung, das wahrscheinlich Bestandteil einer aufwendigen Kette mit goldenen Anhängern war. Eine deutliche Häufung von Ansichtsmasken aus Preßblech findet sich in der männlichen Lebenswelt, wo diese Darstellungen als Verzierungselemente von Militaria bzw. Pferdegeschirren verwendet werden. So sind aus dem Norden zahlreiche Gesichtsdarstellungen als Schildbeschläge (Illerup, Vimose; *Abb. 2*) oder als Appliken auf Phaleren bekannt

[5] *Sinicyn 1936* 76.

(Thorsberg; *Abb. 3.1*). Als Bestandteil eines aufwendigen Schwertgurtes kann der Beschlag aus Uggeløse/Kirkebakkegård (*Abb. 4.4*) interpretiert werden, ferner ist ein Ortband aus dem Vimose mit einer En-face-Darstellung verziert. Die Beschläge aus den reiternomadisch/hunnischen Totenopfern des ausgehenden 4. bzw. des 5. Jhs. sind mit Pferdegeschirren zu verbinden. Eindeutige Befunde, die die spezielle Funktion der Masken als Sattel- oder Riemenbeschläge oder aber als Bestandteile von Zaumzeugen erkennen liessen, liegen im Fundbestand nicht vor. Jedoch kann in den Gräbern von Pokrovsk (Kurgan beim Sowchos „Woschod"), in Wladimirskoie und in Novogrigorievka eine sichere Verknüpfung der Ansichtsmasken mit einem Pferdegeschirr nachgewiesen werden.[6]

Die chronologische Streuung des erfaßten Materials ist recht breit. Als älteste Belege für die Verzierung einzelner Gegenstände bzw. Rangabzeichen mit Ansichtsmasken müssen die Funde aus Agersbøl und Brokjær (beide aus Jütland) gelten. Leider kann die Funktion der Maske aus Agersbøl nicht eindeutig geklärt werden, sie stammt aber aus einem Waffengrab und könnte somit durchaus auf einer Waffe (z.B. Schild, Schwertscheide oder Schwertaufhängung) angebracht gewesen sein. Die Bleche aus Brokjær waren dagegen auf einem silbernen Becher befestigt. Die Datierung dieser Gräber soll hier nicht in allen Einzelheiten erläutert werden, sie werden allgemein an den Übergang von der älteren zur jüngeren Kaiserzeit gestellt und gehören somit in die 2. Hälfte des 2. Jhs. Der überwiegende Teil des erfaßten nordischen Materials gehört in das 3. Jh. Entsprechende Datierungen ergeben sich einerseits für die Stücke aus Illerup Platz A,[7] (und damit im Analogieschluß auch für Vimose und Thorsberg), aber auch die Fibeln vom Typ Almgren 216/217 müssen diesem zeitlichen Horizont zugewiesen werden.[8] Jünger sind die Stücke aus hunnischen bzw. reiternomadischen Fundzusammenhängen. Die Masken aus den Inventaren von Kispek und Engels/Pokrovsk u.a. können an das Ende des 3./Anfang des 4. Jh. sowie in 4. bzw. in das 5. Jh. datiert werden.[9] So ordnet I. Zasetskaya die Masken aus Engels/Pokrovsk Kurgan 17 und 18, Novogrigorievka, Grab 7, Pokrovsk Kurgan beim Sowchos „Woschod" sowie Wladimirskoie Kurgan 4 ihrem Horizont AGC III zu, der nach der Attila-Zeit in die zweite Hälfte des 5. Jh. datiert werden kann.[10]

Trotz der unterschiedlichen Datierung und des weiten Verbreitungsbildes des erfaßten Materials zeichnen sich hier einige technische und stilistische Übereinstimmungen ab, die kaum zufällig sein dürften und somit Indizien für einen inhaltlichen Zusammenhang zwischen den germanisch/sarmatischen Masken einerseits und den reiternomadisch/hunnischen Masken andererseits sein könnten (*Abb. 2; Abb. 6*). Zunächst ist hier auf die Proportionierung und äußere Gestaltung der Bleche hinzuweisen. Wird von den Masken aus Rostov abgesehen, so wird jeweils nur der Kopf en-face dargestellt. Immer fehlen sowohl der Halsansatz als auch die Ohren. Bemerkenswert ferner, daß fast alle Masken mit Bärten dargestellt und somit als männliche Figuren charakterisiert sind. Deutlich unterschie-

[6] *Istvánovits – Kulcsár 1997* 159.
[7] *Ilkjær 1990* 286ff. Abb. 201.
[8] *Lund Hansen 1995* 212 f.
[9] Zu den Datierungsschwierigkeiten des hunnischen Materials s. *Anke 1998* 13ff.
[10] *Zasetskaya 1994* 111ff. Taf. 25.

den sind jedoch die jeweiligen Barttrachten: Während im nordgermanischen Milieu ausschließlich Schnauzer und Oberlippenbärte zu finden sind (*Abb. 2*), zeigen die Masken aus reiternomadisch/hunnischen Fundkontexten einen Kinnbart. Die Masken aus Intercisa und Szentes-Nagyhegy (*Abb. 5.1–2*) weisen ein Kombination dieser Elemente auf, da sie mit einem Schnauzer und einem Kinnbart verziert scheinen. Wichtig ist das Bronzeblech aus Gródek am Bug. Es stammt aus einem Siedlungskomplex der Wielbark-Kultur (Małomęcz-Gruppe) und kann aufgrund der Zusammensetzung des Gesamtensembles in das 3. Jh. datiert werden. Diese Maske ist — wie die reiternomadisch/hunnischen Stücke auch — mit einem Kinnbart verziert.[11] Bei den bartlosen Masken können zwei Gruppen unterschieden werden. Zunächst ist hier auf die eindeutig römisch inspirierten Stücke zu verweisen, die aus Thorsberg und aus Illerup bekannt sind. Die Thorsberger Masken auf den beiden Phaleren sind aufgrund der Weinranken, die auf den Köpfen deutlich erkennbar sind, als bacchantische Motive zu erklären. Die Maske PAO aus Illerup stellt Alexander den Großen mit Amunshörnern dar und wurde vermutlich in einer provinzialrömischen Werkstatt gefertigt (*Abb. 3.2*). Die übrigen bartlosen Masken (Agersbøl, Bøgeberg, Brangstrup, Brokjær, Engels/Pokrovsk (Kurgan 18), Uggeløse/Kirkebakkegård) stammen sowohl aus germanischem als auch aus reiternomadisch/hunnischem Kontext. Dabei gehören Agersbøl und Brokjær zu den ältesten, Engels/Pokrovsk (Kurgan 18) zu den jüngsten Inventaren im erfaßten Material, so daß diese Erscheinung kaum chronologisch bedingt sein dürfte.

Bemerkenswert ist ein weiteres Detail. Dabei handelt es sich um das über den Scheitel verlaufende Bandornament, das einerseits bei den Masken vom Typ A1 (*Abb. 2.1*) aus Illerup und auf dem Becher von Himlingøje andererseits aber bei jenen aus Szentes-Nagyhegy (*Abb. 5.2*) angebracht ist. Dieses Motiv findet auf dem Thorsberger Helm eine wichtige Parallele, taucht aber auch in jüngeren, frühmittelalterlichen Maskendarstellungen auf und könnte damit als Indiz für eine engere Verknüpfung zwischen den Stücken aus der ungarischen Tiefebene einerseits und jenen aus Südskandinavien andererseits hindeuten.[12]

Wenn sich auch in einzelnen Details der Darstellung Unterschiede erkennen lassen, so sind auch andere Übereinstimmungen auffällig: In fast allen Fällen werden die Masken durch ein Perl- oder Kordeldrahtornament gerahmt. Zudem sind sowohl die meisten der germanischen als auch die reiternomadisch/hunnischen Masken mit Goldblech belegt oder aber vergoldet, so daß ihr äußeres Erscheinungsbild in der farblichen Gestaltung identisch ist.

Der militärische bzw. soziale Kontext

Unter den insgesamt 15 erfaßten Grabfunden bzw. Totenlagern können vier sicher weibliche Inventare erkannt werden, die sowohl durch das Beigabenspektrum als auch durch anthropologische Bestimmungen zuweisbar sind. Betrachten wir zunächst die germanischen Stücke. Auffällig sind die Masken aus Havor Grab

[11] Freundl. Mitt. A. Kokowski (Lublin); aufgrund des schlechten Erhaltungszustandes des Stückes ist dieses Detail zeichnerisch nicht zu dokumentieren.

[12] Thorsberg: *Engelhardt 1863* Taf. 5.3. – s. z.B. *Haseloff 1981* Abb 53.2 (Galsted).

113, Slusegård Grab 600 und Weklice Grab 150 (*Abb. 4.1–3*). In allen Fällen können die Bleche hier mit sog. „monströsen Fibeln" vom Typ A 216/217 verbunden werden, wobei sie hier am auf der Fußplatte bzw. auf dem Nadelhalter der jeweiligen Fibeln befestigt waren. Wenn auch die Gestaltung der aufwendig hergestellten Fibeln recht unterschiedlich ausfällt, so sind die Ähnlichkeiten in der Gestaltung der Masken bemerkenswert: Die Haare sind nach hinten gescheitelt, die Stück aus Havor und Weklice sind sicher, das Blech aus Slusegård vermutlich mit einem Bart versehen, der in der Mittelachse des länglichen Bleches überlang ausgezogen ist. Der Oberlippenbart mit dem Schnauzer der Maske aus Havor erinnert stark an das Stück aus dem Vimose (*Abb. 2, 7*). Auch vor diesem Hintergrund dürften diese drei Masken dem gleichen chronologischen Horizont, dem Übergang von der Periode C1 zur Periode Č (ca. Mitte des 3. Jhs.) zuzuweisen sein.

Die skandinavischen Rosettenfibeln vom Typ A. 216/217 sind jüngst von U. Lund Hansen zusammengestellt worden,[13] wobei sich ein auffälliges Verbreitungsbild ergibt: Entsprechende Fibeln finden sich in Südskandinavien, in einem relativ eng begrenzten Raum zwischen der unteren Weichsel und dem Samland sowie in einigen wenigen Fällen in Moldawien. Sicherlich stellt diese Fibelform, die ausschließlich aus reichen Frauengräbern bekannt ist, ein Verbindungsglied zwischen dem nordgermanischen Milieu Südskandinaviens und dem weiteren Umfeld des nördlichen Schwarzmeergebietes dar. Wir werden auf diese Beobachtung weiter unten zurückkommen.

Ebenfalls aus einem Frauengrab stammt die Scheibenfibel aus Bøgeberg auf Bornholm. In diesem Grab befanden sich u.a. zahlreiche Bernsteinperlen, die somit eine sichere archäologische Geschlechtsbestimmung erlauben. Chronologisch könnte dieses Inventar der Periode Č und damit der 2. Hälfte des 3. Jhs. zugeordnet werden.[14] Auf der dreipassförmigen Fibel sind drei vermutlich stempelgleiche Preßbleche angebracht, die jeweils ein bartloses Gesicht zeigen. Auffällig ist die Gestaltung der Haare, die aus drei querverlaufenden Bändern bestehen; zu diesem Muster sind im erfaßten Material keine Analogien vorhanden.

Aus einem ganz anderen funktionellen und kulturellen Zusammenhang stammen die drei Masken aus Grab 20 von Nagyhegy, das archäologisch aufgrund der Beigabe eines Spinnwirtels und von mehr als 1000 Perlen ebenfalls sicher als Frauenbestattung angesprochen werden kann und das. zuletzt von E. Istvánovits und V. Kulcsár ausführlich beschrieben und interpretiert wurde.[15] Die Masken aus Nagyhegy gehörten zu einer aufwendigen Kopfbedeckung, die mit Ansichtsmasken und zoomorphen Motiven verziert war; das Grab, in dem sich u.a. ca. 150 goldene Beschläge eines Gewandes befanden, kann an den Beginn des 4. Jhs. datiert werden. Wie die meisten Analogien aus germanischen Frauengräbern, sind die Masken aufgrund der Barttracht eindeutig als männliche Darstellung identifizierbar. Der nach oben gedrehte Schnauzer findet im germanischen Material

[13] Lund Hansen in: *Lund Hansen et al. 1995* 212f. An der unteren Weichsel wäre auf der Verbreitungskarte noch das in der Fundliste erfaßte Stück aus Weklice, Fs. 7, Grab 150 zu ergänzen.

[14] *Thomas 1966* 55.

[15] Im folgenden nach *Istvánovits – Kulcsár 1977* 153f.

allerdings keine Parallele, er kann nur mit dem Beschlag aus Dunaújváros/Intercisa (*Abb. 5.1–2*) verglichen werden.

Zusammenfassend läßt sich somit festhalten, daß Ansichtsmasken aus Preßblech in nordgermanischen bzw. wielbarkischen Frauengräbern an aufwendige Prachtfibeln gebunden sind. Sie sind damit als Abzeichen reicher Frauen zu verstehen. Der Bedeutungsinhalt dieser Darstellung bleibt allerdings im Dunkeln. Im Material finden sich zwar eindeutige Männermasken (Bart), ob es sich bei den bartlosen Gesichtern allerdings zwangsläufig um die Abbilder von Frauen handelt, ist zwar wahrscheinlich, keineswegs aber gesichert.

Die kaiser- und hunnenzeitlichen Ansichtsmasken aus Männerbestattungen stammen überraschenderweise fast immer aus reich ausgestatteten Waffengräbern. So zeichnen sich die Toten von Agersbøl und Brokjær durch die Beigabe von Schwertern, Sporen, Pfeilspitzen und Lanzen aus, in beiden Gräbern finden sich zudem goldene Fingerringe und römischer Import. Die Toten gehörten sicherlich zu den führenden Persönlichkeiten in Jütland am Übergang von der älteren zu jüngeren Kaiserzeit. Auch das Grab von Uggeløse/Kirkebakkegård in Nordseeland ist mit silbernen Fibeln, römischem Import, Sporen und goldenen Ringen überdurchschnittlich reich ausgestattet. Wie für diesen Zeitabschnitt auf Seeland üblich, fehlen zwar die Waffen selbst, doch können wir auch hier von einem Elitengrab ausgehen. Dies gilt auch für einige der reiternomadisch/hunnischen Gräber bzw. Totenlager. In Pokrovsk, Kurgan bei Sowchos „Woschod" waren dem Toten ein Langschwert mit granatverziertem Mundblech und ein Schwertriemenbügel aus Nephrit beigegeben. Seine hohe soziale und militärische Stellung wird sicherlich auch durch den eisernen Kettenpanzer und die goldenen Sattelbleche belegt. In gleicher Weise muß der Tote in Kispek bewertet werden, dem u.a. ein aufwendig verzierter Helm, ein eisernes Panzerhemd und ein reich verziertes Pferdegeschirr beigegeben war. Auffällig dagegen die Bestattung in Kurgan 4 in Wladimirskoie, die vermutlich mit einem ein Kind (infans 1) verbunden werden kann, das mit Bogen, Pfeilen, Sattel und Pferdegeschirr bestattet wurde. Auch im reiternomadisch/hunnischen Milieu scheinen die Ansichtsmasken aus Preßblech — zumindest teilweise — mit ranghohen Militärs verknüpft zu sein. Dies gilt sicherlich auch für die Ansichtsmasken aus den kaiserzeitlichen Moorfunden Südskanvinaviens. Die Analyse der Funde und Befunde von Illerup zeigt,[16] daß die Masken hier auf fünf reichen, zumeist rot bemalten Schilden, angebracht waren, die zudem mit kegelförmigen Zierbeschlägen mit vergoldeten Silberblechen und mit silbernen Schildrandbeschlägen versehen waren. Silberne Schildbuckel von bis zu 350 g Gewicht und silberne Schildfesseln, die zum Teil mit Runeninschriften versehen sind, stellen weitere Bestandteile dieser bemerkenswerten Rangabzeichen dar. Auch die Thorsberger Scheiben können in diesem Sinne interpretiert werden.[17] Zwar sind die Masken am besten mit römischen Vorbildern zu vergleichen, die Zierscheiben selbst wurden aber mit hoher Wahrscheinlichkeit von einem germanischen Handwerker gefertigt, so daß sie nicht

[16] *Carnap-Bornheim – Ilkjær 1996* 279ff.
[17] Zuletzt *Carnap-Bornheim 1997*.

als Indiz für die Verwendung entsprechender Darstellungen als Rangabzeichen römischer Offiziere zu verstehen sind.

Trotz der ikonographischen Übereinstimmungen zwischen den germanischen und den reiternomadisch/hunnischen Masken muß dennoch bemerkt werden, daß im germanischen Milieu figürliche Darstellungen in Verbindung mit Pferdegeschirren bislang nur sehr selten nachgewiesen werden konnten,[18] während in reiternomadisch/hunnischen Reitergräbern sichere Nachweise für den Gebrauch entsprechender Masken als Schildbeschläge fehlen. Damit werden identische Ansichtsmasken auf in unterschiedlichem Funktionszusammenhang verwendet.

Ein Interpretationsversuch

Zur Frage des Ursprungs der Ansichtsmasken im reiternomadisch/hunnischem Milieu des ausgehenden 3 bzw. frühen 4. bis hn zum 5. Jahrhundert wurden recht unterschiedliche Erklärungsmodelle formuliert. N. Fettich erkannte in den Darstellungen, und damit auch in den Masken von Szentes-Nagyhegy, letztendlich skytisch/hellenistische Wurzeln; auch die reiternomadisch/hunnischen Masken aus Novogrigorievka und Pokrovsk, Kurgan 17 (*Abb. 6.1, 5*) sah er in dieser Traditionslinie.[19] O. Maenchen-Helfen war hier anderer Meinung. Er leitetet die reiternomadisch/hunnischen Masken aus dem iranischen Milieu ab; jene aus Intercisa (und Szentes-Nagyhegy; beide *Abb. 5.1–2*) ordnete er handwerklich zwar dem römischen Kulturkreis zu, ihre sehr ausdrucksvollen Darstellungen erklärte er aber durch sarmatische Einflüsse.[20] Dieser Ansicht schloß sich I. Bóna in seinem Werk über das Reich der Hunnen an,[21] da er die bärtigen Männergesichter auf sarmatisch-alanische Herkunft zurückführte. Jüngst hat M. Nagy die Masken aus dem Bereich der ungarischen Tiefebene mit dionysischen Kulten in Verbindung gebracht,[22] wobei der archäologische Kontext dieser Stücke im Barbaricum selbst unbeachtet blieb. J. Werner sprach den Masken aus dem reiternomadisch/hunnischen Milieu zwar einen apotropäischen Charakter zu,[23] die Frage nach der Herkunft dieser Motive ließ er aber, vielleicht auch vor dem Hintergrund seiner genauen Kenntnis des südskandinavischen Materials, unbeantwortet.

Ausgangspunkt eines neuen Interpretationsvorschlages sollen die weiter oben bereits erläuterten Beobachtungen sein: 1. die ähnliche Herstellungstechnik der reiternomadisch/hunnischen und der germanischen Masken sowie die enge Verwandtschaft der verarbeiteten Materialien; 2. die ähnliche Darstellungsweise (Kopf, Perldraht), und 3. das ähnliche soziale bzw. militärische Milieu, in dem die Masken auftauchen. Dabei muß festgehalten werden, daß Masken aus Preßblech im germanischen Umfeld deutlich früher zu finden sind als in reiternomadisch/hunnischen Fundkomplexen. Es wäre damit zu fragen: Könnten die Masken nicht möglicherweise aus dem germanischen Milieu in das polyethnisch geprägte

[18] Ausnahme in Swajcaria (Suwalki-Gebiet), Kurhan 2; vgl. *Antoniewicz et al. 1958* 23ff. Taf. 9.
[19] *Fettich 1953* 180 f.
[20] *Maenchen-Helfen 1997* 205.
[21] *Bóna 1991* 28.
[22] *Nagy 1998* 52f.
[23] *Werner 1956* 73.

Umfeld der Hunnen gelangt sein? Gegen dieses Modell scheint zunächst das Verbreitungsbild zu sprechen (*Abb. 1*), da die erfaßten Stücke in der jüngerkaiserzeitlichen Wielbark-und Cernjachov-Kultur in der westlichen bzw. südlichen Ukraine und in Polen im Bereich von Weichsel und Bug fast ganz fehlen. Diese chronologische und chorologische Lücke ist durch die spezielle Quellenlage in diesen Gebieten leicht erklärbar: In diesen Kulturen wurde die Waffenbeigabe nicht ausgeübt und zudem sind solche archäologische Komplexe unbekannt, die mit südskandinavischen Moorfunden vergleichbar wären. Die Verbreitung der Fibel A 216/217 zeigt aber, daß Abzeichen hochgestellter germanischer Persönlichkeiten, die gelegentlich, wie im Falle von Havor, Weklice und Slusegård (*Abb. 4.1–3*) mit Maskendarstellungen verziert waren, in diesem Raum im 3. Jh. (Periode C1/Č) durchaus verbreitet waren.[24] In diesem Zusammenhang muß darauf hingewiesen werden, daß En-face-Darstellungen auch auf einigen wichtigen germanischen Herrschafts- oder Rangabzeichen des 5. Jhs. zu finden sind. Es handelt sich dabei einerseits um spätantike Medaillons, andererseits um skandinavische Brakteaten.[25] In beiden Fällen werden auf goldenen Gegenständen bartlose Ansichtsmasken angebracht, die sich einerseits auf der Rahmung (Szilágy-Somlyó), andererseits im Bereich der Aufhängung befinden können (Gerete-C und Fride-C).

Bleibt weiter die Frage, ob entsprechende Ansichtsmasken möglicherweise von den Hunnen aus dem sarmatischen oder aber aus dem provinzialrömischen Milieu übernommen wurden. Sicherlich liessen sich auch für diesen Weg gewichtige Argumente finden, es jedoch muß einschränkend erwähnt werden, daß in sarmatischen Fürstengräbern der jüngeren römischen Kaiserzeit entsprechende Stücke trotz des guten Quellenbestandes ganz fehlen. Dagegen sind En-face-Darstellungen im römischen Milieu weit verbreitet und gehören zum Standardrepertoire bei Trachtbestandteilen, Keramik und toreutischen Erzeugnissen.[26] Im militärischen Umfeld wären allerdings Medusendarstellungen und verwandte Motive zu erwarten,[27] so daß hier weibliche Abbilder zu adaptieren gewesen wären. Die hier erfaßten Preßbleche stellen aber ganz überwiegend Männer dar. Auch dieses Modell ist damit nicht ohne Probleme.

Die historische Überlieferung kann für die These des germanischen Ursprungs der hier diskutierten Ansichtsmasken wichtige Anhaltspunkte liefern. So sind Kontakte zwischen germanischen und reiternomadischen Eliten bereits für das Jahr 291 belegt, als Ostrogoten zusammen mit alanischen bzw. urugundischen Gruppen kämpften.[28] Zwar unterwarfen die Hunnen nach 375 die ostrogotischen Greutungen, diese wurden aber als ethnische und militärische Einheit in den polyethnischen Stammesverband der Hunnen integriert.[29] Die große politische

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[24] Lund Hansen in: *Lund Hansen et al. 1995* Abb. 8:5.

[25] Medaillons: Szilágy-Szomlyó; vgl. *Fettich 1932* 50 Nr. 17, 14; zuletzt *Bursche 1998* Kat. 22, XI Taf. E, 22, XI. – Brakteaten: Gerete-C und Fride-C (beide Gotland); vgl. *Hauck 1970* 405 mit Fußnote 31 Taf. 105, 106a, b, 107; *Lamm 1994b* Abb. S. 54.

[26] Als Beispiele sie hier auf die Bände von *Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli 1990; Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli 1991* und *Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli 1992* verwiesen, die zahlreiche Belege aus sehr unterschiedlichem Zusammenhang enthalten.

[27] Als Beispiele von Pferdegeschirren s. *Lakos 1941* Taf. 16.1, 2.

[28] *Wolfram 1990* 95.

[29] z.B. *Maenchen-Helfen 1997* 21ff.; *Wolfram 1990* 98, bes. 250ff.

Bedeutung dieses Prozesses dürfte sich auch in der Verheiratung des Hunnenkönigs Balamber mit Va(l)damerca im Jahre 376 widerspiegeln, die eine Nichte des kurz zuvor möglicherweise von Balamber selbst getöteten Gotenkönigs Vinitharius war.[30] Doch kam es auch zu konzertierten Aktionen greutungischer, alanischer und hunnischer Verbände, so wie sie etwa unter dem terwingischen König Fritigern für das Jahr 378 belegt sind; H. Wolfram spricht hier sogar von der „Dreivölker-Gruppe"![31]

Vor diesem Hintergrund ist es durchaus denkbar, daß die reiternomadischen Eliten Rangabzeichen aus dem germanischen Milieu übernahmen und in ihrem Sinne (z.B. als Beschläge von Pferdegeschirren) verwendeten. Grundsätzlich muß die Frage gestellt werden, ob mit der Niederlage der Goten auch deren militärische und soziale Rangabzeichen vollständig durch die reiternomadisch/hunnische Oberschicht und deren Zeichenwelt überlagert wurden. Dies scheint vor dem Hintergrund der hier diskutierten Erscheinungen zumindest zweifelhaft.

Doch muß hier auch erwähnt werden, daß Maskendarstellungen in ikonographisch sehr ähnlicher Form auch im reiternomadisch/skytischen Milieu des letzten vorchristlichen Jahrtausends in Edelmetall im Osten zu finden sind.[32] Entsprechende Stücke sind somit im östlichen Milieu schon lange vor der Zeitenwende bekannt. Allerdings läßt sich kaum eine bruchlose Linie von diesen Masken hin zu jenen ziehen, die in unserer Fundliste erfaßt sind. Dabei könnte eine Lösung des Problems in den detaillierten Analyse der Masken aus östlichem und keltischem Milieu aus der Zeit vor Christi Geburt liegen. Diese Beobachtung widerspricht aber nicht direkt dem hier vorgeschlagenen Model der Übertragung der Ansichtsmasken der späten Kaiserzeit und frühen Völkerwanderungszeit aus dem germanischen Milieu in das polyethnische Umfeld der westlichen Steppengebiete im ausgehenden 4. und 5. Jh. In den Ansichtsmasken kreuzen sich sehr unterschiedliche Traditionslinien; dies betrifft ihren sozial-militärischen Hintergrund genauso wie ihre handwerkliche Ausführung und die verwendeten Materialien. Damit muß auch die archäologische Interpretation dieses Phänomens sehr unterschiedliche Komponenten berücksichtigen, wo denen eine — und unserer Meinung nach sicherlich nicht die unwichtigste — die germanische ist.

Sicherlich könnte dieses komplizierte Thema auch vor dem Hintergrund weiterer archäologischer Quellen vertieft werden. So könnten neue Aspekte etwa durch die Bearbeitung anderer Sachgruppen gewonnen werden. Zu denken wäre hier beispielsweise an reichverzierte Schwertgriffe oder die frühe Vogelornamentik. Doch stellt auch die Tradierung kaiserzeitlicher Ansichtsmasken in der frühmittelalterlichen Kunst, etwa auf awarischen Gürtelbeschlägen oder auf skandinavischen Goldhalskragen,[33] ein anderes faszinierendes Forschungsfeld dar, das vor dem Hintergrund des germanischen Materials des 3. Jhs. neue Einblicke in die kulturellen und historischen Zusammenhänge erlauben würde.

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[30] *Wolfram 1990* 252ff.

[31] *Wolfram 1990* 138ff.

[32] Beispiel: Pazyryk; *Busch 1993* Kat. Nr. 105.

[33] Awarische Gürtel: z.B. Keszthely-Fenék Puszta, Grab 1. 1885 s. *Bóna 1982–83* 156, Taf. 12, 16; oder Hajdudorog: *Kat. Awaren in Europa* 54 Abb. 49. – Skandinavische Goldhalskragen vom Typ Ålleberg: zuletzt mit guten Detailaufnahmen: *Lamm 1994a* 37ff.

FUNDLISTE

D Thorsberg, Krs. Schleswig-Flensburg
Phalera (2 St.); Dat.: C1b (1. H. 3. Jh.)
Anthroplog. Bef.: entfällt
Mat.: Ag, vergoldet; Gest. Bart: ohne Bart
Moorfund; 2 Phaleren mit insgesamt 18 stempelgleichen Masken.
Lit.: *Engelhardt 1863* 27f. Taf. 6.1, 7.1; *Werner 1941* 3ff. Taf. A, Taf. 1–6; *Raddatz 1987* Kat. Nr. 407. 2, 423, Taf. 95. 99; *Carnap-Bornheim 1997* 69ff. Abb. 1–3.

DK Agersbøl, Skanderborg Amt
Hügel 2
Beschlag; Dat.: B2b (Mitte 2. Jh.)
Anthroplog. Bef.: (arch. ein männl. Individuum)
Mat.: Ag; Gest. Bart: ohne Bart
Körpergrab, Doppelbestattung; zweischneidiges Schwert; Import E 170 Ag; Spielsteine Glas; Messer (2 St.) Fe; Speer (2 St.) Fe; Pfeilspitze Fe; Scheibe Bz; Knopf (2 St.) Ag; Fingerring Au; Schnalle Bz; Keramik.
Lit.: *Brøndsted 1929* 34 Abb. 6; *Voss – Ørsnes 1948* 257f.; *Brøndsted 1963* 174 Abb. 175; *Lund Hansen 1987* 407; *Ilkjær 1990* 342.

DK Brangstrup, Svendborg Amt
Anhänger einer Kette?; Dat.: C3/D1 (um 400)
Anthroplog. Bef.: entfällt
Mat.: Au; Gest. Bart: ohne Bart
Hortfund; Anhänger einer Kette (17 St.) Au; Fingerring Au; Beschlag Gürtel Au; ringförmige Barren (2 St.) Au; Halsring Au; Münzen.
Lit.: *Herbst 1866* 333 Taf. 4, 4; *Brøndsted 1963* 208 Abb. S. 205 g; *Henriksen 1992* 53 Abb. 6; *Andersson 1993* Kat. Nr. 375.

DK Brokjær, Ribe Amt
Grab von 1878
Silberbecher mit vergoldeten Silberpreßblechen; Dat.: B2/C1a (um 200)
Anthroplog. Bef.: (arch. männl.)
Mat.: Ag; Gest. Bart: ohne Bart
Urnengrab; Import E6 Bz; Import E27–28 Bz; Import E48 Bz; Import E77 Bz; Import E142–143 Bz; Nadel Bein; Schwert; Schwertscheidenbeschläge; Sporen (2 St.) Fe; Messer Fe; Ringbrünne Fe; Beschlag Trinkhorn; Beschlag Schild; Gürtelbeschlag Fe u.a. m.
Lit.: *Oldtidens Ansigt 1990* Kat. Nr. 41, 118f.; *Lund Hansen 1987* 429; *Andersson 1993*, Kat. Nr. 650 mit weiterer Lit.

DK Bøgeberg, Bornholms Amt
Grab 23
Scheibenfibel; Dat.: jg. Kaiserzeit (3./4. Jh.)
Anthroplog. Bef.: (arch. weibl.)
Mat.: Ag, vergoldet; Gest. Bart: ohne Bart
Körpergrab; Fibel Bz A VI; Fibel Bz; Perlen Bernstein; Gefäß aus Rinde; Keramik.
Lit.: *Klindt-Jensen 1957* 74f. Abb. 69; *Thomas 1966* 83 Taf. 5.1.

DK Himlingøje, Præstø Amt
1828
Silberbecher mit vergoldeten Silberpreßblechen; Dat.: C1b (1. H. 3. Jh.)
Anthroplog. Bef.: o. anthropolog. Bef.
Mat.: Ag, vergoldet; Gest. Bart: Schnauzer
Aus gestörtem Grabfund.
Lit.: *Werner 1941* 46 Abb. 6, 4 Taf. 22.2; *Eggers 1951* Kat. Nr. 174; *Lund Hansen 1987* 412 mit weiterer Lit.; *Lund Hansen et al. 1995* 94, 142, Abb. 4:6. Taf. 2; *Andersson 1993* Kat. Nr. 94; *Oldtidens Ansigt 1990* Kat. Nr. 42, 120f.

DK Illerup, Skanderborg Amt
Platz A
Schildbeschlag Sonderform; Dat.: C1b (Ilkjær Gr. 5, um 200)
Anthroplog. Bef.: entfällt
Mat.: Ag, vergoldet; Gest. Bart: Schnauzer
Moorfund; 1 Maske.
Lit.: *Carnap-Bornheim – Ilkjær 1996* 440 Abb. 257, Bd. 7, Taf. 219.

DK Illerup, Skanderborg Amt
Platz A
Schildbeschläge Typ C; Dat.: C1b (Ilkjær Gr. 5, um 200)
Anthroplog. Bef.: entfällt
Mat.: Ag, vergoldet; Gest. Bart: Schnauzer
Moorfund; Schild SAUE, mind. 11 stempelgleiche Masken.
Lit.: *Carnap-Bornheim – Ilkjær 1996* 439 Abb. 257, Bd. 7, Taf. 63–64.

DK Illerup, Skanderborg Amt
Platz A
Schildbeschläge Typ B2; Dat.: C1b (Ilkjær Gr. 5, um 200)
Anthroplog. Bef.: entfällt
Mat.: Ag, vergoldet; Gest. Bart: Schnauzer
Moorfund; Schild SAUC, insgesamt 14 stempelgleiche Masken.
Lit.: *Carnap-Bornheim – Ilkjær 1996* 437f. Abb. 257, Bd. 7, Taf. 135–136.

DK Illerup, Skanderborg Amt
Platz A
Schildbeschläge Typ B3; Dat.: C1b (Ilkjær Gr. 5, um 200)
Anthroplog. Bef.: entfällt
Mat.: Ag, vergoldet; Gest. Bart: Schnauzer
Moorfund; Schild SAUB, insgesamt 22 stempelgleiche Masken.
Lit.: *Carnap-Bornheim – Ilkjær 1996* 438f. Abb. 257, Bd. 7, Taf. 243–244.

DK Illerup, Skanderborg Amt
Platz A
Schildbeschläge Typ A3; Dat.: C1b (Ilkjær Gr. 5, um 200)
Anthroplog. Bef.: entfällt
Mat.: Ag, vergoldet; Gest. Bart: Schnauzer
Moorfund; Schild SAUD, insgesamt 7 stempelgleiche Masken.
Lit.: *Carnap-Bornheim – Ilkjær 1996* 436f. Abb. 257, Bd. 7, Taf. 145–146.

DK Illerup, Skanderborg Amt
Platz A
Schildbeschläge Typ A1; Dat.: C1b (Ilkjær Gr. 5, um 200)
Anthroplog. Bef.: entfällt
Mat.: Ag, vergoldet; Gest. Bart: Schnauzer
Moorfund; Schild SAUE, mind. 4 stempelgleiche Masken.
Lit.: *Carnap-Bornheim – Ilkjær 1996* 435 Abb. 257, Bd. 7, Taf. 63–64.

DK Illerup, Skanderborg Amt
Platz A
Schildbeschlag Sonderform; Dat.: C1b (Ilkjær Gr. 5, um 200)
Anthroplog. Bef.: entfällt
Mat.: Ag, vergoldet; Gest. Bart: ohne Bart
Moorfund; 1 Maske; Alexander der Große mit Amunshörnern.
Lit.: *Carnap-Bornheim – Ilkjær 1996* 439f. Abb. 257, Bd. 7, Taf. 93.

DK Illerup, Skanderborg Amt
Platz A
Schildbeschläge Typ B1; Dat.: C1b (Ilkjær Gr. 5, um 200)
Anthroplog. Bef.: entfällt
Mat.: Ag, vergoldet; Gest. Bart: Schnauzer
Moorfund; Schild SAUF, insgesamt 8 stempelgleiche Masken.
Lit.: *Carnap-Bornheim – Ilkjær 1996* 437 Abb. 257, Bd. 7, Taf. 121.

DK Illerup, Skanderborg Amt
Platz A

Schildbeschläge Typ A2; Dat.: C1b (Ilkjær Gr. 5, um 200)
Anthroplog. Bef.: entfällt
Mat.: Ag, vergoldet; Gest. Bart: Schnauzer
Moorfund; Schild SAUD, insgesamt 7 stempelgleiche Masken.
Lit.: *Carnap-Bornheim – Ilkjær 1996* 436 Abb. 257, Bd. 7, Taf. 145–146.

DK Møllegårdsmarken, Odense Amt
Grab 1828
Beschlag; Dat.: C1-C2 (3. Jh.)
Anthroplog. Bef.: unbest.
Mat.: Ag, vergoldet; Gest. Bart: nicht bestimmbar
Brandgrab; Glasbecher unbest.; Fragmente Ag/Au; Keramik.
Lit.: *Albrectsen 1971* 101, Taf. 120, b; *Lund Hansen 1987* 425.

DK Slusegård, Bornholms Amt
Grab 600
Fibel A 216/217; Dat.: C1/C2 (3. Jh.)
Anthroplog. Bef.: unbest., erw.; (arch. weibl.)
Mat.: Ag, vergoldet?; Gest. Bart: ohne Bart?
Körpergrab; Fibel A VI 178 Ag; Ringnadel (2 St.) Bz; Perlen Bernstein/Bronze/Glas/Silber; Holzgefäß mit Lederbeutel; Kamm Bein; Kamm Fe; Holzgefäße; Keramik.
Lit.: *Klindt-Jensen 1978* 137f. Abb. 73. d; *Sellevold et al. 1984* 108.

DK Uggeløse/Kirkebakkegård, Frederiksborg Amt
Beschlag Schwertgehänge; Dat.: C1b (1. H. 3. Jh.)
Anthroplog. Bef.: männl.; 35–55 Jahre
Mat.: Ag, vergoldet; Gest. Bart: ohne Bart
Körpergrab; Fibel A VII (2 St.) 220 Ag; Import E161, E24–29 Bz; Glas E190 (3 St.); Sporen (2 St.) Bz; Riemenschnalle Bz; Riemenzunge (2 St.) Ag; Ring (7 St.) Ag/Au/Bz; Tierknochen; Keramik
Lit.: *Thrane 1967* 3 Fig. 6.12; *Lund Hansen 1987* 409; *Sellevold et al. 1984* 72f.; *Andersson 1993* Kat. Nr. 7.

DK Vimose, Odense Amt
Schildbeschläge; Dat.: C1b (1. H. 3. Jh.)
Anthroplog. Bef.: entfällt
Mat.: Ag, vergoldet; Gest. Bart: Oberlippenbart, Schnauzer
Moorfund; 2 stempelgleiche Masken.
Lit.: *Engelhardt 1869* 7 Abb. 4; *Carnap-Bornheim – Ilkjær 1996* 286, 440 Abb. 201, 257.

DK Vimose, Odense Amt
Ortband; Dat.: C1b (1. H. 3. Jh.)
Anthroplog. Bef.: entfällt
Mat.: Ag, vergoldet; Gest. Bart: ohne Bart
Moorfund.
Lit.: *Engelhardt 1869* 17 Taf. 10, 92; *Carnap-Bornheim – Ilkjær 1996* 288, 467 Abb. 288.

HU Dunaújváros/Intercisa, Kom. Fejér
Beschlag (2 St.); Dat.: 4. Jh.?
Anthroplog. Bef.: entfällt
Mat.: Bz; Gest. Bart: Kinnbart, Schnauzer
möglicherweise zusammen mit anderen Beschlägen aus einem geschlossenem Fund?; Münze des Constantius II (337–361).
Lit.: *Paulovics 1940* 75f. Taf. 7; *Bóna 1991* 236 Abb. 9.3; *Istvánovits – Kulcsár 1997* Taf. 10.3.

HU Szentes-Nagyhegy, Kom. Csongrád
Grab 20
Beschlag Kopfschmuck (3 St.); Dat.: 4. Jh.
Anthroplog. Bef.: (arch. weibl.)
Mat.: Au, Bz-Grundplatte; Gest. Bart: Kinnbart, Schnauzer
Körpergrab; Tierfiguren (Vogel, Fisch, Hase, Reh u.a.) Bz vergoldet; Flitter (ca. 150 St.) Au; Rosette (4 St.) Au; Ohrring (2 St.) Ag/Bz?; Perlen Bernstein/Chalzedon/Glas/Granat?/Kalk/Karneol (ca. 1000 St.); Verschlußring Bz; Beschlag Bz; Beschlag Bz; Beschlag Ag; Spinnwirtel Ton; Ring Bz; Kästchenbeschlag Bz; Schlüssel Fe; Messer Fe; Keramik.
Lit.: *Csallány 1932* 164 Taf. 48.1; *Párducz 1935* 68 Taf. 5. 8–10; *Istvánovits – Kulcsár 1997* 153f. Taf. 1.

PL Gródek am Bug, Woj. Zamosc
Fundstelle 6
Beschlag; Dat.: 3. Jh.
Anthroplog. Bef.: entfällt
Mat.: Bronze; Gest. Bart: Kinnbart
Einzelfund.
Lit.: *Kat. Schätze der Ostgoten 1995* Kat. Nr. 755 Abb. 80.

PL Weklice, Woj. Elblag
Fundstelle 7, Grab 150
Belag Nadelhalter; Dat.: C1b-C2a (Mitte 3. Jh.)
Anthroplog. Bef.: weibl.; ca. 60 Jahre
Mat.: Ag, vergoldet; Gest. Bart: Schnauzer?; Kinnbart

Körpergrab; Fibel A 216/217 (2 St.) Ag; Fibel A VI 168 Bz; Schnalle (2 St.) Bz; Riemenzunge (4 St.) Ag/Bz; Messer Fe; Perlen Bernstein/Glas; Amulett mit Bärenklaue; Anhänger mit Cauri-Muschel.
Lit.: *Okulicz-Kozaryn 1992* 143 Abb. 8.2, 3.

RU Engels/Pokrovsk, Saratovsker Oblast
Kurgan 17
Beschläge (3 St.); Dat.: Ende 4./Anfang 5. Jh.
Anthroplog. Bef.: (arch. männl.)
Mat.: Bz mit Ag-Blech; Gest. Bart: Kinnbart
Totenopfer; Bogenversteifungen Bein; Langsax; Pfeilspitze (8 St.); Trense Fe; Riemenbeschläge Bz; Schafsknochen.
Lit.: *Werner 1956* Taf. 60.3; *Zasetskaya 1994* Taf. 31.5; *Bóna 1991* 236 Abb. 9.1; *Anke 1998* 36 Taf. 65.9; *Istvánovits – Kulcsár 1997* Taf. 10.1, 11.4.

RU Engels/Pokrovsk, Saratovsker Oblast
Kurgan 18
Beschlag; Dat.: Ende 4./Anfang 5. Jh.
Anthroplog. Bef.: (arch. männl.)
Mat.: Bz mit Au-Blech; Gest. Bart: ohne Bart
Totenopfer; Pfeilspitze Fe; Knochenverstärkung Bogen; Stift (2 St.) Bz; Anhänger Bz; Sattelbeschlag Au/Bz; Pferdeknochen.
Lit.: *Werner 1956* Taf. 60.11; *Zasetskaya 1994* Taf. 31.16; *Anke 1998* 36 Taf. 90.13.

RU Kispek, Bezirk Baksan
Kurgan 13, Kammer 1
Beschlag (Anzahl?); Dat.: C2/C3 (3/4. Jh.)
Anthroplog. Bef.: (arch. männl.)
Mat.: Au?; Gest. Bart: Kinnbart?
Körpergrab; Helm Au/Fe/Karneol; Panzerhemd Fe; zweischneidiges Kurzschwert; Schnallen Au; Pferdegeschirr Ag/Au/Bz/Fe; Sattel Holz; Riemenbeschläge Au mit Glaseinlage; Kessel (2 St.) Bz; Keramik u.v. a.m.
Lit.: *Betrozov 1980* (non videmus); *Bóna 1991* 264 Abb. 70.b; *Anke 1998* 64f. Taf. 109.1; *Kazanski 1995* 189ff. Abb. 7.13.

RU Kumbulta-Werchnjaja Rutha, Nord-Ossetien
Beschlag; Dat.: 4/5. Jh.? (reiternomadisch?)
Anthroplog. Bef.: entfällt
Mat.: Bz mit Au-Blech; Gest. Bart: Kinnbart
Einzelfund?
Lit.: *Werner 1956* Taf. 60.2; *Bóna 1991* 236 Abb. 9.2; *Istvánovits – Kulcsár 1997* Taf. 10.2.

RU Pokrovsk, Saratovsker Oblast
Kurgan beim Sowchos „Woschod"
Beschlag Pferdegeschirr (23 St.); Dat.: 5. Jh.
Anthroplog. Bef.: (arch. männl.)
Mat.: Bz mit Au-Blech; Gest. Bart: Kinnbart
Körpergrab; Langschwert Fe; Scheidenbeschläge Au/Granat; Schwertriemenbügel Nephrit; Kettenpanzer Fe; Lanzenspitze Fe; Sattelbleche Au; Schnalle Au/Bz; Beschlag Au/Glas; Knochenplatte Au/Granat; Platten Pferdegeschirr Au/Bz/Glas; Kette Au; Ohrring Au; Armring Bz mit Au-Auflage; Schnallen (2 St.) Ag; Ring Fe; Keramik.
Lit.: *Sinicyn 1936* 75f. Abb. 4; *Werner 1956* Taf. 40.12; *Zasetskaya 1994* Taf. 32.9; *Bóna 1991* 236 Abb. 9.4; *Anke 1998* 36f. Taf. 120.9; *Istvánovits – Kulcsár 1997* Taf. 10.4, 11.5.

RU Rostov-na-Donu, Rostover Oblast
Katakombengrab in Hügel 6
Beschlag (3–4 St.?) Pferdegeschirr; Dat.: spätes 2./frühes 3. Jh.
Anthroplog. Bef.: (arch. männl.)
Mat.: Au; Gest. Bart: Schnauzer
Körpergrab; Fibel A VI 156 Bz; Schwert Schwertperle Chalcedon; Dolch Griff Ag; Zierbeschläge Pferdegeschirr Ag/Bz/Fe/Glas/Halbedelsteine; Glocke (4 St.) Bz; Nadelbüchse Ag; Glasgefäße (4 St.); Gefäße (5 St.) Bz; Messer (3 St.) Fe; Wetzstein; Ahle Fe/Bz; Perlen Ag/Glas/Kalk; Keramik u.a. m.
Lit.: *Volkov – Guguev 1986* 74 Taf. 59.1; *Istvánovits – Kulcsár 1997* Taf. 10.8.

RU Wladimirskoie, Kujbysevsker Oblast
Kurgan 4,
Beschlag (3 St.); Dat.: 4./5. Jh.
Anthroplog. Bef.: Infans I
Mat.: Bz mit Ag-Blech; Gest. Bart: Kinnbart
Körpergrab; Sattelbeschlag (2 St.) Au; Pfeilspitzen (mehrere Ex.) Fe; Trense Bz; Beschläge Pferdegeschirr Au/Bz; Bogenbeschlag Au; Beigaben 60 cm von der eigentlichen Kinderbestattungen entfernt.
Lit.: *Skarbovenko 1979* 164ff. Abb. 2.1–3; *Zasetskaya 1994* Taf. 35.9; *Bóna 1991* 236 Abb. 9.7; *Istvánovits – Kulcsár 1997* Taf. 10.7, 11.3; *Anke 1998* 148f.

S Havor, Gotland
Grab 113
Fußzier von Fibel A VII 216/217; Dat.: C1/C2 (3. Jh.)
Anthroplog. Bef.: (arch. weibl.)
Mat.: Ag, vergoldet?; Gest. Bart: Oberlippenbart, Schnauzer
Körpergrab; Fibel A VI 168 Ag; Armring (2 St.); Schnalle Bz; Perlen Glas; Keramik.
Lit.: *Almgren – Nerman 1923* 72, 95 (Fundnr. 282) Abb. 105.

UKR Novogrigorievka, Zaporozsker Oblast
Grab 7?
Beschlag (2 St.); Dat.: 1. H. 5. Jh.?
Anthroplog. Bef.: o. anthropolog. Bef.
Mat.: Bz mit Au-Blech; Gest. Bart: Kinnbart
ohne sicheren Grabzusammenhang.
Lit.: *Zasetskaya 1975* Kat. Nr. 82; *Zasetskaya 1994* Taf. 6.3, 4; *Bóna 1991* 236 Abb. 9.5, 6; *Istvánovits – Kulcsár 1997* Taf. 10.5, 6, 11.1–2.

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ABBILDUNGEN

Abb. 1. Verbreitung von Ansichtsmasken aus Preßblech in germanischem und reiternomadischem Milieu. Quadrate: Ende 2. u. 3. Jh.; Rauten: 4. Jh.; Kreise: Ende 4./5. Jh. Nachweis s. Fundliste.

Abb. 2. Germanische Ansichtsmasken mit Bart. 1–6 Illerup; 1. Typ A1; 2. Typ C; 3. Typ B2; 4. Typ B1. 5–6. Typ B3; 7. Vimose. Nachweis s. Fundliste. Versch. M.

Abb. 3. Bartlose Ansichtsmasken aus südskandinavischen Moorfunden. 1. Thorsberg, Scheibe 1 mit Darstellungen aus dem bacchantischen Kreis; 2. Illerup, Ansichtsmaske mit der Darstellung Alexander des Großen. Nachweis s. Fundliste. Versch. M.

Abb. 4. Ansichtsmasken auf Fibeln A 216/217 aus Frauengräbern. 1. Havor, Grab 113; 2. Weklice, Fs. 7, Grab 150; 3. Slusegård, Grab 600. 4. Skandinavische bartlose Ansichtsmaske aus dem Männergrab von Uggeløse/Kirkebakkegård; Nachweis s. Fundliste. Versch. M.

Abb. 5. Ansichtsmasken mit Bärten aus Ungarn. 1. Interscisa; 2. Szentes-Nagyhegy Grab 20 (Zeichnung: M. Krause, Marburg); Ansichtsmaske aus Masłomęcz (die Zeichnung wurde freundlicherweise von A. Kokowski [Lublin] zur Verfügung gestellt. Nachweis s. Fundliste. Versch. M.

Abb. 6. Ansichtsmasken aus hunnischem bzw. reiternomadischem Milieu. 1. Engels/Pokrovsk, Kurgan 17; 2. Kumbulta-Werchnjaja Rutha; 4. Pokrovsk, Kurgan beim Sowchos „Woschod"; 5. Novogrigorievka. 6. Novogrigorievka; 7. Wladimirskoie; alle nach *Bóna 1991*, 236 Abb. 9.

Alice M. Choyke

BONE SKATES: RAW MATERIAL, MANUFACTURING AND USE

Introduction

Animal bone has been used regularly as a raw material for toolsand ornaments since the appearance of anatomically modern humans about 35,000 years ago until the present time. The natural shapes of bone, their hardness and other physical properties have always been exploited by tool makers whether they were made into hide scrapers, needles or decorative objects.

Skates and runners are among the few types of bone artifacts which survived until medieval times and even in relatively recent, ethnographic periods in some parts of Europe. On the other hand, they are not typically found in prehistoric assemblages otherwise known for their high degree of sophisticated use of bone/antler in manufacturing tools and ornaments. However, it seems that in some parts of Europe skates have been used since the Bronze Age.[1]

In the past there has some confusion in the identification of these classes of tool, probably resulting from the fact that the researchers were so far removed themselves from the use of bone for skates or runners, being accustomed to the idea of metal runners. There is also a problem that thee are other tools with very similar morphology which never the less have totally different functions. Most commonly these skates/runners are confused with beamers for leather scraping[2]. Neolithic bone beamers made on cattle or red deer metapodia even display longitudinal striations but these are related to re-sharpening the facets with flint tools and not to contact with ice. While the dorsopalmar surfaces of beamers may be flat initially they quickly grow concave. The mediolateral sides are also frequently used. Some similar artifacts from the early Medieval period in the Carpathian Basin take the form of fish-net weights.[3] These objects are drilled through the epiphyses of horse metapodia either in a mediolateral or anterior-posterior direction but lack facetting. Ethnographic parallels to these artifacts may be found even today in Eastern Hungary among fisher folk.[4] MacGregor[5] has demonstrated that the wear observed on the facets of skates is directly related to the way they were used on ice, which given the differences in raw material, form and attachment, necessarily differ in the way metal blades are used.

The bone implements presented here originate from long bones of large ungulates that have been transformed into skates or runners for use in sport or travel over ice. Information on how these objects may have been used comes from

[1] *MacGregor 1985* 143.
[2] *Semenov 1964.*
[3] *Herman 1885.*
[4] *Siklódi 1996* 74.
[5] *MacGregor 1975* 385–390.

a variety of written, iconographic, historic and ethnographic sources. This brief review is devoted to the evaluation of the occurrence of skates and runners in the Carpathian Basin with reference to other European finds.

Raw material and manufacturing

The choice of raw materials is an important, culturally idiosyncratic step within the manufacturing continuum related both to function and stylistic choice. Bone, in general, is a solid and resilient material that is resistant to high pressure and but can be relatively easily worked. The practical advantage of using bone skates especially is summarized by Olaus Magnus,[6] the 16th century Catholic archbishop of Uppsala as follows:

„... those are equipped with deer leg bones, broadly filed off at the sole and greased with pork fat, since the thus treated leg bones are not hindered or limited in their travel by frozen droplets, which in hefty cold rise from the pores of ice, the same way as is the case with iron that can be never as polished or so well greased. Therefore no lubrication can be as good for iron as the grease on the bones of deer or cattle which have a slippery quality by nature".[7]

In contrast, however, with this extremely important quote, however, bone skates (and runners) seem to be predominantly made from long bones, especially metacarpals of horse.

There are a number of reasons why horse metapodia were most frequently used for skates and runners. In the first place, these bones are more symetrically tubular than those of cattle or red deer. Secondly, since horse was not eaten in Roman or medieval times in the Carpathian Basin their intact bones would be more available compared to those from other large species. Cattle metapodia were often fractured in these later periods to extract the marrow. Hunting was extremely limited in most of these late (rural/urban) communities from which skates are known so that no bone skates made from red deer are known from Hungary.

All long bones which can be used in the manufacture of skates or runners usually have a D-shaped cross-section. The dorsal (that is, the anterior) surface of these long bones, shaped like an arched „belly", is usually carved or chopped flat to rest flush on the ice, while the flat, palmar surface is retained to serve as a foothold. This surface is sometimes covered with rough transverse chop marks to increase friction and thus improve the foothold. In the Carpathian Basin the anterior surface of the epiphyses are frequently carved to create an upswept appearance. Strap holes are only rarely found and these are always horizontally through the toe. In general, it can be said that in comparison with skates from Northern Europe, skates from Hungary are not so heavily modified. The medullary cavity was never exposed. Further, skates here are rarely re-carved or otherwise curated. Sled runners may be drilled vertically though both ends of the bone for the purposes of mounting the legs of the sled, probably some sort of stool-like wooden structure. These holes may extend partially or completely into the bone.

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[6] *Olaus Magnus* I/25, *1976* 57.

[7] Translated from Swedish by L. Bartosiewicz.

The mode of manufacturing such skates may be reconstructed using a modern ethnographic analogy.[8] The simple process of carving skates was explained by a child in Gyergyóújfalu (Suseni, Rumania), at the beginning of the 20th century as follows:[9]

„When the two front leg bones dried, I took an ax and hacked it in front and back to form a sole, then I hacked it obliquely in front and back where my toes and heel would fit – and here, where it is a bit elevated like a backbone, I drilled the bone through, because you see, this is where the string is threaded through, well... you see, young mister, the string up front is pulled over my boots or moccasin while the ones in the back are tied across my ankles... however, when the runner is really good and bent a little bit upwards, it does not even have to be tied."

This shows that manufacture of even relatively elaborate skates was not a particularly complicated project so that even bigger children could do it. Since natural bone grease actually enhances the use of bone for skates it is unlikely whether once the bone was taken from the carcasses whether it underwent further processing such as boiling, something otherwise assumed in the processing of other types of artifacts. Making the basic type of these artifacts would have been even simpler. Manufacturing can be reconstructed on the basis of simple Sarmatian specimens as follows although these observations can be applied to bone skates from all time periods in the Carpathian Basin:

Figure 1 shows the schematic representation of a horse's metacarpal bone, with the most typical, minimal modifications performed during the manufacturing of a simple skate. First the rudimentary 2nd and 4th metacarpal spurs are removed (arrow in *Fig. 1*), then the dorsal end of bone's distal end is carved into an upward bending curve. The (anatomically) dorsal „ice" surface of the bone is usually carved flat, but this is also the part of the bone that is also exposed to continuous use wear, sometimes until the bone thins down to the point where it breaks. Probably many skates were actually disgarded where they fell apart and not brought back to the village since they were not curated into other tools.

Use wear on the volar surface facet produces a facet of varying width, tending to become broader as the skate was used. Faint polish also may occur on the palmar surface where the foot was in contact with the bone. Under a light microscope striations of varying widths and more irregular than flint striations. The striations derive from irregularities and pieces of grit if various diameters on the surface of the ice. The striations differe from those found on the bottom of modern skate runners because the foot is never lifted the skate and the skate itself is never lifted from the ice. Also, unlike modern skates only one skate was used rather than a pair.

More sophisticated skates as well as all runners from later medieval and modern contexts were drilled in transversal directions for the purposes of fastening. In general terms one may say that skates were perforated all the way through on their „sides" mediolaterally, i. e. parallel to the ice surface (such holes served to strap the toes skate). Runners, on the other hand, tend to have been drilled half way through

[8] *Kovács 1908* 19.
[9] Quoted by *Petényi 1994* 111.

in a dorso-palmar direction that was perpendicular to the ice. Legs or pegs for attachment were fitted within these holes created on the bones' ,,upper'', palmar/plantar surface.

Roman Period skates

While no prehistoric skates have yet been unambiguously recognized in archaeological assemblages from Hungary, archaeologically skating definitely precedes the best known, medieval period. These types of artifacts occurred regularly since Roman times in the Carpathian Basin,[10] especially from the AD 3rd century onwards east of the Danube in Sarmatian territory. Bone skates are hardly ever found in the Roman occupied territory of Pannonia, west of the Danube.

Questions revolving around raw material selection, manufacturing techniques and the way the earliest types of skates were used, may be partially answered on the basis of the unusually great number of bone skates from the Sarmatian site of Gyoma 133 located in the southeastern section of the Great Hungarian Plain.[11]

With two exceptions the skates from this site were made from the third metacarpal bone of domestic horse. These bones appear to have been carefully extracted from the carcass of the dead horse perhaps together with the skin. Horse meat was not consumed by the Sarmatians.

These 34 specimens offered an opportunity for quantifying the degree of bone modification in the case of skates. While the natural width of these bones remains largely unaltered, the dorsopalmar thickness of worked specimens was compared to the natural measurement taken from intact horse metacarpal bones from the same site. The thickness of both proximal (*Fig. 2*) and distal ends *(Fig. 3*) was thus expressed as the percent of the average unworked bone found in the site's refuse material.

In the two graphs presented in *Figures 2* and *3* one can see that human modification has largely obliterated the largely linear relationship between the width and thickness of epiphyses on either end of the metacarpus. Extreme thinning (skate thickness F% of natural size) is common on both ends of the skate. Transitional specimens (skate thickness P% of natural size) were observed relatively rarely. The loss of thickness due to human modification (by both manufacturing and use wear) seems to be less pronounced on the bone's distal end which seems to be less reduced (skate thickness Z% of natural size). Due to the natural shape of the metacarpus, this bone becomes more robust in a proximal direction, therefore, more of its dorsal surface must be carved away to produce a skate of even thickness (c. f. *Fig. 1*). It is also possible that subsequent use wear is also heavier under the heel of the skater which is positioned at this end of the bone.

With appropriate balancing, however, skates without any sort of fastening could be kept under the foot by the sheer pressure exerted by the foot on the bone's rough palmar/plantar surface as the skater propelled him/herself along

[10] *Choyke 1989* 626.
[11] *Choyke 1996.*

with a pointed pole.[12] It is remarkable that bone is used to produce mostly ornaments, parts of complex mechanisms or very specific, relatively elaborate utensils simple tools utilizing the natural form of bones become relatively rare by the Roman Period. However, some crudely made, heavy, evidently hafted bone points have been found in Sarmatian contexts. Although there is no direct evidence available to support this hypothesis, one may speculate whether these crude points or „points of digging sticks" were used to strengthen the working ends of poles used in skating.

Medieval skates

Skating as a popular pastime is related in Fitz Stevens' 1180 „Description of London"[13] as follows:

„When the Great Fenne or Moore (which watereth the walls of the citie on the North side) is frozen, many young men play on the yce... some tye bones to their feet and under their heels, and showing themselves with a little picked staffe do slide as swiftlie as a birde flyeth in the aire or an arrow out of a cross-bow".

Indeed, fragments of medieval bone skates and runners have often been found in the places of former moat, such as the 11th-12th century specimens recovered from Potzlow – Burgwall[14] and have been used since the Roman Iron Age in Scandinavia.[15]

A 13th century horse metacarpus preform and a broken skate were found under the floor level in Pit 19 at the site of Vác-Music School.[16] Such early medieval parallels from the Period of the Árpád Dynasty were found, among other places, at the rural sites of the Great Hungarian Plain.[17] Those skates are very similar to their 3–4th century, unperforated Sarmatian forerunners.[18]

The ancient, undrilled type survived into the late 19th century. As Herman wrote in 1885:

„Bone skates exist even today. The children of the poor in Szeged, Zenta, Doroszló and other places merrily slide on them. These specimens usually show no sign of drilling...".[19]

Apparently children in Eastern Hungary were still using such skates after World War II.[20]

To date, drilled medieval specimens in Hungary have been found in Esztergom[21] as well as a medieval context in Budapest. Here, two bone skate fragments

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[12] *Ortutay 1977* 638.

[13] after *Halstead – Middleton 1972* 61.

[14] *Herman 1980* 53, Figure 22.

[15] *MacGregor 1985* 144.

[16] *Bartosiewicz 1995* Plate 16, bottom left.

[17] e. g. Doboz, Endrőd 170, Kardoskút, Tiszaeszlár – Bashalom, Tiszalök – Rázom, and Túrkeve – Móric.

[18] *Choyke 1996*.

[19] *Herman 1885* 164–165.

[20] János Makkay, personal communication.

[21] *Petényi 1994* 117, Figure XXIX.

made from horse metatarsal bones came from an Árpad period pit from excavations on Otto Korvin square. These specimens were drilled through the toe end.

Unfortunately, no contemporary picture of how these Hungarian bone skates were fastened is known. Reconstruction using analogy from Hungarian ethnographic sources is based on a type[22] which has not yet come to light at medieval sites in Hungary.

Runners

In the German provinces, horse metapodia were used as sledge runners. In some cases, they were pegged on wooden stools[23] such as one of the specimens described from Salzkammergut.[24] The other specimen, with three runners mounted on the bottom of a boat-shaped plank, bears striking resemblance to another sled from Burge (Gotland) that was fitted with three cattle metapodia.[25] A similar, „Luschan-type" horse bone sled runner[26] was also found in 14th century Leiden.[27] Although many sledge runners were made from metapodia, horse radii are often used as a raw material for larger medieval runners.[28] In fact, metapodia may have been more a preferred raw material for skates: only 7 of the 44 bone „skates" recovered from the 10–11th century layers of York were drilled in a dorsopalmar direction,[29] that would be indicative of their use as sled runners.

Bone, in general, was such a good raw material for this purpose that, according to the following quote by Ranke,[30] they were widely spread even in the last century:

„Schlitten deren Kufen man nicht mit Eisen, sondern mit Knochen unterlegte, sogenannte Beinschlitten, waren im Anfang des Jahrhunderts [19th] vielfach und weitverbreitet im Gebrauche und sind es zum Theile Heute noch".

In connection with these sleds it is worth remembering Clason's observation that in Graubünden sleds with bone runners were used in transporting hay. In fact, such devices may have been used on snow as well as earth surfaces.[31]

Mandibula sleds

Finally, a special form of sled must be mentioned. this particular type is made from the paired mandibulae of oxen, with a simple wooden seat put across the cheektooth row. This type was mentioned from Pomerania (today NW Poland)[32] and the province of Brandenburg (Arswald, Neumark) where it was told

[22] *Herman 1902* Figures 2–3.
[23] *Halstead – Middleton 1972* 61.
[24] Shown by *Herman 1980* 49, Fig. 19.
[25] *Clason 1978* Fig. 6.
[26] *Herman 1908*.
[27] *Van Wijngaarden-Bakker 1980* 46, Afb. 2.
[28] *Kassai – Takács 1985* 853; *Pálóczi Horváth 1989* 114; *Becker 1991* 22; *Choyke 1996*.
[29] *Radley 1971* 55.
[30] Quoted by *Herman 1980* 43.
[31] *Clason 1978* 295.
[32] *Halstead – Middleton 1972* 61.

to have been still in use at the end of the last century.[33] This apparently northern „know how" is neatly depicted on an 1558 etching by Pieter Bruegel the Elder (*Fig. 4*) in a scene among skaters swarming on the ice of the moat that „*watereth the walls of the citie*" of Antwerpen at George's Gate.[34] None of the other skates in this picture, however, seem to be made from bone. This type of runner was apparently unknown in the Carpathian Basin however a number of horse mandibulae with polished lower margins have been found at a Roman Period site in Switzerland.[35] One suggestion for their function may be as some kind of skate or sledge runner.

Conclusions

It is problably no accident that skates and sledge runners in Hungary are first found in the flat marshy countryside east of the Danube river. Some form of reliable transportation during the winter months would have been very useful indeed between encampments or villages. Since it appears that Sarmatian settlements were leass complex and permenant than those of their sophisticated Roman neighbors to the west it stands to reason that lines of communication were also less elaborate. The Romans themselves, with their organized road network between their towns and military installations (forts and fortlets) would have been far less need to rely on skates or runners. Later on, in the medieval period to the present, it seems these objects were more important as pieces of sporting equipment in the towns and only a minor means of transport in the countryside.

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CAPTIONS

Fig. 1. Dorsal, palmar and lateral views of an intact horse 3rd metacarpus (top row, left to right) and the basic modifications carried out during skate manufacturing (horizontal specimen).

Fig. 2. Worked proximal dimensions of Sarmatian skates.

Fig. 3. Worked distal dimensions of Sarmatian skates.

Fig. 4. Mandibula sled depicted by Pieter Bruegel the Elder.

Katalin Csontos

PANNONIAN PLATED FIBULAS

Propeller-shaped and elongated hexagonal brooches, ones decorated with embossed bronze plates and plain ones with arched sides appeared on the shoulders of the native women depicted on Pannonian stone monuments instead of or together with the winged brooches. Until recently, they could only be observed on a few stone monuments but the excavations in Fejér county in the 1960's and 1970' yielded more and more monuments with such brooch representations. Jenő Fitz summed up and described them in details under the name 'bow brooches'.[1]

Further research revealed that similar brooches could be seen on several earlier discovered stone monuments, which had either not been discussed or had been misinterpreted.

In small the find material, this brooch type was first recognised in the second half of the 30's when the Hungarian National Museum bought a pair of brooches decorated with embossed bronze plates from Brigetio (Szőny) (Cat. No. 3, *Pl. IV/1*).[2] A plain, undecorated brooch with double arched sides was also known from the find material in the Szekszárd Museum. A brooch with double arched sides, decorated with an embossed bronze plate was found in one of the tumuli during the excavations at Felsőcikola in the 50's (Cat. No. 1, *Pl. IV/2*).[3] The analysis of this piece revealed that one of the tumuli excavated at Pátka by Flóris Rómer also had contained a brooch fragment of a similar shape (Cat. No. 4, *Pl. IV/4*).[4] The Mány brooch pair came from authentic excavations (Cat. No. 2, *Pl. IV/5*).[5] A brooch with a similar shape but with an open-work decoration was found during the excavations of the Matrica (Százhalombatta) cemetery in the 70's (Cat. No. 5, *Pl. IV/6*).[6] The most recent item, a brooch with double vaulted sides, coated with an embossed bronze plate, was unearthed during the excavations of the Lussonium (Dunakömlőd) fort (Cat. No. 6, *Pl. IV/3*).[7]

The depictions on stone monuments and the bronze brooches from authentic excavations or as stray finds suggest that this brooch type with several varieties was popular among the native women. As it has already been stated by Jenő Fitz, such brooches are only known, as yet, from the territory of Pannonia.

Earlier research called these brooches plated- or bow-brooches. In the followings, the term plated brooch will be used with the description of the characteristics of the varieties.

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[1] *Fitz 1957* 133–151.
[2] *Barkóczi 1994* 59–60.
[3] *Bónis 1975* 248.
[4] *ibid.*
[5] *Petres 198*, 98.
[6] *Topál 1981* 93.
[7] Zsolt Visy's excavations. The items of the costume were analysed by Mária Seres. I would like to express my gratitude for allowing the publication of the item.

The first variety is a plain, undecorated brooch with double arched sides. From among the depictions on stone monuments, this type can be seen on the shoulders of the woman on the left side of a tombstone from Intercisa (Cat. no. 14, *Pl. I/2*). The other female figure, at the same time, wears a winged brooch. The brooch of the woman depicted on a tombstone from Felsődörgicse also belongs in this variety (Cat. No. 9, *Pl. III/4*). The fragment of a grave statue deserves special attention. Its photo was found in the Photo Archives of the Aquincum Museum (Cat. No. 19, *Pl. I/1*). Two plain, undecorated brooches with double arched sides can be seen on the finely carved statue, or rather only its fragment by now. The provenance of the grave statue and its present location are unknown. Stylistic features suggest that the statue or the fragment was found somewhere in Fejér county.

This type of the plain, undecorated brooches was represented with only one piece in the small find material in the Szekszárd Museum having a pin with a spring on the backside (Cat. No. 7).[8]

On a variety of the former brooch, the meeting point of the two arches is rounded creating a central field and the surface is coated with a densely embossed bronze plate. Frames of a string of beads, cord ornament are characteristic decorative elements, and also Medusa head depictions, multi-petalled rosettes and garlands in the centre. Leaf pattern, busts and cicada pattern are frequent under and above the central ornament. The decoration of the brooches is colourful. The brooches from Brigetio (Cat. No. 3, *Pl. IV/1)*, Mány (Cat. No. 2, *Pl. IV/5*), Pátka (Cat. No. 4, *Pl. IV/4*), Felsőcikola (Cat. No. 1, *Pl. IV/2*) and Lussonium (Cat. No. 6, *Pl. IV/3*) were grouped here together with the brooch of the woman on a stele with two figures from Intercisa (Cat. No. 11, *Pl. III/2*) and the brooch of the grave statue from Ercsi (Cat. No. 17, *Pl. III/3*).

The third variety, which can be seen on a stone monument from Székesfehérvár, is also related to the former ones. It is a brooch with simple arched sides, decorated with a dot series within a framed field (Cat. No. 18, *Pl. II/4*).

The elongated hexagonal brooches can be grouped in the fourth variety. The brooch from the Intercisa fragmentary stone monument (Cat. No. 12, *Pl. I/4*), the ones on the Pilisszántó (Cat. No. 10, *Pl. I/3*), the Gorsium (Cat. No. 15, *Pl. III/1*) and the Mursa (Cat. No. 8, *Pl. II/1*) tombstones with two figures and also the brooch depiction with a geometric ornament on the fragmentary tombstone from Lepsény (Cat. No. 16, *Pl. II/2*, *Pl. VII/2*) belong in this group.

The propeller-shaped brooch on a tombstone from Intercisa (Cat. No. 13, *Pl. II/3*) is totally different from the former ones.

The Százhalombatta brooch is again different with an umbo in the centre and an open-work ornament (Cat. No. 5, *Pl. IV/6*).

The stone monuments with these brooch depictions came from the first half of the 2nd century and the plated brooches from the Felsőcikola and the Pátka tumuli can be dated to the same period. Only the Lepsény and the Székesfehérvár stone monuments do not fit into this period. The woman on the Lepsény fragment

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[8] L. Barkóczi's kind oral communication.

wears a Roman dress without a turban. The portrait features of the Székesfehérvár woman also refer to a later period. Both cases imply that similar brooches occurred later as well.

The same may be supposed in the case of the above brooches as in that of the winged brooches, namely that the antecedents are to be found in an earlier period, to which, however, there is no evidence. The mount type with arched sides was known in the Roman Empire in a smaller size and in different varieties and they can mostly be attributed to the early military belt mounts. This is supported by the known belt mounts and the same is suggested by the propeller-shaped brooch on the Intercisa stone (Cat. No. 13, *Pl. II/3*) which appears as a belt mount on another tombstone[9] (Cat. No. 11, *Pl. III/2*).

A belt mount in the Hungarian National Museum with two knobs on the backside (*Pl. V/1*) may be cited to the first variety of the brooches. A similar mount with a double arch can be observed among the belt mounts in Aquincum,[10] Zugmantel[11] (*Pl. V/3*) and Porolissum[12] (*Pl. V/2*). The belt mount with arched sides and niello decoration from Szalacska[13] (*Pl. V/4*) can also be found in a smaller size among the military belt mounts from the above mentioned locations.

The single arched shape and its varieties can also be found as belt mounts in Porolissum (*Pl. V/9*) and in Germania (*Pl. V/10–11*) and similar ones can also be found among mounts with enamel decoration. Disregarding the early shields, the shape of the elongated hexagonal brooches can be compared to harness elements. A mount perhaps from a harness in Aquincum[14] *(Pl. V/7)* may be cited and the harness mount from Bulgaria[15] (*Pl. V/5*) offers another good analogue. A hexagonal belt mount was found in Osterburken[16] (*Pl. V/8*). From among the enamelled mounts, a Sirmium item[17] (*Pl. V/6*) seems to be nearly identical with the brooch on the Lepsény stone monument. Even if they are not direct analogues, we may mention the vertical diamond-shaped bronze and enamelled brooches.[18] Propeller-shaped brooches can also be found in a smaller size among enamelled products.

The Százhalombatta brooch displays a specific shape and the analogues cannot be found among the belt mounts. The shape is analogous to the harness divider found in the same cemetery[19] and some parts of decorative armours may also have provided ideas to the producers of the brooches.

It is probable that the belt mounts were also used as brooches in their original, smaller shapes. In the course of time, these plain mounts became larger,

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[9] *Barkóczi 1994* 60; *Bullinger 1969* Taf. LXVII/1.

[10] *I. K. P. 1995* 44., Cat. no. 83.

[11] *Oldenstein 1977* Taf. 65/854

[12] *Gudea 1989* CCVIII/16.

[13] *Darnay 1910* 28; *Hekler 1910* 242–249; *Paulovics 1953* 115-

[14] Patrice Bertin's excavation, Budaújlak, 1996. I would like to thank her for allowing the publication of the item.

[15] *Vasilev 1995* 446–449.

[16] *Oldenstein 1977* Taf. 59/741

[17] *Sellye 1939* Pl. VII/8

[18] *Sellye 1939* Pl. VII/13–14. Pl. XII.

[19] *Topál 1981* Pl. LXIII/9.

their surfaces were decorated with embossed bronze plates and they were glued to the plain plate with some resinous material. Decoration is various. As it has already been mentioned, string of beads and the cord frames can be found similarly to Medusa heads, rosettes, leaves and cicadas. Each brooch or brooch pair is a unique product.

Pendant ornament can be observed on the brooches on the Gorsium, one of the Intercisa and on the Ercsi grave statues. A similar pendant decoration is frequent of eastern pendants, brooches and chains.[20] A good analogue in the vicinity is provided by the triangular brooch with a triple pendant on a stone monument from Slovenia.[21]

Two brooches (Felsőcikola, Lussonium) display cicada patterns. Cicada is also met as an independent brooch type. Cicada brooches came from authentic excavations from tumulus No. 54 at Pátka,[22] in the cemeteries of Csákvár and Intercisa,[23] and also from the late layers of the Mithreum in the civil town of Aquincum.[24] Several similar brooches are also known from the area of Gorsium and Aquincum. The Gorsium items came from the territory of the town and there is nothing to attest to their late dating. These brooches can also be found in Sarmatian territory, in the neighbourhood of Pannonia (e. g. Öcsöd),[25] and another brooch with cicada decoration was found in Augusta Raurica.[26] The cicada in the catalogue of the Pápa high school collection may be mentioned separately. It was made of bone and shows an identical shape to the cicada depiction on the Felsőcikola brooch.[27] The depictions on the plated brooches and the item from the tumulus certainly imply that these are early cicadas. Formerly, the wide-winged cicadas were interpreted as late types although both the measurements and the shapes of the late 'Hun' cicadas are different.

Beside the earlier cited notes and opinions, the early occurrence of the cicadas may perhaps be related to the early Roman brooches with animal depictions. To a better prospect of the topic, however, the whole material has to be collected and the provenance circumstances analysed in details. (All these will be discussed in another study.)

Cicada brooches and cicada depictions can be observed in a wider range, while the enlarged belt and harness mounts appearing on the costume of native women as brooches are Pannonian specialities.[28] They occur in NE Pannonia, more exactly in Fejér county and its direct vicinity. They could only be produced where there was a military garrison. The type rarely occurs on the limes. Regarding the centre of Fejér county, only the inner camp of Gorsium can be considered

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[20] *Ingholt 1928* XIII/1–4, XV/1.

[21] *Ferri 1993* Fig. 146., 150; *Šašel Kos 1997* 295–298.

[22] *Bónis 1975* 248

[23] *Salamon 1976* Taf. 33.4; *Salamon – Barkóczi 19781979* 80. Taf. 50.2.

[24] *T. Nagy 1943* 389 Fig. 28.

[25] *Vaday 1989* 96. Kat. 225/7, T. 76,8, Abb. 19/8.

[26] *Riha 1979* 18, Abb. 3.

[27] *Borsos 1899* 29. The fibula is part of the Sárközy collection and came from the region of Brigetio. A fly-shaped gilded fibula with blue enamel is mentioned at the same place under the number E 94. Its length was 1.9 cm.

[28] *Fitz 1957* 133–151.

where there existed a plank camp as early as the 1st century. Based on stone remains from Tác and elsewhere in Fejér county, the native population had a strong contact with the Romans as cart drivers and artisans.

The place of production of the brooches might have been next to the military garrison in Gorsium or somewhere in the vicinity. They were probably made in a workshop where winged brooches were also produced.

The initially plain brooches were later covered with embossed bronze plates which indicates a higher technical skill.

The change is also demonstrated by the fact that some brooches were completed with pendant ornaments. It fits the Slovenian brooch depiction. Its triangular shape together with the pendant ornament can be observed on stone monuments from Palmyra, and the water deities in Gorsium also point towards East.[29] It may be supposed that the workshop where the brooches were produced was effected by a new, technically higher influence generating more decoration.

Regarding the new workshop practice, we may mention the richly decorated brooch pair from Pátka, also Fejér county,[30] which is unique in itself. We do not know how it is connected to the workshop of our brooches. We cannot disregard the Pannonian glazed pan handles from the 2nd century where the similar decoration shows relation to the brooches covered with embossed bronze plates.[31]

Anyhow, we can say that significant local metalworking craft is to be supposed in the 2nd century, the knowledge of which may further be enlarged by additional detailed studies.[32]

CATALOGUE OF PLAQUE BROOCHES

1. **Felsőcikola**, tumulus No. 1. (*PL. IV/2*)
M: 10.1 cm.
A plated brooch with double arched sides, covered with a bronze plate and with an iron support. Decoration: A string of beads on the outer edge and a leaf series motive inside it, a female portrait on the upper part, a circular string of beads in the centre with two rings under and above it and cicada on the lower part of the brooch. There is some kind of mass between the thin bronze plate and the iron support. The pin structure was separately soldered to it.
Ref: *Bónis 1975* 248, Fig. 6.; *Bónis 1977* 35, Abb. 1.

2. **Mány**, grave 5. (*Pl. IV/5*)
M: 9 cm
A plated brooch pair with double arched sides. They are both covered with a bronze plate on an iron support. Both brooches are framed at the edge with strings of beads and series of leaves. A female portrait can be seen in the upper part of one of the brooches, there is a eight-petalled rosette in the centre and a drop-shaped decoration

[29] *Fitz 1976.*
[30] *Kovrig 1937* 10–11, Pl. XXI.
[31] See *Barkóczi 1992* 7–35; *Topál 1995* 101–113.
[32] I am grateful to Dr. László Barkóczi for his useful pieces of advice to this paper.

within the frame of a string of beads. The other brooch has a similar decoration but, being fragmentary, the female depiction is missing.
Ref.: *Petres 1965* 87–102, figs 26, 33.

3. **Szőny**, purchased (*Pl. IV/1*)
M: 10 cm.
A plated brooch with double arched sides. The lead core is covered with a bronze plate. The catchplate is made of iron, the pin is missing. The edge of the brooch is decorated with a string of beads followed by a leaf-series motive from the inside. There is a Medusa head in the centre, a dressed female figure in the upper part and a female portrait in the lower part. Originally it was a pair, the other one disappeared after the 2nd World War.
Ref.: *Barkóczi 1994* 59–60.

4. **Pátka**, tumulus No. 56 (*Pl. IV/4*)
Fragment of a plated brooch with double arched sides. There is a female figure in the upper part. The brooch is framed with a string of beads.
Ref: *Bónis 1975* 248, fig. 7,2.

5. **Százhalombatta**, grave 107 (*Pl. IV/6*)
M: 10.8 cm
Bronze bow brooch, open-work decoration. The catchplate is made of iron, the pin is missing.
Ref.: *Topál 1981* 93–94, Pl. 63.

6. **Dunakömlőd**, stray find (*Pl. IV/3*)
M: 7.8 cm
A plated brooch with double arched sides covered with a bronze plate. The catchplate is made of iron, the pin is missing. The brooch is framed by a cord ornament, a circle of cord ornament can be seen in the centre and cicadas in the upper and lower parts.

7. **Szekszárd environs**
M: cca 10 cm
A plated brooch with double arched sides, the whole was cast of bronze. The surface was totally plain, both the catchplate and the pin were intact.

PLATED BROOCHES ON STONE MONUMENTS

8. **Mursa** (*Pl. II/1*) middle, second half of the 2nd century
Present location: Zagreb, Arheološki Muzej
M: 172 x 83 x 24 cm
A tombstone with the figures of a couple. There is an elongated hexagonal brooch pair on the shoulders of the woman and a necklace round her neck with a round pendant.

Inscription: *T(itus) Aur(elius) Avitus/ vet(eranus) leg(ionis) II Adi(utricis)/ an(norum) LXXVI vivos/ sibi et Ulpiae Appianae con/iugi pientissimae/ vivi posue/ru[nt].*
Ref: CIL III 3283; *Brunšmid 1909* 167–169, No. 362, fig. 362; *Schober 1923* 118, fig 132, 260; *Fitz 1957*, 151, 108; *Dautova-Rusevljan 1983* 24, Pl. 2:2, 136.

9. **Felsődörgicse** (*Pl. III/4*) 2nd century
Present location: Tihany Museum
H: 120 cm, W: 86.5 cm, Th.: 24 cm
The tombstone is composed of two fields. There are three figures in the upper field. The woman has a cap on her head, a torque round the neck and bow brooches on her shoulders. Reddish lilac sandstone. According to Garbsch, the brooch can be grouped in type A236(?).
Ref: *Hampel 1892* 68–69; *Kuzsinszky 1920* 153–154, fig. 193; *Fitz 1957* 149,59; *Garbsch 1965* 152, No. 113; *Palágyi 1976*, Cat. No. 32.

10. **Pilisszántó** (*Pl. I/3*) 2nd century
Present location: Hungarian National Museum,
H: 125 cm, W: 81.5 cm, Th.: 15.5 cm
The tombstone of a couple. The woman has a kerchief on her head, a belt round her waist and plain, undecorated elongated hexagonal brooches on her shoulders. Garbsch grouped the brooches in type A238. Neither Fitz defined them as bow brooches while Lajos Nagy simply described them as large-shaped brooches.
Ref: *L. Nagy 1946* 7–8, fig. 2; *Garbsch 1965* 158, No. 141/1; *Fitz 1957* 148, No. 31.

1. **Intercisa** (*Pl. III/2*) 2nd century
Present location: Hungarian National Museum
H: 124 cm, W: 61 cm, Th: 16 cm
Fragment of a tomb stele with a man and a woman figure on his left. There is a plated brooch with double arched sides and three pendants on the shoulder of the woman. She wears globular earrings in her ears, a round medal hangs from her necklace and there is a belt round her waist decorated with mounts similar to the brooch. The brooch is perhaps decorated with a cicada (?).
Ref.: *Oroszlán 1927* 57–60; *Intercisa I*, 242, Pl. 32:4, 61; *Fitz 1957* 150, 76; *Barkóczi 1994* 59–60, Pl: 3:1–2.

12. **Intercisa** (*Pl. I/4*) second half of the 2nd century
Present location: Hungarian National Museum
L: 54 cm, W: 90 cm, Th: 22 cm
Fragment of a tomb stele with the figures of two women and a man. There are elongated hexagonal brooches on the shoulders of the woman sitting in the centre. She wears a necklace with a discoid ornament and a medal.
Ref.: *Intercisa I* 254, Pl. 60:3, 174; *Fitz 1957* 150, 80.

13. **Intercisa** (*Pl. II/3*) 2nd century
Present location: Hungarian National Museum
L: 127 cm, W: 118 cm
Tomb stele with the seated figures of a man and two women. There are plain, propeller-shaped brooches on the shoulders of the woman on the left. She wears a kerchief on her head, earrings in her ears, and a necklace with a crescent-shaped pendant. There is a round ornament above it and discoid ornaments under the brooches.
Ref.: *Schober 1923* 130, No. 283, Fig. 149; *Intercisa I* 254, Pl. 60:2, 173; *Garbsch 1965* 152, No. 114/6; *Erdélyi 1974* 98, Fig. 134; *Barkóczi 1994* 60, Taf. 4.

14. **Intercisa** (*Pl. I/2*) 2nd century
Present location: Hungarian National Museum
H: 124 cm, W: 116 cm, Th: 22.5 cm
A tomb stele with the seated figures of two couples and a child. The woman on the left wears a kerchief on her head, earrings in her ears, plain brooches with double arched sides on her shoulders, a tight necklace with a pendant round her neck and another one with three discoid medals.
Ref: *Intercisa I* 254, Pl. 40:2, 172; *Fitz 1957* 150, 78; *Garbsch 1965* 152, No. 114/9.

15. **Gorsium** (*Pl. III/1*) 2nd century
Present location: Gorsium Museum
Tombstone with the depiction of a mother and the daughter. The mother wears a turban on her head, a torque with a medal round her neck, a pair of elongated hexagonal brooches on her shoulders with two and three pendants. The edges of the brooches are decorated with cord ornament, the centre is occupied by an embossed ornament. The daughter wears a head-dress, a torque with a medal round her neck and a pair of elongated hexagonal brooches on her shoulders. Both wear bracelets on the wrists. Inscription: *D(is) M(anibus) / P(ublius) Ael(ius) Respectus / dec(urio)mun(icipii) u(iuus) f(ecit) s(ibi) / et Vlp(iae) Amasiae / coniugi Aelia /Materio fil(ia) / ann(orum) X h(ic) s(ita) e(st) / Parentes t(itulum) m(emoriae) p(osuerunt)*
Ref: *Fitz 1976* 68, No. 7. Pl. 27; *Garbsch 1965* 161, No. 154/2.

16. **Lepsény** (*Pl. II/2; Pl. VII/2*) 2nd century
Present location: Székesfehérvár, Szent István Király Museum
M: 68 x 83 x 22 cm
A fragmentary tombstone with the figure of a woman on the left side. Her hair is divided in the middle, wears a loose tunic-shaped dress, a kerchief is folded over her arm and there is an elongated hexagonal brooch on her shoulder with a geometrical decoration.

17. **Ercsi** (*Pl. III/3*) 2nd century
Present location: Székesfehérvár, Szent István Király Museum
M: 156 x 58 x 33 cm

The grave statue of a woman with a long necklace and decorated brooches with double arched sides on her shoulders. The edges of the brooches are framed with cord ornament. It bears a double circle motive the outer one of which is also a cord ornament. Each three pendants hang on long chains(?) from the brooches.
Ref: *Fitz 1957* 150, 88, Cat. no. 28/3, 29/2–3; *Erdélyi 1974* 98, fig. 134.

18. **Székesfehérvár** (*Pl. II/4*) 2nd century
Present location: Székesfehérvár, Szent István Király Museum
M: 98 x 101 cm
A tombstone with four figures: two bearded men, a fragmentary child head and a woman between the men. She has large plated brooches with single arched sides on her shoulders decorated with a dot series in the middle within a multiple frame.
Ref: *Erdélyi 1974* 39, fig,40; *Barkóczi 1984* 123.

19. **Unprovenanced** (*Pl. I/1; Pl. VII/1*)
The glass negative of a female statue fragment was found in the photo archives of the Aquincum Museum. The bust must have originally belonged to a grave statue. Its provenance, regrettably, could not be found out. The negative must have been made in Kuzsinszky's time.
The woman is in a native costume. There are a turban and a veil on her head and a medal hanging from her neck. The dress is fastened with plain, undecorated brooches with double arched sides. There is a broad belt round her waist. The statue must have been man-sized or even larger. Based on the costume, the statue must have stood somewhere in Fejér county.
Ref: unpublished.

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CAPTIONS

Pl. I. 1: unprovenance; 2. Intercisa; 3: Pilisszántó; 4: Intercisa

Pl. II. 1: Mursa; 2: Lepsény; 3 Intercisa; 4: Székesfehérvár

Pl. III. 1: Gorsium; 2: Intercisa; 3: Ercsi; 4: Felsődörgicse

Pl. IV. 1: Szőny; 2: Felsőcikola; 3: Dunakömlőd; 4: Pátka; 5: Mány; 6: Százhalombatta

Pl. V. 1: Belt mount – HNM; 2: belt mount – Porolissum; 3: belt mount – Zugmantel; 4: belt mount – Szalacska; 5: trappings – Bulgaria; 6: emailed mount – Sirmium; 7: trappings – Aquincum; 8:belt mount – Osterburgen; 9: belt mount – Porolissum; 10–11: belt mount – Germania.

Pl. VI. 1: Plated brooches on stone monuments:

1: unprovenance; 2: Intercisa; 3: Ercsi; 4: Pilisszántó; 5: Gorsium; 6: Mursa; 7: Lepsény; 8: Intercisa; 9: Székesfehérvár

Pl. VII. 1: Unprovenance; 2: Lepsény

János Fedak

THE PROVENANCE AND THE USE OF GRANITE COLUMNS IN ROMAN HUNGARY

Of the different types of buildings found in Roman Hungary, many had either free-standing or engaged columns. The column shafts were sometimesd composed of drums; more frequently they were monolithic, with or without *entasis*. Some of the smaller columns were carved from one single block of stone, including the capitals and the bases. A number of other columns consisted of timber;; of these only the stone bases, if anything, have survived. Columns built of bricks were usually plaster covered, like a number of well-known examples from Herculaneum and Pompeii.[1] Most of the stone columns were of local limestone, a lesser number of extant examples were of sandstone.[2]

The use of marble, and especially granite, columns was relatively rare during the approximately four hundred years of Roman occupation of Pannonia. Granite did not exist in the region and had to be imported to the province. The existence of granite columns is known only at a few sites; these include Aquincum (Budapest, Óbuda), Gorsium near the modern Hungarian city of Székesfehérvár and Savaria (Szombathely).

The question of the use of imported (grey) granite for columns was a given new impetus ba the discovery of a Hadrianic structure, called builing LXX, at Gorsium.[3] The façade of builing LXX has been almost completely excavated. Here, there are four aligned pedestals which once supported the columns of the front of the building. The two outer pedestals are diamond shaped (1.20 x 1.40 m) while the two in the middle are square and smaller in size (0.80 x 0.80 m).[4] The bonding material and the masonry work for all four bases is analogous, indicating that they were constructed at the same time.[5] The foundation stones supporting the pedestals are closely packed and carefully arranged; they go down to the depth of 1.60 m under the large outer pedestals, and to 1.0 m under the inner ones. Such an elaborate and substancial foundation beneath columns is otherwise unknown, or at lest not documented, in Pannonia.

The two pedestals to the north are preserved to all or most of their original height, while the other two on the south were partially dismantled for some yet unknown reason.

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[1] *Ward-Perkins 1985* 163, fig. 92.

[2] *Kiss 1987* 176.

[3] *Fedak 1995* 147–151.

[4] There are a few centimeters of difference between the otherwise identical bases. While the building material for the two outer (larger) bases is stone omly, the two smaller bases in the centre incorporate two courses of bricks. The interval distance between the two middle bases is 3.40 m, between the two northern bases is 2.90 m and between the two southern bases is 3.10 m.

[5] The incorporation of bricks for the two inner, smaller bases perhaps due to the fact that they were built to support a lesser weight than the outer, larger bases.

The top of the northern rhomboid base still shows masonry marks along its perimeter suggesting that something was placed on it. The massiveness of both of the rhombeiod shaped pedestals, and their very substantial foundations clearly indicate that they were constructed to bear a heavy load. Although we have not yet found any large columns, or fragments of them, in our excavation area, there are three substantial fragments of grey granite column shafts in the garden of St. Stephen's Museum in the nearby city of Székesfehérvár (*Fig. 1.1*) and one additional reworked granite shaft in a city garden.[6] These column fragments are known to have come from Gorsium, together with some other building materials reused for the construction of the first royal seat of the kings of Hungary at Székesfehérvár.

The circumstance of these granite columns fits neatly the two larger outer, rhomboid shaped pedestals of building LXX in Gorsium. Consequently, it is conceivable that each pedestal supported a granite column of more than 6 m high. The substancial weight of the granite would explain the extraordinarily massive foundation beneath the two outer bases. The two inner columns were narrower in diameter, and perhaps of a different stone.[7]

The prominenet locations and relatively large size of building LXX, of which the façace is approximately 14 m width,[8] makes an important structure in Pannonia. The building LXX, overlooking the forum to the west, allows us to suggest that this structure was perhaps the first stone temple of the imperial cult in Gorsium. The excavations of the past more than three decades did not unearth this temple, although its existence was known to Hungarian scholars.[9]

The temple sems to originate in the period after A. D. 106 when in the reign of Trajan it was decided to rebuiltd the military camp of the first century.[10] By the early second century, after the end of the Dacian wars, the defenses along the *limes* of the Danube were firmly established and Gorsium largely lost its former millitary importance. The settlement, according to the present state of our knowledge, became the religious centre of Pannonia Inferior. Consequently, the temple of the imperial cult must have been a priority, as an important symbol of the Roman presence in the region.

The largest number of granite columns known in Pannonia is located at modern Szombathely, the former Roman colonia of Savaria. Savaria was one of the new cities established by Claudius in A. D. 43 or shortly after. Pliny in his *Natural History* mentions the Colonia Claudia Savaria, „Noricis iunguntur lacus Peiso, deserta Boiorum; iam tamen colonis divi Claudi Sabaria et oppido Scarbantia Iulia habitantur".[11]

It was already noted in the 19th century that Savaria had more columns and fragments of columns than otther localities between the Danube and Drava

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[6] *Fedak 1995* 149, note 25.

[7] *Fedak 1995* 150, note 26.

[8] The actual width of the column bases and the intercolumnations is 13.5 m, which is not necessarily the total width of the façade.

[9] *J. Fitz:* Excavations in Gorsium. ActaArchHung 21 (1972) 1621; CIL III 3342.

[10] *Fedak 1995* 150.

[11] *Pliny,* Natural History. Book III. 24. 146 in H. Rackman's edition of *Pliny*'s NH (Harvard University Pr, 1942).

rivers.[12] Furthermore, the observation of Á. Kiss that the number of granite columns in and around Savaria is unusual is also correct.[13]

There are three granite fragments at the approach to the Romkert near the city centre of Szombathely. However, the largest number of granite columns is to be found in a building known as the Iseum, located about 600 m south of the ancient city centre.[14] The *temenos* of the complex measures about 50 x 70 m. According to the excavators of the site the Iseum was originally built under Commodus in A. D. 188 and then enlarged in the middle of the third century.[15] At this time a closed hall was added to the Iseum. Along the longer axis of the hall there were six grey granite columns with white marble Corinthian capitals. Some of these columns, and fragments of them are still around the site (*Fig. 1.2*). Furthermore, there are two additional partially preserved granite column shafts in the churchyard of the nearby mediaeval settlement of Ják.[16] These two columns were undoubtedly taken from Savaria to the medieval church site.[17]

The only other known site in Roman Hungary where there is a grey granite column fragment is in the vicinity of Aquincum (Budapest). To be more precise, the segment of the granite shaft is today located to Kórház utca near the partially restored remains of the Porta Praetoria of the legionary fortress (*Fig. 2.1–2*). Where exactly the fragment originated is unknown, but it was probably transported to its present neighbourhood when the nearby Franciscan monastery was built in the 13th century. The shaft has been recut, hence its present slightly oval shape.

Visual inspection of the above mentioned granite columns and their fragments indicates that they are of similar material. All of them are grey with black grains. Furthermore, the dimensions of the column remains similar. Judging by the completely preserved column shaft of the Iseum at Savaria, they were between 6 and 7 m high.

The provenance of the granite for the Pannonian column was unknown and/or debated up to the 1990s. Recentla, researchers from England,[18] using chemical analysis by X-ray fluorescence (XRF) and electron microprobe, managed to confirm rock types and establish compositional variations of the studiied materials. As a result of these new methods „...it is now possible to determine the origins of a column by simply taking a few biotite or amphibole crystals, which is, to all intents, non-destructive."[19]

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[12] *K. Kárpáti:* Sabariai leletekről (Über Funde in Savaria). ArchÉrt 1897, 68.

[13] *Kiss 1987* 111.

[14] For a comprehensive study of the Iseum see *T. Szentléleky:* A szombathelyi Isis szentély (Das Isis-Heiligtum von Savaria). Szombathely 1965.

[15] *Á. Károly – T. Szentléleky:* Szombathely. Budapest 1967, 15.

[16] *Kiss 1987* 12. I measured the two fragments at Ják in the summer of 1995. The standing fragment of a shaft has been reused with a commemorative inscription (newly installed in 1990). It rises 3.15 m above the ground and has a circumference of 2.38 m and its diameter is 0.90 m. The partially buried shaft fragment on the north side of the church is 2.85 m long.

[17] *Hajnóczi 1987* 68.

[18] *Peacock – Williams-Thorpe – Thorpe – Tindle 1994* 209–230.

[19] *Peacock – Williams-Thorpe – Thorpe – Tindle 1994* 227.

The granite samples obtained and examined from Aquincum, Savaria and Székesfehérvár (i. e. columns taken from Gorsium) clearly indicate that they originated in Asia Minor.[20] More precisely, the *granito violetto* type comes from the Troad region, the grey granodiorite from Kozak Dag; both sites are located in modern Turkey. The two types are visually analogous, and both are present in Savaria and Székesfehérvár. The granite shaft fragment near Aquincum is from the Troad (*Fig. 2.3*).

In light of this new information some obvious questions arise. The povenance of the granite is now known, but when it was brought to Pannonia, and why are questions still to be answered.

The column pieces in Székesfehérvár and the analogous granite column chips at the excavation house in Gorsium indicate that they belonged to no more that two full columns.[21] Each of these columns was over 6 m height. Their size and weight required extra support which, as we have seen is present in the two diamond shaped pedestals of building LXX at Gorsium. Furthermore, the diameter of the columns neatly fits the dimensions of the pedestals. The coin, pottery and glass evidence and the levelling readings place the date of the structure in the Trajanic or early Hadrianic period. The building was in all probability a temple perhaps constructed to serve the imperial cult.[22]

The still existing granite columns and their fragments at Szombathely and Ják could not have constituted more than six columns. These columns became part of the third century enlargement of the Iseum. However, it is known that Savaria was an important centre of the cult of Isis much earlier. Already in the late first century the worship of the goddes is documneted from Savaria.[23] Yet there is no proof so far for the existence of an Isis complex from the later first or early second century. Consequently, one must exclude the possibiléity that the granite columns were used for an Iseum from the beginning of the cult of the goddess in the region.

The original destination of the Savaria granite columns was probably for an important structure in the city centre. According to some of the existing inscrip-

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[20] *D. P. S. Peacock:* The Passio Sanctorum Quattuor Coronatorum: a petrological approach. Antiquity 69 (1995) 365–366. The provenance of the granite column fragment from the vicinity of Aquincum was confirmed in the fall of 1996. I would like to thank Professor D. P. S. Peacock for the information.

[21] I have measured the granite column fragment at the open museum garden in Székesfehérvár. The larger fragment standing in the courtyard is 2.64 m high, the smaller 1.78 m. The circumference of both is 2.47 m. The third (now buried) fragment is the upper part of a column, which was reused in an upside down position in the early eleventh century. Ht: 1.58 m; diameter at the top: 0.71 m; circumference at the top: 2.27 m. The recut granite shaft at Halesz park in Székesfehérvár is 3.31 m long. For the granite column fragments see also: Székesfehérvári Szemle 4 (1934) 38; *I. Polgár:* A székesfehérvári bazilika múltja. Székesfehérvár 1936; *I. Henszlmann:* A székesfehérvári ásatások eredménye. Pest 1864, 27, 93. *B. Czobor* (A székesfehérvári ásatások. in: III. Béla király emlékezete. Budapest 1925, 25, note 2) mentions without any further data that there were nine granite (?) column fragments in and around Székesfehérvár „összesen kilencz gránit oszlopot számítottak össze Székesfehérvárott és a közel vidéken, a melyek Szt. István bazilikájából származhattak."

[22] *Fedak 1995* 155.

[23] *W. Wesssetzky:* A felső pannoniai Isis-kultusz problémái. ArchÉrt 86 (1959) 20.

[24] *Kádár – Balla 1958* 10.

tions the emperor Domitian had eerected a number of buildings in Savaria.[24] Furthermore, it was under Domitian that some of the streets recieved their (still existing) basalt pavement and the colonis was fortified with stone walls.[25]

The Capitoline temple of Jupiter, Juno and Minerva in Rome was destroyed by fire in A. D. 80, and its reconstruction started in A. D. 82.[26] According to some scholars the building of the temple of the Capitoline Triad in Savaria was also initiated early in the reign of Domitian.[27] In the Lapidarium of Savaria there are over life-sized marble torso fragments of the three deities.[28] In addition to the sculptural fragments, there are in the same Lapidarium,[29] remains of a monumental and ornately carved marble geison and sima, and a large marble enclosure. All these monumental sculptural and architectural fragments, including the granite columns with their white marble capitals, could once have belonged to the temple of the Capitoline Triad of Savaria. The temple must have stood in the ancient city centre, and its imposing hexastyle façade was a sight to be admired. It is possible that the structure was initiated by Domitian but by the late 80s both the external and internal political climate became unfavourable for carrying out any monumnetal projects. With the completion of the Dacian wars in A. D. 106 and the following period of peace building activity recieved a new impetus all over Pannonia. This is the time when Trajan divided the province into two administrative regions, Pannonia Superior and Inferior. The new capital of Pannonia Superior became Carnuntum but Savaria remained the religious centre.[30] It is possible that the most important temple of Savaria was embellished with its imported granite columns around the time of the major reorganization of Pannonia in A. D. 106.

The only known granite column fragment in the vicinity of Aquincum was also undoubtedly destined to for an important temple in the new capital of Lower Pannonia. We do know that the legionary fortress of Aquincum was the sumptous palace (120 x 120 m in area) of the governor of Lower Pannonia. The complex is datable to the early second century and, „it is likely that the designwas ordered by Hadrianus, who served as the first governor of Pannonia Inferior."[31] The podium-temple stood in the inner courtyard of the governor's palace, and was scene of official offerings within the framework of the emperor cult. Furthermore, it is documented that this temple had a columnar façade, a pronaos and a naos. Inside was an over life-size statue of the emperor. However, approximately 8 m wide front of this temple seems to be too small for the suggested arrangement of a tetrastyle façade,[32] unless there were only two columns supporting the entablature and its pediment.

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[25] *Hajnóczi 1995* 244.
[26] *Ward-Perkins 1985* 63, 74.
[27] *Kádár – Balla 1958* 10–12.
[28] *Paulovics 1943* 12–18.
[29] *Paulovics 1943* 13.
[30] *Kádár – Balla 1958* 15.
[31] *Zsidi 1995* 13.
[32] *Zsidi 1995* fig. 20.

Around the *castra legionis* and the *canabae legionis* of Aquincum there were a number of shrines and temples, but to our knowledge none of them was large enough for the granite columns in question.

Consequently, the most likely original destination of the grey granite column fragment was the civilian town of Aquincum. According to the excavators of the site, the forum and its surroundings werte transformed into a municipium with stone structures during the reign of Trajan. The actual municipium status was granted to Aquincum by Hadrian in A. D. 124.[33] Around this time was built, „the temple of the state riligion..."[34] facing the forum to the south. This temple of the Capitoline Triad was raised on a podium, and a wide staircase led up to its portico. In front of the steps the remains of an altar were found. The approximately 12 m wide façade presumably had four columns supporting its superstructure.[35] It is conceivable that the granite column fragment, now located about 2 km south of the civilian municipium, once belonged to the columnar order of this second-century temple.

The political situation was very favourable for large scale construction activities after A. D. 106, and indeed a full-scale rebuilding of many Pannonian settlements took place. Also, it seems to be more than a coincidence that one of the preferred building materials for imposing buildings during the reigns of Trajan and especially of Hadrian was granite.

We know that Hadrian served as the first governor of Pannonia Inferioir from A. D. 106 to 108. Among other activities Hadrian, of all the Roman emperors, had the deepest personal interest in architecture. „he was a poet, amateur architect.... In Rome he built among other structures the Temple of the Divine Trajan, the Temple of Venus and Rome, his mausoleum (Castel Sant'Angelo), and the Pantheon."[36] A fourth-century biographer of Hadrian, Aelius Spartianus, also notes that the emperor was actively involved in architectural matters in many different cities of the empire where he „built some building and gave public games... He built public buildings in all places and without number, but he inscribed his own name on none of them except the Temple of his father Trajan."[37]

It should not come as a surprise that his interest in architectural matters did not start suddenly when he became emperor. Rather, it was an integral part of this activities from an early age on. When the opportunity presented itself, he got involved in architectureal matters because of his interst in the field. He could have provided ideas that were subsequently carried out by his architects and craftsmen. His posting in Pannonia and in other regions of the Roman Empire can be conseidered as formative years for his later monumntal projects. He was not only exposed to provincial architecture, but also had the opportunity, thanks to his powerful position, to experiment ad to give definite directions to certain

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[33] *K. Póczy – K. Kurucz* (eds.): Aquincum. Budapest az ókorban. Budapest 1994, 52; *H. Polenz* (ed.): Das römische Budapest. Münster/Lengerich 1986, 122.

[34] *Zsidi 1995* 28.

[35] For a suggested view of the forum and the large temple on its north side see *Hajnóczi 1987* 104–105, figs. 119–120.

[36] *W. L. MacDonald:* The Architecture of the Roman Empire. New Haven – London 1982, 94.

[37] Scriptores Historiae Augustae. Hadrian, 19. 2–13.

local building programes.[38] Perhaps it is not too far-fetched to say that the Pantheon, the Temple of Venus and Roma, the villa complex at Tivoli and other projects were the outcome of the formative years before he became emperor in A. D. 117.

The bringing of the granite columns to Pannonia might also be connected with the activity of Hadrian in the region. He could have seen such columns at Savaria and then at a later period ordered the importation of additional columns for (his own) projects in Pannonia Inferior. However, it is more likely that a specific number of granite columns were ordered for specific purposes at the same time. The Pannonian granite columns so far located all originate from Asia Minor, and have almost identical dimensions. Historically, the early second century is one of the best periods during the approximately four hundred years of Roman presence in Pannonia for providing the opportunity for megaprojects. Moreover, the archaeological data obtained from the excavation of building LXX at Gorsium excludes a date later than the early decades of the second century. Consequently, it is likely that the expensive building material[39] was transported to a specific number of Pannonian cities to construct the most important temples in their city centres. Such a decision was „politically correct", not only by embellishing the cities but also by providing a highly visible and impresive focal point of Roman domination. As we know today, these selected localities include at least three of the Pannonian settlements, Aquincum, Gorsium and Savaria.

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Kádár – Balla 1958 – *Z. Kádár – L. Balla:* Savaria. Budapest 1958

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[38] A similar idea was expressed by B. Cunliffe in connection with his excavations at Bath, England: „Stylistically the tholos is best dated to the Hadrianic period – an observation which raises a most interesting speculation. Could it be that the new precinct was added under the imperial favour of the emperor himself as a consequence of his visit to the province in 122? The speculation is by no means idle. The emperor initiated similar building projects in other province..." see *B. Cunliffe:* The sanctuary of Sulis Minerva at Bath: a brief review. In: *M. Hening – A. King* (eds.): Pagan Gods and Shrines of the Roman Empire. Oxford 1986, 3.

[39] We now have more evidence that marble too was imported to Pannonia from Asia Minor in the early second century, see *J. Gömöri:* Recent archaeological finds concerning the topography of Scarbantia. in *Hajnóczi 1995* 254.

Paulovics 1943 – *I. Paulovics:* Lapidarium Savariense. Szombathely 1943.

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FIGURES

Fig. 1. 1–2:
Fig. 2. 1–3.

István Ferenczi

CONTRIBUTIONS AU PROBLEME DE LA FORMATION DES HABITATS À PROTOURBAIN CHEZ LES DACES (Avec un accent spécial sur Sarmizegéthusa tò Basíleon)

La poursuites en détails du processus d'urbanisation chez les Daces est assez difficile à cause de la pauvreté des témoignages historiques de toute nature. (Pour l'emplifier, il suffit de rappeler que sur *Sarmizegethusa Regia*[1] il ne nous est resté aucune description depuis l'ère antique. On en connaît uniquement le nom, grâce au géographe Claudius Ptolemaeus et l'historien Cassius Dio. (C'en est tout.) Seules les recherches archéologiques de surface, ainsi que les fouilles effectuées surtout dans le dernières quatre décennies ont jeté une certaine lumière sur ces questions si intéressantes, inquiétantes et importantes, mais bien sûr on est encore loin de leur solution judicieuse. Beaucoup de recherches sur le terrain, mais surtout des fouilles archéologiques de grande ampleur dans les objectifs à caractère protourbain sont encore nécessaires pour aboutir à une solution „définitive" et équitable de cette question.

En tout cas, en suivant les traces de Pál Tewrewk,[2] Mihály Péchy de Péch Újfalu,[3] et plutard, au début de notre siècle l'historien et l'archéologue Gábor

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[1] Conformément à *N. Vulić* s. v. Sarmizegetusa dans PWRE tom I 1–2 col. 25. Concernant le toponyme et sa compréhension /=cité (localité?) de palissade (construit) sur une hauter (rocher)/. En fait il est question de *Zermizegéthusa* et non de *Sarmizegéthusa*!) voir *I. I. Russu* dans Revista istorică română 14 (1944) 367–397; *Idem* dans Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae. III/2, 24; *Idem:* Origine du peuple roumain et langue des gèto-daces. Ann. Inst. Hist. Arch. 25 (1982) 308; cf. aussi *C. Daicoviciu*: Fouilles et recherches à Sarmizegetusa. Dacia 1 (1924) 225, note 1. Nous faisons mention que l'ouvrage présent est la récapitulation d'une étude plus volumineuse apparue en deux parties dans l'Annuaire du Musée d'Alba Iulia (Roumaine) intitulé Apulum. Acta Musei Apulensis 25 (1988) et 26 (1989) 187–199, respectivement 99–134.

[2] Voir la teneur du compte-rendu fait à l'intention de la Trésorerie de Vienne. Le texte intégral du rapport écrit en latin, a été publié *Zs. Jakó*: Date privitoare la cercetarile arheologice de la Grădiştea Muncelului în anii 1803–1804. ActaMusNapoc 8 (1971) 440–441, 442, 446.

[3] Le texte du compte-rendu du commandant de génie où *il écrit entre autres* sur l'habitat urbain („vorgefundene Stadt Gredistie"), a été publié entièrement par *Jakó 1973* 634–635. Le texte de ce rapport avanché par *Mihály Péchy de Péch Újfalu* aux autorités militaires supérieures cognernant ses conclusions sur les ruines de Újvárhely (Grădiştea Muncelului), a été publié la premiere fois avec de petites différences stylistiques sous le titre de „Bemerkungen ueber die anlaengst vorgefundenen alte roemischen Ruinen bei Gredistie" dans Siebenbürgische Provinzialblaetter 1 (1805) 249–252, étant republié partiellement par *Gábor Finály*: A gredistyei dák várak (Die dakische Festungen in Gredistye). ArchÉrt 36 (1916) 12–13. Voir aussi *H. Daicoviciu – I. Ferenczi – I. Glodariu 1989:*, chapitre II: „Istoricul cercetărilor. Former recherches." 131–132. D'ailleurs parmi nos précurseurs du siècle dernier qui ont soutenu d'une manière intiutive le caractère urbain du grand complexe archéologique de Újvárhely (Gradiştea Muncelului), on doit rappeler aussi le nom du médecin en chef du comitat de Hunyad (Hunedoara) le docteur András Fodor de Lugos, grand amateur des antiquités daces et romaines qui, dans une lettre adressée au comte József Kemény au mois de décembre 1846, à écrit entre autres ce qui suit: „... Nous en tout cas, nous nous sommes décidés avec J. F. Neigebaur et E. Bardócz [...] qu'au cours du mois de mai de l'année prochaine nous ferions des fouilles à Gredistyie (Gradiştea Muncelului) là ou l'on avait trouvé „aurei" de Lysimachos parce que dans cet endroit moi -..... ne s'est occupé de la recherche des antiquités romaines, raison pour laquelle j'espère [...] que nous y allons trouver beucoup d'hiéroglyphs (!) laquelle ville /là, le texte test obscur/ selon mon opinion avait existé déjà depuis avant l'époque /le temps/ des Grecs anciens /endroit/ où les Romains après avoir conquis les Daces n'ont colonisé /personne/, c'est pourqoui on n'y a trouvé aucune pierre de monument ou épigraphe sépulcrale..." Voir *Sándor Ferenczi*: Lugosi

Finály[4] et Constantin Daicoviciu[5] aboutir à conclusion que dans le complexe de Újvárhely (Gradiştea Muncelului, département de Hunyad-Hunedoara) il s'agit de la proximité de la grand cité – on connaît abondamment les vestiges d'une ville, en un mot, les restes d'une civilisation oppidane. La culture des Daces aux deux derniers siècles de son existance peut-être considérée une culture de type supérieur au stand primitif-rural des tribus patriarcales, ayant le caractère d'une civilisation agro-citadine, possédant de puissants centre d'agriculteurs, d'artisanats, d'une plèbe ouvrière et d'esclaves.

Ainsi doivent être considérées les agglomérations humaines de Tinosul, Popeâti, Poiana et encore quelques-unes des póleis que rappelle Ptolemée. Ce sont des *oppida*, constituant des bourgades *fora rerum venalium* pour des autochtones et des négociants étrangers. Vers la ville tendait aussi la grande aire habitée de la colline de Újvárhely (Grădişte – „Dealul Grădiştii" – *recte* „Piciorul Muncelelui") aves ses nombreuses habitations et ses ateliers massés sur les terrasses de la colline autour de l'enceinte sacrée de la cité.

Dans le monde daco-gète, les agglomérations fortifiées l'apparaissent d'ailleurs très probablement aussi sous l'influence hellénique,[6] telles celles de Zimnicea, Poiana, Popeşti (sur la rivière d'Argeş) et encore quelques-unes qui commencent leur existence durant le Ve et le IVe siècle avant Jésus Crist. Les habitats fortifiés, les centres de production et de vente des marchandises propres transportées d'ailleurs, vont prendre naissance chez les Daco-Gètes au moins de deux siècles plutôt que chez les Celtes, venus par imigration au centre ou au Sud-Est de l'Europe mais presque simultanément aves les agglomérations similaires des Thares du Midi. Celles-ci seront fortifiées uniquement par les systèmes traditionnels sans se servir de murs de pierre.

Comme l'on a pu préciser au cours des fouilles archéologiques systématiques (relativement très peu nombreuses par rapport à l'ampleur de la question) les agglomérations fortifiées daco-gètes de ce genre sont des proportions relativement

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dr. Fodor András levelei. A Hunyadmegyei Tört. és Rég. Társ. Évk. 22 (1912–1913) 43. Dans la note 63 Ferenczi précise basé sur un passage de la lettre de E. Bardócz (du 18. X. 1846 de Sajóudvarhely – Şieu Odorehei), adressée au même comte de Kemény que „...au cours du printemps de l'année 1847 nous allons faire de sérieuses fouilles dans les fortêts séculaires de Gredistyienon loin de Szászváros (Oraştie) à l'endroit de la ville attribuée par Fodor auc Grecs aux Agathyrses..." Ce qui publient ces détails de la correspondance a de A. Fodor et E. Bardócz font mention qu'il est aux les vestiges de la résidence royal de Decebalus.

[4] ArchÉrt 36 (1916) 42–43, 266–267.

[5] *C. Daicoviciu 1960*I 317.

[6] Voir *Crişan 19770* 310.

[7] Cf. par example *Vasile Pârvan 1926* 185. Les habitations sont très entassées les unes contre les autres, ainsi que sur un espace très réduit on peut admettre la présence d'une population particulièrement nombreuse. (pag. 47) „De vraies ruelles dans les cites La Tène ne peut pas en question, les habitations sont tellement entassées les unes contre les autres que nulle part dans nos fouilles jusqu'à présent on n'a pu distinguer parmi les tas de restes calcinés des maisons, des espaces suffisamment larges et réguliers qu'on pourrait prendre pour des rues on des places. En fait sur la superficie assez restreinte de ces sites qui dépassent l'étendue de 1 1/2 – 2 ha correspondent donc à ce point de vue aussi à ceux de l'ouest celtique qui leur sont contemporains (d. v. p. le Déchelette II[3], 974 et 975 le plan du village breton de Glastonbury de Sommersetshire), à s'il y avait de la place pour les 100–150 habitations minuscules où s'entassaient répandue sur des champs et des labours après le travail pacifique agricole ou pastoral" Voir encore *István Ferenczi*: Cercetări arheologice în aşezarea dacică întărită de la Aghireşu-Ruginoasa /1983–1984/. Les fouilles archéologiques dans la site dace de Aghireşu-Ruginoasa /1983–1984/. ActaMP 10 (1986) 83, 94. Pour la grande densité des

réduites, mais très intensément habitées.[7] À l'intérieur de celles-ci, seule une zone restreinte, d'habitude le point le plus élevé, est fortifiée. Cela constitut — sans doute — l'acropole de l'habitat.[8] Les habitations découvertes sur l'acropole où à l'intérieur des fortifications sont d'habitude construites à la surface. À la suite de l'espace en général restreint on constate partout un entassement particulier des habitations ainsi que très souvent le chercheur semble avoir l'impression qu'il se trouve devant plusieurs pièces de la même maison. A côté des habitations ayant une superficie de 10–20 m^2, il y a aussi des bâtiments plus prétentieux qui possèdent plusieurs pièces, assez souvent avec un plan d'influence hellénique.

Les découvertes archéologiques et numismatiques faites dans les agglomérations daco-gètes fortifiées plus importantes indiquent d'une manière éloquente leur caractère de production. En maint endroit on a découvert les vestiges des ateliers d'usinage du fer et du bronze de charpenterie, de céramique, de l'usinage des métaux nobles, de cuirs.

En analysant les critères avancés par le géographes comme prétentions sur la définition des villes, la plupart en sont présents dans le cas de la plus grande des agglomérations de Újvárhely. Sa fondation est probablement due à trois facteurs: a) la présence dans les environs de certains gisements d'oxyde de fer, exploitables à la surface; b) un important lieu de culte et c) très probablement à la volonté d'un dynaste (*Burebista?*) qui s'y est créé le centre politique et militaire. Dès le début, les villes se constituent près d'un pouvoir politique. Comme facteur polariseur extraordinaire a pu y contribuer l'existence de gisements de fer de la montagne Batrâna (1792 m) et de la montagne Tâmpu (1495 m) ansi que la construction de la plus grande cité (dont la partie supérieure semble être probablement la plus vieille construction dacique de ce type). A peine après ces événements supposés, a commencé à se constituer un centre de métabolisme économique dans la proximité d'un hinterland agricole assez riche. Outre cet avantage à la péripherie de la zone discutée, il y en avant aussi des roches propres (de calcaire) relativement faciles à petite distance, préférées par les architectes grecs. Le matériel a été nécessaire en quantités incommensurables à la construction des fortifications des dimensions les plus différentes. Nous savons que l'on connaît les traces de quelques carrières de ce genre dans la colline Magura [ville de Kalán (Călan), département de Hunyad-Hunedoara[9]]).

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habitations celtiques sur une superficie quelconque voir *Jiří Břěn:* Earliest settlements with urban character in Central Europe. In: *B. Cunliffe – T. Rowley* (eds.): Oppida: the beginnings of urbanisation in Barbarian Europe. Papers presented to a Conference, Oxford, October 1975. BAR Int. ser. 2. Oxford 1976, 89, fig. 4. Une observation un peu différente en ce qui concerne la densité des habitations a été faite dans l'habitat dacique de Alsókomána (Comana de Jos, com. Fogaraş). Cf. *I. Glodiariu – Fl. Costea – I. Ciupea:* Comana de Jos. Les agglomérations de l'époque dacique et préféodale. dans Istoria Ţarii Făgăraşului. Cluj 1980, 38.

[8] Par example *I. H. Crişan*: Ziridava. Săpăturile le Şanşul Mare des années 1960, 1961, 1964. Arad 1978, 58. *G. Ferenczi – I. Ferenczi*: Cetatea dacică de pământ de la Porumbenii Mari. La cité dace de terre a Porumbenii Mari. dans: In memoriam Constantini Daicoviciu. Cluj 1974, 137–150; *G. Ferenczi – I. Ferenczi:* Săpături noi în cetatea decică de pământ de la Porumbenii Mari (Neue Ausgrabungen in der dakischen Erdfestung von Porumbenii Mari /Kr. Harghita/). ActaMusNapoc 18 (1981) 392, 398, fig. 1.

[9] On sait que les schistes cristalins faiblement métamorphosés du Nord-Ouest des Montagnes de Surján ne sont pas propres pour la construction de grands édifices en général. Aussi les Daces du bloc central des Alpes de Transylvanie devaient-ils avoir recours – très problablement – au conseil,

Le choix de l'emplacement d'une résidence permanente est une tâche difficile et on a essayé de la surmonter, ou en tout cas de l'atténuer en établissant sur le territoire du même État plusierurs résidences. Deux résidences représentent en fait une nécessité d'ordre pratique dans tous ces États qui „chevauchent" (comme la Dacie préromaine) une chaîne des montagnes et pour lesquels le contrôle des défilés et des passages, tels celui de l'Olt ou le couloir tectonique Temes-Cserna (Timiş-Cerna), la vallée de Maros (Mureş) entre Kimpur-Szurduk (Câmpuri-Surduc) – Soborsin (Săvârşin), etc. représente une question vitale. Un État avec une telle structure géographique particulière était également l'État de *Burebista*.

Peut-être l'État dace „chevauchant les montages" grâce au fait qu'il contrôlait les défilés et les cols des Alpes de Transylvanie et aussi ceux des Carpathes Orientales entre la grande. Dépression de Transylvanie et la Plaine gète, respectivement la Plaine de la Moldavie et son Plateau, avait-il besoin d'une résidence des deux versants des Alpes de Transylvanie, respectivement à leur pied? Cette question reste pour le moment ouverte, car momentamément on n'a aucune peuvre, même pas un signe indicateur, un repére archéologique ou historique, littéraire ou d'autre nature à base duquel on puisse adopter une position ferme dans un sens au autre.

En prenant en considération les discussions assez acharnées entre les importants chercheurs de Kolozsvár-Cluj, d'un côté, et ceux de Bucarest (Bucureşti) de l'autre côté, bien que nous ne voulions pas être accusés d'opportunisme non principial, l'idée de deux résidences, surtout à base des exemples historiques lus par la suite, ne peut pas être négligée. Nous désirons souligner le fait, que non – seulement l'État de *Burebista*, mais même d'autres États tels, l'Afghanistan et même le royaume de Piémont-Savoie étaient obligés à cause des conditions de géographie physique à avoir recours à cet expédient institutionnel, parce que ceux-ci comme l'État dace se trouvaient situés à travers d'une chaîne de montages qui divisait leur territoire en deux zones isolées l'une de l'autre par cette barrière géomorphologique.

Cette institution des villes-résidences (capitales) double a constitué dans la plupart des cas, un échec, et cela même quand elle était imposée par les conditions géomorphologiques d'un État, ou déterminée par son étendu. Dans presque tous les cas connus, l'une des deux résidences (capitales) était ou devenait si prédo-

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même à l'exhortation des spécialistes grecs en constructions des fortifications, au matériel lithique mentionné. La provenance de ce matériel a été reconnue déjà par les délégués-spécialistes du fisc autrichiena envoyés pour la recherche des ruines de Újvárhely (Grădiştea Muncelului) au début du siècle dernier. Cf. *S. Jakó*: Cercetări arheologice la cetate Gradiştea Muncelului în anii 1803–1804 (Recherches archéologiques à Gradişea Muncelului en 1803–1804). ActaMusNapoc 3 (1966) 111; *S. Jakó*: Date privitoare le cercetările arheologice de la Gradiştea Muncelului în anul 1803 (1). ActaMusNapoc 5 (1968) 439; *Jakó 1973* 630. Voir aussi *S. Ferenczi*: Studiul bibliografic dans *C. Daicoviciu – Al. Ferenczi 1951* 87. Parmi les chercheurs plus anciens nous citons *J. F. Neigebaur*: Dacien. Aus den Ueberresten des klassischen Alterthums, mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Siebenbürgen. Kronstadt 1851, 99; *G. Téglás*: A Boli hegy Petrozsény mellett, mint őskori erősség. A Hunyadvárm. Tört. és Rég. társ. Évk. 3 (1866) 30; *Idem*: Kis-Kalán (Aquae) római fürdője és kőbányászata Hunyadmegyében. ArchÉrt 14 (1894) 209–210; *Idem*: Hunyadvármegye földjének története. I. Budapest 1902, 18, 19–21. Quant à la détermination précise (géologique) cf. *Fr. Schafarzik*: Detaillerte Mittheilungen über die auf dem Gebiet des Ungarischen Reiches befindlichen Steinbrüche. Budapest 1900, 240; *G. Finály* dans ArchÉrt 36 (1916) 12; *C. Daicoviciu*: Piatra Roşie. Monografie arheologică. Bucureşti 1954, 26; *I. Ferenczi* sous chapitre I dans *H. Daicoviciu – I. Ferenczi – I Glodariu 1989* 51–56.

minante, que pratiquement servait pour seule résidence (capitale) laissant son partenaire dans l'ombre. Par exaemple dans le royaume de Sarsaigne, Chambéry (sur le versant Ouest des Alpes) a été surpassé par Torino. Dans le royaume de Bactrie après son extension vers le Sud de Hindou Kouch *Taxila* de *Balkh,* et dans l'Empire de Kouchan, *Balkh* de *Peshawar.* En ce qui concerne *Mazar-i-Cherif* qui a succédé à Balkh, dans l'actuel Afghanistan,[10] on doute qu'il en ait justement le rang de capitale secondaire; son importance était due au prestige dont il jouissait en tant que ville sainte.

Également dans l'Empire séleucide, *Séleucia* sur le Tigre a été dépassé par *Antioche* sur l'Oronte, bien que Séleucie eût été la première capitale de la dynastie des Séleucides et jouît de deux avantages: a) avant tout l'avantage économique d'être emplacé dans le bassin hydrographique inférieur jumelé, plus fertil du Tigre et de l'Euphrate, dont le sol alluvionnaire riche, produit d'abondantes quantités de nourriture, ainsi que b) avantage géographique d'être emplacé dans le noeud des lignes de communication de l'Empire séleucide. Mais Séleucie commençait à se développer quand d'Élévation d'une seconde capitale de l'Empire séleucide, Antioche, l'a pratiquement éliminée en tant que siège de la conduite impériale.

Le système institutionnel qui consistait dans la dotation d'un État a joui de plus de succès dans les cas où le gouvernement d'un État avait l'habitude d'établir régulièrement sa résidence en forme d'oscillation dans chacune de ces capitales à tour de rôle pour une durée fixe de temps au cours d'une saison déterminée de chaque année. L'utilité pouvait être d'ordre politique ou climatique. Les motifs d'ordre climatiques par exemple, déterminaient les oscillations („migrations") des gouvernements des Ghaznévides dans la région où se trouve actuellement l'Afghanistan. Sur les plateaux de ce pays le climat pendant l'hiver, comme à *Sarmizegethusa Regia* d'ailleurs, est très rigoureux. La problème climatique des Ghaznévides n'était pas d'échapper aux chaleurs de la plaine, mais du froid de l'hiver sur les plateaux. Les Ghaznévides ne craignaient pas le froid pour eux-mêmes ou pour les soldats de leurs troupes qui étaient endurants et auraient certainement pu affronter les neiges de l'hiver des plateaux de la ville de *Ghazna*, si le maintien de leur domination avait dépendu uniquement de l'endurance de ces rigueurs. En fait la base de la „technique militaire" de l'armée des Ghaznévides n'était pas les soldats, mais leurs éléphants de guerre. Et par amour pour les proboscidiens valeureux et importants la cour ghaznévide déménageait de *Ghazna* (la Vieille) à *Lachkari* Bazar, à une distance considérable sur le cours inférieur de la rivière de Hilmend où, d'habitude, en hiver le climat est presque aussi agréable qu'en Hindoustan, pays d'origine des éléphants.

Évidemment que la pratique de maintenir toute une cour en mouvement entre deux ou même plusieurs résidence a ses avantages aussi, mais — sans doute — présente de graves désanvantages. Elle est coûteuse et inefficance dans toutes les circonstances et peut devenir dangereuse au cas où ceux qui gouvernent l'État pendant leur autorité sur certaines régions qui se trouvent officiellement sous leur souveraineté et qu'ils doivent traverser au cours de leur „tournée" annuelle.

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[10] Pour tout cela comme pour d'autres exemples éloquents cf. *Toynbee 1979* 153.

L'inefficacité est une désavantage plus sérieux même que les dépenses considérables aient été. Un gouvernment „migratoire" devra suspendre la conduite des affaires politiques pour une période considérable de temps, toutes les années chaque fois qu'elle devra empaqueter parcourir de chemins, déballer et ce procès pénible devra avoir lieu au moins deux fois par an. Les voyageurs même vont consommer beaucoup de temps surtout lorsque les résidences saisonnières sont très éloignées l'une de l'autre comme il devrait être pour servir aux buts psychologiques poursuivis ou lorsque le transport se faisait avec des chariots tirés par des boeufs, des ânes, des mulets ou de chevaux. (Les chevaux respectivement les chevaliers n'ont pu avancer plus vite qu'au pas „d'escargot" des chariots tirés par des boeufs ...)

On pourrait discuter encore beaucoup de problème et les exemples pourraient se multiplier. Nous croyons que n'importe qui peut se rendre compte que le problème de la naissance, la fondation des villes est une question très complexe, multiple, variée. Les problèmes doivent être étudiés d'une manière très approfondie, circonspecte, multilatérale comme ils se présentent par le passé. Un passé par rapport auquel nous n'avons pas beaucoup de témoignages, de suffisantes preuves, nous devons recourir à des déductions, suppositions, hypothèses de travail n'ayant pas encore au cours des recherches une base sûre, solide. C'est une justement pourquoi nous n'avons pas voulu dès le début (d'ailleurs nous ne pouvions pas le faire), donner des solutions quasi „défénitives". Encore beaucoup de détails importants doivent être tirés au clair. Notre intention a été uniquement d'analyser certains problèmes liés au processus de la formation des sites (proto)urbains chez les Daces, particulièrement à *Sarmizegéthusa Regia*, ville-résidence des rois daces parmi les ruines de laquelle nous avons agi pendant 35 campagnes.

Les recherches futures, vont certainement modifier beaucoup de nos énoncés, nos suppositions, mais c'est la marche normale, naturelle des choses. Mon mérité — si on peut l'appeler ainsi — est d'avoir tâché de trouver une autre voie, plus rapprochée de la pensée géographique, pour solutionner quelques-uns des problèmes, voie qui n'a été suivie jusqu'à présent ni par les historiens, ni par les géographes. Une chose est à retenir absolument, à savoir que le problème de la constitution des habitata urbains daco-gètes pourra être résolu uniquement par des études approfondie, circonspectes, interdisciplinaires.

En conclusion, le grand complexe archéologique de Újvárhely (Grădiştea Muncelului) est emplacé à environ 700–1100 mètres d'altitude absolute. Laissant de côte des énergies géographiques locales, urbanogènes qui — sans doute — avaient elles aussi eu un important rôle à la fondation dans cet endroit pas trop propre de la plus grande fortification dace aux murs de pierre faits d'énormes blocs façonnés, on peut affirmer avec certitude que son emplacement n'a pas été choisi par hasard, ni dans un cadre géographique beaucoup plus large. On peut supposer que son emplacement a été marqué seulement après la conquête des États helléniques du Pont Gauche environ entre les années 55–48 av. J.-C.[11] Les données dont nous disposons dans le stade actuel des recherches nous obligent à

[11] Voir *C. Daicoviciu 1960* 286–287; *H. Daicoviciu 1972* 71–72; *I. H. Crişan 1977* 242–250.

supposer que la majorité des cités et des autres fortifications secondaires du système de défense des Montagnes de Surján (Şurean) — selon toutes probabilités — appartiennent à la période de *Burebista*.[12] Ainsi, dans sa plus grande partie, le complexe doit avoir été réalisé dans une période de temps relativement courte. Cette supposition s'appuire outre d'autres motifs sur la constatation de la participation directe aux travaux de construction, d'un grand nombre d'architects et de maîtres grecs comme suite de la conquête des villes helléniques, les murs des cités daces des Montagnes de Surján étant faits par une technique un peu différente de la technique hellénistique appliquée par exemple au dressement des murs de la ville de *Histria* — du bord du Pont Gauche — refaits à l'époque hellénistique.[13]

Quelques raisons particulièrement puissantes ont exhorté le roi *Burebista* de choisir l'emplacement de sa cité de siège (et de refuge?) respectivement de tout système de fortifications. La première raison doit avoir été son emplacement à peu prés au centre géographique (?) de sa domination. Puis le sousdistrict géographique était relativement propre à de telles et faisait lui même — au moins apparemment — une bonne défense naturelle. À tout cela on doit ajouter deux autres causes locales peut-être les plus importantes: le fait que dans la proximité immédiate il y avait des gisements d'oxydes de fer à surface, et ici même se trouvait probablement aussi le centre religieux d'une tribu ou d'une union de tribus (dont est issue éventuellement la famille même de *Burebista*), sur cette montagne (kogaiouo) sacrée.

La résidence politique permanente (?), le quartier général (?), le centre administratif et religieux, l'exploitation probable des gisements de fer de la proximité et leur usinage en forme de fer forgé, l'usinage d'autres métaux non ferreux: le bronze, le plomb,[14] etc. ont attiré ensuite en un rythme rapide la fixation d'un plus grand nombre d'habitants. N'oublions par que même un agglomération urbaine — résidence où dès le début il n'y avait pas d'agglomération manufacturière ou de centre commercial — était habitée non seulement par le souverain, sa cour et l'appareil administratif, mais aussi par une escorte militaire, grande du roi,[15]

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[12] Cf. *Pârvan 1926* 481; *D. M. Teodorescu*: Cetatea dacică de la Grădiştea Muncelului. Anuarul Com. Monum. Ist. Transylv. 3 (1930–30) 25; parmi les travaux de C. Daicoviciu nous envoyons seulement à istoria Româneie I., 279sqq. Pour la discussion voir *H. Daicoviciu 1972* 46–52; *Crişan 1977* 369–370.

[13] Cf. *Crişan 1977 252–257.*

[14] Quant aux plus différents métaux voir: *S. Ferenczi*: Studiul bibliografic dans *C. Daicoviciu – Al. Ferenczi 1951* 95–96.

[15] En ce qui concerne le problème de l'escorte militaire, ayant à la dsiposition l'observation digne d'être mentionnée de collègues Mircea Valea et Anghel Nistor (*Valea – Nistor 1974–75* 35–36) en assumant leur opinion qui semble tout à fait justifiée on doit préciser les suivants: „Tacitus (Despre originea şi tara germanilor VIII_2 dans *P. Cornelius Tacitus*: Opere. I. Bucureşti 1958, 109, apud les auteurs cités) mentionne comme une institution sociale existance chez les Allemends du Ier siècle de n. è. la bande (troupe) en la nommant *comitatus* et ses membres *comites* (*Idem* XII_3 et XIII_2). Dans ces sens méritent attention aussi les précisions faites par Samuel Noah Kramer concernant certains traits communs existants à l'Antiquité chez Sumériens, Grecs, Indiens et Allemands qui bien que distancés en temps et espaces avaient été organisée en „minuscules" royaumes dont les rois pour régner, chacun d'eux s'appuyait sur un „comitatus", groupe de „partisans" armés qui

éventuellement aussi par une armée centrale mobile de réserve et tous ces habitants de la résidence royale du service de l'État se servaient, à leur tour d'une multitude de domestiques et autre multitude d'artisans et de négociants qui le personnel d'administration centrale constituait une clientèle leur rapportant beaucoup argent. (Le plus produits de tout le territoire conquis par *Burebista* se retrouvait dans „les poches" des personnes officielles de la résidence royale.) La résidence *Sarmizegéthusa* avait besoin d'un revitaillement abondant, constant et sûr en aliments assuré des „zones fonctionnelles extrérieures" du hinterland agricole de la Dépression de Hátszeg (Haţeg) et le couloir fertil de Maros (Mureş), revitaillement en matières premières pour la „fabrication" des armes, des outils en fer pour la confection des objects de luxe. Le nombre des habitants, des demeures, des ateliers, des travaux d'urbanisation s'accroissant continuellement a donné ainsi à une agglomération considérable à caractère urbain, devenue avec le temps une vraie ville. Nous sommes totalment d'accord avec la constatation de Ioan Glodariu, à laquelle d'ailleurs, nous avons abouti nous aussi il y a quelques années[16] qui, en appréciant l'importance de l'agglomération en question, affirme les suivants: „Les découvertes ne sont pas des plus ordinaires: terrasses longues et larges des dizaines de mètres, les unes soutenues de hautes murailles de 24–24.., neuf sanctuaires, tout groupés dans une certaine zone, [...] ateliers avec leurs produits en bronze et en fer de toutes sortes, habitations à plusieurs pièces, les unes avec étage, d'autres alignées du côte des routes antiques, chemins pavés et leurs ramifications, la cité, conduites d'eau et canaux de drainage." Il s'ajoute l'extense vie économique caractéristique à un grand centre de production et commercial pour ne plus insister sur son importance en tant que capitale politique et religieuse de tout la Dacie. Tout cela mais particulièrement son importance économique de centre artisanal, avec les indices de systématisation et les travaux édilitaires démontrent que *Sarmizegéthusa* est parvenue par son développement à ce que l'on comprend par la terme de ville. Sa qualité de centre politique et

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les suivaient aveuglément dans toutes ses actions. Voir *S. N. Kramer*: Istoria începe la Sumer. Bucureşti 1962, 264–265 (version roumaine).

En soulignant l'importance des institutions existance chez le vieux Allemands parmi lesquelles celles dont les membres portaient le nom de *comites*, N. Iorga souligne: „... beaucoup d'institutions allemandes n'étaient pas particulièrement allemands mais appartenaient au monde barbare entier – par conséquent étaient communes aux Slaves aussi et peut-être aux Thraces dès le début. [...] Tant de choses que l'on croit d'origine allemande ont été empruntées par le Allemands aux plus cultivés des barbares, ceux qui étaient restés en plus long rapport avec la culture antique, par conséquent, aux Thraces" (*N. Iorga*: Dezvoltarea aşezemintelor politice şi sociale ale Europei. I. Bucureşti 1920, 6–11, d'après la citation de *Valea – Nistor 1974–75* 35.)

En partant de ces considérations, M. Valea şi A. Nistor sont d'avis „la bande (horde) militaire *comitatus* a existé comme institution sociale (troupe) dans la société dace aussi, dans la période pour laquelle les documents de l'époque usent du terme *cometai*. [...] En conclusion nous nous permettons – écrivent auteurs mentionnées – d'énoncer l'opinion que dans le contexte de l'organisation sociale des Daces de la période de Decebalus, comme pour les autres peuples a existé une catégorie humaine *cometai* avec le même rôle social tels les membres de ce *comitatus* des anciens écritures. En d'autres mots, à l'expression comme chez les vieux Slaves *druina*, chez les Daces correspond à la nomination latin respectivement grecque *comitatus-cometai*!

[16] Voir *I. Ferenczi*: Contribuţii sa soluţionarea problemei formării oraşului la daci. dans *H. Daicoviciu* (red.): Studii dacice. Cluj-Napoca 1981, 63.

religieux ne pouvait pas influencer favorablement son essor éonomique soutenu par une solide base de matière trouvée dans la proximité immédiate. C'est là qui habitaient les rois, les grands prêtres, les hauts dignitaires, une partie de l'aristocratie mais également les gens de tous les jours avec les ouvriers par les efforts desquels on avait dressé les impressionants monuments.

Par tous ces caractéristiques et ses qualités, *Sarmizegéthusa Regia* a été la plus importante agglomération située sur le territoire de la Dacie aux dernières décennies de l'existence de l'État dace.[17]

Nous pensons qu'avec notre ouvrage nous avons contribué par quelques supports assez résistants pour soutenir les affirmations faites par I. Glodariu concernant le caractère de ville de *Sarmizegéthusa Regia*. Nous sommes convaincus que les recherches et les études visant cette question doivent être encore beaucoup approfondies, nuancées, les problèmes, à tirer au clair, et à résoudre étanat encore nombreux.

Cette ville véritable, *Sarmizégethusa Regia*, a atteint son apogée, dans les dernières années du règne du roi Decebalus, aux environs des guerres daces. Malgré cela, sur tout la durée de leur histoire indépendante, à l'exception du cas en question et — éventuellement — du complexe archéologique „Vârful lui Hulpe" – „Fata Cetei" /?/ les Daco-Getes ne sont pas parvenus à avoir des villes du genre de celles d'autour de la Méditerranée. L'évolution pacifique, ascendante, et conformément aux témoignages archéologiques, vigoureuse, a été interrompue de force.

Épuisés à cause des luttes difficiles et prolongées livrées dans des conditions très pénibles et avec beaucoup de sacrifices de sang, les agglomérations ainsi que les fortifications des dimensions les plus différentes, ont été détruites de la manière la plus terrible par la rage des soldats romains vainqueurs.[18] L'annéantissement de *Sarmizegéthusa Regia* a été symbolisée par la destruction des sanctuaires et très probablement par l'enlèvement de la figure (statue) des divinités.

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[17] Cf. *I. Glodariu*: Arhitectura dacilor – civilă şi militară – (sec. II î. e. n. – I. e. n.) (Die Architektur der Daker – Zivil- und Militärbauten – /2. Jh. v. u. Z. – 1. Jh. u. z./). Cluj-Napoca 1983, 47–48.

[18] Concernant l'évocation de ces événements tragiques on trouve une analogie dans l'histoire de la Mésopotamie. Chaque fois qu'on avait conquis une cité-État des bords du Tigre et de l'Euphrate, son anéantissement a été symbolisé par la destruction du sanctuaire et l'enlèvement de la figure des divinités. Voir *Toynbee 1979 96, 208.*

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Jenő Fitz

FORTY YEARS OF RESEARCH AT GORSIUM (1958–1998)

The summary of the partial results of 40 years of excavations is justified even if the new excavations, analyses and debates only slightly modify the general picture. Nevertheless, Gorsium is not one of these excavations. The location itself and its place in the Antiquity, the interpretation of the buildings and their historical relevance have not only been confronted with counter opinions from the research since the very beginnings but even the conductor of the excavations was compelled by the advance of the research to correct his statements giving up earlier opinions. In the course of the repeatedly emerging necessity of a review, the most significant changes can be attributed to the discoveries in the last two or three years.

The Roman site at Tác, Fejér county, has been known by Hungarian archaeological research since the 18th century.[1] The early records mentioned various carved Roman stones and ones with inscriptions walled into the building of the Zichy estate at Nagyláng and used for the reconstruction of the Sárpentele mill and the construction of the Seregélyes church. At that time, the line of a few walls could most probably still be discerned on the surface. In 1783, when the first military survey was made during the reign of II. Josef, bulky walls were noted at the Föveny road crossing the Sárvíz, at the same place and in the same proportions where only traces of the town wall could be followed two centuries later. Flóris Rómer, one of the great promoters of Hungarian archaeology, describing his experiences at the site in the *Archaeologiai Közlemények* in 1866, called it a Roman settlement „*that used to be frequently mentioned*". The size and the significance of the site became more and more pregnant in the first decades of our century when, following the intensifying archaeological research, field surveys and new finds, Arnold Marosi, first director of the museum in Fehérvár, wrote the followings with regard to the Roman sites around Székesfehérvár: „*Among these sites, Tác, with its large extension, the number of finds and its archaeological value is above the rest as a town is above villages.*" Arnold Marosi's lines were soon followed by the first rescue excavations in 1934, when more and more houses, sties and sheds were built in the village from the stones brought to the surface by the plough in the allotted lands in the Nyakas-dűlő at Tác.

Systematic excavation started at Gorsium[2] forty years ago, in 1958. This time it was not the rescue of finds that offered a motive for the excavations. The

[1] To the summary of the research history see *Fitz 1996* 9–14.

[2] Accepting the arguments of earlier research *(Graf 1935* 120), even against contrary opinions (*Tóth 1982* 55–72; *Tóth 1989* 43–56; *Tóth 1992* 97–112; *M. Nagy* cadidate dissertation, manuscript), I will continue to use the name Gorsium/Herculia for the site. There were not two parallel roads running northward in the region each with a station (Gorsium and Herculia) but a single junction collected the roads from Sopianae (two roads on the two sides of the Sárvíz), Poetovio, Arrabona, Brigetio, Aquincum and Intercisa. Excavations, field surveys and aerial photos demonstrated the

Tourist Office of Fejér county, which was founded at that time, wanted to create a significant archaeological spectacle in the county. The choice was the ruin area partly excavated and preserved in the 30's at Tác, where the observations made during the rescue excavations in 1954 really promised the most significant Roman settlement in the wider surroundings of Székesfehérvár. Beside the extension of the ruin area, Tác had two more special advantages. It offered eminent touristic opportunities between the Balaton and Budapest, close to Székesfehérvár and, what was even more favourable, it was far from settlements allowing, thus, a total excavation with the promise of an atmosphere of the Antiquity that cannot be found anywhere else in he world. The goal of the excavations started in 1958 was to revive an antique settlement making use of this unique possibility even if it would take decades, and to create a Hungarian-Pannonian Pompei with the restoration and completion of the ruins on the banks of the Sárvíz.

At the beginning of the excavations, we had little, uncertain and partly contradictory pieces of information about the Roman site at Tác. The uncovery of huge surfaces and the analysis of a find material counting more than a million items, the results of forty years of research, largely added to the formulation of a more or less justified picture about the features and the history of a nearly two thousand years old settlement. Still, one of the most remarkable consequences of the research of forty years is that until the total uncovery of a site, the information is only related to the momentary state of the research and the final picture may basically be changed by the emergence of new phenomena and correlations. If a similar review had been made at the 30th anniversary of the excavations totally different results and interpretations would have been included. Even the 6th edition of the guide of the excavations in 1996[3] offers a different picture of the various spots than the one to be delineated in 1998. In evaluating possible changes it is enough to refer to the fact that only 4–6% of the estimated total extension of Gorsium has been unearthed during the 40 years of research.

The excavations of the museum between 1934 and 1936 and also in 1939 attested to Arnold Marosi's observations and his earlier quoted lines with unexpected significant results. The partial excavation of two buildings was carried out 500 meters from each other. From the two buildings, the northern one in the Nyakas-dűlő seemed to be especially significant. Three large rooms were unearthed here, each closed by a semicircular apse. At the beginning it was interpreted as an early Christian basilica, one of the largest unearthed, until then, in Pannonia.[4] Further excavations, however, soon dissipated the early hopes. A series of smaller and larger rooms were attached to the three rooms and an inner yard delineated encircled with a passage with columns. The more complete ground

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tracks of these roads in the Tác region. The coincidence of the junction of the seven roads and the crossing of the roads suggested from the two stations of identical names in Itinerarium Antonini in the wider vicinity of Székesfehérvár cannot be regarded to be accidental. I also agree with the opinion of Mommsen-Kuzsinszky-Graf in the interpretation of the names of Gorsium and Herculia (see more details in *Fitz 1993* 173–174).

[3] *Fitz 1996.*

[4] *L. Nagy 1938* 60–62.

plan grouped the building among the Roman villas and this interpretation was published in the comprehensive study in 1955.[5]

The rescue excavations in 1954 were necessitated by the construction of a new bridge over the Sárvíz. The traces of a Roman road were uncovered in the stretch of the modified road abandoned because of the bridge. In the course of the further excavations of the building at Margittelep found in 1934 the graves of a cemetery were uncovered from the 4th century beside the ruins of the building.

The excavations launched again in 1958 obviously started with the completion of the excavations of the large „villa" (*building I*) and the building at Margittelep also considered to have been a villa (*building II*).[6] Research endeavoured in this early stage to clarify the character of the settlement occupying a large surface. The earlier mentioned first excavations did not provide an unambiguous proof of the alleged villa settlement and there were not enough evidences for any other interpretations, either. It turned out in the very first years that the villa interpretation cannot be maintained. A Roman villa, especially one with such a large ground plan, is the central building of a large agricultural unit, a residence equal to the rank of the proprietor, which was encircled by other buildings of the estate usually of economic functions. Here, however, there was a paved street along the portico and facing it, there stood a row of shops also decorated with columns (*building IV*). Buildings were also found on the eastern side of the „villa" (*building LXXII*), and the town-like construction suggested a basically different settlement pattern.

The excavation — allowing to touristic aspects — regularly widened the unearthed area in the course of the 40 years and modified the interpretation of the settlement characteristics parallel to the results.[7] It seemed obvious from the beginning that the broad street decorated with columns, bordered by a gutter and a lead water pipe and flanked by buildings suggested a town or at least a town-like settlement the outlook of which was several times changed in result of the changing circumstances, various wars and other catastrophes. The urban characteristics did not necessarily mean that the excavations unearthed an unknown town. According to earlier generally accepted opinions, the northern part of lower Pannonia, starting from the Danube Bend, south of the middle line of the Vértes, not reaching the eastern side of the Balaton and reaching at least until Vajta belonged to the territory of Aquincum.[8] There could have been smaller or larger urban settlements within this vast area, legally, however, they were *vici* belonging to the capital of the province. This is how Bálint Kuzsinszky interpreted Herculia, disregarding its significant temples, in the wider vicinity of Székesfehérvár in the Ókori Lexikon.[9] This concept seemed to have been justified by the finds with

[5] *Thomas 1955* 79–152

[6] The excavations basically changed E. Thomas's concept which could not separate the earlier construction phases from those of the villa due to the incomplete excavation. The total excavation justified A. Mócsy's observation (*Mócsy 1959* 72–73, note 392) regarding the dating.

[7] The results of the excavations were published in the volumes of the Alba Regia except for the years 1967–71.

[8] *Mócsy 1959* 59–73.

[9] *Kuzsinszky 1902* 895–896.

inscriptions found in a secondary position, namely the municipal officials, if the text indicated their attribution to a town, it was either Aquincum or Brigetio.[10] On the stones recovered during the excavations at Tác, the name of the town was not indicated beside the rank of the officials, so they could not solve the problem. The attribution to Aquincum, however is not without contradiction. The statement that the earlier Eraviscan *civitas* automatically became the territory of Aquincum when it was raised to municipal rank seemed already questionable at the formulation of the concept due to the demonstrable officials of the *civitas*. The autochthonous district survived, according to the inscriptions from Bölcske, through the whole of the 3rd century.[11] It probably also meant the demarcation of an area, as the inscriptions of persons in the municipal administration, which primarily defines the extension of the town territory, (*duumviri, decuriones*) can only be found north of the Poetovio – Aquincum road.[12] These boundaries of the town territory do not exclude the possibility that the Tác settlement would have gained a municipal rank.[13] After the survey made by aerial photos and archaeological field walkings, it seemed ambiguous that a settlement of municipal characteristics occupying 150 ha, furnished with paved streets, gutters, water pipes and public building could be called a village (*vicus*). Nevertheless, it cannot be disregarded that emperor Hadrian donated municipal rank to relatively insignificant settlements in Pannonia poor in towns during his urbanisation campaign. Accordingly, it would have been expressly controversial to group Gorsium with municipal conditions among the vici. The criterion according to which only those settlements can be accepted as towns that are called it in inscriptions is not a serious one. The extension and urban features of the settlement at Tác suggest, even if there are no inscriptions to justify, that it cannot be excluded from the list of settlements where a municipal rank can be supposed.

The rank of the settlement has remained unsolved in the 40 years but it was obvious already in the first years that three main phases with different features can be separated in the history of the settlement. In the middle of the 1st century, when Romans occupied the north-eastern part of Pannonia east of the Balaton, a military camp was built at the crossing-place of the Sárvíz, in the crossing of two strategically important roads, one from Italy to the Danube crossing-place at Óbuda (Aquincum), the other from the Balkans to the Danube stretch at Komárom (Brigetio/Ószőny). The occupation of the strategic point is dated to

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[10] CIL III, 3355, 10338. The reference to Brigetio was generally neglected as it did not fit into the concept of the Aquincum origin.

[11] *Soproni 1992* 130–141.

[12] The only inscription that might have proved that the territory of Aquincum reached the southern part of Fejér county came from Vajta-Örspuszta (CIL III, 13365). The completion of the inscription, which would have supported this concept is, however, not correct. See *Fitz 1993–95* 419–420.

[13] *Ibid*, 422–423. – The most significant argument for the municipal rank of Gorsium has lost its validity in the light of recent research. It said that the town based in the place of an abandoned military camp could not be but a *municipium*. The military camp was not replaced, however, with a town but with a sacral district. On the other hand, the place of the emperor cult argues for the municipal rank, since it was placed, as far as we know, near towns. Aerial photos made of Gorsium indicate a large settlement next to the sacral district.

the time between 46 and 49 AD[14] by the brick stamps of *ala Scubulorum*,[15] a military diploma[16] and a tombstone.[17] After the development of the Roman defence line along the Danube, the military camp became unnecessary. The pulling down of the barracks and the filling in of the ditches of the fortification were immediately followed by new constructions. The *legio X Gemina*, temporarily stationed in Aquincum took part in both with a builder *vexillatio*. The legion left for the camp of Vindobona in 106 or at the time when Hadrian occupied the throne at the latest,[18] and the beginning of the constructions can be dated from Traian's reign after 106. At the time of the Marcoman wars (167–180), the settlement suffered serious damage but it was reconstructed, partly with new constructions and partly with reconstructions, by the end of the 2nd century. Its flourishing period, which followed Septimus Severus's visit in 202, was terminated by another barbarian attack which effected the whole of Pannonia in 260. It demolished everything that had been built in the previous one and a half century to a degree that emperor Diocletian founded a new town in the place of the old one after having cleaned away the ruins at the end of the century.[19] This is the third phase of the settlement (the new town was named Herculia), which, after its flourishing in the 4th century, outlived the constant haggling of the Migration Period within the defence of the town walls and the inhabitants survived to see the Hungarian occupation. It is probably due to the surviving local population, with growing Slavic features from the 8th and 9th centuries, that no trace of the Hungarian occupation could be found here. The small village carrying on its life during the Middle Ages, mentioned as Föveny as early as St Stephen's time,[20] perished in the Turkish wars.

The military camp, although only the ditch constructed in accordance to Roman patent, the northern and the southern gates and the traces of a few wooden barracks have remained of it, meant, for a long time, the basic information on the structure of the town. Where Romans created a town in the place of an abandoned military camp, the street system and the town centre was arranged according to the structure of the camp.[21] All signs suggested that the same practise was realised in the urban settlement of Tác as well. The stone buildings appeared right above the remains of the earlier military camp and the streets of the town stayed where they had been in the camp. The roads crossing the town were not modified by the reconstruction in Diocletian's time and the town centre occupied, with some slight divergence, the area of the camp. The main street with colon-

[14] *Gerov 1967* 98–99.

[15] *Szilágyi 1952* 214–215.

[16] CIL XVI 20.

[17] CIL XIII 7580.

[18] On the lower Pannonian stationing of *legio X Gemina* see *Fitz 1993* 163–164; *Fitz 1993–95* II, 589.

[19] No settlement continuity could be demonstrated between the town demolished in 260 and the one rebuilt in the 290's. The recent research attested to an even more conspicuous gap. The centre of the new town was not in the centre of the old one but in the region of the perished *area sacra*.

[20] *Györffy 1987*, 85.

[21] From the well-known examples the ground plan of the legion camp of Glevum and the colonia founded in its place can be mentioned. *Wacher 1975* 140–148, figs. 32–35.

nades crossing the town in a west-east direction, the *decumanus maximus*, north of which stood *building I* once believed to have been a villa, was cut through in the western side. It revealed that traffic followed more or less in the same track from the beginning of the 2nd century and it was even aligned with the main street of the military camp (*via principalis*). The north-south directed main street (*cardo maximus*) ended at the *decumanus maximus* in the first urban period similarly to military camps leading up to a larger building with an inner yard (*building XIV*). According to the traces surviving from the camp period, the *principia*, the headquarters of the camp used to stand here. Its place was always occupied in the following municipal period by the centre of the settlement, the *forum*. The cutting of the *cardo maximus* in 1995 did not only reveal the pavement of the streets of the military camp and the town from the 2nd and 3rd centuries and the Late Roman Period. The southern gate of the military camp also lay under the pavement of the later street.[22] This camp type served as the basis for the identification of the building with the inner yard in the town centre with the *forum* and the building of three cells, a portico in the front and a sacrificial spot attached to the side (*building XLII*) unearthed behind it with the capitolium temple.

As research went on, however, contradictions appeared that questioned the validity of the camp-pattern in the 2nd and 3rd centuries. The first phase of excavations unearthed several significant buildings from the 4th century around the „villa" (*building I* – also dated to the same century by recent excavations), worth conserving, as the 70 m long row of shops south of the *decumanus maximus* (*tabernae* = *building IV*), and two early Christian basilicas (*buildings III* and *V*). There were few opportunities to excavate and interpret the walls sometimes appearing under these buildings. These few walls, however, were different from what one could expect in a town. None of the buildings seemed to have been dwelling houses. The questions emerged with more emphasis in the region where the lack of buildings from the 4th century or their secondary significance allowed the total excavations of the underlying buildings.

In the 1960's, the remains of various halls, decorative wells, staircases, temples, shrines, impressive public buildings were unearthed one after the other (*buildings VII, IX, XXIV, XXXIV, XVII, XVIII, X, XL*) east of the supposed town centre (the „*forum*" = *building XIV*), which demanded an appropriate interpretation in a relatively small town (the small grade of which was defined by the proportion of the „*forum*"). In the case of Gorsium, it was a logical presumption that the buildings can be attributed to the religious centre of the province. Theodor Mommsen, the most eminent specialist in Roman epigraphy, had located it, based on two inscriptions, to Sárpentele or Székesfehérvár, but certainly in the wider vicinity of Székesfehérvár already in the second half of the last century.[23] The two

[22] Alba Regia, volume XXVII, in press.

[23] CIL III p. 432. Mommsen did not know anything about archaeological phenomena. His statement was partly based on the mistaken distance data in the *Itinerarium*, partly on the interpretation of three inscriptions. He wrote the followings: „... ut fortasse nem erret, qui ibi prope et maxime ad SárPentele vicum, abi prodierunt tituli sacri plerique, rerum sacrarum Pannoniae Infe-

inscriptions, one a building tablet about the reconstruction of the temple ordered by emperors Septimus Severus and Caracalla themselves,[24] the other an altar erected by all the priests of the province (Dolichenus?) in honour of the two emperors,[25] were found at Sárpentele from where no Roman remains have since been reported. The manuscript of Cattaneo, Italian scientist, luckily survived from the middle of the 18th century with the description of the two inscriptions: here, the stones were located to Fövenypuszta, that is Gorsium.[26] The name of Székesfehérvár was mentioned in relation to the sacral district of the province by the reason of the large number of Roman stone remains found among the ruins of the Royal basilica. Nevertheless, no Roman buildings have ever since been found in the inner city of Székesfehérvár while the excavations at Gorsium proved that these stone remains had been transported to the royal seat from the late walls of Gorsium when Saint Stephen had started large-scale constructions.[27] At that time, the town walls of Gorsium were pulled down to the foundations on the northern, the eastern and the southern sides and the stones were transported to Fehérvár. The stone transporters of the Middle Ages could not reach the foundation wall on the western side because of the higher water level of the Sárvíz. From there, numerous carved stones, cornices, columns, engaged columns, tomb stones and inscriptions were recovered from the period perished in 260 mirroring the richness of a Roman settlement above the average level. The Roman carved stones taken to Sárpentele or Székesfehérvár certainly originated from the Roman settlement at Tác. The clarification of the origin of the stones, however, did not decide if the religious centre of the province really could be supposed at Gorsium as Mommsen had suggested. Several contrary opinions have been expressed. András Alföldi, who did not known about the significance of Gorsium originated the Roman stones in Székesfehérvár from Aquincum implying that they had been transported to Székesfehérvár to the royal constructions.[28] The most important stones from this material, he argued, had been taken from Székesfehérvár to the construction of the mill on the Sárvíz after the Turkish wars.[29] The place of the emperor cult must have been the capital of the province, Aquincum, although neither building remains nor inscriptions or anything else supported this concept. This theory cannot be accepted in the knowledge of the results of the excavations, although, the great mass of ruins unearthed at the site makes it doubtful that Saint Stephen would have transported the stone material for his constructions from 70 kms when high standing walls could be found 6 km from the royal town.[30]

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rioris sedem fuisse statuat et hund vicum comparat cum ara Galliarum dedicata extra Lugudunum ad consluentes Aravis et Rhodani."

[24] CIL III 3342.

[25] CIL III 3343.

[26] *Cattaneo 1819.*

[27] See the debate on the origin of the Roman stone remains in Székesfehérvár *Fitz 1958; Fitz 1993; Fitz 1997.*

[28] *Alföldi 1940* 195–200.

[29] Such a stone transportation seems to be totally impossible knowing the constructions in Székesfehérvár in the 18th century.

[30] The concept of stone transportation from Aquincum, also appearing in E. Tóth's arguments, is a basically absurd idea. The Fehérvár constructions needed stone material not carved stones.

The realistic approach of the king was attested to by the fact that he made a special road constructed for stone transportation between Föveny and Fehérvár.[31]

A new chapter opened in the estimation of the place of provincial emperor cult when in the region where, slightly correcting Mommsen's opinion concerning the origin of the stone remains, the sacral district should have been shrines and halls really came to light. The congruence of the inscriptions and the archaeological data suggested that the sacral district of the emperor cult of Lower Pannonia province was found in the course of the excavations in the 60's. Opposing views also appeared regarding this interpretation. They, however, were premature. They were based on the defective knowledge of 5, 10 or 15 years earlier archaeological data or on misunderstandings, on which unjustifiable, basically improbable presumptions (a military camp surviving after 106, mystery cult, the scene of military ceremonies, Dolichenus- and *Dii Magni* cults[32]) were built. The character of contrary opinions aiming neither at the refutation of arguments supported by data, nor at the elucidation and correction of real contradictions and misunderstandings in the working phase is due to the lack of a good grasp of the facts. The attempts to „correct" Mommsen's interpretation were also unfortunate,[33] disregarding the size of the sacral district surpassing the significance of the alleged cult. The contrary opinions did not advance the interpretation of the phenomena in any respect.

In this period of the excavations, until the middle of the 90's, it seemed that the sacral district was placed within the town east of the „*forum*" (*building XIV*) in the centre. The huge halls decorated with columns (*buildings VII* and *IX*) could be reached on a stair from the west-east directed main street. The wall between the staircases was decorated with decorative wells and nymphaei.

A part of further excavations seemed to justify this interpretation. The archaeological observations also corroborated the earlier statements about the periods of the settlement. There is no doubt that the major part of the buildings belonging to the cult came from the beginning of the 2nd century. Some of them perished during the Marcoman wars (e. g. the spring shrine [*building XXXIV*], the podium-temple [*building XVII*], the dining hall [*building XL*] etc.) which means that they had been standing in the middle of the 2nd century. The coins and a large number of datable finds date the foundation of the sacral district, in a wide limit, to the first two decades of the 2nd century, that is to the time when emperor Traian set up a series of sacral districts of the emperor cult in the provinces along the Danube.[34] The same dating was supported by the brick stamps of the *legio X Gemina,* which were found at the bottom of the ditch of the military camp under the filling, and in the destruction layer of the early constructions

Roman brick remains also were found in the stone material uncovered during the excavations of the Székesfehérvár basilica. Stone transportation was made from ruins where carved stone were used and bricks and brick fragments were also mixed. Similarly to the preserved western town wall the pulled down walls must have been the same in Gorsium.

[31] Erdődy oklevéltár, Vép 79, 4290.

[32] On their refutation see *Fitz 1993* and *Fitz 1997*.

[33] On their evaluation see *Fitz 1997* 62.

[34] *Fitz 1993–95* II, 422–423.

(*buildings XIV, XLII, LXX*) caused by the Marcoman wars. This dating, the authenticity of which was questioned by contrary opinions without giving any evidence, obviously excluded the possibility to see the scene of any eastern cult in the sacral district. Such a cult cannot be expected before the Marcomann wars, or rather prior to the turn of the 2nd and 3rd centuries. The excavations unearthed the building where the feasts were held after the festivals (*building XL*) and the amphitheatre (*building VI*), the inevitable scenes in similar sacral districts of common programs attached to the festival ceremonies, gladiator fights, animal fights.

Another part of the excavations, however, suggested from the 80's that there are hardly explainable contradictions concerning the dichotomy of the town and the sacral district. The main street crossing the town in a west-east direction (*decumanus maximus*) proceeded to a staircase after the eastern decorative well which led up a small mound in the early period, that is at the time of the sacral district. The town structure going back to the military camp, consequently, did not work in the eastern part of the town. In the supposed axis of the sacred district (which means the halls and shrines north of *decumanus maximus, buildings VII-XVIII*), the temple of the province must have stood erected in the honour of the deified emperor Augustus, or in honour of all the emperors deified after death. The main altar of the province always stood in front of the *Augustus temple* where the high priest of the province offered sacrifice every year in the presence of the delegates of the province. The excavations searched for the temple in the centre of the sacral district, in the axis of the central staircase between the two decorative wells, the pedestal of the emperor's statue in the central hall and another staircase and finally in that of a podium, all in vain. The lack of the Augustus temple did not only strengthen earlier doubts but the various interpretations concerning the function of the region also obtained a strong argument.

Finally, the contradictions were solved not by the stubborn search for the *Augustus temple* but by the advance of systematic excavations. The temple was found unexpectedly and on an unusual spot in 1996, on the mound where the staircase at the eastern decorative well leads (*building LXX*). This area was approached from the south by a Canadian group of archaeologists, who unearthed houses from the 4th century since 1987 on. *Building LXIII*, on which they were working for years, reached the *decumanus maximus* on the north. It was here that the huge pillars appeared among the later ruins, which, in the course of further excavations, proved to belong to the front of the temple.

The excavation of the temple has not yet been finished, its main measurements and structure, however, are already known. The 13 m broad western front was decorated by the above mentioned four columns resting on pillars (the basalt columns from a Minor Asian Antique quarry three of which can be seen in the Medieval ruin garden in Székesfehérvár and the highly injured fourth one was erected in the last century in the park facing the hospital). The northern and southern long sides surpass the 26 m. They were divided into two cells where statues of the gods stood. It was a regular Roman temple with a pompous western front, engaged columns on the side with the cells and a stair in front of it leading to the level of the nymphaei. Some of the carved stones imbedded in the foundation

of the western town wall came from the Augustus temple, as the large engaged columns decorating the cells and the especially fine large coppice fragments. The level sequence and the find material, among others the brick stamp of the *legio X Gemina*, unambiguously date the construction of the temple to the time of emperor Traian.

The discovery of the temple opens a new chapter, first of all, in the evaluation of Mommsen's theory, but it also significantly modifies our concept of Gorsium. It became obvious that the sacral district does not only mean the mound north of the *decumanus maximus*, but its most emphatic building is south of it (*building LXX*). It means that the extension of the sacral district was several times larger than suggested by earlier research. The wall partitioned with decorative wells and stairs made a part of the northern wall of the square in front of the temple and the pompous halls must only have been scenes of certain parts of festival ceremonies. All these suggest further halls and shrines, *basilicas* in an antique sense and buildings of as yet unidentified functions, all belonging to the sacral district may be expected that in the southern side of the square and all the buildings bordering the square from the west must be reinterpreted (*Fig. 1*).

The 40th excavational season in 1997 wanted to define the central square. The financial frames significantly surpassing those of the previous years allowed, on the one hand, to totally pull down the seats built for theatrical pieces in the 70's occupying the larger part of the square and, on the other hand, to analyse the several times rejuvenated level of the square. In the course of these works, the edge of the buildings bordering the square from the south were also found (*buildings XCVI* and *XCVII*) which afforded an alternative definition of the extension of the square. The square was 45 meters broad between the northern wall decorated with nymphaei and *building XCVI* closing the square from the south. (Until further excavations the dating and the function of building XCVI cannot be determined. The huge building would narrow the square with about 10 to 15 meters.) The length of the square can be estimated to about 90 m. If the latter estimation would prove true, the earlier unearthed shrine decorated with columns (*building XXVII*) would form the western side of the square.[35] There is nothing to prove better the size and significance of the square than comparing it with the sacral district on Pfaffenberg in Carnuntum, the seat of Upper Pannonia. It would have enough room in the central square of Gorsium with all its temples, monuments and theatre.

Knowing the estimated measurements of the large square we could attempt to locate the main altar of the province. Its place may have been defined by the Romans in the axis of the *Augustus temple* and the staircase-statue-stair line might have been used for a second axis the one we earlier thought to be the main axis. The excavation carried out in the intersection of the two axes luckily found the place of the demolished altar's foundation.

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[35] This is the building with the inscription of Virius Mecator *sacerdos* can be read on the base who erected his inscription *pro salute templensium*, in honour of those belonging to the sacral district. The completion of the fragmentary first line and the derived consequences cannot be accepted (*Alföldy 1997* 225–241).

The earlier observation which excluded the possibility of Gorsium being a Roman official cultic place cannot be maintained after having defined the place of the temple, the central square and the main altar.[36] On the contrary, the temple, the square in front of it and the encircling buildings make it obvious that it is a sacral district of a significant size in provincial relations, which functioned from the setting up of the province to the catastrophe in 260. There is nothing to refute the essence of Mommsen's definition which attributed the two inscriptions from Sárpentele – Gorsium to the emperor cult of the province.[37]

In the knowledge of the Augustus temple, the main altar of the province and especially the main square, the interpretation of the buildings from the 2nd and 3rd centuries, unearthed since 1958 and not attributed up to now to the sacral district has radically changed. The main square must have stood in the centre of the sacral district and building groups of approximately identical sizes must have stood on its four sides. The part north of the square was about 100 meters wide between the wall proportioned by stairs and the fence of the sacral district. The same width can be supposed on the western side where *building XXVII* with a colonnade and the last *building*, No. *LXIX* next to the Sárvíz also delineated an area with a width of 100 m. The buildings unearthed so far do not contradict this concept. None of them were living houses or other profane buildings that would be alien in the religious centre of the province. Their function should be interpreted in a different way than earlier. The interpretation of the house with a large inner yard (*building XIV*) at the crossing of the west-east and north-south directed streets, unearthed in the centre of earlier excavations, cannot be held. This house, in accordance to the practice observed in towns founded in the place of military camps, was interpreted, against contrary opinions, as the *forum* of the town. The building with a central yard and several small rooms around it lies, actually, outside the sacral district, it is separated from the scene of the ceremonies by a street and a fence. Based on Greek analogues (e. g. Leonidaion in Olympia) it must have been a guesthouse offering accommodation to the delegates of Lower Pannonian towns and districts who attended the ceremonies. *Building XLII* with three cells, a sacrificial spot and a portico on the main front and an eminent find of a Iuppiter head certainly cannot be the Capitolium temple. In the case of some of the other buildings, cultic function has already been suggested, as e. g. the house with the fresque (*building XXIII*) with twice two Silvanus statues and an altar, and the earlier mentioned *building XXVII* with a colonnade and a basement sacrificed to an unknown deity standing on the

[36] *E. Tóth 1989* 54: „Es gibt kein Zeichen dafür, da(man die der Tácer Gebäude in der römischen Religiosität im öffentlichen und zivilen Kult suchen müte."

[37] CIL III 3242 inscription fragment refers to the reconstruction of the Augustus temple (*building LXX*), which was ordered by emperors Septimus Severus and Caracalla probably on the occasion of their visit in 202. The following completion may be suggested: *[Imperat]ores d[omini nn(ostri) L(ucius) Septim\ius S]everus et M(arcus) [Aurelius Antoninus/Aug]usti templu(m) d[ivi Augusti* or-*ivorum Augustorum/vetust]ate conlaps[um inpensis suis refe/cerun]t cur[ante L(ucii) Baebii Caeciliani/legati Augg(ustorum) pr(o) pr(aetore) -----].* The CIL III 3243 altar, which was ereceted by all the priests of the province to Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus in honour of the two emperors also refers to Septimus Severus and Caracalla: Before the Dolichenus cult demolished during the reign of Maximinus Thrax only these two emperors can be considered in the inscription.

western side of the square. They can be accepted as parts of the sacral district similarly to the building beside the latter shrine (*building XXXII*) where bells implying the cult of Iuppiter Dolichenus were found.

If all the unearthed buildings from the 2nd and 3rd century period belong to the sacral district another earlier contradiction seems to be elucidated. In Gorsium, similarly to the other sacral districts of the provincial emperor cult known in details and their stone remains, the sacral district lay in an area separated from the town and legally belonged not to the town but to the provincial assembly.[38]

It also means that excavations have not found the early town centre of Gorsium, it is a task of future excavations. Aerial photos and the finds discovered by field surveys delineate the Roman settlement in an area of about 150 ha. The sacral district is only a fraction of it, its size is estimated at the present state of research to 9 ha. The new interpretation basically modifies our concept about the status of Gorsium. Based on the extension of the civil settlement, it cannot be excluded that the sacral district of the province was built next to a town, similarly to Tarraco[39] and Lugdunum,[40] as the inscriptions we known always connect the scene of the emperor cult with towns in the Danubian provinces. Gorsium, however, cannot be considered as a town with 'ab ovo' municipium rank founded in the place of an abandoned military camp. The circumstance that none of the inscriptions mention the rank of the town diminishes in the new situation the probability of the alleged municipal rank. The question will have to be left open until the excavation of the centre of the civil town.

The definitive role of the sacral district and the insecurity of the alleged municipal rank do not influence our concept, accepting earlier views of the research, concerning the name of the settlement. The cross-roads unambiguously demonstrated by excavations, archaeological survey and aerial photos at Tác is certainly identical with the „*Gorsio sive Hercule*" station in the *Itinerarium Antonini*. New observations, nevertheless, rendered this statement more complex, too. The military camp used to occupy the cross-roads, which later shifted about 300 m to the east and touched the eastern fringes of the settlement in the 2nd, 3rd and 4th centuries.

The interpretation of the area earlier understood as the town centre of Gorsium, now as the sacral district offers an advance in two problematic questions. Based on the structure of the military camp and the street system of the town in the 4th century following the former, it seems certain until the 90's that the bridge over the Sárvíz was built in front of the western gate of the camp (that is the town gate of the 4th century) (*Fig. 2*). 150 m south of this place, the excavations of the south-eastern corner turret of the late town, unearthed a larger paved area with three large pillars west of the turret towards the stream. Both the square and the pillars belonged to the previous period similarly to the small harbour next to the square. The square continued toward west in a broad rampart, a road on a pier, (its western part was found during the excavations in 1954),

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[38] *Hänlein 1981* 513.
[39] *Alföldy 1978* 600.
[40] *Audin 1956*.

which the stream broke through in a short stretch next to the large paved square. (the supposed bridge has not yet been excavated). In the 2nd and 3rd centuries this was the track of the main road to Italy. This divergence from the earlier and the later routes could not be explained as long as the constructions around 106 were attributed to the town founded in the place of the military camp. In the case of the sacral district, however, it is understandable that the circulation of the significant road leading across the settlement could not be allowed to cross the scene of the cult. The west-east directed main road, which was joined by each a road from the north (from Arrabona) and from the south (from Sopianae along the western bank of the Sárvíz) at the crossing of the Sárvíz proceeded by the southern entrance of the sacral district and reached the road from Sopianae (east of the Sárvíz) to Aquincum at the cross-roads defined by archaeological methods (*Fig. 3*).

The other unsolved question was the location of the rich stone material that, according to László Barkóczi's studies, is related to the sacral district of Gorsium.[41] The huge tablets of mythological themes from Intercisa, to which analogous depictions were found at Gorsium and Székesfehérvár, originally used to stand, according to L. Barkóczi's analyses, in the religious centre of the province. They were transported from there to the constructions of the limes necessitated by the catastrophe in 260. The stone material belonged to three series related to the 900th anniversary of the foundation of Rome, the festivals at the time of Septimus Severus and the festival to celebrate the anniversary of Rome. The halls unearthed north of the central square were not sufficient to house the three series. The changed proportions of the sacral district offer a solution for the parallel presentation of the series. The clarification of the size and significance of the sacral district makes it obvious that the three series can only be assumed in this area.

The earlier results of the excavations concerning the reconstruction in the 4th century were not modified by the reinterpretations only the location of the town centre needs to be explained in a different way. In the earlier phase of the excavation, it seemed obvious that emperor Diocletian created the new centre in the place of the old, demolished town centre. No we think it different. Dioclatian chose the abandoned sacral district for the centre of the new town. It is a significant difference, its magnitude cannot as yet be estimated. Very little is known about the settlement outside the sacral district. Stone living houses from the 4th century are known in the width of 200 meters on the southern side. Until the Marcomannic wars, a rural settlement occupied an about 300 m broader zone than the town district in the 4th century. After the war, the southern part of the region was occupied by a military territory, and the burnt down cottages next to the sacral district were replaced by stone buildings. The rural settlement, with finds from the 1st century, must have been a vicus at the military camp. Its position and function in the 1st century suggest that the earlier vicus was turned into the core of the later town (municipium?). The same seems to be supported by the Poetovio–Aquincum road, which led between the *area sacra* and this

[41] *Barkóczi 1984* 170–193

settlement after the foundation of the sacral district. A larger public building from the 2nd and 3rd centuries (*building LXIX*) in the north-eastern part of the mound in the centre of the region, and the area in front of it can be considered at the search for the town centre.

The eat-west directed road (Poetovio – Aquincum) touched the about 300 m broad settlement part east of the sacral district. A stone house (*building LII*) from the 3rd century is known here with the bronze statue of the Apis bull in the find material, nothing, however, can be said about the periods of the settlement.

Only the aerial photos help to estimate the bulk of the buildings in the northern part. Only the place of the *amphitheatre* (*building VI*) is known from among them. The northern part was divided into two equal parts in the 4th century by the road starting at the northern gate of the town centre and leading towards the Mór valley. Aerial photos indicate a series of streets and houses arranged in square pattern over a surface of 500 x 500 m. It means that a larger extension of municipal constructions can be expected here. Except for the *amphitheatre* belonging to the sacral district, the layer series of the region is not known, neither how large an area the first municipal period occupied and if it should be considered in relation to the early town centre.

One thing is obvious, the new foundation in Diocletian's time disregarded the earlier buildings within the area of the perished sacral district and basically changed the structure of the settlement. Abandoning the earlier centre, if there had been any, replaced it to an area surrounded by walls.

The majority of the buildings unearthed from the 4th century town centre were public houses (*Fig. 4*). Such a one was the palace, earlier described as a basilica, (*building I*) with a peristyle (with an extension of 60 x 50 m), a bath, large rooms with floor heating, a long economic yard workshops on the eastern side and. It might have been the palace of an official of high rank of Valeria Province, maybe the procurator of the province, but it may also have been the palace of the proconsul who did not control the affairs of the province from Aquincum any more. In the town surrounded by walls, an antique temple from the time of the town foundation (*building LXXV*) used to stand above the eastern part of the earlier hall consisting of five parts (*building IX*). Only four large pillars of the column series decorating the front have remained from it. Another building with a colonnade must also have been a public house as suggested by the find material (*building V*). Beside the *cardo maximus* elongated to the northern gate, against contrary opinions,[42] an earlier (*building V*) and a later (*building III*) early Christian basilica can be seen. A *subsellium*, the characteristic seat of the priests, was found in the northern part of the oblong- shaped building standing on the eastern side of the street and a font was attached to the western basilica, similar to the ones in Dalmatia and Noricum. The surroundings of the latter basilica was regularly used for burials from the 5th century. Facing the palace, a long row of shops (*building IV*) was built along the southern side of the *decumanus maximus*. The long building with a podium at its end (*building LXIII*), raised above the

[42] *Tóth 1994* 247.

frontal part of the *Augustus temple*, was probably a public building with cultic functions. There were, furthermore, two public baths on the two sides of the *decumanus maximus* (*buildings XXXI* and *XCV*). The larger building unearthed in the south-eastern corner of the centre encircled by walls must have served cultic purposes (*building LIII*). Its western part was occupied by a hall of three naves and a grave was found under its floor.

The period of the 4th century can only be dated with indirect evidences. Following the catastrophe in 260, the coin circulation started again at the end which dates the beginning of the constructions to the 290's. This is the time of the foundation of Valeria province and of the great rejuvenations after the long war period. The same is attested by the name of the town. It was named Herculia in honour of emperor Maximianus Herculius. Valeria province got its name from Diocletian's daughter and our source, the *Itinerarium Antonini* from the end of the 3rd century, mentions a town Iovia in the southern part of Valeria derived from Diocletian's cognomen Iovius. The same source preserved the name of the old station, Gorsium as well beside the new one, Herculia, mentioning the cross-roads at Tác.[43] The town walls certainly came from the early period of the construction works. Directly under the walls, the ruins demolished in the 3rd century appear, consequently, no construction phase can be supposed between the two. The early town wall construction is confirmed by the circumstance that the earlier carvings found among the ruins were used in the earliest buildings of the new town: in the column row of the *decumanus maximus*, the palace, the row of shops, and the town walls.

The large-scale expansion of the sacral district in Gorsium described above significantly, qualitatively changes our concept of this Roman settlement. The modifications based on the recent results partly reinforced our earlier concept about the existence and significance of the sacral district (the extension, magnitude and archaeological significance has been multiplied), partly necessitated the correction of some earlier definitions. At the same time, a series of unsolved new problems emerged concerning, first of all, the character, the topography, the centre and the rank of the settlement around the sacral district. The new questions will be answered by further research.

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[43] Contrary to the uniform opinions of Mommsen and the earlier research, E. Tóth does not consider the Pannonian place names in the Tetrarchy period acceptable, especially not for Tác (*Tóth 1982* 62). His argument – „Gorsium's name was changed to Herculia during the Tetrarchy; it happened because the town became an administrative centre. Or to put it different: Gorsium became an administrative centre so its name was changed to Herculia." This wording in this form serve the illustration of an unacceptable connection. But it was not the case. Gorsium was totally destroyed in 260. It did not exist in the next 30 years. It was, consequently, not a change of the name, but the name of a town founded and created in the place of the demolished sacral district during the Tetrarchy. The town founded in an important cross-roads of the new province, surrounded by walls, furnished with several public buildings, a palace obviously with official purposes, may have originally been intended to be an administrative centre of the new province. In the province named after Valeria, the Herculia name is not astonishing even if the new town founded by central intentions did not become an administrative centre.

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CAPTIONS

Fig. 1. Sacral district.
Fig. 2. Military camp.
Fig. 3. Road system around the sacral district.
Fig. 4. Fourth century town centre.

Dorottya Gáspár

RECENTLY RECOVERED CASKET MOUNTS FROM PANNONIA

Casket mounts are frequent finds in Pannonia and it was not really expected after the analysis and total register of the find group[1] that the Pannonian material might bring surprise. Still these recent finds brought the unexpected surprise. The first peculiarity was the occurrence of a piece with a depiction that had been met at another site in Pannonia and the technique of the two pieces match to the tiniest detail. The other surprise was the technical execution of the depiction itself.

The excavations were conducted by Dr. Márta H. Kelemen to whom I am very grateful for the permission of the publication of the find.

1. Site: Esztergom Bánomi dűlő, a late Roman cemetery dated from the 4th-5th centuries. Altogether 333 graves were unearthed. The bronze plate has survived in a nearly totally intact state on the frontal side of the casket (*Fig. 1*).[2] Several pieces of the wooden parts of the casket have also been preserved (*Fig. 2*). Edge plate fragments, nails and nail heads were found (*Fig. 3*) together with fragments of the iron hinge joining the lid to the bottom of the casket (*Fig. 4*). The ring-key of the casket represents the „a" variety of Type VIII (*Fig. 4*).

The depiction of the bronze plate on the cover: *genius*, spring, summer, autumn, winter. The same scene is repeated as the upper depiction at the bottom of the casket where the key hole for a turning key was cut into the scene of summer. Under the bronze plate, an animal frieze and a *thiasos* depiction can be found. The *thiasos* scene must certainly have been closed by a plain bronze plate at the lower edge of the casket. This metal band, however, could not be wider than half a centimetre. The scenes of the seasons are inserted into metopes while the *thiasos* scene is a coherent series.

The measurements of the plate on the lid are: 7.2 x 31 cm, those of the plate on the bottom: 7 x 29.8 cm. The same depiction is known from Ságvár.[3]

The exact matching between this piece and No. 838 proves that the embossing of the plates was made on a die with the whole composition at least where the depiction of a longer and coherent composition was intended. This is also valid for compositions divided into metopes as the seasons, in our case, depicted in metopes. The examination of the reverse sides of the plates renders it unambiguous that the pattern, i. e. the die is a negative one. This is the only explanation to the fact that the sharp meeting of the lines constituting the shapes can be observed on the reverse sides while they appear on the obverse sides as concave or convex lines. It certainly does not exclude the possibility, however, that there

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[1] *D. Gáspár*: Römische Kästchen aus Pannonien. I–II. Antaeus (MittArchInst) 15. Budapest 1986.

[2] The photos were made by Tibor Kádas, the drawings by Sándor Ősi.

[3] *idem*. Kat-No 838 Mórichida-Kisárpás

were dies with just smaller patterns, which, accordingly, could be inserted into various compositions.

The piece yielded the solution to another problem as well. Up to now, it was the large number of the casket mounts that suggested the local Pannonian production of the majority. The occurrence of two identical pieces now corroborates this concept. The heights of the plates are different[4] as on this piece the undecorated edge was left above the metopes.

2. Site: Esztergom, Arany János street. A Roman cemetery from the 4th century. Altogether 5 graves were unearthed. The casket was found in grave 1. No wood has survived and the bronze plates are rather fragmentary. The plate covering the lid is the most intact one, even the loop has survived. The depictions were inserted into metopes. The depictions of the plate are the following ones starting from the left side: Diana, Minerva, Victoria, Venus Iuno (*Fig. 5*). The measurements of the pate with Diana's depictions is 6.5 x 7 cm, those of the other plates are 24.3 x 7 cm. Accordingly, the reconstructed width of the casket is approximately 31 cm.

From the plate series at the bottom of the casket, a series of town personifications has survived. The frieze displays lion heads and medusa heads in tondos framed with strings of beads. One of the tondos contains the portrait of a man. The two sides of the frieze must have been closed with each a portrait one of which has survived. There was another series of scenes in metopes under the frieze. Very little of this series has survived. The remains suggest that each metope contained one figure. A lion turning back can still be discerned in the second metope (*Figs 6–7*).

Personifications of towns: a/ Rome. Inscription: INVICTA ROMA. b/ Constantinople. Inscription: CONST[ANTIN]OPOL[IS]. The measurements of these two plates are 10.2 x 8.8 cm. c/ Perhaps Carnuntum /Carthago. Inscription: F[elix] KA[...] The measurements of the plate are: 8.5 x 6.8 cm.

An example for town personification in Pannonia can be found on the casket mount from Pécs.[5] On the piece from Pécs, Rome sits in the central position flanked by Carthago and Constantinople on the one side and Nicomedia and Siscia on the other. The list would suggest that the fragmentary inscription of KA should stand for Carthago, nevertheless, on a mount unearthed in Carnuntum[6] the inscription [F]ELIX KA can be read. It was obviously accepted that KA stands for Carnuntum due to the site. Apart from the site, however, there is nothing to stand either for or against Carnuntum similarly to the case of the mount from Esztergom.

On the mount from Esztergom the persons representing the three towns are seated. The series is started by Rome. He wears a helmet on the head, holds a spear in the left hand. On his right Victoria stands on the globe. The shield on her left is placed on the floor and leans against her throne. There is a captive at her feet to represent the defeated. From the personification of Constantonople, the head with the *corona radiata*, the upper cross beam of the throne and the *vexillum* beside the throne have remained, the handle of which latter can be seen

[4] That is the heights of this piece and of No. 838.
[5] *idem*. Kat-Nr 903.
[6] *idem* Kat-Nr 1910

next to the foot of the throne. Facing the *vexillum*, above the throne, the remains of the bronze plate as so poorly preserved that the depiction cannot be discerned. The deterioration of the plate renders the definition of the object even more difficult, it seems to be some kind of *signum*. Carthago/Carnuntum sits on the throne in side-face view but trunk already faces us. The dress is folded over his right arm while the left is extended as of Victoria. It can only be guessed what he held in the left hand. If the depiction stands for Carthago, an ear of wheat can be supposed based on the symbols of *Notitia Dignitatum* Africa proconsularis.[7] The handle of a *signum* can be seen right of his throne. The remaining details allow the supposition that a snake coiled up the signum. The keyhole was cut into this plate. It shows that this plate was at the bottom of the casket, the scene series in the first line of the bottom. It was followed by the band with the depictions of lion and Medusa heads. From a technical respect, this is the case where not a single die was prepared for the whole series but there were two separate ones for the lion head and the Medusa head. The same is suggested by the irregular space between the medals or sometimes a discrepancy from the horizontal line. Similar depictions can also be seen on other casket mounts from Pannonia.[8] Analogues can also be found to the decoration between the medals and the metopes.[9] The decoration itself is rather common so I will not spare time for its general distribution.

The peculiarity of the new find is due to the deity figures on the plate covering the frontal part of the lid. This peculiarity is partly iconographical and partly technical. The technical solutions point to casket mounts outside Pannonia. The analogue is Abbeville/HombliPres „Kasten I".[10] Buschhausen wrote the followings about the scene most important for us: „Rechts neben dem Schlüsselloch erscheint in einem mit Perlband gerahmten Hochrechteck die nach links gerichtete, stehende Gestalt der Roma, bekleidet mit Helm, Palla und von den Schultern über den Rücken fallendem Mantel, der bis zur Erde reicht."[11] On the Esztergom mount, I identified Minerva in the same god figure partly because Minerva is more common on series with god depictions, partly because Rome is already represented on the plate. The body proportions and the rough depiction of the dress are the traits that technically connect the two mounts. The dresses are depicted perfunctorily, not only at Minerva but on all god figures of the plate, that they seem to be naked from the waist up although they certainly are not. Not even Venus is naked who, iconographically, should be. The female figure defined as Venus also wears a *palla*. She raises her stole above her head in the shape of a vault. She turns her head to the left and stands in a counterpoist position. The shawl covering Venus's head as if its was the sky, can be found on other depictions as well,[12] but there the goddess is naked. Juno also wears a palla, she, however,

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[7] Notitia Dignitatum Ed. *O. Seeck*. Berolini 1876. Africa proconsularis.

[8] *Gáspár 1986*. Kat.-Nr. 694. Dunaújváros.

[9] *idem*. Kat.-Nr. 590. Dunaújváros.

[10] *H. Buschhausen*: Die spätrömischen Metallscrinia und frühchristlichen Reliquiare. I. Teil: Katalog. Wien 1971. A. 29.

[11] *idem*. p. 66.

[12] LIMC II, Aphrodite Nr. 6. Taf. 170.

similarly to Minerva, also has a wrap. She holds a spear in the left hand and a vessel in the right offering it to the goose standing at her feet. The shape at Minerva and Juno seems to be a column. The central metope depicts Victoria. She stands on the globe is a slightly counterpoist position holding a garland in the right hand and a palm branch in the left. An enemy with tied up hands sits under the garland. The analogue to the picture beside the palm branch can be found on the bronze plate from Kaiseraugst.[13] Buschhausen described it in the followings: „... auf dünnem Stab mit rundem Knauf und grosser — kapitellartig gebildeter — Basis...".[14] On the piece from Kaiseraugst, an eagle sits on top of the globe contrary to the Esztergom mount where there is nothing on the globe. The pedestal is also missing on the Esztergom mount. The Kaiseraugst mount is a technical analogue while the depiction of the column can be found on another mount from Pannonia.[15] The finely elaborated column with a vessel on top, probably for wine, stands between a bacchant and a bacchante. Thus the column is a functional part of the scene. The depictions defined as columns in the Esztergom mount are not elements filling up the space. Probably is indicates, designates the place where the goddesses are, which cannot be anything else than the space we call sacred area.

Finally a few words about the dating of the finds. The cemetery at Abbeville where the mount cited as an analogue was found is dated from the turn of the 4th and 5th centuries based on coins of Gratian and Honorius.[16] This dating is consistent with the dating of the Esztergom cemetery in the case of mount No. 1 and nearly consistent for mount No. 2 where only the 4th century is mentioned by the excavator.[17] Considering the above and partly also against it may be estimated that the first of the mounts was produced earlier than the second one. No great difference could be between the time of their burial either. The time of their burial may be put to the beginning of the 5th century, somewhat later than their production. No larger chronological gap can be supposed between the production and the burial due to the technical solutions of the mount.

CAPTIONS

Fig. 1. Casket mount, Esztergom – Bánom, A.: The plate of the lid; B: the plate of the bottom.
Fig. 2. Wood remains. A: the frontal side of the wooden parts; B: the backside
Fig. 3. Edge plate fragments, nails, nail heads
Fig. 4. Hinge, ring key
Fig. 5. Casket mount, Esztergom, Arany János street, the plate of the lid
Fig. 6. All preserved bronze plates of the casket mount
Fig. 7. Reconstruction

[13] *Buschhausen 1971*. A 19, Taf. 21.
[14] *idem* p. 51.
[15] *Gáspár 1986* Kat.-Nr. 837 – Mórichida-Kisárpás.
[16] *Buschhausen 1971* 67.
[17] I would like to thank Dr. Márta H. Kelemen for the piece of information.

Manfred Kandler

ANTON WIDTER (1809–1887) UND CARNUNTUM

Ein Beitrag zur österreichischen Provinzialarchäologie im 19. Jahrhundert

Carnuntum hatte das Glück, am Beginn der wissenschaftlichen Auseinandersetzung mit seinen antiken Überresten um die Mitte des vorigen Jahrhunderts[1] in der Person Eduard von Sackens, Kustos am K. k. Münz- und Antiken-Cabinet, einen hervorragenden Historiker zur Verfügung zu haben, dem wir die erste große Monographie über die Geschichte und die Überreste Carnuntums verdanken.[2] Trotz dieser hervorragenden Arbeit blieben die öffentlichen Stellen auch in der Folge bei der Erforschung Carnuntums auffallend zurückhaltend und überließen diese Tätigkeit mehr oder weniger interessierten Privatpersonen. Über diese Vernachlässigung Carnuntums führte niemand geringerer als Theodor Mommsen noch Anfang der siebziger Jahre bitter Klage.[3] Erst im Jahre 1877 kam es zur ersten durch öffentliche Gelder finanzierten Ausgrabung in Carnuntum.[4] Trotzdem wurde die Grabungstätigkeit noch bis zum Ende des Jahrhunderts vorwiegend durch privates Mäzenatentum, vor allem durch den 1884 ins Leben gerufenen „Verein Carnuntum", bestimmt.[5]

Unter den Privatpersonen, die sich um die Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts mit der Erforschung Carnuntums beschäftigten, ist in erster Linie Anton Widter zu nennen, dem es dank seines Vermögens möglich war, sich auf die verschiedenste Weise für die Denkmäler dieser Stadt einzusetzen. Seine Tätigkeit wurde von der damaligen Fachwelt auch entsprechend gewürdigt,[6] insbesondere auch von Theodor Mommsen, der im Zuge der Vorarbeiten für die Herausgabe des Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum des öfteren in Wien weilte und dort gerne die Gastfreundschaft im Hause Widter genoß. Bei diesen Besuchen wurden auch epigraphische Probleme erörtert, denn Inschriften bildeten die große Leidenschaft Widters. Sie waren für ihn nicht nur Sammelobjekte, sondern auch historische Quellen, mit denen er sich wissenschaftlich auseinandersetzte. Obwohl ohne entsprechende akademische Ausbildung, hatte er sich allem Anschein nach auf diesem Gebiet

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[1] Vgl. *M. A. Niegl*: Die archäologische Erforschung der Römerzeit in Österreich. Denkschr. Wien 141 (1980) 120ff., zu *Sacken* 126ff.

[2] *Sacken 1852* 660ff.

[3] CIL III p. 550.

[4] MZK NF 3 (1877) CXLIX; *O. Hirschfeld* AEM 1 (1877) 130. Die Grabung fand unter der Aufsicht der K. k. Central-Commission im Legionslager von Carnuntum statt und wurde von Alois Hauser geleitet.

[5] *M. Kandler:* MGFC 1984, Heft 4, 89ff.; *H. Stiglitz*, ebda. 112ff.

[6] So hat Sacken wiederholt Widters Verdienste gewürdigt, vgl. z.B. die Ausführungen in seinem bei der Sommerversammlung des Vereins für Landeskunde von Niederösterreich am 14.8. 1876 in Deutsch-Altenburg über Carnuntum gehaltenen Vortrag. BVLkNÖ 10 (1876) 328. Vgl. auch *W. Kubitschek – S. Frankfurter*: Führer durch Carnuntum. Wien [6]1923, 34. Für *Niegl* (Anm. 1) 91 ist Widter der einzige nennenswerte Amateurarchäologe dieser Zeit in Wien.

entprechende Kenntnisse erworben, sodaß etliche Inschriften mit seiner Lesung in Mommsens Inschriften-Corpus aufgenommen wurden.[7] Mommsen lobte ihn als einen mit einem „natürlichen Gefühl für das Altertum"[8] ausgestatteten Menschen und soll auch den Ausspruch getan haben, Widter leiste in der römischen Geschichtsforschung mehr als der ganze Staat.[9]

Wer war nun dieser Anton Widter, nach dem in Petronell-Carnuntum zu Beginn der siebziger Jahre eine Gasse in einem neu angelegten Siedlungsgebiet am östlichen Ortsrand benannt wurde[10] und dem damit eine späte Ehrung für seine Tätigkeit in Carnuntum zuteil wurde. Er stammte aus einer alten südlich von Wien ansässigen Familie von Mühlenbesitzern und Brauherren, die sich bis an den Anfang des 17. Jahrhunderts zurückverfolgen läßt.[11] Sein Vater Christoph besaß die vom Großvater Johann Georg Widter erbaute Speichmühle bei Perchtoldsdorf[12] und war mit der Tochter eines Mühlenbesitzers aus Liesing verheiratet. Im Jahr 1809 kam es während der Besetzung Perchtoldsdorfs durch französische Truppen zu einer folgenschweren Auseinandersetzung mit einem feindlichen Offizier. Um sein Leben fürchtend, floh Christoph mit seiner Ehefrau nach Wien, die dort infolge der Aufregungen am 16. September verfrüht mit dem Sohn Anton niederkam.

Anton war noch nicht drei Jahre alt, als sein in der Zwischenzeit wieder nach Perchtoldsdorf zurückgekehrter Vater in der dortigen Schießstätte durch einen unglücklichen Schuß seines besten Freundes ums Leben kam. Die Mutter mußte in der Folge die Mühle verkaufen, um sich und ihren Sohn weiterbringen zu können. Wohl aus finanziellen Gründen konnte Anton das Gymnasium nur bis zur vierten Klasse besuchen, danach mußte er sich einem Broterwerb zuwenden und erlernte das väterliche Handwerk. Beruflicher Erfolg stellte sich aber erst ein, als er als 27jähriger in die Schwechater Brauerei seines Cousins Anton Dreher eintrat. Der damit verbundene wirtschaftliche Aufschwung,[13] der ihn in den Besitz eines nicht unbeträchtlichen Vermögens brachte, bildete die materielle Grundlage für die nun einsetzende Sammeltätigkeit und seine wissenschaftliche Arbeit, die beide zunächst vorwiegend der Archäologie gewidmet waren. Auf

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[7] Z. B. CIL III 4406.

[8] Vgl. Anm. 3.

[9] *G. Tellheim*: Neues Österreich vom 13.9. 1959, 15 anläßlich der 150. Wiederkehr von Widters Geburtstag. Mommsen spielt damit auf die bereits erwähnte lange Absenz öffentlicher Einrichtungen bei der Erforschung von antiken Fundplätzen an.

[10] In diesem Siedlungsareal wurde im Jahre 1977 von H. Stiglitz ein Reiterlager entdeckt, dessen archäologische Untersuchung noch nicht abgeschlossen ist. Über die bisherigen Ergebnisse in diesem Bereich vgl. jetzt *H. Stiglitz* (hrsg.): Das Auxiliarkastell Carnuntum 1. SÖAI 29 (1997) und *M. Kandler* (hrsg.): Das Auxiliarkastell Carnuntum 2. SÖAI 30 (1997).

[11] Für viele Hinweise und Unterlagen zur Person Anton Widters und zu seiner Familie sowie manch andere Hilfestellung danke ich Frau Trude Widter, Wien, sehr herzlich.

[12] Auch hier trägt eine Gasse den Namen des Anton Widter. In Schwechat gibt es ferner eine nach Carl Widter, dem Bruder des Christoph, benannte Gasse (freundliche Mitteilung von Herrn Architekt Ing. Mag. Kurt Widter, Wien).

[13] Widter war für die Schwechater Brauerei in Wien als „Bierversilberer" tätig und brachte es dabei auf einen jährlichen Umsatz von 4 Millionen Gulden. Zur Berufsbezeichnung vgl. *P. Wehle*: Sprechen Sie Wienerisch. Wien 1980, 272. Sein literarisches Denkmal fand dieser Beruf in der Figur des Spund in J. Nestroys 1841 entstandener Komödie „Der Talisman".

Grund der Ähnlichkeiten in den Lebensumständen ist es nicht weiter verwunderlich, daß Widter an seinem Lebensabend mit dem berühmten Heinrich Schliemann[14] verglichen wurde.

Der Überlieferung nach soll sein Arbeitplatz, die Brauerei in Schwechat, den Anstoß zur Beschäftigung mit der Archäologie geliefert haben.[15] Im Jahre 1846 hatten sich dort nämlich bei Fundamentaushebungen für einen Keller zahlreiche gestempelte Ziegel, Inschriften und andere Überreste des römischen Kastells Ala nova[16] gefunden. Die Objekte wurden wohl auf Anregung Anton Widters von Carl Dreher dem K. k. Antiken-Cabinet geschenkweise überlassen.[17] Tatsächlich vermerkt aber J. G. Seidl bereits ab dem Jahr 1843 Schenkungen von archäologischen Funden aus Carnuntum, worauf sich Widters archäologische Interessen hauptsächlich konzentrierten,[18] durch Widter an das kaiserliche Antiken-Cabinet,[19] worunter sich z.B. eine der sechs bislang aus Carnuntum bekannt gewordenen griechischen Inschriften befand.[20] Bis in die fünfziger Jahre hinein folgten weitere Stiftungen. Zur letzten belegten Schenkung kam es im Jahre 1868. Dabei handelte es sich um ein als Spolie im sog. Heidentor vermauertes Fragment einer Bauinschrift.[21]

Diese Inschrift führt uns zu jenem antiken Baudenkmal, mit dem der Name Anton Widters vor allem verbunden ist. Die im freien Feld südlich der Zivilstadt sich erhebende Ruine eines in der Spätantike errichteten Vierpfeilerbaues war infolge des jahrhundertelangen Steinraubes allmählich auf das westliche Pfeilerpaar und den die Pfeiler verbindenden Bogen reduziert worden. Dieser Überrest drohte in sich zusammenzustürzen, da immer mehr Steinmaterial auch aus den unteren Bereichen des Monumentes verschwand. Die sich dadurch nach unten zu verjüngenden Pfeiler konnten auf die Dauer nicht mehr die nötige Stabilität gewährleisten. Deshalb ließ Widter auf eigene Kosten die antiken Pfeilerkerne stützpfeilerartig mit Mauerwerk ummanteln.[22] Der Zeitpunkt dieser für das Denkmal so wichtigen Erhaltungsmaßnahme konnte bislang nur ungefähr um die Mitte des Jahrhunderts angesetzt werden. Genaueres dazu erfahren wir aus einem Schreiben des Direktors des Antiken-Cabinets, Joseph von Arneth, an den

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[14] Nachruf von *K. Winter*: Allgemeine Kunstchronik 1887, Nr. 11, nachgedruckt BVLkNÖ NF 21 (1887) XVff.

[15] So *A. Widter*: Die Perchtoldsdorfer Familie Widter, Mödlinger Nachrichten vom 14.5. 1959.

[16] Zum römischen Kastell s. *K. Genser*: Der österreichische Donaulimes in der Römerzeit. RLiÖ 33 (1986) 532ff. und *Kandler – Vetters* ²*1989* 187ff. Diese frühen Funde sind dort nicht erwähnt.

[17] Freundliche Mitteilung von Dr. A. Bernhard-Walcher, dem der Verf. auch für die Durchsicht und Zusammenstellung aller auf Anton Widter Bezug nehmenden Archivalien in der Antikensammlung des Kunsthistorischen Museums sehr zu Dank verpflichtet ist.

[18] Daneben aber beobachtete er weiter aufmerksam archäologische Funde in Schwechat und Wien (*F. v. Kenner*: Forschungen in Vindobona. JfA 3 (1909) 36b, Anm. 4: „...nach einer Mitteilung des um die Altertümer von Wien hochverdienten Sammlers Anton Widter...").

[19] Fundchronik I (1840–1845) 7ff.

[20] Grabinschrift für Diodoros: CIL III 11293; *Noll 1986* 88 Nr. 372 mit älterer Lit.

[21] CIL III 4496a = 11097. *Noll 1986* 85 Nr. 357 mit weiterer Lit.

[22] *Sacken 1852* 702: „Schon vor Jahren wäre auch das noch Erhaltene in Schutt gefallen, da Niemand für die Erhaltung Sorge trug, hätte nicht wiederum der eifrige Herr Widter in Schwechat aus Eigenem die an ihrer Basis sehr stark zerstörten Pfeiler durch gemauerte Stützen verstärken lassen...".

Oberstkämmerer Moriz Graf von Dietrichstein, in dem er Anton Widter wegen seiner Zuwendungen an das Kabinett und auf Grund der Tatsache, daß er „den Triumphbogen zu Petronell, anerkannt eines der wichtigsten Monumente der Vorzeit in unserem Vaterlande, aus eigenem Antriebe, auf eigene bedeutende Kosten, so zweckmäßig herstellen (ließ), daß derselbe jetzt, nach geschehener Befestigung seiner Basis und Ausbesserung des Gewölbes, wohl manchem Jahrhundert Trotz bieten dürfte" für die Verleihung einer Goldmedaille vorschlug. Dieses Schreiben ist datiert vom 24. Dezember 1846.[23] Die Konservierungsarbeiten müssen demnach vor diesem Datum stattgefunden haben. Da die Schenkungen an das Antiken-Kabinett mit dem Jahr 1843 einsetzen, ist anzunehmen, daß die Arbeiten zwischen 1843 und 1846 stattgefunden haben. Zeitgenössische Darstellungen der damals durchgeführten Arbeiten fehlen leider, doch finden sich in dem fast fünfzig Jahre später publizierten Aufsatz von J. Dell über seine Untersuchungen am Heidentor etliche Hinweise auf die Restaurierungen Widters, sodaß wir uns darüber ein Bild machen können.[24] Dell berichtet, daß durch Widter „Ausmauerungen an den Pfeilern, am Bogen und den über demselben aufragenden Teilen vorgenommen" worden waren. Anschaulich zeigt dies ein von ihm aufgenommener Grundriß (Fig. 3, unsere *Abb. 1*), auf dem der erhaltene antike Gußmauerkern der beiden Pfeiler (gekennzeichnet durch die Kreuzschraffur) und die moderne Ummantelung (schräge Schraffur) eingetragen sind. Der Grundriß zeigt auch, daß der Pfeilerkern nur auf den Außenseiten völlig ummantelt wurde, während im Torgang das antike Mauerwerk sichtbar blieb. Die Art der Ummantelung ist wenn auch nur undeutlich auf Fotografien aus dieser Zeit zu erkennen (*Abb. 2*). Insgesamt erweckt diese Konservierung einen wesentlich besseren Eindruck als jene des Jahres 1908, auf welche der heutige Zustand der Ruine zurückgeht. So ist z.B. beim nördlichen Pfeiler die unter dem Kämpfergesims noch erhalten gewesene originale Quaderverkleidung der Pfeiler, von der heute nichts mehr zu sehen ist, von der Ummantelung ausgespart geblieben und daher sichtbar. Wie Dell allerdings feststellen mußte, reichte die Widtersche Ummauerung nicht bis zur Unterkante des antiken Fundamentes, sondern endete knapp unter der rezenten Oberfläche, die von einem aus herabgefallenen Baumaterial bestehenden Schuttkegel gebildet wurde[25] und der den unteren Teil der Pfeiler bis zu einer Höhe von 1,80 m verdeckte. Diese Tatsache bildete bei seinen Grabungen ein unerwartetes Sicherheitsrisiko, weshalb die Bodenuntersuchungen im Bereich der Pfeiler nur sehr eingeschränkt durchgeführt werden konnten. Bei den schon

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[23] Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Antikensammlung, Zl. ao 1846/122 (Konzept). Gemeint ist die Goldene Medaille für Kunst und Wissenschaft. Die einen Monat später ausgefertigte Antwort auf dieses Ansuchen fiel positiv aus (24.1. 1847, Zl. ao 1847/9).

Eine weitere Auszeichnung erhielt Widter im Jahre 1864 in Form des Goldenen Verdienstkreuzes mit der Krone.

[24] AEM 16, 1893, 156ff.

[25] *Dell 1893* 163. Im Jahre 1908 wurde dieser Schuttkegel abgetragen. Allerdings konnte dies nicht bis zu seiner Unterkante erfolgen, da – wie der damalige Kustos des Museums Carnuntinum, J. Bortlik, berichtet – das Gelände dann gegenüber der Umgebung zu tief zu liegen gekommen wäre und sich in der Mulde hätte Regenwasser sammeln können. Deshalb wurde der Schutt nur um max. 1,10 m abgetieft, womit das Niveau der Umgebung erreicht wurde.

erwähnten Restaurierungsarbeiten des Jahres 1908 sollten die Widterschen Zutaten über Wunsch der Zentralkommission[26] völlig entfernt werden. Schließlich verzichtete man ebenfalls aus Sicherheitsgründen darauf und setzte die neue Ummantelung einfach davor. Da bei den von Widter veranlaßten Maßnahmen der obere Bereich der Pfeiler kaum erfaßt worden war, nimmt es nicht wunder, daß der oben zitierte Arneth'sche Wunsch leider nicht in Erfüllung ging: Bereits im Jahre 1868 waren neuerliche Konservierungsarbeiten erforderlich, da sich an der Westseite des Südpfeilers Mauerwerk, darunter das bereits weiter oben genannte Inschriftfragment, gelöst hatte und herabzustürzen drohte. Die Inschrift wurde entnommen, das Mauerwerk konnte mit Eisenklammern gesichert werden.[27]

Anton Widter hat sich in Carnuntum aber nicht nur als Sammler und Konservator betätigt, sondern auch als Ausgräber. Leider besitzen wir darüber nur wenige Nachrichten. Notizen von Widter selbst zu diesen Unternehmungen sind nicht bekannt. Einmal mehr bildet Sacken, der eine der Widterschen Grabungen ausführlicher beschreibt, die wichtigste Quelle. Sie fand im schicksalsträchtigen Jahr 1848 statt. Von Sacken berichtet: „Als ich am 5. October 1848 die Trümmer Carnuntums besuchte, liess Hr. A. Widter aus Schwechat, der schon einige kleine Nachgrabungen veranstaltete, auf Gerathewohl innerhalb des Lagerwalls in den Boden graben; man stiess auf einen von Mauern umgebenen quadratischen Raum mit kleinen Vorsprüngen oder Pfeilern an den Ecken. In der Mitte lag ein grosser, viereckiger, dicker Stein mit einer mäßig tiefen, runden Aushöhlung, die nach drei Seiten Abzugsrinnen hat; letztere entsprechen den Rinnen von langen, schmalen Steinen, die nach zwei Seiten hin, rechtwinklig gegen einander gelegt, wahrscheinlich die Bestimmung hatten, das überflüssige, in der Aushöhlung angesammelte Wasser abzuleiten.... Leider verhinderten die damaligen Zeitverhältnisse die weitere Nachgrabung...".[28] Der geschilderte Befund ist von Sacken auch bildlich dargestellt worden (Taf. II, Fig. 2, hier *Abb. 3*).[29] Wenn die Grabungsarbeit heikel wurde, ließ Widter die Arbeiter beiseite treten und legte selbst mit Hand an.[30]

Zu den Ereignissen des Jahres 1848 führt auch der von Widter angekaufte Grabaltar CIL III 4519, den ein Sextus Quinctius Graphicus für seinen Sohn

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[26] MZK 3. F. 6 (1907) 81f.: „...die notwendige Ablösung der später angefügten Strebepfeiler...".

[27] *E. v. Sacken* MZK 18 (1873) 28. An dieser Aktion waren neben Widter auch die Zentralkommission, der Altertumsverein zu Wien, zu dessen Mitbegründern Widter zählte und in dessem Vorstand er bis zu seinem Tode tätig war, und Graf Abensperg-Traun aus Petronell beteiligt.

[28] *Sacken 1852* 688. Mit den damaligen Ereignissen sind die Kämpfe um Wien gemeint, die am 31. Oktober, also wenige Wochen nach der geschilderten Grabung, mit der Eroberung der von den Revolutionären gehaltenen Stadt durch die kaiserlichen Truppen ihren Höhepunkt erreichten. Am Tag zuvor waren ungarische Entsatztruppen bei Schwechat zurückgeschlagen worden.

[29] Nach der Beschreibung handelt es sich um eine Grabung innerhalb des Legionslagers von Carnuntum, der ersten uns überlieferten, die aber leider nicht genau lokalisiert werden kann. Aus dem Befund ist abzulesen, daß es sich bei dem aufgedeckten Objekt um die Ecke eines Hofes handelt. Solche Rinnen sind bei den späteren Grabungen im Hof der Principia aufgedeckt worden. Wenn auch die Beschreibung Sackens nicht vollständig mit dem auf den jüngeren Plänen zu entnehmenden Befund übereinstimmt, möchte man doch gerne annehmen, daß sich die Grabung Widters in diesem Baukomplex abgepielt hat, der unmittelbar südlich der Straße Petronell – Bad Deutsch-Altenburg liegt. Es käme aber auch der Hof des südlich der Principia liegenden Prätoriums in Frage.

[30] Anm. 14, XVI.

errichtet hat.[31] Der Altar wurde nämlich in diesem Jahr in Petronell gefunden und von Widter nach Schwechat gebracht, wo er laut Sacken im Garten des Dreherschen Bräuhauses seine Aufstellung fand. Sacken berichtet weiter, daß dieser Altar bei dem schon erwähnten Gefecht um Schwechat am 30. Oktober von einer ungarischen Kanonenkugel getroffen und „ganz zerschmettert" worden sei. Diese Mitteilung übernahm auch Mommsen ins Corpus, tatsächlich ist der Altar aber erhalten geblieben und wird heute im Museum Carnuntinum (Abb. 4) verwahrt. Wie die Abbildung zeigt, ist durch das kriegerische Ereignis lediglich ein Teil des Altarpolsters verloren gegangen.

Diese Inschrift gehörte wie eine Reihe anderer Denkmäler zu jenen Objekten, die Widter nicht in die Sammlungen des Kaiserhauses geschenkt, sondern bei sich behalten hatte. Unter diesen insgesamt 24 im Corpus[32] aufgezählten Inschriftdenkmälern befand sich auch die Grabinschrift für den Germanenfürsten Aistomodius,[33] die nach Widters Aufzeichnungen im Jahre 1847 zwischen der romanischen Rundkirche und dem Schloß Abensperg-Traun gefunden worden war. Ein Teil dieser Objekte war, wie im Corpus verzeichnet, in Schwechat untergebracht, der andere kam nach Wien, wo sich Widter auf der Landstraße im dritten Wiener Gemeindebezirk ein im Jahr 1786 errichtetes Bürgerhaus gekauft hatte.[34] In dessen Garten entstand ein großes Lapidarium, in das im Laufe der Zeit nicht nur Objekte aus Carnuntum Eingang fanden, sondern auch von anderen Orten, die Widter bei seinen in den späteren Lebensjahren durchgeführten Reisen besucht hatte.[35] Neben der Antike interessierte sich Widter ab den sechziger Jahren zunehmend auch für mittelalterliche und neuzeitliche Denkmäler, u. a. wurde eine Portikus aus Säulen von den Hofarkaden des den Modernisierungen der sechziger Jahre zum Opfer gefallenen Spina'schen Hauses am Graben errichtet.[36]

Neben Inschriften enthielt die Widtersche Sammlung auch Reliefs und Skulpturenbruchstücke sowie Kleinfunde. Von Sacken berichtet z.B. von einem Mithrasrelief[37] und zahlreichen Kleinfunden, darunter einer Reihe von Gemmen sowie Münzen.[38] Solche Objekte sind auf einem zuletzt in Brünn befindlichen Porträt (*Abb. 5*) dargestellt, über dessen heutigen Verbleib nichts bekannt ist. Das Gemälde zeigt Widter in jungen Jahren. Wie sich feststellen läßt, muß er ungefähr Mitte Dreißig gewesen sein, als er sich malen ließ. Das Porträt ist ganz im Sinne humanistischer Tradition gestaltet. Die ihn umgebenden Attribute nehmen Bezug

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[31] *Sacken 1852* 751; CIL III 4519; *Vorbeck ZI* 36 Nr. 140.

[32] CIL III 4406. 4415. 4432. 4434 = 11090. 4435. 4437. 4442. 4443. 4447 – 4449. 4453. 4459. 4460. 4463a. 4467. 4477a. 4501. 4507. 4510. 4514. 4515. 4519. 4521.

[33] CIL III 4453; *Vorbeck ZI* 38 Nr. 148. Zur historischen Bedeutung dieser Inschrift vgl. *E. Swoboda*: Carnuntum. Seine Geschichte und seine Denkmäler. Graz – Köln 1964, 63; *A. Betz*: Septimius Aistomodius rex Germanorum. AV 19 (1968) 13ff. (= Festschrift J. Klemenc).

[34] Das Haus (Nr. 17–19) steht heute nicht mehr. Es wurde trotz Widerstandes der Zentralkommission leider nach 1909 demoliert.

[35] Aus dem damaligen Ungarn werden Siebenbürgen und Ó-Szőny als Fundorte überliefert. Ein weiterer Fundort war Aquileia, von wo Architekturstücke und Sarkophage stammten.

[36] BMAVW 24, 1887, 212.

[37] *Sacken 1852* 704, Taf. V, Fig. 2.

[38] *Sacken 1852* 706ff.

auf seine geistigen Neigungen und politischen Ideale. Letztere dokumentieren sich in dem Buch, auf dessen Rücken der Name „Rotteck" aufscheint. Dabei handelt es sich um den Historiker und Politiker Karl Wenzeslaus Rodecker von Rotteck (1775 – 1840), der auf Grund seiner Sympathien für die Pariser Julirevolution des Jahres 1830, die in der Folge auch auf deutsche Bundesländer übergegriffen hatte, 1832 seinen Lehrstuhl an der Universität Freiburg verloren hatte. In der Musik verehrte Widter den auf dem daneben stehenden Band angeschriebenen ersten großen Meister der Wiener Klassik, Josef Haydn, während die Literatur durch den im Vordergrund liegenden mit „Göthe" beschriebenen Band vertreten ist. Mit drei Hinweisen ist die Antike in dieser Runde übermächtig: die theoretische Beschäftigung mit ihr wird durch den Band Winckelmann am rechten Bildrand symbolisiert, während im Vordergrund antike Originale dargestellt sind: drei Münzen sowie ein lockiger jugendlicher Kopf, auf dem die linke Hand des Porträtierten ruht. Dieser Kopf hilft uns bei der zeitlichen Einordnung des Bildes: er wurde nämlich laut Aquisitions-Journal des Antiken-Cabinets diesem von Widter im ersten Quartal des Jahres 1847 übergeben und befindet sich noch heute in der Antikensammlung des Kunsthistorischen Museums[39] (*Abb. 6*). Das Bild kann also nur in den Jahren davor entstanden sein.

Schließlich muß noch erwähnt werden, daß Widter einer der ersten war, der die großen Möglichkeiten der noch jungen Photographie für die Dokumentation archäologischer und historischer Objekte erkannte. Aus diesem Grunde setzte er sich sehr intensiv mit dem neuen Medium auseinander und wurde zu einem Pionier auf dem Gebiet der Dokumentationsphotographie. Um die eintausend Photographien[40] soll er angefertigt haben, darunter auch Aufnahmen aus Petronell, Deutsch-Altenburg und Hainburg.[41] Er verfertigte in Pula die ersten Photographien des Augustus-Tempels auf dem Forum, des Amphitheaters und anderer römischer Bauten und war auch in Salona photographisch tätig.[42] Für seine Photographien erhielt er auf der Weltausstellung 1867 in Paris eine Bronze-Medaille. Da er seine Photoplatten selbst entwickelte, wurde später der Photographie die Schuld für seinen schlechten Gesundheitszustand im Alter und die Leiden

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[39] Inv. Nr. AS I 204, als Kopf eines Amor bezeichnet. Vgl. *M. L. Krüger*: Die Rundskulpturen des Stadtgebietes von Carnuntum. CSIR Österreich I/2. Wien 1967, 29 Nr. 79 (eher Apollo). Beim Vergleich mit dem Original zeigt sich, daß der Maler anstelle einer realistischen Wiedergabe des ziemlich schlecht erhaltenen Kopfes (das Gesicht weist starke Verscheuerungen auf) eine ideale Rekonstruktion gesetzt hat.

[40] Im Katalog „Geschichte der Fotografie in Österreich". hrsg. vom Verein zur Erarbeitung einer „Geschichte der Fotografie in Österreich". Bad Ischl 1983, Bd. 2, 193 ist sogar von ca. 2000 Glasplatten die Rede. Widter wird dort als bedeutender Amateurfotograf bezeichnet. An Darstellungen werden erwähnt u. a. Waffen und Rüstungen der Ambraser Sammlungen und des Arsenals, aufgenommen im Jahr 1860 (vgl. dazu auch BMAVW 24 (1887) 212), aber auch — für uns interessant — Denkmäler der Vorzeit sowie Schlösser und Stifte in Niederösterreich. Auch auf seinen Reisen war er fotografisch tätig. Ausstellungen mit seinen Fotografien gab es 1862 in London und 1864 in Wien. Den Hinweis auf diese Literatur verdanke ich Dr. Heinrich Zabehlicky.

[41] Diese Aufnahmen wurden von ihm den Teilnehmern der Sommerversammlung des Vereins für Landeskunde von Nieder-österreich, die in der Zeit vom 13. – 15. August 1876 in Deutsch-Altenburg stattfand, gezeigt, BVLkNÖ 10 (1876) 367.

[42] BVLkNÖ N. F. 21, 1887, XVII.

gegeben, denen er schließlich am 1. März 1887 erlag.[43] Noch zwei Wochen davor hatte er im Altertumsverein von Wien einen historischen Vortrag über die Denkmale der weißen Frau und ihrer Familie[44] gehalten. Beigesetzt wurde er im Familiengrab zu Perchtoldsdorf.

Die reichen Sammlungen wurden nach seinem Tode von seiner Familie, die er im Jahre 1857 durch die Heirat mit Josefine Jirauschek gegründet hatte, zunächst im Wiener Hause weiter erhalten. 1904 starb, erst 45jährig, einer der Söhne, der Bildhauer Konrad Widter, und hinterließ noch minderjährige Erben. Um Komplikationen am Besitzrecht zu vermeiden, entschloß sich die Familie, die Kunstsammlungen zu versteigern. Am 22. und 23. November 1906 kam der erste Teil der Sammlungen im Wiener Dorotheum unter den Hammer,[45] der zweite Teil folgte im Jänner 1907. Die aus Carnuntum stammenden Antiken allerdings konnten bereits vorher vom „Verein Carnuntum" für das zwei Jahre zuvor eröffnete Museum Carnuntinum angekauft werden.[46] So kehrten diese Stücke wieder an den Ort ihrer Auffindung zurück. Um Widter zu ehren und seine Verdienste um die Rettung vieler Carnuntiner Antiken entsprechend hervorzustreichen, wurden die Neuerwerbungen vereint zur Aufstellung gebracht. Im Jahre 1912 kamen schließlich noch als Spende eines anderen Sohnes Anton Widters, des Malers, Volksbildners und Photographen Prof. Friedrich Widter,[47] schriftliche Aufzeichnungen Anton Widters an das Carnuntiner Museum.[48] Leider sind diese heute nicht mehr auffindbar[49] und müssen wohl als verloren betrachtet werden. Dies ist sicher sehr bedauerlich, da aus den wenigen Andeutungen Kubitscheks geschlossen werden kann, daß die Notizen noch weitere interessante Angaben

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[43] Anm. 42.

[44] Dieser Vortrag erschien gedruckt in BMAVW 24 (1887) 123ff. Im gleichen Band findet sich auch der Nachruf auf ihn.

[45] K. k. Versteigerungsanstalt Dorotheum Wien: Kunst-Sammlungen aus dem Nachlasse Anton Widter. Katalog Wien 1906. In der Folge wurde wohl auch das Wohnhaus in der Landstraße veräußert.

[46] ÖJh 11 (1908) Sp. 10f. Der Ankauf war mit einer vom kaiserlichen Rat Karl Kellermann zur Verfügung gestellten Spende in der Höhe von 6000 Kronen ermöglicht worden. Ein im Archiv des Österr. Archäologischen Instituts verwahrtes Konzept eines Briefes (Zl. 229/06) an den Kustos des Museum Carnuntinum nennt als Kaufpreis zweimal den Betrag von nur 4000 Kronen. Die Quittung war von Friedrich Widter (s. Anm. 47) unterschrieben. Unter den angekauften Objekten befanden sich 40 Inschriften. Bereits im Jahre 1905 waren einige Kleinfunde, u. a. eine silberne Kaserolle (Inv. Nr. 11670, vgl. *A. Rauchenwald* in: *W. Jobst* (Hrsg.): Carnuntum. Wien o. J. [1992] 378 Nr. 1; zum Stempel CIL III 6016,1), für das Museum erstanden worden.

[47] 1859–1944. Friedrich Widter hatte von seinem Vater die Begeisterung für die Photographie geerbt. Die vielen von ihm angefertigten Fotos bildeten die Grundlage für zahlreiche volksbildnerische Vorträge über die historischen Denkmäler Wiens und seiner Umgebung und dienten auch als Illustrationen zu der von ihm verfaßten Reihe „Kunstwanderungen durch die Heimat", die zu Kunstdenkmälern in der Umgebung Wiens führt. Heft 4 davon, erschienen 1920, beschreibt die Strecke Fischamend – Petronell – Carnuntum – Deutsch-Altenburg – Hainburg. Negativplatten befinden sich heute im Bildarchiv der Österr. Nationalbibliothek.

[48] Als erster und leider auch einziger hat *W. Kubitschek* in diese Unterlagen Einsicht genommen und einiges daraus veröffentlicht, s. dazu JfA 5 (1911) 163f. An Hand dieser Aufzeichnungen konnte Kubitschek die Fundorte einiger Grabinschriften korrigieren (CIL III 4506: Gräberfeld der Zivilstadt) bzw. genauer eingrenzen (CIL III 4483: Grabstein eines tubicen von der Gräberstraße; 4500 und 4456: von Mommsen in Hainburg aufgenommen, stammen aus Petronell).

[49] Freundliche Mitteilung von Mag. Franz Humer.

enthalten haben. Dankbar aber muß man vermerken, daß die von Anton Widter gesammelten Objekte nicht das Schicksal vieler anderer Privatsammlungen teilen mußten, sondern bereits durch seine Generosität bzw. durch die Fürsorge seiner Familie in das Eigentum von öffentlichen Sammlungen übergingen und damit der Nachwelt erhalten und zugänglich blieben.

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ABBILDUNGEN

Abb. 1. Grundriß des Heidentores, aufgenommen von J. Dell im Jahr 1891 (nach AEM 16 (1893) 159 Fig. 3). Kreuzschraffur: antike Mauersubstanz, Schrägschraffur: Ummantelung durch A. Widter.

Abb. 2. Ansicht des Heidentores von SO. Fotografie um 1900 (Museum Carnuntinum, Bad Deutsch-Altenburg). Am nördlichen Pfeiler erkennt man unter dem Kämpfer hinter den durch A. Widter errichteten Stützungen die originale Quaderverkleidung.

Abb. 3. Grundriß der Ausgrabung A. Widters im Legionslager Carnuntum, 1848 (nach E. von Sacken, SBWien 9 (1852) Taf. II/2).

Abb. 4. Grabara des Sextus Quinctius Graphicus für seinen Sohn, CIL III 4519. Gefunden 1848 in Petronell und von A. Widter erworben. 1906 für das Museum Carnuntinum angekauft (Inv. Nr. 283). Foto ÖAI II 4716.

Abb. 5. Unbekannter Künstler, Porträt Anton Widter. Um 1845. Foto Bildarchiv der Österr. Nationalbibliothek, Wien.

Abb. 6. Kopf eines Amor aus Carnuntum. Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Antikensammlung, Inv. Nr. AS I 204. Von A. Widter 1847 dem Antiken-Cabinet übergeben. Foto Kunsthist. Museum.

Attila Kiss

GLASFUNDE AUS GRÄBERN DES FRÜHMITTELALTERLICHEN KARPATENBECKENS (400–1000)

I. Einleitung

Der Gefeierte publizierte 1988 seine Monographie über die römerzeitlichen Glasfunde pannonischer Fundstätten.[1] Vorliegende Studie[2] ist chronologisch im Grunde genommen die Fortsetzung jener Arbeit. Ich habe mich nämlich darum bemüht, daß der Katalog sämtliche tatsächlich oder vermutlich aus frühmittelalterlichen Gräbern (400–1000) des Karpatenbeckens stammenden Glasfunde enthält, kann mich aber in diesem Rahmen mit der Sammlung und Bewertung der kleineren Glasscherben aus den Gräbern nicht beschäftigen. – Desgleichen mußte ich auf die Aufnahme der Funde aus Siedlungen in den Katalog[3] verzichten; es mußte aber bei der Bemühung bleiben, denn wegen der großen Streuung der Funde in Raum (*Abb. 1*) und Zeit ist es kaum vorstellbar, daß die gegenwärtige – in ihrer Art erste – Datensammlung hinsichtlich der Zahl und Typen der Funde tatsächlich vollständig sein könnte. Aus umfangmäßigen und technischen Gründen kann in der Studie auch nicht das visuelle Bild jedes einzelnen frühmittelalterlichen Glasfundes erscheinen, was eventuell durch die Formen-Tafel ersetzt werden konnte. Aus diesen umfangmäßigen und technischen Gründen bestand auch nicht die Möglichkeit dafür, im Falle von geschlossenen Grabfunden den Katalog der übrigen Funde und das Bildmaterial der Fundkomplexe mitzuteilen. Diese lassen sich vielleicht aufgrund der Literaturangaben ergänzen. Bei der chronologischen Bestimmung der Funde stützte ich mich weitgehend auf die Angaben der Publikationen; wo diese fehlten oder ich mit ihnen nicht übereinstimme, gebe ich meine eigenen Datierungen an. Das vorrangige Ziel meiner Zusammenstellung war die Erhebung des vorhandenen Materials, so daß also auch eine typologisch detaillierte Aufarbeitung offensichtlich den mit dem Glasthema befaßten und über die entsprechenden Spezialkenntnisse verfügenden Forschern überlassen bleibt.

Bei meiner Materialsammlung konnte ich jene Funde aus der ersten Hälfte des 5. Jahrhunderts nicht berücksichtigen, die – unabhängig von der konkreten Datierung der Gegenstände – aus spätrömischen Gräberfeldern stammen. Das ist aus typologischer Sicht anfechtbar, doch wenn wir bedenken, daß eine relativ breit datierte Glasgefäß-Herstellungs- und -verwendungszeit „Ende des 4. und 1. Hälfte des 5. Jahrhunderts" im Karpatenbecken gerade in die Periode einer hi-

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[1] *Barkóczi 1988.*

[2] Auf diesem Wege bedanke ich mich für die Mitteilung von Angaben, die Ratschläge und Verwendung unveröffentlichter Angaben bei Béla Kürti, Károly Mesterházy, Margit Nagy, Ibolya M. Nepper, Pál Patay, J. Győző Szabó, Andrea Vaday und Adél Váradi. Ágnes Vári danke ich für die Herstellung der Zeichnungsbeilagen und Albrecht Friedrich für die Übersetzung ins Deutsche.

[3] Beispielsweise Tiszaföldvár-Téglagyár/Brick factory: Kowalk-Typ; *Vaday 1994* Taf. III; IV:70.

storischen Schicksalswende – die Aufgabe der römischen Provinzen – fällt, dann wird diese Unterscheidung verständlich: Der eine Glasgegenstand aus derselben Zeit und Werkstatt gilt als römerzeitlich, wenn er in 'römischer' Umgebung in die Erde gelangte, während der andere derselben Herkunft und Zeit als frühmittelalterlich gilt, wenn er schon in 'barbarischer' Umgebung in die Erde kam. Aus den obigen Gründen nahm ich die Funde von Csákvár,[4] Brigetio[5] sowie Sopron (Scarbantia)[6] nicht auf, weil es im Falle der römischen Städte (= große römische Fundstätten) wahrscheinlicher ist, daß auch die Glasfunde ohne beglaubigte Fundkomplexe aus römischen Gräbern und nicht aus frühmittelalterlichen 'barbarischen' Gräbern stammen.

Es ergibt sich aus der Natur der Sache, daß es sowohl im Gebiet des einstigen Pannonia als auch in dem des einstigen Barbaricum frühmittelalterliche Gräber geben kann, in denen sich frühere, aus römischen Gräbern stammende Glasgefäße befinden (z.B. Kölked-Feketekapu Grab B-127).[7] Diese wurden in die Sammlung nicht aufgenommen. Dagegen enthält der Katalog z.B. die spätawarische Schale aus Grab 74/b von Mali Idjoš / Kishegyes, die in Form und Verzierung gewissen römerzeitlichen Gefäßen relativ nahe steht,[8] so daß ihre römische Herkunft nicht ausgeschlossen werden kann, solange keine bessere Lösung, also genauere Datierung gefunden werden kann.

II. Typologische Analyse *(Liste 1)*

Aufgrund der 64 vorhandenen Glasgefäßen ließen sich im frühmittelalterlichen Karpatenbecken die folgenden 13 Typen (*Abb. 2*) unterscheiden:

Typ a. halbeiförmiger Becher (Verbreitungskarte: *Abb. 3*),

Typ b. Flasche,

Typ c. konischer Becher,

Typ d. Glasbecher mit ovalem Schliffdekor,

Typ e. glockenförmiger Glasbecher mit Fadenauflagen und kleinem Standfuß (Verbreitungskarte: *Abb. 4*),

Typ f. halbkugelige tiefe Schale,

Typ g. Rüsselbecher,

Typ h. fränkischer Sturzbecher,

Typ i. Glaskelche + Stengegläser (Verbreitungskarte: *Abb. 5*)

Typ j. Trinkhorn (Verbreitungskarte: *Abb. 6*)

Typ k. Krug,

Typ l. Glasfläschchen mit Kleeblattausguß und Henkel.

Kowalk-Typ (Verbreitungskarte: *Abb. 7*)

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[4] *Salamon – Barkóczi 1970.*

[5] Brigetio I: *Paulovics 1927* 196; *Barkóczi – Salamon 1968* Abb. 7:2; Brigetio II: *Barkóczi – Salamon 1968* Abb. 5:3, 8:6; *Barkóczi 1988* 83, Nr. 134; Brigetio III: *Barkóczi 1988* 94, Nr. 137.

[6] Sopron: *Barkóczi 1988* 99, Nr. 151, Sopron-Balfi út: *Barkóczi 1988* 100, Nr. 153; Sopron-Május 1. tér, Grab 19: *Barkóczi 1988* 100, Nr. 156.

[7] Grabung des Verfassers, unter Aufarbeitung: *Kiss 2000.*

[8] Beispielsweise *Barkóczi 1988* Nr. 144, 150, 158.

Die Zahl dieser Typen wird sich gewiß bei einer späteren detaillierteren Analyse erhöhen, sind doch einige Typen wahrscheinlich in Untertypen zu gliedern bzw. ist in Einzelfällen die Zugehörigkeit der zu einem Typ zusammengefaßten Funde anzweifelbar; vorerst halte ich jedoch die Einteilung des vorliegenden Materials in 13 Typen für ausreichend. In einigen Fällen, wo die Funde verloren gingen oder fragmentarisch sind, mußte ich auf die Typuszuordnung der Funde verzichten (vgl. Alattyán Grab 13, Izmény [1936], Mohács Grab 2).

III. Die chronologische Verteilung der Funde *(Liste 2)*

Die chronologische Verteilung der in die Untersuchung einbeziehbaren 64 Glasgefäße ist sehr abwechslungsreich. Ins 5. Jahrhundert gehört eine große Zahl von Funden – 39, ins 2.–3. Drittel des 6. Jahrhunderts 12 St., ins 3. Drittel des 6. und 1.–2. Drittel des 7. Jahrhunderts (= frühe Awarenzeit) nur noch 3 St., ins 3. Drittel des 7. und den Beginn des 8. Jahrhunderts (= mittlere Awarenzeit) 7 St. und in die Periode 720–805 (= späte Awarenzeit [8. Jh.]) nur 3 Gefäße. Es ist eine auffällige Erscheinung, daß der Forschung weder aus den reichen Friedhöfen des 9. Jahrhunderts in der Umgebung von Zalavár noch aus der großen Zahl sehr reicher und viele Silberfunde enthaltender ungarischer Gräber des 10. Jahrhunderts kein einziges Glasgefäß bekannt ist. (*Tabelle 1*) Man kann also feststellen, daß die Zahl der Gläserfunde mit zunehmender Zeit in der Tendenz ständig sinkt.

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Die Mehrzahl der Typen (halbeiförmiger Becher, Glasbecher mit ovalem Schliffdekor, glockenförmiger Glasbecher mit Fadenauflagen und kleinem Standfuß, halbkugelige tiefe Schale, Rüsselbecher, fränkischer Sturzbecher, Glaskelche und Stengegläser, Trinkhorn, Krug, Glasfläschchen mit Kleeblattausguß und Henkel) für jeweils eine kürzere oder längere Periode, dagegen zwei Typen (Flasche, konischer Becher) auch für zwei ganz unterschiedliche Perioden typisch sind. (Sollte das darauf verweisen, daß beide Typen eventuell in weitere Untertypen aufzugliedern wären?!)

