

KOLLAPS – NEUORDNUNG – KONTINUITÄT

GEPIDEN NACH DEM UNTERGANG DES HUNNENREICHES

Tagungsakten der Internationalen Konferenz
an der Eötvös Loránd Universität,
Budapest, 14. – 15. Dezember 2015



COLLAPSE – REORGANIZATION – CONTINUITY

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Proceedings of the International Conference
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Hrsg./Eds

TIVADAR VIDA – DIETER QUAST – ZSÓFIA RÁCZ – ISTVÁN KONCZ

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DIE AKTUALITÄT DER GEPIDENFORSCHUNG

Nach der Hunnenzeit wurden in der östlichen Hälfte des Karpatenbeckens das Theißgebiet und Siebenbürgen zum Siedlungsgebiet der Gepiden, in dem von der zweiten Hälfte des 5. Jh. an neue Machtzentren entstanden. Wie andere germanische Völker waren auch die Gepiden bestrebt, in das Gebiet des Byzantinischen Reiches zu gelangen, und die Zeichen des Versuchs, nach germanischen Muster ein Barbarenkönigtum „römischen Typs“ zu schaffen, sind gut zu erkennen. Die Gepiden besetzten und verloren dreimal die einstige Kaiserstadt Sirmium. Dort war der Sitz des arianischen Bischofs Trasarich und des letzten Gepidenkönigs Kunimund, der, um sein Königreich zu repräsentieren, nach byzantinischem und italischem Muster auch Münzen prägen ließen.

Die Forschung hat sich bisher viel mit den wertvollen, goldreichen Funden (Szilágysomlyó, Apahida) beschäftigt, die den Gepiden zugesprochen wurden und bis in weite Ferne den berühmten Reichtum der Königsdynastien und ihr weitverzweigtes europäisches Beziehungssystem zeigen. Demgegenüber hat sie sich um das Fundmaterial, die Gräberfelder und Siedlungen der gepidenzeitlichen Bevölkerung (zu der vermutlich die Nachkommen der Sarmaten und anderer vor und während der Hunnenzeit angesiedelten Völker gehörten) wenig gekümmert. Nach der Hunnenzeit wird das sich neu organisierende Leben in der östlichen Hälfte des Karpatenbeckens auch schon am Anfang durch das Erscheinen von kleineren Gräbergruppen und Streusiedlungen belegt. Ab der zweiten Hälfte des 5. Jh. zeigen die europaweit entstehenden Gräberfelder mit mehreren hundert Gräbern die politische und wirtschaftliche Stabilisation, und der östlichste Raum dieser sog. „Reihengräberfelder-Zivilisation“ waren das Theißgebiet und Siebenbürgen. Das Zeichen der politischen und Machteinheit der dortigen Bevölkerung ist das Fundmaterial, das das einheitliche ostmerowingische kulturelle Erbe spiegelt und west- und nordeuropäische kulturelle Beziehungen bezeugt. Daneben zeigen auch Schmuck, Trachtelemente, Töpferzeugnisse und vielleicht die Veränderung der Lebensweise, dass in der gepidischen materiellen Kultur sehr bald die Spuren der nachweisbaren Kontakte zur mediterranen frühbyzantinischen Kultur erschienen.

Die moderne Aufarbeitung der Hinterlassenschaft der Gepidenzeit wird erheblich erleichtert durch die neuen archäologischen Quellen, die bei den großflächigen Fundrettungen der vergangenen Jahrzehnte, in den Gräberfeldern und Siedlungen ausgegraben wurden, sowie durch den Beginn der corpusartigen Veröffentlichung des Fundmaterials jener Zeit im Jahr 2002 (*Monumenta Germanorum Archaeologica Hungariae, Monumenta Gepidica 1, 2, 4*, redigunt: Éva Garam et Tivadar Vida). Die neuen Informationen schaffen die Möglichkeit für die Synthese der Epoche und eine größere Ausstellung, und um diese zu fördern, fand am 14.–15. Dezember 2015 eine archäologische Konferenz im Institut für Archäologiewissenschaften der Loránd-Eötvös-Universität in Budapest statt. Im Rahmen eines neuen Projektes „Subsistence strategies in the Hun and Gepidic Period Carpathian Basin“ (NKFIH NN 128035) werden zwischen 2018-2022 mit der Leitung von Zsófia Rácz Lebensweise und Lebensstrategien einiger Gemeinschaften in der Hunnen- und Gepidenzeit untersucht.

Die Konferenz näherte sich den archäologischen und historischen Fragen der Epoche in geographischer und thematischer Hinsicht. Einige Studien analysierten den Entstehungsprozess des siebenbürgischen Gepidenkönigreiches: «Vom römischen Dakien zum gepidischen Königreich», die Anwesenheit der Gepiden in Sirmien: «Die Sirmiensis».

Einzelne Seiten des kulturellen Beziehungssystems der Gepiden beleuchten die Darstellung der skandinavischen Kontakte, die Analyse des Verhältnisses zu den Langobarden und die Untersuchung der Fragen der gepidischen Religion und Glaubenswelt. Ein besonderer festlicher Moment der Archäologie war die Entdeckung des Grabmals des *comes domesticorum* Thrasarich gepidischer Herkunft in Konstantinopel: «Gepiden im Kontext des völkerwanderungszeitlichen Europa». Dank der neuen Ausgrabungen fanden sich überraschende Angaben aus dem Theißgebiet

und bezüglich der gepidischen Münzprägung in Sirmium: «Münzwesen», und besonders großer Fortschritt ist in der Forschung der gepidenzeitlichen Siedlungen zu bemerken: «Siedlungen».

Das Konferenzprojekt und dieser Band wurden mit dem Zuschuss des Komitees für Unterstützung der Herausgabe von Büchern und Zeitschriften der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, der „Stiftung Trefort Kert“ der Eötvös Loránd Universität, des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz, Leibniz-Forschungsinstitut für Archäologie, des Instituts für Archäologiewissenschaften der Eötvös Loránd Universität und des Instituts für Archäologie des Forschungszentrums für Humanwissenschaften der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften verwirklicht.

Begeistert hat die Organisierung der Konferenz Herr Klaus Rettel unterstützt, Präsident der Deutsch-Ungarischen Gesellschaft e. V. in Berlin, ihm sei dafür gedankt.

Ein besonderer Dank gebührt György Berkes, Direktor der Olimpia Kerékpárgyártó Kft., dem Hersteller der GEPIDA Fahrräder, der großzügig die Konferenz und das Erscheinen des vorliegenden Bandes unterstützt hat. Zu einer guten Zusammenarbeit mit dem Unternehmen kam es bezüglich der Namengebung der GEPIDA (z.B. Gepida Mundo) Fahrräder.

Gedankt sei den bei der Konferenz helfenden Studentinnen Katalin Bajnok, Zsófia Kondé, Bernadett Kovacsóczy und Dóra Szabó.

Budapest – Mainz, 15. Juli 2019

Dieter Quast – Tivadar Vida



(Plakatentwurf: Gábor Váczi)

GRUNDLAGEN / CONTEXTUAL STUDIES

THE RISE AND FALL OF THE GEPID KINGDOM IN DACIA AND PANNONIA, 453–567

Alexander Sarantis

This paper re-assesses the historical evidence for Gepid involvement in political and military affairs in the territories of Trajanic Dacia and Pannonia Sirmiensis, north of the eastern Roman empire, between 453 and 567. In doing so it challenges the perception, apparent in some notable modern works on the Gepids, that they were militarily passive and politically weak. Instead, it argues that the Gepid kingdom in fact outlasted more famous post-Roman Germanic successor states, such as the Gothic kingdom of Italy, dominating Barbaricum beyond the Lower Danube frontier of the eastern Roman empire for long periods between the death of Attila in 453 and the arrival of the Avars in Pannonia in 568. Particularly notable were the post-Attila period, during which the Gepids emerged as the main beneficiary of Attila's death, and the mid-Justinianic era of the 540s–50s, when they subsumed a number of rival Slavic and Hun groups beyond the Danube and posed such a threat to the Roman-held Balkans that the emperor Justinian devoted more military manpower to confronting them than he did to the Gothic and Persian wars in Italy and Lazica.

Keywords: Gepids; Procopius; Eastern Roman; Justinian; Attila

This paper is based on the textual evidence for the Gepids and, thereby, along with Hrvoje Gračanin's contribution, provides a historical context for the rest of the book. Most contemporary historical treatments of the Gepids concentrate on their diplomatic and military affairs which will be the main topics of this paper. Modern historians though have rarely focused on the Gepids and, when they have done, often argue that they were ineffective politically – that they were predominantly agriculturalists, unwarlike and in some way passive.¹ A key reason for this view is that they were indeed ultimately failures – being absorbed by the Avars in 567 and disappearing thereafter as a political entity in Pannonia and Dacia.² Their failure to establish a barbarian confederation north of the empire which launched devastating invasions of the Balkans as did those by Attila's Huns and the Avars would also explain their reputation for passiveness.

Finally, they fall into the category of 'neglected barbarians' – migration era groups such as the Heruls, Suevi and Kutrigurs – who receive less attention in modern works than Goths, Vandals, Huns, Franks or Anglo-Saxons, because they failed to form a major sedentary kingdom within former Roman territory.³ Walter Goffart, for example, suggests that a 4th–6th c. barbarian group were only successful if they managed to install themselves within the Roman empire:

The possession of a territory in *barbaricum*, even with annual gifts from Constantinople, was a passport to insignificance.⁴

¹ See, for example POHL 1980, 243, on the fifth-century origins of the Gepids' demise, 268–69 on their "passive Hegemonie", or 292 on their passivity post-488. For a more positive view of the Gepids, see SARANTIS 2009. Other important works on the history of the Gepids include: DICULESCU 1923; and BÓNA 1976.

² 567: *Menander Protector, Fragments* 12.1–2, ed. and trans. BLOCKLEY 1985; *John of Ephesus, Ecclesiastical History* 6.24, ed. and trans. BROOKS 1935–36; *Paul the Deacon, Historia Langobardorum* 1.27, Trans. FOULKE-PETERS 1974. Secondary works: POHL 1988, 58–61, 1997, 96–98; CHRISTIE 1995, 58–63.

³ For more discussion of "neglected barbarians", see CURTA 2010a, especially CURTA 2010b and HEATHER 2010.

⁴ GOFFART 2006, 200.

Goffart is correct insofar as only the barbarian groups who managed to form long-lasting successor states in former Roman provinces produced histories celebrating their achievements. Jordanes' *Getica* which focuses on the Goths has little positive to say about the Gepids.⁵ Even in its Scandinavian origin myth, the Gepids are referred to as having derived their name from the fact that they were 'slow'.⁶

Although the Gepids did not launch spectacular military assaults on the Balkans, establish a kingdom entirely based in the former western Roman empire, or produce propagandistic origin myths, the historical sources also show that they did in fact achieve political and military successes and were major political players in the north-western Balkans and barbarian world from 453–567.⁷

THE AGE OF ATTILA AND ITS AFTERMATH, 441–517

First, it is clear from Jordanes' *Getica* that the Gepids were one of the most powerful groups within Attila's empire.⁸ The Gepid king Ardaric flanked Attila at the Battle of the Catalaunian Plain against the western Roman-Visigothic army in 451, along with Valamer, the Gothic ruler:

The renowned king of the Gepidae, Ardaric, was there also with a countless host, and because of his great loyalty to Attila, he shared his plans. For Attila, comparing them in his wisdom, prized him and Valamir, king of the Ostrogoths, above all the other chieftains.⁹

After Attila's death, the barbarian world along and north of the Danube witnessed a period of intense political and military competition, as the various Germanic, Hun and Sarmatian components of Attila's empire vied with one another for political influence.¹⁰ In spite of this competition, the Gepids dominated the post-Attila era, leading the coalition of barbarian tribes which defeated the Goths and the sons of Attila at the Battle of Nedao in 454.

Ardaric, king of the Gepidae, became enraged because so many nations were being treated like slaves of the basest condition, and was the first to rise against the sons of Attila.....For by his revolt he freed not only his own tribe, but all the others who were equally oppressed; since all readily strive for that which is sought for the general advantage. They took up arms against the destruction that menaced all and joined battle with the Huns in Pannonia, near a river called Nedao. There an encounter took place between the various nations Attila had held under his sway.Being deprived of their head, they madly strove against each other. They never found their equals ranged against them without harming each other by wounds mutually given. And so the bravest nations tore themselves to pieces.....finally, after many bitter conflicts, victory fell unexpectedly to the Gepidae. For the sword and conspiracy of Ardaric destroyed almost thirty thousand men, Huns as well as those of the other nations who brought them aid.¹¹

As a result of their victory at Nedao, the Gepids were able to settle in the central lands of Attila's empire, the Tisza valley in Trajanic Dacia.¹² They also occupied southern Pannonia, probably from the 470s (see *Map 1*).¹³ The lack of sources for Gepid history during the three decades post-Nedao

⁵ On the *Getica*, see: GOFFART 1988 and 2006, 56–72; LIEBESCHUETZ 2011; and MERRILLS 2005, ch.2.

⁶ *Jordanes, Getica* 17.94, ed. MOMMSEN 1961.

⁷ For different versions of this argument: SARANTIS 2009 and 2016a, 266–278. WOZNIAK 1979 also acknowledges the growth of Gepid naval and military power, but does not discuss this in great detail.

⁸ POHL 1980, 247–248.

⁹ *Jordanes, Getica* 199, ed. MOMMSEN 1961.

¹⁰ *Jordanes, Getica* 50.264–288, ed. MOMMSEN 1961. Modern accounts: HEATHER 1991, 240–272; WOLFRAM 1988, 258–268; POHL 1980, 264–268; KELLY 2008, 210–219; MAENCHEN-HELFEN 1973, 143–169; STEINACHER 2017, 97–121.

¹¹ *Jordanes, Getica* 260–263, Ed. MOMMSEN 1961. Modern discussions of Nedao: VÁRADY 1969, 324–330; POHL 1980, 252–263; WOLFRAM 1988, 58–59; CASTRITIUS 2002, 49–51; LOTTER 2003, 103; STEINACHER 2017, 94–100.

¹² STEINACHER 2017, 98.

¹³ POHL 1980, 268 and 288–297; SARANTIS 2009, 17–19.



Map 1. North-eastern and western Illyricum, and Trajanic Dacia

does not mean that they faced no major threats to their territorial possessions during this period. This was a competitive and militarised world in which barbarian rulers were under constant pressure to achieve political gains and economic rewards to satisfy their followers.¹⁴ For example, according to Procopius, the Heruls pressured their king Rodolphus into expanding their territories and challenging neighbouring groups during the 500s.¹⁵ This resulted in their catastrophic defeat at the hands of the Lombards and subsequent political division in 508.

The Gepids' history from 454–488 may be murky, but it is interesting that they profited directly from the abandonment of southern Pannonia by the Goths, the other main post-Attila power north-west of the Balkans, in 473. Jordanes suggests that the Goths were merely looking for new challenges, having defeated the other barbarian groups in Pannonia.¹⁶ But his work is imbued with pro-Gothic propaganda and it seems equally likely that this group decided to abandon Pannonia and seek employment in the Roman southern Balkans following military pressure from rival groups, including, presumably, the Gepids.¹⁷

The Gepids' defeat by the Goths in 488 was perhaps part of the Gothic king Theoderic's mission to gain revenge for 473 (if the Gepids had played a part in the Goths' evacuation of Pannonia)

¹⁴ STEINACHER 2017 chs.7–8. See also: SARANTIS 2016b, 48; HALSALL 2007, ch.5; HEATHER 2001.

¹⁵ *Procopius, Wars* 6.14.11–22, ed. DEWING 1914–54; *Paul the Deacon, Historia Langobardorum* 1.20, ed. FOULKE-PETERS 1974. Modern discussion: STEINACHER 2017, 140–143. Heruls: STEINACHER 2010; SARANTIS 2010; SCHWARCZ 2005.

¹⁶ *Jordanes, Getica* 283, ed. MOMMSEN 1961.

¹⁷ See n.5 above on Jordanes' *Getica*. POHL 1980, 288, on the fact that the Gepids profited from the power vacuum in Pannonia resulting from the Goths' emigration. On political pressure as a likely cause of the Goths' emigration, see, for example: HEATHER 1991, 249–250.

as well as the Battle of Nedao (if we assume that the Goths fought on the side of Attila's sons).¹⁸ That the Gepids hung on to their Pannonian territories post 488 would imply that this military encounter was not as decisive as made out by Jordanes' pro-Gothic account. However, while the Goths attacked the Gepids en route to Italy in 488, their second major assault, in 504, was launched from a position of greater strength, as rulers of an Italian kingdom, and culminated in the conquest of Gepid-held southern Pannonia.¹⁹

There is little material on Gepid political history from 504 to 517. All we can conclude is that they retained their territories in Trajanic Dacia in spite of the existence of powerful rivals in regions west of the Carpathians. Following their defeat of the Heruls, for example, the Lombards were settled in northern and eastern Pannonia, west of the Middle Danube where they remained during the next three decades.²⁰

MUNDO THE GEPID

The career of the general and warlord, Mundo, gives us another example of Gepid military and political prowess. Mundo was an heir to the Gepid throne in the late 5th c.²¹ Born in around 480, he was a nephew of the Gepid king Thraupsila, killed by the Goths in the battle of 488. He was exiled from the Gepid kingdom following the accession of Thraupsila's son, Trasaric.²²

Mundo's military and political skills are clear from his subsequent history: during the 500s, he operated as a warlord, leading a band of mixed barbarian mercenaries at the confluence of the Morava and Danube rivers in the Roman province of Upper Moesia (see *Maps 3–4*). His ability to defeat an eastern Roman army of 10,000 men in 505 shows that he was more than a mere robber-brigand.²³ He was later recruited by the Goths, eventually leaving their service sometime after the death of the king Theoderic in 526. His military reputation led the emperor Justinian to recruit him and his son Mauricius in 529.²⁴ Mundo was invested as *magister militum per Illyricum* at a formal ceremony in Constantinople.

The Romans would not be disappointed. Mundo proved to be an extremely successful general, defeating a series of barbarian raiders of Illyricum: Huns in 529; and Bulgars and Getae in 530.²⁵ He was also one of three generals, including Belisarius, to rescue Justinian from the Nika rioters in Constantinople in 532, served as *magister militum Orientem* and led the invasion of Gothic-held Dalmatia in 535, where he was killed during one of a series of savage battles with the Gothic field armies.²⁶

¹⁸ Primary sources for 488 include: *Ennodius, Panegyricus dictus clementissimo regi Theoderico*, 7.28–35, ed. ROHR 1995. Modern works on 488: POHL 1980, 292; WOLFRAM 1988, 280; SCHMIDT 1941, 293–295; STEINACHER 2017, 130–132.

¹⁹ Primary sources for 504 include: *Jordanes, Getica* 300, ed. MOMMSEN 1961; *Ennodius, Panegyricus dictus clementissimo regi Theoderico* 12.62, 69, ed. ROHR 1995. Modern discussions of 504: SARANTIS 2009, 20–22; WOLFRAM 1988, 293 and 321–322; HEATHER 1996, 231; STEINACHER 2017, 136–139; LOTTER 2003, 127–128.

²⁰ CHRISTIE 1995, 14–40 and 1992, 330; CHRISTOU 1991, 53–67.

²¹ Mundo's life: POHL 1980, 289–91; CROKE 1982; MARTINDALE 1992, 903–906.

²² Thrasaric later became *comes domesticorum* in the eastern Roman empire and died at Constantinople according to an inscription discovered in the excavations of a church at Vefa kilise camii, Istanbul: ÇETİNKAYA 2009.

²³ 505: *Jordanes, Getica* 300–301, ed. MOMMSEN 1961; *The Chronicle of Marcellinus Comes* 505, ed. CROKE 1995. Modern discussions: ENSSLIN 1959, 130; POHL 1980, 292–294; CROKE 1982, 125–135; WOLFRAM 1988, 320–322; PROSTKO-PROSTYŃSKI 1992; MEIER 2009, 223–226; SARANTIS 2009, 19–20. POHL 1980, 293, calls Mundo "Räuberhauptmann", and WOLFRAM 1988, 322, a "Robber-chief-captain".

²⁴ *John Malalas, Chronographia* 18.46, ed. THURN 2000. Modern discussion: SARANTIS 2016a, 51–52.

²⁵ *John Malalas, Chronographia* 18.46, ed. THURN 2000; *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor* AM6032, trans. MANGO-SCOTT 1995; *The Chronicle of Marcellinus Comes* 530, ed. and trans. CROKE 1995. Modern discussion: SARANTIS 2016a, 54–60.

²⁶ On the Nika revolt: BURY 1897; GREATREX 1997; MEIER 2003b. On Dalmatia, see n.32 below.

So, in short, Mundo, a Gepid, was not passive, weak or unwarlike, but one of the most formidable military hard men to emerge in the post-Attila era, dominating Upper Moesia and southern Pannonia, and fighting for the Goths, the Romans and as an independent warlord. The fact that he started his career as the loser in a Gepid succession dispute reinforces the impression that there were other equally tough Gepid leaders. It is possible that Mundo's exile in 488 resulted in the political division of the kingdom and that many of Mundo's soldiers in the 500s were also Gepids. This would have weakened the Gepids critically prior to their military encounter with the Goths in 504.

FROM ANASTASIUS' FINAL YEARS TO THE EARLY JUSTINIANIC PERIOD, 517–536

Most of our historical sources for the Gepids date from the late 510s–560s. They tell us that the Gepids were major players north of Roman-held eastern Illyricum from the late 510s, launching raids on the Goths in Sirmium and on Roman populations in the Balkans. First, there are suggestions in the *Chronicle of Marcellinus Comes* that the Gepids raided eastern Illyricum in 517 and 530.²⁷ These attacks were perpetrated by a group referred to as *Getae*. The chronicle also uses this ethnonym when referring to Mundo, who was a Gepid.²⁸ It is, therefore, at least worth bearing in mind the possibility that the Gepids were responsible for the 517 and 530 incursions.²⁹

Second, works by Procopius and Cassiodorus record that the Gepids attacked Gothic-held Sirmium at some point between 527 and 534, possibly with Roman backing.³⁰ It is clear that the Romans paid tribute to the Gepids pre-536 because Procopius records that Justinian temporarily cut off these annual payments following the Gepids' annexation of Sirmium, southern Pannonia, in 536.³¹

While the Gepids benefitted from the Goths' and Romans' preoccupation with their war in Dalmatia between 535 and 537, their re-occupation of southern Pannonian territories, evacuated by the Goths in 536, was, nonetheless, impressively opportunistic.³² Justinian responded angrily to the development. Prior to the outbreak of the Gothic war in 535, the eastern Roman emperor had had designs on Gothic-held Sirmium and Pannonia, as well as Italy. This is apparent from *Novella* 11, for example, published in April 535, which established a new archbishopric at Justinian Prima, Dacia Mediterranea (see *Map 1*).³³ The *Novella* justifies this ecclesiastical innovation by referring nostalgically to the earlier location of the Prefecture and Archbishopric of Illyricum at Sirmium in the 5th c. and suggesting that, by transferring them to Justiniana Prima from Thessaloniki in Macedonia Prima, the government was moving the political and religious heart of Roman power in eastern Illyricum closer to its traditional location in the north.³⁴

²⁷ *The Chronicle of Marcellinus Comes* 517 and 530, ed. and trans. CROKE 1995.

²⁸ *The Chronicle of Marcellinus Comes* 505, ed. and trans. CROKE 1995: *Idem Sabinianus Sabiniani Magni filius ductor-que militiae delegates contra Mundonem Getam arma construxit.*

²⁹ It should be noted, however, that Marcellinus does not always use the term *Getae* when referring to the Gepids. In his entry on the Romans' defeat by the Gepid ruler Calluc in 539, the term *Gepidas* is used: *The Chronicle of Marcellinus Comes* 539, ed. and trans. CROKE 1995.

³⁰ *Procopius, Wars* 5.3.15, 11.5, ed. DEWING 1914–54; *Cassiodorus, Variae*, 11.1, trans. BARNISH 1992. Modern discussion: SARANTIS 2016a, 60–65; GRAČANIN–ŠKRGULJA 2014, 185; POHL 1980, 299; STEIN 1949, 307–308; WOLFRAM 2009, 323.

³¹ *Procopius, Wars* 7.33.9, ed. DEWING 1914–54.

³² 536: *Procopius, Wars* 7.33.8 and 7.34.15, Ed. DEWING 1914–54. Modern discussion: SARANTIS 2009, 25 and 2016a, 92–94; CHRISTOU 1991, 69; DICULESCU 1923, 123–125. Dalmatian war: *Procopius, Wars* 5.5.2, 5.7.1–10, 5.7.26–36, ed. DEWING 1914–54. Modern discussion: SARANTIS 2016a, 89–91; WILKES 1969, esp. 426.

³³ *Novella* 11, ed. SCHÖLL–KROLL 1954.

³⁴ On *Novella* 11: TURLEJ 2014–2016; MARKUS 1979; SARANTIS 2016a, 149–155; SARANTIS forthcoming 2019.

Since ancient times, there was a Prefecture at Sirmium, the head of Illyricum in civil and Episcopal matters, but it was subsequently, in the times of Attila, devastated, and Apraemius, the Praetorian Prefect of the Sirmian state fled to Thessalonica.

The implication is that Sirmium was the rightful and traditional property of the eastern empire and a potential target of future military aggression.

Justinian's belligerent response to the Gepids' annexation of Sirmium in 536 is understandable in this context. According to Marcellinus Comes, the Illyrian field army was sent against the Gepids in 539 and defeated.³⁵ The Gepids' victory was obviously significant because the *magister militum per Illyricum*, Calluc, lost his life in the encounter.³⁶ Procopius informs us that Justinian cut off the Gepids' tributary payments at around this time.³⁷

GEPID-LOMBARD-ROMAN WARS, 548–552

In spite of these financial and military challenges, the Gepids continued to be a major concern to the Roman government according to Procopius' accounts of the Gepid-Lombard wars of 548–52. The Gepids had come under renewed political pressure once in southern Pannonia from 536, this time from the Lombards, who moved into neighbouring regions in the late 530s (see *Map 2*).³⁸ The latter had agreed an alliance with the eastern Romans by 539 according to Procopius.³⁹ Gepid-Lombard competition subsequently intensified and exploded into a series of conflicts from the late 540s.⁴⁰ Procopius' suggestion that the Gepids were the main cause of this political instability is best seen in the speeches he places in the mouths of Gepid and Lombard ambassadors visiting Constantinople in 548.⁴¹ As a member of the office-holding classes and former staff member of the general Belisarius from 527 to 540, we must assume that these fabricated speeches reflect the views of the eastern Roman political and military establishments.⁴²

First, in a number of places these passages indicate that the Romans were worried about the build-up of Gepid military power:

The Gepids are far superior to the Lombards in multitude and valour.⁴³

Second, they repeatedly accuse the Gepids of betraying their alliance with the Romans by annexing Sirmium in 536:

Did they not heap contempt upon the Roman empire? Did they not break the bonds of treaty and alliance? Did they not insult those whom they should never have treated thus?⁴⁴

³⁵ *The Chronicle of Marcellinus Comes* 539, ed. and trans. CROKE 1995; *Jordanes, Romana* 387, ed. MOMMSEN 1961.

³⁶ Calluc: MARTINDALE 1992, 266.

³⁷ See n.31 above.

³⁸ POHL 1996, 29; CHRISTIE 1992, 330; SARANTIS 2016a, 95–100. Some follow Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum* 1.22, trans. FOULKE-PETERS 1974 in arguing that the Lombards moved into southern Pannonia in 546: DICULESCU 1923, 134; STEIN 1949, 528; WOLFRAM 1988, 323; SCHMIDT 1941, 580.

³⁹ *Procopius, Wars* 6.22.11–12, ed. DEWING 1914–54.

⁴⁰ Modern works on these wars include: SARANTIS 2009–2016a, 306–12; POHL 1980; WOZNIAK 1979; PATOURA 1997, 81–82 and 2008, 54–56; STEINACHER 2017, 164; CURTA 2001, 82–87; STEIN 1949, 523–525.

⁴¹ ADSHEAD 1990 suggests that Procopius modelled these speeches on those delivered by envoys from Corcyra and Corinth at Athens in Thucydides' *History of the Peloponnesian War* 1.24–55, ed. JONES-POWELL 1942.

⁴² Procopius' life and background: CAMERON 1985, 3–8; GREATREX 2014, 77–82; HOWARD-JOHNSTON 2000; KAEGI 1990. On the historical and literary content of his works: KALDELLIS 2004; CAMERON 1985; SARANTIS 2017.

⁴³ *Procopius, Wars* 7.34.28, ed. DEWING 1914–54.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* 7.34.16–17.



Map 2. Approximate locations of barbarian groups north of the eastern Roman empire, 536–565

This is an example of the anti-barbarian rhetoric which dominates Procopius' discussions of the Gepids.⁴⁵ This portrays them as treacherous Arian Christians, the opposite of the more reliable Orthodox Christian Lombards.⁴⁶

It is thus unsurprising that the Romans sided with the Lombards in 549, 551 and 552 and on two of these occasions, 549 and 552, sent large armies to support them.⁴⁷ According to Procopius, the Roman army which defeated the Gepids' Herul allies in 549 included more than 10,000 cavalrymen commanded by the generals Aratius, Constantianus and Buzes, 1,500 federate Herul troops, and a force led by the *magister militum per Illyricum*, John the nephew of Vitalian, possibly the 15,000-strong army which fought the Sklaveni in Epirus in 548.⁴⁸ The significance of this military campaign becomes clear when we compare the numbers involved with those deployed in other theatres of war at the same time. In 544, Belisarius departed for Italy to attack the Goths with 4,000 men and

⁴⁵ On Procopius and the barbarians: GREATREX 2018; SARANTIS 2018.

⁴⁶ See, in particular: *Procopius, Wars* 7.34.24, ed. DEWING 1914–54.

⁴⁷ On the wars in general: n.40 above. 549: *Procopius, Wars* 6.22.11–12 and 7.34.40–43, ed. DEWING 1914–54. Modern discussion of 549: SARANTIS 2016a, 266. 552: *Procopius, Wars* 8.25.10–15, ed. DEWING 1914–54; *Paul the Deacon, Historia Langobardorum* 1.23, ed. FOULKE–PETERS 1974. Modern discussion of 552: SARANTIS 2009, 35–38; CROKE 2005; BÓNA 1978, ch.1; POHL 1980.

⁴⁸ Expedition versus the Sklaveni in 548: *Procopius, Wars* 7.29.1–3, ed. DEWING 1914–54. *John, the nephew of Vitalian*, MARTINDALE 1992, 652–661.



Map 3. Balkan cities, roads and geographical features

in 548, Dagistheus was sent to fight the Persians in Lazica with 8,000.⁴⁹ In 549, therefore, Justinian was deploying against the Gepids *ca.* six times the number of men sent to Italy with Belisarius and *ca.* three times the number sent to Lazica.

⁴⁹ 544: Procopius, *Wars* 7.10.3, ed. DEWING 1914–54. 548: Procopius, *Wars* 2.2.10, ed. DEWING 1914–54.



Map 4. Balkan provinces

While we cannot assume that the figures provided by classicising historians are entirely accurate, we can at least accept that much larger armies were deployed in Pannonia and the Balkans from 548 to 552 than in other parts of the empire based on the internal logic of Procopius' text.⁵⁰ Procopius had no obvious reason to distort this fact, especially bearing in mind that most of his Balkans narrative is critical of Justinian for neglecting the region.⁵¹ Justinian's decision to devote so many resources to fighting the Gepids is thus striking, especially considering that the empire had been suffering from financial difficulties and the bubonic plague during the 540s.⁵²

The eastern Roman army dispatched to help the Lombards fight the Gepids at the Battle of Asfeld in 552 was again sizeable, judging by the number of military leaders mentioned by Procopius.⁵³ These included: Amalafridas, a Gothic nobleman, captured in Italy in 540, Suartas,

⁵⁰ Field army numbers in Late Antiquity were, however, usually divisible by 5,000 and seem to have been standardised at 10–20,000 men: TREADGOLD 2005, 9; PARNELL 2012, 11 n.44.

⁵¹ SARANTIS 2016a, 3–4 and 229–240.

⁵² 540s crises: MEIER 2003a, 321–340; STATHAKOPOULOS 2000; ALLEN 1979; SARRIS 2002; CAMERON 1985, ch.13.

⁵³ See n.47.

the former Herul king, and Justin and Justinian, Roman generals and sons of Justinian's cousin, Germanus.⁵⁴

There is thus little doubt that Justinian considered the Gepids a serious threat and was willing to devote large armies commanded by powerful generals to containing them in southern Pannonia. Indeed, Justinian's approach to Pannonian politics followed the time-honoured Roman diplomatic strategy of seeking alliances with all barbarian groups at the same time as favouring the weaker ones.⁵⁵

GEPID POWER IN THE 540S AND 550S

Procopius' fragmentary passages on the Balkans in his *Wars* narrative suggest that there were two main reasons the Romans were worried about the Gepid threat. First, during the 540s and early 550s, the Gepid king Thorisin formed alliances with other barbarian groups which bolstered his military resources. At some point between 545 and 548, the Romans' Herul federates in Upper Moesia fought a civil war during which at least two-thirds of them rebelled against Roman rule and went over to the Gepids.⁵⁶ According to Procopius, the Romans were confronted by 3,000 of the Gepids' Herul allies in the subsequent military campaign against the Gepids in 549.⁵⁷ By contrast, the Heruls who had remained loyal to the Romans and fought for the empire in this battle numbered 1,500.

The Lombard exile, Ildiges, provided the Gepids with another new source of manpower. Ildiges was similar to Mundo: exiled from the Lombards following a succession dispute, he ended up establishing control over large numbers of barbarians north of the Danube as well as fighting for the Goths and the Romans at various points in his career.⁵⁸ This formidable Lombard warlord defected to the Gepids during the Gepid-Lombard conflict of 548–49.⁵⁹ Procopius does not tell us how many men accompanied him, but we know from other sections of his text that Ildiges had established control over a series of Sklaveni tribes post-540 and that when he fought for the Goths in the early 550s, his Sklaveni soldiers numbered 6,000.⁶⁰ Procopius also informs us that when he later held the position of count of the palatine guards in Constantinople, he commanded 300 Lombard followers, who were based at Apri in Europa.⁶¹

Finally, the Gepids formed an alliance with a group of Kutrigur Hun tribes led by a man named Chinialon in 550/551. These arrived in Gepid territory, numbering 12,000 men.⁶² This is further evidence of the Gepids' impressive diplomatic reach, which included not only Pannonia, but Sklaveni lands east of the Carpathians and Hun-occupied territories north of the Sea of Azov (see *Map 2*).⁶³

The Romans were also concerned that the Gepids were exploiting their naval control of the Middle Danube and Sava rivers to ferry Hun and Sklaveni raiders into the Balkans. Procopius mentions three occasions on which the Gepids did this.⁶⁴ First, they transported the 12,000-strong

⁵⁴ MARTINDALE 1992, 50–51 (Amalafidas), 744–747 (Justinian), 750–754 (Justin), 1205 (Suartas).

⁵⁵ See references in n.14 above.

⁵⁶ Herul rebellion: STEIN 1949, 529; SARANTIS 2016a, 257–266; SCHMIDT 1941, 554–555.

⁵⁷ See n.47 above on the battle in 549, as well as: STEINACHER 2017, 158; SARANTIS 2010, 393–397.

⁵⁸ Ildiges: SARANTIS 2016a, 99; CROKE 1982, 129; CURTA 2001, 82; STEINACHER 2017, 163.

⁵⁹ *Procopius, Wars* 7.35.19, ed. DEWING 1914–54.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* 7.35.22.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* 8.27.3.

⁶² *Ibid.* 8.18.15.

⁶³ On the location of the Sklaveni: *Jordanes, Getica* 17.35, ed. MOMMSEN 1961; *Procopius, Wars* 7.14.30, ed. DEWING 1914–54. Modern discussion: CURTA 2001, 39–43. On the location of the Kutrigur Huns: *Procopius, Wars* 8.5.1–23, ed. DEWING 1914–54. Modern discussion: SYRBE 2012; KAZANSKI 2013; KIM 2013, 137–142.

⁶⁴ SARANTIS 2009, 31–33.

Kutrigur Hun army of Chinialon into northern Illyricum in 550/51.⁶⁵ Procopius suggests that the Gepids were motivated by their inability to continue provisioning such a large Hun army in their territories. But it is equally likely that they were taking the opportunity to ramp up pressure on the Romans.

Second, in 551, the Gepids ferried out of the Balkans Sklaveni raiders who had been ravaging Illyricum, charging them one gold coin per head.⁶⁶ The Gepids were obviously profiting economically from the escalation of barbarian raids as well as exploiting them for political purposes. Finally, the Gepids ferried another group of Sklaveni into the Balkans, prior to the Roman-Lombard invasion of Gepid territory in 552.⁶⁷

From a strategic perspective, the Sklaveni and the Kutrigur Huns must have travelled across the Carpathian Mountains to Gepid territory in Pannonia before entering the Roman-held Balkans (see *Map 3*). The Gepids then presumably ferried them across the Middle Danube, which, according to Procopius, “ran through their territory”, and the Sava River. Procopius makes clear that the Sklaveni and the Huns decided to raid the Balkans via this circuitous route because it enabled them to avoid the heavily defended Roman frontier between Singidunum and the Black Sea (see *Maps 1, 3*):

Since the Romans were guarding the Danube at the limits of Illyricum and Thrace, they themselves (the Gepids) let loose these Huns into the lands of the Romans, having ferried them across the Danube River where it flowed through their own territory.⁶⁸

The Gepids were, therefore, taking advantage of their advantageous strategic position in Pannonia Sirmiensis to target the main strategic weakness of the Roman Balkan defensive system: vulnerability to attack from southern Pannonia, via an invasion route which by-passed the fortified Lower Danube frontier. Barbarian raiders who travelled this way ended up in Upper Moesia, from which communications to southern Thrace and Illyricum lay open (see *Map 3*). The Gepids could therefore, hold the Roman authorities to ransom by making possible these raids – encouraging better treaty terms or discouraging Roman support for the Lombards.

Even though Procopius only mentions Gepid naval involvement in three barbarian raids, it can surely be no coincidence that the majority of Sklaveni and Hun raids in this period entered Illyricum or that these raids intensified from 548 to 552, the years of Gepid-Roman hostility, and ceased after the Gepids were defeated by a Lombard-Roman army in 552.⁶⁹

The Romans’ determination to reduce Gepid power is thus understandable. Their military victory in 549 forced the Gepids to sue for peace with the Lombards after which Justinian ordered the Roman armies to remain in northern Illyricum. In 552, however, the Gepids were finally crushed by a Roman-Lombard force. The Roman generals Suartas, Justin and Justinian never made it to Pannonia, remaining in eastern Illyricum, where they had to deal with a civilian uprising at Ulpiana. However, Amalafidas arrived in Pannonia and Jordanes’ *Romana* makes clear that a significant Roman contingent participated in the Lombards’ ensuing defeat of the Gepids.⁷⁰

⁶⁵ Procopius, *Wars* 8.18.13–17, ed. DEWING 1914–54. Gepid-Kutrigur military alliance: SYRBE 2012, 295–296.

⁶⁶ Procopius, *Wars* 8.25.5, ed. DEWING 1914–54.

⁶⁷ Ibid. 8.25.10.

⁶⁸ Ibid. 8.8.17.

⁶⁹ None of the other Sklaveni raids mentioned by Procopius entered Thrace initially: SARANTIS 2016a, 278–288. CURTIA 2001, 87–89, argues that the raids stopped because of Justinian’s fortification plan, and yet this had most likely been implemented by 552, as argued in SARANTIS 2016a, 172–76.

⁷⁰ Jordanes, *Romana* 387, ed. MOMMSEN 1961.

THE FINAL YEARS OF THE GEPID KINGDOM, 552–567

The Gepids faded as a political force after 552 and Slavic and Hun raids stopped for seven years until the Kutrigur Hun-Slav raid of 559.⁷¹ The Gepids did achieve a victory over the Lombards in 566, following the abduction of the Gepid king Cunimund's daughter by the Lombard king Alboin, but this success was short-lived.⁷² The Gepids were ultimately victims of the rise of the Avars. Given the strength of the Avar confederation, it is no surprise that the Gepids failed to withstand a joint Lombard-Avar attack in 567.⁷³ The Lombards, too, eventually succumbed to Avar power and chose to migrate to Italy rather than remain under Avar control like the Gepids.

The rise of Avar power could perhaps have been forestalled or prevented had the Roman emperor Justin II followed the diplomatic policies of his uncle and predecessor Justinian, and used alliances with the Gepids and the Lombards to block the Avars.⁷⁴ But instead he supported the Gepids against the Lombards in 566 and then refused to support either group in 567–68, fatally weakening both in the process.⁷⁵

CONCLUSIONS

To sum up, the Gepid kingdom is an interesting case of a migration-era sedentary barbarian state formed outside of the Roman empire. There is little doubt that the Gepids suffered reverses on the battlefield and ultimately disappeared from the history books, doomed to become neglected barbarians as mentioned in the introduction.

But, despite facing serious political competition in southern Pannonia – an ethnically complex former Roman region which was vulnerable to attack – the Gepids managed to hold on to this territory for long periods of time. Indeed, they occupied it for 64 years (from 471–504 and 536–67). If we include the periods in which they were restricted to Trajanic Dacia, their kingdom existed in various forms for 113 years, from 454–567, considerably longer than either Attila's empire or the majority of post-Roman successor states. The Gothic kingdom of Italy, for example lasted for 68 years if we date its beginning to 493 and its end to 561 – 61 years if we consider that its demise was sealed by the military defeats suffered at the hands of the eastern Roman army in 553.

The high points of Gepid history included the period in which they were part of Attila's empire and the post-Attila era, from 453–488, when they emerged as one of the most powerful and influential groups north of the Danube; and the mid-Justinianic era of the 530s-early 550s, when they threatened to become a barbarian superpower and posed a major threat to the eastern Roman empire.

The Gepids ultimately failed because they were up against the much larger and wealthier eastern Roman empire with a Balkan-born emperor Justinian who was keen to devote large resources to the Balkan provinces. They were also too belligerent towards the Roman empire during the 540s and early 550s at a time when they had yet to comprehensively subdue their main rivals in the *barbaricum*, especially the Lombards. Although formidable, the Gepids were never going to be a match for the combined strength of a Roman-Lombard or Avar-Lombard army. But this should not detract from the Gepids' political and military successes, which make it clear that they were far from passive, insignificant and weak.

⁷¹ 559: Agathias, *Histories* 5.11–24, ed. KEYDELL 1967; Menander Protector, *Fragments* 2.1.13–32, ed. and trans. BLOCKLEY 1985; John Malalas, *Chronographia* 18.129, ed. THURN 2000. Modern discussion: SARANTIS 2016a, 336–349; GREATREX 1995; SYRBE 2012, 297–298; LEMERLE 1954, 285–286; STEIN 1949, 535–540.

⁷² 566: *The History of Theophylact Simocatta* 6.10.7–18, ed. DE BOOR–WIRTH 1972.

⁷³ Rise of the Avars: WHITBY 1988, chs.3 and 5; POHL 1988. 567: see n.2 above.

⁷⁴ As argued by SARANTIS 2016a, 378–380.

⁷⁵ 568: Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum* 2.7, trans. FOULKE–PETERS 1974.

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THE GEPIDS AFTER THE BATTLE OF NEDAO (454 A.D.): A BRIEF OVERVIEW AND PROSPECTS FOR THE FUTURE RESEARCH

Ágnes B. Tóth

The aim of this study is to provide a brief overview of archaeological research on the Gepids. In this summary discussing the history of research the results of eminent archaeologists are addressed (from Hungary, Romania, former Yugoslavia). It is proposed to use the term 'Gepidic' should not be used in ethnic context in the 5-6. centuries A.D. but as a historical or rather cultural label. The study covers the different settlement areas of the population and the centre(s) of the elite. After the Hunnic period female burials presumably of (East) Germanic origin characterized by silver sheet fibulae were uncovered in different regions of the Carpathian Basin. Cemeteries of smaller size dominated the Middle Danube area in the second half of the 5th century, in which funerary practices and grave-goods were to an extent homogeneous. The creation of the Gepid kingdom was followed by a period of approximate political-economic stability and it is reflected in the appearance of the row-cemeteries, of which some were later prey to systematic plundering. The scattered pattern of the settlement pattern is obvious, the sites 'withdrew' to river valleys in the 6th century A.D. Few contacts are detected with the neighbouring Langobards, some (personal?) connections with the Thuringians, Franks, Alamanni, and traces of trade with the Lower Danube area (i.e. Byzantine towns and fortresses). Continuity of the Gepidic population is evident in the Hungarian Plain and in Transylvania. Brief information on some recently excavated sites is summed up at the end.¹

Keywords: history of research; 5th-6th centuries A.D.; Tisza region; Transylvania; Pannonia Sirmiensis; row-cemeteries; settlement activity; trade; Gepids in the Avar Period

THE STATE OF RESEARCH

Research on the Gepidic archaeology was synchronous with the different phases of the studies of the Merovingian, Early Medieval Period in Western Europe. The first find which could be defined as 'Gepidic' by the research was taken to the museum almost one and a half centuries ago.² In the beginning of the 20th century the first Gepidic cemeteries were unearthed near the town of Szentes in the Hungarian Plain by Gábor Csallány,³ but the association of the finds with the Gepids took place only decades later, on the basis of some other sites (Magyarcsanak-Bökény, Hódmezővásárhely-Gorzsa) by János Banner.⁴ The first detailed summary of the Gepidic sites and the finds was published by D. Csallány more than fifty years ago.⁵ The quantity of the Gepidic archaeological material kept growing constantly in the second half of the last century, during which mainly cemeteries were excavated. The most eminent archaeologist of this period of Hungarian research was István Bóna. Though he is principally appreciated because of his studies on the archaeology of the Langobards he also studied the contemporary Gepids intensively. He managed excavations (e.g. Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok),⁶ prepared overviews, dealt with the

¹ This study is supported by the research program titled 'Subsistence strategies in the Hun and Gepidic Period Carpathian Basin', NKFIH NN 128035. I would like to thank Alexander Sarantis for his help in the translation of the text.

² Kisselyk/Şeica Mică, CSALLÁNY 1961, 198–199, Taf. CCXII, 2, 10, CCXVIII. 3.

³ CSALLÁNY 1961, 16–20.

⁴ BANNER 1926; BANNER 1934.

⁵ CSALLÁNY 1961.

⁶ BÓNA–NAGY 2002, 34–36.

connections of the Gepids in the Tisza region and Transylvania and was the initiator of a new series of monographs on the Germanic (including Gepidic) finds in Hungary: i.e. *Monumenta Germanorum Archaeologica Hungariae*, edited by Éva Garam and Tivadar Vida, in which he was also one of the authors.⁷ Professor Bóna's results have definitively influenced research on the Gepids in Hungary for many decades. Also Margit Nagy took part in the excavation of some Gepidic cemeteries (e.g. Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok, Magyarcsanak-Bökény) and later analysed them thoroughly (typochronology of the finds, horizontal stratigraphy of the sites).⁸ She also discussed the problems of the Gepidic jewellery, goldsmiths' workshops and animal depictions in detail.⁹ As a representative of the next generation of scholars, János Cseh has excavated numerous Gepidic sites (both settlements and cemeteries) in the vicinity of the town Szolnok. His exemplary research in the microregion of Kengyel and Rákóczifalva should also be mentioned.¹⁰

Research in Transylvania advanced in ways now parallel to that that in Hungary. Some regions were better explored than others (see e.g. A. Dobos' studies on the topic in question).¹¹ The name of K. Horedt, R. Harhoiu must be mentioned here without undervaluing the work of other excellent scholars.¹² The following is a short list of eminent archaeologists researching the Gepids, some of them active even now: Gy. Török, I. Kovrig, K. Mesterházy, A. Kiss; M. Rusu, D. Popescu, D. Protase, C. Gaiu, I. Stanciu, C. Opreanu; Z. Vinski, V. Ivanišević, M. Kazanski, L. Zotović, V. Popović, S. Ercegović-Pavlović etc.

THE USE OF THE CONCEPT 'GEPIDIC'

The former research used the term 'Gepidic' definitively in an ethnic context (e.g. see I. Bóna's studies).¹³ Based on the literary sources (mainly Jordanes' book, 'Getica') not the slightest doubt emerged that in the period between 454 and 567, both the Tisza region and Transylvania (and between 473–488/504, 535–567 also in Pannonia Sirmiensis) were inhabited by groups of Gepid origin. This earlier assumption should be re-considered, because we can not define with certainty the territory in which Ardarich's Gepids lived in the Hunnic period neither on the basis of the written records nor the archaeological finds themselves. In I. Bóna's opinion the regions in question (the region of the Gepids) were situated in the Upper-Tisza valley or in the valley of the rivers Körös.¹⁴ Some scholars think of the cemeteries in Biharkeresztes-Ártánd in this context.¹⁵ Wherever the homeland of the Gepids in the Hunnic period was, the Hungarian Plain and Dacia, which they conquered after the battle at Nedao, were not uninhabited before. The rest of the earlier population must have lived there, among them e.g. the Sarmatians. For this reason, I think it would be better to use the term 'Gepidic' as a historical or rather a cultural concept, rather than in an ethnic context for the whole period after Nedao. If we compare the Gepids with the contemporary Langobards in the 6th century, the archaeologists nowadays prefer using the German term *langobardenzeitlich* to that of *langobardisch* based on the same consideration. Probably no one expects that in the territory of a political unit ('kingdom') an ethnically homogeneous population had to have lived in the Early Middle Ages (see e.g. the Alamannia, Bajuvaria). The case of the Gepids must have been the same,

⁷ Szolnok-Szanda, cemetery, BÓNA 2002, 197–237.

⁸ BÓNA–NAGY 2002; NAGY 2005. She also re-analysed the cemetery in Szőreg-Téglagyár: NAGY 2005, 120–202.

⁹ NAGY 2007.

¹⁰ See his bibliography in B. TÓTH 2006, 42–48, Kunszentmárton, Rákóczifalva-Kastélydomb, Szolnok-Vegyiművek, Szolnok-Zagyva-part, Alcsi, Tiszaföldvár-Érhalom, Patkós tanya, Tiszafüred, Tiszagyenda-Tiszaroff, Törökszentmiklós-Batthyány u. 54/A: CSEH 2005, 11–45.

¹¹ DOBOS 2011, 174–197.

¹² E. g. HORED T 1989; HARHOIU 1998.

¹³ BÓNA 1976.

¹⁴ BÓNA 1986a.

¹⁵ MESTERHÁZY 2007; MESTERHÁZY 2009. About the cultural or ethnic changes in the Middle Danube Region see also: TEJRAL 2012, 115–116.

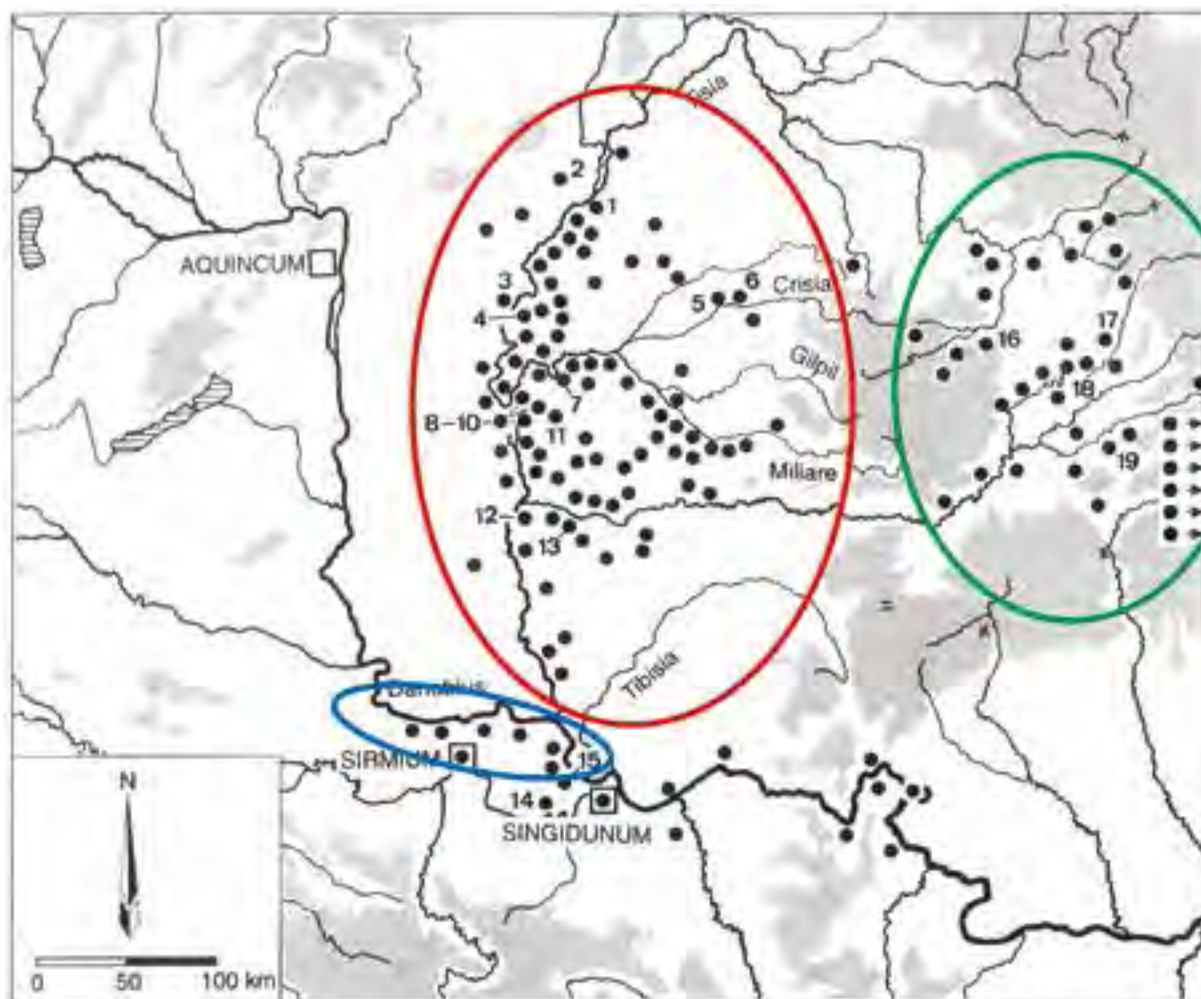


Fig. 1. The settlement area of the Gepidic kingdom, 490–567/568 A.D.: Tisza region, Transylvania, Pannonia Sirmiensis (after BÓNA 1984, 304–305)

for this reason it would be more correct to use the term ‘gepidenzeitlich’ or as a result of consensus ‘Gepidic’ or ‘Gepidic period’.

THE TOPOGRAPHIC SITUATION OF ‘GEPIDIA’, (ROYAL?) CENTRES

The recent research recorded three regions of ‘Gepidia’ (e. g. I. Bóna) (1). One of the regions is situated in the Hungarian Plain, more exactly the Middle Tisza region which is dominated by the rivers Tisza, Körös, Maros (in the 6th century perhaps inside of the so-called Csörsz/Devil’s dike). The second region is Transylvania, principally the region of Napoca and the valley of the river Maros and the final one is Pannonia Sirmiensis (from the Goths’ departure to the Balkans in 473 to 488/504 A.D. and again from the 530’s until 567 A.D.). Some of the sites dated to the last decades of the 5th century unearthed north and east the Devil’s dike are referred to as belonging to the Gepids by recent research (e.g. Gáva, Beregszász/Beregovo, Domoszló, Mezőkeresztes-Cethalom etc.).¹⁶ We have to stress again here that the political domination of a region by the Gepids does not consequently mean finds there should be considered ethnic markers of this group.

¹⁶ Gáva: BÓNA 1986, 73, 89; Beregszász/Beregovo: CSALLÁNY 1961, 220, Taf. CCIV. 1–15. CCXVIII. 5, 7; Domoszló-Víztároló: BÓNA 2002a, Taf. 4; Mezőkeresztes-Cethalom: SIMONYI 2005, Taf. 27–29.



Fig. 2. Apahida, grave 1
(after OANȚĂ-MARGITA 2013, 150)



Fig. 3. Apahida, belt buckle, grave 2
(after AURUL ȘI ARGINTUL 613)

The hypothesis is generally excepted in the Hungarian research that in the second half of the 5th century (at least a) centre of the Gepids was situated in or near the former city of Napoca (based on the information from Iordanes' book, *Getica*), therefore the burials found in Apahida (graves I-III) are believed to be the remnants of Gepidic kings (Figs 2–3).¹⁷ And although we know from the written sources that Gepidic kings ruled in Sirmium in two periods of time¹⁸ (Thraustila, Thrasarich, Thurisind, Kunimund), their burials have not been found so far. Moreover, no royal burials have been found to date in the Middle Tisza region. I. Bóna, M. Nagy and A. Kiss presumed the existence of another centre of high-ranking people in the valley of the river Körös (in the region of Mezőberény-Gyula-Nagyvárad) in the second half of the 5th century but this assumption has not yet been proved.¹⁹

In the 6th century the sites 'withdrew' to the wide river valleys and water courses in the Hungarian Plain and left the higher elevations uninhabited. The possible reasons for this process are still unclear: perhaps it could be explained by either climatic changes or a shifting of political accent towards Sirmiensis (Fig. 4).²⁰

THE BASIS OF THE GEPIDIC ARCHAEOLOGICAL RECORD: BURIALS, CEMETERIES

Which finds best typify the earliest phase of the Gepids' reign (that is after the battle of Nedao)? The finds to which we have to refer in the first instance are the female burials characterized by pairs of large silver sheet brooches. These dress accessories were worn by wealthier (or noble) women of presumably (East?) German origin principally in the Carpathian Basin. Their graves were found in all regions of that geographical area, from Torda (Turda) in Transylvania to Smolin in Moravia, from Barabás (Kosino) in Upper Tisza valley to Újlak (Ilok) in Croatia.²¹ Traditionally Hungarian researchers (I. Kovrig, I. Bóna) considered these graves in the Tisza region and in Transylvania to belong to the Gepids (e. g. the graves in Gyulavári and Hódmezővásárhely-Sóshalom recently studied by Margit Nagy) (Fig. 5).²² This assumption should be re-examined because in the first decades after the collapse of the Huns' rule not all women of Germanic origin would

¹⁷ GEPIZII 2011, 17. K. Horedt and D. Protase, the publishers of the Apahida grave II attributed the finds rather to the Ostrogoths than to the Gepids (HOREDŢ-PROTASE 1972, 216–220), later to the Alans (HOREDŢ 1986, 21). V. Bierbrauer is unconvinced considering the possibility of the ethnic attribution of the Apahida graves (BIERBRAUER 2006, 193–194)

¹⁸ 473 (?)–504/505, 536 (?)–567. SARANTIS 2009, 15–40; KISS P. 2015, 101–116, 117–160, 191–194.

¹⁹ BÓNA 1976, 62; NAGY 2005b, 77; KISS 1991, 137; KISS 1996, 119–120.

²⁰ B. TÓTH 2016, 213–216. Due to the closer links between the two areas (the Great Hungarian Plain and *Pannonia Sirmiensis*) the importance of waterways linking them could increase in this period.

²¹ Torda (Turda): BĂRBULESCU 2008, 93–97; Smolin: TEJRAL 1973, 51–53; Barabás (Kosino): BÓNA 2002c, 17–21, Újlak (Ilok): GERMANEN 223–224.

²² KOVRIG 1951, 117–118; BÓNA 2002c, 17–21; NAGY 2005b, 77; NAGY 2005c, 89.

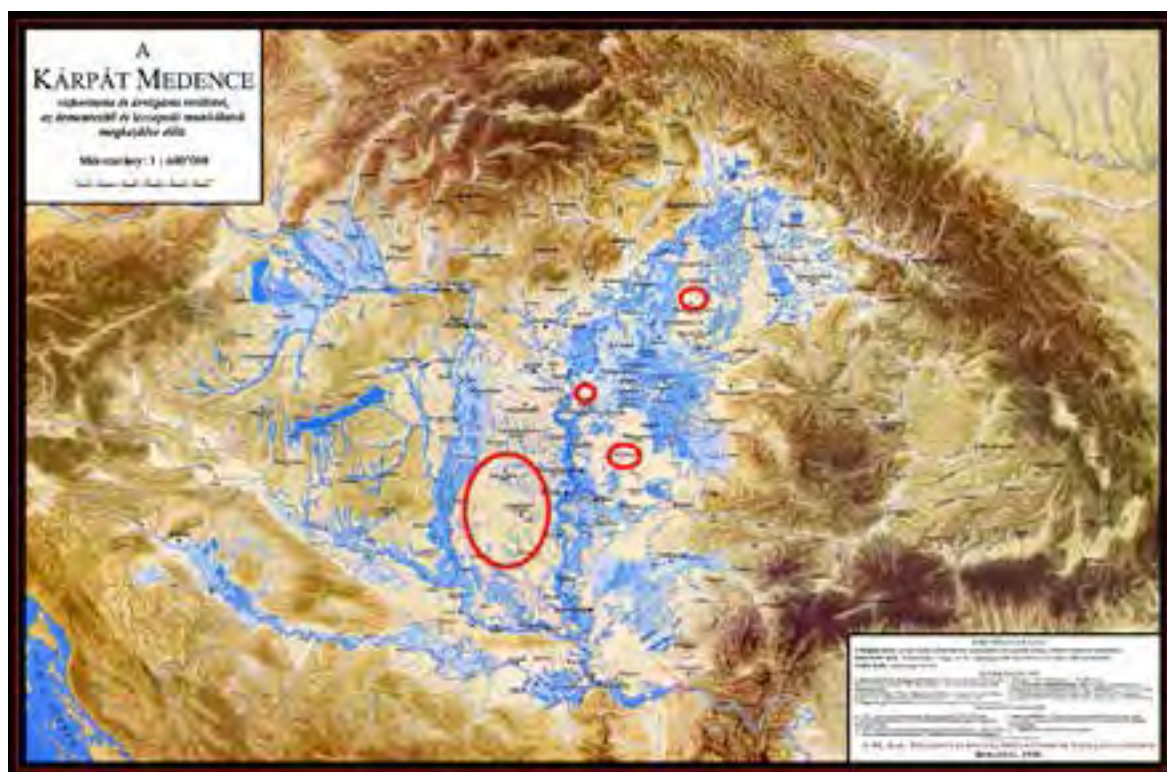


Fig. 4. Hydrographic map of the Carpathian Basin:
no settlement activity in some regions in the 6th century A.D.

necessarily have been Gepids, even in the eastern half of the Carpathian Basin. These women could of course be different in their ethnic provenance even if their dress accessories, jewels, grave goods and their communities' funeral practices were uniform. A list of objects belonging to these women include: the silver sheet brooches which became longer over time, richly ornamented belt-buckles, earrings with polyhedric ends, necklaces of amber, carnelian and larger glass beads, toilet implements, among them the so-called mirrors of nomadic type, and drinking vessels.

It is generally accepted that in the second half of the 5th century burial grounds of smaller size dominated the area of the Carpathian Basin, but some burials were regarded even solitary ones by the former research (e. g. grave in Tiszalök).²³ But the exact number of the graves in these smaller cemeteries can hardly be determined because most of them were not excavated completely: the reason for this phenomenon is that some graves were situated very far from the others (see e.g. Szolnok-Zagyva-part, Alcsi or Mezőkeresztes-Cethalom in this regard) (Fig. 6). Most of these cemeteries consist of graves numbering from 3-5 up to 20 (e. g. Békésszentandrás-Sirató,²⁴ Tápé-Széntégláégető,²⁵ Ártánd-Lencsésdomb²⁶ etc.) (Fig. 7). In these cemeteries, funeral practices were to an extent homogenous: pit graves in diffused groups or rows and, fortunately, mainly not plundered. One example is e. g. the cemetery in Szolnok-Zagyvapart-Alcsi, excavated by János Cseh.²⁷ It consisted of 8 graves, individuals of different age and perhaps of social position. One man was buried with a silver ring on his finger and his weapons (seax, shield, spear) and a woman with dress accessories and jewels (a pair of brooches, belt buckle with cloisonné decoration, silver

²³ KOVRIG 1951.

²⁴ BÓNA 2002b, 24–26.

²⁵ B. TÓTH 1994.

²⁶ Some graves seem to have been demolished before the excavation. MESTERHÁZY 2005, 56.

²⁷ CSEH 2005, 18–36.



Fig. 5. Silver sheet brooches and buckle from Gyulavári (after B. TÓTH 2005, Fig. 94)

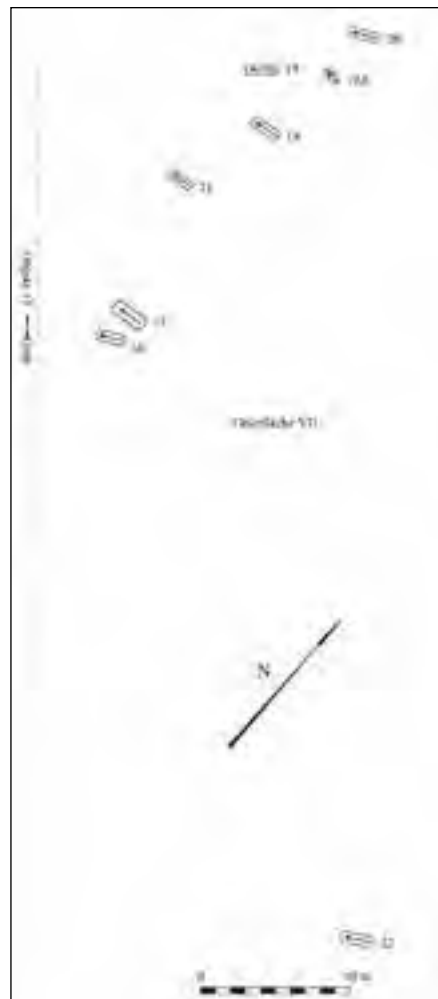


Fig. 6. Cemetery, Szolnok-Zagyva-part, Alcsi (after CSEH 2005, Abb. 2)

earring, amber and glass beads). These were perhaps the leaders of their smaller community. This type of smaller cemetery coincides in time with the initial phase of the so-called row-cemeteries (in German: *Reihengräberfelder*) of which many have been found in the Tisza region and in Transylvania.

The same process can be assumed in Gepidic society during the second half of the 5th century AD as in the case of some western Germanic peoples (Franks, Alamanns, Bajuvars and later Langobards): the consolidation of the Gepidic kingdom post Nedao was followed by a period of relative political-economic stability and this process is reflected in the archaeological record through the appearance of row-cemeteries.²⁸

It is not easy to determine the number of Gepidic row-cemeteries (some of them are unpublished) or the numbers of their graves. In 1978 I. Bóna discussed the connections between the Gepids living in the Tisza Plain and those in Transylvania and counted approximately 1150 graves in Hungary (from which 900 were published up to 1961) and another 300 in Transylvania.²⁹ Meanwhile most of the earlier unpublished cemeteries have been published in the volumes of MGAH I-II: among them Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok with more than one hundred, and Szolnok-Szanda with more

²⁸ B. TÓTH 1999, 25; RÁCZ 2016, 330.

²⁹ BÓNA 1979, 138–139.



Fig. 7. Pair of brooches, Ártánd-Lencsésdomb grave 1 (after NAGY 2007, 38. tábla 4–5)

than two hundred graves, just to mention the bigger ones (Fig. 8). It is not unusual that a Gepidic cemetery consisted of more than 300 graves e. g. the cemetery in Szentes-Berekhát.³⁰

The initial date of the row-cemeteries is approximately 470–480 A.D. in our region. It is not easy to decide precisely the initial date of them in every case because most of these Gepidic cemeteries were prey to systematic plundering (or ‘re-opening’) and articles made of precious material and of more definitely decorated which could be dated more exactly were removed. But it has to be stressed that no large silver sheet brooches were found in row-cemeteries: the earliest dress accessories (brooches, belt buckles) were decorated with the chip carving technique (Figs 7, 12, 13). Examples include: small bronze brooches with three knobs and a straight footplate from Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok and Szentes-Berekhát; the gilded silver brooch from Szőreg with chip carved spirals and round cells and the belt buckle from Szolnok-Szanda (Fig. 9).³¹

In these cemeteries the deceased were laid to rest oriented to the east (with the head to the west) and evidence for the use of coffins was found in some cemeteries.³² The dead were buried according to pagan rites with their weapons, jewellery and assortment of personal articles, sometimes with

³⁰ NAGY 1993, 95. Some recently uncovered, larger cemeteries (Tiszapüspöki, Berettyóújfalu, Tiszaug), see later in this study.

³¹ Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok, grave 105: BÓNA–NAGY 2002, 121–122, Abb. 59. 105; Szentes-Berekhát grave 249: CSALLÁNY 1961, Taf. LXXXV. 1; Szőreg-Téglagyár, grave 19: NAGY 2005a, 181, Abb. 39. 19; Szolnok-Szanda grave 118: BÓNA 2002 217, Taf. 44. 118.

³² See e.g. Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok in this respect, BÓNA–NAGY 2002, 82–89.

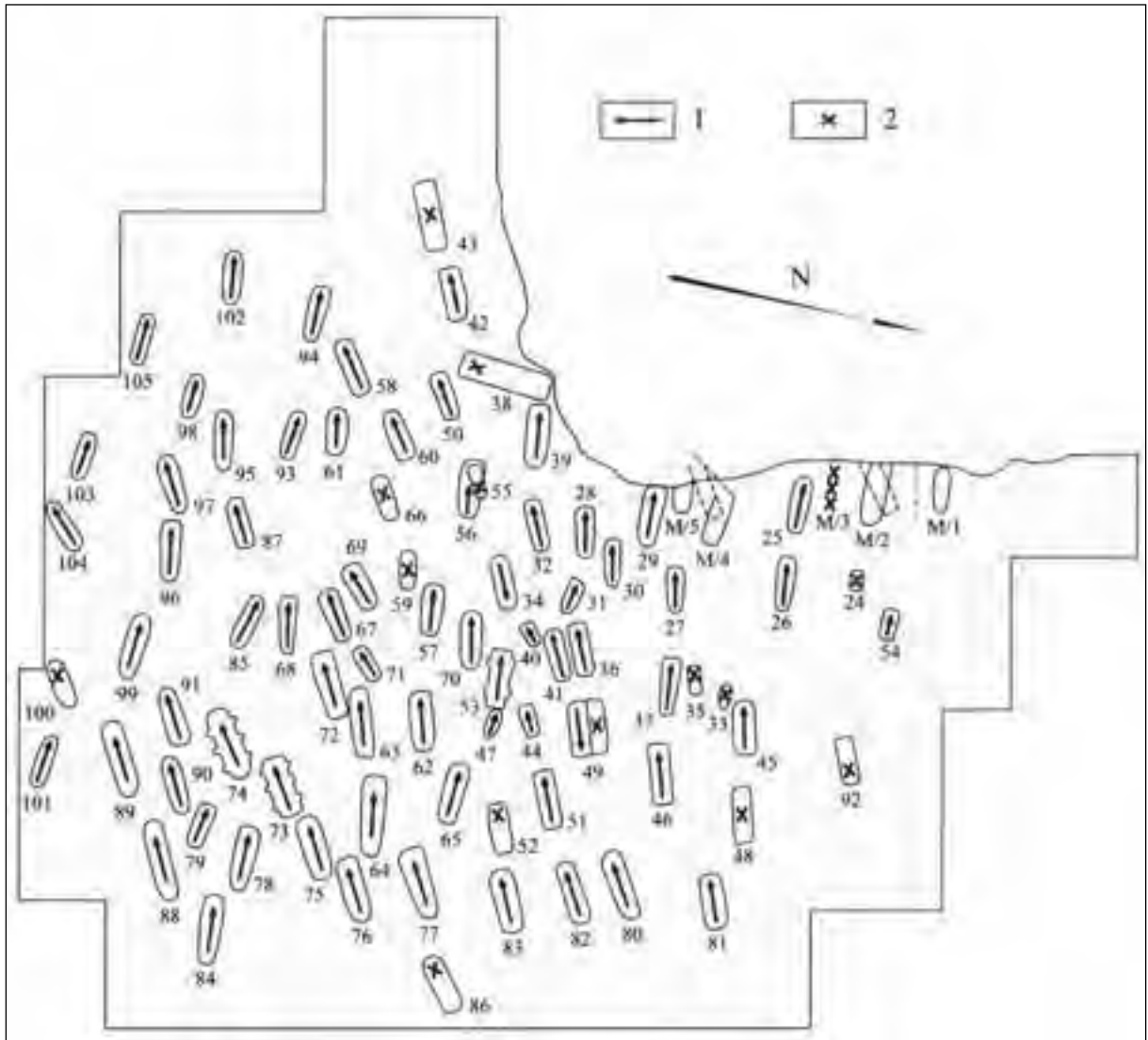


Fig. 8. Cemetery, Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok (after BÓNA–NAGY 2002a, Abb. 17a)

vessels containing food and drink for the journey to the afterworld. This was in spite of the spread of Christianity in this area. According to the recent works of many archaeologists, the social position of the deceased is not easily reconstructed from the grave goods alone. Nevertheless the higher-ranking men in these cemeteries could have belonged to the regional elites: they were buried with a double-edged spatha or a longer seax, a spear and a shield, occasionally with a helmet.³³ Men in a less exalted position were buried with a spear and a few arrowheads. The costume of men is usually plain with belt buckles, sometimes with a sword belt and a bag fastened on the belt containing everyday utensils. The higher-ranking or wealthier women were provided with richer ornaments: silver gilt pairs of brooches and belt buckles sometimes with garnet decoration (Figs 10, 11, 14, 15). More 'common' women, meanwhile, wore modest copper alloy copies of these ornaments. Some diagnostic artefact types of the burials from the 6th century include, for example, the girdle-hangings with hinged plate and buckles with eagle head decoration worn by women

³³ Kiss P. 2014, 131–158.



Fig. 9. Brooch, Szentes-Berekhát, grave 249
(after GEPIDÁK, 125. Kat. 87)



Fig. 10. Brooch, Szentes-Nagyhegy, grave 64
(after GEPIDÁK, 115. Kat. 34)



Fig. 11. Brooch, Szentes-Berekhát, grave 274
(after GEPIDÁK, 115. Kat. 33)



Fig. 12. Brooch, Szőreg-Téglagyár, grave 19
(after NAGY 2005a, Taf. 50. 19. 1)



Fig. 13. Belt buckle, Kistelek
(after GEPIDÁK, 112. Kat. 20)

(Figs 16, 17),³⁴ and some weapons e.g. double-edged swords of the 'Szőreg' type, and buckles with shielded tongue, which were used by both sexes (Fig. 19).

A similar process can be reconstructed from the archaeological record of the Gepids in Transylvania, although most of the cemeteries are perhaps smaller in size than the largest

³⁴ DOBOS 2012, 27–51.



Fig. 14. Pair of brooches, Szentes-Kökényzug, grave 50 (after GEPIDÁK, 113. Kat. 24)

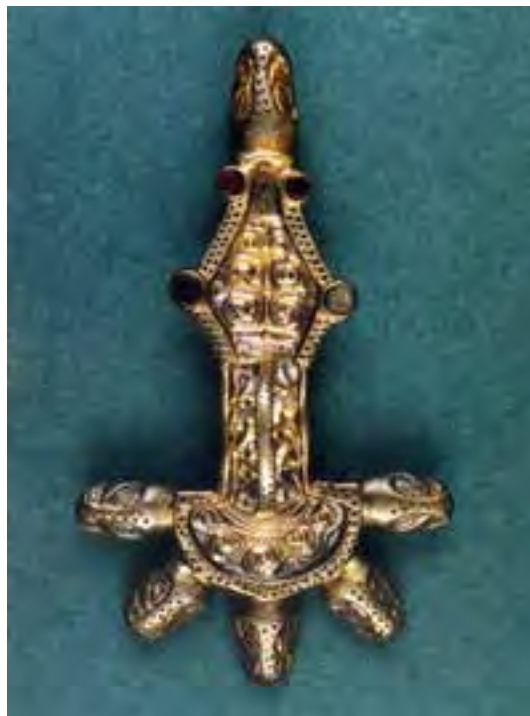


Fig. 15. Brooch, Szentes-Kökényzug, grave 29 (after GEPIDÁK, 114. Kat. 27)



Fig. 16. Buckle with eagle-head decoration, Szentes-Nagyhegy, grave 77 (after CSALLÁNY 1961, Taf. XXXIII.1)

in the Tisza region³⁵ and the earliest burial usually date to the last decades of the 5th century, somewhat later than in the Tisza region. And should be added that some of the cemeteries there contained even more plundered (or re-opened) graves than those in Hungary (e.g. Florești-Polus center, Vlaha-Pad).³⁶ The finds of the first Gepidic occupation of Sirmium after 473 are practically undistinguishable from the earlier Ostrogothic finds made in the same style. It is hoped that new advances in this respect will result from future research both in and in the vicinity of Sirmium since we know that Kunimund, the last king of the Gepids, minted coins bearing his monogram and an Arian bishop was also active in this town.³⁷

³⁵ Some exceptions: Magyarfenes/Vlaha-Pad with 289 graves, Szászfenes/Florești-Polus center with 117-170 graves, DOBOS 2011, 191-192.

³⁶ FERENCZ-NAGY-LĂZĂRESCU 2007, 425-427.

³⁷ SIRMIUM 2017.



Fig. 17. Girdle-hangers with hinged plates, Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok, grave 77 (after BÓNA-NAGY 2002a, Taf. 21)



Fig. 18. Belt mounts and buckle, Szolnok-Szanda, grave 97 (after GEPIDÁK, 118. Kat. 47)



Fig. 19. Buckle, Szolnok-Szanda, grave 96 (after BÓNA 2002, Taf. 101. 3)

SETTLEMENTS, FARMING, CRAFTS, EVERYDAY LIFE

Most settlements were located directly by rivers, lakes or smaller water courses, usually on banks overlooked by rising ground. Systematic surveys revealed that the smaller settlements formed a loose chains along one-time water courses, often outlining the dried-up beds (so called meanders).

Although the contemporaneity of these farmsteads and hamlets in most cases can not be proved, the scattered pattern of the Gepidic settlements is obvious (*Fig. 20*). I. Bóna assumed earlier that the larger cemeteries belonged to settlements of larger, village size, but no such villages have been found to date (as in the Merovingian West).³⁸ Traces of houses built on the surface have only been found and published in Transylvania.³⁹ The smaller settlements usually consisted of some houses, outbuildings belonging to workshops (e.g. pottery kilns) and storage pits. Ditches for different purposes, open-air baking ovens, wells which are extremely common in the earlier Sarmatian and in the later Avar sites have rarely been found in Gepidic settlements and these facts need to be explained.⁴⁰ The houses both in the Middle Tisza region and the majority in Transylvania are the so-called sunken-floor buildings with wattle-and-daub walls and a roofs supported by upright timbers.⁴¹ Only temporary fireplaces were detected in most of them (*Fig. 21*).⁴²

Storage pits, large jars and querns bear witness to grain cultivation e.g. the plant remains included millet, wheat and barley. The refuse pits contained the bones of both domestic and hunted animals (e. g. cattle, horse, sheep, pig) and fishbones, the latter hardly surprising given the proximity of water courses. Traces of household craft activity were observed in some of the buildings. Conical clay loom weights demonstrate the use of vertical looms, and bone working was practiced at many sites (double-sided combs, spoons, scates, bone amulets etc.) (*Figs 22, 23*).⁴³ The pottery workshops produced vessels fired in kilns, each divided into a fire-box and a firing area with a grate. The vessels included a type of fine ware typical of the Gepid period: carefully polished, wheel-turned, stamp decorated cups and bowls (*Figs 24, 29*). The slag remains indicated those from metallworking. Tools and implements e.g. knives, sickles, awls were made in smaller workshops, but items calling for more specialised skills (e.g. *spatha*, the double-edged sword) were either imports or produced in large central workshops.

On the basis of extended field surveys in the Hungarian Plain it is obvious that the number of sites was much smaller in the Gepidic period than in the previous, Sarmatian one (1th-early 5th centuries A.D.), suggesting less intensive settlement activity. The farmsteads of the Gepids were clustered in groups and series along the water courses, directly by water, on the high banks near rivers and lakes. Whereas in the Sarmatian Period even the higher elevations, far from the water courses were inhabited (for example near Orosháza) that were less exposed to river activity. The reason for this could possibly lie in different farming practices and consequently different lifestyles: but presumably a climatic change between the 4th and 5th centuries A.D. could also have contributed to this situation.⁴⁴

CONTACTS WITH OTHER REGIONS AND PEOPLES (TRADE, PERSONAL CONTACTS)

It is striking that the Gepids and the Langobards, two contemporary peoples living side by side in the Carpathian Basin (the former inhabited the Hungarian Plain and Transylvania, the latter Pannonia) in the sixth century, had so few contacts with one another according to the archaeological record.⁴⁵ Though we know the political and even dynastic connections between the two royal families from the written records, the archaeological finds show virtually no evidence of contact except for two modest fibulae found in the Tisza region (a disc-shaped one from Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok

³⁸ BÓNA 1974, 39. A probable exception is the site Rákóczifalva-Bagi-földek. MASEK 2015.

³⁹ HOREDT 1979, 118–122.

⁴⁰ A well was found in the settlement in Florești-Polus Center (feature CX 23B) LĂZĂRESCU 2009, 354–357.

⁴¹ B. TÓTH 2006, 39–42; LĂZĂRESCU 2009, 341–253; MASEK 2015, 413–425.

⁴² Ovens in the corners of the sunken floor buildings and a fireplace excavated in Rákóczifalva-Bagi-földek 5-8-8A: MASEK 2015, 422–423.

⁴³ MASEK 2016, 143–150; B. TÓTH 1994, 294–296.

⁴⁴ B. TÓTH 2014, 191–208; B. TÓTH 2016, 212–214.

⁴⁵ For more detail see István Koncz's contribution in this book.

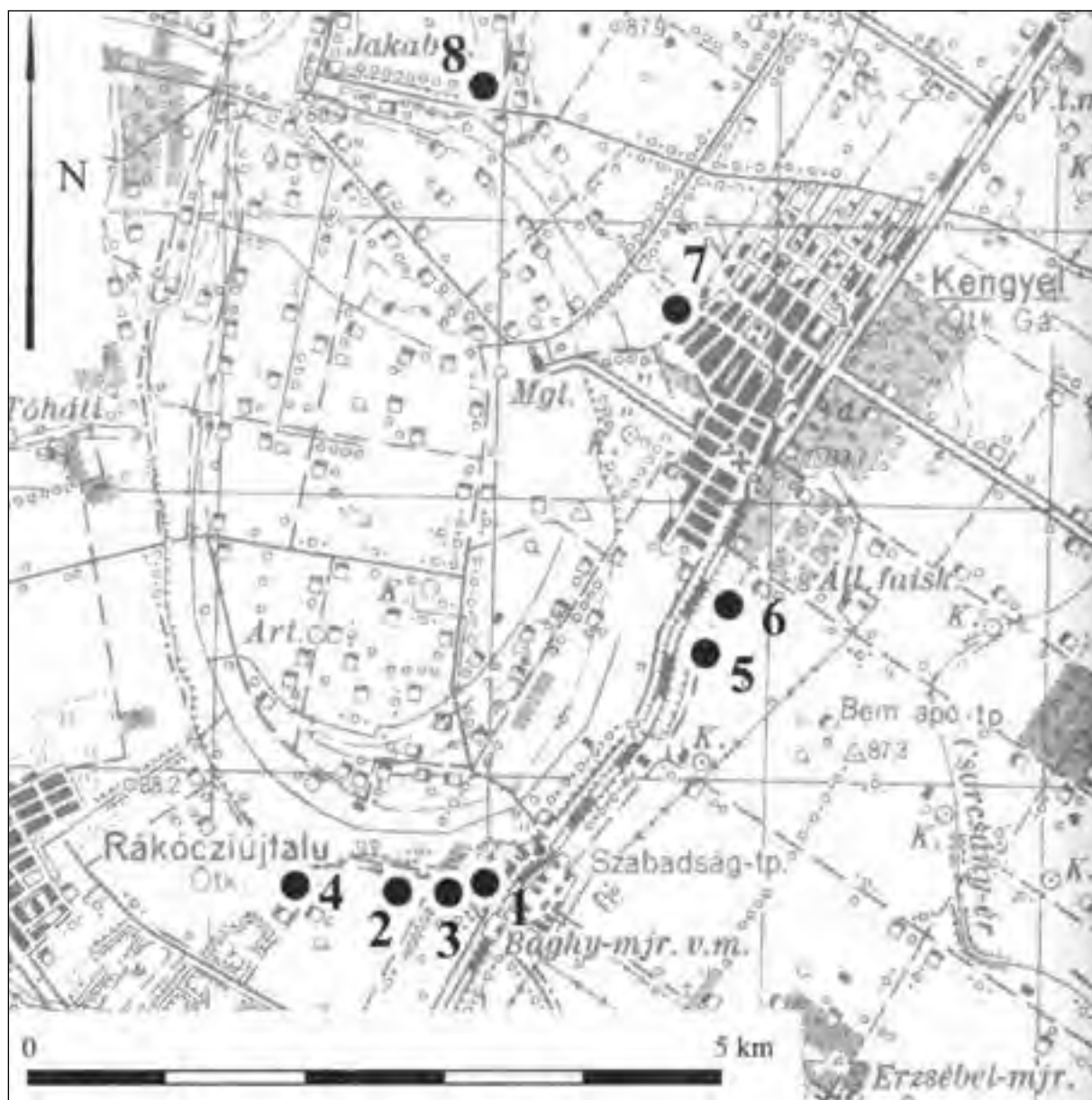


Fig. 20. Gepid sites near Kengyel (after B. TÓTH 2006, Abb. 25)

and an other S-shaped one from Szőreg). However, they could equally likely be of Merovingian origin (Figs 25, 26).⁴⁶ Intensive political or personal contacts must have existed between the two elites but we do not see anything similar in the other layers of society (e.g. in the graves of the commoners or in the settlements), for example exchange or diffusion of simpler everyday artefacts. Such as the so-called *Vierfibeltracht* (the female costume with four brooches), so wide-spread among the 'Langobardic' women, but never adopted by the Gepids. Though some similarities can be identified male dress accessories (e.g. belt fastened with shield-tongue buckle) and weaponry (e.g. types of double edged swords and spears) these could merely have been the result of common trade routes or Merovingian or Byzantine models. The provenance of pottery decorated with

⁴⁶ Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok, grave 77: BÓNA-NAGY 2002, 120, Abb. 58, 77; Szőreg-Téglagyár, grave XI: NAGY 2005a, 177, Abb. 39.

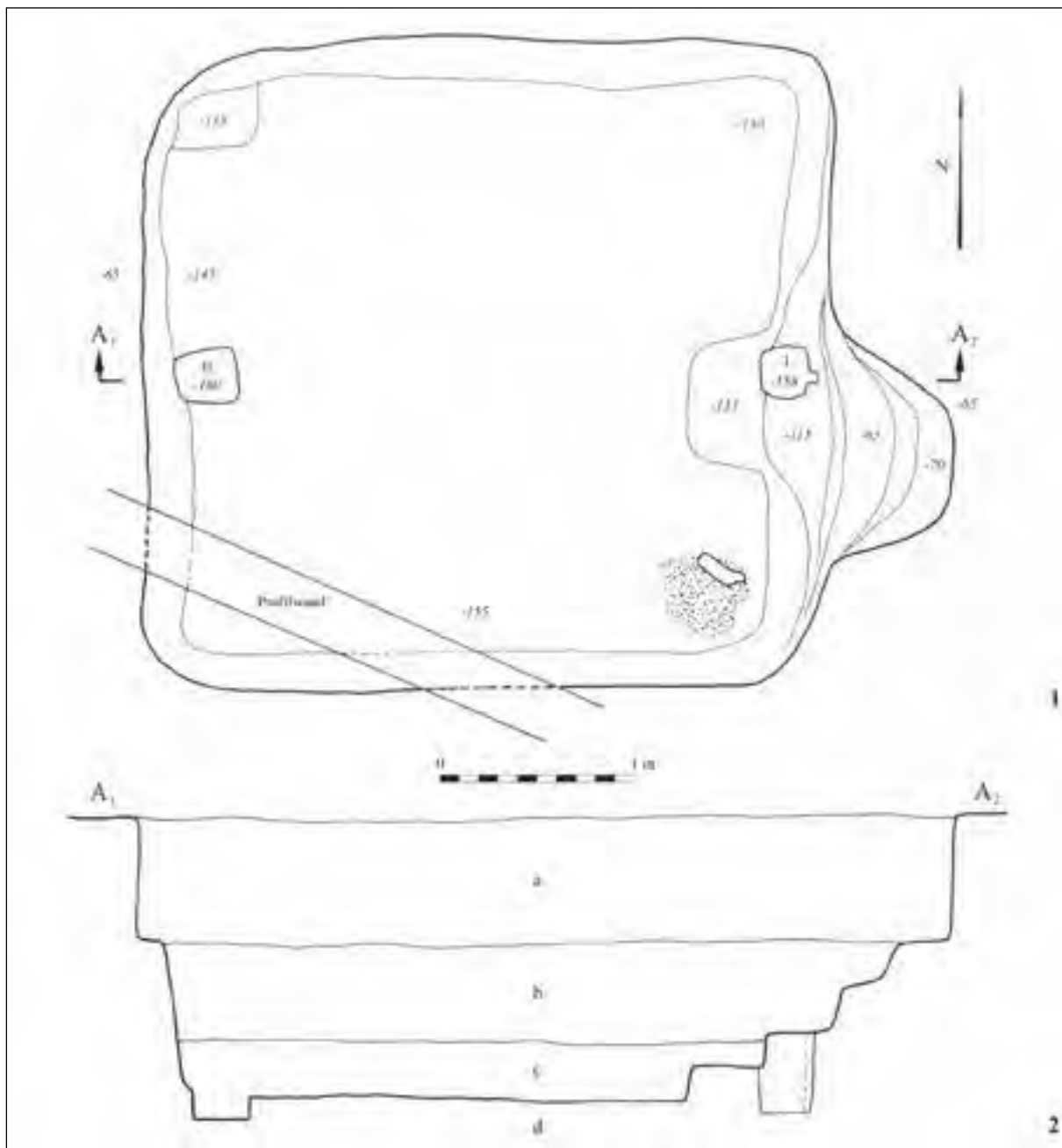


Fig. 21. Sunken-featured building, Szarvas-Bezina (after B. TÓTH 2006, Abb. 18)

stamped decoration which was contemporary to the settlements of both peoples can be detected in the workshops in Pannonia Secunda (perhaps in Cibalae, Sirmium) and consequently had nothing to do with ethnic attribution.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ SIMONI 1977-1978, 209–233; DAVIDOVIĆ 2017, Pl. 6–7.



Fig. 22. Double-sided comb, Kiszombor-B. grave 93 (after GEPIDÁK, 148–149. Kat. 205)



Fig. 23. Donar-amulets, Kiszombor-B. grave 279/276B (after GEPIDÁK, 149–150. Kat. 211)



Fig. 24. Clay cup with stamped decoration, Kétegyháza-Argyelán, grave 6 (after GEPIDÁK, 136–137. Kat. 145)



Fig. 25. S-shape brooch,
Szőreg-Téglagyár, grave XI
(after NAGY 2005a, Taf. 46. XI. 2)

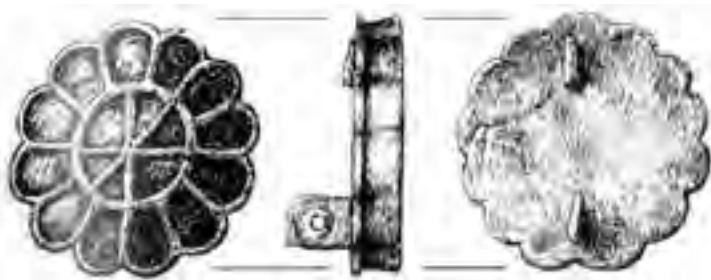


Fig. 26. Disc-shape brooch,
Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok, grave 77
(after BÓNA-NAGY 2002a, Taf. 21. 77. 1)



Fig. 27. Buckle, Sucidava-type, Szőreg-Téglagyár, grave XI (after NAGY 2005a, Taf. 46. XI. 1)

On the other hand the Gepids had looser contacts from time to time e. g. with the Thuringians,⁴⁸ and with peoples in Scandinavia⁴⁹ (Fig. 28) judging by some female dress accessories.⁵⁰ But the Gepids must have had (closer) trade contacts with the northern part of the Byzantine Empire (the towns and fortresses along the Lower-Danube) on the basis of some typical artefacts of everyday use e. g. Viminacium type iron fibulae, belt-buckles Sadovetz-Callatis and Bône-Csongrád types in the late 5th century and at the turn of the 5th-6th centuries A.D. Later in the 6th century Sucidava type belt buckles (Fig. 27), some bronze fibulae with inverted foot and a special type of biconical formed clay cup are also prominent in the archaeological record.⁵¹ Some other belt-buckles found in the Gepidic kingdom had sepiolith or rock-cristal loop and they were made in the workshops of the East-Mediterranean.⁵² Gepidic belt buckles with eagle-head decoration were produced in the Tisza and Danube region at the end of the 5th and in the first half of the 6th century A.D., but after being adopted in the Black sea region also began to be manufactured also in the local workshops there.⁵³

⁴⁸ MESTERHÁZY 1984.

⁴⁹ MAGNUS 2007, 189.

⁵⁰ NAGY-B. TÓTH 1998, 123; MESTERHÁZY 1999, 77–89. Gepidic fibulae and buckles in the Crimea: KAZANSKI 2017, 53–57; in Gallia: KAZANSKI 2010, 126–139. Opposition to the presence of the Gepids in the ‘East’: BIERBRAUER 2010, 95–97.

⁵¹ Clay cup: B. TÓTH 2012, 117–118.

⁵² QUAST 2001, 434–437.

⁵³ NAGY 2002, 210, 216; the Mačvanska Mitrovica-Nošlac type by KAZANSKI-MASTYKOVA 2017.

THE GEPIDS AFTER THE COLLAPSE OF THEIR KINGDOM

It is known from literary sources that a massive population of the Gepids survived the collapse of their kingdom both in the Tisza region and in Transylvania.⁵⁴ Gepidic 'villages' were mentioned by the Tisza in the late 6th century A.D.⁵⁵ One of the first pieces of archaeological evidence from the post-Gepid period was unearthed at the site at Egerlövő, comprising a coin of Justinus II in one of the graves.⁵⁶ Meanwhile we have evidence that the Gepidic era population survived both in the Tisza region and Transylvania according to the testimony of grave-goods in different cemeteries. For example, in the cemetery in Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok two graves contained weapons which were dated in the last third of the 6th century (graves 1, 7.) according to stylistic traits by Margit Nagy.⁵⁷ Some burials in the cemetery in Magyarcsanak-Bökény were dated to the late 6th century on the basis of the belt mounts found there (graves 6, 17.).⁵⁸

A series of Gepidic finds which can be dated to the Avar Period in the Tisza region were published recently e. g. from Tiszaföldvár, Törökszentmiklós, Rákóczi-falva-Kastélydomb, Tiszaróff, Kunszentmárton.⁵⁹ The burial of an elite warrior was discovered in Tiszagyenda.⁶⁰

The question of the surviving Gepidic population is even more complicated in Transylvania. Cemeteries such as Mezőbánd/Band, Marosveresmart /Vereşmort, Marosnagylak/Noşlac, and Baráthely/Bratei can be mentioned in this context. Most of them were dated exclusively to the post- 567 period, though in some of them the earliest phase is not known with certainty and some grave-goods may indicate the possibility that they date to the pre-Avar era. In the opinion of some archaeologists (see e.g. the overview of A. Dobos' studies on this topic) the end date of these cemeteries is also unclear, and, therefore, the different cemeteries should be treated separately.⁶¹



Fig. 28. Brooch, Szentes-Nagyhegy, grave 84 (after GEPIDÁK, 117. Kat. 42)

PROSPECTS OF RESEARCH

The Gepidic cemeteries of which some were excavated several decades ago in the Tisza region have been published recently (Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok, Szolnok-Szanda etc.). Nevertheless,

⁵⁴ DOBOS 2017; KISS P. 2015, 191–244.

⁵⁵ KISS 2015, 199.

⁵⁶ LOVÁSZ 1991, 14.

⁵⁷ BÓNA–NAGY 2002, 151, Taf. 6, 9.

⁵⁸ NAGY 2005, 110, Taf. 21.6, Taf. 23.17.

⁵⁹ KISS P. 2015, 223–244.

⁶⁰ KOCSIS 2010, 17–19.

⁶¹ DOBOS 2017, 407–411.



Fig. 29. Clay vessel, Szőreg-Téglagyár, grave 23 (after NAGY 2005a, Taf. 99. 1a)

the detailed typochronology of the archaeological record is still missing. Recently the first, but very promising steps have been taken by the younger generation of archaeologists in this respect. Zs. RÁCZ examined changes in the women's clothing during the 5th century on the basis of the accessories (belts, brooches etc.).⁶² A. DOBOS collected and analyzed the girdle-hangers decorated with hinged plates.⁶³ A. P. KISS discussed weaponry and warfare of the Gepids and drew conclusions about the structure of warriors' society.⁶⁴ First steps have also been taken to analyse the pottery along with the features of some settlements discovered lately by Zs. MASEK and Zs. BOCSI.⁶⁵ The characteristics of polychrome style metallwork have been explored by E. HORVÁTH using archaeometrical methods: she obtained new results concerning goldsmith workshops' connections, and the import, imitation and integration of foreign elements in jewellery etc.⁶⁶ And some recently excavated cemeteries and settlements should be published and analysed in the immediate future e. g. from Tiszagyenda, Tiszapüspöki, Berettyóújfalú, Tiszaug etc.

In Tiszapüspöki-Fehér-tó a part of a Gepid era cemetery dated to the late 5th- early 6th century was unearthed in 2015. Ten of the 95 graves could be identified as nish-graves. In spite of the extensive plunder (approx. 30 %) the cemetery was considerably rich in metal finds (a polychrome gold ornamented belt buckle, bronze belt and sword buckles, pairs of brooches, and a relatively large number of weapons).⁶⁷

At Berettyóújfalú-Somota dűlő one of the largest Gepid era cemeteries was uncovered in 2015: in 7-8 rows of graves almost 200 burials were excavated. In spite of the strikingly high percentage

⁶² RÁCZ 2011, RÁCZ 2014, RÁCZ 2016.

⁶³ DOBOS 2012, 27–56.

⁶⁴ KISS P. 2012, 135–163; KISS P. 2014, 111–144.

⁶⁵ MASEK 2014, 193–202; BOCSI 2016, 23–79.

⁶⁶ HORVÁTH 2012.

⁶⁷ F. KOVÁCS ET AL. 2015, 81–91.



Fig. 30. Cemetery, Tiszaug-Országúti-bevágás (photo by Antal Redenczki, 2018)

of the graves which have been plundered (approx. 80 %) a wide variety of funerary articles were unearthed (weapons: swords, spears, shields, different types of buckles, combs). Clay vessels and antler combs were placed near the head of the deceased. After plundering, only one brooch was left in one of the female burials. Eight artificially deformed skulls were also recorded by anthropologists.⁶⁸

Another recently uncovered cemetery is located at Tiszaug-Országúti-bevágás. The first excavation campaign took place in May-July 2018, under the direction of Gábor Wilhelm (Katona József Múzeum, Kecskemét). In an area of 2000 m² 97 burials were uncovered (as well as some features of a settlement and another grave from the Gepid Period 250 m away). This excavation is supposed to be continuing in 2019. The graves are densely packed, only slightly apart from one another but no superimposition (i. e. graves intersecting each-other) could be detected (Fig. 30). Part of the burials (approx. 20 %) had been subjected to 're-opening' (or plundering) in the distant past. In some graves, the shape and surface of coffins hollowed from tree trunks could be accurately observed (Fig. 31). In one case, a funerary obolus was placed in the mouth of a deceased man: a solidus, issue of Anastasius I (491-518) minted in Constantinople, 492-507 A.D. (by Péter Somogyi, Fig. 32). Many burials contained antler combs, most of them double-sided, but an exceptionally richly decorated, longer, single-sided comb was found in the grave of a young girl. It was positioned close to her left shoulder (Fig. 33). Many customary grave goods, (smaller)

⁶⁸ <https://salisbury.hu/gepida-sirmezo-berettyo-menten> (Last accessed: 01.07.2019)



Fig. 31. Tree trunk coffin, Tiszaug-Országúti-bevágás (photo by Gabriella Hajdrik, 2018)



Fig. 32. Solidus, Anastasius I, Tiszaug-Országúti-bevágás (photo by Béla Kiss, 2018)



Fig. 33. Antler comb, Tiszaug-Országúti-bevágás (photo by Béla Kiss, 2018)

clay vessels were deposited beside the deceased, among them an uncommon black clay flask. The women of this community wore pairs of brooches on the shoulders or on the upper body, glass beads around the neck and belts fastened by buckles around the waist. Relatively few weapons were uncovered in the male burials (umbo, spear, arrows). According to present knowledge the burials cover a wider timeframe, from the late 5th to the middle or even the second half of the 6th century.

A new research program focusing on the subsistence strategies of people in the Hun and Gepidic periods in the Carpathian Basin (Tisza region) is starting in 2018 which will certainly be worth of international interest.⁶⁹ The excavations related to the great investments of the recent past brought remarkable 5th – 6th century sites into light (among others a set of settlements). The project intends to examine the settlement and cemetery sites as wide a spectre as possible – not only from an archaeological point of view, but also using the methods of anthropology, archaeozoology, archaeobotany, and biochemistry. The planned isotope analyses concerning diet and mobility correspond well with mainstream international multidisciplinary research strategies. The main goal of the project is to examine the life-style, general health, and the dietary practices of the population as well as their temporal changes and regional patters. The program will at the same time investigate the finds of settlements and cemeteries.⁷⁰ The structure and assemblages of various types of archaeological sites will be compared (farm-like settlements, villages, single graves, smaller grave groups, larger row grave cemeteries). Site complexes were chosen within which contemporary (correlated) settlements and burials have been brought to light, and which were presumably used by the same population.⁷¹

⁶⁹ Its title is *Subsistence strategies in the Hun and Gepidic Period Carpathian Basin*, principal investigator is Zsófia Rácz. NKFIH NN 128035. The program is granted by the National Research, Development and Innovation Office, Budapest.

⁷⁰ The sites, Gepid period: Apátfalva-Nagy út dűlő, Berettyóújfalu-Papp zug, Hódmezővásárhely-Gorzsza, Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok, Pusztataksony-Ledence, Rákóczifalva-Bagi földek, Tiszabura, Tiszagyenda-Lakhatom, Tiszapüspöki-Fehér-tó part.

⁷¹ Quotations from the research plan, with the permission of the principal investigator.

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DIE GERMANISCHEN PERSONENNAMEN DER GEPIDEN

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The Germanic personal names of the Gepids

In a first section, the article draws up a catalogue of etymologically Germanic personal names, testified or supposed to be Gepidic. The catalogue gives the linguistic forms and the written sources of the names, analyses their phonological, morphological and lexical structure and origins, finally discusses the germanicity of the names. A second section systematically deals with the linguistic structure of the forms and with the anthropological and cultural meaning of these onomastic testimonies, which have many parallels in East Germanic languages. It can be proved clearly, that the names are (like in other Germanic 'gentes') products of a warfare society, developing some special Gepidic features, but being rooted fundamentally in East Germanic and Gothic grounds. In spite of rare Hunnic relations, the Gepids, in the core, spoke an East Germanic language closely related to Gothic.

Keywords: personal names, Gepidic, Gothic, East Germanic, Hunnic

ABKÜRZUNGSVERZEICHNIS

a.	= anno	Jh.	= Jahrhundert
acc.	= Akkusativ	Kg.	= König
ae.	= altenglisch	lat.	= lateinisch
ahd.	= althochdeutsch	lgb.	= langobardisch
an.	= altnordisch	Lit.	= Literatur
as.	= altsächsisch	mask.	= maskulin
BZ	= Bezugszeit	mhd.	= mittelhochdeutsch
christl.	= christlich	nom.	= Nominativ
dat.	= Dativ	Nr.	= Nummer
evtl.	= eventuell	obl.	= Obliquus
fem.	= feminin	oström.	= oströmisch
gen.	= Genetiv	PD	= Paulus Diaconus
germ.	= germanisch	QZ	= Quellzeit
got.	= gotisch	vgl.	= vergleiche
gr.	= griechisch	vlat.	= vulgärlateinisch
H.	= Hälfte		

KATALOG DER PERSONENNAMEN

Der folgende Katalog enthält nur Personennamen etymologisch germanischer Provenienz, und zwar von Personennamen, die – zu Recht oder zu Unrecht – der ‚gens‘ der Gepiden zu- geordnet wurden, für die es nur wenige Quellen gibt. Der Katalog gibt die Zeugnisse für die Namen und, wo es sinnvoll erscheint, auch Kontext. Die Quellen sind der Nennung in Klammern nachgesetzt. Die Namen werden, soweit möglich, phonologisch, morphologisch und lexikalisch-etymologisch bestimmt. Der Katalog prüft, ob sie als gepidisch bzw. überhaupt als germanisch einzustufen sind. Er gibt Parallelen zu Namen und Namelementen (wo nicht weiter angegeben, entstammen die

Angaben dem ‚Lexikon altgermanischer Namen‘ (LAN) von Hermann Reichert. Jeder Katalogartikel endet mit Kurz-Angaben zur Forschungsliteratur, die in der Bibliographie am Ende des Aufsatzes aufgeschlüsselt sind.

- 1) *An-ilas* (gr.), zum Hause der Areobindii gehöriger *campidoctor* ‚Exerziermeister‘, Grabinschrift, ca. 565/75 Byzanz,¹ < ostgerm. **An-ila* < germ. **an-* ‚Ahne, Vorfahre‘, ahd. *ana* fem. ‚Großmutter‘, ahd. *ano* mask. ‚Großvater‘ + ostgerm. diminutives Suffix *-ila* (Bedeutung also: ‚kleiner Ahne‘). Ob Gepide? Jedenfalls ostgerm. wegen der Endung des konsonantisch deklinierten Kurznamens auf *-a*. Vgl. *Anilas comes*, Gote (?) a. 559 in Brief des Papstes Pelagius;² *Anila*, wisigot. Bischof von Tuy a. 572; *Annila*, wisigot. Abt a. 666-675;³ *Anna*, ostgot. *comes* und *vir sublimis* unter Theoderich a. 507/11.
Lit.: KAUFMANN 1968, 33; LAN I 48f., 53 (Kompositionen mit *ana-*); KLUGE–SEEBOLD 2011, 22; OREL 2003, 20. Vgl. WAGNER 2011, 315f. (mit Hinweis auf das intensivierende Namelement **ana-*, ahd. *an(a)* ‚in, an, auf (ein Ziel hin)‘, das aber hier in Kombination mit einem Diminutivsuffix kaum anzusetzen ist).
- 2) *Arda-ricus*, *-richus*, *ille famosissimus rex ... Gepidarum*,⁴ BZ a. 451-55 < ostgerm. **Arda-rîka* < germ. **arda-* (as. *ard* ‚Wohnort‘, ae. *eard* ‚estate, state‘) + germ. *-rîka-* (got. *reiks*) ‚Herrscher, Fürst‘ (vgl. Nr. 8, 16, 26, 27). Vgl. den merowingischen Bischof *Arda-ricus* a. 552 auf einem Konzil in Paris, der allerdings mit Bischof *Chardaricus* auf einem ebenfalls Pariser Konzil a. 556/78 identisch sein könnte, so dass dieser Name etymologisch auf germ. **Hardu-rîka* zurückgeführt werden müsste;⁵ *Ardagastos*, *Sclavenorum dux*, BZ nach 582; *Ardo*, wisigot. König nach a. 710/13; *Ard-ica*, *-eca*, *vir honestus*, 6. Jh. Ravenna; *Ard-ica*, christl. Inschrift Pula/ Pola (Kroatien).
Lit.: SCHÖNFELD 1911, 24; DICULESCU 1922, 56; SCHMIDT 1941, 531f.; SEVIN 1955, 63–72, 94f.; KAUFMANN 1968, 38f.; LAKATOS 1973, 13, 14f., 17, 48f., 52, 54–56; POHL 1980, 247, 253f., 256f.; BÓNA 1976, 15f.; 1987, 123; LAN I, 58–61; PLRE II, 138; NEUMANN ET AL. 1998, 133f.; OREL 2003, 22f., 305; KLUGE–SEEBOLD 2011, 62.
Man beachte aber auch das Element *Arda-* in den Namen von Angehörigen der alanischen Familie des *Aspar* und *Ardabur* 5./6. Jh.⁶
- 3) *As-bados* (gr.), Führer von 400 Gepiden im Heer des Narses in Italien, Töter des ostgot. Königs Totila a. 552 in einer Schlacht beim umbrischen Taginae⁷ < ostgerm. **Ansu-badwa* < germ. *ansu-* ‚Gott, heros‘ (hier – entgegen Schönfeld⁸ – mit mehrfach belegtem rom. Schwund des [n] vor [s]) + germ. **-badwô*, **-badwa-* ‚Kämpfer, Kampf‘ (ae. *beadu* ‚battle, war‘, as. *badu-* ‚Kampf‘, an. *bod#* ‚Kampf‘; vgl. Nr. 12, 37). Vgl. *Asbade*, *-us*, *Asuadun* (acc.), Gote und *magister militum*, Epitaph San Nazario, Pavia a. 528;⁹ *Asbadus*, *-vadus*, Phylarch im oström. Heer, Doryphor und Kavallerie-Kommandeur Justinians a. 550.¹⁰
Lit.: DICULESCU 1922, 119, 150; SCHMIDT 1941, 539; SEVIN 1955, 95, 157–159; KAUFMANN 1968, 51f.; LAKATOS 1973, 82f.; LAN I, 77; PLRE III, 133; AMORY 1997, 190–192, 362; OREL 2003, 32.

¹ IGO I, Nr. 278; II, Nr. 67; SCHNEIDER 1937, 177.

² PLRE III, 82f.; PCB II, 140.

³ KAMPERS 1979, Nr. 134.

⁴ *Jordanes, Getica*, MGH AA V, 42; 109f. 125f.

⁵ MGH Conc. Mer. 116; 146.

⁶ IGO I, Nr. 272; JOHANNSON 1936, 47.

⁷ *Prokopios, De bello Gothico* IV, 26 u. 32, ed. VEH 1966, 924, 964.

⁸ SCHÖNFELD 1911, 32.

⁹ *Auctarii Havniensis Extrema*, MGH AA IX, 337; PANAZZA 1953, 231 Nr. 9.

¹⁰ *Prokopios, De bello Gothico* III, 38, ed. VEH 1966, 690; vgl. PLRE III, 133.

Nach Diculescu wäre bei Prokop als Grundform des Namens *Has-bados* zu **haswa-* ‚grau‘ herzustellen.¹¹

- 4) *Austri-gusam* (acc.), *filiam regis Gepidarum*, Gemahlin des Wacho, Königs der Langobarden, ca. 510-540, Mutter von Wisigarda und Waldrada¹² < ostgerm. **Austra-guto* ‚Ost- oder Glanz-Gotin‘ < germ. **austra-* ‚Osten, Morgenröte, Glanz‘ + **gutôn* ‚Gotin‘ (hier langobardisiert mit Lautverschiebung des [t] > [ts], lgb. geschrieben <s>, und mit Überführung in die westgerm. n-Deklination mit Endungswechsel zu -a). Vgl. u. Nr. 38 *Ustrigotdos* < **Wistri-*; *Ostrogotho*, Tochter des Gotenkönigs Theoderich,¹³ verheiratet mit dem Burgunderkönig Sigismund (516–523); *Ostrogotha*, ostgot. König.¹⁴
Lit.: SCHÖNFELD 1911, 178; DICULESCU 1922, 133f.; SCHMIDT 1941, 535; SEVIN 1955, 96f., 132; LAKATOS 1973, 67; BÓNA 1976, 25; POHL 1980, 272; LAN I, 538, 739; PLRE III, 157; NEUMANN ET AL. 1998, 135; OREL 2003, 30, 147; HAUBRICHS 2012, 46; HAUBRICHS 2017, 337.
- 5) *Bert-ilas*, wohl Großvater des *Epoktor[ik]* (Nr. 8), genannt in Epitaph a. 568, Byzanz¹⁵ < ostgerm. **Berht-ila* < germ. **berhta-* ‚leuchtend, berühmt, illustris‘ + ostgerm. Suffix *-ila*. Ob Gepide?
Lit.: LAN I, 138; KAUFMANN 1968, 59; OREL 2003, 42.
- 6) *Dodone* (gr., obl.), Gattin des *Estotzas* (Nr. 9) < *Dodo* fem., Kurzname zum Lallstamm **dôd-* mit ostgerm. fem. Endung *-o* der konsonantischen Deklination. Vgl. mit spätostgerm. Wandel von [ô] > [û]: *Duda* mask., ostgot *saio* a. 507-511; *Duda vir spectabilis* und *comes*; *Dud-ila* a. 646 Bischof von Malaga (E).¹⁶
Lit.: KAUFMANN 1968, 96; KALKAN-SAHIN 1995, 139.
- 7) *Ele-mundos*,¹⁷ König der Gepiden, † vor a. 549, Vater des *Ustrigotdos* (Nr. 38) < **Wilja-munda-* (?) < germ. **weljôn* (got. *wilja*) ‚Wille, Wunsch‘ (hier mit Schwund des initialen [w] wie in Nr. 35, 38 und vlat. Senkung von [i] > [e]) + germ. **munda-* ‚Schützer, protector‘ (vgl. Nr. 15, 18, 22).
Lit.: SCHÖNFELD 1911, 74; SCHMIDT 1941, 535; KAUFMANN 1968, 262, 403f.; LAN I, 247; PLRE III, 435; OREL 2003, 275, 453; KLUGE-SEEBOLD 2011, 640, 988.
- 8) *Epokto-[rik]*, wohl Sohn des Petros (mit griechischem Namen) und Enkel des *Bertilas* (Nr. 5), Epitaph a. 568 Byzanz¹⁸ < Hybridelement? + germ. **-rika-* (got. *reiks*) ‚Herrscher, Fürst‘ (vgl. Nr. 2). Ob Gepide? Die unvollständige Überlieferung macht eine nähere Bestimmung unmöglich. Fiebiger und Schmidt halten den Namen für keltisch.¹⁹
- 9) *Estotzas foederatus*, Epitaph 6. Jh., Byzanz, Gemahl der *Dodo*²⁰ < ostgerm. **Stotja* ‚der Stößer‘ zu germ. **stutta-* ‚kräftig stoßen‘, Intensivbildung von der Schwundstufe zu germ. **stauta-* (got. *stautan*, as. *stôtan*, ahd. *stôzan*) wie ahd. *er-stuzzen*, mhd. *stutzen*, mnd. *stutten*. Vgl. *Stotza(s)*, *Stotia*, *Stutias*, *Stuza*, a. 535 Doryphor des *magister militum* Martinos, Empörer gegen Belisar,²¹ *tyrannus* in Nordafrika, a. 537 besiegt;²² *Johannes Stotia*, *Stotzas junior*, Beiname

¹¹ Vgl. KAUFMANN 1968, 177; OREL 2003, 164.

¹² *Origo gentis Langobardorum* 4 ed. BRACCIOTTI 1998, 111; PD I, 21, MGH SS rer. Germ. 1878, 68.

¹³ HAUBRICHS 2014, 13f. Nr. 41; 2017, 311f. Nr. 19.

¹⁴ CASTRITIUS 2003, 349; neue Quellen in: MARTIN-GRUSKOVÁ 2014, 734f., 736, 740f.; WOLFRAM 2019.

¹⁵ IGO I Nr. 277; ÇETINKAYA 2019.

¹⁶ LAN I, 240; AMORY 1997, 373; HAUBRICHS 2014, 20 Nr. 82.

¹⁷ *Prokopios, De bello Gothico* IV, 27, ed. VEH 1966, 932–934.

¹⁸ IGO I, Nr. 277; ÇETINKAYA 2019.

¹⁹ FIEBIGER-SCHMIDT, in: IGO I Nr. 277.

²⁰ ÇETINKAYA 2019.

²¹ *Prokopios, De bello Vandalico* III, 11, ed. VEH 1971, 88; IV, 15, ebd. 271 u. 276.

²² *Jordanes, Romana*, MGH AA V, 48; vgl. PLRE III, 1199f.

eines Günstlings von *Stotja* I.²³ PN *Stotto*, *Stotzo* kommen auch im Althochdeutschen und Altsächsischen vor.

Lit.: nach SCHÖNFELD 1911, 211 und LANI, 626 ungermanisch; vgl. aber v. GRIENBERGER 1905, 549; KAUFMANN 1968, 326.

- 10) *Fast-ida*, König der Gepiden, Mitte des 3. Jahrhunderts:²⁴ *rex Fastida quietam gentem* [sc. Gepidarum] *excitans patrios fines per arma dilatavit ...* < germ. **fasta-* ‚fest, stark‘ + Suffix *-ida* (wie im Volksnamen der Gepiden). Vgl. dazu an ausschließlich ostgermanischen PN den römischen Heeresangehörigen *Fl[avius] Fasta ... duce[narius] de Batavis equ[itibus] sen[ioribus] ...*, Epitaph aus der nordostitalienischen Militärsiedlung Concordia (I); *Fast-ila*, burgundischer *comes*, Lex Burgundionum a. 517;²⁵ *Fastila*, Erbauer eines Gebäudes im wandalischen Karthago, Widmungsgedicht um 540; hierher wohl auch *Fast-ita*, Leibgardist des *magister militum* Johannes a. 548 in Africa.²⁶

Lit.: SCHÖNFELD 1911; 86; DICULESCU 1922, 20f.; FEIST 1939, 143f.; SCHMIDT 1941, 530; SEVIN 1955, 25f., 30f., 33, 95; KAUFMANN 1968, 115; LAKATOS 1973, 11, 48f., 52; BÓNA 1976, 15, 67; 1987, 123; LANI, 267f.; HEIDERMANNS 1993, 192f.; EWA III, 185-188; OREL 2003, 94; KLUGE-SEEBOLD 2011, 289; HAUBRICHS 2008, 157; 2014, 8 Nr. 8f.

- 11) *Philé-*, *Filé-ga[n]gos* (gr.), Gepide und Kavallerieoffizier, a. 549–551²⁷ < germ. **Fili-ganga-* ‚starker (Kriegs)Gänger‘ < ostgerm. **filu-* ‚viel, sehr, stark‘ + germ. **-ganga-* ‚(Kriegs)Gänger‘. Vgl. *Ulli-gangos* < **Willi-ganga-*, oströmischer Heerführer erulischer Abstammung a. 550;²⁸ ferner *Ganga* auf christlicher Grabinschrift, Rom;²⁹ die frühen PN mit dem Erstelement **filu-* sind ganz überwiegend ostgermanisch: *Fili-mer* ‚sehr berühmt‘, gotischer Vorzeitkönig; *Filo-mere* (dat.), burgundischer Mönch in Moutier-Saint-Jean, Mitte 6. Jh.;³⁰ *Fili-mirus*, a. 653 wisigot. Bischof von Lamego; *Fili-múth* (gr.) ‚der Starkmütige‘, a. 544 *dux* der Eruler im römischen Heer; *Fele-moda sive Moda* fem., Burgunderin, a. 549 Epitaph Lyon-Choulans (F); *Fili-muth*, *vir dignissimus*, zu a. 594 in Gregors d. Großen ‚Epistulae‘; *Fili-nanda* fem. ‚die sehr Mutige‘, 4. Jh., Ringinschrift, Masignano (I); *Fele-theus qui et Feva*, König der Rugier, a. 475–487; *Fili-*, *Fele-thanc* ‚der sehr Dankbare‘, *vir sublimis*, Papyrusurkunde a. 553, Ravenna. Lit.: SCHÖNFELD 1911, 87, 245f.; FEIST 1939, 152f.; SCHRAMM 1957, 43, 62; SEVIN 1955, 95; KAUFMANN 1968, 116; 138; 434; LAN I, 268, 270, 307; II 4; PLRE III, 1019; OREL 2003, 98, 125; KLUGE-SEEBOLD 2011, 959f. Zur Bedeutung der Namen auf *-ganga* vgl. SCHRAMM 2013, 146; HAUBRICHS 2017c, 249f.

- 12) *Fridi-badum* (acc.), BZ a. 507/11, Vorsteher (*comes* ?) einer Provinz an *Siscia* und *Save*³¹ < **Frithu-badwa-* ‚Friedens-Kämpfer‘ < germ. **frithu-* (got. *ga-frithon* ‚versöhnen‘) ‚Friede, Vertrag‘ + germ. **-badwa-* ‚Kämpfer‘ (vgl. Nr. 3, 37). Gepide? Ostgote? Frühe Personennamen auf **-badwa-* sind ganz überwiegend ostgermanisch. Vgl. *Frede-badus*, a. 683 wisigot. Abt in Zaragoza.

Lit.: SCHÖNFELD 1911, 94 (Ostgote); FEIST 1939, 169; KAUFMANN 1968, 124f.; LAN I 286, 290; PLRE II, 512; AMORY 1997, 375f.; OREL 2003, 32, 115; KLUGE-SEEBOLD 2011, 318; HAUBRICHS 2013, 488f. Nr. 26; HAUBRICHS 2014, 13 Nr. 33, 28 Nr. 115.

²³ *Jordanes, Romana*, ebd., 51.

²⁴ *Jordanes, Getica*, MGH AA V, 83.

²⁵ HAUBRICHS 2013, 471.

²⁶ PLRE III, 478.

²⁷ *Prokopios, De bello Gothico* IV, 8, ed. Veh 1966, 762, 766.

²⁸ LAN I, 735.

²⁹ LAN I, 307.

³⁰ *Iona von Bobbio, Vita Iohannis abbatis Reomaensis*, c. 5, MGH SS rer. Mer. III 509.

³¹ *Cassiodor, Variae* IV, 49, MGH AA XII, 136.

- 13) *Giesmos* = **Gies-moth* (?), nach Diculescu „als verschrieben für Geismoth aufzufassen: durch die orthographische Metathese suchte der Grieche hier den Diphthong ei zu vermeiden, da derselbe im Mittelh Griechischen schon den Lautwert von i hatte“. *Giesmos* sei ein Sohn Attilas und einer Tochter Ardarîks (Nr. 2) gewesen.³² Nach dem byzantinischen Geschichtsschreiber Malalas war Attila mit einer Schwester des Königs Thraustila (Nr. 28) verheiratet gewesen.³³ Falls die Konjektur von Dilescu zuträfe, wäre der Name als **Gaiza-môda-* zu rekonstruieren < germ. **gaiza-* ‚Speer, Ger‘ + **-môda-* ‚Sinn, Mut‘ (vgl. Nr. 20, 33). Vgl. für die Schreibung von germ. [ai] mit <ei> *Gaise-*, *Geise-ricus*, König der Wandalen a. 428-477; aber *Gaisse-fredus*, a. 606/07 burgundischer comes in Vienne (F);³⁴ *Geisi-rith*, Offizier des *magister militum* Johannes a. 546-548 in Africa³⁵. Schramm hält den Namen für hunnisch,³⁶ was angesichts der sich von der Überlieferung her als schwierig darstellenden germ. Ableitung recht wahrscheinlich ist. Lit.: SCHÖNFELD 1911, 99–101; SCHMIDT 1941, 534; SEVIN 1955, 95f., 130; KAUFMANN 1968, 132–134; SCHRAMM 1975, 86f., 94; POHL 1980, 261, 290; CROKE 1982, 131; LAN I 301-306, 314f.; PLRE II, 512; SCHRAMM 1997, 112f., 121; EWAIV 168-170; KLUGE–SEEBOLD 2011, 349, 643; HAUBRICHS 2014, 22 Nr. 91–93.
- 14) *Gunde-rith*, *-rit*: ca. 489–504 Anführer (*ductor*) einer Gepidengruppe (an der Theiss?) nach Ennodius, Panegyricus für Theoderich:³⁷ ... *circa alios Gepidas, quorum ductor est Gunderith, intempestiva Traserici familiaritas* ... < **Gunthi-rîda-* ‚Kampf-Ratgeber‘ < **gunthi-* (an. *gunnr*, ae. *gúdh*, as. *gûthea*) ‚Kampf‘ + germ. **-raeda-* ‚Rat, Ratgeber‘ (mit spätostgerm. Lautwandel [ae] > [î]). Vgl. *Gunde-rit*, Ostgote, verstorbener Freigelassener, Papyrusquittung Ravenna (I) a. 564;³⁸ *Gunde-rit*, ostgot. Schreiber und *exceptor curiae civitatis Ravennatis*, Papyrusurk. Ravenna (I) a. 572;³⁹ *Gundi-rit*, *vir magnificus, vir inluster*, auch *vir honestus*, Papyrusurk. Rieti (I) a. 557.⁴⁰
Lit.: SCHÖNFELD 1911, 119; DICULESCU 1922, 110f.; SCHMIDT 1941, 530; KAUFMANN 1968, 158–160, 291f.; LAKATOS 1973, 63; POHL 1980, 292; LAN I 396f.; PLRE II, 522; AMORY 1997, 382; NEUMANN ET AL. 1998, 135; OREL 2003, 146; ÇETINKAYA 2009, 228; HAUBRICHS 2014, 16 Nr. 63, 18f. Nr. 70–72.
- 15) *Coni-mundi* (gen.), Sohn des Gepidenkönigs *Turisindus* (Nr. 34), Vater der *Rosemunda* (Nr. 22); *Koni-mundos* (griech. Quellen); *Cune-mundum* (acc.), Kg. der Gepiden mit Residenz in Sirmium,⁴¹ wo er auch Münzen prägte; *Cunie-mundus, rex Gepidorum*, † a. 572 (?);⁴² Nachfolger des *Turisindus* als Kg., getötet a. 567 vom Langobardenkönig Alboin: *Cuni-mundum occidit* ...⁴³ < germ. **Kunja-munda-* ‚Schützer der Sippe‘ < germ. **kunja-* (got. *kuni*) ‚Sippe, Geschlecht‘ + germ. **munda-* ‚Schützer‘ (vgl. Nr. 7, 18, 22, 25). Namen mit dem Erstelem **kunja-* sind zwar früh und gut belegt, aber nicht allein für das Ostgermanische; vgl. *Kunimundiu* (dat.), urnord. Runeninschrift auf Brakteat, ca. 500/600, Tjurkö (S). Ein späterer (7. Jh.) „Kunimon, Mitglied einer awarischen Gesandtschaft, der denselben Namen wie der Gepidenkönig trug, fühlte noch nicht sehr awarisch und war vielleicht nur ein gepidischer Führer“.⁴⁴

³² DICULESCU 1922, 58, 69.

³³ NEUMANN ET AL. 1998, 134.

³⁴ Vgl. HAUBRICHS 2008, 168.

³⁵ PLRE III, 507f.

³⁶ SCHRAMM 1997, 112f., 121.

³⁷ *Ennodius, Panegyricus dictus Theoderico*, MGH AA VII, 210.

³⁸ TJAEDER 1955, P. 8, S. 243.

³⁹ TJAEDER 1955, P. 14–15, S. 316.

⁴⁰ TJAEDER 1955, P. 7, S. 228–234.

⁴¹ *Auctarii Havniensis Extrema*, MGH AA IX, 337f.

⁴² *Johannes abbas Biclarensis, Chronica*, MGH AA XI, 212f.

⁴³ PD, I, 27, ed. WAITZ, MGH SS rer. Germ. in usu schol., 80.

⁴⁴ POHL 1987, 43; POHL 1988, 188.

Lit.: SCHÖNFELD 1911, 68; DICULESCU 1922, 151f., 162f.; SCHMIDT 1941, 540f.; SEVIN 1955, 95f., 160f., 164, 167–170, 178–180; KAUFMANN 1968, 86f.; Bóna 1976, 100; LAN I 229; PLRE III, 364; POHL 1988, 51, 56, 58f.; NEUMANN ET AL. 1998, 124, 136; OREL 2003, 224.

- 16) *Lauda-ricus*, nach der *Chronica Gallica* von 511 *cognatus Attilae* und prominenter hunnischer Führer, gleichzeitig mit dem wisigotischen König Theoderich I. in der Schlacht auf den Katalaunischen Feldern (a. 451) gefallen < germ. **laudha-* ‚groß‘ (got. *swa-lauths* ‚so groß‘; im Ablaut zu got. *liudan-* < **leudan* ‚wachsen‘; mhd. *lôt* ‚beschaffen‘ + germ. *-rika-* (got. *reiks*) ‚Herrscher‘ (vgl. Nr. 2, 8, 26, 27). Gepide? Das gleiche Erstelement evtl. bei *Laut-ard-us* < **Lauda-hardu-*, wisigot., Inschrift auf Altar, Tarrasa (E).

Lit.: SCHÖNFELD 1911, 277; DICULESCU 1922, 58; FEIST 1939, 285; SEVIN 1955, 97; KAUFMANN 1968, 227; MAENCHEN-HELFEN 1973, 388; LAN I 459; PLRE II, 657; SCHRAMM 1975, 87, 95; SCHRAMM 1997, 121f.; OREL 2003, 459.

- 17) *Marnng* (nom.) < langobardisch **Mâr-ing* (?) zu germ. **maerja-* ‚berühmt‘ oder got. *Mar(h)-ings* zu germ. **marha* ‚Pferd‘ (?); runische Inschrift aus Szabadbattyán (H), auf Gürtelschnalle, QZ a. 400/25 – ob wegen des Herkunftsortes für gepidisch gehalten?

Lit.: SEVIN 1955, 99; BÓNA 1976, 95; LAN I 492; OREL 2003, 261; KLUGE–SEEBOLD 2011, 593f.

- 18) *Múndos* (gr., nom.), Gepide königlicher Abstammung (Sohn des *Giesmos*, Nr. 13, und damit eventuell Enkel Attilas), Warlord auf dem rechten Ufer der Donau östlich der Morawa ca. 505;⁴⁵ wohl identisch mit *Mundós*, nach Johannes Malalas⁴⁶ mutterseitig Neffe des Gepidenkönigs Thraustila (Nr. 28); nach Jordanes⁴⁷ aus dem Geschlecht Attilas (... *hic Mundo de Attilanis quondam origine descendens* ...); verbrachte seine frühen Jahre (bis 488) wohl am Hofe des Gepidenkönigs. Unter dem Konsulat des Dekios (a. 529) schlägt sich *Mundos*, von gepidischer Herkunft, mit Residenz in Sirmium, zu a. 505 auch als *dux Gothorum* genannt,⁴⁸ bis zu dessen Tode († 526) wohl in Theoderichs Diensten stehend, auf die Seite des Kaisers und wirkt wieder im Donauraum. Justinian (527–565) nimmt ihn auf, und macht ihn, der siegreich Kämpfe gegen die Hunnen besteht, „zum *magister militum* der Illyrer“. In rascher Karriere ist er a. 529–530 und a. 532–536 *magister utriusque militiae per Illyriam*, a. 531 *magister utriusque militiae per Orientem*. Marcellinus Comes, der ihn zum Jahre 505 für einen *Geta* (in seiner Terminologie damit ‚Gepide‘) hält, nennt ihn zu a. 530 *Illyriciacanae utriusque militiae ductor*. Er ist Vater des gleichfalls in kaiserlichen Diensten stehenden Maurikios, der mit ihm 536 bei Salona den Schlachtentod findet; zugleich Großvater des *Theudi-mundus* (Nr. 25). Der Name ist zu germ. **mundô* ‚Schutz‘ zu stellen, ist aber teilweise (wie beim Wandalen *Stilico*) nach der lat. dritten Deklination (n-Stamm) latinisiert (vgl. Nr. 7,15, 22). Da der Name von Attilas Vater *Mundioc*, *Mundiuchos* lautete, lässt sich mit G. Schramm annehmen, dass sich in der Bevorzugung des Namenslements **munda-* in dieser Familie auch hunnisches Bewusstsein ausdrückte, die Namen also eine doppelte Interpretation zuließen und vielleicht auch doppelte Identität ausdrückten. Vgl. *Mund-ilas*, Offizier der Leibwache des Belisarius in Italien a. 537–539,⁴⁹ *Mundilo* ... *senator scolae gentilium* 5./6. Jh., Grabstein in Florenz.⁵⁰

Lit.: SCHÖNFELD 1911, 169; DICULESCU 1922, 114–117, 122; SCHMIDT 1941, 534; SEVIN 1955, 96, 105f.; KAUFMANN 1968, 262; MAENCHEN-HELFEN 1973, 149; LAKATOS 1973, 16–19, 35, 59f., 70–76;

⁴⁵ *Marcellinus Comes, Chronicon*, MGH AA XI, 96 und 103; *Ennodius, Panegyricus dictus Theoderico*, MGH AA VII 210f.

⁴⁶ *Johannes Malalas, Chronographia* XVIII, 46 u. XVIII, 61, ed. THURN 379f., 390; *Johannes Malalas, Weltchronik*, übers. v. THURN–MEIER, 469f., 483; vgl. *Prokop, De bello Gothico* I,5, 7, 24, ed. VEI 1966, 36, 46–48.

⁴⁷ *Iordanes, Getica*, MGH AA V, 135.

⁴⁸ *Iordanes, Romana*, MGH AA V, 46.

⁴⁹ PLRE III, 901f.

⁵⁰ PLRE II, 767.

SCHRAMM 1975, 86f., 94f.; WOLFRAM 1979, 398; POHL 1980, 290f.; 1988, 35; CROKE 1982; LAN I 512f.; PLRE II, 767f.; III. 903–905 und Stemma 23; AMORY 1997, 190–193, 397–399; SCHRAMM 1997, 27–55, 105–109, 112f., 121; 2013, 178–186; WAGNER 2011, 300–303; KLUGE–SEEBOLD 2011, 640.

- 19) OMAHARUS (IGO I, Nr. 285), Namen-Inschrift auf Goldring (dazu zweiter Ring mit wohl zum gleichen Namen gehörigen, in griechischen Buchstaben gehaltenen Monogramm), Fürstengrab Apahida I bei Cluzs/Klausenburg (RO), vermutlich letztes Viertel 5. Jh., auf Grund der Lage in späterem gepidischem Siedlungsgebiet (nicht ohne Widerspruch) für gepidisch gehalten: „Apahida liegt in einem Gebiet, das seit der 2. Hälfte des 5. Jahrhunderts zum Siedlungsgebiet der Gepiden gehörte. Die Möglichkeit, dass der Grabfund mit dem gepidischen Königshaus zusammenhängt, ist daher nicht auszuschließen“ (Joachim Werner).⁵¹ Der Name besteht (hier mit ostgerm. Monophthongierung [au] > [ô]) aus dem Erstelement germ. **auwj-n-* ‚Wohlstand, Glück‘⁵² + germ. *harja-* ‚Heer-Krieger‘. Vgl. die ostgerm. Namen *Onoulphos* < **Auna-wulfa-*; *Onemundus* < **Auna-munda-*. Phonetisch passend wäre auch ein Ansatz des Erstelements mit germ. **auma-* ‚elend, unglücklich, arm‘,⁵³ doch erscheint ein solches Element im Rahmen der germanischen Namengebung semantisch wenig geeignet.

Lit.: DICULESCU 1922, 77f.; SCHMIDT 1941, 533; SEVIN 1955, 96, 105f.; WERNER 1967/68; HOREDT-PROTASE 1972, 211f., 216; WERNER–KUHN–HOREDT 1973, 365–367; POHL 1980, 270–272; HOREDT 1986, 17–21, 178f.; LAN I, 534; KISS 1995, 306f.; NEUMANN ET AL. 1998, 133; SCHMAUDER 2002, 91f.

Die Herleitung des Namens (auf der Grundlage einer h-losen Interpretation des Monogramms auf dem Siegelring des Fürsten als OMAROS) durch Werner Betz⁵⁴ von einer Grundform **Aud(a)-mâr-* ist nicht akzeptabel: 1) die Form mit <h> ist eindeutig auf dem Namensring belegt, der h-Verlust bei griechischen Transkriptionen germ. Namen dagegen häufig; 2) das Zweitelement **-mâr-* ist westgerm., die ostgerm. Form müsste **-mêr-* bzw. **-mîr-* lauten: der Hinweis auf den Quadenkönig des 3. Jh.s *Gaiobo-marus*⁵⁵ (LAN I, 301) verschlägt nicht, da die im Donaauraum siedelnden Quaden (wohl als Teil der Sueben) ein westgerm. Idiom sprachen; 3) die für die Deutung von Betz vorauszusetzende Assimilation von [dm], noch dazu über die Fugengrenze des zweigliedrigen Personennamens hinweg, ist so früh nicht belegt. Der hilfswise erwogene Ansatz des Erstelement als germ. **hauha-* ‚hoch‘ wird von Betz zu Recht selbst wieder verworfen. Überhaupt ablehnend gegenüber germ. Etymologie des Namens war Hans Kuhn;⁵⁶ doch für germ. hält den Namen auch Hermann Reichert.⁵⁷ Die neuerdings von M. Schmauder (auf der Grundlage einer Äußerung des Byzantinisten Werner Seibt, Wien) gegebene Vermutung einer iranisch-alanischen Herkunft des Namens entbehrt der Nachweise.

- 20) *Rausi-módos* (gr.), König der Sarmaten (*Sauromatarum rex* nach Zosimos, QZ a. 501), a. 323 bei einer ‚gotischen‘ (?) Invasion über die Donau von Konstantin besiegt und getötet < germ. **rauza-* (got. *raus*) ‚Rohr, Schilfrohr‘ (vgl. Nr. 22) + germ. **môda-* ‚Sinn, Mut‘ (vgl. Nr. 13, 33). Ob gepidischer Herkunft? Vgl. wandalisch *Ráos* (gr.), einen der alliterierenden Namen der hasdingischen Gründerheroen, Bruder des *Raptos* ‚Balken‘ (vgl. Nr. 21); *Raus*

⁵¹ WERNER–KUHN–HOREDT 1973, 365. Zu den Siedlungsgebieten der Gepiden vgl. nun TÓTH 2006.

⁵² HAUBRICHS 2009a, 197; WAGNER 2011, 298f.; SCHRAMM 2013, 138.

⁵³ HEIDERMANNS 1993, 109f.; OREL 2003, 29.

⁵⁴ Bei WERNER 1967/68, 123 Anm. 24.

⁵⁵ LAN I, 301.

⁵⁶ In WERNER–KUHN–HOREDT 1973.

⁵⁷ REICHERT 1987 (in LAN I, 534).

Hatena pro(tector) duc(enarius), 4. Jh. (?), Sirmium in Pannonia Inferior;⁵⁸ ostgot. *Rose-mud* mit Beinamen *Faffo*, a. 557, Papyrusurkunde Rieti.

Lit.: SCHÖNFELD 1911, 185, 194, 278; KAUFMANN 1968, 295; LAN I, 553, 554, 575f.; PLRE I, 762; OREL 2003, 299; KLUGE–SEEBOLD 2011, 771.

- 21) *Rept-ila*, Neffe des 567 im Kampf gegen die Langobarden gefallenen Gepidenkönigs Kunimund (Nr. 15), und zusammen mit Bischof Thrasarík (Nr. 27) Retter des königlichen Schatzes,⁵⁹ mit Lautersatz von germ. [ft] durch [pt] < germ. **rêft-* ‚Balken, Stamm‘ (vgl. **rêfan* ‚Balken, Dachbalken‘, im Ablaut zu **rafttra-* ‚Balken, Sparren‘)? + ostgerm. Suffix *-ila*. Vgl. wandalisch *Ráptos* (gr.), einen der alliterierenden Namen der hasdingischen Gründerheroen, Bruder des *Raos* ‚Rohr‘ mit komplementärem Namen (vgl. Nr. 20).

Lit.: SCHÖNFELD 1911, 185, 187f.; DICULESCU 1922, 164f.; SCHMIDT 1941, 542; SEVIN 1955, 96, 173, 184; KAUFMANN 1968, 282f.; LAN I 565; PLRE III, 1083; POHL 1988, 58, 229; NEUMANN ET AL. 1998, 137; OREL 2003, 294, 304.

- 22) *Rose-mundae* (gen.), Tochter des Gepidenkönigs Kunimund⁶⁰ und spätere Gattin (*Rosemunda*) des langobardischen Königs Alboin († 572), den sie ermorden ließ;⁶¹ *filiam nomine Rosimundam* (acc.) (ebd.); *Rosemunda*⁶² (*Origo gentis Langobardorum*, ed. Bracciotti, 114f.); ... *aliam duxit coniugem* ...⁶³ < germ. **rauza-* ‚Rohr‘ (vgl. Nr. 20) + germ. **mundô* ‚Schutz‘ (vgl. Nr. 7, 15, 18, 25) – mit spätostgerm. Monophthongierung [au] > [ô]. Das Erstelement steht wohl auch unter dem Einfluss des lat. Lehnworts *rosa* ‚Rose‘.

Lit.: SCHÖNFELD 1911, 194; DICULESCU 1922, 164, 211; SCHMIDT 1941, 540–542; SEVIN 1955, 96, 173–175, 178–80; LAKATOS 1973, 43f., 86–88, 96f.; LAN I, 576; PLRE III, 1095f.; POHL 1988, 51, 56f.; NEUMANN ET AL. 1998, 137; OREL 2003, 299; KLUGE–SEEBOLD 2011, 771.

- 23) *Tand-ilas* (gr.) *primicerius*, Grabinschrift 5./6. Jh. (Archäologisches Museum Istanbul), wohl aus der Nähe der Landmauer von Byzanz⁶⁴ < germ. **tanth-* ‚Zahn‘ (as. *tand*, ahd. *zand*, i-Stamm) + ostgerm. Suffix *-ila*. Ob Gepide? Jedenfalls ostgerm. wegen der Endung *-a* des Kurznamens.

Lit.: KAUFMANN 1968, 339, 419; KALKAN–SAHIN 1995, 137; OREL 2003, 401f.

- 24) *Thiuda* (gr., gen.), *scholarios* (Angehöriger der kaiserlichen Garde), Gemahl der *Uli-frida* (Nr. 35), 6. Jh. (?), Inschrift auf Marmorstele, Byzanz,⁶⁵ mask. Kurzname zu germ. **theudô* (got. *thiuda*) ‚Volk‘ (vgl. Nr. 25). Ob Gepide? Jedenfalls ostgerm. wegen der mask. Endung auf *-a* und got. [iu] statt [eu]. Vgl. *Theud-ila clericus ecclesie ... legis Gothorum sancte Anastasie*, Papyrusurkunde Ravenna a. 551;⁶⁶ *Teud-ila*, a. 620, Sohn des wisigot. Königs Sisibut; TEVDILA, auf wisigot. Siegelring;⁶⁷ *Teud-ila*, wisigot. *comes* a. 681–688.

Lit.: SCHNEIDER 1937, 176; KAUFMANN 1968, 348–355; LAN I, 692, 695; PLRE III, 1313; OREL 2003, 423; HAUBRICHS 2014, 10 Nr. 22.

- 25) *Theudi-múndos*, Sohn des Maurikios, Enkel des *magister militum* Mundos (Nr. 18), BZ a. 540⁶⁸ < germ. **theudô* ‚Volk‘ (vgl. Nr. 24) + germ. **munda-* ‚Schützer‘ (vgl. Nr. 7, 15, 18). Vgl. *Theudi-*

⁵⁸ LAN I, 554.

⁵⁹ *Johannes abbas Biclarensis, Chronica*, MGH AA XI, 212f.

⁶⁰ *Auctarii Havniensis Extrema*, MGH AA IX, 336f.

⁶¹ PD II, 28f., ed. WAITZ, MGH SS rer. Germ. in usu schol. 104–107.

⁶² *Origo gentis Langobardorum*, ed. BRACCIOTTI, 114f.

⁶³ *Gregor v. Tours, Historiarum libri decem*, IV, 41, MGH SS rer. Mer. I, 174.

⁶⁴ MANGO–ŠEVČENKO 1978, 6 no. 6.

⁶⁵ IGO II Nr. 66.

⁶⁶ SCARDIGLI 1973, 278.

⁶⁷ WEBER 2014, 103–105.

⁶⁸ *Prokopios, De bello Gothico* III,1, ed. VEH 1966, 446.

- mundos* (gr.), 5. Jh., Bruder des Theoderich, Sohn des Thiudimer; *Theude-mundus*, a. 693 wisigot. Vorsteher der Leibwache König Egicas; *Teude-mundus*, a. 693 wisigot. *procer*.
Lit.: SCHÖNFELD 1911, 234; DICULESCU 1922, 117; LAKATOS 1973, 76; POHL 1980, 293; LANI 689, 692f.; PLRE III, 1236; AMORY 1997, 421.
- 26) *Trase-rici* (gen.), *Trasa-rico* (dat.), a. 521 *rex Gepidarum*⁶⁹; *Trasa-rico* (dat.), *dux Gepidarum*, Sohn des *Trapstila* (Nr. 28) < **Thraust-ila* (Jordanes, *Get.* MGH AA V, 135); wohl identisch mit *Thrá[sarix]*, *comes domesticus*, *rex* der Gepiden, Sohn des *Thraustila* (Grabinschrift, 6. Jh., Byzanz) < **Thrasa-ríka-* ‚Streit-Herrscher‘ < germ. **thrasô* ‚Streit‘ (vgl. got. *thrasa-balthai* ‚Streitsucht‘, an. *thrasa* ‚streiten, drohen‘) + **ríka-* (got. *reiks*) ‚Herrscher‘ (vgl. Nr. 2, 8, 16). Vgl. Nr. 27; *Trase-ricus*, a. 581 Bischof im aquitanischen (ehemals wisigot.) Tulle (F); *Trasa-ric*, a. 589 *magister militum*, Großvater des *Wilia-ric*, Grabstein in Rom, S. Praxede;⁷⁰ *Trase-ricus*, a. 683–688 wisigot. *spatarius* und *comes*; *Trase-ricus*, a. 680 Verschwörer gegen den wisigotischen König Wamba. Die Verwendung des Erstelements **thrasa-* ist ganz überwiegend ostgermanisch.⁷¹
Lit.: SCHÖNFELD 1911, 237f., 241; DICULESCU 1922, 110f.; FEIST 1939, 501; SCHMIDT 1941, 533; SEVIN 1955, 97; KAUFMANN 1968, 358f.; LAKATOS 1973, 16f., 61f., 63f.; BÓNA 1976, 17; WOLFRAM 1979, 398; POHL 1980, 292f.; LANI 713f.; PLRE III, 1125; NEUMANN ET AL. 1998, 135; OREL 2003, 424f.; CETINKAYA 2009, 225–229.
- 27) *Trasa-ricus*, arianischer Bischof der Gepiden, rettet zusammen mit *Reptila* (Nr. 21) a. 567–572 den gepidischen Königsschatz nach Byzanz (... *thesauri ejus* [sc. Kunimunds] *per Trasaricum Arrianae sectae episcopum et Reptilanem Cuniemundi nepotem Justino imp. Constantinopolim ad integrum perducti sunt ...*)⁷², wie Nr. 26.
Lit.: DICULESCU 1922, 164; SCHMIDT 1941, 542; SEVIN 1955, 97, 106, 173; LAKATOS 1973, 86; LANI I, 713; POHL 1988, 58, 229; NEUMANN ET AL. 1998, 137.
- 28) *Trapst-ila* (gen.) < **Thrafst-ila* (mit Lautersatz [pst] für [fst]), Vater des *Trasaricus* (Nr. 26), Gepidenfürst;⁷³ *Thraust-ila* (in Grabinschrift des Vaters, Byzanz, 1. H. 6. Jh.), † 488? Wohl identisch mit *Trapstila*, König der Gepiden, a. 488 getötet von Theoderich,⁷⁴ nach Paulus Diaconus ‚*Historia Romana*‘ XV,15:⁷⁵ ... *at tamen prius quam Italiam adventaret* [sc. Theoderich] *Trapstilam Gepidarum regem ... bello superans extinxit* < **Thrafst-ila*, Kurzname zu got. *thrafstjan* ‚trösten, ermahnen‘ mit ostgerm. Suffix *-ila*. Die Personennamen mit dem Element **thrafst-* sind ostgermanisch, wenn nicht sogar spezifisch gepidisch. Vgl. Nr. 29–31.
Lit.: SCHÖNFELD 1911, 237; DICULESCU 1922, 106, 109f.; FEIST 1939, 500; SCHMIDT 1941, 533f.; SEVIN 1955, 97, 128–130, 184; KAUFMANN 1968, 358; LAKATOS 1973, 16f., 45, 59f., 61f.; WOLFRAM 1979, 398; POHL 1980, 290f.; LANI, 701f.; PLRE II, 1125f.; CETINKAYA 2009, 225–229; STEINACHER 2017, 104; HAUBRICHS 2014, 10 Nr. 23.
- 29) *Thraust-ilam* (acc.);⁷⁶ *Thraufist-ilam* (acc.) [< **Thraust-ila*], *satelles Aetii*;⁷⁷ wohl Schwiegersohn des Aetius; a. 455 *Valentinianus princeps dolo Maximi patricii, cuius etiam fraude Aetius perierat, in campo Martio per Optilam et Thraust-ilam Aetii sattellites iam percusso Heraclione spadone truncatus est* (Marcellinus Comes); [*Egressum extra*] *portam [principem] et in campo Martio pro tribunali ... residentem ... veniente ex adverso Accilane Aetii buccillaria simulque veniente Trasilane*

⁶⁹ *Ennodius, Panegyricus dictus Theoderico*, MGH AA VII, 210.

⁷⁰ DE ROSSI I, 1857–1861, 516 no. 1126; IGO I Nr. 221; AMORY 1997, 422f.

⁷¹ Vgl. HAUBRICHS 2014, 27 Nr. 112.

⁷² *Johannes abbas Biclarenensis, Chronica*, ed. MOMMSEN, MGH AA XI, 212f.

⁷³ *Jordanes, Getica*, MGH AA V, 135.

⁷⁴ DICULESCU 1922, 109f.; LAKATOS 1973, 45.

⁷⁵ *Paulus Diaconus, Historia Romana* XV,15, MGH AA II 213.

⁷⁶ *Marcellinus Comes, Chronicon*, MGH AA XI, 86.

⁷⁷ *Jordanes, Romana*, MGH AA V, 43.

[< **Trastila*] *genero Aetii insperatis et [inopinatis ictibus confoderunt]*, BZ a. 455:⁷⁸ Th. rächte (wohl als Schwiegersohn) zusammen mit Optila/Accila, ebenfalls einem Ostgermanen, den vom Kaiser selbst vollzogenen Tod des Aetius, indem sie Valentinian III. töteten. Vgl. Nr. 28.

Lit.: SCHÖNFELD 1911, 237; LAKATOS 1973, 17, 56f.; LAN I 701f.; II 9; PLRE II, 1117f.; STEINACHER 2017, 104.

30) *Thraust-ilas* (gr.), Gepide (?), „diente wahrscheinlich als Heermeister in Konstantinopel“; a. 479 Verschwörer gegen Kaiser Zeno, hingerichtet a. 480;⁷⁹ zweifellos ostgerm. wegen maskuliner Endung auf -a. Vgl. Nr. 28.

Lit.: LAKATOS 1973, 59; POHL 1980, 292; LAN I, 702; STEINACHER 2017, 105.

31) *Thraust-ila*; nach Malalas Onkel des Mundos (Nr. 18), in dessen Obhut er a. 504 lebte; „König der sirmischen Gepiden“.⁸⁰ Vgl. Nr. 28.

Lit.: LAN I, 702.

32) *Tuld-ila*, a. 458 „ein hunnischer Heerführer“, der von Kaiser Maiorianus (457-461) besiegt und getötet wurde⁸¹ < germ. **thuldi-* ‘das Dulden, Geduld’ (mit romanischem Lautersatz [t] für [th]) + ostgerm. Suffix -*ila*. Ob Gepide? Nach Maenchen-Helfen hunnisch,⁸² was angesichts des Suffixes und der Möglichkeit, auch das Erstelement germanisch zu deuten, eher unwahrscheinlich ist.

Lit.: SCHÖNFELD 1911, 280; DICULESCU 1922, 58; FEIST 1939, 129; SEVIN 1955, 97; POHL 1980, 262; LAN I, 723; PLRE II, 1131; OREL 2003, 79; EWA II, 845; KLUGE– SEEBOLD 2011, 221.

33) *Turis-modus*, ... *Turisindi filius*, also Sohn des Gepidenkönigs **Thuris-swinth-* (Nr. 34), erschlagen a. 552 vom späteren Langobardenkönig Alboin⁸³ < **Thurisa-môda-* ‚der den Sinn eines Riesen hat‘ < germ. **thur(i)sa-* (an. *thurs*, ae. *dhurs*; vgl. an. *thora* ‚wagen‘) ‚Riese, stark‘ + germ. *-*môda-* ‚Sinn, Mut‘ (vgl. Nr. 13, 20). Vgl. für das bis zum 8. Jh. nahezu ausschließlich ostgerm. Erstelement: *Thoris-môdus*, wisigotischer König 451-453; *Thoris-muth*, a. 533 unter den Vorfahren Kg. Theoderichs genannt;⁸⁴ *Thuri-múth*, a. 544 Leibwächter Belisars; *Thuresmuda*, Gattin des Protheus, † 634 Mogadouro (PG); *Thoris-arius*, römischer *dux*,⁸⁵ fällt a. 471 im Kampf gegen den wisigot. König Euricus (466-484); *Thoris-mund*, got. Vorzeitkönig aus dem Geschlecht der Amaler.

Lit.: SCHÖNFELD 1911, 236–240; DICULESCU 1922, 145; SCHMIDT 1941, 539; SEVIN 1955, 97, 156, 160f.; KAUFMANN 1968, 360f.; LAN I, 697–699, 704f., 707; PLRE III, 1346; KAMPERS 1979, Nr. 604; NEUMANN ET AL. 1998, 136; OREL 2003, 429f.; HAUBRICHS 2009b, 94f.

34) *Turi-sindus*, Kg. der Gepiden a. 548/49–552/67, Vater des *Turis-modus*, Nr. 33 (... *Turismodus*, *Turisindi filius* ...;⁸⁶ ... *ad Turisendum* ... *regem Gepidorum*,⁸⁷ ... *Turisindus rex Gepidorum*,⁸⁸ *Thori-sín* (gr.), a. 548 Kg. der Gepiden – mit Assimilation von [nd]⁸⁹ < **Thuris-swintha-* ‚der

⁷⁸ *Continuatio Havniensis Prosperi*, MGH AA IX, 303.

⁷⁹ *Johannes Antiochenus*, in: FHG IV 615, 201 §5 u. 619, 211 §4.

⁸⁰ STEINACHER 2017, 105; vgl. DICULESCU 1922, 69; 109.

⁸¹ *Sidonius Appolinaris*, *Carmina* V, v. 488, MGH AA VIII, 199; vgl. DICULESCU 1922, 58.

⁸² MAENCHEN-HELFFEN 1973, 405.

⁸³ PD I, 23, ed. Waitz, MGH SS rer. Germ. in usu schol. 70.

⁸⁴ *Cassiodor*, *Variae* XI, 1, ed. MOMMSEN, MGH AA XII, 330.

⁸⁵ PLRE II, 1115.

⁸⁶ PD I, 23, ed. WAITZ, MGH SS rer. Germ. in usu schol., 70.

⁸⁷ PD I, 24, ebd. 70f., 79.

⁸⁸ PD I, 27, ebd. 79.

⁸⁹ *Prokopios*, *De bello Gothico* IV, 18, ed. VEH 1966, 850; vgl. DICULESCU 1922, 140f.; LAKATOS 1973, 45, 77f.

Riesenstarke' < germ. *thur(i)sa- ‚Riese‘ (vgl. Nr. 33) + germ. *swinthā- (got. *swinth*) ‚stark, ungestüm‘).

Lit.: SCHÖNFELD 1911, 236; DICULESCU 1922, 145f., 151; SCHMIDT 1941, 537–539; SEVIN 1955, 95f., 141, 144–149, 155–157, 159–161, 177; KAUFMANN 1968, 361; LAKATOS 1973, 45, 77f.; LAN I, 697f.; PLRE III, 1345f. NEUMANN ET AL. 1998, 136; OREL 2003, 429f.; KLUGE–SEEBOLD 2011, 353.

- 35) *Ouli-phrida, Ūli-frida* (gr., gen.), Epitaph auf Marmorstele, 6. Jh. (?) Byzanz,⁹⁰ Gemahlin des *scholarios* [kaiserlichen Leibgardisten] *Thiuda* (Nr. 24), mit griechischer Wiedergabe von initialem germ. [uui] durch <u>⁹¹ < *Wilja-frida < germ. *weljōn (got. *wilja*) ‚Wunsch, Wille, Wohlgefallen‘ + germ. *frithu- ‚Friede, Versöhnung‘ (vgl. got. *ga-frithon* ‚versöhnen‘). Ob Gepidin? Jedenfalls wie sicher ihr Gatte wahrscheinlich ostgermanisch. Zahlreiche frühe PN mit dem Erstelement *wilja- sind ostgermanisch.⁹²

Lit.: SCHNEIDER 1937, 176; FEIST 1939, 180f., 563; KAUFMANN 1968, 403f.; LAN I, 735; KALKANSAHIN 1995, 137, 140; OREL 2003, 115, 453; KLUGE–SEEBOLD 2011, 318, 988. Vgl. SCHRAMM 2013, 154, der das Zweitelement zu germ. *frid- ‚schön‘ stellt. Da ostgermanisch die sog. ‚weiblichen‘ Attribute durchweg fehlen,⁹³ wird hier der Ansatz einer movierten Form zu germ. *frithu- mask.⁹⁴ bevorzugt.

- 36) *Uni-gia* (gr., gen.), Vater des *Vr[.]enim(is)*, Epitaph, Arch. Museum Istanbul,⁹⁵ evtl. mit griechischer Wiedergabe von initialem germ. [uui] durch [u] (vgl. Nr. 35, 38) < *Wini-gias (?) < germ. *weni- (an. *vinr*, as. ahd. *wini*) ‚Freund‘ + einem nicht näher bestimmbareren Zweitelement, evtl. *-gisa- mit verstümmtem -s-. Vgl. zur Wiedergabe von germ. [uui] a. 508 den ostgot. *spatharius* namens *Uni-gis* (dat.):⁹⁶ M. Schönfeld rekonstruiert das Erstelement als *Huni-.⁹⁷ Zum Erstelement ist zu vergleichen der Name *Uni-gildus* des Vaters des Papstes Pelagius II. (a. 579–590), bei dem die Überlieferungsvarianten *Winni-gildo*, *Wini-gildo*, *Vin-gilio* (verderbt) die Deutung des Erstelements sichern.⁹⁸ Ersatzweise ist für *Uni-* auch eine Entwicklung mit rom. h-Aphaerese aus *hūni ‚Tierjunges, Welpen‘ zu erwägen.⁹⁹ Ob Gepide? Jedenfalls wahrscheinlich ostgermanisch.

Lit.: KAUFMANN 1968, 404–406; OREL 2003, 455.

- 37) *Urdi-badon* (gr., acc.), *Gepida* mask., zu den Römern geflohen (nach Menander Protector, QZ a. 582); gepidischer Befehlshaber a. 568 in Sirmium, < germ. *Uzda-badwa- ‚Speer-Kämpfer‘ < ostgerm. *uzda- ‚Spitze von Schwert oder Speer‘ + germ. *badwa- ‚Kämpfer, Kampf‘ (zur vorwiegend ostgerm. Verbreitung dieses Elements vgl. o. Nr. 3, 12). Vgl. den Spitzenahn *Ust-bora* ‚Speer(spitzen)-Träger‘ (mit ostgerm. Endung) der *genealogia* des langobardischen Königs Rothari (636–652), die nach der ostgermanischen *gens* der Haruden benannt war.¹⁰⁰

Lit.: SCHÖNFELD 1911, 247; DICULESCU 1922, 160, 215f.; SCHMIDT 1941, 542; SEVIN 1955, 97, 170, 176f.; KAUFMANN 1968, 276; BÓNA 1976, 100f.; LAN I 738; PLRE III, 1396; POHL 1988, 58; NEUMANN et. al. 1998, 137; OREL 2003, 436; KLUGE–SEEBOLD 2011, 674.

- 38) *Ustri-gotdos* (gr.), BZ a. 546/52, Sohn des Gepidenkönigs Ele-mundos (Nr. 7, † vor 552), mit griechischer Wiedergabe von germ. [uui] durch [u] (vgl. Nr. 35, 39) < ostgerm. *Wistri-

⁹⁰ IGO II Nr. 66.

⁹¹ Dazu SCHÖNFELD 1911, 245f.; LAN I, 734–737.

⁹² Dazu vgl. HAUBRICHS 2013, 486–488 Nr. 25; 2014, 21 Nr. 88, 23f. Nr. 102–106, 28 Nr. 113f.

⁹³ Vgl. HAUBRICHS 2017, 336f.

⁹⁴ Hierzu SCHRAMM 2013, 88, 146.

⁹⁵ MANGO–ŠEVČENKO 1978, 20f. no. 25.

⁹⁶ *Cassiodor, Variae* III, 43, MGH AA XII, 100. Vgl. LAN I, 737.

⁹⁷ SCHÖNFELD 1911, 246f.

⁹⁸ LAN I, 737.

⁹⁹ Vgl. KAUFMANN 1968, 207–209.

¹⁰⁰ HAUBRICHS 2005, 97f.

guta- ‚westlicher Gote‘ < germ. **westra-* ‚Westen‘ + **-guta-* ‚Gote‘ (vgl. Nr. 4). Unbegründet ablehnend zu dieser Etymologie ist Diculescu (geht von einer vereinzelt Variante *Ostrigotdos* aus)¹⁰¹. Vgl. *Ustrildis* (gen.) < **Wistri-hilda-* mask., Wisigote; *Ustrild-ina*, Wisigotin mit hybridem Suffix;¹⁰² burgundisch *Vistri-gilde* (gen.) fem., Inschrift¹⁰³ a. 486 Gleize (Gallia Lugdunensis, F, Anse nördlich Lyon); *Wistri-mundus* mit Beinamen *Tatto*, zu a. 591, Tours,¹⁰⁴ wegen germ. [e] > [i] ostgerm. Name; wisigot. *Wistre-mirus*, ca. 640 *illustrer vir*,¹⁰⁵ *Wistri-mirus*, a. 680 Verschwörer gegen den wisigotischen König Wamba.

Lit.: SCHÖNFELD 1911, 248; DICULESCU 1922, 7; SCHMIDT 1941, 539; SEVIN 1955, 96, 141, 157; POHL 1980, 272; LAN I, 739, 786; PLRE III, 1396; AMORY 1997, 190f., 431; NEUMANN ET AL. 1998, 136; CASTRITIUS 2003 (unter *Ostrogotha*); OREL 2003, 147, 459; HAUBRICHS 2017, 337.

- 39) *Uélas*, var. *Uilas* (gr., nom.), Anführer einer Gepidenschar und nach Prokop Gepide von Geburt, Doryphor (Leibwächter) und a. 540/41 (aus Rache) Mörder des ostgotischen Heerführers Hildibad¹⁰⁶ < ostgerm. **Wil(j)a* (mit rom. Senkung von [i] > [e]) zu germ. **weljôn* ‚Wunsch, Wille‘ (vgl. Nr. 35). M. Schönfeld interpretiert *Velas* als Entsprechung zu westgerm. *Wealo*, *Wialo*,¹⁰⁷ dieses „Kosename zu ags. *Wéland*, ahd. *Wielant*, doch deutet die Variante *Uilas* eher auf ostgerm. **wilja-*. Vgl. *Ulian* (gr., acc.) < **Wilja*, vornehmer Gote, Geisel bei Belisar a. 535/40 (PLRE III, 1389); *Oilan* (gr., acc.) < **Wilja*, Leibwächter des Belisar; *Vviliae* (gen.), a. 507/11 Empfänger eines Briefes Theoderichs des Großen; *Vviliae* (gen.), *vir illustris* und *comes patrimonii* im ostgotischen Reich ca. 523–527.

Lit.: SCHÖNFELD 1911, 265; DICULESCU 1922, 119; SCHMIDT 1941, 534; LAKATOS 1973, 76f.; LAN I, 734, 770, 778; AMORY 1997, 190f., 433.

ZUR STRUKTUR DES GERMANISCHEN NAMENSYSTEMS

Der sprach- und kulturgeschichtlichen Auswertung der Namen müssen einige Bemerkungen zur Struktur des germanischen Namensystems vorangestellt werden:

Das germanische Namensystem¹⁰⁸ besteht aus drei Hauptgruppen:

- 1) Kurznamen (monothematische Namen): Sie bestehen aus einem Wort-Stamm (Thema) und einem ableitenden Suffix, werden deshalb auch oft einstämmige Personennamen genannt, z.B.
 - Nr. 39 *Uélas*, *Uilas* < ostgerm. **Wilja-* zu germ. **weljôn* ‚Wunsch, Wille‘ (got. *wilja*)
 - Nr. 28 *Trapst-ila* < **Thrafst-ila* zu got. *thrafstjan* ‚trösten, ermahnen‘ mit dem ostgermanischen Suffix *-ila*.

Das Suffix *-ila* ist in unserem Bestand das verbreitetste: Es kommt neunmal vor; daneben erscheint nur noch mit Nr. 10 *Fast-ida* das auch im Ethnonym der Gepiden aufscheinende Suffix *-ida*.

- 2) Beinamen, die zumeist ebenfalls nur aus einem Stamm bzw. aus einem Appellativ (Wort der Gemeinsprache) bestehen, z.B. der Name *Wamba* ‚Bauch‘ eines wisigotischen Königs oder der Name *Kniwa* ‚Knie‘ eines gotischen Führers des dritten Jahrhunderts. In unserem Bestand gehört dazu nur

¹⁰¹ DICULESCU 1922, 7.

¹⁰² KAMPERS 1979, Nr. 615; LAN II 9.

¹⁰³ IGO I Nr. 88.

¹⁰⁴ *Gregor, Historiarum libri decem* X, 29, ed. KRUSCH-LEVISON, MGH SS rer. Mer. I, 1, 524.

¹⁰⁵ KAMPERS 1979, Nr. 58.

¹⁰⁶ *Prokopios, De bello Gothico* III, 1, 43, ed. VEH 1966, 448.

¹⁰⁷ SCHÖNFELD 1911, 260.

¹⁰⁸ Vgl. WOOLF 1939; SONDEREGGER 1997; WILSON 1998, 65–85; HAUBRICHS 2017, 297–306.

- Nr. 9 *Estotzas* < ostgerm. **Stotja* 'der Stößer'.
- 3) Vollnamen (bithematische Namen): Sie sind aus zwei Stämmen (oder Lexemen) bzw. Namelementen zusammengesetzt und gleichen so den bis heute in den germanischen Sprachen, im Schwedischen, Niederländischen, Deutschen oder Englischen bedeutsam und sprachprägend wirksamen Komposita (Zusammensetzungen) oder Compounds. Sie werden deshalb auch oft zweistämmige oder zweigliedrige Namen genannt, z.B.
 - Nr. 3 *As-bados* < ostgerm. **Ansu-badwa-* < germ. **ansu-* 'Gott, heros' + germ. **badwa-* 'Kämpfer'
 - Nr. 15 *Coni-mundus*, *Cunie-mundus* < germ. **Kunja-munda-* < germ. **kunja-* (got. *kuni-*) 'Sippe, Geschlecht' + germ. **munda-* 'Schützer'.

AUSWERTUNG

Die bithematischen Namen sind im Katalog-Bestand in der Mehrheit: es sind 23 Exemplare (59 %) gegenüber 16 monothematischen Namen (41 %).

Frauenamen gibt es im Bestand nur Nr. 4, 6, 22, 35, also vier (10 %), bezeichnenderweise zwei aus gepidischen Königsfamilien und zwei aus dem Bereich der Epitaphien, die oft Frauen- und Männernamen nebeneinander enthalten. Die geringe Anzahl weiblicher Personennamen entspringt der Natur der frühmittelalterlichen Quellen und ist durchaus typisch auch für andere ,gentes'.

Die Semantik der Namen ist wie bei allen germanischen ,gentes' von Ethos, Mentalität und Praxis einer Kriegergesellschaft bestimmt.¹⁰⁹ Semantisch lassen sich die Namen ungefähr fünf Feldern zuordnen (wobei es zweifellos Übergänge und Verbindungen zwischen diesen Begriffsfeldern gibt):

Zum semantischen Feld von Ethnos und Genealogie gehören Nr. 1 **An-ila* ,kleiner Ahne', Nr. 24 *Thiuda* ,der zum Volk Gehörige', Nr. 4 (langobardisiert) *Austri-gusa* fem. ,Glanz- oder Ost-Gotin' und Nr. 38 *Ustri-gotdos* < ostgerm. **Wistri-guta-* ,westlicher Gote'.

Dem Begriffsfeld der Herrschaft lassen sich neun Namen zuordnen: Nr. 2 *Arda-ricus* < ostgerm. **Arda-rîka-* ,Herrscher der Erde'; Nr. 16 *Lauda-ricus* < ostgerm. **Laud#a-rîka-* ,großer Herrscher'; Nr. 26-27 *Trasa-ricus* < germ. **Thrasa-rîka-* ,Streit-Herrscher'; dann, den Aspekt der *protectio* ausspielend: Nr. 7 *Ele-mundos* < ostgerm. **Wilja-munda-* (?) ,Wunsch-Schützer' (dem Sinne nach *protector* mit *fortuna*); Nr. 15 *Cunie-mundus* < germ. **Kunja-munda-* ,Schützer der Sippe'; Nr. 22 *Rose-munda* < ostgerm. **Rauza-munda* ,Schutz des biegsamen Rohrs' (wahrscheinlich steht das Erstelement semantisch unter dem Einfluss des lat. Lehnworts *rosa* ,Rose'); Nr. 25 *Theudi-mundos* < germ. **Theuda-munda-* ,Herrscher des Volkes'; schließlich Nr. 18 *Múndos* ,Schützer' (mit einer hunnischen Konnotation).

Im semantischen Feld von Kampf, Krieg und Frieden ist die zweitgrößte Gruppe (10) von Namen anzusiedeln: Nr. 3 *As-bados* < ostgerm. **Ansu-badwa-* ,göttlicher, heroischer Kämpfer'; Nr. 12 *Fridi-badus* < germ. **Frithu-badwa-* ,Friedenskämpfer'; Nr. 37 *Usdi-bados* < ostgerm. **Uzda-badwa-* ,Speer-Kämpfer'; Nr. 19 *Oma-harus* < germ. **Auna-harja* ,heilvoller (Heer)Krieger' (?); Nr. 36 *Uni-gias* < germ. **Wini-gis-* 'freundlicher Pfeil' (hier die auch sonst in germ. Personennamen aufscheinende Identifizierung des Kriegers mit seiner Waffe bezeugend); Nr. 11 *Phile-ga[n]gos* < germ. **Fili-ganga-* ,starker (Kriegs)Gänger'; Nr. 14 *Gunde-rith* < germ. **Gunthi-raeda-* ,Kampf-Ratgeber'; ferner mit dem Akzent auf dem Aspekt der *pacificatio* Nr. 35 *Oúli-phrida* ,dem Wunsche nach Friedensstifterin'. Beinamenartig, aber doch wohl auch mit aggressivem Sinn ausgestattet wirkt Nr. 23 *Tand-ila* < ostgerm. **Tanth-ila* ,Zahn'; einen echten kriegerischen Beinamen repräsentiert Nr. 9 *Estotzas* < ostgerm. **Stotja-* ,der Stößer'.

Das Wortfeld des Ruhms ist – anders als in westgermanischen Kontexten – nur schwach ausgeprägt. Nur Nr. 5 *Bert-ila* < germ. **Berht-ila* ,der Berühmte, Glänzende, illustris' gehört hierher.

¹⁰⁹ Vgl. HAUBRICHS 2009, 196–199.