IV. Verteilung der Gläserfunde nach Herstellungsorten *(Liste 3)*

Aufgrund der Untersuchungen auf der Basis von früheren Feststellungen zu einzelnen Typen bzw. der Literaturangaben (*Liste 3*) hat es den Anschein, als seien mit Ausnahme des Typs halbeiförmiger Becher sämtliche anderen Typen außerhalb des Karpatenbeckens hergestellt worden, womit sich die außerordentliche Seltenheit der Gläserfunde in den mehreren zehntausend Gräbern des 5.–9. Jahrhunderts erklären ließe. Also haben im Gegensatz zur 'natürlichen' Wertordnung des modernen Menschen (und hinzuzufügen wäre, z.B. der merowingischen Bevölkerung) im frühmittelalterlichen Karpatenbecken die Glasgefäße in die Kategorie der herausragenden Luxusgegenstände gehört. Dies entspricht z. B. der Häufigkeit der skandinavischen Gläserfunde jener Zeit: „The import of glass into Scandinavia throughout the whole of the first milleneum A. D. is believed

mainly to represent the exclusive trade in luxuries."[9] Aufgrund der konkreten Angaben stammen Typ c (konischer Becher), Typ d (Glasbecher mit ovalem Schliffdekor), Typ e (glockenförmiger Becher mit Fadenauflagen und kleinem Standfuß), Typ i (Glaskelche und Stengegläser), Typ k (Krug) und Typ l (Glasfläschchen mit Kleeblattausguß und Henkel) vom Gebiet des Byzantinischen Reiches, sind also eigentlich Erzeugnisse der spätantiken Glasgießereiwerkstätten, etwa in Italien oder auf dem Balkan oder im Mittleren Osten. Demgegenüber sind – unabhängig davon, daß ihre Schöpfer wahrscheinlich ebenfalls spätantiker Abstammung waren – Typ g (Rüsselbecher), Typ h (fränkischer Sturzbecher) und Typ j (Trinkhorn) Erzeugnisse aus westeuropäischen Werkstätten, solchen in fränkischem Gebiet.

V. Verteilung der Glasfunde gemäß der ethnischen Zugehörigkeit der Bestatteten

Da die Zahl der frühmittelalterlichen Glasfunde im Karpatenbecken im Verhältnis zur freigelegten Grabzahl der Periode unvorstellbar klein ist (sie kommen im Bruchteil eines Tausendstels der Gräber vor!), konnte man ab ovo vermuten, daß der Grund dafür darin zu suchen ist, daß die frühmittelalterlichen Glasfunde im Karpatenbecken überwiegend keine lokalen Erzeugnisse, also solche aus dem Karpatenbecken sind. Die konkreten Analysen (die typengemäße Verteilung der Funde) haben dies ebenso belegt. Dementsprechend ist eigentlich festzustellen, daß die Übereinstimmung der Verteilung der Glasfunde aus den Gräbern mit der ethnischen Zugehörigkeit der Bestatteten – wenn eine solche überhaupt vorliegt – nur das Werk des Zufalls und die Beziehung zwischen ihnen völlig willkürlich sein wird. Da die frühmittelalterlichen ethnischen Gruppen im Karpatenbecken keine eigene Glasfabrikation hatten, gibt es – wie im Falle der sonstigen archäologischen Funde – keine Beziehung zwischen Produktionsstätte (im gegebenen Fall das Mediterraneum bzw. die merowingischen Gebiete sowie die Pontusgegend) und ethnischer Zugehörigkeit der Bevölkerung um die Werkstatt und kann es sie nicht geben.

Die Glasfunde des 5. Jahrhunderts sind mit verschiedenen bestimmbaren (z.B. Alanen, Sueben, Gepiden) bzw. nicht — oder noch nicht — identifizierbaren ethnischen Gruppen zu verbinden. Eine auffällige Erscheinung ist, daß anders als die Fundorte von Typ a (halbeiförmiger Becher), die sich über das ganze Karpatenbecken verteilen (*Abb. 3*), die mit ihm zeitgleichen, aus dem Pontus-Gebiet stammenden Fundorte des Kowalk-Typs (*Abb. 7*) nur im Barbaricum der Tiefebene vorkommen.

Im von Gepiden bewohnten Bereich bzw. in gepidischer archäologischer Umgebung fanden sich folgende Funde: Apahida I, Apahida II, Ártánd-Nagyfarkasdomb, Ghenci/Gencs-Akasztódomb, Jakovo-Kormandin Grab 3, Kapušany/Kapi, Kiszombor Grab B-88, Magyarhomorog, Mezőkászony/Barabás, Tarnaméra-Urak dülője [1965] (*Abb. 8*).

Im von Langobarden bewohnten Gebiet bzw. in langobardischer archäologischer Umgebung sind folgende Funde bekannt: Hegykő Grab 18, Kranj/Krain-

[9] *Näsman 1984* 106.

burg/Carnium Grab 48, 57, 104, 157, 630, Mohács Grab 2, Mosonszentjános Grab 2, Várpalota Grab 1, Zohor (*Abb. 9*).

Im Falle der awarenzeitlichen Funde (*Abb. 10*) sind aus der Sicht der ethnischen Umgebung nur die frühawarenzeitlichen Funde (567/568–680) zu werten: Sowohl Keszthely-Fenékpuszta-Horreumgräberfeld als auch das Gräberfeld Zamárdi-Réti földek sind mit „Fremd"-Gruppen unter awarischer Herrschaft zu verbinden: ersteres mit angesiedelter spätantiker Bevölkerung,[10] letzteres vielleicht mit einer Population mit germanischer (gepidischer?) Grundbevölkerung.[11]

VI. Zusammenfassung

Der größte Teil der Glasgefäße aus frühmittelalterlichen, überwiegend gut datierbaren Fundkomplexen/Gräbern des Karpatenbeckens – abgesehen vom Typ a (halbeiförmiger Becher), der in der 1. Hälfte des 5. Jahrhunderts in Gebrauch war – wurde außerhalb des untersuchten Gebietes erzeugt, stellte also für die frühmittelalterliche Bevölkerung im Karpatenbecken Importerzeugnisse dar.[12] Als Herstellungs-/Herkunftsgebiete dieser zu ihrer Zeit, auch aufgrund der Seltenheit dieser Funde, als Luxusartikel zählenden Fundgruppe können – berücksichtigt man die Zahl der Typen und die der untersuchbaren Stücke – in erster Linie die Gebiete des Byzantinischen Reiches (Italien, Balkan, Mittlerer Osten) und in zweiter die fränkischen Gebiete (Rhein- und Meuse-Tal) in Frage kommen. Dementsprechend ergänzen die gut datierbaren Glasgefäße als Quellengruppe die früheren Forschungsergebnisse[13] und lassen sich als einen Index der Handelsbeziehungen im 5.–10. Jahrhundert bildende historische Quelle verwenden.

VII. Katalog

1. Alattyán, Grab 13

Kovrig 1963 194: „Die in der Füllerde des Grabes zum Vorschein gelangten Bruchstücke eines Glasbechers sind in Verlust geraten, was um so bedauerswerter ist, als dies ein „Trinkglas mit Fuß", [Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Inv. Nr. 12/1934. 32.: „talpas üvegpohár, töredékekben."] ist wie seine Benennung im Inventar lautet."

Datierung: Ende 1. Hälfte 5. Jh. (*Kovrig 1963* 196).

2. Apahida, Grab I

Typ f. *Finály 1889* 310, Taf. III; *Hampel 1905* II. 40, III:34; *Fettich 1953* 147, Taf. XXIV; *Horedt – Protase 1972* 195, Anm. 37; *Kiss 1982* 169–174, Abb. 7–8; *Anton Manea 1994b* 253, Nr. 102. 9.

Datierung: 3. Viertel 5. Jh. (*Horedt – Protase 1972* 216).

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[10] *Bóna 1979* 33.

[11] *Kiss 1992* 57–58.

[12] Der Aufsatz von J. Cseh [Üvegleletek a 4–6. századból Kengyel környéki településeken (Kutatástörténeti áttekintés). – Glass finds from the 4th–6th centuries on settlements in environs of Kengyel (with a short history of research). Tisicum II. 1999. 25–29, 30.] ist nach dem Abschluß des Ms erschienen, deswegen konnte ich seine Angaben nicht mehr verwernden.

[13] *Kiss 1981, 1996a.*

3. Apahida, Grab II
Typ d. Glasbecher, wei; H:16 cm, RDm:12 cm, BDm:3,5 cm; *Horedt – Protase 1972* 183, Abb. 6, Taf. 41; *Anton Manea 1994a* 249, Nr. 101. 35.
Datierung: Mitte 5. Jh. (*Horedt – Protase 1972* 216).

4. Árpás-Dombi föld, Grab 1 = Mursella – Szérűskert [1981]
Typ a. „dunkelgrüner semisphrischer Glasnapf"; *Szőnyi 1982*; *Tomka 1996* 49.
Datierung: 1. Hälfte 5. Jh. (*Tomka 1996* 50).

5. Ártánd-Nagyfarkasdomb, Steufund [1974]
Typ a. moosgrüner halbeiförmiger Becher; Déri Múzeum, Debrecen, Ausstellung, Inv. Nr.: 77.135.1. H:6,9 cm, BDm:3,2 cm, MDm:8,0 cm.
Datierung: typgemäß (Ende 4. – Anfang 5. Jh. (vgl. *Párducz 1959* 387).

6. Batina/Kiskőszeg
Typ a. grüner halbeiförmiger Becher mit Tupfen; Gradski Muzej, Sombor, Inv. Nr. Z 201, bzw. 162; Aus der Sammlung von Dr. Imre Frey.
Datierung: typgemäß (Ende 4. – Anfang 5. Jh..

7. Budapest – XIV, Rákos, Grab 36
Typ c. *Nagy 1997* taf. 75:12.
Datierung: sptawarenzeitlich (freundliche Mitteilung von M. Nagy).

8. Čataj
Typ i. tulpenförmiger Standfubecher aus bläulich-grünem Glas; H: 9,8 cm. *Pavůk 1975* 181–182: 18 beraubte Gräber, Krüge vom Typ Murga, Kämme; *Germanen, Hunnen, Awaren 1987* 415, Nr. IX. 26a., Taf. 66., *Zábojník 1997* Abb. 3:5.
Datierung: 2. Hälfte 5. Jh. (*Pieta 1987* 391, 415, Taf. 66:IX,26a).

9. Csólyospálos-Felsőpálos, Grab 52
Typ j. „Trinkhorn aus grünlichem Glas mit Fadenauflage"; *Wicker 1984* 69; *Awaren 1985* 40, Abb. 31; *Avarok kincsei 1986* Abb. 25; *Kiss 1991* 78.
Datierung: mittelawarenzeitlich; mündliche Mitteilung von E. Wicker (20. 12. 1989).

10. Csongrád-Kaserne, Grab 5
Typ a. lichtblauer halbeiförmiger Becher; H: 7,1 cm, MDm:7,3 cm; *Párducz 1959* 311, Taf. VII:22; *Barkóczi – Salamon 1968* 33, Abb. 5:2, 8:1.
Datierung: 375 – 453 (*Párducz 1959* 387).

11. Csongrád-Kaserne, Grab 9
Typ a. moosgrüner halbeiförmiger Becher; H: 7,0 cm, MDm: 7,2 cm; *Párducz 1959* 311, Taf. VII:21; *Barkóczi – Salamon 1968* 33, Abb. 5:1, 8:3.
Datierung: 375 – 453 (*Párducz 1959* 387).

12. Csongrád-Kaserne, Grab 13
Typ a. moosgrüner halbeiförmiger Becher; H: 7,5 cm, MDm: 8,5 cm; *Párducz 1959* 311, Taf. VII:19; *Barkóczi – Salamon* 1968 33, Abb. 6:3, 8:5.
Datierung: 375 – 453 (*Párducz 1959* 387).

13. Csongrád-Kaserne, Grab 93
Typ b. moosgrüne Flasche; H: 14,0 cm, MDm: 5,5 cm; *Párducz 1959* 316, Taf. VII:18; *Barkóczi – Salamon 1968* 33, Abb. 6:1.
Datierung: 375 – 453 (*Párducz 1959* 387).

14. Csongrád-Kaserne, Grab 126
Typ a. *Párducz 1963* 48, Taf. XI:5: lichtgrüner halbeiförmiger Becher; H: 6,9 cm, MDm: 7,3 cm: *Párducz 1963* 48, Taf. XI:5; *Párducz 1963* 48, Taf. XI:5; *Barkóczi – Salamon 1968* 33, Abb. 8:4.
Datierung: 375 – 453 (*Párducz 1959* 387).

15. Dunapentele/Dunaújváros-Öreghegy [1913]
Typ a. halbeiförmiger Becher; *Bóna – Vágó 1966* 23, Taf. X:9; *Bóna 1971* 268, Abb. 8:1; *Barkóczi 1988* 93, Nr. 136.
Datierung: spätes 5. – frühes 6. Jh. (*Bóna 1971* 278).

16. Ghenci/Gencs-Akasztódomb
Typ e. glockenförmiger grüner Glasbecher mit Fadenauflagen und kleinem Standfuß; H: 17–18 cm, BDm: 3 cm, MDm: 8 cm; *Németi 1967* 506, Abb. 5; *Németi 1969*.
Datierung: mittlere Jahrzehnte 5. Jh. (*HGK 1993* 86).

17. Hegykő, Grab 18
Typ i. Glaskelch; H: 11,4 cm; *Bóna 1970/71* Abb. 15:1; *Bóna 1974/76* 104/123, Taf. 71.
Datierung: 510–568: *HGL 1993* 156.

18. Hódmezővásárhely-Franciszti-Ziegelei, Streufund
Kowalk-Typ; Glasbecher mit Schliffverzierung; grün; H: 10,8 cm, MDm: 7,9, BDm: 1,5 cm; *Párducz 1937* 81, 86, Taf. 8:6; *Rau 1972* 183, Nr. 83; *Rau 1973*; *Werner 1988* Abb. 12:54; *Vaday 1994* Taf. IV:54.
Datierung: 1. Hälfte 5. Jh. (*Vaday 1994* Taf. III; IV:70)

19. Hrtkovci-Vranja, Grab 1
Typ a. halbeiförmiger weißer Becher, „posuda od belog providnog stakla"; vis. 0,7 m, Ro: 0,7 m, Rd: cca 2,5 m; *Dautova-Ruševljan 1981* 184, Taf. VI:1.
Datierung: Mitte 5. Jh oder spätestens bis 471 (*Dautova-Ruševljan 1981* 201).

20. Izmény [1936]

„üveg pohár" „Glasbecher": Wosinsky Mór Múzeum, Szekszárd, Inv. Nr. 7/1938. 5.
Datierung: nach den anderen Vorkommen des im Grab gefundenen Kurzschwertes (*Bóna 1991* 248) Jászberény – Szőlődülő, Umgebung von Jászberény, Csongrád – Kenderföldek/Hanffelder Grab 40 und 136; (kann der „Glasbecher" mit dem Gräberfeld von Csongrád-Kenderföldek/Hanffelder gleichzeitig sein [375 – 453 (*Párducz 1959* 387)].

21. Jakovo-Kormandin, Grab 3

Typ i. grüner Glaskelch, „zelenkasto staklo"; H: 12,3 cm, MDm: 7,4 cm, BDm: 4,1 cm; *Dimitrijević 1960* 11–12, Taf. I:14, Taf. VII:1; *Dimitrijević – Kovačević – Vinski 1962* 78, Taf. VI.
Datierung: prva polovina 6 veka (verovatno izmedu 535 – 567) [1. Hälfte 6. Jh. (wahrscheinlich zwischen 535 und 567)] (*Dimitrijević – Kovačević – Vinski 1962* 81).

22. Jászalsószentgyörgy, Hügel 3

Kowalk-Typ. Bruchstücke eines dickwandigen, moosgrünen, geschliffenen Glasbechers; Md: 13,0 cm; *Rau 1972* 183, Nr. 84; *Vaday 1989* 234, Taf. 13:4.
Datierung: 1. Hälfte 5. Jh. (*Vaday 1994* Taf. III; IV:70).

23. Jászapáti-Nagyállás, Grab 180

Typ b. grünes Glasgefäß mit ausgebrochenem Rand; *Madaras 1994* 54, XXV:2.
Datierung: mittelawarenzeitlich.

24. Kapušany/Kapi [1939]

Typ a. halbeiförmiger Becher: „Okrajovy zlomok pohára z tmavobelasého skla. Stie pohára, súdiac pod'la zlomku, bolo mierne roztvorené a na okraji zosilnené. Rozpätie zlomku 56,5, max sírka 25 mm. stie pohára bolo priemere asi 88–90 mm." *Budinsky-Krička 1957* 356; blaue Glasschale; *Werner 1959* 427.
Datierung: typgemäß (Ende 4. Jh. – Anfang 5. Jh.

25. Kapušany/Kapi [1940]

Typ e. Glockenförmiger Glasbecher mit Fadenauflagen und kleinem Standfuß; „okrajovy zlomok pohára z tmavobelasého skla. Rozpätie zlomku 56,5, max. sirka 25 mm, stie pohára bolo v priemere asi 88–90 mm. v torza 153 mm"; *Budinsky-Krička 1957* 358, Abb. 1:3.
Datierung: typgemäß kann das Stück zeitgleich mit dem Alter der Gräber von Ghenci /Gencs – Mezőkászony/Barabás – Tarnaméra, sein, d. h. mittlere Jahrzehnte 5. Jh.

26. Karancsság-Iskola udvara (Hof der Volksschule), Nr. I.

Typ a. halbeiförmiger grüner Becher; *Barkóczi – Salamon 1968* 31, Abb. 3:3, 7:6; genauer Fundort nach Mitteilung von P. Patay (14. 03. 1974); Kubinyi Ferenc Múzeum Szécsény, Inv. Nr. 74.26.1.
Datierung: hunnenzeitlich (*Barkóczi – Salamon 1968* 39).

27. Karancsság-Iskola udvara (Hof der Volksschule), Nr. II.

Typ b. grüne Flasche. Kubinyi Ferenc Múzeum, Szécsény Inv. Nr.:74.26.2.
Datierung: hunnenzeitlich (*Barkóczi – Salamon 1968* 39).

28. Keszthely – Fenékpuszta-Horreum, G rab 15
Typ i. Stengeglas, „Glass goblet, dark olive-green in colour"; H:8,9 cm, MDm:8,5 cm, BDm: 4,8 cm", *Barkóczi 1968* 283, Taf. LXVIII:6.
Datierung: 568–630 *(Bóna 1979* 33).

29. Kisköre-Fischteich, Grab 47, Nr. I.
Typ i. hellgrün-blauer Glaskelch; H: 10,4 cm, BDm: 4,3 cm, RDm: 6,7 cm; *Garam 1973* 279, Taf. 42:3; *Garam 1979* T af. 12:10, Taf. 47:1.
Datierung: nicht vor 2. Viertel 7. Jh. und vor 670 (*Garam 1973* 287); Mittelawarenzeit (*Garam 1979* 67).

30. Kisköre-Fischteich, Grab 47 Nr. II. (rhyton)
Typ j. mittelblaues dünnwandiges Trinkhorn aus Glas; äußere Länge 26 cm, RDm: 7,5 cm; *Garam 1973* 279, Taf. XXXIX; *Garam 1979* Taf. 12:11, Taf. 41; *Gli Avari* 136.
Datierung: nicht vor 2. Viertel 7. Jh. und vor 670 (*Garam 1973* 287); Mittelawarenzeit (*Garam 1979* 67).

31. Kiskőrös-Vágóhíd, Grab IV.
Typ j. Trinkhorn; *László 1955* 25–25, Taf. 2:12a-y. Das Glasgefäß wurde im Dezember 1989 von Judit N. Lőrincz (Ungarisches Nationalmuseum) restauriert und bestimmt: das Gefäß konnte nicht kegelstumpfförmig sein, wie Gy. László zeichnerisch rekonstruiert hatte (*László 1955* fig. 5), und nach Konsultation des Verf. konnte Frau Lőrincz eine Rhytonform rekonstruieren; *Kiss 1991* 78; *Lőrinc 1993*.
Datierung: mittelawarenzeitlich (*Garam 1982* 200), 3. Drittel 7. Jh. (*Garam 1993* 84).

32. Kiskundorozsma-Kenyérvágó domb
Typ a. halbeiförmiger, moosgrüner Becher; H: 6,7 cm, BDm: 3,2 cm, MDm: 7,5 cm; *Vörös 1984–85* 12, Abb. 4:1, Taf. V.
Datierung: 2. Viertel 5. Jh. (*Vörös 1984–85* 27).

33. Kiskundorozsma-Szíksóstó, Grab 5
Typ k. Henkelflasche aus blagrünem Glas; *Awaren 1985*, 43, Abb. 33; *Avarok kincsei 1986* Abb. 21; *Kürti 1984* 25; Móra Ferenc Múzeum, Szeged, Inv. Nr.: 85.3.1.
Datierung: 1. Hälfte 8. Jh. (*Kürti 1985* 23).

34. Kiszombor, Grab B-88
Typ i. Stengeglas, hellgrün; H: 8,9 cm; *Csallány 1961* 177, Taf. CCLXXX:11; *Germanen, Hunnen, Awaren 1987* 247, Nr. V, 88. c.
Datierung: 2. Hälfte 5. Jh. – 2. Drittel 6. Jh. (*HGL 1993* 88).

35. Kranj/Krainburg/Carnium, Grab 48
Typ i. *Stare 1980* 107, Taf. 22:7; *Vinski 1980* 91.
Datierung: 546/48 – 600 (*Bóna 1981* 298).

36. Kranj/Krainburg/Carnium, Grab 57
Typ i. *Stare 1980* 108, Taf. 36:1.
Datierung: 546/48 – 600 (*Bóna 1981* 298).

37. Kranj/Krainburg/Carnium, Grab 104
Typ i. aus gelbem Glas; Stare 1980 109, Taf. 39:5.
Datierung: 546/48 – 600 (*Bóna 1981* 298).

38. Kranj/Krainburg/Carnium, Grab 157
Typ i. *Stare 1980* 111, Taf. 53:1.
Datierung: 546/48 – 600 (*Bóna 1981* 298).

39. Kranj/Krainburg/Carnium, Grab 630
Typ j. Trinkhorn. „L.14 cm. Greenish. Rim missing. A single horizontal trail below the rim, one near the tip and one diaginally crossing the body. L.14 cm."; *Evison 1975* 86, Nr. 45, Abb. 13; „Horn aus grünlichem Glas mit blauen Fäden, zum Teil beschädigt. L: 13,4 cm." *Stare 1980* 123, Taf. 131:1.
Datierung: 546/48 – 600 (*Bóna 1981* 298).

40. Lászlófalva-Községi temető-Templom dülő, Grab 1
Typ c. konischer grüner Becher; H: 9,6 cm, MDm: 6,2 cm; *Pálóczi-Horváth 1976* 74, Abb. 6.
Datierung: 4. Jh. sptestens Anfang 5. Jh. (*Pálóczi-Horváth 1976* 75).

41. Lébény-Magaspart [1964]
Typ c. konischer Becher; H: 11,5 cm, BDm: 2 cm, MDm: 8,5 cm; *Pusztai 1966* 100–101, Abb. 6:1a-c; *Barkóczi – Salamon 1968* Abb. 8:2.
Datierung: vor das 433 (*Pusztai 1966* 114).

42. Magyarhomorog-Rókászi dülő
Typ a. halbeiförmiger moosgrüner Becher; H: 7,0 cm, MDm: 7,4 cm; *Barkóczi – Salamon 1968* 33, Abb. 7:5.
Datierung: hunnenzeitlich (*Barkóczi – Salamon 1968* 39).

43. Mali Idjoš/Kishegyes, Grab 74/b
Typ c. weier konischer Glasbecher, mit dunkelblauen kürbiskernförmigen Nuppen; MDm: 7,o, BDm: 2,5 cm; *Gubitza 1907* 360; *Dimitrijević – Kovačević – Vinski 1962* 46, Taf. XXXIV.
Datierung: spätawarenzeitlich.

44. Mezőkászony = Barabás-Bagolyvár [1896]
Typ e. Glockenförmiger Glasbecher mit Fadenauflagen und kleinem Standfuß; „Becher, dessen grünes Glas nichts von seiner Transparenz und seinem Glanz eingebüßt hat"; H: 15 cm; *Hampel 1894* 465; *Hampel 1905* II. 53; *Werner 1959*; *Kovrig 1979* 131, Nr. 37, Taf. 37; *Bóna 1986* 71, 88, Anm. 256, Abb. 22.
Datierung: 2. Hälfte 5. Jh. (*Kovrig 1979* 131), hunnenzeitlich (*Bóna 1986* 71).

45. Mohács, Grab 2
„Kegelförmiges, innen hohles, bräunliches Glasfragment mit abgerundeter Spitze, der Rand unregelmäig abgerundet. Innenseite glatt, Auenseite grob geschliffen. Wahrscheinlich das Fragment eines Glasbechers, dessen Rand nachträglich abgeschliffen wurde."; *Kiss – Nemeskéri 1964* 107, Abb. 8:6.
Datierung: 536–568 (*HGL 1993* 158).

46. Mosonszentjános-Kavicsbánya, Grab 2
Typ h. fränkischer Sturzbecher; M: 11 cm: *Bóna 1974/76* 104–123, Taf. 72; *Pusztai 1988* 289: balra fent.
Datierung: langobardenzeitlich (*HGL 1993* 158–159).

47. Prša/Perse-Bércz, Grab 91
Typ e. glockenförmiger Glasbecher mit Fadenauflagen und kleinem Standfuß; *Točik 1962* 200 Abb. 12:12; *Werner 1959* 427, Abb. 4.
Datierung: 1. Hälfte 5. Jh. (*Točik 1962* 198).

48. Regöly-Pénzesdomb
Typ a. halbeiförmiger, moosgrüner Becher; H: 6,7 cm, MDM: 6,8 cm; *Mészáros 1970* 84, Abb. 19:1; *Barkóczi – Salamon 1968* Abb. 3:1, 7:1; *Barkóczi 1988* 99–100, Nr. 152.
Datierung: Ende 4. – Beginn 5. Jh. (*Mészáros 1970* 92).

49. Sándorfalva – Eperjes-Ívótavak, Grab 5
Kowalk-Typ. grün, H: 11,1 cm, MDm: 7,0 cm; *Vörös 1982–83* 140–144, Taf. IV:3; *Vaday 1994* Taf. IV:71.
Datierung: 1. Hälfte 5. Jh. (*Vaday 1994* Taf. III; IV:70)

50. Šarovce/Nagysárró-Makóczadomb, Grab 12/1955
Typ a. halbeiförmiger Becher; H: 7,8 cm, MDm: 9,4 cm; *Novotny 1976* 139, Taf. XIX: oben; *Germanen, Hunnen, Awaren 1987* 414, Nr. IX. 22d. Taf. 64.
Datierung: hunnenzeitlich (*Novotny 1976* 77).

51. Şeitin/Sajtény
Kowalk-Typ. *Dörner 1970* 458–460, fig. 14:3; *Rau 1972* 196, Nr. 175; *Rau 1973* Abb. 1: Nr. 55; *Werner 1988* Abb. 12:55; *Vaday 1994* Taf. IV:55.
Datierung: 1. Hälfte 5. Jh. (*Vaday 1994* Taf. III; IV:70).

52. Srbobran/Bácsszenttamás-Ciglana Budučnost
Typ j. Trinkhorn; *Hadjmaš 1957*; *Dimitrijević – Kovačević – 1962* 60, Taf. XIX
Datierung: mittelawarenzeitlich.

53. Szabadszállás – Boczka
Typ c. konischer Glasbecher, „the colour is changing according to the thickness of the glass, from purplish-violet to rosy-violet." H: 16,5 cm; *Tóth 1969* 40. Auf dem mit Szenen verzierten Glasbecher steht eine griechische Inschrift. Ihre Übersetzung: (lateinisch) 'bibe vivis cum tuis in nomine Dei omnium creatoris' – (englisch) 'drink

(and you) live (-will live) together with yours in the name of God, creator of all' (*Tóth 1969* 50).
Datierung: late 4th and first half of the 5th century (*Tóth 1969* 52).

54. Százhalombatta [1943]
konischer Glasbecher mit ausladendem Mund, plastischverziert; H: 9,0 cm, MDm: 8, 3 cm, BDm: 2,6 cm; *Barkóczi 1971* 72, Abb. 5; *MRT 7* 234; *Kovács 1996;* 50.
Datierung: 3. Drittel 4. Jh – erste Jahrzehnte 5. Jh. *(Barkóczi 1971* 80; *Barkóczi 1988* 95–96);
Datierung: hunnenzeitlich (*MRT 7* 371; *Kovács 1996* 50).

55. Szob, Grab 2
Typ a. halbeiförmiger Becher, gobelet de verre verdâtre; H: 7,5 cm, MDm: 7,5 cm; *Kovrig 1959* 209–210, Taf. I:12. *Barkóczi – Salamon 1968* Abb. 3:2, 7:3.
Datierung: premières décades du Ve siècle (*Kovrig 1959* 223).

56. Tápé-Malajdok, Grab 48
Typ a. halbeiförmiger moosgrüner Becher; *Barkóczi – Salamon 1968* 32, Abb. 6:4, 7:4.
Datierung: hunnenzeitlich (*Barkóczi – Salamon 1968* 39).

57. Tarnaméra-Urak dülője [1965]
Typ e. Glockenförmiger Glasbecher mit Fadenauflagen und kleinem Standfuß; grün, H: 15,1 cm, MDm: 11,05 cm, BDm: 2,9 cm; *Szabó 1966*; *Szabó 1969* 48, Nr. c. (Die unveröffentlichten Funde des Grabes kenne ich dank Genehmigung von J. Gy. Szabó.)
Datierung: hunnenzeitlich (*Szabó 1969* 48).

58. Tarnaméra
Kowalk-Typ. Wassergrün. Unter dem Rand eine eingekratzte umlaufende Linie. Auf der Wand befinden sich in drei Reihen ovale unter einander – oben 13, in der Mitte 12, unten 11 – Schliffe. *Vaday 1994* Taf. IV:68; Ausgrabung von J. Gy. Szabó, Dobó István Múzeum, Eger, Inv. Nr: A 97.2.1., Datensammlung von A. Vaday. H: 11,0 cm, BDm: 2,0 cm, MDm: 8,5 cm. *Vaday 1994* Taf. IV:68.
Datierung: 1. Hälfte 5. Jh. (*Vaday 1994* Taf. III; IV:70).

59. Váchartyán, Grab 6
Typ c. konischer Becher; H: 10,9 cm, MDm: 8,8 cm, BDm: 3,8 cm; *Ferenczy 1963* 85, Abb. 15:1.
Datierung: mittelawarenzeitlich.

60. Várdomb
Typ a. halbeiförmiger Becher; *Wosinsky 1896* 801–802, Taf. CCXVIII:9, (mit falscher Bildunterschrift); *Barkóczi – Salamon 1968* 36, 36, Anm. 36, Abb. 5:4; *Barkóczi 1988* 93, Nr. 135.
Datierung: letzte Jahrzehnte 4. – Anfang 5. Jh. (*Barkóczi – Salamon 1968* 36).

61. Várpalota-Unio, Grab 1
Typ b. Kleine Flasche; *Bóna 1956* 187, Taf. XXVII:10; *Werner 1962a* 152, Taf. 1:9.
Datierung: langobardisches Gräberfeld, vor 550 (*HGL 1993* 160).

62. Zamárdi-Réti földek, Grab 221
Typ l. „bauchiges Glasfläschchen, hellgrün, mit Kleeblattausguß und Henkel"; *Bárdos 1984* 80; *Awaren 1985* 46, Abb. 39; *Avarok kincsei 1986* Abb. 20; *Gli Avari 1995* 152.
Datierung: seconda metà del VI secolo (*Gli Avari 1995* 152).

63. Zamárdi-Réti földek, Grab 367
Typ i. Stengeglas; „ ein Glasbecher war in einem Frauengrab aus dem 7. Jh., hellgrünes, kelchförmiges Stengeglas (seine Sohle ist abgebrochen), die Oberflche ist mit wellenförmigen Fadenauflagen verziert. Seine Analogien sind in langobardischen Grbern von Italien zu finden." *E. Bárdos* RégFüz I. 37. 1984. 80; „Stengeglas aus dickem grünlichem Glas mit girlandenförmiger weißer Fadenauflage": *Awaren 1985* 46, Nr. 1o; *Gli Avari 1995* 152.
Datierung: fine del VI – inizio del VII secolo (*Gli Avari 1995* 152).

64. Zohor
Typ g. Rüsselbecher, schwarz; H: 19,5 cm, BDm: 4,6 cm, MDm: 9,5 cm; *Kraskovská 1963* 693, Abb. 228; *Bóna 1974/76* 98/116, Abb. 14; *Pieta 1987* 395, Abb. 7.
Datierung: 1. Hälfte 6. Jh. (*Kraskovská 1963* 694).

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Liste 1

Verteilung der frühmittelalterlichen Glasfunde des Karpatenbeckens nach Fundtypen

Typ a/ halbeiförmiger Becher

*: mit Tupfen,

}: mit Girlandenverzierung,

ohne besondere Signatur: Exemplare ohne Verzierung

Árpás, Ártánd-Nagyfarkasdomb, Batina/Kiskőszeg: *, Csongrád Grab 5: }, 9, 13, 126, Dunapentele/Dunaújváros [1913]: }, Hrtkovci-Vranja, Kapušany/Kapi [1939], Karancsság-Nr. II., Kiskundorozsma-Kenyérvágóhalom, Magyarhomorog, Regöly: *, Šarovce/Nagysárró-Makóczadomb Grab 12/1955, Szob Grab 2:}, Tápé – Malajdok Grab 48: *, Várdomb:}.

Typ b/ Flasche

Csongrád Grab 93, Jászapáti Grab 180, Karancsság-Nr. II, Várpalota Grab 1.

Typ c/ konischer Becher

Budapest-Rákos, Lászlófalva, Lébény, Mali Idjoš/Kishegyes Grab 74b, Szabadszállás-Boczka, Váchartyán Grab 6.

Typ d/ Glasbecher mit ovalem Schliffdekor

Apahida Grab II.

Typ e/ glockenförmige Glasbecher mit Fadenauflagen und kleinem Standfuß

Ghenci/Gencs-Akasztódomb, Kapušany/Kapi [1940], Mezőkászony/Barabás, Prša/Perse-Bércz Grab 91, Tarnaméra-Urak dülője.

Typ f/ halbkugelige tiefe Schale

Apahida Grab I.

Typ g/ Rüsselbecher

Zohor.

Typ h/ fränkischer Sturzbecher

Mosonszentjános Grab 2.

Typ i/ Glaskelche + Stengegläser

ataj, Hegykő Grab 18, Jakovo – Kormandin Grab 3, Keszthely – Fenékpuszta-Horreum Grab 15, Kisköre-Fischteich/Halastó Grab 47 – Nr. I, Kiszombor Grab 88, Kranj/Krainburg Grab 48, 57, 104, 157, Zamárdi-Réti földek Grab Grab 367.

Typ j/ Trinkhorn

Csólyospálos, Kisköre-Fischteich/Halastó Grab 47/ Nr. II, Kiskőrös-Vágóhíd Grab IV, Kranj/Krainburg/Carnium Grab 63o, Srbobran/Bácsszenttamás.

Typ k/ Krug

Kiskundorozsma-Síksóstó Grab 5.

Typ l/ Glasfläschchen mit Kleeblattausguß und Henkel

Zamárdi-Réti földek Grab 221.

Kowalk-Typ

Hódmezővásárhely-Franciszti téglagyár, Jászalsószentgyörgy, Hügel 3, Sándorfalva – Eperjes-Ívótavak Grab 5, Şeitin/Sajtény, Tarnaméra.

Liste 2

Die chronologische Verteilung der frühmittelalterlichen Glasfunde des Karpatenbeckens

a/ 5. Jh. (39 St.)

Alattyán Grab 13, Apahida I., Apahida II., Árpás-Dombi föld 1. sír = Mursella-Szérűskert [1981], Ártánd-Nagyfarkasdomb, Batina/Kiskőszeg, Čataj, Csongrád-Kaserne Grab 5, Grab 9, Grab 13, Grab 93, Grab 126,

Dunapentele/Dunaújváros-Öreghegy [1913], Ghenci/Gencs-Akasztódomb, Hódmezővásárhely-Franciszti téglagyár, Hrtkovci – Vranja Grab 1, Izmény [1936], Jászalsószentgyörgy, Hügel 3, Kapušany/Kapi [1939], Kapušany/Kapi [1940], Karancsság-Iskola udvara Nr. I-II, Kiskundorozsma-Kenyérvágó domb, Lászlófalva Grab 1, Lébény-Magaspart [1964], Magyarhomorog-Rókászi dülő, Mezőkászony/Barabás, Prša-Bércz Grab 91, Regöly-Pénzesdomb, Sándorfalva – Eperjes-Ívótavak Grab 5, Šarovce/Nagysárró-Makóczadomb Grab 12/1955, Şeitin/Sajtény, Szabadszállás-Boczka, Százhalombatta, Szob Grab 2, Tápé – Malajdok Grab 48, Tarnaméra-Urak dülője [1965], Tarnaméra, Várdomb.

b/ 1.-2. Drittel 6. Jh. (12 St.)

Hegykő Grab 18, Jakovo-Kormandin Grab 3, Kiszombor Grab B-88, Kranj/Krainburg/Carnium Grab 48, 57, 104, 157, 630, Mohács Grab 2, Mosonszentjános Grab 2, Várpalota Grab 1, Zohor.

c/ Awarenzeit (567/568 – 805)

c/1. Frühawarenzeit (567/568 – 680) (3 St.)

Keszthely – Fenékpuszta-Horreum Grab 15, Zamárdi-Réti földek Grab 221, Grab 367.

c/2. Mittelawarenzeit (680–720) (7 St.)

Csólyospálos-Felsőpálos Grab 52, Jászapáti-Nagyállás Grab 18o, Kiskőre-Fischteich Grab 47 / Nr. I-II, Kiskőrös-Vágóhíd Grab IV, Srbobran/Bácsszenttamás-Ciglana Budučnost, Váchartyán Grab 6.

c/3. Spätawarenzeit (720–805) (3 St.)

Budapest-Rákos Grab 36, Kiskundorozsma-Síksóstó Grab 5, Mali Idjoš/Kishegyes Grab 74b.

Liste 3

Sammlung der Ansichten bzw. Bestimmungen zu Herkunft und Herstellungsort der frühmittelalterlichen Glasfunde des Karpatenbeckens nach Typen

Typ a/ halbeiförmiger Becher

Barkóczi – Salamon 1968 329: „die Glasfunde weisen auf die Kontinuität der pannonischen Glasfabrikation hin".

Typ b/ Flasche

Bóna 1956 187 = *Werner 1962a* 152: „römisches Glasgefäß" [Várpalota Grab 1]; *Bóna 1956* 229: „Nach der Form mag es ein Balsamarium sein."

Typ c/ konischer Becher

Tóth 1969 52: „our glass [Szabadszállás – Boczka] is likely to date from this period [late 4th and first half of the 5th century], and can be classified with this period of Alexandrian art — showing several similirities — thus it must originate from the region".

Typ d/ Glasbecher mit ovalem Schliffdekor

Horedt – Protase 1972 195: „Der hellgrüne, dickwandige Glasbecher [Apahida II] gehört zu einer weitverbreiteten östlichen Gruppe von Gläsern mit ovalem Schliffdekor, die in Südruland häufig vorkommen und zahlreich in Skandinavien auftreten. Westlich der Oder sind sie nur ganz vereinzelt nachzuweisen. Sie beginnen etwa um 300, und bei typologisch späteren Stücken wird ihre Form spitzer, das Facettennetz enger, und es bedeckt die ganze Oberfläche. Bei dem Pokal aus Apahida könnte zwischen der Herstellungszeit und der Grablegung ein gewisser Zeitraum verstrichen sein, was bei einem so wertvollen Gegenstand verständlich ist."

Typ e/ glockenförmiger Glasbecher mit Fadenauflagen und kleinem Standfuß

Näsman 1984a 146: „A survey of the late roman tradition of decoration with trailing demostrates that such a tradition can be found both in the western provinces and in Pontic area."

Bóna 1986 73: [Mezőkászony/Barabás] „ist wahrscheinlich die Produktion einer griechisch-römischen Stadt am Küstenland des Schwarzen Meeres".

Typ f/ halbkugelige tiefe Schale

Die halbkugelige tiefe Schale [Apahida I] ist zur Zeit der Auffindung zur Grunde zerstört worden. Die Rekonstruktion ihrer Form ermöglichten die aus Goldblech gefertigten Reparaturen. Nach der Rekonstruktion (*Kiss 1982* Abb. 8–9) ähnelte ihre Form am ehesten der Schale von Keszthely – Fenékpuszta (*Hampel 1905* II. 225–226, III. 11, *Barkóczi 1988* 58–59, Nr. 23, Taf. III). Die Datierung der Schale von Keszthely – Fenékpuszta: Ende 4. – Anfang 5. Jh. (*Barkóczi 1988* 59). Nach der Glasschale des Grabes II von Apahida, die viel älter ist als ihre Grablegung weist die Goldreparatur hier darauf hin, daß auch diese Schale viel älter als die Grablegung sein kann.

Typ g/ Rüsselbecher

Rademacher 1942 287: „Die eigenartigste fränkische Glasform ist der sogenannte Rüsselbecher."

Werner 1962b 93: „Die Rüsselbecher sind Erzeugnisse belgischer Glashütten und gelangten als kostbares Trinkgeschirr aus dem fränkischen Kerngebiet an Rhein und Maas, wo sie häufig vorkommen, vereinzelt nach Thüringen und Süddeutschland..."

Verbreitungskarte: *Fremersdorf 1933–34,* Abb. 28; *Werner 1966* Karte 1; *Kiss 1981* Karte Nr. 7–7a.

Datierung: spätes 5. – frühes 6. Jh (*Rademacher 1942* 287); zweite Hälfte des 5. und erste Hälfte des 6. Jahrhunderts (*Werner 1966* 997).

Typ h/ fränkischer Sturzbecher

Rademacher 1942 307: „An Häufigkeit übertreffen die Sturzbecher noch die Tummler, sie fehlen in keinem rheinischen Reihengräberfeld.... Stark verbreitet sind die Sturzbecher auch im Trierer Bezirk, wie die stattliche Anzahl im Trierer Landesmuseum beweist.... Die meisten dieser Sturzbecher stammen ebenso wie die entsprechend verzierten Spitzbecher von französischem Boden, wo offenbar auch das Herstellungszentrum zu suchen ist."

Typ i/ Glaskelche + Stengegläser

In meiner Arbeit von 1996 habe ich die Typen 'Glaskelche' (*Kiss 1996a* 323, Liste 47) und 'Stengegläser' (*Kiss 1996a* 324, Liste 49) von einander gesondert behandelt, hier habe ich sie zusammengezogen. Nach den aufgezählten Analogien sind die beiden einander nahe stehende Typen sind italischen Ursprungs (*Kiss 1996a* 300–302). Diese Feststellung wurde aber von anderen italischen Funden (Torcello, Invillino, Castelserpio) (*Philippe 1970* Abb. 49, 50–52) und weiterhin Funden von Sardes (Kleinasien), (*Philippe 1970* Abb. 35), Kouva (Üzbekistan) (*Philippe 1970* Abb. 86) – [obwohl ich schon damals darauf hingewiesen habe, daß „im 6. und 7. Jahrhundert in Italien mit einer vielfachen Mehrheit der spätantiken Bevölkerung und mit einer Minderheit der langobardischen Bevölkerung gerechnet werden mu, weshalb diese Frage nicht nur auf die Problematik der Langobarden – Awaren beschränkt werden kann": *Kiss 1996a* 300] – auf byzantinisch modifiziert.

Typ j/ Trinkhorn

Garam 1973 284: „stimmen für das Objekt [Trinkhorn von Kisköre Grab 47] charakteristischere, rechteckig gebogene Form und die weiße, in Knopf auslaufende Spiralverzierung in solchem Mae mit denen der mittelitalischen Stücke überein, da(dies die Herleitung des Stückes aus Italien zulät".

Evison 1975 830: „it is evident that glass was blown in the form of a horn in the Rhine and Meuse valleys between the third and the early seven century and in the late sixth and early seventh century in Italy for the pleasure of the newly-arrived Lombards."

Typ k/ Krug

Awaren 1985 43: „Henkelflasche [Kiskundorozsma-Szíksóstó Grab 5] aus blaugrünem Glas, wahrscheinlich ostmediterrane Produktion."

Kürti 1985 26: [der Krug von Kiskundorozsma-Szíksóstó Grab 5] „konnte aus einer der byzantinischen Städte auf dem Balkan auf awarischen Boden gelangen".

Typ l/ Glasfläschchen mit Kleeblattausguß und Henkel

Avarok kincsei 1986: „Glasfläschchen italischen(?) Ursprungs" [Zamárdi-Réti földek Grab 221].

Kowalk-Typ

Rau 1973 443: „Die Verbreitungskarte der Gläser... im nördlichen Schwarzmeerküstengebiet steckt deutlich das Gebiet der ernjahov-Kultur ab.... Die Glaswerkstätten in der Karpatenukraine können nicht als römisch angesehen werden."

Tabelle 1

Die chronologische Verteilung der Gläserfunde aus dem Karpatenbecken

Period	Stück	%	Stück/Jahr
400 – 500	39	60,9	0,39
501 – 568	12	18,7	0,18
568 – 680	3	4,6	0,03
681 – 720	7	10,9	0,18
721 – 805	3	4,6	0,03
806 – 1000	–	–	–

Abbildungen

Abb. 1. Die Fundorte der frühmittelalterlichen (400–1000) Gläserfunde im Karpatenbecken

Abb. 2. Die Formentafel der frühmittelalterlichen (400–1000) Gläserfunde im Karpatenbecken

Abb. 3. Die Fundorte des Typ a (halbeiförmiger Becher)

Abb. 4. Die Fundorte des Typ e (glockenförmiger Glasbecher mit Fadenauflagen und kleinem Standfu)

Abb. 5. Die Fundorte des Typ i (Glaskelche und Stengegläser)

Abb. 6. Die Fundorte des Typ j (Trinkhörner)

Abb. 7. Die Fundorte des Kowalk-Typs

Abb. 8. Gläserfunde im gepidischen Milieu

Abb. 9. Gläserfunde im langobardischen Milieu

Abb. 10. Gläserfunde im awarischen Milieu

László Kocsis

A CAVALRY SPORTS HELMET FIND FROM ALBERTFALVA

During the rearrangement of the older finds in the Aquincum Museum, a cheek-piece of a copper-alloy helmet came up among the finds from the excavations of Tibor Nagy at Albertfalva. The piece had been found during the excavation campaign of 1949 and since that time it has been kept in the Roman Collection of the Budapesti Történeti Múzeum (Budapest Historical Museum) under the inventory number BTM Alb. 56.6.376. *(Figs 1–2)*

The object is a 179 mm high, 118 mm wide and 0.5–0.7 mm thick left-side cheek-piece made of a copper-alloy sheet in the repoussé technique. The surface is slightly curved. Its shape is a rectangle, slightly narrowing towards its base, with a curvilinear rim following the outline of the eye, the protruding cheekbone, the drawn back mouth and the pointed chin. At the back, along the line of the ear, the rim is vertical, and the edge running parallel with the jawbone attaches to it at an obtuse angle.

The upper part is a horizontal, rather fragmentary band formed by the U-shaped recurving of the sheet into a hinge. The cheek-piece was attached with this hinge to the bowl.

A representation of an eagle standing on a solar disc, or a globe looking back while fluttering its wings and holding an ivy leaf in the beak in repoussé technique, occupies almost the whole surface of the cheek-piece. The plumage is elaborated and in spite of the wear on the protruding parts of the sheet, it is clearly visible. On the right upper part, attaching to the bowl, emerging to some extent from the horizontal line, a stylized line of an ear in natural size was embossed. This part constitutes the upper and rear rim of the cheek-piece. On the ear-lobe a hole is indicated with a small depression, corresponding to a hole for wearing an earring in practice.

The main motif, the eagle, is framed by an embossed rope-shaped garland, running parallel with the rim of the cheek-piece. This frame is partly covered by the ivy leaf and its stem hanging from the ear and held by the eagle. The lower part of the sheet is fragmentary, but the embossed solar disc and the four-pointed, asimmetrically carved spokes of the chariot of fire related with it, are still visible.

On the rear part of the cheek-piece, under the ear-lobe a rivet hole can be observed, which in all probability served for the fastening of the leather lining inside. Due to the damages on the sheet, we possess only indirect evidences regarding the tie-ring and its riveting at the end of the lower jawbone.[1]

Beside the reinforcement of the relatively thin sheet of the cheek-piece, the rim served the safe wear of the helmet. In front and at the right upper corner of the sheet, at the height of the stylized ear, where the face might have been en-

[1] Thus, it is not accidental, that the sheet suffered the heaviest damages on those parts, where it was most frequently used, i. e. where originally the tie-ring and its riveting may have been placed.

dangered by the edge of the cheek-piece, the rim was shaped as an embossed rib. Further decorations or coating were note observed on the surface.

The motif of the eagle on military equipment and armour is not a rarity, and similarly to the representations of Mars, Victoria, Minerva, or a lion and other heraldic supporters on the shields of troops, they formed part of triumphal symbolism. It seems nevertheless, that the eagle turning back is found only in the Danube region. Its places of occurence from north to south-east are: the cheek-piece of the copper-alloy helmet from Theilenhofen,[2] on the horse armour from Eining,[3] on the horse armours from Straubing,[4] on the mask-helmet from Aschberg,[5] on a cheek-piece from Wels,[6] on a cheek-piece from Carnuntum,[7] furthermore on the cheek-piece from Gerulata.[8] On these pieces the embossed picture of an eagle turning back its head apperas, fluttering its wings and holding a wreath in its beak. The eagle representations on breastplates belonging to scale armour must also be mentioned; the decorative elements of this group, in a similar way to the former one, are also characteristic to the Danube region.[9]

The figure, appearing on the Albertfalva piece, is known only from one of the Eining horse armours,[10] where the eagle stands on a stylized solar disc or a globe decorated with the four spokes of a wheel. In the overwhelming majority of the cases, except the breastplates, the eagle turning back its head, holds a wreath in its beak. In our case, in a unique manner, the eagle holds an ivy leaf with a long stem.

Among the helmet types of Pannonia, and in the same time those of the Roman Empire, the repoussé helmets with or without masks occupy a separate place. The Greeks used such helmets at sports during the classical era.[11] It was already known at the beginning of the 2nd century B. C. on the territory of the Kingdom of Pergamum, where it appears as a piece of equipment worn by Greek warriors on the reliefs from the temple of Athena Polias Nikiphoros.[12]

The Romans had got acquainted with and used them until the end of the 3rd century. Robinson, who had worked out their typology, calls this helmet type ***cavalry sports*** helmets[13] On the basis of their formal appearance and manu-

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[2] *Klumbach – Wamser 1978* 54 sqq.; *Garbsch 1978* 55, Pl. 10.

[3] *Kellner 1978*; *Garbsch 1978* 46/9, 5/A Figs. 9–10.

[4] *Keim – Klumbach 1951*; *Garbsch 1978* 49:18, 21, 5/1–2, Pl. 6/1.

[5] *Klumbach 1932* 52, Fig. 1/2; *Garbsch 1978* 74/63, Pl. 30/3.

[6] *Reiß 1973* 159; *Garbsch 1978* 75:69, Pl. 33/2.

[7] *Garbsch 1978* 76:80, Pl. 33/4.

[8] *Snopko 1988* 29 and picture on p. 7.

[9] L. Borhy had analysed the scale armour breastplates from Brigetio, or perhaps from Carnuntum, preserved in the Hungarian National Museum, from Orgovány, from Carnuntum and Mus2ov. Judging from the conformity of minute details, certain similarities and inscriptions on the plates, he came to the conclusion that they may have been made in the same workshop. He identified the workshop as the 2nd-3rd century forerunner of the Late Roman CARNUNTENSIS SCUTARIA in Carnuntum. See: *Borhy 1990* 306; *Borhy 1991* 91.

[10] *Gerbsch 1978* 46, 9.

[11] *Robinson 1975* 107.

[12] *Robinson 1975* 107.

[13] *Robinson 1975* 107–135; Recently a collective of authors had handled this group of finds, where Maria Kohlert published her own classification, which only partially coincides with the typology worked out by Robinson. See: *Garbsch 1978*).

facturing technologies he divided the helmets and masks belonging to these types into several groups.

According to the formal analysis of our cheek-piece, and its comparison with the possible types of bowls to which it may have belonged, we may reckon with two helmet types of different functions: on the one hand with a battle helmet for everyday use, and with a parade helmet worn at special occasions, on the other.

The first possible type is the ***Auxiliary cavalry H,***[14] which is not a parade helmet (*Fig. 3. 2*). On the bowls of this type, which could have been made of iron or copper-alloy, or eventually the combination of these two, a cheek-piece almost identical in form with that from Albertfalva were applied. The protruding ear-guard known from earlier helmet types, plays no part on these types indeed, but rather a representation of a natural sized ear appears on the cheek-pieces, which latter wrapped totally even those parts of the head (i. e. the ears) which were left earlier uncovered. This type of cavalry helmets represents the latest phase of that development which had begun in the middle third of the 2nd century, with the aim to create types serving cavalry purposes as well, from helmet types used by the infantry.[15]

At the consideration of the next possibility regarding the use of our cheek-piece, we may reckon with two typological variants. In both cases we may seek the bowl, to which our piece had belonged originally, among the further developments of the ***cavalry sports*** parade helmets ***G-H***, furthermore the typological variants of „***I***"

according to the terminology and classification of Robinson. At one end of the typological series stands the almost entirely intact crested copper-alloy helmet with a decorated brow plate from Theilenhofen (*Fig. 3. 4*), made with the raised relief technology,[16] which is equipped with a cheek-piece having minor differences in comparison to that from Albertfalva. On this bowl the embossed shape of the eagle with fluttering wings or the eagle-headed crest appears, known also from two low-backed helmets preserved in the Hungarian National Museum.[17] To these low-backed helmets of type „***G***" a single or bipartite mask had also belonged originally. On its more developed variant (type „***H***") the mask is replaced with a helmet-mask[18] or a cheek piece.

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[14] *Robinson 1975* 100.

[15] After that time, the development of ealier helmet types ceased, and during the last quarter of the 3rd century, the Intercisa type helmets appear, manufactured with an entirely new technology in a new form. See: *Kocsis 1994* 82–101.

[16] *Klumbach – Wamser 1978* 41 sqq.; *Garbsch 1978* 55–56.

[17] One of these low-backed bowls was purchased from Brigetio, the other one is enlisted among the pieces of the Delhaes Collection. This latter comes from the region of the Iron Gate. See: *Barkóczi 1954* 45–48, 11/1–2, 12/2; *Garbsch 1978* 72, 28; *Lipperheide 1986* 315–316, 433b-433a; *Garbsch 1978* 72, 28/3–4.

[18] A characteristic example of this type is known from Worthing. See: *Robinson 1975* 130–131, 384–388. A fragment of a face-helmet belonging to this type came to light on the Danubian limes at Aschberg in Raetia, where the figure of the eagle turning back its head also appears. See: *Robinson 1975* 131, 390.

The other end of the series is closed by the type „*I*" [19] with decorated brow plate, of which an almost intact example is known from Rusovce/Oroszvár (Gerulata)[20] (*Fig. 3. 1*). In case of this type disappears the crest and the mask, made with the raised relief technique, from the top of the bowl, and the face-helmet is substituted with a cheek piece. The well known representation of the eagle, also appears on the cheek-piece of the Gerulata copper-alloy helmet. The decoration here is not a simple *repoussé* work but a raised relief, showing the eagle emerging spectacularly from the flat background of the cheek-piece. On these copper-alloy helmets the gleaming surface of the raised decoration, shining like gold, was contrasted by the white coating of the background. This polychromy increased the general impression brought about by the embellishment.

Although, as for its shape, our cheek-piece is almost identical with the pieces applied on auxiliary cavalry helmet types,[21] judging from its ornaments and copper-alloy material, it still belongs to the category of parade helmets.[22]

Due to the small number of helmets considered so far, we cannot say nevertheless, which type of bowls could bear the Albertfalva cheek-piece. Both the bowl of the Theilenhofen helmet[23] with a brow plate and a crest, decorated with a raised relief, and the bowl type of the Guisborough[24] helmet (*Fig. 3. 3*) with a decorated brow plate alone, could be brought into consideration. Thus, according to the typology of Robinson, the Albertfalva cheek-piece represents a transitional form between the types ***H-I*** of the ***cavalry*** sports helmets.

On the basis of the comparable material at our disposal we may date the manufacture and use of our cheek-piece to the periode between the end of the 2nd and the middle of the 3rd century.

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[19] The eponymous piece of this type is known from Guisborough. See: *Robinson 1975* 132–133, 391–393.

[20] See: *Snopko 1980* 249. According to the description of the author, the helmet had been found among the remains of a heating system. On the basis of the ceramics found together with the helmet, the latter was dated to the 1st-2nd centuries, although the author admitted, that the other part of the finds are dated to the periode before 230. The excavator insists on his early dating in his further publications as well. See: *Snopko 1986* 13. This helmet type first appears at the end of the 2nd century, and is still in use during the first half of the 3rd century.

[21] *Robinson 1975* 89–106.

[22] From the inscriptions found on the Theilenhofen helmet, giving informations about its temporary owner and his unit, we can establish unambiguously, that it was not an officer's helmet. See: *Klumbach – Wamser 1978* 58.

[23] Garbsch dated the helmet to the second half of the 2nd century. See: *Garbsch 1978* 55. According to Robinson the type of the helmet is dated to the 3rd century. See: *Robinson 1975* 131.

[24] The age of the helmet is the first part of the 3rd century. See: *Robinson 1975* 133; *Garbsch 1978* 73.

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CAPTIONS

Fig. 1. Cheek-piece from Albertfalva.

Fig. 2. Cheek-piece from Albertfalva.

Fig. 3. 1: Helmet from Rusovce-Gerulata; 2: Auxiliary cavalry helmet type „H" from Heddernheim; 3: Helmet from Guisborough; 4: Helmet from Theilenhofen.

László Kovács – Andrea Vaday

ON THE PROBLEM OF THE MARINE GASTROPOD SHELL PENDANTS IN THE SARMATIAN BARBARICUM IN THE CARPATHIAN BASIN[1]

Mihály Párducz, the pioneer of Sarmatian research in Hungary never discussed in details the objects made of marine molluscan shells either in comprehensive or in descriptive studies. Later, a short summary was published on the cowry shells from the Sarmatian Barbaricum in the Carpathian Basin included in the analysis of the find material from the Middle-Tisza region.[2] The emphasis was laid, in accordance to the topic, on the entire assemblage of the analysed region and the gastropod shells were not discussed in details.

A monograph is being prepared[3] on the cowry shells from the 6th century BC to the 17th century AD with a wide reference outside the Carpathian Basin. Some questions raised in the course of writing the monograph justified the review of the Sarmatian finds in the Carpathian Basin.

The researchers rarely made efforts to give the exact name and definition of marine shells found in Sarmatian graves.[4] In the case of the cowry shells the best we can get is the distinction between the sizes: small or large *Cypraea*,[5] or cowry or *Cypraea*.[6] It should be stated that the exact definition of the species is often difficult or impossible.[7] A good illustration is provided by the pendant from grave no. 18 in the Tiszadob (SzSzB) – Sziget cemetery (*Pl. 1.4*). The only thing that could be told about the highly fragmented item was that it was a large cowry shell pendant.[8] Due to the soil conditions in the Carpathian Basin the surfaces of the gastropod shells are usually matt; the patterns characteristic of the various species cannot or can hardly be seen.

The occurrence of some exotic goods, among others those from the sea, are very important at the analysis of a shorter period. It may reflect political and

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[1] Abbrevations: citated countries: A: Austria, G: Germany, MO: Moldavia, P: Poland, R: Roumania, Rus: Russia, SK: Slovakia, U: Ukrain, Yug: Yugoslavia. citated counties: BK: Bács-Kiskun county, Bé: Békés county, Cso: Csongrád county, HB: Hajdú-Bihar county, H: Heves county, KE: Komárom-Esztergom county, Pe: Pest county. SzSzB: Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg county. HNM: Hungarian National Museum (Budapest) Jud (judeţul): county, okr. (okres) and opšt. (opština): district.

[2] *Vaday 1988–89.*

[3] *Kovács 1999.*

[4] For example, there was a „snail" in the grave of a man in mound 1. at Vajska (Vajszka, opšt. Bač, Yug) *Párducz 1950* 76, 44th mound cemetery), which does not even reveal if it was an archaeological find.

[5] *Kovács 1999* with detailed references.

[6] László Kovács tried to make up for the missing definition involving Gyula Radócz, geologist and an expert on gastropods for whose expertise scientific definitions we would like to express our gratitude.

[7] This is the case with nearly all the items beyond the borders where the find material could not be given to an expert and the same is true for items that are only known from the archaeological literature or that have perished during the few past hundred years.

[8] The expression 'large cowry shell' is used in the analysis where no further scientific definition was possible.

economic contacts and may also prove the immigration of some population groups. In the followings we shall give a short[9] review of their origin, their appearance in the Carpathian Basin and their role in costume and beliefs.

The first task is to define the natural habitat of the marine gastropods found in the Barbaricum.[10] In find assemblages the *Cypraea* genus of the *Family Cypraeidae* are the most numerous. There are only a few other marine gastropods in the material. The habitat data of the gastropods from the Barbaricum and sporadic ones from Pannonia, analysed in this study are listed in the following table:

Species	Habitat	Plates
Cypraea pantherina	Red-Sea	5–6
Cypraea tigris	Indo-Pacific Ocean east of the Gulf of Aden[11]	4.7
Cypraea annulus	Indo-Pacific Ocean and Red Sea	2.2
Cypraea moneta	Indo-Pacific Ocean	3.1
Cypraea spurca	Mediterranean Sea	2.3
Conus spondylus	Indo-Pacific Ocean	1.1
Glycymeris sp.		1.2
Cerithium sp.		2.1
Murex trunculus	Mediterranean Sea	1.3

It can be read from the table that most of the species came from the regions of the Red Sea and the Indo-Pacific Ocean. The Mediterranean, which, being closer to the Carpathian Basin, would be expected, does not have a dominant role. The question is how these marine gastropods got to the Carpathian Basin. It would be self-evident to treat them in the Roman period as commercial goods. This possibility could be accepted even against the large distance from the habitat since several trading and military routes crossed the Carpathian Basin in an east to west and south to north direction. Roman tradesmen could reach the Barbaricum from three directions. From Panonnia from the west and south-west, from Moesia from the south and from Dacia from the east. There emerges, however, a problem. Namely, if it were a Roman commercial good, it should occur along the roads in the intermediary provinces adjacent to the Barbaricum[12] and, as common with commercial goods, in higher numbers than in the Barbaricum. Nevertheless, marine molluscs appear only sporadically in Pannonia and Moesia. In Pannonia,

[9] *Kovács 1999* examines the cowry shells from the various periods in details. We shall often refer to this study where the lack of space hampers the elaboration of a problem.

[10] This helps their interpretation.

[11] *Arends 1978 I*, 169–170, p. 169 note 11; *Podani–Lexa 1988* passim; *Dance 1994* passim.

[12] It has been supposed only in the case of the enamel fibulas that they were transported for the Sarmatians from the west through Pannonia. It was supported by the fact that they occurred in small numbers in Pannonia and much more items were known from the Barbaricum. It is, however, misleading because there are less cemeteries and cemetery parts published from Pannonia, Dacia, and Moesia Superior, along the borders of the Barbaricum from the period when enamel fibulas were popular and, at the same time, it was disregarded that most of these brooches can be dated from the so-called imperial phase of the Roman–Barbarian commerce when the political interest of Rome in the barbarians grew and the wares of farther provinces flooded the Barbarian market forcing back the proportion of the Pannonian provincial export. The demands were met by the products of local handicrafts beside the wares arriving in the provinces from other provinces and, consequently, different proportions must be expected than in the Barbaricum.

which plays a definitive role in the Sarmatian barbarian trade, they are often found together with finds dated to war periods when the Barbaricum could have been responsible for the appearance of these objects especially in the contact zone of the military history of the two regions.[13] It means that regarding commercial aspects, only the eastern region, Dacia can be taken into consideration. András Alföldi interpreted earlier a datum by Cassius Dio[14] at the discussion of the Roman–Sarmatian conclusion of peace terminating the Marcomann wars, saying that Marcus Aurelius „agreed that they (i. e. the Iazyges of the Hungarian Plain) could regularly *communicate* through Small-Walachia with the Roxolans their relations who lived in the Walachian Plain. This contact brought many South-Russian cultural impacts into the Hungarian Plain."[15] Research later definitely related this interpretation of the text to the Iazyg–Roxolan trade.[16] Examining the archaeological material we can observe, however, that there are no large cowry shells in the published find assemblages of the Roxolans who lived at the eastern borders of the Dacia province in this period, and there is no archaeological material that would attest to a Iazyg–Roxolan commerce. The late period when the cowry shells reappear in the Carpathian Basin is similarly problematic. Namely, we cannot speak about a peaceful commerce in the chaotic political period at the end of the 4th century AD when the gastropods appear again in the assemblages in the Carpathian Basin.

Apart from commerce, the appearance of some exotic materials in the Barbaricum might be ascribed to looting or gifting and in some cases even to Roman military units stationed in the Barbaricum. We must, however, exclude all three sources of procurement[17] since these objects are not characteristic of the find assemblages in the neighbouring Roman provinces.[18]

According to the aforementioned arguments there remains a single explanation of the occurrence of the marine gastropod shells in the Carpathian Basin, namely that they are the vestiges of the immigrating Iazyg, Roxolan and Alan populations. This qualification, at the same time, provides a firm chronological base for the definition of the material horizon of the various immigration phases.

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[13] *Vaday 1999.*

[14] *Cassius Dio* 71, 19. 1–2. The words are noteworthy: „... dia tes Dakais epimigusthai"

[15] *Alföldi 1942*, 200, note 296.

[16] The above statement by András Alföldi has become a commonplace and is often cited without reference. It seems to have evaded the attention that the „communications" through Dacia in the text by Cassius Dio, which could be carried out with the licence and under the supervision of the Roman procurator (ò archon) (see Cassius Dio cited lines) did not refer to commerce but to the maintenance of a political alliance since both Iranian tribes took part in the recently terminated war. The Romans pursued to bring alliances between the Barbarians under their supervision in the case of other tribes as well and it was, at the same time, at the conclusion of peace terminating the Marcomann–Sarmatian wars that they prohibited the Quads and the neighbouring Sarmatians to form an alliance. The method, accordingly, was not alien in the Roman political practice. It is, nevertheless, improbable that any kind of contact would have been allowed through a Roman province. What is more, the Iazyges could only visit the market places at the camps on the Roman border only on certain days and under military supervision.

[17] Recently on the problem: *Vaday 1998.*

[18] As it has already been mentioned they occur sporadically.

This horizon represents a rather short interval, it can be distinguished in the find assemblages of one or two generations at the most.[19]

Marine gastropods are not alien from Scythian, Sauromatian/Sarmatian find materials beyond the Eastern Carpathians, in South-Russia and east of it. So both find materials from the starting place of the migration and commercial goods from other territories might have been incorporated.[20] A few objects can be cited as examples, which arrived to the Black Sea region and the foregrounds of the Eastern Carpathians from Africa and the Far East, sometimes also from the region of the Indian Ocean[21] and which also appeared sporadically in the Carpathian Basin.[22]

It means that the origin of some marine gastropods from the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean cannot be explained in the Classical period by the trading contacts of the Carpathian Basin, only an eastern immigration can explain their appearance.[23] Although the finds were dated in earlier publications, the correlation of find groups, going beyond dating the sites, was not carried out. This is why the group of objects made of marine molluscs is to be completed with the historical-chronological analysis of the find assemblages. It should also be clarified what importance the marine molluscs had at the Sarmatians in the Carpathian Basin.[24]

Terrestrial gastropods and river bivalves and their fragments are often found during excavations. They, however, got into the grave from the soil and are not

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[19] Gold jewellery from the east are good illustrations. They are found in the graves of the first immigrant generation in total, classical constitution, while in the graves of the second generation, for lack of supply, the sets are incomplete, and they are hardly ever found in the graves of the third generation.

[20] Strong trade relations can be observed in Southern Russian regions with Africa, Persia and the Far East partly through water courses mediated by the Phoenicians and Greeks, partly through the Caucasus where the trading and military road leading through the Alan Gate connected the area with the northern Pontic regions. From the Far East the Silk Route and roads joining it from the south served the transportation of goods to the Greek seaside colonies and the Barbarian regions along the road.

[21] For example, an Indian gagate Buddha pendant found in an inhumation grave at Lehliu (jud. Călăraşi, R): *Bichir 1996* 307, Fig. 2/1, Fig. 3. It has no analogues even in the steppes in the north Pontic region. Buddha statuettes, similar to the one of Lehliu appeared in Central Asia (Ak-Kaly, Uzbegistan) in the 2nd and 3rd centuries: *Bichir 1996* note 81. (The analogues of the Ak-Kaly item from the sites of Dzanibas-Kala and Airtama can be dated from the 1st century AD.) The Lehliu Buddha amulet was a one-part low-wire fibula with bent foot, which dates the grave to the first decade of the 3rd century: *Bichir 1996* 307.

[22] These objects cannot, obviously, be analysed as local commercial goods.

[23] *Blume 1912* 95–96 regarded the items in the Vandal regions as imported wares from the southern seas. There is a „dirty cowry" from the Jánoshalma (BK) site in the late Sarmatian Hunnic material of the Carpathian Basin, the habitat of which is now the Mediterranean Sea. The question is if the habitat was the same in historical times. It is illustrated in Plinius Sen. Nat. Hist IX. 25. what changes in the habitat may be caused, for example, by navigation: *Mucianus muricem esse latiorem purpura, neque aspero neque rotundo ore neques in angulos prodeunte rostro, sed sicut concha utroque latere sese colligeste, quibus inhaerentibus plenam venti stetisse navem Periandri portantem, ut castrarentur, nobiles pueros; conchas, quae id praestiterint, apud Cnidiorum Venerem coli...*

[24] *Kovács 1999* discusses in details the aspects of religious beliefs attached to the cowry shells in various regions.

archaeological finds.[25] It is, of course, not valid for items where artificial changes can be seen as carving, piercing, rasping or mounting. It is striking, however, that the local gastropod and bivalve species cannot be found in the Sarmatian assemblages of the Carpathian Basin as independent archaeological finds. It suggests, on the one hand, that the religious background attached to the marine gastropods formed in the east, and, on the other hand, that they were not substituted by local gastropods or bivalves in the Carpathian Basin. A similar phenomenon can be observed at the smoking vessels also of religious connotations, which, similarly to the marine gastropods, appeared in the Carpathian Basin in two phases, in the early Sarmatian period[26] and in the Pre-Hunnic – Late Sarmatian period.[27]

Returning to the fluviatile molluscs, only their secondary 'utilisation' is documented. They were put, for example, into the tempering material of some handmade so-called household ceramics.[28] Vessels tempered with fragmented gastropod and bivalve shells can be found in the Sarmatian Barbaricum mostly in the central and southern parts between the Tisza and the Danube close to the latter due to the surviving Celtic pottery traditions in the neighbouring Pannonia and the commerce on the frontier.[29] This method is significantly less frequent in other regions of the Sarmatian Barbaricum in the Carpathian Basin.[30]

Calcareous materials (molluscan shells,[31] sedimentary limestone, soft and hard limestone) were used as raw materials in the Sarmatian find assemblages in the Carpathian Basin. One form of use was making beads. The *Spondylus* gaederopus known and used in the Neolithic and the Copper Age is only used by the Sarmatians in the Carpathian Basin as raw material for carved beads and axe-pendants.[32] Beads[33] were made of other gastropods[34] and bivalves as well.

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[25] The grave no. 136 of a man at Csongrád (Cso) – Laktanya can be cited as an example on sheer malacological importance of the gastropod shell found in the grave. *Párducz 1963* 52, Pl. VIII. 34.

[26] Jászberény (JNSz) – Mészhomok téglagyár: *Vaday 1988–89*, Kat. 238 and Alsónémedi (Pe)–Kenderföldek grave 21: *Korek 1980* 39. Both smoking vessels represent the same type known and used in the east and both were found in the northern third of the region between the Tisza and the Danube. This is the earliest settlement region of the immigrant Iazyges.

[27] The late smoking vessels were defined and described in *Vaday – Medgyesi 1993.*

[28] Molluscan shells often get into the raw material of the pottery by chance, as various small fresh-water snails or fossil marine gastropods from their Roman period habitat. They may furnish some information concerning the contemporary environment, their information value, however, is restricted since they are the species that still live in Hungary or fossil items that once lived in the region and no significant change has happened from this respect in the Hungarian Plain.

[29] Some of the potteries were procured by the Barbarians through the close-frontier traffic, and it is also possible that the shells can be found in the material of clay pits close to the Danube.

[30] The fragmented fluviatile and fossil marine molluscan shells in the tempering material of ceramics are of local origin and may be important for the sourcing of the clay pits.

[31] Both fluviatile and fossil molluscs from sedimentary layers.

[32] These beads, however, belong to the group of finds transported from the east.

[33] There are only some suggestions in this respect: *Vaday 1989* 105–106. The definition of species and technology has not yet been made on molluscan shell beads from Hungary.

[34] Panther cowry as a bead raw material was discussed with relevance to Scandinavian finds from the 7th to 10th centuries by *Trotzig 1988*; *Jansson 1988* 589–592; *Callmer 1989* 21. No similar analysis was carried out concerning the Sarmatian bead material but the measurements of the beads exclude the Panther cowry as a raw material at the Sarmatians.

Both the gastropod and bivalve shell beads were found in larger numbers in the southern part of the Hungarian Plain, in Bačka and Banat.[35] They appear only sporadically in the central and northern parts of the Hungarian Plain stringed between the common glass and semi-precious stone beads. For bead making, the thicker shell part of the gastropods or bivalves are used, they are pierced, carved and scraped, often even the original shape of the shell cannot be told.[36] There is only a single example of unaltered molluscan shell string of beads at the Sarmatians in the Carpathian Basin.[37] Since the gastropod and bivalve beads were not made from a local raw material these beads must also be grouped into the category of objects brought from the east. The Sarmatians used the small cowry-shells for beads similarly to the Scythians,[38] but instead of constituting independent strings they were used together with other beads. They rarely occur without changing the shape and, similarly to the Scythians, they often string them after having removed the cone.

Bivalve was not used for other purposes in the Carpathian Basin. There are only two examples of scraped and incised, artificially altered bivalves. One was found at Újszilvás (Pe) in the grave of a man dated to the Early Sarmatian period, the end of the 1st century AD. The pierced disc with engraved decoration made of a bivalve shell must have been a sword pendant.[39] All the objects from the grave, except for a provincial Roman Sarnir-brooch[40] came from the east and accordingly, the shell sword-pendant must also be accepted as a barbarian transported good, which is even more probable since the sword type with a pendant is also unknown among the Roman weapons. The other shell disc, pierced in the centre and worn as an amulet was found in grave no. 21 at Alsónémedi (Pe)–Kenderföldek.[41]

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[35] The name Hungarian Plain marks the area in the present Hungary, although it comprises, from a geographical aspect, both Bačka and Banat. The differentiation had to be made since the various parts of the Plain have not uniformly been surveyed and published and the regions beyond the borders are less accessible for Hungarian research and, consequently, the data are more sporadic from these regions. These beads usually occur in assemblages displaying strong eastern elements but also occur sometimes at sites where Neolithic and Copper Age are also represented. The types of Sarmatian beads made of *Spondylus* partly match the Neolithic and Copper Age ones. It is possible that the beads in the Sarmatian graves were only found there, although their large numbers and their dating to a very short period refute this possibility.

[36] The surfaces of the beads are often weathered in the soil to a degree that they become porous as chalk. Earlier technical literature called these items chalk beads, but they could not be worn in such a state. The name „chalk bead" is misleading since Mihály Párducz grouped gastropod, bivalve and soft limestone beads into the same category.

[37] Two stringed bead series from Billed (Billéd; Jud. Timiş, R) can be found in the old collection of the Timişoara museum. Here, a *Cardiidae* sp. pierced at the anterior part was stringed together with 31 *Dentalium sp.* scaphopods (and fragments) and two *Phasianella (Tricolia) pulla L.* snails (*Strausz 1962* Pl. XLVII. 3). The find cannot certainly be attributed to the Roman or Sarmatian period since there were no other finds found together with it. It should be noted that the habitat of all the three species is the Indo-Pacific Ocean (Mus. Timişoara, inv. no: 5/3623).

[38] See later at the small cowries.

[39] *Tari 1994* 259–260, Fig. 3. 2. The species of bivalve cannot be determined because of the artificial transformation.

[40] The brooch type was common also north of the Black Sea due to trade between the Greek colonies and the Danubian trade.

[41] *Korek 1980* 39; He published it wrongly as a clay object.

At the Sarmatian gastropod pendants the gastropod shell was not transformed, unlike the beads, only pierced before use. In the Carpathian Basin *Conus spondylus* (*Pl. 1.1*)[42] is known with a pendant function beside the *Cypraea* species. A *Cerithium* sp. gastropod must also be mentioned (*Pl. 2.1*)[43] although it does not display any sign of suspension. *Glycymeris* sp. can only be found in Pannonia (*Pl. 1.2*).[44] The small pierced bivalve shell was suspended from a bronze ring.[45] *Cardium* shell is rare in the Carpathian Basin during the Roman period. The species live in the Black Sea, the Mediterranean, the Baltic Sea and in the Caspian Sea. In the historical period when they sporadically appear among the finds in the Carpathian Basin, they can be attributed to trade contacts with the northern German territories or understood as part of the material brought from the east but it cannot be decided due to the small number of occurrences. A stray find was recovered in the Sarmatian site at Alsónémedi (Pe)–Kenderföldek.[46] A fragmentary item was found in grave no. 138 at Abraham (okr. Galanta, SK) in the neighbouring Quad territory.[47]

There was a string of beads in grave no. 29 of the Tápé (Cso)–Malajdok A. cemetery from the Late Sarmatian period, where one of the beads carved from a gastropod or a bivalve shell imitated a *Cardium* according to the archaeologists.[48]

Murex trunculus, the habitat of which is the Black Sea and the Mediterranean Sea, is a rarity among the gastropod shell pendants in the Carpathian Basin. It can only be found among finds dated from the end of the 1st century and from the 2nd century AD in the Sarmatian Barbaricum in the Carpathian Basin. In this period the exotic goods in the Sarmatian territory came from the Black sea region. They, too, probably arrived in the Carpathian Basin from the North-North-western coast of the Black Sea, the Danube-delta region and from Oltenia with the immigration of the second Iazyg wave.[49] In Pannonia, a small *M. trunculus* on a tiny bronze ring was found in the Brigetio find mentioned

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[42] The *Conus spondylus*, found in grave no. 24 in the Szentes (Cso)–Sárgapart cemetery is in the Koszta József Museum in Szentes (inv. no: 61.17.3309). The cemetery was published by *Párducz 1950*. He does not mention the gastropod, the only grave-good he described was a vessel.

[43] Alsónémedi (Pe)– Faluréti domb: stray find, *Korek 1980* 40, fig. 14/2, HNM inv. no.: 5. c. 1949. 18.

[44] In grave no. 38 of a child in the Szőny (Ko), Járóka utca cemetery, together with a *Murex trunculus*: *Paulovics 1941* 163, Pl. XXVII 17–18.

[45] Beside the two pendants, the gave contained a bead and a bird bone. Regarding the grave-goods, it was not a typical Roman grave. Other Sarmatian Barbarian finds are also known from Szőny (Ko), among others an early, eastern, gold Sarmatian ear-ring. The objects of barbarian origin in the province can perhaps be explained by settling, trade or looting.

[46] HNM inv. no.: 5. 1919. 33; *Korek 1980* 39, fig. 12.8. According to Korek, the find belonged to the Baden assemblage but as Sarmatian material was also found, and sea shells among them, its dating remains uncertain.

[47] *Kolník 1980* Pl. XLIII. 138. d.

[48] *Párducz – Korek 1946–48* 294, 306, Pl. LV. 2; *Párducz 1950* 87, 223. This bead has no analogues in the Carpathian basin. It could have been an injured calcium axe-pendant. Similar axe-pendants are met among the finds of the period.

[49] The exotic goods also contain Roman exported wares but in this period of the so-called provincial commercial phase the similar items are missing from the Pannonian cemeteries of the Roman period.

earlier at the pendants.[50] Several scattered grave finds dated from the aforementioned period were found in Budapest, at the Rákos railway station towards Hatvan.[51] One of them was a small *M. trunculus* suspended from a bronze ring.[52] Since there were also two cowry shells among the finds, the joint occurrence suggests that the *M. trunculus* also got to the Middle Danube region from the east. Cowry shells together with Cardiidae sp. can be found in later periods as well in the eastern regions in Sarmatian and Gothic finds, although no item could be dated as yet to the late period in the Carpathian Basin.[53]

Marine shells appear as talismans and jewellery in the Sarmatian Barbaricum in the Carpathian Basin only in certain periods. Although several species could be identified, only the *Pnther cowry* and the *Tger cowry* are frequent. Mihály Párducz described them already as special Iazyg traits in the cemeteries.[54]

The cowry shells[55] are the most frequent in the Sarmatian Barbaricum in the Carpathian Basin. The five species of the gastropod can be found as pendants, the small-sized Money cowry and ringed cowry, the medium- sizes dirty-cowry and the larger Panther cowry and Tiger cowry.

The smaller-sized ringed cowries occurred only in the Scythian cultural circle of the early period of the Iron Age prior to the Sarmatian occupation in the Hungarian Plain.[56] It can also be found in the Puchóv culture as an object surviving from an earlier period and used secondarily.[57] They appear again among finds from the Roman, the post-Roman and early Migration periods. We cannot, accordingly, speak about a continuous use.[58] The small-sized cowry shells were usually pierced and worn with beads by the Sarmatians.[59] They might also have been talisman pendants on bracelets similarly to axe- and bucket-shaped pend-

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[50] *Paulovics 1941* 163,, XXVIII. 17.

[51] Graves were found about 20 steps toward Hatvan (He) from the switch-tower of the Budapest-Rákos railway station during earth work in the depth of about 60 cm. The finds were collected and handed over to the Hungarian National Museum by Gusztáv Borosjenői Kádár, engineer of the State Railways. *Hampel 1894* 262. Citation of the site: *Pósta 1897* fig. 55.

[52] *Hampel 1894* 262. (Pl. I. 2)

[53] The inhumation grave no. 54 with a W-E orientation from Hăneşti, dated to the 4th century AD is a good example of their use. Here, a *Murex* sp. lay outside the left knee beside a bone pendant of dot circle ornament. It must have been a belt pendant. *Zaharia – Zaharia – Şovan 1993* 163, Fig. 21/3. A similar pierced gastropod shell was found in grave no. 115 in Miorçani (jud. Botoşani R) also dated from the 4th century: *Ioniţă 1977* R 49a, 5. A tower-shell was found in grave no. 5 in Žovnino (Pristan', U) dated from the end of the 4th and the beginning of the 5th century: *Rutkovskaya 1979* fig. 8. 7. The same snail-pendant also appears among the late imperial, Hunnic period German finds: *Pieta 1991*, 378, Fig. 2. 26: in Vrbov/Ménhárd, okr. Poprad, (SK). There was also a *Murex* sp. gastropod shell, pierced at the anterior part, together with a cowry shell in the grave of a woman from the 5th century in the Sad (Sumskaya obl., U) cemetery: *Nekrasova 1985* Fig. 4. 11.

[54] *Párducz 1944* 37. Referring to earlier Scythian occurrences, he meant the cowry shells of the early period in his descriptions. He did not deal with the exact ethnic attribution of the late items.

[55] On the name see *Schilder 1926* 313–327, *Arends 1978* I, 168 note 1.

[56] On the names used for the cowries see *Kovács 1999*.

[57] *Pieta 1982*, 59, Pl. XV. 7. from Divinka/Kisdivény (Bez. Žilina). The object is probably earlier.

[58] It may equally refer to the eastern origin of the custom and the items, and the ethnicity of the users.

[59] See above. They were discussed together with beads by *Vaday 1988–89* 317, Abb. 26/37. In the museums, the cited items were kept stringed with beads.

ants. The listed pendants were worn not only on bracelets but also on necklaces except for the small cowry shells.[60]

The small-sized cowry shells are much rarer at the Sarmatians in the Hungarian Plain than the Panther cowries and the rarer Tiger cowries. A Money cowry[61] pierced at the aperture was found as a stray find in the plot of Mihály Mózes at Hódmezővásárhely (Cso), Gorzsa tanya.[62] There were 3 Money cowries (*Cypraea moneta*) found together with a bronze finger-ring, a bronze belt ring and beads in the grave no. 34 of a woman in the Szeged (Cso)–Tápé, Malajdok B cemetery.[63] Three small cowries[64] were found in a string of beads in the grave unearthed in 1933 in Polgár föld next to Barta puszta in the communal sand pits at Surján-szőlők in Törökszentmiklós (JNSz). The grave was dated to a period not later than the end of the 4th century by a bronze bracelet, chalcedony, cornelian and glass beads and also a bronze case and a fibula with a diamond-shaped foot. Another one was found in a disturbed grave at Bojt (HB). A *Cypraea moneta* with rounded dorsum was found in a grave dated to the second half of the 4th century in the cemetery of Hódmezővásárhely (Cso), Erzsébet újközség. Small cowry shells[65] can also be found in the eastern Sarmatian territories. For example, four small cowry shells pierced at the anterior end were found together with a spindle whorl, beads, a jug, a bell and a scarab bead amulet in the early Sarmatian grave of Ştefaneşti (jud. Botoşani, R).[66] The two small cowry shells at Onceşti were also stringed with beads.[67] Similar items are known from grave nos 3 and 6 at Rimnicelu (jud. Brăila, R) and from grave no. 3 at Lişcoteanca (jud. Brăila, R)–Movila Oralului.[68] The small cowry shell pendants can also be found in find assemblages from southern Russia.[69] Further to the south, A *C. moneta* was found in the robbed timber-roofed grave of kurgan 6. of the kurgan group IX. in the kurgan cemetery of Podgornoje (Dnietropetrovskaya obl., U) dated from the 2nd century BC to the 1st century AD.[70] They can also be found in the east in Cherniakhov cemeteries from the 3rd-4th centuries AD, e. g. four cowry shells were

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[60] It supports the bead function and does not, at the same time, refute the talisman or amulet function. The magical context of the semi-precious stones was discussed in details already by Plinius sen. and a protective function might have been owed to the white colour of the molluscan shells as well.

[61] In the grave of a man near this grave there was a bone-handled knife. The stray finds contained a cornelian bead, bronze pincers and a bronze brooch with bent foot which cannot be dated from the same period, so the cowry shell cannot be dated exactly.

[62] *Párducz 1937* 83, Pl. VIII. 3; *Párducz 1944* 17. XLVI 12; *Vaday 1974–75* 35. note 24., *Arends 1978* I. 442, II, 891, Kt. 333. Hódmezővásárhely, Tornyai János Museum inv. no. 318.1936. (Arends mistakenly indicated the Szeged museum for the present location of the find). The dating from the 1st-2nd centuries is wrong, the land beyond the Tisza was not yet occupied by the Sarmatians in the 1st century AD.

[63] *Párducz – Korek 1946–48* 297, Pl. LIII 15–17.

[64] *Párducz 1950* 151; *Vaday 1988–89* 281, site 396, Pl. 153. 10.

[65] In lack of exact scientific definitions we use the small cowry shell expression for items found abroad.

[66] *Zaharia – Petrescu-Dimboviţa – Zaharia 1977* 281; *Bichir 1977* Pl. 16. 14–17.

[67] *Bichir 1966* Pl 14. 10–11, 186 with further references.

[68] *Bichir 1966* note 160 with the earlier references.

[69] Their real frequency cannot be estimated because of the sporadic publications of the finds.

[70] *Kostenko 1984* 127, fig. 2. 27.

found in grave no. 239 at Dancheny (Kishinevsky raj, MO) together with a handmade one-handled cup.[71] In the same cemetery, grave no. 375 contained four cowry shells together with a bone pendant.[72]

For some of the *C. moneta* it cannot be excluded that the Sarmatians found them in the Scythian cemeteries in the Carpathian Basin and used them secondarily.[73] It should, however, be mentioned that in most of the cases four small cowry shells were stringed between the beads in the east.[74]

The Panther cowries and the Tiger cowries were suspended from so-called springed rings or rings with recoiled terminals[75] though holes rasped through the anterior part of the back of the shell. This pendant type started from the Black Sea coast and spread first of all in Dacian and Sarmatian territories. The items found in the German Barbaricum of the Roman period nearly all got to the northern European German population in the Roman and early Migration periods through the Sarmatians and the Goths arriving from the east. Their diffusion in Sarmatian, Dacian and German territories was examined earlier.[76] It is certain, however, that comparing the Sarmatian, German and Dacian territories in the same period, cowry shells were represented in the largest numbers in the Sarmatian Barbaricum in the Carpathian Basin.[77] A large cowry shell on a bronze ring with recoiled terminal was found at Čačov/Csácsó (okr. Senica, SK) in Quad territory.[78] The exact dating of the grave is the last quarter of the 2nd century

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[71] *Rafalovič 1986* Pl. XLI. 5.

[72] *Rafalovič 1986* Pl. XLV. 5.

[73] E. g. in the sand pit of the Ady Agricultural Co-operative at Törökszentmiklós (JNSz), Surján, Kastélydomb, there was a Scythian cemetery underlying the Sarmatian one and some Scythian beads and spindle whorls were found in Sarmatian graves. In grave no. 35 of the Szentes (Cso)–Nagyhegy, Török Ignác-sor cemetery, where a small cowry shell was found, a burned Scythian ocular bead indicated that the bead found in a cremational burial was secondarily used by the Sarmatians together with their own ones (see the description of grave 12. in *Párducz 1950*). The *dorsum* of the smaller cowry in the grave unearthed in Törökszentmiklós (JNSz) Barta puszta was cut off and ground down (*Vaday 1978–79* Pl. 19. 6). This is a frequent solution on Scythian cowries but rare at the Sarmatians. This would also indicate a secondary use considering that there was a large Scythian cemetery at Törökszentmiklós.

[74] The regularly occurring number might indicate the protective role of the four cardinal directions. Some of the talismans were attached to a cardinal direction or some astral phenomenon in the Antiquity.

[75] So-called spring rings with recoiled terminals, which were usually made of bronze, sometimes of iron or silver. The only exceptions so far are the two large cowry shells stringed with beads from Érsekcsanád (BK), although it cannot be excluded at the stray find that the string was constituted this way by those who found them.

[76] *Vaday 1987* 179, 57, note, Pl. 18. 5; *Vaday 1985* 370–371; *Vaday 1988–89* note 112.

[77] The picture, however, is somewhat distorted since both the Quads and the Germans practised cremation burial in the early period. The shells are among the grave goods that perished on the funeral pyre. The shell that survived in the Odry (pow. Coynicky, P) cemetery is a unique phenomenon.

[78] The other finds were a bronze ring, a torque, bronze bucket-shaped pendants, a string of beads composed of marble, amber, glass beads and an alabaster bead, a vessel, iron objects, textile remains and a Hadrian coin: *Ondrouch 1957* 53–80, 216–218, Pl. 13. 10. a-b; *Tejral 1970* 197; *Tejral 1971* 78. Abb. 11/9; *Vaday 1974–75* 85, note 29. All the finds from the grave characterise the burial of a Sarmatian woman. It was the collection of the large cowry shells which suggested the historical re-evaluation of the grave at Čačov (Csácsó; okr. Senica, SK). The finds of the grave are dated from the end of the 2nd and the beginning of the 3rd centuries. The Hadrian coin is not contemporary with the other finds, which is common at Sarmatian graves.

and the first decades of the 3rd century AD. Similar „mixed" find assemblages could be found in several Hungarian sites from the same period.[79] The exception from the above may be the cowry from Sládkovičovo/Magyardiószeg (okr. Galanta, SK). An unpierced item was found near grave no. 54.[80] The cremation burial was dated by the early types of single-knobbed, strongly profiled bronze fibulas. If the grave can date the stray find from the vicinity, it is the earliest occurrence in the Roman period of the large cowry in the German Barbaricum within the Carpathian Basin.[81]

Contrary to the wearing of Sarmatian pierced gastropods suspended from rings with recoiled terminals, the large cowries are known as so-called bandaged pendants enclosed by metal bands in the German and Vandal finds mostly in the regions of the Wielbark and the West Baltic cultures in Egger's B2 phase, in the last third of the 2nd century AD.[82] The large cowry can also be found without the bandage in the German territory, although it is rare.[83] Although the bandage mounting can also be found at the Sarmatians,[84] this suspension method was not used on large cowries as attested to by the finds.[85]

There are grave units in the eastern territories where the artifacts are similar to those in the Carpathian Basin. The objects of the Lipovetz (Vinitzkaya obl., U) kurgan, a twin bucket-shaped pendant, a spindle whorl, the fragment of a mirror, beads, a bell and a large cowry are close analogues to the grave assemblages from Budapest-Rákos railway station.[86] The same similarities could be observed in later periods as well e. g. a large cowry pendant was found together with a radial nomadic mirror, bird claw- and regular-shaped glass beads, a wide-branched, low-wired brooch and an axe-pendant suspended from an oval, segmented bronze ring.[87] Large cowries are sporadic finds in the cemeteries of the Cherniakhov culture in the Dniepr region.[88] The large cowry pendants re-appear in the late Imperial period west of the Black Sea in German territory first of all among Gothic finds,[89] in the eastern, Terving-Vizigothic group of the Marosszentanna-Cherniakhov cemeteries in Muntenia.[90] A few examples: a large fragmentary

[79] Quad, Vandal, Dacian, Roman and Sarmatian finds are mixed in other grave units as well in the same period. They are not due to some trade or infiltration phenomena rather to wartime barbarian population movements.

[80] *Kolník 1980* Pl. CL 54. i.

[81] The publication does to tell if there were traces of burning on the object.

[82] *Blume 1912* 95–96, fig. 124; *Vaday 1988–89* e. g. Odry grave no. 127. See *Vaday 1985* 371, note 81 with further references. A similar metal band mounting was applied at the nut pendants in German territory. e. g. *Svoboda 1962* Fig. 1. 7.

[83] *Svoboda 1962* Fig. 1. 11.

[84] On early Scythian and Sarmatian antecedents see e. g. *Vaday 1988–89* 57. On the German contacts of mounted, metal band pendants in the Carpathian Basin see also *Vaday 1980*.

[85] The cowry shells from the Budapest-Rákos railway station, where a primitive metal band was put on the shell for repairing it, will be discussed later.

[86] *Pósta 1987* 281, fig. 6. Béla Pósta recognised very early the identical phenomena in the two regions.

[87] *Pósta 1897* 285, fig. 1 described a grave find from the collection of the Kiev university without mentioning the site.

[88] *Symonovič 1960* 212. From grave A 70 with a NW-SE orientation: Pl. XV. 73. Also a *Murex trunculus* from the same grave: Pl. XV. 72. *Kravčenko 1967* fig. 9.

[89] *Mitrea – Preda 1966* 142.

[90] A large cowry shell was found in the N-S oriented grave no. 63 in Spanţov (rai. Oltenia, R) between and on the two knees: *Mitrea – Preda 1966* 263, fig. 87. 6. A large cowry shell together

cowry was found in Leţcani (jud. Iaşi, R) in grave no. 36.[91] and a similar one was suspended from a bronze ring in grave no. 2 at Lunca (jud. Galaţi). The rest of the finds in the N-S oriented grave were two small plate brooches, beads and an antler pendant.[92] It is also known from Doina (jud. Neamţ R) – Girov in an environment from the 4th century.[93] There was a large cowry in grave no. 176 of the Dancheny (Kishinevsky raj. MO) found together with an arched-backed bone comb, a composite, low-wired bronze fibula, a bone needle-case, other pendants and ceramics.[94] In grave no. 224 of the same cemetery, two large cowries were found together with an arched-backed bone comb, a bone pendant, a needle-case, a Kowalk-type glass and several beads.[95] There was another item in grave no. 337. The other finds were a *Murex* sp. pendant, an arched-backed bone comb, a buckle and bucket-shaped pendants.[96] Grave no. 336 contained pottery, a spindle whorl and a bead beside a fragmentary large cowry.[97] The suspension method of the large cowries from the cemetery is identical with that of the Sarmatian items in the Carpathian Basin. The gastropods in grave no. 224 at Dancheny are the exceptions where the oval dorsum was pierced at about the centre of the shell. Suspension at the anterior part is more frequent in the east as well. The large cowry shell, for example, found in grave no. 5 of a woman at Sad (Sumskaya obl., U)–Umi, dated from the 5th century, was suspended in the same way as similar items in the Sarmatian graves.[98] The Lunca (jud. Galaţi, R) item has a similar suspension. Large cowry pendants can be found as late as the Attila period.[99] They have not been documented in Gepid and Langobard materials from the Carpathian Basin.[100] Large cowry pendants sporadically occur in the western German territories in the late period, for example in grave no. 2 at Lauffen (Kr.

with a *cardium sp.* and a *Murex trunculus* were found in the N-S oriented grave no. 3 of the Independenţa cemetery (raj. Calaraşi, R): *Mitrea – Preda 1966* 47–48, 280, Fig. 107. 7. In grave no. 19 of the same cemetery (with a NNW-SSE orientation) there were a large cowry shell on a bronze ring with recoiled terminal and a *Murex trunculus*. *Mitrea – Preda 1966* 52, fig. 132. 3. In the material from both the Independenţa (raj. Călăraşi, RO) and Spanţov (rai. Oltenia, R) cemeteries a strong Sarmatian impact can be demonstrated beside the Gothic finds. Since this find is rare in the Marosszentanna type cemeteries, their occurrence can be attributed to Sarmatian contacts. The same is supported by *Mitrea – Preda 1966* 151, *Bloşiu 1975* 244.

[91] *Bloşiu 1975* 237, Fig. 30. 16. in grave no. 36 and 284, fig. 11. 15 in grave 10; *Werner 1988* Abb. 7.

[92] *Dragomir 1971* 673, note 25., Fig 7/16. *Mitrea – Preda 1966* 129.

[93] *Buzilă-Hălănescu 1972* Fig. 4.

[94] *Rafalovič 1986* Pl. XXXII. 5.

[95] *Rafalovič 1986* Pl. XXXII. 1–2, *Werner 1988* Abb. 11.

[96] *Rafalovič 1986* Pl. L. 3.

[97] *Rafalovič 1986* Pl. LIV. 7.

[98] *Nekrasova 1985* 76–77, Fig. 4. 12.

[99] *Werner 1956* Taf. 10/3. Laa a. d. Thaya (Lower Austria, AU). Sarmatian elements can be demonstrated in the find assemblage.

[100] It may probably be explained by the fact that the two people did not come into the Carpathian Basin from the East and the custom was not known. (It can, however, be found at the Italian Langobards, e. g. in the graves of Castel Trosino suggesting that the custom was diffused by local impacts.) The example of the Gepids and the Langobards seems to support the view that the cowry shell pendants were only common in the material of tribes arriving from the East. The question is, why the same find type is missing from the material of the Avars who also came from the East.

Heilbron, G). The early Alamannic grave was dated to the second half of the 4th century AD.[101]

Returning to the Sarmatian territory in the Carpathian Basin, large cowries are missing, as far as we know, from the earliest material from the immigration period of the Iazyges Metanastae. They appeared for the first time in the last third of the 2nd century AD.[102] They can be found until the second half of the 3rd century when they disappear and appear once more in the last third of the 4th century. The late items were probably brought into the Carpathian Basin by eastern Iranian and German tribal fractions arriving from the east driven by the Huns, and they borrowed the custom of the cowry from the Sarmatians.[103]

Delineating their diffusion area we can tell, that regarding the diffusion of the Panther and Tiger cowries in the two periods of their existence, a significant diveregence can be observed beside a minimal matching.

In the early period they can be found in the territory between the Tisza and the Danube in Pest county and they are missing from the regions south of it. On the left side of the Tisza, however, they can be found from the mouth of the Zagyva until Banat but only in a stripe of 30 km east of the Tisza (*Pl. 12*) marking the route of the Barbarian road along the Tisza.

The sites of the early items indicate that in the 2nd century AD after the defeat of Decebal, at the time of the Marcomann wars, the Sarmatian tribal fraction arriving from the east occupied the regions that were important from a military aspect. Completing the diffusion map of the large cowries with that of the so-called Sarmatian buckles, strap-ends and spurs mirroring the typical military costume of the period[104] a great density can be observed between the Danube and the Tisza and beyond the Tisza. They rarely occur in the Baèka and the Banat. It is interesting, nevertheless, that they can be found in the Upper Tisza region where the early large cowries are missing (*Pl. 14.*)[105] We should note the historic fact that the Upper Tisza region was only occupied by the Sarmatians towards and after the end of the Marcomann wars. The reason for the occupation is partly that a new Sarmatian immigrant tribal fraction appears from the east

[101] The inhumation grave contained a silver comb with gold inlay, two brooches, a silver finger-ring, a bronze necklace clasp, amber and glass beads and a bronze belt buckle and also an iron-mounted wooden case accompanied by the grave goods: terra nigra, animal bones and pottery. *Beckmann 1966* 35; *Schach-Dörger 1981* 622.

[102] Only the assemblage from Alsónémedi (Pe) contained finds dated earlier than the 2nd century. The gastropod was a stray find here, and it cannot certainly be decided if it came from the early or the later phase of the 2nd century.

[103] Other gastropod pendants cannot be regarded here, since their number is so low that they do not reflect a realistic picture due to their sporadic occurrence.

[104] Lately *Vaday 1988–89* 301, Abb. 9.

[105] If it is not caused by the defectiveness of the army, we may suppose that the men in military service lived in the northeaster territory occupied after the Marcomann wars and the wealthier families did not move to the freshly occupied territory to be the neighbours of the recently immigrated Vandals. Objects of eastern origin suggest a new eastern immigration as the Újszilvás (Pe) and Hévizgyörk (Pe) graves, sword with bronze hilt-knob from Törökszentmiklós (JNSz), Surjánb domb, the gold-plated sword from Vizejdia (Vizesd, jud. Timiş, R), the grave goods of grave no. 20 of a woman with a gold plaque and spangles from Szentes (Cso)–Nagyhegy, the small, hand-made smoking vessels in the grave of a man with a gold plaque and tamga from Dunaharaszti (Pe) etc.

in the Carpathian Basin and partly that the Vandals appear in the region at the same time. This is the time when the Sarmatian–Vandal frontier was set up, which later constituted one of the rows of the Sarmatian ramparts in the late Roman period. Based on the finds from the graves of men, the new Sarmatian tribal fraction fulfilled, first of all, a military function. It is not only the equestrian costume with 'Sarmatian buckles' that confirm it. For example, eastern chalcedony-knobbed weapon, silver Sarmatian buckles and strap-ends, gold-plated harness mounts indicating partial horse burial and other objects of eastern origin could be found among the finds from the robbed mounds at Vizejda (Vizesd, jud. Timiş, R)[106] The same can be told, among others, about the grave of a man at Hévízgyörk (Pe)[107] and the grave from Tiszafüred (JNSz)–Nagykenderföldek.[108] The finds recovered up to now suggest that the military force of the new immigrants played an expeditional role in the occupation of the Upper Tisza region. The families arriving together with them, however, did not settle in the region, at least not in the first generation.

The central and northern territories between the Danube and the Tisza were empty in the late period, they only appear in the Bačka region between the two rivers. Their northernmost occurrence in the region beyond the Tisza is at Tiszadob (SzSzB)–Sziget. They are concentrated at the fords on the Tisza and along the roads in the Barbaricum at the confluence of the Zagyva and the Tisza and along the Körös and the Maros. They also appear south of the Maros in the Banat.[109] All the sites in the Hungarian Plain in the late period can be found within the Sarmatian–Roman ramparts (*Pl. 13*). It may also signify that the Iranian–German refugees of mixed ethnicity fleeing from the east did not either settle outside the line of the defence structures. It also supports the earlier statement that the large cowry shells can be accepted as the vestiges of new populational groups arriving from the east and they cannot be attributed to commerce in the Hungarian Plain.

It can be told about the late period, at the same time, that the large cowries and the characteristic finds of eastern origin or their imitations belonging to the female costume cover the same distribution area increasing the archaeological site density in the region.[110]

On the above pages two large chronological groups were separated where the cowries appeared. Concerning the dating of the find assemblages, a small

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[106] *Vaday 1986.*

[107] *Dinnyés 1991.*

[108] The cemetery is being analysed by István Fodor and Andrea Vaday.

[109] Archaeological survey obviously influences the map of distribution, so the aforesaid can only be accepted as a tendency.

[110] Caucasian swords with double cross-bars, spouted jugs, grooved vessels, hand-thrown pots and cauldrons with granulous and micaceous tempering material, vessels with figural decoration, Kowalk-type glasses, jewellery with filigree and granulated ornaments and stone and amber inlay etc. This concentration means that the Iranian tribal fraction fleeing from the Huns settled first of all in the eastern part of the Sarmatian Barbaricum in the Carpathian Basin. This may be due to an agreement with the local Sarmatian leaders concerning the settlement of the new immigrants in the eastern stripe of the Sarmatian Barbaricum to improve the military force of the region, which was open to attacks.

chronological dispersal is to be mentioned. Some of the finds from the not professionally excavated assemblage of the Budapest-Rákos railway station allow a dating to the end of the 1st century especially for objects of eastern origin, which can be dated within a significantly longer chronological interval.[111] There are problems with the dating of some sites with large cowries. Several graves were found during earth moving at Bag (Pe). Objects that seem to have come from the same grave are an iron knife, a string of beads with agate, calcium and coral beads and a medium-large cowry inventoried as a „bivalve".[112] This site can be dated from the coin to the end of the 3rd century. Since the coin is not in the collection neither its condition nor the time of its probably survival can be told so the find assemblage cannot be dated exactly (the last third of the 3rd century is only a *post quem* dating).

The same problem emerged in the case of the Békés (Bé)—Vizesfás (or Vizesbánom, Vizesboné) find. There was a large cowry (perhaps a Panther cowry) among the finds from the 3rd century from the destroyed Sarmatian cemetery, which were preserved in the private collection of Ernő Emperl bailiff.[113] The earlier dating of the site to the 3rd century must be corrected since the globe-decorated ring pendants and the Vandal type brooch can be dated to after the Marcomann wars.[114]

A cemetery with 31 graves was unearthed from the 3rd century at Kiskunfélegyháza (BK), Pákapuszta. The highly fragmented wall of a large cowry shell (perhaps a Panther cowry) was the only find beside the bone fragments in the totally robbed burial of feature no. 47.[115] The cemetery has not yet been published, so there is no exact inner chronology of the cemetery which would attribute a dating to the cowry shell. It is clear, however, that the material of the two horizons can be separated in the published and authentically excavated find material. Due to the sporadic occurrence of finds with uncertain dating from the „third century" it cannot be decided if we can speak about the incidental survival of the material

[111] The exact dating to a shorter chronological interval is hampered by find groups which react lazily to the passing time. It is not a unique phenomenon, we may refer to the La Tène period in the Carpathian Basin, where the inner chronology cannot be set up, or only to a limited degree within some large cemeteries.

[112] The assemblage also contained a Gallienus coin (253–268), which was not handed into the museum. At the same time, two Sarmatian vessels as stray finds got in, so it is certain that several burials were violated. The gastropod shell taken into inventory under the number 4/1949. 3. got lost in the Archaeological Department of the HNM. The species, however, can certainly be identified from the drawing in the inventory book. *Istvánovits – Kulcsár 1994* 78. They cite the grave find from the apropo of the coin and quote the wrong description in the inventory book, the drawing must have evaded their attention.

[113] The provenance is Békés (Bé), Vizesfás: *Párducz 1944* 25, 37, 62, Pl. LIV. 3. The site was identified in *MRT 10* 669–670: site 11/IX. HNM Archaeological Department, Prehistoric Collection, inv. no.: RN 16/1912. 191.

[114] In any case, find assemblages of similar constitution survive no longer than the beginning of the 3rd century.

[115] The burial was not given a grave number since prior to its opening it seemed to be a settlement feature. For the data we thank Valéria Kulcsár. See: *Kulcsár – Somogyvári 1991*; *Kulcsár – Somogyvári 1992*; *Kulcsár – Somogyvári 1993*; *Kulcsár 1994*. The material, not yet taken into inventory, is in the collection of the Katona József Museum, Kecskemét.

of the early phase or the material of the site is not suitable for correct and exact dating.

We also have to deal with the method of wearing the shells.[116] Based on the well documented graves which can be attributed to sex, it can be said that they were only worn by women and grown-up girls of the Sarmatians in the Carpathian Basin. A large cowry, rarely two or three of them can be found in a grave.

The large cowries were probably sewn or suspended together with the other pendants on textile belts with metal belt rings. The other pendants contain bronze paint or rattle cases, axe-pendants, bells, globe-ornamented ring pendants and figural metal and bone amulets. As it could be observed in the graves, the gastropod pendants fastened to textile belts usually occur on the left side around the hand, the pelvis or the thigh bone.[117] The large cowry was between the thigh bones, above the knees beside a red deer antler pendant in the Lecani (jud. Iaşi, R) grave, and probably both were suspended from the belt.[118] The same way of wearing could be observed in the eastern Sarmatian graves of the Cherniakhov culture and in Gothic graves, where the place of the objects in the graves was recorded.[119]

The next question is if there is any regularity in the wearing of more than one large cowry. In one of the graves from Budapest-Rákos railway station dated to the early period there were two Tiger cowries.[120] There were two large cowries in grave no. 7 at Klárafalva (Cso) railway station[121] on a silver spring ring with recoiled terminal. In the Érsekcsanád (Pe) find dated to the late period by the beads, two large cowries were strung into a necklace(?)[122] of barrel-shaped and cylindrical beads carved from marine bivalves[123] or gastropods.[124] There were three similar gastropods in the robbed and disturbed grave no. 54 of a woman at Törökszentmiklós (JNSz)–Surján Újtelep in the sandpits of the Ady Agricultural Co-operative,[125] in the grave of a girl at Törökszentmiklós (JNSz)–Barta-puszta[126] and in grave no. 41 of the Endrőd (Bé)–Kocsor-hegy cemetery.[127] The listed phenomena are dispersed in space and time as well, that is they cannot be attributed either to a narrower ethnic and regional unity or a chronological period. The case

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[116] *Arends 1978* I. 177, note 17. with detailed references: refers to various uses e. g. in Egypt.

[117] On belt reconstruction see *Vaday – Szőke 1983*.

[118] *Dragomir 1971* 74. Fig. 1.

[119] See the graves cited at the *Murex trunculus* and the cowry shells.

[120] *Hampel 1894* 262, Pl. I. 1. We do not know if the *Murex trunculus* from the same site belonged to this grave. The way of its wearing could not be told, either, although being suspended from a ring suggests that it could not have been worn on a necklace.

[121] *Párducz 1950* 159; *Vaday 1974–75* 84, note 7; *Vaday 1988–89* Abb. 7/15.

[122] *Vaday 1988–89* 58, note 111. It is also possible that the shells were strung between the beads only in the museum collection although their holes are different from the usual piercing method of the cowries.

[123] The larger, bulkier beads are usually made from the body of the bivalve, and the shell may have been used for flatter beads.

[124] From the thicker apex of the gastropod or from the bulkier aperture.

[125] *Vaday 1974–75* 85, note 22; *Vaday 1985* 345–390, site 21; *Vaday 1988–89* Kat. 415., pl. 159. 1, 3, 4.

[126] *Párducz 1932* 116; *Párducz 1950* 24, site 14.

[127] *Juhász 1978* 97–100, 109; *Vaday 1988–89* Abb. 7/10.

that the wearing of more than one cowry was equally found in graves of women and girls suggests that age was not definitive in the custom. The overwhelming majority of the graves, however, were strikingly rich graves[128] and other costume features also distinguish them from other graves, as more than two brooches,[129] the astonishingly large number of bracelets,[130] which suggest that this custom was related to the richness or the social position of the buried person.

The description of the grave of a girl at Törökszentmiklós (JNSz), Barta puszta raised the possibility that the large cowries were worn on bracelets. The three shell pendants were on the „wrist of the left hand"[131] in the disturbed grave but neither metal nor bead bracelet was registered around the wrist. The place of the finds allows us to interpret them as belt pendants.[132] The shells from Érsekcsanád (Pe) were published strung together with beads but as it was not an authentic grave find, they must have been strung only in the museum. Based on the Hungarian and foreign authentic finds we have to exclude the possibility of wearing them on bracelets or necklaces since there are no analogues to it.

We have to mention again the stray finds collected from the disturbed grave at Budapest-Rákos railway station, which were dated to the end of the 1st century and to the 2nd century. Beside a small *Murex trunculus* (*Pl. 8.1*) on a wire ring there were two Tiger cowries also on a wire ring (*Pl. 8.1*).[133] The first cowry was rasped through under the anterior part. The edges of the hole broke, the left side of the shell is worn and there is hardly anything left of the spotty surface. The right side peeled off and got perforated (*Pl. 9*) At the second item the edge of the hole broke probably during wearing so the edge was scraped, and the shell was pierced again on the right side and the edges were rasped again. The two items were handed into the museum in 1894 suspended from a broken bronze wire. This is how the two shells were taken into inventory and published (*Pl. 8.2*). The bronze wire is a flat band, the two round-sectioned terminals were first twisted and then bent to form a loop. The bronze wire is not the usual suspension ring with recoiled terminal and its measurements are also much larger. It is striking, however, that the part of the wire that was hammered flat has preserved the outlines of the second shell (*Pl. 10*). Examining the shell closer we can observe a greenish tint in a longitudinal line on the back. It suggests that the bronze wire was still on the back of the shell in the grave.[134] It means that originally the two shells were not strung[135] and the bandage suspension, unique among the Sarmatians in the Carpathian Basin must be regarded as a solution prompted by the

[128] Some were even encircled with ditches.

[129] E. g. three fibulas: grave no. 54 in Törökszentmiklós (JNSz)–Surján, in grave no. 41, in Endrőd (Bé)–Kocsor hegy, and in grave 18. in Tiszadob (SzSzB)–Sziget.

[130] Grave 41. in Endrőd—Kocsor hegy.

[131] *Párducz 1950* 24.

[132] In the first publication the idea of wearing them on the wrist came from the description in the inventory book.

[133] The cowry shells were taken again into inventory in the HNM as unprovenaced objects. The identification is due to László Kovács.

[134] Observation by Andrea Vaday.

[135] Accordingly, it cannot be decided if the two cowry shells from Budapest-Rákos came from the same grave.

injury to the shell.[136] It should be added that the find appeared at Mihály Párducz by the mistaken provenance of Tatabánya (KE)–Bánhida site.[137] Mihály Párducz mixed the materials from the two sites during his analysis and described the two shells at the Bánhida site with reference to the analogous Budapest-Rákos finds. In the same study he only cites the Budapest-Rákos finds after Hampel.[138] Since he did not describe the find, he did not give inventory numbers either and probably did not realise the mixture. Consequently, the shells from the Transdanubian Tatabánya (KE)–Bánhida site must be erased from the number of sites since it is derived from a mistake by Mihály Párducz.

The large cowries on belts were obviously amulets or talismans for women or older girls. Their concept in Antiquity and the Latin name, *concha Venerea*, refer to their semantic content. It is well known that love, fertility and Moon cult can be attached to Venus who was the goddess in Antiquity of the women who reached adulthood.[139] Interpretatio Graeca identified the Scythian Argimpasa with Aphrodite Urania and the interpretatio Romana with Venus. The fact that the goddess was known and revered by the Scythians supposes that large cowries as a symbols of fertility could be present among the cult objects. The same could be true of the Sarmatians who were related to the Scythians. Not only the classical world accepted the barbarian deities, the Greek–Roman world of beliefs also influenced the nomads.[140] Living in the neighbourhood, they could not help taking over some elements of the beliefs of these high cultures especially if some of them matched their world of beliefs and cultic activities. The archaeological phenomenon that the Cypraea only occur in the graves of women and older girls suggests that they could play an important role in the lives of women who reached the age when they can marry[141] and, accordingly, they must have been related to fertility.

Grave no. 5 in kurgan no. 70 of the Novij (Rostovskaya obl., RUS) kurgan cemetery from the Don region[142] was a platform grave. In the robbed burial of two 18–20 year-old men, the grave goods of the man on the western platform contained[143] a belt with a gold buckle with griffon depiction. Fifty-four pierced

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[136] There is a note in the inventory book in the Hungarian National Museum with an astonishing endeavour to exactness: „A shell pendant of two *Cypraea tigrina* strung on a bronze wire." HNM 37/1884. 1–2. The note in the inventory book is cited right by József Hampel designating the origin of the items but called the gastropods bivalves: „... two bivalve pendants. One consists of two *Cypraea tigrina* (Indian Ocean) bivalves stringed on a wire, the other is a small *Murex trunculus* (Mediterranean Sea) with a wire ring drown through it." *Hampel 1894* 262, 263: fig. 1–2. Pósta only mentioned them as „bivalve jewellery": *Pósta 1897* 511, 529, fig. 55; *Pósta 1905* 501–503, 501: fig. 278. 1.

[137] *Párducz 1931* Nr. 183, 124; HNM Arch. Coll. inv. no. 37/1887.

[138] *Párducz 1931* Nr. 233. 133.

[139] The Greek parallel of Venus, Aphrodite might have filled the same role, without a rigider separation of the functions at the Scythians and the Sarmatians.

[140] E. g. this is the origin of the Roman custom of obulus giving at the Sarmatians in the Carpathian Basin.

[141] The sex of the person buried in grave no. 70 of the Gavrilovka (Novo-Voroženskij raj., U) grave of the Cherniakhov culture with a cowry pendant is uncertain: 50–60 year-old man (?) *Symonovič 1960* 212.

[142] 126 kurgans, 193 graves.

Trush cowries (*Cypraea[Erosaria]turdus*)[144] were sewn on the belt in two rows.[145] The semantic content, of course, is different in this case that at the women.

Statistic data

The species of the Family Cypraeidae are the most frequent in the Sarmatian Barbaricum.[146] The following table records what degree the various species could be identified, [147] and to what exactitude the finds can be dated.

	1st c.	2nd c.		3rd c.		4th c.		5th c.	?
	2nd half	1st half	2nd half	1st half	2nd half	1st half	2nd half	1st half	
Tiger							1		1
		1				2			
	1						2		
Pantherina			1				4		7
		2				13			
	1		5		2		2		
Largesized			3				2		3
		1				12			
			3		1		9		
Spurca							1		
Mediumsized			1						
Annulus								8	
						6			
Moneta									2
Murex	1								
Conus									1
Cerithium		1							

Regarding the relative frequency of the species, 38% are *Cypraea pantherina*, 8% are *Cypraea tigris* and 33% are the large-sized material with no exact definition of the species. 14% are *Cypraea annulus*,[148] the rest compose 1 or 2% at most. (Graph 1)

Regarding the orientation of the graves with gastropod pendants, the problem is that the orientation is not known at more than half of the graves (55%). Only 45% of the sites are suitable for this analysis. The quantity of the known data according to the orientation are illustrated in *graph 2*. The dominance of the computed values of the S-N and N-S oriented graves is evident. It means that

[143] A sword with a wooden scabbard decorated with gold mounts, at least 80 triple arrow-heads, iron knife, alabaster button, bronze cauldron fragments.

[144] *Il'jukov – Vlaskin 1992* 82, 81: fig. 20. 7.

[145] The Eurasian nomads rarely decorated their belts with cowries in the Scythian Sarmatian period: *Il'jukov – Vlaskin 1992* 82, 209, compare *Davydova 1971* 100.

[146] The number of other marine gastropods and bivalves is so small that they are not sufficient for a statistical analysis.

[147] Due to being fragmentary or because the object was lost.

[148] The above picture is not realistic since calculation was made from the item number. Several of the gastropods came from the same graves. Still, we chose the item number instead of the grave number since we want to illustrate the quantity of the objects that were brought in.

the S-N orientation was the dominant one in the Sarmatian Barbaricum in the Carpathian Basin, the more so, since a shift from the main cardinal direction to less than 45° is normally affiliated to the main direction. This regards the graves with an orientation to SSE-NNW and SE-NW which can be affiliated with this main group. The orientation to E-W and W-E (?) has a low value of occurrence. Examining the chronological distribution of the burials we see that the number of graves grows in the late period as compared to the early one. It means that 71% of the burials came from the late period and 17% from the early one and the graves that cannot be dated into either period compose 12%. Since more than one cowry may occur in a grave, we can examine the chronological distribution of the shells as well. The dominance of the late period can be demonstrated again. 19% came from the early period and 72% from the late one and 9% cannot be dated. Comparing the grave numbers with the shell numbers recovered from them in the two periods we find that item number is higher in both periods than the number of the features. This means the small proportion of occurrence of more than one gastropods on the costume in both periods. We must consider, however, that the grave numbers are not identical in the two periods, so we have to compare. For comparison we examined graves with one and with more than one large cowry. In the early period five graves contained one shell and two graves contained more than one shell pendants. In the late period twenty three graves contained one shell and six graves contained more than one gastropod used as pendants. Against the growing item and grave number in the late period, the relative frequency in a given chronological period reveals that in the late period the custom of wearing more than one large cowry decreases in relative numbers at the Sarmatians in the Carpathian Basin. The divergence would even be greater in favour of the early period if we considered that the population number of the Sarmatians in the Hungarian Plain was significantly higher in the late period than in the early one. Although the number of the large cowries is higher in absolute numbers in the Barbaricum in the Carpathian Basin in the late period, their relative occurrence, compared to the early period, decreases. The reason of it has not yet been clarified, we may, however, suppose that one of the reasons was that the years of war in the late period did not favour the peaceful commerce in the region and, consequently, in the material of tribes fleeing westwards from the Huns fewer articles from distant territories arrived to the Black Sea region than in the 2nd century AD.[149]

Finally let us review the territorial distribution of cowry shells in chronological order east of the Carpathian Basin (see *Pl. 1*).[150]

It is, of course, uncertain to what degree the survey of a region and the quantity of the publications influence the picture. It should also be added that in the various territories the acquisition of the cowries and the spread of the wearing custom do not go back to the same roots. It is obvious, however, that in

[149] Another reason might be the slackening of the Barbarian customs, a change of beliefs caused by the spreading of Christianity. This is contradicted by the fact that christianity did not spread at the Sarmatians in the Late Roman period.

[150] The table was compiled after material collection by *Kovács 1999*.

our era it appears in the regions of the present Romania inhabited, at that time, by the Sarmatians parallel to its appearance in the Carpathian Basin. The fact that it was longer present in the Eastern Romanian territories than in the Hungarian Plain illustrates the isolation of the Carpathian Basin from the eastern regions. In Moldva and Moldavia it reappears in the archaeological material of the Cherniakhov culture due to the diffusion of the Goths. Tribes fleeing westwards from the Hun threat bring it once again into the Carpathian Basin. It is an interesting phenomenon than the custom disappeared at the same time in Moldavia and in the Sarmatian Barbaricum. This custom of cowry wearing survived much longer in the northern Caucasus due to the Alan survival.[151]

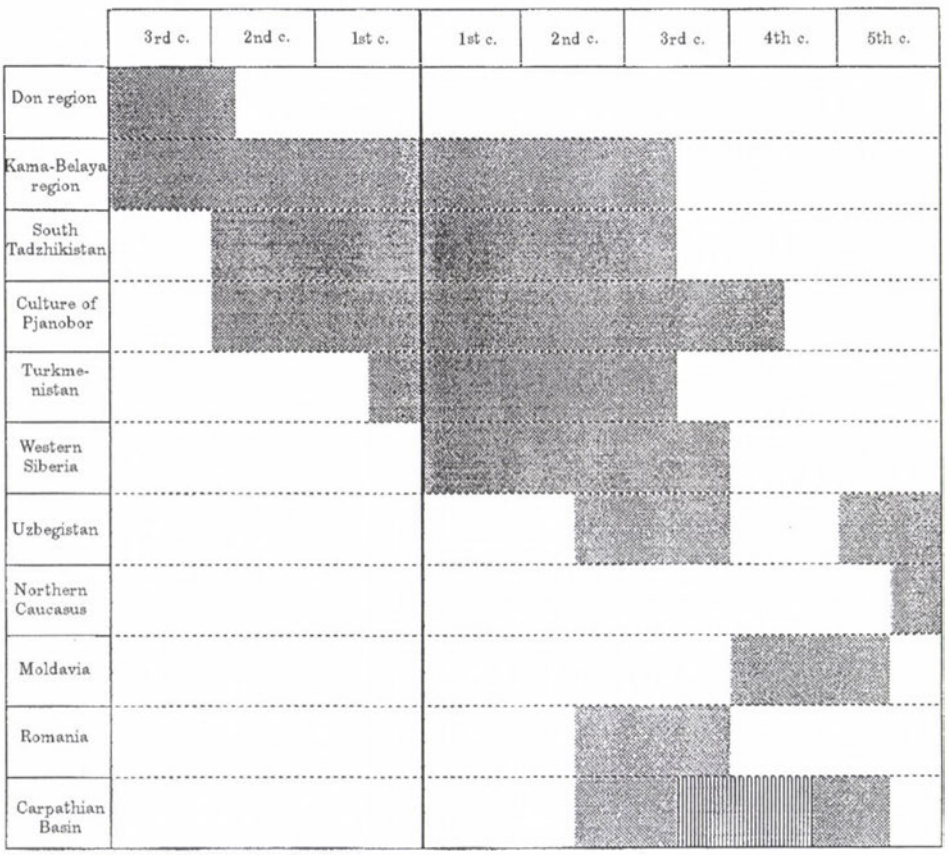

Plate 1. Carpathian Basin: territorial distribution of cowry shells in chronological order

[151] *Minaeva 1951* 277–278, 278 p. Fig. 5.10; *Werner 1956* 104: Nr. C 70, Pl. 47.8; *Arends 1978* 443, 829: Nr. 205.

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SITE-LIST

Fig. 12. sites of early Sarmatian cowry shells

1. Alsónémedi (Pe)–Faluréti hill
3. Bácskeresztúr (Ruski Krstur, Yug)
4. Bag (Pe)
6. Békés (Bé)–Vizesfás, Végtő
7. Bojt (HB)
8. Budapest–Rákos railway station
12. Ernőháza (Banatski Despotovac, Yug)–land of Kollinger
15. Gyulavarsánd (Varsand, R)
19. Hódmezővásárhely (Cso)–Fehér-lake
22. Kiskunfélegyháza (BK)–Páka-puszta
27. Lajosmizse (BK)–Kónya-major
35. Orosháza (Bé)–farms
42. Szeged (Cso)–Jánosszállás
58. Sződliget (Pe)–Csörög
53. Törökszentmiklós (JNSz)–Surján-Újtelep, sandpit of Ady tsz.

Fig. 13. sites of late Sarmatian cowry shells

2. Antalfalva (Kovačica, Yug)
5. Békés (Bé)

9. Csongrád (Cso)–Geda hill
10. Csongrád (Cso)–Határ str.
11. Endrőd (Bé) – Kocsor-hegy
13. Érsekcsanád (Pe)
16. Hertelendifalva (Vojlovica, Pančevo, rafinerija Yug)
17. Hódmezővásáhely (Cso)–Aranyág
18. Hódmezővásáhely (Cso)–Erzsébet-Újközség
21. Jánoshalma (BK)–Dézsma-garden
23. Kiszombor (Cso) cemetery B.
24. Klárafalva (Cso) cemetery B.
25. Klárafalva (Cso) railway station
26. Kunszentmárton (JNSz)–Körtvélyesi-part
28. Lovrin (R)
30. Mezőberény (Bé)
32. Mezőszemere (H)–Kismari-fenék
33. Nagykárolyfalva (Banatski Karlovac, Yug)
34. Orosháza (Bé) brickfactory Kristó
37. Szabadka (Subotica, Yug) Verusics
38. Szeged (Cso)–Szőreg, brickfactory Iván
39. Szeged (Cso)–Tápé-Malajdok, cemetery A.
40. Szeged (Cso)–Tápé-Malajdok, cemetery B.
41. Szeged (Cso)–Zákányszék
43. Szegvár (Cso)–Vasút str.
45. Szentes (Cso)–Sárgapart, Török Ignác-sor
46. Szentes (Cso)–Sárgapart, Bricklayers'
47. Szentes (Cso)–Vekerhát
49. Tiszadob (SzSzB)–Sziget
50. Tiszaföldvár (JNSz)–brickfabrik
51. Törökszentmiklós (JNSz)–Surján, near Barta puszta
52. Törökszentmiklós (JNSz)–Surján, Szőlő-dűlő
54. Törökszentmiklós (JNSz)–Surján, Újtelep, Kis-Büdös ér
55. Versec (Vrsac, Yug)
56. Zagyvarékas (JNSz)

Fig. 14. Sites of typical grave material: so called Sarmatian buckle-garnitures, including the early cowries (▲).

1. Abony (Pe)–Balháspart
2. Albertirsa (Pe)–Proli földek
3. Bačko Gradiste (Yug)
4. Bajmok (Yug)
5. Banatski Despotovac (YU)–Pape, grave 1.
6. Carei/Nagykároly (R)
7. Csanytelek (Cso)–Dilitor
8. Csanytelek (Cso)–Dögállás

9. Csévharaszt (Pe)
10. Debrecen (HB)–Kondoros
11. Endrőd (Bé)–Szujókereszt
12. Csongrád (Cso)–Felgyő
13. Felsőpusztaszer (Cso)
14. Galgamácsa (Pe)
15. Gyoma (Bé)
16. Hajdúdorog (HB)–Szállásföldek
17. Hatvan (H)
18. Hévízgyörk (Pe)
19. Hódmezővásárhely(Cso), Fehér-lake
20. Hódmezővásárhely, (Cso) Kakasszék, gyógyintézet
21. Hortobágy (HB)–Nyírőhodály
22. Jászberény (JNSz)–Csegelapos, Kisnémet István tanya
23. Kecel (BK)–Barna-ker
24. Kecskemét (BK)–Mária-kápolna
25. Kiskőrös (BK)
26. Kiskőrös (BK)–south from Csukás-lake
27. Kiskunfélegyháza (BK)–Külsőgalambos, Kővágó ér
28. Kenderes (JNSz)
29. Kunpeszér (BK)
30. Kunszentmárton (JNSz)–Bábóczka
31. Makó (Cso)–Bogárzó
32. Mezőcsát (No)–Márkusdomb
33. Nagykálló, Kiscsere (SzSzB)
34. Nagykőrös (Pe)–kálmánhegyi dűlő
35. Orgovány (BK)
36. Petőfiszállás (BK)
37. Pusztamérges (Cso)
38. Ruski Krstur (Yug)
39. Simánd/Simand (R)
40. Szada (Pe)
41. Szada, (Pe)–Néger tanya
42. Szarvas (Bé)
43. Szeged (Cso)–Kiskundorozsma, Jerneí brickfactory
44. Szegvár (Cso)
45. Szentes (Cso)–Dónát, Mágocspart
46. Szentes (Cso)– Kistőke
47. Szolnok (JNSz)–Szanda, Netovábbb csárda
48. Tápiószele (Pe)–Zsófia str.
49. Tápiószele (Pe)–Szomorák
50. Tiszaeszlár (SzSzB)–Szellő hill
51. Tiszaföldvár (JNSz)–brickfactory
52. Tiszafüred (JNSz)–Nagykenderföldek
53. Törökszentmiklós (JNSz)–Surján-Kastélydomb, sandpit

54. Üllő (Pe)
55. Vizesd/Vizejda (R)

Fig. 15. Sites of the cowry shells (including the undatable finds)

1. Alsónémedi (Pe)–Faluréti hill
2. Antalfalva (Kovačica, Yug)
3. Bácskeresztúr (Ruski Krstur, Yug)
4. Bag (Pe)
5. Békés (Pe)
6. Békés (Bé)–Vizesfás, Végtő
7. Bojt (HB)
8. Budapest–Rákos railway station
9. Csongrád (Cso)–Geda-hill
10. Csongrád (Cso)–Határ str.
11. Endrőd (Bé)–Kocsor-hegy
12. Ernőháza (Banatski Despotovac, Yug) plot of Kollinger
13. Érsekcsanád (Pe)
14. Gyoma (Bé)–Őzed
15. Gyulavarsánd (Varsand, R)
16. Hertelendifalva (Vojlovica, Pančevo, rafinerija Yug)
17. Hódmezővásáhely (Cso)–Aranyág
18. Hódmezővásáhely (Cso)–Erzsébet-Újközség
19. Hódmezővásárhely (Cso)–Fehér-lake
20. Hódmezővásárhely (Cso)–Gorzsa, plot of Mózes Mihály
21. Jánoshalma (BKK)–Dézsma-garden
22. Kiskunfélegyháza (BK)–Páka-puszta
23. Kiszombor (Cso) cemetery B.
24. Klárafalva (Cso) cemetery B.
25. Klárafalva (Cso)–railway station
26. Kunszentmárton (JNSz)–Körtvélyesi-part
27. Lajosmizse (BK)–Kónya-major
28. Lovrin (R)
29. Madaras (BK)–hills
30. Mezőberény (Bé)
31. Mezőberény (Bé)–str. Dimitrov
32. Mezőszemere (H)–Kismari-fenék
33. Nagykárolyfalva (Banatski Karlovac, Yug)
34. Orosháza (Bé)–brickfabrik Kristó
35. Orosháza (Bé)–farms
36. Öttömös (Cso)
37. Szabadka (Subotica, Yug) Verusics
38. Szeged (Cso)–Szőreg, Iván brickfactory
39. Szeged (Cso)–Tápé-Malajdok, cemetery A.
40. Szeged (Cso)–Tápé-Malajdok, cemetery B.

41. Szeged (Cso)–Zákányszék
42. Szeged (Cso)–Jánosszállás
43. Szegvár (Cso)–Vasút str.
44. Szentes (Cso)
45. Szentes (Cso)–Sárgapart, Török Ignác sor
46. Szentes (Cso)–Sárgapart, Bricklayers'
47. Szentes (Cso)–Vekerhát
48. Sződliget (Pe)–Csörög
49. Tiszadob (SzSzB)–Sziget
50. Tiszaföldvár (JNSz)–brickfactory
51. Törökszentmiklós (JNSz)–Surján, near Barta puszta
52. Törökszentmiklós (JNSz)–Surján, Szőlő-dűlő
53. Törökszentmiklós (JNSz)–Surján, Újtelep, sandpit of Ady tsz.
54. Törökszentmiklós (JNSz)–Surján, Újtelep, Kis-Büdös ér
55. Versec (Vrsac, Yug)
56. Zagyvarékas (JNSz)

Figures

Fig. 1. 1: Szentes (Cso)–Sárgapart, grave 24; 2–3: Komárom/Szőny (KE)–Járóka, grave 38.

Fig. 2. 1: Alsónémedi (Pe)–Faluréti domb; 2: Hódmezővásárhely (Bé)–land of Mihály Mózes; 3: Jánoshalma (BK)–Dézsmakert; 4: Tiszadob (SzSzB)–Sziget, Grave 18.

Fig. 3. 1: Mezőberény (Bé); 2: Törökszentmiklós (JNSz)–Surján, Barta-puszta

Fig. 4. Öttömös (Cso)

Fig. 5. Öttömös (Cso)

Fig. 6. Hódmezővásárhely (Cso)–Erzsébet-Újközség grave 5.

Fig. 7. Komárom/Szőny (KE)–Sörház-kert grave 54.

Fig. 8. 1: *Murex trunculus* and 2: cowry shells from Budapest-Rákos-railway station – after Béla Pósta

Fig. 9. Budapest–Rákos-railway station

Fig. 10. Budapest–Rákos-railway station

Fig. 11. Budapest–Rákos-railway station

Fig. 12. Earlier Sarmatian *Cypraea* finds

Fig. 13. Late Sarmatian *Cypraea* finds

Fig. 14. Earlier *Cypraea* finds and so-called military Sarmatian belt buckle

Fig. 15. Cowry shells of the Sarmatian Barbaricum (included the sporadic, undatable finds)

Péter Kovács

CIVITAS ERAVISCORUM

The history of the Celtic Eraviscus tribe during the Roman times has been studied by many specialists from various aspects.[1] The tribe is mentioned in antique sources (Plin, n. h., III, 148, Ptol. Geogr. II, 15, 3) and the names of two *princeps*es are known from inscriptions (CIL III 3546 (Vác), 10358 (Tárnok)).[2] The *civitas* itself is mentioned on tombstones of the local population in Intercisa at the end of the 1st and the beginning of the 2nd centuries (RIU 1148, 1248 (?), 1256).[3] Yet another altar stone (CIL III 10608) of unknown site (probably from Aquincum) can be grouped here.[4] The present study analyses the history of the *civitas* in the 2nd and 3rd centuries especially after Aquincum had got municipal rank (124 AD) and proposes a new concept to explain its late survival.

Two theories have been established concerning the fate of the *civitas* in the 2nd and 3rd centuries based on the results of earlier research. According to András Mócsy, whose opinion is commonly accepted by Hungarian specialists, *civitas Eraviscorum* was attributed to Aquincum after 124.[5] According to Jenő Fitz, however, only the northern territory of the *civitas* became the territory of Aquincum while the southern part stayed with the *civitas Eraviscorum* (its western side would have been the territory of Gorsium).[6]

Serious contrary opinions disputed both concepts. A. Mócsy's idea was mostly opposed by U. Laffi. F. Grelle, H. Wolff and F. Vittinghoff also agreed that the concept of attribution (i. e. the administrative attribution of a community of a lower rank to one with a higher (which may only be a *colonia* or a *municipium*) one as e. g. the attribution of the Carni tribe to Tergeste in the Augustan period also cited by Mócsy) is rather limited both in space and in time.[7] It was practised between the beginning of the 1st century BC and the Augustan period and ex-

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[1] *A. Alföldi*: Pannónia rómaiságának kialakulása és történeti kerete. Századok 1936, 25; *Alföldi 1939* 108–113; *Alföldi 1942* 194; Mócsy 1950; *Mócsy 1959* 59–73; *M. Szabó*: Néhány nyelvészeti szempont a pannóniai kelta személynévanyag vizsgálatában. AT 10 (1963), 220–234; *A. Mócsy*: Eravisci. in: PWRE Suppl. XI. Stuttgart 1968, 132–136; *Mócsy 1970*; *Mócsy 1974* 141–142; *Mócsy 1990* 60; *Fitz 1971*; *Bónis 1969*. The idea of this study was born in the course of a discussion with Endre Tóth and Zsolt Mráv. I am grateful for their help. I would also like to thank T. Hable for the information on his most recent excavations in Buda in 1997. I am grateful for Géza Alföldi's kind help.

[2] The inscription of the *decurio* of the *civitas* will be discussed later.

[3] The correct form of the questioned part of the latter inscription is: in c(ivitate) Er(avisco) in Aci/nco. So the mother's name is Matuia: *I. Gronovszky*: Nomina hominum Pannonica certis gentibus adsignata. DissPann I:2. Budapest 1933, 19, Nr. 42.

[4] To the completion see *Mócsy 1959* 264, Nr. 238/4, The completion of the inscription fragment is as follows: [---leg(ionis)] II ad(iutricis) militibus / [leg(ionis)] eiusdem civi/[bus] Eraviscis E. The altar stone can probably be dated from after 124 based on its style.

[5] The idea came from András Alföldi: *Alföldi 1942* 159.

[6] *Fitz 1971*; *Fitz 1993* 419–420.

[7] *Laffi 1966* 67–69; *Grelle 1972* 207–208; *F. Vittinghoff*: Die innere Verfassung römischer Städte – Möglichkeiten und Grenzen der Epigraphik im Donauraum. in: Akten des VI. Internationalen Kongresses für Griechische und Lateinische Epigraphik München 1972. München 1973, 91, *Wolff 1976* 111, Anm. 197.

clusively in the northern part of Italy and, as an exception, in the area of Gallia Narbonensis.[8] Mócsy cited two arguments for the attribution, the Teutanus altars and the base raised by P. Aelius Firmus to Hadrian *ob honorem aedilitatis* (Intercisa, RIU 1122), which, in his mind, prove that *the civitas* was attributed to the municipium of Aquincum in Hadrian's time and its leaders might have got the Roman civil rights based on *ius Latii*. Laffi's critical notes, however, are justified questioning the sufficiency of these evidences for an attribution. Firmus might have been a simple *municeps* who became an *aedilis* as such and there is no proof saying that he would have got the civil rights together with the *aedilis* rank. So his base cannot prove the *ius Latii* with regard to the *civitas*.[9] It must also be added that Aquincum (or any other Roman town) is not mentioned in the inscription and neither is the *ius Latii* proved in the case of Aquincum. Attribution is not an evidence of the existence of the *civitas* in the 3rd century and vica versa, the mere existence of the *civitas Eraviscorum* in the 3rd century cannot be the proof of the attribution.

Mócsy could not give a genuine answer to the contrary opinions but held that the only explanation of the survival of the *civitas* could be the attribution as even those who opposed him could not give any other explanation to the existence of the *civitas*.[10] I myself think that this is not the only explanation to the survival, and attribution must be rejected for lack of evidence. Mócsy's observation, however, was right concerning the close and subordinated relation of the *civitas* to Aquincum, which cannot be dissolved by the criticism related to the attribution.

Mócsy accepted the indications of an Eraviscan origin in the military diplomas from after 124 as an evidence of the survival of the *civitas*.[11] I think, however, that another phenomenon can be observed here. It is rather a phenomenon that can be observed in inscriptions outside Pannonia, mostly in the municipal inscriptions from of Rome. The veterans of autochtonous origin indicated not the name of the given town to the territory of which their place of habitation belonged but the name of their earlier tribe. Such are the inscriptions of *cives Cotini* from Rome who were Roman citizens and gave the origo of Cibalae and Mursa (CIL VI 32542, 32544, 32557, the latter between 249 and 251) which still does not mean the existence of a *civitas Cotinorum*.[12] If Mócsy's concept were true we should accept, beside the survival of the *civitas Eraviscorum*, the existence of the *civitas Cornacatum* in 154, based on the tribal origin designation on diplomas, the territory of which had become the territory of Cibalae already in Hadrian's

[8] *Laffi 1966* 87–98, especially: 90–91.

[9] *Grelle 1972* 208.

[10] *Mócsy 1969* 348; *Mócsy* 1970 65–66; *Mócsy 1973* 381–382; *Mócsy 1977* 379; *Mócsy 1990* 307, j. 29.

[11] CIL XVI. 123, 179, RMD 102–103.

[12] Further inscriptions: CIL VI 3257 (Varcianus), CIL VI 3308 = ILS 2210 (Boius) – after 193: *M. Speidel*: Die Denkmäler der Kaiserreiter, Equites singulares Augusti Köln. 1994, Nr. 605, Nr. 659. The existence of both *cives* is impossible in the given time. Furthermore: Samaria: cives Sisciani, Varciani, Latobici: AÉp 1909, 235 = 1938, 13. The *vexillatio* was probably directed here by Hadrian to fight the Jewish revolt. The territory of the Varciani became the territory of Andautonia founded in the Flavian period.

time.[13] On the same basis, *civitas Treverorum* should have existed even in 138 (CIL XVI 84).

A. Mócsy formulated the most serious arguments against Jenő Fitz's opinion.[14] One of the most important one was that the distribution map of the inscriptions cited by Fitz among the most significant evidences (the inscriptions of autochtonous and municipal officials) can hardly be used due to the rarity of inscriptions in the southern part of the territory. The municipal rank of the settlement at Tác-Gorsium has still been questioned, there are no epigraphic evidences for the municipal rank.[15] Joining Mócsy's opinion we add the followings. The distribution maps used by Fitz (finds of Roman and autochtonous features, military and *decurio* inscriptions) could only be used if it could be proved that the finds of autochtonous character can be dated from after 124. Zs. Visy reviewed the non-municipal settlement pattern of Pannonia Inferior in a thorough study. He was right drawing the conclusion from his analysis that no separation indicating an independent territory can be observed in the area of the present Fejér and Tolna counties. A relatively scarce Roman population can be demonstrated in the region, which only indicates a large distance from the municipal centres and the limes. Early villas could be demonstrated in the southern part of Fejér county (several ones with excavations after the publication of Fitz's study) at Enying, Igar, Mezőfalva and Seregélyes (*Visy 1991* Nr. 82, 87, 93, 109). In the light of the above mentioned the statement, that in Aquincum's environment the number of villas were more dense while removing from the territory it had been occured scarce, seems to be more reasonable. It is not a rare phenomenon in Pannonia that the autochtonous population lived in a separated part of the territory of the town. In the case of Savaria colonia, the continuity of the local autochtonous population can be attested to, even epigraphically, within the territory of the town (within the system of *centuriatio* of the town), in the least valued western part where the otherwise dense villa net is the sparsest.[16] Similarly, the autochtonous population retreated to the eastern part of the territory of Neviodunum after it had got municipal rank, while, in Emona, *deductio* can only be demonstrated in the northern part of the territory.[17] This, however, does not mean a territorial separation. It obviously also happened in Aquincum that the officials of the town and others, too, had their villas built within the zone of attraction of the municipium. Based on the analysis of the remains with inscriptions we know an altar stone of a *decurio colonae* from the relevant region (CIL III 13365 – Vajta-Pusztaörs),[18] and it is not

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[13] *M. M. Roxan*: Roman military diplomas 1954–1977. London 1978, 169.

[14] *Mócsy 1972* 382, Anm 103.

[15] *E. Tóth*: Templum provinciae in Tác? SpecN 1989, 43–58; *G. Alföldy*: Die Grossen Götter von Gorsium. ZPE 175 (1997) 238–239.

[16] *L. Balla*: Gesellschaft und Geschichte von Savaria in: *A. Mócsy – T. Szentléleky* (hrgs.): Die römische Steindenkmäler von Savaria. Budapest 1971, 24; *D. Gabler*: Die ländliche Besiedlung Oberpannoniens in *H. Bender – H. Wolff* (hrgs.): Lädliche Besiedlung und Landwirtschaft in den Rhein-Donau-Provinzen des römischen Reiches. Vorträge eines internationalen Kolloquiums von 16.-21. 1991 in Passau. Passauer Universitätinschriften Band 2. Espelkamp 1994, 380, 382–383.

[17] Mócsy 1959 19, 23.

[18] To the reading of the inscription see: *G. Alföldy*: Municipiális középbirtokok Aquincum környékén. AT 6 (1959), 22. We do not accept the reading suggested by Fitz concerning the *decutio*

necessary to suppose that all the inscriptions concerning soldiers (especially on tomb-stones) and found in the inner parts of the province were transported there from the limes region.[19] Such an inscription is e. g. on the altar stone of the *custos* of the *legio II adiutrix armorum* from Alsóbesenyő (AÉp 1944, 88) and also the altar stone of Publius Aelius Veranus *veteranus* from Mezőfalva.[20]

Fitz's concept does not either explain why the inscriptions of the officials of the *civitas* occur in Aquincum after 124. According to Fitz, the sacral district on the Gellérthegy remained the part of the territory of the *civitas* as an isolated region.[21] A region of special status would be utterly unusual in Pannonia and it has no analogues anywhere.[22] It would be a similarly anachronistic curiosity if a *civitas peregrina* would survive until the period of the tetrarchy, which seems to ensue from Fitz's concept. It is also striking that no inscriptions of any officials of the *civitas* are known from the related region. If the *civitas* still existed during the prosperity in the Severus period, we should know the inscriptions of the officials. The other unsolved question is the centre of the *civitas* as the only relevant, significant settlement of the region in the Roman period would be Tác.

The existence of the *civitas* in the 3rd century has been interpreted in two ways. Géza Alföldy and Éva Bónis held (prior to the recovery of the stones from Bölcske) that it could be explained by the survival of the *civitas* as a cultic community.[23] According Mócsy's earlier idea, the *civitas* meant by this time a part of the municipal district of Aquincum, the name of a region or a settlement.[24] Later, it seems, Mócsy also accepted the shrinkage to the cultic role.[25] The purely cultic role, in my opinion, has to be rejected partly because of the manifest existence of the officials after 124 and partly because of the following reasons. Nevertheless, we have to agree with Mócsy's earlier idea as the best possible solution.

We think that both solutions can be refuted based on the more grounded contrary opinions. We may offer a third possibility which, perhaps, gives a better reason for the survival of the *civitas Eraviscorum*.

First let us review the epigraphic proofs of the survival of the *civitas* after 124.

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coloniae (*Fitz 1993* 420), Titus was not an autochtonous person without civil rights but the cognomen of the *decurio*. The Titus *praenomen* often occurs as a cognomen in Pannonia as well: *A. Mócsy*: Nomenclator provinciarum Europae Latinarum et Galliae Cisalpinae cum indice inverso. DissPann. III:1. Budapest 1983, 291. Fitz disregards in his reading the letter 'H' or 'T' preceding the name Titus which only can belong to the *gentilicium* of the person who erected it. Even if Fitz's decipherment of is true for the letters D CO d(edit) co(nsecravit), the dedicator is still a Roman citizen. Is should ne noted, however, that such a formula has not yet appeared in Pannonia. *B. Fehér*: Lexicon Epigraphicum Pannonicum. Budapest 1997, 44.

[19] *Fitz 1971* 54, Anm 73. The distribution map of the inscriptions of the *Eravisci*, *peregrini* and *decurii* see at *Mócsy* 1970 63, Abb. 2. The publication of the inscriptions from Csajág: *S. Soproni*: Római feliratok Veszprém megyéből. VeszprémMMK 19–20 (1993–1994) 141–143.

[20] *E. B. Vágó*: Neue Inschriften aus Intercisa und Umgebung. AlbaReg 11 (1970) 129, Nr. 462.

[21] *Fitz 1993* 420.

[22] The only possibility to own a land by a town within an alien territory would be the *praefectura*. This, however, cannot be related to our case: *Laffi 1966* 200–201.

[23] *G. Alföldy*: Pannoniciani augures. ActaAntHung 8 (1960) 56, Anm. 40; *Bónis* 1969 217.

[24] *Mócsy 1950* 109.

[25] *Mócsy 1990* 307, j. 49.

1. Aquincum: CIL III 10408 = *Alföldy 1939* 113 = AÉp 1941, 14.

Iunoni /Reginae / P(ublius) Ael(ius) Ma/ximinus tab(ularius) c(ivitatis) Er(aviscorum) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

The reading of the inscription is certain since A. Alföldy's study. Agreeing with A. Mócsy, we find F. Grelle's dating improbable. He dated the altar stone from between 117 and 124.[26] Maximinus was, or his parents were, probably given Roman civil rights only after Aquincum was raised to municipal rank. So only the use of the *tria nomina* and the stylistic features of the letters and of the altar stone can be considered at the dating of the altar stone. According to these, it can be dated from the second half of the 2nd century. Grelle's idea that by this time the *tabularius* office was no more than a honorary title seems even less probable. Such a low rank as a honorary title may, I think, be excluded.

The situation would be the same if it were about the *praefectus*, the *princeps* of the African inscriptions cited by Grelle (CIL VIII 22729, ILA1 I 1297) since the solution of the two cited inscriptions is to be found elsewhere. Both inscriptions came from statue bases, one was erected by the *Chiniti* to Lucius Memmius Pacatus who *nationi suae praestat*, the other was erected by Larcius Macrius *princeps gentis Numidarum et flamen perpetuus* to his wife. The inscription from Gightis can most likely be dated from the time of the reign of Antoninus Pius. The total *cursus* of Pacatus was enlisted on the base. From among the titles, *praefectus gentis Cinithiarum,* mentioned elsewhere, is missing here although it could have been expected (CIL VIII 10500=ILS 1409). I think the inscription cannot be interpreted as a sign of the survival of the *gens*. According Grelle, the tribe survived as a „gruppo etnico" when the municipium of Gightis was founded in its territory in the time of Antoninus Pius. The interpretation of the inscription according to which Pacatus was *praefectus* before the foundation of the *municipium* then he filled the enlisted titles (*flamen perpetuus divi Traiani, in quinque decurias a divo Hadriani adlectus*) seems more likely. That is why the title of the *praefetus* is missing from the list and only the *ob ... singularem pietatem qua nationi suae praestat* formula is there. The formula and the use of the present tense is complimentary but it cannot be understood as a real existing function at the time when the inscription was erected.[27] The title of *praefectus gentis* became a civilian office, its occurrence is known from the 3rd century as well, then it was used again in a different understanding until the 6th century as a military rank.[28] The Chinithi or only a part of them, as persons of *peregrinus* rights, could have erected an inscription together as it happened with the *cives Cotini* who had already been given Roman civil rights (CIL VI 32542). Neither means, however, that the tribal structure survived.

According to the explanation of the other base, the rank of *princeps gentis* was used after the foundation of the Municipium Ulpium Traianum Thubursicum. I think that, similarly to the previous inscription, the answer here must also be

[26] *Grelle 1972* 208; *Mócsy 1977* 378.

[27] *T. Kotula*: Les „principes gentis" et les „principes civitatis". Eos 55 (1965) 351, note 17.

[28] *Ph. Leveau*: L'aile II des Thraces, le tribu des Mazices et les praefecti gentis en Afrique du Nord. Antiquités Africaines 7 (1973) 153–191; *C. Lepelley*: La préfecture de tribu dans l'Afrique du Bas-Empire. In: Mélanges d'histoire ancienne offerts a William Seston. Paris 1974, 285–295.

found in the list of the official titles of the person. He was earlier *princeps gentis* then, after the foundation of the *municipium*, became *flamen perpetuus*.[29] The inscription can probably be dated from Traian's time which reinforces my concept.

2. Intercisa: RIU 1066

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) v(otum) s(olverunt) / l(ibentes) m(erito) P(ublii) Ae/li Sep/timus et De/coratus / dec(curiones) or *dec(urio) m(unicipii) et / ARM c(ivitatis) Er(aviscorum).*

The letters 'ARM' must be the abbreviation of a title. In the inscription, the mark of the *interpunctio* was inserted between each abbreviation. There is no *interpunctio* between the letters 'ARM'. It cannot be the attractive solution of the common *arm(orum) c(ustos)* since, in this case, the letters 'ER' could not be interpreted. No other municipal title starting with these letters is known except for the *armamentarius* of lower rank. This, however, is not known outside Italy (CIL V 883, X 4832) and is related to the *armamentarium* in the city of Rome. Consequently, Mócsy was right to deduce that the name of the rank behind the abbreviation 'ARM' did not come from the Latin.[30] He supposes that the abbreviation covers the composition of the Celtic words *ar(e)* and *mag(os)* and it came from the times prior to the Roman occupation and existed until the 2nd century. The two persons who erected the altar would parallely be the *decurio* of the *municipium* and the two major leaders of the *civitas*. The *aremagos* function really existed at the Celts based on coin inscriptions.[31] Mócsy's concept is further supported by the fact that the names of earlier Celtic officials also survived in the Roman period. Such are e. g. the *vergobretus* function in Aquitany (CIL XIII 1048) and the rank names *platiodannos* (CIL XIII 6776) and *adannus colonorum* (CIL XIII 4228) are also of Celtic origin.[32] From among the religious offices, the work *gutuator* is known (CIL XIII 2585, 11225–26). Accordingly, it cannot be excluded that A. Mócsy's interpretation is right although there are no other evidences for name survivals in Pannonia except for this one, and the rest of the functions of the *civitas* are Roman ones: *princeps*, *decurio*, *tabularius*. We think it necessary to add to the inscription that it is not compulsory to understand it the same way as Mócsy did. The inscription, due to the contraction of the joint *gentilicium* of the two persons (Aeli) may have listed the their offices one after the other. So the first was the *decurio*, the second the *ARM*. This is supported by the fact that in the case of the abbreviation of the *decurio* the second letter 'C', indicating the plural, was not used as usual (e. g. RIU 878). The possible survival of a Celtic function does not contradict our concept to be described later.

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[29] *T. Kotula*: Les „principes gentis" et les „principes civitatis". Eos 55 (1965) 350, note 12, 355–356. The idea, according to which the office would have survived as a honorary title or that it would be the rank of the leader of an autochtonous village seems less likely.

[30] *Mócsy 1973* 381, Anm. 99; *Mócsy 1974* 141.

[31] *A. Holder*: Alt-Celtischer Sprachschatz I. Leipzig 1896, 202.

[32] *T. Nagy*: Aspekte des Ubranisierung in Pannonien. in: Akten des VI. Internationalen Kongresses für Griechische und Lateinische Epigraphik München 1972. München 1973, 96.

3. Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Teutanus altars.[33]

Gellért-hill: CIL III 10418 = ILS 7125 = AÉp 1941, 13

Buda: AÉp 1953, 14 = *Mócsy 1950*.

The start and the end of the inscription was carved off but most probably this stone was also erected to Iuppiter Teutanus.

Székesfehérvár: CIL III 3347 = *Alföldy 1990* 105–107

Kinkunlacháza: CIL III 10481 = *Soproni 1993* = AÉp 1993, 1313.

Bölcske: *Soproni 1990* = AÉp 1991, 1324.

Based on the 14 dated Teutanus altar from Bölcske, the so far known inscriptions were erected between 178[34] and 288 AD. From these, the most important one for us is the altar erected on 11th June, 286, where the dedication, most interesting for us, is the followings:[35]

[I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / T]eutano adqu[e] / incoluminate d(ominorum) n(ostrorum duorum) / M(arci) Val(erii) Diocletiani P(ii) F(elicis) / In(victi) Aug(usti) p(ontificis) m(aximi) tr(ibuniciae) pot(estatis) II con(n)s(ulis) / III p(atris) p(atriae) proco(n)s(ulis) et M(arci) / A(u)rel(ii) Val(eriani) Maximian[i] / P(ii) F(elicis) In(victi) Aug(usti) p(ontificis) m(aximi) tr(ibuniciae) pot(estatis) / p(atris) p(atriae) proco(n)s(ulis) totiusq/ue domus divin(a)e eorum / finibus Eraviscorum...

It is clear from the text that the altar was not erected in honour and soundness of the *finis* (*pro salute et incoluminate*) but in honour of the two emperors in *finibus Eraviscorum*. The same is evidenced by the fact that the names of the emperors are throughout used in the genitive while the *finibus* can only be a plural dative or ablative.[36] This allows serious conclusions. Very few inscriptions are known from the Roman Empire erected *in finibus* or where the *in finibus* expression is present.[37] Their common feature is that the *finis* is not followed by the rank of the given settlement (so far nearly always a town) but by the plural genitive form of the inhabitants of the town: *in finibus Emeritensium*, *Savariensium* or *Arelatensium*. The *fines* (always in a plural form) means, in these cases, not the border line or the area adjoining the borders but the whole territory.[38]

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[33] The earlier cited inscription fragment, CIL III 10608, which mentions *cives Eravisci*, can probably be dated from after 124. In this case, the *cives* probably refers to the inhabitants of the centre of the *civitas* and not to the *civitas* itself.

[34] As dated by the inscription CIL III 3347 to 178.

[35] *Soproni 1990* 135, Nr. 7; *Szabó 1992* 94 (the photo of the stone). I learned about the inscription of the altar from E. Tóth's kind information.

[36] Another possibility may also be excluded, namely that an altar would have been erected, among others, to Fines as a conceptual deity. Although there are altar stones erected to e. g. *Finibus provinciae* (CIL XIII 7713, 7732), the composition of the inscriptions (it should follow the name of Teutanus) and also its application exclude this possibility (beside Iuppiter Maximus Teutonus, only the *pro salute et incoluminate* formula occurs; other deities are rare, if present, either in altars erected only to Iuno (in 2 cases) or to all the deities together with Teutanus). This possibility, however, would also mean that the *civitas Eraviscorum* must have had a territory.

[37] RIU 135, CIL V 4148, XII 594 = ILS 6988, Front de controversiis agrorum 51–52 (ed. Lachmann) I will deal separately with the meaning of the word *finis*.

[38] ThLL VI Lipsiae 1912–1926, 786–803. Pl. Leveau. Territorium urbis. Le territorire de la cité romaine et ses divisions: du vocabulaire aix réalités administratives. Revue des Études Anciennes 95 (1993) 463.

In the present case of a sacral district, it would be possible that the fines indicates the territory of the sacral district itself. Sic. Flac. p. 162 (ed. Lachmann): *collegia sacedotum itemque virgines habent agros et tterritoria quaedam etiam determinata etquaedam aliquibus sacris dedicata, in eis etiam lucos, in quibus etiam aedes templaque.*[39] This, however, must be excluded as *finibus Teutani* should be present based on the epigraphic analogues (see the sacral district of the Diana shrine in Ephesos: *fines Dianae*: CIL III 14195[1], and also the case of the Diana Tifatina shrine:CIL X 3828 = ILS 251, ILS 3240).[40] The only possible interpretation of the expression *finibus Eraviscorum* may be 'in the territory of the Eraviscans' that is the *civitas Eraviscorum*.

There are, however, inscriptions concerning the *fines* which, contrary to earlier arguments,[41] refer to *fines vici* or *pagi*.[42] Thus, we know a *fines vici* from Germania Inferior (Kleve, CIL XIII 8965) and a *finis pagi Caracum* (CIL XIII 4143).[43] The border stone CIL III 13250 = ILS 5968 should also be mentioned which was raised between *fines roboreti* and *prata legionis* and the CIL V 698 (= ILS 5889 = InscrIt X/4 376) one which tells about the reconstruction and replacement of a road *Runductibus in fines C. Laecani Bassi* at the beginning of the reign of Claudius. Accordingly, it is not necessary to count with an independent territory of *civitas Eraviscorum* in 286. It is most probably a territorial unit subordinated to the territory of Aquincum, a *vicus* or a *pagus*.

It should be mentioned in the meantime that the common formula of *pro salute et incoluminate imp. et civitatis Eraviscorum* on Teutanus altars may not only refer to persons. The formula is most frequently used with reference to the emperor or his family but there is also an inscription from Altava erected *pro salute civitatis et incolumitate Aug.* (CIL VIII 9834). Although the word *incolumitatis* mostly refers to persons as suggested by antique sources but it is often related to the whole state:

e. g. Rhet. Her. 4, 42, 54: *cum ageretur incoluminatas perpetua civitatis...*

Cic Epist. 10, 8, 7: *Incolumitas rei publicae---*

Cic leg. 2, 11: *salutem civium, civitatumque incolumitas...*[44]

In this case, the survival of an autochtonous *civitas* after 212, that is after the *constitutio Antoniana*, would be anachronistic in Pannonia where a dense network of towns was created in both provinces. The *civitas Eraviscorum*, still owning a territory in 286, could only be a place name in the 3rd century.

The centre of the Eraviscus tribe was certainly the oppidum on the Gellért hill before the Roman occupation. This, however, was abandoned at the Roman occupation the latest, no Roman period settlement could be attested to by the

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[39] The centres of the emperor cult are also considered as special areas. *G. Alföldy*: Tarraco. in: PWRE Suppl. XV. München 1978, 605, CIL XIII 6038 = ILS 6964.

[40] The *cippus* with inscription *P(raedia) D(ianae) T(ifatinae)* may also belong here. *A. de Franciscis*: Templum Dianae Tifatinae. Caserta 1956, 57. Cf. Tac. Ann. III 62; *W. Dittenberger*: Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum. Nr. 747. II.

[41] *A Schulten*: Finis. in: *E. de Ruggiero*: Dizionario Epigrafico di Antichità romana III. Roma 1895, 92.

[42] *Leveau 1993* 469–470

[43] PWRE Suppl. III. Stuttgart 1918, 524.

[44] ThLL VII/1 fasc. 1. Lipsiae 1934, 982–983.

relatively large-scale excavations except for the sacral district on the southern slopes of the hill and the attached autochtonous cemetery (CIL III 3594, 3602, 3598 = 10552, 15169).[45] Thus, *civitas* Eraviscorum as a place name could not refer to it. It did not refer to it, actually, since its name was probably connected to Teutanus.[46] It makes it also dubious, naturally, if the Aquincum name was inherited from the Celtic oppidum.[47] The name cannot either refer to the settlement fragments around the hill (Tabán, Rudas-bath, Gellért hill, Kende str.) the foundation of which was connected with the abandonment of the oppidum.[48] Probably none of them survived till the period of the Markomann wars and their start need not be connected with the abandonment of the oppidum. This supposition is especially true for the Tabán settlement as the majority of the unearthed features can be dated from before the occupation. Undoubtedly Roman material was only found in one pit.[49] Even in the course of the analysis of the whole material, there were only a few features that contained some Roman provincial pottery mixed with the large number of LTD material.[50] The same is the situation with the kilns unearthed at the Gellért bath, where only 1 % of the unearthed material was Roman. The extension of the Tabán region, as it has already correctly been supposed by Aladár Radnóti, is not sufficient for a military camp or even for a larger settlement. Due to the Ördög-árok, open at that time, the area was marshy. The Lágymányos marshes also hindered the foundation of a larger settlement or of a military camp south of the hill.[51] The same is supported by the distribution of archaeological sites in the 11th district.[52]

A. Radnóti was the first to suggest from the location of military tomb stones the existence of an early auxiliary camp on the Bem square in the Víziváros.[53] It was correctly concluded from the early tomb stones found along the one-time limes road (during the construction of the Vigadó of Buda and in its vicinity, CIL III 14349^2, 14349^4, 14349^9, 14349^8, 1574, BudRég 9 (1906), 25, Nr. 20, Múzeum és Könyvtári Értesítő 2 (1908), 89) that this was the area the Romans first occupied in Claudian's time and where the first military camp was built in the Budapest region. According to him, the southern border of the camp and the vicus

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[45] *Bónis 1969*; *Gy. Nováki – M. Pető*: Neuere Forschungen im spätkeltischen Opidum auf dem Gellért-Berg. ActaArchHung 40 (1988) 83–99; *M. Pető*:Neuere Forschungen im späkeltischen Oppidum auf dem Gellért-Berg. ActaArchHung 45 (1993) 33–44; *M. Pető*: A Gellérthegy. Budapest 1997, 15–30.

[46] *Zs. Mráv*: Castellum Teutanium. Egy későrómai erőd azonosításának problémájához. Savaria 22 (1992–1995) 11–19.

[47] *Bónis 1969* 237; *T. Nagy*: Római kor. in: Budapest története I. Budapest 1973, 86.

[48] *ibid.; Bónis 1969* 236; *M. Pető*: Kora császárkori fazekastelep a Gellérthegy déli oldalán. ArchÉrt 103 (1976) 86–95; *M. Pető*: Neuere topographische und archäoliogische Angaben zum Leben der Siedlung Gellérthegy-Tabán und Umgebung in der frühen Kaiserzeit. ActaArchHung 31 (1979) 271–285.

[49] *L. Nagy*: A Középkori Kelenföld (Tabán) rómaikori hagyatéka. BudRég 13 (1943) 447–462; *Radnóti* 1955 23; *Bónis 1969* 42.

[50] *Bónis 1969* 83–84, 99.

[51] *M. Pető*: A kelta korszak emlékei. in: Régészeti emlékek Budapest XI. kerületében. Budapest 1993, 21.

[52] *Ibid.* 22–23.

[53] *Radnóti 1955* 24–26.

was at the Vigadó, the northern one at the Császár-bath, in the Zsigmond street. In the latter place, namely, also several early legion and ala soldiers' graves were found (CIL III 15162–64, 10513–4). As the recent excavation in Corvin square and in its neighbourhood has already proved, the early southern cemetery of the military fort as well as that of the *vicus* lied here under Fő street *(Hable 1998, Hable – Bertin 1998).* During the excavation situated on the previous LTD settlement destroyed by fire and according to the observations of the excavator systematically left depopulated (e. g. the absence of metal finds), cremation burials have been unearthed (their number is over 50 now). In some of the early graves rather rich grave furniture has come to light (*Hable – Bertin 1998*). The excavation finally proved the existence of a cemetery previously supposedable only by the occurance of 1st century grave stones. This cemetery belonged to the Viziváros settlement, so its southern extension is also became known. The poorly furnished skeleleton burials proves the survival of the vicus even in the 4th century. It is generally accepted that the *ala Hispanorum I* was the first occupation troop at around 50 AD which was replaced by the *ala I Hispanorum Auriana* at the beginning of Vespasian's reign. This latter unit was evacuated at the end of the 80's but certainly before 107, the military camp was liquidated as its presence became superfluous in the Viziváros because of the ala and legion camp founded in the meantime in Óbuda.[54] The evacuation of the soldiers appears in the Samian ware material of the recent excavations as a sharp break at the beginning of the 2nd century.[55] The rescue excavations conducted in the region before the 2nd world war (G. Elemér Gasparetz: 70, Fő street; Sándor Garády: 3/c-d, 26 Csalogány street) already suggested that a significant Roman settlement must be expected.[56] The most significant result of the excavations was the 9 m broad road, vertical to the limes road, unearthed at the Csalogány street. M. Kaba unearthed several buildings, among others a bath at the crossing of the Fő and Ganz streets after the 2nd world war. At the same time, she cut the also 9 m broad limes road.[57] Two dwelling pits unearthed by her seem to be especially important. They yielded, similarly to the level under the stone buildings, mixed LTD and Roman find material together with sherds of north-Italian Samian ware. The dwelling pits might be attributed to the autochtonous population that settled here.[58]

The rescue excavations conducted over a large surface in the same area at the beginning of the 90's, delineated a large Roman civilian settlement. The excavations in the Corvin square in 1997 supported the existence of the supposed cemetery at the Vigadó of Buda which demarcated the southern extension of the settlement. Katalin Kérdő's excavations reinforced that a civilian settlement was founded in the area of an earlier military camp in the 2nd and 3rd centuries with

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[54] *B. Lőrincz*: Segédcsapatok. in: PRK, 75; *B. Lőrincz – M. H. Kelemen*: Neue römische Inschriften aus Esztergom-Solva. Klio 79 (1997) 180–181.

[55] *D. Gabler*: The Flavian limes in the Danube Bend. In: 17th International limes congress of Roman Frontier Studies, Zalău-Romania 1–9 September 1997 (in press).

[56] *S. Garády*: Jelentés az 1936–42. évben végzett ásatásokról. BudRég 13 (1943) 436–438.

[57] BudRég 19 (1959) 252–253; *Kaba 1963*.

[58] *Kaba 1963* 276–278. Nr. 106–118. 288–289, 147–183. The dwelling pits cannot be dated from before the Roman occupation.

a regular street system (5 m broad streets covered with stone slabs and furnished with drainage) and an insula-system.[59] The two main roads of the settlement according to which the whole settlement must have been oriented, were the N-S directed limes road and the E-W directed road unearthed at the Csalogány street. This is supported by the fact that the two roads have the same width. The large material of the rescue excavations could not been published in the short time although the preliminary publications and the ground-plans in them allow to draw the most important conclusions. The core of the settlement must have been the earlier auxiliary *vicus* but, totally unexpectedly in Pannonia, the *vicus* was not abandoned after the liquidation of the military camp as e. g. at Albertfalva but survived as a significant settlement even after the cessation of the economically important military presence.[60] The above mentioned settlement formed above the earlier settlement levels from the 1st century. Its southern border must have been at the Vigadó (and 70, Fő street). The eastern border was certainly the Danube. The limes road approximately under the present the Fő street, crossed the settlement and the bath unearthed by M. Kaba in the Ganz street was east of it. The northern border is not the bath but the early tomb stones certainly indicating a cemetery at the Császár bath. The northern expansion was limited by the Rózsadomb. The western border is delineated by the slopes of the Castle hill on the south but it is not known north of it on a flatter territory. The excavations in 22 Fazekas street in 1995 did not bring results.[61] The kilns unearthed in Horváth street might indicate the edge of the settlement.[62]

I think it is justified to think that *civitas Eraviscorum* as a place name refereed to this civilian settlement after Aquincum had got the municipal rank. The tribe was organised into a *civitas* after the occupation of the north-eastern part of Pannonia and the organisation of the province still in the time of Claudius.[63] The military control of the *civitas* was given by the garrison at Viziváros, the *praefectus civitatis* could only be the commander of the ala as the first camp of Aquincum was just founded in 73 and that of the legion in 89.[64] The vicinity of the camp to the earlier oppidum (practically at the nearest possible place) justifies it. Consequently, it can also be refuted that the centre of the *civitas* would

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[59] *Kérdő 1994*; *Kérdő 1995*; RégFüz 43 (1991) 23; RégFüz 44 (1992) 28–29 73; RégFüz 45 (1993) 32; RégFüz 46 (1994) 85, 87, 88; RégFüz 48 (1997) 31.

[60] *P. Kovács*: Vicus és castellum kapcsolata az alsó-pannóniai limes mentén. PhD thesis. Ms. Budapest 1997. 12–15.

[61] *K. H. Kérdő*: Leletmentés a vizivárosi római kori tábortól nyugatra – Rescue excavations west of the Viziváros Roman Period fort. in: Aquincum, A BTM Aquincumi Múzeumának ásatásai és leletmentései 1995-ben. Budapest 1996, 12–13. Only scattered Roman find material was found during the excavations.

[62] RégFüz 44 (1990) 28; RégFüz 48 (1997) 31.

[63] On the occupation of this part of Pannonia see: *E. Tóth*: Pannonia provincia kialakulásához. ArchÉrt 103 (1976) 197–202; *Idem*: Megjegyzések Pannonia provincia kialakulásának néhány kérdéséhez. ArchÉrt 108 (1981) 13–33.

[64] *E. Tóth – G. Vékony*: Beiträge zu Pannoniens Geschichte im Zeitalter des Vespasianus. ActaArchHung 22 (1970) 133–161; *M. Németh – K. H. Kérdő*: Zur Frage des Besatzung von Aquincum im 1. Jahrhundert. in: Studien zu den Militärgrenzen Roms III. 13. Internationaler Limeskongress Aalen 1983. Stuttgart 1986, 384–388; *B. Lőrincz:* Die Besatzuingstruppen des Legionslagers von Aquincum am Ende des 1. – Anfang des 2. Jahrhunderts. ActaArchHung 30 (1978) 299–312.

have been in Aquincum. It could not even be possible as, based on recent data, the predecessor of Aquincum *municipium* was, in all probability, only founded at the end of the 1st century, certainly after having built the legion camp.[65] A. Mócsy observed that nearly the same system of settlement structure is repeated at the foundation of nearly each legion camp, *canabae* and civilian town. The *canabae* is always founded around the camp while the core of the future town is created nearly always about 2 km farther.[66] Even if it did not always happen *intra leugam* as supposed by Ioan Piso,[67] it is a regularity that suggests that the predecessor of the civilian town could not have been founded before 89. The foundation of the legion camp itself and the later civilian town in the area of the present Óbuda was solely necessitated by geographical reasons. There was not enough place between the Castle hill and the Rózsadomb for setting up the above described settlement system on which the Romans always insisted.

The only scene of the Romanisation of the tribal leaders until the end of the 1st century could be the *vicus* of the Viziváros fort. Military force was not stationed elsewhere than the region of the Viziváros from Claudius until Vespasianus.[68] The autochtonous population moving down or forced to move from the abandoned oppidum could, most likely, settle in the auxilliary *vicus*. The find material of the autochtonous population could be demonstrated in nearly every auxilliary *vicus* in Pannonia Inferior.[69] The civilian settlement founded after having evacuated the military forces (89 AD) must have stayed the centre of the *civitas* as the *canabae* and the *vicus* at Aquincum were only set up at that time. The centre of the autochtonous *civitas* could only be the civilian settlement created in the place of the Viziváros fort until 124, since in the according to the text of the tomb stone RIU 1256 (*in civitate Eraviscorum in Acinco*) Aquincum was a settlement subordinated to the *civitas*, probably a *vicus* inhabited by a *conventus*-like group of Roman citizens, similarly to the oppidum of Scarbatia.[70] The Roman citizens living in the area of the earlier auxilliary *vicus* probably stayed the inhabitants of the settlement and the cemeteries of the *vicus* was used even after the start of the *canabae* and legion camp in Aquincum by the soldiers of the *legio*

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[65] *E. Márity*: Chronological problems and special features in the structure of the civilian city of Aquincum. CommArchHung 1992, 65, 69–70.

[66] *A. Mócsy*: Das Territorium Legionis und die Canabae in Pannonien. Acta ArchHung 3 (1953) 195–196 = *Idem*: Pannonien und das römische Heer. Ausgewählte Aufsätze. Mavors Roman army researches 7. Stuttgart 1992, 101–102.

[67] *Piso* 1991. The *intra leugam* expression certainly substitutes the *intra territorium* expression as suggested by an African border stone. *P. Kovács*: A katonai territorium és veterani et cives Romani szervezet. ArchÉrt (1996) (in print).

[68] Albertfalva was not founded in Claudian's time, either. *D. Gabler*: Early Roman occupation in the Pannonian Danube Bend. In: *W. Groemann – van Waateringe – B. L. van Beek – W. J. H. Willems – S. L. Wynia* (eds): Roman Frontier Studies 1995. Proceedings of the XVIth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies. Exeter 1997, 85–92.

[69] *P. Kovács*: Vicus és castellum kapcsolata az alsó-pannóniai limes mentén. PhD thesis, ms. Budapest 1997, 116–118.

[70] *T. Nagy*: Der Vicus und das Municipium Aquincum. ActaArchHung 23 (1971) 59.

II adiutrix (CIL III 14349[2], 14349[4], 14349[9] – *legio II adiutrix*, 10508 – *legio IIII Flavia*, 15162 – *legio X Gemina*).[71]

The foundation of *civitas* centres in the territory of former military camps and *vici* was frequent in Germania and Britannia. *Civitas* centres were set up in the earlier garrisons at the military forces had left following the advancement of the limes in Germania Superior, where the settlement pattern was similar of municipal character (*forum*, *curia*, theatre, town walls). They were headed by *Duum viri* and the *ordo* of several of them is known, still none of them was raised to municipal rank: Lopodunum/Ladenburg, Bad Wimpfen/*Civitas* Alisciensium, Baden-Baden/Aquae, Nida/Heddernheim, Öhringen/vicus Aurelianus, Rottenburg/Somelocenna (imperial *saltus* during Traian then *civitas* in the middle of the 2nd century), Wiesbaden/Aquae Mattiacorum.[72] In most cases the area of the earlier camp was also occupied but it also happened (Wiesbaden) that the area of the fort remained depopulated, or rather it was further used by the army. The example of turning the settlement into a civilian centre is best known from Ladenburg from the excavations of the recent years.[73] The same can be observed in the *civitas* centres ('*civitas* capitals') in Britannia which were often set up in the places of abandoned legion camps (or ala camps) and *canabaes*: Wroxeter/Viroconium Cornoviorum, Cirencester/Corinium Dubonnorum, Exeter/Isca.[74] Perhaps Cicester serves with the best example where an *ala* was the gave the garrison from the 40's then the camp was abandoned in the middle of the 70's. The earlier tribal centre was about 5 km north of the new one. I think, the same phenomenon can be observed in the case of the Víziváros fort as well.

The development of the Aquincum *canabae* and the rise of the earlier *vicus* to municipal rank during Hadrian basically influenced the existence of the Víziváros settlement and the whole *civitas*. The direct vicinity of the legion was effected more attraction to the new settlers, the tradesmen, the veterans and also the autochtonous population. The tribal *civitas* ceased to exist in 124 AD, its whole territory became that of the *municipium*. The cessation of the tribal *civi-*

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[71] Based on the Aquincum stationing of the *legio X Gemina*, the cemetery was used even in Traian's time: *B. Lőrincz*: Legiók. in: *PRK* 72.

[72] *Ph. Fitzinger – D. Plank -B. Cämmerer* (hrsg.): Die Römer in Baden-Württenberg[3]. Stuttgart – Aalen 1986, 118–199, 217–226, 226–234, 383–396, 463–465, 510, 520; *D. Baazt – F.-R. Hermmann* (hrsg.): Die Römer in Hessen[2]. Stuttgart 1989, 87–90, 275–292, 485–494; *D. Planck*: Das römische Walheim, Stuttgart 1991; *C. S. Sommer – H. Kaiser*: Lopodunum I. Stuttgart 1994; *H. von Petrikovits*: Kleinstädte und nichtstädtische Siedlungen in Nordwesten des Römischen Reiches. in: *H. Jankuhn – R. Schützeichel – S. Schwind* (hrsg.): Das dorf der Eisenzeit und des frühen Mittelalters. AAWG 3. Folge 101 (1977) 95–98 = Beiträge zur römischen Geschichte und Archäologie II, 1976–1991. Beihefte der Bonner Jahrbücher 49. Köln 1991, 22–25. Germania Inferior: *J. E. Bogaers*: Civitates und *Civitas*-Hauptorte in der nördlichen Germania Inferior. BonnerJb 172 (1972) 310–333.

[73] *S. Sommer*: Von Kastell zur Stadt – Aspekter des Übergangs in Lopodunum/Ladenburg und Arae Flaviae/Rottwell. In: *W. Groemann-van Waateringe – B. L. van Beek – W. J. H. Willems – S. L. Wynia* (eds:) Roman Frontier Studies 1995. Proceedings of the XVIth International congress of Roman Frontier Studies. Exeter 1997, 511–516.

[74] On its legal state see *J. M. Reynold:* Legal and constitutional problems. In: *J. S. Wacher*: The *civitas* capitals of Roman Britain. Leicester 1966, 70–75; *G. Webster* (ed.): Frotress into city: the consolidation of Roman Britain first century AD. London 1988, 74–90, 91–119, 120–144; *J. S. Wacher*: The towns of Roman Britain. London 1975, 178–225.

*tas*es in Pannonia are well demonstrated. In most cases, the earlier *civitas* centres got municipal rank and their area became the town territory.[75] This is how Iasorum and Latobicorum became *municipium*s from the earlier *civitas*. The situation was different only in the case of *civitas Boiorum* where the cessation of the tribal *civitas* having a large territory happened in three steps at the foundation of Savaria, Scarbantia and Carnuntum and the donation of municipal rank. The *civitas* finally ceased to exist when Carnuntum was given municipal rank. The situation must have been different in the case of the *civitas Eraviscorum* as the tribal centre and the town to be created were not identical. Their geographical vicinity did not allow the division of the tribal territory. This is the situation where the earlier *civitas* centre became most probably a *vicus* (maybe a *pagus*) whose territory was legally subordinated to the new *municipium*. Radnóti was probably right to suppose that the mile stone 3 kms from Aquincum erected in 218, judged from the name of the governor, can be attributed to this settlement (CIL III 3707).[76]

Neither the fort nor the civilian settlement was found and could be found in an antique source as it seems that a settlement in the 4th century could only be demonstrated in traces in the area of the settlement.[77] Only a few coins from the 4th century and late Roman graves were found in the region of the earlier settlement which attest to scattered settlement, the vicus lost its significance after the tetrarchy.[78] The coin and pottery finds of the earlier excavations (Elemér G. Gasparetz, Sándor Garády) closed in the middle of the 3rd century.[79] Garády also unearthed Late Roman graves at 26, Csalogány street.[80] No Late Roman material could be found in the published material of the rescue excavations by M. Kaba.[81] Perhaps the two sarcophagi from the Málna street can also be grouped here.[82] So the settlement having lost its significance was obviously left out of the *Itinerarium Antonini* and the *Tabula Peutigeriana*.[83] The occurrence of the Teutonus altars in the tetrarchy period and the mentioning of the *finibus Eraviscorum* in 286 attest to the late existence of the settlement.[84]

This concept is supported by the offices totally different from those in the rest of the *civitas*es in Pannonia. The necessity of a *tabularius* or a *tabularium* is not unexpected in a civilian centre. I think the same may be the explanation to the office of Ambiorix, the *decurio Eraviscus*.[85] In the case of a *civitas* centre, the stone can certainly be dated to Traian's period, the time when the tribal

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[75] *G. Alföldy*: Municipium lasorum. Epigraphica 26 (1964) 95–106.

[76] *Radnóti 1955* 26.

[77] Note on survival in the 4th century: *Kérdő 1994* 19; *Kérdő 1995* 399.

[78] RégFüz 45 (1993) 32; *Kérdő* 1995 399; Several pieces of 'terra sigillata chiara' were found from the beginning of the 4th century during the excavations. D. Gabler's kind oral communication.

[79] *Radnóti 1955* 25.

[80] *S. Garády*: Jelentés az 1936–42. években végzett ásatásokról. BudRég 13 (1943) 438.

[81] *Kaba* 1963; Nr. 1–183. Coin: Small bronze by S. Severus (Nr 67)

[82] *T. Nagy*: A Fővárosi Régészeti és Ásatási Intézet Jelentése az 1938–1942. évek között végzett kutatásokról. BudRég 13 (1943) 368.

[83] The composers of the *itineratiae* mostly contended with the list of the camps along the limes.

[84] The latest inscription in Pfaffenberg is from 313: *Piso 1991* Nr. 5, 168–169.

[85] *Mócsy 1970*. The Diósd site does not contradict it as the tomb stone came from a later Roman grave.

civitas still existed. In this case, the presence of a *decurio* office is not astonishing. The same is supported by analogues in Germania and Britannia. A *decurio* like that need not necessarily have Roman civil rights although most of them probably got it after some time. So, for example, Firmus the *decurio* of the Nida „*Civitas*-Hauptort" did not have Roman civil rights (CIL XIII 7357). The *ARM civitatis* office does not stand out of the row, since if it is an office of Celtic origin, its survival does not contradict the above.

It can also not be excluded that, similarly to Neviodunum – Municipium Latobicorum or Municipium Isaroum-Aquae Balisae, the *vicus* had a double name. The official one might have been the *Civitas Eraviscorum*, while the common (autochtonous) one the *Vicus*. [86] The same is supported by analogues in Germania and Britannia where the *civitas* centres often had a separate *vicus* name beside that of the *civitas*. Such are e. g. *civitas Aurelia G. S.* with the centre *Vicus Aurelianus*-Öhringen. In the case of Bad Wimpfen, only the name *Civitas Alisiensium* is known, so it cannot be excluded that here, similarly to the Viziváros, the name of the *civitas* was adopted to the *civitas* centre.

The present paper was not aimed and could not aim at the analysis of the reasons of the Iuppiter Tautanus cult in the Roman Period but few words are to be said about it because of its close connection with the *Civitas Eraviscorum*. The apparent close connection between the sacral district at the Gellérthegy and the Pfaffenberg at Carnuntum has often been mentioned.[87] This is best proved by the identical date of altar erections, the place of the sacral districts and the IOMT and IOMK altars. It has also be cleared that Pfaffenberg must have been the local (*canabae*) centre of the emperor cult.[88] Probably the same was true for the Gellért-hill, at least each altar was also erected in honour of the Emperor. The date of the erection, which probably is identical with the day of the foundation of the province attests the same.[89] This, however, does not explain the connection with the Celtic Teutanus neither why the altars were raised in honour of the *civitas*. One of the possible explanations may be that from the foundation of the

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[86] The name of the vicus might be found in inscriptions from Budapest sites mentioning vici. So the altar stone from the 2nd century mentioning *vicani Basoretenses* of unknown location but certainly coming from Aquincum (CIL III 3673): *[---]/ pro salute / Aug(usti) / [v]ikanis Ba/soretensi/bus / Prisco PCI* or *E / d(onum) d(edit)*. To the altar stone: *Mócsy 1959* 72, Anm. 389, Nr. 186/44. The same is supported by the person who erected it. Contrary to the reading in the CIL, there is no more letter between rthe letters *PC*, a letter 'I' or 'E' can be observed after the *C* in the strongly worn inscription field. The person who erected the stone did not have Roman civil rights, his cognomen was probably followed by his function. Its probable reading: *p(rincipi) c(ivitatis) or c(ivitas) E(raviscorum)*. Priscus could hardly be *patronus coloniae* since due to the lack of the *gentilicium* Priscus was probably a *peregrinus*, and, furthermore, the letter 'O' is missing from the end of the last but one line: *E. Desjardins – F. Rómer*: A Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum római feliratos emlékei. Budapest 1873, Nr. 81. According to Rómer and hios colleague, the small 'O' written into the letter 'C' is probably the fragmentation of the stone.

[87] *Soproni 1990* 137–138; *Soproni 1993* 179–180.

[88] *W. Jobst – H. Thür*: Carnuntum-Pfaffenberg 1984. Bilanz nach 15 Jahren CarnuntumJb 1985, 19–59; *Piso 1991*; *Idem:* Zur Tätigkeit des L. Aelius Caesar in Pannonien. CarnuntumJb 1993–94, 197–202.

[89] *Alföldy 1990* 106–107; *Idem*: La Pannonia e l'Impero romano. in: La Pannonia e l'Impero romano. Atti del convengo internmationale 'La Pannonia e l'Impero romano' Accademia d'Ungheria e l'Istituto Austriaco di Cultura (Roma, 13–16 gennaio 1994). Milano 1995, 30.

province until the time when municipal rank was given to Aquincum, the sacral district of the *civitas* centre in the place of the earlier oppidum could have been the centre of the emperor cult. After having got the municipal rank, the sacral district preserved this privilege but instead of the leaders of the *civitas* centre, the *Duum viri* of Aquincum erected the altars in the area of the *vicus* belonging to the territory of the town. This process can be detected best in the case of the naming of the citvitas centres of Gallia. Perheps the best known example is the case of Andemantunnum, the centre of Lingones, where from the 3rd c. AD on *civitas Lingonum* (Langres) became common instead of the old name.[90]

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[90] *M. Rouche*: Le changement de nom des chefslieux de cité en Gaule au Bas-Empire. Mém. Soc. Nat. Antiq. France 84 (1968) 47–62; *O. Hirschfeld*: Kleine Schriften. Berlin 1913, 734.

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Klára Kuzmová

BLEIGEGENSTÄNDE AUS IŽA-LEÁNYVÁR – DEM BRÜCKENKOPF DES LEGIONSLAGERS BRIGETIO

Brigetio (Szőny, Ungarn) mit seinem Brückenkopf (Iža, Slowakei) waren dank ihrer strategischen Lage beim Zusammenfluß der Waag und Donau einer der bedautendsten Militärstützpunkte des nordpannonischen Limes. An ihrer archäologischen Grabung und Bearbeitung der zugehörigen Funde wie auch an ihrer historischen Interpretation beteiligten sich schon mehrere Forschergenerationen an beiden Ufern der Donau. Zu ihnen gehört auch L. Barkóczi, der mit bedeutsamen Anteil zur Freilegung mehrerer Objekte in Brigetio und zur Untersuchung der baugeschichtlichen Entwicklung beider Militärenlagen beigetragen hat. Da ich mich schon seit langem dieser Problematik widme und an der Grabung in Iža beteilige, erachte ich es für eine Ehre, mich mit diesem Beitrag den Gratulanten anschließen und unserem Jubilanten aufrichten Dank für seine bisherige wissenschaftliche Tätigkeit auf diesem Gebiet ausdrücken zu können.

Die archäologische Freilegung des römischen Lagers in Iža läuft mit mehreren Unterbrechungen schon seit Beginn unseres Jahrhunderts.[1] Aus seinem Areal und dem unmittelbaren Umkreis stammt eine riesige Fundkollektion, zu der auch Bleigegenstände gehören. Die vorgelegte Fundgruppe stammt aus der gegenwärtigen systematischen Grabung, die heir seit 1978 das Archäologische Instituts der SAW zu Nitra durchführt. Außer gut erhaltenen Exemplaren fand man hier auch verschiedene Bruchstücke, Arbeitsunterlagen und amorphe Schmelzstücke, die von der gebräuchlichen Verwendung und Herstellung einfacher Bleigegenstände im Vorfeld von Brigetio zeugen. Obwohl ihr Sortiment im Vergleich zu Fundstellen in anderen Teile des Imperiums erheblich beschränkt ist, entspricht ihr technisches Niveau den zeitlichen Parallelen.

Blei war im Altertum in Anbetracht des verhältnismäßig häufigen Vorkommens seiner Rohstofflager und seiner einfachen Bearbeitungstechnologie allgemein verbreitet. Über seinen Abbau, sein Schmelzen und die Ausnützungsart äußerten sich mehrere antike Autoren (z.B. Plinius, Vitruvius, Tacitus) und es belegen dies auch zahlreiche archäologische Funde aus dem gesamten Verbreitungsgebiet des Römischen Reiches. Nach der heutigen Forschung lagen die erzreichsten Bleibergbaugebiete in den Provinzen Hispania und Britannia, aber die Zentren des größten Bedarfs in Italia. Das aus Erz gewonnene und für weitere Bearbeitung bestimmte Rohblei wurde als meistens signierte Barren verschiedener Form und Größe gelagert und transportiert. Dank seiner chemischen und pysikalischen Eigenschaften (z.B. niedriger Schmelzpunkt, Weichheit, Formbarkeit) war es während der ganzen römischen Zeit ein beliebter Rohstoff zur Herstellung verschiedenster Gegenstände und Materialen. Erwähnenswert ist dies-

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[1] Zur Grabungsgeschiochte siehe *Kuzmová – Rajtár 1986* 185–186.

bezüglich seine Ausnützung in der Metallurgie zur Beschleunigung des Schmelzvorgangs, als Zusatz bei Bronzelegierungen, in der Architektur und in der Bildhauerkunst zur Verbindung steinerner Gebäude- und Statuenbestandteile (Klammern, Dübel, zur Herstellung von Wasserleitungsrohren, Wasserbehältern, Schwimmbeckenauskleidungen), wie auch beim Schiffbau (Anker, Schiffsrumpfverkleidungen). Als Karbonate und Oxide waren die Bleiprodukte Ausgangsstoffe für Email, Glasuren, Farben und Schmidke und dienten in verschiedenen Formen in der Medizin (z.B. zur Wundbehandlung). Aus Blei angefertigt wurden auch kleine Gefäße, Dosen und Tiegel mit Deckeln zur Aufbewahrung von Arzneien und kosmetischen Mitteln. Bekannt sind auch Bleietiketten, -siegel und -marken zur Bezeichnung von Waren, Gepäck und als Plomben von Sendungen u. a., weiters Lampen und verschiedene Gewichte, Lote (Senkbleie) und Flickungen zur Reparatur von Tongefäßen.

Außer der technischen Ausnützung spielte das Blei auch in den kultisch-magischen Vorstellungen der Römer eine bedeutende Rolle. Es beweisen dies Gegenstände, deren Form, Verzierung und Fundumstände ihren Zusammenhang mit der religiösen Sphäre der römischen Gesellschaft anzunehmen erlauben. Zu ihnen gehören z.B. durchbrochene Votivgegenstände, die verschiedene Gottheiten darstellen, Tafeln mit synkretischen mythologischen Szenen oder Inschriften (Bitten, Fragen, Beschwörungen, Verwünschungen), denen die Römer magische Kraft zuschrieben und von ihnen vor allem Schutz vor Gefahren und Krankheiten erwarteten. Aus Blei wurden auch Sarkophage oder deren Bestandteile angefertigt, ebenfalls Urnen und Grabkisten zur Bestattung der körperlichen Reste der Verstorbenen. Mit dem Glauben an die Heilkraft und Verschönerungswirkungen des Bleis verbinden manche Autoren auch die Anfertigung von Spielrahmen aus diesem Metall.[2]

Im breiteren Areal des römischen Lagers in Iža wurden bisher mehr als 100 Bleigegenstände, ihre Bruchstücke undverschiedene Schmelzstücke gefunden. Sechs von ihnen stammen aus Objekten des Holz-Erde-Lagers, der frühesten Befestigung in dieser Lage, die in die Zeit der Markomannenkriege datiert ist. Drei Stück fand man im nordwestlichen Vorfeld des späteren Steinkastells, im Graben und in Siedlungsobjekten aus spätrömischen Zeit. Sieben Stück wurden aus undatierbaren Planierungsschichten gewonnen, die südlich der Befestiegung, zwischen der Wehrmauer des Steinkastells und dem Donaulauf zum Vorschein kamen. Der Großteil der Funde stammt aus dem Innenareal des Steinkastells, vor allem aus dem Westteil des Retentura, wo in den vergangenen Jahren eine großflächige Ausgrabung verwiklicht wurde. Sie befanden sich insbesondere in Siedlungs- und Planierungschichten in 0–100 cm Tiefe von der gegenwärtigen Oberfläche. Rahmenhaft sind sie vom Ende des 2. bis zum Ende des 4., evtl. in die erste Hälfte des 5. Jh. datierbar. Im letzten der angeführten Zeitabschnitte wurde das Areal des Lagers von den Römern verlassen und von örtlicher swebischer und neuangekommener Bevölkerung mit gotisch-awarisch-hunnischen Zügen be-

[2] *Meier 1995* 253, 262; *Fitz 1957* 383–385; *Römer-Martijnse 1991* 46–47

siedelt, die die römischen Bleigegenstände, bzw. ihren Rohstoff sekundär ausnützen konnten.

Beinahe die Hälfte der Funde aus dieser Kollektion bilden amorphe Schmelzstücke, die entweder als Abfall bei der Produktion oder durch die Einwirkung unerwünschter Temperatur auf die fertigen Erzeugnisse entstanden. Unter jenen Gegenständen, die vollkommen oder größtenteil ihre ursprüngliche Form beibehalten haben, können verschiedene Gewichte oder Beschwerer, ein Schlüsselmodell, Waffen, eine Etikette, Flicken und Klammern zur Keramikreparatur, Bruchstücke von Votivgegenständen, Beschläge und Bleche, ein Barren und mehrere Plättchen und Streufen zur weiteren Verarbeitung bestimmt wurden. Zum Großteil handelt es sich um einfache Gebrauchsgegenstände, die Angaben über die technische Ausstattung und das Handwerk der örtlichen Militäreinheit bieten.

Gewichte und Beschwerer

Die Gegenstäde dieser Art stellen im Rahmen unserer Kollektion die größte Fundgruppe dar. Man muß dabei betonen, daß sie hinsichtlich ihrer Form, ihres Gewichtes und offenbar auch ihrer Funktion sehr verschiedenartig sind. Drei von ihnen sind von konischer Form mit vertikaler kreisförmiger Öffnung, ihre Höhe bewegt sich zwischen 1,5 und 5 cm und ihr Durchmeisser von 1,9 bis zu 3,1 cm (*Taf. 1:1–3*). Mit ihrem Gewicht nähern sie sich 1 Uncia (27,3 g), wobei die Abweichungen von der angeführten Einheit 2,7 bis sogar 3,2 g betragen. Einen anderen Typ bildet ein Scheibe (Dm 2 cm, D. 1 cm) mit flacher Unterseite und gewölbter Oberseite und einer vertikalen Öffnung kreisförmigen Querschnittes, ihrGewicht nähert sich ebenfalls 1 Uncia (*Taf. 1:4*). Bleischeiben solcher Form und ähnlicher Ausmaße sind mir aus den kaiserzeitlichen Fundstellen Butzbach-Degerfeld (Dm. 2 cm, D. 0,5 cm), Augst (Dm. 2,8 cm, D. 1,1 cm) und Caerhun (Dm. 1,7 cm, D. 0,5 cm) bekannt. Die zuletzt angeführte wurde als ein Spinnwirtel bestimmt.[3]

Dieser Fundgruppe zuweisbar sind etwa auch Bleigegenstände von trapezförmiger und flacher zylindrischer Form (*Taf. 1:5, 7, 8*), die auf ihrem oberen Ende mit einem rautenförmigen und kreisförmigen Loch versehen sind. Ein prismatisches Bleistäbchen ist auf seinem oberen Ende verdünnt und ebenso mit einem kreisförmigen Loch versehen (*Taf. 1:6*). Ein anderes Exemplar (*Taf. 1:9*) hat unregelmäßige zylindrische Form, eine vetrikale Öffnung und zahlreiche Querkerben auf seiner Seite. Bleigegenstände dieser Art sind allgemein als Gewichte, Beschwerer, bzw. Spinnwirtel interpretiert. Die Fundumstände im Areal des Römerlagers in Iža erlauben keine endeutige Beantwortung dieser Frage. Jedoch in Anbetracht der Lage der Fundstelle direkt am Donauufer ist nicht auszuschließen, daß manche von ihnen auch zur Beschwerung der Fischernetze gedient haben.

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[3] *Simon 1968* 32, Nr. 35; *Caerhun 1938* 221–222, Fig. 50:5; *Fünfschilling 1993* 102, Nr. 0791, Taf. 102:791.

Schlüsselmodell

Ein Einzelfund in dieser Kollektion ist das Bruchstück eines schlüsselförmigen Bleigegenstandes (*Taf. 1:10*). Nach der Gliederung von D. Gáspár kann er als Typ IV, Variante „a" bestimmt werden.[4] Der angeführten Autorin nach handelt es sich um eine solche Schlüsselform, die im Rahmen der pannonischen Funde die größte Variationsbreite erlangte. Den wesentlichen Zug ihrer Gestaltung stellt ein breiterer Oberschaft dar, zu welchem ein schmalerer Unterschaft angeschlossen ist. Auf dem Fund aus Iža fehlt der größere Teil seines Oberschaftes, auf seinem erhaltenen Bruchstück sind jedoch zwei diagonale Ritzlinien sichtbar. Betreffs der Biegsamkeit und Unterbringungsweise dieses Schlüssels verblieb sein Unterschaft nicht in der ursprünglichen, rechtwinkligen Form, sondern bildet einen größeren Winkel. Zu seinen nahestehendsten Parallelen aus dem Gebiet Pannoniens können Funde aus dem gegenüberliegenden Brigetio,[5] aus Intercisa[6] und einem unbekannten pannonischen Fundort[7] gereiht werden.

D. Gáspár führt in der zitierten Arbeit nur zwei Bleischlüssel an. Beide, in Aquincum gefundene Schlüssel sind von unserem Fund typologisch abweichend. Der erste von ihnen ist nicht näher beschrieben,[8] beim zweiten ist angeführt, daß er aus dem Vereinshaus der römischen Feuerwehr stammt und nach Ansicht der Autorin als Rohschlüssel zur Herstellung des Typs VIII. t diente.[9] Als vergleichbare Funde sind bronzene Rohschlüssel aus Aquincum, Intercisa, Savaria, Brigetio und aus einem unbekannten Fundort angeführt.[10] Ich glaube, daß es im Falle ber bronzenen Exemplare um Halbfabrikate geht, und so die Benennung „Rohschlüssel" begründet ist. Im Falle der Bleischlüssel, die mit größter Wahrscheinlichkeit als Hilfsmittel zur Schlüsselherstellung dienten, dürfte es jedoch offenbar zutreffender sein, die Benennung Modell (Vorbild, Vorlage) zu benützen.

Aufgrund der Form, Ausmaße und des Materials ist auch im Falle des Fundes aus Iža anzunehmen, daß es sich um ein Modell handelt, das zur Herstellung eines funktionellen Bronzestücks, evtl. seiner Gußform diente.[11] Er ist ein weiterer, bisher einzigartiger Beleg für die örtliche Schlüsselproduktion, die schon im Rahmen der Bronzegießerei in Brigetio vermutet wurde.[12] In der Zivilsiedlung wie auch im Legionslager von Brigetio gibt es außerdem mehrere Belege auch für die Bleigießerei. Im Zusammenhang mit dem Bleischlüssel sind die Funde

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[4] *Gáspár 1986* 60–62, § 71, Beilage 4.

[5] Typ IV. a. 4, L. 6,4 cm, ohneRitzlinien und Typ IV. a. 10, L. 5,8 cm, mit Rotzlinien; *Gáspár 1986* Nr. 1172, 1222.

[6] Typ IV. a. 6, L. 8,2 cm, ohne Ritzlinien; *Gáspár 1986* Nr. 403.

[7] Typ IV. a, L. 6,4 cm, mit Ritzlinien; *Gáspár 1986* Nr. 1729.

[8] *Gáspár 1986* Nr. 272.

[9] *Gáspár1986* Nr. 248, Taf. CCLXVIII.

[10] *Gáspár 1986* Nr. 145, 689(?), 981, 1218, 1844.

[11] Während der Fundauswertung tauchte auch die Frage auf, ob es sich nicht um ein Amulett handelt. Aufgrund der angeführten Ferstellungen ist es jedoch weniger wahrscheinlich, daß der Bleischlüssel aus Iža eine derartige Funktion erfüllt hätte. Das gemeinsame Merkmal solcher Bleigegenstände, die Nachahmungen von ursprünglichen Metallgegenständen bilden (Waffen, landwirtschaftliche Geräte, z.B. Äxte, Sichel) und allgemein mit der Religion verbunden waren, ist vor allem ihre Miniaturform (näheres siehe bei *Draper 1985* 44–45). Diese Voraussetzung wurde in unserem Falle nicht erfüllt.

[12] *Pannonia* 130–131.

von solcher Bleigegenständen interessant, die É. B. Bónis[13] als Probegüsse der Bronzegegenständen mit durchbrochener Verzierung (Pferdegeschirranhänger, Jochzierde u ä.) charakterisiert. Für die heutige Forschung ist es jedoch annehmbarer, daß die zuletzt erwähnten Exemplare als Vorbilder, Vorlagen oder Modelle beim Gießen der Bronzegegenstände, konkreter zur Anfertigung der zugehörigen Gußform gedient haben. Ihre Verwendung kann durch mehrere Funde aus den Westprovinzen belegt wurden.[14]

Waffen

Die Zugehörigkeit zweier Bleigegenstände dieser Fundgruppe zu den Waffen ist im Falle eines Militärlagers nicht überraschend. Einer von ihnene ist ein Vurfgeschoß *(plumbata)*, das nach der Gliederung Th. Völlings der Typ 1a darstellt.[15] Seine eiserne Spitze mit rundem Querschnitt ist todiert und besitzt auf ihrem oberen Ende Spuren zweier seitlicher Widerhaken. Auf ihrem unteren Ende befindet sich ein eichelvörmiger Bleimantel, der als Beschwerung der Waffe diente (*Taf. 1:12*). Es wird angenommen, daß zum Bestandteil dieser Wurfwaffe ursprünglich auch ein Holzschaft gehörte, der im Falle dieses Typs direkt auf dem Bleimantel aufsaß. Der Fund aus Iža wird mit seiner Länge (16,1 cm) zu den mittelgroßen Wurfgeschossen gereht und gehört mit seiner Form zu seltenen Typen, die eine spezielle Verwendung gehabt haben konnten. Aufgrund seiner Befunde die auch Parallelen kann das Wurfgeschoß in die spätantike Zeit datiert werden.[16]

Der zweite Gegenstand ist ein Schleudergeschoß in Form einer Beilkugel von 3,1–3,2 cm Durchmesser (*Taf. 1:11*). Nach der Typologie von Th. Völling handelt es sich um ein Schleuderblei (glans) des Typs VI, das von der zweiter Hälfte des 2. Jh. bis in die spätantike Zeit vorkommt. Allgemein gehört es zu örtlichen Produkten, die in römischen Lagern, wie auch im privaten Bereich in Gußformen gegossen wurden.[17]

Etikette

Ebenso zu den Einzelfunden gehört ein 5,8 cm langes, 1 cm breites und 0,1 cm dickes Bleiplättchen mit kreisförmigem Loch auf seinem Ende (*Taf. 1:13*). Nach seiner Form ist es sehr wahrscheinlich als Bleietikette bestimmbar, jedoch befindet sich auf ihm weder eine Inschrift noch ein Zeichen. Parallelen ähnlicher Form, aber mit Inschrift versehen, wurden in Steiermark gefunden.[18]

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[13] *Bónis 1986* 304.

[14] Z. B. aus Britannien (Brough, Kirkby Thore und Traprain) sind Bruchstücke von Bleimodellen in Form römischer Fibeln bekannt. Ebenso vermutet man, daß bei der Herstellung einer Fibeln aus Wroxeter eine Bleivorlage verwendet wurde (*Boon – Savory 1975* 43, Anm. 6). Die Herstellungsweise unterstützt auch ein Bleimodellfragment in Form eines Ringes oder Armringes (*Evans – Metcalf 177, Nr. 27). Solchem Zwecke diente wahrscheinlich auch ein Bleigegenstand in Muschelform von Vetera I in Germanien (Hanel 1995* 88–89, Abb. 94).

[15] *Völling 1991* 288–289.

[16] Näheres sieehe bei *Völling 1991* 290, 295, 297.

[17] *Völling 1990* 33–35, 40, Abb. 19–21.

[18] *Römer-Martijnse 1990* 138, 164, Abb. 79, 97.

Votivgegenstände

Den Votovgegenständen zuweisbar ist das Bruchstück eines flachen Bleigegenstandes, dessen mit feiner Rippung verzierte Schauseite mit Weißmetall überzogen war (*Taf. 1:14*), und ebenfalls mehrere kleine, näher unbestimmbare Bruchstücke ähnlicher Art (*Taf. 1:15*). Man kann vermuten, daß sie Teile von bleiernen Votivfigürchen sind, die verschiedene Gottheiten dargestellt haben. Solche Bleigegenstände waren in Pannonien sehr beliebt und ihre Herstellung wird auch im gegenüberliegenden Brigetio vorausgesetzt.[19] Die nahesten Parallelen sind z.B. aus Gorsium, Intercisa und Siscia bekannt.[20]

Beschläge und Bleche

Zwei Gegenstände kann man am ehesten als Bleibeschläge bestimmen. Einer von ihnen ist aus dünnem Blei von unregelmäßiger Form angefertigt und mit eien kreisförmigen Loch versehen (*Taf. 1:16*). Ein ähnlicher Gegenstand wurde in Caerleon gefunden und in der Gruppe von durbohrten Gewichten publiziert.[21] Diese Interpretation scheint mir weniger wahrscheinlich zu sein. Der zweite Gegenstand dieser Art hat zylindrische Form mit vertikaler Öffnung kreisförmigen Querschnitts (*Taf. 1:17*). Als seine Parallele kann ein Bleibeschlag aus Ilchester angeführt werden.[22] Zu dieser Fundgruppe gehört offenbar auch eine durchbrochene flache Scheibe (*Taf. 2:1*), die nicht eindeutig interpretiertbar ist. Es kann sich um einen beschädigten Gegenstand, ein Felhstück und ebenso um ein Bleimodell für die Herstellung eines Bronzebeschlages handeln.

Ganz anderer Art sind mehrere Bleibruchstücke, dia aus Blechen verschiedener Form und Ausmaß stammen (*Taf. 2:2–8*). Ihr ursprüngliches Aussehen wie auch ihre Funktion ist leider nicht bestimmbar. Nur eines von ihnen ist am Rande mit einer Löcherreihe versehen (*Taf. 2:2*). Die Löcher haben längliche Form und befinden sich in regelmäßigem Abstand von 0,5–0,6 cm voneinander. Ähnliche Bleistreifen mit einer Löcherreihe entlang ihrer beiden Langseiten wurden in Corbridge gefunden.[23]

Flicken

Über die Verwendung von Blei bei der Ausbesserung beschädigter Tongefäße zeugen zwei Funde unserer Kollektion. Im ersten Falle ist es das Bruchstück einer unregelmäßigen dünnen Scheibe mit erhaltenem Durchmesser von 4,5 cm, die in der Mitte einen massiven pilzförmigen Knopf hat (*Taf. 2:9*). Sie stellt eine

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[19] Siehe Anm. 13.

[20] *Bánki 1980*, 194, Nr. 479, 480, Taf. XXVII; *Vágó 1970* 119, Taf. L:3, 4; *Koščevic – Makjanic 1995* 22, Pl. 51:546–549, 52:559.

[21] *Evans – Metcalf* 197, Nr. 13.

[22] *Leach 1982* 234, Nr. 3, Fig. 114:3.

[23] *Bishop – Dore 1988* 201, Nr. 67, Fig. 93:67.

[24] *Ludwig 1988*; für die Konsultation und Beratung in dieser Problematik bin ich Herrn Prof. H. U. Nuber sehr dankbar.

der Reparaturarten von Tongefäßen dar, die darin beruhte, die durchlochten Gefäßteile mit Blei zu vergießen.[24]

Da das Exemplar aus Iža selbständing gefunden wurde, d. h. ohne die zugehörige Scherbe, bzw. das Tongefäß, kann bloß angenommen werden, daß dieser Bleiflicken in Anbetracht seiner Ausmaße zur Reparatur eines größeren dickwandigen Gefäßes (Vorratsgefäß, Reibschüssel?) benützt wurde. Auf andere Art, und zwar mit Hilfe einer Bleikammer, wurden sie Scherben einer beschädigten flachen Schüssel, evtl. eines Tellers miteinander verbunden.

Barren

Besondere Aufmerksamkeit gebührt im Rahmen dieser Fundgruppe einem Barren kugelkappenatiger Form von 8,8–8,9 cm Durchmesser, 1,5 cm Dicke und 620 g Gewicht (*Taf. 2:10*). Funde dieser Art sind mir aus Pannonien, Germanien und Britannien bekannt. Sechs Stücke aus der Sammlung des Balogh Ádám Museums in Szekszárd hat S. Soproni[25] publiziert. Sie stammen aus einem unbekannten Fundort (Ungarn, Kom. Tolna) und bildeten mit großer Wahrsheinlichkeit einen Fundverband. Ihre Ausmaße und Gewichte sind von dem Fund aus Iža abweichend (Dm. 5,9–6,6 cm; D. 1,1–1,5 cm; G. 216–381 g), mit ihm verbindet sie jedoch die Form der Kugelkappe. Auf einigen von ihnen sind Zeichen und Inschriften eingeritzt, die der Autor als Bezeichnung der zugehörigen römischen Gewichtseinheiten (as, bes, dodrans, sextans, dextans) interpretierte.

Zwei ähnliche Exemplare bildeten den Bestandteil eines Hortfundes von Bleigegenständen, der in einem spätrömischen Bau (Ende des 4. Jh.) in North Lodge Farm entdeckt wurde.[26] Eines von ihnen erhielt sich in Gänze, seine Form ist mit dem Fund aus Iža identisch, doch die Ausmaße wie auch das Gewicht sind abweichend (Dm. 10 cm; D. 3 cm; G. 1360 g). Das zweite Stück stellt betreffs seiner Form, seines Ausmaßes und Gewichtes (Dm. 10 cm; D. 3 cm; G. 620 g) ungefähr die Hälfte des beschriebenen Gegnstandes dar und entstand durch mechanische Teilung des ursprünglichen Exemplars in zwei Teile. Es sei dabei betont, daß sein Gewicht völlig mit jenem des Ižaer Fundes übereinstimmt (620 g). Ein Bleigegenstand solcher Form, jedoch kleinerer Ausmaße, wurde im Areal der römischen Villa in Lullingstone, in der Schicht aus dem Ende des 2. Jh. gefunden. W. H. C. Frend und J. A. Hadman vermuten, daß sie Bleibarren *(ignots)* von einem bestimmten Gewicht und Wert darstellen.[27]

Ein anderes Exemplar, das mit seinen Ausmaßen und seinem Gewicht (Dm. 15 cm; D. 4 cm; G. 4745 g) alle angeführten Parallelen übertrifft, wurde im römischen Vicus in Oberwinterthur-Witudurum gefunden. Auf seiner halbkugelig gewölbten Seite befindet sich ein kreuzförmiger Eingriff und auf seiner flachen Seite eine konzentrische Kreisrille. Der Autor charakterisiert dieses Stück als eine Arbeitsunterlage.[28]

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[25] *Soproni 1965–66.*

[26] *Fried – Hadman 1994* 225.

[27] Siehe Anm. 26.

[28] *Deschler-Erb 1996* 318, ME 1365, Taf. 34:1365.

Aufgrund dieser Festellungen bin ich der Meinung, daß es sich um einfache Bleibarren handelt, die durch Gießen des geschmolzenen Rohstoffes in einem kugelkappenartigen, bzw. halbkugeligen Tiegel angefertigt wurden. Derart wurde ihre Form und in einigen Fällen auch ihr Gewicht standardisiert. Man kann nicht auschließen, daß zu diesem Zwecke auch die signierten Exemplare aus Pannonien dienten, die hinsichtlich ihrer Signierung eine verbesserte Form dieser Bleibarren darstellen konnten.

Werkblei

Eine selbständige Gruppe bilden 6–9,5 cm lange, 3,3–4,1 cm breite ond 0,4–0,7 cm dicke breitgehämmerte Bleiplättchen, evtl. -streifen, die nach der Form, den zahlreichen Kerben und Schnittspuren an den Rändern als Halbfabrikate oder Arbeitsunterlagen bei der Produktion von Bleigegenständen gedient haben konnten (*Taf. 3:1–6*).

Unbestimmbare Bruchstücke

In unserer Fundkollektion befinden sich mehrere Bleigegnstände, bzw. ihre Bruchstücke, die sich nach ihrem heutigen Zustand nicht näher bestimmen lassen (*Taf. 3:7–10*).

Die Verscheidenartigkeit der Bleigegenstände aus Iža zeugt von ihrere gebräuchlichen Verwendung und wahrscheinlich auch von ihrer Herstellung direkt im Lagerareal. Über die Bleigießerei wurden außer den angefühten Funden keine weitere Belege, wie z.B. Werzeuge, Tiegel, evtl. anderer notwendige Hilfsmittel, zur Herstellung neuer oder Reparierung beschädigter Bleigegenstände, erfaßt. Jedoch im gegenüberliegenden Legionslager wie auch in der Zivilsiedlung von Brigetio ist dieses Handwerk durch mehrere Funde belegt. É. B. Bónis[29] führt von diesem Ort zwei steinerne Bleigußformen und verschiedene Bleigegenstände an. Zu ihnen gehören die allgemein beliebte Votivgegenstände, eine Spiegelnachachmung, ein Wasserleitungsrohr mit Stempel der hier stationierten Legio I adiutrix und weitere Stücke, die als Bleimodelle für die Bronzegießerei interpretiertbar sind.

Da die Arbeit mit Blei in Anbetracht seiner guten Schmelz- und Formbarkeit keine außergewöhnliche technische Fertigkeit und Erfahrung beansprucht, ist es wahrscheinlich, daß es zu der üblichen Handwerkstätigkeit der Militärgruppe am linken Donauufer gehörte. Wenn auch die Versorgung des vorgeschobenen Brükkenkopfes von Seiten des Legionlagers allseitig gesichert sein mußte, erforderte seine militärisch-strategische Position trotzdem eine gewisse technische und materielle Selbständigkeit.

ABKÜRZUNGEN

D. =	Dicke
Dm.=	Durchmesser
G. =	Gewicht

[29] Siehe Anm. 13.

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Zsolt Mráv

DIE BAUTAFEL EINES HEILIGTUMS AUS VISEGRÁD

Zur Ergänzung der Inschrift RIU 815

In Visegrád kamen neben dem Wohnturm des 13. Jahrhunderts Fragmente einer Bautafel mit Victoriarelief und Inschrift zum Vorschein, auf denen die Anfangsbuchstaben L. S[--] /AC[--] / A[--] / CO[--] einiger Zeilen erhalten blieben. Zu ihrer Ergänzung schlug P. Kovács folgende Lösung vor:
[--] / L(ucio) S[eptimio Severo Pio Pertin] / ac[i Aug(usto) --] / A[--] / CO [--].
Von der Auflösung ausgehend bezog er das Inschriftenfragment auf ein Heiligtum, das eine Militäreinheit hatte erbauen lassen, und dessen Errichtung oder Renovierung — ohne exaktere Datierung — in die Herrschaftszeit des Septimius Severus zu setzen ist. Die verbleibenden Buchstaben A[--] und CO[--] wähnte er als zur Titulatur des Kaisers gehörend, worin die Buchstabenfolge CO[--] gewiß der erhaltene Teil der das Konsulsamt bezeichnenden Abkürzung cos. gewesen sein dürfte (*Kovács 1997* 616, 620, Anm. 10).

Die erhalten gebliebenen Buchstaben der Inschrift bieten jedoch bezüglich der Ergänzung, Datierung und Interpretation des Textes mehr als diese eine Möglichkeit.

Mit der Auflösung der Buchstaben L. S[--] in der ersten bzw. AC[--] in der zweiten verbliebenen Zeile zu dem Namen L. Septimius Severus — erweitert mit dem von ihm angenommenen Namen Pertinax — bin ich außer seiner Deklinierung einverstanden. Anhand der Plazierung des die Bautafel schmückenden Victoriareliefs allerdings darf noch eine weitere, eine den Göttern gewidmete Dedikation enthaltende Zeile angenommen werden. In dieser Zeile ist aufgrund der Textformulierung bekannter Tempelinschriften des Zeitalters eher die der Dedikation folgende Formel *pro salute* sowie der daran anschließende, im Genitiv stehende — und nicht die im Dativ oder Abalativ (*ablativus temporis*) formulierte Variante — des Kaisernamens wahrscheinlich.

Ebensowenig folgt auf der Inschrift eines Tempelbaus hinter dem Namen des Kaisers notwendigerweise dessen vollständige oder teilweise Titulatur.

Eine infolge ihrer Konstruierbarkeit wahrscheinlichere Lösung ergibt sich, wenn man im Inschriftentext hinter dem von Septimius Severus angenommenen Namen Pertinax den Namen des zum Augustus erhobenen M. Aurelius Antoninus plaziert, und den am Anfang der folgenden Zeile eingemeißelten Buchstaben A[--] zur Abkürzung *A[ugg. --]* des Titels Augustus ergänzt. Damit ist der ergänzte Text aber noch nicht vollständig, denn gleichzeitig mit der Erhebung Caracallas zum Augustus muß darin auch der ausgemeißelte Name des die Caesarwürde erlangten Geta eingefügt werden. Die Richtigkeit der Ergänzung wird von dem

Umstand bekräftigt, daß der im Genitiv stehende Name des P. Septimius Geta genau an die freigebliebene Stelle in der vierten Zeile paßt.

Sofern man diese Lösung akzeptiert, ist die am Anfang der fünften Zeile stehende Buchstabenfolge CO[--] nicht zur Abkürzung des consul-Amtes der kaiserlichen Titulatur, sondern eher zu der Bautruppe bezeichnenden Abkürzung *coh*(ors) zu ergänzen, die auf den an Militärbauten zu bindenden Inschriften gesetzmäßig benannt wurde. Die Lesung des Inschriftentextes dürfte also mit sehr großer Wahrscheinlichkeit *[--- pro salute Impp(eratorum) Caess(arum] / L. S[eptimi Severi Pii Pertin] / ac[is et M. Aureli Antonini] / A[ugg(ustorum) et [[P. Septimi Getae Caes(aris)]] / co[h(ors) ---]* lauten.

Fraglich sind nun noch die Namen der in der Dedikation genannten Gottheit(en) und der den Bau durchführenden Truppeneinheit.

In der ersten Zeile haben vor der Formel pro salute *Impp(eratorum) Caess(arum)* höchstens drei oder vier Buchstaben Platz, weshalb sich hier die Einfügung der Sigelvariante der Dedikation *I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo)* anzubieten scheint. Aus Cirpi (Dunabogdány) bei Visegrád wissen wir von einem Iupiter-Heiligtum aus der Zeit des Commodus, dessen Bauherr der *praefectus* der im Zeitraum der Markomannenkriege hierher beorderten *cohors II Alpinorum equitata*, Claudius Claudianus, war (*Lőrincz 1983* 64–71; *Lőrincz 1994* 54–55). Demnach ist nicht auszuschließen, daß die im spätrömischen Zeitalter oder im Mittelalter nach Visegrád gelangte Bautafel der Renovierung dieses Heiligtums gedachte.[1]

Allerdings ist der mit dem Truppennamen und der Dedikation ergänzte Text (*Abb. 1*) *[I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo) (?) pro salute Impp(eratorum) Caess(arum)] / L(ucii) S[eptimi(i) Severi Pii Pertin] / ac[is et M(arci) Aureli(i) Antonini] / A[ugg(ustorum) et [[P(ublii) Septimi(i) Getae Caes(aris)]] /*[5] *co[h(ors) II Alpinorum (?) templum / --]* da nur Fragmente des Steindenkmals zum Vorschein kamen, ungewiß und stellt lediglich die wahrscheinlichste unter den sich anbietenden Möglichkeiten dar.

Aufgrund der kaiserlichen Titulatur (Caracalla Augustus, Geta Caesar) läßt sich die Inschrift in den Zeitraum Herbst 197 n. Chr. und Herbst 209 n. Chr. datieren (*Kienast 1990* 162, 166). Doch die den Rahmen des Inschriftenfeldes bildende(n) Victoria-Gestalt(en) dürfte(n) eine weitere Präzisierung der Datierung ermöglichen.

Schon früher wurde aufgeworfen, daß die mit Victoria-Darstellungen geschmückten pannonischen Inschriften des severischen Zeitalters aus Anlaß des Kaiserbesuches im Jahr 202 n. Chr. entstanden (*Fitz 1959* 244, 248; *Fitz 1982* 13). Deshalb müßte diese Möglichkeit auch im Falle der Visegráder Inschrift mit geflügelten Victoria-Darstellungen geklärt werden, denn sie betrifft die Datierung und Interpretation der Steindenkmäler unmittelbar. Die Frage lautet also, ob und inwiefern man die mit Victoria-Darstellungen geschmückten Inschriften an die Ereignisse des Kaiserbesuchs von 202 n. Chr. binden kann.

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[1] Dafür spricht die Tatsache, daß, während man eine von der Garnison im benachbarten Ulcisia Castra (Szentendre) einige Jahre früher gestiftete offizielle Inschrift in sehr minderwertiger Qualität gemeißelt hatte (*Soproni 1980* 39–51), unter Commodus in Cirpi bereits eine Steinmetzwerkstätte tätig war, die Inschriften in ausgezeichneter Qualität — ähnlich der Visegráder Tafel — herstellte (s. die Inschrift am Heiligtum des erwähnten Iupiter-Tempels).

Zur Kaiserzeit wurde die Gestalt Victorias mit Vorliebe als Gebäudedekoration verwendet (*Rohden – Winnefeld 1911*). Auch an Tempeln kommt sie häufig vor, und zwar im allgemeinen paarweise, an der Stelle der Akroterien.[2] Die von Victoriagestalten in Nischen gesäumten Bauinschriften der Heiligtümer dagegen bilden eine geschlossene Gruppe des severischen Zeitalters (s. *Abb. 2–3*), deren Denkmäler aus Pannonien in größerer Zahl bekannt sind (zusammen mit der Visegráder Inschrift 4 Stück[3]).

Victoria — als Verkörperung des Kriegserfolges — erhielt häufig einen Platz an Bauten (z.B. Tempeln oder Triumphbögen), die man aus festlichen Anlässen, in erster Linie anläßlich von Siegen, errichtete (*Weinstock 1958* 2523–2525). Desgleichen kann bei den von Victoriareliefs flankierten Inschriften von Heiligtümern in mehreren Fällen belegt werden, daß sie aus Anlaß eines Sieges entstanden.[4]

Cassius Dio verweist darauf (76, 1. 3.), daß Septimius Severus im Jahr 202 n. Chr. einmal das *decennalia* seiner Herrschaft und zur gleichen Zeit seinen Sieg über die Parther feierte. (Diesen Ereignissen errichtete der im Jahr 203 n. Chr. auf dem Forum Romanum eingeweihte Triumphbogen ein Denkmal *Brillant 1967*.) Die Zusammenlegung der periodisch wiederkehrenden *vota* mit den Siegesfeiern hatte schon A. Alföldi nachgewiesen, wobei er betonte, daß das erste Beispiel dafür gerade aus dem Jahr 202 n. Chr. bekannt sei (*Alföldi 1934* 97). Die Gestalt Victorias erhielt bei den Feierlichkeiten der *vota soluta* und *suspecta* sowie der Siege — ebenso wie in den aus diesem Anlaß geschaffenen Kunstwerken — eine herausragende Rolle, waren das *felicitas* des vergangenen und des kommenden Zeitraums und weitere Siege doch in erster Linie ihr zu verdanken (*Alföldi 1934* 98; *Hölscher 1967* 120). Ähnlich läßt sich auch die den pannonischen Bauinschriften mit Victoriadarstellung am nächsten stehende Parallele, die Victoria-Gestalt der im englischen Brougham zum Vorschein gelangten, *pro salute Imperatoris Antonini Augusti* angefertigten Bautafel eines Heiligtums erklären (RIB 738) (*Abb. 3/2*). Sie entstand 217 n. Chr. (*Alföldy 1966* 642–643), d. h. in dem Jahr, als man die gemeinsame Begehung des *vicennalia* und *victoria Parthica* Caracallas bekannt gab (*Alföldi 1934* 98).

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[2] Victoria als Akroterion: z.B. am Tempel des Mars Ultor in Rom. Victoriareliefs schmückten die Tempel des Kaiserkults häufig: s. Heiligtum des Divus Iulius in der Stadt Rom, Heiligtümer Roms und des Augustus in Pula bzw. Ancyra (*Weinstock 1958* 2526; *Hänlein-Schäfer 1985* 77–78).

[3] Aus Pannonien: CIL III 346, Székesfehérvár (*Abb. 2:1*), 197–209 n. Chr. Nächste Parallele der Visegráder Inschrift ist die *pro salute Impp(eratorum) L. Sept(imii) Severi et M. Aurel(ii) Antonini Augg(ustorum) et [[Sept(imii) Getae Caes(aris)]]* gestiftete Bautafel; RIU 645 Ács-Vaspuszta (*Abb. 2/2*), Zeit Caracallas; das mit Nor-pannon-Volute gerahmte Victoriarelief des Iseums in Savaria ist severisch (*Tóth 1975–76* 101, 103 Anm. 27) (*Abb. 2/3*); RIU 815 Visegrád (*Abb. 1*), 197–209 n. Chr. Die Victoriadarstellungen der pannonischen Tembelbauinschriften lassen sich — wegen ihrer geschlossenen Serie und ihrem Vorkommen am Iseum von Savaria — nicht einfach mit der Popularität der Gottheit im Kreise des Militärs, (wie beispielsweise die hadrianischen Militärbauinschriften Britanniens – RIB 1093, 2210, 2200, CSIR Gr. Br. I/1 94, 95, 96, 294; I/4 26, 27 – oder die Aquincumer Tafel aus der Zeit des Antoninus Pius) erklären.

[4] Die britannischen Siege der Kriegsjahre 208–209 n. Chr. motivierten jene mit Victoriagestalten geschmückten Bauinschriften, die an die Statthalterschaft des Alfenus Senecio zu binden sind (RIB 722–23, 1337). S. noch die *pro salute et victoria* gestiftete Bauinschrift von Ács-Vaspuszta (RIU 645 *Abb. 2/2*).

In Pannonien dürften im Jahr 202 n. Chr. aber nicht nur die *decennalia* des Kaisers und sein über die Parther errungener Sieg die relativ große Zahl an Victoria-Darstellungen begründen und erklären, sondern auch die Tatsache, daß man zur gleichen Zeit die persönliche Ankunft, *adventus*, des Septimius Severus und seiner Familie feierte. Hellenistischen Traditionen folgend war die Gestalt Victorias eine häufige und wichtige Akteurin der kaiserzeitlichen *adventus* (und *profectio*)-Darstellungen, auf denen sie den Kaiser mit einem Kranz umgab oder mit einem Palmenzweig und hoch erhobenem Kranz vor dem Kaiser einherschritt. Der Siegesgöttin fiel gerade beim Empfang des aus dem Krieg heimkehrenden Imperators eine außerordentlich wichtige Rolle zu, war sie es doch, die den Kaiser unversehrt und siegreich zurückführte (*Hölscher 1967* 62–67).[5]

In Anbetracht all dessen wirft sich die durchaus ernstzunehmende Möglichkeit auf, daß man die Ankunft (*adventus*) des sein Dezennium und seinen Sieg feiernden Kaisers mit solchen offiziellen Inschriften und Gebäuden würdigte, an denen Darstellungen der Siegesgöttin Victoria auf den dreifachen Aspekt der Feier — und der damit zusammenhängenden Bautätigkeit — verwiesen. Ich halte es daher für wahrscheinlich, daß sich die zur Herrschaftszeit des Septimius Severus entstandenen, innerhalb dessen nicht exakter datierbaren, mit Victoriadarstellungen geschmückten pannonischen Bauinschriften von Heiligtümern mit den Ereignissen dieser aus dreifachem Anlaß (*decennalia*, Sieg über die Parther, *adventus* des Kaisers) veranstalteten Feierlichkeiten in Zusammenhang bringen lassen. Somit sind diese Denkmäler — darunter auch die Bautafel aus Visegrád — vermutlich ins Jahr 202 n. Chr. zu datieren.

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[5] So können auch die Victoriareliefs der Bauinschrift von Ács-Vaspuszta (RIU 645) interpretiert werden, da Anlaß für den Neubau des zugehörigen Tempels *pro salute et victoria* vermutlich der Besuch Caracallas war, der Ende des Jahres 213 n. Chr. siegreich aus dem im Herbst 213 n. Chr beendeten germanischen Krieg eintraf (*Halfmann 1986* 23).

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Abbildungen

Abb. 1. Die Ergänzung der Visegráder Bautafels

Abb. 2. Die mit geflügelten Victoria-Darstellungen geschmückten Tempelbauinschriften (1 – Székesfehérvár, 2 – Ács-Vaspuszta, 3 – Szombathely)

Abb. 3. Die mit geflügelten Victoria-Darstellungen geschmückten Tempelbauinschriften (1 – Benwell, 2 – Brougham)

Imre Nagy

GEOGRAPHIC DATA TO THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF WELLS UNEARTHED AT MÉNFŐCSANAK IN 1995

Introduction

There is a growing demand from archaeologists, who more and more often rely on modern disciplines, for scientific data in order to complete their knowledge and to compose a more colourful and reliable picture of the everyday life of old times. Such a means is offered by geography being a discipline, which, in itself, examines the environment of the finds from various aspects.

The site of the Celtic cemetery at Ménfőcsanak – Savanyító has been known since the second half of the 1960's.[1] Rescue excavations were carried out in 1993 and 1994 along the track of road no. 83 at the M1 highway that circumvents Győr and, later, between 1995 and 1996 in the adjoining area to the south, on the plot of the future commercial centre.[2] In the course of the rescue excavations preceding large-scale investments, large surfaces must be uncovered in a relatively short time. At rescue excavations it is not the archaeologist who chooses the site and defines the extensions of the excavations. Accordingly, information is collected from large, as compared to regular excavations, but archaeologically hazardous surfaces. This is the reason why several wells could be discovered, which provided water for the people of earlier periods, an which, in this sense, were organic elements of the settlements. In the followings, a specific archaeological phenomenon, observed during the excavations, will be analysed and somewhat clarified with the help of geographic data.

The settlement of Ménfőcsanak can be found in the small region called Pápa-Devecser plain within the Small Hungarian Plain in western Hungary, 5 km south-west of Győr (Plate I.). It is on the borderline of the Pápa-Devecser plain lying close to the northern edge of the plain and the borders of three other small regions. Accordingly, Ménfőcsanak is enclosed, in a wider sense, by the Igmánd-Kisbér basin series from the north, the Pannonhalma hills from the east, the Marcal valley from the south-west and the Csorna plain from the west. The similar regions, which, nevertheless, own various resources, enrich the environment of Ménfőcsanak in various ways.

The plutonic mother rock types and the 2–3000 m thick sandy, clayey sediments settled over them, the characteristic constituents of the Small plain, can be found under Ménfőcsanak. The Pannonian lacustral deposits were covered with quaternary layers in an average thickness of 75 to 100 m, which decreases

[1] *Uzsoki 1970, Uzsoki 1987.*

[2] The rescue excavations on the track of road no. 83 were conducted by Andrea Vaday (MTA AI), those of the commercial centre by Ildikó Egri, Eszter T. Szőnyi, Péter Tomka (Győr Xantus János Museum) and Andrea Vaday.

to a thickness of 20 to 50 m towards the edge of the Győr basin. In the Holocene, loess deposited in the region. The geographically youngest layers are composed of quaternary gravel, gravely sand, loess, sandy loess an loam sediments accumulated in the river valleys. They may reach the thickness of 10 to 20 m.

Soils

In consequence of the position of Ménfőcsanak, there is a wide variety of soils in a mosaic-like distribution around the settlement. The alluvial meadow soil, meadow chernozem soils, alluvial chernozem soils, chernozem-like sand soils, chernozem-brown forest soils, brown forest soils with clay alluviation can be found here (*Plate II*). In the course of the excavations the two main soil types we had to deal with were the alluvial meadow soils and the alluvial chernozem soils, although these types are only represented in 8–10% in the whole area of the Pápa-Devecser plain.

Alluvial meadow soils cover the surfaces in regions adjacent to the Rába and Marcal rivers to date.

The *alluvial meadow soil* (*Plate III/A*) displays a transition between meadow and alluvial soils also in the stage of development. It can be found in regions which are not subjected to flooding any more. The area is soon occupied by vegetation and slow humus accumulation starts. Consequently, the vegetation also takes part in its formation beside the loamy, sandy sediment left after the retreat of the flood.

Alluvial chernozem, developed over loess and can be characterised by a higher humus content (*Plate III. 3*). It can be found in more elevated areas only periodically effected by the flooding of the rivers. The windblown sand that originally deposited over it has, by now, disappeared. In the case of alluvial chernozem soils, both the sedimentation characteristic of alluvial soils and the humus development characteristic of the chernozem can be observed.

The chernozem-like sand soil (*Plate III. 2*) can be found on sand dunes. In profiles a larger accumulation of humus can be observed.

In drier regions, the indigenous oak forests have mostly been replaced by cultivated arable. The original landscape has slowly turned into a cultivated steppe. The oak forests have receded or disappeared in cause of human activity and *brown forest soils* (*Plate III. 1*) have been replaced by *chernozem-brown forest soils*.[3]

The quantity of the organic material (from plants and animals) getting into the soil can change according to the weather and human activity. In consequence, the humus content in the upper soil horizon can also change. It is important since this upper horizon had to be removed prior to the excavations. The humus zone may reach a thickness of 30–40 cm in an alluvial meadow soil, while it may be as thick as 50 to 100 cm in a more developed chernozem-like sand soil.

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[3] *Somogyi 1988* 229.

Until the start of river regulations,[4] a periodically inundated flood plain of the Rába and Marcal occupied the place of the present Ménfőcsanak.[5] In these regions, the lower surfaces were covered with the alluvium left by the floods (*Plate IV*). The ground water table was higher than at present due to the ample water supply. The fine graded sediment covered the region in the result of the building activity of the rivers.

Rivers and streamlets deposit their waste when the working capacity decreases. Several reasons may cause it (a change in the position of the river, the depression of the basin, the desiccating climate, floods and low water etc.)

The grain size of the deposited sediment is defined by the rhythm of the floods and low water. When, namely, the speed of the river grows and carries a lot of waste it deposits the waste on the *inundated territories*. When the water level is low, the speed of the river decreases and gradually deposits its waste according to its weight and diameter *in the basin*. First the heavy, large sediment is deposited, then the finer sand and finally the loam. The intercalated few mm thick loam layers decrease the vertical permeability of the sand and, in consequence, influences the movements of the ground water. Sand and loam layers may frequently alternate in a profile. The movements of the ground water, its course under the surface may, at the same time, influence the water level and certainly also the quality of the water in the wells.

All that has been told above confirm that sedimentological analysis of archaeological sites would be very important. Regrettably, the pedologic data from the Ménfőcsanak site are limited. One of these data is a layer series from a surface boring north of Ménfőcsanak:[6]

- humus
- clayey layer
- fine grained sand
- gravely sand
- rough grained sand
- clayey sand
- clayey rough rock powder

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[4] A detailed description of floodfree regions after the regulation of the Rába and Marcal rivers can be read in Károly Mike's book: *Mike 1991* 190–192.

[5] Ménfőcsanak settlement is bordered by the Marcal and the Rába rivers on the west and the northwest. The oxbow on the northern fringes of the settlement is indicated in the maps in a controversy way either as part of the Marcal or of the Rába. This controversy was probably born at the time of the regulation of the Marcal and the Rába at the end of the last century. Gyula Horváth described, in details, the regulation of the Marcal in his book published in 1934. The regulation was carried out by the Rába-regulation Society between 1891 and 1893. Before the regulation, the Marcal joined the Rába at Gyimrót. In the course of the regulations, the water of the Rába was diverted into a 11 km long artificial basin between Győr and Rábapatona. The Marcal flowed on in the old basin of the Rába and emptied into it above the railway bridge of Győr. The mouth of the Marcal was replaced to a higher point in 1910 and in 1931 for the sake of protecting Csanak and Gyimrót villages from the floods. From that time on, the Kis-Pándzsa and Nagy-Pándzsa streamlets running down from the Bakony mountains emptied into the right-side stretch of the oxbow part of the Marcal at Győr. At the site of the excavation it was the oxbow of the Rába that could be found, since the oxbow of the Marcal, forking before the railway bridge at Győr was cut after a few hundred meters and it is no more connected with the old basin that can be found north-northeast of Ménfőcsanak. This oxbow still bears the name 'Öreg' or 'Holt-Rába' (Old or Dead Rába) (*Plate I*).

[6] *Scharek 1990* coloured map 8., layer sequence of surface boring no. 20 (0–10 m)

The above sequence can be compared to the layer series from wells nos 140. and 201. from the excavations:

Feature 140:

- humus	32 cm
- rough-grained sand	20 cm
- brown humic layer	15 cm
- fine-grained sand	45 cm
- clayey sand	15 cm

Feature 201:

- humus	38 cm
- rough-grained sand	40 cm
- fine-grained sand	15 cm
- brown humic layer	15 cm
- clayey sand	20 cm

The discrepancy between the upper humic and the underlying yellow clayey, sandy layers was clearly visible with bare eyes in the profile of the wells[7] uncovered in a stripe of the rescue excavations on the plot of the future commercial centre in 1995.[8] After the removal of the humus layer, the higher surfaces of the excavation area were covered with rough grained sand, the lower areas with yellowish sandy clay and light grey clayey sand of poor permeability. The alternating fine and rough grained levels in the wells are due to the periodical flooding of the rivers. The fine grained sand of the unbroken ground was found in the depth of 1.6–2 m.[9] A yellowish sand with carbon dioxide containing lime can be found under it. Its segmentation is difficult to be realised.[10] The sand is underlain by a gravel layer in the depth of 5–7 m.

This soil profile with downwards gradually growing grain size came from the alluvium. It is reinforced by the fact that the region, until the river regulations in the 1880's, was the more-or-less permanently waterlogged flood plain of the Rába and the Marcal. Fresh alluvium cannot be found in the area. It was replaced by meadow chernozem, chernozem-like sand soils and chernozem-brown forest soils developed in the consequence of human activity.

The significance of healthy potable water from the ground water cannot be disregarded in the life of a settlement. (To date, regrettably, ground water as a source of potable water, cannot be counted on because of the high nitrate content, which, nevertheless, was not a problem in earlier periods.) Wells yielding potable water had special role even in regions where the settlements were surrounded by water. Temporary water and marshes were excluded as sources of potable water since pathogenous and parasitic organisms might settle in them. The use

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[7] The well shafts were opened until the undisturbed, archaeologically virgin soil.
[8] Excavated by Andrea Vaday.
[9] Data from boreholes made by Erzsébet Jerem and her colleagues.
[10] *Arany 1989* 122.

of rivers as sources of potable water depended on the weather. It is easy, consequently, to realise that the wells were not only needed for 'comfort' but had a sanitary role as well in those times. Close to the rivers, the wells could give enough water for the settlement even in dry months both for people and the stock without the danger of contamination. The wells unearthed at Ménfőcsanak could provide high quality water for the people of old periods, although the hardness of the water varies between 15 and 30 nk. The water contains Ca and Mg carbonate ions and the sulphate content can reach the value of 60–300 mg/l. The water collects this mineral content during its course in freshly infiltered precipitation and in the water holding layers and provides healthy potable water cleaned from pollution. The wells with ample water, however, as they are sunken into fine grained, loose sediments could soon become silty, they may collapse and lose water. So a lining was made within the wells dug into the loose soil to prevent the collapse of the walls.

It was observed already at the excavation on road 83. in 1993 and 1994 that a large number of wells were found in the area.[11]

Some of them lay close to each other. In such cases it could be seen even without levelling that the ground water, which appeared by the next day, did not reach the same level in the two neighbouring archaeological structures. The other phenomenon we could observe was that the water table in the well shaft changed from day to day.[12]

The daily change of the water level depended of the momentary values of the weather elements, while the annual changes depended of the climate of the region. Further effects can be expected from the composition, the grain size, and the element composition of the soil,[13] the temperature and the vegetation. The level of the soil water starts decreasing at the end of the spring and the beginning of the summer as the evaporation and the water demand of the vegetation consumes more water from the soil. The level of the ground water usually grows in autumn independent of the amount of the precipitation since neither evaporation nor the vegetation uses as much water as during the summer.[14] After rain, the level of the water table rises partly due to the precipitation penetrating the soil, partly, especially in areas with gravel and rough sand, because the penetrating ground water does not reach the ground water table but fills up the pores in the soil, causing condensation, which results the elevation of the ground water table. In such regions the ground water table is near the surface.[15] A few centimetres of change in the water table can be due to a change in air pressure.

Measurements of the water table were also made farther away in the Small Plain. It was observed in 1953, during ground water survey on the northern edge

[11] It is true even if the wells do not all belong to the same period.

[12] The water table of the wells was measured every day and registered parallelly to the water level data of the Rába and the Danube.

[13] *Góczán 1971* 17.

[14] *Mosony – Papp 1961* 336. Since excavation lasted a shorter period, the water level shifts in the wells cannot be explained by seasonal changes.

[15] We had only a few days of rain, while the change of the water table could be registered in a longer period.

of the Great Hungarian Plain that the water table did not rise following the rainy days but an elevation of a few cm started before the rain arrived. The change is a slow process, which follows the changes of the water level of the rivers in a 'blunted' way.[16] At low water level, 'loss appears', which means that water flows from the higher layers with ground water towards the river basins, when the soil nourishes the river. In these periods the river sucks away the water of the wells. When, however, the water level is high in the rivers, the surface of the rivers rises above the ground water containing layers and the water of the rivers penetrates into permeable layers and raises the soil water table. It depends on the permeability and gradation of the soils. If the impermeable layer is of rougher grains as gravel, gravely sand, the water table changes can be witnessed in 4–5 km, while in a finer grained sediment a few dm the changes in the ground water table can be observed no father than 1–2 km. The same changes could be registered in the water level of the wells unearthed by the excavations.[17]

The daily shifts of the water level in the wells was measured from 21.07.1995 to 08.08.1995. The measuring rods could not be placed securely into the wells because of their loose walls. They were placed horizontally over the mouth of the opened wells and were accepted as 0 points from where the water level was measured downwards. These data were compared with those of the Danube and the Rába announced in the daily water level reports.[18] We compared the water level shifts in the wells with those of the Danube and the Rába in a graph.[19] Another curve illustrated the data of 12 wells without those of the Danube and the Rába.

It the graphs we considered the distance of the wells from each other and the altitude of the mouths of the wells above the sea level. We also reducted the water level in the wells to the sea level. Accordingly, we got a curve about the water level and its changes within the excavation area.[20]

The curve tells that the water level definitely follows the relief discrepancies. It is conspicuous that the small distance and the nearly 1 m altitude difference between wells 140 and 201 is mirrored in a sharp contrast in the water level.

Since the oxbow of the Rába river was close to the excavation it seems logical that the sediment accumulated in the earlier river basin and its alternation with the hardly observably finer and rougher grained sediments may influence the movements of the ground water also with regard to the wells we examined.[21] The thin clay impermeable layer cannot or can only hardly be penetrated by the ground

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[16] *Rónai 1961* 28.

[17] K. Egervári grouped the Ménfőcsanak wells, still in use at that time, into foot-hill category based on the daily registration of the ground water level in 1953. The fast, vigorous water flows caused larger water level fluctuations in the shallow wells and smaller in the deeper ones.

[18] To evade mistakes, the data were compared by the official lists offered by the North Transdanubian Hydrologic Directorate.

[19] The water level of the Marcal is not read in the daily reports, so it could not be inserted in the graph.

[20] Since the measurements were made during the summer of 1995, the results were not influenced by water table decrease caused by the rerouting of the Danube. It would be interesting to repeat the measurements and to see how the water table changed with the start of the operation of a water power station.

[21] *Ádám et at. 1962* 60. Refers to the neogenous sediments covering large areas by the Marcal.

water, and consequently defines the course of the ground water between the impermeable layers. In 5 from the 12 wells, perceptible water movement could be observed in the northern, north-eastern walls. The predetermined direction of the flow of the ground water is also revealed by the graphs showing the water movements in the wells, although it could not be proved for lack of further data. The water flow appeared in the rest of the wells in the same altitude but seemingly spontaneously without a definite direction.

So the question is justified, if the water level of the Rába river and its fluctuations, which is relatively far away, could have influenced the water level in the wells unearthed by the excavations at Ménfőcsanak and what significance these changes had in the life of the people who used to live there.

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CAPTIONS

Plate I. 4 cm in the map equals 1 km in reality
Datum lines in 10 m

Plate II. Győr-Dél genetic soil map
Genetic soil map of Ménfőcsanak and adjoining regions (after P. Scharek)

Legend:

I. SKELETAL SOILS

1	consolidated rocks; stony barren ground
2	earthy barren ground
3	gravelly skeletal soil (in the zone of brown forest soils)
4	gravelly skeletal soil (in the zone of chernozems)
5	sand blanket soil
6	blownsand and humic sand soil

II. LITHOMORPHOUS SOILS

7	rendzina soil

III. CENTRAL- AND SOUTHEASTERN-EUROPEAN BROWN FORREST SOILS

11	brown forrest soil with clay illuviation

	13	brown forrest soil (according to Raman)
	14	brown forrest soil with alternating thin layers of clay substance
	15	chernozem-brown forrest soil
IV. CHERNOZEM SOILS		
	16	chernozem-like sandsoil
	17	Lime-film-bearing chernozem soil
	18	leached chernozem soil
	20	meadow chernozem soil
V. SALT-AFFECTED (ALKALINE) SOILS		
	26	meadow solonetz
VI. Meadow soils		
	29	meadow soil
	30	alluvial meadow soil
	31	swamp-meadow soil
VII. BOG SOILS		
	32	flat marshland soil
VIII. ALLUVIAL AND SEDIMENTARY SOILS		
	34	recent alluvial soil
	36	slope-deposit soil

Plate III. Characteristic soil profiles north of Ménfőcsanak

Profile 1. Alluvial meadow soil
Profile 2. Chernozem-like sand soil
Profile 3. Alluvial chernozem
Profile 4. Chernozem-brown forest soil

Plate IV: Profile of sediments deposited by the Danube (after M. Pécsi)
1. humus; 2. windblown sand; 3. sand; 4. fine-grained sand; 5. small-grained sand; 6. medium-grained sand; 7. rough-grained sand; 8. gravel; 9. gravely sand, sandy gravel; 10. boulder; 11. sandstone; 12. dolomite; 13. andezite; 14. peat; 15. loam; 16. sandy loam, loamy clay; 17. loamy sand, clayey sand; 18. clay; 19. clayey loam; 20. loamy clay; 21. loess; 22. loessy sand, sandy loess; 23. lime concretion; 24 marl, lime-marl; 25. clay marl, marly clay; 26. limestone; 27, lignite; 18. marshland clay, meadow clay.

Plate V. The position of the 12 wells with valuable data uncovered by the excavations at Ménfőcsanak, plotted against the relief.
1: altitude a. s. l. (m); 2: relief position of the wells; 3:highest water level; 4: lowest water level; 5: distance (m)

Mihály Nagy

TWO BRONZE STATUETTES FROM TÁC-FÖVENYPUSZTA

During the excavations of the Roman settlement at Tác-Fövenypuszta in 1936, in the north-western part of the building identified as 'villa no. I.' *(Fig. 1)*[1] a bronze statuette representing a dog was unearthed *(Fig. 2)*.[2] Unfortunately, no precise observations were published regarding the stratigraphical situation of this find. During the same campaign, in room no. X, another statuette showing Venus, was found, while one of the smaller apsidal room (no. II) south-east from the central one (no. I) had yielded a lead plaque of the Danubian Cavalry God already in 1934. In the central apsidal room, fragments of a glazed pottery vessel with serpent decoration came to light also in 1934. On the basis of the concentration of these finds, Edith B. Thomas thought that this wing of the villa was used as a shrine.[3] Later, Jenő Fitz had established the architectural periods of the villa, stating that *'the foundation of the building can be dated only approximately to the period of Diocletian and Constantine... the second floor level can be dated to the period of Valentinian.'*[4] After the reign of Valentinian the building had been converted into some kind of industrial workshop.[5] Consequently, we may suppose that the dog statuette together with other finds, mentioned above, were in use contemporarily with the building in which they were found, i. e. during the 4th century A. D., before its abandonment and change of function.[6]

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[1] *Fitz – Bánki – Lányi 1961–1962* 141–145. I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. Zsuzsanna Bánki and Gabriella Nádorfi for their help during my autopsy at the King Saint Stephen Museum in Székesfehérvár, and to Mr. Ferenc Gelencsér for his kind placing of the photographs (Fig. 2–8) at my disposal.

[2] *Marosi 1937* 25; *Thomas 1955* 99–100, no. 2: 'in front of room no. X of the villa in a depth of 80 cm'. Székesfehérvár, King St. Stephen Museum, inv. no. 10.357. According to the inventory book it was found 'in a depth of 80 cm, 1 m afar to the west and south from the southern wall of the corridor in front of room no. X. (findsite no. 125).

[3] *Marosi 1934* 64–65. According to *Thomas 1955* 99–102, the glazed fragments were found in room no. IV.

[4] *J. Fitz*: The excavations in Gorsium. ActaArchHung 24 (1972) 9–10; *Fitz – Bánki – Lányi 1961–62*, 145 and 150; *J. Fitz*: Gorsium – Herculia. Az István Kir. Múz. közl. B:32. Székesfehérvár 1976, 22–29; *Fitz 1976*, 386. Cf. the critical notes of *E. Tóth*: Templum Provinciae in Tác? SpecN 1989, 43–58; and *E. Tóth*: Templum Provinciae Tácon? (Megjegyzések a táci római település értelmezéséhez). (Templum Provinciae in Tác?) [Bemerkungen zur Interpretation der römischen Siedlung von Tác]. TapolcaiMK 2 (1991) 97–112; moreover *J. Fitz*: Area sacra des niederpannonischen Kaiserkultes in Gorsium. AlbaReg 26 (1997) 61–73 in defence of his former views.

[5] *Fitz 1976* 388.

[6] The glazed pottery vessel found in the layer above the second floor level (*Marosi 1934*) has been dated to the 4th century; see recently: *L. Barkóczi*: Frührömische glasierte Keramik in Ungarn. Glasierte Keramik in Pannonien. Székesfehérvár 1992, 30. In the same room and layer, fragments of vasa diatreta, dated to the 4th century were found: *Marosi 1934* 66–67 mentions eight fragments from three points of this room, found together with the coins of Valens; *Thomas 1955* 101 and 127–129 no. 8. See recently *L. Barkóczi*: Pannonische Glasfunde in Ungarn. StudArch 9. Budapest 1988, 218–219, no. 553, possibly a product of the Trier workshop. The lead plaque of the Danubian Cavalry God (*Thomas 1955* 100–101) belongs to group Bd of *D. Tudor*: Corpus from the age of the Severi into the second half of the third century'; and I. Monumentorum Religionis Equitum Danuvinorum II. EPRO 13:2. Leiden 1976, 97 („made from the age of the Severi into the second half of

Another bronze statuette was found during the excavations of 1970,[7] 160–170 m north-east from the villa, in the ruins of structure no. XV, built during the 4th century A. D. *(Figs. 3–8)*[8] In this building, like in all others in the centre of this settlement, no trace of a violent destruction or conflagration could be observed, but a coin hoard found at building XV shows,[9] that a state of emergency occurred towards the end of the rule of Valentinian I, or after that time, which may have caused the interment of the statuette.

Description

Bronze statuette of a male figure *(Figs. 3–8)*.[10] Cast solid, with dark grey patina. Maximum dimensions, height: 144 mm, width: 60 mm, depth: 42 mm.

The figure stands on a horizontal plate, placed over a slightly conical pedestal with a shaft-hole. On the surface of the pedestal, two rings are arranged antithetically, one of them is bipartite with a vertical slit, the other is damaged, having two holes beside the stubs. Near the lower edge of the pedestal, two peg-holes are arranged antithetically too. The figure steps forward with his right leg, on which the weight of the body lies, the sole touches with its whole surface the upper level of the plate. The left knee is slightly bent, the left heel rises lightly from the soil. The figure looks forward stately, the face is vertical, but the eyes are looking above the horizon. The face is rather plumpish. The eyes are large, the pupils, right under the upper eyelid are marked with a bore-hole. The nose is strong, the mouth is uncommonly small. The swollen lips are pressed together. The hair is very carefully dressed. Above the forehead, in the middle a forelock was left, on its both sides the hair is arranged into coils covering the upper parts of the forehead. From the top of the head coils are reaching toward the temples. The neck-hair was left long and combed forward in order to cover the neck. The moustache and beard are thin. The figure raises his right arm bent at the elbow, and stretching out his fingers shows up the palm of his hand. The left arm is slightly bent, the fist, holding a coil of thin rope, is at the hip. The posture and the countenance suggests serenity, power and dignity.

The figure wears a cap, with a curved top and two triangular ear-flaps over the shoulders. On both sides, the cap is decorated with chiselled circles. Some of

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the third century"); and I. Leiden 1969, 93 no. 166; but according to *Marosi 1934* 64 and 67–68, it had been found above the second floor level too.

[7] Székesfehérvár, King St. Stephen Museum, inv. no. 70.166.1. According to the inventory book it was found on the area of the 'templum provinciae'. No stratigraphical observations were recorded. First mentioned by *J. Fitz*: Tác. RégFüz I:24 (1971) 41: 'North of the podium (building no. IX) another revetment wall has been found, with a large building stretching beyond it, in which we may seek the sanctuary of the emperor cult. Amidst the debris of the mostly demolished foundation walls we have found another bronze statuette, a furniture fitting and the foot of a candelabrum.' See *Bánki 1972* 9–10 no. 3; 78 no. 58 and 79 no. 59.

[8] *Fitz 1976* 386, assuming a public function of this structure: *„Die auffalend grosser Anzahl zum Vorschein gekommenen Zwiebelkopffibeln lassen eine offizielle Verwendung des letzteren Gebäudes vermuten."*

[9] *Fitz 1976* 387; *V. Lányi*: Die Fundmünzen der römischen Zeit in Ungarn I. Komitat Fejér. Bonn – Budapest 1990, 359 coin hoard III.

[10] Note 7 above, and *Fitz 1973* 28; *Fitz 1976* frontispiece; for further literature see *Tóth 1988* 120.

them are simple rings, others have a bore-hole in the middle. The rows of circles are flanked with double furrows. Between the lines of the first double furrow, points were struck – the latter are perhaps the indication of sewing –, while the furrows may indicate the segments, of which the cap was assembled. The thick and stiff appearance of the headdress suggests that the prototype, after it had been modelled, was made of leather.

The figure wears a short, loose tunic with long sleeves, which tightens toward the wrist. The rich plaiting and the neckline of this garment was indicated by chiselling.

The figure wears a broad belt over the tunic. The belt was divided by chiselled grooves into rectangular fields, of which three are decorated. Decorated and undecorated fields alternate. In two of these fields a chiselled circle, in a third a cross is discernible. The end of the belt, decorated with a chiselled groove along both edges, hangs down in the middle, close to the right thigh.

Over the tunic, we see a piece of clothing, unparalleled so far, which looks like a loose, sleeveless fur jerkin. It comes clearly apart from the tunic on both sides and shoulders (see mainly *Figs. 4* and *8*). The material is indicated by its thickness and the chiselled grooves at the neckline and along the vertical folds.

On the legs, we do not find any indication of clothes. On the feet a pair of soft-sole short boots (*mulleus*)[11] was represented. The serrated ornament around the upper edge of the boots are decorated with the same chiselled circles with a point inside, what we have seen already on the cap. The hanging flaps of this ornament and the front part of the boots are adorned with rows of points, in the latter case indicating perhaps sewing.

The statuette had been modelled in wax. Under the tunic and on the legs, traces left by the craftsman's levelling tool during modelling are visible. The hair, moustache, beard, eyes, nose, mouth, palm, garments and the rope were chiselled after casting.

Protruding parts are slightly worn, and on various points one can observe smaller indentations caused by hard objects (e. g. on the cap, breast, strap-end, thumb of the left hand, on the tunic, at the knees, legs and feet.

Some of the smaller damages originated during the process of casting (e. g. a small hole on the forehead). The rear ring of the pedestal was improperly cast, and only two stubs could have been produced. Beside these stubs, holes had been pierced into the metal, into which a substitute ring was placed.

The thumb, the ring-finger and little finger are missing form the right, raised hand. The outer side of the forefinger is also damaged. In case of the missing fingers, judging from the quality of the smooth metal surface, we may not suspect a defective casting and we may assume a break at most only at the thumb, where the broken surface is porous. The break of the thumb does not explain the absence of the other fingers. On the outer side of the forefinger the damage resembles us to a slash. A piece at the lower part of the ring-finger survived, but the little finger is missing totally. The cast surface at the stub of

[11] *E. Pochmarski*: Mulleus. Bildwörterbuch der Kleidung und Rüstung (Ed. *H. Kühnel*). Stuttgart 1992, 174.

the ring-finger and at the little finger is smooth (not porous as one could expect in case of a break), so we can assume, that the missing fingers were *deliberately* cut down from the wax model before casting.

Bronze statuette of an animal *(Fig. 2)*[12]. Cast solid, with dark grey patina. Maximum dimensions, length: 90,5 mm, height: 75 mm, width: 47 mm, height of skull: 15 mm, width of skull: 14 mm, length of jaw: 14 mm, width at withers: 16 mm, width of hindquarters: 17 mm.

The figure stands on a horizontal plate, placed over a slightly conical pedestal with a shaft-hole. On the surface of the pedestal four rings, arranged antithetically. Near the lower edge of the pedestal, between two rings, a pair of peg-holes were arranged diagonally.

The animal stands in an attacking position. The majority of the weight rests on the forelegs placed beside each other. The muscles are contracted, claws are sunken into the soil. The right fore-paw grasps the edge of the pedestal. The hind-paw on the left, touches with its whole sole the upper surface of the plate, the right hind-leg swings slightly back with the claws just touching the pedestal. The craftsman had strongly emphasized the claws, toes and sinews on all four legs. The animal flashes its teeth, and as a sign of concentration stretches out its neck, draws back its ears and hold its tail in a straight position. Only the large, emphasized upper and lower eye-teeth were worked out, the other teeth are not visible. The tongue hangs out between the lower eye-teeth. The general impresion is that the craftsman intended to portray a strong and heavy dog. The body of the animal, with the exception of the cheeks and legs, is covered with wavy tresses of hair. On the rear part of the fore-legs the floating hair was marked with parallel grooves. Along the backbone a double furrow divides the hair into two parts.

On the neck a dog-collar decorated with incised rings divided by double (at the bottom with single) grooves is represented. Under the neck, the collar ends in a large ring. At the bore-hole no traces of wear could be observed.

The statuette was modelled in wax. The plate over the pedestal is slightly bent down (probably due to the process of modelling). On the outer surface of the left hind-paw a patch of textile impression is discernible.

Claws, toes, sinews, eyes, cheeks, hair and the decorative elements of the collar were chiselled after casting, as well as a piece under the heel of the right hind-paw. Traces of wear are visible at the end of ears and around the right eye-teeth. Otherwise the statuette is very well preserved.

Due to defective casting, small cavities are at present on the surface of the plate above the pedestal and on the ring beneath the hind-paws. The pedestal itself is defective, a part together with a ring is missing on the animal's right side. The peg-holes were made after casting.

Although the two statuettes had been found separately, they were regarded as a pair, or a pair belonging to a group, since the human figure came to light in 1970. In fact their common material, style, finish, character, scale, identical defects at the lower portions and mainly the pedestals connect them to each other. The

[12] Cf. note 2 above and *Thomas 1957* 224–225; further literature: *Tóth 1988* 118–120.

similar decoration on the human figure's belt and on the dog-collar also connects the two statuettes.

The most conspicuous among the similarities is the identical shape of the pedestals: they are slightly conical in both cases, and the pedestal is covered above by a thin plate. The scale is also common: the height of the pedestal without the upper plate is identical with the outer diameter at the bottom (28 mm). The dimension of the square plate beneath the feet of the human figure is identical with the height of pedestal, in case of the dog-statuette, its maximum width is the same, while its length is a little bit more than twice as long (60 mm). They were fastened to a rod in the same way: near the lower edge of the pedestals a pair of holes arranged diagonally were bored into them halfway between two rings. The main difference is that the pedestal of the dog-statuette had been designed with four, the other with two rings.

Dating and interpretation

The first publication had identified the dog as a 'tiger-like' animal,[13] while later it was regarded as a 'dog-like' creature or simply as a 'dog'.[14] Edith B. Thomas had compared the animal with statuettes found in the western provinces[15] stating that it may have belonged to a shrine of Diana.

Precise dating was not provided until the publication of Zsuzsanna Bánki's study.[16] In her view, the animal is 'rather a panther or other beast, than a dog'. The human figure was first published in the same booklet as an 'oriental divinity'. The author had dated both pieces to the 2nd-3rd centuries A. D.[17] and called the attention to the common characteristics of the two statuettes.

Dating and identity of both pieces were accepted until the appearance of István Tóth's work,[18] who stated that the human figure may represent Sabazios (or perhaps Sabazios-Dionysos), although he noticed, that no analogous pieces are known, and that the deity never appears together with a 'beast of prey'. He also pointed out, that the dog-collar is similar to the one, observed on a bronze statuette representing Cerberus, found in the cellar of the *collegium centonario-*

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[13] *Marosi 1937.*

[14] *Thomas 1955; 1957.*

[15] *F. Stähelin*: Die Schweiz in römischer Zeit. Basel 1931, Fig. 126 showing Dea Artio with a bear; and *S. Reinach*: Bronzes figurés de la Gaule romaine. Antiquités Nationales. Description raisonné du Musée de Saint-Germain-en-Laye. Paris 1894, 50, no. 29: Diana on a wild boar. In both cases a deity and an animal is portrayed, but the animals are obviously different form that found at Tác-Fövenypuszta. The represented situations are also different, and consequently we cannot use these objects at the interpretation of our statuettes. However, it is worth to note, that the function suggested by Reinach (finial of an ensign) may be true for the Tác-Fövenypuszta statuettes too. For a similar representation of a goddess, holding an ensign (long rod topped with a statuette of a boar stasnding on a plate) see: *G. Collot*: Das Gebiet der Mediomatriker. Die Römer an Mosel und Saar. Mainz 1983, 44 and 144 cat. no. 72 = *E. Espérandieu*: Recueil général des bas-reliefs, statues et bustes de la Gaule Romaine 5. Paris, 1913, 463–464 no. 4439.

[16] *Bánki 1972.*

[17] Without offering dating evidence and parallels. The dating may have been influenced by the proposed identity of the human figure, since oriental deities were mostly venerated in Pannonia during that period.

[18] Note 10 above.

rum in Aquincum. As for the function of these objects, he had proposed, that they may have served as sceptre- or rather as *thyrsos*-finials.

As we have seen, the lack of comparable material was the main problem regarding dating and interpretation, so both should be revisited.

The physiognomical features of the human figure as the thick neck, large eyes, strong nose, and mainly the uncommonly small mouth with compressed, swollen lips have their best parallel in the case of two colossal portrays of Constantine the Great, kept in Rome at the Palazzo dei Conservatori (*Fig. 9*).[19] The eyes are looking upward on the bronze colossal head[20] as well as in case of the statuette found at Tác-Fövenypuszta. The peculiar hairdo of the statuette from Tác, has also common characteristics with Constantine's coiffure: on his coins struck from 315 A. D. on and even after 326 A. D., the emperor wears a middle forelock above his forehead with neatley arranged locks on both sides of it.[21] From 330 A. D. the emperor is portrayed with a long neck-hair on his coins as well as on the bronze colossal head.[22] The thin moustache and beard of the human figure found at Tác-Fövenypuszta was another characteristic of Constantine the Great.[23]

The raised right hand with open palm as well as the girt long-sleeved tunic of the Tác-Fövenypuszta statuette is a typical attribute of Helios–Sol observed on the representations of this deity from the 2nd half of the 2nd century A. D. onwards. This gesture were borrowed by the emperors from the beginning of the 3rd century A. D.[24] The incised circles, sometimes with a depression in the centre, on the cap, belt and rim of the boots on the statuette found at Tác, are Sun-symbols, and in this way they support our observations regarding the solar aspect of this figure. Constantine the Great had also been represented as Sol in and around 328 A. D.[25]

The schematic finish of the folds of the garment of the Tác statuette may be best compared with a bronze equestrian statuette representing Constantine as Helios-Sol in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, made probably between 310–325 A. D.[26] Because of the gesture of the right hand, another bronze statuette showing Constantine as Sol, found at Tommerby in Denmark must be mentioned.[27]

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[19] *Delbrueck 1933* Pls. 37–39 and 52–54; *H. P. L'Orange*: Das spätantike Herrscherbild von Diokletian bis zu den Konstantin-Söhnen 284–361 n. Chr. Das Römische Herrscherbild III:4. Berlin 1984, Pls. 53–55. Delbrueck and L'Orange had attributed one of the two portraits to Constantine the Great (stone colossal head) and to Constantius II (bronze colossal head). In a recent study by *Peschlow 1983* 64, the author had rejected Delbrueck's and L'Orange's views, and established, that both statues portray Constantine the Great, the stone one as a youth, the bronze one probably two years before his death, in 335 A. D.

[20] *Peschlow 1983* 63: this countenance is connected with the cult of Helios–Sol.

[21] *Delbrueck 1933* 37 and Pl. 4:43. The predilection towards artful coiffures is a characteristic behaviour of Constantine. Delbrueck notes on p. 36 that 'the number of more-or-less different hairdoes are higher in case of Constantine, than in that of any other rulers of the ancient world'.

[22] *Delbrueck 1933* 38–39 and Pl. 4:43; 4:45; 4:47; 52 etc.

[23] *Delbrueck 1933* 39 and Pl. 1:2.

[24] *Letta 1988* 624. The hair-style, cap and fur jerkin, moreover the rope in the left hand are not attributable to Sol.

[25] *Letta 1988* 622 nos. 449 and 450.

[26] *Noll 1956–1958*; *Letta 1988* 622 no. 450. For the uncertainty of dating see: Spätantike und frühes Christentum (note 19) 659–660 no. 236. Cf. furthermore *Delbrueck 1933* 17; *Peschlow 1983* 64 and *H. v. Heintze*: Sol invictus. in: *Spätantike und frühes Christentum* 146.

[27] *Spätantike und frühes Christentum* 507–508 no. 114; *Letta 1988* 622 no. 449.

As we have seen, the statuette from Tác shows mainly the influence of those statues of Constantine, which represent the emperor as Sol, made around 328 A. D. and of his other portrays after 330 A. D. Therefore, from the typological point of view, we must enlist the Tác statuette among the sculptures showing Constantine as a solar deity, and we may date it between 330 and 337 A. D.

The other statuette from Tác (*Fig. 2*) shows surely a hound, which cannot be identified with recent canine breeds. It belongs to the group referred to as Molossian in ancient sources.[28]

The above classification does not explain the connection between the solar god and the ferocious animal.

For a god and a beast we must consider here the myth of a Germanic deity recorded in Iceland during the first half of the 13th century A. D. The Prose Edda of Snorri Sturluson tells the story as follows:

'Also reckoned amongst the gods is one that some call the mischiefmonger of the Aesir and the father-of-lies and the disgrace-of-gods-and-men. He is the son of the giant Fárbauti and his name is Loki or Lopt... Loki had three children... the first was the wolf Fenrir, the second, Jörmungand — that is the Midgard Serpent — and the third, Hel. Now when the gods knew that these three children were being brought up in Giantland and had gathered from prophecy that they would meet with great harm and misfortune on their account (and they all anticipated evil, first from the mother and still worse from the father), All-father sent some of the gods to capture the children and bring them to him... The gods brought the wolf up at home, and only Tyr had the courage to go up to it and give it food. But when the gods saw how fast it was growing daily, and all prophecies foretold that it was doomed to do them injury, the Aesir adopted the plan of making a very strong fetter... [The first two fetters were not strong enough, and the wolf broke them easily]. *After that the Aesir feared that they would never be able to get the wolf bound. Then All-father sent one called Skírnir, Frey's messenger, down to the World-of-dark-elves to some dwarfs, and had made the fetter called Gleipnir... The fetter was as smooth and soft as a ribbon of silk, but as trusty and strong as you are now going to hear... Then the Aesir, calling to the wolf to go with them went out to an island called Lyngvi in a lake called Ámsvartnir. They showed him the silken band and bade him break it. They said it was a bit stronger than it appeared to be from its thickness and passed it from one to the other, testing its strength with their hands, and it did not break. They said, however, that the wolf would be able to snap it. The wolf's answer was: „This ribbon looks me as if I could gain no renown from breaking it – it is so slight a cord; but if it has been made by guile and cunning, slender though it looks, it is not going to come on my legs."... „If you bind me so that I can't get free, then you will sneak away so that it will be a long time before I get any help from you. I don't want to have that ribbon put on me. But rather than be accused of cowardice by you, let one of you place his hand in my mouth as a pledge that this is done*

[28] *W. Richter*: Hunde. Der Kleine Pauly 2. München 1979, 1246: 'The largest and strongest canine breed, firm and fearful, used mainly as herds- and watch-dog, but it was suitable also for hunting.' Cf. furhtermore *O. Keller*: Hunderassen im Altertum. JÖAI 8 (1905) 242–269.

in good faith." Each of the gods looked at the other then and thought that they were in a fix, and not one of them would stretch forth his hand, until Tyr put out his right hand and laid it in the wolf's mouth. Now when the wolf began to struggle against it, the band tightened, and the more fiercely he struggled the firmer it got. They all laughed except Tyr; he lost his hand. When the gods saw that the wolf was well and truly bound, they took the chain that was fast to this fetter and which was called Gelgja, and drawing it through a great boulder called Gjöll drove the boulder deep down into the earth. Then they took a huge stone called Thviti and sank it still deeper in the earth, and used this stone as a fastening peg. The wolf opened his mouth to a frightful width and struggled violently, wanting to bite them. Then they shoved a sword into his mouth so that the hilt was in its lower jaw and the point in the upper; that is the gag. He howls horribly, and the slaver running from his mouth forms the river called Vón. There he will lie until Ragnarök'.[29]

The other name of the wolf Fenrir may be Garm, which appears in the form of a dog in the *Völuspá* ('The Prophecy of the Seeress', beginning of the 10th century A. D.)[30] The Prose Edda also mentions this dog at the beginning of the Twilight of Gods: *'Then the hound Garm, which was bound in front of Gnipahellir, will also get free; he is the worst sort of monster. He will battle with Tyr and each will kill the other.'*[31]

Although the myths cited above were recorded in a later period, a very similar myth must have been known already during the 6th century A. D. On the avers of the golden bracteate from Trollhättan, Wästergötland, Sweden (*Fig. 10*).[32] Tyr appears with his left hand in the wolf's mouth. A one handed god, and a human figure holding a dog on leash, were represented in the upper register of the golden horn A from Gallehus, made around 400 A. D.[33]

Since the deliberately mutilated right hand and the rope are the attributes of the Tác-Fövenypuszta statuette and since he is associated with a ferocious hound, we may identify the god with a deity similar to the one called Tyr in later sources, and the situation represented in case of the Tác statuettes is similar to the one described in the Edda.

The god, whom the northern Germanic tribes had called Tyr was known by others as well (Zîu in Upper Germany and Tîw among the Anglo-Saxons etc.).[34] Tyr also had a solar aspect[35] but he was rather the god of battle and law, so he was invoked as *Mars Thingsus* by Germanic soldiers in Roman service along

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[29] The Prose Edda of Snorri Sturluson. Selected and translated by Jean I. Young. Berkeley – Los Angeles – London 1954 and 1984, 55–59. (The text in square brackets and all omissions, including special Icelandic characters are my own: M. N.)

[30] The Poetic Edda. Translated by L. M. Hollander. Austin 1962 and 1990, 9–11; *R. Simek*: Lexikon der germanischen Mythologie. Stuttgart 1984, 119.

[31] Note 29, 88; *De Vries 1937* 370 paragraph 305.

[32] *K. Hauck*: Brakteatenikonologie. RGA 3. 1978, Berlin – New York 1978, 391–393. I would like to express may gratitude to Dr. Morten Axboe for he had lent the photograph taken by him (*Fig. 10*) to me.

[33] *W. Krause*: Die Runeninschriften im älteren Futhark. AAWG III:65 (1966) 97–103.

[34] *E. Mogk*: Germanische Mythologie. Berlin – Leipzig 1913, 74.

[35] *De Vries 1937* 22 paragraph 358.

Hadrians's Wall during the second half of the 2nd and first half of the 3rd centuries A. D.[36] Beside the epigraphical evidences, Joachim Werner had listed thirteen pictorial representations of *Mars Thingsus* from the 2nd and 3rd centuries A. D. from the territory of the northern border provinces of the empire, stretching from Britain through Germany, Raetia, Noricum and Pannonia to northern Dacia. The god is represented in military garment, holding a lance in his right and a shield in his left hand, while at his feet his constant attribute, a goose is standing.[37] From the above mentioned instances it is clear that the Germanic *Mars Thingsus*, the defender of the *thing* i. e. public judicial assemblies, had his own iconography in the north-western provinces. The god was venerated by auxiliary units of Germanic origin in Roman service.[38] In the same time it is also evident, that certain changes took place in his iconography at the latest during the reign of Constantine the Great. From that time on, the main emphasis was laid on the shackling of the hound/wolf.

Certain pieces of the garment of the Tác deity needs clarification. The cap is usually described as a Phrygian one, or as a *tiara*. It cannot be attributed exclusively to one mythological figure, and it also appears in the barbarian costume of the Roman period as well.[39] To the fur jerkin I have not found any comparable representation among Roman artefacts.[40] Jan de Vries had noticed that the bound beast initially was a daemon of earthquake and originated from a volcanic geographic zone, possibly in Iran.[41] He also mentions the Ossetian custom to cut down the swear-hand (the right) after a false oath as a punishment.[42] De Vries notices further, that the Goths may have been the mediators of the motive of the earthquake daemon towards other Germanic groups. Due to the dating of the statuettes found in Tác, this possibility must be excluded, since the Goths first appeared in this territory only half a century later.

We must rather consider the views of George Vernadsky who warned that there were intensive contacts between certain Germanic and Alanic groups much eralier in the Central-East-European region,[43] and the various Alanic clans could

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[36] *A. Ross*: Pagan Celtic Britain. London – New York 1967, 173 and Pl. 58a; *Werner 1941* 37.

[37] *Werner 1941* 40, Pls. 16–19.

[38] *Werner 1941* 41.

[39] Scythian: *A. Alföldi*: Skythisierende Darstellungen in der römischen Kunstindustrie. Altschlesien 5 (1934) 268–269 Fig. 1; Mounted Vandals during the Marcomannic Wars on the Column of Marcus Aurelius: *E. Petersen – A. v. Domaszewski – G. Calderini*: Die Marcus-Säule auf Piazza Colonna in Rom. München 1896, 119 and 121 Scene LXXVIII; on the cup of Himlingöje: *N. Fettich*: Der Schildbuckel von Herpály. Acta Archaeologica (Copenhagen) 1 (1930) 243; the Vandalian king Fredbal wearing an 'Iranian' costume on the Halberstadt diptych: *R. Delbrueck*: Die Consulardiptychen und verwandte Denkmäler. Studien zur Spätantiken Kunstgeschichte 2. Berlin – Leipzig 1929, 92.

[40] *O. Höfler*: Germanisches Sakralkönigtum. 1. Der Runenstein von Rök und die germanische Individualweihe. Tübingen – Münster – Köln 1952, 304 offers an early mediaeval parallel: the 'hound-warriors', 'wolf-warriors' and 'berserkers' wore leather jerkins, made of reindeer fell with the hairy surface turned outside. Otherwise the jerkin of the Tác statuette is resembling to the mediaeval 'Schnitzkleidung'. The fur may indicate the deity's connection to a cold climate as well.

[41] *De Vries 1937* 416 paragraph 335.

[42] *De Vries 1937* 24 paragraph 359.

[43] *G. Vernadsky*: Eurasian nomads and their impact on Medieval Europe. Studi Medievali 3:4 (1963) 417: 'Beside the Ostrogoths, the Quadi and the Vandals were for a long time in close touch

act as intermediaries of the earthquake daemon's myth toward the Germanic tribes.[44] Another scene of the Germanic and Sarmato-Alanic symbiosis was the Carpathian Basin during the Roman period. Contemporary sources keep emphasizing the cooperation between Sarmatians and Quadi and sometimes Vandalians too.[45]

As it has been already mentioned, *Mars Thingsus/Tyr* is the patron of the *thing* i. e. the place at which the cult of the deities took place and served in the same time as the scene of public judicial assemblies. The appearance of a statuette of an emperor with the attributes of this deity is not surprising at Tác-Fövenypuszta, since Jenő Fitz has several times stressed, that this settlement was the seat of the emperor cult and provincial assembly of Lower Pannonia,[46] and building no. XV, in which one of our statuettes was found, according to him had performed such functions during the 4th century A. D.[47] The statuettes do not prove directly the settlement's function as the seat of the provincial assembly of Lower Pannonia, although from the above mentioned observations we can conclude, that during the 4th century, certain groups of barbarian origin transplanted to province Valeria may have held assemblies, connected with the emperor's cult there.

The two statuettes were obviously not military standards[48] and they can be best compared with the ensigns held by deities[49] or with the 'Ahnenstab' of Germanic chieftains.[50] The rings at the lower part are similar to those applied on Scythian rod finials.

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with the Sarmatae and Alans and adopted the Sarmatic (Alanic) way of life and military equipment and tactics.' (And although the Vandals were of Germanic origin) '...of the Vandals Procopius says that before their western drive they dwelled about the Maeotic Lake (Sea of Azov) that is in the vicinity of Alans.'

[44] *G. Vernadsky*: Der sarmatische Hintergrund der germanischen Völkerwanderung. Saeculum 2 (1951) 365–366: about the cultural syncretism.

[45] *Nagy 1993* 161–162.

[46] See the works of *J. Fitz* and *E. Tóth* cited in note 4. Endre Tóth does not accept Jenő Fitz's assumption that the settlement at Tác-Fövenypuszta is identical with Gorsium and also denies its municipal status as well, since no trustworthy evidences were produced and published so far. Cf. *M. Nagy*: Pannonia autonóm területi közösségei és felső vezetőrétegük [The autonomous territorial communities of Pannonia and their upper leading layer]. Manuscript of theses. Budapest, 1989, 96 and 410. According to Tóth, the function of the settlement as the seat of the provincial assembly is also questionable. He rather enlists it into the group of 'Late Roman inner fortifications', a category which has not been clearly defined by Hungarian research so far. In spite of all these, a consensus had been reached in Hungarian archaeological research regarding Tác-Fövenypuszta, according to what the settlement had possessed a key position in the traffic of Eastern Pannonia and at certain times a military character as well, and it is also obvious, that certain buildings had cultic functions.

[47] Notes 7 and 8 above.

[48] No similar standards are mentioned from the Antiquity: *R. Reichert*: Feldzeichen. Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde 8, 307–316 and 319–326; except the scenes on the arch of Constantine in Rome, erected in 315 A. D.: cf. *H. P. L'Orange – A. v. Gerkan*: Der spätantike Bildschmuck des Konstantinsbogens, 1939 (non vidi). The militray *signa* have usually rectagnular or finger-shaped hooks, which are stronger than the rings on our statuettes, cf.: *V. Lucacel*: Douăzecişicinci de ani de activitate a muzeului de Istorie şi Artă din Zalău.- 25 years of activity of the History and Art Museum of Zălău. ActaMP 1 (1977) Pl. 9:1.

[49] Cf. note 15 above.

[50] *K. Hauck*: Halsring un Ahnenstab als herrscherliche Würdezeichen. in: *P. E. Schramm*: Herrschaftszeichen und Staatssymbolik. Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae historica 13/1. Stutt-

The statuettes of Tác-Fövenypuszta had a monitory and an apotropaic function in the same time: during their assemblies it reminded the community to which it was granted, that the emperor has a universal power[51] and the 'monsters like Loki's brood endanger the world and they must be shackled or banished' in order to avoid the early advent of the horrors of Ragnarök.[52]

The statuettes were probably made in a central workshop under the control of the *magister officiorum*, since the production of imperial likenesses, as important symbols of state power was centralized.[53] The equestrian statuette from Altinum may have been made by a 'Gaulish sculptor'.[54] The chiselled decoration of the human figure's wear at Tác may be paralleled with another bronze statuette applied on a now fragmentary tripod from Wiesbaden, made probably also in the Gaulish region, or more precisely perhaps in Trier, during the second half of the 4th century A. D.[55] The ensigns mentioned earlier, are also characteristic for that region.[56]

If we try to identify the community to which the Tác statuettes, made between 330 and 337 A. D. were granted, the most likely candidates are those Hasdingian Vandals, who were transplanted by Constantine the Great to Pannonia after their catastrophic defeat on the Great Hungarian Plain around 335 A. D., and whose archaeological heritage I tried to outline earlier.[57]

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gart 1954, 193, 206: the likenesses of deities on these rods had an apotropaic function. Cf. Pl. 7 Fig. 8c-d, and Pl. 8. Fig. 8e-f.

[51] The symbolic language developed by court officials to promote the cult of Roman emperors had exercised a direct influence on the symbols applied by Germanic rulers: *M. Axboe*: Goldbrakteaten und Danenkönige. Iconologia sacra. Arbeiten zur Frühmittelalterforschung 23. Berlin – New York 1994, 154; *A. Alföldi*: Anyaggyűjtés a római pénzek Magyarországon készült egykorú utánzatainak osztályozásához. III. Római aranymedallionok utánzatai, mint germán nyakékek (Materialien zur Klassifizierung der gleichzeitigen Nachahmungen von römischen Münzen aus Ungarn und den Nachbarländern. III. Nachahmungen römischer Goldmedaillons als germanischer Halsschmuck). NK 28–29 (1929–1930) 6–25.

[52] *E. C. Polomé*: Brakteaten und die germanische Religionsgeschichte – Probleme einer wechselseitigen Interpretation. Iconologia sacra (note 51) 101: about the avers of the Trollhättan bracteate. For another allusion to the Ragnarök from Late Roman Pannonia see *M. Nagy*: The Lovas casket. FolArch 45 (1997) (in press).

[53] *Delbrueck 1933* 67–70.

[54] *E. von Sacken* cited by *Noll 1956–58* 118.

[55] *H. U. Nuber*: Römisches Dreifussfragment aus Wiesbaden. Nassauische Annalen 90 (1979) 3. The statuette represents Perseus in a girt tunic, a tiara and finely chiselled short boots (cf. note 11 above).

[56] Note 15 above.

[57] *Nagy 1993* 157–184.

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CAPTIONS

Fig. 1. Tác-Fövenypuszta during the 4th century A. D. with the findsites of the statuettes. After *E. Tóth 1991* (note 4) 99.

Fig. 2. Bronze statuette of a dog from Tác-Fövenypuszta.

Fig. 3–4–5. Bronze statuette of a human figure from Tác-Fövenypuszta.

Fig. 6–7–8. Bronze statuette of a human figure from Tác-Fövenypuszta.

Fig. 9. Bronze colossal portrait of Constantine the Great. After *H. P. L'Orange* (note 19) Pl. 55.

Fig. 10. Golden bracteate from Trollhättan, Sweden.

Katalin Ottományi

LATE ROMAN POTTERY IN THE DUNABOGDÁNY CAMP

The remains of the camp of the Roman Cirpi can be found on a flat mound on the Danube at Dunabogdány–Várárok dűlő. There was an auxiliary camp here, which belonged to Valeria province in the 4th century. Ptolemaios mentioned it under the name *Karpis*.[1] According to the Itinerarium Antonini, *Cirpi* mansio could be found 12 Roman miles north of Ulcisia Castra.[2] Notitia Dignitatum already mentioned it as a castellum in the list of the occupation troops of the camp in the 4th century.

The contour map of the camp was made by Ákos Szalay in 1930 when he, together we István Paulovics, started the excavation of the camp. (Ground surface 124 x 147 m, wall thickness 80–120 cm).[3] His chronology, based on the analysis of the wall structure and the foundation level discrepancies, has significantly been changed by István Paulovics's notes and the find material, which has, by now, got mixed.[4]

Four periods can be separated in the camp. The earliest is a plank camp (wooden post, earth and dry wall combination) with a triple rampart system, which can be dated from the find material to the last decades of the 1st and the first decades of the 2nd centuries.[5] In the second period, the camp was rebuilt in stone. It can be dated from the second half of the 2nd century probably till the reign of Commodus.[6] At this time, trapezoid inner towers were built to the corners of the camp and a broader, triple ditch system was created. The third period of the camp was marked by a reconstruction in Constantine's time at the beginning of the 4th century with building fan- and horse-shoe-shaped towers at the corners. The inner buildings were also restored. The later reconstructions in Valentinian's time are attested to by stamped bricks scattered all over the camp. The original camp walls were pulled up higher and the fan-shaped towers were left off.[7] During the last period at the end of the 4th century, the surface of the camp was reduced and a trapezoid burgus (17 x 16.5 m) was built at the eastern corner of the praetentura. This burgus was made with especially strong walls and a deep foundation (wall thickness 1.7 m) and perhaps these were the walls Rómer could still see on the surface. Its construction can be attributed to the limes reconstruction in 379–381 as the stamped bricks of the earlier Valentinian period were still scat-

[1] Not. Dign. Occ. XXXIII. 33 and 49, 56; Ptolemaios II. 15,3.

[2] Itin. Ant. 166,11. In reality it is about 8–9 miles. See: *R. Frölich*: A pilis-maróthi római tábor. ArchÉrt 13 (1893) 45.

[3] *Szalay 1933* 8–19.

[4] *I. Paulovics*: HNM Archives 50. D. I.; *Idem:* Il limes romano in Ungheria. Quaderni dell Impero. Roma 1938, 9.

[5] The same dating is supported by a building inscription from 80 AD attributed to Titus Atilius Rufus governor: *E. Tóth*: Cirpi, Pannonia kora-Flavius kori hadtörténetéhez. AT 25 (1978) 181–191.

[6] *MRT 7* 85.

[7] *Soproni 1985* 65, Anm. 101.

tered over the whole area of the camp.[8] The reduction of Roman camps is not unique in this period. It can be observed from the present Bavaria to Valeria. In our country, it was only observed in the camps of Azaum (Almásfüzitő) and Cirpi.[9] The earlier camp became too large for the diminishing number of the military force and the population.

The camp was encircled from all but one side along the Danube by a civilian settlement, the *vicus militaris*.[10]

Á. Szalay and I. Paulovics excavated the eastern corner of the camp with a long trench in NE-SW direction and attached parallel and rectangular smaller trenches in 1930.[11] The rampart system and a few walls of buildings from the vicus were found in the trench outside the camp walls.[12] Trench 2 was opened at the praetentura within the camp. The archaeological find material recovered during the excavations was described by István Paulovics in the excavation diary.[13] According to his observations, the location and depth data of the finds were often uncertain.

The relative diffusion of the material according to its provenance can be read from *graph 1*. It is well illustrated that the burgus (excavation at the corner and within the wall) yielded the largest number of finds, altogether 73%. Examined in details, the following diffusion can be observed: *graph 2*.[14]

Description of the finds

A part of the pottery from the Dunabogdány camp, the one considered important by the author, was published by Sándor Soproni as the find material of the Eastern Gothic–Hun–Alan foederati settled in 380.[15] This subjective choice justified the analysis of the total material which rendered it evident that the presence of the foederati group in the Dunabogdány camp cannot be affirmed from the ceramic material.

The analysed pottery material was grouped according to technical features considering the manufacture technology, the surface, the decoration etc. (Glazed, smoothed and smoothed-in, household and handmade pottery. The same grouping

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[8] *S. Soproni*: Der spätrömische Limes zwischen Esztergom und Szentendre. Budapest 1978, 62; *Idem. 1985* 64–65, Abb. 36.

[9] *Soproni 1985* 56–58, 64–65, 95–100.

[10] Only two stone buildings were unearthed here during the excavations although several hundred meter long debris with mortar can be observed on the surface. The aerial photo made of the area revealed the outlines of buildings with the same direction as the camp west and south of it and even the insula structure could be delineated. *Szalay 1933* 15; *MRT 7* 87; *Zs. Visy:* A római limes Magyarországon. Budapest 1989, 72, fig. 61; *P. Kovács*: Vicus és castellum kapcsolata az alsópannóniai limes mentén. Doct. dissertation 1997, 8.

[11] *MRT 7 86*, fig. 8.

[12] For lack of space, the unearthed remains of later periods are omitted.

[13] *Paulovics* HNM Archives 50. D. I.

[14] The latest pottery of the camp was analysed based on formal and decorative features. It should be mentioned that the types cannot as yet be dated within tighter chronological frames. Accordingly, the shapes indicate tendencies.

[15] *Soproni 1985* 64–65, Taf. 17–19, Abb. 37.

is used in the plates.)[16] Within the groups, the fragments will be listed according to their shapes: bowls, cups, pitchers, jugs, mugs, pots, lids.

It can be read from *graph 2* that the overwhelming majority of the ceramics is glazed. This is the most characteristic ware type certainly dated from the 4th century.

The number of the household pottery with an evaluable shape is much smaller since the ordinary grey fragments are difficult to date. In the case of glazed wares, even the wall fragments provide evaluable data.

There are relatively few pottery fragments with smoothed-in decoration. Even some of the fragments with smoothed surfaces or wavy smoothed-in decoration may have been early Roman wares.

The distribution within the camp showed that handmade pottery was most frequent in the area of the burgus. This distribution of the ceramic types is only different from other camps in the ratio of the glazed and household pottery. There are several explanations to the shift in proportions towards the glazed wares at Dunabogdány. One is the above described aspect of the choice of the material while another one is the extent and character[17] of the excavations.

I. Glazed pottery (155 items) *Pl. I–IV.*[18]

The colour of the material of the majority of the glazed wares is reddish-grey or red, baked to a laminated structure (72%). Plain red colour can be found first of all among bowls with collared rim.[19] Only some of the fragments are plain grey (17.8%),[20] their glaze is darker. Sometimes, the rims of the vessels were secondarily burned to black. Even strongly burned, porous glaze turned into black can be met.[21]

The material of the vessels is usually baked hard and tempered with sand. In a few cases, pebbles were used for tempering.

The glaze is mostly greenish brown (68 items), which became yellowish green when applied on the surface in a thinner layer.[22] Besides, there are 30 fragments with a light green glaze as on bowl No. 13. The glaze of fragment No. 14 is dark green, lustrous and high quality.[23] Furthermore, there are a few items with light brown, yellowish brown and yellow glazes as bowl No. 23 and jug No. 26.

At three-fourth of the glazed wares, the vessel type can be determined even in the case of smaller fragments. *Graph 3* shows the distribution of the glazed

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[16] 320 fragments were analysed from the material of the Dunabogdány camp. From these, only the rim and decorated fragments will be described that can be grouped.

[17] Namely, no complex excavations were carried out in the whole camp.

[18] The plates only contain the finely levigated pieces made from a material different than the ones containing sand. Their provenance and quantities see in graph 2. Very few can stratigraphically be dated.

[19] Nos 13, 16, 18, 19.

[20] Dishes 8a, 9.

[21] see dishes Nos 3, 4, 6, 7, 13, 19, 22.

[22] This can be seen on the glaze drops that flowed over the outer wall (13 items). Dish No. 16 and a fragment with applied ornament.

[23] e. g. dish No. 15, jug No. 27.

wares according to shapes.[24] We may add that six of the bowls have inverted rims and 25 items have horizontally protruding ones.

A. Bowls Pl. I-IV. 1–24.

a. Bowls with inverted rims: Pl. I. 1–4

The material is reddish grey with a yellowish red coating on the outside and a light green or greenish brown glaze on the inside. It practically displays all the varieties of smaller and larger sizes and shapes, which probably imply functional differences. The same shapes could already be found in pre-Roman and early Roman times. The smaller cups can also be found in Celtic find materials. The flatter bowls are common among the Samian wares in Italy. Bowls with inverted rims are among the commonest bowl types in Pannonia during the Roman period. They even survived in the 5th century in the early Migration Period although in a much smaller quantity. They belonged to the table service.

The shape hardly changed during the four centuries although a more significant difference can be observed in the technique.[25] In the early imperial period, they were raw coloured and painted red while the grey bowls with granular material appeared in the middle of the 2nd century. The bowls with smoothed or intact surfaces, made of finely tempered material became frequent from the first half of the 4th century. At the middle of the century, the bowls with inverted rims and glazed inside appear. Bowls with decorative smoothing-in are characteristic only in the last quarter of the century and the beginning of the 5th century. Sometimes, horizontally smoothed-in bands can be observed on the outer walls of glazed bowls. Rough grains and pebbles were used for tempering at the end of the 4th century. Glazed bowls with inverted rims are relatively rare.

The earliest vessel is the small cup **No. 2** (*Pl. I. 3*) based on analogues. It was found, e. g. at Ács-Vaspuszta, in layers from the Constantine dynasty to the times after Valentinian. The glazed bowl shapes **Nos 1** and **3** (*Pl. I. 1,4*) are rare. The workshop at Leányfalu produced glazed cups with globular walls, similar to No. 3, at the beginning of the 5th century. The analogues of the small cup made of granulous, grey, hard baked material can be found in the province between the 2nd and 4th centuries, and outside Pannonia until the 6th century.[26] The flat bowl **No. 4** (*Pl. I. 2*) is somewhat more frequent with glazed surfaces. Its analogues can be followed from the middle of the 4th to the middle of the 5th century.[27] It can also be found in granulous and smoothed varieties in the 4th century. Similar ones can be found among the sigillata chiara shapes in the 5th-7th centuries.[28]

[24] The graph contains the information reduction coefficient of fragments not suitable for formal definition as well.

[25] *Póczy 1957* Abb. 8/2; *Bónis 1942* 23, XXII/2.

[26] Győr, Tokod, Runde Berg: *Ottományi 1989* Fig. 114/15a-b; *Ottományi 1991* Pl. I./6.; *E. Szőnyi:* A győri Kálvária utcai római temető csontvázas sírjai. Arrabona 17 (1974) 25, Pl. VII/4; *Lányi 1981* Abb. 14/3, type XXVII; *Roth-Rubi 1991* Taf. 32/361–362, 365, pp. 44 and 57; Alzey type 29, Abb. 10/7, Taf. 37/418 etc.

[27] Materials from Ács-Vaspuszta, Carnuntum, Mautern, Klostenburg, Szombathely etc. *Ottományi 1989* Fig. 114/13–13a; *Grünewald 1979* Taf 68/4–5; *Gassner 1992* Abb 9/32; *Grünewald 1983* Abb. 22/10, 207; *Ottományi 1997* III/7.

[28] *Ottományi 1991*, Fig. 11/1; *Gassner 1992* Abb 10/42; *Hayes 1972* 104. C shape, 160, fig. 30. Nr. 29.

b. Bowls with horizontally protruding rims Pl. I. 5–10, Pl. II. 11–13.

One of the most characteristic shape of glazed wares in Pannonia is represented by the bowls with horizontally protruding rim. It can be found in two sizes: nos 5–10 have a smaller diameter and they are flatter, while nos 11–12 (*Pl. II. 1–2*) have a larger diameter. The deep bowl No. 13 (*Pl. II. 3*) a unique shape. There are 25 bowl fragments with horizontally protruding rim, mostly from the smaller variety. Their material is red, grey under the glaze, sometimes the whole surface is grey. The glaze is light green or greenish brown. The rim and the inner surface of the bowls are glazed and glaze drops may be observed on the outer surfaces as well. Horizontally smoothed-in bands can sometimes be seen. One or more deepened lines run usually round the horizontal rims. The edge of the rim is often wavy. The rim is notched on one of the fragments. The latter two decorations are characteristic of the latest types of the shape.[29] Nos 10 (*Pl. I. 11*) and 13 also seem to be younger ones based on their material tempered with pebbles.

It is a shape known from the early Roman times which can be found on pottery and metal ware types. It was widely dispersed in the 4th century.[30] Varieties with smoothed surfaces and smoothed-in decoration can sometimes be found on grey household pottery: Leányfalu, Carnuntum.[31] The shape is most characteristic of the glazed wares. Grünewald suggested that the unit of a small cup and a large, flat bowl belonged to a table service.[32]

These bowls can be found in limes camps as well as in the inner parts of the province although they are not uniformly characteristic of every site. At some places, there are many of them e. g. at Gorsium or Leányfalu, where they were produced. It is a favourite product in the South-Pannonian workshops.[33] Glazed bowls with horizontally protruding rims can be found in the limes camps from the middle of the 4th century to the beginning of the 5th century.[34] The shape can be found among the glazed wares in the neighbouring provinces as well.[35]

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[29] Leányfalu, Tokod, Gorsium, Pilisszántó, Sopron, Batavis: *Ottományi 1991* 10/48a, 15; *Bónis 1991* Abb. 1/8, 11, 15–17, Abb. 22/1–10, notes 167–172; *É. Maróti*: Római őrtorony a pilisszántói Kálvárián. StComit 17 (1985) X/5–6, Plate XI/1; *Christlein 1982* 226–227, Abb. 8/9, Taf. 40/7; *P. Tomka*: Késő római sírok a Hátulsó utcában (Spätrömische Gräber in der Hátulsó Str.) SSz 21 (1967) 245–253.

[30] *A. Radnóti*: A pannóniai római bronzedények. DissPan II:6 Budapest 1938, Taf. II/36; *Bónis 1991* 129–130; *Zs. Bánki*: Beiträge zum pannonischen spätrömischen glasierten Siedlungsmaterial. In: Glazierte Keramik in Pannonien. Székesfehérvár 1992, 36–44.

[31] *Hayes 1972* Form 70–71; *Ottományi 1991* 16, type 49; *Grünewald 1979* Taf. 70/1–5.

[32] *M Grünewald:* Zum spätrömischen Fundstoff im Legionslager Carnuntum. In: *H. Wolfram – F. Daim*: Die Völker an der Mittleren und Unteren Donau im 5. und 6. Jh. Wien 1980, 29–31.

[33] *Brukner 1981* T. 93/159, 155, 156 (Dumbovo, Zdele); *Ciglenečki 1984* Abb 2/14 – Gradec bei Praretno etc.

[34] Carnuntum, similar to Nos 5–6, 9–10, 12, Klosterneuburg similar to No. 8, Mautern similar to Nos 8–9 and Zeisemauer similar to No. 6. *Grünewald 1979* Taf 67/1, 6, 8–9; *Grünewald 1983* Abb. 21/15; *Gassner 1992* Abb 6/3, 9/36; *Ubl 1986* Abb 9/1.

[35] *Ubl 1986*, Abb. 9/1 – burning layer, end of 5th c.; *N. Gudea*: Gornea. Banatica 4 (1977) Fig. 28/3; *T. Cujeticanin:* Late Roman glazed Pottery from the iron Gate Region (Dacia Ripensis) Alba Regia 25 (1994) Pl. 1 – 4th c.

c. Mortars Pl. II. 4–1, Pl. III. 2–11

This is the richest group in the glazed pottery material of the camp. The material is red or yellowish-red on the outside and baked to grey on the inside under the glaze. The inside is glazed. The glaze is light brownish green or yellowish green. Fragment No. 15. (*Pl. II. 5*) has a deep green glaze. The collar can be of raw colour, red sometimes painted in red (*Pl. III. 2)*. It may bear glaze drops or flowed glaze. The rim or the foot may be decorated with a smoothed pattern (*Pl. III. 3*). Painting may occur on the inner side of the bowl.

Mortars (mortarium) are typical Roman wares, they are related to the eating customs.[36] They were used for centuries with slighter or more significant formal and technical changes. The inside was usually coated with glaze in the 4th century which changed the original function of the bowl. These late types are mostly smaller with thinner and steeper walls, the collared rim got thinner and the spout simpler.

The broad collared rims are the earliest to appear on glazed wares. The analogues of fragments **Nos 18–20** (*Pl. III. 1–3*) can be found from the beginning of the 4th century to the beginning of the 5th century.[37]

The vertical rims getting more and more thin, and showing the shape of a bird beak are later ones (see **Nos 14–17** *Pl. II. 4–7*). The analogues can be followed from the middle of the 4th century to the middle of the 5th century. In the material of the Mautern camp, there is no formal discrepancy between mortar rims from the Valentinian layer and the youngest layer from the beginning of the 5th century. Accordingly, it is certain that these bowls with somewhat pulled up, gradually thinning collared rims were used throughout at least half a century.[38] The upper limit of their production is uncertain. The latest products came from the Szombathely workshop in the middle of the 5th century.[39]

Based on analogues, the latest item from Dunabogdány is **No 21** (*Pl. III.* 4) where the rim is slating and already very thin. The glazed variety appeared at the end of the 4th, the beginning of the 5th century. Without glaze, they may be present in the western provinces even later in materials from the Merovingian period.[40]

The shape is widely dispersed. The majority can be found along the limes in Pannonia, although it is also frequent in inner towns and settlements. It is

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[36] Spice was pounded, piquant sauces and creams were mixed in it. *D. Gabler*: Spätkeltische und römische Siedlungen des 1. Nachchristlichen Jahrhunderts im Stadtgebiet von Savaria. AV 47 (1996) 161; *Bónis 1991* 123–129.

[37] At Dunabogdány, no. 18 was the only item a fragment of which was found under the layer from the 4th century (see NE cutting, burnt layer between 140–160 cm). Since it was a mixed layer, the fragment cannot be dated earlier than the 4th century.

[38] At Ács-Vaspuszta, from the layer during or after Valentinian's time. Its production also started at Tokod in the Valentinian period. At Carnuntum, it was found under the latest clay layer. At Clostenburg, it occurred together with a stamped brick from Valentinian's period. It was also produced in the Mautern potter's workshop at the end of the 4th, the beginning of the 5th centuries: *Ottományi 1989* Fig. 117/47–48; *Bónis 1991* Abb 13/5, 14/6; *Grünewald 1979* Taf 63/8; *Ubl 1986* Abb 19/1–2; *Friesinger 1981* Abb 9/9; *Gassner 1992* Abb. 6/1, 11/5, 7.

[39] *Bónis 1991* Abb. 13/5, 14/6; *Ottományi 1997* IV/1.

[40] e. g. Carnuntum, Pilismarót-Malompatak, Batavis etc. *Grünewald 1979* Taf. 63/13; *Ottományi 1996* Abb. 5/27; *Christlein 1982* Abb. 8/8; Runde Berg: *Roth-Rubi 1991* Taf. 49/538–539.

not characteristic of cemeteries, although it may occur there, too, as e. g. at Dombóvár.[41] The late Roman population sticked to the eating customs for a long time. It was produced as late as the middle of the 5th century by surviving Romans.

d. Bowl other than mortars with a collared rim. Pl. III. 5

A bowl with a vertical and collared rim. No pebbles can be seen on the inside. It is a rare shape. Similar ones can be found among the mortars in Carnuntum.[42]

e. A deep bowl with a segmented upper part and conical walls Pl. IV. 1

The glaze is light brown, it does not resemble other vessels. The material is plain red.

The shape is most characteristic of the household pottery with smoothed and granulous material. It rarely occurs with glaze.[43] Bowls with similar shapes and yellowish-brown glaze can be found among the wares produced in the Leányfalu workshop. They were probably transported from here to Dunabogdány.[44]

The glazed variety of the type was used from the middle of the 4th century to the beginning of the 5th century.

f. Handled cup Pl. IV. 2

A globular, small cup with a protruding rim and a handle. No exact analogue could be found. It was grouped among the late glazed wares based on the reddish grey material and the characteristic brownish green glaze.[45]

h. Two-handled (?) cup Pl. IV. 3

Vessel no. 25 also represents a rare shape among the glazed wares. It is covered with the usual greenish-brown glaze. The small fragment is not sufficient to describe the exact shape.

It might be a two.-handled cup or a variety of the biconical bowls, the so-called „Knickwandschüssel". The latter rarely occurs with glazed surfaces, it is more characteristic of the household pottery.[46]

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[41] *M. Albeker*: Késő római kori temető Dombóváron. ArchÉrt 105 (1978) 66, Fig. 9/3.

[42] *Grünewald 1979* Taf. 63/14.

[43] e. g. it came from the layer of Valenitian's time in the middle of the 4th century and from the beginning of the 5th century at Ács-Vaspuszta. *Ottományi 1989* Fig. 115/21, 116/27; It can also be found to the west. Similar vessels with glaze and smoothed surfaces can be found e. g. in Raetian limes camps. See Quintanis, Boiotro: *Christlein 1982* Abb. 19/3, 9/9.

[44] *Ottományi 1991* type 2/11–12a, note 52–54 with further reference; *Ottományi 1996* Kat. 6c-d. Glaze drops can be seen on a fragment from the Mautern workshop dated to the end of the 4th, the beginning of the 5th centuries which is a proof of glazed ware production. The case is similar at Szombathely in a workshop from the 5th century. *Gassner 1992* Abb 7/17; *Friesinger 1981* Abb. 57; *Ottományi 1997* IV/9.

[45] A similar one-handled cup was found at Ács-Vaspuszta but with smoothed surfaces (second half of the 4th century). A similar cup is known from Ivajlograd, outside Pannonia, from the 4th century, bearing a red slip. *Ottományi 1989* Fig. 121/1; *G. Kabakcieva*: Römische glazierte Keramik aus Ulpia Oescus. Alba Regia 25 (1986) T. 8/134, type IV, 2nd variety.

[46] Similar ones were mostly produced in Raetia in the second half of the 4th century. Among them, there are vessels with straight walls which seem to be the closest to the Dunabogdány fragment: *J. Werner*: Der Lorenzberg bei Epfach. Berlin 1969 Taf. 33.

It was more probably a two-handled cup, a shape that goes back to classical metal vessels.[47] The glazed variety could mainly be found in western Pannonia during the late Roman period.[48]

Two-handled cups with straight walls and stitched decoration imitated this form in the second half of the 4th century. It can still be found in the 5th century with a growing size. The Dunabogdány fragment is undecorated. Its exact analogue is not known.

B. Jug Pl. IV. 4–9

Handles and decorated wall fragments can be grouped here. There are only three small rim fragments from this type (*Pl. IV. 4–6)*. All three belonged to one-handled jugs with narrow necks and protruding rims. The shape is uncertain due to the small size of the fragments. Rim no. 1 (*Pl. IV. 4)* is divided, the neck is segmented with deepened lines. The material is red, the glaze is brown. No. 2 (*Pl. IV. 5*) has a deep grey glaze and a cylindrical neck. The mouth diameter of No. 3 is somewhat larger. The shape is frequent both in the early and the late Roman pottery.[49] The jugs with funnel-shaped rims have either cylindrical or globular bodies in the late Roman period. They can be dated from the middle of the 4th century to the first half of the 5th century. Similar ones with glaze are known from several sites.[50]

No. 3: a band-handle with a knob at the start of the handle (*Pl. IV. 6)*. The knob can be seen at the start or the end of the handle on two fragments from Dunabogdány. The multiply recoiled handles of bronze or glass jugs with lids are imitated this way on pottery. This solution is frequent in the 4th-5th centuries and can mainly be seen on intact vessels from cemeteries. A glazed jug type, very similar to this one, was also produced at Leányfalu.[51]

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[47] The two-handled vessels, usually decorated with drop-shaped barbotine appeared in glazed variety in Roman pottery as early as the end of the 1st, the middle of the 2nd centuries: *Bónis 1942* XX/42,48; *E. Szőnyi*: Észak-Itáliából importált császárkori agyagcsészék a Győri Xantus János Múzeumban. Arrabona 14 (1972) Pl. IV, Fig. 3. 16, fig. 4. 17, Fig. 1. 4–5.

[48] e. g. Savaria, Winden am See: Glasierte Keramik in Pannonien, Székesfehérvár, 1992, Kat. 241. Unknown provenance, with barbotine decoration, Kat. 242. Provenance: Savaria, with drop-shaped decoration; *É. Bónis*: A mázas kerámia Pannóniában. Előzmények és gyártási központok (Die Glazierte Keramik in Pannonien). ArchÉrt 11 (1990) 28–29.

[49] The ones from the 1st and 2nd centuries are yellow or raw coloured and come from Italy. They are rarely coated with glaze. *Bónis 1942* XXVI/12, XXVI/4; *E. Szőnyi*: Előzetes jelentés a Sopron Deák téri római temető feldolgozásáról. Arrabona 19.-20 (1977) fig. 3; *A. Radnóti – D. Gabler*: Rusovce (Oroszvár) ásatások 1942–1943. CommArchHung 1982, Fig. 3/6; *M. Medgyes*: Leletmentések Savaria északi temetőjében 1970–1975. Savaria 11–12 (1977–78) XVI/2–3, etc.

[50] e. g. from Gerulata, Csákvár, Intercisa, Leányfalu, Gornea, Ács-Vaspuszta, Carnuntum etc.: *L. K. Kraskovská*: The Roman cemetery at Gerulata-Rusovce, Czechoslovakia. BAR Suppl. Ser. 10. Oxford 1976, 42, fig. 181/1; *Nádorfi 1992* 45, Taf. 1/2a – with a coin from 336 AD; *Póczy 1957* Abb. 48/112a; *N. Gudea:* Gornea. Banatica 4 (1977) Fig. 32/7; *Ottományi 1991* 18/21; *Grünewald 1979* Taf. 64/6a; *Ottományi 1989* Fig. 121/13.

[51] e. g. Ságvár, Csákvár, Zengővárkony, Arrabona, Sirmium, etc: *Bónis 1942* XXX/5; *Nádorfi 1992* Taf. 1/2a-b, d; *Ottományi 1991* Pl. 18/21.

A pattern resembling a twisted letter 'S' was stamped on another jug handle, which is red and bears the usual brownish-green glaze (*Pl. IV. 7*). The same decoration can be seen on the stamped vessels in Intercisa from the late Roman period. These, however, were arranged in rows and combined with other motives on the walls of the vessel.[52]

The stamp on our fragment must have been a potter's mark.

C. Cups Pl. IV. 10

They are tempered with small pebbles. Their colour is red and greyish black on the inside. The surfaces are not uniformly coated with glaze only some flowed brownish green glaze or glaze drops can be seen at the rim on the outside. Various fragments with slightly or strongly protruding rims belong here. A deep mark of the potter's wheel runs round under the rim on the outside on cup **No. 1** (*Pl. IV. 10*).[53]

The cup type with a protruding rim and widening at the shoulder is equally present in settlements and cemeteries.[54] The shape is mainly characteristic of the household pottery, it rarely occurs with glaze. It can be dated from the middle of the 4th century to the beginning of the 5th century, although one of the fragments at Ács-Vaspuszta came from the layer of the Constantine dynasty.[55]

Decorated wall fragments: Pl. IV. 8–9

1. Plastic horse-shoe- and crescent-shaped decoration Pl. IV. 8

There is one fragment with this decoration. It is grey, red on the outside with greenish yellow glaze. The shape cannot exactly be told. It is a decoration arranged in several rows mostly on cups, vase-shaped vessels, jugs without or with one handle. It first appeared at the beginning of the 4th century.[56] In Carnuntum, the decoration is only characteristic of jugs with a brown glaze. The brownish-yellow and the light yellowish green glaze are frequent at other sites as well. It is present at Győr even at the beginning of the 5th century. It seems to be more frequent in the western part of Pannonia and it was certainly manufactured in Savaria.[57]

2. Incised wavy line decoration Pl. IV. 9

A single row of incised wavy lines bent into an acute angle can be seen on two small fragments (too small for drawing).

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[52] *Á. Salamon*: Spätrömische gestämpelte Gefässe aus Intercisa. FolArch 20 (1969) 53–62, Abb. 1.

[53] The rest of the rims are too small for drawing.

[54] e. g. Budapest-Gazdagrét, Ács-Vaspuszta: *Zsidi 1987* Fig. 12/grave 91.1; *Ottományi 1989* Fig. 128/5, 123/10a.

[55] *Lányi 1972* Abb. 41/11 – Ságvár, Tordas; *Ottományi 198* Fig. 128/5.

[56] e. g. at Rusovce in a grave dated by a coin from 310 AD and at Carnuntum from layer 4. (300–350 AD).

[57] It can be found both in settlements and cemeteries e. g. Somogyszil, Brigetio, Intercisa, Gorsium, Tokod, etc: *Bónis 1991* 133, Abb. 26/1–3; *Kraskovská 1974*, grave 29; *E. Szőnyi*: Die Keramik des 4. und 5. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. Aus Arrabona. ArchA 68 (1984) 345–350, Abb. 6; *Póczy 1957* 72; *Grünewald 1979* 69.

Similar wavy lines decorate the shoulders and belly of one-handled jugs at the end of the 4th, the beginning of the 5th centuries.[58]

On another variety of wavy line decoration, the incised wavy lines are separated with rows of pierced dots (*Pl. IV. 9*). There is one such fragment at Dunabogdány, it is grey with a greenish brown glaze. This decoration is the latest one, characteristic of pottery from the beginning of the 5th century. Vessels with both types of incised wavy lines were made in the nearby workshops at Tokod and Leányfalu.[59]

II. Pottery with smoothed surfaces and smoothed-in decoration (50 items) *Pl. V-VIII. 4*

15.6% of the Dunabogdány material belongs here. The majority was manufactured with smoothed surfaces, only 10 items display pattern smoothing. Their provenance can be read from *graph 2*.

They can be divided into several groups according to the material, the execution and the colour.

Group 1: fine material tempered with sand, not baked hard. The smoothing has the same colour as the material, sometimes it is somewhat darker and lustrous. Bowls 4 and 9 and the cup are light grey. Bowl 12 and jug 1 are yellowish brown. This group resembles the most the early smoothed vessels.

Group 2: The material is greyish black, lustrous, black with horizontal smoothing on the outside. It is tempered with sand and not baked hard (bowls 5 and 6, jug 4, cup 1).

Group 3: the same material but reddish, brownish grey. The outside is darker with lustrous smoothing (bowls 2, 3 and 8).

Group 4: vessels of finely levigated, hard baked material tempered with sand. The inside is light coloured, the outside is darker grey. The smoothing is lustrous, dark, see jugs 5, 8, 9. Pot no. 1 has a similar material but it is plain light grey.

Group 5: The material is hard baked, tempered with small pebbles (similar to the household pottery). They are grey with darker smoothed bands (bowls 1, 7, 10, jugs 2–3).[60]

Group 6: This is the latest group regarding the execution. The material contains pebbles, the surface got cracked, blown and porous in the course of baking. They display various colours: pot type 2 is reddish brown, jug foot no 6 is grey. The smoothing-in is linear and broader with a darker, lustrous colour.

There are vessels with smoothed surfaces among the handmade pottery, too, they will be discussed there.

All fragments attributed to shapes see in graph 4.

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[58] Budapest-Gazdagrét: *Zsidi 1987* Fig. 5/grave 15, 4, Fig. 7/grave 34, 2; Tokod: *Bónis 1991* Abb. 26/4, 6, 144; Leányfalu: *Ottományi 1991* 19, type 29–30.

[59] *Ottományi 1991* Pl. 18/21–22, 33; *Alföldi 1932* XXX/1; *Bónis 1991* Abb 16/3; It is also frequent in Gorsium: Alba Regia 14 (1975) X/7–8.

[60] Only the lower part of the bowls are smoothed. It is not necessarily a decoration, the potter might have simply levelled the surface..

A. Bowls: Pl. V-VI. 5

They have smoothed surfaces, smoothing can only be seen on fragments 3 and 9. Smoothing mostly covers the outer surface of the bowl, sometimes, however, both inside and out (Nos 2, 4, 6, 8, 9).

The majority is composed of bowls with protruding rims (8 items). The rest are bowls with inverted rims (5 items), segmented upper parts and biconical bases (4 items). There is an piece from a bowl with a collared rim and a rim fragment of a biconical bowl. Except for the latter one, all are common Roman forms. The otherwise frequent bowls with 'S' profile are missing.

a. Bowls with inverted rims Pl. V. 1–3.

Nos 1–2 are flat bowls with strongly inverted rim and bent walls. They are grey or black. No 2. is randomly decorated with smoothing inside and out, while no. 1 is smoothed only on the outside. The shape is most characteristic of the household pottery. It was used during meals. The bowls were also manufactured with smoothed surfaces from the beginning of the 4th century.[61]

It was widely diffused. Based on the stratigraphical data of the analogous items, they were used from the middle of the 4th century to the first half of the 5th century.[62]

No. 3 is a deep bowl with conical walls. It is a unique piece regarding both its shape and decoration. There are hardly visible, perhaps triangular, narrow smoothed-in lines on the smoothed outer surface. It has no exact analogue. Similar bowls with biconical lower parts but different rims were produced at Leányfalu and Mautern at the turn of the 4th and 5th centuries.[63]

b. Bowls with segmented upper parts Pl. V. 4–5.

No. 4 is a deep bowl with a large mouth diameter, conical at the lower part. Three fragments can be grouped here. Two have plain rims, that of the smallest one is divided into two. The shape can be traced back to the Roman bowls with collared rims. It is most characteristic of pottery with smoothed surfaces in the 4th century.

It is a widely diffused type. It was manufactured in the nearby Leányfalu, Pilismarót and Tokod workshops. It can be dated, based on the analogues, from the Valentinian period to the beginning of the 5th century.[64]

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[61] *Gose 1975* 468, 475; *Bónis 1942* Taf. XXII/2; *Grünewald 1979* Taf. 24/10.

[62] They can be found in forts on the limes, e. g. Ács-Vaspuszta, Carnuntum, Intercisa, in inner forts as e. g. Keszthely-Fenékpuszta just as well as in cemeteries as e. g. Győr-Vasútállomás, Rusovce, Mözs-Kakasdomb: *Ottományi 1989* Fig. 114/13; *Grünewald 1979* Taf. 58/1, 13, 71/9; *Póczy 1957* Abb. 38/1–2; *Ottományi 1987* 82. VII/5b – Intercisa (middle, second half of the 4th century); *Müller 1979* VI/4; *Szőnyi 1979* 19; *Gaál 1977–78* 36, 18/6; *Kraskovská 1974*, Abb. 78/16. The shape survived in the rough, granulous household pottery with densely incised decoration e. g. Duel bei Feitritz: *Steinklauber 1984* 545.

[63] *Ottományi 1991* Pl. 2.10a; *Friesinger 1981* Abb. 3/9, 7/2.

[64] This bowl type is the leading type of the Mautern workshop. Friesinger dated the similar bowls from around 375 AD. Fragments most resembling the ones from Dunabogdány came from layers at Ács-Vaspuszta dated from the Valentinian period to the beginning of the 5th century. In Carnuntum, it was found in the 5th period of the camp. The same can also be observed in the

No. 5 is a bowl, more globular in the lower part, unsegmented at the top. Similar vessels are known from several sites. It can be dated from the second half of the 4th century and the beginning of the 5th century.[65]

c. Bowls and cups with horizontally protruding rims Pl. V. 6–7 – VI. 1–2

The rim of **no. 6** stands slanting upward. There is yet another similar bowl at Dunabogdány, this one was handmade (*Pl. XI1. 1*). The surface of the latter is also smoothed from the outside. The shape is most characteristic of handmade pottery. They can be dated from the end of the 4th, the beginning of the 5th century.[66]

Nos 7–8 (*Pl. V. 7, VI. 1)* small bowls with horizontally protruding rims, characteristic of the late Roman glazed wares. The glazed variety also occurs at Dunabogdány (*Pl. I. 5–8*). Similar bowls were produced in the Leányfalu workshop at the turn of the 4th and 5th centuries but not with smoothed surfaces. Its analogues with smoothed surfaces are known from the last quarter of the 4th century to the beginning of the 5th century.[67]

No. 9 (*Pl. VI. 2*) is a somewhat deeper bowl with a horizontal rim and conical walls. The rim is decorated with a smoothed-in wavy line. Both the shape and the decoration are characteristic of glazed wares, see Leányfalu. Sometimes it occurs with smoothed surfaces as e. g. in Carnuntum.[68]

d. Deep bowl with horizontally protruding rim, carinated shoulder and conical body: Pl. VI. 3

No. 10: Smoothed only on the outside above the foot. It is a shape characteristic of the household pottery. It can also be found at Dunabogdány in this quality, see Pl. I. 5. It is frequent in the household pottery in the 2nd and 3rd centuries.[69] The quantity significantly decreased by the 4th century when they are still mostly of granulous material and hard baked, smoothed and glazed varieties are also produced. They can be dated from the second half of the 4th century

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ceramic material of hill settlements from the 4th to 6th centuries, e. g. Tinje: *Ottományi 1991* Pl. 2/11, 12; *Ottományi 1996* Abb. 6–6a; *Ottományi 1987* Xia/8a, 10a; *Friesinger 1981* Abb. 57, Abb. 2/5, 6, 9, 10, 8/13, 261; *Ottományi 1989* Fig. 115/24–25, 116/27; *Grünewald 1979* Abb. 70/8, 73/1, 3 etc; *Cigleneči 1984* Abb. 6/72.

[65] e. g. from Carnuntum. It also reached the other side of the Danube. *Grünewald 1979* Taf. 72/1–2; *Peškař* 1983 Obr. 4/1 (beginning of the 5th century).

[66] e. g. Ács-Vaspuszta. It is frequent in the neighbouring German settlements, see Maiersch, Lanhot, Drslavice etc: *Pollak 1980* Taf. 43/11; *Tejral 1986* Obr. 31/3, 18/1, 5–6; *Ottományi 1989* Fig. 117/43 (end of the 4th century).

[67] e. g. Ács-Vaspuszta, Carnuntum, Klosterneuburg, Čortanovci etc. It also appears in cemeteries, see Pécs: *Ottományi 1991* Pl. 8.36, Pl. 9.38; *Ottományi 1989* Fig. 117/40; *Grünewald 1979* Taf. 67/2–3, 6, 70/5; *Grünewald 1983* Abb. 21/15; *Brukner 1981* T, 93/158; *F. Fülep*: Roman Cemeteries on the Territory of Pécs (Sopianae). FontArchHung Budapest 1977, R. 213, Pl. 31.

[68] *Ottományi 1991* Pl. 10/52; *Grünewald 1979* Taf. 70/2, 75/2 – with fluted wavy line.

[69] *Póczy 1957* Abb. 38/9; *Grünewald 1979* 58, Taf. 50/2.

to the beginning of the 5th century and it even survives in Slovenia in the ceramic material of the 4th to 6th centuries.[70]

No. 11 (*Pl. VI. 4*) is the fragment of a bowl with a collared and smoothed rim. The shape occurs at the glazed mortars, it is rare with other types. A similar shape can be found at Dunabogdány on household pottery of granulous material. Analogues with smoothed surfaces rarely occur. They can be dated from the Valentinian period to the beginning of the 5th century.[71]

e. Biconical vessel: Pl. V. 5

Only a small rim fragment has survived from this shape. The lower part of the vessel is uncertain. The surface is horizontally smoothed on the outside.

The biconical vessels were the leading types of the pottery with smoothed surfaces and smoothed-in ornament in the 5th century, their number gradually grew in the course of the century. The greatest number was produced in the vicinity of Dunabogdány in the Leányfalu workshop at the end of the 4th century, the beginning of the 5th century. It is less frequent at other sites, they are only represented by a few pieces. Finds similar to our vessel are known from e. g. Keszthely-Fenékpuszta, from the layer dated to the end of the 4th, the beginning of the 5th centuries.[72]

B. Mug Pl. VI. 6

A small globular mug with a swollen rim and smoothed surfaces. Mugs are rare in late Roman pottery. Glasses were usually used at the table beside plates and bowls. They are equally rare at other sites.

Similar mugs are known from e. g. Carnuntum but with rough surfaces, from finely levigated grey material.[73]

C. Jugs: Pl. VI. 7–8, VII. 1–9, VI-VII. 1–11

There are only a few rims that can be grouped here (6 items), the rest are handle, bottom and decorated wall fragments. The material is mostly finely levigated, tempered with sand, only sometimes with small pebbles. Smoothed-in decoration frequently appears on the surfaces.

Three formal groups can be set up except for rims 1 and 7 which are too small fragments, their shapes are uncertain.

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[70] This is the leading ceramic type of the Budakalász watch tower in all kinds of execution and with various rim shapes: *Ottományi 1987* XVIII/15a-16; Carnuntum: *Grünewald 1979* Taf. 70/4, 74/7; *Ciglenečki 1984* Abb. 2/1–5.

[71] e. g. at Ács-Vaspuszta from the layer of the Valentinian period, at Pilismarót-Malompatak from the material of the potter's workshop dated to the end of the 4th, the beginning of the 5th century: *Ottományi 1989* Fig. 177/47; *Ottományi 1996* Abb. 4/24.

[72] *Ottományi 1991* Pl. 3–5; *Müller 1979* Pl. VI/12. The survival of the shape can be followed at the Lower-Austrian vessels at the end of the 5th, the beginning of the 6th centuries e. g. Neusuppersdorf grave 9, Baumgarten etc. They belong to the North-Danubian variety of the biconical bowls, which were produced, at that time, in the Ternitz workshop: *Friesinger 1981* Abb. 42/1, 43/1.

[73] *Ottományi 1991* 44 Pl. 3b; *Grünewald 1979* Taf. 56/12.

No. 1 (*Pl. VI. 7*): A small jug with a narrow, cylindrical neck. The wall is very thin, the fragment indicates a fine workmanship. The smoothed-in so-called „Murga" ornamental pattern can be seen on the neck: irregular intertwining wavy lines running vertically, flanked by vertical bands. No exact analogue could be found.

a. Jugs with wide mouths and downwards widening necks: Pl. VI. 8, VII. 1,5

The one-handled jugs with protruding rims constitute a group of the so-called „pear-shaped vessels". The shoulder is divided from the neck part with a slight rib or protuberance, see no. 3. A spout is started on the rim of no. 2. The type has a band handle starting from the rim.[74] The neck is decorated with coherent vertical smoothing. There is a slightly visible, finely incised wavy line under the rib on fragment 3, (*Pl. VI. 2*) over which a horizontal band was later smoothed in. This fragment is poorly executed, the surface is cracked, the material contains pebbles. Random smoothing with narrow lines can be seen on the cylindrical neck of no. 7 (*Pl. VII. 5*), the pattern is uncertain.

This type is common in the Roman pottery from the 1st to the end of the 4th centuries. They display various sizes, rims and manufacture.[75] They appear in the first half of the 4th century in smoothed variety, while by the second half of the century, they are decorated with smoothing. Beside vertical smoothing, lattice pattern and other, special motives can be observed.[76] It is a widely dispersed shape. It can both be found in settlements and cemeteries. Stratigraphical data reveal that they were used from the beginning of the 4th century to the middle of the 5th century. Their number gradually decreases in the 5th century.[77]

b. Jugs with narrow necks and protruding (funnel-shaped) rims Pl. VII. 2,6

No 4 (*Pl. VII. 2*) is a small rim fragment, the shape of the body is uncertain. The rim is coherently smoothed from both sides. One-handled jugs with funnel-shaped protruding rims are common in the late Roman period in smoothed and smoothed-in and also in glazed varieties. The body of the jug is usually globular although it may be cylindrical at the glazed variety. Both types were produced in the Leányfalu workshop. The jugs with smoothed-in decoration are the later ones. They can be dated from the last quarter of the 4th century and the first half of the 5th century.[78]

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[74] Such spouted analogues are known e. g. from Intercisa with coins from the beginning of the 4th century etc: *Póczy 1957* Typ. 85a, 87 a-b; *Ottományi 1981* 42–43, VI/4–4a; *Ottományi 1984* 45–56, Fig. 1/3.

[75] *Gose 1975* 518; *A. Schörgendorfer:* Die römerzeitliche Keramik der Ostalpenländer. Berlin 1942, 44; *Bónis 1942* XXIX/17; *Bruckner 1981* T. 148/153–154, 147/150, type 52–53.

[76] e. g. Pécs, Intercisa, Bia, Keszthely-Fenékpuszta, Carnuntum. See also note 75 and *Grünewald 1979* Taf. 84/10.

[77] *Lányi 1972* Abb. 39/26, *Topál – Maróti 1980*, Pl. 17 grave 58; *Gaál 1977–1978* 18/5; *Ottományi 1981* Type 4–4a with further references; *Vágó – Bóna 1976* Taf. 24, grave 1239; *Barkóczi – Salamon 1971* Abb. 12/2 etc.

[78] Intact vessels are mostly known from cemeteries. They can also be found in forts and watch towers as in the fort of Iatrus in layers from the middle of the 4th century to the Valentinian period, although mainly in the glazed variety. Ottományi 1981 45–47, type 9a-d; *Lányi 1972* Abb. 38/16; *B.*

No. 8 (*Pl. VII. 6*) comprises three wall fragments. The parts of the vessel do not fit. They belong to the above described one-handled jug type with a narrow neck and a protruding rim (not necessarily funnel-shaped). Lattice pattern can be seen in a band under the vertical lines and stripes of smoothed-in ornament on the neck. The lower part is horizontally smoothed. It is a leading type in the Leányfalu workshop. Alföldi called it a jug 'from the Hun period'. The smoothed variety existed only from the 370's until the middle of the 5th century. They were initially used by the provincial Roman population, then, from the beginning of the 5th century, they became the characteristic vessels of Barbarian graves (Eastern Gothic, Hun, Alan etc.).[79]

c. Jug with a collared rim: Pl. VII. 4

A smoothed-in, rather irregular wavy line runs along the collar. The neck is covered with vertical smoothing and there is another wavy line under it. Dark grey with darker, lustrous smoothing.

The so-called „Murga" type jug is a characteristic shape at the end of the 4th, in the first half of the 5th centuries. The same rim type may belong to vessels with various shapes. The handle starts from the collar. Pannonian types usually have a downward widening neck and a globular belly. The closest analogue to the Dunabogdány fragment can be found at Tokod where this was the leading jug type of the workshop, although only one fragment displayed smoothed-in ornament. The rest are made of granulous, hard baked material with incised wavy line ornament on the belly and the collar.[80] The wavy line along the collar is also characteristic in the region of Carnuntum and Vindobona as well as in Moravia. It is rarer elsewhere.

All the analogues can be dated from the first half of the 5th century.[81]

The shape is widely dispersed. It appeared in Pannonia at the end of the 4th century, from the 370's still in Roman environment.[82] From the beginning

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Böttinger: Die Keramikfunde aus dem Kastell Iatrus und ihr entwicklungsgeschichtlicher Zusammenhang mit der spätkeltischen Keramik der Balkanländer. Klio 48 (1967) XVII/75, 77–78, type 1; *Friesinger 1981* Abb. 57, Abb. 24/4 – Laa an der Thaya, Abb. 18/5 – Wells etc.

[79] *Ottományi 1981* VII/9a-b; *Ottományi 1991*, 29–30, 39/12; The shape copies provincial metal or glass wares of Roman origin. The grey, undecorated variety appeared at the beginning of the 4th century while the glazed variety was frequent in the second half of the century.; *Alföldi 1932* XXX/2, XXXI/4; Laa an der Thaya, Wien-Simmering etc; *Friesinger 1981* Abb. 18/4, 22/5, 23/8, 24/1–7, 28/1–10 etc.

[80] Similar incised wavy lines can be found on the vessels with collared rims in the Leányfalu workshop. Here, the smoothed-in ornament is more frequent. On the latter ones, vertical band and special motives can be seen instead of the wavy lines: *Lányi 1981* Abb. 7/8, 3/1–8, tape III; *Ottományi 1987* XLIV/1; *Ottományi 1991* Pl. 15.

[81] e. g. Wien-Kriegministerium, Wien-Leopoldau, Velké Němčice, Vrhoslavice etc. The decoration appeared in Carnuntum on the black vessels with lustrous smoothing of the latest group 'C'. Tejral dated it in the Moravian territory from 430/450. *Grünewald 1979* Taf. 85/8, 11; *Windl 1996* Abb. 3/1 – Schletz, No. 5; *Friesinger 1984* Abb. 7/5, 6/4, 8/1; *Friesinger 1981* Abb. 27/1; *Peškař* 1983 Obr. 2/7; *Tejral 1985* Abb. 14/2, 4, 15/1–2.

[82] M. Kiss dated a similar jug fragment in Lussonium, based on stratigraphical data, from before 375 AD. See *M. Kiss*: Adatok a Murga-típusú korsók kérdéséhez in: A kőkortól a középkorig. Szeged 1994, 253.

of the 5th century, it became more frequent in the single barbarian graves, although most of them were still made in a Roman workshop (Barbarian products are easy to distinguish by their manufacture and material). The Szombathely workshop still produced them in the middle of the century together with other Roman type ceramics.

Within this time span, the Dunabogdány item can be dated from the first half of the 5th century, although its material and smoothing cannot be grouped among the vessels with black, lustrous surfaces of the latest group.

The vessel type cannot be attributed to a certain population. They were used by the Romans, the Sarmatians, the Suebi, the Eastern Goths and the Huns during the Late Roman and Early Migration Period. It was produced over a vast area in the same time, it was a so-called „interregional" shape. Alföldi called it a jug „from the Hun period" although it appeared already at the end of the 4th century and was present in the whole Carpathian Basin by the middle of the 5th century.

No. 6 (*Pl. VIII. 3*) The shape of the fragment is uncertain. It is either a segmented base or a rim fragment. There are Late Roman analogues to both shapes. The slender, high jugs with inverted bases, glazed or smoothed surfaces are characteristic of the 4th century. Our vessel was decorated with vertical, broad, lustrous smoothed lines, while the ribs on the profiled bottom were emphasised by horizontal smoothing. Although there are two exact analogues (Intercisa, Szombathely), both are similarly small fragments and leave the question of the shape open. Judged from the size and the poorly executed inside, the fragment seems to have been a base.[83]

Wall fragments: **Nos 9–10** *(Pl. VIII. 7)*

I grouped four fragments decorated with vertical smoothing to **No. 9** (*Pl. VII. 7*). The exact shape of the vessel cannot be told.

No. 10 comprises fragments decorated with horizontal lines and bands. Their material is finely levigated, tempered with sand, grey with darker linear smoothing.

Handle fragments: 4 items

There are four band-handles with smoothed surfaces in our material. They may belong to any of the above described jug types.

D. Cups Pl. VIII. 1

A one-handled cup, the handle starts directly under the rim. An irregularly incised wavy line runs round on the slanting, slightly bent rim. The wavy line is

[83] *Ottományi 1987* 214; *Ottományi 1997* IV/5; Soproni published it as a rim. The jugs with segmented rims are usually half the size e. g. Leányfalu, Budakeszi, Intercisa, Carnuntum, etc. If they are the same size, the neck is not so much inverted. e. g. Ács-Vaspuszta: *Soproni 1985* Taf. 17/9; *Ottományi 1991* 17/17; *Póczy 1957* Abb. 48/112; *Grünewald 1979* 65/8; *É. Bónis:* Pottery. in: The Archaeology of Roman Pannonia. Budapest–Lexington 1980, Fig. 67/14–16; *Ottományi 1989* Fig. 121/16, 15 etc.

sometimes very thin, sometimes deeper and broader. A coherent, horizontal smoothing can be seen under the incision on the rim and on the outside wall of the neck.

Cups with slightly bent rims adjusted to lids are common characteristics of the 4th century pottery. Near Dunabogdány, the Pilismarót-Malompatak workshop manufactured similar ones at the turn of the 4th and 5th centuries. The incised decoration on the smoothed vessels is only characteristic of the latest period at the beginning of the 5th century.[84]

E. Pots Pl. VIII. 2–4

Half of the fragments are rims that can be grouped into types, the rest are undecorated wall fragments.

Type 1 (*Pl. VIII. 2)*: The neck is smoothed with horizontal bands, the rim is protruding to accept a lid. It is difficult to decide from the small fragment if it belongs to the wide-mouthed so-called pear-shaped jugs or among the pots. The decoration dates it from the second half, the end of the 4th century.

Type 2 (*Pl. VIII. 4*): A biconical large pot with an inverted neck. The neck is decorated with vertical bands and a wavy line runs round under it. The vertical bands have a unique execution. The edges of the bands are bordered by darker lines which are somewhat deepened, while smoothing is of a lighter shade in the middle. Similar depressed, darker, black smoothing can be found on the „Murga" type vessels in the camp in Lussonium.[85] They are of poor quality, became blown and porous in the course of baking. It is a leading type of pots with smoothed-in decoration in the late Roman period. The largest number of similar pots was produced in the vicinity in the workshop at Pilismarót-Malompatak grove. Here, there were a smaller and a larger variety of the biconical vessels. Our one is similar to the larger one.[86] They can be dated from the last quarter of the 4th century and the first half of the 5th century. Our vessel, based on the poor quality, probably came from the 5th century.

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[84] see at Leányfalu and Ács-Vaspuszta on other vessel shapes. *Ottományi 1991* Pl. 3.19; *Ottományi 1989*, Fig. 122/19, fig. 128/4; *Ottományi 1996* Abb. 6/2. There are some small rim fragments that cannot be grouped into a type (3 items). They may belong to the small cups with simple protruding rims and smoothed surfaces frequent in the 4th century. The surfaces are covered with vertical or horizontal smoothing. Similar cups are frequently met in settlements and cemeteries as well. They must have been manufactured in small, local workshops with various rims. *Ottományi 1981* Pl. X.

[85] *Kiss 1993* 90, Fig. 4. The shape can be traced back to the so-called egg-shaped large vessel of the Late La Tène pottery. The ornament is also similar to the Celtic decoration arranged into stripes. Similar shapes with less inverted necks can also be found in the early Roman ceramics: *Bónis 1969*, Typ 14, Abb. 310/16, 27/1 etc; *Bónis 1942* 14, VIII/1.

[86] It is common in forts on the limes elsewhere, too, e. g. at Klosterneuburg, Aquincum, Tokod etc. Similar shapes also with fluted decoration can be found among the wares of the group „A-B" in Carnuntum. It occurs in inner settlements as well although more rarely: *Ottományi 1981* XI/1–3, 59; *Ottományi 1996* Abb. 11–14, 104–105; *Ottományi 1984* Abb. 1/4; *Ottományi 1987* LXIII/37, 165 – Keszthely-Fenékpuszta from the „C" period of the fort; *Grünewald 1979* 77, Taf. 79/1–3, 80/2 etc; *Grünewald 1983* Abb. 35/1–2; *Friesinger 1981* Abb. 11/14; *Friesinger 1984* Abb. 10/7; *Stadler 1981* 139–182, Abb. 7/4, 15/5.

F. Lid Pl. VIII. 3

There is only one lid with smoothed surfaces in our material. It is conical, the rim is somewhat inverted. The upper part is smoothed on the outside. It is a common Roman shape, maybe a late one due to its smoothed surface.

Smoothed-in motives and technique

About half of the fragments with smoothed-in decoration are ornamented with *vertical lines* or *bands*. See jugs 6, 8 and 9, pots types 1–2. The necks and the shoulders of jugs and pots bear this decoration. Other motives may follow underneath on the shoulder, e. g. a wavy line on pot type 2. The handles of the jugs are also decorated with vertical smoothing, The band-handles in our material are not decorated with independent lines, they are smoothed uniformly over the whole surface. The whole surface of the cups may be covered with vertical smoothing. This is the earliest smoothed-in motive. It can be found as long as smoothed pottery is used, mostly combined with other motives.

Wavy line is another frequent motive that appeared early. Its location on the vessel is varied. It may decorate the rim of bowls with horizontally protruding rims, the collar and shoulder of the „Murga" type jugs and the shoulder of the pear-shaped jugs or pots. Each fragment displays wavy lines produced with various techniques. It is a very narrow line on the bowl rims while it is rather irregular but wider and lustrous on the collared rims of jugs. The wavy line on the shoulder of pots is regular, bent into acute angles and is close to a zigzag line.[87] Wavy line is the most frequent motive of the Celtic and early Roman pottery. It is also one of the earliest motives on the late Roman smoothed-in pottery and it is used as long as the first half of the 5th century. The smoothed-in wavy line often occurs on the same shapes as the incised wavy line in the late Roman period e. g. on bowls with horizontally protruding rims, jugs with collared rims etc.

Incised wavy lines can be observed at Dunabogdány on the rims of cups with smoothed surfaces and also on the shoulder of jug no. 3 (*Pl. VI. 8*). The two ornament types are combined at the beginning of the 5th century.

The so-called *Murga motive* is a combination of vertical bands and a vertical wavy line. It is applied on the neck of a jug at Dunabogdány (*Pl. VI. 7*). Although it got its name from the decoration of the collared „Murga" jug, it can be found on other forms, too. It is less dispersed as other motives. It was already applied in the early Roman period and the 3rd century but it is characteristic of ceramics at the end of the 4th, the beginning of the 5th centuries.[88]

A *triangle pattern* can be seen on the outer surface of bowl 3. It is hardly visible, irregular, smoothed-in in a very narrow line. Underneath, the surface is

[87] There are also a few fragments in the Dunabogdány material made of good quality light grey material bearing a flatter wavy line ornament. They are from the Early Roman period: *Soproni 1985* Taf. 17/7.

[88] *Ottományi 1981* 80, XX/8-a-d; *Sz. Palágyi – K. Sey:* A balácai éremlelet. CommArchHung 1983, 65, Figs 4–5; *K. Ottományi – D. Gabler*: Római telepek Herceghalom és Páty határában (A pátyi terra sigillata). StComit 17 (1985) 212, Pl. XXVII; Kiss 1993, Fig. 4/5.

smoothed with random smoothed lines. It is used in various combinations from the last quarter of the 4th century to the first half of the 5th century.

A *lattice pattern* appears on the shoulder of a jug at Dunabogdány (*Pl. VII. 6*). Above it, coherent vertical smoothing decorates the neck of the vessel. The lattice pattern is the most characteristic smoothed-in motive from the end of the 4th century to the end of the 5th century. Its number increases in the course of the 5th century and becomes dominating after the 450's.[89]

Horizontal lines or bands are not separate motives in our material. The lines separating vessel parts or the ribs segmenting the rims of the feet are emphasised with horizontally smoothed-in lines. They mostly decorate the inner and outer surfaces of bowls, the inner side of jug rims (no. 4), the belly of jugs and pots (nos 8 and 10). The same can be found on the outer surfaces of mugs and lids at Dunabogdány. Vessels with horizontally smoothed surfaces were used from the beginning of the 4th century. Their combination with other motives appeared later.

III. Household pottery (93 items) *Pl. VIII. 5–8, XII. 8*

Wheel-thrown, grey, simple cooking and serving vessels of the everyday life belong to the household pottery. At Dunabogdány, they make 1/3 of the pottery material. (Only rims and decorated wall fragments.) Vessels manufactured on a slow-wheel were also grouped here. Graph 5: Distribution of household pottery according to shapes.

The distribution of the household pottery according to shapes is realistic, relevant to the daily usage. A similar distribution could be observed in other camps as well.

The material of the fragments is baked hard, tempered mostly with pebbles and sand (40% – 40%). The surface of some of the fragments tempered with pebbles became porous during baking when pebbles burst out. Fragments with finely levigated material, tempered with sand and baked hard are relatively less frequent (20.7%). There are also a few vessels tempered with lime grains, see jug 2 (*Pl. X. 3*), whose material contains dense lime grains.

Several groups can be separated based on the colour:

Group 1: Its colour may vary from light grey to dark grey. The common characteristics are the granulous material tempered with pebbles, baked hard; features generally characteristic of household pottery, see cups 10 and 13. These are the earliest types. The later varieties have more pebble in the material, which became more porous during baking, see cups 9 and 14.

Group 2: Light grey, rather finely levigated, tempered with sand, baked hard e. g. bowls 3, 6, 7/a and 11. They are somewhat older than the following two groups.

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[89] see Szombathely-Fő tér, Ternitz etc: *Ottományi 1981* XVIII-XXV, 74–85; *Ottományi 1997* Pl. V–VII; *Friesinger 1981* Abb. 33–41.

Group 3: Black, mostly grey in section. The material is baked hard, contains small pebbles and sand, see bowls 1, 4, 7 and 8, pots 11 and 15. On a variety, the section of the black vessel is red, see bowls 4a and 5, pot 8. Pot 16 with an inverted rim is grey and red in section.

Group 4: Reddish brown, usually became black in course of secondary burning. Hard baked, tempered with smaller and larger pebbles and sand, see bowls 5/2, 9 and 10, jug 1, pot 12, lid 1, fragment with incised wavy line (Pl. XII. 17).

A variety of this group is baked less hard, always spotted black. It became black due to incorrect firing. A vessel made on a slow-wheel (cup 2a) and a strainer belong here. 4a: All the other vessels made on a slow-wheel were baked laminated or spotted black. They are not red but brownish black, see cups 1–2 and 3, pots 4 and 6. Pot 7 is similarly brownish black. This is the latest group.

Numerous vessels got black colour in course of secondary firing and the rims of the cooking vessels are always sooty.

A. Bowls Pl. VIII. 5–8-IX 1–8, Pl. X. 1

a. Bowls with inverted rims:[90] *Pl. VIII. 5–6*

No. 1 (*Pl. VIII. 5*) is a flat bowl. **No. 1a** (*Pl. VIII. 6)* is a bowl with a smaller diameter. Both were made with similar rims. Their colour varies between light grey and black.

Based on the stratigraphic data of the analogues, they can be dated from the middle of the 4th century to the beginning of the 5th century. It is one of the most frequent bowl types among the wheel-thrown, undecorated grey pottery. The shape survived in the highly granulous household pottery of the 5th and 6th centuries.[91]

Bowls that could also be used as **lids** were made with rims cut deeper (see lid type 2). They were used from the beginning of the 4th century through a century.

b. Strainer Pl. VIII. 7.

The rim and the shape resemble those of the bowls with inverted rims.

No. 2: Based on the poor manufacture, it belongs to the late group of pottery in the camp. The analogues of the shape can be found in the neighbouring German

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[90] Only three items belong certainly here, although there are other four fragments where it is difficult to decide if they were used as lids or bowls.

[91] To the origin and diffusion of the shape see the glazed and smoothed pottery. Similar bowls were produced in a limited number in the nearby Tokod workshop. In Carnuntum, it was found in varieties hard baked and smoothed surfaces and it also has an early antecedent. It is characteristic of the western provinces as well. Gose dates the shape from the second half of the 4th century, although also mentions items from the 2nd century: *Grünewald 1979* 57/10, 24/10; *Gose 1975* 474; *Póczy 1957* Abb. 38/2 – Intercisa; *Lányi 1981* Abb. 14/4 – Tokod; *Ottományi 1989* Fig. 114/13, 13a – Ács-Vaspuszta; *Ottományi 1987* VI/15b – Intercisa etc.; *F. Fremersdorf*: Der römische Gutshof Köln – Müngersdorf. RGF 6 (1933) Abb. 39 A/12; *B. Kaschau*: Die Drehscheibenkeramik aus den Plangrabungen 1867–1972 Runden Berg bei Urach 1976, Alzey type 29; *Steinklauber 1984* 545.

settlements in the second half, at the end of the 4th century.[92] The type is characteristic of the handmade pottery, see Dunabogdány handmade bowl no. 2.

d. Bowl with a segmented upper part: Pl. VIII. 8

No. 3: A deeper bowl with a conical lower part and with a rim segmented with ribs. It can be found in several varieties at Dunabogdány (see glazed No. 23, smoothed No. 4), with double or multiple segmented rim. It is frequent in Pannonia both with smoothed surfaces and in an undecorated, hard baked variety. It can be found from the first half of the 4th century to the middle of the 5th century. Within this period, the multi-segmented bowls, similar to our ones, are not characteristic earlier than the last quarter of the 4th century.[93]

d-e. The majority of the bowls at Dunabogdány were made with horizontal or bent protruding rims (Nos 4–11). Accordingly, the vessel shapes can be divided into several groups:

d. *Cups and bowls with horizontal protruding rims* **Nos 4–4a, 8, 11** (*Pl. IX. 1,3,6,8*)

It was a common and popular pottery shape the 4th century. It is especially characteristic of glazed wares. At Dunabogdány, both glazed (see Nos 5–10) and smoothed (see Nos 7–9) varieties can be found and they are also frequent in the household pottery. It may be a small bowl with conical walls (Nos 4–4a, *Pl. IX. 1,3*), a more globular one carinated at the lower part (No. 8, *Pl. IX. 6*) or a deeper and larger bowl (No. 11, *Pl. IX. 8*). The rim of the latter is wavy. Similar bowls and plates were made in the Leányfalu workshop at the turn of the 4th and 5th centuries. They can be found in the limes camps, the cemeteries and the settlements from the second half of the 4th century to the beginning of the 5th century.[94]

e. Bowls with protruding rim and carinated at the shoulder **Nos 5–6** *Pl. IX. 2,5*

Six fragments belong here. The rim may be horizontal or adjusted to a lid. Sometimes it is decorated, e. g. a bundle of incised wavy lines runs round on item no. 6. This incised wavy line resembles the glazed bowls with horizontally protruding rim.

Their colour is grey or black, the latter is red in section. A similar bowl can be found among the smoothed pottery in the Dunabogdány material. (The material contains pebbles, still the lower part is decorated with smoothed bands on the outside, see No. 10.) The shape goes back to the Roman types from the 2nd and 3rd centuries with horizontally protruding rims and a carination on the shoulder. It is characteristic of the household pottery.[95]

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[92] *Pollak 1980* Taf. 137/2 – Straning.

[93] see Tokod, Leányfalu, Boiotro, Tinje: *Lányi 1981* Abb. 14/2, type XXVIII; *Ottományi 1987* type XIa/8a; *Ottományi 1991* Pl. 2/11; *Grünewald 1979* Taf. 73/3; *Christlein 1982* Abb. 9/9 (5th century); *Cigleneči 1984* Abb. 6/72 (4–6th centuries), *Friesinger 1981* Abb. 57. More details about the shape see smoothed pottery bowl 4.

[94] see note 65; e. g. Carnuntum, Ács-Vaspuszta, Pécs etc. It also occurs in materials of the same period in the neighbouring provinces: *Ottományi 1991* Pl. 9–10. 43–52, Pl. 12. 61–63; *Grünewald 1979* Abb. 67/8; *Bârzu 1994–1995* fig. 8/13 – Bratei.

[95] *Bónis 1969* 174, Pl. XX-XXI; *Bónis 1942* 24, XXIII/6; *Grünewald 1979* 58, Taf. 50/2.

Its analogues can mostly be found in the nearby workshop at Leányfalu although this bowl shape is also characteristic of the Pilismarót and Budakalász pottery with a different rim. Some vessels may have got here from Leányfalu since both their shapes and material are similar, see no. 5. It also occurs in other camps on the limes and in inner settlements. Similar shapes with more emphasised profiles can be found in the Tokod pottery. The wavy line decorating the rim and the grooving of the rim edges are characteristic of his material.[96]

f. Bowl with an „S" profile **No. 7** *Pl. IX. 4*

Three fragments of this type can be found in our material. The shape goes back to the Celtic bowls with an „S" profile and it is also frequent in the Roman pottery from the 1st and 2nd centuries. It revived at the end of the 4th century although did not belong among the leading types of late Roman bowls. It was only dispersed over certain parts of the province. There is a group at the Danube Bend where the majority of the vessels was produced in the Leányfalu, Pilismarót and Tokod workshops. It is mainly a household pottery, there are, however, representatives with smoothed surfaces. Our items resemble the most the products of the Leányfalu workshop.[97]

g. Deep, globular bowls with horizontal or bent protruding rims **Nos 9–10** *Pl. 7, X. 1.*

Bowl No. 9 was made on a slow-wheel as suggested by the marks left by the potter's wheel resembling incisions. The rim is grooved. Both types were baked to a spotted black colour. Based on their material, they belonged to the latest pottery group of the camp.

The shape, apart from the rim, goes back to the mortars. It is rare with a similar rim. It can be found in several varieties at Dunabogdány, see glazed bowl no. 13. Similar vessels were made at Leányfalu, Pilismarót and Tokod. The Leányfalu items are so similar that it seems probable that the vessels were supplied to Dunabogdány from this workshop. The grooved and wavy shape of the rim edge is also characteristic of this workshop. Exact analogues of these vessels are less known from larger distances. It can be dated from the end of the 4th century and the first half of the 5th century.[98]

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[96] *Ottományi 1991* 11/57; *Ottományi 1996* Abb. 4/13–5; *Ottományi 1987* XVIII/15a, 16 (Budakalász); *Póczy 1957* Abb. 38/9 – Intercisa; *Lányi 1981* type XXXI, Abb. 15/5; Bundles of wavy lines on the rim or the wall of the bowls are frequent in the 5th and 6th centuries in the Southern Alps: *Cigleneèki 1984* Abb. 2/1–5; *Rodriguez 1997* Taf. 1/7.

[97] *Ottományi 1991* 9, notes 23–28 with further references, map 2, Pl. 6–8; *Ottományi 1996* Abb. 3/8–12. Another group can be found in South Pannonia and a third one in Moravia, outside the province. The latter one is characteristic of the first half of the 5th century. A few pieces are also scattered elsewhere. It is more frequent in the Barbarian regions than in the province. It is a leading type of the Marosszentanna-Cherniahov culture and it can also be met at the Sarmatians. It survived in the 6th century. *Bârzu 1994–1995*, fig. 8/9 (5th-6th centuries).

[98] *Ottományi 1991* 8/37, Pl. 9. 37a, 10/52; *Ottományi 1996* Abb. 4/24; *Ottományi 1987* XX/19; In Romania, it was also found in layers from the 5th-6th centuries: *Bârzu 1994–1995* Fig. 8/12.

B. Jugs Pl. X. 2–3,5.

Half of the fragments are rims that can be grouped into types. There are, furthermore, two handles and a shoulder fragment decorated with incised wavy lines.

No. 1 (*Pl. X. 2*): A wide-mouthed, so-called pear-shaped jug with a slightly protruding rim. The handle is missing. Reddish brown, the outside was secondarily burned black.

The vessel is a widely diffused Roman type. Its hard baked, grey variety is characteristic of the whole of the 4th century. The analogues can be dated from the middle of the 4th century to the beginning of the 5th century.[99] Based on the material, they are characteristic of the final period of the camp.

No. 2 (*Pl. X. 3*): It is also a variety of the pear-shaped vessels, although much less frequent. The neck is cylindrical, the belly is globular.

The shape can also be found in the Roman pottery. The material with lime grains and a porous structure certainly dates it late. The analogues are only with smoothed surfaces or smoothed-in decoration in the second half and at the end of the 4th century. It also occurs in a glazed variety at Leányfalu. It is rare in the household pottery.[100]

No. 3: A spouted jug (too small to draw). The material is granulous, hard baked, secondarily burned. One-handled jugs with similar rims are very characteristic of the household pottery in the 4th century.[101]

Two **band-handles** can also be grouped to the late jugs. They are unsegmented, their material contains pebbles. They could have belonged to any of the above groups.

Incised wavy line ornament: A fragment where a bundle of several rows of wavy lines decorated the shoulder or neck of a jug (*Pl. X. 5).*

The analogues can be found in the nearby workshops of Leányfalu and Tokod. This incised decoration of wavy lines became frequent on wheel-thrown, grey pottery at the end of the 4th, the first half of the 5th centuries. It is less common in Pannonia. We can mainly find it in the vicinity of Tokod and Leányfalu and also in Moravia on the other side of the Danube in the 5th century. In the SE Alps, the incised wavy line and the bundle of wavy lines is a leading ornament type of pottery in the 5th and 6th centuries.[102]

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[99] The diffusion and the dating of the shape has been described at the vessels with smoothed surfaces. see: Intercisa, Keszthely-Fenékpuszta, Pilismarót, Mautern etc.; *Póczy 1957*, type 97 (coins from the middle of the 4th century to the Valentinian period); *K. Szabó*: Die 1977 freigelegten Gräber der westlichen Gräberfelder von Intercisa. AlbaReg. 18 (1980) XIII/5, grave 2233; *Bóna – Vágó 1976* Taf. 9, grave 165; *Friesinger 1981* Abb. 52–53, Abb. 19, 21, 15/5, *Ottományi 1987* 130, XXXV/6, *Ottományi 1996* Abb. 6/1.

[100] *Bónis 1942* XXVII/3; *Póczy 1957* Abb. 45/98 – Intercisa; *Ottományi 1981* VI/1; *Ottományi 1987* XXXVIIa/16 – Intercisa; *Ottományi 1991* Pl. 18. 25 – Leányfalu; *Ottományi 1984* Fig. 1. 2. – Nagykanizsa; *Barkóczi – Salamon 1971* Abb. 15/3, Gr. 14.

[101] The latest one in Intercisa was found together with a Valens coin: *Póczy 1957,* Abb. 48/113.

[102] *Ottományi 1991* 21/33, 42/1, 5; *Lányi 1981* Abb. 3/1, 4/10, 5/9, 12, 6/1–10 etc; *Rodriguez 1997* Taf. 1/1, 5, 2/15 etc. – Teurnia; *Bârzu 1994–1995* fig. 8/2, 5, 10 – Bratei; *Tejral 1985* Abb. 19/7, 7/6 – Jirikovice, Velké Němčice.

C. Cups and pots: Pl. X. 4,6,7, XII. 1–8

More than half of the rims (58%) can be grouped to cup and pot types. A smaller portion was made with simple protruding rims (nos 1–8), the majority, however, is profiled, adjusted to a lid. The cups and pots with protruding rims are never identical, it is difficult to find analogues.

The first group mainly contains vessels made on a slow-wheel (nos 1–6) where the mark left by the wheel, resembling incisions, can be seen on the shoulder. Vertical finger-print furrows are frequent on their inner surfaces. A multiple, irregularly incised line ornament runs round under the rim, see no 1. Some display slight traces of broomed decoration e. g. nos 2 and 6. This may be the print of the raw end of the stick used for the shaping of the surface. It can also be observed on handmade pottery. Sometimes, prints of smoothing with wood or textile can be observed on the inner side of the vessel e. g. no. 2.

The vessels made on slow-wheels are as poorly baked as the handmade ones. Their colour is not unified but burned to a spotted colour. Mostly, they are black or brownish grey with black burned spots (nos 1–2, 4–6). Sometimes they are reddish brown, see nos 2a and 12. No. 12 was also made on a slow-wheel.

Nos 1–2 (*Pl. X. 4,6*): Their shape and the hardly visible broomed ornament on fragment 2 resemble early handmade vessels. The small cups with protruding rims and handles can be found in settlements and cemeteries from the 4th century. They were manufactured in many local workshops with various rims. One of them was at Pilismarót-Malompatak at the end of the 4th, the beginning of the 5th centuries.[103]

No. 3 (*Pl. X. 7*) was also made on a slow wheel, it is a cup with a protruding rim. The material contains large pebbles, it is poorly elaborated. Several rows of depressed ornament run round the shoulder. A square-shaped, impressed ornament, arranged in a row follows underneath. It is a unique decoration. Similar motives can be observed on German-type handmade pottery. The rims of these vessels are less protruding, the shape has less bent contours. They are not exact analogues to our items.[104] Our vessel is a very late one regarding its material, finish and decoration, probably a barbarian make.

Nos 4–5 (*Pl. XI. 1,3*) are vessels widening at the shoulder and with very protruding rims. They are poorly executed. Several fragments with similar rims can be grouped here although not all of them were made on a slow-wheel. The analogues came from layers from the end of the 4th, the beginning of the 5th centuries.[105]

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[103] *Ottományi 1987* LIII/6 – Keszthely-Fenékpuszta; *Ottományi 1996* Abb. 6/4; *Grünewald 1979* 55/4–5.

[104] e. g. Maiersch, Poysdorf, Straning, Wien-Aspern etc; *Pollak 1980* Taf. 48/2, 88–89, 118/3, 129/27, 156/13 etc.

[105] e. g. Intercisa, Jurišna Vas, Bratei etc. The shape with an incised wavy line decoration was a popular type of Slovenian hill settlements in the 4–6th centuries: *Ottományi 1987* LXIIa/27a; *M. Strmčnik*: Mariborsko-bistriško območje v poznorimski dobi (Der Raum Maribor und Bistrica in spätrömischen Zeit) AV 48 (1997) T. 4/2–3; *S. Cigleneči*: Scavi nell abitato tardo-antico di Tonovcov Grad presso Caporetto (Kobarid) Slovenia. AqN 65 (1994) 186. Tav. II/3; *Bârzu 1994–1995* fig 13/15; *J. Meterc*: Slučajne najdbe z Ajdne (Chance finds from Ajdna) AV 32 (1981) T. 26/8; *Rodriguez 1997* Taf. I/4 – Teurnia etc.

No. 7 (*XI. 5*): Its shape goes back to early Roman antecedents.[106] It is a late Roman product judged from its poorly baked material with pebbles.

No. 8 (*Pl. XI. 4*): The shape of the pot is similar to that of the previous ones but its is somewhat larger. All the fragments belonging here are hard baked. They may be tempered with sand or pebbles. It is frequent in late Roman settlement materials. They were used till the end of the 4th, the beginning of the 5th century.[107]

The shapes of vessels belonging to **No. 6** (*Pl. XI. 2)* still resemble the previous one although they were already made with somewhat arched bent adjusted to lids. They are inferior quality and contain pebbles. An ornament similar to brooming runs round the neck of one of them. This rim type is characteristic of the whole of the 4th century and can be found until the 5th century.[108]

The rims of another group of cups and pots are more profiled, adjusted to lids (Nos 9–15). Their material is always hard baked, granulous or contains small pebbles.

No. 9 (*Pl. XI. 6*) is a pot shape widening at the shoulder. Emphasised marks of the potter's wheel can be seen on the shoulder, they may even be accepted as decoration. Similar marks of the potter's wheel are characteristic of the pots made in the nearby Leányfalu workshop. Both the material and technique of the fragment suggest that the vessel came from there. These pots are common in the household pottery in the 4th-5th centuries in the materials of the settlements, the watch towers and also the camps along the limes.[109]

Nos 10–13 (*Pl. XI. 7–7, XII. 1–2*) belonged to more elongated vessels. The straight vertical rims may be segmented, see no. 13. Sometimes they have handles, they may be called smaller jugs. They were made of hard baked material and they are relatively finely executed. Nos 10 and 13 are earlier ones, while No. 12, made on a slow-wheel and baked to a spotted colour, belongs among the latest types. This vessel shape is characteristic from the middle of the 4th century to the end of the century, sometimes it even occurs at the beginning of the 5th century.[110] They are rarely made on a slow-wheel.

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[106] *Grünewald 1979* 53/8 (2nd century)

[107] e. g. Ács-Vaspuszta, Keszthely-Fenékpuszta, Pilismarót, Mautern: *Ottományi 1996* Abb. 7/5; *Ottományi 1987* LXII/28; *Müller 1979* V/10; *Ottományi 1989* Fig. 129/21; *Gassner 1992* Abb. 9/38.

[108] *Ottományi 1989* Fig. 28 – Ács-Vaspuszta; *Grünewald 1979* Taf. 55/4–5 – Carnuntum.

[109] *E. Tóth*: Römische Wachttürme von Pilismarót. CommArchHung 1984, Abb. 11/3, 6, 10 – Pilismarót, watch tower; *Windl 1996* Abb. 6/A 744, 9/814 – Schletz; It can be found in the Barbaricum in the 5th century. It survived in later Gepid settlements in the 5th-6th centuries: *Tejral 1985* Abb. 20/6 – Velké Němčice; *J. Cseh*: Kora népvándorláskori telepészlet a Tiszazugban. ArchÉrt 121–122 (1994–95) Fig. 7/1 – Szelevény-yellow bank.

[110] Intact vessels can mostly be found in cemeteries, the majority at Keszthely. The shape appeared in inner forts and also at sites along the limes e. g. Keszthely-Fenékpuszta, Ács-Vaspuszta, Carnuntum, Klosterneuburg: *Lányi 1972* type 40/8; *R. Müller*: Római kori leletek Zalaszentgrótról. Zalai Gyűjt 6 (1976) grave 3; *Szőnyi 1979* 32 – Győr-Vasútállomás; *K. Sági*: Das römische Gräberfeld von Keszthely-Dobogó. FontArchHung. Budapest 1981, Abb. 31/2–4; *Müller 1979* IV/7; *Ottományi 1989* Fig. 131/30–34b; *Grünewald 1979* Taf. 77, 78/6, 83/2–3; *Grünewald 1983* Abb. 37/10a; *Windl 1996* Abb. 4/A764 – Schletz, 5th century.

The type goes back to Roman shapes in the 2nd-3rd centuries. Larger pots with similar rims and already sometimes with smoothed surfaces got their shapes from these smaller jugs or cups by the end of the 4th century.

No.14 (*Pl. XII. 3*) is a small vessel with a segmented rim. The fragment is too small, its exact shape cannot be told. It had one handle. Cups are frequent with such rims in the 3rd-4th centuries. This piece, with pebbles in the material, can rather be dated to the 4th century.

No.15 (*Pl. XII. 4*) is a globular vessel widening at the shoulder. It was poorly executed. Similar ones can be found among the products of the Leányfalu workshop at the end of the 4th century and in the first half of the 5th century. Based on the analogues, it can be dated from the second half of the 4th century or the beginning of the 5th century.[111]

No.16 (*Pl. XII. 5*): A pot with an inverted rim. Incised wavy lines in two rows can be seen on and under the rim on the outside. The wavy lines are irregular.

The antecedents of the shape could be found in the Celtic, early Roman handmade pottery. The wheel-thrown variety was also present in the early period. There is a similar piece also at Dunabogdány decorated with a combed pattern.[112]

It appeared at the German tribes on the Elbe in the 4th century where it is called a 'Suebi pot'. It can be found in Quad, Markomann, Burgundian and Langobard settlements and cemeteries as well from about 300 AD. These late vessels can mostly be found in Pannonia on the northern stretch of the limes bordering the Quad region. There are three vessels of the same type at Leányfalu. Their sizes are different and they were decorated with broomed and finger-impressed motives. No analogues could be found with wavy lines.[113] The Dunabogdány vessel probably came here from the neighbouring Quad territory.

D. Lids Pl. XII. 8–9

They can be divided into two types.

Type 1 (*Pl. XII. 8*). They are straight lids with rounded ends. They are difficult to date as the shape is at home in the ceramics of all the four centuries

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[111] At Keszthely-Fenékpuszta, they came from the layer contemporary to the construction of the fort. At Ács-Vaspuszta, they are from structures dated from after the Valentinian period and the beginning of the 5th century. Similar ones are also known from cemeteries, although rarely e. g. Csákvár: *Ottományi 1987* 156, LIX/19–20; *Ottományi 1991* Pl. 26.27, 30; *Ottományi 1989* Fig. 128/3, 129/13 etc; *Barkóczi – Salamon* 1971 Abb. 14/4; *Gudea 1972* XIII/2 – Buciumi.

[112] *Horváth 1997* Type III/ subtype 1. 169–170; *Bónis 1969* Abb. 90/22, 88/8, 47/33; Dunabogdány, SzFM inv. no. 78.40.4.

[113] e. g. Leányfalu, Carnuntum, Oberleis, Underlanzendorf: *I. Bóna*: Beiträge zur Archäologie und Geschichte der Quaden. ActaArchHung 15 (1963) 246, 290–292, Abb. 9/1–2. Bóna suggested here the presence of a new Langobard group in the Danube Bend at the end of the 4th century related to the 'Suebi' vessels at Leányfalu and the comb from Nógrádverőce. Similar vessel decorated with an 'X' motive at Carnuntum is dated to the 3rd century, while the rest to the turn of the 4th and 5th centuries. The shape is known eastwards as well on the territory of the Cherniahov culture, although its is less frequent than at the Quads: *Ottományi 1991* 35/1–3, note 186; *Stadler 1981* Abb. 5/1; *Grünewald 1979* 65 Taf. 61/6; *Pollak 1980* Taf. 75/1; *Baran 1964* 3/4, 10.

of the Roman period. The poorer execution and the pebbles in the material may suggest a late usage. It was widely diffused in the province.[114]

Type 2 (*Pl. XII.* 9). The sharply undercut lids are higher shapes. It cannot always be decided if they were bowls with inverted rims or lids. Most are hard baked, their material was granulous and they are most characteristic of the household pottery, although it is exactly at Dunabogdány where a representative of the shape was found with smoothed surfaces (lid type 1). The analogues date them from the beginning of the 4th to the beginning of the 5th centuries.[115]

Incised ornament: There is a wall fragment from a pot decorated with two incised wavy lines (*Pl. XII.* 7). The material is characteristic of the latest period of the fort. On the inside wall of the vessel, the prints of the tool used for smoothing the surface can be observed. A wavy line pattern is characteristic in the Roman period in the last quarter of the 4th and in the 5th centuries. They may occur on several vessel types.

IV. Handmade pottery (17 items) *Pl. XII. 9-XIII*

The occurrence of the vessels in the area of the burgus implies that they can be dated from the period after the Valentinian time.[116]

The colour of the handmade vessels, due to reduction firing, is spotted, not unified. The majority is black with brown spots, or laminated: brown inside and black out. A minor part of the fragments are reddish brown e. g. pot No. 6 or plain black as bowls Nos 1–2. Sometimes secondary burning affected the rims of the vessels revealing their cooking vessel function e. g. pots 1, 2, 6 and 7.

A smaller portion of the fragments were tempered with sand and small pebbles, they were made of relatively finely prepared material. The surfaces on the outside and sometimes also inside are horizontally or randomly smoothed. The smoothing is not as much a decoration as decreases the water permeability of the surface of the vessel. This material could be observed on two bowl shapes, a fragment of pot type 3, pot 7 and lid 1.

The majority of the vessels are poorly prepared, they contain pebbles (11 pieces) although sometimes they are tempered with sand as well. The surfaces are often cracked or burned to a porous structure. The latter ones were tempered with larger pebbles or lime grains which burst out during baking.

Sometimes the prints of the raw-ended wooden stick used for smoothing can be seen e. g. on pots 1–2. These prints resemble broomed patterns but it is difficult to decide, especially on so small fragments, if the irregular and hardly

[114] *M. J. Gojkovic*: The pottery-tile workshop in the roman craft quarter in Ptuj. PtujArhZb 1993, 449, T. 2/3, 6.

[115] It appeared in Carnuntum in the 4th period dated to about 300. It is a type from the 4th century in South-Pannonia as well. Similar ones are known at Keszthely-Fenékpuszta from the construction level, and at Ács-Vaspuszta from a layer dated to the second half, the end of the 4th century. The latest appearance at the end of the 4th, the beginning of the 5th century can be attested to at Leányfalu: *Grünewald 1979* Taf. 59/21–23; *Brukner 1981* T. 131/34, type 14; *Ottományi 1987* 180, lid type 7; *Ottományi 1989* Fig. 132/17; *Ottományi 1991* pl. 36/4.

[116] There are hardly any stratigraphical data. They were found to a depth of 85–180 cm within the tower and between 15 and 200 cm at the fan-shaped tower.

visible broomed patterns are evidences of surface treatment or intentional decoration.

Except for a wall fragment, all pieces can be attributed to shapes. Both bowl types are small vessels with conical sides and different rims. The majority of the fragments belonged to cups or pots. Two nearly intact lids can be added to the number of cooking vessels.

A. Bowls: Pl. XII. 9, XIII. 1

Type 1 (*Pl. XII.*): Small bowls with slightly inverted, rounded rims, which is an alien shape in Roman pottery. The antecedents can be found in the German pottery of the 1st and 2nd centuries, sometimes with combed pattern. The shape existed with the Quads as long as the 4th century. It survived in the pottery of the Marosszantanna-Cherniahov culture until the beginning of the 5th century.[117]

Type 2 (*Pl. XIII. 1*): A small conical bowl with a protruding rim. The outside surface is smoothed. Its wheel-thrown variety can also be found at Dunabogdány with horizontally smoothed surfaces (see *Pl. V. 6*). The shape goes back to early Roman handmade wares. The variety with a horizontally protruding rim is a leading type of the late Roman pottery especially the wheel-thrown type, both in the glazed wares and the household pottery. The handmade and the wheel-thrown varieties could be found at Ács-Vaspuszta in a layer dated to the end of the 4th century. The handmade type can be found in German settlements at the end of the 4th and in the 5th centuries with a somewhat higher foot.[118]

B. Cups, pots: Pl. XIII. 2–9

There is a long series of varieties of handmade cup and pot fragments. Due to the random scatter of rim forms, it is difficult to find analogues. Some of the Dunabogdány fragments have slightly protruding rims and somewhat bulging bellies, see Nos 1–2. On the majority of the vessels, the rim is more protruding, the shoulder is more stressed, the body more globular (Nos 3–8).

No. 1 (*Pl. XIII. 2*) is a vessel type with a slightly protruding rim where the secondary burning of the rim implies a cooking vessel function. It is of poor execution. Similar ones can be found at several sites along the limes e. g. at Leányfalu with finger impressed rim or at Klostenburg with broomed decoration on the wall. Both can be dated from the 5th century. It appears both at the Sarmatians and the Quads in the Barbaricum in the 4th century.[119]

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[117] *Horváth 1997* group XVI/2; *Ottományi 1991* Pl. I/2; *Grünewald 1979* 62/4 – Carnuntum; Maiersch, Straning: *Pollak 1980* 54/3, 124/4; *L. V. Bakulenko – O. M. Prihodnyik*: Problema preemstvennosti černâhovskih i rannesradnevekovyh drevnostej v svete novyh uslodovanij na Srednem Dnestre. SlovArch 33 (1985) Tabl. 1/4.

[118] *Horváth 1997* subtype XIII/3, type XV; *Ottományi 1989* Fig. 117/43; *Ottományi 1987* XXII/8 with further references; *Lányi 1981* Abb. 14/3 etc.; e. g. Maiersch, Lanhot, Drslavice etc; *Pollak 1980* Taf. 43/11; *Tejral 1986* Obr. 18/1, 5–6, 31/3 – Tejral dated it from between 380 and 430 AD.

[119] *Ottományi 1991* Pl. 22/3; *Ubl 1986* Abb. 21/3; *Vaday 1988–1989* Abb. 53/16–17; *Pollak 1980* 30/1, 50/3.

No. 2 (*Pl. XIII. 3*) was also a cooking vessel. Its analogues can be found in the German pottery from the end of the 2nd century to the 4th century.[120]

Several vessel types may have vertical rims similar to fragment No. 3 (*Pl. XIII. 4*). One of the rims grouped here belonged to a smaller cup, another to a larger pot type. The latter one had smoothed surfaces. They occur in camps on the limes and in settlements on the other side of the Danube. They are dated from the middle of the 4th century to the beginning of the 5th century.[121]

Fragments 4–5 (*Pl. XIII. 5–6)* belonged to a pot widening at the shoulder. They are rough. It is a common Roman shape, its wheel-thrown variety can also be found in the 4th century. It can be found in forts on the limes as well as in inner forts and settlements in the 4th and 5th centuries.[122]

No. 6 (*Pl. XIII. 7*) is also a cooking vessel. It is a shape widening at the shoulder and with a rim cut at the edge. It is a handmade variety of a Roman vessel type. It can be found both in handmade and wheel-thrown varieties at Ács-Vaspuszta. The former one came from a layer from the beginning of the 5th century. The shape survived in the 6th-7th centuries, also in a handmade variety.[123]

No. 7 (*Pl. XIII. 8*) is also a pot with a wide mouth and strongly protruding at the shoulder. It is smoothed outside and in. Similar pottery can be found at several sites in the 4th century.

No. 8 (*Pl. XIII. 9*) is a common shape in the 4th-5th centuries. It is most frequent in forts and cemeteries on the limes, although it can also be found in inner forts. The wheel-thrown variety is also known from several sites. The earliest appearance was noted at Intercisa in a grave dated with a coin from the first half of the 4th century, the latest one in Carnuntum and Ács-Vaspuszta at the beginning of the 5th century (the latter was wheel-thrown).

In the Barbaricum, it can be found at the Quads and the Sarmatians in the 4th century. It also appeared in the Cherniahov culture.[124]

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[120] e. g. Kleinmeiselsdorf, Mold etc.: *Pollak 1980* Taf. 31, 72/12.

[121] *Ottományi 1989* Fig. 123/5, 7. – Ács-Vaspuszta; Wien-Leopoldau, Untersiebenbrunn, Maiersch, Straning etc: *Tejral 1986* Obr. 26/9; *Pollak 1980* 197/26, 46/1, 45/3, 56/9, 118/1–2. It can also be found at the Sarmatians e. g. Tiszavalk: *É. Garam – A. Vaday*: Sarmatische Siedlung und Begräbnisstätte in Tiszavalk. CommArchHung 1990 Abb. 21/16.

[122] e. g. Pilismarót-Malompatak with finger-impressions on the rim. At Ács-Vaspuszta, the wheel-thrown variety was also present. Further sites are Keszthely-Fenékpuszta, Klosterneuburg, Carnuntum etc.; *Ottományi 1996* Abb 7/8, *Ottományi 1989* fig. 124/14; *Ottományi 1987* LX/20; *Grünewald 1979* Taf. 88/3, 82; *Grünewald 1983* Abb. 25/2; In Slovenia, it appears in materials from the 4th to 6th centuries: *Cigleneči 1984* Abb. 5/59 – Tinje; It also occurs in late Roman forts in other provinces e. g. Pietroasel at the beginning of the 5th century, Boiotro in the 6th-7th centuries etc: *Gh. Diaconu – M. Tzony – M. Constantinescu – V. Drâmbocian*: L'ensemble archéologique de Pietroasele. Dacia 21 (1977) fig. 13/3, 199–220; *R. Christlein*: Das spätrömische Kastell Boiotro zu Passau. Innstadt. In: Von der Spätantike zum frühen Mittelalter 25. 1979, Abb. 9/2.

[123] *Ottományi 1989* Fig. 124/18, 23, 26; *Christlein 1979* Abb. 9/4 – Boiotro.

[124] e. g. Tokod, Visegrád-Sibrik hill, Szentendre: *Grünewald 1979* 82, Taf. 88/3, 53/9; *Soproni 1985* Taf. 11/4; 44–46; *Maróti – Topál 1980* grave 60/1; *Bóna – Vágó 1976* grave 1049, Taf. 15/6; *Ottományi 1989* fig. 123/4; *Ottományi 1996* Abb. 6/3, Anm. 58; *Vaday 198819–89* Abb. 53/24; *Pollak 1980* Taf. 30/2, 32/1, 73/3, 43/12, 108/3; *Baran 1964* 3/2.2.

C. Lids Pl. XIII. 10–11

Only two items can be grouped here, they are nearly intact. **Type 1** (*Pl. XIII. 10*) is a regular cone-shaped one with a straight-cut rim. There are traces of smoothing on the surface. The antecedent of the shape could be found, in a wheel-thrown variety, in the Roman pottery from the 2nd and 3rd centuries. It was manufactured both in the handmade and the wheel-thrown variety during the later Roman period. It also occurs in other provinces.[125]

Type 2 (*Pl. XIII. 11*) is flatter with a more rounded rim. It first appeared in the Celtic pottery. No exact analogue is known from the late Roman period.[126]

At Dunabogdány, some of the handmade pottery are simpler varieties of Roman wheel-thrown types, see pots nos 4–6, 8 and lid type 1. Other vessels are characteristic of the Quad ceramics and attest to contacts with the neighbouring people. The handmade pottery partly mirrors the taste of the military forces, gradually incorporating more and more barbarians, partly the demand and possibilities of the Roman population who, being more and more in want of goods have to turn to the local manufacture at the end of the 4th century and the beginning of the 5th century.

Summary

Archaeological excavations were carried out in the auxiliary camp at Dunabogdány on the limes in Valeria province in 1930. The excavations concentrated in the eastern corner of the camp where the remains of several periods had accumulated. Four periods could be differentiated after the excavations. The present paper analysed the pottery material of the latter two periods from the beginning of the 4th century and from the reconstructions in the Constantine period to the reduction of the camp at the end of the 4th century (around 380 AD). The camp perished in the first half of the 5th century.

The find material is very mixed since the walls of the late burgus cut all the earlier layers, so the early and the late finds were difficult to separate. Four groups were differentiated in the pottery of the 4th century based on technical features: Glazed wares, pottery with smoothed surfaces and smoothed-in decoration, household pottery and handmade pottery. Approximately the half of the fragments at Dunabogdány belonged to the glazed wares. The household pottery made about one third, the smoothed and smoothed-in pottery 15.6% and the handmade pottery 6.3% of the material.

Glazed wares are one of the most characteristic late Roman pottery types. They appeared in Pannonia in the first half of the 4th century although they only became common from the middle of the century. The colour of the glaze is yellowish brown or brown in the first half of the century while in the second half

[125] *Brukner 1981* T. 129/9; *Ottományi 1987* LXXXIV/ type 3 with further references; *Ottományi 1991* Pl. 36.1; *Gudea 1972* XXIV/1, 3, XXIII/1–2, 6.

[126] *Horváth 1997* Pl. 33/3, type XVII/ group 2; Somewhat similar ones can be found in a wheel-thrown variety e. g. at Carnuntum and in South-Pannonia: *Brukner 1981* T. 130/12; *Grünewald 1979* Taf. 53/13.

the green glaze dominated. The glaze does not allow a more exact dating only the materials of the various workshops can be separated from the colours.[127] The majority of the fragments at Dunabogdány bear a greenish brown glaze. Besides, there is a smaller group with a light green or dark green glaze. The material of the fragments is red, reddish grey and laminated. All they shapes are Roman types and go back to metal or glass antecedents. Some types seem to be related to the late Roman sigillata chiara. They made parts of the table service. They replaced the gradually reducing number of imported wares. The majority of the bowls at Dunabogdány are mortars and bowls with horizontal rims. The other bowl types are represented by a few items. There are also relatively many jugs, while the number of the cups is low.

The relative chronology of the shapes can be set up, first of all, from cemeteries since the intact vessels usually come from here. This dating, however, is only a „terminus post quem" based on identifiable coins and sometimes other grave goods.[128] Stratigraphical data are missing at Dunabogdány, consequently only the analogues help differentiating the glazed wares within the nearly one hundred years of their use. According to the analogues, the small bowls with inverted rims (type 2) and the larger mortars with wider rims (Nos 18–19) appeared as early as the first half of the 4th century. The vessel with a plastic horse-shoe ornament can also be dated to the beginning of the 4th century. The majority of the glazed wares appeared in the middle of the 4th century and they were used for at least half a century. The latest vessels are the mortars with thinner and vertical rims (No. 21) and the jugs decorated with incised wavy lines or a row of impressed dots.

The earliest ornament is the plastic crescent, while the jugs with incised wavy lines appeared at the end of the century. The latest is the wavy line pattern combined with puncture, which is characteristic of the beginning of the 5th century.

The wares with a greenish brown glaze composing the largest group may have been made locally or purchased from the same workshop. Glazed wares were produced in the vicinity at Pilismarót in the camp and in the watch tower at Leányfalu. The material of the former is not known, some fragments from our site, however, resemble the Leányfalu material. Such are the wall fragments with incised wavy lines or puncture ornaments, the large number of cups with horizontal rims, the bowls with inverted rims or segmented upper parts, the jugs with funnel-shaped rims and knobbed handles etc. At the same time, there was not a piece in our material that would resemble the characteristic yellowish green glazed pottery of the also nearby Tokod workshop.

There are also some jugs that resemble the pottery from cemeteries around Aquincum, which were probably produced in a workshop supposed in Aquincum.[129] The analogues to our vessels disperse over a vast area (limes camps in

[127] e. g. a lighter, lustrous yellowish green glaze is characteristic of Tokod, a dark green one of Leányfalu, a yellowish green in Emona etc. In details see *Ottományi 1991* 20–23.

[128] *Nádorfi 1992* Taf. I-II.

[129] *Vágó – Bóna 1976* 190.

Noricum, Raetia and at the Lower Danube etc.), which can be explained by the unified eating customs, the common pottery types often unchanged throughout centuries and shapes widespread as fashionable forms in the 4th century.

The pottery with *smoothed surfaces and smoothed-in decoration* composes another characteristic vessel type appearing in the late Roman times. The total smoothing of the surfaces with horizontal or vertical lines appeared at the beginning of the 4th century and survived even in the 5th century. The smoothed-in decoration appeared in the middle, the second half of the 4th century, although it was only used in masses after the last quarter of the century. It was produced in Pannonia as long as the middle of the 5th century although only in the western half of the province in the surviving Roman towns.[130] Its production after the 430's is not verified along the limes in Valeria. Following about half a century of Roman use, it could more often be found in barbarian, eastern Gothic, Hun, Alan graves.

The smoothed-in ornament was already an „international" pattern in the 5th century which often appeared on pottery shapes that cannot be attributed to an ethnic group. In Pannonia, however, the majority of the shapes have Celtic or Roman antecedents.[131]

It dispersed over a larger area at the same time. It can be found along the limes and inside the province in forts, settlements and also in cemeteries. It is not even restricted by province borders. Similar shapes and ornaments can be found on both sides of the Danube where only the various local traditions colour the pottery.

Vessels with various technique and of various raw material and produced not locally can be found at Dunabogdány.[132] A relative chronology can be set up from their execution. The earlier are finely elaborated grey fragments tempered with sand (group 1). The latest ones are of porous material with pebbles. They are roughly elaborated and smoothed with wider bands (group 6). Based on the shapes, the earliest ones are the bowls with inverted rims and the pear-shaped jugs, the latest ones are the jugs with collared rims and the biconical vessels. Lustrous, darker smoothing can be seen against the matt surface of the vessels.

More than half of the fragments were decorated with vertical bands or lines. Another frequent pattern was the wavy line. The dominance of these two motives is characteristic in the initial period of he use of pottery with smoothed surfaces in the middle and the second half of the 4th century. Combined with other motives, they were used for another century. Lattice pattern, characteristic of later pottery with smoothed surfaces, was observed on the shoulder of a single vessel at Dunabogdány. The elsewhere late „Murga motive" appeared here on a vessel that seems to be one of the earliest ones based on the raw material. The incised wavy line on the vessels with smoothed surfaces, nevertheless, appeared late. All these

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[130] The detailed description of workshops manufacturing pottery with smoothed-in decoration see in *Ottományi 1991* 45–48; *Ottományi 1997* Anm. 134–135.

[131] *Ottományi 1981* 7–172; *Ottományi 1991* 36–38.

[132] No resemblance, similar to the glazed wares can be attested to in the material of the Leányfalu workshop. An analysis of the raw material would be necessary to tell the place of the manufacture.

suggest, that the majority of the vessels with smoothed surfaces at Dunabogdány are characteristic still of the 4th century, its second half and end and very few can be dated later.

The majority of the Dunabogdány shapes are common Roman types, which can often be met in glazed or undecorated grey varieties. There are only a few shapes that can be attributed to a barbarian population. Such is the conical small cup (bowl 2) which has analogues at the neighbouring Quad population. The so-called interregional shapes dispersed in a wider area as e. g. jugs with collared rims, biconical vessels. They have Celtic antecedents, still they returned into fashion in the first half of the 5th century due to an eastern influence. The same types were used by several peoples at the same time similarly to the smoothed-in decoration. The new shapes cannot be attributed to any of the settled populational groups nor can the new ornaments on them.[133] Their diffusion was largely due to the taste of the soldiers, more and more often barbarian ones, and the members of their families, just as well as to a change in pottery manufacture by the second half of the 4th century. The central large manufactures were replaced by numerous small, local workshops. The local shapes and ornaments, pushed back up till then by the uniform Roman types, gradually became dominant. The glazed wares and pottery with smoothed surfaces were manufactured to replace the failing importation. We know several workshops on the limes in Valeria where pottery with smoothed surfaces was produced at the turn of the 4th and 5th centuries as at Leányfalu and Pilismarót-Malompatak.

Household pottery: The technique was usually applied for the cooking and storage vessels, accordingly, the type is dominated by cups and pots. There is also a relatively large number of bowls. Jugs, however, are rare. The shapes are common Roman types. The majority of the bowls have horizontal or arched rims, they are conical bowls or ones carinated on the shoulder. There are also relatively many bowls with inverted rims. Other types are only represented by a few items. The jugs belong among the so-called pear-shaped vessels with wide mouths. The cups and the pots were made with simple protruding rims or ones adjusted to lids. Some Celtic shapes revived in the last quarter of the century as the bowls with an „S profile". The influence of the neighbouring Germans is reflected in the so-called „Suebi" pots and on cup No. 3.

The material and elaboration of the vessels changed during the late Roman period. Beside the finely elaborated ones tempered with sand, there is a growing number of roughly executed vessels made of coarser raw material. The decline in technique is also attested to by the poorly baked items with blistered, porous surfaces or laminated structure. Vessels made on slow-wheels also appear. A relatively early and the latest groups (groups 1 and 4) can be differentiated at Dunabogdány from the colour and the material.

The majority of the shapes are types characteristic of the last quarter of the 4th century and the first half of the 5th century. They must have belonged to the

[133] The beginning of their use and the populational group to which it can be attributed are under debate: see *Soproni 1985* 27–52; *Grünewald 1979* 74–81; *Ottományi 1989* 530–536 with further references.

pottery of the burgus. There is also a large number of vessels used from the middle, the second half of the 4th century as bowls with inverted rims, strainer, jug 1, cups 8, 10–11. Some were used throughout the 4th century as the spouted jug, cups 6, 13 and the lids.

This household pottery with granulous, pebbly material is not only characteristic of the pottery in the province at the turn of the 4th and 5th centuries but also of the Barbaricum around it. The number of analogues is growing at the Suebi and the Sarmatians as well. Some shapes survive until the 6th century.

Compared to the materials of the nearby workshops, it can be told that some of our pottery, especially the bowls see Nos 5, 7–11 and pot 9 and also the jug fragments with incised decoration were transported here from the watch tower at Leányfalu at the end of the 4th century or in the first half of the 5th century. The same similarity was already observed in the case of the glazed wares. The rest of the vessels are common shapes which could get here from anywhere. The vessels made on a slow-wheel were probably produced locally. One of the latter ones shows the effects of the neighbouring Quads in its decoration.

A Quad effect can also be demonstrated on pot 16 with an inverted rim.

The incised ornament appeared mostly at the end of the 4th, the beginning of the 5th centuries. This is the time when the incised wavy lines, the puncture and the notches at the edge of the rim appear more and more frequently. The decoration of vessels made on a slow-wheel is closer to that on handmade pottery as e. g. the grooves round the rim of the bowls, the square-shaped impressed pattern etc. Similar ones can be found on vessels of the neighbouring Quads.

Handmade pottery can be found at nearly every late burgus. Their colour became spotted in the course of baking, it is black, blackish brown or sometimes reddish brown. A smaller part of them, however, is relatively finely elaborated, the material contains small pebbles, the surfaces are smoothed. A larger portion is coarser, tempered with larger pebbles and baked to a porous structure. Small cups with conical bodies and protruding rims and pots belong here. It is difficult to find their analogues, the many local small workshops rarely produced two identical pieces.

Some of the vessels display the common Roman shapes, which are known in wheel-thrown varieties e. g. more globular pots with flaring rims, lids type 1. The analogues of the others can mostly be found at the neighbouring Quads see bowl 1, cups with vertical rims. The barbarian vessels prove no more than the contact with the population living on the other side of the Danube, they do not justify the presence of a settled foederati population.

Handmade pottery was used in regions more distant from the Roman roads in Pannonia through four centuries. It became rare along the limes after the middle of the 2nd century together with the retreat of the native pottery type. Their number started growing again in the second half of the 4th century due to a simpler technique applied by the increasing number of barbarian population.

The characteristics of the late Roman pottery of the Dunabogdány camp is that a few, elsewhere rare types occur here in several varieties. Such are e. g. cups with conical walls and obliquely bent rims (smoothed 6, handmade 2), cups

with horizontal protruding rims (glazed 5–9, smoothed 8, household pottery 4). The bowls with carination on the shoulder, horizontal rims and conical lower parts can also be found in a smoothed (Nos 8 and 10) and a household variety (Nos 5–6). There is a deep bowl type in the household pottery with a horizontal rim (nos 9–10) which was found in smoothed (No. 7) and glazed varieties as well (No. 13). There is also a bowl with a collared rim and smoothed surfaces similar to a glazed mortar (No. 11).

All these may be the products of a workshop where the potter manufactured them in varieties he preferred or that had been ordered. We do not know where this workshop was. There is no proof of a local workshop at Dunabogdány although the majority of the glazed wares have the same colour and material, so they seem to have come from a single workshop. Contacts with other workshops, however, can be demonstrated e. g. some glazed wares and household pottery might have come from Leányfalu. Some pottery must have been transported here from Aquincum.

In the troubled decades in the second half of the 4th century, the earlier well organised military supply became scarce, so local workshops had to be set up. Local craft probably worked in every larger settlement and even in watch towers where the pottery based on local tradition was produced incorporating new barbarian effects.

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Captions

Legend:
I. Baking:
1. ■ reductional baking; 2. □ hard baked.

II. Tempering material:
1. ◆ large pebbles; 2. ❖ sand; 3. ⊠ sand and small pebbles; 4. ∩ shell and lime grains; 5. ⊕ ground pottery; 6. ⊗ manganese grains; 7. V mica; 8. ● organic materials, porous.

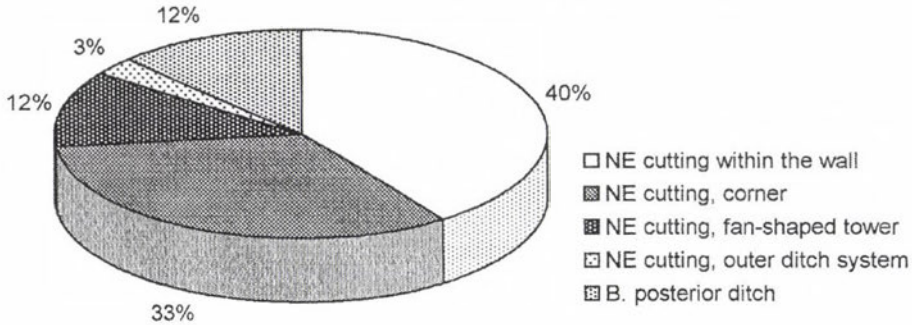
III. Technique:
1. ∧ hand-made; 2. ∨ slow-wheel thrown; 3. ◊ fast-wheel thrown.

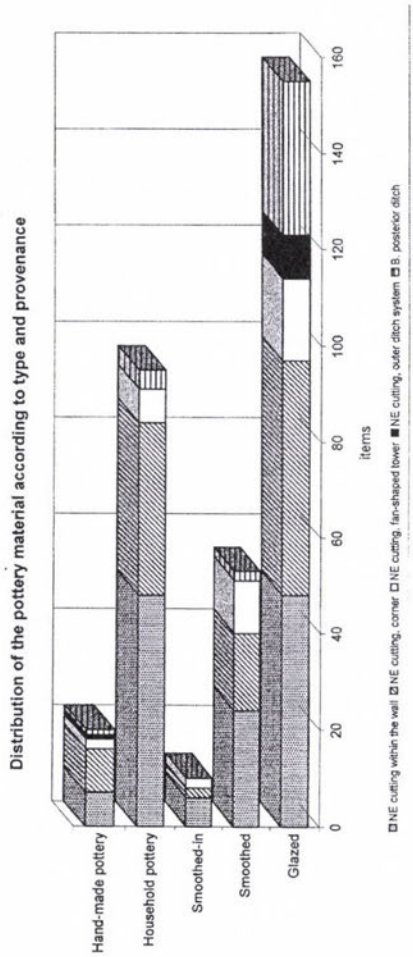
IV. Surface treatment: 1. = smoothed; 2. ❍ glazed; 3. ◎ painted.

V. Ornament: 1. ≈ smoothed-in; 2. × incised.

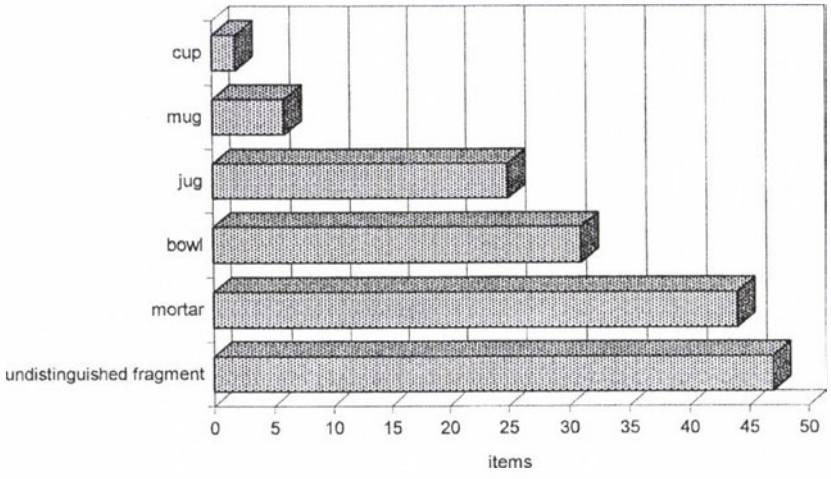
Plate I. Glazed bowls 1–10.
Plate II. Glazed bowls 11–17.
Plate III. Glazed bowls 18–22.
Plate IV. Glazed wares: bowl 23, cups 24–25, jugs 26–31, mug 32.
Plate V. Smoothed and smoothed-in bowls 1–7.
Plate VI. Smoothed and smoothed-in bowls 8–12, mug 13, jugs 1, 3.
Plate VII. Smoothed and smoothed-in jugs 2, 4–9.
Plate VIII. Smoothed and smoothed-in cups, pots 12–14, lid 15; Household pottery bowls 1–3.
Plate IX. Household pottery bowls 4–9, 11.
Plate X. Household pottery: bowl 10, jugs 12–13, 15, cups 1–3.
Plate XI. Household pottery cups, pots 4–11.
Plate XII. Household pottery cups, pots 12–17, lids 18–19; Handmade bowl 1.
Plate XIII. Handmade bowl 2, cups, pots 1–8, lids 9–10.

Distribution of the find assemblage according to provenance

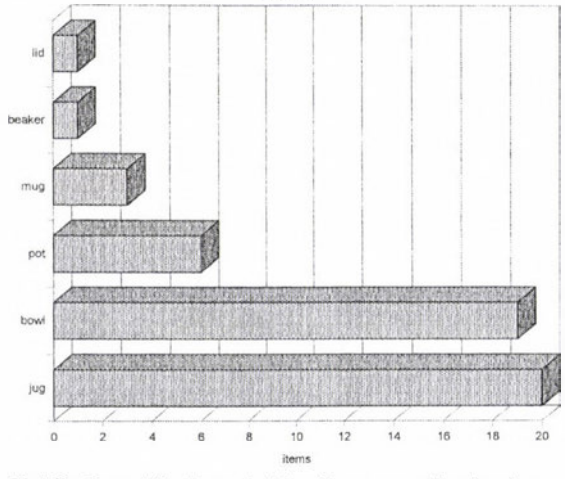




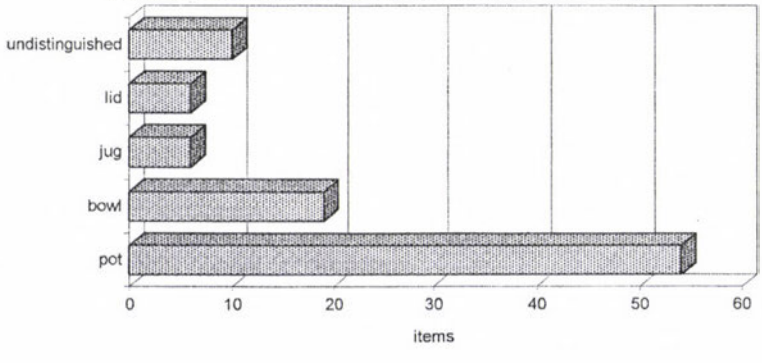
Distribution of the glazed pottery according to shape



Distribution of the smoothed and smoothed-in pottery according to shape



Distribution of the household pottery according to shape



István Paszternák

VILLAGE AND CEMETERY FROM THE ARPADIAN AGE ON THE SZENTILONA-HILL AT SZENTES (CSONGRÁD C.)

In the present paper I would like to describe a settlement from the Arpadian Age in the centre of the Hungarian Plain. Archaeological research of the site, Szentilona-hill at Szentes, which was mostly restricted to the collection of surface finds completed with a few small-scale excavations, rescued a find assemblage with highly varied information value. Written sources do not really refine this picture since Szentilona is mentioned only once in the surviving documents. Publishing this paper, however, I believe that the material to be described and their correlations may provide, in their capacity, a more thorough knowledge of the past of this region. I am convinced that medieval village research may step into a qualitatively new phase if the 'backlog' of several decades, that is old, or younger find assemblages collecting the dust on the shelves in museums are published. The present paper is a small element of this Sisyphusian, although certainly not hopeless work.

At the same time I would like to express my honour to the eighty years old László Barkóczi, who, during his rich life published so many 'loitering' finds, similar to those at Szentilona, with his persistent thoroughness from his narrower field of research, the Roman Period.

Arpadian Age village research in the northern part of Csongrád county

It is evident, now, that archaeological research of medieval settlements with scientific demands and modern methods was started in the Hungarian Plain and also in Hungary in the 1950's.[1] Pioneering village excavations conducted by István Méri and then by Júlia Kovalovszki in the central region of the Hungarian Plain and the publications of the results[2] have defined the methods and features of medieval village research in Hungary. On this initiative, the number of small- or large-scale village excavations increased and the bulk of information on settlements in Hungarian regions from the early centuries grew to a significant degree.

The situation of medieval village excavations had a specific history in the discussed region, in the northern part of Csongrád county, in the wider vicinity of the town of Szentes. Settlement excavations on large surfaces carried on, sometimes, for several decades were usually attached, as also in other parts of the

[1] On the first steps prior to this date, first of all between the two World Wars see *I. Méri.*: A magyar nép régészeti emlékeinek kutatása (X-XVI. század). In: A magyar népkutatás kézikönyve. Budapest 1948, 1–24; Reprint in: A magyar falu régésze Méri István 1911–1976. Ed. by Júlia Kovalovszki. Cegléd 1986, 41–60.

[2] *Méri 1952, 1954, 1962, 1963, 1964a, 1964b, 1970*; *Kovalovszki 1960, 1964, 1975, 1980* and others.

country, to some megalomaniac 'socialist large investment', a large-scale construction. This was the circumstance of the rescue excavation of fragments of Gyója village parallelly to the preliminary construction works of the „Tisza III" dam at (Csongrád-) Bokros on the right side of the Tisza in 1979. Its publication was exemplary (*Horváth – Simon 1996*). The significant excavations of Csongrád-Felgyő by István Méri and Gyula László could be conducted under more favourable conditions (*László 1965; 1978a; 1978b; 1988*, 41–49).[3] The excavations of the medieval settlement of Szer and the monastery at Szer were started several decades ago and have not yet been finished. The material unearthed here, bears importance for the whole regions (*Trogmayer 1977a, 1977b, 1979, 1992, 1993a, 1993b, 1995, 1996, 1998; Trogmayer – Zombori 1980; Béres 1985a, Béres et al. 1996; Boldizsár 1988, 37–38; Vályi 1986a, 1986b, 1989, 1992a, 1992b, 1996, 1997*).[4]

Regrettably, the picture of medieval village research is less favourable east of the Tisza. The aims of village research, set up by I. Méri were only realised to the level of carrying on with field surveys. The students of the archaeological department in the József Attila University of Arts organised field surveys to Szegvár (Katalin Kurucz), Derekegyháza (János Ormándy) and to Szentes (Csilla Balogh, Zsolt Gallina, András Liska, István Paszternák).[5] The members of the Archaeological Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences carried out field surveys within the frames of the archaeological topography of Békés county in the region of Szarvas and Békésszentandrás, adjoining our region from the Northeast. Settlement fragments of the Arpadian Age were unearthed on smaller or larger surfaces at the sites Szarvas-Rózsás (*Jankovich 1994*) and (Szarvas-) Örménykút 54 within the frames of the so-called 'microregion' explorations (*MRT 8*).[6]

Several small villages were unearthed in the close vicinity of Szentes. Zsolt Visy rescued some settlement features from the medieval village of Fábiánsebestyén during his short activity at Szentes.[7] Katalin Hegedűs unearthed the fragment of a village from the Arpadian Age and the Middle Ages at Nagymágocs in 1971 (*Hegedűs 1972; Szatmári 1985*). Mária Béres conducted rescue excavations between Szegvár and Szentes in the area of the earlier Sáp village in 1984 and 1985 (*Béres 1985b; Béres 1988* passim; *Béres 1998* passim.).[8] The rescue of the Arpadian

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[3] *Gy. László*: Felgyő. ArchÉrt 98 (1971) 277; ArchÉrt 99 (1972) 262–263; ArchÉrt 104 (1977) 269. The majority of the excavated material has not yet been published. Elek Benkő has been analysing it.

[4] Several small-scale excavations were conducted in the region (e. g. M. Béres: Bokros-Kiskőhalom; É. Pávai: Csongrád-Ellés; G. Vörös: Szegvár-Dóczy kastély; A. Liska: Nagymágocs-Bojtártelek), the total list and evaluation had to be omitted here for lack of space.

[5] At present, field surveys are carried on in the so far neglected regions of Szentes and in villages Nagytőke, Nagymágocs, Fábiánsebestyén, Eperjes and Királyhalom. The results of the surveys can be studied in the Archives of the Móra Ferenc Museum. Gyöngyi R. Kovács carried out extensive surveys at Kunszentmárton, which belongs to the neighbouring Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok county and at Csépa and Öcsöd in the Tiszazug. She proposes to publish the results in the archaeological topography of the county. On medieval village research in the Tiszazug see *Laszlovszky 1981*.

[6] Regrettably, the late Avar and the Arpadian Age materials from Örménykút have not yet been published. They are being analysed as parts of a university thesis.

[7] KJM Archaeological Archives 54–84. The excavation is unpublished.

[8] The results were analysed in her doctorate thesis: *M. Béres*: Régészeti adatok Csongrád megye Árpád-kori településtörténetéhez. Ph. D. thesis, manuscript. Szeged 1986. I would like to thank Mária Béres for allowing to read it.

Age settlement features at Nagymágocs, Szendrei major is also due to M. Béres (*Béres 1989*).

Settlement excavations at Szentes

Up to now, no settlement feature from the Arpadian Age or the Middle Ages have been reported from the 32.000 ha area of Szentes. This defect of research may especially be conspicuous as research knows several places and even place names of perished villages and a large number of finds from these spots (see: *Kovalovszki 1957; Zsíros 1990; Blazovich et al. 1996; Előmunkálatok 1996; Paszternák 1996, 1998b*).

In the first phase of the Szentes Museum with Gábor Csallány at the head, no medieval settlement feature was unearthed. The main field of the museum director and archaeologist Gábor Csallány was the archaeology of the Conquest Period. The most significant part of his activities focusing on the research of medieval remains contains the excavation of multitudes of cemeteries from the Conquest Period and the Arpadian Age.[9]

G. Csallány, following the common archaeological interest of his age, showed some interest towards the churches of perished medieval villages. In 1907 he carried out excavations at the monastery of Pusztaszer and the parish church of the perished country town of Szer, both standing in the reference territory of the Csongrád Vármegyei Múzeum in Szentes (*Trogmayer – Zombori 1980* 11; *Horváth 1975* 344). He also conducted small-scale excavations at the church of Ecser at Cserebökény, part of Szentes at the beginning of the century (*FÉK 1962* 28, No. 174).

Sometime between 1926 and 1928,[10] Gábor Csallány, with Elemér Zalotay's collaboration, unearthed the foundations of the perished church of the country town Donáttornya, which survived until the late Middle Ages at the eastern fringes of Szentes. Many human bones were found among the burned wall remains. The specialists deduced from the position of the bones that they did not come from systematic burials but were the remains of the population, who fled to the church from ransacking and burning of the settlement and who were killed there. (*Nagy 1928* 40; *Széll 1942* 129). We cannot tell for certain where the above mentioned excavation was and how long it lasted. It might have been a shorter excavation. Perhaps Zalotay's note about Donáttornya made approximately two decades later refers to this excavation: „The excavation which wanted to find more data concerning the history of Donáttornya, lasted no more than two days and only uncovered the remains of a medieval building".[11]

Csallány found the foundations of the medieval church and part of the encircling cemetery on a knoll on the plot of veterinary doctor János Fekete near

[9] *Csallány 1905, 1934; 1940; 1941.* The excavations, which he left unpublished, among others Csanytelek – Dilitor and Szentes – Szentlászló, large cemeteries from the Conquest Period and the Arpadian Age, were published by Márta Széll: *Széll 1941a, 1941b, 1942, 1943.*

[10] For lack of contemporary notes and excavation documentation, the exact date of the excavations cannot be defined. In a lecture in 1926, Csallány mentioned the excavations as a plan for the near future ("Zsúfolásig telt terem hallgatta végig Dónáton Csallány Gábor előadását". Szentesi Hírlap, 1. April, 1926). In a study by Imre Nagy published in 1928, it is mentioned as a recently accomplished work (*Nagy 1928* 40).

[11] KJM Archaeological Archives Inv. no: 295–85/96.

the left bank of the Veker streamlet in Szentlászló at Szentes in 1935. Regrettably, no excavation documentation survived, the only information about the work came from a short reference in a newspaper (*Csallány 1935* 48). The pair of S-terminated lockrings from the Arpadian Age in the Szentes museum may have been found here. It is provenanced from „Vekerpart, beside the church" without any further information.[12] For lack of notes, this latter excavation by Csallány cannot be located, either.[13]

The decades following the Second World War were marked by the flourishing of settlement archaeology in several parts of the country, at Szentes, however, no advance was made in the field of village excavations. The first 'post-war' medieval settlement excavations were started at Szentes in 1975. By chance, it was the rescue excavation of a church. This was, namely, the year, when the Besenyőhalom, preserving the name of the earlier village, standing at the eastern edge of the town was removed. Katalin Hegedűs and Ferenc Horváth rescued, on top of the knoll, the remains of a single-naved church from the Arpadian Age with semicircular termination and battered clay and brick foundation. Only the 1.8 m long section of the north-eastern longitudinal wall, the apse termination of the nave and the start of the arch could be rescued from the church, the foundations of which were nearly totally destroyed by later pits and shafts of treasure hunters. In the place of the apse, the trace of the semicircular removed wall could be observed. Graves without grave-goods were found in the uppermost layer of the knoll, which, according to K. Hegedűs, belonged to the cemetery encircling the church (*Hegedűs 1977; Hegedűs 1978*).[14]

The first settlement feature from the Arpadian Age was excavated at Szentes in 1983 by Gabriella Vörös on the so-called Szentilona island or Ilona-part. Before describing the site, a more recent excavation by G. Vörös should be mentioned conducted at Szentes-Fertő in 1987. She unearthed a house from the Arpadian Age during rescue excavations on the high bank north of the fish pond.[15]

The site and its environment

The site is on the right side of the Kurca river, in the part of Szentes town called Alsórét (Csongrád county), east of the Tisza river in the central part of the Hungarian Plain (*Fig. 1. 1–2*). Alsórét is the lowest part of the region, its average

[12] KJM 72.135.1. – 72.135.2.

[13] In 1957, schoolchildren found human bones and sherds after ploughing near the place where I suppose the excavations could have been. József Csalog, who visited the site, learned in the nearby farms that the bones must have been left over from the excavations by G. Csallány on the site „near the earlier veterinary farm of the Fekete family" (HNM Archaeological Archives 442. Sz. VII; XIII 261/1962; KJM Archaeological Archives 175–84.). József Kátai, restorer in the Szentes museum observed in 1961 near this place the remains of a brick construction destroyed by a bulldozer in the course of drainage constructions, along with mortary brick debris, and two skeletons lying on their backs in a W to E direction at the wall. These traces must certainly have been the ruins of the building excavated by Csallány and which is perhaps identical with the parish church of the Szentlászló village.

[14] KJM Archaeological Archives 272–84 and HNM Archaeological Archives IV. 47/1981. The medieval observations are unpublished, the finds are stored in some unknown place.

[15] KJM Archaeological Archives 393–94. The excavation has not yet been published. I would like to thank Dr. Gabriella Vörös for showing me the unpublished material of her excavations.

height above sea level is no more than 79–81 m. Hundred years ago before accomplishing the regulation of the Tisza river, it was a marshland with dense reed vegetation and flooded for several months each year. When the water level of the Tisza rose high with flood, the water of the Kurca river often united with that of the Tisza whose basin was a few kilometres farther, and a coherent surface of water covered the region. When the level of the water was lower, the region was segmented by permanent water courses the largest of which was the Tére-fok, desiccated by now, west of the Szentilona.

Kurca[16] was a large river before flood control and channelling in 1929. It got the water from the Hármas-Körös and flowing in an approximately southerly direction joined the Tisza under Szentes. Collecting the waters of smaller streamlets, it often menaced the people living on its banks. Using the denser water courses with deeper water, the barge people could navigate, according to modern data, as far as Szolnok and Várad (Oradea, jud. Bihor, Roumania) transporting log, salt, fruit and other goods (*Nyíri 1948* 200–201).

The Szentilona-hill is a knoll on the right side of the Kurca close to the bank following the outline of the river bend. The hill has an elongated triangular shape in a north-south direction, narrowing towards south. The eastern side is continuously damaged by the Kurca, part of it has already been washed off. Szentilona rises above its environment with about 4–5 meters at present. The highest point used to be on the northern edge of the knoll, but it has partly been removed by earth pits. This part is, to date, 84 m above sea level.

Archaeological surveys on the Szentilona-hill

Szentilona-hill is certainly one of the best known sites in the town. The following words can be read on page 91 of fascicule XXVI, preserved in the Archives of the National Monument protection Office, containing the travel diaries by Flóris Rómer: „Numerous antiquities in the region between the Kurcza river and the Tisza under Szentes. Révész." The undated note, as it can be deduced from the dated notes before and after it, was written in September, 1868 in Debrecen. The informant, „Révész", must be identical with Imre Révész Calvinist priest and writer of theology, who served a few years earlier, between 1854 and 1856, in Szentes. He could learn about the above mentioned finds at that time. Knowing the geographical setting of the region and the related archaeological settlement density I would suggest that the site mentioned by Révész can be, with great certainty, Szentilona-hill.

[16] The name of the river is of Slavic origin, the word „kurica" means 'hen', 'pullet'. In the region populated by eastern Slavs, six rivers bear the name Kurica according to Lajos Kiss's collection (*Kiss 1988* I. 815). The name appeared very early in this form, in the Garamszentbenedek foundation document in 1075. Linguists grouped the name among the few geographical names of undoubtedly Slavic origin in the wider environment of Szentes. It should be mentioned, however, that according to the traditions in Szentes, noted in the middle of the 18th century, the river is also known as Almád vize (*Petrák 1997* 35). The -d suffix of the latter implies an early Hungarian name and perhaps the two names were used parallelly for a longer or a shorter time.

The data on a map from the 18th century must also refer to the finds recovered from the knoll of the site. A special note, a pictogram and a short text can be seen above our site on the map about the western part of the fields around Szentes made in 1785 within the frames of the 1st military survey, the so-called Josephinische Aufnahme (Collo: XIX, Sectio: 20) ordered by emperor Joseph II (*Fig. 2*). The inscription under two crossed swords says „1674 Sig über die Türken" *(Rózsa 1986* 63). It refers to an event still vivid in the oral traditions in Szentes. Accordingly, there was a combat at Szentes between the Turks and the Habsburg troops sometime during the reoccupation campaign, in most frequent version in 1686, and the Turks were defeated. The so-called Petrák chronicle, which is usually well informed about the events at the end of the 17th century, dated the event to 1686. It says that Turkish troops drawing south from the forts of Gyula and Szarvas, in Turkish hands at that time, to liberate Szeged met in combat with the 'Labanc' (Habsburgs) lead by general Veteráni (*Petrák 1997* 57).

Trying to find out the origin of the note we have to state, first of all, that the combat certainly did not happen here, since the marshy area around the knoll was unsuitable for the lining of a modern army. The position of the pictogram above Szentilona may have another explanation. The scenes of significant historical events are often replaced by the late descendants, who do not have direct information, to a scene regarded to be interesting or mysterious. Archaeological sites, tumuli, often counted among them, where unfamiliar objects, human bones etc. were found. The lay bookishness often invented colourful stories about sunken treasures, villages, bells or combats around objects and phenomena of 'inconceivable' origin. Recently we could prove about another 'scene of combat' and 'tumuli' of the dead of the above mentioned 'Szentes combat' with a sondage excavation that it is actually a disturbed cemetery from the Arpadian Age (*Vörös – Rózsa 1996*). In my view, the military surveyors arriving at Szentes at the end of the 18th century marked the place owing to a mixture of the fading memory of the warfare between 1647 and 1686 and the popular interpretation of the bones that often surfaced on the Szentilona knoll.

The first settlement on the knoll can be dated from the Neolithic. Smaller rescue excavations conducted by József Csalog at the beginning of the 1960's through several seasons unearthed fragments of settlements of the Neolithic Körös, Tisza and Alföld Linear Pottery Cultures (*Csalog 1963, 1966; Horváth 1983, 1995*). The next settlement was set up during the Migration Period. The Sarmatian finds[17] and those attributed to the Gepids[18] were taken to the Roman Period collection of the Hungarian National Museum. Gabriella Vörös collected on the knoll Sarmatian sherds[19] beside Prehistoric ones and those from the Arpadian Age, which will be discussed in the followings.

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[17] Sherds: HNM Inv. no.: 311/1876 10 (*Kovalovszki 1957* 42, 26).

[18] Sherds: HNM Inv. no. 311/1876, 8 (*Csallány 1961* 104).

[19] MFM Archaeological Archives: 914–83; KJM Inv. no.: 89.36.5., 89.37.18. The most recent summary and evaluation of the Sarmatian finds around Szentes see in: *Nagy 1997*. The most complete site list: *Cs. Balogh*: Szentes környékének régészeti topográfiája és településtörténete. A szarmata kor. University thesis. JATE Szeged 1995.

The village of the Arpadian Age

Júlia Kovalovszki carried out field surveys at Szentilona within the frames of the archaeological topography of Szentes on 3. April, 1955. She found sherds from the Arpadian Age, among others the fragment of a clay cauldron, along the eastern edge of the knoll, on the bank of the Kurca, next to the slid off bank and in the whole length of the knoll (*Kovalovszki 1957* 66, 40).[20] It was easy to collect the finds since at that time, a large surface of the knoll was ploughed and the survey was disturbed only by a few farm houses. József Csalog, museum director and archaeologist at Szentes, who paid attention to the sites found by J. Kovalovszki, also carried out field surveys in 1955 and in the spring of 1956 and found sherds from the Arpadian Age and the Middle Ages, among others fragments of clay cauldrons, vessels and stove tiles.[21]

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Rim fragment *of a pot* (*Fig. 7.6*). The fabric is finely levigated clay, tempered with micaceous sand. It was fast-wheel thrown and thoroughly baked, single-coloured in section. The rim protrudes, it is brown with sooty spots on the outside. M. diam.: 21.3 cm. KJM, „Prehistory I." inventory book, 56.1.1.[22]

Rim fragment *of a pot* (*Fig. 7.5*). The fabric is finely levigated, tempered with micaceous sand. It is fast wheel thrown, thoroughly baked, reddish brown, black single-coloured in section. The rim protrudes. M. diam.: 21.5 cm. KJM, „Prehistory I." inventory book, 56.1.2.

Fragment of a *clay cauldron* (*Fig. 8.1*) The fabric is tempered with micaceous sand. It is slow-wheel thrown, medium baked, reddish brown with sooty spots on the outside. It shows a typical triple colour in section. M. diam.: 24.8 cm. KJM, „Prehistory I." inventory book, 56.1.3.

Fragment of a *clay cauldron* (*Fig. 8.5*) The fabric is tempered with micaceous sand. It is slow-wheel thrown, medium baked, reddish brown, with sooty spots on the outside. It shows the typical triple colouring in section. Traces of red paint (?) can be seen on the outside. M. diam.: 24.6 cm. KJM, „Prehistory I." inventory book, 56.1.4.

Fragment of a *clay cauldron* (*Fig. 9.3*) The fabric is tempered with micaceous sand. It is slow-wheel thrown, medium baked, brownish yellow, with sooty spots on the outside. It shows the typical triple colouring in section. The swelling rim was pierced by a hole conically narrowing downwards. Traces of red paint (?) can

[20] KJM Archaeological Archives Inv. No.: 191–84/13, 159–84. The finds, similarly, to other finds from field surveys carried out through decades, were deposited by J. Kovalovszki in the Szentes museum. Regrettably, the finds were not taken into inventory and since then, they have disappeared.

[21] KJM Archaeological Archives 159–84.

[22] As it is well known, separate inventory books were used for the different periods at Szentes between 1953 and 1983, labelled „Prehistory", „Sarmatian", „Avar-German" and „Hungarian". The sherds from the Arpadian Age provide a typical example of the drawbacks of this clumsy system. These sherds, namely were taken into inventory into the inventory book labelled „Prehistory I.". Items 56.1.1. to 56.1.14. came, according to the inventory, from surface collections by József Csalog on 15. April, 1956.

be seen on the outside. M. diam.: 26 cm. KJM, „Prehistory I." inventory book, 56.1.5.

Fragment of a *clay cauldron* (*Fig. 8.3*) The fabric is tempered with micaceous sand and small pebbles. It is slow-wheel thrown, medium baked, greyish brown. The small fragment shows the typical triple colouring in section. M. diam.: 24.4 cm. KJM, „Prehistory I." inventory book, 56.1.6.

Fragment of a *clay cauldron* (*Fig. 9.1*) The fabric is tempered with micaceous sand. It is slow-wheel thrown, medium baked, light brown, with sooty spots on the outside. It shows the typical triple colouring in section. The swelling rim was pierced by a downwards conically narrowing hole. M. diam.: 24.2 cm. KJM, „Prehistory I." inventory book, 56.1.7.

Rim fragment of a *conical lid* (*Fig. 7.1*) The fabric was finely levigated, and tempered with micaceous sand. It was made on a fast wheel, medium baked with black, single colour in section. It is dark and greyish brown. M. diam.: 17 cm. KJM, „Prehistory I." inventory book, 56.1.8.

Rim fragment of a *pot* (*Fig. 7.3*) The fabric is finely levigated and tempered with micaceous sand. It was made of a fast wheel, medium baked, light brown, sooty on the outside. It shows the characteristic triple colour in section. M. diam.: 15.6 cm. KJM, „Prehistory I." inventory book, 56.1.9.[23]

Bottom fragment of a *pot* (*Fig. 10.4*) The clay was tempered with sand. It was made on a fast wheel, medium baked, yellowish brown on the outside, orange coloured on the inside. Deep wheel marks. B. diam.: 9.5 cm. KJM, „Prehistory I." inventory book, 56.1.12.

Wall fragment of a *pot* (*Fig. 10.2*). The fabric was tempered with sand. It was made on a fast wheel, medium baked, with triple colour in section. A shallow incised spiral ornament can be seen on the outside. KJM, „Prehistory I." inventory book, 56.1.13.

Wall fragment of a *pot* (*Fig. 10.1*) The clay was tempered with micaceous sand. It was made on a fast wheel, medium baked, uniform black in section. A shallow, incised spiral ornament and two parallel lines can be seen on the outside. KJM, „Prehistory I." inventory book, 56.1.14.

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The Rákóczi Agricultural Cooperative started the construction of a cow farm on the highest, northern part of the knoll in 1960. During digging the foundations for the first, northernmost shed of rig timber structure, most of the finds recovered from the approximately 1 x 1 m large pits of the posts came from prehistoric times. J. Csalog, who supervised the find circumstances, also observed medieval sherds in the pits. He could not find any trace of a settlement feature, at that time.[24] He carried out the rescue excavation of a fragment of a Neolithic settlement in 1961 and 1963. In the mixed layer of the excavation section, Arpadian

[23] I will omit the description of two tiny, independent fragments, which are totally identical to the previous one. KJM, „Prehistory I." inventory book, 56.1.10–11.

[24] KJM Archaeological Archives Inv. no. 155–84; 230–84.

Age and medieval pottery also occurred.[25] These objects, if they were ever taken to the museum, cannot be found among stray finds labelled „Szentilona" and „Ilonapart". Perhaps the sherds (or some of them?) taken into inventory in the collection of the KJM by Katalin Hegedűs in 1972 from Szentilona came from these excavations. She, however, did not register the find circumstances.

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Rim fragment of a *clay cauldron* (*Fig. 8.2*). The fabric was tempered with micaceous sand. It was made on a slow wheel, poorly baked, uniform black in section. The thick rim protrudes, it is yellowish brown with sooty spots and secondary burning on the outside. Rim diam.: 24.1 cm. Inv. no.: KJM „Hungarian" inventory book 72.140.1.1.

Rim fragment of a *clay cauldron* (*Fig. 9.2, Fig. 11.7*). The fabric was tempered with micaceous sand. It was made on a slow wheel, medium baked, with characteristic triple colour in section. The thickening and widening rim is pierced by a downwards narrowing hole of circular cross-section. A narrow, sharp-edged groove, made prior to baking, runs parallel to the axis of the hole on its inner surface. Rim diam.: 26.6 cm. Inv. no.: KJM „Hungarian" inventory book 72.140.1.2.

Rim fragment of a *clay cauldron* (*Fig. 9.4*). The fabric was tempered with micaceous sand. It was made on a slow wheel, poorly baked, uniform black in section. The thickening and widening rim is pierced by two downwards narrowing holes of circular cross-section. Rim diam.: 24.4 cm. Inv. no.: KJM „Hungarian" inventory book 72.140.1.3.

Rim fragment of a *clay cauldron* (*Fig. 8.3*). The fabric was tempered with micaceous sand. It was made on a slow wheel, poorly baked, uniform black in section, brown on the outside. The rim thickens and widens. Rim diam.: 29.8 cm. Inv. no.: KJM „Hungarian" inventory book 72.140.1.5.

Rim fragment *of a pot* (*Fig. 10.5*). The fabric was tempered with micaceous rough-grained sand. It was made on a fast wheel, medium baked, yellowish white. The rim is segmented. Inv. no.: KJM „Hungarian" inventory book 72.140.2.1.

Rim fragment *of a pot* (*Fig. 10.6*). The clay was tempered with small pebbles. It was made on a fast wheel, medium baked, dark grey. The rim is segmented. Inv. no.: KJM „Hungarian" inventory book 72.140.2.2.

Rim fragment *of a pot* (*Fig. 7.4*). The fabric was tempered with micaceous sand. It was made on a slow wheel, medium baked. The rim is slightly segmented. M. diam.: 16.8 cm. Inv. no.: KJM „Hungarian" inventory book 72.140.2.3.

Shoulder fragment of a *clay flask* (*Fig. 10.3, fig. 11.6*). The clay was tempered with micaceous sand. It was made on a slow wheel, medium baked, showing the characteristic triple colour in section. The outside is decorated with two, parallelly incised wide lines. Inv. no.: KJM „Hungarian" inventory book 72.140.3.

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[25] KJM Archaeological Archives Inv. no.: 231–84; HNM Archaeological Archives VII. 204/1963.

On the other side of the knoll, to the south, earth was gained from the eastern side of the road crossing the Szent-Ilona from north to the south for the construction of the wall of the corn bin. The Arpadian Age settlement layer was disturbed. Gabriella Vörös and Gábor Rózsa observed spots of settlement features in the course of inspection in June, the same year. They collected sherds from the Arpadian Age in the spots.[26]

Wall fragment of a *pot* (*Fig. 7.2*). The fabric was finely levigated and tempered with small pebbles. It was made on a fast wheel, medium baked, uniform grey in section. The light brown rim fragment was formed to hold a lid. M. diam.: 15.2 cm. Inv. no.: KJM inv. no.: 89.36.6.

Wall fragment of a *pot? cauldron?* The fabric was tempered with micaceous sand. It was poorly baked, uniform black in section. The small fragment is light brown. The type of the vessel could not be told. KJM inv. no.: 89.36.7.

The same persons unearthed the features of an Arpadian Age settlement during rescue excavations on 27–28th July, 1983.[27]

Feature 1. (oven):[28]

The oven was sunk into the ground. The single-layered grate is oval, thoroughly burned, its diameter measured 100–120 cm (*Fig. 4.1,3, Fig. 5.1, Fig. 6.1*). The remaining low wall burned through to the depth of 5–7 cm. The diameter of the mouth was 46 cm. The pit of the oven was pear-shaped, wide at the mouth narrowing farther away. The walls are slanting, the bottom is trough-shaped. The largest depth was measured at the mouth where it is 20 cm deep under the grate. The part of the pit between the mouth of the oven and the bottom of the pit was strongly burned. The axis of the feature has a NW-SE orientation opening towards SE. The total length on the scraping level was 320 cm. The filling of the oven contained many daub and clay clods, the bottom was covered with thick ash and soot. No find was found either in the daub of the grate or in the filling. The feature was cut by feature 2. dug partly to the NE from it.

Feature 2. (oven):

The grate of the sunken oven was oval, asymmetrical with a diameter of 100–120 cm. It surface was slightly concave (*Fig. 4. 1–2, Fig. 5.2, Fig. 6.1*). The walls of the dome of the oven survived to the height of 5–7 cm. The mouth was 54 cm wide. The grate was once renewed, when a 5–7 cm thick, smooth clay layer was added to the original, burned grate surface. This layer burned through during the use of the oven. The pit of an irregular shape, attached to the grate at an

[26] According to the label on the bag containing the finds they were collected „on the bank of the Kurca behind the office building of the cow farm."

[27] I would like to thank Gabriella Vörös for allowing the publication of the material.

[28] Excavation documentation: KJM Archaeological Archives 154–84 and MFM Archaeological Archives 914–83. Finds: KJM 99.3.1.-99.3.11. No survey or comprehensive map was made during the excavations, so no ground plan can be presented. The archaeologist gave Roman or Arabic numbers to the excavated features (oven I, oven II, pit 1). In the analysis I uniformly used Arabic numbers. I will discuss the two pits, dug into one another and registered as „pit 1" separately (here: features 3/a, 3/b).

angle, reached its largest width and depth in front of the mouth. It is about 40 cm deeper than the grate. The trough-shaped bottom rises and narrows gradually from this part towards the other side of the pit. The pit cut the pit of feature 1. The orientation of the axis of feature 2. was NWN-SSE with the mouth opening towards SE. The total length was 340 cm on the scraping level. A great number of daub fragments and clay clods were found in the filling. No finds were recovered.

Pits 3/a and 3/b were found south of the ovens. Their spots undoubtedly reveal that they cut each other (*Fig. 6.2*), although it could not be told, even with careful scraping, which one was the earlier and which one the later since their filling was very similar: rich humus containing ,,characteristic pottery fragments from the Arpadian Age, among others rim fragments of clay cauldrons''. Earth yielding left but the lowermost, arched bottom part of the pits.

The finds which was found in the filling of the two pits are the following:

Wall fragment of a pot (?) (*Fig. 12.9.*). The fabric is clay, tempered with fine-grained sand and grist of pyrite. It is slow-whell thrown, poorly baked, uniform black in section and dark-brown coloured. Inv. no.: KJM 99.3.7.

Wall-fragment of a pot (?) (*Fig. 12.6.*). The fabric is clay, tempered with fine-grained, micaceous sand. It was made on a slow wheel, poorly baked, uniform black in section, brownish-grey coloured. Inv. no.: KJM 99.3.8.

Bottom fragment of a pot. The fabric is clay, tempered with fine-grained sand and pot-sherd. It was made by hand, poorly baked, dark-grey on the inside and red on the outside. The surface of the fragment is fairly ruined. The fragment can be rank among the Neolithic. Inv. no.: KJM 99.3.9.

Wall fragment of a pot (*Fig. 12.7.*). The fabric is clay, tempered with fine-grained sand. It was made on wheel, medium baked and reddish-brown coloured. Inv. no.: KJM 99.3.10.

Bones of animals. 7 pieces, littel-sized, fairly broken bones. These are indeterminates. Inv. no. KJM 99.3.11.1–7.

Feature 3/a (pit):

It was of irregular circular shape with arched bottom (*Fig. 4.4–5, Fig. 6.2*). Its spot had a diameter of 165–170 cm on scraping level. From this level, it was dug 40 cm deep into the ground.

Feature 3/b (pit):

The shallow pit had an irregular, circular shape and arched bottom (*Fig. 4.4–5, Fig. 6.2*). Its spot had a diameter of 90–122 cm on the level of the scraping. From this level it was deepened to 31 cm into the ground.

The finds which was found by the archeologist on the surface of the excavation interfered with earthwork are the following:

Rim fragment of a conical lid (*Fig. 12.1.*). The fabric is clay, tempered with fine-grained sand. It was fast wheel thrown and medium baked, typical triple colour in section, reddish-brown coloured. The rim is segmented. Rim diam: 8,8 cm. Inv. no.: KJM 99.3.1.

Wall-fragment of a clay cauldron (*Fig. 12.5*). The fabric is clay, tempered with fine-grained sand. It is slow-wheel thrown, medium baked, typical triple colour in section, reddish-brown coloured fragment from the wall of the pot. It shows marks of red coloured slip on the inside. Inv. no.: KJM 99.3.2.

Wall-fragment of a clay cauldron (*Fig. 12.3*). The fabric is clay, tempered with fine-grained sand. It is slow-wheel trown, medium baked, typical triple colour in section, reddish-brown coloured fragment from the wall of the pot. The thickening and widening, angular rim is pierced by a downwards narrowing vertical hole. Inv. no.: KJM 99.3.3.

Rim fragment of a pot (*Fig. 12.4.*) The fabric is clay, tempered with fine-grained sand. It was fast wheel thrown and medium baked, typical triple colour in section, reddish-brown coloured fragment. The rim is slightly protrudes and slightly segmented. Rim diam.: 10,5 cm. Inv. no.: KJM 99.3.4.

Wall fragments of a pot (*Fig. 12.8*). The fabric is kaoline-clay, tempered with fine-grained sand. These were fast wheel thrown and thoroughly baked, thin-walled. The 2 pieces of wall-fragments are white coloured with sooty spots. On the outside of the fragments can be seen remains of linear decoration. Inv. no.: KJM 99.3.5.1–2.

Rim and wall fragments of a pot (*Fig. 12.2*). The fabric is clay, tempered with fine-grained sand and milling product of pyrite. It was made on fast wheel, poorly baked, reddish-black in section and dark-brown coloured. Tere are 6 pieces partly suitable fragments of a pot. Inv. no.: KJM 99.3.6.1–6.

Arpadian Age cemetery

The followings can be read in Gábor Csallány's notice book with notes on his archaeological excavations (item 11.): „ *Mr. Lajos Berényi came across several skeletons and objects during working on his plot at Szt. Ilona. Having received the information, I made inspection for two and a quarter of days from the 3rd of August with József Kollár and István Molnár odd-job men. Since there were no or only insignificant grave goods in the graves I stopped digging*".[29]

Regrettably, the excavation documentation, if it ever existed, has not survived. No detailed report could be found in the Szentes museum. The fact of the excavation and a sketchy summary were published by Márta Széll (*Széll 1942* 131; *FÉK 1962* 74, No. 1026; *Bálint 1991* 257 No. 292.). The following description follows M. Széll's publication:

Grave 1. (1933):

D: 50 cm; L: 155 cm,[30] O: W-E. Male. „both arms bent to the pelvis."

[29] KJM Archaeological Archives 241–84. Original Hungarian text: „Berényi Lajos ur Szt. Ilonai földjén munkálatok alkalmával több csontvázra és tárgyra akadt. Az értesítés vétele után Kollás József és Molnár István napszámosokkal aug. 3-án eszközöltem 2 1/4 napig. Minthogy a sírokban mellékletek nem voltak illetőleg jelentéktelen az ásatást beszűntettem."

[30] Although the author does not mention it, it must have meant the length of the skeleton. The sex determination of the skeletons must have come from the archaeologist. The first cardinal direction at the orientation of the skeletons marks the direction of the head.

Grave-goods:
1. *Flint*: „at the left upper arm" (lost by 1942).

Grave 2. (1933):

D: 55 cm; L: 158 cm; O: W-E. Female „the hands joined on the chest"
No grave-goods.

Grave 3. (1933):

D: 60 cm; L: 160 cm; O: W-E. Male. Both arms extended. No grave-goods.

Grave 4 (1933):

D: 70 cm, L: 178 cm; O: W-E. Male „hands joined on the pelvis". No grave-goods.

Grave 5 (1933):

D: 35 cm; O: W-E. „Disturbed"[31]
Grave-goods:
1. Iron buckle at the right hand;
2. Iron buckle at the left hand (both got lost by 1942).

József Csalog observed turned up human bones among pottery fragments from the Körös culture during his field survey on 5th April, 1955 on the northern fringe of the knoll. Later, when the aforementioned shed construction was started on the same place, the inspecting J. Csalog observed the spots of further, recently destroyed graves. Regrettably, the human bones had been broken by the time he arrived, the burials were annihilated and the workers could not give any information concerning them. Still, he could observe in the wall of the foundation ditches that the grave pits cut the Neolithic settlement layers, that is they were younger. No finds with dating force were reported.[32]

Csalog conducted a short sondage excavation around the shed under construction in July, 1960. In front of the eastern side, parallelly to it, the research trenches revealed further burials. Regrettably, neither photos nor drawings were made only a sketch (*Fig. 10.7*) of the burials. The following description follows the laconic diary of the archaeologist and the sketch.[33]

Grave 1. (30. 07.1960)[34]

Rectangular grave shaft with rounded corners. The spot appeared in the depth of 70 cm, from here D: 40 cm, L: 180 cm, W: 80 cm, O: W-E. The poorly preserved skeleton was extended on the back. The right hand was bent over the pelvis. There were no grave-goods.

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[31] The author did not tell how it was disturbed and what sex it was.

[32] KJM Archaeological Archives 155–84/1.

[33] KJM Archaeological Archives 231–84.

[34] The archaeologist, although knew about the cemetery excavations by Gábor Csallány at the same site, started the grave numbers with no. 1. It seemed to have no sense to change now the double numbers. For the sake of clarity I added the date of the excavation to the grave numbers.

Grave 2. (30.07.1960)

Rectangular grave shaft with rounded corners. The spot appeared in the depth of 70 cm, no other measurements were taken. O: W-E with a slight shift towards SW. The poorly preserved skeleton was extended on the back. Both hands were bent over the pelvis. There were no grave-goods.

Grave 3. (30.07.1960)

The rectangular grave shaft with rounded corners was somewhat distorted into a rhomboid. The spot appeared in the depth of 80 cm, from here D: 60 cm. The other measurements were not taken. O: W-E. The poorly preserved skeleton was extended on the back. Both hands were bent over the pelvis. Each a „common 'large-sized'" brick was placed to the shorter sides at the head and the feet. There were no grave-goods.

Grave 4. (30.07.1960)

Rectangular grave shaft. The spot appeared in the depth of 75 cm, from here D: 40 cm, O: W-E. „In a similar position without grave-goods. [Packed?] Thigh bone and leg."

Grave 5. (30.07.1960)

Rectangular grave shaft. The spot appeared in the depth of 75 cm, from here D: 40 cm, O: W-E with a slight shift towards NW. „Similar position, no grave-goods. [Packed?] Skull and thigh bone."

The construction of the Cooperative buildings and related to it, earth works preceding the building of a new concrete road circumventing the knoll from the north were carried on. The place of the above graves and their close vicinity were scraped in November 1960, destroying some more burials. East of the earlier excavation section, 3–4 graves were destroyed in a half a metre wide stripe according to J. Csalog.[35]

Further graves of unknown number, were disturbed and destroyed with bulldozers in April, 1961, in the area adjacent to the excavation area from the Northeast. József Csalog, arriving on inspection, could observe four graves although only three could be unearthed.[36]

Grave 6. (28.04.1961)

All that can be known about the position of the grave is that this was the easternmost of the three unearthed burials. D: 70 cm, O: W-E. The skeleton was extended on the back, both hands were bent over the pelvis. The bones disintegrated. Grave-good: A small S-terminated bronze ring on the left side of the skull.

Grave 7. (28.04.1961)

The „middle" one from the three graves. D: 84 cm, O: W-E. Very poorly preserved skeleton extended on the back. Both hands were bent on the pelvis.

Grave-goods: 2 small s-terminated bronze rings on the right side of the skull.

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[35] KJM Archaeological Archives 230–84/9.

[36] In the laconic report (KJM Archaeological Archives 231–84) the archaeologist did not number the graves. I carried on the order of numbers started in the previous year, so these graves got the numbers 6–9.

The three S-terminated bronze rings found during the excavations by József Csalog in 1961 were taken into inventory in the archaeological collection of the Szentes museum by Katalin Hegedűs in 1972. She marked „Ilonapart, grave 14" as the place of origin of the objects with the inventory numbers KJM 72.125.1. – 72.125.2. She, mistakenly, attributed fragments of the three rings to two rings. Regrettably, it cannot be found out from the inventory book if the rings came from grave 6 or grave 7. So I will simply describe one after the other.

S-terminated ring. It was made of a bronze wire. The terminal part, recoiled to an 'S' shape slightly widens. Ring diam.: 1.6 cm, wire diam.: 0.1 cm (*Fig. 11.4*)

Fragment of an S-terminated ring. It was made of a bronze wire, part of the ring and a segment of the 'S' terminal are missing. Ring diam.: 1.4 cm, Wire diam.: 0.1 cm (*Fig. 11.2*).

Fragment of an S-terminated ring. It was made of a bronze wire, both terminals are fragmentary. The existence of the 'S' terminal can only be known from the excavation documentation of József Csalog. Ring diam: 1.3 cm, wire diam.: 0.08 cm (*Fig. 11.3*)

Grave 8 (28.04.1961)

The westernmost grave of the ones unearthed that day. D: 70 cm, O.: W-E. The skeleton was very poorly preserved, it was extended on the back. The hands are bent on the pelvis. There were no grave-goods. Grave 9 cut the grave at the head.

Grave 9. (28.04.1961)

The only thing that can be known about the grave destroyed by the bulldozer is that it cut grave 8. The archaeologist dated this grave from the 17th century without giving any reason. There were no grave-goods found.

In 1974, when the posts of the above mentioned northernmost shed were replaced by new ones, the earth was moved again. Sándor K. Szabó reported human bones to the Szentes museum, which were found during this operation. Neither he, nor the inspecting archaeologist, Katalin Hegedűs could find anything indicating that would date the grave(s?). People who found the grave in one of the post holes told that the destroyed skeleton had been „sitting" (crouched position?), because of which K. Hegedűs dated it to Prehistoric times.[37] The laconic description implies that a single grave was destroyed this time: grave 10 (1974).

Stray finds from the Arpadian Age on the knoll

1. *Spur*.[38] It was made of iron, the sides are slightly arched, the loops are hammered to an oval shape (*Fig. 11.1*). In the loops each two holes held the suspension straps. One of the loops broke off. The short, cylindrical neck of the spur is closed by a hammered, pyramidal spike. The stray find from the 13th

[37] KJM Archaeological Archives 158–84.

[38] The weapon collection of the Szentes museum was analysed by Ferenc Temesváry (*Temesváry 1999*), I would like to thank Ferenc Temesvári for allowing the study of his unpublished manuscript. The description of the following objects were made on the basis of this manuscript.

century was given to the Szentes museum by János Janó in 1911. L: 10 cm, w.: 11 cm. Old inv. no.: III. L.17. Inv. no.: 57.43.2. (*Temesváry 1999* no. 331.) Regrettably, nothing can be known about the find circumstances of the object.[39]

Fragment of a reliquary pectoral cross[40] Only the frontal part of the cast bronze Latin cross shaped object has survived. Originally it was composed of two hinged parts (Fig. 11. 5). The depiction was made by casting, then by chasing, engraving and pouncing. There is a stylised, vague figure (Jesus Christ? Virgin Mary? some clergyman?) in orant position within the engraved frames along the edges of the object. The schematic face is encircled by a glory, the body is covered with some garment falling in broad folds to the feet. At the bottom it is hemmed. L: 7.9 cm, W: 4.3 cm, Th.: 0.3 cm, KJM, Inv. no.: 57.43.1. The photo of the object was first published, without commentary, by Gábor Csallány (*Csallány 1941* 187, plate III. A). The first descryption was made by Márta Széll (*Széll 1942* 131). The cross has become the most renown and most frequently cited find from the medieval history of Szentes (*Bárány – Oberschall 1953* 218; *Kovalovszki 1957* 66; *Megay 1961* 106–107; *Szőke 1962* 118; *Lovag 1971* 150–154; *Bakay 1978* 140; *Bálint 1991* 257, No. 292.).[41]

The analysis and evaluation of the find material

The analysis of the archaeological finds from Szentilona village and arriving to exact conclusions seem to be an extremely difficult task. The majority of the small number of evaluable finds came from the surface. Excavations carried out at the site yielded few exact pieces of information. Neither their extent nor, except for the last excavation in 1983, the insufficient documentation mean much help. Still the critical review of the finds and the archaeological observations afford some statements and setting up some suppositions.

The sherds recovered so far from Szentilona can be fit among the pottery material known in this region of the Hungarian Plain in respect of their fabric, elaboration and shape. The closest published analogues were found in the area of the Szentes village from the Arpadian Age (*Paszternák 1998c* 240–243). The vessel types, wheel-thrown cauldrons, pots, clay flasks, conical lids, where com-

[39] János Janó often gave finds to the Szentes Museum from various fields around the museum (e. g. the antiquities found at the Roman Catholic parish church in Szentes, stray finds from the Nagyhegy cemetery from the Conquest period etc.). So Imre Szathmári's supposition that the Janó family would have lived at Szentilona is wrong (see: *Szatmári 1995* 237, note 55). As it has been told earlier at the paragraph on the cemetery, G. Csallány's excavations at Szentilona in 1933 were not conducted on J. Janó's plot — as suggested by Szatmári — but on the land owned by Lajos Berényi. I myself date the spur, in agreement with F. Temesváry and disagreeing with I. Szatmári's dating in the above cited work to the 10–11th centuries, to the 12–13th centuries.

[40] The recently published outstanding description and analyses of the object (*Szatmári 1995* 236–239) excuses the author for making another description.

[41] An object originated from Szentes was published by Tibor Gerevich and, following him, Ilona Brestyánszky (*Gerevich 1938* 90; *Brestyánszky 1972* 23). It was probably mixed with the Szentilona cross. In reality, the find came from Tiszaeszlár-Sinkahegy (*Jósa 1914* 172–174 and Fig. 3. above).

monly known in the settlement area of the Hungarians in the Arpadian Age. Clay flasks, from the group of table wares, are relatively rare (*Fig. 10.3, Fig. 11.6*). This relative rarity is only due to the fragmented state of the find materials in museum collections. Namely, for lack of characteristic fragments, those from the walls and the bottoms of the vessels are not sufficient for distinguishing the vessel type from the much more frequent pots with totally identical execution.

The making up of some fragment of pots founded in 1983 during an excavations is a speciality. Tempering the clay from which these pots were made medium pulverized pyrite grains were used up. This practice was not characteristic in the Arpadian Age of this area. The pyrite was transported by rivers from the mountain range to the Hungarian Plan therefore to region of Szentes. The pyrite grains are relatively heavies and usually settle as big stains in the sand bordering the slow rivers. Normally not intentionally but mixed up with the exploited sand get to the potters' workshops. In all probability the sand which was used making pots of Szentilona tempered with pyrite was mined by a potter of the Arpadian Age on the bank of the Tisza or Körös.

The wheel-thrown clay cauldrons also mirror the characteristic shapes and execution of this region of the Hungarian Plain. There is probably one fragment that deserves special attention (*Fig. 9.2, Fig. 11.7*). A rarely occurring groove can be observed on the wall of a hole pierced through the rim of the cauldron for the suspension cord. The shallow groove follows the wall of the hole with a circular cross-section in its whole length. A careful examination may explain the time and way of origin and of the groove. The most important momentum is, in my view, that the edges of the groove are sharp on both sides. It certainly excludes the possibility that the groove would have been a 'use-wear' caused by suspension and use, since in this case the edges would be rounded. The groove must have been made during the piercing of the hole right after the shaping of the cauldron, before drying it when the clay was still soft. Some kind of a knife or a wire could have been used with which the still compact cauldron rim was pierced, and the hole was finished with moving the tool with circular motions. The tool must have been pressed into the wall of the hole and its print has been preserved. The potter must have thought the damage so little than no repair was needed.

Red patches can be observed on the outer walls of some cauldron rim fragments. We could not as yet define what kind of coating it was (see: *Takács 1986*). Some think that the red coating is a remain of a slip, often applied on prehistoric pottery, which decreases the permeability of the vessel. Others owe aesthetic functions to the red layer, which certainly appears on the outer walls of the vessel the most often, or even on the rim, and accepted it to be the remains of red paint. The Szentilona cauldron fragments, however, do give a clue for further arguments.

The very low number of the recovered pottery sherds hinder the exact dating of the settlement. What is more, the sherds all came from surface collections and can be analysed as such. Accordingly, they must be evaluated with special care since the dating implied by them cannot directly be interpolated to the whole of the site. Sherds characteristic of the Conquest period and the Early Arpadian Age from the 10–11th centuries are missing from Szentilona similarly to the more

refined and varied Hungarian pottery from the second half of the 14th century.[42] The pottery material can be dated, based on the execution and the shapes, from the 11–12th or the 13–14th centuries.

The iron spur, a stray find, represents a well-known type of Romanesque weapons. The find circumstances of the object are unknown but it certainly did not come from a grave and, consequently, it must have been the stray find of the settlement. The spur appeared suddenly in the 11th century in the Hungarian find assemblages in large numbers, connected with the general spread of the western European knightly way of fight. Spurs, similar to the Szentilona one, with spikes bent down and terminating in a globe, a pyramid or a globule in the middle of a spike with a rectangular cross-section appear, most commonly, in the 12–13th centuries (see *Kalmár 1971* 359–360) and our find can also be dated with a great certainty from the same period.

The author is in a difficult situation evaluating the cemetery fragment from Szentilona. We have some, mostly poor, information concerning only 15 graves of the cemetery that would have deserved a better fate. It cannot even be estimated how many graves must have perished in the course of disturbance through half a century. For lack of an authentifying excavation, we cannot define the size of the cemetery nor its structure or duration.

The deceased was always buried in a rectangular grave. Concerning the original depth of the graves, being disturbed by the earth works hampered the registration of exact data that could be compared. The shallowest registered grave was only 35 cm deep, while the deepest surpassed 120 cm. It cannot be decided to what degree these data can be accepted to be authentic ones and how much is owed to the extraction of the soil.

The documented graves all had the characteristic medieval orientation of W-E or stood close to it. The skeletons were all extended on the back, except for one with the head towards West. One or both hands were sometimes bent over the pelvis, in one case over the chest.

A report tells about a skeleton buried in a „sitting", i. e. crouched position. Katalin Hegedűs, certainly influenced by the prehistoric sherds found near the bones, attributed the burial to the Neolithic. Her opinion, however, seems to be refuted by the fact that neither here, on the northern edge of the knoll, nor in other parts of the knoll could graves certainly dated top the Neolithic be found. The Neolithic sherds found around the bones cannot date the burial. The layers

[42] The collection of the Szentes museum has a large pot from the late Middle Ages, which was refit from fragments and completed („Hungarian" inventory book 72.110.1). It was originated in the inventory book from „Ilonapart (?)". Nothing is known about its recovery or find circumstances. Since it is very dubious if the pot belonged to the same site, I omitted it from the present study. J. Csalog reported from his field surveys stove tile fragments beside pot and clay cauldron fragments. Regrettably it is a valid observation that only a small portion of the material collected by Csalog during the field surveys, registered in the reports for the archives, was taken to the collection. At present, there is not a single stove tile fragment in the materials from this site in the Szentes museum. It should, however be considered a possibility that the above pot and the stove tiles together with the fragment of the conical lid described in this study refer to the life of the Szentilona village following the Arpadian Age.

of the Neolithic settlement covered the whole knoll, so sherds and layers of this period could be found anywhere where one cares to dig.

I think, the observation may have another explanation as well. Starting from the fact that the burials from this part of the site can certainly be dated from the Arpadian Age or at least the Middle Ages, we suggest that the skeleton in crouched position also came from this period. Skeletons in crouched position have been found, even if not frequently, in cemeteries from the Conquest Period and the Arpadian Age (*Tettamanti 1975* 101).[43] Nor is the region of Szentes an exception from this. Grave 18 of the Szentes-Borbásföld cemetery of the Conquest Period (*Révész 1996* 302), grave 71 of the cemetery in Szentes-Szentlászló, unearthed on the plot of Imre Tárkány Szűcs (*Széll 1941a* 238), grave 2 of the cemetery uncovered on the plot of Sándor Kánvási at Szentes-Szentlászló (*Széll 1941a* 245) and graves 239, 275 and 785 of the cemetery at the nearby Szegvár Oromdűlő (*Bende – Lőrinczy 1997* 225–226) displayed the rite uncommon in the period. Based on these data I find it probable that the skeleton in crouched position was buried in the Arpadian Age.

Putting bricks into the graves was also met, although not very frequently in the cemeteries of the Arpadian Age. The catalogue and the analysis of the rite of the graves with bricks put beside the dead was last made by László Kovács (*Kovács 1998* 26–42). He listed 152 graves in his catalogue which is not complete, yet the longest one made so far, most of them from the Hungarian Plain. Group V. in L. Kovács's system contained graves where one or two whole or half bricks were put into the grave to the head and the feet of the deceased as in grave 3 (1960) at Szentilona.[44] There are altogether 8 such burials together with Szentilona. One of them was the burial of an adult male, one of an adult woman and the sex of the adult person at Szentilona is not known. In the other graves children of unknown sex were buried. The finds in the graves, the H47 type denar of Stephen II, bronze lockring, glass beads, are not sufficient for the exact dating of the burial custom, nor is the Szentilona grave without grave-goods. L. Kovács suggested that this type, and the others, as well, of burials with bricks started sometime in the 10th century and got accepted in the 11–12th centuries surviving also in the 13th century.

The only jewellery type from the Szentilona cemetery is the small S-terminated ring made of bronze wire. The jewellery type had several varieties in the Carpathian Basin. It appeared in the women's costume in the last third of the 10th century. During a transitional period lasting several decades, it gradually substituted the plain wire ring and became a leading type of cemeteries of the common people in the Arpadian Age (*Szőke 1962* 87). The shift took place in

[43] The most excellent summary on uncommon burials in the Arpadian Age can be read in *Szabó 1976*.

[44] Burials and graves of this group are known from Zenta-Paphalom (earlier Bács-Bodrog county, Senta, Yugoslavia), grave 6 (*Foltinyi – Korek 1946* 157), grave 1 at Téglás-Angolkert (*Gazdapusztai 1964* 118), grave 3. at Békássámson-Cigánd (*Olasz 1959* 6), grave 159 at Csepreg-Szentkirály (*Kovács 1998* 29), grave 12 at Kamut-Molnár tanya (*Szatmári 1997* 49), grave 16 at Kardoskút-Hatablaki-kápolna-dűlő (*Olasz 1956* 66, note 2) and from grave 319 at Kaszaper-Templomhalom (*Bálint 1938* 140 and 179).

different times in the different regions of the country, the latest on the Plain. S-terminated rings rarely occur from the 10th century in this region, and even items dated to the reign of (Saint) Stephen I. (997–1038) are rarely met. In masses they can be expected from the middle of the 11th century (*Mesterházy 1965* 104). Probably this date can be accepted as the 'post quem' of the graves with S-terminated rings at Szentilona.

Several varieties of the jewellery type, used throughout the Arpadian Age appeared. Those with a wide ring appear as early as the 11th century followed by the ones hammered wide, the ribbed S-terminated ones and those with large rings. The small variety of the S-terminated ring bent from a thin wire, the basic form, was used parallelly until the end of the Arpadian Age. Consequently, the S-terminated rings from graves 6 (1961) and 7 (1961) at Szentilona do not help the exact dating within this period.

There are various suggestions concerning the dating of the bronze pectoral cross, which was found as a stray find but certainly came from a grave. G. Csallány published its picture in 1941, without any commentary, among finds from the Conquest Period (*Csallány 1941* 187, Plate III. A). M. Széll, who first described the object one year later dated the whole find material from the 11th century based on the analogous burial customs in the graves practically without finds from Szentilona and in the cemetery from the Arpadian Age at Szentes-Szentlászló (*Széll 1942* 131). Megay agreed with the dating from the 11th century, while Béla Szőke in the find catalogue of the Conquest Period and Csanád Bálint dated it from the 10th century (*Megay 1961* 106; *Szőke 1962* 62; *FÉK 1962* 74; *Bálint 1991* 252, 262). Imre Szatmári dealt recently with the find reviewing the possible close and distant analogues of the cross. According to his competent opinion, the object might have come from a cemetery of the common population from the 10–11th century (*Szatmári 1995* 238).

Dating the object, in my view, its strongly worn and fragmentary state should also be considered. Only the frontal part of the originally two hinged halves of the reliquary pectoral cross survived. As it has already been emphasised by I. Szatmári, the injured hinge ring reaching under the cross was carefully rasped back revealing traces of wear. It suggests that it was worn as a pectoral cross even after having lost the back side (*Szatmári 1995* 237). I myself accept the dating of the cross, on iconographic reasons, from the 10–11th centuries and think that it was certainly buried in the second half of the period, or even later after long use.

It can be told from the data and the finds from the Szentilona cemetery that there are no unambiguous evidences that the burial was started in the Conquest Period. The burial rites and the grave-goods are characteristic all through the Middle Ages (e. g. W-E orientation, extended position, bending the hands on the pelvis) or definitely imply the Arpadian Age (S-terminated ring, brick positioning). Regarding the frequent disturbing of the site the observations are only sufficient to prove that the cemetery of Szentilona on the northern edge of the knoll was certainly used in the Arpadian Age.

The question if there used to stand a church in the village of Szentilona must be raised from several aspects. The name of the village, anyhow, is analogous to the medieval village names preserving the name of the patron saint of their churches in the place name.[45] Saint Helen (Ilona), otherwise, is rare among the patron saints of churches. Only nine churches are known from the Medieval Hungary where the patron saint was Saint Helen, or where the place name suggested it. Helen in the frequency list of the patron saints occupies the 32nd place.[46] Written sources do not help in respect of the existence of the church. No diploma mentioning Szentilona has survived. The name is met in the Turkish defters in 1570 as a perished place (=cannot pay tax) (*Vass 1980* 48).

The author of the earlier mentioned Petrák chronicle written in the 1740's listed the neighbouring existing, ruined parishes and those destroyed in the 17th century with a short history and the date of their perishing. The very accurate description does not mention a church at Szentilona in the close vicinity of Szentes. It may mean that if there had existed such a building, even its ruins had disappeared by the Modern Period.

There are no definite archaeological data suggesting a church. Elemér Zalotay, however, wrote in a letter to the director of the Scientific Intitute of the Hungarian Plain in 1947[47] that he purposed to uncover a „*church foundation from the Arpadian Age and the encircling cemetery*" at Szentilona. The excavations, however, were postponed. J. Csalog found in the course of his excavation in 1960, „the yellow remains of a daub wall" next to the graves in the section, where „the daub was removed".[48] This observation, regrettably, is so frail that not even a building, let alone a church foundation from the Arpadian Age, can be deduced from it. Regrettably, this region was scraped next year destroying several graves. Is it possible that the church, whose site was still known by Zalotai has finally perished?

The one-time territory of the village merged into the fields of Szentes, which was developing towards the rank of a country town as early as the Middle Ages. The perishing of the Szentilona village was probably not caused by some military event but by the spontaneous devastation characteristic of the Hungarian Plain from the 13th century. The field survey diploma from 1332, describing the villages of Szentes and Sajt, once adjacent to Szentilona, does not (any more?) mention Szentilona. The same fate was shared by other settlements from the Arpadian Age in the neighbouring regions (*Fig.3*). The only exception, Szentes became the centre of the region in the 16th century parallelly to the fall of the town of Donáttornya, the earlier centre and it was enriched with the population of the neighbouring devastated villages. At the same time, it were only two villages, Hékéd and Szentlászló that survived until the Late Middle Ages from among the

[45] It is a pity that the settlement evaded the attention of the author of the monograph on the topic. See: *Mező 1996*.

[46] For the sake of comparison I mention that Saint Mary, as a patron saint, occupying the first place in the list, is represented in 298 place names (*Kovács 1990* 409–411). Saint Helen, probably born in Niš (around 255 – around 328) was the wife of Constantine the Great and a searcher of Christ's cross (*Mező 1996* 89).

[47] Library of the HAS, Manuscripts, Ms 4012/174.

[48] KJM Archaeological Archives 230–84/5.

villages founded in the Arpadian Age, which either had churches (Besenyő, Sajt, Sáp, Szentlászló, Szentilona?) or seem not to have had one (Hékéd, Szentmihály, Karácsonytelke). They were destroyed by the Fifteen-years' war.

The knoll of Szentilona in the Modern Times

As far as it can be known, there was no settlement on the knoll in the late Middle Ages and the Modern Times. The natural setting, however, provided an excellent refuge area. The Petrák chronicle, which collected the tradition living in the memory of the local population in the 18th century concerning the one-time villages, knolls, „islands" and renown events around Szentes[49] describes „the island of Szentilona" as a refuge area in the „Turkish world". At the times of frequent Turkish loots: „...*people had no other refuge than the vast fields near the town. Then, in the time of the Turkish reign, the Basha of Gyula sent Turkish families to live here... at which time, the Hungarian population of the town of Szentes moved with their priest called István Böjtösi, to the fields under the town called the island of Szentilona, after which regretful event some lay in ambush and captured many Turks and kept them in captivity and Jankó Barta, Ferkó Kerekes, Pista Zekes, Jóska Török, Martzi Bokor and others collecting themselves one night sent the Turks out of Szentes, cut the head off three hundred of them at the so-called Sáp knoll after which the Turks, no more daring to stay here disappeared from the region. Those who from among them stayed became Christians, married with Hungarians and their descendants called Török (Turkish) still live in the town of Szentes...*"(*Petrák 1997* 35, lines 24–36[50]). Accordingly, the Hungarians spent longer periods, maybe even years at Szentilona, depending on the military events. Other oral traditions reinforce a longer stay telling that the Protestants visited the Szentes church only to take part in the Sunday sermons.

Based on the above, certainly authentic oral tradition, settlement and settlement traces at Szentilona can only be expected to come from transitional periods. Only a few houses with steady constructions above the ground could have been built and a temporary settlement would certainly leave very little trace detectable by archaeology. The small scale excavations and their occasionalty may explain that no settlement traces from the modern period have been found.

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[49] On archaeological references of the chronicle and the sites mentioned in it see: *Paszternák 1998a* and *Paszternák 1998b*.

[50] The original Hungarian text of the cited detail of the chronicle runs as follows: „... a Lakosoknak menedék helye egyéb nem vót mint a város mellett el nyuló nagy rétség. Anak utána a Török e tájon lévő Uralkodása alat a Gyula Basa Török családokat szállitott ide lakosoknak... mely aklakommal, Szentes Városa Magyar lakossai a Város alatti rétségben Bőjtősi István nevezetjű Papjokal Szentilona szigetében költöztek, mely szómórú helyzet után a Magyarok kőzzűl némelyek les helyekre álván sok Törököt elfogtak és rabságban tártották és Barta Jankó, Kerekes Ferkó, Zeke Pista, Török Jóska, Bokor Martzi 's többén magokat öszve adván egy éjszaka Szentesből a Tőrőköket ki zavarták három százat kőzűllűk le nyakaztak az ugy nevezett Sápi halomnál mi után a Tőrőkőknek, tovább bátorságok nem lévén it lakni el pustúla eről a tájról. A kik közzűlők itt maradtak Keresztyéné lettek a Magyarokal őszve házasodtak maradékaik mái napig is Tőrök néven neveztetnek Szentes várossában..." The above quoted lines have survived in twelve copies in all the versions of the chronicle enlarged each time, nearly without any change. So it may be supposed that the information in these lines come from the oldest part of the chronicle from around 1750.

A question concerning the continuity of the settlement may be raised namely if the memory of the place of the early cemetery could have survived until the 16–17th centuries. I think we can answer with yes considering the followings. As we could see it is not known when the village of the Arpadian Age perished. The very few and rarely found pottery dated from after the Arpadian Age and the data from the defter in 1570 suggest that the population of the village abandoned the place sometime during the Turkish Period. This must have been the time when the last graves were dug. There was no break in the continuity of the settlement and the population of the region due first of all to Szentes on the bank of the Kurca only one mile from Szentilona, which reached the top of its development as a market town in the late Middle Ages.

One of the graves from the Arpadian Age excavated by J. Csalog (grave 9/1961) was dated by the archaeologist, without giving explanation, to the Turkish Period. This grave cut the underlying grave 8/1961. If we accept Csalog's dating, it would prove that the cemeteries of the Arpadian Age and of the early Modern Times occupied the same place and they are in superposition. I think that at the end of the Turkish period and in the beginning of the Modern Times, the population living for a longer-shorter period at Szentilona knew the place where their ancestors buried their dead and dug consciously new graves there into the sacred ground.[51] It is another question that for lack of grave marks made of enduring materials the places of the individual graves disappeared and this was the reason why later burials disturbed earlier ones. These later lines, of course, are suppositions until the time it can be decided with exact archaeological and excavational data.

In summary I may tell that the village of Szentilona was certainly started in the Arpadian Age, probably at the turn of the 11–12th centuries. To date we do not have a find assemblage that would date the settlement or the cemetery prior this date. The intensive population can be proved in the 12–13th centuries as attested to by the grave-goods and the pottery collected on the surface together with the stray metal objects from the site. The life stopped in the village from the 14th century, although it might have survived as an insignificant (temporary?) settlement with a few buildings.[52]

ABBREVIATIONS:

KJM.	Koszta József Museum, Szentes
D.	depth
L.	length
O.	orientation
Th.	thickness

[51] This supposition is supported by medieval diplomas remembering „pagan graves" and „girl's graves" collected by Gyula Kristó (*Kristó 1981*). They reveal that old burials and places of ancient cemeteries discovered in the Middle Ages were often used as cardinal points in orientation and in field surveys.

[52] The photos in the study were made by Tibor Kádas. Andrea Vaday and Sándor Ősi helped me with the tables. I would like to thank them for their help and I am also grateful to all my colleagues and friends who assisted me with this study. The drawings were made by the author.

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CAPTIONS

Fig. 1. 1: The area of Szentilona-hill; 2: The site: 1: The place of the cemetery; 2: The place of the settlement excavation in 1983.

Fig. 2. The area of Szentilona in the map of the Josephinische Aufnahme (1785).

Fig. 3. Medieval settlements and archaeological sites near by Szentes. 1: Modern topographical name; 2: Name and place of a medieval settlement; 3: Cemetery from the Period of the Hungarian Conquest (10th century); 4: Cemetery from the 10–11th century; 5: Cemetery from the Arpadian Age (11–13th century); 6: Settlement from the Arpadian Age (11–13th century); 7: Settlement from the late middle age (14–16th century); 8: Medieval church; 9: Supposed medieval church; 10: Supposed place of a medieval settlement

Fig. 4. Unearthed features of the settlement excavation in 1983. 1–3: Feature 1 and 2; 4–5: Feature 3/a and 3/b

Fig. 5. 1–2: Features of the settlement excavation in 1983. 1: Feature 1; 2: Feature 2

Fig. 6. 1–2: Features of the settlement excavation in 1983. 1: Feature 1 and 2; 2: Feature 3/a and 3/b

Fig. 7. 1–6: Surface finds from Szentilona

Fig. 8. 1–5: Surface finds from Szentilona

Fig. 9. 1–4: Surface finds from Szentilona

Fig. 10. 1–6: Surface finds from Szentilona; 7: J. Csalog's sketch of his cemetery excavation from 1960. „K": East, „F": Destroyed clay plaster

Fig. 11. 1, 5: Stray finds from the site; 2–4: Finds from the graves 6 (1961) and 7 (1961); 6–7: Surface finds from Szentilona.

Fig. 12. 1–9: Finds of the settlement excavations from 1983

Mira Pavletic

SOME FORMS OF GLASS VESSELS FROM THE ANCIENT PORT AT VERIGE BAY ON THE BRIJUNI

In archaeological literature Verige Bay is famous for one of the most significant examples of Roman villa rustica from the 1st century A. D. on the eastern Adriatic coast. Apart from the luxurious summer-house that is together with economic part situated on three terraces on the southern side of the bay, the complex of the maritim villa is completed with three temples, diaeta, palestra, baths and the another economic area. The system of porticos and cryptoporticus connects all the structures into an undivided whole that stretches for 1 km along the bay. Along the seashore of this architectural complex is a waterfront built of huge stone blocks that is on the northern and southern side of the bay enclosed by jetties, and today is about one metre below the sea surface.

The first research at the beginning of this century (1900–1915) was carried out by A. Gnirs who also made the first plan of the complex.[1] His reseach on land was supplemented by that of A. Degrassi in the coastal area, who found that the port at Verige Bay presents the largest port complex in Istria.[2] After a longer period, research was resumed and in 1985 the team of the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments from Zagreb performed underwater survey, and from 1988 systematic underwater archaeology research. Excavations over the years have shown that the richest area in remains is the one on the northern coast of the bay, along the ancient operational coast with a cultural layer of 250 cm and remains from the 1st – 6th century. Besides various ceramics (fragments of amphoras, coarse kitchen ware and fine tableware, sigillates of Italic, Gaulish and African production as well as those from Asia Minor, and oil-lamps) money, metal, glass and organic material were also found.[3]

Among the numerous glass fragments collected during the underwater archaeology research, the typology of only a small number of these can be defined with certainty. As earlier mentioned, this material was found along the ancient operational coast. Since it fell into the sea during port operations, these are mostly smaller glass fragments, except one whole, slightly damaged glass. Mostly, only fragments of glass vessels have been preserved (rims, bottoms or walls), some of

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[1] *A. Gnirs*: Forschungen ber antiken Villenbau in Sdistrien. I. Die Grabungen in der antiken Villenlage von Val Catena. JÖAI 18 (1915) 99–163, with the quoted bibliography.

[2] *A. Degrassi*: I porti romani dell'Istria. Scritti vari di antichità. Roma 1962, 861–862.

[3] *M. Orlić – M. Jurišić*: Rekognosciranja i istraživanja u Jadranskom podmorju., Obavijesti 18:1 (1986) 43; *M. Jurišić – M. Orlić*: Istraživanje antičke luke u uvali Verige na Brijunima. Obavijesti 19:3 (1987) 40–42; *M. Jurišić – I. Radić*: Hidroarheologija 1988. godine, nastavak ranije zapocetih istraživanja. Obavijesti 21:1 (1989) 35; *M. Jurišić – M. Orlić*: Brijuni – uvala Verige, Antička luka. AP 28 (1989) 98–99; *M. Juriić*: Istrazivanja podmorskih arheolokih lokaliteta u Hrvatskoj tijekom 1990. godine. Obavijesti 23:1 (1991) 28; *M. Juriić:* Hidroarheološka istraživanja u Hrvatskoj 1992. godine. Obavijesti 25:1 (1993) 27.

extremely thin walls (less than one millimeter), that are almost impossible to connect, and precisely define the typology and dating.

Because of their rarity and uniqueness, my attention particularly focussed on fragments of three types of glass vessels.

Form 1

Goblet with wheel-cut honey-comb pattern (*Pl. I,1*)

Among the most beautiful famous goblets C. Isings includes goblets on pad-base.[4] Her opinion is shared by M. T. F. Canivet who considers conical glasses with a base ring one of the most elegant shapes.[5] As such they have long ago attracted the attention of numerous authors who classified them into several different varieties.[6] Considering the size, they can be taller, more slender or lower, bell-shaped. The decoration varies from the round and oval to the rhomboid and hexagonal – honey-comb pattern. The pattern itself can be higher or lower, mutually more or less separated, arranged in one or more fields. Although all decorations are wheel-cut, the work also differs, so they can be incised or faceted. On the majority of examples the decoration that is outlined with plastic ribs on the upper and lower part is found in the central part of the vessel. On the other hand, the decoration on the Brijuni goblet is arranged in three fields: each with two rows of faceted hexagons sharing central sides, are separated among themselves by plastic ribs into three fields. An interesting fact is that in literature examples with decorations arranged in one field predominate. Only one bell-shaped goblet from Vetus Salina, dated to the 1st century has a wheel-cut pattern of two rows of elipses arranged in each of the two fields.[7] Such a pattern in two mutually separated fields is found on the conical goblet from Mosds with an incised honey-comb pattern, hemispherical glass from Ptuj with wheel-cut ovals, and a goblet from Augst, but all are examples from a later period.[8]

The process of glassmaking consisted of two parts: shaping the vessel that could be made by casting into a mould[9] or glass blowing,[10] and wheel-cutting (faceting). While the first part of the process is performed by glassmakers (*vitrearii),* the second phase is left to the glass cutters (*diatretarii).*[11]

Although the finds are equally represented in graves and settlements, the Dulongs consider the use unknown.[12] On the other hand M. T. F. Canivet considers them as objects for domestic use[13] which is proved by the finds of these glasses

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[4] *Isings 1957* 37–38.

[5] *Canivet 1969* 24.

[6] *Dulong 1985* 60;. *Rütti 1988* 54–7.

[7] *Barkóczi 1988* 103, T. XV, 161, dated to the 1st c.

[8] *Barkóczi 1988* 106, T. XV, 167, dated to the second half of the 4th c.; *Žubić 1976* 46, No. 60, T. VI, 47, dated to the 3rd-4th c.; *Rütti 1991* 71, T. 64, No. 1379, dated to the late 3rd-4th.

[9] *Dulong 1985* 60

[10] While B. Rtti doubts the possibility of blowing such glasses (*Rütti 1991* 2, 58, 1200), K. Goethert-Polaschek has no doubts about such a possibility (*Gothert-Polaschek 1977* 44), this opinion is shared by S. Biaggio Simona (*Biaggio Simona 1991* I, 109), whereas D. B. Harden considers both possibilities (*Harden et al. 1988* 181).

[11] *Harden et al. 1988* 181.

[12] *Dulong 1985* 60.

[13] *Canivet 1969* 21–24.

in Augst/Kaiseraugst.[14] Fragments of some fifteen glasses (taller and lower) with faceted decorations, found in the craftsmen's quarter of the Roman colony Augusta Rauricorum, point out to the popularity of tableware decorated in such a fashion, which for the Romans was a feature of prestige.[15]

The origin of faceted glasses still remains unexplained. They are represented both in the Eastern and Western Roman Empire.[16] Possible glassmaking centers are Syria, Egypt and Italy. While some authors consider each of these workshops possible,[17] others are more precise. The western provenance is represented by Barkczi who considers that these forms should be linked with the workshops in Aquileia.[18] But, most authors attribute them to the East, where again it is difficult to define whether they originate from Egyptian i. e. Alexandrian or Syrian workshops.[19] Namely, Alexandrian masters are considered to have been specialists in this type of decoration, whereas in Syria there was only a smaller glassmaking center.[20] Another fact that supports their eastern origin would also be the origin of glass wheel-cutting technology[21] that was accepted also by western workshops, thus this elegant form spread to the West.[22] The fact that in Aquileia, at least for now, such forms of glasses have not been registered, would support the theory of the eastern source.[23] The only example of glass decorated with facets from the Aquileia surroundings, I am familiar with, originates from the shipwreck near Grado dated from the end of second -beginning of third century.[24] Ulpianus (170? – 228) testifies to the existence and popularity of *diatretarii* in Aquileia.[25] Possible glasses of this form were made in Aquileia, but at a later period. The finds of broken glass vessels intended for recycling as well as Ulpianus' evidence would support the theory of the production of such types of glasses in the Aquileia workshop at the end of 2nd – beginning of 3rd century. The origin of this form is definitely eastern-Mediterranean,[26] but only with a better knowledge of eastern glass production will it be possible to define the center of production.[27]

Dating of these elegant goblets extends from the second half of 1st century A. D. until the beginning of 3rd century, whereas later dating is considered a problem.[28] The Brijuni example was found along with the material from the end

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[14] *Rütti 1991* 13/1, facetted glasses shape AR 45 (tall glasses shape AR 45. 2), 44–45, Abb. 245, 266; 13/2, 58–9, T. 52, 1201–1203.

[15] *Harden 1962* 329.

[16] *Dulong 1985* 60–61; *Rütti 1988* 57.

[17] *Rütti 1991* 13/1, 146.

[18] *Barkóczi 1988* 40.

[19] *Isings 1957* 38; *Rütti 1988* 57; *Biaggio Simona 1991* I, 110.

[20] *Harden 1962* 330.

[21] *Harden et al. 1988* 179–180.

[22] *Rütti 1988* 57.

[23] *Calvi 1968* T. A-O.

[24] *Giacobelli 1997* 311–312, fig. 1. These are very interesting finds of glass fragments intended for recycling. They were found scaterred around the wooden barrel in which they were kept. As this is only a preliminary report the number of fragments of facetted vessels is not quoted.

[25] *Harden 1962* 330.

[26] *Rütti 1988* 57; Roffia 1993 86.

[27] *Glučević 1986* 256.

[28] *Dulong 1985* 60–61; *Canivet 1969* 24; *Glučević 1986* 256; *Rütti 1991* 13/2, 58, Flavian–Hadrianic.

of the 1st and beginning of the 2nd century (ceramics of thin walls, oil-lamps, eastern sigillates)[29] thus such, for now a unique work of the eastern workshops should be dated like this. Early dating suggests the work of eastern workshops.