Dagegen bietet das semantische Feld der qualitativen Charakterisierungen im Sinne von Mut, Stärke, Trost die meisten (11) Exemplare mit Nr. 33 *Turis-modus* < germ. **Thurisa-môda-* ‚der den Sinn eines Riesen hat‘; Nr. 20 *Rausi-módos* < ostgerm. **Rauza-môda-* ‚der den Sinn eines (biegsamen) Rohrstabs hat‘; Nr. 34 *Turi(s)-sindus* < germ. **Thurisa-swintha-* ‚der die Stärke eines Riesen hat‘. Dazu kommen mehrere Kurznamen: Nr. 21 *Rept-ila* zu germ. **rêft-* ‚Balken, Stamm‘; Nr. 10 *Fast-ida* ‚der Feste, Starke‘; Nr. 28-31 der gepidische Lieblingsname **Thrafst-ila* ‚Trost, Tröster‘; Nr. 32 *Tuld-ila* < ostgerm. **Thuld-ila* ‚der Dulder‘; Nr. 29 **Wilja-* ‚der Willige‘.

Dass die identifikatorische, kriegerische Bedeutung der germanischen Personennamen auch den Zeitgenossen des 5./6. Jahrhunderts auffiel, dafür steht eine Notiz aus dem ‚Opus imperfectum in Matthaeum‘,¹¹⁰ einem von einem hochgebildeten arianischen Verfasser in den lateinischen Donauprovinzen geschriebenen Kommentar zum Matthaeus-Evangelium. Die erste Homilie des Werkes befasst sich nahezu ausschließlich mit der vom Evangelisten einleitend gegebenen Genealogie Jesu. Der Autor ist geradezu besessen von den hebräischen Namen der Vorfäter des Erlösers, unter denen, wie er ausdrücklich feststellt, viele Könige waren. Er gibt die Bedeutung, oft auch mehrere Bedeutungen dieser Namen an, die für ihn stets ein *veriloquium* (eine Prophezeiung) enthalten, und entwickelt daraus moralische und spirituell-heilsgeschichtliche Exegesen. Kein Name ist für ihn schon auf der literalen Ebene zufällig; anlässlich des Salomon-Sohnes Roboam (Rehabeam) schreibt er: *Aestimo quod pater quidem eius, sicut omnium regum patres, ex bono proposito ei nomen imposuit* („Ich glaube, dass sein Vater, wie die Väter aller Könige, ihm seinen Namen mit guten Intentionen gab“). Gerade für die Elite wird aber eine doppelte Bedeutsamkeit unterstellt. Es heißt im Anschluss: *Dei autem providentia, sicut et omnium regum nomina, secundum actus eorum proprio dispensavit nomine, sive in bono, sive in malo* („Die Vorsehung Gottes aber gestaltete auch hier den Namen, wie sie die Namen aller Könige nach ihren Taten vergab, sei es im guten, sei es im schlechten Sinne“). In den Namen wirke – so der Kommentar – der Wille und der Wunsch der Väter, aber auch die Providenz Gottes.

Bei Amos, dem Sohn des Manasse, heißt es: *qui interpretatur fortitudo* („der ‚Stärke‘ bedeutet“). Der Autor hält dafür, dass Amos den Namen von seinem Vater wegen des Wunsches nach körperlicher Stärke des Sohnes erhielt: *vocaverit eum fortitudinem [...] causa audaciae corporalis* („er nannte ihn ‚Stärke‘ [...] wegen seiner [erwünschten] physischen Disposition zur Kühnheit“). Und dann folgt eine Notiz über die Namengebung der ‚barbarischen‘ (sicherlich germanischen) Völker: *Sicut solent et barbarae gentes nomina filiis imponere ad devastationem respicientia bestiarum ferarum, vel rapacium volucrum, gloriosum putantes filios tales habere, ad bellum idoneos, et insanientes in sanguinem* („So haben auch die ‚barbarischen‘ Völker den Brauch, ihren Söhnen auf Verwüstung gerichtete Namen zu verleihen, Namen etwa von wilden Tieren oder Raubvögeln, indem sie es für rühmlich halten, so geartete Söhne zu haben, die für den Krieg geeignet und wie toll in ihrer Blutgier sind“).

Sehr deutlich wird in diesem gut informierten Kommentar, dass den germanischen Namen Bedeutung, in diesem Fall explizit kriegerische, aggressive Bedeutung zuzuschreiben ist, dass sie wie selbstverständlich als bedeutungstragend angesehen werden und dass sich in ihnen Wünsche der Eltern ausdrückten. Das gilt auch zu einem beachtlichen Teil für die Namen des Katalogbestandes, auch wenn festzuhalten ist, dass gerade die theriophoren, d.h. die ‚Tiernamen‘, die bei anderen ‚gentes‘ (mit den Lexemen von Wolf, Eber, Bär, Adler und Rabe) so reichlich vorkommen, nicht vertreten sind. Auch die Namen, die Waffenbezeichnungen (wie Schwert, Sachs, Axt, Speer, Pfeil, Brünne, Helm) enthalten und die Identifizierung des Kriegers mit seiner Waffe signalisieren sollen, erscheinen nur mit einem einzigen, dazu noch unsicheren Exemplar (Nr. 36). Auch der ‚Ruhm‘ des Kriegers wird nur schwach angesprochen. Die semantischen Schwerpunkte der Namen im Umkreis der Gepiden liegen auf den Feldern des Ethnos, der Sippe, der Herrschaft, der Kriegspraxis und der mentalen Stärke des Kämpfers.

¹¹⁰ MPG 56, 626f. vgl. HAUBRICHS 2017b, 244f.

Auf der pragmatischen Ebene ist die Verwandtschaft dieser Personennamen mit den Namen besonders ostgermanischer ‚gentes‘ zu bemerken, daneben aber auch hunnische Bezüge (Nr. 13 *Giesmos*, Nr. 18 *Mundos*). Vielleicht ist die auffällige Bedeutung des Elements **munda-* ‚protector‘ (5 Fälle) darauf zurückzuführen, dass gerade dieses Element sowohl im hunnischen als auch im germanischen Namenschatz eine Rolle spielt und deshalb doppelt semantisiert war.

Ein Fazit der Untersuchungen ist es, dass sowohl der Gesamtbestand der sicher germanischen Personennamen im Katalog als auch insbesondere die gesichert gepidischen Namen sprachlich einen ostgermanischen Charakter tragen. Auf morphologischer Ebene sind es vor allem die maskulinen Kurznamen (der konsonantischen Deklination) mit der Endung auf -a wie *Fast-ida* (Nr. 1, 5, 9, 10, 21, 23, 24, 28-31, 32, 39) und eines femininen Kurznamens auf -o (Nr. 6), die typisch ostgermanisch sind.¹¹¹ In zwei Fällen – bei Nr. 18 *Múndos*, -us und (nach dem Vorbild des Vaters Nr. 7 *Ele-mundus*) Nr. 38 *Ustri-gotdos* < **Wistri-guta* – wurde der ostgermanische Name in den Endungen latinisiert bzw. graezisiert.

Auf phonologischer Ebene wird der ostgermanische Charakter der Namen durch das Auftreten spezifisch ostgermanischer Lauterscheinungen erwiesen:

- Erhaltung von stimmhaftem germ. [z] – geschrieben <s> – in Nr. 22 *Rausi-módos*, Nr. 22 *Rose-munda*, Nr. 37 *Usdi-bados* anstatt westgerm. Wandel von [z] > [r];¹¹²
- Ostgermanische Monophthongierung von germ. [au] zu [ô] in Nr. 22 *Rose-munda* und vermutlich in *Oma-harus* < **Auna-harja-*.¹¹³
- Spätostgermanischer Wandel von germ. [ae] > [ê] > [î] in Nr. 14 *Gunde-rith* < **Gundi-raed#a-*.¹¹⁴
- Fehlen der westgerm. Konsonantengemination vor [-j] in Nr. 15 *Cunie-mundus* < germ. **Kunja-munda-*; Nr. 35 *Ouli-phrida* < ostgerm. **Wilja-frida* fem.; Nr. 39 *Uélas*, *Uilas* < ostgerm. **Wilja-*.¹¹⁵

Auf lexikalischer Ebene lassen sich viele überwiegend bzw. ausschließlich ostgermanisch auftretende Elemente festmachen:¹¹⁶ **badwô*, **badwa-* ‚Kampf, Kämpfer‘ Nr. 3, 12, 37; **fasta-* ‚stark, fest‘ Nr. 10; **filu-* ‚viel, sehr‘ Nr. 11; **lauda-* ‚groß‘ Nr. 16; **thrasô* ‚Streit‘ Nr. 26, 27; **thurisa-* ‚Riese‘ Nr. 33, 34; **thrafst-* ‚Trost‘ Nr. 28-31; **wilja-* ‚Wunsch, Wille‘ Nr. 7, 35, 39; **rauza-* ‚Rohr‘ Nr. 20, 22; schließlich das Ethnonym **Guta-* ‚Gote‘ (Nr. 4, 38).

Der Gesamtbefund macht es sicher, dass die Sprache der Gepiden zur ostgermanisch-gotischen Sprachengruppe gehörte. Und genau dies sagte schon der gut informierte Zeitgenosse und Geschichtsschreiber Prokopios (Bella Vand. I, 2), nämlich, dass die „gotischen Völker“, insbesondere die Goten, Wandalen, Wisigoten und Gepiden, eine gemeinsame Sprache, „die gotische“ hatten.

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¹¹¹ Vgl. HAUBRICHS 2014, 7–14.

¹¹² BRAUNE–HEIDERMANNS 2004, § 77; HAUBRICHS 2014, 21–23.

¹¹³ BRAUNE–HEIDERMANNS 2004, § 25.

¹¹⁴ BRAUNE–HEIDERMANNS 2004, § 7; HAUBRICHS 2014, 18–20.

¹¹⁵ HAUBRICHS 2014, 23f.

¹¹⁶ Vgl. HAUBRICHS 2014, 25–30.

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VOM RÖMISCHEN DAKIEN ZUM GEPIDISCHEN KÖNIGREICH /
FROM ROMAN DACIA TO THE GEPIDIC KINGDOM

DEBATING THE EARLY PHASE OF THE MIGRATION PERIOD NECROPOLIS AT FLOREȘTI-POLUS CENTER, CLUJ COUNTY, ROMANIA

Vlad-Andrei Lăzărescu

The site at Florești-Polus Center even though still unpublished is by now well-known, being at the moment one of the most representative Migration Period sites from Transylvania. The tomb presented with this occasion was discovered during the rescue excavations performed by the team of the Institute of Archaeology and History of Art Cluj-Napoca of the Romanian Academy (IAIA) back in 2006 and can be dated during late 5th century AD and the beginning of the 6th century AD based on a pair of Vyškov type brooches. Cx 103 represents a quite early tomb as compared to the rest of the already published graves from this necropolis and along with other published artefacts might be used to shape an early phase of the necropolis starting with the second half of the 5th century AD.

Keywords: Florești-Polus Center; Transylvania; Migration Period; necropolis; chronology

SHORT DESCRIPTION OF THE SITE

The tomb presented with this occasion was discovered during the rescue excavations performed by the team of the Institute of Archaeology and History of Art Cluj-Napoca of the Romanian Academy (IAIA) back in 2006 while being part of the bigger private investment project of building the commercial complex Florești-Polus Center.¹ The site at Florești-Polus Center is by now well-known, being at the moment one of the most representative Migration Period sites from the Someșul Mic Valley even though unfortunately, a thorough and monographic analysis of the features discovered here still awaits for its publication. However, due to several partial publications,² the entire complexity and importance of the site for the Migration Period in Transylvania can be highlighted especially since we are dealing with one of the biggest 6th century AD sites in this region and one of the few comprising both the settlement and the adjacent necropolis.³

From a topographic point of view, the site is located in Florești village, right near the national road connecting Oradea with Cluj-Napoca, in the spot known as „Șapca Verde”, an area bordered to the West by the Gârboului Valley, towards the south by the Răzoare hill while on the north side it was margined by the Someșul Mic River.⁴ Due to the fact that the surface affected by the construction of the commercial mall was very big (approx. 34 ha), several sectors were divided between the different research institutions involved in the rescue excavations. Therefore, the Institute of Archaeology and History of Art Cluj-Napoca was involved in the excavations performed in two sectors, the B Sector and the APC Sector, while the rest of the researched area was conducted by

¹ The archaeological excavation was carried out between October-December 2006, the research team led by Dr. Sorin Cociș being composed of Dr. Adrian Ursuțiu, Dr. Florin Gogâltan, Dr. Cristian Găzdac, Dr. Zsolt Molnár Kovács, Dr. Aurel Rustoiu, Silvia Mustață, Vlad-Andrei Lăzărescu, Szabolcs Ferencz, Tibor Daróczi, Dana Budihală, Victor Sava, Marius Ardeleanu and Balázs Gergely. We would also like to thank Dr. Sorin Cociș for giving us access to all the documentation of the Grave Cx 103.

² Polus2008;COCIȘETAL.2008;ROTEAETAL.2008;MUSTAȚĂETAL.2009;OPREANU–VOIȘIAN–BOTA2007;IONESCUET AL. 2010; OPREANU–VOIȘIAN–BOTA 2010; OPREANU 2012.

³ Polus 2008, 11–13; 38–49; ROTEA ET AL. 2008, 59–64; LĂZĂRESCU 2009; FERENCZ–NAGY–LĂZĂRESCU 2009.

⁴ Other two settlements located based on previous field-walks upstream were also mentioned in the archaeological literature, see *RepArh Cluj*, 204, nr. 12 for the point Florești-„La Cazarmă” and *RepArh Cluj*, 201-203, nr. 3; PROTASE 2000, 144, nr. 101 for the point Florești-„Labu”.



Fig. 1. Location of the site at Florești-Polus Center on the Second Military Survey of the Habsburg Empire (1806–1869), original base map data retrieved from www.mapire.eu (upper part) and the position as part of the nowadays city (lower part)

the National Museum of Transylvania History Cluj-Napoca.⁵ As a consequence, a comprehensive assessment of all the Migration Period discoveries at Florești-Polus Center cannot be performed at the moment, due primarily to the lack of published information.

This confusing situation can also be observed when it comes to the estimation of the exact number of identified and excavated graves which is supposed to be around 170⁶. Regardless of the

⁵ ROTEA ET AL. 2008, 47–48, 66, Pl. II; MUSTAȚĂ ET AL. 2009, 9–12, 13, Pl. I as well as the Annexes 1–3.

⁶ ROTEA ET AL. 2008, 62 points us to a number of 99 graves discovered in the Sectors C and K; Polus 2008, 11 gives an approximated total number of 117 graves; FERENCZ–NAGY–LĂZĂRESCU 2009, 440 estimates a total number of graves to be around 170 while the latest publication mentioning the total number of graves found at Florești-Polus Center, see *Aurul și Argintul* 2014, 629 gives us a number of 121 graves; the same number of graves is given also in *Ori Antichi* 2010, 230. We can mention as a certainty the exact number of graves discovered in the sectors in which the Institute of Archaeology and History of Art Cluj-Napoca was involved, namely a total of 18 tombs: 15 graves in Sector B and 3 graves in Sector APC.



Fig. 2. Topographic map of the 6th century AD site at Florești-Polus Center excavated by the Institute of Archaeology and History of Art Cluj-Napoca

total number of graves identified at Florești-Polus Center, we can count a number of 19 graves fully published so far, as follows:

No. of graves	Description
1 grave	Sector X (M2 – F2, C58, Sector X) ⁷
15 graves	Sectors A and B (M1, M2, M3, M6, M156, M12A, M27B, M28B, M29B, M36B, M37B, M38B, M39B, M40B and M41B, Sector A-B) ⁸
2 graves	near the Roman road (M1 and M2) ⁹
1 grave	princely grave ¹⁰

ARCHAEOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION OF GRAVE CX 103

To these 19 graves we must add Cx 103, presented with this occasion, a female grave found in Sector APC, C24 (Figs 3–4). **Description:** a) Identification depth: ▼366.400 m; b) The grave is the most eastern funerary complex found, being identified while excavating Cx 4, a Roman period feature, with which Cx 103 was in a stratigraphic relationship of superposition. The filling of the grave contained also fragments of burnt clay and potsherds associated with the Roman

⁷ OPREANU–VOIȘIAN–BOTA 2007.

⁸ Ferencz–NAGY–LĂZĂRESCU 2009.

⁹ OPREANU–VOIȘIAN–BOTA 2010; OPREANU 2012.

¹⁰ Ori Antichi 2010, 230; Aurul și Argintul 2014, 629–632; IONESCU ET AL. 2010.



Fig. 3. Location of Cx 103 as part of the 6th century AD site at Florești-Polus Center

settlement through which the grave has cut. **Orientation:** WSW-ENE. The ground plan shape of the tomb was slightly prolonged, oval in shape, while the section shape of the tomb was concave. **Dimensions:** 1.89 × 0.57 × 0.35 m. **Position of the skeleton:** dorsal decubitus. The skeleton is intact and in its initial anatomical position having the right arm positioned over the pelvis and the left hand flexed and positioned over the thorax. The head is slightly reverted towards the south. **State of preservation of the skeleton:** the skeleton was well preserved due to the local geological conditions, not suffering from post-depositional disturbances. **Disturbances:** no post-depositional disturbances were identified. **Observations:** no traces of a wooden coffin have been noted. **Funerary inventory:** the funerary inventory that Cx 103 contained is rather scarce being formed by only few items as follows: 1) Bronze cast brooch (Fig. 6.2) situated on the right shoulder. The brooch was broken in antiquity showing also signs of repair to the spring, which seems to have been now made of iron. The exterior part of the headplate as well as the preserved part of the foot is decorated with fine incisions (*Tremolierstichdekor*) while the protrusions forming the base of the triangular headplate present a small circular incision. The bow of the item is triangular in section. Dimensions: L.: 59.48 mm, W.hp.: 32.81 mm, W.f.: 15.87 mm, T.: 1.42 mm. Relatively good state of preservation. 2) Bronze cast brooch (Fig. 6.3) situated on the left clavicle. The brooch was broken in antiquity. The middle part of the headplate as well as the outer part of the preserved foot is decorated with fine incisions (*Tremolierstichdekor*). The bow of the item is triangular in section. Dimensions: L.: 57.97 mm, W.hp.: 25.75 mm, W.f.: 11.64 mm, T.: 1.10 mm. Relatively good state of preservation. 3) Necklace of beads made of opaque glass paste (Fig. 5.2). The necklace is composed of small black, grey and yellow beads; one of the beads is bigger than the others and is made out of green translucent glass. Dimensions: D.max.: 7.10 mm, D.min.: 3.15 mm. Good state of preservation.

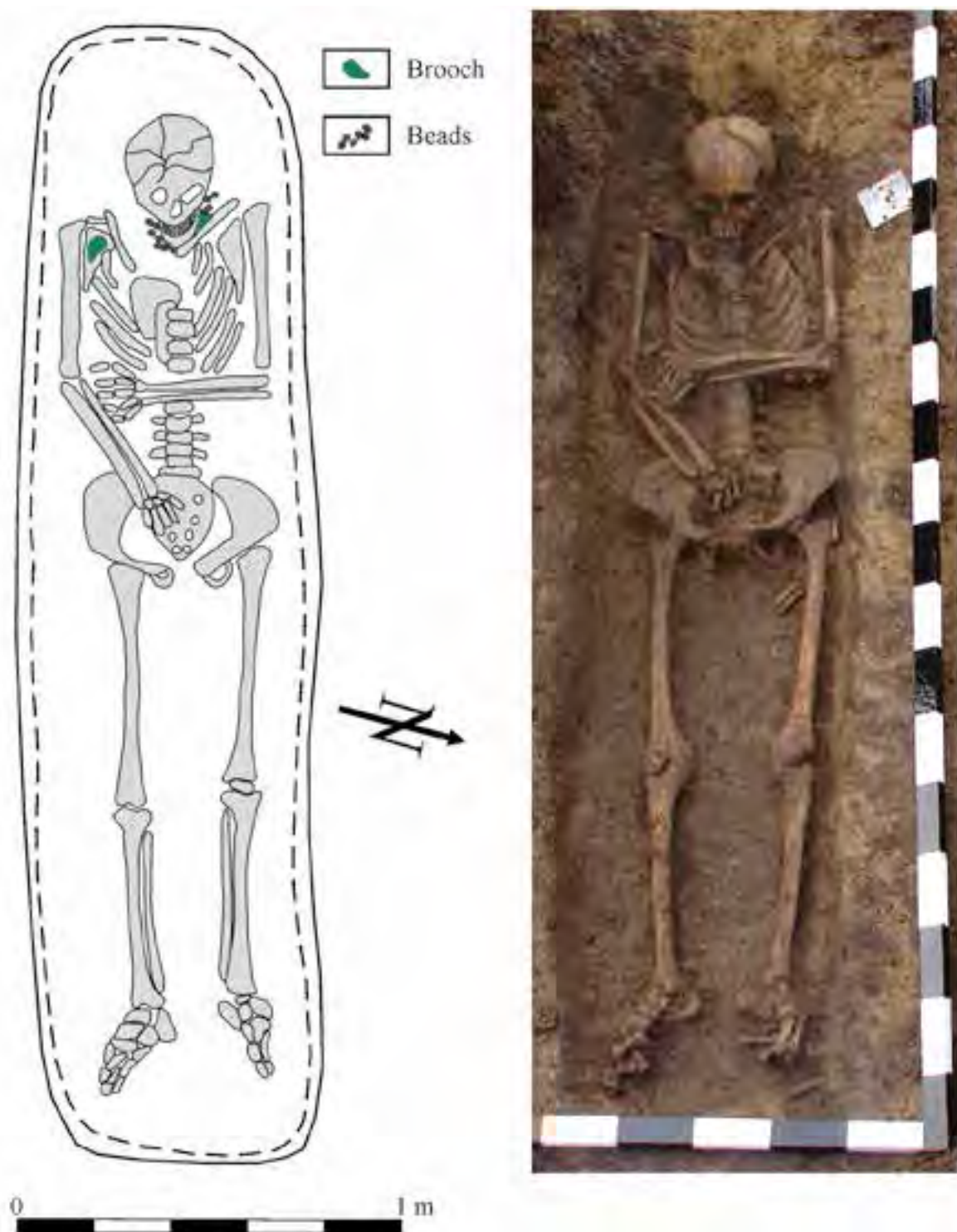


Fig. 4. Ground plan of Grave Cx 103

4) Double-sided comb (Fig. 7.1) composed of three antler plates fixed together with three bronze rivets. The comb is undecorated and was found accidentally in the filling of Cx 4. Dimensions: L.: 88.63 mm, W.: 48.94 mm, T.: 9.26 mm. Good state of preservation.



Fig. 5. Funerary inventory of Grave Cx 103

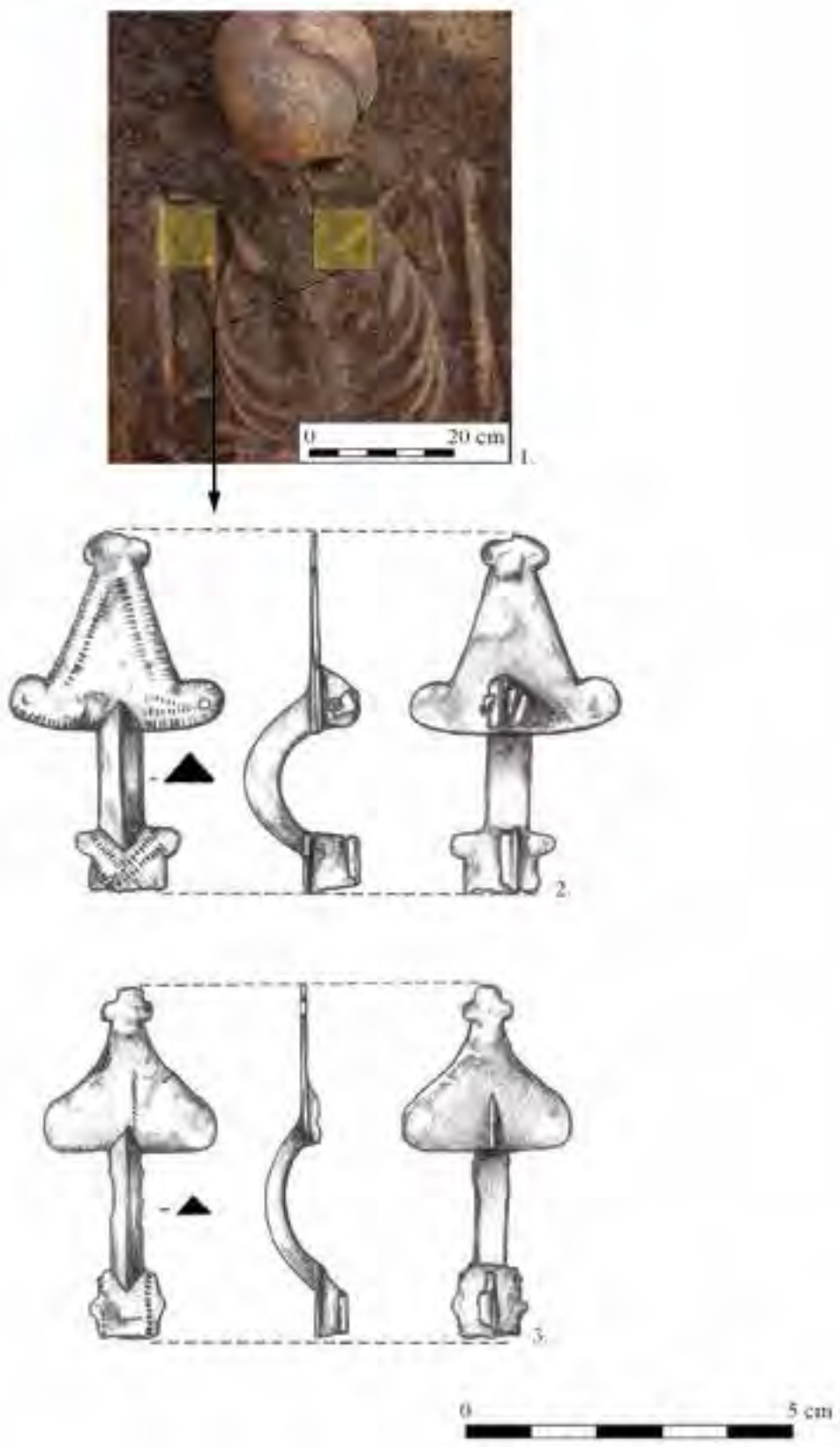


Fig. 6. Funerary inventory of Grave Cx 103

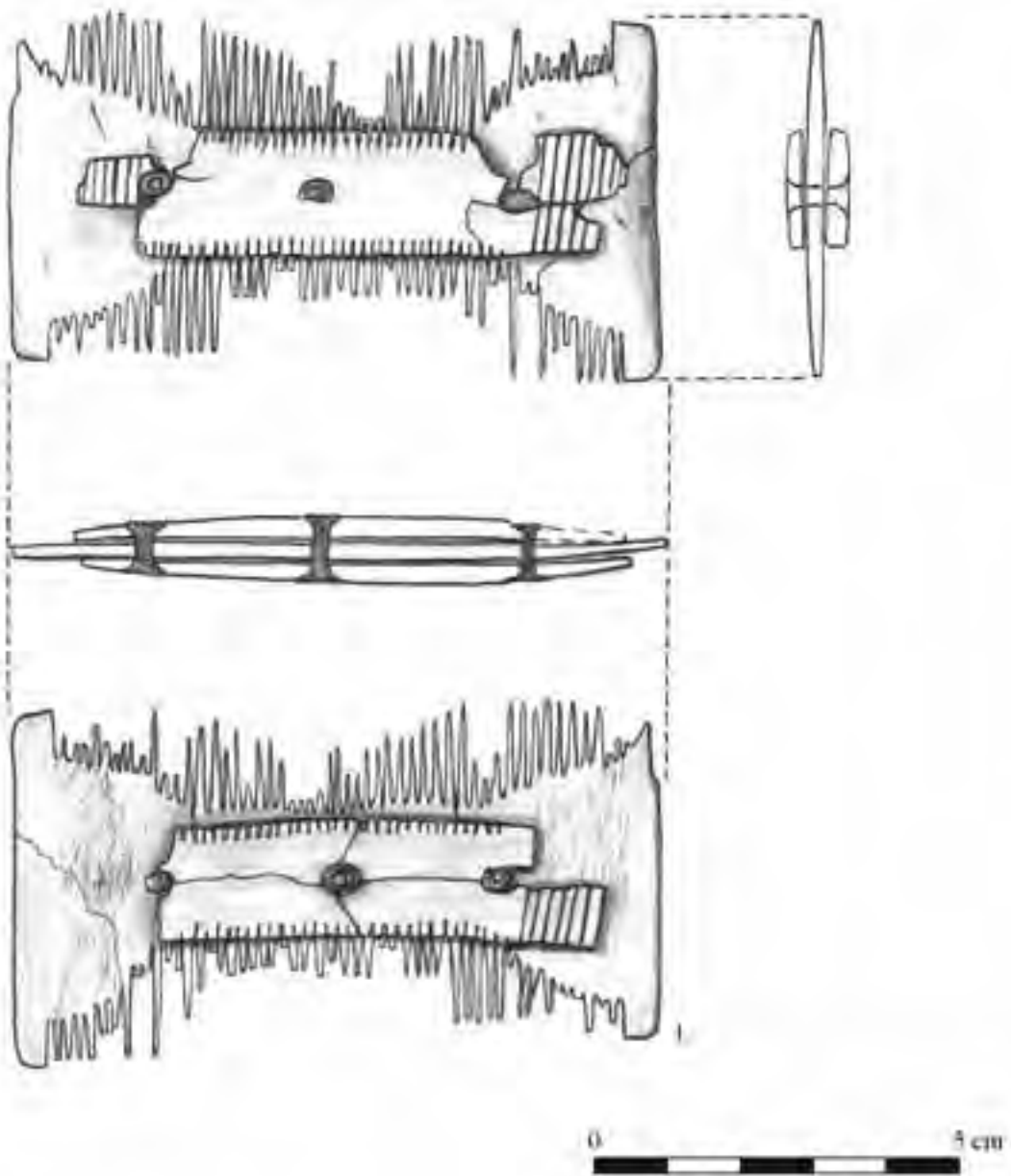


Fig. 7. Funerary inventory of Grave Cx 103

ARCHAEOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF GRAVE CX 103

Even though the funerary inventory of the grave is scarce, its typological analysis allows us to hypothesise upon the chronology of the entire context. From a functional point of view, we must stress the fact that the identified objects tend to form a rather typical set of a female funerary inventory related to the category of personal use objects (adornments and dress accessories).

The presence of the antler comb is quite frequent in the cemeteries of the Gepidic milieu being found both in male and female graves.¹¹ The identified antler comb is very similar both in terms of size and manufacturing technique with the item found in tomb Cx 37B-1,¹² a detail that could point

¹¹ BÍRÓ 2002, 59–60.

¹² FERENCZ-NAGY-LĂZĂRESCU 2009, 450–451, 468, Pl. XII/2.

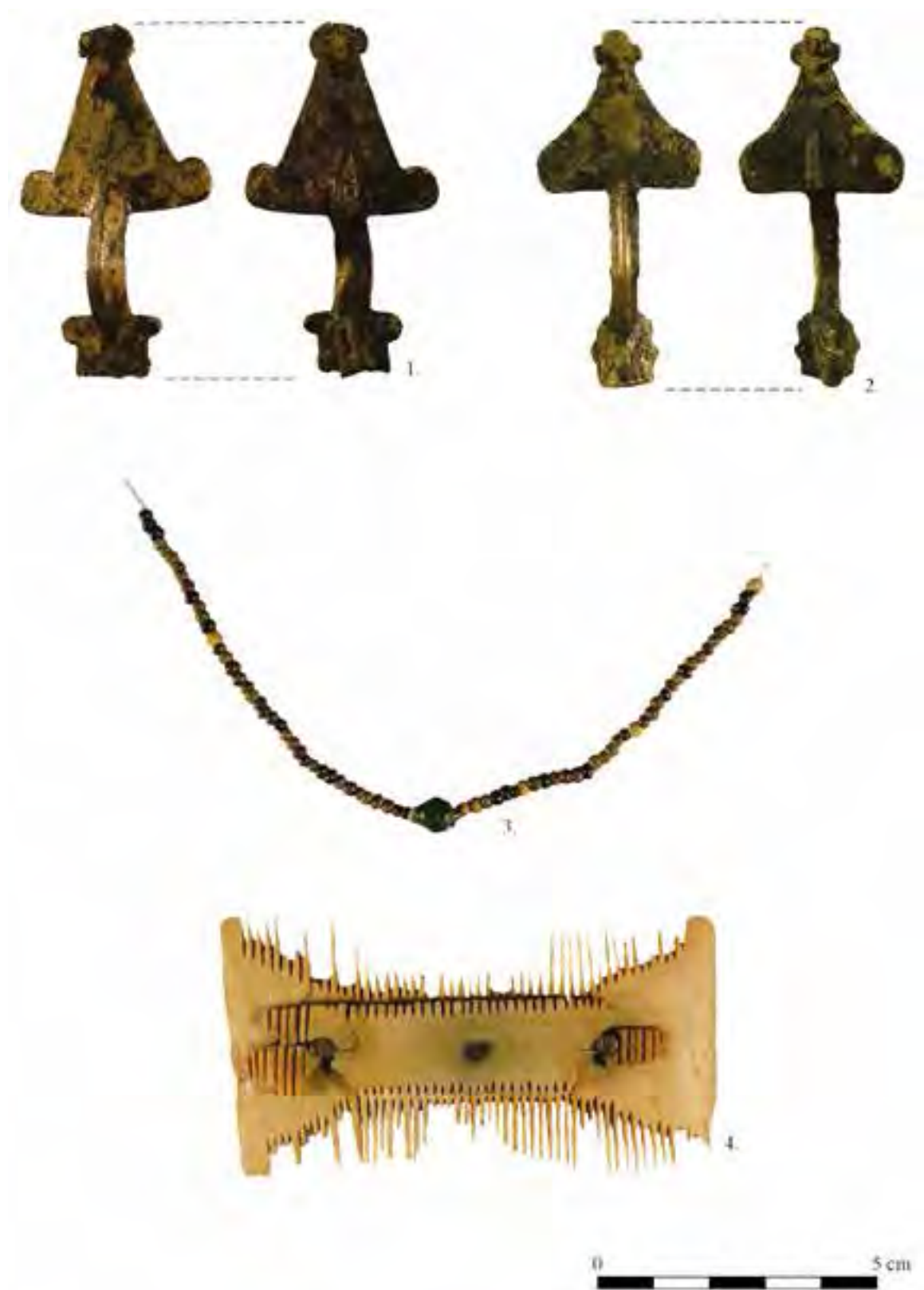


Fig. 8. Funerary inventory of Grave Cx 103

towards the fact that they both came from the same workshop. Such double-sided combs represent typical funerary inventory all across the Merovingian world in general, starting to appear in funerary contexts during the 5th–7th centuries AD while being representative of the local fashion.¹³ Due to their long period of use such combs can be regarded as good indicators for this period in general and of limited or no use for a more exact chronology of certain contexts.

Another typical artefact for female graves refers to the necklaces composed of different types of beads. The small beads, the so-called „millet type” beads, represent the most common beads for the 5th–6th century AD cemeteries in Transylvania, similar necklaces being found at Fântânele,¹⁴ Bratei 3,¹⁵ Slimnic,¹⁶ Cluj-Napoca-„Cordoş”,¹⁷ Moreşti¹⁸ or Vlaha,¹⁹ to give only some examples. Despite all the advances made in this field of study across Europe,²⁰ a holistic typological approach for the 6th century AD necropolises in Transylvania is still lacking.²¹ Very close analogies come from graves M3²² and Cx 41B²³ at Floreşti-Polus Center as well as from M4 at Fântânele,²⁴ the necklace in grave Cx 41B being almost identical with the one in Grave Cx 103.

The most interesting artefacts found in Grave Cx 103 are the two Vyškov type brooches. Even though the two items are not identical, both of them can be included in the 1st variant of the bronze Vyškov type brooches (decorated with fine incisions – *Tremolierstichdekor*),²⁵ their origin being placed by most of the scholars in the Lower and Middle Danube region.²⁶ The prototypes of such brooches, made of precious metal, can be tracked back to the area north of the Black Sea; the most western such prototype is represented by the items found at Regöly, usually dated during the D₂-D_{2/3} phases.²⁷ When found in funerary contexts, these brooches are part of the female costume, being found in pairs and positioned in the upper part of the thorax, a specific trait of the eastern Germanic costume.²⁸ From a chronological viewpoint, the general opinion agrees that such brooches are to be dated during the second third of the 5th century AD,²⁹ but in our particular case, a slightly late dating must be presumed (late 5th and possibly the beginning of the 6th century AD) due to the fact that both items were already broken when the inhumation took place. A quick look at the spatial distribution of the 1st variant of the bronze Vyškov-type brooches shows quite clearly

¹³ CSEH 1990; HARHOIU 1998, 60; HARHOIU–BALTAG 2006, 354; BĂRZU 2010, 72; BÓNA–NAGY 2002, 95–98.

¹⁴ CRIŞAN–OPREANU 1991, 120; DOBOS–OPREANU 2012, 109–110, Pl. 6–7; 138, Pl. 35.

¹⁵ BĂRZU 2010, 81–94.

¹⁶ GLODARIU 1974, 484–485.

¹⁷ HICA–FERENCZI 2006, 931–932; 938, Fig. 1/3.

¹⁸ HOREDŢ 1979, 189–190.

¹⁹ IRIMUŞ 2008, 12–19. We would like to take this opportunity and thank Dr. Ioan Stanciu for sharing with us important information regarding the situation of the site at Vlaha, Cluj County.

²⁰ See for example SASSE–THEUNE 1994 or the various contributions in VON FREEDEN–WIECZOREK 1997.

²¹ We can note as exceptions, the attempts made for certain sites such as Vlaha, see IRIMUŞ 2008 or Bratei 3, see BĂRZU 2010, 81–94.

²² FERENCZ–NAGY–LĂZĂRESCU 2009, 442–444, 461, Pl. V/1.

²³ FERENCZ–NAGY–LĂZĂRESCU 2009, 452–454, 472, Pl. XVI/4.

²⁴ DOBOS–OPREANU 2012, 109–110, Pl. 6–7; 138, Pl. 35.

²⁵ DOBOS–LĂZĂRESCU 2009, 172–173. From a morphological point of view, the Vyškov type brooches are closely related to the Bratei type (see for a recent analysis of this type of brooches ГАВРИТУХИН–КАЗАНСКИЙ 2018) from which they differ only in certain details making thus their typological framing quite difficult, especially when dealing with fragmentary items.

²⁶ BIERBRAUER 2008, 125, Abb. 16; TEJRAL 2008, 260, Abb. 7.

²⁷ BIERBRAUER 1992, 264–266, Abb. 1; HARHOIU 1994–1995.

²⁸ NAGY 2002, 369; see also the monograph related to the female costume in the Ciscaucasia region: МАСТЬКОВА 2009.

²⁹ TEJRAL 1974, 16; BIERBRAUER 1989, 151; HARHOIU 1998, 100; TEJRAL 2002, 318; TEJRAL 2005, 120; BIERBRAUER 2008, 126.

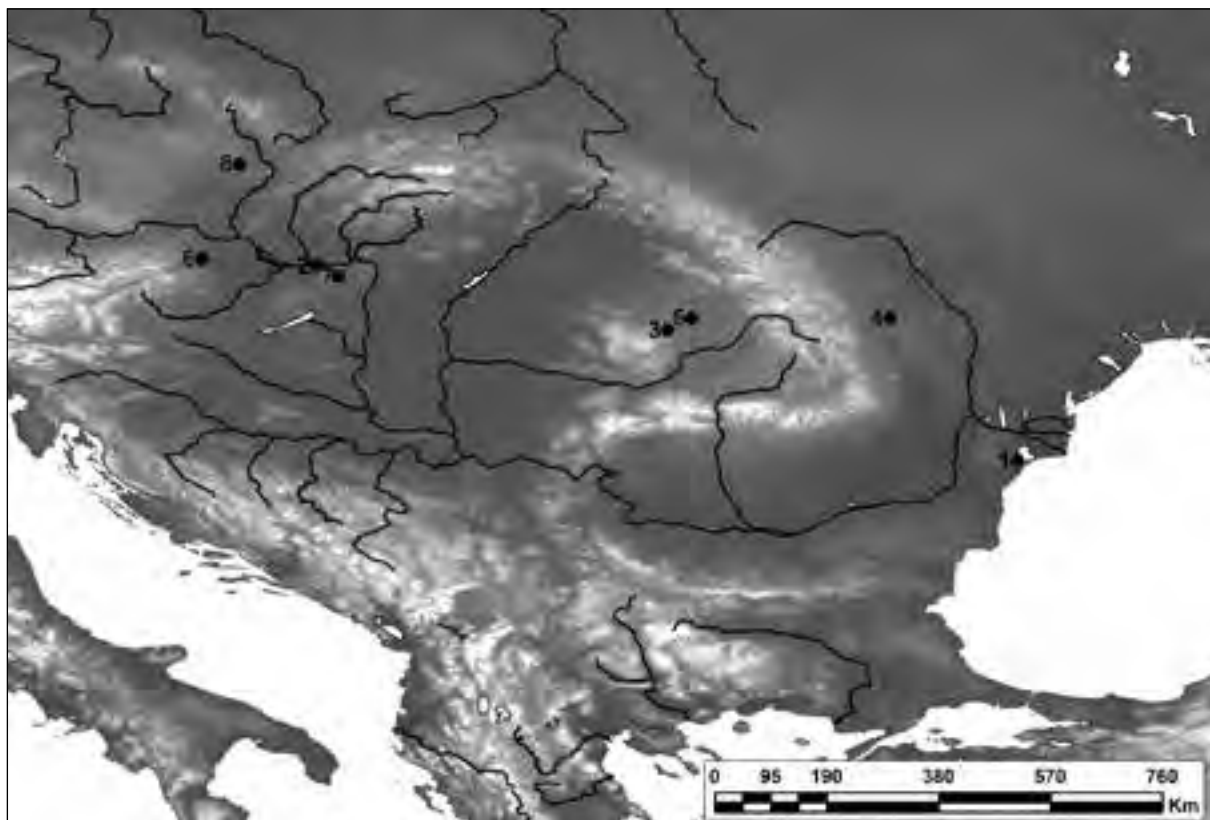


Fig. 9. Distribution of the Vyškov type brooches – 1st variant in the Carpathian Basin. 1. Argamum; 2. Brigetio; 3. Florești-Polus Center; 4. Roman; 5. Sic; 6. Steinbrunn; 7. Toronyópuszta; 8. Vyškov

the existence of a new concentration cluster situated in the Someșul Mic region encompassing a total number of 4 such artefacts (Fig. 9).³⁰

As mentioned before, the brooches differ from one another judging by their morphological traits. From this perspective, one might wonder whether they represent products of the same workshop/craftsman as well as whether they were designed to be part of the same set right from the beginning. The morphological study of both pieces makes us hypothesize that the brooches may have not been part of the same set and that they must have been acquired separately. Supporting also their long period of use and lack of local specialized craftsmen, we must also mention that both items were still used despite the fact that they were broken as well as the improvisation made on the brooch situated on the right shoulder, where an iron spring and pin was mounted on the bronze brooch, probably a rudimentary attempt to repair it. In order to clarify the possibility that the brooches might have come from two different sources, a series of non-destructive chemical analyses (Energy-dispersive X-ray spectroscopy – EDX)³¹ were performed, trying to determine whether structural differences in their elemental composition might be observed.

³⁰ DOBOS-LĂZĂRESCU 2009, 172. Apart from the 2 brooches presented with this occasion, there is another one found also at Florești-Polus Center, see *Polus* 2008, 38/123 and also the item found at Sic, Cluj County, see DOBOS-LĂZĂRESCU 2009, 180, Pl. I/1.

³¹ I would like to take this opportunity to thank Dr. Lucian Barbu from the National Institute of Research and Development for Isotopic and Molecular Technologies in Cluj-Napoca for his kind help and interest in analysing both brooches.

Table 1. Results of the EDX analysis of the Vyškov type brooches found in Cx 103 at at Florești-Polus Center Item 1

	C [%]	O [%]	Pb [%]	Sn [%]	Si [%]	P [%]	S [%]	Cl [%]	Ca [%]	Fe [%]	Cu [%]	Zn [%]
1	39.5	18.6	2.3	1.5	0.9	0.3	-	-	-	1.1	34	1.8
2	44.7	25.3	3.1	-	0.9	0.4	0.3	0.3	-	0.9	22.5	1.5
3	46.5	30.1	2.5	-	1.1	-	-	-	-	1.0	17.7	1.1
4	43.9	24.0	4.3	1.9	1.4	1.0	-	-	0.6	1.7	20	1.2
5	50.1	28.2	4.5	1.9	2.7	1.3	-	-	1.0	2.0	8.4	-
6	41.6	18.2	2.4	1.4						1.1	33.3	2
7	43.6	15.4	1.6	0.8						0.7	35.8	2.1

Item 2

	C [%]	O [%]	Pb [%]	Sn [%]	Si [%]	P [%]	S [%]	Cl [%]	Ba [%]	Ca [%]	Fe [%]	Cu [%]	Zn [%]
1	41.7	19.5	2.9	0.8	-	-	0.5	-	-	-	0.7	27.3	6.2
2	39.7	8.3	2.5	0.8	-	0.2	0.2	-	-	-	0.8	39.9	7.6
3	46.8	16.5	3.3	0.9	-	0.2	0.3	-	-	-	0.8	25.4	5.7
4	54.0	18.5	2.7	0.5	-	0.4	0.2	0.2	-	0.3	0.5	18.8	3.1
5	52.1	15.6	2.2	0.6	-	0.2	0.3	-	-		0.5	23.3	5.1
6	53.1	18.9	2.5	-	0.8	0.4	-	-	-	0.6	0.5	19.9	3.5
7	45.8	19.9	3.1	1.0	1.4	0.7	0.4	-	0.5	0.5	1.1	21.9	3.7
8	47.2	26.5	3.4	0.5	1.9	0.8	0.6	-	1.1	1.2	6	9.1	1.9
9	47.6	21.3	2.9	0.7	1.0	0.7	0.3			1.0	0.8	19.9	3.7

For a long period of time, the compositional analysis of different artefacts was neglected due to the general idea that there is no pattern for creating metal alloys, but during the last decades the interest for chemical analysis has increased exponentially.³² The aim was to establish some direct links between the technical aspects of the alloys used and the function of the artefact as well as to assess both possible signatures of different production centres and reconstruct the technological process of making the artefact.³³ The chemical analyses have showed that a certain standardization of bronze production exists for the Roman period connected mainly with the physical and mechanical characteristics of the produced artefact³⁴ and we can also presume that to a certain extent similar technological knowledge should also be presumed for the Late Roman craftsmen. Unfortunately, there is no systematic program for the analysis of the Migration Period small finds in Transylvania, therefore no comparisons can be made at the moment for the two Vyškov-type brooches.³⁵

Judging by the results of the EDX analysis we can conclude that both items were made of re-melted scrap metal parts, especially since they contain small quantities of lead, zinc and tin; such small percentages did not affect the quality of the alloy, their presence being the result of using scrap-metal as raw material and not a deliberate action of the craftsman.³⁶ As such, we can presume that the manufacturing process of both brooches did not depend on the special properties

³² RIEDERER 2002.

³³ MUSTAȚĂ 2017, 56–57.

³⁴ MUSTAȚĂ 2017, 57–60.

³⁵ Unfortunately, no program of comparing the chemical analyses in order to obtain data regarding the production process of different artefacts belonging to this time-span exists in Romania, the data presented with this occasion being among the first such attempts to establish a database that will allow for certain aspects regarding the manufacture technology of different artefacts and possibly the identification of the sources of raw material to be inferred in the years to come.

³⁶ GIUMLIA-MAIR 2001, 28–30; RIEDERER 2002, 290.

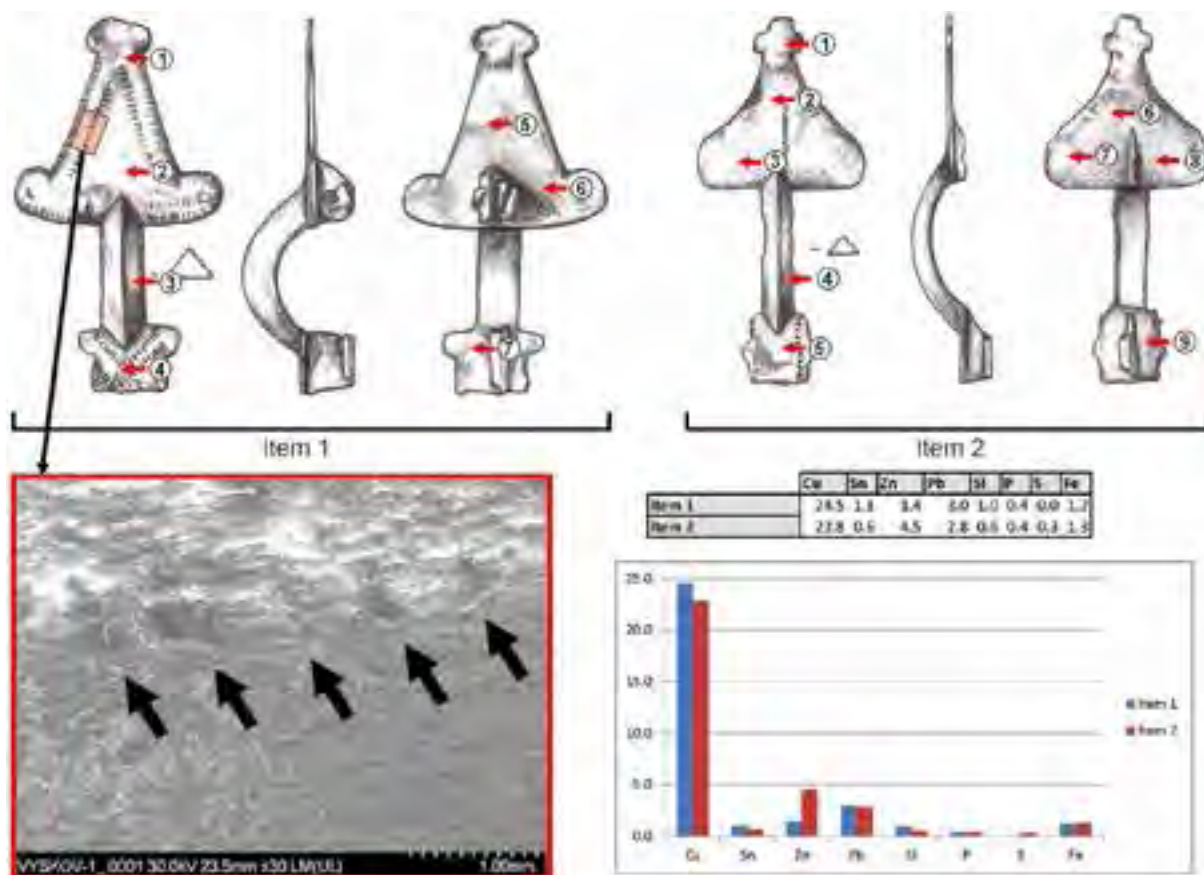


Fig. 10. EDX samples of the Vyškov type brooches found in Grave Cx 103 at Florești-Polus Center

of the metal alloy employed by the artisan and therefore it is impossible to establish whether they were produced by the same workshop/craftsman.

DISCUSSION

Summing up all the above mentioned, we can conclude that Grave Cx 103 represents a quite early tomb (late 5th – early 6th century AD) as compared to the rest of the already published burials from this necropolis. At this stage, judging both from its spatial position and dating, correlated with other data known for the site, a review of the materials that could be framed during the second half of the 5th century and first half of the 6th century is highly necessary in order to formulate some preliminary working hypotheses concerning the initial stage of the necropolis at Florești-Polus Center.

From the perspective of the early datable features documented at Florești-Polus Center we can discern between two categories of data: a) already published graves and b) artefacts published or mentioned in different catalogues without archaeological interpretation or the entire funerary inventory of the grave they come from.

From the first category we should mention grave M2 found in Sector X³⁷ which accounts both for contacts with distant geographical areas as well as for an early dating which could prove to have great impact upon the dating of the first phase and consequently upon the development of the necropolis at Florești-Polus Center. The grave contained an Altenerding–Vyškov-type gilded

³⁷ OPREANU–VOIȘIAN–BOTA 2007.

buckle,³⁸ the first grouping of such buckles being compiled by J. Werner who dated them during the beginning of the 6th century AD (the so-called Valenciennes type).³⁹ An earlier dating during the late 5th century AD was also provided by J. Tejral when discussing the necropolis at Vyškov.⁴⁰ While studying the chronology of southern Germany, Ursula Koch dated similar items during her SD-Phase 3 (ca. 480-510 AD) classifying them under the group Y17.⁴¹ At the moment, the buckle found at Florești - Polus Center is the most eastern one found so far. We can conclude that buckles having similar shapes are known in the Gepidic milieu even though they are generally regarded as having an earlier tradition and are to be dated probably during the last decades of the 5th century and the beginning of the 6th century AD.⁴² Parallels for the shape of the plaque are known from well-known sites such as Turda,⁴³ Apahida,⁴⁴ Cluj-Someșeni,⁴⁵ Blučina,⁴⁶ the female princely grave with deformed skull at Oßmanstedt,⁴⁷ the male grave from Esslingen-Rüdern,⁴⁸ grave 82 at Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok⁴⁹ or Gyula⁵⁰ for example. However, the best analogies comes from Vyškov grave 14,⁵¹ tomb 45 in Rittersdorf (Buckle type B1) dated towards the end of Böhner's Stufe II (450-525 p. Chr.),⁵² Kormadin-Jakovo,⁵³ tomb 106 in Altenerding⁵⁴ or Basel-Gotterbarmweg⁵⁵.

Apart from the above mentioned buckle, the grave also contained 2 other small silver buckles which were fastening the shoes of the deceased, one gilded silver strap-end, a small bronze brooch, a pair of tweezers and a small iron knife. Regarding the tweezers, such finds are typical for male graves, analogies for the item in this grave coming from Schwarz-Rheindorf, tomb 54,⁵⁶ the same shape in the Heerdt collection,⁵⁷ Szolnok-Szanda,⁵⁸ Stößen⁵⁹ or Weimar⁶⁰ for example. From a chronological point of view, the other important items in the grave were the strap-end having good parallels at Borotice, dated at the beginning of the 6th century AD,⁶¹ and the small bronze brooch. Despite the fact that initially this item was considered a *Bügelknopffibel*, linked with the Germanic cultural milieu of south-western nowadays Germany and dated to the first half of the 5th century AD, it was considered that it must have been still in use at the beginning of the following century.⁶² At this moment, after a careful scrutiny given the morphological traits of this artefact, we believe

³⁸ For a compressive typological discussion regarding this artefact see OPREANU-VOIȘIAN-BOTA 2007, 510-511; 518, Pl. 2. BÖHME 1994; *Polus* 2008, 42, no. 151; GAU 2011, 109-110, nr. 33.

³⁹ WERNER 1966.

⁴⁰ TEJRAL 1974, 20; Abb. 2/4; TEJRAL 2005, 132.

⁴¹ KOCH 2001, 83-85; 82, Abb. 20/Y17.

⁴² KOCH 2001, 82; BÓNA-NAGY 2002, 104-105; TEJRAL 2005, 133, Abb. 6/B3.

⁴³ BĂRBULESCU 2008, Pl. XIV; XV/1-3, XVIII/3, XIX/1-3.

⁴⁴ HOREDȚ-PROTASE 1972; HARHOIU 1998, Taf. LXI/1a-c; *Aurul și Argintul* 2014, 613.

⁴⁵ HOREDȚ-PROTASE 1970; HARHOIU 1998, Taf. LXXI/2a-b; *Aurul și Argintul* 2014, 623.

⁴⁶ *Attila und die Hunnen* 2007, 232.

⁴⁷ *Attila und die Hunnen* 2007, 331.

⁴⁸ CHRISTLEIN 1970, Tafel 57/1a-c; ENGELS 2007, 572, Abb. 5.

⁴⁹ BÓNA-NAGY 2002, 103, Abb. 49/82.

⁵⁰ CSEH ET AL. 2005, 76, Abb. 5/1-2.

⁵¹ TEJRAL 1974, 20; Abb. 2/4.

⁵² BÖHNER 1958, 183-184; Tafel 36/7.

⁵³ CSALLÁNYI 1961, Taf. CCLXXVI/2; WERNER 1966, Abb. 1/1.

⁵⁴ SAGE 1984, 21, Taf. 14/106.

⁵⁵ WERNER 1966, Abb. 1/1.

⁵⁶ BEHRENS 1947, 19-20, Abb. 49/5.

⁵⁷ BEHRENS 1947, 37, Abb. 84/12.

⁵⁸ BÓNA-NAGY 2002, 324, Taf. 50, 174-176/4.

⁵⁹ SCHMIDT 1970, Tafel 29/1d.

⁶⁰ SCHMIDT 1970, Tafel 82/e.

⁶¹ TEJRAL 2005, 187, Abb. 12/13; OPREANU-BOTA-VOIȘIAN 2007, 511.

⁶² OPREANU-BOTA-VOIȘIAN 2007, 511-512.



Fig. 11. Funerary inventory of the princely grave found at Florești-Polus Center
(after Aurul și Argintul 2014, 630)

that a different typological classification should be advanced connecting this find with northern Europe.⁶³

The first attempt at categorising these brooches was made by N. Aberg, good parallels being found in northern Europe in his crossbow brooches types 51, 52, 58 and 66, the closest one being Aberg type 52.⁶⁴ While analysing all the finds associated with the Migration Period in Masuria, W. Nowakowski considered these brooches as a variant of the type *Armbrustfibel mit festem Nadelhalter* defined mainly by its two buttons positioned on each side, as well as by the fact that it has a slightly bevelled edge on its upper part,⁶⁵ an aspect that accounts for parallels also with the Dolkeim/Kovrovo⁶⁶ and Estagel/Duraton⁶⁷ types of brooches. It has been argued that this type appears in central and northern European *Barbaricum* starting with the late C3 phase, and that it imitates the Late Roman *Zwiebelknopffibel* having therefore a rather late dating during the 5th century while certain variants still remain in use over the 6th century AD as well.⁶⁸

⁶³ Recently, a series of studies have shown that intensive contacts between northern Europe and the Middle Danube region were taking place especially after the collapse of the 'Hunnic empire' accounting for long distance contacts and diplomatic ties between these distant territories, see BLIUJENË-CURTA 2011.

⁶⁴ ABERG 1919, 53–66; see also Tab. III and Karte III for their catalogue and spatial distribution.

⁶⁵ NOWAKOWSKI 1998, 54–56; with a good analogy at Gruneiken, see Taf. 26/541.

⁶⁶ WIŚNIEWSKA-WADYL 2018, Ryc. 4/3.

⁶⁷ КАЗАНСКИЙ 1992, Рис. 2/10-11.

⁶⁸ NOWAKOWSKI 1998, 55–56; КУЛАКОВ 2012.

One of the most, if not the most important discovery known from the site is the princely grave, unfortunately only mentioned in the literature and still awaits the full publication.⁶⁹ The grave was undisturbed and rather isolated from the graves situated in its vicinity; it belonged to a young female approx. 18-20 years old with her head intentionally deformed, positioned on her back with both hands along the body. The funerary inventory is extremely rich, being composed of several golden objects: two polyhedral earrings, nine leaf-shaped pendants, two pins functioning as brooches, an oval-shaped buckle, along with a bilateral antler comb and a medium-sized amber bead.⁷⁰ However, despite the fact that the grave is not published extensively, certain remarks concerning the chronology and importance of this discovery for the Someșul Mic micro-region during the second half of the 5th century AD can be made after analysing some of the above-mentioned artefacts.

The pair of golden polyhedral earrings decorated with almandines can be included in type IV.1.6.1.1 – *Ohringe mit durchbrochenem polyedrischem Endknopf* defined by R. Harhoiu while dealing with the Migration Period discoveries in Romania.⁷¹ Good analogies for these artefacts can be found at Turda,⁷² Velț,⁷³ Cluj – Someșeni,⁷⁴ Periam,⁷⁵ Ghenci,⁷⁶ Huedin⁷⁷ or Șeica Mică⁷⁸ in Romania, or in sites such as Laa an der Thaya;⁷⁹ Mezökövesd – Mocsolyás,⁸⁰ Sakharnaya Golovka,⁸¹ Kerch,⁸² Tiszalök,⁸³ Dunapataj⁸⁴ or Iszkaszentgyörgy⁸⁵ in the Carpathian Basin. These earrings are typical artefacts for the 5th century AD, especially during the second half, but continue to be sporadically used also during the first decades of the 6th century AD.⁸⁶ Judging by their spatial distribution, certain authors have hypothesized that such artefacts originated in the Carpathian Basin, in the Germanic cultural milieu under the strong influence of Late Roman metalworking tradition during the 5th century AD.⁸⁷

On the other hand, the elongated leaf-shaped pendants are not very common among the small finds associated with the Migration Period. Despite their limited number, they tend to have a rather wide spatial distribution, ranging from Ciscaucasia to the Middle Danube region. From a chronological point of view it seems that these finds first appeared during the so-called ‘*Hunnic period*’ of the first half and the middle of the 5th century AD and were usually part of the female costume. Even though such items still remained in use up until the late 6th century AD, their almost simultaneous distribution over an extremely large territory made certain scholars to link these pendants with the ‘*Pontic*’ or ‘*Ponto-Danubian*’ style/fashion.⁸⁸ Although good parallels

⁶⁹ Ori Antichi 2010, 230; Aurul și Argintul 2014, 629–632; IONESCU ET AL. 2010.

⁷⁰ Ori Antichi 2010, 230–231; Aurul și Argintul 2014, 630; 630–632, Figs. 169/1–4.

⁷¹ HARHOIU 1998, 61–62.

⁷² BĂRBULESCU 2007, 238–241; BĂRBULESCU 2008, 54–55, Pl. IX/4, 5-6, Pl. XX/1.

⁷³ Aurul și Argintul 2014, 595; HARHOIU 1998, Taf. LXIX/1–2.

⁷⁴ HOREDȚ-PROTASE 1970; HARHOIU 1998, Taf. LXX/6-8; Aurul și Argintul 2014, 623.

⁷⁵ HARHOIU 1998, Taf. XCV/A:5–6.

⁷⁶ HARHOIU 1998, Taf. XCIII/B:1–2.

⁷⁷ HARHOIU 1998, Taf. XCII/6–7.

⁷⁸ HARHOIU 1998, Taf. CI/C:2

⁷⁹ BENINGER 1929; Attila und die Hunnen 2007, 175.

⁸⁰ CSALLÁNYI 1961, Taf. CCXV/2–3; CSEH ET AL. 2005, 260, Taf. 30/1–2.

⁸¹ МАСТЫКОВА 2018, 165, Рис. 4/1–2.

⁸² DAMM 1988, 122, Fig. 69.

⁸³ KOVRIG 1951, 113, Pl. XLIII/1–2.

⁸⁴ SCHMAUDER 2002, Taf. 53/5.1–2.

⁸⁵ BÓNA 1971, 277, Fig. 4.

⁸⁶ HARHOIU 1998, 61.

⁸⁷ HARHOIU 1998, 62.

⁸⁸ МАСТЫКОВА 2018.



Fig. 12. Leaf-shaped pendants: 1. Florești-Polus Center (after IONESCU ET AL. 2010, 317, Fig. 17);
 2. Gáva (after HORVÁTH-BENDŐ-MAY 2013, 275–276; 257, Fig. I/e);
 3. Merida (after HERAS MORA-OLMEDO GRAGERA 2015, 282, Fig. 15.7)

for the pieces discovered at Florești-Polus Center can be found at Merida⁸⁹ or Kerch,⁹⁰ the best analogy comes from another female princely grave found at Gáva,⁹¹ located also in the Carpathian Basin. From a stylistic point of view it seems that they follow a goldsmithing tradition that most probably originated in the Ponto-Mediterranean region that first penetrated the Carpathian Basin area during the first half of the 5th century AD.⁹² The presence of the gold sheet pendants imply also an earlier dating towards the middle of the 5th century AD since such ornaments were mainly worn during the so-called 'Hunnic period'.⁹³ Judging also from the close connection between the items at Gáva with the ones at Florești-Polus Center both stylistically and technologically, it can be supposed that both sets were produced probably in the same workshop.⁹⁴

The gold beads found at Gáva⁹⁵ are very similar to the ones found as part of the hoard at Cluj-Someșeni dated during the third quarter of the 5th century AD⁹⁶ allowing also for the contemporaneity of these sites with the princely grave at Florești-Polus Center. What is even more interesting is the fact that we can find yet another very good parallel for the finds at Gáva judging both from the stylistic and technological traits coming once again from the same area in the vicinity of nowadays Cluj-Napoca, a reality which may imply a common distribution network of the same workshop/goldsmith.

Apart from the other finds, the two gold pins must have been part of a *peplos*-type woman's clothes, where they served as substitutes for the brooches. Such a fashion is usually associated with the 'Pannonian fashion', where most of the graves displaying similar artefacts were documented.⁹⁷

⁸⁹ HERAS MORA-OLMEDO GRAGERA 2015, 282, Fig. 15/7.

⁹⁰ МАСТЬКОВА 2018, 167, Рис. 8/2.

⁹¹ *Das Gold von Nyíregyháza* 1997, 64, Abb. 49; *Attila und die Hunnen* 2007, 347; HORVÁTH-BENDŐ-MAY 2013, 275–276, 257, Fig. I/e.

⁹² ADAMS 2000, 26–49; HORVÁTH-BENDŐ-MAY 2013, 255. For technical studies regarding the *cloisonné* styles and techniques see also ARRHENIUS 1971; ARHENIUS 1985; QUAST-SCHÜSSLER 2000; HEINRICH-TAMÁSKA 2006; HILGNER 2017 and more recently HORVÁTH 2012; HORVÁTH 2013 which emphasizes the possibility to discern between different goldsmithing traditions based on technical and stylistic analyses.

⁹³ BÓNA 2002, 107–116.

⁹⁴ FRITSCH ET AL. 2010; IONESCU ET AL. 2010; HORVÁTH-BENDŐ-MAY 2013, 276.

⁹⁵ HORVÁTH-BENDŐ-MAY 2013, 257, Fig. I/a-c.

⁹⁶ HORED-T-PROTASE 1970; HARHOIU 1998, 41–43; 171–172; *Aurul și Argintul* 2014, 623.

⁹⁷ PINAR-RIPOLL 2008, 112–113.



Fig. 13. Distribution of the features with pins used as brooches in Europe
(after QUAST 2005, Abb. 26 with modifications: 18. Miercurea Sibiului and 19. Florești-Polus Center)

From a chronological point of view, it appears that these graves are to be dated around the middle and the second half of the 5th century AD and it is quite probable that these objects have a Late Roman origin.⁹⁸ Despite the typological variety of the pins and general lack of other archaeological materials that might help with a more accurate dating, one notices that regardless of the geographical areas in which these graves were found, they do not represent the common type of funerary context accounted for. If we add to this assertion the fact that usually these graves have rich inventories, we might interpret them as belonging to the local aristocracy.⁹⁹

From a morphological point of view, the gold pins found in the richly grave at Florești-Polus Center belong to the type having a rolled-up end (*Nadeln mit 'aufgerollter' Kopf*¹⁰⁰), analogies coming from Miercurea Sibiului,¹⁰¹ Moreuil,¹⁰² Airan (Calvados),¹⁰³ Páty,¹⁰⁴ Kilimán-Felső major¹⁰⁵ or

⁹⁸ SZÓKE 1996, 45; QUAST 2005, 265–272; PINAR–RIPOLL 2008, 112–113.

⁹⁹ QUAST 2005, 265–272; PINAR–RIPOLL 2008, 114.

¹⁰⁰ QUAST 2005, 270, Abb. 26.

¹⁰¹ OPREANU–LUCA 2007, 565, Abb. 3.

¹⁰² BAYARD–PITON–SCHULER 1981, 200, Pl. 20/6–7.

¹⁰³ QUAST 2005, 265, note 112.

¹⁰⁴ OTTOMÁNY 2001, 73.

¹⁰⁵ SZÓKE 1996, 36–37; 44, Abb. 4/3–4.

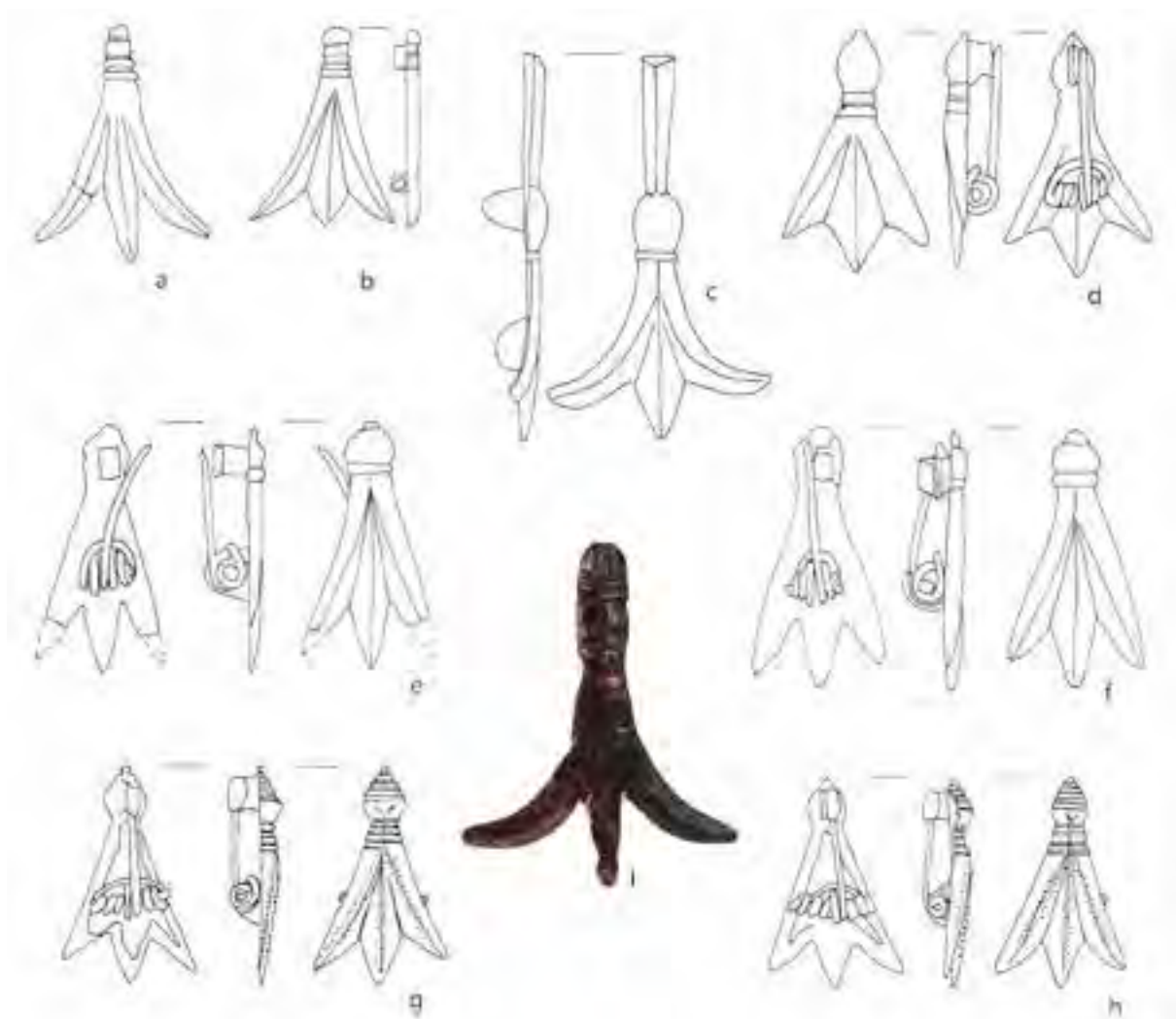


Fig. 14. 'Cicada brooches' of the second variant (after MACZYŃSKA 2009, 393, Ryc. 1 with modifications):
 a. Novi Banovci; b. Kerch; c. Steinmandl; d. Sarovce; e-h. Almalyk-dere; i. Florești-Polus Center

Kapolcs.¹⁰⁶ Worth mentioning in this context, are the finds from Beiral or Hochfelden,¹⁰⁷ accounting for a possible connection between the leaf-shaped pendants and the gold pins in the grave at Florești – Polus Center, in which case we might presume that the pendants were not part of a necklace worn around its owner's neck, but fastened to the dress/veil using the two pins, but at this moment we can only hypothesise upon such a possibility in the absence of the original drawing of the grave.

The spatial distribution of the graves documenting the fashion of using pins as brooches and especially of those having their end rolled-up together with the analogy of the leaf-shaped pendants, enables us to establish a direct connection between the richly grave at Florești-Polus Center and the *Pannonian* area, an important aspect taking into consideration the dynamic nature of the late 5th century AD centres of power established in the Carpathian *Barbaricum*.

From the second category of finds documenting an early stage of the necropolis at Florești-Polus Center, worth-mentioning are two artefacts presented briefly in the catalogue published with

¹⁰⁶ DAX 1980, Abb. 5/2.

¹⁰⁷ PINAR-RIPOLL 2008, 125, Fig. 4, 115–116; QUAST 2005, 268–270.

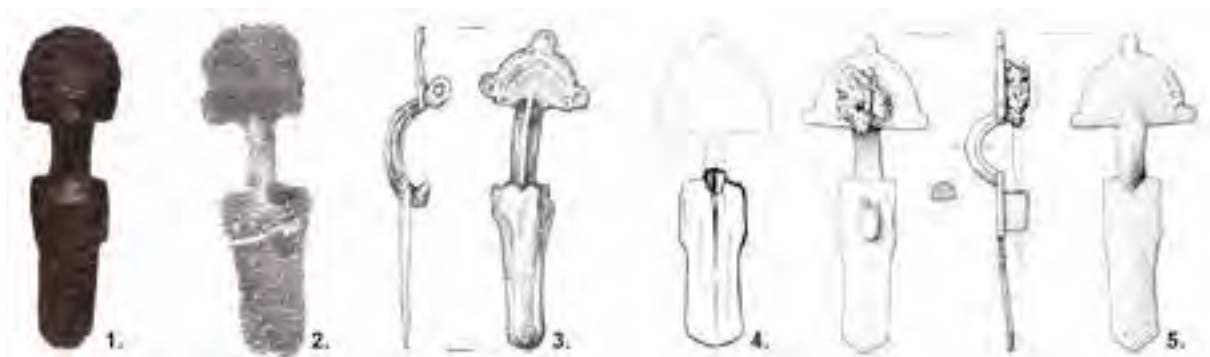


Fig. 15. 'Blechfibel' brooches of the type Carpio de Tajo 262: 1. Florești-Polus Center (after Polus 2008, 38, no. 128); 2. Cluj-Napoca-Corneliu Coposu street (after HICA 2004, 202–205; 209, Pl. I/1); 3. Soporul de Câmpie (after PROTASE 1962, 534, Fig. 7); 4. Madrona (after PINAR GIL 2014, 126, Pl. II/12); 5. Carpio de Tajo (after PINAR GIL 2014, 126, Pl. II/5).

the occasion of a temporary exhibition organized in 2008, both accounting also for the dynamics of long-distance cultural connections between this site and distant European regions.

The first artefact is a 'cicada brooch'¹⁰⁸ wrongfully identified in the catalogue as a ring made out of silver sheet having open ends. The 'cicada' brooches are usually associated with the 'Hunnic period' even though it has been argued that such artefacts are also known in the Central and Eastern Europe even before the arrival of the Huns.¹⁰⁹ However, these kind of artefacts associated with the Migration Period are first encountered in the Caucasus and Crimean Peninsula during the D₁-D₂ phases and start to spread and form large concentrations in the Middle Danube area while reaching also areas situated as far as the Baltic and Moravia.¹¹⁰ Such brooches were usually part of the female costume and even though they can be found in the Germanic cultural milieu, they account for a 'non-Germanic' nomadic fashion that was linked with the movements of the Huns across Europe during the chronological stages D₂-D_{2/3},¹¹¹ but still remaining in use until the beginning of the 6th century AD.¹¹² From a morphological point of view, the brooch found at Florești-Polus Center can be included in the second variant of these artefacts, depicting the cicada having its wings opened.¹¹³ Good parallels for our item, having the wings slightly curved outwards, can be found at Czerwony Dwór (north-eastern Poland),¹¹⁴ Novi Banovci (Serbia),¹¹⁵ Kerch¹¹⁶ or the semi-finished brooch coming probably from a hoard recovered from an unknown place in Lower Austria.¹¹⁷

The second artefact is a small brooch with semi-circular headplate¹¹⁸ representing a rather interesting as well as curious derivative of the 'Blechfibel type' of brooches that according to its morphological traits can be connected with the local Spanish variant defined as type Carpio de Tajo 262 and dated towards the end of the 5th century and beginning of the 6th century AD.¹¹⁹ The great majority of such artefacts tend to cluster mainly in central Spain, a second group starting to

¹⁰⁸ Polus 2008, 38, no. 124.

¹⁰⁹ HARHOIU 1998, 88; NEMETI 1999; KAZANSKI-PÉRIN 2000, 15–17; BÓNA 2002, 148.

¹¹⁰ KAZANSKI-PÉRIN 2000, 24; BÓNA 2002, 148–149; MAČZYŃSKA 2009, 396–397.

¹¹¹ FITZ 1986, 64; SZAMEIT 1997, 241; HARHOIU 1998, 88; BÓNA 2002, 150.

¹¹² HARHOIU 1998, 88; KAZANSKI-PÉRIN 2000, 24; MAČZYŃSKA 2009, 398.

¹¹³ KÜHN 1935, 95; MAČZYŃSKA 2009, 395–396.

¹¹⁴ ABERG 1919, 101, Abb. 142; MAČZYŃSKA 2009, 393, Ryc. 1/a-b.

¹¹⁵ VINSKI 1957, 137, no. 5.

¹¹⁶ АЙБАБИИ 1990, 189, Рис. 10/13.

¹¹⁷ SZAMEIT 1997, Tafel 5/4.

¹¹⁸ Polus 2008, 38, no. 128.

¹¹⁹ DAZA-CATALÁN 2010; PINAR GIL 2014, 118–119; 126, Pl. II.

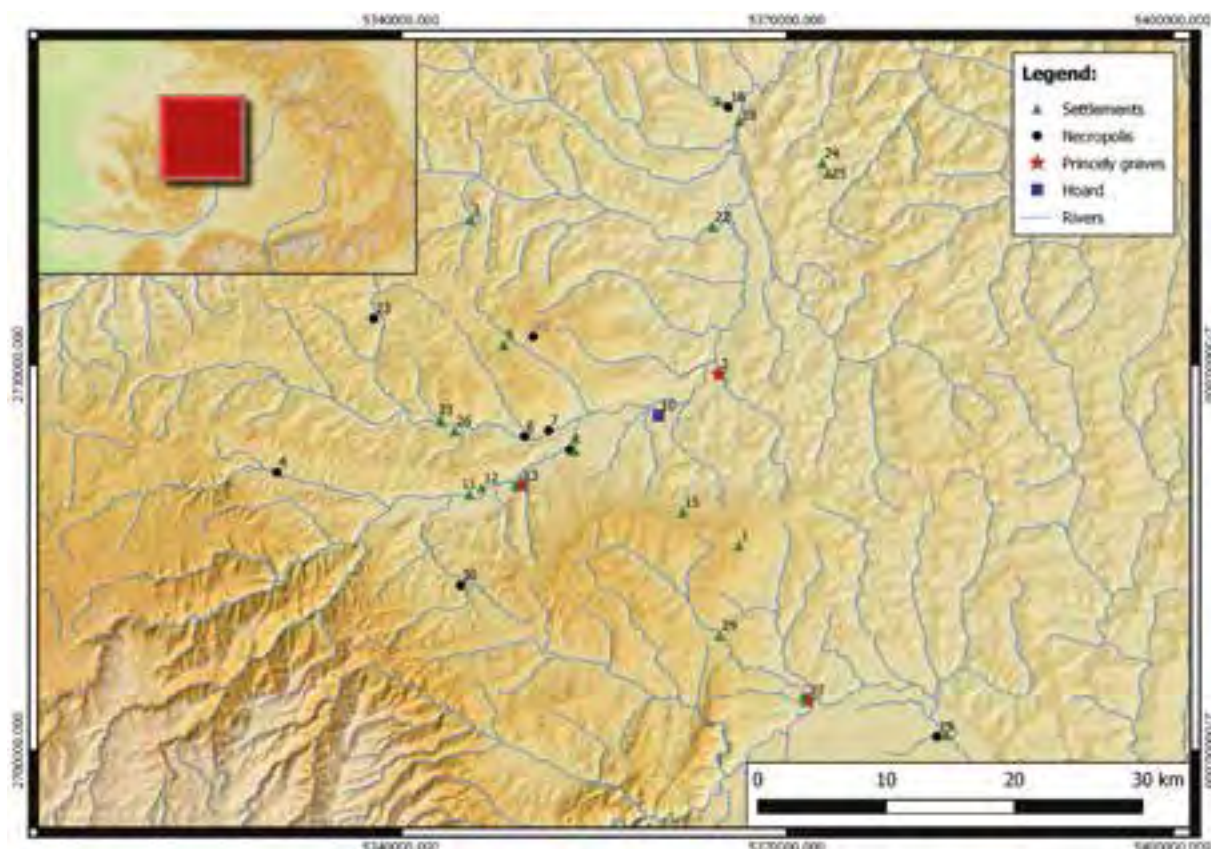


Fig. 16. Someșul Mic Valley during the Migration period.

1. Aiton; 2. Apahida; 3. Băbușiu; 4. Căpușu Mare; 5. Chinteni; 6. Cluj-Cordos; 7. Cluj-Corneliu Coposu;
8. Cluj-Napoca-30 Decembrie; 10. Cluj-Someșeni; 11. Florești-Labu; 12. Florești-Cazarma; 13. Florești-Polus;
15. Gheorghieni; 16-17. Iclod; 18. Iclod-Vladica; 19. Luna; 21. Mera; 22. Răscruci; 23. Mihăiești;
24. Sic-Marginea satului; 25. Sic-Teba; 26. Suceagu; 27. Turda; 29. Tureni; 30. Vlah; 31. Pădureni

be shaped in the Carpathian Basin due to the similar items identified at Kiszombor Grave 131,¹²⁰ Soporul de Câmpie,¹²¹ Florești-Polus Center and Cluj-Napoca-Corneliu Coposu street.¹²² With this occasion it is important to stress the fact that such items cluster at the moment in two very distinct and quite well defined regions, namely in the central-south area of Spain where they are seen as typical products¹²³ and in the Someșul Mic region in Transylvania¹²⁴ accounting probably for supra-regional direct contacts between these distant regions.

CONCLUSIONS

Before the middle of the 5th century AD, the data regarding the early Gepids is scarce regardless of its nature, either coming from written sources or archaeological contexts. The same confusing situation could also be observed even after the dissolution of the 'Hunnic Empire', an exact chronological framing of this early stage in the Transylvanian basin being controversial at the

¹²⁰ CSALLÁNY 1961, 179–180; Taf. CXXIV/7.

¹²¹ PROTASE 1962, 534, Fig. 7; HARHOIU 1998, 101 Type IV.4.7.4, Taf. XCII/3.

¹²² HICA 2004, 202–205, 209, Pl. I/1.

¹²³ PINAR GIL 2012, 110–115; PINAR GIL 2014, 119, 127, Pl. III/2.

¹²⁴ Out of a total of 12 sites where such brooches were discovered 3 are clustered in the Someșul Mic region making them the easternmost places of discovery.

moment. It is only after the battle from Nedao (454 AD) that we are witnessing the reconfiguration of the power structures in the Carpathian Basin, the Gepids being among the first to profit¹²⁵. Apart from this, from the archaeological perspective, one might observe that in Transylvania, there is a big problem concerning the relation between the 'Hunnic period' sites and the later ones¹²⁶. In our particular case we can state that so far, the relationship between the princely graves as well as small cemeteries dated during the first half and middle of the 5th century AD and the large necropolises organized in rows, typical for the 6th century AD, is unclear at the moment.¹²⁷ Despite the different theories in the Romanian archaeological literature, there is no clear archaeological data that should exclude the presence of the Gepids in this area already during the second half of the 5th century AD.¹²⁸ On the contrary, the complex archaeological situation of the Someșul Mic region attesting an important regional centre of power in this area, comprising several sites both old and new,¹²⁹ might offer new insight concerning the problem of the early Gepids.

As we have previously shown, there is sufficient data coming from the site at Florești-Polus Center to shape an early phase of the necropolis starting with the second half of the 5th century AD. Unfortunately, since the site is still unpublished we have no information regarding its internal topography and chronology of all the graves and therefore we can only speculate that the site can offer new and interesting data concerning its early phase, the relation between this stage and the large 6th century necropolis, as well as to the multiple and dynamic relations that the community buried here must have had with different regions across Europe.¹³⁰

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¹²⁵ CURTA 2006, 166–167.

¹²⁶ DOBOS 2009, 24–26.

¹²⁷ STANCIU 2002, 207–210; STANCIU 2010, 841; STANCIU 2011, 75; DOBOS 2009, 25–26.

¹²⁸ STANCIU 2010, 836–841; STANCIU 2011, 66–68; 74–77.

¹²⁹ Recently, two new cemeteries were found at Pădureni and Mihăiești (Cluj County). We would like to thank the colleagues from the National History Museum of Transylvania for sharing with me these information.

¹³⁰ ABBREVIATIONS: L. = length; T. = thickness; D.max. = maximum diameter; W.hp. = width of the headplate; W.f. = width of the foot

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ON THE EDGE OF THE MEROVINGIAN CULTURE. ROW-GRAVE CEMETERIES IN THE TRANSYLVANIAN BASIN IN THE 5TH-7TH CENTURIES

Alpár Dobos

One of the main archaeological features of the Merovingian Age is represented by the so-called row-grave cemeteries, spread on large areas of Europe. The presence of these cemeteries during the period between the late 5th century and the first half of the 7th century connects the Transylvanian Basin to the Merovingian cultural milieu. Of course, the cemeteries in question show several regional characteristics as well. The aim of the present paper is to offer a short synthesis regarding the actual state of research on the topic. Given the relatively large quantity of data, not all the aspects can be presented evenly; therefore mainly those particularities will be emphasized which have got less attention throughout the past research on the subject.

Keywords: Transylvania; row-grave cemeteries; cultural connections; regional differences; settlement pattern

During the period between the late 5th century and the first half of the 7th century the Transylvanian Basin was marked by the presence of the so-called row-grave cemeteries (*Reihengräberfelder*), a characteristic feature of the Merovingian cultural milieu. The term itself was used for the first time in the 19th century and refers to the alignment in more or less regular rows of the graves inside the cemeteries. Other important characteristics are the placement of the cemeteries outside of the settlements (although close to them), the inhumation rite, the west–east orientation of the graves as well as the presence of grave-goods. Among the latter the most significant categories are the objects related to personal adornment and jewellery in the female burials, respectively the weapons in the male ones. Of course, the term itself was criticised for several times in the archaeological literature, mainly because it cannot be applied for all the funerary phenomena of the period and because it is not an exact and a very accurate notion¹. Furthermore, it was spread on a large geographical area and, therefore, significant regional differences occur. In spite of all these insufficiencies, the concept of row-grave cemetery, as a *terminus technicus*, is adequate to describe a cemetery type having the abovementioned characteristics, which – with regional differences – is known from large areas of Western- and Central-Europe. On the other hand, it is important to underline that, even if the similarities between the different regions suggest quite strong cultural relations, the occurrence of the row-grave cemeteries in such large areas should not be interpreted as a uniform, ‘Pan-European’ or ‘Pan-Germanic’ phenomenon.

The eastern periphery of the ‘*Reihengräberzivilisation*’ is represented by the Transylvanian Basin. During the second half of the 5th century and the first two thirds of the 6th century this territory belonged to the Gepidic Kingdom; thus the row-grave cemeteries of this period are generally associated with the Gepids. However, the Transylvanian row-grave cemeteries did not disappear right after the fall of the Gepidic Kingdom, but the latest group can be dated in the Early Avar Period. Regarding the chronology, and mainly the ethnic interpretation of this latter group a quite intense debate has taken place in the archaeological literature. Certain scholars admit that these can

¹ For a more detailed discussion on the subject see AMENT 2003, 362.

be ascribed to the late Gepids, while others talk about late Germanic communities excluding the possibility of a Gepidic continuity².

THOUGHTS ON THE EMERGENCE OF THE ROW-GRAVE CEMETERIES IN THE TRANSYLVANIAN BASIN

As pointed out above, the row-grave cemeteries in the Tisza-region and Transylvania were strongly connected to the Gepids; in fact, the identification of the 'typical Gepidic' material culture from the late 5th century and the first and second thirds of the 6th century was exclusively based on the archaeological material discovered in these cemeteries and in the contemporary settlements. However, the circumstances of the emergence of the row-grave cemeteries, as a new archaeological phenomenon, are still unclear and only superficially analyzed. From this point of view a strong emphasis on the ethnic interpretation can be detected, mainly regarding the existence or lack of ethnic continuity of the Gepids between the row-grave cemeteries and the burials dated in the former period. From this point of view the historiography was dominated for a long time by István Bóna's opinion, according to which the archaeological traces of the early Gepids can be detected in the Upper Tisza-region as early as the 4th century³. This interpretation was highly influenced by the story told by Jordanes regarding an armed conflict from the second half of the 3rd century between the Goths and the Gepids "hemmed in by rugged mountains and dense forests"⁴. Using as starting point the data offered by Jordanes, and combining them with the archaeological evidence, Bóna proposed a reconstruction of the expansion route of the early Gepids in the Tisza-region⁵. Nonetheless, as later research pointed out, the archaeological sites considered by Bóna as indicators of the early Gepidic presence comprise several elements of different origin (e.g. Iranian, Sântana de Mureş/Marosszentanna culture, Przeworsk culture etc.), and do not form at all a uniform archaeological group, but rather show considerable regional differences⁶.

Generally speaking, the row-grave cemeteries emerged around the middle of the 5th century or slightly later, and spread rapidly in large areas of Europe. In his influential paper Joachim Werner traced their roots back to the late 4th century – first half of the 5th century and localized them in Northern Gaul⁷. Being influenced by Werner's ideas, early scholars explained the emergence of the row-grave cemeteries exclusively on ethnic grounds, namely with settling down of certain Germanic communities (e.g. *laeti*⁸, *foederati*⁹) in Gaul, which led to the appearance of male graves provided with weapons and belt accessories, respectively female burials furnished with brooches of 'Germanic' types¹⁰. This conception resulted in a rather bipolar approach (Roman versus barbarian) which traced a quite sharp borderline between the late Roman and Germanic archaeological material and, consequently, identity. Recently, several critics were formulated regarding the ethnic explanation of the emergence of the abovementioned grave types. These put emphasis rather on the political and mainly on the social aspects instead of searching for ethnic differences. The scholars who favoured this theory considered that the appearance of graves furnished with weapons or brooches and, consequently, the emergence of the row-grave cemeteries, are the result of a social

² For a general overview of the archaeological picture of the period see HARHOIU 1999–2001. For a detailed discussion on the history of research referring to the Transylvanian row-grave cemeteries see DOBOS 2011.

³ BÓNA 1971, 274.

⁴ *Jordanes, Gaetlica*: Tr. MIEROW, 98.

⁵ BÓNA 1971, 274; BÓNA 1986a, 66–70.

⁶ For the most important contributions on the subject see ISTVÁNOVITS 1998; ISTVÁNOVITS–KULCSÁR 1999; ISTVÁNOVITS 2000; BIERBRAUER 2006; TEJRAL 2007, 60–62; for a synthesis of the problem with a review of the research history see KISS 2015, 36–50.

⁷ WERNER 1950.

⁸ WERNER 1950.

⁹ BÖHME 1974, I, 195–207.

¹⁰ For a detailed research history see FEHR 2008, 69–97.

transformation independent from ethnic identity¹¹. According to Guy Halsall the mentioned graves represent the outcome of social competition within small communities in areas where the central control of the late Roman Empire was weakened. In his view the 'richly' furnished burials were part of a social mechanism aimed to maintain the position of certain families within the community by reasserting the status of the deceased in the front of its members¹². Another theory suggested that the weapon graves in Northern Gaul represented a symbolic claim of land of new landowners in a new historical context¹³. Analyzing the origins of those elements which were seen as proofs for the Germanic roots of the row-grave cemeteries (inhumation, west-east orientation, weapon depositions in male graves, and four brooches in female burials), Hubert Fehr reached the conclusion that none of them can be considered 'Germanic'¹⁴.

The cemetery type spread in Western- and Central-Europe in a very short time; the eastern periphery of its distribution is represented by the Transylvanian Basin. Of course, this phenomenon cannot be interpreted as a unitary, 'Pan-Germanic' process, taking into account that different areas were marked by different cultural traditions and environment which must have had an impact at least in the early phase. From the point of view of the Carpathian Basin the connections and the transformation between the Hun Age burials and the row-grave cemeteries are of great importance¹⁵.

According to the generally accepted view the beginning of the first row-grave cemeteries in the Tisza-region can be dated roughly in the second half of the 5th century¹⁶. For the Transylvanian cemeteries rather the turn of the 5th and 6th centuries was proposed by Margit Nagy¹⁷. Volker Bierbrauer did not formulate a concrete opinion regarding the starting date of the Transylvanian row-grave cemeteries, but accepted tacitly Nagy's proposition¹⁸. This dating can partially be traced back on the reconstruction of the Gepidic expansion in the area on the grounds of historical data. The main source in this respect is represented by a passage of Jordanes referring to the consequences of the battle at Nedao¹⁹ which suggests that the Transylvanian Basin was occupied by the Gepids in the second half of the 5th century. Correlated with the archaeological data, this process was reconstructed as follows: after the victory at Nedao the Gepids entered in the Transylvanian Basin through the Meseş (Hungarian: Meszes) Gate and occupied firstly the basin of the Someşul Mic (H: Kis-Szamos) River. In this area, more precisely near the ancient town of Napoca (today Cluj-Napoca, H: Kolozsvár, G: Klausenburg) they emerged a new centre of power as it is archaeologically shown by the 'princely' graves from Apahida (H: Apahida) and the hoard from Cluj-Someşeni (H: Kolozsvár-Szamosfalva)²⁰. Only a few funerary sites were connected to this early settlement area, which generally contain a small number of graves (group II after Horedt)²¹. According to the dominant point of view in the archaeological literature these belonged to a chronological phase which preceded the emergence of the row-grave cemeteries²².

¹¹ For the critique of the theory based on ethnic differences see HALSALL 1992; EFFROS 2003, 192–195; FEHR 2008; THEUWS 2009; FEHR 2010, 681–783.

¹² HALSALL 1992, 205.

¹³ THEUWS 2009, 307–315.

¹⁴ FEHR 2008, 75–97; FEHR 2010, 730–783.

¹⁵ RÁCZ 2016.

¹⁶ NAGY ET AL. 2000, 170; BIERBRAUER 2006, 196–197.

¹⁷ NAGY ET AL. 2000, 170.

¹⁸ Among others, this was one of his main arguments why the discoveries from Apahida and Cluj-Someşeni cannot be interpreted as Gepidic: BIERBRAUER 2006, 193–194.

¹⁹ *Jordanes, Gaetica*: Tr. MIEROW, 264: "...the Gepidae by their own might won for themselves the territory of the Huns and ruled as victors over the extent of all Dacia..."

²⁰ HORED T 1958, 80–81; BÓNA 1986b, 143–146.

²¹ HORED T 1958, 83; CSALLÁNY 1961, 313; HORED T 1977, 256–258.

²² HORED T 1977, 256–258; HORED T 1986, 22–26; HARHOIU 1998; STANCIU 2010, 841.

In my opinion this sharp separation of the two mentioned groups should be revisited for several reasons. First of all, in the case of the early small grave groups the fact that none of the sites in question was unearthed exhaustively was totally ignored. Therefore, it cannot be excluded that in several cases the excavated graves were part of larger cemeteries. On the other hand, bow-brooches of small dimensions, considered one of the most typical artefact types of the early group, are known from the early phase of the row-grave cemeteries in the Tisza-region²³. Of course, this does not mean that these brooches must necessarily have belonged to the row-grave cemeteries in Transylvania too, but, given the abovementioned lack of exhaustive excavations, this observation is noteworthy. It can be presumed that the solitary graves and small grave groups characteristic for the whole region of the Middle-Danube during the middle–third quarter of the 5th century²⁴ and the earliest phase of the row-grave cemeteries could have been in use parallel for a certain period of time.

It is also worth mentioning that the still partially published cemetery at Florești-Polus Center (H: Szászfenes, G: Fenesch) contained several artefacts which can be associated with the early phase mentioned above²⁵. In addition, the earliest burial discovered on this site belongs to the middle of the 5th century. However, at the moment it is not clear enough whether this grave belonged to the cemetery or it can be considered an isolated burial from the previous period²⁶. Other important data could be provided by the recently discovered cemetery at Ernei-Köleskert (H: Nagyernye, G: Rohrdachen) which also contains several early elements²⁷.

For the time being, it is difficult to establish on the grounds of the available data the exact period when the row-grave cemeteries emerged in the Transylvanian Basin. Based on the arguments presented above, it seems that a rather closed relation can be presumed between the ‘small grave groups’ dated in the second half of the 5th century and the row-grave cemeteries, without excluding the possibility that in certain cases the former could have been parts of larger necropolises. On these grounds it can be supposed, as a working hypothesis, that the emergence of the row-grave cemeteries in Transylvania can be dated somewhat earlier (perhaps in the last third of the 5th century?) than it was proposed in the archaeological literature; however, the confirmation or disproof of this presumption needs further research and exhaustively excavated cemeteries.

5TH CENTURY ELITE BURIALS AND THE TRANSYLVANIAN CENTRE OF POWER

As sketched above, the connection between the Hun Age burials from Transylvania and the ones dated after the fall of the Hun Empire, attributed to the Gepids, was indirectly neglected due to the reconstruction of the Gepidic expansion in Transylvania after the battle at Nedao, based solely on Jordanes’ work. However, this is the result of a ‘mixed argumentation’, taking into account that such a discontinuity cannot be sustained based on the archaeological evidence alone.

It has to be mentioned that beginning with the D1 period a considerable decrease of the quantity of discoveries can be observed which can by no means explained only with the deficiency of the actual state of research. Even if not as massively as in Transylvania, such a demographic decline can be detected in the whole Carpathian Basin during the Hun Age. The situation is not better in the D2 phase, i.e. in the ‘classical’ period of the Hun Age either: only a few burials and isolated finds are known²⁸. This rarity of the discoveries was explained by Radu Harhoiu with the peripheral role

²³ E.g. Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok, grave 105: BÓNA–NAGY 2002, Taf. 25, 105.2; Szolnok-Szanda, grave 114: BÓNA 2002, Taf. 44, 114.3

²⁴ For a general overview see TEJRAL 2002, 314–318; TEJRAL 2008, 254–257.

²⁵ OPREANU ET AL. 2007; FERENCZ ET AL. 2009, 440.

²⁶ According to the available information the grave was positioned somewhat isolated from the other burials belonging to the cemetery, the closest one being situated at approximately 20 m distance: AURUL 2014, 637.

²⁷ For a preliminary overview see BERECKI ET AL. 2016.

²⁸ HOREDT 1986, 14, 193, note 5, Abb. 6; for the archaeological analysis of the finds see HARHOIU 1998.

of Transylvania during the Hun Age which was avoided by the important political events of the period²⁹. From a chronological point of view a major problem is that it cannot be established in all the cases with certainty whether these finds belonged to the Hun Age (D2) or can be dated slightly later (D3).

Taking a closer look at the finds, one can conclude that the few Transylvanian burials from the period in question fit quite well in the archaeological material known from the Middle Danube-region. The characteristic elite burials of the period are not missing from Transylvania either. An important observation is that these do not cluster in one smaller region, but are spread in different areas. In the southern part of the Transylvanian Basin the graves from Miercurea Sibiului (H: Szászszerdahely, G: Reussmarkt)³⁰ and the finds from Velț (H: Völç, G: Wölz)³¹ deserve attention. In the western area the most important grave from this period is the already mentioned female burial from Florești-Polus Center³² which at the moment can be considered the earliest elite grave in the surroundings of ancient Napoca. From northern Transylvania the female burial from Ceparı (H: Csépán, G: Tschippendorf)³³ should be mentioned, dated with a *solidus* of Theodosius II minted between 430 and 441³⁴. In the Middle Mureș area two graves were discovered recently, one of them with partial horse burial and grave-goods datable to the middle of the 5th century³⁵.

For the time being, the large silver sheet brooches, considered one of the most representative finds of the period, are almost missing in the Transylvanian Basin. The only exception is represented by the female grave discovered in the legionary fort at Potaissa (today Turda, H: Torda, G: Thorenburg) (Fig. 1). Beside the remarkably long brooches the burial contained an oval buckle with kidney-shaped plate decorated in cabochon technique, a set of shoe buckles, a pair of golden earrings with polyhedral button, a one-sided antler comb, different types of beads, and a mirror. The most complex piece of the burial is represented by the buckle which – in lack of perfect analogies – was dated by Mihai Bărbulescu in the second half or mainly the last third of the 5th century, based on the morphological traits of the different components and decorations³⁶. Because of the combination of the chip-carved decoration and the cabochon technique, an earlier dating, namely the middle of the 5th century was proposed by Radu Harhoiu³⁷. At the chronological interpretation Bărbulescu took also into consideration the fact that the brooches show traces of a long period of usage (they were even repaired at a certain moment), which in his opinion suggest that the burial could have taken place in the last third of the 5th century or even at the beginning of the 6th century³⁸. However, this dating was also influenced by historical arguments³⁹. Indeed, the composition of the buckle and the long period of usage of the brooches indicate a dating after the middle of the 5th century, but the whole assemblage does not necessarily support such a late dating.

The above presented female graves are strongly connected to the Middle-Danube-region and, in a wider context, to Central- and Eastern Europe, not only because of the typological relation of certain objects, but also because of the composition of the funerary assemblages. Several scholars stressed on the identification of a typical grave-good combination in the female burials consisting

²⁹ HARHOIU 1998, 153.

³⁰ LUCA ET AL. 2005; LUCA–OPREANU 2006; OPREANU–LUCA 2007.

³¹ LÁSZLÓ 1941, 125–127, I. tábla 1–7; HARHOIU 1998, 194, Nr. 96, Taf. LXIX, 1–5.

³² AURUL 2014, 637–640.

³³ PROTASE 1959; PROTASE 1960; HARHOIU 1998, 169, Nr. 24, Taf. XCI, H1–3.

³⁴ For the determination of the coin the author would like to thank Péter Somogyi.

³⁵ For preliminary data see MAN ET AL. 2016; for the anthropological analysis of the skeleton see GÁL 2016.

³⁶ BĂRBULESCU 2008, 93–94, 196–197.

³⁷ HARHOIU 1998, 114–115.

³⁸ BĂRBULESCU 2008, 97, 200.

³⁹ BĂRBULESCU 2008, 200: “Wenn das Grab gepidisch ist, wird seine Datierung in die Zeit vor der Mitte des 5. Jh. wenig wahrscheinlich. Wenn wir eine bedeutendere Anwesenheit der Gepiden auf dem Siebenbürgischen Hochland erst für das letzte Drittel des 5. Jh. akzeptieren, haben wir diesbezüglich ein wichtiges historisches Indiz.”

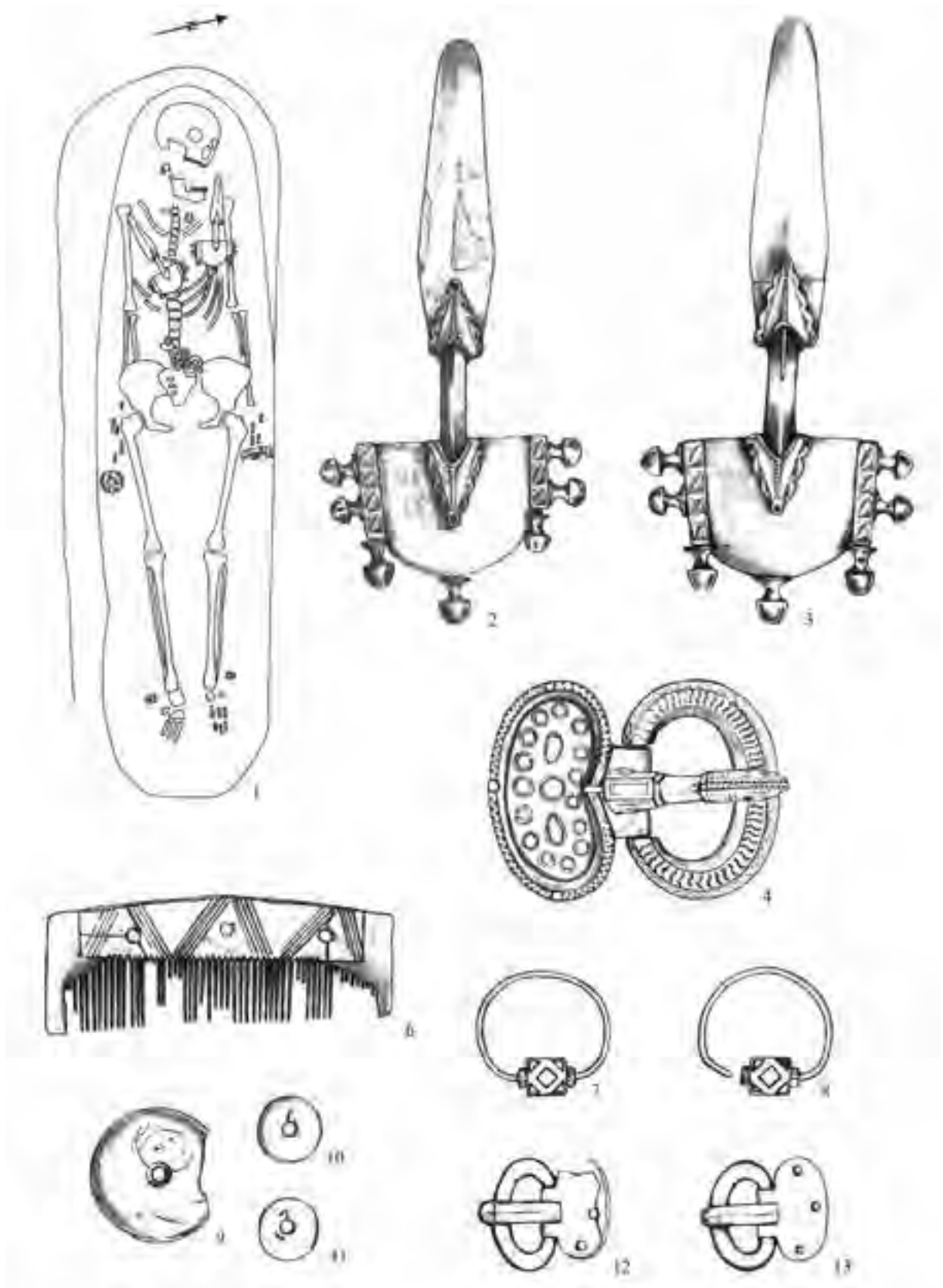


Fig. 1. Female grave discovered in the military fort at Potaissa (Turda) (after BĂRBULESCU 2008)

mainly of objects belonging to the personal attire⁴⁰, which was generally spread in the whole Middle-Danube-region. This assemblage is known in the archaeological literature – after the term introduced by Michel Kazanski – as the “*mode danubienne*”⁴¹. Several scholars connected this aspect to the Eastern Germanic *gentes*⁴². The tradition of this kind of assemblages can be detected in the early female graves belonging to the row-grave cemeteries as well⁴³.

At the moment, there are only few graves known from this period which are not related to the elite. Among these one should mention grave 1/1964 from Bratei (H: Baráthely, G: Pretai) belonging to a girl buried according to the above sketched ‘fashion’⁴⁴ (Fig. 2), as well as grave 1 from Fântânele-Dâmbul Popii (H: Szászújós, G: Neuösch) containing three kidney-shaped mounts with glass inlay⁴⁵. For the time being, no cemeteries with a higher number of graves were identified. In this context new information could be provided by the recently discovered, but still unpublished cemetery from Ernei-Köleskert⁴⁶.

Like in the Hun Age, the burials belonging to the social and military elite play a central role in the archaeology of the following period as well. In the Transylvanian Basin this category is represented, first of all, by the two graves from Apahida and the related hoard from Cluj-Someşeni. In a larger context, the graves from Apahida can be connected to the self-representation of a military elite known from wide areas of Europe characterized by the deposition of weapons in the grave⁴⁷ on one hand and of objects belonging to the dress which can be interpreted as status symbols (e.g. brooch with onion-shaped buttons, golden bracelet with widened endings etc.) on the other hand. Of course, in the archaeological literature the main emphasis was put on the identity of the two individuals buried at Apahida. In the case of grave 1 numerous attempts have been made to decipher the inscription on the so-called name ring discovered in the burial⁴⁸.

⁴⁰ Among these the most significant were considered: a pair of brooches or, more rarely, pins situated on the shoulders, a belt buckle, beads, a pair of earrings (most frequently with polyhedric button), a mirror, a pair of bracelets (most often with widened endings), less frequently shoe buckles. Of course, the listed elements can be combined in different manners.

⁴¹ KAZANSKI 1989 (1990).

⁴² See, e.g. TEJRAL 2007, 62 (“*donauländisch-ostgermanische Kulturgruppe*”); BIERBRAUER 2006, 191–192 (“Eastern Germanic Koine”). For the critique of the “*mode danubienne*” and its Eastern Germanic interpretation, see GAUSS 2009, 40–65.

⁴³ For a detailed discussion on the subject, see RÁCZ 2016.

⁴⁴ BĂRZU 1986, 89, 91–97, Fig. 2–3; HARHOIU 1998, 167, Nr. 17.2, Taf. LXXXIX, A1–11.

⁴⁵ DOBOS–OPREANU 2012, 64–65, Pl. 5, 1.1–5, Pl. 36, 5–7.

⁴⁶ BERECKI ET AL. 2016.

⁴⁷ No weapons were registered in grave 1 from Apahida, although the find circumstances do not exclude the possibility that the burial originally could have contained weapons. In grave 2 a fragment of a sword blade was discovered.

⁴⁸ Due to the limited extent of the present paper only the main hypotheses will be listed without a more detailed discussion: OMHARVS: FINÁLY 1889, 316; SEVIN 1955, 106; WERNER 1967–1968, 121; HORED T 1986, 20; HARHOIU 1998, 87; OMHARIVS: BÓNA 1986b, 147; OMHAIRVS: BÓNA 1990, 84; OMAHARVS: SCHMAUDER 2002, I, 133; OMAHARI V G where the name Omaharus is in genitive and the letters V G situated in the second row represent the abbreviation of a Late Roman title like *v(ir) g(loriosus)* or *v(ir) g(loriosissimus)*: OPREANU 1995, 243; OPREANU 2005, 9–10; OPREANU 2009, 111–112; OPREANU 2014, 281–282. Recently a completely new reading was proposed by Nicolae Gudea who believes that the inscription on the ring from Apahida does not bear the name of its owner, but represents a marriage greeting message similar to the ones known from Byzantine marriage rings. Even if Gudea admits that among these marriage rings the one from Apahida represents an exception both from the viewpoint of the abbreviations of the words and the combination of the Greek and Latin letters, he considers such a reading plausible. In his interpretation the cross is the symbol of God and the inscription itself can be divided in three groups of letters having the meaning From God (comes) understanding, luck and health: GUDEA 2010, 32, 41. From a historical point of view in Gudea’s opinion this could mean that the Byzantine emperor was the witness at the wedding of certain members of the Gepidic royal family, thus he sent precious gifts to Apahida/Napoca: GUDEA–GAIU 2015, 15–16.

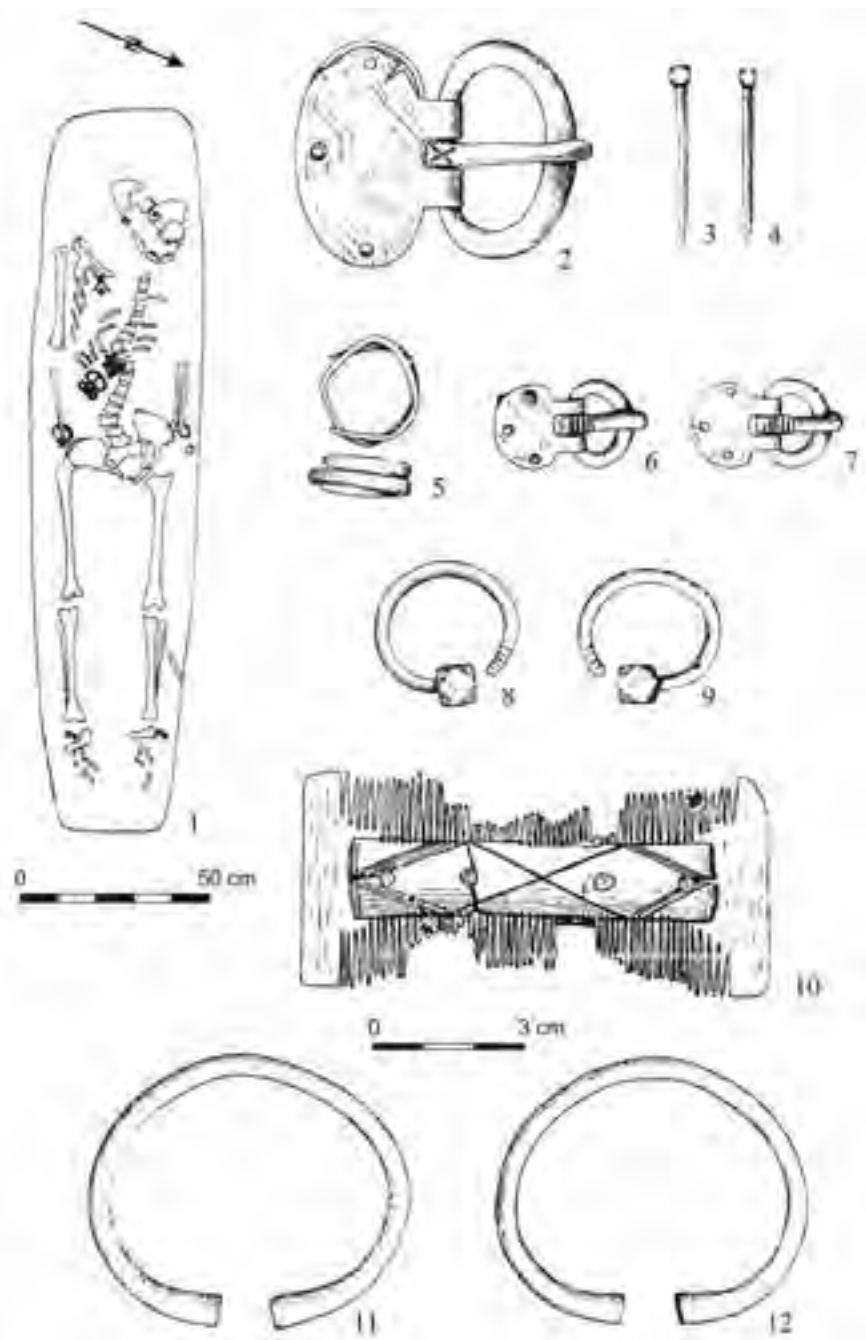


Fig. 2. *Bratei, grave 1/1964 (after BĂRZU 1986)*

It is a prevailing opinion that the finds from Apahida can be connected to the Gepidic royal dynasty⁴⁹, even though a few scholars questioned this interpretation⁵⁰. The presence of the objects related to the mentioned 'international' military elite was generally explained as diplomatic gifts

⁴⁹ Among others, the Gepidic interpretation was accepted by István Bóna (BÓNA 1986b, 146–149), Attila Kiss (KISS 1987), Michael Schmauder (SCHMAUDER 2002, I, 266), and Dieter Quast (QUAST 2001).

⁵⁰ For instance, Kurt Horedt changed his opinion for several times: Gepidic: HORED T 1958; Ostrogothic: HORED T–PROTASE 1972, 216–220; Alanic: HORED T 1986, 21. Recently, it was Volker Bierbrauer who expressed his doubt regarding the Gepidic interpretation of the Apahida–Someşeni group. In his view no finds can be

given by the Byzantine court. Among these the most representative object is the brooch with onion-shaped buttons of type 7⁵¹ from grave 1 which was worn only by high-ranking officers and functionaries⁵². The objects with garnet inlay can be connected to the Mediterranean as well. On technical grounds Birgit Arrhenius presumed that the high-standard pieces, including the finds from Olbia, the two graves from Apahida and the burial of Childeric at Tournai, can be considered products of a central workshop which, very likely, could have functioned in Constantinople⁵³. According to Coriolan H. Opreanu the ring with the monogram from Apahida, similarly to the one from Reggio Emilia, was produced in a workshop located in Ravenna around AD 500; thus the grave 1 from Apahida can be dated to the beginning of the 6th century. Based on this ring as well as on other detectable connections between the graves from Apahida and Italy (e.g. brooches with onion-shaped buttons, the bird-shaped mounts from grave 2 etc.), Opreanu interpreted the prestigious objects from Apahida as gift of Theoderich related to the political diplomacy of the Ostrogothic king at the beginning of the 6th century⁵⁴.

Despite of the numerous interpretations, it can be concluded that the graves from Apahida together with the hoard from Cluj-Someşeni show the emergence of a centre of power in the valley of the Someşul Mic River, more precisely in the area of the ancient Napoca during the second half of the 5th century.

CHRONOLOGY

In most of the cases the high degree of the secondary grave reopening registered in the row-grave cemeteries from Transylvania⁵⁵ makes impossible the reconstruction of the original combination of grave-goods. Many times the objects left in the graves are fragmentary and the majority of them represent artefact types which were in use for a long period of time (e.g. combs, knives, simple buckles, spindle-whorls etc.) and therefore are less relevant from a chronological point of view. Taking all these into account, the row-grave cemeteries from Transylvania are not suitable for the elaboration of a relative chronological system built on seriation based on find combinations, known from several regions of the Merovingian world⁵⁶. Accordingly, for the Transylvanian cemeteries only longer and partially overlapping chronological phases can be established.

The situation is not less problematic in the case of the absolute chronology either. For the time being, there is no comprehensive chronological system elaborated for the Gepidic Age material from the Carpathian Basin. The lack of the well datable graves is caused both by the factors mentioned above and by the reduced number of the coins. For the moment, the most suitable method is to correlate the existing data with the aforementioned chronological systems elaborated for the Merovingian Age cemeteries from Western- and Central-Europe. However, this solution has certain risk, namely that it ignores the possible chronological discrepancies between the different regions.

The only existing chronological system for the row-grave cemeteries from Transylvania was elaborated by Kurt Horedt in the late 1950s which he upheld with small modifications until his death⁵⁷. The row-grave cemeteries were included in groups III and IV. These were preceded by group II, defined by small grave groups and solitary burials, as well as by small sized bow-

attributed with certainty to the Gepids in Transylvania before the emergence of the row-grave cemeteries which he dated to the end of the 5th century, i.e. after the graves from Apahida: BIERBRAUER 2006, 193–194.

⁵¹ BIERBRAUER 1975, 123–124; PRÖTTEL 1988, 370; HARHOIU 1998, 104; SCHMAUDER 2002, I, 76.

⁵² DEPERT-LIPPITZ 2000, 61–62 (with further bibliography).

⁵³ ARRHENIUS 1985, 101.

⁵⁴ OPREANU 2014, 283–285; see also OPREANU 2009, 121–122.

⁵⁵ For a more detailed discussion see DOBOS 2014, 136–140.

⁵⁶ E.g. SIEGMUND 1998; KOCH 2001; STAUCH 2004.

⁵⁷ HOREDTE 1958; HOREDTE 1977; HOREDTE 1986, 14–36.

brooches with three knobs decorated with chip-carving and dated roughly in the second half of the 5th century (*Fig. 3*).

Group III (known also as Morești group) is represented by the early phase of the row-grave cemeteries with typical artefacts like bow-brooches with five knobs and chip-carved decoration, oval buckles without buckle plate, eagle-head buckles, different weapons (*spatha*, long seax, certain types of spear- and arrowheads), pear-shaped ceramic vessels etc. The most representative site of the group was considered the cemetery excavated at Morești-Hulă (H: Malomfalva, G: Mühlendorf). Group III was dated in the first half of the 6th century⁵⁸, and later in the period between 525 and 575⁵⁹. The late row-grave cemeteries were included in group IV (known also as Band-Vereshmort group). In Horedt's opinion the main differences in comparison with the former group were the appearance of new cemetery sites with higher number of graves, the decrease of the number of bow-brooches and the increase of the importance of the belt-sets, the higher proportion of weapons and pottery, as well as the occurrence of the horse burials and other 'nomadic' and Byzantine elements. Group IV was dated exclusively in the 7th century. Despite the fact that later research pointed out that at certain points Horedt's system needs modifications, the characteristics and the relative chronological relations of the different groups defined by him are still valid. Therefore, in my opinion there is no point creating a new chronological system, but is more appropriate to adjust Horedt's chronology according to the new results.

The most controversial aspect of Horedt's system is the transition period between the third and the fourth group. Horedt consequently put emphasis on the differences between the two groups and denied any chronological or cultural connection between them, creating an artificial chronological hiatus covering the second half of the 6th century. Later it was pointed out that the earliest phase of the late row-grave cemeteries can be dated before the end of the 6th century⁶⁰. The graves belonging to this phase contain objects (e.g. buckles with shield-tongue, wheel-thrown pottery with burnished decoration etc.) which can be dated to the middle – second half of the 6th century. The majority of the graves belong to the period lasting from the last third of the 6th century until the first third of the 7th century. This phase is characterized by the three-part belt-sets, the *spathae* (in several cases with pyramidal strap-retainers), the short seaxes, and the leaf-shaped spearheads in the male graves, respectively by the girdle-hangers with rectangular mounts and strap-end and the leg-garters consisting of small buckles and strap-ends in the case of the female graves⁶¹.

The end date of the row-grave cemeteries in Transylvania is not very clear; generally the latest graves can be dated until the middle of the 7th century. The only exception is represented by Noșlac (H: Marosnagylak, G: Grosshaus), where the latest grave group belongs to the Late Avar Age. However, based on the available data it cannot be decided with certainty if the burials in question represent the latest phase of the cemetery or belong to another graveyard which was opened in the Late Avar period⁶².

SETTLEMENT PATTERN

As shown above, in the first half and middle of the 5th century a demographic recession can be observed not only in Transylvania, but in the whole Carpathian Basin. Beginning with the second half of the 5th century this situation started to change slowly and this tendency continued in the first half of the 6th century as well. From archaeological point of view this process is shown not only by the increase of the number of the cemeteries and settlements, but also by the higher number

⁵⁸ HORED T 1977, 258–261.

⁵⁹ HORED T 1986, 26–29.

⁶⁰ BÓNA 1979, 43–46; HARHOIU 1999–2001, 127–130; HARHOIU 2001, 144–145.

⁶¹ For a more detailed discussion see DOBOS 2017, 398–404, 410–411.

⁶² DOBOS 2017, 401, 114. kép.

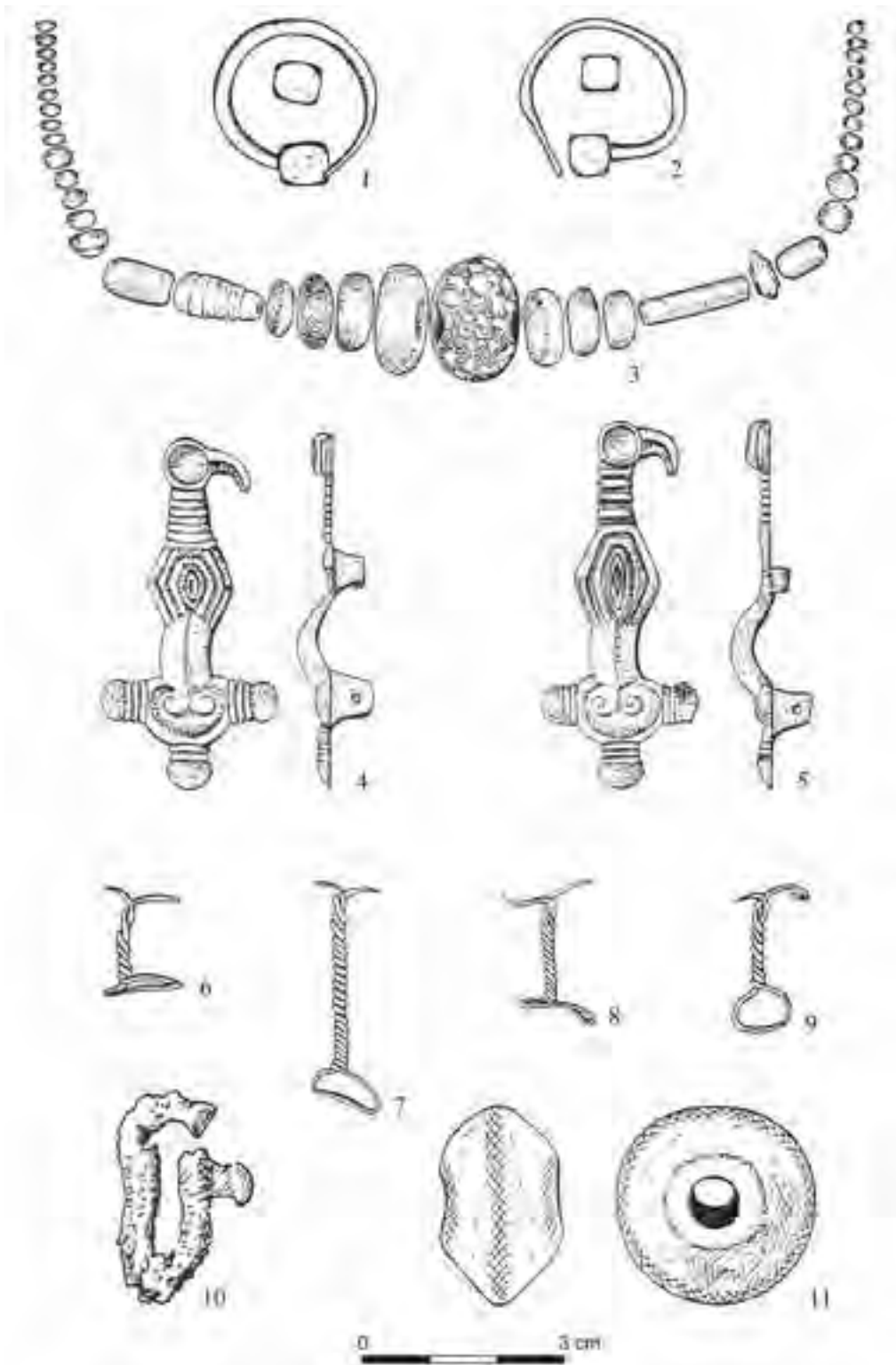


Fig. 3. Female grave from the second half of the 5th century from Slimnic (after GLODARIU 1974)

of graves inside one cemetery. This phenomenon suggests the existence of larger communities than in the former period which used the same settlements for a longer period of time. As already

mentioned, this situation was explained mainly with the Gepidic occupation of Transylvania after the middle of the 5th century, shown, among others, by the power of centre in the valley of the Someșul Mic River. In this respect an important question arises: what was the role of ancient Napoca and, in generally, of the remains of the Roman infrastructure in the emergence of this centre of power. This question can be addressed not only in the case of the Apahida-Someșeni group, but also in relation with the entire settlement pattern from the Gepidic and Early Avar Period. The research of this topic is almost inexistent in the archaeological literature; thus more detailed results can be achieved only after the topographical comparison on micro- and macroregional level of the Roman infrastructure (first of all, the roads) and the settlement pattern of the Gepidic and Early Avar Age sites⁶³.

Beside the Apahida-Someșeni group there are several other funerary discoveries in the valley of the Someșul Mic River. Unfortunately, none of these cemeteries was unearthed exhaustively. For the time being, it is difficult to form an opinion about the way how these communities used the Roman heritage. In any case, it is conspicuous that until now only one find-spot (Memorandumului street) is situated inside the territory of the Roman town.

Another important Roman town with finds dated in the 5th–6th centuries is Potaissa (today Turda), where in the baths belonging to the fort of the V Macedonica legion one of the most important female grave from Transylvania was discovered (see above). In addition, further finds are known from the territory of the fort. It has to be mentioned that not only burials, but also settlement traces were identified⁶⁴. Similar to the situation observed at Napoca, burials dated in the Gepidic period were discovered not only inside the former Roman structures, but also in the surrounding area. The graves at Râtul Sânmihăienilor were situated on the territory of the Roman cemetery, although topographically they formed a separate group⁶⁵. For the moment, the situation in Apulum (today Alba Iulia, H: Gyulafehérvár, G: Karlsburg) is quite unclear due to the fact that only a small amount of the finds has been published so far⁶⁶.

Taking a closer look at the settlement pattern of the eastern part of the Carpathian Basin during the Gepidic period, one can observe that the Transylvanian Basin represents a separate region. In his monograph published in 1961, Dezső Csallány concluded that in Transylvania the Gepidic finds occur only occasionally in the northern part and therefore the main territory occupied by the Gepids can be placed in the southern area⁶⁷. Similarly, Kurt Horedt argued that the abovementioned settlement area in the valley of the Someșul Mic River is represented only by a reduced number of small cemeteries. Instead, the Gepidic centre of power was displaced in the 6th century into the valley of the Mureș (H: Maros, G: Mieresch) River, where the presence of the Gepidic population is attested by several cemeteries, among which the most significant can be considered the one from Morești⁶⁸. However, in the light of new archaeological excavations, this hypothesis needs to be reconsidered for two reasons. Regarding the small cemeteries from the valley of the Someșul Mic River from the second half of the 5th century both Csallány and Horedt omitted the fact that none of these cemeteries was unearthed exhaustively. Thus, it cannot be excluded that in fact these belonged to larger necropolises (see above). The recently excavated and still unpublished or only partially published cemeteries from the surroundings of Cluj-Napoca (Vlaha-Pad / H: Magyarfenés; Florești-Polus Center) show quite clearly that the valley of the Someșul Mic River did not lose its importance during the first half of the 6th century. This observation is not contradicted by the fact that no grave from this period is as rich as the ones from Apahida, taking into account that such burials are also unknown in the Tisza region and in the Mureș Valley at that time. It seems more

⁶³ For a first attempt regarding the valley of the Someșul Mic River, see GÁLL ET AL. 2017.

⁶⁴ NEMETI 2005; NEMETI 2008.

⁶⁵ PISLARU 2007, pl. 2; NEMETI 2008, 333, 360, Pl. L, 1.

⁶⁶ POPA ET AL. 2004.

⁶⁷ CSALLÁNY 1961, 313.

⁶⁸ HORED T 1958, 83.



Fig. 4. Gepidic Age cemeteries and burials in Transylvania (map made by Oana Toda): 1. Apahida; 2. Bratei; 3. Căpușu Mare; 4. Cipău-Gârle; 5. Cipău-Îngrășătoria de porci; 6. Cluj-Napoca- Corneliu Coposu street; 7. Cluj-Napoca-Memorandumului street; 8. Cluj-Cordoș; 9. Cluj-Someșeni; 10. Cristuru Secuiesc; 11. Florești-Polus Center; 12. Iclod; 13. Lechința de Mureș; 14. Luna; 15. Mediaș; 16. Morești-Podei; 17. Morești-Hulă; 18. Sighișoara-Bajendorf; 19. Sighișoara-Dealul Viilor; 20. Sighișoara-Herteș; 21. Slimnic; 22. Șintereag; 23. Turda-Râtul Sânmihăienilor; 24. Țaga; 25. Vlaha-Pad

probable that this situation can rather be explained by transformations occurred within the society or in the funerary self-representation of the social elite.

Turning to the distribution pattern of the Gepidic Age row-grave cemeteries in Transylvania (Fig. 4), it can be observed that these are situated mostly in the valleys of the main rivers and their tributaries. One of the main tasks of future research is to analyse this settlement area not only as a large geographical unit, but also on micro-regional level. Beside the valley of the Someșul Mic River a concentration of finds can be detected in the Middle Mureș area as well as in the valley of the Târnava Mare (H: Nagy-Küküllő) River. In a smaller amount discoveries are known from the north-eastern part of Transylvania (mainly the valley of the Someșul Mare River), too. On the other hand, the south-western and south-eastern regions represent blank territories from this point of view, fact which can hardly be explained only by the lack of field research. It is not clear enough yet why the distribution area of the row-grave cemeteries did not extend to these areas⁶⁹.

In the case of the late row-grave cemeteries the regional differences deserve attention as well. Comparing their distribution map (Fig. 5) with the former period, it attracts attention that the distribution area becomes significantly smaller. One of the main regions continues to be the middle course of the Mureș River. In the same time, it seems that the importance of the north-eastern part of Transylvania increased in this period. On the other hand, from the valley of the Târnava Mare River only one cemetery is known until now, while in the valley of the Someșul Mic River no such find-places were identified. For the moment it needs further investigation what were the causes of

⁶⁹ In Radu Harhoiu's opinion the lack of the row-grave cemeteries in the south-eastern area can be explained by the fact that from cultural point of view all the other parts of Transylvania belong to the Middle Danube region, while the valley of the Olt River is connected to the Lower Danube area: HARHOIU 2015, 237.

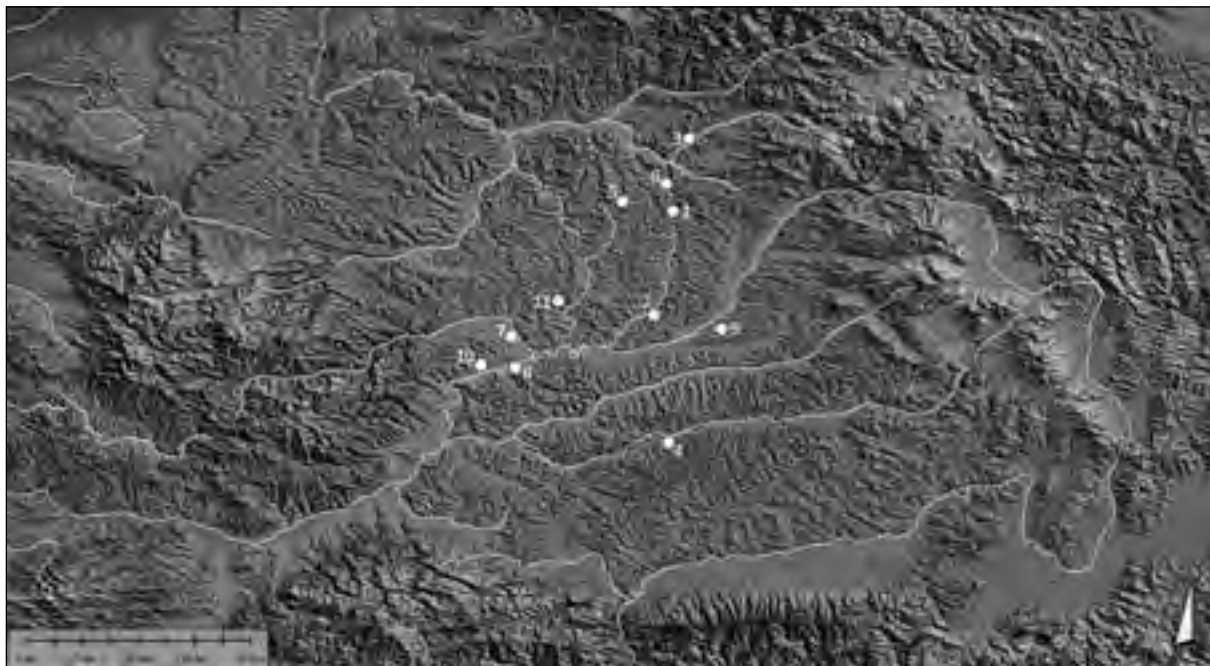


Fig. 5. Early Avar Age row-grave cemeteries in Transylvania (map made by Oana Toda): 1. Archiud-Hânsuri; 2. Band; 3. Bistrița; 4. Bratei-cemetery 3; 5. Fântânele-Dâmbul Popii; 6. Galații Bistriței; 7. Luna; 8. Noșlac; 9. Târgu Mureș; 10. Unirea-Vereșmort; 11. Valea Largă

this sharp cultural change in the latter region as well as if this phenomenon can be explained by a change of population.

CULTURAL RELATIONS AND REGIONAL DIFFERENCES

Unfortunately, the actual state of research permits only an incomplete analysis of the cemeteries dated in the Gepidic period. It must be underlined that the existence of the row-grave cemetery as a funerary place and manifestation connects the Transylvanian necropolises to the Merovingian cultural area. The main characteristics of the Early Merovingian Age row-grave cemeteries from Western- and Central-Europe can be identified in the Transylvanian necropolises, of course, with several regional differences. Due to these differences, during the Gepidic period a specific material culture emerged in the Tisza-region and Transylvania which is characteristic only for this area. This phenomenon is detectable both in the typological aspects of certain objects and in the female funerary dress. For instance, there are several types of artefacts which are characteristic almost exclusively for the mentioned territory (e.g. different types of bow-brooches, mainly the ones with dot and circle ornament; girdle-hangers with hinged plates; certain variants of vessels with double conical body etc.).

Compared to the territories situated west of the Danube, considerable differences can be detected in the evolution of the female funerary dress as well. Thanks to the numerous well-documented burials excavated in Western- and Central Europe, it became possible to reconstruct the main aspects of the Merovingian Age female dress. Even if a great variety can be observed in the position of the brooches and other clothing accessories inside the graves, several regularities can be identified. Among these the most important is the change of the position of the bow-brooches beginning with the Early Merovingian Age. Compared to the previous period, when the bow-

brooches were usually situated on the shoulders, suggesting a *peplos*-like garment⁷⁰, in the Early Merovingian period graves these are generally discovered in the area of the pelvis or between the femurs or knees. The bow-brooches are often combined with a pair of so-called small brooches (*Kleinfibeln*) positioned in the area of the neck. This combination was conventionally named in the German-speaking literature with the term '*Vierfibeltracht*'⁷¹. Simultaneously the girdle-hanger as organic part of the female dress was included. Of course, beside this model, several other arrangements of the brooches can be observed, and the frequency of the certain variants varies in the different regions⁷².

In contrast, in the eastern part of the Carpathian Basin the female funerary dress had a different evolution. Even if in this region the number of the undisturbed and well documented burials is far less, some general tendencies can be identified. First of all, during the second half of the 5th century in the Tisza-region and Transylvania the bow-brooches were still placed on the shoulders, fact that indicates a longer use of the *peplos*-like garment compared to Western- and Central-Europe. A shift in the position of the brooches took place later and in a different manner: the brooches were placed in pair or single in the area of the chest or single in the area of the pelvis⁷³. In lack of a more exact chronology of the Gepidic Age bow-brooches it is difficult to determine precisely the moment when this change took place. According to Max Martin this could happen around 500 or slightly later⁷⁴. In any case, it seems likely that it was a process which could last a longer period of time; thus the two models could be in use parallel for a while. It is probable that roughly simultaneously with this change the girdle-hangers decorated with hinged plates became a characteristic element of the Gepidic Age female dress⁷⁵.

It is important to point out that, despite the relatively sharp geographical delimitation, there are no significant differences between the material culture of the Tisza-region and that of the Transylvanian Basin, which suggests a rather close communication between the two territories. One of the main questions in this respect is that to what extent can this specific material culture, generally regarded as Gepidic in the archaeological literature, be considered an intentional expression of the Gepidic identity. At first sight this presumption seems plausible, although it is problematic why the expression of this identity was most needed exactly in a relatively stable political context (i.e. in the period of the Gepidic Kingdom). From this point of view a comparison of the cultural and economical relations, based on the material culture, with the previous and the following periods could be relevant. Analyzing the Byzantine imports from the Gepidic period, Dieter Quast concluded that these are far less represented both in quantity and quality compared to the Merovingian Age finds west of the Danube. Quast explained this observation by the fact that the Gepids represented a certain threat for the Byzantine Empire only in the period following directly the fall of the Hun Empire, but lost their military importance in later times⁷⁶. In this regard, a sharp difference can be detected between the Apahida–Someșeni group and the cemeteries from the period between the end of the 5th century and the 6th century. For the latter period the relations of the Gepidic elite with the Byzantine Empire are rather indicated by the written sources, shown for example by the tribute paid by the Byzantine court for the Gepids after the battle at Nedao, even if its amount was insignificant in comparison with the subsidy paid in the Hun and in the Avar Age⁷⁷. The importance of the Byzantine connections is also denoted by the fact that the Gepids established twice their political centre in the Late Antique town of Sirmium which also became the

⁷⁰ MARTIN 1994, 544.

⁷¹ See e.g. MARTIN 1991, 633–661; MARTIN 1994, 549–567.

⁷² CLAUSS 1987, 564.

⁷³ NAGY 2002, 369.

⁷⁴ MARTIN 1994, 546; MARTIN 2002, 212.

⁷⁵ DOBOS 2012, 45–46.

⁷⁶ QUAST 2001, 434–444.

⁷⁷ BÓNA 1974, 14.

seat of the Gepidic Arian bishop, as well as by the coins minted by king Kunimund in the middle of the 6th century. However, based on the archaeological picture sketched by Quast, it seems that these connections did not have the same impact on the whole territory of the Gepidic Kingdom, but were rather confined to the political elite. The situation is somewhat similar concerning the relations with other areas as well: only few import pieces originating from Western- and Northern-Europe have been discovered so far⁷⁸.

Based on the aforementioned, one can presume that the development of the particular material culture of the Great Hungarian Plain and Transylvania in the Gepidic period was, at least partially, the result of a political and mainly economical isolation; thus the communities living in the mentioned area had stronger connections between each other and less intense relations with those outside of the Gepidic Kingdom. Therefore, the characteristic material culture cannot be considered directly an intentional expression of a Gepidic identity.

The situation changed radically in the late phase of the row-grave cemeteries, i.e. during the Early Avar Age. This transformation of the material culture can be observed not only in the typological development of different artefact categories, but also in the cultural relations of the discussed region. Given the fact that in the Early Avar Age the Carpathian Basin was populated by communities with different cultural traditions, both locals and newcomers, the material culture belonging to this period is rather heterogeneous. According to the written sources, among the communities living in the Avar Khaganate a significant role was played by those Gepids which remained in the Carpathian Basin after the fall of the Gepidic Kingdom in 567⁷⁹. In order to identify and locate the archaeological remains of these late Gepidic communities the scarce data known from the literary sources were combined with the archaeological evidence. One of the prevailing theories was elaborated by Attila Kiss who, based on the distribution pattern of several artefact types considered by him of Gepidic origin, located the Gepidic communities living under Avar rule in Eastern Transdanubia and in the Transylvanian Basin⁸⁰. Even if simplified and with questionable results regarding the ethnic attribution of the Transdanubian and Transylvanian cemeteries, Kiss managed to isolate several artefact types which are not common in the whole Carpathian Basin in the Early Avar period; instead, they have close parallels in the Late Merovingian milieu.

A further step in the investigation of the different local groups in the Early Avar Age was taken by the analysis of the grave-good associations in correlation with the burial customs instead of the investigation of single objects. This approach resulted in the identification of both male and female assemblages of 'Germanic' or 'Merovingian' origin. Without assigning them to a specific ethnic group, it can be observed that these assemblages show the closest relations with the Merovingian cultural milieu, but the Byzantine/Mediterranean connections are quite strong as well. In the same time, several traditions rooted in the period before the Avar conquest can be noticed. In the case of the male assemblages the weapon combinations and the items related to the clothing played a central role (*Fig. 6*). The most characteristic weapons are the *spathae* (sometimes with pyramidal strap-retainers or *spatha*-belts with mounts), the *seaxes*, the different types of spearheads (mainly the leaf-shaped ones), and the shields provided with iron boss. These weapons are frequently associated with Merovingian type belt-sets (mainly with the three-part variant). Concerning the female assemblages (*Fig. 7*), the hairpins, the disc-brooches, the girdle-hangers, the leg garter sets and the amulet boxes are considered the most relevant categories⁸¹. The combination of such artefact types can be identified quite frequently in the late row-grave cemeteries in Transylvania.

⁷⁸ For a general overview see MESTERHÁZY 1999 and István Koncz's contribution in this volume.

⁷⁹ For a summary of the literary sources see KISS 1992, 37–38; KISS 2011.

⁸⁰ KISS 1992. For the critique of the theory see e.g. BÁLINT 1995, 310–311; KISS 2011, 11–13; KISS 2015, 208–210. Quite similar results were also achieved by Peter Stadler who, in the case of the Transdanubian cemeteries did not exclude a Langobard or Suebic alternative either: STADLER 2008, 669–676, Abb. 19; STADLER 2010, 119–122, 127, Abb. 25–26.

⁸¹ For a general overview with further bibliography see VIDA 2008, 18–29.

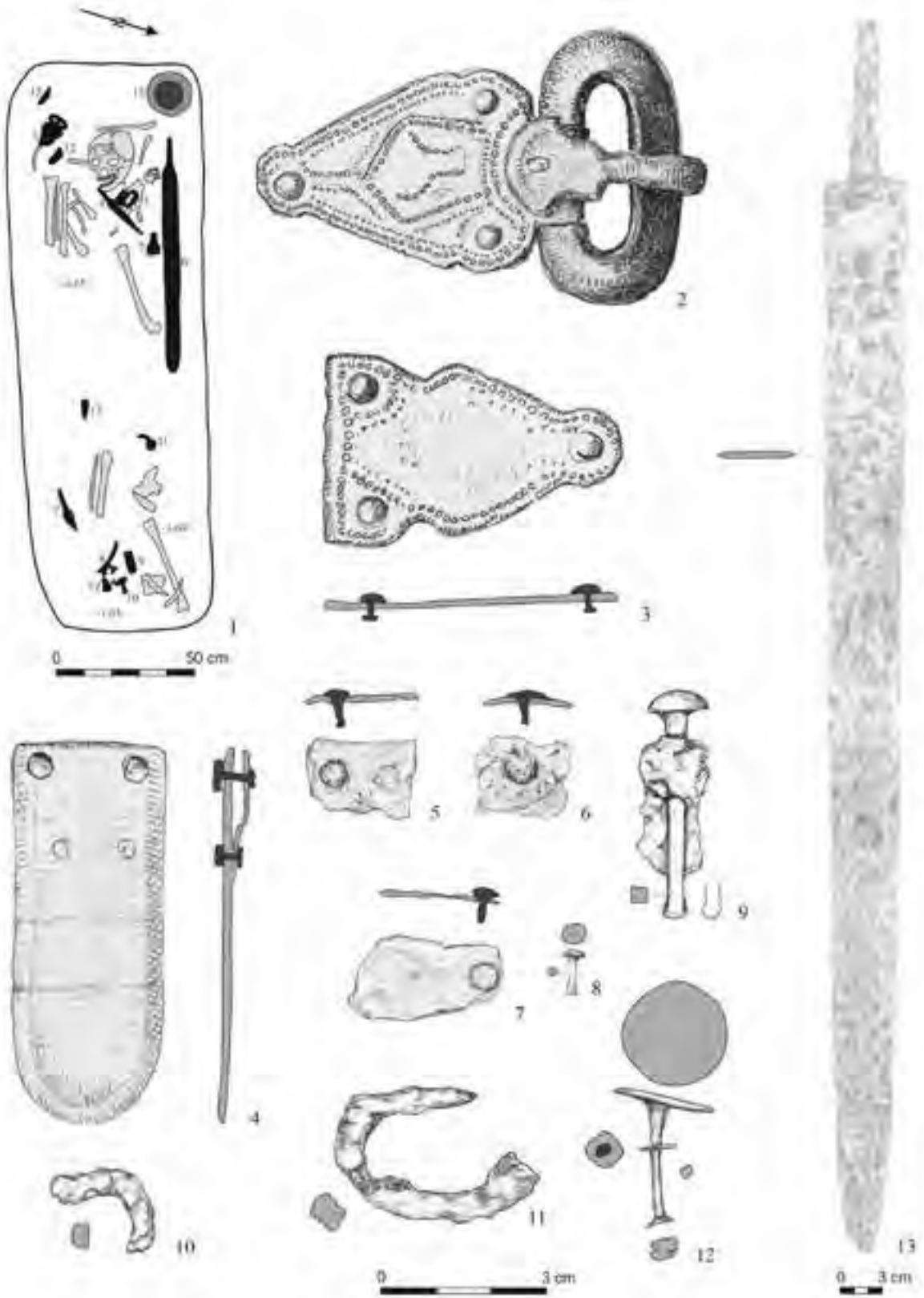


Fig. 6. Noşlac, grave 17, selected finds

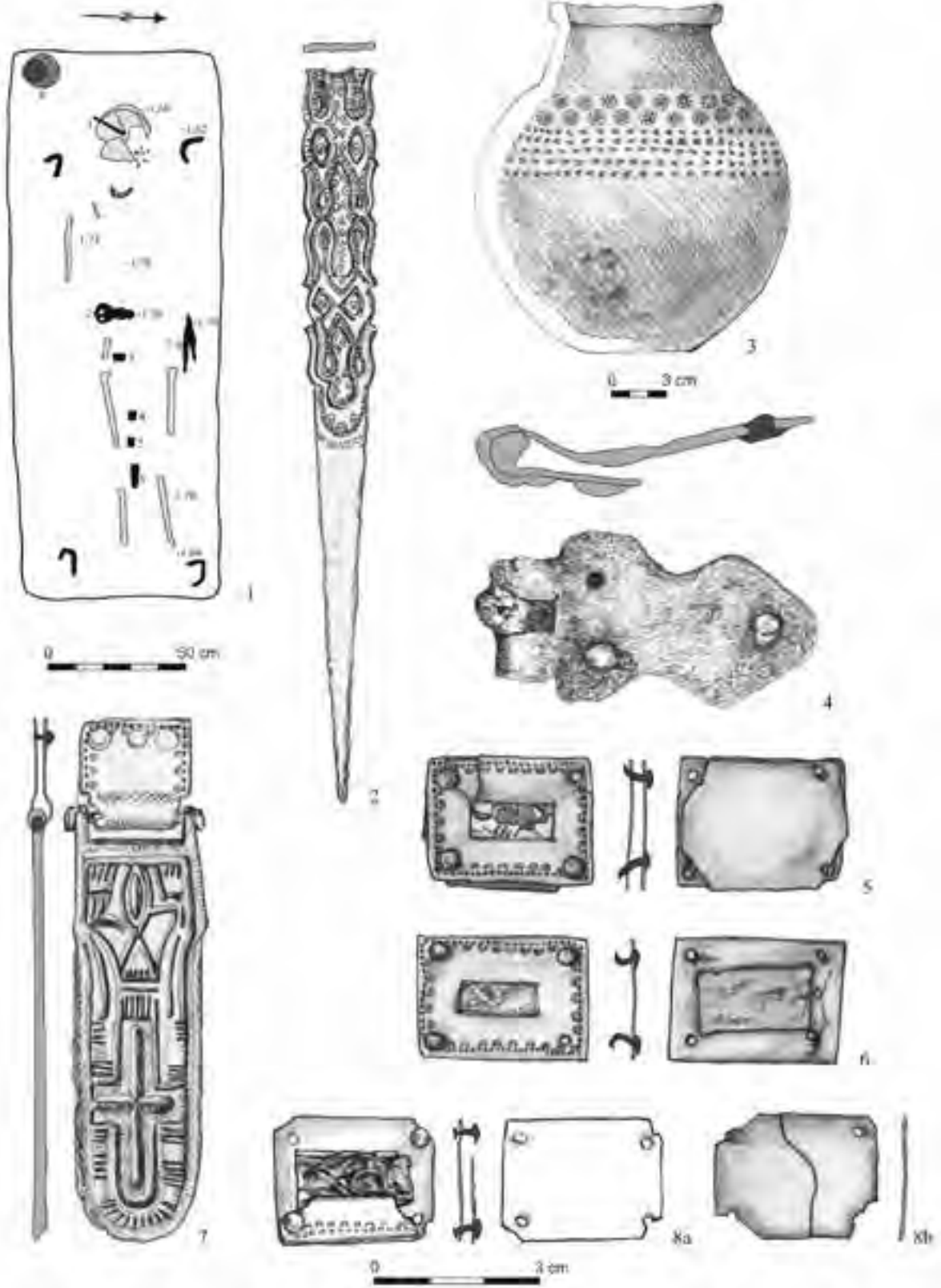


Fig. 7. Noşlac, grave 18, selected finds

Another important component of the material culture of the Transylvanian row-grave cemeteries is represented by elements which appeared in the region after the Avar conquest and are generally regarded as characteristic 'Avar' items in the archaeological literature; however the identification of the archaeological material belonging to the first two generations of the Avar conquerors is still subject of debate⁸². The most characteristic items of the early Avars are generally considered the composite bow with big three-edged arrowheads, the spears with reed-leaf-shaped blade, the long single-edged swords with straight blade (frequently provided with P-shaped suspension loops), the apple-shaped stirrups with rectangular loop, the pressed belt-sets and harness mounts, as well as the horse burials⁸³.

Without assigning a clear ethnical meaning to them, it can be sustained that the two mentioned models identified in the Early Avar Age have different roots and, therefore, represent separate cultural traditions. The former is strongly connected to the contemporary Merovingian row-grave cemeteries (of course with several particular elements), while the latter appeared in the Carpathian Basin after the Avar conquest. Therefore, the proportion of the two models, named 'Merovingian' and 'Avar' tradition⁸⁴ in order to simplify the terminology⁸⁵, is of great importance for establishing the cultural relations of the Transylvanian communities as well as the regional differences.

The analysis of the weapon graves from the Transylvanian late row-grave cemeteries revealed that the impact of the two different cultural models show significant regional differences. The 'Merovingian' tradition occurs most intensively in the cemeteries situated in the Middle-Mureş Valley (mainly at Noşlac and Unirea-Vereşmort / H: Marosveresmart, G: Rothberg), and in a less extent in the necropolises from the north-eastern part of Transylvania (Galaţii Bistriţei / H: Galacfalva, G: Heresdorf; Fântânele; Archiud / H: Mezőerked, G: Arkened). On the other hand, it can be detected only in a small quantity at Bratei⁸⁶. The differences become even more conspicuous if one includes into the analysis the male burials without weapons and the female graves. It can be observed at the first sight that the cemeteries from the middle course of the Mureş River, respectively the one at Band (H: Mezőbánd, G: Bandorf) are marked by a strong 'Merovingian' tradition, while in the cemetery 3 at Bratei the elements of the 'Merovingian' model are almost completely missing. In the latter cemetery no three-part belt-set or typical female assemblage containing the above presented elements was discovered. The necropolises from the north-eastern part of Transylvania are situated between these two poles.

The 'Avar' tradition is not evenly present either. In the case of weapon graves it occurs most intensively at Bratei, cemetery 3, in a much less extent at Band and it is completely missing in the cemeteries from the north-eastern part of Transylvania. It seems that the two cultural traditions cannot be sharply separated within the cemeteries which points toward the hypothesis that they were at least partially contemporary. The only exception is represented by the cemetery at Noşlac, where the graves showing 'Avar' traditions were situated on the north-western periphery of the cemetery. This situation can be explained mainly by chronological differences taking into account that the graves lying in the north-western edge are dated in a later period than the rest of the cemetery, namely to the Middle and Late Avar Age⁸⁷.

Another significant change compared to the former period is related to the Byzantine connections of the area: in the cemeteries of the late phase the quantity of the objects of Byzantine origin is significantly higher. From a qualitative point of view none of the finds belongs to the

⁸² See e.g. GARAM 1990; BÁLINT 1993; BÁLINT 2010 (with further bibliography).

⁸³ See e.g. BÁLINT 1989, 152–156; GARAM 1990; DAIM 2003, 465–468.

⁸⁴ See also DOBOS 2015, 61–62.

⁸⁵ The terms 'Merovingian' and 'Avar' refer to theoretical models and, therefore, do not denote necessarily an ethnic interpretation, but are rather conventional terms in order to determine the cultural traditions of the two groups.

⁸⁶ For a detailed discussion on the subject see DOBOS 2015, 72–82.

⁸⁷ DOBOS 2017, 426–427.

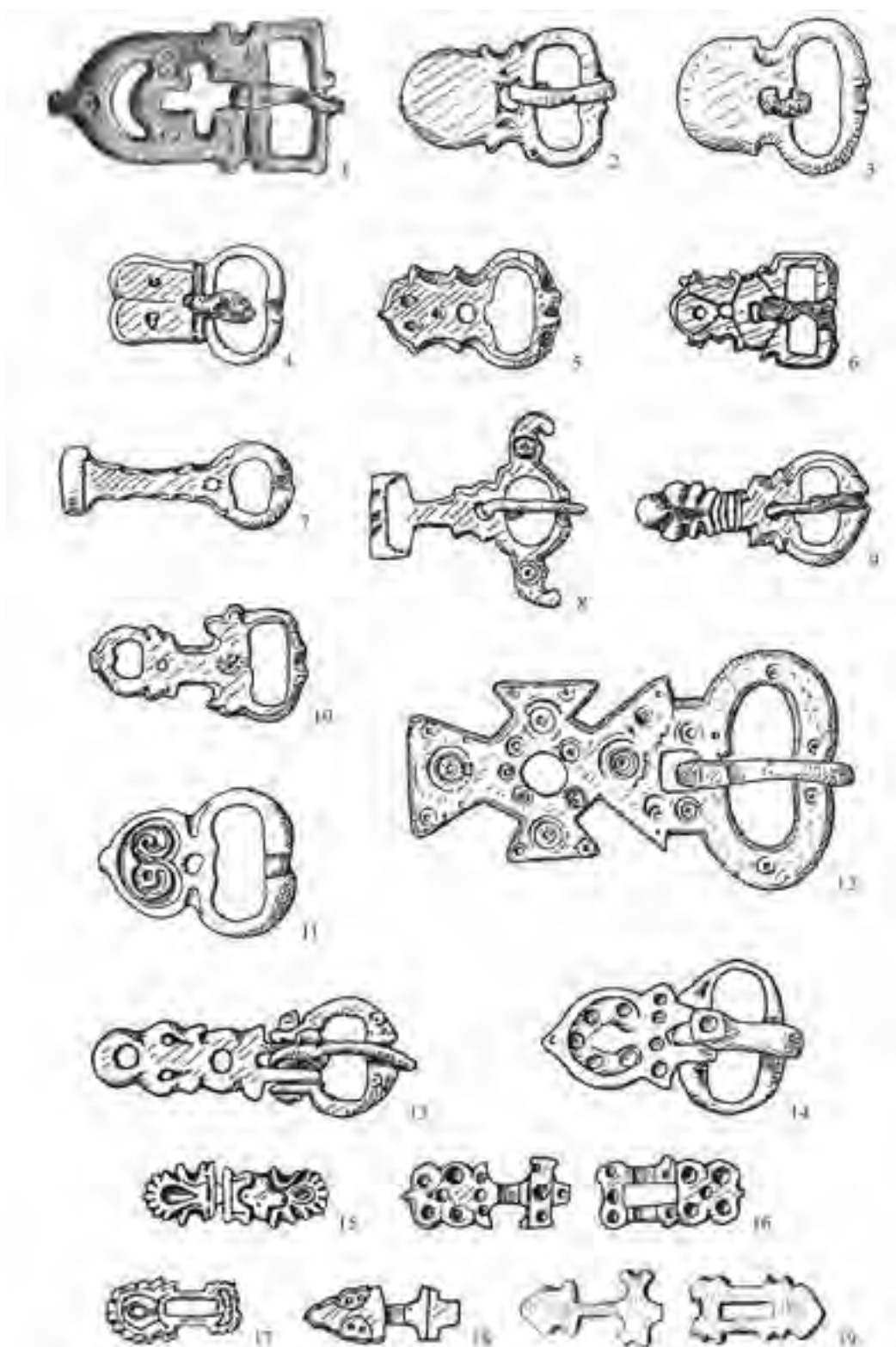


Fig. 8. Objects of Byzantine-Balkan origin in the late row-grave cemeteries from Transylvania: 1. Noşlac, grave 10; 2–18. Bratei cemetery 3: 2–3. grave 15; 4. grave 90; 5. grave 124; 6. grave 192; 7. grave 236; 8. grave 182; 9. grave 98; 10. grave 189; 11. grave 236; 12. grave 81; 13. grave 116; 14. grave 135; 15. grave 121; 16. grave 170; 17. grave 167; 18. grave 153; 19. Noşlac, grave 107 (2–18. after BÂRZU 2010)

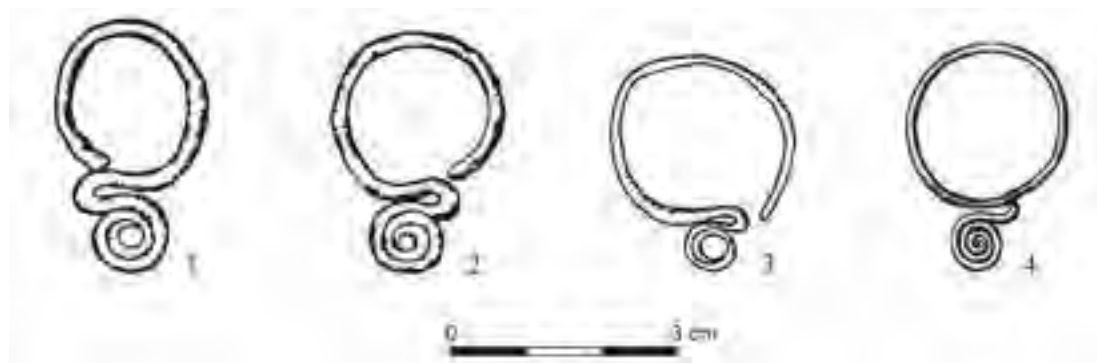


Fig. 9. Earrings with spiral ending: 1–2. Unirea-Vereşmort, grave 8 (after ROSKA 1934); 3. Bratei-cemetery 3, stray find (after BĂRZU 2010); 4. Zajtsev, hoard find (after KORZUKHINA 1996)

category of prestige objects, but all of them are exclusively mass goods (Fig. 8). The distribution of the Byzantine objects in the late row-grave cemeteries is disproportioned. From the cemeteries situated in the Mureş Valley only a few pieces can be mentioned from Noşlac (buckles, toggle fastening). So far, such objects are missing in the cemeteries from North-eastern Transylvania. On the other hand, their number is conspicuously high in the cemetery 3 at Bratei not only in comparison with the other Transylvanian sites, but also with the rest of the Carpathian Basin⁸⁸.

Judging from a typological viewpoint it is conspicuous that the majority of the objects of Byzantine origin belong to types whose main distribution area clusters in the Balkans/Lower Danube area. In several cases, with uncertain typological classification, a possible local production cannot be excluded either. On these grounds it seems likely that the community from Bratei had rather intensive short-distance connections with the fortifications from the Lower Danube area and their hinterland than long-distance relations with the core area of the Byzantine Empire. In the same time, certain connections can be detected between the late row-grave cemeteries from Transylvania, first of all, the one from Bratei, and the first group of hoards from the Dnieper region, known in the archaeological literature as the 'Martynovka group'. The analysis of this relationship requires further investigations. The main problem is chronological: on one hand, the exact dating of the hoards from the Dnieper area is still unsettled, on the other hand the chronology of the Transylvanian cemeteries is not sufficiently clarified either. Due to this chronological uncertainty it is difficult to clarify the way how the relations functioned between the two regions. The formation of the hoards from the Dnieper region probably started already at the end of the 6th century⁸⁹; the period of their hiding is still subject of debate. Generally it is connected to the end of the Pen'kovka culture and is dated in the late 7th century⁹⁰. Recently an earlier date was proposed by Michel Kazanski, namely the period between 620/640 and 640/650⁹¹. According to Olga Sčeglova a significant part of the objects belonging to the second group of the hoards from the Dnieper region can be traced back on prototypes from the Middle Danube area; thus the latter are the earlier. Among these the earring with spiral ending from Zajtsev can be mentioned, whose best analogy is known from Unirea–Vereşmort⁹² (Fig. 9).

Based on the aforementioned, it can be stated that the intensity of the two different traditions (the 'Merovingian' and the 'Avar' model), respectively the frequency of the objects of Byzantine-Balkan origin show significant differences in the Transylvanian cemeteries. As a working hypothesis, it

⁸⁸ DOBOS 2017, 427.

⁸⁹ PRICHODNJUK 1994, 170; KAZANSKI 2013, 836–841.

⁹⁰ PRICHODNJUK 1994, 170; GAVRITUCHIN–OBLOMSKY 1996, 176–177.

⁹¹ KAZANSKI 2013, 787–789.

⁹² SCSEGLOVA 1995, 380.



Fig. 10. Regional groups of the late row-grave cemeteries in Transylvania (the numbers correspond with Fig. 5)

can be presumed that the geographical location of the cemeteries could have played a major role in this respect. Three main regions can be distinguished (*Fig. 10*): 1. In the cemeteries situated in the central area of the Transylvanian Basin, more precisely in the Middle Mureș Valley and in the southern part of the Câmpia Transilvaniei (H: Mezőség) region (Noșlac; Unirea–Vereșmort; Band; Târgu Mureș / H: Marosvásárhely, G: Neumarkt), both the ‘Merovingian’ and the ‘Avar’ tradition can be detected, but the former is indisputably dominant. In the same time, objects of Byzantine-Balkan origin occur sporadically. 2. In the north-eastern area, namely in the valley of the Someșul Mare (H: Nagy-Szamos) River and its tributaries and the northern part of the Câmpia Transilvaniei region (Bistrița / H: Beszeterce, G: Bistritz; Galații Bistriței; Fântânele; Archiud) the ‘Merovingian’ tradition is less visible, the ‘Avar’ tradition and the Byzantine goods are almost completely missing. This might be explained by the relative geographical isolation of this region, which resulted in a less intensive involvement in the communication network between the different communities. 3. The third region is situated in the valley of the Târnava Mare River and is only represented by the cemetery 3 at Bratei. In this necropolis the characteristics of the ‘Merovingian’ tradition occur less intensively; instead, the ‘Avar’ tradition is better represented. However, the most prominent phenomenon is the massive presence of the objects of Byzantine-Balkan origin, which clearly indicates the existence of connections towards south.

It can be presumed that the relations of the Transylvanian communities developed, first of all, along the traditional commercial routes used throughout history; thus the communities living in the area of the Middle Mureș Valley communicated using the valley of the Mureș River towards west, while the one from Bratei perhaps the valley of the Olt (H: Olt) River towards south. It seems likely that the main economical base of the commercial relations was the salt⁹³, especially if one takes into consideration that some of the cemeteries are located near important salt beds⁹⁴.

⁹³ See e.g. RUSTOIU 2005, 41–42; GÁLL 2014, 307–308.

⁹⁴ For example Noșlac and Unirea–Vereșmort are situated in the vicinity of Ocna Mureș, while Luna lies near Turda.

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NORTHWESTERN TERRITORY OF ROMANIA (UPPER TISZA BASIN) IN THE LAST THIRD OF THE 5TH CENTURY AND IN THE 6TH CENTURY

Ioan Stanciu

Alongside the known settlements and funerary discoveries from northeastern Hungary, a limited area from the Northwestern region of Romania belonged to the territory controlled by the Gepidic Kingdom. Specifically, this is a microarea situated at the southern edge of the former Ecedea swamp. It is possible that the forethought behind the choosing this microarea as a "border" to the Kingdom was its strategic position as it could have controlled access from north and north-west towards Transylvania along valley of the river Crasna, with the trail ultimately reaching the Meseş Gate, the primary accessway to the Transylvanian Basin. The (scarce) previous findings, settlements and funerary findings, are succinctly presented. Northwestern Romania has often been involved in debates on the location of the Gepidic population before the structuring of the Kingdom. However, explanations put forward thus far are not particularly convincing.

Keywords: Northwestern Romania; Gepidic Kingdom; settlements; funerary findings; evolution of habitation; the issue of ethnic identification

A simple examination of the map reveals the positioning of the upper Tisza region as a geographic entity located on the north-eastern periphery of the Carpathian (Carpathian – Danubian) Basin, now a separated area between the frontiers of four modern states. Aside from the possibility of having a very precise geographic delimitation, this territory was centred on the upper segment of the Tisza River and its tributaries, being bordered by the north-eastern bent of the Carpathians (Fig. 1). Nevertheless, the local landscape characteristics and the diversity of the natural conditions in general allow the identification of a series of micro-regions, but in essence this is a unitary territory whose surface is relatively evenly covered by mountains, hills, plains and, in the past, several marshes in lowland areas.

Regarding the delimitation of the territory which would correspond to the upper Tisza basin, most archaeologists have taken into consideration, although rarely in an explicit manner, south-eastern Slovakia (centred on the upper basins of the Bodrog and Hernád rivers), Zakarpattia region in Ukraine, Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg County and the north-eastern part of the Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén County in north-eastern Hungary, and north-western Romania. Irrespective of the historical period, numerous common elements can be noted in the evolution of the habitat,¹ a situation which was actually determined by the role of this territory in connection with the regions from the northern and north-eastern vicinity of the Carpathians through the Verecke, Laborec or Dukla passes, to mention only the most important ones.

The position of the territory in north-western Romania determined until today the role of a transit area between the northern segment of the upper Tisza basin (and further away to the west,

¹ Regarding only the archaeological environment of the Roman imperial period, one interesting example is provided by the fine grey pottery (made on the fast wheel) with stamped decoration, which arrived in *Barbaricum* from the upper Tisza region under Roman provincial influence (the workshop from *Porolissum*), and was then produced during the 3rd–4th centuries AD in workshops located across the entire region. More recently, see GINDELE–ISTVÁNOVITS 2011, 142–212. The so-called Blažice-Bereg/Beregsurány culture was suggested on the basis of the assemblage of common characteristics identified in the archaeological environment of the entire upper Tisza basin. For example, OŁĘDZKI 1999a.



Fig. 1. Location of the north-western Romanian territory in the Carpathian (Carpathian – Danubian) basin

the regions northward the Danube's bent) and the Transylvanian basin or the region eastward the middle Tisza. One micro-region which frequently experienced a distinct evolution over time includes a part of the Nir (in Hungarian, Nyírség) plain, then the Ér and Carei plains which were partially isolated to the north and east from the remaining territory by the former Ecedea marsh and the marshy area on the lower course of the Crasna River. Its connections were mainly oriented to the west and south-west² even in the 5th–6th centuries (it has to be mentioned that only this territory was included into the Gepidic Kingdom and later into the Avar Khaganate).

SETTLEMENTS

Although the settlements are present, their total number is reduced – some of them being identified only during field surveys – this situation being the result of insufficient archaeological investigations. They were only identified in the south-western lowland area of the territory in question, and together with the funerary discoveries delimitate a region which was incorporated into the Gepidic Kingdom in the last third of the 5th century and during the first two thirds of the 6th century (*Tab. 1* and *Fig. 2*).

According to the available information, there is a remarkable intensity of habitation at least in the southern area bordering the former Ecedea marshes, more precisely on a “frontier” line of the territory inhabited by the population of the Gepidic Kingdom, at its north-eastern extremity. Regardless of the explanations provided for the poor state of research of the settlements from this period, it can be presumed that the difference between the available information and the real archaeological situation must be considerable. For example, the settlement from Carei–Bobald II was some time ago only vaguely mentioned, but recent rescue excavations (from 2012, with still unpublished results) led to the partial investigation of it and of its cemetery.

² E.g. NÉMETI 1996, 457; GINDELE 2010, 9, 90, 94, 99.

In the vicinity is the micro-region including the localities Berea, Ciumești and Sanislău, in which the pit houses appeared during some archaeological excavations investigating other historical periods, but the documentation and most of the recovered inventory remained unpublished. The spatial delimitation of these sites is also problematic, and the older hypothesis based on the existence of four different sites has to be re-examined.³ The situation is even more complicated, as some pottery which is more likely datable to the first half of the 5th century also comes from Berea X and XXI findspots, so the possibility of a relatively small area on which some distinct settlements evolved over time has to be taken into consideration. The identified material (pottery and bone combs with bilateral teeth) cannot allow an eventual chronological delimitation of some phases of habitation during the second half of the 5th century and until slightly after the middle of the 6th century.