Form 2

Shallow hemispherical bowl (*Pl. I, 2*)

The shallow hemispherical bowl of a simple, clear shape decorated with only very fine wheel-incised lines is characterized by extremely thin walls (0,3 mm). Although not even one author studying this type of vessel points this out particularly, I consider it important to stress this fact that gives it a distinctive feature.

C. Isings quotes several examples of vessels decorated in such a way.[30] Among the group of shallow bowls with wheel-incised decorations there is a wide variety of decorations, and besides simple lines, they can be decorated with faceted ovals, geometric patterns or figurative scenes.

The same range of decorations is found in Augst. Even when it is not possible to define with certainty that fragments of vessels belong to shallow bowls, they undoubtedly belong to forms that according to the ceramics in Augst may be precisely dated.[31] The opinion of B. Rütti about the irrelevance of the height of vessel is extremely important for the Brijuni example since it is impossible to define precisely whether it is a shallow or tall bowl, or glass.

Defining the place of production of these luxury[32] vessels is a problem. They are found both in the East and West, therefore B. Rütti presumes that they may be attributed to both eastern (Syria, Egypt) and western (Rhineland and Gaul) workshops.[33] The uniformity of shape, dimensions and quality make M. C. Calvi accept the theory of the eastern (Cyprus) production.[34]

M. T. F. Canivet includes them among vessels for domestic use, whereas C. Isings quotes one example of grave finds.[35] The Brijuni example is made of extremely thin glass so it is improbable that such a fragile vessel would be for everyday use.

The dating is very broad and covers the period from the first to the fourth century. M. T. F. Canivet dates them to the first half of the first century, although Vesberg considers they cannot be older than the 2nd century, and M. C. Calvi dates them like this.[36] In Augst this form appears along with the ceramics that can be dated more precisely from the third quarter of the second to the third

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[29] *Brioni 1988*, Research diary, 8–9 October, 1988.

[30] *Isings 1957* 144, form 116 b.

[31] *Rütti 1991* 93, Table 16, form AR 58, 94.

[32] Although the Brijuni example is not richly decorated I would include it in the luxury products because of its thin walls. The production of these extremely thin walls which was then decorated with wheel-incised lines truly demanded top-level craftsmanship.

[33] *Rütti 1991* 147–148.

[34] *Calvi 1968* 67.

[35] *Canivet 1969* 24, fig. 20; *Isings 1957* 144.

[36] *Canivet 1969* 24; *Calvi 1968* 67.

century.[37] C. Isings dates them to the fourth century. The context of the finds of the Brijuni example suggests a later dating i. e. 4th century.[38]

Form 3

Miniature conical bowl

A very interesting example of find is a miniature conical bowl. Greater attention to this, in literature rarely represented shape, was given by E. Roffia.[39]

The miniature bowl is not a shape that was produced as a special shape by ancient glassmakers. That is not a consciously shaped product, shape that they wished to achieve, but a part of a secondarily used vessel whose upper part is broken. A completely preserved base was removed from the broken vessel, cut and its rims rounded. The turned over base thus became and independent vessel.[40] While the secondary use of ceramic vessels is common, this is not the case with glass vessels since such cases are rarely documented. E. Roffia quotes several examples of used again turned over bases of glass vessels found in Roman catacombs, and are dated to the fourth century. One such vessel found in a child's grave has been interpreted as a child's toy. The author considers miniature vessels of unknown provenance, found in Milan, a possible product of eastern-Mediterranean workshops of the 3rd-4th century. A late dating (4th century?) for a small bowl, for which he found no analogy, is also presupposed by Barkczi.[41]

The Brijuni example, just like the latter one, is a simple conical shape, as opposed to examples from Milan that were formed by infolded walls. The context of miniature bowl finds at Verige Bay (Valens coin) suggests a later dating – 4th century.[42]

The chosen examples of glass vessels from Verige Bay implies very interesting material that is not encountered often. The goblet with a faceted honey-comb pattern and a hemispherical bowl of extremely thin walls decorated with wheel-cut lines are remarkable examples of glass craftsmanship that perfectly fit into the luxurious Roman villa complex and are proof of its magnificence. The origin of these shapes is uncertain; a small number of analyzed shapes that can represent both the work of the East and West, does not permit the analysis of the origin of material, or the dominance of certain workshops. The ceramic objects mentioned in the introduction confirm sufficient supply with both western and eastern products, that will possibly be proved by the analysis of glass material from the Verige Bay port. For now this remains a hypothesis.

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[39] *Roffia 1993* 77–78
[40] idem.
[41] *Barkóczi 1996* 29.
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FIGURES

Fig. 1.

1: Fragment of the central part of conical glass of colorless opaque glass. It is decorated with wheel-cut honey-comb patterns arranged into three fields, each separated with 2 plastic ribs. Dimensions: preserved ht. = 7.8 cm; R = 6–8 cm; thickness of wall = 0.2 cm;

2: Fragments (3) of the upper and lower part of the hemispherical glass of transparent colorless glass. Outsplayed rim is decorated with two wheel-cut lines, below which there are two more somewhat wider wheel-cut lines. Iridescence. Dimensions: preserved ht. = 7cm; R = 12 cm; thickness of wall = 0.03 cm;

3: Fragmentarily preserved bowl of conical walls and concave bottom of colorless glass. Many bubbles. Laminated glass. Dimensions: ht. = 1.6 cm; R = 3.7 – 5.5 cm; thickness of wall = 0.1 cm

Mária Pető

WHERE DID MARSIGLI'S ROMAN FORT OF DUNAHARASZTI STAND?

It is nearly 300 years now that Marsigli, military engineer from Bologna, surveyed and sketched[1] the still visible remains of the fortification system of the Danubian limes.[2] Several of these constructions could be identified with the help of his descriptions.[3] The author indicated a large fort of rectangular ground plan north of the village „Arasti". He could only see the northern and eastern walls of the fort, the southern side had perished by then (*Figs 1–2*). In the course of the Turkish wars, the medieval villages and lands south of Pest depopulated, so Marsigli attributed the place of the ruins to Haraszti, the closest inhabited settlement. The exact location of the construction identified by Marsigli as an antique fortification has long been standing in the focus of Hungarian research and many specialists, starting from Flóris Rómer, tried to locate the fort.[4] Marsigli's depiction in a distorted scale and the change of the geographical setting, especially related to the shape and number of the islands in the Danube, hindered projecting the site onto a modern map with geodesic methods, and then verifying its correctness of the location with excavations.

The construction, based on Marsigli's known[5] and an up to now unpublished description (*Fig. 2.2*) was a harbour fort which defended the province and, first of all, the camp of Campona from the side of the Barbaricum[6] and watched the crossings at the Csepel island.

We started to deal more profoundly with the localisation of the fort in 1987 when the Budapest Historical Museum started preventive rescue excavations along the southern track of the M0 highway. It seemed obvious to look for the site of the fort on the left bank known so far only from literature and to verify its existence with excavations. The large number of Roman wares and Sarmatian find material[7] found during the M0 highway excavations supported out presumption that the left-bank fort must be in the vicinity (*Fig. 3*). Previous to the start of the systematic excavations in 1989, we collected data. According to local traditions and the opinions of historians,[8] there were ruins under the open-air bath of the Piston ring factory of the Csepel Lorry factory (cad. no. 18685) and the informants were certain of their Roman origin. The local inhabitants also told that a few years earlier so thick stone walls had been found during the foundation of the sauna building of the open-air bath that even the excavator had not been able to pull down so the ruins had been left in place and covered. The open-air bath and the attached sport grounds are on a high sand hill at the southern fence of the factory. The hill is bounded by the Gyár-köz on the north and the Fűzfa köz on the south. Towards east it reached the Haraszti street, while in the west it ends in a steep wall. At the foot of this wall, the week-end houses of the Horgászpart (Fishermen's bank), a street and the bank of the Soroksár branch of the

Danube follow. Now, this is the XXIIIrd district of Budapest, a part of Soroksár called also Millenium settlement. In the Middle Ages, the village of Szentdienes stood here which was mentioned in documents from the end of the 1300's.[9] The destruction of the village started after the Turkish wars although its ruins could still be seen in the 18th century. The German speaking population settled here considered it to be the ruins of a cloister and called it 'Mauerstock' (wall foundation).[10] Dr. G. Papp, researcher of the local history of Soroksár related that she also used to play among the ruins in her childhood before the 2nd world war. She also gave us the notes by her father, dr. József Klébl, veterinary doctor in Soroksár who had written: „Romans appeared in this region in about 100 AD Their memory is preserved by the ruins at Szentdienes (popularly Mauerstock). They lie at the Danube within the confines of the village (Soroksár) toward Dunuharaszti in the one-time Szentdienes field. It can undoubtedly be told from Marsigli's description and map that the ruins are the remains of the watch tower and camp built by emperor Diocletian in 293 AD The camp was rectangular, one side was protected by the Danube, three other sides by strong stone walls. According to Marsigli, the northern and eastern sides of the walls still existed in about 1700. Now, in 1930–1940, only the fragments of the eastern wall stand parallelly to the national road and even these are under the surface. The huge watch tower stood in the centre of the camp and there was a large semicircular cellar under it. The cellar was intact 50 years ago and the walls of the tower reached the height of an adult.... The walls were built of uncarved stones put into slaked lime.... Roman coins were often found here, I could get four from the farmers..."

József Klébl is said to have given them to the Numismatic Collection of the Hungarian National Museum but we could not trace them in the collection. There are, at the same time, 16 Roman coins in the Local Historical Museum of Soroksár from the period between Alexander Severus to Constantinus.[11] Szentdienes is indicated as their location, perhaps these are the pieces found by József Klébl.

Katalin Melis carried out rescue excavations in territory of the Piston ring factory in 1969[12] who found the remains of two thick and strong walls in a drain ditch and defined them as the walls of the medieval church of the one-time Szentdienes village. She also observed inhumation burials without grave goods close to the walls. It should be noted that further skeletons without grave goods were later found in the yard of the factory during drain pipe laying in 1989.

Based on the above data, we carried out excavations in the area of the open-air bath of the factory in September and October, 1989 (*Fig. 5.1*). The first research trenches were opened in the foreground of the sauna where we really found the strong walls in the depth of 100 cm mentioned by local inhabitants.

Some medieval sherds and a fragment of a small, light yellow early Roman vessel were found in front of the walls. The excavations were carried on on the western side of the building where the uncovery of a large surface yielded further wall remains. The walls were built of limestone inserted into a limy tartar – exactly as written by József Klébl, and in some cases the outer edges were made of regularly carved ashlar. No Roman find was discovered in this region, not even a stamped brick commonly found at Late Roman forts and, as it seemed more

and more dubious if it was a Roman construction, we asked Katalin Melis to visit the site. She ascertained that the construction was a medieval one and belonged to the one-time Szentdienes village (*Fig 5*). In the followings, we conducted the excavations together also in 1990.[13]

Beside the medieval finds, pits from the Scythian period, horse burials and a Scythian bronze arrowhead were uncovered, this latter in a secondary position near one of the medieval walls. A few Roman sherds were found scattered, without settlement features, in the eastern end of the sports ground near the Haraszti street. In the area between the two, Katalin Melis unearthed the remains of the living houses and ovens of the medieval village. We could not find the eastern wall running parallel to the road, which is mentioned in József Klébl's and Flóris Rómer's notes[14] and located to a place that cannot be identified any more. We carried out field walkings on the empty hill north of the Gyár köz where prehistoric and medieval sherds were found but not a piece from the Roman times.

Then, hydrological archives were scrutinised, aerial photos were obtained from the wider vicinity of the relevant region and local inhabitants were interviewed if they had found any remains related to the Roman period. In one of the week-end houses of the Horgászpart, close to the Danube in Gyár köz, we were told that „carved" stones were found in the foundation pit of their house. Regrettably, they could not show them. If there really had existed seemingly carved stones they must have been built into the walls of the house.

An article by dr. János Baradlai was shown us by Imre Vöő,[15] the leader of the Local Historical Museum of Szigetszentmiklós. The article, titled Transaquincum appeared in the daily Magyar Dunavidék on 25.12.1932 and contained the followings: „The traces of the fort of Transaquincum have been preserved. Next to the Millenium settlement on the bank of the Danube, the stones of the fort can still be found in a bushy depression near the fence of the Iris ribbon works... The area of the Millenium settlement is now within the confines of Soroksár, formerly, however, it belonged to the „Horost" village," The Irisz ribbon works, or more exactly the IRISZ velvet and ribbon ware factory started production at the end of the last century, then, using the old buildings towards the Danube, it changed its profile in 1950 and carried on as the Piston ring factory. The above article revealed that we need not necessarily look for the remains of the eastern wall of the fort in the area of the open-air bath but rather at the foot of the western fence of the factory. Regrettably, this area is covered with week-end houses and no excavation can be carried out.

It is also due to Imre Vöő that we got a photo (*Fig. 5.2*) showing a wall fragment constructed of flat stones, a totally different structure than the medieval walls unearthed in the area of the open-air bath. The backside of the photo preserved the hand-written note: „Ruins of the Dunaharaszti Roman fort (?) in 1927". Regrettably, nothing is known about the circumstances of shooting the photo. We could identify the building in the right upper corner of the photo. This building, once a transformer house, still stands although in a renewed shape (*Fig. 6.1*). Its owner, being an enthusiast of antiquities, preserved some bricks with the year 1927 stamped in them unplastered. The flat elongated house in the photo

and the smaller and higher building beside it still stand in the territory of the former Irisz, later Piston ring factory. The last building of the Gyár köz toward the Danube is the Zöld Béka (Green Frog) restaurant (*Fig. 6.2*). According to the old maps there used to be a harbour in front of it and a similar indication can be read even now on the water-tour maps (*Fig. 7*). This fact, however, cannot be reflected to the past with total certainty and demonstrate the continuity from a harbour fort as the bed and the banks of the Soroksár branch of the Danube have significantly changed after the construction of the Kvassay lock at the beginning of the century.

A late Roman coin find of 233 pieces[16] found in 1987 on the Danube bank in the Csepel island facing the fort, although somewhat more to the south, with coins from Alexander Severus to Valentinian provide recent evidence of Roman presence in the region. They came from a secondary position, neither the person who found them nor the circumstances are known. Their composition, however, imply the same period as the ones in the Local History Museum in Soroksár.

Summing up the results of the 10-year search for the location of Marsigli's fort, we can tell that a new concept has been created and excavations are indispensable to solve the problem; to finally decide the question, further excavations must attest to the above.[17] The Municipality of Soroksár has more than once considered the regulation of the Horgászpart from the lower end of the Molnársziget to the border of Budapest and if it would start, perhaps it might yield evidences for archaeological research.

Dove si trova la fortezza romana di Haraszti descritta per Marsigli? /riassunto/

Marsigli, ingegnere militare di Bologna presentò una fortezza quadrata nel suo libro intitolato „Danubius Pannonico-Mysicus /1726/, il quale anticamente si situava nella riva sinistra del braccio di Soroksár del Danubio, a nord del villaggio di Dunaharaszti. La costruzione già fu rovinata in quel tempo, di essa esisterono soltanto i due muri, il settentrionale e l'orientale. Evidentemente si vede nella descrizione di Marsigli che questo edificio fu una fortezza di rada in Barbarico. Archeologhi ungheresi hanno cercato da cento anni il luogo di questa fortezza romana, la quale sarebbe stata il contra-castello di Campona /Nagytétény/ un presidio romano, che sorvegliò il passaggio attraverso il fiume e l'isola di Csepel, l'agitazione delle tribù barbare e il commercio.

I collaboratori del Museo Storico di Budapest cominciarono ad occuparsi della localizzazione della fortezza quando iniziarono gli scavi nel territorio dell'autostrada M0, nell'anno 1987.

La letteratura scientifica e la tradizione orale hanno localizzato il luogo della fortezza vicino all'autostrada, più precisamente al territorio del cortile d'una fabbrica- Dugattyúgyűrűgyár, Budapest XXiII. Soroksár, Millenium-telep, no topografico: 186855. Abbiamo lavorato in questo luogo nel 1989–90 e qui sono venute alla luce le tracce del villaggio medioevale di Szentdienes.

Possiamo notare che dai dintorni piú lontani di questo territorio sono pervenute alcune scoperte romane, frammenti di ceramiche, monete dell'epoca romana tardiva, ma l'edificio romano non c'era.

Alla base di osservazioni e con l'aiuto di una vecchia fotografia /1927/, supponiamo che la fortezza cercata esisterebbe vicino ai nostri scavi tra la riva del Danubio e le case piccole di Horgászpart, a distanza di cca 50 m, nord-ovest dalla fabbrica.

Purtroppo, in questo luogo, nel basso del dirupo non abbiamo potuto continuare le ricerche, perché il territorio è totalmente edificato.

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CAPTIONS

Fig. 1. 1. Marsigli's drawing of the fort of Dunaharaszti and the camp of Albertfalva published in 1726 (Reproduction: Bence Tihanyi); 2. Unpublished detailed drawings by Marsigli (Bologna, University Library Vol. 45)

Fig. 2. 1. Unpublished detailed drawings by Marsigli (Bologna, University Library Vol. 45); 2. Marsigli's note taken on spot about the Haraszti fort (Bologna, University Library Vol. 45, Geographia Danubialis manuscripta)

Fig. 3. Sarmatian settlements on the South-Pest plain uncovered during the M0 excavations and the site of the fort (drawing by Mrs A. Vándor)

Fig. 4. Excavational ground-plan in the area of the open-air bath of the Piston ring factory from 1989. (Survey and drawing by Dr. Andrásné Vándor)

Fig 5. 1–2. Medieval wall remains from Szentdienes (excavations in 1989) (Photo by Péter Komjáthy); 3. Photo of the ruins of the fort(?) from 1927 of unknown origin

Fig. 6. 1. The renewed transformer house on the Horgászpart (Photo by Ferenc Hegyi); 2. The bank of the Soroksár Danube branch at the end of the Gyár köz

Fig. 7. The alleged site of the so-called Haraszti fort

Klára Póczy

WHAT THE MUMMY BURIALS IN LATE ROMAN PANNONIA REVEAL

In 1935, Lajos Nagy published his book on Mummy Burials in Aquincum [Aquincumi múmiatemetkezések] (Diss Pann I:4). In it he discussed the so-called „Táborhegy mummy grave" recovered by the author during the course of an excavation in 1929, together with the mummy grave from Szemlőhegy, held in the Aquincum Museum since 1912. The publication remains valid even today. It was compiled with the involvement of a medical historian, an anthropologist, a biologist, a dendrologist, and a textile researcher. The author covered a number of problems that he found answers to, or raised questions solely resulting from the analysis of the material, questions that continue to occupy archeologists and historians. Some details are still unclear including the long process of conversion from polytheism to monotheism undergone by the inhabitants of Pannonia. In other words they became Christians instead of pagans.

Since the publication of Lajos Nagy's book another ten mummy graves have been unearthed in Pannonia. The dozen finds include two that were tampered with or plundered to such an extent that they became useless for examination. This circumstance must be stressed since the fact that mummification took place was apparent only in extremely rare cases, when stone sarcophagi remained hermetically sealed. When exposed to air the organic matter disintegrated no matter how carefully mummification had been carried out, precluding any guesses about how many hundreds, perhaps thousands of mummies there might have been in Pannonia in the past. It is not likely, however, that there were ever very many of them, since preservation of this kind was considered a costly procedure. A simpler and cheaper method was to cover the dead with stucco, or simply pour a layer of lime over the body and thus seal off the air, thereby assuring that the deceased would be able continue on in the afterlife in the same bodily form.

The conclusions drawn from the results of comparisons from ten of these Pannonian mummy graves are as follows:.

The sites with mummy burials

1. One mummy grave was discovered in Carnuntum. Brought to the surface in 1939, it extends from a curb of the road leading out of the military town of the *canabae legionis* in the direction of Vindobona.[1] The finds have never been published, although the textiles were studied in the past decade.[2]

2. Four mummies from Brigetio were excavated by László Barkóczi in 1958 (published 1965). There were a total of six tombs containing 20 bodies In a so-

[1] *Swoboda 1964* 199, 294.
[2] H. Kandler's kind oral communication.

called „cellular" cemetery next to a wall. Four mummies were placed into three sarcophagi, each carved from a single block of stone. Next to these were three sarcophagi made from earlier tombs with the earlier inscriptions still visible. Another 16 bodies were buried in these graves in multiple layers. The small, closed cemetery was at an equal distance from the civilian town of Brigetio and the military town, the *canabae legionis*, off the road leading to Aquincum.[3]

3. Five mummies have been unearthed in Aquincum. In addition to the above mentioned graves from Szemlőhegy and Táborhegy (*L. Nagy 1935*), a mummy contained in a stone sarcophagus was excavated in 1962 on Jablonka Street, on the slope of the hill at the western edge of the *canabae legionis*[4] (*Póczy 1964*). The latter three graves, although relatively far apart, lie along the same road, in the residential section of the Military Town of Aquincum. Not far from this site, on the same hill slope above Bécsi Street, another mummy grave was discovered in 1983 during construction work to expand Margaret Hospital (*Németh – Topál 1991*).[5] At the southern edge of the *canabae*, next to a building remodeled in the 4th century (on Perc Street) the author unearthed another mummy in 1974 (*Póczy 1975*). This one was in extremely poor condition.[6]

4. In Intercisa, a small group of graves was discovered somewhat separated from other graves at the edge of the „southeastern cemetery" and 650 meters from the *vicus militaris*. South of the settlement near the road to Aquincum and set between cremation graves was a stone sarcophagus containing a mummy (*Vágó – Bóna 1976*).[7]

In summarizing the information about the mummy burial sites it is evident that the graves uncovered so far all come from the Pannonian limes, and were connected to larger military fortresses. Three of them were found along main distance roads running by the edge of a legionary fortress (the *canabae* of Carnuntum, Brigetio and Aquincum) while one mummy was buried next to a road leading out of the *vicus militaris* of Intercisa. It is striking that all these grave sites were set apart from other tombs, perhaps reflecting the status of closed communities, with limited members, who used them. One common characteristic feature of the inhabitants settled next to these legions and cohors' fortresses was the perceptible influence of oriental elements during the 3rd century. There were two causes of this. The first was the presence of Syrian archer corps commanded by Marcus Aurelius during the final stage of the Marcoman wars. Their families arrived in Intercisa and Ulcisia Castra with the garrison troops. Later, merchants

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[3] *Barkóczi 1965* 215. At the publication of the Brigetio graves, the author considered a natural mummification due to the poor preservation of the textiles. In the case of the grave material from the cemetery unearthed during the resue excavations in 1958, interdisciplinary analyses decided for the fact of mummification.

[4] *Póczy 1964* 176–191.

[5] *Németh – Topál 1991* 73–84.

[6] *K. Póczy:* Rescue excavations in 1976–1977 realted to the excavations of the Clarissa cloister, graves under its ruins. BudRég 25 (1984) 471. Unpublished due to the poor preservation of the material.

[7] *Vágó – Bóna 1976* 25–26, Abb. 14. Taf. XXXIV. 1. Another rescue excavation report tells about 4 more mummies. Due to the poor preservation of the find units in the stone cascet grave, only one grave could be analysed. *E. B. Vágó*: Ausgrabungen in Intercisa (1957–1969). AlbaReg 11 (1971) 112–113.

also appeared on the scene. Because of the special military tactics employed by these regiments, they were complemented from home until the middle of the 3rd century. Thus, Pannonian families' maintained continuous connections with the Hellenized East. During the reign of the Severus dynasty they received their share of privileges and became citizens corporately as shown by the abbreviation c. R. (*civium Romanorum*)[8] in the names. The opportunities for African groups were more or less the same: they were ordered to the eastern frontier (limes) of Pannonia for the same reasons and at the same time as the Syrian troops. Their mission was to hold the Sarmatians, who fought using comparable tactics, back from the Danube limes.[9] The legions stationed in Carnuntum, Aquincum and Brigetio chose the African Septimus Severus, governor of Pannonia Superior, to be emperor in AD 193. The families of the garrison troops – who at that time were living in the garrisons along the Danube as the second and third generations – were compatriots of the emperor or his wife, daughter of the prelate of the highest priest in Hemesa. Often they were actually relatives with the Empress. The Severus dynasty remained grateful to the three Pannonian legions for half a century, which was felt by inhabitants of Syrian and African extraction to an increased degree.[10]

The African and, more often the Syrian governors and their followers, felt at 'home' in the above-mentioned towns and expressed it in building and especially by the promotion of cults dedicated to oriental gods.[11]

Concerning the technology of mummification

The similarity between these graves is especially striking with respect to mummification and preservation methods. By and large these correspond with the description provided by Herodotos (II. 70, 86). As anthropologist Lajos Bartucz has pointed out *(L. Nagy 1935* 9) „... the mummification was, however, much less skillful than that seen in Egyptian mummies...," but identical to that used on burials in the catacombs of the city of Rome.[12] That is the conclusion archaeologists reached during their analyses of the finds. It was established that the several week long procedure involved similar chemicals and a crystalline brine and the quality of the resin indicates that it had the same place of origin for both the Roman and Pannonian mummies, and was applied in equal quantities. (Both Pannonia and Rome used imported resin while the latter also employed imported salt.)[13]

An analysis of the shroud conducted in Brigetio reveals that the same kind of textile was used to wrap the mummies found there as in Aquincum. The previously preserved bodies were covered with five layers of cloth, previously soaked

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[8] *B. Lőrincz*: Hadsereg. Segédcsapatok. in: *Mócsy – Fitz 1990* 79, 81, 82.

[9] *Barkóczi 1944–1951* 44.

[10] *Fitz 1972* 92, 97, 228; *L. Nagy 1939* 117. Based on the populus community, he supposed the collegium of the Syrians.

[11] *Jobst 1992* 17 and 70.

[12] *L. Nagy 1935* 9; *Swoboda 1964* 199 published an identical opinion about the grave.

[13] *L. Nagy 1935* 11–12 and notes 3–4.

in a resin solution. Then the bodies were closely wound in two layers of equally impregnated strips of textile. Notable among the textiles is the shroud woven with silk thread that covered some of the Pannonian mummies.[14]

The mummified body was placed into the sarcophagus on a straw mat, below which a layer of lime was sometimes spread.[15] A heavily scented saffron bouquet was placed over the shoulder of the body, probably to offset the strong smell of the preservatives.[16] The fixed procedure was executed by a group of priests under the supervision of a specially trained physician.[17]

Peculiarities of the ritual

The mode of the burial reveals two distinctive characteristics. The dead were mummified with their bodies stretched out and lying on their backs, their left arms were wrapped along the side of the body while their right arm was bent at the elbow and bandaged separately, with the right hand placed over the chest, possibly the heart. The same position was observed in all the mummy graves, with the exception of those that had been disturbed earlier.[18]

The second peculiarity are the funeral shoes placed into the grave. All mummy graves contained, more or less, well preserved, but recognizable, remains of leather shoes.[19] Lajos Nagy has studied the „cork inlaid soles" (*L. Nagy 1935*) that lay next to the feet of both the Táborhegy and Szemlőhegy mummies, in greater detail.[20] With the third mummy from Aquincum (from Jablonka Street) it was immediately evident that the cork was not part of an inlaid sole but the sole of the funeral shoe itself. These shoes were never actually worn but intended only for use in the other world.[21] They were also of leather but somewhat smaller than regular foot size. It is significant that the outer layer of the double-layer sole was decorated with fine fret-saw work. The shoes of the mummy from Jablonka Street are decorated with backward-looking birds, and a lace pattern of branches with heart-shaped leaves. The entire pattern was covered with gold leaf glued over the cork, pointing to the bird's symbolic significance as the soul flying in the other world. Some gold dust remains also on the leather scraps. Of course, both the gold and cork were import products in Pannonia.[22]

It is interesting to note that the finely worked bird pattern can also be seen on Coptic textiles, mostly on cloth containing gold thread, found on contemporary North African mummies.[23]

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[14] *Hollendonner 1917* 13–17; *Hajnal 1964* 192–193; *Hajnal 1965* 259–266. On the analysis of the mummified textile from the Bécsi street: *Németh – Topál 1991* 74, with the collaboration of I. Leszkó, Z. Szalay, E. Sipos, E. Jorgensen-Bender.

[15] *L. Nagy 1935* 8; *Póczy 1964* 177 and fig. 2; *Vágó – Bóna 1976* 25; *Németh – Topál 1991* 74.

[16] *Póczy 1964* 198 and fig. 7; *Barkóczi 1965* 224, 227.

[17] In details: *Korbuly 1934* 22–29.

[18] *L. Nagy 1935* 8; *Póczy 1964* 276; *Barkóczi 1965* 218; *Vágó – Bóna 1976* 25.

[19] *L. Nagy 1935* 14 and fig. 8; *Póczy 1964* 180–181 and fig. 6; *Vágó – Bóna 1976* 25.

[20] *L. Nagy 1935* 14–16.

[21] *Póczy 1964* with references, 180, notes 12–19, figs 6–9.

[22] *Póczy 1964* 182.

[23] *Póczy 1964* 181; *Wulff 1914* 271, 356.

The grave furniture

Perhaps it is mere chance that the mummies unearthed in Aquincum so far and the one from Intercisa were female, while the ones from Brigetio were male. Because of the fact that they were wrapped, their attire consisted of only jewelry, indicating a ritual purpose. Placed on the bodies after preservation, the women's jewelry attested to their social position, while the men's reflected their official rank.

Each of the women's graves contained a wooden case with bronze fittings placed at the foot of the body. The stylized bronze dolphins making up the case handles are probably from the same workshop.

I. Aquincum -Táborhegy, tombstone with female (skeleton) (*L. Nagy. 1935* 12–17)

1. Alexander Severus' (AD 222–235) medium bronze coin (Cohen, 164) in good condition, placed under the head (*L. Nagy 1935* Fig. 7)
2. Bone hairpin ending in a knob (Fig. 7)
3. Thin bronze hairpin
4. Two earrings of silver gilt, both ending in a ball with a small green stone (Fig. 7)
5. Two cork insoles 'to the left of the dead' at the level of the hips and remains of leather and leather strap among them (Fig. 5)
6. Wooden lathe-turned round case from ash (Fig. 9), fragmented
7. Piece of sponge, cosmetics, make-up and rice-powder found in the casket
8. Bone hairpin (at the feet)
9. Thick glass beaker, non-transparent, fragmented
10. Two cork insoles (by the feet), fragmented (Fig. 10)
11. Thin pieces of wood, belonging to the casket (Fig. 10)
12. Bronze needle (right at the level of knees)
13. Silver-plated bone hairpin
14. 82 bone beads thinly plated with silver, from a necklace
15. Glass beaker with thin walls
16. Textiles, from different quality fabrics
17. Plant remains, bunches of leaves and flowers etc.

The beads, the hairpin and the earrings come from a single set.

II. Aquincum – Szemlőhegy, stone coffin, the grave of a woman constructed of stone slabs and lime mortar (*L. Nagy 1935*, 18–22)

1. Linen remains
2. textile remain and silk-woven textiles
3. cork boot sole fragments

4. bronze mounts of a wooden casket, 2 pieces (figs 13–14) and a bronze handle with dolphin representation. The measurements of the mounts are identical, their ornaments are different in the details

5. two globular glass flasks with long and narrow necks (Fig. 15)

6. remains of a necklace (fig. 16), a gold necklace with 24 hexahedral green glass paste beads and 16 gold beads and a larger brown bead in the centre (amber amulet)

7. coin of Maximius Daia (305–313) (Coh2 108) minted in 305–306.

8. coin, Crispus (+326), a worn coin (Coh2 36)

III. Aquincum – Jablonkai street stone grave of a woman (*Póczy 1964* 176)

1. textiles

2. necklace, a string of tiny blue glass paste beads

3. bracelet twisted of blue glass paste beads

4. blue glass paste ring (diam: 3 cm)

5. two bone bracelets

6. a bone finger-ring

7. remains of leather slippers, perforated cork boot soles decorated with birds and coated with gold smoke

8. bone spindle with a turban-shaped head and grooved ornament

9. rectangular wooden planes and fragments of planks with traces of coloured paint

10. bark remains outlining a basket shape

11. fruit remains in the above (apricot and cherry stones and leaves)

12. a bunch of leaves above the right shoulder of the dead, remains of a rose garland on the head (under the veil)

13. salt crystalls, resin lumps

IV. Aquincum – Bécsi street (extension of the Margit hospital), grave of a girl (*Németh – Topál 1991*, 73–75)

1. textiles

2. bronze hairpin (on top of the coffin)

3. chicken bones (on top of the coffin)

4. amber amulet

5. two high one-handled jugs with twisted glass fibre ornament

6. the broken uppermust knob of a silver bulb-headed fibula with the start of the jointed structure

7. coin, Diocletian's silver coin, mint-fresh, from 302–303

8. iron needle

9. iron stylus

There is an epytaph of 7 lines on the stone coffin carved from a single block commemorating Cassia, who died at the age of four.

V. Intercisa – southeastern cemetery, stone coffin, grave of a woman (*Vágó – Bóna 1976*, 25–26)

1. textiles of various quality
2. leather remains
3. bone pin, both terminals are broken
4. dark blue (black?) glass paste beads, poorly preserved
5. black glass paste finger-ring
6. glass vessel with thick walls, opaque fragment
7. remains of a wooden casket
8. „L"-shaped silver hook with a silver hinge

VI. Brigetio – „columbarium cemetery", stone grave casket, male burial (*Barkóczi 1965* 217; figs 3, 5–6)

1. textiles of various thickness and quality
2. silver handle of an augur stick, gilded, with niello ornament
3. silver bulb-headed pin, gilded, with niello ornament. The upper knob of the fibula was sawed off and removed.
4. bronze handled jug with a trefoil spout
5. iron handled jug, broken
6. perfume bottle, a long vial
7. glass flask with a narrow and long neck and a globular body
8. flat glass bowl with chased decoration under the rim, fragmentary
9. a bunch of saffron leaves (above the right shoulder)
10. grape pips
11. vegetal remains

VII. Brigetio – „columbarium cemetery", double burial with male skeletons (*Barkóczi 1965* 223–225; figs 7–9)

1. textiles from various layers
2. bronze mounts of a wooden casket
3. glass cup, thin-walled with applied ribs, fragmentary
4. cut glass cup, fragmentary
5. vegetal remains

VIII. Brigetio – „columbarium cemetery"

1. textiles, four types, two of them are silk fabrics of different weaving and thickness
2. bulb-headed bronze fibula
3. bronze belt buckle, with a „D"-shaped articulate iron pin

4. one-handled, high glass jug with a cylindrical body
5. glass vessel with a funnel-shaped neck and a globular body
6. two-handled glass jug with a globular body and a narrow neck (fragmentary)
7. vegatal remains: bunch of saffron and flower remains

IX. Brigetio – „columbarium cemetery", stone grave casket with a male burial (*Barkóczi 1965* 229; figs 10, 12)

1. textiles of various quality, one layer was a thick silk fabric (natural silk)
2. glass cup, thin-walled with circular grooved ornament
3. glass cup from thicker material than the previous, and also larger than that
4. glass vessel, two-handled, high jug with a cylindrical body
5. glass flask with a globular body and a narrow, long neck
6. iron jug with a narrow and high neck and handle, the rim is missing
7. vegetal remains

X. Carnuntum – from beside the road leaving the canabae (*Swoboda 1964* 199, 294)

The followings have been registered about the Carnuntum grave:

„... A body mummified from the head to the lower limb lay in the mummy sarcophagus unearthed during the rescue excavations in 1939. The mummification looked certainly different from the ancient Egyptian one, caused by the superficial process. It was, however, identical to the late imperial period mummies common in Egypt as well."

„There is no possibility for the exact dating of the grave as the grave goods are not sufficient for exact dating. It can certaily be stated that the burial could not have been older than the end of the 3rd century."

„Chemical analyses were carried out on the organic materials right after the opening of the grave. The results of the analyses, however, are not known, they have been lost or rather became victims, together with other values, to the war damages in Carnuntum in 1945."

The followings of the listed mummy graves I-IX contained identical grave goods:

Amber amulet[24]	a. grave II. Aquincum, Szemlőhegy b. grave III. Aquincum, Jablonkai street c. grave IV. Aquincum, Bécsi street d. grave V. Intercisa
Bulb-headed fibula	a. grave VI. Brigetio, on the augur's shoulder b. grave VIII. Brigetio, double grave, on skeleton 2

[24] *A. Facsády*: Borostyán ékszerek. Gioiello dell'ambra in: Aquilea–Aquincum. Budapest 1995. 49–52, 88–94, fig. 235.

	c. grave IV. Aquincum, Bécsi street, only part of the fibula
Glass ring[25]	a. grave III. Aquincum, Jablonkai street b. Intercisa, canabae
Bone hairpin	a. grave I. Aquincum, Táborhegy b. grave III. Aquincum, Jablonkai street c. grave IV. Aquincum, Bécsi street d. grave V. Intercisa
Funeral shoes	a. grave I. Aquincum, Táborhegy b grave II. Aquincum, Szemlőhegy c. grave III. Aquincum, Jablonkai street d. grave V. Intercisa
Glass flask, globular body, narrow and long neck[26]	a. grave II. Aquincum, Szemlőhegy b. grave VI. Brigetio, at mummy 1. c. grave VIII. Brigetio, at mummy 4.
Glass flask, one or two handles, high and cylindrical body[27]	a. grave IV. Aquincum, Bécsi street b. grave VII. Brigetio c. grave VIII. Brigetio
Iron vessel[28]	a. grave VI. Brigetio b. grave VIII. Brigetio
Wooden casket[29]	a. grave II. Aquincum, Szemlőhegy b. grave III. Aquincum, Jablonkai street c. grave VII. Brigetio, mummy 2

The similarities and importation of textiles were mentioned at each mummified body.

The analogues of the funeral shoes and the symbolism of the object put into this grave have been discussed above. In the followings, the silver bulb-headed fibulas will be analysed together with the augur stick.

The remains of the bunch of saffron at the shoulder could be observed in several graves as grave I. (Aquincum), grave II. (Aquincum), grave III. (Aquincum), grave VI. (Brigetio), grave VIII (Brigetio) and grave IX (Brigetio).

Fruits were found in a.) grave III. (Aquincum) in the woven basket. The apricot and cherry stones, the stems and the leaves together suggest burial in June

b.) grave VI. (Brigetio). The grape pips might attest to a burial in Autumn, September[30]

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[25] *Póczy 1964* 178, fig. 5.

[26] *Barkóczi 1990*, 155, fig. 20 2. and 1. (Kat. 121,123). The larger-scale importation of the oriental glasses started with the cited types and in the same period although the trade with the Rhein area was still continuous.

[27] *Barkóczi 1990* 155 and fig. 21 5, fig. 23. 4. (Kat. 171,180).

[28] *Barkóczi 1965* 220, fig. V. 1, 229, 241; lately *Szirmai 1993* 421–427. Iron vessels are considered to have been imported from the east.

[29] *L. Nagy* 1935 20–21; *Póczy 1964* 181,183.

[30] *Póczy 1964* 184.

The list of the similar, sometimes identical grave goods calls attention to another noteworthy item. It is a *grave-aedicula depiction painted on wood*, a rarity, preserved in the sand of the Fayum oase,[31] which is an interesting, provincial example of the hellenistic, Greek-Egyptian pieces of art. The bust of a young girl can be seen in a medal, framed by a flower garland, between the coloums of the aedicula. There are a turban-headed spindle above the right shoulder (as grave II. Aquincum) and a box of cosmetics over the left shoulder (as in grave I. Aquincum). The common objects of the funeral feast can be seen in the field under the portrait. Each of them can be identified in the above listed grave goods of the Pannonian mummy graves. A high, two-handled glass jug with a cylindrical body stands on the table in the centre of the picture field (see grave IX. Brigetio). A glass cup stands on the two sides (grave I. Aquincum, grave IX. Brigetio) with bunch of grapes under them and a rich-leaved bunch in a high, woven holder beside them (grave III. Aquincum, graves VI. and IX. Brigetio). Finally, on both sides of the picture field, fruits are piled in each a low wicker basket (grave III. Aquincum, grave VI. Brigetio). Accordingly, the remains of the Pannonian cult, against the great distance in between, can be compared to the symbols of the Fayum mummy graves.

The jewelry, too, is strikingly similar; gold chains with green and white beads, always a turquoise glass paste bead and at least one amber pendant used as an amulet. They also included gold earrings with green beads and almost identical bracelets of bronze or ivory, although two were of jet from the Rhine region.

The men's graves contained silver military fibulae, two of them gilded. Of these, one has niello decoration and was from a south Pannonian workshop. Both the women's and men's graves contained valuable glass vessels that, according to Barkóczi (1965, 1978, 1984) were considered expensive import items originating around Cologne on the Rhine. The long bottles and thin drinking glasses were made within a brief period. The two vessels from the Brigetio graves were made of bronze and iron respectively.

The grave furniture also included coins, although there were altogether four from three mummy graves:

- a Diocletianus follis from Aquincum (Bécsi Street), AD 302–303
- a Maximinus Daia (AD 305–313) and a Crispus (AD d. 326) from Aquincum-Táborhegy
- an Alexander Severus (under the head of the mummy) from Aquincum-Szemlőhegy

Lajos Nagy has pointed out (1935), however, that the sarcophagus containing the latter coin stood immediately next to another sarcophagus buried at the same time. This one contained coins from the time of Maximianus Herculius (AD 284–305).

The Alexander Severus coin in mint condition placed under the deceased's head can be assumed to have had a symbolic significance: it may refer to the

[31] *Póczy 1968* 336 and fig. 6; to the same: *Zaloscer 1961* 39.

African or Syrian origin of the deceased (and thus the relation with the African-Syrian reigning couple). It also serves to remind us that the family must have arrived in Pannonia during the reign of that emperor and thus must have belonged to the 3rd group of Syrian inhabitants.

The other coins (except for the Crispus coin) are from the time of the Tetrarchy. To be more precise, they are from that short period when Diocletianus, simultaneously with the territorial disintegration of the Imperium's administration, tried to maintain its *political unity* and indissolubility with the forced and official reactivation of Jupiter worship and the Jupiter-Sol religion.[32] The emperor visited the Pannonian limes several times. The date AD 293 is memorable for the execution of the miners working in the porphyry mines in Sopiane (today's Pécs) who — as Christians — refused to carve one Aesculapius' statue. In AD 303 the Bishop of the South Pannonian town of Cibalae was executed in Savaria when Diocletianus visited the town. Besides the so-called 'Quattor coronati' and Quirinus, several well-known as well as unknown martyrs comprise the milestones of the emperor's time there.[33]

There is a Jupiter inscription in Aquincum (CIL III. 4790) that dates from AD 303 which honored the ruler along with an altar with a similar inscription by Aurelius Ianuarius, who was the dux Valeriae in Brigetio as well as a dedication by Domitius Terentius (CIL III. 4293 and 10981).

In AD 307, Diocletianus and Galerius hurried to Carnuntum from the East – presumably to the meeting of the four emperors – when they interrupted their journey in Aquincum. According to the inscription on an altarstone, the two emperors were greeted in the name as Jupiter by the town's two governors, Iul. Valerius and Aur. Maximus. Research records this inscription as the last local document referring to the municipal life of Pannonia.[34]

It is significant that although the number of mummy graves is rather small, the grave furniture in each always included one extremely expensive, imported object, each of which still counts as one of a kind in Pannonia.

One of the unique find is the *rhymed epitaph* — obviously not imported — appearing within the inscription on the sarcophagus of Cassia, from Aquincum-Bécsi Street (*Németh – Topál 1991*). On the side of the stone sarcophagus of the four-year-old girl is a poem of seven lines. Rhymed epitaphs are known in the literature only from the 2nd–3rd centuries. This example proves that the genre continued into the 4th century.[35]

It must be noted that the sarcophagi from Brigetio also had inscriptions, but here Barkóczi clearly showed that the inscriptions are much earlier than the mummies.[36] The sarcophagi were used two, three, even four times, and on the last occasion they did not remove, that is scrape off the inscription because by this time it was the custom to lower the sarcophagus into the ground whereby

[32] *T. Nagy 1942* 437; *Barkóczi 1965* 255 and note 145.
[33] In summary: *Mócsy – Fitz 1990* 260–263.
[34] *Alföldi 1943* 33–43.
[35] *Németh – Topál 1991* 74–76.
[36] *Barkóczi 1965* 245–246.

the inscription was no longer visible. Consequently the name inscribed is not necessarily that of the buried person (*Barkóczi 1965* 247–249).[37] It may be assumed that the sarcophagus of Cassia from Aquincum was not reused, however, even though Topál found it below the Roman street level, indicating that it also was lowered into the ground (*Németh – Topál 1991*).[38]

The imported, unique „finds" include a round, lathe-turned wooden casket from the Aquincum-Szemlőhegy grave. It was used to hold the deceased's make-up and cosmetics. Lajos Nagy believed the luxury item to be an import from the Hellenized East (*L. Nagy 1935*).[39]

The *male portrait* found by the author in the sarcophagus of a young mummified woman from the Aquincum-Jablonka Street site also stems from a distant province. Parts of the frame of the picture were also found, indicating that the portrait of this blue-eyed, black-haired young man originally hung on a wall. It was placed as a remembrance next to the funeral shoes of his wife who died at about 27 years of age.[40] This picture is still now a unique piece in the northern provinces.

Another extremely valuable Pannonian find from the Roman period is the augury staff from grave Nr. 1 in Brigetio.[41] Placed at the shoulder of the deceased, the upper, curved head of the sacral object is of gilded silver with niello inlay. A fibula at the body's shoulder is of the same material and ornamentation, suggesting that they came from a set.[42] The upper knob of the military fibula is missing, although, as Barkóczi noted in his publication, there is no indication of breakage or damage, rather the knob had been carefully sawn off *(Barkóczi 1965)*.[43] The author recently took up the subject again, investigating the reason for dismembering such a valuable object (*Barkóczi 1993; Barkóczi 1997*).[44] He also observed that the set belonging to the Brigetio mummy excavated in 1958 comes from the same famous goldsmithery from Sirmium as the most valuable finds of a belt and fibula set from the Aquincum grave of a man found in 1853. Both sets were probably manufactured around the turn of the 3rd – 4th centuries.[45] The correlation will be discussed later in this paper.

Concerning the age of the mummies from Pannonia

The augury staff, the fibulae and the glass and bronze vessels are dated in the literature to the last decade of the 3rd and the first two decades of the 4th

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[37] *Barkóczi 1965* 247.

[38] *Németh – Topál 1991* 73.

[39] *L. Nagy 1935* 15–16 and figs 9–10.

[40] *Póczy 1966* 272–277 and figs 1–2; *Póczy 1968* 331–336, Abb. 7; *Ehrlich 1953* 82; *Zaloscer 1961* 31–42.

[41] *Barkóczi 1965* 238 with references; *Thomas 1982* 265 and fig 6. She grouped the handle made by a goldsmith among the ancient christian remains and described it as a pastoral staff; *Mócsy-Fitz 1990* 261 refuted this interpretation; see *Latte 1926* Sp. 804–806.

[42] *Barkóczi 1965* 239 with references.

[43] *Barkóczi 1993* 327–328 and figs 4, 8.

[44] *Barkóczi 1994–95* 105.

[45] *Barkóczi 1965* 238–239.

centuries. The women's jewelry is considered typical within grave finds from the 4th century. The closest analogy to the male portrait painted on wood from the 4th century comes from the Fayum in North Africa. This painture dates to the time of Constantine I.[46]

The coins were minted between AD 303 and 326. Lajos Nagy considered that they had a posterior dating value.[47] Next to the belt and fibula set from Aquincum with their design identical to the augury staff from Brigetio, the grave at Pasaréti Street contained also 42 coins, the latest of which was minted at the time of Maximianus Herculius.[48] Based on this, Rómer revised the original dating, which Hampel and Hekler[49] had set at the end of the 4th century, proposing a time after AD 305 (*Rómer 1874*).[50]

Indirect evidence also supports this latter date. There was a hiatus of about forty years between the Brigetio graves, at the turn of the 3rd to the 4th centuries. According to Barkóczi the so-called „cellular cemetery", also containing mummies, stems from this interim time (*Barkóczi 1965* 238–239).[51] Bóna observed that in Intercisa the grave group was established after AD 313 at a small distance south-east of the Military Town was established after AD 313. Only in between the 30–40 years people were buried here (*Vágó – Bóna 1976*).[52] Because of the heavily worn Crispus coin, L. Nagy set the date of the mummies from Aquincum-Táborhegy and Aquincum-Szemlőhegy at later than the middle third of the 4th century (*L. Nagy 1935*).[53] A date after AD 320 is proposed for the mummy from Jablonka Street (*Póczy 1964*)[54] while Topal dated the most recent mummy from Aquincum on Bécsi street to AD 303, since there the grave coin was in mint condition (*Németh – Topál 1991*).[55]

In general, it can be said that the finds that can be used to date the mummy graves indicate that they date to the first half of the 4th century.

Concerning the sect that mummified their dead

The close correlation of the first and second mummies found in Aquincum with the Hellenized East was conspicuous. Because anthropological analysis revealed Alpine characteristics in the mummy from Táborhegy, Lajos Nagy (1935) believed that it was only the adherents of the sect and the importers of goods who came from Asia Minor, or possibly North Africa.[56] The results of anthropological analysis suggest that the owner of the augur from Brigetio must have

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[46] *Póczi 1968* 334 and fig. 4; the measurements of the Aquincum portrait is only 2/3 of the common mummy portraits.

[47] *L. Nagy 1935* 25 and fig. 16.

[48] *Hampel 1894* 32.

[49] *Hekler 1910* 242–248.

[50] *Rómer 1864* 120.

[51] *Barkóczi 1965* 238–239.

[52] *Vágó – Bóna 1976* 131, 134, 138.

[53] *L. Nagy* 1935 23.

[54] *Póczy 1964* 88.

[55] *Németh – Topál 1991* 71.

[56] *L. Nagy 1935* 28–30; *L. Nagy 1942* 665.

come from the eastern Mediterranean. Barkóczi (1965)[57] believed that these people were descendants of a group from Syria who after AD 270 fled to their relatives at the Danube after the fall of Palmyra and Dur-Europos, when the Imperium Romanum abandoned this part of its eastern front. There exist numerous archaeological finds testifying to the appearance of such a group.

Following Lajos Nagy's 1929, and Barkóczi's 1958 excavations of mummies, the mummy graves unearthed between 1963 and 1983 evidently support the oriental connection. As mentioned with the description of the excavation sites, the tombs were exclusively associated with garrisons along the limes where Syrian cohorts were also stationed. Only Ulcisia Castra (Castra Constantia in the 4th century, today Szentendre) is not among these sites. We know, however, that because of its proximity to Aquincum (the distance is only 10 MP, that is 15 km) the well-to-do Syrian families moved into the Military Town of Aquincum and took up leading positions in the seat of the Province (*L. Nagy 1939; Póczy 1994*).[58]

Tomb inscriptions show and the names indicate that the Syrians arriving at the end of the 3rd century and even in the 4th still spoke Greek, indicating that they may have understood the Christian texts that were at the time still translated mostly into Greek. Thus, they may have established the liturgy from that region in their new home.[59]

At this point it must be stressed, however, that no unequivocally Christian find has yet been found in any mummy grave in Pannonia. The gilded silver and niello decorated set from Budaújlak has ornamentation composed of crosses (which is repeated on the fibula as well as the augur's set from Brigetio). Nineteenth century archaeologists interpreted these as symbols and thus as Old Christian. This concept was largely overturned a critical analysis of the style that is still considered valid (A. Kiss and T. Nagy).[60] The same is considered true of the conclusions drawn on bottle and glass found in one grave. Originally considered symbols of the Last Supper (É. Bónis), more recent opinion has it that such objects can be found in graves of followers of the old religion as well as members of Mithras and Sol cult, and of various Christian sects from the 4th century (*Vágó – Bóna 1976*).[61]

During the research on the 4th century mummies, the possibility was always there that the deceased may have been followers of the Isis cult. According to A. Alföldi and E. Swoboda,[62] the 'senator' class in Rome, still sacrificed to Sol Invictus, Isis and Magna Mater (instead of the Capitolium's triad) at the end of the 4th century as a sign of the aristocracy's opposition to Christianity.

Relative to the ritual role of fruits and flowers that were placed in the grave on Jablonka Street we quoted from F. Cumot, who recognized a symbol of eternity

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[57] *Barkóczi 1944–51* 51, 59. *Barkóczi 1965* 256.

[58] *L. Nagy 1938* 129; *Póczy 1994* 228; The troops in Ulcisia Castra arrived from Antioch, on their contacts there see *Kádár 1962* 2, note 5.

[59] *Kádár 1952* 2, 4 and notes 2 and 7; *Mócsy 1972* 200.

[60] A similar concept can be read in *L. Nagy 1942*: „The grave at Dunaújlak with ornaments of Christian features."

[61] *Bónis 1945* 567–569 and fig. 11; a contrary opinion: *Vágó – Bóna 1976* 163.

[62] *Alföldi 1937* 11–28; *Swoboda 1964* 201; *Póczy 1964* 29; *Jobst 1992*.

in these floral remains for the Hellenized Oriental cults.[63] We are also reminded that during religious processions young girls carried baskets full of fruit and flowers on their heads (Apuleius II,12) We can read about this in the description of the Isis rite and we can also see it in a famous fresco from Pompeii. The strips of bark woven through the flowers and fruit gain in significance from this point of view.

The woven bark remains among the fruits and the flowers in the Aquincum grave were interpreted according to this concept. The local representations of flower and fruit baskets were collected by B. Kuzsinszky from numerous Pannonian stone monuments, older than the mummy graves.[64] The nicest examples of the fruit baskets were presented by K. Szirmai on a mural from Aquincum with the depiction of a grape harvest scene.[65]

The results of the above described and listed possibilities do not afford an explicit description of the community, practising mummificational burial. Several rites got mixed in this religious practice at the borderline of polytheism and monotheism.

Archaeologists in the last few decades of research followed relatively precisely the main events that took place in Pannonia in the Late Empire. In a publication approach to the subject, Jenő Fitz has been able to clarify many details about public administration in the province in this period. The newest scholarly findings especially concentrate on the political struggles which took place in the first half of the 4th century under the guise of religion as events discernible on the surface and in the political life of the Empire.[66] At the same time, little is known about the religious beliefs of the civilian population, the immigrants and the majority of the people living here. For this reason each discovery, each circumstance must be evaluated to shed light on the details that aggregated into a long process.

This period was marked by the ardent struggle between the followers of the „old doctrine" and the Christians. None of the religions was homogenous at this time. There were countless sects, and some of the rites they adopted from one another only added to the confusion. In general, and in a simplified form, the most important currents in this period are: a.) the great Christian persecutions during the Tetrachy between AD 293–303; b.) the revival of the Jupiter and Sun cults by Diocletian; c.) the tolerance law which also pertained to those believing in One God passed during the rule of Constantine I; and d.) the spread of Aryanism in Pannonia during the reign of Constantius II. Most importantly, the fervid struggle conducted under the pretext of religion was clearly political and was aimed at securing the sole supremacy of the ruler.[67]

It must be noted that Christianity did not prohibit mummification, as the mummies in the catacombs also testify. On the contrary, I believe that in certain periods the dead were depicted as mummies, as seen, for example, in mural paint-

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[63] *Cumont 1910* 68,85; *Wesseczky 1960* 11.
[64] *Kuzsinszky 1934* fig. 27.
[65] *Szirmai 1984* 247–253, fig. 6.
[66] *Alföldi 1937* 692–721; *Soproni 1978* 156–177; *Barkóczi 1980* 106–115; *Fitz 1994* 179.
[67] *Alföldi 1937* 713.

ings or ancient Christian casket fittings (even in *Ulcisia Castra*) where Lazarus is shown as a mummy rising from a stone sarcophagus.[68]

In looking at the 10–12 mummy graves in Pannonia I can only repeat my earlier statement that they form a closed group, are specifically from very well-to-do families living in towns, and reflect a burial practice that existed for only a few decades in the first half, or more likely the second third, of the 4th century.

This leads to another conclusion as well, namely that a significant transformation took place in public administration of Pannonian towns along the limes. Basically the question is: how long did the rituals of the town council continue in the conventional manner as preserved over the centuries, and when did a fundamental change occur?

Rituals that effected changes in the town councils of Aquincum and Brigetio in the fourth century

In looking at the augury staff unearthed in one of the mummy graves in Brigetio, its publisher, László Barkóczi, established that this fine piece of craftsmanship (which is still the most valuable find from Pannonia) was made in the same south Pannonian workshop as the gilded and silver, niello-worked belt set discovered in the richest group of graves in Aquincum, the so-called Budaújlak graves. The motifs on the two objects are also similar.[69] Both graves contained complete sets that were manufactured around the turn of the 3rd – 4th centuries. A. Mócsy believed that the augury staff was placed in the tomb, in fact eliminated, only because the mummified deceased was considered to have been the *last augur of Brigetio*.[70] The staff, inlaid with precious stones, reflected the official function and as such belonged to the office.

The set from the Aquincum grave, unearthed in the 19th century next to the Roman road (on the site of today's Budapest Hotel) and held in the Hungarian National Museum, consists of two belts, one more narrow so-called D-shaped and the other broader, and the shoulder strap holding them together, with a fibula with similar decoration. The set was studied by Hekler and the findings published by Hampel. The wider belt from Budapest that was fitted with a so–called framed buckle was ranked with almost identical ones originating from the limes along the Danube and the Rhine by T. Fischer in his detailed essay from 1988.[71] The buckle is essential, because it lacks a tongue so the strap was divided into two parts and fastened on the left and on the right by weaving it through the waist-belt. In H. J. Ubl's opinion, this military insignia was first used as army gear in Caracalla's time.[72] S. Martin-Kilcher warns that the goldplated goldsmith's work that was made with niello technique was used to distinguish high ranking officers during following Gallianus' reform of the army.[73] T. Fischer at the same time

[68] *Póczy 1964* 188.
[69] *Barkóczi 1965* 238.
[70] *Mócsy 1974* 356.
[71] *Fischer 1988* 176 and fig. 4.
[72] *Ubl 1969* 443.
[73] *Martin-Kilcher 1985* 173 ff.

showed that sometime around AD 300 during the Tetrarchy, the typical fibula and belt sets issued to military personnel, disappeared all at the same time from the attire of the rearranged army. So the time they were being manufactured and used was wedged into a generation's span of time, somewhere between AD 265 and 295. He also mentioned that the manufacture and the wearing of the framed tangelos belt fittings stopped quite unexpectedly.[74] After this date a narrower leather belt, supplied with a 'D'-shaped moveable tongued buckle belonged generally to the attire of higher ranking officers and were part of the accessories of the attire of the magistratus and curiales' who were 'dressed up' in the regional administration.

More recently, in 1984, A. Burger conducted new research and published the complete finds from the Aquincum-grave in 1984.[75] She did not mention any connection with Brigetio, but in her very detailed analysis she made a completely new discovery. The grave furniture, the belt and fibula; as well as a silver disc with Mercury-relief-decoration, so-called *phalera,* that was fastened to the dress. Carved stone rings; an iron ax handle with wood splinters; and a foldable bronze chair could as a set have only belonged to one of the mayors of Aquincum. Public administration was reorganized during the Tetrarchy, when the rank and function of the *curialis* became inheritable from father to son, while if the male line of the family died out, the continuation was secured by adoption.[76] The insignia were kept in the family home and were not considered the property of the office. (Both in Brigetio and Aquincum the objects show signs of wear, indicating extended use.)[77]

Both stylistic and historical analysis yield to the same conclusion that the two finds belong together. It cannot be a coincidence that such valuable and expensive official insignia were eliminated in both Brigetio and Aquincum at about the same time (and it is clear that they were not placed into the tombs to conceal them). They most likely mark the time when at the town council meetings the council leader no longer wore the *cingulum*, the *phalera*, or the rings, the *lictor* did not stand behind him with the *securris*, nor was there any more need for the *sella curulis*. At this point the *augury* as such was discontinued, since it not only lost its significance in Christian times but was eventually considered illegal.[78]

The date cannot be set for the time the tolerance law was passed since in the towns of Valeria (in 313) the old order persisted for another decade or two.[79]

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[74] *Fischer 1988* 183 and figs 8. and 11.

[75] *Burger 1984* 70 and note 38.

[76] *Alföldi 1942* 710.

[77] *Barkóczi 1965* 243; *Burger 1984* 66. J. Werner suggested, debating Burger's concept, that the dead of the Aquincum (so-called Budaújlak) grave was a German warrior who fulfilled a high rank in the Roman imperial army still kept his ancient traditional weapon the iron hatchet. On this see *Fischer 1988* 177 and note 14. (It should be noted that J. Werner did not mention the other finds of the grave as the phalera, the folding chair etc. We calculate that about three generation could have passed between the preparation of the belt until the burial. Accordingly, the grandfather was a member of the high ranked officers of the army in the last third of the 3rd century, his son might have been the decurio of Aquincum colonia and the grandson might have inherited the rank of curalis and perhaps also filled the function of the sacerdos provinciae.)

[78] *T. Nagy* 1942 91–94; *Ubl 1982* 298.

[79] *Aldöldi 1942* 713; *Barkóczi 1980* 111.

Most probably the fundamental change took place at the beginning of the reign of Constantius II.

In this respect, the construction activity of Constantine I. in Urbs itself is very imformative. First, he enlarged Apostle Peter's modest grave chapel in the little Vatican with a peristile and had a larger hall raised for the clerical collection in the Lateran in the place of the domus Faustae in imperial pocession. The grave mausoleum of his daughter and wife in via Nomentana belongs to this early construction period when the symbols of the new christian belief appeared definitely only in „fuori le mura". Constantine's large-scale religious and profane constructions within the walls of the town of Rome started only after his victory over Licinius, i.e. after 324, parallelly in several districts of Roma. This is how he wanted to manifest the new policy of Constantine, its weight and significance against the aristocracy of long ancestry and great influence.[80]

The victory over Licinius may be accepted as the start of a new era in the provinces as well and it raised the value of the order from the previous year 313: „the leaders of the provinces should be considered pagans until Constantine the Great. Their conversion must be put to the time of Constantine when conversion to Christianity became one of the most important aspects in chosing the new aristicracy."[81]

Constantine II.'s reign resulted in yet another change in Pannonia.

The emperor resided for extended lengths of time in the Pannonian town of Sirmium and elevated it to Imperial rank. From quotes from the auctors it becomes evident that the bishops of the different Christian congregations alternately tried to influence the emperor for the political reasons previously described.[82] Therefore the date must be set after AD 313 but well before Christianity became the sole and official religion, sometime in the AD 340s. That was when the Christian council members no longer tolerated the „pagan" rites that they considered offensive to their religion.[83]

The sect that mummified their dead before burial continued to practice the custom for a brief period. They, converted to Christianity for take their positions in town council, or left the province.[84]

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[80] *Krautheimer 1987* 30–31, 33, 39.

[81] *Mócsy 1972* 200.

[82] *Alföldi 1942* 708.

[83] The majority of remains related to superstitions and sorcery could be found at the Christian cultic places both in the provinces on the Rhein and on the Danube in the first half of the 4th century indicating that at the time of the diffusion of Christianism these lands were full of elements of mystery religions. To this: *Böhner 1950* 98; *Petrikovits 1960* 141; *Swoboda 1964* 178; *Alföldi 1942* 709: „Christianity here, otherwise. displays a strange mixture of the old pagan and the new christian ideology..."

[84] *Fitz 1980* 156: 'At this time the state directly interfered in the affaires of the cities, autonomy surviving only in name."

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CAPTIONS

1. Sites of mummy graves in Pannonia.
   a. Carnuntum
   b. Brigetio
   c. Aquincum
   d. Intercisa
2. Mummified burials from the edges of the military towns of Aquincum, Brigetio and Intercisa.
3. The mummified body and grave goods at the time of excavation:
   a. Aquincum, Bécsi Road
   b. Brigetio, „celled" cemetery
   c. Intercisa, northeastern cemetery
4. Remains of cometic set from Aquincum, Táborhegy Street burial
5. Jewelry along with an amulet from Aquincum, Szépvölgyi and Bécsi Street burials
6. Funerary shoes with bird ornament: Aquincum, Jablonkai Street

7. Man's portrait painted on wood from female mummy grave, Aquincum, Jablonkai Street

8. Cassia's farewell grave poem from her sarcophagus: Aquincum, Bécsi Road

9. Gilded silver grip of augary rod with neillo decoration. Brigetio, Stone sarcophagus I

10. Gilded belt and fibula silver garniture with neillo ornament from Aquincum, „Budaújlak'' burial.

11. Glass vessels from Pannonian mummy burials

12. Aedicula painted on wood with the protrait of the deceased as well as the grave goods placed in the burial from the Fayum oasis (after R. Zaloscer)

Ferenc Redő

THE THREE GRACES IN A CENTRAL ITALIAN MOSAIC PAVEMENT FROM THE IMPERIAL PERIOD

The northern, representative courtyard of the San Potito villa from the imperial period[1] was bordered by living rooms in the eastern and western wings. These rooms opened into a courtyard with a *peristyle*, the symmetric arrangement of which mirrors a unified architectural concept. The whole building unit was constructed in the same period during Hadrian's reign (*Fig. 1*).

The courtyard is symmetrical, in more than one way, to a north-south axis. The *nymphaeum*, symmetrical in itself, is along this axis at the northern wall, similarly to the main stairs at the southern wall connecting the northern and the central courtyards. The rooms of the eastern and western wings are not totally symmetrical any more as the width (E-W measurement) of the western row of rooms is larger than that of the eastern row of rooms, although there are parallel features between the two wings. The N-S measurements of the rooms with relevant positions, for example, are mostly lapping and rooms V and VI and also XIII and XIV along the E-W axis of the courtyard have an identical structure (*Fig. 2a*). Nevertheless, there are basic discrepancies beside the parallel features. The main one is that the rooms in the western wing are larger (wider) than those in the eastern wing. Another one is that all the rooms in the western wing were paved with mosaic floors while mosaic pavement in the eastern wing could only be observed in rooms I, II[2] and V.[3] In room VIII, also in the eastern wing, there is a pavement made by the so-called „*opus signinum*" method, which is a transitional one between the terrazzo and the mosaic pavements.[4] The red painted terrazzo surfaces are decorated with marble tiles in the corners of a network based on the unit of one Roman foot.

It seems, accordingly, that although the two wings might have had identical functions from several respects, the western wing was planned with more generosity and furnished with a greater luxury than the eastern one.

The western wing contains, from the south to the north, first a bath with several rooms where the basins were covered with marble slabs and the floors with mosaic pavements. This pavement is different from those used in the living rooms: each tile is a 2–2.5 cm high prism with a section of 1 cm^2. They could be sunk to a greater depth into the floor foundation than the cube-shaped tiles used in the living rooms. This more robust technique seems to have been more appropriate in the bath more exposed to water.

[1] Preliminary reports: *D. Gabler – F. Redő:* Gli scavi della villa romana a San Potito di Ovindoli (AQ) 1983–1984: ActaArchHung 38 (1986) 41–87; *D. Gabler – F. Redő:* Gli scavi a San Potito di Ovindoli 1985–1986 Seconda relazione preliminare: SpN 1988, 69–94; *D. Gabler – F. Redő:* Scavi nella villa romana di San Potito di Ovindoli (AQ) 1989–1990 ActaArchHung 46 (1994) 127–193.

[2] *Gabler – Redő 1994* 140–141, 163–168 Figs 14–16, 38–41.

[3] *Gabler – Redő 1994* 145–152,168–179, Figs 23–25, 42–48.

[4] *Gabler – Redő 1994* 153–156, Fig. 28.

Room XV north of the bath and room XI even farther to the north were also paved with plain white mosaic tiles with the only decoration of a broad black stripe along the walls. No such stripe can be found in the passage-like narrow and short room XIII since it was so small that no optical help was needed to make the white surface look narrower.

The mosaic pavements in the other rooms are decorated. Beside the coloured geometric pavement in room XIV,[5] there are two pavements with figural ornaments in this wing. The pavement with the hunting scene in room X has already been discussed in another article.[6] The present paper will describe the coloured figural pavement in room XII.

Room XII. measures 9.28 m in an E-W direction and 5.94 m in a N-S direction (*Fig. 3*). Each a 2.1 m broad door connects it at the western part to room XI north of it and room XIV south of it. The two doors face each other and are aligned with all the doors connecting the rooms with each other in this wing from room X to room XV. Room XII has yet another door in the SE corner opening to room XIII. It is only 1.5 m broad as the room into which it opens is also a rather narrow one, no broader than 2.13 m. There is no door to the courtyard with the *peristyle*. It seems that the shortest way to this yard was through the neighbouring room XI. The western walls of the rooms in the western wing are, at the same time, the closing walls of the villa, so no door could have been here. Although this wall eroded sometimes deep under the floor level, the small remains of the vertical wall in room XII were enough to attest to the above.

In the followings we will describe the mosaic pavement in this room although the surface is highly fragmentary, only 10% of it has been preserved.

The 55.12 m^2 large surface of the mosaic pavement, similarly to the other, earlier analysed pavements, has an emblem arrangement. It means that the overwhelming majority of the surface is covered with white tiles and there is only a relatively small, rectangular picture field in the centre. To dissolve the proportional controversy between the oblong-shaped room and the square-shaped emblem, each a simple geometric pattern was composed in the E and W ends of the room from black and white tiles (*Fig. 2b*). The pattern resembles a bonded brick surface or a pointed wall made of white ashlar. The height of the white tiles arranged in five rows is about four times that of the black 'pointing', so the 5 x 0.78 m, that is close to 4 m^2 large surfaces at the two ends of the while pavement offer a finely sectioned, still light-coloured surface. The remaining surface of 6 x 7 m in the centre of the room is still oblong-shaped although the proportions of the longer and the shorter sides are more favourable for the emblem to be placed into the centre.

This surface is framed in the same way as in all the other rooms: a 4.5 cm broad black band is followed inwards by a 5.5 cm broad white one than a 3 cm broad black one. The double black frame, accordingly, encloses a 4.723 x 6.8 m

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[5] *Gy. Csáki – F. Redő:* Documentation and modelling of a Roman imperial villa in Central Italy. In: Interfacing the Past. Analecta Praehistorica Leidensia 28. Leiden 1996, 434. Figs. 1–2.

[6] *Gabler – Redő 1994* 179–187, Figs 30, 31, 34, 49–52.

large diagonally arranged white mosaic surface with a 1.94 x 1.94 m large emblem in the centre (*Fig. 4a*).

The frame of the emblem is started with a 3 cm broad black band followed by another 3 cm broad white one. Within them, there is a 14 cm broad, triple guilloche frame motive (*Fig. 4b*). The same pattern could be observed in the frame of the Centaur pavement in room V.[7] The background of the guilloche is black. Each guilloche consists of five, one-tile-broad ribbons which are black at the edges of the guilloche. The inner three ribbons are either coloured or white. The colours are very light ones. In one guilloche, a pink, a light pink and a white ribbons are enclosed by the two black lateral ones. Another variety contains a darker, greyish yellow, a light yellow and a white ribbon between the black ones. The colours of the third guilloche are greyish blue, light blue and white flanked by the black ribbons. The lustrous colours stand sharply against the graphitic grey background and their analysis will gain significance at the identification of the figures.

The guilloche frame motive encloses the next, regularly octagonal inner frame of the emblem into a square. This plane figure cuts four isosceles right triangles in the corners of the square which seem to have been black as well. The thickness of the octagonal frame motive is 18 cm. A scroll motive can be found between two 2 cm thick black stripes. The two colours that give the negatives of each other's pattern are the white (from the side of the guilloche frame) and the dark red (from the side of the figural field). The dark red is a new colour, it is made of a porous rock that is softer than the rest. No similar rock has been found among the mosaic tiles as yet. The scroll motive, however, is not a unique phenomenon. It can also be found in the frame of the mosaic pavement with a hunting scene in room X.[8]

The octagonal frame is divided from the figural field with a black background by a 2 cm thick white band. The figural field could only be observed on a very small a fragmentary surface. Two feet of a human being somewhat under the knees can clearly be discerned against the black background (*Fig. 5a*). The bare feet are depicted from the front. Perspectivity did not mean a problem to the artist. The weight of the body is placed on the right foot, the left is in a light stepping position. The colours of the feet are fine fleshy colours ranging from light pink to yellow and bluish grey in the shadowy parts. Two relatively larger surfaces have been preserved around the head of the figure (*Fig. 5b*). They reveal that the figure must have been about 80 cm high. A few tiles from the nape and the back part of the head imply that the reddish hair was combed into a flat bun which was probably fastened with some ribbon or headgear. The figure looked to the right from our perspective, out of the composition. A few rows of tiles have also been preserved from the left shoulder and its elongation reveals the movement of the left arm as the tiles of the black background follow the outlines of the movement close to the figure. This arm stands apart from the assumed line of the body. It is slightly bent at the elbow. This is the last element of the depiction

[7] *Gabler – Redő 1994* 170, Fig. 43.
[8] *Gabler – Redő 1994* 178, Fig. 49.

on this side. In the height of the shoulder, a coherent surface of a dozen of pink tiles could be observed. It must have been the body.

The black background fills out the whole surface around the figure, so the artisan composed a walking level under it lest it should float in the air. This level emphasises the comfortable counterposition indicated by the position of the feet and the head and the movement of the arm.

A little of the feet of another figure has been preserved beside the first one. This figure steps to the left although only the raised heel and the dome of the foot can be seen. The circular shape encircled by the black background colour can be observed in the same height as the head of the previous figure. This contour must have framed the hairdo, which resembles the former one. A short section of the walking level has been preserved a few centimetres in front of the stepping foot. Nothing else has remained from the depiction. A smaller surface helped the reconstruction of the octagonal field. Another one attested to the general validity of the black background.

What can be deduced from the above observations?

1) The head and the stepping foot of the second figure are in the axis of the emblem, or only a little to the left. This figure also stands and is as high as the former one. The position of the two figures within the composition suggests that a third figure must have been present in the depiction who must have had the same height and also depicted in a standing position.

2) The artist used nearly all the colours of the frame motives in the preserved parts. The body displays the light colours of the guilloches, while the hair bears the dark red of the scroll motive. It had already been observed in the mosaic pavement with a Centaur in room V that the frame motives contained all the colours of the figural fields supporting thus the unified appearance of the depiction and the organic harmony of the frame and the figural field. (It could especially well be seen on the above pavement as the grapes of varied colours, the grape leaves, the canthari of different colours, the birds and the Centaur itself contained a great variety of colours, all of which, nevertheless present in the frame motives.)[9]

Reversing the train of thought, it can be supposed that no other colours could have been used in the figural field of the emblem than the ones in the frame. This world of colours is very characteristic. The dominantly light hues are suitable for the depiction of bare figures which stand out especially brightly against the black background.

We think that the emblem contained three nudes of the same size which could most probably have been a variety of the topic of the three Graces.

The depiction had to be viewed from the eastern side of the room. So it was intended to a viewer who stayed in this part of the room or who arrived from the small corridor XIII. Examining the other two doors of room XII and all the other similarly positioned ones from this respect, we may arrive to the conclusion that these doors and the parts of the room between them were used by the inhabitants as passage ways.

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[9] *Gabler – Redő 1994* 185, Figs. 56 B, D.

The three Graces were a popular topic in the Roman art.[10] The Graces, similarly to the Kharis in the retinue of Aphrodite, their Roman mythological counterparts, are the three daughters of Zeus and Eurynomé.[11] At the side of the goddess of beauty and love, they dance a round dance irradiating pure grace and charm. Probably, it was the plane representation of a round dance that led to the formation of the commonly fixed shape on the depictions where the two side figures always face the viewer while the middle one shows her back. The movement of their arms embracing each other's shoulders and waists rather suggests some mute dance than their pose or their feet.

Several totally preserved representations of the three Graces are known from frescos, mosaic pavements and sculptures. It is interesting to note that the sculptural depictions mirror the same perspective as the pictorial ones.

The most intact pieces are mosaic pavements in Naples, Sabratha and Chercheli.[12] The Chercheli one is especially important as the counterposition of the right figure is identical to our one: the weight is on the inner foot while the outer one is in an initial stepping position (*Fig. 6*). It is on the same mosaic pavement that the central figure looks to the left and her heel toward the right companion rises from the walking level. On other mosaic pavements, the central figure looks to the right or does not visibly raise her heel or if she does, it is in the other direction. There are, however, sculptural examples from the Iseum at Kyréné[13] where the movement of the heel of the central Grace is similar to the Chercheli and the San Potito ones.[14]

All these may suggest that the depiction was not canonically rigid in this respect and there were varies of central nudes looking to the left or to the right. It is important in this respect that the example from Kyréné[15] is dated from the 1st century, so it is older than the San Potito pavement.

There might, however, be a technical interpretation as well. The copy methods of the *musivarius* using patterns might have resulted in a mirror image of the pattern as the two are not really different. The depiction is symmetrical and the equilibrium of the composition did not change. Only the movement of the central Grace is different from the pattern.

All these are mentioned here as the most interesting analogue to the fragmentary depiction of the three Graces on the San Potito pavement, disregarding

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[10] *E. Harrison:* Gratiae in Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae III/1–2 203–210.

[11] They stand the closest to the Horas, the goddesses of the seasons from among the god trinities. As compared to the Greek antecedents usually wearing a dress, their connotation somewhat changed in the Roman depictions similarly to their appearance. These changes are also analysed by *W. Trillmich*: Die Charitengruppe als Grabrelief und Kneipenschild: Jb. des DAI 98 (1983) 311–349; *A. Balil*: Gracias Vestidas: Empúrias 48–50 I. (1993) 84–85. Their connotation is often correlated with that of the spring-nymphs and the bathing. In this connotation their predominantly nude appearance is natural.

[12] LIMC III/1–2 204, Nr. 8, 11, 12, 12a, 13.

[13] *E. Paribeni*: Catalogo delle sculture di Cirene. Roma 1959, 109, Nr. 302, Tav. 144.

[14] The central nude in the Shahba mosaic pavement displays the same port: *J. Balty:* La mosaique antique au Proche-Orient I. Des origines a la tétrerchie in ANRW II. 12, 2. (1981) 409–411, Pl. XLIII/1, or e. g. on a sarcophagus: *Trillmich op. cit.* 331. O. Abb. 12.

[15] *Paribeni op. cit.* 109.

the position of the central figure, is provided by a mosaic pavement in Barcino[16] (*Fig. 7*). This is the only intact emblem with a dark background colour. Accordingly, the colours, including that of the hair, are identical to our ones. The central figure definitely steps, that is raises her heel. The outer arms of the side figures are in a similar, half raised position. The measurements of the Graces on the Barcino pavement are similar to the ones at San Potito, they are 83 cm high. I think the application of the scroll motive in the frame is a similarly important analogue.

All these do not mean that a direct contact is to be supposed between the two pavements, still they build a characteristic group of the depictions of the three Graces on mosaic pavements, which differs from the rest in the colours. The background of these depictions is dark contrary to examples with white or light backgrounds which influences the colour composition used on the nudes. It is highly probable that the colour composition is not irrelevant to the hairdo as the composition of the unavoidably dark hair in the Mediterranean was not as free as it could be against a light background e. g. the Chercheli or the Sabaratha pavements where restless locks frame the faces of the nudes.

Another pavement with the three Graces against a dark background is regrettably fragmentary, still much better preserved than our one. It is a piece from Hypata, dated to the 4th century exhibited in the Pergamon Museum, Berlin. From the composition, the left figure and the arm of the central one can be seen[17] (*Fig. 8*). The hairdo of the Grace is modest similarly to the one at Barcino, while the movement of the right arm holding a flower follows the same pattern. The execution of the mosaic, the measurements of the tiles used for the nudes attest to a finer work than the Hispanic example.

In this respect, each piece is different. The master of the Barcino mosaic placed the three Graces on a realistic surface level filling the whole lower part of the depiction and even the shadow is indicated. This solution creates a realistic space as if the depiction had a real scene. On the Hypata mosaic, the Grace stands on the line framing the depiction. It means that the black background must have totally filled the whole emblem and the theme shifted from realism to decorative effects, although posing the figure on the frame is not a really elegant solution. The Graces at San Potito stand on a greenish grey walking level line which does not reach the frame, it can only be seen under the feet of the figures. The background is used beside and under this line similarly to the upper part of the depiction. The walking level line obviously served no more than to prevent the

[16] *A. Balil:* El mosaico de „Las tres Gracias" de Barcelona. Archivio Esp. de Arqueologia 31. (1958) 63–95; *X. Barral i Altet:* Les mosaiques romaines et médiévales de la Regio Laietana (Barcelone et ses environs). Barcelona 1978, 44–47, Pl. XV–XVIII.

[17] The mosaic pavements is published by *I. Kriseleit:* Antike Mosaiken aus den Beständen der Antiken Sammlungen in Pergamonmuseum. Berlin 1985, 34–37, Inv. Mos. 6., 7. It consists of two fragments. The larger one contains the whole body of the nude on the left and the head and a part of the trunk of the one on the right. The author defines Hypata as the provenance of the pavement and dates it from the 4th century. *E. Harrison* in the cited part of LIMC (Nr. 15) gives a similar description of a mosaic pavement also from Hypata: „Neben der l. G. eine Quelle, deren Wasser in ein von kleinen Säulen getragenen Becken fließt; die Säulen stehen auf einer Basis." Further adds about its present location: „Fr. Ehem. Athen Slg. Commos, verschollen."

Graces from floating and certainly not that the three nude women would appear in their reality in front of the viewers of the pavement. This solution of the topic considered the decorational element important. The same is underlined by the rich double frame, the octagonal scroll motive and the rectangular guilloche ornaments.

Although our mosaic pavement is highly fragmentary, the remaining details allow us to tell that the artisan who made it worked independently with a deft hand and was skilled in decorative composition. The few dm^2 remaining from the depiction of the nudes are not sufficient to draw far-fetched consequences concerning his expertise in anatomy, still the foot and the ankle suggest that the mosaic pavement in room XII. was an artistic piece from this respect as well (*Figs 9, 10*).

As it has already been described, the pavement was found in the western wing of the northern decorative courtyard, in a part of the villa from the second construction period. This courtyard was built as a unit following the first construction period of a modest size. It was not a reconstruction of the first construction but a northern enlargement above it. The new construction started, the earliest at the time of Hadrian and was certainly finished during his reign. Namely, a coin of Traian dated from 102 was found, among others, in the find material from the well under a construction of the second period, and Hadrian's coin was recovered from under the floor of the room west of the southern main entrance to the central courtyard.[18] Above the floor of room V in the northern *cortile*, at the same time, only Hadrian's coin could be found.[19]

The northern *cortile* was used until the abandonment of the villa, so it is important to consider the features which indicate the third construction period in this region and allow the differentiation between the two subsequent periods.

A. There was a wall under the floors of rooms II, III and IV in the eastern row of rooms of the decorative courtyard,[20] mortar could be observed on the upright wall under the mosaic pavement in room X in the western row of rooms[21] and there must have been a floor, probably with a mosaic pavement, under the floor of room XVI, prior to the building of the bath complex.[22]

B. The doors between rooms I and II and rooms V, VII, VIII and IX in the eastern row of rooms were walled in. No walled doors could be observed between rooms in the western row, only a door opening to the *porticus* was walled in in the north-eastern corner of room XVI, the bath complex.

C. Traces of repair could be seen on both of the preserved mosaic pavements on the eastern side (rooms II and V)[23] while no completion was found in the western wing. It does not seem to be a solid evidence concerning the above dis-

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[18] *Gabler – Redő 1991* 488, Nr. 7, find of the latest excavation in 1998.

[19] *Gabler – Redő 1994* 191.

[20] *Gabler – Redő 1994* 140–143, fIGS. 14–16.

[21] *Gabler – Redő 1994* 158.

[22] A colourful mosaic fragment was found under the *opus picatum* pavement of the bath lying in the SW corner of the northern courtyard. A similar fragment came to light, here too, from the central courtyard prior to the staircase leading to the northern courtyard.

[23] *Gabler – Redő 1991* 495, Fig. 2; *Gabler – Redő 1994* 173, Fig. 45.

cussed pavement in room XII. Considering, however, the large uncovered surfaces of intact mosaic pavements in rooms X, XI and XIII, it cannot be a coincidence that no trace of repair could be found in this wing.

It seems, accordingly, that a. floor levels in superposition can be found in both wings even if the later one totally destroyed the earlier one; b. the five rooms north of the bath in the western wing (rooms XV, XIV, XII, XI and X) are connected with four aligned doors at the western wall of the row of rooms. The situation must have been the same in the eastern wing between rooms IV, V, VII, VII and IX at the eastern wall. Two of these door, nevertheless, were walled in (between rooms V and VII and VIII and IX receptively) and one (between rooms IV and V) was removed together with the wall which was later rebuilt and the new door was opened in its western corner. Parallel to this reconstruction, new doors had to be opened to the *porticus* from rooms I, VIII and IX and also from room IV (this latter one could not be checked because of technical difficulties, but this door could be the only possibility to reach the adjacent rooms); c. repaired mosaics were only found in the eastern side on pavements from both the second and the third periods.

The above implies the followings with regard to the relative chronology of the villa. The villa was enlarged with a northern sector of unified structure in the second period which contained the elegant apartments of the owners of the villa. The rooms were arranged along the eastern and western sides of a decorative courtyards with a *porticus*. They were connected with doors, the floors were covered with mosaic or terrazzo pavements. The basic structure of the villa was not touched by the third period. The purposes of the rooms in the eastern wing were changed together with the modification of the position of the doors and the sizes of the rooms. In the western wing, only rooms X and the large bath in the living area were affected by the third construction period.

All these mean that the pavements in the western wing (except for the pavement with the hunting scene in room X) are contemporary to those in the eastern wing (except for the geometric pavement in room II) and could be made no earlier than the beginning of the second period of the villa, that is the beginning of the second third of the 2nd century and no later than the end of the century. It is especially important regarding the mosaic pavement with Centaur (room V) and the one with the depiction of the three Graces (room XII).

We have already mentioned the analogues traits between the two pavements. In the following they will be reviewed from the respect of contemporaneity supported by the analysis of the construction periods. Both pavements are emblem compositions where the emblems are relatively small as compared to the size of the rooms. They the square-shaped are were composed to a single view. The framing motives were combined of two separate elements: an ivy tendril and a triple guilloche in the Centaur mosaic and a similar guilloche and the scroll motive in the pavement with the Graces. The colours of the frame motives in both pavements are identical to those applied in the figural fields. Consequently, the frame stressed by its size and richness matches the figural part accentuated by its topic.

The two mosaic pavements were, to all probability, made at the same time, at the construction of the northern wing and presumably by the same artisan.

The mosaic pavements in rooms II and X were judged by the analyses of the periods and of the style to have been later ones. They are not even related, they were probably made by different artisans, not necessarily at the same time. It suggests that the fact that traces of repair could only be detected on the pavements in rooms II and V is not connected to the reconstruction period but were due to some local damage. It must have affected only the south-eastern rooms of the courtyard so the mosaic pavements had to be repaired only here. The technique of the repair is identical in rooms II and V: it slightly protrudes from the original surface of the pavements. A more demanding customer would not have accepted it. It has also been observed that the repair of the emblem with the Centaur was made by an artisan who could not obtain coloured tiles. He used the coloured pieces which had got displaced and when he ran out of them, he used black-and-white tiles to complete the missing elements. This means that the reparations cannot be connected with the production of the other coloured figural pavement (room X, with a hunting scene).

Accordingly, the mosaic pavement with the depiction of the Three Graces in room XII is the product of the classicism of Hadrian's time characteristic of the second third of the 2nd century. Its production is dated to the time of the radical reconstruction leading to the flourishing period of the villa in the 30's of the century, that is the to the beginning of the second period.

CAPTIONS

Fig. 1. The ground plan of the villa.

Fig. 2. a: The ground plan of the northern courtyard

2. b: The photo of an ashlar pattern in the north-eastern corner of the room.

Fig. 3. Room XII.

Fig. 4. a: The present state of the fragmentary embleme.

Fig. 4. b: The photo of the guilloche frame motive

Fig. 5. a: The photo of the feet.

Fig. 5. b: The photo of the head.

Fig. 6. The Cherchel mosaic pavement

Fig. 7. The Barcino mosaic pavement

Fig. 8. The Hypata mosaic pavement

Fig. 9. The reconstruction of the emblem

Fig. 10. The reconstruction of the whole pavement

Alexandru Suceveanu

AUTOUR DE L'ORGANISATION DES PROVINCES ROMAINES

Dans un volume-hommage, dédié au grand savant suisse Hans Lieb, Hartmut Wolff – un auteur très bien connu surtout par son ouvrage consacré à la constitution de Caracalla, ainsi que par une série d'études des plus intéressantes[1] – soumet à l'attention du lecteur un thème d'un intérêt particulier: y avait-il une politique systématique dans l'organisation des provinces romaines, particulièrement celles situées sur le Rhin et le Danube?[2]

L'importance indiscutable de la discussion en soi-même ainsi que les références aux provinces danubiennes — surtout à la Mésie Inférieure et la Dacie — nous ont déterminé/s/ de nous pencher sur cette contribution avec une attention particulière. L'auteur commence par analyser le fameux discours d'Aelius Aristides „connu sous le nom de „L'éloge de Rome",[3] ainsi que la courte, mais tellement expressive, mention de Tacite, concernant l'équivalence de l'*humanitas* et de la *servitus*,[4] concluant que rien ne nous permet de parler d'une politique impériale concernant l'organisation des provinces romaines: „Nach meiner Kenntniss gibt es keine Nachrichten über konkrete Vorstellungen von der idealen Verfassung einer Provinz und des Reiches insgesamt, d. h. so etwas wie eine *konkrete* Utopie vom Reich, die innerhalb der römischen politischen Führungsklassen kursiert und ihr als Leitlinie des politischen Handelns gedient hätte" (p. 312). Et plus loin: „In den hier betrachteten nördlichen Grenzprovinzen ist keine *lex provinciae* bezeugt, und wir müssen durchaus damit rechnen, dass es hier kein solches «Grundgesetz» gab" (p. 313).

Et même si l'auteur aurait/avait/ pris en discussion des textes célèbres – dont nous nous contentons de citer *les Res gestae divi Augusti*, l'oration de Claude *de iure honorum Galliae*, ainsi que la si mutilée *Lex de imperio Vespasiani,* sans plus parler de la fameuse *Constitutio Antoniniana*, ainsi que les nombreuses mentions de celle-ci, pour n'en citer que de véritables „Leitlinien", et dont l'utilisation aurait sans doute nuancé ses opinions – il est sûr que, formellement, H. Wolff a raison: aucun texte ne nous renseigne sur l'organisation d'une province rhéno-danubienne.

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[1] *H. Wolff:* Die Constitutio Antoniniana und Papyrus Giss. 4C I. Köln, 19?6; *Idem:* ActaMusNapoc 13 (1976) 99 – 109; *Idem* Chiron 9 (l979) 169–187; *Idem* dans *W. Eck – H. Wolff* (éd.): Heer und Integrationspolitik. Köln 1986, 68–115; *Idem* dans *F. Vittinghoff* (éd): Handbuch der europäischen Wirtschafts- und SozialgeschichteI. Stuttgart l990, 602sqq.; et nous n'avons cité que les travaux que nous avons pu consulter.

[2] *H. Wolff:* Die römische Erschliessun der Rhein- und Donauprovinzen im Blickwinkel ihrer Zielsetzung. dans *Regula Frei-Stolba – M. A. Speidel* (éd.): Römische Inschriften – Neufunde Neulesungen und Neuintepretationen. Festschrift für Hans Lieb. Basel 1995, 309–340.

[3] *J. H. Oliver:* The Ruling Power. Philadelphia 1953; pour I'autre bibliographie, voir *H. Wolf*, op. cit. (note 2) 310, note l.

[4] *Tacitus:* Agricola 21.

Avant d'entrer dans le vif du problême, arrêtons-nous un instant sur quelques détails, insignifiants en apparence, mais qui, une fois mis au point — autrement dit, corrigés —, pourraient sinon renverser sa thèse, au moins de la faire entrer dans une discussion de l'envergure souhaitée par l'auteur.

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Ce qui frappe tout d'abord à propos de la Mésie Inférieure, plus exactement la Dobroudja (sans doute pas seulement la „westliche", puisque Histria et Callatis se trouvaient dans l'"östliche" Dobroudja; p. 334), c'est l'utilisation superficielle de sa bibliographie. A part celle citée dans les notes 88–90 de la p. 334 (sans doute une bibliographie de bonne qualité), H. Wolff ne sait pas faire la distinction entre une littérature très discutable et celle vraiement essentielle (comme, par exemple, les travaux de V. Pârvan, R. Vulpe, D. M. Pippidi ou, plus récemment, de L. Mrozewicz, sans plus parler de ceux du soussigné, soumis à un genre d'embargo), qu'il ignore tout simplement. Que ce reproche n'est pas l'écho d'une futile crise d'orgueil, le démontréront ses assez nombreuses opinions qui manquent de fondement.

Ainsi, par exemple, à la p. 326, H. Wolff affirme: „Eine gewisse Zurückhaltung beobachtet man auch in Moesien, das seit Tiberius wohl vornehmlich von praetorischen Legaten des Statthalters von Achaia, Macedonia und Moesia überwacht wurde und erst unter Claudius seinen eigenen konsularen Legaten erhielt". Correcte en principe, cette affirmation peut étre nuancée, d'une part dans le sens qu'un des adjoints pour la Mésie de C. Poppaeus Sabinus, L. Pomponius Flaccus, a été consul en 17 ap. J.-Chr. et puis, à partir de 18 ou 19, légat consulaire de cette province,[5] d'autre part que le premier gouverneur — consulaire — de la Mésie a été A. Caecina Severus, en 6 ap. J.-Chr. C'est, au moins, l'opinion de R. Syme,[6] dont la lecture aurait pu améliorer sensiblement la vision de H. Wolff quant aux étapes de l'annexion de la Mésie. Suivant notre auteur, après l'installation de la légion Ve Macedonica à Oescus (sous Tibère) et de la VIIIe Augusta à Novae (sous Néron), „Unter Claudius und den Flaviern rückten allenthalben auch die Auxiliartruppen an die Donau in eine durchgehende Kastellreihe vor" (p. 320). Sans avoir la possibilité d'insister ici, il convient tout de même de préciser qu'au début le noyau de la province se trouvait à l'intérieur, dans les vallées de la Morava et du Timoc. A partir de 33/34 ap. J.-Chr. les deux légions mésiques — la IVe Scythica et la Ve Macedonica — parviennent au Danube, englobant, peut-être, dans le cadre provincial, *la praefectura civitatium Moesiae et Treballiae*, à fixer dans la zone Ratiaria — Oescus, En 46 ap. J.-Chr., donc à l'époque de Claude encore (et non pas de Néron), la légion VIIIe Augusta est installée à Novae, la frontière de la Mésie étant fixée sur la Iantra. A l'est de celle-ci il y avait encore la *praefectura ripae Thraciae*, dont l'existence cesse avec l'installation, dès l'époque de Vespasien, des premiers corps de troupes auxiliaires (y compris des stations de flotte) jusqu'aux bouches du Danube, ce qui aurait ajouté cette zone aussi à

[5] *A. Stein:* Die legaten von Moesien. DissPann I:11. Budapest 1940, 19; *PIR* P 538 (H. Dessau).
[6] *R. Syme:* Danubian Papers. Bucarest 1971, 40–72; *PIR*, C 106

la Mésie (*redactio in formam provinciae*, suivant Suétone).[7] Une certaine non-familiarité. avec la réelle problématique des étapes d'annexion de la Mésie résulte aussi du fait que pour H. Wolff les seules preuves d'otages pris par les Romains au Bas-Danube sont enrégistrées par Appien (p. 328, note 65). En fait, paradigmatiques sont les otages pris par le gouverneur de la Mésie, Ti. Plautius Silvanus Aelianus, dont l'activité, tant au sud du Danube, que, et surtout, au nord du fleuve, semble avoir préparé le terrain pour l'annexion de la *ripa Thraciae (per quem pacem provinciae et confirmavit et protulit)*.[8]

Et si jusqu'ici nous n'avons enregistré que des gaucheries, souvent discutables, l'affirmation de la p. 334: „Die Territorien der griechischen Poleis Histria und Callatis reichten nur punktuel (bei Cius) bis zur Donau" nous montre que H. Wolff n'a jamais vu une carte de la Dobroudja romaine. En réalité, les territoires des villes d'Histria et Callatis, séparés par le territoire tomitain, ne s'étendaient pas jusqu'au Danube, à l'ouest du territoire histrien se trouvant ceux de Carsium et, sans doute, de Capidava, tandis qu' à l'ouest du celui callatien, le territoire du municipe de Tropaeum Traiani.[9] En affirmant que, sauf les municipes de Troesmis et Noviodunum, „Andere Lokalstaaten (im strengen Sinne) sind nicht bekennt" (p. 334), l'auteur semble ignorer l'existence du municipe érigé par Trajan près du fameux monument,[10] comme d'ailleurs aussi de celui de Durostorum.[11] Mais il continue avec une affirmation, au moins autant incorrecte, c'est-à-dire „wohl aber einige *territoria*, die unter *magistri* von einetn Zusammenschluss der *consistentes* (zumeist *cives Romani* mit Autochtonen) regiert wurden und gelegentlich sogar ein *ordo* besassen" (p. 334). La documentation que nous possédons jusqu'au présent nous montre en fait quelques *territoria* ayant à leur tête des *quinquennales* (très probablement *magistri*)[12], une seule inscription, récemment découverte à Aegyssus, faisant la mention d'un *dec(urio) terri(torii) A[eg(yssensis)*, ce qui permet — maintenant et non pas à l'époque de la bibliographie indiquée à la note 90 — l'hypothése de l'existence d'un *ordo territorii*.[13] Quant aux *consistentes*, jamais attestés au niveau territorial, ils sont mentionnés soit dans des *vici* (*veterani et cives Romani et Bessi consistentes*, comme, par exemple, dans le vicus Quintionis du territoire histrien),[14] soit dans la civitas Troesmensium (seulement des *cives Romani*),[15] soit dans les *canabae* de la légion

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[7] *Al. Suceveanu* AncSoc 22 (1991) 264sqq.

[8] CIL XIV 3608 = ILS 986, l. 21 – 22, avec le commentaire de *D. M. Pippidi:* Contribuii la istoria veche a României. Bucarest 1966², 287–328; le gouverneur de la Pannonie, L. Tampius Flavianus, entreprend – en même temps – des actions similaires; voir CIL X, 6225 = ILS 985, avec le commentaire de *A. Mócsy* ArchÉrt 93 (1966):2 203 – 207.

[9] Nous nous permettons d'envoyer le lecteur à la carte de notre ouvrage (*Al. Suceveanu* en collaboration avec *Al. Barnea*) La Dobroudja romaine. Bucarest 1991, 135.

[10] C'est l'opinion de *B. Galsterer-Kröl* dans Epigraphische Studien 9. Bonn 1972, 92–93, opinion partagée maintenant par tous les historiens roumains; dans l'ouvrage cité dans la note précédente (p. 54), nous avons cru pouvoir ajouter un argument supplémentaire à cette théorie.

[11] *B. Gerov* Klio 59 (1977):2, 299–309.

[12] *E. Dorutiu-Boila* (éd.): Inscriptiones Scythiae Minoris (=ISM) V. Bucarest 1980, 77 (Capidava), 268 (Noviodunum) et peut-être 135 (Troesmis).

[13] *V. H. Baumann* Pauce 9 (1984) 223, nº 3.

[14] *D. M. Pippidi* (éd.) ISM I. Bucarest 1983, 324, 326–328, 330–332.

[15] ISM V, 157.

Ve Macedonica (*veterani et cives Romani consistentes*).[16] La confusion nous semble évidente (elle ne pourrait s'expliquer que par une certaine superficialité de l'auteur, ou par les inadvertences de ses sources), mais ce qu'il convient de mentionner c'est que par ce genre d'imprécisions on essaye de maintenir la fausse idée de la non urbanisation de la Dobroudja. Avec quatre cités grecques (Callatis, Tomis, Histria et Argamum), bien enrégimentées dans le système administratif, économique, juridique et, plus tard, méme stratégique romain, et au moins quatre municipes romains (Noviodunum, Troesmis, Tropaeum Traiani et Durostorum) sinon cinq (nous pensons à Axiopolis), la dernière chose qu'on pourrait imputer à la romanité de la zone comprise entre le Danube et la Mer Noire c'est l'absence des „Lokalstaaten", dans l'acception la plus concrète du mot.[17] En ajoutant les au moins 25 *vici*, on voit bien que c'est difficile, sinon impossible, de nier l'idée d'une organisation provinciale. Mais puisque cela tient déjà du domaine des conclusions de ce modeste compte-rendu, revenons aux détails, tout en mentionnant qu'une affirmation du genre: „Nachrichten über viritane Bürgerrechtsschenkungen... fehlen fast ganz; was nicht bedeutet, dass solche Civitäsverleihungen nicht vorkamen; aber sie waren wohl relativ selten" (p. 337), ne tient pas compte des donations attestées à Troesmis,[18] Histria[19] et vicus Celeris,[20] tandis qu'une autre:"Der Gegenstand (des domaines privés) ist allerdings noch nicht engemessen untersucht, und mancherlei Einzelheiten wie etwa das Okkupationsrecht brachliegenden oder unkultivierten Landes sind für das l. bis 3. Jh. n. Chr noch ungeklärt. Ausser der bereits erwähnten Förderung des Bergbaus sind weitere reichsstaatliche Massnahmen der Wirtschaftssteigerung mir nicht bekannt" (p. 336) montre que H. Wolff ne s'est pris jamais le temps pour consulter nos ouvrages concernant justement le régime du sol dans la Dobroudja.[21] Précisant donc correctement que des telles „Nassnahmen" ne lui sont pas connues, cela ne veut pas dire que le régime du sol – au moins celui que nous avons pu reconstituer, et pour lequel nous serions les premiers à attendre des suggestions cohérentes – n'a pas été recherché.

Quelques opinions de H. Wolff concernant la Dacie nous ont frappées aussi, bien que nous sommes conscients que les spécialistes dans l'histoire de la Dacie romaine pourraient en trouver beaucoup d'autres inadvertences. C'est vrai que les chiffres transmis par Johannes Lydus concernant l'or et l'argent trouvé par Trajan dans la Dacie ont été amoindris d'environ 90% par J. Carcopino,[22] mais que d'ici on a pu arriver à la conclusion: „Aber in vorrömischer Dakien ist der Edelmetallab/?/bau grösseren Stils bisher nicht belegt" (p. 317), c'est une longue distance, expliquable seulement par l'ignorance de l'auteur en ce qui concerne

[16] ISM V, 135, 154.

[17] *Al. Suceveanu – I. Barnea* Dacia N. S. 37 (1993) 59–179 (pp. 172–173 pour Axiopolis).

[18] ISM V, 155, 158.

[19] ISM I, 57, 193.

[20] ISM I, 352.

[21] Viaţă economica în Dobrogea romana. Bucarest 1977, 79–109; La Dobroudja romaine (plus haut, note 9), 74–83.

[22] *J. Carcopino* Dacia 1 (1924) 28–34.

les innombrables pièces d'orfèvrerie en argent des Daces, sans plus parler de leurs monnaies.[23]

Tout en étant d'accord que „der Limes war keine Grenze" (p. 320) — mais ça dépend de l'époque, comme nous allons le soutenir plus loin — avouons que nous n'avons pas bien compris l'argument pour certifier cette opinion extrait des garnisons au nord du Danube, parmi lesquelles Barboi[24] (ce ne sont pas des têtes de pont dans le *barbaricum*?), ainsi que les distinctions que H. Wolff les fait entre les légions défensives, ayant des „Sperrfunktionen", comme par exemple celles de Oescus et Novae (p. 321), et celles offensives, comme par exemple celles qui surveillaient la Valachie (ce ne sont pas les mêmes?), pour lesquelles „die Frage der Lage der Garnisonen machtpolitisch sekundär War" (p. 323).

En affirmant que malgré les guerres de l'époque de Domitien, Trajan, Hadrien et même Marc Aurèle, le *limes* romain a prouvé „die Effektivität der Vorwärtsverteidigung" — qualité perdue seulement dans la seconde moitié du IIIe siècle ap. J.-Chr. — et, ensuite, que „Im stabileren 4. Jh. ist man konsequenterweise denn auch, so gut man es vermochte, zur alten Präventiv - und Vergeltungspolitik zurückgekehrt" (p. 323), H. Wolff ne semble pas avoir bien saisi le tremblement provoqué par les guerres marcomaniques d'une part (des importantes modifications dans le système défensif au Bas-Danube, la militarisation de l'administration impériale, l'étatisation de la perception de l'impôt douanier, de mesures sociales significatives — comme par exemple la Constitution Antoninienne —, en un mot le début de la crise de l'Empire Romain), d'autre part les incessantes guerres du IVe siècle au delà du Danube et qui culmineront avec la catastrophe d'Andrinople (378 ap. J.-Chr.).

Emporté quelquefois par son verbe fougueux, l'auteur arrive à se contredire: à la p. 325 il essaie de nous convaincre qu'au Bas - Danube" traf Rom nicht einmal überall auf (lebensfähige) Lokalstaaten, wie etwa in Dacien, in der westlichen Dobrudja..." — ce qui veut dire qu'ils ont tout de même existé — tandis qu' à la p. 331 le verdict est catégorique: „In Dacien, wo es ja keine lokalsaatliche Tradition aus der vorrömischen Zeit gab...". Tout en nous contentant de lui attirer l'attention qu'en réalité la question, récemment rouverte par Ioana Bogdan - Cataniciu,[25] est infiniment plus complexe, nous approchons d'un dernier point, vraiment délicat, concernant cette fois-ci la Roumanie actuelle. Soutenant que jusqu'au IVe siècle on a pratiqué le bilinguisme (latino/autochtone, ce qui est, peut-être, correct). A. Wolff ajoute: „die heutige Romanität Rumäniens ist allerdings immer noch unerklärt" (p. 336). Y avait-il vraiment besoin de cette remarque? En nous occupant, il y a dix ans, de la romanisation des provinces romaines situées sur le territoire de l'actuelle Roumanie, nous avons opiné que la langue roumaine — certainement néo-latine — est le *dernier argument* qu'on pourrait

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[23] *C. Preda* (éd.): Enciclopedia arheologiei şi istoriei vechi a României. Bucarest 1994, 91–93 (s. v. argint) et 138–139 (s. v. aur); pour les monnaies, voir le monumental ouvrage de *C. Preda:* Nonedele geto-dacilor. Bucarest 1973.

[24] Pour Barboi, à citer, tout de même, *S. Sanie:* Civilizaia roman(la est de Carpai i romanitatea pe teritoriul Moldovei. Iaşi 1981.

[25] *I. Bogdan-Cătăniciu* Dacia N. S. 34 (1990) 223–234.

invoquer pour soutenir la romanité ou la non-romanité de ces provinces.[26] Que dirait H. Wolff si on jugeait la romanité rhénane ou celle africaine par le prisme des langues qu'on parle maintenant dans ces deux zones? Tout en regrettant que le savant — tel que nous l'avons connu de ses travaux antérieurs et même du texte sur lequel nous rendons compte ici — a/it/ cédé la place au politicien, revenons à notre sereine antiquité, terrain des confrontations infiniment plus profitables, et nous ajouterions, beaucoup plus durables ("langfristige", pour employer ses paroles) que les insensées et de toute façon éphémères ("kurzfristige") disputes politiques.

En ce qui concerne les *praefecti civitatium*, A. Wolff estime „leider wissen wir nicht, aufgrund welcher Vorfälle, mit welchen Refugnissen und wie häufig solche regionalen Regenten oktroyiert wurden; ein regelmässiges Amt war die Lokalstaatspraefectur jedenfalls nicht" (p. 327), ce qui — en ce qui concerne seulement les *praefecti civitatium* — semble correct. Mais si l'on prend en considération des situations, comme dans la Pannonie, où ces *praefecti* sont en même temps *praefecti riparum*,[27] on pourrait se demander si un texte assez peu utilisé de Strabon, suivant lequel pour la surveillance des barbares montagnards ou simplement éloignés on envoyait des *praefecti* appartenant à l'ordre équestre,[28] ne contient pas la meilleure explication de leur fonction, celle d'un commandement préprovincial. Dans deux cas au moins, celui de la Pannonie de l'est et celui de la Dobroudja de l'ouest, ces commandements ont cessé d'exister en même temps qu'avec l'installation de premiers *castra stativa*, c'est-à-dire la *redactio in formam provinciae* de ces contrées. Quant à la Dobroudja, nous avons indiqué plus haut la bibliographie concernant ce sujet. Pour ce qui est de la Pannonie, H. Wolff, qui croit que „Die Donau wurde ebenfalls als deutliche Interventionslinie zwischen Imperium und Barbarikum erstrebt, und die Völker dieses südlich dieses Stromes hat man der imperatorischen Aristie vor allem des Augustus wegen und zum Schutz von Italien und Macedonien niedergeworfen" (p. 316), s'avère être trop dépendant de l'information transmise par les *Res gestae* d'Auguste, où l'on affirme: *protulique fines Illyrici ad ripam fluminis Danuvii*.[29] Entre temps, l'historiographie hongroise (à savoir L. Barkóczi, E. Tóth, G. Vékony, D. Gabler et, évidemment, J. Fitz) a mieux établi les étapes de l'annexion de la Pannonie, le segment d'Aquincum à Teutoburgium n'étant pas constitué dans un *limes* régulier qu'à l'époque de Domitien. Dire donc que: „Nicht zu folgen vermag, ich *J. Fitz*: Die Eroberung Pannoniens. in: ANRW II 6. Berlin 1977, 543 – 556 (u. andernorts)" (p. 316, note 17) — et où vraiment on peut trouver toute la bibliographie du problème — c'est non seulement inélégant, mais aussi téméraire.

Le concept du *limes* ne nous semble pas bien établi par l'auteur, au moins dans sa vision. Il est vrai que le *limes* avait aussi des fonctions policières, mais

[26] *Al. Suceveanu* Thraco – Dacica 6 (1985) 105–115.

[27] Comme c'est le cas, par exemple, de L, Volcacius Primus, *praefectus ripae Danuvii et civitatium duarum Boiorum et Azaliorum* (CIL IX, 5363, 5364 = ILS 2737); à part la bibliographie classique sur ces *praefecti*, voir aussi *D. B. Saddington* JbRGZM 35 (1988) 299–313.

[28] *Strabon* IV, 6, 4.

[29] Pour Barboi, à citer, tout de mţme, *S. Sanie:* Civilizaia roman(la est de Carpai şi romanitatea pe teritoriul Moldovei. Iaşi 1981.

une affirmation du genre: „Nun [au Ier siècle ap. J. -Chr.] war der limes bekanntlich mehr eine polizeiliche als eine militärische Einrichtung" (p. 320) semble un peu osée; que dire alors d'une affirmation de Flavius Josephus, suivant laquelle Rubrius Gallus, le premier gouverneur de la Mésie sous Vespasien et le fondateur du *limes* de la Dobroudja, „a renforcé la place avec plusieures et meilleures garnisons, pour faire impossible le passage (du Danube) par les barbares"?[30] Mais le problème central, mis en évidence d'une manière brillante par H. Schönberger[31] – opinion qui ne contredit pas la lucide analyse du concept de *limes*, élaborée par le regretté G. Forni[32] – c'est que jusqu' à Hadrien le *limes* n'est pas identique aux *fines*. Les textes de Tacite (*Agricola*, 41 et *Germania*, 27) nous permettent donc d'affirmer qu'au Ier siècle ap. J.-Chr. il y avait au-delà du *limes* — et jusqu'aux *fines* — des véritables *regiones translimitanae* (comme serait le cas en Pannonie et en Dobroudja jusqu'à leur annexion officielle), ce qui nous donnerait le droit de parler, jusqu'à Hadrien, d'un *limes* effectivement offensif. Toute modification ultérieure réelle (installation des têtes de pont, contrôle extraprovincial), ou seulement innovée par H. Wolff (des légions offensives ou défensives), devait s'articuler à un *limes* strictement défensif, conçu, malheureusement ou non, par Hadrien; d'ailleurs l'Empire n'avait plus la force de soutenir un *limes* offensif.

Nous ne pouvons non plus suivre l'auteur en ce qui concerne les structures préurbaines ou urbaines de l'Empire Romain. Tout en nous demandant si on peut parler, comme le fait l'auteur, de „fondations" des *civitates* („während währscheinlich Marc Aurel die bis dahin noch nicht urbanisierten Gebiete zu Civitates ohne vorrömische Stammesbevölkerung ordnete", p. 332; „ein Lokalstaat, egal ob als *municipium* oder *civitas*, wurde nicht begründet, p. 334)" — les seules villes fondées effectivement étant les *coloniae* — et, d'autant plus, si on peut parler des *civitates* à *ius Latii* (p. 331; en ayant la certitude du *ius Latii*, il ne s'agit déjà des municipes?), il est sûr qu'une affirmation du genre: „Dass etwa zwischen peregrinenrechtlichen Civitates und römische Municipien entscheidende administrative Unterschiede bestanden, ist generell nicht zu behaupten" (p. 333, note 86) risque d'aggraver la confusion jusqu'à la perplexité. Sans nous permettre de refaire ici la théorie des municipes romains (en revanche, pour nous convaincre, H. Wolff avait l'obligation au moins de l'esquisser), il nous semble que la différence essentielle consiste justement dans la possession, par les municipes romains, du *ius Latii* (*minoris*, eulement pour les magistrats; *maioris*, pour tous les sénateurs), celui qui permettait l'accès en groupe à la citoyenneté romaine, ce qui n'arrivait qu'individuellement dans les „peregrinenrechtliche Civitates".[33] On ne doit plus d'étonner — dans ces conditions — que pour l'auteur; „Völlig unbegründet blieb

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[30] *Josephus Flavius*, Bell. Iud. VII, 4, 3, 92–94.

[31] *H. Schönberger* dans Grenzbildende Faktoren in der Geschichte. Hanovre 1969, 13–21.

[32] *G. Forni* dans E. de Ruggiero: Dizionario epigrafico di antichità romane IV. 1962, 1080–1083.

[33] Pour les municipes romains et le *ius Latii*, voir, d'une part ILS, 6780; *Gaius* Inst. I, 96; *Aulus Gellius* Noct. Att. XVI, 13, 4, d'autre part la littérature nouvelle du sujet, à savoir: *Ch. Saumagme:* Le droit latin et les cités romaines sous l'Empire. Essais critiques. Paris 1965; *T. Spitzl:* Lex municipii Malacitani München 1984; *J. Gonzales* JRS, 76 (1986) 147–243; *J. Gascou* Latomus 45 (1986):3, 541–554; *H. Galsterer* JRS 78 (1988) 78–90; *Cl. Nicolet* MEFR 100 (1988) 827–866; *P. Le Roux* dans Epigrafia. Rome l991, 565–582.

bisher die verbreitete Ansicht, dass zwischen einem gewissen Romanisierugsrgrad und der Verleihung des Municipalrechts regelhaft ein wesenhafter Zusammenhang bestehe" (*Ibidem*), l'auteur incriminé „beispielshalber" étant personne d'autre que le grand savant G. Alföldy. Tout commentaire nous semble inutile. Nous ajouterions seulement une dernière remarque, concernant cette fois-ci les impôts, Pour H. Wolff, „der römische Staat aus der Überschüssen und Gewinnen der Bürger nur sehr beschränkten Vorteil zog (etwa bei der Erbschafts – und Freilassungssteuer)" (p. 335), ce qui veut dire que les citoyens romains ne payaient que la *vicesima hereditatium* et la *vicesima libertatis* (ou *manumissionum*). Comme on le sait, les savants sont divisés dans cette question, une partie soutenant la thèse de l'auteur, l'autre la rejetant, dans le sens que les citoyens romains provinciaux (mais non pas les vétérans) payaient aussi le *tributum* (ou *stipendium*) *soli*[34] Et même s'il a opté pour la première variante — sans doute, parce qu'elle lui servait dans sa démonstration — il était obligé de présenter aussi la seconde, celle qui — comme nous lui avons attiré l'attention autre fois[35] — présente l'avantage de nous expliquer, peût-être mieux, pourquoi, sans exception, les inscriptions mentionnent séparément les deux catégories: *veterani et cives Romani*[36]

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L'analyse entreprise nous a montré qu'une partie des arguments utilisés par H. Wolff pour soutenir sa thèse sont au moins discutables. En faisant abstraction de ceuX–Ci, passons au sujet principal, celui de l'inexistence d'un programme d'organisation des provinces rhéno-danubiennes.

En ayant sans doute raison quand il affirme: „Bislang, habe ich jedenfalls keine zusätzlichen Belege für eine forcierte Romanisierungspolitik gefunden" (p. 337) – ne serait ce que parce que P. M. Duval, par exemple, l'a soutenu vingt ans auparavant[37] – H. Wolff transfère cette certitude du domaine idéologique dans celui pratique. Apparemment, dans le domaine stratégique (critères différents dans la dislocation des troupes, retards dans l'annexion officielle de quelques zones, abandonne des autres, reconquêtes quelquefois) ainsi que dans celui administratif (retards dans la fondation des colonies, maintiens des *civitates* à côté ou non des *municipia*, les statuts ambigus — s'il en est ainsi — de ceuX–Ci, le manque d'intérêt de la part des autorités romaines pour certaines catégories des villes) il a raison. Sans exclure des fautes, des incohérences, des situations souvent inexpliquables (ce qui, au fond, n'est que très normal), l'auteur lui-même est obligé de reconnaître qu'en fin de compte la politique romaine — même à terme court, par le consentement des parties engagées dans ce processus — a prouvé

[34] Pour la première variante, voir *T. Frank* JRS 17 (1927) 141–161; *M. Kaser* Zeitschrift der Savigny – Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte 1942, 53sqq.; *A. H. M. Jone* JRS 31 (1941) 30sqq.; pour la seconde (s'appuyant sur *Gaius* Inst., II, 7; *Frontinus* Grom. vet. (*I. Lachmann*, éd.), 36; *M. I. Rostovtzev:* Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World. Oxford 1953, 814–816; *Fr. De Martino:* Storia della costituzione romana, II. Naples 1972, 331–358; *ibidem* IV: 2, 1975², 868–891.

[35] *Al. Suceveanu* Dacia N. S. 34 (1990) 252.

[36] Voir, par exemple, plus haut, les notes 14–16.

[37] *P. M. Duval* Vestigia 17 (1973) 69–70.

son efficacité: „Obgleich in der Tagespolitik (neben zahlreichen kurzfristigen) kaum langfristige Zielsetzungen erkennbar werden, war die römische Politik auch langfristig sehr erfolgreich" (p. 339). N'est-ce pas la reconnaissance qu'en dépit de nombreuses incohérences la politique romaine à terme plus ou moins court – a réussi de créer cet extraordinaire bâtiment, qu'a été l'Empire Romain? N'est-ce pas la meilleure preuve que, malgré les infinites situations trouvées par les Romains au moment de la conquête, ils ont réussi de les unifier, pour offrir à la postérité l'exemple d'une géniale organisation? Mais si jusqu'ici les choses peuvent être effectivement discutées — à condition de ne pas imputer aux Romains nos propres hésitations, fautes, voir même critériums —, quand on essaye de découper de cet engrenage le facteur économique (l'état n'étant pas impliqué, c'est l'intérêt des villes qui a créé la prospérité de l'Empire; p. 335), celui social (la cité, l'armée et enfin la Constitution Antoninienne ont créé un bon nombre des citoyens, mais peu d'entre eux sont arrivés au rang équestre ou sénatorial p. 337) celui juridique (les recrutements et la création des villes ne seraient qu'un „Nebenergebniss" de la romanisation juridique; p. 337) et même celui culturel (les différences entre les provinces excluent une vraie politique culturelle; p. 336) — autrement dit qu'ils ne seraient que des effets secondaires d'un programme, malheureusement inexistant —, alors on est en droit de se demander qu'est-ce que c'est pour H. Wolff la romanisation?

En ce qui nous concerne, nous nous sommes rangés à côté de ceux pour qui la romanisation représente un phénoméne complexe, déterminé par de nombreux facteurs — politique, administratif, stratégique, économique, social, juridique et, surtout, culturel — dont le résultat a été si bien mis en évidence par un Rutilius Namatianus: *fecisti (sc. Roma) patriam, diversis gentibus, unam* (*De reditu suo*, 63).[38] La seule nuance que nous avons osé introduire en discussion – peut-être, comme nous l'a reproché le regretté A. Chastagnol,[39] sous l'influence d'un H.-G. Pflaum[40] ou N. Bénabou[41] – c'était que, d'habitude, le processus de la romanisation a été étudié en tant que phénomène d'acculturation, sans se préoccuper toujours de ses effets sur les indigènes, ce qui impliquerait de le prendre en considération aussi comme phénomène d'interculturation.[42] Pour nous convaincre de la justesse de sa conception, H. Wolff aurait dû réformuler tout d'abord la définition de la romanisation et ensuite — dans la vertu de celle-cI–Defixer son propre programme, au moins du point de vue stratégique et administratif. S'assumant le risque de répercuter sur l'antiquité les conceptions d'un être moderne (et pas n'importe qui, mais bien le représentent d'un peuple pour qui l'esprit de l'ordre est une de ses grandes qualités) et essayant de clairifier les assez nombreux points obscurs de son argumentation, H. Wolff aurait pu nous proposer une discussion élevée, susceptible d'engendrer de nouveaux points de vue sur la politique impé-

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[38] *P. M. Duval:* Vestigia, 17, 1973, pp. 69 – 70.

[39] *A. Chastagnol* RA 1980:1, 142.

[40] *H,-G. Pflaum* Vestigia 17 (1973) 55–68.

[41] *M. Bénabou:* La résistance africaine à la romanisation. Paris l976, avec le lucide compte rendu de *Y. Thébert:* Annales. Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations 7 (l978) 64–82.

[42] Voir l'article cité plus haut, note 26.

riale romaine. Sinon, il risque de recevoir le conseil que J'.-A. Letronne donnait à ses élèves: „Il ne s'agit pas de remuer la science, mais de la faire avancer".[43] En attendant cette discussion, nous ne faisons que rendre hommmage à Hartmut Wolff, un des grands historiens de notre époque.

[43] *L. Robert:* Opera minora selecta I. Amsterdam 1965, 600.

Klára Szabó

DIE PHIALEN MIT GRIFF DES HANDWASCHSERVICES DES SOG. ALIKARIA – TYPS

In der frühen Kaiserzeit hat die Bronzegefäßherstellung eine ziemlich allgemeine Tendenz, daß die neuen Werkstätten in den Provinzen in der zweiten Hälfte des 1. Jh. s n. Chr. ihre Produktion beginnen, die wohlbekannten und beliebten Typen der italischen Produktionszentren nachzuahmen und seit dem Anfang des 2. Jh. s schon weitläufige Regionen mit Bronzegefäßen versorgen können.

Da der Gebrauch des Handwaschservices auf allen Gebieten des Lebens, wie z.B. in der Küche, bei der Bedienung, bei der rituellen Reinigung vor der Opferdarbietung, aber auch unter den persönlichen hygienischen Bedürfnissen zur Gewohnheit geworden war, mußte man von diesen Gegenständen natürlich viel mehr herstellen. Die Typologie von diesen wurde von *H. U. Nuber* zusammengestellt.[1] Den Typ, dessen Phialen in der vorliegenden Abhandlung

bearbeitet werden, hat er mit dem Buchstaben F versehen und nach einem Fundort in Thrakien, Alikaria benannt.[2] Dieser Servicetypus wurde nicht nur im westlichen Teil des Römischen Reiches, sondern auch im östlichen hergestellt.[3] Seine Verbreitung und seine Chronologie werfen viele interessante Fragen auf, unter welchen die des Ursprungs an erster Stelle steht. *H. U. Nuber* hält ihn für östlich, während *B. A. Raev* für süditalisch.[4] Wir sind der Meinung, daß die Analyse der Phialen einige weitere Gesichtspunkte zur Beurteilung der Frage liefern kann.

Typbeschreibung (*Tabelle 1* und *Abb. 1*)

Zunächst möchten wir feststellen, daß die Bronzegefäßform zum Typ 28 der pannonischen Bronzegefäße gehört,[5] der mit F, d. h. mit der Formzeichnung des Alikaria -Typs von H. U. Nuber,[6] und mit den Typen H 2400, H 2500 der Typologie für das Fundmaterial in Pompei übereinstimmt.[7]

Wir nennen sie Phiale, weil ihre Form flach und schalenförmig ist. Auch ihre Proportionen entsprechen dieser Form, aber die Herstellungstechnik weicht von der der griechischen Phiale ab,[8] erfolgt doch die Applikation des Griffs in der Metallkunst der Kaiserzeit durch eine ganz andere Methode als bei den griechischen Phialen.[9] Der andere wichtige Unterschied ist die Ausgestaltung des Um-

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[1] *Nuber 1972* 1–233.
[2] *Ebd.* 54–57, 199 F I 12.
[3] *Ebd.* 57–60.
[4] *Ebd.* und *Raev 1977* 609–610.
[5] *Radnóti 1938* 83–86, Taf. VI,28.
[6] *Nuber 1972*, 55 Abb. 8.
[7] *Tassinari 1993*, 141.
[8] *E. Pottier:* DA IV, 434–435; RE XIX, 2059–2063; *H. Luschey:* Die Phiale (1938).
[9] *Nuber 1972* 60, mit weiterer Literatur.

bos, das zusammen oder sehr oft einzeln gegossen wird, glatt oder mit Relief verziert ist und nachhinein eingesetzt wird.

Die Form der Schale wird durch 4 Merkmale charakterisiert:

1) Die Randbildung, die stark oder leicht gebogen sein kann, ist im allgemeinen glatt (Kat. 1, 4, 8, 11, 13, 14, 16, 19, 20, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 31, 32, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41), manchmal mit einem Eierstab (Kat. 5, 12, 21, 33, 34) oder eventuell mit einem Efeublattrelief verziert (Kat. 6).

2) Die Wölbung ihrer Wandung, die ein leicht gebogenes Profil zeigt, das sich aber bei der Reparatur der Schäden, die während des Gebrauchs entstanden sind, deformieren kann und so manchmal die ursprüngliche Linienführung verliert und geometrischer wird, nimmt die Form eines Kegelstumpfs an. Risse sind an den Exemplaren Kat. 8, 40, ausgebesserte Stellen am Exemplar Kat. 21 zu beobachten.

3) Der Ringfuß kann breiter oder schmaler (Kat. 22), abgerundet oder eckig, flach oder hoch sein. Die konzentrischen Kreise, die in den Gefäßboden hineingedreht sind, befinden sich in kleiner Entfernung vom Mittelpunkt. Die Höhe und die Anzahl der Rippen sind variabel und zugleich charakteristisch für die Werkstatt. Auf den Stücken aus Pompei und Herculaneum erscheinen zunächst 1, dann 2, später 3 Kreise. So ist es auf den Exemplaren Kat. 5, 14, 15, 23, 33, 34, 39, 40, 41.

4) Das Umbo. Es gibt verschiedene Varianten: niedrig, mittelgroß oder ausgesprochen hoch, manchmal mit dem Ringfuß in einem gegossen, in mehreren Fällen aber ganz gesondert angefertigt. Im letzteren wird es durch eine plastische Leiste auf seinem Platz befestigt, oder durch eine gewölbte Auflage mit einer plastischen Leiste kombiniert (Kat. 1, 4, 8, 13, 16, 20, 23, 26, 31, 32, 35, 36, 37, 38, 40), manchmal auch noch mit einem lesbischen Kymation (Kat. 5, 6, 12, 15, 21) verziert. Selbst die Oberfläche des Umbos kann mit einer Ornamentik erscheinen (Kat. 39); Traube und Efeu, Blumenblätter im Flachrelief. Angewandtes technisches Verfahren sind Niello- und Silbereinlage. Auf dem Relief kann das Thema auch mit einer figuralen Komposition vorkommen (Kat. 12, 15, 22, 33, 34): Meduse, schlafendes Kind mit Schlange, schlafendes Kind mit Schlange und Hund, zwei Hippocampi in entgegengesetzter Position, nackter Bacchus, auf einem Panther sitzend. Manchmal fällt das Umbo heraus und die Phiale wird ohne dieses weiterhin benutzt (Kat. 11, 14, 21, 40).

Die Charakteristika des Griffs können wir in 8 Hauptpunkten festlegen:

1–3. Oben setzt der Griff, in zwei ausgebreitete Arme geteilt (links: **1.**, bzw. rechts: **2.**), an den Rand der Schale an, in der Mitte schaut eine Tierprotome (Kat. 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 11, 13, 20, 26, 31, 32, 35) oder ein menschliches Brustbild (Kat. 1, 8, 10, 12, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 21, 23, 24, 38, 39) oder eine ganze Gestalt ins Innere der Schale hinein **(3)**.

Gewöhnlich bilden die vorderen Pranken, die zum Tierkopf gehören, wie z.B. Löwenpranken (Kat. 6, 20, 31, 32, 35) oder Widderhufe (Kat. 2, 4), die Elemente **1–2**. Es kommt aber auch vor, daß sie nur stilisiert dargesellt werden (Kat. 25, 41).

Es ist interessant, daß die Kat. 25, 26, 36, 37, 41 unter den Phialen, die in Pompei und in Herculaneum gefunden wurden, so stark stilisiert sind, daß die seitlichen Teile wie eine Fortsetzung scheinen, und die Protome in der Mitte nur grob einen Widderkopf abbildet (Kat. 25). Eine hnliche Formgebung kommt auf den Henkeln der Bronzekannen mit Kleeblattmündung in Pompei (Type D 2311 a-c)[10] und in einem unbekannten Fundort (Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Budapest Inv. 54.5.19) vor.[11] Wenn ein Menschenkopf in die Schale hineinschaut, gehören dazu selbstverständlich menschliche Arme (Kat. 12, 16, 19, 24, 39).

Der Henkel wird unten an die Wandung der Schale durch eine dreieckige (Kat. 1, 20, 24, 26, 31, 32, 39) oder kreis- (Kat. 2, 6, 14, 25) oder herzförmige (Kat. 4, 23), glatte (Kat. 25, 35, 38, 39, 41) oder reliefverzierte (Kat. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 15, 19, 20, 23, 24, 26, 31, 32, 36, 37) Attasche **(4)** appliziert.

Der mittlere Teil des Griffs, mit anderen Worten der Stielgriff kann sich dadurch abgrenzen, daß hinter der Protome ein Ornament **(5)** mit Absonderungsrolle erscheint oder in Form irgendeines Pflanzenmotivs (z.B. Kelchblatt [Kat. 7, 24], Reihe von Schötlingen [Kat. 6, 12, 15, 23], einfache Leiste [Kat. 5], gestochene Leiste [Kat. 2] usw.).

Die Oberfläche des Griffs **(6)** hat einen Querschnitt eines ebenen Kreises (Kat. 1, 3, 4, 7, 8, 11, 13, 15, 16, 18, 23, 25, 35, 38, 41), entweder mit einem figural gemusterten Relief, oder nur mit einem einfachen Ornament verziert. Seine Oberseite ist abgeflacht, die Unterseite ist abgerundet (Kat. 2, 10, 19, 24, 26, 31, 32, 36, 37). Die Reliefverzierung ist kontinuierlich (z.B. irgendeine Familie der Valerianpflanzen[12] [Kat. 36, 37] oder Efeublatt [Kat. 6, 12] usw.), oder voneinander getrennte dionysische Elemente (z.B. Maske, Früchtenkorb, Panflöte [Kat. 2, 21]), stilisierte Wasserpflanze (Kat. 10) oder Genrebild (Wasservogel beim Fischfang [Kat. 24], Wildenten im Schilfdickicht [Kat. 19] usw.).

Der Stielgriff wird auch in der anderen Richtung, in Richtung der äußeren Protome durch ein Element abgeschlossen, abgetrennt, das ringförmig oder mit Manschette versehen sein kann **(7)**.

Der Teil, der aus mehreren plastischen Ringen besteht, ist in der Mitte geteilt. Eine Profilierung in 1–1, 2–2, 3–3 ist möglich. Manchmal kommen unter ihnen Perlreihen oder eingelegte Silberbänder (Kat. 1, 13, 25, 2, 4, 11, 5, 31, 32) vor. Die Manschette ist manchmal glatt (Kat. 1, 12, 16, 21, 24), sonst gerieft (Kat. 22) oder geperlt (Kat. 10).

Der Kopf am Ende des Griffs **(8)**, ob eines Menschen, ob eines Tieres, ist sehr klein.

Götter: Bacchus (Kat. 1, 14, 20, 31, 32), Silenos (Kat. 10, 12), Pan (Kat. 35), Satyr (Kat. 22), Mänade mit Tierkalb (Kat. 5), Mänade (Kat. 16, 24, 36, 37), Hercules (Kat. 4, 18), Eros (Kat. 8,19), Medusa (Kat. 21).

Ethnographischer Typ: Kat. 7.

Als *Tierkopf* können zum Beispiel auch Stier (Kat. 26, 38), Löwe (Kat. 25, 30, 39), Panther (Kat. 3, 13, 41) und Ziegenbock (Kat. 15, 23) vorkommen.

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[10] *Tassinari 1993* 40–42.

[11] *Radnóti 1938* 146 Anm. 8, Taf. XLIX,4; *Szabó 1991* 10 Kat. 2.

[12] Wir danken Herrn Dr. *H. Baumann* (Zürich) für die Bestimmung.

Maßangaben (*Tabelle 2*)

Höhe: 4–6 cm, Randdurchmesser: 15–20 cm, Bodendurchmesser: 8–9 cm.

Es kommen ein einziges extra großes Maß (Kat. 6) und zwei extra kleine Maße vor (Kat. 25 und 29).

Ikonographie

Man muß vorausschicken, daß es nicht in jedem Fall die Gelegenheit gab, die Phialen im Original zu untersuchen (die Autopsie wird im Katalog mit Zeichen * angegeben), und da können wir uns notwendigerweise nur auf die publizierten Beschreibungen, beziehungsweise auf die Zeichen- und/oder Photoillustrationen stützen. Leider bereiten die verschwommenen Details und die Zeichnungen, die von den Verfassern nicht interpretiert wurden, Schwierigkeiten. Aufgrund mangelhafter Beschreibungen kann man keine ikonographische Typen bestimmen.

Ein anderer wichtiger Gesichtspunkt ist, der auf alle Fälle zu überlegen gilt, daß es sich eine Fläche von etwa 10 x 2 cm auf den Henkeln der Phialen mit einer Durchschnittshöhe von 4–6 cm ergibt. Wir müssen auch berücksichtigen, daß die Modelle, Gußformen der Reliefelemente auf den Gefäßhenkeln künstlerisch nicht dasselbe Niveau bieten, wie z.B. das der Statuetten derselben Größe.

Ein folgender Gesichtspunkt ist, daß ganze Gestalten hier nur selten vorkommen (Kat. 5), meistens nur Köpfe, eventuell ein Brustbild (Kat. 5).

Die Fläche ist aber genauso groß, folglich beinhaltet die Abbildung viel weniger Details. Nach alledem folgen die Bilder, die man unter ikonographischem Gesichtspunkt auswerten kann:

I. Bacchus und sein Kreis: Bacchus, Silenos, Pan, Satyrn, Mänaden, Hercules, Eros

I. 1. a. Das Bacchuskind

b. Der junge Bacchus mit Trauben/Efeublattkranz auf dem Kopf, bartlos

c. Der auf einem Panther reitende Bacchus

2. Der alte Silenos mit einem Efeukranz auf seinem kahlen Kopf, sein Bart ist ausgebreitet

3. Pan

4. Junger Satyr

a. dichtes Haar, junges Männergesicht, Spitzohren, bartlos

b. junger Satyr mit Schnurrbart und Bart

5. Mänade

a. in Nebris, drückt ein Tierkalb an die Brust

b. schöne, junge Frau mit kurzen, losen, umherfliegenden Locken auf dem Scheitel, mit jeweils zwei schneckenförmigen Locken an der Seite, hinten in der

Mitte gescheiteltes Haar

c. dieselbe Frauendarstellung mit einer Haube

6. Bacchische Attribute: Maske oder Masken im Halbprofil
   Pedum
   Früchtenkorb
   Panflöte
7. Bukolische Bilder
8. Hercules
9. Eros

II. Mythische Ungeheuer: Hippocampus, Löwengriff, Meduse

I. Bacchus und sein Kreis

Es gibt drei Typen der Darstellung von Dionysos/Bacchus.[13] Die erste Abbildung zeigt den Gott als erwachsenen Mann,[14] die zweite als heranwachsenden Jüngling,[15] während die dritte das Bild des Kindes Bacchus ist.[16] Auf den Phialen des Handwaschservices des Alikaria-Typs kommen nur die letzten beiden vor.

Die Darstellung des Kindes Bacchus ist am seltensten. Von seiner Erscheinung in der Gestalt eines 2–3–4-jährigen Kleinkindes zeugen zwei kleine Satyrstatuen aus der Villa dei Papiri in Herculaneum,[17] sowie ein wunderschöner Statuenfund des Kleinkindes Bacchus aus einer amerikanischen Privatsammlung.[18] Seine Charakteristika sind halblange, lockige, geringelte Haare, in der Mitte eine aufgesteckte Haarsträhne, die mit den Eros-Bildern verwandt ist.[19] I. Manfrini ist auch unter Berücksichtigung der Steinplastik der Meinung, daß dieser Bildtyp italischen Ursprungs sei. Auch an Hand der Phialen des Services des Alikaria-Typs scheint dies wahrscheinlich zu sein. Wir können auf den Bacchusköpfen mit Efeukranz, die sich am äußeren Ende der Griffe der Exemplare Kat. 31 und 32 befinden (*Abb. 2*), die Gesichtszüge eines Kleinkindes beobachten. Pausbäckiges Gesicht, reiner, naiver Blick, rundes Kinn, darunter doppelter Blattkragen. Diese beiden Phialen wurden zwischen 60–80 n. Chr. angefertigt und kamen nach einer kurzen Gebrauchszeit in die Erde. Davon zeugen der ziselierte und eingelegte Thyrsos auf dem Stielgriff, der Früchtenkorb mit Silbereinlage und der Fakt, daß die Protomen nicht abgenutzt sind. Die Phiale aus Nagytétény wird mit einem Bacchus-Kind in ganzer Gestalt am inneren Ende des Griffs verziert, wo das Bild eines nackten Kleinkindes beim Schreiten ist, das in der einen Hand einen Kantharos und in der anderen einen Weinschlauch hält (Kat. 5).

Der Gesichtsausdruck des heranwachsenden Jünglings ist in die Ferne gerichtet, verträumt, seine Züge enthüllen erhabene Schönheit. In seiner ganzen Erscheinung ist eine Art Weichheit, die man im allgemeinen für ein wenig weiblich hält, aber auf alle Fälle den Abbildungen von Dionysos eigen ist. Sein Blick wi-

[13] *Manfrini 1987* passim; *C. Gasparri:* Dionysos. LIMC III,1, 414.

[14] LIMC III,1, 414–566 Kat. 1–871; LIMC III,2, 296–456.

[15] LIMC III,1, 444–446 Kat. 172–206, 453–457 Kat. 315–381; LIMC III,2, 318–323, 331–340.

[16] *Manfrini 1987* 119–152; LIMC III,1, 478–566 Kat. 664–707; LIMC III,2, 376–381.

[17] *Allrogen-Bedel – Kammerer-Grothaus 1983* 83–128; *Mustilli 1983* 7–18.

[18] *C. C. Mattusch:* Fire of Hephaistos-Large Classical Bronzes from North American Collections. Cambridge, Mass. 1996, 237–242 Cat. 26.

[19] Die weiteren Kinder-Bacchus siehe noch *Manfrini 1987* 120–124 fig. 232–235.

derspiegelt Ruhe und Zeitlosigkeit.[20] Seine dichte, lange Haare, in schneckenförmigen Locken geordnet, mit Mitra, erscheinen eher auf den Kannen des Services des Alikaria-Typs.[21] Auf den Phialen finden wir eher die lose Frisur mit gewellten Locken, wobei ein Kranz aus Efeublättern und -trauben auf ein Band geflochten, sowie aus Weintraubenblättern und Weintrauben bestehend, den Kopf des jungen Bacchus schmückt. Es ist ein 14–16 Jahre alter Jüngling (Kat. 1, 14, 20, 31–32, 36–37).

Unter den besonderen Bacchus-Abbildungen erscheint Bacchus mit Stierhörnern (Bacchus-Taurus) auf der Attasche einer Bronzekanne des Alikaria-Typs (*Abb. 3*).[22] Oft kommt der junge Bacchus auf dem Rücken der Katzenraubtiere (Tiger, Löwe oder Panther) sitzend vor. Auch auf Fresken und Mosaiken fällt dieses Bild auf.[23] Das Relief des Umbos auf einer Schale (Kat. 34), die in Barcelona aufbewahrt wird (*Abb. 4*), zeigt eine nackte, hinsichtlich der Körperproportionen eher kindliche als erwachsene Gestalt ohne Attribut, die auf dem Rücken eines Raubtieres eher hinkniet, als sitzt. Das ist aber natürlich nur wegen der ungeschickten Formgebung, tatsächlich ist diese der sitzende Typ. Charakteristisch sind der erhobene Kopf und der erhobene rechte Vorderfuß des Tieres, der gewöhnlich auf einem anderen Tier ruht. Hier sind weder Streifen noch Punkte auf dem Körper des Raubtieres, daß man es als Tiger oder Panther bestimmen könnte. Die ganze Arbeit ist vom provinziellen Niveau und zeugt von einem in der Musteranfertigung nicht genug erfahrenen Meister. Ein bekanntes Bild ist die Kopierung des nackten, auf einem Panther/Löwen reitenden Kindes ohne Attribut. Es gibt zwei Varianten: das als Amazone Reitende, bzw. das Kind, das auf dem Rücken eines Tieres sitzt und das eine Bein herunterhängt, als ob es auf einem Stuhl sitzen würde.[24] Die Anordnung der Komposition und das Fehlen der Plastizität bei den Gestalten, sowie die üppige Ornamentik (Eierstabverzierung am Rand, Umrahmung mit einem lesbischen Kymation) lassen uns darauf schließen (Kat. 5–6, 12, 15, 21, 33–34), daß dies nicht vor der Mitte des 2. Jh. s n. Chr. angefertigt werden konnte.

Der Bildertyp des weisen Alten, Silenos, der früher Erzieher und später ständiger Begleiter von Dionysos ist, stellt den etwas angeheiterten, witzigen, fidelen Kumpan der Gesellschaften dar. Er zeichnet sich durch Humor und Lebensfreude aus, ist ein Mensch, der sich mit der Vergänglichkeit der Jugend abgefunden hat.[25] Seine äußere Erscheinung: auf seinem kahlen Kopf ist ein starkes

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[20] LIMC III,1, 414–417.

[21] *Stuart 1968* 61 Taf. IX,1–3; *Hayes 1984* 76 No. 119; *Koster 1997* 77–78 No. 103; Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli Inv. 68 983 (unpubliziert).

[22] *Manfrini 1987* 165, fig. 58, 140, 171, 173, 174, 221; LIMC III,1, 414–417, 440–441 Kat. 154–159; LIMC III,2, 312–314 (Dionysos); LIMC III,1, 540–566 (Dionysos/Bacchus); *Szabó im Druck* (Kat. 1).

[23] Délos, Maison des Masques, Pompei, Reg. I Ins. 9,5 Casa dei cubicoli floreali o del Frutteto (12) cubicolo tratto centrale *Pompei II,* 118 fig. 144 Pompei Reg. VI. Ins. 12, 2 Casa del Fauno, triclinio (34): *Pompei V,* 80–85, 105 fig. 28; Catalogo Chiurazzi, Società Anonima, Fonderie-Ceramica-Marmeria, Napoli Catalogo compilato da *S. Chiurazzi.* Napoli 1929; no. 220; *Spinazzola 1928* tav. 186.

[24] *Manfrini 1987* 136–138, 140 fig. 278, 282.

[25] LIMC VIII,1, 1108–1133; LIMC VIII,2, 768–770.

Stirnbein, tiefe Falten sind auf der Stirn und im Gesicht, sein Augenbrauenbogen ist stark und dicht, seine Augen sind verständig und glänzen fröhlich, seine Nasenspitze ist etwas plattgedrückt, seine Lippen sind sinnlich, sein Bart kann spärlich oder struppig sein, dicht gelockt, ungeordnet (Kat. 12 aus Alikaria) oder mit dichten, langen, ausgebreiteten, gedrehten Locken, wie der des Exemplars Kat. 10, das aus Süditalien stammt. Die Locken dieses Bartes kräuseln sich spiralförmig und breiten sich fächerartig aus. Die Komposition ist seit der späthellenistischen Zeit in den Kleinkünsten gegenwärtig.[26]

Er ist eine beliebte Gestalt, kommt nicht nur auf den Henkeln von Bronzegefäßen und als Kopfgefäß, sondern auch auf Möbelbeschlägen und Gewichten oft vor.[27]

Die Gestalt von Pan ist halb menschlich, halb tierisch. In der Römerzeit war man bestrebt, diese Eigenart zu bewahren. Für sein Gesicht sind Bockshörner, dichte Behaarung, große Augen, lange, krumme Nase, breite Lippen, Spitzbart charakteristisch. Sein ungleicher Körper wurde im klassischen Zeitalter immer schöner und stattlicher geformt. In den späthellenistischen Zeiten widerspiegeln sich dagegen die Doppelheit des menschlichen und tierischen Wesens oder ihr Zweikampf in seiner Gestalt auf den Kunstwerken, gehe es um eine Skulptur oder ein Wandgemälde. Neue Züge sind an ihm die Verspieltheit und die Melancholie. Er spielt oft auf der Syrinx oder auf der Flöte. Er macht Nymphen den Hof und unterhält sie mit seinem sonderbaren Äußeren. Seine Züge werden weicher, aus seinem Wesen und seinem Gesichtsausdruck verschwindet die Grobheit.[28]

Von der späthellenistischen Zeit an taucht er zusammen mit den jungen Männern in der Umgebung von Dionysos auf und ist ihnen so sehr ähnlich, daß er sich mit dem Bild des jungen Satyrs vermischt. Bei einer Abbildung in ganzer Gestalt kann man nur an Hand der Beine bestimmen, welcher von den beiden Gestalten Pan ist.[29] Auf den Phialen kommt er nur in einem Fall vor (Kat. 35). Das Stück kam als Grabbeigabe in Lajjun zum Vorschein. Nach der Beschreibung und der Bestimmung von L. Y. Rahmani sind nämlich spitze Bockshörner zwischen den losen, gewellten Haarlocken.[30]

Satyrn sind in der Begleitung von Dionysos ständig anwesende, halb tierische (Bocks- oder Pferdegestalt, bzw. bestimmte Züge dieser Tiergestalten erscheinen in Menschengestalt), halb menschliche Wesen, die eigentlich im Dienste des Gottes stehen und gleichzeitig auch seine ständigen Begleiter, Folger sind. Die menschliche Eigenart gewinnt in ihnen die Oberhand und der Weinbau und die Schauspielkunst werden zu ihrem Gewerbe. Äußerlich erscheinen sie in jungen, schönen, gut proportionierten Männerkörpern, nur die senkrechten Spitzohren,

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[26] *B. Barr-Sharrer:* The Hellenistic und Early Imperial Decorative Bust. Mainz 1987, passim.

[27] *K. Majewski:* Brazowe balsamaria antropomorficzne w cesartwie rzymskim. Archaeologia (Warszawa) 14 (1962) 95–126; *J. Ch. Balty:* Balsamaires anthropomorphes du monde romain. JbRGZM 20 (1973) 261–264.

[28] *Kaufmann-Heinimann 1977* 143–144 Nr. 247, Taf. 156–157; *Tassinari 1984* 86–87 n 122; vgl. noch *Koster 1997* 25–26 Kat. 2 und *Tassinari 1984* 84–85 n 119 (nach ihnen wären sie Satyr-Darstellungen).

[29] *Kozloff – Mitten – Fabing – Herrmann Jr. – True – Vermeule 1988* 142–147.

[30] *Rahmani 1981* 193.

die Grobheit der Gesichtszüge und der Schwanz in der Kreuzgegend erinnern an ihr Tierdasein.[31] Ein bartloser Satyr kommt auf den Phialen Kat. 1, 11, 18 vor, ein bärtiger Satyr mit hängendem Schnurrbart ist auf den Gefäßen Kat. 14, 22 zu sehen.

Mänaden sind Frauen, die in der Begleitung von Dionysos erscheinen. Sie sind beliebte Gestalten sowohl in der Bildhauerei als auch in der Wandmalerei. Sie sind Teilnehmer der Orgien, ihr leidenschaftlicher Tanz ist Thema der spät-hellenistischen Kunst, die an der Bewegtheit Gefallen findet. In der Römerzeit werden sie in den Kleinkünsten zu einem sehr häufigen Thema. Die Mänaden werden als junge Frauen mit schönem Gesicht und meistens mit dichtem Haarkranz dargestellt.[32] Die Haartracht kann um das Gesicht herumfliegend, gelockt (Kat. 5, 16), ein wenig zerzaust sein, dank dem Tanz und der heftigen Bewegung oder der Ekstase. Oder das Gesicht kann ruhig, manchmal auch noch schlafend sein, eventuell mit verträumtem Blick (Kat. 5). In dem Fall ist die Frisur geordnet, mit jeweils zwei langen, nach vorn hängenden Locken über den Ohren an der Seite und Scheitel in der Mitte. Ihre Haare können auch schulterlang, in großen Locken gekämmt sein (Kat. 2). Manchmal ist ein Kranz aus Efeu oder Weintraubenblättern bzw. Trauben (Kat. 36, 37) auf den Haarlocken, genauso wie auf den Köpfen von Bacchus, Silenos, Satyr. In einer anderen Variante erscheinen sie mit einer Haube mit Schleier am äußeren Ende der Griffe der Phialen (Kat. 6, 24). Aus einer verhältnismäßig späteren Zeit scheint die glatte, an der Seite hochgesteckte Scheitelfrisur, hinten mit einem Knoten (Kat. 5),[33] zu sein.

Die eine Schulter und die eine Brust der Mänade auf der Phiale aus Nagytétény sind unbedeckt, die anderen werden von einer Nebris bedeckt. Unter deren Falten versteckt sich das kleine Tier.

Unter den üblichen Tieren, die Dionysos begleiten, sind Löwe, Panther, Ziegenbock, Esel, Delphin auf den verschiedenen Teilen der Phialen zu sehen.

In der Begleitung von Dionysos spielen nicht nur die Personen und die Tiere eine wichtige Rolle, sondern auch die Pflanzen in seiner Umgebung. An erster Stelle steht natürlich die Weintraube selbst, danach das Efeublatt (Kat. 6, 12) und seine Traube, die Korymbe (Kat. 1, 14, 20, 26, 31, 32, 38), der Tannzapfen am Ende des Thyrsos, das *oleum nardinium*, das als Weingewürz verwendet wurde.[34] Mehrmals kommt das *nardinium* (Valerianpflanze) wie *thyrsos naturalis* auch auf Phialen vor, so auf der Attasche eines Exemplares aus Pompei (Kat. 26) und auf den Stielgriffen von zwei Phialen aus Herculaneum (Kat. 36, 37). Diese Pflanze kommt auch auf anderen Bronzegefäßtypen vor, die ebenfalls mit dem Wein in Verbindung gebracht werden können. Wir erwähnen dazu z.B. die Wein- und Wasserkannen aus Pompei.[35] Nardinium kommt noch auf den Attaschen von zwei Exemplaren vor, deren Fundorte übrigens sowohl voneinander als auch von

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[31] Pitture e mosaici Enciclopedia Italiana Pompei I. Roma 1990, 124 Abb. 10 jung (kindlich) Pompei: Reg. I, Ins. 4, 5, 25 ala (13) Wand N, in Medaillon Satyrkopf, bekranzt

[32] LIMC VIII,1, 794–803.

[33] Siehe noch *Boucher 1971* 85 No. 42 (2. Jh. n. Chr.).

[34] Hor. od. 2, 11, 16; Plaut. Mil. glor. 3, 2, 11.

[35] *Tassinari 1993* 30–42, 208–234, Type B 1222, B 1241, D 2300, D 2400.

Italien weit entfernt liegen. Sie sind in Noviomagus (Kat. 4) und in Debelt zum Vorschein gekommen (Kat. 20).

Die dionysischen Attribute befinden sich auf den Attaschen der Phialen und über den Stielgriffen. Am meisten sind die Gesichter mit Kopfbedeckung im Profil oder mit dem Klapper, dem Fächer nennenswert. Auf der Attasche der Phiale aus Welshpool ist ein Pedum vor dem Gesicht (Kat. 1). Altar, Maske, Früchtenkorb sind auf dem Stielgriff aus Bartlow Hill (Kat. 2) zu finden, und auf desselben Attasche sind ein Fächer, bzw. ein Pedum vor und hinter zwei sich zueinander wendenden Masken, dazwischen steht ein Früchtenkorb auf einem zylinderförmigen Altar. Auf der Attasche der Phiale aus Calmasino finden wir wieder zwei sich zueinander wendende Köpfe (Kat. 6): der eine ist ein kahler Kopf mit Efeukranz, der andere ist mit Hut bedeckt, unten ist ein Früchtenkorb, ein Pedum und ein Tympanum sind oben, über den beiden Köpfen. Die Phiale aus Hum, auf deren Stielgriff sich voneinander getrennte Elemente auf dem Altar befinden: Panflöte, Maske mit Stirnband (*taenia*), Früchtenkorb (Kat. 21). Die Exemplare Kat. 31, 32 kamen praktisch aus derselben Gußform und deswegen erscheint der Früchtenkorb auf dem Altar genauso auf allen beiden.

II. Mythische Ungeheuer

Der Hippocampus (Seepferdchen) ist eine beliebte Tiergestalt auf den Reliefs und auf dem Wandgemälde. Er hat entweder den Kopf eines Hundes oder eines Pferdes und einen Fischschwanz, der in einer Blumenflosse endet.[36] Wir treffen ihn besonders in der späteren Herstellungsperiode an: auf dem Stielgriff der Phiale aus Nagytétény (Kat. 5) und auf dem Relief des Umbos einer Phiale, die in Barcelona aufbewahrt wird. Letzteres besteht aus zwei einander gegenübergestellten Gestalten, zwischen ihnen ist eine Muschel, gewiß das Attributum von Aphrodite (Kat. 33).

Der Kopf des Löwengriffs ist von dem wilden Raubtier, die zwei verschiedenen Hörner sind von einem Ziegenbock und einem Widder. Auf den Phialen kommt er zweimal (Kat. 31, 32) am inneren Ende des Griffs vor. Eine Besonderheit besteht darin, daß wir auf ihnen keine zottige, sondern eine sorgfältig in Locken geordnete Löwenmähne sehen können.

Die Meduse. Ein weibliches, sterbliches Ungeheuer, das mit rundem Gesicht und hochstehenden Haaren dargestellt wurde, in denen sich nicht nur die Haarlocken, sondern auch Schlangen winden. Auf dem Medusenkopf sind reptilische Schuppen. Ihre Hände sind aus Kupfer, ihre Flügel aus Gold, in ihrem Mund sind lange, glänzende Schweinszähne. Ein unheimliches Bild, vor dem derjenige erstarrt, der es anschaut.[37] In der Römerzeit ist sie schon eine junge Frau mit ruhigen Zügen, schön von Gesicht.[38] Vielleicht ist der Meister, der das Bild der Meduse auf dem Hochrelief der Phiale aus Alikaria angefertigt hat (Kat. 12), von einem hellenistischen Gebrauch ausgegangen. Die ins Haar geflochtenen Schlan-

[36] LIMC VIII,1, 634–637.
[37] *Comstock – Vermeule 1971* 289 Nr. 413.
[38] *Menzel 1986* 121 Nr. 292, Taf. 121.

gen und die wütend zusammengezogenen Augenbrauen weichen vom Schema des idyllisch schönen Gesichts ab.

Katalog der Phialen des Handwaschservices des Alikaria-Typs

***1. Welshpool** – Schatzfund oder Grabfund 1959 (Montgomery, Großbritannien)
In einem Bronzekessel befanden sich außer der obigen noch zwei Phialen vom Millingener Typ, ein Bronzekrug, auf dessen Rand ein Eierstab und am Hals ein lesbisches Kymation sind, ein Kandelaber, ein Feuerhund aus Eisen, sowie Holz- und Glasgefäßreste.
Großbritannien, Cardiff, National Museum of Wales
Boon 1960a 143; *Boon 1960b* Pl 20,4; *Boon 1961* 22–23 fig. 4. 2 Pl 5–7; *Toynbee 1963* 174 No 111, Pl. 126; *Eggers 1966* 88 Kat. 16, Abb 31,2; *Nuber 1972* 55 Abb 8, 57, 145–146.
H.: 5,1 cm Randdm.: 17,8 cm Bodendm.: 8,6 cm
Schale: an ihrem flachen, gebogenen Rand ist keine Verzierung, ihre Wandung ist gewölbt. Innen befindet sich das hohe, unverzierte Umbo, von plastischen Rippen umrahmt. Auf der Innenfläche des Ringfußes sind gedrehte, konzentrische Kreise.
Griff: waagerecht, mit kreisförmigem Durchmesser und glatter Oberfläche, ohne Verzierung.
Die Protome, die nach innen schaut, ist ein junger Satyr nach der Meinung von Toynbee. Boon und Nuber halten ihn dagegen für eine Sphinx. Sie stimmen jedoch darin überein, daß sich zwei menschenhandförmige Verlängerungen an den Rand der Schale anschmiegen. Auf der Attasche, die sich zur Wandung beugt, ist das Profil eines alten Satyrkopfes im Flachrelief.
Der Gegenstand, der unmittelbar vor dem Gesicht zu sehen ist, kann eine Syrinx oder ein Pedum sein. Am äußeren Ende des Griffs kommen mehrere Ringe und ein junger Bacchuskopf mit einem Kranz aus Efeublättern und -trauben zum Vorschein. In den Augen war eine Silbereinlage, die herausgefallen ist.
***2.** Bartlow Hills Hügelgrab 5, Urnenbestattung, 1838 (Ashdon, Essex, Großbritannien)
Die Phiale ist mit den folgenden Beigaben zum Vorschein gekommen: ein Bronzekrug Millingener Typs, eine Eisenlampe mit Hänger, eine Glasurne, eine Tonflasche mit zwei Henkeln und mit CF-Stempel, bzw. ein Keramikgefäß mit Stempel IANVARIS MERCATI.
Großbritannien, Saffron Walden Museum
Gage 1839 1-3; *Nuber 1972* 55, 192, 199 F I 2, 210.
H.: 5,7 cm Durchm.: 20, 5 cm
Es ist nur ein Griff. Der Teil, der sich an den Gefäßrand anpaßt, ist oben auf beiden Seiten erhalten geblieben. Ein Tierhuf mit gespaltenen Nägeln ist zu sehen. In der Mitte befindet sich der apotropäische Widderkopf mit den typischen, gerollten Hörnern und dem nach vorn ragenden, länglichen Maul. Auf seiner Stirn ist ein in Silber eingelegter Niellobandschmuck. Im Relief der unteren Verlängerung sind zwei sich zueinander wendende Masken. Auf der linken ist eine phrygische Mütze, vor ihnen

und über ihnen sind ein Pedum und Ratscherequisite der bacchischen Zeremonien. In der Mitte steht ein zylinderförmiger Altar, darauf ist ein Früchtenkorb.

Auf der Oberfläche des Griffs sind vier dekorative Elemente im Flachrelief: Blatt, Altar, Maske im Profil, Früchtenkorb. Danach folgt ein Schlußelement, das aus mehreren profilierten Ringen, darunter welchen mit Silbereinlage, besteht, während am äußeren Ende des Griffs ein junges, von dichten, losen Locken umrahmtes Gesicht mit schönen Zügen erscheint.

***3. Geldermalsen** – Urnengrab, 1905 (Gelderland, Niederland)

Leider haben sich die Grabbeigaben vermischt.

Niederlande, Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden Inv. 1963/12.76

Stuart 1968 81 Nr. 76, Pl. IX, 3–4; *Nuber 1972* 55–57, 199 F I 3, 213.

H.: 5,8 cm Randdurchm.: 18,8 cm Grifflänge: 10, 5 cm

Die Schale ist in einem sehr schlechten Zustand erhalten geblieben. Der größte Teil des Randes und der Wandung ist kaputtgegangen, bei der Einäscherung verbrannt. Die Oberfläche des Griffs hat auch stark korrodiert.

Das Stückchen des leicht gebogenen Randes und die Wandung des kleinen Fragmentes sind sehr mangelhaft.

Das Umbo ist einfach, unverziert. Der Fußring ist breit. Der Griff hat einen kreisförmigen Querschnitt und ist ein glattes, unverziertes Exemplar. Der innere, apotropäische Tierkopf ist von einem weiblichen Löwen. Unter der Protome ist ein wenig von der Wandung erhalten geblieben. Der äußere Griffabschluß ist ein Pantherkopf, weil die punzierten, kleinen Kreise und die nach hinten stehenden, spitzen, kleinen Ohren von einem Katzenraubtier zeugen.

***4. Noviomagus-Nijmegen, Houtstraat,** Streufund im Gräberfeld (Niederland)

Begleitfunde (vielleicht aus mehreren Grbern): Die Sigillaten Drag. 31 mit den Stempeln CROBISO, AVITVS F, COCVS F, BOLSIVS, TRITVS F sowie Drag. 27 mit dem Stempel SACIR und die Lampe mit dem Stempel OF MICE.

Niederlande, Nijmegen, Rijksmuseum G. M. Kam Inv. 5. 1958.64., 69.

Koster 1997 74–75 no. 100, mit weiterer Literatur.

H.: 5,9 cm Randdurchm.: 20,5 cm

Bodendurchm.: 9,1 cm Grifflänge: 11,3 cm

Vollständiges Exemplar. Schale: hat einen leicht gebogenen, glatten Rand, von ihrer Wandung ist ein kleines Stück abgebrochen. Ihr Umbo wurde nicht verziert. Es wird von einem doppelten, plastischen Kreis umrahmt. Ihr Ringfuß ist breit und flach.

Der Griff hat einen kreisförmigen Querschnitt und eine glatte Oberfläche. Eine Widderprotome und vordere Pranken schmiegen sich oben an den Rand der Schale, unten haftet er mit einer herzförmigen Attasche, worauf valerianartige Pflanzenranken und -früchte im Flachrelief vorkommen. Am äußeren Ende des Griffs sind doppelte Kreise in zwei Gruppen, dann folgt ein dickwangiger Jüngling mit Löwenfell auf dem Kopf, das er unter seinem Hals zum Knoten gebunden hat. Es ist die Abbildung von Hercules. Seine Augen waren in Silber eingelegt.

***5. Campona-Nagytétény** (Ungarn)

Wahrscheinlich stammt das Exemplar aus einem Wagengrab. Seine Begleitfunde sind: ein Bronzekrug mit Henkel mit menschlichen Füßen verziert, ein kopfförmiges Bron-

zegefäß, eine Parfümflasche aus Bonze, ein Strigilis, ein Eisenstuhl, Einzelteile eines Wagens, Pferdegeschirrbeschläge aus Bronze und Eisen.

Ungarn, Budapest, Ungarisches Nationalmuseum 86/ 1882–39

Gaul 1890 107 Taf. 2 Abb. 6a-b, 7; *Radnóti 1938* 83–84, 167, 173; *Fülep 1949* 46; *Thomas 1970* 37; *Nuber 1972* 54–57, 199 F I 5, 217 Nr. 126, Taf. 8; *Thomas 1973* 343 Nr. 1034; *Mócsy 1974* 148, Pl. 15a; *Szabó 1983* 96; *Szabó 1993*, 405–419.

H.: 5 cm Randdurchm.: 18,2 cm
Bodendurchm.: 8,0 cm Grifflänge: 13,0 cm

Die Schale ist unbeschädigt. Nur ihr Umbo ist herausgefallen, ihr Griff ist jedoch auch erhalten geblieben. Sie wurde restauriert. Die Eierstabverzierung am Gefäßrand zieht sich ganz auch unter der Anschlußfläche des Griffs hindurch. Innen, in der Mitte befindet sich eine lesbische Kymareihe im doppelten Leistenrahmen um das herausgefallene Umbo herum. Ihr Ringfuß ist niedrig, innen mit drei konzentrischen Kreisen und Abdrehen des Mittelpunktes.

Der Griff ist waagerecht, hat einen halbkreisförmigen Querschnitt und ist reich verziert. Ein Relief ist auf der oberen Oberfläche des Griffs und auf der Attasche zu finden. Im Teil der linken Seite ist der Hundekopf erhalten geblieben, der rechte ist aber abgebrochen. Auf der Verlängerung, die in die Mitte der Schale hineinschaut, ist ein nacktes Kleinkind im Hochrelief zu sehen, das in der einen Hand einen Kantharos, in der anderen einen Weinschlauch hält. Auf der Attasche sind ein Hippocampus und ein Delphin.

Auf dem Griff oben ist ein Meeresungeheuer mit Fischschwanz und Hundekopf zu sehen. Die Komposition wird von einer doppelten plastischen Leiste abgeschlossen und als Griffabschluß dient eine Mänadenhalbfigur in Nebris, die ein Tierkalb an die Brust drückt. Es sind detaillierte, bewegungsvolle Kompositionen. Details des Meeresthiasos tauchen hier auf.

6. Calmasino 1947 (Oberitalien)

Verona, Museo Archeologico al Teatro Romano N. Inv. 1134.

Fogolari 1948 12–16; *Castoldi 1995* 93–101.

H.: 6,6 cm Randdurchm.: 20,2 cm Bodendurchm.: 9,6 cm

Am gebogenen Rand der Schale erstreckt sich das Flachrelief von Efeuranken und -blättern, die mit eingravierten Linien umrissen sind. Die Früchte zwischen den Blättern werden mit einer Silbereinlage wiedergegeben, die aus drei Punkten besteht. Innen, in der Mitte der Schale befindet sich ein unverziertes Umbo über einer Kymareihe, die in einen doppelten Kreis eingefaßt ist. Ihr Ringfuß ist breit und abgerundet.

Drinnen sind gedrehte, konzentrische Kreise. Auch der Griff ist reich verziert. Seine Flachreliefs werden von Silbereinlagen umrissen. Auf dem oberen Teil sind ein Löwenkopf und zwei seitlich ausgestreckte Löwenpranken, unten auf der Attasche ist ein Früchtenkorb, dahinter sind zwei Köpfe im Profil, die zueinander schauen. Der kahle Kopf auf der linken Seite ist mit Efeukranz bedeckt, seine Nase ist plattgedrückt, kurz. Er stellt den alten Silenos dar. Auf dem Kopf rechts sehen wir eine eigenartige Kopfbedeckung, wie einen steifen Hut. Man kann noch ein Pedum und ein Tympanum erkennen, die ebenfalls zu den bacchischen Attributen gehören. Auf

der oberen Fläche des Griffs, unmittelbar hinter dem Löwenkopf ist ein halbkreisförmiges Motiv mit Trennrolle, danach folgt ein 5 x 2 Efeu im Flachrelief, der aus dem Kantharos hinauswächst.

An seinem äußeren Griffabschluß ist ein plastischer, schöner Frauenkopf mit regelmäßigen Zügen. Ihr Gesicht wird von gewellten Haarlocken umrahmt. Auf ihrer Stirn ist ein Kopfschmuck, von dem Elefantenstoßzähne herunterhängen.

7. Unbekannter Fundort (Es wurde im Kunsthandel in Rom gekauft).

Deutschland, Hamburg, Hamburgisches Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe Inv. 1878, 250.

Mercklin 1928 445 Nr. 130 Abb. 156; *Nuber 1972* 55–57, 199 F I 7.

Grifflänge: 12,1 cm

Es ist ein fragmentarischer Griff mit einem kreisförmigen Querschnitt. Der obere Teil, der sich auf die Gefäßmündung stützt, ist genauso unvollständig, wie die Attasche. Die innere Protome ist ein Affenkopf und die äußere ist ein Männerkopf mit großer Nase

8. Unbekannter Fundort (Italien?)

Negativ in Vatican, Musei Pontifici Archivio fotografico XXXII 3726

Nuber 1972 55–57, 199 F I 8.

Die Schale hat einen gebogenen, glatten Rand. Das dekorierte Umbo wird von einer plastischen Leiste umrahmt. Die Wandung ist hier und da ausgebrochen.

Von den menschlichen Armen des Griffs ist der linke abgebrochen, in der Mitte ist ein Kinderkopf. Seine Oberfläche sieht glatt aus, an seinem Ende wird er von drei plastischen Leisten abgeschlossen. Der Griffabschluß ist ein reizendes Kindergesicht, von gelockten Haaren umrahmt.

9. Pompei (Süditalien)

Antiquarium di Pompei Inv. 1831/4.

Nuber 1972 55–57, 199 F I 9.

Nach H. U. Nuber ist mit innerem Apotropaion versehen.

10. Süditalien

Deutschland, Privatbesitz

Neugebauer 1938 25 Nr. 76, Taf. 34.

Grifflänge: 11,8 cm

Der Griff wurde mit einer Schalenform gepaart, die zu einem anderen Servicetyp gehört. Er hat einen kreisförmigen Querschnitt. Zwei menschliche Arme stützen sich auf den Rand, in der Mitte ist ein lachender Satyrknabe, dessen Schulter von einer verknoteten Nebris bedeckt wird. Die Oberfläche des Griffs ist durch eine Pflanzenornamentik verziert. Am Griffende ist ein alter Mann mit kahler Stirn, die ein Efeublattkranz bedeckt. Sein dichter Bart ist sorgfältig in Locken geordnet. Es ist Silenos.

Neugebauer schreibt, daß auch auf der Attasche eine Abbildung von Silenos ist.

11. Vize – Hügelgrab, Urnenbestattung, 1938 (Lüleburgas, Türkei)

Begleitfunde: Goldschmuck, Silberkasserolle, Silberbecher, eine Bronzekanne mit horizontal ausgebogenem Rand, die zum Service des Alikaria-Typs gehört, ein Bronzekrug mit Henkel, eine Bronzeblechkanne mit Schnabel, eine Bronzeamphora, eine

kugelscheibenförmige Schüssel aus Bronze, ein Bronzekessel, zwei Bronzekasserollen, zwei Bronzelampen mit Kandelabern, ein Schwert, ein Schuppenpanzer, Ton- und Glasgefäße.

Türkei, Mus. Istanbul

Mansel 1939 154–189 Abb. 214 Nr. 22; *Mansel 1941* 151; *Nuber 1972* 55–57, 199 F I 11, 218; *Raev 1977* 611, 632 Kat. 9.

Durchm.: 15 cm

Schale: ihr gebogener Rand ist breit, glatt, unverziert. Ihr Umbo ist wahrscheinlich schon in der Römerzeit herausgefallen.

Griff: der rechte Arm ist oben abgebrochen. Die Protome, die nach innen schaut, ist ein Ziegenbockkopf. Es ist eine gut modellierte, detaillierte Arbeit. Deutlich zu erkennen sind die wollige Behaarung, die beiden spitzen, gabelförmigen Hörner, die Augen, das längliche, nach vorn ragende Maul. Im oberen Teil des Stielgriffes ist keine Verzierung. Er wird hinten von einer 2 x 2 plastischen Leiste abgeschlossen und hier ist eine Silberfadenverzierung zwischen den Gliedern. Außerhalb des Griffabschlusses befindet sich ein junger Satyrkopf mit dichten Haaren und Silberaugen.

***12. Alikaria** – Hügelgrab, Urnenbestattung (Kamenar, Bulgarien)

Begleitfunde: eine Bronzekanne und ein zwiebelkopfförmiges Balsamarium aus Bronze.

Bulgarien, Sofia, Mus. Arch. inv. 6179.

Velkov 1928–29 26–28; *Nuber 1972* 55–57, 199 F I 12, 218; *Raev 1977* 609–611, 632, 635 Kat. 1; *Szabó 1993* 405–419.

Ihre endgültige Form bekam die Phiale durch eine feine Nacharbeit nach dem Guß.

Schale: ihr gebogener Rand ist mit einer Eierstabverzierung versehen. Weiter unten, innen ist ein lesbisches Kymation von einer plastischen Leiste umrahmt, innerhalb deren ist ein sehr hohes Umbo, dessen Oberfläche ein Medusenkopfrelief trägt. Innerhalb ihres Ringfußes sind gedrehte, konzentrische Kreise und ein konkav ausgebildeter Mittelpunkt.

Griff: von den beiden menschlichen Armen ist der rechte abgebrochen, in der Mitte erhebt sich ein Kleinkinderkopf in das Innere der Schale. Dahinter auf der oberen Fläche sind steife, auf einem geraden Stengel paarweise sitzende Efeublätter im Flachrelief. Sein Querschnitt ist halbkreisbogenförmig. An seinem äußeren Griffabschluß ist ein Männerkopf mit dichten Haaren, struppigem Bart und Silberaugen.

13. Elecha, Streufund (Grab?), 1926 (Bulgarien)

Gleichzeitig sind noch eine Bronzekanne des Handwaschservices des Alikaria-Typs, ein Bronzekandelaber und ein Lampe dazugekommen.

Bulgarien, Sofia, Mus. Arch.

Velkov 1928–29 12–55 Abb. 44; *Nuber 1972* 55–57, 199 F I 13, 218 Nr. 151; *Raev 1977* 611, 632 Kat. 25, Taf. 20,5.

Randdurchm.: 15,1 cm

Schale: hat einen leicht gebogenen, glatten, unverzierten Rand, ein hohes, unverziertes Umbo, einen breiten, flachen Ringfuß. Es war gegossen und danach wurde auf der Drehbank bearbeitet.

Griff: der Teil, der sich an den Schalenrand anlehnt, ist beiderseits ein Schlangenschwanz. Der Tierkopf, der in den inneren Hohlraum schaut, ist ein apotropäisches

Ungeheuer. Die Oberfläche des Stielgriffes ist unverziert. Er hat einen kreisförmigen Querschnitt. Dahinten liegen doppelte plastische Rippen. Sein Abschluß beendet in einem Pantherkopf.

14. Asenovgrad – Tumulus, Urnengrab, 1956 (Umgebung von Plovdiv, Bulgarien)
Begleitfunde: eine Bronzekanne vom Millingener Typ, eine hochschultrige Bronzekanne mit einem Eisenhenkelfragment, ein ovales Bronzebecken, Glasgefäße, Schmuck.
Bulgarien, Asenovgrad, Arch. Mus. inv. 373
uglev – Kalubova 1962 37; *Nuber 1972* 55–57, 199 F I 14, 218 Nr. 152; *Raev 1977* 609–610, 633, Kat. 3, Taf. 17, 4–6.
H.: 6 cm Randdurchm.: 15 cm Bodendurchm.: 16 cm
Es ist in einem ziemlich schlechten Zustand zum Vorschein gekommen, da das Umbo vermutlich schon in der Römerzeit aus der Schale herausgefallen ist, und der Griff hat sich auch abgetrennt. Es war gegossen und danach gedreht.
Schale: hat einen leicht gebogenen, glatten Rand. Innen, in der Mitte sind gut sichtbare Drehspuren. Ihr Fußring ist breit, flach, innen sind drei gedrehte, konzentrische Kreise.
Griff: die innere Protome ist ein junger Satyr mit dichten Haaren, hängendem Schnurrbart und spitzen, senkrecht stehenden Ohren. Am äußeren Griffabschluß erscheint dagegen ein junger Bacchuskopf mit einem aus Efeu und Weintraubenblättern geflochtenen Kranz.

15. Gorsko-Ablanovo (Trgovite, die Umgebung von Popovo, Bulgarien)
Bulgarien, Popovo, Arch. Sammlung inv. 445, 431
Velkov 1928–29 377 Abb. 251–252; *Žuglev 1950*. 191; *Nuber 1972* 55–57, 199 F I 15; *Raev 1977* 609–610, 637 Kat. 29.
H.: 5 cm Grifflänge: 13 cm
Das Exemplar ist fragmentarisch. Vom Rand ist nur ein ganz wenig, von der Wandung ist nur der Teil unter der Attasche erhalten geblieben.
Schale: auf ihrem Umbo ist ein Hochrelief, das ein zwischen Blättern kauerndes, schlafendes, nacktes Kleinkind darstellt, dessen Schlaf ein Hund und eine Schlange hüten. Das eine Bein zieht es hoch, das andere streckt es nach vorn aus. Es ist sehr wahrscheinlich, daß Bacchus als Kleinkind dargestellt wurde, der in den Tiefen der Nysaer Wälder versteckt wurde.
Griff: auf beiden Seiten sind stilisierte Vogelköpfe, in der Mitte schaut ein Kinderkopf in den Hohlraum der Schale hinein. Es ist ein verblichenes Gesicht mit verschwommenen Zügen, nur die Konturen der Augen und der Nase sind zu sehen.
Dahinter schließt eine Blattkrone zum glatten Stielgriffteil des Griffs mit einem kreisförmigen Querschnitt. Darauf ist keine Verzierung. Auf der Attasche ist das Flachrelief einer Palmette und zwei sich schwungvoll wölbender Blattranken. Am äußeren Ende des Griffs ist die Protome eines Ziegenbockes mit Schnurrbart und Bart. Sie ist gut ausgearbeitet, plastisch. Der Bart und die sich leicht wölbenden Hörner wurden nachhinein durch Gravierung korrigiert.

16. Karanog – Grab G 187, Skelettbestattung im Grabgebäude (Anibeh, außerhalb der Grenzen des Römischen Reiches)

Begleitfunde: zwei Bronzekannen, die zum Alikaria-Typ gehören, ein Balsamarium aus Bronze, eine Bronzelampe mit Kandelaber, eine Bronzeamphora, vier halbkugelförmige Bronzeschüsseln, eine Schöpfkelle aus Bronze und Tongefäße.

USA, Philadelphia, University Museum inv. 7146

Woolley – MacIver 1910 146–147, 243 No 7146, Pl. 29; *Nuber 1972* 55–57, 199 F I 16, 220 Nr. 186.

H.: 2,4 cm Randdurchm.: 16,2 cm Grifflänge: 9,5 cm

Das Exemplar wurde restauriert, und der Griff wurde mit einer ziemlich derben Vernietung zurückgesetzt.

Schale: hat einen leicht gebogenen Rand, ihr Umbo ist glatt, unverziert und hoch. Sie hat einen Ringfuß.

Griff: hat einen kreisförmigen Querschnitt, ist unverziert. Der Teil oben, der sich an die Schale anpaßt, teilt sich in zwei menschliche Arme. In der Mitte schaut ein Frauenkopf mit Diadem in die Schale hinein. Seine Oberfläche des Stielgriffes ist glatt. Der ußere Abschluß hat ein von losen Locken umrahmtes Frauengesicht.

17. Unbekannter Fundort (Ein Exemplar der ehemaligen Guilhousammlung)

A. Sambon 18–18.3 1905 Hotel Drouot (Paris 1905) 48 no 323; *Nuber 1972* 55–57, 199 F I 17.

Es ist eine mit innerem Apotropaion versehene Phiale mit Griff.

***18. Unbekannter Fundort**

Frankreich, Paris, Louvre inv. 1167.

de Ridder 1915 138 no. 3027, pl. 106; *Nuber 1972* 55–57, 199 F I 18.

Grifflänge: 9,7 cm

Der Griff vom Alikaria-Typ wurde mit einer Schale, die zum Millingener Typ gehört, zusammengenietet.

Griff: an seinem inneren Ende ist ein kleiner Menschenkopf. Auf Grund der typischen Spitzohren ist er ein junger Satyr. Der Stielgriff ist glatt, hat einen kreisförmigen Querschnitt und ist durch eine mehrfache plastische Leiste abgeschlossen. An seinem äußeren Abschluß ist ein Kindergesicht mit dichten Haaren, unter seinem Kinn ist ein verknotetes Tierfell. Es ist das Kind Hercules.

19. Unbekannter Fundort

Großbritannien, London, British Museum Coll. Hamilton

Walters 1899 322 no. 2470; *Nuber 1972* 55–57, 199 F I 19.

H.: 5 cm Randdurchm.: 16,5 cm Bodendurchm.: 8 cm

Schale: hat einen leicht gebogenen, glatten, unverzierten Rand, ein Umbo und einen Ringfuß, innerhalb dessen konzentrische Kreise sind.

Griff: oben verteilt er sich in zwei menschenarmförmige Verzweigungen, in der Mitte ist ein langhaariger Kopf. Nach Walters ist er Eros.

Auf der Attasche, die sich an die Wandung der Schale anschmiegt, erscheint das Bild eines im Schilfdickicht liegenden Esels im Relief. Die Konturen wurden nachhinein durch Gravierung gezogen. Der Stielgriff hat einen halbkreisförmigen Querschnitt. Zwischen zwei plastischen Linien auf seiner Oberfläche sind zwei Wildenten im Schilfdickicht. Am äußeren Griffende ist ein taenianischer Lockenkopf.

20. Debelt, aus einem zerstörten Grab, 1950 (die Umgebung von Burgas, Bulgarien)
Grabbeigaben: Bronzegefäße, eine Amphora, ein Henkelkrug mit unprofilierter Oberfläche, eine hochschultrige Blechkanne, ein Eisenkessel, ein Strigilis, chirurgische Instrumente, ein zusammenklappbarer Tisch, Schmuckstücke aus Bronze, ein Holzkästchen mit Schloß, Glas- und Tongefäße, eine Tonlampe.
Bulgarien, Burgas, Arch. Mus. 1129.
Raev 1977 610, 636, Taf. 11,6.
H.: 5,8 cm Randdurchm.: 15 cm Bodendurchm.: 7 cm
Schale: das Exemplar wird durch einen leicht gebogenen, glatten Rand, ein niedriges Umbo und einen Ringfuß gekennzeichnet.
Griff: der Teil, der sich in zwei Verzweigungen teilt, endet oben in Löwenpranken, von denen die rechte abgebrochen ist. In der Mitte ist ein Löwenkopf mit großer Mähne. Auf der Attasche ist eine valerianartige Pflanze im Relief zu sehen. Die Oberfläche des Stielgriffes ist glatt. Er hat einen kreisförmigen Querschnitt und keine Verzierung. Er wird durch einen Ring abgeschlossen, der aus plastischen Kreisen besteht. Die äußere Protome ist ein junger Bacchuskopf mit Efeukranz.

21. Hum (bei Ni, Jugoslawien)
Jugoslawien, Ni, Narodnij Muzej inv. 959–960/P.
Drč et al. 1983 24 Kat. 26, sl. 21.
H.: 4,2 cm Randdurchm.: 18 cm
Ihr Umbo ist herausgefallen, aber sonst ist sie unbeschädigt.
Schale: an ihrem Rand verläuft eine Eierstabverzierung ringsherum, ihre Wandung wurde an manchen Stellen ausgebessert. Zwischen einer doppelten plastischen Leiste verläuft ein lesbisches Kymation.
Wahrscheinlich ist das Umbo schon in der Römerzeit verlorengegangen, so sehen wir nur die Stelle der Abstützung auf der Drehbank. Sie hat einen Ringfuß.
Griff: oben sind zwei Arme, in der Mitte schaut ein Kinderkopf in den Hohlraum der Schale hinein. Dahinter ist ein Stielgriff mit Flachrelief, dessen Motive die folgenden sind: Panflöte, taenianische Maske im Profil, Früchtenkorb auf einem zylinderförmigen Altar. Am äußeren Abschluß ist ein Medusenhaupt.

***22. Inota,** Hügelgrab 2, Urnenbestattung (Veszprém, Ungarn)
Begleitfunde: ein Henkelfragment einer Bronzekanne, die zum Alikaria-Typ gehört, ein Eisenmesser, ein Schwert, Werkzeug, ein Strigilispaar, ein glserner „Fazettenbecher", eine Glasflasche, Terra Sigillaten Drag. 35–36, ein Pfeifentonteller, Tierknochen von Hasen, Schweinen, Hühnern, Tauben.
Ungarn, Veszprém, Laczkó Dezső Múzeum inv. 77.22., 111, 134.
Palágyi 1981 24, 43, Taf, VII,9, XX,2; *Szabó 1990* 25–26 no. 18.
Randdurchm.: etwa 15–16 cm Grifflänge: etwa 9 cm
Es ist ein sehr fragmentarisches Exemplar aus Resten, die sich durch die Hitze stark deformiert haben. Es war gegossen und nachher gedreht.
Schale: von dem Umbo mit Relief sind zwei zusammenpassende Fragmente erhalten geblieben. Darauf ist eine nackte, liegende Knabengestalt in lockerer Körperhaltung. Er hält seine linke Hand über seinem Kopf, seine Handfläche wendet sich nach innen zu seinem Kopf, sein rechter Arm biegt sich leicht im Ellenbogen. Neben dem

Körper schlängelt sich eine Schlange. Er könnte das Kind Hercules sein. Sie stand auf einem hohen, schmalen Ringfuß, innerhalb dessen gedrehte, konzentrische Kreise zu finden sind.

Griff: nur das Ende mit der Hülse ist übriggeblieben, in seinem Inneren sind verbrannte Kernreste. Er war zylinderförmig und hatte wahrscheinlich eine glatte Oberfläche. Die Oberfläche wird durch einen Ring abgeschlossen, der durch senkrechte Kerben profiliert ist. Darunter, zwar etwas deformiert, aber noch erkennbar, ist das Bild eines jungen, bärtigen Satyrs mit Spitzohren, stark wölbigen Augenbrauen und hängendem Schnurrbart.

***23. Amiens** (Somme, Frankreich)

Frankreich, Lyon, Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine inv. Br 143

Boucher – Tassinari 1976 121 no 137

H.: 4,2 cm Randdurchm.:19 cm Bodendurchm.: 9,2 cm

Es ist ein vollkommen unbeschädigtes Exemplar, das gegossen war und nachher gedreht, mit nachträglicher Gravierung und Silbereinlage.

Schale: ihr gebogener Rand ist glatt, unverziert, genauso wie das Umbo, das von einem doppelten plastischen Kreis umrahmt ist. Innerhalb des Ringfußes sind zwei gedrehte, konzentrische Rillen. Der Boden der Phiale wölbt sich konkav.

Griff: der Teil, der sich oben an den Rand anschmiegt, ist ein Vogelkopf mit langem Schnabel. In der Mitte schaut ein Kinderkopf mit negroiden Zügen in den inneren Hohlraum hinein. Er hat große Ohren, eine breite, plattgedrückte Nase, einen breiten Mund, geringelte, lockige Haare. Auf der herzförmigen Attasche, die sich an die Wandung anpaßt, sind eine Palmette und zwei sich zueinander wendende Efeuranken. Der zylinderförmige, glatte Stielgriff wird mit einem Blattkragen begonnen und durch drei Ringe abgeschlossen. Die äußere Protome ist ein Ziegenbockkopf. Seine beiden kurzen Hörner, sein Bart, sein nach vorn ragender Maulknochen zeugen von einem gut geformten Modell.

***24. Atuatuca Tungrorum-Tongeren** (Belgien)

Belgien, Limbourg, Tongeren, Provinciaal gallo-romains Museum inv. 2502

Faider-Feytmans 1979 170 no 344 pl 128

Grifflänge: 11,2 cm

Es besteht nur aus dem Griff. Von dem Schalenrand ist nur ein ganz kleines Stück erhalten geblieben. Die Oberflächen der Protome und des Stielgriffes sind sehr abgenutzt.

Griff: der obere Teil, der sich an den Gefäßrand anschließt, ist schematisch. Die innere Protome ist ein Kleinkinderkopf, der aus einem Kelchblatt hinauswächst. Auf der Attasche, die an der Wandung der Schale haftet, ist ein im Wasser suchender Kranich im Flachrelief. Auf dem Stielgriff sehen wir ebenfalls einen Kranich im Flachrelief, der seinen Kopf hochhebt und nach hinten dreht. Auch hier kommt eine plastische Leiste als Schlußmotiv vor. Die äußere Protome ist ein ovales Frauengesicht mit wölbigen Augenbrauen, gerader Nase, vollen Lippen. Sie hat in der Mitte gescheiteltes Haar, das mit losen Locken ihr Gesicht umrahmt. Sie wird von einem Diadem mit Schleier geschmückt.

25. Pompei I, 9, 11. Caupona di Amarantus (Italien)

Die weiteren Bronzegefäße sind eine bauchige Bronzekanne, Eimer, eine Amphora, ein Dreifuß, ein Backblech.

Italien, Pompei Antiquarium 10 031.

Tassinari 1993 140 nr 8 H 2400.

H.: 3,4 cm Durchm.: 12,3 cm

Schale: hat einen glatten, unverzierten, gebogenen Rand. Ihre Wandung ist gewölbt. Sie hat kein Umbo, aber einen Ringfuß.

Griff: an den Rand der Schale oben haftet er durch kleine, schematische, verkümmerte Verlängerungen. Die untere Fortsetzung, die sich an den Schalenrand angepaßt hat, ist halbkreisbogenförmig und unverziert. Der Stielgriffteil hat einen kreisförmigen Querschnitt und wird durch einen plastischen Ring abgeschlossen. Die äußere Protome ist ein Löwenkopf mit aufgesperrtem Maul.

26. Pompei (Italien)

Italien, Pompei Antiquarium inv 18 707

Tassinari 1993 196 nr 73, 141.

H.: 5,5 cm Randdurchm.: 16,6 cm Gesamtlänge: 28,6 cm

Schale: wird durch einen glatten, leicht gebogenen Rand, eine gewölbte Wandung, ein hohes, unverziertes Umbo, von einer plastischen Leiste umrahmt, einen breiten, flachen Ringfuß, innerhalb dessen eine konzentrische Drehrille und ein konkaver Mittelteil gekennzeichnet.

Griff: hat zwei stilisierte Arme, die sich an den Schalenrand anpassen und in der Mitte einen Wildschweinkopfprotome hat. Die Pflanzenornamentik der unteren Attasche, die sich an die Wandung anschmiegt, zeigt eine valerianartige Pflanze im Flachrelief. Der Stielgriff hat einen runden Querschnitt. Auf der Oberfläche des Stielgriffes ist hinter dem Kopf eine Punktverzierung. Sein Abschlußmotiv ist ein Ring, der aus drei Gliedern besteht. Die äußere Protome ist ein Stierkopf, der zwischen seinen beiden Hörnern bebändert ist.

***27. Unbekannter Fundort – wahrscheinlich eine der Vesuv-Städte** (Italien)

Italien, Napoli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale inv. 73 412 (2461).

Unpubliziert.

Es ist ein unbeschädigtes Exemplar. Seine Schale hat einen leicht gebogenen, glatten Rand, seine Wandung ist gewölbt. Sein Umbo ist von einer plastischen Leiste umrahmt. Es hat einen Ringfuß. Innen sind wenige konzentrische Kreise, die aber schon gedreht sind. Auf der Attasche des Griffs, die sich an die Wandung der Schale anpaßt, wiederholt sich dasselbe Motiv, wie auf dem Exemplar Nr. 26.

***28. Unbekannter Fundort – wahrscheinlich eine der Vesuv-Städte** (Italien)

Italien, Napoli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale inv. 73 445 (2460)

Unpubliziert.

Es ist ein unbeschädigtes Exemplar. Seine Schale hat einen gebogenen, glatten Rand, seine Wandung ist gewölbt. Sein Umbo ist von einer plastischen Leiste umrahmt. Es hat einen Ringfuß. Innen sind wenige konzentrische Kreise, die aber schon gedreht sind. Auf der Attasche des Griffs, die sich an die Wandung anschmiegt, wiederholt sich dasselbe Motiv, wie auf dem Exemplar Nr. 26.

***29. Unbekannter Fundort – wahrscheinlich eine der Vesuv-Städte** (Italien)
Italien, Napoli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale inv. 73 486
Unpubliziert
Klein.
Es ist ein unbeschädigtes Exemplar. Seine Schale hat einen leicht gebogenen, glatten Rand. Seine Wandung ist gewölbt. Sein Umbo ist von einer plastischen Leiste umrahmt. Es hat einen Fußring. Innen sind wenige konzentrische Rillen, die aber schon gedreht sind.

***30. Unbekannter Fundort – wahrscheinlich eine der Vesuv-Städte** (Italien)
Italien, Napoli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale inv. 73 441
Unpubliziert.
H.: 5,5 cm Randdurchm.: 17,7 cm Bodendurchm.: 9,1 cm
Es ist ein unbeschädigtes Exemplar. Seine Schale hat einen leicht gebogenen, glatten Rand. Seine Wandung ist gewölbt, das Umbo ist von einer plastischen Leiste umrahmt. Es hat einen Ringfuß, innerhalb dessen wenige konzentrische Rillen sind. Sie sind aber schon gedreht.
Die beiden Arme sind ganz einfach und mit zwei Querlinien verziert. Die innere Protome des Griffs ist ein stark stilisierter Widderkopf (vgl. Kat. 41). Der Stielgriff hat keine Verzierung. Seine Querschnitt ist rund.
Die äußere Protome des Griffs ist ein Löwenkopf, der aber im Profil keinen dreiekkigen Querschnitt hat, wie die anderen, sondern einen kreisrunden.

***31. Unbekannter Fundort**
Begleitfunde: ein dazugehörendes Untergestell, eine Bronzekanne mit Untergestell, die zum Service vom Alikaria-Typ gehört, eine andere Phiale mit Untergestell, die zu demselben Typ eingeordnet wird, ein Bronzekrug mit auf dem Delphinrücken schreitendem Amor auf der unteren Attasche.
Privatsammlung.
Szabó im Druck.
H.: 5,5 cm Randdurchm.: 18,0 cm Bodendurchm.: 8,8 cm
Es ist ein wohlerhaltenes Exemplar, das restauriert wurde.
Seine Schale hat einen leicht gebogenen, glatten Rand. Seine Wandung ist gewölbt. Das hohe, glatte Umbo ist von einer plastischen Leiste umrahmt. Es hat einen Ringfuß. Innen sind wenige konzentrische Kreise, die aber schon gedreht sind.
Der Teil des Griffs, der sich auf den Schalenrand stützt, teilt sich in zwei Verzweigungen. Diese sind Löwenpranken, und in der Mitte schaut eine Löwenprotome in den Hohlraum der Schale hinein. Auf der Attasche, die sich an die Wandung der Schale anpaßt, ist ein Früchtenkorb im Flachrelief. Auf der Oberfläche des Stielgriffes ist eine Einlage in doppelter Linie, die durch eine plastische Leistenverzierung abgeschlossen wird. Danach folgt ein junger Bacchuskopf mit Efeukranz am Griffsende. Auf der Rückseite wurden auch die vom Kranz herunterhngenden Bandenden abgebildet

***32. Unbekannter Fundort**
Begleitfunde: ein dazugehörendes Untergestell, eine Bronzekanne mit passendem Untergestell, die zum Alikaria-Typ gehört, eine andere Phiale mit Untergestell, die

zu demselben Typ zugeordnet wird, ein Bronzekrug mit auf dem Delphinrücken schreitendem Amor auf der unteren Attasche.
Privatsammlung.
Szabó im Druck.
H.: 5,3 cm Randdurchm.: 18,0 cm Bodendurchm.: 8,3 cm
Es ist ein guterhaltenes Exemplar, das restauriert wurde.
Seine Schale hat einen gebogenen, glatten Rand. Seine Wandung ist gewölbt. Sein hohes, glattes Umbo ist von einer plastischen Leiste umrahmt. Es hat einen Fußring. Innen sind wenige konzentrische Kreise, die aber schon gedreht sind.
Der Teil des Griffs, der sich auf den Schalenrand stützt, teilt sich in zwei Verzweigungen. Diese sind Löwenpranken und in der Mitte schaut eine Löwenprotome in den Hohlraum der Schale hinein. Auf der Attasche, die sich an die Wandung der Schale anpaßt, ist ein Früchtenkorb im Flachrelief. Auf der Oberfläche des Stielgriffes ist eine Einlage in doppelter Linie, die durch eine plastische Leistenverzierung abgeschlossen wird. Danach folgt ein junger Bacchuskopf mit Efeukranz am ußeren Griffsabschluß. Auf der Rückseite wurden auch die vom Kranz herunterhängenden Bandenden abgebildet.

***33. Unbekannter Fundort**

Spanien, Barcelona, Museu i Archeologia de Catalunya inv. 21 949
Szabó im Druck.
H.: 5,2 cm Randdurchm.: 20,0 cm Bodendurchm.: 8,2 cm
Nur die Schale ist erhalten geblieben. An ihrem Rand ist eine Eierstabverzierung. Ihre Wandung ist gewölbt. In der Mitte umrahmt ein lesbisches Kymation zwischen plastischen Leisten ein Umbo im Flachrelief. Die Abbildung zeigt zwei entgegengesetzte Hippocampi. Innerhalb ihres Ringfußes sind gedrehte, konzentrische Kreise mit einem konkav ausgebildeten Mittelteil.

***34. Unbekannter Fundort**

Spanien, Barcelona, Museu i Archeologia de Catalunya inv. 11 581
Szabó im Druck.
H.: 4,5 cm Randdurchm.: 15,8 cm Bodendurchm.: 7,7 cm
Nur die Schale ist erhalten geblieben. An ihrem Rand ist eine Eierstabverzierung. Ihre Wandung ist gewölbt. In der Mitte umrahmt ein lesbisches Kymation, das Umbo im Flachrelief. Die Abbildung zeigt ein nacktes Kind, das auf einem Panther reitet. Innerhalb ihres Ringfußes sind gedrehte, konzentrische Kreise mit einem konkav ausgebildeten Mittelteil.

***35. Caparcotna / Maximianopolis – Lajjun,** wahrscheinlich aus einem Grab, 1941 (Israel)

Begleitfunde: Tongefäße, eine Tonlampe, eine Bronzewaage, eine Spitzhacke aus Eisen.
Israel, Jerusalem, Hebrew University IDAM 47.3779
Rahmani 1981 190–196, Pl. 29 A-D.
H.: 4 cm Randdurchm.: 16,9 cm

Schale: der Rand ist gebogen, glatt, unverziert. Die Wandung ist gewölbt. Das Umbo ist hoch, aber vollkommen unverziert. Innerhalb des Ringfußes sind zwei größere Rippen, die von der Art des Drehens der übrigen Stücke abweichen.

Griff: oben stützen sich Löwenpranken auf den Rand, und in der Mitte schaut ein Löwenkopf in das Innere der Schale hinein. Der Stielgriff ist glatt, wird von einem Dreierring abgeschlossen. An seinem äußeren Abschluß ist ein Pankopf mit Silberaugen.

***36. Herculaneum** (Italien)

Italien, Ercolano Deposito Archeologico inv. 75 767

Unpubliziert.

Es ist ein wohlerhaltenes Exemplar, das restauriert wurde.

Seine Schale hat einen leicht gebogenen, glatten, unverzierten Rand. Seine Wandung ist gewölbt. Das hohe, glatte Umbo ist von einer plastischen Leiste umrahmt. Es hat einen Ringfuß. Innen sind einfache, konzentrische Kreise mit einer nicht zu hohen Verrippung, die aber schon gedreht sind.

Der Teil des Griffes, der sich auf den Schalenrand stützt, teilt sich in zwei Verzweigungen, die stilisierte Tierpranken sind. Die Linke ist unvollständig, die Rechte ist gut erhalten. In der Mitte schaut eine stilisierte Tierprotome in den Hohlraum der Schale hinein. Auf der Attasche, die sich an die Wandung der Schale anpaßt, sind ein Pflanzenausläufer und eine Ranke im Flachrelief.

Auf der Oberfläche des Stielgriffes verläuft eine Girlande aus einer valerianartigen Pflanze im Flachrelief, die von einer plastischen Leistenverzierung abgeschlossen wird. Danach folgt ein Jünglingskopf mit Efeukranz, seitlich mit jeweils zwei geringelten Haarlocken am Griffabschluß. Es ist eine Bacchusdarstellung.

***37. Herculaneum** (Italien)

Italien, Ercolano Deposito Archeologico inv. 75 768

Unpubliziert.

Es ist ein wohlerhaltenes Exemplar, das restauriert wurde. Seine Schale hat einen leicht gebogenen, glatten Rand. Seine Wandung ist gewölbt. Das hohe, glatte Umbo ist von einer sehr schön polierten, plastischen Leiste umrahmt. Es hat einen Ringfuß. Innen sind wenige konzentrische, gedrehte Kreise, jedoch ist die Verrippung nicht sehr hoch.

Der Teil des Griffs, der sich auf den Schalenrand stützt, teilt sich in zwei Arme, die stilisierte Tierpranken sind. In der Mitte schaut eine stilisierte Tierprotome in den Hohlraum der Schale hinein, die in ihren Konturen an einen Widderkopf erinnert. Auf der Attasche, die sich an die Wandung der Schale anpaßt, sind Stiele und Ranken im Flachrelief. Auf der Oberfläche des Stielgriffes verläuft eine Girlande aus einer valerianartigen Pflanze, die durch eine plastische Leistenverzierung abgeschlossen wird. Danach folgt ein Jüngling mit Efeukranz, seitlich mit jeweils zwei geringelten Locken am äußeren Griffabschluß. Es ist eine Bacchusdarstellung.

***38. Herculaneum** (Italien)

Italien, Ercolano Deposito Archeologico inv. 76 149

Unpubliziert.

Es ist ein wohlerhaltenes Exemplar, das restauriert wurde. Seine Schale hat einen leicht gebogenen, glatten Rand. Seine Wandung ist gewölbt. Das hohe, glatte Umbo ist von einer plastischen Leiste umrahmt. Es hat einen Ringfuß. Innen sind wenige konzentrische Kreise mit einer nicht zu hohen Verrippung, die gedreht sind. Der Teil des Griffs, der sich auf den Schalenrand stützt, teilt sich in zwei Verzweigungen, die stilisierte, menschliche Arme sind. In der Mitte schaut ein sehr verblichener, kleiner Menschenkopf in den Hohlraum der Schale hinein. Auf der Oberfläche des Stielgriffes ist keine Verzierung. Die äußere Protome ist ein Stierkopf, zwischen dessen Hörnern sich eine Efeublattgirlande streckt.

39. Nijmegen-Noviomagus, Gräberfeld, Grab 8 (Niederland)

Begleitfunde: eine Bronzekanne, die zum Service vom Alikaria-Typ gehört, Terra Sigillaten.

NL, Nijmegen, G. M. Kam Rijksmuseum 1982. 437

Bogaers – Haalebos 1985 132; *Bogaers – Haalebos 1987* 47; *Koster 1989* 42–43; *Koster 1993* 294; *Koster 1994* 247–248; *Koster 1997* 76 no 102.

H.: 5,1 cm Randdurchm.: 18,6 cm Grifflänge: 10,5 cm

Schale: hat einen gebogenen, abgerundeten, nach innen verdickten Rand. Ihre Wandung ist leicht nach außen gewölbt. Ihr Umbo ist hoch, einzeln gegossen, hat einen plastischen Leistenrahmen und ist von in Silber und Niello eingelegten Weintrauben- und Efeublättern bedeckt. Ihr Ringfuß ist schmal. Innen sind eine starke Verrippung und gedrehte, konzentrische Kreise.

Griff: oben sind stilisierte Arme, links ist der Arm erhalten geblieben, rechts ist er abgebrochen, oben ist ein Kleinkinderkopf. Die Attasche ist glatt, hat keine Verzierung. Der Stielgriff hat einen kreisförmigen Querschnitt und ist glatt. An seinem Ende befinden sich Ringe und ein Löwenkopf mit aufgesperrtem Maul.

***40. Zsámbék,** Wagengrab (Ungarn)

Begleitfunde: eine Bronzekanne, ein Bronzebeschlag.

Ungarn, Budapest, Ungarisches Nationalmuseum 164/1914

Gasparetz 1914 150–151; *Bónis 1996* 53–59; *Götter; Soldaten, Bürger in Aquincum.* Budapest 1995, 49–50 Nr. 162.

H.: 5 cm Randdurchm.: 16,2 cm

Nur die Schale ist erhalten geblieben, die mit einem Griff von einem anderen Typ ergänzt wurde.

Schale: ihr gebogener Rand ist glatt, ihre Wandung ist rissig. Ihr Umbo ist herausgefallen, war in einen plastischen Kreis eingefaßt. Innerhalb ihres Ringfußes sind konzentrische Kreise.

***41. Unbekannter Fundort** (Italien)

Italien, Rom, Museo Nazionale Romano inv. 65 482

Barbera 1996 97 no 55.

H.: 5,1 cm Randdurchm.: 17,6 cm

Schale: hat einen leicht gebogenen Rand, kein Umbo. Sie hat einen Ringfuß mit gerippten, konzentrischen Kreisen.

Griff: hat einen stilisierten Oberteil, in der Mitte ist ein stilisierter Widderkopf, unten

ist eine glatte, unverzierte Attasche. Der Stielgriff ist glatt, an seinem Ende sind Ringe. Seine äußere Protome ist ein Pantherkopf.

Die Verteilung der Fundorte

Fundort	Literatur	Kat.
	Italien	
Pompei I, 9, 11	*Tassinari 1993* 140 Nr. 8.	25
Pompei	*Tassinari 1993* 141, 196 Nr. 73.	26
Pompei	*Nuber 1972* 199 F I 9	9
Herculaneum	unpubliziert (Depos. Arch. Herculaneum Inv. 75767)	36
Herculaneum	unpubliziert (Depos. Arch. Herculaneum Inv. 75768)	37
Herculaneum	unpubliziert (Depos. Arch. Herculaneum Inv. 76149)	38
unbekannt (wahrscheinlich eine der Vesuv-Städte)	unpubliziert (Museo Nazionale di Napoli Inv. 73412 (2461)	27
unbekannt (wahrscheinlich eine der Vesuv-Städte)	unpubliziert (Museo Nazionale di Napoli Inv. 73411 (2460)	28
unbekannt (wahrscheinlich eine der Vesuv-Städte)	unpubliziert (Museo Nazionale di Napoli Inv. 73486	29
unbekannt (wahrscheinlich eine der Vesuv-Städte)	unpubliziert (Museo Nazionale di Napoli Inv. 73441	30
unbekannt	unpubliziert (Privatsammlung No. 3)	31
unbekannt	unpubliziert (Privatsammlung No. 5)	32
Süditalien	*Nuber 1972* 199 F I 10	10
unbekannt	*Barbera 1996* 56 Kat. 55	40
unbekannt	*Nuber 1972* 199 F I 7	7
wahrscheinlich Mittelitalien	*Nuber 1972* 199 F I 8 (mit falschem Inv.-Nr. 6145)	8
Calmasino (Oberitalien)	*Castoldi 1995* 93–101; *Nuber 1972* 199 F I 6	6
	Britannien	
Welshpool	*Nuber 1972* 199 F I 1	1
Bartlow Hill	*Nuber 1972* 199 F I 2	2
	Germania Inferior	
Noviomagus (Nijmegen)	*Koster 1997* 74–75 Nr. 100	4
Noviomagus (Nijmegen)	*Koster 1997* 76–77 Nr. 102	39
Geldermalsen	*Nuber 1972* 199 F I 3	3
	Gallia Belgica	
Atuatuca Tungrorum (Tongeren)	*Faider-Feytmans 1979* 170 Nr. 344 Taf. 128	24
Amiens	*Boucher – Tassinari 1976* 121 Nr. 137	23
	Pannonien	
Campona (Nagytétény)	*Szabó 1993* 405–419	5
Inota	*Palágyi 1981* 43 Taf. VII,9, XX,2; *Szabó 1990* 25–26 Nr. 18	22
Zsámbék	*Bónis 1996* 53, Taf. II,1–2	41
	Moesia Superior	
Hum	*Drč et al. 1984* 24 Kat. 26, sl. 21	21
	Moesia Inferior	
Gorsko Ablanovo	*Raev 1977* 609–610, 637 Kat. 29	15
	Thrakien	
Alikaria	*Nuber 1972* 199 F I 12	12
Asenovgrad	*Nuber 1972* 199 F I 14	14
Debelt	*Raev 1977* 610 Kat. 36, Taf. 11,6	20
Elecha	*Nuber 1972* 199 F I 13	13
Vize A	*Nuber 1972* 199 F I 11	11

Fundort	Literatur	Kat.
Syria Palaestina		
Lajjun	*Rahmani 1981* 190–196, Taf, 29 A-D	35
FO: unbekannt		
Aufbewahrungsort	**Literatur**	**Kat.**
Barcelona	unpubliziert (Museu Arqueológia de Catalunya Inv. 21949)	33
Barcelona	unpubliziert (Museu Arqueológia de Catalunya Inv. 11581)	34
London, British Museum	*Nuber 1972* 200 F I 19	19
Paris, Louvre	*Nuber 1972* 200 F I 18	18
unbekannt (Guilhou-Sammlung)	*Nuber 1972* 200 F I 17	17
Auerhalb des Römischen Reiches		
Fundort	**Literatur**	**Kat.**
Karanog Grab G 187	*Nuber 1972* 199 F I 16	16

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Nr.	Schale				Griff							
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2.					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3.	+		+	+			+		+	+	+	++
4.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	++
5.	+	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+	++
6.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
7.							+	+	+	+	+	++
8.	+	+	+	+		+	+		+	+	+	++
9.							+					
10.					+		+		+	+	+	++
11.	+	+	+		+		+		+	+	+	++
12.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	++
13.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				+	++

Nr.	Schale				Griff							
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
14.	+	+	+				+					++
15.			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	++
16.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				+	++
17.							+					
18.							+	+	+	+	+	++
19.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		++
20.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	
21.	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	++
22.			+	+							+	++
23.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	++
24.						+	+	+	+	+	+	+
25.	+	+	+					+		+	+	++
26.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	++
27.												
28.												
29.												
30.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	++
31.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	++
32.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	++
33.	+	+	+	+								
34.	+	+	+	+								
35.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	
36.	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	++
37.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
38.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
39.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
40.	+	+	+									
41.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			

Tabelle 1. Übersicht von den Kenntnissen der charakteristischen Merkmale der Phialen.

Nr	Höhe	Randdurchm.	Bodendurchm.	Grifflänge
1.	5,1	17,8	8,6	14,5
2.	5,7			
3.	5,8	18,8		10,5
4.	5,9	20,1	9,1	11,3
5.	5,0	18,2	8,0	13,0
6.	6,6	20,2	9,6	14,4
7.				12,1
8.				
9.				
10.				11,8
11.		15,0		
12.	4,5	17,0		11,6
13.		15,2		
14.	6,0		16,0	14,5
15.				13,0
16.	2,4	16,2		9,5
17.				
18.				9,7
19.	5,0	16,5	8,0	10,5
20.	5,8	15,0	7,0	9,0

Nr	Höhe	Randdurchm.	Bodendurchm.	Grifflänge
21.	4,2	18,0		8,7
22.				
23.	4,2	19,0	9,2	
24.				11,2
25.	3,4	12,3		
26.	5,5	16,6		12,0
27.				
28.				
29.				
30.	5,5	17,7	9,1	12,2
31.	5,5	18,0	8,8	10,6
32.	5,3	18,0	8,3	10,2
33.	5,2	20,0	8,2	
34.	4,5	15,8	7,7	
35.		18,3		
36.				
37.				
38.				
39.	5,1	18,6		10,5
40.	5,0	16,2	7,9	
41.	5,1	17,6	8,5	12,7

Tabelle 2: Vergleichende Maßtabelle der Phialen des Handwaschservices des sog. Alikaria-Typs.

Ágnes Szekeres

SARMATIAN CEMETERY AT BÁCSTOPOLYA – BÁNKERT[1]

Bácstopolya can be found in Bačka, 30 km south of Szabadka, on the old Szabadka-Újvidék road (E-5). Inhumation graves were found in the southern fields of the town on a knoll as early as the 1950s. The authentic inspections revealed that two cemeteries from two different periods can be found on a plot in a peninsular position between the Krivaja (Bácsér) streamlet and its branch.[2] The foundations of a slaughterhouse were dug on a knoll called Bánkert in 1972. By the time the specialists were informed a year later, the work in progress had already destroyed the central part of the cemetery. The rescue excavations started in August, 1973 at the slaughterhouse and on the neighbouring plots and they were carried on for four seasons. A Sarmatian cemetery was found with 41 graves and an Avar cemetery with 166 graves.[3] In the present paper, the Sarmatian cemetery will be published.[4]

The description of the graves[5]

Grave no. 1[6]

Only the southern part of the disturbed grave has survived, the northern part was destroyed by the robbers' pit. The western side of the originally regular rectangular grave must have been widened by the pit, although outlines of the robbers' pit were not observed on the surface.[7] The depth of the grave was 105 cm. The skull, some of the long bones, rib and vertebra fragments were piled in the southern part of the grave. The orientation of the grave is NNW-SSE.[8] There were no finds in the grave.

Grave no. 4 (Pl. I. A)

The grave of an infant had a regular rectangular shape with rounded corners. Its length was 125 cm, width 50 cm, depth 60 cm. Only the skull, a few ribs and the long bones of the girl's skeleton survived. She was lying on her back with extended limbs. Grave index: 2.4. Orientation of the skeleton: S-N.

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[1] Serbian technical literature cites the cemetery under the name Bačka Topola-Klanica. Only preliminary publications have appeared so far.

[2] At that time, no excavations were conducted.

[3] The excavations were conducted by László Szekeres and Péter Ritz from the Municipal Museum of Szabadka. The material is taken into inventory in the same museum: from A-3582 to A-4243.

[4] I would like to thank Andrea Vaday for her help in the analysis.

[5] The grave numbers follow the order of their excavation.

[6] If an aspect is missing from the description it means that the data are missing.

[7] The excavation documentation does not mention any robbers' pit.

[8] The grave was grouped among the Sarmatian graves due to its orientation.

Costume:

1. A torque of quadrangular cross-section, with hook-and-loop terminals, made of silver wire was found at the neck of the skeleton. It had been broken and completed with a bronze wire (*Pl. I.2*).

2. A bronze brooch on the chest.[9]

3. Two open terminated bronze bracelets of square-shaped cross-section were found on the right arm. Vertical grooves can be observed on the terminals of both bracelets (*Pl. I.3–4*).

4. There was an iron bracelet on the left arm. Only two fragments have survived (*Pl. I.1*).

Grave no. 5 (Pl. I. B)

Not even the outlines of the grave deepened into the loose humus could be observed. The depth of the grave was 60 cm. The dead was lying on the back. The arms were extended along the body, the knees were somewhat pulled up and turned on the left. The lack of the skull suggests disturbing. Orientation of the skeleton: S-N. The grave contained no finds.[10]

Grave no. 6

The long, rectangular grave was disturbed in its total length by robbers. Length: 258 cm, width 70 cm, depth 140 cm. Only a few fragments of the adult's skeleton survived, the rest were broken by the robbers. Grave index: 3.68. Orientation of the grave: N-S.

Grave-goods:

1. A Drag 33 Samian ware cup was found among the piled bones in the northern part of the grave. H: 6.6. cm, b. diam.: 4.6 cm, m. diam.: 11 cm (*Pl. I.5*)

Grave no. 14

The southern part of the regular rectangular grave was destroyed by the robbers' pit. Width of the grave: 66 cm, depth: 81 cm. The skeleton was nearly totally destroyed by the robbers, the remaining bone fragments were piled in the north-western corner of the grave. Orientation of the grave: N-S.

Costume:

1. Five flattened spherical glass beads were found in the filling. Two are red, two are blue and one is green. (*Pl. I.7*)

2. An *iron knife* with arched back and somewhat arched edge was found in the filling (*Pl. I.6*).

3. The fragment of a large grey, wheel-thrown *vessel* (storage vessel?) was also found in the filling.[11]

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[9] The finds were registered in the excavation diary but they were not taken into inventory and cannot be found in the find assemblage.

[10] The grave was grouped among the Sarmatian burials due to its orientation.

[11] The vessel fragment did not belong to the grave, so it is not illustrated.

Grave no. 27 (Pl. II. A)

Robbers dug their pit into the southern part of the regular rectangular grave, and they also deepened the pit. Length of the grave: 250 cm, width: 100 cm, depth: 108 cm. The skull and the trunk are missing from the grave. The extended legs stayed in place, only the left tibia is missing, it was probably removed by an animal. Grave index: 5.57. Orientation of the skeleton: S-N.

Costume:

1. The fragment of a 'D'-shaped iron buckle was found between the limb bones. (*Pl. II.3*)

Implement:

2. The blade of a concave, single-edged, iron knife with arched back was found on the left thigh bone (*Pl. II.1*).

3. The excavation diary mentions a piece of flint in the grave.[12]

4. Two fragments of an iron awl were found on the inner side of the right tibia (*Pl. II.4.*).

5. An iron fragment with unknown function (*Pl. II. 2*)

Grave-goods:

6. Both the excavation diary and the excavation inventory book mention a bronze coin.[13]

Grave no. 30 (Pl. II. B)

The outlines of the grave could not be seen in the loose humus. Depth: 118 cm. The dead was placed on the back. The arms are close to the body and the legs are also close to each other. The bones of the feet were disturbed by an animal. The length of the skeleton of the adult man was 190 cm. Orientation of the skeleton: S-N.

Costume:

1. The fragments of a *torque* of quadrangular cross-section made of silver wire was found on the neck of the skeleton. The hammered hook terminal of the torque is fragmentary (*Pl. II.7*).

2. A strongly corroded iron buckle with a quadrangular Pl. was found on the inner side of the left thigh bone. Only the butts of the body and the tongue survived, with the remains of a 5 m thick leather strap between the upper and lower Pl. s and the imprint of textile rusted on the buckle Pl.. (*Pl. II.5*)

3. A bronze rivet, probably fastening the buckle to the leather strap (*Pl. II.8.*)

Implements:

4. Blade fragment of a concave-edged iron knife with arched back. (*Pl. II.6.*)

5. A piece of flint on the outer side of the left lower arm (*Pl. II.9*).

Grave-goods:

6. A dark brown, poorly backed small vessel tempered with sand between the feet. The originally fragmentary item crumbled during the removal from the grave.[14]

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[12] It must have been lost.

[13] It got lost.

[14] It was impossible to be restored.

Grave no. 37

A regular rectangular grave. The length was 290 cm, width 160 cm, depth 150 cm. The robbers threw the bones out of the grave. Grave index: 1.81. Orientation of the grave: N-S.

Costume:

1. A quadrangular red glass bead from the filling (*Pl. III.1*).

Grave no. 39 (Pl. III. A)

The south-eastern side of the elongated rectangular grave was widened by the robbers. Length of the grave: 243 cm, width: 75 cm, depth: 105 cm. The bones of the upper body part are missing, the skull was found at the bottom of the vertebral column. The left pelvic bone and the legs remained in place. They suggest that the dead was extended on the back. Grave index: 3.24. Orientation of the skeleton: SSE-NNW.

Costume:

1. The fragment of the bronze buckle was found at the disturbed skull (*Pl. III.3*).

Implements:

2. A concave-edged iron knife with arched back and a wide spike in the middle was found at the left thigh bone. The spike bore wood remains, the blade preserved rusted textile remains. (*Pl. III.4*).

3. The fragment of an iron object pierced on one terminal was found during picking up the finds (*Pl. III.2*).

Grave no. 44 (Pl. III. B)

The grave of regular rectangular shape was widened by the robbers' pit and the southern side was cut by grave 45 of the Avar cemetery. The grave was 165 cm deep. The robbers threw the bones of the upper body part out of the grave. The extended legs stayed in place. Orientation of the skeleton: S-N.

Costume:

1. The fragments of a rectangular iron buckle were found on the inner side of the right thigh bone (*Pl. III.7*).

2. The fragments of another rectangular iron buckle were found during picking up the finds (*Pl. III.8*).

Implements:

3. An elongated diamond-shaped iron strike-a-light was found on the right tibia. The loop was made from the recoiled, narrowing terminal. One more fragment of the object was later found in the grave (*Pl. III.5*).

Grave-goods:

4. A light grey, wheel-thrown shallow bowl on a low foot and with protruding rim was found between the corroded feet. H: 5 cm, b. diam.: 4.8 cm, m. diam.: 12.4 cm (*Pl. III.6*)

Grave no. 49

The regular rectangular grave was cut in its whole width on the southern side by the Avar grave no. 50. The grave was 65 cm wide and 160 cm deep. It must have been robbed before being disturbed by the Avar burial since the skull of the Sarmatian grave was found in the Avar one, which cut it.[15] All the skeletal bones were removed from the Sarmatian grave. Orientation of the grave: N-S.

Costume:

1. Two blue glass beads of slightly different measurements, one of polygonal prismatic shape, the other a strongly iridescent oval one were found in the filling. (*Pl. IV. 2*)

2. An oval iron buckle with clear textile imprints was also found in the filling.[16] (*Pl. IV.1*)

Grave no. 61 (Pl. IV)

The measurements of the grave could not be observed in the loose humic soil. The depth of the grave was 84 cm. The robbers left only the extended feet in place, the bones of the trunk are missing. Orientation of the skeleton: SSE-NNW.

Costume:

1. A string of glass beads along the whole upper body and in the place of the left foot.[17] The 471 glass beads contained white, green red and blue spherical, white, red, blue and black cylindrical, white, green, red, blue and orange prismatic, green and red regular hexagon based prismatic, red polygon-based prismatic and polygonal ones with rounded corners. There were a white, prismatic rock crystal bead and a prismatic greenish yellow clay bead. (*Pl. VIII.1*)

2. There was an iron ring on the right ankle. (*Pl. IV.3*).

3. Iron fragments, probably the tongue of an iron buckle (*Pl. IV.4*)

4. The fragment of an iron object with unknown function (*Pl. IV.6*)

Grave-goods:

5. A yellowish grey, hand-thrown cup between the feet. H: 9.2 cm, b. diam.: 6 cm, m. diam.: 7.4 cm (*Pl. IV.5*)

Grave no. 67

The elongated rectangular grave was robbed. Length of the grave: 310 cm, width: 85 cm, depth: 40 cm. No bone remained in the grave. The south-eastern side of the grave was cut by the Avar grave no. 68. Grave index: 3.64. Axis of the grave: NNW-SSE.

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[15] The archaeologists, it seems, attributed the skull in the south-eastern corner of the Avar grave no. 50 to the Sarmatian grave no. 49.

[16] According to the diary, poorly baked pottery fragments were found in various depths in the filling. I could not find them.

[17] The beads were not documented in details and got mixed after picking up and stringed later into two strings. They cannot be separated any more.

Costume:

1.15 red, green and blue prismatic, an orange cylindrical and a white spherical glass beads were found in the filling together with four carnelian beads of irregular hexagon-based prismatic shape and a prismatic chalcedony bead (*Pl. IV.9*).

2. The fragments of a bronze ring with recoiled terminals were found also in the filling (*Pl. IV.11*).

Implements:

3. The fragments of an iron tool were found (*Pl. IV.10*).

Grave no. 78

The length of the elongated rectangular was 276 cm, width: 80 cm, depth: 120 cm. The grave was robbed, some of the bones were found in the south-eastern corner. Grave index: 3.45. Axis of the grave: N-S.

Costume:

1. The fragments of probably a rectangular iron buckle were found in the western side of the grave. The Pl. holds rusted rivet remains (*Pl. IV.8*).

Grave no. 81

Only the width of the empty grave could be observed: 66 cm. Neither bones nor finds were discovered in the grave.[18] Axis of the grave: N-S.

Grave no. 84 (Pl. V. A)

The outlines and shape of the grave could not be seen in the loose humus. Depth: 60 cm. Only the right leg of the disturbed skeleton stayed in place. According to it, the dead was extended on the back. Orientation of the skeleton: S-N.

Costume:

1. A bronze, so-called omega brooch in the western part of the grave (*Pl. V.2*)

2. Fragments of an iron ring from the central part of the grave (*Pl. V.3*)

Implements:

3. The handle and blade fragments of an iron knife with a spike in the middle (*Pl. V.1*)

Grave-goods:

4. A yellowish grey, wheel-thrown, biconical small bowl at the feet. H: 7 cm, m. diam.: 14 cm, b. diam: 2.5 cm (*Pl. V.4*)

Grave no. 94

The robbers widened the rectangular grave, and the southern side is cut by the Avar grave no. 93. Width: 86 cm, depth: 170 cm. The robbers totally ransacked the grave. According to the excavation diary, the right tibia stayed in place, the

[18] It was grouped to the Sarmatian cemetery due to its orientation.

other bones were scattered in the grave in a fragmented state. Orientation of the skeleton: N-S.

1. Fragments of broken coffin nails scattered in the northern part of the grave (*Pl. VI.1–7*)

Costume:

2. The fragment of an iron buckle in the northern part of the grave (*Pl. VI.9*).

Implements:

3. Three fragments of an iron knife in the northern part of the grave with wood fibre imprint on the spike (*Pl. VI.8*).

Grave no. 95 (Pl. V. B)

The outlines of the 39 cm deep grave could not be observed. The majority of the bones are missing. The bones of the leg stayed in place, and accordingly, the dead was extended on the back. The grave seems to have been robbed, although it might have been destroyed by tillage since it is close to the surface. Orientation of the skeleton: S-N.

Costume:

1. A ribbed bronze bell with a rusted, broken iron tongue and a small bronze loop was found at the ankle.[19] (*Pl. V.5*)

Implements:

2. The end of the blade of an iron knife with arched back was found at the right thigh bone (*Pl. V.6*)

Grave goods:

3. A wheel-thrown, red-painted provincial cup with the mouth turned down was found under the feet. H: 3.5 cm, m. diam: 11.5 cm, b. diam.: 4 cm (*Pl. V.7*)

Grave no. 103

The elongated rectangular grave was robbed and disturbed on the eastern side by the Avar grave no. 104. The length of the grave was 300, width 95 cm, depth 138 cm. The bones were found in two piles in the grave. The skull and the bones of the lower limb in the southern part, the bones of the arms and the rib and vertebra fragments in the northern part. Grave index: 3.15. Orientation of the grave pit: N-S.

1. According to the excavation diary, iron fragments were found in the filling.[20]

Grave-goods:

2. A small, hand-thrown, greyish black, poorly baked, porous small vessel was found at the disturbed bones of the leg in the northern part of the grave. The large part of the upper layer of the vessel peeled off. On the remaining surfaces vertical, diagonal smoothing can be seen. H: 6 cm, m. diam.: 3.5 cm. b. diam.: 3 cm. (*Pl. IV.7*).

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[19] It was not registered in the excavation diary which ankle it was.

[20] I could not find them, they probably perished.

Grave no. 115

The outlines of the totally ransacked grave could not be followed. Depth: 190 cm. The Avar grave no. 114 cut its eastern side. No bones remained in the grave. Orientation of the grave: according to the excavation diary N-S, according to the sketch of the grave NNE-SSW.

Costume:

1. A white spherical and an orange cubic glass bead were found in the filling.[21] (*Pl. VI.10*)

Grave-goods:

2. Fragments of a grey, wheel-thrown vessel with protruding rim also from the filling. The bottom part is fragmentary. M. diam.: 13.2 cm (*Pl. VI.11*)

3. Each a piece of two different, hand-thrown vessels. One is red and tempered with pottery particles, the other is yellowish grey with traces of burning. In section it is black.[22]

Grave no. 119 (Pl. VII)

The measurements of the grave could not be observed. Depth: 80 cm. The grave was probably disturbed since most of the bones are missing. Rib fragments can be found in a pile in the southern part of the grave, the extended legs in the northern side stayed in place only the left thigh bone is missing. Orientation of the skeleton: S-N.

1. Grains of a bronze plaque were found at some unregistered place.

Implements:

2. A biconical, hand-thrown spindle-whorl, tempered with sand was found outside the right leg. Its surface was burned (*Pl. VII.2*)

3. The fragments of an iron tool with unknown function were found under the undisturbed bowl. The handle of the tool preserved wood fibre imprints. It could have been an iron knife or an iron awl (?) (*Pl. VII.1*)

Grave-goods:

4. A dark grey, wheel-thrown bowl was found in the northern part of the grave. It was tempered with sand, stood on a low foot and the wall is segmented. The stepped wall is decorated with smoothed wavy line. H: 7.6 cm, b. diam: 5.2, m. diam.: 12 cm (*Pl. VII.3*)

Grave no. 123

The rectangular grave with rounded corners was totally ransacked. Length: 190 cm, width: 66 cm, depth: 80 cm. The bones are missing from the grave only the left leg stayed in place. Accordingly, the dead was extended on the back. Grave index: 2. 82. Orientation of the skeleton: S-N.

Costume:

1. Fragment of an iron buckle in the middle of the grave (*Pl. VII.5*)

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[21] The excavation diary described three beads, only two have survived.

[22] They probably did not belong to the burial, might have mixed into the filling of the Sarmatian grave during digging the Avar grave.

2. Strongly corroded iron fragments, probably from a buckle Pl. also from the middle of the grave. Stubs of rivets can be seen on a fragment of the buckle Pl.. (*Pl. VII.4*)

Implements:

3. The handle of an iron knife (?) with wood fibre imprint, from the same place (*Pl. VII 7*)

4. Another tool handle from iron with wood fibre imprint, probably from an iron awl, from the same place (*Pl. VII. 6*)

5. Blade fragment of an iron knife (?) with the fragment of the handle. (*Pl. VII. 8*)

Grave-goods:

6. The silver denar of Marcus Aurelius was also found in the middle of the grave. On the obverse, the head of the emperor looks to the right, circumscription: IMP M AVREL ANTONINVS AVG. On the reverse the figure of Providentia turns to the left holding the globe in the right hand and a cornucopia in the left. Circumscription: PROV DEOR TRP XV COS III (minted in 161). (*Pl. VII.9*)

Grave no. 126

The Avar grave no. 125 totally destroyed the northern side of the regular rectangular grave. Depth: 90 cm, width: 48 cm. The right lower arm, the pelvis and the lower limb stayed in place. The dead was extended on the back with tightly closed limbs. Orientation of the skeleton: NNW-SSE. No finds were recovered from the grave.[23]

Grave no. 128

The regular rectangular grave was totally robbed, not even the bones were left. Length of the grave: 310 cm, width: 95 cm, depth: 110 cm. Grave index: 3.26. Orientation of the grave: N-S.

Implements:

1. According to the excavation diary, the fragments of an iron knife were found in the filling.[24]

Grave no. 132

The Avar grave no. 131 cut the southern side of the totally robbed grave. Width of the grave: 80 cm, depth: 149 cm. Only bone fragments remained in the grave. Axis of the grave: N-S. No find was recovered.[25]

Grave no. 141

The regular rectangular grave was totally ransacked. Length: 270 cm, width: 95 cm, depth: 100 cm. The skull and some bone fragments were piled in the northern part of the grave. Grave index: 2.84. Orientation of the grave: NNW-SSE.

Costume:

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[23] Archaeologists grouped it to the Sarmatian cemetery.

[24] It either perished or got lost.

[25] It was grouped in the Sarmatian cemetery due to its orientation.

1. A rectangular, Pl. d, open-work bronze buckle was found in the middle of the grave. The buckle Pl. was attached to the 4 mm thick leather strap with 8 rivets. Symmetrical semicircles turned into each other decorate the centre of the Pl.. Five parallel grooves can be seen on the feet of the rectangular body of the buckle and 3 on the tongue (*Pl. VII.10*)

2. Bronze rivets fastening the buckle (*Pl. VII.11*)

Grave no. 148 (Pl. VIII. A)

Regular rectangular grave. The southern side was cut by a modern ditch. Width of the grave: 70 cm, depth: 100 cm. Traces of disturbing can be observed at the skull and the chest, the ribs and a part of the vertebral column are missing. The grave was probably disturbed by an animal. The dead was extended on the back. The left hand is on the pelvis, the right hand close to the body. Orientation of the skeleton: SSE-NNW.

Costume:

1. A silver bulb-headed brooch was found at the chest. The terminals of the hexagonal brooch branch were decorated with gilded (by now worn off, present only in traces) cast bronze knobs. A beaded silver wire runs in the middle and along the stems of the knobs. A short foot is attached to the bow with faceted ornaments. A pattern of pounced triangular units can be seen all along the bow.. The pin attached to the branch was also made of bronze (*Pl. VIII.2*)

2. The silver strap end of the belt was found between the thigh bones. The two parts of the strap-end were joined with hinges. The double Pl. d strap-end was attached with two rivets to the approximately 2–3 cm broad leather strap. The pendant mount of widening terminal and decorated with three parallel grooves hanged from its body (*Pl. VIII.3*)

Grave no. 155

Robbers only left the skull and fragments of the long bones in the southern part of the rectangular grave. Length of the grave: 310 cm, width: 100 cm, depth: 130 cm. Grave index: 3.1. Axis of the grave: N-S.

Costume:

1. 32 glass beads were found in the filling. The red, green, white, blue and orange beads were spherical and prismatic. A carnelian bead of irregular hexagonal-based prismatic shape was also found in the grave (*Pl. VIII.5*).

Grave-goods:

2. A grey, wheel-thrown beaker was found in the middle of the grave. The provincial product is coloured to a yellowish tint and stood on a widening foot. The larger part of the wall and the rim are missing, a horizontally incised line encircles the neck. B. diam: 3 cm (*Pl. VIII.4*)

Grave no. 158

Regular rectangular grave. The length could not be measured since the northern side was totally in the whole length by the Avar grave no. 157. Width:

65 cm, depth: 200 cm. All the bones are missing, except for the skull in the south-western corner. Axis of the grave: N-S.

Costume:

1. Two square-based prismatic, a red prismatic, a white polygon-based prismatic glass bead with rounded corners. A lilac prismatic and a green polygon-based prismatic glass bead. (*Pl. V.8*)

Grave no. 160 (Pl. VIII. B)

The northern side of the regular rectangular grave was cut by a modern ditch. Width: 79 cm, depth: 140 cm. The poorly preserved grave of an infant only contained the skull and the bones of the arms. Orientation of the skeleton: SSE-NW.

Costume:

1. A barrel-shaped limestone bead, three white spherical and a blue polygon-based prismatic glass bead.[26] (*Pl. VII.6*)

Grave no. 162

The southern part of the regular rectangular grave was destroyed by the Avar grave 163. Width: 72 cm, depth: 150 cm. Only the scattered fragments of the long bones remained in the robbed grave. Axis of the grave: NNW-SSE.

Costume:

1. Fragments of an iron buckle from the middle of the grave. Its shape cannot be told. (*Pl. IX.3*)

Implements:

2. Blade and handle fragment of a single-edged iron knife with slightly arched back and spike in the middle. The handle bears imprints of wooden fibre (*Pl. IX.1*)

Grave-goods:

3. An unidentifiable bronze coin (*Pl. IX.2*).

Grave no. 168

The Avar grave no. 169 was deepened into the northern part of the regular rectangular grave. Width: 80 cm, depth: 180 cm. Skull and rib fragments were found in the southern part of the robbed grave. Axis of the grave: NNW – SSE.

Costume:

1. A barrel-shaped chalcedony bead, an injured, prismatic limestone bead, a triple and a five-segmented gilded twin bead with gold sheet between the two layers, 3 while spherical, two green spherical, two green prismatic, two red and an orange prismatic glass beads (Pl. IX. 6).

2. Fragments of a bronze wire.[27]

Grave no. 172

Somewhat irregular rectangular grave. The Avar grave no. 173 was deepened into the south-western corner of the grave. Length: 300 cm, width: 100 cm, depth:

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[26] Their exact place was not registered.

[27] Perished in the meantime.

185 cm. Only the bone fragments remained in the grave and the skull in the middle of the grave. Grave index: 3. Axis of the grave: NNW-SSE.
Costume:

1. Glass beads.[28]

Implements:

2. The blade fragment of an iron knife with arched back and a concave edge (*Pl. IX.5*).

3. A strongly corroded piece of iron with rusted textile remains (*Pl. IX.4*)

Grave no. 175

The originally rectangular grave was nearly totally annihilated by the grave robbers. The original measurements could not be observed. Depth: 150 cm. Only a few bones remained in the grave, vertebra, rib and long bone fragments were piled in the middle of the pit. Axis of the grave: N-S.
Costume:

1. A polygonal carnelian bead, three spherical and a cylindrical white glass beads. Two orange cylindrical and a blue spherical glass bead. A spherical glass bead gilded between the two layers (*Pl. IX.7*).

Grave no. 181 (Pl. IX)

The measurements of the grave deepened into the sub-humus could not be observed. Depth: 60 cm. The grave was relatively shallow, it was disturbed by tillage. The intact skeletal parts suggest that the dead was extended on the back with extended limbs. Orientation of the skeleton: S-N.
Costume:

1. A black and white twin bead incrusted in crossing lines (*Pl. IX.8*)

2. Open-work bronze brooch with a pelta motive (*Pl. IX.9*).

Grave-goods:

3. A hand-thrown, yellowish black, burnt vessel under the feet. The bottom is flat, the rim slightly protrudes. H: 8 cm, m. diam.: 8 cm, b. diam.: 6 cm.[29]

Grave no. 183 (Pl. X. A)

A regular rectangular grave. Length: 195 cm, width: 67 cm, depth: 70 cm. Only the skull is missing from the disturbed grave. The body laid on the back with extended limbs. Grave index: 2.91. Orientation of the skeleton: SSE-NNW.
Costume:

1. A silver ring of circular section around the neck (*Pl. X.1*)

2. Two bronze bracelets of rectangular cross-section with thickening open terminals on the right arm (*Pl. X.2–3*)

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[28] No further information was registered in the excavation documentation. I could not find them, they probably got lost.

[29] I could not find the vessel in the deposit, the description and the data were copied from the inventory book.

3. Two more bronze bracelets of rectangular cross-section and with thickening open terminals on the left arm (*Pl. X.4–5*)

4. A 'D'-shaped iron buckle of rectangular cross-section on the inner side of the right thigh bone (*Pl. X.6*)

Implements:

5. An iron knife on the left thigh bone.[30]

Grave no. 184

A regular rectangular grave. The north-eastern side of the grave was cut by a modern ditch. Depth: 115 cm, width: 79 cm. The skull crumbled. The trunk must have been disturbed by some animal. The body was laid on the back with extended limbs. Orientation of the skeleton: S-N. No find could be recovered from the grave.[31]

Grave no. 185

The grave can be found on the map of the cemetery south of graves nos 172, 175 and 200.[32]

Grave no. 195

The measurements of the grave deepened into the sub-humus could not be observed. Depth: 110 cm. The Avar grave no. 194 was dug into the north-western corner of the grave. The skull is missing. The remaining bones suggest that the body was lain on the back. Orientation of the skeleton: S-N. No finds were recovered from the grave.[33]

Grave no. 200

The regular rectangular grave was robbed, not even the bones were left. Length of the grave: 205 cm, width: 69 cm.[34] Grave index: 2.97. Orientation of the grave: N-S. There were no finds in the grave.[35]

Grave no. 215 (Pl. XI)

The shape of the grave could not be observed, the depth was not registered. The skull, rib and vertebra fragments were piled in the southern part of the grave. The extended legs stayed in place revealing that the body was lain on the back. Orientation of the skeleton: S-N.

1. An iron fragment with unknown function (*Pl. XI.3*)

2. The fragment of an iron tool with unknown function (*Pl. XI.1*)

Implements:

3. The fragments of a single-edged iron knife with arched back and slightly concave edge (*Pl. XI.2*)

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[30] I could not find the knife registered in the excavation diary.

[31] The grave was grouped in the Sarmatian cemetery due to its orientation.

[32] Neither its find material, nor its documentation could be found.

[33] The grave was grouped in the Sarmatian cemetery due to its orientation

[34] The depth was not registered in the documentation.

[35] The grave was grouped in the Sarmatian cemetery due to its orientation

Grave-goods:

4. A light grey, somewhat deformed, hemispherical cup made on a fast wheel standing on a low foot, found between the ankles. H: 5 cm, m. diam: 8 cm, b. diam: 4 cm (*Pl. XI.4*)

Grave no. 222 (Pl. X. B)

The measurements of the grave could not be observed. The depth was not registered. Two skull fragments were found side by side in the southern side of the disturbed grave and vertebra fragments in the south-western corner. Orientation of the grave: NNW – SSE.

Grave-goods:

1. A dark grey, wheel-thrown, finely levigated spherical vessel on a low foot. It was found in a broken state, and completed later. H: 8 cm, m. diam.: 9 cm, b. diam.: 4 cm (*Pl. X.7*)

Some stray finds were also found in the area of the cemetery. Their exact location was not registered either in the excavation diary or in the inventory book. Their attribution to the cemetery is, accordingly, not certain, although probable.

1. A double bronze brooch with bent feet on the sides and with the spring at the base. The narrow spring is enclosed by two small knobs on the two sides of the string at the base. The bow is of rectangular cross-section with slantwise engraved lines on the foot. (*Pl. XI.5*).