Table 1. Discoveries from the second half or the last third of the 5th century – the first two thirds of the 6th century. A – partial systematic research or preventive excavation. B – chance discovery. C – stray finds. D – archaeological field survey. For details and references to the bibliography, see STANCIU 2011, Catalogue

no.	Site / District	Discovery	A	B	C	D
1	Andrid (Érendréd) / Satu Mare	grave		•		
2	Berea (Bere) X and Berea XXI / Satu Mare	settlement	•			
3	Berea (Bere) XVI / Satu Mare	settlement				•
4	Berea (Bere) XIIb / Satu Mare	settlement				•
5	Carei (Nagykároly)–Bobald II / Satu Mare	settlement	•			
6	Carei (Nagykároly)–Bobald II / Satu Mare	cemetery	•			
7	Carei/Căpleni (Kaplony)–Kozárd / Satu Mare	settlement				•
8	Carei/Căpleni (Kaplony)–Kozárd / Satu Mare	cemetery	•			
9	Ciumești (Csomaköz) I / Satu Mare	settlement	•			
10	Curtuiușeni (Érkörtvélyes) / Bihor	graves?		•		
11	Deleni (Nagymonótfalu) / Sălaj	spoon (silver)			•	
12	Diosig (Bihardiószeg)–Cartierul țiganilor / Bihor	bone comb		•		
13	Sanislău (Szaniszló) I–III / Satu Mare	settlement(s)				•
14	Sălacea (Szalacs) / Bihor	bone comb			•	
15	Șimian (Érsemjén) / Bihor	grave(s)?			•	
16	Șimian (Érsemjén)–Groapa cu lut / Bihor	graves?		•		
17	Șomcuta Mare (Nagysomkút) / Maramureș	<i>solidus</i> (Justinian I)			•	
18	Valea lui Mihai (Érmihályfalva)–Grădina lui Alex. Stantz / Bihor	cemetery	•			
19	Valea lui Mihai–Grădina lui Krizsán / Bihor	cemetery	•			
20	Valea lui Mihai–Új sárgaföldes gödör / Bihor	settlement?	•			
21	Zalău (Zilah) / Sălaj	<i>Solidus</i> (Leo I)			•	

The geographic characteristics of this area on the southern limit of the former Ecedea marshes, with a waterlogged terrain strewn with sand dunes, required the building of settlements on heights located at longer or shorter distances from one to another and separated by moors and streams. On an area of a few tens of hectares, including the localities Berea and Ciumești, the general view seems to be that of some small hamlets that occupied the sand dunes situated on both banks of the mentioned stream, having a spatial and chronological evolution which is difficult to identify today (Fig. 3). The fact that only a small number of features were identified in the excavated sites (Berea X, XXI, Ciumești I) accentuates the image of a dwelling comprising scattered units, efficiently exploiting the natural characteristics of the area.

³ STANCIU 1997, 170 and the catalogue of discoveries; STANCIU 2011, 322–326, 329.

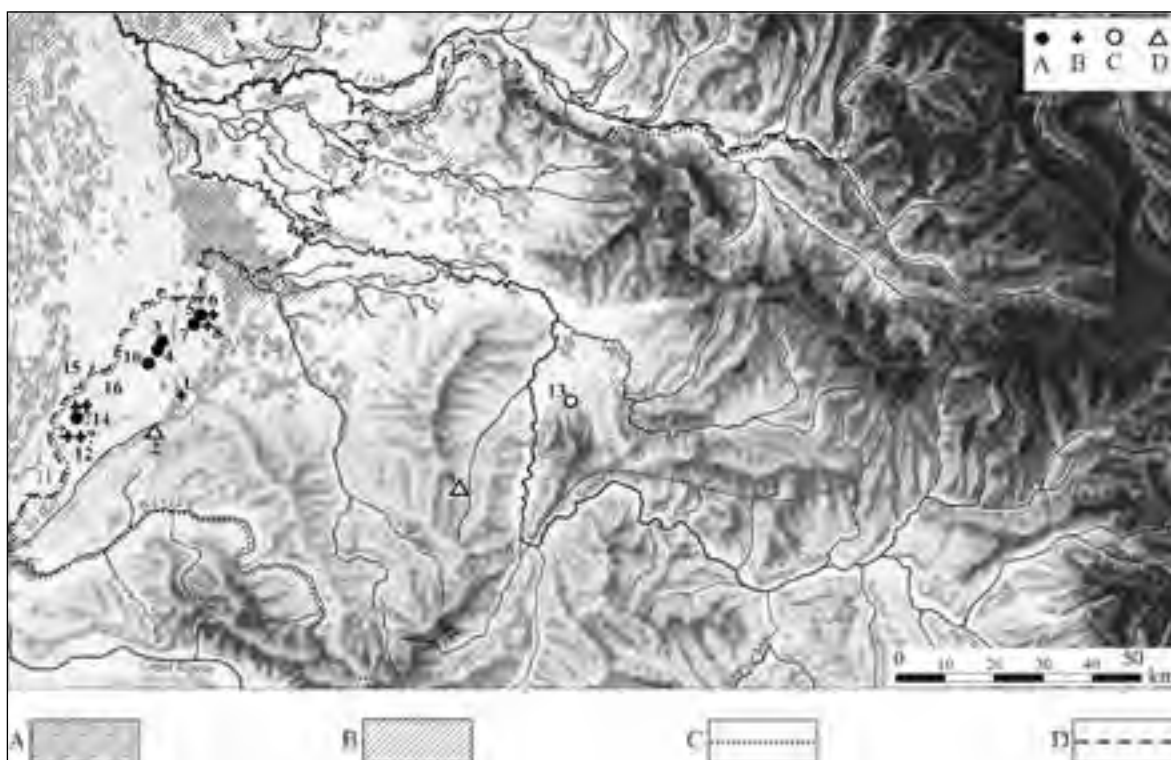


Fig. 2. Distribution of the discoveries belonging to the D3 stage and up to AD 568. 1. Andrid/Endréd (Satu Mare District); 2. Sălăcea/Szalacs (Bihar District); 3. Berea/Bere X, XIIb, XXI; 4. Berea/Bere XVI and Ciumești/Csomaköz I (Satu Mare District); 5, 6. Carei/Nagykároly-Bobald II.; 7, 8. Carei-Căpleni/Nagykároly-Kaplony-Kozárd (Satu Mare District); 9. Deleni/Nagymonótfalu (Sălaj District); 10. Sanislău/Szaniszló I–III (Satu Mare District); 11, 12. Șimian/Érsemjén (Bihar District); 13. Șomcuta Mare/Nagysomkút (Maramureș County); 14–16. Valea lui Mihai/Érmihályfalva (Bihar District). The geography and hydrographic network reconstructed to the 18th century state (<http://foldepites.wordpress.com/terkepek/>); A. swamps; B. floating land; C. the delineation of the territory that has been studied; D. border between current states

Ceramic fragments, dated to the second half of the 5th century and the 6th century, were recovered from three findspots within the boundary of Sanislău, without the possibility to identify the eventual relations between them, although the existence of a single settlement has been taken into consideration. Given the absence of any details, it is impossible to say whether the bone combs discovered in Diosig, Sălăcea and Valea lui Mihai-Új sárgaföldes gödör (southward, in Bihar District) are related to some settlements or eventually to some destroyed burials (Figs 5.3, 5.8).

Across the entire Tisza Plain the contemporaneous settlements, smaller or larger, exploited the higher terrain situated on the river and stream banks, frequently close to the marshes. Sometimes the proper limits of the settlement, including households scattered on neighbouring sandbanks, similarly to the situation from Berea – Ciumești area, are difficult to identify.⁴

Aside from the structures identified in Carei-Bobald II, still unpublished, only five other houses were completely or partially investigated (Berea X: 1; Berea XXI: 3; Ciumești I: 1).⁵ The shape of these houses, or structures eventually having a different function, is only known in three cases from the approximate sketches made on a general plan of the excavations from Berea XXI. They have a rectangular contour with very rounded corners, so sometimes their shape is more likely oval. The

⁴ Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde², vol. 11 (1998), eds. H. Beck, H. Steuer, and D. Timpe, 123, s. v. Gepiden. 4. Siedlungen (Ágnes B. Tóth); TÓTH 2006, 50–52.

⁵ STANCIU 2011, 616, pl. 7.1, 617, pl. 8.1.

things are clearer in the case of the structures investigated in the settlement from Carei-Bobald II (again, the results have not been published yet), in which the pit houses are rectangular, sometimes nearly square-shaped, with posts on the corners and the middle of the walls, like the majority of those identified at Biharea, in a neighbouring region (Fig. 4).⁶ As in other settlements of this type, the fire installations (simple hearths) are rare, the best example coming from the better investigated settlement at Morești, in Transylvania.⁷ Geographically, the closest analogies are those from the Tisza Plain (Hungary)⁸ and Transylvania.⁹ Due to their general aspect, these settlements and houses resemble those from the Germanic or Roman – Germanic rural world of the period.¹⁰

Chronologically, the majority of the Transylvanian settlements of this type were assigned to the first two thirds of the 6th century, albeit sometimes only with the help of pottery.¹¹ The majority of the houses from the Tisza Plain were also wider dated, between the end of the 5th century and the middle of the 6th century, even if the pottery may help identifying an earlier horizon in the case of certain contexts from Battonya or Ártánd.¹²

With the exception of pottery and bone combs, other components of the settlements' inventories are not known today. The finds include 10 bone combs having two rows of teeth, made of three elements (the central plate and the two small plates of the handle), some better preserved and others as fragments. They appear in settlements (Valea lui Mihai-Új sárgaföldes gödör, Berea X and XXI), but also in burials (Căpleni/Carei-Kozárd, Valea lui Mihai-Grădina lui Krizsán) (Fig. 5). The combs having bilateral teeth appear along the Danubian *limes* as early as the middle of the 4th century (or slightly earlier), but they are mostly present towards the end of the century, being then used during the 5th–7th centuries without any significant change.¹³ The combs having moulded edges might have been earlier dated also in the Gepidic milieu, which may explain their sporadic

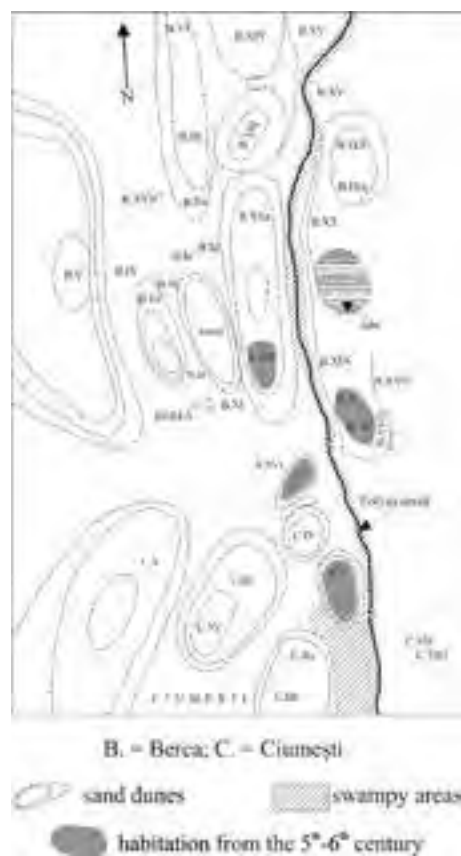


Fig. 3. Sites from the 5th–6th century lying within the bounds of the villages of Berea/Bere and Ciumești/Csomaköz, Satu Mare District (after NÉMETI 1997)

⁶ DUMITRAȘCU 1994, 167–173, 324–326, and figs. 78–80.

⁷ HOREDT 1979, 112.

⁸ Tiszafüred-Morotvapart (CSEH 1991); Battonya (TÓTH 2006, 11–18); Eperjes-Csikós tábla (TÓTH 2006, 19–27) etc.

⁹ With examples from better investigated settlements, like those from Morești (HOREDT 1979, 90–91 and figs. 39–40) and Țaga (PROTASE 2003, 21–34). For an estimated number of settlements dated to the 5th–6th centuries from Transylvania and the Tisza Plain see RUSTOIU 2005 and TÓTH 2006.

¹⁰ CSEH 1991; CSEH 1999a; CSEH 1999b; CHAPELOT 1980; TEJRAL 1998.

¹¹ For instance: Morești (HOREDT 1979, 200–204, 207); Sighișoara-Dealul viilor (HARHOIU–BALTAG 2006, 376–377); Dipșa (GAIU 1993); Ocnița (GAIU 1994, 52).

¹² See TÓTH 2006, 121–122.

¹³ For instance GOMOLKA-FUCHS 1982, 165; BÍRÓ 2002, 60, 67. This observation is also valid for the Barbarian environment from the second half of the 4th century onward. For instance DUMITRAȘCU 1982, 117; OPREANU 1992, 164–167. In Transylvania a workshop dated between the end of the 4th century and the beginning of the 5th century functioned at Suceag (Cluj District), close to the territory in question. See OPREANU 1992 and OPREANU 2003, 130–136.



Fig. 4. Careil/Nagykároly-Bobald II. Selected structures from the settlement. 1, 2. pit houses (features no. 27 and 24); 3. baking oven (feature no. 70) (Drawings from the documentation provided by Róbert Gindele, Satu Mare County Museum)

appearance in burials datable from the late 5th century onwards.¹⁴ In general the bone combs having

¹⁴ The piece from Valea lui Mihai/Érmihályfalva (Fig. 5.8) belongs to the variant II.1b of Petković, having analogies, for example, at *Castrum Novae/Cezava*, where they were dated between 378 and 441. See

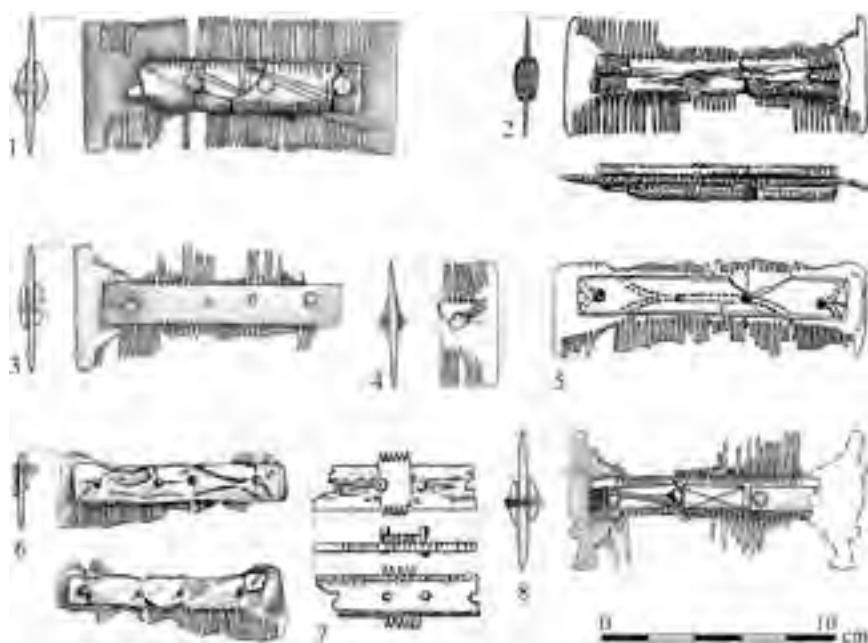


Fig. 5. Examples of bone combs from settlements (1, 3–5, 8) or graves (2, 6, 7). 1. Berea/Bere-Sóskásdomb (Berea X), Satu Mare District (after STANCIU 2011); 2, 7. Valea lui Mihai/Érmihályfalva–Grădina lui Krizsán, Bihor District (after ANDRÁSSY 1944); 3, 8. Valea lui Mihai/Érmihályfalva–Új sárgaföldes gödör, Bihor District (after STANCIU 2011); 4. Berea/Bere-Bodzás (Berea XXI), Satu Mare District (after STANCIU 2011); 5. Sălăcea/Szalacs, Bihor District (after DUMITRAȘCU 1983); 6. Carei-Căpleni/Nagykároly-Kaplony-Kozárd, Satu Mare District (after STANCIU–IERCOȘAN 2003)

two rows of teeth cannot support the attempts to narrow the dating of archaeological contexts from the 5th–6th centuries,¹⁵ and as a consequence such finds cannot nail down a particular chronological interval during these centuries in the area in question.

Regarding the pottery, a significant part of the known material comes from field surveys or from cultural layers of the excavated settlements, so it can only provide a relatively precarious documentary base. Using the technological characteristics, four categories can be delimited, each marked with letters from *a* to *d*¹⁶. A classification of the material coming from settlements, using another perspective that cannot be applied in north-western Romania for the moment as it may produce inconclusive results, is based on the separation of fine pottery from the kitchenware, each category including specific forms (Fig. 6).¹⁷

On fine pottery (usually gray) traces of technological burnishing appear frequently on the outside, together with some proper burnished ornaments (Fig. 6*a*; Fig. 8.1–4). The association of this type of decoration with slender oval or circular facets is interesting (Fig. 7.3–4.6), but an earlier dating of these fragments was already suggested (more likely the first half of the 5th century),

PETKOVIĆ 1995, catalogue, no. 67 and 69, pl. V.1–2. Since the context of discovery and other categories of finds are missing (another comb belonging to the simple variant comes from the same findspot), its dating to the 5th century has to be accepted, perhaps even in connection with the horizon illustrated here by the burial from “the garden of Al. Stantz” (the last third of the 5th century – early 6th century).

¹⁵ For instance GOMOLKA-FUCHS 1982, 165 and KISS 1995, 313–314.

¹⁶ There is no connection with the same letters (uppercase) used by K. Horedt to mark the typology of the kitchenware rims. See HORED T 1979, 123, fig. 59. *a* = fine pottery modelled on the fast wheel; *b* = the semi-fine modelled on the fast wheel; *c* = the coarse pottery, also produced on the fast wheel; *d* = hand-made. For more details regarding the material from north-western Romania see STANCIU 1997, 170–174 and STANCIU 2011, 53–57.

¹⁷ TÓTH 2006, 78–121.

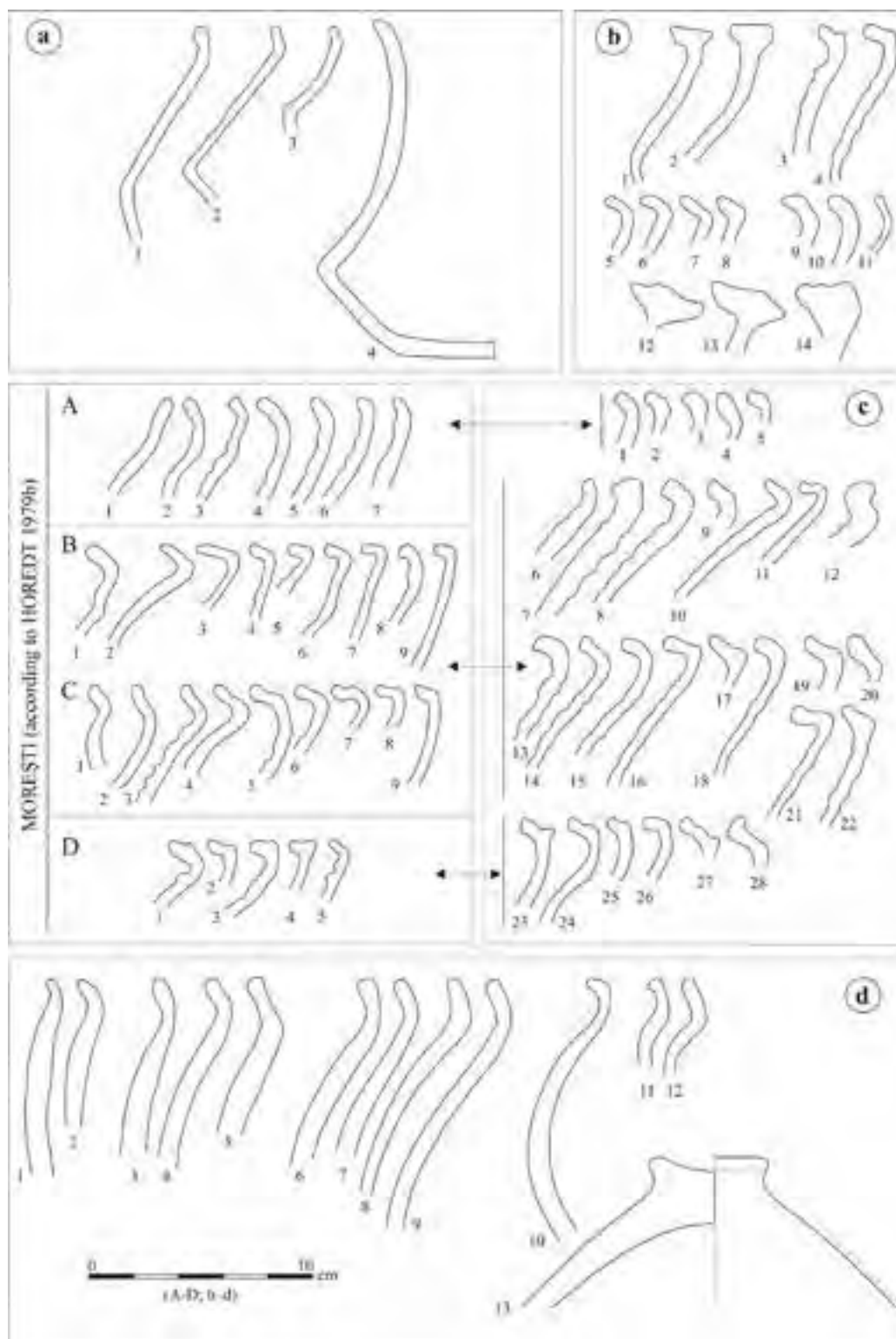


Fig. 6. Ceramic profiles from the micro-zone of Berea/Bere, Ciumești/Csomaköz and Sanislău/Szaniszló (the last third of the 5th century and the first two thirds of the 6th century), compared with those of the pottery from the settlement at Morești/Malomfalva (Transylvania). Sigla A–D indicate the shape groups from HOREDT 1979b, and in the case of the material from the North-West, they represent technological groups (a – wheel-thrown, fine paste; b – wheel-thrown, semifine paste; C – wheel-thrown, rough paste; D – hand-made)

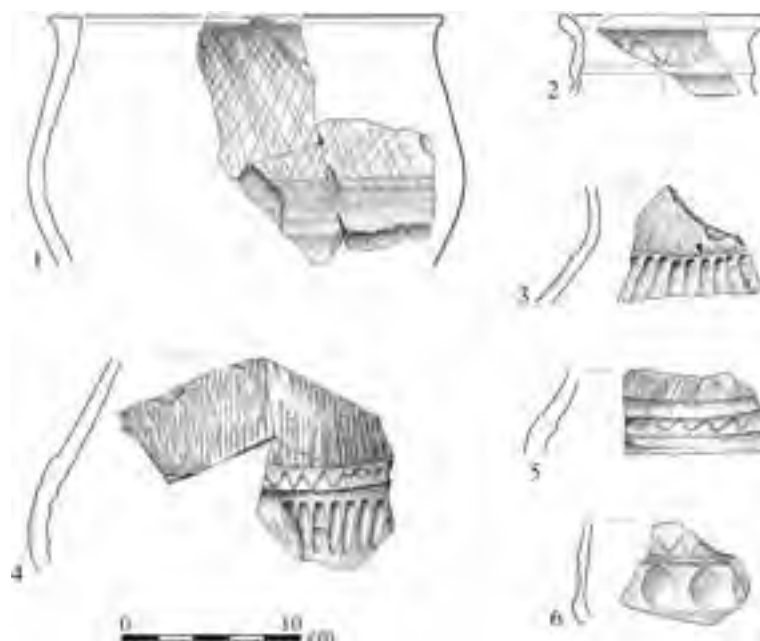


Fig. 7. Fine pottery modelled on the fast wheel (the first half of the 5th century, D₂ stage). Settlement from Berea/Bere-Bodzás and Sós-kás (Berea XXI), Satu Mare District

related to a possible contemporaneous settlement in Berea X and XXI findspots.¹⁸ The bi-conical vessels having the maximum diameter on the lower half are illustrative, being frequently decorated with burnished or stamped motifs. They are commonly found in sites belonging to the *Reihengräber* horizon from the Carpathian Basin, the majority of them being dated to the second half of the 5th century and the first half of the 6th century in the Gepidic milieu.¹⁹ The absence (for the time being) of the fine grey pottery with stamped decoration, less frequent in settlements, has to be noted.²⁰ Due to its characteristics, the semi-fine pottery is comparable to a similar category seldom present in the later Roman settlements from north-western Romania. At the same time the *c* category is nearly identical technologically to the corresponding pottery from the inventory of the same settlements. One major form – the handleless jar – can be clearly identified. Sometimes the vessels' rim is heavily moulded and has the groove on which the lid stands. The decoration rarely appears: fine lines (Fig. 8.6), groups of undulating lines incised on the rim of the storage jars (Fig. 8.7–9), fascicles of straight or undulating lines finely drawn (Fig. 8.18–20). Statistically, the percentage of the semi-fine category is about 23%, whereas the percentage of the coarse one is up to 43% of the total number of analysed pottery. The fragments of storage jars having a semi-fine fabric, quite similar to the Roman ones but having smaller dimensions, are rarely present (Fig. 8.7–9). A reduced number of finds having the same incised decoration on the rim is known, for example, from the settlement at Morești.²¹

¹⁸ STANCIU 2011, 54.

¹⁹ This is an old observation, see HORED T 1979, 125. For the fine pottery from the settlements on the Tisza Plain see TÓTH 2006, 79–93 (for the chronology of the bi-conical vessels see fig. 30).

²⁰ For example a single fragment is known from the settlement at Biharea (DUMITRAȘCU 1994, 339, fig. 98. above).

²¹ HORED T 1979, 133, fig. 65.10–14. Storage vessels having a similar rim and decoration appeared earlier in the northern Carpathians region, in the late Przeworsk culture, towards the beginning of the Early Migration Period. For instance MADYDA-LEGUTKO-TUNIA 1993, pl. XXI and XXIV.a; MADYDA-LEGUTKO 1996, fig. 10.

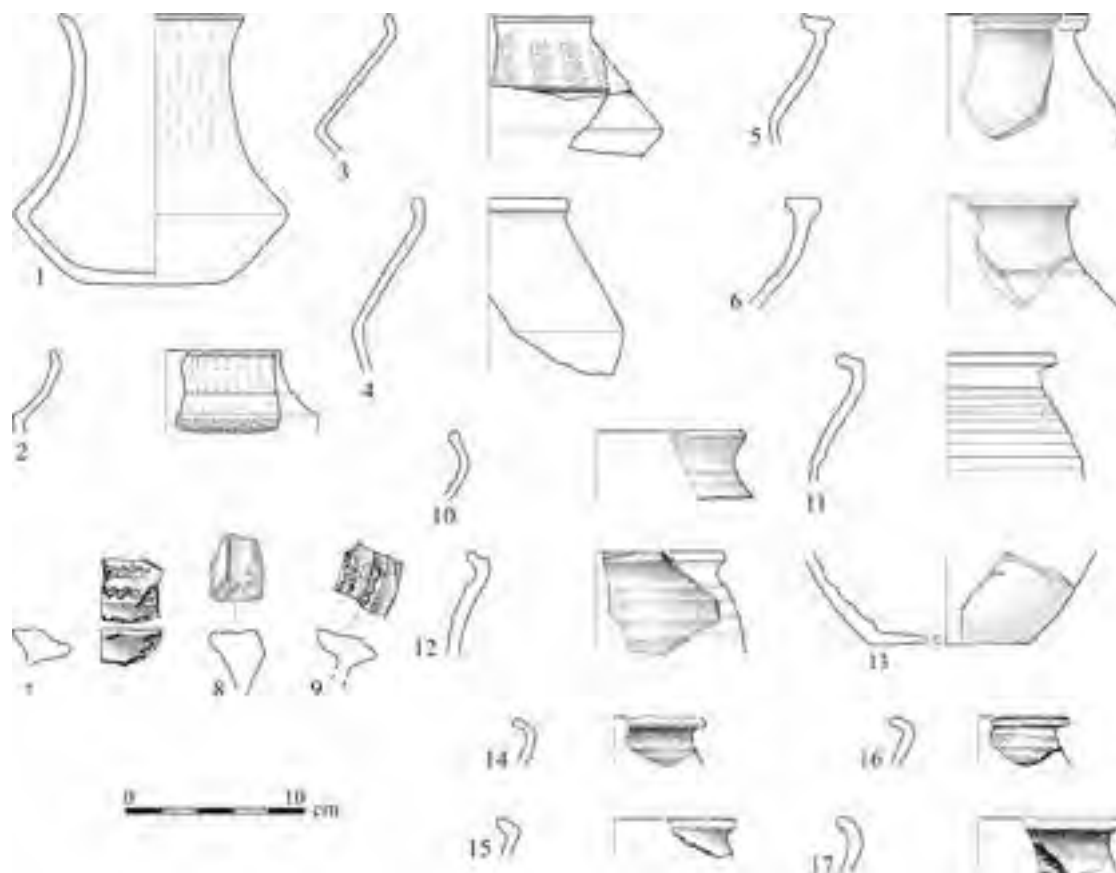


Fig. 8. Examples of settlements ceramic (the last third of the 5th century – D₃ stage and the first two thirds of the 6th century). Fine (1–4) and semi-fine (5–17) pottery modelled on the fast wheel. 1. Andrid/Endréd; 2. Carei-Căpleni/Nagykároly-Kaplony-Kozárd; 3. Carei/Nagykároly-Bobald II.; 4–6, 8, 10–13. Berea/Bere-Sóskás and Bodzás; 7, 9. Sanislău/Szaniszló I–III.; 14, 16, 18. Berea/Bere-Délivég; 15. Berea/Bere-Dögtér (all sites are in Satu Mare County. 1, after NÉMETI 1983; 2–17, after STANCIU 1997 and STANCIU 2011)

Due to the same fabric characteristics and shapes, the *b* and *c* categories are identical to the finds from western Romania or Transylvania,²² and also to those from the settlements on the middle Tisza,²³ dated mainly to the first two thirds of the 6th century. This kitchenware (mainly the *c* category) certainly originates from the corresponding category of the Roman provincial pottery,²⁴ which was also produced in the Barbarian milieu, in workshops already identified in the upper Tisza region or further northward in Igołomia (south-eastern Poland). The identification of the workshops that allowed the perpetuation of this technological tradition to the middle and in the second half of the 5th century in the north-eastern Carpathian Basin remains problematic.

Quantitatively, handmade pottery (category *d*) is quite poorly represented (ca. 17%). The majority of the fragments belongs to some jars having an ovoid body, with the maximum diameter located midway up, which are in general larger than the wheelmade ones (Fig. 6.d; Fig. 10). These vessels are sometimes decorated (examples in Fig. 10.9.13). For instance, such forms are common

²² For example Biharea (DUMITRAȘCU 1994, pls. LXXXIV.8.13; LXXXV.2.4.7.9; LXXXVI.1-2; XC.1-6.10 etc.); Morești (HOREDT 1979, 123–124, fig. 59–60); Dipșa (GAIU 1993); Ocnița (GAIU 1994); Țaga (PROTASE 2003, pls. I–X).

²³ For instance CSEH 1991, 211, pl. V.5–6.8 and 212, pl. VI.2.4.12; TÓTH 2006, pls. 7–18.

²⁴ See TÓTH 2006, 105–109.

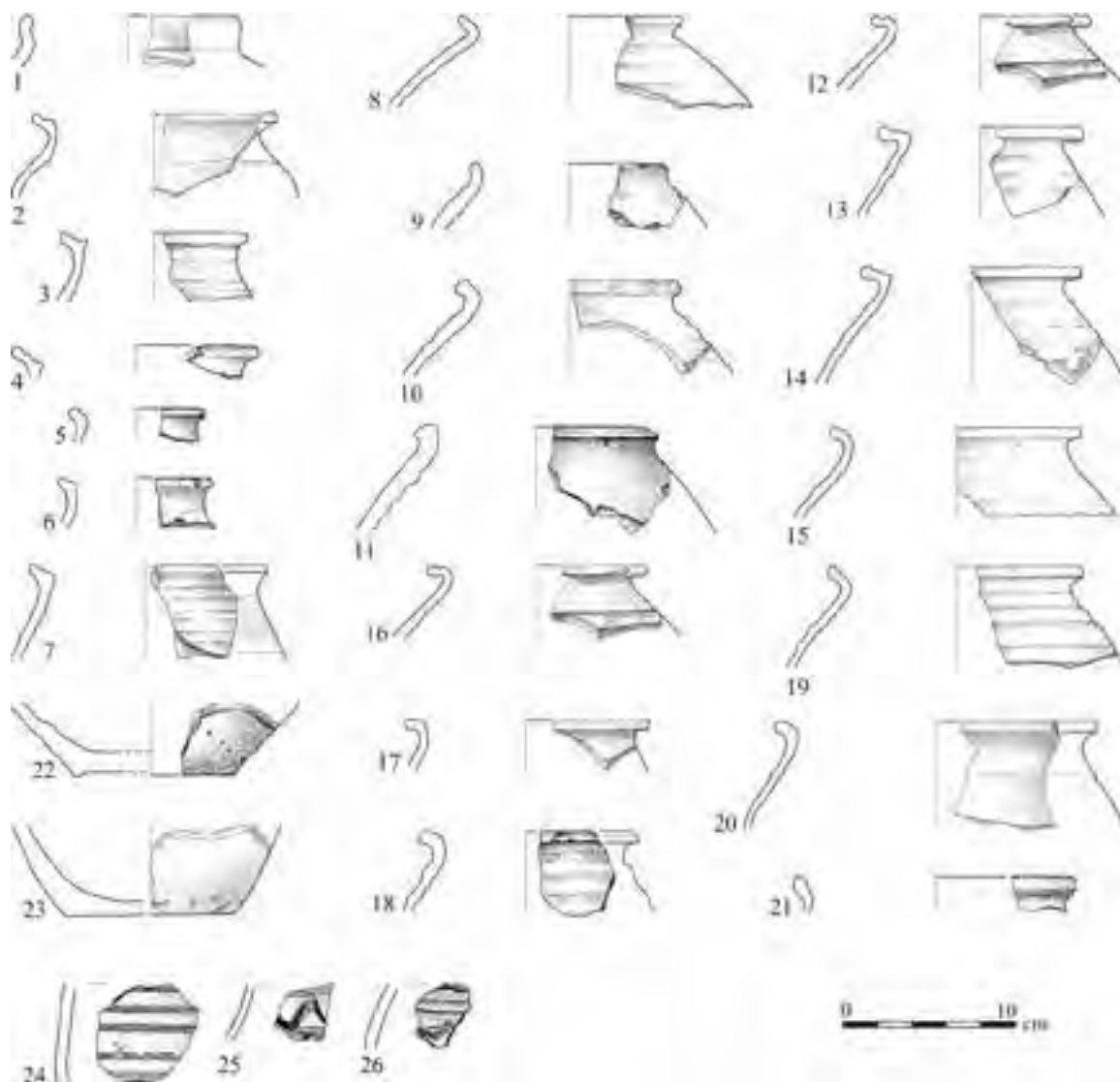


Fig. 9. Examples of settlements ceramic (the last third of the 5th century – D₃ stage and the first two thirds of the 6th century). Coarse pottery modelled on the fast wheel. 1–3, 8, 12–17, 19, 20, 23.: Berea/Bere-Sóskás and Bodzás; 4–6, 9, 10, 18, 21. Sanislău/Szaniszló I–III. 7, 22; Berea/Bere-Délivég; 11. Ciumești/Csomaköz-Nagy lapos; 24–26. Berea/Bere-Dögtér (all sites are in Satu Mare District. After STANCIU 1997 and STANCIU 2011)

in the settlements from Biharea and Morești.²⁵ In the settlement from Tiszafüred the handmade pottery has different rim shapes and complete profiles of the vessels, more likely resembling the early Slavic wares (Prague-Korchak type).²⁶ The handmade pottery is in general less common in settlements belonging to the Gepidic Kingdom, and its percentage frequently varies from one site to another.²⁷

²⁵ DUMITRAȘCU 1994, pl. LXXXV.6 and LXXXVIII.2; HOREDȚ 1979, 142, fig. 69.1–4.

²⁶ CSEH 1991, 207, pl. I.9–10; 209, pl. III.11; 210, pl. IV.3; 211, pl. V.7; 214, pl. VIII.8.13. The same observation in TÓTH 2006, 119.

²⁷ TÓTH 2006, 119–121.

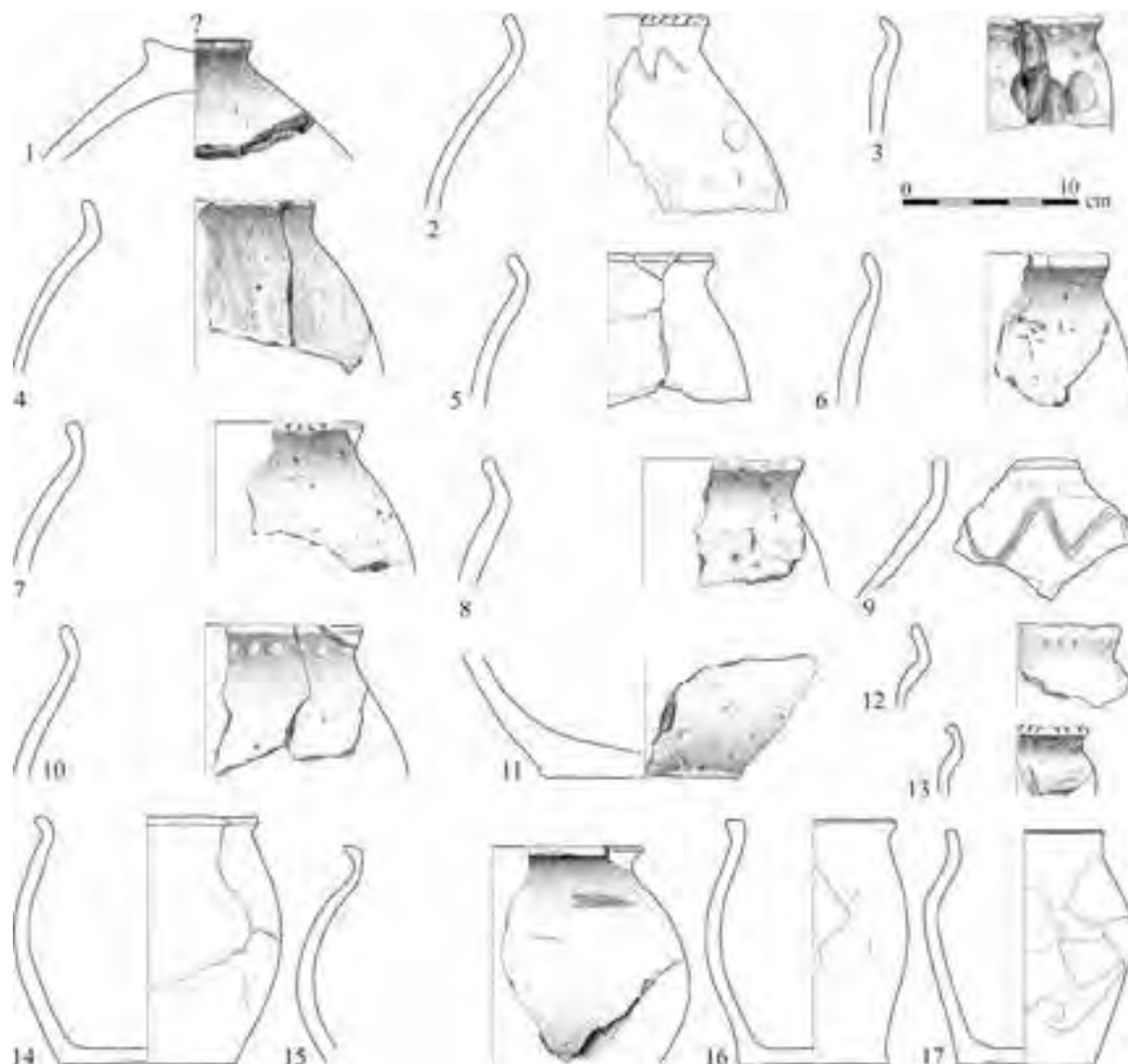


Fig. 10. Examples of hand-made pottery (the last third of the 5th century – D₃ stage and the first two thirds of the 6th century; 14, 16, 17 possibly from the Early Avar period; 1–13, 15. Berea/Bere-Sós-kás and Bodzás (Berea XXI; settlement); 14, 16, 17. Carei-Căpleni/Nagykároly-Kaplony-Kozárd (cemetery) (all sites in Satu Mare County. After STANCIU 1997 and STANCIU 2011)

FUNERARY DISCOVERIES

In a few cases the discoveries are uncertain, so they can hardly count for the analysis.²⁸ The other four cases include a single certain burial (Andrid-Dâmbul morii) and some cemeteries whose size cannot be estimated: Carei/Căpleni-Kozárd, Valea lui Mihai-Grădina lui Al. Stantz and Valea lui Mihai-Grădina lui Krizsán.

Regarding the burial from Andrid,²⁹ it is known that the skeleton was laid in an extended supine position, but the orientation is missing. The inventory was only partially recovered. The silver earring having a massive polyhedral end is not allowing a narrower dating within the 5th–6th

²⁸ See STANCIU 2011: Diosig-Cartierul țiganilor (Catalogue no. 23); Șimian (Catalogue no. 34; Șimian-Sárgaföldes gödör (Catalogue no. 35).

²⁹ NÉMETI 1983, 134–135, figs. 1.1–3; STANCIU 2011, 320, no. 2, with other references to the bibliography.

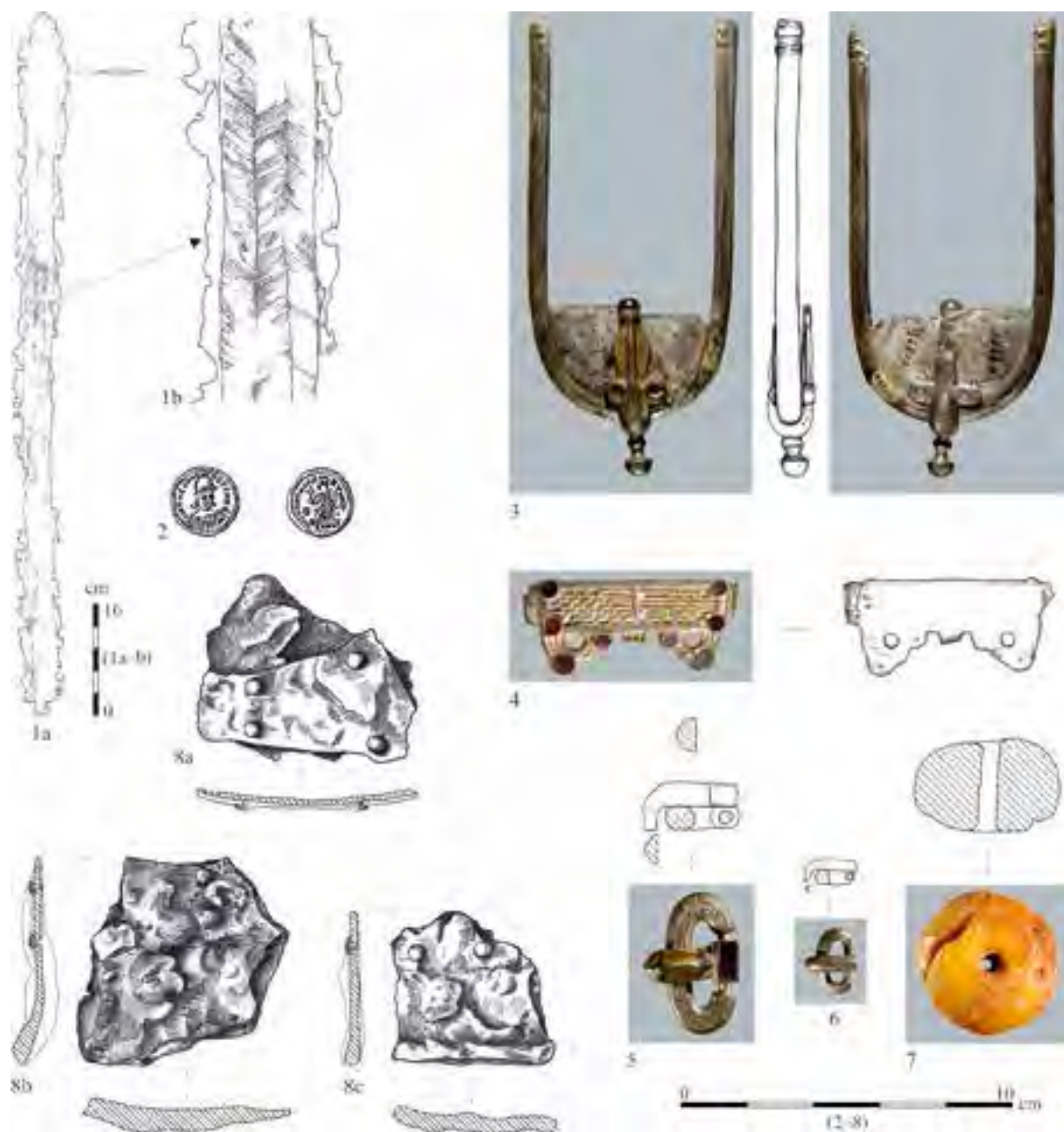


Fig. 11. Grave with solidus from Valea lui Mihai/Érmihályfalva-Grădina lui Alexandru Stantz (Bihar County). (2. after ROSKA 1932; 1, 3–8. after STANCIU 2011)

centuries (Fig. 12.1).³⁰ A relatively better chronological indication might be provided by the vessel illustrated in Fig. 8.1, which has perfect analogies in burials from the Tisza Plain dated to the time of the Gepidic Kingdom.³¹

³⁰ HOREDT 1979; VAGÓ-BÓNA 1976, 196–198; ISTVÁNOVITS 1993, 121; KISS 1995, 310; HARHOIU 1997, 63.

³¹ For instance CSALLÁNY 1961, pls. XX.3, CI.17, CII.17, CXX.5, and CLXXXVI.12. One similar vessel was found together with a coin of Justinian I in Dorobanți, in western Romania (CSALLÁNY 1961, 145, no. 86, pl. CCLXXII.2).

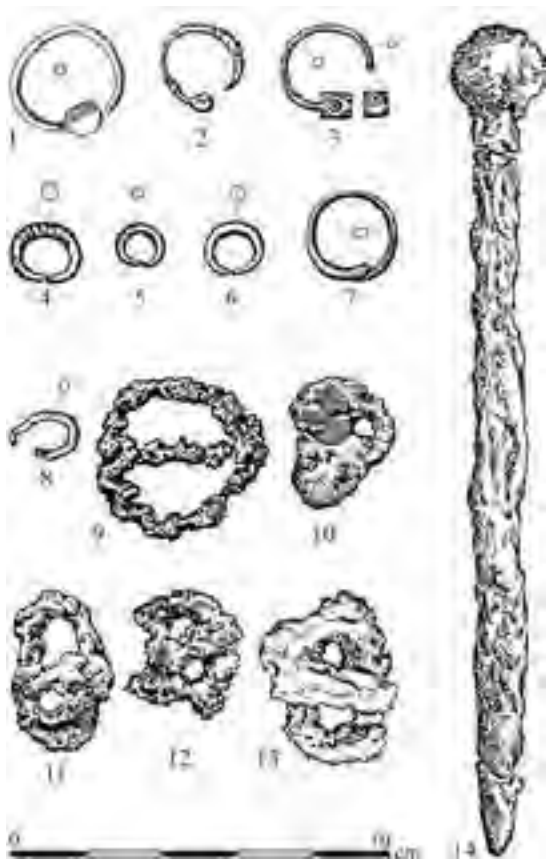


Fig. 12. 1. grave from Andrid/Érendréd-Dâmbul morii; 2–14. group of graves from Valea lui Mihai/Érmihályfalva-Grădina lui Krizsán/Crișan (Bihar County). Examples of graves goods. Graves: II (3, 9); III (5, 7); V (2); VI (4, 6, 12); VIII (8, 10–11, 13–14). Bronze (2–3), silver (1, 4–8), iron (9–14) (after ANDRÁSSY 1944)

The group of burials from Valea lui Mihai-Grădina lui Alexandru Stantz is a discovery which entered early into the specialist literature.³² Aside from the burial of a warrior containing a sword, a *langsax* and a helmet (the latter frequently mistaken for a shield-boss), other three funerary contexts were discovered, but they were destroyed during the clay exploitation and their inventory is now missing, being probably lost.³³ M. Roska presumed that a cemetery with row graves oriented west – east functioned here, but its dimensions cannot be estimated.³⁴ The warrior burial has a particular importance due to the chronological possibilities provided by the inventory, which illustrates the period in which the cemeteries of the *Reihengräberfelder* horizon also appear in north-western Romania.

For dating, the most important pieces of the inventory are the scabbard accessories of a *spatha* belonging to the type IIIa (Basel-Gotterbarmweg-Entringen) defined by Menghin (Fig. 11.3–4)³⁵ and not least, the imitation of a *solidus* issued in Constantinople in 442/43 (Fig. 11.2). The chape and the ornamental plate of the upper end of the scabbard are made of silver and decorated with almandines. More recently the grave was dated to 460–480 (D₃), even hinting to the late 5th century.³⁶ Using the same objects, J. Werner proposed a dating between ca. 480 and 520.³⁷ The coin certainly provides a *terminus post quem* for the burial date.³⁸ However, other burials of the last third of the 5th century and the beginning of the 6th century also contain older coins, issued by Theodosius II or Valentinianus III.³⁹

³² ROSKA 1930 and ROSKA 1928–1932. See also HARHOIU 1997, 193, no. 93 and STANCIU 2011, 365–367, no. 42.

³³ Using the closest analogies, for example the sword from the burial discovered in 1901 in Gültlingen, also with a helmet of the Baldenheim type (QUAST 1993, pl. 6.2 and 24.2–2a), the luxurious elements of the scabbard fittings of the sword from Valea lui Mihai might suggest that other components of the scabbard or the gold elements of the hilt might have existed, being stolen by the workers upon the grave's discovery. Anyway, the plate that fitted a silver buckle on the belt is missing.

³⁴ Alongside other few discoveries, these imitations of the *solidi* issued by Theodosius II were called “the coins of Attila” due to the presumption that they were produced in a workshop that functioned at his court, being issued in 450. See BÓNA 2002, 54, fig. 18, 165–167.

³⁵ MENGHIN 1983, 155–156.

³⁶ HARHOIU 1990, 202; HARHOIU 1997, 48, 107.

³⁷ WERNER 1935, 34.

³⁸ D. Csallány ascribed the grave to the group 2 of discoveries (between 453 and 472), considering that the inventory contains elements which were earlier than those from other discoveries (CSALLÁNY 1961, 320, according to the chronological table being dated precisely in the 443–472). I. Bóna drew attention to the chronological identifications proposed by Csallány (BÓNA 1979, 18).

³⁹ KOCH 2001, 72.

The sword, having a damascened blade (*Fig. 11.1a–b*), represents the Danubian variant of the Menghin III group having frequent parallels in the south-western Germanic area, which were commonly dated around the middle of the 5th century and mostly in the Childeric times, between 460 and 480, but sometimes the upper limit of this chronological interval was extended.⁴⁰ The relationships between the Danubian environment and the south-western Germanic (Alemannic) one are illustrated by the elements of the scabbard fittings, so even if the swords were made together with the scabbards in the same workshops or separately, they must have come from the same production centres that used Late Antiquity prototypes.⁴¹ The chape of the scabbard found in the grave from Valea lui Mihai (*Fig. 11.3*) was frequently discussed, being included in the Flonheim-Gültlingen type, as the ending knob is nearly identical to those from Gültlingen (the grave from 1901), dated to the last two decades of the 5th century, and Bratislava–Devínska Nová Ves, perhaps being produced in the same workshop.⁴² The fittings on the upper end of the scabbard (*Fig. 11.4*) has the closest analogy in the grave 71 from Pleidelsheim (also appearing on the scabbard of a sword with a damascened blade), dated between 480 and 510.⁴³ The silver cast buckle, having the lower end of the tongue decorated with an almandine fastened into a rectangular socket, can be also dated towards the end of the 5th century or the beginning of the 6th century (such buckles appear sporadically until the second half of the 6th century) (*Fig. 11.5*).⁴⁴ According to the grave's publisher, the inventory also included an iron helmet which was destroyed immediately upon discovery (*Fig. 11.8a–c*).⁴⁵ The piece probably belonged to the Baldenheim type, which includes several examples discovered in the Carpathian Basin and further to the north-west. The oldest pieces can be dated around 500, but they were used until the first half of the 7th century, being handed over from one generation to another.⁴⁶

Lastly, the analysis of the most significant part of the inventory suggests the dating of the grave from Valea lui Mihai to the end of the 5th century and the beginning of the 6th century. The funerary assemblages can be seen as a convincing indicator of the evolution of the region in question during the D₃ stage, corresponding to the period in which the horizon of the cemeteries with row graves also appeared here. The grave from Valea lui Mihai (probably with a partially recovered inventory) certainly belonged to a member of the local elite. Within the entire area included in the Gepidic Kingdom, this important discovery illustrates, alongside other things, the cultural connections with the civilization of the middle Danube region, and with the westward ones, in a period in which Transylvania, western Romania and a part of the north-western area were located on the north-eastern periphery of the "Merovingian world".

Another group of graves was found at Valea lui Mihai-Grădina lui Krizsán.⁴⁷ Due to the lack of more precise data regarding the location of the two findspots within the limits of Valea lui Mihai, it is impossible to say whether these are two separate cemeteries or parts of a single one. The graves were found during the clay exploitation and it might be presumed that some others were destroyed in the process over time. The west – east orientation of the skeletons was noted in three cases from the total number of eight (the graves no. III, VI and VIII), but the presumption that the pattern was generalised and the graves were aligned in parallel rows can be accepted. In general the funerary inventories are simple and poor, surely partially robbed in the past, so they are not allowing a

⁴⁰ The chronological group A according to W. Menghin (MENGHIN 1983, 28–31, 54–58); TEJRAL 1997, 156.

⁴¹ QUAIST 1993, 48–49; QUAIST 1996, 535–536; TEJRAL 1997, 156; KOCH 2001, 292.

⁴² QUAIST 1993, 48; QUAIST 1996, 535–536; TEJRAL 1997, 151, 156; HARHOIU 1997, 48.

⁴³ KOCH 2001, 289, fig. 118, 355–356, and pl. 28.3.

⁴⁴ HARHOIU 1997, 107.

⁴⁵ ROSKA 1928–1932, 71. It was sometimes mistaken for a shield-boss (for instance CSEH 1990, 33, n. 2, 46–47 list 9, and fig. 9). Its state of preservation is very poor now, but some typical fragments of the moulded base still exist; the remains of some T-shaped plates made of iron sheet, fastened on the edges with bronze or silver rivets of low quality (M. Roska mentioned the silver rivets), are also preserved.

⁴⁶ STEUER 1987, 191–197.

⁴⁷ ANDRÁSSY 1944.

narrower dating within the chronological interval covering the last third of the 5th century and the first two thirds of the 6th century (Fig. 12).⁴⁸

The cemetery from Carei/Căpleni-Kozárd is a flat cemetery containing inhumation burials oriented west (head) – east, sometimes displaying small deviations, which were very probably aligned in parallel rows. The cemetery surely has larger dimensions, but only 4 burials were investigated. Since the discussion regarding this discovery was already detailed some time ago, only the most important observations are presented here.⁴⁹

A cubic pedestal was left untouched on the bottom of the grave no. 6, in the north-western corner; two handmade ceramic vessels containing pork bones (food offering) were laid on it (Fig. 13.1). The robbing pit, which slightly enlarged the funerary pit toward the longer sides, was identified in the grave no. 5. The shape and dimensions of the funerary pits do not deviate from the general patterns characterising the graves from the cemeteries of the Merovingian period.

One bone comb having two rows of teeth was found on the right or the left side of the skull (nearly under the nape in the grave no. 6) in the graves no. 3, 5 and 6. A ceramic vessel was laid on the right side of the skull in the grave no. 4, whereas the two already mentioned vessels from the grave no. 6 were laid on a pedestal in the north-western corner. The elements of the funerary inventory from the grave no. 5 were not found in their initial position, perhaps with the exception of a buckle found on the left side of the pelvis. In the case of the child skeleton from the grave no. 4, a bead necklace was found on the chest area, whereas a similar ornament was found on the neck area in the grave no. 6 (the beads were under the skull). In the latter case an iron knife was laid over the thigh of the right leg, close to the knee. A chicken egg was placed between the tibiae, whereas a small heap of ash and a small fragment of an unburnt animal bone were found slightly above the bottom of the pit, on the eastern side of the grave (perhaps accidentally drawn into the pit's filling). The same burial contained pork bones scattered around the two ceramic vessels, and next to the skull and the right forearm (perhaps spread by rodents). A few snail shells were found in the western corner of the grave no. 4.

It has been presumed that the lying of food offerings in vessels or directly on the bottom of the graves was a relatively frequent practice in the cemeteries with row graves, which became rarer following the gradual spread of Christianity.⁵⁰ However, the practice of offering meat in the graves of this period is less frequent and is not present in all regions. For example in the southern Germanic area the meat offering, sometimes associated with eggs, seems to be more frequent eastward the Rhine and southward the Main, mainly in Frankish graves, whereas the presence of eggs was more commonly noted in Thuringian and Langobardic cemeteries.⁵¹ The meat offering is apparently missing from the funerary practices of the Gepids,⁵² or is very rarely attested.⁵³ Animal bones were not found in the graves from Morești (Transylvania), so the archaeologists presumed that the food offerings are absent.⁵⁴ The practice is well documented in Avar cemeteries, in at least some of them the tendency being to lay the offerings around the legs.⁵⁵

The offering of bird eggs is attested in the funerary practices in general related to the cemeteries with row graves,⁵⁶ but is rarely documented in connection with the Gepidic burials from the Tisza Plain, at least according to the older available information.⁵⁷ On the other hand, such contexts

⁴⁸ STANCIU 2011, 59–60, 367–369, no. 43.

⁴⁹ STANCIU–IERCOȘAN 2003; STANCIU 2011, 60–63 and 326–329, catalogue no. 13.

⁵⁰ BÓNA 1956, 229; SCHMIDT 1961, 62; STEIN 1967, 119.

⁵¹ CSEH ET AL. 2005, 177–179.

⁵² CSEH ET AL. 2005, 143.

⁵³ CSALLÁNY 1961, 290.

⁵⁴ HORED T 1979, 182.

⁵⁵ KOVRIG 1963, 73; GARAM–KOVRI G–SZABÓ–TÖRÖK 1975, 37–38, 94, 187 and 264.

⁵⁶ BÓNA 1956, 229; SCHMIDT 1961, 62; KOCH 1968, 19; FRIESINGER–ADLER 1979, 52; KOCH 2001, 177–179.

⁵⁷ CSALLÁNY 1961, 290.

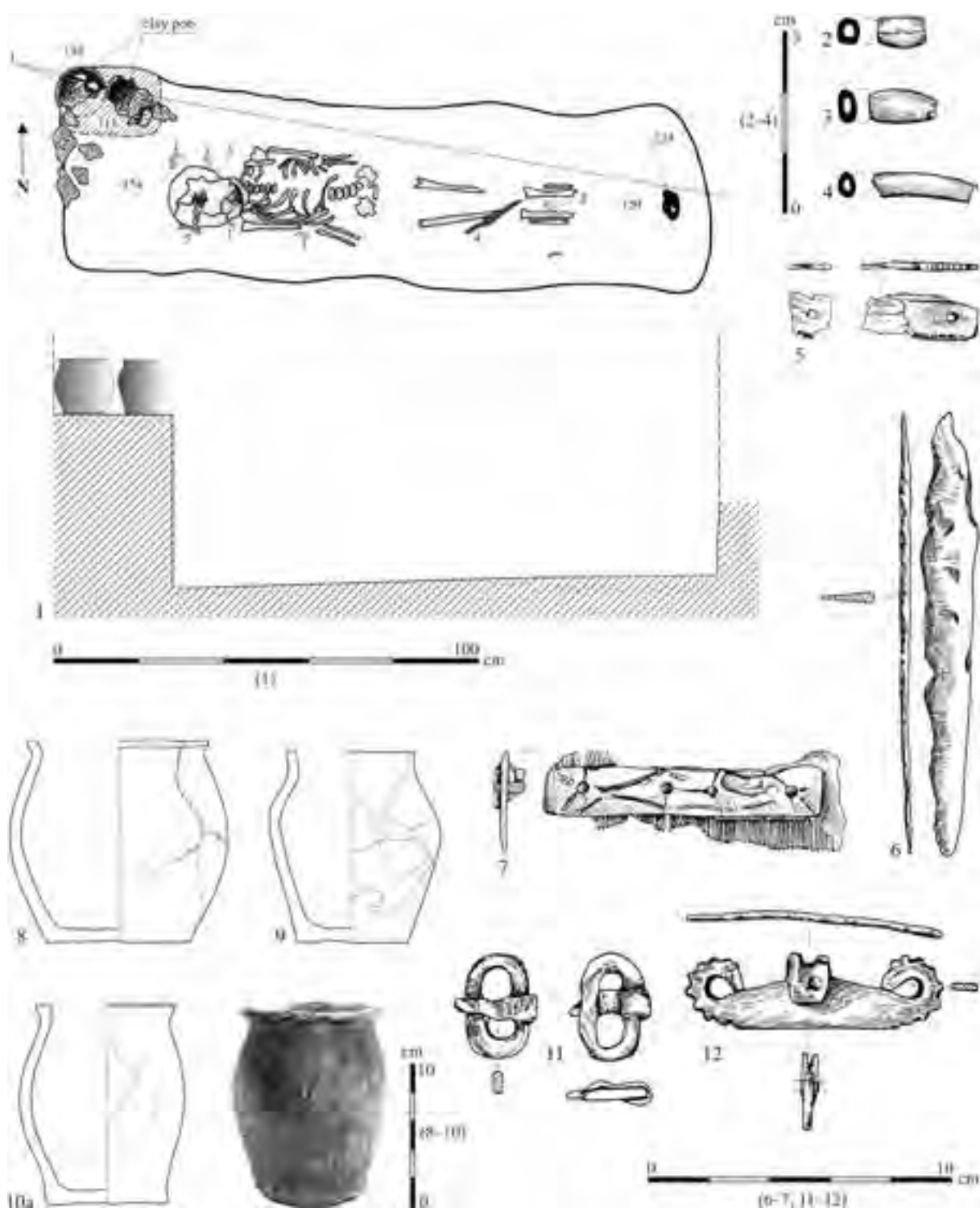


Fig. 13. Carei-Căpleni/Nagykároly-Kaplony-Kozárd, graves: 6 (1-6, 8-9), 5 (7, 11-12), and 4 (10).
Hand-made pottery (8-10) (after STANCIU-IERCOȘAN 2003)

are far more frequent in later Avar burials from the same region.⁵⁸ In many cases the eggs were laid around the legs and even between the knees or ankles, similarly to the situation from the grave no. 6 from Carei.⁵⁹ Traces of ash and charcoal appear in many ways in some Germanic and Avar burials,⁶⁰ sometimes together with animal bones, being interpreted as remains of the funerary feast.⁶¹ Sometimes this practice was also observed in the Gepidic graves from the Tisza Plain⁶² or Transylvania.⁶³

The fastener of a belt purse comes from the grave no. 5 (found in a secondary position) (Fig. 13.12).⁶⁴ One such piece belongs to the inventory of a grave from Velikaya Bakta, in the upper Tisza region, dated to the middle of the 5th century.⁶⁵ Such objects frequently appear in the Gepidic cemeteries on the Tisza⁶⁶. The oval buckles made of bronze or iron, like the one found in the grave no. 5 from Carei (Fig. 13.11), together with the bone combs having two rows of teeth, are a common presence in the inventory of the graves from the Gepidic Kingdom. Their presence in the early Avar environment was related to the perpetuation of a part of the Gepidic population within the Avar qaganate.⁶⁷

Two of these graves, both belonging to children (no. 4 and 6), contained beads exclusively made of glass paste (with the example of the items from the graves 6; Fig. 13.2–4). The types have an older origin, being widely produced in Roman provincial workshops that must have supplied even the Barbarian milieu over a long period of time.⁶⁸ Some beads identical to those from Carei, as well as nearly similar necklaces, were found in some funerary inventories from Morești, and also in other Gepidic cemeteries.⁶⁹ The frequent presence of prismatic and faceted blue beads or of the tubular green ones (all made of glass) in the second half of the 6th century and the beginning of the 7th century is suggested, for example, by the graves from Keszthely-Fenekpuszta.⁷⁰ The beads having “eyes” in relief (*Augenperlen*) are missing, although they are widespread in early Avar burials,⁷¹ but some monochrome beads having a flattened spherical shape, sometimes striated, like the majority of the pieces from the grave no. 4 from Carei, were also worn in this period.⁷²

The three vessels found in burials deserve attention (Fig. 13.8–10). These handmade jars have relatively small dimensions and lack good analogies in the Gepidic milieu from Transylvania or the middle Tisza region. Their similarity to a part of the handmade pottery used in the Avar environment of the 7th–8th centuries is surprising. The vessel found in the grave no. 4, and more

⁵⁸ KOVRIG 1963, 73, 76–77.

⁵⁹ For example the grave no. 136 from Szob (GARAM–KOVRIK–SZABÓ–TÖRÖK 1975, 183), graves no. 107 and 116 from Homokmégy-Halom (GARAM–KOVRIK–SZABÓ–TÖRÖK 1975, 31–32), graves no. 70, 84, 87, 157, 177, 295 from the cemetery at Szebeny (GARAM–KOVRIK–SZABÓ–TÖRÖK 1975, 79, 83, 84, 89).

⁶⁰ BÓNA 1956, 229–230; BÖHNER 1958, 266; SÁGI 1964, 396; LÁSZLÓ 1955, 91–92; KOVRIG 1963, 66–70.

⁶¹ KOCH 2001, 179.

⁶² CSALLÁNY 1961, 295.

⁶³ GAIU 1992, 121.

⁶⁴ See ROES 1967.

⁶⁵ CHERKUN 1994, fig. 9.8, 103–104. A piece similar to that from Carei, dated to the second half of the 5th century, was found not far, in a burial from Oradea. See HARHOIU–GÁLL–LAKATOS 2009, 221, 222, fig. 4.4.

⁶⁶ CSALLÁNY 1961, 284, with references to the illustration.

⁶⁷ KISS 1992, 53–54.

⁶⁸ BENEÁ 1997.

⁶⁹ HOREDIT 1979, 189–190, 157, fig. 72.5, 160, fig. 75.6.8 etc.; CSEH ET AL. 2005, 251, pl. 21.1.3.

⁷⁰ BARKÓCZI 1968, for instance pls. LVII.18 and LX; MÜLLER 1987, pl. 35.

⁷¹ GARAM 1987, 194.

⁷² PÁSZTOR 1997, 224–225, table 2 (types I.04 and I.05).

likely the other two, seem to copy those from Avar graves, for example at Homokmégy-Halom,⁷³ Kisköre⁷⁴ or Visznek.⁷⁵

According to the inventory and the funerary rite and ritual, the graves from Carei/Căpleni-Kozárd have strong connections with the Gepidic burials from the Tisza region, and in general with the environment related to the cemeteries of the *Reihengräberkreis*. There are no certain elements which might indicate a dating before the 6th century. Some elements of the funerary ritual also have analogies in the early Avar burials. The handmade vessels may also point to the same direction. However, the dating of at least some of the graves to the early Avar period remains uncertain, as long as other components of the inventories are not restricting the chronological identification to this period. Nevertheless, the cemetery was only partially investigated.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS REGARDING THE CHRONOLOGICAL DISTRIBUTION OF DISCOVERIES BETWEEN THE 2ND CENTURY AND AROUND THE MIDDLE OF THE 7TH CENTURY

The insufficient archaeological evidence limits in many cases the possibility to draw a comprehensive picture of each different chronological sequence. Due to this situation the tendency to use narrow chronological intervals, peremptory cultural identifications and more than that, ethnic labels, has to be constantly accompanied by a prudent approach.

Regardless of the explanations that can be provided (first the scarce information or the difficulty of narrow datings, and lastly the state of archaeological research), it is necessary to note that the number of findspots belonging to the Early Migration Period and also to the subsequent period up to the middle of the 6th century is much smaller in comparison with that of the Roman imperial period (beginning of the 2nd century to the end of the 4th century). As already mentioned, nearly 300 distinct findspots belonging to this period were registered many years ago, the great majority of them being settlements, coming from 153 localities.⁷⁶ Since today almost all discoveries belonging to the Roman period can be dated between the end of the 2nd century and the middle of the 4th century, thus covering nearly two centuries, and around 40 findspots belonging to the subsequent stages cover a nearly similar chronological interval, it becomes evident that the intensity of habitation was drastically diminished during the latter period. This situation characterised not only the entire upper Tisza region, but also a much larger area in the former *barbaricum* from Central – Eastern Europe (Fig. 14).⁷⁷

The first group of discoveries (the D₁ stage, between ca. 380 and 420) is primarily represented by settlements located on the western lowland area. The funerary discoveries are scarce, including a single inhumation grave from Dindești, in the northern part of the Ér Plain, and another funerary inventory very probably coming from Șimleu Silvaniei.⁷⁸ Only two settlements that can be ascribed to the D₂ and D_{2/3} stages (ca. 420–450/60) are known (Foeni-Cărmidărie and Berea X, XXI), although the criteria which may help dating some discoveries belonging to other settlements

⁷³ For instance GARAM-KOVRIG-SZABÓ-TÖRÖK 1975, 18, fig. 6.47.3, 20, fig. 8.71.6, 21, fig. 9.93.2 and 95.2, 26 fig. 14.8 etc.

⁷⁴ GARAM 1979, pls. 6.31, 16.7 and 42.2.

⁷⁵ GARAM-KOVRIG-SZABÓ-TÖRÖK 1975, 63, 65, 332 fig. 9.1.

⁷⁶ MATEI-STANCIU 2000 and GINDELE 2010. For the importance of the *Barbaricum* from the north-western vicinity of *Dacia Porolissensis* (after the Marcomannic wars) as a buffer zone and area of interaction with the Barbarian environment from the upper Tisza region see, for example, OPREANU 1998, 75–79, 129–139.

⁷⁷ Nevertheless, there were some differences from one region to another, but an evident change in the patterns of habitation is visible towards the end of the first half of the 1st millennium. In comparison with north-western Romania, an interesting example is provided by eastern Slovakia, where the D₁ stage is well represented by different sites, whereas the number of discoveries dated to the following period, until the end of the 5th century and eventually in the first half of the 6th century, is very small (FUSEK-ZÁBOJNÍK 2005, 546–549 and maps 1–3).

⁷⁸ BÓNA 1961, 199, n. 63, 200, fig. 7.

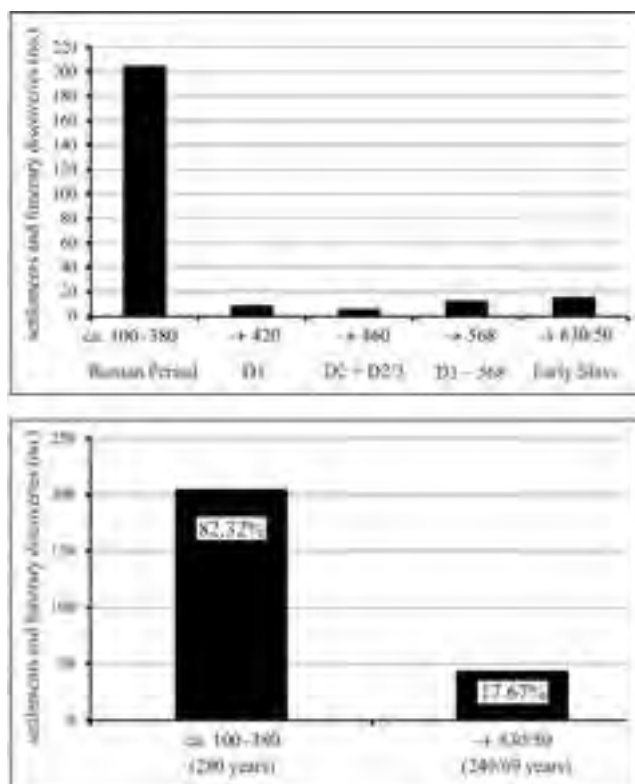


Fig. 14. Northwestern Romania – the chronological distribution of the discoveries from the Roman period to the middle of the 7th century. Only settlements and funerary discoveries were considered (without isolated finds)

of the same period are still unclear. Some chance discoveries (?) can be also added, comprising metal objects (the cicada-brooch from Satu Mare, the necklace from Someș-Uileac) and the hoard from Șimleu Silvaniei, the latter being representative for the D_1 , D_2 and $D_{2/3}$ horizons. The graves from Ghenci and Dindești, from the western lowland area, have to be mentioned. The D_3 stage is better illustrated only by the warrior grave from Valea lui Mihai-Grădina lui Al. Stantz (although is exceeding the chronological interval to the 6th century), and perhaps by the silver spoon found at Deleni, on the Sălaj valley⁷⁹.

The series of discoveries illustrating the *Reihengräberkreis* horizon in the region in question (between ca. 480–567/68) is better represented (also covering a longer period) by settlements and funerary contexts. These are grouped in the lowland area of the Ēr and Carei plains, westward of the Ēr River (Fig. 2 and 14). There are no similar discoveries (settlements or burials) from the hilly or the mountainous areas. The presence of the *solidus* from Șomcuta Mare (an imitation of an original issued in 555/65) is problematic since the piece might have been buried at a later date, thus illustrating a subsequent chronological interval⁸⁰.

A problem which cannot be better solved is that concerning the stage in which the *Reihengräberfelder* horizon started to develop in the region. As already stated, the connection between the graves from Ghenci ($D_{2/3}$ stage) and the mentioned phenomenon has to be taken into consideration. This relation, more precisely the existence of a local substratum from which the “Merovingian” horizon has evolved, is very possible, as the population who mainly supported its existence in the middle Tisza region – the Gepids – was also identified in the previous period in north-western Romania (the so-called *early Gepids*). Nevertheless, the grave from Valea lui Mihai-

⁷⁹ For all these observations see STANCIU 2011, 31–49, with references to the bibliography.

⁸⁰ CHIRILĂ–SOCOLAN 1971, 67, no. 9, pl. IX.10.

Grădina lui Al. Stantz, which has to be dated between the end of the 5th century and the beginning of the 6th century, offers a better indication for the beginning of the horizon, which it is representing, in this area of north-western Romania. If the same question is put from the perspective of the known information regarding the settlements that correspond to these funerary discoveries, an eventual response cannot be based on satisfactory arguments. The archaeological contexts that are sufficiently relevant are missing and in this situation the pottery and the bone combs having two rows of teeth are not able to support a precise dating.

The results provided by the analysis of archaeological artefacts on one hand, and the incorporation of a historical event, more precisely the establishing of the Gepidic Kingdom in the eastern Carpathian Basin on the other hand, were taken into consideration as arguments for dating the local discoveries of the *Reihengräberkreis* to the last third of the 5th century and the first two thirds of the 6th century. During this period the Ér Plain provides a distinct image within the entire upper Tisza basin, being characterised by discoveries that are not present in south-eastern Slovakia or Transcarpathian Ukraine. The evaluation of the situation from north-eastern Hungary led I. Bóna to believe that in the last third of the 5th century the Gepidic population living northward, in the modern Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg region, moved southward the Tiszafüred-Hajdúböszörmény-Debrecen/Derecske limit.⁸¹ The known sites from north-western Romania are roughly located along the same direction, on the northern border of the Gepidic world (Fig. 1 and 2).

Until now, the north-western Romania is lacking any certain evidence regarding the extension of this habitation after the settling of the Avars inside the Carpathian Basin and the destruction of the Gepidic Kingdom (in 568), although this hypothesis cannot be excluded, given the peripheral status of the territory. From this point of view, the analysis dwelled upon certain elements of the burials from Carei-Kozárd which may eventually indicate some relations with the early Avar environment, but the confirmation of this hypothesis rests on further results provided by the investigation of this cemetery. The appearance of the gold coin at Șomcuta Mare remains curious. Its presence could be interpreted as a chronological indicator for the final stage of the cultural horizon in question, but the artefact was found on an area where other similar discoveries are absent. The connection between this coin and the eventual arrival of the early Avars is also less likely, due to a similar reason.

THE POPULATION AS “ETHNIC GROUPS” OR “GENTES”

Some serious theoretical debates frequently question the ability of archaeological discoveries to reflect the ethnic characteristics of the people who used them, especially in the case of the Migration Period, clearly characterised by frequent movements of various populations who sometimes displayed nearly similar or even identical cultural models.⁸² Caution should be exercised even in those situations in which the literary evidence is present; the critical analysis of these sources is fulfilling this task, so different subjective identifications, which are more or less close to reality, are

⁸¹ BÓNA 1987, 124; BÓNA 1993, 115.

⁸² On one hand, the expression “population as ethnic groups” formulates a problem related to the geographic area in question, and on the other hand, the use of *gentes* term is offering a solution, albeit a relative one. It is evident that in the Migration Period and the early medieval one the *gens* were not stable ethnic entities, but communities predisposed to changes (see for instance GOETZ 2003, mainly p. 3–5, with the bibliography). This term is the equivalent of the Greek word *ethnos*, but in Latin it is commonly translated as “tribe”, another term which is also not defining definitive ethnic entities (BERNDT 2010, 543–544; LIEBESCHUETZ 2003, 55–58). About ethnicity and ethnic community, with an examination of various opinions that appeared over time, and with numerous bibliographic references, see CURTA 2001, 14–31. See also HALSALL 2001, with an exaggerated critique of the archaeological criteria used to define ethnicity (funerary customs, ethnic female costume especially, “ethnic” weapons, hand-made pottery, Germanic animal style).

frequently noted.⁸³ However, it is certain that such written mentions, more or less surely related to the north-western Romania in the period in question, are absent.⁸⁴

From the perspective of both the discoveries and the known literary sources, the presence of the Dacians in the upper Tisza region was in general accepted, and it was presumed that until the Marcomannic wars, thus close to the end of the 2nd century, they were the main regional power.⁸⁵ However, a regional examination of this problem leads to different results mainly in the case of north-western Romania. According to the available data, it seems that during the 1st century AD, and then during the first two thirds of the 2nd century, this territory was sparsely populated, in contrast with the southward areas and those located northward the Tisza. This territory was located between two Dacian lines of fortifications which were destroyed during the Roman conquest, one to the south, on the north-western limit of the Transylvanian basin, and another to the north, on the upper segment of the Tisza.⁸⁶

In the north-western *Barbaricum* a real early horizon of habitation from the Roman imperial period cannot be dated prior to the Marcomannic wars, thus before the last third of the 2nd century, unless some hardly convincing arguments are accepted.⁸⁷ Beginning with the mentioned date, some important groups belonging to the Przeworsk culture (Vandals and other eastern Germanic populations)⁸⁸ settled on the entire area of the Upper Tisza, the phenomenon being archaeologically well documented due to a series of settlements and mainly through the inventory of the warrior graves.⁸⁹ To cite an inspired expression, the settling of the people belonging to the Przeworsk culture in the north-eastern Carpathian Basin led to the appearance of an *invasive horizon*, which was expressed through an effective and relatively compact habitation in a region located beyond the Roman border, and also to a *penetration space* in *Dacia Porolissensis* and in the lowland area between the Tisza and the Danube, where the characteristic discoveries are dispersed.⁹⁰

Aside from the funerary discoveries (Apa, Boinești, Cehăluț, the cemeteries from Badon, Zalău–Farkasdomb, perhaps also from Crasna, some graves from the cemetery at Medieșul Aurit), some settlements, whose connections with the populations belonging to the Przeworsk culture that arrived in this area are difficult to deny, are also present in north-western Romania (Panic-Uroikert, Hereclean-Dâmbul iazului, Petea-Vamă, Berveni-Holmoș, Lazuri-Lubi-tag, Zalău-Bul. Mihai Viteazul etc.). Some of these settlements and cemeteries only illustrate the early stage of the Late Roman period (C_{1a} stage, between ca. 170 AD and the beginning of the 3rd century), whereas others continued to evolve and the influences of the Roman provincial environment prevailed over

⁸³ For example, in connection with the period in question, the critical analysis of Jordanes provided by Florin Curta (CURTA 2001, 36–43).

⁸⁴ Such quite numerous indirect data, more or less reliable, only exist in relation with the Roman period (mainly related to the period of the Marcomannic wars and the following one), as the north-western area was in that time in the direct vicinity of *Dacia Porolissensis*. The information mainly concerns the Romans' relations with the barbarians who settled in the neighbouring areas in those times. See, for instance, two comments from the Romanian specialist environment frequently sustaining different points of view: DUMITRAȘCU 1993, 94–100 and OPREANU 1998, 69–75, 83–95.

⁸⁵ For example BÓNA 1986, 62 (who identified the local Dacian population as the Burii) and OLEŹKI 1999a, 105. A general image of the entire upper Tisza area starting with the Latène period and until the beginning of the Migration Period in KOTIGOROŠKO 1995. For north-western Romania most of the data concerning this problem in DUMITRAȘCU 1993.

⁸⁶ STANCIU 2015, 348–350.

⁸⁷ The horizon could be dated to the first two thirds of the 2nd century (STANCIU 2015), a proposal which was more recently assumed by Robert Gindele. For instance GINDELE 2010, 128–131.

⁸⁸ For a synthesis regarding the Przeworsk culture see GODŁOWSKI 1992. About the people belonging to the Przeworsk culture who arrived in the upper Tisza region see OLEŹKI 1999b.

⁸⁹ GODŁOWSKI 1984, 332–333, 340; GODŁOWSKI 1992, 66; KOBAL 1993–1994; OLEŹKI 1999a; OLEŹKI 2001. The sceptical attitude concerning the possibility to archaeologically identify the Vandals from the upper Tisza region, albeit without seriously examining the archaeological data, in MERRILLS–MILES 2010, 31.

⁹⁰ OLEŹKI 2001, 201; OPREANU 1998, 112–114.

time, determining in the end the blurring of the elements specific to the Przeworsk and the Dacian culture.⁹¹

It is not the case to reopen here the discussion regarding the Vandal populations who arrived in the north-western vicinity of Dacia: *Victoali*, *Lacringi*, *Hasdingi*, or those whose name was sometimes read *Dacringi*.⁹² The literary sources also confirm, quite clearly, the movements and demographic reconfigurations produced in this period.⁹³ The situation could have been even more complicated, as some groups of Dacians also moved southward the Tisza together with the Vandals, some being probably already amalgamated (in north-western Romania this could be the case of the cemetery from Medieşul Aurit).⁹⁴ The Dacians from the upper Tisza region must have had direct contacts with the people belonging to the Przeworsk culture prior to the Marcomannic wars, which are illustrated in the cemetery from Zemplin (south-eastern Slovakia) in the period between the second half of the 1st century and the first half of the 2nd century AD, when members of the latter population were buried alongside the Dacians.⁹⁵ The relatively frequent presence of Dacian pottery in Przeworsk cemeteries and settlements from south-eastern Poland is another illustrative example.⁹⁶ A process of uniformization of the cultural milieu can be noted during the 3rd and 4th centuries on the entire area of the upper Tisza, leading to an at least partial integration of the Dacian civilization with the Przeworsk one; at the beginning of this process the influences coming from the Roman provincial world played an important role. Within this relatively homogeneous material culture, which evolved until the turn of the 5th century, ethnic identifications could be risky, as only the composing material elements characteristic to the Dacian civilization and the Przeworsk culture can be recognized. The ethnic and linguistic results of this integration remain completely invisible, at list until now. It has to be seen whether during this period, in one stage or another, there is also a Sarmatian habitation in the western lowland region (the Ér, Carei and Nir plains).

Elements which can be certainly ascribed to the Dacian material culture and are dated after the 4th century were not found so far in north-western Romania, or more correctly no one knows how they could be defined. Since the period of Roman Dacia the material culture specific to this population began to evolve into new forms, so the possibility to identify the eventual characteristics of the 5th–6th centuries is questionable. According to a literary source, in 458 the campaign of Majorianus against the Vandals mobilised different population groups from the Danubian Barbaricum (mainly eastern Germanic), amongst them being mentioned the *Geta* and *Dacus*, which means the old Getae and Dacians. Still, caution must be exercised in the precise interpretation of this mention, since the ancient author quite probably used sometimes archaic ethnonyms, so (according to L. Várady) *Geta* would refer to the imperial troops composed of the former Ostrogothic cavalry from Pannonia, and *Dacus* could be interpreted as the Gepids.⁹⁷

According to the available archaeological information, the territory from north-western Romania do not seem to have been seriously affected by the intervention of a presumed new wave of eastern Barbarians (allies subordinated to the Huns) towards the beginning of the 5th century, which in the middle Danube region was identified through the presence of the artefacts of “oriental

⁹¹ There are different details related to this phenomenon, see for instance HOREDŢ 1973; STANCIU 1995a; OLEŢZKI 1999a; GINDELE 2010; OLEŢZKI 2001.

⁹² In this context, see the references to older bibliography: DUMITRAŞCU 1993, 94–100; GUDEA 1994; STANCIU 1995, 172–173; OPREANU 1998, 69–72; OLEŢZKI 1999; OLEŢZKI 1999.

⁹³ For instance DICULESCU 1923a, 1–18; SCHMIDT 1934, 103–105; DUMITRAŞCU 1997, 307–314, 337–343; OPREANU 1998, 70–71; OLEŢZKI 1999a.

⁹⁴ HOREDŢ 1973; STANCIU 1995, 168–173; OPREANU 1998, 71.

⁹⁵ BUDINSKÝ-KRIČKA–LAMIOVÁ–SCHMIEDLOVÁ 1990.

⁹⁶ For example SZPUNAR 1991; PODGÓRSKA-CZOPEK 1999; RUDNICKI–MILEK 2011; FLORKIEWICZ 2008. For the southern connections noted in the case of the sites from the upper basin of the San River see MADYDA-LEGUTKO 1999, 102.

⁹⁷ According to an information provided by Sidonius Apollinaris. See VÁRADY 1969, 340–343.

type" belonging to the Untersiebenbrunn horizon.⁹⁸ On the other hand, there is a cultural horizon covering the end of the 4th century and the beginning or the first half of the 5th century, but this cannot be identified as having a *late Dacian – Roman aspect*, nor can it be attributed to the local Dacian – Roman/Romanic population, as it has been argued for the "Cireșanu type" discoveries from Muntenia or the "Costișa" ones from Moldavia.⁹⁹ Above all, even the possibility of a Romanized Dacian population in the north-west, and in general in the former Barbaricum, has to be discussed, accepting that the assimilation of some influences of the Roman provincial civilization cannot be considered, in the last instance, an argument for the ethnic-linguistic Romanization and for the presence of a Latin-speaking population.

In north-western Romania the identification of the local Dacian – Roman population from the 5th–6th centuries was frequently related to the discoveries from Biharea¹⁰⁰ and the Berea-Ciumești area, the latter being completely unpublished on that time.¹⁰¹ This cultural feature was then included in the wider horizon of the "Bratei-Morești type" in Transylvania, "Ipotești-Cândești/phase I type" in Muntenia, "Costișa-Botoșana type" in Moldavia, ascribed to a local Romanic population.¹⁰² The main argument, on which this ethnic and cultural identification was based, is provided by the coarse pottery modelled on the fast wheel, of undisputed Roman provincial origin, but which was used on that time across a wider area and by different populations. This ceramic category of the 5th–7th centuries has local analogies in north-western Romania, and some local workshops are also known, but aside from the possible perpetuation of a technological tradition, one should be at least cautious when trying to make such precise ethnic identifications using only these artefacts.

On the other hand, the analysis of the finds from settlements has to be combined with the one dealing with the corresponding cemeteries, and it has been already shown that the latter are undoubtedly related to the environment of the Gepidic Kingdom, which more likely had a heterogeneous ethnic structure. Taking into consideration some mentions of Jordanes, it has been usually presumed that after the disintegration of the Hunnic Empire (in 454 AD), to which the Gepids decisively contributed, the latter extended their political control over the entire territory between the Tisza, the Danube and the eastern Carpathians, a process which was finalised towards the end of the 5th century also with the occupation of Transylvania.¹⁰³ Nevertheless the new structure of power included other populations groups alongside the Germanic ones, first of all those already present in these regions. However, their identification is problematic, not least because of the fact that the archaeological context characterised by an uniformity of the forms of manifestation across a wider area.

Closely connected with the so problematic ethnic differentiation of the discoveries from the second half of the 5th century and the first two thirds of the 6th century is the problem of identifying the material culture which characterised the early Gepids and, respectively, their localization in the previous period.¹⁰⁴ The territory of north-western Romania could also be important for the earlier history of this eastern Germanic population, albeit a comprehensive answer to the problem regarding the localization of the Gepids in the 3rd – 4th centuries AD is not yet possible. The issue remains obscure, generating different opinions not only amongst the archaeologists, but also

⁹⁸ The arrival of some new groups of eastern Barbarians in the middle Danube region has been presumed; in contrast with those of the end of the 4th century, who were closely connected to the Chernyakhov world, these newcomers – according to an opinion – would come from the northern and north-eastern Black Sea region (SCHUKIN–KAZANSKI–CHAROV 2006, 201).

⁹⁹ For instance, PROTASE 1987, 246.

¹⁰⁰ For instance, DUMITRAȘCU 1994, 167–179, 243–245.

¹⁰¹ COMȘA 1972, 210; RUSU 1980, 148; TEODOR 1980, 76. The last author also uses the concept of *the provincial-Romanic aspect Berea-Ciumești* (in the same work).

¹⁰² For example DUMITRAȘCU 1981; DUMITRAȘCU 1994, 175–179, 243–244; TEODOR 1980, 76.

¹⁰³ For instance POHL 1980, 268.

¹⁰⁴ For the ancestral homeland of the Gepids in the vicinity of the Goths, eastward of the lower Vistula, see BIERBRAUER 1998.

between the historians and the former specialists.¹⁰⁵ Regarding the late Roman imperial period, I. Bóna delimited a narrower “land of the Gepids” (where they were already present before the confrontation with the Thervingii from 286-290), precisely localized on the Crişul Repede, Barcău, Ér, Crasna, Tur and lower Someş, southward reaching the Meseş Mountains.¹⁰⁶ However, one should more likely consider, alongside V. Bierbrauer, that convincing literary information which would allow a better localization of the Gepids before the beginning of the second half of the 5th century is insufficient.¹⁰⁷ The cultural (archaeological) model proposed for the Gepids who were still living in their original homeland cannot be recognized in the southern areas in which they moved at a certain date, perhaps in several waves, and more probably the beginning of this migration could be dated towards the end of the 3rd century – the beginning of the 4th century.¹⁰⁸ One cannot exclude the fact that the Gepidic advance on this side of upper Tisza could have happened at a later date, perhaps in the fourth decade of the 4th century, when the Vandals are mentioned southward, on the lower course of the Mureş River, where one of their confrontations with the Goths is usually localized.¹⁰⁹

The archaeological identification of these “early Gepids” faces serious difficulties. The problem was insistently and systematically pursued by I. Bóna, who delimited some time ago a distinct group of funerary discoveries from the Tisza region (Artánd/Poroshát-Malajdak-Csongrád), characterized by inhumation burials mainly oriented north – south and dated in the last third of the 4th century – first half of the 5th century.¹¹⁰ The main elements which contributed to the identification of this eastern Germanic group (Gepid according to the mentioned author) are the presence of weapons in burials and some categories of artefacts, including pottery, related mainly to the environment of the Sântana de Mureş-Chernyakhov culture.¹¹¹ The most frequently mentioned examples arguing for this early Gepidic cultural circle are the funerary discoveries from the bent of the upper Tisza or slightly southward, like those from Ártánd, Kisvárd, Tiszadob, Gáva, Gelenés.¹¹²

¹⁰⁵ For instance HOREDT 1971; WOLFRAM 1994, 211; RGA², vol. 11 (1998), eds. H. Beck, H. Steuer, and D. Timpe, 118–123, s. v. Gepiden. 2. Archäologisches (Ágnes B. Tóth and Margit Nagy); SCHMAUDER 2002, vol. I, 224–231; BIERBRAUER 2006, 169–172.

¹⁰⁶ BÓNA 1990, 77; BÓNA 1993, 108.

¹⁰⁷ BIERBRAUER 2006, 173. In this case the literary sources are silent, but one may presume that the Gepids advanced towards the upper Tisza and the lower Someş around the middle of the 4th century, since some certain Gepidic discoveries dated to the second half of this century are known in this region. For this opinion see SCHMAUDER 2002, vol. I, 229. The question is which are the undisputed Gepidic discoveries of this period? One discovery which can be eventually taken into consideration for the north-western Romania is the aforementioned funerary inventory, perhaps coming from Şimleu Silvaniei, which can be dated to the D₁ stage. According to M. Kazanski, a Gepidic Kingdom (following the Barbarian model) was already structured in the Hunnic period as a satellite of the Hunnic centre of power that controlled Transylvania (it can be presumed that no distinction is made between Transylvania itself and its north-western vicinity), Transcarpathian Ukraine and the eastern part of the Hungarian Plain. The argument is provided by the hoard from Şimleu Silvaniei, which was added to other similar discoveries from the mentioned territories. See KAZANSKI 1998, 228.

¹⁰⁸ BIERBRAUER 1998, 399; BIERBRAUER 2006, 167–168, 185.

¹⁰⁹ For instance SCHMIDT 1934, 107. This presumption might be eventually supported also by the name of *Piti* – read as [*Ge*]piti, mentioned on the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (completed not earlier than the end of the 3rd century AD) in the vicinity of a population called *Gaete* (possibly the Getae/Dacians or the Goths), northward of ancient *Porolissum*. See SEVIN 1955, 29–30 and LAKATOS 1973, 51–52. Taking into consideration the quality of the source, this hypothesis is more likely a speculation. Furthermore, starting from the following names (*Piti*, *Gaete*, *Dragae*, *Venedi*), V. Pârvan proposed the reading *Pie-Getae*, as the name of a Dacian population from the northern Carpathians (PÂRVAN 1926, 223, 240–241).

¹¹⁰ For instance BÓNA 1971, 274.

¹¹¹ BÓNA 1961; BÓNA 1971, 274; RGA², vol. 11 (1998), eds. H. Beck, H. Steuer, and D. Timpe, 119, s. v. Gepiden. 2. Archäologisches (Ágnes B. Tóth and Margit Nagy).

¹¹² BÓNA 1993, 108; NÉMETH 1987. The interpretative model of K. Mesterházy, who, following I. Bóna, attempted to connect the two cemeteries from Ártánd (in which the burials began towards the end of the 4th

In reality, the explanation of the archaeological context that define the end of the late Roman imperial period and the Early Migration period in north-eastern Hungary and the middle Tisza region is far more complicated, as the revision of the older discoveries and the interpretation of the recent ones are indicating. The actual part of the upper Tisza region corresponds to the so-called “northern group” that can be dated to the turn of the 5th century and is characterised by elements of Iranian tradition and strong Chernyakhov influences. To the south, on the Barcău valley, the cemeteries from Ártánd-Kisfarkasdomb and Ártánd-Nagyfarkasdomb (dated to the second half of the 5th century, and between the turn of the 5th century and the second half of the 5th century, respectively) point to even stronger influences coming from the Chernyakhov culture.¹¹³ The “Geszteréd-Poroshát-Herpály group” (on the middle Tisza, northward the Barcău) is also seen as a mixture of Vandal and Sarmatian populations, in which the influences coming from the late Przeworsk culture are relevant.¹¹⁴

Some authors presumed that the Gepids crossed the northern Carpathians from the upper Vistula region, noting the similarities between the discoveries of the late Roman period in north-western Romania and those specific to the “Igołomia group” (3rd – 4th centuries), mostly regarding the presence of coarse pottery modelled on the fast wheel.¹¹⁵ Nevertheless, this hypothesis needs stronger arguments, but it has to be noted that the ceramic analogies from these two regions also include handmade vessels of the late Przeworsk style, whereas the manufacturing of the aforementioned coarse pottery might be explained by the contacts with some populations from the north-western vicinity of Roman Dacia, who produced this type of pottery also after the abandonment of the province.

Thus, the identification of the chronology and content of the “early Gepidic cultural circle” in the upper Tisza basin, which according to some authors could have an important support in the lower Someş basin, remains an insufficiently clarified issue. The oldest discoveries from north-western Romania, which could be eventually related to the Gepids (the funerary inventory probably coming from Ia Şimleu Silvaniei), cannot be dated earlier than the second half of the 4th century. As discussed above, the presence of the Vandals in the lower Mureş region around the middle of the fourth decade of the 4th century may suggest the Gepidic advancing from the north even before this date. As far as one could rely on other information, those *Piti* mentioned on the *Tabula Peutingeriana* northward the former Roman *Porolissum* might be precisely these Gepids of the 4th century, who displaced a part of the Vandal population from the region or, according to I. Bóna, assimilated it.¹¹⁶ This might have also been the fate of a part of the Dacian population.

In north-western Transylvania the magnificent discoveries from the Someşul Mic valley (Apahida, Someşeni) support the hypothesis of an eastern Germanic centre of power; together with the hoards from Şimleu Silvaniei and Tăuteu, in north-western Romania, they were ascribed to the Gepids who advanced after 454 towards the interior of the Transylvanian plateau.¹¹⁷ It was also put forward the possibility that the Ostrogoths might have been the people related to the horizon characterised by the discoveries from Apahida and Someşeni. This hypothesis was based on a logical argument, that the Ostrogoths, who were also allies of the Huns settled on the Tisza Plain, lived somewhere in their vicinity (after 454 they were colonized in Pannonia).¹¹⁸

century) exclusively with the Gepids (see MESTERHÁZY 1984), was criticised by V. Bierbrauer (BIERBRAUER 2006, 185–187).

¹¹³ ISTVÁNOVITS–KULCSÁR 1999, 69–82, 93.

¹¹⁴ OLEŹZKI 1999a, 129–131.

¹¹⁵ DIACONU 1970, 249; HOREDT 1971, 707.

¹¹⁶ BÓNA 1986, 63.

¹¹⁷ For the Gothic or Gepidic origin of the hoard from Şimleu Silvaniei see the succinct presentation of the opinions in KISS 1991, 256–258.

¹¹⁸ HOREDT–PROTASE 1970, 96, 98; HOREDT 1971, 708–712; HOREDT–PROTASE 1972, 216–220. Afterwards, K. Horedt sustained the Alannic origin of the graves from Apahida (HOREDT 1986, 21). More recently some of the graves belonging to the Gepidic (?) cemetery from Biharkeresztes-Ártánd-Nagyfarkasdomb

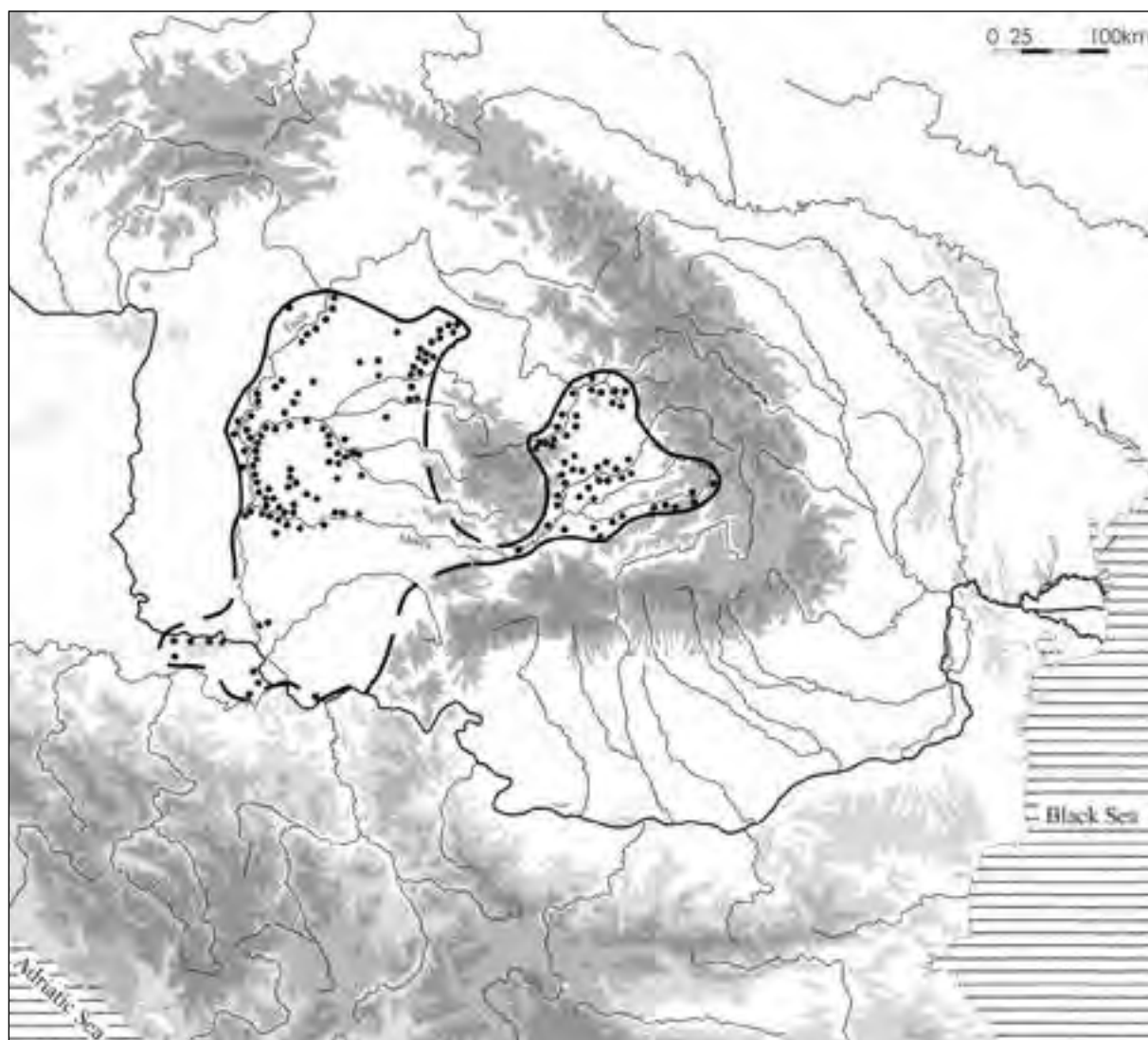


Fig. 15. Extension of the Gepid Kingdom within the Carpathian Basin
(after BÓNA 1976 and CSEH 1990, with additions to Transylvania and northwestern Romania)

On the other hand, I. Nestor drew attention long time ago to the scarcity of Sântana de Mureş-Chernyakhov discoveries in the region northward the Mureş River, suggesting a differentiation between the finds certainly belonging to this culture (from eastern and south-eastern Transylvania) and the remaining ones, which he ascribed to the early Gepids.¹¹⁹ This hypothesis did not raise any interest, since such an early Gepidic presence in the central-northern part of the Transylvanian basin is questionable, but the observation regarding the quality and number of the discoveries belonging to the Chernyakhov culture northward the Mureş remains valid. Starting from this observation and mostly if the dating of these archaeological discoveries could be moved slightly later, to the first decades of the 5th century), then they could be plausibly ascribed to the Ostrogoths. Hypothetically,

were ascribed to the Alans of the Hunnic period (MESTERHÁZY 2009). To have an even more complicated situation, the hoards from Şimleu Silvaniei and Tăuteu were related to the presence of the Heruli in northwestern Romania (DUMITRAŞCU 2000).

¹¹⁹ NESTOR 1975.

the time when they could have arrived in Transylvania from the north-west¹²⁰ might be presumed. At one time during the first decades of the 5th century the Ostrogoths led by King Thorismund attacked and defeated the Gepids,¹²¹ through a move triggered by the Huns, who also prepared in this way their settling on the Tisza Plain. On that occasion the Ostrogoths occupied a territory wanted by the Gepids, probably in western and north-western Transylvania, and eventually the hilly area from north-western Romania centred along the Someş.¹²² However, it is difficult to argue for the Gepidic presence in entire Transylvania during the stage dated between 454 and 500, and the direct connection between the second group of discoveries (as it was defined by K. Horedt), dated to the second half of the 5th century, and the third group, dated to the first half of the 6th century, also remains uncertain.¹²³

Even if it's partially rhetorical, the question raised by V. Bierbrauer concerning the obligatory identification of the cemeteries with row graves from the Tisza Plain as Gepidic is justified.¹²⁴ In the last instance, the ethnic identification of the finds from north-western Romania (settlements and funerary discoveries), indisputably related to the *Reihengräberkreis*, is based on a literary information. Jordanes, presenting the confrontation between the Visigoths and the Vandals that happened around the middle of the 4th century, mentions that "the Vandals occupied in that time the territories later inhabited by the Gepids, near the *Marisia*, *Miliare*, *Gilpil* and *Grisia* rivers",¹²⁵ which reached directly the territory in question through the basin of the Criş rivers (Fig. 15). Since Jordanes wrote *Getica* around the middle of the 6th century, it would mean that in that time the Gepids inhabited the region of the three Criş rivers and, implicitly, the neighbouring Ér and Carei plains.

During the times of the "Classical" Gepidic Kingdom (in the second half of the 5th century and the first two thirds of the 6th century) the discoveries from north-western Romania were located on the north-eastern periphery of the Gepidic world, which was concentrated on the middle course of the Tisza (in the eastern part), in the Mureş-Criş interfluve and northward the Criş. The possibility to decipher the presence of other ethnic groups within the structure of power that maintained the political equilibrium in the Tisza Plain and Transylvania for a century, is at best a matter of research perspective. In an earlier historiographic period, when this discussion only started to take shape

¹²⁰ According to C. Diculescu, this Gothic – Hunnic intervention towards the upper Tisza used the Dukla Pass from the north-eastern Carpathians (DICULESCU 1923b, 54).

¹²¹ For example, at the turn of the 5th century (LAKATOS 1974, 52), in 418 (DICULESCU 1923b, 53–55; SEVIN 1955, 53) or 410 (BÓNA 1976, 15).

¹²² According to H. Wolfram, in Transylvania they could have been the eastern neighbours of the Gepids from the Tisza (the localization according to Jordanes), forming together a defensive line for the nucleus of Hunnic dominion (WOLFRAM 1988, 255). For the same Hunnic period a centre of power is mentioned in north-western Romania, albeit without convincing arguments, in CIUPERCĂ–MĂGUREANU 2008, 122, fig. 3, 125.

¹²³ HORED T 1977.

¹²⁴ BIERBRAUER 2006, 196–199.

¹²⁵ Jordanes, *Getica*, 113 (LAKATOS 1973, 11). More recently, using very mixed argumentation and in spite of the archaeological evidence, S. Dumitraşcu drastically diminishes the amplitude of the Przeworsk culture's presence in the upper Tisza region, the aim being to demonstrate that, after the departure of the Vandals to the Western Europe (around 400, perhaps even a little bit earlier), the Scandinavian population of the Heruli controlled this territory until the third decade of the 6th century, their centre being in modern Slovakia. As a consequence, the hoards from Şimleu Silvaniei and Tăuteu (Tăuteni), as well as the main funerary discoveries from the north-west dated around the middle and in the second half of the 5th century, including the warrior grave from Valea lui Mihai, are ascribed to this population (DUMITRAŞCU 2000). The initial reference point of this new interpretation is based on the speculative re-interpretation of the passage from Jordanes in which it is mentioned the confrontation between the Vandals and the Goths (the accepted dating in 355). Still, in this case the Vandals are mistaken for the Heruli, the latter being those defeated by the Goths "near the *Marisia*, *Miliare*, *Gilpil* and *Grisia* rivers" (DUMITRAŞCU 2000, 4–5). For the localization of the Heruli in northern Illyricum in the 6th century see IVANIŠEVIĆ–KAZANSKI 2010.

mainly with the linguistic arguments which are now unconfirmed, some even tried to demonstrate the cohabitation between the Gepids and the ancestors of the Romanians.¹²⁶

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¹²⁶ DICULESCU 1923b, 86–100, 168–210.

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DIE SIRMIENSIS /
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THE GEPIDS AND SOUTHERN PANNONIA IN THE AGE OF JUSTINIAN I*

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The paper is aimed at presenting and discussing anew the textual and archaeological evidence pertaining to the presence of Gepids in southern Pannonia during much of the sixth century. The intention is to re-examine available sources, redress current interpretations and provide new insights. The first focus is on the military and diplomatic affairs that are reconstructed based mainly on the contemporary narratives, bearing in mind their complex nature as products of specific sociopolitical, ideological and cultural contexts. Building upon what can be discerned from the literary sources, it is argued that the Gepids pursued a consistent policy with a goal to establish and maintain themselves as a recognized regional power and make possible for their ruling elite to acquire benefits and concessions from the Empire same as any other group that had settled in Roman territory. The second focus is on the material evidence that might provide glimpses into how the Gepids tried to organize the life in the former Roman province and what the living conditions were for Roman and non-Roman populations, as well as help define the spatial extent of the Gepids' domain in southern Pannonia.

Keywords: southern Pannonia; the Gepids; the Goths; Eastern Romans; 6th century; literary sources; archaeological evidence

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

As has recently been pointed out, there is not much that can be said about the Gepids without adducing the archaeological evidence.¹ A brief look at the bibliography on the Gepids in the *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde* article published in 1998 is quite telling in that respect: the *Archäologisches* part features a bibliography that extends over more than four and a half columns, whereas the bibliography of the *Historisches* part covers only about one full column.² And that was even before two major collections of archaeological studies and one monographic study dedicated to Gepids appeared in the past decade.³ Modern purely historical accounts don't have much to draw from beyond what is offered in Jordanes and Prokopios of Caesarea as principal sources of information, with addition of a few other literary sources, one of which is chronologically far removed and none of which are actually concerned with the Gepids *per se*. That is to say, what researchers have at their disposal in an attempt to reconstruct the Gepids' past and interpret

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¹ KHARALAMBEVA 2010, 245. The extant literary and archaeological evidence on the Gepids in southern Pannonia has, to some extent, already been surveyed by the authors of this paper (ŠKRKULJA–GRAČANIN 2014).

² NAGY–TÓTH 1998, 128–131; POHL 1998, 139–140.

³ BÓNA–NAGY 2002; CSEH ET AL. 2005; TÓTH 2006. One of the latest additions to the bibliography on the history and archaeology of the Gepids is KISS 2014a.

their vicissitudes, actions and intentions are only scraps of information.⁴ Furthermore, *all* literary sources represent viewpoints that are, one way or the other, biased through discourses controlled by the Gepids' opponents. Accordingly, there are no narratives that could voice the Gepids' side of the story. Even so, the literary sources are scrutinized here under the assumption that they are, in general, historically reliable and interpretatively useful, that is to say, their historicity is not questioned intrinsically. To be sure, the information is not taken at face value nor the representations of the past offered in the literary sources are thought to be entirely truthful. The researchers have to be continuously aware that the literary sources are multilayered and multifaceted products of specific periods of time, sociopolitical, ideological and cultural contexts, goals, experiences and opinions of the authors, and views, interests and needs of the targeted audiences. The discourse and selection of the information also depended on previous accounts and testimonies which the subsequent authors used and upon which they built their own narratives of the past, and in the process they could distort the facts or claims either knowingly or unintentionally. Additionally, the way they formed and constructed their stories was also influenced by requirements of particular literary genres with corresponding literary techniques that would make the authors be recognized as belonging to or following distinct historiographic traditions whether or not they had achieved the intended stylistic success.⁵ Hence, in order to obtain the core information and acquire a sound basis for a historical reconstruction researchers sometimes have to peel off various layers and get through underlying meanings of the text, avoiding at the same time pitfalls of postmodernist and poststructuralist hypercritical reading of textual sources. Another limitation that has to be taken into account, and which is especially applicable to the history of southern Pannonia in Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages, is a fragmentary record. With regard to this there is always a danger that by picking out bits and pieces of information from their textual settings one might inadvertently miss their true message and even corrupt their factual meaning. Be that as it may, such research practice is essential when there are no other ways of obtaining valuable historical details that can be interpreted and built into a meaningful historical reconstruction. Having stated all this, it is argued in this paper – based on what may be concluded after a careful analysis of the available written sources – that the Gepid ruling elite pursued a consistent policy, which had been adapting to current circumstances and was even fashioned to a degree in imitation of the imperial policy, and which aimed at establishing and maintaining the Gepids as a recognized regional power, and making possible for the Gepid power wielders to acquire benefits and concessions from the Empire same as any other group that had settled in Roman territory. To this end, the control over parts of southern Pannonia lying along the Empire's northwestern border, especially the control of Sirmium, became of crucial importance, but it also facilitated the Gepids' ultimate downfall.⁶

A further set of research problems is offered by the available archaeological record. First and foremost, an important methodological question related to the material evidence arises from the methodology of attribution that is applied in modern scholarship in the region and which is still too much dependent on the ethnocentric interpretation. The culture-history approach embedded in the notion that the ethnicity can be recognized and identified solely on the basis of the typology of archaeological artifacts or, alternatively, that the archaeological cultures reflect specific ethnic

⁴ The available literary sources have been collected in LAKATOS 1973. In spite of the fact that such collections are extremely useful tools, Lakatos' approach to the sources is exemplary for the practice which may harm the understanding of factual details and cloud the overall intentions and motives of respective narratives (see below in the main text).

⁵ On these aspects of the literary sources, which have to be borne in mind when undertaking their analysis, see JONES 1999, 223–224; BÁLINT 2010, 148–149; KALDELLIS 2004a, 5–13. More or less same cautionary remarks concerning the literary evidence have already been set forth in GRAČANIN–ŠKRGULJA 2014 (2015), 165–166; GRAČANIN–ŠKRGULJA 2016, 12–13; SARANTIS 2016, 14–17 opts for a cleverly balanced, middle-way approach in dealing with the late antique literary sources, the one that is also adopted here.

⁶ The arguments outlined in this paper have already been proposed in GRAČANIN 2007; with GRAČANIN 2011, 86–177, but are now deepened and improved building on an extensive analysis of the written record.

groups of the past has been quite justifiably dismissed as obsolete and outdated.⁷ Hence, more advanced approaches, improved with new theoretical propositions, have to be implemented.⁸ Another caveat is the very nature of the archaeological source material, since it consists mostly of stray finds, often without clear or even any archaeological context. There have been too few systematic and methodologically complete field investigations, in which the context of the finds is well established. Since both definition and attribution of artifacts depend on the context of the find, it is quite difficult or even impossible to assign them with any certainty to a specific ethnic group. Therefore, the researchers are left with more or less limited means to put forward any conclusive assumptions, which makes too much room for far-fetched claims beyond what can be established as likely. This is particularly valid for the material that was unearthed a century or so ago, for which the circumstances of the find were not clearly observed and there exists no precise and detailed documentation. In those early research years, as was usual given the contemporary knowledge and level of the research methodology, the finds were too often unhesitatingly attributed to a particular ethnic group or a stray find would be regularly determined as coming from a (destroyed) grave. Such practices make a thorough revision and reinterpretation of the finds a necessity. Finally, the tempo of the publication of research results has been rather low, which hinders making more informed insights and completing the fragmentary knowledge. Thus the approach undertaken in this paper is to make best of what can be construed from however sparse archaeological record that is ascribed to Gepids, bearing in mind that much more caution is needed in reaching conclusions and that usual assumptions about the extant archaeological evidence are liable to revision, which is even long overdue in some cases. This all notwithstanding that an attempt to determine the ethnic identity in the archaeological material is both valid and indispensable for a more thorough and substantiated historical reconstruction. In view of all presented ambiguities regarding the archaeological record, the proposed investigation will thus be two-fold: on the one part, it will venture to trace the Gepid presence in southern Pannonia, show how they tried to organize the life in the former Roman province and illustrate the living conditions of the Roman and non-Roman populations, and on the other part, provide markers for defining more precisely the spatial extent of the Gepids' domain in southern Pannonia.

THE IMAGE OF GEPIDS IN THE LITERARY SOURCES

In an attempt to better understand the fundamental viewpoints that the literary sources represent, it seems worthwhile to first try to determine how the Gepids were treated in the extant written record and what image of Gepids was constructed and communicated to the readership. The most informative literary sources are Ennodius' *Panegyric of Theoderic*, Jordanes' *Getica*, Prokopios' *Wars*, and Menander the Guardsman's *History*, which all belong to the sixth century, whereas Paul the Deacon's *History of the Lombards* offers an eighth-century outlook.

Ennodius depicts the Gepids as enemies of the Goths who first try to prevent Theoderic and his people from reaching Italy and later are unwilling to come to terms with the Goths and conspire against them. After recounting how Theoderic and his followers, pregnant mothers including (*oneratae fetibus matres*), set out to the west from their abodes and arrived in southern Pannonia (the

⁷ See JONES 1999, 225; along with SHENNAN 1994, 5–14; CURTA 2007, 160–162. As with the literary sources, the same cautionary remarks regarding the archaeological evidence have already been expressed in GRAČANIN–ŠKRGULJA 2014 (2015), 166–167; GRAČANIN–ŠKRGULJA 2016, 13–15.

⁸ Cf. SHENNAN 1994, 17–21; CURTA 2007, 172–173, 176–181; CURTA 2011, 537–539, 540–541, 542; HAKENBECK 2011, 40–41; with BIERBRAUER 2004, 45–75; POHL 2010, 18–23; and RUMMEL 2010, 57, 63, 74–77, who argues that the ethnicity can be understood only interdisciplinary, from both archaeological and historical discourses (see also JONES 1999, 229–230; CURTA 2007, 184–185 for a caution that the written sources must not be played down in favor of the archaeological analysis). See also THEUWS 2009, 290–293; GIOSTRA 2011, esp. 7–8, 28–30.

region is not named) at the outset of winter (*Magnus Felix Ennodius, Panegyricus dictus clementissimo regi Theoderico VI*, 26–27: Ed. ROHR 1995), Ennodius describes the conflict between Goths and Gepids as a necessity into which the Goths were drawn. The Gepids attempt to halt the Goths at the river Ulca, the so-called Gepid shield (*tutela Gepidarum*), and the Goths win the ensuing battle thanks to Theoderic's personal valor as the king leads his men into a hard-won victory against the foe (VII, 28–34). The Gepids are portrayed as an obstacle to the Goths' advance, together with the river and the pestilence (*instantibus Gepidis amne pestilentia iter*), at a crucial hour as the Goths face the impending famine (*famis necessitas*). Ennodius chooses words that consider the Gepids collectively and highlight their hostility and fighting opposition to the Goths: enemies (*inimici*), the hostile battle line (*hostilis acies*), compact crowds of the enemies (*confertissimae hostium turmae*), the opposing multitude (*multitudo adversaria*), the hostile raid (*excursus hostilis*), the enemy clash (*inimica congressio*). The Goths are represented as merely defending from unprovoked enmity. The emphasis on unfavorable circumstances with which the Goths are said to have been pressed serves to underscore Theoderic's triumph. The accent on the Gepids' hostility becomes even more evident from comparison with how Odoacer and his men are labeled: they are simply called enemies or opponents (*inimici*, VIII, 37; *hostes*, VIII, 37, 40, 45, X, 49; *adversarii*, VIII, 39, X, 51), and once Ennodius also speaks of delusion of hostile minds (*hostilium error animorum*) by which he means Odoacer (X, 51). When Ennodius turns the attention back to the Gepids, they are portrayed as causing trouble and endangering the security of Italy by withholding its rightful possession. They hold Sirmium, which is called a former border of Italy (*olim limes Italiae*) and said to have passed into their control due to the neglect of rulers (*per neglectum regentium*), and there has been a daily insult (*cottidiana insultatio*) and an awkward frequency of embassies (*incomposita legationum frequentia*) ever since. Theoderic's mind is pained by blandishments of a deceitful scheme (*dolosi blandimenta conmenti*) and the untimely friendship (*intempestiva familiaritas*) of (the Gepid king) Traseric with Gunderith, another Gepid ruler. Theoderic is said to blame himself for the loss of Sirmium since it has long been allowed under his rule that something belonging to Italy (*Italiae possessio*) is retained (by the Gepids), even though he is not the one who lost the city, and it aches him immensely (*immensus dolor*) that the withholder (*retentator*) – meaning Traseric – had not returned the city at the onset of Theoderic's reign. Finally, after Traseric's schemes have been clearly revealed (*liquido patuere commenta*), Theoderic sends two of the noblest of Goths, Pitzia and Herduic, along with the youth still untried in battle⁹, to offer Traseric arrangements by which, if he accedes, he is to obtain the once invaded places (*semel invoasa locorum*) by choice (*arbitrio*). Yet Traseric acts as is usual for a fickle person (*usus inconstantis*) and, on his own unfriendly accord (*sponte alieno*) and without being driven out by Theoderic's army (*sine impulsu exercitus tui*), he abandons what he owes, meaning Sirmium and the surrounding territory (XII, 60–62). In this passage, Ennodius' disapproval of the Gepids is more pronounced, especially through his negative treatment of Traseric who is depicted as treacherous, scheming, unreliable and even ungrateful since he decides to flee rather than to accept what is in Ennodius' rendering clearly a fair offer made by Theoderic. Ennodius even considerably downplays the hostile character of Theoderic's move against Traseric, since the whole affair is interpreted as an essentially peace-minded action, which is in a conspicuous contrast to what Jordanes, Prokopios and Cassiodorus say.¹⁰

⁹ To the youth must have belonged Tuluin who later became Theoderic's confidant and advanced to the post of *patricius praesentalis* under Athalaric (cf. AMORY 1997, 425; GRAČANIN 2016, 249).

¹⁰ On Theoderic's image in Ennodius' *Panegyric*, cf. GOLTZ 2008, 312–322. Jordanes, *Getica* 300: Ed. MOMMSEN 1882b, relates that Theoderic directed his *comes* Pitz(i)a to the city of Sirmium and he acquired it after expelling King Traseric (Traseric) and capturing his mother. Prokopios, *De bellis* 5.11.5: HAURY–WIRTH 1963, says that Theoderic waged war against the Gepids and that battles were fought by Sirmium. Cassiodorus, *Variae* 8.10.4: FRIDH 1973, speaks of the *expeditio Sirmiensis*, which implies a military campaign.

Similarly to Ennodius, Jordanes generally casts the Gepids in an unfavorable light as lesser to the Goths and their opponents from time immemorial. To be sure, he is both implicit and explicit about the Gepids' power at the present and before. He says that the nation of the Gepids now (*nunc*) possesses the ancient Dacia which is presently (*nunc*) called Gepidia (*Getica* XII, 73–74; Ed. MOMMSEN 1882b) and which he geographically well defines implying the spaciousness of the region by mentioning large and famous rivers (*magnis opinatisque fluminibus*) and lofty mountains (*arduus Alpibus*) that surround it (V, 33–34).¹¹ He also asserts that the Gepids won by strength (*viribus*) the territory of the Huns and obtained as victors (*velut victores potiti*) the whole of Dacia (*totius Daciae fines*). He even calls the Gepids vigorous men (*strenui viri*) who demand, by a friendly pact (*amica pactioe*), peace and a yearly stipend from the Roman Empire and are freely (*libens*) granted these by the emperor, and to this day (*usque nunc*) they receive their customary gift from the emperor (L, 264). At the same time, he is prone to minimize the Gepids' successes. Hence, he remarks that Gepidia was once Gothia (XII, 74), implying that the Goths were there before the Gepids, which is quite consistent with the story that he recounts of how the Gepids supposedly got their name: after stating that the Goths and the Gepids are kinsmen (*parentes*) Jordanes illustrates this with an anecdotal account about three ships on which the Goths set out from their native island, one of which proved to be slower than the others and since slow means *gepanta* in their language, the Gepids acquired gradually and by corruption their name out of scorn (*ex convicio*) and as a gratuitous reproach (*pro gratuito convicio*), but they undoubtedly (*sine dubio*) trace their origin from the stock of the Goths (XVII, 94–95). To add a final touch to an image of the Gepids as an inferior people of Gothic descent Jordanes even stereotypes them as rather sluggish of thought and corporeally too slow-moving (*tardioris ingenii et graviores corporum velocitate*) (XVII, 95). He also emphasizes the Gepids' envy of the Goths (XVII, 94, 96) and blames the Gepid king Fastida for stirring up the belligerence of his people who used to be quiet (*quieta gens*). Fastida attacks and subdues the Burgundians and some other nations, and puffed up with vain glory (*superba admodum elatione iactatus*) unjustly provokes (*male provocans*), with his territorial demands, the Ostrogoths to a griveous (*durum*) and infamous (*scelestum*) war, since it was between the kin. Even though both sides fought with great valor (*magna virtute*) the Gepids were defeated and Fastida „left the field of slaughter and hastened to his own land, as much humiliated with shame and disgrace as formerly he had been elated with pride“ (XVII, 96–100). Moreover, when Jordanes praises the Gepid king Ardaric as most renowned (*famosissimus*) and famed for his loyalty and wisdom (*fide et consilio clarus*), he extols in the same manner the Ostrogothic king Walamir, saying that the Hun king Attila prized them both above all other chieftans (XXXVIII, 199–200). Ardaric is depicted as a champion of the oppressed nations who were treated like slaves under the rule of Attila's sons and as their liberator who was favored by good fortune (*secuta felicitate*) and whose cause was fortunate (*felix*) for various nations, but the victory came unexpectedly (*inopinata victoria*) to the Gepids and Ardaric prevailed not only by a sword but also by a conspiracy (*gladius conspiratioque*) (L, 260–263). The Gepids indeed took over the Hun territory, but the Ostrogoths fared better, since they asked for lands from the Roman Empire and received Pannonia which is „adorned with many cities“ (L, 264). In keeping with his aim to show the preeminence of the Goths over the Gepids, Jordanes mentions two more defeats that the Gepids suffered at the hands of the Goths (XLVIII, 250, LIV, 277–279), and is conspicuously reticent about on which side the Ostrogoths fought in the rebellion against the Huns. Jordanes does not miss to record that the Gepids, along with the Visigoths and the Ostrogoths, are Arians, placing the blame on Emperor Valens for the spreading of the Arian heresy among them all (XXV, 132–133).¹²

¹¹ The English translation by Charles C. Mierow is used here.

¹² In Jordanes' *Romana* the Gepids are mentioned three times: they are allies of the Hun king Attila who ravages Illyricum and Thrace (*Romana* 331; Ed. MOMMSEN 1882a); the rivals of Romans (*emuli Romanorum*) and defeated by the Lombards, a nation allied to the Roman emperors (*gens socia Romani regni principibus*),

Prokopios first mentions the Gepids in a brief ethnographic digression in the third book of his *Wars* (*Procopius Caesariensis, De bellis* 3.2.1–5; Ed. HAURY–WIRTH 1962), where he lists them among the greatest and most important (μέγιστά τε καὶ ἀξιολογώτατα) Gothic nations such as the Goths, Vandals and Visigoths, and says that all these nations are alike in everything else, their physique („they all have white bodies and blonde hair, they are tall and good-looking“) and their social and religious habits („they have the same customs and practice a common religion“, „they are all of the Arian faith and have one language called Gothic“).¹³ He also ventures to explain their origins saying that they seem to originate from one nation and were distinguished later by the names of their respective leaders. After remarking that they all used to live beyond the Danube, he adds about the Gepids that they later acquired area around Singidunum and Sirmium on both sides of the Danube, which they still hold. Other instances when Prokopios mentions the Gepids mostly relate to their clashes with the Goths (5.3.15, 5.11.5; Ed. HAURY–WIRTH 1963), and the Lombards (7.34.1–40, 7.39.15, 8.18.1–12, 8.25.7–15). He also paints the Gepids as being especially harsh in their treatment of Heruls: first they allowed them to live in the Gepid area as their neighbors, but then started doing outrageous deeds (ἀνόσια ἔργα) against them with no cause, they raped their women, seized the cattle and other property, performed all sorts of wrongdoings (ἀδικίας) and finally began subduing them wrongfully (ἀδίκων) (6.14.25–27). The Gepids receive particularly bad press in regard to their relationship with the Romans: after seizing the control of Sirmium and almost all of Dacia (Δακίας ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀπάσας)¹⁴, they enslaved (ἐξηνδραπόδισάν) the local Romans, they were always on the move (ἀεὶ ὁδῶ ἴόντες), plundering and doing violence to the Roman realm, which caused Emperor Justinian to discontinue the customary payments to the Gepids (7.33.8–9). Prokopios shows a particular interest for wars between Gepids and Lombards, devoting them whole chapters of his narrative with emphasis on their respective kings and dealings with the Romans.¹⁵ Without going into causes for the enmity between Gepids and Lombards, he merely states that they, though neighbors, became extremely hostile to each other and eager to engage into fighting (7.34.1–2). The Gepids are described as prevalent in numbers to the Lombards, which prompted the latter to send envoys to the Romans and ask them for an alliance and a military help. Having learned of this, the Gepids also sent their envoys (7.34.3–4). Then Prokopios goes on to recount what the Lombard and Gepid envoys purportedly told the emperor.¹⁶ In the Lombard speech, the Gepids are portrayed as wicked, perpetrating many and great wrongdoings against the Romans, insolent, inflicting insults upon their neighbors, ungrateful, formerly bending before the power of the Goths, impotent, the most foul (οἱ μισαρώτατοι), violating a treaty and alliance, doing wrong to the Empire, holding Sirmium and Dacia and enslaving (ἀνδραποδίζουσιν) Romans, never winning a war for the Romans or earning the land and payments they have received from the Empire, committing with their embassy a very foul deed (πρᾶξις μισρωτέρα), insulting the emperor, showing an abundance of shamelessness (ἀναιδείας περιουσία), being overconfident (θαρσοῦσιν), occupying something that does not belong to them, capable of excess of malice (τῆς

in a great battle which lasted one day and cost the lives of more than sixty thousand men on both sides (*Romana* 386); and opponents of the *magister militum* Calluc who was killed fighting them (*Romana* 387).

¹³ The English translation by H. B. Dewing and Anthony Kaldellis is used here.

¹⁴ Later in his text Prokopios decreases the extent of the Gepids' possessions in Roman territory by indicating that they hold, next to Sirmium, only a few other places in Dacia (ἄλλα ἐπὶ Δακίας ἄττα χωρία) (7.34.35), but the words are put into the mouths of Gepid envoys who address the emperor. Could that have served a purpose of illustrating to a more attentive reader the Gepids' dishonesty and insolence?

¹⁵ See also KALDELLIS 2013, 4.

¹⁶ The rhetoric of the speeches is primarily aimed at implicitly criticizing the Empire's inability of controlling the barbarian groups along the Danube frontier (POHL 1997, 75), and in that sense the speeches make a unity with the preceding chapter of the *Wars*, where such a negative image of the Empire's condition is more pronounced (*De bellis* 7.33; Ed. HAURY–WIRTH 1963). Cf. also SARANTIS 2016, 269–270. On speeches in Prokopios' *Wars*, see CAMERON 1985, 148–150; TARAGNA 2000; KALDELLIS 2004a, 29–32; KOUROUMALI (forthcoming); with KRUSE 2013; WHATELY 2016, *passim*.

κακοτροπίας ὑπερβολή), and Arian worshipers (7.34.5–24). In the Gepid speech, they are presented as coming with a just request, being wronged by the Lombards, superior to the Lombards in multitude and valor, being the more powerful side, ready to pay the debt of gratitude if helped, being always allied with the Romans and well known to them, powerful and steadfast allies, having tried in vain to settle differences with Lombards by arbitration, and acting in confidence in the strong friendship with the Romans and not out of insolence when taking possession of Roman territory (7.34.25–38). Prokopios finishes the story with a remark that the Gepids settled their differences with the Lombards when they learned of the approach of the Roman army, and the barbarians (οἱ βάρβαροι) concluded a peace treaty against the will of the Romans, thanks to which the Gepids remained a threat to Illyricum, same as the Heruls (7.34.45–46). Since Prokopios also brands the Lombards and the Heruls as plunderers of the Roman realm (7.33.12–13), it is quite clear that, in his eyes, they were all alike.¹⁷

Having described another outbreak of hostilities between Gepids and Lombards, followed by renewal of truce – adding that they sent envoys to each other and were constantly in contact, but were unable to settle their differences (8.18.2–12) – Prokopios relates how the Gepids, expecting that the Romans would side with the Lombards, invited the Kutrigurs to aid them against the Lombards, but as the truce was still in effect they became distressed by the presence of those barbarians and induced them to attack the Roman territory, even ferrying them across the Danube (8.18.13–17). The Gepids are once more seen as aiding the barbarians to cross the Danube when they ferried the Slavs back across the river in exchange for large payment, an event prompting the emperor's wish to enter into an agreement with the Gepids (8.25.5–6). Prokopios stresses that the Gepids' fear of the power of Romans (τὴν Ῥωμαίων δειμαίνοντες δύναμιν)¹⁸ caused the Gepids to send envoys to Constantinople and ask for an alliance on the eve of a renewed confrontation with the Lombards, and this time they were granted a treaty. However, the treaty was instantly effectively annulled as the emperor accused the Gepids of transporting the Slavs across the Danube, and the Lombards finally defeated the Gepids in their territory with the assistance of one detachment of the Roman army, in a fierce battle (μάχης καρτερᾶς), in which a vast number (παμπληθεῖς) of the Gepids died (8.27.7–15). The Gepids also feature in the story of a Lombard prince Hildigisal/Hildiges. He found shelter with them at the time when they were at war with the Lombards, and they planned to place him on the Lombard throne. After the war had ended they however refused to hand Hildigisal over to the Lombards as was requested, ordering him instead to leave the Gepid country (7.35.12–20). Following a spell with the Romans (8.27.1–18) Hildigisal returned to the Gepids who again refused to surrender him when requested by both the Romans and the Lombards, even though the Gepids were bound to preserve an eternal friendship with them after the war. Prokopios even stresses that the Gepids „firmly declared that it would be better for the nation of Gepids to perish immediately with their women and children rather than to become polluted by such an impiety“. However, the Gepid king Thorisin (Turisind) is said to have devised a plan by which he secretly disposed of Hildigisal in exchange for the elimination by the Lombard king Audoin of a Gepid prince Ustrigoth who previously fled to the Lombards from much the same reason as Hildigisal to the Gepids (8.28.19–29). What may be surmised from Prokopios' narrative is that the Gepids are not to be trusted, they are an enemy who has proven to be repeatedly harmful to the Romans, as well as injurious to other barbarians, capable of all sorts of misdeeds and cruelties, prone not to honor treaties, and they would only bow to military might (but still they are Roman allies). If they

¹⁷ Following the same approach of equal negative characterization, Flavius Cresconius Corripus also depicts both the Lombards and the Gepids as ferocious nations (*populi feroces*) who, in their savagery (*feritate sua*), inflict wounds on each other (*In laudem Iustini Augusti minoris, Praefatio* v. 12–15; Ed. CAMERON 1976). The Gepids are also once called *truces*, „wild, fierce“ (*Liber primus* v. 254; Ed. CAMERON 1976).

¹⁸ The fear of the power of Romans (δύναμιν τὴν Ῥωμαίων δειμαίνοντες) is also what induces the Heruls to submit again to the Gepids (6.15.36).

help someone like Hildigisal it is essentially only out of self-interest, and even then the person who puts his trust into them may fall a victim of machinations.¹⁹

In contrast to the previous writers Menander the Guardsman is more implicit in his criticism of the Gepids. In his fragmentary preserved *History* the Gepids first appear as enemies of the Lombards whose king Alboin, being unable to forgo his hatred for (the Gepid king) Cunimund, is set on destroying the dominion of the Gepids (τῶν Γηπαίδων ἐπικράτειαν) (*Menander Protector, Historia* fr. 12.1: Ed. BLOCKLEY 1985).²⁰ Menander has the Lombard envoys say to the Avars that the Lombards have suffered terribly at the hands of the Gepids that have Romans as allies and whose annihilation would make the Lombards and Avars masters of their wealth and land. Having discovered that the Lombards and Avars made an alliance in preparation for the war against the Gepids, Cunimund, out of fear as is told, sends envoys to Emperor Justin and begs him for help in this danger, promising again to hand over Sirmium and the land south of the river Drave. The emperor is said to have known well from the evidence of the past that Cunimund is not to be trusted, to which Menander adds his personal comment of not believing this report about the Gepid king, since „it would be too shameless (ἀναίδες ὑπήρχε) for one who had broken the treaty to repeat his request“, implying the Gepids to be precisely that – shameless. Menander also remarks that the Lombards sent their own embassy to Justin which „violently attacked the Gepids for their high-handed (ἀγνωμοσύνης) behavior towards the Romans“ (fr. 12.2). In another fragment he cites Emperor Justin’s address to the Avar envoys who have come to request the surrender of a Gepid Usdibad, where it is reported that the Gepids turned to Emperor Justinian who gave them land around Sirmium, and that they would have defeated the Lombards in the war that broke between them „had they not shown their slavish nature (ἀνδραποδώδεις ὄφθησαν) and angered their benefactors with their treachery (τῷ τῆς γνώμης δολερῷ)“. Furthermore, the speech mentions unforgivable plots (ἐπιβουλεύσαντας ἀσύγνωστα) of the Gepids against the Romans, their ingratitude (τοὺς ἀγνωμονήσαντας) and their trespasses (τοῖς πλημμελήμασι), as well as calls the Gepids subject to the Romans (fr. 12.6). Even if Menander is not that straightforward, it is evident that he shared the negative opinion of the Gepids as generally untrustworthy and ungrateful.

Paul the Deacon wrote about the Gepids with a distance of more than two centuries since the sixth-century events and his treatment of Gepids is primarily anecdotal. He first mentions the Gepids as providing refuge to Hildechis (Prokopios’ Hildigisal/Hildiges) who is said to have remained among them as exile until the end of his life, and explains that this was why the Gepids incurred enmities with the Lombards (*Paulus Diaconus, Historia Langobardorum* 1.21: Ed. BETHMANN-WAITZ 1878).²¹ When relating to the war between Gepids and Lombards, he simply states that their confrontation „had been long since conceived“ and that they both fought bravely (*fortiter*) until the Gepids, demoralized by the death of their king Turisind’s son, started to flee, after which the Lombards killed a great number of the Gepids (1.23). Paul praises Turisind for his kind reception of the Lombard prince Alboin when he came to visit the Gepids, even though Alboin killed his son, and for preventing his Gepids, „unable to bear the tumult of their passions“ and „violently stirred in anger“ after one of the Lombards from Alboin’s retinue offended them, to take vengeance for the open insults (*manifestas iniurias*), since this would be a violation of hospitality unpleasing to God (1.24). The story itself serves to celebrate the observance of customs, as well as

¹⁹ Apart from the royalty, Prokopios mentions three other Gepids by name: Vela who is said to be passionate by nature was a bodyguard of the Gothic king Hildebad but killed him after he had suffered what he deemed a personal insult done to him by the king, and by doing this was instrumental in taking a vengeance on Hildebad for previously killing a Gothic noble (7.2.43–49); Philegagos who is said to be an energetic man and fights the Persians in Roman service (8.8.15, 30); and Asbados who is said to be an especially energetic man, leads a force of Gepids in the Roman army commanded by Narses and mortally wounds the Gothic king Totila (8.26.13, 8.32.22–25).

²⁰ The English translation by Roger C. Blockley is used here.

²¹ The English translation by William Dudley Foulke is used here.

to extol Alboin's bravery. Paul also explains that Cunimund, Turisind's successor, broke the treaty with the Lombards because of his desire to avenge the old insults (*veteras iniurias*). In Paul's version Cunimund is practically turned into a tragic hero who urges his Gepids – „cast down in spirit“ since they have been attacked from two sides – to fight first with the Lombards and then with the Avars. The Gepids and Lombards clash with all their strength (*totis viribus*), and the latter are victorious, „raging against the Gepids in such wrath that they reduced them to utter destruction“. Alboin kills Cunimund, makes a drinking goblet out of his skull and marries his daughter Rosamund, while the Lombards acquire the most ample riches (*amplissimas divitias*) as spoils. Some of the Gepids are turned into captives of the Lombards and are subject to them, while others groan (*gemunt*) subjected to a grievous mastery (*duro imperio*) of the Avars (1.27). Describing the ill fate of the Gepids Paul is rather critical of the Lombards, since they proved to be merciless victors and were even prepared to enter into alliance with the Avars, about whom Paul has little nice to say.²² Paul shows sympathies for the Gepids and portrays them as once a powerful and prosperous nation who cares for customs and takes in exiles. Even if they themselves cause their ruin by violating the treaty with the Lombards and taking up arms against them, they do this because they have been wronged by them previously, and they fight vigorously in spite of being faced with two enemies only to be reduced to the Lombard and Avar subjects.²³ Paul's mosaical story of Gepids has a moralizing quality of Biblical features intended to show how a once mighty nation had fallen (which is precisely what happened to the Lombards in Paul's own time).

WARS, POLITICS AND DIPLOMACY

As it can be expected the information in written sources about the Gepids revolves primarily around wars and diplomatic activities, the more so since the Gepids seem to have never had someone recording their own traditions and past as they themselves saw them and remembered them. It has already been indicated that the existing written record is scattered and scarce, but is nevertheless sufficient to provide some firm points for a historical reconstruction. What is attempted here is to try and evaluate the sixth century events related to Gepids and their dealings with the Goths, Romans and Lombards as much as possible from their (perceived) viewpoint. The main argument is in essence a revisionist one since it is aimed at showing that the Gepids were active players in military-political struggles of the day on the middle and lower Danube and that they pursued a consistent policy with an ambition to establish and maintain themselves, with whatever means at their disposal, as an acknowledged regional power. Even if their rule in the Carpathian Basin may have appeared to a degree as a passive hegemony, as it has been remarked,²⁴ such a qualification is justifiable only in as much as it presumes the Gepid strength and their apparent reluctance to engage into aggressive actions just for the sake of showing power or gaining new territory. The Gepids seem to have been chiefly interested in defending and securing their already won positions as, in effect,

²² Cf. GRAČANIN 2010, 374.

²³ In Paul the Deacon's *Roman History* the Gepids are mentioned three times: the Gepid king Ardaric and other nations subject to the Huns follow the Ostrogothic king Walamir's suit and free themselves from the Hun dominance (*Pauli Historia Romana* 15.11: Ed. DROYSEN 1879); the Gepid king Thrapstila attempts an ambush against the Ostrogothic king Theoderic before the latter's arrival in Italy but is defeated and killed (15.15); the Lombard king Audoin, whose nation was then befriended with the Romans, fights with the Gepid king Turisind and is victorious thanks to his son Alboin who killed Turisind's son Turismod and thus demoralized the Gepids (15.20).

²⁴ Cf. POHL 1980, 268, 296. The phrase has been adopted in GRAČANIN 2007, 11, note 17; GRAČANIN 2011, 88, but with a comment that the Gepids nevertheless represented a force to be reckoned with. SARANTIS 2009, 15–17; with SARANTIS 2016, 271, has recently rightly challenged this negative perception of the Gepids' capacity to be an active participant in the rivalries among various barbarian groups and the Empire for the control over the middle and lower Danube areas.

the successors of the Huns.²⁵ Therefore, their relations with the Romans are arguably to be viewed against the background of the Gepids' wish to enjoy benefits and concessions from the Empire that would confirm their status and guarantee the preservation of their kingdom. The seemingly inconsistent attitude of the Gepids towards the Lombards ranging from a peaceful alliance to a bitter antagonism may be best understood as a result of the Empire's increasing reliance on the Lombards as the Gepids' main competitors for the domination in Pannonia.

The sixth century Gepid history, as far as their presence in and dealings with southern Pannonia and their relationship with the Romans are concerned, may be tentatively divided into several chronological phases: the south Pannonian Gepids under the Ostrogoths (504–c. 524/535); the Tisa Gepids as eastern Roman allies under Justinian I until the Gepid recapture of Sirmium (c. 528–536); the Gepids at odds with the Empire (536–c. 540); the Gepids as uneasy eastern Roman allies (c. 540–549/551); the Gepids' estrangement from the Romans (549–551); the Gepids as eastern Roman allies (551–567). The first phase began with the Gothic invasion and conquest of the Gepid-held Sirmium in 504 after which the Gepid king Traseric seems to have found refuge with the Romans, which is likely to be assumed based on an inscription found in 2006 at Vefa kilise camii in Istanbul.²⁶ The partially preserved funerary inscription, written in Greek, records one Thra[...], the *comes domesticorum* and king of the Gepids, (son of?) Thraustila, who has convincingly been identified as the Gepid king Traseric of Sirmium. This allows for an assumption that Traseric had good connections to the eastern Roman court and was allowed to live in Constantinople after he had been expelled from Sirmium, as well as to retain his royal title, even though it was superseded by the (presumably honorary) title of *comes domesticorum* that gave its holder right to the prestigious rank of *vir illustris*.²⁷ In this context Ennodius' claims about a daily insult, the awkward frequency of diplomatic exchange with the Gothic court at Ravenna, a deceitful scheme and the untimely friendship with the Gepid ruler Gunderith (*Panegyricus dictus clementissimo regi Theoderico XII*, 60–61: Ed. ROHR 1995), all would point to a conclusion that Traseric had been increasingly slipping away from under the Gothic umbrella. Traseric may have succeeded his father Thrapstila/Thraustila, after the latter had been probably killed fighting Theoderic's Goths in 489, under the provision of an alliance and close relations with the Goths (perhaps alluded to by Ennodius who says that Traseric abandoned what he owed, meaning that, from the perspective of the Ravenna court, Traseric owed his position as king in Sirmium to Theoderic). In the early 500s the situation obviously changed and Traseric started alienating himself from the Goths and opting for the Romans (that is presumably to which Ennodius' phrase „a deceitful scheme“ refers). He forged connections to Gunderith (probably a ruler of the Tisa Gepids and a Roman ally), and was likely trying to wrest himself from the Gothic grip with Gunderith's and the Roman help. With frequent embassies to the Ravenna court he must have attempted to conceal his intentions. The embassies were probably designed not only to appease the Goths but also to tune into their immediate plans, and not to provoke them as Ennodius would have it („a daily insult“).²⁸ Traseric may have rightly assessed that after the Goths had annexed Dalmatia and subsequently Pannonia Savia their move against the Gepids in Pannonia Secunda was just a matter of time. In light of this, it may be assumed that any Theoderic's offer was aimed at facilitating Traseric's submission and that he would have been

²⁵ For the Gepids as successors of the Huns and beneficiaries of their political legacy and the Hun system of rule, see also KIM 2013, 95.

²⁶ Cf. ÇETINKAYA 2009. On the circumstances of the Goths' attack on Sirmium and their ensuing clash with the Romans, see briefly SARANTIS 2009, 19–20; GRAČANIN–ŠKRGULJA 2014 (2015), 182, with further scholarly literature. KISS 2014b has recently discussed anew the evidence pertaining to the *expeditio Sirmiensis* and the subsequent events.

²⁷ KISS 2014b, 45–46 also opts for good relations between Gepids and Romans in the early 6th century.

²⁸ Scholars have usually seen the Gepids as threatening and provoking the Goths: ENSSLIN 1947, 134 speaks of constant frictions and border conflicts between Gepids and Goths; POHL 1980, 294 and SCHWARCZ 2000, 63 mention possible Gepid incursions in the Gothic territory in Pannonia Savia; WOLFRAM 1995, 321 claims that, by then, the Gepids' self-confidence grew alarmingly and that they made territorial requests.

allowed to remain in Sirmium only as a client king. The fact that Traseric's mother was seized in the Gothic attack, as testified by Jordanes (*Getica* 300: Ed. MOMMSEN 1882b), suggests that the invasion was sudden and that at that time Traseric was not in his capital, otherwise it might be expected that he would have fled Sirmium with his mother.²⁹ That much can also be surmised from Ennodius' claim that Traseric was driven out without the use of force, meaning that there seem never to have been concrete attempts to organize the city's defence in face of the Gothic invasion. Therefore, it is conceivable that Traseric was actually staying at Gunderith's court and that, following the fall of Sirmium, he eventually crossed to Roman territory and acquired an elevated position at the court in Constantinople, remaining there until his death. This was but a small recompense for the Roman failure to act as they were heavily engaged on the eastern front against the Persians.³⁰ If the interpretation is correct, it may also be that the Romans, by getting close to Traseric, wanted to check unfavorable developments on their northwestern border in connection to a Gepid warlord of the royal blood Mundo, who posed a threat for the security of Moesia Prima.

Once the Romans were not tied down elsewhere they decided, in 505, to launch an offensive against Mundo, but the attempt ended in a dismal failure as Mundo was aided by a Gothic army led by Pitzia. Ennodius calls Mundo a (Gothic) federate (*Panegyricus dictus clementissimo regi Theoderico XII*, 63: Ed. ROHR 1995), meaning he was a subordinate ally of the Goths, which is further reinforced by Jordanes (*Getica* LVIII, 301: Ed. MOMMSEN 1882b) who says that Pitzia actually made Mundo subject to the Goths after he had helped him against the Romans. Whether or not Mundo only joined the Goths upon their conquest of Sirmium in 504 (which seems more likely) is less important than the fact that he and his substantial following – his original band of Gepids and other followers who must have eventually adopted the Gepid identity of their leader – were likely transferred to southern Pannonia, in 510 at the latest when a peace treaty between Goths and the Empire was struck and the Romans obtained the easternmost portion of Pannonia Secunda with the town of Bassiana (modern Donji Petrovci).³¹ In addition, it may be assumed that in the region that was ceded to the Romans in 510 still lived some Gepids who had originally inhabited this area. Even though it is a sheer conjecture, these Gepids might have now (or even earlier) been also relocated and moved to the Gothic-controlled area of Pannonia Secunda (called Sirmiensis), since the sources allude to the Heruls being settled in that section of the province.³² The federate Mundo was probably used not only to buttress defence of the Gothic-held Pannonia Sirmiensis but also served as a focal point for the remaining Gepids dwelling in southern Pannonia who surely accepted Mundo, considering his noble lineage (he once was an heir to the Gepid throne), as their leader. His loyalty to Theoderic ensured that the south Pannonian Gepids did not pose an inner security problem, even though their presence seems to have been, to an extent, a difficulty for the province. Cassiodorus mentions the barbarians who engage into duels with the Romans in Pannonia Sirmiensis as a means of settling their disputes and quarrels outside the court of law (*Variae* 3.24.3–4, with 3.23.3: Ed. FRIDH 1973). It may be assumed that the Gepids are primarily meant.³³ Since such an activity was related to an inability of conflicted parties to afford settling the costs of judicial proceedings (*Variae* 3.23.4), it may also be seen as indicative of much poorer economic conditions in the province if people had to resort to, as Cassiodorus puts it, the perverted custom (*consuetudo perversa*) or detestable practices (*consuetudines abominanter*) (*Variae* 3.23.3).³⁴ Both

²⁹ It is usually thought that Traseric escaped from Sirmium to Gunderith, cf. POHL 1980, 294; with GRAČANIN 2007, 20; GRAČANIN 2011, 94.

³⁰ Cf. STEIN 1949, 92–101, esp. 94–99; GREATREX 1998, 73–119, esp. 94–115.

³¹ For various opinions on the time of Mundo's alliance with the Goths, see PROSTKO-PROSTYŃSKI 1994, 227–230, esp. 227. For the assumption that Mundo had substantial forces at his disposal, see SARANTIS 2009, 20. For the peace treaty, see GRAČANIN-ŠKRGULJA 2014 (2015), 182, with further scholarly literature.

³² See below in the text, with note 60.

³³ GRAČANIN-ŠKRGULJA 2014 (2015), 184, with note 105; GRAČANIN 2016, 264–265.

³⁴ GRAČANIN 2016, 258–259.

of Cassiodorus' letters date presumably from 510,³⁵ which coincides with the date of the probable resettlement of Mundo's Gepids to Pannonia Sirmiensis. In the extant letters, Cassiodorus does not revisit the problem of clashes between Romans and barbarians in the province, but reports about the relocation of a group of Gepids from southern Pannonia to Gaul in 523/4 (*Variae* 5.10, 5.11). The Gepids were intended to bolster the Gothic positions in Gaul against the Burgundians, meaning that they were a substantial force, which is also alluded to by Cassiodorus who calls them *exercitus* (*Variae* 5.10.1) and refers to them as *multitudo Gepidarum* (*Variae* 5.10.2). The contingent seems to have included men, women and children alike, and it may be assumed that it consisted of seasoned warriors – possibly both the local Gepids and the men that once stood under Mundo's command – who were transferred with their families to the new abodes.³⁶ At the same time, Cassiodorus' phrasing seems to leave little doubt that only a portion of south Pannonian Gepids was relocated, and that others must have remained in the province.

Recently it has been proposed that the Gepids were active against the Empire in the late 510s and again in the late 520s. It is argued that the entry in the *Chronicle* written by the sixth-century chronicler Marcellinus Comes about a devastating raid on eastern Illyricum carried out by the *Getae equites* in 517 actually refers to Gepids (*Marcellinus Comes, Chronicon*, a. 517.1–2: Ed. MOMSEN 1894a).³⁷ The argument is based on Marcellinus' use of the ethnonym *Getae*, which is said to have been employed by the contemporary sixth-century sources such as Jordanes' *Getica* and Prokopios' *Wars* to denote the Germanic peoples.³⁸ To be true, Marcellinus uses the term in relation to Mundo (*Mundo Geta*, a. 505), but also in adjective form for a knife with which the *comes foederatorum* Vitalian kills the *magister militum per Thraciam* Cyril (a. 514.3: *culter Geticus*).³⁹ Along the same line of reasoning, to the Gepids has also been linked another record by Marcellinus that mentions the victories of the *magister militum per Illyricum* Mundo, first over the *Getae* who had been previously traversing Illyricum and then over the Bulgars in Thrace (a. 530).⁴⁰ The *Getae* of 517 and 529 are usually identified with the Slavs.⁴¹ This has been challenged primarily based on the conclusion that no Justinianic contemporary source equates the *Getae* with either the Slavs (*Sklaveni*) or the *Antae* and that the first who suggested that these ethnic labels were interchangeable was Theophylact

³⁵ GRAČANIN 2016, 218–219.

³⁶ On the Gepid contingent from Pannonia Sirmiensis, see GRAČANIN 2016, 220–221, 250, 254–255, 264, 266.

³⁷ SARANTIS 2009, 20; SARANTIS 2016, 28, 65. See also DICULESCU 1923, 122, note 57.

³⁸ SARANTIS 2009, 20–21; SARANTIS 2016, 59. However, it should be noted that Flavius Cresconius Corippus, a younger contemporary of Justinian's, clearly differentiates the Gepids from the *Getae* (cf. *In laudem Iustini Augusti minoris, Liber primus* v. 254: Ed. CAMERON 1976), and by the latter the Slavs are surely meant.

³⁹ Brian Croke translates the ethnic label *Geta* as „the Goth“ (a. 505: „Mundo the Goth; a. 514.3: „a Gothic knife“; a. 517: „the Gothic cavalry“; a. 530: „the Goths“), which is inconsistent with the source itself, since Marcellinus usually calls the Goths *Gothi*, even if he sometimes errs (for example, he calls Odoacer *rex Gothorum*, a. 476.2, 489). On the other hand, Marcellinus labels Vitalian a Scythian (514.1: *Scythia*), a term which he also uses for the Alans, Huns and Goths (aa. 379.2, 380: *gentes Scythicae*), for Radagaisus (a. 406.2: *Scythia*), for John, the consul of 498 (a. 498), and, obliquely, for the Bulgars (a. 493.2: *Scythicum ferrum*). The last identification is sometimes thought as uncertain (cf. ZIEMANN 2007, 47; however, on p. 83, he seems to accept the Bulgar invasion of 493; SARANTIS 2016, 58, note 210 for reservations), but it is quite likely (adopted by STEIN 1949, 89; SETTON 1950, 503; CROKE 1980, 188–189; BEŠEVLIJEV 1981, 77; HAARER 2006, 104; MEIER 2009, 138–139; cf. note 47 below for the Bulgars as Scythians).

⁴⁰ SARANTIS 2016, 60, 62, 64, 110. He errs when dating Mundo's campaign against the *Getae* to 530, since Marcellinus conflates the events stretching over two years (529 and 530) under one entry (note the phrase *deinde his consulibus* with which the campaign against the Bulgars is introduced). Simultaneously, Marcellinus fixes the entry to the eighth indiction, which lasted from 1 September 529 until 31 August 530, indicating perhaps that Mundo fought the *Getae* in late summer/early autumn of 529.

⁴¹ Cf. GRAČANIN 2007, 28, note 99 for scholarly literature. The attackers of 517 may have been the *Antae* (see STEIN 1949, 105–106; LEMERLE 1954, 284; CAPIZZI 1969, 172; COMŠA 1972, 9; CROKE 2001, 71; MEIER 2009, 313: the Goths, Slavs, Bulgars or *Antae*?).

Simocatta in the early seventh century.⁴² While Theophylact Simocatta's use of the term Getae is likely a case of literary antiquarianism, Marcellinus' approach hinges both on the circumstance that at the time when he wrote his *Chronicle* (the first version probably in 518 and the extended version in 534), the ethnonyms Sklaveni and Antae were still not part of the general knowledge – Justinian is called *Anticus* for the first time in a law dated to 21 November 533⁴³ – and therefore were not included in a ready-to-use catalogue of barbarian peoples, and on Marcellinus' dependence on previous records for information, since he may have simply found the Getae mentioned in his sources and never felt the need to closely identify them.⁴⁴ To add to the point, it should be noted that Marcellinus composed the two versions of his *Chronicle* approximately two/four decades before Jordanes and Prokopios finished their historical works and therefore how they used the term Getae or Getic need not to be strictly applied to how Marcellinus used it or understood it. This seems to bear particular weight considering that Marcellinus knew Paul Orosius' *Histories against the pagans*, where the Getae are clearly equated with the Goths.⁴⁵

Furthermore, the 517 raid, as described by Marcellinus, was a deep thrust into Roman territory (the raiders invaded Greece) with rather destructive consequences, since he mentions that the captured Romans who could not be ransomed were killed by being burnt alive in their dwellings or massacred in front of the walls of the enclosed cities. Such acts are never related by sources in connection to the Gepids, but resemble to what Prokopios says about the Slavs who attacked Illyricum and Thrace in 550: they massacred everyone regardless of age filling the provinces with unburied corpses, their preferred method of killing was impalement, but they also killed their captives by bashing their heads with clubs or by setting afire the huts where they had imprisoned them (*Procopius Caesariensis, De bellis* 7.38.18–22: Ed. HAURY–WIRTH 1963).⁴⁶ Therefore, if the Getae of 517 may have been the Slavs (or the Antae), there is no need to assume otherwise for the Getae of 529. The label could be easily applied to a variety of peoples north of the Lower Danube, including the Gepids and the Bulgars, and was accordingly interchangeable with the even older term Scythian, depending on the context and the authors' preferences.⁴⁷ In addition, even if Marcellinus never explicitly refers to Gepids, making it quite likely that the term *Getae* as he saw it also covers the Gepids (Mundo is called *Geta*), the chronicler's remark that Mundo was the first

⁴² SARANTIS 2016, 59; with SARANTIS 2009, 20. Corippus is very likely to have already made the Getae-Slavs equation (see note 38 above).

⁴³ Cf. CURTA 2001, 77.

⁴⁴ For Theophylact Simocatta's Getae, see SARANTIS 2016, 59, note 214; with CURTA 2001, 98, note 78. For the dates of Marcellinus' *Chronicle*, see CROKE 2001, 26–28, 33–34. On such catalogues, see MATHISEN 2011, 17–32.

⁴⁵ For Orosius' identification of the Getae with the Goths, see LIEBESCHUETZ 2011, 201, note 77. On Marcellinus' use of Orosius, see HOLDER-EGGER 1877, 56–57; CROKE 2001, 197–200.

⁴⁶ Another Slavic attack on Illyricum with similar devastating effects is recounted by Prokopios at 7.29.1–3: the Slavs penetrate as far as Epidamnos, kill or enslave young and old alike, and continue to roam (περιήρχοντο) the region (note the similarity in expression with Marcellinus' phrasing *Getis Illyricum discursantibus*, a. 530).

⁴⁷ Marcellinus says that the *magister militum per Thraciam* Cyril was killed by Vitalian with a Getic knife (a. 514.3), whereas the seventh-century chronicler John of Antioch identifies, as Cyril's murderer, a Hun in Vitalian's service named Tarrach (*Ioannes Antiochenus, Historia* fr. 310, 123–125: Ed. Roberto 2005; fr. 242.18: Ed. MARIEV 2008). Vitalian used as his troops the Bulgars who are sometimes equated in the sixth-century sources with the Huns (cf. *Ioannes Malalas, Chronographia*, 5.5, 33: συνὶ δὲ λεγομένων Βουλγάρων καὶ Οὐννων; 16.16, 14: πλῆθος Οὐννων Βουλγάρων; with 18.46, 63: Οὐννοι; see also some caveats on this identification by SARANTIS 2016, 32), which means that Tarrach was actually Bulgar and consequently, if we assume Marcellinus' source of information (or he himself) to be well-informed, the term Getic was applicable to the Bulgars as well. A dedicatory epigram commissioned in 530 by the Prefect of Constantinople Eustathius celebrates Justinian's victory over the Persians and alludes to Justinian's triumph over the Scythians (Σκυθῆων προμάχους), by which the Bulgars were surely meant (CROKE 1980, 193–194).

Roman general who defeated the Getae would lose its significance if the Gepids are really meant given that they were formally Roman allies.⁴⁸ On a final note, a presumable Gepid attack of 529, on top of the allusion that they were something of regular invaders (*dudum... discursantibus*), does not fit well in with what is known about their relationship with the Empire at that time, especially if one assumes, as is contended here, that they never aimed at short-term gains in their dealings with the Romans and that they attacked only to exert political pressure.

The Gepids' first known aggressive action in the 520s occurred probably in 528, and it was directed against the Ostrogoths, not the Romans. Prokopios relates that the Goths conducted a war against the Gepids by Sirmium and subsequently attacked the town of Gratiana at the border of Illyricum (*Procopius Caesariensis, De bellis* 5.3.15: Ed. HAURY–WIRTH 1963). This seems to have been the same occasion when the future Gothic king Vitiges earned his stripes, even though Prokopios dates it to Theoderic's reign (5.11.5), apparently confusing this clash with the Gothic-Gepid conflict of 504.⁴⁹ The violation of the eastern Roman territory is a clear indication that the Ostrogoths believed the Gepids to have acted in concert with the Romans, which is also corroborated by what Cassiodorus says: „Moreover, at the very outset of the reign, when a new regime always attracts danger, she [sc. Amalasintha] made the Danube a Roman river against the will of the eastern prince. The sufferings of the invaders are well known: in my judgement, they should be passed over, lest the spirit of an allied prince should bear a loser's shame. For his opinion of our lands may be understood from the fact that, despite his injury, he granted us a peace which he refused to the prayers of others“.⁵⁰ Cassiodorus also alludes to the Ostrogoths infringing on the eastern Roman territory („despite his [sc. Justinian's] injury). Even though it is difficult to judge what laid behind this confrontation considering the scarcity of the information, it seems that the Gepids tried to wrest Sirmium from the Ostrogoths, and that they were supported or even encouraged in the move by the eastern Roman court.⁵¹ The incident also signals the Gepids' consolidation after the setback in 504 and their ability to make offensive actions against formidable opponents to promote their interests. The Gepids' attempt may have failed, but they were once again perceived by the Ostrogoths as a threat.⁵² One Cassiodorus' claim perhaps deserves particular attention: he says that Amalasintha made the Danube be Roman against the wish of the eastern emperor. In another context, Cassiodorus speaks of the *gentilis Danubius* (*Variae* 8.21.4: FRIDH 1973), which surely alludes to the Gepids and their kingdom based at Sirmium.⁵³ Since with the Gothic conquest of 504 the Danube had technically already become Roman, i.e. Gothic, Cassiodorus' assertion would have been superfluous even for a panegyric tone of his letter, and therefore it might represent a hint to an extensive military action by the Ostrogoths, that is to say, the Ostrogoths had to reconquer parts of the province that were initially seized by the Gepids. What may also be telling is that the

⁴⁸ The sole mention is contained in the anonymous continuation of Marcellinus' *Chronicle* (539.6), and not in his *Chronicle*, as is sometimes inferred (cf. SARANTIS 2009, 25; SARANTIS 2016, 94).

⁴⁹ The Gothic-Gepid conflict of (probably) 528 is mentioned by Prokopios in the context of Justinian's protesting note to the Gothic queen Amalasintha in 534 as one of the offenses that the Goths are said to have committed against the Eastern Romans (*Procopius Caesariensis, De bellis* 5.3.14–18: Ed. HAURY–WIRTH 1963).

⁵⁰ Cassiodorus, *Variae* 11.1.10–11: FRIDH 1973: *In ipsis quoque primordiis, quando semper novitas incerta temptatur, contra Orientis principis votum Romanum fecit esse Danubium. Notum est quae pertulerint invasores: quae ideo praetermittenda diiudico, ne genius socialis principis verecundiam sustineat perditoris. Quid enim de nostris partibus senserit, hinc datur intellegi, quando pacem contulit laesus, quam aliis concedere noluit exoratus.* The English translation is by S.J.B. Barnish.

⁵¹ Cf. also SARANTIS 2016, 63–64.

⁵² Interestingly enough, CROKE 1982, 131, with note 51, has suggested that the Gepids returned to Sirmium in the time between Theoderic the Great's death and Mundo's appointment as *magister militum per Illyricum*, but he has misinterpreted two passages from Prokopios of Caesarea's *Wars* (5.315, 7.33.8: Ed. HAURY–WIRTH 1963).

⁵³ GRAČANIN 2016, 265.

Ostrogoths did not chase the Gepids into their territory (after all, the Gepids were the attackers), but rather chose to retaliate against the Romans who, at that time, were less capable of an immediate response.⁵⁴ Namely, in 528, the Romans focused their attention in the region on the Lower Danube frontier in Thrace fighting an unexpected invasion of the Huns with two Roman field armies (of both Illyricum and Thrace) involved, and concurrently they were again heavily engaged on the eastern front against the Persians, suffering a setback in 528 and subsequently having to reinforce their positions.⁵⁵

As for the date of the Gepid attack on Sirmium, it has been variously dated to 527, 528 or 530 respectively.⁵⁶ However, on the strength of Cassiodorus' testimony (*in ipsis... primordiis*), it may be assumed that the war took place closer to A.D. 526, the year of Theoderic's death and Athalaric's ascension to the throne.⁵⁷ Furthermore, in early 528, Justinian reaffirmed the alliance with the Heruls by renewing a treaty with the Herul king Grepes, which shows that the new emperor was moving for a more active policy in the region precisely in that year.⁵⁸ Finally, in 529, Mundo conducted his campaign against the Getae, which was followed by his offensive against the Bulgars in 530, and therefore it is less likely that the Eastern Romans would have sponsored a Gepid attack at the time when they themselves prepared such actions or that the Ostrogoths would have thought it sensible to attack the eastern Roman territory following the Roman successes on the battlefield. This all seems to point rather to 528 as the year when the Gepids would have been instigated to or supported in their attempt on Sirmium. It might even be that the Gepids were counting on a concrete Roman aid, but that never came to be as the Romans had to suddenly defend the Lower Danube frontier, achieving a tarnished success (after an initial victory the Roman generals were ambushed by the enemy and captured).⁵⁹

Two matters are usually closely related in scholarly literature to the Gepid attack on Sirmium in (probably) 528. The first matter concerns the Heruls. At that time, a group of the Heruls had been settled in the southeasternmost portion of the Pannonia Secunda, as well as in the adjacent area of

⁵⁴ Whether or not the town of Gratiana, which was assaulted by the Ostrogoths, was located in the present-day village of Dobra near Golubac in Serbia, east of Viminacium (Kostolac), as is cited in GRACANIN-ŠKRGULJA 2014 (2015), 185, remains an open question (cf. SARANTIS 2009, 22; BAJENARU 2010, 15, 98). Prokopios' assertion that the town was at the border/edge of Illyricum (ἐν τῇ Ἰλλυριῶν ἔσχατιῇ) is vague. However, other groups are known to have penetrated on occasion deep into Roman territory and this may allow for the possibility that the Ostrogoths also ventured a similar show of force. Just to name one contemporary example: Prokopios of Caesarea says that the Lombards plundered Dalmatia and (the prefecture of) Illyricum as far as the boundaries of Epidamnus, while the Heruls raided (the prefecture of) Illyricum and (the diocese of) Thrace from their settlements around Singidunum (*De bellis* 7.33.12–13: Ed. HAURY–WIRTH 1963).

⁵⁵ For details on the Hun attack, see most recently SARANTIS 2016, 21–30; for the eastern Roman engagement in the fight against the Persians in the late 520s and the early 530s, see GREATREX 1998, 147–165, esp. 156–159.

⁵⁶ A.D. 527: WOZNIAK 1981, 377, 378 (A.D. 527/528: WOZNIAK 1979, 144; WOZNIAK 1981, 378; CROKE 1982, 132, note 56); A.D. 528: STEIN 1949, 307–308; BÓNA 1976, 17; MAKSIMOVIĆ 1980, 26; ANDRIĆ 2002, 150; A.D. 530: DICULESCU 1923, 121; SCHMIDT 1934, 534; WERNER 1962, 134; POHL 1980, 299; WOLFRAM 2009, 323, 334; SCHWARCZ 2000, 69; SARANTIS 2016, 60, 62, 64. CHRISTOU 1991, 65 dates the war undecisively to the 526/535 period.

⁵⁷ SARANTIS 2016, 64 turns the argument other way around opting for the year 530, and stating that the conflict „was clearly fresh in the minds of Roman and Gothic political commentators and leaders in 534“. However, why could the Goths not be reminded of something the Romans obviously saw as constituting a breach of mutual respect between them after Theoderic's death, even if such an event had happened a while ago?

⁵⁸ For more details, see SARANTIS 2016, 40–48.

⁵⁹ By identifying the *Getae* of 529 with the Gepids, SARANTIS 2016, 64 suggests that the Gepids attacked the Romans in the aftermath of their assault on the Gothic-held Sirmium, having a falling out with the Romans, and Mundo would have had to expel the Gepids from Roman territory, but none of that can be confirmed in the sources.

Moesia Prima in the vicinity of Singidunum (they had presumably inhabited the south Pannonian area ever since 512, while in 528 they would have received additional territory).⁶⁰ Some scholars have proposed that the Heruls were involved in the Gepid attack, and were commanded by Mundo.⁶¹ However, this cannot be confirmed in the available sources and it remains a speculation, an unlikely one to be sure. If the Heruls were involved, and they were known to be Roman federates, it would have been an evident proof that the Constantinople court was behind the entire action. Such an instance could only be seen as a clear act of war with all possible repercussions, and there are no indications that Justinian was ready for open hostilities with the Ostrogoths at that time (the Romans were already engaged in a major conflict with the Persians). Justinian's claim in the letter to Amalasantha that the Ostrogothic invasion was unwarranted – he complains that the town of Gratiana was treated in a hostile manner (ὡς πολεμίᾳ ἐχρήσαντο) and that cruelties were done upon it by Amalasantha (τὰ ἀνήκεστα... εἰργάσω) without her concern (οὐδέν σοι προσήκον) (*Procopius Caesariensis, De bellis* 5.3.15, 17–18: Ed. HAURY–WIRTH 1963) – would represent, even in diplomatic terms, too obvious a hypocrisy. The Gepids were, on the other hand, a different matter since they had freedom of action as friends and allies of the Romans (ἔνσπονδοι καὶ φίλοι ῥωμαίοις) and their well-knowns (γνωρίμοι) (*De bellis* 7.34.10, 7.34.31: Ed. HAURY–WIRTH 1963), and thus the Romans could escape a direct responsibility, even though the suspicion of their foul play lingered.⁶² Finally, it may be assumed that, in case of the Herul involvement, the Ostrogoths would have retaliated primarily against them and not against Roman territory. Nor would they have so easily evacuated the area that the Heruls held in southern Pannonia, whereas nothing points clearly to any border changes brought about, but rather to the *status quo ante bellum* (see below in the main text for a brief discussion). The fact that the Ostrogoths could so easily penetrate into Roman territory shows that the Heruls were not so keen on offering resistance: in general, their performance as Roman federates was very poor judging by what Prokopios says about them.⁶³ This makes Mundo's hypothetical participation in the clash as the Herul leader even less likely, even though he commanded a troop of Heruls in 532.⁶⁴ Finally, it is not known whether Mundo left the Gothic service shortly after Theoderic's death or stayed on longer, making the circumstances surrounding the events of (probably) 528 a possible reason for his defection to the Roman side.⁶⁵

The second matter relates to a contention that the Gepids and the Heruls, after their supposedly joint abortive assault on Sirmium, attacked the Roman territory following the plundering perpetrated by Slavs and Bulgars.⁶⁶ The main argument is an entry in Jordanes (*Romana* 363: Ed. MOMMSEN 1882A), where it is stated that „through his officers Justinian frequently opposed the Heruls, Gepids and Bulgars who often devastated Illyricum and cut them down vigorously“

⁶⁰ Menander (*Historia* fr. 5.4: Ed. BLOCKLEY 1985) calls Pannonia Secunda „the Herul land“, while Prokopios (*De bellis* 6.15.30, 7.33.13: Ed. HAURY–WIRTH 1963) locates the Justinianic-age Heruls around Singidunum, noting that they also received as a gift from the emperor other places in the diocese of Dacia close to Singidunum (see also 6.14.33). For the assumption on where the Heruls were settled, cf. GRAČANIN 2007, 23–24; GRAČANIN 2011, 95, 100; with STEIN 1949, 305; SARANTIS 2010, 370; SARANTIS 2016, 45. On the possible provision of new lands in Moesia Prima to the Heruls by Justinian I, cf. WOZNIAK 1981, 378; SARANTIS 2010, 371; SARANTIS 2016, 46. Alternatively, Justinian may have only reconfirmed to the Heruls the territory they were granted by Emperor Anastasius I in 512 (*Marcellinus Comes, Chronicon* a. 512.11: Ed. MOMMSEN 1894a; *Procopius Caesariensis, De bellis* 6.14.28: Ed. HAURY–WIRTH 1963).

⁶¹ STEIN 1949, 307; MIRKOVIĆ 1971, 51; WOZNIAK 1979, 144; WOZNIAK 1981, 377; WOLFRAM 2009, 322–323; CHRISTOU 1991, 65. ANDRIĆ 2002, 150 has even suggested that Mundo and his Heruls solely attacked the Gothic-held Sirmium at the emperor's bequest.

⁶² The Gepids are mentioned by Prokopios as Roman friends and allies in the context of their and the Lombards' embassies to Justinian in (likely) 549.

⁶³ *Procopius Caesariensis, De bellis* 6.14.32–35: Ed. HAURY–WIRTH 1963.

⁶⁴ SARANTIS 2010, 379.

⁶⁵ Similarly STEIN 1949, 308.

⁶⁶ Cf. DICULESCU 1923, 121–123 (in the context of his interpretation that Marcellinus Comes' *Getae* refer to Gepids); SCHMIDT 1934, 534; STEIN 1949, 307; POHL 1980, 299; WOZNIAK 1979, 145; WOZNIAK 1981, 379.

(*Illyricum saepe ab Herulis, Gipedisque et Bulgaris devastantibus per suos iudices frequenter obstitit viriliterque cecidit*). However, this piece of information is quite general and cannot be pinpointed to any exact year, and therefore might equally refer to the time after the Gepid conquest of Sirmium in 536 when Justinian decided to break the alliance with them. As for the question about whether or not there was a border change between the eastern Roman and the Ostrogothic territories on the Danube following the Ostrogoths' retaliation attack after the Gepid attempt on Sirmium, it is known from Justinian's Novel 11 dated to 14 April 535 that the Empire controlled, at that time, the *pars secundae Pannoniae, quae in Bacensi (= Bassiensi) est civitate* (*Corpus iuris civilis III: Novellae 11: Ed. SCHOELL-KROLL 1895, 94*).⁶⁷ The novel also claims that the Empire has at present (*in praesenti*) expanded on both sides of the Danube by restoring its control over Viminacium, Recidiva and Litterata/Lederata (*Novella 11.2*), which seems to suppose an eastern Roman action. Cassiodorus says, in the letter dated to 533, that the eastern emperor (sc. Justinian) granted a peace to the Goths (*Variae 11.1.11: FRIDH 1973*), which seems to allude to a conclusion of a treaty and to nicely fit into the interpretation that the Ostrogoths now relinquished their hold of the Roman territory in the southeasternmost part of Pannonia (the so-called Pannonia Bassiensis) and in Moesia Prima (fortresses along the Danube up to Viminacium) after a (presumable) diplomatic hagggle between Constantinople and Ravenna.⁶⁸ Furthermore, there seem to be other pieces of literary evidence indicating, *prima facie*, the Ostrogoths' former grip over parts of Moesia Prima: Prokopios of Caesarea remarks in his *Wars* that the Gepids took Sirmium and almost the whole of Dacia (Δακίας ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀπάσας) as soon as the Goths were expelled from there (*De bellis 7.33.8: Ed. HAURY-WIRTH 1963*); the Goths previously possessed the region of the Dacians (τὴν Δακῶν χώραν) in return for a payment of tribute (*De bellis 7.34.10: Ed. HAURY-WIRTH 1963*); the Goths were driven from all of Dacia (ἐκ Δακίας... ἀπάσης), which the Gepids took advantage of for their own gain (*De bellis 7.34.15: Ed. HAURY-WIRTH 1963*).⁶⁹ However, on closer examination it is clear that Prokopios also includes parts of Pannonia in what he calls Dacia or the region of the Dacians, meaning the diocese of Dacia. Thus he says that the Dacians and Pannonians hold several towns, including Singidunum and Sirmium, and extend as far as the Danube (*De bellis 5.16.27: Ed. HAURY-WIRTH 1963*); other places in Dacia around the town of Singidunum (ἄλλα... Δακίας χωρία... ἀμφὶ πόλιν Σιγγυδόνον) are held by the Heruls (7.33.13); Sirmium is alluded as being held by the Gepids, along with a few *other* places in Dacia (ἄλλα ἐπὶ Δακίας ἄττα χωρία) (7.34.35); the river Danube flows into the regions of the Dacians and Illyrians, and of Thrace (ἐπὶ τὰ Δακῶν καὶ Ἰλλυριῶν καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρία) (8.6.30); the Gothic dominion extended to the borders of Dacia, where the city of Sirmium is located (ἄχρι τῶν Δακίας ὁρίων, οὗ δὴ πόλις τὸ Σίρμιον ἔστι; *Historia arcana 18.16: Ed. HAURY-WIRTH 1963*).⁷⁰ Hence, on the strength of this argument, it is equally conceivable that when speaking of the Goths possessing Dacia Prokopios actually meant solely the area of Pannonia Sirmiensis, with the inclusion of the so-called Pannonia Bassiensis that belonged to the Empire. This makes sense both geographically and administratively, since portions of Pannonia Secunda which were of interest to the Romans, i.e. the territory between the Danube and the Save, could be regarded as an extension of the diocese of Dacia (this is further reinforced with the inclusion of

⁶⁷ For a recent critical analysis of the Novel 11, see TURLEJ 2016, 49–71.

⁶⁸ For the opinion that the Ostrogoths seized parts of Moesia Prima, see DICULESCU 1923, 122–123; WOLFRAM 2009, 323; PROSTKO-PROSTYŃSKI 1994, 242–245. To be sure, the claim expressed in the novel about the Empire's expansion on both banks of the Danube seems to relate solely to the specifically named towns and forts and not to Pannonia Secunda as well, as is assumed by DICULESCU 1923, 123, 130. Cf. TURLEJ 2016, 53–54.

⁶⁹ Prokopios' testimony is particularly adduced as evidence by PROSTKO-PROSTYŃSKI 1994, 245, even though he only mentions one pertinent passage (7.34.10) and omits the other two.

⁷⁰ For the contention that Prokopios understood parts of Pannonia as belonging to the diocese of Dacia, see also SARANTIS 2016, 92, even though a suggestion that Prokopios „may have been confused because the Gepids had also held regions of Trajanic Dacia“ seems unconvincing.

Pannonia Secunda in the Archbishopric of Justiniana Prima, as testified by the Novel 11). To be sure, Prokopios' phrasing sometimes seems to favor the „maximalist“ interpretation, but the context in which these passages appear also has to be borne in mind: the seemingly most convincing passages (*De bellis* 7.34.10, 7.34.15: Ed. HAURY–WIRTH 1963) belong to the supposed Lombard and Gepid speeches before Emperor Justinian, which means that certain rhetorical liberties are to be taken into account.

The relationship between Gepids and Romans took a new turn in 536 due to the Gepid initiative. In the summer of 535, the Romans opened a war against the Ostrogoths on two fronts, in Dalmatia and in Italy, which forced the Ostrogoths to retreat from southern Pannonia, as recorded by Prokopios of Caesarea (*De bellis* 7.33.8, 34.15: Ed. HAURY–WIRTH 1963). He adds that the Gepids seized Sirmium very quickly (τάχιστα) after the city and adjacent areas were evacuated by the Goths, which has raised a question in the scholarship about when exactly and under what circumstances the Gepids took possession of Sirmium. It is usually thought that the Gepids regained the city in 536, possibly soon after the *magister militum per Illyricum* Mundo perished in a clash with the Ostrogoths near Salona in the spring of that year.⁷¹ A potential connection between the Gepid move and the death of the well-known and successful warlord of Gepid royal descent who was in charge of eastern Roman offensive on the eastern Adriatic seems quite compelling, and hence the 536 date is the most plausible. On the other hand, the circumstances surrounding the Gepid recapture of Sirmium seem to be much more a matter of contention in the scholarship. Quite understandable since not one available source recounts how the Gepids acquired the city. Three possible scenarios have been proposed: the occupation proceeded in agreement with the Ostrogoths who surrendered Sirmium and the entire Pannonia Sirmiensis as they wanted to win over the Gepids for their cause and/or deny the Romans complete control over the Danubian-Adriatic region⁷²; the Gepids wrestled Sirmium from the Romans who had previously expelled the Ostrogoths and captured the city⁷³; Sirmium and the surrounding territory were ceded to the Gepids by the Romans⁷⁴. The last proposition can easily be discarded: Prokopios of Caesarea clearly says that the Gepids seized (καταλαμβάντες) Sirmium, as well as that Emperor Justinian cancelled the customary payments to the Gepids terminating in effect the alliance with them (*De bellis* 7.33.8–9: Ed. HAURY–WIRTH 1963), and that the Gepids trespassed upon or usurped (ἐπιβατεύσαι) the Roman land and thus broke the treaty with the Empire (7.34.15–16).⁷⁵ In other words, given Prokopios' phrasing and Justinian's reaction, it is hardly conceivable that the Gepids acted in concert with the Romans. In addition, Sirmium was of prime importance for the Romans and it is barely imaginable that they would be

⁷¹ Cf. GRAČANIN 2007, 29; GRAČANIN 2011, 103; with STEIN 1949, 308–309, 344; WOZNIAK 1979, 146–147; SARANTIS 2009, 25, with note 76. For the 536 date, see also DICULESCU 1923, 124–125 (August/November 536); STEFAN 1925, 26; MIRKOVIĆ 1971, 51; WOZNIAK 1979, 146 (late summer or early autumn 536); WOZNIAK 1981, 381; POHL 1980, 299; CHRISTOU 1991, 69; SARANTIS 2009, 25, 32; SARANTIS 2016, 92–93; GRAČANIN–ŠKRGULJA 2014 (2015), 185. SCHMIDT 1934, 535, CSALLÁNY 1961, 12, and LAKATOS 1973, 74 have opted for soon after 535, while WOLFRAM 2009, 323 (with WOLFRAM 1996, 18) has 537 as the latest date, linking the Gepid recapture with the failure of the Gothic counteroffensive in Dalmatia.

⁷² DICULESCU 1923, 125; SEVIN 1955, 137; BÓNA 1976, 17; ANDRIĆ 2002, 153; SARANTIS 2009, 25; SARANTIS 2016, 93.

⁷³ This is the prevailing scholarly opinion, cf. GRAČANIN 2007, 29, with note 100; GRAČANIN 2011, 102–103, with note 177.

⁷⁴ This opinion has been voiced in Croatian scholarship: DIMITRIJEVIĆ 1979, 188; GÖRICKE-LUKIĆ 1998, 1147; ISKRA-JANOŠIĆ 2001, 151; ISKRA-JANOŠIĆ 2004, 171; ISKRA-JANOŠIĆ 2005, 41. Somewhat obliquely, DIZDAR 1999, 65, who says that Justinian enabled the Gepids, by eliminating the Ostrogothic dominion, to restore their rule over eastern Slavonia and Syrmia.

⁷⁵ As has been observed, the Gepid seizure of Sirmium is the main topic of purported speeches of Lombard and Gepid envoys before Emperor Justinian (SARANTIS 2016, 93), which only reinforces the claim of outrage felt by the eastern Roman court because of the Gepid action and sharply contradicts any possibility of the Romans surrendering the city of their own volition.

prepared to just hand it over.⁷⁶ The first proposition also seems not to be likely considering a long-standing enmity between Ostrogoths and Gepids, as reported in the extant literary sources. It is difficult to discern what the Ostrogoths would actually stand to gain by such maneuver, since the Gepids were known to be Roman allies at that time, had previously attacked, most likely at the instigation of the Empire, the Gothic Pannonia Sirmiensis, and might as well be expected, from the Ostrogothic perspective, to turn over Sirmium to the Empire. Therefore, it seems more probable that the Gepids acquired Sirmium through an aggressive move against the newly established eastern Roman rule in the city. As to the Roman ability to occupy the city, which has been raised as an issue⁷⁷, it may be reasonable to assume that the Ostrogoths started withdrawing from southern Pannonia in the wake of the eastern Roman invasion of the Gothic-held Dalmatia. Even though the Ostrogoths maintained regular troops in Pannonia Sirmiensis, Savia and Dalmatia (chiefly or even exclusively stationed in provincial capitals)⁷⁸, the forces in southern Pannonia (and for that matter in Dalmatia as well) never seem to have been strong enough to repel outside invasions alone, as may be judged from the (probably) 528 clash with the Gepids, which required sending of reinforcements from Italy that were presumably commanded by Vitiges. To be sure, the south Pannonian provinces could be used as a reservoir of troops (as indicated by the Gepid contingent destined for Gaul from Pannonia Sirmiensis in 523/4 and the recruitment of barbarian soldiers by a Gothic commander in Savia in 537⁷⁹), but the quality and reliability of locally recruited troops was surely always an issue. Furthermore, the very fact that the Gothic army sent from Italy in early 537 to recover Dalmatia had to resort to a recruitment among the barbarians (meaning that the Gothic forces at hand were not as strong as Prokopios suggests with his remarks about „a large army“, στρατιά πολλή, or „many longships“, μακρὰ πλοῖα πολλὰ; *Procopius Caesariensis, De bellis* 5.16.8, 5.16.10; Ed. HAURY–WIRTH 1963), while king Vitiges led the bulk of his forces against the Romans in Italy (*De bellis* 5.16.8–12; Ed. HAURY–WIRTH 1963), shows that, in comparison to Italy, Dalmatia was naturally of much less importance to the Ostrogoths, and one can immediately imagine southern Pannonia to be even less so. The Ostrogoths' keeping of their garrison in Sirmium in 535 after the commencement of the eastern Roman offensive in Dalmatia could have hardly served a purpose, since it surely could not have been expected from the Gothic forces in Pannonia Sirmiensis to launch a relief attack or tie up any significant number of Roman troops, and the defense of Italy and, to an extent, Dalmatia was the first concern. Moreover, the vicinity of the Gepids must have also caused worries for the Ostrogoths. It is therefore likely that the Ostrogoths simply evacuated the province, which the Romans then exploited to occupy Sirmium without fighting. Even if this is a sheer conjecture it may be perhaps assumed that the frontier troops under control of the *dux Moesiae Primae* were charged with the operation, perhaps reinforced with detachments from the present armies, as well as with the local Herul federates from Pannonia Bassiensis and Moesia Prima. It is known from sources that, probably in late 535, the *magister militum praesentalis* Sittas (Tzitta) suppressed a Bulgar incursion by the fort Iatrus (modern Krivina) in Moesia Secunda, at the mouth of the name-sake river (modern Jantra in Bulgaria) into the Danube⁸⁰, which indicates

⁷⁶ Cf. SARANTIS 2016, 61–62 for an insightful summary on the strategic importance of Sirmium from the Roman point of view.

⁷⁷ SARANTIS 2016, 93, with note 392 (with SARANTIS 2009, 25). He argues that the Roman seizure of Sirmium is „extremely unlikely, because at that time the Romans were heavily involved militarily in Dalmatia, separated from the Pannonian plain by the Dinaric Mountains“.

⁷⁸ Cf. GRAČANIN 2016, 237.

⁷⁹ Cf. GRAČANIN 2016, 266.

⁸⁰ *Marcellini Continuator* a. 535.3; MOMMSEN 1894. Cf. STEIN 1949, 308; BEŠEVLIJEV 1981, 82; ZIEMANN 2007, 91 (erroneously mentions Marcellinus Comes as the source of the information). For the fort Iatrus, see VAGALINSKI 2003; BÜLOW 2016. The anonymous chronicler records the event between the entry on dispatching and arrival of Pope Agapetus I to Constantinople and the entry on the death of the Constantinopolitan patriarch Epiphanius who is said to have died before the Pope's arrival. Agapetus left Italy in December 535 and arrived in Constantinople on 20 February 536, whereas Epiphanius died

the involvement of present troops, next to the Thracian field army. Additionally, since, in April 535, Justinian proclaimed the recovery of a few strongholds on the Danube in north of Moesia Prima, this may hint to an otherwise unknown eastern Roman military action in the region in early 535 to rebuff the invaders (possibly either the Bulgars or the Slavs) who had temporarily seized these places.⁸¹ Such action would suppose a sufficient military presence. Consequently, the Romans would not have had much problem seizing a city abandoned by its former Gothic garrison with forces available in the region and possibly even transiently strengthened with additional troops (if so, these reinforcements might have been used to repel the mentioned Bulgar invasion later in the same year).⁸² After all, the Romans seem not to have any reason to harbor concerns about the Gepids' intentions.

If we assume that the Romans moved into Sirmium in 535 after it had been evacuated by the Ostrogoths, they must have never established a particularly strong garrison in the city.⁸³ The engagement of the Illyrian field army in military operations in Dalmatia meant that it could not be effectively used elsewhere, particularly in 536 when the Romans were faced with a Gothic counterattack.⁸⁴ In the meantime, the Gepids either remained inactive or were perhaps called on to support in some way the Roman reoccupation. They surely kept an appearance of steadfast allies until they felt ready to act. It is possible that the Roman troops, being outnumbered, just quit Sirmium after they had learned of the Gepids' advance, much like the Ostrogoths may have done the year before. Regardless of the Gepids having to conduct an actual assault or not, Sirmium now became

on 5 June 535. Since the chronicler actually placed the Pope's arrival under the wrong year, it may be that he meant the time of Pope's departure. Therefore, the battle by the fort Iatrus may have been fought in December 535. For the dates, see STEIN 1949, 342–342, 381; CROKE 1995, 128. One other invasion in the Balkans occurred in December as well, that of 539 by Huns by whom the Bulgars may have been meant (CURTA 2001, 78; SARANTIS 2016, 103–105; for the Bulgar identification, cf. BEŠEVLIJEV 1981, 84; ZIEMANN 2007, 91).

⁸¹ On the location of Lederata and Recidiva, see MADGEARU 2003 (2005), 296–207. However, it is also possible that the phrase *in praesenti* from the Novel 11 means „several years before“ (cf. TURLEJ 2016, 53), and thus the pre-535 military events might also come into consideration, perhaps Mundo's campaign against the Slavs in 529 or against the Bulgars in 530, or the *magister militum per Thracias* Chilbudios' campaigns in 531–534. The Bulgars seem to have been known as capable of storming fortifications, if the identification of the Huns who raided the Balkans in 539 with the Bulgars is correct, as they apparently seized 32 forts (*Procopius Caesariensis, De bellis* 2.4.4–6: Ed. HAURY–WIRTH 1962), whereas the Slavs are said to have never ventured to storm town walls before the 550 invasion (*De bellis* 7.38.7: Ed. HAURY–WIRTH 1963). At the same time, Prokopios claims that that was the first Slavic crossing of the Danube with an army, even though he refers to a number of previous occasions when the Slavs and the Antae invaded the Roman territory (7.13.24–25, 7.14.2–11, 7.29.1–3). Could he be also mistaken about the Slavic capability of storming towns and forts at an earlier stage?

⁸² WOZNIAK 1981, 381 suggests that Sirmium was taken by local Roman troops from the diocese of Dacia, „a force probably made up mostly of local barbarian federates“. SARANTIS 2016, 93 believes Prokopios of Caesarea's claim that the Gepids seized Sirmium as soon as the Romans took the city away from the Goths (*Procopius Caesariensis, De bellis* 7.33.8: Ed. HAURY–WIRTH 1963), which would suppose a military action by the Romans, to be a rhetorical ploy, „presumably used in imperial propaganda, to exaggerate the Romans' control over their former territories“. Yet it is clear from sources that the Romans were keen on regaining Sirmium, and it seems unnecessary to doubt their capability to take the city into possession if the enemy was heavily engaged elsewhere and especially if, as suggested here, the city was previously abandoned by its Gothic garrison.

⁸³ It has to be noted that Mundo did not participate in the capture of Sirmium (emphasized also by WOZNIAK 1981, 381), as has been assumed by LOTTER 2003, 29, who has Mundo mounting an offensive from Moesia (Prima), overrunning Sirmium and then invading Dalmatia.

⁸⁴ Cf. STEIN 1949, 309; WOZNIAK 1979, 146; WOZNIAK 1981, 381. CHRISTOU 1991, 69 suggests that the Roman troops moved on from Sirmium, as well as implies that the Illyrian field army suffered an incapacitating blow by the death of its commander („Mundo's army disbanded itself following his death on the battlefield“).

a Gepid city, the fact that reverberated to an extent in the contemporary historical writing. Apart from Prokopios of Caesarea who stresses several times in his *Wars* (*De bellis* 3.2.6, 7.33.8, 7.34.17, 7.34.35: Ed. HAURY–WIRTH 1963) and his *Secret History* (*Historia arcana* 18.18: Ed. HAURY–WIRTH 1963) that the Gepids hold the city, John the Lydian also found it worthwhile to record this development when writing in the mid-sixth century: Sirmium is said to be an ancient, prosperous Roman city, now Gepid (*Ioannes Lydus, De magistratibus* 3.32: Ed. BANDY 1983).⁸⁵ As has already been remarked above, the Gepid capture of Sirmium caused Emperor Justinian to abolish the customary subsidies to the Gepids, which also meant that their allied status was revoked. Considering the paper's contention that the Gepids wanted to acquire benefits and concessions from the Empire their move might strike as odd at first, but it must have been a well-calculated risk. The existing relationship with the Empire seems not to have brought much advantages to the Gepids: the plausible attempts by the south Pannonian Gepid king Traseric at approaching the Empire in the early 500s as a protective measure against the Ostrogoths, as well as the apparently Roman-supported endeavor of the Tisa Gepids against the Gothic-held Sirmium in (probably) 528 came to nought. At the same time, assuming that the Gepids were well-informed, they could observe the Empire's increasing engagement with preserving the lower Danube frontier against the incursions of various groups that disrupted the life of Roman provinces and repeatedly called for Roman defense actions. If there is any truth in Prokopios' version of what the Gepid envoys purportedly told the emperor in (likely) 549 the Gepids may have even felt to have a right to portions of Roman territory, the same as other groups, as a token of friendship and alliance.⁸⁶ Finally, it also has to be borne in mind that they, much like the Ostrogoths, must have considered Sirmium and the surrounding region as their ancestral land.⁸⁷ Thus, from the Gepid viewpoint, possession of Sirmium served several purposes. Its strategic location meant that they could dominate the land routes through southern Pannonia and extend their influence westwards, as well as control important river crossings over the Danube and the Save, which put them into position to offer their services as guardians of the eastern Roman northern frontier or, if the Empire did not concede to their demands, to facilitate the barbarian incursions into Roman provinces. The restoration of Gepid rule in the city also meant the revival of the Gepid Syrmian Kingdom that had been toppled in 504, the fact that must have weighed considerably in the Gepid inner ideological-political power struggles. All in all, by acquiring Sirmium the Gepids now became again a focus of imperial policy and were able to put pressure on and bargain with the Romans, naturally if they could maintain their possession and withstand the Roman counteractions in the long run.⁸⁸ Conditions seemed favorable enough as the Romans did not have much troops to spare given their offensive against the Ostrogoths in Italy and Dalmatia. The initial assessment was correct, since the real test for the Gepids apparently came only a few years later.

Meanwhile, the Gepids seem to have been busy with raiding northern Illyricum as Prokopios of Caesarea relates about their constant attacks against the Roman territory following their capture of Sirmium (*De bellis* 7.33.8: Ed. HAURY–WIRTH 1963). They doubtlessly launched these assaults from southern Pannonia which became their base and from where they could easily approach the

⁸⁵ Perhaps it need not wonder that only these two contemporary authors, apart from Menander the Guardsman (*Menander Protector, Historia* fr. 12.6, 48–49: Ed. BLOCKLEY 1985) and Euagrius Scholasticus (*Evagrius Scholasticus, Historia ecclesiastica* 5.12: Ed. HÜBNER 2007), mention the Gepid control of Sirmium since they seem to have shared views on recent history (cf. KALDELLIS 2004b).

⁸⁶ See *Procopius Caesariensis, De bellis* 7.34.35–38: Ed. HAURY–WIRTH 1963.

⁸⁷ *Cassiodorus, Variae* 3.23.2: FRIDH 1973, calls Pannonia Sirmiensis *quondam sedes Gothorum*, „the former seat of the Goths“. Cf. GRAČANIN–ŠKRGULJA 2014 (2015), 181–182.

⁸⁸ For the strategic importance of Sirmium from the Gepid point of view, see also SARANTIS 2016, 62. On Sirmium as the Gepid capital, cf. SEVIN 1955, 91–92. That Sirmium was center of the Gepid Kingdom was also thought in the early medieval West to be worthy of notice, as testified by the early seventh-century extension of Prosper of Aquitaine's chronicle (*Auctarii Prosperi Havniensis extrema* 4: MOMMSEN 1892, 337).

Roman-controlled territory. Prokopios even states that the Gepids hold almost all of Dacia (*De bellis* 7.33.8: Ed. HAURY–WIRTH 1963), or even all of Dacia (7.34.17), which could allude to their conquests. He also says that the Gepids possess the land around Singidunum and Sirmium, on both sides of the Danube, until his time, i.e. the mid-sixth century (*De bellis* 3.2.6: Ed. HAURY–WIRTH 1962), or occupy Sirmium and the surrounding territory (*Historia arcana* 18.18: Ed. HAURY–WIRTH 1963), without referring to Dacia, which is actually in agreement with his claim that they hold *some* places in Dacia (*De bellis* 7.34.35: Ed. HAURY–WIRTH 1963). Therefore, his assertions about the Gepids holding Dacia may be interpreted much the same way as his claims about the Goths in control of Dacia, even though they apparently extended somewhat their territorial grip. Prokopios also records that the Heruls overrun and plunder Illyricum and Thrace from their settlements in Dacia around Singidunum, as well as simultaneously dispatch their envoys to Constantinople to collect subsidies and provide soldiers for the Empire (*De bellis* 7.33.13–14: Ed. HAURY–WIRTH 1963).⁸⁹ Even though the precise chronology of entries on the activities of various barbarian nations, the Gepids and the Heruls included, is not in focus of the pertinent chapter of the *Wars* and the events that are related therein spanned over several years or even a decade, it seems that what Prokopios tells of Gepid and Herul raids in Illyricum may be brought into interconnection and considered as happening concurrently.⁹⁰ That much could be divined from the fact that the Gepid incursions from southern Pannonia into Moesia Prima and beyond necessarily passed through the Herul-held territory in the so-called Pannonia Bassiensis and around Singidunum, which would not only mean that the Heruls failed to stop the Gepids but that they must have joined them in their inroads.⁹¹ The Gepid strategy with these attacks had probably less to do with spoils of looting or possible territorial gains but more with putting pressure on Justinian to accept the loss of Sirmium and restore the Gepids to their former position of Roman allies with all the material benefits that it entailed. However, Justinian was not ready to give in to the Gepids as yet – Jordanes mentions that the emperor fought the Heruls, the Gepids and the Bulgars, who plundered Illyricum, through his generals (*Romana* 363: MOMMSEN 1882a) – and we hear of the *magister militum (per Illyricum)* Calluc combating the invaders. In 539, Calluc is said to have had some success against the Gepids at first, but then was defeated and killed (presumably somewhere in Moesia Prima).⁹² Jordanes even likens in magnitude the decisive encounter with the battle between Lombards and Gepids in 551 and the battle between the *magister militum per Illyricum* Mundo and the Goths in 536 (*Romana*

⁸⁹ Prokopios opens the pertinent chapter with a claim that practically all of Illyricum and Thrace were being ravaged and destroyed by barbarians (*De bellis* 7.33.1: Ed. HAURY–WIRTH 1963). For the Herul deployment in the Roman army, see SARANTIS 2016, 381–393. The Heruls from among which soldiers were recruited for the Empire are likely the same for whom Prokopios says that remain at peace with the Romans (*De bellis* 6.15.37: Ed. HAURY–WIRTH 1963). At the same time, Prokopios pinpoints the Heruls around Singidunum as a source of trouble since they murdered their king and subsequently rose in rebellion (6.14.38, 6.15.27–36, 7.34.43).

⁹⁰ The chapter recounts the low point of Roman position and the domination of various barbarians: the Franks in Gaul and northern Italy (*De bellis* 7.33.2–7: Ed. HAURY–WIRTH 1963), the Goths who have won the upper hand in war in Italy (7.33.7), the Gepids in Dacia (7.33.8–9), the Lombards in Noricum and Pannonia (7.33.10–12), and the Heruls in Dacia (7.33.13–14). The order in which the barbarian groups are listed presumably reflects their ranking by Prokopios according to their military-political weight and potential threat to the Empire's interests.

⁹¹ For probable reasons of Herul discontent with how they were treated by the Romans, see SARANTIS 2010, 394–395 (in the context of their later rebellion).

⁹² *Marcellini Continuator* a. 539.6: MOMMSEN 1894a. Since the first four entries relate the events from early spring to early autumn of 539, it may perhaps be assumed that Calluc's campaigns against the Gepids (the first one successful and the second one not) happened in the same time span. It has been suggested that Calluc was instructed either to check the Gepid incursions or to even expel the Gepids from Sirmium (SARANTIS 2016, 94). It should be noted that SARANTIS 2009, 25, with note 81; SARANTIS 2016, 94, with note 399, 108 dates Calluc's campaigns to 538, on the impression that the entry is placed by the Marcellini Continuator under the year 538, which is an obvious oversight (cf. CROKE 1995, 48).

387: MOMMSEN 1882A). The victory proved the Gepids to be a notable power, and demonstrated their ability to oppose the Romans in a direct military confrontation. It also showed Justinian that the solution lied (at least temporarily) in conceding to the Gepids' wishes and abstaining from further aggressive actions. Perhaps it may be speculated that the consequences of the Hun (Bulgar?) incursion in late 539 definitely tipped the scale in favor of an appeasement with the Gepids. As has been observed, the redeployment of Illyrian and Thracian field armies to other theaters of operations, as well as the loss suffered in clashes with the Goths in 536 and with the Gepids in 539, seriously affected the eastern Roman regional capacities to ward off sudden invasions.⁹³ The outcome of the 539 conflict must have had even more debilitating effect considering that it was an outright defeat on the battlefield, presumably comparable with the 505 defeat that the *magister militum per Illyricum* Sabinianus suffered against the Ostrogoths, with the Roman commander dying in combat.⁹⁴ Therefore, possibly in early 540, Justinian decided to cut the losses and come to terms with the Gepids by renewing a treaty with them. As Prokopios of Caesarea's account suggests, the payments to the Gepids were reinstated and they again became full-fledged allies.⁹⁵ Jordanes also says that the Gepids have received a yearly gift from the Roman emperor up to his time, i.e. the mid-sixth century (*Getica* L, 264: Ed. MOMMSEN 1882b).⁹⁶ Apart from subsidies, the Gepids seem to have acquired an official ratification for settling on the Roman territory: Menander the Guardsman claims that Justinian took in the Gepids and gave them land around Sirmium (χώρον ἀντοῖς ἀπένειμε τὴν περὶ τὸ Σίρμιον) (*Menander Protector, Historia* fr. 12.6, 47–49: Ed. BLOCKLEY 1985).⁹⁷ The claim is contained in a speech by Emperor Justin II addressing an Avar envoy who, on behalf of the Avar khagan, requested the surrender of Sirmium, and it may be purposely focused solely on the city omitting any other territorial acquisitions that may have been conferred upon the Gepids. This assumption could account for Prokopios' insistence on the Gepids' possessions in Dacia, since they seem to have also held the area around Singidunum.⁹⁸ That meant that the Gepid-held territory now encompassed the area settled by the Heruls who stopped their raids. Another, albeit an indirect, evidence that the Gepids were granted Roman territory may be provided by Justinian's Novel 131 from 18 March 545, where the jurisdictional area of the Archbishopric of Justiniana Prima, now subordinated to the Apostolic See, is defined (*Corpus iuris civilis* III: *Novellae* 131.3: Ed. SCHOELL–KROLL 1895, 655–656): among the provinces listed, Pannonia Secunda around the town of Bassianae is not mentioned any more, as opposed to the Novel 11, but only Pannonia

⁹³ SARANTIS 2016, 108.

⁹⁴ On Sabinian's defeat, see briefly GRAČANIN–ŠKRGLJA 2014 (2015), 182. The chronicler who recorded and commented on this Roman defeat, Marcellinus Comes (*Chronicon* a. 505: Ed. MOMMSEN 1894), called the clash a deplorable war in which „so much of the soldiers' hope was destroyed that mortal men could never hope to make it up“ (the translation is by CROKE 1995, 34).

⁹⁵ *Procopius Caesariensis, De bellis* 7.34.10 (Gepids friends and allies of the Romans); 7.34.18 (Gepids receiving payments from the Empire and Romans alluded to as Gepid friends); 7.34.31 (Gepids continually in alliance with the Romans), 7.34.32 (friendship of long duration between Gepids and Romans); 7.34.39 (alliance between Gepids and Romans): Ed. HAURY–WIRTH 1963. All the references are to 548/549 and the time before.

⁹⁶ Some scholars have suggested that the amount of the subsidy that the Gepids used to receive was 100 solidi (BÓNA 1976, 18; ANDRIĆ 2002, 154), but this is not confirmed in the sources.

⁹⁷ It needs to be stressed that Menander the Guardsman (*Menander Protector, Historia* fr. 5.4, 2–6: Ed. BLOCKLEY 1985) says that, in the early 560s, Justinian thought about settling the Avars in the part of Pannonia Secunda where the Heruls used to live, which would imply that by then the Romans renewed their control of the so-called Pannonia Bassiensis.

⁹⁸ The interpretation voiced by modern scholars of Justinian's conferment upon the Gepids a wide territory in Moesia Prima and Dacia Ripensis along the Danube is far-fetched. See DICULESCU 1923, 130–132; SCHMIDT 1934, 536 (Dacia Aureliana); LAKATOS 1973, 74 (Sirmium and Dacia Aureliana); BÓNA 1976, 18; BÓNA 1987, 123; GRAČANIN 2007, 34, 42; GRAČANIN 2011, 105–106, 114; with CHRISTOU 1991, 72. On the other hand, WOZNIAK 1979, 147–148 believes that lands west and south of Sirmium were bestowed upon the Gepids.

without a designation. This seems to indicate that the Empire accepted the loss of the so-called Pannonia Bassiensis, and now rather laid its claim to all of Pannonia.⁹⁹

The renewed treaty with the Gepids served to stabilize the Roman northern frontier, as well as to pacify the Heruls who seem to have subsequently stood under a direct Gepid influence. This, however, did not prevent the Romans from recruiting the Heruls when the need arose, since both groups were now again in peace with and allied to the Romans.¹⁰⁰ Similarly to the Heruls who apparently returned to fulfilling their federate duties, the Gepids may have been compelled, by the treaty's terms and in return for subsidies received, to guard the frontier along the Danube in Moesia Prima and Dacia Ripensis, on their side of the river, from outside invasions. This is perhaps to what the comment in the Lombard speech before Emperor Justinian alludes when stating that the Gepids never won a war on behalf of the Empire (*Procopius Caesariensis, De bellis* 7.34.18: Ed. HAURY–WIRTH 1963), since it is known that, in the 540s, there were new incursions into the Roman territory from across the Danube.¹⁰¹ However, it is more likely that the attackers crossed the river at the Thracian and not Illyrian section of the *limes*, which would mean that the Gepids reliably performed their duty. Moreover, the Gepid warriors may have also been recruited for posts in forts and fortified settlements on the middle section of the *limes* in Moesia Prima. Archaeological remains might at least suggest so, if the ethnic interpretation is correct.¹⁰² At modern Kovin, on the left bank of the Danube, where a fort existed opposite of the town of Margum (modern Dubravica by Požarevac) finds have been discovered that are usually attributed to Gepids. The same is valid for grave goods that have been unearthed at the location of Margum, as well as for burial assemblages found at the Više Grobalja site by Viminacium (modern Stari Kostolac).¹⁰³ It is usually believed that Justinian, in accordance with the imperial ideology, presented the accommodation with the Gepids as a victory for the Empire and assumed the victory title Gepidicus as the first Roman emperor ever to do so.¹⁰⁴ The sole testimony for the title is Agathias' *Histories*, where it is said that Justinian adopted, in his imperial edicts, the titles Francicus, Alamanicus, Gipedicus and Longibardicus (*Agathias Myrinaeus, Historiae* 1.4.3: Ed. KEYDELL 1967). Agathias actually narrates how the Frankish king Theudebert I (533–548/9) felt personally offended by the emperor's action, since all these peoples were thus pronounced to be subject to the Romans. The king expected other nations to share his indignation and to participate in his intended campaign against the Romans, and to that effect he sent embassies to the Gepids and Lombards (*Histories* 1.4.2–3: Ed. KEYDELL 1967). In the Novel 137 from 26 March 565 Justinian is still styled only as Alamannicus Gothicus Francicus Germanicus [Anticus Alanicus] Vandalicus Afric[an]us (*Corpus iuris civilis III: Novellae* 137: Ed. SCHOELL–KROLL 1895, 695; cf. also *Novellae* 134: Ed. SCHOELL–KROLL 1895, 676, from 1 May

⁹⁹ Cf. DICULESCU 1923, 130; ANDRIĆ 2002, 152, with note 66; with GRAČANIN 2007, 34, note 132; GRAČANIN 2011, 106, note 202.

¹⁰⁰ For the Heruls, see SARANTIS 2010, 385–387; SARANTIS 2016, 248, 255–257. It is worth noting that Prokopios of Caesarea says that the Herul rulers had to be persuaded (πείσει) to provide troops (*De bellis* 7.13.21: Ed. HAURY–WIRTH 1963), and were not merely commanded to do so.

¹⁰¹ See SARANTIS 2016, 240–253, 278–288.

¹⁰² Recently, these finds have been reinterpreted as possibly indicating the presence of the Heruls (cf. BUGARSKI–IVANIŠEVIĆ 2013). It is usually thought that Gepid soldiers were only recruited and settled there in the 560s (cf. KHARALAMBIEVA 2010, 259).

¹⁰³ Kovin: IVANIŠEVIĆ–BUGARSKI 2008, 45; with MILINKOVIĆ 2005, 208. Margum: CUNJAK 1992; MILINKOVIĆ 2005, 213–214; with BUGARSKI–IVANIŠEVIĆ 2013, 469–471. Više Grobalja: ZOTOVIĆ 1992–1993 (1994); with QUAST 2001, 441; IVANIŠEVIĆ–KAZANSKI–MASTYKOVA 2006, *passim*; KHARALAMBIEVA 2010, 253, 259. The material discovered at Svetinja by Viminacium has also been attributed to Gepids, and dated to the third quarter of the sixth century: POPOVIĆ 1988; with BUGARSKI–IVANIŠEVIĆ 2013, 471. Finds from the interior at Kamenovo are also brought into connection with the Gepids: SIMONI 1977–1978 (1979), 209–214, 228–229; with QUAST 2001, 441; KHARALAMBIEVA 2010, 253, 259; BUGARSKI–IVANIŠEVIĆ 2013, 473.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. GRAČANIN 2007, 33, note 103; GRAČANIN 2011, 105, note 201; with CHRISTOU 1991, 72, note 94. DICULESCU 1923, 126–127 has suggested that the *magister militum* Calluc's initial success prompted the emperor to adopt the title.

556; *Iustiniani edicta* 7: Ed. SCHOELL–KROLL 1895, 763, from 1 March 542; *Appendix constitutionum dispersarum* 2: Ed. SCHOELL–KROLL 1895, 796, from 6 October 541; 6: Ed. SCHOELL–KROLL 1895, 799, from 6 September 552; 9: Ed. SCHOELL–KROLL 1895, 803, from 22 September 558), which seems to indicate that Justinian never officially bore the title Gepidicus (or Longibardicus for that matter). The first Roman emperor who apparently officially adopted the title Gepidicus was Justin II who styled himself as Alamanicus Gothicus Germanicus Anticus Francicus Erullicus Gipedicus.¹⁰⁵ Even though that is just a speculation, it may be that Justinian avoided officially adopting the victory title Gepidicus/Gipedicus as to avoid causing an affront to the Gepids, especially at the time when the war against the Goths was ongoing and the security of the northern Roman frontier in Illyricum and Thrace was a matter of no small concern. Later, following the Gepids' defeat in (probably) 551, Justinian may have still refrained from officially taking the title out of diplomatic courtesy, with the intention to effect an appeasement with the Gepids aimed at not allowing the Lombards to rise too much.

In the 540s, the Gepids were at the peak of their power and influence, and they are likely to have decisively contributed to the split among the Heruls by (probably) 547, after which a considerable number of Heruls sided with the Gepids: Prokopios of Caesarea explicitly claims that the Heruls submitted to the Gepids (*De bellis* 7.15.36: Ed. HAURY–WIRTH 1963).¹⁰⁶ Such occurrences served the Gepids reinforcing their grip over the northwestern region of Illyricum and strengthening their position against any competitors. The Gepids were ready to absorb or enroll various groups to bolster their own military might: apart from winning over the majority of the Heruls in (probably) 547, the Gepids also welcomed the Lombard royal claimant Hildigisal/Hildiges with his retinue consisting of Lombards and Slavs in (probably) 549, as well as enlisted the help of Kutrigur Huns in (probably) 551.¹⁰⁷ It may be presumed that the Gepid-controlled Heruls continued in the same role they had in Roman service, but now performed for the Gepids, that of a defense bulwark in the frontier area. By taking in Hildigisal the Gepids acquired a valuable political asset to be used as a means of exerting pressure on the current incumbent of the Lombard throne.¹⁰⁸ They could also strike deals with nomadic warrior groups to employ them as mercenaries against the Gepids' enemies. And they were perceived as a significant regional power even in the barbarian West, if there is truth in the story of the Frankish king Theudebert I's offer to the Gepids (along with the Lombards who were much closer positioned to the Franks) of forming an alliance against

¹⁰⁵ Justin II: *Evagrius Scholasticus, Historia ecclesiastica* 5.4: Ed. HÜBNER 2007. Emperor Maurice (582–602) is also styled Gipidi(cus) in an inscription from Ravenna (*CIL* XI/1 11: Ed. BORMANN 1888, 8 (Regio Italiae octava); Ed. FIEBIGER–SCHMIDT 1917, 137, No. 268; Ed. LAKATOS 1973, 104), as well as Alamannicus Gothicus Anticus Alanicus Wandalicus Erullicus Gypedicus Afric[an]us in a letter addressed to the Frankish king Childebert II (*Epistolae Austrasiacae* 42: Ed. GUNDLACH 1892, 148; Ed. LAKATOS 1973, 104).

¹⁰⁶ See SARANTIS 2010, 393–397; SARANTIS 2016, 257–265, though his suggestion (2010, 396–397; 2016, 258) about a deliberate campaign in 549 of the Romans against the rebellious Heruls is unconvincing, considering that Prokopios of Caesarea describes the battle between Romans and Heruls as an accidental development (*Procopius Caesariensis, De bellis* 7.35.44: Ed. HAURY–WIRTH 1963), a circumstance also noted by SARANTIS 2010, 397. Naturally, the Romans counted with the Heruls supporting the Gepids, but the campaign was directed against the Gepids as Lombard adversaries. For the Gepids' likely provocation of the division among the Heruls, cf. GRAČANIN 2007, 34; GRAČANIN 2011, 106; with SARANTIS 2009, 30, SARANTIS 2016, 271, who calls it „the Gepid king Thorisin's first significant diplomatic coup of the late 540s“. It is often argued that the pro-Gepid Heruls departed from the Roman soil to join the Gepids across the Danube (DICULESCU 1923, 132; SCHMIDT 1934, 555), but it is more likely that the pro-Roman Heruls left the area around Singidunum, which seems to have been under Gepid control, and entered the Roman service.

¹⁰⁷ *Procopius Caesariensis, De bellis* 7.35.19, 8.18.13–15: Ed. HAURY–WIRTH 1963. Cf. SARANTIS 2016, 271–271 for a numerical assessment of the strength of the Gepid army. The Kutrigurs are sometimes identified with the Bulgars (CURTA 2001, 208, note 40; MEIER 2004, 666), which is misleading.

¹⁰⁸ Hildigisal's value in the Gepid-Lombard confrontation can be surmised from the fact that the Lombard king specifically requested the claimant to be handed over to him by the Gepids (*Procopius Caesariensis, De bellis* 7.35.20: Ed. HAURY–WIRTH 1963).

the Romans probably sometime in the mid 540s.¹⁰⁹ After all, Prokopios of Caesarea did not fail to include into his narrative allusions to the Gepids' military strength (*De bellis* 7.34.3, 28–29: HAURY–WIRTH 1963). All this indicates that the Gepids were capable of making and pursuing their own policy, adopt specific political-military measures and resort to diplomatic actions, much like the Ostrogoths before, and generally along the lines of the Roman policy-making. The Gepids seem to have also possessed the will and capacity to maintain at least some vestiges of the Roman local administration in the eastern Roman territory they controlled. This may perhaps be conjectured based on Prokopios' claim about the Gepids enslaving Romans (*De bellis* 7.33.8, 7.34.17: HAURY–WIRTH 1963), which, as argued here, is not a mere rhetorical embellishment aimed at disqualifying the Gepids as cruel and oppressive masters over the Roman provincial population (and indirectly criticizing the imperial government for allowing that to happen).¹¹⁰ It may well be that the Gepids were prone to assume a harsher attitude towards the local Roman elite during the period of open hostility with the Empire, but that could not last long, not the least because the Gepid rulers must have been as interested in normalizing the local conditions as the Ostrogoths before them. The former Roman southern Pannonia with the region centered around Sirmium was now again the hub of the Gepid Kingdom, and the Gepids could not afford to antagonize the existing regional Roman communities in the long run, especially since the Gepids must have felt increasingly jeopardized, in the late 540s and the early 550s, by the Lombards' rise thanks to the Roman support. Therefore, it seems likely that Prokopios' comment hints to economic exploitation as well, to which the Romans under the Gepids' rule were exposed, in other words, that the Gepids imposed taxation on the Romans.¹¹¹ It may be assumed that the Gepids just followed in the Ostrogoths' footsteps, since the latter managed to keep the late Roman taxation system alive and running.¹¹² We can imagine that the Gepids did not retain much of the Ostrogothic practice of tax assessment and collection, since, in the first place, they did not possess the central government capable of precisely tracking and levying taxes, and, secondly, they could not impose too much of a burden upon their Roman subjects, especially if Prokopios of Caesarea's gloomy description of regional demographic conditions was rooted in reality.¹¹³ Thus taxation pressure must have been lesser than under the Ostrogoths, and naturally even much lesser than under the Roman reign, which could additionally explain why the Gepids managed to preserve their hold over southern Pannonia for three decades in spite of enmity from both the Lombards and the Romans.¹¹⁴ However, the Gepids did need money, not the least for hiring other groups as mercenaries, and they sought ways of acquiring it: Prokopios provides evidence that they charged the Slavs one gold coin per head for ferrying them from Illyricum back across the Danube in (probably) 551, and it may be assumed that they

¹⁰⁹ For the date, cf. SARANTIS 2016, 268. DICULESCU 1923, 128–130 has suggested that the offer for alliance was made during Theudebert's invasion of Italy in 539 (see also BÓNA 1956, 236–237), while SCHMIDT 1934, 536, 580 is inclined to 546/547, which is more in line with Agathias' chronology (see also CHRISTOU 1991, 73).

¹¹⁰ Prokopios uses the verbs *ἐξανδραποδίζομαι* (A) and *ανδραποδίζομαι* (B) to denote the capture of persons (A: 2.14.4, 4.21.14, 6.7.30, 7.11.15, 7.13.24, 8.19.18, 8.25.4; B: 1.7.32, 2.4.8, 2.4.21, 2.9.14, 2.15.7, 2.21.32, 2.26.4, 3.22.17, 4.3.24, 4.8.22, 4.13.1, 6.10.1, 6.18.1, 7.14.3, 7.14.11, 7.29.1, 7.38.18, 8.18.24, 8.19.4), as well as the subjugation of towns (A: 2.26.20; B: 2.11.25 [a town equated with its citizens], 2.11.27, 2.26.33, 3.5.22, 7.35.2) during campaigns. From the contexts of the sentences in question it is clear that he means the subjugation of Romans still living in Dacia, which allows for an assumption that they were also made liable to pay tribute.

¹¹¹ Already suggested in GRAČANIN 2007, 33.

¹¹² See LIEBESCHUETZ 2015, 168–169.

¹¹³ Prokopios claims that Sirmium and its region were entirely devoid of people (*ἀνθρώπων παντελῶς ἔρημα*) due to wars, disease and famine (*Procopius Caesariensis, Historia arcana* 18.18–19: Ed. HAURY–WIRTH 1963).

¹¹⁴ It is interesting to note Prokopios' direct critique of the oppressiveness of the Roman taxation system that had been reinstated in Italy and could endanger the Roman positions by straining the local loyalties (*Procopius Caesariensis, De bellis* 7.1.32–33, 7.21.14: Ed. HAURY–WIRTH 1963; *Historia arcana* 24.9: Ed. HAURY–WIRTH 1963).

demanded a fee for transporting another group of Slavs into Illyricum at a later point, possibly in early 552 (*De bellis* 8.25.5, 25.10: HAURY–WIRTH 1963).¹¹⁵

The ascendancy of the Gepids from the late 530s until the late 540s prompted the Romans to increasingly rely on the Lombards. The Gepids and Lombards seem to have had a brief spell of good relations in the 520's, achieved through a marriage between the Lombard king Wacho and the Gepid princess Austrigusa, Turisind's daughter.¹¹⁶ However, they soon emerged as main competitors in the struggle for domination in Pannonia, which finally sparked war between the two groups. The chronology of the Gepid-Lombard confrontation is to an extent a matter of contention in scholarship. Their hostilities are now usually thought to have triggered an armed conflict in 549, even though there are scholars who opt for 547.¹¹⁷ Prokopios introduces the story of how the Gepids and Lombards warred on each other in the chapter 34 of the book 7, which also contains the speeches of the Lombard and Gepid envoys as a prelude to the Gepid-Lombard military clash. It clearly emerges from Prokopios' narration that events recorded at 7.34.1–47 and 7.35.19–27 belong to the same chronological sequence, i.e. the fourteenth year of the Gothic war, which could correspond to the time span from roughly March/April 548 to roughly March/April 549, considering that Prokopios consistently uses throughout his *Wars* the phrase καὶ ὁ χειμὼν ἔληγε, „and as the winter was ending“, to denote the closure of a war year (*De bellis* 5.7.37, 6.2.38: τότε δὲ ὁ τε χειμὼν ἔληγε, 6.12.41, 6.22.25, 6.30.30, 7.1.49, 7.5.19, 7.7.20, 7.9.23, 7.11.39, 7.15.16, 7.24.34, 7.29.21, 7.35.30, 7.39.29, 8.21.4, 8.25.25: HAURY–WIRTH 1963), with the eighteenth year as the only exception to the rule since that war year was never completed (*De bellis* 8.35.38: HAURY–WIRTH 1963).¹¹⁸ The events related to the eruption of hostilities between Gepids and Lombards and

¹¹⁵ Same as the amount of subsidies received from the Romans was important as a means of establishing the status of any barbarian group both in Roman eyes and among the groups, so the acquired money, particularly gold, was a practical instrument of government and a way of communicating the success of the ruling elite within the groups themselves. Cf. HARDT 2013, esp. 527–531.

¹¹⁶ JARNUT 2009, 280; with CHRISTOU 1991, 62. For the presumable date of the marriage (ca. 520), see KLEBEL 1939, 55. The evidence for the marriage alliance is of much later date, contained in the late seventh-century *Origin of the Lombard People* (*Origo gentis Langobardorum* 4: WAITZ 1878a) and Paul the Deacon's *History of the Lombards* (*Paulus Diaconus, Historia Langobardorum* 1.21: Ed. BETHMANN–WAITZ 1878).

¹¹⁷ A.D. 547: DICULESCU 1923, 139; SCHMIDT 1934, 537, 581; BÓNA 1956, 237; WERNER 1962, 11, 141; JARNUT 1982, 24; MENGHIN 1985, 34; CHRISTOU 1991, 90–91; CHRISTIE 1998, 36; ANDRIĆ 2002, 155. A.D. 549: STEIN 1949, 530, 531, note 1; WOZNIAK 1979, 148; POHL 1996, 30–31; POHL 1997, 91–92; GRAČANIN 2007, 40; GRAČANIN 2011, 112; SARANTIS 2009, 28, 33; SARANTIS 2016, 255, 258, 263, 266, 267, 273.

¹¹⁸ The chronological reinterpretation of Prokopios' war year has been proposed by CROKE 2005, 478, who has suggested that it ran from March to March. This is at odds with the traditional dating from late June to late June (cf. BURY 1923, 169, note 2, who dismisses Prokopios' dating formula as a mere imitation of Thucydides with no bearing to actual chronology; STEIN 1949, 339, note 3). SARANTIS 2016, 315–317 has recently rejected Croke's suggestion in favor of the traditional dating, basing his counter-argument, among other things, on Croke's attempt to concentrate several major events into only March, as well as the circumstance that the Gepid-Lombard battle, which ended in the Gepids' resounding defeat, is the last episode in the Balkan record for the seventeenth year of the Gothic war, which lasted from 551 to 552. Croke dates the battle to March 551, on the strength of the circumstance that the battle is the last concrete event mentioned in Jordanes' *Romana* (386–387: Ed. MOMMSEN 1882A). Since Jordanes himself says that he wrote his *Romana* during the twenty-fourth year of Justinian I's reign (*Romana* 4, with 363: Ed. MOMMSEN 1882A), Croke has concluded that the *Romana* was completed sometime in the period between 1 April 550 and 31 March 551 (CROKE 2005, 476). Croke rested this on a claim that Jordanes followed the contemporary practice of dating the events according to Justinian's regnal years which were calculated from 1 April 527 as the emperor's *dies imperii*. Such practice was surely adopted by Prokopios of Caesarea since he says that Empress Theodora's reign lasted twenty-one years and three months (*De bellis* 7.30.4: Ed. HAURY–WIRTH 1963), meaning that he measured her reign from 1 April 527 since she died on 28 June 548. Hence, when Prokopios declares that the Gothic war began in the ninth year of Justinian I's reign (5.5.1), he must have meant the period from 1 April 535 to 31 March 536 (cf. also SARANTIS 2016, 315). This however does not necessarily mean that Jordanes followed the same practice in his *Romana*. On a closer look, he seems to

its immediate aftermath seem to have occurred towards the end of the fourteenth war year, which would place them in late 548 and early 549. The sequence of events may be approximately and tentatively dated as follows:

September/October 548	outbreak of open hostilities between Gepids and Lombards (7.34.1–2)
October/November	the Lombards send their envoys to Justinian (7.34.3–4) the Gepids send their envoys to Justinian <i>after</i> they have learned of Lombard envoys (presumably some weeks had passed in between) (7.34.4)
November/December	the Lombard and Gepid envoys at Constantinople (7.34.5–40) <i>after long deliberation</i> , Justinian dismisses the Gepid envoys, and makes alliance with the Lombards (7.34.40)
March/April 549	Justinian sends an army to aid the Lombard cause, while the majority of Heruls supports the Gepids, with whom they have sided after rebelling against the Romans <i>not long before</i> (probably in 547) (7.34.40–43) a Roman detachment chances upon some Heruls, and a battle ensues in which the Heruls are defeated (probably not in the vicinity of Singidunum but more to the south as the Romans <i>unexpectedly</i> encountered the Heruls, and they would anticipate their presence around Singidunum) (7.34.44–45) when learning of the Romans' approach the Gepids <i>immediately</i> settle their hostilities with the Lombards, and the peace is concluded „against the will of the Romans“ (7.34.45)
after March/April	the Roman forces stop their advance and remain in the region as a deterrent for the Gepids and Heruls (7.34.46–47)

Prokopios resumes the story of the Gepid-Lombard enmity in the chapter 18 of the book 8, which belongs to the sixteenth war year (from roughly March/April 550 to roughly March/April 551), with an account about the second eruption of their hostilities. Prokopios makes these events concurrent with those that transpired in the East, and which he has previously described in the book 8 (8.18.1), but does not correlate them to other events that happened in the Balkans in the sixteenth war year, and which he has narrated in the book 7 (7.40.1–11, 30–45). However, there are some chronological points on which to rest, and date approximately and tentatively, the proposed sequence of events in the fifteenth and sixteenth war years, which belong to the Balkans and the Gepid-Lombard records:

c. January 549	Hildigisal goes <i>immediately</i> over to the Gepids, along with his retinue consisting of Lombards and Slavs, <i>when the war arose between Gepids and Lombards</i> (it may be assumed that Prokopios' choice of words refers to the actual military movement, and not to the outbreak of hostilities; the claimant to the Lombard throne is likely to have decided to cast his lot with the Gepids following the news that the Romans would support the Lombards against the Gepids, a clear diplomatic victory for the royal usurper Audoin,
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have calculated in full years, which was not uncommon and which would imply that, in Jordanes' dating system, Justinian I's twenty-fourth year actually covered the entire year 551 (527 + 24 = 551).

- which made Hildigisal's position precarious, i.e. after November/December 548 in the proposed reconstruction above) (7.35.19)
- c. April following the conclusion of a peace treaty with the Gepids Audoin *immediately* requests the surrender of the claimant but is refused (7.35.20)
- Hildigisal leaves the Gepids *without any delay* and goes back to the Slavs (7.35.21)
- summer/autumn Hildigisal attempts to join the Goths in Italy with an army consisting mostly of Slavs, defeats a Roman force in Venetia, but returns to the Slavs after recrossing the Danube (7.35.21–22)
- early 550 a Slavic host invades Illyricum and Thrace (7.38.1–18), *at the time* (7.38.1) when the Goths take Rome (on 16 January 550¹¹⁹), make siege against Rhegium, and capture Tarentum and Ariminum (7.36.7–7.37.23), and Liberius, who is appointed commander of Roman forces, prepares to set sail to Italy (7.37.26–27), and Verus, another Roman commander, is killed near Ravenna (7.37.28)
- March/April¹²⁰ *not much later* after their first confrontation, the Gepids and the Lombards again make war on each other, but as they prepare to do battle the two armies disintegrate for no apparent reason, and both kings decide to conclude a truce for two years and agree to maintain a diplomatic exchange to resolve their differences (8.18.2–11)
- c. April Germanus appointed commander-in-chief of the war against the Goths (7.39.9, 7.39.26)
- spring/summer Germanus gathers an army in Thrace and Illyricum (7.39.9–10, 16–20)
- Lombard king Audoin promises to send 1,000 soldiers to Germanus *forthwith* (this is likely to have happened only after the conclusion of truce with the Gepids) (7.39.20)
- summer¹²¹ another Slavic host invades Illyricum and penetrates as far as Naissus but is deterred by the presence of Germanus from marching on Thessalonike and decides instead to cross the mountains into Dalmatia (7.40.1–7)
- autumn 550/winter 551¹²² the Slavs return to Illyricum from Dalmatia, and a new Slavic host invades the Roman territory from across the Danube, after which

¹¹⁹ For the date, see STEIN 1949, 593, with note 2.

¹²⁰ STEIN 1949, 532 dates the clash to c. March 550; WOZNIAK 1979, 150 to spring of 550; and GRAČANIN 2007, 41, with GRAČANIN 2011, 113, to early spring of 551, while POHL 1996, 32; POHL 1997, 92 (at page 91, he dates the second war to 551); and SARANTIS 2009, 28, 32, 35 fix the conflict only broadly to 550 (however, SARANTIS 2016, 266, 275 is more vague about the date). The scholars who date the first conflict to 547, contend that the second war took place in 549. SEVIN 1955, 149–150 even connects it to a lunar eclipse on 25/26 June 549.

¹²¹ Cf. STEIN 1949, 523.

¹²² CURTA 2001, 86 dates the return of the Slavs from Dalmatia to Illyricum to spring of 551, while STEIN 1949, 524 opts for early 551.

	both groups plunder the country and spend the winter in the Balkans (7.40.30–33)
early 551	the Roman army is defeated by Slavs near Adrianople in Thrace but later forces them to retreat (7.40.34–45)
March/April	the truce between Gepids and Lombards is still in effect, but they cannot settle their differences, and the Gepids, expecting the Romans to side with the Lombards, invite the Kutrigur Huns to the Gepid territory as allies (8.18.12–15); since there remains <i>one year</i> of the truce, the Gepids decide to turn the Kutrigurs loose in the Roman territory, ferrying them across the Danube at the spot where they fully control the river (presumably around Singidunum) (8.18.16–17)

The third eruption of hostilities between Gepids and Lombards is described by Prokopios in the chapter 25 of the book 8, and follows the narration that is centered around the progress of the Gothic war from roughly March/April 551 to March/April 552 (8.21.5–8.24.39), and framed by two chronological points: the start of the seventeenth war year (8.21.5) and the wintering of the Roman fleet at Carthage in preparation for an expedition to Corsica and Sardinia at the onset of the next war year's spring (8.24.37). However, before resuming the story of yet another Gepid-Lombard war in a separate chapter, Prokopios gives an account of a new Slavic incursion that was supported by the Gepids since they ferried the raiders back across the Danube, which made Justinian I prone to appeasement with the Gepids (8.25.1–6). The passage recounting the third Gepid-Lombard conflict is introduced with the phrase *ἐν τούτῳ*, *in the meantime* (8.25.7), which seems to indicate that another bout of open hostilities between Gepids and Lombards coincided with the Slavic incursion.¹²³ Even though the Gepid-supported Slavic raid is usually dated to 551, the third Gepid-Lombard conflict is frequently fixed to the year 552.¹²⁴ Still the year 551 seems more likely, which is further supported by Prokopios' narrative, since he also mentions the occurrence of earthquakes throughout Greece at the time of the Gepid-Lombard war (8.25.16–23), which must have been more or less concurrent with earthquakes happening in the eastern Mediterranean in the summer of 551.¹²⁵ Finally, when continuing the Lombard-Gepid story in the section that belongs to the eighteenth war year (8.27.1–29), Prokopios recounts events which apparently happened in the previous war year. All in all,

¹²³ Cf. CROKE 2005, 485–486.

¹²⁴ For the date of the Slavic raid, cf. CURTA 2001, 87; SARANTIS 2009, 32, note 138; SARANTIS 2016, 279. The date of the third Gepid-Lombard conflict: 551 A.D.: DICULESCU 1923, 141, 146 (summer); CHRISTOU 1991, 95 (summer); CROKE 2005, 483–489 (probably in March), who is followed by GRAČANIN 2007, 41, with GRAČANIN 2011, 114 (early spring); SCHMIDT 1934, 539, 581; BÓNA 1956, 238; CSALLÁNY 1961, 13; WERNER 1962, 11; JARNUT 1982, 25; JARNUT 2000, 76; MENGHIN 1985, 35. 552 A.D.: STEIN 1949, 534; SEVIN 1955, 156; WOZNIAK 1979, 151; POHL 1996, 33; POHL 1997, 91; CHRISTIE 1998, 36; ANDRIĆ 2002, 155; SARANTIS 2009, 27, 28, with note 99, 32, 33, 35, 36–37; SARANTIS 2016, 312–317. POHL 1997, 93, with note 68, suggests that the two-year truce was respected because the Gepids and Lombards followed a code of military conduct in their conflict. However, the sources are not explicit about whether or not the truce lapsed when they took up the arms again, a fact also acknowledged by Pohl. Moreover, Prokopios of Caesarea clearly states that the Gepids and Lombards were about to go to war *while* the truce was still in place (*De bellis* 8.18.12: Ed. HAURY–WIRTH 1963). Even though Prokopios criticizes the Gepids for a poor planning as they invited the help of the Kutrigurs at an improper moment since the time of the battle with the Lombards had not yet arrived (8.18.16), the Gepids obviously felt an imminent threat and took immediate precautionary measures by making Romans busy with the Kutrigur invasion. All that allows for an assumption that the war broke out *before* the two-year truce had expired.

¹²⁵ For the 551 seismic activity, see MEIER 2004, 666–667, with notes 93 through 98; CROKE 2005, 486, with notes 35 through 39.

the proposed sequence of events in the seventeenth war year, which belong to the Balkans and the Gepid-Lombard records, may be dated approximately and tentatively as follows:

March/April 551	Narses appointed commander-in-chief of the war against the Goths (8.21.6)
April/May ¹²⁶	Narses sets out from Constantinople, but is detained for <i>some time</i> at Philippolis in Thrace due to the inroad of the Huns ¹²⁷ , and then proceeds <i>slowly</i> with his army to Salona in Dalmatia (8.21.21–22, 8.22.1)
c. May	the Lombard king Audoin sends a large force of more than 5,500 Lombard warriors to join Narses against the Goths (Prokopios says ἔναγχος, „recently“, „lately“, to indicate how much time had passed between the dispatchment of Lombard troops and the Lombard embassy to Justinian announcing their victory against the Gepids) (8.25.15), in accordance with the treaty of alliance and after he has been won over by Justinian and by much money (8.26.12) possibly at this time the Lombard king Audoin demands the surrender of Hildigisal, who is now in Roman service, but Justinian refuses to comply (8.27.4–5)
June/July	a new Slavic host invades Illyricum, and the raiders are ferried by the Gepids back across the Danube, which prompts Emperor Justinian to consider entering into an agreement with the Gepids (8.25.1–6)
July/August	<i>in the meantime</i> , the Gepids and Lombards were again preparing for war (which marks the outbreak of open hostilities for the third time) ¹²⁸ ; the Gepids <i>immediately</i> send their envoys to the emperor asking for an alliance, and Justinian grants it to them <i>without any delay</i> ; the Gepid envoys request the treaty to be solemnly confirmed by twelve senators (8.25.7–9) (surely a sign of the Gepids' mistrust, alluded to by Prokopios by stressing the Gepids' fear as the Lombards were Roman allies; 8.18.13, 8.25.7) probably at this time the Gepid claimant Ustrigoth goes to the Lombards, who are said to be at war with the Gepids (8.27.20)
c. September	the Gepids ferry another group of Slavic raiders across the Danube (8.25.10)
c. October	<i>not much later</i> (following the conclusion of the Roman-Gepid treaty), the Lombards request the Roman support to fight the Gepids,

¹²⁶ STEIN 1949, 597 dates Narses' departure from Constantinople to April.

¹²⁷ Since the departure of the Kutrigur Huns from the Roman territory on the instigation of Emperor Justinian I is placed by Prokopios in the sixteenth war year (8.19.3–5), it seems that these Huns are not to be identified with the previous Kutrigur raiders, but are likely to have been another Kutrigur group that entered the Roman realm (cf. SARANTIS 2016, 292–293, who suggests that they may have been refugees from Kutrigur territories and unleashed on the Balkans by the Gepids as well).

¹²⁸ Prokopios says that the war between Gepids and Lombards „had been brought to an end with much toil and time“ (πόνω τε καὶ χρόνω πεπαυμένον πολλῶ; 8.27.3–5), which seems to indicate – even if it be a rhetorical embellishment – that the war had lasted for some time before it was decided with one battle.

- and Justinian decides to side with them, angered by the Gepids' transportation of the Slavs into the Roman territory (8.25.10)
- November/December the Roman army is dispatched, but only a division led by Amalafriid reaches the Lombards and together they defeat the Gepids in a fierce battle (8.25.13–14)
- c. January 552 *then* the Lombard king Audoin sends envoys to Justinian to announce the Lombard victory and complain to the emperor at the Roman failure to provide a proper military assistance to the Lombards in accordance with their treaty (8.25.15)

As already indicated, Prokopios completes his Gepid-Lombard narrative in the chapter 27 of the book 8, which belongs to the eighteenth war year. The proposed sequence of events from that campaigning year, and relating to Gepids and Lombards, may be dated approximately and tentatively as follows:

- March/April 552 *a little later* (following the Gepid-Lombard war), the Gepids are reconciled with the Romans and Lombards, they all bind themselves with the most solemn oaths, and a treaty of friendship is concluded, with the most firm guarantees of reconciliation being completed (8.27.21–22) (Prokopios' phrasing seems to imply that the negotiations and the conclusion of the treaty took some time, and it may be presumed that the diplomatic exchange and bargaining, supervised by the Romans, started in early 552)
- c. April¹²⁹ Narses sets out from Salona against the Goths in Italy with his entire army consisting of Romans and, among others, the Lombard contingent sent by King Audoin and two groups of Heruls and Gepids under their respective leaders (8.26.5, 10–13)
- the Lombard claimant Hildigisal, dissatisfied with his treatment by the Romans, escapes Constantinople with a Goth named Goar, and they both reach the Thracian town of Aproi/Apros (modern Kermeyen in Turkey), where they join forces with the Lombards stationed there (8.27.5, 7–8)
- Hildigisal and Goar defeat a small detachment of the Kutrigur federates that are settled in Thrace (the same that are mentioned at 8.19.6–7), and from Thrace they go into Illyricum, where they manage to neutralize a Roman army charged with their capture and escape to the Gepids (8.27.10–17)
- c. May *after* the conclusion of the treaty (Prokopios says ἐπειδή τε, which indicates the passage of some time), Justinian and Audoin demand from the Gepid king Thorisin the surrender of Hildigisal/Hildiges; Thorisin confers with the Gepid notables about how he is to proceed, and is told not to give in to the demand (8.27.22–24)

¹²⁹ For the date, cf. STEIN 1949, 600. SARANTIS 2016, 294, 317 dates the departure of Narses and his army to Italy to summer 552, even though he has suggested spring 552 in an earlier study (2009, 36). The spring date is much more likely given that Prokopios places the start of Narses' march practically at the very beginning of the eighteenth war year. Moreover, it is believed that the Roman army arrived in Ravenna on 6 June 552, even though the account on which this is based is rather late and somewhat garbled (cf. STEIN 1949, 601).

c. June

later, Thorisin, who wishes to avoid sparking the war again, decides to demand from Audoin the surrender of the Gepid claimant Ustrigoth, and the two kings come to an agreement to each do away with their counterpart's claimant, which they accomplish in secret (8.27.25–29)

Based on the interpretation proposed here it seems that the first three Gepid-Lombard battlefield clashes should be dated to early spring of 549, early spring of 550, and late autumn of 551, respectively, of which the initial two encounters never actually ended with a battle. Prokopios offers no details regarding the reasons for the Gepid-Lombard enmity beyond what he calls „differences“ (τὰ διάφορα; 7.34.26, 7.34.34, 7.34.45, 8.18.2, 8.18.11) and once „disputes“ (τῶν ἀντιλεγομένων; 8.8.12), nor he explains why they refrained twice from engaging into battle, even though they are said to have been so eager to fight and once even drawn up their forces in battle array.¹³⁰ Various suggestions have been put forward by scholars in an attempt to explain the staunch Gepid-Lombard conflict.¹³¹ One obvious cause was the competition between the two groups, which became the more pressing issue for the Gepids since Justinian was more and more relying on the Lombards: Prokopios' comment that the Lombards were given by the emperor places in Noricum and Pannonia, as well as much money, and thus came to dwell „not far from the Gepids“ (7.33.10–11), could conceal the fact that the Gepids must have become anxious because of the Lombard proximity to their own territory and zone of influence in southern Pannonia, since the area was crucial for Gepid plans in their dealings with the Empire, the more so after the lower reaches of the Danube frontier had become too well defended and the defense system could only be circumvented along the south Pannonian stretch, meaning that the Gepids were now in control of the only available access to Roman provinces in the Balkans.¹³² Another cause was the increased power of the Gepids, which was a threat for the Romans and the Lombards alike.¹³³ At the same time, neither the Romans or the Gepids or Lombards were prepared to risk endangering their interests in the long run: the former by not allowing one group to capitalize on the demise of the other group, and the latter two by stalling a direct battlefield confrontation if its consequences could prove devastating for the losing side. Or if the conflict's outcome meant a significant weakening of both warring parties, which would only benefit the Romans, especially at the time when the latter still seemed not to have committed themselves entirely to one particular side. This may explain the decision of the Lombards to accept the Gepids' proposal for truce in 549, even though Justinian had sent an army to assist the Lombards, which meant a peaceful settlement that was contrary to Roman plans as Prokopios explicitly states (7.34.45); and why the Gepids and Lombards chose to withdraw from the battlefield in 550 without engaging into an actual battle, despite being quite ready for it as claimed by Prokopios (8.18.3).¹³⁴ From late 549 until late 551, they both seem to have tried to avoid resolving their power contest on a battlefield. Their continuing attempts to win over the Romans to their respective sides was perhaps aimed at using such a treaty more as a means

¹³⁰ For a survey, see SARANTIS 2009, 28; SARANTIS 2016, 267–268.

¹³¹ According to the Lombard tradition, the Gepids made war against the Lombards to avenge the overthrow of Hildigisal (*Origo gentis Langobardorum* 4: WAITZ 1878a; *Paulus Diaconus, Historia Langobardorum* 1.21: Ed. BETHMANN–WAITZ 1878; *Historia Langobardorum codicis Gothani* 5: WAITZ 1878b).

¹³² Cf. SARANTIS 2009, 32; SARANTIS 2016, 276–277.

¹³³ SARANTIS 2009, 30–31; SARANTIS 2016, 271. That the Romans were aware of the Gepids' power clearly arises from Corippus who ranges them among the Franks, Avars and Slavs (*Getae*) as the Romans' most serious enemies (*In laudem Iustini Augusti minoris, Liber primus* v. 254–256: Ed. CAMERON 1976). John of Ephesus also calls the Gepids a powerful people (*Iohannis Ephesini Historiae ecclesiasticae. Pars tertia* 6.24: Ed. BROOKS 1935–1936).

¹³⁴ Prokopios relates that the panic, which struck both armies and is alluded to have been inspired by God, was the reason for the battle not being fought (8.18.5–10). His narrative suggests that both the Gepids and the Lombards were perfectly aware of the high stakes that were in play.

of determent, rather than as a way to inflict a crushing defeat to the opponent. They resorted to diplomacy, which is evident from Prokopios' comment about their willingness to negotiate and maintain regular diplomatic contacts following a conclusion of a two-year truce (8.18.11). What seems like Prokopios' emphasis on the intended regularity of these contacts (in 550, the Gepids and Lombards agreed to *constantly communicate*, ἀεὶ φοιτῶντες, with each other) ostensibly implies a sense of concern from both groups in conflict, which is understandable if one assumes that they must have acknowledged their respective military strength. That the Lombards also possessed a considerable manpower resource is apparent from their ability to provide a substantial military aid for Narses' campaign against the Goths at the time when the Gepid-Lombard relations were still unresolved and would soon start to rapidly deteriorate again.¹³⁵ The Lombards obviously felt sure in their own strength, and were more confident in their own capabilities than relying on the Roman help. Audoin's complaint to Justinian at the size of the military aid that reached the Lombards seems to further substantiate such a view.¹³⁶ Finally, Jordanes' remark that the battle cost lives of more than 60,000 men on both sides (*Romana* 386: MOMMSEN 1882a), albeit surely exaggerated, is another indication that the Gepids and Lombards had access to an ample reservoir of troops.

Eventually, the to-and-fro in relations with both the Lombards and the Empire made the Gepids realize that there was not much hope for a peaceful resolution of the power contest. So they decided to use other groups, namely the Kutrigur Huns and the Slavs, as countermeasures to check the expected Lombard aggressive move and hinder the Roman involvement as much as possible.¹³⁷ The Gepids could not fail to see that the Lombards were the Roman allies of choice, which is additionally supported by the fact that the Roman general of the mixed royal Gothic and Thuringian descent, Amalafid (the same who fought alongside the Lombards in the decisive battle against the Gepids), was Audoin's brother-in-law (*Procopius Caesariensis, De bellis* 8.25.11: HAURY–WIRTH 1963), a connection that is specifically said to have been forged with Justinian's blessing (*Jordanes, Romana* 386: MOMMSEN 1882a). Moreover, Jordanes explicitly calls the Lombards Roman allies and the Gepids Roman enemies (*Jordanes, Romana* 386: MOMMSEN 1882a). All this could explain otherwise a puzzling decision of the Gepids to sponsor another Slavic inroad into Illyricum after they had recently concluded a treaty with the Romans and thus returned to the allied status. The Gepid move can only be understood in the light of their misgivings about the true Roman intentions. As it were, these misgivings turned out to be what decisively tipped the balance against the Gepids and made Justinian commit to the Lombard cause. As opposed to the two earlier instances, when it seems that the day and place of the battle were pre-arranged by the Gepids and Lombards,¹³⁸ now the Lombards were the aggressor. Amalafid's contingent is likely to have arrived in the Lombard-held territory using the Roman road system in northern Dalmatia and joined the Lombards after avoiding the Gepid and Herul outposts in northwestern Moesia Prima. A later tradition claims that the battle was fought at the place called Asfeld (the Field of Gods), which apparently ought to

¹³⁵ Also noted by SARANTIS 2016, 317–318; with SARANTIS 2009, 37; POHL 1996, 33. Prokopios remarks that, on the occasion of the 550 confrontation, Thorisin and Audoin were each followed into the battle by many myriads of men (8.18.4). Similarly, he says that a vast multitude of both the Gepids and the Lombards perished in the 551 conflict (8.25.14).

¹³⁶ SARANTIS 2016, 318 (with SARANTIS 2009, 37) argues that Amalafid's contingent was a significant force. Be that as it may, it was certainly less than what Audoin expected. Sarantis' claim that „Jordanes' *Romana* suggests that the Lombards were aided by a significant Roman force in 552“ seems unwarranted, since Jordanes does not mention explicitly the Roman participation in the battle.

¹³⁷ SARANTIS 2009, 32, with SARANTIS 2016, 277, suggests that there may have existed a Gepid-Gothic collusion against the Romans. He also believes that the Gepids actually encouraged the Slavic raids (SARANTIS 2016, 280).

¹³⁸ Prokopios says that the Gepids and Lombards set a fixed time for the battle during their first confrontation (*De bellis* 7.34.2: HAURY–WIRTH 1963), and the same is also very much plausible for the second confrontation, since the Gepids and Lombards are said to have been fully prepared for the war (8.18.3).

be looked for somewhere in the area between Cibalae and Sirmium.¹³⁹ It is reasonable to assume that the Lombards advanced toward Sirmium and the Gepids marched out to meet them.¹⁴⁰ The battle lasted a single day and the Gepids suffered a crushing defeat as their encampment came close to be overrun by the enemy (*Jordanes, Romana* 386: MOMMSEN 1882A). However, the casualties were heavy on both sides: according to an early medieval source, even the Gepid king Turisind's son Turismod was among the fallen (*Pauli Historia Romana* 15.20: Ed. DROYSEN 1879). The peace between Gepids and Lombards was concluded under the aegis of the Romans who could validly claim part of the success for themselves. The Gepid capitulation was inevitable, but Justinian did not allow their subjugation, which was in accord with his long-term strategic aim to preserve a balance of power between the competing groups in Pannonia.¹⁴¹ The Gepids were left in control of Sirmium,¹⁴² which could also be interpreted as signifying that their defeat was not so disastrous, but had to accept some territorial losses, chiefly to the Empire's gain, since they seem to have relinquished the territory of the so-called Pannonia Bassiensis: in the early 560s, Justinian offered the Avars to settle in the former Herul land in Pannonia Secunda (*Menander Protector, Historia* fr. 5.4, 2–6: Ed. BLOCKLEY 1985), which implies that the Romans had previously renewed their grip over the easternmost part of the province.¹⁴³ Simultaneously, if the assumption is correct that, from c. 540, the Gepids had also held the area around Singidunum where the Heruls were settled, they now lost their foothold in northern Moesia Prima as well. Thus the Romans finally managed to have in control the entire stretch of the Danube both in Moesia Prima and Moesia Secunda, which made it possible for them to ward off raids and invasions from across the river. The Gepids that may have continued to live in the Roman-held territory of Pannonia Secunda, same as there were Gepids who remained under the Ostrogoths' rule after 504, were possibly reduced to a federate status. The Transdanubian Gepids may have also been compelled to take on a duty of thwarting any future invasions that might come across their eastern borders. Such a defensive Gepid role would have additionally served the Empire's interests and may have been a further reason for Justinian's not allowing the Gepids' downfall. As has been recently pointed out, the almost one decade-long cessation of Slavic and Hun raids following the Gepid defeat cannot be a coincidence.¹⁴⁴ Moreover, Justinian could now consent to, with much more peace of mind, Narses' march against the Goths. In addition to Roman troops, the Hun and Herul federates, the Persian force, and the Lombard contingent that had previously arrived, Narses' forces seem to have been boosted by arrival of two extra contingents, one Herul and one Gepid, whose dispatching was presumably also one of

¹³⁹ Cf. GRAČANIN 2007, 41, with GRAČANIN 2011, 113. For the name of the battlefield, see *Paulus Diaconus, Historia Langobardorum* 1.24: Ed. BETHMANN-WAITZ 1878. The majority of scholars locates the battle in Pannonia Secunda (SCHMIDT 1934, 539; BÓNA 1956, 238; BÓNA 1976, 35; MENGHIN 1985, 35; CHRISTOU 1991, 95; CHRISTIE 1998, 36; ANDRIĆ 2002, 157; LOTTER 2003, 137; SARANTIS 2009, 35, with SARANTIS 2016, 313, opts for a plain near the route between Siscia and Sirmium, i.e. along the Save valley), while DICULESCU 1923, 145 believes that it took place in the plain between the Danube and the Tisa. However, the latter would mean that the battlefield was far from the imperial territory, which would make more difficult for Roman forces to provide active assistance.

¹⁴⁰ GRAČANIN 2007, 42, note 165, with GRAČANIN 2011, 114, note 244, has suggested that the other two clashes also took place in the same area as a border region between the Lombard and Gepid territories. GRAČANIN 2007, 46 additionally says that the battle was fought in the area between Cibalae and Mursa, which is an oversight since that was actually the site of the battle between Gepids and Ostrogoths in 488.

¹⁴¹ SARANTIS 2009, 37, with SARANTIS 2016, 319. See also DICULESCU 1923, 147; CHRISTOU 1991, 95–96, who rejects Diculescu's suggestion that Justinian acted as a peace mediator between Gepids and Lombards.

¹⁴² It may be that Menander's assertion voiced through Emperor Justin II's mouth that Justinian took in the Gepids and gave them land around Sirmium (*Menander Protector, Historia* fr. 12.6, 47–49: Ed. BLOCKLEY 1985) actually refers to the 552 and not the c. 540 peace treaty. See DICULESCU 1923, 147–148; WOZNIAK 1979, 152; BÓNA 1987, 123; CHRISTOU 1991, 95–96; LOTTER 2003, 138; GRAČANIN 2007, 42, with GRAČANIN 2011, 114.

¹⁴³ Cf. also note 97 above.

¹⁴⁴ SARANTIS 2009, 32; SARANTIS 2016, 280, 323.

the conditions of the peace treaty. These Heruls seem to have been the ones who, in (probably) 547, opted for the Gepids, since Prokopios gives their number as more than 3,000, which is almost identical to the number of the pro-Gepid Heruls (*Procopius Caesariensis, De bellis* 7.35.43, 8.26.13: HAURY–WIRTH 1963). It may be assumed that the formerly Gepid-controlled Heruls were brought back in line and served again as federates. The Gepid contingent of 400 warriors under Asbados may have comprised of the south Pannonian Gepid federates, if the above proposal is correct (*De bellis* 8.26.13: HAURY–WIRTH 1963).¹⁴⁵

The Gepids abided by the peace treaty for the remainder of Justinian's reign. If the above assumption is accurate, they may have even brought additional security to the Illyrian stretch of the Danube frontier: when the Hun and Slavic inroads resumed in 559, the raiders crossed the river at its lower reaches, and the diocese of Thrace was targeted again in 562.¹⁴⁶ No extant sources record how the Gepids might have felt about Justinian's offer to settle the Avars at the eastern edge of southern Pannonia.¹⁴⁷ The renewal of open hostilities between Gepids and Lombards is likely to have happened at the onset of Justin II's reign. The interpretation of available sources seems to indicate that there were three clashes: the first two in 566, and the last and final one in 567. To be sure, the interpretation hinges on circumstantial evidence provided by the early seventh-century *History* of Theophylact Simocatta and the fragmentarily preserved late sixth-century *History* of Menander the Guardsman. Theophylact Simocatta supplies the bulk of information for the two 566 conflicts, but what he has to offer is embedded in an anecdotal account of how some Gepid attempted to acquit himself from a crime he committed by murdering one of Emperor Maurice's bodyguards for his elaborate gold belt (λαμπράν ζώνην χρυσήν), for which he was arrested in Constantinople when he tried to have the belt melted down by a craftsman whose suspicion he had aroused because of his barbarian descent (*Theophylacti Simocattae Historiae* 6.2.5–9, 6.10.4–5: Ed. DE BOOR–WIRTH 1972). According to his story, which was told under duress of a criminal investigation procedure, he had obtained the belt by killing a bastard son of the Lombard king in the battle that the Romans fought and won against the Lombards on the Gepids' behalf (*Historiae* 6.10.12–13). The conflict itself is said to have been born out of a desire the Lombard king Alboin had for a daughter of the Gepid king Cunimund and which he ventured to fulfill by kidnapping the girl, thus sparking the war between the two nations (*Historiae* 6.10.8–9). The essential folk-tale quality of the story, coupled with that it was recounted by a murder culprit, casts serious doubts on its historicity. Theophylact even explicitly calls it a fabrication (πλάσμα τῷ πλάσματι) (*Historiae* 6.10.13), but at the same time a very clever defense (λίαν σοφισρικῶς τὴν ἀπολογία) (*Historiae* 6.10.8), which indicates that it must have combined false with true elements aimed at exonerating the wrongdoer. With regard to the true elements especially noteworthy is the detail that Emperor Justin II ordered General Baduarius to aid the Gepids with Roman forces collected in the provinces

¹⁴⁵ See GRAČANIN 2007, 42, with GRAČANIN 2011, 114, where it is suggested, based on CROKE 2005, 488, that the Lombards, Heruls and Gepids only joined Narses in early summer 552 in Venetia, and that they travelled across southern Pannonia using its main traffic route along the Drave. It seems, however, that Salona was the assembly area for the entire force before its march to Italy.

¹⁴⁶ See SARANTIS 2016, 280, 338, 354. DICULESCU 1923, 152 believes that the Gepids even conducted a campaign against the Slavs, but his interpretation is dubious.

¹⁴⁷ On Justinian's offer, see SARANTIS 2016, 351–352, who has suggested that the emperor wanted to establish a potential counterweight to the two barbarian kingdoms in the Carpathian Basin, and strengthen allied barbarian military resources in the region. GRAČANIN 2009, 8, with GRAČANIN 2011, 119, speculates that the Avars declined the offer since it entailed living next to a cumbersome neighbor and, should the necessity arise, even waging war against it, and the Avars did not want to be used as an instrument in the imperial plans of maintaining the balance of power in the Middle Danube region or play the role of border guards and intimidators. To these arguments may be added the biogeographical features of southern Pannonia, which were less attractive for a nomadic group, as well as the Avars' intention to be geographically closer to Thrace and Constantinople so that they could exert as much influence over the central imperial government (SARANTIS 2016, 352).

of Scythia (Minor) and Moesia (Secunda) (*Historiae* 6.10.10). Theophylact also says that a court attendant went on to verify the Gepid's story (presumably by comparing it to existing historical records), and it was discovered that the described events (of the war between Lombards and Gepids) had happened thirty years ago (*Historiae* 6.10.14–16), which sealed the Gepid's fate for he was not as old as he should have been if he had participated in the conflict. Accordingly, he was put to torture to admit his crime and then executed by wild beasts after which his remains were burnt (*Historiae* 6.16–18). Unfortunately, Theophylact does not specify whether it was the information on the 567 conflict that the court attendant actually had come across. What may also attract attention is that the Gepid king is said to have magnificently sent gifts (δώρα... μεγαλοπρεπῶς) to the emperor to ensure his friendship (*Historiae* 6.10.9–10) when it was usually other way around in the dealings between Romans and barbarians. It seems, however, that this detail also holds some truth, and the crucial part of the historical reconstruction is what may be inferred from Menander the Guardsman: Cunimund, when faced with the Lombard-Avar alliance, is said to have begged Emperor Justin II for help same as before (πρότερον) and promised to surrender Sirmium and the land south of the Drave, which he had already failed to honor previously (*Menander Protector, Historia* fr. 12.2, 12–19: Ed. BLOCKLEY 1985). Same as the surrender of Sirmium and its region could be interpreted as being the magnificent gifts to which Theophylact refers (even though that was probably not what he had in mind), Menander's phrasing implies that there had been an earlier instance when Cunimund asked Justin II for help and agreed to hand over to the Romans, in exchange for their aid, the Gepid territory in southern Pannonia. And that could only have happened in (probably) 566. Several more observations may be inferred from the story found in Theophylact's *History*: by ascribing the victory over Lombards solely to the Romans, without mentioning the involvement of Gepids, the Gepid storyteller seems to have deliberately adjusted his tale to the expectations of his Roman audience; it was perceived as nothing out of the ordinary that a costly decorative belt of Roman provenance would be owned by a barbarian notable but it aroused a suspicion if it was in the possession by a barbarian commoner; the struggle between Gepids and Lombards seems not to have been a common knowledge at Constantinople in the 590s but was obviously still vividly remembered, with some details, by the Gepids; and finally, the setting of the story is likely to have been based on an original Gepid oral tradition differing from the Lombard tradition as preserved in the *Origin of the Lombard People* and the *History of the Lombards* in the *Codex Gothanus*.¹⁴⁸

Hence, it seems very likely that the new bout of open hostilities between Gepids and Lombards had occurred before their decisive clash in 567. As already indicated above, it may be assumed that the conflict, which was obviously only temporarily dampened in 552, resumed *after* the death of Justinian I on 14 November 565, since now had ceased any obligation that the Gepids and Lombards may have felt to upkeep the peace concluded under Justinian's patronage.¹⁴⁹ The immediate cause is extremely unlikely to have been what can be concluded from Theophylact, whether or not there might be some underlying truth and that Alboin asked for Cunimund's daughter's hand in marriage, possibly to strengthen the ties with the Gepids or even as a scheme to obtain eventually the Gepid throne, since Cunimund seems to have been deprived of a male offspring (he did however had a nephew called Reptila).¹⁵⁰ It is likely, however, that it was not the Gepids who had commenced the hostilities given the outcome of the previous clash, as well as the proximity of the aggressive Avars to their territory.¹⁵¹ Possibly in early 566, the Gepids and Lombards fought

¹⁴⁸ Alboin is said to have taken Cunimund's daughter as wife after vanquishing his enemy and capturing the girl (*Origo gentis Langobardorum* 5: WAITZ 1878a; *Historia Langobardorum codicis Gothani* 5: WAITZ 1878b).

¹⁴⁹ Cf. GRAČANIN 2007, 43, note 176, with GRAČANIN 2011, 115, note 259.

¹⁵⁰ Interestingly enough, SARANTIS 2016, 378 seems to accept the abduction story at face value. However, cf. STEIN 1919, 8. For Reptila, see *Iohannis abbatis Biclarensis Chronica* a. 572?.1: Ed. MOMMSEN 1894b.

¹⁵¹ Cf. CHRISTOU 1991, 102. While the late seventh-century *Origin of the Lombard People* and the early ninth-century *History of the Lombards* in the *Codex Gothanus* merely declare that Alboin fought Cunimund (*Origo gentis Langobardorum* 5: WAITZ 1878a; *Historia Langobardorum codicis Gothani* 5: WAITZ 1878b), Paul the

each other in southern Pannonia, and the Lombards prevailed.¹⁵² As seen before, the Gepids sent envoys to the emperor asking for help and Justin II agreed providing that the Gepids surrender their possessions in southern Pannonia. Cunimund complied and a Roman army commanded by the *curopalates* Baduarius was dispatched with contingents from the lower Danube provinces. Now the Lombards suffered a defeat, presumably in mid-to-late 566, but that did not terminate the hostilities. Furthermore, Cunimund apparently reneged on the agreement with Justin II, which is something that Menander the Guardsman found hard to believe (*Historia* fr. 12.2, 23–26: Ed. BLOCKLEY 1985). The Gepid king must have known that such a move would aggravate the Romans. However, the loss of Sirmium would also mean the failure of the Gepid policy and Cunimund may not have been ready for that as yet. In the meantime, the Lombards seem to have also sent an embassy to Justin II requesting an alliance, but were only given an assurance that the Romans would not support any side in the upcoming conflict (*Menander Protector, Historia* fr. 12.2, 26–31: Ed. BLOCKLEY 1985). That pushed the Lombards into an alliance with the Avars (*Menander Protector, Historia* fr. 12.1, 12.2, 1–11: Ed. BLOCKLEY 1985). Such a development made the Gepids desperately exposed, especially since there seems to have been no chance for them to come to terms with the Lombards and, unlike Justinian, Justin II was apparently not inclined to assume the role of an intermediary.¹⁵³ In possibly early 567, Cunimund, fearing the joint Avar-Lombard attack, sent an embassy to Justin II in an attempt to secure the Roman support again, promising the surrender of the Gepid-held southern Pannonia. The Gepid envoys were left under the impression that Justin II was prepared to aid the Gepids (*Menander Protector, Historia* fr. 12.2, 12–23: Ed. BLOCKLEY 1985), when, in reality, they were left to their fate as the Romans chose to be neutral. Possibly in the spring of 567,¹⁵⁴ the dramatic outcome of the long-lasting rivalry unfolded. The Gepids were attacked from two sides. Paul the Deacon relates that the Gepids marched out to meet the Lombards on the battlefield but before the engagement Cunimund received the news of a simultaneous Avar attack in the heart of the Gepid territory.¹⁵⁵ The Gepid king is said to have decided to first offer the resistance to the Lombards and then try and repel the Avars. However, the Gepids succumbed and even Cunimund was killed in the clash (*Paulus Diaconus, Historia Langobardorum* 1.27: Ed. BETHMANN–WAITZ 1878).¹⁵⁶ The late sixth-century ecclesiastical historian and bishop John of Ephesus ascribes, without referring to Lombards, the demise of the Gepid state solely to the Avars who are said to have attacked „another powerful people called the Gepidae“ (*Iohannis Ephesini*

Deacon in his late eighth-century *History of the Lombards* blames the Gepids for starting the war with the Lombards (*Paulus Diaconus, Historia Langobardorum* 1.27: Ed. BETHMANN–WAITZ 1878). It may be seen as an additional argument to the Gepids' strength that the Avars actually avoided invading the Gepid domain (as well as that of the Lombards') on their own accord and instead attacked the Franks in 562 and 566 (cf. POHL 2002, 45–46).

¹⁵² The outbreak of hostilities is dated to 565 by DICULESCU 1923, 153; WERNER 1962, 13; BÓNA 1976, 97; WOZNIAK 1979, 152; JARNUT 1982, 26; POHL 1997, 96; ANDRIĆ 2002, 159; with MENGHIN 1985, 85; LOTTER 2003, 142, who date it to after Justinian's death. For the 566 date opt CHRISTIE 1998, 59; GRAČANIN 2007, 43, note 176, with GRAČANIN 2011, 115. Southern Pannonia as the battleground: BÓNA 1976, 95; ANDRIĆ 2002, 159. Theophylact Simocatta records that, before the Romans intervened, the Lombards had taken the lead in the war (*Historiae* 6.10.8: Ed. DE BOOR–WIRTH 1972), which suggest an earlier clash on the battlefield.

¹⁵³ Theophylact Simocatta (*Historiae* 6.10.12: Ed. DE BOOR–WIRTH 1972) mentions that Alboin tried to effect the reconciliation with Cunimund before the battle ensued but was rejected (cf. CHRISTOU 1991, 103; with GRAČANIN 2007, 44; GRAČANIN 2011, 116).

¹⁵⁴ For the putative date, see BÓNA 1976, 100.

¹⁵⁵ Some Slovenian and Croatian scholars have suggested that the Avars pressed the Gepids from across the Roman territory along the south bank of the Danube but that is unfounded (HAUPTMANN 1927–1928, 152; GRAFENAUER 1951, 48; MARGETIĆ 1992, 152, 153; KATIČIĆ 1998, 143).

¹⁵⁶ DICULESCU 1923, 161 suggests that Cunimund split his forces to face both the Lombards and the Avars at the same time, which is likely even if not confirmed in the sources. However, it may be assumed that Cunimund led the bulk of the Gepid forces to battle the Lombards. Cunimund's death is also recorded by John of Biclaro (*Iohannis abbatis Biclarensis Chronica* a. 572.1: Ed. MOMMSEN 1894b).

Historiae ecclesiasticae. Pars tertia 6.24: Ed. BROOKS 1935–1936).¹⁵⁷ This time, given the Lombards' arrangement with the Avars, the battleground may have been the area north of southern Pannonia, along the Middle Tisa, since it was closer to the central Lombard territory, more easily accessible to the Avars and far from the Roman territory should Justin II change his mind and decide to help the Gepids after all.¹⁵⁸ The Gepids seem to have agreed to relinquish Sirmium to Roman forces as soon as they approached the city.¹⁵⁹ Justin II is likely to have dispatched, with some delay, a Roman army to southern Pannonia as to maintain the appearance of his readiness to assist the Gepids but actually only to secure the possession of Sirmium.¹⁶⁰ The Roman forces were probably commanded by the *magister militum per Illyricum* Bonus, and he must have received in custody the Arian bishop Trasaric (of Sirmium) and Cunimund's nephew Reptila who are likely to have surrendered, with the Gepid royal treasure, to the Romans once the news of Cunimund's death and defeat came in.¹⁶¹ Even though it could appear that, by obtaining Sirmium, Justin II succeeded in what Justinian had been unsuccessful, and he also seems to be the first Roman emperor who officially bore the victory title Gepidicus (ostensibly adopted in 567)¹⁶², his failure to intervene in the Lombard-Gepid conflict actually played into hands of Avars. It was they who now advanced to become a dominating power in the Carpathian Basin, which utterly upset Justinian's policy of maintaining the balance of power in the region.¹⁶³ The remaining Gepids in southern Pannonia fell under both Lombard and Roman sway. A part of them seems to have accompanied the Lombards when they migrated to Italy in April 568.¹⁶⁴ Others are likely to have become federates in Roman service and stayed in the Roman-held territory once the Avars got the upper hand in southern Pannonia. The Gepid Kingdom in Sirmium ceased to exist, but as late as 870s the memory was still alive in the Middle Danube region about the Gepids, along with the Romans, Goths, and Huns, i.e. Avars, as former great powers in Pannonia.¹⁶⁵

THE GEPID ARCHAEOLOGICAL RECORD IN SOUTHERN PANNONIA

This paper has started out with a claim that not much can be said about the Gepids without adducing the archaeological evidence. It is still very much a valid claim, even if a somewhat

¹⁵⁷ The English translation by Robert Payne Smith is used here.

¹⁵⁸ Cf. SCHMIDT 1934, 542 (the area between the Tisa and the Danube); WERNER 1962, 14; BÓNA 1976, 100; JARNUT 1982, 26; with GRAČANIN 2007, 45, note 188; GRAČANIN 2011, 117, note 272. *Contra* PIRKOVIČ 1970–1971, 186, who believes that the decisive battle between Gepids and Lombards was fought in Syrmia.

¹⁵⁹ Cf. CHRISTOU 1991, 104, 105; with WERNER 1962, 14; GRAČANIN 2007, 44; GRAČANIN 2011, 116. Such an assumption may be inferred from Euagrios Scholasticos who says that the Gepids handed over Sirmium to Justin II (*Evagrius Scholasticus, Historia ecclesiastica* 5.12: Ed. Hübner 2007).

¹⁶⁰ Menander the Guardsman records that Justin II said to the Gepid envoys that he would collect and send his forces as quickly as possible (*Menander Protector, Historia* fr. 12.2, 21–23: Ed. BLOCKLEY 1985). Some scholars have stressed the importance of Sirmium in the conflict between Gepids and Lombards (SCHAFFRAN 1938, 19; BÓNA 1956, 237; EGGER 1962, 122), but the city was much more important to the Romans, while the Gepids and Lombards fought over the domination of the Carpathian Basin.

¹⁶¹ *Iohannis abbatis Biclarenensis Chronica* a. 572?.1: Ed. MOMMSEN 1894b. For Bonus as general in charge of the retaking of Sirmium, cf. WOZNIAK 1979, 154. Bonus was certainly in Sirmium in 567–568 when the Avars first tried to capture the city (*Menander Protector, Historia* fr. 12.3–5: Ed. BLOCKLEY 1985). It is worth noting that an orthodox archbishop is already mentioned in Sirmium in 567–568 (*Menander Protector, Historia* fr. 12.5, 64–65: Ed. BLOCKLEY 1985). Even if that is a pure speculation, perhaps it may be assumed that Reptila was charged with the task of surrendering Sirmium to the Romans, and it seems probable that at the time of the battle he and Trasaric were still in southern Pannonia.

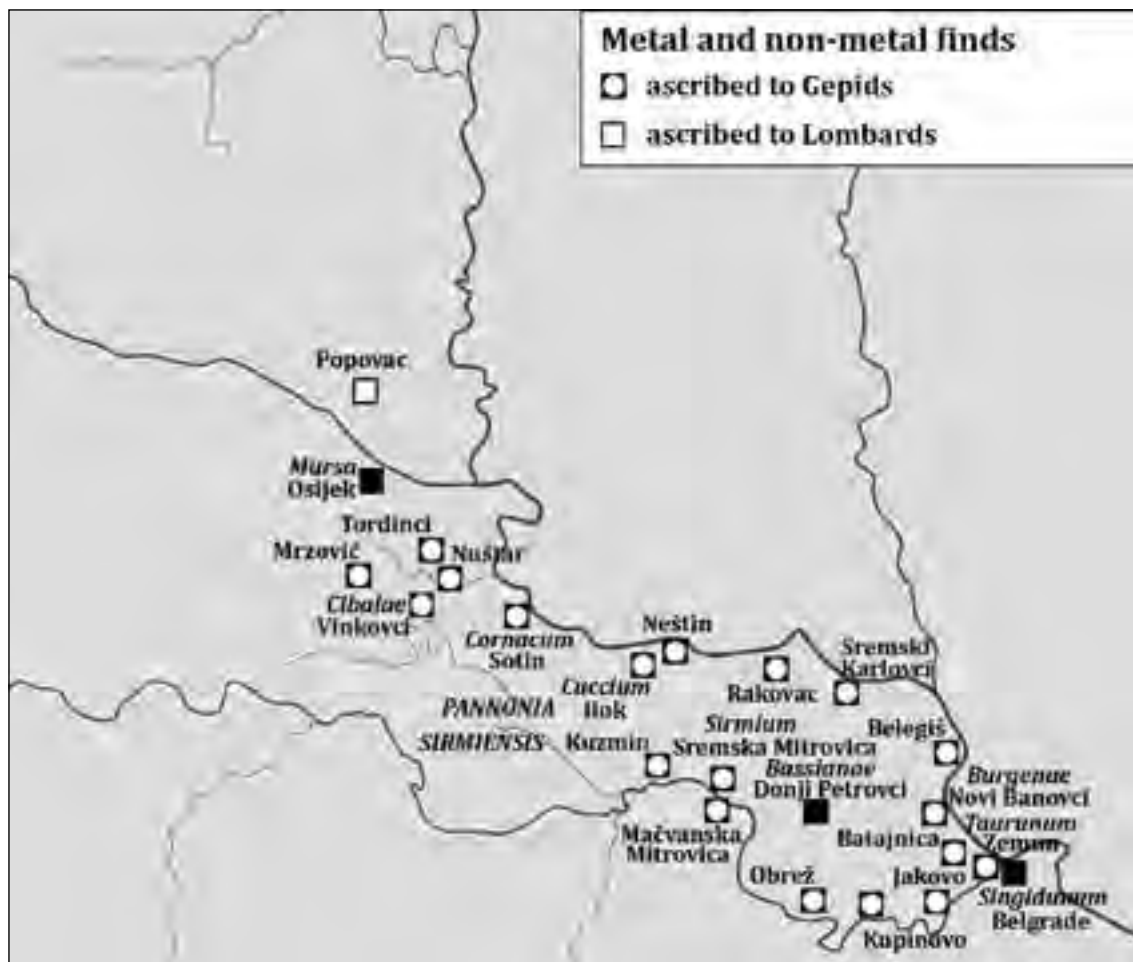
¹⁶² See above in the main text, with note 105.

¹⁶³ Cf. SARANTIS 2016, 379.

¹⁶⁴ Cf. *Paulus Diaconus, Historia Langobardorum* 2.26: Ed. BETHMANN-WAITZ 1878; with GRAČANIN 2007, 45; GRAČANIN 2011, 116–117, with note 271.

¹⁶⁵ Cf. *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum* c. 6: Ed. LOŠEK 1997.

lengthy previous section, which has thoroughly dealt with the extant written evidence, might have left the reader with a different impression. Unfortunately, when it comes to southern Pannonia, the archaeological evidence related to Gepids is wrought with major research problems. As already mentioned, the first obstacle to proper understanding and evaluating the extant archaeological record is of methodological nature. The other obstacle is that the south Pannonian region has so far not yielded much material altogether that could be linked to the Gepids with a lot of certainty. Recently, new insights and interpretation proposals based on a more refined approach to the existing archaeological evidence from Sremska Mitrovica and Vinkovci have been brought forward, which may provide a better understanding of how the Gepids attempted to establish their footing in southern Pannonia. It has also to be noted that until present too few systematic field investigations have been conducted, in which the context of the finds is well established, meaning that chance/stray finds dominate the record. What follows is a survey of mostly published finds that have been or may be attributed to Gepids or as being once in their possession, arranged by sites.



Map 1. A distribution of sites with 6th-century metal and non-metal finds ascribed to Gepids and Lombards in southeastern Pannonia

Metal and non-metal finds

1. Batajnica/its environs, Belgrade, Serbia.
 - a) Baldenheim-type clasp helmet of Gothic provenance, fragments of armor with coupled metal loops, damaged double-edged sword, spearhead, shield boss, fragments of a horse's bit with bars joined with loops¹⁶⁶, container made of dark grey clay, wheel-turned and decorated with stamped ornament; chance finds, allegedly all lifted from a single horseman's grave at the supposedly Bekića Salaš site east of Batajnica in 1939¹⁶⁷; 6th century
Lit. VINSKI 1954, 176–182; VINSKI 1957, 3–27; CSALLÁNY 1961, 238–239; DIMITRIJEVIĆ–KOVAČEVIĆ–VINSKI 1962, 73–75, No. 72; SIMONI 1977–1978 (1979), 219, T.IV/1; TOMIČIĆ 2000, 271.
 - b) container made of grey baked clay, ornamented bone comb; lifted from three graves at the Bekića Salaš site in the probe excavations in 1959; dated to the same chronological horizon and determined as belonging to the same cultural horizon as the items above
Lit. DIMITRIJEVIĆ–KOVAČEVIĆ–VINSKI 1962, 75.
2. Belegiš, Stara Pazova municipality, Sirmia District, Vojvodina province, Serbia¹⁶⁸
container made of greyish clay, wheel-turned and decorated with elongated stamped grid-shaped ornament; chance find at an unknown site, suggested as stemming from a destroyed grave; 6th century
Lit. SIMONI 1977–1978 (1979), 218–219, T.IV/2; MRKOBRAĐ 1980, 53.
3. Ilok (*Cuccium*), Vukovar-Syrmia County, Croatia
double-edged sword with a damascened blade and remains of a pommel; chance find at an unknown site; late 5th/first half 6th century
Lit. VINSKI 1957, 21, 34; CSALLÁNY 1961, 241; DIMITRIJEVIĆ–KOVAČEVIĆ–VINSKI 1962, 77, No. 76:2; BOJČIĆ 1984, 214; SEKELJ IVANČAN 1995, 243, No. 810; RAPAN PAPEŠA 2012a, 430.
4. Jakovo, Belgrade, Serbia
 - a) three skeletons with grave goods and one skeleton without grave goods reportedly discovered in the Eneolithic necropolis at the Kormadin site in 1902
the grave inventory reportedly included belt buckles, iron knives, iron scissors, and beads made of amber and glass paste, but only four items are preserved: fragment of iron artifact, fragment of iron belt buckle, fragment of iron knife, and massive oval gilded silver belt buckle coupled with a massive oval fitting with almandine inlays (all missing but one); late 5th/early 6th or first half 6th century
Lit. DIMITRIJEVIĆ 1960, 5, 6, 25; DIMITRIJEVIĆ–KOVAČEVIĆ–VINSKI 1962, 80:c.

¹⁶⁶ DIMITRIJEVIĆ–KOVAČEVIĆ–VINSKI 1962, 74, No. 72:6 say about the horse's bit to be an essential equestrian equipment from the Migration Period but rare in Gepid burials and appearing usually as a result of Avar influences. The site of discovery is not certain, since the information is lacking from the inventory book in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb (cf. also VINSKI 1957, 3).

¹⁶⁷ DIMITRIJEVIĆ–KOVAČEVIĆ–VINSKI 1962, 74, No. 72:8 record an oral testimony by local peasants that stirrups next to the horse's skeleton and gold sheet fragments next to the spatha were also discovered, which is now all lost.

¹⁶⁸ Two laurel-leaf spearheads and two pots with stamped ornament have apparently also been found at Belegiš, in the courtyard of a local Greek Orthodox church, and are said to stem from a single destroyed grave of a Gepid warrior. This find, made by chance, has last been reported as unpublished (MRKOBRAĐ 1980, 52, with note 332).

- b) belt buckle made of gilded silver from a grave reportedly discovered on a plot of land called Šarkina zemlja at the Kormadin site in 1904, which may or may not be the massive oval silver buckle mentioned above; no date suggested
Lit. DIMITRIJEVIĆ 1960, 6.
- c) several graves discovered on a plot of land called Šarkina zemlja at the Kormadin site in 1904, one of which contained a decorative bead made of limestone, iron knife, iron belt buckle, and large oval bead made of chalcedony; the other two contained skeletons of an adult and of a child, respectively, without grave goods; another one contained a skeleton of an adult with a (now missing) iron sword; there were also two other adult skeletons as well as two children's skeletons found without grave goods; one additional grave (registered as Grave 1) contained large decorative bead made of sandstone, fragment of white-colored item made of flint, and round, convex bronze button; no date suggested
Lit. DIMITRIJEVIĆ 1960, 6.
- d) several graves and various artifacts discovered on the plot of land called Šarkin vinograd at the Kormadin site in 1904
Grave 5: arrow made of flint (probably from the Eneolithic horizon), flint nucleus, fragment of lead plate (mirror); Grave 18: ten silver ball-shaped buttons with a loop; Grave 29: fourteen silver sheet appliquéés; Grave 31: five small ball-shaped silver sheet buttons with a loop, bronze chain link; Unnumbered Grave: small bronze oval belt buckle with a pin that has an elongated terminal; artifacts presumably from destroyed graves and/or outside the graves: bone comb with two rows of teeth ornamented with a concentric circle motif, grooved bronze belt buckle, double-edged sword with remain of a pommel and part of the scabbard made of silver sheet, two one-edged swords with no pommel, iron laurel-leaf spearhead, three possible iron knife fragments, two iron knives, oval iron razor with a hook, four iron belt buckles; first half 6th century
Lit. DIMITRIJEVIĆ 1960, 6–7; DIMITRIJEVIĆ–KOVAČEVIĆ–VINSKI 1962, 80, No77:a.
- e) twenty-nine graves discovered on the plot of vineyard land owned by one Milutin Vukojević at the Kormadin site in 1905
Grave 8: three small oval bronze buttons with a loop; Grave 11: three damaged small iron knives; Grave 14: iron fragment, probably of a knife, iron knife; Grave 17: two fragments of knife; Grave 24: large grooved bronze button with a loop, four small ball-shaped bronze buttons with a loop, item made of flint; no date suggested
Lit. DIMITRIJEVIĆ 1960, 7.
- f) six graves (two male, two female, and two undetermined) discovered at the Kormadin site after the WWII, of which one of the two undetermined was not furnished with grave goods
Grave 1: small biconical jug made of grey-black clay, wheel-turned, with an ornament in the shape of vertical stripes; Grave 2: cast silver earring with cubical bead; Grave 3: double-edged sword with remain of a pommel, bronze belt buckle with ornamented pin, two cylindrical beads made of white calcium carbonate; Grave 4: metal laurel-leaf spearhead; Grave 5: three beads (made of amber, yellowish semi-precious stone¹⁶⁹, and glass paste respectively), probably from a string, pair of gold earrings with polyhedral beads, decorated with granulation; first half 6th century
Lit. DIMITRIJEVIĆ 1960, 5–6, 26–27; DIMITRIJEVIĆ–KOVAČEVIĆ–VINSKI 1962, 77, No. 77:Grob V, 80:b.

¹⁶⁹ While DIMITRIJEVIĆ 1960, 6 mentions yellowish semi-precious stone as material of which one of the beads is made, DIMITRIJEVIĆ–KOVAČEVIĆ–VINSKI 1962, 78, No. 77:Grob V have only amber and glass paste.

- g) twenty-six graves (eight male, nine female, six children's, three undetermined), of which two unfurnished children's graves, discovered during systematic rescue excavations at the Kormadin site from 1956 through 1958; the burials are concluded to have been organized according to a principle of clustering the deceased members of a kin group around two central graves, one belonging to a warrior buried with full military equipment, and the other belonging to his wife, whose grave contained more elaborate jewelry

Grave 1: male skeleton, bone comb with one row of teeth, small decorative cast bronze rivet, silver pin of a belt buckle, fragmented iron flint, iron item (possibly a purse mount); Grave 2: male skeleton, fragmented bone comb with two rows of teeth, fragmented iron knife, iron item (possibly a purse mount), twelve arrowheads, item made of bone, once part of a quiver, damaged double-edged sword with no pommel, massive cast bronze belt buckle with a shield-shaped pin, oval silver belt buckle, decorative cast bronze artifact in the shape of a deformed cicada¹⁷⁰; Grave 3: heavily fragmented child skeleton, string of beads made of amber and glass paste, goblet on a leg made of greenish glass and ornamented with threads; Grave 4: male(?) skeleton, two iron knife fragments, iron item fragments, damaged iron belt buckle; Grave 5: female skeleton, remains of a string of beads made of amber and glass paste with a perforated solidus of Theoderic's struck in the name of Anastasius I, cast bow fibula made of bronze, notched, with two bezel settings for almandine inlays (missing), oval iron belt buckle, small spoon made of iron and bronze, fragmented iron hairpin with a top made of dark green glass paste, small decorative fittings made of silver and bronze, string of beads made of amber, calcium carbonate, glass paste and carnelian with a damaged cast pendant made of bronze, fragmented iron knife, fragmented bone comb with two rows of teeth; Grave 6: male skeleton, fragment of small iron knife, fragment of iron flint; Grave 7: probably male skeleton, fragments of iron item (knife or flint?), worn bronze coin of Emperor Marcus Iulius Philippus senior, remains of bone comb with two rows of teeth, small cast bronze belt buckle; Grave 8: male skeleton, corroded iron fragments, iron knife, oval iron belt buckle, laurel-leaf spearhead; Grave 9: child skeleton, fragmented bone comb with two rows of teeth; Grave 10: female skeleton, bronze armllet, cast and embossed, with stylized snakehead terminals, cast bronze ring, massive cast bronze ring-shaped loop, cast oval bronze belt buckle, disc base of a base plate-shaped fibula made of bronze sheet and an undetermined alloy, fragmented cup-shaped pendant made of bronze sheet and an undetermined alloy, biconical spindle whorl made of baked clay, fragmented awl made of bone, beads made of glass paste; Grave 11: female skeleton, remains of bone comb, 214 beads from a string, two iron fibulae, oval iron belt buckle, two biconical spindle whorls made of clay, six amber beads, two of which are fragmented, large decorative bead made of chalcedony; Grave 12: fragmented child skeleton, container with a three-leaf mouth, made of bright grey sandy clay and wheel-turned, massive cast silver belt buckle, decorative cast rivet made of bronze; Grave 13: female skeleton, fragmented bone comb, cast bow fibula with a rhomboidal leg (type Hahnheim I), made of gilded silver and once decorated with almandine inlays (missing), two spindle whorls made of baked clay, oval iron belt buckle; Grave 14: remains of female skeleton, biconical spindle whorl made of baked clay, damaged iron weaving knife; Grave 15: male skeleton, large iron belt buckle with a bronze sheet fitting, heavily fragmented bone comb; Grave 16:

¹⁷⁰ VINSKI 1967 (1974), 45, 82, note 549 includes the silver belt buckle into the group of early Byzantine-provincial Mediterranean type belt buckles, and claims the cicada-shaped bronze item to be a buckle frame that was once part of the silver belt buckle but was detached and hence has been previously erroneously attributed. Vinski also adds that this belt buckle has a parallel in a belt buckle found at the necropolis of Hegykő near the Neusiedl lake that has been ascribed to Lombards.

remains of female skeleton, 138 beads from a string, large oval cast iron belt buckle, heavily damaged iron weaving knife, cylindrical bead made of chalky material (likely a spindle whorl); Grave 17: remains of (probably) female skeleton, oval iron belt buckle, iron weaving knife, large round bead made of greyish blue glass paste (probably a luxurious spindle whorl), remains of bone comb with two rows of teeth; Grave 18: child skeleton, fragmented bone comb with two rows of teeth; Grave 19: probably female skeleton, two fragments of bone comb with two rows of teeth; Grave 20: male skeleton, fragments of two iron knives, heavily damaged iron flint, heavily damaged iron belt buckle, iron item (resembling an awl); Grave 21: child skeleton, two beads, one shaped as ball and made of white glass paste, the other shaped as flower crown and made of greenish blue glass paste; Grave 22: remains of child skeleton, without grave goods; Grave 23: remains of a skeleton of undetermined sex, cast bronze belt buckle in the shape of elongated oval, fragment of iron item; Grave 24: remains of child skeleton, without grave goods; Grave 25: remains of male skeleton, cast bronze belt buckle with a tongue-shaped fitting and a shield-shaped pin (of Byzantine provenance)¹⁷¹, heavily damaged, fragmented iron flint, two small flints, skeletal remains of a small rodent (possibly a squirrel); Grave 26: probable remains of a female skeleton, biconical spindle whorl made of baked dark grey clay, iron knife broken in two pieces¹⁷²; first half 6th century

Lit. VINSKI 1957, 29–30; VINSKI 1960–1961, 232; VINSKI 1964, 108; VINSKI 1971a, 55; VINSKI 1971b, 383; DIMITRIJEVIĆ 1960, 10–17; CSALLÁNY 1961, 241; DIMITRIJEVIĆ–KOVAČEVIĆ–VINSKI 1962, 77–80, No. 77.

5. Kupinovo, Pećinci municipality, Syrmia District, Vojvodina province, Serbia
fragmented bone comb, upper part decorated with a head of a fantastic animal; chance find at an unknown site; 6th century
Lit. DIMITRIJEVIĆ–KOVAČEVIĆ–VINSKI 1962, 80, No. 79.
6. Kuzmin, Sremska Mitrovica municipality, Syrmia District, Vojvodina province, Serbia
pear-shaped container made of grey clay, wheel-turned and decorated with stamped ornament consisting of crosses and latticed rhombuses; chance find at the Državno dobro 7 jul site in 1954
7. Mačvanska Mitrovica, Sremska Mitrovica municipality, Syrmia District, Vojvodina province, Serbia
iron fibula, six amber beads, one chalcedony bead, copper-alloy sheet fibula with rectangular plate, large silver belt buckle with a diamond-shaped plate decorated with an intricate scrollwork ornament, damaged iron knife; from a grave likely containing a female skeleton (Grave 149) within the late antique necropolis complex investigated in systematic excavations from 1966 through 1970; the Zidine-Širingrad site; first half 6th century
Lit. SIMONI 1977–1978 (1979), 213; ERCEGOVIĆ–PAVLOVIĆ 1979–1980, 172; ERCEGOVIĆ–PAVLOVIĆ 1980, 15 (Tombe 149), 39, 62; ERCEGOVIĆ–PAVLOVIĆ 1982, 20–23; KISS 1984, 64, 66, 72, 74; HILBERG 2009, 141, 144; CURTA–GÂNDILĂ 2013, 118.

¹⁷¹ VINSKI 1967 (1974), 43, 80, note 515 includes the belt buckle into the group of Mediterranean type belt buckles.

¹⁷² Three skulls coming from this necropolis and now kept in the Archaeological museum in Zagreb were artificially deformed (WERNER 1956a, 107; PÁRDU CZ 1963, 30, No. 45; DIMITRIJEVIĆ 1960, 34; PILARIĆ 1970, 188; SLABE 1978, 67).

8. Mrzović, Semeljci municipality, Osijek-Baranya County, Croatia
fragmented cast bow fibula made of silver with partially preserved gilding; chance find at an unknown site; late 5th/early 6th century
Lit. RAPAN PAPEŠA 2012b, 8, 16, No. 2.
9. Neštin, Bačka Palanka municipality, South Bačka District, Vojvodina province, Serbia
double-edged sword; chance find at an unknown site; late 5th/first half 6th century
Lit. PRIBAKOVIĆ 1955, 36; VINSKI 1957, 21, 34; CSALLÁNY 1961, 241; DIMITRIJEVIĆ–KOVAČEVIĆ–VINSKI 1962, 81, No. 81:2; MAJNARIĆ–PANDŽIĆ 1994, 90.
10. Novi Banovci (*Burganae*), Stara Pazova municipality, Sirmia District, Vojvodina province, Serbia
 - a) cast bow fibula made of low silver, fragment of cast bow fibula made of bronze, foot of a silver bow fibula, cast and notched, fragment of bow fibula made of gilded silver, cast and notched, cast bow fibula made of bronze, head decorated with circle with a dot, cast bow fibula made of bronze, head decorated with three triangles; chance finds at the Purger site; second half/late 5th century
Lit. VINSKI 1957, 28; CSALLÁNY 1961, 240; DIMITRIJEVIĆ–KOVAČEVIĆ–VINSKI 1962, 82–83, No. 82:8–12, 14; NÉMETH 1987, 225, No. 11j-k.
 - b) bow fibula made of silver, cast and notched, unfinished (foot missing)¹⁷³, bow fibula made of gilded bronze with bezel settings for almandine inlays (missing), cast and notched, fragment of bow fibula made of bronze with lateral bezel settings for almandine inlays (missing), cast and notched, fragmented bow fibula made of silver with a zoomorphic terminal, cast and notched, bow fibula made of bronze, cast and notched, cast bronze fibula in the shape of bird, uncomplete (unfinished?); chance finds at the Purger site; first half 6th century
Lit. VINSKI 1957, 28; CSALLÁNY 1961, 239, 240; DIMITRIJEVIĆ–KOVAČEVIĆ–VINSKI 1962, 83–84, No. 82:15–20; NÉMETH 1987, 225–226, No. 11m-p.
 - c) bronze fibula in the shape of letter E with bird heads, cast and notched¹⁷⁴; chance find at the Purger site; 6th century
Lit. DIMITRIJEVIĆ–KOVAČEVIĆ–VINSKI 1962, 84, No. 82:21.
 - d) cast eagle-shaped fibula made of bronze, decorated with concentric circles with a dot¹⁷⁵; chance find at the Purger site; probably 5th century
Lit. VINSKI 1957, 28; DIMITRIJEVIĆ–KOVAČEVIĆ–VINSKI 1962, 84, No. 82:22.
 - e) cast earring made of bronze with a polyhedron decorated with a concentric circle motif with a dot, cast earring made of bronze with a polyhedron¹⁷⁶; chance finds at the Purger site; 5th–6th century
Lit. DIMITRIJEVIĆ–KOVAČEVIĆ–VINSKI 1962, 84.85, No. 82:23–24.
 - f) cast belt fitting made of copper, tin and lead alloy¹⁷⁷, cast purse buckle made of silver, cast bronze pin of a large buckle¹⁷⁸; chance finds at the Purger site; 6th century
Lit. CSALLÁNY 1961, 240; DIMITRIJEVIĆ–KOVAČEVIĆ–VINSKI 1962, 85, No. 82:25–27; VINSKI 1967 (1974), XLV, T. 45/7, 82, note 553.

¹⁷³ The item is said to indicate the existence of a local jewelry workshop at *Burganae* (DIMITRIJEVIĆ–KOVAČEVIĆ–VINSKI 1962).

¹⁷⁴ The item is suggested to probably be a piece of Lombard jewelry in use by Gepids.

¹⁷⁵ The item is said to be a barbarized workmanship modeled after the late Roman provincial tradition (DIMITRIJEVIĆ–KOVAČEVIĆ–VINSKI 1962).

¹⁷⁶ Items are suggested to belong to the late Roman provincial tradition and be of late Roman or Germanic provenance.

¹⁷⁷ VINSKI 1967 (1974), 45 includes the item into the belt buckle types of so-called Mediterranean, i.e. late Roman origin.

¹⁷⁸ Items are suggested to be of Germanic provenance (DIMITRIJEVIĆ–KOVAČEVIĆ–VINSKI 1962).

- g) five cast oval belt buckles made of silver, massive oval belt buckle made of bronze¹⁷⁹; chance finds at the Purger site; 5th-6th century
Lit. CSALLÁNY 1961, 239–240; DIMITRIJEVIĆ–KOVAČEVIĆ–VINSKI 1962, 85, No. 82:28,30.
- h) cast oval belt buckle made of bronze, four cast ribbed fibulae made of bronze¹⁸⁰; chance finds at the Purger site; 6th century
Lit. DIMITRIJEVIĆ–KOVAČEVIĆ–VINSKI 1962, 85, No. 82:29,31.
- i) damaged bronze belt buckle¹⁸¹; chance found at an unknown site
Lit. VINSKI 1967 (1974), 43, T. XXXIX/11, 79, note 500.
11. Nuštar/its environs, Vukovar-Syrmia County, Croatia
cast bow fibula made of bronze¹⁸²; chance find at an unknown site; 5th-6th century
Lit. RAPAN PAPEŠA 2012b, 8, 16, No. 1.
12. Obrež, Pećinci municipality, Syrmia District, Vojvodina province, Serbia
container, decorated with incused circular and semicircular ornaments¹⁸³; chance find at an unknown site; 5th-6th century
Lit. KOVAČEVIĆ 1960, 32; VINSKI 1960–1961, 233; TOMIČIĆ 2000, 275.
13. Rakovac, Beočin municipality, South Bačka District, Vojvodina province, Serbia
a) two cast oval buckles made of bronze, one of which is silver-plated; chance find at the Stručice site in 1909; 5th-6th century
Lit. VINSKI 1957, 31; CSALLÁNY 1961, 242; DIMITRIJEVIĆ–KOVAČEVIĆ–VINSKI 1962, 89, No. 84:2.
b) double-edged sword with a damascened blade, a ribbed pommel made of bronze, and a scabbard mouth fitting made of silver sheet, gilded and ribbed on one side, fragment of scabbard fitting made of silver¹⁸⁴; chance find at the Stručice site in 1909; 5th-6th(?) century
Lit. PRIBAKOVIĆ 1955; VINSKI 1957, 34; CSALLÁNY 1961, 242; DIMITRIJEVIĆ–KOVAČEVIĆ–VINSKI 1962, 89–90, No. 84:3.
14. Sotin (*Cornacum*), Vukovar municipality, Vukovar-Syrmia County, Croatia
small fragmented cast silver bow fibula¹⁸⁵; chance find at the Vrućak site; second half 5th century
Lit. UGLEŠIĆ 1993–1994, 146, No. 1, 147; TOMIČIĆ 2000, 270; ILKIĆ 2007, 279, 282, NO. 4; RAPAN PAPEŠA 2012a, 429.
15. Sremska Mitrovica (*Sirmium*)/its environs, Syrmia District, Vojvodina province, Serbia
a) gilded fibulae and gold beads¹⁸⁶; discovered during the 1958 and 1959 rescue excavations at the Site 3, 6 Sveti Stefan Square; late 5th/early 6th century
Lit. MILOŠEVIĆ 1994, 13 (Site 3).

¹⁷⁹ Items are suggested to be of Germanic provenance (DIMITRIJEVIĆ–KOVAČEVIĆ–VINSKI 1962).

¹⁸⁰ Items are suggested to be of Germanic provenance (DIMITRIJEVIĆ–KOVAČEVIĆ–VINSKI 1962).

¹⁸¹ The item is kept at the Archaeological Museum of Zagreb, is said to have belonged to a destroyed Gepid grave and has been included into the group of Mediterranean type belt buckles. Cf. VINSKI 1967 (1974).

¹⁸² The item is suggested to be of East Germanic (Ostrogothic or Gepid) provenance.

¹⁸³ The item is suggested to be of Germanic or Gepid provenance.

¹⁸⁴ The item is said to be a rare example of a luxurious spatha from the Migration Period in the territory of (the now former) Yugoslavia (DIMITRIJEVIĆ–KOVAČEVIĆ–VINSKI 1962).

¹⁸⁵ The item is tentatively attributed to the Ostrogoths, and as such is listed in GRAČANIN–ŠKRKULJA 2014 (2015), 192, No. 13. RAPAN PAPEŠA 2012a, 429 identifies it with large silver sheet bow fibulae that are said to be typical of the Ostrogothic female costume in the Danube area, even though the fibula in question is small and fragmented.

¹⁸⁶ Items are suggested to stem from a Germanic grave.

- b) cast bronze loop decorated with animal heads¹⁸⁷; chance find at the Zelengora Agricultural Estate site east of Sremska Mitrovica in 1959; 5th-6th century
Lit. DIMITRIJEVIĆ-KOVAČEVIĆ-VINSKI 1962, 92, No. 88:Lokalitet poljoprivredno imanje „Zelengora“:1.
- c) two double-edged swords, heavily damaged; chance find at an unknown site; second half 5th/early 6th century
Lit. VINSKI 1955, 36–38; VINSKI 1957, 34; PRIBAKOVIĆ 1955, 36; CSALLÁNY 1961, 241; DIMITRIJEVIĆ-KOVAČEVIĆ-VINSKI 1962, 92, No. 88:Lokalitet nepoznat:1.
- d) cast oval belt buckle made of bronze with a two arched-shaped face and a zoomorphic terminal, oval cast belt buckle made of bronze with a ribbed face¹⁸⁸; chance finds at the 96 Krajiška Street site; 5th-6th century
Lit. VINSKI 1957, 30–31; DIMITRIJEVIĆ-KOVAČEVIĆ-VINSKI 1962, 92, No. 88:Lokalitet Krajiška ulica br. 96:1–2.
- e) elaborate cast belt buckle made of bronze, decorated with a spiral curve, with a furrow on a face side, four cast oval belt buckles made of bronze, moulded pin of a large belt buckle¹⁸⁹; chance finds at an unknown site; 5th-6th century
Lit. DIMITRIJEVIĆ-KOVAČEVIĆ-VINSKI 1962, 92, No. 88:Lokalitet nepoznat:1–2.
- f) cast oval belt buckle made of bronze, with a ribbed face¹⁹⁰; chance find at the so-called Probe 24 site; 5th-6th century
Lit. DIMITRIJEVIĆ-KOVAČEVIĆ-VINSKI 1962, 92, No. 88:Lokalitet tzv. Sonda 24:1.
- g) fragmented bone comb with one row of teeth, decorated with notched ornaments, fragmented bone comb with two rows of teeth; chance finds during rescue excavations at the corner of 13 Braća Radić Street and Dr Božidar Adžija Street (now the corner of Pivarska Street and Branko Radičević Street) site in 1960; 5th-6th century
Lit. DIMITRIJEVIĆ-KOVAČEVIĆ-VINSKI 1962, 92, No. 88:Lokalitet ulica Braće Radić br. 13 i d-r Adžije (Pivara):1–2; MILOŠEVIĆ 1994, 11–12 (Site 1a).
- h) fragments of containers made of grey-black clay, wheel-turned and decorated with stamped ornament consisting of latticed rhombuses and slanted crosses; discovered during the 1960–1961 excavations at the site Boško Palkovljević – Pinki Elementary School / 19 Zmaj Jovina Street (Site 4); first half 6th century
Lit. DIMITRIJEVIĆ-KOVAČEVIĆ-VINSKI 1962, 93, No. 88:Lokalitet Osmogodišnja škola „Boško Palkovljević – Pinki“, ulica Zmaj Jovina br. 19:1; MILOŠEVIĆ 1994, 13–14 (Site 4).
- i) two graves discovered northwest of the thermae complex during the 1960 systematic excavations, one of which was completely destroyed, while the other contained a young person's skeleton
Grave 1: bone comb with two rows of teeth, decorated with carved linear ornaments, oval iron belt buckle, small cast oval belt buckle made of bronze; late 5th/first half 6th century
Lit. DIMITRIJEVIĆ-KOVAČEVIĆ-VINSKI 1962, 93, No. 88:Grob 1.
- j) partially destroyed female grave that contained a skeleton, a large amber bead, and a biconical bead made of gold sheet, decorated with vertical furrows, a pair of bow fibula, one complete and one fragmented, made of gilded silver, cast and notched, lavishly decorated with plate-shaped and en cabochon cut almandines, niello motifs and hallmarking, head and leg decorated with curves, with stylized animal heads and birds of prey heads around the head of the fibula and on the terminal part of its leg,

¹⁸⁷ The item is suggested to be of Germanic provenance and tentatively attributed to Ostrogoths.

¹⁸⁸ Items are suggested to be of Ostrogothic or Gepid provenance (DIMITRIJEVIĆ-KOVAČEVIĆ-VINSKI 1962).

¹⁸⁹ Items are suggested to be of Germanic provenance.

¹⁹⁰ The item is suggested to be of Germanic provenance.

- birds of prey heads decorated with almandines¹⁹¹; chance find at the Puškinova Street site in 1959; late 5th century
Lit. VINSKI 1962, 76–77; DIMITRIJEVIĆ–KOVAČEVIĆ–VINSKI 1962, 93–94, No. 88:Lokalitet Puškinova ulica:1–3; ERCEGOVIĆ-PAVLOVIĆ 1982, 21; MILOŠEVIĆ 1994, 14 (Site 5).
- k) remains of dwellings partly dug into the ground, attributed to Gepids, fragmented pottery, all discovered during the 1968 and 1969 rescue excavations; Site 37, the corner of Vuka Karadžića Street and Svetog Save Street; 5th century
Lit. MILOŠEVIĆ 1969, 195; MILOŠEVIĆ 1994, 31 (Site 37); JEREMIĆ 2006, 145.
- l) graves dug between the Roman-time walls of a building at the forum in Sirmium, discovered during rescue excavations in 1970 and determined as Germanic; Site 46, 9 Kralj Petar I Street; late 5th century
Lit. MILOŠEVIĆ 1994, 36 (Site 46).
- m) six graves discovered during systematic excavations from 2003 through 2005¹⁹²
 Grave 74: male skeleton, spoon made of bronze, fragmented rim of a glass container; Grave 93: male skeleton, without grave goods; Grave 134: remains of male child skeleton, bone comb with one row of teeth, plate decorated with alternating rows of parallel and crossed carvings, fragment of bone comb with two rows of teeth, bronze knife point, iron knife blade with the preserved handle base and plate, bracelet made of bronze with open terminals ending with loops, belt buckle, flint; Grave 157: male skeleton, without grave goods; Grave 158: remains of male skeleton, bone comb, knife, clasp made of bronze with no needle, fragmented belt buckle; Grave 160: heavily damaged male skeleton, without grave goods; second half/late 6th century
 Site 85, the corner of Vuka Karadžića Street and Svetog Save Street; 6th century
Lit. MILADINOVIĆ 2006, 410, note 4.
- n) modest dwellings organized on top of the carefully leveled rubble of collapsed walls of earlier massive structures south of hippodrome, complete small Gepid settlement consisting of wooden cottages partly dug into the ground, i.e. debris, plaster and floor mosaics of abandoned Roman-time buildings, habitations were placed relatively close to each other, burials recorded in the vicinity¹⁹³; Site 85; 6th century
Lit. JEREMIĆ 2006, 144–145.
- o) seven graves discovered during the 2006 and 2007 rescue excavations at the Site 1a, the corner of Branko Radičević Street and Kuzminska Street
 Grave 1: male child skeleton, without grave goods; Grave 2: female child skeleton; Grave 3: male child skeleton, large fragmented oval iron belt buckle; Grave 4: double grave with one female and one male child skeletons, one small belt buckle made of bronze, one belt buckle made of bronze with a shield-shaped pin, iron scramasax knife, mid-fourth-century Roman bronze coins, string with nineteen beads made of glass paste, one bead made of glass paste, one amber bead, fragmented bone comb with two rows of teeth; Grave 5: poorly preserved female child skeleton, biconical amber bead (found outside but close to the grave, and assumed to be a part of the grave inventory); Grave 6: female skeleton, without grave goods; Grave 7a: remains of male child skeleton; Grave 7b: male skeleton with traces of artificial cranial deformation, small oval belt buckle made of bronze¹⁹⁴; outside the graves: bone plate with six rivets, small fragment of bone

¹⁹¹ Items are suggested to be of Ostrogothic or Gepid provenance (DIMITRIJEVIĆ–KOVAČEVIĆ–VINSKI 1962).

¹⁹² The buried deceased were determined as Germanic based on the find of pottery decorated with stamped ornament consisting of latticed rhombuses (MILADINOVIĆ 2006, 410, note 4).

¹⁹³ In 2005, a well-preserved skeleton with an accompanying dagger was discovered not far from a Gepid hut at Site 85 (JEREMIĆ 2006, 159, note 26).

¹⁹⁴ The belt buckle is listed as the inventory of the grave 7a but at the same time mentioned to have been found in the grave 7b (cf. PEJOVIĆ–LUČIĆ 2011, 396, 407, 408).

comb with two rows of teeth, small oval belt buckle made of bronze, fragmented iron belt buckle, rectangular bone comb with two rows of teeth, fragmented bone comb with two rows of teeth;¹⁹⁵ 550s and 560s

Lit. PEJOVIĆ–LUČIĆ 2011, esp. 405–409.

16. Sremski Karlovci, South Bačka District, Vojvodina province, Serbia
bow fibula made of bronze silver alloy with gilding, cast and notched, lavishly decorated with spiral curves, almandines and a trace of niello, with animal heads on its head and on the terminal part of its leg¹⁹⁶; chance find at the Rovine (Strasser's vinyard) site in 1905; late 5th century
Lit. KOVAČEVIĆ 1960, 32; VINSKI 1957, 27; VINSKI 1962, 76–77; CSALLÁNY 1961, 240; DIMITRIJEVIĆ–KOVAČEVIĆ–VINSKI 1962, 91, No. 87:1; ERCEGOVIĆ–PAVLOVIĆ 1982, 21.
17. Tordinci/its environs, Vukovar-Syrmia County, Croatia
fragmented cast bow fibula made of silver¹⁹⁷; chance find at an unknown site; 6th century
Lit. RAPAN PAPEŠA 2012b, 8, 16, No. 3.
18. Vinkovci (*Cibalae*), Vukovar-Syrmia County, Croatia
 - a) bow fibula made of bronze, cast and notched; chance find at an unknown site; first half 6th century
Lit. VINSKI 1957, 31; CSALLÁNY 1961, 241; DIMITRIJEVIĆ–KOVAČEVIĆ–VINSKI 1962, 97, No. 90:1; DIMITRIJEVIĆ 1979, 190, T.27/1; BOJČIĆ 1984, 214; DIZDAR 1999, 66, 151, No. 317; RAPAN PAPEŠA 2009, 139, cat. no. 443; RAPAN PAPEŠA 2012a, 430–431; RAPAN PAPEŠA 2012b, 11–12.
 - b) belt buckle of the so-called Mediterranean type made of bronze, decorated with engraved and chased ornament and with a missing pin¹⁹⁸; chance find at an unknown site; 6th century
Lit. DIMITRIJEVIĆ 1979, 191, T.27/8; DIZDAR 1999, 66, 151, No. 318; RAPAN PAPEŠA 2012a, 431.
 - c) fragment of container made of dark grey clay, wheel-turned and decorated with stamped ornament consisting of latticed rhombuses; chance find in the schoolyard of the First Elementary School in 1972; 6th century
Lit. DIMITRIJEVIĆ 1979, 190, T.27/2; SIMONI 1977–1978 (1979), 220–221, T.V/12; RAPAN PAPEŠA 2012a, 433, Fig. 78.
 - d) fragment of container made of light greyish clay and decorated with stamped ornament; chance find in the garden owned by Takšić family in 1972; 6th century
Lit. DIMITRIJEVIĆ 1979, 190, T.27/3; RAPAN PAPEŠA 2012a, 433, Fig. 78.
 - e) nine fragments of two(?) containers made of clay and decorated with stamped ornament, first group is dark brown grey colored (four fragments), the second one is dark grey colored (five fragments), lower part of glass goblet; excavations at the Tržnica site in 1962; 6th century

¹⁹⁵ Since the discovered grave goods were sparse, the necropolis is attributed to Gepids on the strength of an assumption that the Gepid material culture was modest as a result of their sedentary agricultural lifestyle (PEJOVIĆ–LUČIĆ 2011, 404).

¹⁹⁶ The item is suggested to be a luxurious jewelry of Gepid or Ostrogothic provenance from the Danubian workshops (DIMITRIJEVIĆ–KOVAČEVIĆ–VINSKI 1962).

¹⁹⁷ The item is suggested to likely be of Gepid provenance, even though the Ostrogothic provenance is not entirely excluded (RAPAN PAPEŠA 2012b, 8–9).

¹⁹⁸ It has also been remarked that this belt buckle is similar to the one found in Osijek and dated to the seventh century, i.e. the time of the First Avar khaganate (cf. DIMITRIJEVIĆ 1979, 191, with DIMITRIJEVIĆ–KOVAČEVIĆ–VINSKI 1962, 114, No. 96:Slučajni nalazi:1), but belt buckles of the so-called Mediterranean type may also be dated to the second half of the sixth century (VINSKI 1967 [1974], 41–42; PETRINEC 2010, 199).

- Lit.* DIMITRIJEVIĆ 1966, 70, T.17/9–17; DIMITRIJEVIĆ 1979, 190, T.27/4, 191, T.27/5; SIMONI 1977–1978 (1979), 217, 220, T.V/1–9; RAPAN PAPEŠA 2012a, 433, Fig. 78.
- f) fragment of container made of light grey clay decorated with stamped ornament; excavations at the Ervenica site; 6th century
Lit. SIMONI 1977–1978 (1979), 221, T.V/10; RAPAN PAPEŠA 2012a, 433, Fig. 78.
- g) fragment of container made of grey clay with stamped ornament consisting of elongated latticed rhombuses, small circular stamping marks and slanted crosses; chance find at an unknown site; 6th century
Lit. DIMITRIJEVIĆ 1979, 190; SIMONI 1977–1978 (1979), 220, T.V/11; RAPAN PAPEŠA 2012a, 433, Fig. 78.
- h) two pottery fragments decorated with stamped ornament; chance find at an unknown site; 6th century
Lit. DIZDAR 1999, 155, No. 338; RAPAN PAPEŠA 2012a, 433, Fig. 78.
- i) two artificially deformed skulls, two urns, with no detailed description or close information¹⁹⁹; chance find in 1908; 6th century(?)
Lit. PÁRDU CZ 1963, 31, No. 48; DIMITRIJEVIĆ 1979, 190; SIMONI 1977–1978 (1979), 221; DIZDAR 1999, 66.
- j) one unfurnished skeletal grave discovered by chance at the Nova Pošta site, Matije Antuna Reljkovića Street, in 1954; 6th century
Lit. KORDA 1960, 54; ISKRA-JANOŠIĆ 2001, 84; RAPAN PAPEŠA 2011, 8, 16, No. 1.
- k) four skeletal graves, one of which furnished with grave goods, discovered at the Pošta I site, 3 Matije Antuna Reljkovića Street, during the 1971 rescue excavations
Grave 4: container decorated with stamped ornament; 6th century
Lit. DIZDAR 1999, 66; ISKRA-JANOŠIĆ 2001, 152; RAPAN PAPEŠA 2011, 8, 16, Nos. 2–5; RAPAN PAPEŠA 2012a, 433, Fig. 78.
- l) sixteen skeletal graves, five of which furnished with grave goods and one with a double burial, discovered at the PIK *Vinkovci* site, Jurja Dalmatinca Street, during the 1976 and 1977 rescue excavations
Grave 8: bone comb with two rows of teeth; Grave 9: bone comb with one row of teeth; Grave 33: double burial; Grave 32: nine spherical necklace pendants made of bronze with a suspension loop; Grave 35: unintelligible bronze Roman coins; outside the graves (quadrant VI): pottery fragments decorated with stamped ornament; 6th century
Lit. DIZDAR 1999, 66, 68, 154, Nos. 332–335; ISKRA-JANOŠIĆ 2001, 65–66, 152; ISKRA-JANOŠIĆ 2005, 41; ISKRA-JANOŠIĆ 2007, 292; RAPAN PAPEŠA 2009, 138, cat. nos. 437, 438, 139, cat. no. 441; RAPAN PAPEŠA 2011, 8, 16, Nos. 6–11, 17, Nos. 12–18, 18, Nos. 19–21; RAPAN PAPEŠA 2012a, 431, Fig. 74.3, 74.4, 432, Fig. 76.1, 77.2, 433, Fig. 78.
- m) pottery fragment decorated with stamped ornament, discovered at the Nama Mall site (quadrant XXXII) during the 1977 rescue excavations; 6th century
Lit. DIZDAR 1999, 68, 155, No. 336; RAPAN PAPEŠA 2012a, 433, Fig. 78.
- n) three skeletal graves discovered at the Jugobanka (now Cibalae banka) site, 5 Duga Street, during the 1977 and 1978 rescue excavations
Grave 1: child's skeleton; Grave 2: male skeleton; Grave 3: female skeleton; all unfurnished burials; outside the graves: pottery fragments decorated with stamped ornament; 6th century
Lit. ISKRA-JANOŠIĆ 2001, 152; RAPAN PAPEŠA 2011, 8, 18, Nos. 22–24.
- o) six skeletal graves, two of which furnished with grave goods, discovered at the 19–21 Duga Street site during the 1988 rescue excavations

¹⁹⁹ It was first suggested that the skulls belonged to the time of the Hun domination (WERNER 1956a; PÁRDU CZ 1963), but now it is believed that they are of later date and Gepid provenance (DIMITRIJEVIĆ 1979, 190; DIZDAR 1999, 66).

Grave 1: female skeleton; Grave 2: female and child skeletons; Grave 3: child skeleton; Grave 4: child skeleton, bronze loop; Grave 5: female skeleton; Grave 6: necklace consisting of twenty-three beads of different shapes, sixteen of which are made of amber and seven are made of glass paste, belt buckle made of iron with oval frame and cut-base pin, bronze loop, possibly part of a purse, biconical and vertically pierced spindle whorl, possibly part of a purse; outside the graves: fragment of pot with stamped ornament; 6th century

Lit. DIZDAR 1999, 66, 152, Nos. 323–325, 153, No. 326, 155, No. 337; ISKRA-JANOŠIĆ 1992 (1993), 70; ISKRA-JANOŠIĆ 2001, 152; ISKRA-JANOŠIĆ 2005, 41; ISKRA-JANOŠIĆ 2007, 292; RAPAN PAPEŠA 2009, 138, cat. no. 440, 139, cat. nos. 445–446; RAPAN PAPEŠA 2011, 8–9, 18, Nos. 25–27, 19, Nos. 28–30; RAPAN PAPEŠA 2012a, 431, Fig. 73.1, 74.1, 432, Fig. 75.1, 75.3, 433.

- p) two skeletal graves, only one furnished with grave goods, discovered at the 27 Duga Street site during the 1989 rescue excavations

Grave 2: bracelet made of bronze with slightly extended and traversing terminals, a cylindrical bead made of chalk-like paste used as a spindle whorl; 6th century

Lit. DIZDAR 1999, 66, 68, 153, Nos. 328–329; ISKRA-JANOŠIĆ 1992 (1993), 74; ISKRA-JANOŠIĆ 2001, 152; ISKRA-JANOŠIĆ 2005, 41; ISKRA-JANOŠIĆ 2007, 292; RAPAN PAPEŠA 2009, 138, cat. no. 439, 139, cat. no. 442; RAPAN PAPEŠA 2011, 9, 19, Nos. 31–32; RAPAN PAPEŠA 2012a, 431, 432, Fig. 75.2, 433.

- q) one skeletal grave discovered at the Uglovnica/Pošta II site, 1 Matije Antuna Reljkovića Street, during the 1989 rescue excavations

Grave 1: male skeleton, bone comb with one row of teeth; 6th century

Lit. DIZDAR 1999, 68, 154, No. 331; ISKRA-JANOŠIĆ 2001, 152; ISKRA-JANOŠIĆ 2005, 41; ISKRA-JANOŠIĆ 2007, 292; RAPAN PAPEŠA 2009, 138, cat. no. 437; RAPAN PAPEŠA 2011, 9, 19, No. 33; RAPAN PAPEŠA 2012a, 431, 432, Fig. 76.3.

- r) one skeletal grave discovered at the Croatia osiguranje site in Vladimira Nazora Street during the 1991 rescue excavations

Grave 1: female skeleton, iron knife (or possibly one blade of a scissors²⁰⁰); outside the grave: pottery fragment with stamped ornament; 6th century

Lit. DIZDAR 1999, 66, 68, 153, No. 330; ISKRA-JANOŠIĆ 2001, 152; ISKRA-JANOŠIĆ 2005, 41; ISKRA-JANOŠIĆ 2007, 292; RAPAN PAPEŠA 2011, 9, 19, No. 34; RAPAN PAPEŠA 2012a, 431, Fig. 72.4, 433.

- s) one skeletal grave discovered at the 23 Duga Street site during the 1993 rescue excavations

Grave 1: male skeleton, bone comb with two rows of teeth; 6th century

Lit. DIZDAR 1999, 68, 153, No. 327; ISKRA-JANOŠIĆ 1992 (1993), 74; ISKRA-JANOŠIĆ 2001, 152; ISKRA-JANOŠIĆ 2005, 41; ISKRA-JANOŠIĆ 2007, 292; RAPAN PAPEŠA 2009, 138, cat. no. 438; RAPAN PAPEŠA 2011, 20, No. 35; RAPAN PAPEŠA 2012a, 431, 432, Fig. 77.2.

- t) ten skeletal graves discovered at the Alojzija Ulman Passage site during the 1993 rescue excavations

Grave 1: male skeleton, heavily fragmented knife (two blade fragments), belt buckle made of iron with oval frame and cut-base pin; Grave 2: skeleton of unknown sex; Grave 3: skeleton of unknown sex, bone comb with two rows of teeth; Grave 4: male skeleton, bronze item; Grave 5: male skeleton; Grave 6: female skeleton; Grave 7: female skeleton, bone comb with one row of teeth; Grave 8: male skeleton; Grave 9: only skull; Grave 10: child skeleton; 6th century

Lit. DIZDAR 1999, 66, 68, 151, Nos. 319–320, 152, Nos. 321–322; ISKRA-JANOŠIĆ 2001, 88, 152; ISKRA-JANOŠIĆ 2005, 41; ISKRA-JANOŠIĆ 2007, 292; RAPAN PAPEŠA 2009, 138, cat. nos.

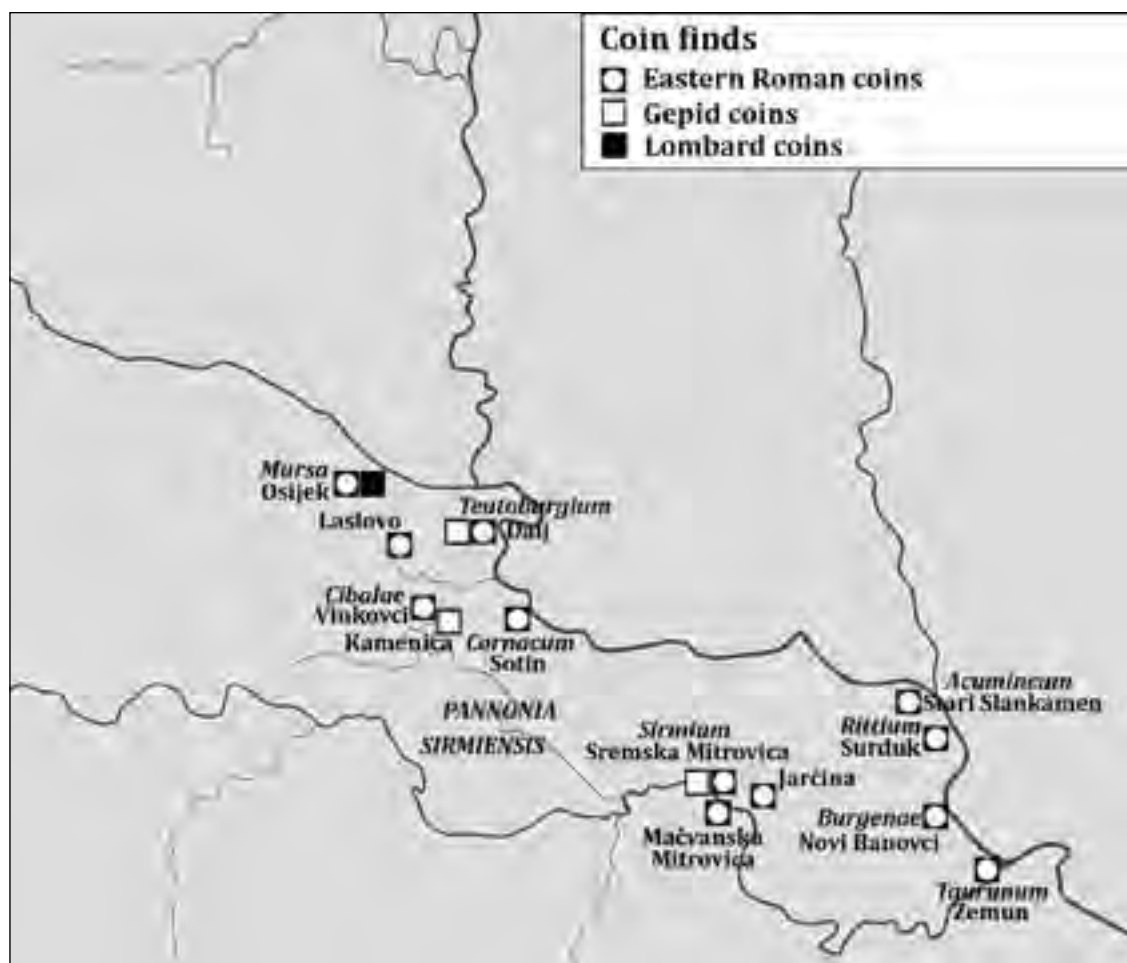
²⁰⁰ RAPAN PAPEŠA 2011, 14, 15.

- 437, 438; RAPAN PAPEŠA 2011, 20, Nos. 36–45; RAPAN PAPEŠA 2012a, 431, Fig. 73.2, 73.3, 432, Fig. 76.2, 77.1, 433.
- u) one skull discovered at the 33 Duga Street site during the 1995 rescue excavations; 6th century(?)
Lit. ISKRA-JANOŠIĆ 2001, 152; RAPAN PAPEŠA 2011, 9, 20, No. 46.
- v) three skeletal graves discovered at the 11 Hrvatskih Žrtava Street site during the 2007 rescue excavations
Grave 1: male skeleton; Grave 2: male skeleton, iron knife point; Grave 3: child skeleton; outside the graves: pottery fragments with stamped ornament; 6th century
Lit. RAPAN PAPEŠA–VULIĆ 2007 (2008), 72–73; RAPAN PAPEŠA 2011, 9, 20, No. 47, 21, Nos. 48–49; RAPAN PAPEŠA 2012a, 433.
- w) two unfurnished skeletal graves discovered at the Glagoljaškoj Street bb (without number) site during the 2007 rescue excavations
outside the graves: pottery fragments with stamped ornament; 6th century
Lit. VULIĆ–KRZNARIĆ ŠKRIVANKO–RAPAN PAPEŠA 2007 (2008), 71; RAPAN PAPEŠA 2011, 9, 21, Nos. 50–51; RAPAN PAPEŠA 2012a, 433; ROKSANDIĆ 2012, 135, 136–151, T.1–4.
- x) dwellings, the first type that reused Late Roman structures as flooring, and the second type that consists of sunken-floored buildings, circular and cylindrical pits for waste material, pottery fragments with stamped decoration, discovered at the 12 Kralja Zvonimira Street site during rescue excavations; 6th century
Lit. RAPAN PAPEŠA–ROKSANDIĆ 2016, 151–152, Fig. 4, 153, Fig. 5, 155–156.
- y) pottery kiln, stamp made of animal bone; discovered at the 14 Kralja Zvonimira Street site during rescue excavations; 6th century
Lit. RAPAN PAPEŠA–ROKSANDIĆ 2016, 155.
19. Zemun (*Taurunum*)/its environs, Belgrade, Serbia
- a) double-edged sword; chance find at an unknown site (possibly the Town's Park); late 5th/first half 6th century
Lit. PRIBAKOVIĆ 1955, 36; VINSKI 1957, 21, 34; DIMITRIJEVIĆ–KOVAČEVIĆ–VINSKI 1962, 104, No. 93:site unknown:1.
- b) cast bronze pin of a belt buckle, decorated with three ribs²⁰¹; chance find at the Beljarica site; 5th–6th century
Lit. DIMITRIJEVIĆ–KOVAČEVIĆ–VINSKI 1962, 104, No. 93:Lokalitet Beljarica:1.
- c) fragmented cast bow fibula made of bronze, two cast belt buckles made of bronze, round with elongated pins²⁰²; chance find at the Kapela site in 1956; 5th century
Lit. DIMITRIJEVIĆ–KOVAČEVIĆ–VINSKI 1962, 105, No. 93:Lokalitet Kapela:1–2.
- d) cast oval belt buckle made of bronze with a missing pin²⁰³; chance find at the Kapela site in 1956; 5th–6th century
Lit. DIMITRIJEVIĆ–KOVAČEVIĆ–VINSKI 1962, 105, No. 93:Lokalitet Kapela:3; DIMITRIJEVIĆ 1967, 231; IVANIŠEVIĆ 1999, 98, 105.

²⁰¹ The item is suggested to be of Germanic provenance.

²⁰² The fibula is suggested to be of Ostrogothic or Gepid provenance, while the belt buckles are determined as Germanic (DIMITRIJEVIĆ–KOVAČEVIĆ–VINSKI 1962, 105, No. 93:Lokalitet Kapela:1–2).

²⁰³ The item is suggested to be of Germanic provenance.



Map 2. A distribution of sites with 6th-century coin finds in southeastern Pannonia

Numismatic finds (Gepid and Eastern Roman coins²⁰⁴ from eastern Slavonia and Syrmia)

20. Dalj (*Teutoburgium*)/its environs, Erdut municipality, Osijek-Baranya County, Croatia
 - a) two quarter-siliquae struck by Gepid king Cunimund in the name of Justinian I; chance finds at an unknown site; ca. 560/564–567
Lit. BRUNŠMID 1924, 1–2; STEFAN 1925, 14–15, 17; DIMITRIJEVIĆ–KOVAČEVIĆ–VINSKI 1962, 111, No. 95/Lokaliteti nepoznati: 1–2; DEMO 1981, 464; BOJČIĆ 1984, 214; SEKELJ IVANČAN 1995, 232, No. 755; GÖRICKE-LUKIĆ 1998, 1147; MIRNIK–ŠEMROV 1997–1998, 210, Nos. 865, 868; TOMIČIĆ 2000, 276; RAPAN PAPEŠA 2012a, 430.
 - b) three folles from 527/538, follis from 534/539, two 12-nummia from 527/565, struck by Justinian I; chance finds
Lit. GÖRICKE-LUKIĆ 1998, 1150, Nos. 6, 8, 1152, No. 26, 1153, Nos. 41, 43, 154, No. 45.
21. Jarčina (canal), Ruma municipality, Syrmia District, Vojvodina province, Serbia
 solidus from 537/542, struck by Justinian I; chance find
Lit. MIRNIK–ŠEMROV 1997–1998, 149, No. 83.

²⁰⁴ As for the eastern Roman coinage, only pieces struck by Justin I, Justinian I and Justin II (until 567) have been included.

22. Laslovo/Szentlászló, Ernestinovo municipality, Osijek-Baranya County, Croatia
follis from 527/565, struck by Justinian I; chance find
Lit. GÖRICKE-LUKIĆ 1998, 1155, No. 58.
23. Mačvanska Mitrovica, Sremska Mitrovica municipality, Syrmia District, Vojvodina province, Serbia²⁰⁵
40-nummis from 518/527, struck by Justin I, 40-nummis from 518/538, struck by either Justin I or Justinian I, 20-nummis from 541/543(?), 20-nummis from 558/559, struck by Justinian I; chance finds
Lit. POPOVIĆ 1978, 182, Nos. 3, 9, 183, Nos. 12, 16, 192 = POPOVIĆ 2003, 326, No. 3, 327, Nos. 9, 12, 16, 338.
24. Novi Banovci (*Burgenae*), Stara Pazova municipality, Syrmia District, Vojvodina province, Serbia
a) quarter-siliqua struck by Gepid king Cunimund in the name of Justinian I; chance find at the Purger site²⁰⁶; ca. 560/564–567
Lit. ALFÖLDI 1924, 24; BRUNŠMID 1924, 2; STEFAN 1925, 14; DIMITRIJEVIĆ–KOVAČEVIĆ–VINSKI 1962, 86, br. 82/34; DEMO 1981, 464; MIRNIK–ŠEMROV 1997–1998, 210, No. 864; TOMIČIĆ 2000, 276
b) 16-nummis from 542/547, 16-nummis from 547/552, 40-nummis from 547/548, struck by Justinian I; chance finds
Lit. ALFÖLDI 1924, 23; METCALF 1960, 435, Nos. 25–27; KOVAČEVIĆ 1962–1963, 127–128; MIRNIK–ŠEMROV 1997–1998, 152, No. 132, 155, No. 176, 156, No. 179.
25. Osijek (*Mursa*), Osijek-Baranya County, Croatia
12-nummis from 527/565, pentanummis from 542/552, follis from 527/538, follis from 543/544, solidus from 538/545, and tremissis from 527/565, struck by Justinian I; chance finds
Lit. ALFÖLDI 1924, 29; METCALF 1960, 436, No. 85; KOVAČEVIĆ 1962–1963, 127–128; GÖRICKE-LUKIĆ 1998, 1149, Nos. 1–2, 1150, No. 7, 1151, No. 20, 1152, No. 28, 1154, No. 44; MIRNIK–ŠEMROV 1997–1998, 152, No. 125.
26. Sotin (*Cornacum*), Vukovar municipality, Vukovar-Syrmia County, Croatia
16-nummis from 527/565, struck by Justinian I; chance find at the Jaroš site
Lit. ILKIĆ 2007, 279, 282–283, No. 5.
27. Sremska Mitrovica (*Sirmium*)/its environs, Syrmia District, Vojvodina province, Serbia
a) two half-siliquae struck by Gepid king Cunimund in the name of Justinian I and Justin II respectively; chance finds from the environs of Sremska Mitrovica; ca. 560/564–567
Lit. BRUNŠMID 1924, 1–2; STEFAN 1925, 13, 16, 17; METCALF 1960, 434, Nos. 10–11; DIMITRIJEVIĆ–KOVAČEVIĆ–VINSKI 1962, 93, No. 88/lokalitet br. 21/1; DEMO 1981, 464; MIRNIK–ŠEMROV 1997–1998, 210, Nos. 866–867; TOMIČIĆ 2000, 276.
b) 16 nummis from 518/522, three 40-nummia from 518/522, two 40-nummia from 518/527, struck by Justin I, 40-nummis from 518/538, struck by either Justin I or Justinian I,

²⁰⁵ There are several coins struck by Justin I, or either Justin I or Justinian I, or Justinian I, and recorded to have been found either in Mačvanska Mitrovica or Sremska Mitrovica (POPOVIĆ 1978, 182, Nos. 4: 40-nummis from 518/527, 8: 40-nummis from 518/538, 9: 20-nummis from 518/538, 10: 40-nummis from 537/548, 11: 40-nummis from 537/548, 183, No. 17: 20-nummis from 543/544 = POPOVIĆ 2003, 326, No. 4, 327, Nos. 8–11, 17, 338).

²⁰⁶ One other (fragmented) silver quarter-siliqua, found at an unknown site in Novi Banovci, has been previously tentatively attributed to the Gepid king Turisind (Thorisin) (546–560/564) (cf. STEFAN 1925, 20–22; MEIXNER 1956, 5; DIMITRIJEVIĆ–KOVAČEVIĆ–VINSKI 1962, 85–86, No. 82:33; MRKOBRAD 1980, 57; DEMO 1981, 464). However, now it is believed to be perhaps Ostrogothic (DEMO 1994, 25, 36, 148).

16-nummis from 538/542, 16-nummis from 542/547, 20-nummis from 541/542, 20-nummis from 544/545(?), 20-nummis from 551/552, 40-nummis from 559/560, 20-nummis from 563/564, 40-nummis from 557/558, struck by Justinian I, 20-nummis from 565/566, 20-nummis from 565/569, 20-nummis from 567/568, struck by Justin II; chance finds and finds from archaeological excavations

Lit. ALFÖLDI 1924, 29; METCALF 1960, 433, Nos. 1–3; KOVAČEVIĆ 1963, 128; MIRNIK–ŠEMROV 1997–1998, 146, Nos. 50, 52, 148, No. 71, 155, Nos. 166, 177, 163, No. 288; POPOVIĆ 1978, 182, Nos. 2 (Site 28, from the 1961 campaign), 5 (the Southern Wall site/VII, from the 1963 campaign), 7 (chance find, Site 4?), 183, Nos. 13 (the Southern Wall site/154A, from the 1971 campaign), 14 (chance find, Site 35?), 15 (the Southern Wall site/153B, from the 1971 campaign), 18 (the Sector IV/127, from the 1961 campaign), 19 (the Southern Wall site/74), 22 (Site 31, from the 1961 campaign), 184, No. 23 (Site 37, from the 1968 campaign), 185, No. 44 (chance find, near the northern wall?), 191–192 = POPOVIĆ 2003, 326, Nos. 2, 5, 327, Nos. 7, 13–15, 328, Nos. 18–19, 22, 329, No. 23, 330, No. 44, 337–338.

28. Stari Slankamen (*Acumincum*), Inđija municipality, Syrmia District, Vojvodina province, Serbia

a hoard of three 16-nummia from 538/542, 16-nummis from 542/547, 14-nummis from 542/543, struck by Justinian I; chance finds

Lit. METCALF 1960, 436, Nos. 79–83, 439–440, F; KOVAČEVIĆ 1962–1963, 128; MIRNIK 1981, 89, No. 350; MIRNIK–ŠEMROV 1997–1998, 155, Nos. 167–168, 171, 173, 159, No. 233.

29. Surduk (*Rittium*), Stara Pazova municipality, Syrmia District, Vojvodina province, Serbia
40-nummis from 522/527, struck by Justin I, 20-nummis from 541/542, struck by Justinian I; chance finds

Lit. ALFÖLDI 1924, 24, MIRNIK–ŠEMROV 1997–1998, 147, No. 62, 163, No. 283.

30. Vinkovci (*Cibalae*), Vukovar-Syrmia County, Croatia

40-nummis from 539/540, struck by Justinian; chance find

Lit. GÖRICKE-LUKIĆ 1998, 1150, No. 11; MIRNIK–ŠEMROV 1997–1998, 151, No. 108.

31. Zemun (*Taurunum*), Belgrade, Serbia

folles from 518/527 struck by Justin I, two folles from 546/547, struck by Justinian I; chance finds

Lit. Kovačević 1963, 128 (Jugoslavija:1; Jugoslavija, Srem:4).

As already pointed out, the archaeological record of artifacts ascribed to Gepids is dominated by chance/stray finds. So far the rescue and systematic archaeological excavations that have yielded the material with an exact archaeological context have been conducted only at Jakovo, Mačvanska Mitrovica, Sremska Mitrovica and Vinkovci, a too small number in comparison with the total of twenty sites of immediate interest. The tabular representation is as follows:

Table 1. The distribution of archaeological finds by type and circumstances of discovery

<i>Archaeological Site</i>	<i>Type of Finds</i>	<i>Circumstances of Discovery</i>
Batajnica/its environs	grave goods? grave goods	chance/stray find probe excavations
Belegiš	grave goods? settlement finds?	chance/stray find
Dalj	coinage	chance/stray find
Ilok	grave goods?	chance/stray find
Jakovo	grave goods	chance/stray find systematic excavations
Kupinovo	grave goods?	chance/stray find
Kuzmin	grave goods? settlement finds?	chance/stray find
Mačvanska Mitrovica	grave goods	systematic excavations
Mrzović	grave goods?	chance/stray find
Neštin	grave goods?	chance/stray find
Novi Banovci	grave goods? coinage	chance/stray find
Nuštar	grave goods?	chance/stray find
Obrež	grave goods? settlement finds?	chance/stray find
Rakovac	grave goods?	chance/stray find
Sotin	grave goods?	chance/stray find
Sremska Mitrovica	grave goods settlement finds coinage	chance/stray find systematic excavations
Sremski Karlovci	grave goods?	chance/stray find
Tordinci/its environs	grave goods?	chance/stray find
Vinkovci	grave goods settlement finds	chance/stray find systematic excavations
Zemun/its environs	grave goods?	chance/stray find

As customary, grave goods include parts of male and female costume assemblages, pottery, jewelry and decoration items as well as tools and sometimes weapons, and rarely coins, among which the earlier imperial Roman coins prevail, as seen by finds from Jakovo (grave 4g:5), Sremska Mitrovica (grave 15o:4), and Vinkovci (grave 18l:35), except in the case of a Gothic imitation of Anastasius I's solidus from Jakovo (grave 4g:7). In two cases, settlement finds have been discovered: remains of dwellings and, apparently, settlement pottery in Sremska Mitrovica (15k, 15n) as well as in Vinkovci (18x-y).²⁰⁷ A settlement is also very likely to have existed near the Jakovo-Kormadin site, where at least two burial sites of the first half of the sixth century have been detected, of which one necropolis has been completely investigated (4f-g).²⁰⁸ As for coinage, no hoards containing Gepid coins are known from southern Pannonia, but only single finds by chance from Dalj (20a), Novi Banovci (24a) and the environs of Sremska Mitrovica (27a). The only known hoard of coins from this period and area is a small hoard consisting of three 16-nummia struck by Justinian I in 538/542, discovered at Stari Slankamen (28). Some of the chance/stray finds may perhaps be classified as lost objects rather than belonging to destroyed graves. The last observation particularly carries weight with regard to how scholars have tended to determine from where certain chance/stray finds originally come. More often than not such finds are claimed to have originated from destroyed graves, even if the circumstances of discovery are quite vague, to say the least. Yet another problem-fraught approach is the method of attribution, where, in general, the material of the

²⁰⁷ Some pottery fragments found outside graves at various sites in Vinkovci (18l-o, 18r, 18v-w) could also be considered as settlement pottery.