2. Dark grey, wheel-thrown, steep-walled bowl. A groove runs round under the rim. Five bunches of horizontally smoothed ornaments can be found under the rim and on the body. H: 5.6 cm, b. diam: 5.2 cm, m. diam.: 8.4 cm (*Pl. XI.6*)

3. A grey, wheel-thrown bowl with thick rim standing on a low foot. H: 6.2 cm, b. diam.: 3.6 cm, m. diam.: 12 cm (*Pl. XI.7*).

4. A grey, wheel-thrown, spherical vessel. H: 14 cm, b. diam.: 6.4 cm, m. diam.: 12 cm.

The evaluation of the cemetery

The rescue excavations unearthed a surface of 7500 m^2. It was mentioned earlier that the central part of the cemetery was totally destroyed by the construction of the foundations of the slaughterhouse.

The site is situated on a small, island-like knoll narrowing from the east towards west. Both the Avar and the Sarmatian cemeteries follow this elongated shape. The relief suggests that the edges of the cemetery do no reach beyond the top of the knoll.

The dominating orientation of the graves is, similarly to the majority of Sarmatian cemeteries in the Carpathian Basin, S-N (67%), or slightly shifted to a NNE-SSW direction (29%). SSW-NNE orientation could only be observed at 2% of the graves. NNW-SSE orientation was registered at a single grave. In this grave the dead is buried in a reverse direction, the skull pointing to NNW (grave 126).

The bodies were extended on the back with extended limbs. In one case (grave 5) the legs were parallel, slightly drawn up and turned to the left.

In the disturbed grave no. 222 the fragments of two skulls were found. At the same time, the skull was missing from the neighbouring, undisturbed grave no. 183. It would be logical to suppose that the skull got into grave no. 222. The problem is that no trace of disturbing could be observed in grave no. 183. Double burial rarely occurs with the Sarmatians in the Carpathian Basin, it is documented only among burials in the Bačka.[36] This rite does not seem to have been practised in this cemetery. The second skull must have fallen into the grave at the time of its robbery. The narrow grave (width only 35 cm) attests the same.[37] There are scarce and scattered data concerning the removal (amputation?) of the head. In the N-S directed grave no. 4 of the Dunaharaszti cemetery, „the skull was placed on a low slab in the middle of the grave, and it was encircled by seven smaller blocks".[38] Four beheaded skeletons lay in mound 1. of the Jászalsószentgyörgy-Borshalom cemetery,[39] and the four skulls were placed in a row in the northern side of the grave.[40]

Coffin was not observed in any of the graves, although the fragments of iron coffin nails in grave no. 94. suggest the existence of a coffin at least in this case. Neither the measurements nor the proportions of the grave are different from those of the other pits.[41]

No shrouds could be observed. In some cases, nevertheless, the positions of the skeletons suggest that they were wrapped in some organic material for the burial. The closed, tight position of the limbs is conspicuous in grave no. 30. The remains of textile were found in the grave rusted onto the surface of a buckle Pl., which might have belonged to a shroud. All the textile remains rusted to iron objects were preserved on the outside and not on the inside, where it touched the garment. It was observed at Endrtd that the textiles under and above the buckle of the dead were of different weave.[42] The authors of the publication suggest that the buckle was attached to the strap fixing the undergarment of finer textile, while the rougher one came from the outer garment.

The larger part of the Bácstopolya cemetery, similarly to other cemeteries from the Sarmatian period, was robbed. There are only a few graves that were

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[36] The rite of double burial, which is more frequent in the east, could so far be found only at the Szabadka-Verusics site in the Northern Bačka. Two bodies were buried in grave no. 77 of the Szabadka cemetery. It was a disturbed grave, the measurements, however, supported the fact of a double burial (grave length 353 cm, width: 160 cm), *Szekeres – Szekeres 1996*. For further arguments concerning double burials see *Vaday 1995–1996* 27–28.

[37] The two skulls mean, at the same time, that the grave robbers robbed more than one grave at a time, and threw the bones to the pits as they came. It also means that the other nearby grave was also robbed. It should also be explained how the skull can be missing from the undisturbed grave no. 183. Since no anthropological analysis is available, and the condition of the bones was not registered in the excavation diary, conscious amputation cannot be supposed.

[38] *Párducz 1950* 28.

[39] The mound was not unearthed by an archaeologist, the description of the rite came through oral communication.

[40] *Vaday 1989* 201. 233–235.

[41] The metric data do not help finding the graves with coffins.

[42] *Vaday – Szőke 1983* 117.

not disturbed this way or other. Thirty three of the 41 graves were robbed or disturbed. The large number must be handled with care since later disturbances also played a role in the partial perishing of the cemetery. Thirteen of the 33 disturbed Sarmatian graves were cut by Avar grave diggers. It cannot be decided if the graves were robbed at the time of the Avar burial, or the Avars found the already robbed graves. Three graves were destroyed by modern ditches. It leaves at least 20 robbed graves,[43] the 50% of the graves. Two methods of grave robbery could be observed. One method meant the total ransacking of the grave where the bones were piled, the other was consciously aimed at the upper part of the body. It is striking that the partial disturbance, where the robbers' shaft reached only the upper part of the body, was most numerous in the north-eastern part of the excavated surface. Two graves with this type of disturbance were found outside this area, no. 5 in the southern and no. 215 in the western part. The graves were totally robbed and ransacked where the Avar graves cut the Sarmatian ones. It suggests that the robbery consciously aimed at the upper body part happened before the Avars and the Avars robbed only the graves they found by chance during digging the graves for their burials and did not rob methodically.

The conscious grave robberies always imply that the graves were either marked on the surface or the robbers themselves took part in the burial ceremony.[44] In the followings a few examples will be given on the proportion of grave robberies.[45]

Site	Mound	Encircling ditch	Total (grave evaluable from the respect of robbery)	Robbed	Robbed%
Kiszács	+		7	7	100%
Vajszka	+	?	33	33	100%
Hortobágy, I. cemetery	+	?	17	17	100%
Hortobágy, VII. cemetery	+	?	13	13	100%
Hortobágy, VIII. cemetery	+	?	13	13	100%
Hortobágy, IX. cemetery	+	?	24	23	96%
Dunaharaszti			38	36	95%
Hortobágy, II. cemetery	+	?	33	31	94%
Hortobágy, IV. cemetery	+	?	18	16	89%
Hortobágy, X. cemetery	+	?	8	7	87%
Hortobágy, III. cemetery	+	?	33	28	85%
Hortobágy, V. cemetery	+	?	12	10	83%
Kompolt--Kistéri tanya		+	39	32	82%
Hortobágy – XI. cemetery	+	?	22	18	81%
Bácstopolya, Bánkert			41	33	80%
Törökszentmiklós--Surján		+	23	18	78%
Hortobágy, VI. cemetery	+	?	34	26	76%
Szabadka-Verusics	?	?	63	43	63%
Endrőd--Kocsor hegy		?	27	9	33%
Endrőd--Szujókereszt		+	23	4	17%

[43] The graves cut by modern ditches had already been disturbed.

[44] The latter is evident at the Langobards, where the 'still warm' dead were robbed. The skeletons in articulated but twisted positions attest to it.

[45] Due to the excavation method we learned by chance from the encircling ditches in the Hortobágy cemetery that the mounds or some mounds were encircled by ditches.

It is evident from the table that the proportion of the robbed graves is not equal in the various cemeteries. It can also be read that robbers visited both the cemeteries with and without mounds.[46] Ditches encircling the mounds or/and the graves probably existed in several cemeteries. The Szabadka, Verusics cemetery[47] can be compared with the Bácstopolya one both from a regional and a chronological aspect. The, probably lower, mounds could not be observed in the former one and some of the encircling ditches also disappeared. The loose structure (larger distances between the graves) allows at Bácstopolya to suggest that burial mounds were raised over the graves. It was remarkable that where the Avar cemetery existed with a much greater grave density, some Sarmatian graves were not disturbed by their burials. It may imply that where the higher mounds was still visible, they respected the earlier grave and dug their ones at the feet of the mounds.

The overall shape of the graves could only be observed at 14 graves. They were more-or-less regular rectangular. Their depth varied between 39 and 200 cm. There are only four shallow (until 50 cm) graves, the only regularity one could observe is that they were all found at the edges of the cemetery.[48] Adults and children were found alike in the graves. Most of the graves deepened to the depth of 50 to 100 cm were found in the central and eastern parts of the cemetery, one grave (no. 183) in the western part. The graves with the depth of 100–150 cm are scattered evenly over the whole excavation surface. The deepest graves (150–200 cm) were unearthed in the eastern part of the excavated area. It seems that the grave depth differences do not reflect an evaluable burial phenomenon. Examining the depths of the graves with calculated grave indices we find that even the shallowest (grave no. 83, 70 cm deep) and the deepest of them (grave no. 172, 185 cm deep) fall within the average index interval. The index values[49] of these graves are between 1.8 and 3.6.[50] Due to fragmentary and defective data the grave index can be evaluated at only 14 graves. They give the following picture (*graph 1*).

Evaluation of the find assemblage

Three large assemblage groups can be differentiated and evaluated in Sarmatian cemeteries. The first group contains objects which belonged to the costume. They are jewellery and garment supplements. The next group contains implements while the third is composed of grave goods which were the elements of the burial rite.

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[46] Due to insufficient documentation and the ignorance of the phenomenon we may count with significantly more low mound graves. The perishing of the mounds were also influenced by tillage and the solidity of the soil. Both may modify modern observation, and the same surfaces must have been different during the Roman and the Migration Periods.

[47] *Szekeres – Szekeres 1996* Table 1.

[48] Grave no. 181 in the north-western corner of the cemetery, graves nos 4 and 5 in the middle part of the southern edge, grave no. 95 in the east. The latter one was not at the edge of the cemetery since further two graves were found in the eastern terminal area of the excavations beyond a damaged surface.

[49] Except for grave no. 37 where the index value is low.

[50] Index values in growing order: 37, 141, 155, 39, 175, 128, 103, 78, 27, 67, 6, where the index of grave no. 37 is significantly lower than the average.

Costume

Torques were found in two graves. The first was the grave (no. 4) of a child. The loop-and-hook terminated torque was originally made of silver wire and later mended with a bronze wire. The other one was found in the grave of an adult man. The fragment of the torque was also made of a silver wire with flat hammered terminals (grave no/ 30).

A cast silver *neckring* was found in grave 183. It is interesting, that no bead necklace belonged to the neckring, which was otherwise popular with the Sarmatians. A neckring of triangular cross-section was found within similar circumstances (without bead necklace) in the Tiszaföldvár-téglagyár site. The type appeared as early as the 2nd century and can also be found in the Late Sarmatian period.[51] The one in Bácstopolya was found at the neck of the disturbed skeleton, which justifies its function. It might have held together a narrow leather or textile band (certainly some organic material). The same is suggested by the ring from Tiszaföldvár since a lunula and a pendant made from the denar of Antoninus Pius were found in the same grave. In Bácstopolya, the silver ring itself may have been the pendant. The bronze ring with recoiled terminal from grave 67 must also have belonged to a string of beads. Its analogue can be found e. g. at Endrőd.[52]

Bead necklace, however, was not found in the cemetery. *Beads* were found in the filling of disturbed graves. In original position they could be unearthed in a single case. 471 beads were picked up from grave 61.[53] The beads on the trunk, based on their distribution in the drawing of the grave must have decorated the garment. The distribution of the beads on the left foot and ankle is more interesting, they were probably sewn on a boot. The symmetrically sewn beads were not found on the right leg, the trouser leg (?) or the boot-leg was held together by an iron ring of circular cross-section. This solution is a unique one and has not yet been observed at the Sarmatians in the Carpathian Basin.[54]

The typological system of beads elaborated for the assemblages in Szolnok county[55] can be applied, with some added forms, at the Bácstopolya material.

I	1	A	+
		B	+
	2	C	+
		A	+
		B	
II			+
III	1	A	
		B	
	2	A	
		B	
		C	

[51] *Vaday 1989* 46–47, Taf. 107/10.

[52] *Vaday – Szőke 1983* 3. figs 8–9.

[53] Regrettably, the beads found on the chest and the left leg were not sufficiently documented and were, later, stringed together and cannot be separated any more.

[54] Anklets are unknown at the eastern Sarmatians as well as in the Carpathian Basin. The chronology of the cemetery excludes the possibility of the survival of a Celtic tradition.

[55] *Vaday 1989* 312, Abb. 20

IV	1	A	+
		B	+
		C	+ square-based low prism (graves 37,115)
	2	A	+
		B	
V	1	A	+
		B	+
		C	+ the variety of the previous one in grave 61
	2	A	+
		B	
VI	1		
	2		
VII	1	A	+
		B	
	2		

It is noteworthy that there is only one incrusted glass bead in the cemetery, although this type is characteristic of the period in the southern part of the Hungarian Plain, in the Bačka and also the Banat e. g. in the Pancsova cemetery.[56]

Beside the glass beads, there are some beads made of different raw materials: carnelian, chalcedony, calcium (lime), rock crystal and clay. Most of them were also described from the middle course of the Tisza:[57] chalcedony, Abb. 24/2, carnelian Abb. 24/10, Abb. 25/35. The calcium (lime) beads are more worn due to the raw material, the cylindrical form with somewhat worn edges can be found. There are two rock crystal beads in the cemetery. They are not very numerous in the Barbaricum. The globular clay beads are between the glass and the stone beads in the frequency order of their occurrence. In the whole cemetery the dominance of the glass beads is characteristic, along with the small number of semi-precious stone and limestone beads carried by the immigrants into the Carpathian Basin, and the total lack of amber. The question is if this proportion was the result of grave robberies or has some other explanation. We must refer to grave no. 61 where the missing beads on the right leg were substituted by a bracelet.[58] It shows that the dead used to belong to a poorer social layer. It is also supported by the fact that clay beads rarely occur in the Sarmatian Barbaricum, even then usually from robbing earlier graves, and this was the only grave where it occurred and in a relatively large number. The aforesaid, similarly to the whole assemblage, suggests that the excavated cemetery fragment was rather poor. This is, however, not true for the whole cemetery, since a larger part of it has been destroyed. Two graves, farther away (nos 141 and 148), were much richer and suggest that only the poorer section of the cemetery has been unearthed.

Two graves contained *bracelets*. In grave no. 4 of a child, two rectangular-sectioned open bracelets were found on the right arm and the fragments of an

[56] *Batistić-Popradić 1984–85* Pl. VII. 103.

[57] In the followings I will site cite after the beads the fig. no. in *Vaday 1989*.

[58] A hook-and-loop trminated bronze bracelet was found on the right ankle of a woman in the inhumation burial no. 19 of the Independenza cemetery in Muntenia (see: *Mitrea Preda 1966,* 52–53, Fig. 131 and 132/5). The grave contained a brooch with recoilde foot and bead together with a Cypraea shell and Murex trunculus. The only pottery grave good was a vessel left of the skull of the skeleton oriented with its head to the north.

iron bracelet on the left. In grave no. 183 each two rectangular-sectioned open bronze bracelets with thickening terminals were found on the arms. The open bronze bracelets with thickening terminals were common in the whole Sarmatian Barbaricum. The type found in this cemetery, which was made of a thick wire, was a common jewellery type in the 2nd and 3rd centuries.

The *bell* in grave no. 95. is an imported Roman ware. The bell at the ankle was probably fastened to the belt. It was a popular object for women and girls in the early and late Sarmatian periods.

The *brooch* material of the cemetery is poor but varied. Each brooch represents a different type. The omega or buckle brooch in grave no. 84 is a rarity in the Sarmatian Barbaricum in the Carpathian Basin. The recoiled open terminals characterise the item. Based on the Raetian graves, Böhme[59] dated them in the Noricum–Pannonian region to the end of the 3rd and the 4th centuries.[60] Á. Salamon dated the omega brooches from the second half of the 3rd century and the turn of the 3rd and 4th centuries in the analysis of the Ócsa site.[61] The bulbous-knobbed brooch from grave no. 148 came from before the end of the 3rd century. The exact analogue was found in the treasure find from Szalacska, which was hidden, according to the latest coins, in 259–60.[62] Endre Tóth grouped the type in the early group of the bulbheaded brooches. He writes about them, among others, that most of them were made of silver until the first decade of the 4th century and were most popular in the second half of the 3rd century. It is interesting to note that the bulb head at the end of the head of the brooch is missing. László Barkóczi examined the fragmentary broochs in details in a recently published study[63] and arrived to the conclusion that it was a conscious amputation. He mentions in the summary that although some items are known from Valeria from the 4th century but they actually appear when the official mobile army leaves the province and there is no further brooch supply at the beginning of the 4th century.[64] The open-work brooch in grave no. 181 of a child can also be dated from the 2nd and 3rd centuries.[65] Patek grouped the brooches decorated with pelta motives into the first group of open-work broochs.[66] I could not find an exact analogue to the Bácstopolya item, but similar brooches were found in Carnuntum.[67] The excavation diary said that a bronze brooch was found in grave no. 4 of a child, but it got lost since then.[68]

The *buckles* in the cemetery are represented by fragmentary items which cannot be affiliated, a D-shaped buckle with rectangular buckle body and Pl. and

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[59] *Böhme 1972* 46

[60] *Riha 1979* 209, Nr. 1836 Taf. 69. He grouped it to type 8/2 of group 8.

[61] *Salamon 1959* Taf. VI/5.

[62] *Tóth 1985* 33. Fig. 9. c, Fig. 20. a.

[63] *Barkóczi 1993.*

[64] I would like to thank László Barkóczi for calling my attention to the study.

[65] *Böhme 1972* 44.

[66] *Patek 1942* 54.

[67] *Patek 1942* XVIII/11 and 17.

[38] I did not deal with items that got lost or perished by now. In case a piece was noted in the diary and later disappeared we may also think of an erroneous observation. The objects revealed their forms after restoration and their definitions might have changed.

by an oval buckle. Ten buckles were made of iron, and only two were made of bronze. The open-work buckle in grave no. 141 is a rare and unique piece. As far as I know, there is only one similar piece found in grave no. 50 of the Törökszentmiklós-Surján-Újtelep 21. site.[69] The varieties of the open-work buckle with tamgas can be found in the region of the Crimea and the Bosporus. They were used in the 2nd and 3rd centuries.[70] It is interesting that the person with a silver brooch and a silver strap end in grave no. 148. had no buckles.

The exact analogue of the *silver strap end* could not yet be found. Its hinges are different from the other known strap ends.

Implements

The *knives*, except for the fragments that are too small to see their form, all belonged in the group of arched-backed knives. They were found in the graves of men and women alike.

An *awl* was found in grave no. 27. Fragments suggesting awls were found in several graves but they were so poorly preserved that their grouping is uncertain.

Flint was found in two graves. According to the excavation diary graves nos 30 and 27 also contained pieces of flint, which got lost later.

The *strike-a-light* in grave no. 44 is a common form. Similar ones were found at Eperjes,[71] and Csanytelek.[72]

Grave-goods

In the Bácstopolya cemetery pottery, coins and spindle whorls can be grouped here.

The vessels were all found at the feet in the northern part of the graves. Thirteen graves contained vessels. Two cannot be analysed, the poorly baked vessel in grave no. 30 crumbled during picking it up and could not be restored. The hand-thrown vessel in grave no. 181 got lost. Only two of the remaining eleven vessels were hand-thrown, two other vessels were imported wares from a farther Roman province and from Pannonia. The Drag 33 Samian cup in grave 6. was the most popular ware among the Sarmatians beside the Drag 37 bowls. They can be found at Endrőd,[73] Törökszentmiklós, Surján-Újtelep[74] etc. These pieces can be dated from the second half of the 2nd century and the first third of the 3rd century.[75] The cup with metallic red paint in grave no. 95 was probably imported to the Sarmatian regions from the province. The beaker in grave no. 155 is the Barbarian copy of a Roman ware. The bowl no. 6 in *Pl. III.* is also a Barbarian copy.[76]

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[69] *Vaday 1985* Abb. 7/2.
[70] *Vaday 1989* 67.
[71] *Vaday – Szőke 1983* Fig. 10. 11.
[72] *Vörös 1994* Fig. 3. 2.
[73] *Vaday – Szőke 1983* Fig. 15/1
[74] *Vaday 1985* Abb. 11/6, Abb. 12/3
[75] *Gabler 1968* 232.
[76] *Vaday 1989* Abb. 49/25

The biconic bowl (*Pl. V.4*) is unusual with its straight-cut rim among the Sarmatian vessels. The encircling groove on the bottom, imitating a footring was frequently applied in some regions of the Hungarian Plain from the 3rd century. The arched inner rim of the bowl from grave no. 119 is not a frequent solution, the form, however, is known in assemblages from the end of the 3rd century and from the 4th century.[77] The smoothed ornament round the shoulder is not really frequent in the northern regions of the Hungarian Plain.

There was a deformed, spoiled bowl in grave no. 215, and neither its form, nor its feature can be deduced.

The spherical vessel in grave no. 115 (*Pl. VI.11*) is similar in its shape to the spherical vessels of the Barbaricum, which are often used at burials. The smaller spherical vessel from grave no. 222 (*Pl. X.7*) is also a common form. The only noteworthy thing is that the narrow and higher foot is more characteristic in the Backa than in the more northerly regions of the Barbaricum.

Coins

Only three coins were found in the cemetery. I could not find the coin of grave no. 27 registered in the excavation diary. The cleaved bronze coin in grave no. 162 was of such a poor quality that it could not be identified. The only evaluable coin was a worn silver denar of Marcus Aurelius minted in 161.

Spindle whorl

A single biconical spindle whorl was found in the cemetery in grave no. 119.

Chronology of the cemetery

It is difficult to follow the inner chronology of the cemetery since 16 graves cannot be dated from the grave goods.[78] The following table contains the individual graves in the order of the dating force of the grave-goods.[79]

Nr.	2.				3.				4.			
6			B	B	B	B						
95			B	B	B	B	B	B				
115				B	B	B	B	B				
44	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B				
4*	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B				
155				G?	B	B	B	B				
158				G?	B	B	B	B				
37					B	B	B	B				
160					B	B	B	B				
268					B	B	B	B				
123					B	B	B	B				
183*					B	B	B	B				
141					B	B	B	B				
148*					G?	B	B	G?				

[77] *Vaday 1989* 150. Abb. 41/7.

[78] Robbed and disturbed ones: 1, 5, 39, 78, 81, 94, 103, 126, 128, 132, 172, 195, 200, 215. Undisturbed one: 126. In an inverted orientation: grave no. 184.

[79] * marks the unrobbed graves,? marks the duration of the related group of objects.

Nr.	2.				3.				4.			
162								B	G?	G?		
222					B	B	B	B	G?	G?	G?	
30*					B	B	B	B	G?	G?	G?	
27					B	B	B	B	G?	G?	G?	
181*								B	B			
14					B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B
175					B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B
61							B	B	B	B	B	B
67							B	B	B	B	B	B
119								B	B	B	B	B
94								B	B	B	B	B
84								B	B	B	B	B
49									B	B	B	B

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Eszter T. Szőnyi

THIN-WALLED POTTERY FROM MURSELLA

The excavations between 1975 and 1989 resulted the uncovery of a potters' workshop in one of the least studied Pannonian towns, the municipium of Mursella, in the heart of the Small Plain (*Szőnyi 1981* 88–119). The potters' kilns were found in a long and narrow plot on the border of the town south of the Savaria-Arrabona road together with other constructions attached to the workshops (pottery driers, wells, clay pits for the kilns).

Some of the locally produced wares were found in the collapsed kilns, sometimes burnt to a cindery state (*Szőnyi 1981* 95, fig. 5). Others, broken or spoiled items, were thrown into the clay pits scattered all over the area or into other abandoned constructions and served their filling.

Some of the locally produced wares follow Celtic traditions. They are grey vessels of finely levigated raw material often decorated with smoothed patterns, sometimes also with painting of autochtonous features (*Szőnyi 1981* 100, fig. 10). Other wares mirror the common shapes of the household pottery in the Roman Empire. Attention was called already in the first publication to the locally produced pottery imitation early Italian terra sigillata forms (Ohl 3, Ohl 8, Grag 35 and 36) made of yellow clay and decorated with red painting. This pottery type, together with the Celtic ones, largely contributed to the dating of the potters' workshop.

After having closed the material for the first publication, a short communication on the excavations between 1981 and 1989 (*Szőnyi 1992* 35–41) reported about the uncovery of further potters' kilns. It was also mentioned that, beside the terra sigillata imitations, a thin-walled fine pottery type was also produced here, the original varieties of which, small cups and beakers, were originated from northern Italy.

The present paper aims at the description of a choice of material from a few constructions where the above mentioned locally produced pottery type was found in large quantities. It is interesting to note that original items, certainly used as patterns, were also observed in some constructions.

Fragments of small cups and beakers with barbotine and dented incised patterns, made in Italy, were found all over the excavated area in the early Roman layers of the structures. The most frequent variety was the grey, later one, although some fragments belonged to the earlier wares made of red clay with a red slip and decorated with foamy barbotine ornament (*Szőnyi 1988* 25; *Plesničar 1971* 122). A light yellow beaker decorated with a metallic slip and barbotine horse-shoe series is a speciality. Its local imitation without slip was found in the same pit (84.3.6 and 84.3.8).

Table I. contains some total or completed original, imported vessels and the most characteristic fragmentary items.

1. Pear-shaped **beaker** made of yellowish white clay, coated with a light yellow metallic slip on the outside. The slightly protruding rim is segmented. Barbotine scale ornament is applied in three rows under a shallow furrow on the shoulder. Two furrows encircling the lower third of the vessel. Height (h): 81 mm, mouth diameter (md): 69 mm, bottom diameter (bd): 37 mm, inventory number (inv. no.): 84.3.6., provenance (prov.): Dombiföld-Malomdomb (D. M.) section 24, a pit sunken into the unbroken ground under rooms 2–3.

2. Dark grey **beaker** with metallic slip made of grey clay. It slightly narrows upwards. The nearly cylindrical upper part narrows downwards to a truncated cone shape. The vessel is decorated by a horizontally arranged bunch of grapes with a long and bent stem and a small cordiform leaf ornament with a similar stem set into a field enclosed by double furrows encircling the cylinder wall. There is a zone of fine dented incised pattern on the lower, truncated cone shaped part. H: 70 mm, md: 72 mm, bd: 38 mm, inv. no: 84.3.5., provenance: DM, a pit sunken into the unbroken ground under room 1 in section 24.

3. Ovoid **beaker** (Gitterbecher). The surface under the segmented rim is covered with dense horizontal ribs sectioned by vertical incisions converging towards the bottom. It is made of grey clay, the slip is a darker grey. H: 94 mm, md: cca. 8.5 cm, bd: 31 mm, inv. no. 98.13.44., provenance: D. M. section 62. -40–60 cm.

4. The fragment of the upper part of a dark grey beaker with metallic glaze made of light grey clay. The side is slightly funnel-shaped towards the rim. Only a small fragment of the lower, widening part has remained. It is decorated with dented stripes separated by fine plastic ribs running round the vessel. The decoration was made with a tool of triangular terminal. Fragment h: 38 mm, md: cca. 55 mm, inv. no. 98.13.47, provenance D. M. from the pit in the north-western corner of section 63m -105–135 cm.

5. Biconical **cup** with dark grey slip made of grey clay. There is a fine furrow under the rim, the sides and the narrowing lower part are decorated with two dented incised stripes. H: 39 mm, md: 89 mm, bd: 46 mm, inv. no: 89.19.5., provenance: D. M. pit at the border of sections 45 and 46.

6. Biconical **cup**, somewhat flatter than the previous. It was made of grey clay and coated with dark grey slip. There is a decorative stripe of three dented incised rows under the rim. H: 36 mm, md: 82 mm, inv. no. 89.18.9., provenance: D. M. from the filling of a pit in the north-western part of section 40.

7. Fragments of a biconical **cup** with dark grey slip made of light grey clay. The bottom is missing. It is decorated with a fine encircling furrow under the rim, a pattern of barbotine arcs and dots in the upper part of the body, a dented incised row under the belly and a furrow running around under it. Fragm. h: 39 mm, md: cca. 90 mm, inv. no: 98.13.45., provenance: D. M. under the gravel yard level of the stone building in section 63, -55–85 cm.

8. Fragment of the lower part of a **cup** with reddish brown metallic slip made of greyish red clay. Two grooves encircle the flat bottom. There are two dented incised stripes between grooves encircling the narrowing lower part. The upper part bears the fragment of a barbotine tendril pattern. Fragm. h: 32 mm,

bd: cca. 35 mm, inv. no: 98.13.42., provenance: D. M. central part of section 57, layer above the unbroken ground -60–70 cm.

From plate II, the locally manufactured thin-walled pottery is illustrated in type groups.

9. Pear-shaped **beaker** from reddish clay without slip or painting. The rim is somewhat protruding and rounded, the bulging part of the body is decorated with barbotine scales arranged in three rows. H: 76 mm, md: 62 mm, bd: 32 mm, inv. no: 84.3.8., provenance: D. M. pit sunken into the unbroken ground under rooms 2–3 in section 24.

10. Pear-shaped **beaker** from dark grey clay without slip. The sides are somewhat inverted at the upper third. It is decorated with three rows of dented incisions under the grooved rim and a rib running around under them. A row of oblique barbotine spear-shaped leaves then another dented incision row follows on the belly. H: 80 mm, md: 66 mm, bd: 35 mm, inv. no: 85.4.9., provenance: D. M. filling of the well in section 45.

11. Pear-shaped **beaker** made of yellowish clay and with red painting. The vertical, low rim is segmented with grooves. The surface was made rough with splashed barbotine. H: 75 mm, md: 81 mm, bd: 31 mm, inv. no: 89.20.3. inv. no: D. M. section 53, -50–70 cm.

12. Squat pear-shaped **beaker** from reddish yellow clay. The protruding rim is funnel-shaped, the body is decorated with parallel smoothed fields. It is heavier than the rest of the beakers with thicker walls. H: 85 mm, md: 72 mm, bd: 42 mm, inv. no: 85.4.8., provenance: D. M. filling of the well in section 45.

13. Grey, pear-shaped **beaker** with vertical, indented rim. The shoulder is grooved, the bulging part bears a barbotine garland with dot pattern and a berry ornament. The vessel is spoiled, cracked in the course of baking, which might be the reason why it did not get a slip. H: 70 mm, bd: 38 mm, inv. no: 85.4.31., provenance: D. M. filling if the well in section 45.

14. Fragments of an ovoid **beaker** with uneven reddish painting, made from yellowish red clay. The rim is vertical, segmented with grooves, a furrow encircles the shoulder. Fragmentary. H: cca. 25 mm, md: 70 m, bd: 34 mm, inv. no: 85.4.34., provenance: D. M. filling of the well in section 45.

15. Grey **cup** without slip. The upper part is nearly cylindrical, the lower part is truncated cone shaped. The cylindrical part is decorated with barbotine berry patterns between two horizontal furrows. Completed. H: 58 mm, md: 83 mm, bd: 34 mm, inv. no: 89.18.8. provenance: D. M. from a pit in the north-western part of section 40.

16. A beige **cup**, overbaked with reddish-grey spots and a hole. The upper part of the body is nearly cylindrical, the lower part abruptly narrows to the shape of a truncated cone. The lower part of the body is decorated with dented incisions. Fragmentary. H: 56 mm, md: cca. 75 mm, bd: 38 mm, inv. no: 85.4.32., provenance: D. M. from the filling of a well in section 45.

17. A yellowish brown, overbaked **cup** imitating a Drag 24/25 sigillata. The body is vertical under the slightly protruding rim, then it is of a truncated cone shape. It stands on a small footring. Fragmentary h: cca. 50 mm, md: cca. 90 mm,

bd: 28 mm, inv. no: 85.4.33., provenance: D. M. from the filling of the well in section 45.

18. A small **cup** with red painting, made of red clay imitating a Drag 24/25 sigillata. The surface bears the marks of a potter's wheel. H: 38 mm, md: 82 mm, bd: 37 mm, inv. no: 89.18.1., provenance: D. M., trench 9, 80–100 cm.

19. A **cup** of porous, reddish yellow material showing the traces of red paint. It imitates a Drag 24/25 sigillata. H: 52 mm, md: 98 mm, bd: 41 mm, inv. no: 85.4.6., provenance: D. M. from the filling of the well in section 45.

20. A **cup** of porous, yellow material showing the traces of red paint. The upper part of the body is truncated cone shaped, the lower part is hemispherical. Fragmentary h: 48 mm, md: 100 mm, bd: cannot be measured, inv. no: 85.4.35., provenance: D. M. from the filling of the well in section 45.

21. A biconical, flat **cup** from reddish clay. It is decorated by a groove running around under the rim. H: 42 mm, md: 100 mm, bd: 45 mm, inv. no: 89.18.5., provenance: D. M. „potters'" layer in section 35, -80–100 cm.

22. Red, biconical, flat **cup**. Incisions run around under the rim and at the lower part. Deformed probably prior to baking. H: 39 mm, md: 89 mm, bd: 46 mm, inv. no: 89.19.5., provenance: D. M. in the pit at the border of sections 45 and 46.

23. Grey **cup** without slip. Segment shaped with a flat foot. It is decorated with a furrow running around under the rim. H: 39 mm, md: 92 mm, bd: 30 mm, inv. no. 84.3.7., provenance: D. M. pit sunken into the unbroken ground under rooms 2–3 in section 24.

24. Lower part of a segment shaped **cup** from yellow clay, painted red on the outside. It is sectioned by furrows running round near the foot. Fragmentary h: 33 mm, md: cannot be measured, bd: 34 mm, inv. no: 84.3.2., provenance: D. M. pit sunken into the unbroken ground under rooms 2–3 in section 24.

25. Pressed hemispherical **cup** on a small foot made of dark grey clay. It is decorated by grooves running around under the rim and near the foot. A stylised bunch of grape motive made of barbotine drops can be seen on the upper part of the body. H: 44 mm, md: 78 mm, bd: 38 mm, inv. no: 88.7.3., provenance: D. M. in the pit in the south-western corner in section 46.

26. Fragment of the lower part of a grey **cup** with a flat foot. Spoiled during baking. Bd: 30 mm, inv. no: 85.4.15., provenance: D. M. from the filling of the well in section 45.

27. Fragment of a hemispherical **cup** painted red and made of red clay. Fragmentary h: 46 mm, md: cca. 98 mm, inv. no: 84.3.10., provenance: D. M. pit sunken into the unbroken ground under rooms 2–3 in section 24.

28. Hemispherical cup with red paint on the inside and partly also on the outside, made of yellow clay. Incised furrow decorates it under the rim. The foot is spoiled. Completed. H: 52 mm, md: 102 mm, bd: 35 mm. inv. no: 85.4.2., provenance D. M. from the filling of the well in section 45.

29. Light grey, hemispherical **cup** with a groove running round under the rim. The vessel got deformed in the course of baking. H: 51 mm, md: 87–95 mm, bd: 33 mm, inv. no: 85.4.7., provenance: D. M. from the filling of the well in section 45.

30. The fragment of a hemispherical cup on a flat foot. It bears light grey paint and was made of yellowish clay. A groove runs around under the rim. About half of the vessel has been recovered. H: 50 mm, md: 89 mm, bd: cca. 30 mm, inv. no: 84.3.3., provenance: D. M. pit sunken into the unbroken ground under rooms 2–3 in section 24.

31. Hemispherical **cup** painted red on the inside and at the rim on the outside, made of yellowish clay. Flat, plain foot. A furrow runs around under the rim. H: 50 mm, md: 95 mm, bd: 34 mm, inv. no: 84.3.1., provenance, pit sunken into the unbroken ground under rooms 2–3 in section 24.

32. Fragment of a pressed hemispherical **cup** with red paint, made of red clay. It is somewhat inverted under the rim and decorated with a groove. The bottom is missing. Imperfect fabric, porous. Fragmentary h: 43 mm, md: cca. 90 mm, inv. no: 85.4.3., provenance: D. M. from the filling of the well in section 45.

33. Fragments of a hemispherical **cup** with red paint, made of red clay. A fine furrow runs round under the rim. Spoiled, the paint ran on the side and cracked. Fragmentary h: 34 mm, md: cca. 100 mm, inv. no: 84.3.1. A., provenance: pit sunken into the unbroken ground under rooms 2–3 in section 24.

34. Somewhat pressed hemispherical **cup** with red paint made of red clay. There are a double rib ornament under the rim and barbotine scales arranged in two rows on the upper part of the body. Completed h: 40 mm, md: 87 mm, bd: 30 mm, inv. no: 85.4.1., provenance: D. M. from the filling of the well in section 45.

35. **Cup** painted red, made of red clay. The walls are vertical under the rim decorated with fine grooves. Then they bulge and narrow to the shape of a truncated cone towards the bottom. Completed: H: 62 mm, md: 85 mm, bd: 28 mm, inv. no: 85.4.5., inv. no: D. M. from the filling of the well in section 45.

36. Light grey, hemispherical **cup**. The rim is segmented, somewhat funnel-shaped. The foot is low. The upper part of the body is decorated by „coffee-bean"-shaped barbotine ornament arranged in two rows. H: 50 mm, md: 95 mm, bd: 36 mm, inv. no: 88.8.1., provenance: D. M. from the baulk of sections 52 and 53, „potters'" layer.

37. Fragment of the narrowing, truncated-cone-shaped lower part of a **cup** painted red, made of red clay. Defective fabric. Fragmentary h: 35 mm, bd: 30 mm, inv. no: 85.4.4. provenance: D. M. from the filling of the well in section 45.

The thin-walled pottery assemblage manufactured in the Mursella potters' workshop is not really colourful. It seems that the two-handled cup and beaker types were not produced from among the types described in an earlier summary of thin-walled ceramics from northern Italy in the Xantus János Museum (*Szőnyi, 1972*), and barbotine ornament is also rare. The latter may be due to the fact that the proportion of the semi-finished items is high in the described material and the spoiled vessels were not decorated. This poorness is even more striking compared to the shapes and decorations in the pottery material of the Emona cemeteries (see *Plesničar-Gec 1977* 74).

The two-handled „b" variety of Plesničar's form 2. (beaker) cannot be found either among the imported wares in Mursella or among the locally produced ones.

The variety of the calathi without handles decorated with sand grains was also missing both in the imported and the locally produced assemblages. Several fragments of the densely ribbed beakers (Gitterbecher) (*Pl. I.3*) can be found among the imported wares, but local potters did not seem to have produced it. According to Plesničar's chronological table, both decoration types were manufactured in the second half of the 1st century until the 90's. The variety with scale row decoration in the upper part of the vessels was popular at the middle of the century and the first half of the 1st century. It appears among the imported wares in a variety with a yellow slip (*Pl. I.1*) and it was also manufactured locally with a red painted surface (*Pl. II.9*). The above two items came from the same pit. The varieties of the beakers with scale ornament, although not always in the same arrangement, are represented by several fragments in the region. The small beaker with vertical walls and barbotine decoration (*Pl. I.2*) has no formal analogues among the locally produced vessels. Its closest analogue from the respect of the shape and the decoration is an item from Magdalensberg dated to the late Augustine period (*Schindler-Kaudelka 1975* Form 76, 89–90). Its variety without barbotine, only decorated with dented incised stripes is known from Formin on the Drava and from a cremation burial at Szőny (*Bónis 1942* 129–130, Pl. XIX 19). In Magdalensberg, it was used in the 30's and the 40's (*Schindler-Kaudelka 1975* Form 91,101).

Small beakers nos 15 and 16 in plate III. may be accepted as imitations of this form. The fact that the latter one is an overbaked, spotted, holed, cindery item attests to its local production.

Only a small fragment of the cup decorated with dented incised lines (*Pl. I.4*) has been preserved. Its analogues are known from the southern part of the province (*Bónis 1942* Pl. XIX. 24. 130, *Plesničar 1977* T. 1. form 33) and can be dated from the turn of the 1st and 2nd centuries. Its locally manufactured variety is not known.

The finest, most decorated representative of other beakers produced by the potters in Mursella is the piece *no 10 in plate II.* with somewhat inverted sides where both the dented incised and the barbotine ornaments can be seen. No exact analogue is known. Larger beakers with inverted sides are known from Slavonia and Poetovio (*Bónis 1942* Pl. XX. 14, XX. 62), they, however, must have had a different function as well. A small two-handled vessel with dented incised decoration is slightly similar (*Bónis 1942* Pl. XXI. 9. p. 154).

Vessel *no. 12 in plate II.* is a unique piece even in the Mursella assemblage with its protruding rim, bulkier shape and especially with the smoothed decoration. It seems to have been a potter's experiment.

The rest of the beakers are very similar to each other in their shapes. Their rims are elevated and segmented, the bodies are pear-shaped. The decoration of beaker II.11. came to light at Carnuntum in a slipped variety (*Bónis 1942* 20), while the fine barbotine decoration of the small vessel no. 13 is known from several small fragments in Mursella. Barbotine ornament is rather specific in each case, only the main features are similar e. g. berries, leaves, arcs, horse-shoes

or scales. They are all unique items contrary to the ones decorated with stamp seals, cylindrical seals or manufactured in moulds.

The thin-walled beakers in Mursella were made in red and grey varieties with or without red painting and with various decorations.

From among the imported cups (acetabulum), the two completed items (*Pl. I.5,6*) are grey with a grey slip and they only differ in the quantity and position of the dented incised ornament. Considering their flat shape, they are relevant to the wares produced in the first half and the middle of the 1st century in Emona (*Plesničar 1977* I. 1. 54–56). The form is rather frequent at locally produced items not only at the items *nos 21–22 in Plate II* and *23–26 in plate IV.* but it can be recognised on many small fragments. The local wares, except for one, are not decorated. The only decorated item (*Pl. IV.25*) has a barbotine ornament. The manufacture if a dented incised pattern seems to have meant a problem for the local potters or it was not popular for some other reason since it can only be met on a few, unidentifiable fragments besides items *Pl. II.10* and *III.16*, which means that it was rare.

From the two fragments of imported cups with barbotine decoration, the grey *item Pl. I.7* shows the common decoration. Beside the numerous pieces in Emona (*Plesničar-Gec 1972* Pl. I. 11, Pl. XXII. 3, Pl. XXVII. 6, Pl. XCI. 22, Pl. XCIX. 17 from cremation burials, *Plesničar-Gec 1983* Pl. 41. 1. from the settlement), it can be found in the collection of the museum in Győr (*Szőnyi 1972* fig. 3. 15, p. 12) all without dented incised decoration. The cup fragment *Pl. I.8* is a representative of the rare items with brown metallic slip made of red clay and it is too small to look for analogues. It is certain, however, that the type, older than the grey ceramics, can be dated from the first half of the 1st century (*Plesničar-Gec 1977* 75, *Szőnyi 1988* 25.).

From the respect of the shape, the thin-walled. locally manufactured cups do not display a high variety. The hemispherical and segment-shaped forms (27–37) with a low feet or somewhat elongated lower parts, rims that are unsegmented or segmented with a groove, somewhat vertical or profiled, and rarely with barbotine decoration are not really suitable for dating. The ornaments (being more varied with the unpublished small fragments) consist mostly of scales, horse-shoe patterns and dots. The decoration of cup 36 with coffee-beans is a unique solution.

The vessels imitating the Drag 24/25 sigillatas (*Pl. III.17–19*) are uncommon ones and unknown in classical thin-walled pottery assemblages. They were probably the specialities of a local potter (as it has already been mentioned, other sigillata forms were also imitated). Vessels nos *18* and *19* are red with red painting, no. *17* was overbaked, cindered, the original colour cannot be identified.

The locally produced thin-walled cups, similarly to the beakers, were made in yellowish red and grey ground colours with red or dark grey painting. The spoiled, overbaked, deformed items (13, 16, 17, 22, 26, 28, 29, 32, 33, 36), the fallen barbotine ornaments (15), the spotty and running painting (14, 28, 31, 33) attest to local baking. It means that a new workshop of Pannonian thin-walled ceramics could be localised beside the earlier known southern Pannonian (Emona: *Plesničar-Gec 1987*, Sirmium: *Premk 1987*) and western Pannonian (Carnuntum: *Gassner 1990*) manu-

facture localities. The occurrence of locally manufactured thin-walled pottery can naturally be expected not only in the direct vicinity of the workshops but in other sites as well (*Krekovič 1998* 8, a Carnuntum (?) ware at Gerulata).

The operation of the potters' quarter was already dated to the middle and the second half of the 1st century. Since then the coin material has been analysed (*FMRU 2* 30–31).

Altogether 24 coins were recovered in the structures from the levels of the potters' period. Their distribution: 8 items of Tiberius, 1 item of Tiberius–Claudius, 9 items of Claudius, 1 item of Nero, 2 items of Vespasian, 1 item of Titus Caesar, 2 items of Domitian. The earliest one was minted between 14 and 32, the latest one in 85. From the described locally produced thin-walled vessels, beaker no. 11 was found together with Claudius's sestertius minted in 41, cup no. 22 with an as of the Tiberian period minted between 14 and 37.

Contrary to the imported thin-walled wares scattered all over the region, the local products were more concentrated, especially in a few structures where the fragments were found in masses. At other places only a few pieces could be collected. Five sixth of the above described locally manufactured wares came from the pits and the filling of the well in sections 24, 45, 46, 51 and 53 (cca. 20 x 25 m). The was scattered evenly in the excavated area. Such a concentration of the finds justifies the assumption that the locally working potter or potters did not produce this vessel type for a long time and baked only one or two kilnful in one of the nearby kilns. The same may explain the relative uniformity of the forms and patterns, although they certainly tried the produce two basic forms: the beaker and the cup. Still, no two-handled variety was made in either form. The decoration is the simplest possible. A single *beaker (Pl. II.2)* excels with its colourful decoration, this, however, is different in its shape as well. The barbotine ornaments are schematic, the horse-shoes, dots. lines and the dented incisions are roughly executed. The waste material contains deformed, overbaked and semi-finished items with defective painting, fallen or never applied barbotine ornament.

We think that the locally manufactured thin-walled pottery, made seemingly as an experiment, was produced in the middle of the 1st century when Italian importation made this ware type popular in the recently conquered provinces (*Plesničar-Gec 1977* 75.).

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Endre Tóth

BLUE GLASS JUG FROM THE AMBER ROAD

The Roman Collection of the Hungarian National Museum bought a blue glass jug in 1975.[1] The seller of the jug was convinced that it had come from Szombathely. The site seemed authentic since the intact state of the jug and its dating from the early imperial period implied that it must have come from an West-Transdanubian urngrave. A few years later, Magdolna Medgyes published cremational burials from the northern cemetery of Savaria. The finds were found in 1975 in the course of drainpipe laying. When the museum was informed about the discovery of the graves and Magdolna Medgyes carried out rescue excavations she was told that a blue glass jug had also been found in one of the graves. She could not find this object although the other grave goods were there. Magdolna Medgyes published the finds in 1978.[2] It is certain that the blue glass jug the Hungarian National Museum bought, which is a unique piece among Roman glass wares from Transdanubia, is identical with the piece from Savaria. This fine and important jug will be described in the study intended for the volume dedicated Barkóczi by specialists on the Roman period to László, who analysed the glass wares from Transdanubia. At the same time, this study is a sign of the nearly 30 years of our acquaintance and the expression of my gratitude for the help and scientific support I have got from him. The publication of the rare find from the early imperial period is also a means to provide a further data to the history of the early imperial period in Pannonia through the analysis of the find unit of the grave from Savaria, and of the type of the object and its decoration in a wider context.

The site and the grave finds

The graves were found during laying drainpipes in front of 13, Paragvári street (Medical Technical School) in the northern part of Szombathely in the summer of 1973. The site is in the direct vicinity of the Amber Road leading northward from Savaria (*Fig. 1*). Altogether, eight graves were observed. One was an inhumation burial without grave goods, the other seven ones were cremational burials. Five of them contained pottery urns, in one the ashes were scattered and one was constructed from large-sized bricks. The last one, grave No. 8 was cut by the excavator. The two glass urns broke to pieces although the rest of the glass wares remained more-or-less intact after the 'mechanised excavation'. The blue glass jug came from this grave and it suffered a minor injury on its side. As only the rim fragments of the two glass urns were taken to the museum, the excavator must have destroyed the part of the grave where the glass urns had been placed.

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[1] Purchase from István Ács.

[2] *M. Medgyes*: Leletmentések Savaria É-i temetőjében 1970–1975. Savaria 11–12 (1977–78) 183.

The following objects were rescued[3] (*Figs 2–3*): 1. Rim fragment of a glass urn (inv. no. Savaria Múzeum 76.3.22.); thick, bluish glass; mouth diameter 17.2 cm. 2. Rim fragment of a glass urn (inv. no. SM 76.3.23.); greenish glass; mouth diameter: 12.3 cm. 3. Ribbed glass cup (Rippenschale, SM inv. no. 78.3.24). Cast in a mould, mouth diameter 11.8, bottom diameter 6, height 5 cm. 4. Glass jug (inv. no. SM 78.3.25.) from blown glass, globular body, broad neck, one handle which however broke off. Thick, bluish glass. 5. Perfume flask (inv. no. SM 76.3.26) from blown glass. The flat bottom is somewhat pressed, there is not foot ring. A cylindrical neck with a larger diameter is attached to the hemispherical body rising in a vault. The rim slightly protrudes. Bluish. 6. Lower fragment of a perfume glass flask (inv. no. SM 76.3.27). The upper part broke off. Widens towards the bottom. Bluish with thick walls (Isigns type 28 a). H: 4.3 cm, bottom diameter 2.2 cm. 7. Clay cup, light grey (inv. no. SM 76.3.28.); height: 8.8cm, mouth diameter: 6.2 cm; bottom diameter 3.2 cm. 8. Fragment of a bronze paint container box (inv. no. SM 76.3.29.) One side is bent to hemispherical shape, the other side is fragmentary.[4] Length 9.3 cm, width 6.1 cm. 9. Bronze sondage scoop (inv. no. SM 76.3.30.) Length 11 cm. 10. Fragment of a bronze tube (inv. no. SM 76.3.31). Length 7 cm. 11. Blue one-handled glass jug (Hungarian National Museum, Inv. No. 79.1.1. figs), blown glass. Height: 22 cm, bottom diameter 9.5 cm. The body is cylindrical with a narrow neck where the slightly protruding rim is horizontally flattened from above. The plain band-handle connects the shoulder with the rim. Its side is broken. Deep blue, the translucent surface is coloured with dense, smaller and larger opaque greyish white and bluish grains, sometimes gold dust (*Figs 4–5*).

The blue jug belongs to the Isings type 51.[5] The *a* variant of the cylindrical type is low and has a somewhat larger diameter, the *b* variant is a high shape. The jug from Savaria belongs to the latter. The jugs of this type were blown into a half mould, they are cylindrical with vertical walls. They have one handle, the neck is short and also cylindrical. Their rim is thin, doubled over so somewhat thickened. The surface of the rim is either smoothed to a horizontal plane (as in the case of the jug from Savaria) or shaped to a convex line.

The type Isings 51 = Barkóczi 168c can be further divided. Within the cylindrical shape, the ones with a downwards slightly narrowing body can be separated from the others. Although this shape is not a cylinder but an inverted truncated cone in a geometrical sense, it still belongs to this type since the narrowing is so slight that it neither forms a separate type nor resembles any other jug type if the other traits are identical. The type somewhat narrowing toward the bottom also occurs in Pannonia.[6]

The surface of the band-handle of the jug from Savaria is not proportioned. This is a divergence from the other representatives of the type as their handles

[3] The analysis of the whole grave was carried out by the author and Magdolna Medgyes in Folia Archaeologica in 1997.

[4] I deal with the characteristic make-up set in a separate study. Three similar sets were uncovered in Savaria and two in the Keszthely-Újmajor szőlő.

[5] *Isings 1957* 67; Trier 118 – AR 160.

[6] To the *Isings* 51 b type: site unknown, HNM 64.2.18; *Barkóczi 1988* 446, 3 pp.

are either double-ribbed ones or densely grooved. Anyhow, the Magdalensberg and other finds imply that the unproportioned band-handles and those with double or triple ribs (dreirippigen Henkel) are characteristic of the earlier glass jugs, while the densely grooved handles occur on the later ones. No jug with notched handle was found at Magdalensberg.[7] As the Savaria jug has a plain band-handle it belongs to the early group of the type. Its characteristics are the parallel cylinder walls and the short, cylindrical neck. The mouth is by no means funnel-shaped and the rim is also simple. The funnelling of the mouth and its facetting are characteristic of later items (Isings shape 126). The shoulder breaks in a nearly right angle being somewhat concave at the neck and not rising with a slight convexity. These traits are important and this is the base on which cylindrical jugs can be classified into subgroups. The variations mean chronological differences as well, although their differentiation is hardly possible as yet because of the few located and dated pieces.

Cylindrical jugs rarely occur in a colourless variety.[8] Only four analogous pieces are known from the northern cemetery of Emona,[9] and all are somewhat different from the Savaria jug.[10] An item without dating was found in Drnovo (Neviodunum), which is somewhat more elongated than the Savaria one and has a notched handle.[11] Further pieces were published from Slovenia.[12] On an item from a cremational burial in Poetovio, the neck is missing, only the handle with notched surface has remained on a fragmentary but reconstructable cylindrical body.[13] The cylindrical body was finely decorated with grinding (the Paphos light-tower – a sea scene). Due to the handle, it comes from the later phase of the type from the 2nd century. No more exact dating is possible for the lack of the mouth.

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[7] *Czudra-Ruth 1979* 136, 137.

[8] *Benkő 1962* 104–109 listed the cylindrical jugs in one group. She did not differentiate either the high and the low types or the subgroups of the former. She published the photos of only 4 pieces from the listed 47 ones thus their separation cannot be carried out. *Barkóczi (1988* 181) differentiated the type and accordingly accepts only a few pieces to belong to the type.

[9] Regrettably the sections of the vessels, if they have rectangular or cylindrical shapes, are not indicated in the figures of glass publications that are not of a catalogue type. The problem is greater if it either cannot be read from the descriptions or only the bottom diameter of the square-shaped ones are noted as it happened several times in the publications if the Emona cemetery. The mistakes accumulate when the German text writes a clay jug in the case of a glass jug (1 = grave 1088, *Petru 1972* 101, Inv. no. 2980, height 20.2 cm. p. 165: Tonkrug mit Henkel, Plate I. 1.) It can be told from *Benkő 1962* 114, 4/j 30 that it had a rectangular shape. Due to similar incorrections, the real shape of the piece often cannot be discerned.

[10] A jug from grave 424 is barrel-shaped (Plate 203.13), the other belongs to this type (Plate 203.15, light green, height 18.5 cm. The diameter of 16 cm in the description must be a mistake, the published drawing suggests about 10 cm). Grave 931, 15 cm high, light green jug with a shoulder rising in a slight vault (*Plesničar-Gec 1972* Plate 183.2). The bluish green jug from grave 962 is small with a fragmentary mouth and a neck that is funnel-shaped at the top (Plate 189.9).

[11] *Petru – Petru 1978* 69. Plate XXV13 (Inv. no. R 716, height 20.5 cm, the diameter is not indicated; *Petru 1969* Plate 4,1). The author incorrectly grouped the cylindrical item in the Isings 50/a type of rectangular jugs and dated it accordingly (*Petru 1969* 173).

[12] *P. Petru – A. Valić* AV 9–10 (1958–1959) Plate 8,3. = *S. Petru* AV 15 (1974) 29, Plate VI. 3,5. The jug is 14.8 cm high. P. Petru dated the graves from the end of the 1st and the beginning of the 2nd centuries (AV 9–10 (1958–1959) 23, *St. Pahiè* AV 11–12 (1960–61) Plate 6.2.

[13] Unpublished, photo: JbRGZM 39:2, 1992, 689–690.

Cylindrical jugs are not known from Carnuntum.[14] The Hungarian National Museum has four items from unknown sites, only the fifth, an unpublished one comes from a cemetery part from Brigetio dated to the first half of the 2nd century.[15] The handles of the unlocalised ones are divided into two or three ribs and they may have come from the Savaria cemeteries.[16] The analogues of the types mostly come from the second half of the 1st century AD[17] while from the first half of the century there are no datable items except for the Magdalensberg fragments. They cannot be found outside Pannonia in a large number, either. Based on the finds from Augusta Rauriaca, the shape of the jug blown from a raw material with natural glass colour can be found from the Tiberius-Claudian period to the 3rd century[18] although many items are so fragmentary that they cannot be grouped in types[19] (the rectangular or cylindrical shapes cannot be separated from the neck and handle fragments). It is most frequent in the Flavian period although some vessels appear as late as the first half of the 2nd century.[20] The four Magdalensberg pieces are only round bottom fragments so it cannot be decided if they belonged to the Isings 51a low or the 51b high shape, to which latter the Savaria jug belongs. Nevertheless, it can be found in Pompei[21] so the shape was already certainly used in the early Flavian period. The five fragments found in Nida-Heddernheim were dated to the Flavian-Traian period.[22] Vandehoeven dated the two pieces from the tumulus at Avennes from the end of the 1st century, the first half of the 2nd century.[23] Another one from a tumulus at Riemst he dated from about 125 AD[24] Fremersdorf dated the same from the first half of the second century.[25] The earliest representative of the type dated with a coin was found in a grave of a cemetery at Tessin (Minusio, Cadra) together with a coin of Nero.[26] The datings are congruous.

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[14] It cannot be found in Edit B. Thomas's collection who prepared the analysis of the glass finds from Carnuntum.

[15] *Barkóczi 1988* 183, HNM Inv. No. 3.1946.6.

[16] Hundreds of finds were donated to the Hungarian National Museum from the Savaria cemeteries by palatine József and prince Fülöp Batthyányi in the 20's of the 19th century. At that time, the present building of the museum did not exist and the inventory books were first opened in 1849. It seems that the items from Savaria did not get an inventory number and their location was forgotten. They were taken into inventory in the 1950's. Some items, nevertheless, seem to be possible to locate.

[17] *Czurda-Ruth 1979* 137–138

[18] *Rütti 1991* II. 149.

[19] *Rütti 1991* II. 150–157: It cannot be decided if they belonged to The rectangular or the cylindrical shape. The summary of the datings of the type is in *Rütti 1991* I. 55.

[20] *Rütti* 1991 I. 55. The datings enlisted here mostly refer to this period.

[21] From Menander's house: A. Maiuri: La casa del menandro e il sio tesoro di argentaria. Roma 1932, 459–460, Fig. 183.

[22] *E. Welker*: Die römische Gläser von Nida-Heddernheim. Schriften des Frankf Mus. für Vor- und Frühgesch. 3. Frankfurt a. M. 1974, 78–79.

[23] *Vanderhoeven 1961* 68 Nr. 72, 73.

[24] *Vanderhoeven 1962* 41 Nr. 76.

[25] *F. Fremersdorf*: Das naturfarbene, sogenannte blaugrüne Glas aus Köln 1959, pl. 44. p. 32.

[26] Cadra, grave 31, *Simonett 1941* 163, nr. 13 a large item, height 34 cm; nr. 32 height 13 cm, the shoulders of the jugs, however rise in a vaulted line.

It seems, consequently that the rare type was most common in West Pannonia and, according to the analogues in Magdalensberg and North Italy, its appearance in Pannonia may be expected in the middle of the 1st century while it was used until the first half of the 2nd century. Then, the shape and the various characteristics change. The body may somewhat narrow downwards, the mouth is emphatically funnel-shaped with a ringed rim. The handle becomes broad, thin and densely grooved. This is the frequent shape of the 4th century.

Within the wider chronological frames, the colour and the decoration of spotted surface allow a more exact dating. The colour of the Savaria jug is the closest to the greyish blue (541) on the Pantone colour scale.[27] It is dark but not opaque, translucent when lighted. The surface is densely covered with greyish white small, irregular, rather angular than round spots. The tiny gold grains are dispersed more scarcely over the surface. The inner surface of the glass can be observed through the broken side. The surface melted to a perfect smoothness. The outer surface, however is not smooth but slightly rough. The cullet with the coloured glass fragments and grains did not melt to create a unified surface. Glass wares made of coloured raw material, comprising also the blue colour, were rarely made after the 1st century. The multicolour glass vessels made with various techniques and called collectively mosaic glass or millefiori disappeared from the province apart from the Barbaricum. From the 2nd century through a long time no coloured glass was found not only in Transdanubia but in the whole South Pannonia. The blue colour reappeared in the 4th century in translucent and opaque varieties. A large number of blue spotted glasses were produced[28] although glass vessels with coloured body are rare. Two blue glass jugs are known from Pannonia from the 4th century. One was found in the Mosdós grave (Somogy county) yielding rare objects.[29] The other is most certainly from a Pannonian location (probably Brigetio) as suggested by the shape and it got into the collection of the Fine Art Museum from the Basch collection.[30] From the numerous glass finds in Pécs, there is only one vessel, a two-handled jug, where the handles and the foot-ring are blue.[31] The third coloured vessel is a conical cup found at Szabadszállás, in Sarmatian region.[32] The purple-coloured cup with a shape characteristic of the 4th century is one of the eminent pieces of late imperial glass craft. Its technique, the surface decoration with a gold foil, and the structure of the composition is identical

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[27] *Rütti 1991* II. Plate 220.

[28] *Barkóczi* 1988 96.

[29] The grave contained a bluish lilac glass jug (height 35.3 cm, *Benkő 1962* 103, 4/f 9 = *Barkóczi 1988* 196 nr. 486), a funnel-shaped glass cup with etched cellular decoration (height 16 cm, *Benkő* 1962 159, 12/g 19 = *Barkóczi 1988* 106, nr. 167) and an also large glazed dish (diameter 36 cm). Discs with the depiction of Bellerophon were pressed into the surface of the latter (*Zs. Bánki – V. Cserményi*: Glasierte Keramik in Pannonien. Székesfehérvár 1992, Katalog 82, nr. 125).

[30] *J. Gy. Szilágyi*: Vivas in Deo. BullMH 62–63 (1984) 38–42. The jug with the inscription *Accipe vivas in Deo* is interesting because the lower part of the pear-shaped body is decorated with a greenish stripe composed of round spots. This technique must have been similar to the one used on the Savaria jug.

[31] *Fülep 1984* grave L/43, 103, Plate LXIII.

[32] *E. H. Tóth* Acta ArchHung 23 (1971) 115–138.

with those of the cup from Köln-Braunfels.[33] Actually it is a pair of the former one and it might have been plundered from Pannonia by a Sarmatian invasion.[34]

The Savaria jug cannot be called a millefiori vessel since it was not cast but blown into a half mould. The surface decoration can be attributed to the group described by Fritz Fremersdorf[35] as „mit buntgefleckter Oberfläche". These glass wares were produced in North and Central Italy in the course of the 1st century (amphoras, kraters, urns, cups). These glass hollowwares are easily productable, yet decorative varieties of the millefiori and similar heavier techniques. The glass wares with multicoloured spots can be found in various amounts from the Black Sea[36] to the Iberian peninsula.[37] They were divided into two groups by the followers of Fr. Fremersdorf: the white (rarely different but single coloured) spotted and the coloured spotted groups.[38] The differentiation of the technique, however, seems to be more characteristic. Three phases can be distinguished in the course of the production that slightly modify the surface of the glass. The glass mass on the pipe is turned in glass grains, fragments of a different colour then it is further blown to the demanded shape. The glass surface changes depending on in which phase of the process and what size of glass grains are attached to the surface. The grains protrude from the surface sometimes distinctly and tangibly,[39] sometimes hardly visibly,[40] or they are smoothed into the base mass as on the Savarian glass.[41] If the glass is further heated and blown the grains melt better into the base mass, the edges become rounded then they get elongated in the direction of the blowing. Finally, the surface of the vessel becomes totally smooth. This last phase, which is not rare at this decoration technique, was not reached at the production of the Savaria glass. The greyish white (probably containing silver oxide[42]) spots preserved their shapes, they did not dissolve so much that they

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[33] *Glas von Caesaren* Nr. 5, p. 25. The similarities were properly emphasised by Elvira H. Tóth (ActaArchHung 23 (1971) 130).

[34] The cup was found in a lone grave containing only undatable iron objects (spade shoe, hoe). Because of the simplicity of the grave it could not be a present, rather a plunder (so *R. Müller:* A mezőgazdasági vaseszközök fejlődése Magyarországon a késővaskortól a törökkor végéig. ZalaiGyűjt 19. Zalaegerszeg 1982, 180–181). The Christian inscription ('In the name of omnicreating god') and the depiction of Dionysiakos thyasos attest to a dating from the late Constantine period in the 4th century. Such a combination could not have been made later.

[35] *Fremersdorf 1938* 116–121

[36] *N. Sorokina*: Das antike Glas der Nordschwarzmeerküste. Annales du 4e Congrès des Journées Internationales du Verre. Ravenna – Venice 1967, 67–79.

[37] *J. et A. Alarcão*: Vidros romanos de Conimbriga Conimbriga. 1965, plate XIII. 9., Plate XV. 3,9.

[38] See D. B. Harden in: *Glas der Caesaren* 101–103.

[39] Blue kantharos from Köln with small white oblongs from the middle of the 1st century, *Glas der Caesaren* 109, Nr. 42.

[40] Blue olla with yellow glass grains from Puzzuoli, middle of the 1st century A. D. *Glas der Caesaren* 110. Nr. 43.

[41] Purple olla with white spots from Arles, middle of the 1st century A. D. *Glas der Caesaren* 111, Nr. 44, Lebanon amphora from the third quarter of the 1st century *Glas der Caesaren* 112, nr. 45) and the Emona items.

[42] According to Márton Horváth, glass artist, silver oxide is used, to date, for the production of opaque white. Here I would like to thank Márton Horváth for consultation on the process of glass production.

could significantly have been deformed during blowing. They, however, melted in the base mass as the surface of the glass is not plastic just somewhat rough. The glass grains must have been applied to the glass mass in the initial phase of blowing as they can be observed on the bottom of the jug as well as on the sides. The surface of the glass is only uniform in the centre of the bottom where it touched the second pipe. Here, both the lighter spots and the gold grains are missing. The surface of the Savaria glass is not polished.

The Pannonian occurrence of the decoration technique:[43]

1. Emona. A Modiolus type cup[44] (Isings 37) with a foot-ring and a small handle. White, orange and lemon yellow spots on a plum-coloured background (Inv. no. 2279), height 12.2 cm, mouth diameter 13.2 cm, bottom diameter 7 cm.

2. Emona, grave 141 (138?), a krater with two handles[45] (Isings 38). Red and yellow spots on a blue background (No. 5437). The handles broke off. Height 13.1 cm, mouth diameter 14.3 cm, bottom diameter 7.3 cm.

3. Emona, grave 110, one-handled jug with a somewhat flattened globular body a long cylindrical neck, a broad band-handle and facetted bottom.[46] (No. 5352, Isings 52a = AR 162 = Trier 112). Height 29.6 cm, mouth diameter 6.5 cm, bottom diameter 10.5 cm.

4. Emona, Wienerstrasse, grave 863. Urn with coins of Tiberius and Claudius. White spots on a deep blue background, the rim is plain blue[47] (Nr. 6235).

5. Emona, northern cemetery, grave 798. A yellowish brown glass urn[48] and a deep blue cup together with a deep blue beaker with white, yellow, blue and some red spots. Height 12.9 cm. The foot is low so-called caechesium (Isings 36a, see Czurda-Ruth p.47 = Augusta Rauriaca 96.).

6. Poetovio, Ptuj, Muz. PMP R 8271 (Isings 38) kantharos fragment.[49]

6. Savaria jug.

7. Carnuntum, inv. no. 9012. Wall fragment of a smoke grey glass with white and yellow ovoid spots.[50]

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[43] *Zs. Katona Győr* in her article 'A millefiori üvegek elterjedése és kronlógiai helyzete Pannoniában' (JPMÉ 33 (1988) 72) grouped the „buntgefläckte Oberfläche" fragment from Emona among the millefiori glass wares which is a mistake because of the different technique.

[44] *Fremersdorf 1938* 116, Anm 2; *Benkő 1962* 168 (nr. 14d 5), plate 38.6.; *Petru 1972* Taf. CIV/6; stray find Titova Cesta – H. Graiser district: 135, nr. 353.

[45] *Fremersdorf 1938* 116, Anm. 2; *Benkő 1962* 169, 15:3, Taf. 39/6. It is uncertain in which grave the glass ware was found, Andrea Benkő and Fritz Fremersdorf described it as a grave good from burial 138 while Petru described it as a find from grave 138. According to *Petru 1972* it is grave 141. Plate 18. 15, 33/153.

[46] *Fremersdorf 1938* 116, Anm 2, Taf. 14,6; *Benkő 1962* 94, 4a/20, no figure. *Petru 1972* grave 110, plate XVI. 6.

[47] *Fremersdorf 1938* 116, Anm 2, Taf. 14,1; *Benkő 1962* 173, 16/a 31. (Height 16.8 cm, mouth diameter 14.5 cm, bottom diameter 6.5 cm). However, *Petru 1972* 80 describing grave 863 did not mention either the blue colour or the decoration although the inventory number of the urn is identical. Even the measurement (S. Petru only cited the height: 17.8 cm) is different.

[48] *Plesničar-Gec 1967* Y plate 97, according to the old grave numbers grave 315. *Plasničar-Gec 1972* 257, grave 798, coloured plates CCXI and CCXVIII.

[49] *Šubic 1974* 46, Nr. 62, fig. 13.

[50] After Edit Thomas's collection.

The glass wares with spotted surface are distributed in the western part of the province, actually along the Amber Road. It is a region that displays the strongest contacts with North Italy in the early Imperial period.[51] The Pannonian finds, however, cannot be dated either because their location is unknown or because there is no base for dating within the first century. The Magdalensberg and other finds render it obvious, however, that within the general wider frames of the 1st century,[52] they are frequently present in the first half of the century.[53] The glass wares in the Tessin cemeteries prepared with the same technique can be dated from the first half of the 1st century. The amphora with white spots over a green surface from grave 2 of Muralto Branca is dated by an Augustus coin.[54] To sum up we can tell that the grave lying in the direct vicinity of the Amber Road leading northwards from Savaria was found in a part of the Roman cemetery where a large number of graves had already been unearthed. The cemetery was used in the last third of the 1st century and in the first decades of the 2nd century.[55] The start is defined by the foundation of the colonia (around 50 AD), they could not be buried earlier. Six of the unearthed 65 cremational burials contained a Domitian, three Nerva and two Hadrian coins. The other finds of the grave cannot be dated to such an exactitude as the blue glass jug, all the forms are present in the second half of the 1st century and even in the first decades of the 2nd century. The jug must have been produced, according to its deep blue colour and spotted decoration, in the third quarter of the 1st century in a North-Italian workshop. It got to an inhabitant of the town through the manifest contacts of the colonia with Emona. It was probably produced in the 3rd quarter of the 1st century. This, obviously, is not identical with the time of the burial, which must have happened a few decades later. The dead in the grave was buried at the end of the century or the very beginning of the 2nd century.

Graves were found and unearthed at many places in the northern cemetery of Savaria in the region of the Roman road towards Scarbantia. This was also the place of the earliest grave excavations/digs. The glass wares found here at the beginning of the 19th century got into the Hungarian National Museum as parts of the collection of László Farkas, lawyer.[56] Burials were also placed beside the southern stretch of the Amber Road in the earlier phase of the imperial period, a larger surface was unearthed at the Rumi street.[57] Although inhumation burials

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[51] The glass wares with spotted surface compose too small a unit to allow a historical interpretation of their distribution in Pannonia. It will be carried out in another study where the distribution of coloured glass wares and glass and stone urns in the Early Imperial Period will be analysed.

[52] *Fremersdorf 1938* 121: It was produced from Augustus's reign to the end of the Flavian period.

[53] *Czurda-Ruth 1979* Nos 468, 469, 1223, 1275, 1276, 1360,1403.

[54] *Simonett 1941* 116, Abb. 95,15.

[55] The cemetery part was published by *A. Mócsy* (Korarómai sírok Szombathelyről. ArchÉrt 81 (1954) 167–191).

[56] *A. Haliczky*: Szombathelyi római régiségek. Tudományos Gyűjtemény, 1823, XI. 3–18.

[57] To the topography of finds from Savaria see *T. P. Buócz*: Savaria topográfiája. Szombathely 1967; *E. Tóth*: A savariai insularendszer rekonstrukciója. ArchÉrt 98 (1971) 143–169; the publications of the unearthed cemetery parts: *A. Mócsy*: Korarómai sírok Szombathelyről. ArchÉrt 81 (1954) 167–191. *T. Buócz*: Korarómai sírok a szombathelyi Rumi úton. ArchÉrt 88 (1961) 219–239; *Eadem*:

were both found in the northern and the southern cemeteries, both may be considered to have been the early cemeteries of the colonia. All the graves with glass and stone urns were found in these two cemeteries, their majority in the northern one.

Coloured glass is rare among Transdanubian finds from the 1st century. Mosaic and millefiori wares or ones with spotted surfaces are even rarer. The ribbed dishes, similarly to the former ones, are mostly found in the region of the Amber Road (Emona, at Zagreb, Poetovio, Zalalövő, Savaria, Sopron, Carnuntum). All these glass ware types, adding also the burials with glass or stone urns, show different distributions in Pannonia. Their analysis, similarly to that of Samian wares and amphoras, provides insight into the early history and economic culture of the province.

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CAPTIONS

Fig. 1. Savaria and the northern cemetery
Fig. 2. The finds of the grave
Fig. 3. The finds of the grave
Fig. 4. The photo of the blue jug
Fig. 5. The drawing of the blue jug.

István Tóth

THE COMPOSITION OF THE MITHRAS RELIEF FROM INTERCISA

The sculptural composition of the large Mithras relief in Intercisa, was made according to very consciously realised, strict compositional concepts apart from the basically given compositional possibilities of the scene of the bull slaying.[1] The skeleton of the composition is provided by a complex geometric structure. Each detail of the scene is integrated into this structure without allowing the geometric composition to rule over the looseness of the forms. At the same time, what we would like to prove, the composition in itself was a means of expression: it appears in the relief as the bearer of information for the initiated members of the mysterium community, hidden from he eyes of the outsiders.

First, it should be stated that the relief in Intercisa does not contain any element either in the whole of the composition or in the details that would not be repeated on the multitudes of Roman Mithras reliefs or that would be unique. The uniqueness of this relief is provided by the clarity of the composition and the connections clearly reflected in this clarity.

The most conspicuous unit of the composition is, following the general structural scheme of the topic, a large unilateral triangle with vertexes defined by the top of the Phrygian cap on Mithras's head, the right foot held straight and the hoof of the left foreleg of the bull. The left leg of the triangle is explicitely outlined by the nearly totally straight line of Mithras's body and stretched leg. The base of the triangle is similarly explicit, it is the base level of the picture field and the line of the feet and the belly of the bull resting on this level and diverging only slightly from the straight line. The right leg can only be delineated by an imaginary line connecting the two vertexes. This imaginary line overlap real lines at some points, as the Phrygian cap and the right-side outline of Mithras's hair, the dorsal arc of the jaw of the bull, the direction of the hind leg of the dog. On the whole, however, is lacks the delineation with tangible plastic means. In addition, several motives break this imaginary line as Mithras's two arms and the body of the dog. In these cases, the direction of the outlines approaching the horizontal (i. e. the base of the triangle) favourably relieves the empty rigidity of the triangle composition and, at the same time, the too pronounced appearance of the other two sides.

Totally independent of the above described triangle, another plane can be constructed, without difficulty, in the main scene of the relief. This is a large arc,

[1] In general: *F. Cumont*: Die Mysterien des Mitras. Berlin – Leipzig 1923, 213ff.; *F. Saxl:* Mithras: Typengeschichtliche Untersuchungen. Berlin 1931, passim; *T. Nagy*: A sárkeszi Mithreum és az aquincumi Mithra-emlékek (Le Mithréum de Sárkeszi et les monuments Mithratiques d'Aquincum). BudRég 15 (1950) 47–119; *L. A. Campbell*: Mithraic Iconography and Ideology. EPRO 11. Leiden 1968; *M. J. Vermaseren*: Mithras the Secret God. New York 1963 80ff.; *S. Insler*: A new interpretation of the bull-slaying motif. In: *M. B. de Boer – T. A. Edridge* (eds): Hommages a Maarten J. Vermaseren. EPRO 68:1–3. Leiden 1978, 519ff.; *D. Ulansey*: The Origins of the Mithraic Mysteries. Cosmology and salvation in the ancient world. New York – Oxford 1989, passim.

from all respects independent of the equilateral triangle, delineated by the edges of the chlamys and the connected tunic flying from Mithras's shoulder and which can easily be joined, in the eyes of the viewer, with the right-side outline of the bull's head. The arc is not closed in the upper part of the relief, an imaginary segment falls out of the picture field. Consequently, the eye sensing this element of the composition, automatically turns toward the upper third of the scene, that is towards Mithras's head. The geometric centre of the arc is, certainly not accidentally, on Mithras's right shoulder, which is the most prominent point of the relief, somewhat to the left from the vertical altitude of the triangle (i. e. the vertical axis of the whole composition). The fact that the centre of the arc, the centroid of the triangle and the point of intersection defined by the diagonals of the oblong of the relief do not overlap but lie to some distance from each other along the approximately vertical axis must be due to a conscious aspiration. It directs the eyes of the viewer to several points at the same time and so breaks the dominance of the geometric forms over anything else.

Analysing the geometric elements of the composition of the main scene, yet another possibility must be considered. The top of Mithras's cap, the end of the bull's tail, the elbow point of its left hind leg forced under the body, the hoof of its right foreleg and its nose delineate a regular pentagon which encompasses the whole bulk of the scene. The realisation of the pentagon in itself suggests noteworthy implications. It is, however, even more important that this structural unit involves the presence of the „pentagram" within the composition of the relief, which can be drawn into the regular pentagon. This plane, as it is well-known, was the symbol of perfection since Pythagoras and his school. In an aesthetic meaning it was due to its feature that the straight segments of the regular pentagon are proportioned to each other according to ratios of the golden section. This fact gives the key of structural perfection of the Intercisa relief.

This pentagram cannot, of course, be defined with graphic lines in the relief. Its hidden presence is only „known" by everybody who has realised it. And who knew it in the Antiquity that this magic plane can be drawn into the pentagon must also have known what it meant within the Pythagorean and the new Pythagorean system of ideas. The Pythagorean doctrines did not stand far from the followers of a religion that composed the iconography of its sacrificial pictures from the personified forms of constellations, that placed the initiation phases into the secret knowledge under the protection of planet deities and the preacher of which called himself „studious astrologiae".[2] The person who ordered the Intercisa relief (and who must have been a priest of the shrine community with a special rank) must certainly have been a person who, with the help of a sculptor with skills much higher than the provincial level, wanted to express his affinity to these ideas.[3]

The composition of the relief suggests yet another general implication beside the above ones. Art historical and typological research of the depiction of Mithras's bull slaying, which is identical in the main elements all over the Empire, but

[2] See e. g. *J. R. Hinnels*: Reflexions on the bull-slaying scene. In: *J. R. Hinnels* (ed.): Mithraic studies. Vol. 2. Manchester 1975, 290ff; *R. Turcan*: Mithras Platonicus. EPRO 47. Leiden 1975, passim.

[3] *I. Tóth*: Az intercisai Mithraeum nagy kultuszképe (manuscript).

which can be grouped into several typological units based on the details, has, for a century, been discussing the interpretation of local varieties, the comparison of contextual or so-called 'pattern book' differences of the depictions, their origin and interpretation. Regarding the differences in the details, the most important feature of the Pannonian and the Italian reliefs is that, unlike the Balkan, the Dacian and the German reliefs, the two-handled jug and the lion (the *Leo* and the *Crater* constellations) are missing under the belly of the bull. So these reliefs lack the composed, natural series of the astrologically connected constellations which make the backbone of S. Insler's interpretation[4] that is the regular stages of the imaginary heavenly route of the Sun in 30 degrees (i. e. monthly). This lack seems so important and not only a divergence from the pattern book as the recent results concerning the birth of the Mithras cult (papers by M. P. Nielsson,[5] S. Wikander,[6] P. Beskow,. R. Merkelbach[7] and the author) demonstrated Pannonia and Italy to be the most likely scene of the development of the cult.[8] It seems, accordingly, that the iconografically „defective" Italian and Pannonian reliefs represent a kind of archetype of the *Mithras tauroktonos* depictions, the original scheme in comparison to which the Balkan, the Dacian and the German depictions and also those in the city of Rome in the 3rd century meant a conscious amplification and ideological development. The Intercisa relief represents the purest and artistically highest manifestation if the known Pannonian (and Italian) bull slaying type.

We identify the Intercisa relief as the first, original composition of the so-called Pannonian type of Mithras slaying the bull due to the perfection of the structure, the artistic features of the execution, the ultimately clear shaping of the detail depictions and its compositional role. We think that all that could be depicted from the essence of the Mithras culture of Pannonian origin (in our opinion) is present on this relief in an artistically perfect shape, i. e. the constellation series representing the idea of revival, all the essential elements of the salvational sacrifices, and the fight between man and animal was composed as the artistic compositional problem haunting since the depictions Artemis subduing the stag and the Lapitha fight in the Parthenon frieze.

There is no motive in the Mithras relief from Intercisa that would be superfluous either in a contextual or an artistic aspect: each figure and each gesture bears a contextual, a messenger function. The perfection of the depiction from a formal aspect, at the same time, persuades us that there was such an overall clear pictural tradition before the artist that he could turn into the *par excellence* depiction of Mithras slaying the bull with his compositional adeptness and artistic skill. This relief, against its late dating, seems to convey the pictural tradition that came to life in the moment of the birth of the cult in the South-Pannonian Poetovio at the end of the 1st century and defined for centuries the local pictural type of the tauroktonos depiction, which could resist later dogmatic developments.

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[4] See note 1.

[5] *M. P. Nillsson*: Geschichte der griechischen Religion. Bd II. München 1961, 675.

[6] *S. Wikander*: Études sur les mystères de Mithras. Arsbok/Vetenskaps-Societaten i Lund 1951, 78sqq.

[7] *R. Merkelbach*: Mithras. Hain 1984, 77, 160f.

[8] *I. Tóth*: Das lokale System der mithraischen Personifikationen im Gebiet von Poetovio. AV 28 (1977) 391ff; *idem*: Istenek a Duna partján. Székesfehérvár 1991 44ff.

László Török

THE WORLD OF EARLY ABDALLAH NIRQI REVISITED

In the framework of the UNESCO International Nubia Campaign, in summer 1964, a Hungarian archaeological mission organized by the Archaeological Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences excavated Abdallah Nirqi, an AD 5th-12th century settlement in Egyptian Nubia 4 km north of Abu Simbel on the west bank of the Nile.[1] My first contact with ancient Nubia was established through the task the excavators entrusted to me in the publication of the finds from this site. The participation in this work determined my professional interest for the next thirty years or so; and that Abdallah Nirqi had such a decisive influence on my career can first of all be ascribed to the force of the intellectual attraction exercised by its excavators. I offer the following paper to László Barkóczi as an expression of gratitude for the encouragement and instruction I received from him during my work on the Abdallah Niqi publication. It may seem to colleagues who know and admire him as one of the greatest authorities on the archaeology of Roman Pannonia that his Nubian activity was a more or less accidental episode in his career: but every reader of his contribution to the Abdallah Nirqi publication,[2] be s/he interested in Pannonia or Dacia, or in any other, western or eastern, province of the ancient world, will find the questions asked in this „accidental" work not only most adequate but also familiar and Barkóczi's answers inspiring and frequently applicable to her/his own research. Of course my homage cannot claim a similar applicability, but I hope that László Barkóczi accepts with sympathy a paper in which we revisit thirty years after his Nubian excavation the historical scene in which the earliest period of the life of Abdallah Nirqi can be placed.

The period in question is the „dark age" between the collapse of the Meroitic kingdom and the emergence of its Christian successor states and extends from the middle of the AD 4th century to the middle of the 6th century. In the 1960s we saw very little, if any, continuity between the Meroitic and Post-Meroitic cultures. By contrast, many students of Nubian history tend to-day to regard the Post-Meroitic

[1] See the studies of *L. Barkóczi, Á. Salamon, L. Castiglione, Gy. Hajnóczi, L. Kákosy, L. Török, V. Pósa* published under the general title Abdallah Nirqi 1964. The Hungarian Excavation in Egyptian Nubia in Acta Arch. Hung. 26 (1974) 277–403; 27 (1975) 103–156, 353–494.

[2] *L. Barkóczi – Á. Salamon*: Archaeological investigation of the settlement town „A". ActaArchHung 26 (1974) 289–338.

state(s) of the „dark age" as well as their culture as an organic continuation of the Meroitic state and its culture.[3] In earlier papers[4] I tried to present a survey of the evidence, textual and archaeological, in order to demonstrate that the two centuries passing from the end of the Meroitic royal dynasty buried under pyramids at Begarawiya North and the Christianisation of the Middle Nile Region cannot be described in the terms of a linear model, be it a model of political-ethnic- and cultural continuity or a model of political- ethnic- and cultural discontinuity. On the contrary, the evidence, as far as I am able to understand it, presents a complex and inconsistent picture of several different, contemporary and subsequent, processes. Here I can give only a brief review of the more significant political and cultural processes which, as it seems to me, must be regarded as topically, chronologically and geographically distinct parts of the general context.[5]

Before going down to the issues of political continuity and discontinuity, I wish to advance here that my view of the collapse of the Meroitic state is based on a synthesis of a group of seemingly contradictory facts. On the one side stand the end of the Meroitic royal dynasty, the end of urban life at Meroe City and probably at Napata and other southern urban sites in the same period, the changes in the structure of the society, the disintegration of the land into smaller units and, subsequently, into separate states. On the other side stand the continuity of some settlements in Lower Nubia and of cemeteries, mainly in Lower Nubia but also in the South, further the continuity of certain religious rites, of one or two cult temples and certain cult institutions in Lower Nubia, the existence of transitional types in the material culture, and a—however very limited—survival of the Meroitic language and cursive script within the walls of the temple of Kalabsha in the north of Lower Nubia.

The end of the Meroitic royal dynasty is indicated by the end of its ancestral necropolis at Begarawiya North. The collapse of the royal clan and the court as a broader social and political unit and of the priesthood associated with Meroe City may be inferred, in turn, from the end of the Begarawiya West cemetery. The latest buildings found by Garstang at Meroe City were poorly built clusters

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[3] See recently the discussion of the new finds made by Patrice Lenoble at el Hobagi in the Sudan, *P. Lenoble*: Trois tombes de la région de Méroé. La clôture des fouilles historiques d'el Kadada en 1985 et 1986. Archéologie du Nil Moyen 2 (1987) 89–119; *idem*: „A new type of mound-grave (Continued)": Le tumulus à enceinte d'Umm Makharoqa, près d'el Hobagi (A. M. S. NE-36–0/7–0–3). *ibid.* 3 (1989) 93–120; *idem*: Du Méroïtique au Postméroïtique dans la Région méridionale du Royaume de Méroé. Recherches sur la période de transition I-V. Unpubl. Ph. D. dissertation. Paris 1994; *idem*: The division of the Meroitic Empire and the end of pyramid building in the 4th century A. D.: an introduction to further excavations of imperial tumuli in the Sudan. In: *I. Welsby Sjöström* (ed.): Eighth International Conference for Meroitic Studies. Pre-prints of the main papers. London 1996, 68–103.

[4] For references see *L. Török*: Late Antique Nubia. History and culture of the southern neighbour of Egypt in the 4th-6th c. A. D. With a preface by Sir Laurence Kirwan. Budapest 1988; *idem*: The end of Meroe. in: *I. Welsby Sjöström* (ed.): Eighth International Conference for Meroitic Studies. Pre-prints of the main papers. London 1996, 104–131; *idem*.: The Kingdom of Kush. Handbook of the Napatan-Meroitic civilization. Handbuch der Orientalistik. Erste Abteilung. Der Nahe und Mittlere Osten 31. Leiden – New York – Köln 1997, 476ff.

[5] For the textual and archaeological evidence see the works cited in notes 2–4 above; for the textual evidence see also *T. Eide – T. Hägg – R. H. Pierce – L. Török*: Fontes Historiae Nubiorum. Textual sources for the history of the Middle Nile region between the eighth century BC and the sixth century AD. III: From the first to the sixth century AD. Bergen 1998.

of small rooms with thin mudbrick walls and arranged around spacious open courts.[6] They seem to have been built for extended families and represent an earlier unknown type of habitation at the site and may perhaps be associated with the latest sherds recorded by Shinnie and Bradley from the surface and with the latest burials in the Southern and Middle Necropoleis.[7]

For the end of Begarawiya West I have suggested in earlier studies a date around AD 360–370. This date corresponds with the probable date of the campaign of king Ezana of Aksum against the people of the Noba who were by then in the possession of great parts of the Meroitic kingdom, provided that the conversion to Christianity of Ezana, who was still pagan at this time, is dated not earlier than the AD 360s. In his recent history of Aksum Stuart Munro-Hay argues, however, strongly for the dating of Ezana's conversion around AD 330.[8] If this dating is correct, the process termed „end of Meroe" in this paper extends from the 330s when Meroe City is attacked by the Aksumites to the 360s or 370s when we first encounter the institutions of a successor state in Lower Nubia.

Ezana's campaign was directed, as already mentioned above, against a people called Noba which occupied at that time the northern part of the Butana region as well as territories and settlements north of the junction of the Nile and Atbara probably also including Kawa. At the time of this campaign a part of the Meroitic kingdom, with the centre of Meroe City, seems still to have existed, although Meroe City had already been captured, presumably only temporarily, by the Aksumites at (an) earlier date(s). Ezana's army also destroyed Meroitic forces in a battle at the junction of the Nile and Atbara and took the Meroitic cities of Alwa (probably identical with modern El Moqren close to the junction) and Daro (modern Shadinab south of it). It seems that the campaign also caused the final collapse of the Meroitic kingdom.

The Noba of Ezana, who were identical with the Nubai of the Greek sources, belonged to the large family of Nubian-speakers. In the third century BC the Nubai are recorded to have lived west of the Nile occupying a territory extending from the height of Meroe City to „the bends of the river", i. e., as far north as the Bayuda region. They are described as a „large tribe" which is „not subject to the Aithiopians but [is] divided into several separate kingdoms".[9] Pliny the Elder (in the first century AD)[10] and the Geography of Claudius Ptolemaeus (in the second quarter of the second century AD)[11] locates them, in general terms, in the same large region west of the Nile. Conflicts with nomadic Noba in the late first century BC and the first century AD seem to be hinted at by, partly

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[6] *L. Török*: Meroe City an ancient African capital. John Garstang's excavations in the Sudan. London 1997, 38ff.

[7] *L. P. Shinnie – R. J. Bradley*: The Capital of Kush 1. Meroe excavations 1965–1972. Meroitica 4. Berlin 1980.

[8] *S. C. Munro-Hay*: Aksum, an African civilisation of Late Antiquity. Edinburgh 1991 78ff., 214f.

[9] Eratosthenes in Strabo 17.1.2; *T. Eide – T. Hägg – R. H. Pierce – L. Török*: Fontes Historiae Nubiorum. Textual sources for the history of the Middle Nile region between the eighth century BC and the sixth century AD. II: From the mid-fifth to the first century BC. Bergen 1996, No. 109 (transl. T. Hägg).

[10] N. H. 6.192.

[11] IV. 5,6.

inscribed, enemy representations from Meroe City, Gebel Qeili, and Napata. Their settlement in the Butana, as it is recorded by the Ezana inscription, thus seems to have been a later development the actual reasons and course of which remain unknown to us, similarly to the reasons of the great migrations towards and across the frontiers of the Roman Empire in Late Antiquity. It may be supposed that their movement first across the Nile and then their east-, north-, and southward expansion in the Butana was initially encouraged by the Meroitic kingdom and they played a role which could be compared, again, to that of the barbarian *foederati* constituting an increasingly large part of the Roman army and settled during the same period all over the Roman Empire. The Ezana inscription gives the impression of an extensive Noba presence in the Butana as well as in the Valley as far north as the Third Cataract, yet it also records the memory of recent Noba aggressivity against the remainders of the Meroitic kingdom. It would seem that in the phrase in the inscription „...the towns of masonry of the Kasu [i. e., Meroites] which the Noba had taken"[12] a process is summarized in the course of which the Noba took over step by step the power from Meroe occupying the urban settlements and their *hinterland*, cutting away the centre(s) of the kingdom from its peripheries and upsetting thus the balance of government and economy.

The traditional identification of the latest private burials at Meroe City with the Noba of the Ezana inscription is refuted by Lenoble for he regards these tombs as Meroitic. Taking into account the wide range of variations in the Meroitic mortuary practice of the South reflecting ethnic, social, occupational, and chronological differences (in all possible combinations), simplifying identifications as „Meroitic" or „Noba" are unacceptable. The first covers different traditions in which no cultural identifications could be established so far; the second is admittedly conjectural and if it is represented in fact by the graves excavated by Garstang at Meroe City, it is an already Meroiticised variant. Here I suggest to view the „Noba" tombs at Meroe City within the context of the latest settlement phenomena at the site, i.e., the rural-type, poor houses reflecting a different social structure; the abandonment of the temples and squatter occupation in them; burials cut in the walls of abandoned palatial buildings and in the inner rooms of the late Amûn temple; the complete disappearance of Meroitic wheel-made pottery wares and the emergence of hand-made wares with remote, or no Meroitic ancestry. Such a general picture can by no means be termed Meroitic. More probably, it reflects the collapse of the traditional Meroitic governmental and social structure and institutions, of the urban life with its material appurtenances and, at the same time, the spread of a new culture the carriers of which, however, were by then already to an extent Meroiticised. Remainders of Meroitic funerary religion as they occur in Post-Meroitic burials can thus be explained both with the survival of the bulk of the original population of the Meroitic territories and with the preceding Meroiticisation of the Noba element. Given the nature of Meroitic government, the collapse of the governmental hierarchy doubtless upset the structure of redistribution and transformed thus the production at all levels.

[12] *E. Littmann*: Sabäische, griechische und altabessinische Inschriften. Deutsche Aksum Expedition IV. Berlin 1913, No. 11 line 35.

The decline of the urban centres must have become irreversible because the Post-Meroitic rulers and the Noba immigrants were, on account of their traditional social structure and modes of subsistence, unprepared for the adaptation of the urban complexes with their special role in the state and with their special way of life. Though the abandonment of Meroe City within a few decades after the end of the Meroitic dynasty and the apparently similar fate of other urban settlements south of the Third Cataract may have been co-determined by their impoverished status and the complete loss of their role in external and internal trade, it also clearly indicates the emergence of a state that is based almost exclusively on villages of agriculturalists and seminomads and on various forms of a nomadic mode of life instead of the hierarchical structure of towns with temple-royal residence complexes, smaller urban settlements, agricultural villages, and villages of seminomads.

The Nile Valley north of the Third Cataract shows a somewhat different picture. Though there is evidence from Lower Nubia for the emergence of a new type of small settlements consisting of poor houses with irregular plans and built apparently for extended families, and, as a general tendency, for the shrinking of the average settlement and cemetery size, there are also significant cases of an organic settlement continuity. The important settlements of Qasr Ibrim and Faras maintained urban standards of architecture and material culture and there was no break in the continuity of the life of medium-size settlements as Wadi el-Arab, Arminna West and Gebel Adda or even of villages as Meinarti.[13]

Nevertheless, Lower Nubia cannot be regarded as a homogeneous cultural unit the reasons for which are in the differences in the historical and cultural backgrounds of the four territorial units constituting the Late Meroitic province of *Akiñ*, i. e., Lower Nubia, *viz.*, from north to south: the Dodecaschoenus; the Valley stretch between the latter's southern end at Maharraqa and the Second Cataract; the scarcely inhabited Batn el Hagar; and the Valley between the Dal and the Second Cataracts. The diverging developments in these territorial units led, however, within a brief period of time to the emergence around AD 420 of the kingdom of Noubadia extending first from Maharraqa and then, from the middle of the century, from Aswan to the Third Cataract. It was a federate of the Roman Empire.[14] The establishment of a federate kingdom in the neighbourhood of a province of the Roman Empire was probably determined by similar processes as the emergence of many other barbarian kingdoms from the end of the fourth century AD. Behind the fragmentary information relating to Lower Nubian history in the late fourth and early fifth centuries we may discern a complete change

[13] For the evidence see *B. G. Trigger*: History and settlement in Lower Nubia. New Haven 1965, 131ff.; *W. Y. Adams*: Nubia Corridor to Africa. London 1977, 382 ff. For the Meroitic settlements in Lower Nubia see most recently *D. N. Edwards*: The archaeology of the Meroitic State. New perspectives on its social and political organisation. BAR Int. Ser. 640. Oxford 1996, 48ff. Edwards' interpretation of all Lower Nubian settlements as small and short-lived settlements without a function in agricultural production the existence of which was primarily determined by the demands of long-distance trade is not fully shared here.

[14] For the evidence see Nos 293, 295, 309, 309–13, 317–22, 328–9, 331–43 in the work cited in note 5 above.

of political orientation and dependence: a turning away from the southern centre of the Late Meroitic and early Post-Meroitic state and a turning towards the Roman Empire which was increasingly engaged in dealing with barbarians in the form of concluding treaties and paying subsidies. The political attention paid by Rome to Lower Nubia was not reduced to the protection of the frontier area but penetrated, as is demonstrated by diplomatic presents, to the interior of the country as far as the subordinate chiefs at Gemai.

The former Dodecaschoenus between Aswan and Maharraqa became a part of the Late Meroitic kingdom when, in AD 298, the Emperor Diocletian withdrew Egypt's southern frontier and concluded a treaty with Meroe and the Blemmyans living between the Nile and the Red Sea. While the frontier withdrawal was directly motivated by Meroitic and Blemmyan raids in Upper Egypt, it was also the consequence of the Meroitic expansion in the area since the middle decades of the century. It also corresponded with the third century Roman policy of establishing a less expensive „defense in depth... with the depth inside the province rather than in outlying areas",[15] on the one hand, and, on the other, with the policy of treaties concluded at the same time, or alternately, with different groups of invaders. The treaty obviously intended to turn the Blemmyans now against Meroe, which already had to experience Blemmyan raids. In this particular respect, the treaty proved successful. Though groups of the Blemmyans would repeatedly occur during the subsequent centuries as allies of Meroe and, in the Post-Meroitic period, as allies of the Noubadians, their principal target became now the former Dodecaschoenus. Around AD 394 they succeeded in the complete political occupation of the Dodecaschoenus. The occupation lasted until the 450s, when, after repeated Egyptian and Noubadian attempts, the Blemmyans were forever expulsed from the Lower Nubian Nile Valley. Their dangerous presence seems, however, to have stimulated the establishment of the Noubadian kingdom. At the same time, however, they hindered Noubadia in maintaining a continuous federate relationship with Byzantine Egypt and slowed down its economic development and disencouraged its acculturation.

The fate of the former Dodecaschoenus was determined not only by its geopolitical situation but also by the origins of its population. It was inhabited mainly by a non-Egyptian population termed „Aithiopian" in earlier sources. In its monumental cult temples priests and economic officials belonging to the local non-Egyptian élite played an increasingly important role which actually led to the Meroitic occupation of the Dodecaschoenus in the course of the middle decades of the third century AD. Several cult temples of Egyptian and Egyptianized „Nubian" deities may have continued to function after 298, and some of them, as the Mandulis sanctuary at Kalabsha, also survived the collapse of the Meroitic state and continued, together with Philae, to influence not only the religious life but also the social relationships in the area.

With the end of the Meroitic kingdom, the former Dodecaschoenus entirely lost its political stability and was delivered to the impact of the changing rela-

[15] *M. P. Speidel*: Nubia's Roman garrison. ANRW II:10:1. Berlin – New York 1988, 767–798, 775.

tionships between Egypt, the Blemmyans, and the Lower Nubian successor of the Meroitic state.

By contrast, the territory between the former Egyptian frontier at Maharraqa and the Second Cataract seems to have been touched in a gentler manner by the events of the third to fifth centuries. The settlement continuity as well as the cemetery at Qustul in which the burials of four generations of „princes" dated to the period between *c.* 380–420 were identified indicate an apparently peaceful transition from a Meroitic to a Post-Meroitic political structure. The authority of the Qustul „princes" derived from the Lower Nubian viceroyalty rather than from Meroitic royal power. The lack of royal insignia—which would first occur in the first burial at Ballana around AD 420—at Qustul refers to a different, lower, grade of authority which may perhaps be termed as a subordinate chiefdom.[16]

The early Post-Meroitic tumulus graves at Gemai, Kosha, and Firka present a homogeneous picture typologically as well as from the aspect of funerary religion and social and material level. They fit into a governmental structure based on the territorial authority of subordinate „princes" or „chiefs". The lack of royal insignia in any of them, and then, at Ballana, the occurrence of royal crowns in the graves of the descendants of the Qustul „chiefs" around AD 420, indicate that the end of the Meroitic dynasty did not bring about an immediate political disintegration of the former Meroitic kingdom. It also would seem probable that the „chiefs" buried at Qustul, Gemai, and Firka came from the South and, though adopting, to various degrees, some Meroitic traditions, they introduced identical non-Meroitic burial customs and funerary rites. The typological and conceptual affinities between these burials and the transitional and early Post-Meroitic tumulus graves at Meroe City, el Hobagi and other southern sites are obvious and may be associated with the highest echelon of a developed, yet at the same time only superficially Meroiticised, tribal society which proved unripe for running a kingdom of the extension and complexity of Meroe.

Let us thus ask the question: has Meroitic culture collapsed with the end of the Meroitic royal dynasty? Admitting that no final answer can be given before we learn more about the developments in the South, it may nevertheless be useful to confront the Nubian evidence with the general symptoms of the collapse of complex societies as listed by Tainter, according to whom „a society has collapsed when it displays a rapid, significant loss of an established level of sociopolitical complexity".[17] He lists the following manifestations of collapse:

A lower degree of stratification and social differentiation. Such a development can mainly be observed in the South where urban life abruptly ends at a significant number of ancient settlements. The collapse of the cult temples all over the country (with the exception of one or two sanctuaries in the Dodecaschoenus) brings about the disappearance of the professional „middle class". The social stratification of the élite cemeteries of Qustul and Ballana reflects the struc-

[16] *L. Török*: The royal crowns of Kush. A study in Middle Nile Valley regalia and iconography in the 1st millennia B. C. and A. D. Cambridge Monographs in African Archaeology 18. Oxford 1987, 28ff., 55ff.

[17] *J. A. Tainter*: The Collapse of Complex Societies. Cambridge 1988, 4 and *passim*.

ture of clans of chieftains and the emergence of the stratum of warriors closely attached to these clans.

Less economic and occupational specialization, of individuals, groups, and territories. The Late Meroitic period witnessed a decline of pottery and other manufactures. The production of the traditional centralized workshops which had been evenly distributed in the whole territory of the Meroitic kingdom was replaced by the middle of the fourth century AD by two radically different pottery ware complexes. In the North the industrial production of a limited range of wheel-made wares can be observed: most forms and decorations derive from the copying of contemporary Egyptian wares. By contrast, in the South no wheel-turned wares are produced, but the majority of the wares come nevertheless from mass-producing workshops situated close to the river. While an industrial production of hand-made wares also occurred in the Meroitic period, the Post-Meroitic hand-made wares are typologically and stilistically only remotely related, if at all, to the Meroitic ones.

Less centralized control; that is, less regulation and integration of diverse economic and political groups by elites. The Ezana inscription clearly indicates the collapse of centralized Meroitic control by the AD 360s and it also suggests that it was brought about by the Noba occupation. It would seem that the first Post-Meroitic rulers initially established a centralized government operated by „princes"—who seem to have been, however, seminomadic chiefs and not the successors of the Meroitic officials—appointed at several places in Lower Nubia (the situation in the South remains unknown: are the people buried at el Hobagi such chiefs?). However, on account of the different starting positions in the North and in the South, the different international political contexts towards which the two halves of the former Meroitic kingdom inevitably gravitated, and the incapacity of a state of seminomadic origins and experience, the Post-Meroitic state disintegrated already by the AD 420s into three independent kingdoms.

Less investment in the epiphenomena of complexity, those elements that define the concept of 'civilization': monumental architecture, artistic and literary achievments. The latest monumental buildings at Meroe City and other urban centres in the South date from the AD first-second centuries. Though the Lower Nubian settlements—towns and villages—do not show the signs of a catastrophal decline in the third and fourth centuries, there is no evidence for monumental architecture in the North either. The inscriptional evidence attests, however, the continuous existence of a number of cult temples in Lower Nubia as well as their association with the central power. Nevertheless, the lack of evidence for temple building activity indicates a decline of the temples that may be compared to a similar process in Egypt.

As to the Post-Meroitic period, in the South the only constructions of a monumental character were earth mounds over the élite graves. The origins and function of the Hosh el Kafir, a fortified enclosure at el Hobagi, remain, even after Lenoble's penetrating analysis, fairly obscure. In Lower Nubia, the earth mounds at Qustul and Ballana and the elaborate burials display, in terms of a

tribal kingdom, an advanced stage of social organisation which can, however, not be measured with Meroitic standards.

A smaller territory integrated within a single political unit. The processes of the Noba occupation in the South and the disintegration of the former Meroitic kingdom were discussed above.—Tainter also lists the major themes in the explanation of the collapse of complex societies. From these the following apply to the case of Meroe:

Depletion or cessation of a vital resource... on which the society depends. It may be assumed, albeit only in general terms, that by the middle of the fourth century AD Meroe lost her role in the intermediate trade of exotic wares and the system of internal redistribution was destroyed by the Noba occupation as it is described in the Ezana inscription. It would seem that Meroe's *response to circumstances*, i. e., to the challenge of *other complex societies* (i. e., Aksum) and to *intruders* (i. e., the Noba) was *insufficient*, but it remains obscure, how far was the collapse of the Meroitic kingdom determined by *societal contradictions, élite mismanagement or misbehaviour*. It appears probable, however, that the extension of the Noba caused serious *social dysfunctions* which, presumably, did not greatly differ from the dysfunctions which we may observe in large areas of the contemporary Roman world.

Andrea Vaday

SARMATIAN SETTLEMENTS IN THE GREAT HUNGARIAN PLAIN

The analytical study and publication of Sarmatian sites is not particularly advanced in Hungary. Publication standards for cemeteries and grave assemblages of the 1960's, hallmarked by the research activity of Mihály Párducz, still prevail and can be thus used with only minor modifications. The situation is entirely different in the case of settlement remains. It was not only the methodology of excavations that fundamentally differed from those of today, but the mode of publication as well. Developments in excavation techniques are not discussed here since the information lost cannot be retrieved any more.[1] Artifacts were often published as mere illustrations, assemblages were not presented in their entirety. The quantity of excavated materials often remained unpublished and shards, rather than vessel fragments were shown. This type of presentation, however, excludes the possibility of metric interpretations during the course of subsequent studies. Thus finds from earlier excavations cannot be used for the purposes of comparative studies.

Recently, large surfaces have been recovered during the course of archaeological rescue operations that precede large scale land development (especially highway constructions), within field seasons that were only a few months long. Both the large size of these surfaces and the great quantity of finds recovered create a new situation. Excavation methods had to be improved to guarantee complete excavations that could be carried out within a limited period of time. The materials recovered sometimes reached the size of smaller museum collections which justifies the demand that rapid publication should take place in a reliable form, controllable by the readers. Since new and well documented materials are available, an evaluation method had to be devised which guarantees the possibly most complete analysis of information content. Meanwhile, it was also expected to help the re-evaluation of previously excavated materials using a new methodology. In this case, we are racing against time, since the immense quantity of unpublished materials has been accumulating continuously. Postponing evaluation not only makes publication difficult, but also results in the concommittant loss of currently gathered, new data. Recently, four major Sarmatian settlements have been excavated by the author. In this paper, analytical questions encountered during the course of evaluating these sites are discussed. Analysing the differences between two late and two early Sarmatian settlements, changes in the material culture of the Great Hungarian Plain were studied within a chronological context.

Statistical analyses can be of great help in evaluating settlement materials. The quantity of numerical information is negligible in the case of small excava-

[1] For example the lack of the pit sections, detailed documentation, the accurate description of features.

tions, whose small assemblages have to be further sub-divided by typological distributions. Small excavation surfaces only rarely reveal typical and statistically characteristic features. In the case of such materials only simple counting, rather than statistical evaluation can be carried out. Consequently, at most hypothetical tendencies can be discussed. When larger surfaces are excavated, the chances of using statistical analyses in reconstructing past reality are better. At this point, five Sarmatian sites may serve as reference. The first three are Gyoma 133,[2] Újhartyán[3] and Kompolt, Kistér 14.[4] These may be dated to the AD 2nd and the beginning of the 3rd centuries. In addition, sections of two Late Sarmatian settlements from the Hunnic Period were analysed. One of them, Endrőd 170,[5] the other was Örménykút 52[6] belonged to the Békés County Survey Project.

The characteristics and potentials of the sites discussed

Large, contiguous surfaces were excavated at Gyoma 133, Újhartyán and Kompolt, Kistér 14. At the site of Endrőd 170 most of the material originated from discontinuous test squares. The Örménykút 52 project took place in the form of a single test excavation. Consequently, the first three sites are different from Endrőd 170 and Örménykút 52, not only chronologically but in terms of excavation methods as well. Therefore an important question must be answered before the statistical comparison of their data.

Theoretically, both the structure[7] and character,[8] as well as the inhabitants' way of life and economic status, cause differences in the quantitative and qualitative composition of find materials. Meanwhile chronological differences also influence the original quantitative and qualitative indices of the find material. Similarly, differences may be caused by the distance, i. e. proximity of Roman provinces, especially in the zone of cultural infiltration[9] Ethnic restructuring within a region may also lead to quantitative and qualitative changes in the material.

Characteristics of the excavation surface at the settlements under discussion here may be evaluated in terms of the number of features and the proportion of their surfaces relative to the entire excavated area.

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[2] The identification number of this site is the serial number assigned during topographic survey work carried out in Békés county. The excavations took place in the form of rescue excavations within the framework of the Alföld Microregion Research Project (Andrea Vaday, Archaeological Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences) Publication: *Vaday et al. 1996.*

[3] Rescue excavations carried out before the construction of Road 504 connecting Highways 4 and 5. Field work was directed by Dénes B. Jankovich (Archaeological Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences). Publication: *Vaday – Szekeres: Újhartyán.*

[4] Rescue excavation of M3 motorway, publication: *Vaday et al. Kompolt, Kistér.*

[5] The identification number of this site is the serial number assigned during topographic survey work carried out in Békés county. Field work was directed by Dénes B. Jankovich. Publication: *Jankovich – Vaday: Settlement research.*

[6] The identification number of this site is the serial number assigned during topographic survey work carried out in Békés county. Field work was directed by the author. Publication: *Jankovich – Vaday: Settlement research.*

[7] Large settlement, small or farmstead-size settlement.

[8] e. g. „industrial" manufacturing site, predominantly agricultural settlement etc.

[9] In the proximity of Roman dominated areas cross-border commerce and effects of low degree romanization influences the characteristics of trading. Therefore differences occur in comparison with central areas located way within the Barbaricum.

Proportions between surface and features

Settlements	Újhartyán	Gyoma 133.	Kompolt, Kistér 14.	Endrőd 170.	Örménykút 52.
Excavated surface (m2)	2050	14 700	28 700	775	248
Total surface of features (m2)	225	8350	7200	81	84
Number of Sarmatian features	85	334	131	27	28

These figures indicate the following proportions of the total surface were covered by features: *Fig. 1.*

The curve reveals that the numeric comparison should be interpreted from the respect of the size of the excavated site. At two excavations (Kompolt Kistér 14 and Gyoma 133) the area covered by features is smaller than at the smaller unearthed surfaces. The features cover a larger surface in the smaller excavated area of Gyoma 133 than at site Kompolt Kistér 14. The seemingly contradictory tendency can be retraced to two reasons. The first is the excavation method. Gyoma 133 was excavated in sections, Kompolt-Kistér 14 with trenches. The other reason is that several Sarmatian phases could be found in the excavated area of the Gyoma 133 settlement, while at Kompolt Kistér 14 no significant phase shift could be demonstrated. Újhartyán is similar to Kompolt, Kistér 14 both chronologically and in the excavation method of the settlement although the excavated surface can be measured in thousands contrary to Kompolt, Kistér 14, which occupied some ten thousands of square metres. The two Late Sarmatian Hunnic settlements, Endrőd 170 and Örménykút 52, are basically different from the above ones. The excavated surfaces, here are within the grade of hundred m^2. The excavation of Endrőd 170 in distinct squares did not allow the observation of the settlement pattern. The smaller, contiguous square-system at Örménykút, however, uncovered the central part of the settlement. This will result the relative density of features, whose relative values are illustrated in the following table:

The relative area covered by features

Settlements	Újhartyán	Gyoma 133.	Kompolt Kistér 14.	Endrőd 170.	Örménykút 52.
%	10,9	56,8	25,8	10,45	33,8

The data of relative frequencies allow the comparison of the various settlement parts (*Fig. 2*). At large settlements the relative area covered by features was 10,9–56,8%. Deviations from this relative value can be observed only at partially fortified sites in the northern border zone of the Barbaricum after the beginning of the AD 3rd century.

Örménykút 52 is remarkably different from the remaining four settlements studied here. This may be explained by the site's character. While Újhartyán, Gyoma 133, Kompolt-Kistér 14. and Endrőd 170 are large, settlements in an open landscape, Örménykút 52 is a small farmstead-like settlement, where features of habitation and economic activities form a closed unit limited to a small area. At this site, agricultural land immediately surrounded the settlement, while in the case of the other studied sites plowland and pasture lay at a distance from human habitation. Another typical feature of Sarmatian settlements must be mentioned here. Already field walks

have shown that surface finds could sometimes be collected over distances of several kilometers. These observations, made during the course of topographic field surveys, lead to the conclusion that such settlements were extremely extended. However, looking at various segments of these surface distributions of artifacts, chronological differences occur in the composition of the find material. For example, the shores of Fehér Lake near Hódmeztvásárhely are covered by settlement features all around the lake. This cover, however, was not created within a single period. In the case of settlements located near riverbanks and lakeshores shifts may be observed in the centres of settlement. This may be explained by the way of life. As cultivated land associated with the houses is exhausted, tillage is extended to new areas where households sprang up while the old ones were not renewed but usually abandoned.[10] This process of settlement formation may be observed both in the Southern Bácska region and the southern section of the Great Hungarian Plain between the 2nd and the late 4th centuries. It is a phenomenon of great help in understanding internal structural changes and determining more precise chronological systems of settlement. Numerous farmsteads were established during the Late Sarmatian–Hunnic Period, surrounded by plowland and pasture as was seen at Örménykút 52. These farmsteads seem to usually form chains, rather than surrounding central places. It can be read from the very large number of Late Sarmatian–Hunnic sites localised in the course of topographic surveys, and from their dense arrangement in a chain pattern.[11]

Chronology and trade

The chronological identification of settlements has been problematic for a long time. The absolute dating of Sarmatian settlements was based on the chronological affiliations of Roman finds found at these sites. When terra sigillata, coins or fibulae had been found the settlement was assigned to the respective period.[12] This form of dating, however, is rather uncertain. Namely, Roman objects recovered from the territory of the Barbaricum must be dated in a composite way. The first of these is the time of manufacturing of a given Roman object. In the case of export ware, the time span required by local distribution should also be taken into consideration. Within the Barbaricum the time of use and deposition must be reckoned with as well. Such multiple dating, however, is possible only in the case of reliably identified artifactual assemblages.[13] During the analysis of finds from Gyoma 133 it could be clearly seen that while a hundred years period was determined on the basis of terra sigillata finds, structural changes in the settlement's stratigraphy are indicative of two phases within this period. That is, ceramic material from the Barbaricum offered more precise dating than terra sigillata finds.[14] Roman dating is also of limited use in the case of Roman coin finds. Second century silver denarius coins often occur in 5th century materials

[10] The same phenomenon was observed at medieval settlements in the Great Hungarian Plain.

[11] *MRT 6; MRT 8.*

[12] See *Mócsy 1954* for chronological determinations of Roman brooches. The chronological information provided by the terra sigillata was partly revised by *Vaday 1992, Vaday et al. 1996.*

[13] Understandably, this possibility was most easily available in the case of grave assemblages.

[14] *Vaday 1992; Gabler – Vaday 1992; Vaday et al. 1996.*

(both from burials and settlements) from the Barbaricum. Therefore, they can be used only for the purposes of *post quem* dating.[15] The dating value of brooch types was brought into question by the discovery of a brooch manufacturing workshop in the Barbaricum. In this case, Roman specimens were used in making local moulds, and even the raw material was of Roman origin (recycled metal from dishes and coins). Therefore studying neither the style nor the material composition of these specimens is sufficient to prove or disprove Roman dating.[16] In comparison with Roman finds, these brooches provide a later date in Sarmatian burials and settlements.

Two types of Roman commerce may be distinguished in the Sarmatian Barbaricum. The first, earlier phase is of provincial character. It spans from the end of the AD 1st century to the Antoninus Period and is dominated by local Pannonian products, whose composition is opportunistic and heterogeneous. Terra sigillata occurs but rarely in this phase.[17] The main source of this trade is Aquincum.[18] The character of trading changed during the Antoninus Period. Pannonia became a mediator of imperial products, the local ware attained a secondary position in commerce.[19] During this period, it is possible to distinguish between commerce aimed at the central territory of the Barbaricum and the short range frontier trading that took place in the limes regions.[20]

When the so-called imperial phase of commerce is considered, regional differences may be observed between Gyoma 133, Újhartyán and Kompolt Kistér 14. While Újhartyán lay in the proximity of the frontier zone of Pannonia Inferior (and therefore was involved in the aforementioned short-range trading), Gyoma 133 represents the central section of the Barbaricum. Kompolt Kistér 14 is lying along the road mainly leading through the German–Sarmathian border territory starting from Aquincum. Therefore, only the evidence of a long distance trade may be detected here.

The absolute proportion between Roman exported and local ware[21] is the following:

The proportion between Roman exported and local ware[22]

	Gyoma 133. Phase A	**Újhartyán**	**Gyoma 133. Phase B**	**Kompolt, Kistér 14.**	**Gyoma 133. Group C**[23]
Roman export, pieces	27	16	46	44	61
Local Barbarian, pieces	2183	881	7029	4134	5489
Roman export, pieces /%	1%	2%	1%	1%	1%
Local Barbarian pieces /%	99%	98%	99%	99%	99%

[15] *Vaday 1988–89* 186–187.

[16] At Tiszaföldvár 2nd-3rd century Roman fibulae served in making moulds significanlty later than the date of manufacturing for those Roman preforms.

[17] Only early Rheinzabern and Gaulish ware.

[18] e. g. Eraviscan painted ware, Roman Period Celtic vessels with painted bands. *Maróti – Vaday 1980.*

[19] On trade see recently *Vaday 1998.*

[20] It remains difficult, however, to distinguish between commerce channeled through the Great Hungarian Plain toward Dacia and the Germanic Barbaricum to the northeast.

[21] Values in the attached list are rounded.

[22] Values in the attached list are rounded.

[23] The A and B phases could ambigously be differeciated at Gyoma 133 site both stratigraphically and from the find material. The material of C group is only partly younger than those of the earlier phases still it can not be chronologically affiliated. That is why the name "group" was iused here.

The above two tables reveal that that the exported Roman wares are represented with lower absolute values at Újhartyán than at Gyoma 133 B. phase, while the relative values are lower at Gyoma 133 B phase, in the rich, industrial settlement of the central Barbaricum.[24]

Percentual proportions of trade indicators are different between Phase B of Gyoma 133 and Újhartyán. Following the Marcomannic Wars the agricultural character of Gyoma 133 changed during Phase B, and manufacturing activity became dominant. Consequently, the settlement became relatively prosperous in the industrially undeveloped territory of the Barbaricum, which also increased the buying power represented by the inhabitants of Gyoma 133. Nevertheless, even this increase in value is shown only by a fragment of percentages! The relative values are again worth comparing. The curve in *fig 3.* reveals the connection that the quantity of the Roman exported wares follows with smaller or larger divergences the total quantity of the find assemblages in the sites. It means, at the same time, that the export index is approximately the same in the examined settlements.[25] At settlements, where the export index is much higher than the average, the discrepancy is to be examined. Either the legal status[26] of the settlement is different from that of ordinary Sarmatian settlements or just a smaller and less typical or characteristic part of the settlement was unearthed.

Chronological differences between the earlier and Endrőd 170, Örménykút 52 sites influence the commercial/quantitative and cultural-ethnic/qualitative values of the respective find materials. By this time, imperial commerce is difficult to discuss. Similarly to the early period, only opportunistic, provincial, short range trading can be detected which was more intensive in the border zone, while such ware did not even reach 1% in the Central Barbaricum. This is indicative of a rather small contribution of exports to the entire material and pinpoints a weakness of previous research when typochronological dating was based only on 1% of the material.

Questions rooting in the excavation conditions of the sites

Gyoma 133, Endrőd 170 and Örménykút 52 were excavated within the framework of the Alföld Microregion Research Project which concentrated on a small area in the central portion of the Barbaricum. This arrangement offered an opportunity to study diachronic changes in a limited region. However, excavations at the three sites were carried out under different conditions. Gyoma 133 was a scene of rescue excavations. Endrőd 170 was a pioneering settlement research using a comprehensive set of multidisciplinary methods in discrete test squares. Örménykút 52 was an excavation that revealed a contiguous surface within a small farmstead.[27] Kompolt Kistér 14 was a rescue excavation with nar-

[24] This discrepancy is not influenced by the fact that Kompolt, Kistér 14 site can be dated to the same period as Gyoma 133 B late phase and somewhat later in an absolute chronological sense, since both sites fall into the same Roman-Barbarian contact system phase.

[25] The ratio of the total assemblage and the exported wares.

[26] It might be a Roman commercial distribution outpost, or a Roman military post etc.

[27] Differences in field conditions must be reckoned with as factors that potentially influence statistical evaluation.

rower and longer trench-like surfaces on the track of the M3 highway. This clearly illustrates the difficulties of analysing the three materials by uniform standards.

While Gyoma 133 and Kompolt, Kistér 14, to some extent Újhartyán, were appropiate for the study of settlement structure, the methods of excavation at Endrőd 170 and the small size of the excavated surface at Örménykút 52 limited studies of this type. The two latter sites represent more-or-less the same time period, and the same may be said of Gyoma 133, Kompolt Kistér 14 and Újhartyán. Therefore, their respective materials are comparable to each other. The aforementioned regional identity is another interface in evaluation.

The quantity of materials recovered from the four sites is different as well. It is for this reason, that whenever the artifactual assemblages are sufficiently rich for the purposes of statistical evaluation, average fragment counts may be calculated. For example, in the case of Gyoma 133 the following mean fragment numbers were obtained:

The mean number of fragments per feature at Gyoma 133

	Phase A	**Phase B**	**Group C**	**total**
Number of features	23	82	229	334
Number of fragments	2210	7075	5550	14835

In Phase A, on average 96 finds belong to each feature. In Phase B this value is 86, while in Group C an average of 24 was calculated. The average number calculated for the entire settlement was 44 pieces per feature. At the site of Újhartyán, which is in part coeval with Gyoma 133, the average number of finds was 10.5 per feature. This may be indicative of the difference between the economic status of the two settlements. The above averages can naturally be influenced in a site by the quality of the material, the derriere of fragmentation. So prior to the analysis it should be checked if it is identical or approximately identical at the various sites. In the above cited examples this precondition was met. The grade of fragmentation is much smaller in a settlement perished in some violent action, than in an inhabited and naturally abandoned settlement. Another factor of influence may be if the topmost layer of a site is denuded and only a small part of the features survive.

Distribution of the find assemblage

Pottery fragments dominate in the find material of settlements, their information content therefore may be considered the highest of all artefacts.[28] The same is illustrated in the following table in settlements dated to the 2nd and the first half of the 3rd century:

[28] Greater quantities make it only more probable that the material is typical and characteristic. Numerical dominance does not necessarily guarantee higher information content. In each case, the quantitative and qualitative components must be studied. Materials can be considered typical and characteristic when the aforementioned components can be appropriately evaluated and, even if separately, correspond to the requirements of these categories.

In means the followings in relative values: (%)

	Újhartyán	%	Gyoma 133.	%	Kompolt-Kistér 14.	%
Ceramics shards	971	95,8%	14674	98,72%	3948	99,02%
Other finds	41		188	39		

Following this evaluation, the analysis of dominant ceramic finds may be started.[29] It is a source of subjective bias in the archaeological study of settlements that, in general, the part of the material considered most characteristic and interesting by the analyst is presented. In the majority of cases, no information is available concerning a small, but not insignificant portion of the find material which is additionally truncated by selection during the inventorization process. However, even such pieces may bear useful information concerning the entire material. Two categories may be distinguished on the basis of description methods. The first of these contains ceramic shards which cannot be classified either in terms of form and function or as a type of vessel. This category is labelled „shard" and decreases the overall information content of the artifactual assemblage. Other, qualitatively different shards, identifiable by form and function, were classified into the second category as „vessels".[30]

The applicability of ceramics for the purposes of analysis

Based on the above it can be said that the dominant ceramic material in the settlements cannot be used with the same information content at the analysis of the material. In the case of earlier excavated settlements with registered find assemblages it cannot be told how large the original find assemblage was since there are not documents about the quantity and the quality of the discarded material. Accordingly, these sites can only be used with a reduced information value. In the case of the recently excavated settlements I could work with the whole bulk of the material. This allowed the registration of the quantity of the material which could not be involved into an analysis.[31] Although the total amount of the ceramic material is useful for the analysis of the technique applied at the Sarmatian ceramics, not all the items can be used for the detailed analyses of the form, the function and the technology. The usability of the whole material is displayed in *Fig. 4* at the Kompolt material.[32]

[29] We should be aware, of course that fragments, which belong to the same vessel but cannot be refit may be left even after restoration. It is especially true for frequent vessel types, large vessels, where the number of the shards is greater, and hand-thrown wares, where the probability of that the fragment belong together is greater. The problem may be bridged in a way that the relative values of the ceramic materials of the settlements are compared. So the same problem is present at each site and there is a higher probability of a realistic picture. At other finds, however, fragmentation exerts less influence on the comparison of absolute values.

[30] This means that the term „vessel" is used instead of „shard" even if only a fragment of the original object is available.

[31] See *Vaday et al. 1996* 109, Table 5. The characterless material.

[32] At earlier published settlements, the discarded material can be grouped here, among others.

When the set of ceramic finds is looked at as a whole, the manufacturing technique can be most easily observed.[33] The relative frequency distribution of manufacturing techniques in the materials from the settlements was as follows:

	Újhartyán	Gyoma 133	Kompolt Kistér 14.	Endrőd 170.	Örménykút 52.
Fast wheeled	68,4%	75,6%	71,2%	78%	78%
Slow wheeled	3,9%	0,4%	0,0%	11%	17%
Hand thrown	27,7%	24,0%	28,8%	11%	5%

While a slow but steady diachronic decline of hand thrown ceramics is apparent in the Gyoma 133 assemblage, ominously little change occurred at the site of Újhartyán. The proportion of hand-thrown ceramics is significantly greater than in either phases of the Gyoma 133 site, while a greater proportion of ceramics were thrown on a slow wheel. This may be explained by the proximity of Újhartyán to Pannonia, from where Early Roman Period Celtic material (hand-thrown and wheel-thrown only in a secondary fashion) could be more easily exported to the Barbarians. This ware, however, is unknown in the central art of the Barbaricum.

Relative frequencies of the material sub-divided by manufacturing techniques show a different picture in the cases of Endrőd 170 and Örménykút 52. A clearly decreasing diachronic trend may be seen in the contribution of hand-thrown ceramics. Ceramics thrown on a fast wheel show a practically steady proportion. On the other hand, the Late Sarmatian–Hunnic Period pottery thrown on a slow wheel not only appears but contributes a characteristically substantial percent to the assemblage (*Fig. 5.)*

Following the identification of manufacturing techniques, the determination of form and function must be carried out. In this case, the situation is significantly more complicated. Should the shard be non-characteristic, its classification by form and function is simply impossible. The percentage of non-identifiable materials that bear no information on form or function depends on the character of the settlement as well as the circumstances of its destruction.[34]

The ceramic material of the settlements can be analysed from the aspect of the form. The form is often identical with the definition of the function. In Sarmatian settlements, for example, the storage jar is both a formal and a functional term.[35] There are vessels that can serve several functions, they are the so-called multi-functional vessels. Both formal and functional analyses demand the specification of the segment of the find assemblage that is suitable for the analysis. Ceramics with formal affiliations are different in the various settlements. At Újhartyán, 75% of the find assemblage can be attributed to form groups, while at the burned down settlement of Örménykút the ratio was, naturally, higher: 83%.

Function determines form, however, form cannot always be used in the identification of function, since this latter cannot be unambigously recognized in certain

[33] More precisely, this means distinction between hand thrown vessels and ceramics that were hand-thrown or made on a slow wheel. This latter technique as well as secondary wheel throwing are more difficult to recognize, especially in Avar Period materials.

[34] See above Fig. 4

types of vessels. Function can be unequivocally determined in the case of Sarmatian storage vessels, jugs, kettles and lids. Multifunctional vessels include bowls (used in eating, storage and as a cover) and pots (cooking and storage) as well as globular dishes (eating, storage). Should these types be assigned to a single function, they would increase the number of functional categories and would make a difference in the quantitative distribution of form and function respectively.[36]

The distribution of ceramic material by main-form

Typ	Újhartyán	Gyoma 133.	Kompolt Kistér 14.	Endrőd 170.	Örménykút 52.
Storage vessel	324	5456	1168	288	281
Pot	282	3437	1765	160	293
Bowl	140	124	255	230	207
Spherical vessel	110	802	297	152	395
Jug	12	1293	57	139	395
Lid	11	124	51	12	26

In addition to the aforementioned obvious characteristics, the metric analysis of pottery must be carried out as well. Namely, the size ranges of various groups of vessels may be characteristic of both type and function, and can be very variable by region, culture and chronological affiliation. *Fig. 6.* illustrates the relative frequency of the main vessel types according to the above table. The shifts between the correlations of absolute and relative frequencies are worth observing. At the smaller excavated settlement parts (Endrőd 70 and Örménykút 52) the relative frequency of the storage vessels is lower than at excavations on larger surfaces. It is understandable since fewer features of storage function could be found in the excavated area. At Újhartyán, the absolute numbers are small, the relative values, however, are high. The largest relative frequency could be observed at Kishartyán. The settlement fragment, however, did not imply a large population. It may signify that the stored food was significantly more abundant than at the rest of the examined settlements from the same period (Újhartyán, Gyoma 133). The reason may be searched for in the vicinity of the trade route but it may also be influenced by the fact that it is situated in the German–Sarmatian border zone and the population of the settlement could meet the demands of both the Roman and the Barbarian commerce. Bowls are represented with approximately the same proportions in the early and the late settlements. It is somewhat larger than the average at Endrőd 170 and somewhat lower at Gyoma 133.[37] The ratio of the spherical vessels is rather high except for Gyoma 133. Their relative frequency is the highest in the latest Örménykút settlement, which may be explained by the phenomenon that in Sarmatian settlements of the Hunnic period a special

[35] Naturally it can further be subdivided according to formal elements into types, subtypes, groups, subgroups, variants, subvariants etc. in a subordinate classification system.

[36] At present, the actual use of potentially multifunctional vessels cannot be identified. Therefore such an analysis would make no sense.

[37] The explanation of the phenomenon could not be found in the material, it is interesting, however, that the absolute values are high in the various settlements.

type of the form appears. This type is similar in size to a smaller storage jar, although formally it belongs among the spherical vessels. These vessels were also suitable for the storage of smaller quantities. The percentage discrepancy of the jugs is varied in the settlements. It is small in the case of Újhartyán and Kompolt and approximately identical at Gyoma and Endrőd with a much higher frequency of occurrence. They are the most numerous at the Örménykút 52 site. It is questionable to what degree the small surfaces settlements of the Hunnic period a special type of the form appears. This type is similar in size to a smaller storage jar, although formally it belongs among the spherical vessels. These vessels were also suitable for the storage of smaller quantities. The percentage discrepancy of the jugs is varied in the settlements. It is small in the case of Újhartyán and Kompolt and approximately identical at Gyoma and Endrőd with a much higher frequency of occurrence. They are the most numerous at the Örménykút 52 site. It is questionable to what degree the small surfaces.[38] The percentage discrepancies of the pots used in the household are partly caused by the unevenness of the excavated surfaces and partly by the functions of the unearthed features. Finally, it can be told about the lids that their proportion is low in all the settlements.

Detailed analyses can also be carried out in the settlements. We examined, to give an example, the Kompolt Kistér 14 site. The manufacture technique of the ceramics can be told in nearly every case. It can further be improved from various aspects. At Kompolt, Kistér 14 site, the absolute values of the pottery material according to the applied technique are the followings: 3910 items are fine, wheel-thrown ceramics, 170 are household items made on slow wheel, while 1649 are hand-thrown household items. This material cannot be used for further analysis in its totality. The settlement did not have a layer of violent perishing so nearly the whole pottery material was fragmentary. The shards, however, are not always suitable for the definition of the vessel type. In this case, 2950 shards were unsuitable and only 1837 items could be grouped in vessel types (*Fig. 3*). We may examine other aspects as well. For example, the grouping of the fine, fast wheel thrown ceramics at the Kompolt, Kistér 14 site with subgroups of the colour of the fragments, the surface treatment, and the ornament within the vessel types is as follows[39]

		Surface treatment			Ornament			
		Natural	**Smoothed**	**Coated**	**Smoothed-in**	**Rouletted**	**Painted**	**Incised**
Sherds	Light grey	1827	1	20	2	9		
	Medium grey	213	4	1	1	2		
	Dark grey	30	3					
	Brick-red	821	5		3		7	1
Storage vessel	Light grey	847	15	3	1	6		1
	Medium grey	60	13	2	2			1
	Dark grey	19	4					1
	Brick-red	187	2	2		1	1	

[38] It is only a supposition that the ethnic variability of the settlement may cause a shift in the relative values.

[39] For further details see *Vaday et al. Kompolt Kistér*.

		Surface treatment			Ornament			
		Natural	Smoothed	Coated	Smoothed-in	Roulettted	Painted	Incised
Spherical vessels	Light grey	183	1	2		1		2
	Medium grey	27	2					
	Dark grey	13						
	Brick-red	68	5				1	
Jugs	Light grey	27		3				
	Medium grey	9	1	2				
	Dark grey	3						
	Brick-red	18	1	1				
Bowls	Light grey	129	2	2		1		
	Medium grey	31	4					
	Dark grey	8						
	Brick-.red	71	2		1		2	
Rare vessel types in the settlement:								
biconical vessel	7							
flask	2							
plate	2							
horizontal barrel	1							
standing barrel	2							
beaker	2							
lid	1							

The analysis of the wheel-thrown ceramics can be carried out with the aspects listed in the above tables. Earlier, the colour of the wheel-thrown Sarmatian ceramics was accepted to be of dating force. The late material was expected to be grey, the earlier one brick-red.[40] The question can be examined in Gyoma 133, where the chronological phases can be distinguished.[41]

	Phase A.	Phase B.	Group C.	Total
Grey	1187	3442	2670	7299
Brick red	415	2040	1245	3700

The above table reveals that the absolute values are significantly different in the earlier A and the later B phases. Comparing the relative values of the two phases at Gyoma 133 with the those of Kompolt, Kistér 14 (*Fig. 7*) we can see that within the same period the latest Kompolt material has approximately the same relative frequency as the Gyoma 133 early A phase. It can also be observed that the quantity of the brick red vessels does not decrease in the later B phase at Gyoma, but, on the contrary, it grows. This, in the case of the given settlements, shows that the colour of the pottery is not a chronological factor. The basic colour of the vessels depends, fist of all, on the raw material, then on the baking technique and, in some cases, also on the added tempering material. It is another problem, how characteristic the colour of the pottery may be of different vessel types in a settlement. This is illustrated in *Fig. 8.* at the Kompolt, Kistér 14 site.[42] In this material, the grey was divided into its shades since the light grey

[40] This method was used by Mihály Kthegyi for the chronological grouping of the finds collected in field surveys.

[41] *Vaday et al. 1996* 108, Table 4. Fig. 44.

[42] In the comparison, the shards unsuitable for type grouping are omitted.

vessel type was dominant and characteristic. The surfaces of these vessels is chalk-like, porous, the sound of the ceramics is not chiming but similar to the sound produced by defectively baked pieces, where rather drying and not baking on a high temperature was carried out. The medium and dark grey pottery, at the same time, has solid surfaces and emits a chiming sound by striking it. The light grey material was very similar in shape and ornament to that from Újhartyán. The medium and dark grey wares were characteristic of the Gyoma 133 find assemblage. It was suggested in the course of the analysis of the Kompolt material that, perhaps, the similarities of the raw material, the baking technique and even forms and ornaments was not accidental between the Danube and the Tisza within the period. Beyond the Tisza, however, at Gyoma, all these show significant differences.[43] It might be considered that the aforesaid divergeces were caused by the raw material and partly by a different manufacture technique. The raw material was mostly the sandy clay between the Tisza and the Danube, while in the central and southern part of the region beyond the Tisza, the pits yielded pure clay. The raw martial with a higher quartz content would necessitate a much higher baking temperature. In the late period, tempering with quartz, pebble and mica containing materials was adapted in the Barbaricum, partly on Roman impact, for the fast and slow wheel thrown cooking vessels. The baking temperature of these vessels is significantly higher than of the vessels made of rich, untempered clay, which are unsuitable for cooking. Returning to the Kompolt material it can be read from *fig. 8.* that the proportion of the light grey wheel-thrown vessels decreases in the order of storage vessels, spherical vessels, bowls and jugs. The proportion of the brick-red, medium and dark grey coloured wares grows in the same order. The same can be read from the following table:

	Storage vessel	**Spherical shaped vessel**	**Bowl**	**Jug**
Light grey	74%	62%	53%	46%
Brick red	17%	24%	30%	31%
Middle-gray	7%	10%	14%	18%
Dark grey	2%	4%	3%	5%
Readable tendencies	<—>	<—>	<—>	<—>

If we accept the above described regional interrelation of the raw material, these data also mean in the case of the Kompolt site that the quality of the wares from non-local raw material is lower than that of the local products.[44] Examining the same in vessel type categories we find that the wares of Barbarian inner trade are the less numerous among the storage vessels and the spherical vessels in the settlement fragment, and the most numerous among the jugs. This proportion is 50–50% among the bowls.

[43] The same is true for the smaller find assemblages of the period. The same was reinforced by material collection in Heves county and in regions beyond the Tisza.

[44] The brick-red wares are also not local characteristics, they are harder baked and chiming. The porous, underbaked, rather yellowy than brick-red local products are missing from the site. They can sometimes be found in the region in settlements dated to the same period, although they appear in larger numbers only in later settlements.

Proxemic relations

Perceptions and demands of space differ greatly by cultures. This is plausibly manifested in the constructed environment, the metric characteristics of material culture. Beyond the features defined by proxemics, metric traits of the artifacts are influenced by the geographical environment, economic status, political situation and lifeways of any human population. Consequently, the concepts of „critical space" and „critical time" develop. This means that, should sudden overpopulation appear in a limited area, individual's critical space will be violated which leads to a crisis situation. This situation was apparent in the case of Sarmatians following the immigration of Roxolans which continued with the arrival of Alans and other tribes and fragmented tribal groups who, fleeing from the Hunnic invasion, moved into the Great Hungarian Plain. The situation was similar under Hunnic rule.

The population increase created a critical situation. This crisis was not solved by partial immigration into the Roman Empire. The natural environment of the Great Hungarian Plain, the scarcity of raw materials in that region and the concommittant prone trading position placed the Barbarians in a difficult position even in the time of peace. Sources written in Latin and Greek often give accounts of Sarmatians intruding the province at the end of the winter or during the early months of spring. Barbarians who attacked crossing the ice cover of the frozen Danube became a topos in the literature. The Romans explained this phenomenon by saying that it was at this time that the marauding hords could cross the river. The timing of these incursions, however, suggests that it was at this time of the year when the supplies of Sarmatians had been exhausted and the shortages inspired pillaging the neighbouring provinces. Actions by the latrunculi are indicative either of a population increase that could not be matched by supplies, or shortages due to a drought period.[45]

This critical situation is frequently mirrored by the metric characteristics of the find material.

Production increases to provide the growing number of the population, and the consumption grows.[46] This can be examined at the storage vessels, the quantity and measurements (content) of which can be compared at various sites within limited chronological periods. It is, however, a problem, that the content can rarely be calculated and the item number is so small that the content value cannot be estimated from the fragments.

A significantly larger number of finds would be necessary in order to be able to attribute a fragmentary rim type, within a smaller region and identical

[45] Naturally, this statement is valid only for peacetime in this region.

[46] Regrettably, no calculation has so far been made about the individual consumption rates in the various settlements. In Gyoma 130 it turned out during the comparison of the early A and the later B phases that neither the species constitution nor the number of the individuals are identical even in relative values in the two periods. In the B phase, the settlement has industrial features with reduced agricultural functions. There is no surplus production and only a limited number of butchered animals for local consumption represents the settlement. In the agricultural settlement of phase A surplus was produced. The butchered, dried meet may also have been traded among Barbarians. It means that the meet quantity for local consumption cannot be separated, the two categories are mixed.

period, to a storage vessel type with fixed measurements. The same is true for the cooking vessels, some of which may be twice or even two and a half times larger in the later periods than in the early and middle Sarmatian periods.

The metric analysis of the pottery types may help, in some cases, ethnic affiliations. In the Gyoma 133 site, the Dacian pots were different not only in ornament and form but their metric values were also significantly different from the Sarmatian pots.

An additional task during the course of evaluation is considering metric anomalies in concrete cases. Such deviations catch the eye in inhomogeneous graphic representations. Size intervals defined by outliers occurring outside the typical concentrations of the frequency distribution curve are also considered anomalies. In the Late Sarmatian/Hunnic Period materials, some pottery used by the people who arrived newly from the east forms such distinct groups.

In summary, the statistical analysis of Sarmatian settlements can be used in the objective description of chronological, ethnic as well as regional differences and characteristics, including the more accurate detection of exported ware.

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Tivadar Vida

VEIL PIN OR DRESS PIN

Data to the question of Avar period pin-wearing

László Barkóczi dealt in several studies with the early Medieval survival of Pannonian classical traditions, in a narrower sense with that of the elements of the classical costume.[1] According to his hardly disputable theory, the survival and development of some elements of Roman period costume attest to the continuity of late classical traditions and consequently of some populational groups in the area of the earlier Pannonia.[2] He always based his studies on the late Roman find material, which he compared with the assemblages in Italy, Dalmatia and the Alpine regions. He turned to this topic in a period when new and successful methods were developed throughout Europe to define the survival of some elements of the Romanized culture (way of life, costume, economy etc) in specific modified forms in the increasingly Barbarian Europe.[3]

The problem of pin-wearing has been given an emphasis in the research of classical tradition from the very start,[4] which may be completed with a new find and some new aspects related to the early Avar female costume based on the accumulation of the find material and the results of international research.

It is accepted that the pins in the graves are found in various positions referring to their functions. Pins used on the clothes and in the hair or hats/caps can already easily be differentiated. Resent research aims, first of all, at the shape of the clothes and the hairdo and at a more exact definition of the function of the pins.

Earlier technical literature only interpreted the appearance of the various forms of pin-wearing in the early Middle Ages from the respect of the survival of classical traditions[5] although significant regional differences can be observed in the diffusion of the pin-wearing[6] and its real significance is difficult to be estimated due to the small number of the pins and the variety of their positions.

The problem of the function of the Avar period pins found on the chest were dealt with, so far, by László Barkóczi,[7] Attila Kiss[8] and, types from the 8–9th

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[1] *Barkóczi 1968* 289–295, 305–311; *Barkóczi 1995* 57–135.

[2] *Barkóczi 1995* 128.

[3] *M. Martin*: Die Romanen. in: *W. Drack* (ed.): Ur- und Frühgeschichtliche Archäologie der Schweiz VI. Das Frühmittelalter. Basel 1979, 11, 18ff.; *V. Bierbrauer*: Kontinuitätsproblem im Mittel- und Ost-Alpenraum zwischen dem 4. und 7. Jahrhundert aus archäologischer Sicht. Berichte zur deutschen Landeskunde 53/2 (1979) 343; *V. Bierbrauer*: Frühgeschichtliche Akkulturationsprozesse in den germanischen Staaten am Mittelmeer (Westgoten, Ostgoten, Langobarden) aus der Sicht des Archäologen. Atti del 6. congresso internationale di studi sull'alto medioevo. Spoleto 1980, 89–105; *Riemer 1992*.

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[5] *Kiss 1968* 93.

[6] The same is attested to by recent analyses: Southern Italy, Sicily: *Riemer 1992* 82; Alamania, Bavaria, Franken: *Martin 1995* 54; *M. Martin*: Tracht und Bewaffung in fränkischer Zeit. In: Die Alamannen. Ausstellungskatalog. Stuttgart 1997, 351–354.

[7] *Barkóczi 1995* 110–128.

[8] *Kiss 1968* 93–101; Kiss 1995.

centuries, by Béla Szőke,[9] Gábor Kiss[10] and Anton Distelberger.[11] Authors accepted a link to the classical traditions to various degrees but none of them, except for A. Distelberger, examined in details the forms of the pin-wearing among the romanized population in the 5–6th centuries, its Merovingian parallels and did not discuss the decorations of the pins either. Béla Szőke defined the form of pin-wearing in the 8–9th centuries and counted, first of all, with a local origin,[12] but did not refer to farther analogues in the Danube-Main region.[13]

Recent excavations have proved that pins occur in the Avar period not only on the chest but also at the skull and the number and the significance of these pins are larger than earlier suggested.[14] Attila Kiss collected the early Avar period hair-pins found at the skull and, against the small number of Gepid analogues, attributed them to a Gepid tradition.[15] He did not consider, at the same time, the pin-wearing of the Panonian Langobard women, which, nevertheless, must have had a prominent role in the assimilation and bequest of the classical cultural tradition within Panonia.[16] The problem of pin-wearing was not given deserved attention in some recent comprehensive studies on the local traditions of the Avar culture, either.[17]

The data-base, allowing a comprehensive estimation of the Avar period pin-wearing has become rather complete. The aim of the present paper is to describe a decorative pin from Budakalász, which deserves an analysis in itself for its unique shape, and starting from it, to draw a sketch of the main problems (origin, diffusion, chronology, analogues, cultural affiliations) of the Avar period pin-wearing. Some lucky finds from the 5–7th centuries from Panonia, Italy and German territories of the Merovingian period help the differentiation of the old elements representing classical traditions and the new elements of the early medieval times in the early Avar pin-wearing custom.

The pin from grave no. 104 in the Budakalász – Dunapart cemetery

The partially disturbed skeleton of a woman was found in grave no. 104 of the Budakalász cemetery in 1988 (*Fig. 1*).[18] The outlines of the coffin were clearly visible in the grave, which were surrounded by a large number of iron mountings. A silver ear-ring with an applied globe pendant and filigree decoration was found in a fragmentary, but reconstructable state on the right side of the broken skull.

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[9] *Szőke 1992* 883–884.

[10] *G. Kiss*: Funde der Awarenzeit aus Ungarn in Wiener Museen. 1.: Funde aus der Umgebung von Keszthely. ArchA 68 (1984) 161–164.

[11] *Distelberger 1996* 77–82.

[12] *Szőke 1992* 884.

[13] *von Freeden 1983*, 452–456.

[14] „...the various forms of these pins occurred on the chest in the first place, and at the pelvis in the second row and occurred only exceptionally under the skull". *Kiss 1968* 93.

[15] *Kiss 1995*, 189–190. 308, Liste 2a, b.

[16] *Distelberger 1996* 80.

[17] *E. Tóth*: Bemerkungen zur Kontinuität der römischen Provinzialbevölkerung in Transdanubien (Nordpannonien). Die Völker Südosteuropas im 6. bis 8. Jh. Südosteuropa-Jahrbuch 17, 251–264; *Müller 1992* 274–281; *Bálint 1993*, 233–246.

[18] On the excavation of the Budakalász cemetery: *A. Pásztor – T. Vida*: Avar Period cemetery at Budakalász. A preliminary archaeological report on the excavations of the Avar Period cemetery of Budakalász-Dunapart. ActaArchHung 47 (1995) 215–225.

An iron buckle and an iron ring were found at the disturbed pelvis region and the remains of two knives at the left limb.

An obliquely placed, 16.1 cm long bronze pin was found in the middle of the chest. The head of the pin was decorated with two symmetrically arranged animal heads. The necks of the animals arch above the heads and start inwards. They are connected at the top with a small, arched band. At the bottom they merge creating a shape resembling the cup of a flower. This part of the chest was not disturbed so the pin left in its original position refers to its function. The pin is a thin chilled cast with the imprint of textile on the backside. On the frontal side, the two, symmetrically arranged animal heads depicted from a frontal view are plastic, the recoiling necks are decorated with small bosses between two ribs. The horizontal ribs on the forehead and above the nostrils and also the crossing ribs between the eyes of the animal heads resemble horse harness. It may be supposed, accordingly that the head of the pin was intended to bear two horse heads, although the snake representation, frequent in the late classical and early Avar art cannot either be excluded.

The exact chronological position of grave no. 104 with the pin find is difficult to tell because of the unique pin. The place of the grave within the cemetery implies the middle of the second half of the 7th century.[19] The silver ear-ring with an applied globe pendant can be dated from the same period where the two hemispheres of the globe are decorated with circular, lyre-shaped filigree patterns (*Fig. 2.1*).[20] The remains of granulation can be observed on the ring beside the raised globule and the ring terminates in a small globule. The ear-ring belongs in the group of medium large items with oval rings.[21]

Avar Period pin-wearing custom

As compared to the number of the unearthed early Avar period graves, the pin finds occur in a similarly small number as in the preceding Gepid and Langobard periods,[22] in the contemporary Romanized and Langobard Italy[23] or in other regions of the Merovingian Europe.[24] This custom of wearing was only practised by a minority of women in the Avar period as well. The find material accumulated in the last few decades allows a wider scope for analysis in the case of Avar period pin-wearing custom as well. In the case of the reconstruction of the contemporary custom, the number of the pins, their sizes and shapes are to be considered, too. The number, shape and function of the Avar period pins reveal striking conformities and, at the same time, noteworthy divergences from the phenomena observed in the Merovingian period Europe. Regarding their posi-

[19] The analysis of the phases of the Budakalász cemetery is in process, final results may be expected after having closed the whole series of analyses.

[20] *Kiss 1983* 101, 107–108.

[21] *Kiss 1983* 102–103, figs 1–2.

[22] The stylus pins occur in a very small number in the Gepid find material: *J. Cseh*: Adatok a V-VII. századi gepida emlékanyag egységéhez. SzolnokMMÉ 7 (1990) 51. Fundliste 14.

[23] *Riemer 1992* 82.

[24] *Martin 1995* 54.

tions, all the types present in the Merovingian period Europe can be found among the Avar period pins.

1. Two pins on the two sides of the head.
2. One pin on the right side of the skull or under it.
3. A long pin on the right shoulder.
4. An obliquely placed pin on the chest.
5. A pin at the pelvis and at the limb bones.[25]

The pins, as parts of the costume, may have served two functions. Their practical role was to secure certain garment types (a cloak with or without sleeves, scarf or veil) on the body and to fix bun, braids, net or a veil on the head.[26] It has never been emphasised enough that the pins with their shapes, materials or the aesthetic effect of their decorations could have functioned as pieces of jewellery. In the case of the pin in Budakalász decorated with animal heads the jewellery function is certainly to be considered.

The majority of the pins are Roman period stylus pins. The stylus pins were widely used in Europe in the 4th to 7th centuries and they can only be exactly dated with the help of other finds found together with them.[27] The occurrence of the large number of Roman period stylus pins has already affirmed the theory that the custom of wearing dress-pins and hair-pins in barbarian territories or in their vicinity can be attributed to the survival of the Romanized population.[28] As, however, stylus pins can be found in Western Gothic environment[29] and they also make part of the Gepid and Langobard high ranked women's costume in the 6th century,[30] a significant transformation and reinterpretation of classical traditions must be considered.

Hairpins

Hairpins, or head-cleaning pins, larger than 20 cm, worn on the right side of the head are characteristic elements of the early Merovingian period costume. This pin-wearing custom first appeared at the Germans in the Rhine and Elbe

[25] Jutas, grave 165: *Gy. Rhé – N. Fettich*: Jutas und Öskü. Zwei Gräberfelder aus der Völkerwanderungszeit in Ungarn. Prag 1931, 32. Taf. 9/14; Szekszárd-Bogyiszlói út graves 89, 192, 285 and 491: Gy. Rosner's kind oral communication.

[26] Silver threads belonging to a veil, a hair-net or a braid are often found at the head. *Riemer 1992* 83.

[27] *Riemer 1992* 83.

[28] *I. Kovrig*: Megjegyzések a Keszthely-kultúra kérdéséhez (Bemerkungen zur Problematik der Keszthely-kultur). ArchÉrt 85 (1958) 66–72; *A. Kiss*: Panónia rómaikori lakossága népvándorláskori helybenmaradásának kérdéséhez (Zur Frage des Fortlebens der römerzeitlichen Bevölkerung von Pannonien in der Völkerwanderungszeit). JPMÉ 1965, 81; *F. Fülep*: Sopiane – The history of Pécs during the Roman Era and the problem of the continuity of the late Roman population. ArchHung S. N. 50. Budapest 1984, IX. Kapitel; *R. Müller*: Die spätrömische Festung Valcum am Plattensee. In: Germanen, Hunnen, Awaren. Schätze der Völkerwanderungszeit – Die Archäologie des 5. und 6. Jahrhunderts an der mittleren Donau und der östlich-merowingische Reihengräberkreis. Katalog der Ausstellung im Germanischen Nationalmuseum Nürnberg 1987, 270.

[29] *V. Tovornik*: Die frühmittelalterlichen Gräberfelder von Gusen und Auhof bei Perg in Oberösterreich. Teil III. ArchA 70 (1986) 434.

[30] *I. Bóna*: Gepiden in Siebenbürgen – Gepiden an der Theiß. ActaAchHung 31 (1979) 29, 36.

region in the 4th century and survived with the same function at the beginning of the Merovingian period.[31] These pins sometime appear at the head still they could not serve the fastening of garment since fibulas were used with this function.[32] The number of pins recovered from beside the skulls is high in the Merovingian regions.[33]

Based on Merovingian analogues, the single pins and those found in pairs beside the head should be differentiated since they refer to different hair-do or head-dress. Two small pins terminating in small hollow globules can often be found in the graves beside the head.[34] The classic example of this custom is provided by the grave of the Frank queen Arnegunde, buried in Paris, where the small, globule-terminated pins were found beside the head.[35] Although no similar items have been found in the Carpathian Basin, smaller pins with different shapes, found beside the temporal were used with the same function (Mezőbánd/Band grave 29,[36] Kölked-Feketekapu A graves 108 and 245[37]). The Mezőbánd pins measured 2, 7 – 5, 7 cm, the Kölked ones 13–14 cm. There are no more than two pins at the head in the Avar period find assemblages. The majority of the Avar period pin finds occurred at the head, similarly to the Merovingian period German custom.[38]

Dress-pins and veil-pins on the right shoulder and the chest

Several from the small number of Avar period pins were found at the right shoulder or at the chest in a position suggesting their function.[39] These pins served the fastening of outer garment at the right shoulder or in the middle on the chest.[40] The number of the pins found at the right shoulder or the chest has only slightly accumulated in recent years:

Budakalász, grave 104
Csákberény, grave 55[41]
Keszthely-Fenékpuszta-Horreum, grave 25.[42]

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[31] The so-called bird-headed pins build a characteristic group of early Merovingian pins. *Martin 1995*, 51.

[32] *Martin 1995* 44. Abb. 22.

[33] *Möller 1982* 36–42.

[34] *M. Schulze-Dörrlamm*: Die spätrömischen und frühmittelalterlichen Gräberfelder von Gondorf, Gem. Kobern-Gondorf, Kr. Mayen-Koblenz. GDV. Berlin 1990, 132, 135. In find assemblages from the end of the 6th and from the 7th century, two or more small pins are often found at the head beside the dress-pin on the chest, which could have secured a veil or the hairdo. *Martin 1995* 52.

[35] *A. France-Lanord – M. Fleury*: Das Grab der Arnegundis in Saint-Denis. Germania 40 (1962) 341–359.

[36] *Kovács 1913* 308–311, Abb. 10/6.

[37] *Kiss 1996* 450, Taf. 36; 468, Taf. 54.

[38] At the site of Kölked-Feketekapu A, e. g., the ratio of the pins found at the head and at other parts of the body is 2:3. *Kiss 1996* 189–190, 308, Liste 2.

[39] A detailed list of the positions of the pins with the exact indication of their positions in the grave: *Kiss 1968*, 99–100; Interpreted as part of the costume: *von Freeden 1983* 455.

[40] *Martin 1995* 54.

[41] Gyula László's kind oral communication.

Lesencetomaj, graves 5, 6, 9, 10, 12[43]
Szekszárd-Bogyiszlói út, graves 68 and 79[44]
Várpalota-Gimnázium, grave 208[45]

The number of the pins found at the upper part of the trunk in the Carpathian Basin during the Avar period, similarly to that in the western Germanic regions, is approximately identical with the number of pins found at the head.[46] The pins found on the chest are often unique pieces (e. g. the bird-headed pin in the Szekszárd-Bogyiszlói út cemetery), although stylus pins also appear on the chest in a position implying their function (Várpalota-Gimnázium grave 208, Csákberény grave 55), so these latter ones cannot automatically be accepted as hairpins in the 7th century.[47] Their function must be defined from their positions.

In the case of the Budakalász pin found on the chest, the main question is if it served the securing of a cloak with or without sleeves or that of a veil or scarf.[48] In the case of the Arnegunde grave in Paris, the good excavation observations and the rich find assemblage certainly revealed that the large, decorated pin could only have served the securing of a veil as the garment was fastened with disc-brooches.[49] Similar fibulas are missing in the Avar period graves with pin finds. This statement is true vice-versa as well since none of the Avar period graves with disc brooches contained pins.[50] Accordingly the data seem to suggest that the two find types preclude each other, which can only mean that they were used with the same function, the fastening of the garment. The pin on the chest was suitable to substitute the disc brooch. Still, no chronological difference can be observed between the two customs in Pannonia.

The size, the thickness of the pin in grave 104. at Budakalász, allowed the fastening of a material thicker than a veil, e. g. a cloak or a larger scarf.[51] The size of the Budakalász pin (16.1 cm) is the same as that of e. g. the pin found at the right clavicle in the Lesencetomaj cemetery, which was used for the fastening of the garment. The length and thickness of these pins were enough to fasten the outer garment. Pieces found at the right shoulder were used in the same manner as the earlier bulb-headed brooches,[52] which were used as long as the 6th century. The depictions of brooches on the right shoulder used for the fasten-

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[42] *Barkóczi 1968* Taf. LXVIII, 1.

[43] *Müller 1992* 291–297, Taf. 7–13.

[44] Gyula Rosner's kind oral communication.

[45] *I. Erdélyi – P. Németh*: A Várpalota-gimnáziumi avar temető. VeszprémMMK 1969, 190, T. XVIII 11.

[46] See: *Möller 1982* 26.

[47] *Kiss 1996* 308. Liste 2.

[48] *Möller 1982* 43–47. Liste V.

[49] A similar costume was suggested by another pin find from France (Penne-Magnac) dated by a Mauricius Tiberios coin (586–602). *M. Martin*: Tradition und Wandel der fibelgeschmückten frühmittelalterlichen Frauenkleidung. JbRGZM 38 (1991) 647. Abb. 20.

[50] *Kiss 1977* Taf. XLVIII, LV, LVI; *Barkóczi 1995*, 120.

[51] Of course we are aware that a veil or a scarf did not necessarily mean in the early medieval times a piece of clothing from a light fabric as we understand them to date. See: *Martin 1995* 52.

[52] *Barkóczi 1995* 105–131.

ing of a mantle (bulb-headed and disc brooches) survived in the Ravenna mosaics from the 6th century.[53]

Only a few local antecedents can be found in Pannonia to the pins worn on the chest. They are known in the Roman period (Intercisa)[54] and they are represented with even larger numbers in some Langobard graves from the 6th century. In the Jutas grave, a silver pin was found at the chest.[55] The pins from grave 2. at Mohács,[56] and grave 1. at Várpalota[57] were stray finds. If they were not hair pins they could only served the fastening of a veil or a scarf since the garment was fastened with S-brooches and/or so-called 'Bügel-fibel'.

The small number of the antecedents is not enough to prove a local continuity but their appearance in the 6–7th centuries can be understood knowing the fashion in the Merovingian times. In Frank regions west of the Rhine, hair-pins were replaced by breast-pins in the 6th century but in Bavarian and Alemannic regions, the long hair-pins stay in their original position even in the 7th century.[58] Varied breast pins with unique shapes have been found in the Langobard Italy (Castel Trosino).[59] The dating of the Budakalász pin from the second half of the 7th century is reinforced by the fact that the pin on the chest follows the custom of the single hair-pin[60] and also the pins with decorated heads (Scheibenkopfnadel) following the custom of the stylus pins.[61]

Accordingly, the Budakalász breast-pin could have served the fastening of a scarf worn across the shoulder over the cloak or of a cloak with or without sleeves (*Fig. 3*).

Analysis of the motive

The unique decoration of the Budakalász pin, a plastic ornament ending in recoiling animal heads has no analogues in the Avar period find assemblages. It appeared, however, in pressed and cast varieties as the ornament of Avar period belt mounts and the related representatives of the motive are present, in an individual form, in the art of the Mediterranean and its peripheries characterised by classical-Byzantine impacts in the 5th to 7th centuries. In order to understand the ornament of the pin we have to review the similarly shaped objects within and outside the Carpathian Basin. Astonishingly, the realistic or somewhat

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[53] The imperial mantle of Justinian and Theodora were fastened with each a brooch, sliding backwards on the backside of the right shoulder. The outer garment fastened on the right shoulder (cloak, scarf) did not only pertain to the men's costume. *F. W. Deichmann*: Ravenna III. Frühchristliche Bauten und Mosaiken von Ravenna. Wiesbaden 1958, Taf. IX, X; Abb. 360, 370, 371.

[54] *E. Vágó – I. Bóna*: Die Gräberfelder von Intercisa I. Der spätrömische Südost-Gräberfeld. Budapest 1976, 116. Taf. 29/1344, 5.

[55] *Bóna 1956* 194, Taf. LI. 5.

[56] *A. Kiss – J. Nemeskéri*: Das langobardische Gräberfeld von Mohács. JPMÉ 1964, Abb. 8, 7.

[57] *Bóna 1956* 187. Taf. 27. 5.

[58] *Martin 1995* 52.

[59] Tomba 42: *Mengarelli 1902* 240; Tomba 19: *Mengarelli 1902* Tav. IX. 9.

[60] *M. Martin*: Tracht und Bewaffnung in fränkischer Zeit. Die Alamannen. Ausstellungskatalog. Stuttgart 1997, 354.

[61] *M. Torcellan*: La tre necropoli altomedievalidi Pinguente. Richerche di Archeologia Altomedievale e Medievale 11. Firenze 1986, 47.

stylised animal depiction and the vegetal motive appear at the same time in the 6–7th centuries at the end of the recoiling pattern. The two different artistic concepts are mixed even within a narrower region as e. g. the Carpathian Basin.

The belt mounts found in grave 24. of Balmazújváros-Hortobágy-Arkus cemetery attest to the fashion of recoiling animal head motives in the Avar period. All the mounts bear beaked animal heads depicted from the profile (*Fig. 5.2*).[62] A close analogue of this motive can be seen on a mould with recoiling stylised bird heads found in a goldsmith's grave in the Biskupija cemetery (*Fig. 5.1*).[63] The recoiling motive is repeated in a unique way on three late Avar cast mounts probably originating from Vasasszonyfa (*Fig. 5.5–8*).[64] On these cast mounts, however, the animal heads are replaced by defective leaf motives, which means that the figural depiction was repressed. The ribbed framing of the recoiling elements with the imitation the row of globules, however, is totally identical with the decoration of the Budakalász pin. A buckle body from North Italy with a recoiling vegetal pattern is very close, in this respect, to the Budakalász pin-head (chill cast, bead series between two ribs, recoiling pattern, here with a vegetal motive) („Kuchelen" chiesetta di S. Barbara-S. Vigilio sul colle di Castelfelder, *Fig. 5.10*).[65]

Regarding its structure, the pin head from Budakalász is analogous to the open-work bronze casts from the Tiszafüred cemetery (graves 22, 193, 644) the function of which in the Avar period graves must have been similar to that of the open-work discs.[66] A bronze buckle from Cividale (Friaul) also decorated with recoiling animal heads, highly resembling a vegetal pattern, also hints at their original function (*Fig. 5.3–5*).[67]

The same motive is frequent on Byzantine buckles and their imitations especially on items of the „Bóly-Zsély/Želovce type" of the Panonian group[68] (*Fig. 4.3–7*). It can be demonstrated on the original gold buckles produced in Byzantine workshops (Mytilene,[69] Cyprus) and their local imitations (Bóly, Zsély/Želovce,

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[62] Awaren in Europa. Schätze eines asiatischen Reitervolkes 6–8. Jh. Ausstellungskatalog. Frankfurt am Main 1985, 83 Abb. 87.

[63] *D. Mrkobrad*: Arheološkj nalazi seobe naroda u Jugoslavji. Beograd 1980, Taf. XCIV, 5.

[64] The finds are in Berlin at the moment (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preußerischer Kulturbesitz. Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte. Kat. /Inv. Nr. Ivd 5070) Kiskőrös as provenance is probably mistaken. According to the data by Dr. M. Nagy and G. Kiss, the finds came from the Vasasszonyfa cemetery. The finds are being analysed and they are to be published in the Acta Praehistorica et Archaeologica. I would like to thank Prof. Dir. Dr. W. Menghin for allowing the citation of the finds in this paper.

[65] *L. Dal Rí – G. Rizzi*: Il territorio altoatesino alla fine del VI e nel VII secolo d. C. In: Citta, Castelli. Campagne nei territori di Frontiera (secoli VI-VII.) Cong. Monte Barro-Galbiate 1994. Montava 1995, 103, Fig. 18, 3.

[66] *É. Garam*: Das awarenzeitliche Gräberfeld von Tiszafüred. Cemeteries of the Avar Period in Hungary (567–828) 3. Budapest 1995, 385–386.

[67] I langobardi. Exhibition Catalogue. Milano 1990, 459–460. Cat. Nr. X. 161.

[68] *Ibler 1992* 138–140. Abb. 3, 4.

[69] The Mytilene buckle is dated by the Byzantine seal of Trulla found together with it (613–629/30): L'Art Byzantin, Art Européen. Exhibitions-Catalog Athén 1964, 365, Cat. Nr. 392; 426, Cat. Nr. 506; Cyprus: *Ibler 1992*.

Győr grave 608, Keszthely, Lezha grave 7 [Albania])[70] (*Fig. 4.3–7*). The buckle with animal-head decoration found in the settlement of Mutenice dated to the 7–10th centuries is of unique finesse.[71] Accordingly, the pattern was present in the early medieval art of the Carpathian Basin. Its local existence is attested to by the fact that it can be observed on some Gepid fibulas (Szécsény,[72] *Fig. 4.2*) and buckles (Gyula[73]).

The pattern of classical-Byzantine origin appeared in an astonishingly large number and broad variety of concepts in Europe in the art of Barbarian populations that became related to the Byzantine world. It appears very decorative on a Western Gothic buckle of Byzantine features from Spain (Estables,[74] *Fig. 4.9*), on a gold saddle mount in grave 119 of the Langobard cemetery in Castel Trosino,[75] or on an Italian (Zanica)[76] and an Istrian buckle[77] in a vegetal variety.

Such a realistic composition of animal heads in a frontal view is also unexpected in the 7th century. The direct analogues from the 7th century are the animal head depictions on the feet of the so-called „Slavic digital fibulas" („slawische Bügelfibel"),[78] (e. g. Budakalász, Csepel grave 14.[79]). In proportions and the method of shaping, the decoration of the animal head terminated bracelets in the region of the Keszthely culture (Keszthely-Sörkert grave 6,[80] Keszthely[81]) are very similar (*Fig. 4.10–14*). The closest analogues of the animal heads from the same frontal view but from a different artistic concept are to be found among the Gothic and Langobard fibulas from the 5–7th centuries in Pannonia (e. g. Bezenye,[82] Budapest[83]) and in Italy (e. g. Brescia[84]). Similar animal heads appear on several German-classical, late classical or Byzantine objects as well.[85]

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[70] *Ibler 1992* 138–140, Ab. 3, 4. The geometric variety of the original pattern appears on the Byzantine buckle of the Kunbábony assemblage: *E. H. Tóth – A. Horváth*: Kunbábony. Das Grab eines Awarenkhagans. Kecskemét 1992, 246. Taf. I. 1, Kat. 1.

[71] *Z. Klanica*: Mutenice – Slanjanskoe poselenie VII-X. vv. in: *J. Pavůk* (hrsg.): Actes du XIIe Congrès International des Sciences Préhistoriques et Protohistoriques 4. Bratislava 1993, 84, Ris. 1.

[72] *Csallány 1961* Taf. CCLI, 1.

[73] *Csallány 1961* Taf. CXCII, 1.

[74] *G. G. Koenig:* Die Westgoten. In: *H. Roth:* Kunst der Völkerwanderungszeit. Frankfurt am Main – Berlin – Wien 1979 149. Taf 62a.

[75] *Mengarelli 1902* Tav. XIII,1.

[76] *P. M. de Marchi – S. Cini*: I reperti altomediovali nel Civico Museo Archeologico di Bergamo. Bergamo 1988, 78. Tav. XI, 2.

[77] Istra i Sjevernoadranski prostor u ranom srednjem vijeku. (materijalna kultura od 7. do 11. stoljeca. Monografije i katalozi Arheološki Muzej Istre 4. Pula 1995, 61. Fig. 53.

[78] On the history of this fibula type, its medieval workshops and diffusion with the recent reference see: *Bálint 1993*, 231–232.

[79] *Á. Cs. Sós*: Újabb avar kori leletek Csepel-szigetről. ArchÉrt 88 (1961) 42, fig. 11.

[80] *I. Kovrig*: Újabb kutatások a keszthelyi avar kori temetőben (Neue Forschungen im frühmittelalterlichen Gräberfeld von Keszthely). ArchÉrt 1960, 151, Fig. 14. 5.

[81] *J. Hampel*: Alterthümer des frühen Mittelalters in Ungarn. Braunschweig 1905, Vol. II. 214.

[82] *Bóna 1956* Taf. XLIV. 1, 2

[83] *Bóna 1956* Taf. XLVIII: 1, 2.

[84] *C. Tognoli et al.* (hrsg.): I langobardi e la Lombardia. Exhibition catalogue. Milano Palazzo Reale 1978, Tav. XCVII 1.

[85] Huntenberg: Sitzungsberichte der Altertumsgesellschaft Prussia 23/II, 1905–1908 (1919) 345, Abb. 139, 140; Konstantinopel?: *B. Salin*: Die altgermanische Thierornamentik. Stockholm

The analogues of the recoiling animal heads can be found in the sphere of the classical German culture on objects from the 6–7th centuries. The antecedents of the pattern in the 6th century and its appearance contemporary and posterior to the Budakalász pin in the 7th century and can be demonstrated in the Carpathian Basin. The locally produced Panonian group of Byzantine pins with a similar decoration illustrate the classical Byzantine workshop environment,[86] which could have mediated the pattern locally and to which direct Mediterranean contacts can be demonstrated and where the presence of German artistic and depiction traditions can be felt in the 6–7th century. Similarly to the motive, the costume can also be understood in the knowledge of classical-Byzantine traditions in the 5–7th centuries and of the German traditions of the Merovingian period. It is not at all astonishing since one of the scenes where the two cultural legacies met in the early medieval Europe was the Carpathian Basin. The pin of grave 104 at Budakalász affords an insight into a small area of this contact system.

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CAPTIONS

Fig. 1. Drawings of grave no. 104 of the Budakalász-Dunapart cemetery and of the pin.

Fig. 2. The finds from grave no. 104 of the Budakalász-Dunapart cemetery

Fig. 3. The reconstruction of the cloak and veil secured with a pin.

Fig. 4. Analogues to the motive: 1. Mutenice (after *Z. Klanica*) 2. Szécsény (after *D. Csallány*) 3. Győr grave 608. 4. Lezha grave 7. 5. Keszthely 6. Bóly grave 43. 7. Zsély/Želovce grave 564. 8. Mytilene 9. Cyprus (?) (after *U. Ibler*) 10, 11, 13, 14. Keszthely (*J. Hampel*) 12. Cibakháza

Fig. 5. Analogues to the motive: 1. Biskupija (after *D. Mrkobrad*) 2. Balmazújváros – Hortobágy-Árkus grave 24 (after *Awaren 1985*) 3. Cividale

(after *I longobardi... 1978*) 4–5. Tiszafüred graves 193 and 644. (after *É. Garam*) 6–8. Vasasszonyfa (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin–Preußischer Kulturbesitz. Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte. Kat./Inv.-Nr.:IVd 5070) 9. Estables (after *G. Koenig*) 10. „Kuchelen" chiesetta di S. Barbara-S. Vigilio sul colle di Castelfelder (after *L. Dal Rí – G. Rizzi*)

Zsolt Visy

SEVERUS ET ANTONINUS C. IULIO PASSARI

Wohl in der Gemarkung des Dorfes Bakonycsernye, in der Flur Inotapuszta wurde ein neueres Militärdiplom gefunden.[1] Zwar konnte die Fundstelle nicht bestätigt werden, ist sie von ihren römischen Funden bekannt, die sich mehr km lang im Tal des Baches Gaja erstrecken. Das Diplom muß vollständig und intakt im Boden gelegen sein, da die Innenseiten ganz anders oxidiert wurden als die Außenseiten. Ferner ist in der Mitte der zweiten Platte ein fast unversehrtes und unoxidiertes Viereck zu beobachten, bestätigend, daß dieser Bereich von einer heute schon fehlenden Platte bedeckt wurde. Die von anderen Diplomen bekannten Platten hatten die Aufgabe, das Knoten des zusammenbindenden Bronzedrahts und die Siegeln der Zeugen zu decken und zu schützen. Dies bestätigt, daß der Draht und der Knoten unversehrt die beiden Platten des Diploms bis zu unseren Zeiten verband. Sein heutiges Fehlen ist wohl dem Pflugschar zuzuschreiben, dessen Spure in den 8.-10. Zeilen auf der Außenseite der ersten Platte zu sehen sind. Eine frisch gekratzte Linie läuft längst auf der Außenseite der erste Platte, die dem gleichen Gerät zugeschrieben werden kann. Wohl das selbe Gerät riss den Draht ab, und wohl gleichzeitig wurde die zweite Platte etwa in der Mitte gebogen. Die wesentlich dickere erste Platte konnte dem Druck nicht aushalten, sondern wurde in der selben Linie zweigebrochen. Die Reste des Drahtes und der kleinen Schutzplatte — diese Platte konnte auf Grund des Beispiels des Diploms von Dunakömlőd[2] auch noch über zwei weitere Platten verfügen — sind verloren gegangen. Nach der Restaurierung konnte man an dieser Stelle die Zinn-sure gut beobachten.

Die beiden Platten sind gut erhalten, die Oberfläche wurden beim Auffinden mit grüner Patina bedeckt.[3] Die erste Platte wurde gegossen, die Außenseite ist demgemäß schön glatt, die Innenseite aber zeigt die Raspelnspure der nachträglichen Bearbeitung der Oberfläche. Die dünne zweite Platte größerer Kupferhaltigkeit wurde demgegenüber aus einem Bronzeblech herausgeschnitten. Die Größe der ersten Platte ist wie folgt: Länge 147–149 mm, Breite 112–114 mm, Dicke 2–3 mm. Die Länge der zweiten Platte mißt 145–149 mm, die Breite 112–114 mm, die Dicke 0,7–0,8 mm. Quer in der Mitte wurde die erste Platte frisch gebrochen, die zweite Platte leicht gebogen. Die Entfernung der beiden Mittellöcher beträgt ist 44 mm. Kein weiteres Loch — etwa in der Ecke — befindet sich am Diplom. Das Diplom wurde dann durchgelocht, als die erste Platte schon

[1] Der Finder ist laut einer Mitteilung ein Bauer, der die Bronzeplatten in seinem Garten entdeckte. Das Diplom liegt zur Zeit auf Grund einer Vereinbarung mit dem Herrn Gy. Mészáros im Museum von Székesfehérvár. Ich danke für die Benachrichtigung und für die Hilfe Sylvia Palágyi, und besonders dem Direktor des Museum von Székesfehérvár, Gyula Fülöp, und Herrn Gyula Mészáros für das Erlaubnis, das Diplom selbst zu studieren und zu veröffentlichen.

[2] *Zs. Visy*: Neuere Militädiplome aus Pannonien. SzekszárdiME 10–11 (1979–80) [1982] 59ff.; *M. Roxan*: Roman Military Diplomas. London 1985, Nr. 102.

[3] Für die Restauriering bedanke ich mich bei Katalin Gémes herzlichst.

beidseitig beschriftet wurde, weil die Bohrung mehrere Buchstaben auf der Innenseite (Zeile 7 und 16) beschädigt, bzw. vernichtet hat. Da die Beschriftung auf der Innenseite der zweiten Platte (Zeile 23 und 27) den beiden Löchern ausweicht, folgt es nun, daß diese Platte erst nach dem Durchlöchern beschriftet wurde. M. Roxan konnte im Falle des aus dem selben Jahr stammenden Diploms zum selben Schluß gelangen: die erste Platte des Diploms RMD 188 wurde erst nach der Beschriftung durchgebohren, die Löcher der zweiten Platte wurden während der Beschriftung sorgfältig ausgewichen.[4] Die von Roxan und jetzt hier beobachtete Methode bestätigen, daß sich bestimmte Arbeitsphasen und eine Spezialisierung in der Herstellung der Diplome feststellen läßt.

Die Herstellung des Diploms erfolgte also wie folgt:

1. – Beschriftung die beiden Seiten der ersten Platte;
2. – Durchlöchern der beiden Platten;
3. – Beschriftung der zweiten Platte.

Der Text beginnt in der selben Ecke auf der ersten Platte, an der selben Seite, aber in den gegenüber liegenden Ecken auf der Zweiten. Die beiden Außenseiten wurden mit einer Doppellinie in einer Entfernung von 4,5 – 5 mm umrahmt, die Außenseite der ersten Platte mit einer Linienführung in einer Entfernung 4 – 4,5 mm versehen. Die Buchstabenhöhe mißt hier 3 mm, die aber in den Zeilen mit den Daten des Diplomempfängers (Z. 22–24) 7, 7 und 5 mm. Es gibt vorher eingekratzte Linien für die Zeilen 22–23, nicht aber für Z. 24. Diese drei Zeilen wurden nachträglich, und wohl nicht von der selben Hand hineingefügt, weil die Buchstaben stets nach rechts biegen. Abgesehen von diesen drei Zeilen konnte der ganze Text der beiden Seiten der ersten Platte von edr gleichen Hand beschrieben, auch die Buchstabenhöhe beträgt auf der Innenseite etwa 3 mm. Die beiden Seiten der Platte 2. wurde aber von einer dritten Person geschrieben, weil die Schriftart und die Buchstaben der Innenseite dieser Platte sind vollständig abweichend von denen der ersten Platte. Die Zeilen laufen nicht gerade, und auch noch die sorgfältig gemetzten Buchstaben der Zeugennamen sind ein wenig anders gemetzt als auf der ersten Platte. Die Buchstaben sind hier 4–6 mm hoch. Die noch flüchtiger geschriebene Innenseite stammt wohl ebenfalls von dieser Person.

intus: tabella I

: IMP CAES DIVI M ANTONINI PII GERM SARM FIL
DIVI COMMODI FRATER DIVI ANTONINI PII NEP DIVI
HADRIANI PRONEP DIVI TRAIANI PARTHICI ABNEP
DIVI NERVAE ADNEPOS L SEPTIMIVS SEVERVS PIVS
5 PERTINAX AVG ARAB ADIAB PARTHIC MAX PONTIF
MAX TRIB POT XIIII IMP XIII COS III P P PROCOS ET
IMP CAES L SEPTIMI SEVER[I ° P]II PERTINACIS AVG ARAB
ADIAB PARTHIC MAX FIL DIVI M ANTONINI PII GERM
SARM NEP DIVI ANTONINI PII PRONEP DIVI HADRIANI
10 ABNEP DIVI TRAIANI PARTHIC ET DIVI NERVAE ADNEPOS

[4] *M. Roxan* RMD Nr. 188, S. 317, Anm. 8.

M AVRELLIVS ANTONINVS PIVS AVG TRIB POT VIIII COS II PROC
NOMINA MILITVM QVI MILITAVERVNT IN COHORTIB PRAE
TORIS DECEM I II III IIII V VI VII VIII VIIII X PIIS
VINDICIBVS QVI PIE ET FORTITER MILITIA FVNCTI SVNT
15 IVS TRIBVIMVS CONVBI DVMTAXAT SINGVLIS ET PRI
MIS VXORIBVS VT ETIAMSI ° PEREGRINI IVRIS FEMINAS
IN MATRIMONIO SVO IVNXERINT PROINDE LIBE
ROS TOLLANT AC SI EX DVOBVS CIVIBVS ROMANIS
NATOS

tabella II

20 A D VIII KAL MART
ALBINO ET AEMILIANO COS
COH X PR P V
C IVLIO C F ° AEL PASSARI
MOGIONIBVS
25 DESCRIPT ET RECOGNIT EX TABVL
AER QVE FIX EST ROM IN MVR
POS TEMPL ° DIVI AVG AD
MINERVAM

extrinsecus: tabella I

IMP CAES DIVI M ANTONINI PII GERM SARM FIL DIVI
COMMODI FRATER DIVI ANTONINI PII NEP DIVI HADRIANI
PRONEP DIVI TRAIANI PARTHICI ABNEP DIVI NERVAE ADNEP
L SEPTIMIVS SEVERVS PIVS PERTINAX AVG ARAB ADIAB PAR
5 THIC MAX PONTIF MAX TRIB POT XIIII IMP XIII
COS III P P PROCOS ET
IMP CAES L SEPTIMI SEVERI PII PERTINACIS AVG ARAB
ADIAB PARTHIC MAX FIL DIVI M ANTONINI PII GERM
SARM NEP DIVI ANTONINI PII PRONEP DIVI HADRIANI
10 ABNEP DIVI TRAIANI PARTHIC ET DIVI NERVAE ADNEP
M AVRELLIVS ANTONINVS PIVS AVG TRIB POT VIIII COS II PROC
NOMINA MILITVM QVI MILITAVERVNT IN COHORTIB
PRAETORIS DECEM I II III IIII V VI VII VIII VIIII X PIIS
VINDICIBVS QVI PIE ET FORTITER MILITIA FVNCTI SVNT
15 IVS TRIBVIMVS CONVBI DVMTAXAT SINGVLIS ET PRIMIS

°°

{ET PRIMIS} VXORIBVS VT ETIAMSI PEREGRINI IVRIS FE
MINAS IN MATRIMONIO SVO IVNXERINT PROINDE
LIBEROS TOLLANT AC SI EX DVOBVS CIVIBVS ROMANIS
NATOS AD VIII KAL MARTIAS
20 M NVMMIO ALBINO ET
L FVLVIO AEMILIANO COS

COH X PR P V
C IVLIO C FIL AEL PASSARI
MOGIONIBVS
[25] DESCRIPTVM ET RECOGNITVM EX TABVLA AEREA QVE FIXA EST
ROME IN MVRO POS TEMPLVM DIVI AVG AD MINERVAM

Tabella II

M AVRELI	A QVILINI
C VALERI	MARCELLINI
L CORNELI	°AVGVRINI
C FABI	SEPTIMINI
M AVRELI	FIRMINI
L TERTINI	°VITALI
C VALERI	VITALIS

Intus, tabella I:

Imp(erator) Caes(ar) divi M(arci) Antonini Pii Germ(anici) Sarm(atici) fil(ius) / divi Commodi frater divi Antonini Pii nep(os) divi / Hadriani pronep(os) divi Traiani Parthici abnep(os) / divi Nervae adnepos L(ucius) Septimius Severus Pius /[5] Pertinax Aug(ustus) Arab(icus) Adiab(enicus) Parthic(us) max(imus) pontif(ex) / max(imus) trib(unicia) pot(estate) XIIII imp(erator) XIII co(n)s(ul) III p(ater) p(atriae) proco(n)s(ul) et /

Imp(erator) Caes(ar) L(uci) Septimi Sever[i P]ii Pertinacis Aug(usti) Arab(ici) / Adiab(enici) Parthic(i) max(imi) fil(ius) divi M(arci) Antonini Pii Germ(anici) / Sarm(atici) nep(os) divi Antonini Pii pronep(os) divi Hadriani /[10] abnep(os) divi Traiani Parthic(i) et divi Nervae adnepos / M(arcus) Aurellius (sic!) Antoninus Pius Aug(ustus) trib(unicia) pot(estate) VIIII co(n)s(ul) II proc(onsul) /

nomina militum qui militaverunt in cohortib(us) prae/tori(i)s decem I, II, III, IIII, V, VI, VII, VIII, VIIII, X piis / vindicibus qui pie et fortiter militia functi sunt */[15] ius tribuimus conubi(i) dumtaxat singulis et pri/mis uxoribus ut etiamsi peregrini iuris feminas / in matrimonio suo iunxerint proinde libe/ros tollant ac si ex duobus civibus Romanis / natos /[20]*

tabella II:

a(nte) d(iem) VIII Kal(endas) Mar(tias) / Albino et Aemiliano co(n)s(ulibus) / coh(ors) X pr(aetoria) p(ia) v(index) / C(aio) Iulio C(ai) fil(io) Passari / Mogionibus. /[25] Descript(um) et recognit(um) ex tabul(a) / aer(ea) qu(a)e fix(a) est Rom(a)e in muro / post templ(um) divi Aug(usti) ad / Minervam.

Extrinsecus, tabella I:

Imp(erator) Caes(ar), divi M(arci) Antonini Pii Germ(anici) Sarm(atici) fil(ius), divi / Commodi frater, divi Antonini Pii nep(os), divi Hadriani / pronep(os), divi Traiani

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[5] *S. Petényi*: A praetorian diploma from Ács-Jegespuszta. CommArchHung 1992, 55–64 = RMD 188.

Parthici abnep(os), divi Nervae adnep(os), / L(ucius) Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax Aug(ustus) Arab(icus) Adiab(enicus) Par/[5]thic(us) max(imus), pontif(ex) max(imus), trib(unicia) pot(estate) XIIII, imp(erator) XIII, / co(n)s(ul) III, p(ater) p(atriae), proco(n)s(ul), et /

Imp(erator) Caes(ar) L(ucii) Septimi(i) Severi Pii Pertinacis Aug(usti) Arab(ici) / Adiab(enici) Parthic(i) max(imi) fil(ius), divi M(arci) Antonini Pii Germ(anici) / Sarm(atici) nep(os), divi Antonini Pii pronep(os), divi Hadriani /[10] abnep(os), divi Traiani Parthic(i) et divi Nervae adnep(os), M(arcus) Aurellius (sic!) Antoninus Pius Aug(ustus), trib(unicia) pot(estate) VIIII, co(n)sul) II, proc(onsul) /

nomina militum, qui militaverunt in cohortib(us) / praetori(i)s decem I, II, III, IIII, V, VI, VII, VIII, VIIII, X piis / vindicibus, qui pie et fortiter militia functi sunt, /[15] ius tribuimus conubi(i) dumtaxat singulis et primis / {et primis} uxoribus, ut etiamsi peregrini iuris fe/minas in matrimonio suo iunxerint, proinde / liberos tollant ac si ex duobus civibus Romanis / natos.

a(nte) d(iem) VIII Kal(endas) Martias /[20] M(arco) Nummio Albino et / L(ucio) Fulvio Aemiliano co(n)s(ulibus) /

coh(ors) X pr(aetoria) p(ia) v(index) C(aio) Iulio C(ai) fil(io) Ael(ia) Passari / Mogionibus. /[25]

Descriptum et recognitum ex tabula aerea, qu(a)e fixa est / Rom(a)e in muro post templum divi Aug(usti) ad Minervam.

tabella II:

M. Aureli Aquilini, C. Valeri Marcellini, L. Corneli Augurini, C. Fabi Septimini, M. Aureli Firmini, L. Tertini Vitali, C. Valeri Vitalis.

Das Diplom ist ein Prätorianerdiplom, der Veteran diente in der 10. Kohorte, und auf Grund der Fundstelle kehrte er nach seiner Entlassung wohl in seine Heimatprovinz zurück. Die Urkunde wurde von Septimius Severus und von Caracalla herausgegeben. Für ihre Datierung stehen alle Angaben zur Verfügung. Die 14. *tribunicia potestas* des Septimius Severus und die 9. des Caracalla geben das Jahr 206 n. Chr. an. Das genaue Datum ist 22. Februar, die Konsulen waren M. Nummius Albinus und L. Fulvius Aemilianus.

Da vom diesem Tag bereits ein Prätorianerdiplom bekannt ist,[5] lohnt es sich, die beiden Diplome zu vergleichen. Es ist festzustellen, daß diese Diplome nicht von dem selben Leuten geschrieben wurden. M. Roxan hat vermerkt, daß die Innenseite der zweiten Platte von einer anderen Hand geschrieben wurde als die andere Innenseite.[6] Möglicherweise wurden aber auch die Zeugennamen vom selben Schreiber gemetzt, und diese Feststellung trifft auch für das neuere Exemplar zu. Es gibt aber Unterschiede auch zwischen den entsprechenden Seiten der beiden Diplome, so ist es anzunehmen, daß sie nicht von zwei, sondern von minde-

[6] RMD 188, S. 317, Anm. 8. Da aber die schräg geschnittenen Querhasten der T-Buschstaben und die lang gezogenen unteren Striche der Q-Buchstaben auf der beiden Seiten dieses Diploms ganz ähnlich sind, wurden meines Erachtens die beiden Seiten der zweiten Platte von dem selben Schreiber angefertigt, genauso, wie dies auch für das neue Diplom angenommen werden kann. Das ist auch logisch, weil nicht nur die Daten des entlassenen Soldaten, sondern auch die Zeugennamen den immer nur für ein einziges Diplom gültigen Angaben gehören.

stens drei Schreibern angefertigt wurden. Hingewiesen sei auf die flüchtiger gezogenen Zeilenlinien und auf die etwas runderen Buchstaben auf der ersten Platte des Diploms RMD 188 als auf der anderen ersten Platte einerseits, und auf die fast gleichartigen T-s auf der zweiten Platten andererseits. Während also der allgemeine Text auf den ersten Platten in einem Zentral-Officium, aber von mehreren Schreibern geschrieben wurde, hatte man die speziellen Angaben — wohl zusammen mit dem Namen und Angaben des Empfängers auf der Außenseite der ersten Platte — schon wohl im Officium der Prätorianern machen lassen. Dies erklärt auch den bedeutenden Unterschied zwischen Material und Dicke der ersten und zweiten Platten in beiden Fällen.

Die Texte auf der beiden Diplomen sind fast vollständig buchstabengleich, aber mit einigen charakteristischen Unterschieden. Auch die Zeileneinteilung ist nicht vollständig identisch. Der Text des neueren Diploms scheint ein wenig genauer und gründlicher sein als der des anderen.

Ausgeschriebene Buchstaben (unterstrichen) auf dem neuen Diplom, die auf RMD 188 fehlen.[7]

extrinsecus:

Zeile 3: *Parthici*
Zeile 8: *Parthic*
Zeile 10: *Parthic*
Zeile 25: *descriptum; recognitum*
Zeile 26: *templum*

intus:

Zeile 1: *fil*
Zeile 3: *Parthici*
Zeile 4: *adnepos*
Zeile 5: *Pertinax; Parthic*
Zeile 6: *et* (dieses Wort fehlt vollständig vor der Titulatur von Caracalla)
Zeile 7: *Pertinacis*
Zeile 8: *Parthic; fil*
Zeile 10: *Parthic; adnepos*
Zeile 11: *trib*

Ausgeschriebene Buchstaben (unterstrichen) auf RMD 188, die auf dem neuen Diplom fehlen:

extrinsecus:

Zeile 11: *procos*
Zeile 12: *cohortibus*

intus:

Zeile 11: *proco*
Zeile 25: *tabula*
Zeile 26: *aerea; fixa; Rome; muro*
Zeile 27: *templum*

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[7] Die Zeilennummern sind stets die des neuen Diploms.

Bemerkenswert ist die etwa gleiche Verkürzungsart innerhalb der einzelnen Diplome auf ihren beiden Seiten, die aber im Falle des Beglaubigungsformels *descriptum etc.* ganz umgekehrt beschrieben wurde. Als im anderen Text das neue Diplom die längere Variation bietet, wurde dieses Formel eben hier, aber auch hier nur auf der Innenseite, stärker verkürzt. In der Zeile 6 stehendes Wort *et* fehlte wohl auch im Diplom RMD 188 nicht, man kann wohl dieses Bindewort der Ergänzung hinzufügen. Auch *natos* (Zeile 19) wurde nicht aufgenommen, weil gegenüber Roxan, RMD 188 der Rest des Buchstaben *s* ist in der Abbildung 3 in der Zeile 18 sichtbar.[8] Das Wort *cum* wurde vor *singulis* in dem neuen Diplom auf keiner Seite geschrieben. So ist es auch im Diplom RMD 188 auf der Innenseite. Auf Grund des neuen Exemplars scheint die Emendation von Roxan auf der Außenseite von *cum singulis* (Petényi) auf *singulis* geworden zu sein. Eine Übersicht dieses Ausdruckes bei der Prätorianerdiplomen zeigt, daß bisher nur diese beiden Diplome das *cum* in dieser Stelle beidseitig entbehren, und es gibt bloß drei weitere Diplome, die *extr.* mit, und *intus* ohne *cum* den Ausdruck zeigen.[9]

Auf dem Diplom RMD 188 steht der Ausdruck *ius tribuimus conubi* in umgekehrter Reihenfolge: *ius conubi tribuimus*.[10] Da auf dem neuen Diplom die gewöhnliche Reihenfolge zu lesen ist, kann diese Abweichung für eine einzige, zufällige Ausnahme gehalten werden. M. Roxan hat ferner beobachtet, daß eine Art Vulgarisierung in RMD 188 und 189 erfolgte, wobei *que, Rome* und *pos* in der Schlußformel anstatt *quae, Romae* und *post* stehen. An der Außenseite des neuen Diploms stehen dieser Wörter in gleicher Form. Der selbe Teil *intus* wurde aber im neuen Diplom noch stärker verkürzt: *descript et recognit ex tabul / aer que fix est Rom in mur pos templ...* Bemerkenswerterweise stehen sowohl in RMD 188, als auch im neuem Diplom stets Aurellius statt dem gewöhnlichen Aurelius.[11]

Ein einziger Schreibfehler konnte bisher beobachtet werden: *et primis* wurde *extrinsecus* Zeile 15/16 versehentlich doppelt geschrieben.

Sowohl S. Petényi als auch M. Roxan haben auf Grund der Feststellung von H. Lieb darauf hingewiesen, daß von 148 an die Prätorianerdiplome immer im Februar ausgegeben wurden.[12] Der 22. Februar kam bisher in 206 n. Chr. vor. Nicht viel später, ab 210 an, wurden alle Prätorianerdiplome am 7. Januar ausgegeben.[13]

Die Konsulen, M. Nummius Umbrius Primus Senecio Albinus und L. Fulvius Gavius (Numisius) Petronius Aemilianus, wurden anhand des Diploms RMD 188 ausführlich behandelt.[14] Sie waren die *ordinarii* im Jahre 206 nach Chr.

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[8] *Petényi*, a. a. O. Abb. 3; 61.

[9] CIL XVI 139: 221; RMD 75: 222 und RMD 77: 235.

[10] *M. Roxan* RMD 188, S. 317, Anm. 6.

[11] Der Name kommt auch in den anderen Diplomen der Severus-Zeit in gleicher Form vor, cf. CIL XVI 135, 137, RMD 73, 74, 131, 187, 189.

[12] *H. Lieb*: Die constitutiones für die stadtrömischen Truppen. In: *W. Eck – H. Wolff* (Hrsg.): Heer und Integrationspolitik. Köln – Wien 1986, 329.; *Petényi*, a. a. O. 63; *M. Roxan*, RMD 188, S. 317, Anm. 9.

[13] *M. Roxan*, RMD 191, S. 323, Anm, 6; s. dazu *Lieb*, a. a. O. 329.

[14] *Petényi*, a. a. O. 63; und nach ihm *Roxan*, RMD 188, S. 317. – Die Konsulen wurden in den *fasti consulares* erwähnt: *A. Degrassi*: I fasti consolari dell'impero Romano. Roma 1952, 58; zu Albinus s. *G. Camodeca*: Ascesa al senato e rapporti con i territori d'origine Italia: regio I, II, III.

Der Recipient hieß C. Iulius C. fil. Passar. Er stammte aus Mogiones, und gehörte der *Aemilia tribus*. Diese Abstammung ist aber auf Grund der Ergebnissen von R. Fellmann und A. Mócsy nicht zwingend richtig, weil mit bestimmter Wahrscheinlichkeit angenommen werden kann, daß die städtische *origo* der Prätorianer manchmal fälschlicherweise angegeben wurde.[15] Die *Aelia tribus* kommt auch in Pannonia mehrmals vor. Der Iulius *nomen* weist auf eine alte Bürgerrechtsschenkung hin. Der Name Passar kam in den europäischen Provinzen nur einmal in Dalmatia vor, die Version Passer fünfmal in Gallia Cisalpina, je dreimal in Pannonia und Noricum, und einmal in Moesia Inferior.[16] Der Name ist illyrisch, wie der Ortsname , Stadt der Molosser,[17] bestätigt. Eine Einheit *equites Dalmatae Passerentiaci,* bzw. *Passerentiacenses* wird in der Notitia überliefert.[18]

Der Ortsname *Mogiones* kommt in diesem Diplom zum ersten Mal vor. Da Passar in Pannonia Superior angesiedelt hat, und da bei der Umorganisation der Prätorianer pannonische Soldaten einbezogen wurden, kann man mit Recht annehmen, daß C. Iulius Passar aus dieser Provinz stammt. Es kann kein Zufall sein, daß sich die Stadt Mogentiana nicht weit entfernt von dem annehmbaren Fundort in der Nähe von Somlóvásárhely befindet.[19] Noch berechtigter ist diese Annahme, wenn man in Betracht zieht, daß das hadrianische m*unicipium Aelium Mogentiana* über die Pseudotribus *Aelia* verfügte.[20] Der Name *Mogetius* ist von keltischer Abstammung, der Wurzel *-mog* bedeutet etwa *crescere*.[21] Die Personennamen *Mogetius, Mogetillus, Mogetissa, Mogius* und andere kommen in Gallia, Gallia Cisalpina, Hispania, Raetia und in Pannonia oft vor.[22] Aus den Ortsnamen *Mogontiacum* und *Mogentiana* kann man auf den selben Schluß folgern. Da der *Aelia tribus* gehörende Passar aus der Ortschaft *Mogiones* stammte, die auf den selben Wurzel zurückgeht wie *Mogentiana*, und da er wohl in der Gegend oder sogar in Territorium dieses Municipiums niedersaß, kann angenommen werden, daß *Mogiones* eine kleinere Ortschaft in der Bakony-Gegend war. Auf den selben Schluß kommt man auch aus dem Namen von Passar. Genau in dieser Gegend von Pannonien kommen Personen mit illyrischen Namen vor. Die je aus der Analyse der Orts- und Personennamen kommenden Schlüsse bekräftigen die Annahme, daß die Ortschaft *Mogiones* in der Gegend oder sogar im Territorium des *municipium Mogentiana* in Pannonia Superior zu suchen ist, und daß C.

In: Epigrafia e ordine senatorio II. Tituli 5. Roma 1982, 143–144; zu Aemilianus *G. Alföldy*: Senatoren aus Norditalien: regiones IX, X und XI. Ebenda 352.

[15] *R. Fellmann*: Zur Rekrutierung der Praetorianer aus Pannonien. Eine epigraphisch-onomastische Untersuchung anhand der *laterculi praetorianorum*. AUB Sectio Classica 8, 1980, 47–57 und *A. Mócsy*: Die Namen der Diplomempfänger. In: *W. Eck – H. Wolff* (Hrsg.): Heer und Integrationsgeschichte. Köln – Wien 1986, 446f.

[16] *A. Mócsy et al.*: Nomenclator provinciarum Europae Latinarum et Galliae Cisalpinae cum indice inverso. DissPann III:1. Budapest 1983.

[17] *A. Mayer*: Die Sprache der alten Illyrier. ÖAW Phil.-hist. Klasse, Schriften der Balkankommission. Linguistische Abt. XV. Wien 1957, 260 mit weiterer Literatur.

[18] Not. Dign. occ. VI 14. 57; VII 175.

[19] S. dazu zuletzt *M. Nagy*: Somlóvásárhely-Holt tó. ArchÉrt 121–122 (1994–95) 234, Nr. 53.

[20] *A. Mócsy*: Die Bevölkerung von Pannonien bis zu den Markomannenkriegen. Budapest 1959, 53. S. noch *A. Mócsy*: Pannonia. PWRE Suppl. IX 1962, Sp. 599.

[21] *A. Holder*: Alt-Celtischer Sprachsatz. Leipzig 1896–1914, 607 ff.

[22] *Mócsy et alii* wie in Anm. 16.

Iulius Passar illyrischer Abstammung der ansässigen Urbevölkerung gehörte, dessen Vorfahren die *civitas Romana* längs erworben hatten.

C. Iulius Passar gehörte sicherlich zu der von Septimius Severus neuorganisierten Garde der Prätorianer, die aus seinen pannonischen Truppen aufgestellt wurde. Er und C. Iulius Martinus (RMD 188) sind die ersten bekannten Soldaten dieses neu aufgestellten Truppenkörpers, die 13 Jahre nach der Umorganisierung entlassen wurden. Da die regelmäßige Dienstzeit der Prätorianer in 16 Jahren festgestellt wurde, die aber in ihren Diplomen nie angegeben wurde, kann und muß angenommen werden, daß die beiden im gleichen Jahr, aber noch für eine Legion rekrutiert wurden. Diese Legion kann wohl die in Brigetio stationierte *legio I adiutrix*, vielleicht eine der Legionen von Pannonia Superior gewesen sein. Im Unkenntnis ihres Lebensalters bei der Entlassung, bzw. ihre Dienstzeit kann man nur fragen, ob bei der Entlassung die 16 oder für die Legionare gültige 20 Dienstjahre berücksichtigt wurden, da aber sie als Prätorianer zur Zeit ihrer Entlassung gediehnt hatten, hat die kürzere Dienstzeit eine größere Wahrscheinlichkeit. Gemäß der beiden Möglichkeiten konnten sie entweder 187 oder 191 das Heer betreten. Es ist nicht ganz belanglos, daß Septimius Severus 191 Statthalter von Pannonia Superior wurde,[23] als wahrscheinlich die regelmäßige Rekrutierung und Truppenergänzung durchgeführt wurde, so konnten die beiden Soldaten zu der frühesten Rekrutierung des späteren Kaisers in Pannonia gehören.

Die Zeugen der Prätorianerdiplome sind immer unterschiedlich,[24] so ist es nicht überraschend, daß kein identischer Name auch noch in den gleichzeitig ausgehändigten Diplomen vorkommt. Schon Nesselhauf, neuerlich Lieb[25] haben darauf hingewiesen, daß die Zeugen dieser stadtrömischen Truppen wohl selbst — aber nicht zwingend — die Kameraden der selben Einheiten sein konnten. Ein Zeuge des Diploms CIL XVI 94 aus dem Jahre 224 ist sicherlich identisch mit einem der gleichnamigen Träger des Namens M. Aurelius Maximus aus der *cohors II praetoria,* genannt auf dem Altar CIL VI 32543 aus dem Jahre 227.[26] M. Roxan konnte auf Grund eines Prätorianerdiplom-Paares vom Jahre 226[27] beobachten, daß die beiden Rezipienten in der Zeugenliste des anderen Diploms vorkommen. Zwar sie eine gegenseitige Siegelung seitens der Prätorianer nicht ausschließt, rechnet sie trotzdem eher mit einer Siegelung seitens der Leute von gleicher Abstammung außerhalb des Truppenverbandes, besonders der Thraker.[28] Das neue Diplom wurde gleichzeitig mit dem Diplom RMD 188 ausgegeben, sie bieten also eine neuere Chance, die Frage der Beglaubigung zu untersuchen. Es ist festzustellen, daß kein einziger Zeugenname in den beiden Listen identisch ist, und auch die beiden Rezipienten kommen unter den Zeugen des anderen Exemplars nicht vor. Man kann trotzdem damit rechnen, daß die Zeugen Soldaten

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[23] *J. Fitz*: Die Verwaltung Pannoniens in der Römerzeit II. Budapest 1993, 505.

[24] *H. Nesselhauf*, CIL XVI S. 199; *J. Morris – M. Roxan*: The Witnesses to Roman Military *Diplomata*. AV 28 (1977) 321.

[25] *Lieb*, a. a. O. (Anm. 12) 332f.

[26] *Lieb*, a. a. O. ebenda.

[27] CIL XVI 143; RMD 195a-b.

[28] *M. Roxan*, RMD S. 329, Anm. 8.

oder Veteranen stadtrömischer Truppen, in erster Linie die der Prätorianerkohorten waren, wie es von Lieb vermutet wurde.

In dieser Hinsicht kann man die Herstellungsfrage der zweiten Platte des Diploms nachdrücklich aufwerfen. Diese Platten wurden — besonders die der Prätorianerdiplome des 3. Jh. — aus einer sehr dünner Platte hergestellt. Im Falle des neuen Exemplars ist es klar, daß sowohl das Material, als auch die Herstellungsart der beiden Platten vollständig unterschiedlich sind. Wenn man zugibt, daß die Beglaubigung nicht in einem zentralen *officium*, wie etwa das von *ab epistulis,*[29] sondern angesichts der teilnehmenden Soldaten und Kameraden wohl in den *castra* durchgeführt wurde, kann nicht ausgeschlossen werden, daß die zweiten Platten komplett dort den im zentralen *officium* angefertigten ersten Platten hinzugefügt wurden. Dies würde dann alle Unterschiede erklären, das andere Material und die andere Herstellungsart der zweiten Platte, die andere Handschrift, und die an Ort und Stelle durchgeführten Beglaubigung des vollständigen Diploms.

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[29] *Morris – Roxan* a. a. O. (Anm. 24) 330.

Paula Zsidi

THE QUESTION OF CONTINUITY IN AQUINCUM, THE CAPITAL OF PANNONIA INFERIOR

For long decades, the question of continuity has been a difficult point within Roman Period research in Pannonia.[1] According to the famous scholar, A. Alföldi, the process – characterized by a continuous emigration of the province's inhabitants beginning in the middle of the 4th century, an economic crisis, and the barbarization of the population – was finished when the province was officially handed over to the Huns in A. D. 433.[2] Some researchers, primarily A. Mócsy, have argued that following this event, it is unlikely that a significant segment of population would have represented Roman culture in the province: from that time onwards the people and cultures of the Migration Period assumed a decisive role.[3] Interestingly enough, it was the specialists studying the Migration Period, who shared the opinion that groups within the provincial population survived as isolated units in their habitation areas far into the Migration Period.[4] This phenomenon, theoretically, ensured the continuity of Roman culture within the limitations of the historical situation. This present work will focus on the question of continuity in Aquincum, naturally within the framework of a brief summary of the entire problem.[5] (The article was presented in the form of a lecture at the 4th congress of the European Association of European Archaeologists in Ravenna.)

During the more than four centuries of the Roman Period in Pannonia, Aquincum was one of the strategically most important points along this limes. By the second half of the 4th century, however, the former Governor's seat of Pannonia Inferior gradually lost its significance in the Empire due to the administrative reform implemented by Diocletianus. As a consequence the uncertain political situation along the limes and incessant Barbarian incursions, the population of Aquincum significantly declined and the size of inhabited areas also decreased.[6] Nevertheless, the location of Aquincum at the intersection of import-

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[1] *Mócsy 1962*, 773–776; *A. Mócsy*: Pannonia and Upper Moesia. A history of the Middle Danube provinces of the Roman Empire. London – Boston 1974; *E. Tóth*: Pannonia történetének problémái. AT 23:1 (1976) 121–125; *Salamon – Barkóczi 1978/79* 75–84.

[2] *Alföldi 1924* 17, 70; *Alföldi 1942* 670–746.

[3] *L. Nagy 1942* 771; *Mócsy 1962* 773–776; finally *A. Mócsy*: Utóélet (Life after the collapse). In: *A. Mócsy – J. Fitz* (ed.): Pannonia régészeti kézikönyve. Budapest 1990, 279–281.

[4] *I. Bóna*: Ein Vierteljahrhundert Völkerwanderungszeit in Ungarn 1945–1969. ActaArchHung 25 (1971) 277–278; *A. Kiss*: Pannonia római kori lakossága népvándorláskori helybenmaradásának kérdéséhez (Contributions to the problem of the survival of the Roman-age population of Pannonia in the period of migration). JPMÉ 1965, 81–123; *Salamon – Barkóczi 1978/79* 75–84.

[5] This paper was readed at the 4th Annual Meeting of the European Association of Archaeologists (section: Continuity or discontinuity from the late Antiquity to the early Middle Ages in Europe and across the Mediterranean Basin) held in Ravenna 1997.

[6] *T. Nagy 1973* 123; *L. Nagy 1942* 771.

ant trade routes[7] and the proximity of numerous fords across the territorial integrity Danube guaranteed its continuing importance in the westward movement of eastern peoples.[8] This phenomenon should remind us that during the course of analysis the continuities in population, and various elements of Roman culture should be teated separately.[9] (It should be borne in mind that „Barbarian" peoples of the Late Roman Period, to some extent, also represented Roman culture, some of them even being of the Christian faith).

A sophisticated approach to this question is further hindered by general difficulties characteristic of studying any transitional period.[10] Some of these fall within the realm of dating. Similarly to the entire Empire, a radical decline of coin circulation occurred in Aquincum following the battle of Hadrianopolis (after A. D. 378).[11] Thus, a group of artifacts with important dating value practically ceased to exist. From the 4th century onwards, another vital source from preceding periods, epigraphic data, also became increasingly laconic. For example, one of the last pieces of epigraphic information concerning the local government of the Aquincum Civil Town dates to A. D. 307.[12] Subsequent times in the century are also only represented by simple inscriptions on sporadically discovered grave stones.[13] Similarly, stamped bricks, especially important in reconstructing military history, are available only until the end of the 4th century A. D.[14]

Written sources also became scarce as Aquincum fell beyond the focus of Imperial „grand politics". Accounts relating clashes along the Danube sometimes indirectly refer to events in Aquincum as well. For example, around the turn of the 4th and 5th centuries, the Ravenna Court mentions „*ripa Sarmatica*" as an important factor in the limes defense system of which Aquincum was a part as well.[15] Therefore one should probably still reckon with the presence of regular Roman army units here at that time. This army division must have been Aquincum's „domestic legion", the *leg. II. Adi*, although according to other sources, its units were distributed along a longer section of the limes.[16] Roman military units stationed in Aquincum are also mentioned by Sidonius Apollinaris from the time right after the death of Attic, King of the Huns in AD 453.[17] At the same time, this source is one of the last documents in which the name of Aquincum is mentioned: „*Fertur Pannoniae, qua Martia pollet Acincus*". Somewhat later, during

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[7] Concerning trade contacts in Pannonia between A. D. 380 and the first half of the 5th century: *Barkóczi – Salamon 1984,* 184; *L. Barkóczi:* Pannonische Glasfunde in Ungarn. StudArch 9. Budapest 1988, 47.

[8] *T. Nagy 1973* 123; *M. Nagy 1993* 353.

[9] *M. Nagy 1993* 363. note 16.

[10] *Millett 1990* 212–213.

[11] *Alföldi 1924* 70; *G. Dembski*: Münzpragung und Münzumlauf im Donauraum des 5. Jahrhunderts. in: Severin. Zwischen Römerzeit und Völkerwanderung. Linz 1982, 204; The same process is found in Britain: *Millett 1990*, 219.

[12] *T. Nagy 1973* 125, 129; CIL III 3522, 10384.

[13] *T. Nagy 1973* 162.

[14] *B. Lőrincz*: Téglaégető kemencék Pannoniában (Brick kilns in Pannonia). In: Iparrégészeti kutatások Magyarországon (Industrial archaeology research in Hungary). Sopron 1981, 77–92.

[15] *L. Nagy* v. *Alföldi 1942* 729.

[16] Not. Dign. Occ. XXXIII. 52–57.

[17] *L. Nagy 1942* 774. (Mon. Germ. Auct. Ant. VIII. 190.)

the second half of of in his the 5th century, Ennodius provided indirect information on Aquincum description a Christian community living there.[18] Antonius, the son of Secundinus, was born in „*Valeria civitas*" by the Danube river. At the age of 8, following the death of his parents, he was sent to Bishop Severinus in Noricum to be educated. (Probably, Severinus himself fled to the west out of Pannonia in the middle of the 5th century as the consequence of the situation after the battle near Nedao. It must have been the attacks against the Huns, the military campaign led by Avitus and the incursion of eastern Goths which forced him to look for a more peaceful place to live in Noricum). These sources shed some light on the roles played by the *military* and *Christianity* in the city's survival.

After this the sources are silent. The Antique settlement is mentioned again under the name of „Etzelburg" (Attila's Town) only at the beginning of the 12th century (1190) by chroniclers of the Hungarian Middle Ages.[19] Anonymous, chronicler of King Béla the Third, who recently has turned out to have been the king's notary, Péter, writes as provost of Buda as follows: „The supreme leader Árpád, his chiefs and all his Hungarian warriors marched into the city of Attila. There they saw the royal palaces, some completely ruined, others not and above all they admired these stone constructions... They had a feast in the palace of King Attila everyday. Their leader Árpád and his men spent twenty joyful days in the city of King Attila. In the same place, Árpád bequeathed a castle to Kortsan (the son of Kend) for the defense of his folk. Kortsant afterwards, named this castle after himself, and this name has still not been forgotten to this day." The city's antique name was not recorded by the chronicler. It became known to the public at large only following academic research that had begun in the 18th century.[20]

Archaeological data, on the other hand, filled the gap in written sources, even if it tends to be sporadic and of varying intensity.[21] Archaeological evidence from the time interval between the A. D. 4th and 9th centuries is, in general, sparse and heterogeneous, especially in comparison with the rich material from the preceding periods. One of the underlying reasons must have been a decline in the urban population as well as the pauperization of the remaining few inhabitants. The other reason must be sought after in the nature and state of known archaeological sites. The overwhelming majority of artifacts from this period originate from burials.[22] While in provinces located west of Hungary t(such as neighboring Noricum) numerous data are available concerning **construction acti-**

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[18] *Ennodius*: De vita beati Antoni. (Mon. Germ. Auct. Ant. VII. 186.); *I. Bóna*: Bevezetés és kommentár Eugippus: Vita Sancti Severini első magyar fordításához (Introduction and commentary for Eugippus' first Hungarian translation of Vita Sancti Severini). Az Ókortudományi Társaság Kiadványai 7. Budapest 1969, 286.

[19] *L. Nagy 1942* 774; *Gy. Györffy*: Kurszán és Kurszán vára (Kurszán and Kurszán's castle). BudRég 16 (1955) 18–38.

[20] *S. Schönvisner*: De ruderibus Laconici Caldariique Romani et nonnulis aliis monumentis in solo Budensi. 1778.

[21] Last collected by M. Nagy: *M. Nagy 1993* 353–395; *M. Nagy 1995* 117–138.

[22] *M. Nagy 1993* 372. Fig. 1.; *M. Nagy 1995* 122.

[23] *Ubl 1982* 85–86; *H. J. Ubl*: Österreich in römischer Zeit. In: Severin. Zwischen Römerzeit und Völkerwanderung. Linz 1982, 105.

vities carried out in this period,[23] only been he traces of smaller repairs have discovered in Aquincum.[24] From the time before the turn of thecenturies A. D. 4th-5th this activity can be traced in the Civil Town: the defensive works were repaired in the city's southwestern section,[25] provisional fireplaces were established in partially ruined houses[26] and special buildings, such as the ancient Christian basilica and burial chapel, were maintained, serving the needs of the ancient Christian and Christian communities.[27] Until the middle of the 5th century, such maintenance work and rebuilding activities could be seen in the southeastern section of the Military Town.[28] Large halls were sub-divided into smaller ones, the terrazzo floors were covered by mud plastering, and a small fireplace for cooking was built into the room's corner.[29] However, no trace of coordinated and organized construction activity has survived. This type of evidence is missing even from the area of the military fortress and watchtowers, although their maintenance until the second half of the 5th century may be assumed, partly on the basis of the aforementioned written sources.[30] In all probability, some of the main roads were maintained as well. In addition to the distribution of archaeological artifacts clearly show that many finds have come to light along the path of former Antique roads (*Fig. 1–3*). This possibility is also supported by direct archaeological observations.[31] The Military and Civil Towns of Aquincum were linked by a busy main road. The section of it near the Civil Town offers a good example of continuity: Migration Period sherds were found directly on the „clean" road surface free of rubble. Construction activity, on the other hand, is very difficult to detect during the studied period in Aquincum. This is partly due to the fact that, as is known from other structures from this time (for example, the stretch of the *limes* by Noricum), the secondary use of stones and less well preserved materials (wood, adobe) characterized the architecture of this period.[32] Consequently, the construction techniques used probably also the lagged far behind the high standards typical of the Roman Period.[33] In addition, early medieval occupation affected the part of town where the latest traces of provincial habitation might be expected. Therefore, even if some construction was carried out on a slightly larger scale, medieval buildings or the use of Roman Period structures as sources of raw material during the Middle Ages must have destroyed such remains. On the other hand, at least some of the massive Roman Period structures were partially re-used (southern

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[24] *Póczy 1955* 74; *Póczy 1964* 55–71.

[25] Preliminary report in: *P. Zsidi*: Aquincum polgárvárosának városfala és védművei az újabb kutatások tükrében (The town wall and fortifications of the Aquincum Civil Town in light of modern research). CommArchHung 1990, 152, 163.

[26] Unpublished excavation by P. Zsidi in 1978. Short preliminary report in: Régészeti Füzetek.

[27] *L. Nagy 1942* 767–769; *Póczy 1964* 69.

[28] *Póczy 1964* 67–68; *Póczy 1996* 13–15.

[29] *Póczy 1955* 74–75., with modified date *Póczy 1996; K. Póczy*: Aquincum – castra, canabae, colonia. BudRég 25 (1984) 19–20.

[30] See note 14.

[31] Unpublished excavation by P. Zsidi in 1976. Short preliminary report in: Régészeti Füzetek.

[32] *Ubl 1982* 85–86.

[33] *G. Winkler:* Lorch zur Römerzeit. In: Severin. Zwischen römerzeit und Völkerwanderung. Linz 1982, 145.

section of the Late Roman military fortress and its surrounding).[34] It is in part constructions from the post-Roman periods which have hindered the study of architectural remains of Romans.

Most of the **artifactual material,** which has been grouped by period, originates from burials. Special emphasis will be placed on their character and circumstances of recovery. These conclusions are based on research and summaries by Klára Póczy in the early period (late 4th century)[35] and those by Margit Nagy, who studied the later phases (5th-9th centuries).[36]

It has been observed that the overwhelming majority of cemeteries in the town of Aquincum were used until the end of the A. D. 4th century. The number of cemeteries dated to the 5th century is significantly smaller and these may be found on a more narrowly defined territory.[37] The dominance of the former Military Town over the Civil Town may be clearly seen on site maps from this period (*Fig. 1*). The fact, however, that the Civil Town's cemetery located along the banks of the Danube remained in use until the 5th century shows that either the nearby watchtower was inhabited or the similarly close ancient Christian buildings to the west were still in use at the time.[38] Among the cemeteries of the Military Town, the section of a graveyard excavated at a site on Szőlő street may be considered most characteristic from the viewpoint of the period under discussion here.[39] These groups of graves, located near the ruined walls of a Roman building and along a Roman Period main road contained objects characteristic of archaeological materials from both late Roman times and the A. D. 5th century. In addition to typical, Late Roman glazed ceramics, smoothed vessels and both locally made as well as imported glassware came to light here. Of the pieces of attire, buckle with dotted silver inlay, typical of the Barbarian fashion are especially worthy of mention. Most of the characteristics observed in this cemetery, however, are in general typical of 4th-5th century cemeteries in Pannonia.[40] These traits (the lack of coins, new pieces of attire and other new types of objects) start appearing in archaeological materials after A. D. 375–380, and have been hypothetically explained as the material signs of political and military reorganization.[41] This transformation of material culture was, especially in the work of L. Barkóczi, linked with the settlement of Barbarian allies (Hunnic-Alan *foederati*) of the Roman Empire, who cohabited in the *limes* region with the provincial population.[42] The evidence of Roman-Barbarian coexistence is shown in a cemetery excavated in the immediate proximity of Aquincum (Bp. XI. Gazdagrét) which is

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[34] *V. Bertalan – J. Altmann*: A középkori Óbuda (Medieval Óbuda). In: Óbuda évszázadai (Óbuda over the centuries). Budapest 1995, 148–149.

[35] *Póczy 1955* 55–77.

[36] *M. Nagy 1993* 353–395; *M. Nagy 1995* 117–138.

[37] *M. Nagy 1995* 355.

[38] *Póczy 1964* 68–69.

[39] *M. Nagy 1993* 355; *Gy. Parragi*: Római és népvándorláskori leletek a Szőlő utcában (Roman and Migration Period finds from Szőlő Street). BudRég 25 (1984) 321–365.

[40] *Salamon – Barkóczi 1982* 159.

[41] *S. Soproni*: Der spatrömische Limes zwischen Esztergom und Szentendre. Das Verteidigungsystem der Provinz Valeria im 4. Jahrhundert. Budapest 1978.

[42] *Barkóczi – Salamon 1984* 147–187.

coeval with the previously described burials.[43] Following the analysis of this latter cemetery, it became possible to reconstruct its use and the ethnic affiliation of the population whose dead were buried there. This cemetery, sheltered by the Buda hills, was opened at the end of the 4th century by a population that had characteristics of Roman urban culture. This group of people was joined at the turn of the A. D. 4th-5th centuries (at the latest) by another with completely different funerary rites, new kinds of attire and other Barbarian elements in their burials. Their graves, however, fit neatly within the structure of the original cemetery. No burials were found cut into those of the „provincial" inhabitants. The burial rite and the material culture of the later group is very similar to that encountered at the Szőlő Street cemetery.[44] However, in case of the cemetery of Gazdagrét, following a short period of coexistence, the group that represented the „provincial" tradition disappeared, possibly fleeing before Hunnic invasions.[45] The people displaying Barbarian (now including Hunnic) elements in their material culture, however, must have felt secure where they were living and continued to use the cemetery. They stopped burying here only during the late 5th or the early 6th century. It seems likely that this local but strongly „Barbarized" population is typical of the so-called Hunnic Period in Aquincum. Namely, typical finds unambiguously indicative of Hunnic ethnicity have, to date, been missing from Aquincum.[46]

If we take all of the factors mentioned above into consideration (*Fig. 3*), it may be seen that, characteristic artifacts from all the major periods between the dissolution of the Roman Empire to the period of the Hungarian Conquest may be found in the area of Aquincum. The unusually sparse artifactual material associated with the local Germanic population was chiefly found along the walls of the late Roman fortress and in the proximity of funerary chapels.[47]

In the period between the 6th and the 9th century the archaeological (artifactual) remains in the area of Aquincum are rare but continuous.[48] (*Fig. 2*) Some sporadic finds have come to light in the Military amphitheater (Heruls), in the vicinity of former Roman villas (Langobards, late Avar) and along the chief traditional Roman roads (early Avar). It is not accidental that these occasional finds from several ethnic groups cluster at points of strategic importance: at cross-roads, close to fords and traditional routes or easily defended former stone Roman constructions. As opposed to this spatially interrupted pattern of finds, burials were continuous in the section of the cemetery found on Szőlő Street and its greater

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[43] *P. Zsidi*: A Budapest XI. kerületi Gazdagréten feltárt 4–5. századi temető (The 4th-5th century cemetery in Gazdagrét, XI district Budapest). CommArchHung (1987) 45–72.

[44] The east-west orientation of skeletons, the type and the large proportion of articles of attire, the ceramic and glass vessel types found as grave goods, etc.

[45] For other evidence of this „flight wave" see: *É. B. Bónis*: Glasierte Keramik der Spatrömerzeit aus Tokod. CommArchHung (1991) 144.

[46] *M. Nagy 1993* 354.

[47] In the last years, archaeological work in the northwest section of the Military Town of Aquincum has yielded new data related to the importance of this period. *O. Madarassy*: Recent research in the western section of the Aquincum military town. Aquincumi Füzetek 4. Budapest 1998, 61–64.

[48] For list of sites see: *M. Nagy 1993* 359–365.

surroundings in the southwest part of the Roman Military Town.[49] We can only presume that the people buried here must have lived somewhere nearby, among the surviving walls of the Antique town.

Superimposing the archaeological material, it becomes apparent that although some areas within the territory of Aquincum between the end of the Roman Period and the time of the Hungarian Conquest must have remained in use, they had a different character (*Fig. 3*). These included:

– routes that ensured the most important east-west and north-south connections and the fords of the Danube river – which would have had strategic importance for the new inhabitants,

– the southern section of the Late Roman military fortress and its surroundings – which conferred a relatively secure dwelling place,

– and the large cemetery in the southwest of the Military Town – as a burial place.

The manner in which these territories were used did not undergo any basic changes in the centuries after Roman rule, but seems to mark a general tendency.

As far as the ethnic composition of the inhabitants is concerned, at the beginning of this period, a strongly Barbarianized but sparse provincial population, was more exposed to external influences near lively Danube fords with strategic importance than the people who lived in *refugia* inside the province, far from the busy main roads. If the written sources and the (until now collected, but far from complete) archaeological data are surveyed, an interesting „fragmentary continuation" begins to become apparent in the area of Aquincum.[50] However, the most characteristic elements of the later use the area of the Antique town already seem to be outlined.

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[49] However, the characteristic material in the burials is extremely heterogeneous, with various ethnic components, and the number of excavated.

[50] The expression originates from *K. Brunner*: Continuity and discontinuity of Roman agricultural knowledge in the early Middle Age. In: *D. Sweeney* (ed.): Agriculture in the Middle Age. Philadelphia 1996, 22.

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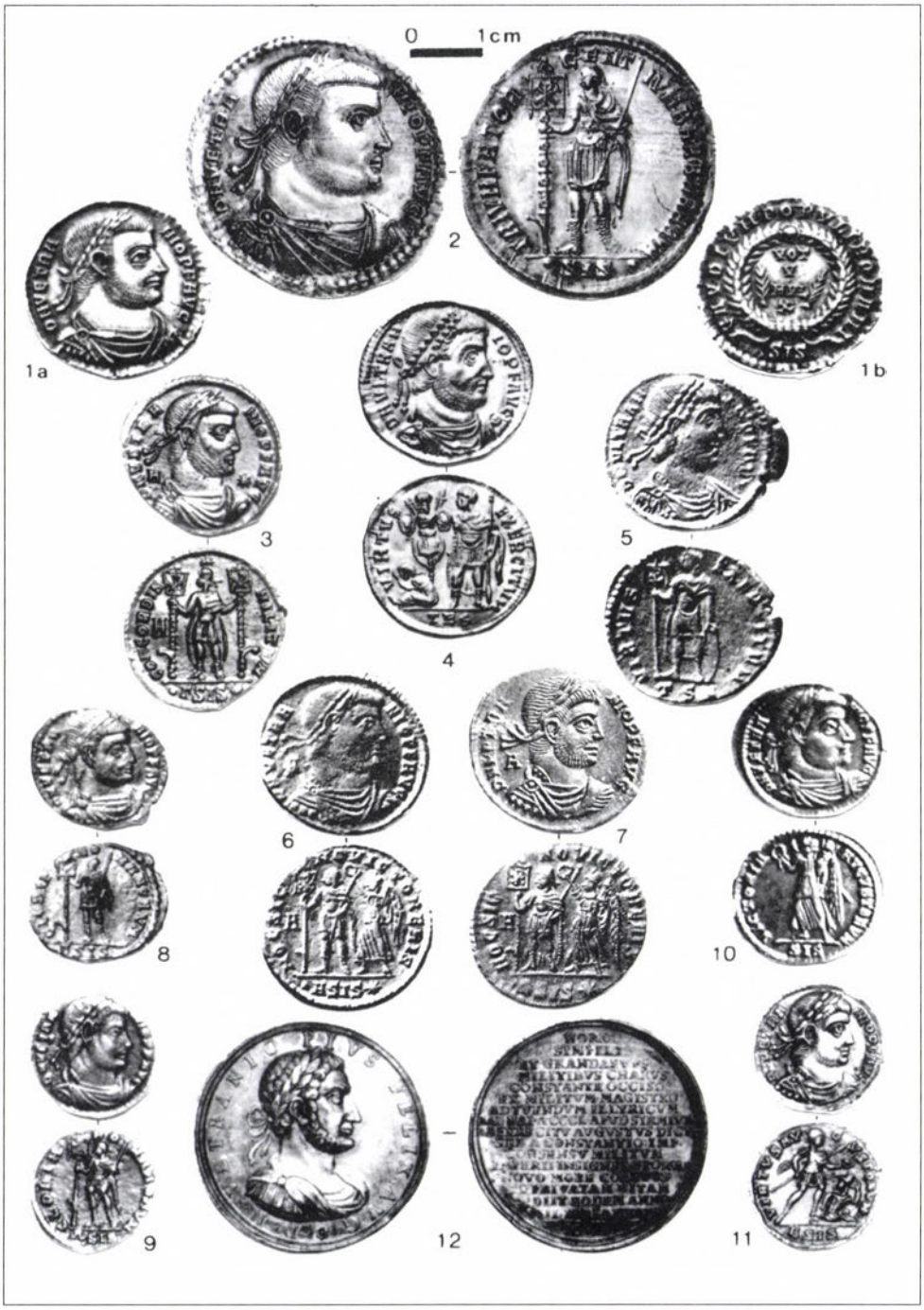
CAPTIONS

Fig. 1. Migration Period sites in Óbuda – by period I. (after map by Margit Nagy)

Fig. 2. Migration Period sites in Óbuda – by periods II. (after map by Margit Nagy)

Fig. 3. Migration Period sites in Óbuda – based on the nature of the finds (after map by Margit Nagy)



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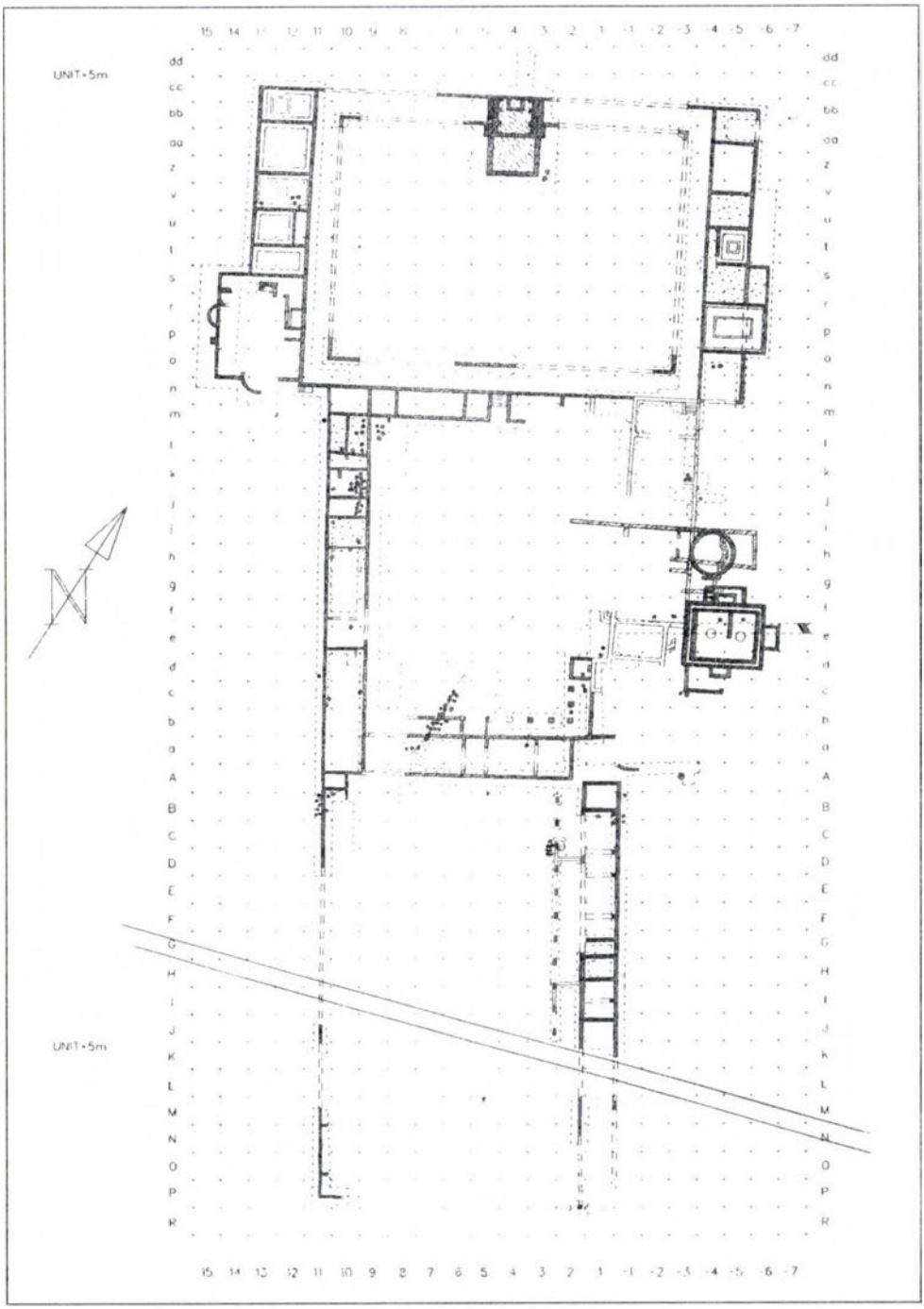

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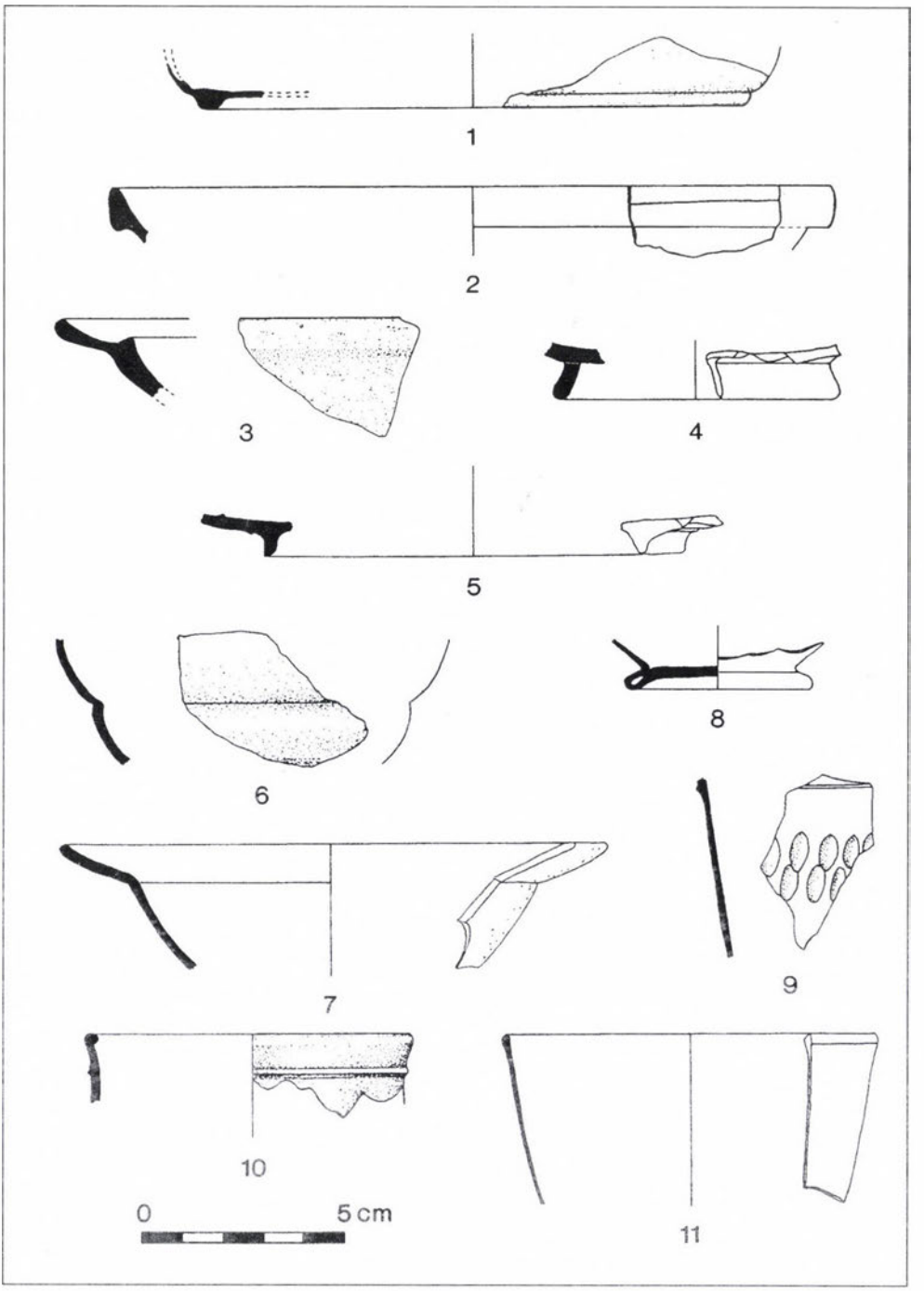

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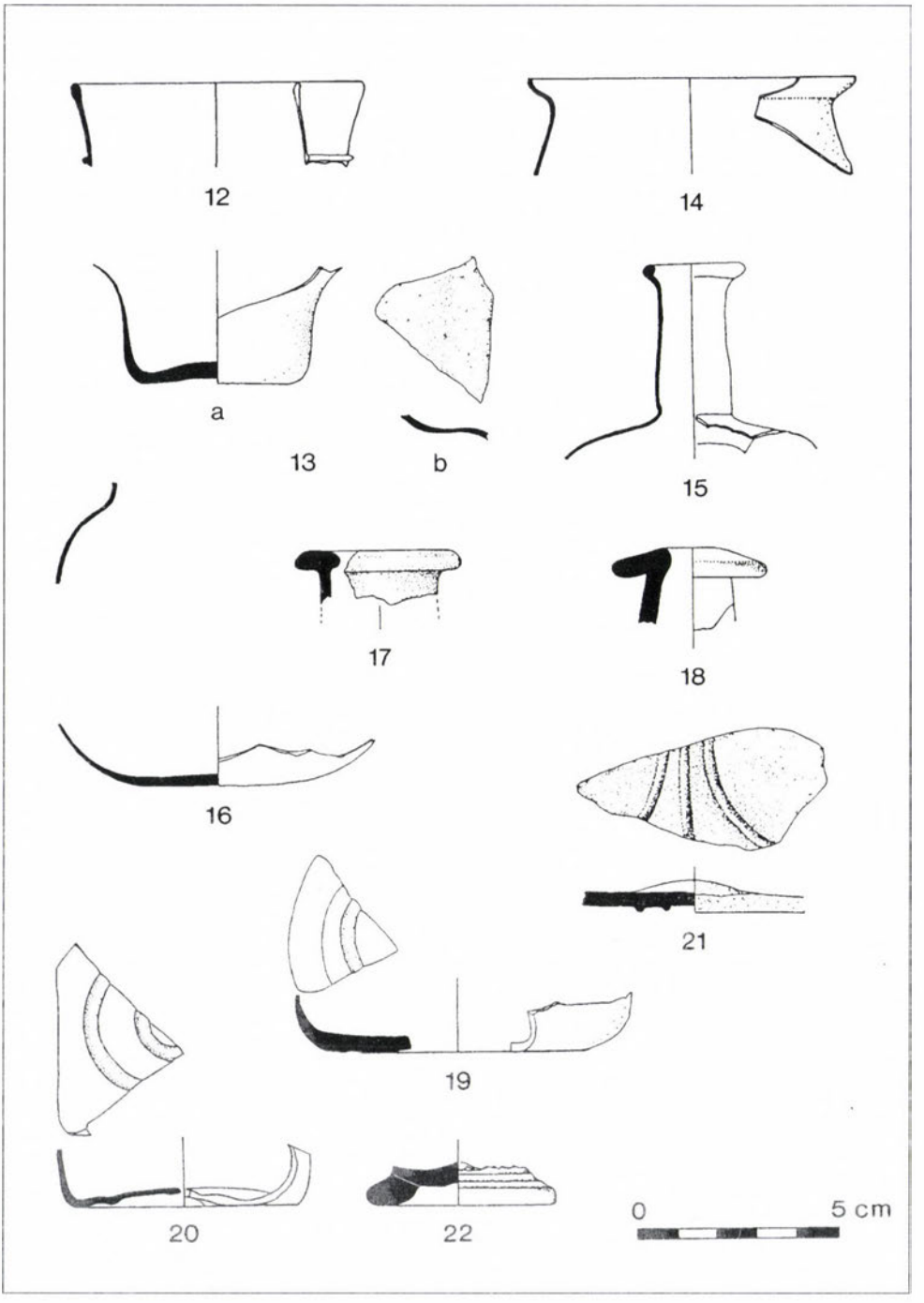

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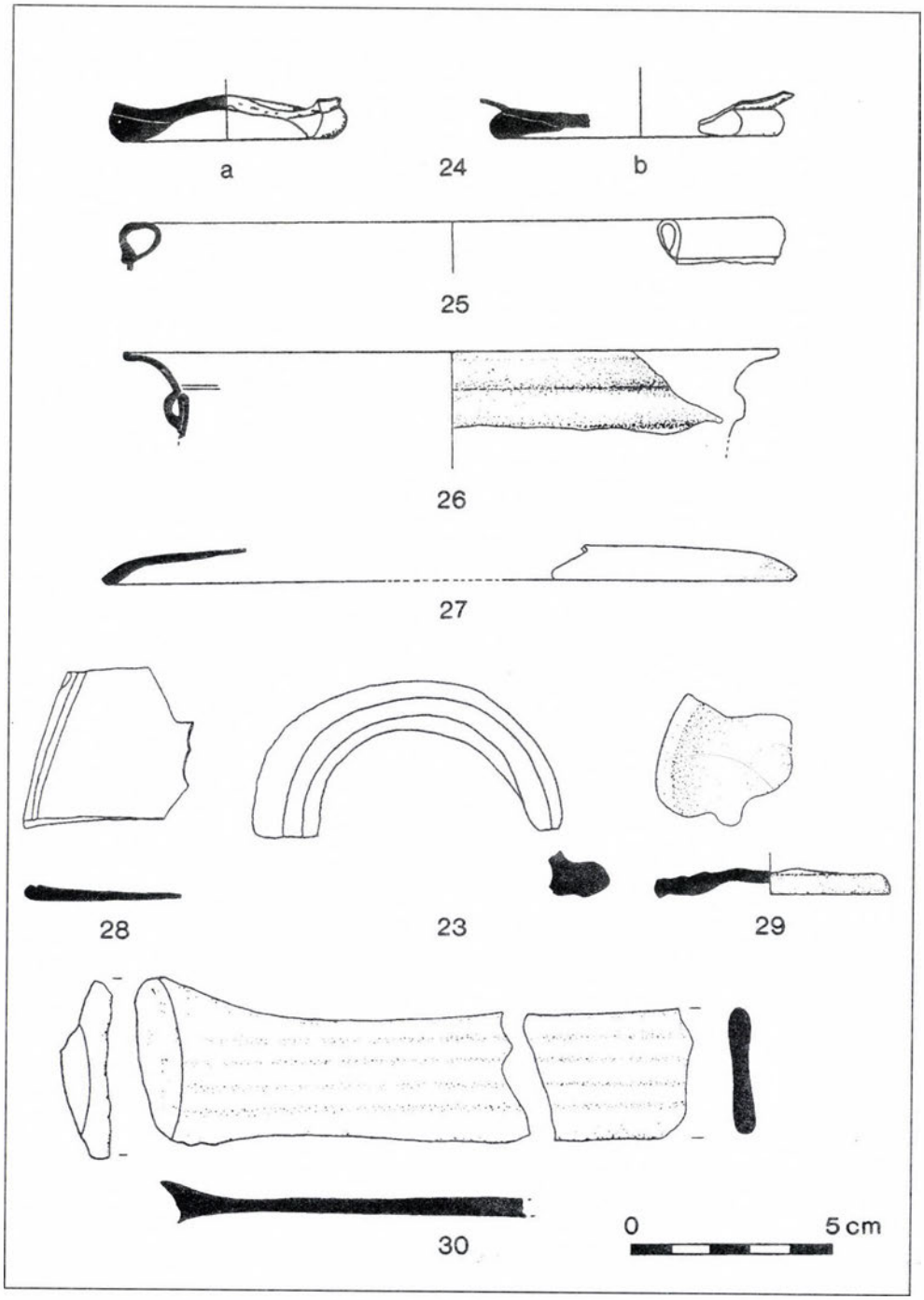
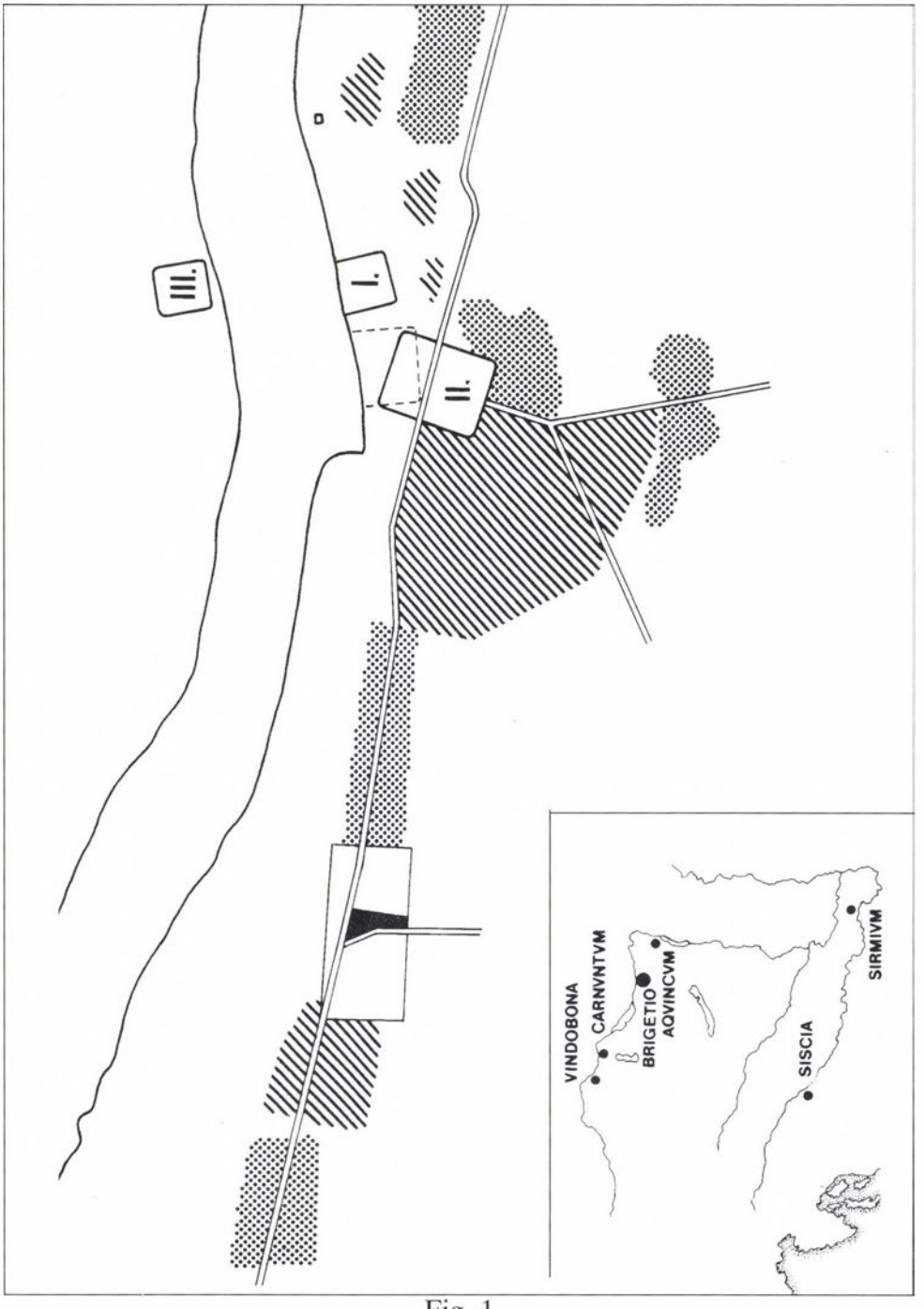


Fig. 4

Fig. 5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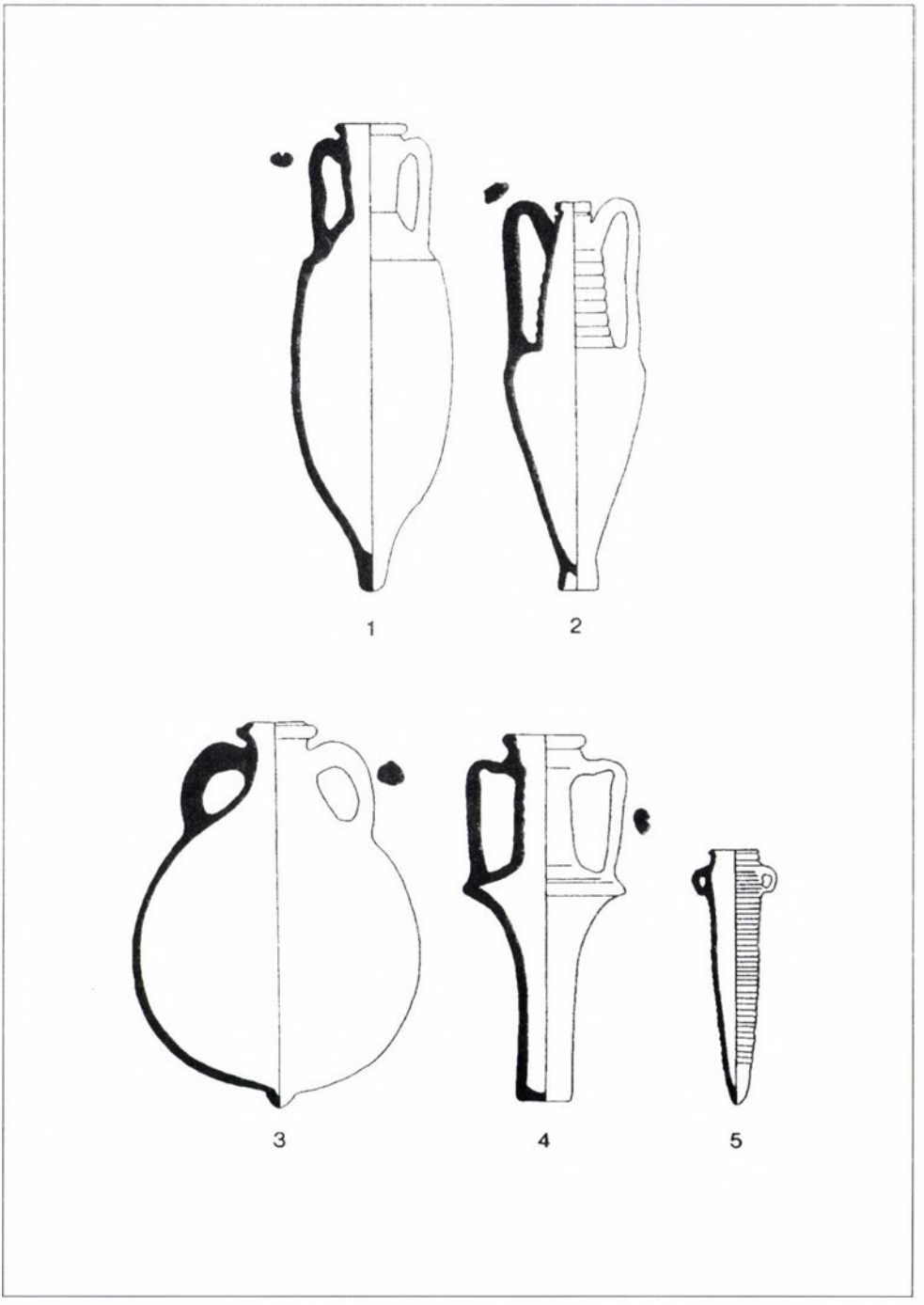

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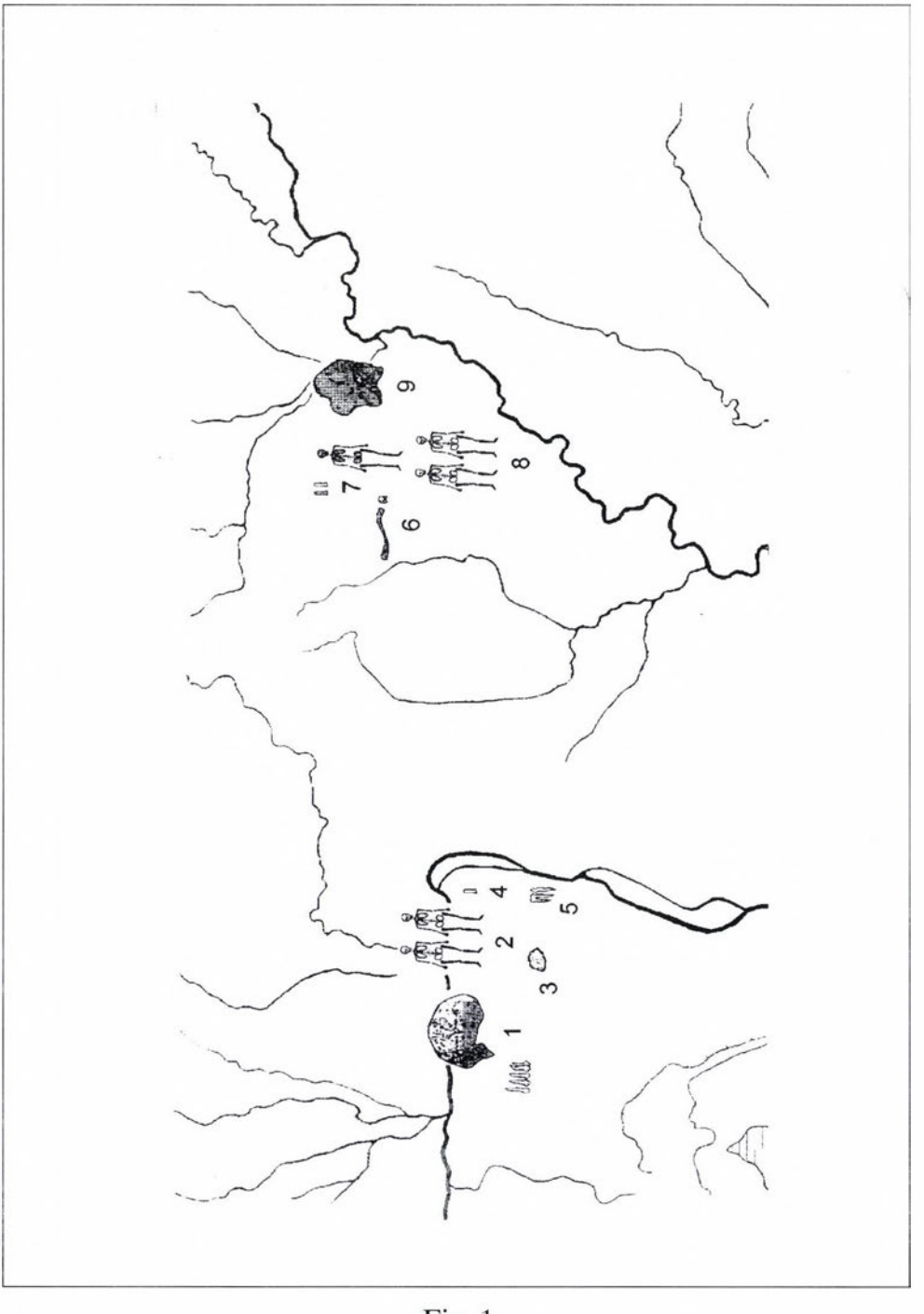

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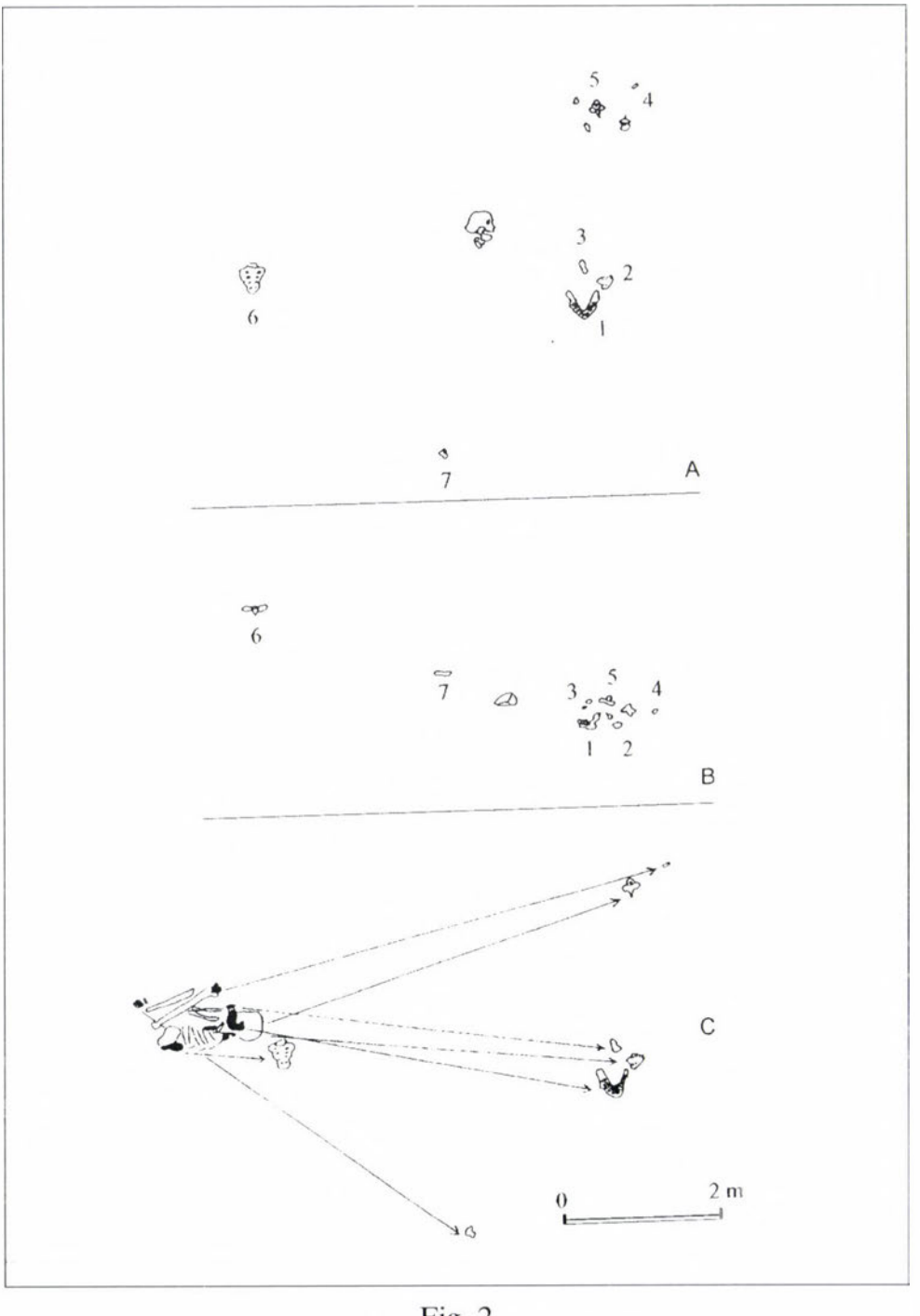

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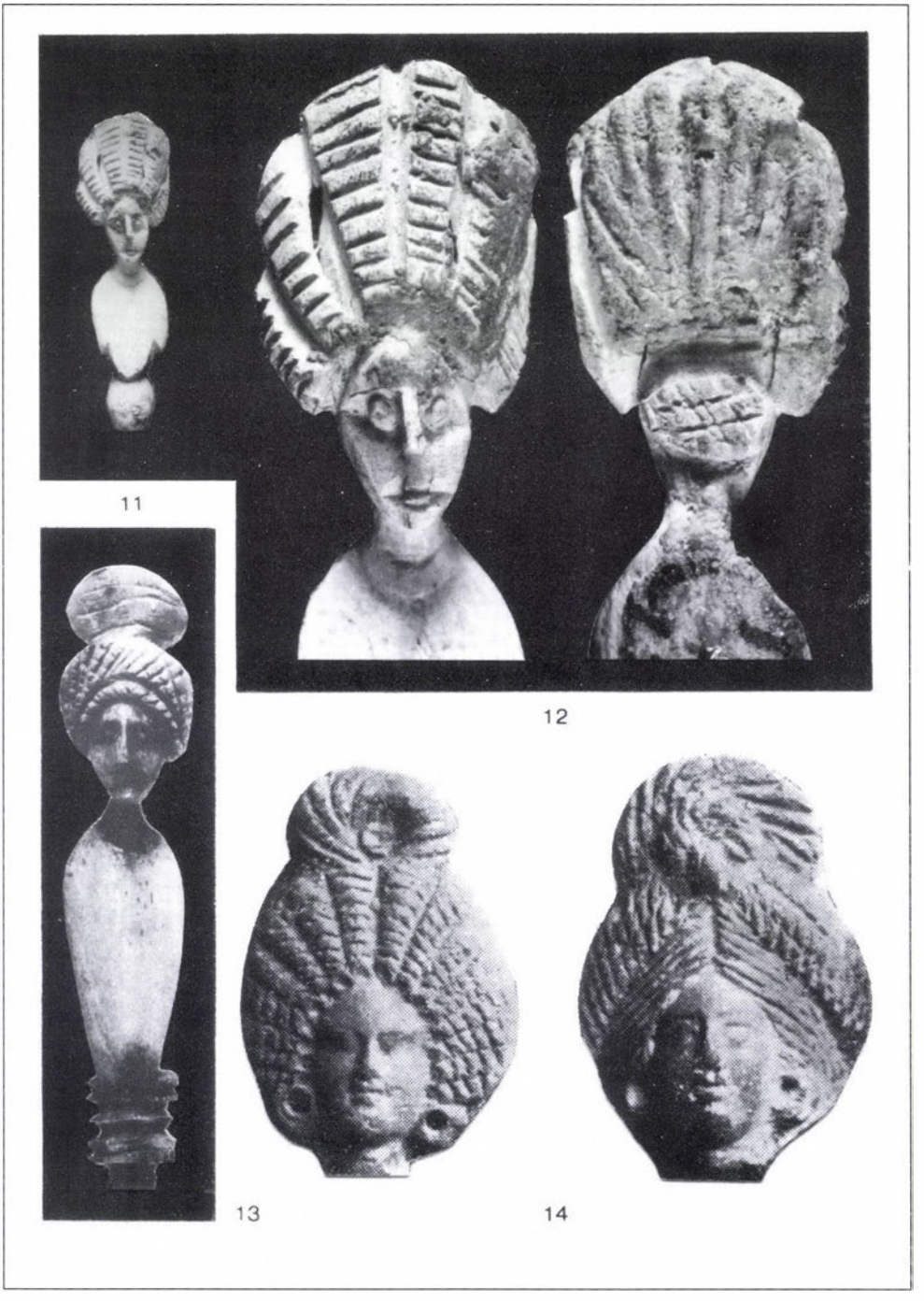

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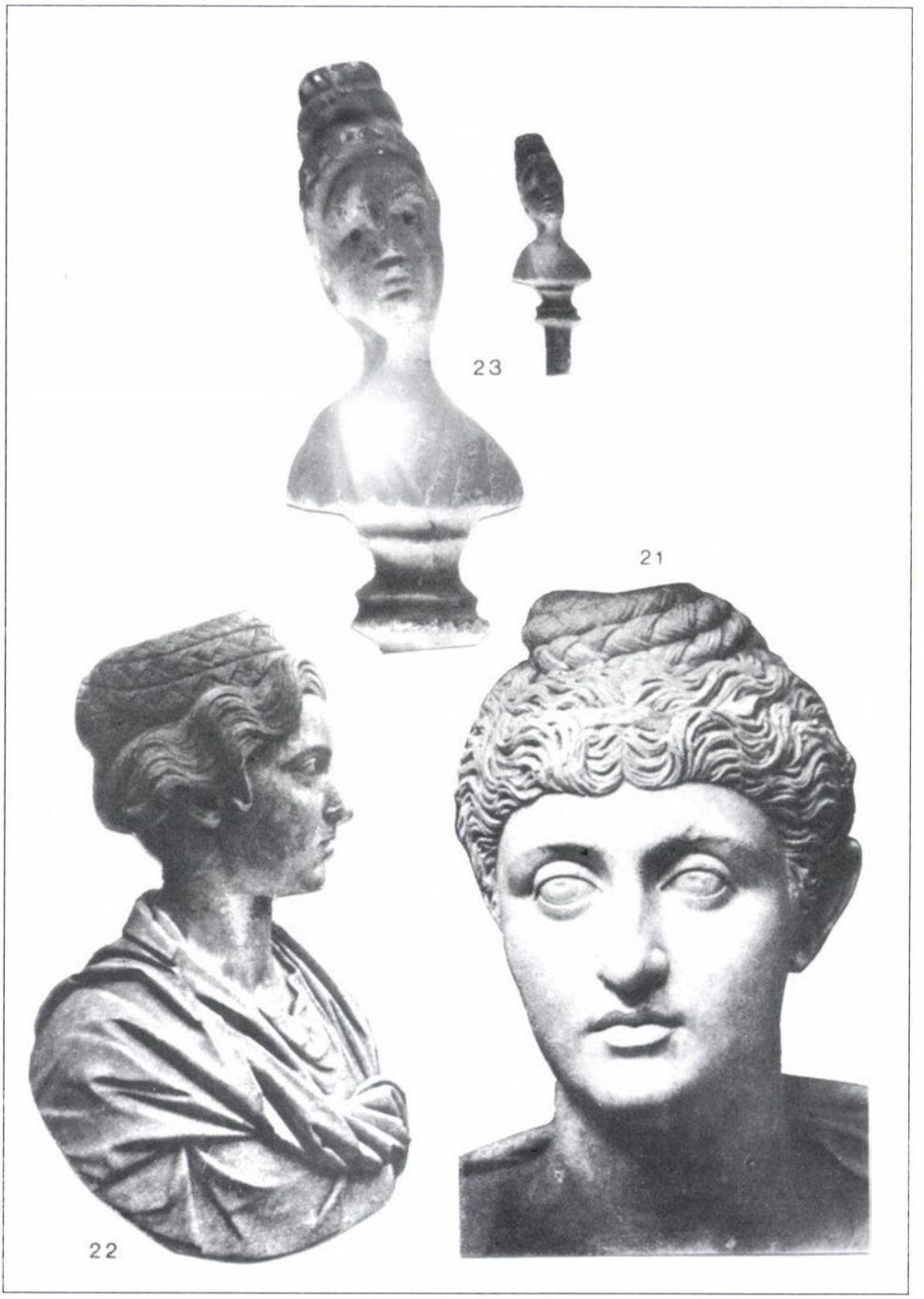

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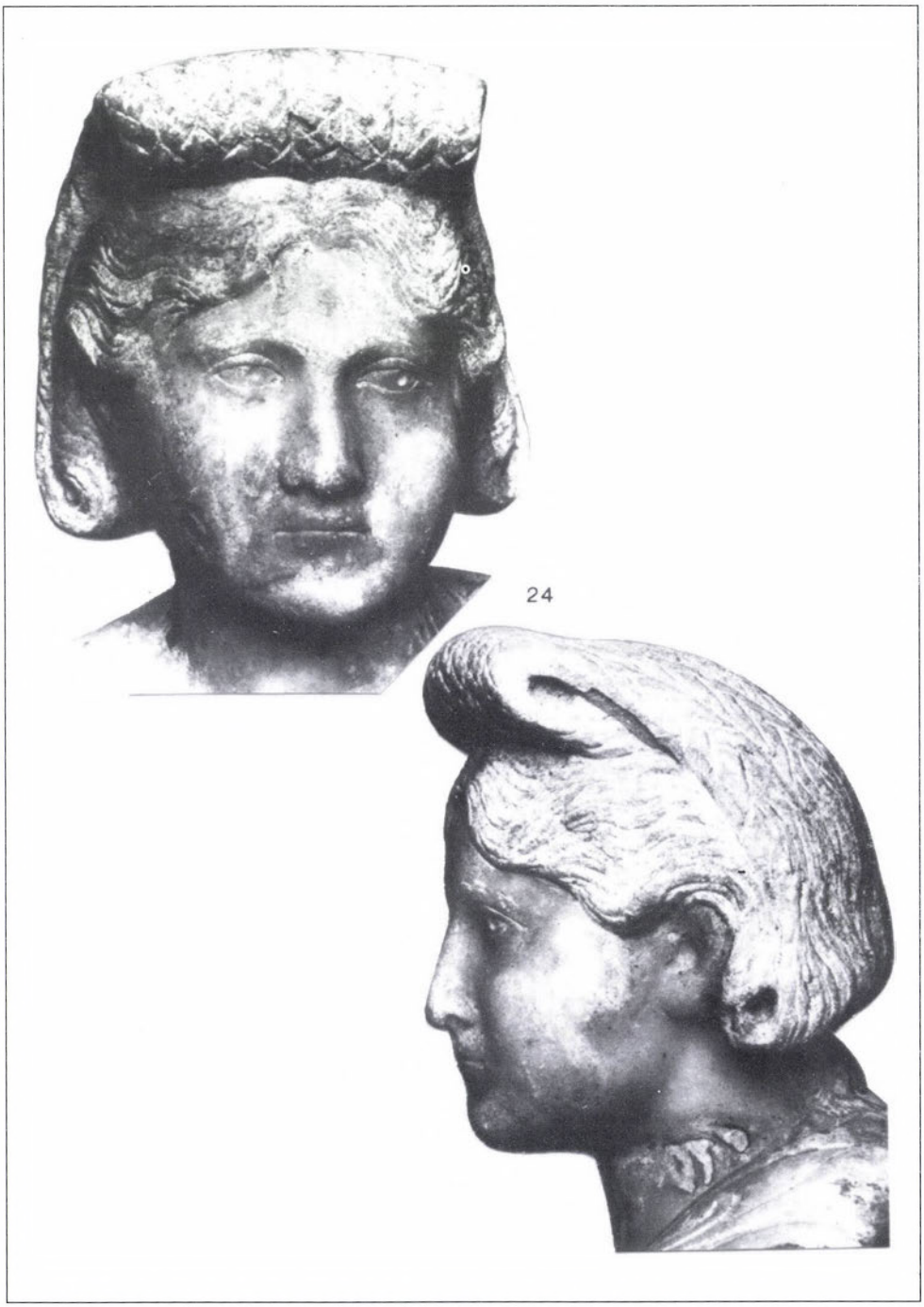

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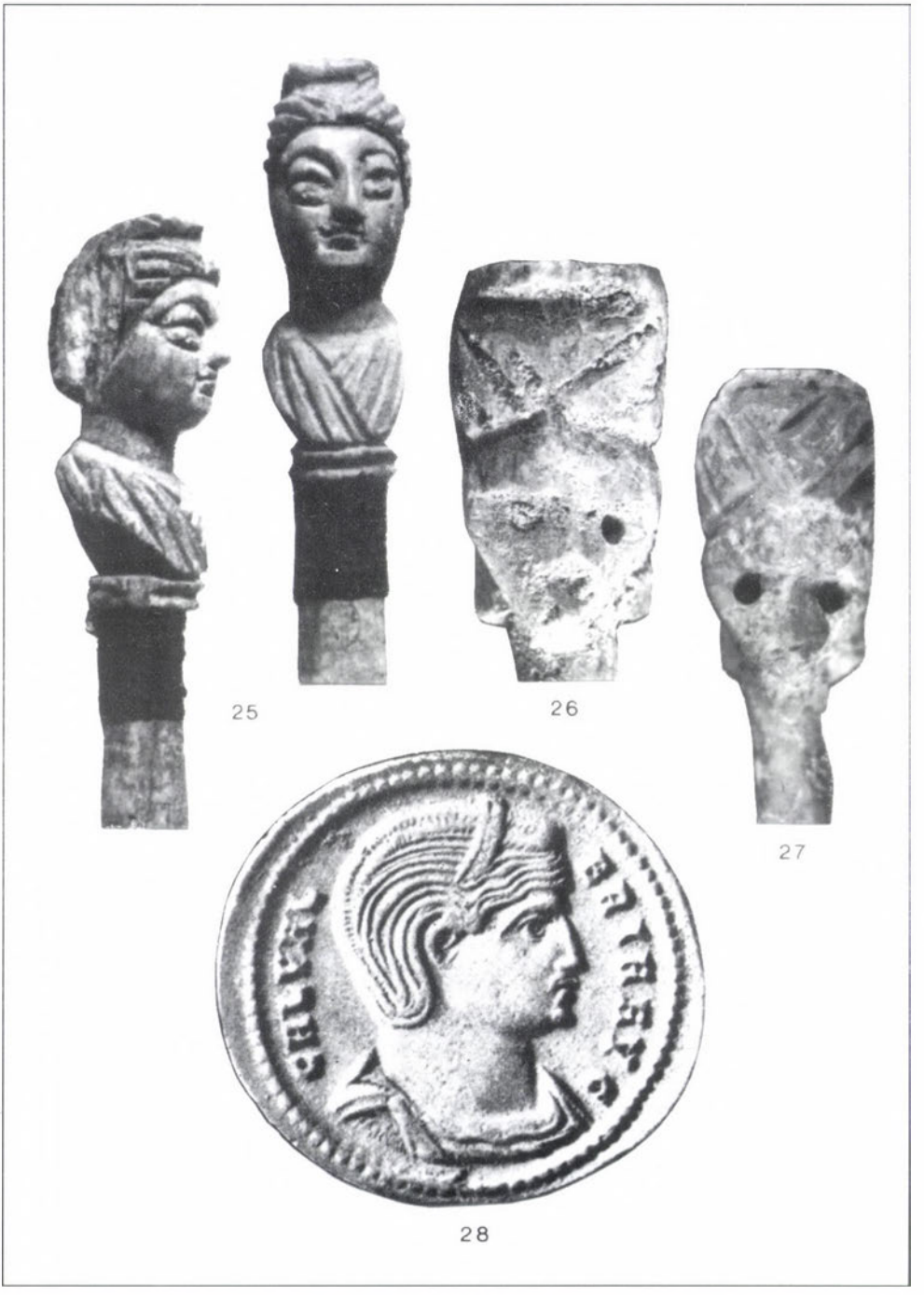

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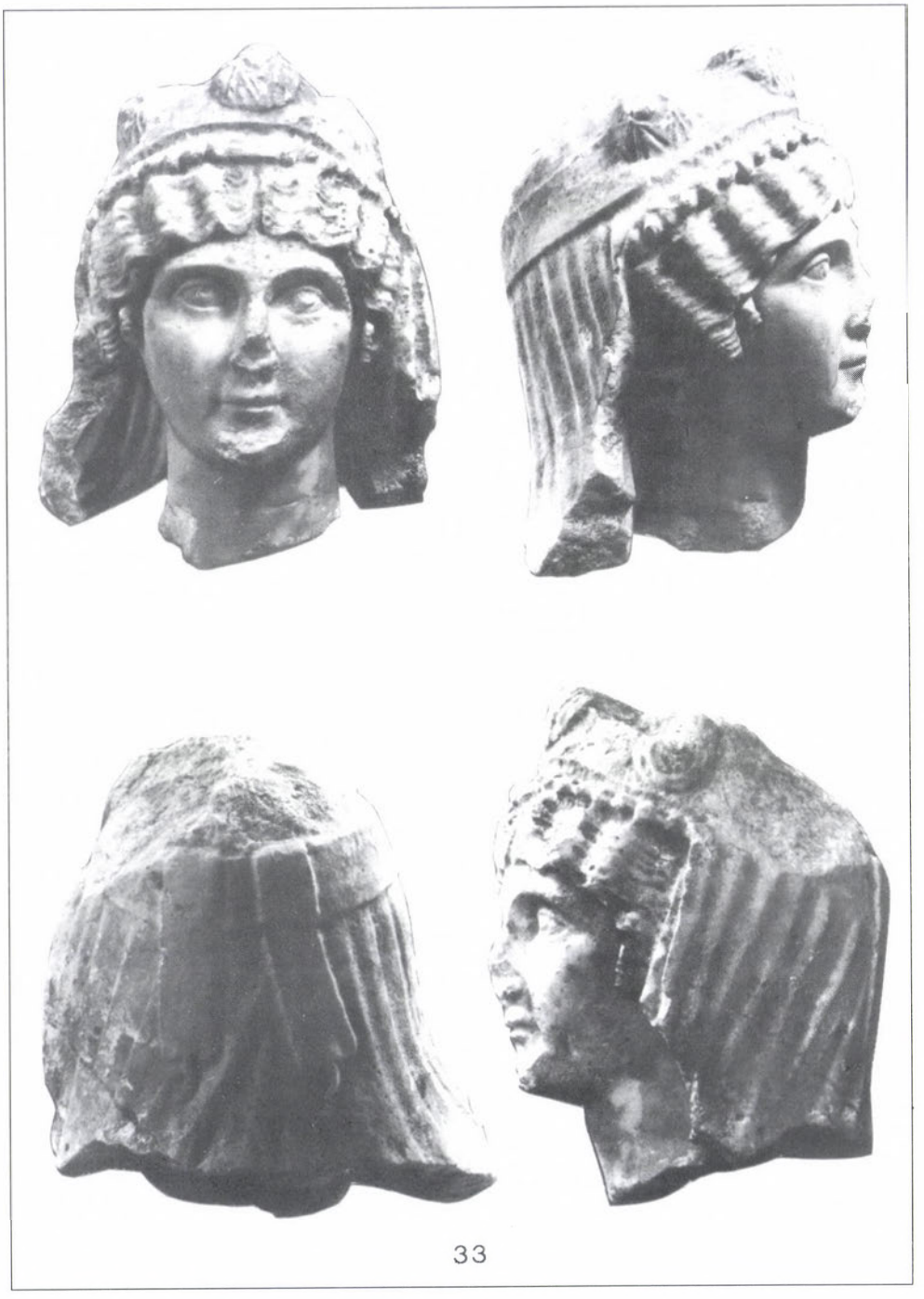

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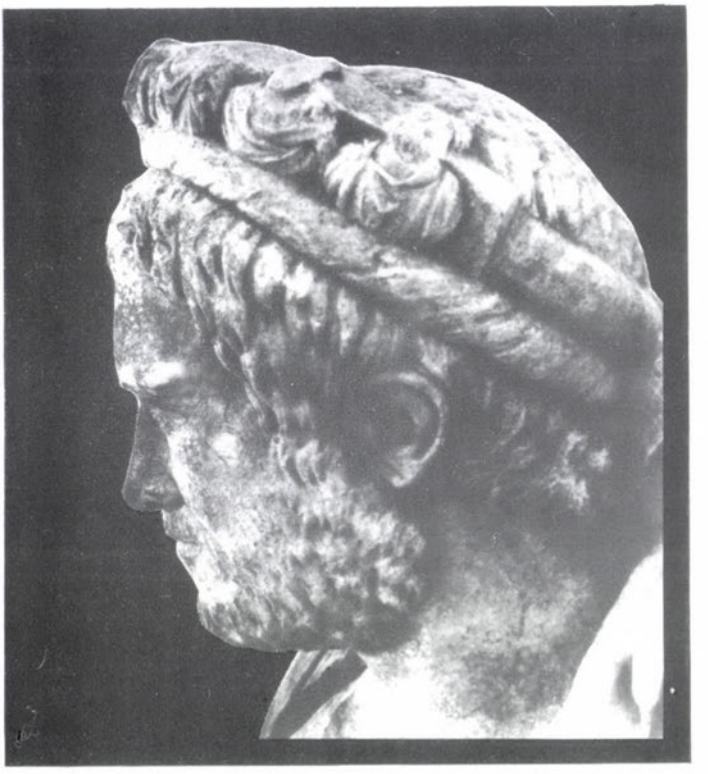

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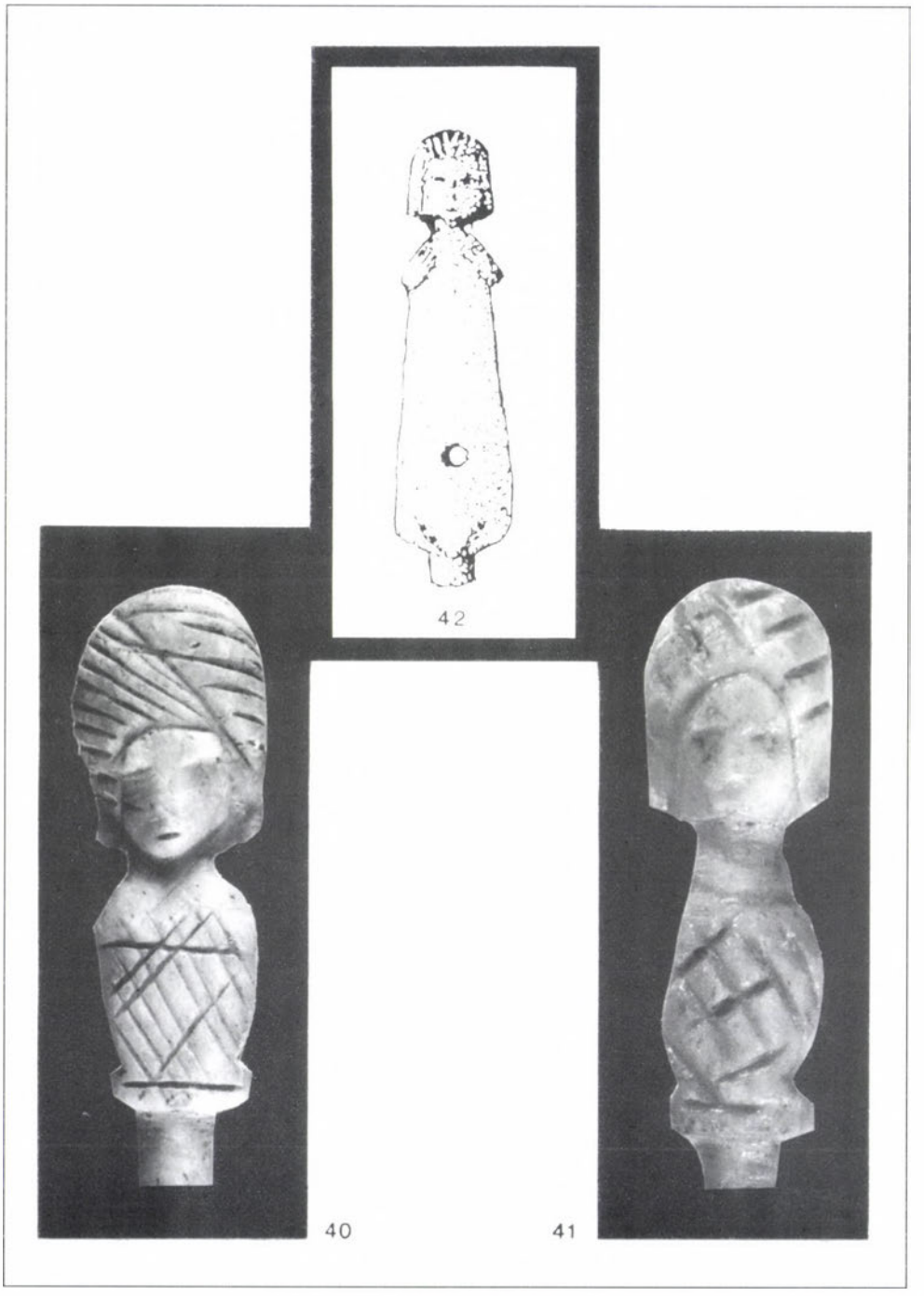
Fig. 10

Fig. 11



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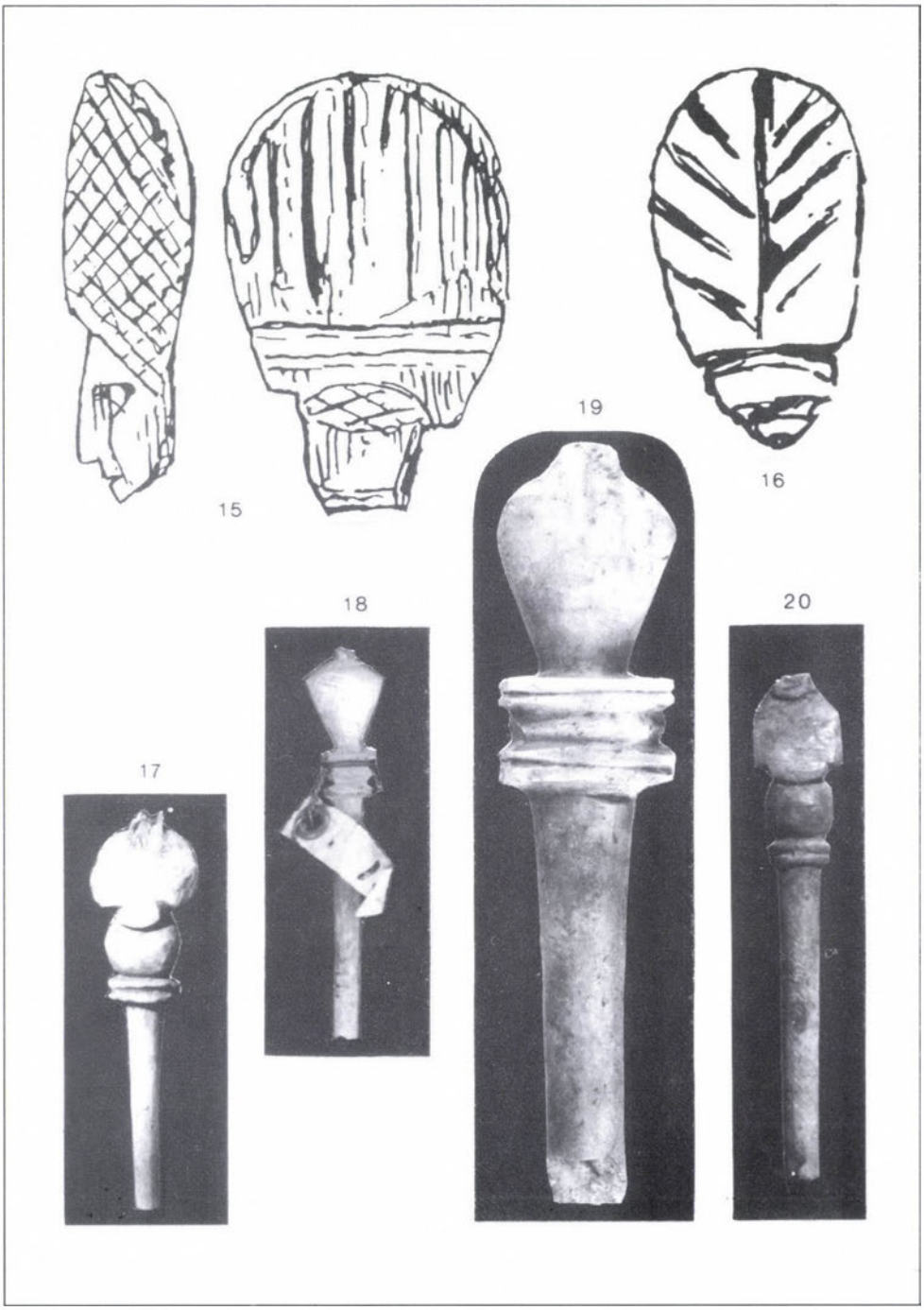

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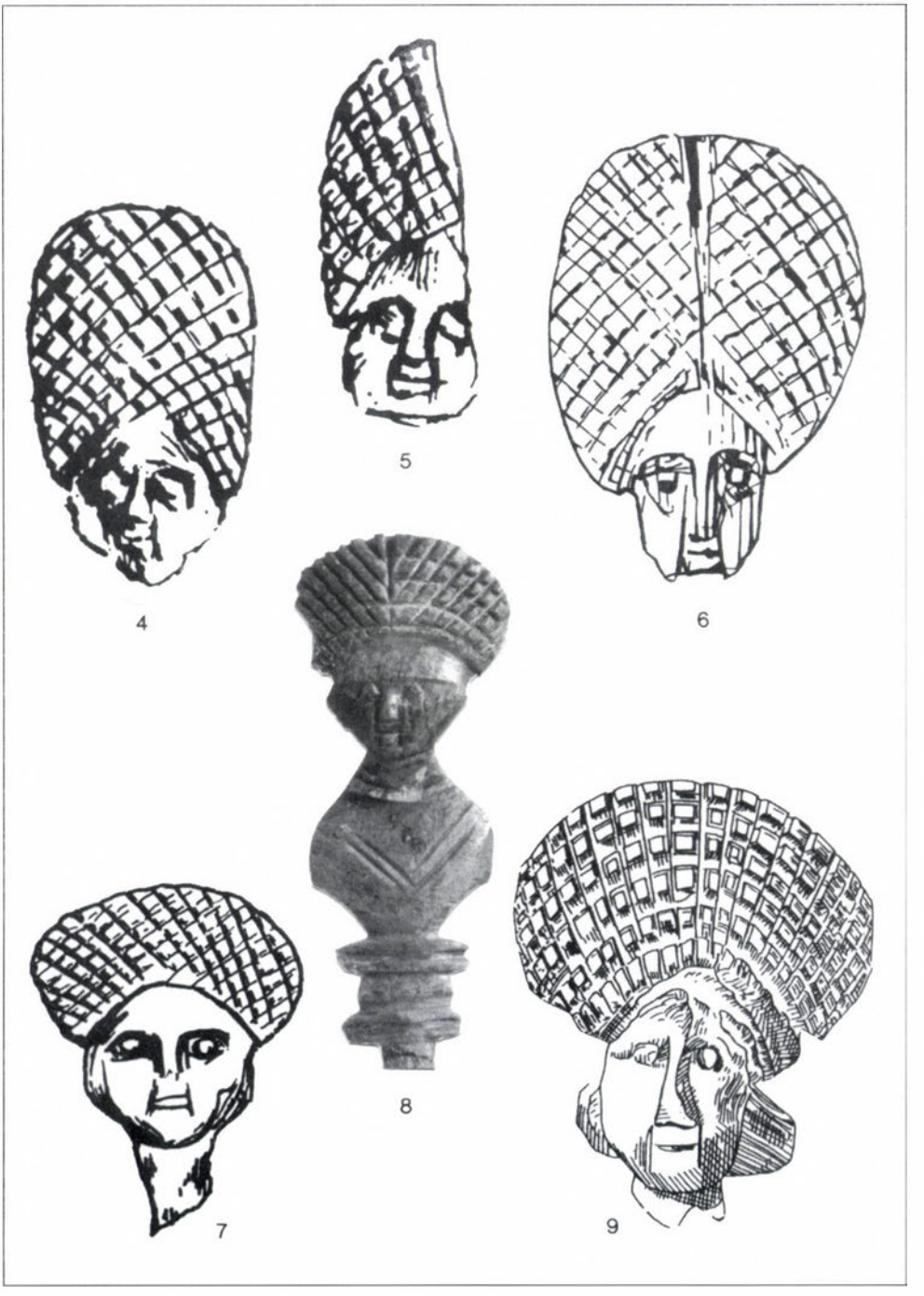

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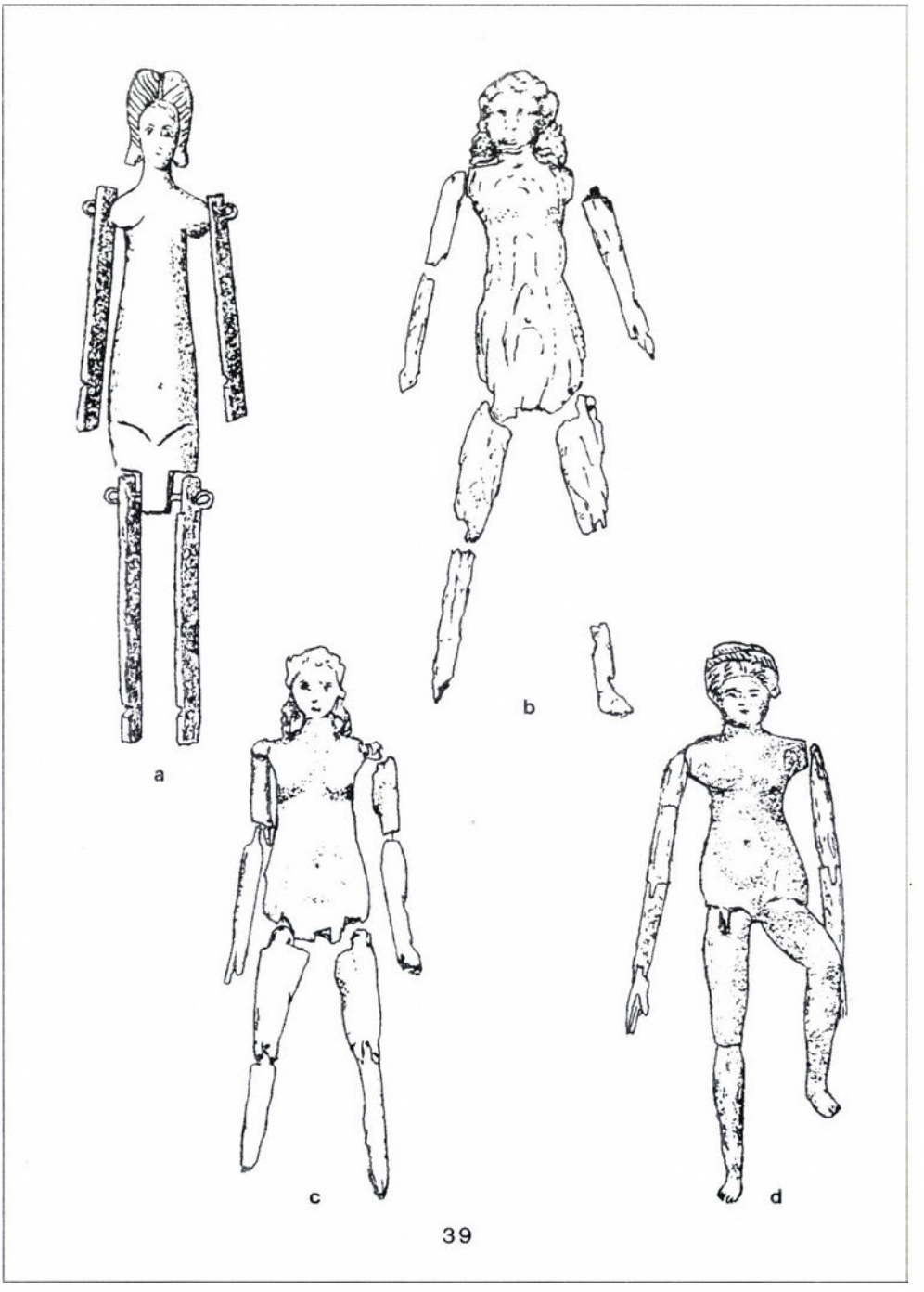

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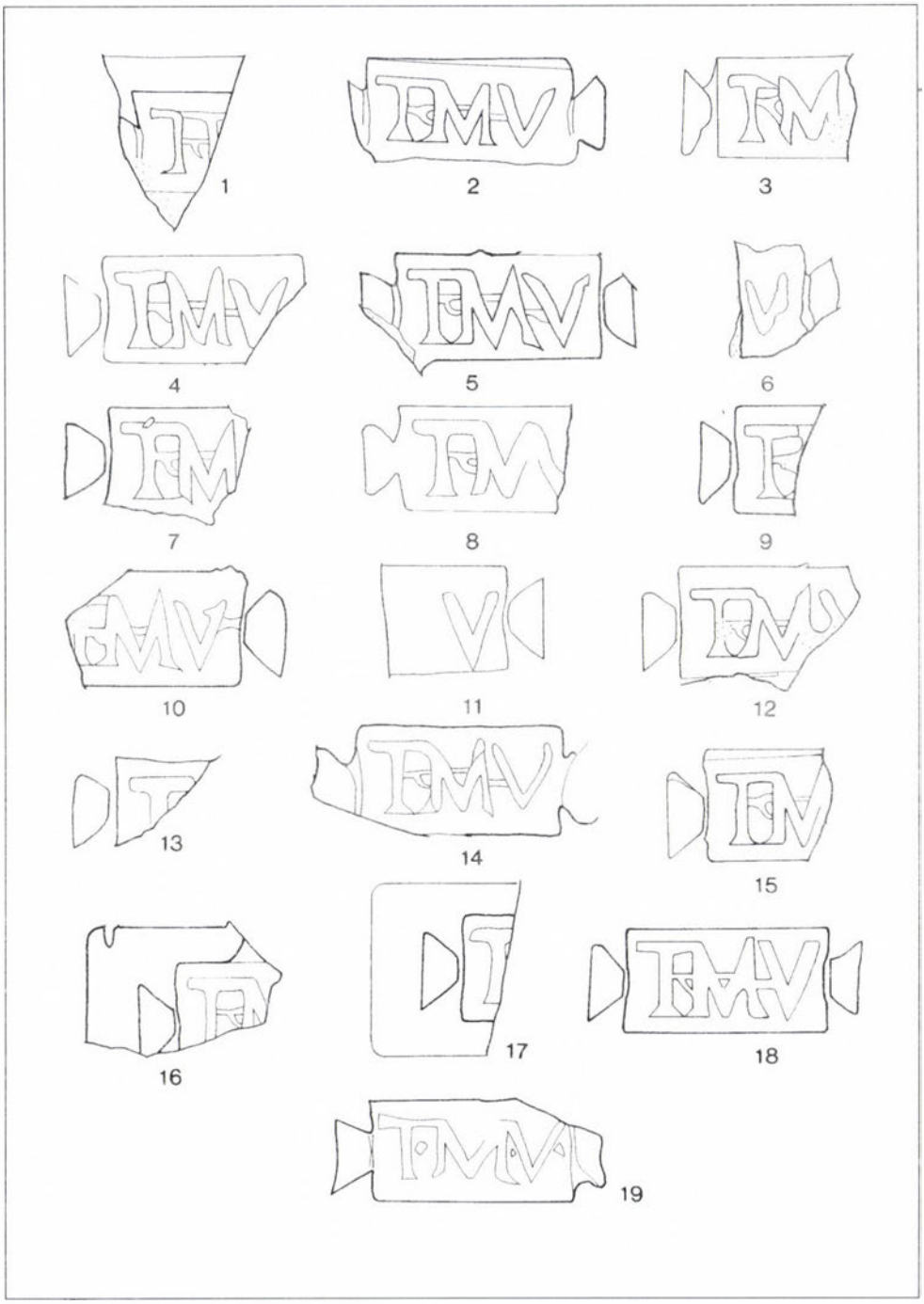

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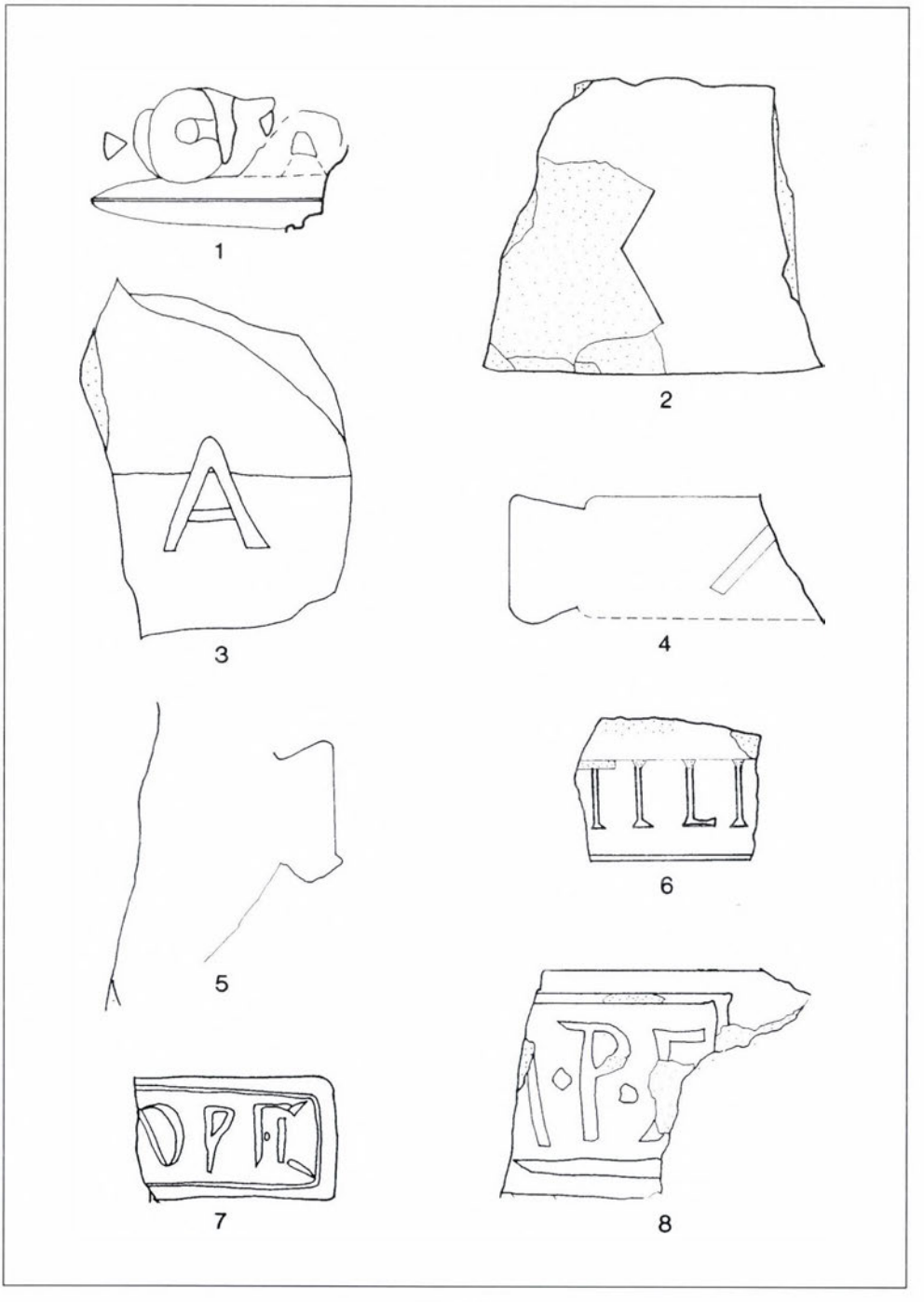

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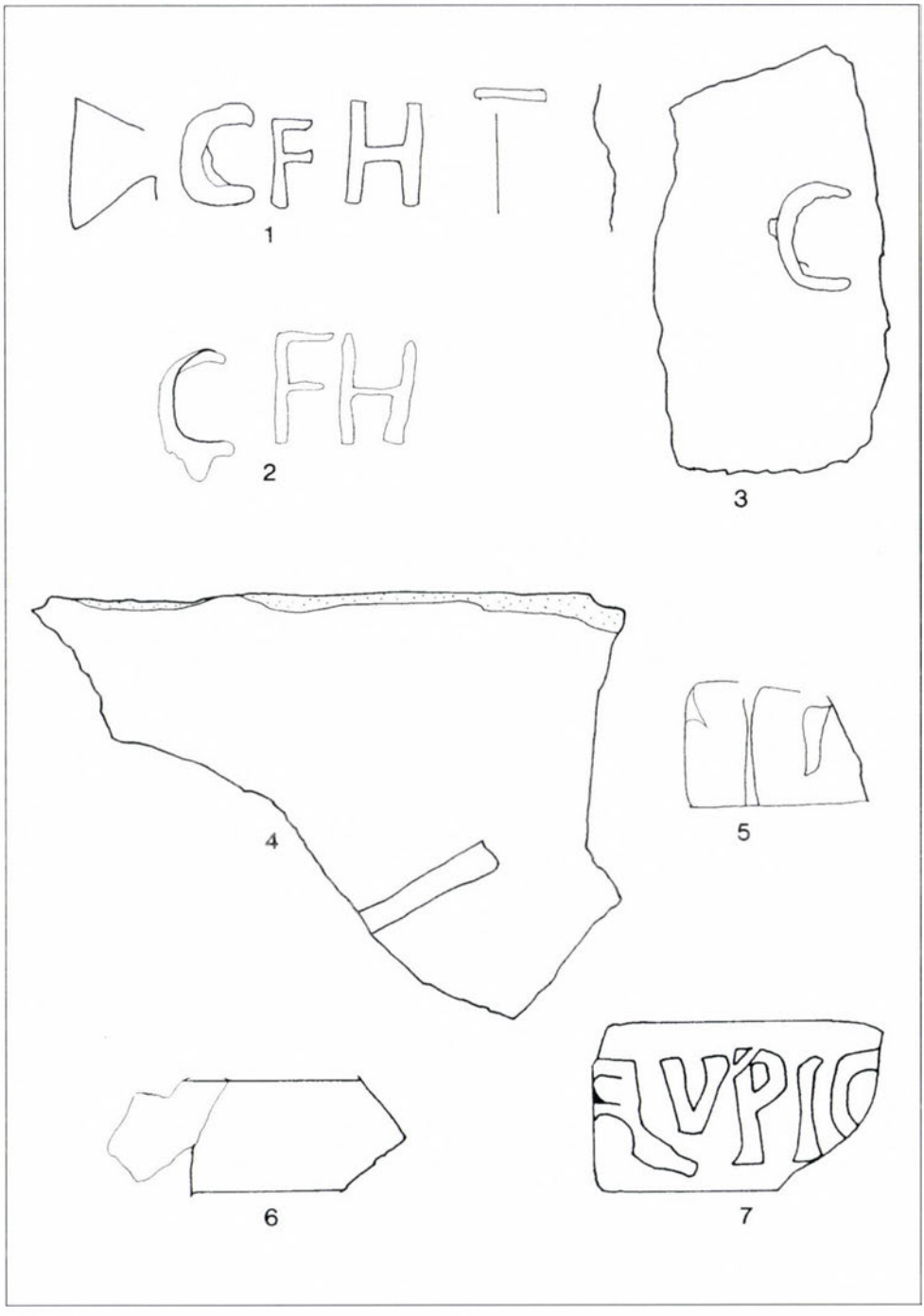

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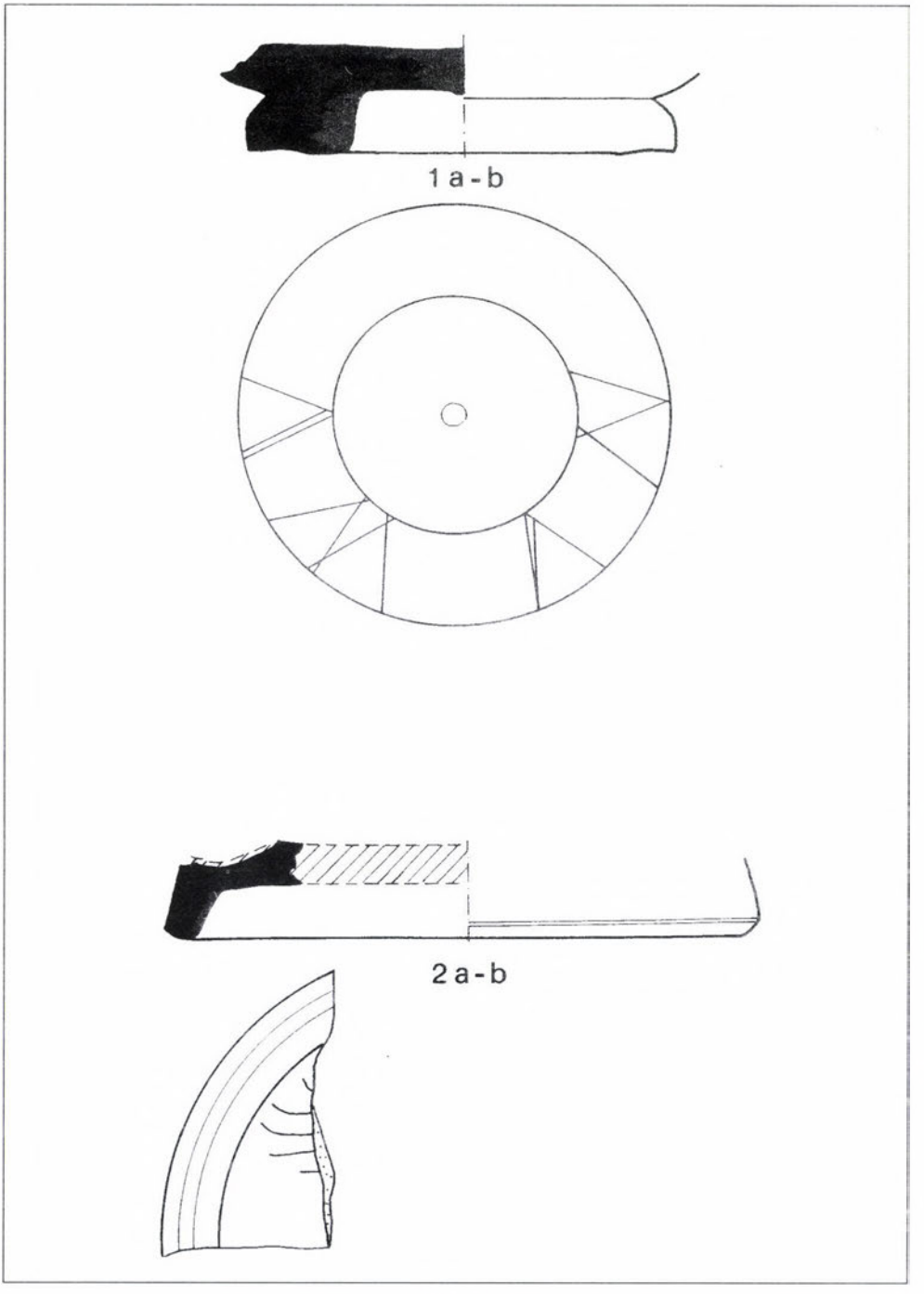

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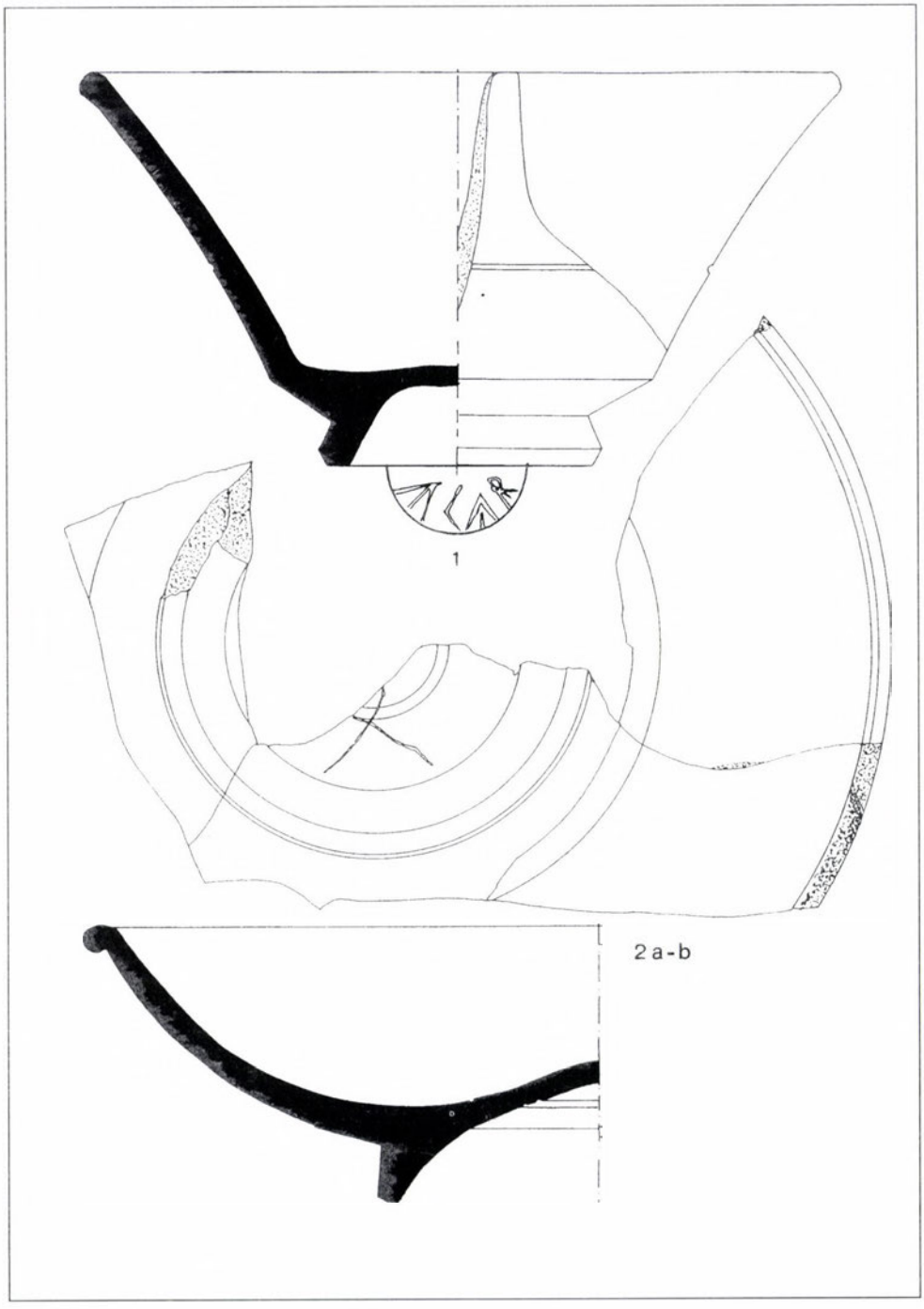

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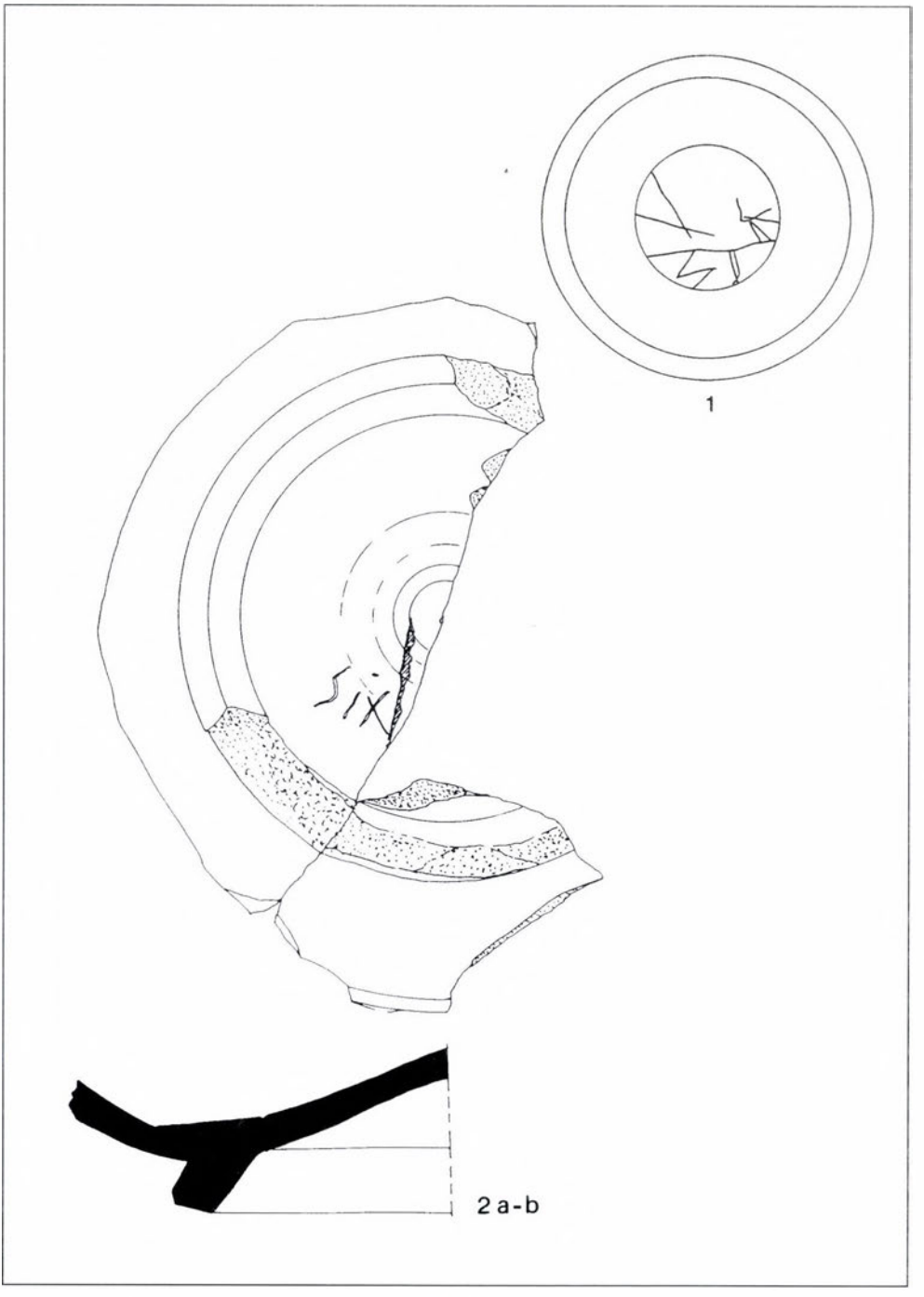

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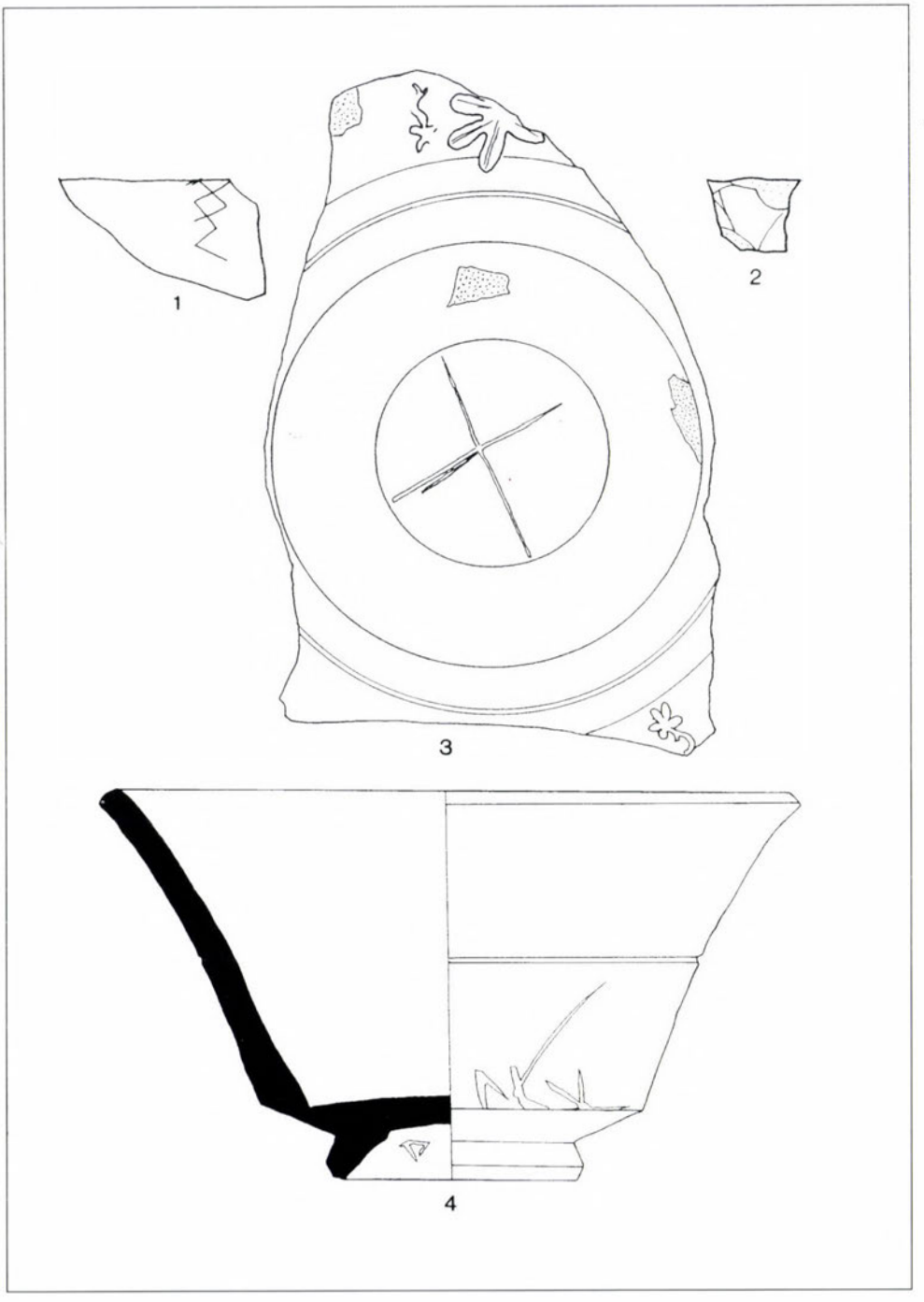

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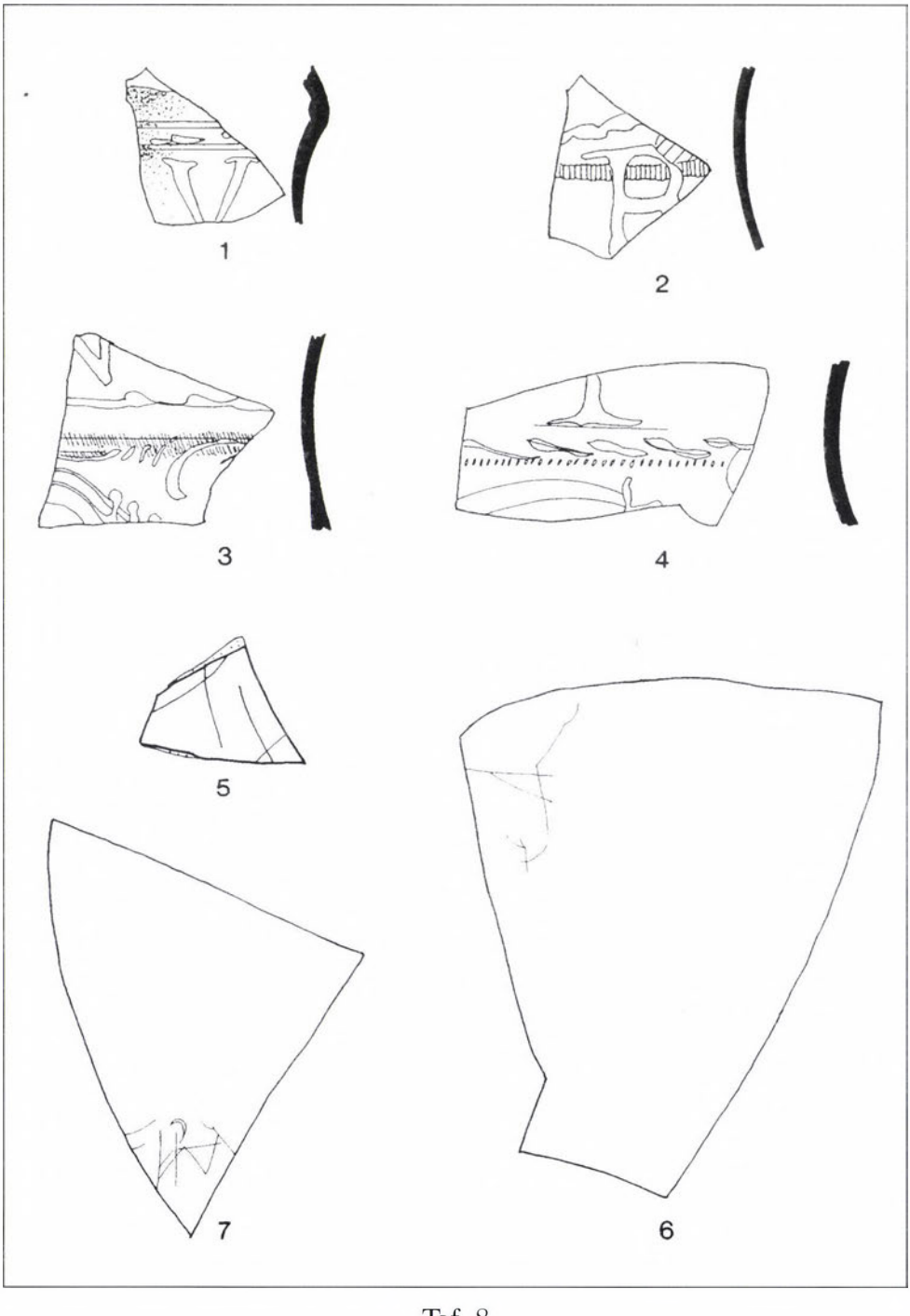

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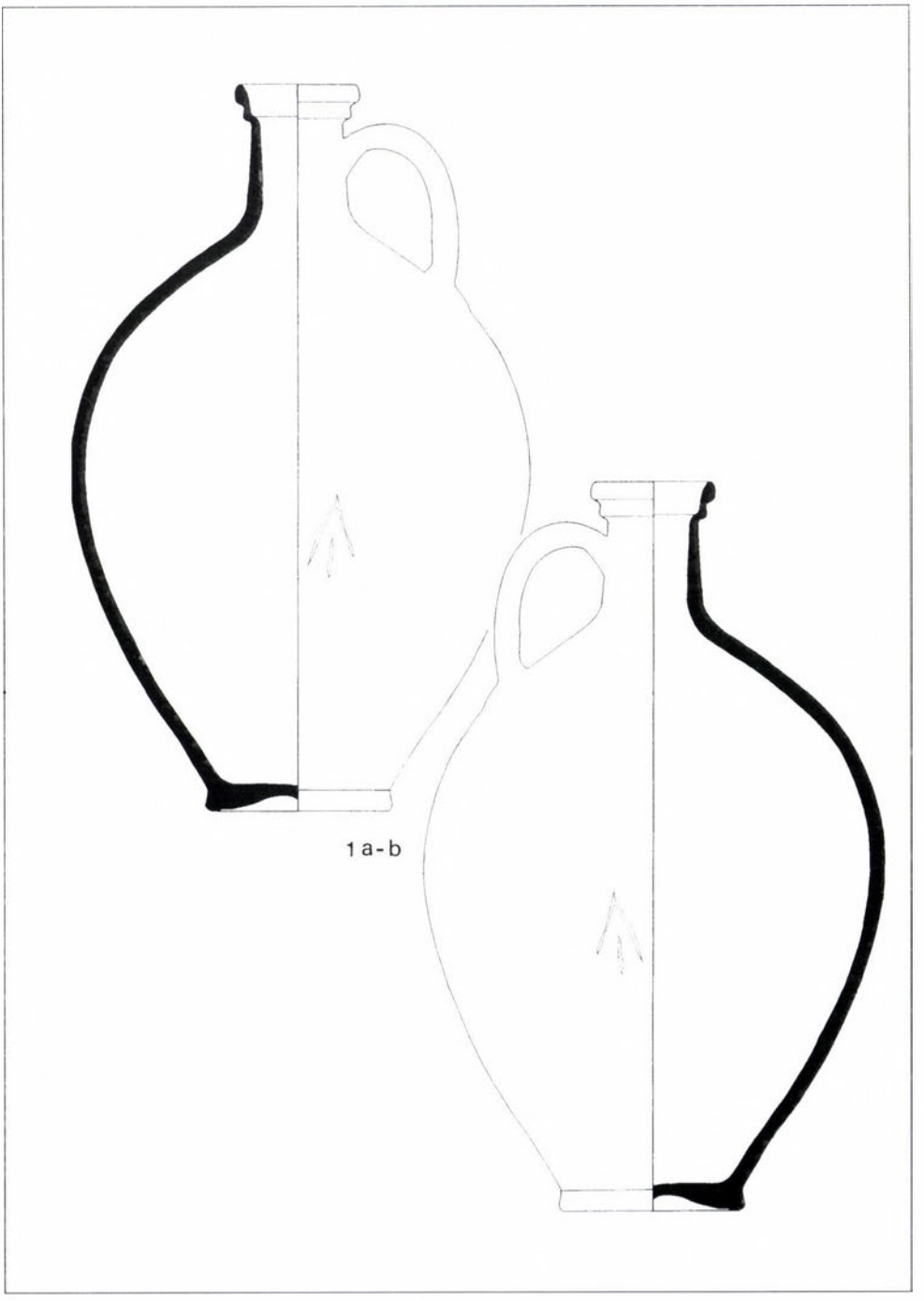

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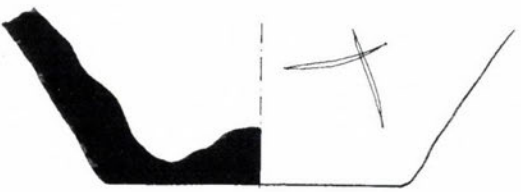

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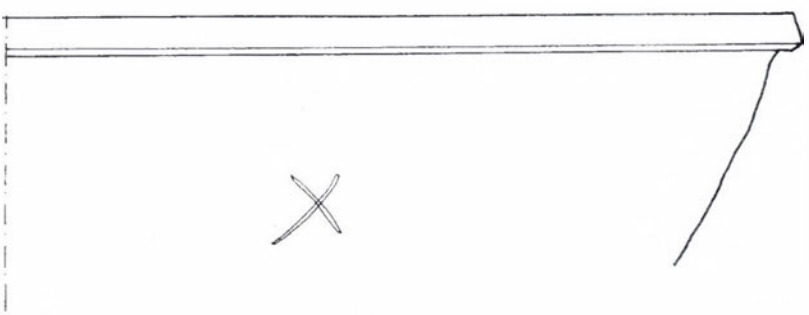

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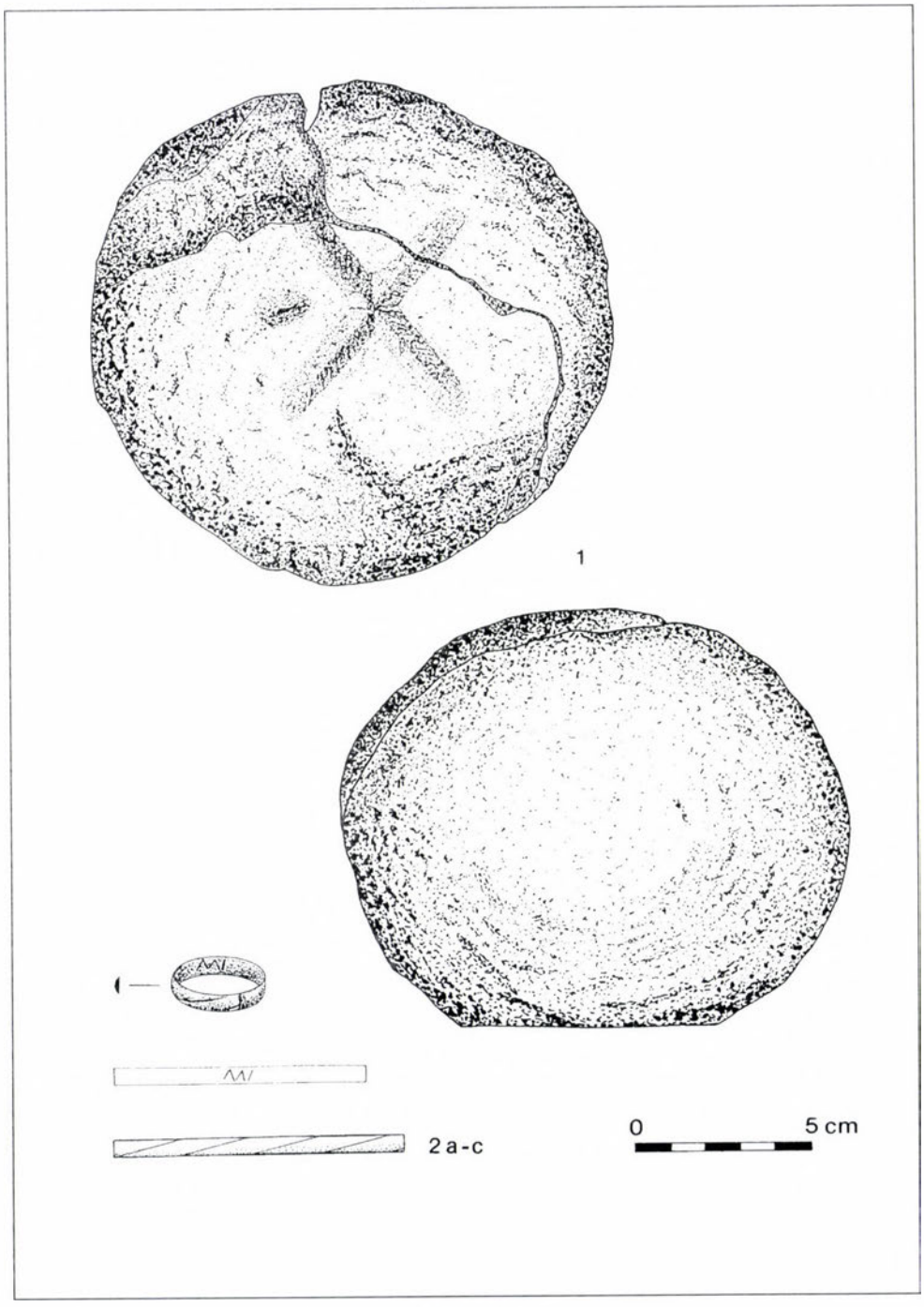

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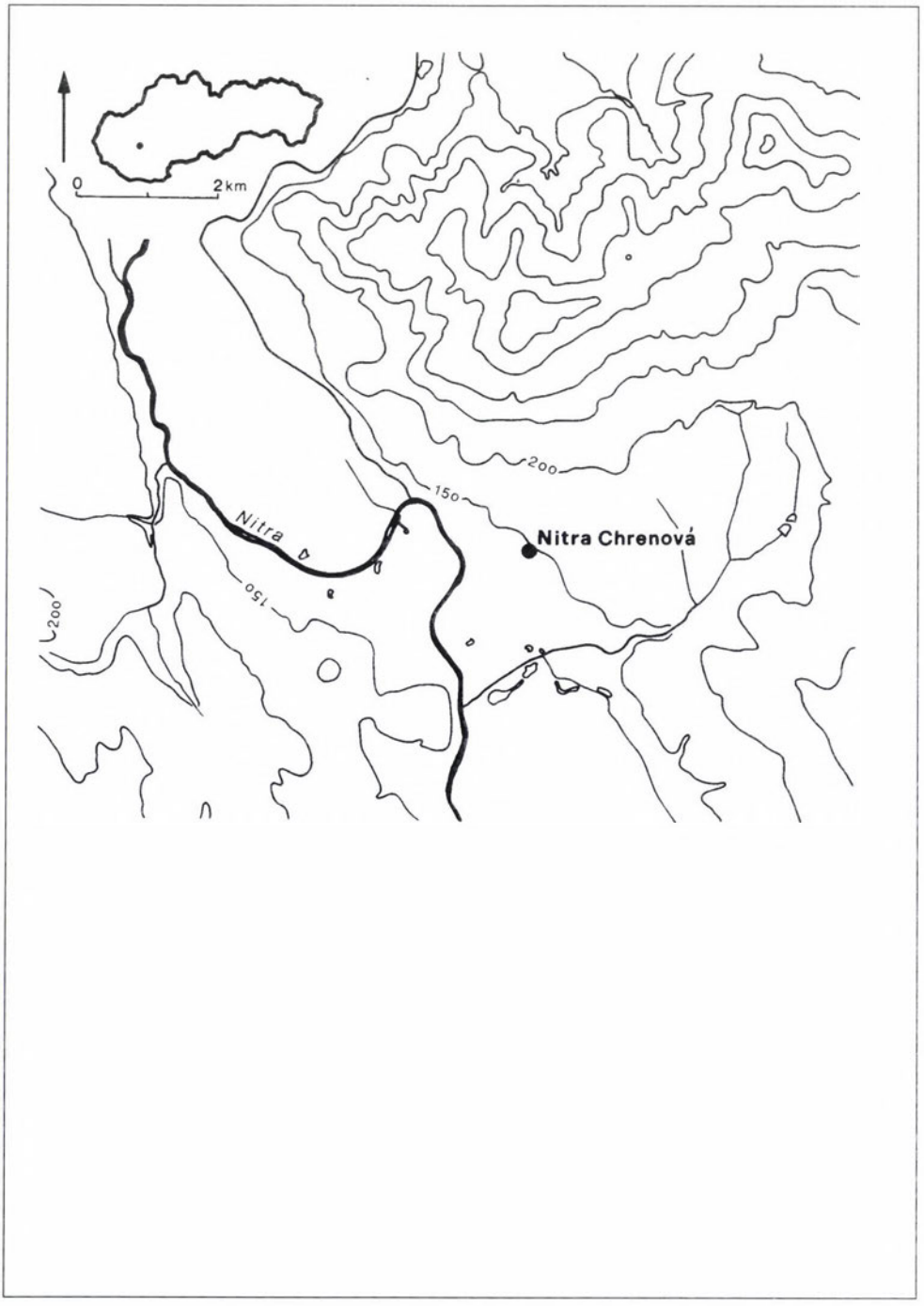

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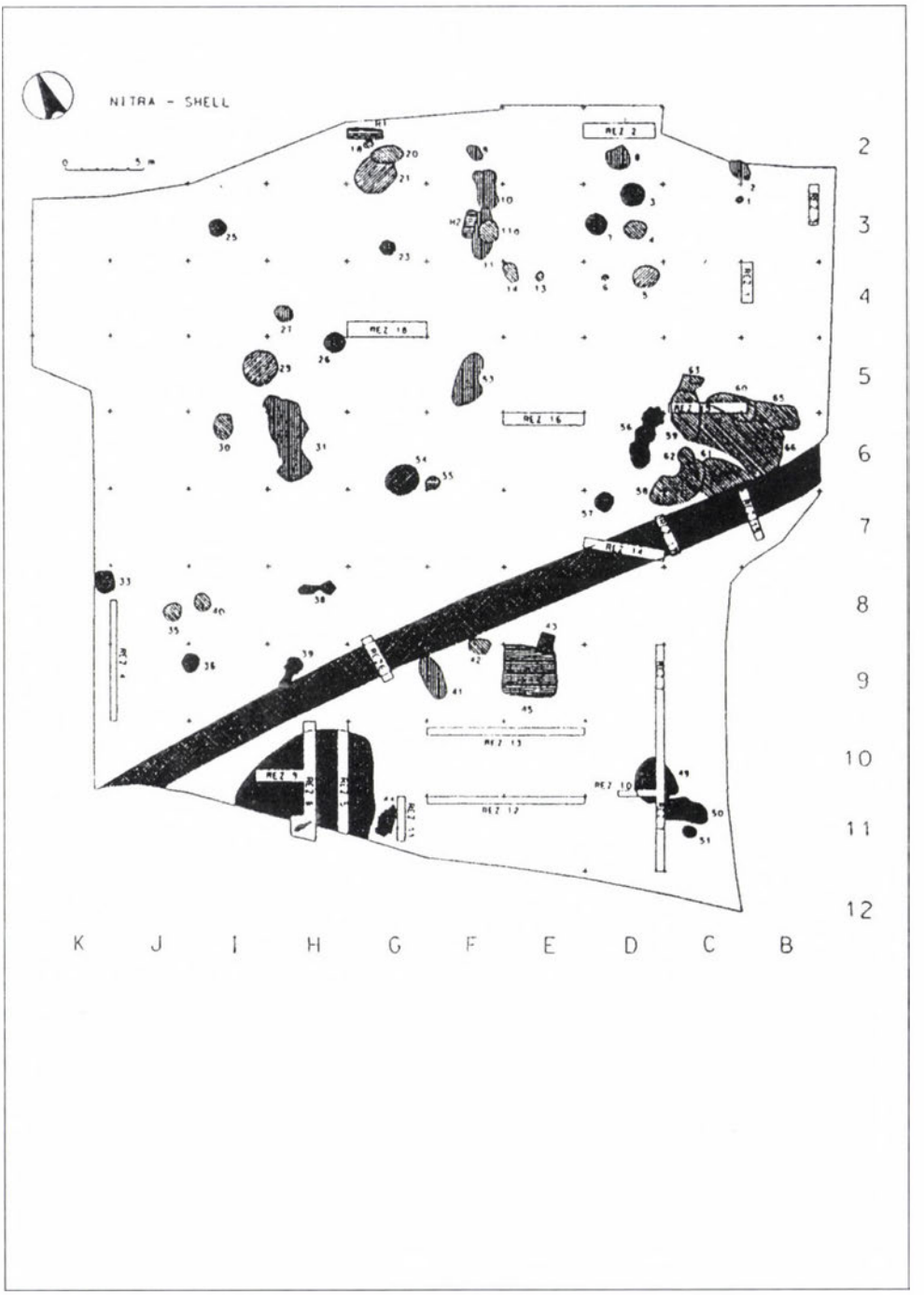

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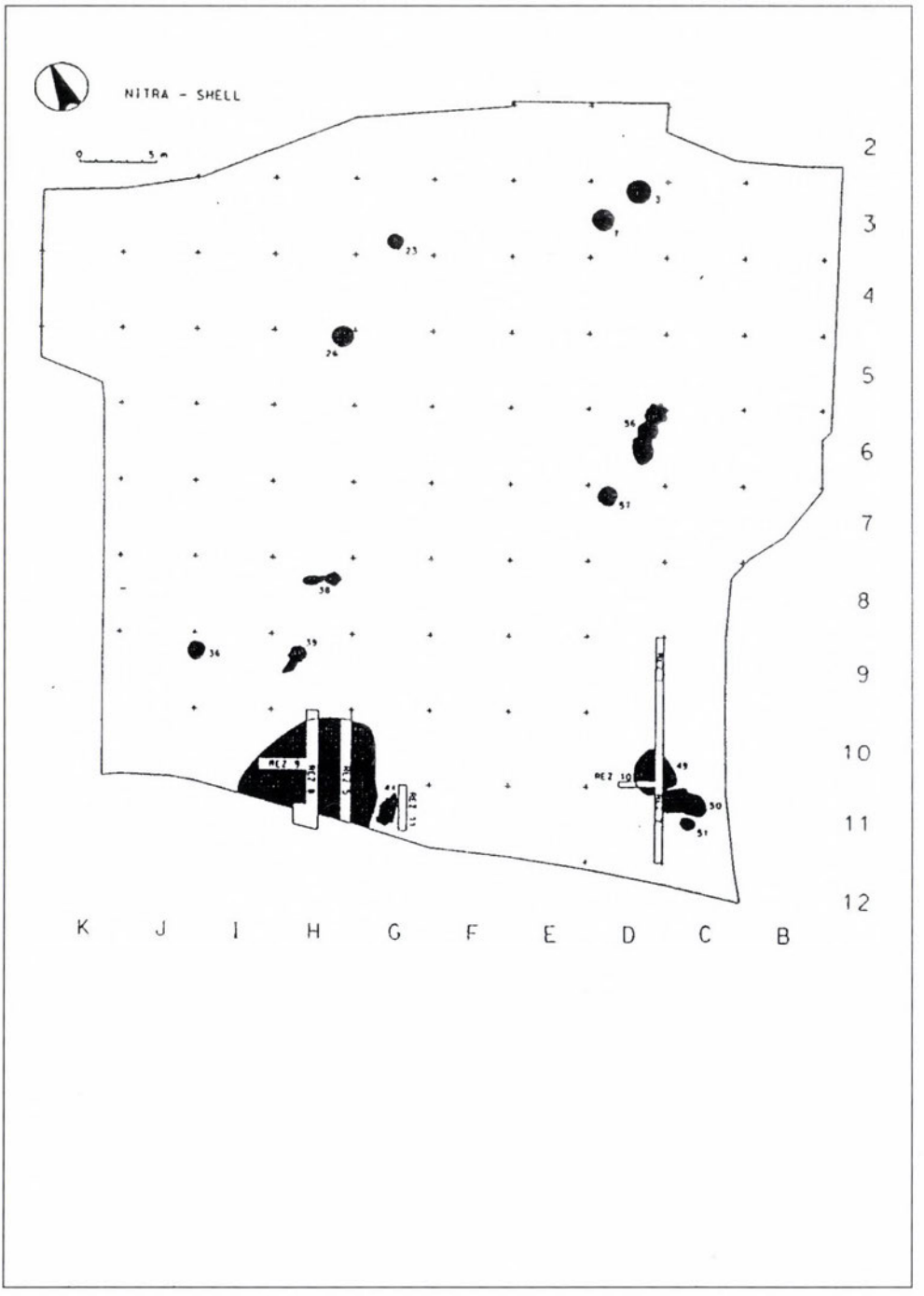
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Abb 3.

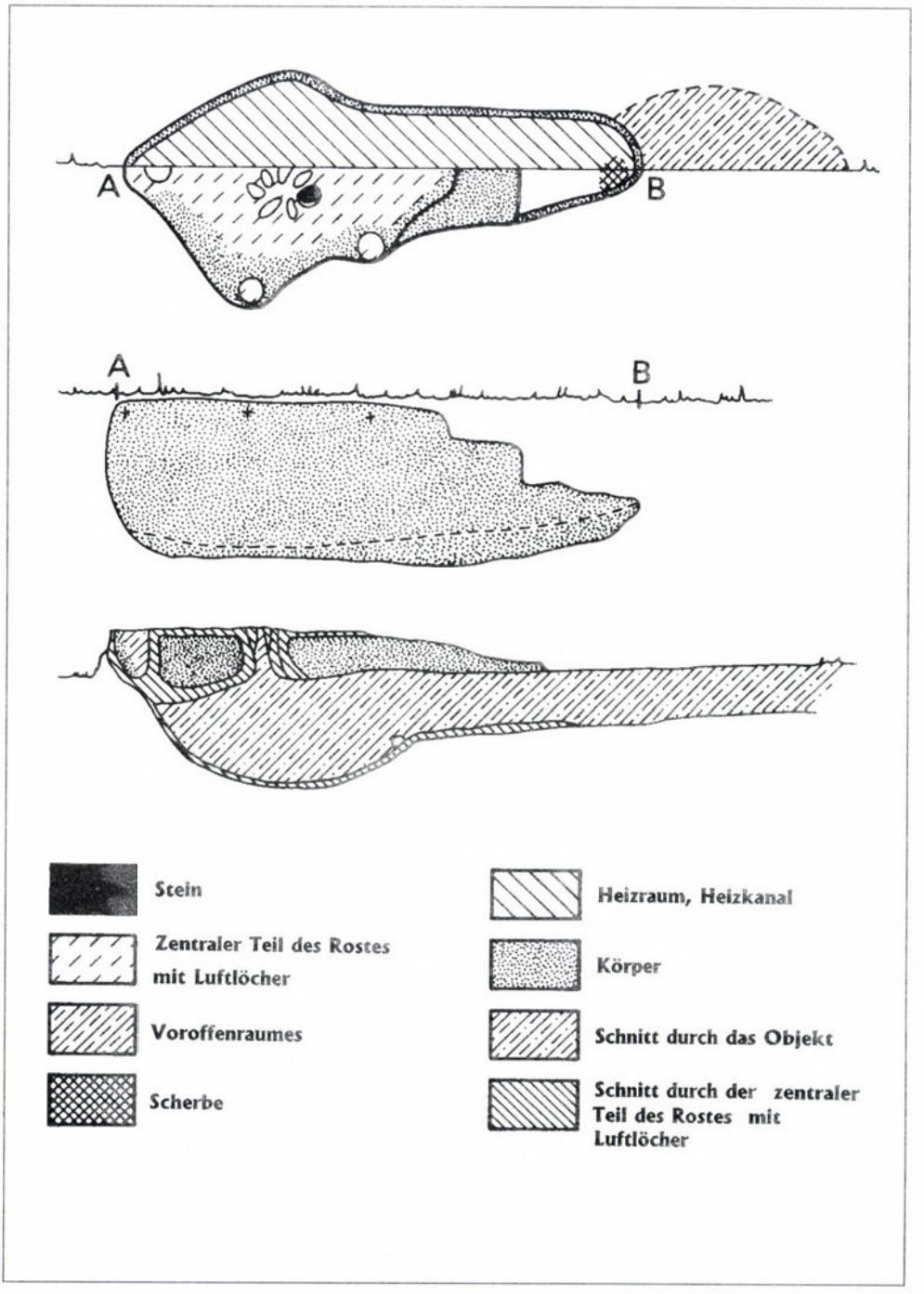

A
B
A
B
Stein
Zentraler Teil des Rostes mit Luftlöcher
Voroffenraumes
Scherbe
Heizraum, Heizkanal
Körper
Schnitt durch das Objekt
Schnitt durch der zentraler Teil des Rostes mit Luftlöcher

Abb. 4

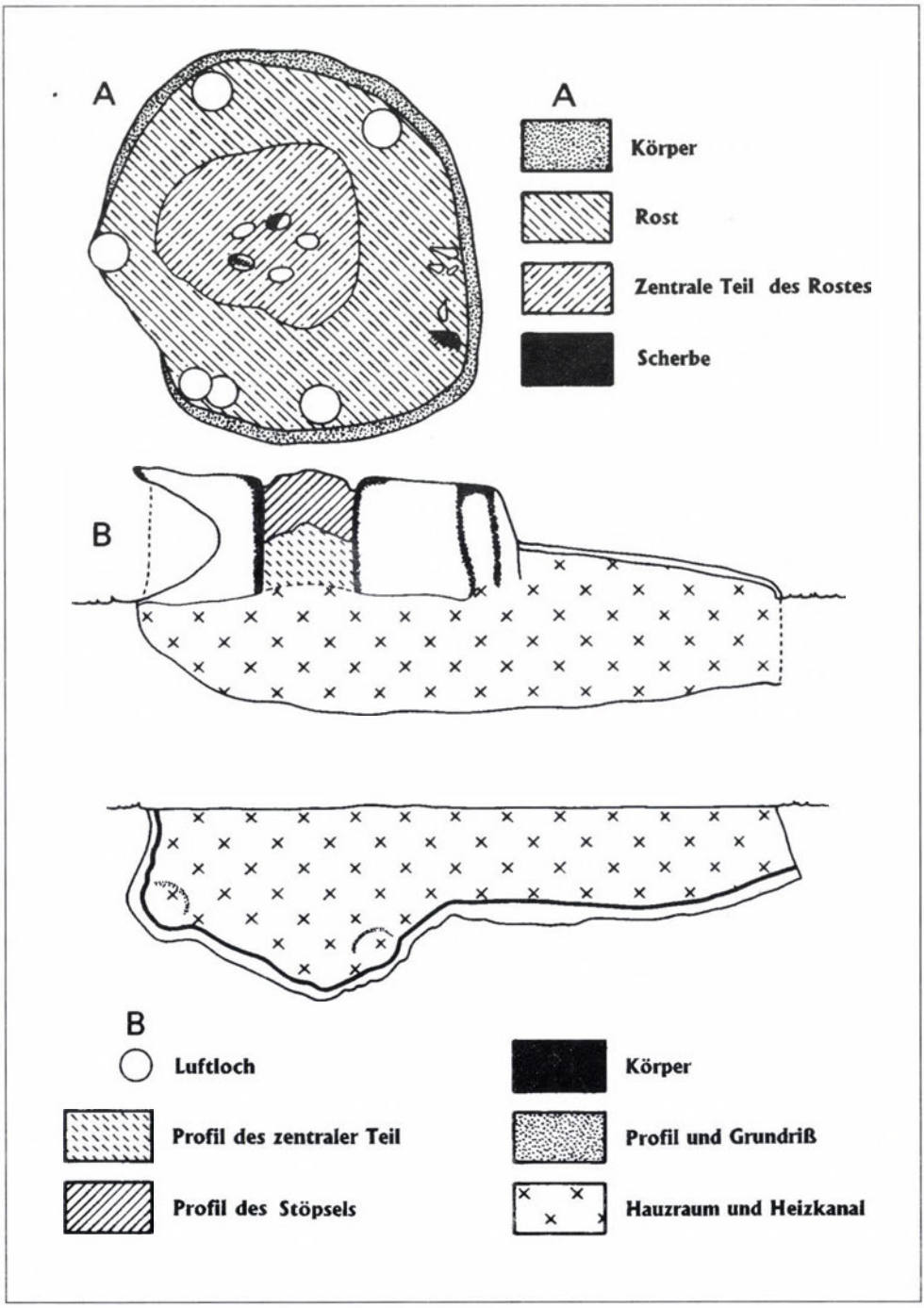

A
A
Körper
Rost
Zentrale Teil des Rostes
Scherbe
B
B
Luftloch
Körper
Profil des zentraler Teil
Profil und Grundriß
Profil des Stöpsels
Hauzraum und Heizkanal

Abb. 5

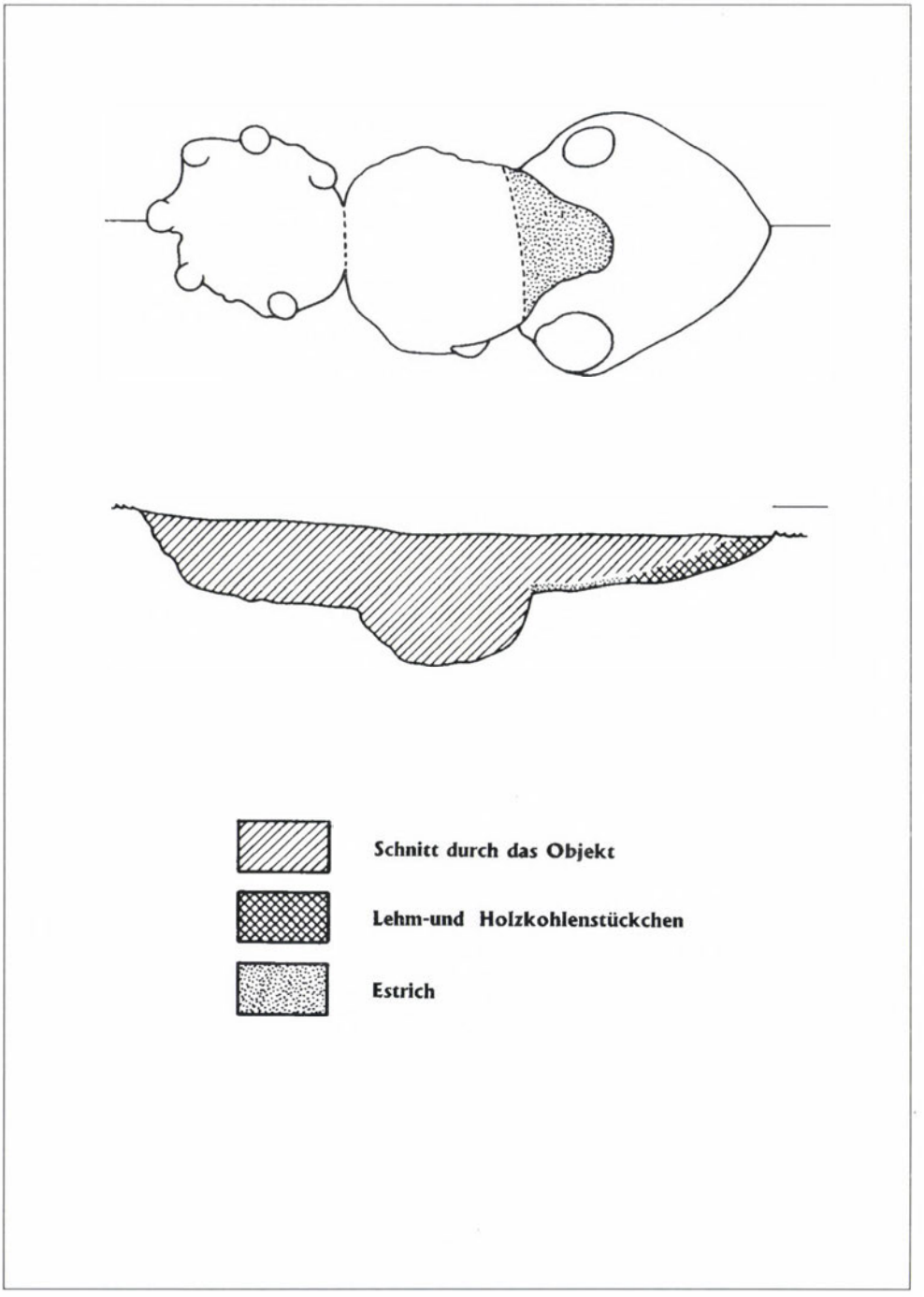
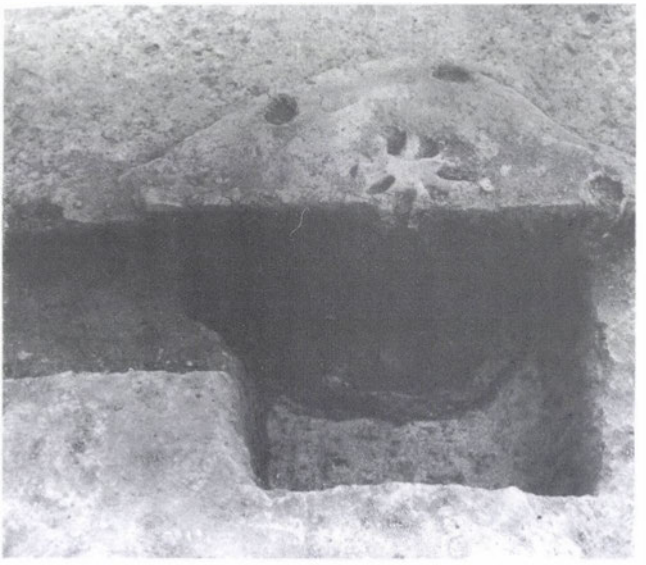
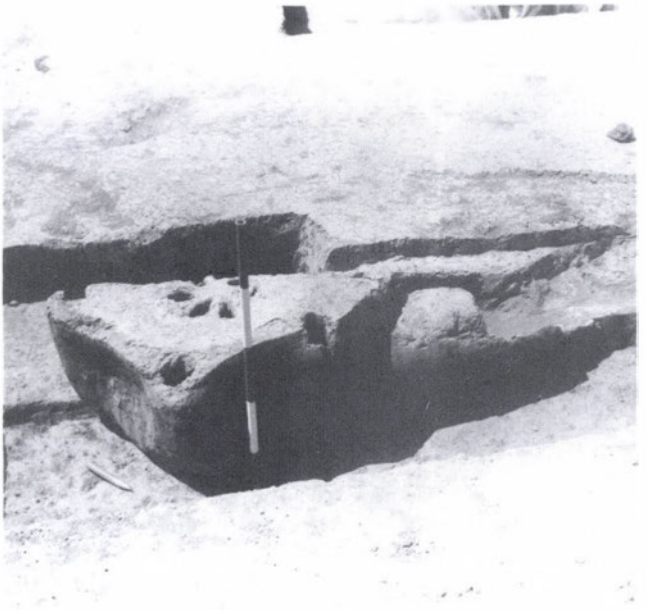

Schnitt durch das Objekt
Lehm-und Holzkohlenstückchen
Estrich

Abb. 6





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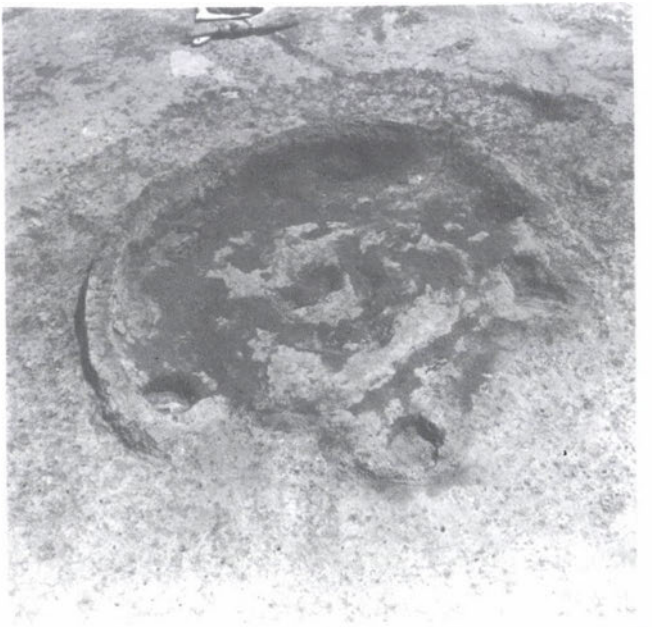

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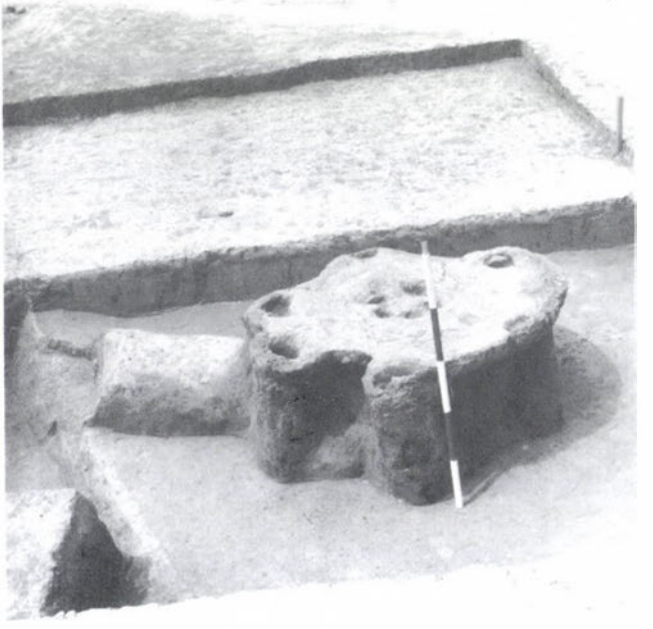

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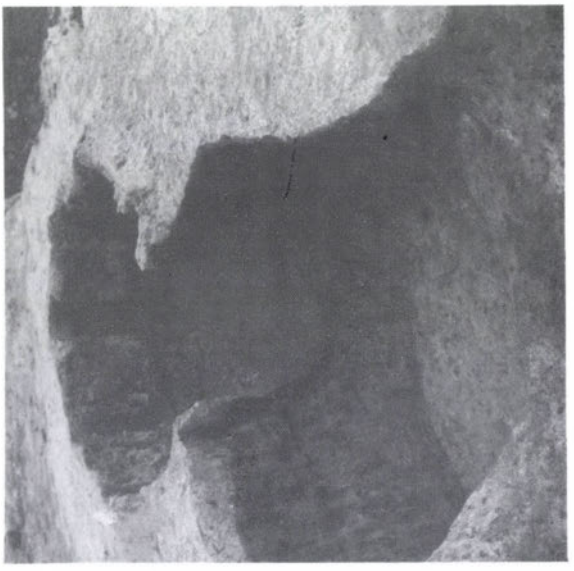

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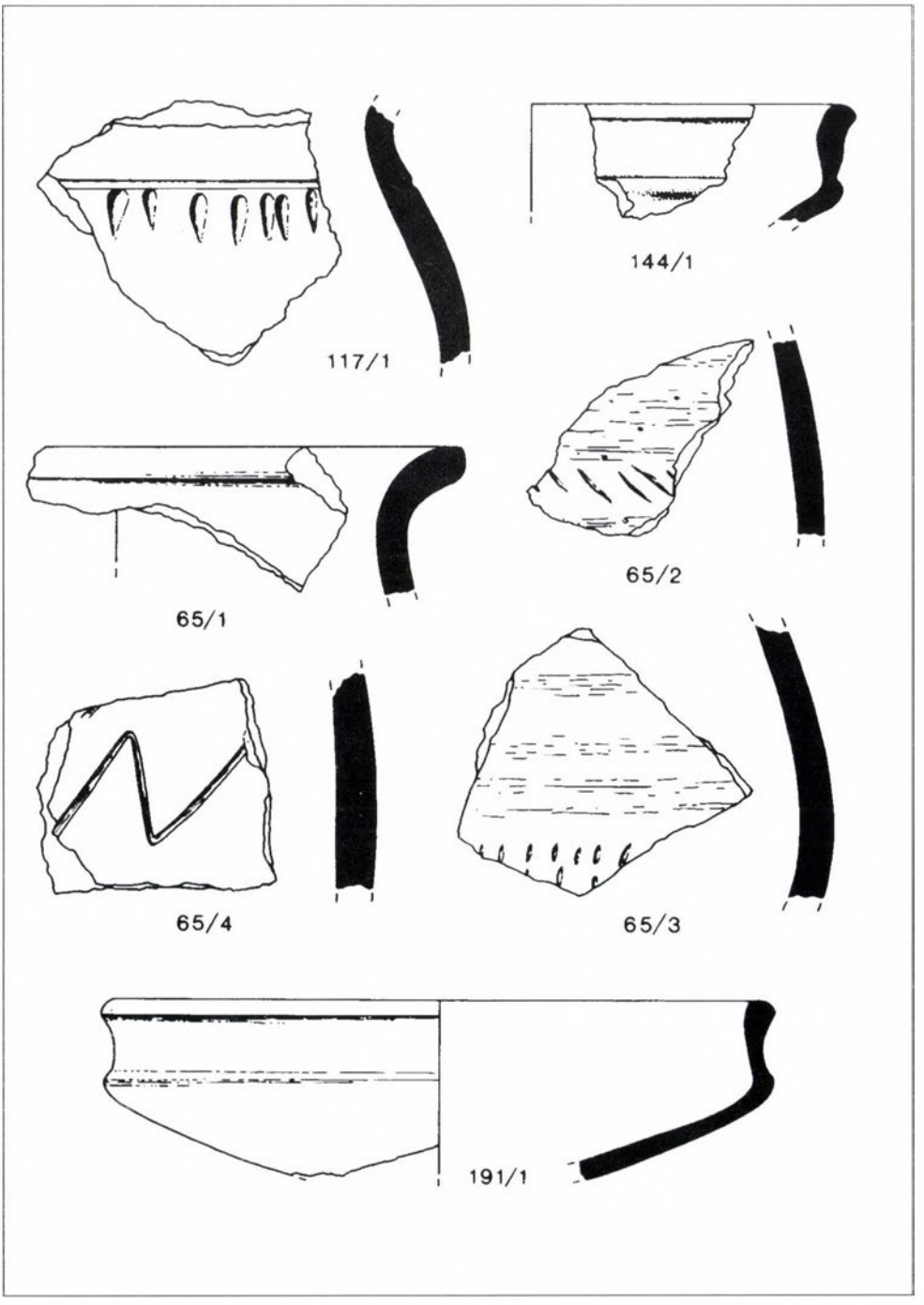

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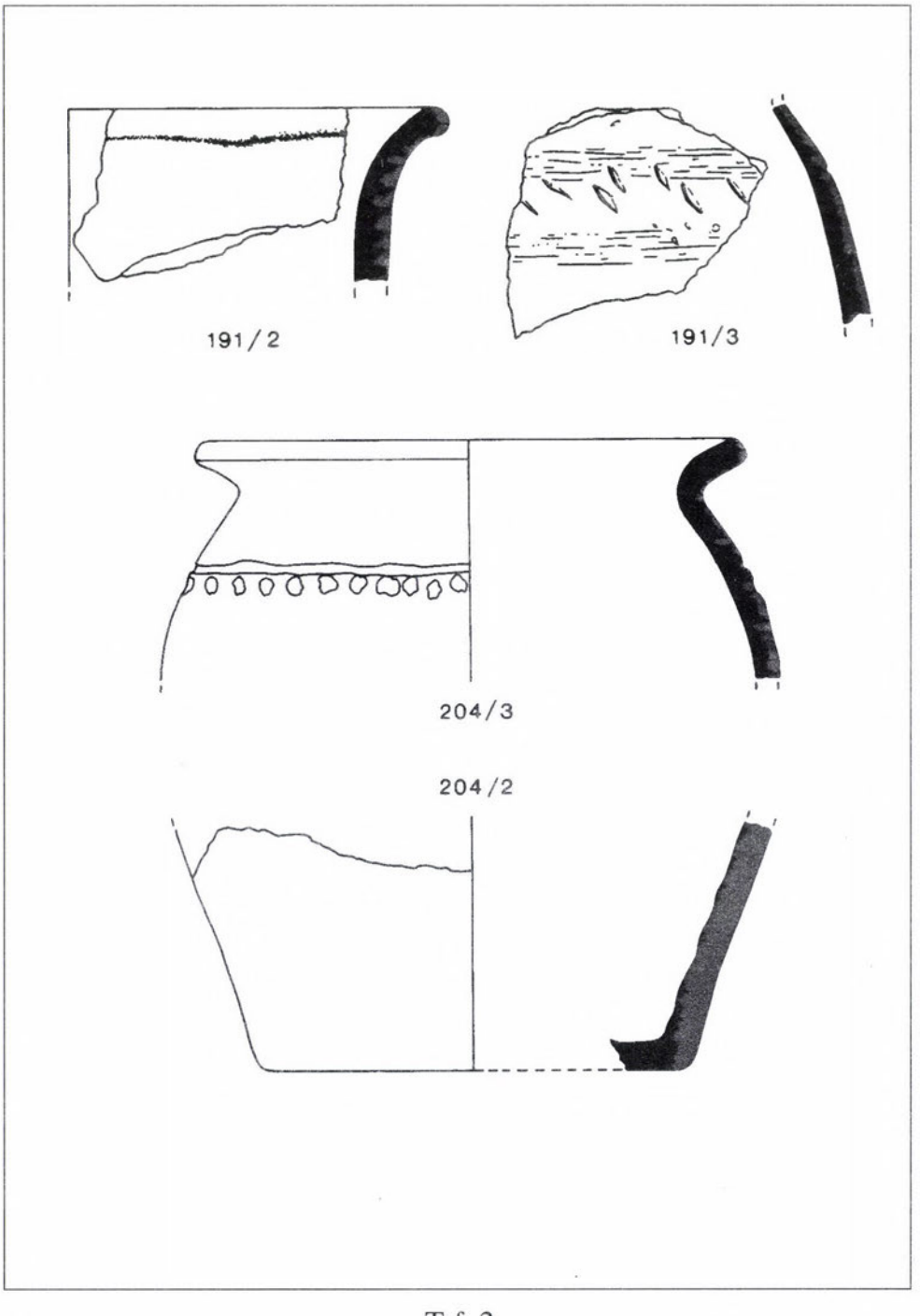

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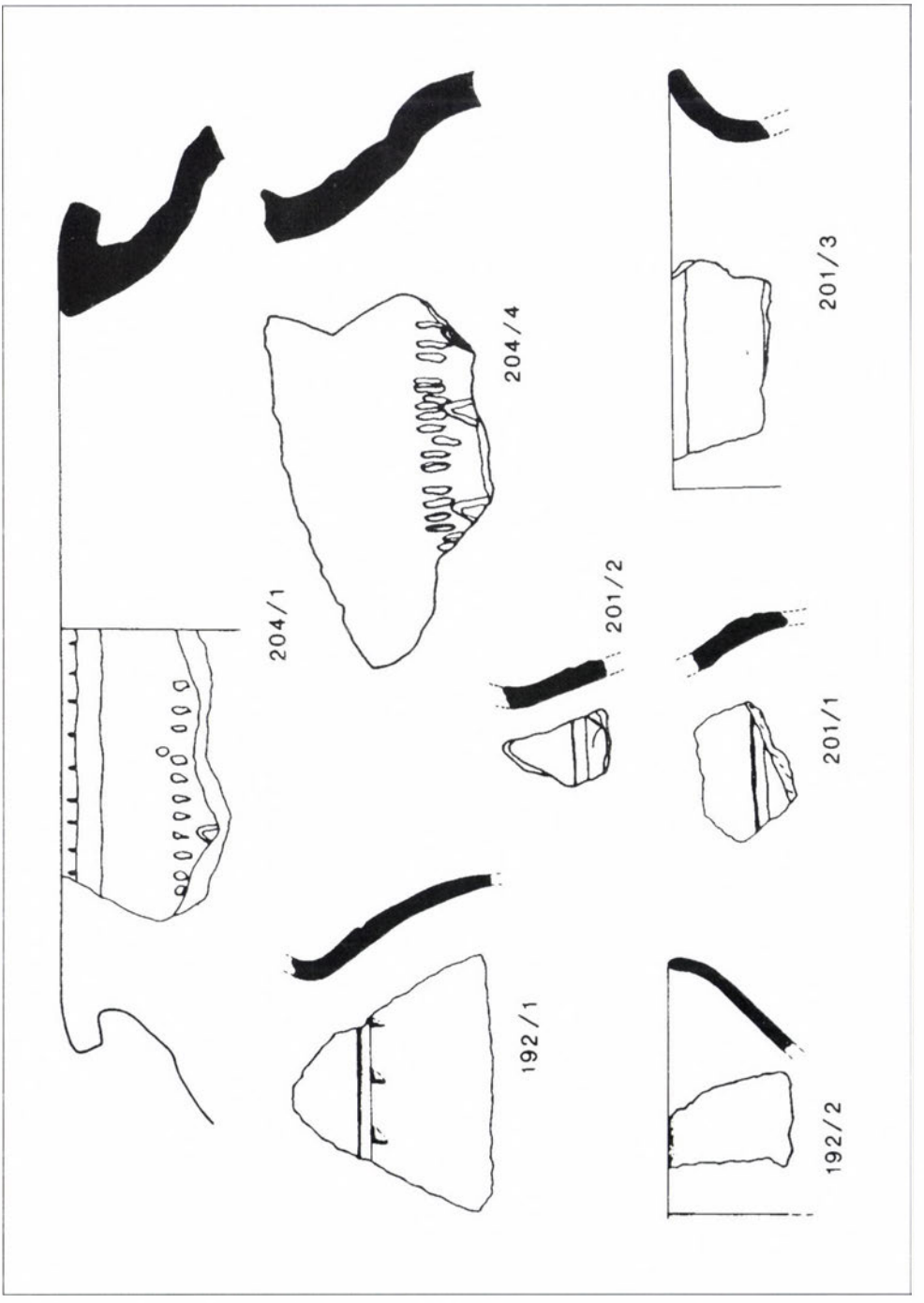

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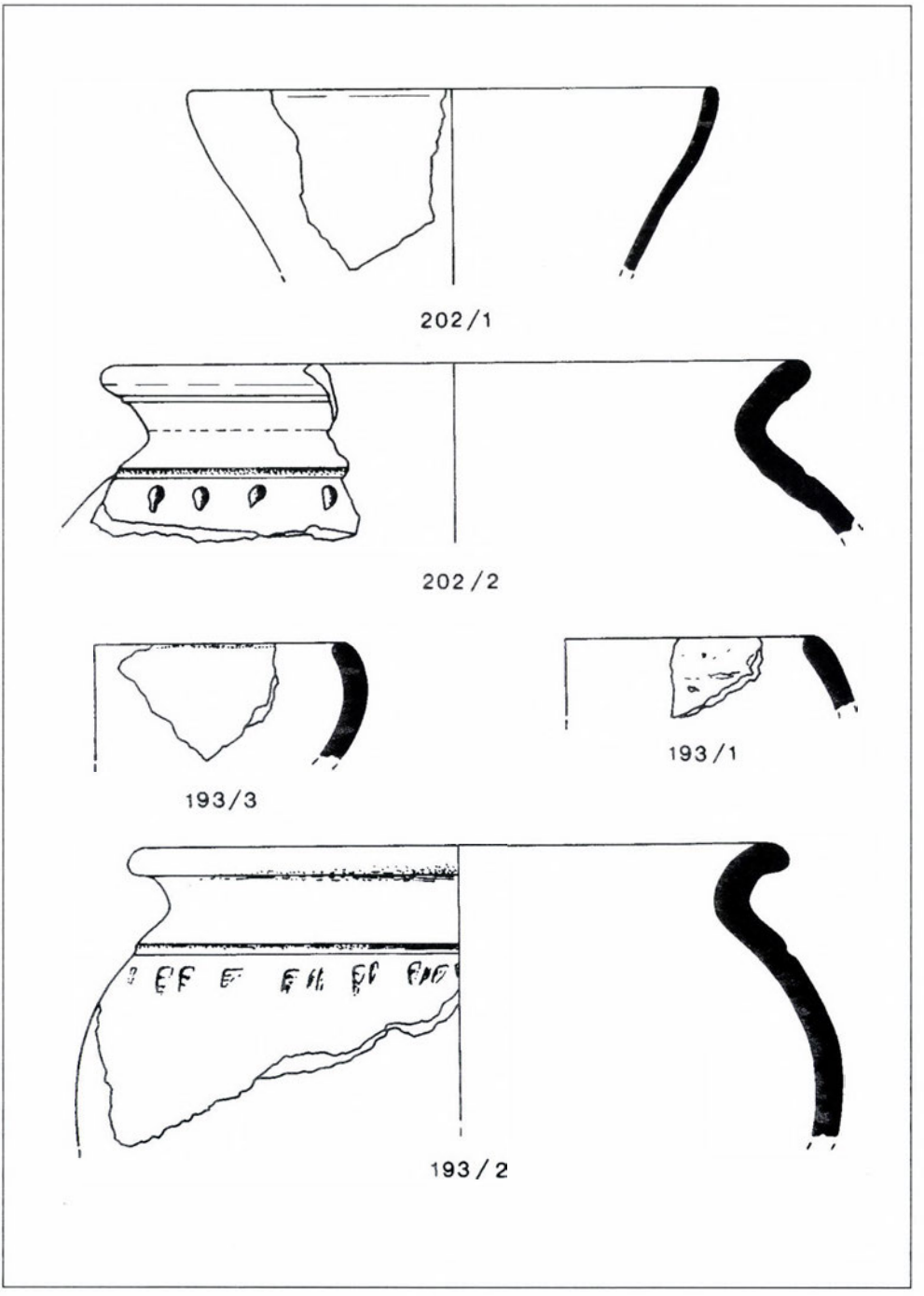

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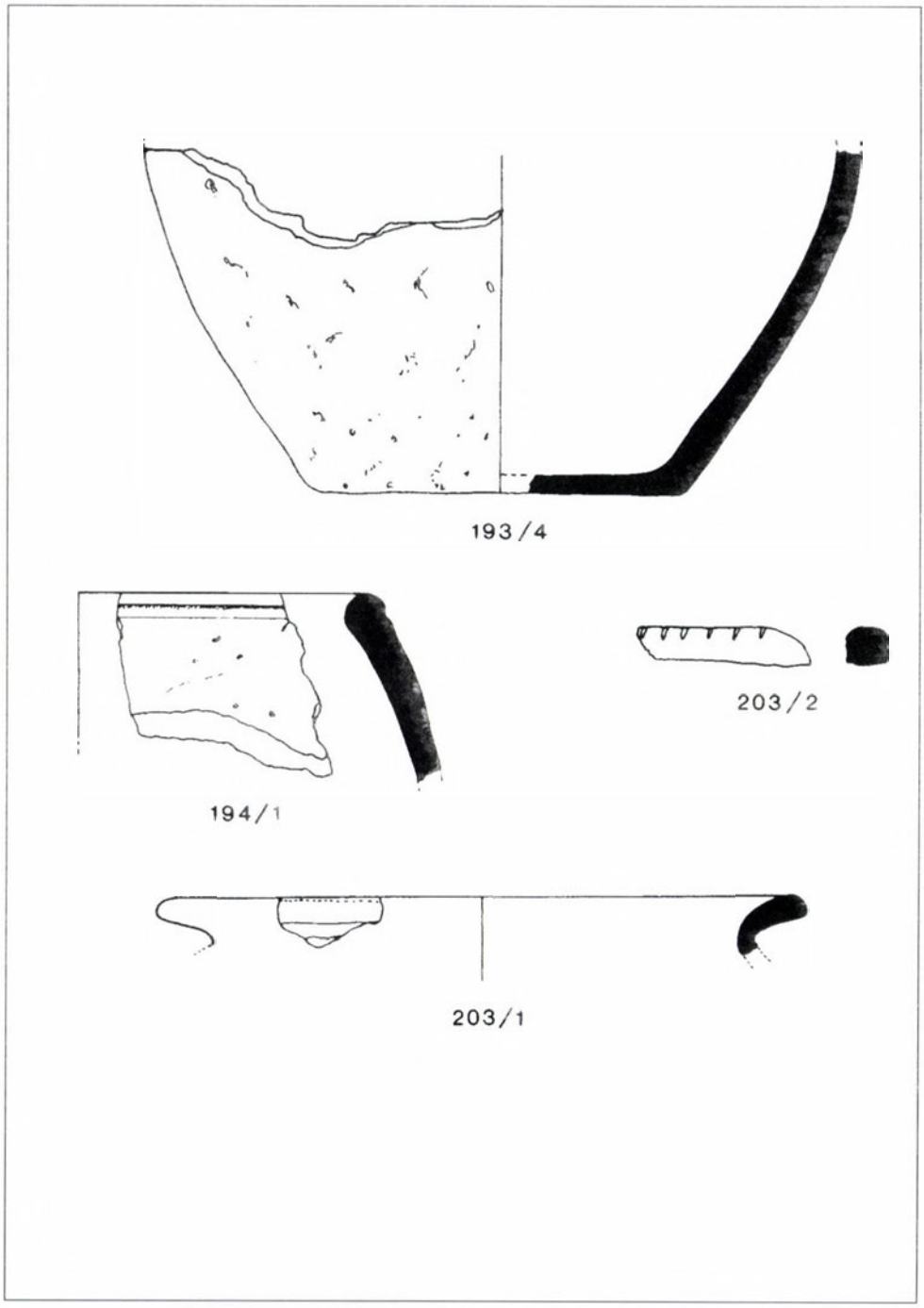

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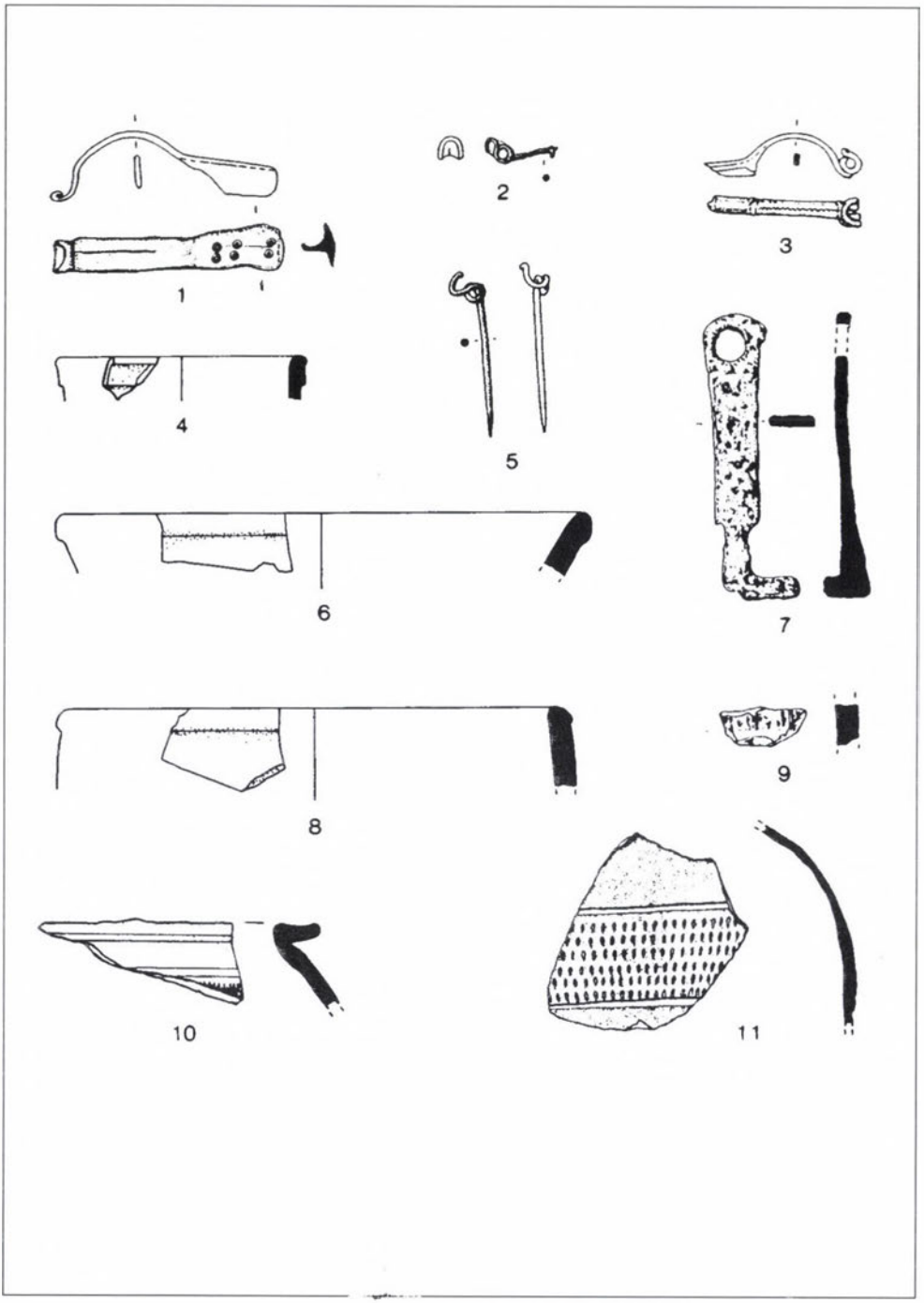
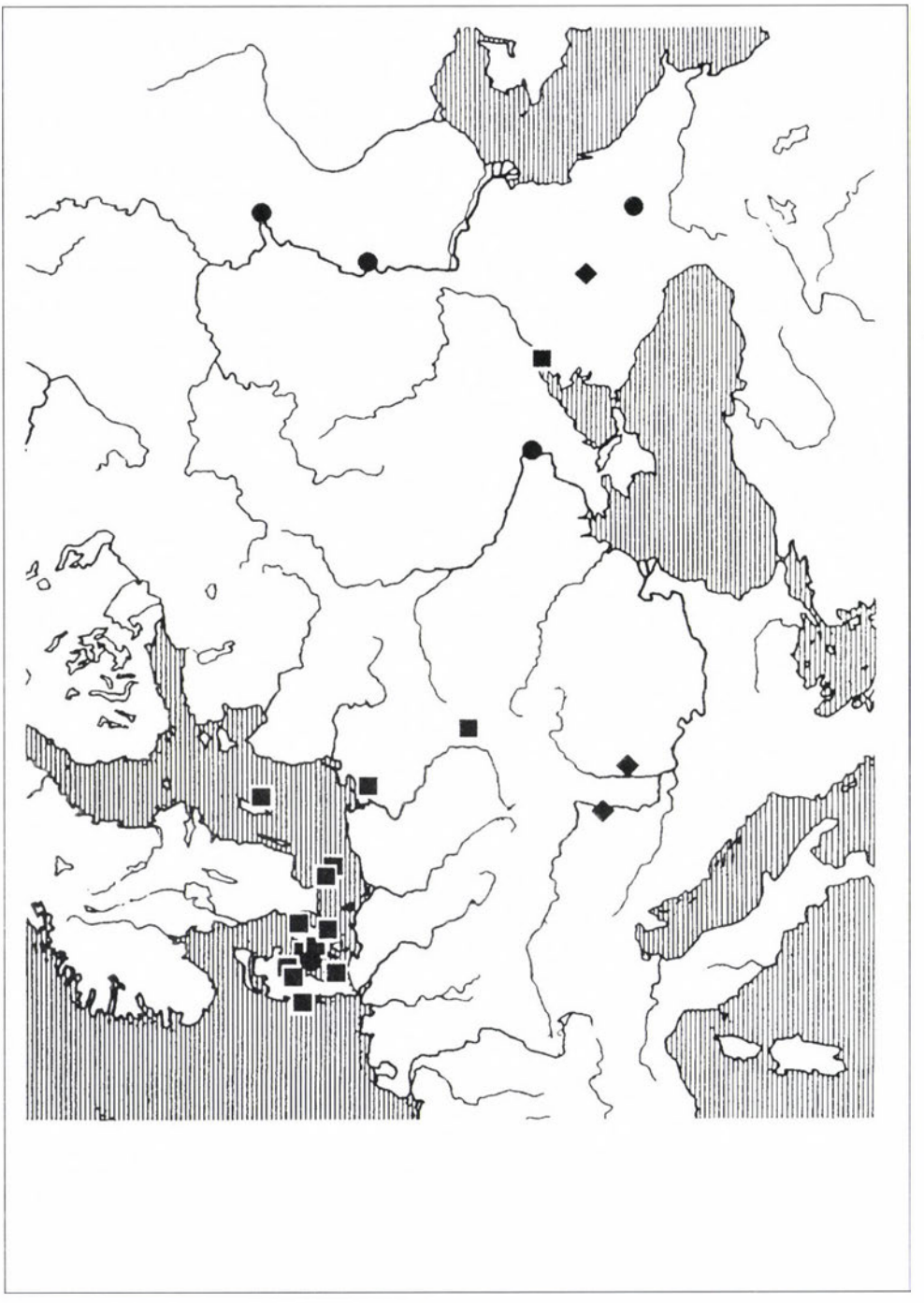


Taf. 6

Claus von Carnap Bornheim



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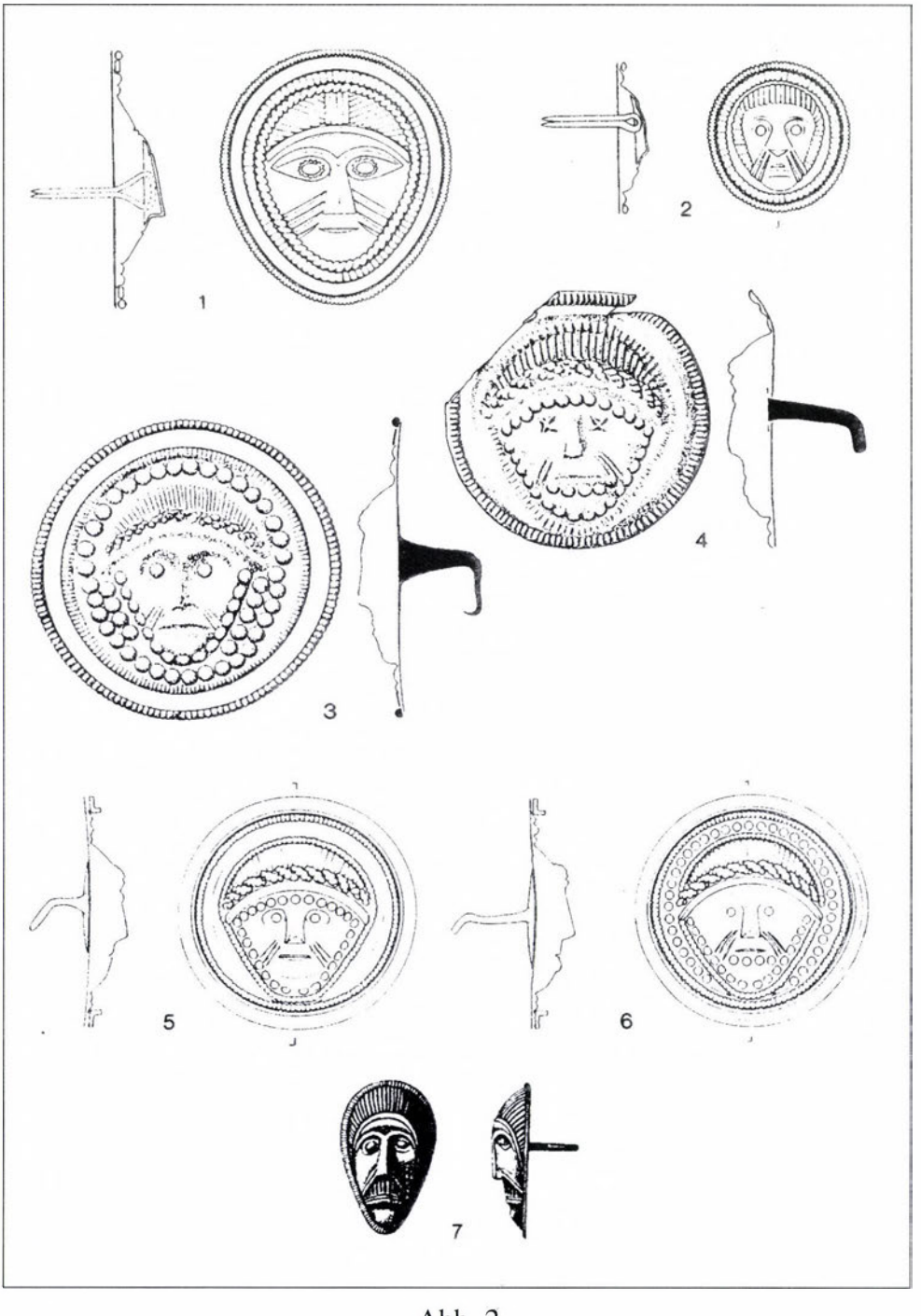

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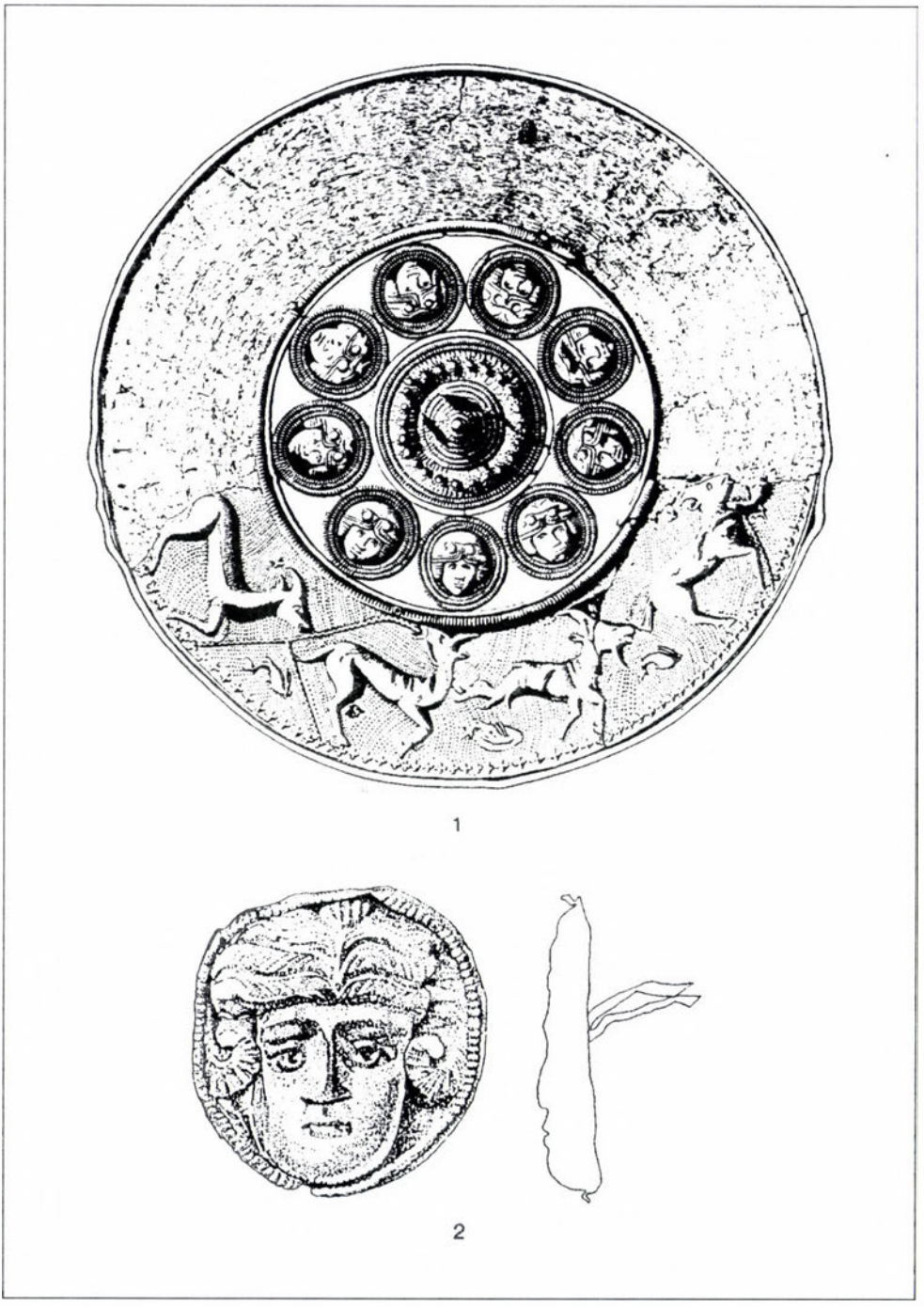

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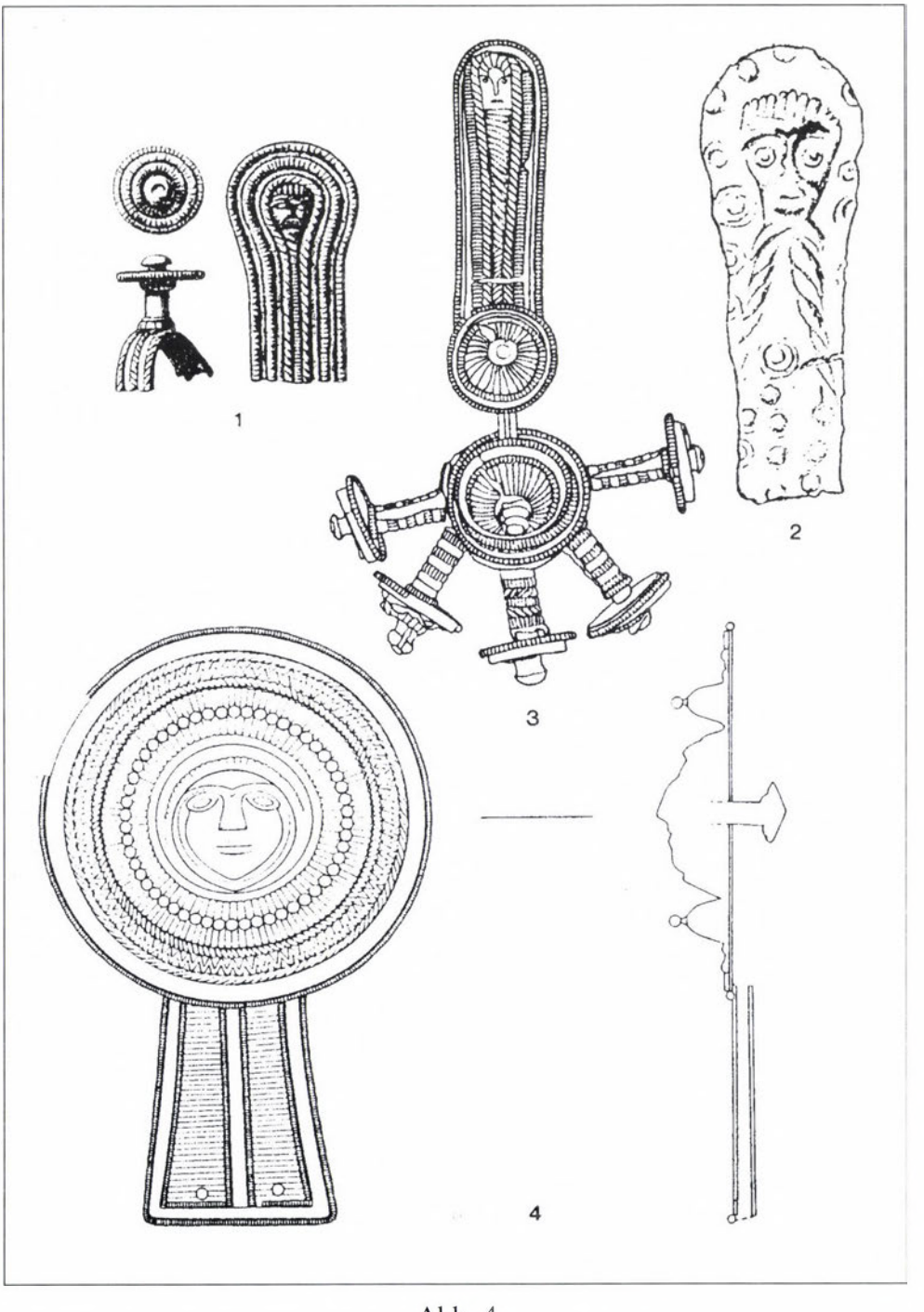

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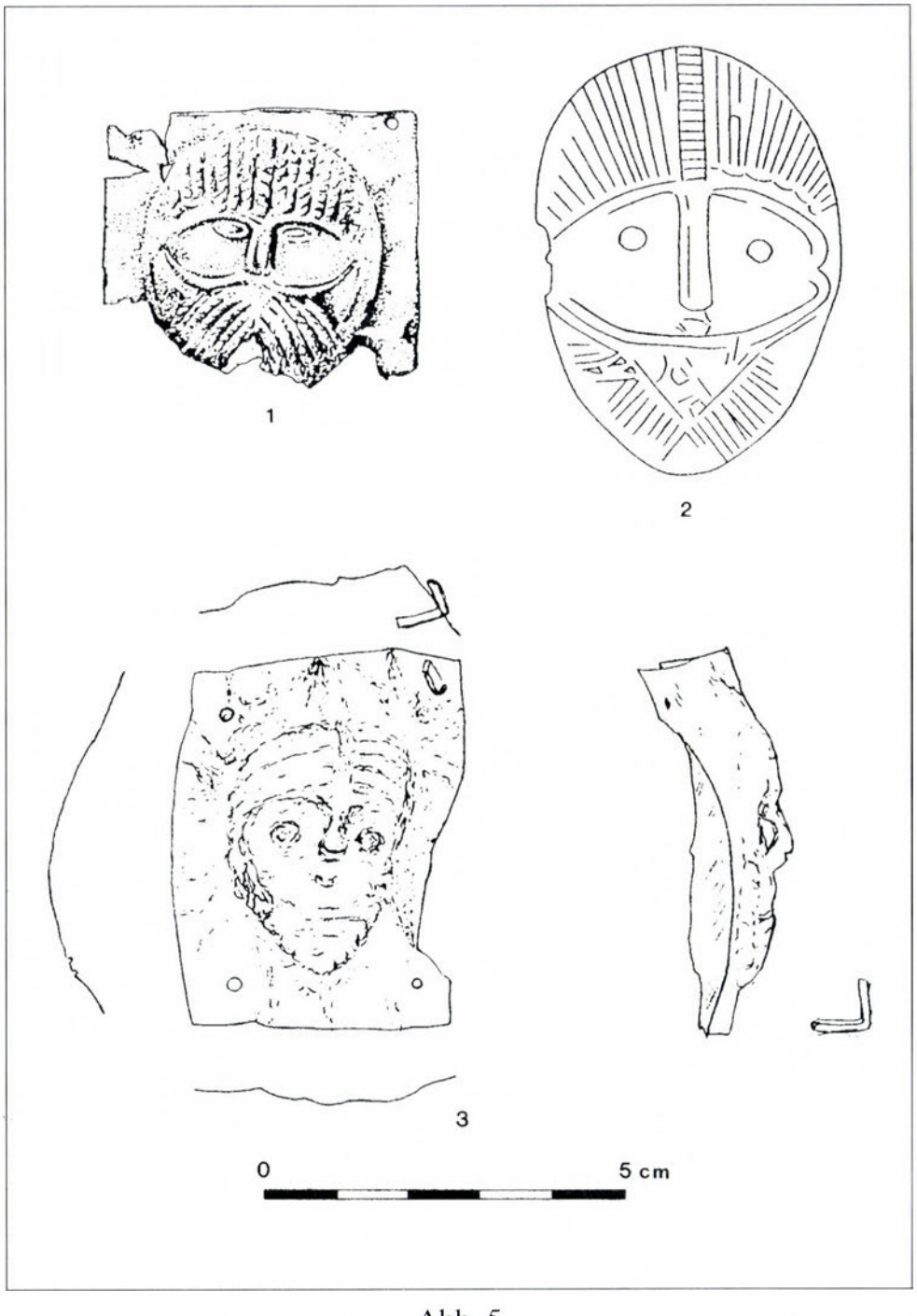

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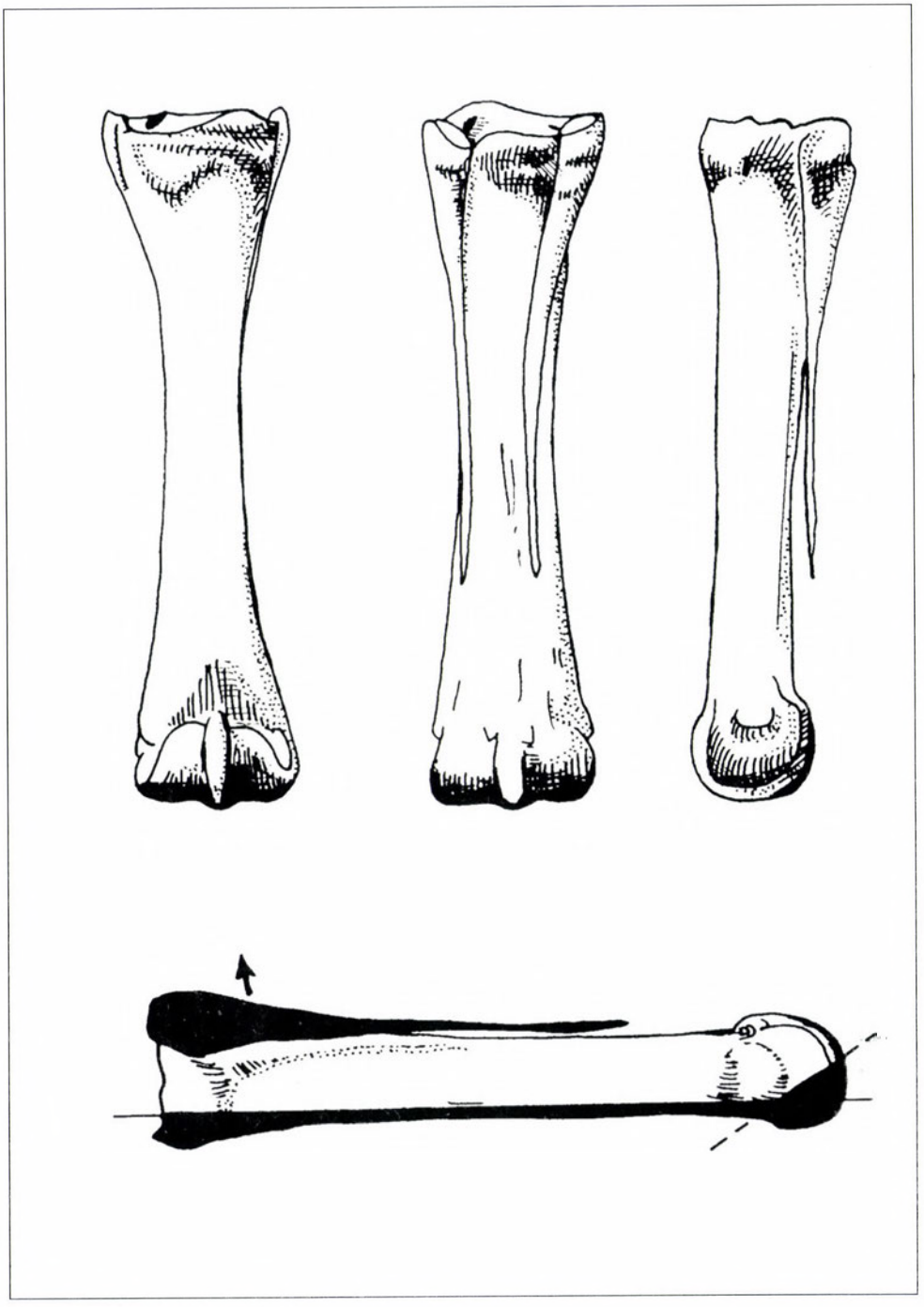


Fig. 1

Figure 2: Worked proximal dimensions of Sarmatian skates

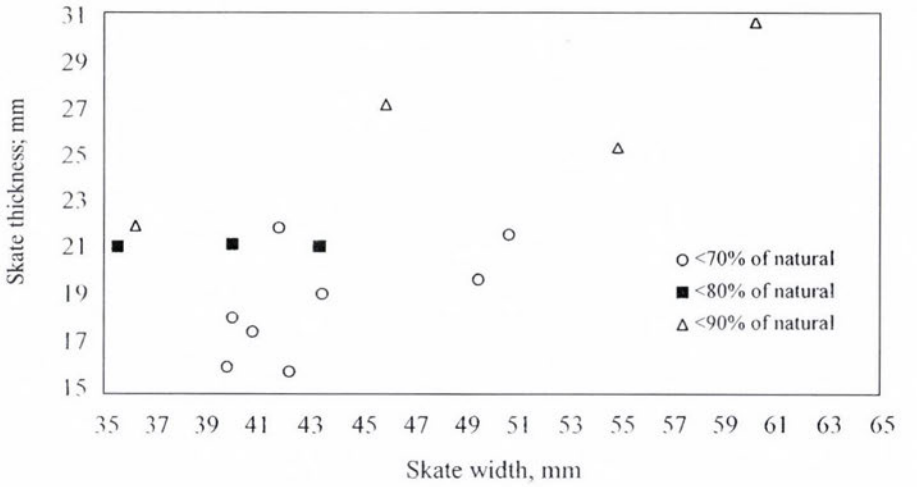


Fig. 2

Figure 3: Worked distal dimensions of Sarmatian skates

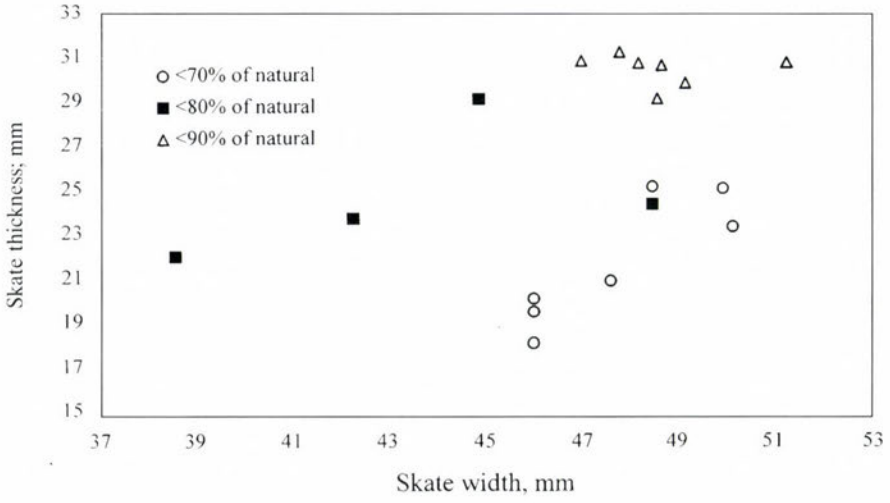


Fig. 3

Fig. 4

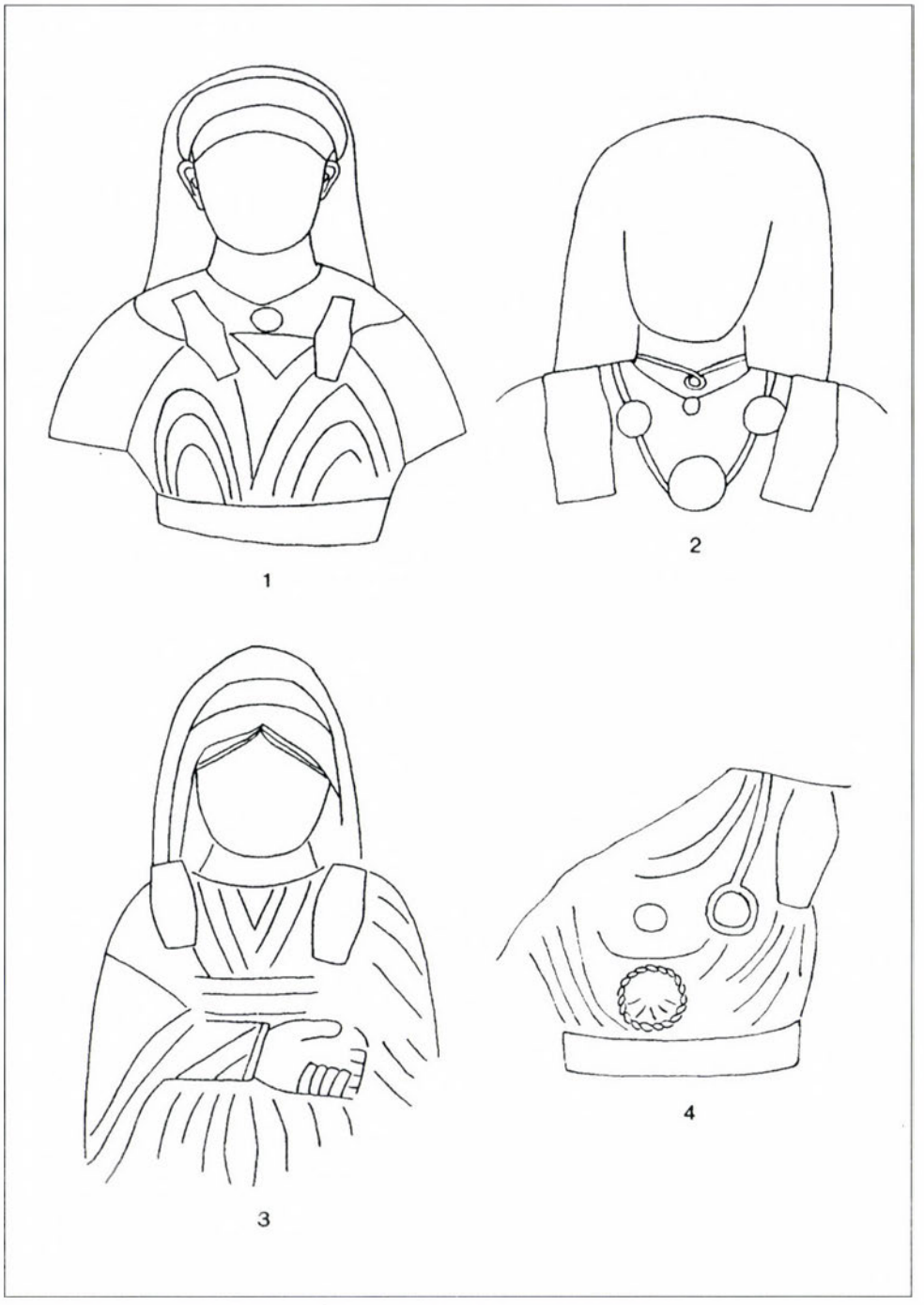


Plate I

Plate II

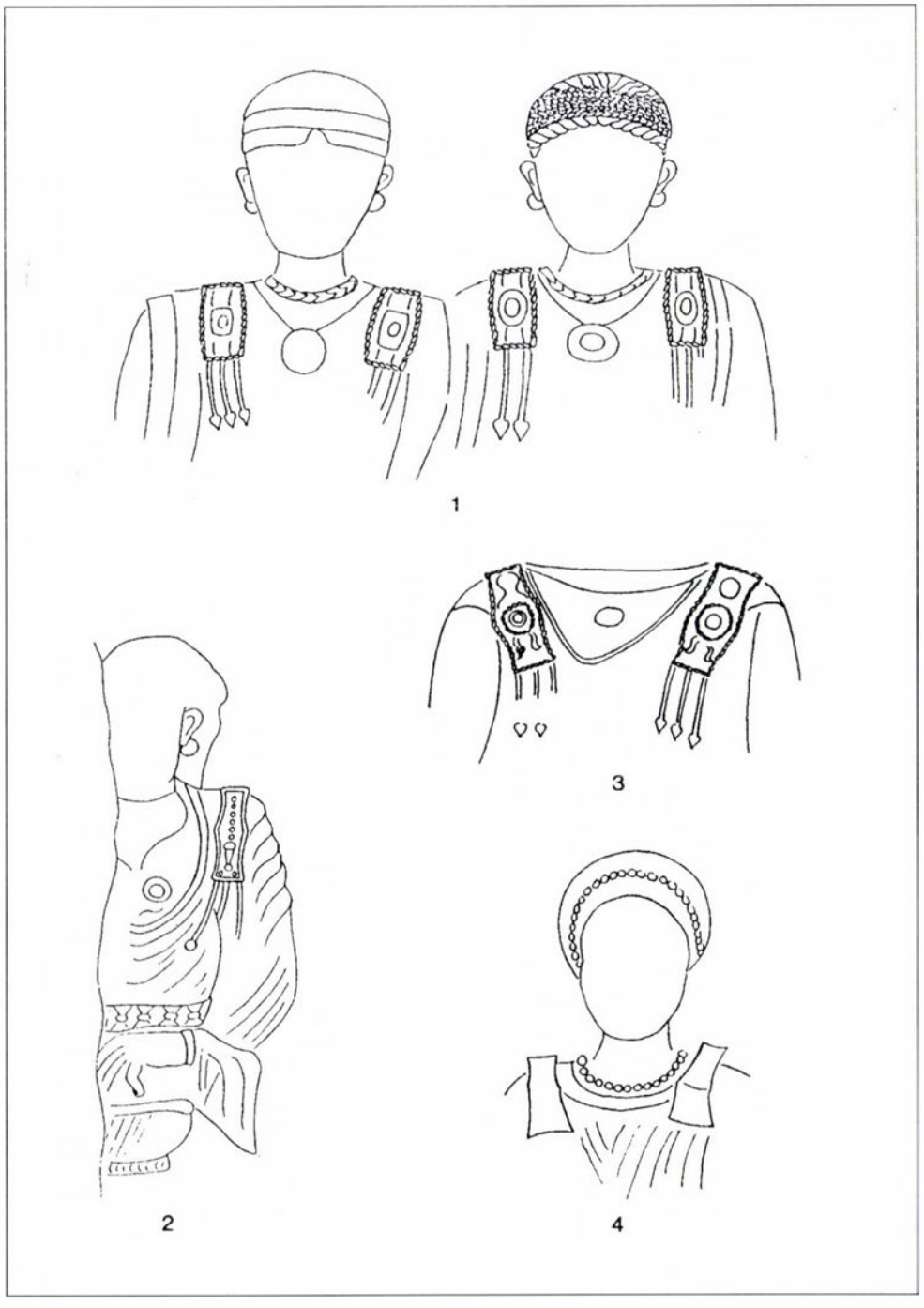
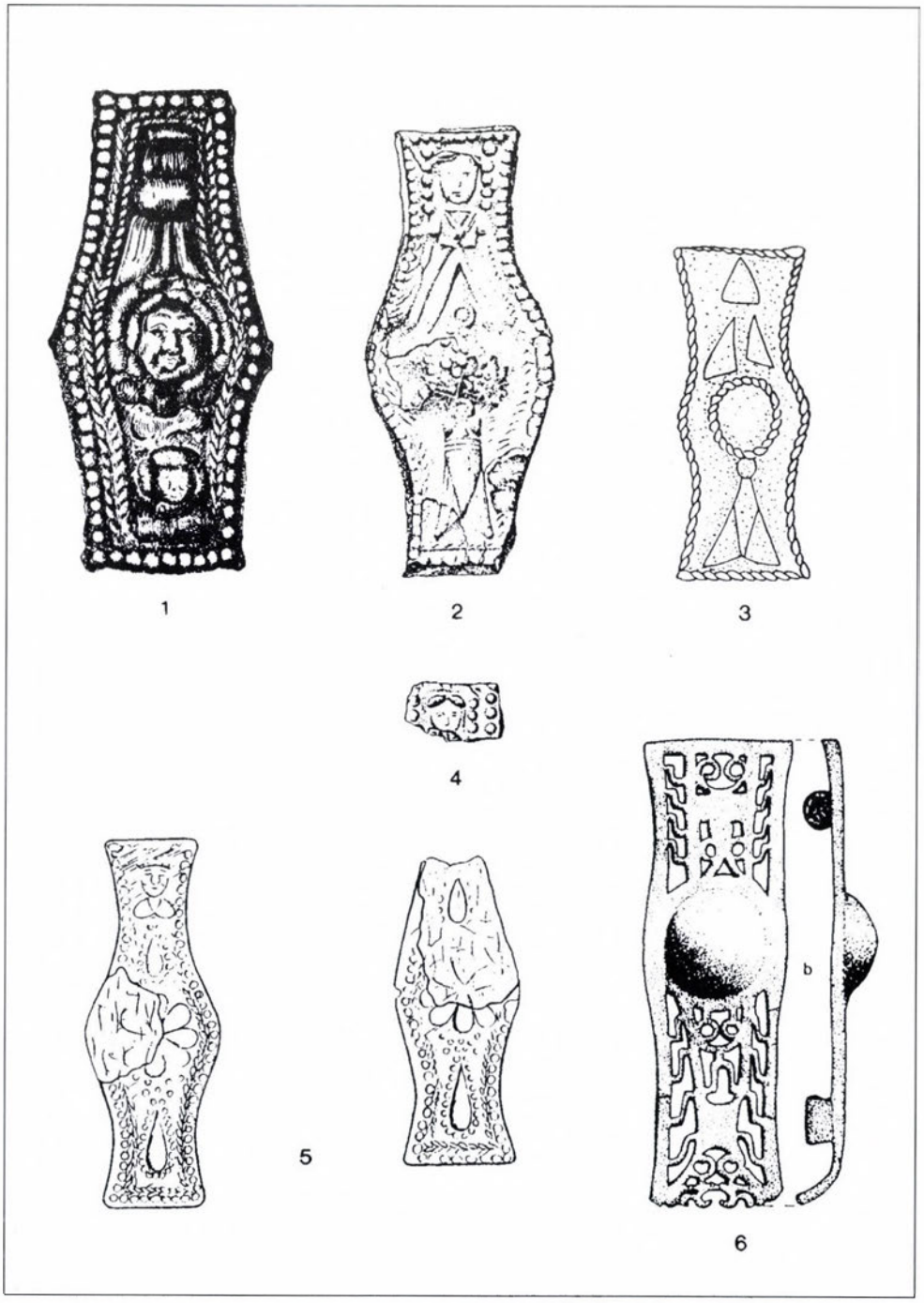


Plate III



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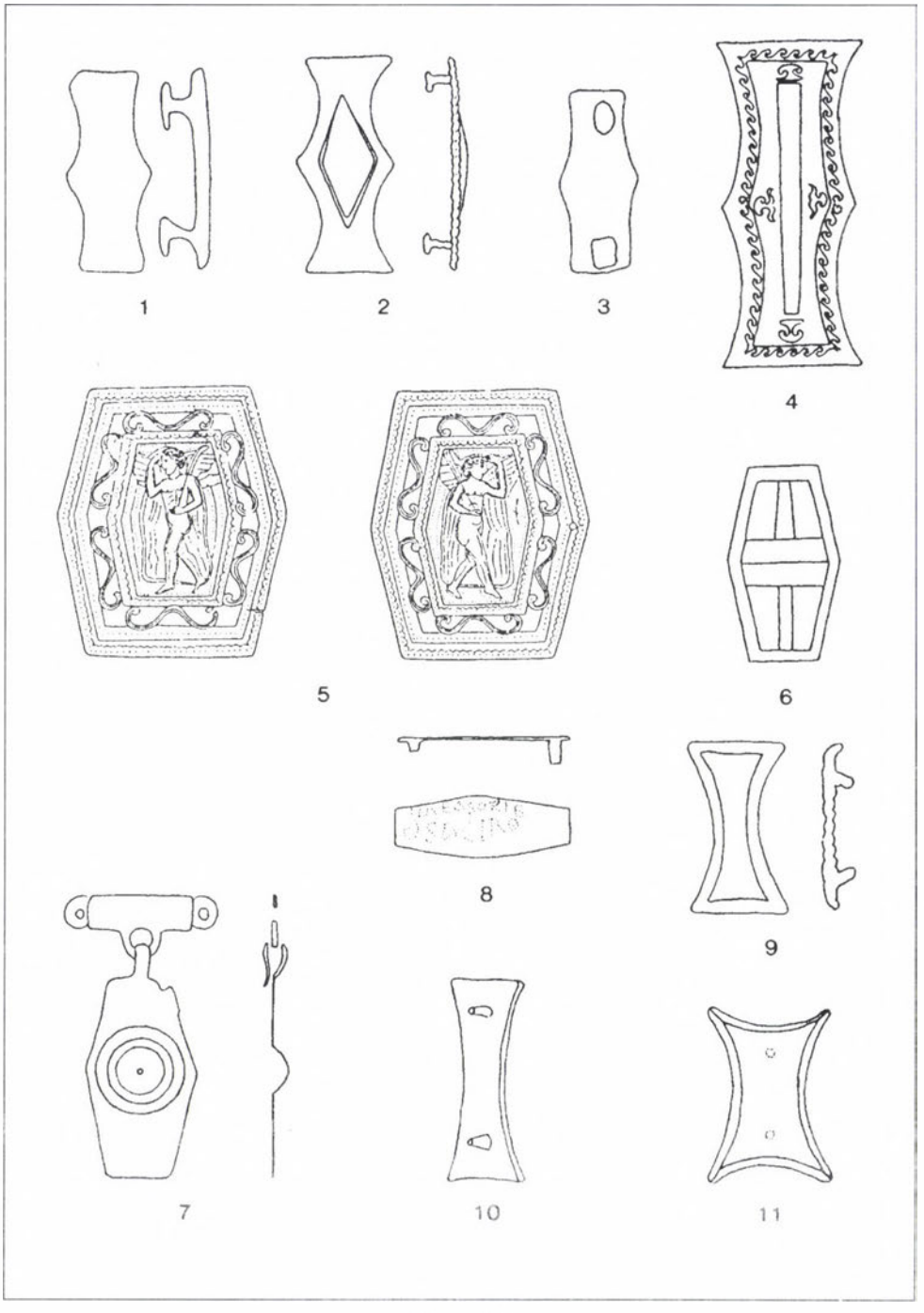

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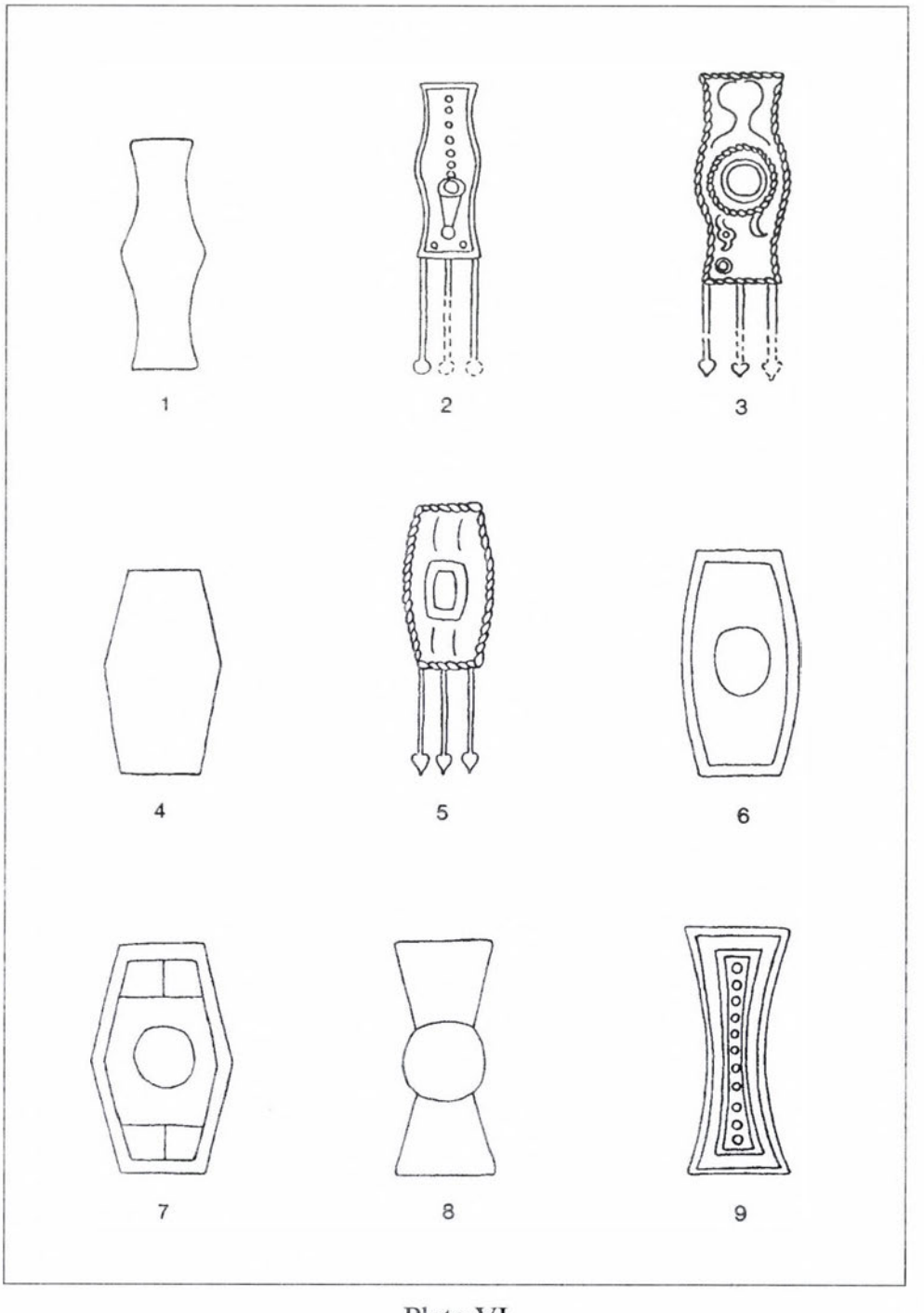

Plate VI

Plate VII.

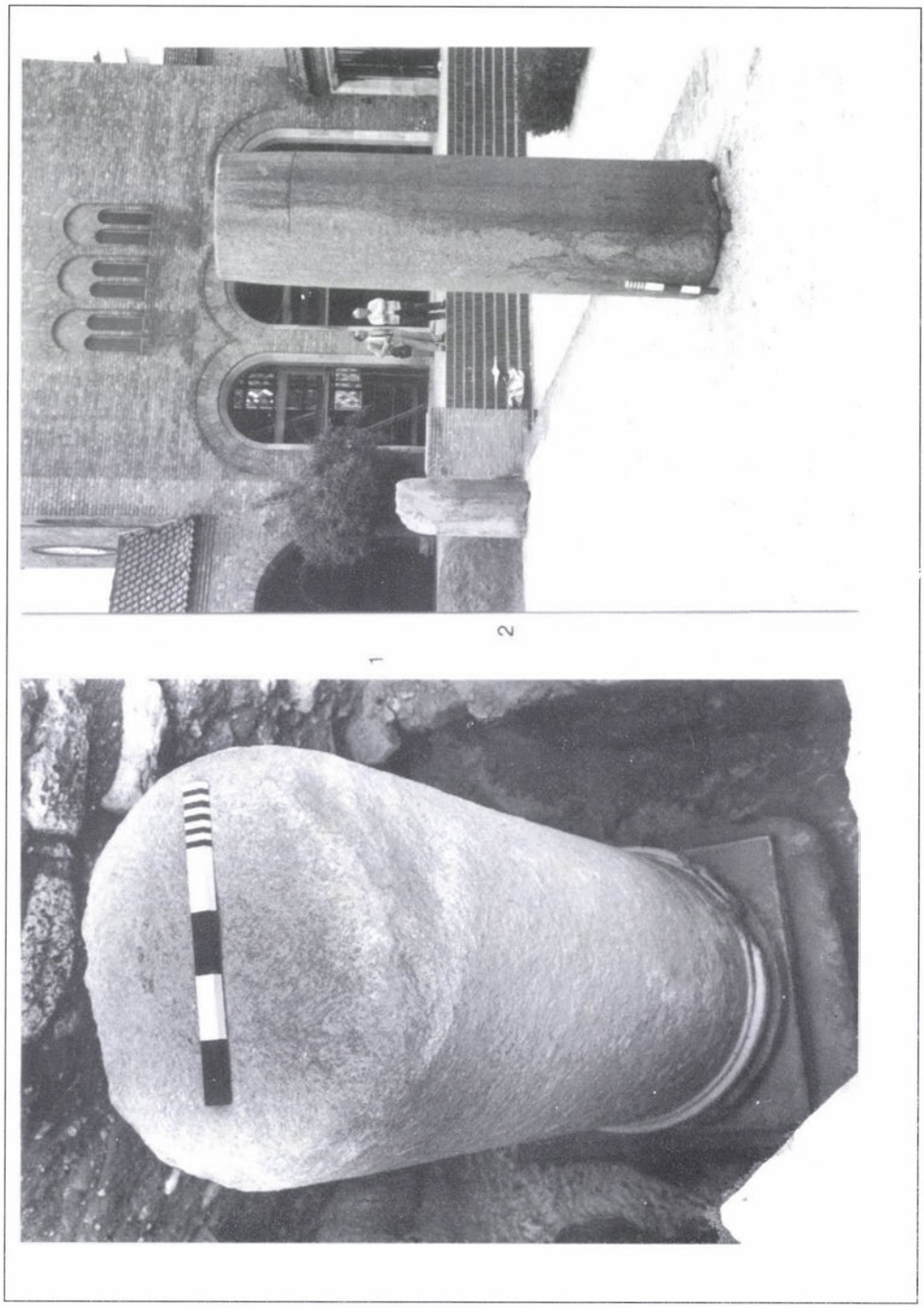

Fig. 1

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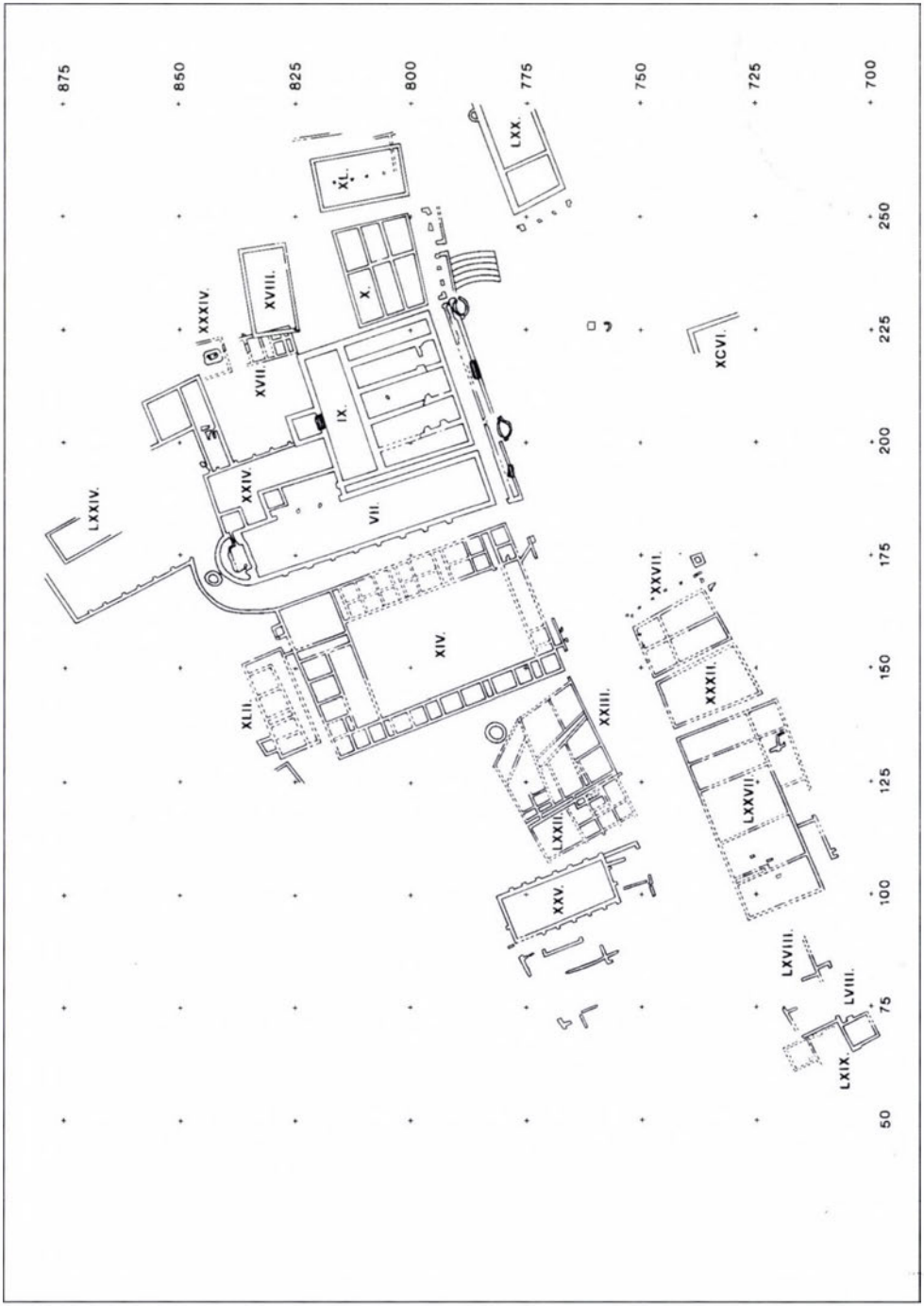
Fig. 1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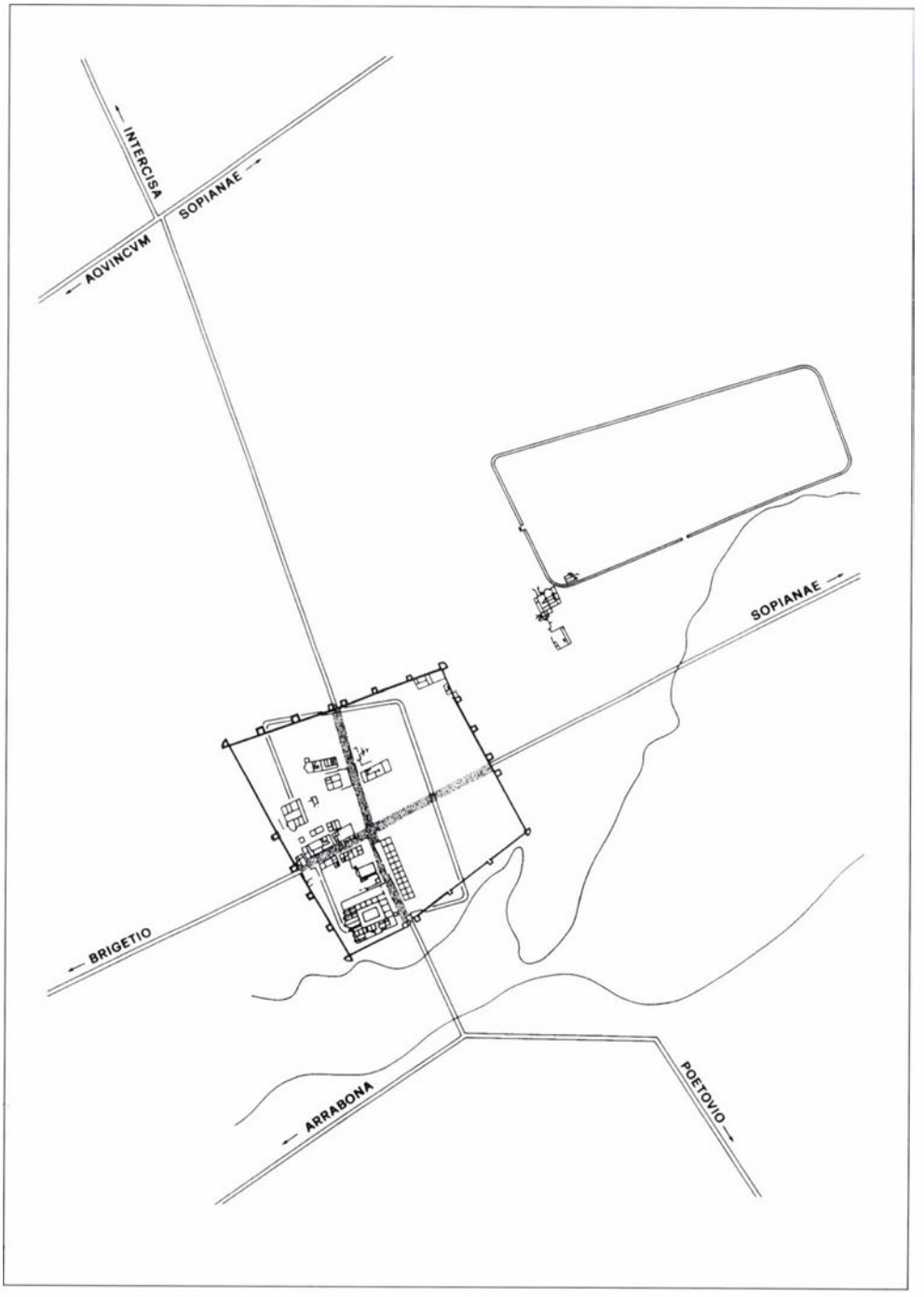
LXXVII.
XXV.
LXVIII.
LVIII.
LXIX.

Fig. 1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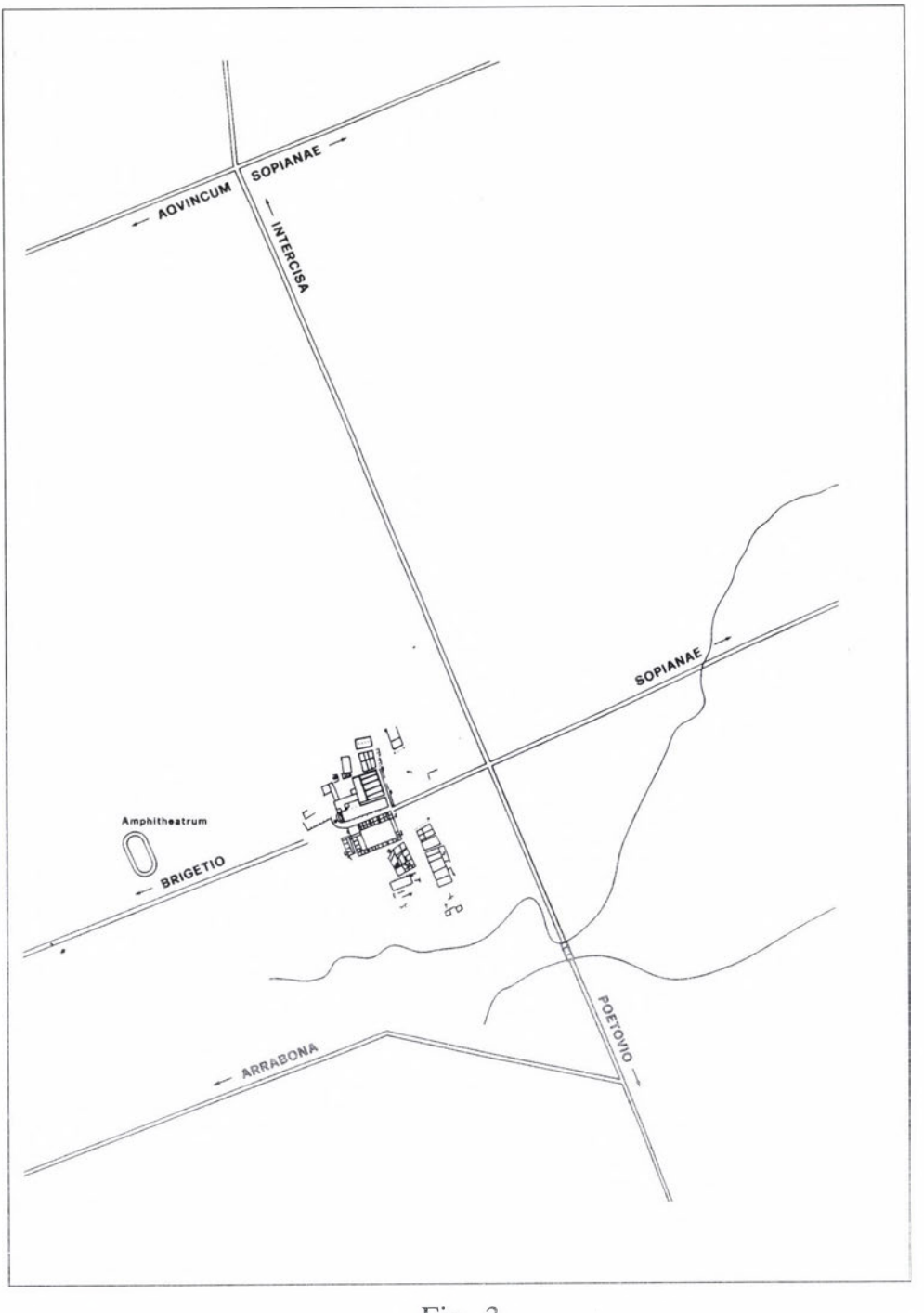
AQVINCVM
SOPIANAE
BRIGETIO
ARRABONA
POETOVIO

Fig. 2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Amphitheatrum
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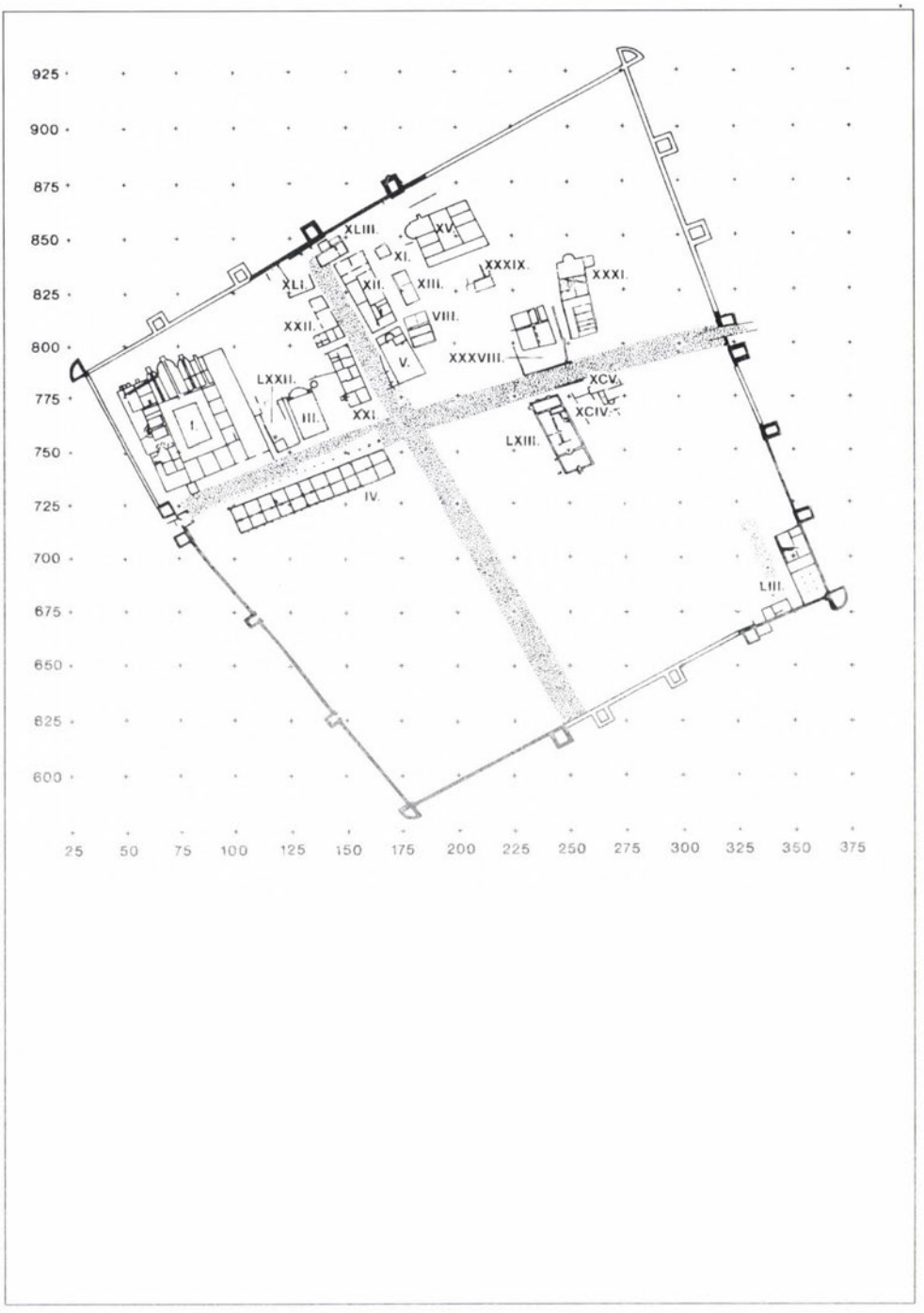
ARRABONA
POETOVIO

Fig. 3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LXIII.
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LIII.