²⁰⁸ DIMITRIJEVIĆ 1960, 44.

so-called Germanic provenance that has been excluded from the attribution to the Ostrogoths is by method of elimination and/or method of analogy, and with reliance on more reliable archaeological contexts from elsewhere, usually attributed to Gepids. Perhaps the most notable example of such practices is the material found in the environs of Batajnica, among which a Baldenheim-type clasp helmet stands out (1a). The still prevailing attribution has been made based on the location of the site and the type of finds. The starting premise is that all objects of the Batajnica group are from a burial context. However, the information surrounding the discovery of the artifacts is dubious and conflicting. Zdenko Vinski, who was the first to completely publish and discuss the finds, initially thought that all finds excluding pots decorated with stamped ornament might stem from a single grave.²⁰⁹ Later, however, he seems not to have been certain anymore whether the finds originated from a single grave or two graves, although he constructed his interpretation upon the assumption that they all belonged to one and the same burial which, based primarily on the find of the „Gepid“ pot, he ascribed to a notable Gepid horseman warrior who may have even come into possession of the elaborate helmet as a spoil of war.²¹⁰ It has to be emphasized that only an oral testimony by local peasants is what links the majority of these artifacts to one alleged grave spot, but not even the exact site is securely known and therefore it is equally possible that the objects were collected from different spots. If one builds upon the so-called ethnic ascription method, some of the Batajnica artifacts could be interpreted as suggesting that they were in use by a Gepid (sword, pot decorated with stamped ornament), whereas other indicate the Gothic provenance (clasp helmet with features that link it to north Italian workshops, shield boss). One artifact, namely the horse's bit, could rather belong to a quite different cultural and temporal context, especially if one bears in mind that equestrian equipment is said to be rare in Gepid burials and appears usually as a result of Avar influences. If one combines this with a further oral testimony by peasants from the Batajnica area about the (now lost) finds of stirrups and the horse's skeleton it seems even more likely that the Batajnica finds do not stem from a single grave or, indeed, from the same chronological horizon (and it is not even certain that they all belong to a burial context).²¹¹ The clasp helmets seem to have also been used by Goths as gifts bestowed upon allied princes and then redistributed to their followers.²¹² In this context, it is equally imaginable that the Batajnica clasp helmet ended in possession by a Herul notable, since it is known from written sources that the Gothic king Theoderic the Great tried to maintain good relations with the Heruls and they were settled in the eastern part of southern Pannonia.²¹³ After all, Batajnica is situated at the eastern edge of Syrmia, close to modern Belgrade, and its area was part of the once Herul-held territory, as was also dominated by Gepids for a while. To add to the point, such helmets seem also to have been worn by Eastern Romans, and they might have been produced in the Eastern Roman Empire, meaning that the Batajnica example could have been in possession by an Eastern Roman, since the area likely fell under Roman sway again already in 552.²¹⁴ Furthermore, the pot decorated with stamped ornament cannot be regarded as a firm ethnic identity marker for the Gepids, since the technique is typical for the late Roman ceramic tradition as well as the pottery production of the so-called Germanic cultural circle.²¹⁵ All in all, it is rather evident how the usual attribution of the Batajnica finds to a Gepid rests on a shaky foundation. This does not mean that there were no

²⁰⁹ VINSKI 1954, 176.

²¹⁰ VINSKI 1957, 3, 24–27. VINSKI 1982, 23 has later suggested that the helmet originated from Sirmium and that it came into possession by a Gepid notable or warrior of a princely status (cf. also VINSKI 1976, 42).

²¹¹ Cf. DIMITRIJEVIĆ–KOVAČEVIĆ–VINSKI 1962, 74, No. 72:6, 8.

²¹² HALSALL 2007, 330–331.

²¹³ STEINACHER 2010, 345–351. See also GRAČANIN–ŠKRGULJA 2016, 30, with note 76.

²¹⁴ For a suggestion that the clasp helmets may have been worn by eastern Roman cavalrymen, see STEPHENSON 2003, 31. For a possible eastern Roman provenance of the Baldenheim-type clasp helmets, cf. VINSKI 1982, 19–27; VINSKI 1984 (1985), 89–90. It is worth nothing that the Baldenheim-type clasp helmet discovered in Salona is inscribed with the name *Licinius* (VINSKI 1984 [1985], 88; with PITEŠA 2009, 17, No. 12).

²¹⁵ Cf. RAPAN PAPEŠA–ROKSANDIĆ 2016, 155–156.

Gepids in the Batajnica area during their decade-long presence in or control of the modern Syrmian region, but only that the Batajnica artifacts should not be ascribed to Gepids by automatism.

The same approach has been applied with regard to the ethnic attribution of pots from Belegiš and Kuzmin. These are isolated stray finds discovered by chance at sites where so far there have been no systematic investigations conducted nor other finds detected.²¹⁶ Bone combs, even though they are characteristic of Gepid burials, are also difficult to ascribe to one particular ethnic group, since they could have been in use by any of the Germanic groups in southern Pannonia. As grave goods they are represented in male (graves 4g:1,2,7,15; 15m:157; 18q; 18s) and female (graves 4g:5,11,13,17,19; 15o:4; 18t:7) as well as in children's burials (graves 4g:9,18; 15m:134).²¹⁷ Moreover, the Migration Period practice of comb interment may have originated within the late Roman context, namely, become fashionable with late Roman soldiers.²¹⁸ That is to say, it is equally conceivable that the local Roman population in southern Pannonia also practiced such a custom. The double-edged swords (*spathae*) from Ilok (3), Jakovo (4d),²¹⁹ Neštin (9), Rakovac (13), Sremska Mitrovica (15c) and Zemun (19a), to which the Batajnica example may be added (1a), pose a different problem since they are all stray/chance finds discovered outside the archaeological context. If they originate from destroyed graves they are unlikely to have been in possession by Ostrogoths since they traditionally did not inter weapons in their graves.²²⁰ Therefore, other Germanic groups come into consideration and the obvious candidates are the Gepids. However, at least in the case of the Zemun *spatha* the Heruls may also be included in the group of potential bearers. The double-edged swords could also be seen as indicators of professional status, since Roman civilians were legally barred from carrying weapons. Yet the laws do not always reflect an actual situation.²²¹ A first-rate sixth-century testimony indicates that barbarians and Romans engaged into armed duels to settle legal differences outside the court of law (*Cassiodorus, Variarum* 3.24.3–4, with 3.23.3: Ed. FRIDH 1973), which means that both groups owned weapons. It is therefore likewise possible that Roman provincials also interred swords in an attempt to bolster symbolically their status, notwithstanding the fact that some of them could have joined military ranks of their barbarian overlords.²²² Finally, some of the Syrmian *spathae* may actually be remnants of armed conflicts in the late fifth and during the sixth centuries, suggesting that they should be treated as lost objects, in which case they could have been in possession by Ostrogoths, Gepids, Heruls and perhaps even Lombards alike.²²³

²¹⁶ Excluding the finds allegedly discovered in Belegiš. See note 168 above.

²¹⁷ There are still more examples of bone combs listed in the paper's gazeteer of finds, but they have been found outside the graves or with no archaeological context. An exception are finds from graves discovered at the PIK *Vinkovci* site in Vinkovci (181), since an anthropological analysis of the osteological material has been carried out (ŠLAUS 2002, 40–43), but, unfortunately, the results have not been presented in a form to make possible discerning the sex of the deceased by their grave-pits and, furthermore, the remains of 34 individuals have been analyzed as coming from the PIK *Vinkovci* site, even though only sixteen graves with seventeen skeletons have been unearthed there.

²¹⁸ Cf. COOKE 1998, 270. On the finds of bone combs in the late Roman West during the 4th and 5th centuries, see BÖHME 1974, 122–126.

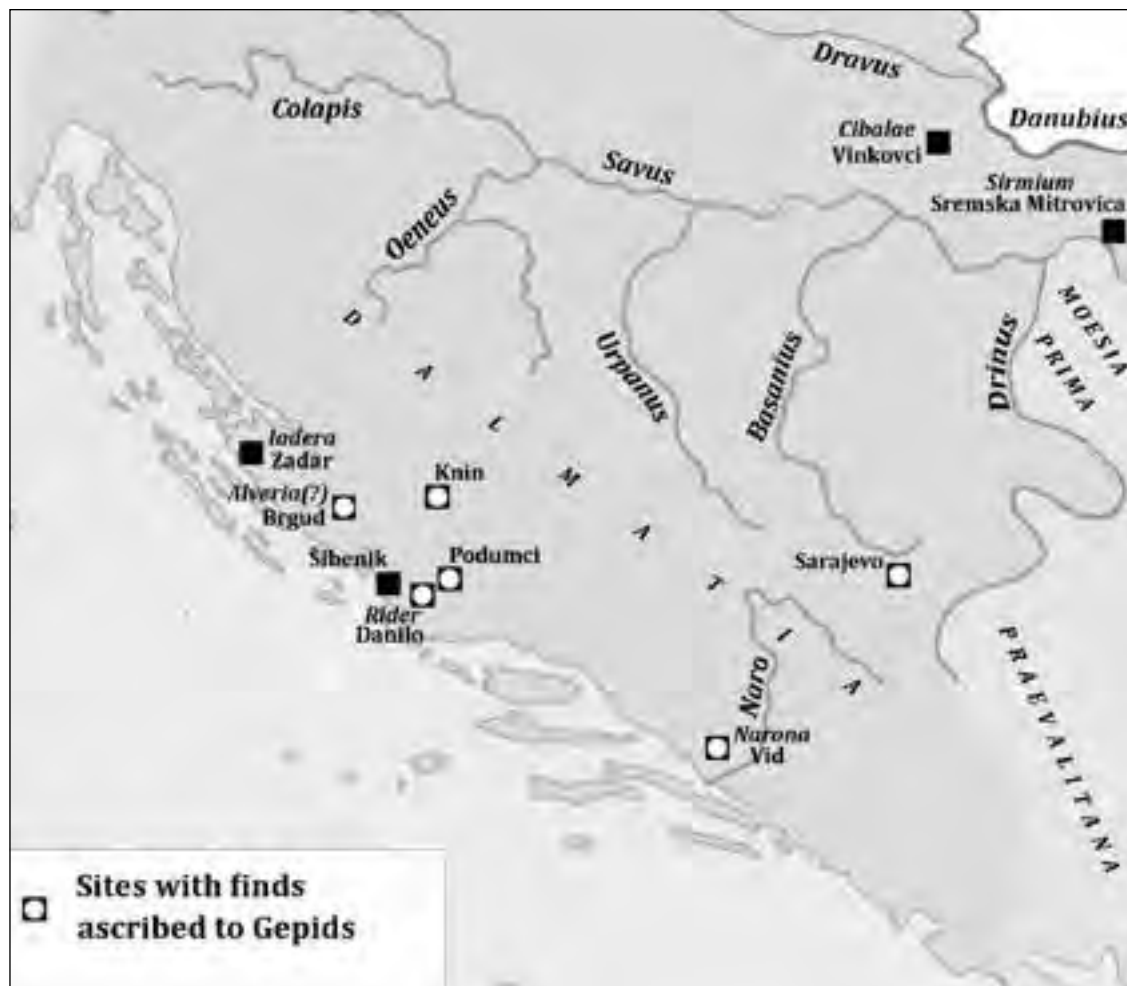
²¹⁹ Two Jakovo-Kormadin *spathae* have been discovered in graves (4f: grave 3; 4g: grave 2), and they are the only examples from southern Pannonia with an established archaeological context.

²²⁰ WERNER 1956b, 128; BIERBRAUER 1994, 144; with BURNS 1984, 113; WOLFRAM 2009, 120.

²²¹ HALLSALL 2002, 200.

²²² For the contention that burials with weapons should not be automatically ascribed to Germanic men and interpreted as belonging to warriors, cf. THEUWS 2009, 299–300.

²²³ It has been cautiously suggested that the Ilok, Neštin, Rakovac, Sremska Mitrovica and Zemun *spathae* may indicate where there was fighting between Ostrogoths and Gepids either during Theoderic the Great's march in Italy in 488/9 or later, in 504 or 528 (cf. GRAČANIN–ŠKRKULJA 2014 [2015], 187). The Sremska Mitrovica *spathae* could perhaps also be seen as vestiges of a clash during the Gepid occupation of Sirmium in 536. As for the Heruls, it is known from written sources that they fought the Romans and clashed amongst themselves (SARANTIS 2010, 370–371, 393–397), and therefore it is conceivable that the Zemun and Jakovo *spathae* may somehow be a material testimony of these conflicts considering the sites'



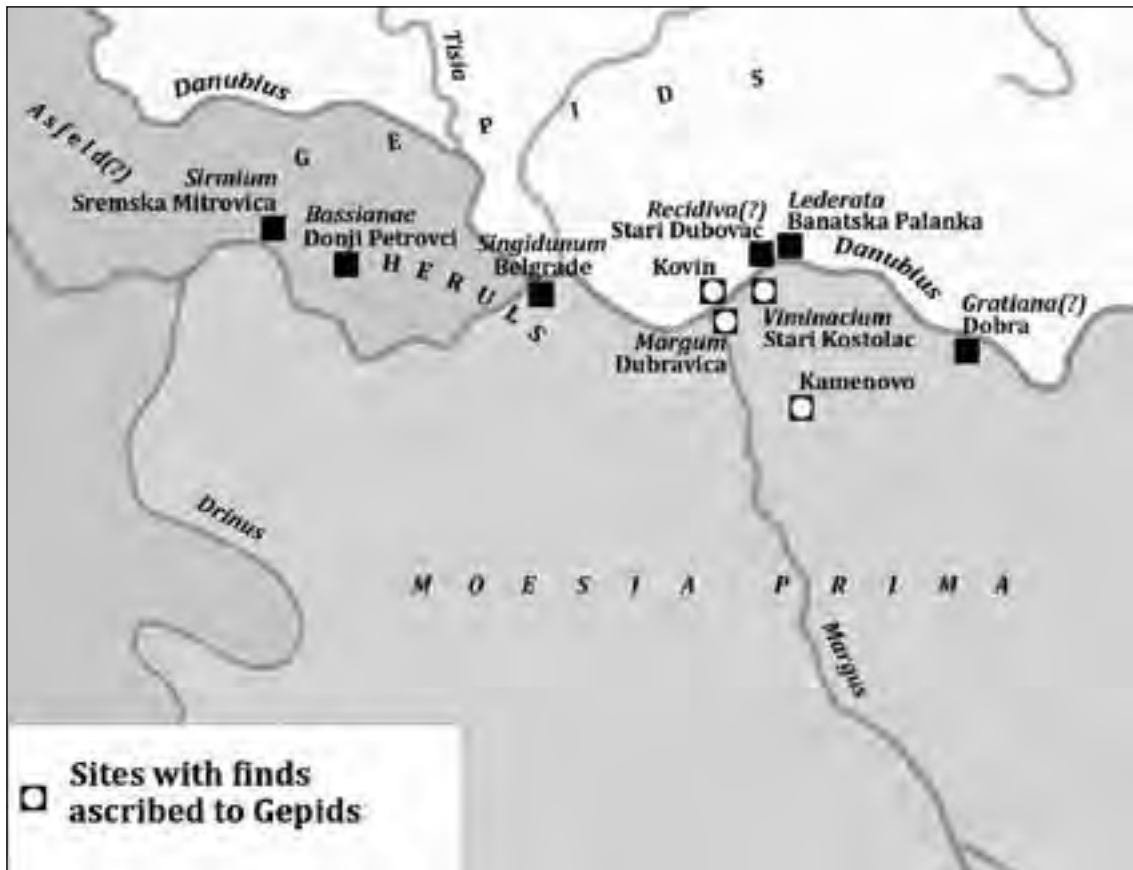
Map 3. A distribution of sites with 6th-century finds ascribed to Gepids in Dalmatia

There is yet another example linked to the Gepids of how an automatism approach to ethnic interpretation of archaeological finds still pervades the Croatian scholarship. Several finds from the eastern Adriatic and the hinterland have recently been interpreted as indicating the presence of Gepids in the province of Dalmatia. The survey of the thus attributed finds is as follows:²²⁴

1. Brgud (*Alveria?*), Benkovac municipality, Zadar County, Croatia
 cast bow fibula made of bronze; chance find at the Jarebinjak site; late 5th/first third 6th century
Lit. UGLEŠIĆ 2009 (2011), 183, 184, Fig. 1–2.

proximity to modern Belgrade, i.e. Singidunum, which seems to have been the center of Herul settlement. Finally, it may be that the battle of Asfeld in (probably) late 551 was fought in the territory of modern Ilok as it is situated in the broader area between Vinkovci and Sremska Mitrovica, where it is believed that the battlefield was likely located, or that the Ilok area was the place of the decisive encounter between Gepids and Lombards in 567. On the late antique/early medieval spathae, see MENGHIN 1983, esp. 15–18.

²²⁴ UGLEŠIĆ 2009 (2011), 186, with note 21, also mentions a „rotating“ „Gepid“ fibula discovered as a chance find in a cave in Herzegovina, as well as another example of fibula of this type recently found in the Benkovac area, and points to a find of an artificially deformed skull in one of the graves discovered at the Smiljanovac site in Solin (*Salona*) during rescue excavations in late 2010 and early 2011. For the last, see also CINGELI–GELIOT–BAZO 2011 (2012), 658.



Map 4. A distribution of sites with 6th-century finds ascribed to Gepids in northern Moesia Prima

2. Danilo (*Rider*), Šibenik municipality, Šibenik-Knin County, Croatia
cast discoid „rotating“ appliqué made of bronze decorated with four protruding stylized eagle’s heads; chance find at the Gradina Site; first half 6th century
Lit. UGLEŠIĆ 2007, 274, Fig. 1; UGLEŠIĆ 2009 (2011), 185, with note 15.
3. Knin, Šibenik-Knin County, Croatia
 - 1) double-edged sword with only a damascene blade and a handle pin preserved, presumably from a destroyed grave²²⁵; chance find at the Greblje site in 1964, discovered near Grave 50 in the late antique necropolis at the Knin-Greblje site that was investigated in 1964 (rescue excavations) and from 1966 through 1971 (systematic excavations) and dated to the first through second half of the 6th century
Lit. JELOVINA 1964; SIMONI 1989 (1991), 108, T.IV/1–2; VINSKI 1989 (1991), 5, 32–33; UGLEŠIĆ 1999 (2000), 96, 97–98, T.II/1; UGLEŠIĆ 2009 (2011), 185, with note 13.
 - 2) massive cast belt buckle made of bronze with stylized eagle’s head-shaped terminal from Grave 50²²⁶; rescue excavations in 1964; 6th century

²²⁵ VINSKI 1989 (1991), 32–32 has discarded the possibility that the sword was in use by a Gepid, since the Gepids were not settled in Dalmatia, and assumed that it may have belonged to a Lombard. On the other hand, UGLEŠIĆ 1999 (2000), 97–98 has stressed that the Gepids often interred swords in their graves and thus assumed that the discovered sword was once owned by a Gepid warrior who was in Ostrogothic service.

²²⁶ VINSKI 1989 (1991), 25–26, 33 has argued that the buckle was an import from the Gepid territory either in Transylvania-Tisa area or in (more likely) Syrmia, or in use by Ostrogoths, and called the burial East Germanic and tentatively ascribed it to the Ostrogoths.

Lit. JELOVINA 1964; SIMONI 1989 (1991), 81–82 (Grave 50), T.XXVII/3; VINSKI 1989 (1991), 24; UGLEŠIĆ 1999 (2000), 96–97, T.II/2; UGLEŠIĆ 2009 (2011), 185, with note 13.

4. Podumci, Unešić municipality, Šibenik-Knin County, Croatia
cast discoid „rotating“ fibula made of bronze used as an appliqué; chance find at the Maretića Umac site; 6th century
Lit. UGLEŠIĆ 2007, 274, 275, Fig. 2; UGLEŠIĆ 2009 (2011), 185, with note 16.
5. Sarajevo, Canton of Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina
bracelet/loop made of bronze, decorated with snake heads; chance find at the Nemanjića Street site²²⁷; 5th-6th century
Lit. SERGEJEVSKI 1947, 42–43, Fig. 21; MILETIĆ 1963, 9, 53, No. 216; MILETIĆ 1978, 101, T.IV/2; MILETIĆ 1988a, 388, Fig. 124; MILETIĆ 1988b, 41, No. 15.43; UGLEŠIĆ 2009 (2011), 185, with note 17.
6. Vid (*Narona*), Metković municipality, Dubrovnik-Neretva County, Croatia
ten skeletal graves discovered at the Groblje/Njive-Podstrana site during the 1994 rescue excavations
Grave 2: a pair of bow fibulae made of gilded silver and in niello technique, cast and notched, with three bezel settings for the semi-precious or precious stone inlays, six beads made of glass paste and amber respectively, small ring, conically bended artifact of an unknown use made of silver²²⁸; Grave 4: six iron nails, one bronze coin (Gothic?), small knife, two iron artifacts of an unknown use²²⁹; first third 6th century
Lit. BULJEVIĆ 1997–1998 (1999), 205, No. G2, 208, No. G4, 240–244, Nos. 97–98; UGLEŠIĆ 1999 (2000), 94, 95, Fig. 1, 96; UGLEŠIĆ 2003, 206, 208, Fig. 6, 209, Fig. 7; UGLEŠIĆ 2009 (2011), 185, note 14.

The items have been attributed to Gepids solely based on a typological analysis, and such a method is especially problematic if the finds are with no archaeological context, as is the case with artifacts from Brgud, Danilo, Podumci, and Sarajevo. A further problem is that the fibula from Brgud, the pair of bow fibulae from Vid, the discoid appliqué from Danilo, and the discoid fibula from Podumci have no close parallels, whereas the bronze eagle-shaped belt buckle is by the quality of its ornaments the most modest example among similar known belt buckles that are ascribed to Gepids. Therefore, the attribution is in all these cases rather disputable. The objects may have also been in use by local Roman population exposed to barbarian influences. Their appearance does not need to be linked to a specific Germanic group, but it may be interpreted as a result of the transfer of fashion or as markers of social or gender status. The latter two explanations are even more likely in the case of the eagle-shaped belt buckle, since the osteological material does not indicate the presence of non-Roman populations, that is to say, no skeletons with artificial cranial deformation have been detected.²³⁰ An important point needs to be stressed here: the presence of artificial cranial deformation does not automatically imply that one deals with a member of a barbarian group that followed such a custom. Even though the artificial cranial deformation is foreign to Roman practice

²²⁷ It has been suggested that the item is of Ostrogothic provenance (MILETIĆ 1978, 101; MILETIĆ 1988, 388). Its resemblance to a similar artifact found at Sremska Mitrovica – registered here under 15c in the paper's gazeteer of finds – has been noted (DIMITRIJEVIĆ-KOVAČEVIĆ-VINSKI 1962, 92, No. 88: Lokalitet poljoprivredno imanje „Zelengora“:1; MILETIĆ 1978, 106, note 21).

²²⁸ The burial has been ascribed to a Gepid woman chiefly based on the fibula and its comparison to bow fibulae found in graves attributed to Gepids, but without close analogies (UGLEŠIĆ 1999 [2000], 95). BULJEVIĆ 1997–1998, 202–203 has however opted for a Germanic provenance, and concluded that it would not be erroneous to define this necropolis as Gothic.

²²⁹ It has been suggested that the burial is of Gepid provenance since coinage is never found as a grave good in Ostrogothic graves (UGLEŠIĆ 1999 [2000], 96; UGLEŠIĆ 2003, 206).

²³⁰ VINSKI 1989 (1991), 7.

it is not entirely excluded that it could have been accepted by Roman population in areas that stood under influences of barbarian groups over a longer period of time, and southern Pannonia is undoubtedly such a region.²³¹ The custom may have primarily served a status function. In southern Pannonia, the deformed skulls have been so far found in Sremska Mitrovica (15o: one specimen with traces of artificial cranial deformation from a grave) and Vinkovci (18i: two specimens outside the archeological context), which is a too small sample for reaching any conclusions, particularly since in the case of the Vinkovci find the archeological context is not clear.

Indicative of how the Croatian scholars have attempted to solve archaeological peculiarities is the explanation offered for a fibula in the shape of letter E found by chance at the site in present-day Novi Banovci (10c). The fibula has been determined as likely Lombard but its discovery at the eastern edge of Sarmatia could not be reconciled with what is known from written source about the possible extent of Lombard influences in southern Pannonia. Therefore, it has been suggested that the fibula was in use by Gepids.²³² However, if its Lombard attribution is accepted, it is equally conceivable that the fibula *was* actually in use by some Lombards who were in Roman service and stationed in Burgenae, since the area returned to eastern Roman control in the early 550s.²³³ Naturally, other possible explanations are also viable, not excluding that the artifact might have been in use by members of another group in the area, namely the Heruls. Similar problem poses an S-shaped fibula discovered in Vinkovci, an artifact said to be characteristic of a Lombard female costume.²³⁴ Yet Cibalae are believed to be one of two most important Gepid settlements in southern Pannonia and it seems that, from about 536, the place remained continuously in their possession regardless of their military-political ups and downs. It is quite far-fetched to imagine that the Lombards may have acquired the settlement following the Gepid defeat in (probably late) 551, as has been proposed solely based on this isolated find whose provenance from Vinkovci is, moreover, far from certain.²³⁵

The caveats and limitations that have been brought forward above, particularly with regard to the so-called ethnic ascription method, significantly restrict an attempt to determine Gepid presence and settlements in southern Pannonia and define the extent of Gepid control in the region based solely on archaeological material. The finds of Gepid coins may be regarded as an exception, at least when it comes to outlining approximately the borders of the Gepid-controlled area in southern Pannonia, since it could be argued that the coinage of barbarian rulers is a telling sign of the extent of their political authority over a certain territory, even though any assumption is somewhat weakened if the finds are without an exact archaeological context. As already

²³¹ Such a possibility has already been suggested by SLABE 1978, 70, 72.

²³² Cf. DIMITRIJEVIĆ–KOVAČEVIĆ–VINSKI 1962, 84, No. 82:21.

²³³ For instance, Prokopios of Caesarea mentions some Lombards stationed at the Thracian town of Aproi/Apros (*Procopius Caesariensis, De bellis* 8.27.8; Ed. HAURY–WIRTH 1963).

²³⁴ The fibula, made of gilded silver, cast and notched, with stylized animal heads' eyes made in niello technique, is dated to the second half of the sixth century. Cf. DIMITRIJEVIĆ–KOVAČEVIĆ–VINSKI 1962, 97, No. 90:2; DIMITRIJEVIĆ 1979, 191, T/27.6; BOJČIĆ 1984, 214; DEMO 2009, 140 (cat. no. 447); DIZDAR 1999, 68; RAPAN PAPEŠA 2012a, 434; RAPAN PAPEŠA 2012b, 10–11.

²³⁵ RAPAN PAPEŠA 2012b, 11. For the proposal, cf. GRAČANIN 2007, 42, and note 167; with GRAČANIN 2011, 114, and note 246. On the sixth century S-shaped fibulae, see MILAVEC 2007. More acceptable seems the interpretation of an S-shaped fibula that was found by chance at the Šumarine site in the environs of Popovac/Baranyabán (*Antianae?*), Osijek-Baranya County, Croatia. It is made of gilded silver and decorated with notched triangles and two almandine inlays, determined as Lombard and dated to the sixth century (BOJČIĆ 2007, 22, 32; BOJČIĆ 2009, 16, No. 5; RADIĆ 2009, 140, cat. no. 448; RAPAN PAPEŠA 2012a, 434). Considering that the area is believed to be out of Gepid reach, the assumption that the artifact was in Lombard possession imposes itself. Other so-called Migration Period stray artifacts that the Šumarine site has yielded, namely, a fragmented cast bird-shaped fibula made of bronze with a glass eye inlay, a fragment of a bow fibula made of silver, and a bow fibula made of bronze (BOJČIĆ 2009, 14, No. 11, 17, Nos. 6–7), call for a different attribution and interpretation. They have been dated to the sixth century, but no typological and contextual analysis still exists.

mentioned, the Gepid coins have been discovered in Dalj (two silver pieces), Novi Banovci (one silver piece) and the environs of Sremska Mitrovica (two silver pieces), and were all struck by King Cunimund in the 560s.²³⁶ The nearest site west of Dalj where another example of coins minted by a barbarian ruler from the same chronological horizon has been detected is Osijek with two Lombard gold tremisses.²³⁷ Therefore it may be contended that the Gepid-controlled area under Cunimund encompassed modern easternmost Slavonia and the whole of Sirmia, and it is very likely that the Gepids were in control of this territory ever since they had reoccupied Sirmium. It has also be borne in mind that, in 489, they controlled the area around the river Vuka, since it was where they offered resistance to the passing Ostrogoths.²³⁸ Consequently, it could be assumed that the area roughly stretching from Osijek to Dalj and Vinkovci was a zone where the Gepid and Lombard spheres of influence overlapped. Cibalae would thus belong to the Gepid zone, as is commonly thought, even though there have been differing opinions.²³⁹ To be sure, the ethnicity of inhabitants of the sixth-century Cibalae in single cases cannot be determined based on archaeological material, but the overall character of the finds apparently suggests the Gepid rule.²⁴⁰ What is however fairly certain is that Cibalae were at that time a regional center of pottery production.²⁴¹ Nevertheless, judging by the grave goods, among which there is a lack of luxurious objects, its inhabitants were of a lower economic situation. This may also perhaps be concluded from a small amount of the eastern Roman coinage found in Vinkovci (30), only a single 40-nummis struck in 539/540, as opposed to, in relative terms, more numerous coinage finds from Osijek (25) and Sremska Mitrovica (27b). Moreover, of 53 graves *intra muros* discovered at 15 different locations in Vinkovci no burials with weapons (swords or spears) have so far been detected, which could suggest that Cibalae did not serve a function of a military outpost. On the contrary, its inhabitants seem to have primarily been engaged in economic and domestic activities such as pottery making, agriculture, spinning and weaving. What can be deduced from an anthropological analysis on a limited sample is that the sixth-century population of Vinkovci led a stabile and organized life, without an exposure to deliberate violence since the skeletons do not exhibit traces of physical traumas. On the other hand, the average age of male adults was only 33 years, whereas 36,6 years for female adults.²⁴² The average age result of the Vinkovci sample for male adults is consistent with the average age result for male adults in the sample from the Site 85 in Sremska Mitrovica, where it amounts to 33,2 years.²⁴³

The settlement near the Jakovo-Kormadin site seems to have been an economically better-off community, even though a total number of graves that may be securely dated to the first half of the sixth century amounts only to 32 (4f-g). The burial inventories are more richly furnished with more elaborate examples of dress accessories than from Vinkovci. Both the first set of six graves and the second set of twenty-six graves had each two burials with weapons (graves 4f:3,4; 4g:2,8). Especially rich in comparison to other graves was Grave 4g:2, which contained arrowheads and a part of a quiver that are to be linked to hunting, an activity that was source of great prestige in the

²³⁶ To these finds it may be added a silver coin found at the Kamenica complex site near Vinkovci, which has been attributed to Lombards (VULIĆ 2016a, 91, 92, Fig. 8; VULIĆ 2016b, 139, Fig. 7, 141), but has most recently been reinterpreted as verily likely stemming from the Sirmium mint under the Gepid rule (DEMO 2017, 105–107).

²³⁷ DIMITRIJEVIĆ–KOVAČEVIĆ–VINSKI 1962, 112, No. 96:Lokalitet nepoznat:1; BOJČIĆ 1984, 214. The coins were found by chance at an unknown site and have been dated to the second half of the sixth century. However, doubt as to their authenticity has been expressed (cf. DIMITRIJEVIĆ–KOVAČEVIĆ–VINSKI 1962, 112).

²³⁸ Cf. GRAČANIN–ŠKRGULJA 2014 (2015), 179–180.

²³⁹ BÓNA 1976, 34–35 (with map at p. 32–33) has suggested that the Lombards possessed both Mursa and Cibalae. Cf. also SIMONI 1977–1978 (1979), 221.

²⁴⁰ Cf. RAPAN PAPEŠA 2011, 15; RAPAN PAPEŠA–ROKSANDIĆ 2016, 158–159.

²⁴¹ See RAPAN PAPEŠA–ROKSANDIĆ 2016, 153–158.

²⁴² Cf. DIZDAR 1999, 66; ŠLAUS 2002, 40–43.

²⁴³ Cf. MILADINOVIĆ 2006, 432, Table 11. No female skeletons have been discovered.

late Roman society and would show a buried person as a leading man of the local community.²⁴⁴ The interment of spears, as seen in Graves 4f:4 and 4g:8, is also likely to have been associated with hunting, as well as with communicating power, since the lance was a symbol of authority in both Roman and barbarian contexts during late antiquity and the early middle ages.²⁴⁵ A presence in the female grave 4g:5 of a perforated solidus minted by the Gothic king Theoderic the Great, which had been used as a pendant, can also be interpreted as a sign of prestige. The majority of other interred objects indicate an engagement of people in the same economic and domestic activities as in Cibalae, with additional material evidence such as weaving knives (4g:14,16,17) and iron flints (4g:1,6,20,25).

Sirmium by the time it became the Gepids' royal capital lost much of its former luster and was transformed into a sparsely populated and ruralized area with a diminished circuit of the city walls and consisting of small settlements of modest dwellings, poorly constructed and of temporary character, but also with some solidly built structures.²⁴⁶ A small hamlet identified as a Gepid settlement consisting of wooden huts partly dug into the ground (15k; 15n) is similar in character to the dwellings unearthed in Vinkovci (18x). Particularly interesting is a building discovered at Site 66 within the northern tract of the hippodrome. It was constructed in the sixth century atop of an earlier structure and is believed to have served as a residence to a civil, military or ecclesiastical official.²⁴⁷ It may very well be that it was where the Gepid kings also resided. Since the structure reveals characteristics of traditional Roman building techniques it can perhaps be hypothesized that it was built for the Gothic governor of Pannonia Sirmiensis and subsequently used by other dignitaries. Another solidly built structure was the city basilica discovered at Site 59.²⁴⁸ Since the Gepid ruling elite did not have to be concerned so much with the religious sentiments of local population after the conclusion of the treaty with the Empire in 552, it is not inconceivable that the church became the seat of the Gepid Arian bishop. The number of eastern Roman coins found in Sirmium – eighteen pieces struck by emperors from Justin I through to Justin II (27b), to which further four pieces struck by Justin I and Justinian I, respectively, and discovered at Mačvanska Mitrovica may be added (23) – are telling about the city's relative importance for regional economic activity. However, no deposits of particular value dating from the reigns of Justin I, Justinian I and, incipiently, Justin II have been found so far in these parts of southern Pannonia and merely three gold coins, one at Jarčina (2) and two at Osijek (6), of which only the former can be directly linked to Gepids. The lack of hoards could be the result of not enough archaeological research or the fact that some hoards were disassembled and only single coins were unearthed, but may also signal a lower circulation of coins altogether. Poorer economic conditions of the region might have left too few opportunities for local inhabitants to accumulate and save money. On the other hand, it could also be argued that a relative security of the region under the Gepid rule did not create crisis situations in which a need would arise to hide money in the ground due to an emergency.²⁴⁹ Be that as it may, the Osijek coins could be seen as an indication of solid economic circumstances in the area during Justinian I's reign, especially in the late 530s and the early 540s, considering that four out of six coins date generally from this period. Finally, the fact that the Gepid royal treasure found its way to Constantinople could also explain the small amount of particularly valuable coins found. The coins struck in eastern mints dominated the coinage circulating in the region, with issues from the mints of Constantinople and Thessalonica prevailing (see *Table 2*). Since at least one Gepid king minted his own coins, Cunimund, it would mean that the local mint in Sirmium was reactivated

²⁴⁴ THEUWS 2009, 305–307.

²⁴⁵ THEUWS 2009, 303–304.

²⁴⁶ JEREMIĆ 2006, 142–147; with SARANTIS 2016, 61.

²⁴⁷ JEREMIĆ 2006, 146–147.

²⁴⁸ JEREMIĆ 2006, 146.

²⁴⁹ For an analysis of hoarding patterns in the sixth-to-seventh century Balkans, cf. CURTA–GÂNDILĂ 2011–2012, esp. 45–47 for various reasons for hoarding.

Table 2. The distribution by mints of eastern Roman coins from eastern Slavonia and Sylvania

Mints Sites	Alexandria	Antioch	Carthage	Constantinople	Cyzicus	Nicomedia	Sicilia	Thessalonica	Unknown mint
Dalj	two 12-nummia from 527/565 GÖRICKE- LUKIĆ 1998, 1153, No. 41, 43		folles from 534/539 GÖRICKE- LUKIĆ 1998, 1154, No. 45	two folles from 527/538 GÖRICKE-LUKIĆ 1998, 1150, Nos. 6, 8		folles from 527/538 GÖRICKE- LUKIĆ 1998, 1152, No. 26			
Jarčina				solidus from 537/542 MIRNIK-ŠEMROV 1997-1998, 149, No. 83					
Laslovo/ Szentlászló									folles from 527/565 GÖRICKE- LUKIĆ 1998, 1155, No. 58
Mačvanska Mitrovica				20-nummis from 541/543(?) POPOVIĆ 1978, 183, No. 12 = POPOVIĆ 2003, 327, No. 12 40-nummis from 518/527 POPOVIĆ 1978, 182, No. 3 = POPOVIĆ 2003, 326, No. 3 40-nummis from 518/538 POPOVIĆ 1978, 182, No. 9 = POPOVIĆ 2003, 327, No. 9		20-nummis from 558/559 POPOVIĆ 1978, 183, No. 16 = POPOVIĆ 2003, 327, No. 16			

Mints Sites	<i>Alexandria</i>	<i>Antioch</i>	<i>Carthage</i>	<i>Constantinople</i>	<i>Cyzicus</i>	<i>Nicomedia</i>	<i>Sicilia</i>	<i>Thessalonica</i>	<i>Unkown mint</i>
Novi Banovci				40-nummis from 547/548 MIRNIK-ŠEMROV 1997-1998, 152, No. 132				16-nummis from 542/547 MIRNIK-ŠEMROV 1997- 1998, 155, No. 176 16-nummis from 547/552 MIRNIK-EMROV 1997- 1998, 156, No. 179	
Osijek	12-nummis from 527/565 GÖRICKE- LUKIĆ 1998, 1154, No. 44			pentanummis from 542/552 MIRNIK-ŠEMROV 1997-1998, 152, No. 125, GÖRICKE- LUKIĆ 1998, 1151, No. 20 follis from 527/538 GÖRICKE-LUKIĆ 1998, 1150, No. 7 tremissis from 527/565 GÖRICKE-LUKIĆ 1998, 1149, No. 2 solidus from 538/545 GÖRICKE-LUKIĆ 1998, 1149, No. 1		follis from 543/544 GÖRICKE- LUKIĆ 1998, 1152, No. 28			
Sotin								16-nummis from 527/565 LUKIĆ 2007, 279, 282-283, No. 5	

Mints Sites		Alexandria	Antioch	Carthage	Constantinople	Cyzicus	Nicomedia	Sicilia	Thessalonica	Unkown mint
Sremska Mitrovica		20-nummis from 551/552 POPOVIĆ 1978, 183, No. 18 = POPOVIĆ 2003, 328, No. 18 40-nummis from 559/560 POPOVIĆ 1978, 183, No. 19 = POPOVIĆ 2003, 328, No. 19	20-nummis from 544/545(?) POPOVIĆ 1978, 183, No. 13 = POPOVIĆ 2003, 327, No. 13 three 40-nummia from 518/522 MIRNIK-ŠEMROV 1997-1998, 146, Nos. 50, 52, POPOVIĆ 1978, 182, No. 2 = POPOVIĆ 2003, 326, No. 2 40-nummis from 557/558 POPOVIĆ 1978, 183, No. 14 = POPOVIĆ 2003, 327, No. 14		20-nummis from 541/542 MIRNIK-ŠEMROV 1997-1998, 163, No. 288			20-nummis from 538/542 MIRNIK-ŠEMROV 1997-1998, 155, No. 166 16-nummis from 542/547 MIRNIK-ŠEMROV 1997-1998, 155, No. 177 20-nummis from 563/564 POPOVIĆ 1978, 183, No. 15 = POPOVIĆ 2003, 327, No. 15 20-nummis from 565/566 POPOVIĆ 1978, 183, No. 22 = POPOVIĆ 2003, 328, No. 22 20-nummis from 567/568 POPOVIĆ 1978, 184, No. 23 = POPOVIĆ 2003, 329, No. 23 20-nummis from 565/569 POPOVIĆ 1978, 185, No. 44 = POPOVIĆ 2003, 330, No. 44 40-nummis from 518/522 MIRNIK-ŠEMROV 1997-1998, 148, No. 71 40-nummis from 518/527 POPOVIĆ 1978, 182, No. 5 = POPOVIĆ 2003, 326, No. 5 40-nummis from 518/538 POPOVIĆ 1978, 182, No. 7 = POPOVIĆ 2003, 327, No. 7		

<i>Minis Sites</i>	<i>Alexandria</i>	<i>Antioch</i>	<i>Carthage</i>	<i>Constantinople</i>	<i>Cyzicus</i>	<i>Nicomedia</i>	<i>Sicilia</i>	<i>Thessalonica</i>	<i>Unkown mint</i>
Stari Slankamen					14-nummis from 542/543 MIRNIK-ŠEMROV 1997-1998, 159, No. 233			a hoard of three 16-nummia from 538/542 MIRNIK 1981, 89, No. 350, MIRNIK-ŠEMROV 1997-1998, 155, Nos. 167-168, 171	
Surduk				40-nummis from 522/527 MIRNIK-ŠEMROV 1997-1998, 147, No. 62			20-nummis from 541/542 MIRNIK-ŠEMROV 1997-1998, 163, No. 283	16-nummis from 542/547 MIRNIK-ŠEMROV 1997-1998, 155, No. 173	
Vinkovci				40-nummis from 539/540 GORICKE-LUKIĆ 1998, 1150, No. 11, MIRNIK-ŠEMROV 1997-1998, 151, No. 108					
Zemun				follis from 546/547 KOVAČEVIĆ 1963, 128 (Jugoslavija, Srem:4)		follis from 518/527 KOVAČEVIĆ 1963, 128 (Jugoslavija:4) follis from 546/547 KOVAČEVIĆ 1963, 128 (Jugoslavija, Srem:4)			
Total	3	2	1	19	1	5	2	16	1

and that there were still local artisans left to accommodate the ruler. As the majority of coins date from the late 530s to the early 560s, this suggests a more intense influx of eastern Roman coinage that coincides with the Gepids becoming imperial allies again in about 540.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The paper has attempted to show that the Gepids were not only active participants in the struggle for control over the mid-to-lower Danube area from the late fifth to the mid-sixth century but that they also managed to pressure the Empire into acknowledging them as the main regional power among the barbarian groups settled in the Carpathian Basin. Even though the extant literary sources are, for the most part, negatively disposed towards the Gepids, these narratives clearly allude to the Gepids as a powerful *gens* that managed to challenge the Ostrogoths and oppose the Romans. Such a development was surely a result of the Gepids' military strength and inner political stability, as well as their adaptability to new circumstances as they first seem to have made effort to recapture Sirmium under Roman sponsorship in probably 528, and then moved against the Romans themselves to regain the city in 536, both instances that clearly testify to the Gepids' capability of showing an initiative. To be true, their endeavor to retake and maintain Sirmium was made easier by the Romans' engagement elsewhere, against the Ostrogoths in Italy, barbarian incursions on the lower Danube and the Persians in the East, but it must be equally stressed that the Gepids confirmed their grip over the city by overwhelming a Roman army on the battlefield in 539. Their subsequent attacks against the Roman territory from southern Pannonia were meant to make Justinian I willing to concede to Gepids' objectives and were not mere raids of conquest. This in itself is a testimony to the Gepids' ability to successfully conduct an open conflict policy that served to consolidate their prestige.

The paper has also argued that the Gepids pursued what may be called a concrete and consistent policy towards both the Empire and the neighboring barbarian groups, aimed at securing and defending the Gepids' interests. Their approach was modelled along the lines of the Roman imperial methods in dealing with various peoples by using instruments of dynamic diplomacy as they combined, depending on the current situation, direct confrontations, negotiations and striking deals. This is evident from the Gepids' relations towards the Lombards and from their doings with the Kutrigur Huns and Slavs. As for the Gepids' relations towards the Romans, they seem never to have been keen on clashing with the Empire, but rather poised towards keeping good relationship with the Romans as much as possible, and only resorting to aggressive actions or provocative solutions when they felt threatened, as was the case after it had become clear in the late 540s and the early 550s that Justinian I was much more inclined to side with the Gepids' rivals the Lombards. The Gepids' recapture of Sirmium and much of southeastern Pannonia should be seen as resulting from their desire to reclaim what they deemed to be their rightful possession that could guarantee them a prominent place in the Roman system of political hierarchy among the newly established barbarian polities. Moreover, it could be contended that the Gepids, instead of being oppressors of the Romans as Prokopios of Caesarea portrays them, fostered functional and mutually beneficial interactions with the local Roman population in southern Pannonia, which the archaeological evidence from Vinkovci seems to suggest.

The proposed reconstruction of the chronology of conflicts between Gepids and Lombards is that they confronted each other six times: in early spring of 549, early spring of 550, late autumn of 551, early 566, mid-to-late 566, and the spring of 567. The Gepid-Lombard rivalry marked the history of Pannonia, and especially of its southeastern part, from the late 540s to the mid-560s, and ultimately pushed the Avars into the position of supremacy in the Carpathian Basin, which they enjoyed for the next more than two hundred years. Following the Gepid defeat at the hands of Lombards and Avars in 567, the Gepid elite of Sirmium seems to have found safety with the Romans, much like the Gepid king Traseric (and probably his immediate entourage) did in 504,

taking with them royal treasure and surely other riches accumulated over time. Considering that the archaeological investigations have so far not yielded gold coins in any significant amount either at Sremska Mitrovica or at any other known south Pannonian site dating from the Gepid era and coming from the Gepid-held territory, this may perhaps suggest that the highly valued coinage was kept out of circulation, or even melted down to be reused in some other form of valuables. Even if it is assumed that the fleeing notables carried off those costly items with them, it seems that such riches were rare among the south Pannonian Gepids, since luxurious objects in grave assemblages are too few and far between. On the other hand, albeit the economic circumstances in southeastern Pannonia under the Gepid domination were generally meagre judging by archaeological finds, the living conditions, though modest, were apparently stable and sustainable with the majority of population engaged in activities typical for a pronouncedly agrarian society. At the same time, the local warrior elite took great care in displaying their elevated social position and leading social role as evidenced by grave finds from the Jakovo-Kormadin site.

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THE GEPIDS IN SERBIAN ARCHAEOLOGY: EVIDENCE AND INTERPRETATIONS

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In this article we reassess late fifth- and sixth-century Germanic finds from present-day Serbia, usually attributed to the Gepids, and try to present a model for their more accurate interpretation. In doing so, we try to avoid the 'mixed argumentation' by combining securely dated archaeological finds with historical-geographical knowledge. While most of the finds from Banat and Bačka can be seen as Gepidic, we suggest another – Herulic – affiliation of the finds from eastern Syrmia, Serbian Danube region, and perhaps southern Banat, while the finds from the Central Balkans are too few to allow any sustainable interpretation.

Keywords: Gepids; Heruls; *foederati*; Germanic finds; interpretation; Banat; Bačka; Syrmia; Serbian Danube region; Central Balkans

SPATIAL AND HISTORICAL FRAMEWORK

As present-day Serbia spreads both north and south of the Danube, its archaeologists are privileged with the opportunity to study remnants from particular historical epochs in two very different regions. For millennia, the Danube was the border between two worlds; in the period of our concern, the hilly Balkans were under Roman administration, while the flatlands beyond the Danube were in the Barbaricum. Between the fifth and the seventh centuries, Germanic peoples, including the Gepids, were present on both banks of this river – either as Roman enemies or as their mercenaries. As regards the territories of Northern Illyricum, the small overall number of the finds of foreign ('barbarian') material culture cannot in itself serve as evidence of a drastic decline in the local population, which apparently took shelter in numerous refugia above the river valleys and in the interior of the Balkan mountainous ranges.¹ On the other hand, these finds – among them Eastern Germanic – are illustrative of the changes that were taking place in the Central Balkans.

There were three phases of Germanic presence in the region within this span. The first phase belongs to the period of Hunnic domination, and the second was that of Gepidic domination, with 454 as a turning point. This was the year of a decisive battle on the Nedao rivulet (perhaps the Nadela in southern Banat), won by the antihunnic coalition. The Gepids, who had led the coalition, freed themselves and expanded their territory from Dacia to the Tisza river in the west. Banat was dominated by the Gepids for many decades; it seems that the Tisza and Körös would remain their ethnic boundaries for some time – although with some exceptions, a matter to be discussed below.²

Syrmia and the Drava–Tisza interfluvium were controlled by the Ostrogoths,³ while it appears that at least the 30-kilometer-wide stretch along the left bank of the Danube, from Csepel to Novi Sad, was controlled by the Skirs until ca 470. Attila Kiss mapped Subotica (Szabadka) as the southernmost Gepidic locality in Bačka.⁴ The Sarmatians could still have held southern Bačka and even some parts of the Serbian Danube region; it seems that only in 472 Theodoric wrested

¹ IVANIŠEVIĆ 2015, 658–659.

² DIMITRIJEVIĆ 1975, 80–81.

³ KISS 1996, 88–89, Abb. 1.

⁴ KISS 2003, 185–186, Abb. 1.

Singidunum away from them.⁵ The Sarmatians then joined the Gepids in the 488 battle against the Ostrogoths, who were gradually leaving for Italy, but still trying to control Sarmia.⁶

Even after the defeat, the Gepids extended their rule over this region. They held Sirmium from 474 to 504. After a series of failures, in 510 the Romans had to accept that the whole of Sarmia was Ostrogothic, except for its southeastern corner with the city of Bassianae. However, already around 512 Emperor Anastasius settled the Heruls there, who, together with the Gepids, repeatedly attempted to expel the Ostrogoths from Sirmium. The Empire took over the city only in 535, but already in 536 the Gepids restored their rule there, against Justinian's will.⁷

Peace ended only with the arrival of the Lombards in 546, whose clashes with the Gepids⁸ ended in the final defeat of the latter in 567; it has been suggested that even in this latest phase of Gepidic rule Cunimund (560–567) may have struck silver coins in Sirmium.⁹ As the Avars had quickly taken advantage of the alliance, the Lombards were forced to move to Italy, and part of the Gepids did so as well. Thus the year 567–568, when the Avars established their rule in the Carpathian Basin, represents another turning point in the history of Gepidic presence in the region.¹⁰

Apart from those who fled to Byzantium,¹¹ the majority of the Gepids continued to live under Avar rule, gradually losing their ethnic identity.¹² The archaeological evidence reveals sparse Germanic, notably Gepidic, traces from the first century of Avar rule.¹³

RESEARCH HISTORY

It appears that in these parts Gepidic sites were not very numerous or large. They have not been sufficiently explored and published; moreover, they are well under-represented in existing syntheses.¹⁴ As for the finds usually attributed to the Gepids from present-day Vojvodina – the northern Serbian province occupying the southern part of the Carpathian Basin – stray finds from Kovin (Kevevára) and Srpski Krstur (Ókeresztúr/Szerbkeresztúr) were recorded as early as the second half of the nineteenth century (*Fig. 1*). The first excavations to produce material interpreted as Gepid were those performed between 1902 and 1905 by Josip Brunšmid and Ante Poturčić at the Kormadin site in Jakovo, in the Sarmia region. From the interwar period we know of accidental finds from Subotica and, more importantly, Batajnica – the Bekića Salaš site.¹⁵

Some of these localities saw revision excavations after World War II; the article by Danica Dimitrijević on the Jakovo site was the first and for long the only more detailed publication of a Germanic cemetery from these parts.¹⁶ The most important are Gepidic finds from Sirmium and its region.¹⁷ New finds attributed to the Gepids came from systematic excavations at Čurug in Bačka,¹⁸ while their finds from the Western Banat region¹⁹ and from the south of the Avar Khaganate in general have been reassessed recently.²⁰

⁵ *Jordanes, Getica* LV, 282: Ed. MOMMSEN 1882.

⁶ DIMITRIJEVIĆ 1975, 82.

⁷ MIRKOVIĆ 1971, 50–51; 2008, 102–103.

⁸ SARANTIS 2016, 266–278.

⁹ BRUNŠMID 1924, 671–673; STEFAN 1925; DEMO 1981.

¹⁰ For developments in Pannonia cf. KONCZ 2015.

¹¹ cf. MIRKOVIĆ 1971, 52–53; MILINKOVIĆ 2011, 131–132.

¹² VIDA 2008.

¹³ KISS 1992; BUGARSKI–IVANIŠEVIĆ 2016.

¹⁴ e.g. KHARALAMBEVA 2010; cf. BUGARSKI–IVANIŠEVIĆ 2016, 151, 162.

¹⁵ cf. DIMITRIJEVIĆ–KOVAČEVIĆ–VINSKI 1962, 18–19, 27–28, 61, 73–75, 77–80.

¹⁶ DIMITRIJEVIĆ 1960.

¹⁷ VINSKI 1957; POPOVIĆ–KAZANSKI–IVANIŠEVIĆ 2017.

¹⁸ TRIFUNOVIĆ 2006.

¹⁹ IVANIŠEVIĆ–BUGARSKI 2008.

²⁰ BUGARSKI–IVANIŠEVIĆ 2016.

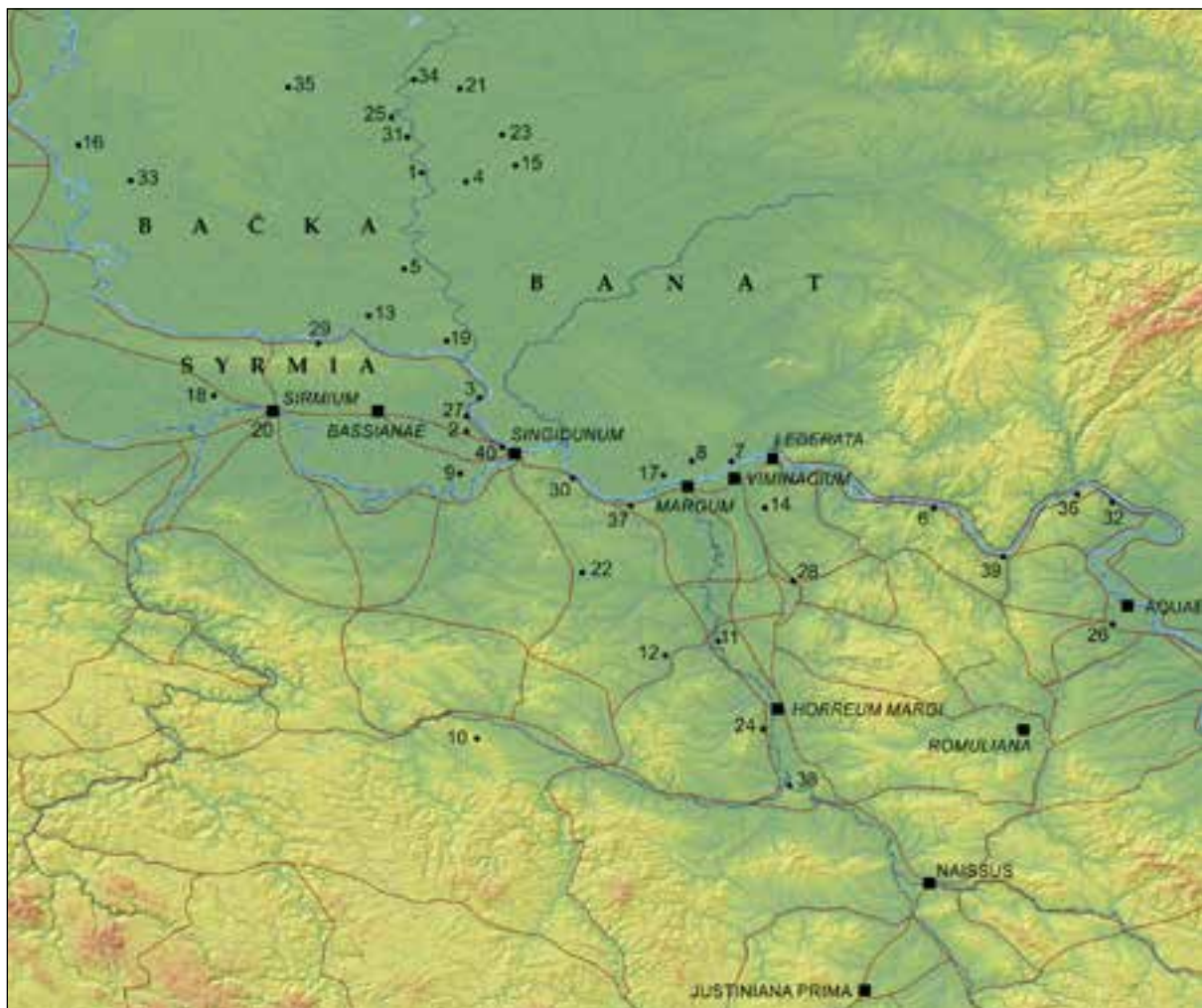


Fig. 1. Map of Northern Illyricum and Barbaricum, Sites mentioned in the text:

1. Ada; 2. Batajnica; 3. Belegiš; 4. Bočar; 5. Čurug; 6. Dobra; 7. Dubovac; 8. Gaj; 9. Jakovo; 10. Jelica; 11. Jerinin Grad; 12. Jerinino Brdo; 13. Kač; 14. Kasidol; 15. Kikinda; 16. Kolut; 17. Kovin; 18. Kuzmin; 19. Lok; 20. Mačvanska Mitrovica; 21. Majdan; 22. Međulužje; 23. Mokrin; 24. Momčilov Grad; 25. Nadrljan; 26. Negotin; 27. Novi Banovci; 28. Petrovac na Mlavi; 29. Rakovac; 30. Ritopek; 31. Senta; 32. Sip; 33. Sombor; 34. Srpski Krstur; 35. Subotica; 36. Tekija; 37. Udovice; 38. Ulkosa; 39. Veliki Gradac; 40. Zemun

It was only from the second half of the twentieth century onwards that Germanic heritage was studied more intensively, now south of the Sava and Danube as well. These finds came from the excavations, at first from Margum.²¹ More often than not, the results have been published only summarily; on the other hand, unlike in the other Balkan countries, in Serbia (Yugoslavia at the time) several syntheses have been issued. First of them was the 1960 monograph by Jovan Kovačević,²² followed by a still-useful exhibition catalogue.²³ It is important to mention here also the publication of the Master's thesis of Dušan Mrkobrad²⁴ and the unpublished doctoral dissertation by Mihailo Milinković, focusing on Germanic finds in the Balkans.²⁵

²¹ MANO-ZISI-MARIĆ-GARAŠANIN 1950; cf. BUGARSKI-IVANIŠEVIĆ 2013.

²² KOVAČEVIĆ 1960.

²³ DIMITRIJEVIĆ-KOVAČEVIĆ-VINSKI 1962.

²⁴ MRKOBRAD 1980.

²⁵ MILINKOVIĆ 1998.

More recently, the Migration period finds from present-day Serbia, including Gepidic ones, have been surveyed in short syntheses in widely used languages.²⁶ The majority of those finds came from Early Byzantine cities and forts along the Danube limes²⁷ and in the Balkan hinterlands.²⁸ Large cemeteries have also been published,²⁹ some in monograph form.³⁰ The latest publication in this field is a collective volume on Migration-period heritage of Sirmium, crowning the decades-long archaeological efforts there.³¹

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE AND THE EXISTING INTERPRETATIONS

Given the historical framework, the least problematic is the Gepidic attribution of Eastern Germanic finds from Western Banat, or more precisely, its northern part. Yet, according to the archaeological record, no large-scale settlement was undertaken even in Banat.³²

The largest necropolis was registered in 1959 in Bočar, at the Pesak site. The archaeological excavations lasted for three years and resulted in the discovery of 67 graves, many of them previously robbed or ruined. The deceased were buried in the usual fashion, in rectangular grave-pits orientated west-east and containing numerous brooches and buckles (*Fig. 2*). One should underscore a significant number of weapons unearthed: nine spear-heads, six swords, a scramasax, a battle-axe, an umbo, and various arrow-heads. In female graves bracelets, pins, buckles, brooches (including a gilded fibula similar to the Tiszafüred finds),³³ strings of glass beads, combs, spindle whorls, and a mirror of the Čmi-Brigetio type were found. The site also produced a solidus of Emperor Justinian I. Finally, a total of 13 pots were unearthed, two of them worked out roughly, one with stamped ornaments and the rest burnished or carrying burnished ornaments. The Bočar cemetery was dated from the end of the fifth to the middle of the sixth century; as yet, it remains unpublished.³⁴

In Srpski Krstur a damaged female grave (?) has been found, containing two fibulae, a golden ring and two beads. The find was dated to the first half of the sixth century; it is likely that the buckles from Mokrin and Kikinda belong to the same horizon.³⁵ As for the Srpski Krstur finds, the recent Romanian literature still claims that they actually came from Sânnicolau Mare, and dates them earlier, to the D3 stage (450/460-480/490).³⁶ Outside an archaeological context, such 'petites fibules gépides à volutes' can only be roughly dated to the sixth century.³⁷

It is much more complicated to judge the ethnic affiliation of three important finds from the south of Banat, yet to be discussed here. During the 1952 archaeological survey, a bronze bracelet and an ivory buckle were found at the Beli Breg site by the Ponjavica rivulet in the vicinity of Gaj. The finds were dated to the first half of the sixth century and attributed to the Gepids by Dušan Mrkobrad;³⁸ they most probably originate from damaged graves. Some Early Mediaeval pottery was collected as well.³⁹

²⁶ MILINKOVIĆ 2005; 2011; IVANIŠEVIĆ–KAZANSKI 2014.

²⁷ e.g. POPOVIĆ 1988; BUGARSKI–IVANIŠEVIĆ 2013; ŠPEHAR 2012.

²⁸ cf. e.g. MILINKOVIĆ 2006; 2010.

²⁹ IVANIŠEVIĆ–KAZANSKI 2002.

³⁰ IVANIŠEVIĆ–KAZANSKI–MASTYKOVA 2006.

³¹ POPOVIĆ–KAZANSKI–IVANIŠEVIĆ 2017.

³² TĀNASE 2015, 139.

³³ cf. CSALLÁNY 1961, Taf. CXCVI/7.

³⁴ DIMITRIJEVIĆ–GIRIĆ 1971; MILINKOVIĆ 2005, 207–212; IVANIŠEVIĆ–BUGARSKI 2008, 45, Figs 6, 7.

³⁵ DIMITRIJEVIĆ–KOVAČEVIĆ–VINSKI 1962, 18, 27–28; GIRIĆ 1963, 130–133; IVANIŠEVIĆ–BUGARSKI 2008, 45, Fig. 4/2–4.

³⁶ TĀNASE 2015, 139.

³⁷ KAZANSKI 2013, 122, Fig. 10/3.

³⁸ MRKOBRAD 1980, 49, 50, n. 307.

³⁹ BARAČKI 1977, 17.



Fig. 2. Finds from Bočar: 1–7, 9–10 (after MILINKOVIĆ 2005); 8 (after DIMITRIJEVIĆ–GIRIĆ 1971, no scale)

From the fortification at Kovin (Constantia, Augustoflaviensia, Constantiola?) on the left bank of the Danube – contra Margum – came an old, accidental find of a gilded eagle-headed buckle, dated to the first half of the sixth century and resembling the Crimean finds.⁴⁰ In 1963 Jovan Kovačević and Dušan Pribaković organised the excavations of the Park site. Five west-east orientated graves were unearthed, containing fragmented fibulae, buckles, a bronze torque, a knife and two biconical burnished pots (Fig. 3). The most interesting graves were those of a warrior and a woman.⁴¹

The original publication states that the graves belonged to 'a Germanic (Gepid) sixth-century cemetery ... in rows',⁴² and this attribution was followed by many scholars.⁴³ However, it has been noted that the grave finds resemble to a great extent the ones from the C2 phase graves at the Više Grobalja necropolis by Viminacium, dated to the second third of the 6th century, which also produced a variety of Western and Northern Germanic finds.⁴⁴ From Dubovac came a cast bronze brooch⁴⁵ which can be attributed to the same Gepidic type as the find from Srpski Krstur.⁴⁶

Gepidic localities in Bačka have largely been overlooked in earlier syntheses.⁴⁷ The northernmost in the Serbian part of this region – and not the southernmost – is a damaged female grave near Subotica, found by chance in 1929. Among other finds, including two hollow gold beads, a Late Roman bronze coin minted in Siscia and a simple bronze bracelet, this grave also produced a gilded fibula decorated with almandines, with its foot finished in the shape of an eagle's head.⁴⁸ Although similar brooches are dated to the second half of the fifth century,⁴⁹ the grave was dated to the beginning of the sixth century by Attila Kiss.⁵⁰

From Senta in northern Bačka and its vicinity came another two finds, a buckle from a ruined grave and a stray find of a double-sided bone comb. Both were dated to the fifth-sixth centuries and attributed to the Gepids.⁵¹

In addition to two unillustrated ceramic finds from Lok and Kać in Šajkaška, the southeastern corner of Bačka,⁵² more tangible Gepidic traces come from Čurug. The village is positioned in the southern part of the Tisza river branch. The Stari Vinogradi site has for millennia represented a very suitable place for settling on the high bank of a big fen. Excavated by Stanko Trifunović, it is the most important and best explored site in Šajkaška, covering some 50 hectares. There are at least 530 archaeological entities, dated from the Bronze Age to the seventeenth century.⁵³ Thus the legs of both main 'Roman' ditches in Bačka end near Čurug, which also testifies to the importance of its position.

From the time the settlement from the Antiquity had ceased to exist came several west-east orientated graves. In two-meter deep graves, out of which one may be considered a warrior's burial, traces of wooden constructions have been observed. Especially interesting is that in the form of a gable roof, from female grave 6. Such covers are known from sixth-century Alemannic graves, one of them dendro-dated to AD 557 +/- 10.⁵⁴ The warrior's grave 7 contained a seax,⁵⁵ a battle knife

⁴⁰ cf. AJBABIN 1990, 35; 1999, 100, Fig. 36/1, Pl. XXVII/173.

⁴¹ DIMITRIJEVIĆ–KOVAČEVIĆ–VINSKI 1962, 18–19; MILINKOVIĆ 2005, 208–212; IVANIŠEVIĆ–BUGARSKI 2008, 45, Fig. 8.

⁴² PRIBAKOVIĆ 1963, 129, 130, n. 3.

⁴³ cf. IVANIŠEVIĆ–KAZANSKI 2014, 145.

⁴⁴ IVANIŠEVIĆ–KAZANSKI–MASTYKOVA 2006; cf. BUGARSKI–IVANIŠEVIĆ 2013, 474.

⁴⁵ TRBUHOVIĆ 1983, Kat. 91.

⁴⁶ cf. KAZANSKI 2013, 122, Fig. 10.

⁴⁷ cf. BUGARSKI–IVANIŠEVIĆ 2016, 151.

⁴⁸ KOVAČEVIĆ 1960, 41; DIMITRIJEVIĆ–KOVAČEVIĆ–VINSKI 1962, 61, T. III/2.

⁴⁹ BÓNA–NAGY 2002, 121, Abb. 59/2.

⁵⁰ KISS 2003, 191.

⁵¹ DIMITRIJEVIĆ–KOVAČEVIĆ–VINSKI 1962, 57–58, Figs 1, 2.

⁵² cf. BUGARSKI 2012, 25.

⁵³ TRIFUNOVIĆ 2006.

⁵⁴ FRIES-KNOBLACH 2014, 156, n. 9.

⁵⁵ cf. KISS 2014.



Fig. 3. Finds from Kovin: 1–2, 4–5, 10 (after PEKOVIĆ 2006); 3, 6, 9 (after MILINKOVIĆ 2005); 7 (after DIMITRIJEVIĆ–KOVAČEVIĆ–VINSKI 1962); 8, 11 (after PEKOVIĆ 2007)

(?), a spear-head and a simple oval buckle. Some nearby graves – such as grave 8 with a burnished vessel and a necklace composed of glass and amber beads and Roman coins – may have been of an earlier date. The graves were dated to the fifth or the first half of the sixth century.⁵⁶

Settlement remains – five houses and three storage pits – belong to the same horizon. One house was oval and four semi-dugouts were almost square in plan; the postholes indicate that the structures had gable roofs. The pottery repertoire includes three main groups. Apart from hand-thrown pottery, two groups were produced using the potter's wheel; one of them was black in colour and burnished (*Fig. 4*). The fact that the graves and houses are very close to each other, however, probably indicates that they were not entirely simultaneous. Based on the finds and with some caution, the settlement has been roughly dated to the sixth century attributed to the Gepids, just like the cemetery.⁵⁷

Similar sixth-century finds come from Kolut as well. Bordering the flood plain of the Danube in the northwestern corner of Bačka, a settlement at the Kolut – Ritska Dolina site was dated to the middle of the sixth century and, at first, attributed to the Slavs.⁵⁸ Yet, together with vessels of presumably Byzantine origin, typical Germanic wheel-made ceramics comprised some 20% of all pottery. Such pottery came also from a yurt-like structure; so far, this is the only Early Mediaeval house of the kind in Vojvodina, resembling the one from Eperjes and attributed to the Gepids.⁵⁹

It cannot be judged with certainty whether the Kolut finds came from before or after the Avar conquest of 568. The same is also true of some dubious finds from Sombor and Majdan, and of three artificially deformed skulls, apparently Gepid, from Subotica and Ada,⁶⁰ while the finds from Nadrljan (Adorján)⁶¹ were, by all appearances, wrongly attributed to the Gepids.⁶²

The same affiliation was suggested for relatively numerous finds from the Syrmia region – which, at least nominally, had belonged to the Empire – including grave and stray finds from Kuzmin,⁶³ Novi Banovci and Zemun. Like the latter two places (Burgenae and Taurunum), Rakovac was also founded in the location of a Roman fort. Back in 1909, some fifth-sixth century Eastern Germanic finds were collected from damaged graves;⁶⁴ a spatha from one of the Rakovac burials was recently seen as Gepidic.⁶⁵

During the long-term excavations at Sirmium, parts of the settlement were unearthed which could be dated to the period of Ostrogothic and Gepidic rule on the basis of accompanying finds – primarily burnished and stamped pottery shards. Wooden huts were registered in many localities: in the area of the hippodrome, in the villa's peristyle at locality 4, in the area bordered by the urban villae and the forum, in the merchant's quarter, and within the perimeter of the Imperial Palace. The huts, irregularly rectangular in plan, were constructed with posts and wooden frame and adobe walls, and located either within Roman buildings or in free spaces between collapsed structures.⁶⁶ Judging by stamped pottery from related layers dated to the second half of the fifth and the sixth centuries, most of them may be attributed to the Gepids (*Fig. 5*).⁶⁷

Cemeteries from this period were formed in the urban core, south of the forum (localities 59, 46, 47 and 68), within the Imperial Palace complex (localities 1, TC2 and 85), and along the southern rampart (locality 5). Individual burials have also been encountered within the city limits

⁵⁶ TRIFUNOVIĆ-PAŠIĆ 2003, 279, Sl. 14; TRIFUNOVIĆ 2006; cf. BUGARSKI 2012, 25, Fig. 11.

⁵⁷ TRIFUNOVIĆ-PAŠIĆ 2003, 280–282, Sl. 15–16; TRIFUNOVIĆ 2006; cf. BUGARSKI 2012, 25, Fig. 12.

⁵⁸ TRIFUNOVIĆ 1997, 118–119, 123–124, T. V/1-5, 8, 9; 1999–2000, 61, 73–74, T. XVI.

⁵⁹ B. TÓTH 1991, 97–98, 104, Fig. 2; BUGARSKI-IVANIŠEVIĆ 2016, 158–159, Fig. 14; cf. RADIČEVIĆ 2015, 301.

⁶⁰ FARKAS 1973.

⁶¹ cf. GERE 1998.

⁶² BUGARSKI-IVANIŠEVIĆ 2016, 159, 161–162.

⁶³ SIMONI 1977–1978, 218, T. IV/1.

⁶⁴ VINSKI 1957, 31, 34; DIMITRIJEVIĆ-KOVAČEVIĆ-VINSKI 1962, 81, 83–86, 89, Figs 1–3, 104–105.

⁶⁵ IVANIŠEVIĆ-KAZANSKI 2014, 145, Fig. 18/1.

⁶⁶ POP-LAZIĆ 2017, 25–38.

⁶⁷ DAVIDOVIĆ 2017, 125–156.

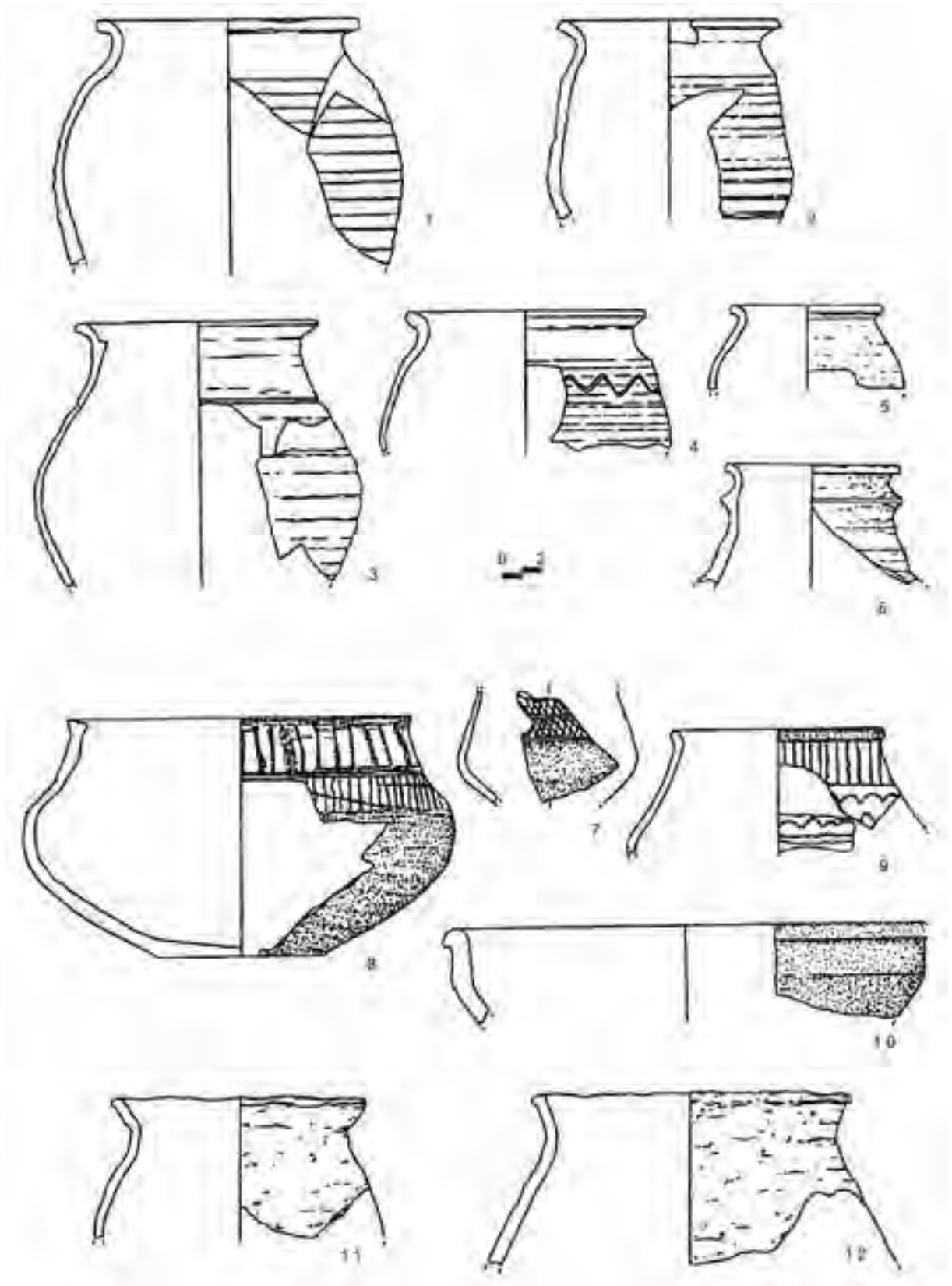
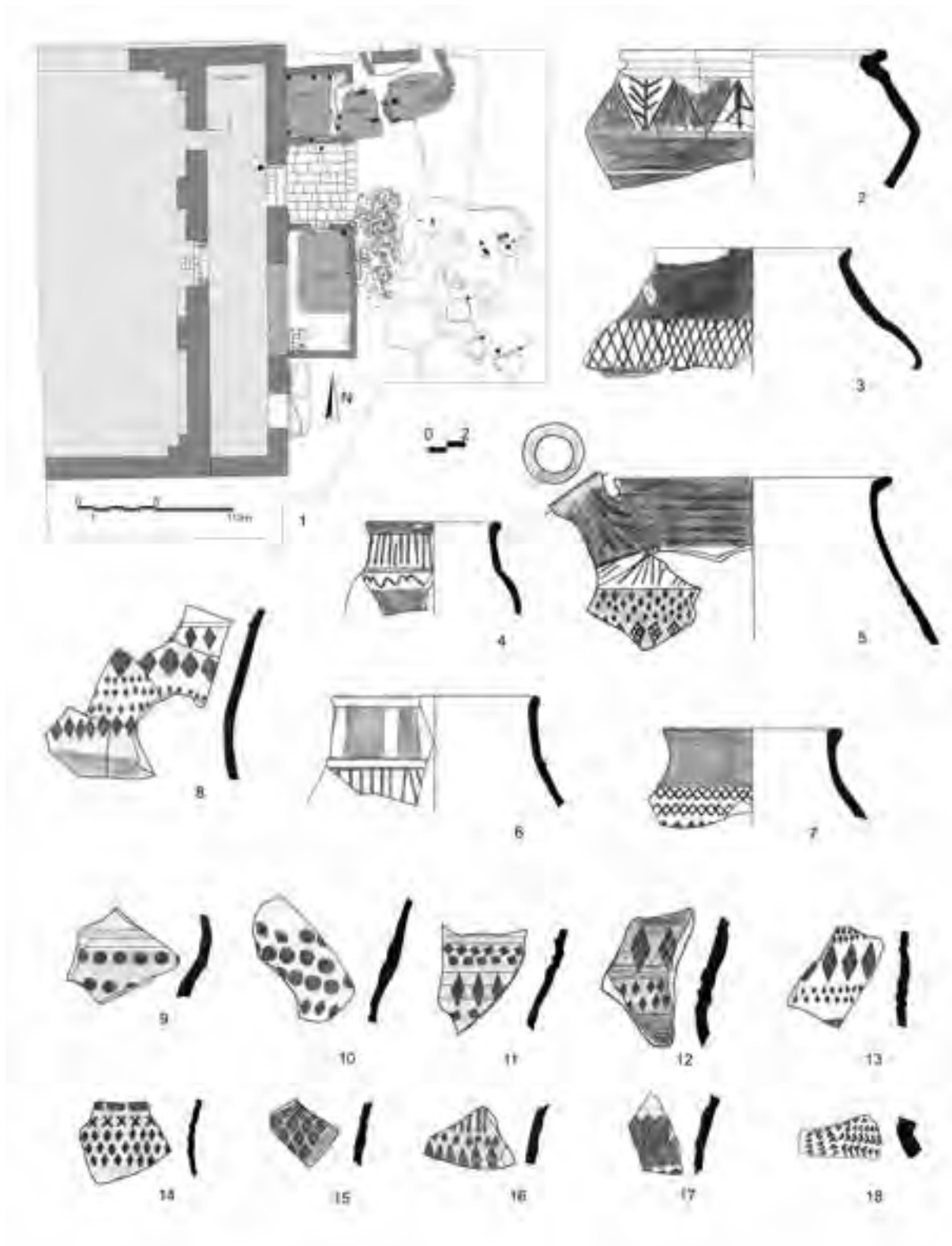


Fig. 4. Finds from Čurug: 1–12 (after TRIFUNOVIĆ 2006)



*Fig. 5. Sirmium-locality 85: 1. Roman building and huts (after POP-LAZIĆ 2017);
2–18. Pottery (after DAVIDOVIĆ 2017)*

and in the area of Mačvanska Mitrovica.⁶⁸ As most of the grave finds fit into a wider territorial and chronological framework, they are only partially illustrative of 'Gepidic' burial rites of the second half of the fifth and the sixth centuries. The most characteristic are the burials from locality 3, such as grave 1, containing a pair of gilded silver bow fibulae datable to the D3 phase (ca 450–480). Grave 149 from Mačvanska Mitrovica,⁶⁹ which produced a large silver buckle decorated with spiral floral ornament and a bronze bow brooch with rectangular head-plate, is from the same horizon (Fig. 6).⁷⁰

We should mention here that some of the deceased buried in simple sixth-century graves at the former Imperial Palace had artificially deformed skulls. Displaying modest inventories, they have been attributed to the Gepids.⁷¹ From the latest stage of their presence in the city came the above-mentioned rare coins of King Cunimund (Fig. 7).⁷²

As many as 87 graves have been recorded – and many more destroyed – at the large Kormadin cemetery located on an elevated position at Jakovo in southeastern Syrmia. Yet, only 26 of them, excavated after World War II, were properly documented.⁷³ As most of the trenches were dug through a steep slope north of the earlier excavated area, recent small-scale excavations at this multi-layered site produced only one more Migration-period grave.⁷⁴ The grave-pits were orientated west-east and up to 1.80 m deep, and the dead were laid on their backs.⁷⁵

All in all, there were some five warriors' graves at the site, producing three spathas, two seaxes and three spear-heads. In grave 2, together with the spatha there were 12 arrow-heads of different types: rhomboid, laurel-shaped and three-winged, ending in either sockets or tangs.⁷⁶ In female graves earrings with polyeder-like endings, bracelets, strings of beads (the one from grave 5 with an added imitation of a solidus struck for Emperor Anastasius), and fibulae were found – the earliest one belonging to the Viminacium type. Bone combs were found in male, female and children's graves; as for vessels, only a burnished pot, a jug and a glass cup were found (Fig. 8).⁷⁷

Judging by the best datable finds, the cemetery can be dated from the middle of the fifth (D2/D3/MD1 = 430–460 or D3/MD2 = 450–470/480) until at least the first (MD4 = 510–540/550) or the second half (MA2 = 520/530–560/570) and even the end of the sixth century (MA3 = 560/570–600/610).⁷⁸ The necropolis was labelled as Gepidic already in the title of the article by Danica Dimitrijević⁷⁹ and is still commonly attributed to them.⁸⁰ Yet, similarly as in the case of Kovin, a Herulic attribution of this necropolis has also been opted for.⁸¹

The well-known grave from the Bekića Salaš site near Batajnica was found in 1939, and in the course of the 1959 revision excavations three more graves were unearthed, with modest inventories. The warrior's grave produced a helmet, a spatha, a spear-head, an umbo, snaffle bits, and a stamped pot. While the sword is fragmented and the spear-head is of a common type, the pot is wheel-thrown, dark grey and decorated with stamps arranged in descending triangles.⁸² The umbo belongs to the type with decorative rivets (type 14.7.2 at Viminacium), which was in use until

⁶⁸ POPOVIĆ 2017, 75–76.

⁶⁹ ERCEGOVIĆ-PAVLOVIĆ 1982.

⁷⁰ KAZANSKI–MASTYKOVA 2017, 157–161, Pl. 1, 2/1, 3/2, 7–8, 9/24, 10/4.

⁷¹ PEJOVIĆ–LUČIĆ 2011; IVANIŠEVIĆ–BUGARSKI 2018, 95–96.

⁷² IVANIŠEVIĆ 2017, 243–245.

⁷³ DIMITRIJEVIĆ 1960.

⁷⁴ BULATOVIĆ–KAPURAN–STRUGAR 2010, 3–4, n. 5, Sl. 2, 3.

⁷⁵ DIMITRIJEVIĆ 1960, 8–9, T. VIII.

⁷⁶ DIMITRIJEVIĆ 1960, 18–20, T. III/1–13, 24, IX/2.

⁷⁷ DIMITRIJEVIĆ 1960, 21–30, T. I, IV/2, V/13, VII/2.

⁷⁸ IVANIŠEVIĆ–KAZANSKI 2014, 145–146.

⁷⁹ DIMITRIJEVIĆ 1960.

⁸⁰ cf. IVANIŠEVIĆ–KAZANSKI 2014, 145.

⁸¹ BÓNA 1987, 122; cf. BUGARSKI–IVANIŠEVIĆ 2013, 476.

⁸² DIMITRIJEVIĆ–KOVAČEVIĆ–VINSKI 1962, 73–75.

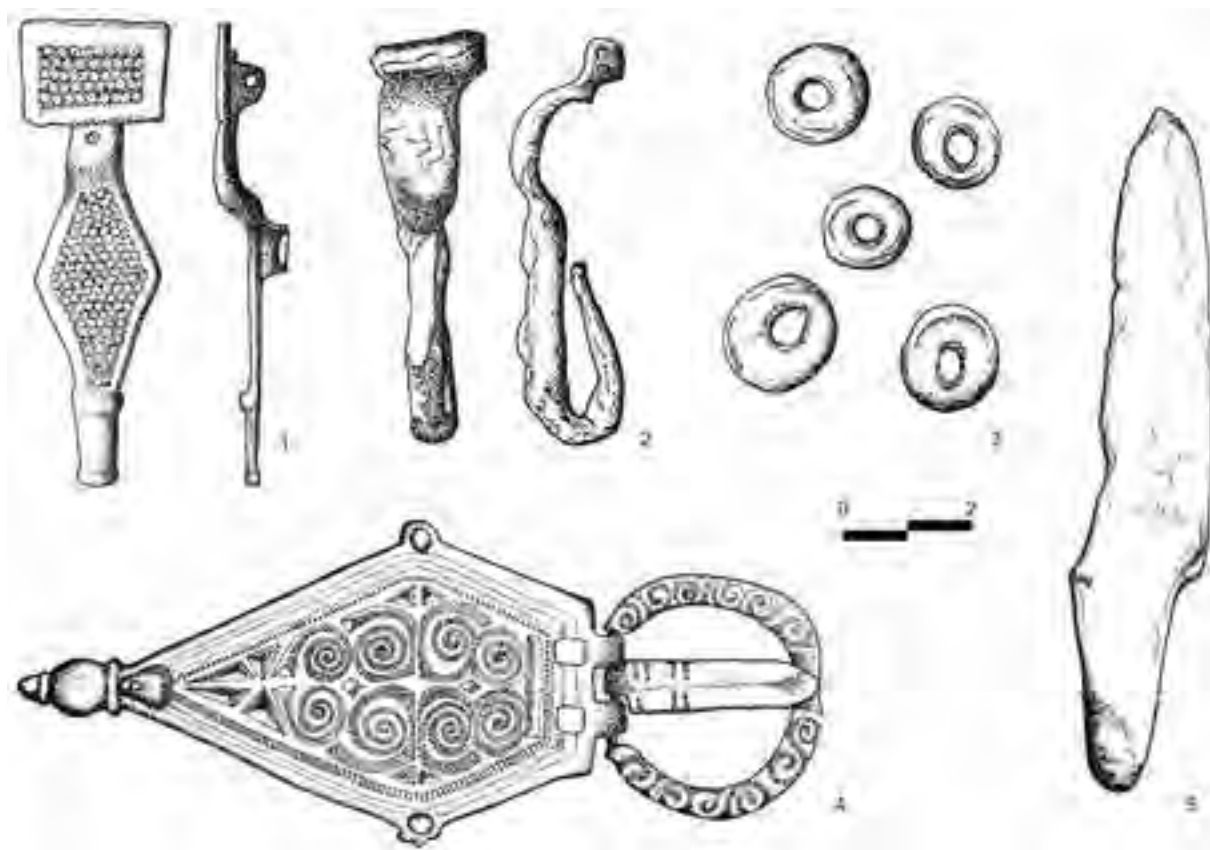


Fig. 6. *Mačvanska Mitrovica: grave 149 (after POPOVIĆ 2017)*



Fig. 7. *Sirmium: 1–2. Ostrogothic coins (Museum of Srem, Sremska Mitrovica); 3–4. Gepidic coins (after DEMO 1981, n° 65, 68)*

the end of the sixth century.⁸³ The most characteristic find from this grave is the Baldenheim type helmet with ear-pieces and mail neck guard. The helmet bears gilding and punctured geometric and zoomorphic design (Fig. 9).⁸⁴ These helmets were long believed to have been of Germanic origin; yet, the largest collection comes from Caričin Grad (Justiniana Prima). A total of 14 fragments of at least six such helmets from this site not only testify to their Byzantine affiliation, but also confirm their dating within the sixth century.⁸⁵

⁸³ IVANIŠEVIĆ–KAZANSKI–MASTYKOVA 2006, 42, Fig. 24/2–4.

⁸⁴ VINSKI 1954; VOGT 2006, 193–195.

⁸⁵ BAVANT 2008; also cf. MANEVA 1987.

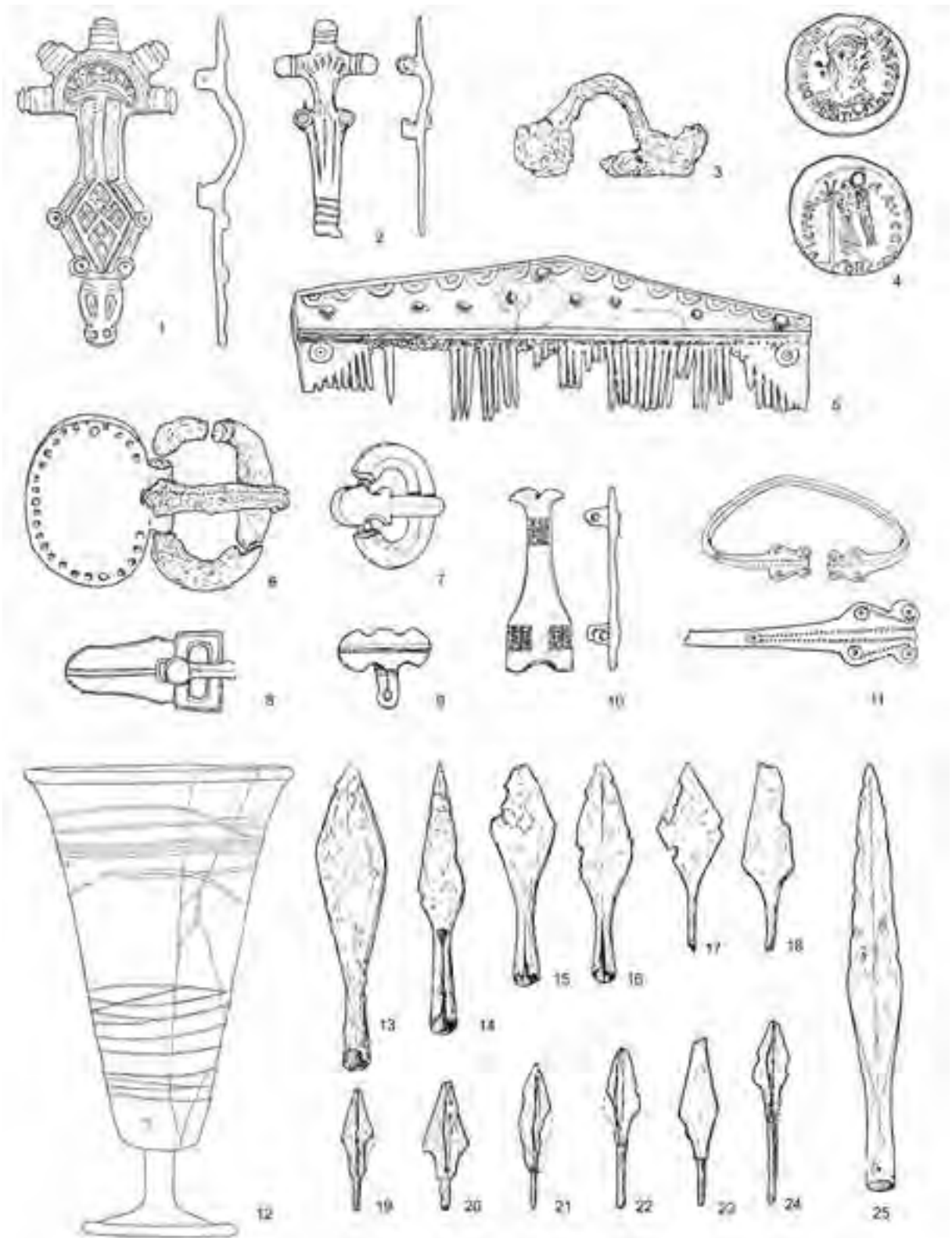


Fig. 8. Finds from Jakovo-Kormadin: 1–25 (after DIMITRIJEVIĆ 1960, no scale)



Fig. 9. Finds from Batajnica-Bekića Salaš (after VOGT 2006, SIMONI 1977–1978)

This grave has been attributed to a Gepid military commander and dated to the middle of the sixth century, up to the year 567.⁸⁶ Given its date and location in southeastern Sarmatia, it can perhaps also be connected with the Heruls,⁸⁷ just like two graves (?) from the Orthodox churchyard in nearby Belegiš, where two spear-heads and two ceramic vessels have been found.⁸⁸ One stamped pot has been published and assigned to the Gepids.⁸⁹

The rest of the finds of Germanic provenance to be surveyed here come from the Serbian Danube region and the hinterlands of present-day Serbia. Traditionally seen as belonging to the Gepids, they include those from the Byzantine cities, limes fortifications or hillforts, and from cemeteries – either rural or, more frequently, urban.⁹⁰

Unlike the cities, fifth- and sixth-century cemeteries are better explored, especially those along the limes – Singidunum, Margum and Viminacium. Their locations in former habitation areas point to the shrinking of urban cores and to a population decrease. Judging by this evidence, the settlement of the barbarians was not of the same duration and intensity in all the places. As an article dealing with these issues has just been published,⁹¹ here we shall briefly survey finds from the time of Gepidic presence in the area.

⁸⁶ VINSKI 1954, 182; 1957, 26–27; IVANIŠEVIĆ–KAZANSKI 2014, 145.

⁸⁷ MILINKOVIĆ 2010, 66.

⁸⁸ MRKOBRAĐ 1980, 52, n. 332.

⁸⁹ SIMONI 1977–1978, 218–219, T. IV/2.

⁹⁰ SIMONI 1977–1978, 214; POPOVIĆ 1988; CUNJAK 1992; MILINKOVIĆ 1998, 253; 2010, 241; ZOTOVIĆ 1994; QUAST 2001, 441, Abb. 1.

⁹¹ IVANIŠEVIĆ–BUGARSKI 2018.

The cemetery of 105 graves formed above the fringes of the former urban core and the necropolis, Singidunum III was probably the main Migration-period graveyard in the city. Many graves overlapped one another, which indicates intensive use of this burial ground. The majority of the graves were looted; therefore it was not easy to estimate the social or ethnic composition of the cemetery. Singidunum III was dated from the end of the fourth to the end of the sixth or the beginning of the seventh centuries; and its third group of graves to the last third of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth centuries, or to the D3/E period.

These graves contained typical Eastern Germanic finds, such as Reggio-Emilia type fibulae and a silver Italo-Ostrogothic buckle, but also some Mediterranean finds. The buried were members of a heterogeneous barbarian group, notably of Germanic stock, which settled in Singidunum around the year 500. According to the written sources, at that time the city with its vicinity was settled by Ostrogoths, Gepids and Heruls; the grave finds from the Singidunum III cemetery point to this kind of mixture.⁹² That the Heruls were buried there is also suggested by pottery evidence.⁹³

Near Singidunum, at the Reka site in present-day Ritopek, on the periphery of Roman Castra Tricornia, sparse settlement remains and a sixth-century grave have been found. On the basis of pottery finds, comprising hand-thrown vessels and those made on the fast-wheel, one dugout was dated to the second half of the sixth century and attributed to the Slavs. While some vessels produced on the fast-wheel were assigned to Byzantine workshops, characteristic burnished bowls were at first not seen as Germanic,⁹⁴ which was corrected in a recent survey underscoring their Gepidic connections.⁹⁵

A solitary grave, orientated northeast-southwest, had no construction. The deceased woman was buried in a crouched position. According to the anthropological analysis, this individual was between 55 and 60 years old at death, and 'belonged to the northern anthropological type'; her skull seems to have been artificially deformed. Only a simple oval buckle and a comb were found in this grave, on the basis of which it was dated to the second half of the sixth century.⁹⁶ On the other hand, such three-piece, single-sided large bone combs (type 13.2 at Viminacium) can only be dated more broadly, from the first half of the fifth century to the Early Avar period.⁹⁷

Situated at the confluence of the Danube and the Velika Morava and controlling a natural crossing point over the river into the Central Balkans,⁹⁸ Margum also holds the evidence of Germanic mercenaries' presence. Apart from some finds of earlier date, four simple dug graves have been unearthed, situated among the brick-built Byzantine ones. In grave 15 an iron spearhead and a wheel-made pot decorated with rhombic stamps were found, a burnished ceramic bottle came from grave 16, while grave 17 produced a spatha with a grip ending in a pommel cast in bronze. The finds have been attributed to the Gepids who settled this strategic point before 568, probably in the status of foederati,⁹⁹ or to their refugees which could have arrived there after the 567 disaster.¹⁰⁰

In addition to those graves, a few shards of characteristic stamped pots from the intramural area also speak for the presence of a sixth-century Germanic population in this city. All these objects can be dated to the first two thirds of the sixth century and have both Gepid and Lombard parallels; yet, the present authors suggested that the buried may have been Heruls.¹⁰¹ Situated at

⁹² IVANIŠEVIĆ-KAZANSKI 2002, 124–127.

⁹³ TEJRAL 2005, 135, Abb. 8/A-C; IVANIŠEVIĆ-BUGARSKI 2018, 99–100.

⁹⁴ JANKOVIĆ 1990, 17, 82–83.

⁹⁵ RADIČEVIĆ 2015, 292–293, 301–302, Ris. 8.

⁹⁶ JANKOVIĆ 1989; cf. RADIČEVIĆ 2015, 302.

⁹⁷ IVANIŠEVIĆ-KAZANSKI-MASTYKOVA 2006, 36, Figs 19–20.

⁹⁸ BUGARSKI-IVANIŠEVIĆ 2012, 486; 2013, 473–474.

⁹⁹ CUNJAK 1992.

¹⁰⁰ MILINKOVIĆ 1998, 211–214.

¹⁰¹ BUGARSKI-IVANIŠEVIĆ 2013, 469–470, 474–476.

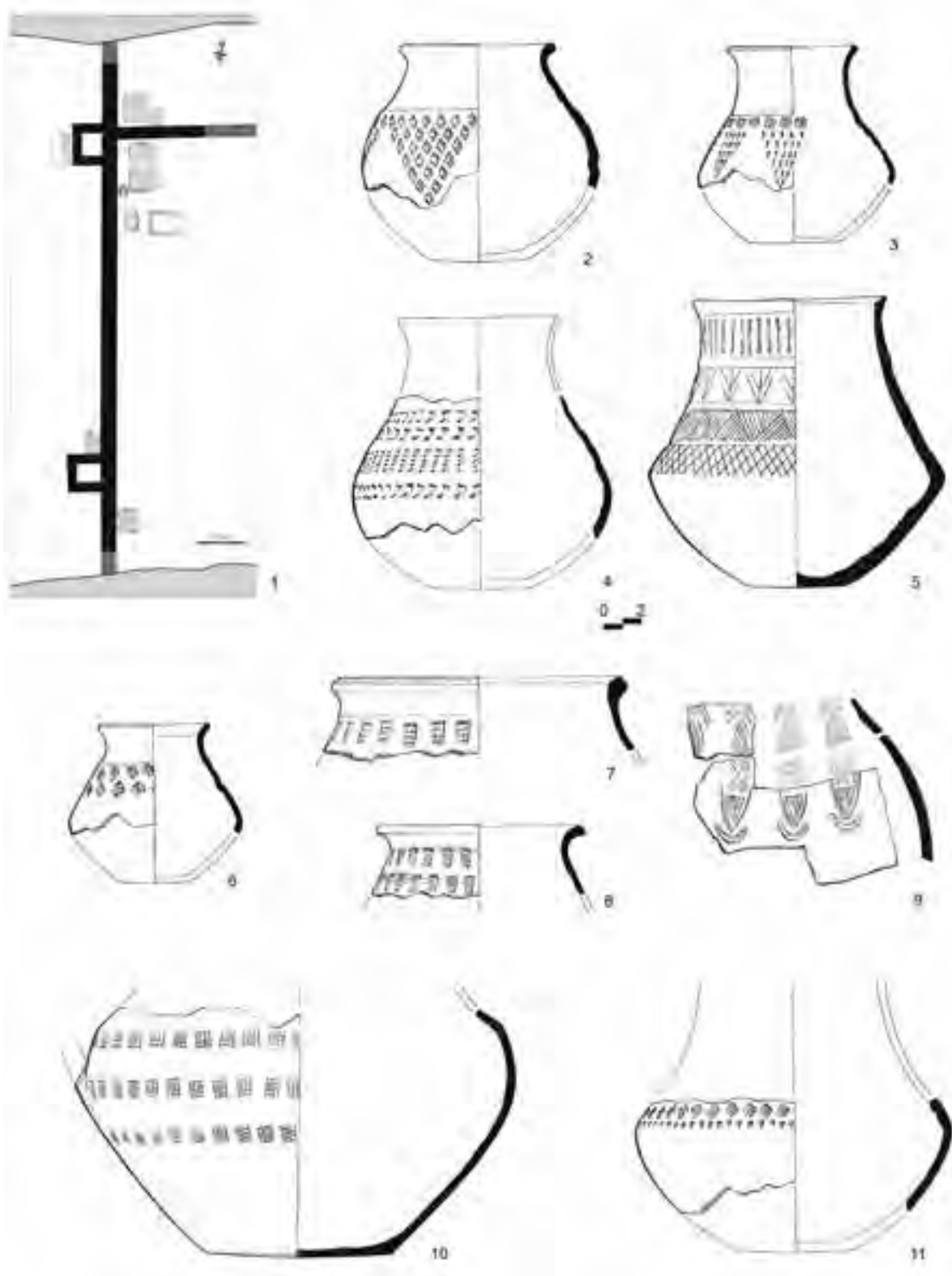


Fig. 10. Viminacium-Svetinja: 1. Plan of the site with rampart, towers and houses; 2-11. Pottery (after POPOVIĆ 1988)

the city necropolis, the extramural graves may well have belonged to the Byzantine foederati. They must have been dug after the city had been reclaimed by the Empire; this would also strengthen the concept of their Herulic attribution.¹⁰²

Viminacium, the capital of Upper Moesia, never fully recovered from Hunnic raids. As the ongoing excavations at the nearby Todića Crkva site failed to produce any evidence of a sixth-century occupation, it is argued now that Early Byzantine Viminacium was situated at the Svetinja locality,¹⁰³ where an Early Byzantine fortification has been excavated. Seven rectangular wooden houses have been documented next to the rampart, containing Germanic pottery; after destruction by fire they were replaced by a single large building of similar construction (*Fig. 10*).¹⁰⁴ Germanic finds from this locality have been dated approximately to the last third of the sixth century, and attributed to the Gepids who had fled to Byzantine service after the year 567.¹⁰⁵ The enormous quantity of amphorae found at Svetinja is illustrative of another lucrative role these foederati played: the distribution of goods.¹⁰⁶

Some 170 fifth- and sixth-century Germanic graves in total have been documented in the cemeteries at Više Grobalja (Viminacium IIa and IIb), Burdelj (Viminacium I), and Lanci (Viminacium III), south and west of the main urban area.¹⁰⁷ Brick-built graves in all three cemeteries were few and probably Roman. Among grave finds there were also Roman products, such as fibulae with bent stem. Particularly characteristic are warriors' graves, in which swords, spear-heads, arrow-heads and shields were found; a large bronze bowl from grave 118 at Viminacium II is an exceptional find. Richly furnished graves testify to significant social differentiation processes among this population which took place since the time of Emperor Justinian I (*Fig. 11*).

Some individuals buried at Viminacium II had artificially deformed skulls.¹⁰⁸ The most numerous were the graves from the last, C stage, which produced a considerable number of Western and Northern Germanic finds. This stage could be sub-grouped into three phases; most of these graves – including the Viminacium IIb cemetery – come from the C2 phase, from the time of Justinian I, and are ascribed to the Heruls. The Viminacium III cemetery is from the last decades of the sixth and the beginning of the seventh century; given its location, it is likely that it was used by the foederati garrison stationed at Svetinja.¹⁰⁹

Farther down the Danube, there are several characteristic stamped vessels from the fortifications at Dobra (Saldum), Veliki Gradac (Taliata) and Tekija (Transdierna);¹¹⁰ from an unknown site at Sip come shards of stamped pottery.¹¹¹ These finds have been attributed by the authors to the Gepids. Furthermore, a bronze fibula resembling the Reggio-Emilia type comes from Negotin (?).¹¹² In spite of some reservations expressed,¹¹³ this type has also been considered as of Gepidic origin, and dated to the first third or half of the sixth century.¹¹⁴

From the Balkan hinterlands we should first mention the finds from the Mlava and Crni Timok valleys. Germanic burials are known from Kamenovo by Petrovac upon the Mlava river. Back in 1960, two such graves were found there, of a warrior and a female, and, apparently, some non-

¹⁰² IVANIŠEVIĆ–BUGARSKI 2018, 109.

¹⁰³ MILINKOVIĆ 1998, 222; IVANIŠEVIĆ 2016, 91–92.

¹⁰⁴ MILOŠEVIĆ 1988.

¹⁰⁵ POPOVIĆ 1988, 26–31; MILINKOVIĆ 2015, 134.

¹⁰⁶ IVANIŠEVIĆ 2016, 92.

¹⁰⁷ IVANIŠEVIĆ–KAZANSKI–MASTYKOVA 2006, 133.

¹⁰⁸ MIKIĆ 2008, 49–50.

¹⁰⁹ IVANIŠEVIĆ–KAZANSKI–MASTYKOVA 2006; IVANIŠEVIĆ–KAZANSKI 2010; IVANIŠEVIĆ–BUGARSKI 2018, 104, 110.

¹¹⁰ JEREMIĆ 2009, 101, Cat. no. 276, Fig. 53; SIMONI 1977–1978, 215–216, n. 108; T. III/2; MILINKOVIĆ 1998, 248–250, 283; ŠPEHAR 2012, 47, Fig. 19.

¹¹¹ MRKOBRAĐ 1980, 53, n. 350.

¹¹² ŠPEHAR 2012, 48, Fig. 23.

¹¹³ MILINKOVIĆ 1998, 300.

¹¹⁴ KAZANSKI 2013, 121, Fig. 9.



*Fig. 11. Finds from Viminacium IIa: 1–6. grave 115;
7–11. grave 118 (after IVANIŠEVIĆ–KAZANSKI–MASTYKOVA 2006)*

Germanic (Roman?) graves. The two graves produced Germanic and Early Byzantine fibulae, a spear-head, a battle knife and a stamped pot, and they were dated to the second half of the sixth century. Although this area of present-day Serbia was not part of Gepid lands, the graves were attributed to them and interpreted in light of their movements after the 567 defeat.¹¹⁵ However, Attila Kiss remarked that these graves cannot be dated so precisely, i.e. that they could have been dug before 550 or after 568 likewise.¹¹⁶ From rich sixth-century layers, post-dating the famous Imperial Palace at Romuliana,¹¹⁷ came only a single ceramic find described as of Gepidic origin.¹¹⁸

Three fortifications in the area of the Velika Morava river – Jerinino Brdo, Jerinin Grad, and Momčilov Grad – delivered stamped and burnished pottery shards assigned to the Gepids. From the latter fort also came an object (?) described as pottery stamp,¹¹⁹ which may have been no more than a bird's leg-bone.

Particularly interesting are Germanic finds from Gradina on the Jelica mountain in Western Serbia. This Early Byzantine fortified settlement, which has been excavated by Mihailo Milinković for more than 30 years now, produced such objects – although in small number – from both settlement and funeral contexts. Among many other finds, in large residential building I two fragmented Germanic vessels were found, one of them decorated with round bosses – in our view, not enough speculate as to whether they belonged to the house owner or his servant. Germanic pottery shards came from buildings II, V and VI as well. The finds of an amulet – a perforated bear's tooth¹²⁰ and a bronze sword's hilt-end¹²¹ from buildings V and VI, respectively, were also seen as Germanic.¹²²

Gradina on the Jelica also produced evidence of Germanic burials within and around Early Byzantine churches. Not only were their objects found in some graves, like a brooch from grave 10 in basilica A, but some of the persons buried in basilicas A and B had their skulls artificially deformed. This context is almost unique in the Central Balkans, comparable only to the well-known Ulpiana burial;¹²³ it was taken as the most telling example of acculturation processes which the Germanic newcomers to the Balkans had been undergoing. In this case, they seem to have lived and been buried among the Romans, and not isolated as may have been the case with the foederati at Svetinja. Again, these finds were attributed to the Gepids who had fled to the Empire after 567.¹²⁴

The last site to be surveyed here is Caričin Grad (Justiniana Prima). Excavated for many decades now, it has provided a reference sample of Early Byzantine material culture. Dozens of thousands of sixth-century Byzantine finds have been processed, and among them there are only a few objects of Germanic origin. Apart from a bone comb case,¹²⁵ there is a couple of belt pieces and bone combs and only three stamped pottery shards (out of at least 40,000 unearthed so far). The most interesting are shield plates, having their parallels in Gepidic and Lombard cemeteries. It is likely that these objects, mostly dating from the second half of the sixth century, belonged to a small number of mercenaries and members of their families.¹²⁶

¹¹⁵ SIMONI 1977–1978, 209–214, T. I, II, III/1; MILINKOVIĆ 1998, 250–253.

¹¹⁶ KISS 1984, 136; BUGARSKI–IVANIŠEVIĆ 2013, 473.

¹¹⁷ cf. PETKOVIĆ 2011.

¹¹⁸ MILINKOVIĆ 1998, 303, T. 102/1; 2011.

¹¹⁹ MILINKOVIĆ 1998, 254–258, T. 71/1–3, 72/2–3; cf. ŠPEHAR 2012, 48–51, Figs 24–26, 29.

¹²⁰ cf. VIDA 2002, 181, 185, Taf. 8B/6.

¹²¹ cf. NAGY 2005, 169, Abb. 31, 32.

¹²² MILINKOVIĆ 2010, 65–68, 73, 85–86, 139, n. 138, Sl. 46, 47, 67, 76, 154, T. XV/7.

¹²³ MILINKOVIĆ 2006; 2015, 185.

¹²⁴ MILINKOVIĆ 2010, 191, 195, 202, 228, 238, 240–242, Sl. 261/1.

¹²⁵ POPOVIĆ 1984, 160–171, Fig. 173.

¹²⁶ IVANIŠEVIĆ 2012, 58–61, Figs 2, 3/1–2.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

It has long been noted that – in Serbia/Yugoslavia as elsewhere – the finds used to be ethnically affiliated in a rather arbitrary manner, even if Migration-period graves and material culture from these parts share common Eastern Germanic features.¹²⁷ According to some authors, ethnic assignment cannot be attempted on the basis of archaeological material.¹²⁸ Predictably, this post-processual approach was not left without opposition; we believe that a sustainable critique of Brather's conception would have to take into account modern sociological models of ethnicity.¹²⁹

As regards the Gepids, such models were introduced by Walter Pohl,¹³⁰ even though they had 'rarely been placed at the center of historical narratives, largely because of their demise in 567 and failure to leave behind a legitimizing history, as the Lombards and the Goths did.'¹³¹ Given the multi-layered character of the ethnogenesis of Early Mediaeval populations, historical ethnonyms are in fact labels for multilingual conglomerates assembled around a warrior core – *gens*; 'we' consciousness was being spread among the rest on the basis of common interests.¹³² Therefore objects of material culture, even of clearly determined origin, should not be automatically attributed to members of a particular ethnic structure. Single finds cannot provide information on the ethnic background of their (original) owners, but find assemblages, when studied in their archaeological and territorial contexts, can do so.

This is particularly true when data from primary sources are taken into account, as in the latest book on Gepids;¹³³ like this one, the major monographs about them were also written by archaeologists.¹³⁴ The perennial issue of ethnic attribution in (Early Mediaeval) archaeology in our case resulted in different interpretations of sites and finds, primarily due to different attitudes towards primary sources. In what follows, we shall try to present a sustainable model of ethnic interpretation, avoiding the 'mixed argumentation' by combining securely dated archaeological finds with historical-geographical knowledge. Like any other model, this one could not be binding for all the cases.

From the foregoing text it is evident that many Great Migration finds from both banks of the Danube have been attributed to the Gepids, most of them dated to the sixth century and after the year 567. Bearing in mind data from written sources, we are inclined to agree with such an estimation of the finds from Banat. The news of the Byzantine military campaign of 600/601 to the Barbaricum confirms the Gepidic presence there even later on, under Avar rule. It has been claimed that 3,000 Avars were captured, together with 4,000 and 2,200 other barbarians and 8,000 Slavs.¹³⁵ Although the numbers seem fairly exaggerated, the Byzantine army was reported to have burned three Gepid villages and slaughtered 30,000 of them after this victory.¹³⁶

While the interpretation of the finds from the neighbouring Bačka region might be the same, the only possible exceptions could be the finds from the very south of Banat – Gaj, Kovin, and Dubovac. From the multi-layered site of Beli Breg in Gaj came a variety of Roman finds, including architectural remnants; the same is true for Dubovac.¹³⁷ Gaj was positioned against Viminacium, some seven kilometers north of the Danube, and, farther to the east, Dubovac could have been part

¹²⁷ cf. MILINKOVIĆ 1998, 30, n. 27.

¹²⁸ BRATHER 2004.

¹²⁹ VIDA 2008, 15; most recently cf. LÓPEZ QUIROGA–KAZANSKI–IVANIŠEVIĆ 2017.

¹³⁰ POHL 1980.

¹³¹ SARANTIS 2009, 16.

¹³² cf. DAIM 1982, 63–64; POHL 1998, 20–21.

¹³³ KISS 2015.

¹³⁴ CSALLÁNY 1961; BÓNA 1976.

¹³⁵ *Theophylact Simocatta, History*, VIII, 3: Eds WHITBY–WHITBY 1986.

¹³⁶ *Theophanes, Chronicle*, I, 282: Eds MANGO–SCOTT 1997.

¹³⁷ ĐORĐEVIĆ 2007, 101, 102.

of the Lederata defence system; we suggest that these were Roman bridgeheads.¹³⁸ Dubovac has also been identified with Recidiva.¹³⁹

Furthermore, one may believe that in Justinian's time the Romans controlled Constantiola (contra Margum) for strategic reasons, at least to some extent. This could have been organised in the spirit of their traditional border policy in these parts, which also included military presence in bridgeheads across the Danube. If this was so, Germanic finds from southern Banat – including the graves from Kovin dated to the same period – could in fact have belonged to the Heruls, situated there briefly in their capacity as foederati (Fig. 12).¹⁴⁰

Even though it has been noted that the ethnic interpretation of Germanic finds in the Syrmia region is much more troublesome compared to that of the finds from, for example, Banat,¹⁴¹ we believe that in this case the territorial aspect could be helpful in such deliberations. The Gepidic presence in Syrmia is indisputable. Especially important are their traces from Sirmium.¹⁴² With short interruptions, the Gepids ruled the Pannonian metropolis for almost a century, up until 567; one could perhaps assign to them also the finds from Kuzmin and Rakovac. On the other hand, any early-sixth-century Eastern Germanic find from this region could have likewise belonged to the Ostrogoths. Around the year 512, however, Emperor Anastasius settled the Heruls in the southeastern corner of Syrmia, in the area of Bassianae. Thus, Germanic finds from this part of the Syrmia region, including the well-known ones from Jakovo and Batajnica, but also those from Belegiš and, perhaps, Novi Banovci (Burganae) and Zemun (Taurunum) may also be attributed to the Heruls.

'The extreme rarity of literary references to the presence of barbarians and the role they played in the interior of Illyricum enhances the significance of the rare remains of the material culture'.¹⁴³ Across the Danube, the restoration of Byzantine rule in Northern Illyricum was followed by reconstruction of the fortifications in cities and along the limes. At the same time, the Empire encouraged the settlement of the barbarians, such as the Heruls in the Singidunum area. From the scarce written sources it is apparent that during most of the period of our concern the Gepids were enemies of the Empire,¹⁴⁴ and that in the course of Justinian's reign the Romans used to engage foederati from the rival tribes.¹⁴⁵

Thus, it has been doubted if the Gepids were engaged in defending the Danube border.¹⁴⁶ Northern Germanic finds from the Serbian Danube region were therefore connected with the Heruls,¹⁴⁷ who had played an important role in the defence of the limes as 'the westernmost bastion of imperial defence along the Lower Danube' (Fig. 12).¹⁴⁸ A hoard of three Justinian's light-weight solidi from Medjulužje¹⁴⁹ and numerous coin-finds distributed mainly along the Danube can be associated with payment of the foederati.¹⁵⁰

The major cemeteries of that date from this area – Singidunum III, Viminacium II, and Germanic graves from Margum – have also been assigned to the Heruls. Oriented to the west or northwest and containing vessels, weapons and tools, the graves from this phase differ from the earlier ones. Especially characteristic are Western and Northern Germanic finds from Viminacium: fibulae with rectangular head and extended bows, the Weibschwert type umbo, decorated scabbards and,

¹³⁸ BUGARSKI-IVANIŠEVIĆ 2012, 485.

¹³⁹ MADGEARU 2003, 296–297.

¹⁴⁰ BUGARSKI-IVANIŠEVIĆ 2012, 495; 2013, 474.

¹⁴¹ MILINKOVIĆ 2010, 242.

¹⁴² POPOVIĆ-KAZANSKI-IVANIŠEVIĆ 2017.

¹⁴³ IVANIŠEVIĆ 2012, 58.

¹⁴⁴ *Procopius, De bellis: Bellum Gothicum* IV, 25: Ed. HAURY 1905; cf. SARANTIS 2009; 2016, 266–278, 312–323.

¹⁴⁵ *Procopius, Historia arcana* 11: Ed. HAURY 1906.

¹⁴⁶ IVANIŠEVIĆ-KAZANSKI-MASTYKOVA 2006, 133–136.

¹⁴⁷ KISS 1984.

¹⁴⁸ SARANTIS 2010; 2016, 257.

¹⁴⁹ MORRISSON-POPOVIĆ-IVANIŠEVIĆ 2006, 342, Cat. no. 263.

¹⁵⁰ IVANIŠEVIĆ 2010, 448–449; cf. BUGARSKI-IVANIŠEVIĆ 2013, 473.



Fig. 12. Map of Northern Illyricum with cities, fortresses (small squares) and the territories of barbarian groups (512–567)

to some extent, pottery. The appearance of Western Germanic finds has been explained by the contacts this military-political unit once had with Germanic tribes in the South Moravian region.¹⁵¹

To the same horizon one may ascribe two finds from the vicinity: a brooch with rectangular head from Kasidol¹⁵² and golden necklace from a hoard from Udovice, composed of fifth-century gold Roman coins and mounted in the Scandinavian tradition.¹⁵³ Traces of Herulic presence in the Balkan hinterlands are restricted to the unique grave from Ulpiana (Justiniana Secunda).¹⁵⁴

Here we should also mention a characteristic 'Lombard' fibula from the Ukosa fortification at Stalać, controlling the confluence of the Južna and Zapadna Morava rivers.¹⁵⁵ The brooch belongs to 'Zangenfibeln' originating from northern Italy and rarely found in Noricum and Pannonia. Matching finds come from grave 23 at Tamási-Csikólegelő, an important locality from the late Lombard phase in Pannonia, historicistically dated between the years 536 and 568.¹⁵⁶ Such finds in

¹⁵¹ IVANIŠEVIĆ–KAZANSKI 2010, 156; 2014, 146–152; BUGARSKI–IVANIŠEVIĆ 2012, 494–495; 2013, 471, 474; IVANIŠEVIĆ–BUGARSKI 2018, 111.

¹⁵² IVANIŠEVIĆ–KAZANSKI–MASTYKOVA 2006, 15–16, 36–38, 42.

¹⁵³ FISCHER 2008, 81–82, 86–88; IVANIŠEVIĆ–KAZANSKI 2010, 154–155; BUGARSKI–IVANIŠEVIĆ 2013, 472.

¹⁵⁴ MILINKOVIĆ 2003; 2006.

¹⁵⁵ RAŠKOVIĆ 2005, 188, T. II/3.

¹⁵⁶ BÓNA–HORVÁTH 2009, 191, 205, Taf. 65/23–4–5, 169/1–2.

the Balkans, of course, do not testify in a 'Kossinean' way that the Lombards settled sites of their discovery,¹⁵⁷ but one should not exclude the possibility that among the Germanic foederati and/or their wives there were also persons of Lombard origin.

Sixth-century Germanic finds are altogether very few in the interior of the Central Balkans. With the exception of the highborn woman's grave from Ulpiana and the Caričin Grad evidence, most of them have been assigned to Gepidic refugees and dated after 567.¹⁵⁸ As we are informed only of the movements of Herulic mercenaries across those parts,¹⁵⁹ it could be reasonable to attribute to them the finds from the first two thirds of the sixth century. According to Attila Kiss,¹⁶⁰ stamped ceramic vessels from Northern Serbia, as listed by Katica Simoni,¹⁶¹ also testify to their presence; yet, this was not accepted without any reservation. If the finds were to be dated after 567, they could have belonged to other Germanic mercenaries.¹⁶²

However, it would be superficial to attempt the ethnic attribution of Germanic finds from most of these localities, as they produced only a few pottery shards each. Even the better studied sites with a slightly denser presence of the barbarians, like Gradina on the Jelica mountain, did not deliver better datable finds; therefore we cannot judge the ethnicity of its, by all appearances, small Germanic population – foederati and their families. Svetinja and the cemeteries in its vicinity provided a much better context for this discussion, primarily due to a much greater number of related finds dated by coins.¹⁶³

A low ratio of Germanic finds in these sites speaks for a modest presence of their bearers there.¹⁶⁴ On the other hand, this statistical share has been considered as not entirely relevant to such deliberations, as the acculturation processes the Germans had undergone led to the adoption of Roman material culture. A very indicative example of these are the burials of individuals with artificially deformed skulls in churches at Gradina on the Jelica;¹⁶⁵ in broader terms, we may mention the vanishing of Vandal material culture in the course of their wandering throughout different lands and continents.¹⁶⁶ Germanic foederati in the Central Balkans were certainly more numerous than could be calculated on the basis of archaeological finds of such origin. However, in our case it remains questionable how far the small number of these objects may be ascribed to acculturation.¹⁶⁷ Melting down of the material culture of a significant ethnic group had to start from a stage at which the culture concerned was substantially represented; south of the Danube limes this was not so.

To summarise, according to our model, even if simplified, the under-studied and under-represented Germanic heritage in these parts can be attributed more precisely in the following way. Most of the finds from Banat and Bačka (including those post-dating 567–568)¹⁶⁸ may be seen as Gepidic. The interpretation of the finds from the western part of Sarmatia could be the same. The finds from eastern Sarmatia and the Serbian Danube region, where Western and Northern Germanic products have also been encountered, may be assigned to the Heruls, and perhaps those from the bridgeheads in southern Banat as well. It is not possible to interpret with any certainty other finds from the Central Balkans; however, given the historical framework, we have reservations about seeing them as Gepidic.

¹⁵⁷ MILINKOVIĆ 2010, 241–242.

¹⁵⁸ SIMONI 1977–1978, 214; cf. MILINKOVIĆ 1998, 253; 2010, 241.

¹⁵⁹ *Procopius, De bellis: Bellum Gothicum IV*, 25: Ed. HAURY 1906; cf. KOVAČEVIĆ 1963–1964.

¹⁶⁰ KISS 1984, 136.

¹⁶¹ SIMONI 1977–1978.

¹⁶² BUGARSKI–IVANIŠEVIĆ 2013, 476.

¹⁶³ IVANIŠEVIĆ–KAZANSKI–MASTYKOVA 2006, 131–136.

¹⁶⁴ cf. IVANIŠEVIĆ 2012.

¹⁶⁵ MILINKOVIĆ 2010, 238, 240–242; 2015, 189, n. 538.

¹⁶⁶ cf. VON RUMMEL 2008.

¹⁶⁷ BUGARSKI–RADIŠIĆ 2016, 94, n. 20.

¹⁶⁸ BUGARSKI–IVANIŠEVIĆ 2016.

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CIBALAE AS THE MOST WESTERN POINT OF GEPIDIC KINGDOM

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According to historical sources during second Gepidic occupation of Pannonia Secunda, along with capital Sirmium, Cibalae was second most important stronghold, the most western one. Finds of urban degradation, new types of dwellings and intra muros burials, along with continuity in pottery workshops proves the life continuity in 5th and 6th century. This paper presents general picture of historical and archaeological sources with emphasis on some small finds and selected pottery types.

Keywords: Cibalae; late Antiquity; Gepids; continuity

Settlements that are inhabited for thousands of years, as Vinkovci is, are the most challenging for interpretation. The richness of inhabitation layers is “double-edged” sword; they offer a lot of data, but putting them together is often a life-time work. Proving the continuity of life in late antiquity Vinkovci (Cibalae) is a work in progress, but certain conclusions have been brought to light and proven either by new excavations or by re-examining old finds.

Historical sources provide us basic information about Gepidic presence in ex-Roman province Pannonia Secunda. When the Ostrogoths left Pannonia in 473 that opened space for Gepids, whose first period of government in the South Pannonia region lasted from 473 to 504.¹ As it turns out, at that time they did not settled the western parts of Pannonia Secunda, but the area of today’s eastern Sarmia; their sphere of interest undoubtedly reached down and to the area surrounding Cibalae, where at the beginning of 489, on the river Vuka, they have tried to prevent the further Ostrogothic penetration.² Ostrogothic forces put an end to the Gepidic rule in 504 and its Italic state annexed the entire area between the rivers in South Pannonia.³ However, after the outbreak of war with the Eastern Roman Empire in 535 Ostrogoths withdrew from Southern Pannonia. In Ostrogoth’s place soon re-entered Gepids, who may already in 536 usurped Sirmium from the Eastern Roman Empire, which marked the beginning of second period of their dominion in Pannonia Secunda.⁴ This time it appears that their settlements spread to a much wider area, all the way to Cibalae, and circulation of Gepidic coins testifies about a certain, albeit modest, economic activity.⁵ After a series of conflicts with Lombards Gepids were finally deleted from history in 567.⁶

WHAT DO WE KNOW SO FAR?

The idea of Gepidic settlement in the area of roman town Cibalae is neither new nor unmentioned before. Its existence was proven by movable finds, primarily with shards of stamped pottery and graves. Stojan Dimitrijević was the first scholar who dealt with the question; in couple of papers⁷ he mentioned finds of stamped pottery as a proof for Gepid settlement; he argued that Roman defence ditch was the main reason for establishing Gepidic settlement in Cibalae. Ivana Iskra-Janošić, who primarily dealt with Roman period, also in several papers⁸ mentions finds of Gepid

¹ GRAČANIN 2006, 97; GRAČANIN 2007, 10. The details of the first period of Gepidic rule in Southern Pannonia cf. GRAČANIN 2007, 12–21.

² GRAČANIN 2007, 12–14; GRAČANIN 2006, 105–107.

³ GRAČANIN 2006, 108; 2007, 20–21.

⁴ GRAČANIN 2007, 28–30.

⁵ GRAČANIN 2007, 30–33.

⁶ GRAČANIN 2007, 40–42.

⁷ DIMITRIJEVIĆ 1966, 70; DIMITRIJEVIĆ 1979, 190–191.

⁸ ISKRA-JANOŠIĆ 2001, 152; ISKRA-JANOŠIĆ 2004, 185; ISKRA-JANOŠIĆ 2006, 292.

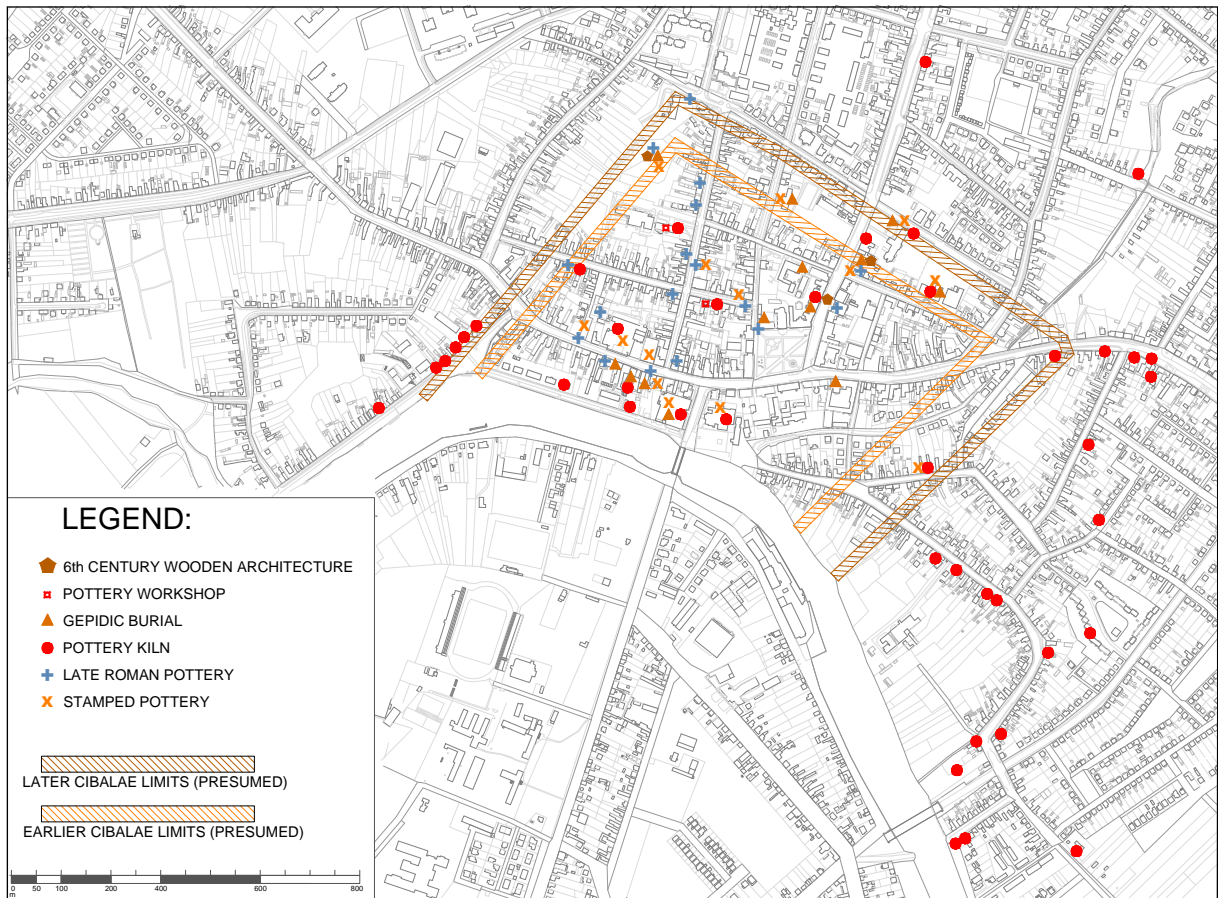


Fig. 1. Map of Late Roman/6th century sites and individual finds within the area of Vinkovci (made by J. Vukadin, D. Roksandić)

pottery and graves suggesting that they lived in Roman ruins. She often changed dating of the finds, from first period of Gepidic rule to second period, without any explanation. The next in line is Marko Dizdar; for the first time he collected data for all graves *intra muros* of Cibalae, as well as finds of stamped pottery⁹. At the end there are also some papers and conference presentations by Anita Rapan Papeša, dealing mostly with graves and survey finds¹⁰, and doctoral thesis by Danijela Roksandić dealing with pottery¹¹. The newest overview was given by Anita Rapan Papeša and Danijela Roksandić.¹²

MATERIALS AND METHODS

For this paper results from four recent conducted rescue archaeological excavations shall be presented. Due to changed praxis in excavation method (now: stratigraphy, before: planum) we have better results now, movable finds that can be assigned to certain objects (Fig. 1). Analysis

⁹ DIZDAR, 1999, 65–71.

¹⁰ RAPAN PAPEŠA 2011, 7–57; RAPAN PAPEŠA 2012a, 430–433; RAPAN PAPEŠA 2012b; RAPAN PAPEŠA–GRAČANIN 2011.

¹¹ D. ROKSANDIĆ, Ceramic pottery as indicator of life in Late antique Cibalae. Unpubl. PhD Thesis at the University of Zagreb (Zagreb 2015).

¹² RAPAN PAPEŠA–ROKSANDIĆ 2016.

of dwelling types and finds within will be presented in this paper, referring to other concurrent Gepid sites and finds.

Chronologically first excavated site is Glagoljaška street (site: CSS); the excavation was carried out in autumn 2007 in two probes (16.80 x 16.00 m; 39.00 x 17.00 m) with following results: multiple ruins and pavings made of roman bricks, as well as two smaller pits and two scattered graves. Movable finds include large quantity of pottery, animal bones, coins etc.¹³

Second site that will be discussed is Korzo, pedestrian zone in the very heart of the town. It was excavated in the summer of 2008, in two probes; probe B is in our focus here. Its dimensions are 13.00 x 24.00 m, and in the south part SU 78 was excavated, representing remains of earthen floor of a house.¹⁴ Roman architecture from 1st to 5th century, different walls, pits, pavements and hearth were found here, as well as different movable material (pottery, coins, jewellery etc).

Third site was excavated in 2009. At Glagoljaška street 16 site, covering an area of 369 m². It resulted in discovery of architectural remains and movable archaeological finds, from prehistoric to modern age. Most of archaeological finds are from different phases of Cibalae.¹⁵ Three objects and pit (SU 19/20), situated in Late Roman layer, were analysed. The pit could be used for waste disposal and probably belongs to the late antique wooden building nearby.

Fourth site was excavated in spring 2014 (Porezna, Kralja Zvonimira street 12), and a part of an early German settlement with dug-in houses was excavated. Entire probe was 664 m² big, with layers from 18th to 1st century AD, and a massive roman wall with four pillar basis on both sides is left to be presented. Modern layers belong to a liquor factory which destroyed much of antique layers and objects, but nevertheless noteworthy amount of movable finds was collected, including two stone column bases, a part of stone architrave, coins, pottery, fibulae...

RESULTS

Due to different excavation style (by depth, and not by stratigraphy) excavations prior to late 1990's do not provide any data on remains of dwelling types in Late Antiquity (5th–6th century); the common explanation was that inhabitants used Roman buildings, eventually with smaller modifications¹⁶. That may have been so, and it is a practice that is known from other sites in the region, for example in Sirmium¹⁷, but also in Pannonia as well, for example in Scarabantia¹⁸ or in Aquincum¹⁹. Rescue excavations in past years revealed, however, also new data on dwelling types.

The very first site where "unusual" everyday pottery was the one carried out for building new Centre for Social Welfare (CSS). Different types of clusters made of parts of roman bricks, one-layer pavements made of roman bricks and shallow pits were investigated. At first it was interpreted as a part of pottery workshop that was excavated in the middle 1980's nearby. Now we can say that these pits are remains of dug-in dwellings, but according to finds from cultural layers we can assume that whole area was used as open-space settlement (camp). The pit that presumably served as a work space or some kind of shelter is shallow dug (about 0.20 m), in shape of irregular square, covering about 10 m². No traces of pillars, e.g. post-holes have been observed. Therefore it could be assumed that those were working stations and not dwelling objects (*Fig. 2e*).

After the statistical analysis 5145 pieces of pottery fragments from the site have been subjected to systematic typological analysis. Afore mentioned pottery is of local production and of traditional provincial forms while imported was found in a very little amount and can be connected to the

¹³ VULIĆ–KRZNARIĆ ŠKRIVANKO–RAPAN PAPEŠA 2008, 70–71.

¹⁴ VULIĆ–RAPAN PAPEŠA–KRZNARIĆ ŠKRIVANKO 2009, 95–99.

¹⁵ JERONČIĆ–KATAVIĆ 2010, 55–58.

¹⁶ ISKRA-JANOŠIĆ 2004, 185.

¹⁷ JEREMIĆ 2006, 231.

¹⁸ TOMKA 2015.

¹⁹ ZSIDI 2012.

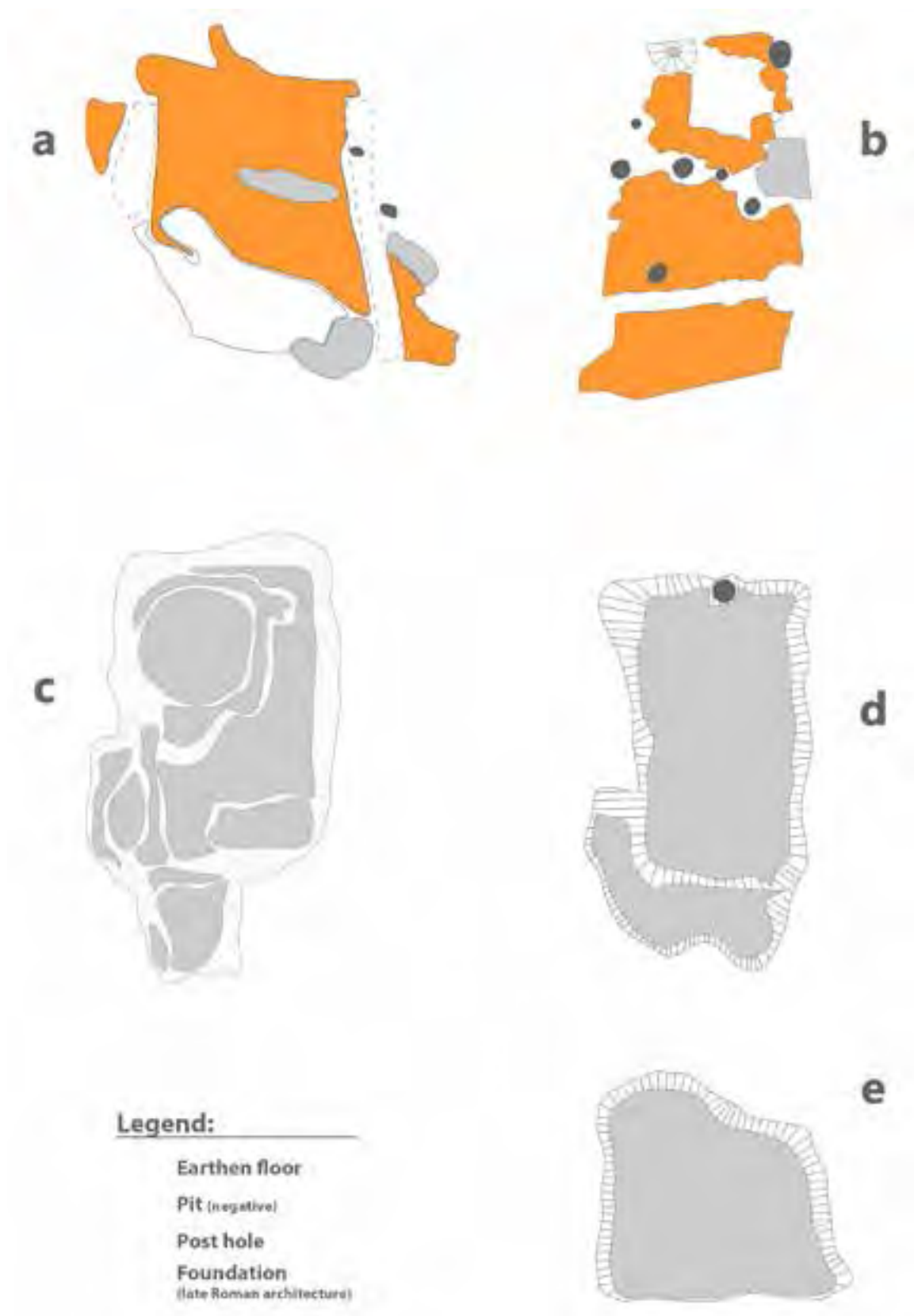


Fig. 2. Types of 6th century objects/houses from Cibalae (made by: J. Vukadin, D. Roksandić)

4th–6th century (amphorae, pans, *terra sigillata*). Comparing the two main groups of ceramic material one can conclude that both groups are equally represented (50% coarse pottery, fine pottery 49%).

Within the group of coarse pottery, coarse gray grained pottery stands out (15%) with cooking pots as the most common form. Cooking pots stand out with 1808 fragments and minimum number of vessels of 678, within the group of coarse pottery. Gray grained food containers make up 5% of the total sample of pottery. On this site those are most represented in Cibalae and they have been quite accurately dated to late ancient layer in the second half of the 5th century. Within the group of fine pottery, the group with the red coating (30%) with a minimum number of vessels 282 stands out. In this group we find mostly jugs (928 fragments), plates (322 fragments), bowls (49 fragments) and pots (45 fragments). A special group of pottery makes glazed pottery which allows us to date the finds very accurately the Late Antiquity layer in the 5th century. A total of 60 fragments of glazed pottery belong to minimum of 48 vessels. Most are represented mortars (31 fragment), followed by jugs (15 fragments) and bowls (12 fragments). With the aforementioned fragments of typical Roman production we find a lot of fragments of pottery vessels that in structure, decoration and forms differ from Roman. We are talking about two groups of fine dishes, namely dishes with stamped decorations and dishes with burnished decoration (*Einglattverzierung*) (Fig. 8). A special group makes pottery with polished surface and burnished ornaments, within the site makes only 1%, with the total of 43 vessels (24 fragments of bowls, 19 jugs and 1 lid). The decoration which dominates is the vertical line (12 fragments), then mesh decoration (3 fragments), and decorations in form of a triangle, undulating lines and semicircles. According to the shape and type of vessels and ornaments this group of pottery can be dated from the first half of the 5th to the first half of the 6th century. Smallest amount in the entire sample is pottery with stamped decoration (Fig. 7). These are mostly pear and biconical shaped bowls with a stamped decoration in form of rhomboid network and circle (5 fragments).

New data on dwellings have been observed during rescue excavation in 2008, in the Vinkovci pedestrian zone (Korzo). The probe is in vicinity of today's town centre, as well as Roman Forum, which was investigated about 80 m toward northwest. Remains of solid, over ground floor were found, made of compact clay and admixture of roman mortar; the floor is about 0.15 m thick (Fig. 2a). The whole structure was made on roman remains; therefore the roman mortar should not be surprising. Walls, lying on roman basis, were made of mud, mixed with roman building rubble (pieces of bricks); no traces of roof have been observed, but most likely it was a gabled roof, covered with bulrush. The remains of the floor measure 7x7 m, but it was damaged with younger pits at some parts. Also, some pits were original part of the structure, like SU 96, a hearth within the house, or SU 92, waste pit next to the structure. The orientation of the house is NE-SW, just like other roman objects in Cibalae; considering that it was built on remains of an older, roman building not surprising. On the outside of the west wall a group of over 40 loom weights was found, and next to it a pit with only remains of animal bones (?sacrificial pit). Ceramic material from this site is still being analysed but pottery with stamped and burnished decoration was separated dating this site to 5th and 6th century (Fig. 5, Fig. 6).

On site in Glagoljaška 16 Street we have another interesting situation where we can define few phases of Late Roman architecture with transformation and remodeling of older layers.

Three objects, two of which occurred during the 2nd and 3rd centuries (Objects 1 and 2) are researched. Modifications of these objects were recorded with at least 2 architectural phases. The last phase of reconstruction, expansion and demolition took place during the 4th century. This is proved by several layers of floors and movable archaeological finds around the buildings. Object 1 and Object 2 were made simultaneously, while Object 3 was built at a later stage. Object 3 is a wooden object of greater dimensions and was east of the two buildings (Fig. 2b). It's made of hard-padded floor that differs from the ones in older buildings. Besides the floor various pits and holes from wooden structures are found. This wooden object could not be dated due to lack of archaeological material. The only archaeological object with dateable material is a small pit in its

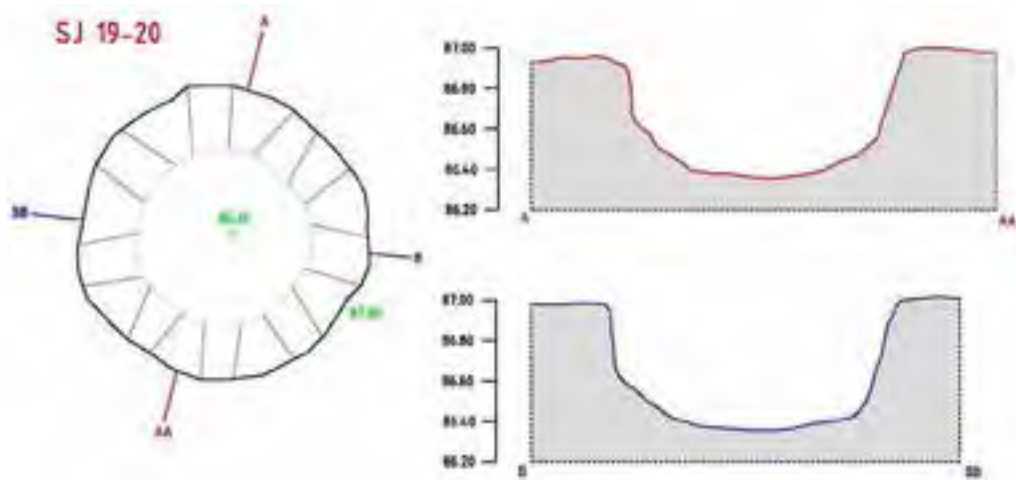


Fig. 3. Pit SU19/20 from the site Glagoljaška 16 (made by: T. Jerončić)

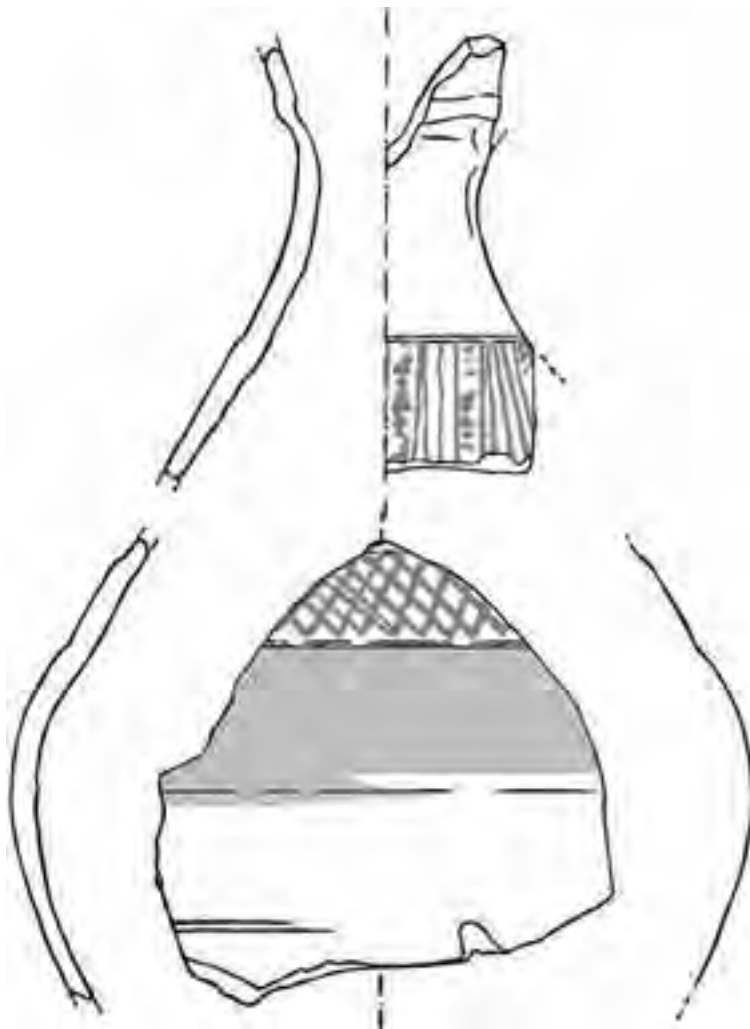


Fig. 4. Jug with burnished decoration from the “Korzo” site (made by: A. Dugonjić)

vicinity (SU 19/20), although we cannot link them with certainty (Fig. 3).

SU 19/20 is an enclosed unit, contains pottery fragments of coarse and fine texture, a double-row bone comb, stone and iron tools, and animal bones. Aside from typical Roman provincial pottery, ceramic material that belongs to 5th and 6th century was found.

The pit SU 19/20 contains 58 fragments of ceramic vessels (12 rims, 41 bellies and 5 bases) that belong to the coarse kitchen pottery-grey grained (54 fragments) and fine tableware (4 fragments). The coarse kitchen pottery is represented by 4 small pots (Fig. 10: 1–4) and 4 bowls (Fig. 10: 5–8) with almost identical texture and color. They are made of well-purified clay with little admixtures, the surface is rough. All fragments are well-made on a potters wheel, and their structure is compact, extremely hard. The vessel color varies from light to dark gray, which was due to reduction firing. Not a single fragment is decorated and has no special coating. Rims of the pots



Fig. 5. Fragments of stamped pottery from various sites in Vinkovci (made by: D. Puharić)



Fig. 6. Fragments of burnished pottery from various sites in Vinkovci (made by: D. Roksandić)



Fig. 7. Unfinished pottery fragment from the pottery workshops from Cibalae (made by: D. Roksandić)



Fig. 8. 6th century bowl with burnished decoration from the „CSS“ site (made by: D. Roksandić)

are inclined outwards and S-profiled while the rims of the bowls are inclined horizontally and are drawn outwards. There is one S-profiled bowl which is relevant for dating SU 19/20 (*Fig. 10: 5*). S-profiling bowls are typical vessels of the 5th century in the Danube basin²⁰. They represent a completely new form of late Roman pottery in the variant of coarse-grey grained and burnished pottery. K. Ottományi assumes that bowls of this type were not territorially widespread and that they entered the Pannonian province from the Sarmatian region.²¹ Therefore, they have no roots in traditional provincial Roman pottery but are the product of Germanic workshops.²² Analogies are found in the sites of Keszthely-Fenekpuszta, Tokod, Pilismarót and Leányfalu, but these forms differ in the shape of the rims and bellies.²³

According to the forms of this vessel, they do not differ much from the provincial Roman forms found in the older layers at this and other sites in Vinkovci, but their texture and color vary.²⁴ Minimum number of vessels was made, consisting of 7 pots and 4 bowls. Three fragments that are most likely part of a pot or jug (*Fig. 10: 9*) differ from all the other analysed fragments. It is a pear-shaped vessel whose outer surface is treated by burnishing and polishing with burnished decoration in the form of sloping lines forming a rhomboid net. The ornament is placed on the shoulder and belly of the vessel and is separated from the bowl by the narrow groove. This form is found in Pannonian necropolises dating back to the second half of the 4th century.²⁵ Analogies can be found in Leányfalu, Pilismarot-Malompaták and Szombathely-Fótér.²⁶ In Vinkovci, this jug is found within the late Roman layer at Korzo site (*Fig. 4*).

Another vessel that special attention should be paid to is a darkish, almost black bowl (cup) with stamped decoration (*Fig. 10: 10*). The semicircular bottom and the part of the belly are preserved. It is made of very fine purified clay, and the outer surface is completely polished. It is decorated with a stamping technique with a motif of regular circles. The ornament is placed in the central part of the vessel in two visible rows. This type of vessel is very rare on late Roman sites. Its shape and glossy polished and burnished surface imitates glass or metal bowls. Analogies are found in the Chernyakhov culture cemetery of Velika Bugaevka in Ukraine.²⁷ According to the shape and decorating techniques bowl from Glagoljaška 16 (UZ 4b) has closest analogies to a vessel from the grave of the Szolnok-Szanda cemetery in Hungary.²⁸

It is undoubtedly that vessels with burnished and stamped decoration from the pit SJ 19/20 are “specialty” at Glagoljaška 16 site and to be looked at in a special context. Osteological analysis confirms that all bone samples from analysed pit are animal in origin, and are food remains: twenty seven bone, and three dental samples belong to cattle, pigs and small remnants-sheep or goat.

The double-row bone comb (*Fig. 10: 15*) consists of three bone plates that are joined by iron rivets (4 pieces). On the upper and lower sides of the centerplate there is a semi-circular profiled tile. The larger tile is decorated with short and long lines. Short horizontal lines are horizontally cut and arranged along the longitudinal edges of the tiles. The long lines occupy the entire width of the tiles, they are in the group of 4 distributed over its entire side. In the middle of the tiles, there are incised decorations in the form of X-motifs between long horizontal lines. The second smaller tile is preserved to a much smaller extent, but based on the preserved parts it can be assumed to have been equally decorated. Bone combs are standard inventories in Late antique cemeteries and

²⁰ TEJRAL 1985, 140, Abb. 21.

²¹ OTTOMÁNYI 1991, 9.

²² TEJRAL 1985, 140.

²³ HORVÁTH 2011, 617, Abb. 13; LÁNYI 1981, Abb. 11–13; OTTOMÁNYI 1996, 83, Abb. 3: 8–12; OTTOMÁNYI 1991, 9, Taf. 6–7.

²⁴ OŽANIĆ 2008, 185–188.

²⁵ OTTOMÁNYI 1982, 34–36.

²⁶ OTTOMÁNYI 1991, 29–31; OTTOMÁNYI–SOSZTARITS 1998, 164.

²⁷ PETRAUSKAS 2011, 405, Abb. 5.

²⁸ BÓNA–NAGY 2002, Taf. 41: 93/1.



Fig. 9. Tinder from the "Glagoljaška 16" site in Vinkovci (made by: V. Katavić, T. Jerončić)

settlements. Double-row bone combs are characteristic for the Danubian provinces in the 4th and 5th centuries, and in the 6th century they are found only in Gepidic settlements²⁹. They are standard inventory in women's graves, and are located at the head or on the belt of the deceased³⁰. In the Vinkovci area, 11 bone combs have been found; 6 from gepidic graves and 5 from other positions³¹. The simplest analogy for the comb from the pit SU 19/20 can be found in the grave 95 at the site of Kiszomborand and in Vinkovci from the collection of Mate Medvedović³².

The stone polished tool (Fig. 10:16), probably a wedge or chisel, is well preserved. It is polished from all sides, and on the two short sides there are traces of use (traces of stroke and spending). The tool was probably used as a wedge in wood processing.

The iron object (Fig. 9) is probably tinder, as a standard tool in Roman settlement. We also find them as inventory in Gepidic, mostly female graves, along with other household utensils³³. The pit SU 19/20 could be used for waste disposal and probably belongs to the late antique wooden building nearby. It is very important to dating the whole site, especially wooden object (Object 3) in the immediate vicinity.

Excavation carried out for building of Data & Recovery centre for Ministry of Finance in Kralja Zvonimira Street 12 resulted in common known dug-up houses (Fig. 2c,d). Three such objects are of our interest: SU 14/15, SU 31/32 and SU 40/41. SU 14/15 is an oval object, filled with earth with plenty of coal, sides fired reddish (Fig. 2d). After emptying the backfill we documented an object in size of 6 m², buried 30–40 cm into the Roman layer. The sides are flat and partially baked; bottom is flat made of greyish earth. At the western end, there is a dug in column hole, 30 cm in diameter. Across from it, in the eastern part of the building on the outside, there is about 1 m² shallowly

²⁹ TÓTH 2006, 74.

³⁰ BÓNA-NAGY 2002, Fig. 12.

³¹ DIZDAR 1999, 139, 151–154; RAPAN PAPEŠA 2011, 12–13, Taf. 45.

³² CSALLÁNY 1961, Taf. CXXII: 14; DIZDAR 1999, 139.

³³ NAGY 2005, 46, 11, 64, 125.

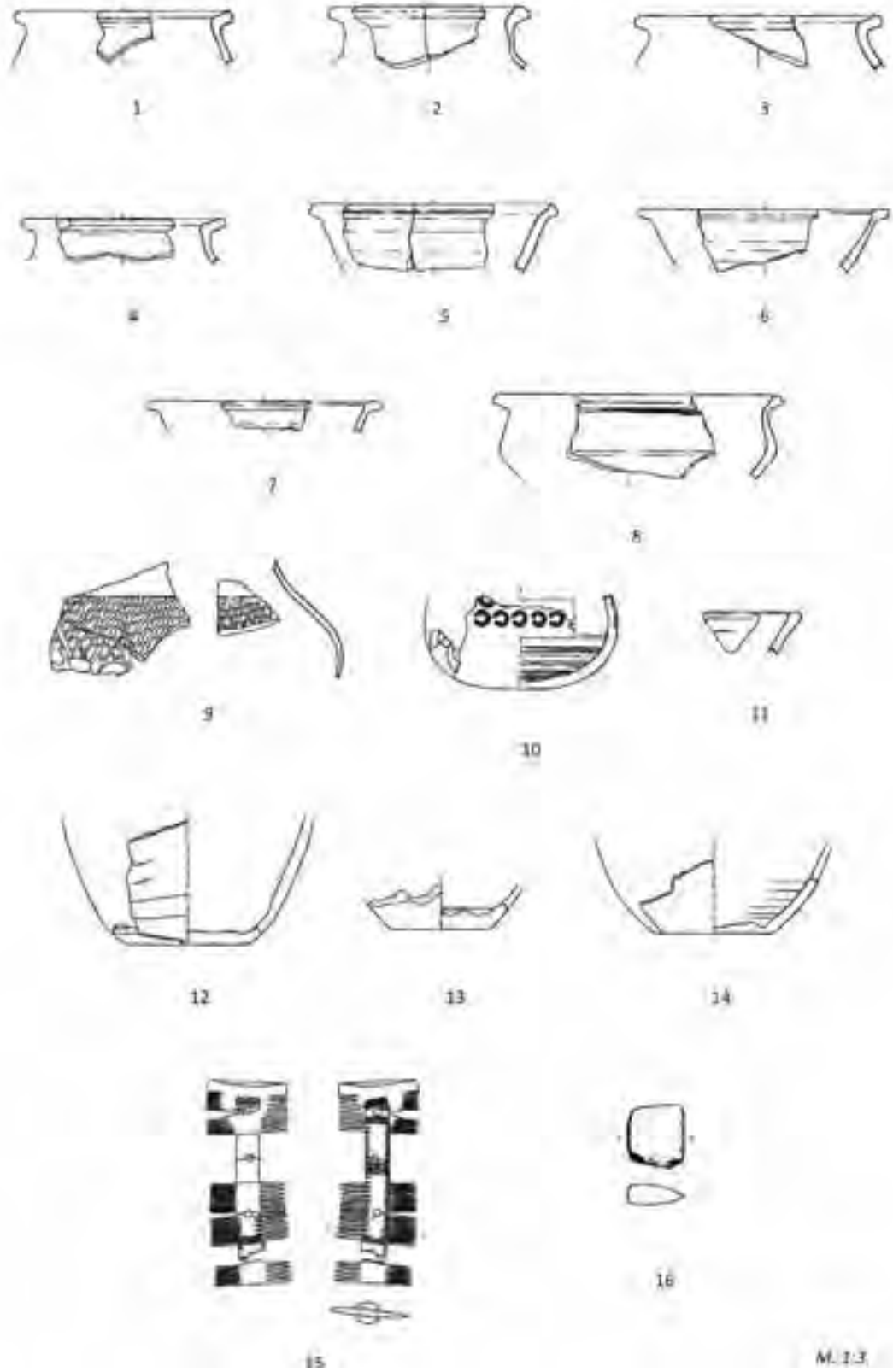


Fig. 10. Fragments of pottery from site Glagoljaška ul. 16/2009. SJ 19/20 (1–16).
(made by: I. Marochini, M. Rončević)

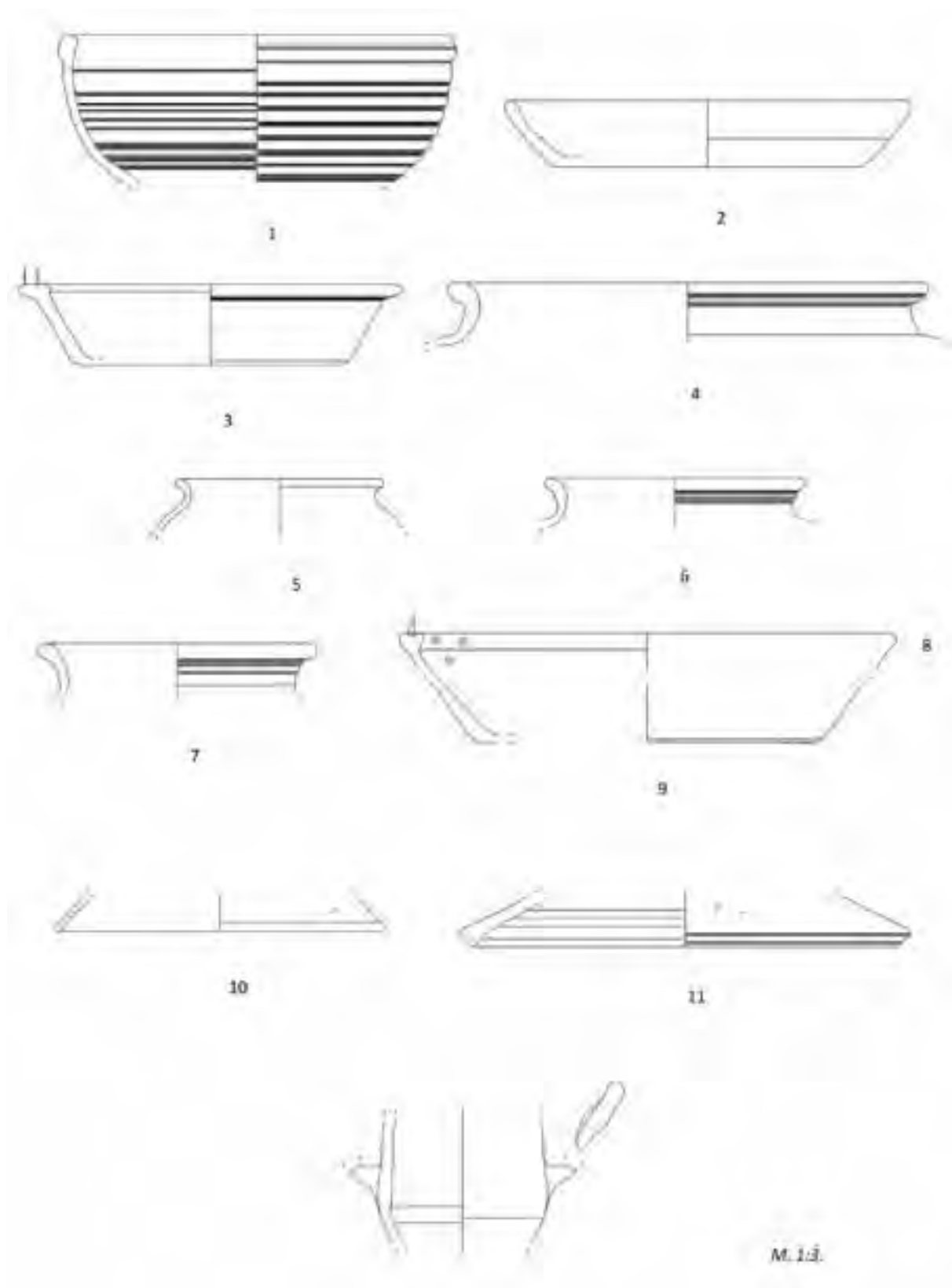


Fig. 11. Fragments of pottery from site Kralja Zvonimira 12/2014. SJ 14/15 (1–12) (made by: I. Marochini)

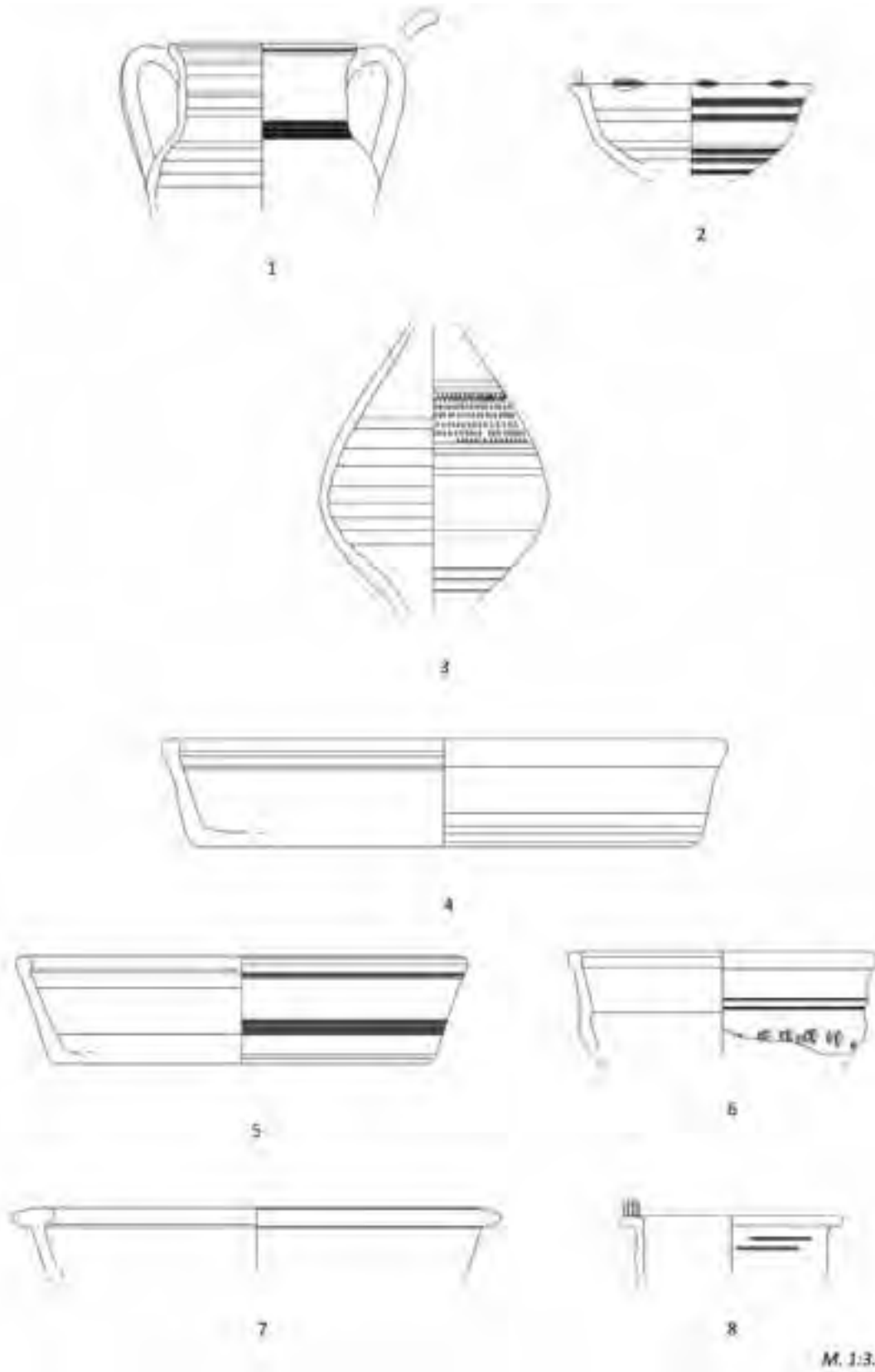


Fig. 12. Fragments of pottery from site Kralja Zvonimira 12/2014. SJ 31/32(1–8) (made by: I. Marochini)

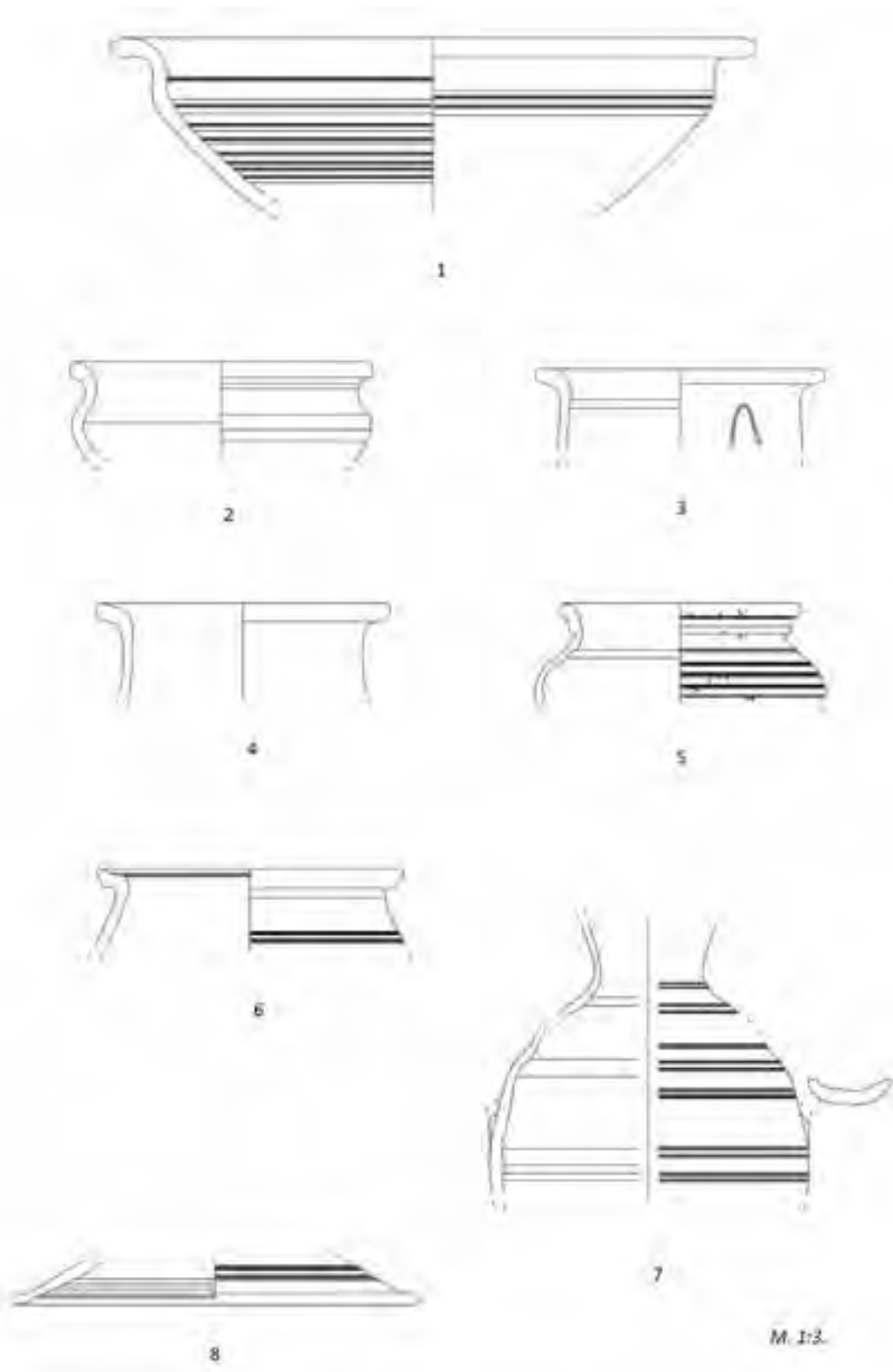


Fig. 13. Fragments of pottery from site Kralja Zvonimira12/2014. SJ 31/32 (1–8) (made by: I. Marochini)

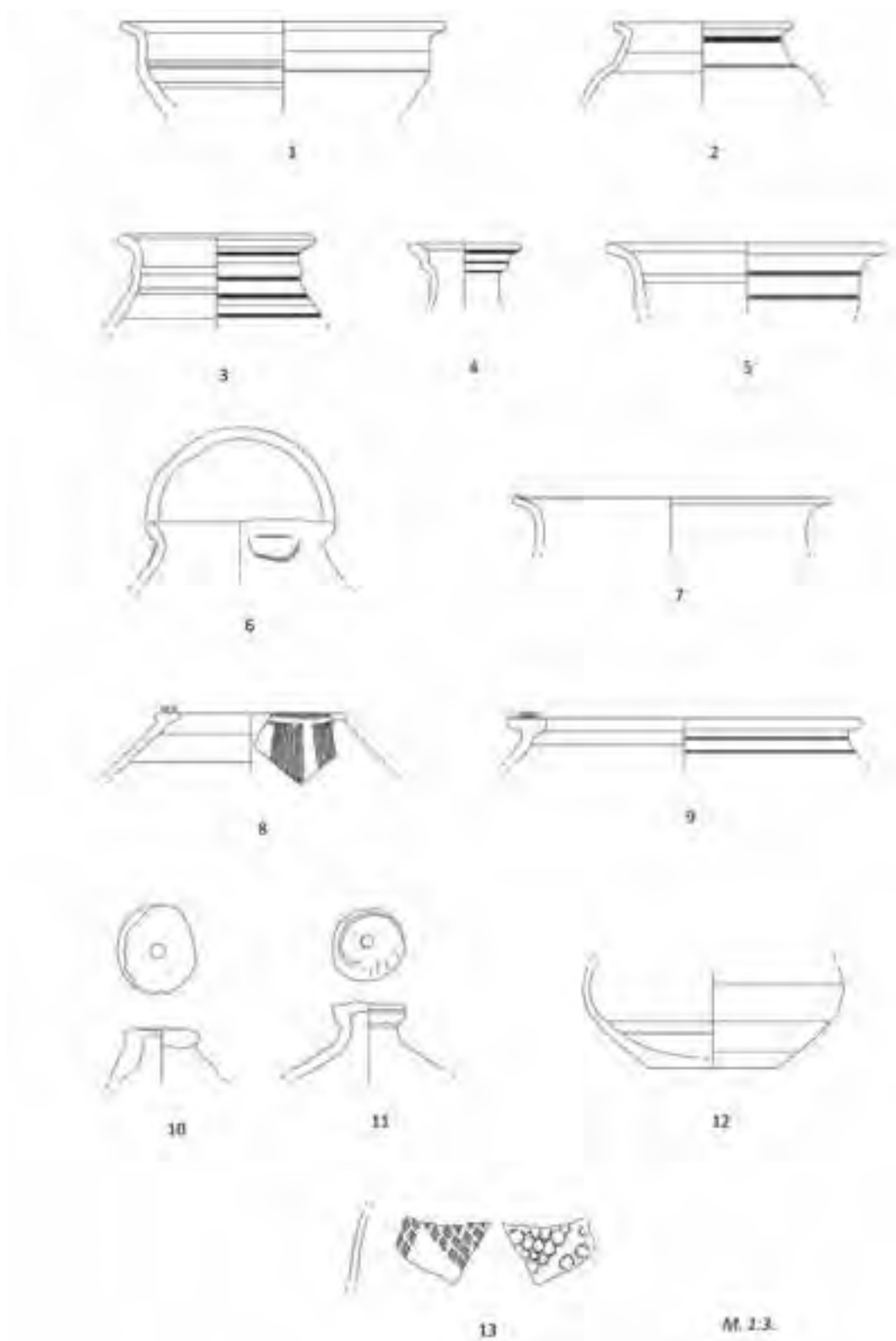


Fig. 14. Fragments of pottery from site Kralja Zvonimira 12/2014. SJ 40/41 (1–12); SJ 26/2 (13) (made by: I. Marochini)

buried surface (entrance). SU 31/32 is square-shaped, connected to SU 14/15 with ruins of brick and stone (SU 30) (Fig. 2c). The object was damaged with recent burials (well, test construction pit, modern waste pit). Rich with pottery finds. After emptying the backfill we documented rectangular building of about 7m² buried 1.34 m in the Roman layer and pre-virgin soil. The sides are vertical, corners slightly rounded. SU 40/41 is oval, with extremely dark backfill. Also damaged with recent well, located next to the western edge of the excavation it was not excavated in full size. In the backfill a lot of semi-finished bone products were found, and pottery was occasionally found. The sides are made of yellow clay, partly burned (red). At the bottom, at the middle of the object, two semi-columns and one column of small dimensions (12 cm diameter) were found.

Pottery from 3 late antique objects was analysed. Statistical analysis showed 416 fragments of late antique ceramics with 156 vessels (156 MNV). Statistical analysis of all 3 buildings shows nearly equal ratio of coarse pottery (43%) and fine pottery (red and gray-coated, 52%). The remaining pottery is glazed (2%), pottery for food storage (1%) and imported pottery (1%). Within the group of coarse pottery gray grained pottery stands out (19%). Within the group of coarse ceramics most common form is a pot (156 fragments), and lids, bowls and jugs are found in smaller amounts. Glazed pottery is represented by 8 fragments of jugs, bowls and mortar. Also a significant find is a polished pot with vertical burnished decoration. In the layer where the objects are buried in one fragment of pottery with stamped decoration rhombus set out in greater hanging triangle motif was found. Ceramic pots in generally have not been decorated, aside of 17 fragments decorated with horizontal cannelures. From object SU 14/15 146 pieces of pottery have been analysed (Fig. 11: 1–12). Minimum number of vessels is 54. The ratio of the coarse and fine pottery is almost the same. It should be noted that glazed pottery was found (6 fragments), mostly bowls with flat edge with grooves (Fig. 11: 9). Among the functional form most prevalent are jugs, bowls and fine texture plates with red paint, and coarse pots (Fig. 11: 1–7, 10–12). Few fragments of gray grained pots with a pronounced transition from the neck to the shoulder of the vessel are also worth mentioning (Fig. 11: 4). According to the analysed ceramics this object can be dated to the end of the 4th century and the beginning of the 5th century. From the object SU 31/32 190 pottery pieces were analysed (Fig. 12: 1–8, Fig. 13: 1–8). Minimum number of vessels is 70. Fine pottery (129 fragments) prevails upon coarse pottery (50 fragments). Glazed pottery is represented with only 2 fragments, while 6 fragments of food containers were found. Upon the statistical analysis one can conclude that most of the fragments belong to a standard table fine pottery with red paint. Mostly plates and bowls are represented. Gray pottery with a black coating is represented mostly by S-shaped bowls, deep pots with a horizontal rim and jugs with ribbed walls (Fig. 13: 1,3,4,7). Coarse pottery is represented by pots (Fig. 13: 5,6). According to the analysed ceramics this object can be dated the end of the 4th century and the beginning of the 5th century.

From the object SU 40/41 80 fragments of pottery were identified (Fig. 14: 1–13). Minimum number of vessels is 32. Almost all researched and analysed pottery belongs to the group of gray grained vessels (74 fragments), while fine pottery is represented by only 3 fragments. Also 2 fragments of burnished pottery with burnished ornament (pots with vertical or burnished lines) were found (Fig. 14: 8). The most common functional form are pots with ribbed walls, curved rim, conical high neck with a pronounced transition from the neck to the shoulder - Leányfalu type (Fig. 14: 2). Apart that this type is mostly made as coarse pottery, in gray grained texture, the workshop at the Leányfalu site produced this type of pots in fine tableware variants as glazed or burnished. Similar examples can be found at Szentendre, Visegrád-Gizellamajor and Tokod (Typ I) sites³⁴. At Leányfalu, this type of pottery is dated according the coin of Emperor Valens at the end of the 4th century³⁵. Analogies of this type are found in Singidunum (type II / 15), dating from the 2nd to the 5th century³⁶. 10 fragments represent S-shaped bowls (Fig. 14: 1). An interesting find is a

³⁴ LÁNYI 1981, 75; OTTOMÁNYI 1991, 8.

³⁵ SOPRONI 1985, 36.

³⁶ NIKOLIĆ-ĐORĐEVIĆ 2000, 72.

jug with a narrow neck with a rim in the form of a strap collar (*Fig. 14: 4*). Inside the object (SU 26) a fragment of pottery with stamped decoration was found; the decoration is a set of rhombus set so that they make hanging triangle motif (*Fig. 14: 13*). It is a belly of a jug or bag form bottle. This fragment is so far the only copy of the stamped pottery found in sealed object. According to the analyzed ceramics this object can be dated to the second half of the 5th century.

DISCUSSION

Dwelling objects of dug-in types are well known from many Gepidic settlements. In general, such objects cover about 6–13 m², usually are oval or rectangular (with rounded corners) in shape, with up to 6 post holes.³⁷ Thus the finds from Kralja Zvonimira Street fit into this picture perfectly (*Fig. 2: c,d*). Other dwelling objects are unusual for the Gepids, but on the other hand how many Gepid dwellings are situated in town with long inhabitation continuity? Just like the pottery analysis shows strong local tradition the house types are mirror reflection of older traditions as well. Such examples are Korzo site and Glagoljaška street 16 site, where above-earth houses, based on ruined and renewed roman objects have been found (*Fig. 2: a,b*).

At the Korzo site, within the complex of the house and pits belonging to it, several late roman coins (coins of Valentinian I.) have been found, as well as fragments of double sided undecorated bone comb, iron nails, glass fragments and bone needles and hairpins. All above can be related to Late Roman finds, but on the other hand such items are timeless, e. g. long in use. Especially, the money circulation in Pannonia in 5th and 6th century is based on old emissions that were used for a long time. The most surprising find is almost 50 loom weights, just outside the remains of house floor, indicating that a vertical loom was laid on the outer wall of the house. The looms are 10–15 cm high, the diameter of the basis varies between 6 and 9 cm. They are conical in shape, with rounded top; the horizontally punctured hole for hanging the looms is situated approximately at the middle of the loom (*Fig. 15*). Only one alike loom was found at the Kralja Zvonimira 12 street (*Fig. 16*). Similar looms have been recorded on other Gepid sites as well. This interesting find suggests that Gepids were not situated in Cibale just for a short period of time, which is also supported by local pottery production.

In dug-in houses at Kralja Zvonimira street 12 site Late Roman, 4th and early 5th century coins, pieces of glass vessels, iron nails, horns were found; all aforementioned shows characteristics of typical Roman finds, which is not unusual, since the houses were dug into Roman cultural layers. The interesting feature at this site is a paving, made of broken roman bricks, that spreads north from the objects, covering an area of about 100 m². Because of many finds of animal bones used in production it is assumed that this area served as a bone workshop.

Analysing late antique ceramic material from more than 12 sites from the area of Vinkovci, especially from 4 described wooden objects enabled us to reconstruct life in the period of 5th and 6th in this area. Particular emphasis was placed on locally produced pottery, which was as good quality as ones from other Panonian towns on *limes* (Tokod, Keszthely-Fenekpuszta). These sites were used as reference points for the study of late antique pottery from Vinkovci. On these sites, besides the imported pottery, local variants and imitations of imported vessels were recorded. A similar pattern can be observed in other settlements along the *limes* and its hinterland (Sirmium, Savaria, Sopianae), and also in Vinkovci.

The analysed pottery forms show the characteristics of Roman pottery from the end of the 3rd century until the first half of the 6th century; some new types like stamped pottery (*Fig. 17*) can be dated in the middle of the 6th century and some forms don't have proper analogies.

Coarse pottery is most common pottery group in late roman settlements and cemeteries. Its quality slowly decreases towards end of 4th century, when clay purification degrades, leaving more

³⁷ HOREDT 1979, 88–89; TÓTH 2006, 126–127; MASEK 2015, 423.

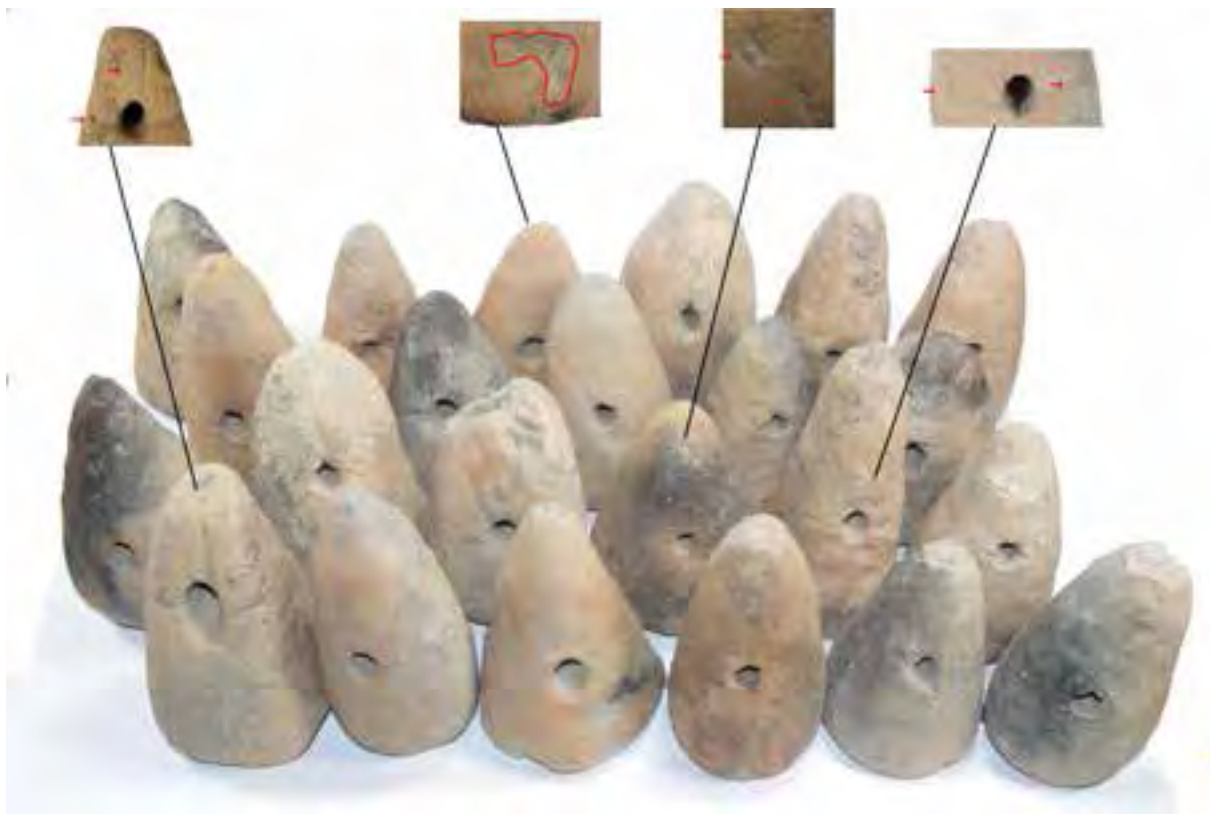


Fig. 15. Looms from Korzo site (made by: A. Rapan Papeša)

admixtures in it. The coarse pottery from Cibalae until the end of 4th century is rough in texture; the prevailing colours are dark grey and dark brown, sometimes almost black. The forms found in Cibalae come in different kinds of bowls, pots, lids and a strainer. Handmade pottery or pottery partially-made on wheel shows traditional ceramic production decrease, also pointing to changes in population composition, and increased non-Roman cultural penetration in provinces since the end of the 4th century.

Polished pottery is introduced in first half of the 4th century, while pottery with burnished decoration is common in second half. These two techniques are later combined and are found on traditional Roman forms. In early 5th century, same techniques are applied on new, non-Roman forms of pottery. Burnishing technique is most probably of barbaric origin and it is used by Romanized natives as well as newcomers. This new "trend" is caused by advances of barbaric groups from north and west (Quadi, Marcomanni, Suebi, etc.) whose trade goods come through trade routes, and settling of eastern barbaric groups along Danube limes, who bring their pottery tradition. New pottery forms are introduced, as well as new production techniques. This is most notable in increased production of handmade pottery, and reintroduction of burnishing technique (Fig. 17) at the end of Roman period. Besides burnished and polished pottery glazed ware appear in larger quantities in the second third of the 4th century. The shape of these ware is traditionally Roman (mostly food storage) and imitates metal, glass and African vessels with red coating.

Site on Kralja Zvonimira 12 is very important because for the first time we have three residential objects that most probably belong to Gepidic period. These objects can be dated to the 5th and 6th century. The pottery forms from SU 14/15 and SU 31/32 date these objects to the end of the 4th and the beginning of the 5th century, while SU 41/42 is younger and can be dated to the end of the 5th and the beginning of the 6th century (Fig. 11, Fig. 14). These objects were the first fully explored objects,



Fig. 16. Loom from Kralja Zvonimira street 12 site
(made by: A. Rapan Papeša)



Fig. 17. Stamped and burnished motifs from pottery found in
Cibalae (made by: D. Roksandić)

enclosed units within the late Roman layer in Vinkovci. A similar situation is found in Glagoljaška 16 site. At this site, three Roman objects, two of which were built during the 2nd and 3rd century (Objects 1 and 2). Modifications of these objects were recorded with at least 2 architectural phases. The last phase of reconstruction, expansion and demolition took place during the 4th century when Object 3 was built. It is a large wooden object located east of two mentioned buildings. To the north of Object 3 there are several pits and wells, and on the east there is a waste pit SU 19/20. According to the explored situation, this pit could be a part of wooden Object 3 and could serve as a waste pit. The pit consists of very high quality pottery fragments, bone comb, metal and stone tools and bone fragments. Pottery material from the pit is very specific and can definitely date back to the first half of 6th century. From this enclosed unit comes very significant finding of a pottery fragment (bottom and belly of a cup or bowl) with polished surface and stamped decoration (Fig. 10: 10). According to the form, type (UZ 4b) and decorating technique the closest analogy is with the vessel from Szolnok-Szanda grave in Hungary³⁸. Similar objects appear in the CSS and Korzo site, which may be related to the late-Roman, post-Roman or Gepidic period, but because of insufficient information and devastation of these layers with modern buildings it is impossible to make more concrete conclusions. The only indicator of such claims is the 14C analysis of the late roman enclosed pit SU 91 nearby analysed wooden object at the Korzo site dating back to the period of 570–640 AD³⁹.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The stratigraphic situation in the area of Vinkovci is very complex and mostly disturbed by modern construction. This mainly refers to the late Roman layer, which is very shallow and is difficult to detect. Nevertheless, recent research has given us very favourable and concrete results. Based on vast amount of information provided by study of pottery material, especially interdisciplinary approach we can get clear picture of life in roman Cibalae. A study of Late Roman period would be incomplete without asking a question related to ethnicity. This question was problematic thus far due to isolated archaeological material containing no context, but in light of recent discoveries we might be able to answer it.

Recent research in the area of former province of Pannonia shows that native Roman population continued to live in their native areas until at least middle of the 5th century. During this turbulent period population has surely absorbed barbarian elements from Germanic tribes who settled in this area. This is mostly evident in material found in graves, parts of clothing and common household objects. Archaeological material covered in this paper confirms that there was, indeed, a process of barbarization of native Roman population in Cibalae. New types of pottery and decorative techniques are introduced which are distinctively Germanic, while technology remains traditionally Roman, far superior to barbaric. Mineralogical and petrological study, as well as chemical analysis shows that material used in pottery production was sourced locally. Recent archaeological researches suggest strong presence of Gepidic community in the area of Cibalae. The closest analogies can be found in the Tisza area where we can find such ceramics in the Gepidic settlements, but also along the Danube limes where this material is known in Late Roman settlements. However, the question of presence of Lombards and Sarmatians, who according to historical sources settled in the area, remains open, can be expected in the area of Vinkovci.

³⁸ BÓNA–NAGY 2002, Taf. 41, 93/1.

³⁹ Analysed in Beta Analytic INC, Miami, Florida, AMS-standard, Laboratory number Beta-248666.

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Gepiden im Kontext des
völkerwanderungszeitlichen Europas /
The Gepids and the early Medieval Europe

DIE NÖRDLICHE GRENZZONE DES OSTRÖMISCHEN REICHES UND SKANDINAVIEN IM 5. UND 6. JAHRHUNDERT

Dieter Quast

The Danube border of the eastern part of the Roman Empire and Scandinavia in the 5th and 6th centuries

The Carpathian Basin and Pannonia were subject to massive political changes from the late 4th to the mid-6th century. Here emerged, on the northern border of the Eastern Roman Empire and in the former Dacian provinces, various short-lived power structures, of which the Hunnic Empire was the most successful. At a time when the warrior tradition was of enormous importance, this power factor was a magnet for warrior groups from the distant regions north of the Danube, offering the prospect of success, glory, and booty. The Carpathian Basin and Pannonia attracted young men from all over the world. In the literature, these intense relations between Scandinavia and the Danube region have so far been ascribed to trade - especially that involving amber and furs - or to mobile warrior bands. Presumably, no monocausal explanation exists, but current research is tending toward the latter interpretation.

It is interesting to view the configuration of the area between the Danube region and Scandinavia. Here, the archaeological sources reveal the picture one would expect. The Danube region -or rather the Eastern Roman Empire - and Scandinavia can be recorded as „centres“ on a map. By definition, these core areas (not considered in this study), are more or less consistently delineated. In the „foreground“ one finds intensively enforced „influence zones“. Then there is a „gap“ before the influence zone of the other core area begins. The influence zones are located on the southern Baltic coast and north of the Danube border; the gap covers much of present-day Poland, which has so far yielded only meagre deposits of finds from the Migration Period. However, such a sharply bipolar view seems incomplete: there are neighbouring „centres“ along the route between the two core areas, which tend to create a „multipolar“ image. Of course, not all „centres“ are equally strong - that is also not the case for the Eastern Roman Empire or Scandinavia - but this suggests a more complex picture, precisely along the communication route. Theoretically, two areas can be added to the west and the east. Archaeologically, they can also be well understood. The Thuringian Empire, whose precise extent has not been established, controlled the traffic in the Elbe region. Numerous new finds from the Altmark underscore this, as do those already well known. The situation becomes even more apparent in the Olsztyn Group, where involvement in elite networks leads to the formation of a distinct archaeological culture in which influences from the north are just as significant as those from the south and the west.

Networks existed not only between the Eastern Roman Empire and Scandinavia; the Carpathian Basin was also linked to an international nexus extending to the east and west. Therefore, the eagle-head buckles from Gaul must in no way be connected to the relocation of Gepids by Theodoric the Great in 523, especially since not all known evidence comes from Provence. Although their distribution points to the mobility of people, it should not be assumed that these were necessarily mobile women. A connection with mobile warrior groups is just as likely. As Heiko Steuer asserts, „Jewellery and weapons in a larger geographical area [...] can be understood as a reflection of the sphere of activity of a retinue (Gefolgschaft) and not as trade and exchange“.

Keywords: Gepids; Scandinavia; East-Roman Empire; Thuringians

Das Karpatenbecken und Pannonien waren vom ausgehenden 4. bis in das mittlere 6. Jahrhundert hinein massiven politischen Veränderungen unterworfen. Hier, an der Nordgrenze des



Abb. 1. Herkunft der Kämpfer des Islamischen Staates. Karte: Michael Ober, RGZM
(umgezeichnet nach „Spiegel online“, Freitag, 28.11.2014)

Oströmischen Reiches und in den ehemaligen dakischen Provinzen, entstanden unterschiedliche, kurzlebige Herrschaftsstrukturen, von denen das Hunnenreich am erfolgreichsten war. Besiegte Verbände wurden integriert, wodurch die Anzahl an Kriegern stetig stieg. In einer Zeit, in der das Kriegertum von großer Bedeutung war, stellte dieser Machtfaktor daher ein Magnet für Kriegergruppen aus den Weiten nördlich der Donau dar, bot sich doch hier die Aussicht auf Erfolg, Ruhm und Beute. Weiträumige Kommunikationsnetzwerke gewährleisteten den schnellen Austausch selbst zwischen entfernten Gebieten. Vielleicht stellt die heutige Situation in Syrien und im Irak ein passendes Vergleichsbeispiel dar. Dort war ein Machtvakuum entstanden, das unterschiedliche Gruppen für sich zu nutzen suchten. Besonders erfolgreich war dabei zeitweise der Islamische Staat („IS“). Dadurch wurde er zum Anziehungspunkt für junge Männer aus allen Teilen der Welt, die hier etwas erhofften, für das sie einen hohen Einsatz, nämlich ihr Leben, einbrachten (Abb. 1). Dieser Vergleich hakt natürlich in einem entscheidenden Punkt, denn heute sind große Räume relativ mühelos zu überwinden. Die längste Zeit der Menschheitsgeschichte waren lange Wege zeitaufwendig, gefährlich und mühevoll. In der Forschung ist das zwar bekannt, sie bleibt aber häufig bei dem Nachweis stehen, dass große Räume in Netzwerke eingebunden waren, und rekonstruiert Verkehrs- oder Kommunikationswege.¹ Im Folgenden soll nicht nur der Güteraustausch zwischen Skandinavien und der Grenzzone des Oströmischen Reiches im 5. und 6. Jahrhundert untersucht werden. Es geht auch darum, die zwischen diesen beiden „Punkten“ liegenden Räume einzubeziehen, um die notwendigen Rahmenbedingungen zu beschreiben.

¹ Z.B. ARRHENIUS 1987; BEMMANN 2006; NÄSMAN 1984, 91–128; KAZANSKI 2013.

Im Folgenden werden die oströmischen Funde Skandinaviens in einen weiteren Kontext gestellt. Dabei gilt es, ein „Pendant“ zu diesen Funden, d.h. skandinavische Objekte im Oströmischen Reich und an dessen Nordgrenze herauszuarbeiten und zu diskutieren. Ein kurzer Blick in die vorangegangenen Jahrhunderte und jüngeren Perioden dient ebenso der Einordnung. Kontakte zwischen Skandinavien und Südosteuropa haben lange Traditionen und sind bereits für die Bronzezeit nachzuweisen.² In unserem Kontext mag es genügen, einige besonders auffällige Beispiele aus dem ersten nachchristlichen Jahrhundert, nämlich die nahezu identischen Gold“ringe“ aus Havor auf Gotland (S) und dem antiken Olbia an der Mündung des südlichen Bug (heute bei Parutino, Mykolajiwskaja obl., UA) zu erwähnen. Beide weisen trompetenförmige Enden auf und ihre Mittelteile sind geflochten, also eigentlich eher Ketten als Ringe.³ Für die späte römische Kaiserzeit hat Joachim Werner 1988 die Beziehungen zwischen Fünen und der Černjachov-Kultur herausgearbeitet; davon beeinflusst erschienen weitere russische Studien zu diesem Thema.⁴ Für die Latène- und die römische Kaiserzeit haben Verbreitungskarten einiger Fibeltypen der jüngst veröffentlichten Dissertation von Kirsten Hellström eindrücklich die Verbindungen zwischen dem nördlichen Schwarzmeergebiet und dem Norden und deren Routen östlich der Karpaten visualisiert.⁵

Für die Völkerwanderungszeit sind Beziehungen zwischen Schweden und dem mittleren und unteren Donaauraum durch die drei eine Stilgruppe bezeichnenden Fundorte Untersiebenbrunn (Niederösterreich, A), Sösdala (Skåne, S) und Coșoveni (Oltenia, RO) beschrieben. Die sich in Sösdala andeutende Übernahme eines „hunnischen“ Totenrituals, eines sog. Totenopfers, belegt besonders intensive Kontakte von Kriegergruppen.⁶ Deutlich darüber hinaus ging vor einigen Jahren Lotte Hedeager, die anhand einiger Ohringfunde meinte, das hunnische Herrschaftsgebiet habe sich bis nach Skandinavien erstreckt.⁷

In jedem Fall sind für die Völkerwanderungszeit signifikante Beziehungen zwischen Skandinavien und dem Donaauraum nachweisbar, die aber ungefähr ab der Mitte des 6. Jahrhunderts an Intensivität verlieren, sei es durch das Entstehen neuer Herrschaftsgebiete entlang der Wegstrecke, sei es aufgrund einer Umorientierung der vendelzeitlichen Krieger und Händler hin zum Frankenreich.⁸ Doch auch in dieser Zeit finden sich immer wieder Indizien für Kontakte zwischen Skandinavien und dem Karpatenbecken, selbst aus der Ukraine sind vereinzelt Nachweise bekannt, wie die Schnabelfibel aus Šestovitca (Chernihiv obl., UA) (Abb. 7,3).⁹ In der Wikingerzeit schließlich intensivieren sich die Kontakte zu Byzanz wieder, doch werden nun auch weiter östlich gelegene Flussrouten genutzt. Ein Runenstein aus Ed in Uppland wurde zur Erinnerung an Rögvaldr gesetzt, der als Söldner in der byzantinischen Armee diente.¹⁰ In einer Bestattung auf der Insel Berezan im Mündungsgebiet des Dnjepr wurde ein sekundär genutzter Stein gefunden, der vermutlich ursprünglich auf einem Grabhügel stand. Er zeigte folgende Inschrift: „Grani hat dieses Grab gemacht für Karl, seinen Partner“.¹¹ Eindrucksvoller sind die

² Vgl. z.B. e.g. KNAPE–NORDSTRÖM 1994; THRANE 2010.

³ NYLÉN ET AL. 2005, 26–33; PESCH 2015, 285–290.

⁴ WERNER 1988; LEVADA 2006; LEVADA 2018, 196–201; vgl. auch STORGAARD 1990; STORGAARD 2003, 119–123.

⁵ HELLSTRÖM 2018, Abb. 12 und 65.

⁶ zuletzt FABECH–NÄSMAN 2017 (mit weiterer Lit.); GÖRMANN 1993.

⁷ HEDEAGER 2007; HEDEAGER 2008; NÄSMAN 2008; NÄSMAN 2009.

⁸ QUAST 2018, 521–522; vgl. in diesem Kontext auch DANNHEIMER 1974; MARTIN 2004; SIEGMUND 2004; MAGNUS 2004; HØILUND NIELSEN 2009; WAMERS 2018, 233.

⁹ KHAMAYKO–ZOTSENKO 2007, 258–259 mit Taf. 25.

¹⁰ WESSÉN 1940, 157–164, Nr. 112 mit Taf. 73.

¹¹ KAT. BERLIN 1992, 309, Nr. 312.

skandinavischen Runeninschriften, die in die Balustrade der Hagia Sophia in Istanbul und den Marmorlöwen aus Piräus bei Athen (seit 1687 in Venedig) geritzt wurden.¹²

ZEIT UND RAUM

Die folgende Studie gilt dem Zeitraum zwischen ca. 375 und 568, der traditionell als Völkerwanderungszeit, seit einigen Jahrzehnten aber inhaltlich treffender auch als „Transformation of the Roman World“ bezeichnet wird. Archäologisch werden somit die Stufe D und die sog. Langobarden- und Gepidenzeit abgedeckt. Nur weil die genannten historischen Eckdaten auch die Datierung der archäologischen Stufen beeinflussen, scheint hier eine Parallelität gegeben zu sein.¹³ Für diesen Aufsatz sind mögliche zeitliche Verschiebungen aber bedeutungslos, denn es wird lediglich eine grobe chronologische Einordnung vorgenommen.

Der Untersuchungsraum besteht aus drei Teilen: Pannonien, bis ins 5. Jahrhundert hinein Teil des Römischen Reiches, das Karpatenbecken als unmittelbares Grenzvorland und das Römische Reich südlich der Donau. Dabei sollte man sich stets vergegenwärtigen, dass der heutige Verlauf der Donau kanalisiert ist und noch bis in die Neuzeit ein komplett anderes Bild bot, nämlich eine breite, wohl versumpfte Zone mit zahlreichen Nebenarmen.¹⁴ Ohne Zweifel war die Donau keinesfalls eine klare Grenze und das Gebiet nördlich davon wurde in die Grenzsicherung einbezogen, wie dies auch von anderen Teilen des Reiches bekannt ist (*Abb. 2*).¹⁵

FUNDE AUS DEM OSTRÖMISCHEN REICH UND DESSEN NÖRDLICHEN VORLAND IN SKANDINAVIEN

Zu den auffälligsten „Importen“ gehören die zahlreichen Goldmünzen, die vor allem auf den Ostseeinseln Bornholm, Gotland und Öland entdeckt wurden, doch auch aus Pommern sind sie in großer Anzahl überliefert.¹⁶ Von den skandinavischen Solidi entstammen über 600 oströmischen Prägstätten.¹⁷ Die Zufuhr dieser Münzen setzte in der zweiten Hälfte des 5. Jahrhunderts während des Bestehens des Hunnenreiches mit Prägungen Theodosius' II. (408-450) ein, und fand anscheinend in der Regierungszeit Justinians I. (526-565), ungefähr in den Jahren 540-550, einen relativ plötzlichen Abbruch.¹⁸ Man muss sich zusätzlich vergegenwärtigen, dass alle anderen Goldfunde Skandinaviens wohl aus eingeschmolzenem Münzgold gefertigt wurden, auch wenn dessen Herkunft nicht mehr geklärt werden kann. Die enorme Zahl von ca. 900-1000 Solidi¹⁹ in den Hortfunden lässt auf einen regelmäßigen Zustrom schließen, der zumeist mit wandernden Kriegergruppen in Verbindung gebracht wurde. Dabei wurden oft die Heruler genannt, über die Prokop in seinen Gotenkriegen (VI,14,37-42; 15,27-36) berichtet, sie hätten – nachdem sie ihren König Ochus getötet hatten – eine Gesandtschaft nach Thule geschickt, um einen Nachfolger

¹² SVÄRDSTRÖM 1970; LARSSON 1989; KNIRK 1999; KENDRICK 1930, 176 und Frontispiece; GRAHAM-CAMPBELL 1980, 162-163; CIGGAAR 1996, 126-127; Vgl. allgemein YOTOV 2003. Von historischer Seite vgl. jetzt die umfassende Studie von SCHEEL 2015.

¹³ PETRAUSKAS 2007; KONCZ 2015.

¹⁴ BUGARSKI-IVANIŠEVIĆ 2012, *Abb. 1* und *4*.

¹⁵ QUAST 2008, 301-315.

¹⁶ WERNER 1949; KYHLBERG 1986. Zu Pommern: CIOŁEK 2007, 295, Karte 7. Vgl. weiterhin für Finnland: HACKMANN 1925; für Lettland und Estland: HACKMAN 1938, 34-35; Weißrussland: LAVYSH-WOŁOSZYN 2011; Dänemark: BONDESSON-BONDESON 2012.

¹⁷ FISCHER 2005, 252-254 mit *Tab. 3* und *5*. Alle Daten zu den Solidi in Skandinavien stellte mit Svante Fischer aus dem LEO-Projekt zu Verfügung. Auch an dieser Stelle möchte ich ihm noch einmal herzlich dafür danken.

¹⁸ FAGERLIE 1967; FISCHER 2014; FISCHER ET AL. 2011.

¹⁹ Neben oströmischen Prägungen liegen auch merowingische, west- und ostgotische vor. FISCHER 2005, 252-254 mit *Tab. 3* und *5*.

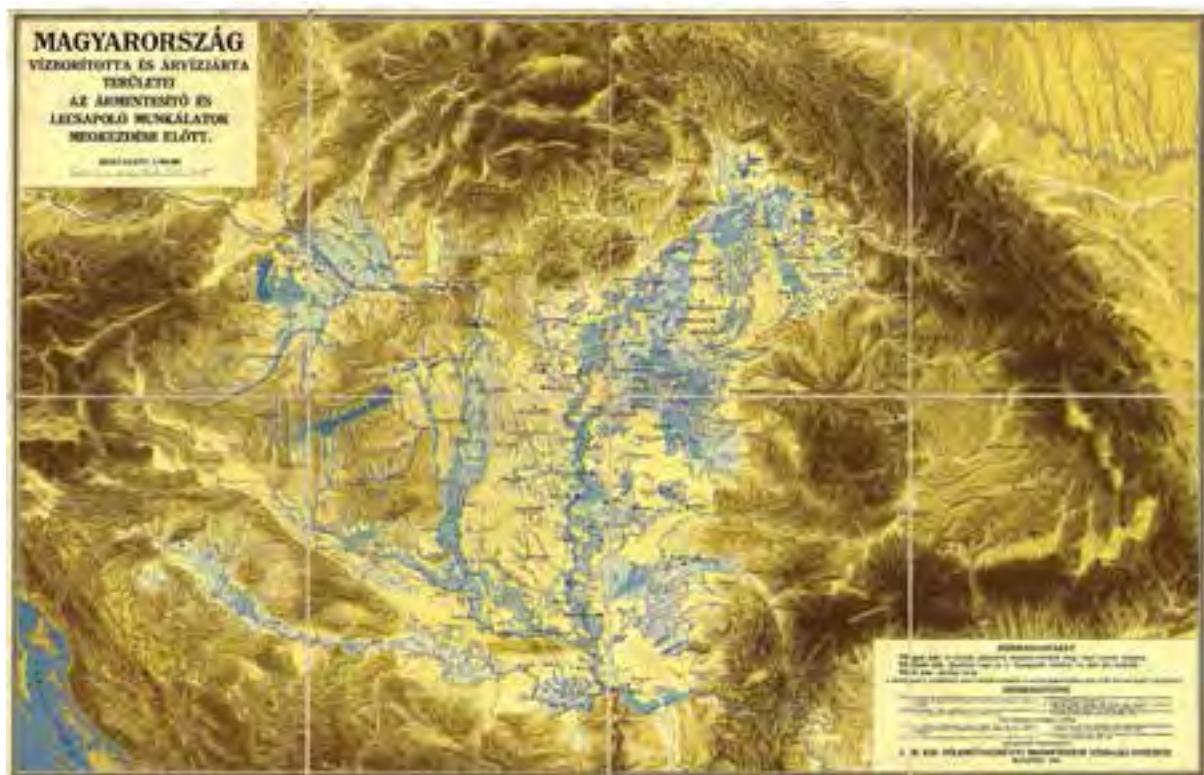


Abb. 2. Hydrographische Karte des Karpatenbeckens und Pannoniens aus dem Jahre 1938. Die blau markierten Bereiche stellen die Bereiche dar, die bei Hochwasser länger (z.T. monatelang) unter Wasser stehen. (Hydrographisches Institut des Ungarischen Königlichen Landwirtschaftsministeriums)

aus der königlichen Linie zu gewinnen.²⁰ Dieser Exkurs Prokops wirkt zwar sehr anekdotenhaft, dennoch wurden diese weiten „Kommunikationsräume“ in dieser Zeit genutzt, wie gerade die Solidifunde im Ostseeraum erkennen lassen.

Spekuliert wurde darüber, warum so viele Goldhorte im völkerwanderungszeitlichen Ostseeraum vergraben wurden. In den letzten 15 Jahren wird eine gewaltige Naturkatastrophe dafür verantwortlich gemacht, die auf der nördlichen Hemisphäre zwischen den Jahren 536 und 541 für eine plötzliche Klimaverschlechterung sorgte.²¹ Prinzipiell sind aber auch andere Gründe denkbar.²²

Zusätzlich zu den Solidi fanden weitere Objekte ihren Weg nach Skandinavien. Quantitativ reichen diese aber nicht an das Münzgold heran und hier sollen auch nur einige Beispiele angeführt werden. Nicht aus dem byzantinischen Raum, sondern anscheinend aus dem Gebiet der Černjachov-Kultur stammen die zahlreichen dickwandigen Facettenschliffgläser, die gehäuft seit der Stufe C3 bis in die erste Hälfte des 5. Jahrhunderts über den Weichselraum in den Norden gelangten.²³ Das Gleiche gilt für die römischen Goldmultipla.²⁴ Als Rohstoff gelangte Almandin in den Norden und wurde von lokalen Goldschmieden beispielsweise auf Bügelscheibefibeln verarbeitet.²⁵ Mineralogische Untersuchungen haben ergeben, dass die meisten Steine aus Indien kamen, und

²⁰ VIERCK 1989, 68; ARRHENIUS 1987, 442–443; SARANTIS 2016, 257. Kritisch: STEINACHER 2010, 353–355.

²¹ Allgemein: KEYS 2000, 343–403. Zuletzt mit weiterer Literatur: TVAURI 2014.

²² BÁLINT 1981, 126–129.

²³ STRAUME 1987; GAVRITUKHIN 2011; LUND HANSEN 2011; FABECH–NÄSMAN 2017, 335 mit Abb. 10; PETRAUSKAS 2018.

²⁴ BURSCHE 1998.

²⁵ z.B. BRANCA ET AL. 1999, 61, Abb. 5; OLSEN 2005–2006, 484 „Type E“ mit Abb. 1.



Abb. 3. Goldene Schuhschnallen mit Granateinlagen. 1. Gudme (Fyn, DK); 2. Tournai (Prov. Hainaut; B) „Childerichgrab“; 3. Apahida (jud. Cluj, RO) Grab II; 4. Blučina (okr. Brno-venkov, CZ); 5. Tongeren (Prov. Limburg, B) (M. 1:1. 1 nach HØILUND NIELSEN–VANG PETERSEN 1993, 226; 2 nach QUAST 2015, 187 Taf. 2,3-4; 3 nach KAT. FRANKFURT 1994, 240 Nr. 101,8; 4 nach KAT. NÜRNBERG 1987, 363 Taf. 57; 5 nach KAT. MAASTRICHT 2017, 99–100)

ihr Weg sicherlich über das Byzantinische Reich führte. Ausführliche Auswertungen der erhobenen Daten sind in Vorbereitung und erfolgen an anderer Stelle.²⁶ Einige cloisonnéverzierte Objekte des 5. Jahrhunderts könnten auch als Importe aus dem Oströmischen Reich ins Ostseegebiet gelangt sein,²⁷ etwa die kleine Schuhschnalle aus Gudme (Fyn, DK), von der nur der ovale Beschlag erhalten ist.²⁸ Die besten Vergleichsfunde stammen aus dem Childerichgrab in Tournai (Prov. Hainaut, B), aus Apahida (jud. Cluj, RO), Blučina (okr. Brno-venkov, CZ) und aus Tongeren (Prov. Limburg, B) (Abb. 3). Sie werden seit einigen Jahrzehnten als byzantinische „Importe“ interpretiert.²⁹ Das gilt auch für die Spangenhelme vom Typ Baldenheim, von denen Fragmente aus Tuna auf Gotland stammen.³⁰ Die Datierung der gotländischen Funde kann nur allgemein mit der Laufzeit der Helme umschrieben werden, da keine chronologisch auswertbaren Begleitfunde beobachtet wurden. Sie gehören somit in den Zeitraum vom letzten Drittel des 5. bis ins 6. Jahrhundert.

Einem Kontext des ausgehenden 6. Jahrhunderts in Gamla Uppsala (Uppsala län, S) ist ein reiternomadischer Spiegel zuzuordnen, der zur Zeit der Grablegung bereits weit über 100 Jahre alt gewesen sein dürfte.³¹

Aus den beiden ersten Dritteln des 6. Jahrhunderts stammen einige Bestandteile weiblicher Kleidung. Eine bronzene Zierscheibe aus einem Haus des späten 5./frühen 6. Jahrhunderts aus Dejbjerg (Jütland, DK) findet die beste Parallele in Grab 94 des langobardischen Gräberfeldes aus Lužice (okr. Hodonín, CZ) (Abb. 4).³² In Dejbjerg wurde die Zierscheibe zusammen mit zahlreichen Scherben von Glasgefäßen aus dem fränkischen Reichsgebiet in einem Haus entdeckt, dem eine Funktion ähnlich den wikingerzeitlichen Hallen zugesprochen wird.³³ In merowingerzeitlichen Reihengräberfeldern sind Zierscheiben zwar häufig anzutreffen,³⁴ doch fehlt es an guten Parallelen zu dem Exemplar aus Jütland, das man bislang lediglich mit dem langobardischen Fund vergleichen kann.



Abb. 4. Bronzene Zierscheiben aus Dejbjerg (Jütland, DK) und Lužice (okr. Hodonín, CZ) Grab 94. (M. 1:1. 1 nach EGEBERG HANSEN 1993–1994, 225 Abb. 11,3; 2 nach KLANICA–KLANICOVÁ 2011, Taf. 72,14)

²⁶ QUAST ET AL. 2018.

²⁷ Vgl. ARRHENIUS 1987, 444, Abb. 3; ARRHENIUS 1990, 123–129

²⁸ HØILUND NIELSEN–VANG PETERSEN 1993, 226 Abb. unten links.

²⁹ HØILUND NIELSEN–VANG PETERSEN 1993, 227; QUAST 2015, 168 Nr. 7–8 (Tournai); KAT. NÜRNBERG 1987, 375, Nr. VII.13.h Taf. 57 (Blučina); KAT. FRANKFURT 1994, 240 Nr. 101.8 (Apahida); KAT. MAASTRICHT 2017, 99–100 (Tongeren).

³⁰ SPERBER 2006, 267–268, Nr. 39–40.

³¹ ARRHENIUS 1987, 461–462, Nr. 5,b; ARRHENIUS 1982, 73–74 mit Abb. 8.

³² EGEBERG HANSEN 1993–1994, 225, Abb. 11,3; KLANICA–KLANICOVÁ 2011, 288, Taf. 72,14.

³³ EGEBERG HANSEN 1993–1994, 228–232.

³⁴ Zwar nicht mehr ganz modern, aber immer noch grundlegend als Zusammenstellung: RENNER 1970.

Nur allgemein ins 6. Jahrhundert ist eine mediterrane Bronzescheibenfibel mit Almandineinlagen aus Gudings (Gotland, S) zu datieren.³⁵

Schwieriger zu interpretieren sind einige kontinentale Fibeln, etwa aus Uppåkra (Skåne, S). Die von dort überlieferten S-Fibeln gehören zu den Typen „Schwechat-Pallersdorf“, „Schretzheim 192“ und „Paragrafenfibel“, die sowohl in Pannonien als auch in Süddeutschland und dem Rheinland verbreitet waren.³⁶ Bei einer Zikadenfibel aus Søtoftegård, Ganløse (Sjælland, DK), ist eine südosteuropäische Herkunft sehr wahrscheinlich, auch wenn bislang keine Abbildung davon publiziert ist.³⁷ Ebenfalls eng verbunden mit dem gepidischen Raum ist eine Bügelfibel aus Uppåkra (Gem. Staffanstorp, Skåne, S), deren Publikation Ágnes B. Tóth vorbereitet.³⁸ Uppåkra ist eines der südsandinavischen Reichtumszentren der Völkerwanderungszeit, in denen Einflüsse aus unterschiedlichen Regionen fassbar sind. Sie stellen Knotenpunkte im Netzwerk der Elitenkommunikation dar. Gerade auch für die Entwicklung der Brakteaten, die auf römische Goldmultipla zurückgehen, waren diese Orte von großer Bedeutung.³⁹

Auf eine weitere „Nachahmung“ donauländischer Vorbilder haben Jan Bemmann und Alexandra Pesch hingewiesen. Für beide ist der goldene Armring aus Bakodpuszta (Kom. Bács-Kiskun, H) das unmittelbare Vorbild für das ebenfalls goldene Exemplar aus Tebbestrup (Jütland, DK).⁴⁰ Auch der Riemenverteiler mit Raubvogelkopfbenden aus Sjörup (Skåne, S) geht wohl auf donauländische Vorbilder zurück.⁴¹ Bemmann sieht zudem die skandinavischen Knebeltrensen, etwa jene aus Vännebo (Västergötland, S), durch reiternomadische Vorbilder beeinflusst.⁴²

SKANDINAVISCHES FUNDE IN SÜDOSTEUROPA

Um die südosteuropäischen Funde in Skandinavien einordnen zu können, ist es sinnvoll, die Verhältnisse einmal aus der anderen Richtung zu betrachten und Hinweise auf skandinavische Objekte an der Donaugrenze des Oströmischen Reiches zu analysieren. Für die römische Kaiserzeit liegen vergleichbare Untersuchungen durchaus vor, wobei es vor allem Fibeln und handgemachte Keramik aus den Limeskastellen sind, die mit der Anwesenheit fremder Menschen in Verbindung gebracht werden.⁴³ Dieses Modell dominiert schließlich die Interpretation archäologischer Quellen der Völkerwanderungszeit, denn hier führt die schriftliche Überlieferung zu einem ausgeprägten Bemühen, die Barbaren, die im ehemals weströmischen Reichsgebiet ihre Herrschaften errichteten, auch den archäologischen Zeugnissen zuzuweisen.⁴⁴ Ob dies überhaupt möglich ist, wird derzeit konträr diskutiert und man erhofft sich von naturwissenschaftlichen Untersuchungen (aDNA, Isotopie) Sicherheiten.⁴⁵

Betrachtet man die skandinavischen Funde der Völkerwanderungszeit, die entlang der oströmischen Donaugrenze zutage kamen, so fällt zunächst einmal auf, dass es sich zumeist um Bestandteile von Frauenkleidung handelt. Gerade die Fibeln weisen im 5. und 6. Jahrhundert eine

³⁵ NERMAN 1969/1975, 15, Taf. 12,101; LUNDSTRÖM 1985, 278, Abb. 5. Vgl. allgemein QUAST 2006.

³⁶ BRANCA ET AL. 1999, 61, Abb. 4; HÄRDH 2003a, 44, Abb. 7; HÄRDH 2003b, 67, Abb. 15; HÄRDH 2008, 232, Abb. 10. Zu den Fibeltypen vgl. BRATHER-WALTER 2009, 67–68; 90–91; 95–97 Fundlisten 5,22; 5,33; 5,37 und Karten 4 und 7.

³⁷ HÄRDH 2008, 233.

³⁸ TÓTH in Vorber.; vgl. vorerst TÓTH 1999.

³⁹ AXBOE 2004, 216–223; 260–266; PESCH 2007, 381–391.

⁴⁰ BEMMANN 2006, 227–228; PESCH 2015, 281; vgl. jetzt (in Unkenntnis der beiden hier zitierten Arbeiten) auch MASTYKOVA 2018.

⁴¹ BEMMANN 2006, 178; FABECH-NÄSMAN 2017a, 322 Abb. 3.

⁴² BEMMANN 2006, 178.

⁴³ WALTER 2000; STEIDL 2000, 121–126.

⁴⁴ Vgl. z. B. MÜLLER-WILLE-SCHNEIDER 1993; BIERBRAUER 1994; QUAST 2005; zuletzt BIERBRAUER 2008; kritisch ablehnend BRATHER 2004; BRATHER 2009; FEHR 2010, 691–783; vgl. dagegen wiederum BIERBRAUER 2004.

⁴⁵ MOOSBAUER 2005, 109–114; AMORIM ET AL. 2018.

eher regionale Verbreitung auf. Objekte, die weit außerhalb ihres eigentlichen Verbreitungsgebietes zutage treten, in einem Raum, wo wiederum andere Typen gebraucht wurden, sind daher schnell als fremd zu identifizieren. Es verwundert daher auch kaum, dass eine gleicharmige Relieffibel aus dem gepidenzeitlichen Gräberfeld von Szentes-Nagyhegy (Kom. Csongrád, H) bereits früh als „Import“ erkannt wurde.⁴⁶ Sie stammt aus dem Frauengrab 84, das ins zweite Drittel des 6. Jahrhunderts datiert. Allein schon die Verbreitung der Fibeln dieses Typs zeigt, dass es sich um einen Fremdfund handelt. Bente Magnus hat vor einigen Jahren eine Kartierung vorgelegt, die verdeutlicht, dass von den 18 bekannten Exemplaren nur eines aus Ungarn stammt, die restlichen hingegen aus dem Ostseegebiet (ein Exemplar aus Karelien, zwei aus Westfinnland, eines aus der südwestschwedischen Provinz Västergötland), wo sich mit 13 gleicharmigen Relieffibeln ein Schwerpunkt in Ostschweden abzeichnet.⁴⁷ Gussformfragmente für derartige Fibeln sind aus Helgö (Uppland, S) und Bäckby (Västmanland, S) bekannt.⁴⁸ Doch auch der sorgfältig ausgeführte Tierstil I – es handelt sich um die Stilphase B nach Haseloff⁴⁹ – lässt kaum Zweifel an einer Anfertigung der Fibel aus Szentes-Nagyhegy im Norden aufkommen. Ganz gleich, wie das Stück in das gepidische Herrschaftsgebiet gelangte, es belegt Beziehungen zwischen diesen weit voneinander entfernten Regionen.

Das gilt nicht für einige Bügelfibeln, die nach skandinavischen Vorbildern gefertigt wurden, von diesen aber doch so weit abweichen, dass sie wohl eher im Umfeld der Fundorte hergestellt wurden.⁵⁰ Zwei nahezu identische Bügelfibeln aus Härlec (obl. Vraca, BG), dem antiken *Augusta* in der Provinz *Dacia ripensis*, und Szolnok-Szanda, Grab 73 (Kom. Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok, H) (Abb. 5.1–2), wirken zwar skandinavisch, allerdings zeigen die Ausarbeitungen der Verzierungen, dass es sich keinesfalls um Importe handelt, sondern eher um lokale Produkte.⁵¹ Dasselbe gilt für eine Bügelfibel aus Stari Kostolac / *Viminacium* „Kasiol“, zu der vor wenigen Jahren eine gute Parallele aus Radziejów (woj. kujawsko-pomorskie, PL) (Abb. 5.3–4) zutage kam, wenngleich die Verzierung des erstgenannten Exemplars nur in einer ungenauen Skizze überliefert ist.⁵² Entlang der Nordgrenze des Oströmischen Reiches gab es anscheinend Gruppen, die Fibeln entsprechend ihren Vorstellungen nach fremden Vorbildern fertigen ließen.

Ein interessantes Frauengrab wurde 1954 innerhalb der Nordnekropole vor den Mauern der römischen und frühbyzantinischen Stadt *Ulpiana / Iustiniana Secunda* (Gračanica bei Priština, Kosovo) entdeckt.⁵³ Ein Solidus Justinians I. – zwischen 538 und 545 geprägt – liefert einen *terminus post quem* und die Bügelfibeln weisen auf den Zeitraum von ca. 550–570. Von Bedeutung ist das Paar „skandinavischer“ Relieffibeln mit Bügelscheibe. Beide Exemplare fanden sich in Schulterlage. Ein Vergleich mit den skandinavischen Funden lässt aber vermuten, dass die Exemplare aus Gračanica mit ihrem „flachen“ Kerbschnitt lokale Produkte sind.⁵⁴

Skandinavischer Herkunft sind zweifellos die vier Solidi (Valentinian III., Honorius, Libius Severus) mit Schmuckösen und filigranverzierten Hülsen, die 1906 und 1925 in Udovice (SRB), zwischen *Singidunum* und *Viminacium*, entdeckt wurden (Abb. 6).⁵⁵ Die Hülsen, die zwischen den Solidi aufgefädelt waren, finden einzig in Skandinavien Vergleiche, dort zumeist mit Goldbrakteaten kombiniert.⁵⁶ Aus Ungarn sind auch einige modelgleiche Goldbrakteaten bekannt,

⁴⁶ Zuletzt mit älterer Literatur: NAGY 2007, 86–87, Taf. 46–53; MAGNUS 2007.

⁴⁷ MAGNUS 2007, 180–183 mit Abb. 4 und Nachtrag auf Seite 191.

⁴⁸ MAGNUS 2008, 227–229.

⁴⁹ HASELOFF 1981, 180–196.

⁵⁰ Grundlegend HØILUND NIELSEN 2009.

⁵¹ MAŠOV 1980, 32, Abb. 14 oben links; HARALAMBIEVA 1984, 50, Abb. 6,b; NAGY 2007, 87, Taf. 55,1.3

⁵² IVANIŠEVIĆ ET AL. 2006, 232, Taf. 46; KONTNY 2012.

⁵³ Zuletzt mit älterer Literatur: MILINKOVIĆ 2003.

⁵⁴ SJØVOLD 1993; OLSEN 2005–2006.

⁵⁵ FISCHER 2008; POPOVIĆ 2008 (78–79 mit alternativer Einordnung).

⁵⁶ FISCHER 2008; LAMM 2009; PESCH 2015, 304–307 mit Abb. 164.



Abb. 5. Bügelfibeln nach skandinavischen Vorbildern. 1. Härlec Augusta (obl. Vraca, BG); 2. Szolnok-Szanda (Kom. Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok, H) Grab 73; 3. Stari Kostolac Viminacium „Kasiol“; 4. Radziejów (Woj. Kujawsko-Pomorskie, PL) (M. 1:1. 1-2. nach NAGY 2007, Taf. 55,1.3; 3. nach IVANIŠEVIĆ ET AL. 2006, Taf. 46; 4. nach KONTNY 2012, 147 Abb. 3.1)



Abb. 6. Solidi (Valentinian III., Honorius, Libius Severus) mit Schmuckösen und filigranverzierten Hülsen aus Udovice (SRB) (nach POPOVIĆ 2008, 75 Abb. 2-3)

die nach stilistischer Einordnung von Morten Axboe „in einem nordischen Fund nicht auffällig wären“.⁵⁷

Wie bereits angedeutet, finden sich nur sehr wenige Hinweise auf Bestandteile von skandinavischer Bewaffnung oder auf Bestandteile von Männerkleidung. Zu dem bronzenen Knauf der Spatha Rakovac (Vojvodina, SRB) aus der zweiten Hälfte des 5. Jahrhunderts liegen die besten Vergleiche aus dem Mooropferplatz von Kragehul auf Fünen (DK) und aus Głowczyce (woj. pomorskie, PL) vor.⁵⁸ Obwohl bislang in die Langobardenzeit datiert, ist die 1911 beim Schleusenbau an der Mündung der Marcal in Gyirmót (Kom. Győr-Moson-Sopron, H) entdeckte Knauf ringspatha aber bereits awarenzeitlich.⁵⁹ Aufgrund der Filigranverzierung des goldenen Knaufes handelt es sich wahrscheinlich um eine „skandinavische“ Arbeit.⁶⁰

In den kriegerischen Kontext gehört auch das Bronzemodel aus Keszthely-Fenekpuszta (Kom. Zala, H), das zwei Krieger mit Hörnerhelmen und erhobenen Lanzen zeigt.⁶¹ Zwischen den beiden Figuren ist eine doppelköpfige Schlange als Flechtband dargestellt. Dieses Motiv – die Waffentänzer – ist weitverbreitet, von Skandinavien über Großbritannien bis ins alamannische Südwestdeutschland. Aus Ungarn fehlt es bislang und nun liegt sogar ein Model vor, d.h., hier konnten Pressbleche gefertigt werden. Das Model aus Keszthely weist in der Darstellung einige Besonderheiten auf, die andeuten, dass es vermutlich vor Ort hergestellt wurde. Dazu passt auch die geringe Größe, denn die nordeuropäischen Vergleiche sind stets fast doppelt so groß.⁶² Insgesamt datieren die Darstellungen der Waffentänzer ins 7. Jahrhundert.

⁵⁷ HAUCK 1985, 312–313 (Szatmár, Kom. Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg), 313–314 (Debrecen, Kom. Hajdú-Bihar) mit Taf. 237–239 Nr. 182,1–3; HAUCK 1986, 236–238 Nr. 375 („Ungarn“) mit Taf. 151–152 Nr. 375; HAUCK 1989, 233–234 Nr. 559 (Várpalota, Kom. Veszprém) mit Taf. 120–121 559; AXBOE 1978, 202.

⁵⁸ BEMMANN 2006, 224 mit Abb. 4,1-3; MRKOBRAĐ 1980, Taf. 41,7.10; BIRCH IVERSEN 2010, 81 mit Taf. 48,C2280.

⁵⁹ QUAŠT 2018, 524.

⁶⁰ BÓNA 1976, 123, Nr. 75 mit Taf. 75; ARRHENIUS 1987, 467; TOMKA 2008, 25. Allgemein zu den Knauf ringspathen vgl. STEUER 1987, 206–227; 232–234 (Liste 5 und 6).

⁶¹ MÜLLER 2008, 236–237 mit Abb. 2,2.

⁶² MÜLLER 2008, 237.



Abb. 7. Fibeln nach skandinavischem Vorbild. 1. Deutsch-Altenburg Carnuntum (Niederösterreich, A); 2. TÁC-FÖVENYPUZSTA Gorsium (Kom. Fejér, H); 3. Šestovitca (obl. Chernihiv, UA) (M. 1:1. 1. nach FITZ 1981–1982, Taf. 2; 2. nach SCHILLING 2009, 266 Abb. 4; 3. nach KHAMAYKO–ZOTSENKO 2007, Taf. 25)

Wohl ebenfalls bereits in die Awarenzeit datieren auch die gleicharmige Fibel aus Deutsch-Altenburg/Carnuntum (Niederösterreich, A) und eine Proto-Tierkopffibel („protodjurhuvudspänne“) aus TÁC-FÖVENYPUZSTA / Gorsium (Kom. Fejér, H) (Abb. 7.1–2). Erstere ist der zweiten Hälfte des 6. Jahrhunderts zuzuweisen, die zweite dem letzten Drittel des 6. oder schon der ersten Hälfte des 7. Jahrhunderts.⁶³

Bislang wenig Beachtung wurde einem Bleimodell für einen Riemenverteiler aus dem dalmatischen Gardun geschenkt, das allerdings nicht im eigentlichen Arbeitsgebiet dieser Studie liegt (Abb. 8.1).⁶⁴ Die Arme und die Vierung des kreuzförmigen Beschlags sind mit unsauber ausgeführten Spiralhaken verziert. Dieses Muster ist gleichermaßen aus dem völkerwanderungszeitlichen Karpatenbecken und aus Skandinavien überliefert. Die Tierköpfe weisen an den Enden des senkrechten Kreuzbalkens bogenförmige Nüstern auf,⁶⁵ sind unverkennbar nach nordeuropäischem Vorbild im frühen Tierstil I der Stilphase A ausgeführt und finden ihre besten Parallelen an den Tierköpfen der skandinavischen „relief brooches“ (Bügelfibeln).⁶⁶ Die Gestaltung der Tierköpfe gibt eindeutige Hinweise auf „beeinflussende“ Regionen und die Datierung in das letzte Viertel des 5. Jahrhunderts.⁶⁷ Direkte Parallelen zu dem Beschlag aus Gardun sind mir nicht bekannt, doch gibt es ähnliche kreuzförmige Beschläge mit Tierstil I aus Proosa (Gem. Saha-Loo, Harjumaa, EE) und Helgö (Stockholms län, Uppland, S) (Abb. 8.2–3).⁶⁸ Es handelt sich in Gardun aber – wie erwähnt – nicht um einen Beschlag, sondern um ein Bleimodell, das zur Anfertigung von Gussformen benutzt werden konnte.⁶⁹ Schon bei den Bügelfibeln aus Härlec, Szolnok-Szanda und *Viminacium* wurde deutlich, dass sie keine skandinavischen Importe sind. Sie wurden im Gebiet entlang der Nordgrenze des Oströmischen Reiches gefertigt. Mit dem Modell aus Gardun hat man einen weiteren Hinweis darauf, dass es hier, fernab Skandinaviens,

⁶³ FITZ 1981–1982, 51–54, Taf. 2; SCHILLING 2009.

⁶⁴ BUŠKARIOL 1988, 51–53 mit Abb. 3; PITEŠA 2009, 27, Nr. 29.

⁶⁵ HASELOFF 1981, 357–358. Bei NÄSMAN 1984, 49 und 57 als „peltaförmige Nase“ beschrieben.

⁶⁶ Vgl. z.B. SJØVOLD 1993, Taf. 5, N3 (Isesjøen, Skjeberg, Østfold, N – seitliche Tierköpfe an der Fußplatte); Taf. 15, N57 (Sandal, Jølster, Sogn & Fjordane, N – seitliche Tierköpfe an der Fußplatte); Taf. 27, S42 (Ösby, Gräsgård, Öland, S – Tierkopf an der Kopfplatte).

⁶⁷ Zur Chronologie vgl. KRISTOFFERSEN 2000, 82–83, 91.

⁶⁸ SELIRAND–DEEMANT 1985, 250, Abb. 11; QUAST 2004, 259 Abb. 12,1; VIERCK 1967, 61 mit Abb. 1,5.

⁶⁹ Zur Verwendung der Bleimodelle VIERCK 1976, 156–166.



Abb. 8. 1. Bleimodel aus Gardun (Splitsko-dalmatinska županija; HR), und kreuzförmige Beschläge mit Verzierung im Tierstil-I aus Proosa (Gem. Saha-Loo, Harjumaa, EE) und Helgö (Stockholms län, Uppland, S) (M. 1:1. 1 nach PITEŠA 2009, 27; 2 nach SELIRAND-DEEMANT 1985, 250 Abb. 11; 3 nach VIERCK 1967, 55 Abb.1,5)

Gruppen gab, die genaue Vorstellungen davon hatten, wie bestimmte „Zierstücke“ auszusehen hatten.

In diesem Kontext müssten eigentlich die südosteuropäischen Objekte mit Verzierungen im Tierstil I diskutiert werden. Eine letzte Zusammenstellung verdanken wir Margit Nagy.⁷⁰ Aber nicht alle tierstilverzierten Objekte stammen aus dem Norden; auch typisch lokale Formen aus dem mittleren Donaugebiet weisen eine entsprechende Dekoration auf. Die Gürtelschnalle aus Gyula (Kom. Békés, H) mit rhombischem, kerbschnittverziertem Beschlag etwa zeigt die typischen Randtiere im Tierstil-I, ebenso die Schnalle aus dem Schatzfund von Konarzew (woj. wielkopolskie, PL).⁷¹ Eine detailliertere Analyse des Tierstils I wäre nötig, um die südosteuropäischen und die

⁷⁰ NAGY 2007, 85–95; vgl. auch HASELOFF 1981, 673–705, bes. Abb. 512.

⁷¹ HASELOFF, 1981, 697–701 mit Abb. 507–508; NAGY 2007, 85 Taf. 39; 42,1. Zum Schatzfund von Konarzew vgl. auch WERNER 1977, 90 mit Anm. 13 und Abb. 5; MAĆZYŃSKA 1999, 159 mit Abb. 14.

skandinavischen Funde besser interpretieren zu können, doch das würde den Rahmen dieser Studie sprengen. In jedem Fall deuten sich auch hier intensive Kontakte an.

SKANDINAVISCHES FUNDE „AUF DEM WEG“ NACH SÜDOSTEUROPA

Die Schnalle aus Konarzew ist nun von Interesse, da sie genau auf der Strecke zwischen Südosteuropa und dem Oströmischen Reich liegt und Merkmale aus beiden Regionen vereinigt. Eine vergleichbare „Mischung“ weist auch das Grab 1 aus Epöl (Kom. Esztergom, H) aus der ersten Hälfte des 5. Jahrhunderts auf, das ein Paar skandinavischer Riemendurchzüge an der Spathascheide vom Typ Nydam-Proskær enthielt und eine Mosaikperle mit Gesichtsdarstellung, die vermutlich im nordpontischen Raum gefertigt wurde und als Schwertperle diente.⁷²

Skandinavische Funde sind auch aus den Gebieten zwischen Nord- und Südosteuropa bekannt.⁷³ Konzentrierter treten sie in der Völkerwanderungszeit (und darüber hinaus) entlang der Südküste der Ostsee auf. Von Pommern über die Elbląg-Gruppe bis nach Estland sind zahlreiche Fundstellen mit entsprechendem Fundmaterial bekannt. Interessante Neufunde stammen aus Ostpolen⁷⁴ und dem Kaliningrader Oblast, etwa aus Logvino, Šossejnoe und Alejka-7.⁷⁵ Alle diese Funde werden in der Literatur zumeist mit der Anwesenheit skandinavischer Siedler- bzw. Kriegergruppen erklärt.⁷⁶ In der Nähe dieser Fundorte entstanden dann häufig die wikingerzeitlichen Handelsplätze, wie Truso bei Elbląg (woj. warmińsko-mazurskie, PL) und Grobiņa (Kurzeme, LV).⁷⁷ Vor wenigen Jahren wurden einige skandinavische Schwertknäufe aus Lubieszewo (woj. zachodniopomorskie, PL; ehem. Lübsow, Kr. Greifenberg) und Krosno (woj. warmińsko-mazurskie, PL; ehem. Krossen, Kr. Pr. Holland) publiziert.⁷⁸

Ein beeindruckendes Zeugnis für die Anwesenheit skandinavischer Gruppen im Baltikum, ein vendelzeitliches Bootsgrab, wurde vor einigen Jahren in Salme auf der Insel Saaremaa (EE) freigelegt.⁷⁹ Ein anderer Komplex aus Proosa (Gem. Saha-Loo, Harjumaa, EE), ca. 10 km östlich von Tallinn, enthielt zahlreiche skandinavische Objekte der zweiten Hälfte des 5. Jahrhunderts und ist wohl ebenfalls durch „Fremde“ zu erklären.⁸⁰ Jüngst wurde ein silbervergoldeter Schnallenbeschlag mit Kerbschnitt im Sjörup-Stil aus Kamsvik bei Timofeevka (obl. Kaliningrad, RUS; ehem. Tammau, Kr. Insterburg) aus einer Höhsiedlung publiziert.⁸¹

Skandinavische Funde bzw. Nachahmungen skandinavischer Typen finden sich in einiger Anzahl im Fibelbestand der Olsztyn-Gruppe. Sie werden nicht mit Importen, sondern mit der Einbindung in überregionale Elitennetzwerke erklärt.⁸²

Derzeit nicht sicher zu beurteilen ist ein Typ kleiner, punzverzierter Scheibenfibeln, die von Skandinavien über die Mecklenburgische Seenplatte, Nordpolen und das Plattenseegebiet bis ins

⁷² BEMMANN 2006.

⁷³ Einen guten Überblick für die Wielbark-Kultur (und etwas darüber hinaus) bietet KLEEMANN 2018.

⁷⁴ KONTNY 2012a; RUDNICKI 2014.

⁷⁵ SKVORTSOV 2013; SKVORTSOV 2017; SKVORTCOV–CHOCHLOV 2017; SKVORTCOV ET AL. 2018, 352, Abb. 13,2.

⁷⁶ Brandenburg:QUAST2017.Mecklenburg-Vorpommern:SCHOCKNECHT2008,126–129.Pommern:MACHAJEWSKI 1992;SCHUSTER 2015, bes. 29–30. Elbląg-Gruppe: KONTNY 2012; KONTNY 2017; KONTNY ET AL. 2011, 127–129; BOGUCKI 2013; JAGODZIŃSKI 2013. Nordostpolen: RUDNICKI 2014. – Nordostpolen, westliches Baltikum: BITNER-WRÓBLEWSKA 2001, 33–57. Estland: QUAST 2004.

⁷⁷ BOGUCKI 2013; JAGODZIŃSKI 2013.

⁷⁸ KONTNY–NATUNIEWICZ–SEKUŁA 2007; RAU–BLANKENFELDT–SCHUSTER 2015,

⁷⁹ PEETZ ET AL. 2010; PEETZ–MALDRE 2010; TVAURI 2012, 275–276. BOGUCKI 2013; JAGODZIŃSKI 2013. PEETZ ET AL. 2010.

⁸⁰ SELIRAND–DEEMANT 1985; QUAST 2004, 257–263; 268; TVAURI 2012, 167–174.

⁸¹ RUDNICKI–SKVORTCOV 2015.

⁸² HILBERG 2009, 179–203.

langobardenzeitliche Friaul verbreitet waren.⁸³ Sie erinnern in ihrer Verzierung an die Knöpfe einiger Schildbuckel des späten 6. und frühen 7. Jahrhunderts, etwa aus Morken (Rhein-Erft-Kreis, D), Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok (Kom. Csongrád, H) Grab 1 und Grab 7 und Castel Trosino (Prov. Ascoli Piceno, I) Grab 9 und Grab T.⁸⁴

SÜDOSTEUROPÄISCHE FUNDE „AUF DEM WEG“ NACH SKANDINAVIEN

Betrachtet man zunächst einmal die Objekte aus dem Oströmischen Reich, die sich „auf dem Weg“ nach Skandinavien finden. Dabei fokussiert die folgende Aufzählung auf einen Streifen der südlichen Ostseeküste.

Der bemerkenswerteste Fundort ist zweifellos Młoteczno (Woj. Warmińsko-Mazurskie, PL; ehem. Hammersdorf, Kr. Braunsberg), wo sich an mehreren Stellen herausragende Objekte deponiert fanden, wie eine zerhackte römische Silberplatte, ein Goldmultipulum des Constantius II. (335/336), zwei Goldhalsringe sowie eine wohl im mittleren Donauraum gefertigte polychrome Silberblechfibel.⁸⁵ Die Niederlegung reicher Weiheopfer an unterschiedlichen Orten innerhalb einer Gemarkung ist geradezu charakteristisch für die sog. Reichtumszentren der Völkerwanderungszeit. Bei systematisch und großflächig untersuchten Plätzen bieten sich durchaus detaillierte Einblicke, wie etwa in Gudme auf Fünen (DK).⁸⁶ In Młoteczno lassen nur die zufällig an verschiedenen Stellen geborgenen Schatzfunde ein solches Zentrum vermuten und könnten durchaus Anlass zu gezielten Prospektionen bieten.⁸⁷

Zahlreich sind die Münzen oströmischer Prägestätten entlang der südlichen Ostseeküste. Neben den eingangs erwähnten Solidi aus Pommern⁸⁸ sind weitere aus dem ehemaligen Ostpreußen bekannt, nämlich die Schatzfunde aus Frombork (woj. warmińsko-mazurskie, PL; ehem. Frauenburg, Kr. Braunsberg) (1 Solidus, 27 Denare) und Trąbki (woj. warmińsko-mazurskie, PL; ehem. Klein-Tromp, Kr. Braunsberg) (97 Solidi + 43 Solidi), beide mit Solidi Theodosius' II. als Schlussmünze, und als Einzelfund ein weiterer Solidus des genannten Kaisers aus Nałaby (woj. warmińsko-mazurskie, PL; ehem. Nallaben, Kr. Braunsberg).⁸⁹ Zwei weitere Goldmünzen sind vom westlichen Ende der estnischen Insel Saaremaa überliefert. Aus Kihelkonna ein Solidus Theodosius' II., aus Paju ein Solidus Valentinians III.⁹⁰ Vom letztgenannten Fundort stammen auch völkerwanderungszeitliche skandinavische Kleinfunde.⁹¹ Aus Estland sind zudem zwei byzantinische Silberschalen der zweiten Hälfte des 5. oder des frühen 6. Jahrhunderts bekannt, eine davon ist auf der Unterseite des Bodens gestempelt.⁹²

Aus Mecklenburg-Vorpommern liegen Fragmente von Baldenheimer Helmen aus Todendorf (Lkr. Rostock, D) und Demmin (Lkr. Mecklenburgische Seenplatte, D) vor, die aus oströmischen Waffenschmieden stammen.⁹³ Eventuell wurden auch die cloisonierten Zaumzeugbeschläge aus Kosewo (Woj. Warmińsko-Mazurskie, PL; ehem. Kossewen, Kr. Sensburg) und Pervoemajskoe

⁸³ ØRSNES 1966, 129 mit Abb. 130–133; GALL–WEISS 2014, 284 mit Abb. 8 (Glasow); KONTNY ET AL. 2011, 61–63, Taf. 23,1 (Nowinka Grab 34: mit Mittelbuckel); STRAUB 1999, 188–189 mit Abb. 2,4; 3,4 und 4,10–11 (dort auch Vergleichsfunde aus dem langobardenzeitlichen Italien); MÜLLER 2010, 207 mit Taf. 67,4.

⁸⁴ Morken: DOPPELFELD–PIRLING 1966, 69–70 und 126–127 (dort wird eine skandinavische Herkunft des Schildes vermutet). Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok: BÓNA–NAGY 2002, Taf. 72–73. Castel Trosino: PAROLI–RICCI 2005, Taf. 24; 34; 227. Vgl. allgemein RIEMER 2013.

⁸⁵ BURSCHE 1998, 237 Nr. 14; ADLUNG ET AL. 2005, 88–89 Nr. 20; MENGHIN 2007, 368 Nr. IV.1; MACZYŃSKA 2013.

⁸⁶ NIELSEN ET AL. 1994. Zusammenfassend STEUER 2003.

⁸⁷ EBERT 1923, bes. 154–159; QUASt 2009, 224; HILBERG 2009, 157–162.

⁸⁸ vgl. Anm. 16.

⁸⁹ BOLIN 1926, 201–208, Nr. 8–10.

⁹⁰ QUASt 2004, 275, Nr. 4 und 12.

⁹¹ QUASt 2004, 275, Nr. 12.

⁹² QUASt–TAMLA 2010; TVAURI 2012, 86–87.

⁹³ VOGT 2006, 204–205; 264–265; SCHOKNECHT 2008, 127–128 mit Abb.4.

(obl. Kaliningrad, RUS; ehem. Warnikam, Kr. Heiligenbeil) südlich der Donau gefertigt.⁹⁴ Weitere byzantinische Kleinfunde von der südlichen Ostseeküste sind kaum vorhanden oder derzeit nicht zu identifizieren.

Deutlicher auszumachen sind aber Funde aus Pannonien und dem Karpatenbecken. Gerade im ehemaligen Ostpreußen sind einige altbekannte Funde zu benennen, wie etwa die Adlerkopfschnalle aus Kosewo sowie die Zikadenfibeln aus Czerwony Dwór (Woj. Warmińsko-Mazurskie, PL; ehem. Rothebude, Kr. Goldap) und Widryny (Woj. Warmińsko-Mazurskie, PL; ehem. Widrynen, Kr. Rastenburg);⁹⁵ Neufunde sind jüngst aus Okunevo und Novoselovo (beide raj. Zelenogradskie, RUS) publiziert worden.⁹⁶ Weitere Zikadenfibeln sind von dem litauischen Fundort Sauginiai (raj. Šiauliai, LT) bekannt,⁹⁷ von den weißrussischen Siedlungsfundstellen Mierčycy (Pinski raën, BY) und Siańkoŭščyna (Slonimski raën, BY)⁹⁸ sowie aus den Gräberfeldern von Malbork-Wielbark (Woj. Pomorskie, PL)⁹⁹ und Łężany (Woj. Warmińsko-Mazurskie, PL)¹⁰⁰ in Polen. Aus Weißrussland sind in den letzten Jahren weitere Funde aus dem mittleren Donaauraum zutage getreten, die Vadzim Beljavec publiziert hat. Aus dem Schatzfund von Alekšicy (Berastavicki raën, BY) stammen neben 446 Denaren des 2. Jahrhunderts 18 Fragmente zweier silbervergoldeter Bügelfibeln mit Punzverzierung vom Typ Vyškov (Abb. 9) aus der ersten Hälfte des 5. Jahrhunderts.¹⁰¹

Deutlicher ins Blickfeld der deutschsprachigen Archäologie rückte dieses Gebiet nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg erst wieder durch einen Aufsatz von Joachim Werner, der anhand des Kriegergrabes von Taurapilis (raj. Utena, LT) die Beziehungen der „Balten zum Reich Theoderichs“ diskutierte. Nach einer sorgfältigen antiquarischen Analyse kam er zu dem Ergebnis, dass es sich um „einheimische Goldschmiedearbeiten in donauländisch-italischem Stil“ handele; das gelte für eine vergleichbare Schnalle mit rhombischem, kerbschnittverziertem Beschlag aus Vilkyčiai (raj. Šilutė, LT; ehem. Wilkieten).¹⁰² Es gibt weitere Objekte des 5. Jahrhunderts aus dem mittleren und unteren Donaauraum im heutigen Litauen, etwa die Silberblechfibel aus einem Männergrab in Plinkaigalis (raj. Kėdainiai, LT), die Schnalle mit langrechteckigem, kerbschnittverziertem Beschlag aus Ziboliškė und der kerbschnittverzierte Schnallendorn aus Paduobė-Šaltaliūnė (beide raj. Švenčionys, LT).¹⁰³ Audrone Bliujienė und Florin Curta haben diese Funde vor einigen Jahren zusammenfassend vorgelegt und tendieren zu einer Interpretation als diplomatische Geschenke.¹⁰⁴ Zusätzlich gibt es Schwerter „asiatischen Typs“ aus Juszkowo (Woj. Pomorskie, PL) und Kankas (Satakunta, SF), die beide vermutlich in der Zeit des Hunnenreiches durch mobile Krieger in den Norden gelangten.¹⁰⁵

Im Fibelbestand der Olsztyn-Gruppe finden sich mehrere Bügelfibeln aus dem mittleren Donaugebiet bzw. darauf zurückführbare Nachahmungen. Es handelt sich um Formen des 5. und 6. Jahrhunderts, aber auch um sog. slawisch-antische Bügelfibeln. Sie werden nicht mit Importen, sondern – wie auch schon die oben erwähnten „skandinavischen Formen“ – mit der Einbindung in überregionale Elitennetzwerke erklärt.¹⁰⁶

⁹⁴ QUAST 2007, 55–58 mit Abb. 15–16; GAERTE 1929, 298, Abb. 239.

⁹⁵ Kosewo: GAERTE 1929, 284–285 mit Abb. 231; ADLUNG ET AL. 2005, 96–97, Nr. 24. Czerwony Dwór: NOWAKOWSKI 2001, 49 mit Taf. 1,5 (mit älterer Lit.). Widryny: NOWAKOWSKI 2001, 115 mit Taf. 8,4 (mit älterer Lit.).

⁹⁶ RUDNICKI–SKVORTSOV 2018.

⁹⁷ BLIUIENĖ–CURTA 2011, 54 mit Abb. 19.

⁹⁸ BELJAVEC 2018.

⁹⁹ SEKUŁA 2006, 182, 206, Abb. 3,4.

¹⁰⁰ WIŚNIEWSKA 2014, 37, Abb. 27,2–3.7–8 und Farbtaf. Seite 161; vgl. zusammenfassend jetzt WIŚNIEWSKA 2018.

¹⁰¹ BELJAVEC–SIDAROVIĆ 2018, 11–14 mit Abb. 17.

¹⁰² WERNER 1977, 89–90.

¹⁰³ BLIUIENĖ–CURTA 2011, Abb. 7; 14; 18.

¹⁰⁴ BLIUIENĖ–CURTA 2011, 56–57; vgl. bereits BLIUIENĖ 2006.

¹⁰⁵ KONTNY–MĄCZYŃSKA 2015, 245–248 mit Abb. 8; KLEEMANN 2018, 110.

¹⁰⁶ HILBERG 2009, 87–177, 291–303. Vgl. jetzt neue Funde bei RUDNICKI–SKVORTSOV 2017.

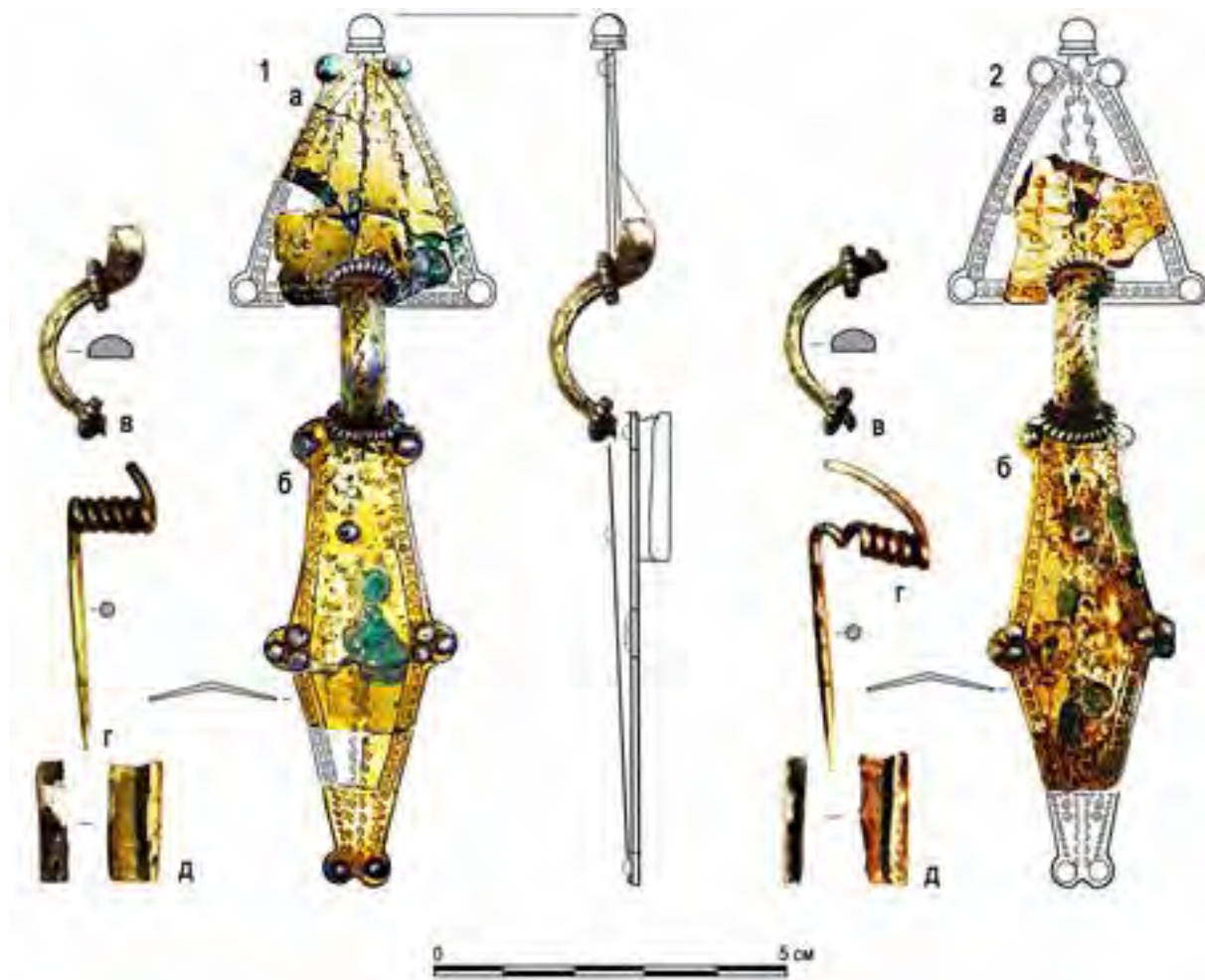


Abb. 9. Silbervergoldete Fibelfragmente mit Punzverzierung aus dem Schatzfund von Alekšicy (Grodzenskaja obl.; BY) (Abbildungsvorlage: V. Beljavec, Minsk)

In der Mitte des 6. Jahrhunderts brach der Zustrom in den Norden zwar nicht ab, wie lange in der Forschung vermutet wurde, aber er brach spürbar ein. Dafür machte man das Entstehen neuer Herrschaftsgebiete entlang der Wegstrecke verantwortlich, wobei nicht nur die Awaren, sondern auch die nach Westen vordringenden Slawen angeführt werden.¹⁰⁷

HOTSPOTS UND EINFLUSSZONEN

Bislang wurden in dieser Arbeit die Kontakte zwischen Skandinavien und dem Oströmischen Reich sowie dessen Grenzvordland anhand von Kleinfunden zusammengestellt. Zusätzlich wurden solche Funde auch auf den „Routen“ zwischen den beiden Regionen miteinbezogen. Wie schon in den Jahrhunderten zuvor verbanden die großen Flüsse den Norden und den Süden.¹⁰⁸ Diese Fernkontakte wurden in der Literatur bislang auf Handel – vor allem mit Bernstein und Pelzen – oder auf mobile Kriegergruppen zurückgeführt.¹⁰⁹ Vermutlich wird es keine monokausale

¹⁰⁷ ARRHENIUS 1987, 446; WOŁOSZYN 2009, 494, Anm. 34 (mit weiterer Literatur); QUAIST 2018.

¹⁰⁸ KAZANSKI 2013.

¹⁰⁹ HAUSSIG 1980; ARRHENIUS 1987, 442; ARRHENIUS 1990, 134–135; CURTA 2007; BLIUIJENÉ 2011, 345–351; KONTNY 2012; KONTNY 2017; FISCHER 2017 (hauptsächlich aufgrund der Münzen); QUAIST 2017.



Abb. 10. Modelle zur Gliederung des Raumes zwischen dem Oströmischen Reich und Skandinavien.
(Graphik: Michael Ober, RGZM)

Begründung geben. Es ist daher interessant, sich die Konfiguration des Raumes zwischen dem Donauebiet und Skandinavien anzuschauen.

Die archäologischen Quellen zeigen hier eigentlich ein zu erwartendes Bild. Man kann dazu den Donauebiet bzw. das Oströmische Reich und Skandinavien als „Zentren“ auf einer Karte eintragen (Abb. 10.1). Die Kernbereiche (in dieser Studie nicht betrachtet) zeichnen sich schon *qua definitionem* mehr oder weniger einheitlich ab. Im „Vorland“ findet man intensiv durchsetzte „Einflusszonen“. Es folgt ein „Zwischenraum“, bevor die Einflusszone des anderen Kernbereiches beginnt. Die Einflusszonen befinden sich an der südlichen Ostseeküste und nördlich der Donauegrenze (Abb. 10.2); der Zwischenraum in weiten Teilen des heutigen Polen, das in der Völkerwanderungszeit bislang einen nur dünnen Fundniederschlag erbracht hat.¹¹⁰

Allerdings erscheint eine solche, rein bipolare Betrachtung unvollständig. Es gibt auf der Strecke zwischen beiden Punkten oder einfach benachbarte weitere „Zentren“, die eher ein „multipolares“ Bild erzeugen (Abb. 10.2). Natürlich sind nicht alle „Zentren“ gleich stark – das war ja auch für das Oströmische Reich und Skandinavien auszuschließen –, aber es zeigt sich ein komplexeres Bild, gerade entlang der Kommunikationswege.¹¹¹ Im Westen und im Osten kann man theoretisch zwei Bereiche ergänzen. Diese ließen sich auch archäologisch gut fassen. Das Thüringerreich, dessen genaue Ausdehnung wir nicht kennen, kontrollierte den Verkehr im Elbegebiet. Zahlreiche Neufunde der Altmark unterstreichen das ebenso wie Altbekanntes.¹¹² Noch deutlicher wird die Situation in der Olsatyn-Gruppe greifbar, wo die Einbindung in Elitennetzwerke zur Ausbildung einer eigenen archäologischen Kultur führt, in der Einflüsse aus dem Norden genauso prägend sind, wie jene aus dem Süden und dem Westen.¹¹³

Voraussetzung für diese Netzwerke sind funktionierende Strukturen im Raum, die eine gewisse Stabilität aufweisen müssen. Andererseits sind die Netzwerke ein wichtiger Bestandteil für diese Stabilität. Darüber hinaus bilden sie die Grundlage für einen schnellen Informationsfluss. Dadurch werden auch die Brennpunkte aktuellen Geschehens schnell bekannt. Für Gesellschaften, in denen Krieg und Kampf weit oben in der Werteskala verankert waren, bot die Kenntnis von „Krisenherden“ rasche Einsatzmöglichkeiten. Dadurch werden die „Hotspots“ schnell zu Magneten für mobile Kriegergruppen. Auch wenn die Routen dieser Gruppen nicht im Einzelfall geklärt werden können (nicht nur weil in Zentralpolen Fundmaterial des 5.

¹¹⁰ Vgl. dazu das polnische Forschungsprojekt „The Migration Period between Odra and Vistula“ (<http://www.mpov.uw.edu.pl/>) (01.10.2018). Die Publikation der Ergebnisse ist im Druck: BURSCHE-ZAPOLSKA 2019. Zu Tschechien vgl. TEJRAL 2013, 385–386 mit Abb. 6 und 385–391 mit Abb. 7. – Beispielhaft zur Verbreitung der *Solidi Anastasius* im Karpatenbecken BUDAJ-PROHÁSZKA 2014.

¹¹¹ STEUER 1998, 285–287 mit Abb. 1; BRATHER 2004, 551–559 mit Abb. 88.

¹¹² SCHÄFER ET AL. 2002; SCHWARZ 2011. Vgl. zusätzlich BEMMANN 2006, 228–229 (mit weiterer Lit.) sowie MESTERHÁZY 1984.

¹¹³ Grundlegend HILBERG 2009.

Jahrhunderts rar ist), so ist eine Wegeführung entlang der Flüsse doch mehr als wahrscheinlich. Das Ziel war das Oströmische Reich oder seine nördliche Grenzzone, und ob die Hunnen ihre Dienste in Anspruch nahmen oder das Römische Reich, war anscheinend von untergeordneter Bedeutung, solange die Bedingungen stimmten.

Netzwerke bestanden keinesfalls nur zwischen dem Oströmischen Reich und Skandinavien. Auch nach Osten und Westen war das Karpatenbecken in ein internationales Geflecht eingebunden.¹¹⁴ Auch die Adlerkopfschnallen aus Gallien müssen daher keineswegs mit der Umsiedlung von Gepiden durch Theoderich den Großen im Jahre 523 verbunden sein, zumal nicht alle bekannten Belege aus der Provence stammen.¹¹⁵ Die Verbreitung deutet zwar auf Mobilität von Personen hin, doch heißt das nicht, dass es mobile Frauen waren. Es ist ebenso eine Verbindung mit mobilen Kriegergruppen denkbar. Heiko Steuer geht davon aus, dass sich „Schmuckstücke und Waffen in einem größeren geographischen Gebiet [...] als Widerspiegelung des Wirkungskreises einer Gefolgschaft und weniger als Handel und Austausch“ fassen lassen.¹¹⁶

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¹¹⁴ Z.B. QUAST 2008a (mit Lit.).

¹¹⁵ BÓNA 1976, 17, 58; KAZANSKI 2010.

¹¹⁶ STEUER 1994, 139; GEBÜHR 2000, 26–27.

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BETWEEN WOTAN AND CHRIST? DECONSTRUCTION OF THE THE GEPIDIC BELIEF SYSTEM BASED ON THE WRITTEN AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOURCES

Attila P. Kiss

Aside from this incomplete detail, most of the 6th-century references to the Gepid royal family and the ruling elite are in reports on Arian Christianity. Based on this fragmentary source material it is not possible to determine to what degree the Arian church was established in this region, but its centre and a significant circle of its followers most likely came from the immediate surroundings of the former imperial city Sirmium. The ruling stratum of certain Germanic tribes quickly came in contact with Roman and later Christian cultures, which led to an extraordinarily rapid transition in their earlier religious norms and belief systems. This sort of phenomenon was especially noticeable during the migration period, when some communities adsorbed huge numbers of people of different ethnicities, which to a large degree reshaped their customs too. In many cases (amulets, sacrifices), sorting out typical Germanic elements from those borrowed from a late antique pagan or Christian milieu also presents difficulties. Some objects (amulets) that were believed to ward off evil were easily adopted in Christian communities. Depictions of classic old Germanic gods and beliefs are found most often on objects made in Scandinavia. A large number of these works were transported to the southern Germanic territories during the 6th century. Beliefs, venerated gods and supernatural creatures must have been fundamentally similar among the various Germanic peoples, although there certainly were regional differences.

Keywords: Germanic belief system; early medieval rites; old Germanic gods; Eastern Germanic Arianism; Christianity

At the same time, a small depiction called attention to the continuation of the own particular Germanic traditions and beliefs during the Avar period. On the mushroom-shaped tongue-base of a gilt silver belt buckle from grave 85 (woman's burial) in Kölked-B cemetery, dating to the transition from the 6th to the 7th century, is a representational depiction that has no analogies thus far. The image shows a man with beard and long hair. He raises two swords to the sky, while a snake wraps around him and bites his arm (Fig. 7.1). The cemetery finds were published by Attila Kiss, who has linked the image to the god Týr from Scandinavian mythology. According to Kiss, Týr was the main deity in the Germanic and Gepidic pantheon at the time.¹ In his opinion, the Gepids honored the older gods of the Germanic pantheon (beside Christ), between whom the king

¹ KISS 2001, 298–303. Andrea Vaday's opinion about depiction was quite similar VADAY 2013, 240. The strong Scandinavian influence, which extended to central Europe during this period, is manifest in the craftsmen's knowledge. Although he relies heavily on modes of depiction seen in the bracteates and the Waffentänzer images, he also explores another story. The belt buckle of Kölked clearly shows a bitter battle unfolding between man and supernatural creature (snake/dragon). The snake wrapped around the man's body and biting his arm refers to this, as does the man's grim facial expression (bulging eyes) and posture. The bearded man does not have the characteristic attributes of a god. Of course, the small surface area of the buckle (only a few centimetres) meant the goldsmith was severely limited in his execution of the details. In any case, the snake/dragon is not among Týr's mythical enemies. In German mythology, the doomed battle against supernatural creatures is one faced by both heroes and goods - it is enough to think of the story of Beowulf, which has fortunately survived. During the early Middle Ages, such heroic tales must have abounded in every region, but because of the oral tradition, they were never preserved in writing. KISS 2014.

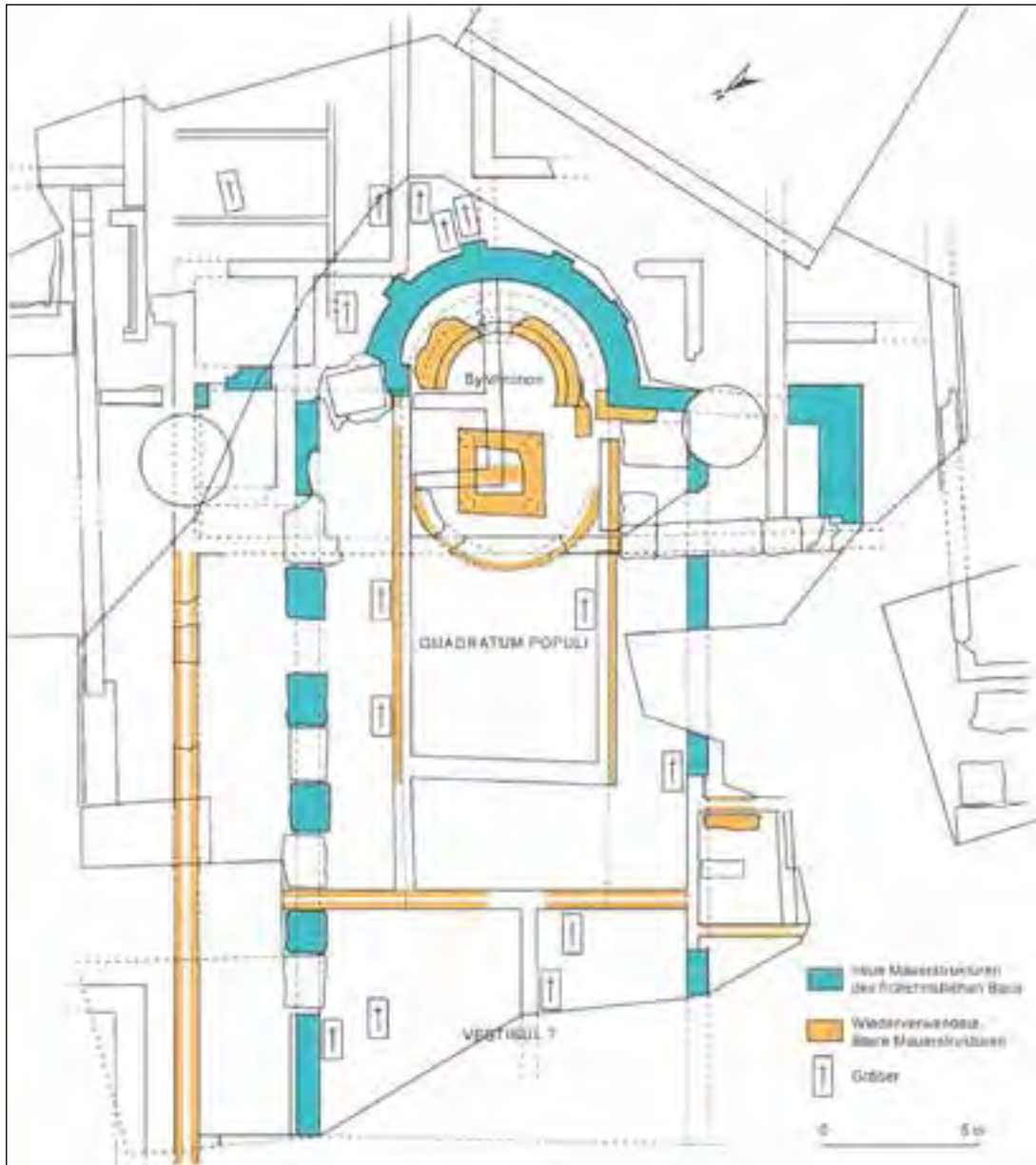


Fig. 1. The late antique basilica urbana in Sirmium (basilica Demetrius of Leontois?)
(after HEINRICH-TAMÁSKA 2012, Fig. 8)

of the gods during the ancient time of the early Germans, as Georg Dumézil once pointed out, was Tyr. At this point, the question arises as to whether we know so accurately the belief system of the Gepids, so that we can determine the circle of gods they honored during the 6th century. It is questionable, , who was the king of the gods of the Germanic beliefs and which gods were honored by the Gepids in an ancient era without written sources. In order to be able to know the Gepidic belief system first we need to look at the written sources, and then examine the archaeological finds and their interpretation. However, in order to understand our few sources (written and archaeological), we must place the data on both pagan and Christian religion into a European (late antique and Germanic) context.

THE GERMANIC BELIEF SYSTEM AND THE GEPIDS AS PAGANS IN THE WRITTEN SOURCES

The antique authors were far more interested in discussing the Germanic people's skills in battle, weaponry, and struggles against the Romans than their system of beliefs or their actual customs, which were considerably different than those of the ancient high cultures of the time. In the last two centuries, research on the Germanic system of beliefs – the various gods and cults – built on Tacitus's *Germania* and the world portrayed in the Eddas.

In the past one hundred years, researchers have tried to equate deities described in Tacitus's work, written in the spirit of *interpretatio Romana*, with those in the 13th-century Icelandic stories; however, this constitutes a serious problem in methodology.² At the same time, during the examination of the more than one thousand-year period, the need to distinguish between the various layers was never considered, although the nuances and distinctions are plentiful. It is enough to just consider Christianization in Iceland, which may have significantly transformed the earlier system that was in the process of being written.

The religion and belief systems of the Germanic groups were first addressed during antiquity by Julius Caesar and also Tacitus, the great historiographer of Silver Age Roman literature, who drew considerably upon Caesar's work.³ Contrasting the still 'untainted' German people to his own Roman society, Tacitus painted a somewhat idealized picture of Germanic social organization and a mentality shaped by a respect for freedom.⁴ Despite the circumstances of the time, he provides a relatively detailed account of their customs and belief systems. We learn about the deities and some of the rather bloody religious practices they demanded. Tacitus describes the drowning of fornicators and other serious sinners in bogs, the sacrifice of priests to the goddess Nerthus, the veneration of groves and sacred fields, and cremation burial practices. In addition, he records the Germanic pantheon of deities, naturally identifying them by the names of their Roman 'counterparts',⁵ and presents the three main gods worshipped by the Germans as a kind of Capitoline Triad: Mercury, Mars and Hercules.⁶

The past two hundred years of research on the Germanic peoples has attempted to identify the members of the Latin pantheon of gods described in *Germania* with their barbarian equivalent, based on generally known attributes and the main characteristics of later German-Scandinavian gods. Thus Mercury became Odin/Wodan, Mars Týr, and Hercules Thor/Donar.⁷ At that time, the later Odin possessed only a portion of his 10th- and 11th-century attributes and scope of duties. His main tasks, like his Roman counterpart, included magic, guiding souls, and acting as an intermediary between the dead and the world of the living.⁸ At that time, his later characteristic role as god of war was the exclusive privilege of Mars-Týr. It is unclear which of the two had greater influence in the world of gods.⁹

Germanic auxiliary troops erected many altars to their gods in the places where they were stationed, and some Romanized names were accompanied by Germanic modifiers.¹⁰ In addition to the male gods of the earlier period, female gods, in the form of Nerthus and Isis, also appear in *Germania*.¹¹ The various goddesses ensuring fertility and agricultural productivity (Sunucsal, Nehalennia, and Hludana), the *matronae* (maternal triad), and even local gods must have played a

² Several longer summaries have been written in this vein: GRIMM 1875-1878; DE VRIES 1970.

³ *Caesar, De bello Gallico*; VI, 21, ed. HERING 1987, 99; *Tacitus, Germania*, ed. HALM 1888.

⁴ FLACH 1989, TIMPE 2005, 93–144.

⁵ *Tacitus, Germania*, 8, 9, 27, 40, ed. HALM 1888, 224–225, 233, 240. About those capital: TIMPE 2005, 93–144.

⁶ *Tacitus, Germania*, 9, ed. HALM 1888, 224–225.

⁷ DE VRIES 1970, 10–18, 27–35, 107–112.

⁸ SIMEK 2003, 110–111.

⁹ SIMEK 2003, 110.

¹⁰ *Mercurius rex*, Mars Thingus (the judger – thing-popular assembly – Mars), Hercules Maliator (stone carver), Hercules Magusanus (powerful, strong), Mars Halamardus (killer of men). SIMEK 2003, 110–114.

¹¹ *Tacitus, Germania*, 9, 40, ed. HALM 1888, 224–225, 240.

serious role in the everyday lives of the early Germans, as suggested by the votive altars erected in the Roman territories.¹² Ample evidence of the gods and their cults known from Roman narrative sources and epigraphic monuments has survived in Germanic material culture. The places of sacrifice used over generations – moors and swamps where local groups honoured the supernatural forces with weapons and private sacrifices (food and personal objects) – are typically found in the northern regions, in today's northern Germany and southern Scandinavia (Nydam, Thosberg, Ejsbøl, Illerup Ådal, Vimose). The Germanic peoples presumably saw groves, riverbanks and marshes as passageways to the other world, as intermediate locations between the two worlds.¹³ Naturally the sources contain several references to human sacrifices, but in contrast to Tacitus's descriptions, these were most likely performed to appease the gods after periods of extreme bad weather and low agricultural production.¹⁴ Thanks to a favourable climate and soil, the wooden, anthropomorphic idols adjacent to places of sacrifices have often survived, but interestingly, during the Roman imperial period, no classical visual depictions are known that record the Germanic peoples' own gods and mythical creatures.¹⁵

The Germanic pantheon recorded in Tacitus's time underwent considerable change in the 4th and 5th centuries, as earlier gods disappeared and new ones emerged or grew in strength. Among the 'new-old' gods, Wodan in particular rises to prominence: in this period, he was mentioned the most frequently in the written sources. The earliest appearance of Wodan was on a brooch from the migration period (the brooch of Nordendorf), which contains his name engraved in runes.¹⁶ Dated to the late 6th century, this artefact is largely contemporaneous with written accounts mentioning Wodan. Both Paul the Deacon and the Venerable Bede, drawing heavily from *Origo gentis Langobardorum*, refer to this deity later identified with Odin.¹⁷ If an antique name were placed next to the Germanic form it was mainly Mars/Ares or Mercury. However, usage was not unified or consistent. Wodan (or other Germanic forms, such as Godan) were popular mainly with the ruling families or the militant leaders, which is substantiated not only by the text on the origins of Langobards but also by the Venerable Bede's description, in which the German deity appears as the mythical forefather of several Anglo Saxon royal dynasties. Of the sources, the *Origo gentis Langobardorum*, the story of the mythical origins of the Langobards, described Wodan's role: the warring between two factions – the Vandals and the Winnili – must be decided by Wodan. This task in the later period was frequently undertaken by his counterpart, Odin. After all, in the subsequent centuries, he was the primary forger of fate for forces entering combat. As we have seen, the functions of the god of war were performed by Tyr in the Roman period. However, for some reason, his importance receded during the migration period. It seems his tasks gradually diminished over time, as his role in Scandinavian sources is insignificant.¹⁸

During the migration period and the early Middle Ages, the later Thor, or the god known as Donar in southern Germanic circles, also had considerable importance. His name is presumed to appear on the brooch of Nordendorf too and is mentioned in the 8th-century Saxon text of

¹² SIMEK 2003, 115–117; DE VRIES 1970, 288–302, 314–326. Traces of these local goddesses survived in Germanic beliefs in numerous places, even after Christianity arrived. (See Frau Holle.)

¹³ BLANKENFELDT–RAU 2009, 133–138; MÜLLER-WILLE 1999, 41–63; CARNAP-BORNHEIM–RAU 2009.

¹⁴ GLOB 1969, 151–192.

¹⁵ Perhaps the horn of Gallehus is a solitary exception, but this too may have been made. Its depictions reflect the extraordinarily strong cultural impact of the Mediterranean region. About the arts of early Germans during the Roman Imperial Age: BLANKFELDT 2015, 9–49.

¹⁶ DÜWEL 1982; DÜWEL 2008, 63–64.

¹⁷ *Origo gentis Langobardorum* 1–2, ed. WAITZ 1878, MGH SS rer. Lang. et Ital. sec. VI–IX, 2–3; *Paul the Deacon, Historia Langobardorum* I, 8–9, ed. WAITZ–BETHMANN 1878, MGH SS rer. Lang. et Ital. sec. VI–IX, 52–53; *Beda Venerabilis, Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* I, 15, ed. MOBERLY 1881, 37.

¹⁸ DUMÉZIL 1992, 159–161.

conversion and baptism (*Abrenuntiatio Saxonica*).¹⁹ Although he never enjoyed the success he had in Viking-period Scandinavia, he was still venerated, as suggested by several archaeological finds, in particular for his powers to ward off evil, protect and defend. Our information on the female deities, however, pales in comparison to that on the more popular male gods. The only continually recurring figure was Frea, Wodan's wife, who also appears in the origin story of Langobard tradition.²⁰ In later mythological stories, Odin is accompanied by his wife Frigg in the Scandinavian pantheon. Nevertheless, the figures of Frigg and Frea may still have been united at the time, which indicates that their roles must have been very similar.²¹

In addition to the scant source materials, another problem arises: the regional diversity of the gods and beliefs. In Carolingian Period capitularies, another local god, Saxnot, is mentioned alongside Wodan and Thor.²² Saxnot, likely a local god among the Saxons, is absent from other sources. In the so-called Merseburg incantations, composed in the 11th century, nine other deities are mentioned along with Wodan and Baldr, and only half of them can be identified.²³ We have information from later periods on more gods whose names appear only sporadically; yet, because of place names we know that in some areas they were highly venerated. This case demonstrates that even with written sources at our disposal, it is not possible to construct a complete pantheon for the period before the Eddas, and furthermore, the presence of tribal gods worshipped regionally needs to be taken into account.

Sources on the system of beliefs of the Germanic groups are similarly scant, as any information they provide has been filtered mainly through the lens of Christian culture. Medieval authors (often clergy), embracing the Christian World view, refer most often to magic, sorcery, and pagan sacrifices when discussing pagan customs.²⁴ A recurring problem with regard to contemporary accounts of pagan customs and traditions is that the authors generally lacked a complete understanding of how these were conducted or what they meant. Very often, they simply tried to apply earlier customs and topoi about pagans taken from the Bible to the Germanic peoples. Most recently Walter Pohl demonstrated that a significant portion of the contemporary descriptions of the Langobards' pagan beliefs drew heavily upon earlier Biblical elements (the consumption of unholy meat, pagan sacrifice) or past local, rural antique pagan practices.²⁵

Recurring topoi in sources belonging to the late antique learned tradition are human sacrifices and ritual hangings – mentioned by Procopius of Caesarea in his description of the Franks and the Herules – presented as examples of the barbarous ritual customs of the Germanic peoples.²⁶ It is uncertain if these are truly antique topoi or actual rites. Very few human bones have been discovered in places of sacrifice that were used for centuries in the north; far more typical offerings to the gods were weapons seized from the enemy during battle.²⁷ Pagan sacrificial sites by lakes, moors and rivers in the central Germanic regions (e. g. Oberdorla) were in use through the 5th

¹⁹ Earlier attempts were made to pair Thor/Donar, for example in the story in St. Gregory the Great's Dialogues about how the Langobards tried to persuade rural residents to consume forbidden meat in front of a goat's head. One of the attributes of the later god Thor was a cart pulled by goats. POHL 2000, 50–51. *Abrenuntiatio Saxonica*, 1, ed. PERTZ 1835, MGH LEG. 1, 19–20.

²⁰ *Origo gentis Langobardorum*, 2, ed. WAITZ 1878, MGH SS rer. Lang. et Ital. sec. VI–IX. 2–3. SIMEK 2003, 114–115.

²¹ *Abrenuntiatio Saxonica*, 1, ed. PERTZ 1835, MGH LEG. 1, 19–20.

²² *Second Merseburg incantation*, 1–10, ed. STEINMEYER 1916, 365–367.

²³ Offerings made to pagan idols and cult statues: *Gregorius Turonensis*, II, 15, ed. KRUSCH 1937, MGH SS rer. Merov. 64.

²⁴ POHL 2000, 50–52. In addition to the description in *Vita Barbati*, rustic traditions worth mentioning include the unholy practice of making offerings to wells and trees, which was banned in Liutprand's laws.

²⁵ *Jordanes, Getica* 41, ed. MOMMSEN 1882, MGH AA V, 64.

²⁶ JENSEN 2009; MÜLLER-WILLE 1999, 41–63.

century; these too, however, have produced mostly objects to aid in fertility.²⁸ 'Bog bodies' such as those found from the earlier period have not been discovered from this late period. However, other personal offerings, mainly from lakes and rivers, are common from this period, although an exact identification of them is difficult. Presumably, the hostility Christian writers felt toward Germanic people was only intensified by the looting rampages of Germanic warriors, which often involved the murder of church clergy.²⁹

When the large wave of migration ended after the dissolution of the Hun Empire, several Germanic groups created independent kingdoms in the land of the former nomad state, only those of the Gepids and the Langobards proved enduring. The ecclesiastical scholar Salvianus is the only to provide a brief account, in the middle of the 5th century, of the pagan beliefs and the unholy (human?) sacrifices of the Gepids.³⁰ Aside from this incomplete detail, most of the 6th-century references to the Gepidic royal family and the ruling elite are in reports on Arian Christianity.³¹ Unlike to the Gepids, the Langobards produced their own written records for posterity, which devote ample attention to recalling their earlier, pre-Christian, pagan beliefs and past.³² It is difficult to determine which of these accounts were influenced by the general pagan stereotypes held by the Christian authors and which factually describe phenomena.³³ Our next data on pagan Gepidic people comes only from the period after the fall of the kingdom (567). After the fall of the Gepid Kingdom, Theophylact Simocatta reported on the Gepids living under the dominion of the Avars (599). The Gepids resided in their own villages and held festivals of a presumably sacred nature.³⁴ Similar rituals and ceremonies were not only inspired by religion but also contributed considerably to the ability of individual barbarian groups to maintain their identity over a longer period of time when under foreign dominion.³⁵

GEPIDS AS CHRISTIANS IN THE WRITTEN SOURCES

Amongst the Gepids of the Carpathian Basin, similarly to the rest of the East Germanic tribes, the so called Arian concept of Christianity gained ground besides the preceding, hardly definable paganistic belief system. Even the contemporary authors of the era considered the various Eastern German-speaking people quite often as one group. As Procopius engrosses it in his work (*Vandalic Wars*) about the Goths, Vandals and Gepids: „ *For they all have white bodies and fair hair, and are tall and handsome to look upon, and they use the same laws and practise a common religion. For they are all of the Arian faith, and have one language called Gothic; and, as it seems to me, they all came originally from one tribe, and were distinguished later by the names of those who led each group.*“³⁶ Most of the Byzantine authors of the 6th century listed the Gepids amongst the carriers of an East Germanic culture and practice system mostly labelled as Gothic. Of course such an uniform classification of the East Germanic-speaking groups could be a pedantic contemporary explanation that can be traced back to ancient Greek-Roman literature of geography and history (milieu theory of Hippocrates), which classified the barbaric tribes into four groups (Scythians, Celts, Germans, Goths) according to their stereotypically defined external characteristics, lifestyles and geographical location.

²⁸ At the Oberdorla site, in addition to pig and other animal bones, a variety of dishware were found most frequently. QUAST 1997, 433–434.

²⁹ BRATOŽ 2002, 83–84.

³⁰ *Salvianus* IV, 14, 67–68; IV, 17, 81, ed. HALM 1877, MGH AA I/1. 49, 52.

³¹ *Johannes Biclarensis*, 572, ed. MOMMSEN 1894, MGH AA XI, 212–213; *Procopius, De Bello Vandalico* II, 3–5, ed. VEH 1971; *Procopius, De Bello Gothico*, III, 34, 23, ed. VEH 1978, 663.

³² *Origo gentis Langobardorum*, 1–2, ed. WAITZ 1878, MGH SS rer. Lang. et Ital. sec. VI–IX. 2–3.

³³ POHL 2000, 50–53.

³⁴ *Theophylact Simocatta, Historiae* VIII, 3, 11–12, ed. SCHREINER 1985, 288–289.

³⁵ ASSMANN 1999, 66–67, 89, 140–141, 204–208.

³⁶ *Procopius, De bello Vandalico*, I, 2, 3–5, ed. VEH 1971, 10–13.

The exact beginning of Arian Christianisation amongst the Gepids is quite a hard to define. According to Jordanes, Gothic missionaries and their already present Gothic Bible translations could have a significant role in the Christianisation of Gepids.³⁷ The question about the source is, when and which Gothic group could have its preachers taking part in the Christianisation of specific groups (or maybe just elites) of Gepids, as the writings of the Gothic historian are contradicted by Salvianus' description of the paganistic Gepids of the 5th century.

The conversion of the first Gothic communities started with the mission of Ulfilas in the 4th century. This clergyman of Eastern descent was a disciple of Arius, who recognized quite early during his 'Gothic Mission' that the Gothic also need their own Bible translation, similar to the Syrian and Coptic translations.³⁸ The mission, starting in 341, instantly collapsed, as Ulfilas and his Gothic converts had to retreat into Roman territories from Athanaric and his bloody retortion in 348. The Bible translation that later became so important was born in this period, together with the creation of written Gothic language and alphabet. Although the Arian church considers Ulfilas as the 'Apostle of Goths', he actually just laid down the most important foundations. A decisive act in the spread-out of the new belief system was the relocation of the West Gothic groups onto the territories of the Roman Empire.³⁹ In this case, Balkanic areas had a prominent role, as the Latin and Greek culture represented in these territories had a great influence on the quite quickly completed Gothic Bible translation.⁴⁰ Arianism by the time, could not be considered as a uniform faith, as it had several different schools; moreover some of these had such theories about the consubstantiality of God the Father and the Son that were considered exaggerative even by the measures of Arian circles.⁴¹

The restricting decrees and the prohibition of Arianism by the First Council of Constantinople (381) actually greatly advanced the permeation of Arianism and made it popular amongst the Germanic, as this way they could become obligated followers of a quite exclusive variant of Christianity.⁴² The reason behind the conversion of the Germanic has been investigated by several researchers. According to E. A. Thompson, Arianism was able to spread out easily in Germanic communities, as the hierarchic structure of this belief (e.g. The Son is a subordinate to the Father) fit well into Germanic traditions and society.⁴³ Another highly important consideration is that as opposed to Catholicism it was a far less centralized belief system, as it consisted of local, independent churches instead of integrating into an organisation depending from Rome, which foreshadowed the possibility of totalitarian control. According to Thomas Burns, the Ostrogoths' preference of Arian belief was based upon political and social reasons instead of theological convictions.⁴⁴ In their conversion the chance of separation and preserving their barbarian identity were especially important factors. After all, the whole process of conversion ran its course in the foreground of the Empire, so it is seriously problematic to see in what extent political and religious history could be separated in this case. The new economic and social settings probably required a new kind of spiritual belief too.⁴⁵

Turning towards this less supported tendency could have been an effort of preserving their own identity, as well as political dissociation by the Germanic elite, which relocated within the

³⁷ „Sic quoque Vesegothae a Valente imperatore Arriani potius quam Christiani effecti. De cetero tam Ostrogothis quam Gepidis parentibus suis pro affectionis gratia evangelizantes huius perfidiae culturam edocentes, omnem ubique linguae huius nationem ad culturam huius sectae invitaverunt.” *Jordanes, Getica* XXV, 133, ed. MOMMSEN 1882, MGH AA V, 92.

³⁸ RUSSEL 1995, 136; AMORY 2003, 241–242; THOMPSON 1966, 139.

³⁹ *Jordanes, Getica* 131–132, ed. MOMMSEN 1882, MGH AA V, 92.

⁴⁰ AMORY 2003, 238.

⁴¹ HEATHER–MATTHEWS 1991, 135–141.

⁴² MATTHIASSEN 1997, 675–677.

⁴³ THOMPSON 1966, 109.

⁴⁴ BURNS 1984, 145–150.

⁴⁵ FABER 2014, 164–175.

borders of the Empire. At the same time, an also non-neglectable regard was that certain elements of the previous, hierarchic and genetically based system of traditions could have been more easily reconciled with the fundamental practices of Arianism, than with the Catholic theory propagating the unity of Trinitism.⁴⁶

Although Arianism became officially prohibited in 381, their communities further subsisted in several regions and big cities of the Empire. A proof of this is the number of pamphlets published against Arians during the 5th Century, the most well-known of these being the one penned by Ambrose, Bishop of Milan. The Arian Church itself was not centralized, rather consisting of local and regional communities. The two main areas of its flourishing were Italy and the Balkans, having quite intense relationships with each other during the era.⁴⁷ The process of Christianisation among the Goths was also greatly helped by a small community, which sources call as 'small Goths' (*Minores Gothi*). They were the first Gothic followers of Ulfilas, living in the Balkans under Roman supervision since the middle of the 4th Century.⁴⁸ Of course, their prominent activities were also heavily backed by the intensive Arian endeavours of Valens. At the same time, the previously established Gothic Episcopate – probably operating upon ethnical bounds instead of territorial duties – and the Episcopate of Bosphorus could probably have significant responsibilities amongst the Thervingi and Greuthungi Goths.⁴⁹

The first greater community converting to Arian faith on the Danube region after the age of Huns were the Ostrogoths. The exact dates of the conversion of the Ostrogoths are quite uncertain, our first reliable trace deriving from the 450's, as by that time their rulers were all following this branch of Christianity together with the significant proportion of their people.⁵⁰ Owing to the religious tolerance of the Huns we can assume that the number of Arian believers was growing in a great measure amongst the diverse Germanic tribes.⁵¹ It is not by accident, that in the time period after the fall of the Hunnic Empire, many written sources refer to rulers of several East Germanic tribes (Ostrogoths, Rugii) and their accompaniment as devotional followers of Arianism. Since the West Gothic tribes who were first to convert completely into Arianism moved quite far from the direct area of the Carpathian Basin and the Hunnic Empire by this time, we can only consider the local communities (Small Goths, East Gothic tribes, Arians of the Balkans) and the groups practicing Arian faith as propagators of the 'new doctrine'. The permeation of the interior paganist belief system of the Hunnic Empire (early rural cults) and the Arian trends caused a lot of headache for the Roman clergy, as many sources mention that the prisoners of war returning to the Western parts of the Empire had to go through serious cleansing rituals. Those practicing only paganist rites were smitten with lighter punishments, while their accomplices proven to be victims of Arian 'blasphemy' had to submit themselves to a severe process including rebaptism.⁵²

After the Hunnic era, there are quite few sources giving report about the religion of the people of Carpathian Basin and the Christianity among them. The Arian faith dominating the local Germanic communities is mentioned in *Vita sancti Severini* by Eugippius and in *De vita bati Antonii* by Ennodius, focusing especially to the Rugis.⁵³ Unfortunately, the report of Eugippius does not give an account on the exact forms of Arian faith practices amongst the local barbarians, as it mostly describes usual clichés of simple heresies regarding the Rugis of Arian faith. The only figure depicted quite belligerently in this work is Queen Giso of Amal descent, owing to the impatient

⁴⁶ RUSSEL 1995, 138–139; FABER 2014, 164–175.

⁴⁷ AMORY 2003, 237–241; BRATOŽ 2002, 86.

⁴⁸ *Jordanes, Getica* 267, ed. MOMMSEN 1882, MGH AA V, 127.

⁴⁹ MATTHIANSSEN 1997, 670–672.

⁵⁰ GIESECKE 1939; RUSSEL 1995, 138–139; BRATOŽ 2002, 75–78.

⁵¹ MEANCHEN-HELFEN 1973, 260–267; THOMPSON 1946, 73–79.

⁵² BRATOŽ 2002, 78.

⁵³ *Eugippius, Vita Sancti Severini*, 7, 8, 22, ed. SAUPPE 1877, MGH AA I/2, 11–12, 19; *Ennodius, Vita Epiphani*, 118–119, ed. VOGEL 1885, MGH AA VII, 99.

nature of her Arian faith against the local Catholic communities (where she required reconversions). Despite of the lesser conflicts however, the denominational conjuncture of the Danube region at this time period could be described as calm/peaceful, as opposed to North Africa, where the conflicts between the Arian Vandals and the local Catholic Romans became quite intense.⁵⁴

In the case of the Gepids, the subservience of Christianisation by the previous political regime, and the obtainment of the late Pannonia Secunda province accomodating several Arian communities and rich traditions, had a remarkable relevance.⁵⁵ James C. Russel assumes that the conversion of Gepids into Arian Christianity took place by the influence of Ostrogoths sometime by the end of 5th Century.⁵⁶ We don't have exact data or reference about the course and pace of the process, as we lack any written source about the religion of the ruling class and the religious tendencies spreading among them. It is a fact, that after the Hunnic era, the Byzantine religious government tried to fish in troubled waters with their efforts to build strong relationships with the rulers of the young Germanic Kingdom, however, apart from one or two ruler's insignias – which does not get us any closer to the real faith of any actual person – there are no traces indicating any proselytization or orthodox baptisms amongst them in the second half of the 5th century.⁵⁷ The local orthodox communities of this age were also quite powerless. The situation of the Orthodox Church at the previous Roman territories obtained in the 470's, was also quite catastrophic, which is well reflected in the fact that after the Hunnic attacks of 441, the role of the metropolitan Episcopate of Sirmium was transferred into Macedonia for almost a whole Century.⁵⁸ Sirmium, and several big cities, that were of remarkable relevance for the Church, also lost their prominent religious roles for about a century. The leaders of the local Christian communities quickly left the region, taking the relics of greater value and all the accessories of Christendom with them. Naturally, such an 'exodus' greatly subserved the spread-out of less centralized religious tendencies like Arianism throughout the region.

Our first real source of data giving report about the Christianity of Gepids is quite lately dated. It is Procopius advising first in *De Bello Gothico* about the Gepids being converted into Arian faith.⁵⁹ Upon interpreting the source, it has to be mentioned by any means, that the direct data itself was uncovered upon analysing a speech containing many rhetorical elements. As an overture for the impending Longobard–Gepidic war, the delegations of both parties plead for themselves in the Imperial City. The Longobards, in order to win the Emperor for their side, deliver a speech of disparage against the Gepids, which include such recurring panel elements as the unreasonable payment of Tributum, a broken agreement, occupying Roman territories (Sirmium), forcing the local population into slavery and lastly, highlighting the Arian faith of the Gepids.⁶⁰ As it clearly shines through at Procopius' narration, we are dealing with a well-constructed rhetorical method, highlighting the orthodox faith of the Byzantines as well as the Longobard high-born, being in contrast with the Arianism of the Gepids. The Byzantine author probably used the situation to bestow the speech of the belligerent Longobard envoys with the viewpoint of Imperial politics.⁶¹ Unfortunately, this source also has no relevant information about the beginnings and the methods of Arian Chistianiasation, imparting no more than a simple statement. Of course general conclusions

⁵⁴ BRATOŽ 2002, 81–82. SCHWARCZ 2008, 229–231; STEINACHER 2008, 249–351.

⁵⁵ BRATOŽ 2011, NAGY 2012.

⁵⁶ RUSSEL 1995, 138.

⁵⁷ QUAST 2001, 442–443; TEJRAL 2012, 119; RUMMEL 2005, 374–375.

⁵⁸ BRATOŽ 2011, 216–218.

⁵⁹ „των οὐδαμῆ ἐπαξίως εἰρήσθω. σὺ δὲ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, «διασκοπούμενος ὅσα ἐνδεεστέρως ἢ κατὰ τὴν χρεῖαν «ἡμῖν εἰρηται, τὰ Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ Λαγγοβάρδαις τοῖς «σοῖς ξυνοῖσοντα προᾶσσε, τοῦτο προῶς τοῖς ἄλλοις «ἄπασιν ἐννοῶν, ὡς ἡμῖν μὲν ἀμφὶ τῷ θεῷ ὁμογνώ»μονοῦσι τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς συντετάξονται Ῥωμαῖοι δικαίως, «τοῖς δὲ Ἀρειανοῖς οὐσι καὶ δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἀπ' ἑναν»τίας χωρήσουσι.»” *Prokopius, De bello Gothico*, III, 34, 24, ed. VEH 1978, 662–663.

⁶⁰ *Prokopius, de bello Gothico* III, 34, 6–24 ed. VEH 1978, 658–663.

⁶¹ SARANTIS 2009, 29; CAMERON 1985, 218–221.

also cannot be drawn based on this, hence we know that even the Lombard Elite, lodging their complaints against the Gepids, also converted to the faith of the 'Byzantines' for merely political reasons, which is reflected in their subsequent fast-paced change of religion.⁶²

The reports of Jordanes and Procopius cannot take us any closer to the more exact dates of Gepidic Arianism. In contrast to this, Johannes Biclarensis presents us with a much more interesting information upon giving report about the gepidic Arian Bishop of Sirmium in one of his short chronicle entries.⁶³ At year 572 of his chronicle, the Hispanic Goth author writes about the fall of the Gepid Kingdom as well as mentioning an Arian Bishop of Sirmium called Trasaric, who exculpated the Royal Gepid treasury and the heir to the throne into Constantinople.⁶⁴ This source raises several questions: 1. Since when did an Arian Episcopate operate in Sirmium? 2. Did a separate Gepid Arian Church exist under the supervision of Gepid kings, or was it under Gothic supervision? The last report of a bishop in Sirmium is from Priscus of Panium in 441; after that there is no more data about any religious organization, nor religious leaders operating here.⁶⁵ At this time, the nearest Arian Churches of the region were operating in the neighbouring provinces of Dalmatia and Savia under Ostrogothic supervision.

During the reign of Theoderich, religious tolerance grew to a formidable extent both in Italy and all over the Ostrogothic Kingdom. We have no source mentioning any serious conflicts between Arians and Catholics, moreover, as it emerges from the letters of Cassiodorus, Theoderich allowed free religious practices even for Jewish.⁶⁶ In this time period of almost a quarter of a Century, Arian church was nicely operating and flourishing in the areas of the former Western Empire. Several Italian sources refer to the organization of Arian believers as Gothic Church, thus implying its ethnic nature.⁶⁷ In addition, we can observe that at this time most of the members and leading personnel of the denomination were bearing a Gothic or Germanic name, which would have been impossible in case of a Orthodox organization.⁶⁸

In spite of this, we have very limited knowledge of the names of the elders or bishops of the time; from the Eastern provinces of Dalmatia and Savia we actually don't have any.⁶⁹ We also hardly have any information about structure. Presumably, the elements of the religious system of Gothic interest were operating in big cities similarly to the ones tied to Catholic, in parallel with their local churches and organizations.⁷⁰ The centres of Arian Church are often located at the outskirts of the cities in the neighbourhood of Goth garrisons, or at the city centres besides the Catholic. We can especially observe this kind of duality on settlements with mixed ethnics. According to Bratož, the Arian churches being under Gothic supervision become united with the Ostrogoth political presence, so most likely they were present among the following situations: 1. Closed Gothic blocks (outskirts of Italy, provinces of Dalmatia and Savia). 2. Centres inhabited

⁶² POHL 2000, 54–55; FANNING 1981.

⁶³ *Johannes Biclarensis, 572*, ed. MOMMSEN 1894, MGH AA XI, 212–213.

⁶⁴ „*Gepidarum regnum finem accepit, qui a Langobardis proelio superati: Cunimundus rex campo occubuit et thesauri eius per Trasaricum Arrianae sectae episcopum et Reptilanem Cunimundi nepotem Iustino imperatori Constantinopolim ad integrum perducti sunt.*” *Johannes Biclarensis, 572*, ed. MOMMSEN 1894, MGH AA XI, 212–213.

⁶⁵ *Priscus Frg. 11, 2*, ed. BLOCKLEY 1981, 246–279.

⁶⁶ BRATOŽ 2002, 85–86.

⁶⁷ AMORY 2003, 253–254; MATHIANSEN 1997, 689–690, BERNDT–STEINACHER 2014, 219–230.

⁶⁸ AMORY 2003, 258–260.

⁶⁹ BRATOŽ 2002, 86.

⁷⁰ The almost identical religious apparel and similar clerical architecture make it very hard to distinguish the Arian monuments from the Orthodox ones. See: BOCKMANN 2014, 201–218. This distinction is further limited by the fact, that during the reconquering wars of Justinian the Great, many Arian centres and communities became victims of the very powerful recatholicising activities; their goods were reassigned to the Catholic communities as we can see from the reports of the papyri of Ravenna. AMORY 2003, 253–256.

by Goth emissaries and noblemen (e.g. Siscia). 3. Militarily important areas, where Goth units and their mandatory commanders were stationed.⁷¹

These Arian communities were not of centralized nature, each of the communities and episcopates operated on a quasi-regional level, quite often in compliance with the army and the military leaders. There could be some sort of elite and ecclesiastic hierarchy amongst the diverse barbaric Arian believers, but at the moment we have no evidence of the existence of any denominational organization that could even get close in its operation to that of the Nicene Creed. In the life of the local churches, laymen could also have a prominent role besides lesser priesthood.⁷²

In case of Sirmium it is quite hard to decide whether the church here was built upon Gothic or Gepid foundations. The late Imperial City was under Ostrogoth supervision several times, which could foster the development of the above mentioned Arian community and episcopate too. Sirmium was a military base of high importance at the borderline of the Byzantine Empire and the Ostrogothic Kingdom, probably accommodating greater numbers of military forces. At the same time it is important to highlight, that from 536, the area was under Gepid supervision again. The question is, whether the church in Sirmium was organized upon Gepid traditions between 536-568, or upon earlier Gothic foundations. Because of the lack of further source data, this question is quite hard to answer. The rather meagre report of Biclarensis offers three suggestions to this: 1. The former Ostrogoth, or an even earlier organization subsists, irrespectively of political domain 2. It is a new ecclesiastic organization being organized on Gepidic foundations 3. The isolated Ostrogothic Arian community assimilates into the kingdom with similar ideologies. The name Trasaric itself does not take us any closer to the solution of this conundrum, it merely draws our attention to the reality of Germanic Arian traditions. After losing Sirmium in 504, a reasonable number of Gepids stayed in the region, a part of whose were resettled in the borderline territories of Italy and Gaul in 523.⁷³ Probably both they, and those left behind converted into Arian faith in greater numbers, except if they were already following it. Most probably we can assume that the earlier (Goth-founded) religious community continued to operate after 536, also serving the needs of the Gepidic rulers residing here, just as the rest of the Arian churches did.

We are not yet able to mark any such architectural remnants in the archaeological records of Sirmium that are definitely bound to the age of Gepidic Kingdom as establishments of religious practices. Between the second half of 5th century and 6th century, there was a significant decrease in the area of the city, which reshaped the use of space in a reasonable extent. There is no proof that the use of earlier sacral buildings would have been extended into in this era.⁷⁴ Probably the latest of these religious establishments is the public basilica in the heart of the city, which the researchers tried to identify with the Church of St. Demetrios, presented in the scriptural records (*Fig. 2*). The church was probably built sometime in the first half of 5th century, however after its completion its use was most likely suspended because of the Hunnic campaigns.⁷⁵ To the Northeast, outside of the city walls there is also an octagonal building, containing 6 burial locations, dated to the 5th-6th century (*Fig. 2*).⁷⁶ Unfortunately we have no further archaeological data about the establishment, nor about the previous findings and most sadly about their chronological relation with the excavated graves. A plausible assumption is that it was also only secondary use of the place, the building itself not a being a genuine sacral ground established in the age of Gepidic Kingdom.

Based on this fragmentary source material it is not possible to determine to what degree the Arian church was established in this region, but its centre and a significant circle of its followers

⁷¹ BRATOŽ 2002, 87.

⁷² MATHISEN 1997, 690–695.

⁷³ *Cassiodorus, Variae*, V, 10, 2, ed. MOMMSEN 1898, MGH AA XII, 149.

⁷⁴ DUVAL 1979, 85–88; POPOVIĆ 1987, 119–122; MIRKOVIĆ 2011; HEINRICH-TAMÁSKA 2012, 225–228; See about the problem of the identification of archaeological remains of temples: NAGY 2012, 50–51.

⁷⁵ POPOVIĆ 1987, 119–122.

⁷⁶ BRUKNER 1995, 175–180; POPOVIĆ 2017, 70–73.

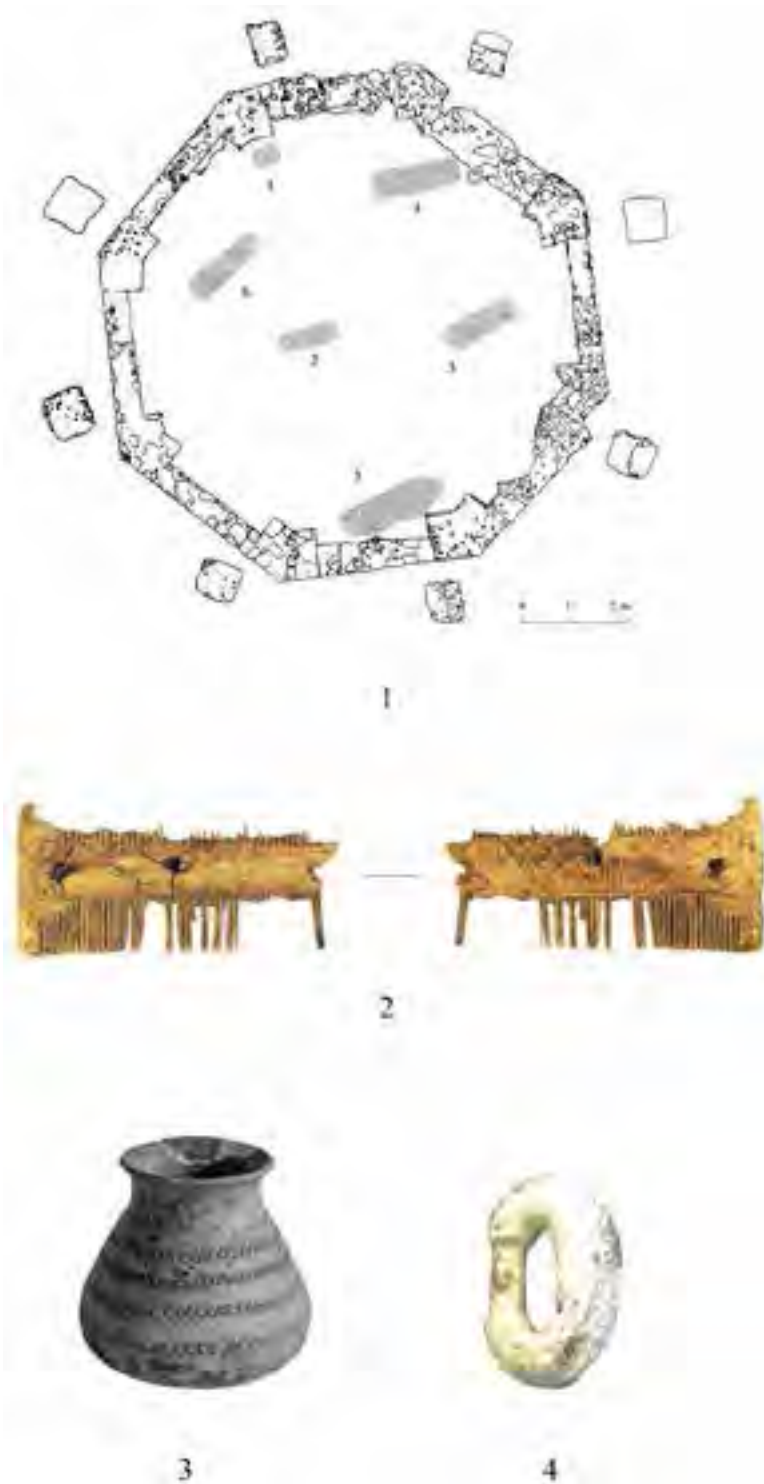


Fig. 2. Base of foundation of the octogonal building from Sirmium. The octogonal building (mausoleum?) with the graves during the 5th and 6th century and their finds. 1. The octogonal building (after POPOVIĆ 2017, Plan VII) 2. Two-row comb from the grave 3 (after POPOVIĆ–KAZANSKI–IVANIŠEVIĆ 2017, 186, Pl.1, 3) 3. Ceramic vessel from the grave 6 (after POPOVIĆ–KAZANSKI–IVANIŠEVIĆ 2017, 151, Pl. 9, 10) 4. Buckle from the grave 5 (made of pumice) (after POPOVIĆ–KAZANSKI–IVANIŠEVIĆ 2017, 176, Pl. 8, 4)

most likely came from the immediate surroundings of the former imperial city Sirmium. Apart from Sirmium, we have no data about a greater Arian community in the territories of the late Gepidic Kingdom. Although, owing to the conversion of political leaders, Christianity spread quite fast amongst the elite class, the Christianisation of the common people had a much slower pace, just as it is illustrated in the case of Western (Franks and Anglo-Saxons).⁷⁷ For example, almost a hundred years after the official conversion, Irish missions still had a relevant role in the process of turning the Frankian populace towards Christendom.⁷⁸ A generally discernible phenomenon is that the first institutionalized centres of the new church emerged at places of authority, and there is a significant temporal latency in the creation of such centres at more peripheral areas.⁷⁹ However, due to the characteristics of the early Arian Church, we cannot rule out that smaller Arian communities could operate on local, rural level, just as it is proven in case of the earliest Gothic groups of Transylvania during the 4th Century.⁸⁰ However, it is still very hard to find out, to what extent did the Arian proselytization affect the elite and the whole of the rural population.

After the fall of the Gepidic Kingdom, we have data not only about the communities presumably following paganist practices, but also about the Gepids of Christian faith. While fighting against the Slavic at the Danube region, the Byzantine general Alexandros received quite valuable information about the position of the enemy from a Gepidic prisoner of war, who also had a relevant role during the execution of a stratagem. Concerning this person, Theophylact Simocatta remarks that he was raised as a Christian.⁸¹ In this case, the denominational ties of this unknown Gepid were not important for the Byzantine author, which is also reflected by the use of the neutral term 'Christianos' in order to express his religious convictions. This source data illustrates very well, that within the borders of the Gepid Kingdom, there was no uniform system of beliefs that could have been centrally regulated.

ELEMENTS OF THE RELIGIONS IN THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL MATERIAL

Cult centres and places of sacrifice that reveal an uninterrupted worship of contemporary pagan gods during the 5th and 6th centuries can be found primarily in Scandinavia. No comparable collections of artefacts, or even archaeological traces, have been found in the southern regions dating from this post migration period.⁸² Artefacts left by the Gepids of the Carpathian Basin can be classified as a part of the so-called row-grave cemetery culture (Reihengräberfeld Kultur) of the Merovingian Period, which began in second half of the 5th century and was practiced by all the western Germanic peoples. Finds from this cemetery culture often reveal certain pre-Christian elements in the people's belief system. Determining the religion (Christian/Pagan) of the deceased based purely on burial customs is nearly impossible in a fundamentally barbarian environment. In many cases, the graves are more likely to reveal differences in social status.⁸³ In the past, researchers considered the placement of grave goods beside the deceased during the burial a basic defining feature of paganism. However, the custom of grave goods persisted for some time in Christianized Germanic and late antique societies, beginning to dissipate only in the 8th century.⁸⁴ It should be noted that although in very many cases, Christianity was present in people's everyday lives, earlier rituals and traditions, chiefly associated with fertility and agricultural production, still fit alongside

⁷⁷ BROWN 2013, 248–258, 340–354.

⁷⁸ BROWN 2013, 248–258.

⁷⁹ ARNOLD 2003, 165–169.

⁸⁰ WOLFRAM 1990, 114–121; *Passio S. Sabae*, III, 2; VI, 1, ed. HEATHER–MATTHEWS 1991, 105–106, 108. About the source more recently, see: LEEMANS 2012.

⁸¹ *Theophylact Simocatta, Historiae* VI, 8, 13, ed. SCHREINER 1985, 235–236.

⁸² BECK 1998, 482–483.

⁸³ BRATHER–WALTER–BRATHER 2012.

⁸⁴ BRATHER–WALTER–BRATHER 2012; LATER 2012, 583–588.

the 'new religion'. Like the Germanic peoples, the villagers of late antiquity also displayed a need for basic nature cults in the 5th and 6th centuries.⁸⁵

In the European row-grave cemeteries of the Merovingian Period, evidence shows that the placement of food and drink in graves persisted for a long time in groups that had much earlier converted to Christianity; thus these goods cannot be seen as clear signs that the pagan religion endured as well. Placing food in a grave is rare – unlike placing ceramic good – but we can interpret this phenomenon that not only fresh meat on the bone, but also debone pieces of meat were placed beside the deceased.⁸⁶ In the grave 31 from Kiszombor and the grave 94 from cemetery at Hódmezővásárhely-Gorzsa an egg was found.⁸⁷ The horse graves in the row grave cemeteries, however, can be classified as pagan. Among the Gepids, horse burials dating to the mid-and second half of 6th century and beyond have been found in some necropolises.⁸⁸ In most cases, the entire horse was buried in a separate pit, but variations have also been found (certain body parts or the head).⁸⁹ The symbolic burying of horse (the horse tack in the human grave) also occurred.⁹⁰ The Church banned the sacrifice and burial of horses throughout all of Europe in later periods.⁹¹ The horse had a prominent role in both early Germanic (Tacitus) and late Scandinavian traditions, as these legendary saddle animals were intermediaries between the two worlds.⁹²

Among the remains of the pagan belief system are the various forms of amulets, mostly used to ward off evil. A significant type that was widespread throughout Europe was identified by Joachim Werner as the Hercules/Donar amulet, which can be traced to the Roman-Age Hercules club. These amulets were 3-4 cm long, carved from antler or bone in a cone or pyramid shape. The surface was decorated with dots within circles or simple etched lines (*Fig. 3.1*).⁹³ The dot-circle (circumpunct) motif may have already played a general role in warding off trouble during late Antiquity. According to accounts of Egyptian monks, the 'desert fathers' decorated holy objects with dots within circles and concentric circles that could deceive and confuse the evil eye and demons.⁹⁴ The Donar amulets were found exclusively in the graves of women and children. Therefore, the following explanation also seems perfectly acceptable: the tiny objects were always carved from the tips of antlers, which, because of their continual growth, were universal symbols of renewal and fertility.⁹⁵ Other varieties of amulets were also discovered in addition to the Donar pendants (deer teeth, Cypraea shells, crystals and other pendants) that were also discovered in the graves of women and children and may have had apotropaic powers (*Fig. 3.2–4*).⁹⁶ Women mainly wore these protective objects suspended from their belts. Similar thinking may have led

⁸⁵ POHL 2000, 50–52.

⁸⁶ Dog: Grab 72 of Szőreg-Téglagyár (NAGY 2005b, 132); Pig: Kiszombor 40 (CSALLÁNY 1961, 174), grave 13 and 14 of Magyarcsanád-Bökény (NAGY 2005, 107); Tortoiseshell: grave 83 of Szentés-Nagyhegy (CSALLÁNY 1961, Taf XLII, 6–9), grave 39 and 367 of Kiszombor-B (CSALLÁNY 1961, 174, 191, Taf CL, 8); cattle jaw: grave 3 of Kardoskút (CSALLÁNY 1961, 137–138); goat horns: grave 5 of Biharkeresztes-Toldi-útfél (MESTERHÁZY 2005, 58–59). Bones of unidentified animals: grave of 125, 128, 184 and 210 of Szolnok-Szanda (BÓNA 2002, 218, 227, 233), grave of Tiszafüred-Külsőfokpart (BÓNA 2002, 243–244), grave 4 of Kardoskút (CSALLÁNY 1961, 138).

⁸⁷ CSALLÁNY 1961, 173, Taf. CXVI/7 and CSALLÁNY 1961, 130.

⁸⁸ Grave 103, 111, 116 of cemetery at Szőreg-Téglagyár: NAGY 2005, 135–137; Törökszentmiklós–Batthyány utca 54/A: CSEH 2005, 43–44; Grave 2 of cemetery at Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok: BÓNA–NAGY 2002, 42.

⁸⁹ Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok 2: BÓNA–NAGY 2002, 42.

⁹⁰ DOBOS 2010, 283–288; KISS 2015, 219–222. Grave 7 and 37 of cemetery at Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok: BÓNA–NAGY 2002, 44, 49, Taf. 9/7.27, Taf. 12/37.8.; grave 135 of Szolnok-Szanda: BÓNA 2002, 219, Taf. 46/135.7; Batajnica: VINSKI 1954, 176.

⁹¹ QUAIST 1997, 434.

⁹² STEUER 2003, 74–84, 93–95.

⁹³ WERNER 1964, 176–194.

⁹⁴ ENGEMANN 2001, 287.

⁹⁵ AUFLEGER 1997, 643.

⁹⁶ MARTIN 1997; B. TÓTH 2005, 16–17; RÁCZ–DARÓCZI–SZABÓ 2016, 180–182.



Fig. 3. Amulets from Gepidic row-grave cemeteries: 1. Donar/Thor amulets from grave 279 of cemetery Kiszombor-B (after HARASZTI 2011, Fig. I, 2); 2. The pentagonal or spindle whorl form rock-crystal pendant from grave 96 of cemetery Kiszombor-B (after HARASZTI 2011, XXI, 3, 2); 3. Deer tooth, which was used as amulet, from grave 279 of cemetery Kiszombor-B (after HARASZTI 2011, Fig. II, 4); 4. The freshwater mussel from grave 307 of cemetery Kiszombor-B (after HARASZTI 2011, Fig. IX, 3). 5. Chain mail fragments from female grave 139 from Szentes-Berekhát (photo by Attila Kiss P.)

the members of the former Germanic society to place pieces of chainmail in women's graves for protection and defence (Fig. 3.5).⁹⁷

In addition to burial customs and amulets, various depictions in particular provide greater insight into the pagan beliefs of the time. One of the main features of the 5th and 6th centuries was the appearance of unique Germanic forms of autonomous images and decorative motifs, elements of which can be traced to late antiquity but were reinterpreted by the craftsmen according to their own Germanic beliefs and world view.⁹⁸ The earliest formal features of the Germanic animal style I, which developed at the end of the 5th century, can be traced back to the decorative motifs found on late Roman soldiers' belts and bronze objects, although the craftsmen, using these elements in rather creative ways, reformulated these earlier expressions according to their own world view and belief system.⁹⁹ Earlier generations of researchers often tried to link the various animals (predatory birds, four-legged creatures, horses, snakes) with the companion and divine animals of certain gods (Wotan, Thor/Donar), but the abstract depictions make this kind of interpretation

⁹⁷ NAGY 2005, 164; KERESZTES-KISS 2017.

⁹⁸ HASELOFF 1981; PESCH 2009, 204-210.

⁹⁹ Buckle of Gyula, equal-armed brooch from grave 84 of Szentes-Nagyhegy; relief brooches from grave 73 of Szolnok-Szanda. NAGY 2007, 43-53.



Fig. 4. Animal style on the Gepidic finds: 1. The Scandinavian equal-armed brooch with Style I animal art decoration (four-legged creatures and various animal members created animal decoration on the side of the brooch) from grave 84 of cemetery Szentes-Nagyhegy (after NAGY 2007; Taf. 52–53, Taf. 73, 1); 2. Relief brooch from grave 73 of cemetery at Szolnok-Szanda (after BÓNA 2002, Taf. 99, 1; NAGY 2007, Taf. 55,1a).

highly questionable (Fig. 4.1).¹⁰⁰ At the same time, the creatures, appearing in often varied and mixed forms (predatory four-legged creatures, snakes), might possibly have conveyed a far more personal message. In many cases, the mixed animal forms may reflect the early medieval custom of giving animal names to people; thus these figures embody animal ancestors, personal attributes, and protective powers.¹⁰¹

In addition to animal decoration, which today is almost impossible to decipher and interpret, naturally much simpler and more realistic figural depictions can be found within this cultural sphere. In Gepid circles, gold medallions, known as bracteates, whose basic form evolved from late Roman-period coins portraying emperors, have been found. The images on the earliest pieces drew upon the profile portraits of the emperors. The depictions on later bracteates, however, reveal Mediterranean connections.¹⁰² The majority of bracteates were made in the north, in southern Scandinavia from the 4th to the 6th centuries. The bracteates presumably had the power to protect and defend the owner from harm (and were found predominantly in women's graves), and a significant number of them can be associated with the most popular god of the time, Wodan.¹⁰³ Thus far only three sporadic objects have been found from the Gepids' area of settlement, which according to inventory records were excavated in Debrecen and Szatmár (Fig. 5).¹⁰⁴ All three examples are classified as 'C types', and their common identifying feature is a depiction of a figure on horseback (or the back of a deer). Karl Hauk's detailed analysis linked the bracteates type to the

¹⁰⁰ These are quoted in: HEDEAGER 2011, 61–74.

¹⁰¹ HEDEAGER 2011, 80–85. It has been suggested that animal figures wrapped around various human masks express the possibility of mythical animal-human metamorphosis.

¹⁰² BEHRENS 2012, 199–200.

¹⁰³ PEDERSEN 2009.

¹⁰⁴ These can be found in the catalogues of iconology: PESCH 2007, 34, IK 182, nos. 1, 2, 3. IK 1/3 1985, XVII–XVIII, 237–238.



Fig. 5. Bracteates from Gepidic territory: 1. Nordic C-type bracteate from Szatmár (This came to light in unknown circumstances), whose on the surface is visible presumably the depiction of Wodan, (after IK 1/3, 237; 182, 1b); 2. / C-type bracteate from Debrecen (This came to light in unknown circumstances) (after IK 1/3, 237; 182, 3a); 3. Nordic C-type bracteate from Szatmár (after IK, 1/3, 238; 182, 1a); 4 The other side of Nordic C-type bracteate from Szatmár C (after IK, 1/3, 238; 182, 2a)

Merseburg incantation. In his opinion, the figure on horseback is Wodan, who miraculously heals the broken ankle of his horse Baldr, an event described in the source too.¹⁰⁵

Beginning in the 5th century, various objects decorated with runes appeared in the Carpathian Basin. These were the first evidence of the early Germanic people's use of writing. Earlier research clearly categorized runes and runic inscriptions as belonging to the sacred sphere, but recently the absolutism of this view has increasingly been the subject of debate.¹⁰⁶ Of course it is possible that runic writing, which developed in the 2nd century AD, was the privilege of a narrow segment of the elite, and only became suitable for everyday use later (the Vendel and Viking Periods), when an increasingly large number of longer, profane inscriptions seem to have been produced. The

¹⁰⁵ HAUCK 1980, 19–62.

¹⁰⁶ NEDOMA 1995; LOOIJENGA 2003, 1–26.



Fig. 6. Objects with runic inscriptions from Gepidic territory: 1. Ceramic vessel from grave 77 of Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok (after BÓNA-NAGY 2002, Taf. 83, 1a-b) 2. Two-row comb from site of Kengyel with D, B, A runic character (after CSEH 2016, Fig. 11, 6; 13, 2) 3. Nordic C-type bracteate from Szatmár (This came to light in unknown circumstances) with runic inscription (tualet Iní) (after IK 1/3, 237; 182, 1b)

inscriptions from the Carpathian Basin were written using the 24-letter runic writing system known as FUTHARK, named for first characters of its alphabet. A significant portion of the known texts are wishes (*Good Year! Onion*), names (*Marings*), or a combination of these (*Godahilds, wishes/joy*)

or they may have consisted simply of the line FUTHARK, which in itself bore magical power.¹⁰⁷ Naturally, we also know of single, engraved rune characters, perhaps functioning as anagrams from the Carpathian Basin. In the Gepidic find material there are three great, well known artefacts (one on ceramic, one on a gold bracteate and one on a two-row comb), on which a runic character wrote. The runes are also to be found on the two bracteates of Debrecen and Szatmár, for which the caption below was engraved: *tuaelt lni* (Fig. 6.3). The inscription has not been deciphered yet, but in Klaus Düwel's opinion, this could be an anagram which hides the word *alu* itself.¹⁰⁸ The word *alu* is a recurring formula in the case of runic writing, which means happiness, beer, success. There is another rune symbol – *D, B, A* – on the double-sided comb from the settlement site of Kengyel (Fig. 6.2–2a).¹⁰⁹ There is a further runic symbol – *J* character – on the wall of ceramic vessel from grave 77 of cemetery at Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok (Fig. 6.1–1a).¹¹⁰ The above three letters are difficult to interpret, since such an expression is not known from early Germanic languages. Individual rune characters must have had their own separate meaning, or perhaps magical powers – the idea of letter magic was popular in late Antiquity.¹¹¹ It is still questionable whether these objects with runes are arranged to profane or sacralized spheres of life, because both variants are possible.

Large part of the objects from the Carpathian Basin that relate principally to the German mythology and beliefs were made in Scandinavia. Recently, investigation of bracteates has led to the proposition that perhaps they were not manifestations of unified religious ideas, but rather traces of contact among the elite. This type of northern cultural influence, which was at its height in the 6th century, can be observed beyond the Carpathian Basin, in the southern German regions and farther to the north. Most of the objects associated with the Germanic system of beliefs and gods were part of this northern 'wave of imports'.¹¹² Nevertheless, one of the common denominators of the northern and southern Germanic groups was naturally a fundamentally similar system of beliefs, despite regional variations. Bracteates, equal-armed and relief brooches, and Nordic weapons (e.g. Shieldbosses of Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok) may have reached the Gepids and the Langobards through contact between the elites and other exogamous relationships (Fig. 4; Fig. 5).

The network of relationships that tied the Carpathian Basin to Scandinavia in the Germanic period survived in the subsequent Avar period. Recent artefacts found in Transdanubia, in the cemeteries of Keszthely and Kölked, substantiate this (Fig. 7.1–3). The plaster copy of a disk that recently came to light – which contains a depiction of a *Waffentänzer* (weapon dancer) and displays helmets from the Vendel-period and Sutton Hoo – reveals a direct connection between helmets for the northern elites (and related groups) and the early Avar remains from the Carpathian Basin (Fig. 7.4).¹¹³ Perhaps one of the most vivid indications of contact between the elites and others was the wide dissemination of the Germanic animal style II. At the same time, this network poses a problem in methodology: to what degree can the Scandinavian-made objects be interpreted as belonging to the local Germanic system of beliefs?

The archaeological research was associated many objects (the crosses, the amulet capsules) to the Christian faith what came from the material of the row grave cemeteries. In the Carpathian Basin only a few materials were found from the 5–6th century. The objects with cross decoration (primarily buckles) formerly were regarded as Christian marker in archaeological literature but

¹⁰⁷ TÓTH 2012, 99–105.

¹⁰⁸ IK 182, nos. 1, 2, 3. IK 1/3 1985, XVII–XVIII, 237–238; DÜWEL 1997, 35; TÓTH 2012, 104.

¹⁰⁹ CSEH 1999, 68, Fig. 8; CSEH 2016, Fig. 11, 6; 13, 2.

¹¹⁰ Grave 77 of Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok: BÓNA–NAGY 2002, 64, Taf. 83. 1a–b.

¹¹¹ DÜWEL 1992, 87–92.

¹¹² BEHRENS 2012, 204–205.

¹¹³ MÜLLER 2008, 236–237.



Fig. 7. The objects with Germanic-Scandinavian influence from Avar period in the Carpathian Basin: 1. The belt from the grave 85 of cemetery Kölked-Feketekapu-B (after KISS 2001); 2. The drawing of the depiction on the mushroom-shaped tongue-base of a gilt silver belt buckle (after KISS 2001); 3. The plaster copy of the disk from Keszthely-Fenekpuszta (after MÜLLER 2008, Abb. 2, 2); 4. The typical Scandinavian depiction of the weapon dancer (Waffentänzer) on the helmet of Torslunda (after QUAST 2002)



Fig. 8. Objects with cross motif: 1. Grave 145 of Szentés-Nagyhegy (after HARASZTI 2011, Taf. XXVII, 1); 2. Grave XI of Szőreg-Téglagyár (after NAGY 2005, Taf. 97, 2)

nowadays these were interpreted contrariwise (e.g. the connection with mediterranean region, elite connection etc.) (Fig. 8).¹¹⁴

¹¹⁴ CURTA 2001. Grave 145 of cemetery at Szentés-Berekhát (CSALLÁNY 1961, 85); grave 65 of Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok: BÓNA-NAGY 2002, 61; grave XI of cemetery at Szőreg-Téglagyár: NAGY 2005, 123, Taf. 46, XI, 1; grave 103 of Szőreg-Téglagyár: NAGY 2005, 133; Taf. 62, 103, 1; grave 29 of cemetery at Szentés-Nagyhegy. CSALLÁNY 1961, Taf. XXV, 13-14, Pécska/Pecica: CSALLÁNY 1961, Taf. CXXIII. 13.



Fig. 9. The cross with suspension loop of Kiszombor and its analogues: 1. Grave 350 of Kiszombor-B (after RÁCZ 2016, 246); 2. Grave 33 of Makó-Mikócsa halom (after BALOGH 2018, Fig 3,1); 3. Grave 37 of Deszk-G (after BALOGH 2018, Fig. 4, 2-3); 4. Eski Kermen (after KHAIREDINOVA 2012, Fig. 5, 1.); 5. Eski- Kermen (after KHAIREDINOVA 2012, Fig. 5, 2); 6. Stari Grad (after MIKULČIĆ 2002, Abb. 349); 7. Tetovo (after MIKULČIĆ 2002, Abb. 388, 1)

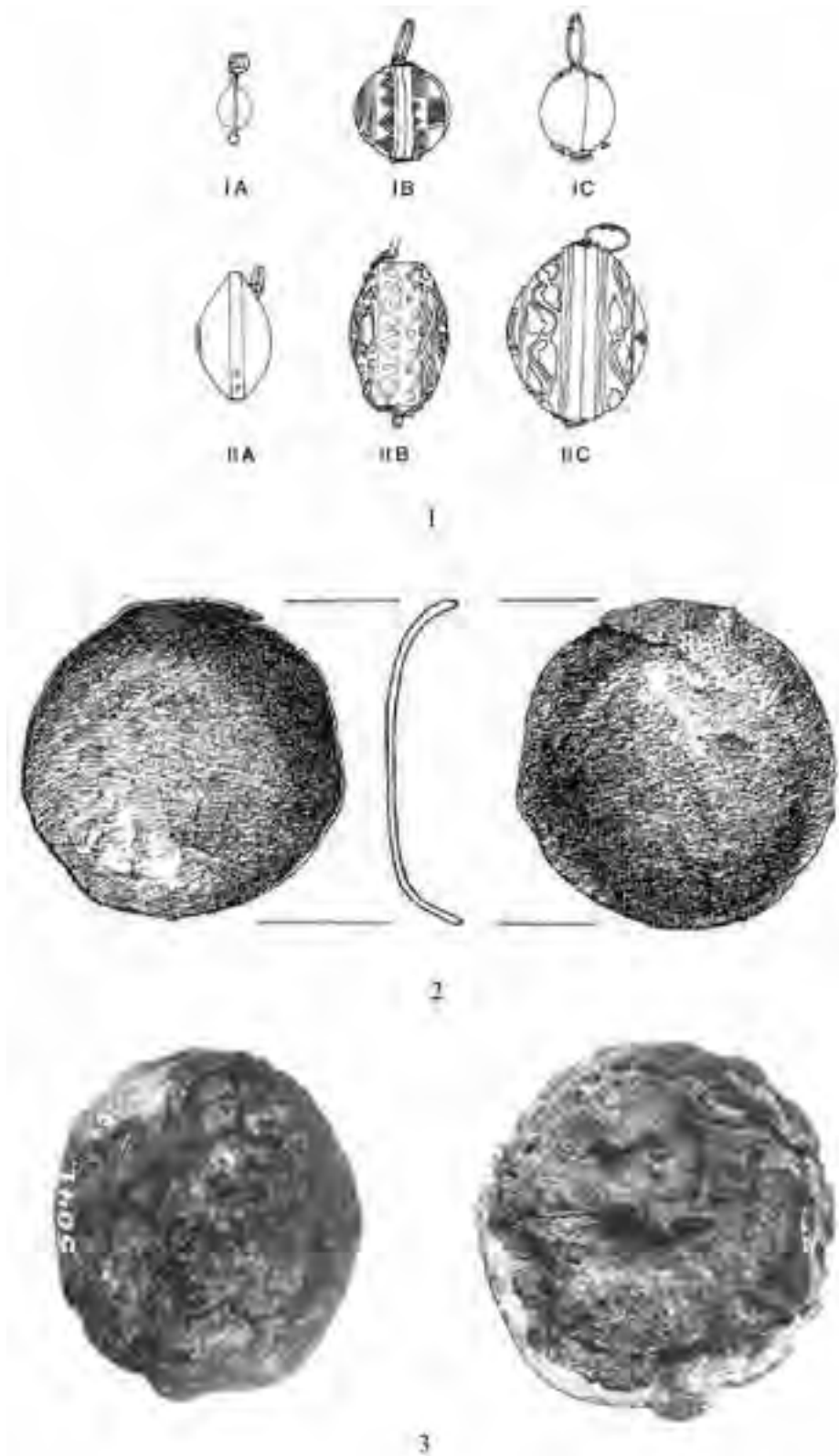


Fig. 10. Amulet capsules: 1. Types of amulet capsules (after VIDA 1995, 223); 2. Grave 21 of Szolnok-Zagyvarapart Alcsi (after CSEH 2005, Taf. 40, 21, 4); 3. Grave of Magyarcsanád-Bökény (after NAGY 2005, Taf. 75, 4a-b).

Only one piece cross with suspension loop came from the Gepidic settlement area to the certificate from grave 350 of cemetery of Kiszombor.¹¹⁵ This piece was cast from bronze and decorated with dotted circle decor, and in the middle set sits a gemstone, and it was made with widening but rounded arms, which were rare in this time (*Fig. 9.1*). Good parallels - are known from Crimea peninsula, from Ephesus, from Balkan in Byzantine fortifications but without a gemstone and rounded ending arms and these pieces can be dated in the middle or second half of the 6th century (*Fig. 9.2-7*).¹¹⁶ Similar pieces were made of precious metal, wood and bones and they are known from Syria, Israel, and Egypt.¹¹⁷ The crosses appear in greater numbers in the early Avar period just from one site of former Gepidic territory, for example from cemetery of Bratei 3 (This graveyard has a strong connection with the Mediterranean and Byzantine world).¹¹⁸

The amulet capsules appearing in the Carpathian Basin (based on the results of Tivadar Vida) are associated with the cults of Saints (secondary relique) in the Mediterranean, so the best examples and analogies of the artefacts are known from the Mediterranean and Merovingian region (*Fig. 10.1*).¹¹⁹ They could store more things in these objects: secondary relique can be any object that has ever been in contact with a righteous person or place (dust, soil, textile, plant/herb, lamp-oil, candle wax). Probably the Germans adopted/received the amulet capsules out of late antiquity and Byzantine costume, which was not necessarily used in their original function. In Gepidan era only three unidentified disc-shaped pieces come to the light, and this also belongs to late phases of the burial grounds (*Fig. 10.2-3*).¹²⁰ In the late Gepidic finds (mid and second half of the 6th century) large numbers of the amulet capsules appear in the Carpathian Basin, so these may well be related to the Germanic population that were living in the Avar era

The famous object of the Gepidic material found in grave 84 of Szentes-Nagyhegy a rectangular silver box (reliquary for secondary or contact relics) on the cover with a decoration of a cross with bars of equal length and with widening ends (*Fig. 11.3*). This artefact was found on a long leather strap suspended from the belt of the deceased. The analogy of this find can be found in Eastern Mediterranean - although it was worn in the neck -, but the punched technique (double crescent shaped) shows local influence (*Fig. 12.1-4*).¹²¹ Crescent and pointy pointillé decoration appears in many of the Gepidic objects that can date from the late or final phase of the Gepidic Kingdom. A new find from Gyula strengthens this date where a rectangular silver gilt mount was found that had once decorated the long leather strap hanging down from the woman's belt (*Fig. 12.5*).¹²² Both examples are well signs, as they could be imitating Byzantine pieces, but the differences of the original finds and local copies are clearly perceptible. Bente Magnus determined the woman in the grave as a Christian because of the cross decoration of the box and

¹¹⁵ CSALLÁNY 1961, 190.

¹¹⁶ This piece has a good parallel among the variant 3 of Crimean crosses (Bronze casted crosses with widening ends, a loop for suspending, decorated with five circles and a dot in the centre). KHAIREDDINOVA 2012, 426-427; *Fig. 5, 1-2*. Other analogues: Ephesos (PÜLZ 2011, 215-217, *Abb. 5*); Nessana (COLT 1962, *Plate XII, 26*); Stari Grad (MIKULČIĆ 2002, *Abb. 349*); Tetovo (MIKULČIĆ 2002, *Abb. 388, 1*).

¹¹⁷ Formal analogies: SCHMIDT 2001, 304-305; ROSS 1965, 15-135; GARAM 2001, 57, 289. Makó-Mikócsahalom: BALOGH 2018.

¹¹⁸ BÁRZU 2010, 80-81, 96-98.

¹¹⁹ VIDA 1995.

¹²⁰ Grave 12 of Magyarcsanak-Bökény (NAGY 2005, 100. *Taf. 22, 12/1*); grave 21 of Szolnok-Zagyvart (CSEH 2005, 25. *Taf. 40, 21/4*).

¹²¹ VIDA 2009, 267, *Abb. 3*. Similar artefacts with the punched technique during the Gepidic period: Grave 23 of Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok (BÓNA-NAGY 2002, *Taf. 11, 23, 3*); grave 68 of Szóreg-Téglagyár (NAGY 2005, *Taf. 59, 68, 2-3*); grave 135 of Szolnok-Szanda (BÓNA 2002, *Taf. 46, 135, 1-2*). From the Avar period: Grave 13, 29 and 34 of Mezőbánd. (KOVÁCS 1913, 298-314, 309); ; grave XXII/4/2 of Szihalom-Budaszög (FODOR-VIDA 2013, *Fig. 4, 4-6*).

¹²² A gold finger-ring with architectonic bezel and a solidus of Justinian were found from the grave that could be dated to the end of the century. LISKA 2016, 282.