Fig. 4

Fig. 1

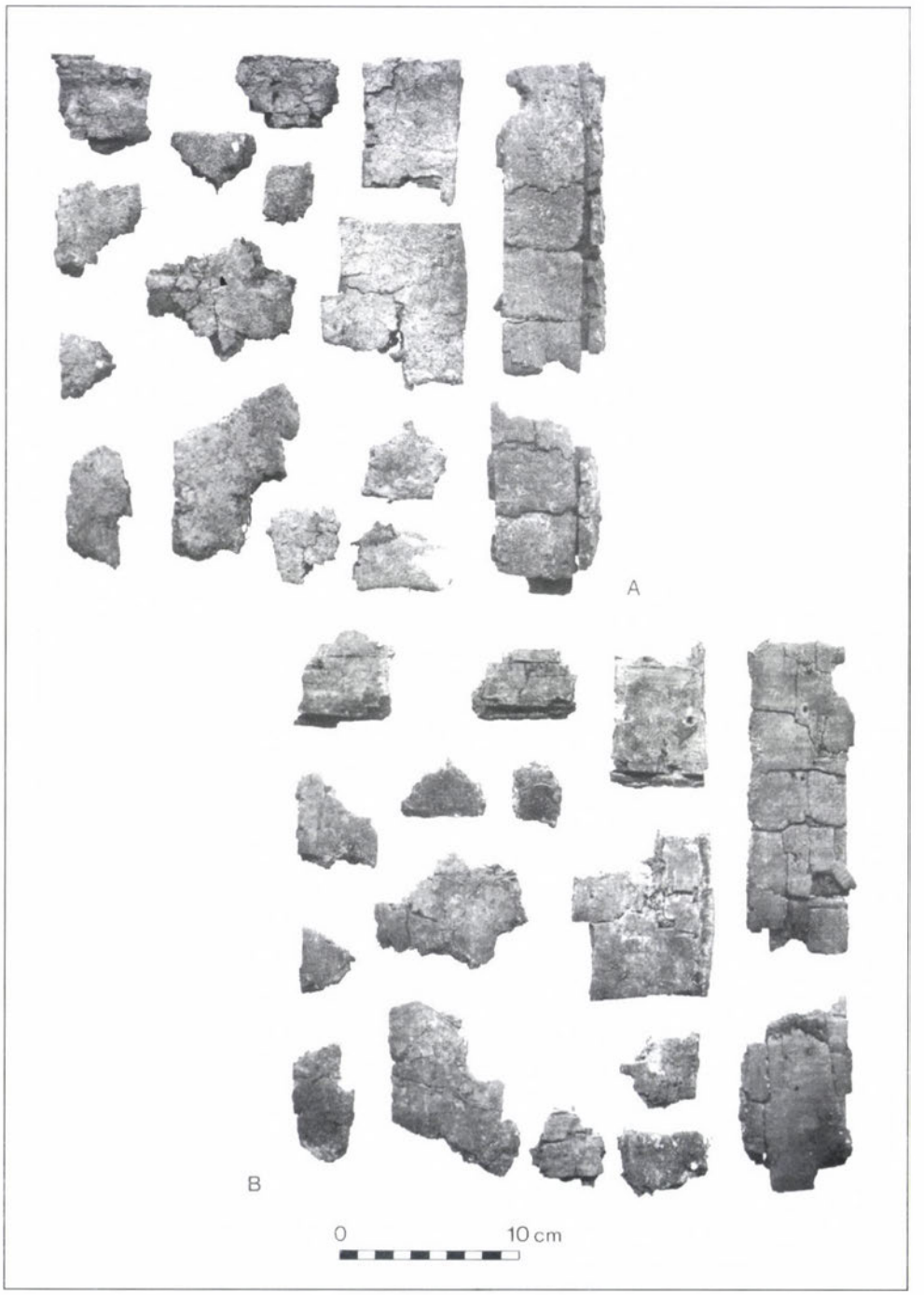


Fig. 2

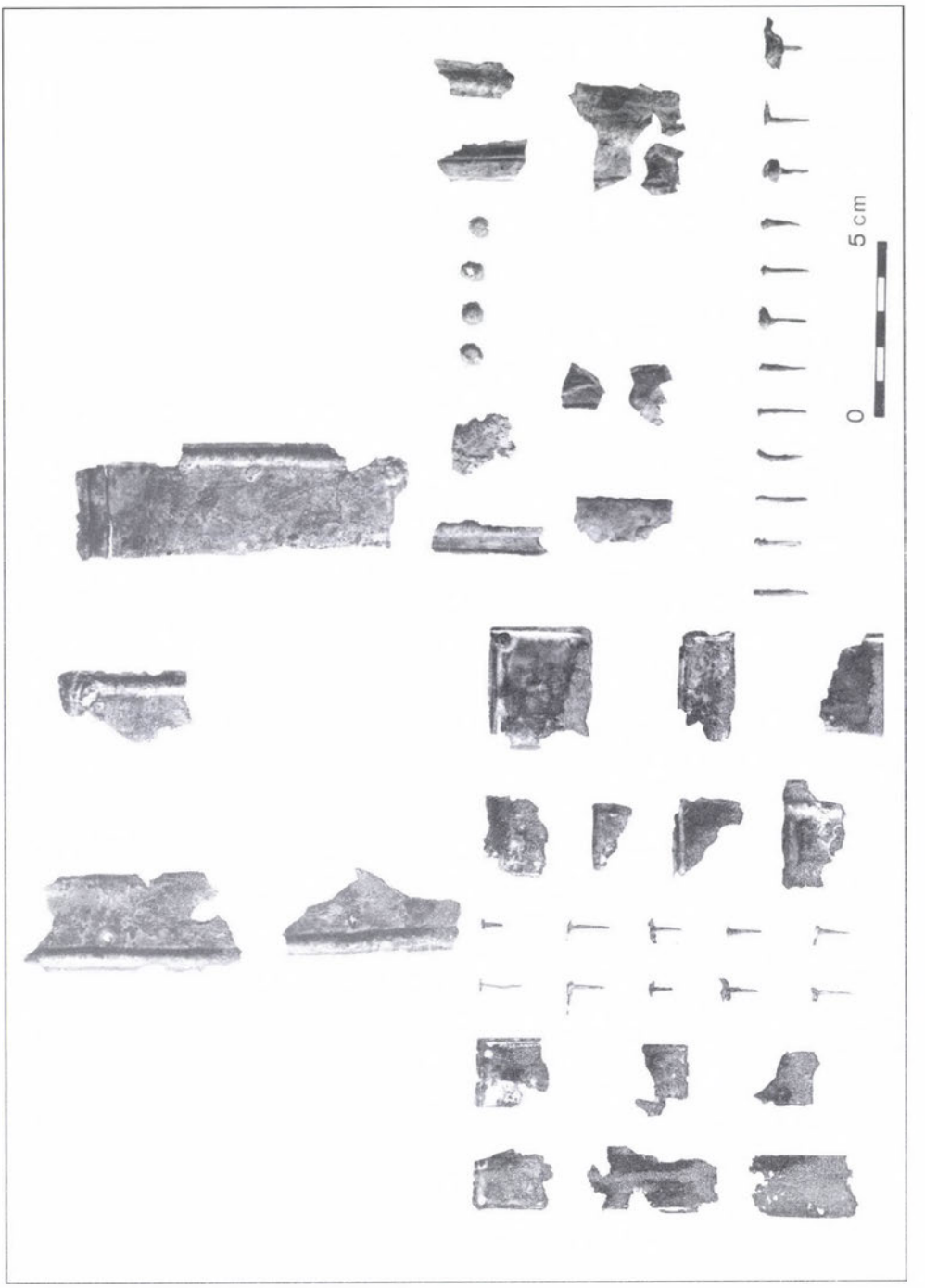


Fig. 3

Fig. 4

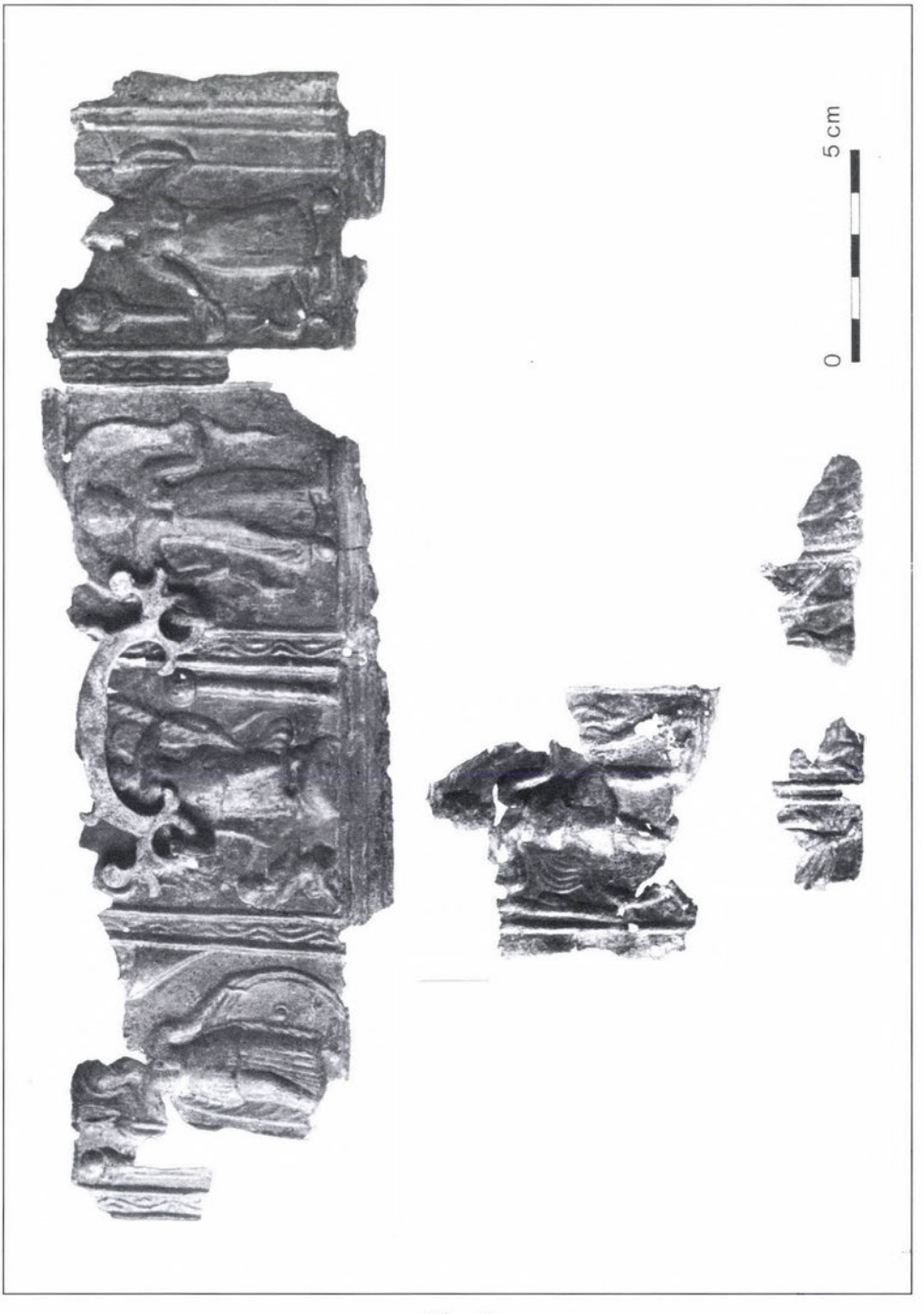


Fig. 5

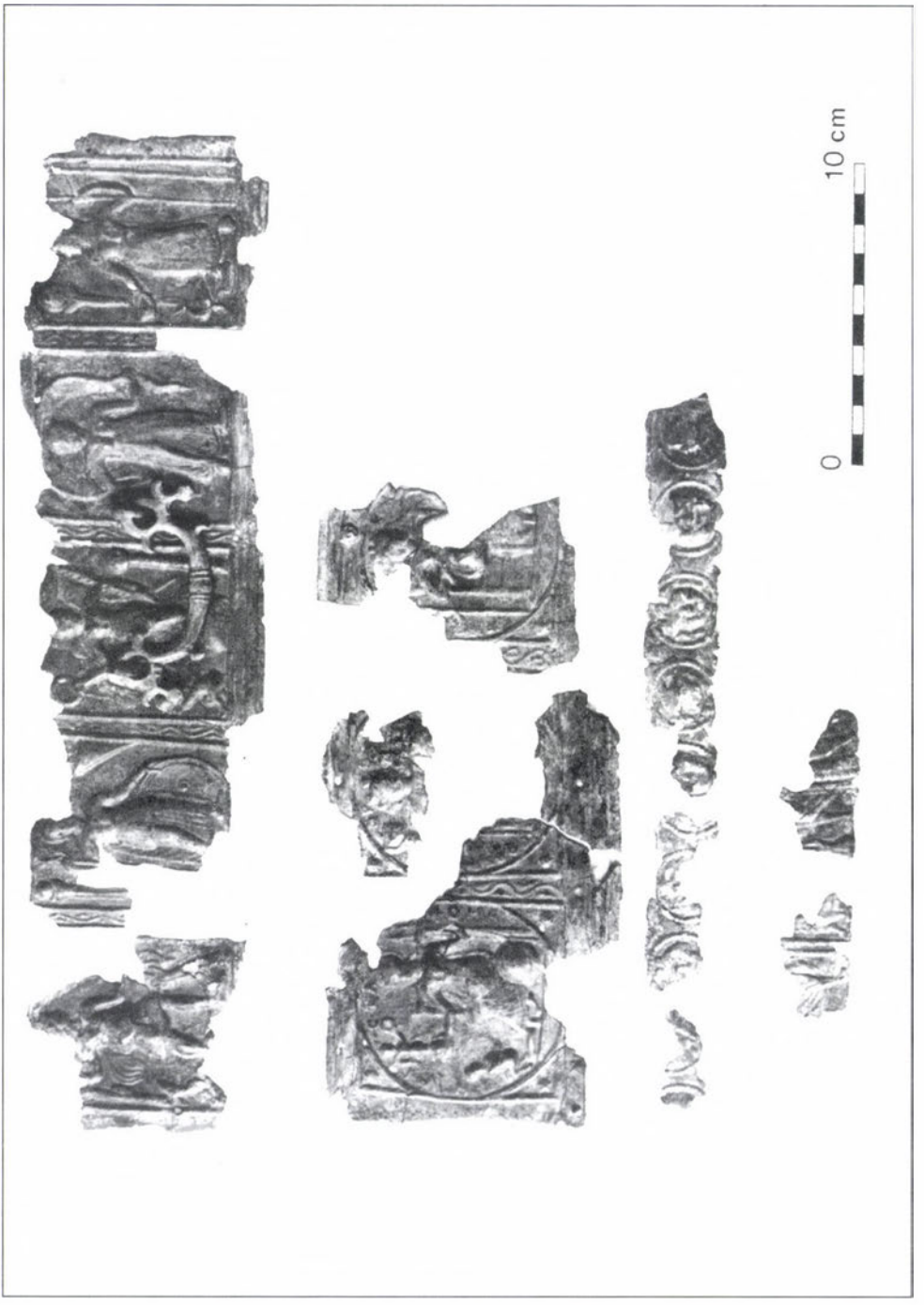


Fig. 6

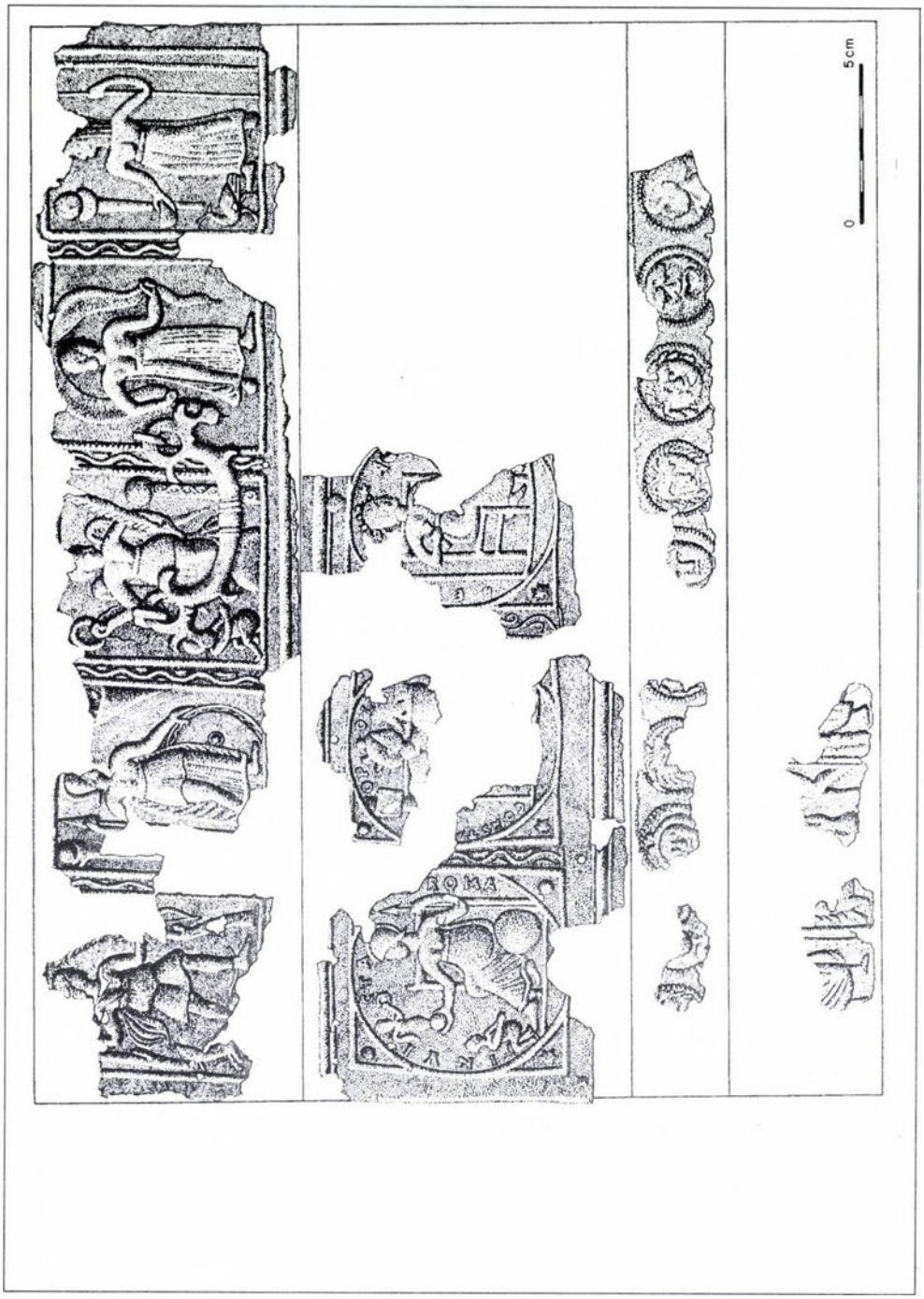


Fig. 7

Manfred Kandler

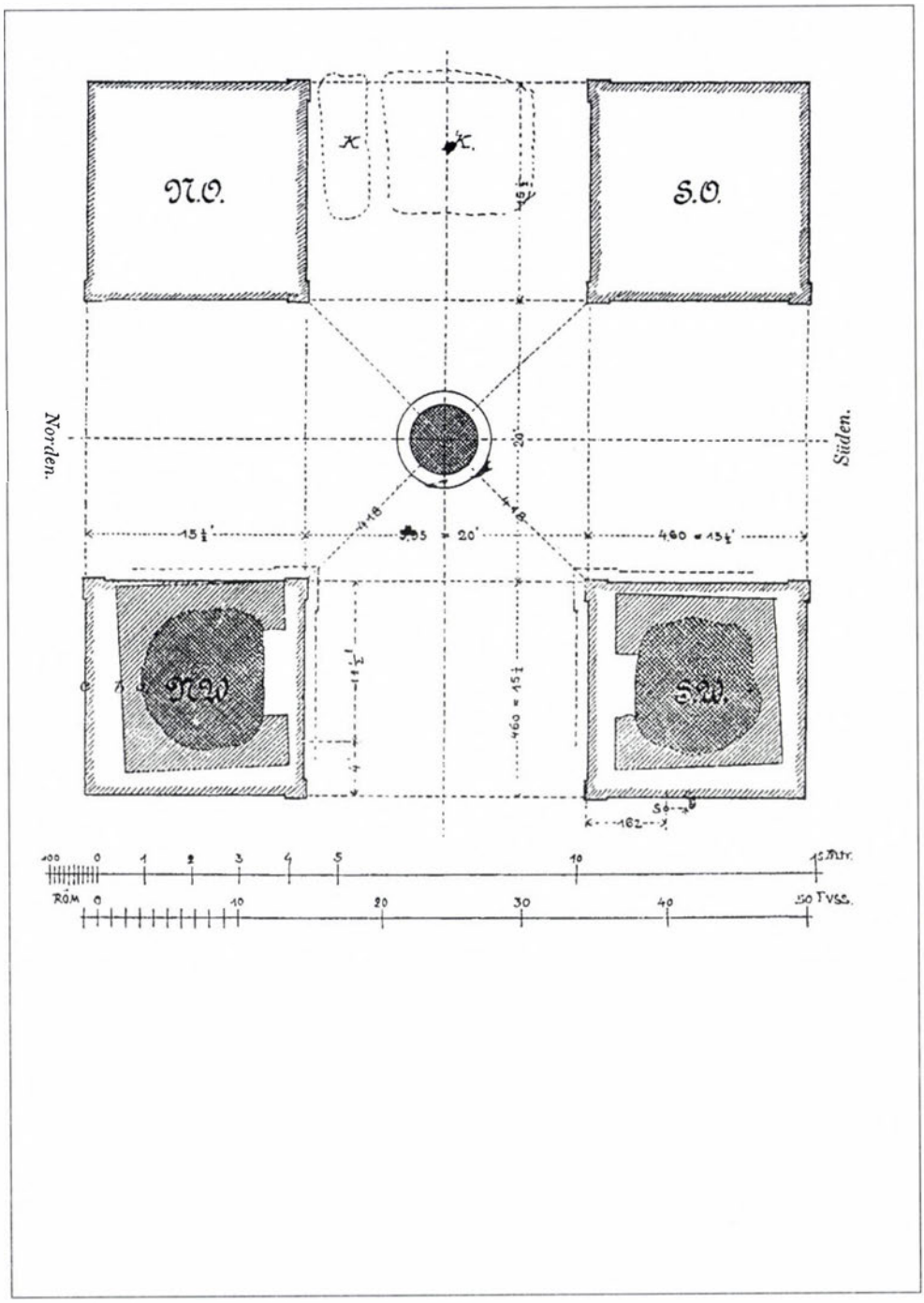


Abb. 1

Abb. 2

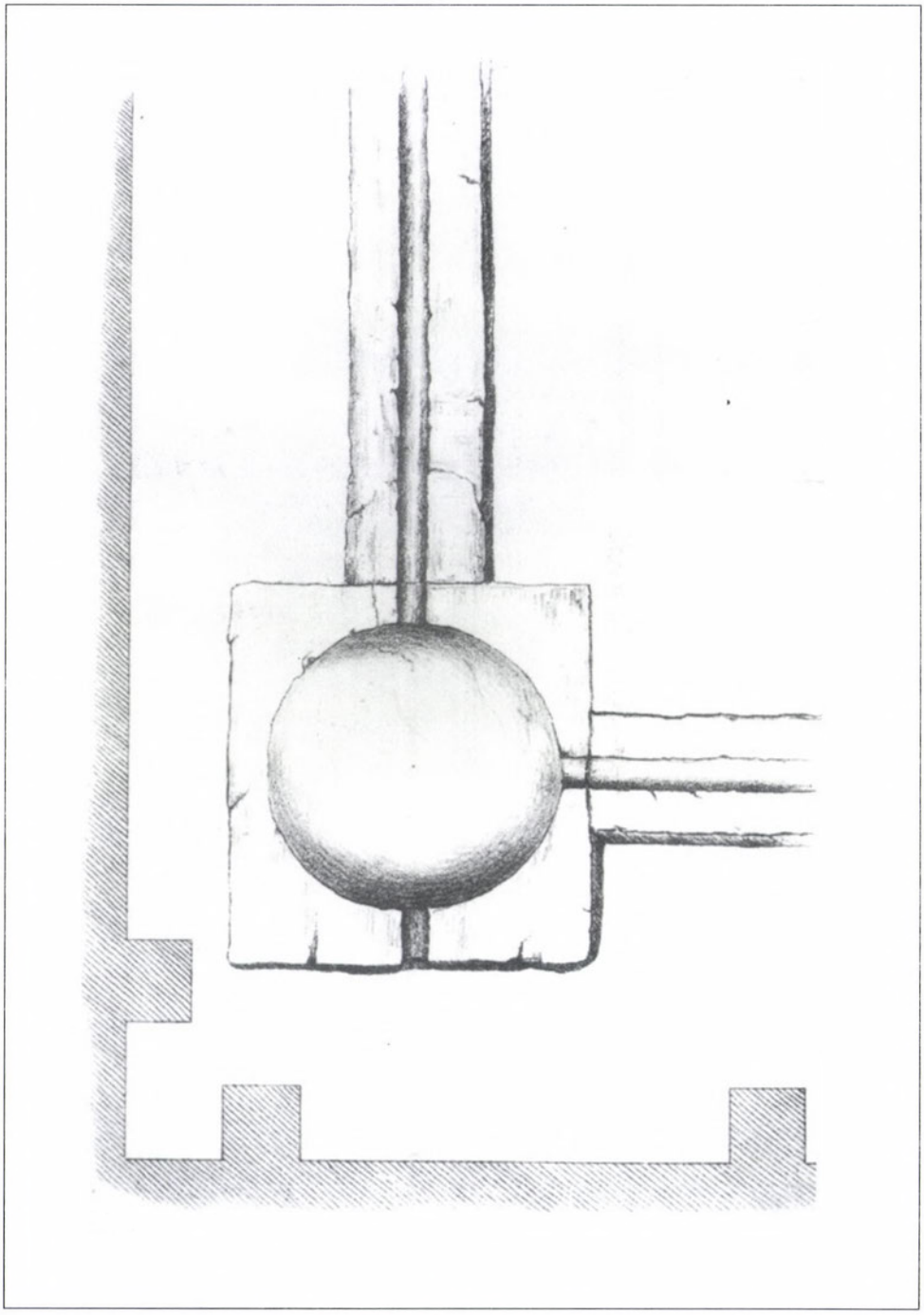


Abb. 3

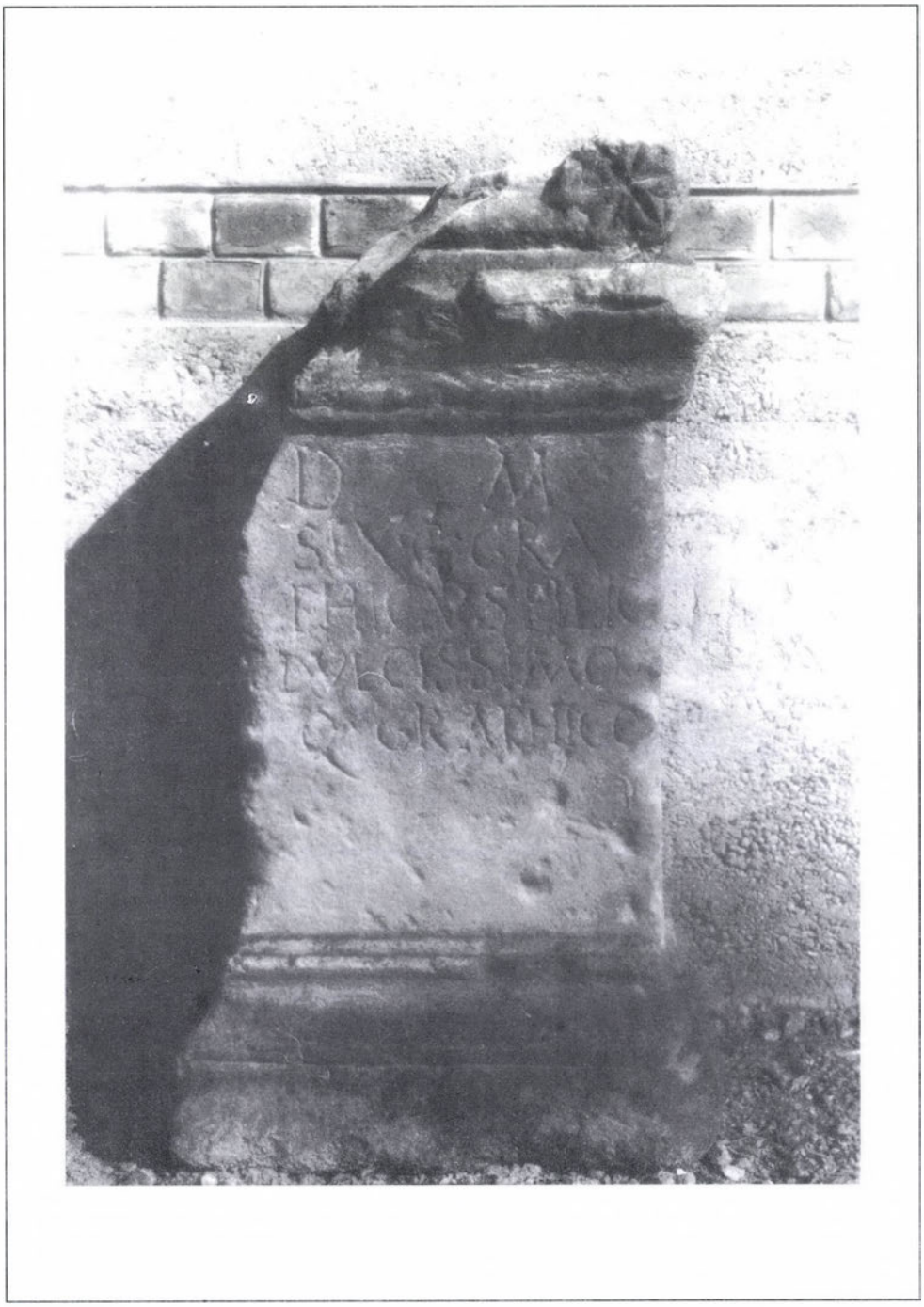
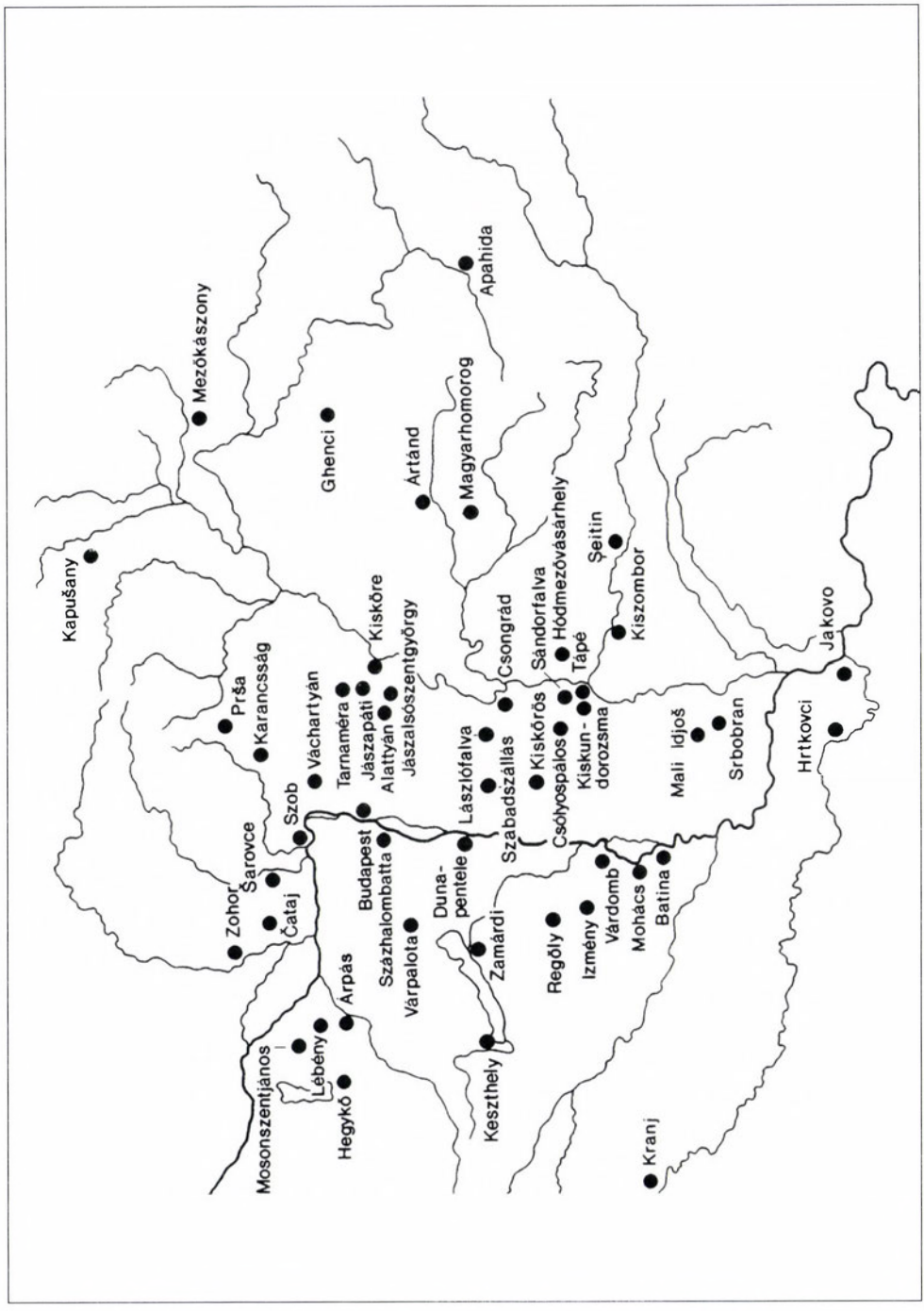


Abb. 4

Abb. 5

Abb. 6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Alattyán
Jászalsószentgyörgy
Kiskőre
Budapest
Százhalombatta
Várpalota
Árpás
Lébény
Mosonszentjános
Hegykő
Ghenci
Ártánd
Magyarhomorog
Apahida
Csongrád
Sándorfalva
Hódmezővásárhely
Tápé
Kiskőrös
Csólyospálos
Kiskun-
dorozsma
Szabadszállás
Lászlófalva
Dunapentele
Žamárdi
Keszthely
Regöly
Izmény
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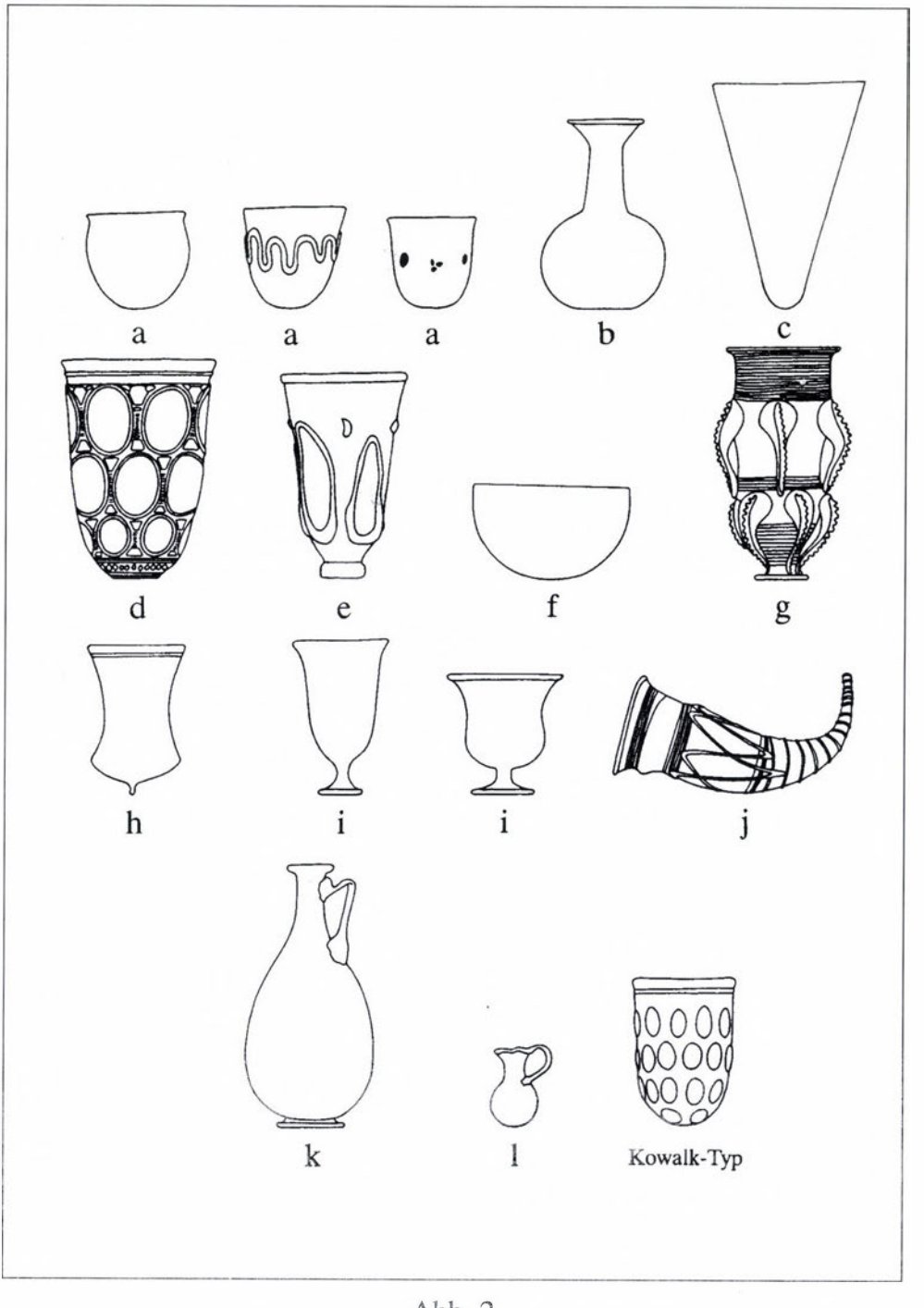
Abb. 1



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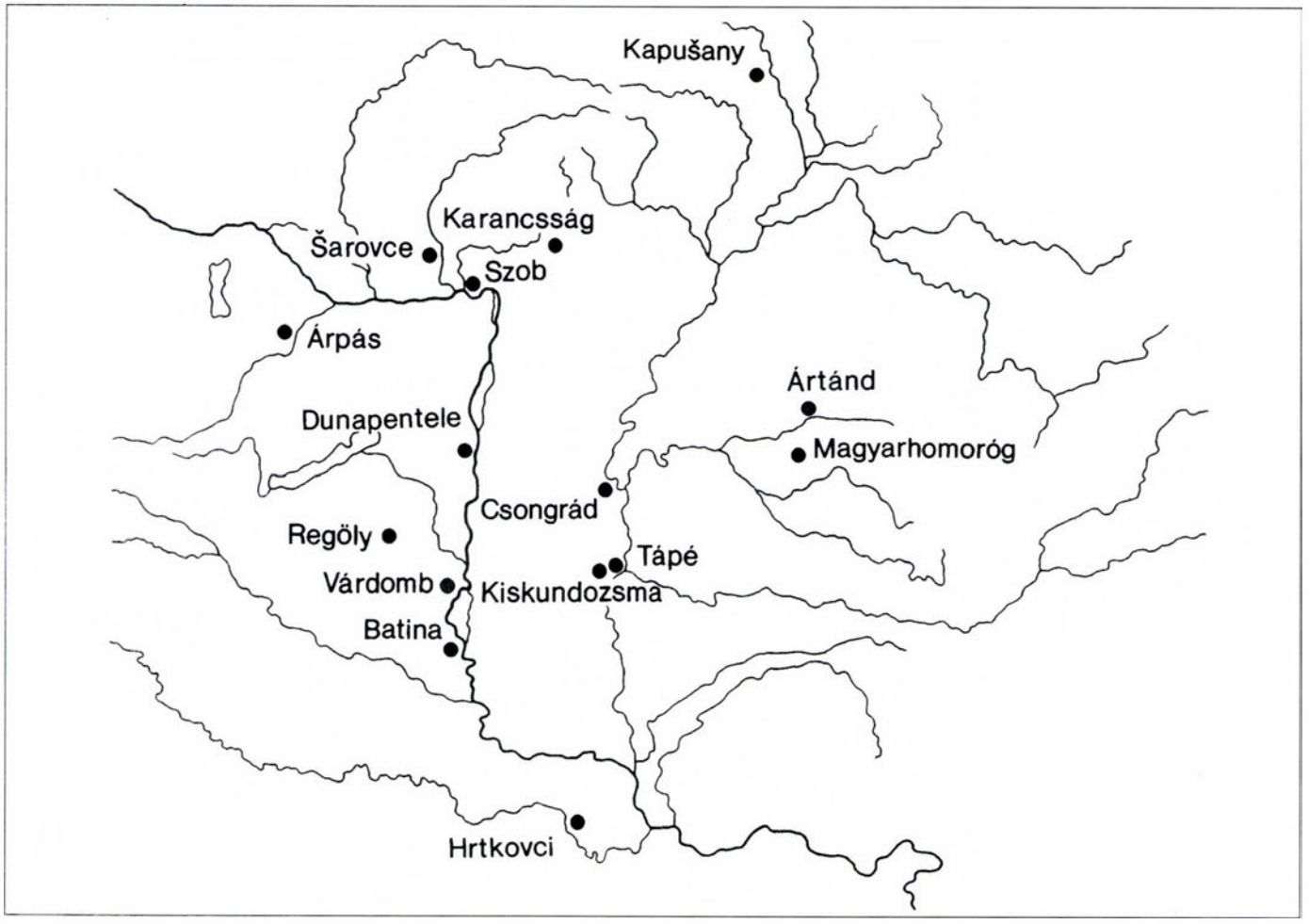
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Karancsság
Šarovce
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Abb. 3

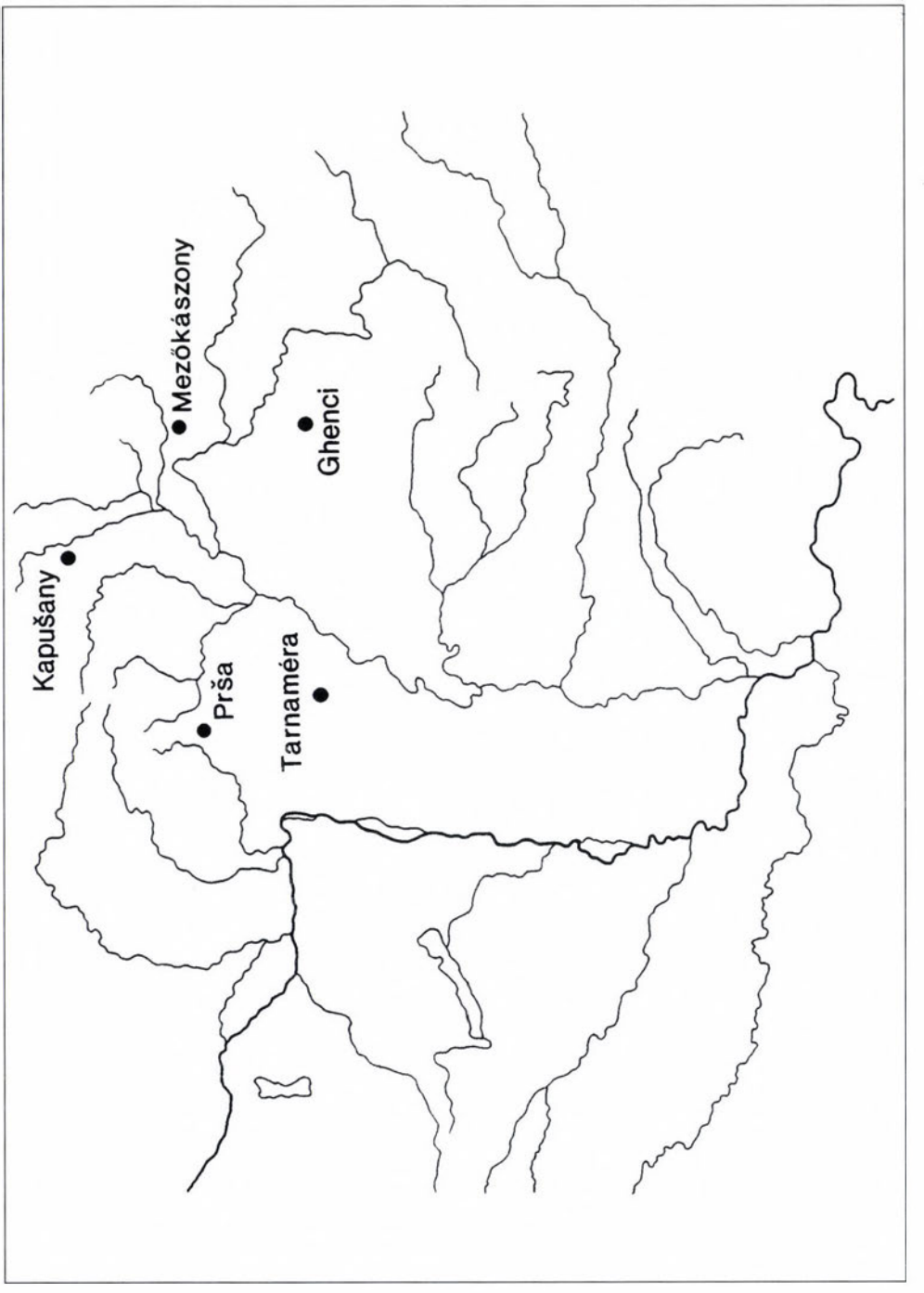


Abb. 4

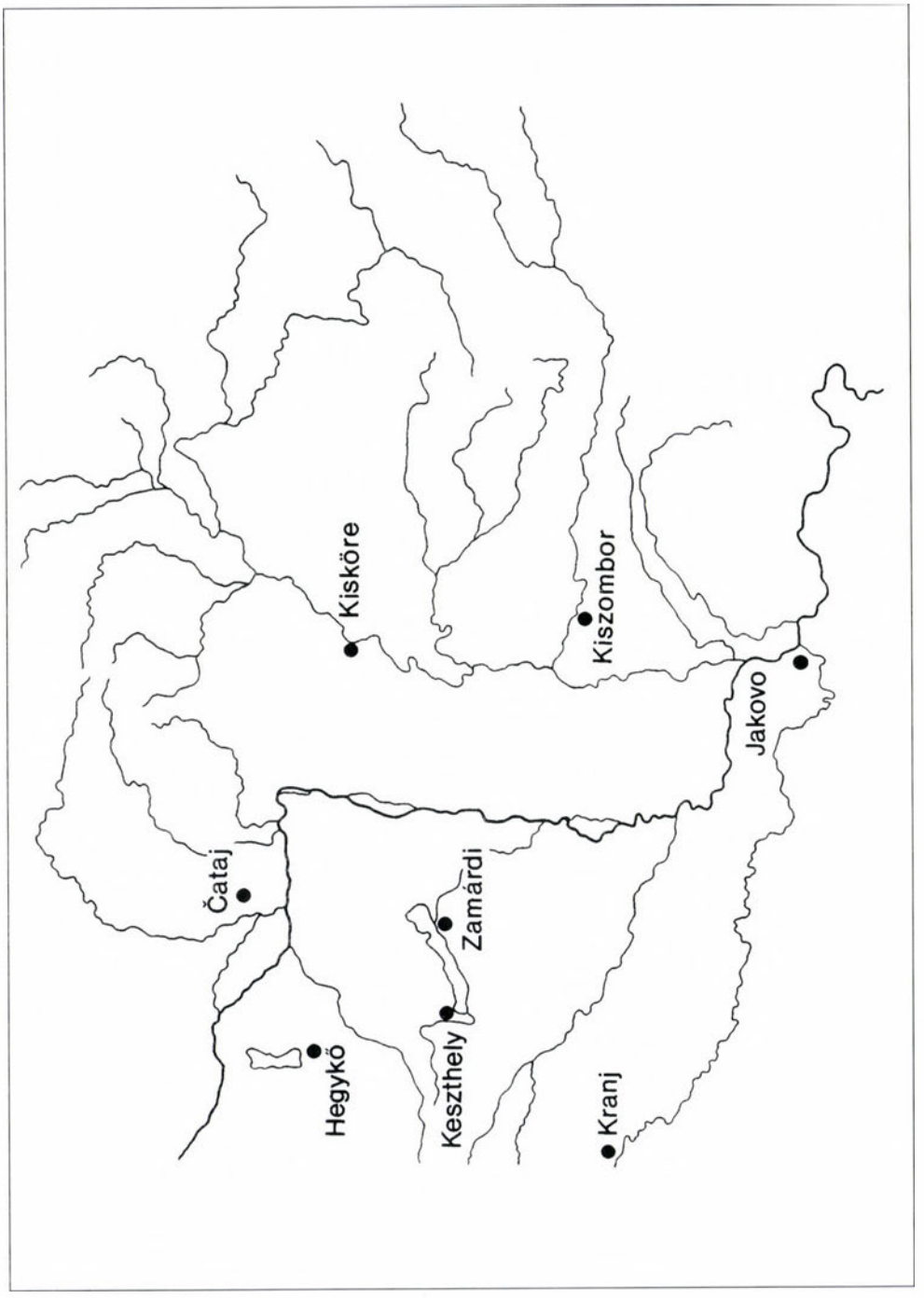

Čataj
Hegykő
Kisköre
Keszthely
Zamárdi
Kiszombor
Kranj
Jakovo

Abb. 5

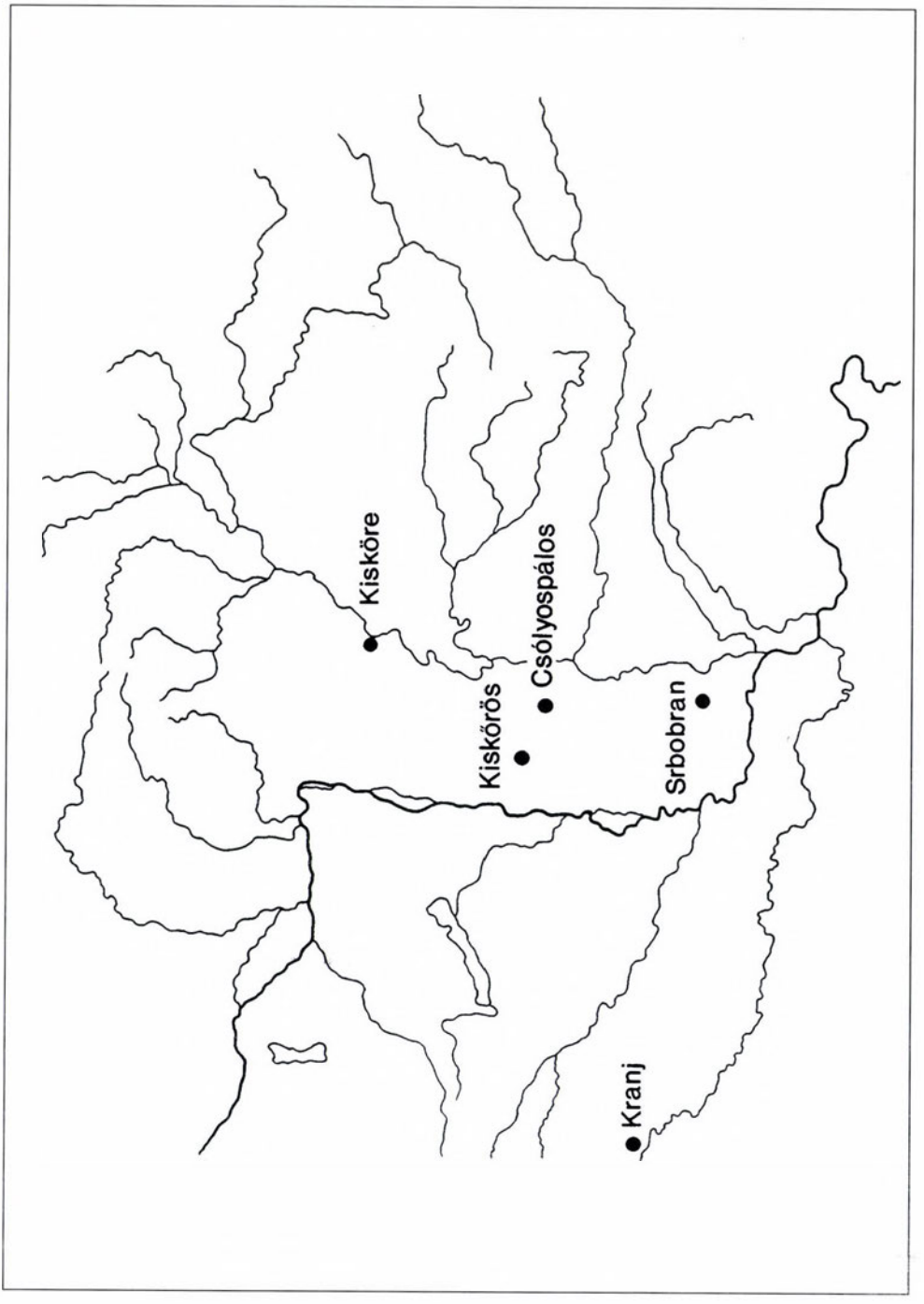


Abb. 6

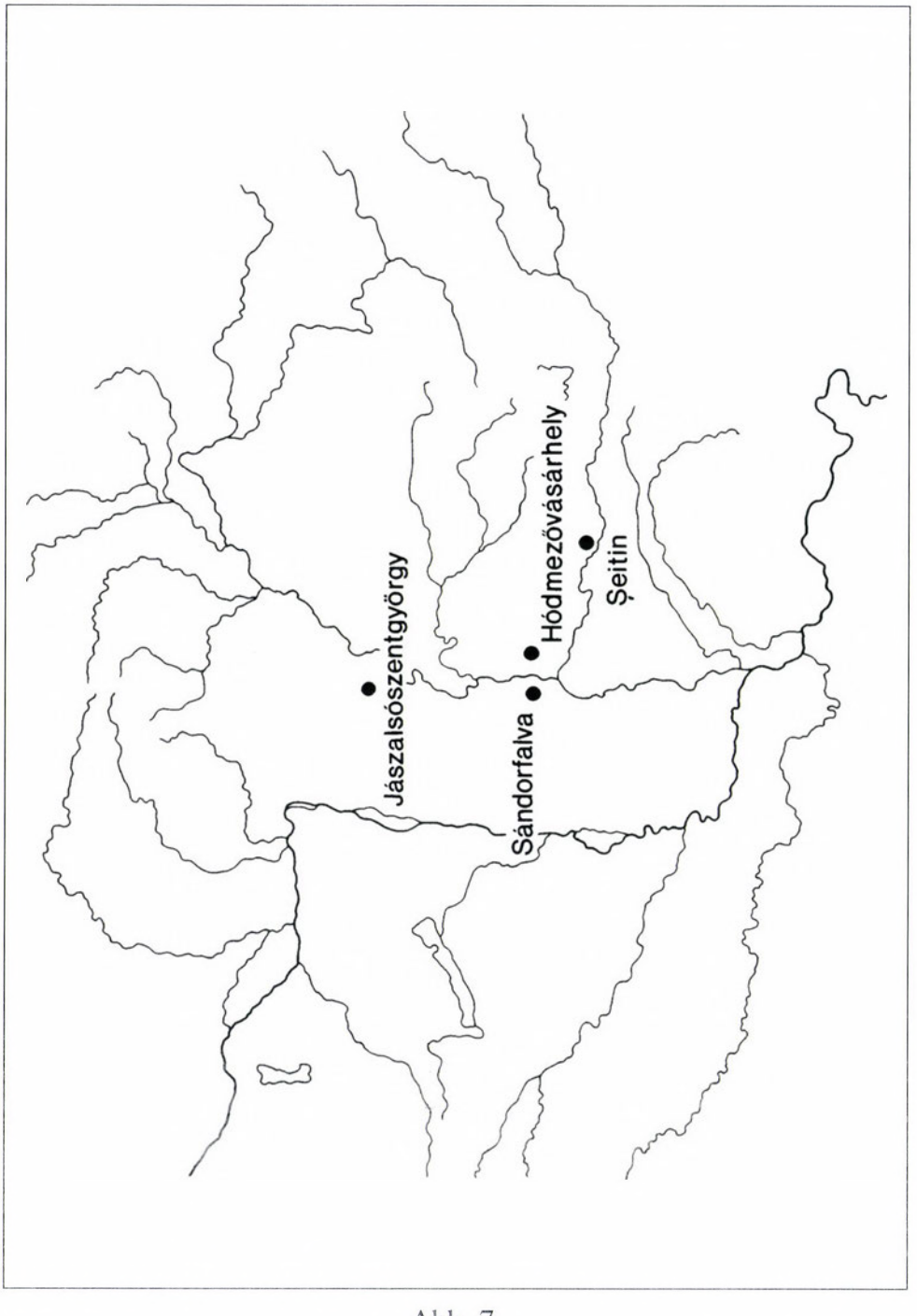

Jászalsószentgyörgy
Sándorfalva
Hódmezővásárhely
Șeitin

Abb. 7

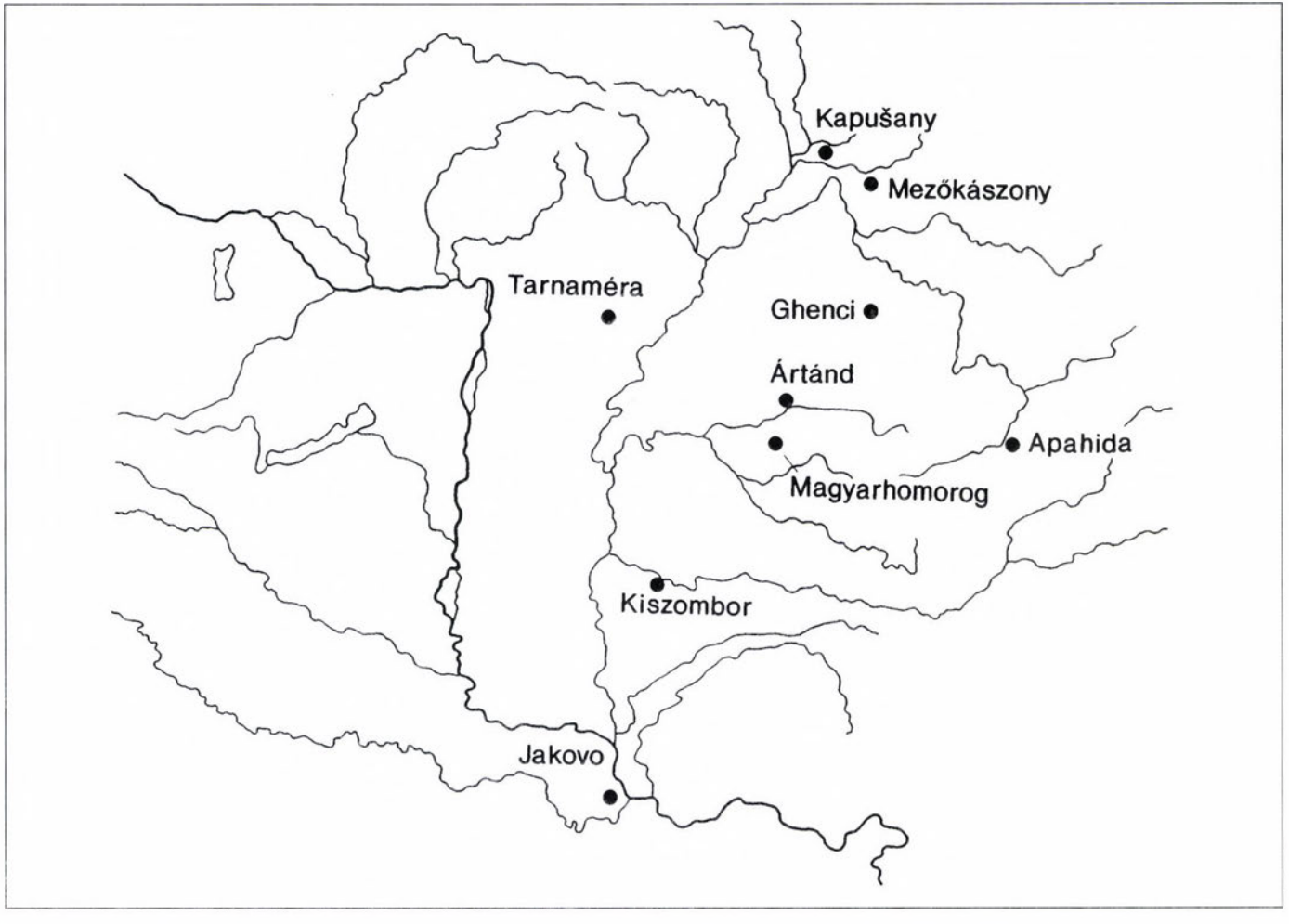

Kapušany
Mezőkászony
Tarnaméra
Ghenci
Ártánd
Apahida
Magyarhomorog
Kiszombor
Jakovo

Abb. 8

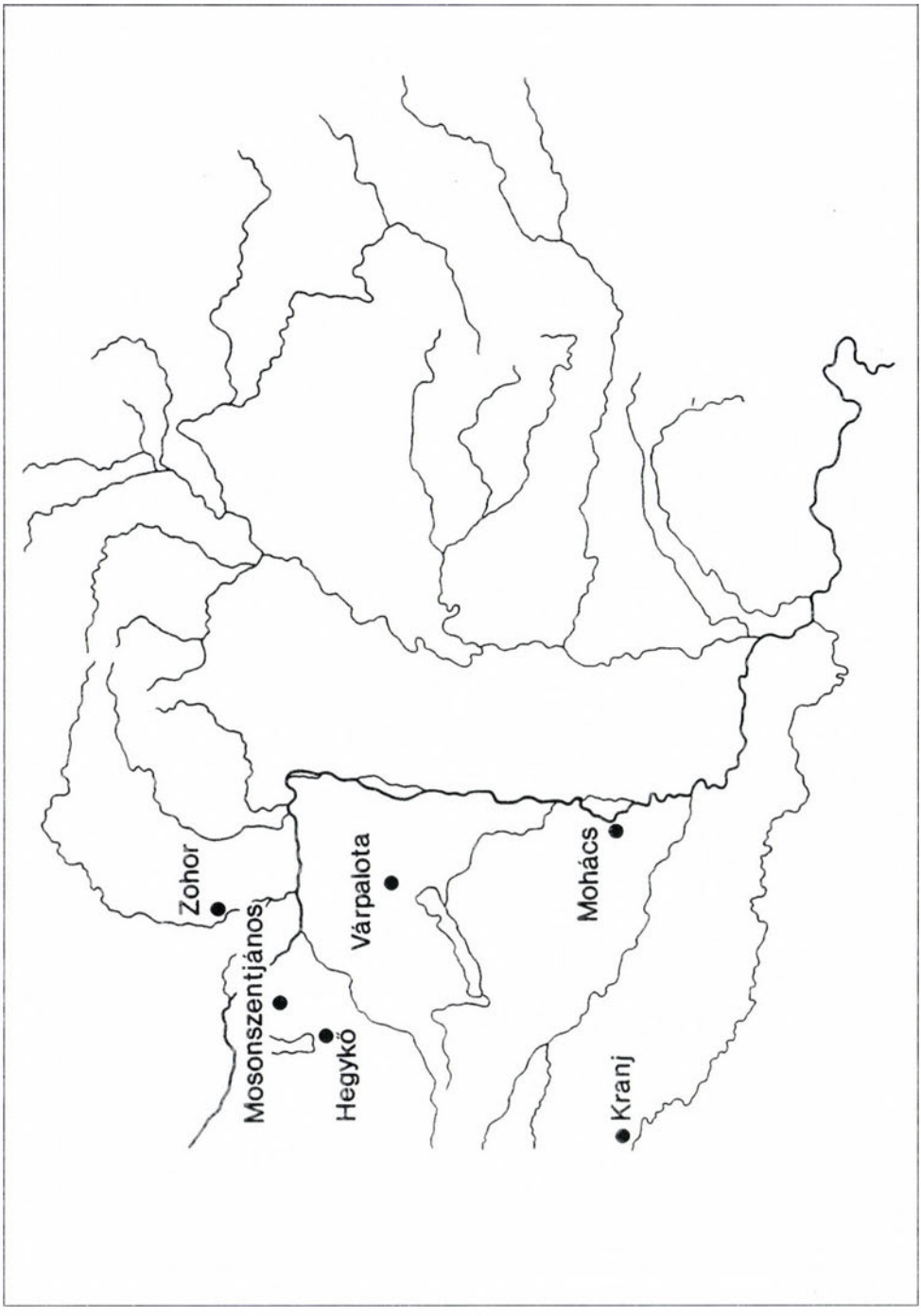


Abb. 9

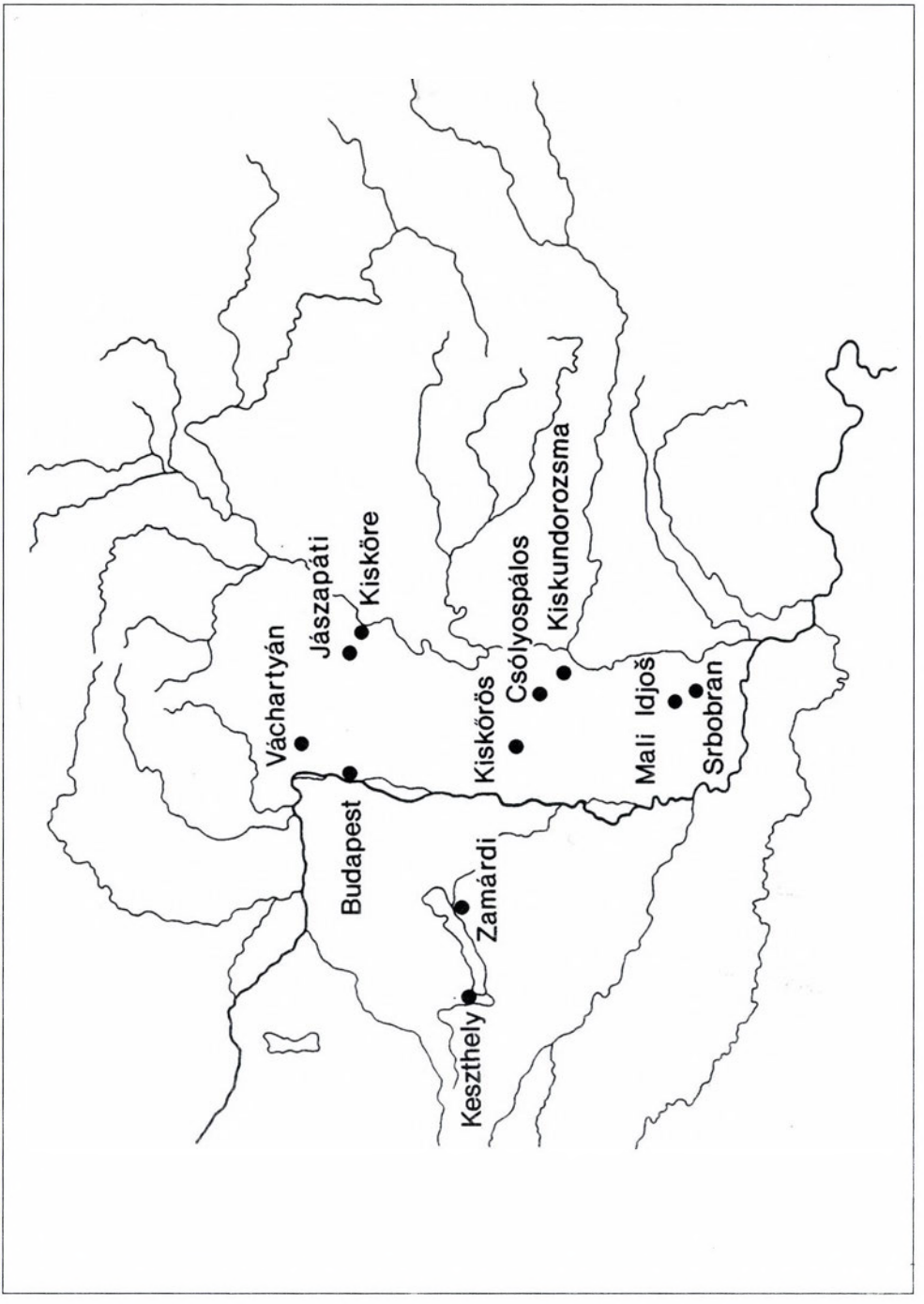

Váchartyán
Budapest
Jászapáti
Kisköre
Zamárdi
Keszthely
Kiskőrös
Csólyospálos
Kiskundorozsma
Mali Idjoš
Srbobran

Abb. 10

Fig 1

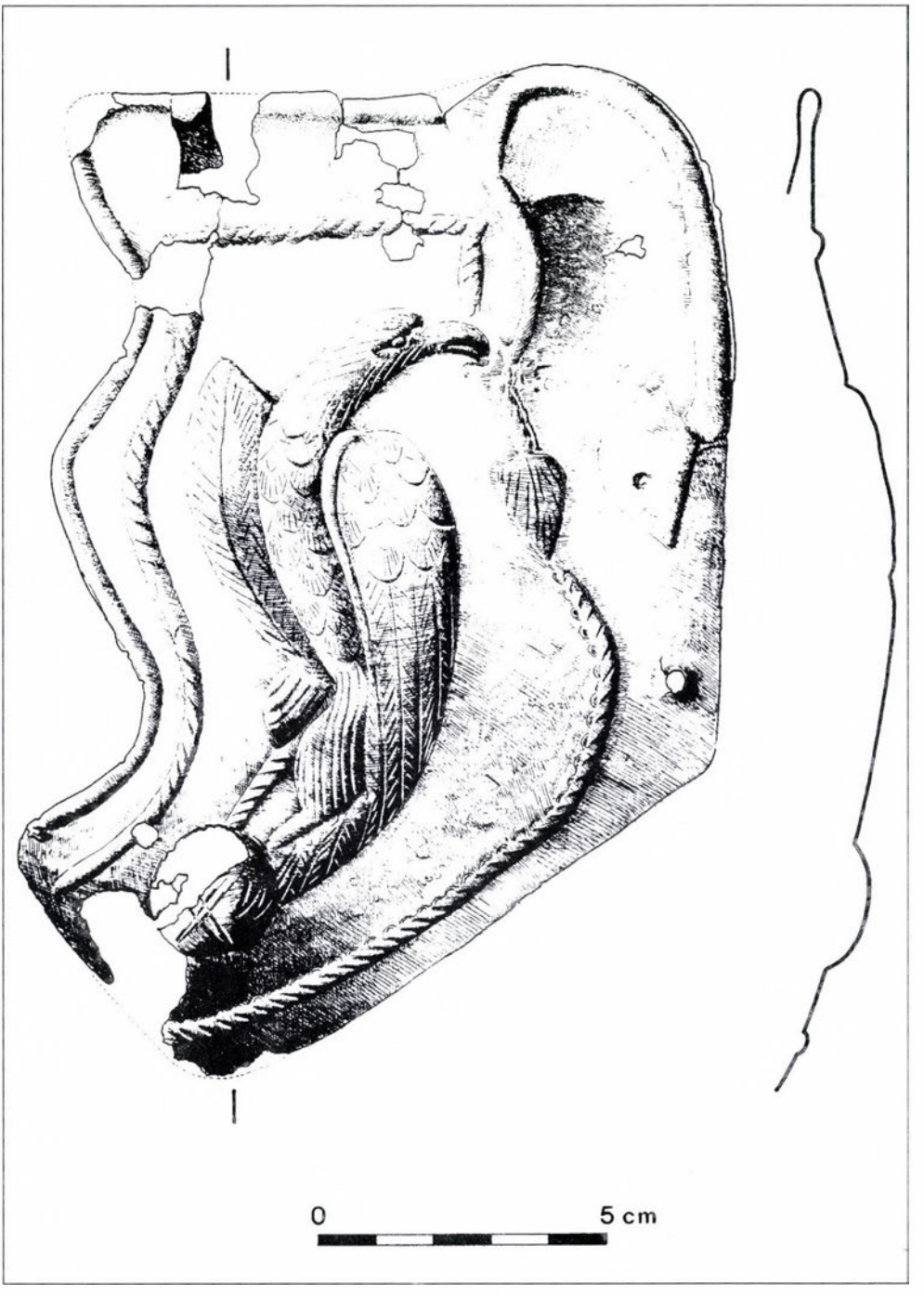


Fig. 2

1

2

3

4

Fig. 3

Fig. 1

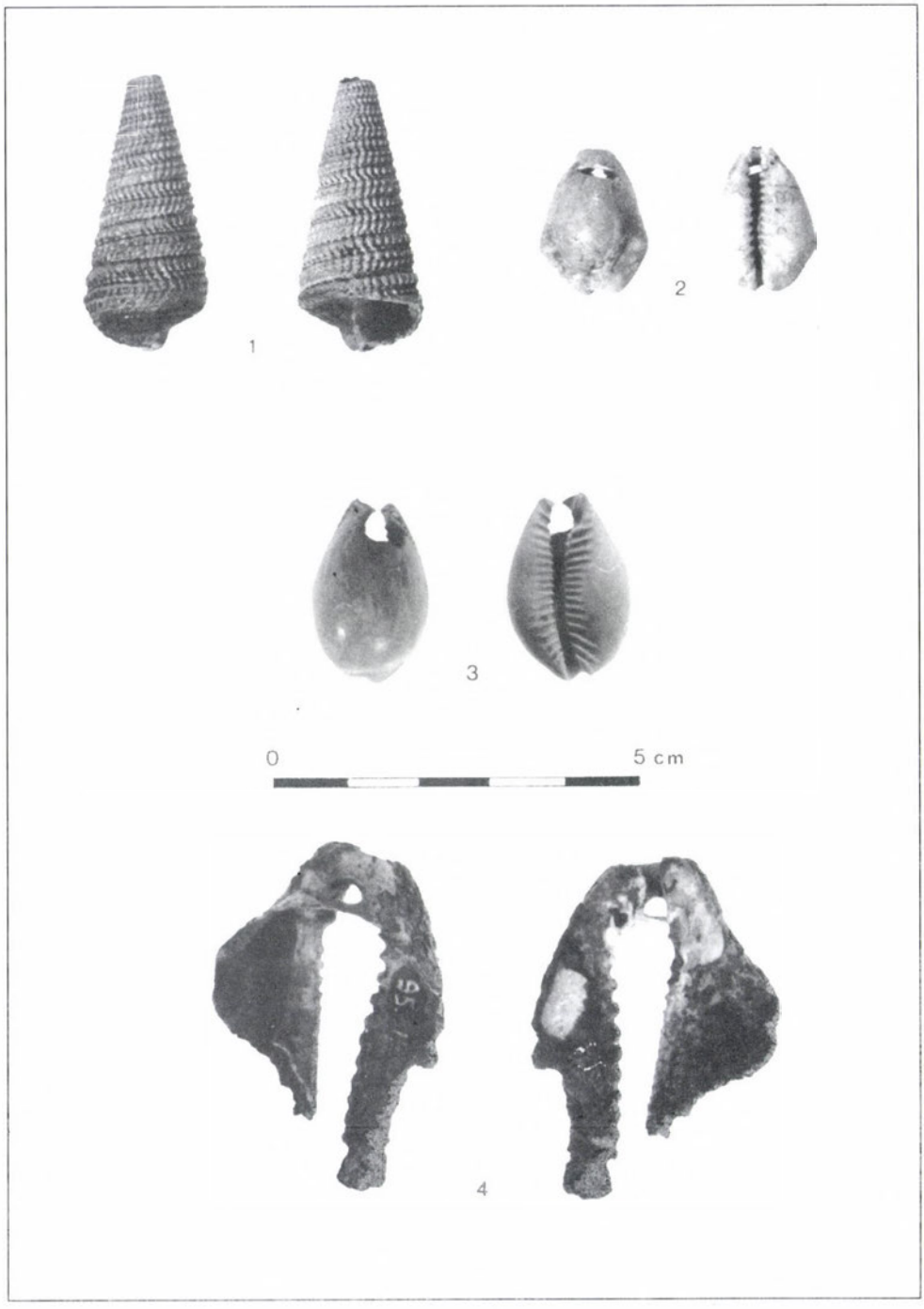


Fig. 2

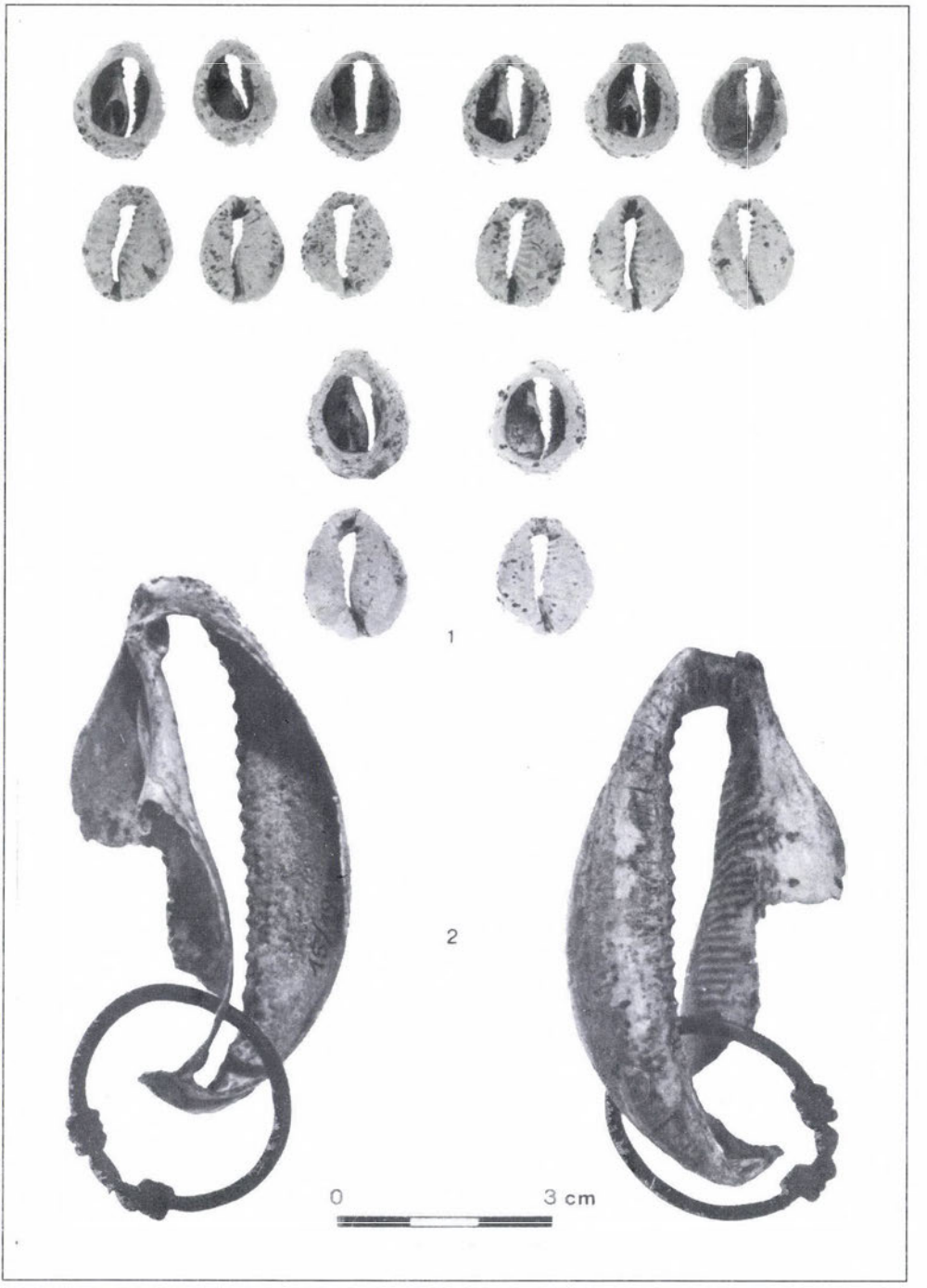
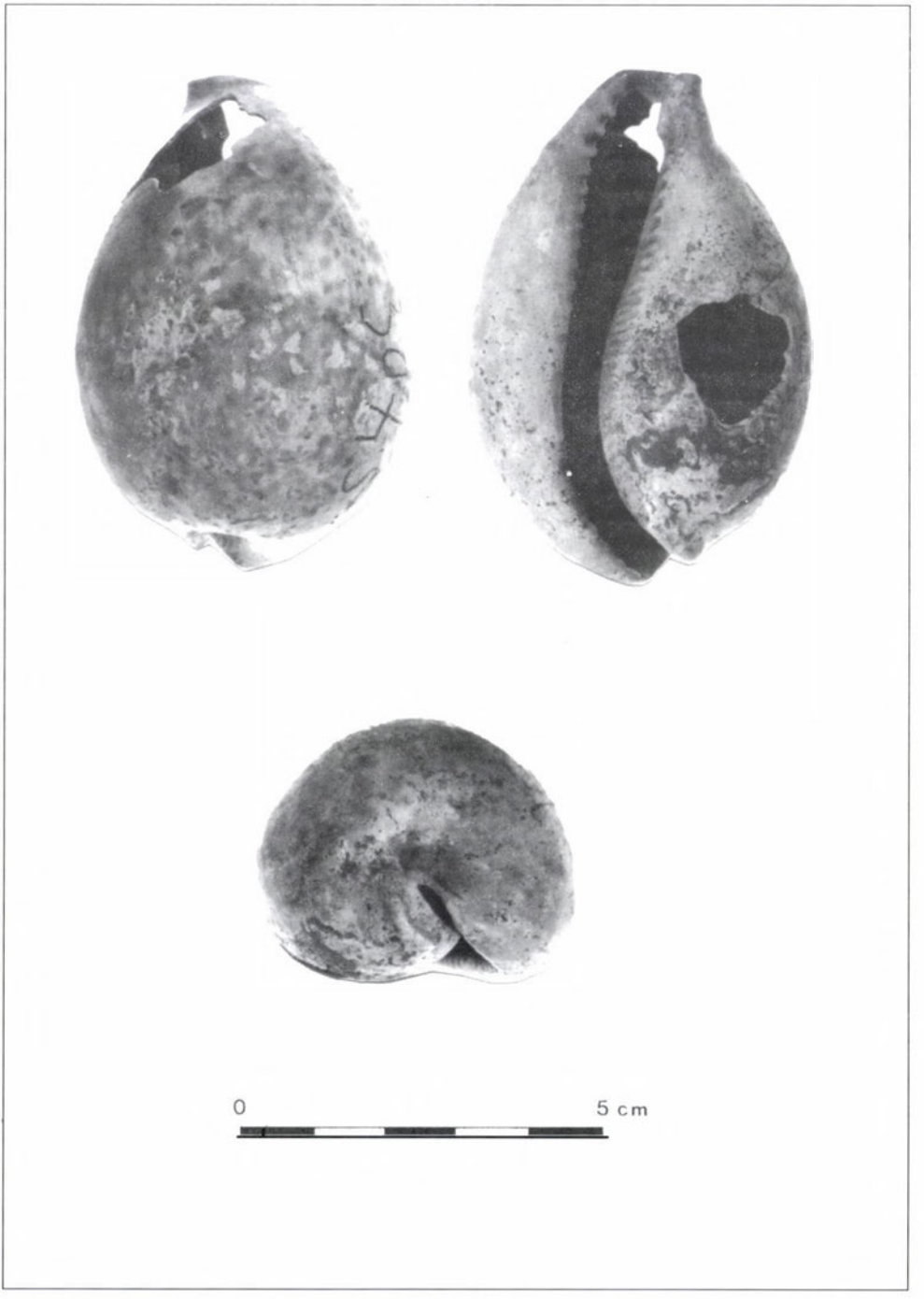


Fig. 3



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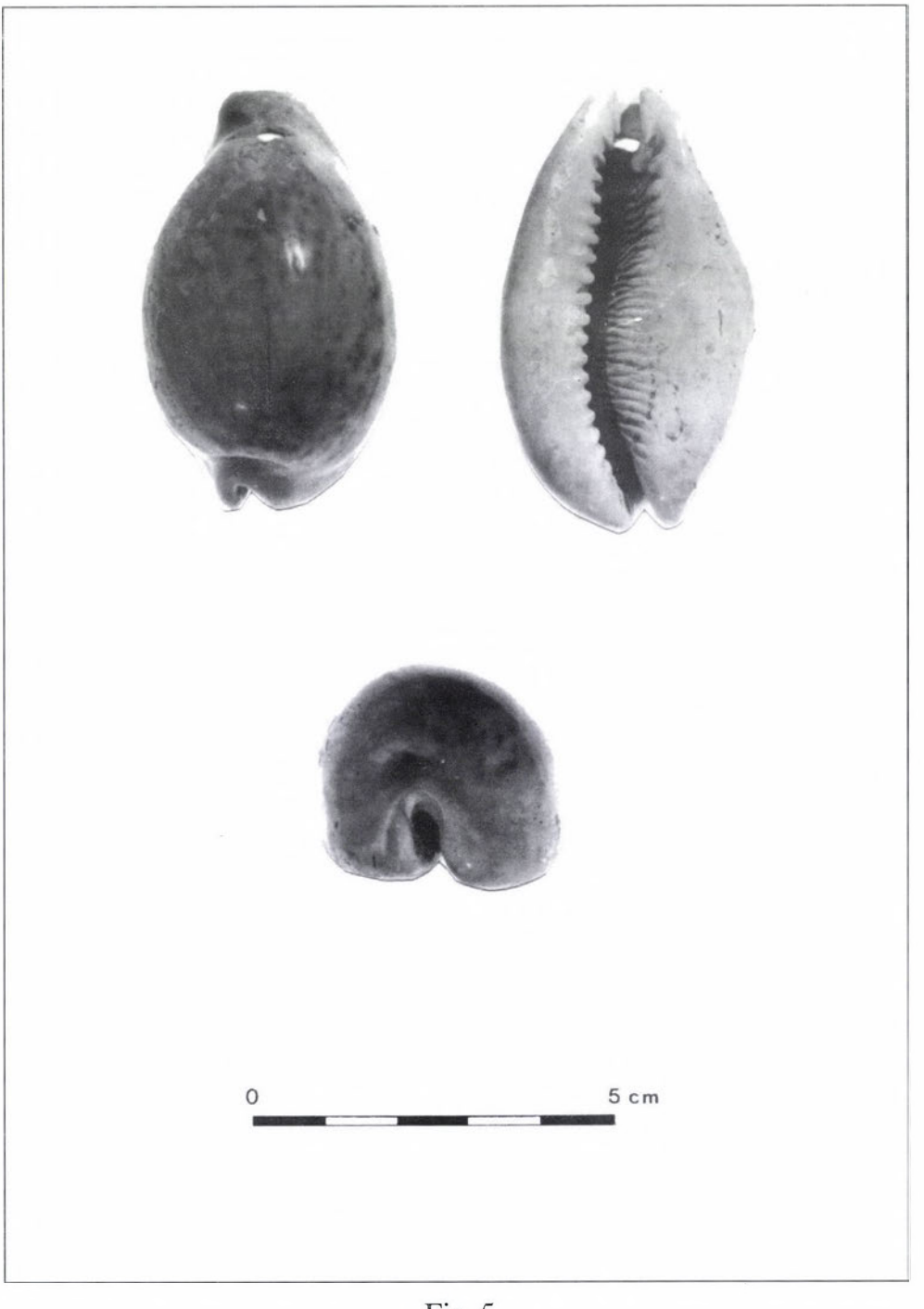

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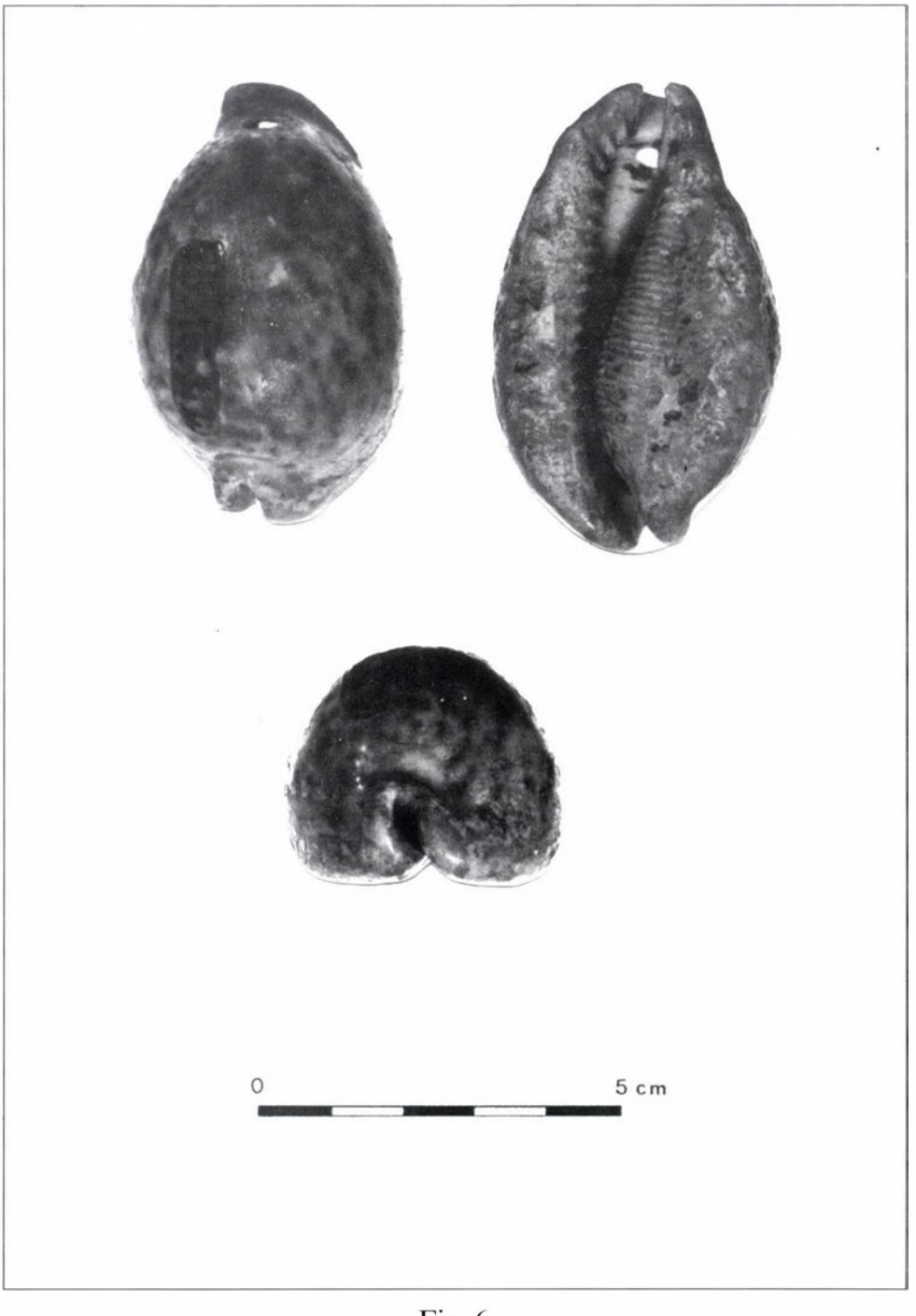


Fig. 6

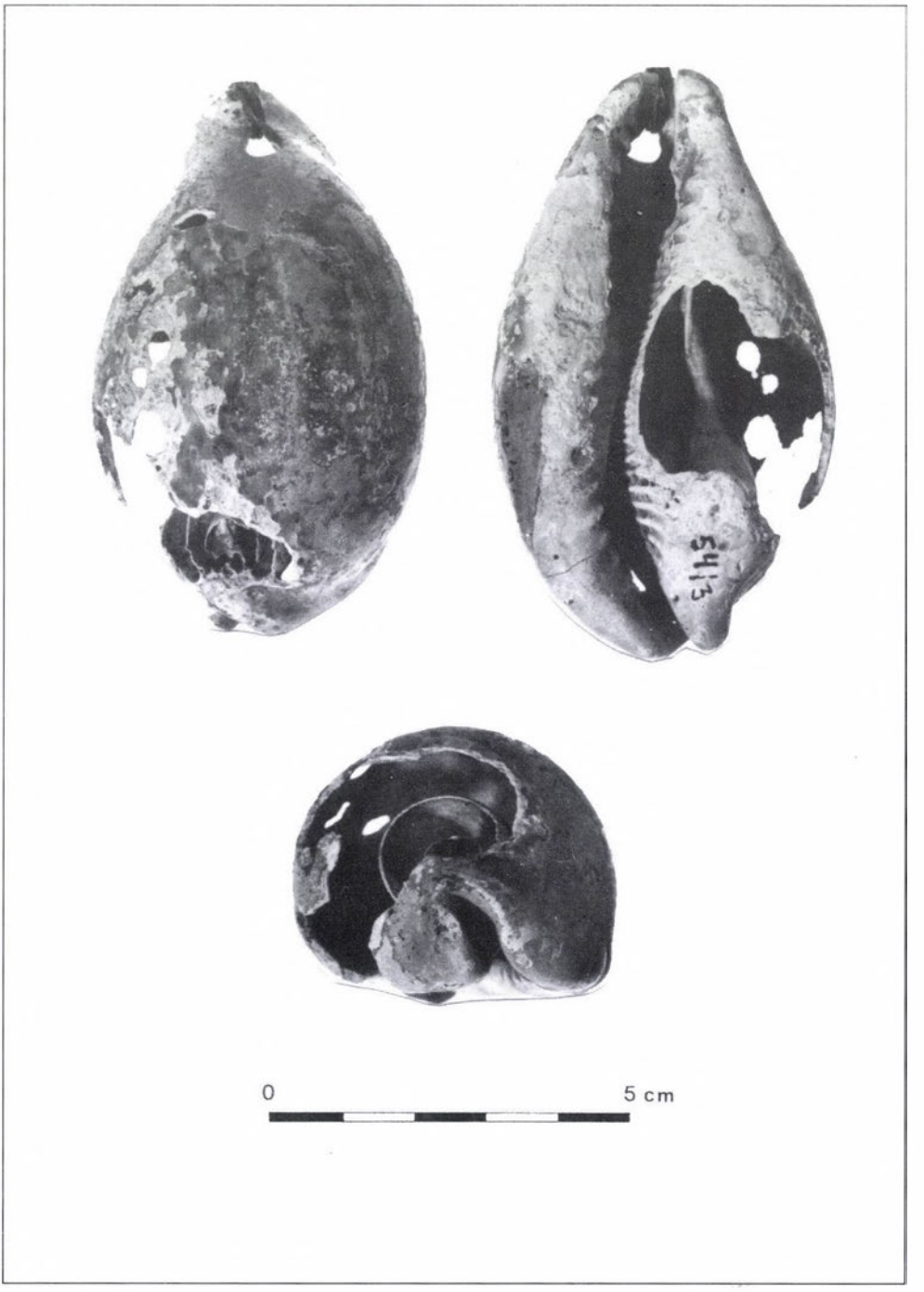


Fig. 7

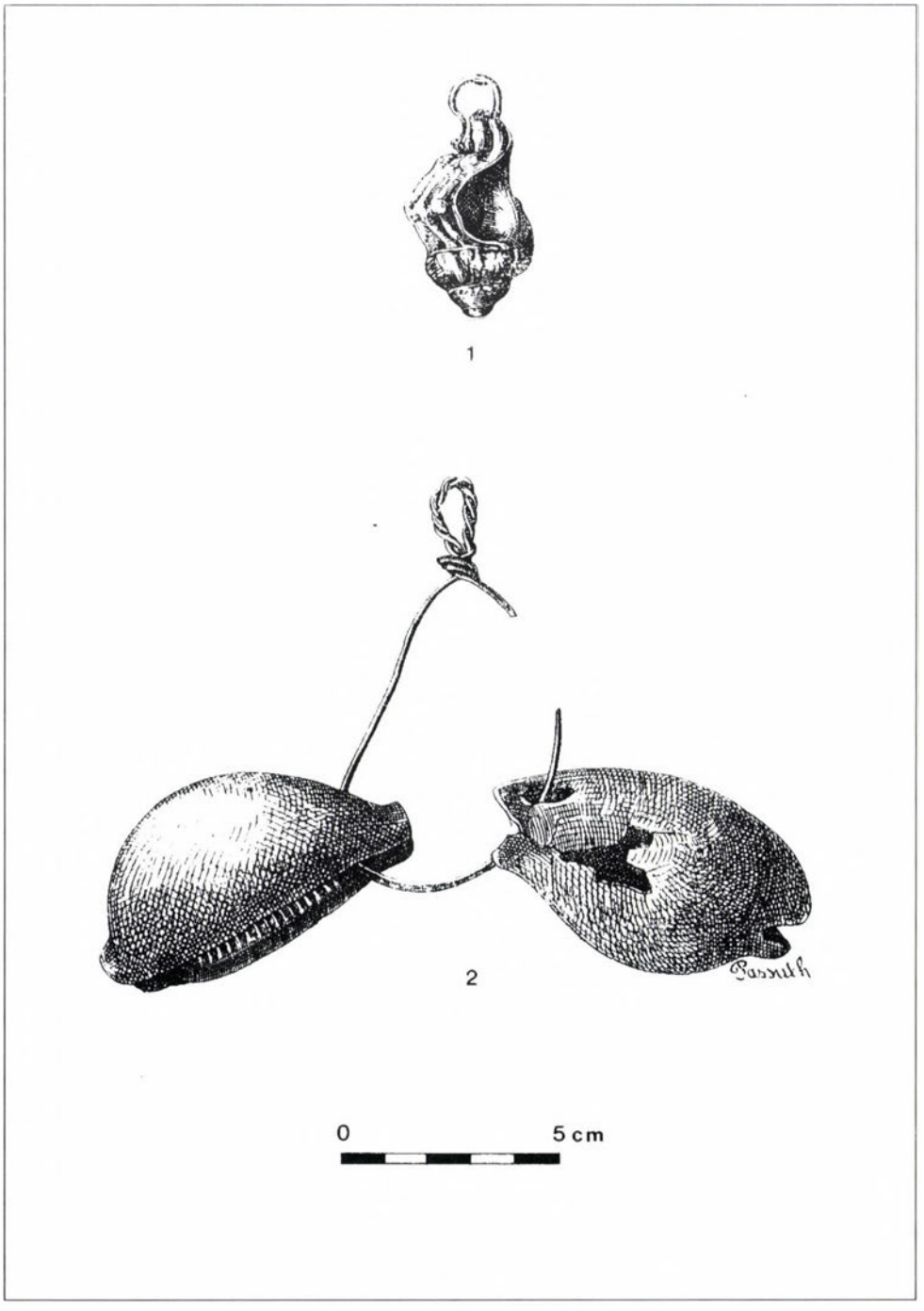


Fig. 8

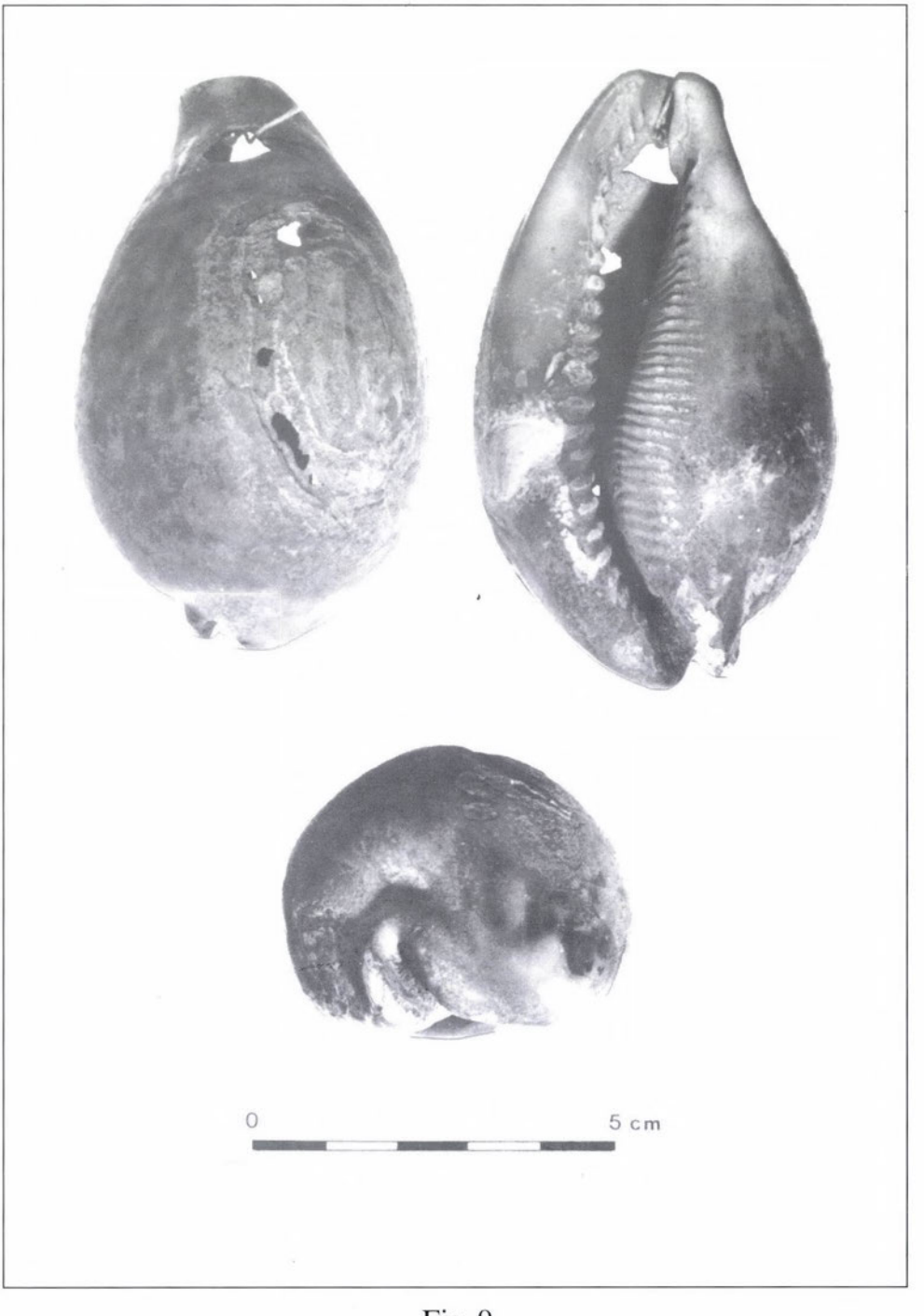


Fig. 9

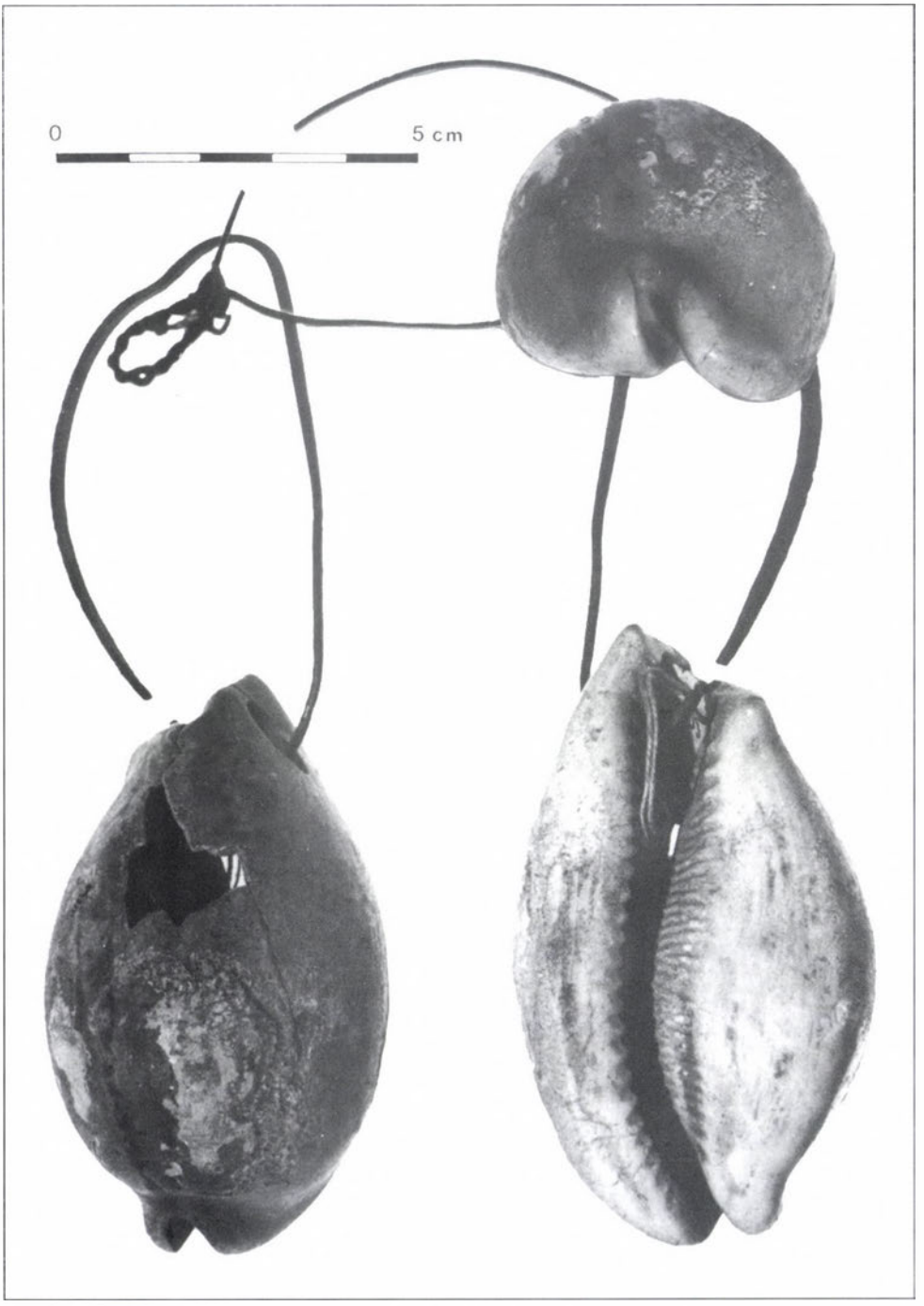


Fig. 10

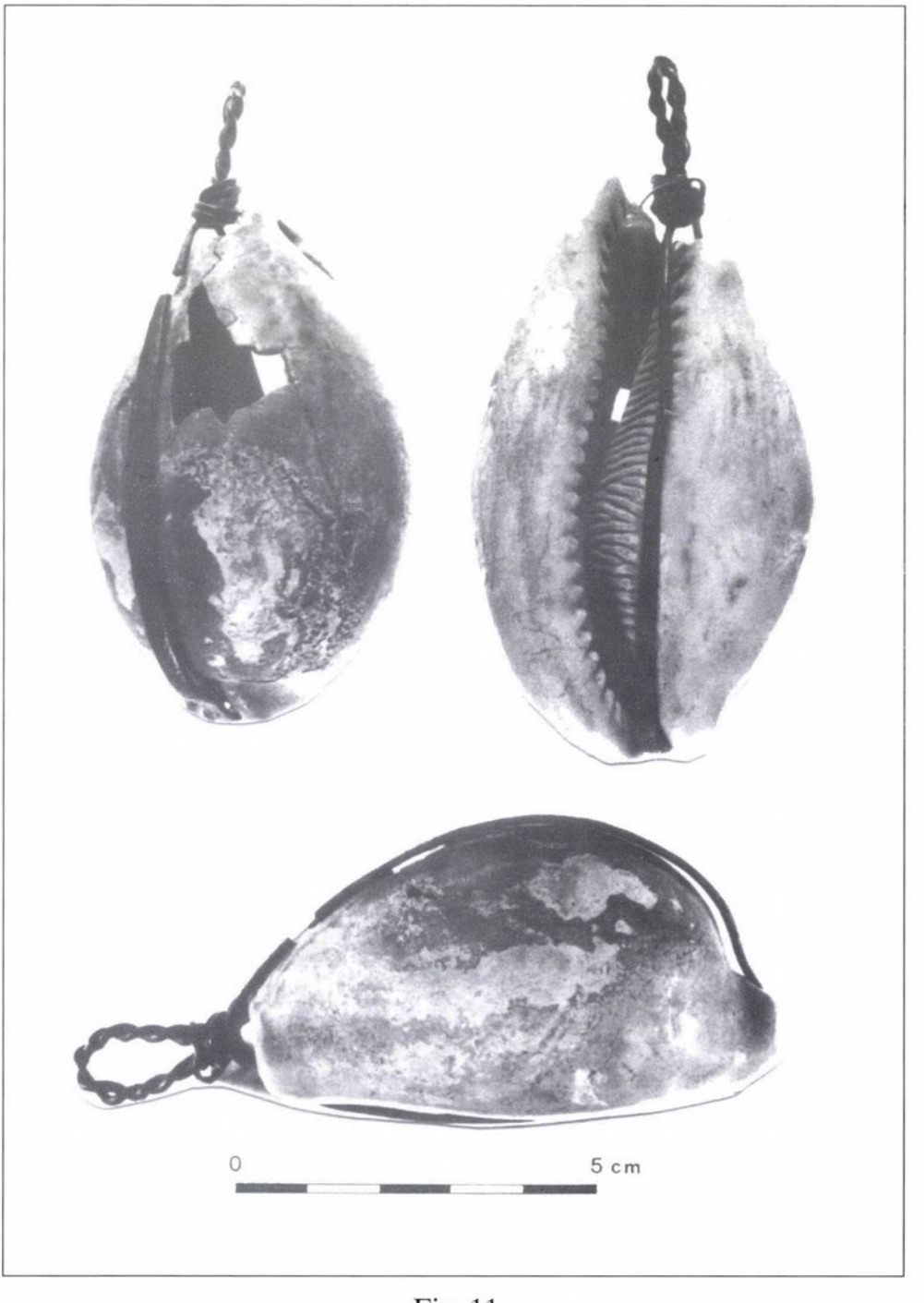


Fig. 11

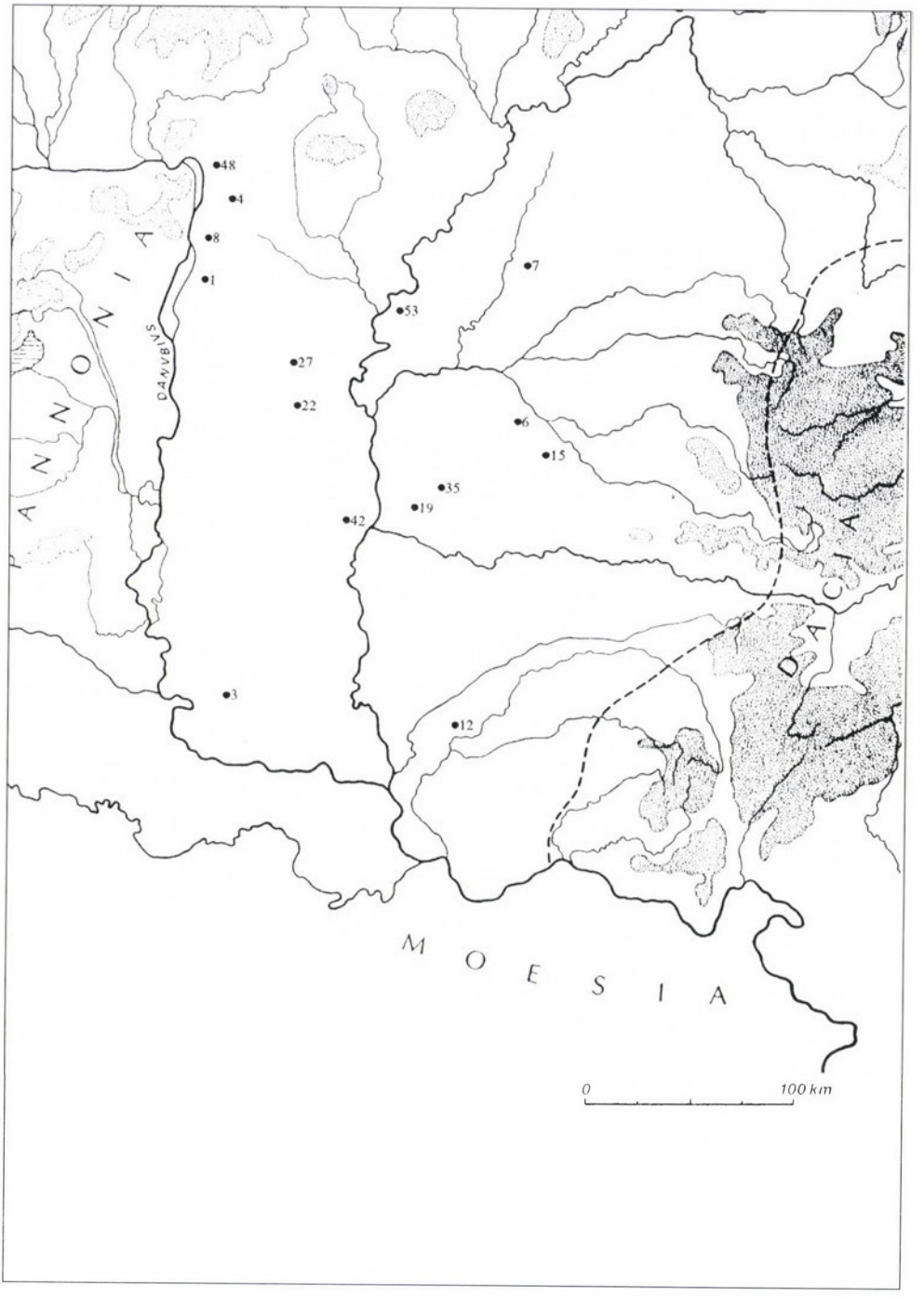

PANNONIA
DANVBIVS
DACIA
MOESIA
48
4
8
1
7
53
27
22
6
15
35
19
42
3
12
0
100 km

Fig. 12

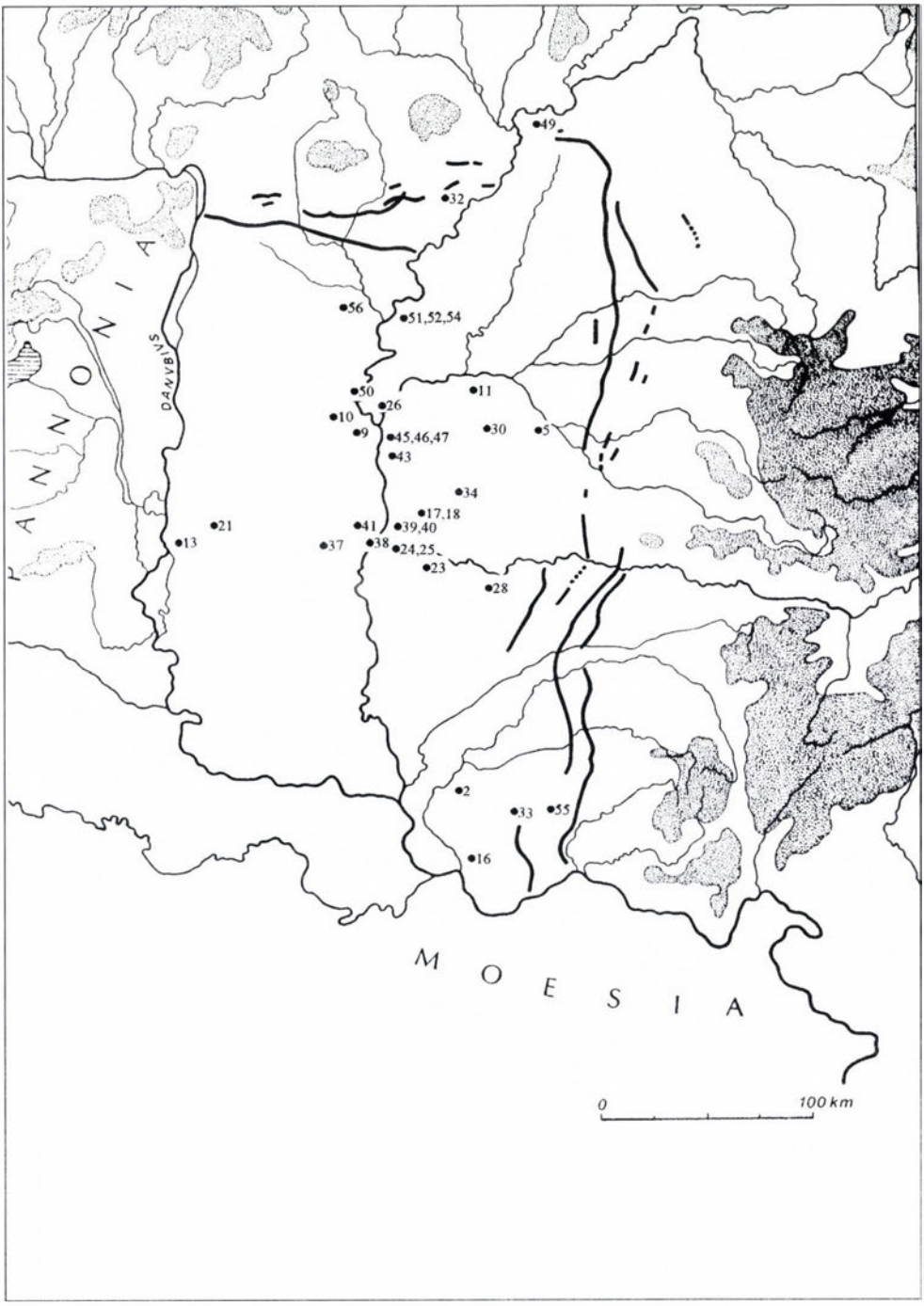

PANNONIA
DANVBIVS
MOESIA
49
32
56
51,52,54
50
26
11
10
9
45,46,47
30
5
43
34
17,18
21
41
39,40
13
37
38
24,25
23
28
2
33
55
16
0
100 km

Fig. 13

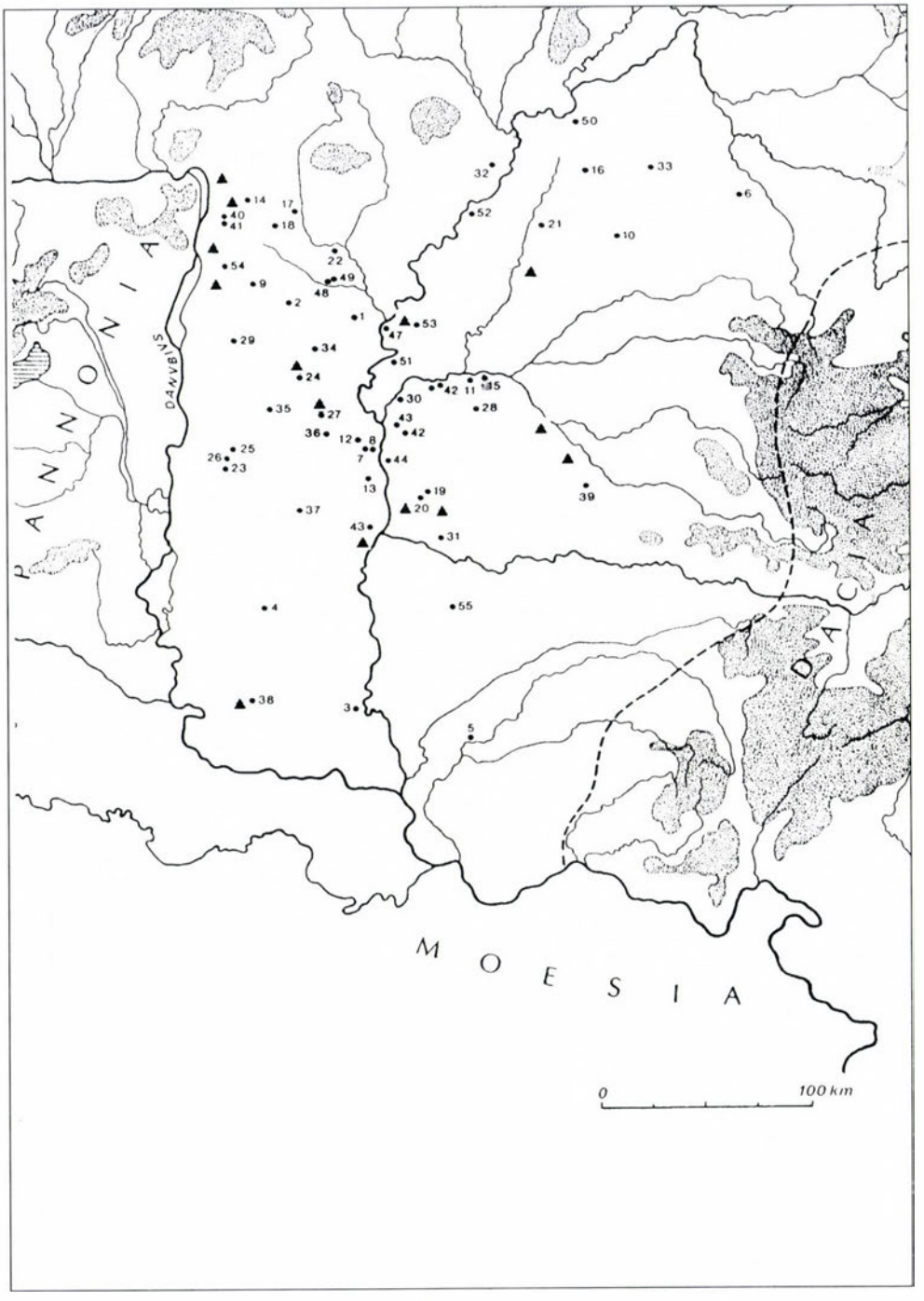


Fig. 14

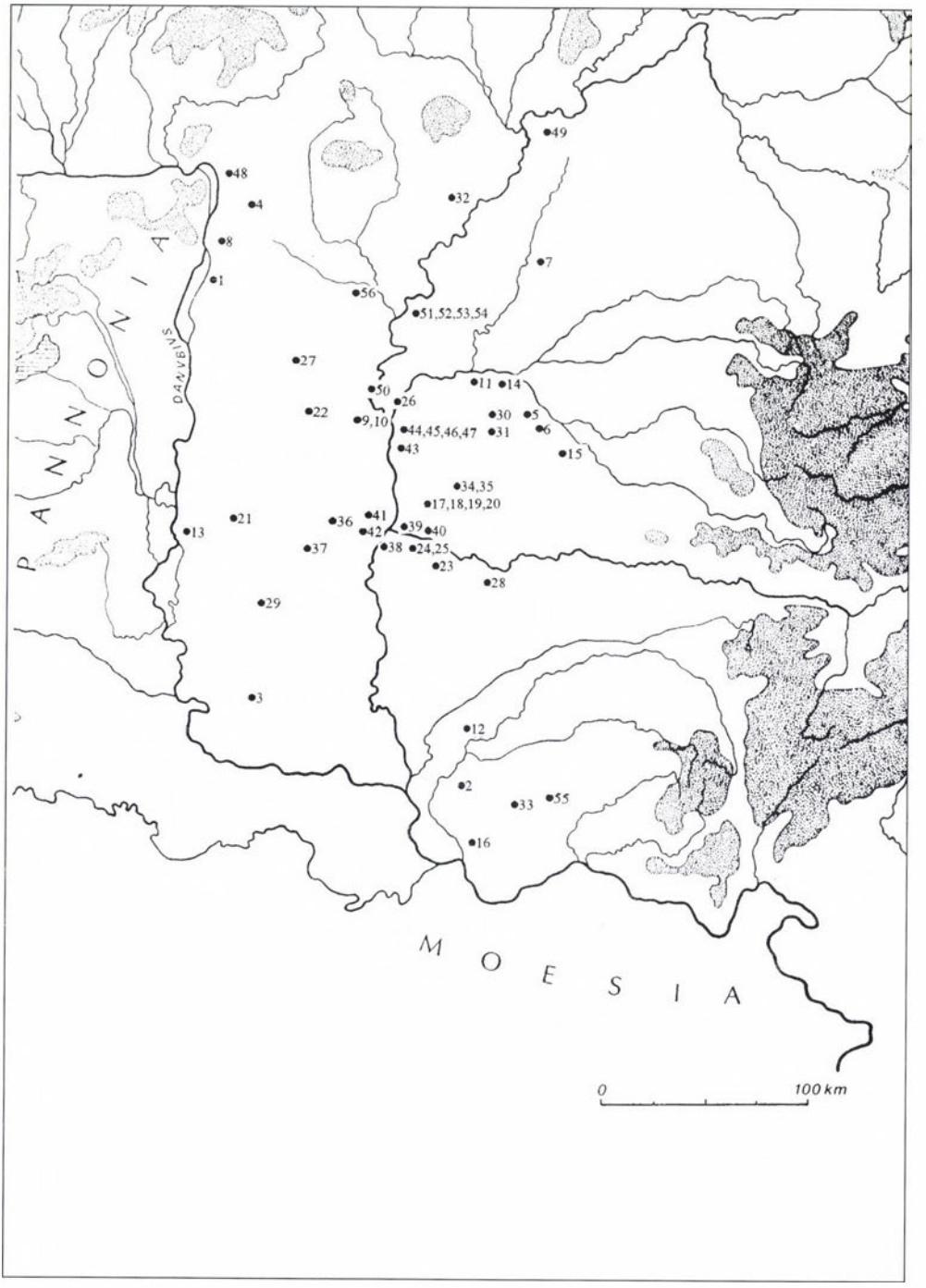
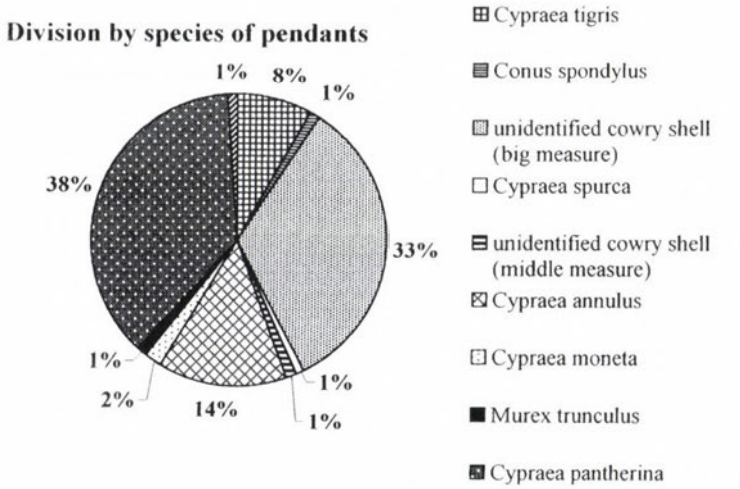
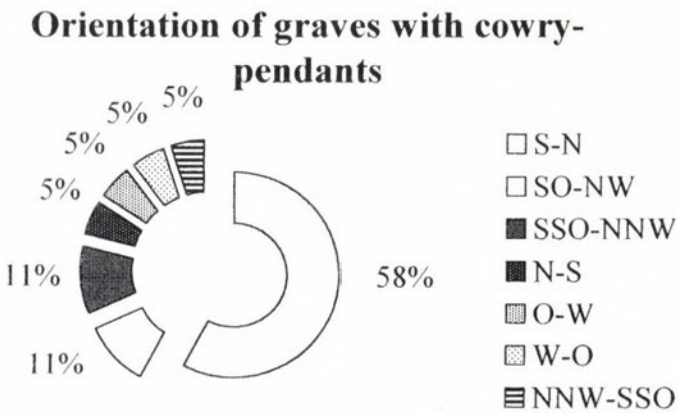

PANNONIA
DANVBIVS
MOESIA
48
4
8
1
49
32
7
56
51,52,53,54
27
50
26
11
14
22
9,10
44,45,46,47
30
31
5
6
43
15
34,35
17,18,19,20
21
13
36
41
42
39
40
37
38
24,25
23
28
29
3
12
2
33
55
16
0
100 km

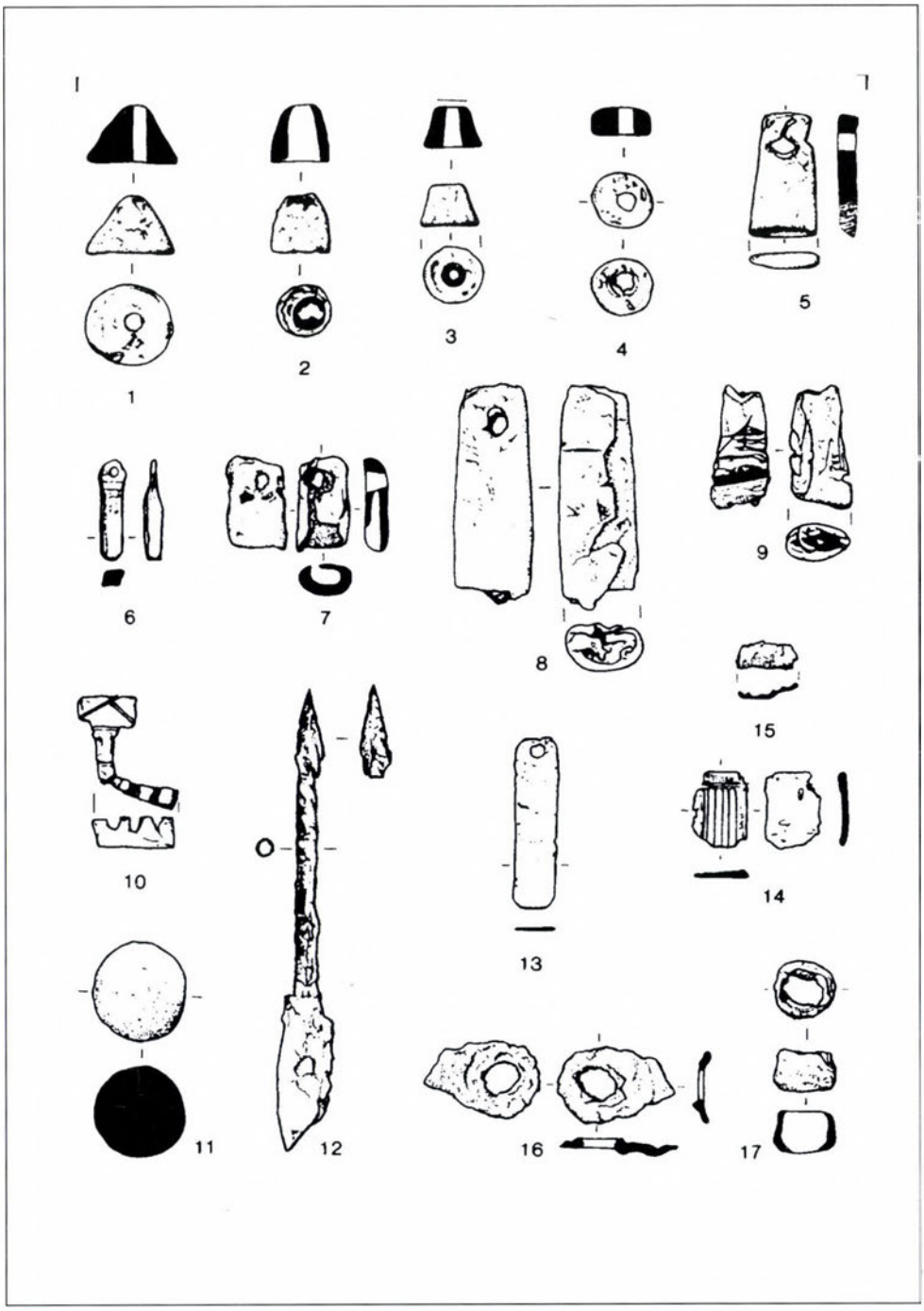
Fig. 15



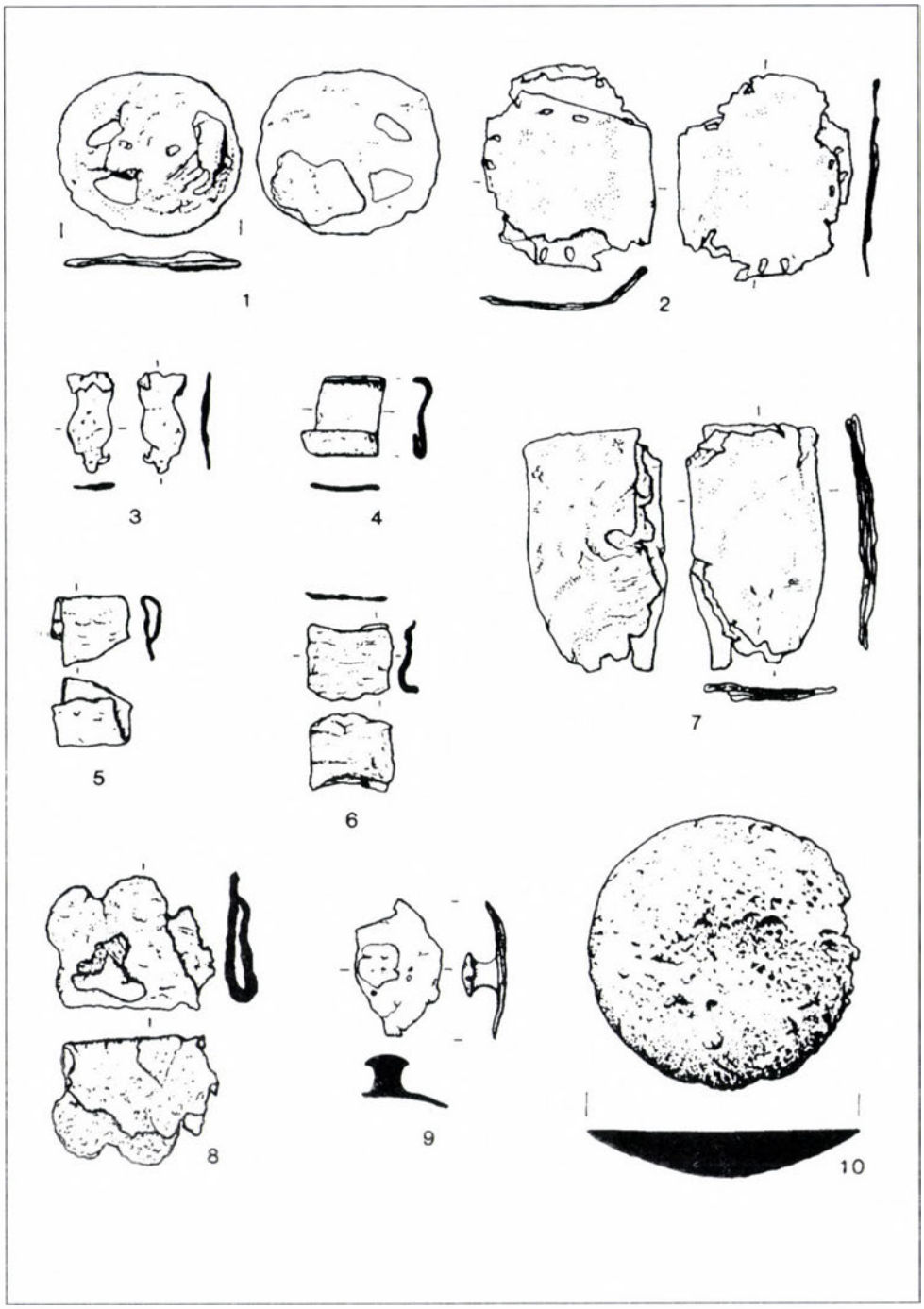
Graph. 1.



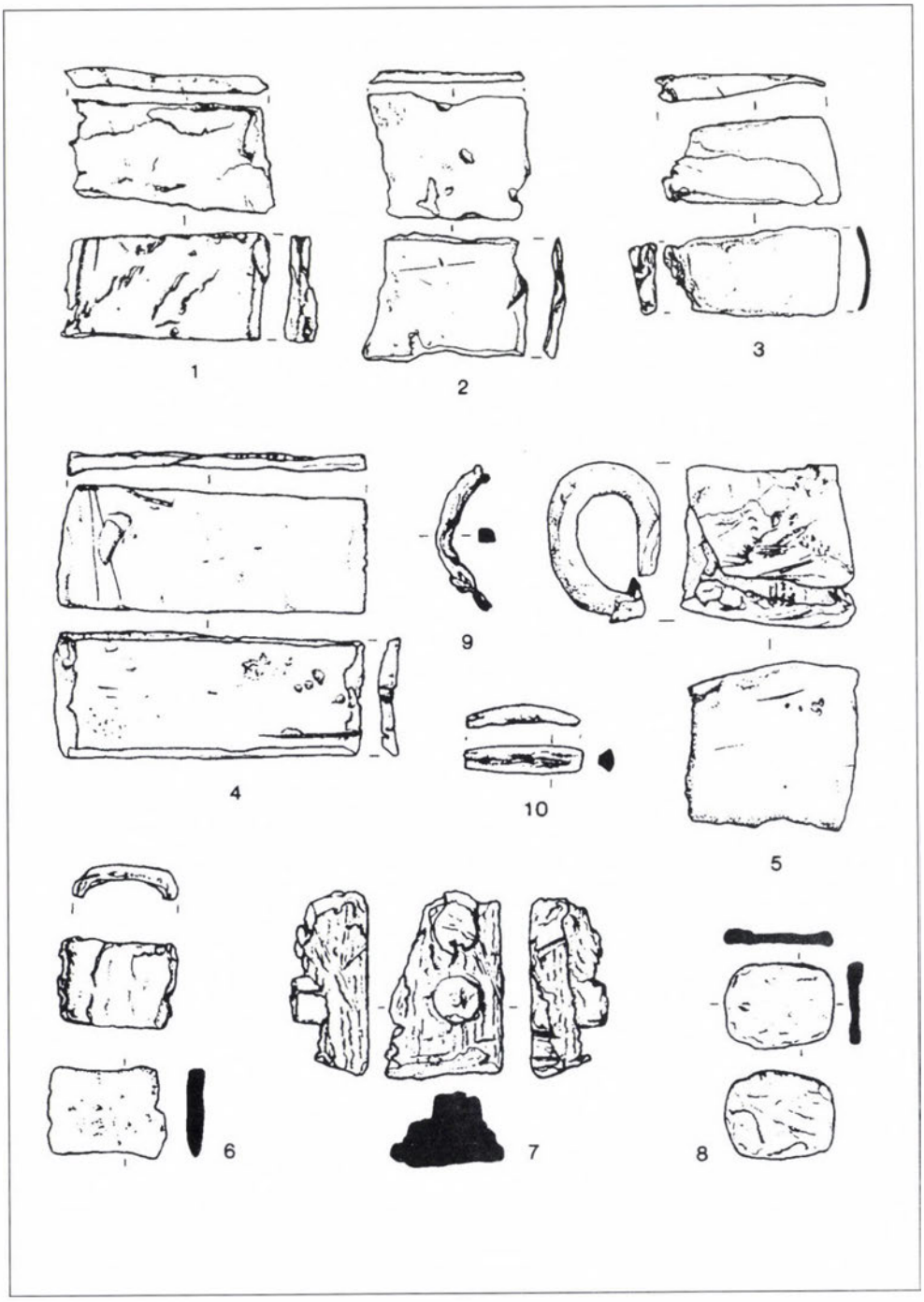
Graph. 2.



Taf. 1



Taf. 2



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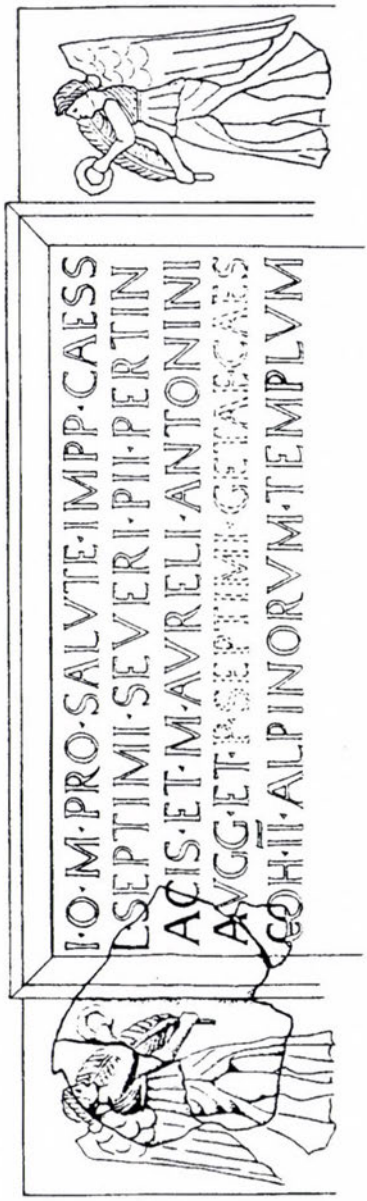
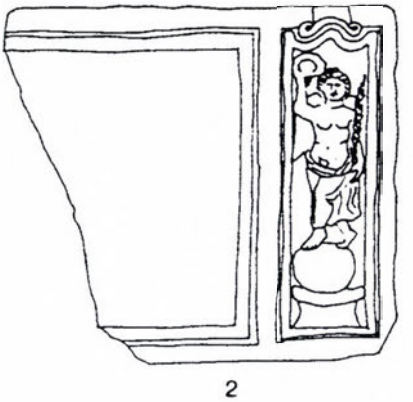

I·O·M·PRO·SALVTE·IMPP·CAESS
L·SEPTIMI·SEVERI·PII·PERTIN
AC·IS·ET·M·AVRELI·ANTONINI
AVGG·ET·P·SEPTIMI·GETAE·CAESS
COH·II·ALPINORVM·TEMPLVM
0
50 cm

Abb. 1

1

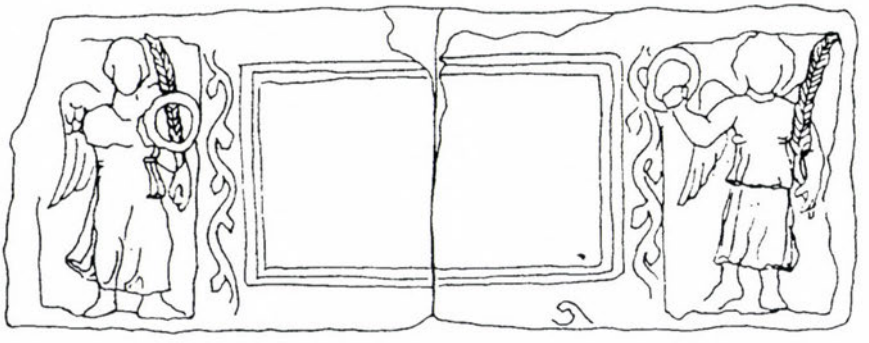


2

3

Abb. 2

1



2

Abb. 3

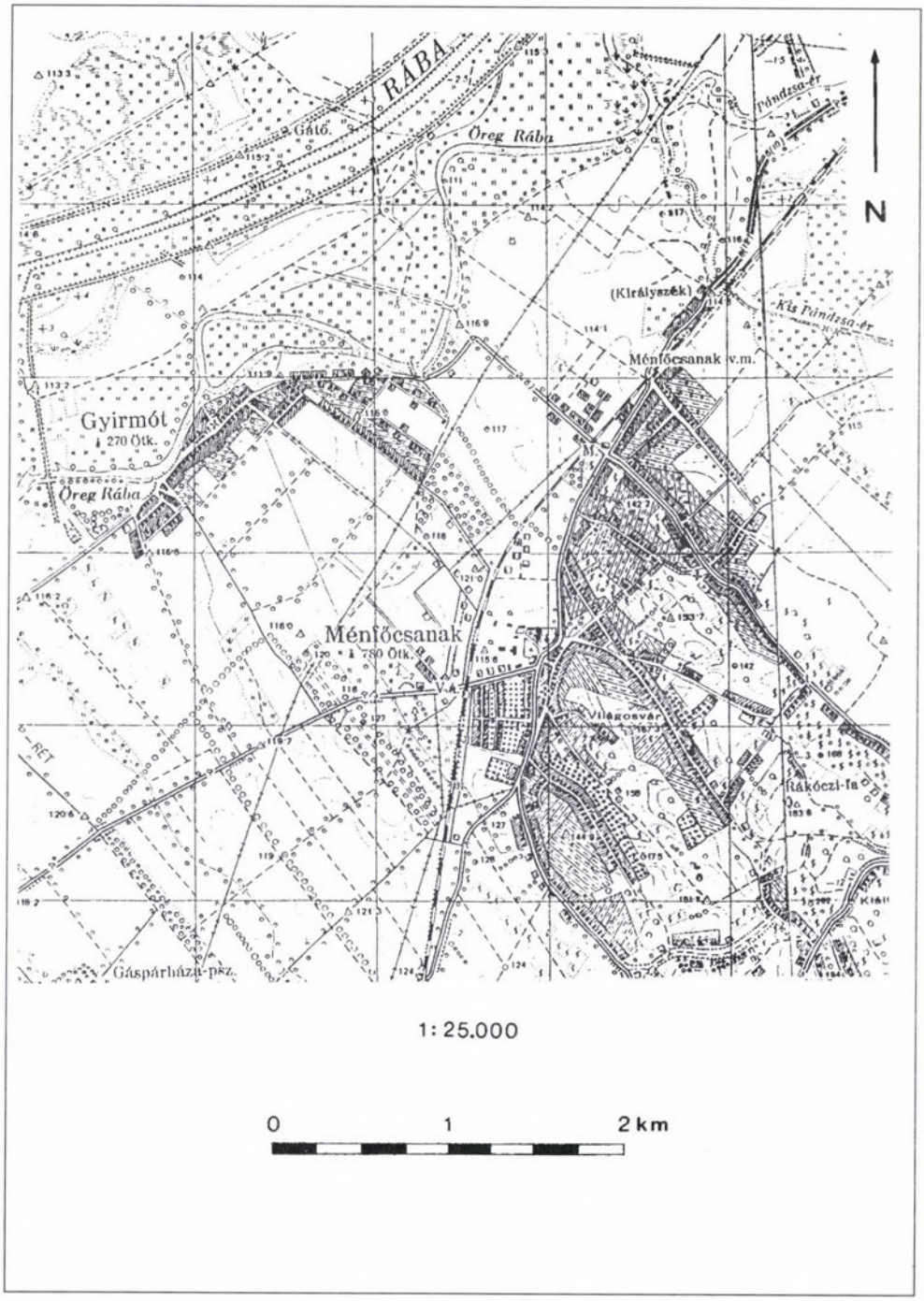
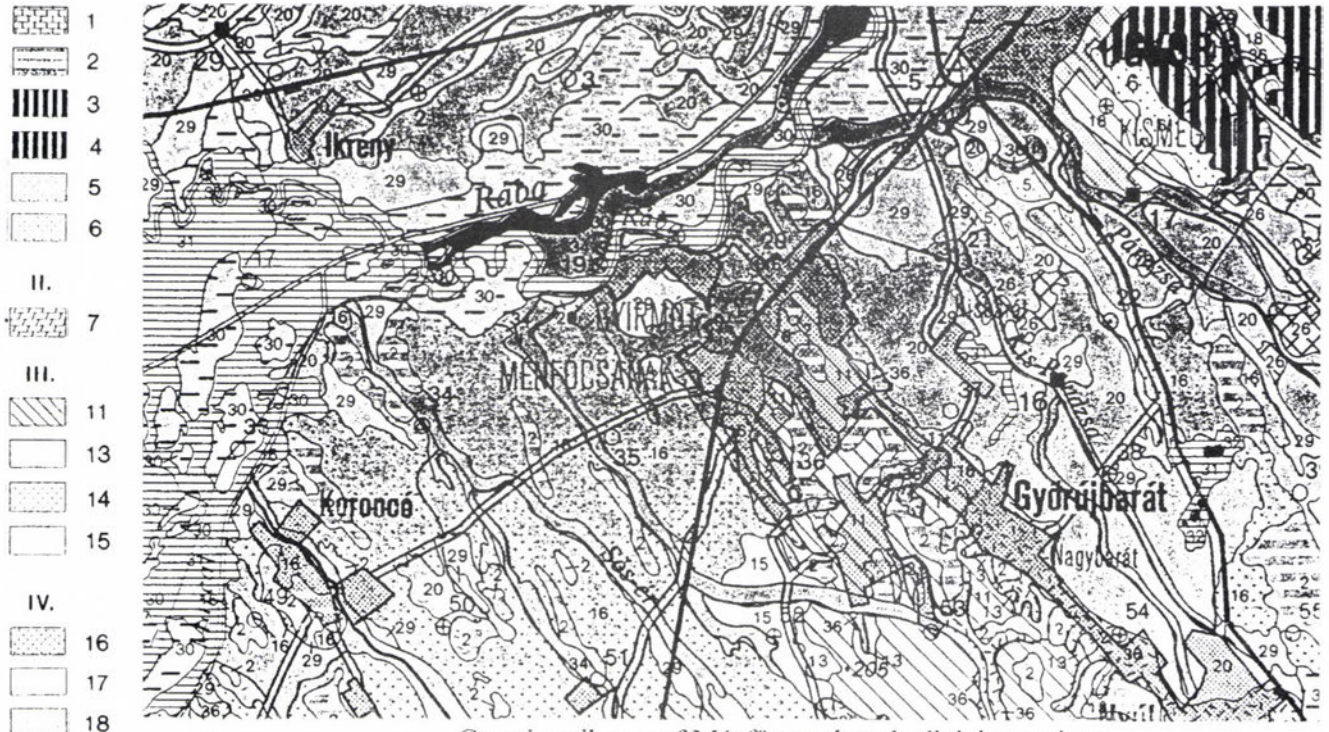
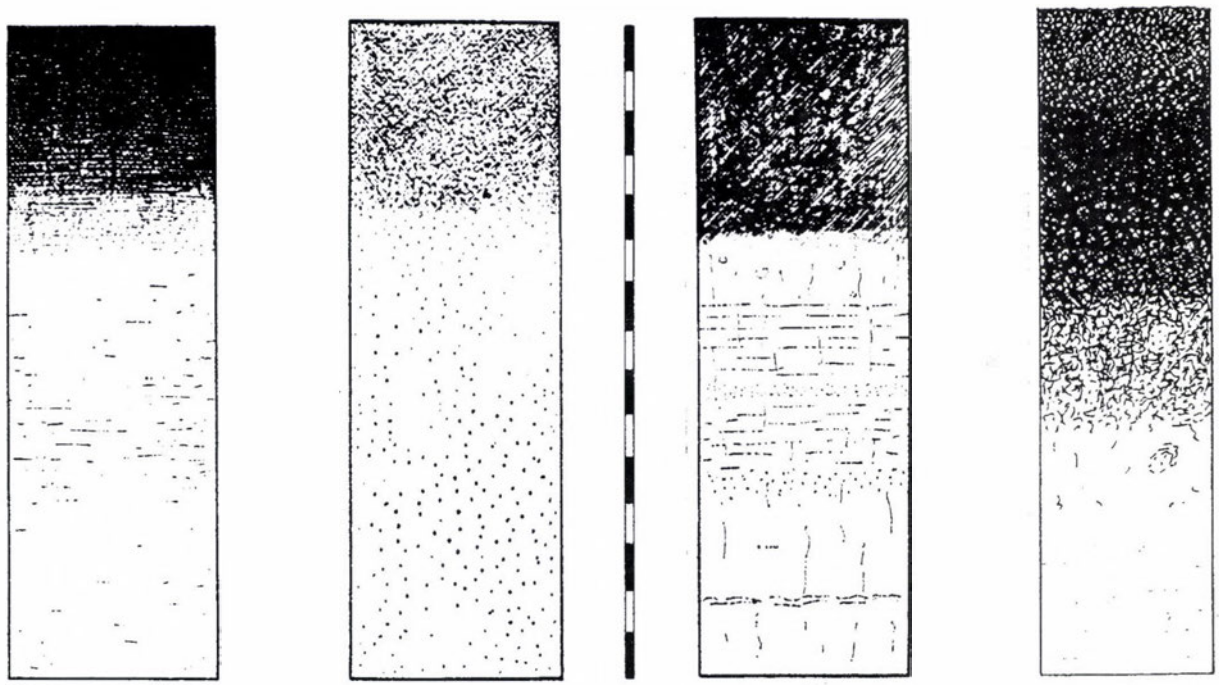

RÁBA
Gálő
Öreg Rába
Pándzsa-ér
N
(Királyszék)
Kis Pándzsa-ér
Ménfőcsanak v.m.
Gyirmót
270 Ötk.
Öreg Rába
Ménfőcsanak
780 Ötk.
Világosvár
Rákóczi-fa
RET
Gáspárháza-pkz.
1: 25.000
0
1
2 km

Plate I

Győr-Dél genetic soil map

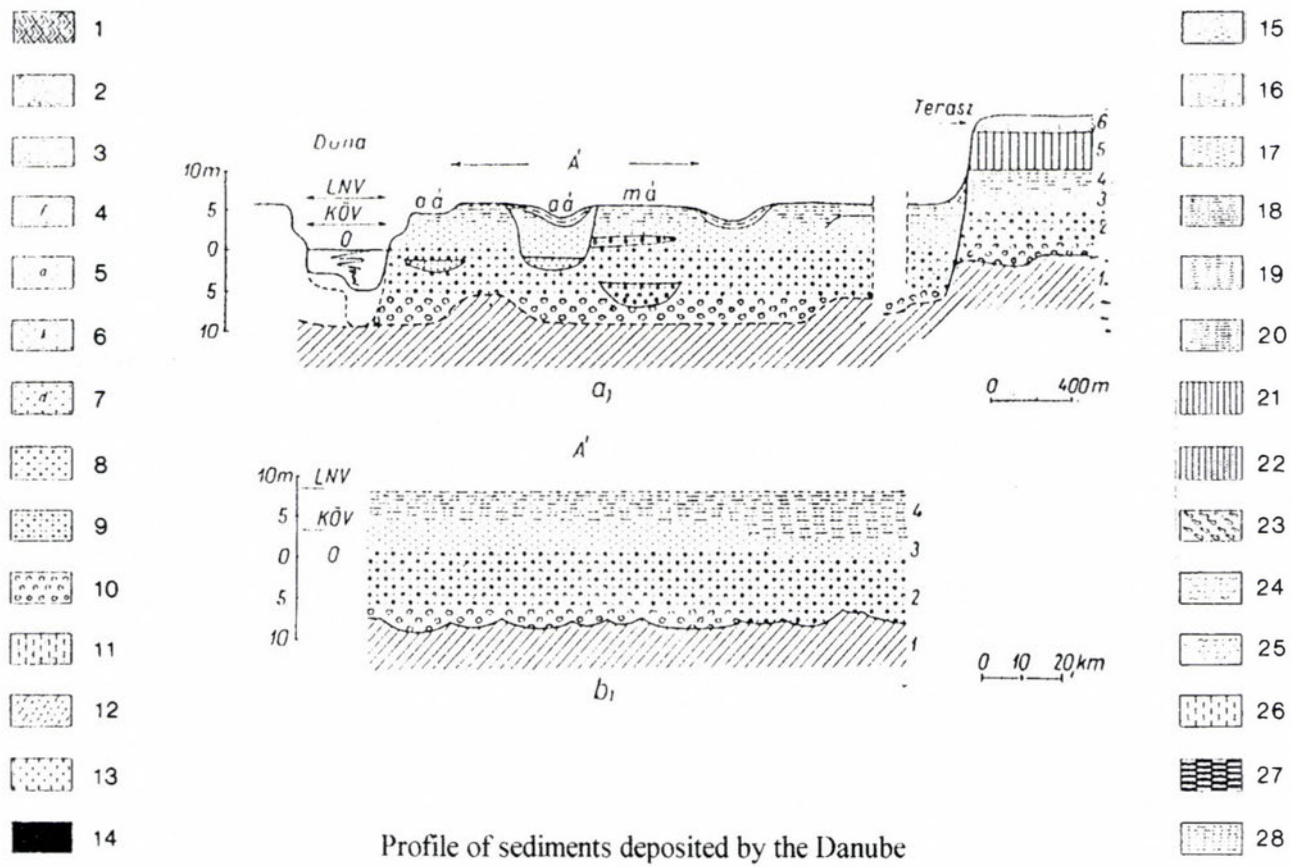


Genetic soil map of Ménfőcsanak and adjoining regions



Characteristic soil profiles north of Ménfőcsanak

Plate III



Profile of sediments deposited by the Danube

Plate IV

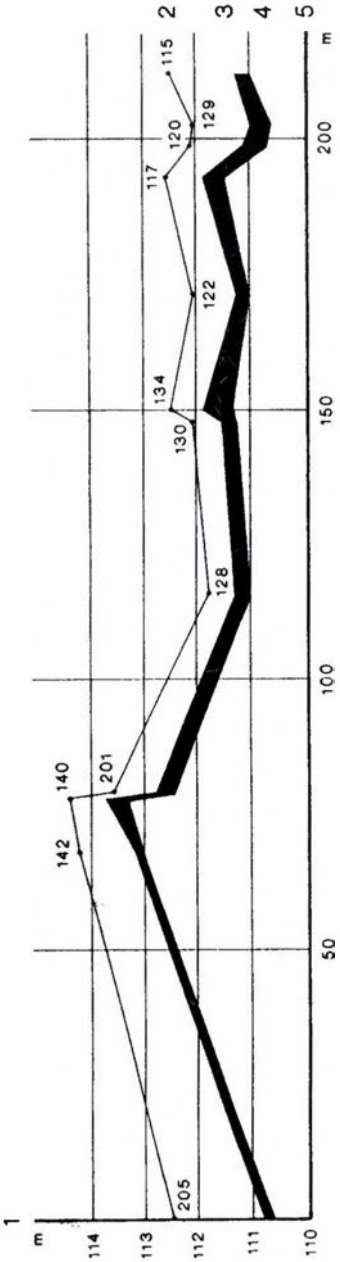

1
2
3
4
5
m
114
113
112
111
110
m
50
100
150
200
205
142
140
201
128
130
134
122
117
120
129
115

Plate V

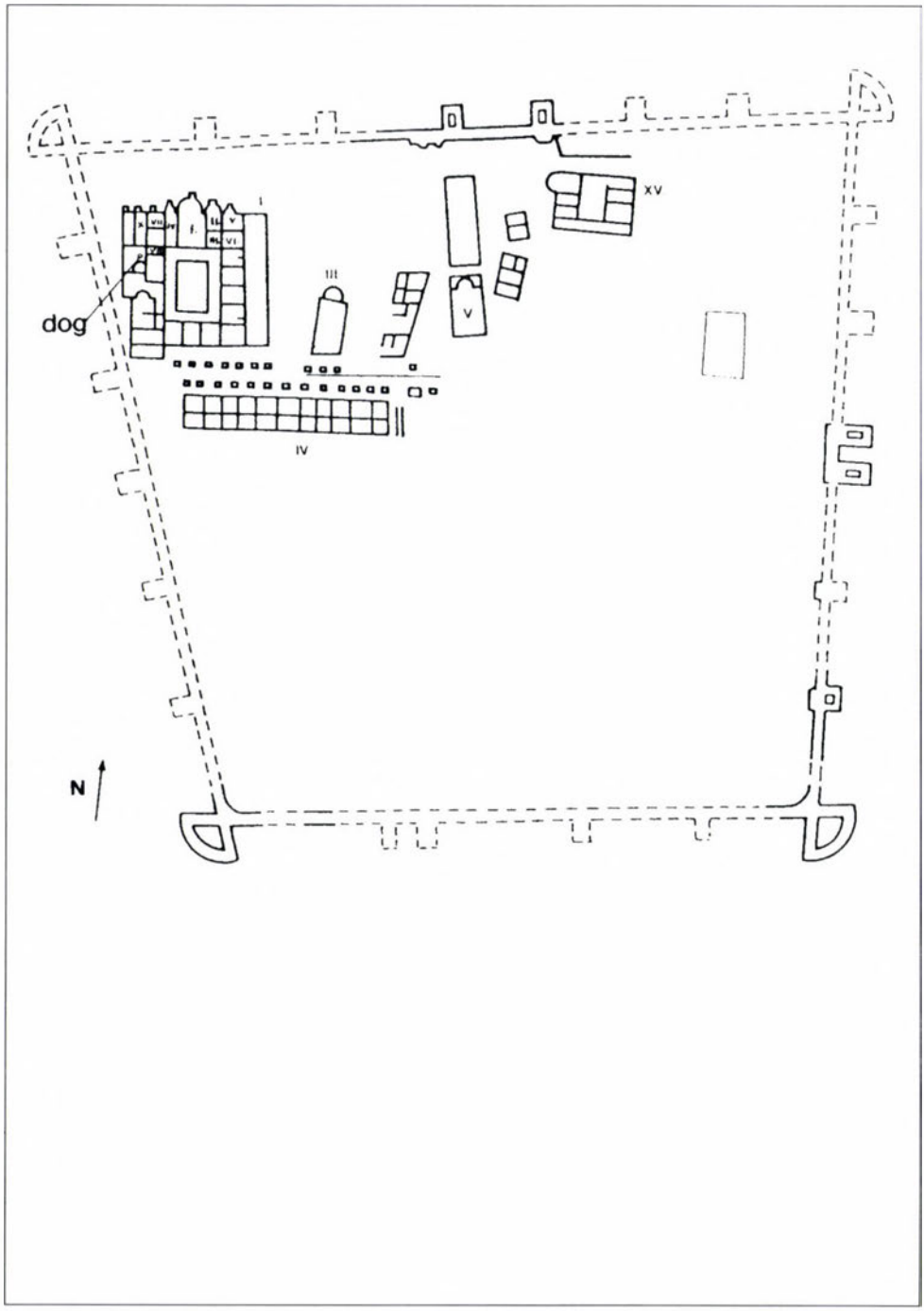
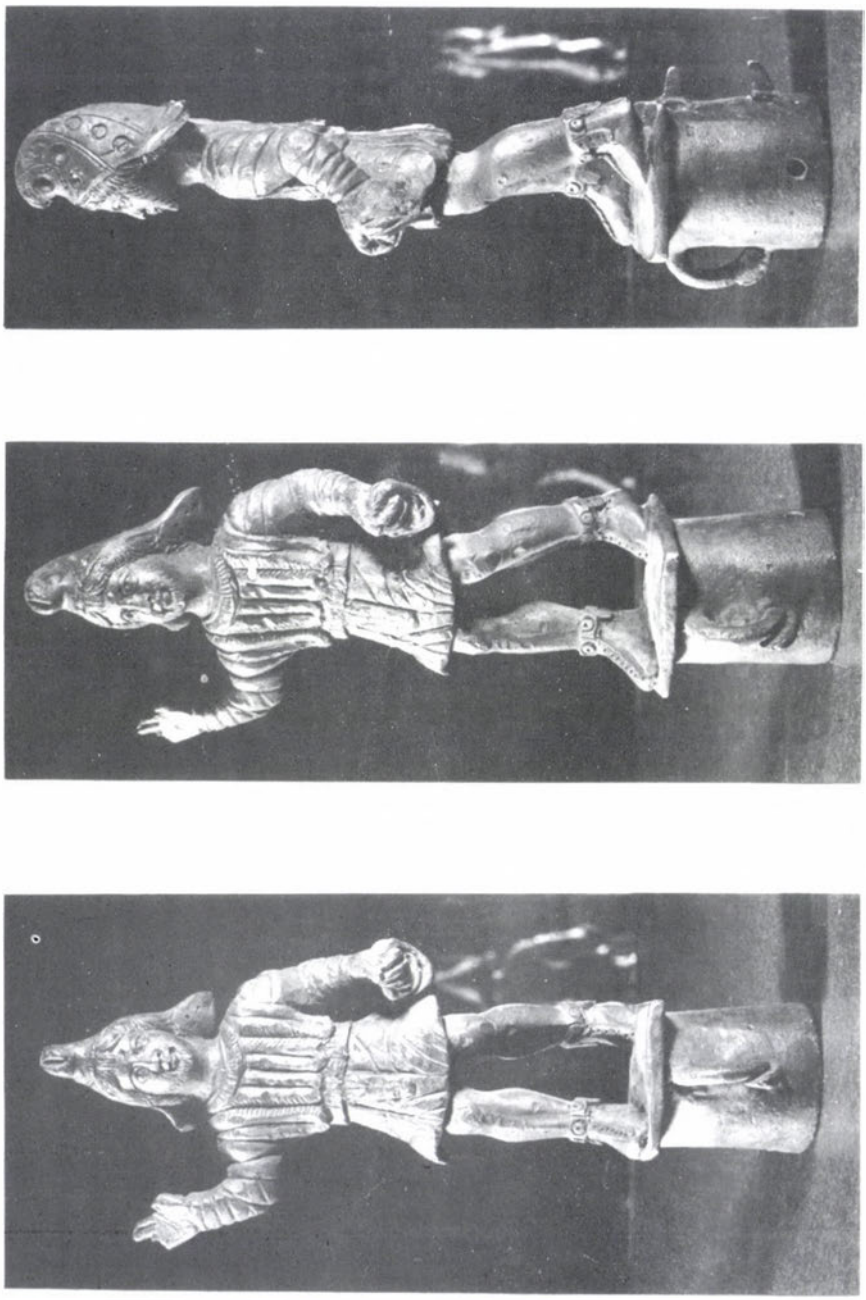


Fig. 1

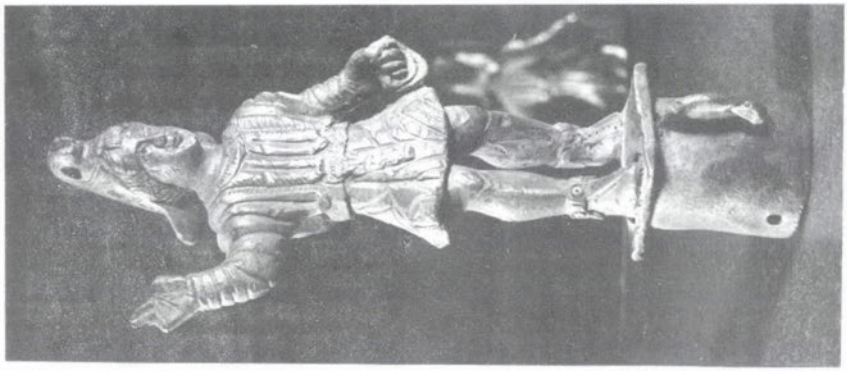
2

Fig. 2



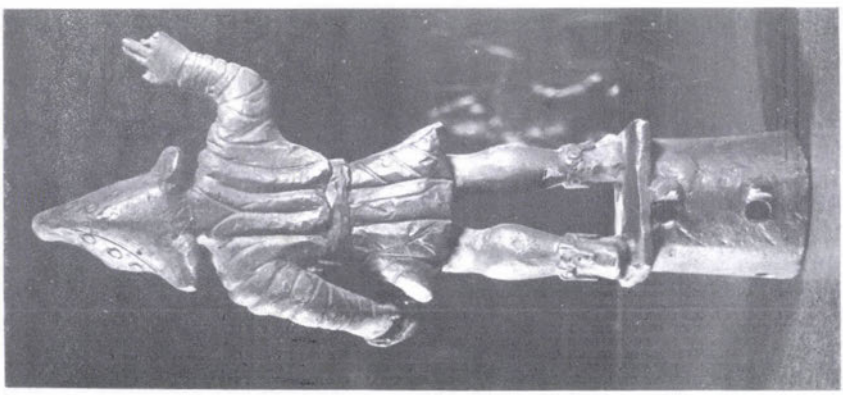
3 4 5

Figs. 3, 4, 5



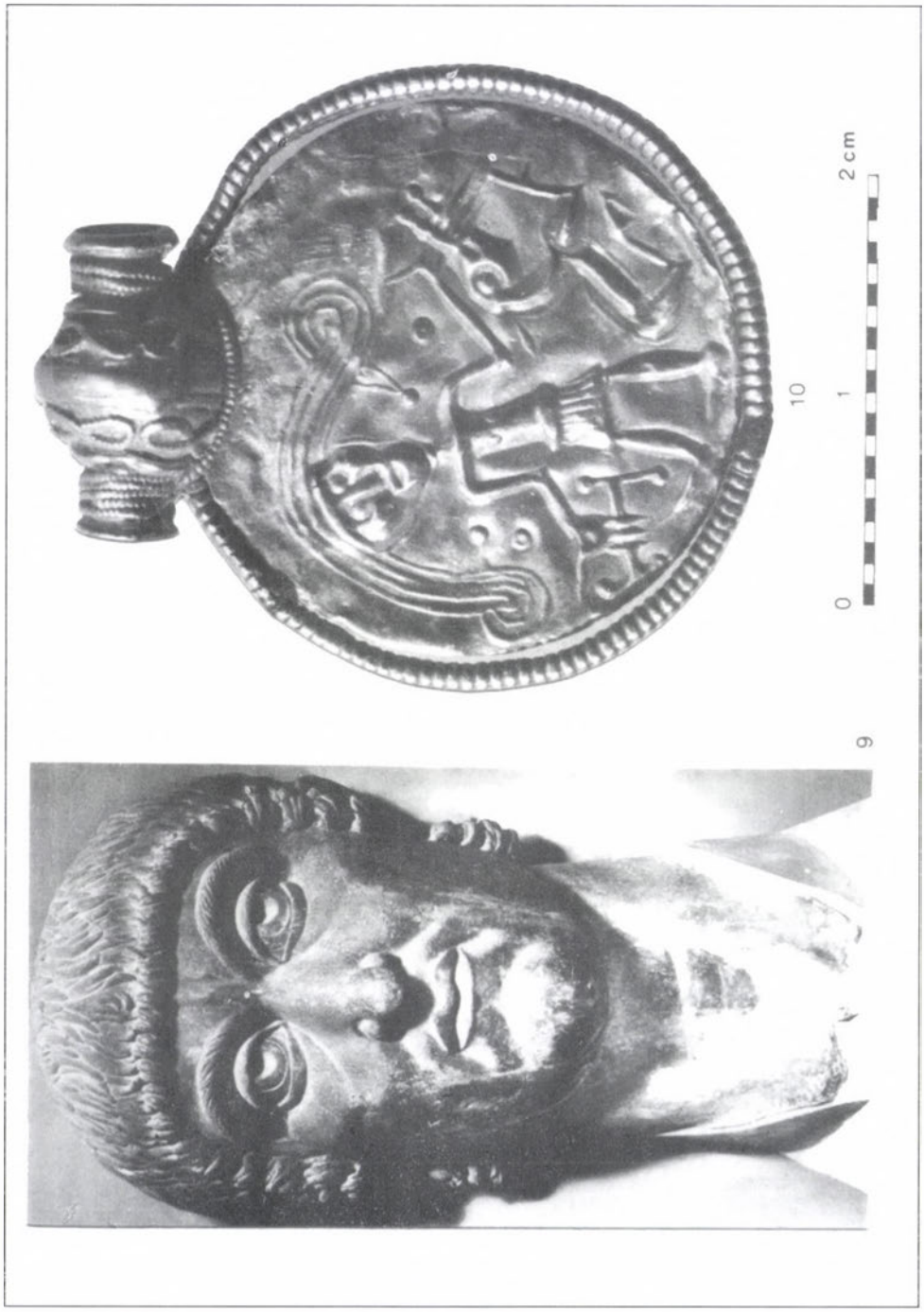
8

7



6

Figs. 6, 7, 8



Figs. 9, 10

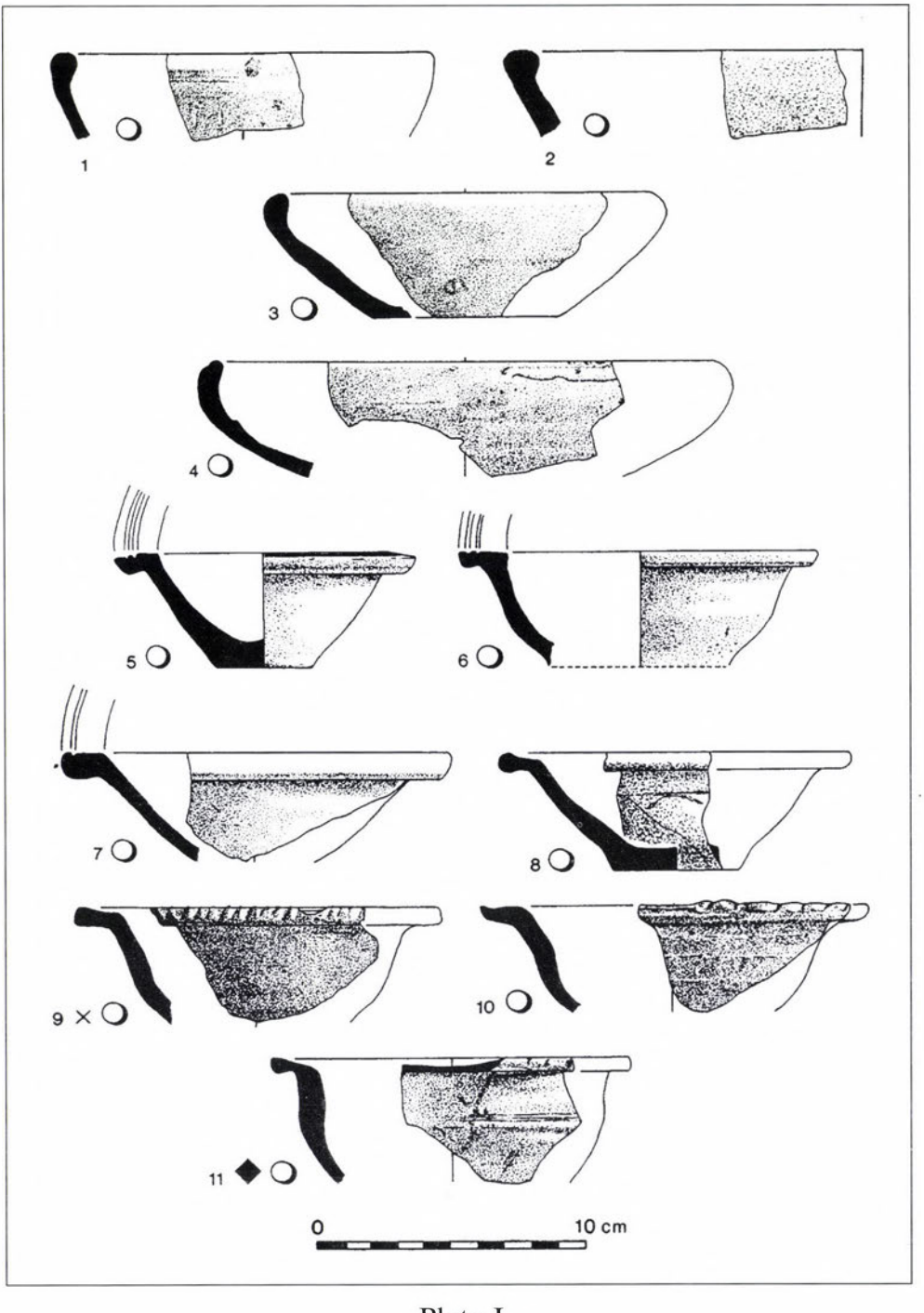


Plate I

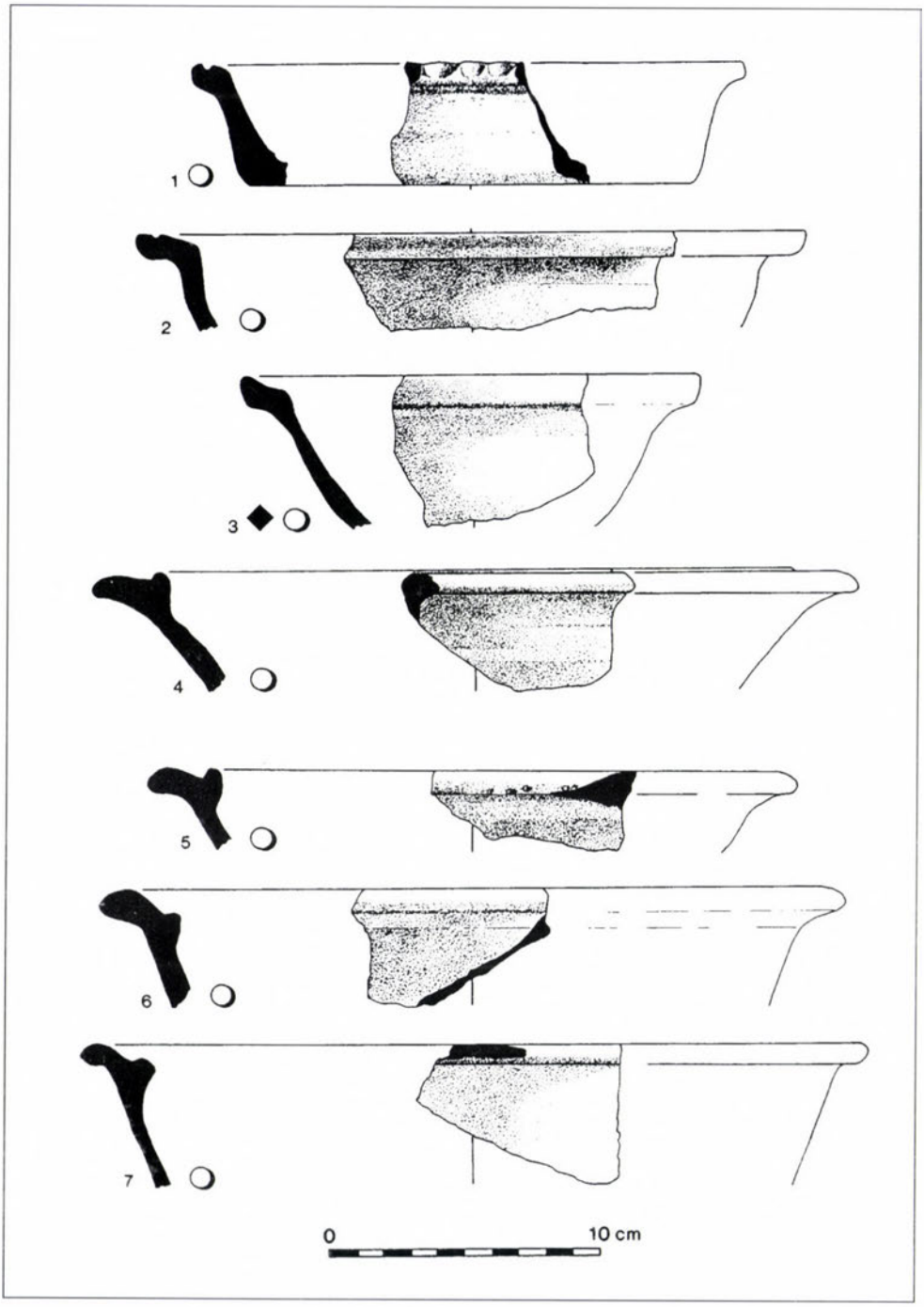


Plate II

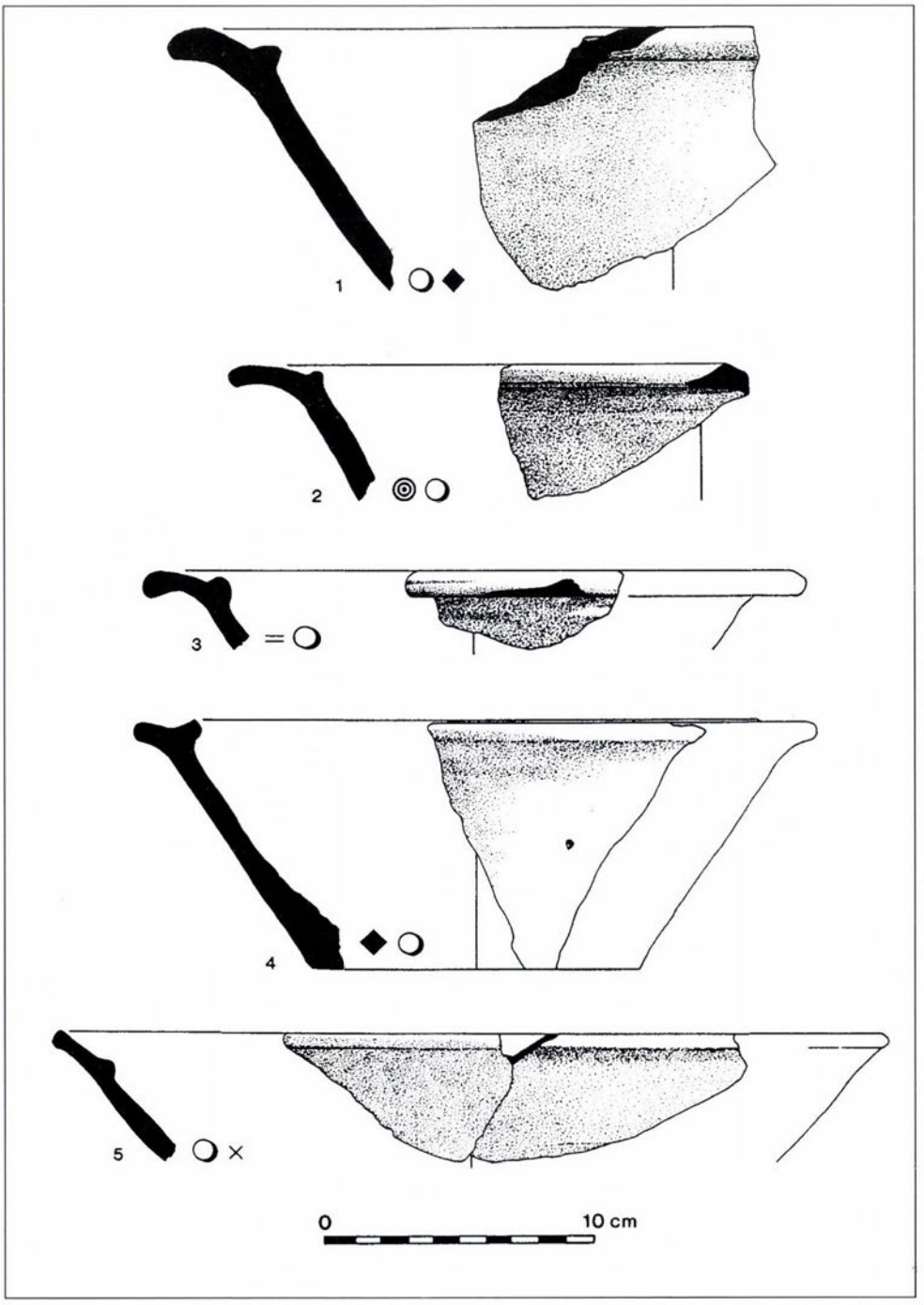


Plate III

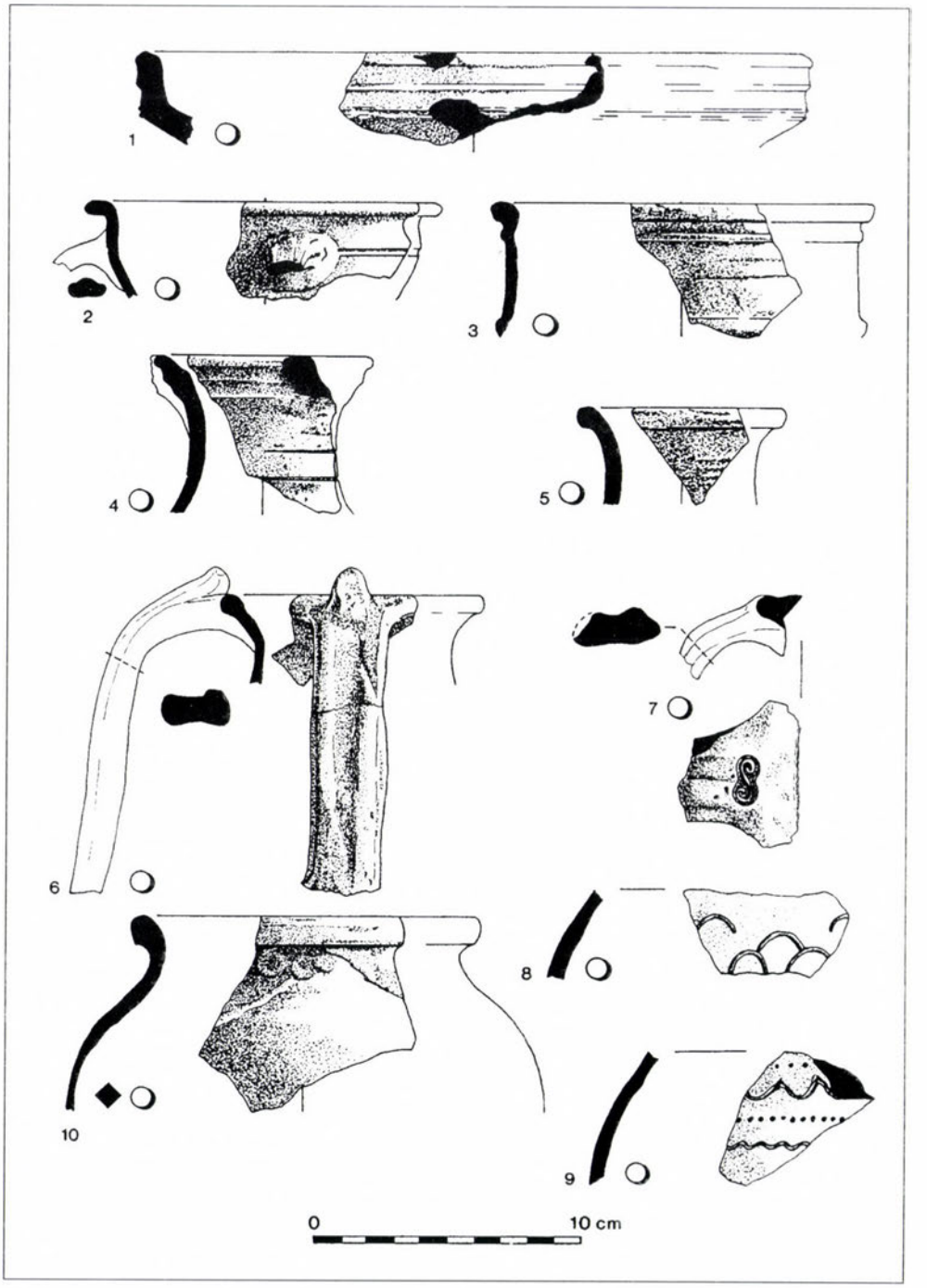


Plate IV

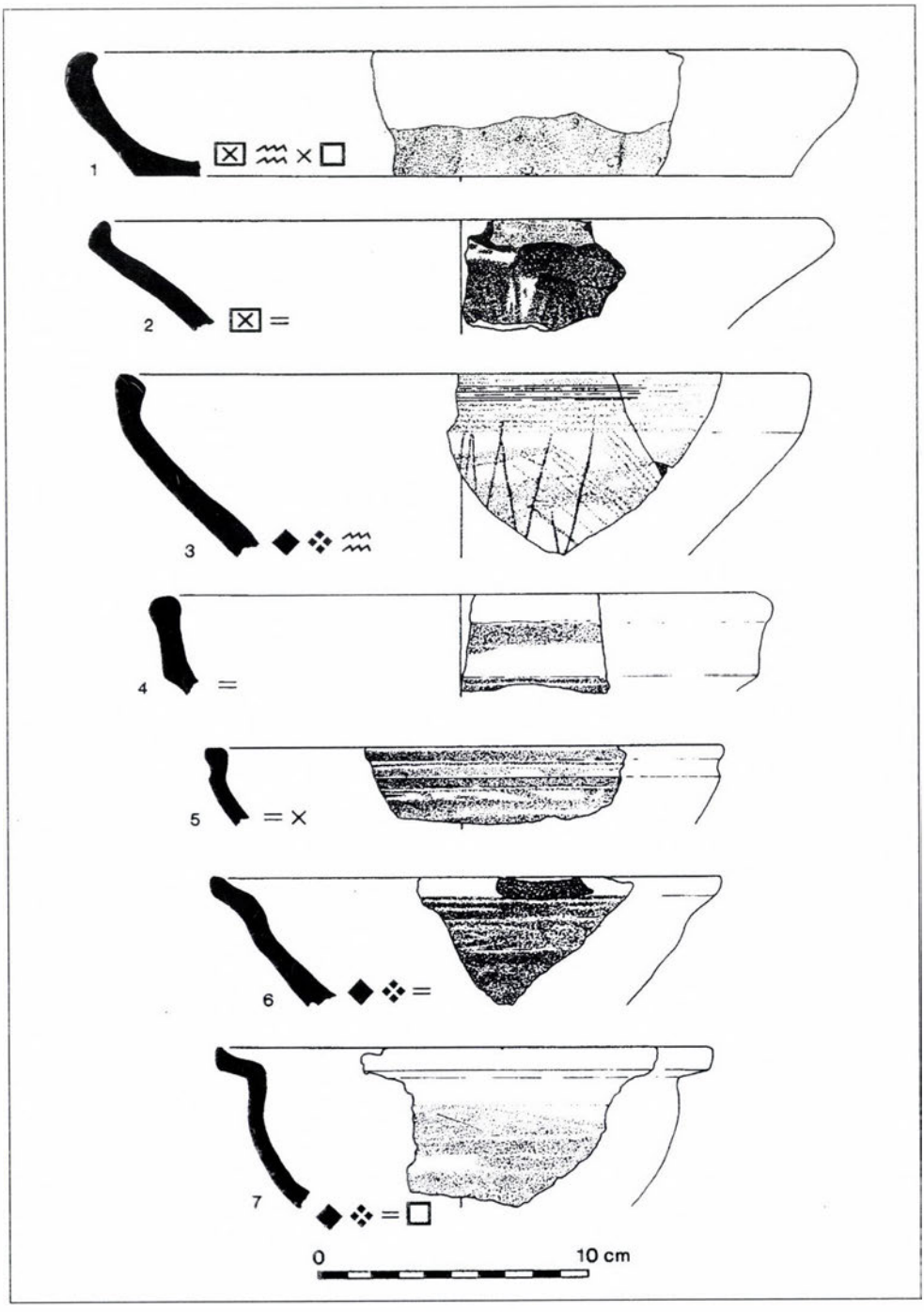


Plate V

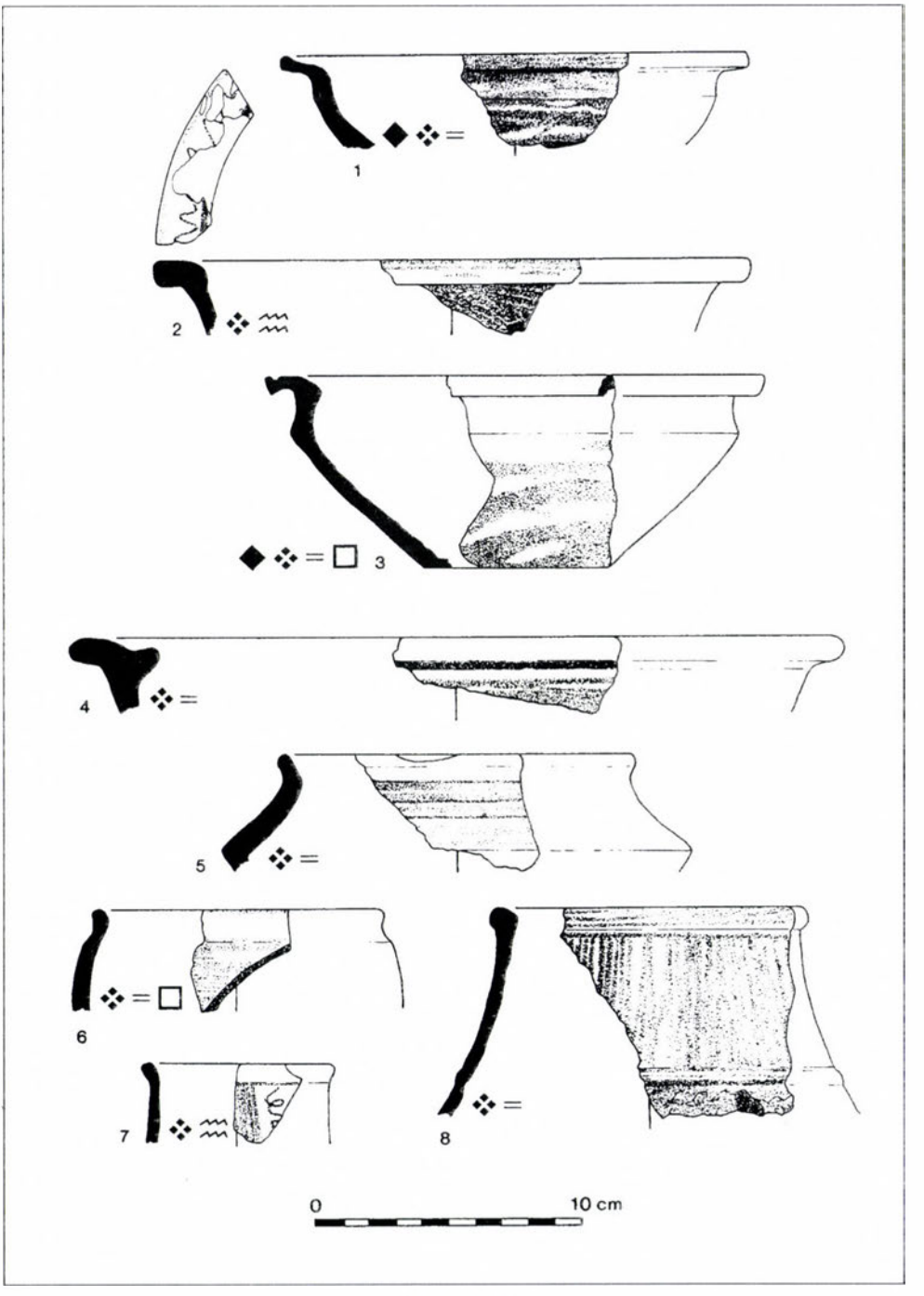


Plate VI

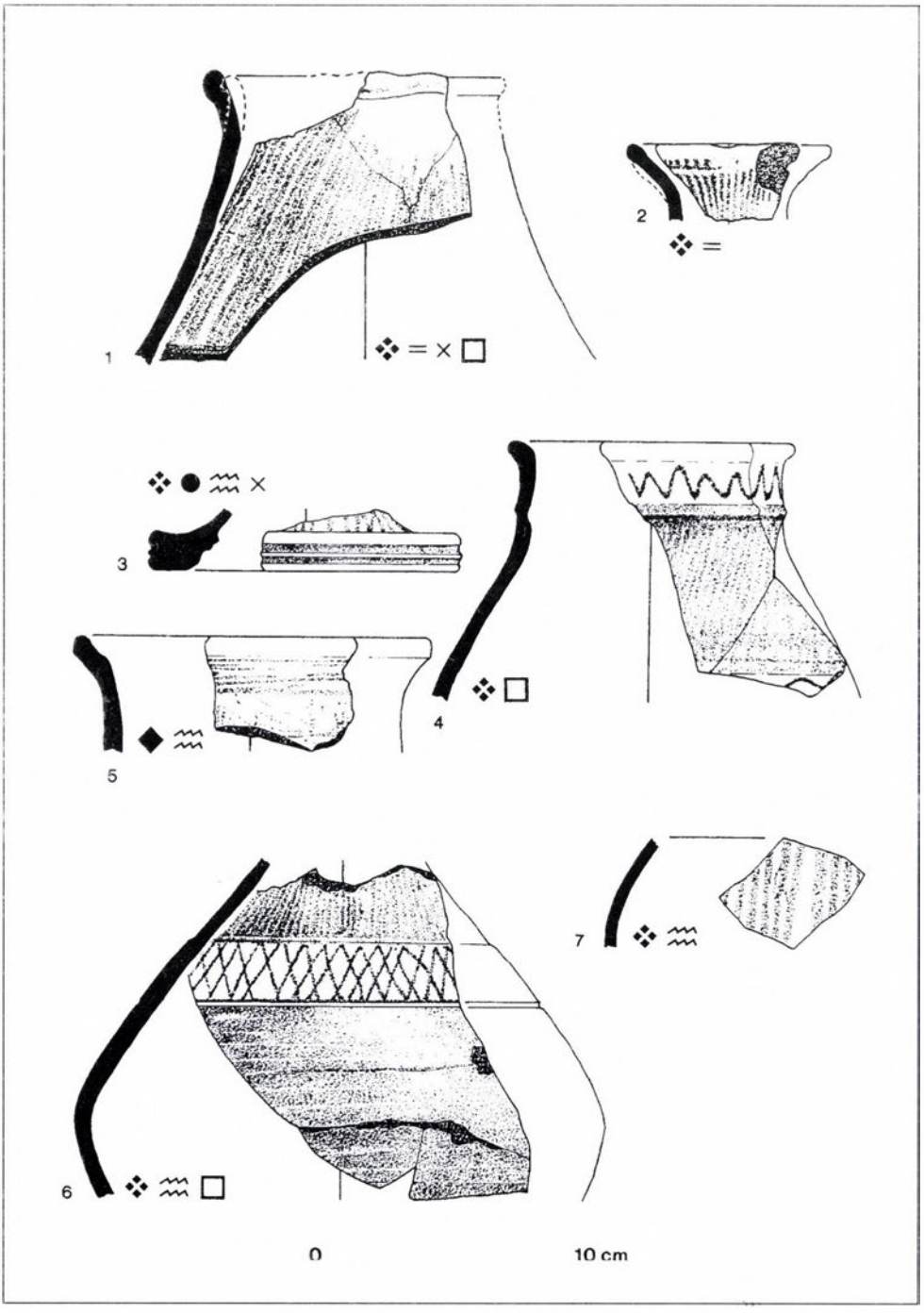


Plate VII

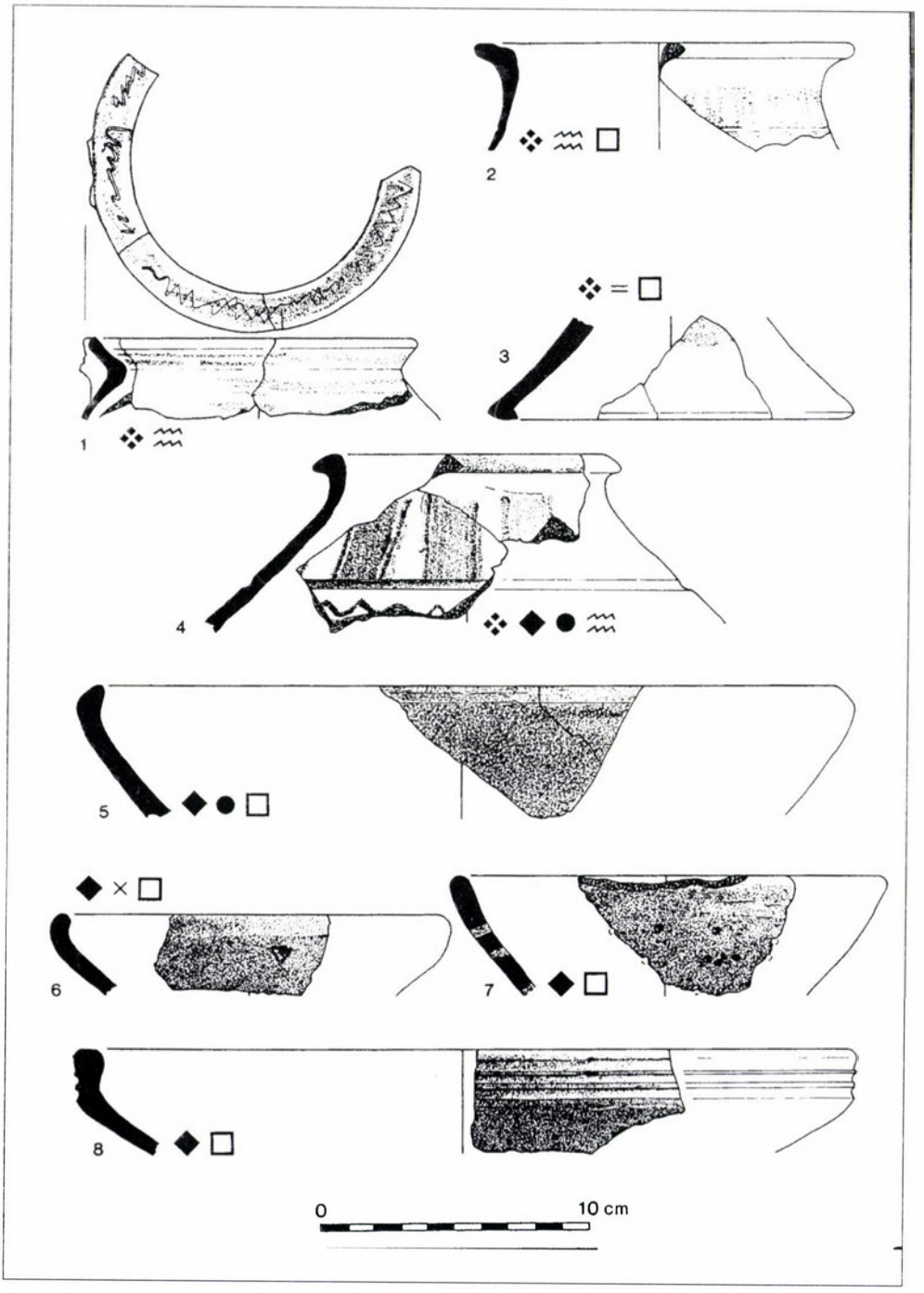


Plate VIII

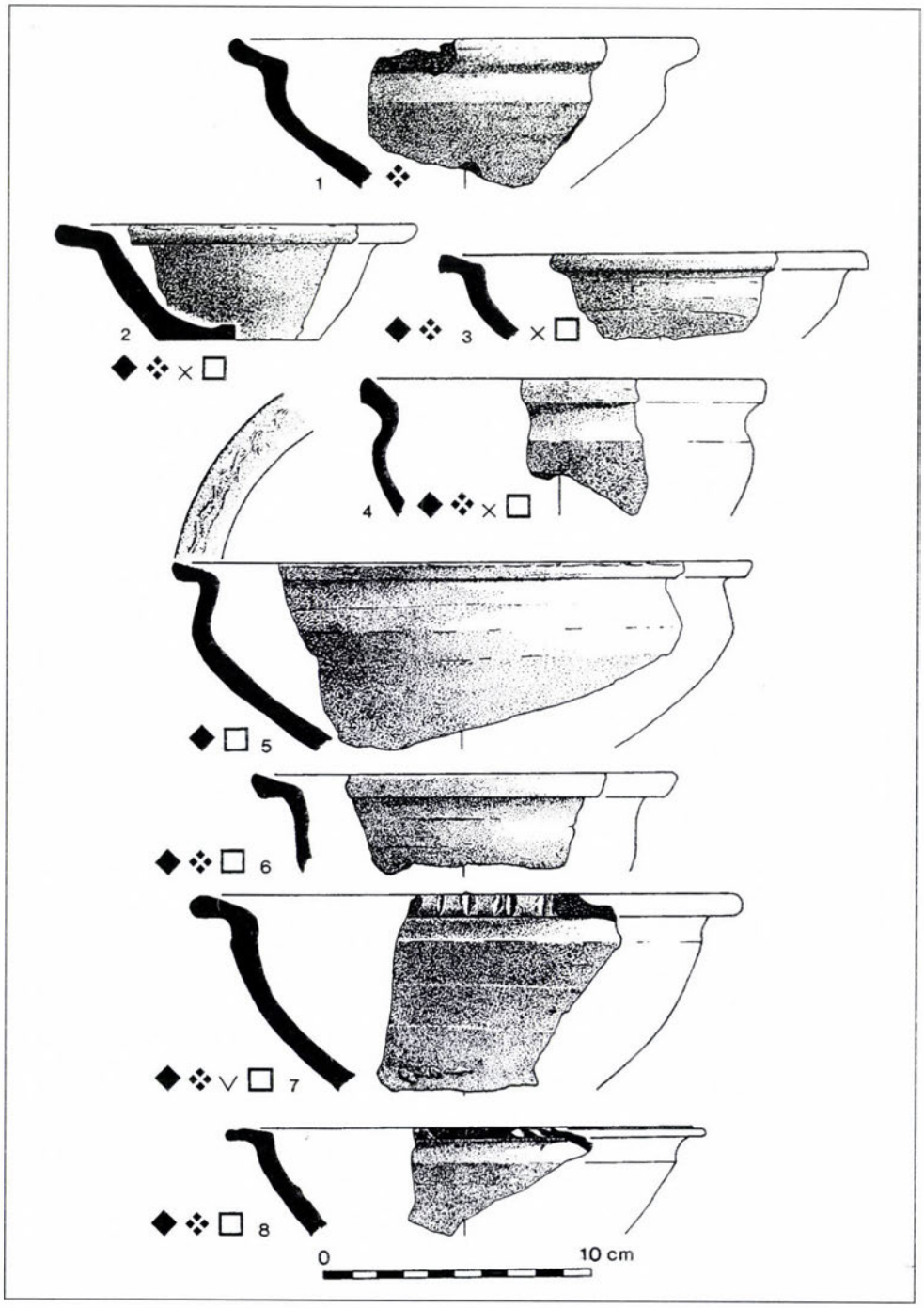


Plate IX

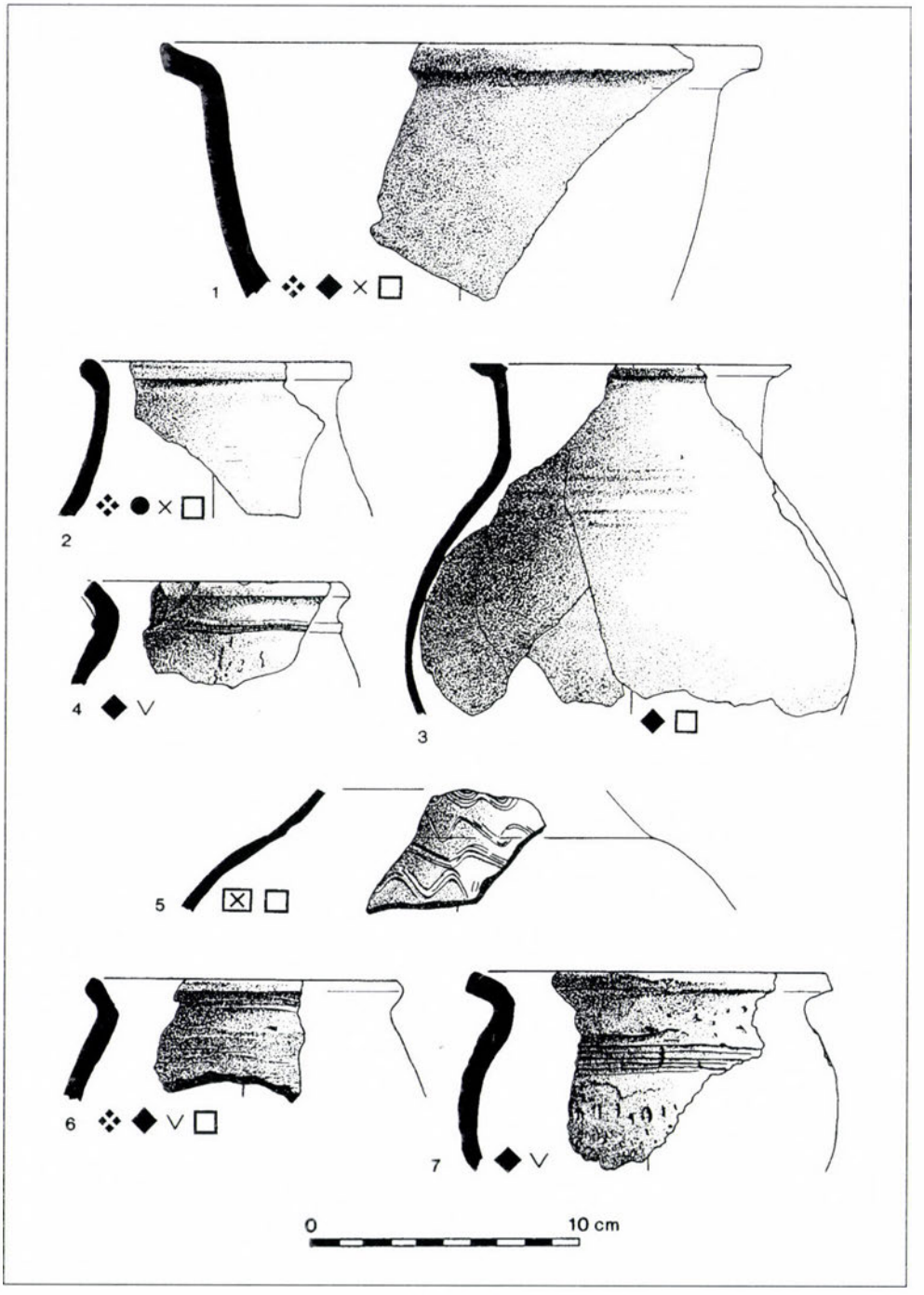


Plate X

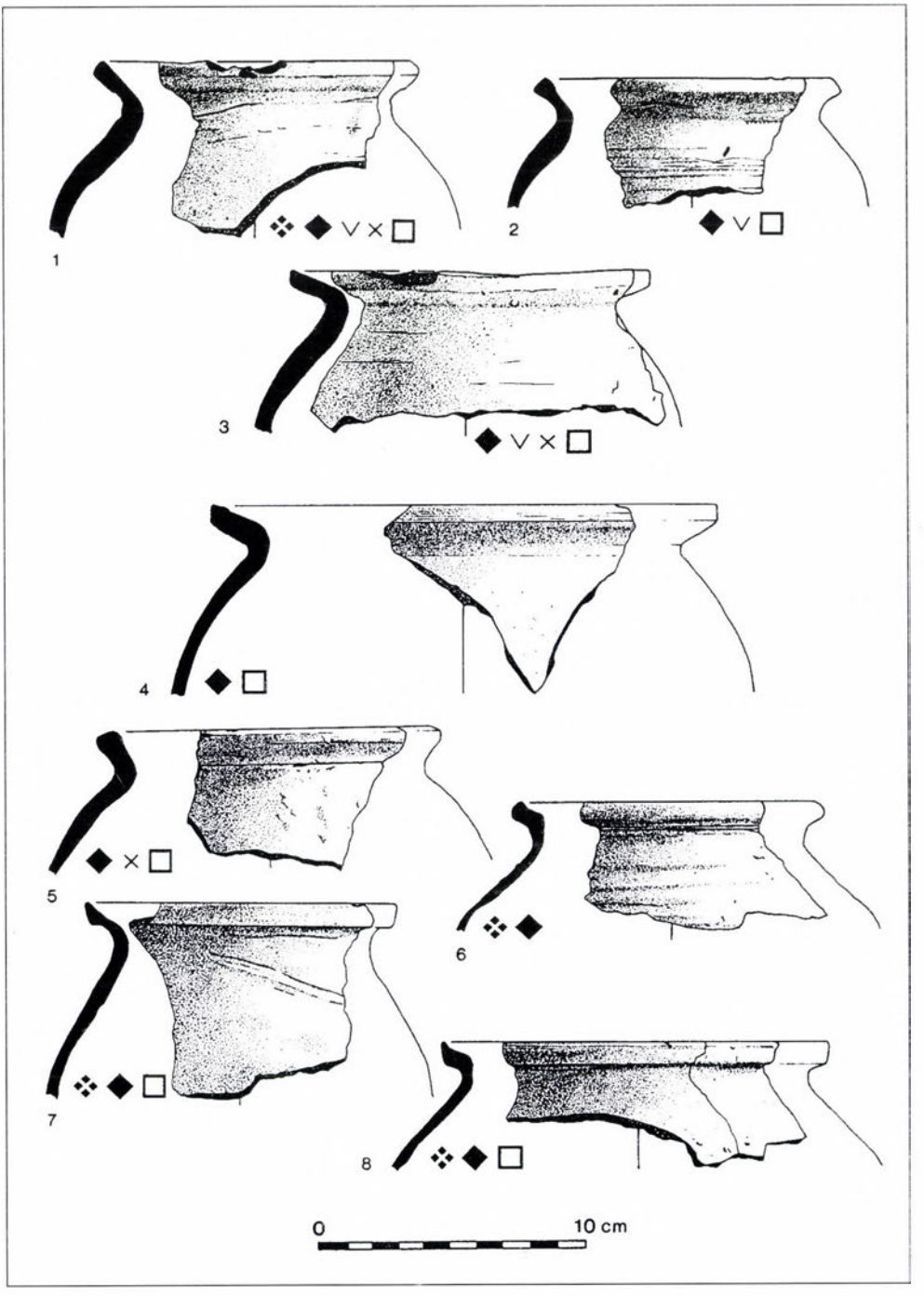


Plate XI

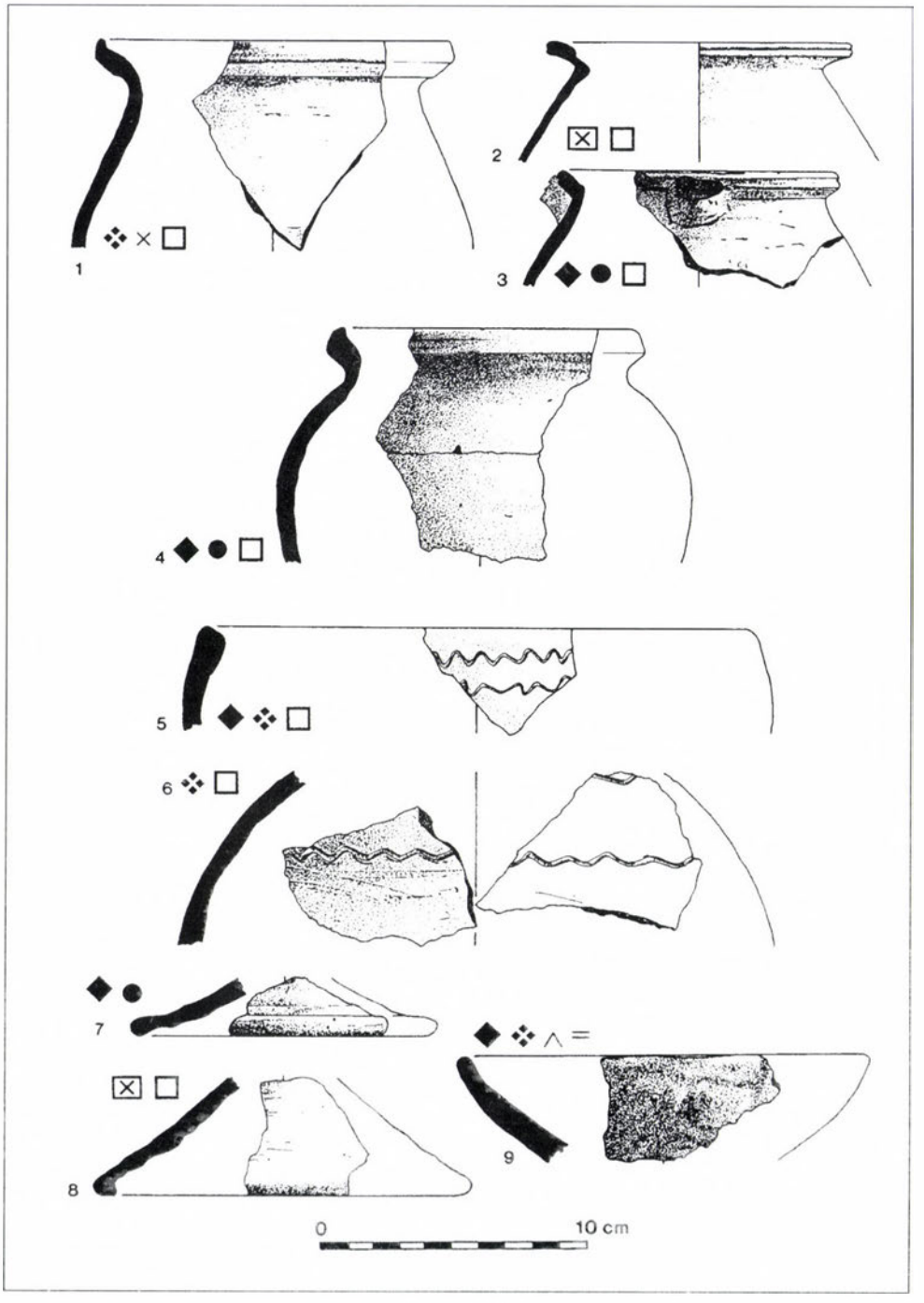


Plate XII

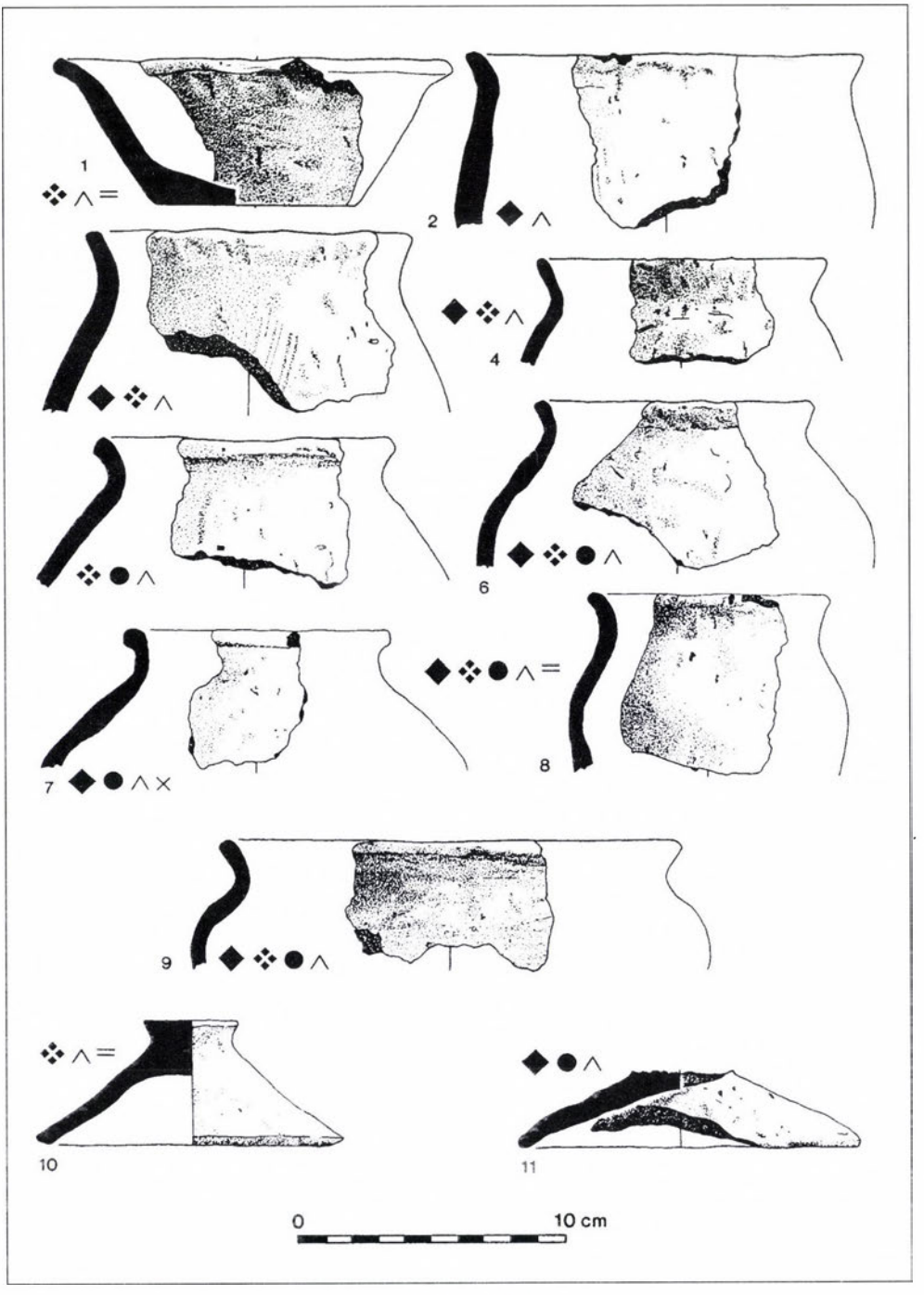


Plate XIII

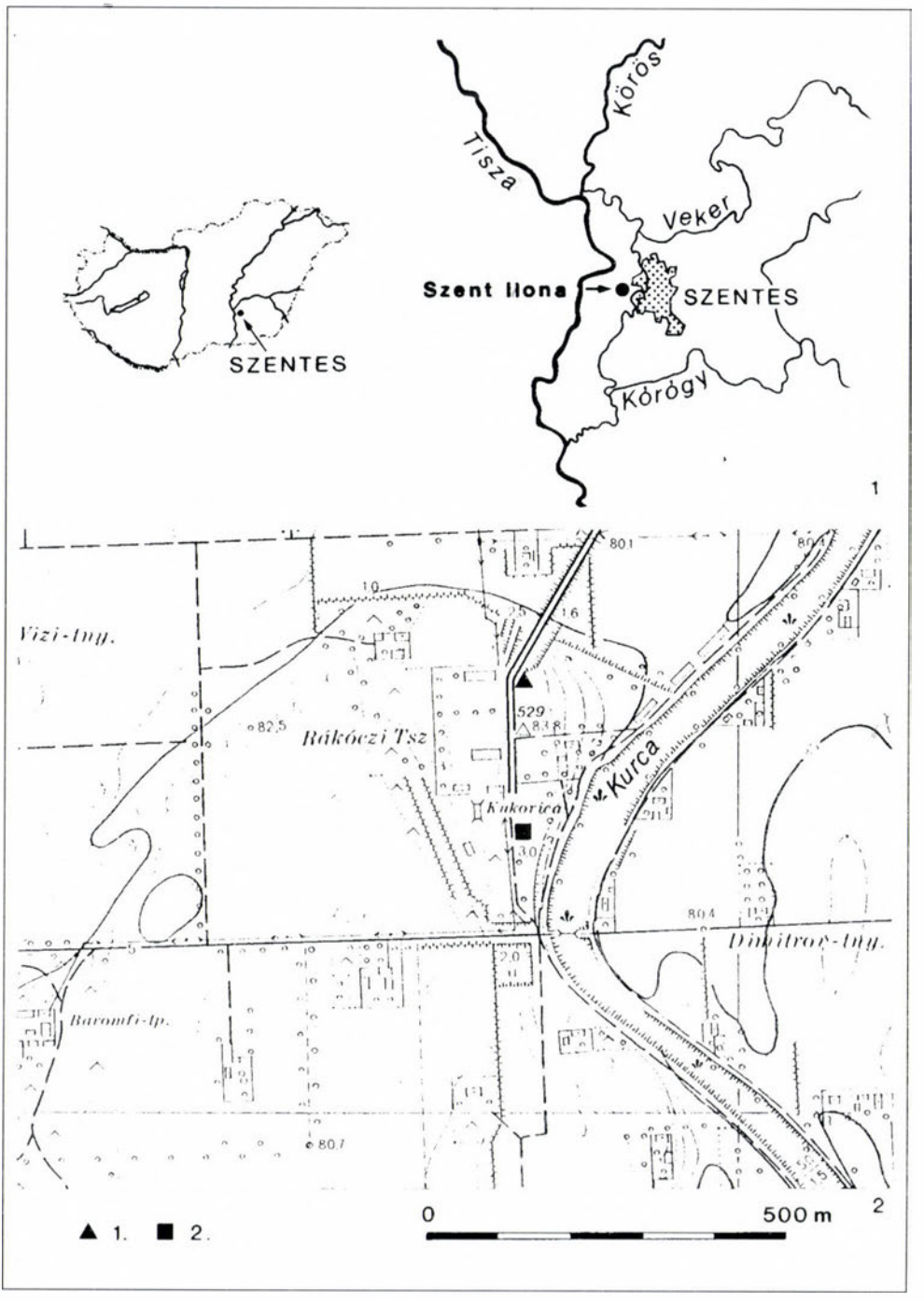

Tisza
Körös
Veker
Szent Ilona
SZENTES
Kórógy
SZENTES
1
Vizi-tny.
Rákóczi Tsz
Kukorica
Kurca
Dimitrov-tny.
Baromfi-tp.
0
500 m
2
▲ 1. ■ 2.

Fig. 1

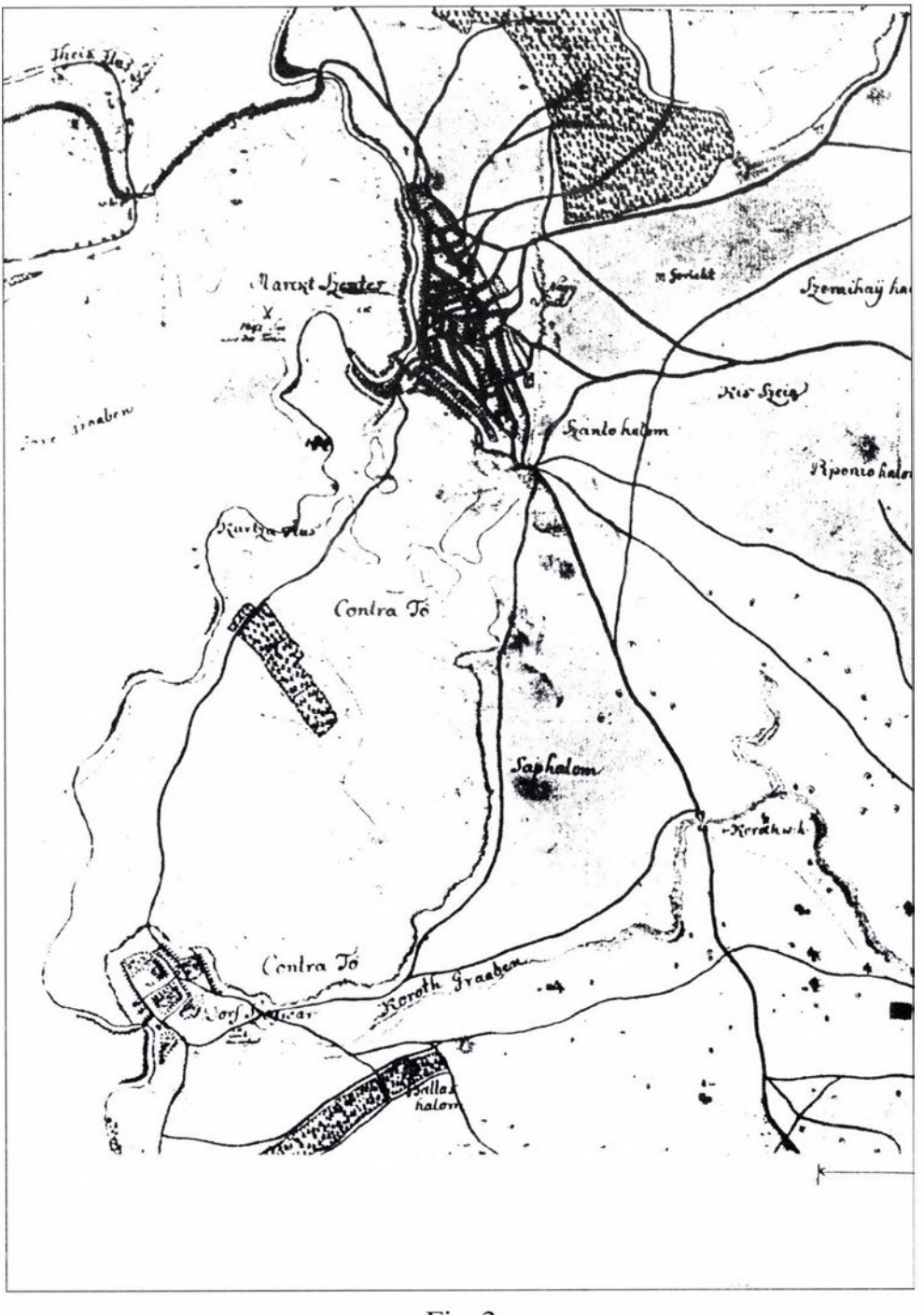


Fig. 2

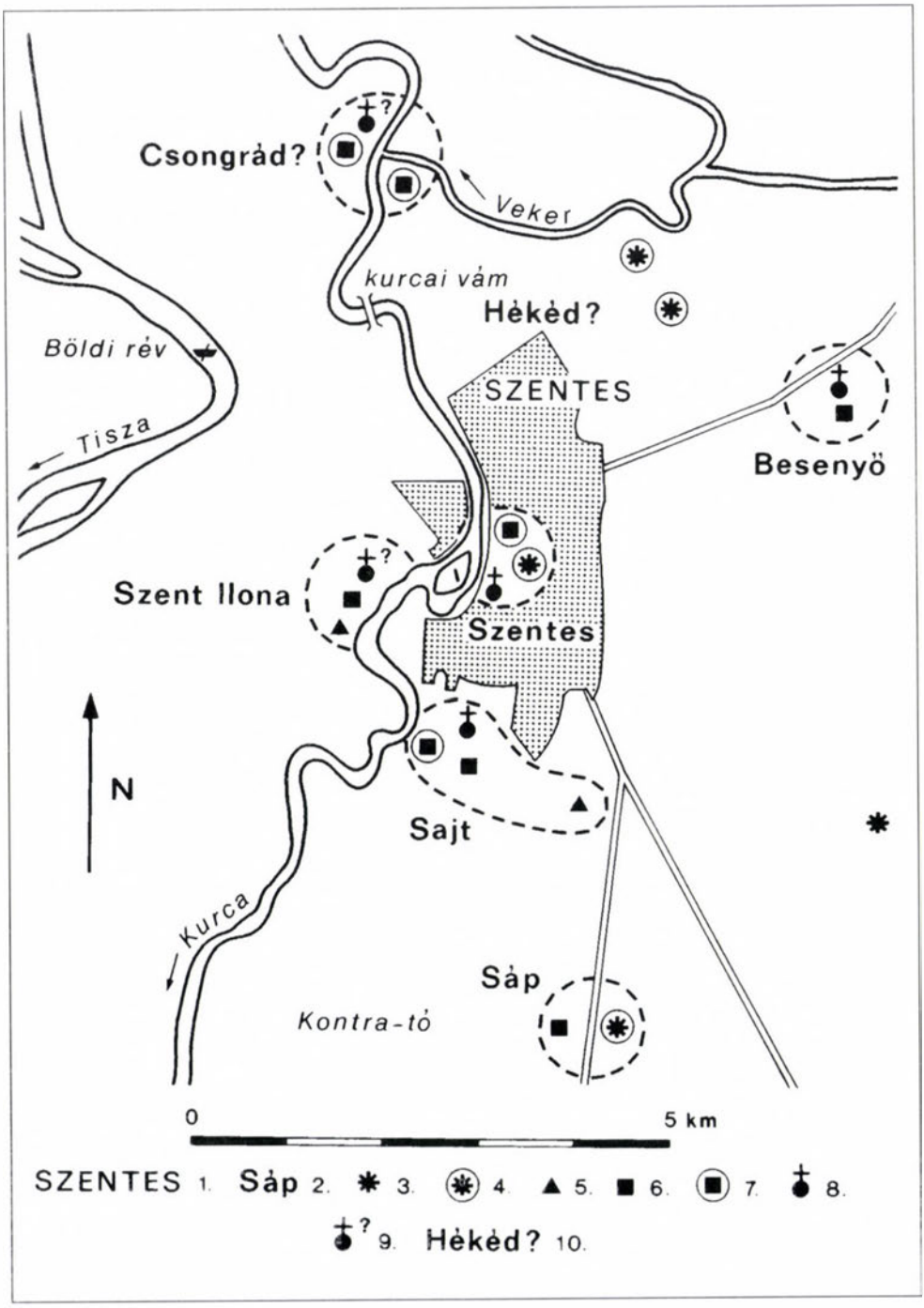

Csongrád?
Veker
kurcai vám
Hékéd?
Böldi rév
Tisza
SZENTES
Besenyö
Szent Ilona
Szentes
N
Sajt
Kurca
Sáp
Kontra-tó
0
5 km
SZENTES 1. Sáp 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8.
9. Hékéd? 10.

Fig. 3

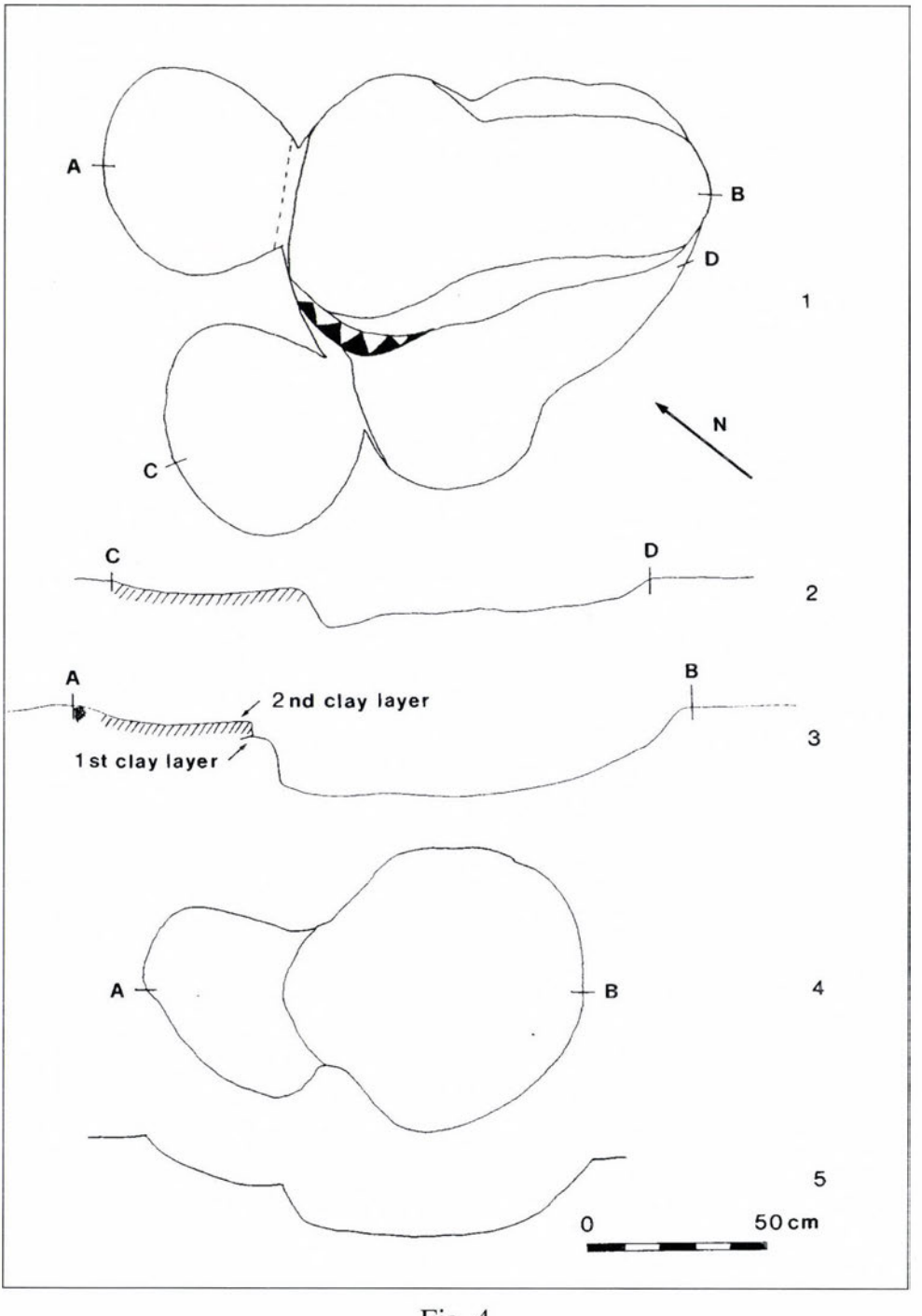
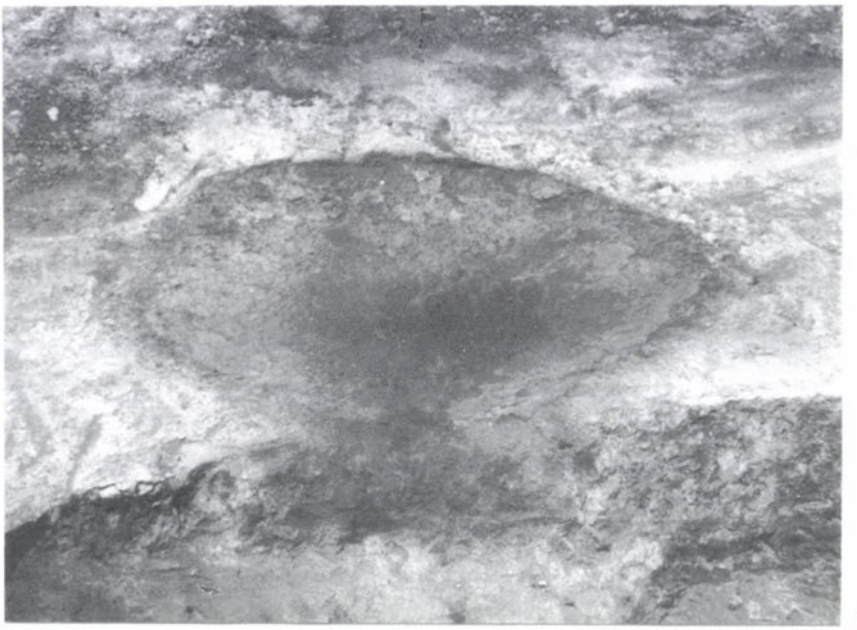
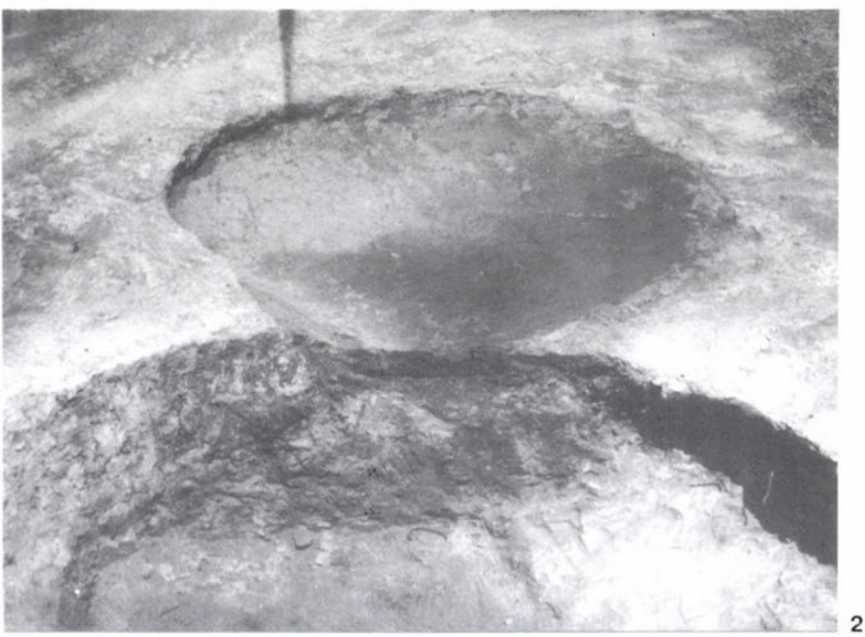


Fig. 4



1



2

Fig. 5

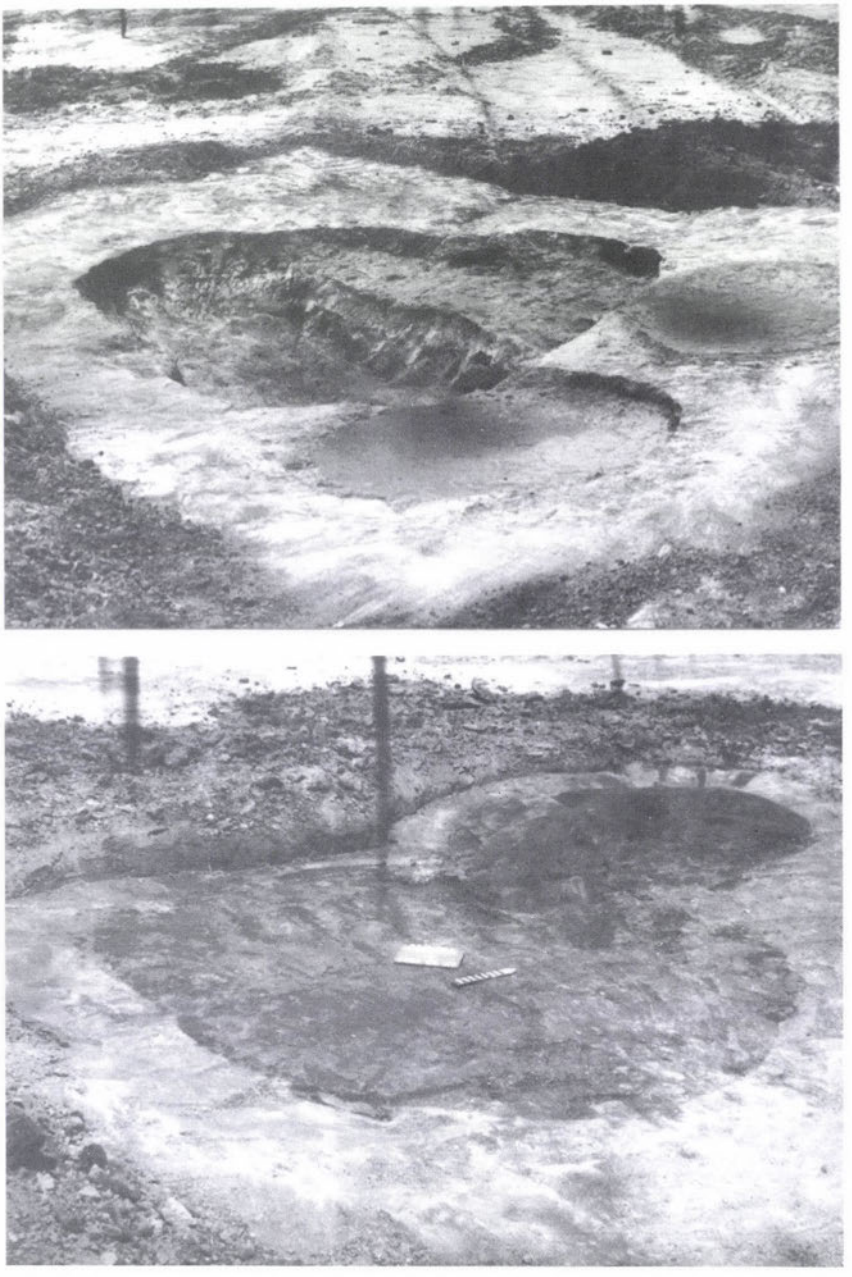


Fig. 6

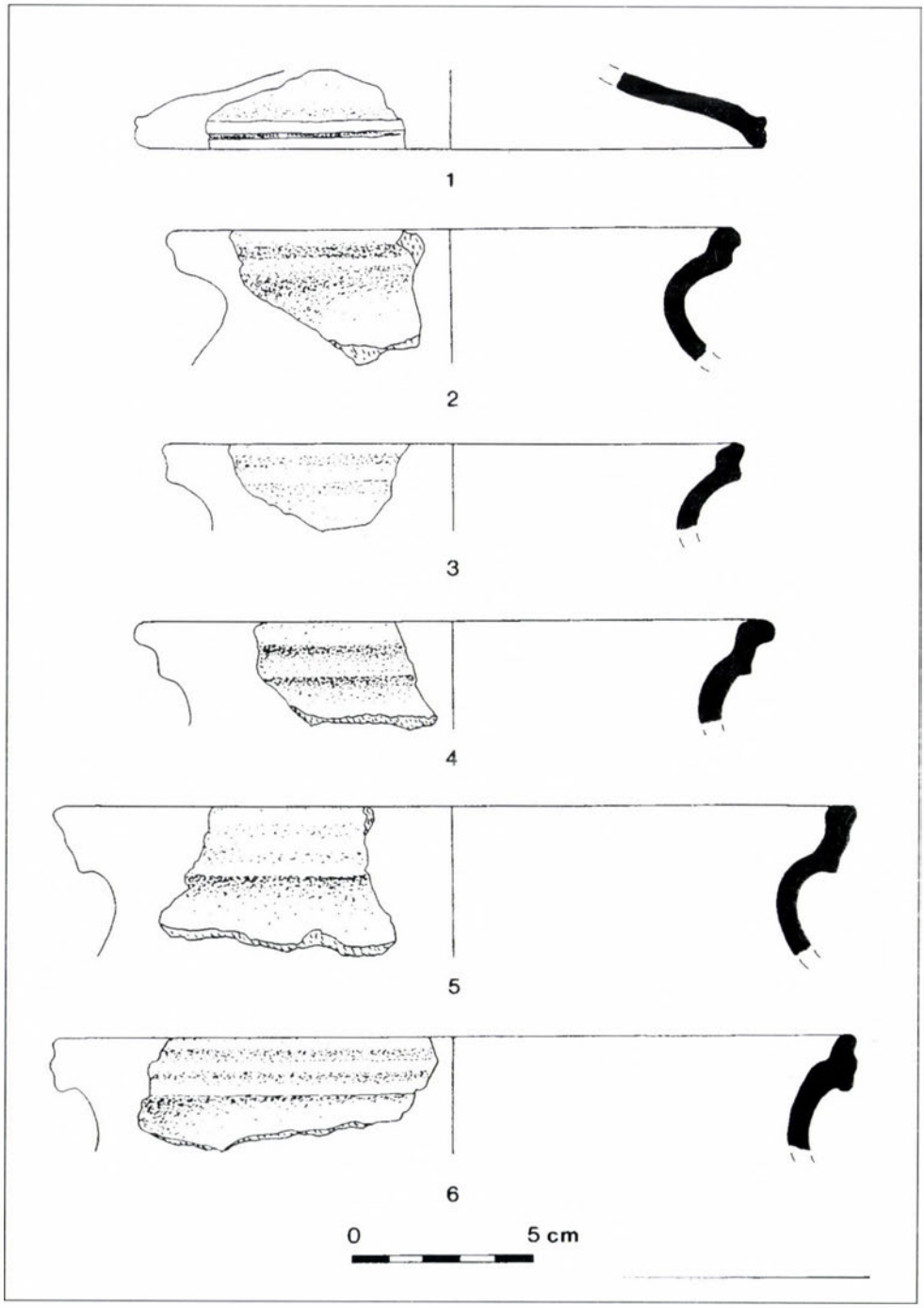


Fig. 7

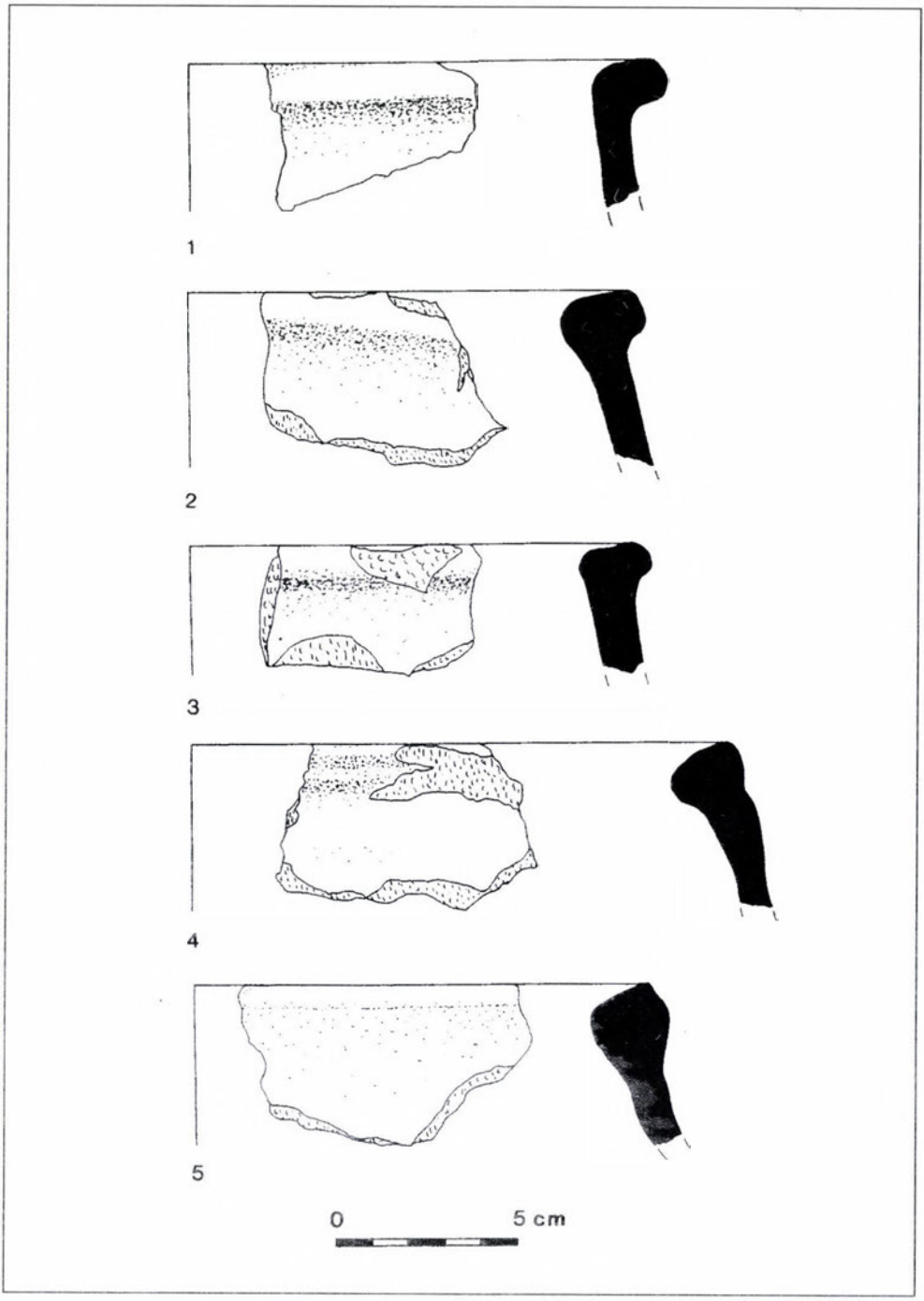


Fig. 8

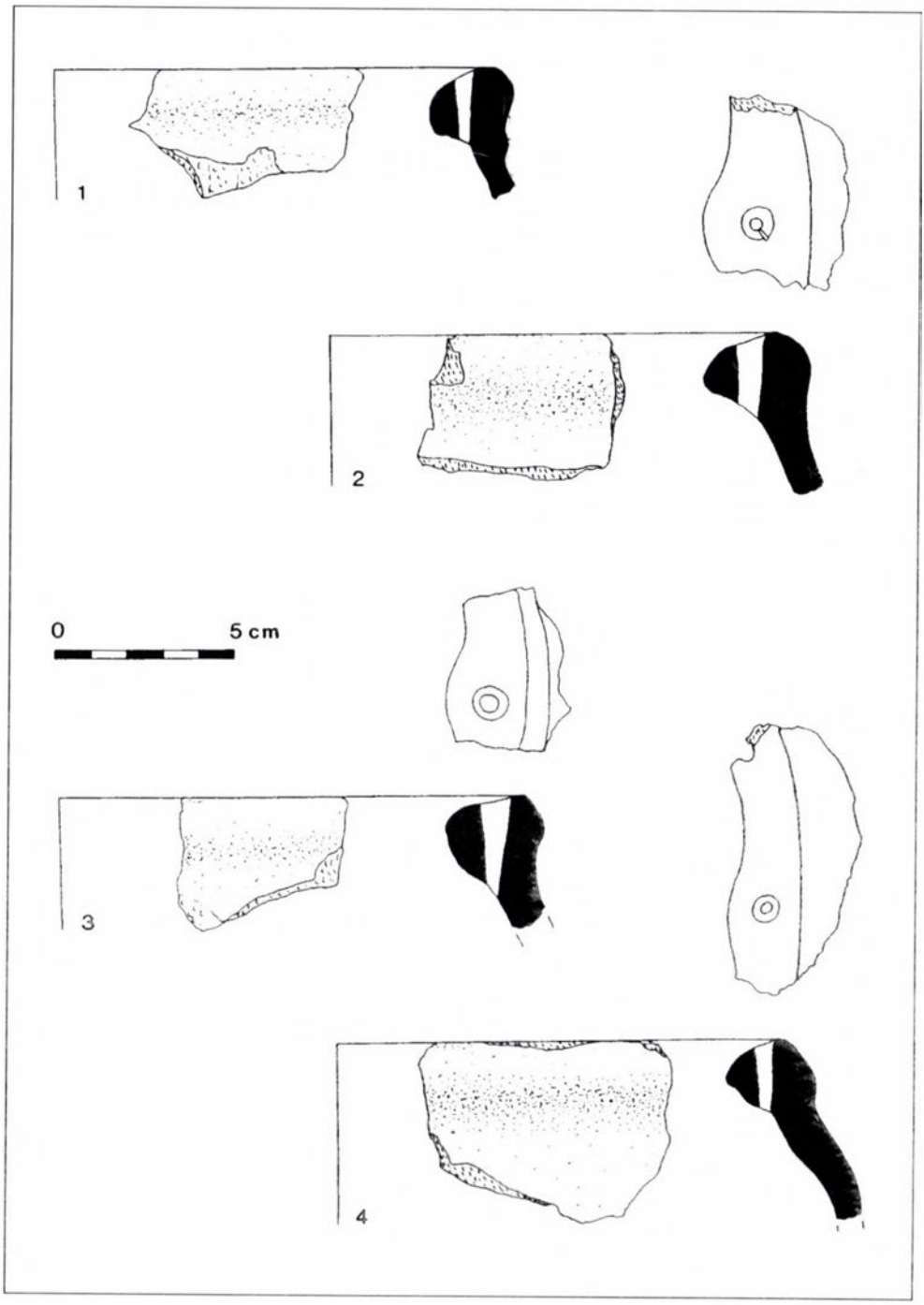


Fig. 9

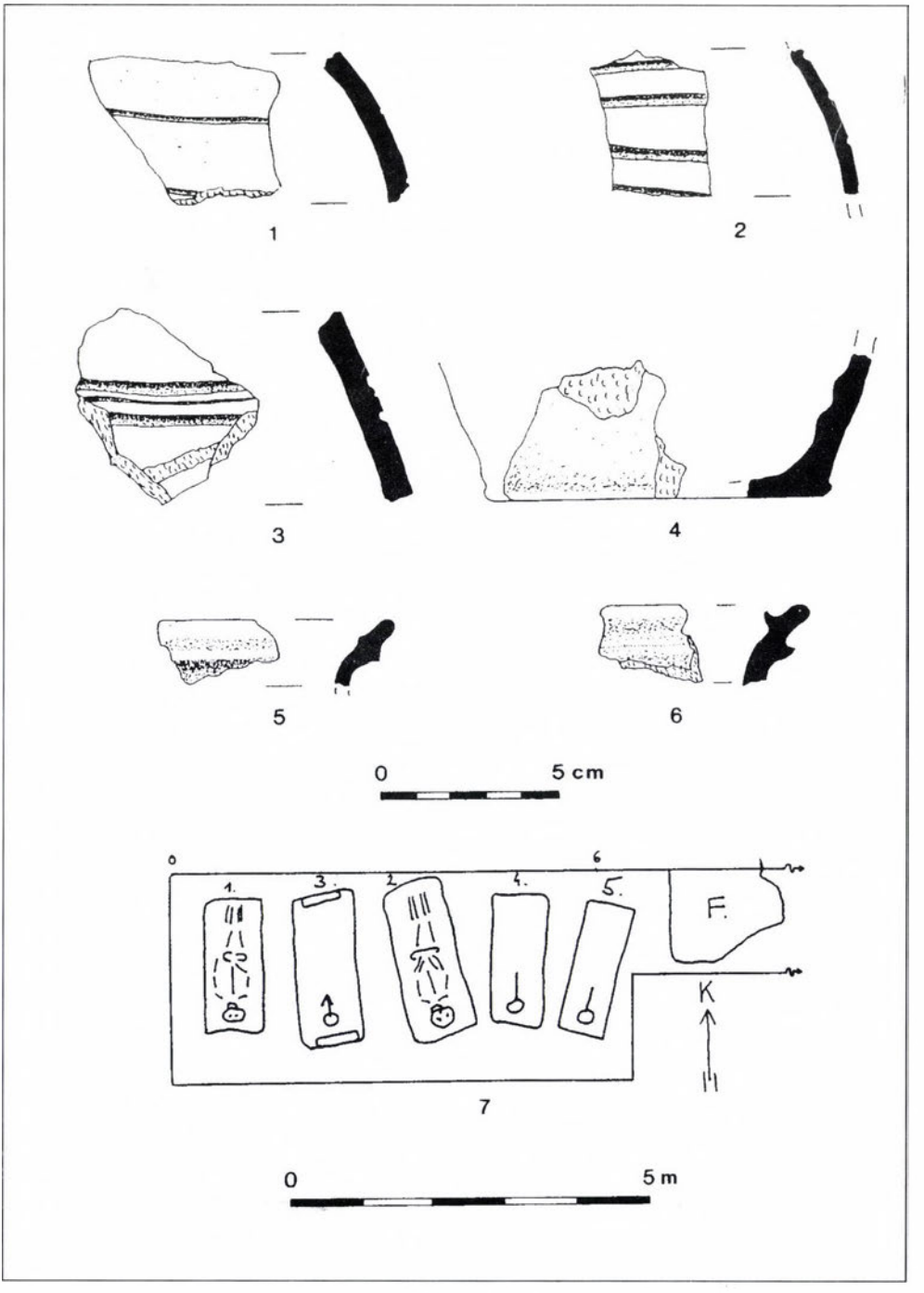


Fig. 10

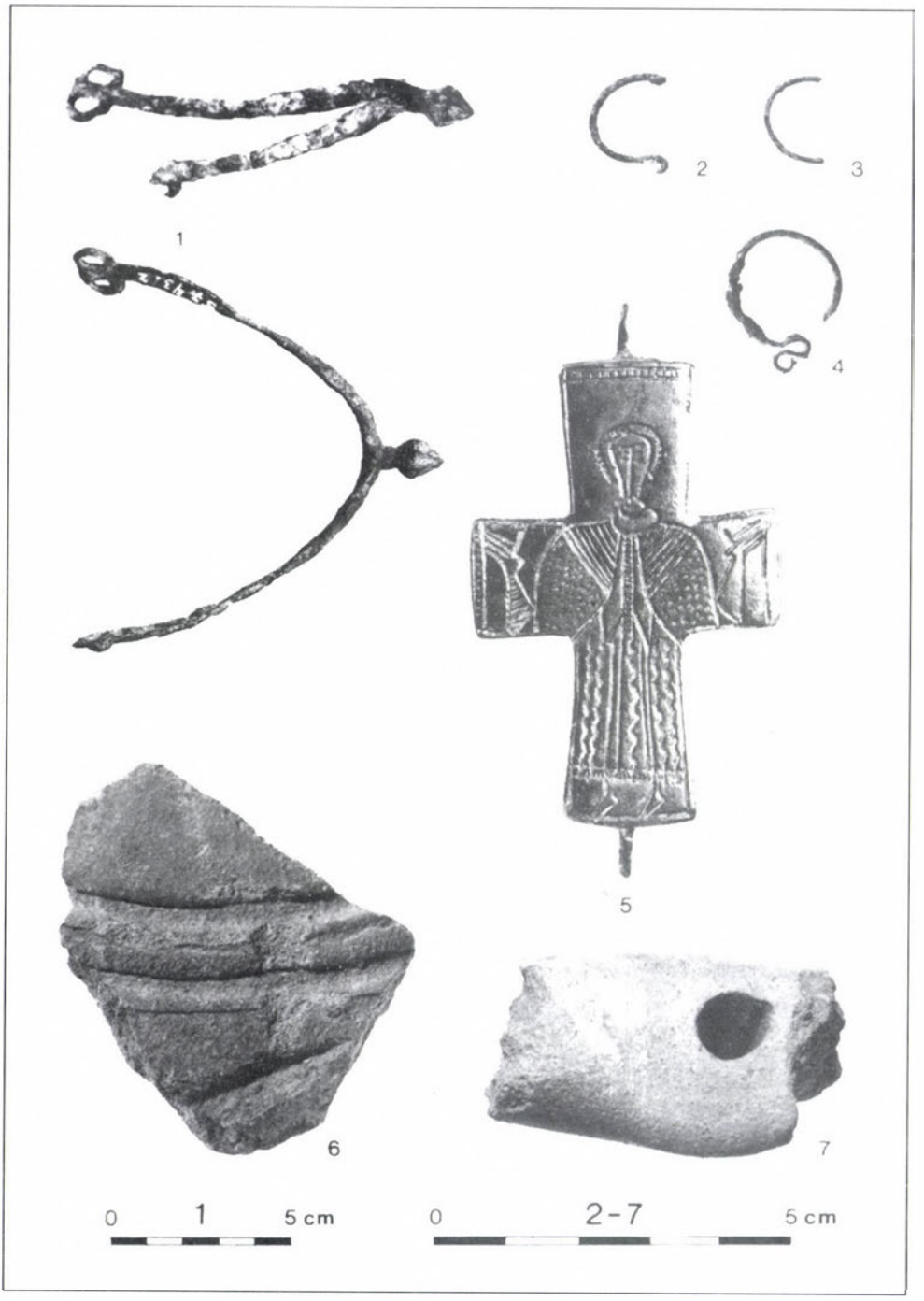


Fig. 11

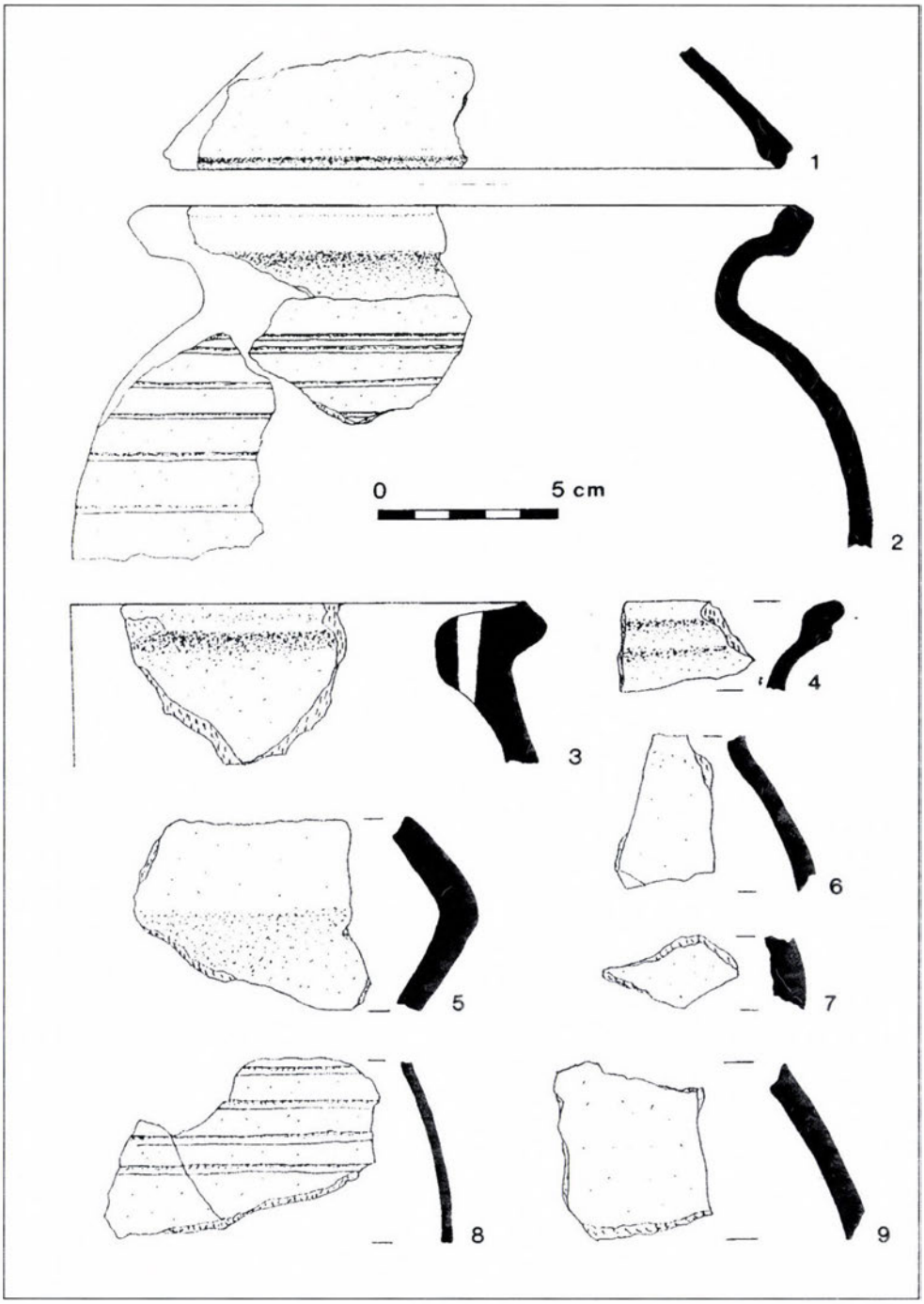


Fig. 12

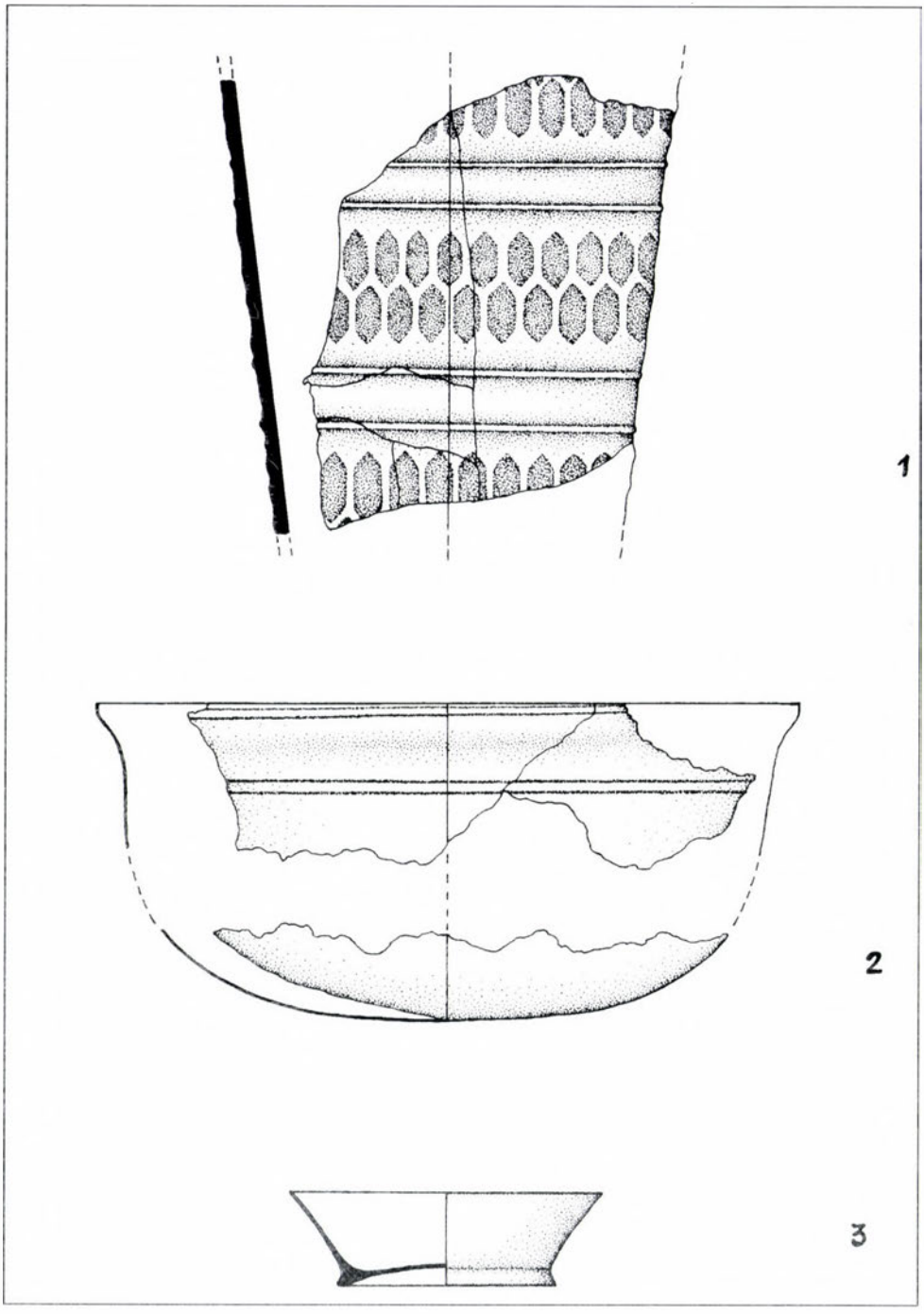
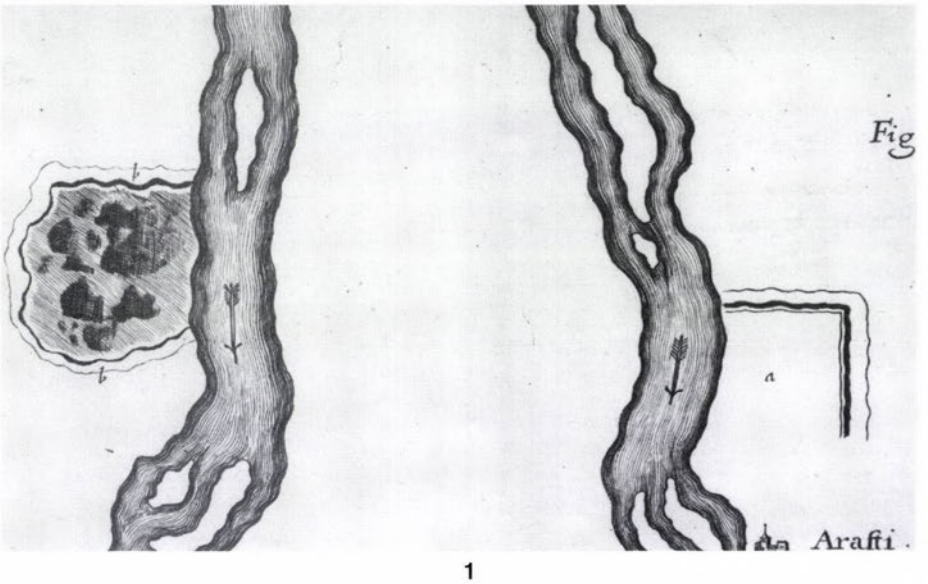