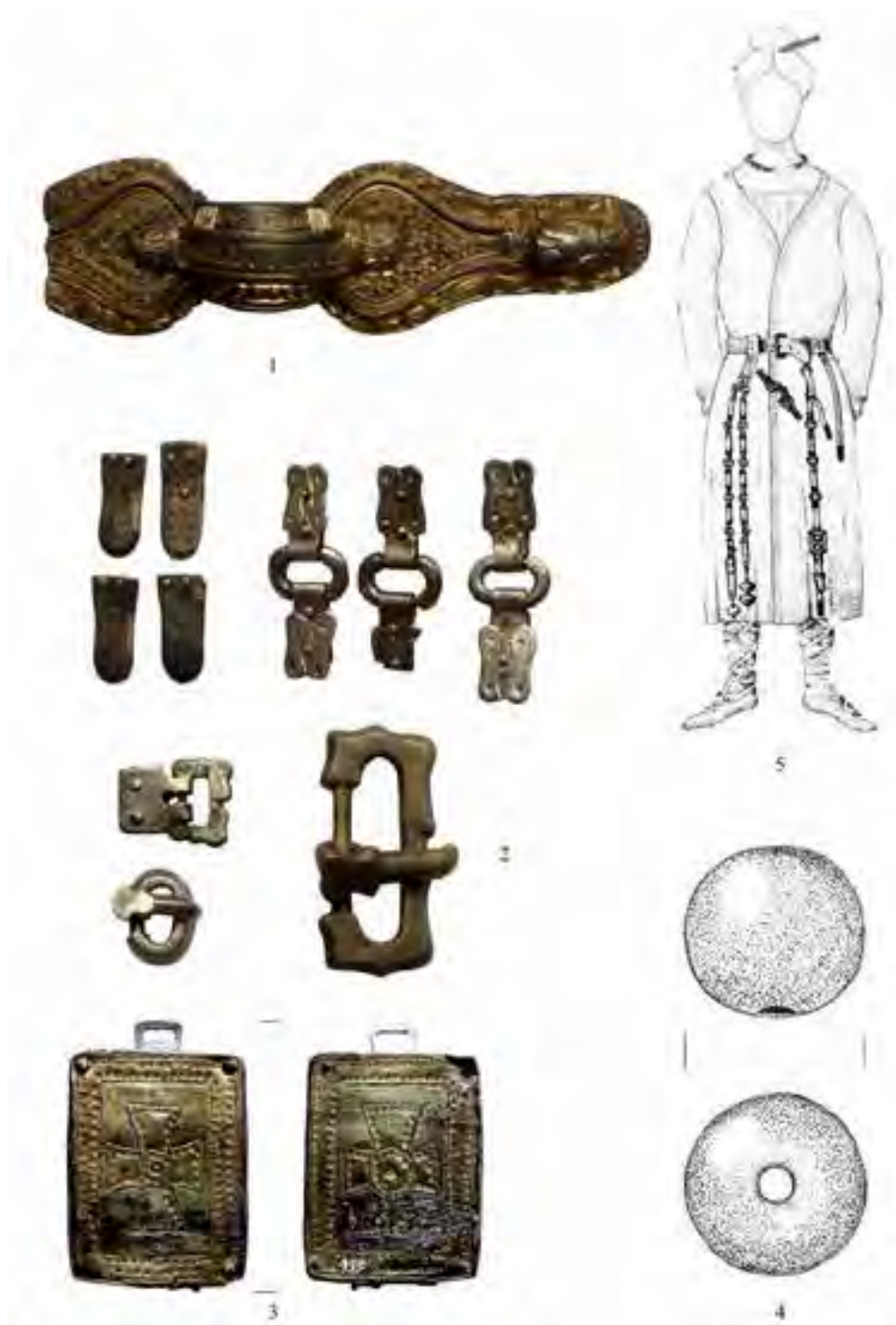


Fig. 11. Grave 84 of Szentes-Nagyhegy and its „amulets” (I am grateful to László Haraszti; Photo and drawing by László Haraszti, Móra Ferenc Museum, Szeged): 1. Broken equal-armed brooch (after HARASZTI 2011, XXV, 6); 2. Metal elements of girdle hanger (after HARASZTI 2011, 5, 7, 20, 11–13, 14–17); 3. Rectangular silver box (reliquary for secondary or contact relics) on the cover with a decoration of a cross with bars of equal length and with widening ends (after HARASZTI 2011, Fig. XXV, 19); 4. White chalcedony pearl (after HARASZTI 2011, Fig. XXV, 21); 5. The pendant-reconstruction of female costume of grave 84 from cemetery Szentes-Nagyhegy (after BÓNA 1976, Fig. 8)



Fig. 12. Analogues of silver box of grave 84 at Szentcs-Nagyhegy: 1. Asia minor (after VIDA 2009, Fig. 3, 2); 2. Unknown site (after VIDA 2009, Fig. 3, 3); 3. Constantinople (with the name St. Zacharias) (after VIDA 2009, Fig. 3, 4); 4. Asia Minor (after VIDA 2009, Fig. 3, 5); 5a-b. Gyula site no 623, Nagy-Szölő III (after LISKA 2016, 282 and BOLLÓK 2017, Fig. 2, 3)

the grave orientation.¹²³ Of course, all guest stands or cross pendants adorned with Christian or cross decor may not have been automatically interpreted as Christian. The Christian reliquary of 84 grave at Szentes-Nagyhegy was found on the amulet belt pendant where other pagan amulets were too (broken equal-armed and relief brooch with animal style I; white chalcedony pearl) (Fig. 12.1, 4).¹²⁴ In our opinion in this grave the grave goods can not be interpreted as part of Christian belief.¹²⁵ The family of the deceased placed the reliquiar box as apotroptic amulet in the grave during the burial ceremony.

Early Christian religion and the early church did not try to regulate all the moments of life, such as burial ceremonies, so many previous rites and superstitions could exist side by side. The Christians and Gentiles (Barbarians) in row-grave cemeteries can not obviously be easily separated only by (based on) the grave goods or lack of the grave goods. The Christian finds can be classified as Christian artifacts, but at the same time this does not mean that those wearing them were Christians themselves. These peoples traversed the first path towards a new religion, but the Christianization was very superficial, so many elements of pre-Christian beliefs survived in a synchronic form. These beliefs were often very persistent and not connected to the former pagan gods and new Christian god, but rather to superstitious protection. In the eyes of the simple man, the former and the new helping force could coexist side by side. Most recently Ádám Bollók summed up these question perfectly, based on the grave of Szentes-Nagyhegy: *„Neither is it mere chance that amulets regularly surface among grave furnishings, nor that many Christian artefacts appear as amulets in burials, since it was customary among both Christians and non-Christians to wear amulets for protecting their lives and to provide their loved ones with protective devices in death for safeguarding their body and soul. Of course, it is not easy to decide whether the individuals interred with these artefacts had identified themselves or were regarded by their peers as Christians. However, what seems certain is that the presence of Christian ‘advisers’ living among their non-Christian ‘hosts’ was an important prerequisite which facilitated the local non-Christians’ acquaintance with the power of Christ’s cross and other Christian apotropaia.”*¹²⁶

SUMMARY

In summary, we have few available sources, and because of Christian evangelization, our knowledge of the Gepidic belief systems (Pagan or Christian) in the Carpathian Basin in 5th-7th centuries is limited. The ruling stratum of certain German tribes quickly came in contact with Roman and later Christian cultures, which led to an extraordinarily rapid transition in their earlier religious norms and belief systems. This sort of phenomenon was especially noticeable during the migration period, when some communities adsorbed huge numbers of people of different ethnicities, which to a large degree reshaped their customs too.¹²⁷ We have data not only about the communities presumably following paganist practices, but also about the Gepids of Christian (Arian) faith. The occupation of Sirmium changed that status considerably, since the Gepidic state could follow a different path of development which led to the integration into the tradition of the Roman Empire’s system of monopolising power. The autonomous organization of the church (though partly inherited from the Ostrogoths) also implied the same opportunity. Nevertheless, this development was interrupted and left in torso permanently with the Gepids’ utter defeat in 567. Apart from Sirmium, we have no data about a greater Arian community in the territories of the Gepidic Kingdom. The elite of the Gepidic Kingdom identified themselves for political reasons as Christian (Arian), but still much of the common or rural people believed in the old religions (Germanic Gods) which in many cases could have been mixed with elements of Christianity.

¹²³ MAGNUS 2007, 187.

¹²⁴ MAGNUS 2007, 187.

¹²⁵ BOLLÓK 2017, 432–434.

¹²⁶ BOLLÓK 2017, 434.

¹²⁷ BECK 1998, 484–487

In many cases (amulets, sacrifices), sorting out typical Germanic elements from those borrowed from a late antique pagan or Christian milieu also presents difficulties. Some objects (amulets) that were believed to ward off evil were easily adopted in Christian communities. Depictions of classic German gods and beliefs are found most often on objects made in Scandinavia. A large number of these works were transported to the southern German territories during the 6th century (Bracteates, brocches). Beliefs, venerated gods and supernatural creatures must have been fundamentally similar among the various Germanic peoples, although there certainly were regional differences (for example, Saxnot). In finds of the row grave cemeteries and in the rituals that occur there we mostly can discover the traces of the pagan beliefs, the Christianity has only appear mixed forms (together with elements of earlier religions). Probably the transformation of the former believe system may just began in this period.

AMULETS FROM GEPIDIC TERRITORY CATALOGUE

Bird claws:

Grave 44 of Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok: BÓNA–NAGY 2002, 53–54, 87. Abb. 23. Taf. 14, 3–4.

Deer canine pendants:

Grave 1898/1 of Bački Monoštor/Bodrogmonostorszeg: GUBITZA 1899, 264. Fig. 1.

Grave 1898/6 of Bački Monoštor/Bodrogmonostorszeg: GUBITZA 1899, 267. Fig. 5.

Grave 1901/1 of Bački Monoštor/Bodrogmonostorszeg: GUBITZA 1902, 339–340. Fig. 5.

215 object of Hajdúnánás-Fürj-halom dűlő: RÁCZ–DARÓCZI–SZABÓ 2016, 180–182, Fig. 1, 1.

836 object of Hajdúnánás-Fürj-halom dűlő: RÁCZ–DARÓCZI–SZABÓ 2016, 180–182, Fig. 1, 2.

Grave 32 of Kiszombor B: CSALLÁNY 1961, 173–174. Taf. CXI, 19.

Grave 279 of Kiszombor B: CSALLÁNY 1961, 187. Taf. CXXXVI, 3.

Szécsény:

Tápé-Széntégláégető 658. sír: B. TÓTH 1994, 294. Fig 3, 9.

Shells:

Domoszló-Víztároló: BÓNA 2002, 27–28. Taf. 4. 5.

Grave 277 of Kiszombor B: CSALLÁNY 1961, 187. Taf. CXLIII. 1.

Grave 307 of Kiszombor B: CSALLÁNY 1961, 187. Taf. CXLVII. 29.

Grave 50 of Morești/Malomfalva: POPESCU 1974, 223–225. Taf. 12. 4.

Donar amulet pendants:

Grave 131 of Kiszombor B: CSALLÁNY 1961, 179–180. Taf. CXXIV, 5–6.

Grave 279 of Kiszombor B: CSALLÁNY 1961, 187. Taf. CXXXVI, 3, 5–9.

Grave 31 (15) of Magyarcsanád-Bökény: NAGY 2005, 103,113. Taf. 24/31:1.

Morești/Malomfalva: HORED T 1979, 147. Taf. 42, 4.

Grave 61 of Szentes-Berekhát: CSALLÁNY 1904, 161, 61, 5–6.

Szentes-Berekhát, stray find: CSALLÁNY 1961, 101.E/2, Taf. LVIII, 5.

Grave 81 of Szentes-Kökényzug: CSALLÁNY 1961, 37–38. ABB. 6, Taf. XVIII, 6.

Grave 658 of Tápé-Széntégláégető: B. TÓTH 1994, 294–295. Fig. 3, 4.

Chain mail fragments:

Grave 29 of Hódmezővásárhely-Gorzsa: CSALLÁNY 1961, 128, Taf. CCXXVIII.

Grave 59 of Hódmezővásárhely-Gorzsa: CSALLÁNY 1961, 128, Taf. CCXXIX.

Grave 178 of Kiszombor B: CSALLÁNY 1961, 182, Taf. CXXX.

Grave 89 of Szentes-Berekhát: CSALLÁNY 1961, 80, Taf. LXXXIII.

Grave 139 of Szentes-Berekhát: CSALLÁNY 1961, 84–85, Taf. LXXVII.

Grave 83 of Szentes-Nagyhegy: CSALLÁNY 1961, 58, Taf. XLII.

Grave 49 of Szolnok-Szanda: BÓNA 2002, 209, Taf. 35.

Grave 74 of Szőreg-Téglagyár: NAGY 2005, 132, Taf. 60.

Grave 79 of Szőreg-Téglagyár: NAGY 2005, 132, Taf. 61.

Bracteats:

Szatmár–C 1, artifact not associated with a site: IK I/2, 312–313, Taf. 237–238.

Szatmár–C2, artifact not associated with a site: IK I/2, 312–313, Taf. 237–238.

Debrecen–C, artifact not associated with a site: IK I/2, 313–314, Taf. 237.

Crosses:

Kiszombor B 350. sír: CSALLÁNY 1961, 190 Taf. CXXIV.12.

Amulet capsules:

Grave 12 of Magyarcsanád-Bökény: NAGY 2005, 100. Taf. 22. 12,1.

Grave 84 of Szentes-Nagyhegy: CSALLÁNY 1961, 58–64. Taf. XXXIX. 4.

Grave 21 of Szolnok-Zagyvapart: CSEH 2005, 25. Taf. 40. 21,4.

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ACTION AND INTERACTION BETWEEN THE GEPIDS AND THE LANGOBARDS IN THE SIXTH CENTURY

István Koncz

The history of the Carpathian Basin during the first two thirds of the sixth century was moulded by the intricate, oft-changing relationship between the Gepids and the Langobards. In addition to the political and diplomatic connections recorded in the historical sources, the archaeological record attests to other dimensions of the relations between these two powers. The present study seeks to identify the artefacts with connections in the Tisza region appearing among the Transdanubian finds of the Langobard period, and the types with Transdanubian and Western European parallels among the contemporaneous find assemblages of the Tisza region. The similarities outline a system of intricate and multifaceted relations between the Gepids and the Langobards in the sixth century. These connections cannot always be automatically equated with trade transactions – very often, we are dealing with ad hoc events or individual interactions. Some broad tendencies can nevertheless be outlined.

Keywords: Carpathian Basin; sixth century; Langobards; Gepids; trade; cultural contacts

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

A new Germanic group appeared in the Carpathian Basin at the onset of the sixth century: the Langobards first occupied northern Pannonia and then extended their sway over southern Pannonia in the mid-century. On the testimony of the archaeological record – or, better said, of the lack of finds – the Danube-Tisza interfluvium acted as a kind of uninhabited marchland between the Langobards controlling modern Transdanubia and its broader area, and the Gepids ruling over the eastern half of the Carpathian Basin (the Tisza region and Transylvania).¹ Although the direct border between the two powers in the Sirmium area probably only emerged sometime in the mid-sixth century, the first contacts between them can most likely be dated earlier, to the initial third of the sixth century.

The complexity of the relations between the Langobards and the Gepids is best illustrated by Paul the Deacon's narrative that mentions the enmity between the two peoples sparked by the fleeing pretender to the throne and the dynastic marriages between the royal families in the same passage.² István Bóna argued that the reports on the initial hostile relations were in fact subsequent fabrications by later chroniclers of the Lombard Kingdom in Italy.³ A major change in the relations between the two powers can be noted in the century's middle third when the border emerged in the Sirmium region in the wake of the Langobards' occupation of southern Pannonia.⁴ The first

¹ BÓNA 2009, 197.

² According to the narrative, Hildechis rebelled against his father Wacho, who had ascended the throne after murdering Tato, his predecessor. Hildechis was eventually forced to flee and found refuge among the Gepids. Yet, Wacho married Ostrogotha, daughter of Elemund, the Gepidic king (*Paulus Diaconus, Historia Langobardorum* I. 21: ed. PETERS 1907). Although the different sources vary regarding minor details, they agree on the two main points, namely that the pretender had to flee and that a dynastic marriage was brokered. However, the lack of any chronological pointers makes an exact interpretation problematic. POHL 1997; KISS P. 2015a, 131–133.

³ BÓNA 2009, 197.

⁴ The exact date of the occupation of southern Pannonia and its political/dynastic background has since long been a controversial issue in the period's research. Taking their cue from Procopius, historical and archaeological scholarship regards the region as having been bestowed on the Langobards by Byzantium

armed clashes occurred around the late 540s. Byzantine diplomacy strove to exploit both peoples to further her own ambitions and to maintain the *status quo* with carefully engineered interventions. The enmity eventually peaked in the Battle of “Asfeld”, ending with the victory of the Langobard-Byzantine forces. We do not know of any military events in the next decades, which has generally been interpreted as reflecting a rapprochement by the period’s scholarship. There was a shift in power relations and the alliance system by the mid-560s. The Gepids defeated the Langobards with Byzantine aid; however, the Langobards joined forces with the Avars appearing in the region and crushed the Gepids in 567, whose independence ceased.⁵ The true winners of the conflict were the Avars, who brought the greater part of the Carpathian Basin under their rule after the Langobards had departed to Italy.

Owing to their nature, the written sources make no mention of any trade between the Langobards and the Gepids. Only two events could be interpreted on the level of material culture as well: the sheltering of the pretender and his followers,⁶ and the visit of Alboin to the Gepidic royal court, when Turisind presented his guest with the weapons once borne by his son, who, for that matter, had been murdered by Alboin.⁷

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL IMPRINTS OF GEPIDIC-LANGOBARD RELATIONS

The identical or highly similar artefact types appearing in the sixth-century material record of Transdanubia and the Tisza region⁸ attest to an entirely different level of the connections between the Langobards and the Gepids. Previous scholarship believed that relations between the two regions had been sporadic and of an *ad hoc* nature, and generally proposed separate explanations for the types described as Langobardic occurring on the assumed territory of the Gepidic kingdom(s) and vice versa.⁹ The general narrative invoked booty, personal mobility, local and long-distance trade and technology transfers alike, covering thereby the entire range of potential explanations for the connections indicated by the archaeological material.¹⁰ The study of these connections essentially rests on the following artefact types: jewellery (principally brooches), weapons, buckles, mounts, combs and pottery (mainly so-called stamped pottery). The present study seeks to identify the articles with connections in the Tisza region appearing among the Transdanubian finds of the Langobard period, and the types with Transdanubian and Western European parallels among the contemporaneous find assemblages of the Tisza region, and then, in the light of the findings, to interpret the nature of the connections between the two regions.

Any study along these lines is severely handicapped by the fact that the cemeteries, which are the main source of the finds (and essentially the single source in Transdanubia), are strongly disturbed. The extent of the disturbance can be as high as 100% on some sites and is lower than 30% in exceptional cases only. Another difficulty bedevilling any comparison is that while the number

in 546; however, the identification of the geographic names used in the sources is not conclusive because they could be taken to denote solely the southerly regions, but also the whole of Pannonia. It is also uncertain whether the lands in question were occupied with Byzantium’s prior consent or whether the emperor merely acquiesced what had already happened. For a detailed discussion, see KISS P. 2015a.

⁵ For a comprehensive overview of the Gepidic-Langobardic-Byzantine war, see CHRISTOU 1991, POHL 1997 and, more recently, SARANTIS 2016.

⁶ István Bóna believed that the Kisköre cemetery contained the burials of the Langobards who had fled together with Hildechis. BÓNA 2009, 198.

⁷ *Paulus Diaconus, Historia Langobardorum* I. 23–24; ed. PETERS 1907. Attila P. Kiss argued that the narrative reflected the custom of *per arma adoptio*. KISS P. 2015b.

⁸ Given their geographic proximity, I focused on the connections between the Tisza region and Transdanubia, and Transylvania is here treated cursorily.

⁹ BÓNA 1993 and 2009; B. TÓTH 1993; MESTERHÁZY 1999.

¹⁰ QUAST 2009, Fig. 16.

of well-documented burials dated to the study period – the first two thirds of the sixth century – is below a thousand in Transdanubia, this number is significantly eclipsed in the Tisza region.

Brooches

Brooch types of the Great Hungarian Plain in Transdanubia

The two bow brooches¹¹ from Grave 33 of the Szentendre cemetery¹² (*Fig. 1*) are unparalleled in sixth-century Pannonia. One of the brooches is a spiral-decorated, radiate-headed brooch with a semi-circular head-plate with five knobs and a lozenge-shaped foot-plate whose close parallels can be cited from the Tisza region, from Alpár and Békés, as well as from the cemeteries in the Szentes area (Szentes-Kökényzug, Graves 29 and 81, Szentes-Nagyhegy, Grave 5). The brooch type is unattested in Western Europe: it can be best compared to the Hahnheim type, although the latter's ornamentation differs.¹³ Given its parallels, it seems likely that the Szentendre brooch originated from the Tisza region, where this type is dated to the late fifth and earlier sixth century.¹⁴ The Schwechat-Pallersdorf-type S-brooch from Grave 33 of the Szentendre cemetery would suggest a date in the earlier sixth century for the burial. A similar brooch came to light as a stray find in the cemetery of Kranj (Slovenia),¹⁵ whose closest analogy comes from Grave 81 of the Szentes-Kökényzug cemetery.¹⁶

The fragments of two bow brooches are known from the Csákvár area (*Fig. 2*).¹⁷ The animal-headed foot-plate can be identified on the basis of its geometric ornamentation. István Bóna argued that the brooch was a Gepidic product;¹⁸ its geometric ornamentation is paralleled by several brooches from Magyartés.¹⁹ At the same time, foot-plates divided into multiple lozenge motifs are encountered in Western Europe too: it is frequent on the already mentioned Hahnheim type as well as on the Cutry-Naumburg-Kölleda type.²⁰ Since the exact type of the Csákvár brooch cannot be determined, its origin remains uncertain, and only so much can be established that its ornamentation is uncommon in sixth-century Transdanubia.

Transdanubian brooch types on the Great Hungarian Plain

An S-brooch of the Várpalota 19 type came to light from Grave XI of the Szőreg-Téglagyár cemetery.²¹ Although one of the most widespread small brooch types in mid-sixth-century Transdanubia,²² the brooch from Szőreg is the single known exemplar from Tisza region (*Fig. 3*). In view of its popularity in Transdanubia, it can be posited that the Szőreg brooch came from that region.²³ The

¹¹ This is the single currently known burial of the period, which yielded two brooches that cannot be regarded as a formal pair. KONCZ 2018, 173.

¹² BÓNA–B. HORVÁTH 2009, Taf. 42.

¹³ KOCH 1998, 200–202.

¹⁴ Brooch 1 of Grave 33 of the Szentendre cemetery can be assigned to the type's later smaller variant. NAGY 1993, 72.

¹⁵ STARE 1980, T. 20.

¹⁶ CSALLÁNY 1961, 37–38, and Taf. XVIII. The brooch has also been interpreted as the legacy of a Gepidic woman who had migrated to Italy together with the Langobards. MESTERHÁZY 1999, 85.

¹⁷ The two fragments were first published by József Hampel, who described them as associated, unprovenanced pieces. HAMPEL 1905, 66, and Taf. 54. Their findspot was later identified by István Bóna. BÓNA 2009, 198.

¹⁸ BÓNA 2009, 198, later accepted by MESTERHÁZY 1999, 85.

¹⁹ CSALLÁNY 1961, 40–43, and Taf. CIX.

²⁰ KOCH 1998, 188–190.

²¹ CSALLÁNY 1961, 148, and Taf. CLXXXVIII.

²² Comparable brooches have been found at Jutas, Kajdacs, Kápolnásnyék, Keszthely, Szentendre, Szőlád, Tamási, Várpalota and Vörs. HORVÁTH 2012, 210–212.

²³ BÓNA 2009, 198; MESTERHÁZY 1999, 85.

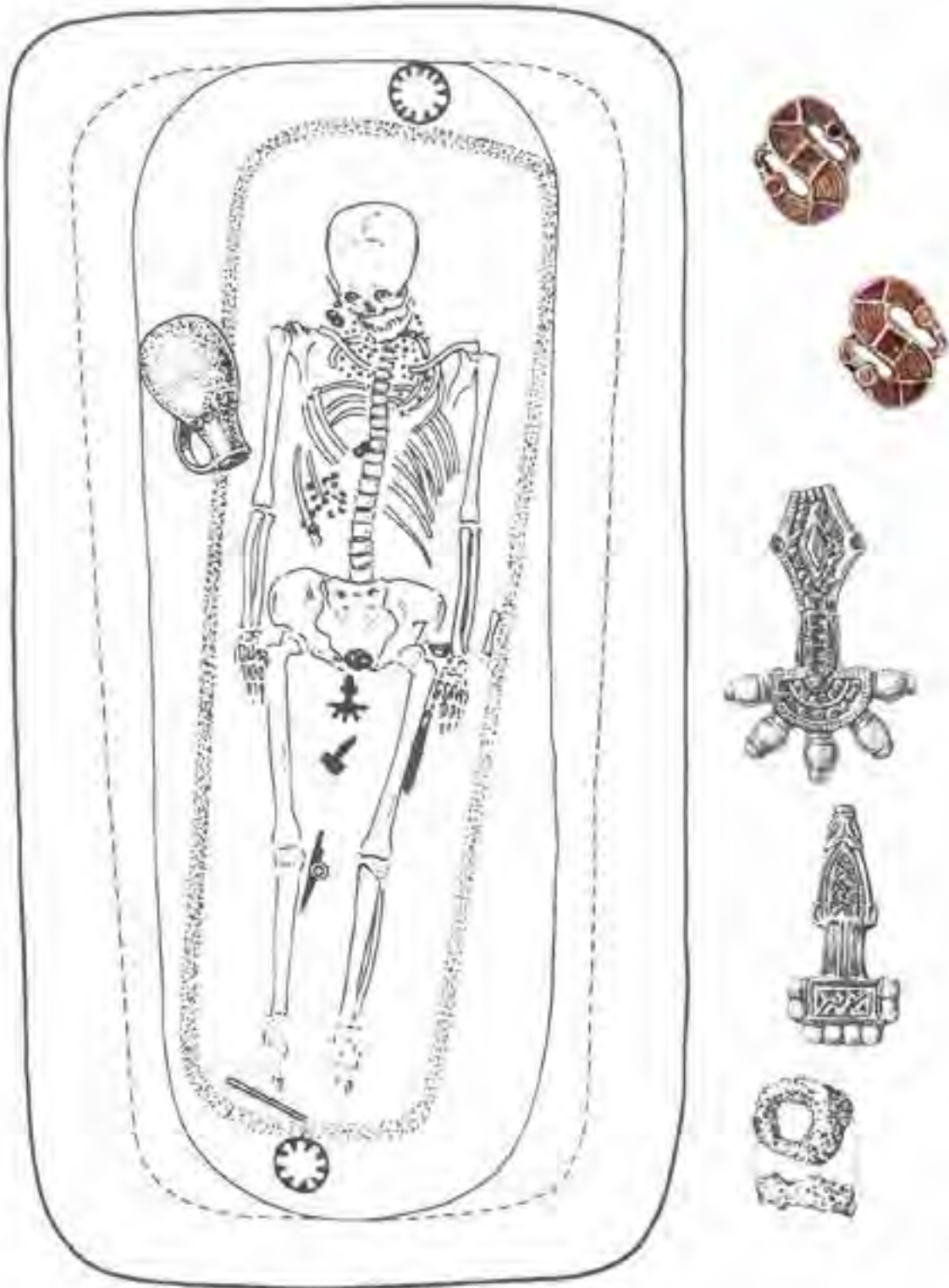


Fig. 1. Szentendre Grave 33: Schwechat-Pallersdorf type S-brooches and two bow brooches and other elements of the decorative strap suspended from the belt (after KONCZ 2018)



Fig. 2. The fragments of two bow brooches from the Csákvár area (after HAMPEL 1905, Taf. 54)

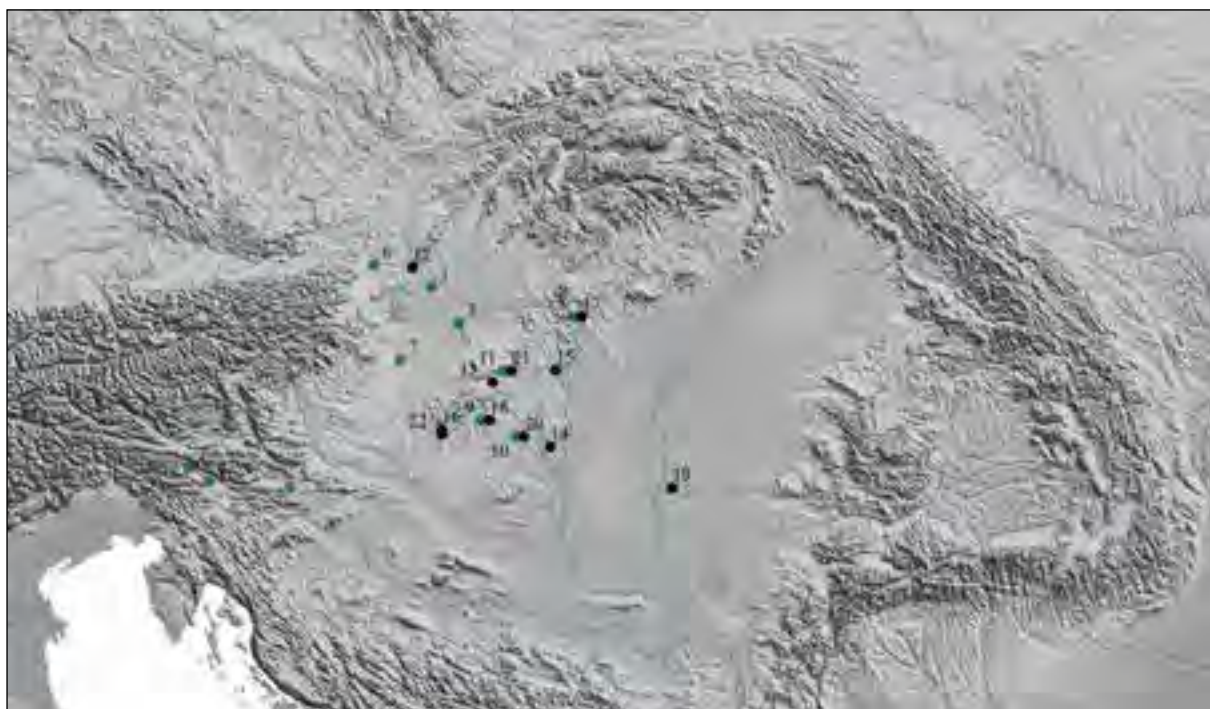


Fig. 3. Distribution of the Schwechat-Pallersdorf (green) and Várpalota 19 (black) type S-brooches in the wider analysed regions (map created by Levente Samu)
Schwechat-Pallersdorf type: 1. Bezenye; 2. Bled; 3. Gyirmót; 4. Kranj; 5. Rifnik; 6. Schwechat; 7. Szeleste; 8. Szentendre; 9. Szólád; 10. Tamási; 11. Várpalota.
Várpalota 19 type: 12. Carnuntum; 13. Jutas; 14. Kajdacs; 15. Kápolnásnyék; 16. Keszthely-Fenekpuszta; 17. Szentendre, 18. Szólád, 19. Szóreg, 20. Tamási, 21. Várpalota, 22. Vörs

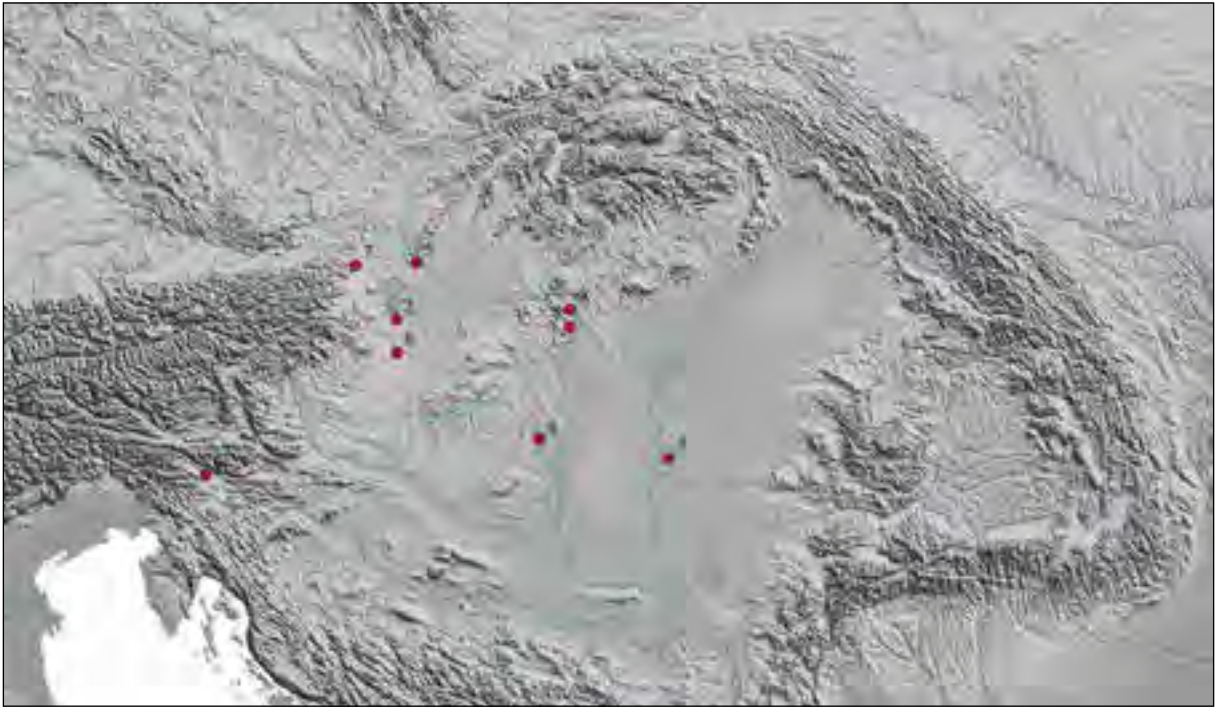


Fig. 4. Distribution of the two-zone disc brooches in the wider analysed regions (map created by Levente Samu)
 1. Budapest-Vályog utca; 2. Hegykő; 3. Hódmezővásárhely; 4. Kajdacs; 5. Kittsee;
 6. Kranj; 7. Mödling; 8. Szeleste; 9. Szentendre

rosette disc brooch from Grave 77 of the Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok cemetery²⁴ can likewise be regarded as originating from Transdanubia or Western Europe. A variant of Type C3 of the two-zone disc brooches as defined by Kathrin Vielitz in her typological system,²⁵ one good analogy to the brooch can be cited from Grave 30 of the Budapest-Vályog utca 8 site (*Fig. 4*).²⁶ The type is widespread and well-known in Western Europe.²⁷

The bird brooches of the Tisza region and Transylvania represent a more problematic case. A western origin has been suggested for them²⁸ in view of the type's popularity in Western Europe.²⁹ However, Zsófia Rácz has argued for the local production of the pieces from the Gepidic territory, noting that the Gepidic brooches differ substantially from the Transdanubian ones,³⁰ even though pieces ornamented with inlay over their entire body are known from both regions.

The garnets adorning the aforementioned brooches and other jewellery articles also reveal interesting differences between the two regions. These gemstones were procured from India in the sixth century, as European quarries were discovered somewhat later. The mineral inclusions in the garnets have enabled their sourcing from deposits in northern India, southern India and Sri Lanka. While garnets from all three sources have been identified in Transdanubia, garnets from

²⁴ BÓNA-NAGY 2002, 64–66, and Taf. 21.

²⁵ VIELITZ 2003, Abb. 69. Kathrin Vielitz's strictly structuralist classification can be challenged because the closest formal and decorative analogies to the Hódmezővásárhely brooch can be found among the pieces she assigned to her Type C2.

²⁶ NAGY 2012, 159.

²⁷ VIELITZ 2003, 72–74.

²⁸ MESTERHÁZY 1999, 86.

²⁹ THIRY 1939.

³⁰ RÁ CZ 2011, 173.

Sri Lankan sources have not been found in the Tisza region to date.³¹ This would suggest that while some brooches had been locally produced, the import brooches from the Western Merovingian world reaching Transdanubia did not necessarily also make their way to the Tisza region.

A brooch wholly unique to the Tisza region was brought to light from Grave 1 of the Szolnok-Szanda cemetery. Its closest, although not identical counterpart in the Carpathian Basin comes from the Szeleste cemetery (Fig. 5). Both brooches can be assigned to the bird-headed bow brooch type (*Vogelkopffibel*), so named after the two bird heads on the foot-plate. Based on the position of the bird heads, an upward and downward gaping type is distinguished.³² The Szolnok-Szanda brooch represents the former, while the exemplar from Szeleste the latter. This brooch type is widespread in France and Germany;³³ the geographically closest parallels can be cited from Bohemia.³⁴ Although the workmanship of the foot-plate of the Szolnok-Szanda bow brooch is quite unique, suggesting local influences, its connection with the similar brooch from Szeleste and pieces from Bohemia is undeniable. Despite its rather unusual form, the brooch with semi-circular head-plate and parallel-sided foot from Grave 247 of the Kiszombor B cemetery³⁵ shares many similarities with certain Transdanubian and Western European brooches. The form is generally associated with Western European workshops,³⁶ and the pieces from northern Transdanubia³⁷ were in all likelihood imports.



Fig. 5. The bird-headed bow brooches (*Vogelkopffibeln*) from Szeleste and Szolnok-Szanda (after www.savariamuseum.com and BÓNA 2002)

Belts

The most frequent buckle type in both Transdanubia and the Tisza region during the sixth century is represented by the shield-on-tongue type (*Schilddornschnalle*), which remained current from the early sixth century to the period's end and can be correlated with the buckles known from the Western European row-grave cemeteries.³⁸ The type has countless formal variants alongside a high number of individual pieces. Although it has been suggested that some of the regular, finely crafted pieces³⁹ had been imports, it seems more likely that their overwhelming majority had been produced in local workshops and were imitations of the rare and less readily procurable western buckles.

³¹ HORVÁTH–BENDŐ–VÁCZI in prep.

³² KOCH 1998, 393–398.

³³ KOCH 1998, Karte 16.

³⁴ TEJRAL 2011, 43.

³⁵ CSALLÁNY 1961, 185–186, and Taf. CXLII.

³⁶ BÓNA 1963, 40; TOMKA 1980, 16–17; KONCZ 2014, 77. This brooch type has countless formal variants in France and Germany (*Bügel fibeln mit gleichbreitem Fuss*). KOCH 1998, 19–155.

³⁷ Fertőszentmiklós, Grave 4, and a stray find from the same site (TOMKA 1980, 8–10); Hegykő, Graves 4 and 65 (BÓNA–B. HORVÁTH 2009, Taf. 4 and 15).

³⁸ BÓNA–NAGY 2002, 105. Shield-on-tongue buckles are among the most important chronological anchors for the male burials of the earlier sixth century. For a discussion of the Western European buckles, see MARTIN 1989; for the Transdanubian pieces, see KONCZ 2014, 80–81; for the exemplars from the Tisza region and Transdanubia, see KISS 2013.

³⁹ E.g. Szolnok-Szanda, Grave 25 (BÓNA 2002, Taf. 33); Szőreg-Téglagyár, Grave 9, with shield-shaped buckle plate (CSALLÁNY 1961, Taf. CLXIII); Kiszombor, Graves 132, 148 and 162a (CSALLÁNY 1961, Taf. CXIX, CXXVII and CXXXIII).



Fig. 6. Buckles with rectangular buckle plates (*Schnallen mit Rechteckbeschlag*): 1–2. Mosonszentjános Grave 12 (photos by András Király); 3. Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok Grave 23 (after BÓNA–NAGY 2002, Taf. 11); 4. Viminacium-Više grolbalja Grave 141 (after BÓNA–NAGY 2002, Abb. 62); 5. Szőreg-Téglagyár Grave 68 (after NAGY 2005, Taf. 59); 6. Szolnok-Szanda Grave 155 (after BÓNA 2002, Taf. 48)

The imitation and local elaboration of Western European buckles is even more spectacular in the case of buckles with rectangular buckle plates (*Schnallen mit Rechteckbeschlag*). The type made its appearance in the later sixth century as an elaboration on shield-on-tongue buckles. In Transdanubia, the single buckle of this type was recovered from Grave 12 of the Mosonszentjános cemetery, while it is known from five burials in the cemeteries of the Tisza region (Fig. 6).⁴⁰ The punched designs and the unique craftsmanship of some exemplars⁴¹ would suggest that western types had begun to be copied locally.⁴² Although a Byzantine origin has been proposed in view of

⁴⁰ Szolnok-Szanda, Grave 135 (BÓNA 2002, Taf. 46); Szolnok-Szanda, Grave 155 (BÓNA 2002, Taf. 48); Szőreg-Téglagyár, Grave 68 (CSALLÁNY 1961, Taf. CLXXII); Szentes-Berekhát, Grave 42 (CSALLÁNY 1961, Taf. LXX); Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok, Grave 23 (BÓNA–NAGY 2002, Taf. 11).

⁴¹ Such as the B-shaped loop of the buckle from Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok, Grave 23. BÓNA–NAGY 2002, 125.

⁴² KISS P. 2015a, 229-230.

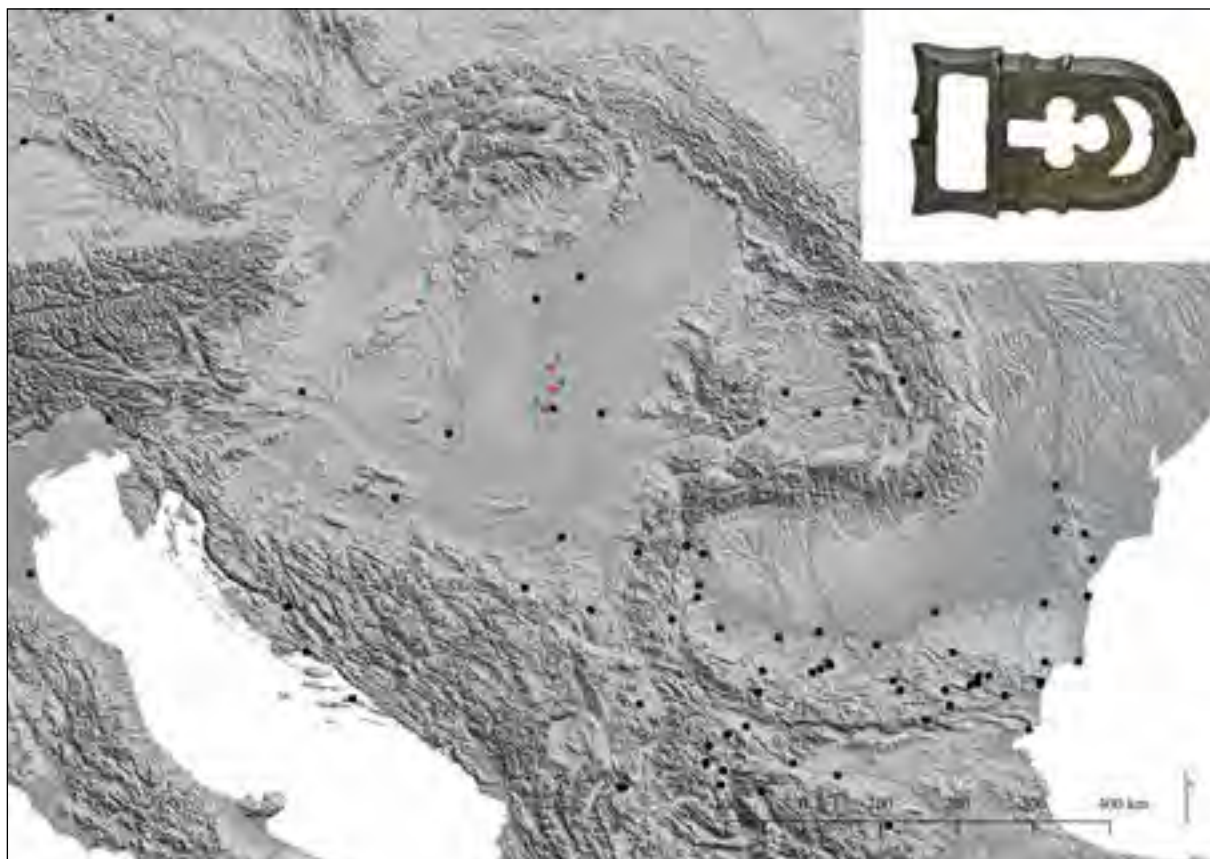


Fig. 7. Distribution of Sučidava-type buckles. The early occurrences of the type in the analysed regions are highlighted with green and red. 1. Kranj; 2. Tatabánya; 3. Szentes-Nagyhegy; 4. Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok; 5. Szőreg-Téglagyár (map based on BLAY-SAMU 2016, Abb. 9). The Sučidava-type buckle from Tatabánya (photo: Hungarian National Museum, Budapest)

the type's Balkanic occurrence,⁴³ its appearance in the Carpathian Basin can be evidently regarded as a western influence, given its wide currency in Western Europe,⁴⁴ and it also attests to both regions' extensive contacts with the Merovingian world as late as the final third of the sixth century. This is also confirmed by the belt mounts from Grave 1660 of the Tiszagyenda cemetery,⁴⁵ whose best analogies in the Carpathian Basin came to light in Transdanubia: mounts with similar mushroom motif inlays from Grave 30 of the Szentendre burial ground and mounts of identical form from Grave 34 of the same cemetery.⁴⁶

The Sučidava-type buckles dated to the later half or the final third of the sixth century attest to contacts with a different cultural orientation. The buckle itself originates from the Mediterranean,⁴⁷ the pieces reaching the Carpathian Basin are generally regarded as products of workshops active in the Lower Danube region and are assigned to the later sixth century.⁴⁸ Buckles of this type are known from the Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok, Szőreg-Téglagyár and Szentes-Nagyhegy

⁴³ NAGY 2004, 160.

⁴⁴ WINDLER 1989.

⁴⁵ Personal communication of László Kocsis.

⁴⁶ BÓNA-B. HORVÁTH 2009, Taf. 43–44. For a discussion of the analogies to these mounts and the problems in their dating, see KONCZ 2015, 319–323.

⁴⁷ SCHULZE-DÖRRLAMM 2002, 145–155.

⁴⁸ KISS P. 2015a, 227.

cemeteries in the Tisza region⁴⁹ and from the Tatabánya burial ground in Transdanubia (*Fig. 7*).⁵⁰ Their presence in the Carpathian Basin is a reflection of connections with the Byzantine provinces in the Lower Danube region, although their preponderance in the Tisza region could be an indication that the Tatabánya buckle had not been procured directly, but had reached Transdanubia through the Gepids.

Weapons

In contrast to brooches and belt fittings, weapons were first and foremost utilitarian objects and therefore have less variability owing to their functional role. The weaponry borne in the two regions is made up of identical elements in the sixth century.⁵¹ Whilst spathas and spears can be regarded as the principal offensive weapons, saxes were also deposited in burials, as were knives and axes that had in all likelihood been used in battles too. Defensive weaponry is mainly represented by shields and a handful of helmets.

Given that these weapon types were current across Western Europe and in view of their functional nature, demonstrating any connections between Transdanubia and the Tisza region based on weapons remains a strongly hypothetical exercise. One shared type is possibly represented by spathas with trapezoidal pommels,⁵² which were also widely used across Western Europe and could therefore be an indication of connections with the Merovingian world.⁵³

István Bóna posited a direct connection between the two regions in relation to spears: he associated the spears described as Elban types recovered from Grave 43 of the Kisköre cemetery with Langobard fugitives,⁵⁴ while he interpreted the spears from Grave 96 of the Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok burial as having been acquired as booty.⁵⁵ Since a detailed typological assessment of the sixth-century spears of the Carpathian Basin is still lacking, we can at most merely establish that lanceolate spearheads represent the basic forms of this weapon type, both of which were wielded in the two regions.⁵⁶

The first ornamented weapons that can be regarded as prestige items, specifically the ceremonial shields with golden domed studs and a disc with punched decoration topping the apex of the umbo, appeared in the Carpathian Basin in the later sixth century. The shields from Graves 1 and 7 of the Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok cemetery⁵⁷ and from Grave 13 of the Mosonszentjános burial ground can be assigned to the final third of the sixth century – i.e. the early Avar period – and they reflect the appearance of a new form of social display in the period's male burials. They have excellent parallels in Western Europe,⁵⁸ which, similarly to the shield-on-tongue buckles and belt

⁴⁹ Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok, Grave 65 (BÓNA-NAGY 2002, Taf. 17); Szóreg-Téglagyár, Graves XI and 103 (CSALLÁNY 1961, Taf. CLXXXVIII and Taf. CLXXX); Szentcsanak, Grave 29 (CSALLÁNY 1961, Taf. XXV).

⁵⁰ BÓNA 2009, 198.

⁵¹ This is more or less true across Western Europe, even if regional variations can be noted: HÄRKE 1989; SIEGMUND 2000, 189–212. For a detailed discussion of combinations of weapons in the Carpathian Basin, see KISS P. 2012.

⁵² Spathas of this type are known from the Szóreg cemeteries in the Tisza region and from the Szentendre, Kádárta, Kajdacs and Tamási cemeteries in Transdanubia (BÓNA-B. HORVÁTH 2009, Taf. 26, 29, 46, 48, 56 and 66).

⁵³ MESTERHÁZY 1999, 84.

⁵⁴ BÓNA 2009, 198. For the fugitives, see note 2. Kisköre-Pap tanya, Grave 43: BÓNA 2002, 192–194, and Taf. 29.

⁵⁵ BÓNA 2009, 198. Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok, Grave 96: BÓNA-NAGY 2002, 73, and Taf. 26.

⁵⁶ CSIKY 2015, 69–70. The problems of classification based solely on the form of the blade have been highlighted by CSIKY 2016.

⁵⁷ BÓNA-NAGY 2002, 41–44, and Taf. 6–7, 9.

⁵⁸ Shields decorated with golden domed studs forge a link between the prominent sixth-century burials from France through Germany to Italy. The parallels to the Hódmezővásárhely shield bosses are covered in



Fig. 8. The shield boss from Mosonszentjános Grave 13 (photo by András Király)

fittings, provide yet additional proof that the two regions' connections with the Merovingian world did not cease abruptly with the establishment of Avar political power (Fig. 8).⁵⁹

Helmets were rarely deposited in the period's burials. Helmet fragments are known from two sites in the Tisza region: a cheek guard from Grave 96 of the Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok cemetery⁶⁰ and the fragments of a helmet that could be reconstructed as a Baldenheim-type helmet from Szentés-Berekhát.⁶¹ The fragments of presumably another Baldenheim-type helmet were recovered from the Danube bed,⁶² while an intact helmet came to light from the Steinbrunn cemetery in Lower Austria⁶³ and from Dolné Semerovce in Slovakia.⁶⁴ These helmets are believed to have been produced in Italian, eastern Mediterranean or Rhine workshops,⁶⁵ and thus these finds do not necessarily reflect contacts between the two regions.

Combs

Previous scholarship only argued for trade between the Gepids and the Langobards in relation to combs.⁶⁶ Two main comb types, namely single- and double-sided combs can be distinguished

detail by MENGHIN 1983, 40–43, and NAGY 2004, 153–154. István Bóna argued that they had been made in a Langobard workshop, but this assumption cannot be proven. BÓNA 1993, 125–127.

⁵⁹ For Transdanubia, see KONCZ 2015; for the Tisza region, see KISS P. 2015a, 191–244.

⁶⁰ NAGY 2004, 154.

⁶¹ CSALLÁNY 1961, 72, 75; Taf. LI, LXXXV. and LIX.

⁶² KISS 1983.

⁶³ STEIN 2005.

⁶⁴ EISNER 1940, 145–148.

⁶⁵ KISS 1983, 280; BIERBRAUER 1994, 190. Frauke Stein believes that the Steinbrunn helmet was made in Italy and that it had been a diplomatic gift. STEIN 2005, 232–235.

⁶⁶ BÓNA 2009, 198; MESTERHÁZY 1999, 85.

in the sixth century in the Carpathian Basin. Double-sided combs first appeared in Pannonia during the fourth century and became widely used across the entire Carpathian Basin by the fifth century.⁶⁷ These combs can quite clearly be derived from late Roman traditions.⁶⁸ The dominance of two-sided combs ceased with the spread of single-sided combs in the early sixth century. This type was for a long time regarded as a clearly Barbarian type and its appearance was linked to the Germanic peoples – principally the Langobards – settling in the Carpathian Basin,⁶⁹ even though the type's emergence as an outcome of local development cannot be wholly excluded.⁷⁰ Both types were popular in the sixth century across the Carpathian Basin, although their proportion differed from one region to the next and from one site to another.

Double-sided combs were more frequent in the Tisza region and Transdanubia during the sixth century. A glance at the catalogue of 437 combs known from nine sites in the Tisza region and one site in Transylvania assembled by Mónika Heipl immediately reveals the overwhelming dominance of double-sided combs, which account for over 90%.⁷¹ At the same time, major differences can be noted between individual sites. Of the two sites analysed in detail, 75 of the 88 combs from the Kiszombor cemetery represented the double-sided type (85%), and only fifteen were single-sided, while the proportion of the twelve combs brought to light at Rákóczifalva that can be securely assigned to the Gepidic period is seven double-sided and five single-sided combs, respectively, reflecting a dominance of the former (*ca.* 58%).⁷² In contrast, the six double-sided combs from fourteen Transdanubian sites dating from the sixth century account for no more than 8% of the known 76 combs.⁷³

In view of the major differences in the distribution of the two types, several single-sided exemplars from the Tisza region have been interpreted as imported pieces. However, at Rákóczifalva, it could be clearly demonstrated that single-sided combs could equally well have developed locally and that the appearance of the form should not necessarily be seen as reflecting western influences.⁷⁴ The combs previously interpreted as imports (Kiszombor, Grave 354, Szentes-Berekhát, Graves 66 and 68, Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok, Graves 73 and 75, Szolnok-Szanda, Graves 68 and 82)⁷⁵ can without exception be assigned to Zsófia Masek's single-sided long comb type,⁷⁶ which in her view includes both locally made and imported exemplars. She dates the type's appearance to the late fifth century on the testimony of two burials. However, neither Grave 73 of the Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok cemetery, nor Grave 27 of the Szőreg burial ground can be accurately dated. While the local emergence and development of single-sided short combs can be

⁶⁷ B. TÓTH 2006, 74.

⁶⁸ The double-sided wooden combs used in the Roman army can probably be regarded as their forerunners: GALLOWAY–NEWCOMER 1981. MASEK 2016 likewise argued for the late Roman antecedents of double-sided combs and discussed their transformation between the fourth and sixth centuries.

⁶⁹ MARTIN 1976, 102–103; GALLOWAY–NEWCOMER 1981, 73.

⁷⁰ MASEK 2016, 124–127.

⁷¹ Hódmezővásárhely-Gorzsa, Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok, Kiszombor B, Magyarcsanak-Bökény, Morești/Malomfalva (Romania), Szentes-Berekhát, Szentes-Kökényzug, Szentes-Nagyhegy, Szolnok-Szanda, Szőreg-Téglagyár. Mónika Heipl's catalogue includes also three Transdanubian sites, whose data are not included here. HEIPL 2008, 8, and Table 1. The ratios could be distorted if the establishment of the cemetery preceded the appearance of single-sided combs. For a detailed discussion of the Transylvanian double-sided combs, see CSEH 1990.

⁷² Kiszombor: HEIPL 2008, 3; Rákóczifalva: MASEK 2016, Table 1.

⁷³ The sites covered here are Bezenye, Budapest-Szépvölgyi út, Gyöng-Vásártér, Hegykő, Kajdacs, Kápolnásnyék, Ménfőcsanak, Mohács, Rácalmás, Szeleste, Szentendre, Tamási and Várpalota-Unio. Double-sided combs have been found at Gyirmót (Grave 10), Hegykő (Grave 34), Mohács (Grave 3), Szeleste (Grave 397), Szentendre (Grave 35) and Tamási (Grave 26) (TOMKA 2005a, Abb. 6; KISS–NEMESKÉRI 1964, Abb. 8; BÓNA–B. HORVÁTH 2009, Taf. 10, 43 and 67).

⁷⁴ MASEK 2016, 124–127 and 148–149.

⁷⁵ BÓNA 2009, 198; HEIPL 2008, 22.

⁷⁶ MASEK 2016, 124–127.

convincingly demonstrated, the appearance of the longer types can be quite clearly attributed to external influences. The ornamentation of the pieces assigned to the type has its best counterparts in Transdanubia, suggesting also that they had originated from that region.⁷⁷ The Rákóczifalva combs were probably local products in view of their ornamentation,⁷⁸ although, similarly to the buckles with rectangular plates, they are merely evidence for the local imitation of less readily available import articles. A unique comb decorated with four horse heads that can be assigned to the single-sided long combs in view of its size is known from Tiszagyenda-Lakathalom; however, this comb was not among the finds of the local antler workshop, but was brought to light from a nearby burial, and thus it cannot be unreservedly regarded as having been produced in the workshop.⁷⁹

Stamped pottery

No connection whatsoever can be demonstrated between the hand-made and wheel-turned coarse household ceramics of sixth-century pottery in Transdanubia and the Tisza region. In contrast, certain forms, technological traits and ornament types of fine wares share numerous similarities, the most distinctive among these being stamped wares.⁸⁰ The form of the stamps⁸¹ and the arrangement of the stamped motifs are suitable for the classification and the identification of workshop areas. Each of the three stamped ornamental styles distinguished on the basis of these attributes is attested in both Transdanubia and the Tisza region,⁸² in all likelihood a reflection of the intense contacts between them.⁸³ At the same time, regional differences can definitely be noted, one of these being the arrangement of lozenge-shaped stamped motifs in a chevron-like pattern, which occurs quite frequently on the sixth-century stamped pottery of Transdanubia, but is lacking in the roughly contemporaneous burial grounds of the southern Great Hungarian Plain.⁸⁴ Another similarity between the two regions is that stamped designs can principally be found on pear-shaped vessels and, more rarely, on jugs.⁸⁵

⁷⁷ The finds from the fourteen sites listed in the above indicate that single-sided combs were 15.5 cm long on average, corresponding to the size of single-sided long combs. Smaller combs falling into the size range of single-sided short combs can be cited from Budapest-Szépvölgyi út, Grave 2 (12.5 cm; NAGY 2012, 148), Szentendre, Graves 29 and 61 (*ca.* 13 cm; BÓNA–B. HORVÁTH 2009, 104–106 and 123–124), and Tamási, Grave 50 (13 cm). The comb from Szentendre, Grave 9 (BÓNA–B. HORVÁTH 2009, 164–166) is strikingly small, no more than 7.6 cm long (BÓNA–B. HORVÁTH 2009, 96–97). The comb from Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok, Grave 73, has a length of 20 cm (BÓNA–NAGY 2002, 62–63), while the exemplars from Szentés-Berekhat are 17 and 19 cm long, respectively (CSALLÁNY 1961, 77–78). The combs from Kiszombor, Graves 354 and 404, were both broken, but were described as being fairly long (HEIPL 2008, 59–60, and 61–62). One exception is the comb from Szolnok-Szanda, Grave 68, which is a mere 10.1 cm long (BÓNA–NAGY 2002, 211). It is rather perplexing why István Bóna regarded these pieces as having been made in Transdanubia (BÓNA 2009, 198). The Transdanubian parallels to the ornamentation of these combs are discussed in detail by MASEK 2016, 124–127.

⁷⁸ MASEK 2016, 121.

⁷⁹ BÁRÁNY–HAJNAL 2010, 88–89.

⁸⁰ BÓNA 2009, 198.

⁸¹ Thus, for example, the stamped motifs of rectangles with rounded corners are generally linked to a workshop in the Szarvas area. B. TÓTH 2006, 87. For the lozenge-shaped Transdanubian stamps, see SKRIBA–SÓFALVI 2004 and BOCSI 2008, for the ones from the Tisza region, see MASEK 2018.

⁸² For the first two ornamental styles, see MASEK 2018, 229–231. The third stamped ornamental style is solely represented by the yet unpublished pottery brought to light at Kóny in Transdanubia.

⁸³ VIDA 1999, 40.

⁸⁴ MASEK 2018, 226. WERNER 1962, 56–57, ascribed an ethno-specific role to stamped patterns. István Bóna cited 'Langobard-type' stamped vessels from the Gepidic territory (Békésszentandrás, Szarvas) and 'Gepidic-type pottery' from Langobardic contexts (Szentendre, Grave 35). BÓNA 2009, 198.

⁸⁵ There is a definite correlation between this ornamental mode and pear-shaped vessels: B. TÓTH 2006, 87–88, and, more recently, MASEK 2018, 223.

The study of pear-shaped vessels with stamped ornamentation can contribute to a better understanding of the contacts between the two regions. There is a general scholarly consensus that the vessel form itself probably harks back to late antique traditions.⁸⁶ It would appear that stamped vessels appeared somewhat earlier in the Tisza region, in the early sixth century, while they are first attested in Transdanubia in the century's middle third.⁸⁷ Stamped wares are known from several sites in the Sirmium area and from formerly Byzantine territories.⁸⁸ The recent excavations at Cibalae would suggest that stamped ware originated from the pottery workshops of the late antique towns in the northern Balkans,⁸⁹ and that similar wares in both Transdanubia and the Tisza region evolved under influences from these workshops, while regional differences can be explained by the differences in their local imitations. Evidence for the manufacture of stamped wares comes in the form of stamps made from animal bones found at Cibalae.⁹⁰ This would also explain the chronological difference between the two regions: products of the northern Balkanic workshops reached Transdanubia after the Langobards had established themselves in southern Transdanubia, while contact with the Tisza region is attested from the early sixth century. Obviously, we cannot exclude the possibility that the ceramic wares of the two regions had directly influenced each other in later times.

DISCUSSION

The similarities between the archaeological record of Transdanubia and the Tisza region suggest an intricate and many-sided network of connections between the Langobards and the Gepids in the sixth century. As previous scholarship has already noted, these connections cannot be automatically interpreted as reflections of trade: they can equally well be imprints of individual events or interactions. Nevertheless, some tendencies can be outlined.

Of the artefacts reviewed here, the brooches from Grave 33 of the Szentendre cemetery and Grave 389 of the Szeleste cemetery, the brooch fragment from Csákvár and a part of the shield-on-tongue buckles can be dated to the early sixth century, although all types remained in use until the century's middle. More intense contacts between the two regions as reflected in the material record can be noted from the middle third of the sixth century. Spathas with trapezoidal pommel, the S-brooch from Szőreg-Téglagyár, the rosette disc brooch from Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok and the majority of the shield-on-tongue buckles can be assigned to this period, as can the appearance of stamped pottery in Transdanubia.

Archaeological chronology is not precise enough to discern the differential impact of peaceful and more violent periods on material culture. Nevertheless, the growing intensity of the contacts coincides with the period of the southern Transdanubian cemeteries, which is generally linked to the Langobards' occupation of southern Transdanubia,⁹¹ leading to the emergence of a common Langobardic-Gepidic border, which could have resulted in more direct connections between them. In the last third of the sixth century, we witness a new wave of Merovingian elements (buckles with rectangular buckle plates, belt mounts, shields with gilded ornamental studs) in the regions drawn under Avar political authority.⁹² The imprints of the increasingly intense contacts can in part be noted in the new modes of social display in male burials, which also reveals that the populations

⁸⁶ For a discussion of the origins of the vessel type, see VIDA 1999, 39–42, and B. TÓTH 2006, 87–91.

⁸⁷ B. TÓTH 2006, 89; MASEK 2018, 235–236.

⁸⁸ CSEH 1993, Fig. 4.

⁸⁹ RAPAN PAPEŠA–ROKSANDIĆ 2016, 154–157.

⁹⁰ RAPAN PAPEŠA–ROKSANDIĆ 2016, 155.

⁹¹ For the periodisation of the initial two thirds of the sixth century, see VIDA 2008a, 345–348.

⁹² For Transdanubia, see VIDA 2008b, 19–29; for the Tisza region, see KISS P. 2015a, 206–227; for Transylvania, see DOBOS 2015.

of both regions were able to maintain their long-distance contacts up to the onset of the seventh century, i.e. throughout the first decades of the Avar rule.⁹³

In the case of some artefact types, such as the S-brooch from Szóreg, it seems likely that an item produced in Transdanubia had made its way to the Tisza region, while the bow brooch from Grave 33 of the Szentendre cemetery had travelled in the opposite direction. In the case of most other types, however, the two regions merely played a mediating role. The Danube probably played a prominent role as a trade route in the case of western, Merovingian-type articles,⁹⁴ suggesting that buckles with rectangular buckle plates, the bow brooch with semi-circular head-plate and parallel-sided foot from Kiszombor and the rosette disc brooch from Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok had reached the Tisza region through Langobard mediation. It is possible that the Gepids played a similar role in the case of certain Byzantine commodities such as Sučidava-type buckles. The local imitations of articles representing western imports were more typical for the Gepidic lands, suggesting that these were less readily available. The mutual influences in the material culture of the two regions can best be demonstrated in the case of combs. Although single-sided combs could have appeared as a result of independent local development, an interpretation as imports in the case of the overwhelming majority of the larger pieces – which could then serve as models for local pieces – seems more likely.

It must nevertheless be highlighted that the similarities between the archaeological finds from the two regions do not necessarily reflect direct connections in all cases. The appearance of Baldenheim-type helmets and stamped pottery in both regions can be explained by access to the same sources in both regions and can be ascribed to external influences in both cases.

In sum, we may say that one major divergence between the long-distance connections of the two regions is that contacts with the Merovingian world of Western Europe were more dynamic in Transdanubia, while the cultural orientation of the Tisza region was predominantly towards the Mediterranean.⁹⁵ Transdanubia can be seen as the eastern terminal point of a west-east network, while the Tisza region as an intermediate region in a north-south network.⁹⁶

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⁹³ VIDA 2008b.

⁹⁴ TOMKA 2005b, KONCZ 2014, 91–92.

⁹⁵ BOLLÓK–KONCZ in prep.

⁹⁶ Dieter Quast interprets the Gepids' long-distance connections within the framework of Byzantine-Scandinavian connections (see his study in this volume).

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A SOLITARY 5TH CENTURY BURIAL FROM SZILVÁSVÁRAD-LOVÁSPÁLYA, NORTH-EAST HUNGARY

Bence Gulyás – Zsófia Rácz – Katalin Bajnok – John Gait

This paper describes a solitary burial found in Szilvásvár (NE Hungary) in 2016 and discusses its wider archaeological significance. From the last decades of the 4th century onwards the Carpathian Basin witnessed significant population movements from the East, associated with political and social transformations. However, while the burial practices and some of the grave goods found with this grave fit perfectly into the archaeological phenomena of the 5th century Carpathian Basin, other features are rare or unique in this region and, at the same time, reveal strong connections with the western Roman Empire. Therefore, while the wider archaeological picture may indicate sweeping changes driven from the East, this particular burial provides an intriguing, and intimate insight into how individuals may have responded to the complex readjustments of that time.

Keywords: 5th century; NE Hungary; solitary burial; cicada brooch; Mayen Coarse Ware

INTRODUCTION

The changes that took place during the Hun Period, at the end of the 4th century and in the first half of the 5th century, fundamentally transformed the political and social conditions in the Carpathian Basin. From the last decades of the 4th century onwards the Carpathian Basin witnessed significant population movements from the East to the West. New political entities – the Hunnic Empire, and after this, from the mid-5th century several Germanic Kingdoms – were created in both the Alföld (Great Hungarian Plain), which had earlier been ruled by the Sarmatians, and the former Roman province of *Pannonia*. The north-eastern part of the Carpathian Basin, the Northern Hills, was densely populated in the Late Roman Period. To the east and west, respectively, were the settlements of the Przeworsk culture (mostly identified with the Vandals) and the Quadi. At the turn of the 4th–5th century this region also underwent significant cultural changes.¹

If we consider the archaeology of the Carpathian Basin, we find that characteristics of cemeteries – with respect to burial customs, dress, and object types – strongly suggest the presence of a culturally and ethnically mixed population at the turn of the 4th–5th century. New cemeteries with smaller numbers of graves appeared, as well as single graves and small burial groups consisting of just a few graves a phenomenon which continued to the end of the 5th c. Parallel to this, smaller settlement units also appeared, containing a new type of ceramics.

THE SITE

In 2016, a rescue excavation was carried out in Szilvásvár (Heves county, North-East Hungary (Fig. 1) during the construction of the new Equestrian Centre by archaeologists of the Dobó István Castle Museum (Eger) led by Csilla Farkas.² They excavated 8867 m² and found 2840 archaeological features. The site is located on the southern part of the village, near the entrance of the Szalajka Valley. This area was not previously unknown to archaeologists, as excavations had been carried

¹ See the paper of Eszter Soós in this volume.

² FARKAS, Csilla – SOÓS, Eszter – TANKÓ, Károly: Régészeti kutatások Szilvásvár-Lovaspálya többkorszakos lelőhelyen. Manuscript. We are grateful to Csilla Farkas for the opportunity to publish the grave material, to László Bíró for the drawings and to András A. Király for the photos.

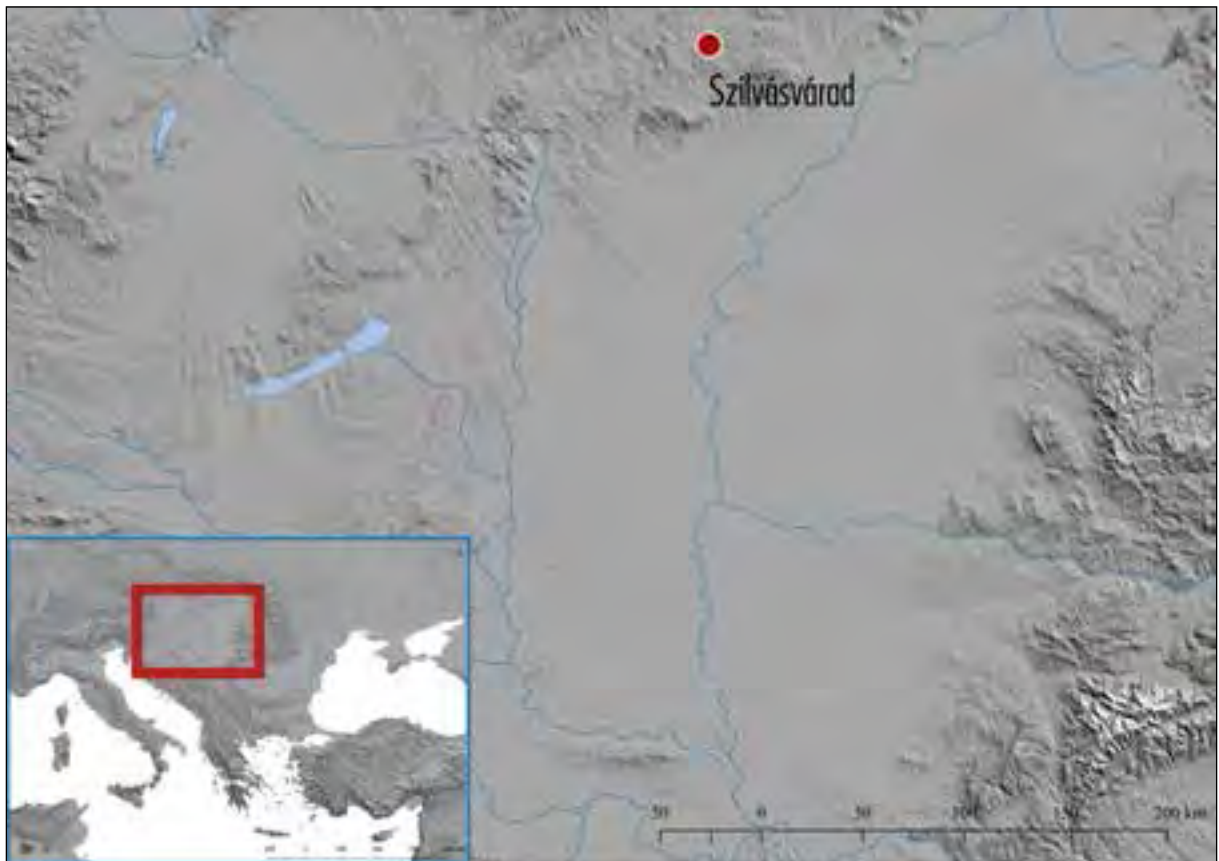


Fig. 1. The location of Szilvásvárad, NE Hungary

out here by László Vértes and Ágnes Salamon in the 1950s and 60s.³ The valley of the Szalajka stream was always ideal for habitation, and archaeological remains of many periods are attested, including some features belonged to the Neolithic (Bükk culture), the Late Bronze Age (Kyjatice culture), the Late Iron Age (La Tène), Roman Period, Migration Period and Árpadian Age. Besides the settlement features, five graves, dated to different periods, were also unearthed. In this article we examine a grave from the 5th century A.D., which was located on the northern limit of the excavated area. Excavations to the south, east and west revealed no additional contemporaneous burials, suggesting that this may have been a solitary grave, although it remains possible that other burials may lie further north. The settlement features dating to the 4th-5th centuries were located in the southern part of the excavated area, about 40 m from the burial. In spite of the fact that these are still in the process of being studied,⁴ we can assume a link between them, with the burial place and the settlement most probably used by the same population.

DESCRIPTION OF THE GRAVE

Object Nr. 646/Grave Nr. 2 (Fig. 2):

Orientation: SW–NE, 40–220°. Length: 2.36 m, width: 0.8–0.65 m, depth: 0.59 m. The grave pit is rectangular shaped with curved corners. The northern wall was almost vertical, while a curved step,

³ SALAMON–TÖRÖK 1960; SALAMON 1970.

⁴ The settlement will be published by Eszter Soós.

of 0.15 m width, could be observed on the southern side. The shorter sides at the head and foot of the grave were almost vertical. The grave fill consisted of a dark brown soil containing pebbles, and some Neolithic and Roman period pottery sherds. The floor of the grave pit was trough-shaped and lined with numerous pebbles. In the grave were found the very poorly preserved remains of a mature individual lying in an extended posture on its back. The skull, the right upper arm, and both legs were preserved, along with small fragments from the left upper arm and the pelvis. The fragmented skull faced to the right (south). The right upper arm laid close to the body, with the proximal humerus near the skull, while the left arm, based on the position of the fragments, appeared to be lying alongside the body. The legs were stretched nearly parallel, and the feet were pointing downwards. According to the posture it appears that the corpse may have been wrapped in some organic material. The length of the skeleton is circa 154 cm.

Osteology:

Poorly preserved remains of a mature individual. Based on the shape of the *tuber frontale*, the *glabella* and the *protuberantia occipitalis externa* the deceased appears to have been male, although, owing to the poor preservation of the bones some uncertainty remains.⁵ The cranium, though its preservation was rather poor, showed numerous Mongolid morphological traits, such as the broad and flat nasal root, the mild protrusion of the nasal bridge, the inflated *canine fossa*, and the size of the orbits. The alteration of the occipital region is indicative of artificial cranial deformation, however, it cannot be proven.

Grave-goods:

1. A large glass bead found on the left side of the chest (*Fig. 2.1; Fig. 4.1*).⁶ The bead has a flattened globular shape. The body of the bead is black in colour, upon which are white/light yellow dots connected with thin lines. Around the dots, light blue zigzag lines can be observed. Two of the dots are slightly bulged. Height: 1.6 cm, diameter: 2.9 cm, diameter of the hole: 1.0 cm.

2. A pair of tweezers found to the right of the bead, pointing upwards (*Fig. 2.2*). The tweezers are made from a bent sheet of copper alloy, and decorated with barely visible incised IXIXI ornaments. They were attached to a bronze ring, now fragmented, and some brownish discoloration around the tweezers may be the remains of decayed organic material. Length: 5 cm, width: 0.9-0.5 cm. Diameter of ring: c. 1 cm.

3. Some fragments of a strongly corroded iron object (*Fig. 2.3*) of undetermined type, found near the inner side of the right elbow.

4. A fragment of a strongly corroded iron knife (*Fig. 2.4*), found next to, and parallel to, the right elbow. Length: 7.9 cm, width: 1.3 cm.

5. A cicada brooch found on the right side of the stomach, nose facing towards the right arm (*Fig. 2.5; Fig. 4.2*). This small, flat, object was cast in brass, and the remains of a casting burr are visible on the wings. The head is diamond-shaped with a dot-circle motif on each side representing an eye. A threaded nose connects to the head. The neck is thin and linked to the body with a collar. The body is divided into three parts: two 'wings' and an 'abdomen'. On the back of the brooch is a strongly corroded iron pin bar lug; the pin itself is missing. The catchplate is made of a semi-circular copper-alloy plate, whose end was bent back. Judging from its condition, the brooch appears to have been barely used, and is preserved in good condition today. Length: 4.9 cm, length of the nose: 1 cm,

⁵ According to the grave goods, the grave appears to belong to a woman. The anthropological examination was carried out by Dr. Antónia Marcsik. We would like to thank her for her help.

⁶ The material presently forms an unaccessioned collection held at the Dobó István Castle Museum, Eger. The cicada brooch and the buckle were analysed by Viktória Mozgai and Bernadett Bajnóczi (Institute for Geological and Geochemical Research, RCAES, Budapest) with a SPECTRO xSORT Combi type handheld XRF spectrometer.

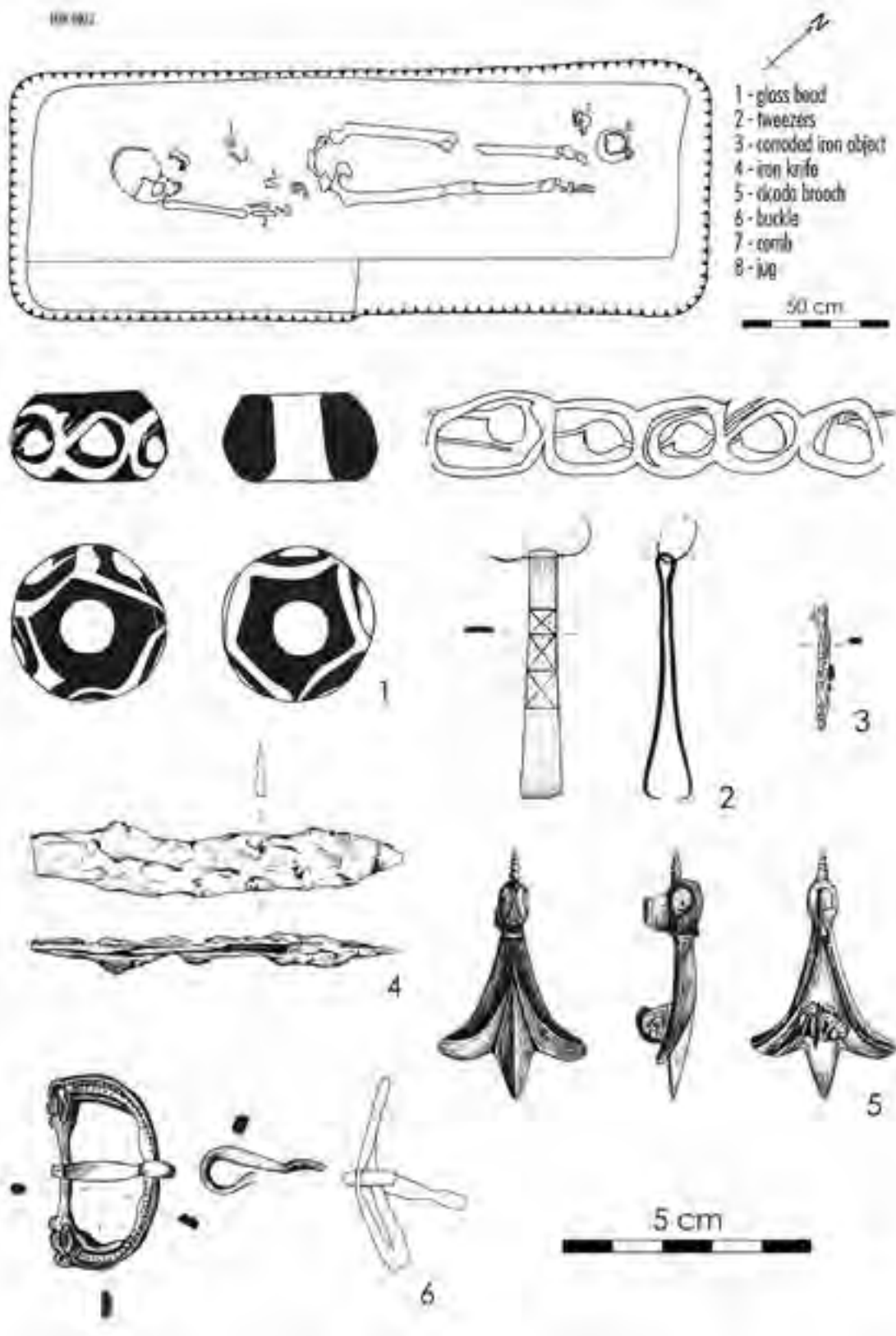
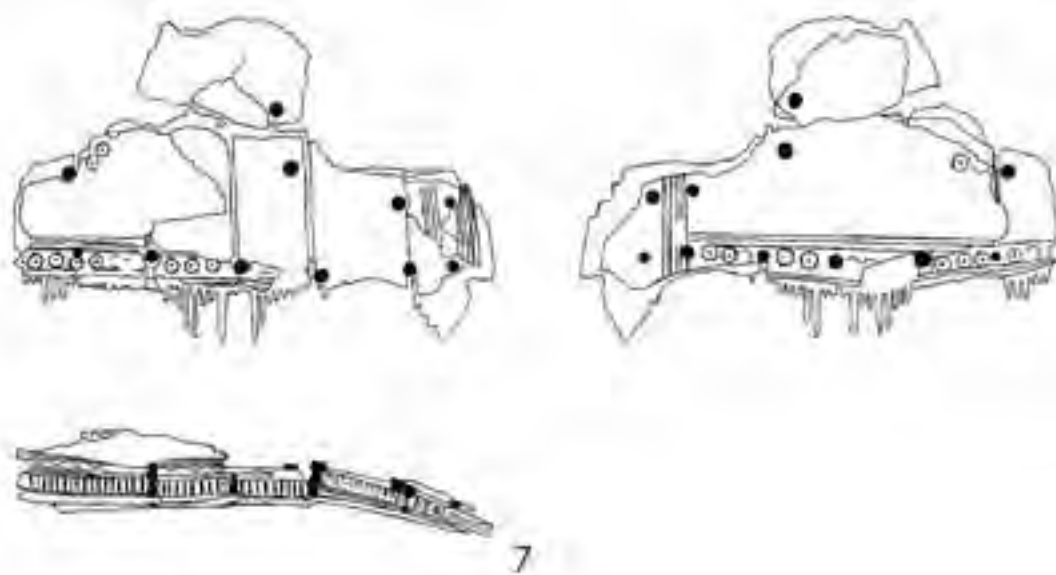


Fig. 2. Szilvásvárad-Lovaspálya (NE Hungary), solitary burial: 1. Glass bead; 2. Bronze buckle; 3. Corroded iron object; 4. Iron knife; 5. Brass cicada brooch; 6. Copper-alloy tweezers



7

5 cm



8

Fig. 3. Szilvásvár-Lovaspálya (NE Hungary), solitary burial: 7. Bell-backed comb; 8. Single-handled jug



Fig. 4. Szilvásvárad-Lovaspálya (NE Hungary), solitary burial: 1. Glass bead; 2. Brass cicada brooch; 3. Bronze buckle; 4. Single-handled jug (photos: András A. Király)

width of the nose: 0.3 cm, length of the head: 0.8 cm, width of the head: 0.7 cm, width of the neck: 0.5 cm, width of the wings: 3 cm, height of the catchplate: 0.7 cm, width of the catchplate: 0.7 cm.

6. A D-shaped cast bronze buckle found on the right of the pelvis (*Fig. 2.6; Fig. 4.3*). The buckle consist of a curved frame joining a vertical bar at either end, to which is attached the prong. At the ends of the bar are two animal heads facing each other. Their eyes are symbolized by almond-shaped notches and the ears are oval-shaped. The frame is decorated with much worn punched motifs in two rows. The inner arch of the frame is uneven. The original prong is probably missing, and was replaced with a piece made of a different metal (unalloyed copper), pointed at one end and folded around the bar at the other end. The frame is deformed along its axis, which may have happened during the fastening of the new prong. Length of the frame: 3.8 cm, width: 2.1 cm, thickness: 0.4 cm, length of the animal head: 1cm, length of the prong: 2.5 cm, width of the prong: 0.2 – 0.4 cm.

7. Bell-backed comb found next to left foot, with teeth pointing towards the skull (*Fig. 3.7*). The comb is very badly preserved. The teeth were fixed with copper rivets and similar rivets were also used along the arch of the handle. The handle is decorated with complex ornamentation consisting of dot-circle motifs and copper rivets placed between vertical incised lines. Maximum width: 9.4 cm, maximum height (without the teeth): 4.9 cm, maximum height (with teeth): 6.3 cm.

8. A nearly complete small single-handled jug, found beside the feet of the burial (*Fig. 3.8; Fig. 4.4*). The jug has a wide mouth and heavy, rounded, rim that thins and narrows into a short neck before widening again to form a globular body, which in turn narrows to terminate in a small flat, circular, base. A wide, ribbed, handle begins just below the rim and projects out to describe a near-semi-circular arc before re-joining the vessel with a deep thumb-shaped impression just above the widest part of the body. A thin incised, horizontal, line divides the neck from the body. The presence of rilling marks, visible on the interior, and a characteristic spiral-mark on the exterior of the base indicate that the body of the vessel was wheel-thrown⁷, with the handle, and possibly also the rim, subsequently formed from coils. Both the exterior and interior surfaces are fired to a light pink-buff colour, although part of the interior and rim are also stained with a black, sooty, residue. The surfaces are rough, with frequent grey inclusions and occasional voids. Where exposed, the cross-section displays a thick light grey core and narrow light pink-buff margins, indicating that the vessel was exposed to an oxidizing atmosphere in the final stages of firing. The fabric itself is coarse with frequent angular to rounded, equant-shaped, black, grey and white inclusions. After sieving the soil from the jug, the remains of animal bones were recovered. Height: 13 cm, diameter of the base: 5.3 cm, maximum diameter: 10.6 cm, diameter of the neck: 5.1 cm, diameter of the rim: 8.3 cm, thickness of the rim: 0.9 cm, width of the handle: 2.1 cm, thickness of the handle: 1.2 cm.

THE FUNERARY CUSTOMS

The solitary position of the grave fits perfectly into our picture of burials from the 5th century Carpathian Basin.⁸ Such solitary burials, or small groups of graves, are also found in the North Hungarian Mountains, especially within the valleys of larger rivers, at sites such as Szécsény, Szurdokpüspöki, Jobbágyi, and Erdőkövesd, as well as in the Hernád Valley.⁹ In some cases burials in these areas, like in Szilvásvárads, were located within contemporary settlements or in the vicinity

⁷ RYE 1981, 80.

⁸ NAGY 1993, 60; HARHOIU 1997, 30–31; TEJRAL 1999, 255–274; TEJRAL 2012, 118; PROHÁSZKA 2003, 77–78; RÁCZ 2014, 204–205; RÁCZ 2016, 304; KISS 2017.

⁹ Szécsény (CSALLÁNY 1961, 238), Szurdokpüspöki (BÁCSMEGI–GUBA 2007, 26–27), Jobbágyi (KISS 1981), Erdőkövesd (WERNER 1959); Hernádvécse (SOÓS ET AL. 2017).

of them. This suggests that the 'realm of the dead' and the place of the everyday actions were not entirely strictly separated from each other that time.¹⁰

In all likelihood, the SW-NE orientation of the Szilvásvárád grave can be considered as a variation of the W-E direction, which became the most popular funerary rite in the Carpathian basin from the period D2/D3, i.e. from the mid-5th century.¹¹ However, in the first half of the 5th century the orientations were not yet unified north and east of the Danube and, in addition to increasing numbers of burials with a W-E orientation, those with an E-W,¹² NW-SE,¹³ and SW-NE¹⁴ orientation may all be variations of the same rite. At the same time, the S-N orientation¹⁵ and its variations¹⁶ – representing the previous customs on the Great Hungarian Plain – are widespread in the former Sarmatian territories and on the northern and southern edge of the Middle Danube region. From the second half of the 5th century, the W-E orientation became absolutely dominant. The SW-NE orientation frequently occurs on those sites or areas where otherwise the W-E orientation is common.¹⁷

The elongated, narrow form of the grave pit (236x80 cm) was also common during this period.¹⁸

EVALUATION OF THE GRAVE-GOODS

The glass bead

Beads of a similar form to the specimen from Szilvásvárád include those of Type 276 in the typological system established by Magdalena Tempelmann-Maczyńska.¹⁹ This type includes beads of various colours, ornamented with zigzag lines and dots painted in a third colour.²⁰ They are dated until as late as the second half of the 5th century.²¹ Beads of this type were found in grave 13 at Pohořelice (South Moravia) dated to period D1, placed at the neck of a female burial.²² However, having a diameter of c. 1.8 cm, these beads are smaller than the bead from the Szilvásvárád burial. In the female grave no. 2 from Wulfen, dated to the first half/middle of the 5th century, the same type and size of bead might have been part of a belt pendant (*Gürtelangänger*) together with a set of large glass beads.²³ This grave also contained a bronze buckle with animal heads and a bone comb, just like the Szilvásvárád burial. Similarly, a 2.4 cm large black bead ornamented with white

¹⁰ A similar phenomenon was observed in Hernádvécse and at other sites from the 5th century by Eszter Soós (SOÓS ET AL. 2017, 68–69).

¹¹ TOMKA 2001, 165; RÁ CZ 2016.

¹² Jászberény, grave 1 (PÁRDUCZ 1959, 318).

¹³ Mád (KOVRI G 1951, 113–114), Hernádvécse (SOÓS ET AL. 2017, 51–52); Singidunum, grave 63 (IVANIŠEVIĆ–KAZANSKI 2002, 134).

¹⁴ Šarovce, grave 5/1955 and grave 9/1955 (NOVOTNÝ 1976, 26–28), Vicemilice (TEJRAL 1982, 224) and in Pannonia Singidunum, grave 84 (IVANIŠEVIĆ–KAZANSKI 2002, 137); Viminacium-Burdelj, e.g. grave 3 (ŽOTOVIĆ 1981, 108; IVANIŠEVIĆ–KAZANSKI–MASTYKOVA 2006, 138).

¹⁵ Csongrád-Kenderföldek (PÁRDUCZ 1959); Hrtkovci-Vranja (DAUTOVA–RUŠEVLJAN 1981); Laa a.d. Thaya grave 1 (KAT. GERMANEN 345).

¹⁶ E.g. SE-NW: Smolin grave 32 (TEJRAL 1973, 25–43; TEJRAL 2005); Viminacium-Više grobalja, grave 1758 (IVANIŠEVIĆ–KAZANSKI–MASTYKOVA 2006, 214).

¹⁷ This became common even in the Late Roman cemeteries (LÁNYI 1972, 63).

¹⁸ ISTVÁNOVITS 1991, 35; SOÓS ET AL. 2017, 54.

¹⁹ TEMPELMANN–MACZYŃSKA 1985.

²⁰ TEMPELMANN–MACZYŃSKA 1985, 21.

²¹ TEMPELMANN–MACZYŃSKA 1985, 53.

²² ČIŽMÁŘ 1997, Abb. 3. 24–26. We would like to thank Anna Mastykova for recommending this article to us.

²³ SCHMIDT 1985, 284–285, Abb. 6, 6.

zigzag lines and red irregular shaped dots was found in a disturbed female grave in Tarnaméra (site 'Sandmine of István Fehér'), dated to the second half of the 5th century.²⁴

Single large beads usually accompanied male burials in the 5th century, and the bead from Szilvásvárads – its diameter is 2.9 cm – might also be interpreted as a sword bead (very large beads of various materials and form²⁵ found next to *swords* and associated with them²⁶), put into the grave *pars pro toto* instead of the weapon. According to Wilfried Menghin, the glass sword beads, in general, belong to chronological group 'A', which is equivalent to period D3.²⁷ A sword bead with similar decoration to the Szilvásvárads piece was found in Wiesbaden-Mainz-Kostheim.²⁸ As an example from the Carpathian Basin, grave 100 at Szabadka-Verusics can also be mentioned, as well as grave 69.01 in Nyíregyháza-Rozsrétszóló, dated to the Hun Period.²⁹

However, a single, large bead can be part of the female costume as well. In the 'princely' grave of Oßmannstedt, a bead can be associated with the brooch worn on the waist.³⁰ On the other hand, very large beads belonging to female attire were usually found in collections with other beads – as in the abovementioned case of Wulfen – and not as single pieces. Female dress and jewellery in the 5th century were adorned with various beads from the head to the feet, and large beads could have different functions, worn as part of a necklace or a bracelet, sewn on the dress, or hung from brooches or a belt.³¹ A beautiful example of the 5th-century female costume is the find from Mezőkövesd-Mocsolyás, where large amber and glass beads (1.5–3 cm diameter) found on the right of the chest might have hung down from the plate brooch worn on the shoulder.³² Nevertheless, we cannot necessarily assume that the bead from Szilvásvárads was hung on a small cord or sewn to a dress due to its large hole and the lack of a wear track. It was found approximately on the left side of the chest, near to the tweezers. However, considered together, this combination of the bead and the tweezers can also be interpreted instead as, respectively, the clasp and content of a purse lying on the chest of the deceased.³³

The tweezers

The shape of the tweezers from Szilvásvárads are different from the Late Roman types, thus it could be considered a product of a Barbarian workshop.³⁴ Tweezers frequently occurred in the graves of the 5-6th centuries in the Carpathian basin. Smaller, finely crafted examples are characteristicly found in female graves, while large iron specimens are typical male accessories.³⁵ The |X| ornament was a popular decorative element from the Late Roman to the Merovingian period, and also in the Eastern European steppe region (e. g. on buckles).³⁶

²⁴ NAGY 2002, 238.

²⁵ The sword beads can be of different shape: barrel, cylinder or disc-shaped, their edges are curved (PINTÉR-NAGY 2012, 100).

²⁶ In the vicinity of the Rhine *limes*, the beads, which were found in 4th-5th century male graves, belonged exclusively to the swords.

²⁷ MENGHIN 1983, 27–31.

²⁸ TEJRAL 2015a, 192, Abb. 45, 2; 217, no. 75 with further literature.

²⁹ PINTYE 2014, 111.

³⁰ BEMMANN 2008, 172–173, Abb. 21.

³¹ RÁCZ 2016, 312–314.

³² LOVÁSZ 1999. A similar arrangement of beads can be observed in the case of Untersiebenbrunn, grave 2 (SCHMAUDER 2002, vol. 2, 101).

³³ For those objects which were found near the rawhide case, Andrea Vaday and Béla Miklós Szóke considered them to be purse clasps. VADAY-SZÓKE 1983, 110. This interpretation was rejected by Gabriella Vörös (VÖRÖS 1994, 268–269).

³⁴ For the Roman types see: RIHA 1986, 33–38.

³⁵ KISS 1991, 129.

³⁶ For the latest collection of these items see: KISS 2016, 37–40.

The tweezers from the Szilvásvárád burial were found on the chest of the deceased. This position is well-known in the first half of the 5th century, as toilette-sets are often found hung on a small metal ring on the chest or the stomach in rich female and children graves of the Hun Period (e.g. Untersiebenbrunn grave 2).³⁷

The iron knife

In this period one-edged knives are common, and are frequently found in graves, however, they cannot be dated precisely from their shape. They appear most often in male burials, but sometimes they are also found in female burials.

The cicada brooch

According to early interpretations, the emblematic Migration Period cicada brooches can be traced back to Asia. As reported by Herbert Kühn, cicada brooches originated in China, and became popular among the German tribes through the Sarmatians.³⁸ However, Burchard Brentjes distinguished several types that can be dated before the Migration Period, from as early as the 2nd century A.D.³⁹ Jaroslav Tejral suggested that this insect motif came originally from the Pannonian Celtic tribes, and which in turn was adopted by the Romans.⁴⁰ According to István Bóna, the cicada brooches are one of the objects of non-German origin in the Hun Period, and were probably originally accessories in Greek-Sarmatian-Alan female dress in the Pontic region.⁴¹

The specimen from Szilvásvárád belongs to the so-called 'three-winged cicadas', which became popular during the 5th century. They belong to Type VI in the typology of Burchard Brentjes.⁴² Among the published material we do not know two identical examples of the three-winged cicadas.⁴³ They were produced from gold and silver, as well as from copper alloy.⁴⁴ This type of cicada brooch was the most popular design during the 5th century, and similar examples are found in Lower Austria, in the former province of Pannonia, in the inner ranges of the Northern Carpathians, in the Crimea, in Masuria, and in Belarus.⁴⁵ Analogous finds were also recently unearthed in the Middle Don Valley, and probably came to this region from the Crimea via Tanais. According to the observations of Julianna Kissné Cseh and Péter Prohászka, this type is documented exclusively in the graves of women and children.⁴⁶

Despite the traditional arguments mentioned above, we do not have certain information about the origin and place of production of these objects, but since the three-winged cicadas were unknown in the Roman Empire they can be considered as a new cultural phenomenon. As mentioned above, István Bóna proposed a Pontic origin, but although this explanation seems convincing, recent research assumes an opposite eastward movement.⁴⁷ We consider it more likely that this type of cicada brooch originated within the ethnic and cultural interaction of the Roman

³⁷ SCHMAUDER 2002, Bd. 2, 101.

³⁸ KÜHN 1935, 106.

³⁹ BRENTJES 1954, 901.

⁴⁰ TEJRAL 2011, 191–192.

⁴¹ BÓNA 1979, 317.

⁴² BRENTJES 1954, 902. According to him, they are not cicadas, in fact, their shape originated rather from the lotuses. However, we have to noticed that on the Szilvásvárád cicada the eyes are depicted with two dot-circle motifs on both side of the head, so the craftsman's intention was to imitate an animal.

⁴³ Since the shaping of the heads are unique, Jaroslav Tejral tried to distinguish sub-groups based on the standings and the size of the wings: TEJRAL 2015, 314.

⁴⁴ MACZYŃSKA ET AL. 2016, 9. In addition, traces of thin gold foil could have been observed on the examples from Almalyk-dere.

⁴⁵ KISSNÉ CSEH-PROHÁSZKA 2002, 118; TEJRAL 2015, 313–314.

⁴⁶ KISSNÉ CSEH-PROHÁSZKA 2002, 116. However, anthropological analysis was carried out in only a few cases.

⁴⁷ MACZYŃSKA ET AL. 2016, 10; OBLOMSKY-KOZMIRCHUK 2015, 53.

Empire and the Barbarians at the end of the 4th and the beginning of the 5th centuries. In connection with the workshops which produced the three-winged cicadas, Jaroslav Tejral suggested, based on the concentration of this type of object in Lower Austria and in Southern Moravia and the semi-finished specimen found in a goldsmith's depot from Steinmandl-Buschberg, that a workshop could have operated in this region.⁴⁸

If we want to distinguish workshop traditions, we have to pay special attention to the spiral-threaded nose of the cicada from Szilvásvárád. This is a very rare phenomenon and the closest analogy is from an unpublished grave from the site of Paks-Lidl (Pannonian *limes* region). This item is almost identical with our piece and only differs in the shape of the head and the neck.⁴⁹ Another threaded-nose, ribbed-neck cicada was found in the vicinity of Nyíregyháza (NE Hungary), also made of copper alloy.⁵⁰ Finally, we have to mention a silver example from the grave of a child at Intercisa (Dunaújváros, Pannonian *limes* region).⁵¹

In the Late Roman period, the threaded construction also appeared on crossbow brooches with onion-shaped knobs. These so-called 'scroll-work' brooches are characterized by the threaded construction of the side knobs.⁵² This type of brooch is found in the southern and western parts of Germany and in neighboring parts of France. From Pannonia, we know some examples from Bagolasánc and from grave 42 in Ságvár. Besides these, only stray, unprovenanced, examples are known.⁵³ This type can be dated to the second half of the C3 and D1 periods on the basis of the chronological system of the Barbaricum.⁵⁴ Maurizio Buora examined the cast crossbow brooches, which are closely related to the aforementioned group. According to him, these appeared on the frontier of the Roman Empire, mostly at military sites, and the brooches could have been worn as a signal of higher social status.⁵⁵ The production technology displayed by the cicadas from Szilvásvárád, Paks, Intercisa and from the Nyírség region, while in some ways unique, nonetheless suggest that they were rooted in Late Roman workshop traditions, just like the crossbow brooches with onion-shaped knobs and scroll works.

The exact position of the cicada brooch from Szilvásvárád could not be observed due to the poor preservation of the skeleton. It lay approximately along the axis of the body, on the lower part of the chest or on the upper part of the stomach. Its nose pointed towards the legs. According to evidence from undisturbed graves, most cicada brooches were worn in pairs – as an accessory of the *peplos* dress – on the shoulder (e. g. Intercisa),⁵⁶ or as the third brooch beside a pair of large plate brooches. Closing the cloak with a brooch on the chest was a common practice in the Late Roman and early Migration Period as well. However, if the dress was closed on the stomach/waist and the brooch was associated with the belt – which is less likely in our case –, then we are faced with a later style of dress, which appeared in the middle of the 5th century.⁵⁷

⁴⁸ TEJRAL 2015, 315.

⁴⁹ The brooch from Szilvásvárád has a flat, concave place on the neck, whereas on the other example, four ribs can be observed. Personal communication with János Gábor Ódor. We would like to thank him for the information.

⁵⁰ On the basis of personal communication with Dr. Eszter Istvánovits. We would like to thank her for the information.

⁵¹ VISY 1981, 211, Fig. 3–4.

⁵² Group B5 in Endre Tóth's typological system: TÓTH 2015, 340–341. This technical solution also occurs in some other sub-types.

⁵³ TÓTH 2015, 341–342.

⁵⁴ QUAST 2015, 307 with further literature; TÓTH 2015, 341.

⁵⁵ BUORA 2013, 430–435. Other authors also confirm that crossbow brooches often appear in military contexts (e.g. QUAST 2015, 307–308).

⁵⁶ VISY 1981, 211, 3. kép; KOVÁCS 2004, 123, 128–129, 5. kép.

⁵⁷ RÁCZ 2016, 315–316, Abb. 10. See also MIHÁCZI-PÁLFI 2018, Fig. 2.

The buckle

Buckles with animal heads are most widespread in the western half of the Roman Empire. The example from Szilvásvárad belongs to the group of 'simple buckles with animal heads' (*einfache Tierkopfschnallen*)⁵⁸ or to Type IIIa in the typological system of military belt accessories in Britain made by Sonia Chadwick Hawkes.⁵⁹ These bronze buckles are characterized by semicircular frame/loop, on which there are two open-jawed animal heads, probably a lion or leopard, facing each other across the hinge-bar.⁶⁰ The buckle from Szilvásvárad is quite rough and of poor quality, and the details are barely recognizable.⁶¹

Einfache Tierkopfschnallen are well known mainly in military contexts along the *limes*; they first appear during the reign of Valentinian I in Gallia in the 360/370s and can be dated to as late as the middle of the 5th century according to Horst Wolfgang Böhme.⁶² We do not know any identical pieces among these buckles, and Böhme suggested that besides the high quality specialized and professional ateliers in large centers (e.g. at Trier or Tournai) there were several local workshops that produced more simple pieces, both in military and civil contexts, and on both sides of the *limes*.⁶³ In this case, it is very difficult to distinguish 'originals' (made in urban or military centres) from 'copies' (provincial or barbarian imitations) among buckles with animal heads.

Böhme argues convincingly that the origins of the *Tierkopfschnallen* (and *Kerbschnittgarnituren*) in Gallia can be associated with the military costumes of the Roman army.⁶⁴ On the other hand, in the 5th century, this type of buckle also appears in female graves both in Roman and in Barbarian territory. We can mention grave 3 from Wulfen (Sachsen-Anhalt) and grave 363 from Schleithem-Hebsack, where buckles with animal heads were found together with dot-circle ornamented triangle-backed combs and brooches. At Wulfen it was accompanied by a large bead similar to the example from Szilvásvárad.⁶⁵

Bell-shaped comb

Combs as grave-goods were widespread both in Pannonia and in the Barbarian territories of the Carpathian basin from the last third of the 4th century, and they became even more popular during the 5th century.⁶⁶

The specimen from Szilvásvárad was made from bone in three pieces: a central toothed plate and two parts of a handle. It belongs to the so-called 'bell-shaped' or 'Chernyakhov-Sântana de

⁵⁸ BÖHME 2008, 72–81.

⁵⁹ CHADWICK HAWKES 1961.

⁶⁰ CHADWICK HAWKES 1961, 59. These can be ornamented with chip-carved, engraved or pressed technique, but undecorated specimens are also known. The chape/body? belonging to the frame can be gilded or cut from a sheet and they are fixed with hinges. However, we have to note that these chapes are frequently missing, as in the case of the Szilvásvárad specimen.

⁶¹ Cf. BÖHME 1974, Abb. 16.

⁶² BÖHME 1974, 55–73; BÖHME 2008, 76–81.

⁶³ BÖHME 2008, 81–84, Abb. 5 (with workshop-finds).

⁶⁴ BÖHME 2008, 84–86.

⁶⁵ TEJRAL 1997, Abb. 16; SCHMIDT 1985, 286, Abb. 6. Several buckles with animal heads are known from the Carpathian basin from the Migration Period. We can mention the example from grave 28 at Ártánd-Kisfarkasdomb, which was found in a weapon grave (ISTVÁNOVITS–KULCSÁR 1999, fig. 15, 1), and the female grave 64 in the Gepidic period cemetery of Szentés-Nagyhegy (CSALLÁNY 1961, 53–54, Taf. XXXVI, 15). This latter specimen is thicker and better manufactured than ours, and it can be dated to the turn of the 5th and 6th centuries. Some later variants are known from further Gepidic burials: Szolnok-Szanda grave 118, animal headed buckle with chip carved plate (BÓNA 2002, 217, Taf. 44, 1), Kistelek (?), similar silver buckle (CSALLÁNY 1961, 227, Taf. CXCIV, 10) and Szőreg-Téglagyár grave 97, large buckle with animal heads (NAGY 2005, 133, 188, Taf. 62, 1).

⁶⁶ RÁ CZ 2016, 309, Abb. 4.

Mureş' type.⁶⁷ Its ornamentation consists of incised lines and dot-circle motifs on the lower part of the handle with additional dot-circle motifs randomly arranged on the edge. Besides joining the layers, the copper rivets could also have an ornamental function.⁶⁸ Similar bell-shaped combs are known both from the territory of the Chernyakhov-Sîntana de Mureş culture and from Pannonia, but they also occurred in Lower Austria, Slovakia, Czechia, and Moravia.⁶⁹ The dot-circle motif was commonly used by the Roman bone-crafting workshops in Pannonia, so this ornament can be attributed to their influence.⁷⁰ As Mária T. Bíró pointed out, there was a close connection between the manufacturing traditions between Pannonia, the former Dacia province, which was inhabited by the Sîntana de Mureş culture during the 4th century A.D., and NE Hungary.⁷¹ It is more striking in our case because, in the settlement at Szilvásvárads, an antler comb with zoomorphic decoration was found, which has remarkable analogies both in Pannonia (e.g. Csákvár, Intercisa, Hrtkovci (Serbia) and in Transylvania (Mediaş, Tîrgu Mureş, Lechinta).⁷²

Good analogies to our comb are known from a Hun Period female grave with plate brooches from Čaña (Hernádcsány) in the Hernád Valley,⁷³ from a male grave from Tiszalök-Rázompusztá also dated to the Hun Period⁷⁴, and from an early Migration Period settlement from Bratislava-Devín.⁷⁵

The placement of the comb next to the feet follows an earlier funeral tradition, where lobed-backed combs were found in the Roman provincial and early „Barbarian” graves near the thighs or the knees, between the legs, or in front of the feet, probably in a purse.⁷⁶ In the eastern cemeteries of the Chernyakhov-Sîntana de Mureş culture, the combs lay near the head in almost 40% of all cases, while they were put next to the feet in 30%.⁷⁷ From the second half of the 5th century, the double-sided combs and the later specimens which were found in Gepidic period cemeteries were frequently put next to the skull.⁷⁸

The single-handled jug

Archaeological and stylistic analysis:

No exact stylistic parallel to the single-handled jug found in the grave is known in the Middle Danube Region. The closest stylistic analogies can be found in the wares associated with the pottery workshops of Mayen, located in the Mayen-Koblenz District of western Germany.⁷⁹ From the middle of the 4th century, after the Alemannic attack in 355 A.D., Mayen became the centre of pottery production in this region. Late Roman pottery production has been identified at the

⁶⁷ For the manufacturing technology and the typology see: T. Bíró 1994, 39; BÓZSA 2016, 127, with further literature. According to the typology of Galina Nikitina, this form is similar to the subgroup B2 dated to the second half of the 3rd century, so, in our opinion, the origin of the 5th century comb from Szilvásvárads should be looked for elsewhere (NIKITINA 2008, 82).

⁶⁸ See BÓZSA 2016, 142.

⁶⁹ T. Bíró 1994, 39; IONIŢA 1971, 15–16; BÓZSA 2016, 142 and MASEK 2016, 127–131, 138–139, with further literature.

⁷⁰ See for example: Páty-Site 4, feat. 166 (OTTOMÁNYI 2008, 238–242, Abb. 9, 3)

⁷¹ For the distribution of some types see: T. Bíró 2002, 66, map 3.

⁷² Personal communication from Csilla Farkas. We would thank her for the information. T. Bíró 2002, 50–55.

⁷³ Semicircular handled comb with horizontally incised lines and dot-circle motifs. (TEJRAL 1973, Abb. 1; TEJRAL 1997, 345, Abb. 21, 11). In this article Jaroslav Tejral assigned the comb to period D2, between 380/400–440/450 (TEJRAL 1997, 351).

⁷⁴ Bell-backed comb with dot-circle ornaments (PÁRDU CZ 1959, 330, Taf. XXII, 3).

⁷⁵ Bell-backed comb, the whole surface was covered with dot-circle motifs (KAT. GERMANEN Kat. IX.6.b, 409).

⁷⁶ OTTOMÁNYI 2001, 49.

⁷⁷ NIKITINA 2008, 83, graf. 3.

⁷⁸ BÓNA–NAGY 2002, 95–98, Abb. 44.

⁷⁹ We would like to thank Dr. Lutz Grunwald for his kind help with the identification of the examined pot.

archaeological sites of 'Auf der Eich' and 'Siegfriedstraße', which probably represent a continuation of a pre-existing pottery industry, reorganized after the attack, during the reign of Emperor Julian.⁸⁰

Stylistically, the pot from Szilvásvárád most closely resembles Mayen Ware Type Alzei 30b defined by Alfred Wiczorek,⁸¹ or, according to Mark Redknap's classification, Type R29 (single-handled jug).⁸² This type is wide-spread in western Germany, north-east France, and the Benelux Union, with specific analogies to the Szilvásvárád pot found, for example, in grave 16 at Vireux-Molhain⁸³, grave 141 at Jülich⁸⁴, and grave 106 at Wageningen⁸⁵. Mayen Ware pottery is occasionally seen beyond this region, as far afield as Aguntum (East Tyrol)⁸⁶, and south-east England (Canterbury, London, Colchester, Portchester)⁸⁷. According to the most recent classification by Lutz Grunwald, our single-handled jug can be dated between 420/430-450/460 A.D.⁸⁸

However, vessels of broadly similar shapes to the Szilvásvárád pot are not completely unknown within Pannonia and Noricum. Another stylistic parallel, known as Type 2, has also been described by Marianne Pollak within the pottery from the cemetery of Favianis (Mautern, Lower Austria).⁸⁹ In addition to their general appearance, the Type 2 vessels also share other similarities to the Szilvásvárád pot, including an incised line under the neck, a ribbed handle, and uneven firing. However, some differences are also apparent, with Type 2 vessels having a more conical body shape, and the handle joined to the rim rather than at the neck. According to Pollak, Type 2 dates to the second half of the 4th century and the first half of the 5th century.⁹⁰ It is commonly found throughout the territory of Pannonia (e.g. Keszthely-Dobogó, Somogyiszil, Gerulata/Rusovce) and Noricum (Traismauer, Pöchlarn), and rarely to the north of the Danube *Limes* (e.g. Pohořelice).⁹¹

Nonetheless, on balance, the Szilvásvárád pot appears to bear closer physical similarities to distant Mayen Ware forms than to the comparatively more local Type 2 jugs, although the manner in which it was deposited, in a grave next to the deceased, follows a tradition commonly found elsewhere in the Middle Danube region. According to the examination of burial rituals, in the Late Roman and Sarmatian period vessels were commonly placed beside the legs or feet of the deceased, however, during the 5th century, this gradually changed with vessels more often placed next to the head. In the Szilvásvárád burial, the jug was placed by the left foot of the deceased, thereby indicating that in this regard the "old tradition" was being followed.

Petrographic analysis:

In order to further investigate the hypothesis that the Szilvásvárád jug originated from the Mayen workshops, petrographic analysis was undertaken on a sample from the Szilvásvárád jug and comparisons were made with previously published data and reference materials.⁹² Ceramic petrography is an invasive analytical method, in which a pottery sample prepared as a glass slide thin section is examined with a polarising light microscope, in order to determine its composition and structure. From this information, interpretations may be made regarding the technology of production as well as the geological environment from which raw materials were procured,

⁸⁰ GRUNWALD 2016, 346–348.

⁸¹ WIECZOREK 1987, 388–389.

⁸² REDKNAP 1988, 30, Fig. 18.

⁸³ LEMANT 1985, 20, Fig. 25, 4

⁸⁴ PÖPPELMANN 2010, Taf. 48, 141:5.

⁸⁵ VAN ES 1964, 214.

⁸⁶ AUER 2012

⁸⁷ REDKNAP 1988, 9; TYERS 1998, 152.

⁸⁸ GRUNWALD 2016, 350–351.

⁸⁹ POLLAK 1993.

⁹⁰ POLLAK 1993, 53.

⁹¹ POLLAK 1993, 150. Pohořelice: ČIŽMÁŘ 1995, 25.

⁹² We would like to thank Dr. Sándor Józsa for his help in the thin section preparation, and Dr. Sándor Józsa, Tamás Sági and Dr. György Szakmány for their valuable assistance with the petrographic analysis.

which is generally local to the actual place of manufacture.⁹³ The pottery of the workshops of Mayen (*Mayenerware* / *Eifelkeramik*⁹⁴) has been the subject of various previous scientific studies, including analysis by ceramic petrography⁹⁵, and more recently, by X-ray diffraction (XRD) and X-ray fluorescence (XRF).⁹⁶

In addition to data in the published literature, we were able to make direct comparisons between the sample from the Szilvásvárads jug and a thin section of a Late Roman Mayen Coarse Ware vessel, found in Leadenhall Court, London, and now included within the National Roman Fabric Reference Collection (NRFRC, Sample 281)⁹⁷ held at the British Museum.⁹⁸ According to the system proposed by Mark Redknap, both samples may be identified macroscopically as fabric Type R (*spättrömische rauhwandige Mayener Ware*)⁹⁹, while stylistically the London sample can be classified as Type R1 (lid-seated jar).¹⁰⁰

Mayen is located on the border of the East Eifel highland zone, adjacent to the Middle Rhine Basin, and through which flows the River Nette before joining the Rhine. The region around Mayen has a distinctive geological signature due to the combination of tephritic / trachytic / basaltic lava that forms the volcanic massif of the East Eifel, and the clay and loess found on the valley slopes.¹⁰¹

The unique geological environment, in turn, resulted in ceramic products with a particularly distinctive mineralogical composition, especially a suite of inclusions of magmatic origin. According to the petrographic analysis by Kurt Böhner on Mayen Ware found in Trier, inclusions from a variety of geological origins can be identified within Mayen Ware, including not only those derived from extrusive igneous rocks but also sedimentary and metamorphic rocks. The main magmatic constituents are sanidine, anorthoclase, plagioclase, haüyne, aegirinaugite, barkevitic hornblende, magnetite, titanite, apatite, magmatic glass and pumice, and trachyte fragments, while the main non-magmatic inclusions are derived from greywacke, quartzite, slate, phyllite and mica schist, and their constituent components.¹⁰² In general, this suite of inclusions appears to be present in Mayen pottery from all periods of production, although differences in the relative proportion and size of inclusions have been reported, with the fabric becoming increasingly fine-textured during the medieval period.¹⁰³

The reference sample from the NRFRC used for comparison was identified as Late Roman Mayen Coarse Ware by Tomber and Dore.¹⁰⁴ In thin section,¹⁰⁵ the sample displays a homogenous, optically active, micromass (<10 µm), light brown in plane polarised light (PPL) and yellow to grey-brown in cross-polarised light (XPL), with channel voids between c. 0.25 and 4 mm in length

⁹³ QUINN 2013, 4.

⁹⁴ *Eifelkeramik* is used collectively for the pottery of certain typological characteristics produced in the Eifel mountain region of Germany, including Trier, Speicher and Mayen. *Mayenerware* is only used for the pottery produced in Mayen, which is the most readily identified due to its distinctive mineralogical composition. TYERS 1996, 151.

⁹⁵ BÖHNER 1958, 63–67; FULFORD–BIRD 1975, 171–181; TOMBER–DORE 1998, 70.

⁹⁶ GLUHAK 2010; XU and HOFMEISTER 2011, 35–41; GLUHAK ET AL. 2012; XU 2012.

⁹⁷ TOMBER–DORE 1998, 70; NRFRC sample 281 is from object 1995,0711.113.

⁹⁸ We are most grateful to Dr Roberta Tomber (The British Museum) for providing information of the Mayen Coarse Ware sample in the National Roman Fabric Reference Collection (NRFRC). The photomicrographs of Sample 281 published in this study are the property of the British Museum, and were taken with a Leica DFC 500 camera using Leica DMRX polarising light microscope and LAS 4.2.0 software. The National Roman Fabric Reference Collection is available online: <http://romanpotterystudy.org/nrfrc/base/index.php> (20.02.2019).

⁹⁹ REDKNAP 1988, Fig. 18.

¹⁰⁰ TYERS 1996, 151–152.

¹⁰¹ REDKNAP 1988, 3.

¹⁰² BÖHNER 1958, 64.

¹⁰³ REDKNAP 1988, 6.

¹⁰⁴ TOMBER–DORE 1998, 70–71.

¹⁰⁵ During our petrographic description, we used the guidelines of Ian Whitbread (WHITBREAD 1995, Appendix 3).

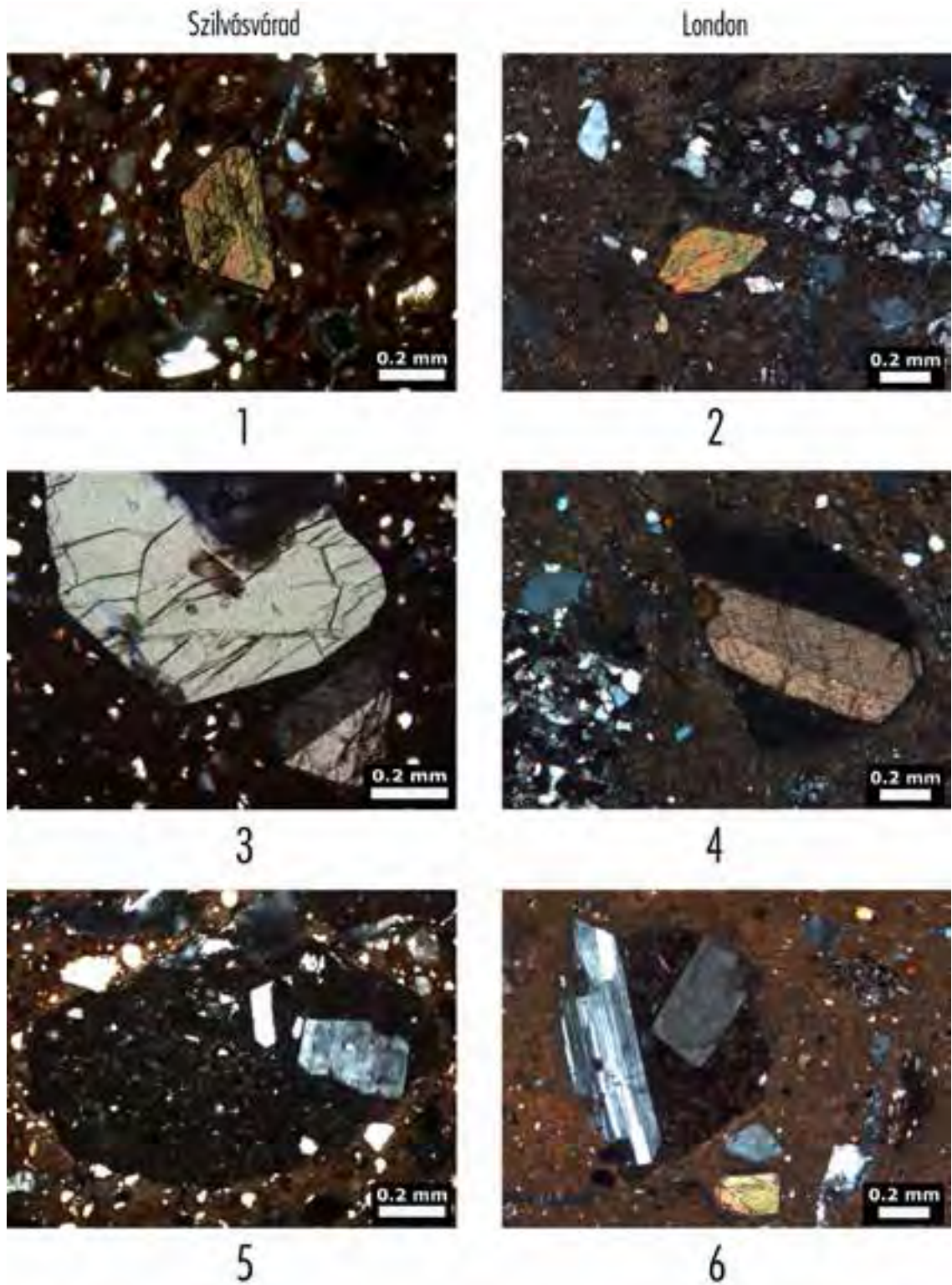


Fig. 5. 1. Szilvássvár, hornblende (XP); 2. London, hornblende (bottom) and fine-grained sandstone fragment (right) (XP); 3. Szilvássvár, clinopyroxene (top) and titanite (bottom right) (XP); 4. London, fine-grained sandstone fragment (left) and volcanic rock fragment with titanite and biotite (right) (XP); 5. Szilvássvár, volcanic rock fragment with plagioclase and sanidine phenocrysts (XP); 6. London, volcanic rock fragment with plagioclase phenocrysts (XP)

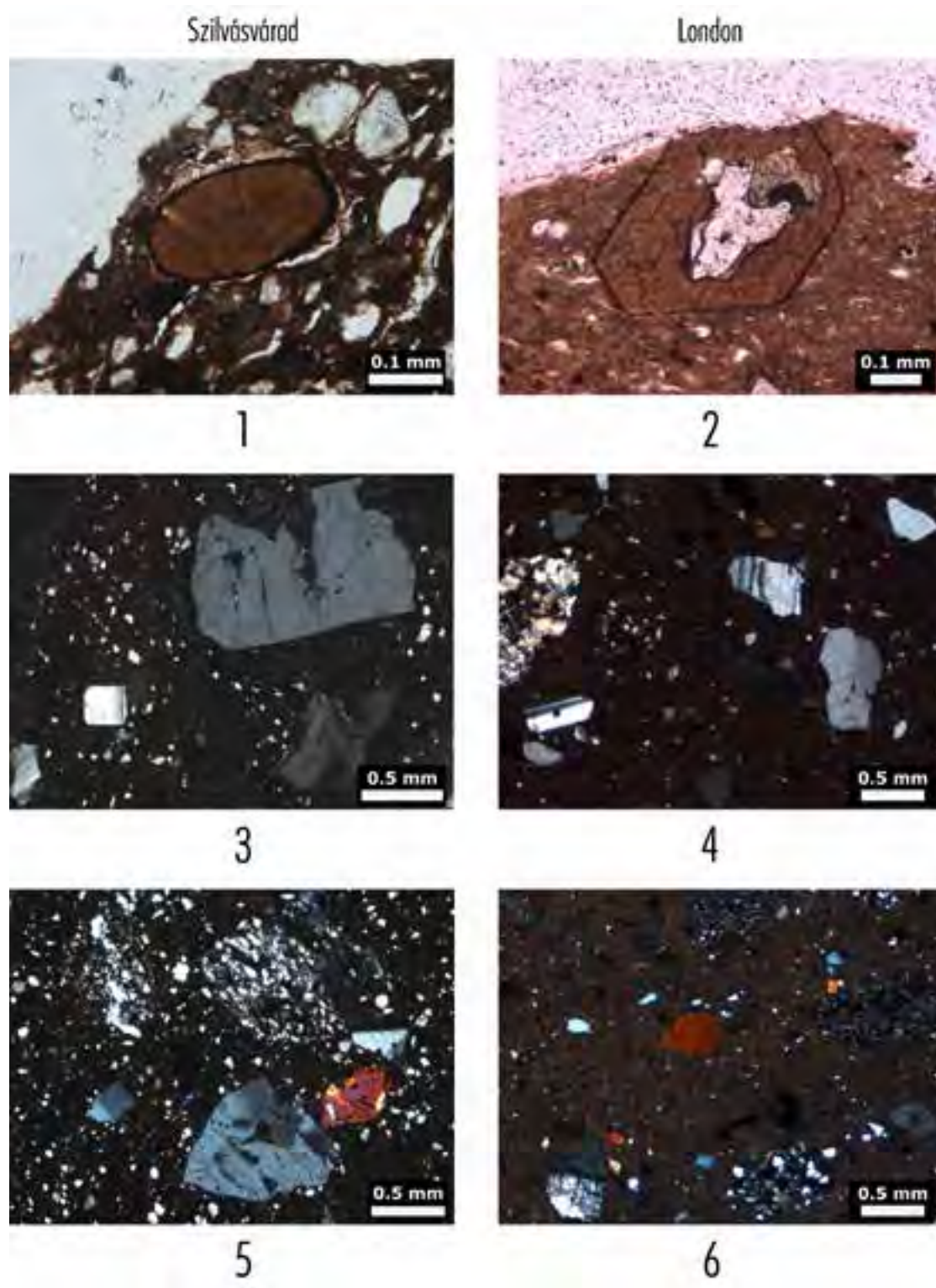


Fig. 6. 1. Szilvásvárads, hornblende with resorbed edges (PPL); 2. London, hornblende with resorbed edges (PPL); 3. Szilvásvárads, sanidines (right) and plagioclases (left) (XP); 4. London, sanidines (top right; middle right), plagioclases (stripy grains) and fine-grained sandstone fragment (left) (XP); 5. Szilvásvárads, fine-grained sandstone fragments (top), clinopyroxene (middle right) and nepheline (bottom) (XP); 6. London, fine-grained sandstone fragments (bottom), phyllite fragments (top; right) and clinopyroxene (middle) (XP)

and commonly aligned parallel to the vessel walls forming c. 10% of the field of view. Inclusions form c. 30% of the field of view and display a bimodal grain-size frequency distribution. The fine fraction, consists of few well sorted, open spaced, rounded to sub-rounded, silt-sized inclusions (<62 µm), of primarily monocrystalline quartz, K-feldspar and opaque minerals. The coarse fraction predominates, consisting of very poorly sorted, open spaced, rounded to sub-rounded, fine to very coarse sand-sized (62 µm–2000 µm) rock fragments and disaggregated mineral inclusions. This coarse fraction is derived from rocks of volcanic, sedimentary, and metamorphic origin. The volcanic derived component includes porphyritic rock fragments with sanidine and plagioclase phenocrysts (*Fig. 5.6*), porphyritic lava, and disaggregated mono-mineral clasts, such as plagioclase, sanidine (*Fig. 6.4*), clinopyroxene (*Fig. 6.6*), amphibole (*Fig. 5.2; Fig. 6.2*), titanite, biotite (*Fig. 5.4*) and opaque (magnetite?) fragments. The sedimentary and metamorphic derived component includes fine and medium-grained quartz sandstone (*Fig. 5.2, 4; Fig. 6.4, 6*), siltstone, slate, and phyllite (*Fig. 6.6*) fragments. The compositional differences evident between the fine and coarse fractions are significant as they strongly indicate that a tempering material (a fine to coarse volcanic/sedimentary/metamorphic sand) was artificially added to the clay paste during the manufacturing.

The sample from Szilvásvár¹⁰⁶ shows a slightly heterogeneous, optically active micromass, greyish brown to reddish brown in both XP and PPL, with channel voids between c. 0.3 and 4.2 mm in length, more frequent closer to the rim, parallel to the vessel walls, forming c. 13% of the field of view. The aplastic inclusions in total form c. 30% of the field of view, and, as with the London sample, also display a bimodal grain-size frequency distribution. The fine fraction consists of few, well-sorted, open-spaced, sub-rounded and rounded, silt-sized (<62 µm), mineral fragments, including monocrystalline quartz, K-feldspar, plagioclase and opaque minerals. The coarse fraction consists of poorly sorted, open-spaced, sub-rounded to rounded, medium to very coarse sand-sized (0.2–2 mm) rock fragments and disaggregated minerals. The volcanic inclusions include porphyritic lava rock fragments (*Fig. 5.5*), sanidine, plagioclase (*Fig. 5.5; Fig. 6.3*), nepheline (*Fig. 5.5*), biotite, pyroxene (*Fig. 5.3; Fig. 6.5*), amphibole (*Fig. 5.1; Fig. 6.1*), titanite (*Fig. 5.3*), while sedimentary and metamorphic rock fragments appear as fine-grained sandstone (*Fig. 6.5*), siltstone, slate, and phyllite inclusions. The different mineralogical compositions of the different size fractions suggest that they derive from different sources, with the fine fraction naturally occurring in the clay, while the coarse volcanic, sedimentary, and metamorphic rock and mineral fragments were intentionally added together to the clay paste as a sand temper.

The results of the petrographic analysis of the Szilvásvár jug are in accordance with the published data about Mayen Coarse Ware and with the comparative sample from London. From this analysis, it appears probable that coarse sand, of predominantly volcanic origin, was added during the preparation of the paste to naturally silty clay. The freshness of the grains, and the presence of sanidine, plagioclase, nepheline, pyroxene, amphibole, biotite, titanite both as minerals and in rock fragments, together with porphyritic lava fragments with alkali phenocrysts suggest that the sand originates from an alkali volcanic region with recent (Quaternary) volcanic activity, where trachyte is present. This type of sand can be found in the volcanic region of the East Eifel, in the direct vicinity of the excavated Roman and medieval kilns in Mayen.¹⁰⁷ The minor differences between the samples from Szilvásvár and London can be explained by natural variations in the raw materials or accidental or intended technological differences (such as variation in firing conditions). According to these results, the petrographic analysis strengthens the preceding typological identification and affirms the hypothesis that the pot found in the grave at Szilvásvár

¹⁰⁶ The photomicrographs of the sample from Szilvásvár were taken with a Zeiss AxioCam MRc5 using Zeiss AxioScope A1 polarising light microscope and Zeiss AxioVision 4.9.1 software at the Archaeometry Laboratory of the Institute of Archaeological Sciences, Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest. KMOP-4.2.1/B-10/-2011-0002.

¹⁰⁷ GLUHAK 2010, 40.

is a product of the pottery centre of Mayen, making it the most easterly known example of Late Roman Mayen Ware pottery.

THE INTERPRETATION OF THE BURIAL

The sex of the deceased

At first glance, the anthropological and the archaeological data seem to contradict each other with regard to determining the sex of the deceased in the Szilvásvárads grave. According to Antónia Marcsik, the skeletal remains are those of mature male. However, in contrast, some of the objects found in the grave are traditionally viewed as typical for the burial of women. Some of this apparent discrepancy may be attributed to difficulties in identifying the sex of the skeleton due to its poor level of preservation. However, it may be noted that there are also other attested instances when 'female' grave goods have been found with male skeletons.¹⁰⁸ Bonnie Effros observed during examination of Merovingian graves in France that in 20% of cases there is a discrepancy between the archaeological and the anthropological sex.¹⁰⁹

On the basis of the characteristics of the costume and accessories of the deceased the following conclusions can be drawn. Three-winged cicada brooches are only known from female and child graves (which is why we initially identified the burial as being female). Buckles with animal heads originally belonged to Late Roman military equipment, however, later examples also appeared in female graves and, in addition, the buckle from Szilvásvárads is a worn-out and repaired piece. Knives and tweezers accompanied burials of both sexes.¹¹⁰ The position of the tweezers seems to be even more important, as wearing a toilette-set on a small ring at the neck/on the chest was a typical female fashion in the Hun Period. The single large bead can be either part of female costume, or a male accessory. The bead and the tweezers lying close to each other can be interpreted, respectively, as a purse clasp and the content of the purse, placed on the chest of the deceased.

In summary, the grave goods of the Szilvásvárads burial – especially the cicada brooch and the large bead together with the tweezers on the chest – are more characteristic of female graves. In spite of that, we cannot fully exclude the possibility that they may have belonged to a male burial. A deliberate mixing of 'female' equipment with a 'male' body should be also taken into consideration, but we do not know any further examples of this phenomenon in the 5th century.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁸ Such a grave was published recently from the Middle Don valley, from Novaya Chigla. In this grave, a pair of earrings with polyhedral pendants was found with a necklace made from beads and pendants. However, according to the anthropological examination, the deceased was an *adultus-maturus* male (BEREZUTSKIJ–MASTYKOVA 2016).

¹⁰⁹ EFFROS 2000.

¹¹⁰ If we examine the simultaneous occurrence of a knife and tweezers, on the one hand, this combination was found in female and children graves, like grave 1 and 2 at Untersiebenbrunn (early 5th century) or the single grave of Hrtkovci-Vranja (mid-5th century) (cf.: RÁCZ 2016, Tab. 1). On the other hand, a similar combination was found in male graves from Árpás-Dombföld-Szerúskert, Ordacsehi-Kis-töltés, and Zsámbok site 15. See: KISS 2016, 33–34, note 12 with further literature. They frequently occurred in male graves from the 4th-5th centuries in France and Germany, where they predominantly belonged to rich, armed, persons; for example: Jüling grave 161. (PÖPELMANN 2010, Taf. 61), Rhenen grave 842 (BÖHME 1974, Taf. 66).

¹¹¹ In some of the elite burials of the 5th century there are grave-goods of the 'opposite sex', but they never occur as part of the costume / according to their original role (Untersiebenbrunn, female grave: attachment of a sword; Budapest-Zugló, male grave: fragments of a diadem, recycled as shoe or belt sets) (SCHMAUDER 2002, Bd. 2; NAGY 2010, 170–174).

The dating of the grave

The burial can be dated based on analogies with the cicada brooches, the bead, and the time of production of the Mayen type jugs (i.e. 420/430–450/460). It should be also considered that the brooch was just barely used, but, at the same time, the buckle was worn and repaired before it was put into the grave. Therefore, the funeral could have been taken place in the 2nd or the 3rd quarter of the 5th century, most likely around A.D. 450.

The social position and the interregional connections of the deceased

The solitary burial of Szilvásvár is located in North Heves county, which, based on our present knowledge, was sparsely populated during the Hun Period. However, according to the small finds (e.g. coins and brooches) from the settlement at the same site, this community – at least in the 4th century – had a close relationship with the Roman Empire despite its relatively long distance from the *Limes*.

It is even more interesting when we try to visualize the analogies of the grave finds of Late Roman origin. Mayen Ware vessels are widespread along the Rhine *limes* both in military and civilian contexts¹¹², as well as in urban and rural contexts, but they are absent from the Alpine region and from Pannonia.¹¹³ Similarly, the prototypes of the buckles with animal heads originated from the north-western provinces (Gallia).

The appearance of a foreign object can be explained in different ways, either as the result of trade, gift exchange between elites, migration, or mobility.¹¹⁴ In our case, based on the unprecedented appearance of the Mayen jug and the rarity of the buckle with animal heads in our region, the most plausible explanation is a kind of personal mobility between the northern part of the Carpathian Basin and western Europe.¹¹⁵ From this point of view a further site is also worth mentioning, namely, the solitary burial from Erdőkövesd (ca. 20 km away from the site of Szilvásvár) was accompanied by a brooch of ‘Niederflorstadt-Wiesloch’ type, which was a common feature in the Rhine-Main region, in North Germany and in Bohemia between 430 and 460.¹¹⁶

The appearance of the Mayen jug and the buckle so far to the east might be the result of the connections of the Late Roman army with the population of the Barbarian territories. One possible explanation is that a Roman soldier with barbarian background moved back to his homeland with his family after his service had expired or in connection with the decline of the Roman rule in the western part of the Empire. (In this case the burial could be that of a family member, not just that of the soldier.) These veterans can be identified with the help of certain objects, such as military equipment, vessels and, most importantly, coins.¹¹⁷ All of these three types of material can be documented in the grave in Szilvásvár or in the neighboring settlements. A further explanation could be that the Carpathian Basin under Hunnic rule offered a good possibility for warriors and their families from far regions to ‘take their chances’. In this particular case mobile warriors in Hunnic service can be supposed.¹¹⁸ Of course, we do not want to hold on to a monocausal

¹¹² REDKNAP 1999, 395.

¹¹³ The easternmost sherd was found in Auguntum, now Lienz, Tyrol (AUER 2012).

¹¹⁴ QUASt 2009; BEMMANN 2008, 145.

¹¹⁵ The reconstruction of certain movements based on the distribution of some costume accessories often comes up in the archaeological literature. For example, Péter Straub assumed a two-way migration between Pannonia and the Upper Danube region linked to the Suebians, however, he did not exclude the possibility of vibrant trade relations as well (STRAUB 2008, 192–193). However, this example refers to a later period when Roman rule had collapsed. In the Late Roman period, the appearance of low-quality handmade pottery is traditionally viewed as evidence of the Barbarian presence in the fortresses as *foederati* (QUAST 2017).

¹¹⁶ BEMMANN 2008, 146–147, Abb. 2.

¹¹⁷ GRANE 2012.

¹¹⁸ Cf. QUASt 2019 in this volume.

explanation: it does not mean automatically that the deceased (if it was after all a male person) or a family member was actually a veteran of the Roman Army from the Rhine *limes*. However, it is evident that the community in Szilvásvárads displayed Roman influences. Furthermore, this connection can be further confirmed by the cicada brooch, which was a typical accessory in the Hun period Carpathian Basin, but, in our case, appears to have been manufactured following Roman workshop traditions.

CONCLUSION

This particular burial from Szilvásvárads provides an intriguing and intimate insight into how individuals may have responded to the complex readjustments of the Hun Period. While the burial practices (solitary burial, SW-NE orientation, narrow grave pit) and some of the grave goods (brooch, comb, tweezers) found in this grave fit perfectly into the archaeological phenomena of the 5th century Carpathian Basin, other features (single-handled jug, buckle with animal head) are rare or unique in this region and, at the same time, reveal strong connections with the western Roman Empire. To understand this phenomenon, a plausible explanation is a type of personal mobility between the northern part of the Carpathian Basin and western Europe.

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GEPIDS AT CONSTANTINOPLE

Halûk Çetinkaya

Gepids were generally mistaken or confused among other Germanic-Gothic tribes. With the evidence coming from the city walls of Constantinople their existence may be confirmed. Among other Gepids, whom were mostly soldiers, a king named Thrasarich, whose epitaph was discovered and published in 2009 at Istanbul is the most interesting and convincing piece of evidence.

Keywords: Gepids; Later Roman Empire; Constantinople; cross formed epitaphs

NAMES AND IDENTITY

One of the least studied subjects of history and archaeology is ethnicities and their impact on neighboring cultures. When studied, Gepids were either mistaken or considered under one group, most of the time Goths. Presence of Gepids in the east was studied even less. This article aims at providing some information about the presence of Gepids in Constantinople.

To identify a group or a certain individual is a difficult task, given several variables. Most commonly, name of the individual is taken as his origin. Although it is tempting to accept it as a solid source, one has to consider near history. Jews in 19th Ottoman empire were naming their children with French names. Same applies to the citizens of Cuba, who under the influence of the Soviet Union, named their children with traditional Russian names. It is clear that dominant culture or social pressure shapes the decision of families in naming their children. Everincreasing number of barbarians in the Roman empire provides us with similar examples. Since different groups intermingled it is common to have foreign names adapted by non-Roman tribes. It is hard to follow family history, hence the origin by simply using the names given. Germanic names can be identified but difficulty arises when it comes to which group. It is nearly impossible to identify a certain group or tribe unless their names were mentioned together with their origin in documents or inscriptions. In this paper it will be argued that some of the Germanic names appear on the epitaphs found at Constantinople belong to the Gepids including the king Thrasarich, whose name and Gepidic origin was written in his epitaph (*Figs 1–4, 6*).

[+ Ἐνθ]άδε κατάκιτα[ι ó τῆς]
[εὐκλ]ε(οῦς) μνήμης Θρά[σαριχ]
[κόμ](ης) δομ(εστίκων) ῥέξ Γηπ[αίδων]
[υἱὸς ?] Θραυστίλα τῆς [εὐκλε(οῦς) ?]
[μνήμης ὅ]στις ἔζησε[ν ἔτη]
[- - - - -]τη ς [- - -]

“Here lies Thrasarich of (glorious) memory, count of the domestici, king of the Gepids, (son of?) Thraustila of (glorious?) memory, who lived (...) (years) (...) sixth (...).”¹

¹ A broken piece of white marble with a carved inscription was found among the scattered stones in the courtyard of a djami (Vefa kilise camii that had been transformed from a Komnenos-period (12th-century) church on the border of the former 7th and 10th districts of Constantinople, within the city walls, not far from the Valens aqueduct (*Fig. 6*). The fragment clearly came from a 6th-century church in this area of the city. ÇETINKAYA 2009, 225–229. ÇETINKAYA 2016, 98.



Fig. 1. View of Vefa Kilise Cami from east (photo: Halûk Çetinkaya)



Fig. 2. Memoria of Thrasarich in the garden of Vefa Kilise camii at Istanbul (photo: Halûk Çetinkaya)



Fig. 3. Memoria of Thrasarich in the garden of Vefa Kilise camii at Istanbul (photo: Halûk Çetinkaya)



Fig. 4. Drawing of the inscription on the epitaph (drawn: Halûk Çetinkaya)

GEPIDS AS FOEDERATES

According to Iordanes, Gepids were of the same origin with Goths.² Gepids were settled north of Carpathian mountains in mid 3rd century³ and were believed to be part of the barbarian coalition which mostly consisted of Germanic tribes in 269 during the reign of Claudius II.⁴ Later, Goths were given the status of *foederati* and Constantine I asked them to help building his new capital, which they replied with forty thousand men.⁵

Recent archaeological studies proved that prior to 370 Goths, and most probably Gepids, were living in the Northeastern part of the Black Sea in the area corresponding to Černjachov culture.⁶ In 376 the Huns pushed Alans and later some of the Goths westward and they crossed Danube to settle with the permission of Roman emperor Valens.⁷ During the reign of Theodosius I, Athanaric, king of Goths, was welcomed at Constantinople with his men. Though he died during the visit, his men accepted to serve Romans in 381.⁸ It is clear that some of the Goths were permitted to live during or after this incident in Constantinople. Patriarch John Chyrostom, who was not fond of barbarians, appreciated them openly for their contribution in spreading Christianity.⁹ Although it may be an attempt to convert them from Arianism to orthodoxy, it seems to be part of policy of the empire. Things changed with an unexpected revolt led by Gainas. In 400 Gainas placed all of his men to different parts of the city with the intention of capturing it easily. These areas were most probably where fellow Goths already have been living. Citizens were alarmed by the motions of barbarian soldiers and defended their city. Seven thousand of these Goths were burnt

² Iordanes, *Romana et Getica* XVII. 94: ed. MOMMSEN 1882.

³ STANCIU 2008, 416.

⁴ SCHMIDT 1907, 306.

⁵ Iordanes, *Romana et Getica* XXI. 111–112: ed. MOMMSEN 1882.

⁶ HEATHER 1997, 490.

⁷ Ammianus Marcellinus, *The Roman History* XXXI.3–4: tr. ROLFE 1986.

⁸ Isidore of Seville, *History of the Goths* 11: tr. DONINI–FORD 1970.

⁹ DE WET 2012, 5–6.



Fig. 5. Graveston of Estotzas is in Istanbul Archaeological Museums (inventory number 93.27 T)
(photo: Halûk Çetinkaya)



Fig. 6. Church-Mosque of Vefa (Turcic: Vefa Kilise Camii). The mosque viewed from the southeast in a drawing of 1877, from A.G. Paspates' Byzantine topographical studies (*Paspatēs, Alexandros Geōrgiou Byzantinai meletai topographikai* (1877) <https://archive.org/details/vyzantinaiemelet00unkngoog>
Digitizing sponsor: Google Book contributor: Oxford University Collection: europeanlibraries)
(https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Church-Mosque_of_Vefa#/media/File:Hagios_Theodoros_tou_Tironos.jpg)

alive in the church they took refuge,¹⁰ most probably to avenge emperor Valens' death, who was killed same way by them. Column of Arcadius, of which a few fragmentary pieces and its base survived, claimed to have had scenes of Goths leaving Constantinople after their revolt in 400.¹¹ It is interesting to note that Patriarch John of Rome, upon request of king Theoderic, was sent to Constantinople in 525 "to fetch fellow Arians"¹² which is a clear indicator of the increased number of Goths and other Germanic people. Aspar, a Goth, positioned as consul in 434¹³ indicate changing Roman policy towards non-Romans out of necessity. In the following years Germanic people as *foederati* or *bucellarii* were employed in the Roman empire.

Information about Gepids in Constantinople were obtained through construction activities along the city walls. One of the most difficult issues on a modern city is to excavate underneath the streets or buildings. Due to this, buildings of Constantinople, mentioned in sources, cannot be located easily. Recent infrastructural projects and restorations permitted new discoveries in the city. But vital sections of the history of the city, such as pavillions of the Great palace, or military barracks are still unknown. On the other hand discoveries made on the city walls both in 19th and 20th centuries provided us with some inscriptions which are extremely helpful on our article. In 1868 in order to obtain construction material, one of the towers on the city walls was pulled down, which had tombstones with the names of the *foederati*. Names were Walderich, Sephnas, Bertilas and Epoktorik.¹⁴ It is interesting to note that all of the epitaphs of *foederati* found in Constantinople were from the area of land walls. This was taken as an indication of an army cemetery.¹⁵ Epitaphs concentrate around the 5th military gate, which was guarded by the Goths at first and in later centuries by the corps of army including Scandinavian and Angl-Saxons.¹⁶

¹⁰ Zosimus, *New History* V. 19: tr. RIDLEY 2006.

¹¹ LIEBESCHUETZ 1990, 277.

¹² Marcellinus, *The Chronicle of Marcellinus*: tr. CROKE 1995, 42.

¹³ *Chronicon Paschale, Olympiad* 303–434.

¹⁴ MILLINGEN 1899, 85.

¹⁵ KALKAN-ŞAHİN 1995, 147.

¹⁶ ÖZTÜRK 2017, 15.

EPITAPHS OF GEPIDIC PERSONS

Among these epitaphs some contain names which were considered as Gothic but most probably Gepidic.

Epitaph of Epoktorik, dated to 568 is an interesting example. In the inscription grandfather of Epoktorik was called Bertilas, whereas his father a *foederatus*, was called Petros.¹⁷ It is interesting to note that Germanic name Bertilas was followed in the next generation with a Greek one, Petros, and another generation later another Germanic name, Epoktorik surfaced.

Another name is Valdarikh. His epitaph was dated to 543 and in the inscription he was mentioned as also *foederatus*.¹⁸ Estotzas provides us with another *foederatus* (Fig. 5).

Two other possible Gepidic gravestones were discovered in 1917 and both were in cross form. First one was for Ulifrida, wife of Thiudas; the second belong to Anilas. The former was dated to 531.¹⁹ There were several forms of epitaphs, mostly flat but some in the form of a cross. There are around twenty cross formed gravestones found in and in the vicinity of Constantinople dated to 6th-8th centuries and most of them belong to non-Romans.²⁰

It is surprising that the Germanic-Gepidic names were all dated to 6th century. During the reign of Justinian I, two important Gepids were on stage namely, Mundo and Thrasarich. Mundo, the rightful claimant of the Gepid kingdom, was stripped off his royal titles by Thraustila with the excuse of immature age for ruling. Thraustila kept the throne for himself only to be handed over to his son Thrasarich later. Mundo fought for Theodoric in Italy, upon his death offered his services to the Byzantine empire in 529.²¹ He was busy controlling Balkans and even participated to suppress Nika riot in 532.²²

The other Gepid was king Thrasarich. Upon his defeat at Sirmium in 504 he must have left in panic leaving his mother behind.²³ His later life was unknown until his epitaph was discovered in 2006 at Istanbul.²⁴ It is apparent that he took refuge at Byzantine empire and was given the title *comes domesticorum*. He must have been overshadowed by his cousin Mundo, who had a very high position, and did not want to keep him in his sight. Probably because of that he was sent to a fort named after him as *Thrasarichu*. This fort was mentioned by Procopius.²⁵ It was located accros fort Daphne built by Constantine I. Modern Greek village with the name of Daphne is by the promontory of Ebro and fort *Thrasarichu* might be either on the other side of this promontory, which does not make sense since it was not that much of importance comparing to the river itself, or by the Turkish side of the river Ebro (Modern Meriç in Turkish-Maritsa in Bulgarian) which is the border between Greece and Turkey. In this case fort *Thrasarichu* must be located around the township of Uzunköprü. Since Thrasarich was not mentioned by any of the contemporary historians this theory may seem plausible. Due to illness or old age, Thrasarich was in Constantinople where he died and was given a very modest epitaph (Figs 2–4). It is clear that when Thrasarich took refuge at the Byzantine empire he was not alone. Some of his men might have been given tasks to protect the borders in Thrace together with their former king. Another group which include Walderich, Sephnas, Bertilas, Epoktorik and Estotzas where employed together with Goths in the defence of the city walls of Constantinople. These names can be multiplied with the help of new on going projects held by the city walls. One of the most difficult part of Gepid history is the chronology of

¹⁷ ÖZTÜRK 2017, 8.

¹⁸ ÖZTÜRK 2017, 14.

¹⁹ SCHNEIDER 1937, 176–177.

²⁰ KALKAN-ŞAHİN 1995, 147.

²¹ *Ioannes Malalas, Chronography*: ed. THURN 2000, 378.

²² CROKE 1982, 125–135.

²³ *Iordanes, Romana et Getica* LVIII. 300: ed. MOMMSEN 1882.

²⁴ ÇETINKAYA 2009, 225–229.

²⁵ *Procopius, De Aedificiis* IV. xii.11: tr. DEWING 1954.

kings. It is not clear when Thrasarich died, alas his epitaph is broken, hence no certain date can be obtained.

Sources between 506–536 are silent about Gepids²⁶ it is not certain who replaced Thrasarich as king or was there any. Only one source mentions *Gepidicus* among titles of Justinian I.²⁷ Although Byzantines did not face Gepids directly it is strange to have this title. On the other hand, it may be taken that there was uncertainty among Gepid rulers due to Byzantine policy, hence, they were subjugated. Probably Gepids regained their power and were considered as a threat that is why they were attacked by the Byzantine army under the leadership of Calluc. He succeeded in defeating them at first but in the second encounter was defeated and killed in the year 539.²⁸ It is strange not to mention the name of the Gepid king in the war though. It may be taken as a sign that Gepids were in a federation of different groups without a king. Loss of Sirmium under Thrasarich was a fresh memory and it is nearly impossible to have him accepted as king by all of Gepids. Otherwise he would have led his people instead of serving the Byzantine empire. When his father Thraustila died in 488 he must have been in his early twenties and most probably died in 530's. His name surfaced in an epitaph found in Rome dated to 589. In the epitaph of Wiliarich, name Thrasarich was mentioned as *magister militum* and he must be the grandson of the former king.²⁹

Details of Gepidic history was obtained from Lombards. During the reign of Lombard king Audoin 546–565³⁰ Gepid king was Thurisind. He was succeeded by the last Gepid king Cunimund, who was killed in the battle during which Gepids were nearly annihilated by Lombards in two consecutive battles in 566 and 567 with the help of Avars^{31 32} Gepids continued their existence in a different geography even as late as 9th century.³³

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²⁶ DICULESCU 1922, 116.

²⁷ *Agathias, The Histories* 4. 2: tr. FRENDO 1975,

²⁸ *Marcellinus, The Chronicle of Marcellinus*: tr. CROKE 1995, 48.

²⁹ ROSSI 1857–1861, no. 1126 and 516.

³⁰ *Paulus Diaconus, Historia Langobardorum* I. 22.: ed. BETHMANN–WAITZ 1878.

³¹ DICULESCU 1922, 154–155.

³² *Paulus Diaconus, Historia Langobardorum* I. 27.: ed. BETHMANN–WAITZ 1878.

³³ KISS P. 2011, 10.

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FRIEDHÖFE ALS QUELLEN SOZIALER
ORDNUNGEN UND CHRONOLOGIE /
CEMETERIES AS SOURCES OF SOCIAL
STRUCTURE AND CHRONOLOGY

WAFFENGRÄBER DER MITTE UND ZWEITEN HÄLFTE DES 6. JAHRHUNDERTS IM ÖSTLICHEN KARPATENBECKEN. DIE MÄNNLICHE ELITE ZWISCHEN GEPIDENKÖNIG UND AWARENKAGAN?¹

Attila P. Kiss

Male elites between the Gepidic king and the Avar Qagan Weapon burials in the middle and second half of the 6th century in the eastern part of the Carpathian Basin

Both in Transylvania and in the Tisza Region, the row-grave cemeteries, which began at the end of the 5th century, also continued after the 'mesmeric' year of 567 into the last third of the 6th century. This transitional horizon (connecting the two periods) can be defined on the basis of the surviving connections with the Mediterranean, Italian and the Merovingian territories. However, based on the examining the weapons and the findmaterial, the use of the cemetery fields of Tisza region after the fall of the Gepid Kingdom (after magical 568 years) seem to continued. However, it has to be noted that, because of earlier excavations that caused an extensive loss of data, many similar pieces of evidence may have been lost in the southern territories as well. The two graves supplemented with weapons from Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok and the findings from Magyarcsanak are good examples for this. The latter examples show synchronicity with the prominent finding of the Middle-Tisza region, the illustrious material findings of Tiszagyenda. Although the Gepidic elite class lost its autonomy in 567, yet several minor local groups could survive under the nomadic leadership, even if not as a unified community.

The graves of Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok, Szőreg-Téglagyár, Batajnica and Tiszagyenda seem to represent a common phenomenon in the Merovingian world. In the East-Merovingian and Scandinavian regions in the last quarter of the 6th century, such rich male graves appeared, which can be found in the row-grave cemeteries, in a small burial ground (separate cemetery), or individually. These graves is characterized, that the men with the weapons (eg: shield boss with precious metal parts, court swords and helmets), the multipart belt sets, with horse or harness, glass or metal vessels or other high-quality objects and still in large grave or grave chamber were also buried. According to Anna Nörgard Jörgensen, these elites have been able to strengthen their political power until the middle of the 6th century, so they are overrepresented in their death ceremony.

The question arises as to why the rich graves appear to the armed elite in the middle or second half of the 6th century? In archaeological literature, numerous possibilities have been found as a solution to a similar phenomenon: 1. The exaggerated power representation because of the insecure position of the (old or new) elite, 2. Economic opportunities, 3. Communication of the elites, etc. These graves seem to be poorer compared to the East-Merovingian and Southern-Scandinavian elites on the quality of the find material. For example, the high-quality luxuries (bronze or glassware, etc.) can not be found in these graves, which are replaced by many local influences (ceramics, the Belt buckles etc.).

Keywords: Gepidic weapons; Gepidic elites in the Avar period; ornamental weapons; late phase of the Gepidic findmaterial

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Das archäologische Material der Gepiden kann vorwiegend durch die neuen Gräberfeld-Publikationen im letzten Jahrzehnt erkannt und analysiert werden.² Die Gräberfelder im Theißgebiet und Siebenbürgen bilden den östlichsten Teil der merowingischen archäologischen Kultur, der durch andere kulturelle Einflüsse bereichert wurde.³ Die Waffengräber und die Waffenausrüstung haben in der historischen und archäologischen Forschung des völkerwanderungszeitlichen Karpatenbeckens eine große Rolle gespielt, denn die Heere und die Gesellschaft wurden aufgrund dieser rekonstruiert, wie im Falle der Langobarden und Gepiden. Die Feindatierung der Waffen und Waffengräber ist eine schwere Aufgabe, denn diese gehören zu den typischerweise sehr lange verwendeten Gegenständen, bei denen die Funktion ein wichtigeres Merkmal als bei anderen Objekten ist. Die frühesten Waffengräber im östlichen Teil des Karpatenbeckens können ins letzte Drittel des 5. Jahrhunderts oder auf die Wende des 5./6. Jahrhunderts datiert werden. Die höchste Zahl von Waffengräbern sollte wegen der guten datierbaren merowingerzeitlichen Fundstücke (z. B. Schilddornschnallen) in die ersten zwei Viertel des 6. Jahrhunderts gelegt werden.⁴ Aber es gibt noch einen gut erkennbaren Waffengräberhorizont: die Spätphase der Gräberfelder des Theißgebietes. Nach der Untersuchung der Waffen scheinen die Reihengräberfelder im Theißgebiet auch nach dem Zerfall des Gepidenreiches (nach dem zauberhaften Jahr 568) weiter bestanden zu haben.⁵

Ein weiteres Problem bedeutet, dass die Forscher beim archäologischen Datierungsverfahren die Angaben der historischen Quellen kritiklos benutzten, weshalb sich das Datum 567 als Ende der gepidischen Gräberfelder und Siedlungen im Theißgebiet findet. Früher hat Kurt Horedt die Möglichkeit der im Theißgebiet weiterlebenden Gepiden erwogen, aber angenommen, dass die weiterlebende gepidische Bevölkerung in den beigabenlosen und ärmlichen Grabstätten gefunden wird.⁶ Diese Gräber liegen im südlichen Teil der Gräberfelder neben den awarenzeitlichen Gräbern. Horedts Theorie ist erwägenswert, aber mit archäologischen Methoden nicht zu beweisen.⁷

In den schriftlichen Quellen der byzantinischen Schriftsteller kommen die Gepiden vorwiegend in den Zeiten unter awarischer Herrschaft vor, über die wir weniger Informationen haben, aber die Geschichte der Gepiden kann im Awarenkaganat verfolgt werden. Theophylaktos Simokattes berichtete beim Kriegszug des Feldherrn Priskos am Anfang des 7. Jahrhunderts über die traditionsbewahrenden Gemeinschaften, die in ihren Dörfern an der Theiss lebten und dort das heidnische Fest abhalten.⁸ In dieser Geschichte findet man das Identitätsbewusstsein, wie es Jann Assmann beschrieb: Die sich saisonal wiederholenden Rituale und Traditionen waren im Altertum der Kommunikationskanal der Identitäten, die das allgemeine Symbolsystem von der Gemeinschaft vermittelt hat.⁹ Wir treffen auch in anderen Rollenfeldern auf Gepiden: Um 599 kamen die Gepiden ebenfalls beim Feldzug des byzantinischen Feldherrn Priskos als Hilfstruppe der Awaren in den Werken von Theophanes vor.¹⁰ Die gepidische Hilfstruppe hat neben Awaren, Slawen, Bulgaren auch noch an der Belagerung Konstantinopels im Jahre 626 teilgenommen.¹¹

Es stellt sich die Frage, wo man diese bewaffneten Gepiden innerhalb des archäologischen Fundmaterials finden kann. Das späte Fundmaterial im Theißgebiet ist zu untersuchen, weil dort viele Elemente des Fundgutes in der zweiten Hälfte des 6. Jahrhunderts (vielleicht nach 567) in die Erde gekommen sind. Eine ähnliche Situation liegt in Mähren vor. Jaroslav Tejral schuf

² Zum Beispiel: BÓNA–NAGY 2002; CSEH ET AL. 2005, DOBOS–OPREANU 2012.

³ BIERBRAUER 1975, 228–230; MESTERHÁZY 1999; QUAST 2001; KISS 2014.

⁴ KISS 2012a; KISS 2012b.

⁵ KISS 2011; KISS 2015; DOBOS 2013; neuerdings: VIDA 2018.

⁶ HORED T 1985, 164–168.

⁷ DOBOS 2013, 97.

⁸ *Theophylact Simocatta, Historiae* VIII, 3, 11–12: ed. SCHREINER 1985, 288–289.

⁹ ASSMANN 1999, 66–67, 89, 140–141, 204–208.

¹⁰ *Theophanes, Chronographia*, Am. 6093: ed. MANGO–SCOTT 1997, 407.

¹¹ *Theophanes, Chronographia*, Am. 6117: ed. MANGO–SCOTT 1997, 446; POHL 1988, 229–230.

eine Phase in seinem Mitteldonaubecken-Chronologiesystem (MD 6, 550–600), die pannonisch-italische Phase; seiner Meinung nach sind – wenn auch nur kleine – Teile der Bevölkerung nach dem langobardischen Exodus in ihrem Siedlungsgebiet geblieben, denn dort gibt es ihre spätesten Funde.¹² Bislang wurde diese Gruppe im pannonischen Fundmaterial in dieser Hinsicht von István Koncz nachgewiesen.¹³

Das auswertbare siebenbürgische Fundmaterial, das in die Gepidenzeit gelegt werden kann, ist nicht reichhaltig, weil fast ausschließlich das Gräberfeld von Morești, das zur Phase 3 von Kurt Horedt gehört, publiziert wurde.¹⁴ Die sog. späten Reihengräberfelder Typ Mezőbánd-Marosveresmart (Phase 4 von Kurt Horedt, die in die Frühawarenzeit datiert werden kann) tauchten Ende des 6. Jahrhunderts in Siebenbürgen auf, können also in die Frühawarenzeit datiert werden. Sie hatten ein sehr vielfältiges und umfassendes Beziehungssystem (früher lokal gepidisch, synchron merowingisch, mediterran und Steppe). Aus methodologischer Sicht ist die ethnische Interpretation in diesen Fällen sehr fragwürdig, aber unter den repräsentativen Mitgliedern dieser Kultur können einige gepidische Gemeinschaften identifiziert werden, die lokal überlebt haben, wenn auch mit erheblichen Veränderungen.¹⁵ In diesem Beitrag konnte ich mich mit dem siebenbürgischen Fundmaterial nicht beschäftigen, weil Alpár Dobos dieses Thema in seiner Doktorarbeit und einem Beitrag gründlich aufgearbeitet hat.¹⁶ Gemäß der Untersuchung der Waffen scheint es die Reihengräberfelder im Theißgebiet auch nach Mitte des 6. Jahrhunderts gegeben zu haben.

Außer im Siebenbürgischen Becken gibt es an der Mittleren Theiß eine ähnliche Gemeinschaft, die synchron existierte und die merowingische materielle Kultur fortsetzte.¹⁷ Angemerkt sei jedoch, dass aufgrund früherer Ausgrabungen, die einen erheblichen Angabenverlust verursachten, möglicherweise auch in den südlichen Gebieten viele ähnliche Beweise verloren gegangen sind.

Sowohl in Siebenbürgen als auch in der Theiß-Region setzten sich die Ende des 5. Jahrhunderts eröffneten Reihengräberfelder auch nach dem „hypnotischen“ Jahr 567 bis ins letzte Drittel des 6. Jahrhunderts fort. Dieser Übergangshorizont (der die beiden Perioden verbindet) kann auf der Grundlage der erhaltenen Kontakte zu den italischen, merowingischen und mediterranen Gebieten definiert werden. Die Elemente der Spätphase (Mitte oder zweite Hälfte des 6. Jahrhunderts) sind anhand dieser gut datierbaren Gegenstände zu erfassen. Im Folgenden werden diese Objekttypen besprochen.

WAFFEN

Die Schwerter wurden als Haupt-Hiebwarentyp im östlichen Teil des Karpatenbeckens in der ganzen Gepidenzeit benutzt, können aber nur aufgrund des Schwertzubehörs (z. B. Ortband) und anderer Beigaben datiert werden.¹⁸ Ein genauer datierbares Schwertzubehör ist der bronzegegossene trapezförmige Schwertknauf, von dem drei Exemplare im Gräberfeld Szőreg-Téglagyár zum Vorschein kamen (*Abb. 1*).¹⁹ Der aus Bronze gegossene trapezförmige Schwertknauf wurde im Karpatenbecken in der Mitte und zweiten Hälfte des 6. Jahrhunderts verbreitet und kann sogar im

¹² TEJRAL 2005, 148, 174–175; TEJRAL ET AL. 2011, 69–72.

¹³ KONCZ 2014, 83–85; 3. kúp. KONCZ 2015, 319–335.

¹⁴ HOREDTE 1979.

¹⁵ DOBOS 2013, 105; GÁLL 2014, 305–308.

¹⁶ DOBOS 2015; DOBOS 2017.

¹⁷ KISS 2015; VIDA 2018.

¹⁸ BÓNA–NAGY 2002; 112–114; DOBOS 2015, 63–64.

¹⁹ Grab 23, 68 und 128 von Szőreg-Téglagyár. NAGY 2005, 169.



Abb. 1. Die trapezförmigen Schwertknäufe aus dem Gräberfeld von Szőreg-Téglagyár:
 1. Knauf aus dem Grab 128; 2. Knauf aus dem Grab 23; 3. Schwert aus dem Grab 68.
 (Foto von László Haraszti, @Móra Ferenc Múzeum, Szeged)

awarenzeitlichen Fundmaterial und den frühen italienischen Phasen gefunden werden, lässt sich also in die Spätphasen der Gepidenzeit datieren.²⁰

Zu dieser Gruppe gehören die Lanzenspitzen Typ Hellmitzheim mit flammartigem Blatt: sie gelten als sehr typische und gut datierbare Stücke (zweite Hälfte und Ende des 6. Jahrhunderts), die auch aus den späten Reihengräberfeldern von Siebenbürgen (Bánd-Veresmart-Gruppe) und aus dem Theißgebiet (Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok) bekannt sind (Abb. 2).²¹ Die besten Analogien der Lanzenspitze Typ Hellmitzheim sind aus den awarenzeitlichen Reihengräberfeldern Siebenbürgens bekannt: Mezőbánd Grab 49 und 142, Marosvásárhely Grab 9 und 14 und Fântânele/

²⁰ Über die Datierung: MENGHIN 1983, 76–77, 320; KOCH 2001, 84–85; LOSERT–PLETERSKI 2003, 402. Aus dem Karpatenbecken: Grab 31 von Kajdacs-Homokbánya (BÓNA–HORVÁTH 2009, 70–72); Grab 44 von Szentendere-Pannoniatelep (BÓNA–HORVÁTH 2009, 113–115). Analogien aus dem Awarenzeit: Grab 30 von Pécs-Köztemető. KISS 1977, 94–96. Parallele aus dem langobardischen Italia: BIERBRAUER 2008, 150, Abb. 18.

²¹ Grab 1 und 7 von Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok (BÓNA–HORVÁTH 2002, 41–42; 43–44); Grab 57 von Szentés-Kökényzug (CSALLÁNY 1961, 33), Grab 229 von Kiszombor-B (CSALLÁNY 1961, 144). Über die merowingerzeitlichen Stücke: KOCH 2001, 62, 84; LOSERT–PLETERSKI 2003, 438.

Szászújós Grab 14.²² Nach Daten von Heinrich Härke verbreiteten sich diese Lanzenspitzen das ganze 6. Jahrhundert hindurch in angelsächsischen Gräberfeldern, wie sie auch in Gotland und Skandinavien in der frühen Vendelzeit zahlreich im Grab von Elite deponiert wurden.²³ Ursula Koch wies darauf hin, dass die Exemplare von Kishomok ohne jeden Zweifel aus Skandinavien stammen.²⁴

Die Schildbuckel wurden als gewölbte Kalotte gebildet und können vom zweiten Viertel bis Ende des 6. Jahrhundert datiert werden.²⁵ Hier lassen sich auch die zylindrischen und eingezogenen konischen Kragen finden (Abb. 3). Bei dieser Gruppe können die ohne Knopf gearbeiteten Stücke beobachtet werden.²⁶ Diese können auf die Mitte und zweite Hälfte des 6. Jahrhundert datiert werden. Es gibt hohe gewölbte Kalotte/Haube für den Toten von Szóreg Grab 128, der mit Schwert, Pferd und Lanzenspitze bestattet wurde (Abb. 3.3).²⁷

Der schmale Langsax ist ein einschneidiges Hiebschwert, das zuerst in der Hunnenzeit bei barbarischen Kriegern vorkam; seine breitere und längere Form wurde am Ende des 7. Jahrhunderts wieder aus dem Breitsax entwickelt. Die Länge der Klingen betrug zwischen 47 und 68 cm, ihre Breite zwischen 2,4 und 4,3 cm.²⁸ Für den schmalen Langsax ist im Allgemeinen typisch, dass sein Griff ohne Unterbrechung auf die Klinge übertragen wurde und sich das auf derselben Seite wie die Kante befindet, selten in der Mitte. Die Rückseite der Waffe ist gebogen, die Kante beginnt im letzten Drittel der Klinge oft nach oben zu gehen. Im Grab 7 von Szentes-Nagyhegy lagen ein schmaler Langsax, eine spitzovale Lanzenspitze und eine bronzegegossene mediterran-byzantinische kleine Schnalle mit schildförmigem Beschlag sowie eine ovale Schnalle ohne Beschlag (Abb. 4).²⁹ Der schmale Langsax ist 65 cm lang und 2,5–3 breit, aber mit einem interessanten Merkmal. Das Ende der Klinge von 7 cm hat an der Spitze am Rücken eine andere Schneide, eine Rückenschneide.³⁰ Die Rückenschneide ist das Hauptmerkmal der Säbel, wurde aber bisher nicht an einem Sax gefunden. Die Rückenschneide erscheint erst in der Spätphase der Frühawarenzeit an einschneidigen Schwertern mit etwa 1 m Länge.³¹ Dieses Fundstück kann anhand der mediterran-byzantinischen Schnalle datiert werden. Ihre Parallele gibt es im Gräberfeld Viminacium und in Dobruđa. Diese Schnalle kann in die zweite Hälfte oder ans Ende des



Abb. 2. Lanzenspitze vom Typ Hellmitzheim: 1. Grab 7 von Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok (BÓNA-NAGY 202, Taf. 72, 3); 2. Grab 14 von Fântânele Szászújós (DOBOS-OPREANU 2011, Pl. 37, 9)

²² KOVÁCS 1913, 323, 345; KOVÁCS 1915, 284, 290; DOBOS-OPREANU 2012, 68.

²³ HÄRKE 1992, 95; JØRGENSEN 1999, 93–94.

²⁴ KOCH 1999, 194–195.

²⁵ LOSERT-PLETERSKI 2003, 452; DICKINSON 1992, 15–17.

²⁶ Z.B.: Gyula-Kálvária (Abb. 1, 2). BÓNA 2002, 31. Dieser Schildbuckel gehören zum Typ 4 und 5 von Matthias Friedrich. FRIEDRICH 2016, 115.

²⁷ NAGY 2005, 134.

²⁸ WERNARD 1998, 778–779; KISS 2014. Über die awarenzeitlichen Stücke in Karpatenbecken: CSIKY 2012, 382–384, 386–387.

²⁹ CSALLÁNY 1961, 45.

³⁰ CSALLÁNY 1961, 45.

³¹ SIMON 1991, 270; SIMON 1993, 174–177; CSIKY 2015, 189–192.