Fig. 1



1

2

Fig. 1

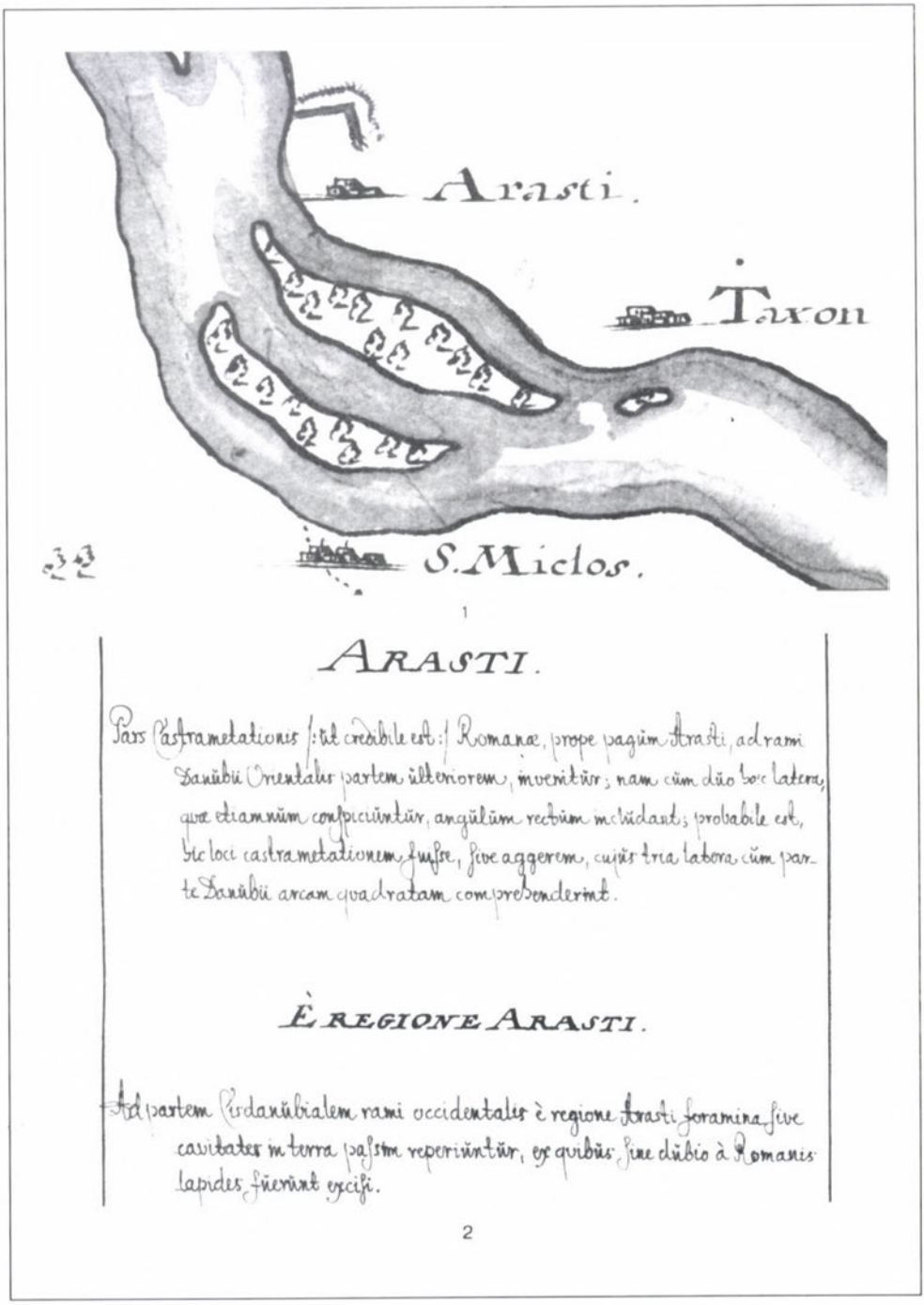

Arasti.
Taxon
S. Miclos.
1
ARASTI.
Pars Castrametationis (: ut credibile est :) Romanæ, prope pagum Arasti, ad rami Danubii Orientalis partem ulteriorem, invenitur; nam cum duo hæc latera, quæ etiamnum conspiciuntur, angulum rectum includant; probabile est, hic loci castrametationem fuisse, sive aggerem, cujus tria latera cum parte Danubii arcam quadratam comprehenderint.
È REGIONE ARASTI.
Ad partem Cisdanubialem rami occidentalis è regione Arasti foramina sive cavitates in terra passim reperiuntur, ex quibus sine dubio à Romanis lapides fuerunt excisi.
2

Fig. 2

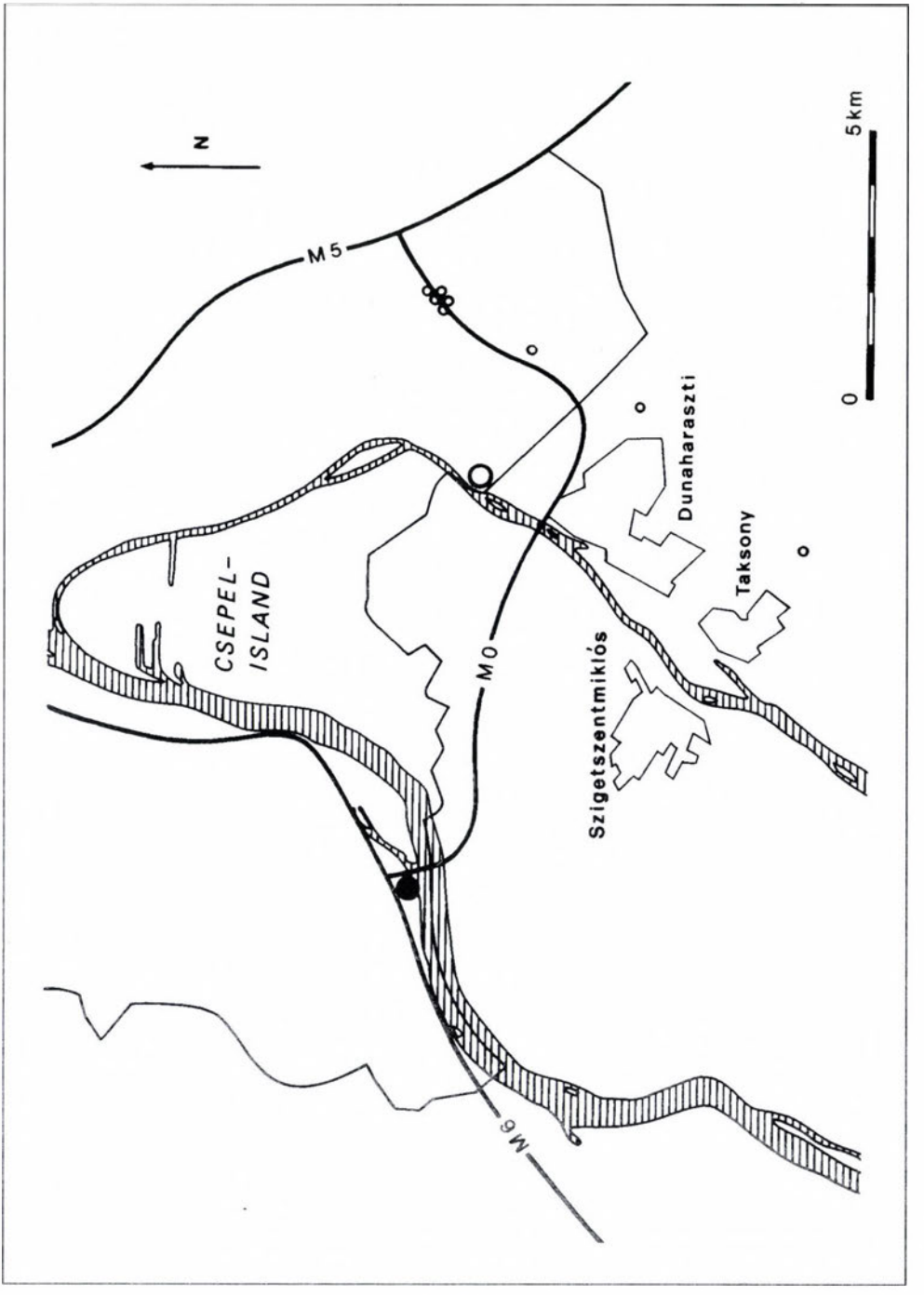

N
M5
M0
M6
CSEPEL-
ISLAND
Szigetszentmiklós
Taksony
Dunaharaszti
0
5 km

Fig. 3

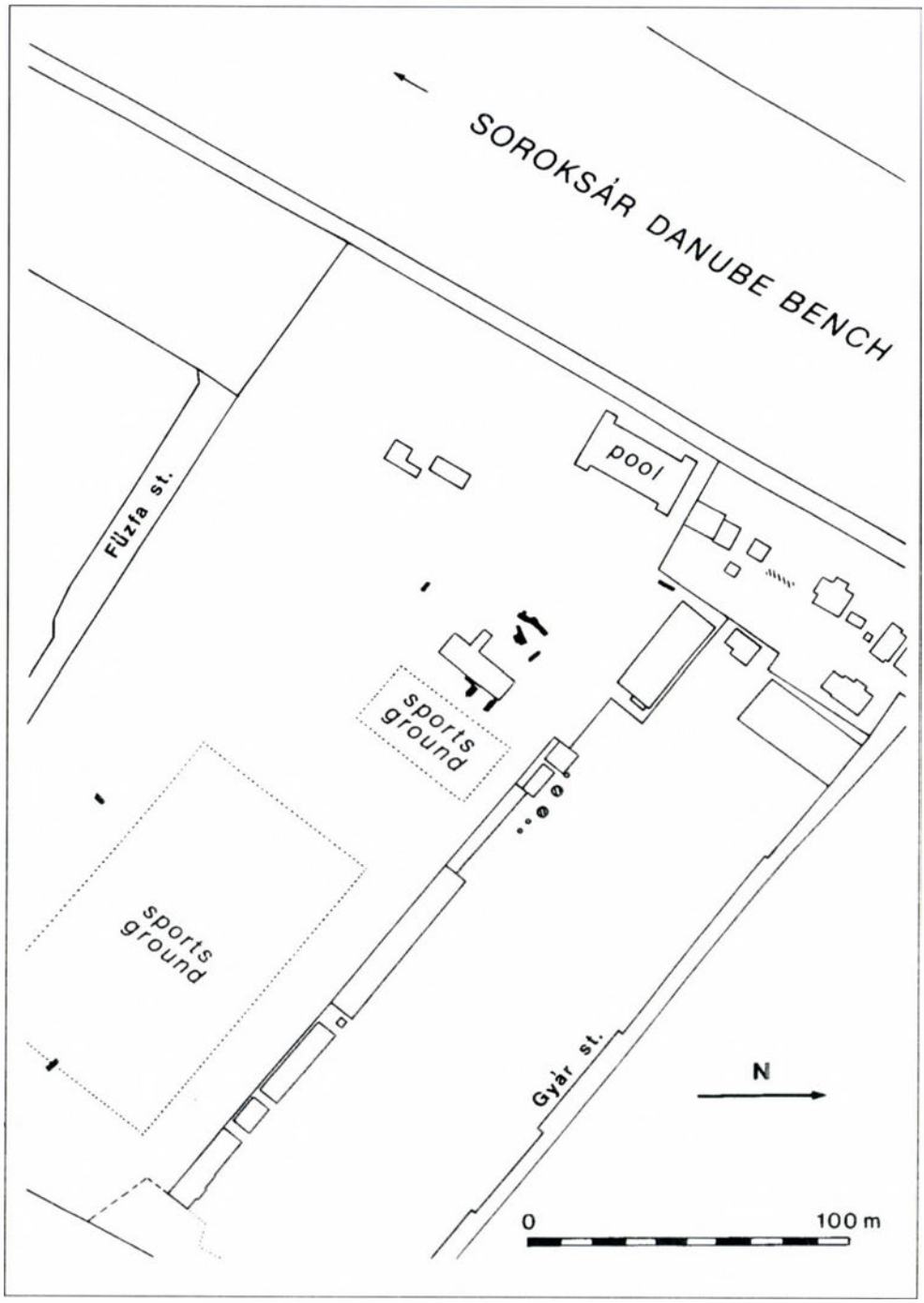

SOROKSÁR DANUBE BENCH
pool
Füzfa st.
sports ground
sports ground
Gyár st.
N
0
100 m

Fig. 4

1

2

3

Fig. 5

1

2

Fig. 6

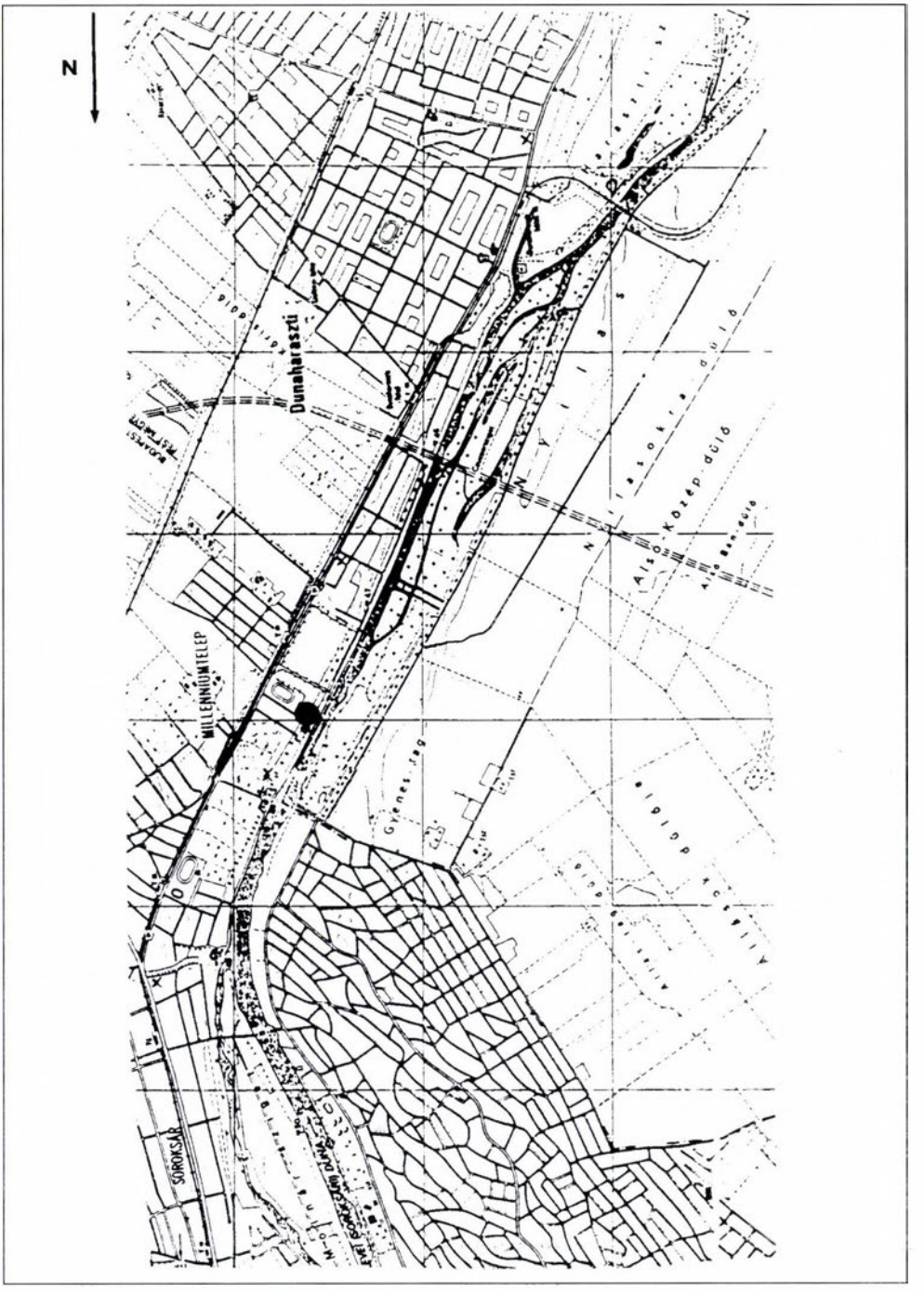

N
Dunaharaszti
MILLENNIUMTELEP
SOROKSÁR
Gyenes-tag
Alsó-Közép-dűlő

Fig. 7

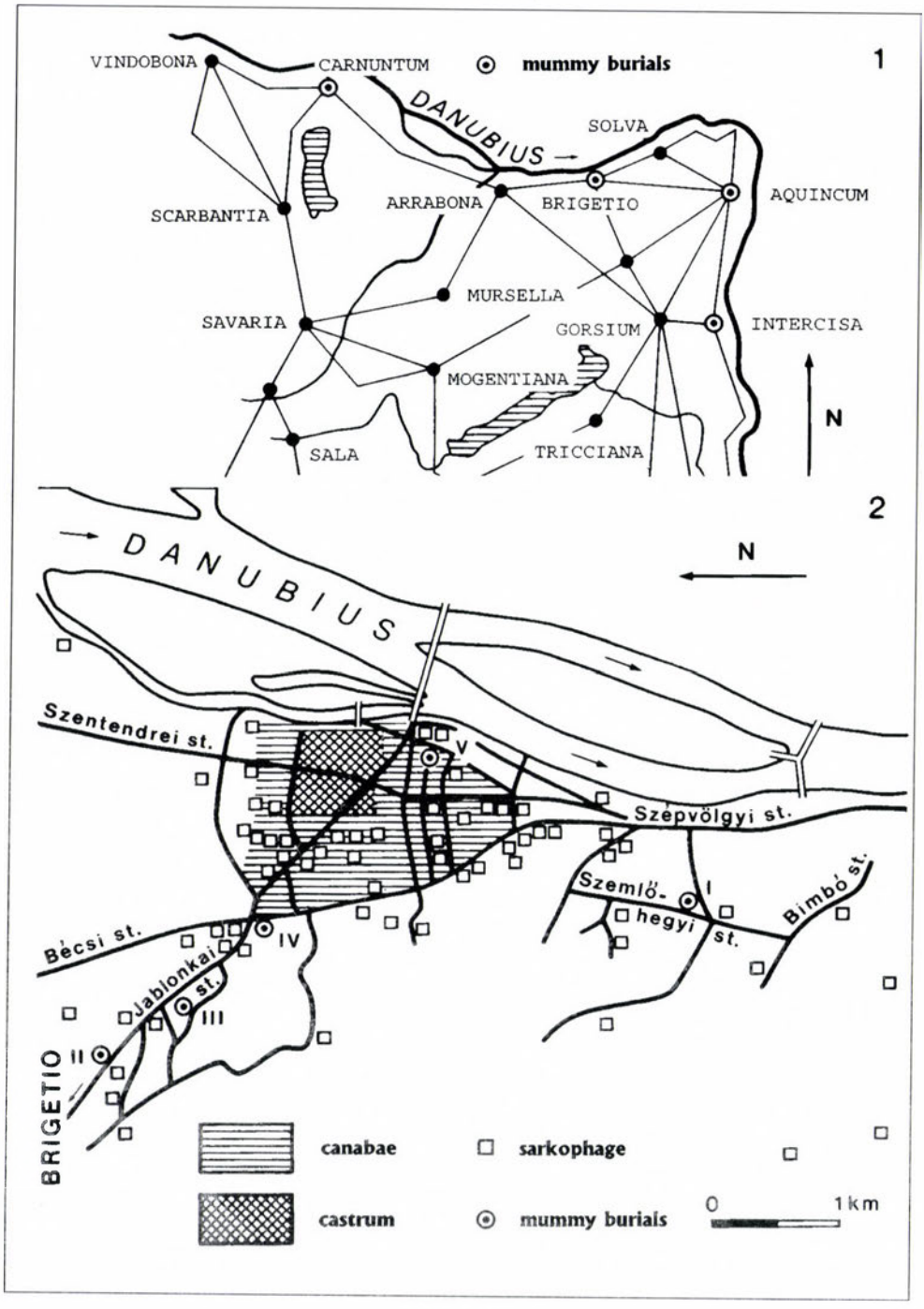

1
VINDOBONA
CARNUNTUM
mummy burials
DANUBIUS
SOLVA
SCARBANTIA
ARRABONA
BRIGETIO
AQUINCUM
MURSELLA
SAVARIA
GORSIUM
INTERCISA
MOGENTIANA
SALA
TRICCIANA
N
2
DANUBIUS
N
Szentendrei st.
V
Szépvölgyi st.
Szemlő-hegyi st.
I
Bimbó st.
Bécsi st.
IV
Jablonkai st.
III
II
BRIGETIO
canabae
sarkophage
castrum
mummy burials
0
1 km

Fig. 1

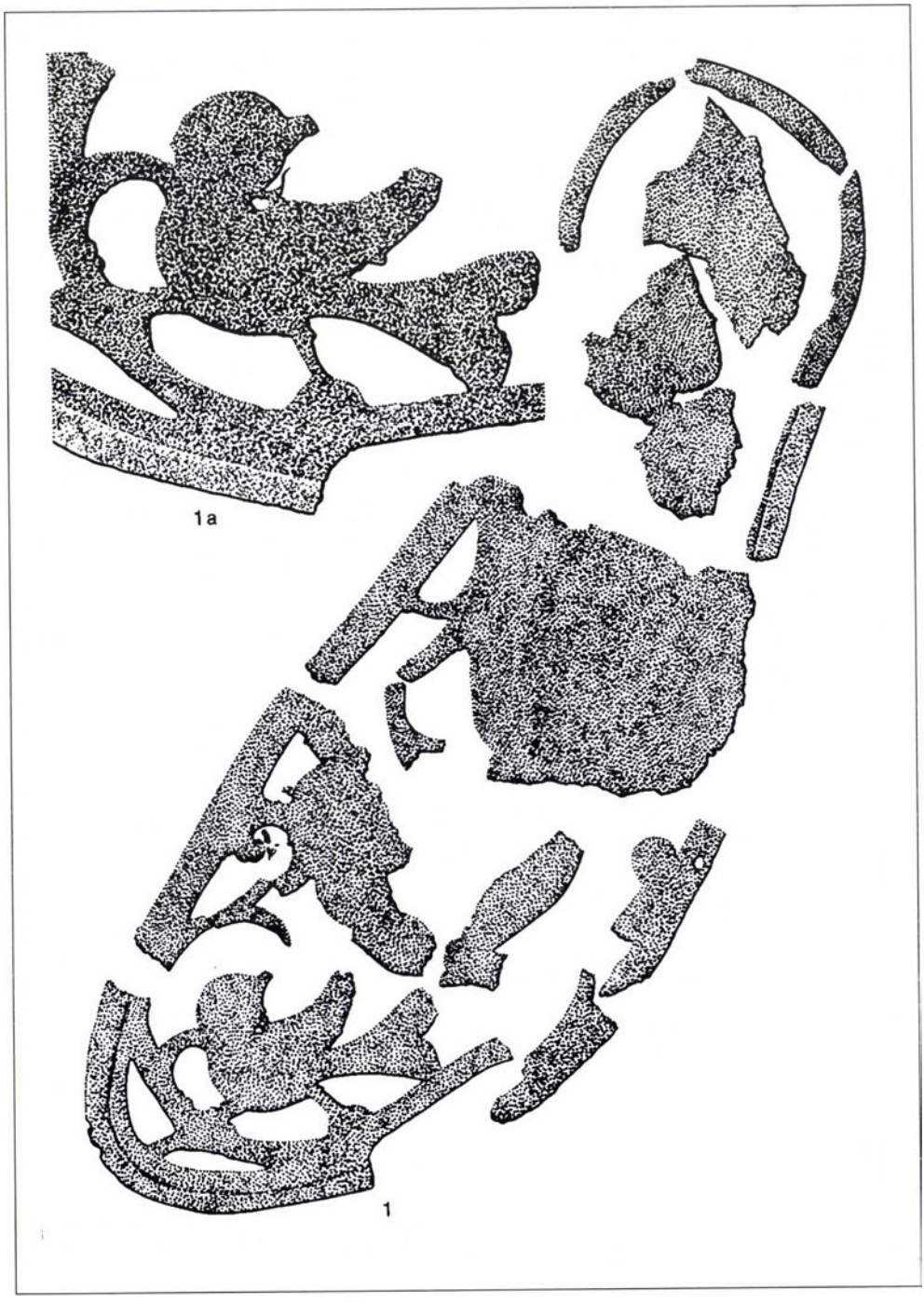


Fig. 2

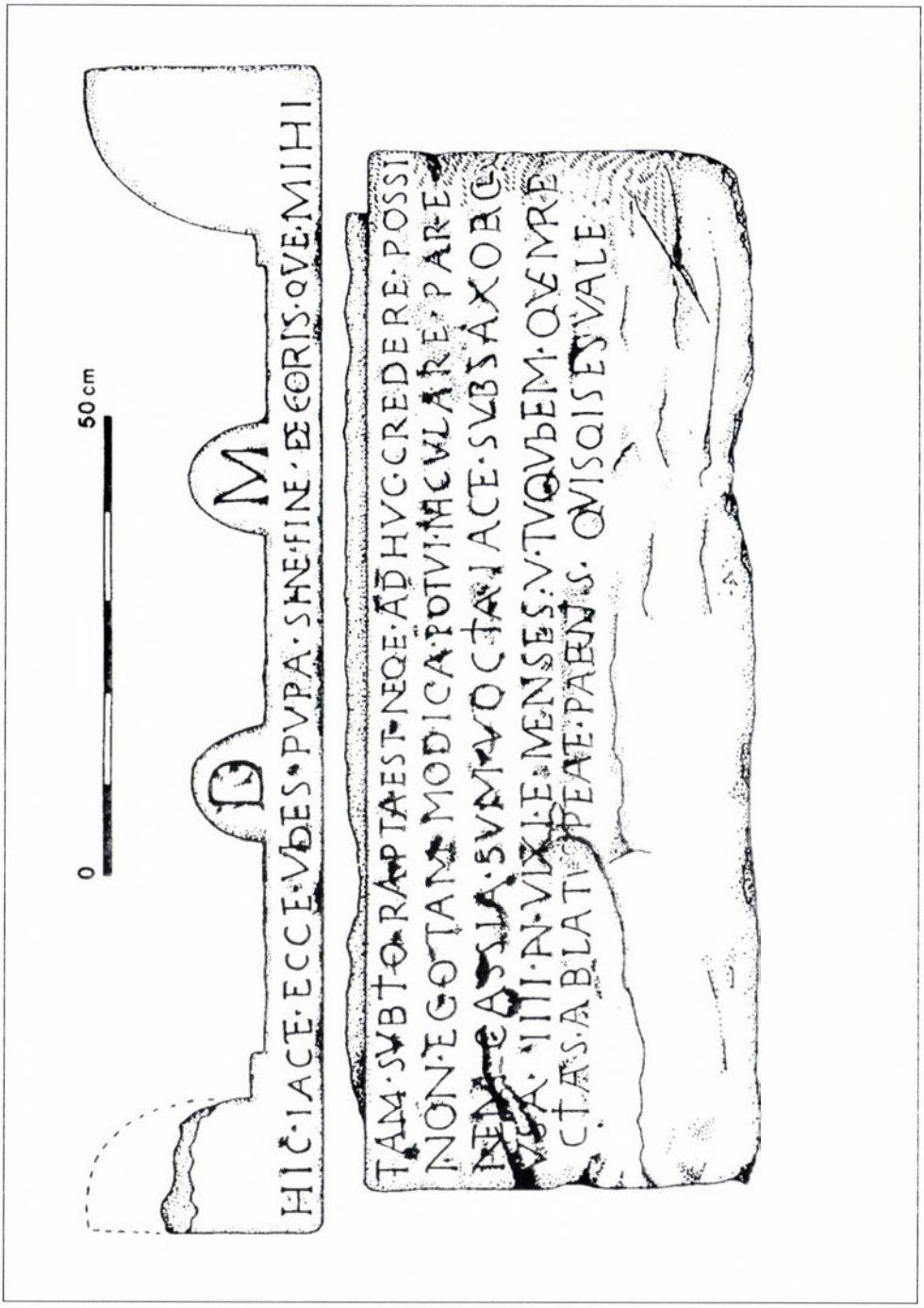

0
50 cm
D
M
HIC·IACE·ECCE·VBES·PVPA·SINE·FINE·ET·CORIS·QVE·MIHI
TAM·SVBTO·RAPTA·EST·NEQE·AD·HVC·CREDERE·POSSI
NON·EGO·TAM·MODICA·POTVI·MCVLARE·PARE
IEM·CASSIA·SVM·VOCTA·IACE·SVBSAXO·BC
VSA·IIII·N·VIXI·E·MENSES·V·TVQVBEM·QVEMRE
CTA·S·ABLATI·PEAE·PAENIS·QVISQISES·VALE

Fig. 3

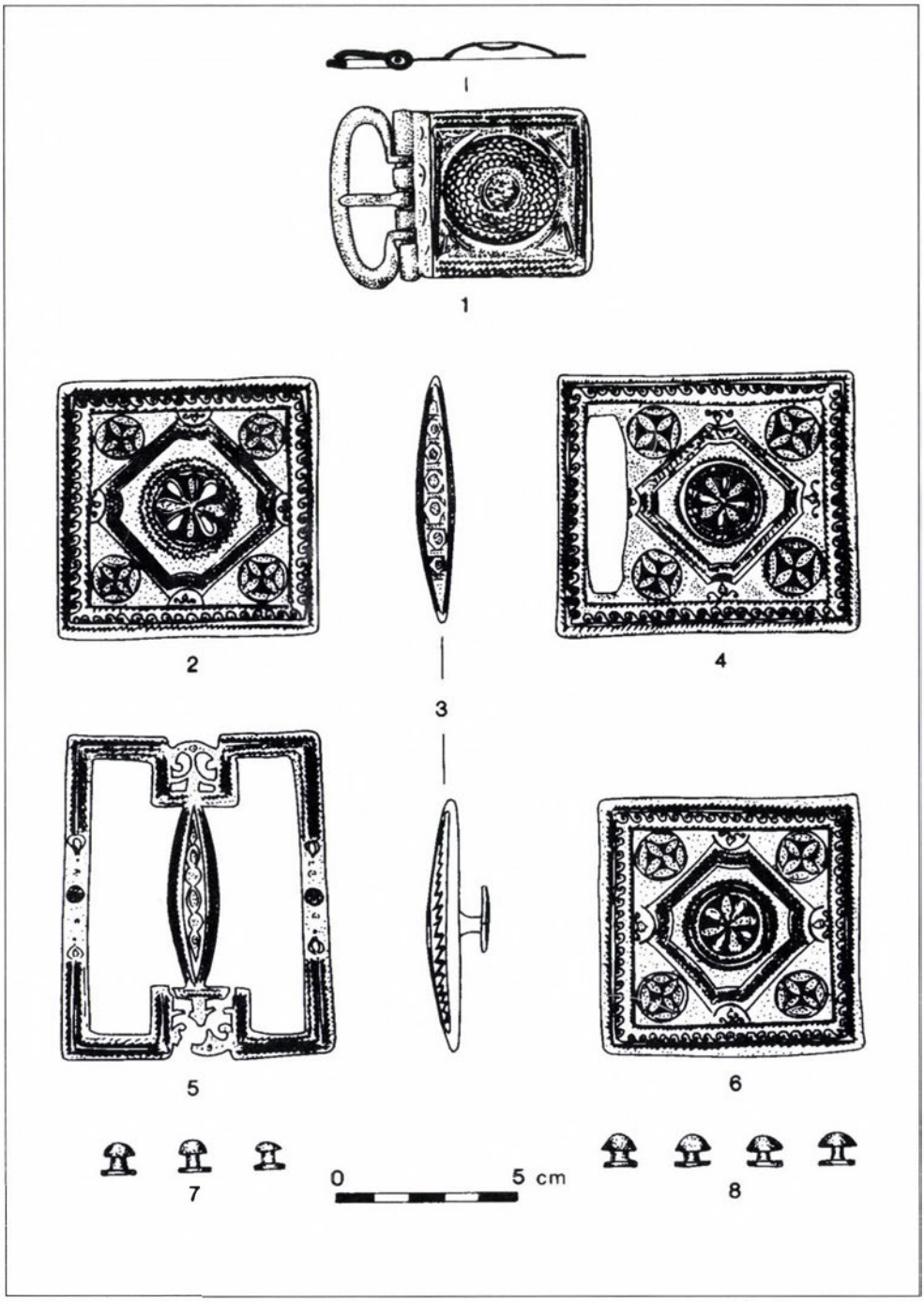


Fig. 4

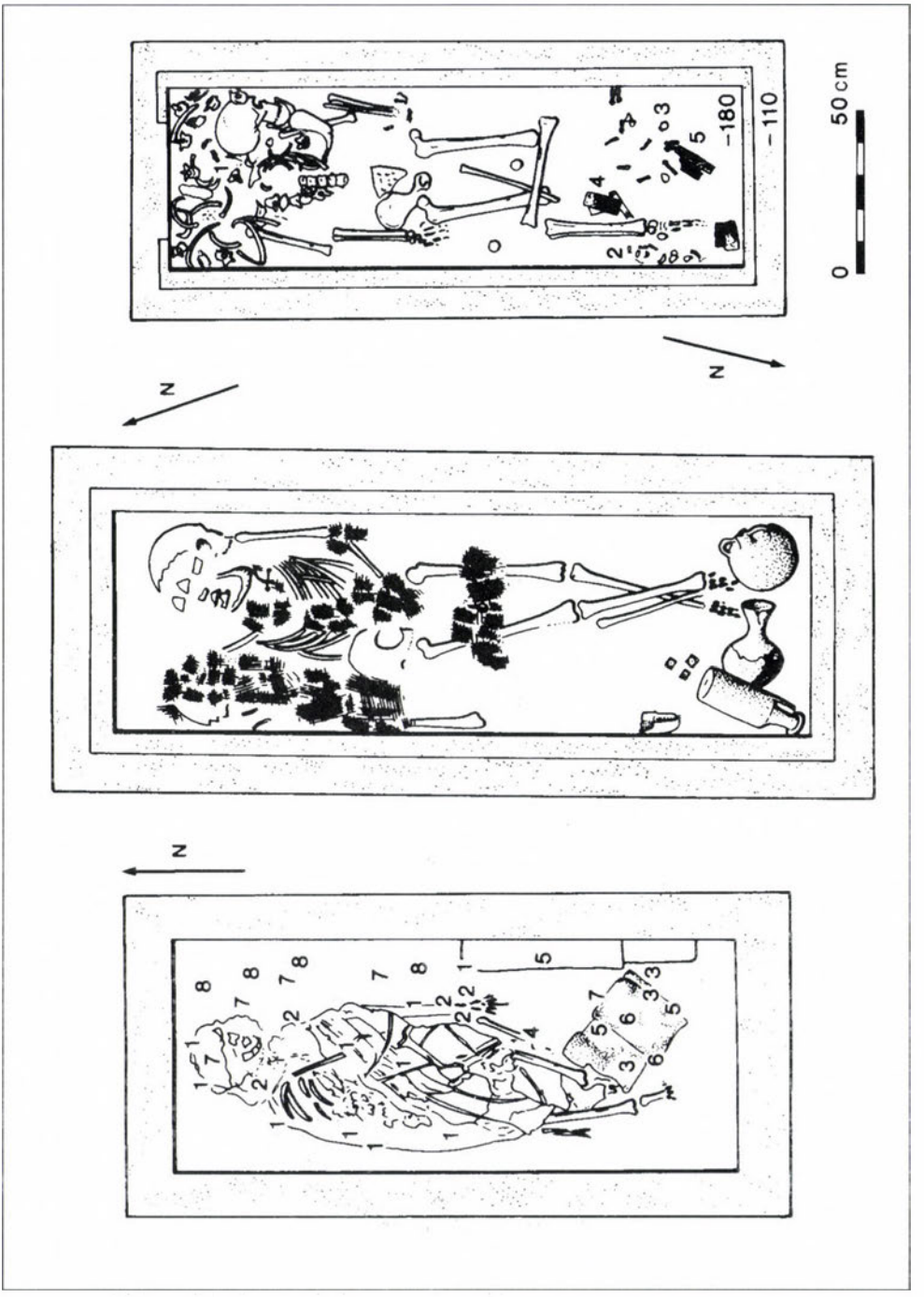


Fig. 5

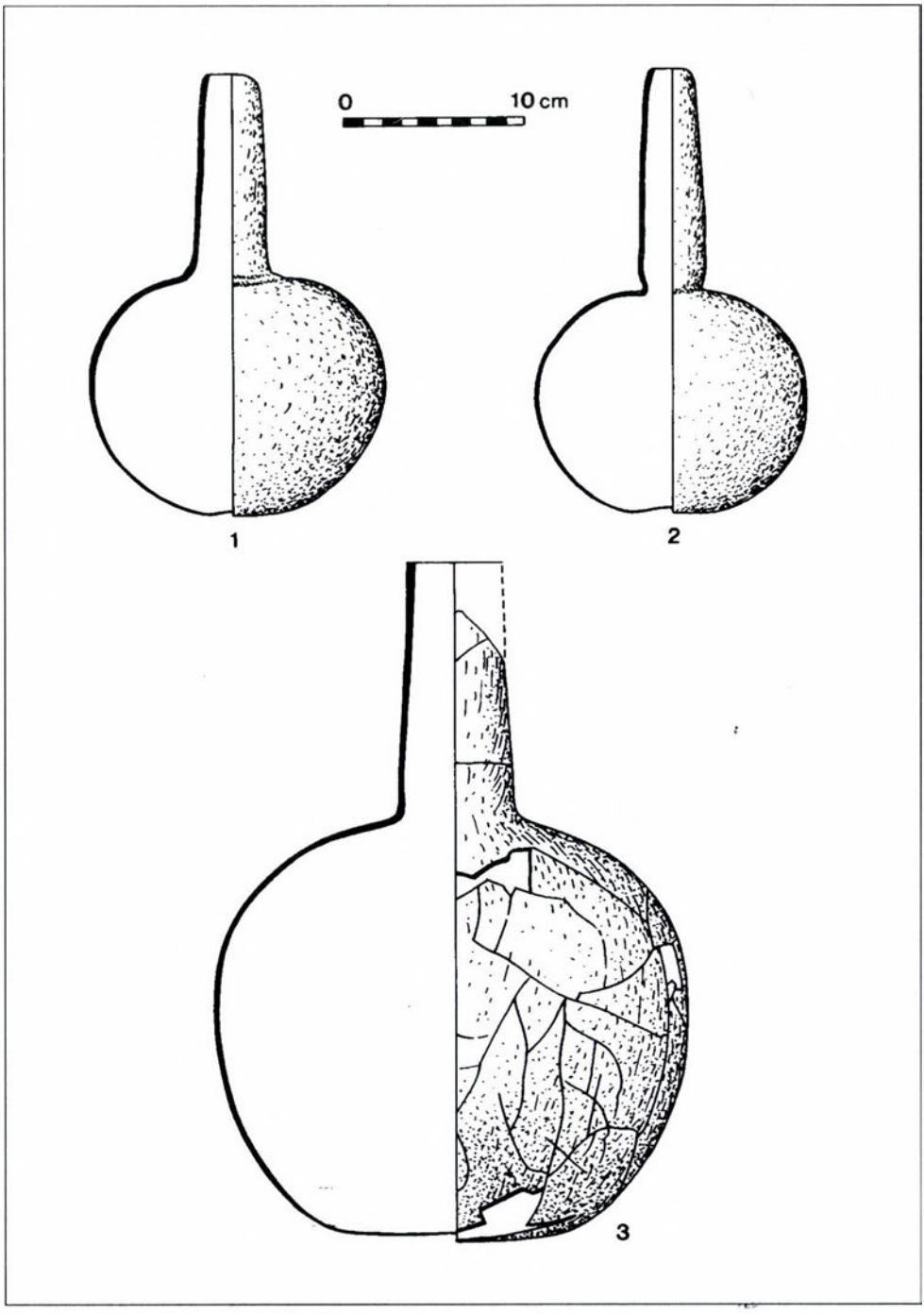


Fig. 6

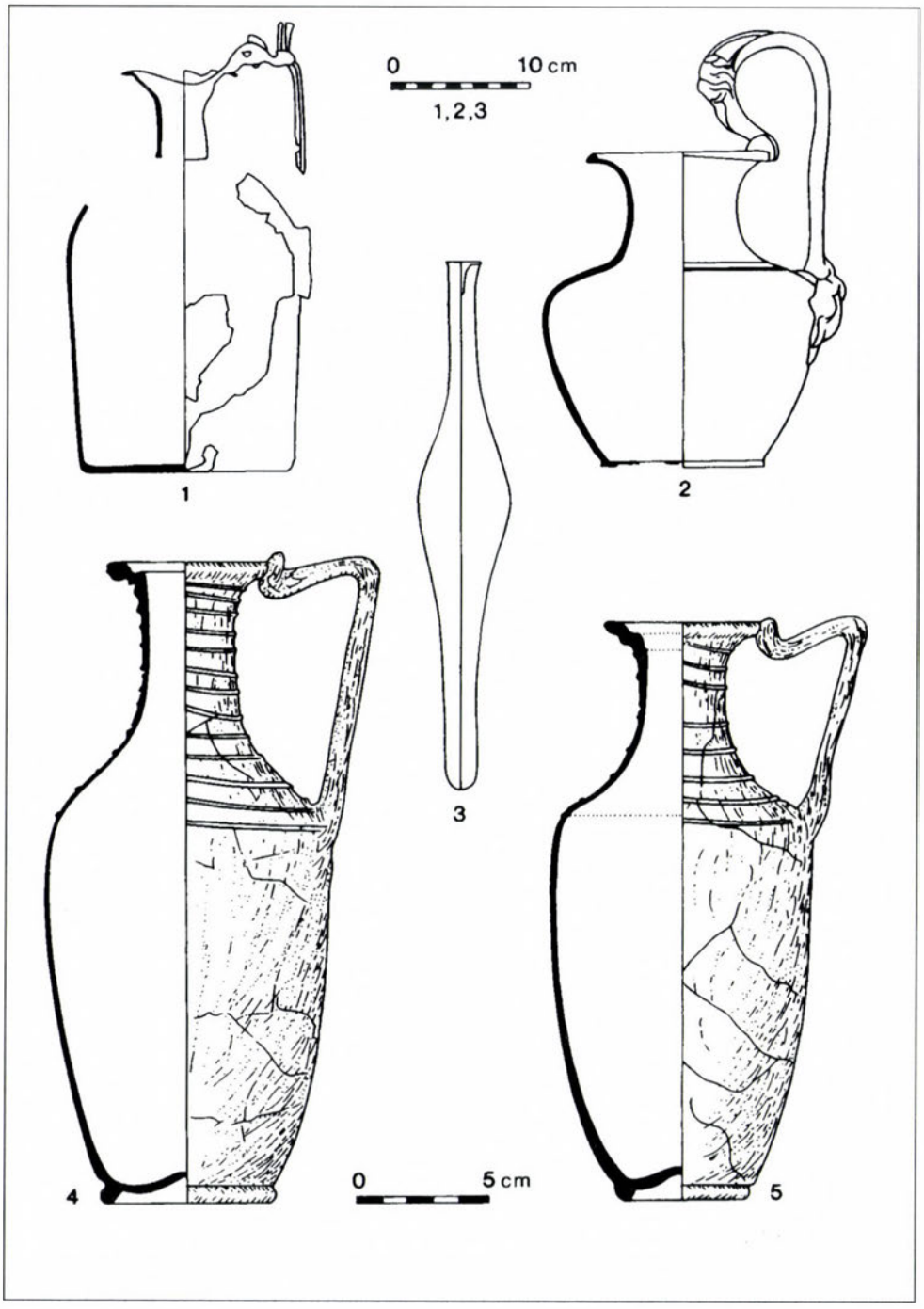


Fig. 7

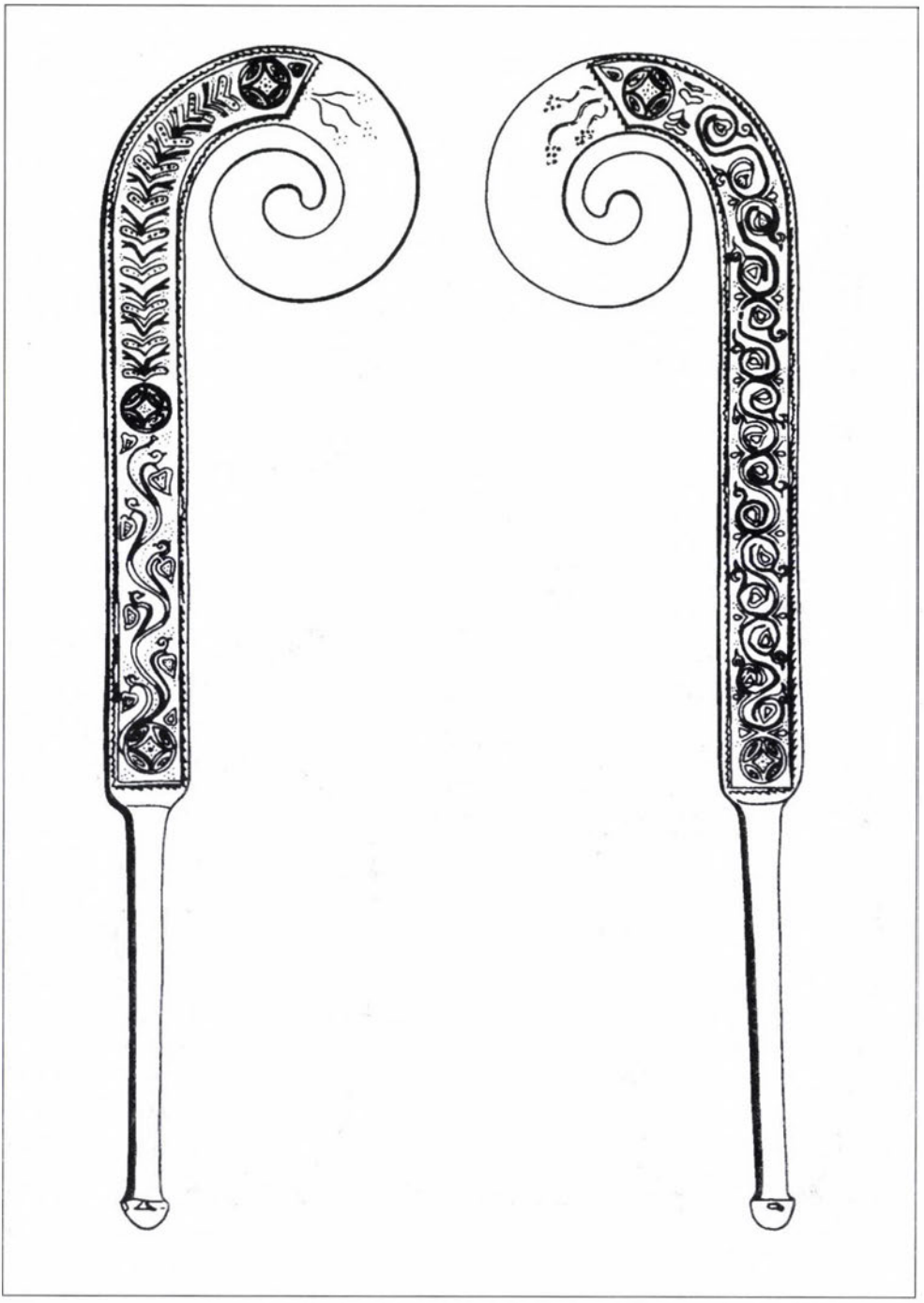


Fig. 8

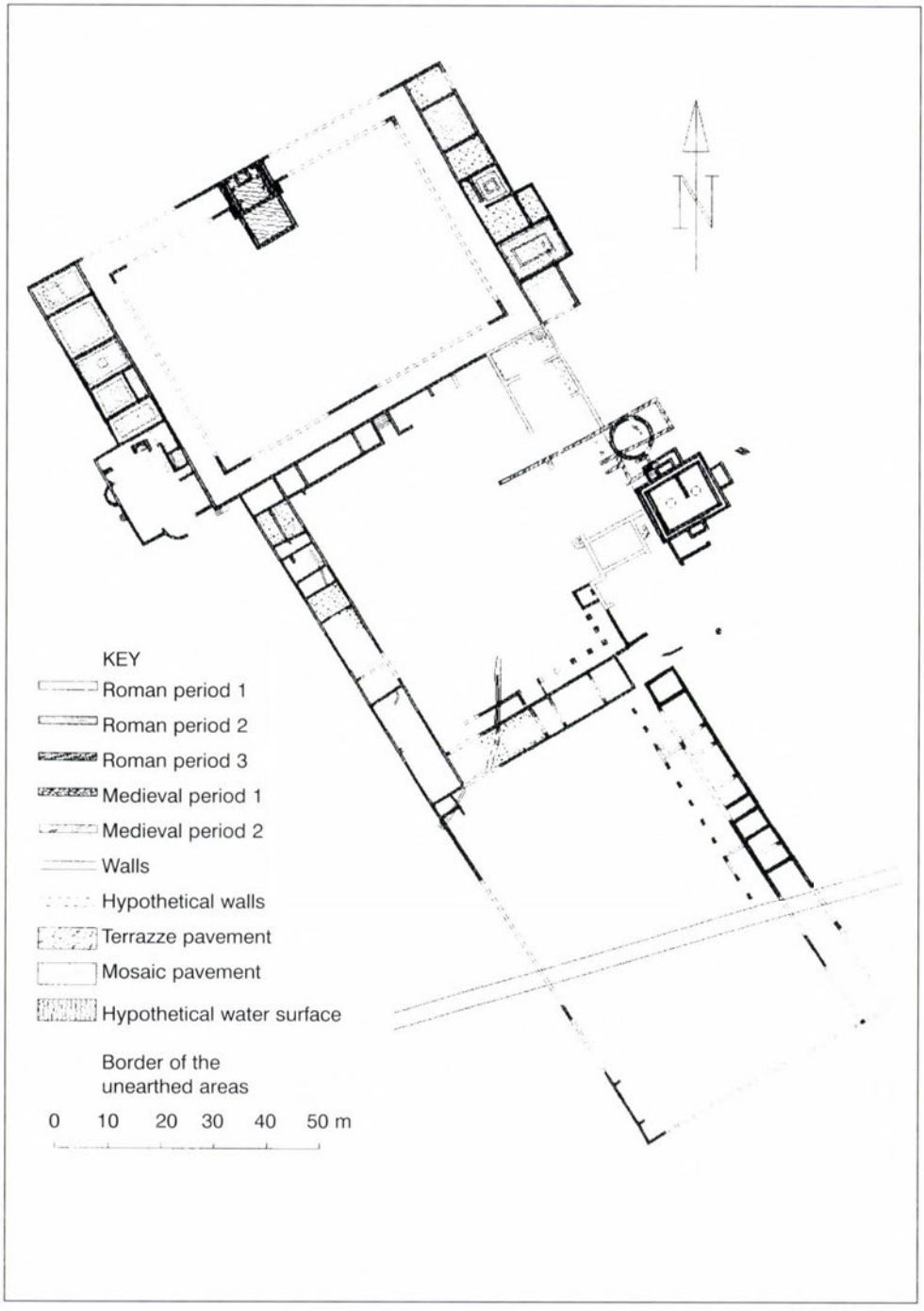

N
KEY
Roman period 1
Roman period 2
Roman period 3
Medieval period 1
Medieval period 2
Walls
Hypothetical walls
Terrazze pavement
Mosaic pavement
Hypothetical water surface
Border of the unearthed areas
0 10 20 30 40 50 m

Fig. 1

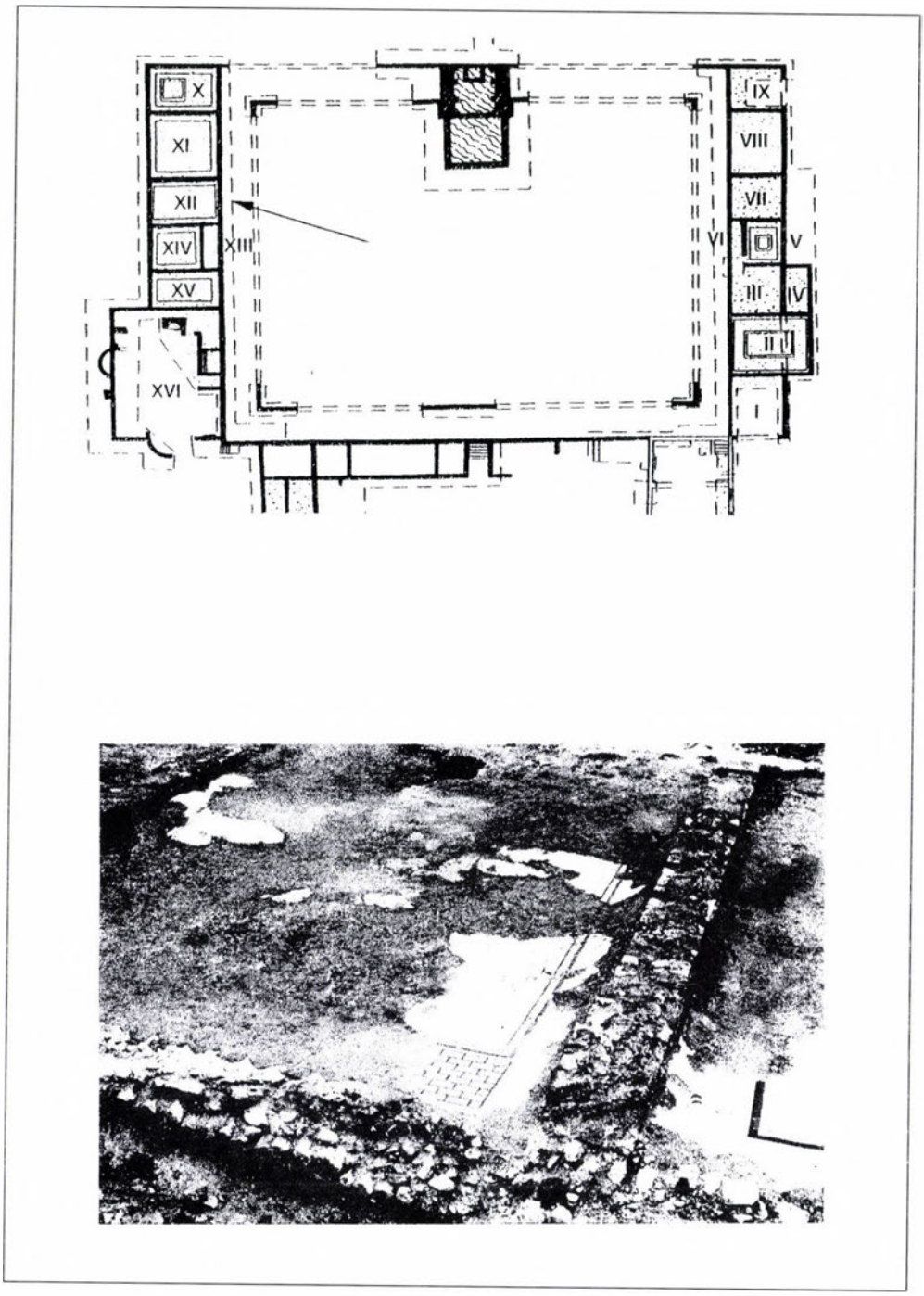


Fig. 2

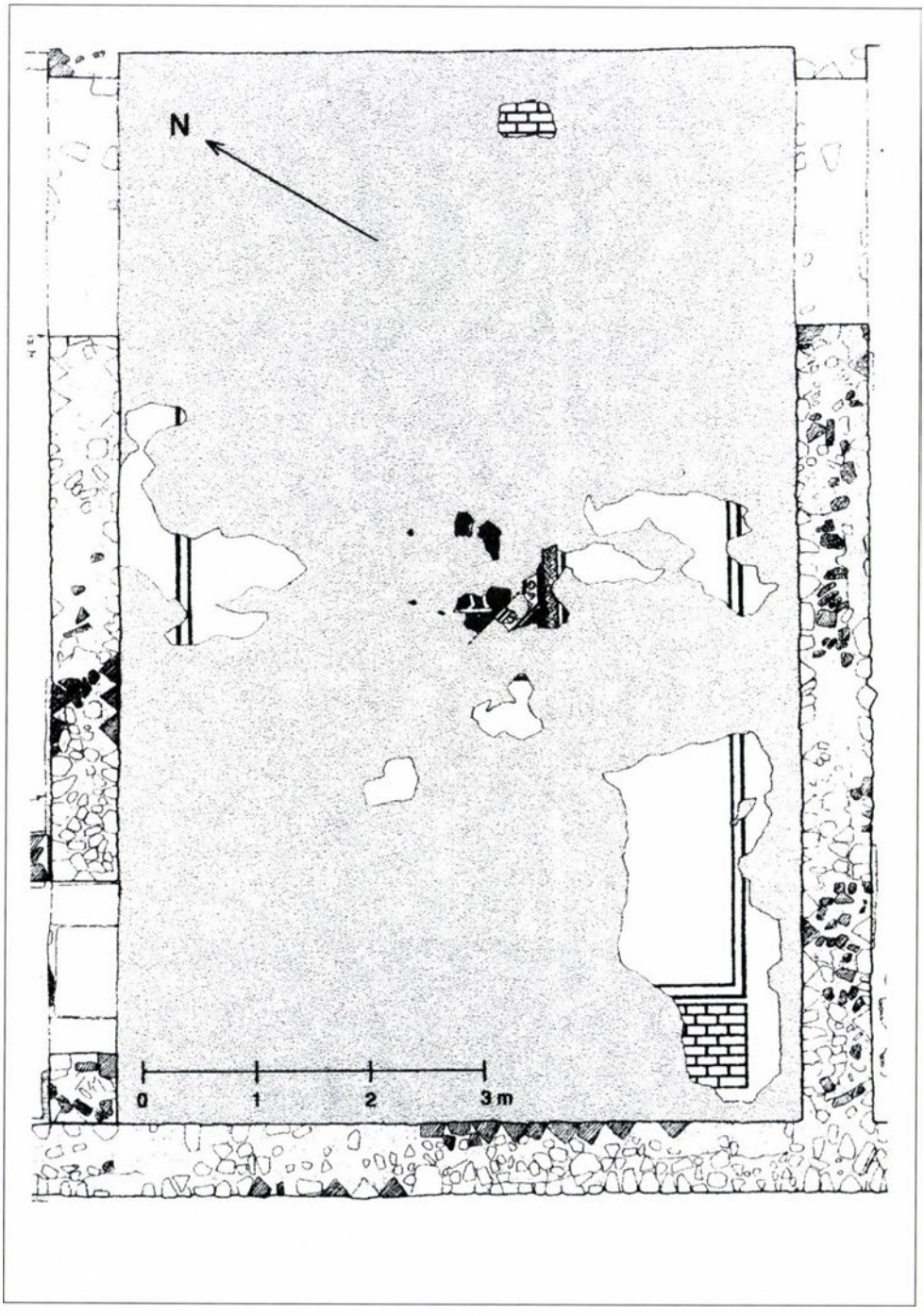


Fig. 3

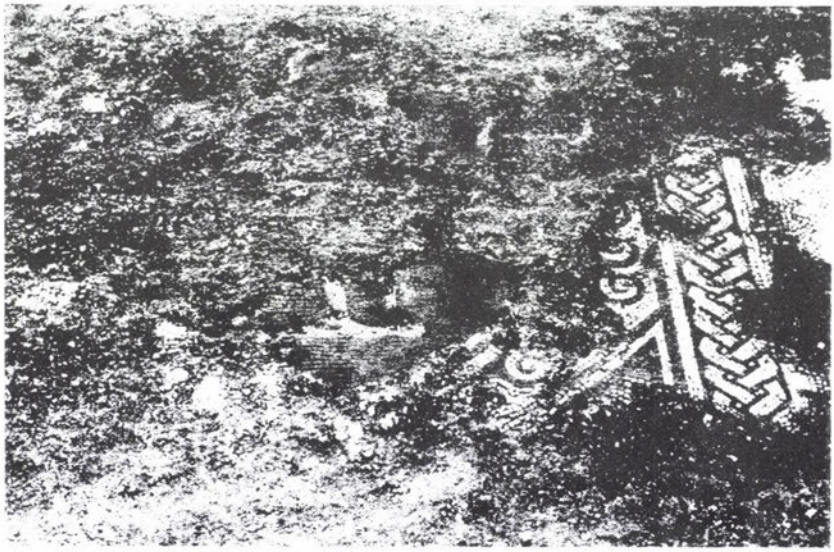
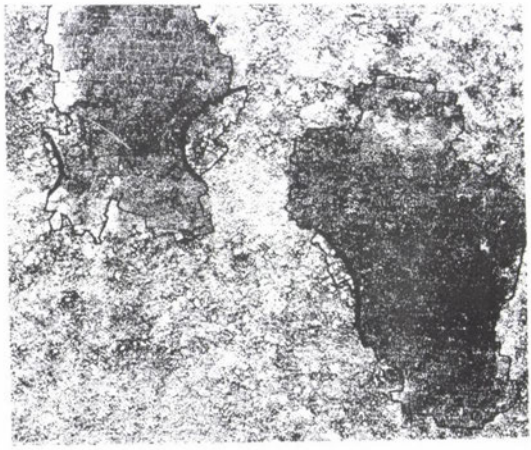


Fig. 4



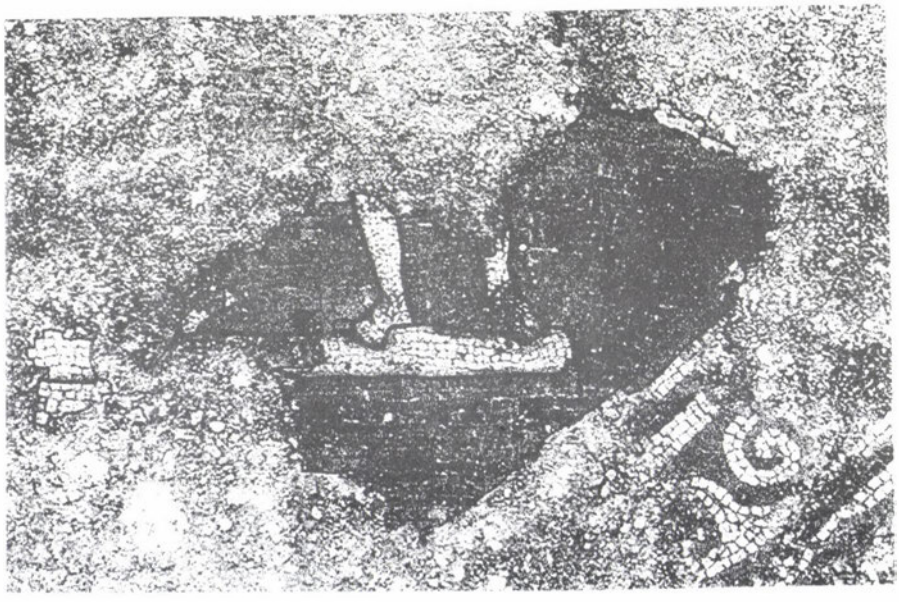


Fig. 5

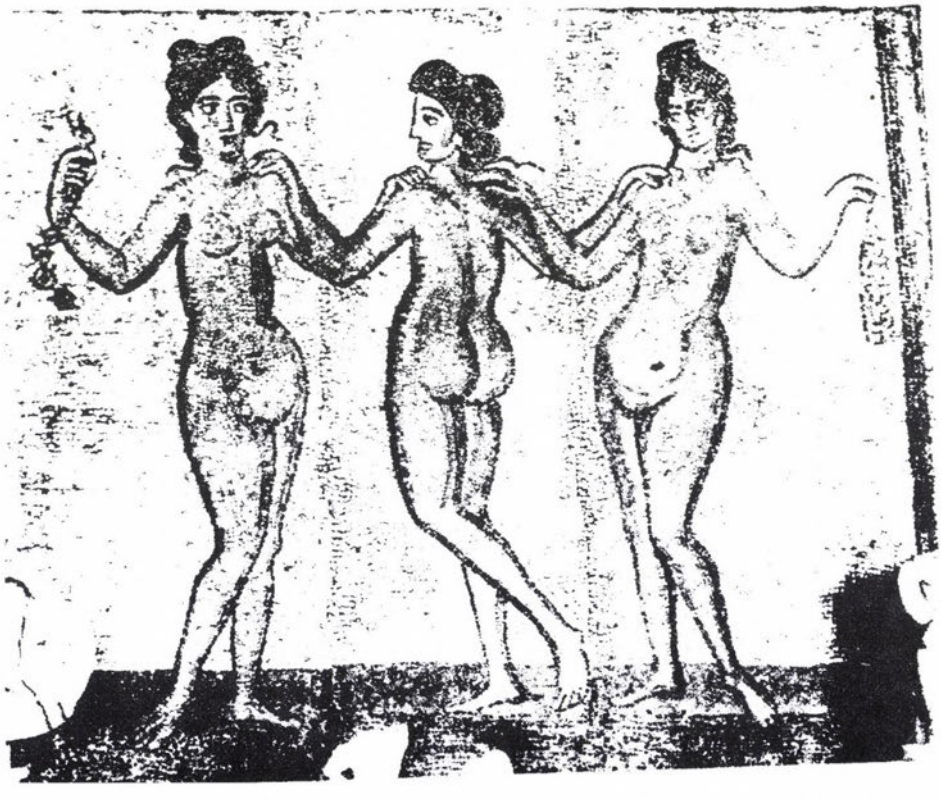


Fig. 6

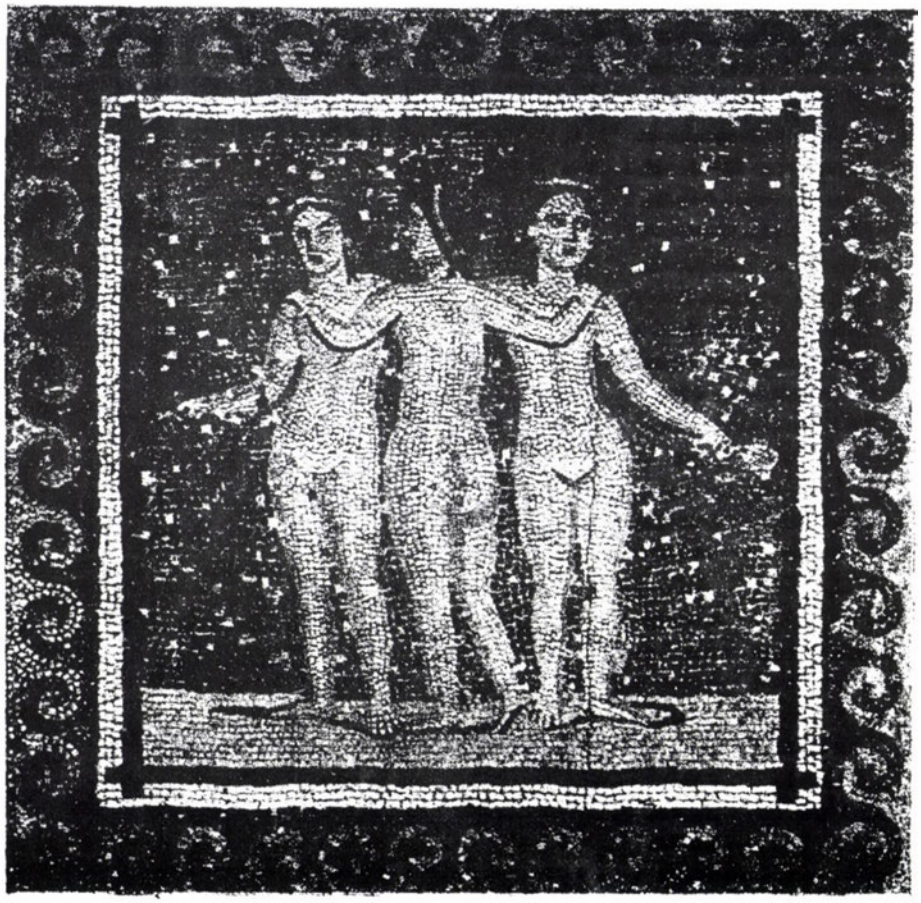


Fig. 7

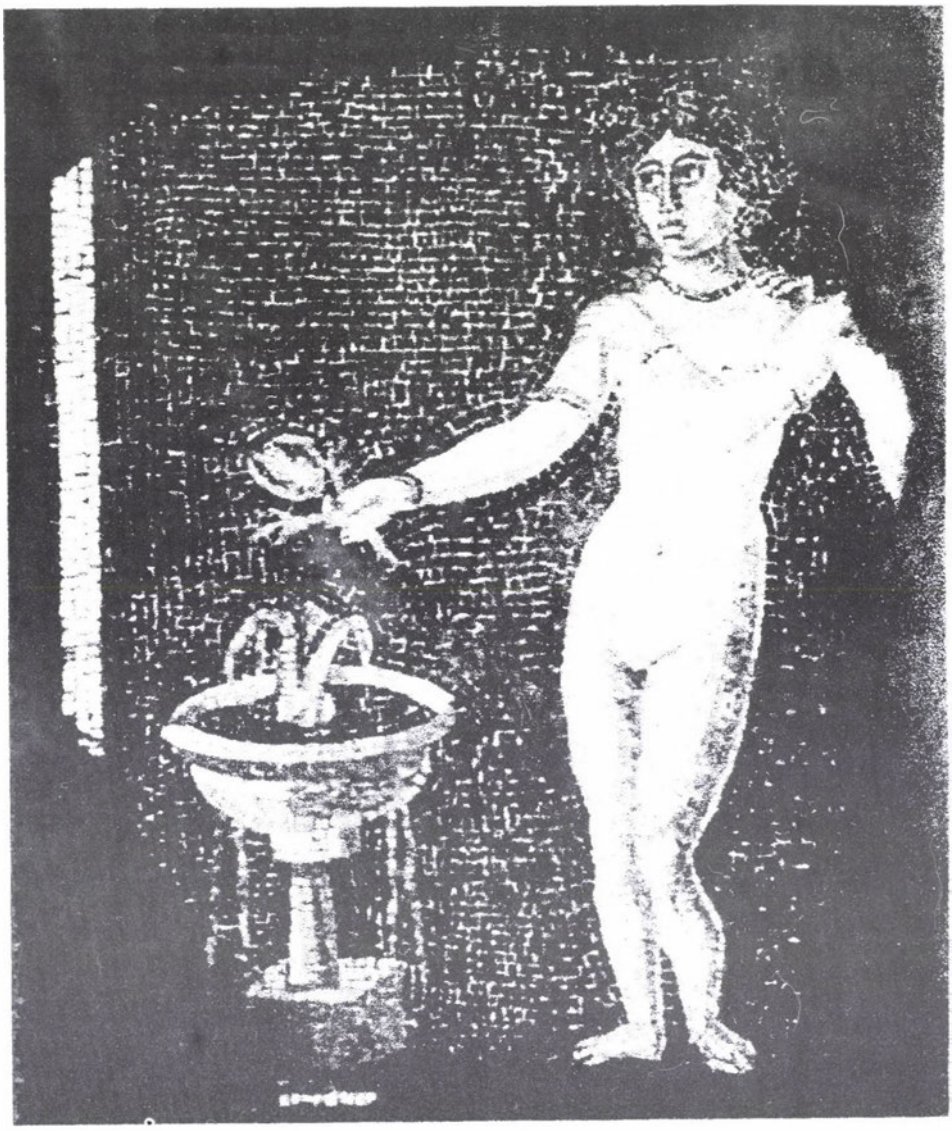


Fig. 8

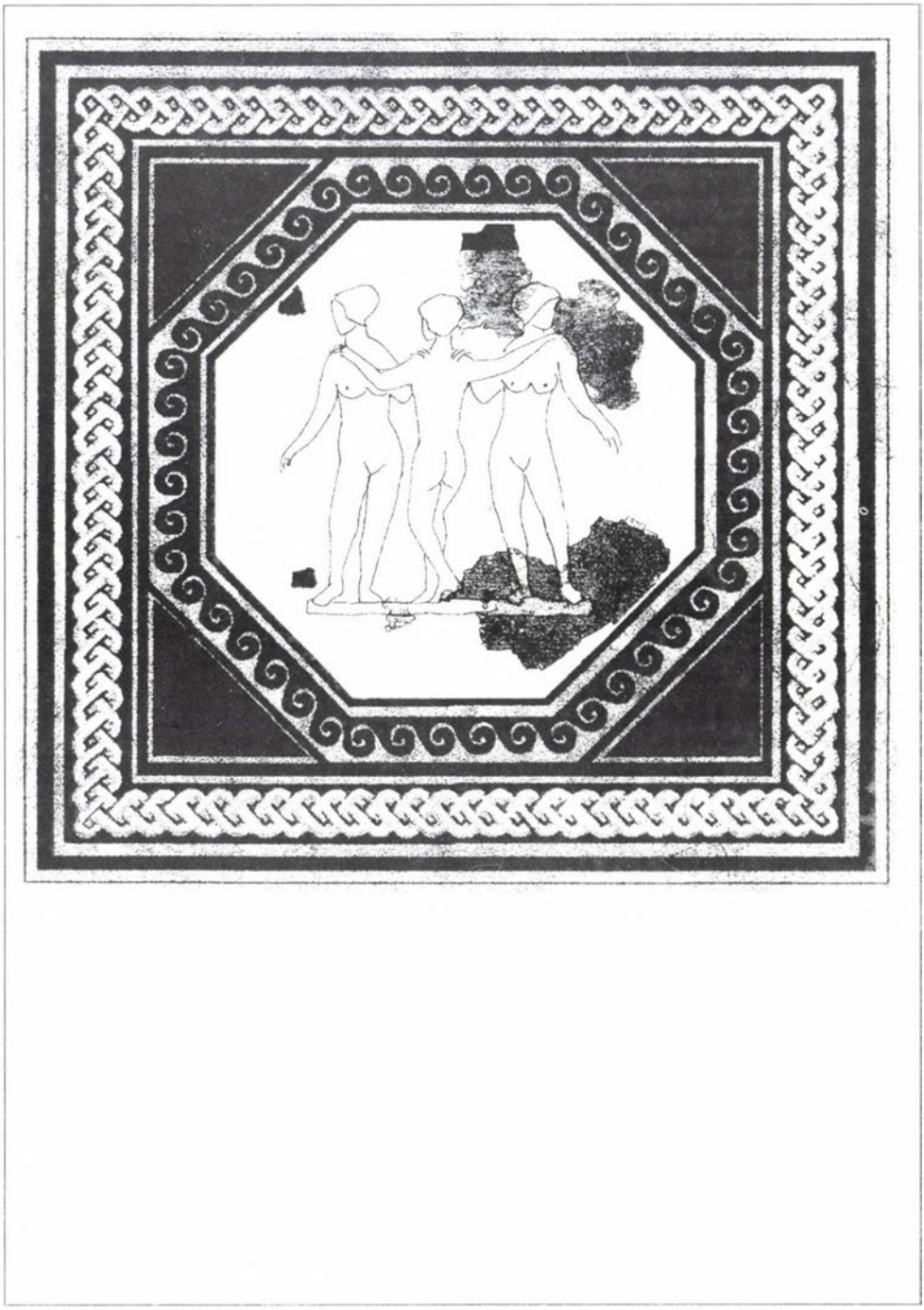


Fig. 9

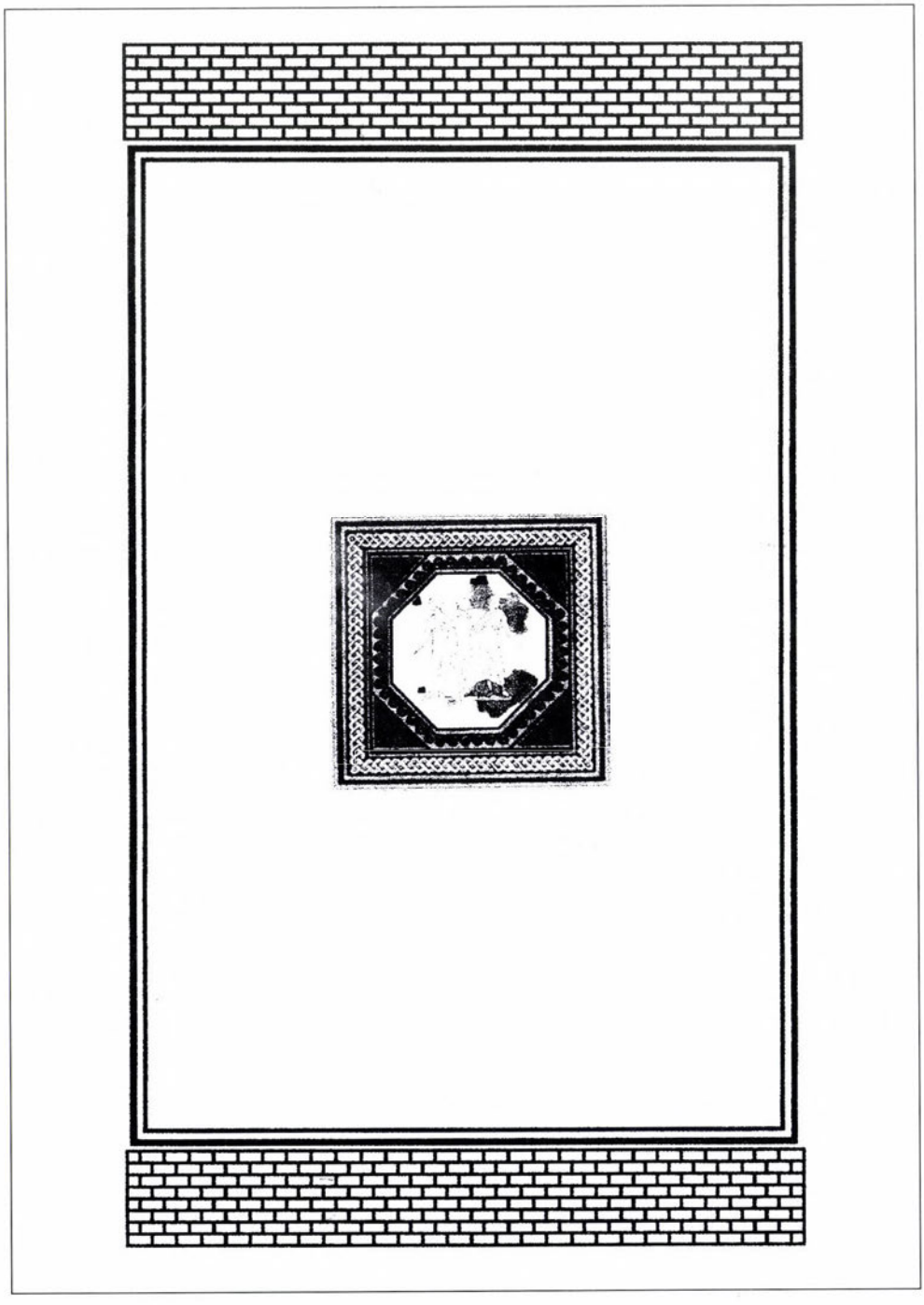


Fig. 10

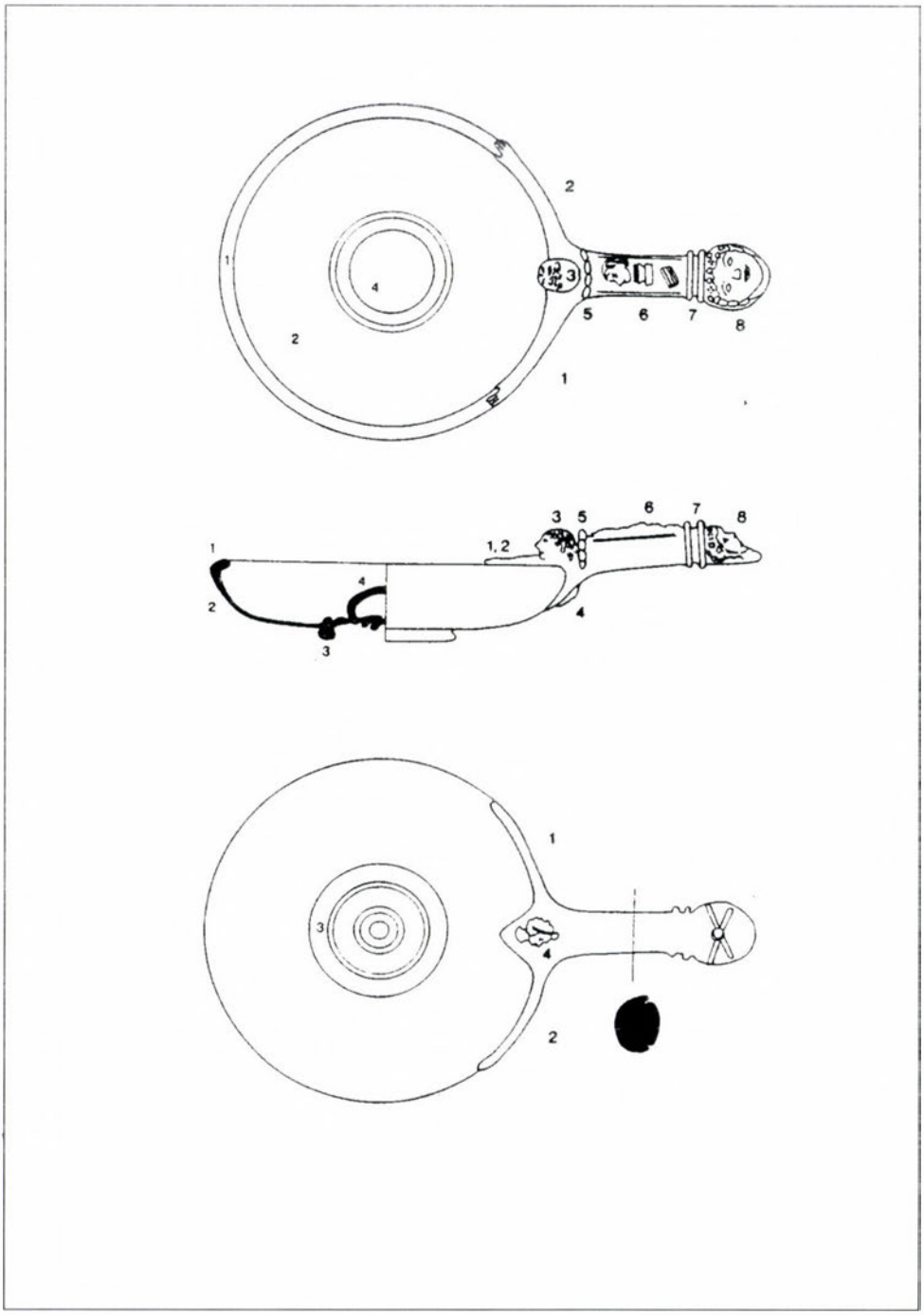
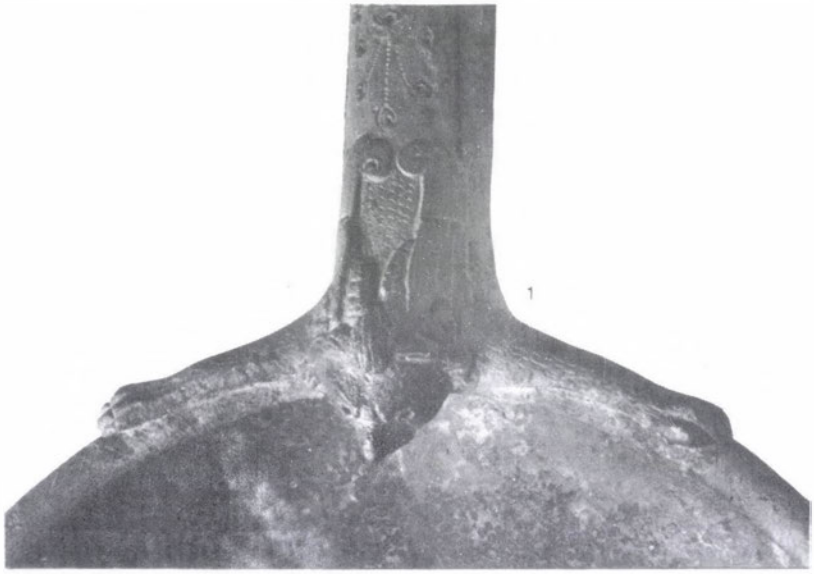


Abb. 1



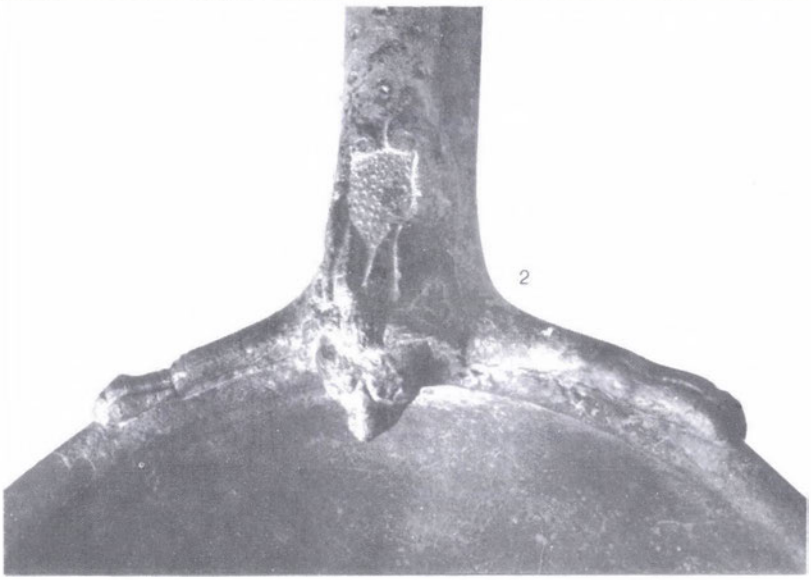


Abb. 2

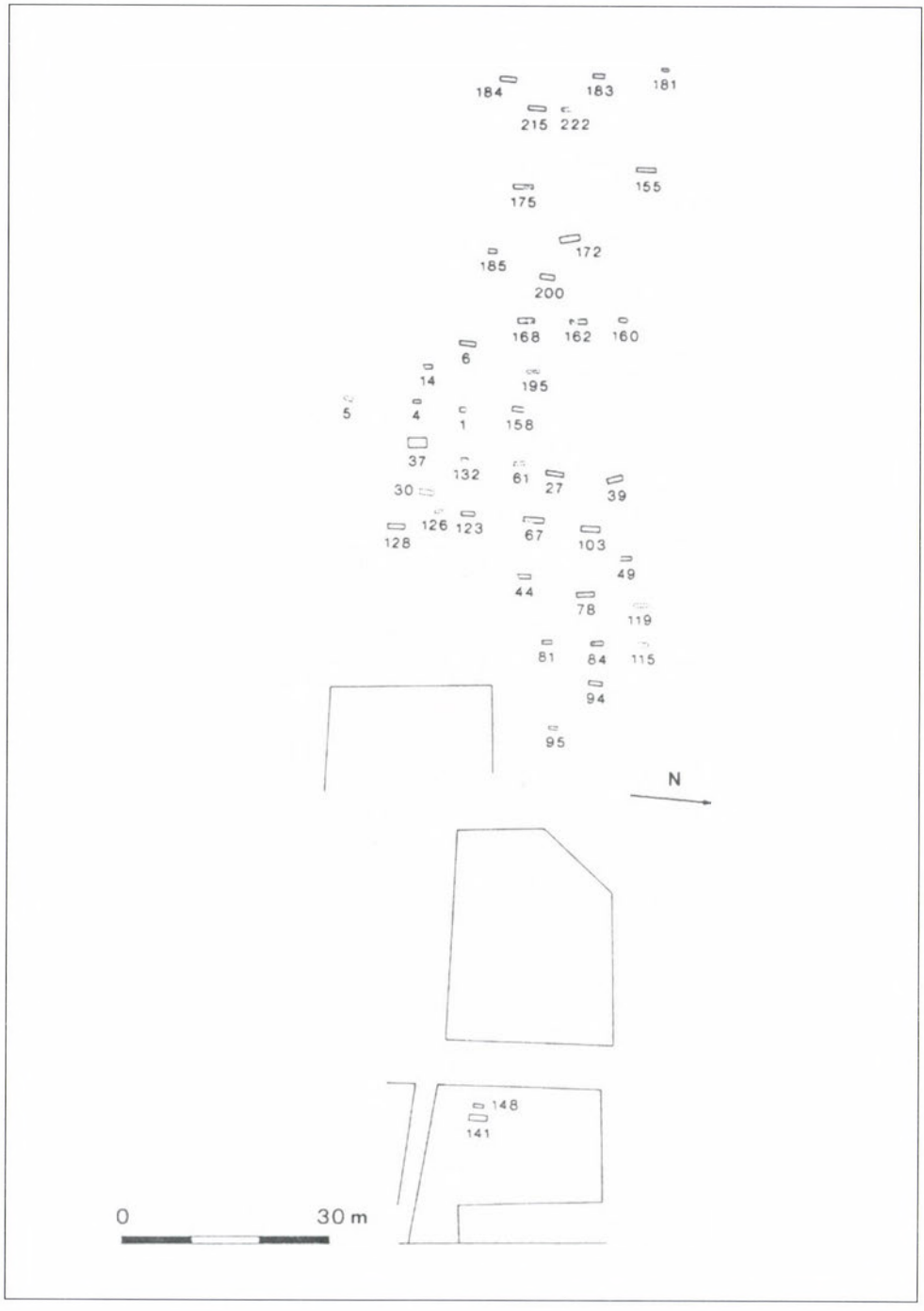

184
183
181
215
222
175
155
172
185
200
168
162
160
6
14
195
5
4
1
158
37
132
61
27
39
30
126
123
67
103
128
49
44
78
119
81
84
115
94
95
N
148
141
0
30 m

Fig. 1

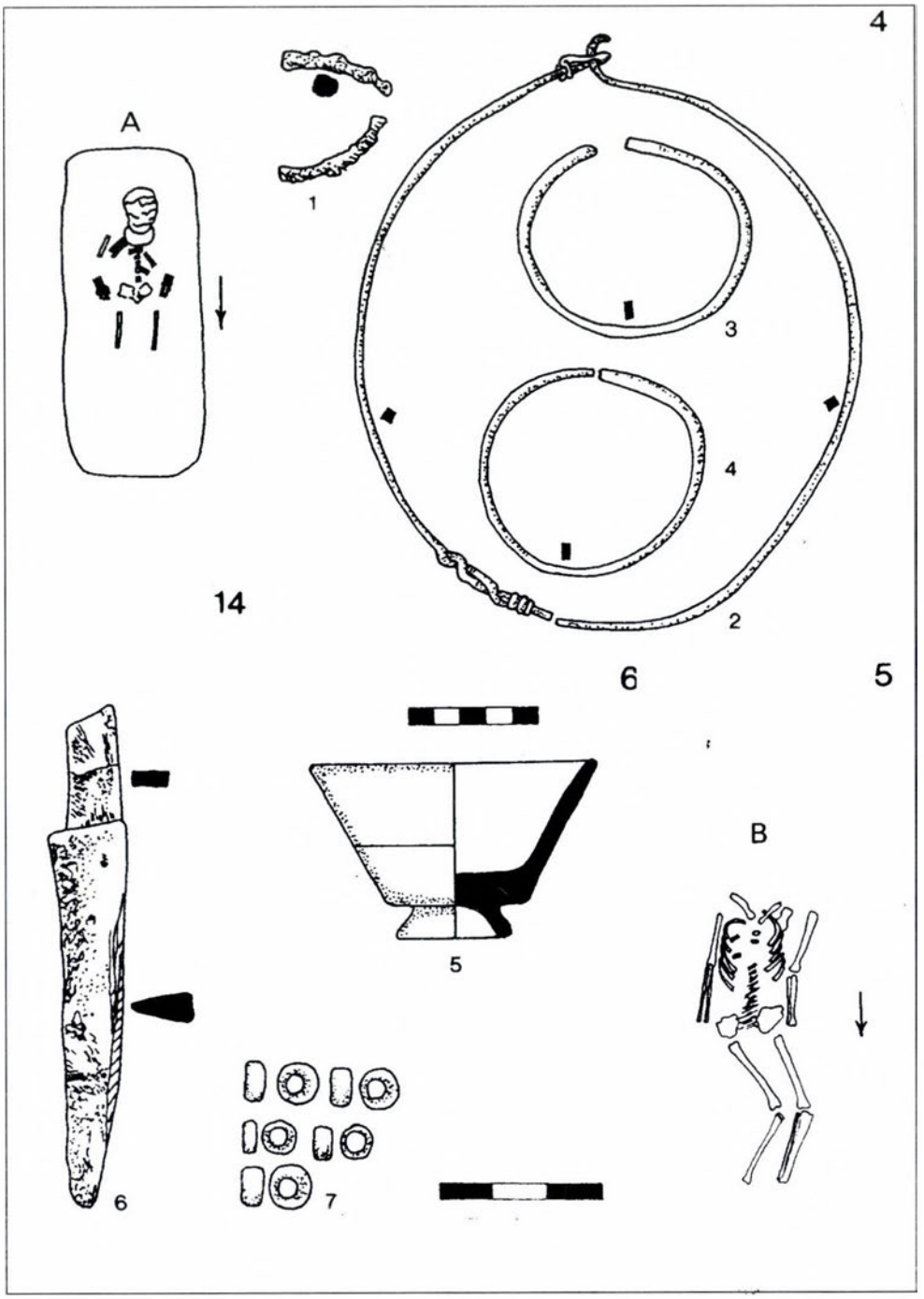


Plate I

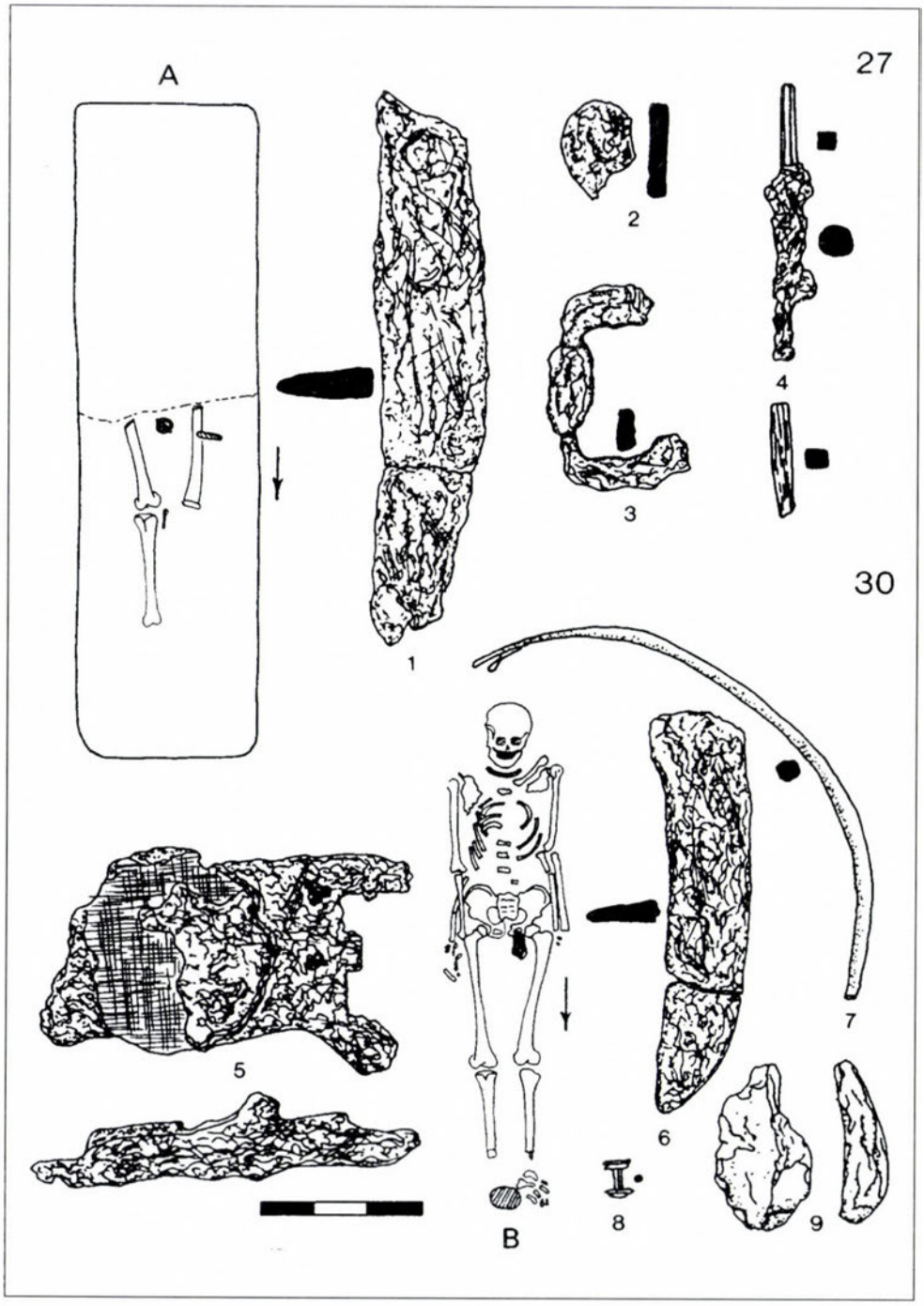


Plate II

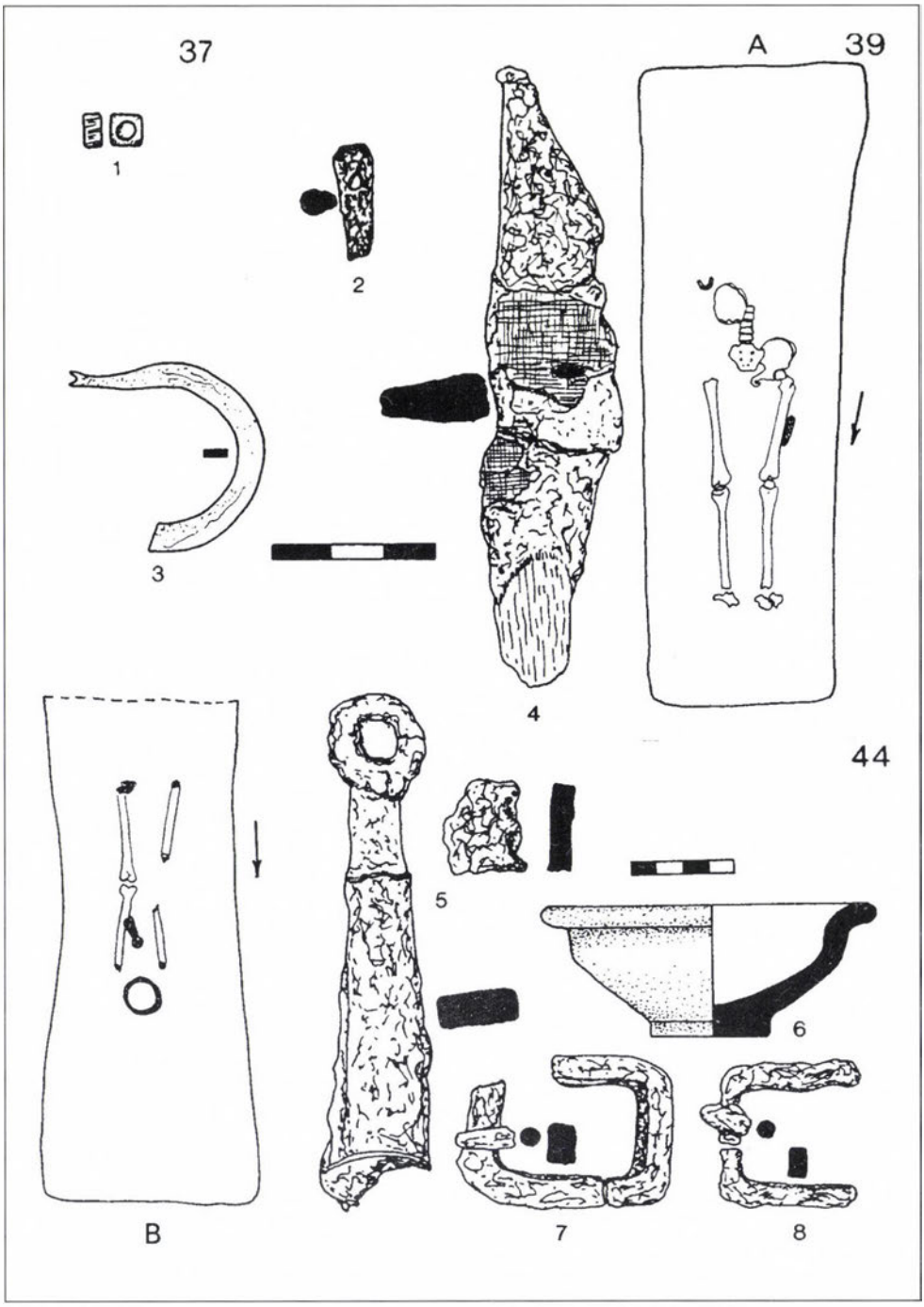


Plate III

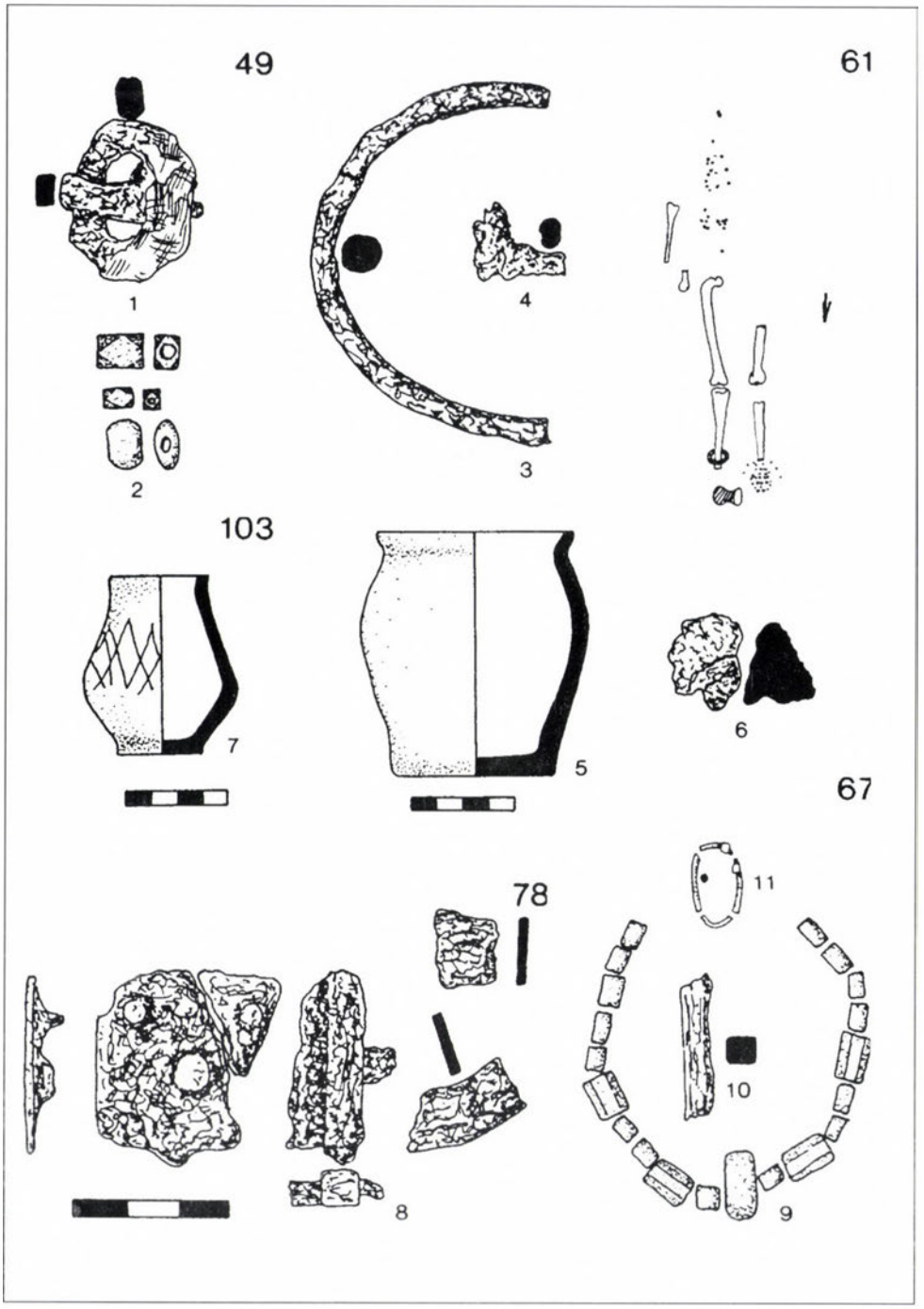


Plate IV

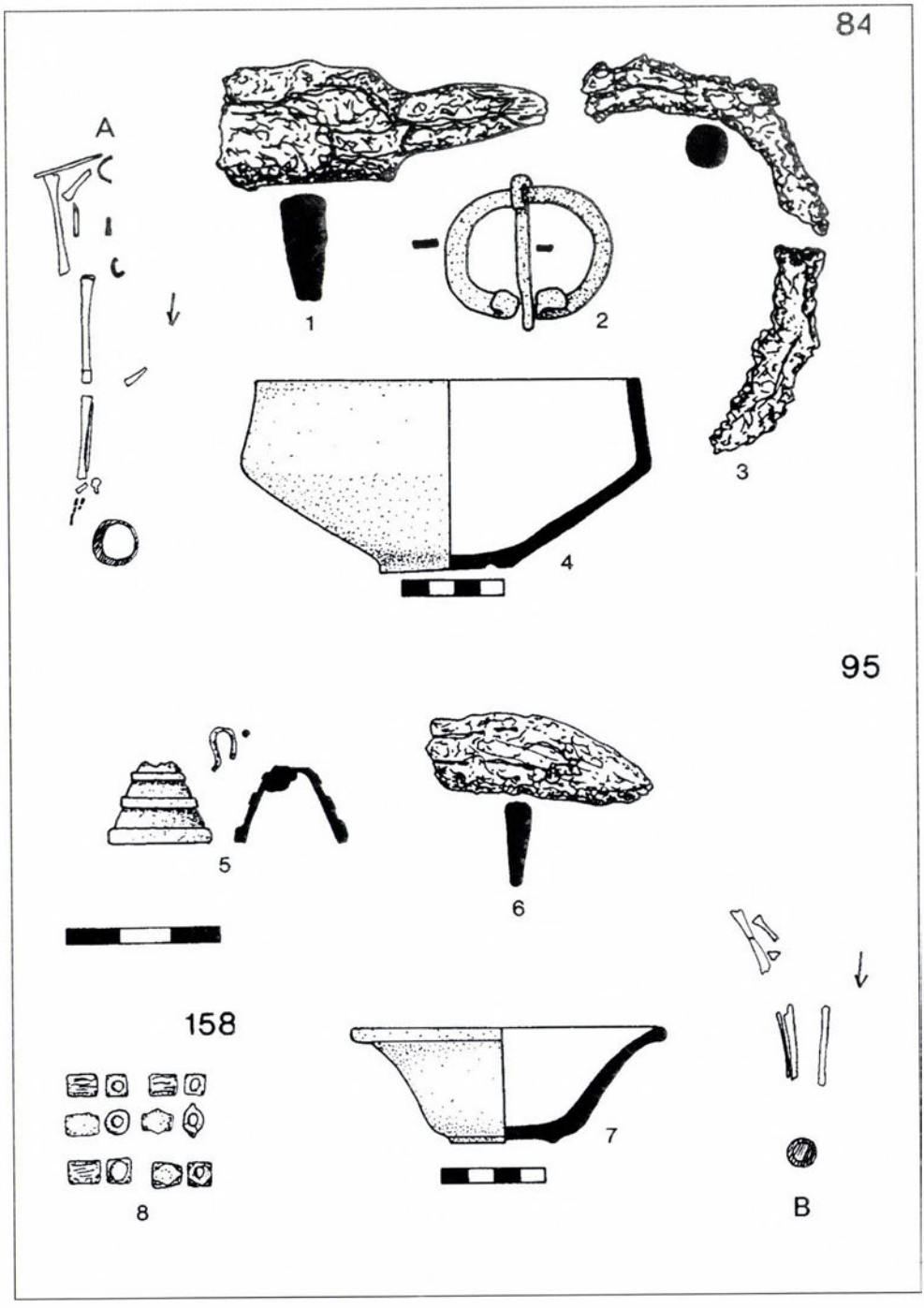


Plate V

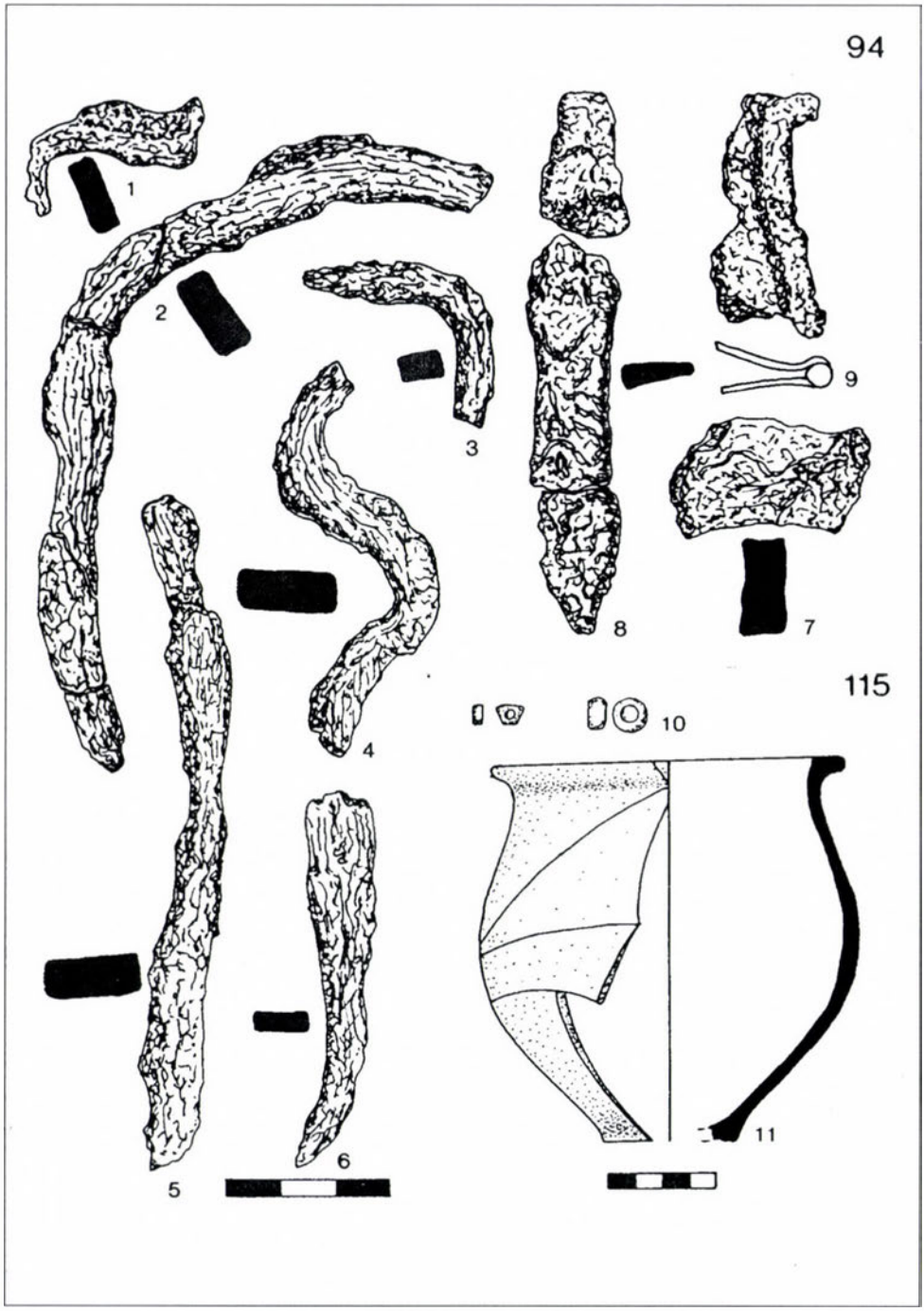


Plate VI

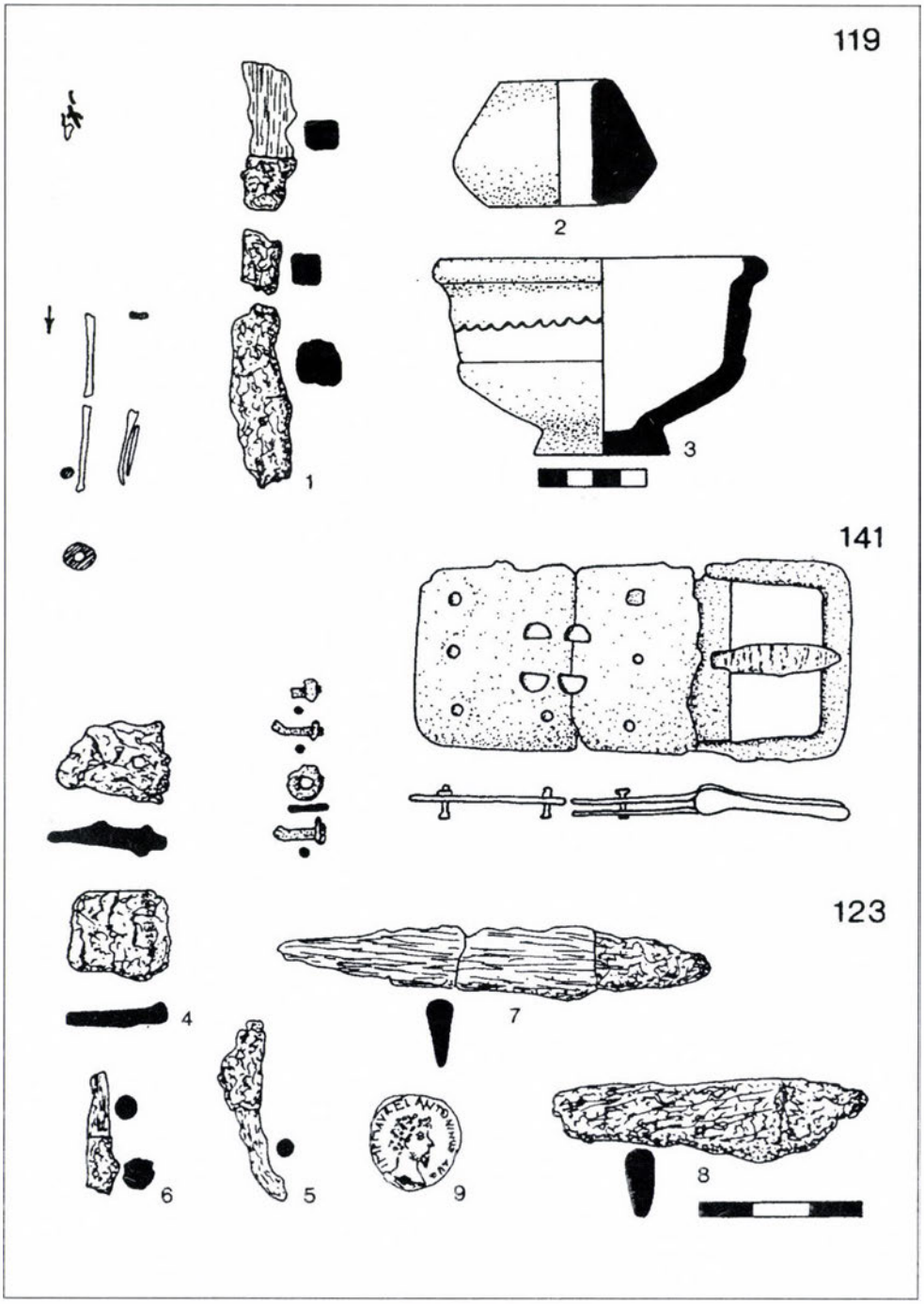


Plate VII

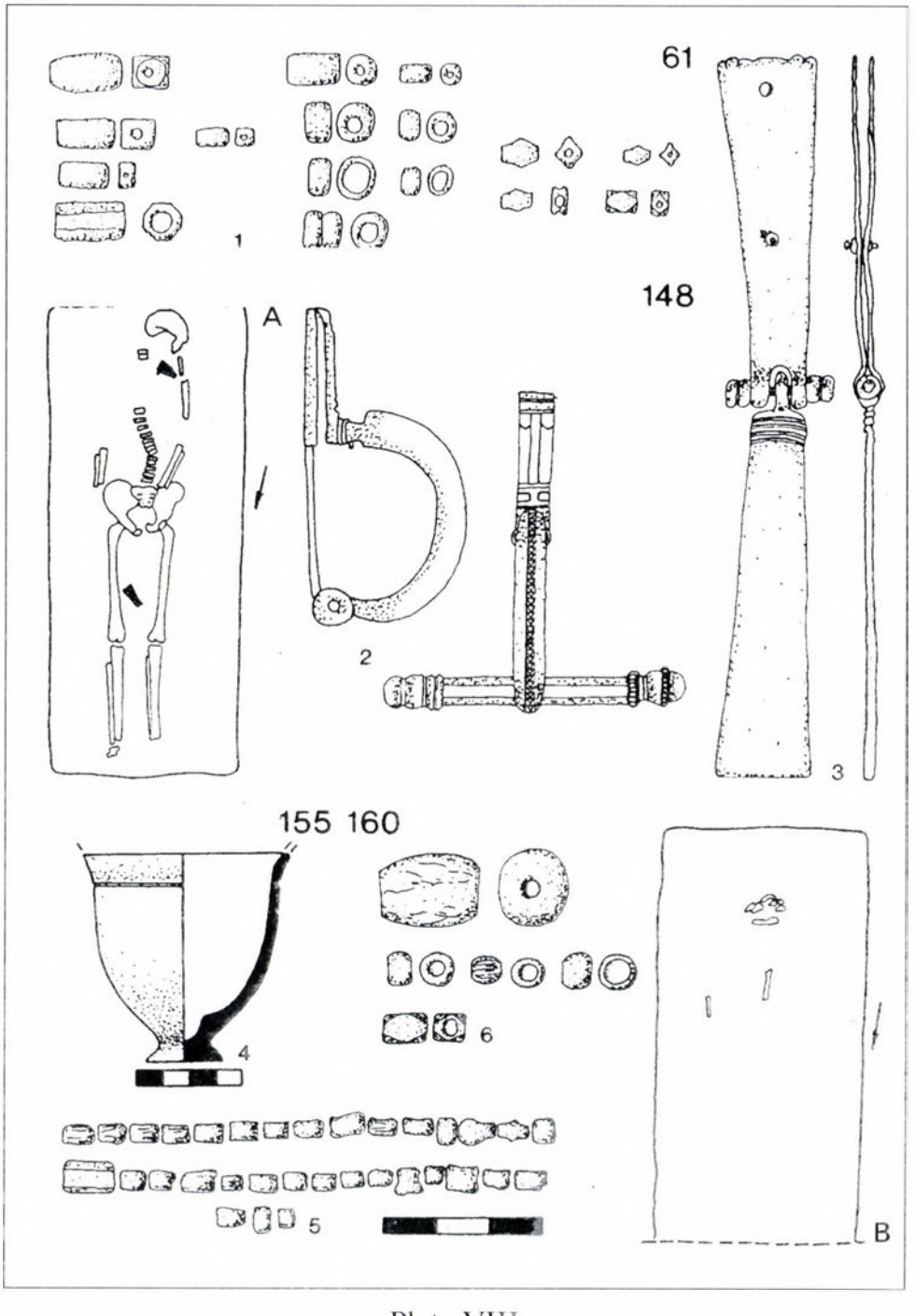


Plate VIII

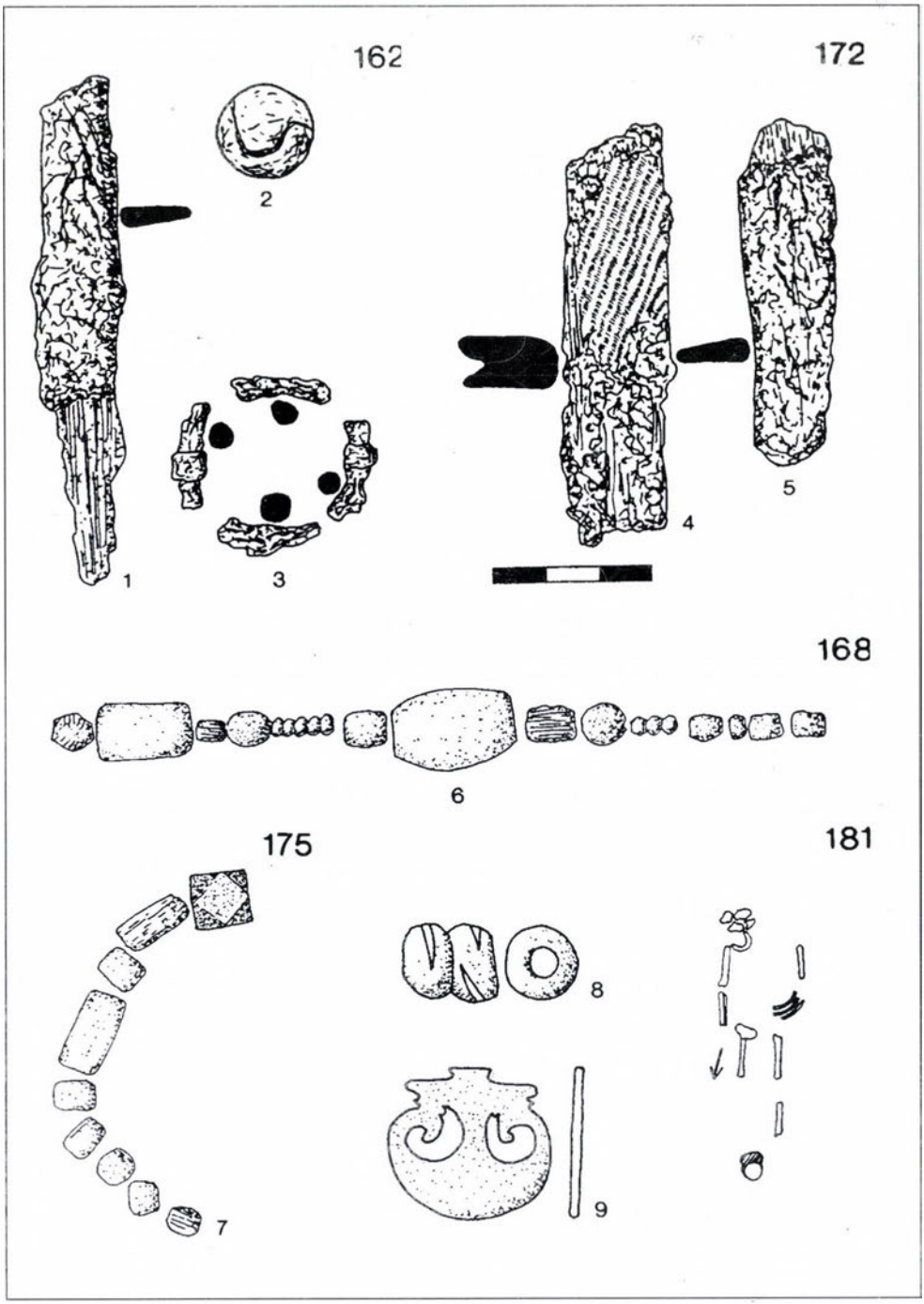


Plate IX

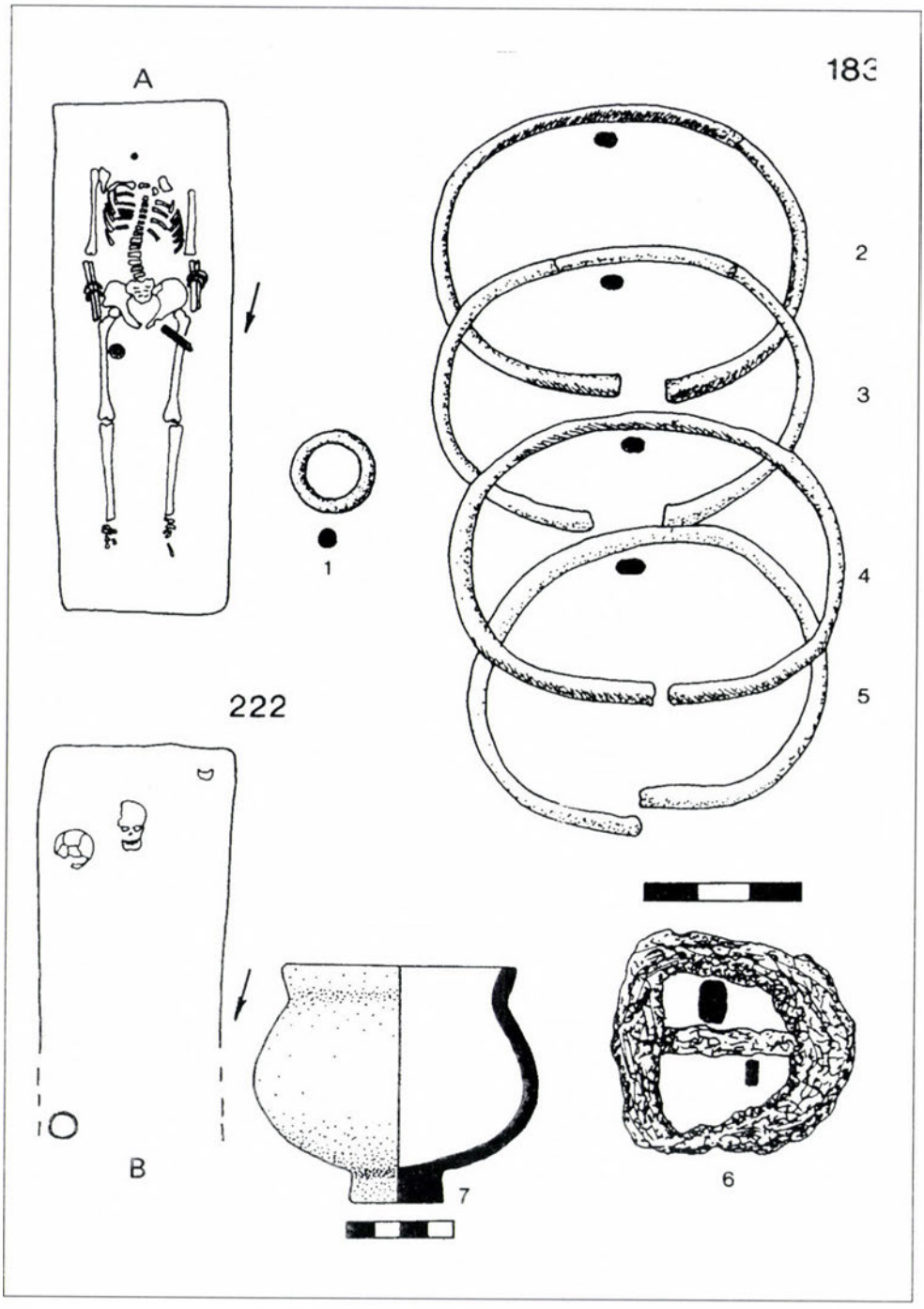


Plate X

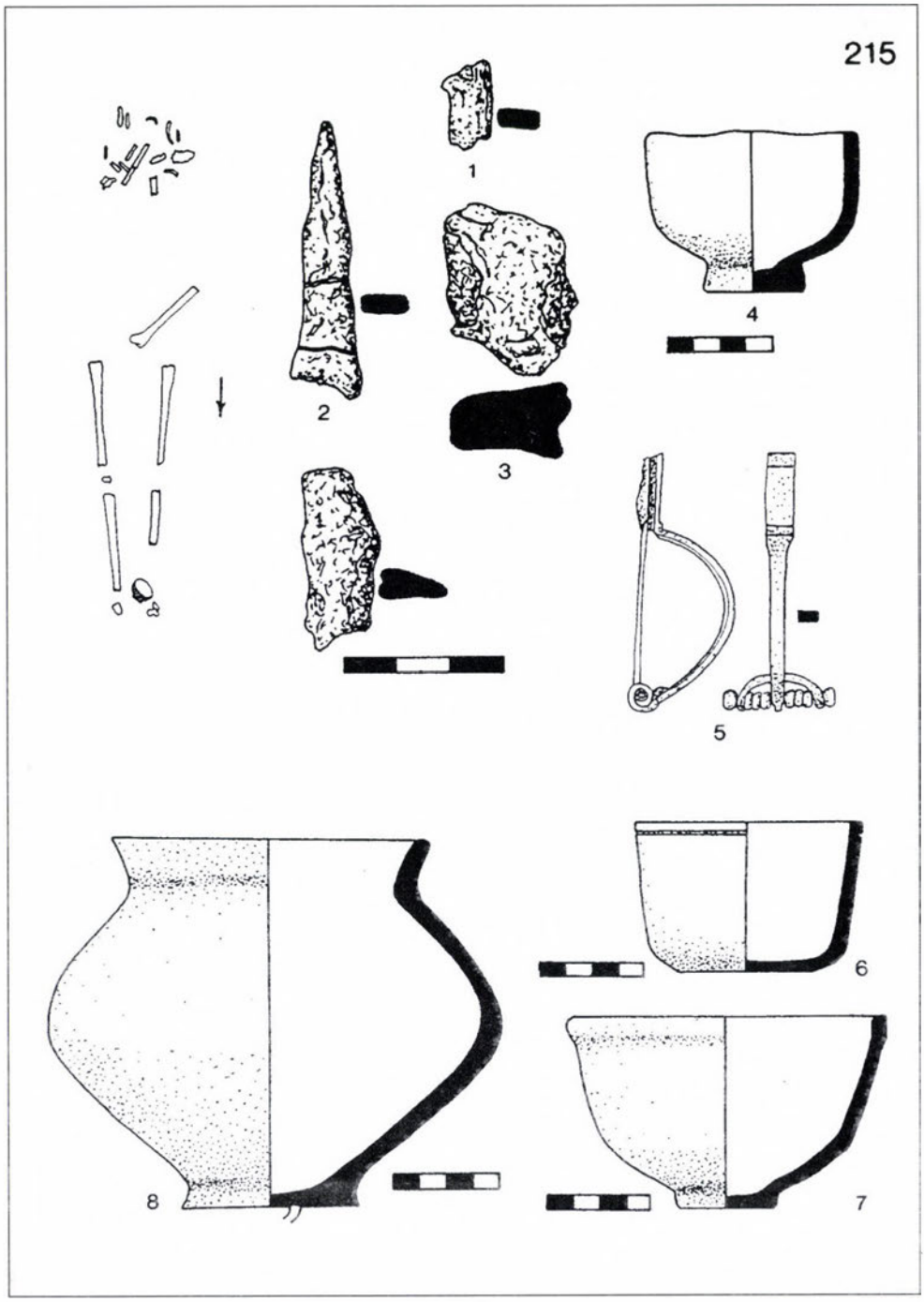


Plate XI

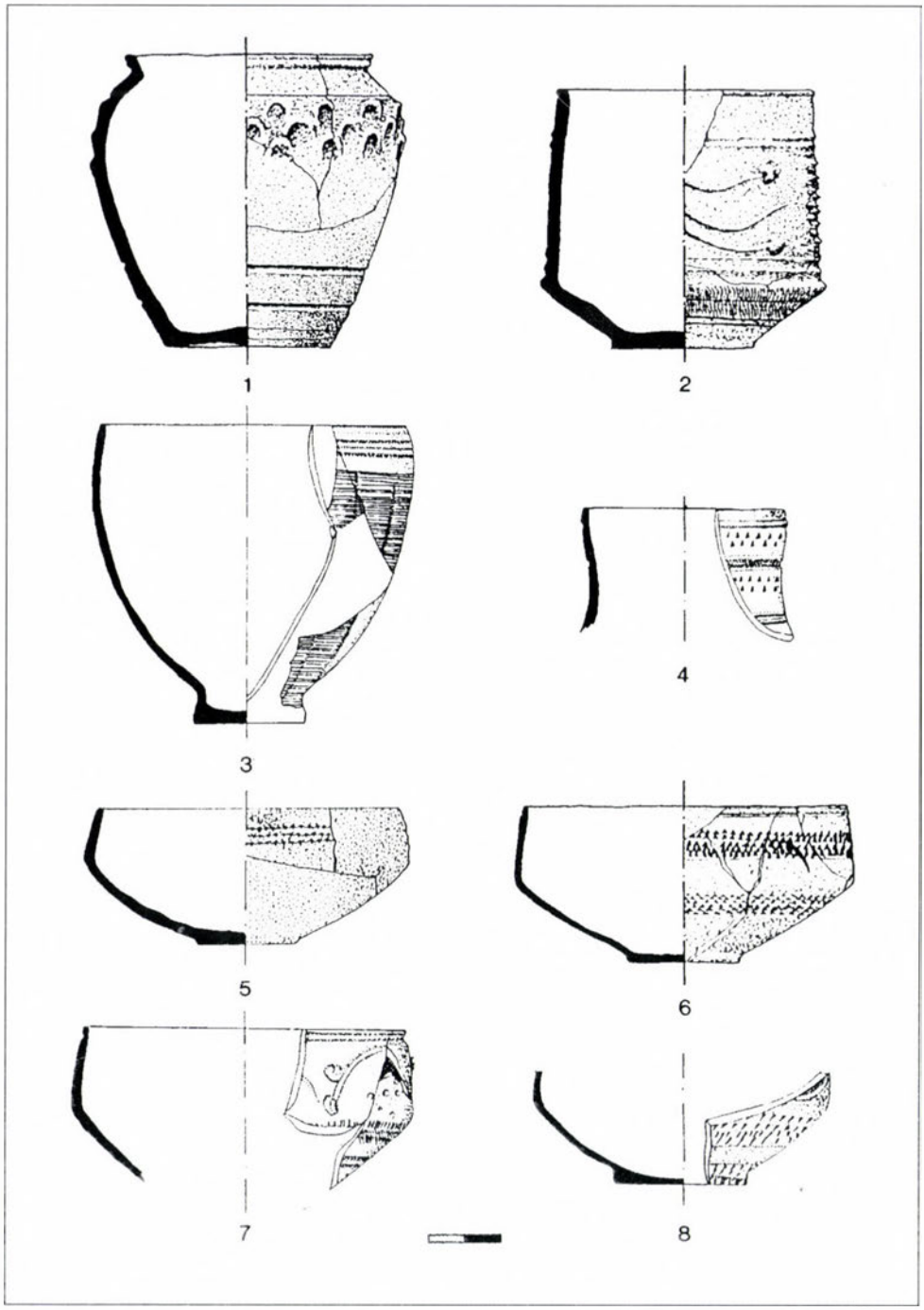


Plate 1

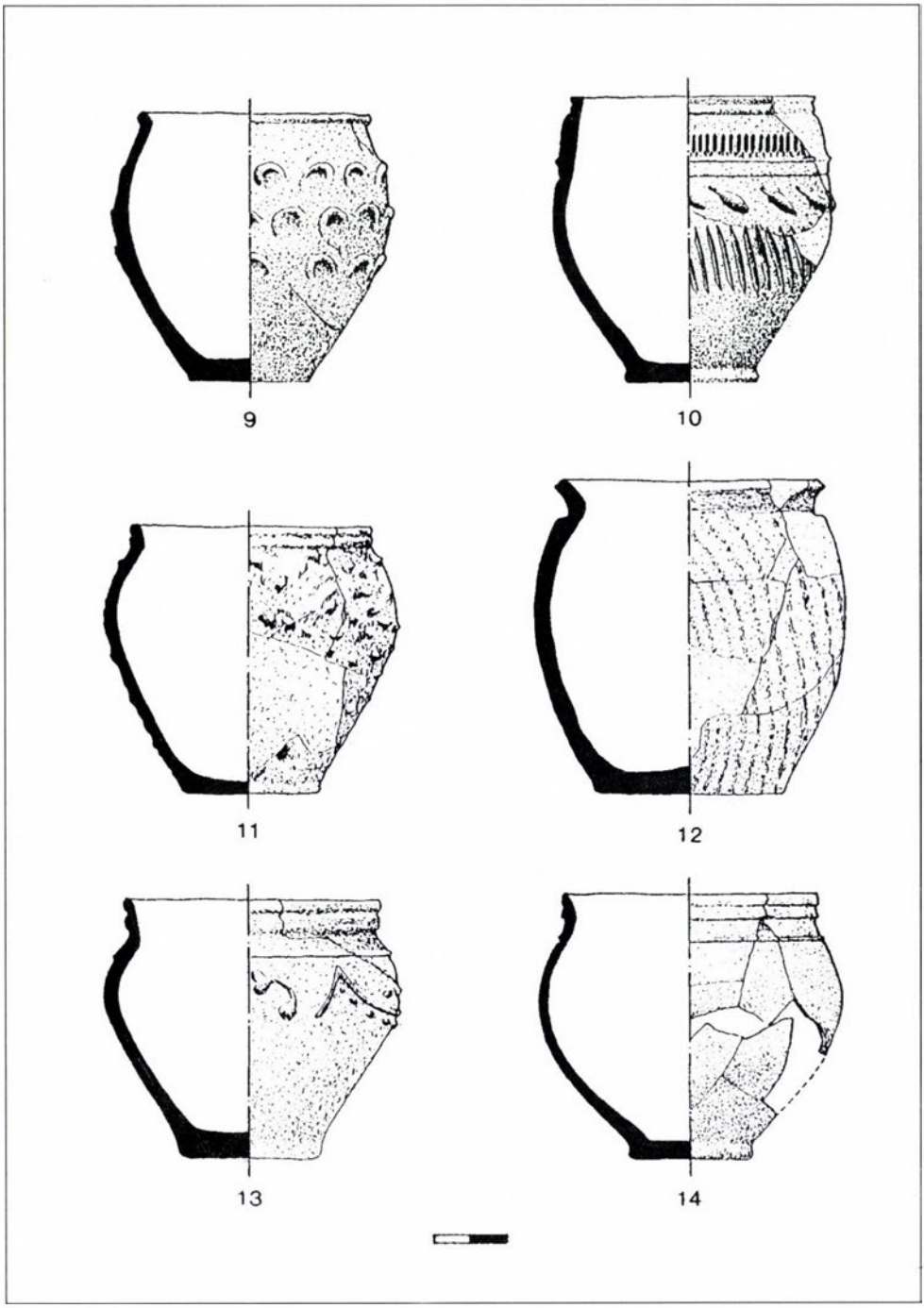


Plate 2

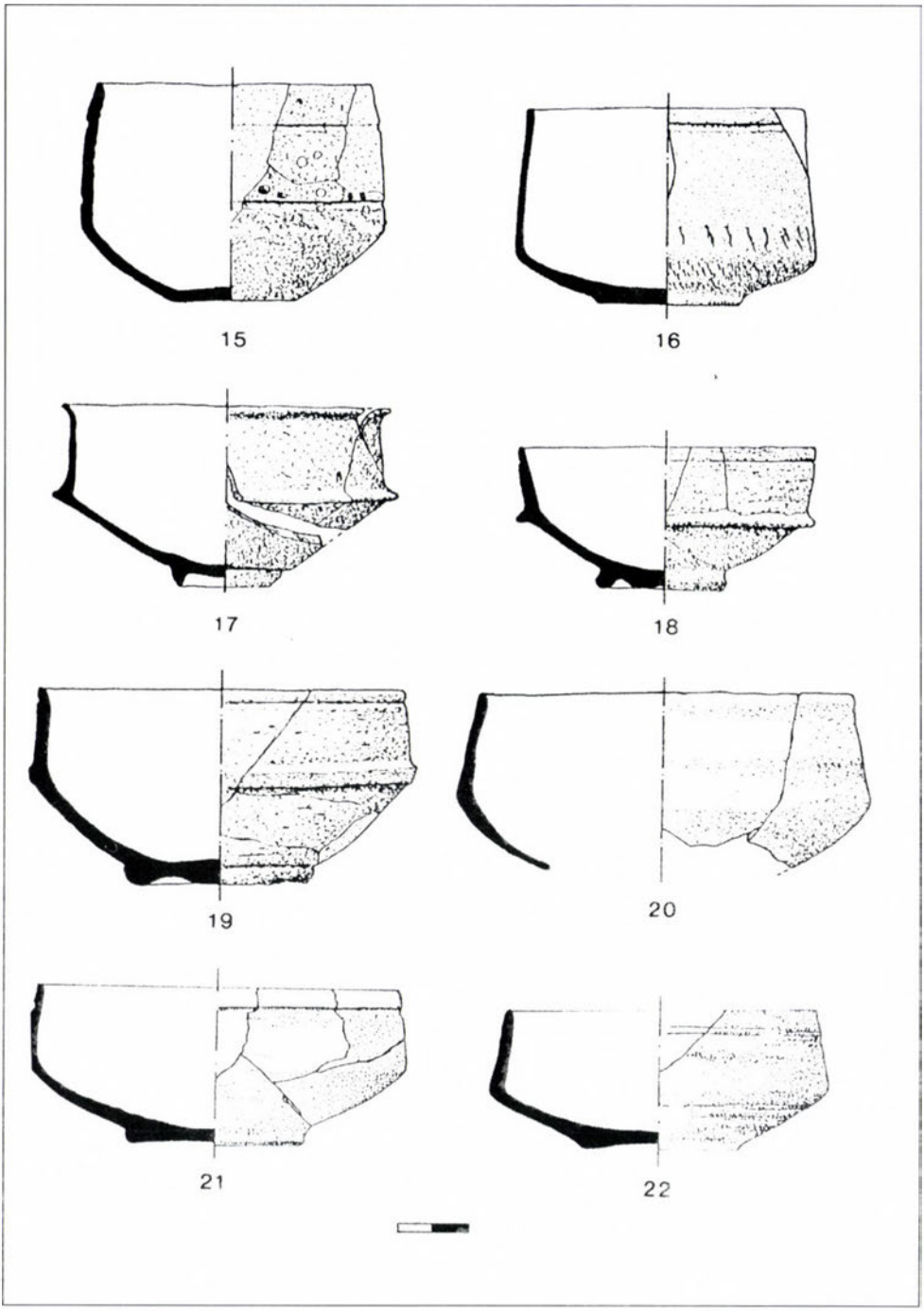


Plate 3

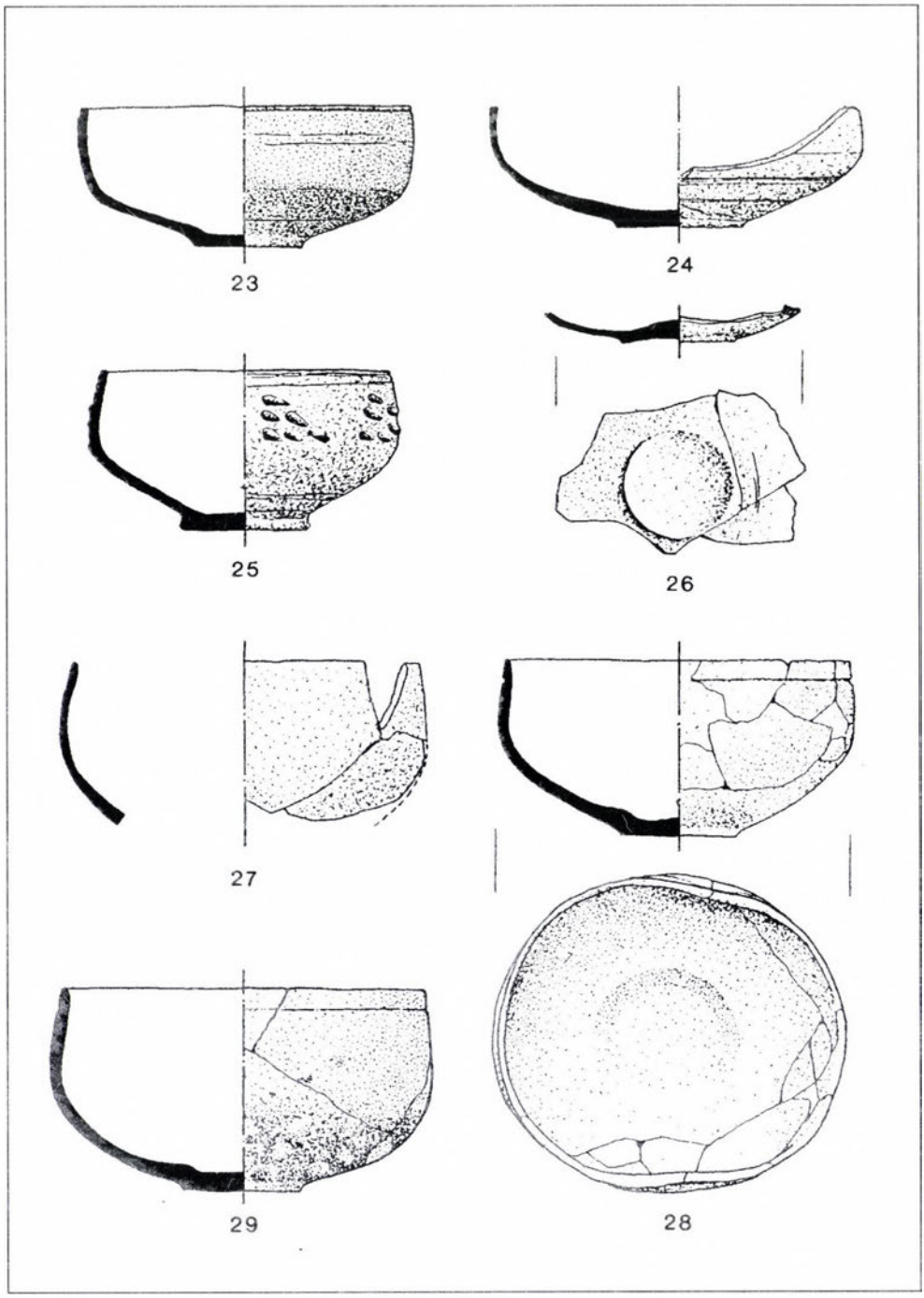


Plate 4

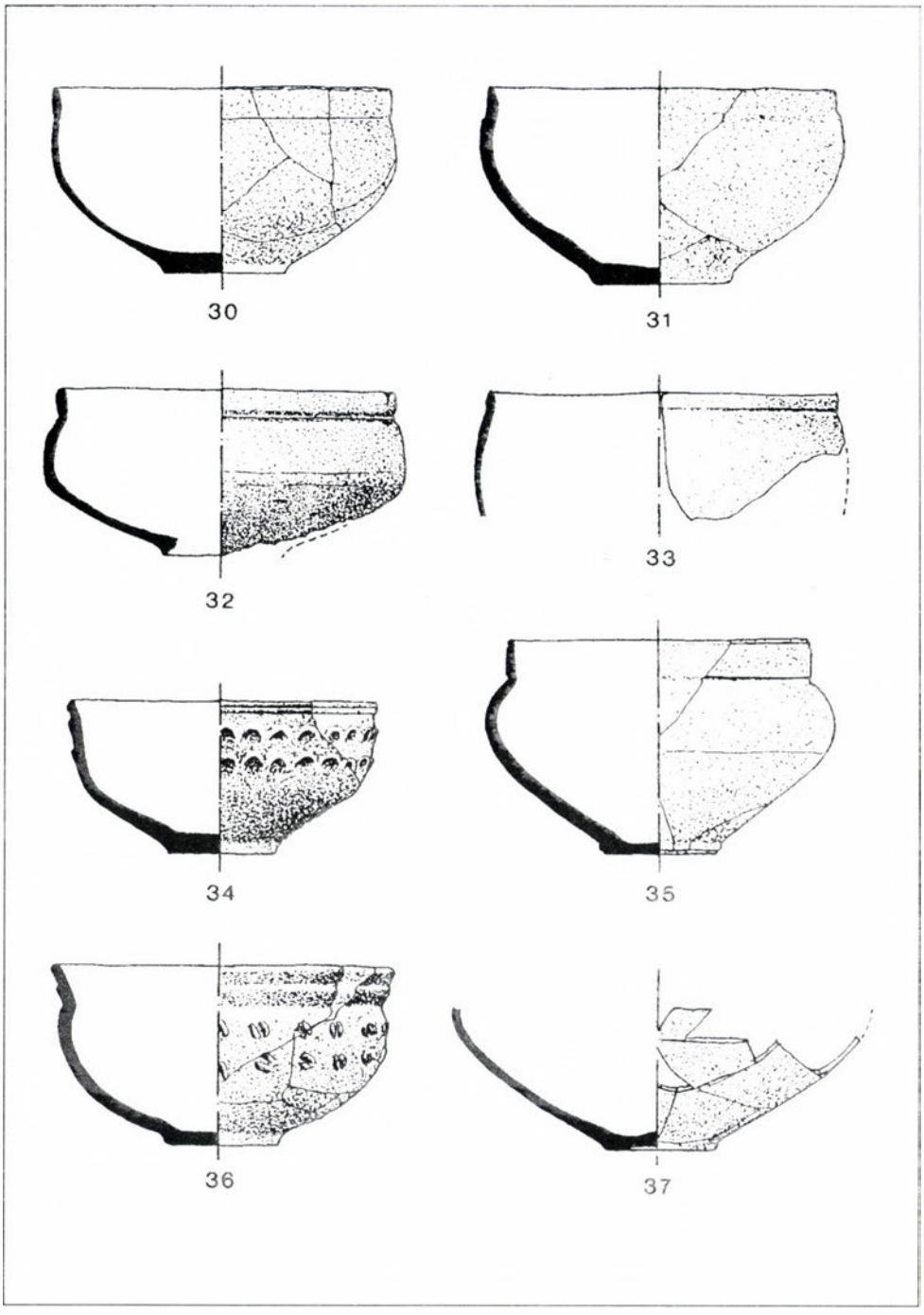


Plate 5

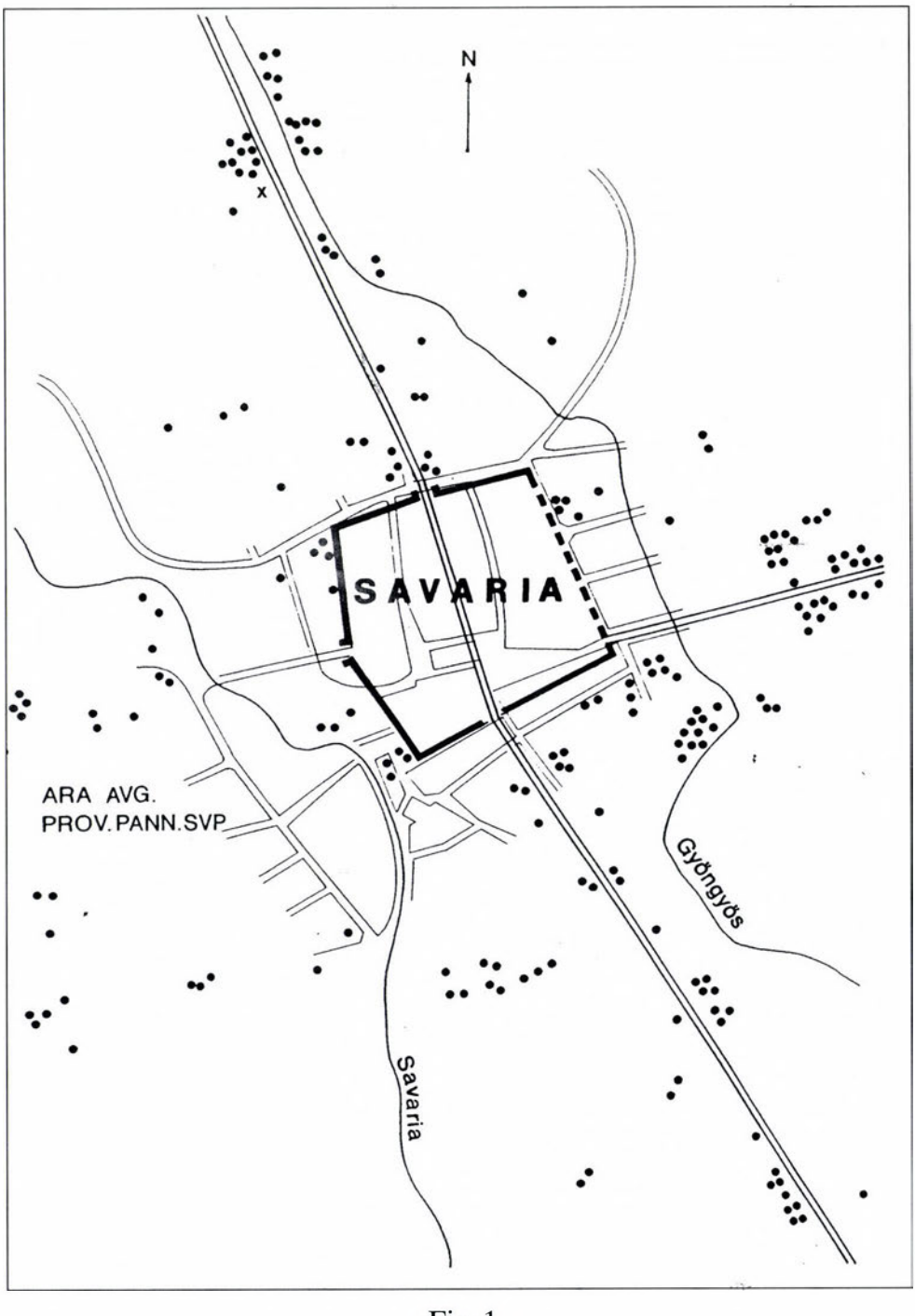


Fig. 1

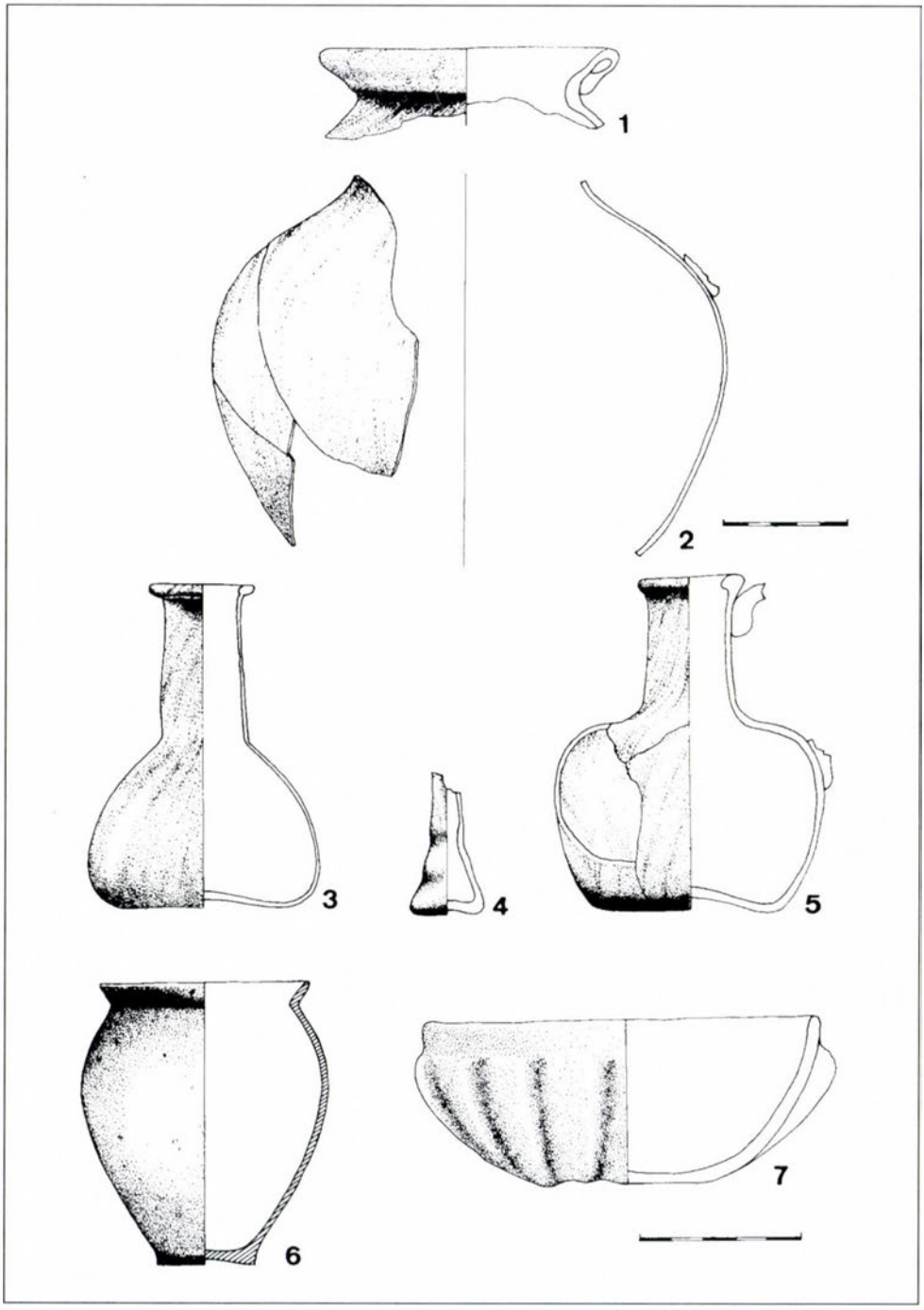


Fig. 2

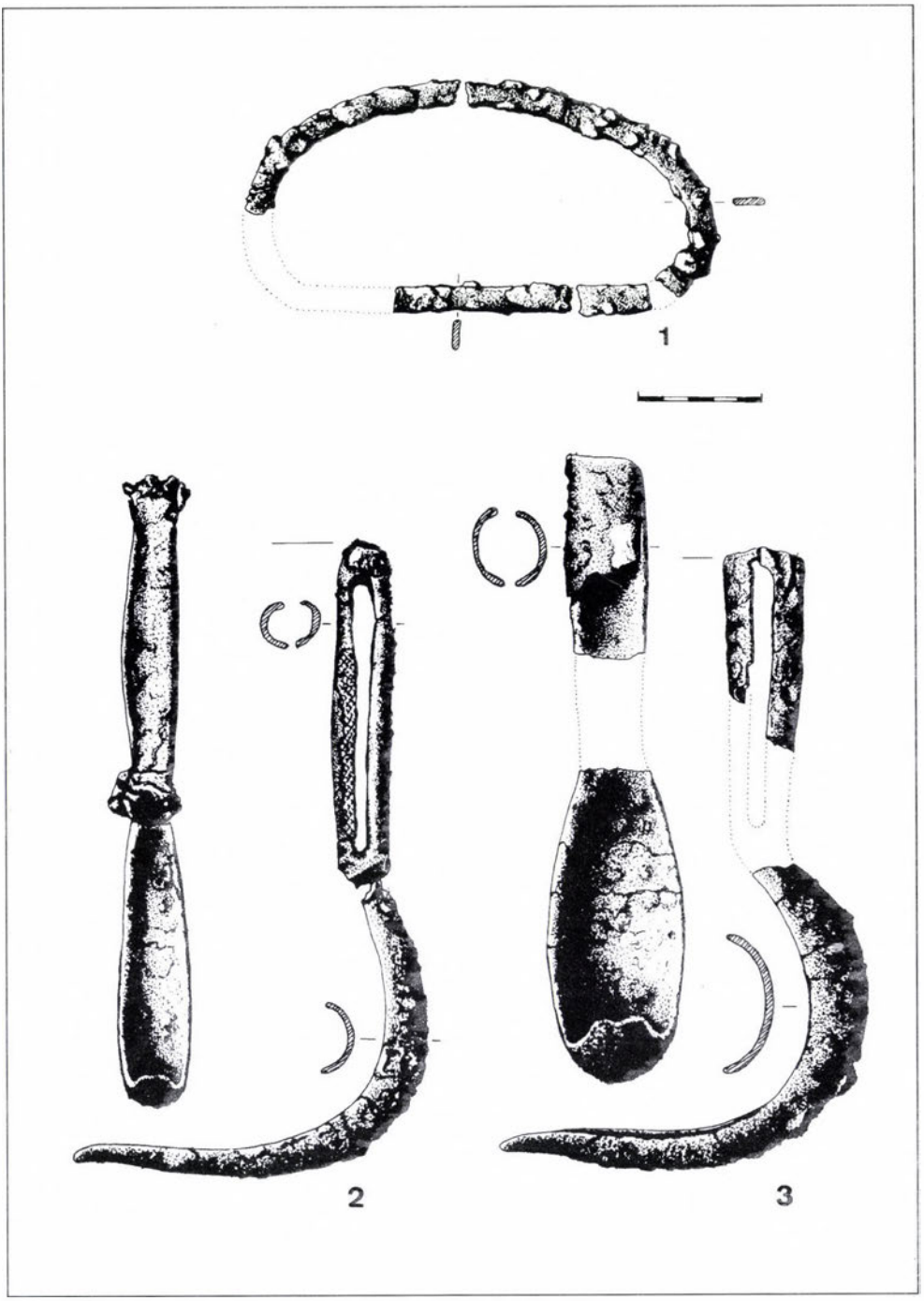


Fig. 3

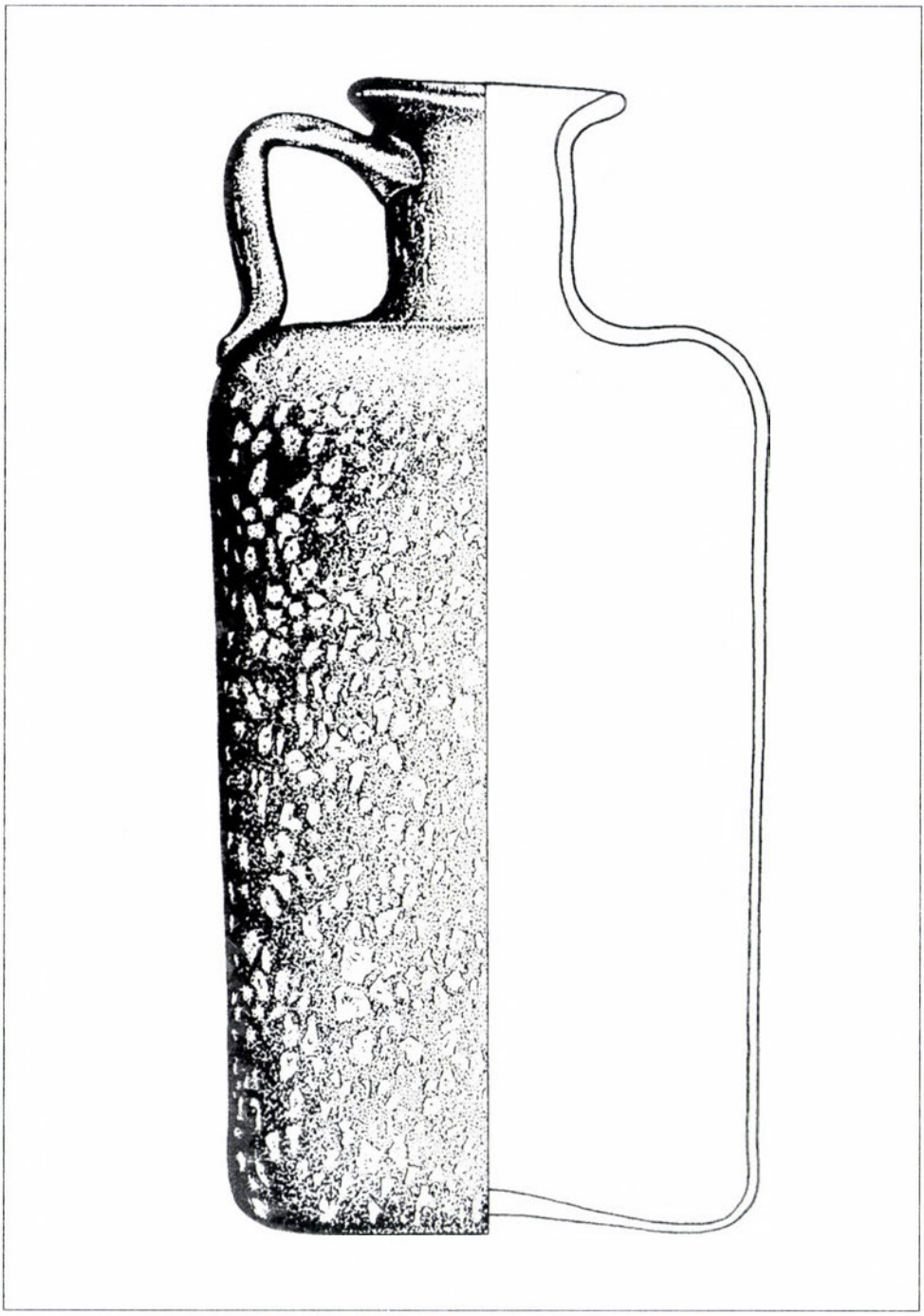


Fig. 4

Fig. 5

Fig. 1

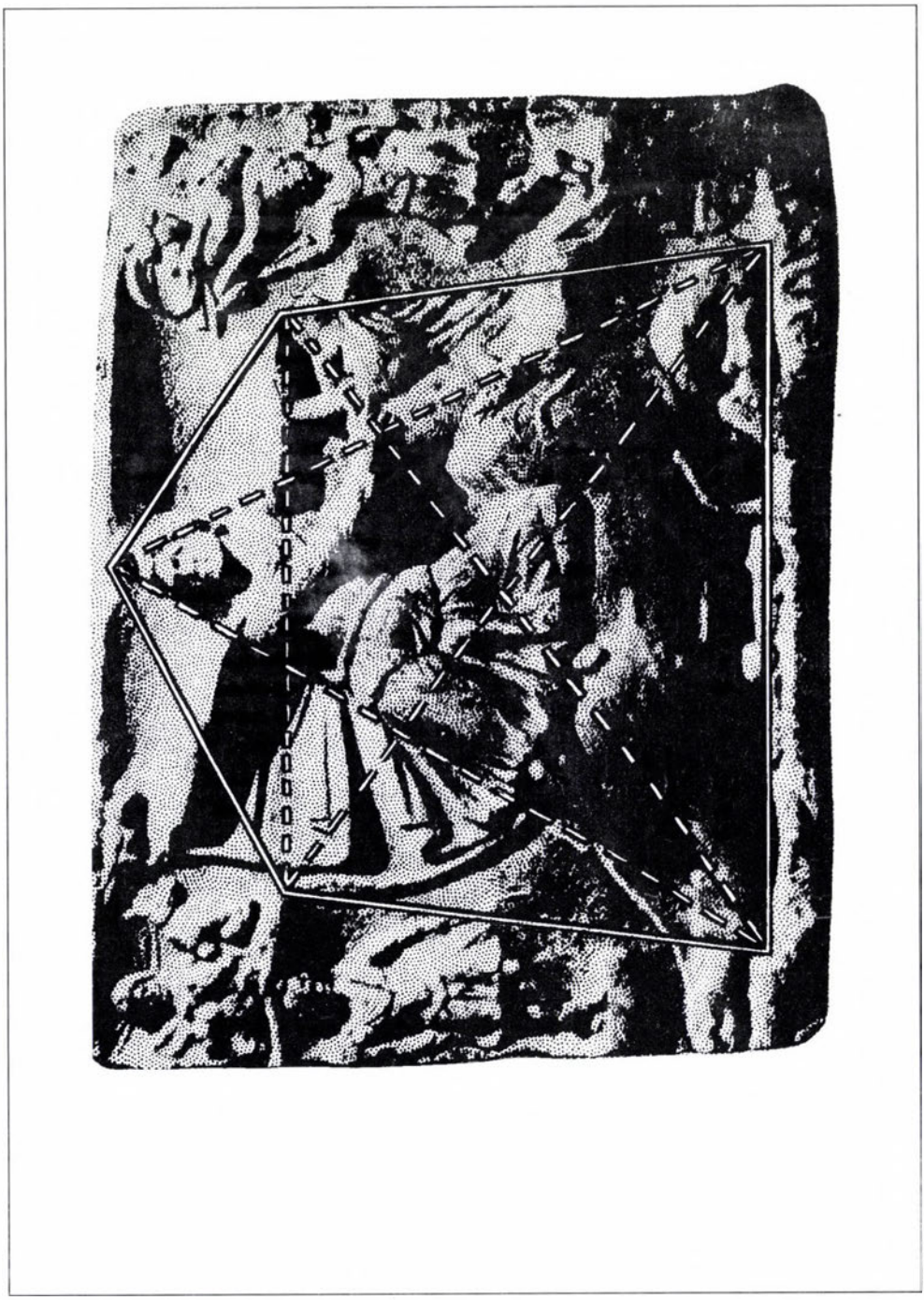


Fig. 2

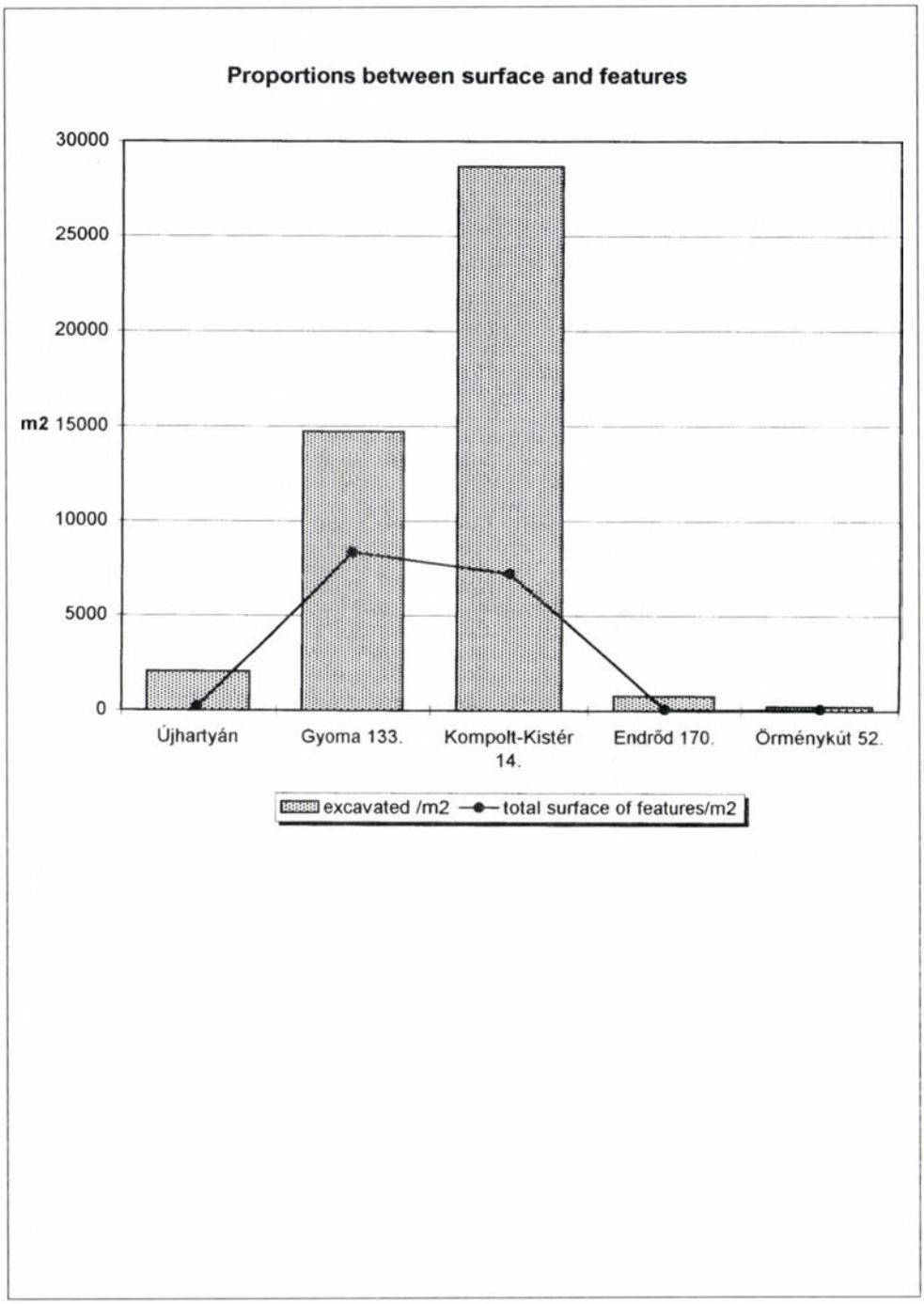

Proportions between surface and features
30000
25000
20000
m2 15000
10000
5000
0
Újhartyán
Gyoma 133.
Kompolt-Kistér 14.
Endrőd 170.
Örménykút 52.
excavated /m2
total surface of features/m2

Fig. 1

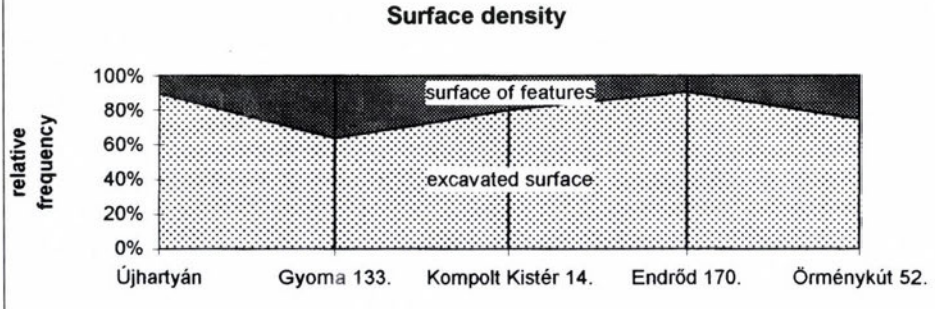

Surface density
relative frequency
100%
80%
60%
40%
20%
0%
surface of features
excavated surface
Újhartyán
Gyoma 133.
Kompolt Kistér 14.
Endrőd 170.
Örménykút 52.

Fig. 2

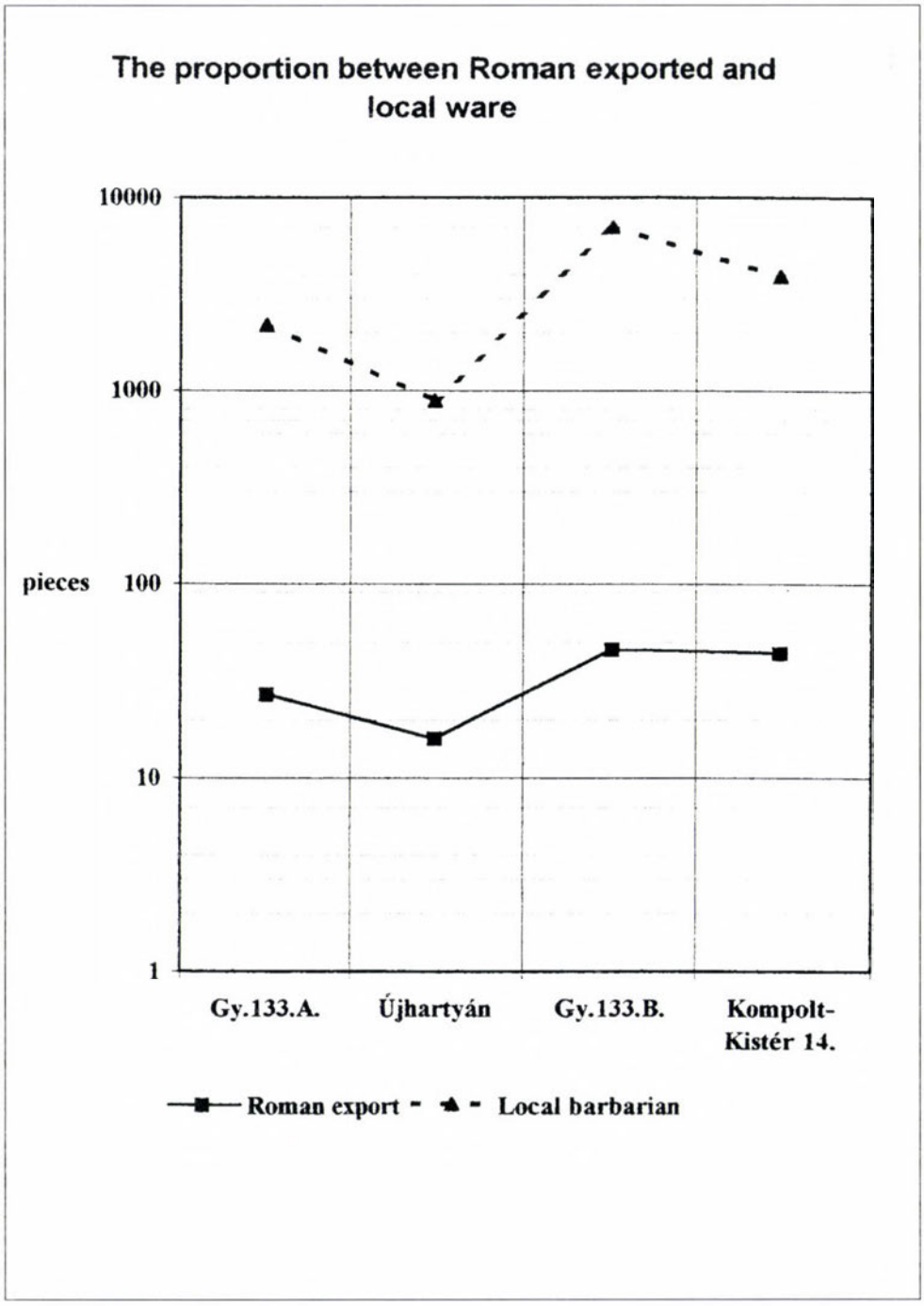

The proportion between Roman exported and local ware
10000
1000
100
10
1
pieces
Gy.133.A.
Újhartyán
Gy.133.B.
Kompolt-Kistér 14.
Roman export
Local barbarian

Fig. 3

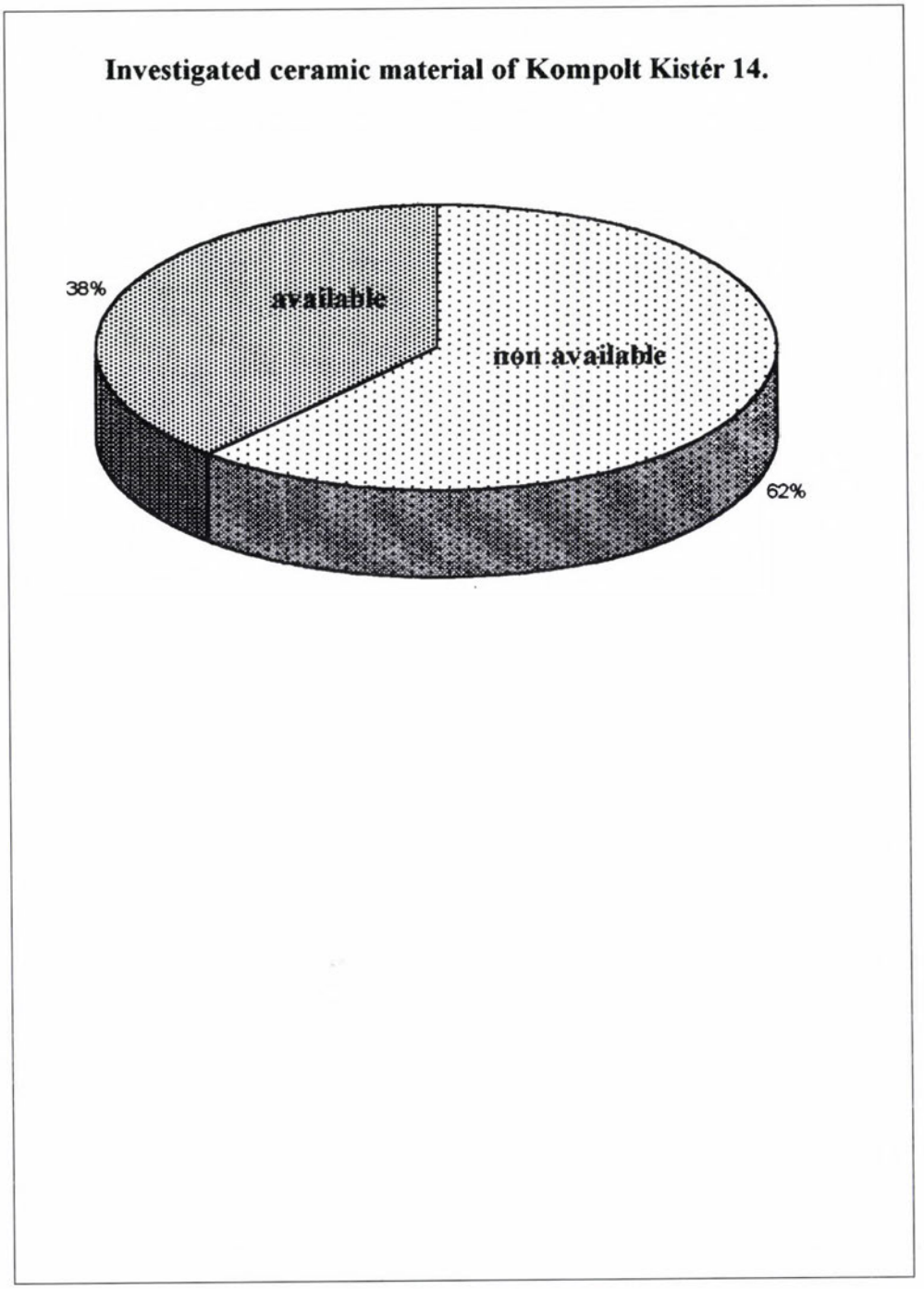

Investigated ceramic material of Kompolt Kistér 14.
38%
available
non available
62%

Fig. 4

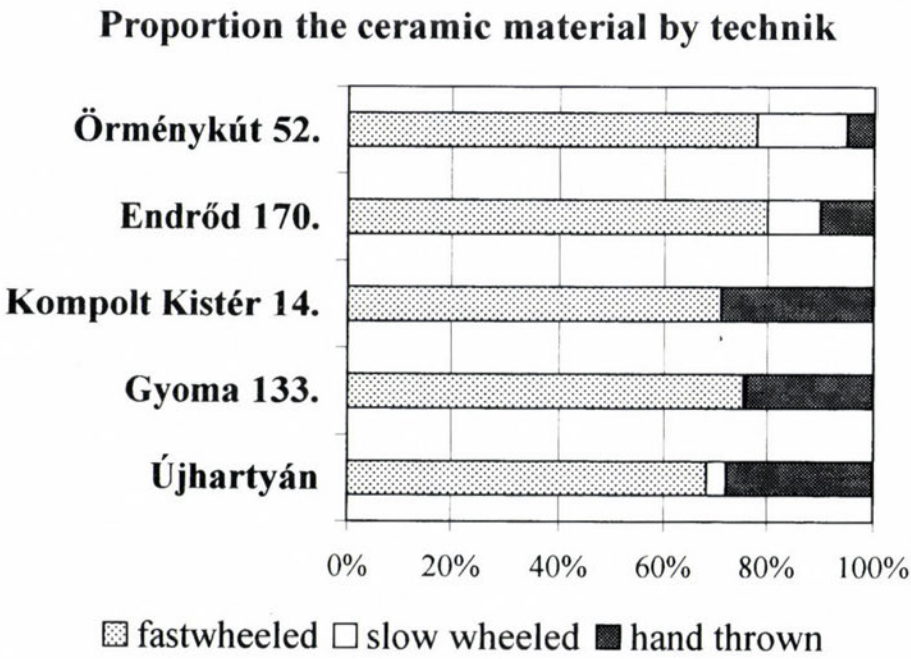
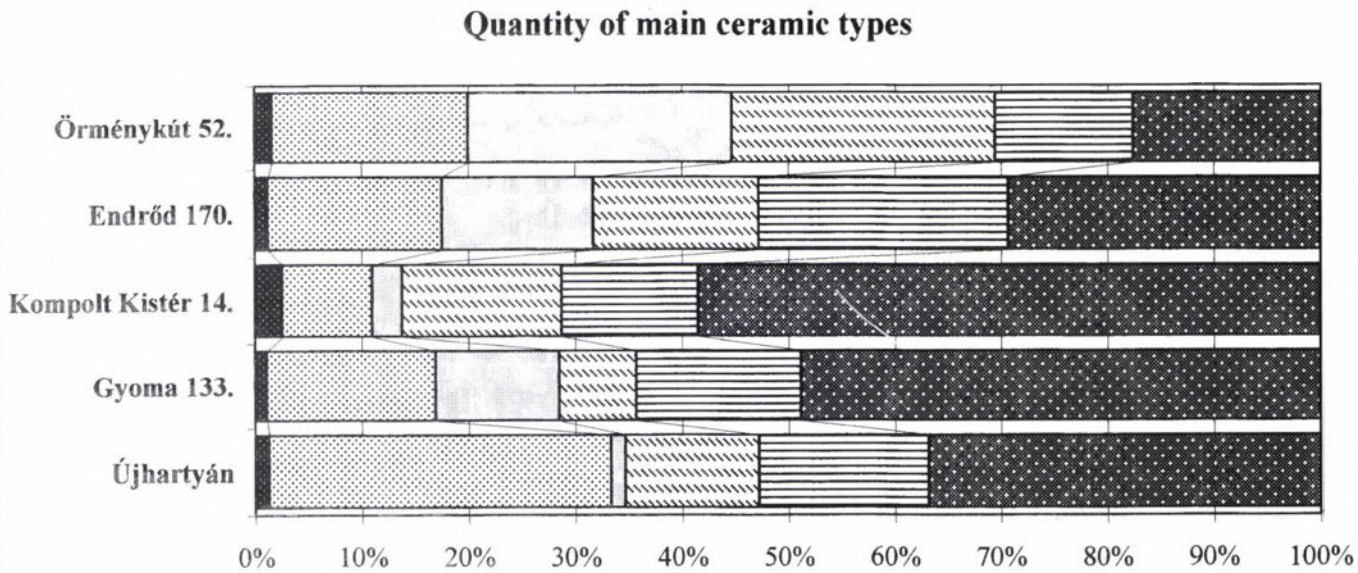

Proportion the ceramic material by technik
Örménykút 52.
Endrőd 170.
Kompolt Kistér 14.
Gyoma 133.
Újhartyán
0%
20%
40%
60%
80%
100%
fastwheeled
slow wheeled
hand thrown

Fig. 5



	Újhartyán	Gyoma 133.	Kompolt Kistér 14.	Endrőd 170.	Örménykút 52.
storage vessel	324	5456	1168	288	281
bowl	140	1724	255	230	207
spherical vessel	110	802	297	152	395
jug	12	1293	57	139	395
pot	282	1765	168	160	293
lid	11	124	51	12	26

Fig. 6

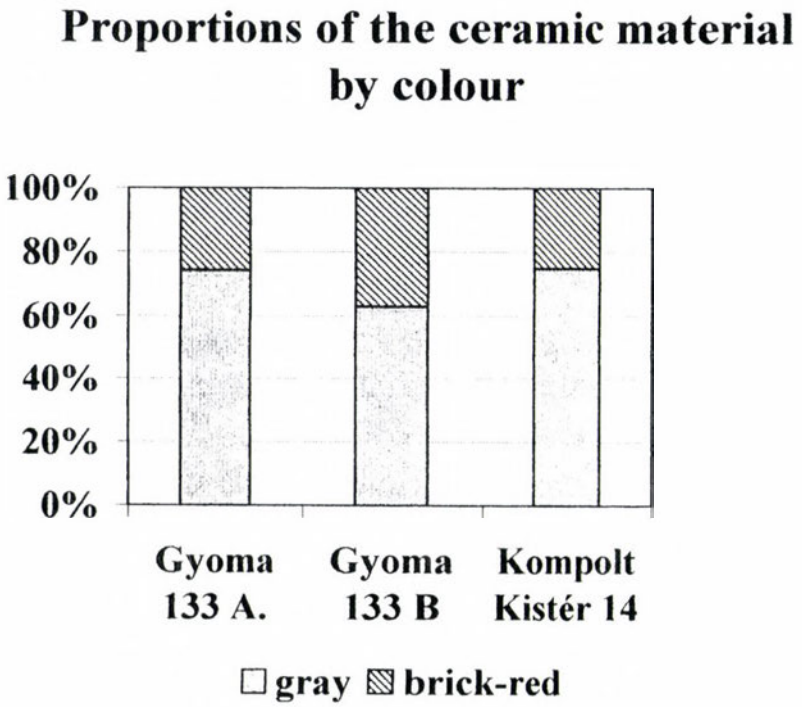

Proportions of the ceramic material by colour
100%
80%
60%
40%
20%
0%
Gyoma 133 A.
Gyoma 133 B
Kompolt Kistér 14
gray
brick-red

Fig. 7

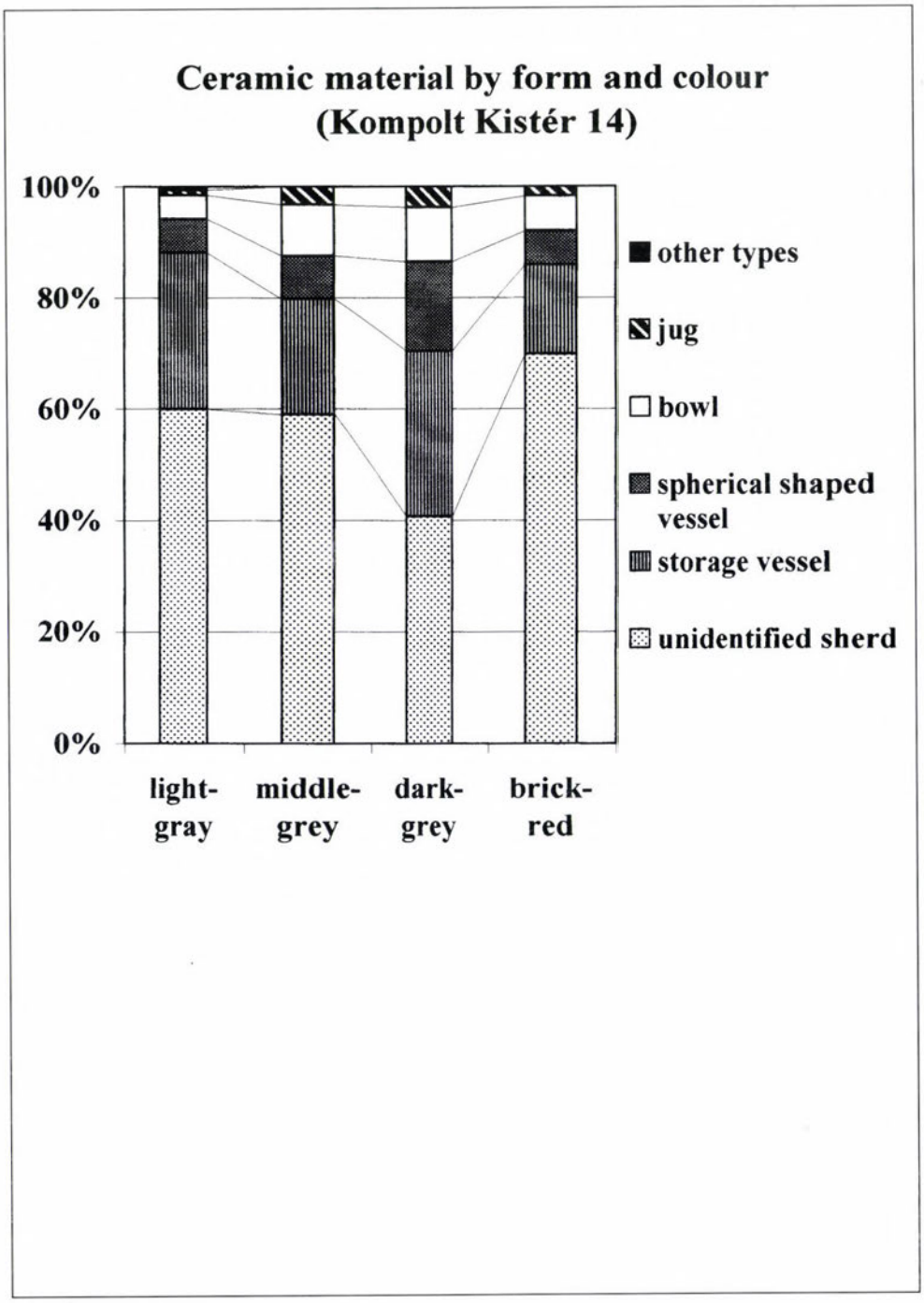

Ceramic material by form and colour
(Kompolt Kistér 14)
100%
80%
60%
40%
20%
0%
light-gray
middle-grey
dark-grey
brick-red
other types
jug
bowl
spherical shaped vessel
storage vessel
unidentified sherd

Fig. 8

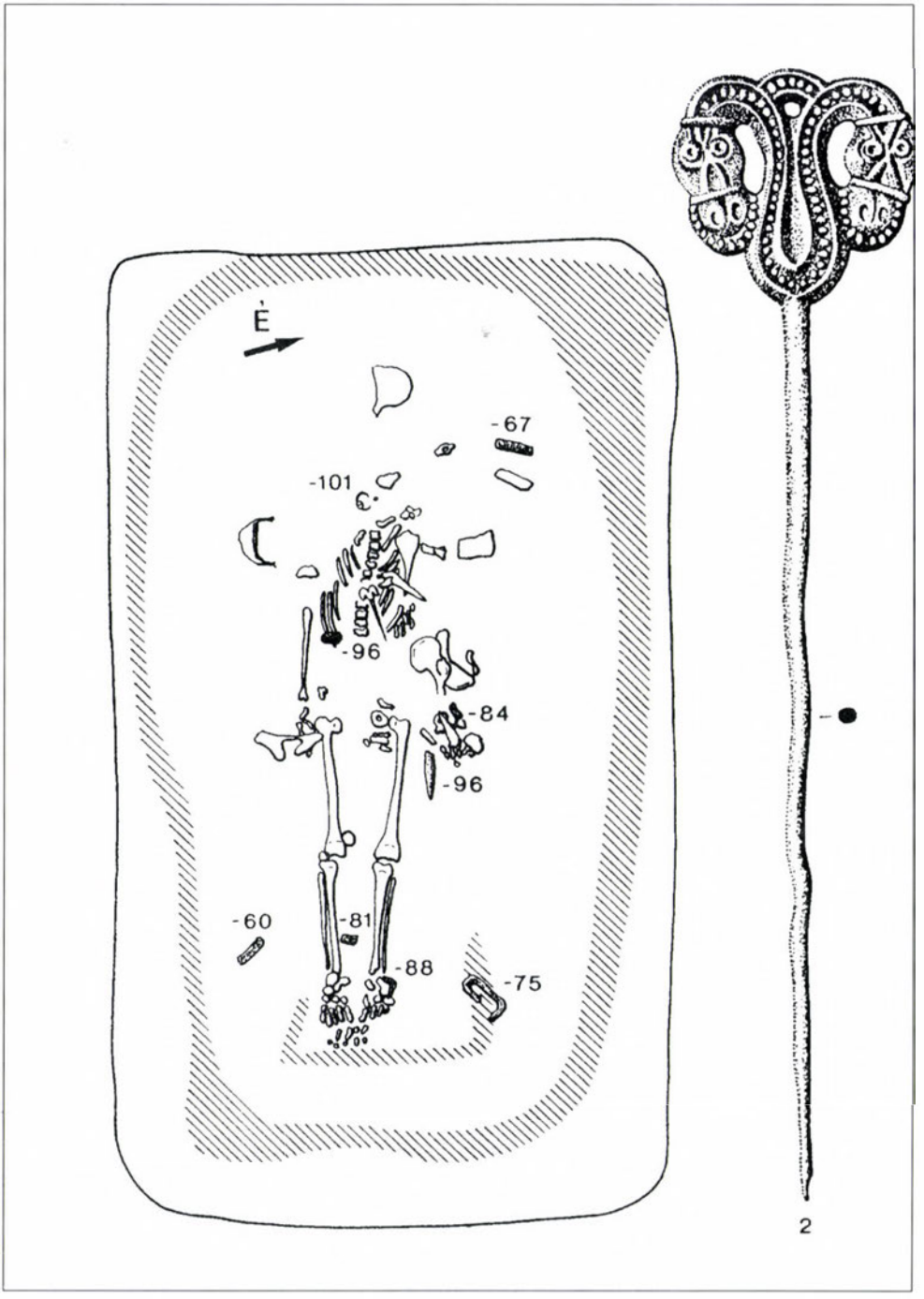


Fig. 1

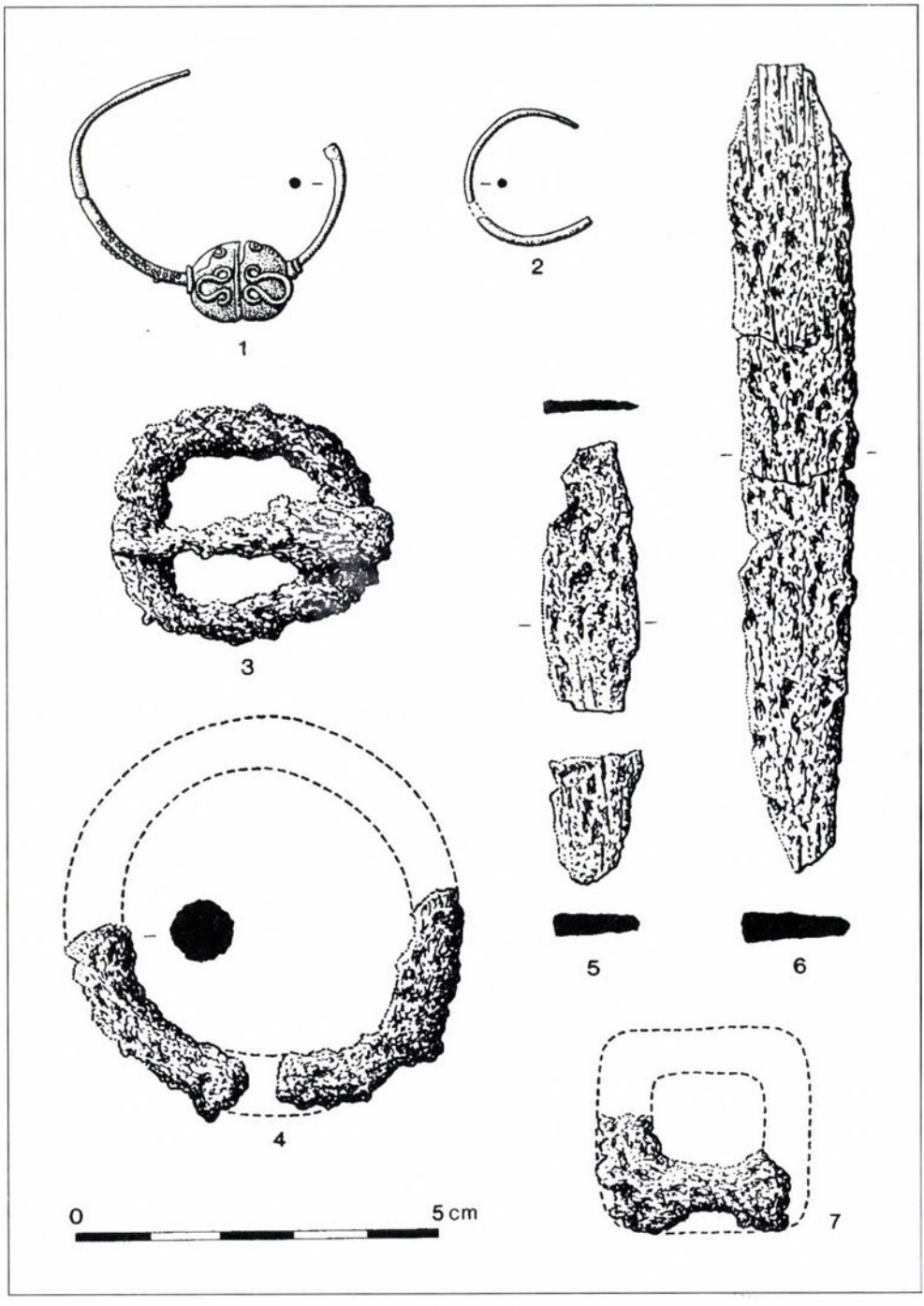


Fig. 2

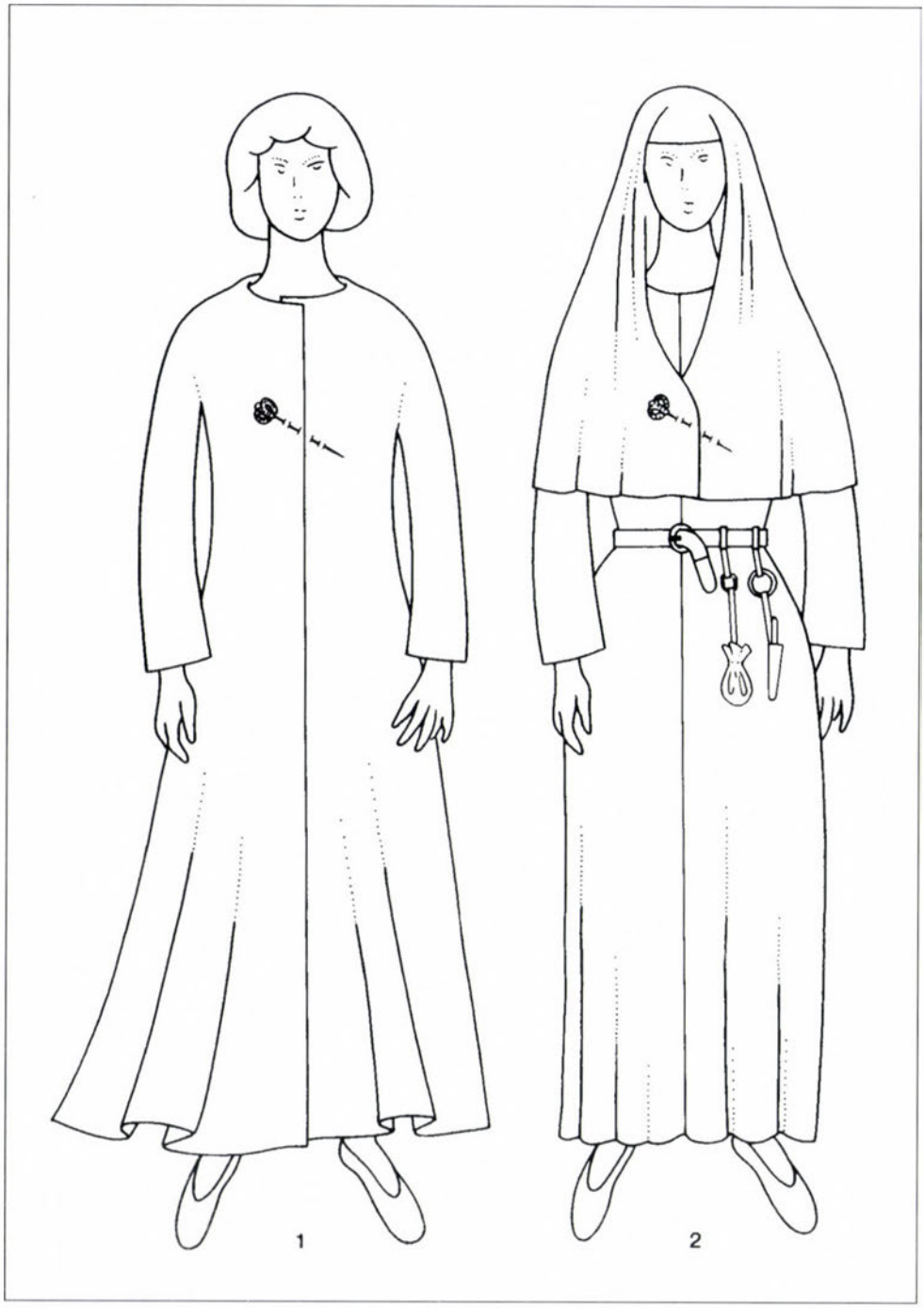


Fig. 3

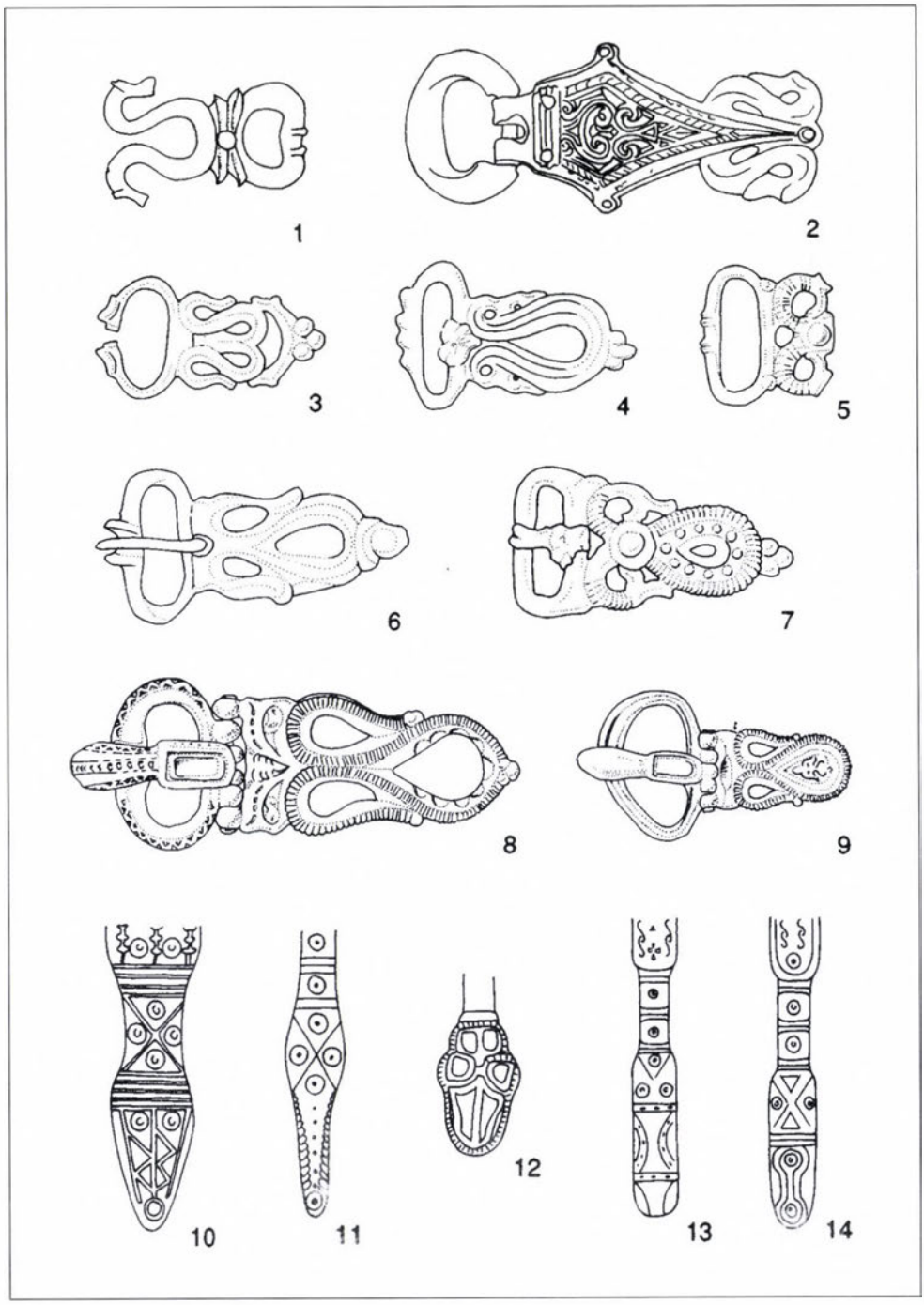


Fig. 4

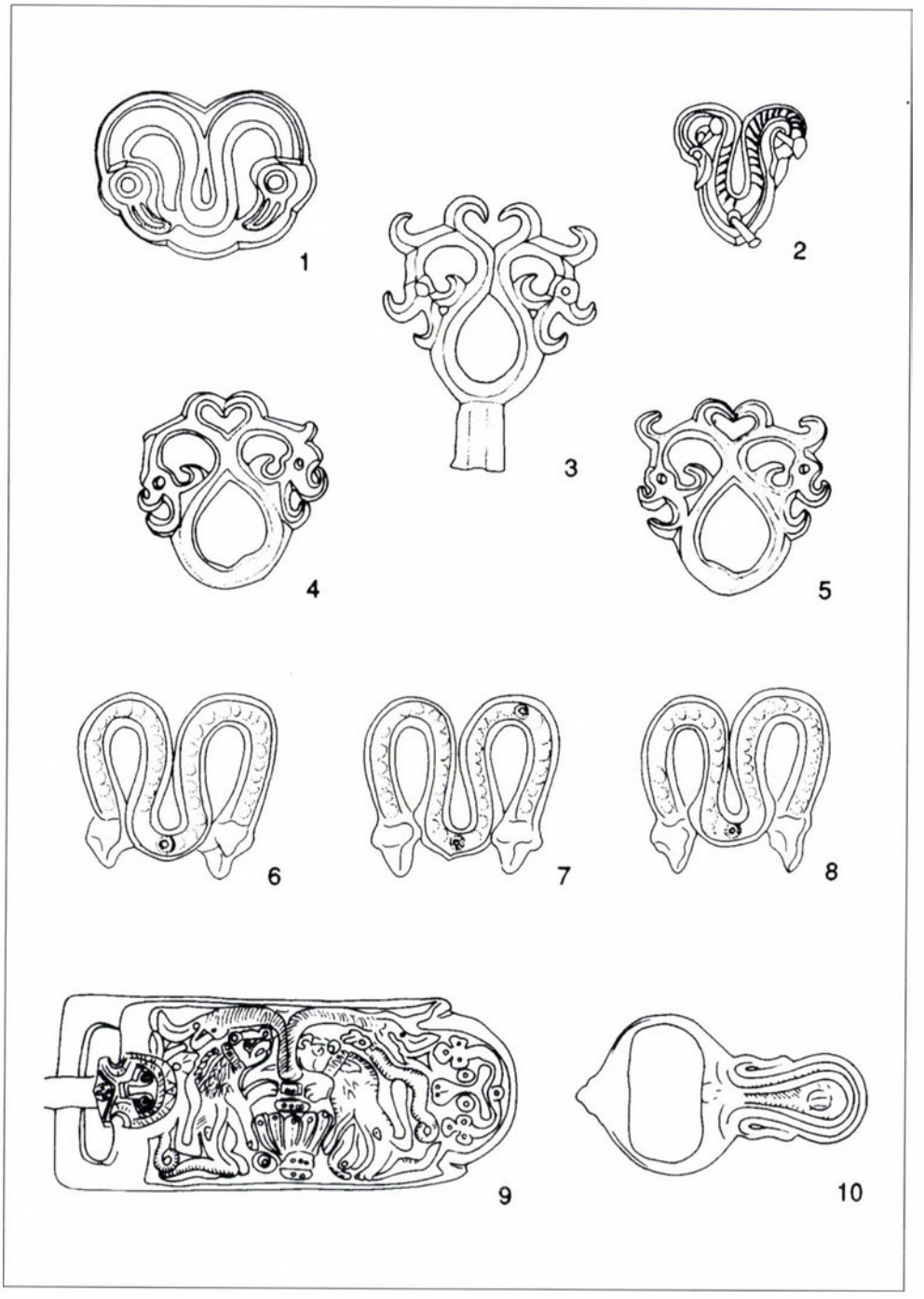
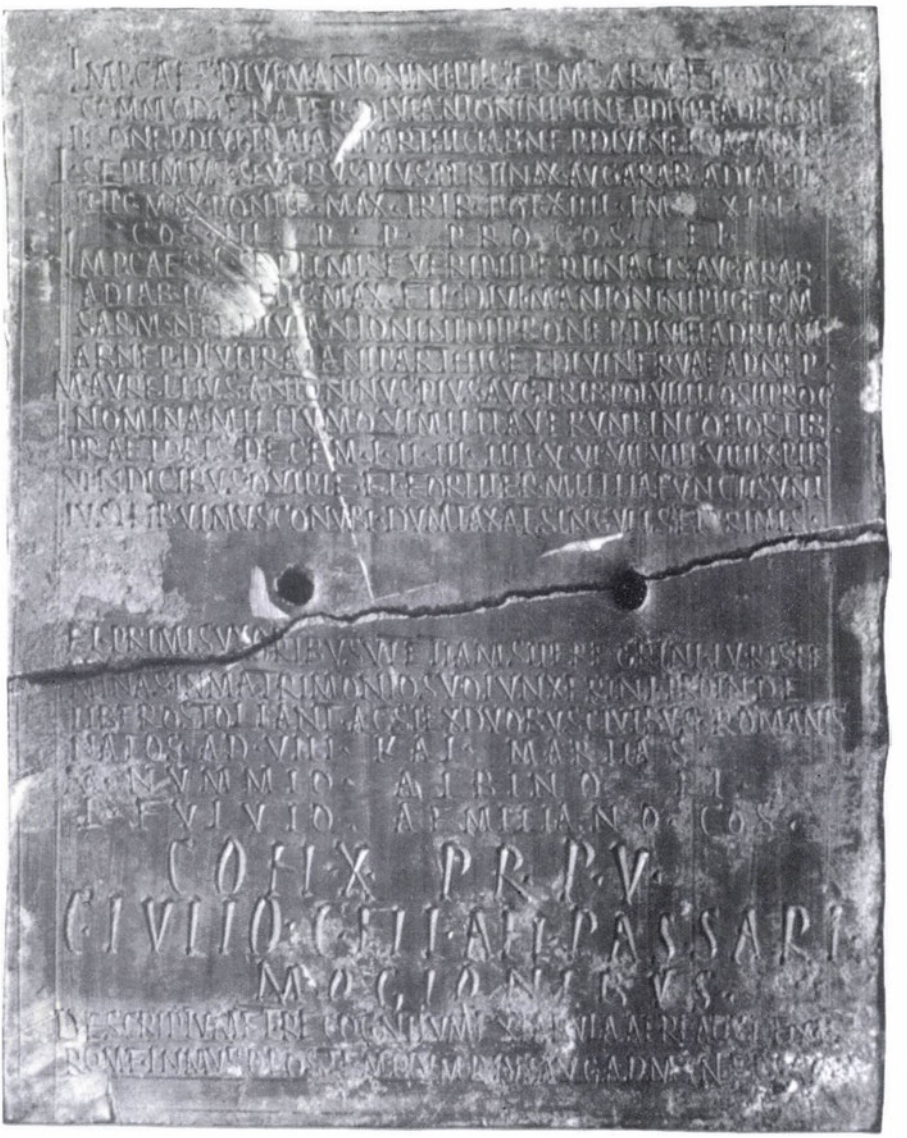
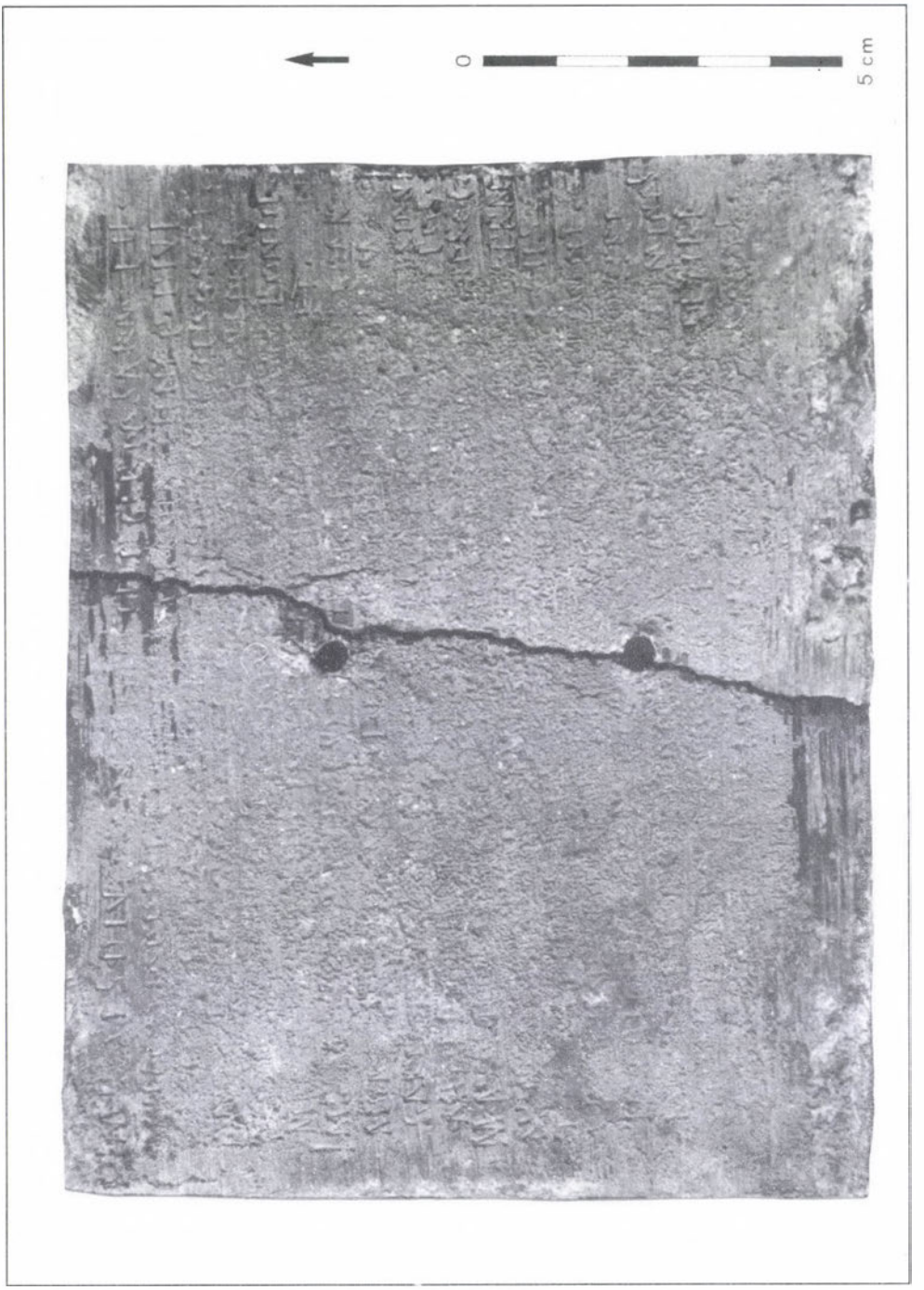


Fig. 5

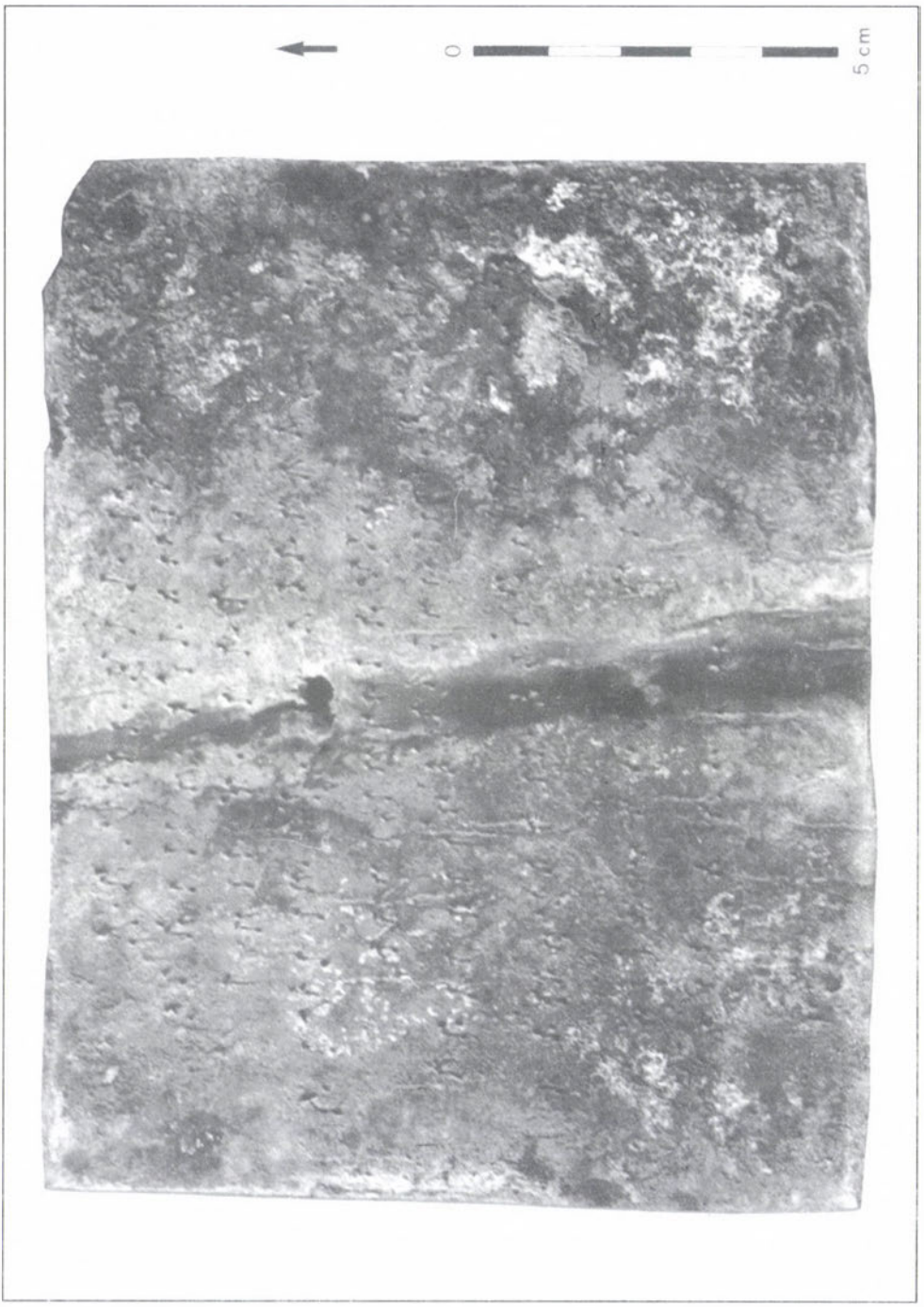


Platte 1

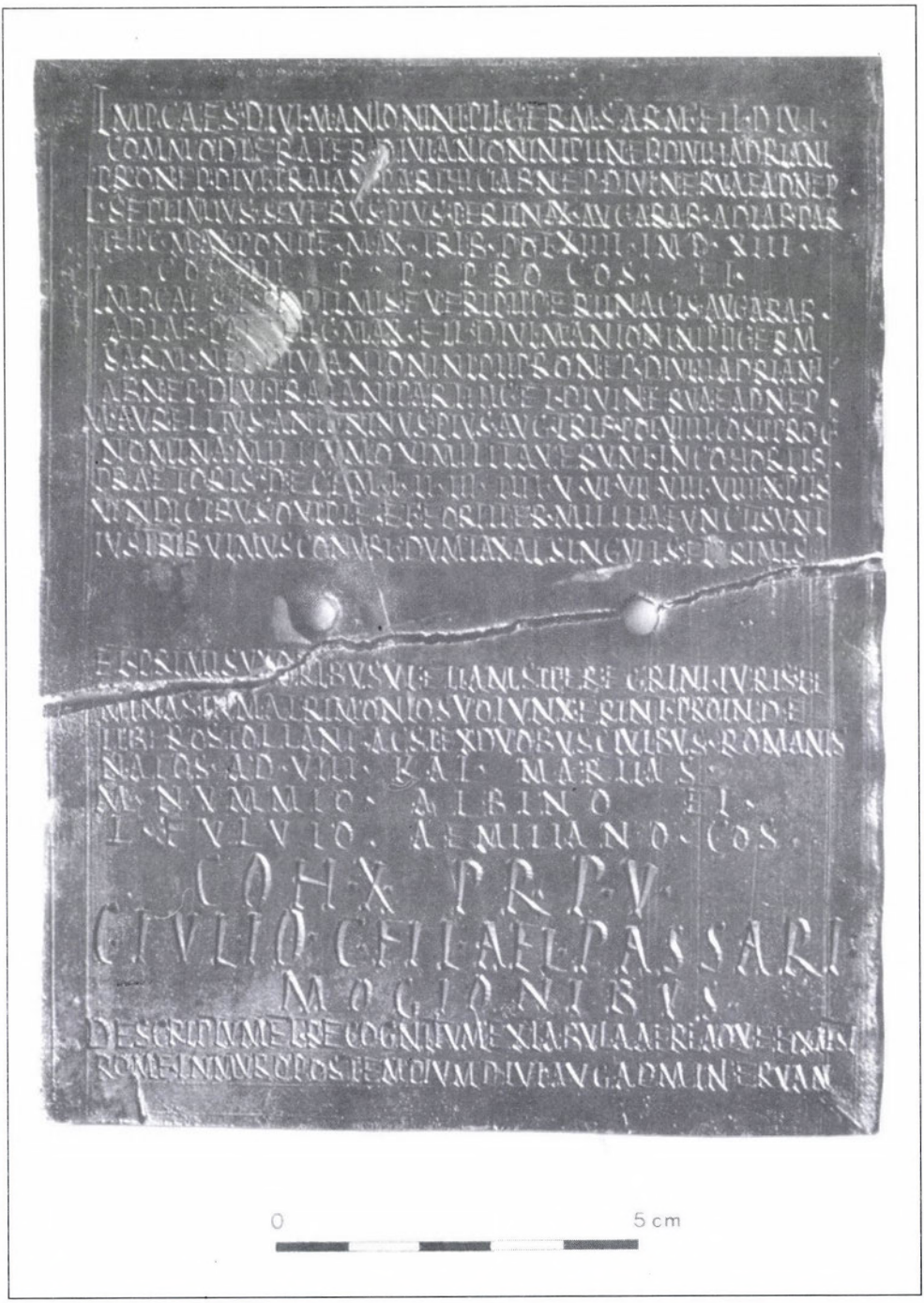
Platte 2



Platte 3



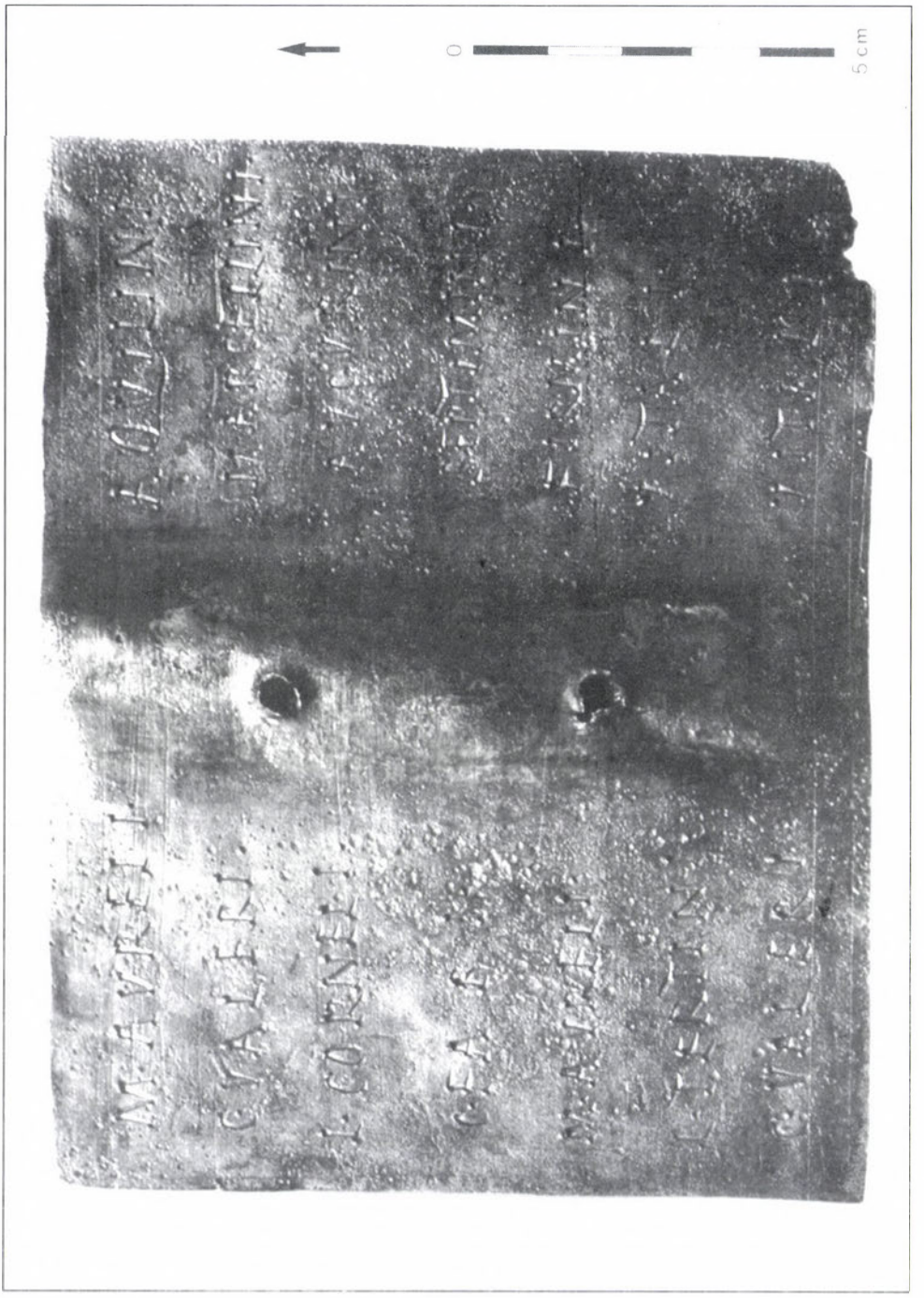
Platte 4



Platte 5

Platte 6

Platte 7



Platte 8

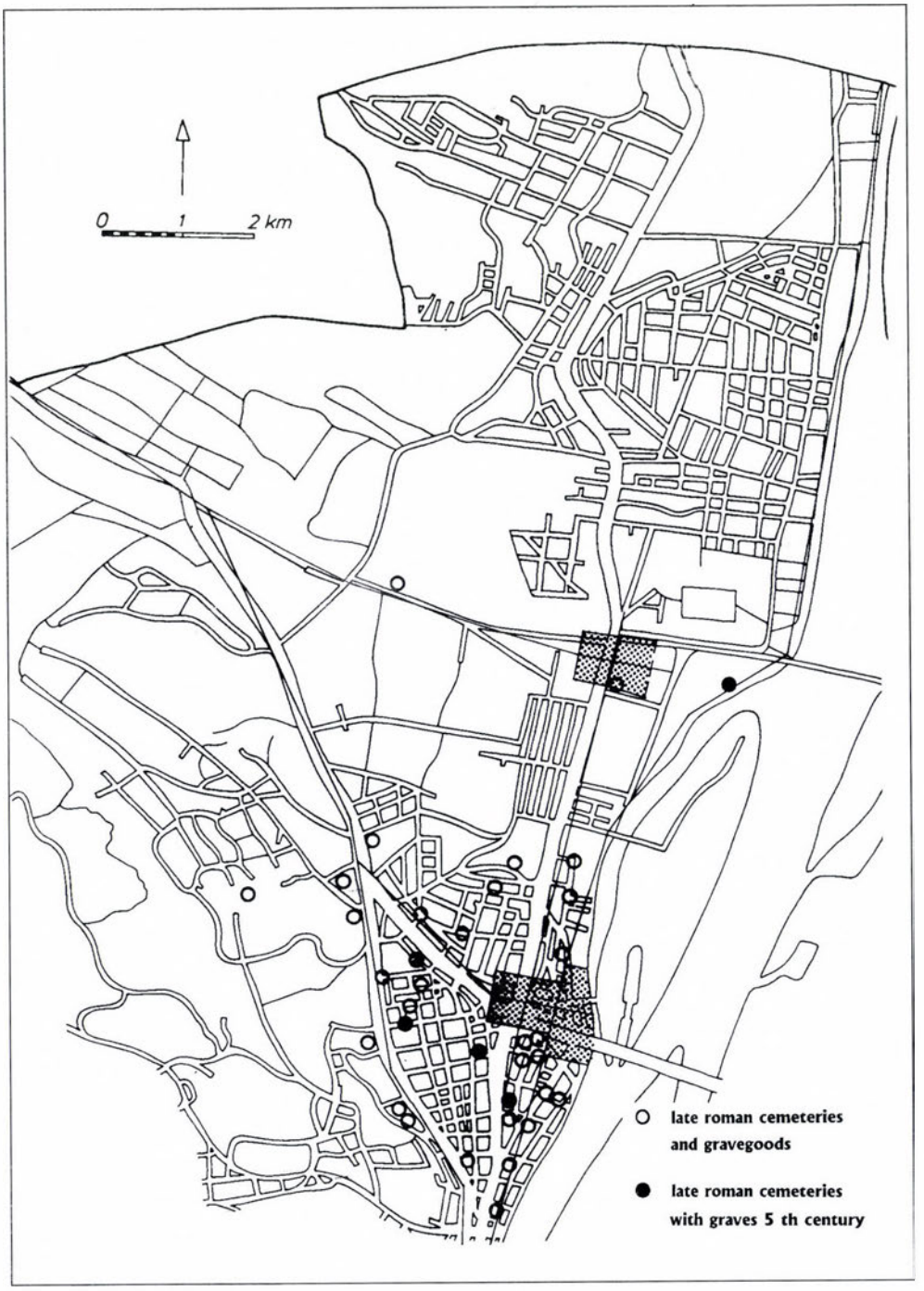

0 1 2 km
late roman cemeteries and gravegoods
late roman cemeteries with graves 5 th century

Fig. 1

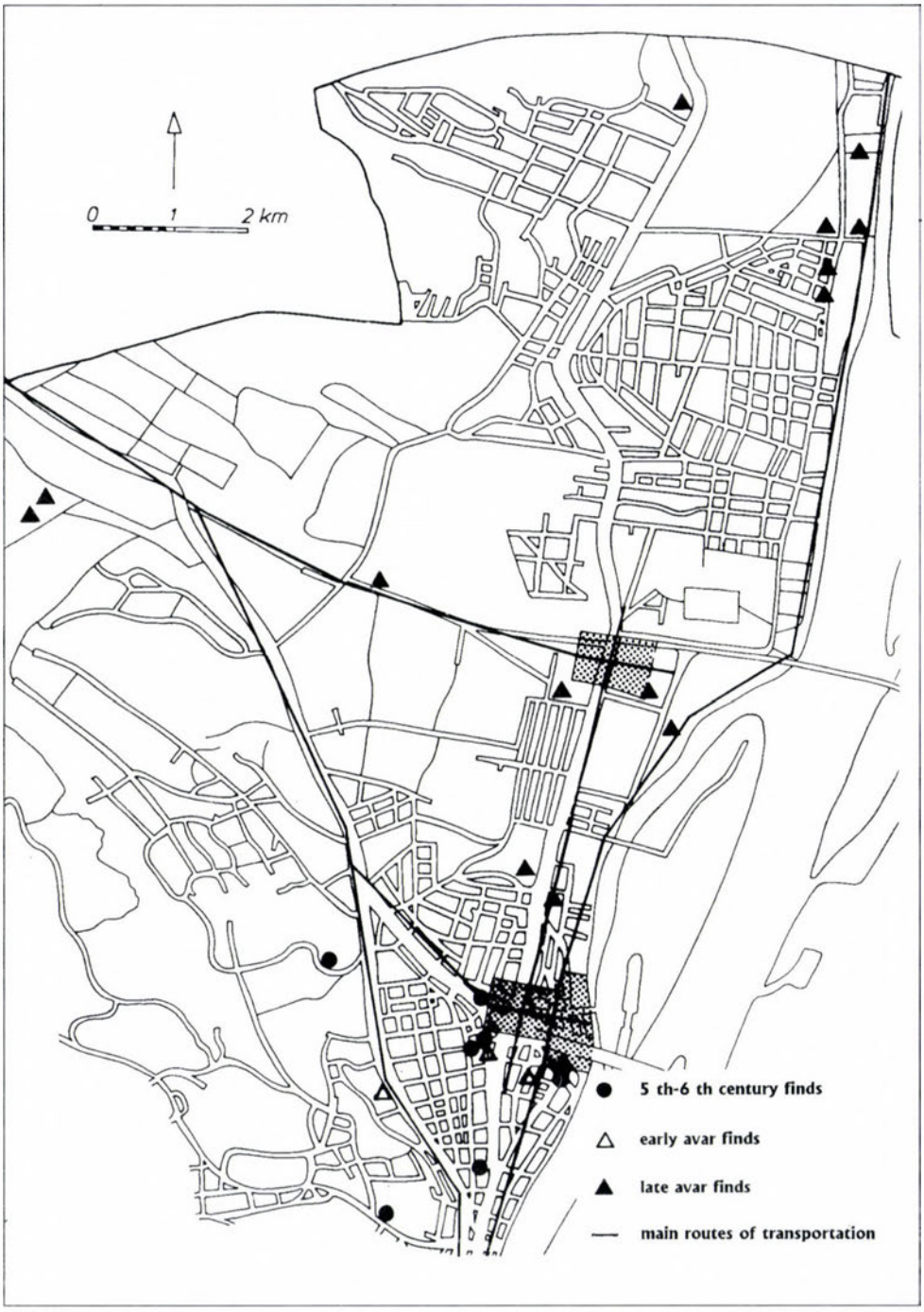

0 1 2 km
5 th-6 th century finds
early avar finds
late avar finds
main routes of transportation

Fig. 2

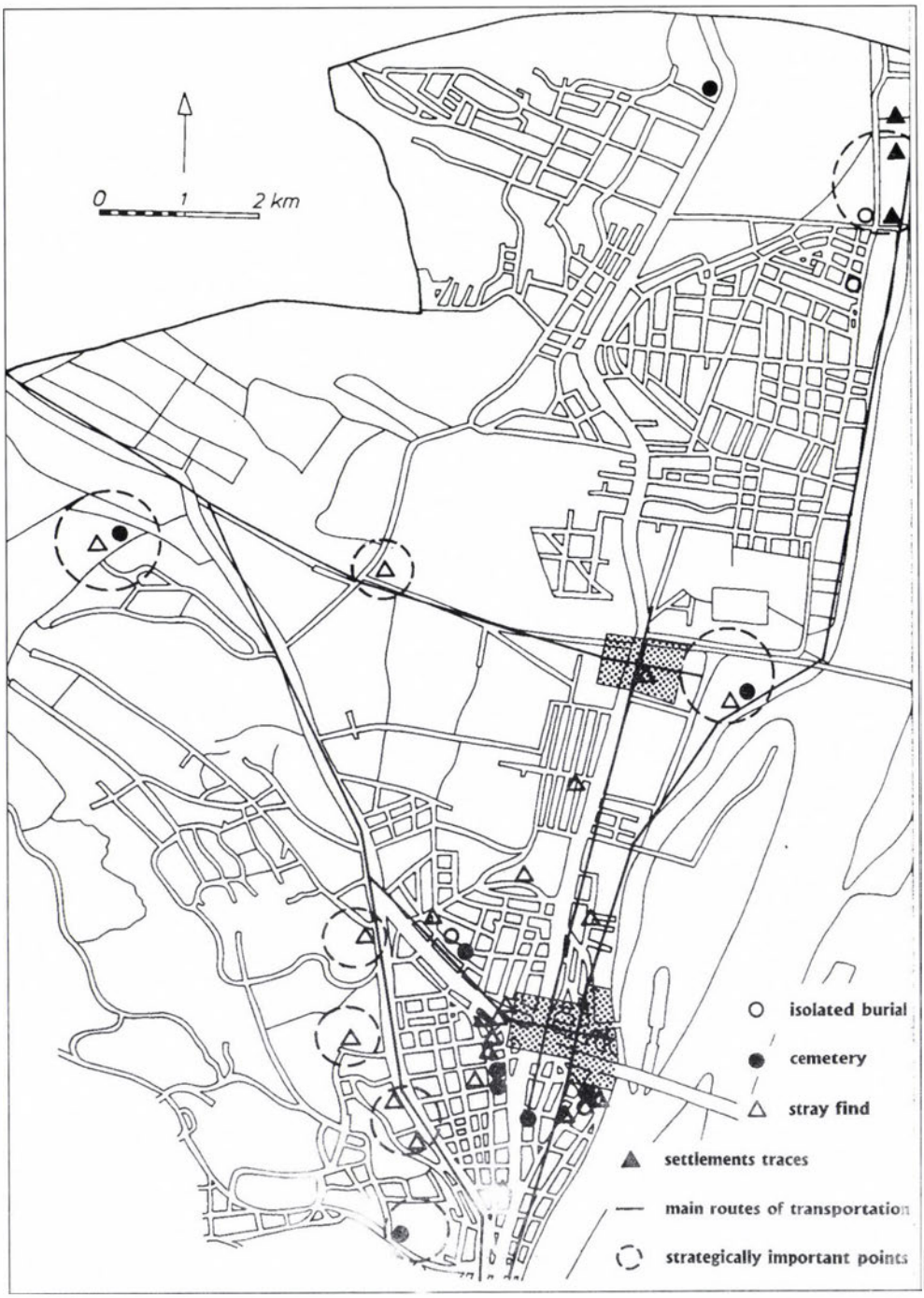

0
1
2 km
isolated burial
cemetery
stray find
settlements traces
main routes of transportation
strategically important points

Fig. 3