Abb. 3. Späte Schildbuckel aus den Gräberfeldern vom Theissgebiet: 1. Gyula-Kálvária, Streufund (BÓNA 2002, Taf. 2, 9); 2. Gyula-Kálvária, Streufund (BÓNA 2002, Taf. 5, 4); 3. Grab 128 von Szóreg-Téglagyár (NAGY 2005, Taf. 4, 8); 4. IX Grab von Szóreg-Téglagyár (NAGY 2005, Taf. 45, IX, 3)

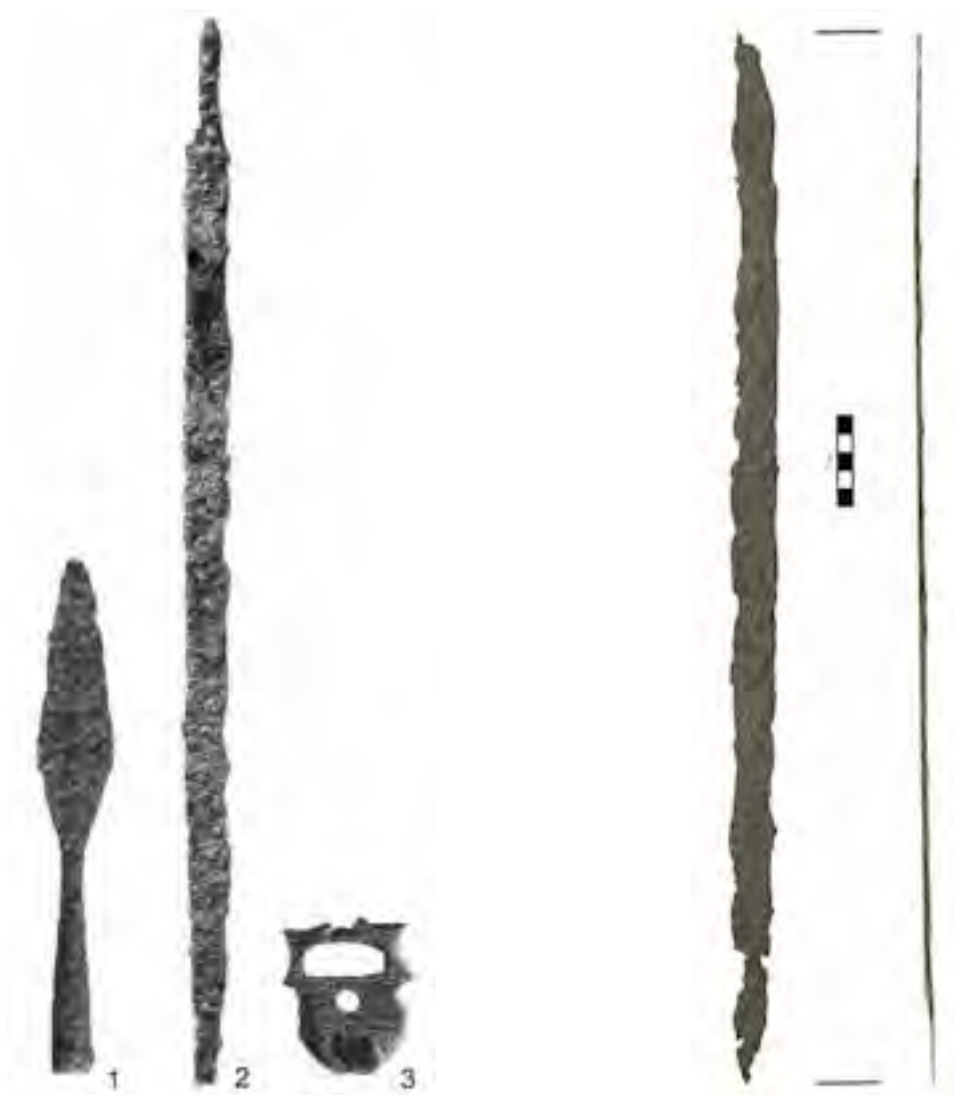


Abb. 4. Das Grab 7 von Szentes-Nagyhegy (CSALLÁNY 1961, Taf. XLVI, 1-2; XXIII, 15)

Abb. 5. Schmäler Langsax aus Grab 106 von Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok (Foto von Autor; ©Tornyai János Múzeum, Hódmezővásárhely)

6. Jahrhunderts datiert werden.³² Grab 7 von Szentes-Nagyhegy charakterisiert den spätesten Fundhorizont der gepidischen Gräberfelder im Theißgebiet und spiegelte die awarischen Einflüsse in diesem Zeitalter, die mit den Interaktionen beide Bevölkerung verbinden. Ein ähnliches Stück mit ähnlichem Parameter ist aus Grab 106 von Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok bekannt (*Abb. 5*). Dieses Grab kann anhand der Schnalle vom Typ Sucidava auch in die Mitte oder zweite Hälfte des 6. Jahrhunderts datiert werden.³³

ANDERE FUNDE

Die anderen Funde aus späten Waffengräbern müssen schon ins zweite und dritte Viertel des 6. Jahrhunderts datiert werden. Dazu gehören die Gräber der mit vielteiligen Gürtelgarnituren, Pferdegrab oder Pferdgeschirren und byzantinischen-mediterranen Gürteln bestatteten. In den Reihengräberfeldern des Theißgebiets wurden keine typischen awarenzeitlichen Gegenstände gefunden, aber die merowingischen oder mediterranen Erzeugnisse erschienen in der zweiten Hälfte und auch noch im letzten Drittel des 6. Jahrhunderts.

Sehr typisch für das gepidische Fundmaterial ist der Gürtel mit rechteckigem Beschlag, zu dem auch ein ähnlicher Rückenbeschlag gehört.³⁴ Diese Gürtelschnallen gehören zu den vielteiligen Gürteln (Gürtel, Gegenbeschlag, Riemenzunge), die sich innerhalb des merowingischen Kulturkreis von der Mitte des 6. Jahrhunderts verbreiteten. Die beste Analogie ist dem Typ von Ennery und Weingarten zuzuordnen, den die Forschung in die Mitte oder zweite Hälfte des 6. Jahrhunderts datiert (*Abb. 6*).³⁵ Die Analogie dieses Fundes findet sich im merowingischen Westen (süddeutsche Region und heutige Schweiz) und im Balkanraum,³⁶ aber die Punzierstechnik zeigt lokalen Einfluss. Halbmond und punktförmige Punzdekoration gibt es auf vielen gepidischen Gegenständen, die in die Spät- oder Endphase des Gepidenreiches datiert werden können.³⁷

Ein gut bestimmbarer Objekttyp stammt aus dem erfolgenden mediterranen Gebiet: die Gürtelschnallen und Gürtelzubehör, die Massenware. Diese Funde werden anhand des Herstellungsortes differenziert, sie können im westlichen oder östlichen Mittelmeerraum, in Dalmatien, an der unteren Donau hergestellte Stücke sein: z. B. Sucidava-Schnalle, Gegenbeschläge Typ D31 von Schulze-Dörlamm, rechteckige Schnalle mit schildförmigem Beschlag usw. Gut erkennbare Stücke in der frühmittelalterlichen Archäologie sind die Schnallen von Sucidava (*Abb. 7*).³⁸ Dieser Typ wurde in Befestigungen an der unteren Donau hergestellt und erscheint erstmals in der Mitte des 6. Jahrhunderts im Karpatenbecken. Anhand des großen Werkes von Schulze-Dörlamm können zwei Typen unterschieden werden: ein mit Halbmond und kreuzförmig durchbrochener und ein maskenförmiger (durchbrochener) Haupttyp. D1-Varianten wird man in die Mitte des 6. Jahrhunderts datieren können, aber Typ D2 ist jünger, und viele Stücke kommen in der Frühawarenzeit zum Vorschein.³⁹ Es ist fraglich, ob die Awaren oder die in der Awarzeit hier weiterlebenden Gepiden diese Schnallen benutzt haben.

³² IVANIŠEVIĆ–KAZANSKI–MASTYKOVA 2006, 25.

³³ BÓNA–NAGY 2002, 76.

³⁴ Grab 23 von Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok (BÓNA–NAGY 2002, 45); Grab 68 von Szőreg-Téglagyár (NAGY 2005, 131); Grab 115 und 135 von Szolnok-Szanda (BÓNA 2002, 217, 219); Grab 42 von Szentes-Berekhát (CSALLÁNY 1961, 75–76, Taf. 70, 3).

³⁵ WINDLER 1989, 192–193; WINDLER 1994, 52–54; KOCH 2001, 64; LOSERT–PLETERSKI 2003, 215.

³⁶ Grab 141 von Viminacium: IVANIŠEVIĆ–KAZANSKI–MASTYKOVA 2006, 24; Grab von Ulpiana: MILINKOVIĆ 2003, 177–178.

³⁷ Neben den Gürteln können diese Punzdekoration an dem Reliquiarbehälter des Grab 84 von Szentes-Nagyhegy findet werden. VIDA 2009, 267.

³⁸ SCHULZE-DÖRLAMM 2002, 152–155. Grab 65 von Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok (BÓNA–NAGY 2002, 61); Grab XI und 103 von Szőreg-Téglagyár (NAGY 2005, 123, 133); . Grab 29 von Szentes-Nagyhegy (CSALLÁNY 1961, Taf. XXV, 13–14); Pécska (Pecicia, Rumänien) (CSALLÁNY 1961, Taf. CCXIII, 13).

³⁹ SCHULZE-DÖRLAMM 2002, 145–151; GARAM 2001, 97.

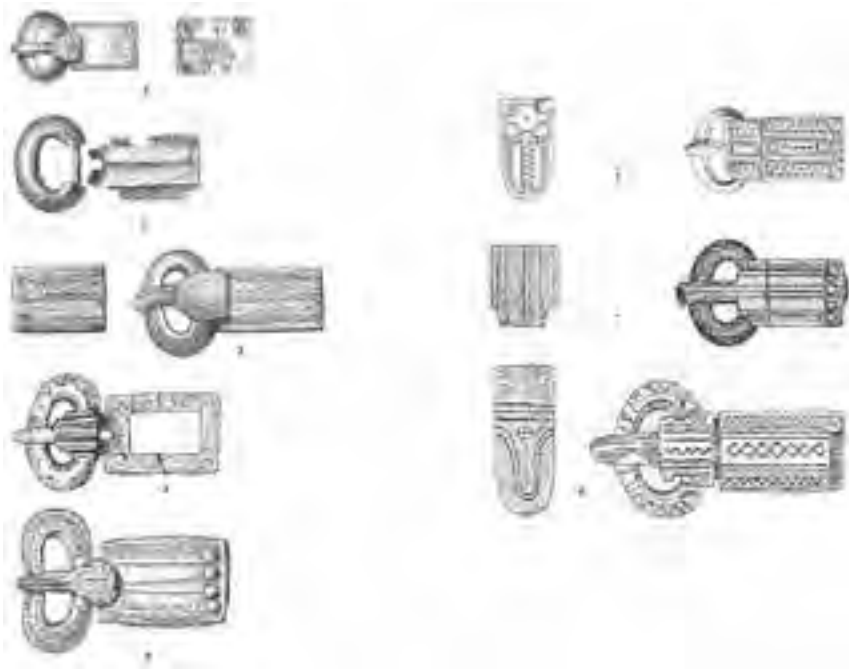


Abb. 6. Gürtelschnallen mit dem rechteckigen Beschlag (Typ Ennery und Weingarten): 1. Grab 135 von Szolnok-Szanda (BÓNA 2002, Taf. 46, 1–2); 2. Grab 155 von Szolnok-Szanda (BÓNA 2002, Taf. 48, 1); 3. Grab 128 von Szőreg-Téglagyár (NAGY 2005, Abb. 19, 68); 4. Grab 42 von Szentes-Berekhát (BÓNA–NAGY 2002, Abb. 63, 3); 5. Grab 23 von Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok (BÓNA–NAGY 2002, Abb. 63, 4); 6. Grab von Ulpiana (BÓNA–NAGY 2002, Abb. 62, 1–2); 7. Grab 141 von Viminacium (BÓNA–NAGY 2002, Abb. 62, 3–4); 8. Grab 1 von Mosonszentjános (BÓNA–NAGY 2002, Abb. 62, 5–6)



Abb. 7. Gürtelschnalle vom Typ Sucidava aus den Gräbern von Theissgebiet: 1. Grab 65 Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok von Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok (BÓNA 2002, Taf. 17, 65); 2. Grab 106 von Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok (BÓNA 2002, Taf. 27, 106)



Abb. 8. Gegenbeschlag mit einem in dem zentralen Medaillon dargestellten Vierbeiner (eventuell Leopard) (NAGY 2005, Taf. 23, 17, 3)

In Grab 17 von Magyarcsanak-Bökény lag ein Toter mit Schwert, Kreideperle und schildförmigem bronzegegossenen hohlen Gegenbeschlag mit einem Vierbeiner (eventuell Leopard) im zentralen Medaillon (Abb. 8).⁴⁰ Diese Hiebwaaffe ist 84 lang und nur 4,2–2,4 cm breit, die Schneide parallel und sich zur Spitze in der Mitte der Klinge hin verjüngend. Eine Klinge mit diesem Parameter ist in der Gepidenzeit selten, aber es gibt gute Parallelen in der Awarenzeit.⁴¹ Diese Datierungsmöglichkeit

⁴⁰ NAGY 2005, Taf. 23, 17, 3.

⁴¹ CSIKY 2015, 164–171.

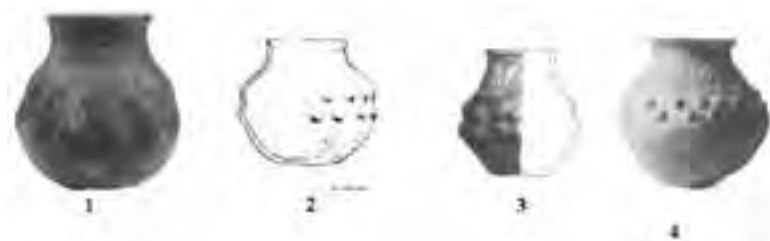


Abb. 9. Buckeltöpfe aus dem gepidischen Gebiet: 1. Grab 1 von Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok (Foto von Autor, @ Toronyai János Múzeum, Hódmezővásárhely); 2. Grab 5 von Galații Bistrițe/Galac (HARHOIU 2008, 188.); 3. Bočar (IVANIŠEVIĆ–BUGARSKI 2008, Fig. 7, 6); 4. Grab 3 von Kétegyháza-Árgyelános (CSALLÁNY 1961, 117, Taf. CLXXXIX)

wird vom Schildbeschlag verstärkt, denn dieser Typ wird von Schulze-Dörlamm (Typ D31) in die Zeit zwischen zweiter Hälfte des 6. Jahrhunderts und erstem Drittel des 7. Jahrhunderts datiert.⁴² Rechteckige Schnallen mit hohlem Schildbeschlag und hohle Schildbeschläge sind vorwiegend aus dem östlichen Mittelmeerraum bekannt, kamen aber auch in Dalmatien, Italien und England zum Vorschein.

Im gepidischen Gebiet erscheinen qualitätvolle byzantinische Funde aus der frühen Periode (zweite Hälfte des 5. Jahrhunderts und Beginn des 6. Jahrhunderts).⁴³ Meiner Meinung nach haben sich diese intensiven Beziehungen in der zweiten Hälfte des 6. Jahrhunderts wieder verstärkt, wie Jörg Drauschke früher bei der Untersuchung des süddeutschen Gebietes bemerkt hat, denn die byzantinisch-mediterranen Massenwaren erschienen dort nach zweiten Hälfte des 6. Jahrhunderts.⁴⁴ Kann in diesem Fall von gepidisch-byzantinischen Kontakten gesprochen werden oder von awarisch-byzantinischen Verhältnissen?

Wir können voraussetzen, dass die Buckeltöpfe zu den spätantiken Traditionen gerechnet werden können.⁴⁵ Es gibt viele Probleme und Fragen bezüglich ihrer Herkunft, denn zwischen dem typologisch Vorausgegangenen und den gepidischen Funden ist ein großer Hiatus zu erkennen. Die Buckeltöpfe gehören zum Typ der birnenförmigen und bikonischen Gefäße, und dieser Keramiktyp wurde außer der Buckelreihe mit Einglätt- und Stempelverzierung dekoriert (Abb. 9).⁴⁶ Die Buckeltöpfe sind während des 6. Jahrhunderts vorerst nur aus dem einstigen Gebiet des Gepidenreiches und der angrenzenden byzantinischen Region bekannt.⁴⁷

Bei den vorchristlichen Bräuchen werden noch die Pferdebestattungen und Pferdeopfer behandelt, denn die germanische Volks Lexe (z. B.) und christliche Verordnungen haben diese Riten – wie andere rituelle Tiertötungen und -opfer – verboten.⁴⁸ Pferdegräber erschienen in Reihengräberfeldern zuerst um die Mitte des 5. Jahrhunderts, aber sie verbreiteten sich in größerer Zahl erst Mitte des 6. Jahrhunderts (Langobarden, Gepiden).⁴⁹ Im Theißgebiet und Siebenbürgen finden sich Pferdebestattungen und Pferdgeschirrgäber. Die frühere Forschung verband dieses Phänomen im Falle Siebenbürgens (in den späten Reihengräberfeldern, Veresmart-Band-Gruppe) mit den Awaren, aber diese Bestattungssitte gab es nicht nur bei den Reiternomaden, sondern

⁴² SCHULZE-DÖRLAMM 2002, 214–217.

⁴³ QUAST 2001.

⁴⁴ DRAUSCHKE 2008, 393–410; DRAUSCHKE 2011, 175–184.

⁴⁵ BÓNA–NAGY 2002, 134–138.

⁴⁶ Grab 3 von Kétegyháza-Árgyelános (CSALLÁNY 1961, 117, Taf. CLXXXIX, 12); Batajnica (VINSKI 1954, 179–180). Grab 5 von Galații Bistrițe (HARHOIU 2008, 188); Grab 1 von Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok (BÓNA–NAGY 2002, 41–42); Bočar (IVANIŠEVIĆ–BUGARSKI 2008, Fig. 7, 6).

⁴⁷ MILINKOVIĆ 2001, 80–84.

⁴⁸ STEUER 2003, 74–84, 93–95.

⁴⁹ MÜLLER-WILLE 1970, 122–124, 156; SCHACH-DÖRGERS 2008, 723–726.

auch in den merowingerzeitlichen Gräberfeldern.⁵⁰ Pferdegräber sind auch aus dem Theißgebiet bekannt: Szőreg-Téglagyár Grab 103, 111 und 116 und Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok Grab 2.⁵¹ Im Gräberfeld Szőreg-Téglagyár befanden sich die Pferdegräber in seinem Ostteil und gehören zu zwei Männergräbern (103, 128), die in die Mitte und zweite Hälfte des 6. Jahrhunderts datiert werden können.⁵²

Außer e gibt es Pferdegeschirrgräber im Theißgebiet und in Siebenbürgen, die als symbolische Pferdebestattungen interpretiert werden können.⁵³ Die Ringtrense kam allgemein aus Waffengräbern zum Vorschein. In diesen Grabinventaren fungiert nur die Ringtrense, anders als in der reiternomadischen Tradition der Awarenzeit, wo sich auch Steigbügel und Satteltasche neben dem Teil des Zaums finden.⁵⁴ In der frühen Türkenzeit war die Bestattungssitte populär, dass das Pferdegeschirr (Teil des Zaums, Steigbügel und Sattel) im Grab bestattet wurde.⁵⁵ Interessanterweise erscheint der Steigbügel im langobardenzeitlichen Italien und bajuwarischen Raum, wo es im Fundmaterial starke awarische Einflüsse gibt.⁵⁶

Aufgrund dieser Angaben scheinen die in die Spätphase zu datierenden Waffengräber in der Regel einzeln (eines oder zwei von Gräberfeld zu Gräberfeld verschieden) in großen Reihengräberfeldern des Theißgebietes vorzukommen. Diese Artefakte und Gebräuche (Pferdebestattung und Deponierung der Trense) kommen allgemein zusammen zum Vorschein. Die mediterran und merowingischen geprägten Funde würden ausgerechnet bei der Bestimmung des jüngsten Fundmaterials (nach der zweiten Hälfte des 6. Jahrhunderts) im Theißgebiet sehr viel helfen. Dieser Horizont scheint mit der SD6-Phase des Gräberfeldes Pleidelsheim zusammenzufallen, das man nur teilweise in die Awarenzeit datieren kann.⁵⁷ Im Theißgebiet kann auf eine Gruppe von Waffengräbern hingewiesen werden, die aufgrund der Chronologie ihrer Beigaben in die Mitte und das letzte Drittel des 6. Jahrhunderts datiert werden, aber können die Waffengräber am Ende des 6. Jahrhunderts im Theißgebiet gefunden werden. Der Anteil der Waffen und der Waffenkombinationen ähnelt dem im merowingerzeitlichen Kontinentaleuropa.⁵⁸ In der ersten Hälfte des 6. Jahrhunderts ist die Fernwaffe entscheidend, von der Mitte des Jahrhunderts an werden die Nahkampfwaffen maßgeblich.⁵⁹ Bei den Waffenkombinationen dominieren die Nahkampfwaffen absolut gegenüber den Fernwaffen. Bei den Nahkampfwaffen hat die Lanze eine große Rolle gespielt, denn sie machte 50 % der Angriffswaffen bei den Gepiden aus.⁶⁰ Die Spatha hat einen sehr hohen Anteil innerhalb der Nahkampfwaffen bei den Waffenbeigaben (eine ähnliche Situation liegt im Fall der alemannischen Waffengräber vor) gegenüber dem Sax und der Axt, denn einschneidiger Dolch und Hiebschwert sind im Fundmaterial des Karpatenbeckens nicht so häufig.⁶¹ In der Spätphase der Gräberfelder im Theißgebiet kommen die Elemente der Fernwaffen (vor allem Pfeilspitzen) selten vor, weil die Nahkampfwaffen (vorrangig Hiebaffen) das Fundmaterial viel stärker charakterisieren. Aber nicht zu vergessen ist, dass – außer der Bestattungssitte – auch viele Gräber ausgeraubt und zerstört worden sind, was das Bild erheblich verfälschen kann.

⁵⁰ KOVÁCS 1913; BAKÓ 1960; HOREDT 1977; DOBOS 2010, 387–389.

⁵¹ Grab 111 und 116 von Szőreg-Téglagyár (Nagy 2005, 133–134.); Grab 2 von Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok (BÓNA–NAGY 2002, 42); Törökszentmiklós-Batthyány utca 54/A: CSEH 2005, 43–44.

⁵² NAGY 2005, 133–134.

⁵³ Das neben den Toten abgelegte Pferdegeschirr weist auf die symbolische Anwesenheit des Pferdes hin.

⁵⁴ BALOGH 2009, 18.

⁵⁵ STARK 2008, 108.

⁵⁶ STEUER 2003, 74–84.

⁵⁷ KOCH 2001, 77–79, 85–87.

⁵⁸ HÄRKE 1992, 117–120.

⁵⁹ RIESCH 2002, 72–74.

⁶⁰ KISS 2012a, 148–153.

⁶¹ KISS 2012a, 150–151.

DIE BILDUNG EINER NEUEN ELITE?

Wir können nur die lokale ländliche oder mikroregionale Gesellschaft des Mannes kennen. Jede Bevölkerungshatauchinterregionale Beziehungen und wirtschaftliche Möglichkeiten, die weitgehend und in großem Ausmaß von geopolitischen Bedingungen beeinflusst werden (z. B. Zusammenfluss oder Mündung der Flüsse in der Theiß-Region, wo sich viele Waffenbestattungen befinden).⁶² Die archäologischen Quellen geben keine Auskunft über den Aufbau der zeitgenössischen Gesellschaft und den Prozentsatz der Waffenträger, und beachtet werden muss auch der formende Einfluss der Bestattungssitte, worauf Sebastian Brather verwiesen hat.⁶³ Während der rituellen Handlungen, die die Familie durchführt, werden die soziale Zugehörigkeit des Toten und seiner Angehörigen vor den Augen der anwesenden lokalen Gesellschaft demonstriert und projiziert. Dennoch ist klar sichtbar, dass es Mitte des 6. Jahrhunderts signifikante Veränderungen in der männlichen Repräsentation gab, denn eine neue männliche Elite erschien, die sich durch die Todeszeremonie überrepräsentiert. In diesen Gräbern gibt es nicht nur qualitätsvolle Funde, sondern auch ihre Zahl steigt ebenfalls an, also kann eine qualitative und quantitative Veränderung bei der Repräsentation der Männer bemerkt werden.

In der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts wurden die Gräber von Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok 1 und 7 von Ferenc Móra entdeckt. In den Gräbern kamen vierteilige und tauschierte Schnalle, Spatha, Sax, Lanzen spitze Typ Hellmitzheim, Schere, Trense und pyramidenförmiger Zaumbeschlag zum Vorschein (*Abb. 10*).⁶⁴ Den Schild der Vornehmen von Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok Grab 1 und 7 zierte vergoldete Rundkopfniete, und auch die punzierte Scheibe auf der Spitze dieses Schildbuckels war vergoldet.⁶⁵ Diese Stücke können wegen der guten Analogie und Beigabe an das Ende des 6. Jahrhundert datiert werden. Jünger datierte Wilfried Menghin in seinem Werk noch die Prunkwaffengräber 1 und 7 von Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok, ins letzte Drittel des 6. Jahrhunderts (Phase D Menghins, 580–620), dann setzte auch Margit Nagy sie in dieselbe Zeit.⁶⁶ Die beste Analogie des Schildbuckels von Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok kam in Mosonszentjános und Morken-Harf Grab 2 zum Vorschein, die ein Solidus von Tiberios II. datiert (*Abb. 11*).⁶⁷

Sehr ähnliche Stücke gibt es in Krefeld-Gellep Grab 1782, Pleidelsheim Grab 244 und Vendel Grab XIV.⁶⁸ Auch der Schildbuckel des vornehmen Kriegers von Mosonszentjános ist dazuzuzählen, der früher von István Bóna als Arbeit der langobardischen Werkstatt interpretiert wurde. Diese Gräber sind zwar unpubliziert, doch scheinen sie aufgrund des Vorberichtes zum spätesten Horizont des langobardischen Fundmaterials zu gehören. Der Schildbuckel von Pleidelsheim kann zu SD-Phase 7 gezählt werden, die auf die absoluten Daten zwischen 580 und 600 gelegt wird.⁶⁹ Ursula Kochs Meinung nach gibt es gute Analogien des Typs sowohl in Skandinavien als auch in Obertalien.⁷⁰ Exemplare mit der gleichen Konstruktion und Ornamentik sind im angelsächsischen Waffenmaterial bekannt, die mit der starken skandinavischen Beziehung erklärt werden.⁷¹ Zuletzt widersprach Solveig Möllenberg der skandinavischen Ursprungstheorie in ihrer Monographie, weil die Punzendekortechnik am Schildknopf ihrer Meinung nach im skandinavischen Material nicht

⁶² B. TÓTH 2014, 191–195.

⁶³ BRATHER 2008, 252–259.

⁶⁴ BÓNA–NAGY 2002, 41–44.

⁶⁵ Ähnlicher Punzdekor wurde im Gräberfeld von Cividale-Gallo gefunden. BÓNA–NAGY 2002, 114.

⁶⁶ MENGHIN 1983, 40–43, 59–60; BÓNA–NAGY 2002, 149.

⁶⁷ Siehe den Artikel von István Koncz in diesem Band; BÖHNER 1958, 453–456.

⁶⁸ MENGHIN 1983, 251, 268, 270; MENGHIN 2002, 66; KOCH 2001, 326–328.

⁶⁹ KOCH 2001, 326–328.

⁷⁰ KOCH 1999, 184.

⁷¹ DICKINSON 1992, 16.



Abb. 10. Die gute datierbaren Funde aus Gräber 1 und 7 von Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok (BÓNA-NAGY 2002, Taf. 6–9)

so häufig ist und sich diese Buckel ebenso in kontinentalen Gräbern finden lassen. Aufgrund der Analogien verlegte auch sie diese Waffen in die zweite Hälfte oder ans Ende des 6. Jahrhunderts.⁷²

Auch die tauschierte Schnalle ordnet – neben dem Buckletopf – die Chronologie der Gräber in diesen Zeitraum. Zwar wurde diese Technik im 5. und 6. Jahrhundert genutzt, aber sie kam im Karpatenbecken nicht in großer Zahl vor. Im merowingerzeitlichen Fundmaterial finden sich die mit Tauschierung verzierten Schnallen am Ende des 6. Jahrhunderts.⁷³

Während des Zweiten Weltkrieges wurden die Funde des berühmten Einzelgrabes von Batajnica ins Museum von Zagreb gebracht. In diesem Grab fanden sich ein Spangenhelm vom Typ Baldenheim, Reste eines Kettenpanzers, ein Schwert, eine Lanzenspitze, zwei Fragmente einer Ringrense und ein Buckletopf (Abb. 12).⁷⁴ Laut des Finderberichtes kam nur ein Toter zum Vorschein, und das Pferdeskelett gehörte eventuell nicht zum Grab. Dieses Grab könnte als qualitativster männlicher Fundkomplex aus dem gepidischen Siedlungsgebiet im 6. Jahrhundert betrachtet werden, obwohl vermutlich nicht alle Fundstücke ins Museum kamen. Es muss in weiten Zeiträumen datiert werden. Die Helme vom Typ Baldenheim können anhand der Grabinventare

⁷² MÖLLENBERG 2011, 126–128.

⁷³ NAGY 2004, 149; HEINRICH-TAMÁSKA 2005, 25–27.

⁷⁴ VINSKI 1954.

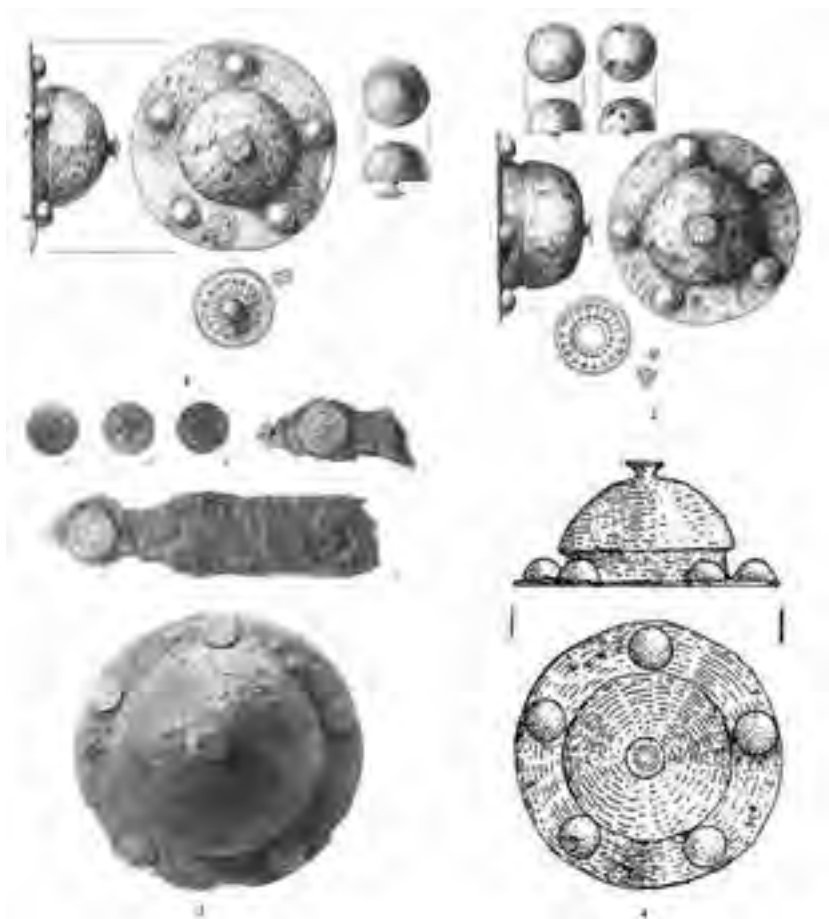


Abb. 11. Die Schieldbuckel von Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok und ihre Parallele. 1. Grab 1 von Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok (BÓNA-NAGY 2002, Taf. 6); 2. Grab 7 von Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok (BÓNA-NAGY 2002, Taf. 9); 3. Grab 244 von Pleidelsheim (KOCH 2001, Abb. 130); 4. Grab 2 von Morken-Harf (MENGHIN 1983, 251, 268, 270)

und Beifunde zwischen 460/480 und Anfang des 7. Jahrhunderts datiert werden, trotzdem war es sinnvoll, eine kürzere Zeitspanne anzusetzen.⁷⁵ Aufgrund der Sitte (Deponierung der Trense oder eventuelle Pferdebestattung) und des Buckelgefäßes wird das Grab von Batajnica auf etwa die Mitte des 6. Jahrhundert datiert.⁷⁶

In der letzten Zeit zeichnete sich ein archäologischer Fundkreis aufgrund der merowingischen Chronologie im Mitteltheißgebiet und Berettyó-Gebiet (Nordostungarn) ab, der in die Awarenzeit datiert wird. (Die Gräberfelder: Kisköre-Pap tanya, Egerlövő, Tiszagyenda).⁷⁷ Leider ist das Gräberfeld von Tiszagyenda (es wurde Mitte der 2000er Jahre entdeckt) noch unpubliziert, aber es gibt einen nur dreiseitigen Artikel, der den Fundort beschreibt. Dort kam ein sehr reiches Grab zum Vorschein, in dem ein Mann mit Stoßlanzenspitze, Schildbuckel mit vergoldetem und punziertem Zubehör, Spathagürtel Typ Weihmörting, ostmediterranischem Krug aus dem Buntmetall sowie mit Hund und Pferd (mit Geschirr) gefunden wurde (Abb. 13).⁷⁸ Das Grab wird mit Terminus post

⁷⁵ VOGT 2006, 46–61.

⁷⁶ Siehe oben.

⁷⁷ LOVÁSZ 1991, BÓNA 2002; Derecske-Gimnázium (MESTERHÁZY 2005, Taf. 68. 1); Grab 5 von Biharkeresztes-Toldiútfél (MESTERHÁZY 2005, Taf. 3, 5, 2); Grab 2, 3, 4 von Törökszentmiklós (CSEH 2005, Taf. 44, A, 7, Taf. 41, 2, 3, 4).

⁷⁸ KOCSIS 2010, 17–19; VIDA 2016, 73–74.



Abb. 12. Das Grabfund von Batajnica (nach VINSKI 1954, VINSKI 1957 und ATTILA UND DIE HUNNEN 2007)

quem durch Goldsolidi von Maurikios auf die Zeitwende vom 6. zum 7. Jahrhundert datiert. Der Schildbuckel ähnelt denen von Kishomok (Grab 1 und 7), aber fachförmige Schildknöpfe, Form und Struktur der Punzierung verbinden ihn mit dem frühesten skandinavischen Typ.⁷⁹

Die Gräber von Kishomok, Batajnica und Tiszagyenda scheinen ein in der merowingischen Welt übliches Phänomen zu repräsentieren. Im ostmerowingischen und skandinavischen Gebiet erschienen etwa im letzten Viertel des 6. Jahrhunderts reiche Männergräber, die in einem kleinen Gräberfeld (Separatfriedhof) oder einzeln liegen.⁸⁰ Diese Gräber charakterisiert, dass die Männer

⁷⁹ JØRGENSEN 1991, 220–222.

⁸⁰ JØRGENSEN 1991, 227–228.



Abb. 13. Die awarenzeitlichen germanischen Funde aus dem mittleren Tiszagebiet:
1-2. Tiszagyenda (KOC SIS 2010, 18); 3. Münz von Maurikios (KOC SIS 2010, 20)

mit Prunkwaffen (z. B. Schildbuckel mit Edelmetallteilen, Prunkschwert und Helm), vierteiligen Gürtelgarnituren, Pferd oder Pferdegeschier, Glas- oder Metallgefäßen oder anderen qualitätvollen Gegenständen in großem Grab oder auch Grabkammer bestattet wurden. Nach Meinung von Anna Nörgard Jörgensen konnte diese Elite ihre Herrschaft bis Mitte des 6. Jahrhunderts stärken, deshalb überrepräsentiert sie sich durch ihre Todeszeremonie.⁸¹

Die Frage stellt sich, warum die reichen Gräber (mit reich beschlagenem Gürtel und Importstücken) der bewaffneten Elite in der Mitte oder zweiten Hälfte des 6. Jahrhunderts auftauchen (Abb. 14)? In der archäologischen und frühgeschichtlichen Literatur ist es zu zahlreichen Möglichkeiten als Lösungsversuch für ähnliche Phänomene gekommen: 1. Übertriebene Machtrepräsentanz aufgrund der unsicheren Stellung der (alten oder neuen) Elite, 2. wirtschaftliche Möglichkeiten, 3. Kommunikation der Eliten usw.

Meiner Meinung nach kann die erste Option vertreten werden, aber die anderen Möglichkeiten sind nicht auszuschließen, denn die wirtschaftliche Macht der Gefolgschaft würden sich wegen der sigen Kriegszüge verstärkt und es mit den entfernten Regionen. Die unter awarischer Herrschaft weiterlebende lokale Elite im Theißgebiet definierte mutmaßlich ihre Identität nach der Zerstörung ihres Reiches erneut. Sie profitierte sehr viel vom awarischen Kriegszug gegen

⁸¹ Z. B.: Morken-Harfi; Vendel X, XI, XII, XIV, Beckum. MÜLLER-WILLE 1983, 112–115; BÖHNER 1958, 453–456.

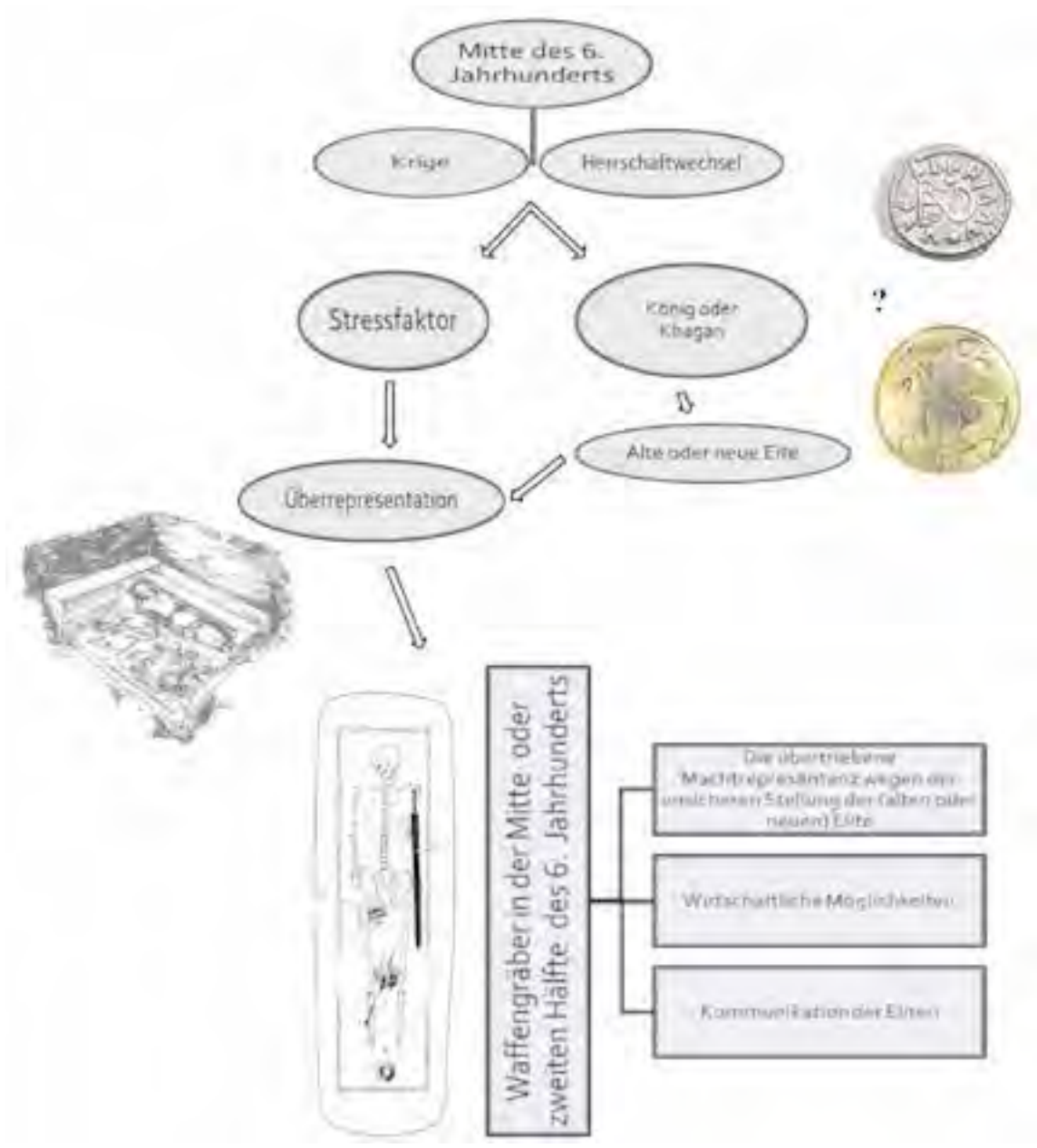


Abb. 14. Interpretationsmöglichkeiten der Waffengräber und Elite in der Mitte und zweiten Hälfte des 6. Jahrhunderts

Byzanz. Trotzdem ähnelt diese Gruppe in vielen Elementen sehr den skandinavischen und ostmerowingischen Waffen- oder Elitegräbern, unterscheidet sich jedoch in ihrer Qualität. Diese Gräber scheinen im Vergleich zu denen der ostmerowingischen und südsandinavischen Eliten aufgrund der Qualität des Fundmaterials ärmer zu sein. Zum Beispiel finden sich in diesen Gräbern nicht die Luxusgüter hoher Qualität (Helme, Bronze- oder Glasgeschirr usw.), statt dessen aber viele lokale Einflüsse (Keramik, Nachprägung der Gürtelschnallen usw.).⁸²

⁸² HODDER 1982b, 152; RANDSBORG 1982; MCHUGH 1999, 1–2. Beispiele aus dem kaiserzeitlichen Barbaricum und Völkerwanderungszeit: QUAIST 2009; JØRGENSEN 1991, 228; ähnliche Interpretationen tauchten bei dem Fall der Elitegräber von Kunbábony–Bócsa auf, denn die Macht der awarischen Führungsschicht nach 626 deutlich hat gewankt. BÁLINT 2006; DAIM 2003, 481–483.

Die reichsten Waffengräber, die dieses Niveau erreichen, gibt es im 6. Jahrhundert in Transdanubien und im Grenzgebiet des Byzantinischen Reiches, der einstigen Provinz Pannonia secunda (Batajnica Singidunum und Viminacium) im Karpatenbecken.⁸³ Es ist sehr interessant, dass diese Gräber in die Mitte des 6. Jahrhunderts datiert wurden. In dieser Zeit gab es sehr viele Kriege (gepidischer-langobardischer, gepidischer-langobardischer-byzantinischer, awarischer), deshalb hielt es die alte oder neue Elite für nötig, wegen der unsicheren Stellung ihre Herrschaft zu demonstrieren.

FAZIT

Alles in allem lässt sich sagen, dass ein Teil der Waffengräber im Theißgebiet die Herrschaft durch die Todeszeremonie im Vergleich zu der früheren Periode in der zweiten Hälfte des 6. Jahrhunderts überrepräsentiert. Ein bedeutender Teil dieser Männer (Tiszagyenda, Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok) wurde vielleicht während der Herrschaft des Awarenkagans bestattet. Obwohl die gepidische Elite nach 567 ihre Autonomie und Führerrolle verlor, konnten einige kleinere lokale Gruppen unter Führung der Nomaden überleben und ihre eigene Identität neu definieren. Andererseits ist es schwer, in den übrigen Fällen (die nicht zu den Elitengräbern gehören) zu entscheiden, ob der andere Teil der Waffengräber in die Gepiden- oder Awarenzeit gehört. Leider haben wir in diesem Fall keine präzisen Datierungsmöglichkeiten innerhalb der zweiten Hälfte des 6. Jahrhunderts. Diese Männer waren Augenzeugen in wechselnder Zeit, als sich die politische Macht plötzlich radikal veränderte.

Tabelle 1. Waffengräber aus der Spätphase

Grab	Schwert	Lanze	Sax	Langsax	Pfeilspitze	Schildbuckel	Pferdbestattung	Pferdgescherr	Mediterrane Gürtelschnalle	Vieleilige Gürtelschnalle	Keramik (o. Buntmetall)	Messer	Kamm	Literatur
Batajnica	x	x				x		x			x			VINSKI 1954, 176–180.
Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok 1.	x	x	x			x				x	x	x		BÓNA–NAGY 2002, 41–42.
Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok 7.	x	x	x			x		x		x		x	x	BÓNA–NAGY 2002, 43–44.
Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok 106.		x		x	x				x		x			BÓNA–NAGY 2002, 76.
Kisköre-Pap tanya 43		x (2)										x		BÓNA 2002, 192–194
Kiszombor B 229		x										x	x	CSALLÁNY 1961, 144.
Magyarcsanád-Bökény	x								x			x		NAGY 2005, 101
Szentes-Nagyhegy 6		x	x						x					CSALLÁNY 1961, 45
Szolnok-Szanda 135		x						x		x				BÓNA 2002, 219.
Szóreg-Téglagyár 23	x								x					NAGY 2005, 126–127.
Szóreg-Téglagyár 68	x		x										x	NAGY 2005, 131.
Szóreg-Téglagyár 103	x						x							NAGY 2005, 133.
Szóreg-Téglagyár 128	x	x				x	x						x	NAGY 2005, 134.
Tiszagyenda	x	x				x	x				x			KOCSIS 2010, 17–19.

⁸³ Über die Waffengräber des byzantinischen Grenzgebiet: BUGARSKI–IVANIŠEVIĆ 2018.

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SURVIVAL OF THE GEPIDS IN THE TISZA REGION DURING THE AVAR PERIOD

Tivadar Vida

Alongside the identification of distinct burial customs, a series of find assemblages and costume elements rooted in Merovingian cultural tradition have been recently brought to light in the Tisza region. Dating from the time between the Gepidic and the Avar period, these assemblages share countless resemblances with ones from eastern Transdanubia and Transylvania (decorative straps of women, amulet capsules, belt fittings with punched designs, spatha belts, keys and gritty grey ware). Certain recently identified elements of the period's material and spiritual culture provide evidence for the local survival of some Gepidic groups and their mixing with the Avars. The typical funerary forms of the transitional period are solitary graves or small family graveyards, with the large row-grave cemeteries appearing in the later seventh century. Historical sources too make mention of Gepids living in the Tisza region under Avar rule.

Keywords: Gepids; Avars; Merovingian culture; decorative straps of women; amulet capsules; survival of the Gepids; Tisza-region

A series of recently excavated archaeological finds attest to the presence of population groups with a Merovingian culture not only in eastern Transdanubia and Transylvania, but also in the Tisza region. Previously, Attila Kiss derived the archaeological heritage of these communities from the Gepidic traditions of the entire Carpathian Basin (at the time, a possible Langobardic survival in Transdanubia had not been assumed); however, the find types listed by him are actually typical elements of Merovingian-period material culture, which do not conclusively confirm a Gepidic continuity.¹ Dezső Csallány pursued a different line of reasoning for identifying the finds dating to the Avar period (brooches, decorative straps suspended from the belt, weapons), but his contentions could not be underpinned by stratigraphic evidence on the sites in question.² The possible survival of the Gepidic population was raised in the assessment of a few larger Avar-period cemeteries; however, since the large row-grave cemeteries such as Alattyán and Tiszafüred were opened from the early and mid-seventh century onward, the finds representing the transition between the two periods could not be demonstrated.³

More recently, it has proven possible to identify a series of assemblages dating to the time between the Gepidic and Avar periods, which attest to the local survival of some Gepidic groups.⁴ In the lack of a comparative chronological analysis of the Gepidic cemeteries on the Hungarian Plain based on horizontal stratigraphy, it is virtually impossible to determine to what extent the precursors of the Avar-period Merovingian-type finds were present during the last phase of the

¹ Spathas, shields, scissors, combs, chopper knives, iron belt sets and belt fittings with punched designs. KISS 1992, 95, Abb. Taf. 1; KISS 1999–2000, 359–365.

² CSALLÁNY 1961, 346–360. For a detailed discussion, cf. KISS P. 2015, 216–217.

³ KOVRIG 1963; GARAM 1995, 378; KISS 2001, 403.

⁴ The Gepidic elements are reviewed by FETICH 1965, 105–121; BÓNA 1961–1962, 49; MARTIN 1973, 111; KISS 1992, 35–134; KISS 1999–2000, 359–365; Following Attila Kiss's lead, previous scholarship identified the re-settled Gepids with the population of the Kölked cemetery (KISS 1996, KISS 2001); this identification was later rejected by Csanád Bálint (BÁLINT 1993, 195–273) as well as by Attila P. Kiss: KISS P. 2010, 129–130.

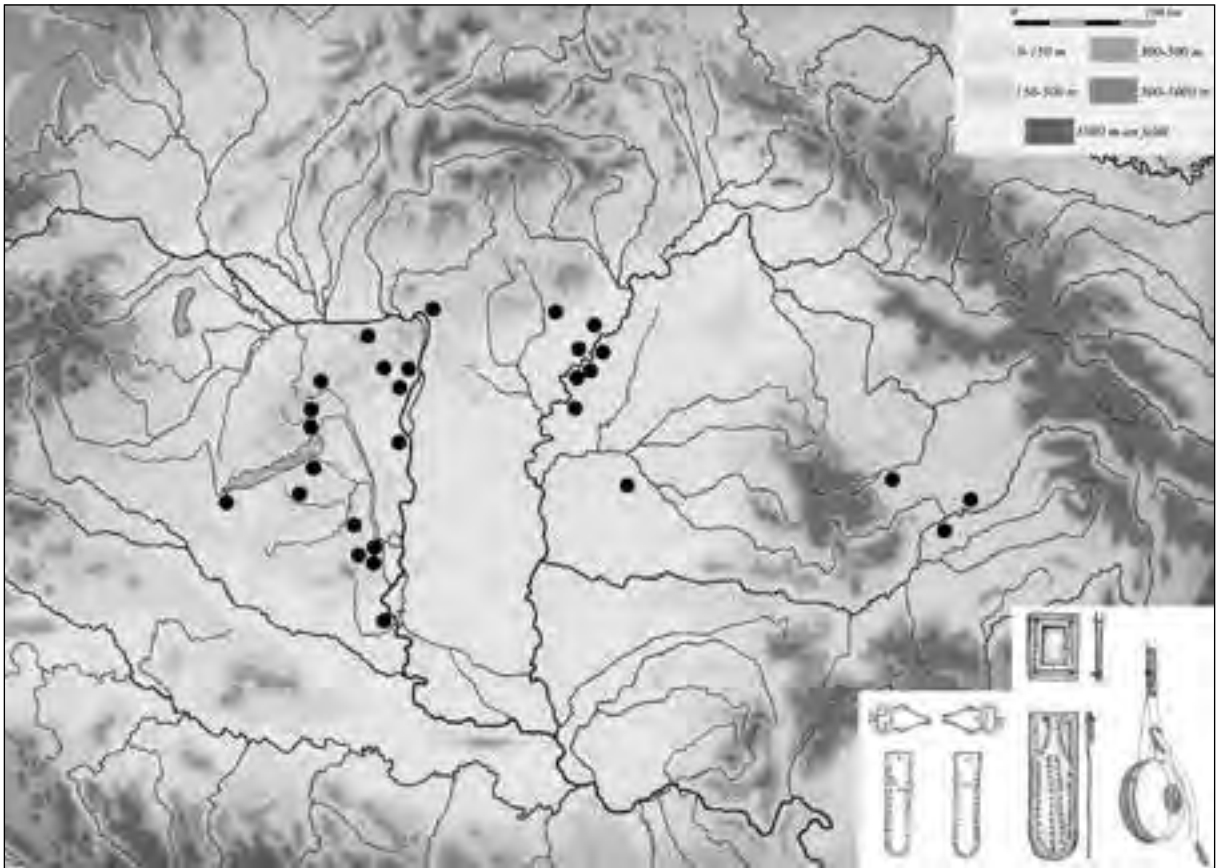


Fig. 1. Distribution of the decorative straps of women, of the leg binding set with buckles and strap ends (Wadenbindengarnituren), and of the amulet capsules in the Early Avar Carpathian Basin

use-life of Gepidic cemeteries.⁵ There are several indications that popular formal and ornamental elements of the early Avar period had made their appearance at the close of the Gepidic period, and it could be reasonably posited that these can actually be assigned to the Avar period.⁶ Kurt Horedt's negative evidence, according to which the burials lacking any grave goods in the cemeteries of the Tisza region were actually the graves of impoverished Gepids living under Avar rule turned out to be an erroneous hypothesis.⁷

The new finds and the critical re-assessment of a few older assemblages in the light of these new discoveries enabled the separation of a group of finds made up of costume accessories, jewellery items and amulets that could in part be distinguished on the strength of their ornamentation, which, together with their deeper cultural affiliations, are of aid in identifying the survival of local Gepidic traditions (*Fig. 1*). A part of these finds appears in a Gepidic milieu, in Gepidic cemeteries and on Gepidic settlements. It was earlier already noted that several finds from the Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok burial ground such as the shield bosses adorned with ornate bosses from Graves 1 and 7 as well as the metal-inlaid mounts and buckle from Grave 7 could be assigned to the later

⁵ Dezső Csallány dated the finds brought to light in the Gepidic settlement territory up to the close of the seventh century. CSALLÁNY 1961, 349–353. For decorative straps, cf. BÓNA–NAGY 2002, Taf. 29/42. 1, 4, 7, Taf. 86/1–2; for the lance, cf. CSIKY 2015, 146–151.

⁶ KISS P. 2011, 10–21; KISS P. 2015, 210–244.

⁷ In the lack of finds, this continuity cannot be confirmed archaeologically: HOREDT 1985, 164–168; cf. DOBOS 2013, 97.

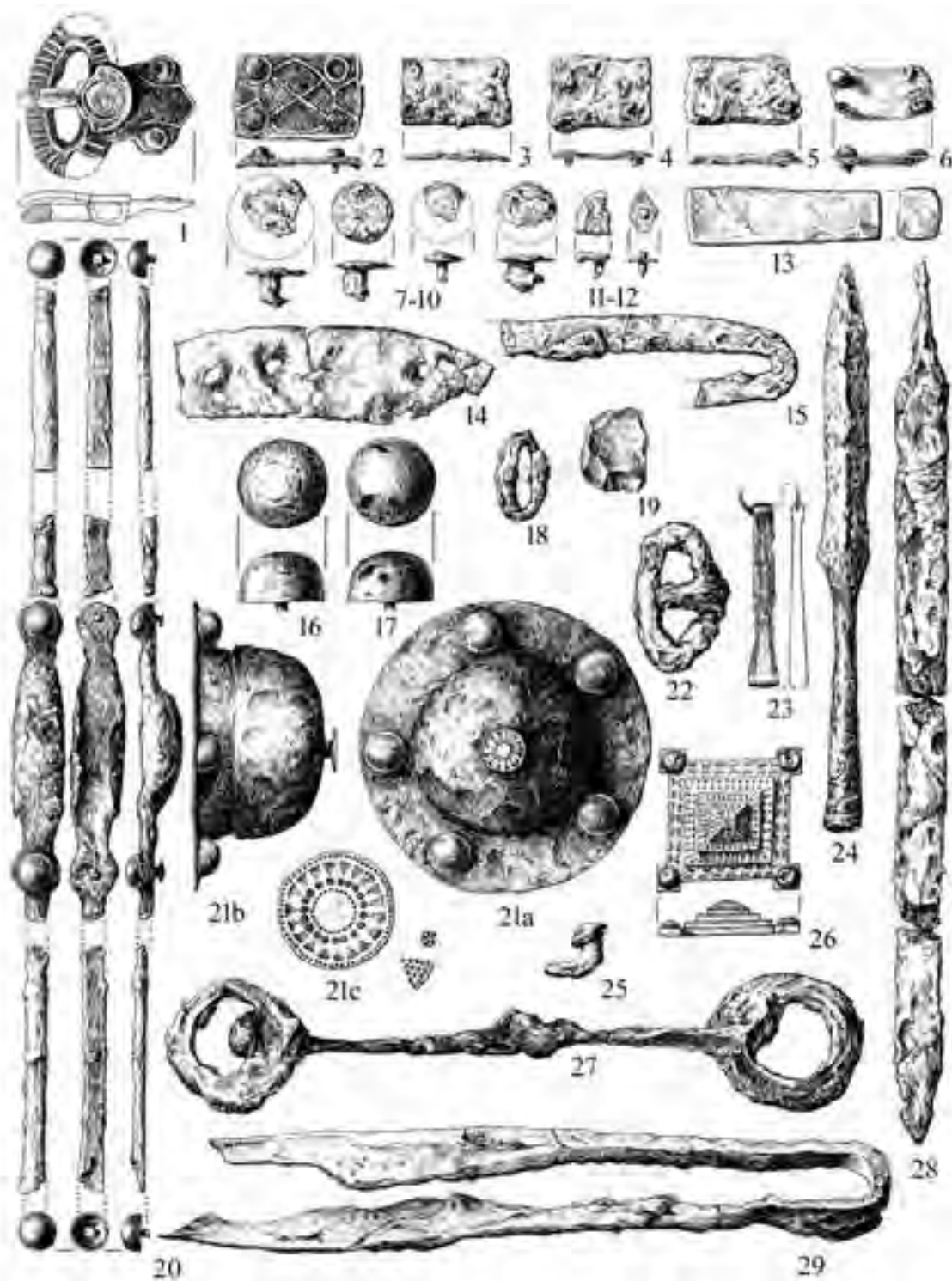


Fig. 2. Men with spatha, lance, shield and with metal-inlaid mounts and buckle in Grave 7 of Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok (after BÓNA-NAGY 2002, 283, Taf. 9.)

sixth century or its final third.⁸ A late shield boss grip is also known from Gyula-Kálvária.⁹ Other burials provided indications of cultural interaction between the Gepids and the Avars and of their co-residence:¹⁰ for example, a horse skull was found in Grave 2 of the Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok cemetery, a grave good that is more typical for Avar funerary customs,¹¹ while Grave 43 of the Gepidic cemetery investigated at Kisköre-Pap-tanya yielded an early Avar-type lance.¹²

The transitional period is indicated also by the change in burial customs because the new find types principally occur in solitary graves and small separate grave clusters or small graveyards. The links between the Gepidic and the Avar period are most obvious in the case of the articles recovered from female burials. The ornamental mounts of the decorative straps from Gyula and Kiskőrös are the prototypes of the pieces adorning the decorative straps worn during the Avar period.¹³ The richly furnished solitary female burial found at Gyula-Nagy-Szőlő contained a buckle, three rectangular mounts decorated with patterns created with semi-circular punches, a Byzantine architectural finger-ring of gold and a solidus of Justinian I (542–565) (*Fig. 3.1–2*).¹⁴ The exact counterpart of the gilt cross in the centre of one of the mounts can be seen on the reliquary from Grave 84 of the Szentés-Nagyhegy cemetery, which Dezső Csallány assigned to the onset of the Avar period (*Fig. 6.1*).¹⁵ The lozenge-shaped buckle and the form and the punched design of the rectangular mounts and the strap-end of the decorative strap worn by the woman interred in Grave 42 of the small graveyard uncovered at Kisköre-Paptanya (*Fig. 3.4–5*) are identical to similar pieces dating from the onset of the Avar period in Transdanubia.¹⁶ The burials from Gyula and Kisköre indicate that the structure as well as the form and ornamental elements of the decorative strap worn by women during the Avar period had evolved in a Gepidic cultural milieu on the Hungarian Plain.¹⁷ A triangular silvered bronze strap-end with punched design found at Szelevény (*Fig. 3.3*) had in all likelihood adorned an early decorative strap.¹⁸

Local Merovingian- and steppean-type finds often occur together in the small graveyards, as shown by the three burials of the small, yet unpublished grave cluster brought to light at Tiszaderzs-Szentimrei út.¹⁹ The grave inventories of Graves 1 and 2 probably became mixed up by the time they reached the museum and they were inventoried in this condition. The strap-end and the bronze attachment bands of the mounts of a decorative strap suggest that the burials included also a female interment (*Fig. 3.7; Fig. 4.2–6, 7*). Comparable rivets were recovered from Grave 284 at Csákberény.²⁰ It is uncertain to which burial an iron buckle and iron ring should be assigned (*Fig. 4.8, 11*). A large strap-end of sheet bronze (*Fig. 4.9–10*), a bone purse fastener (*Fig. 4.20*), a sword (*Fig. 4.29*), some seven rusty, leaf-shaped, socketed arrowheads and the iron

⁸ NAGY 2002, 95–189; NAGY 2004, 149, 174; HEINRICH-TAMÁSKA 2005, 25–26; KISS P. 2015, 219–220; KONCZ 2015, 315–340. See also István Koncz's paper in this volume.

⁹ BÓNA–NAGY 2002, 31, Taf. 2/9, 5/4.

¹⁰ The Szentés-Derékegyháza grave contained a partial horse burial, a bow, a quiver, arrowheads, stirrups, a bit and Martinovka-type strap-ends, while the shield was laid over the deceased's upper body (CSALLÁNY 1939).

¹¹ BÓNA–NAGY 2002, 149; NAGY 2004, 174.

¹² BÓNA–NAGY 2002, 194.

¹³ VIDA 1999–2000, 357–377; GARAM 2001, 63–93.

¹⁴ LISKA 2016, 282. For architectural finger-rings, cf. BLAY 2016.

¹⁵ CSALLÁNY 1961, 349–353; for the reconstruction of the costume, cf. BÓNA 1976, 43, Abb. 8; for the Christian interpretation of the find assemblages, cf. BOLLÓK 2017, 423–442.

¹⁶ BÓNA–NAGY 2002, 303, Taf. 29/42.1, 4, 7; 360, Taf. 86/1–2; GARAM 2011, 63–93.

¹⁷ GARAM 2011, 63–93; DOBOS 2012, 27–56.

¹⁸ The grave inventory also included a horse bit (CSALLÁNY 1961, 212–213, CCXIV/12–15; GARAM 2001, 347, Taf. 96/3). For the decorative straps, cf. VIDA 1999–2000, 357–377.

¹⁹ The burials were uncovered in the presence of István Lossonczy MP, who presented the finds to the Hungarian National Museum (inv. no. HNM 4/1937/1–29). The human remains were taken to the Anthropological Collection of the Museum of Ethnography.

²⁰ LÁSZLÓ 2016, 267, Taf. 24/284, 15–30.

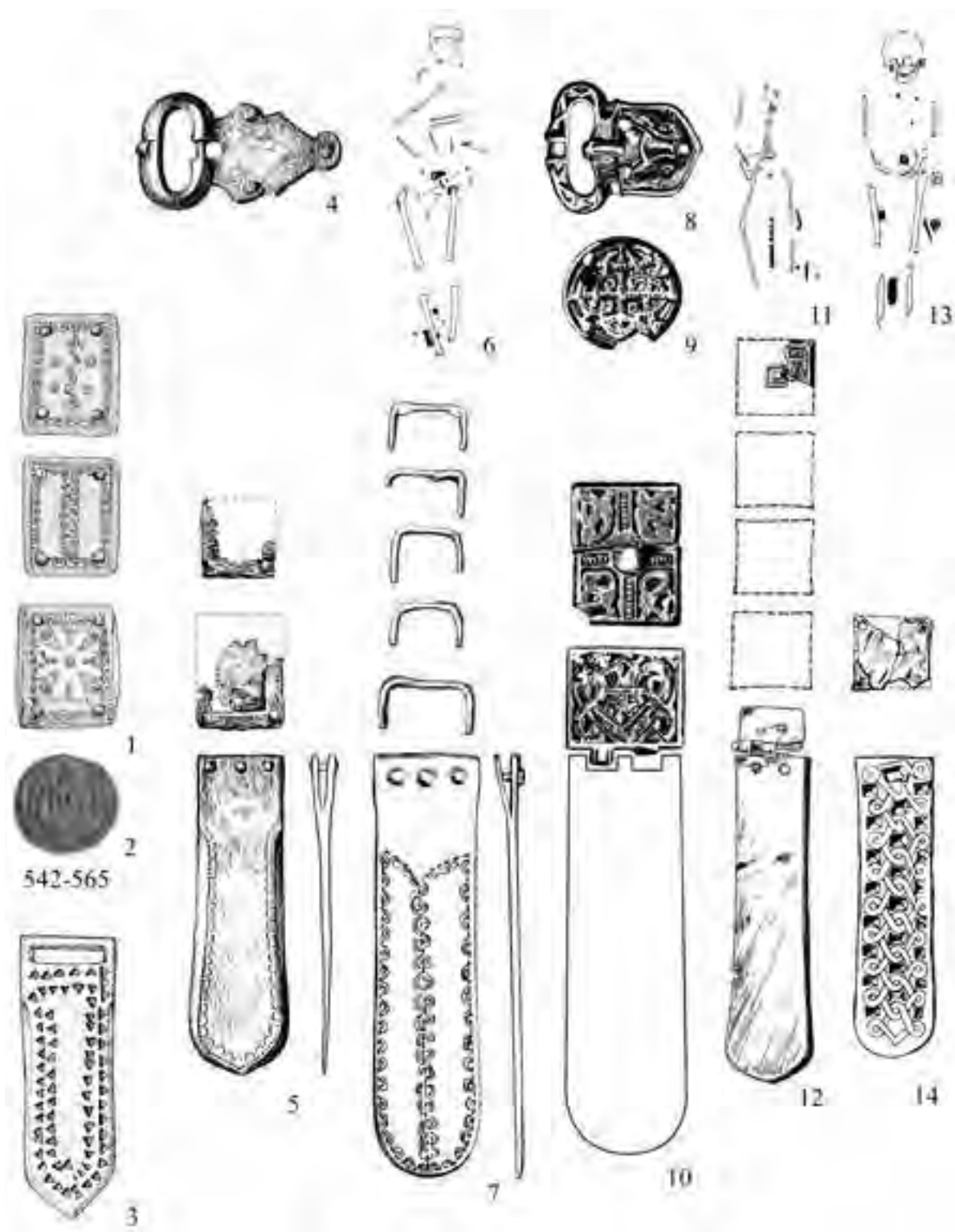


Fig. 3. Decorative straps of women in Tisza region. 1–3. Gyula-Nagy-Szőlő (after LISKA 2016, 282); 3. Szelevény (after GARAM 2001, 347, Taf. 96/3); 4–6. Kisköre-Paptanya 42. sír (after BÓNA-NAGY 2002, 303, Taf. 29/42.1, 4, 7); 7. Tiszaderzs-Szentimrei út 1; 8–10. Tiszabura (after HAMPEL 1905, II, 385–386, Fig. 6); 11–12. Tiszafüred 974. sír (after GARAM 1995, Taf. 137/974, 5, 13); 13–14. Tiszafüred 22. sír (after GARAM 1995, Taf. 59/22, 7, 9.)

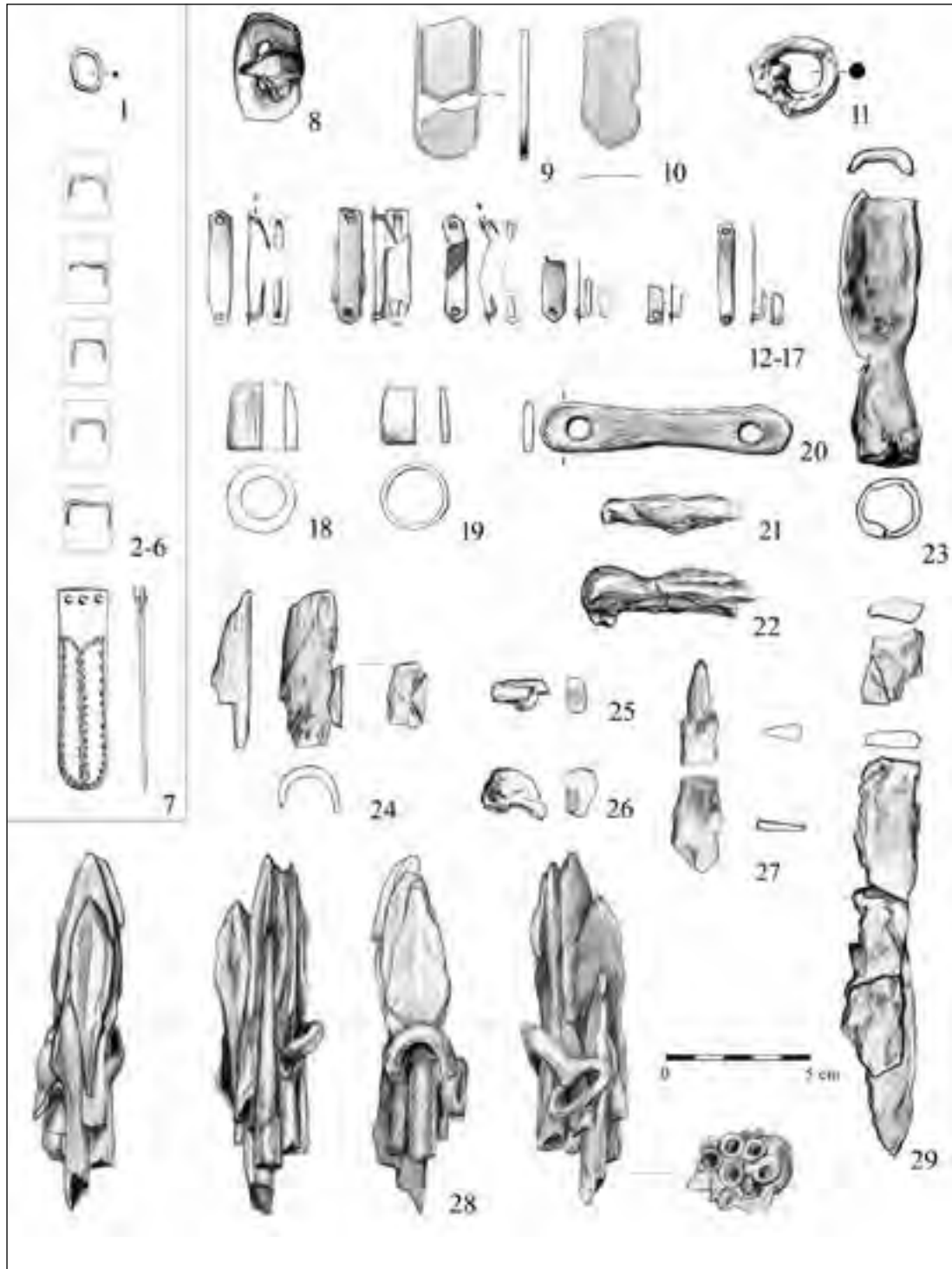


Fig. 4. The Reconstruction of the Graves 1 and 2 at Tiszaderzs-Szentimrei út. Grave 1.: 1. Earring; 2–6. Bronze attachment bands of the mounts; 7. Decorative strap end with punched ornament; Grave 1 or 2: 8. Iron buckle; 11. Iron ring; Grave 2: 9–10. Large strap-end of sheet bronze; 12–17. Narrow rectangular bronze mounts with tabs for attachment; 18–19. Two small bone cylinders; 20. Bone purse fastener; 21–22, 25–26. Iron fragments, probably from a snaffle bit; 23. Leaf-shaped, socketed cutting implement; 24. Small ornamented bone container; 27. Iron knife; 28. Seven rusty, leaf-shaped, socketed arrowheads and the iron quiver hanger; 29. Sword (drawn by Katalin Nagy)

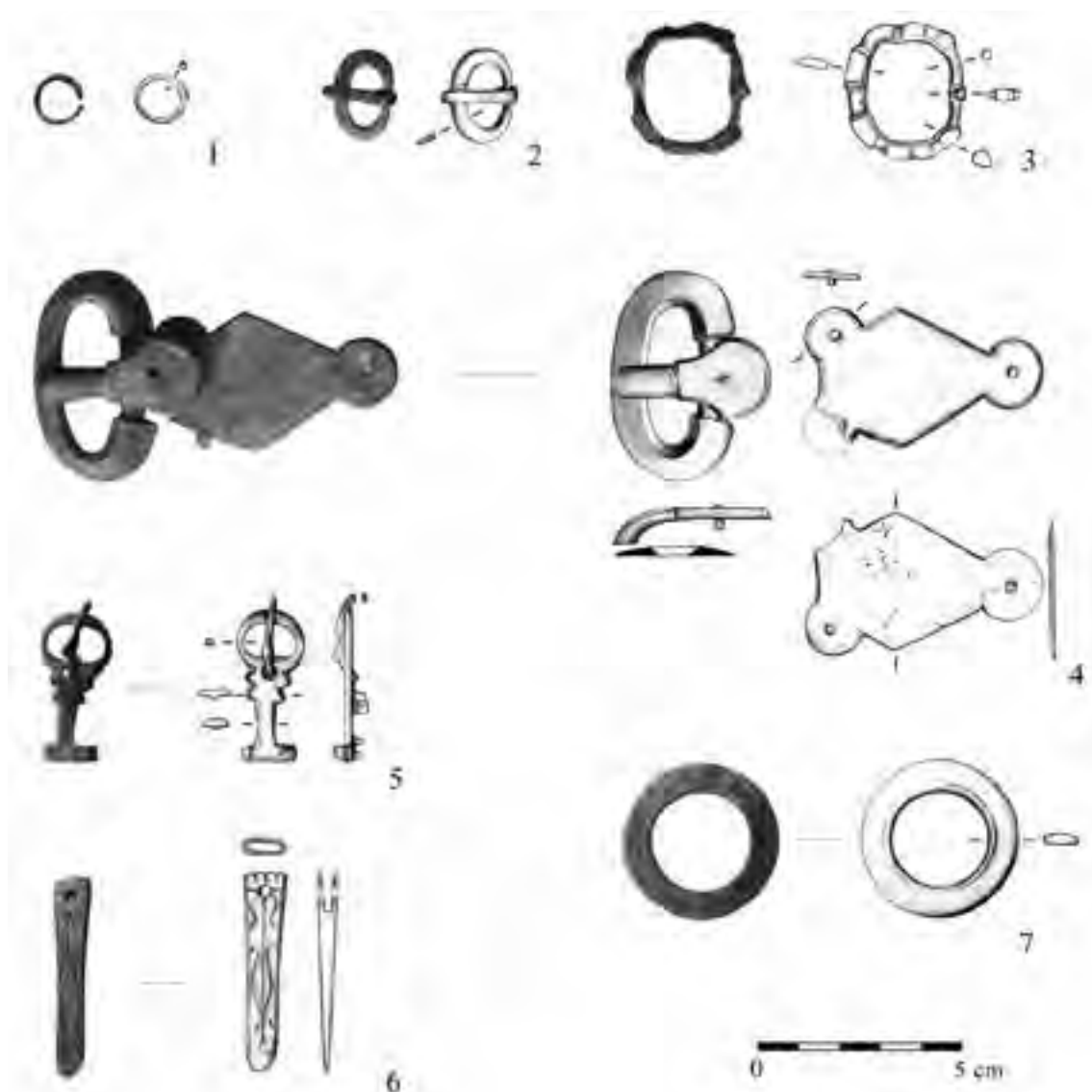


Fig. 5. Finds of Grave 3 at Tiszaderzs-Szentimrei út. 1. Earring; 2–3. Buckles (the leg binding set?); 4. Lozenge-shaped bronze buckle; 5–6. Byzantine purse buckle of type Salona-Histria and an associated small strap-end with vegetal ornament; 7. Bronze ring (after CSALLÁNY 1961, 216, Taf. CXCVIII/1–7) (drawn by Katalin Nagy)

quiver hanger (Fig. 4.28), a small ornamented bone container (Fig. 4.24) and a narrow, leaf-shaped, socketed cutting implement (Fig. 4.23) probably come from a male burial (Grave 2). The narrow rectangular bronze mounts with tabs for attachment (Fig. 4.12–17) had been parts of strap-ends and strap fittings, probably of horse gear, as shown by the finds from Grave 186 at Zamárdi and Grave 76 at Csákberény, both human-horse burials.²¹ The two small bone cylinders (Fig. 4.18–19) and a few iron fragments, probably from a snaffle bit (Fig. 4.21–26), similarly suggest the deposition of horse gear. According to the information provided by the donor of the finds, Grave 2 had contained horse bones. Grave 3 of Tiszaderzs contained a lozenge-shaped bronze buckle (Fig. 5.4) resembling the piece from Grave 42 of Kisköre-Pap-tanya as well as a small Byzantine purse buckle from typ

²¹ Csákberény, Grave 76: LÁSZLÓ 2016, 249, Taf. 6/76, 4–8; Zamárdi, Grave 186: BÁRDOS–GARAM 2009, 221, Taf. 21/186, 27–35.

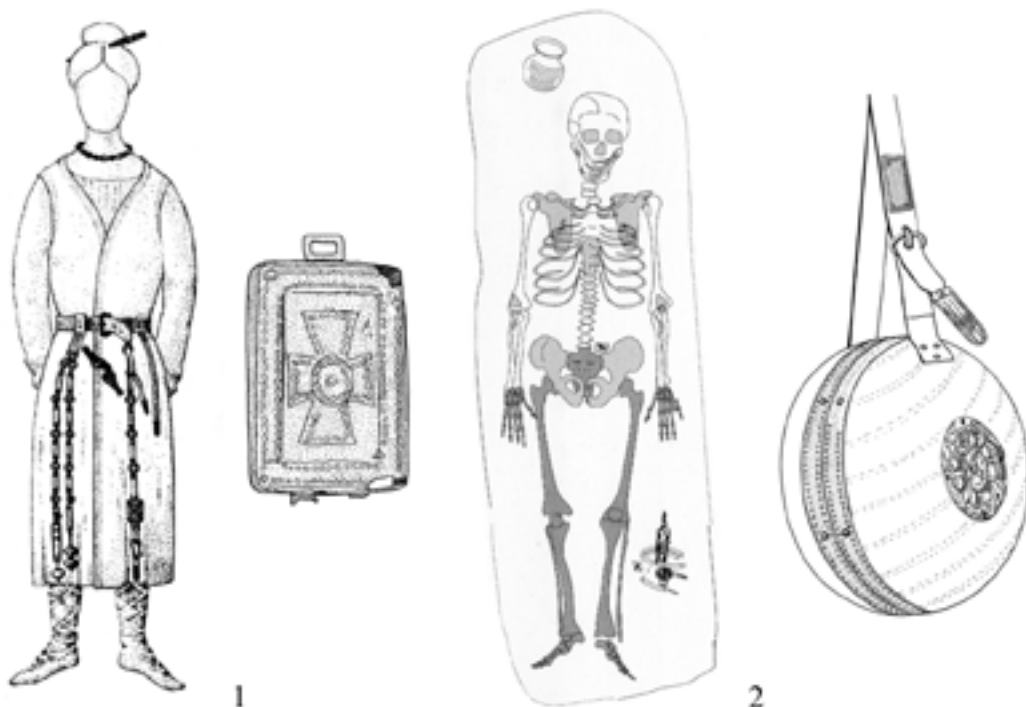


Fig. 6. 1. Reconstruction of the costume of the women with silver amulet capsule in Grave 84 at Szentes-Nagyhegy (after BÓNA 1976, 43, Abb. 8); 2. Wooden capsule with two golden, pressed round mounts with masks in Grave 2 at Szihalom-Budaszög (after FODOR-VIDA 2013, 157–173)



Fig. 7. Tiszagyenda. 1. Iron buckle with metal-inlaid and glas-inlaid; 2. Solidus of Maurice Tiberius (582–602); 3. Iron lance; 4. Shield boss studded with gilt bronze rivets (after KOCSIS 2010, 17–19)

Salona-Histria and an associated small strap-end with vegetal ornament (Fig. 5.5–6).²² The two

²² Graves 1 and 2 of Tiszaderzs–Szentimrei út are unpublished (ADAM 2002, 378). The finds from Grave 3 were published by CSALLÁNY 1961, 216, Taf. CXC VIII/1–7 (inv. no. HNM 4/1937). However, Dezső Csallány erroneously assigned the buckle from Grave 3 of Tiszaderzs–Szentimrei út (CSALLÁNY 1961, Taf. CXC VIII/6) to the Tiszaderzs–Dúlódomb assemblage (CSALLÁNY 1961, Taf. CXC IX/9–18).

smaller buckles from this burial were most likely part of a leg binding set (*Wadenbindengarnitur*; Fig. 5.2-3).

The lathe-turned, flattened spherical, wooden capsules so popular in Transdanubia during the early Avar period are also attested in the Tisza region. Grave 2 of the small grave cluster uncovered at Szihalom-Budaszög contained the interment of a woman. Lying by her left leg were the metal bands adorning her wooden capsule and the two golden, pressed round mounts with masks arranged in a cross shape adorning the centre on both sides (Fig. 6.2).²³ A variant of the early medieval metal amulet capsules, these local lathe-turned wooden pieces can be assigned to the category of “secondary reliquaries”.²⁴ The formal, stylistic and iconographic parallels to the masks point towards the similar depictions from southern Germany, while a similar cross-shaped arrangement can be noted in the case of the Italian foil crosses secured to the funerary shroud or coffin. The depiction on the Szihalom capsule has direct analogies in the western Merovingian world and indicates the long-distance contacts of the deceased (or of the craftsman making the capsule). The finely made, wheel-turned, gray ware with gritty surface found in the burial ground represents the post-Gepidic horizon in pottery making.²⁵

The burial of a noblewoman from Tiszabura, known to scholarship since 1899, which yielded an ornamental strap, leg bindings and an amulet capsule in the Merovingian cultural tradition can be assigned to the first third or second quarter of the seventh century (Fig. 8).²⁶ The long silver stylus pin from the burial had probably been used as a hairpin. The ornamental strap was adorned with rectangular silver mounts decorated in the Second Animal Style characterised by *Zahnschnitt* patterns and a hinged large strap-end. The belt was fastened with a bronze buckle with oval ring and shield-shaped plate cast in one and decorated in the same style. Her leg binding set (*Wadenbindengarnitur*) included two small bronze buckles (Fig. 8.7–8). A base silver round mount had probably decorated a wooden amulet capsule or a decorative strap.²⁷ She wore animal head-terminalled silver bracelets with delicate metal cells for the glass or precious stone inlays, which have since been lost (Fig. 8.3).²⁸

While the female decorative strap studded with mounts in the Second Animal Style from Tiszabura can be dated to the earlier seventh century, the fashion itself remained popular longer for it is also attested in the Tiszafüred cemetery opened in the mid-seventh century, where decorative straps with plain mounts and variants studded with mounts bearing the typical interlace pattern of the Middle Avar period were found (Fig. 3.13–14), which were used until the end of the Middle Avar period or even as late as the onset of the Late Avar period as at Zamárdi.²⁹ A radiate-headed brooch with ring-and-dot decoration, a necklace, an oval buckle and a pair of wire-decorated earrings also came to light at Tiszabura.³⁰ The formal range and ornamental variants of Werner’s Class IIC of the so-called Slavic brooches are known from the Byzantine-Gothic culture of the Pontic region, whence it spread to both Eastern and Central Europe.³¹ The brooches of this type were part of the female costume in the Carpathian Basin and they were found either in the chest region (Csákberény, Grave 172; Várpalota, Grave 212; Budapest-Pannonhalmi út) or in the pelvic region

²³ FODOR–VIDA 2013, 157–173.

²⁴ “*Sekundärreliquienbehälter*”, VIDA 1995, 219–290.

²⁵ FODOR–VIDA 2013, 157–173. The intact vessels provide a springboard from identifying and dating the pottery brought to light on settlements.

²⁶ HAMPEL 1905, II, 385–386, Fig. 6; CSALLÁNY 1961, T. CXCVI/1–6; HEINRICH-TAMÁSKA 2005, 187, Fig. 23.

²⁷ Cf. Kölked-Feketekapu B, Grave 85: KISS 2001, 43, Taf. 29.

²⁸ Cf. Zamárdi, Grave 157: BÁRDOS–GARAM 2009, 218, Taf. 18/157, 2–3; Kiskőrös-Vágóhíd, Grave IV: LÁSZLÓ 1955, Pl. III, 9. This technology appears on the belt fittings with iron cells during this period (BÁRDOS–GARAM 2009, 232, Taf. 32/258, 1–8; 238, Taf. 38, 345, 3; 302, Taf. 100, 5–12).

²⁹ GARAM 2011, 63–93.

³⁰ CSALLÁNY 1961, T. CXCVII/1–6; CURTA 2011, 173, Ris. 28.

³¹ VAGALINSKI 1994, 286, Abb. 9; CURTA 2011, 153–192.

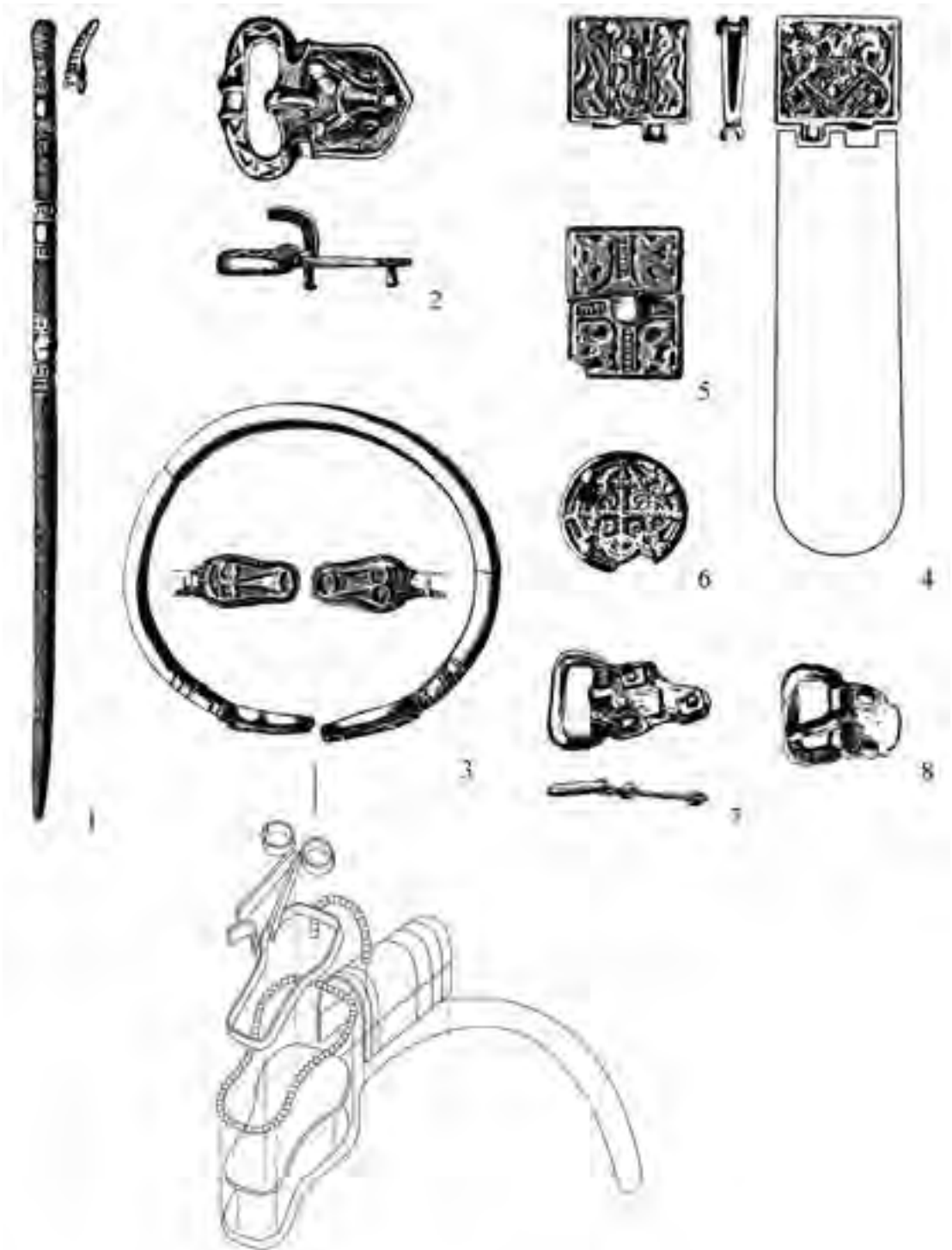


Fig. 8. Finds from Tiszabura (1899). 1. Silver stylus (hair pine); 2. Buckle; 3. Silver bracelet; 4–5. Ornamental strap-end and silver mount with german animal style II. and glass inlay; 6. Silver round mount, probably decorated a wooden amulet capsule or a decorative strap; 7–8. Buckles of leg binding (after HAMPEL 1905, II, 385–386, Fig. 1–8; The analytical drawing of the bracelet was made by Viktor Szinyei, Archaeological Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences)

(Szigetszentmiklós-Háros út, Grave 14).³² While the presence of radiate-headed and mask brooches in the Tisza region can be regarded as another reflection of the survival of the local population's traditions, the fashion of wearing brooches singly or in pairs in the chest region was typical of the female costume of the Avar period and an expression of the identity of elite women.³³

Today, we have absolute chronological evidence for local continuity, both in the case of the common folk and the elite. A bronze coin of Justin II and the Empress Sophia minted in Nicomedia (565–578) found in one of the burials of the Egerlövő cemetery indicates the continuity of the local population.³⁴ However, owing to the humble finds from the cemetery, it is difficult to determine the community's cultural affiliation and its broader range of cultural connections. Similarly to Transdanubia, the communities with Merovingian cultural traditions living in the Middle Tisza region had their own elite. To date, only brief preliminary reports have been published of the burial of a high-ranking Germanic warrior uncovered at Tiszagyenda,³⁵ which contained the deceased's Merovingian-type belt decorated with metal-inlaid mounts, his shield boss studded with gilt bronze rivets and his Weihmörting-type spatha belt, similarly adorned with metal-inlaid fittings (Fig. 7.1–4). The grave also contained a sheet-metal Byzantine jug³⁶ and a gold *solidus* of Maurice Tiberius (582–602), providing the *terminus post quem* date of the burial.³⁷ On the testimony of this coin, the mounted warrior was laid to rest with his spatha and ornate weapon belt typical for Germanic peoples sometime at the onset of the Avar rule. His horse and the accompanying ornate horse gear were interred in a separate grave pit. The grave can be fitted into the group of burials reflecting Merovingian traditions that can be linked to Germanic remnants (Gepids) surviving into the Avar period.³⁸ The jug from Tiszagyenda is a unique piece in the Carpathian Basin: however, it seems unlikely that it would have been an heirloom from the preceding Gepidic period – it is more likely to have been acquired through trade during the early Avar period or part of the booty from the Balkanic-Byzantine campaigns.³⁹ It seems likely that the warrior interred at Tiszagyenda had partaken in the Balkanic-Byzantine campaigns and that the copper-alloy jug and the Byzantine *solidus* in his grave preserved the memory of these events.

The Herrlisheim-Schwarzhof-type spatha belt set from Tiszagyenda was contemporaneous with the weapon belts found in the early Avar cemeteries of Transdanubia⁴⁰ and with the ones deposited in the late Langobardic graves lying beyond Transdanubia (Pottenbrunn;⁴¹ Oroszvár/Rusovce⁴²). The exact counterpart of the superb bichrome metal-inlaid buckle from the Tiszagyenda burial is known from Grave 1061 of the Zamárdi cemetery, attesting to contacts between the Avar-period elite with Merovingian culture.⁴³ It seems likely that the two buckles had been produced in the same workshop (perhaps in the centre at Zamárdi) and that the Tiszagyenda

³² GARAM 2003, 95–123.

³³ GARAM 2003, 107–118; KISS 2015, 232; CURTA 2011, 153–192.

³⁴ LOVÁSZ 1984–85, 61.

³⁵ KOCSIS 2007, 6–10; KOCSIS 2010, 17–19.

³⁶ VIDA 2017, 172–173.

³⁷ SOMOGYI 2014, 203.

³⁸ KISS 1992, 35–134; KISS 1999–2000, 359–365.

³⁹ VIDA 2017, 172–173. Byzantine sources repeatedly mention that Gepids had participated in the Avar campaigns against Byzantium (KISS 1992, 37–38).

⁴⁰ KONCZ 2015, 319–323. Western Merovingian Weihmörting- and Herrlisheim-Schwarzhof-type spatha belts are encountered in the last phase of Langobard cemeteries (VIDA 2008, 348; KONCZ 2015, 322, Fig. 2), and the initial phase of the early Avar period (VIDA 2000, 161–175): Szekszárd-Bogyiszlói út, Grave 16 (ROSNER 1999, 12–13, Taf. 2), Grave 29 (ROSNER 1999, 14, Taf. 3) and Grave 390 (ROSNER 1999, 54, Taf. 28); Zamárdi, Grave 1411 (BÁRDOS–GARAM 2009, 366, Taf. 163/1411, 10.)

⁴¹ The rectangular silvered mount decorated with an interlace pattern from Pottenbrunn can be assigned to the Bülach–Nocera-Umbra sub-type (NEUGEBAUER 2005, 331, Abb. 6).

⁴² SCHMIDTOVÁ–RUTTKAY 2007, 353–355, Abb. 12–13.

⁴³ Tiszagyenda: KOCSIS 2010, 18; Zamárdi, Grave 1061: BÁRDOS–GARAM 2009, 322, Taf. 119/1061, 2.

warrior had acquired the buckle through purchase or through the gift exchange between nobles. The known presence of several Gepidic- and early Avar-period burials in the broader area of the Tiszagyenda grave is relevant for the Gepidic-Avar transition.

Openwork discs are also assigned to the artefacts made in the Merovingian tradition,⁴⁴ of which an impressively high number have been found in the Tiszafüred cemetery in the Middle Tisza region. The formal resemblances between the openwork discs from Tiszafüred and Zamárdi are striking to the extent that some had apparently been cast from the same mould, reflecting direct contact between the two communities (personal contacts between individuals and/or the mobility of craftsmen).⁴⁵ Given the formal and ornamental resemblances between the decorative straps and the openwork discs and their identical chronological position, Éva Garam assumed direct contacts between the two communities who had interred their dead in the Tiszafüred and Zamárdi cemeteries.⁴⁶

The new archaeological evidence thus outlines a transitional period between the Gepidic and the Avar period in the Tisza region whose material and spiritual culture can be regarded as a continuation of local traditions. There are scattered references in various historical sources that the peasants and their leaders remained in place and submitted to Avar rule.⁴⁷ During the 599 campaign, Priscus, the general of the Byzantine army, marched through three Gepidic villages and slaughtered their inhabitants.⁴⁸ The Avars regarded the Gepids as their subjects; however, the sources repeatedly mention that the Gepids were dissatisfied with their situation because they took every opportunity to flee and find refuge in the Byzantine Empire.⁴⁹

The burials with Merovingian cultural affinities of the early Avar period in the Middle Tisza region can be linked to the remnants of the local population, the surviving Gepidic communities.⁵⁰ The surviving population was reorganised and was ruled by high-ranking families who served the Avars and had an armed retinue to maintain their power. The wealthy women buried with wooden capsules adorned with gold and silver gilt mounts buried at Szihalom and Tiszabura as well as the man interred with his ornate weapon belt at Tiszagyenda were members of the elite in their local communities. This regional group no doubt had the same status as the (Germanic) groups with Merovingian culture living in Transdanubia: they lived under the authority of their own leaders and participated in the Avars' Balkanic campaigns as auxiliary troops.

The community's cultural independence is indicated by the Merovingian nature of their costume, customs and spiritual culture (capsules) in the Avar milieu. They were aware of the changes in Western European fashion and cultural impulses from the west evidently reached them, even though no western imports have been identified in their material record, implying regular contacts and communication between the elites and a personal mobility. It would appear that these high-ranking individuals maintained contact not only with Merovingian Western Europe, but also with Mediterranean Byzantium, as shown by the trade commodities circulating through long-distance trade that reached them (the Byzantine copper-alloy jug from Tiszagyenda and the die from Tiszafüred⁵¹). Their jewellery, their costume and their customs reflect similar cultural norms and demands as the population with Merovingian cultural affinities living in the easterly regions of Transdanubia.

⁴⁴ STADLER 2008, 657–678; ZÁBOJNÍK 2010, 503.

⁴⁵ GARAM 2011, 63–93.

⁴⁶ GARAM 2011, 82–84, Tab. 3. I am grateful to Éva Garam for her kind personal communication.

⁴⁷ *Pauli Historia Langobardorum*: Ed. BETHMANN-WAITZ 1878. GARAM 2011, 63–93.

⁴⁸ *Theophylactus Simocatta, Historiae* VII. 3,1–15: ed. DE BOOR-WIRTH 1972; POHL 1988, 229–230; NAGY-TÓTH 1998, 118–131.

⁴⁹ In 568, Bookolobra and seven other Gepids fled to the Byzantine Empire: *Theophylactus Simocatta, Historiae* I. 8,1–11: Ed. DE BOOR-WIRTH 1972; POHL 1988, 229. We are told that in 593, another Gepid had escaped to the Byzantines (*Theophylactus Simocatta, Historiae* VI. 8,1: ed. DE BOOR-WIRTH 1972).

⁵⁰ KISS 1992, 35–134; KISS 1999–2000, 359–365; KISS 1996; KISS 2001.

⁵¹ GARAM 1990, 73–86.

There are many resemblances between the function and the ornamentation of articles deposited in the late Gepidic burials on the Hungarian Plain and the early Avar interments in Transdanubia. The finds in question represent the last phase in the development of local Gepidic culture on the Hungarian Plain (decorative straps, amulet capsules), whose continuation is represented by the Merovingian-type material culture in eastern Transdanubia, the Middle Tisza region and Transylvania. The sporadic survival and local continuity of Gepidic material culture has been attested not only in the Middle Tisza region, but also on the southern Hungarian Plain. The weapon-wielding Gepids did not perish: those who had not fled, entered the service of the Avars and it is possible that some had sought refuge in Transdanubia, since otherwise it would be hard to explain the growth in the Transdanubian population with a Merovingian culture.⁵²

At present, with the exception of the Egerlövő cemetery, only the burials of high-ranking men and women can be assigned to the Merovingian horizon, which can be dated to the close of the sixth and the earlier seventh century. The solitary graves and the small family graveyards (Kisköre, Szihalom, Tiszaderzs) represent the funerary burial types of the transitional period between the Gepidic and the Avar period. The common folk are attested in the cemeteries opened from the seventh century onward that grew into large burial grounds as at Alattyán and Tiszafüred. The survival of cultural traditions rooted in Merovingian culture can be noted from the mid-seventh century in the Tiszafüred cemetery, which yielded jewellery items and costume accessories that are typical for Transdanubia rather than the early Avar cemeteries on the Hungarian Plain (hairpins, bead on hoop earrings, earrings with bead pendants, lead crosses, ring brooches, keys, spathas and belt mounts and strap-ends bearing interlace designs).⁵³ Another typical artefact of these burial grounds in the hand-thrown Prague-type ware that harks back to sixth-century Germanic traditions (Suebian pots), which is solely attested in this region of the Hungarian Plain during the seventh century.⁵⁴ The region occupied by this group with Merovingian culture in the Middle Tisza region is visibly distinct from the area occupied by the groups characterised by steppean nomadic type animal burials and funnel-mouthed vessels.⁵⁵

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⁵² FODOR–VIDA 2013, 157–173; VIDA 2013, 318, Abb. 6.

⁵³ GARAM 1995, Phases 2–3.

⁵⁴ Group IIIE: VIDA 1999, 147–155.

⁵⁵ LŐRINCZY 1998; VIDA 1999, 117–118, Abb. 38–39.

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DAS GRAB EINER ADELIGEN FRAU MIT BYZANTINISCHEN FUNDEN AUS DEM 6. JAHRHUNDERT IN GYULA, UNGARN

Anita Bencsik-Vári – András Liska

The sixth-century burial of a noblewoman with Byzantine finds from Gyula

A Gepidic settlement, a Late Bronze Age settlement, and burial ground, and 74 graves of a late Avar cemetery were uncovered on the site lying in Gyula near the Hungarian-Romanian border. The coffin burial No. 75 containing the interment of an adult woman was found lying somewhat farther from the other burials. The grave goods deposited in the burial – an architectural gold finger-ring, the silver mounts of a belt with decorative straps and a gold solidus of Justinian I placed in the deceased's mouth as a funerary obolus – suggest a high-ranking individual. The finds and the burial rite provide ample clues for determining the burial's date and its historical context. The Byzantine and Christian articles indicate connections with the eastern Mediterranean. The grave can be dated to the final third of the sixth century or the early seventh century.

Keywords: Gepidic burial; Avar-period Gepids; Byzantine connections; solidus of Justinian I; architectural gold finger-ring; female belt with decorative straps; sixth–seventh centuries

Der Fundort Nr. 623 von Gyula, Nagy-Szőlő III (Id.-Nr.: 579) liegt im Innenbereich der Stadt, auf einem früher nur landwirtschaftlich genutzten, unbebauten Gelände (Abb. 1), auf der N-Seite eines ausgetrockneten alten Flussbettes, am Ufer der Innenseite einer seiner Biegungen. Aufgrund einer Oberflächenaufsammlung konnte am Fundort eine spätbronze- bis früheisenzeitliche, eine sarmatenzeitliche und eine arpadenzeitliche Siedlung lokalisiert werden. Bei Ausgrabungen in den Jahren 2008 und 2011 wurden auf einem ca. 6400 m² großen Gebiet ein spätbronzezeitliches Siedlungsdetail der Gáva-Kultur, eine Gepidensiedlung und zwei Bestattungen sowie 74 Gräber eines spätawarischen Gräberfeldes freigelegt. Am letzten Tag der Grabungssaison 2011 fand sich im SO-Teil des Grabungsgebietes, auf der zuletzt gesäuberten Fläche die rechteckige, W–O gerichtete Verfärbung eines ungestörten Grabes (Abb. 2). Die Freilegung dieses Grabes 75 behinderten der ausgesprochen harte, lehmige Boden sowie die vielen eisernen Sargklammern, die nur schwer in ihrer ursprünglichen Stellung zu halten waren.

DIE BESTATTUNG DER FRAU AUS GRAB 75

Rechteckige Grabgrube mit abgerundeten Ecken und einer Tiergangstörung in der NW-Ecke. Der Verfärbung der Grabgrube war regelmäßig und auf der gesäuberten Fläche sichtbar. Auf seiner N-Seite war ein ca. 20 cm breiter, dunkler Teil zu erkennen. In der Grabgrube wurde ein in gestreckter Stellung im Sarg liegendes Skelett freigelegt. Holzüberreste des Sarges konnten bei der Freilegung des Grabes nicht beobachtet werden. Auf seine Konstruktion weisen die insgesamt 15 bauklammerartigen breiten, bandartigen Sargklammern hin, die an beiden Seiten des Skelettes, quer zur Skelettachse lagen. Die Klammern schlossen den wahrscheinlich aus Brettern bestehenden Sarg seitlich. In den vier Ecken der Grabgrube befand sich je ein Pfostenloch (Dm: cca 30 cm), die auch auf einen Grabbau hindeuten können (Abb. 4).

In der Grabgrube lag ein Skelett auf dem Rücken in gestreckter Lage. Der Schädel war von der Achse des Skelettes aus etwas in Richtung der linken Schulter nach N verrutscht. Er war durch das Gewicht der Erde zerdrückt, auch der Gesichtsschädel war nach N verschoben. Die Arme



Abb. 1. Die Oberfläche der Ausgrabung in Gyula, Fundort-Nr. 623

lagen direkt neben dem Skelett ausgestreckt, die Beine ebenfalls, in den Knien etwas nach außen gebogen. Beide Beine lagen ursprünglich wahrscheinlich mit etwas angezogenen Knien und werden dann zu den beiden Längsseiten des Sarges hin gerutscht sein. Die Skelettknochen waren ausgesprochen schlecht erhalten, sie waren dünn, an vielen Stellen zerfallen und zerbrechlich. Die Wirbel waren oberhalb des Beckens völlig zerfallen, vom Becken war nur der Mittelteil erhalten. Der linke Unterarm war vollständig und die Handknochen größtenteils zerfallen (Abb. 3). Das Skelett der adulten Frau war ausgesprochen filigran. Aufgrund der vorläufigen anthropologischen

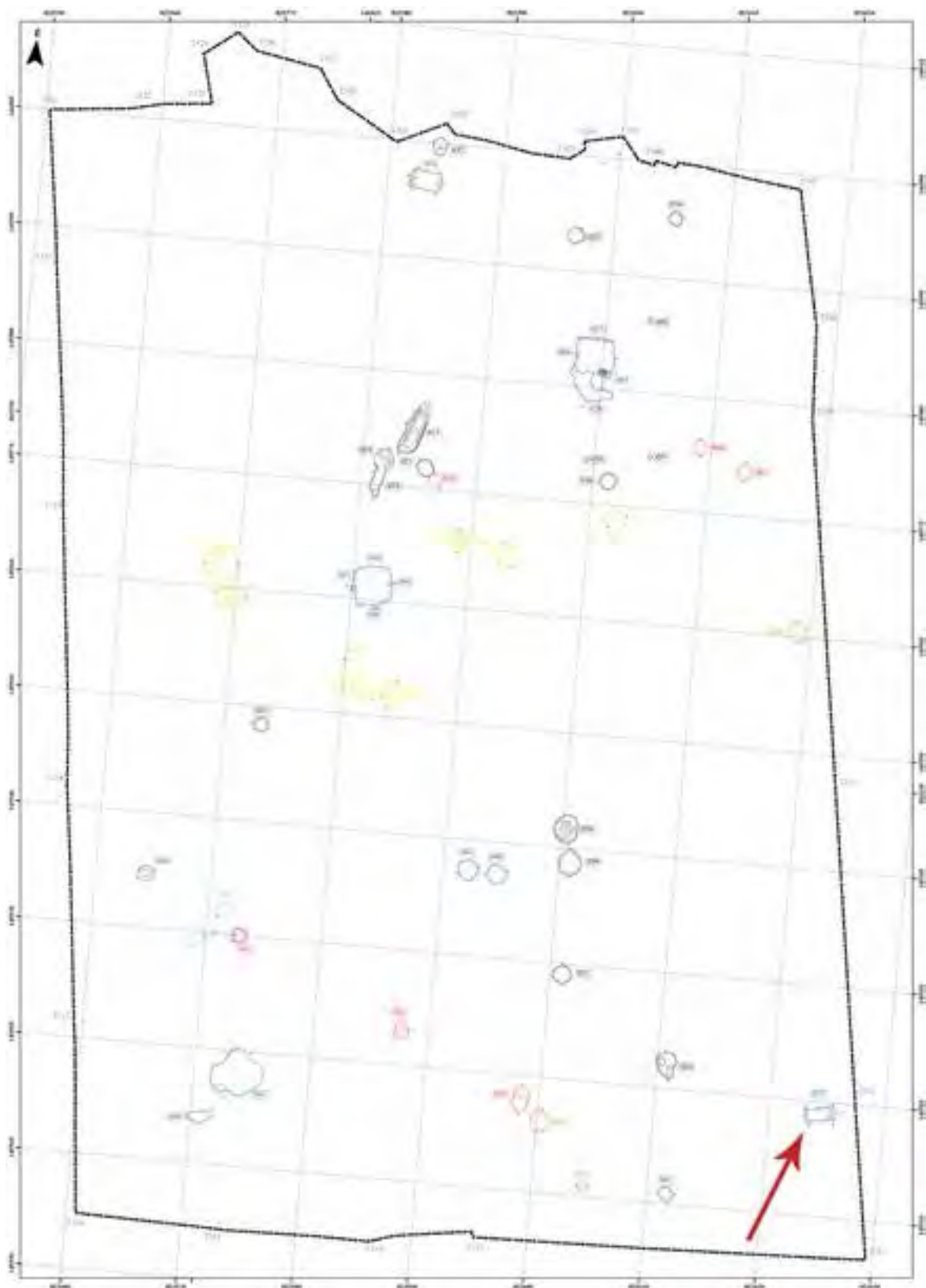


Abb. 2. Die Lage des Grabes 75 am Fundort-Nr. 623 in Gyula.
Ausgrabungsdokumentation aus den Jahren 2008 und 2011



Abb. 3. Das Grab 75 in Gyula, Fundort-Nr. 623; 1. Silberbeschlag; 2. Eisenschnalle; 3-5. Silberriete; 6-9. Rechteckige Silberbeschläge der Gürtelgehänge

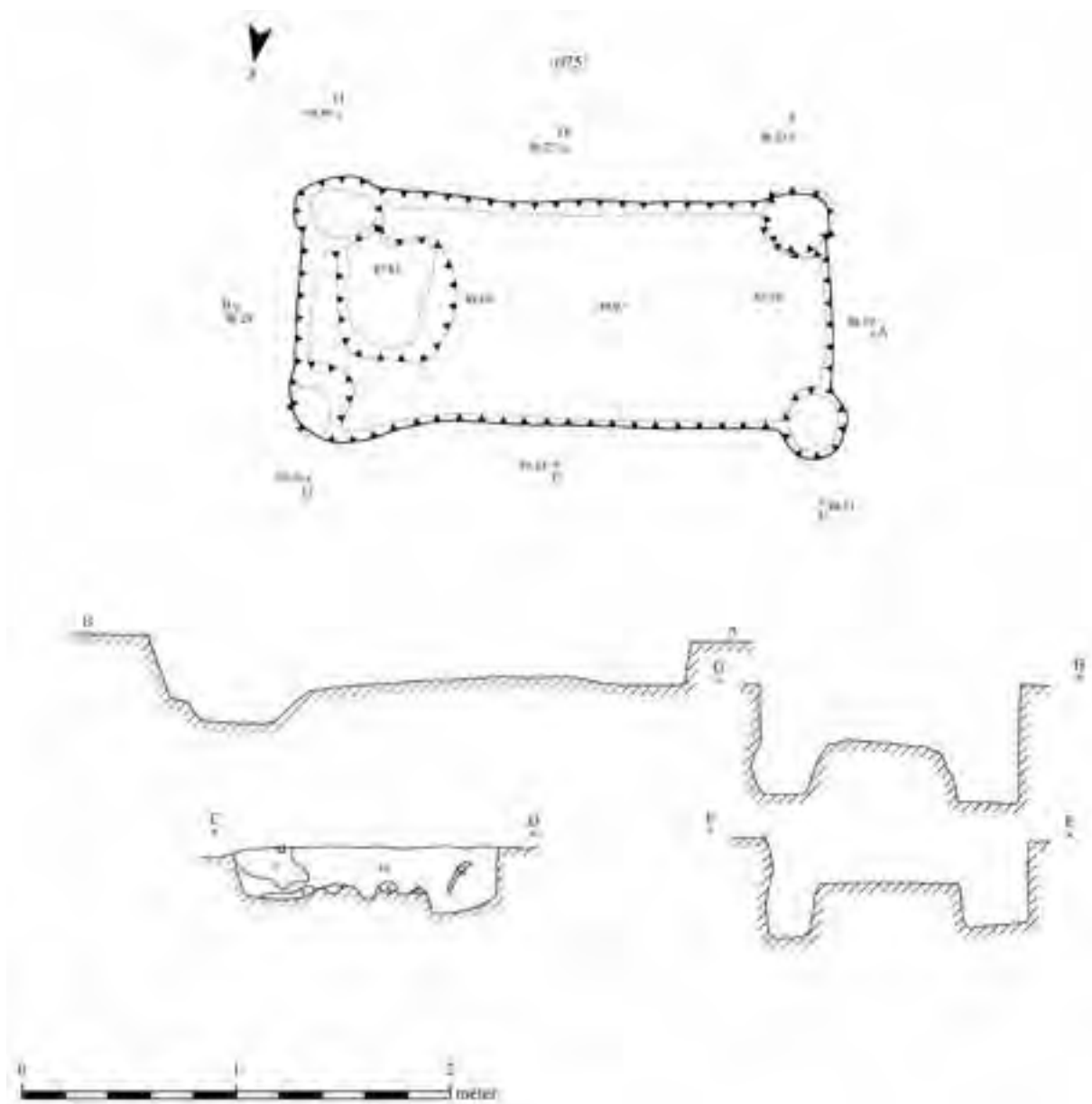


Abb. 4. Schnitt- und Planumzeichnungen des Grabes 75, Gyula, Fundort-Nr. 623

Bestimmung lag ihr geschätztes Sterbealter zwischen 30 und 40 Jahren. Ihre mit der Sjovold-Methode errechnete Körpergröße betrug 156,4 cm.¹

FUNDE²

1–7. Eiserne Sargklammern, breit, bandartig, bauklammerförmig: 1. rechts am Sarg. L: 13,5 cm, B: 3,1 cm, H: 7 cm (Abb. 7, 1); 2. links am Sarg. L: 12,1 cm, B: 2,7 cm, H: 6,2 cm (Abb. 7, 2); 3. neben der

¹ Die vorläufige anthropologische Bestimmung nahm László Paja (Anthropologist, Szeged) vor, seine Arbeit sei ihm gedankt.

² Die Funde des Grabes befinden sich in der Sammlung des Ferenc Erkel-Gebietsmuseums von Gyula, mit Inv.-Nr.: 2015.1.1–34.

rechten Schulter. L: 11 cm, B: 2,9 cm, H: 5,5 cm (Abb. 7, 3); 4. neben der linken Schulter. L: 13,1 cm, B: 2,9 cm, H: 2,8 cm (Abb. 7, 4); 5. auf dem rechten Schulterbein. L: 19 cm, B: 4,8 cm, H: 4,4 cm (Abb. 7, 6); 6. außen am rechten Handgelenk. L: 11,1 cm, B: 2,7 cm, H: 3,2 cm (Abb. 8, 1); 7. innen am linken Ellbogen. L: 13,6 cm, B: 2,7 cm, H: 3,4 cm (Abb. 8, 2–3).

8. Silberner Gürtelbeschlag aus dickem Silberblech, rechteckig, an den Ecken Rundkopfniete, seine Seiten sind abgeschrägt. Die Niete befestigten ursprünglich ein dünnes Bronzeblech auf der Rückseite des Gürtelbeschlages, zwischen beiden Blechen befand sich der Ledergürtel. Vom Bronzeblech waren nur noch zwei winzige Fragmente erhalten. Der Beschlag lag über dem Becken, in der Mitte, in der Achse der Wirbelsäule, mit der Fläche nach oben. L: 2,7 cm, B: 2,2 cm, D: 0,1 cm, Niet-L: 0,4 cm (Abb. 3, 1; Abb. 5, 3).

9. Eisenschnalle, oval, mit auf den Schallring gebogenem Dorn. Schnallenring und Dorn haben runden Querschnitt. Auf der Rückseite Textilabdruck. Sie lag neben der Beigabe 8. L: 5,3 cm, B: 4,1 cm, H: 2,0 cm (Abb. 3, 2; Abb. 5, 4).

10. Silberniet, 3 St., mit flachem scheibenförmigen Kopf, Spitze umgebogen. Sie lagen neben Beigabe 9, auf dem Schnallenbeschlag. H: 0,7 cm, Dm: 1,0 cm, H: 0,4 cm, Dm: 0,8 cm (Abb. 3, 3–5; Abb. 5, 5–7).

11. Goldener Fingerring mit architektonischer Verzierung, aus dickem Goldblech mit kaum spürbarem umlaufenden Grat. Sein Kopf besteht aus acht Ballustern und den diese paarweise bogig verbindenden Drähten, die in der Scheibe mit gerader Seite oben auf dem Kopf münden. Er saß auf einem Finger der rechten Hand. H: 3,1 cm, B: 1,0 cm, Dm: 2,1, Gw: 8,29 g (Abb. 5, 2; Abb. 6, 2).

12. Eiserner Sargklammer an der N-Seite der Grabgrube, in der Mitte. L: 12,6 cm, B: 2,9 cm, H: 3,2 cm (Abb. 7, 5).

13. Bronzeschnalle, gegossen, mit rundem Querschnitt und kleinem Schnallenring des sich außen verdickenden Typs. Schnallendorn fehlt. Sie lag zwischen beiden Oberschenkelknochen. L: 1,7 cm, B: 1,6 cm, H: 0,6 cm (Abb. 5, 14; Abb. 6, 8).

14. Glas-Ösenknopf, klein, aus zwei blauen undurchscheinenden Glasperlen. Lag neben Beigabe 13, zwischen beiden Oberschenkelknochen. L: 1,7 cm, Dm: 1,7 cm (Abb. 5, 15; Abb. 6, 5).

15. Silberner Gürtelbeschlag aus dickem Silberblech, rechteckig, an den Ecken durchgeschlagene Rundkopfniete, seine Seiten schräg herabgezogen. Mit der Fläche nach oben lag er zwischen beiden Oberschenkelknochen. L: 2,3 cm, B: 2,1 cm, D: 0,05 cm (Abb. 3, 6; Abb. 5, 8).

16. Silberner Gürtelbeschlag aus dickem Silberblech, rechteckig, an den Ecken durchgeschlagene Rundkopfniete, seine Seiten schräg herabgezogen. Die Ränder der Vorderseite umrahmt Reihenmusterkomposition aus punzierten Halbkreisen, die sich auch in der Mittellinie fortsetzt und den Beschlag in zwei Teile teilt. Lag mit der Fläche nach oben außen am linken Oberschenkelknochen. L: 2,2 cm, B: 1,8 cm, D: 0,1 cm (Abb. 3, 8; Abb. 5, 9).

17. Eiserner Sargklammer, breit, bandartig, bauklammerförmig, zwischen beiden Knien. L: 19,9 cm, B: 4,5 cm, H: 1,9 cm (Abb. 8, 5).

18. Silberschnalle mit rechteckigem Schnallenbeschlag aus zwei dünnen Silberblechen, von denen das obere größer als das untere ist. Beide werden von vier kleinen Rundkopfnieten aneinander befestigt. Der Schnallenring ist oval mit auf ihn gebogenem, mit zwei Rippen am Fuß gegliederten Schnallendorn. Sie lag innen am rechten Knie. L: 3,1 cm, B: 1,8 cm, H: 0,6 cm (Abb. 5, 12; Abb. 6, 3).

19. Silberner Gürtelbeschlag aus dickem Silberblech, rechteckig, an den Ecken durchgeschlagene Rundkopfniete. Die Blechseiten sind abgeschrägt. Den Rand der Vorderplatte rahmt eine Reihenmusterkomposition aus punzierten Halbkreisen. Im umrahmten Mittelfeld befindet sich ein ebenfalls punziertes byzantinisches gleicharmiges Kreuz mit sich am Ende verbreiternden Armen. In der Mitte des Kreuzes sitzt ein Punktkreismotiv, auf den Armen je eine „V“-förmige Punzierung. Die gesamte Fläche von Kreuz und Beschlagseiten ist vergoldet. Von hinten befestigen die Niete ein dünnes Silberblech am Beschlag, zwischen beiden Blechen befand sich der Ledergürtel. Der Beschlag lag außen am linken Knie. L: 2,3 cm, B: 1,9 cm, D: 0,4 cm (Abb. 3, 9; Abb. 5, 11).



Abb. 5. 1. Solidus Justinians I., Typ MIB 7; 2. Goldener Fingerring mit architektonischem Aufbau; 3, 8-11. Rechteckige Silberbeschläge des Gürtels und der Gehänge; 4. Eisenschnalle; 5-7. Silberniete; 12. Silberschnalle; 13-14. Silberne Schnallenringe; 15. Blauer Glas-Ösenknopf; 16. Eisenmesser; 17. Eisenobjekt; 18. Einreihige Knochenkamm

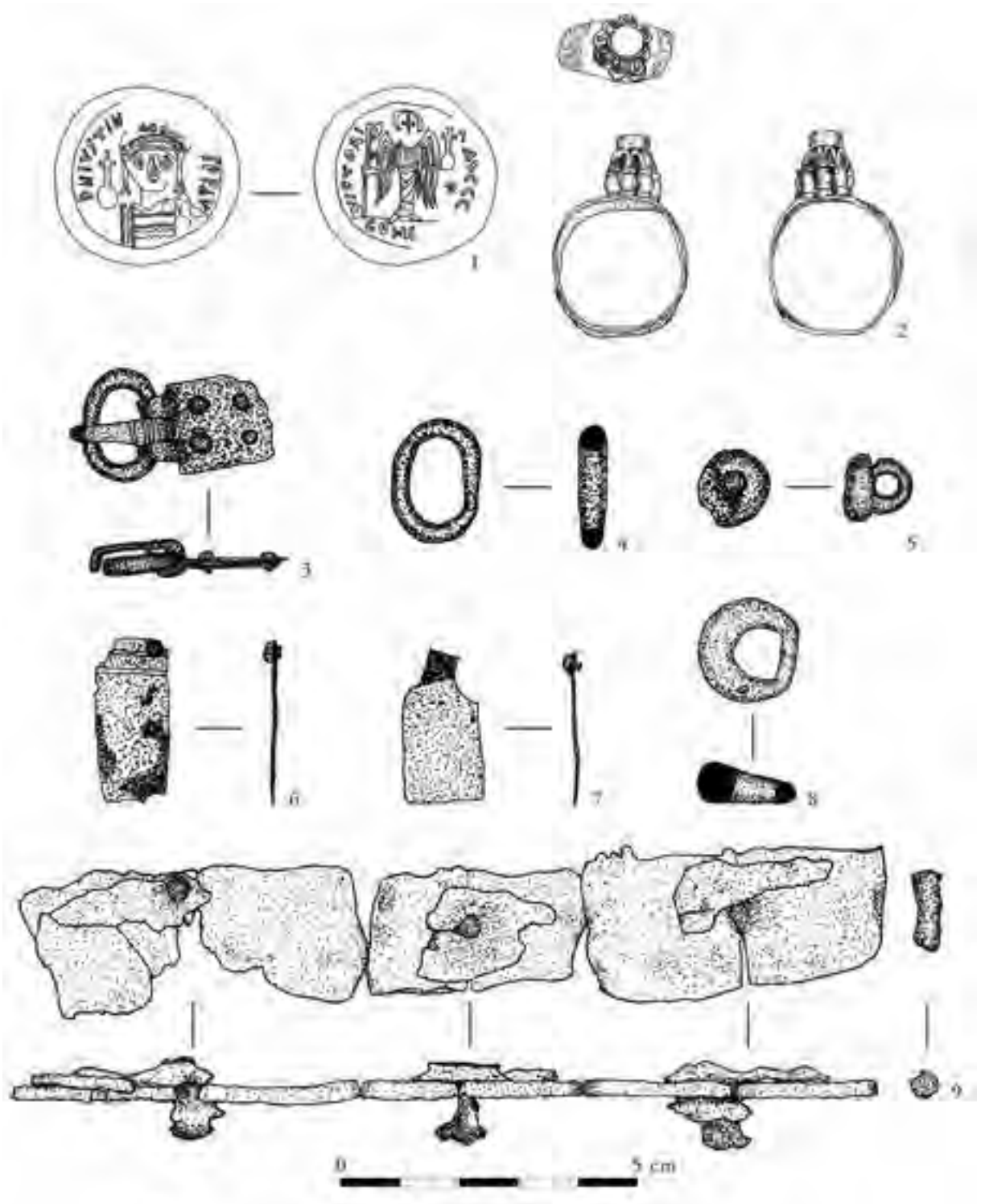


Abb. 6. 1. Solidus Justinians I., Typ MIB 7; 2. Goldener Fingerring mit architektonischen Aufbau; 3. Silberschnalle; 4, 8. Silberne Schnallenringe; 5. Blauer Glas-Ösenknopf; 6-7. Silberne Riemenzungen; 9. Einreihige Knochenkamm

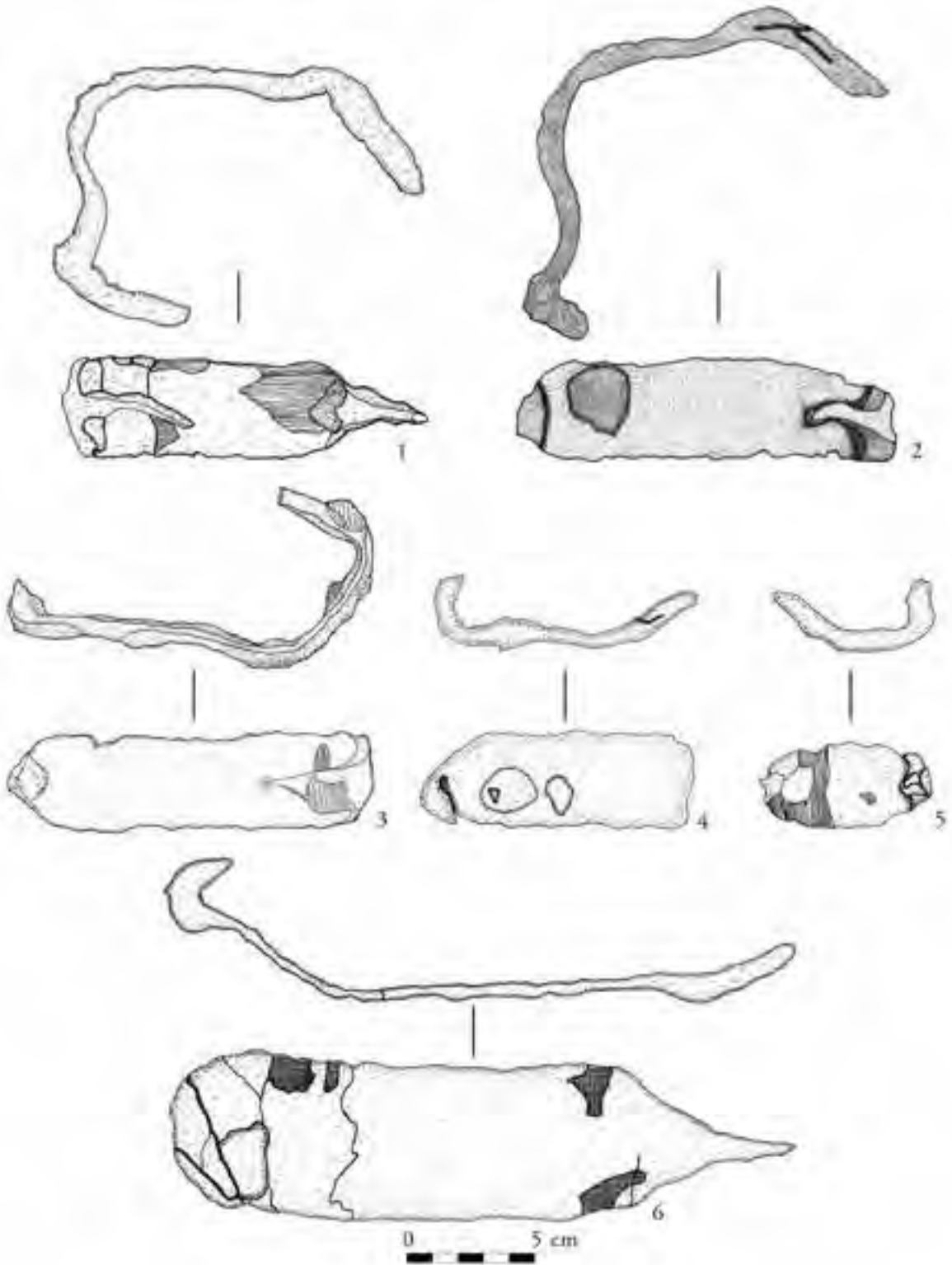


Abb. 7. Eiserne Sargklammern

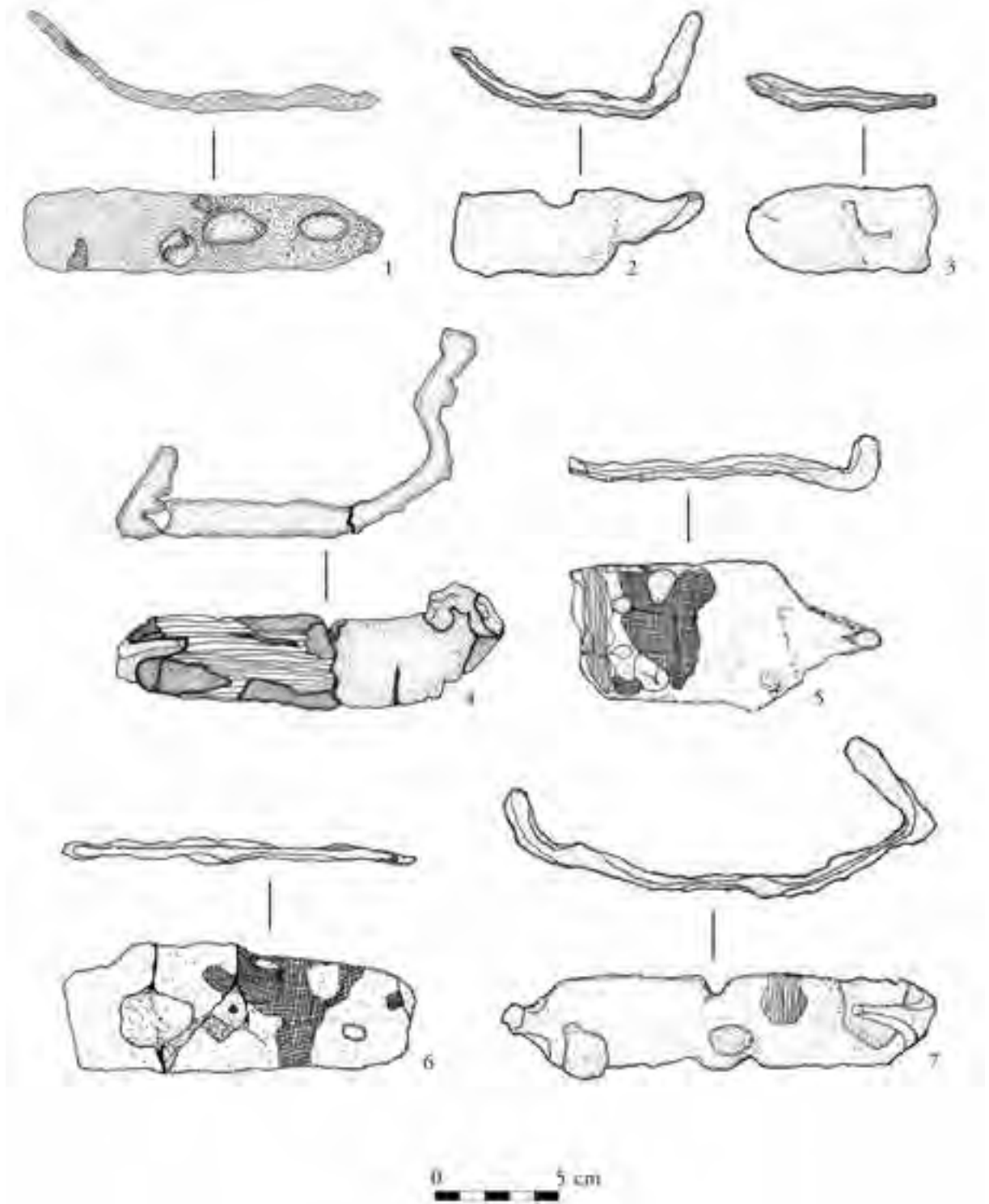


Abb. 8. Eiserne Sargklammern

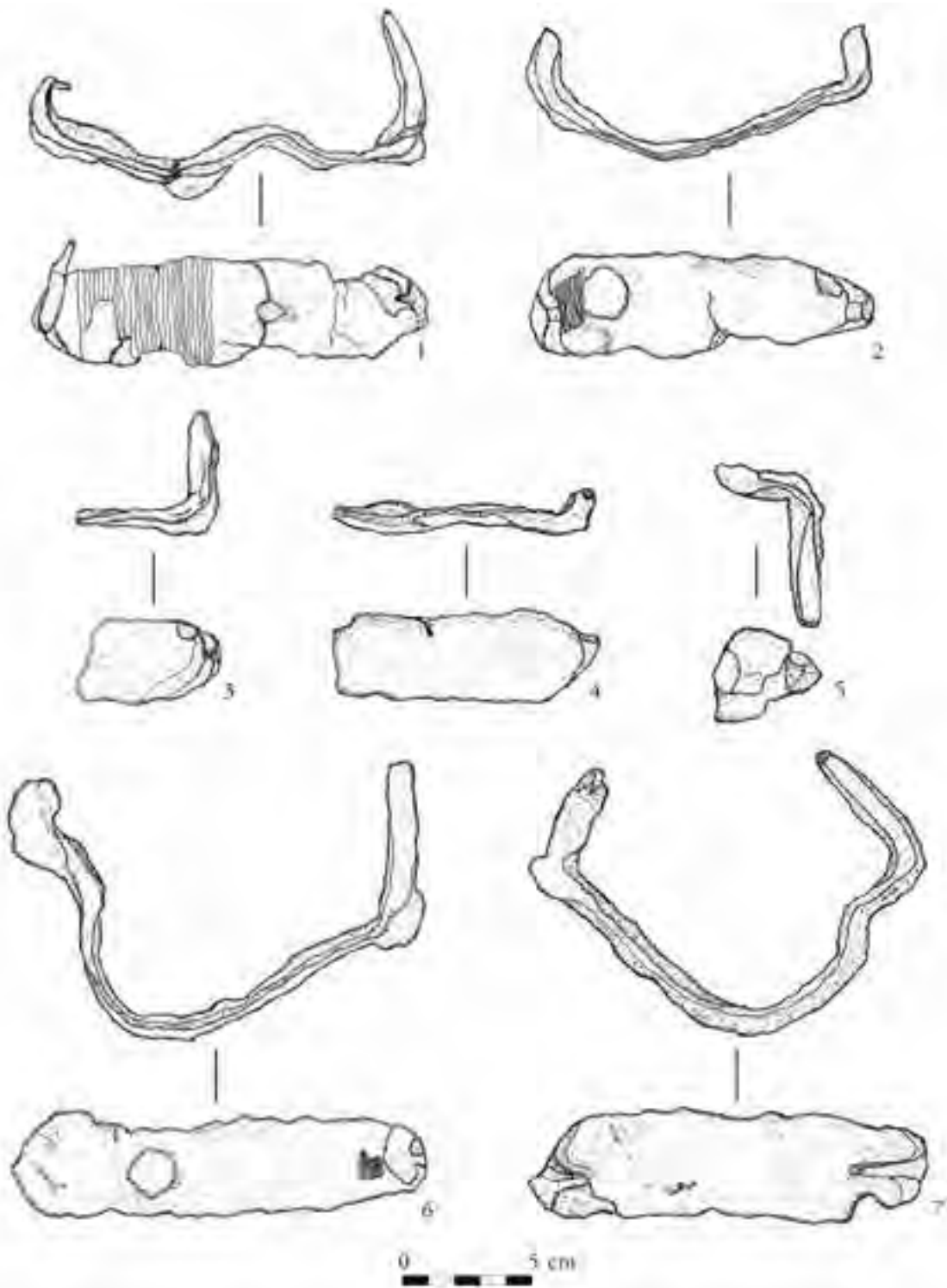


Abb. 9. Eiserne Sargklammern

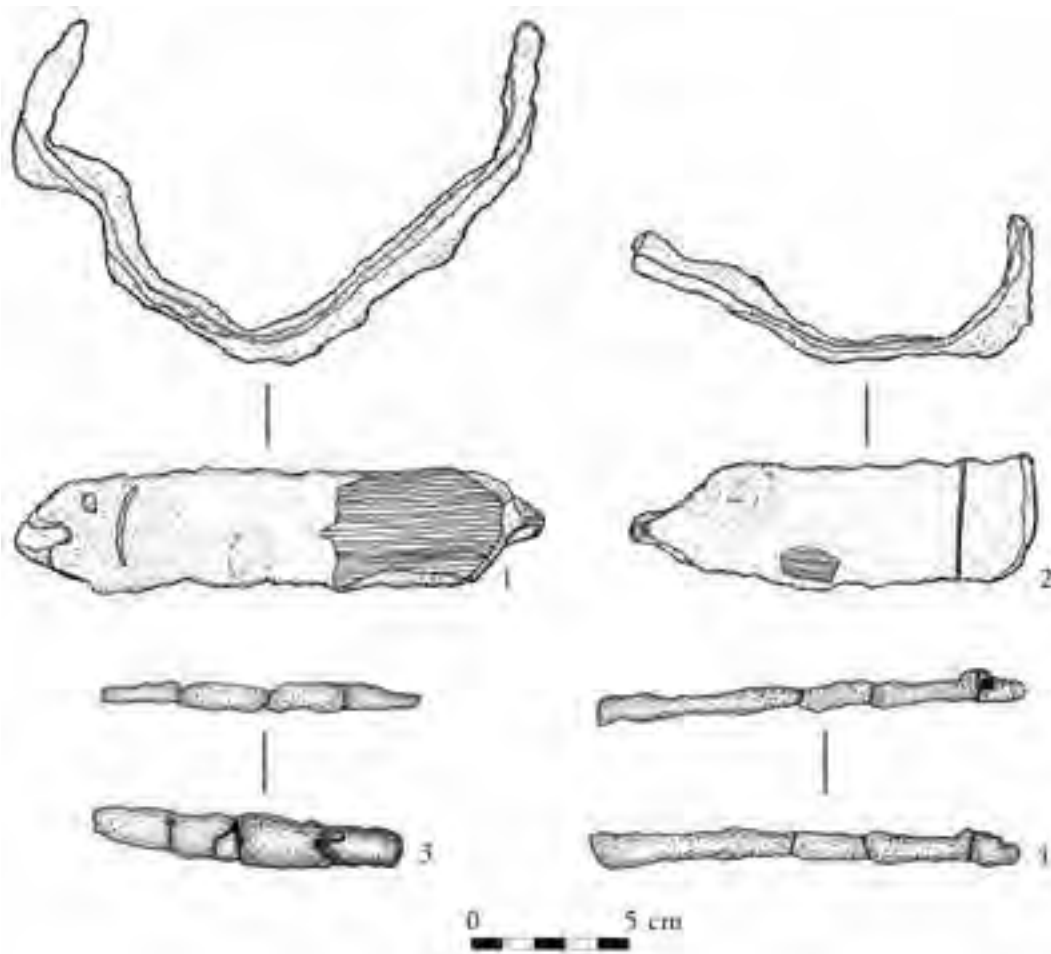


Abb. 10. Eiserne Sargklammern

20. Silberner Schnallenring, klein, oval mit rundem Querschnitt, außen am linken Knie. L: 1,9 cm, B: 1,3 cm, D: 0,35 cm (Abb. 5, 13; Abb. 6, 4).

21. Eiserne Sargklammer, breit, bandartig, bauklammerförmig, außen am rechten Unterschenkel. L: 13,2 cm, B: 3,2 cm, H: 5,1 cm (Abb. 8, 7).

22. Eiserne Sargklammer, breit, bandartig, bauklammerförmig, außen am linken Unterschenkel. L: 11,6 cm, B: 3,4 cm, H: 5,7 cm (Abb. 9, 1).

23. Eiserne Sargklammer, breit, bandartig, bauklammerförmig, außen am rechten Unterschenkel, am Grabrand. L: 10,2 cm, B: 3,2 cm, H: 4,0 cm (Abb. 9, 2).

24. Eiserne Sargklammer, breit, bandartig, bauklammerförmig, außen am rechten Unterschenkel, am Grabrand. L: 12,2 cm, B: 3,2 cm, H: 8,4 cm (Abb. 9, 6).

25. Eiserne Sargklammer, breit, bandartig, bauklammerförmig, außen am rechten Unterschenkel an der SO-Ecke der Grabgrube. L: 11,7 cm, B: 3,1 cm, H: 8,5 cm (Abb. 9, 7).

26. Eiserne Sargklammer, breit, bandartig, bauklammerförmig, außen am linken Knöchel. L: 12,8 cm, B: 2,9 cm, H: 8,1 cm (Abb. 10, 1).

27. Beinkamm, einreihig, aus drei Beinplatten, die durch dicke eiserne Nieten verbunden sind. Er lag unter der rechten Schädelseite. L: 5,5 cm, B: 2,5 cm, L: 8,5 cm, B: 2,6 cm, Eisenniet-L: 1,8 cm (Abb. 5, 18; Abb. 6, 9).

28. Silberniet mit rundem Querschnitt, ein Ende flachgehämmert, davon ein kleines Fragment unter dem linken Schienbein. L: 0,5 cm, Dm: 0,4 cm.

29. Silberner Gürtelbeschlag aus dickem Silberblech, rechteckig, an den Ecken durchgeschlagene Rundkopfniete, die ein dünneres silbernes Unterlageblech mit dem Beschlag verbinden. Seine Seiten sind abgeschrägt. Die Ränder der Vorderseite umrahmt Reihenumuster aus punzierten Halbkreisen, das sich auch in der Mittellinie als Zickzackmuster fortsetzt, das an beiden Enden von einem „V“-förmigen Motiv geschlossen wird. Der Beschlag lag am linken Knie. L: 2,3 cm, B: 1,8 cm. D: 0,4 cm (*Abb. 3, 7; Abb. 5, 10*).

30. Eisenmesser mit mittlerer Griffstellung, einschneidig, auf dem linken Oberschenkelknochen. L: 19 cm, B: 1,8 cm (*Abb. 5, 16–17; Abb. 10, 3–4*).

31. Solidus. Prägung Justinians I. (527–565) MIB 7 Constantinopolis. Beim Aufnehmen der Knochen in der Mundhöhle gefunden. Dm: 2,1 cm, D: 0,1 cm (*Abb. 5, 1; Abb. 6, 1*).

32. Silberne Riemenzunge. Doppelblechfragmente einer kleinen silbernen Riemenzunge. Den oberen Teil der Vorderplatte zieren zwei quer zur Achse verlaufende waagerechte Einkerbungen. Darüber verbinden zwei Rundkopfniete die beiden gleichbreiten Platten. L: 2,8 cm, B: 1,2 cm (*Abb. 6, 6–7*).

DIE LAGE DES GRABES IM GRÄBERFELD

Die am Fundort bei der Freilegung gefundenen Bestattungen sind räumlich und chronologisch völlig verschieden voneinander. Die 74 Gräber des spätaawarenzeitlichen (8. Jh. n. Chr.) Gräberfelddetails im N-Teil des freigelegten Gräberfeldteils lagen in mehr oder weniger regulären Reihen in unmittelbarer Nähe zueinander. In S-SO-Richtung vom Gräberfeldausschnitt lag ein etwa 30 m entferntes, stark gestörtes Grab, das nur durch Fragmente eines Beinkammes gepidischen Typs ins 6. Jh. datiert wird. Das hier behandelte Grab 75 lag weitere 30 m in SO-Richtung von dem gestörten Grab (*Abb. 2*). Die Zusammenhänge der beiden eigentlich alleinstehenden Bestattungen können infolge der Gestörtheit der ersten Bestattung nicht geklärt werden, somit gehören sie weder eindeutig zueinander, noch sind sie als völlig voneinander unabhängige, einsame Bestattungen zu betrachten. Das wird selbstverständlich auch dadurch erheblich beeinflusst, dass Grab 75 an der Grenze des freigelegten Gebietes lag, also ohne auch weitere Untersuchung der Gebietsteile im O und S von ihm nicht als gesonderte Bestattung gewertet werden kann. Zugleich muss auch festgehalten werden, dass im N und W von Grab 75 keine Gräber aus ähnlicher Zeit gefunden wurden.

TOTENHAUS? DIE FRAGE DES GRABBAUES

In allen vier Ecken der Grabgrube befand sich je ein rundes Pfostenloch, Hinweise auf einen Grabbau (*Abb. 4*), wie mehrere aus der Aawaren- und Gepidenzeit bekannt sind. Bei gepidischen Bestattungen wurden neben den Längsseiten der Grabgrube und auch außerhalb von ihr verschieden geformte und große Pfostenlöcher in mehreren Gräberfeldern festgestellt (z. B. Tiszafüred-Nagykenderföldek, Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok).³ Im allgemeinen konnten auch Sargspuren dabei gesichert werden. Die Bretterauskleidung des Grabinneren und darin die Sarggrablege der Toten war Brauch in germanischem Gebiet, in alemannischen Gräberfeldern (z. B. Oberflacht).⁴ Die Bestattung mit Balkenskelettkonstruktion ist bei langobardenzeitlichen Bestattungen bekannt,⁵ aber an den Anfang des 7. Jh. datierbar in Keszthely-Fenekpuszta, Pusztaszentegyház-dúló Grab A mit Funden vom Merowingertyp.⁶ Neben den Seitenwänden des Grabes mit Beschlägen langobardischer Herkunft wurde die Spur der durch senkrechte Pfosten gehaltenen Bretterverkleidung einschließlich

³ NAGY 2004, 138.

⁴ NAGY 2004, 139.

⁵ VON FREEDEN-VIDA 2007, 359–384.

⁶ MÜLLER 2010.

des Brettersarges registriert.⁷ Bis zur Lösung des Zusammenhanges der gepidischen und der awarenzeitlichen Grabbauten und ihrer Rekonstruktion sind weitere Beobachtungen erforderlich.

Aus transdanubischen und slowakischen Gräberfeldern der Awarenzeit können zahlreiche Beispiele von Balkenskelettgräbern beigebracht werden. Péter Tomka stellt aufgrund der Analogie südslovakischer Awarengräberfelder fest, dass man für die im Grab ruhenden Toten auch noch eine extra Grabkammer gebaut hat, selbst der Rand der Grabgrube wurde mit Brettern belegt, die durch gezimmerte Balken gesichert worden sein können.⁸ Für das Vorkommen der Pfostengräber in der Frühawarenzeit können vor allem aus Gräberfeldern Südtransdanubiens mit starken germanischen Beziehungen Beispiele genannt werden (Kölked-Feketekapu A, Gyönk-Vásártér), für ihr gepidenzeitliches Vorkommen auch mehrere von jenseits der Theiß (z. B. Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok, Szolnok-Szanda, Tiszafüred-Nagykenderföldek).⁹

Elvira H. Tóth hat die Pfostengräber in awarenzeitlichen Gräberfeldern des Gebietes zwischen Donau und Theiß dokumentiert. Aufgrund der Löcher in den Grabecken hat sie eine aus Leisten oder schmalen Brettern gezimmerte Totenbahre auf vier Beinen rekonstruiert.¹⁰ Erika Wicker hat diese Eingrabungen aufgrund ethnographischer Analogien mit der sog. „Adlerholz“/ Holzstockkonstruktion im Szeklerland in Zusammenhang gebracht, dort nämlich werden in die Ecken der Gräber Balken eingeschlagen und auf diesen durch quer gelegte Balken und Bretter Grabkammern gebildet.¹¹ Ihrer Schlussfolgerung nach werden bei den Gräbern von Csólyospálos die Löcher an den Ecken der Gräber wahrscheinlich von den verrotteten Beinen des Sarges gebildet worden sein, da diese durch das gemeinsame Gewicht der Leiche, der Sargkiste und der Erde in den Boden gedrückt wurden.¹² Beim Gyulaer Grab kann diese Möglichkeit abgelehnt werden, weil die Sargklammern innerhalb der Grabgrube lagen, so dass eher eine Totenbahre, ein Totenbett oder die Grabverkleidung mit Brettern und darin der Brettersarg mit der Toten zu vermuten sind.

In der ersten Hälfte der Awarenzeit ab der Mitte des 7. Jh. erschien im NW-Winkel des Gebietes zwischen Donau und Theiß das über dem Grab (Pfostengräber) errichtete Schutzdach (z. B. Gräberfelder Csepel-Háros oder Vác-Kavicsbánya). Die Pfostengräber kommen vereinzelt an der Theiß vor, im unteren Drittel des Gebietes zwischen Donau und Theiß. Die ist eine neue Erscheinung in der Epoche, ausschließlich entlang der Achse Szeged – Bácsstopolya – Óverbász. Die Grabbauten sind in diesen Gräberfeldern von der Mitte des 7. Jh. bis zum ersten Jahrzehnt des 8. Jh. belegbar.¹³

DER SARG UND DIE SARGKLAMMERN

Aufgrund der Forschungen letzter Zeit können die Sargbestattungen in der gesamten Awarenzeit als allgemein betrachtet werden.¹⁴ Die Bestattung im Sarg ist unabhängig von gesellschaftlicher Stellung¹⁵ und ethnischer Zugehörigkeit.¹⁶ Gemäß den Forschungen von István Bóna war der Brettersarg bei den asiatischen Hirtenvölkern üblicher Brauch. In den frühawarischen Gräbern waren die Sargklammern seltener, später erscheinen sie häufiger in den Gräbern.¹⁷

⁷ NAGY 2004, 138–139.

⁸ TOMKA 1979, 76.

⁹ BALOGH 2016, 45.

¹⁰ H. TÓTH 1981, 188, Abb. 24.

¹¹ WICKER 1990, 32.

¹² WICKER 1990, 34–35.

¹³ BALOGH 2016, 142–143.

¹⁴ BALOGH 2016, 46.

¹⁵ WICKER 1990, 31.

¹⁶ TOMKA 1979, 77.

¹⁷ BÓNA 1976, 47.

In dem Grab von Gyula lagen an beiden Seiten des Skeletts insgesamt 15 Sargbeschläge, die U-förmige Sargklammern und -bänder gewesen sein können (Abb. 8–10). Bei einem Teil der U-förmigen Sargklammern waren die Enden der Klammer nach innen umgebogen, wahrscheinlich wurden solche für gezimmerte Brettersärge verwendet.¹⁸ Diese U-Klammern sind 4–8 cm lang, haben spitze Enden und können sehr dickes Holzmaterial umfassen. Die Bauklammer oder die U-Klammern werden der Befestigung von Brettern aneinander gedient haben. Ihre Benutzung ist für die gesamte Gepidenzeit typisch. Die Sargbänder sind breiter und flacher, ihre breiteren Enden wird man in verschiedene Formen (gerade, rund, spitz, dreieckig) gehämmert haben. Meist wurden sie, im rechten oder stumpfen Winkel gebogen, außen auf Deckel und Seitenwand des Sarges befestigt.¹⁹ Im hier behandelten Grab 75 gibt es spitz endende, wohl auch mit Nägeln am Holz befestigte Eisenbänder. Sie sind ca. 2–2,5 cm breit und ca. 20–26 cm lang. Die verschiedenen Typen der breiten, mit Eisennägeln befestigten Bänder (spitz, gerade abgeschnitten oder verbreitert endend) sind im Karpatenbecken großenteils für die Awarenzeit typisch.²⁰ Péter Tomka meint, dass die mit Eisenbändern und -klammern versehenen schrankförmigen Grabkisten an den auch in der Römerzeit bekannten Kistentyp erinnern.²¹

KAMM

An der rechten Skelettseite lag unter dem Schädel der einreihige Beinkamm (Abb. 5, 18; Abb. 6, 9). Während zweireihige Beinkämme in Gepidengräbern unabhängig von Geschlecht und Alter typisch sind, wurden die in der Frühawarenzeit vorkommenden zweireihigen Kämmen ausschließlich bei Frauen gefunden.²² In Awarengräbern sind Kämmen überhaupt keine häufigen Funde, sie kommen in der Epoche grundsätzlich im früheren Horizont der germanische Beziehungen aufweisenden Gräberfelder in Transdanubien vor.²³ Das Erscheinen zweireihiger Beinkämme auch in awarischen Gräbern kann mit merowingischen Traditionen zusammenhängen (z. B. Gräberfelder von Kölked-Feketekapu A, Zamárdi und Budakalász). Jenseits der Theiß wurde im gepidischen Quartiergebiet bisher nur an einem Fundort ein frühawarenzeitlicher zweireihiger Beinkamm gefunden, in Szegvár-Oromdűlő Grab 1.²⁴ Die Kämmen lagen zumeist unmittelbar neben oder unter dem Schädel (bei Frauen vor allem auf der rechten Seite); in diesen Fällen kann man mit Recht annehmen, dass der Kamm ins Haar gesteckt, als Teil der Haartracht mitbestattet wurde. Mehrere Forscher, so auch Ágnes B. Tóth, halten den Trachtzusammenhang wegen der Starrheit der geraden Beinkämme nicht für wahrscheinlich. In den Fällen jedoch, wo der Kamm direkt neben oder unter dem Schädel lag, hält Margit Nagy die Möglichkeit des Trachtzusammenhangs zumindest für erwägenswert.²⁵ Die Haartracht zu ordnen, das Kämmen und den Kamm neben die Toten zu legen, kann ein wichtiger Teil der Bestattungsvorbereitung gewesen sein. Die Kammtracht und der Brauch, den Kamm auch zu bestatten, hat nach der Frühawarenzeit allmählich nachgelassen.²⁶ Am Fundort von Gyula wurde in dem gestörten Grab 74 in der Nähe des hier behandelten Grabes ein zweireihiger Beinkamm gefunden, ebenfalls in fragmentarischem Zustand.

¹⁸ NAGY 2004, 137.

¹⁹ NAGY 2004, 137–138.

²⁰ NAGY 2004, 138.

²¹ TOMKA 1979, 82.

²² BALOGH 2016, 252.

²³ BALOGH 2016, 253.

²⁴ BALOGH 2016, 252.

²⁵ NAGY 2004, 144.

²⁶ NAGY 2004, 144–145.

GEHÄNGEGÜRTEL: ZIERANHÄNGER?

Am Becken des weiblichen Skelettes in Grab 75 fand sich eine nach rechts gerichtete ovale Eisenschnalle, die mit drei Rundkopfnieten am Lederriemen befestigt war. (Abb. 3, 2–5; Abb. 5, 4–7) In der Gepidenzeit öffnen sich die Schnallen allgemein zur rechten Hand hin. Gestreckte ovale Eisenschnallen fertigten die Ostgermanen bereits seit dem 4. Jh.²⁷ Zur Gürtelgarnitur des Skelettes im Gyulaer Grab gehörten neben der Eisenschnalle auch mit Punzierung verzierte und unverzierte Silberbeschlüge (Abb. 3, 6–9; Abb. 5, 8–11). Mehrheitlich lagen die Beschlüge, die auf einem vom Gürtel herabhängenden Band oder Lederriemen gesessen haben werden, bei den Oberschenkelknochen und Knien. Mit der Sammlung und Herkunftsuntersuchung der awarenzeitlichen Gehängegürtelgräber haben sich Tivadar Vida²⁸ und dann auch Éva Garam beschäftigt.²⁹ In den Frauengräbern finden sich unter dem Becken die charakteristischen Bestandteile des Gehängegürtels: der lang herabhängende Gürtel mit Beschlügen und Riemenzunge, von dem auf der linken Seite Kapsel, Tasche, Scheibe, verschiedene Arbeitsmittel (Messer, Spindeln, Nadelbehälter aus Blech usw.), Bronzeketten an mit farbigen Perlen oder eventuell Beschlügen verzierten Textil- oder Lederriemen herabhingen. Schließlich gehörten dazu die Metallschnallen und -riemenzungen der Riemen für das Lederschuhwerk (Wadenbindengarnitur) oder der die Strümpfe fixierenden Lederriemen (Abb. 11).³⁰

Die als weibliche Gehängegürteltracht bezeichnete Kleidung bzw. ihr Zubehör ist ein Charakteristikum der sich aus spätantiken und mediterranen Wurzeln speisenden frühmittelalterlichen germanischen Welt, des mediterranen Kulturkreises des 6.–7. Jh. Der Wechsel von dem auf den Schultern mit Fibeln zusammengehaltenen *peplos* zur in der Körpermitte mittels Gürtel getragenen *tunica* mit Ärmeln war im 5. Jh. erfolgt. Die Fibeln wanderten zuerst von den Schultern auf den Oberteil der Kleidung, dann in die Körpermitte auf den breiten Gürtel und zierten später noch weiter unten den bis zum Knie oder Knöchel hängenden Gürtel oder das Band. Diese Tracht wurde zum Symbol der vornehmen Frauen. Parallel mit dem lang herabhängenden Frauengürtel oder -band wurden immer häufiger die an das Ende des Gürtels gehängten, dann vom Gürtel zuerst auf beiden Seiten, dann auf der rechten und später nur auf der linken Seite herabhängenden Gegenstände: kleinere Arbeitsmittel (Messer, Nadeln, Seihlöffel, Kamm), dann größere Perlen von verschiedenem Material, Form und Farbe sowie Amulette, Talismane und Scheiben. Bei den Völkern der Merowingerwelt, den Thüringern, Baiern, Alemannen, Franken und Langobarden, wurde etwa gleichzeitig der auf gemeinsame Wurzeln zurückzuführende, lang herabhängende breite Frauengürtel allgemein, der mit je zwei Bügelfibeln geschmückt wurde.³¹ Auch auf byzantinischen Mosaiken des 6. Jh. kann man die vom Gürtel herabhängenden einzelnen oder doppelten Bänder erkennen, die von den Germanen auf verschiedene Weise geschmückt wurden.³² Bis zur Mitte des 6. Jh. werden die Bügelfibeln seltener, kommen nur noch einzeln vor, aber jeweils eine Scheibenfibel wird noch verwendet, um das Hemd am Hals zu schließen. Zeitgleich damit wird der an der linken Gürtelseite hängende Bestand variabler, reicher. Im 7. Jh. verstärkten sich die vom Allgemeinen abweichenden, regionalen Unterschiede, einzelne Elemente der Gehängegürtelkleidung und die Zusammensetzung der Gehängebestände wurden bestimmender. Im Gepidengebiet ist die Tracht mit beschlagverzierten Bändern bisher nur in Szentés-Nagyhegy Grab 84 in *in situ* zu betrachtender und rekonstruierbarer Form gefunden worden (Abb. 12).³³ Teile von Gürtelgehängen gibt es auch

²⁷ NAGY 2004, 159.

²⁸ VIDA 1996; VIDA 2000, 368–377.

²⁹ GARAM 2011.

³⁰ VIDA 2000, 371, Abb. 3, 4.

³¹ GARAM 2011, 64.

³² BÓNA 1976, 37; VIDA 2000, 368–377.

³³ VIDA 2000, 372, Abb. 4, 1.



Abb. 11. Rekonstruktion der Bekleidung der Frau aus dem Grab 59 von Band/Mezőbánd 59 (after VIDA 2000, 371, Abb. 4. 1.)



Abb. 12. Rekonstruktion der Bekleidung der Frau aus dem Grab 84 in Szentés-Nagyhegy (after VIDA 2000, 371, Abb. 3. 4.)

in weiteren Bestattungen, z. B. in Hódmezővásárhely-Kiszombor,³⁴ Szentés-Berekhát, Szolnok-Szanda³⁵ oder auch den Gräberfeldern von Kölked-Feketekapu.³⁶ In deren Gepidengräbern wurden zumeist Beschläge mit Band gefunden. Bei den gepidischen Gürtelgehängen hingen von der Hüfte in Doppelreihe nebeneinander in kleinen Ringen endende, miteinander durch farbige Bänder verbundene Zierbleche herab, die nicht auf dem Bandgrund befestigt waren; darin unterschieden sie sich von der Langobardentracht.³⁷

Éva Garam hat die awarenzeitliche Gehängegürteltracht untersucht und typisiert, und Alpár Dobos beschäftigte sich mit der gepidischen und der frühawarischen Gehängegürteltracht und ihrer Beziehung. Im gepidenzeitlichen Karpatenbecken stellt eine spezifische Variante der Gürtelgehänge die Verzierung mit Scharnier- und Ringbeschlägen dar. Alpár Dobos untersuchte die Gürtelgehänge nach drei typologischen Gesichtspunkten:³⁸

1. runder oder ovaler Ring, der mittels zwei dünnen Blechen auf dem Gürtelgehänge befestigt wurde,
2. viereckiger Blechbeschlag mit je einem Niet an den Ecken und Gegenbeschlag auf der Rückseite,
3. Scharnierband-Riemenverteiler aus zwei Blechen.

In gepidischer Zeit dominiert Typ 1, die Typen 2 und 3 sind seltener und kommen eher nur in frühawarenzeitlichen Gräbern vor. Die Gehängegürteltracht von Gyula Grab 75 gehört zu Gruppe 2. Zu dieser Gruppe können auch die Gürtelgehänge von Kölked-Feketekapu B Grab 85 und Mezőbánd Grab 59 oder 29 gezählt werden. Die Gürtelgehänge konnten in der Mitte und

³⁴ BÓNA–NAGY 2002, Taf. 21.

³⁵ BÓNA–NAGY 2002, Taf. 36, Taf. 54.

³⁶ NAGY 2004, 162.

³⁷ BÓNA 1976, 38.

³⁸ DOBOS 2012.

auch an beiden Seiten getragen werden, ohne dass irgendeine Seite im Vorteil gewesen wäre. Sie können auch paarweise getragen worden sein, von den Gegenständen auf ihnen waren Messer am häufigsten. In gepidischer Zeit werden die Gürtelgehänge mit einer oder mehreren Perlen geschlossen. In den Gepidengräbern ist neben den Gürtelgehängen auch die Beigabe der Fibel häufig, die sich zumeist als Einzelstück im Beckenbereich findet. Auch sie kann Zierfunktion gehabt haben. Die frühawarenzeitlichen Funde kommen im Ostteil Transdanubiens bzw. in Siebenbürgen vor, also in Gebieten, in denen zahlreiche Bestattungen merowingisch/germanischen Charakters freigelegt werden konnten. Dies kann als lokale Tradition des Karpatenbeckens betrachtet werden, auf die die gepidische und langobardische bzw. auch die merowingische und byzantinische Kultur einwirkten. Die Gürtelgehänge kommen in erster Linie in Gräbern erwachsener Frauen vor. Typisch ist die hohe Anzahl von Importgegenständen bei diesen Bestattungen.³⁹

Neben dem Gehängegürtel fanden sich in mehreren awarenzeitlichen Gräbern Funde, die Metallschnallen und -riemenzungen der Schuhwerkriemen oder Lederriemen für die Strümpfe gewesen sein können und unter den Knien bzw. im Unterschenkelbereich vorkommen (Strumpfbänder, Wadenbindengarnitur). Als Parallelen sind auch hier Kölked-Feketekapu A Grab 524 sowie Mezőbánd Grab 8 und 39 zu nennen.⁴⁰ Auch in der Merowingerzeit gab es solche Funde, und die Vorgänger der awarenzeitlichen Strumpfhalter sind in den Langobardengräberfeldern zu finden.⁴¹ In mehreren Gräbern vom Langobardengräberfeld in Tamási wurden unter den Knien Bronze- oder Eisenschnallen gefunden, die die Schnallen des am Bein festzubindenden Schuhwerks gewesen sein können.⁴² Die kleine Schnalle von Mezőbánd Grab 59 ist eine gute Parallele derer aus Gyula Grab 75 (*Abb. 5, 12; Abb. 6, 3*), die gleichfalls am rechten Unterschenkel lag.⁴³

Das Auftauchen des awarenzeitlichen Gehängegürtels fällt mit dem Anfang der Frühawarenzeit zusammen. Dies hängt mit der früheren langobardischen und gepidischen Tracht sowie mit der Frauentracht der merowingischen Gebiete zusammen, ist aber das Ergebnis einer eigenständigen Entwicklung. Der awarenzeitliche Gehängegürtel weicht in einem Punkt auffällig von dem ab, der aus dem merowingergermanischen Kulturkreis bekannt ist: Der vom Gürtel herabhängende Teil ist mit Beschlägen verziert und endet in einer Riemenzunge. Tivadar Vida hat bei der Suche nach der Herkunft der beschlagenen Frauengürtel festgestellt, dass die Frauengürtel mit Beschlägen und Riemenzunge im Zentralgebiet des Merowingerreiches sehr selten sind.⁴⁴ Der Frauengehängegürtel mit Beschlägen und Riemenzunge ist ein frühawarenzeitliches Spezifikum, aber nur für gewisse Regionen des awarischen Quartiergebietes typisch.⁴⁵ Der auffälligste Teil der Männer- und Frauengürtel ist die Riemenzunge an ihrem Ende. Da es am Ende der Frauengürtel keine Riemenschlaufe gibt, hängt der vorn in der Mitte zusammengeschnallte Gürtel in der Mittellinie des Körpers herab bis zum Knie oder sogar Knöchel (letzteres hängt von der Kleiderlänge ab).

Die nächsten Parallelen der Beschläge im Grab von Gyula im Gepidengebiet fanden sich in Szolnok-Szanda (Lanzen-) Männergrab 135 (*Abb. 13, 3*),⁴⁶ Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok Frauengrab 23 (*Abb. 13, 4*),⁴⁷ Szőreg-Téglagyár Männergrab mit Waffen 63 (*Abb. 13, 1-2*)⁴⁸ bzw. Kisköre-Papptanya Frauengrab 42.⁴⁹ Für punziert verzierte Gürtelgarnituren gibt es Parallelen im mediterranen langobardischen und auch im byzantinischen Gebiet. Das Vorbild dieser streifigen Punzenverzierungen kann die Nielloeinlage gewesen sein. Das frühere Niellomotiv des laufenden

³⁹ DOBOS 2012.

⁴⁰ VIDA 1996, 118.

⁴¹ VIDA 1996, 12.

⁴² BÓNA 1976, 37.

⁴³ VIDA 1996, 115.

⁴⁴ VIDA 1996, 117.

⁴⁵ GARAM 2011, 65.

⁴⁶ BÓNA–NAGY 2002, Taf. 46.

⁴⁷ NAGY 2004, 225; *Abb. 25, 4*.

⁴⁸ NAGY 2005, 157.

⁴⁹ BÓNA–NAGY 2002, Taf. 29.

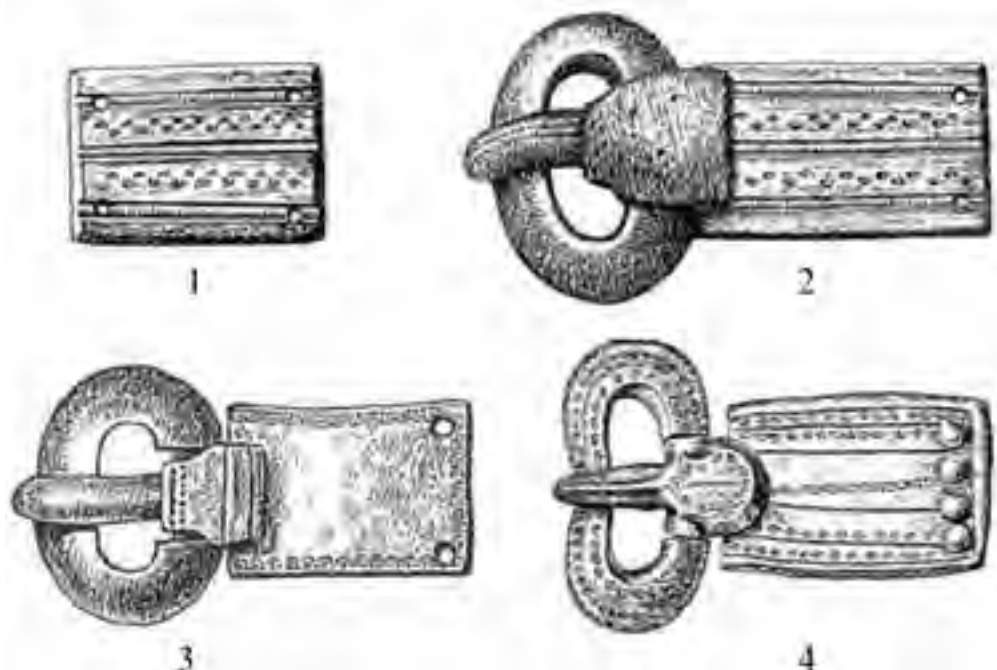


Abb. 13. Punzierte silberne Gürtelbestandteile 1-2. Szőreg-Téglagyár Grab 63 (after NAGY 2005, 157); 3. Szolnok-Szanda Grab 135 (after BÓNA-NAGY 2002, Taf. 46.); 4. Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok Grab 23 (after NAGY 2004, 225; 25. kép 4).

Hundes erscheint als Wellenlinie aus in wechselnder Richtung eingeschlagenen halbrunden Punzenmustern. Diese Muster finden sich bei den frühawarenzeitlichen Frauengehängegürteln vor allem auf den Riemenzungen (z. B. Környe Grab 32, Budakalász Grab 1532, Mezőbánd Grab 59, Kölked Feketekapu A Grab 164).

Die Kreuzverzierung auf dem silbervergoldeten Beschlag, der Beigabe 19 der Bestattung von Gyula (Abb. 3, 9), ist der Verzierung der Kapsel von Szentes-Nagyhegy Frauengrab 84⁵⁰ sehr ähnlich. Am Anfang des 6. Jh. änderten sich die Schmuckverzierungen im Theißgebiet, die Raubtierfiguren verschwinden langsam, an ihrer Stelle treten eher Muster in den Vordergrund, die mit dem Christentum vereinbar sind. Den historischen Angaben gemäß waren die Gepiden im 6. Jh. Arianer, Anhänger Wulfilas. Andererseits sind die Gräber voll von heidnischen und sonstigen christlichen Beigaben. Auf da Christentum verweisende Sinnbilder und Symbole lassen sich seit der zweiten Hälfte des 5. Jh. nachweisen, vor allem an byzantinischen Gegenständen.⁵¹ Dies spiegelt auch eine gesellschaftliche Teilung wider, denn die christlich geprägten Gegenstände tauchen allgemein in den Gräbern der Reichen, der Adelligen auf. Zwischen der alten und der neuen Religion gab es keine strikte Grenze. Die alte Glaubenswelt ließ sich mit dem Christentum vereinbaren. Die Elemente der christlichen Religion waren bemüht, sich mit der heidnischen Glaubenswelt, der Tracht zu identifizieren (im gegebenen Fall mit den Gürtelgehängen), an die Stelle der heidnischen Amulette traten die christlichen Symbole.⁵² In der archäologischen Hinterlassenschaft der Gepiden des 5.-6. Jh. ist eine Art von Synchretismus der heidnisch-christlichen Symbole festzustellen.⁵³ Von der Kreuzdarstellung des Silberbeschlags Beigabe 19 sind zahlreiche Varianten bekannt. In den Gräberfeldern Szentes-Nagyhegy Grab 29 und Kiszombor Grab 350 befindet sich ein am Hals

⁵⁰ BÓNA 1976, Abb. 11.

⁵¹ QUASt 2001, 431-452.

⁵² BOLLÓK 2017, 423-442.

⁵³ GALLINA 1999, 101.

getragenes kleines verziertes Bronzekreuz mit Bergkristalleinlage. In Szentés-Berekhát Grab 145 lag ein kreuzförmiger Bronzebeschlag. In Csongrád-Kettőshalom kam eine byzantinische Schnalle mit Kreuz- und Taubendarstellung zum Vorschein. In Kreuzform durchbrochene byzantinische Schnallen sind in den Gräberfeldern Hódmezővásárhely, Szőreg und Pécska bekannt. Die Mehrheit dieser Gegenstände war billige Handelsware aus Byzanz. Glaubensmäßigen Hintergrund hatten sie vermutlich nicht.⁵⁴ Sie waren die möglichen Beweise eines Heiligen- und Reliquienkultes bei den Gepiden.⁵⁵

GOLDENER FINGERRING

An der rechten Hand des Skelettes im Gyulaer Grab lag ein goldener Fingerring architektonischen Typs (*Abb. 5, 2; Abb. 6, 2*), der zu den besonderen Gegenstandstypen in der frühbyzantinischen Periode gehört. Im Mittelmeerraum sind zahlreiche Exemplare bekannt, noch mehr finden sich in den Merowingergebieten, und einige Exemplare sind auch aus dem Karpatenbecken bekannt. Bei ihnen handelt es sich um einen hervorragenden Beweis der mediterranen und Fernbeziehungen des Karpatenbeckens im 6.-7. Jh. Den Namen des Typs hat der Fingerring vom Aufbau seines Kopfes erhalten. Auf den zumeist breiten Ring wurde eine Säulenstrukturformation gelötet, die sehr variabel gestaltet sein konnte: eckig bzw. rund, die „Säulen“ konnten Arkaden bilden oder einfache Stützsäulen sein. Die im Karpatenbecken gefundenen Fingerringe mit hohem Kopf und Kuppelform wurden von Éva Garam als erster zusammengefasst und gruppiert⁵⁶ und dann von Adrienn Blay mit ihren mediterranen Beziehungen zusammen veröffentlicht.⁵⁷ Die Fingerringe im Karpatenbecken stammen mit einer Ausnahme aus weiblichen Bestattungen. In den von Adrienn Blay aufgestellten vier Gruppen gehen in der ersten Gruppe die im Kreis stehenden Arkaden von kleinen Ringgliedern bzw. deren Imitation aus. Die so gestaltete kleine Kuppel ist unterschiedlich geschlossen: halbrund, rund, flach oder leicht konisch. Zu den Exemplaren des Karpatenbeckens gehören das von Gyula und das von Keszthely-Fenekpuszta, Horreum Grab 6 (*Abb. 14, 1*). Ähnlich im Aufbau sind noch ein Ring von Gyenesdiás Reitergrab 64 (*Abb. 14, 3*) und ein Streufund-Fingerring vom gepidenzeitlichen Biharnagybajom (*Abb. 14, 2*). Die beste Parallele des Gyulaer Ringes ist aber leider nur aus einer Privatsammlung bekannt.⁵⁸ Der von Keszthely-Fenekpuszta, Horreum bekannte Fingerring lag im Frauengrab 6 des Gräberfeldes, einem Steinpackungsgrab, das aufgrund seines Fundmaterials ins letzte Drittel des 6. Jh. datiert werden kann. Bei den übrigen Funden ist ebenfalls zu erkennen, dass sie in weitem, mediterranem Kontext zu interpretieren sind. Die bestattete Person wird enge Beziehungen zur materiellen Kultur der mediterranen Welt gepflogen haben, Grab und Bestattungsweise spiegeln spätantike Traditionen wider.⁵⁹ Mehrere Forscher schließen nicht aus, dass diese Fingerringe irgendeinen christlichen symbolischen Inhalt haben, auf eine Kapelle, Kirche oder Grabmal (Heiliges Grab) verweisen könnten. Im Karpatenbecken ist dieser Gegenstandstyp etwa gleichzeitig erschienen, dagegen zeigen die Parallelen in zwei Richtungen, ins Ostmittelmeerraum und nach Italien sowie Dalmatien. Auf jeden Fall ist es beachtenswert, dass der Fingerringtyp etwa Mitte bis Ende des 6. Jh. auch in Gebiete zwischen Donau und Theiß und jenseits der Theiß gelangt. Das deutet auf jeden Fall lebhafter werdende Beziehungen zum Mittelmeerraum an. Die im Merowingergebiet gefundenen Exemplare stammen größtenteils aus Gräbern, die fast alle Frauenbestattungen mit herausragend reichen Beigaben im 6. Jh. waren. Adrienn Blay meint, parallel mit dieser Periode kann im Karpatenbecken der Fingerring vom Gyulaer Grab genannt werden. Sowohl im merowingischen als auch im Material

⁵⁴ BÓNA 1976, 75.

⁵⁵ GALLINA 1999, 102–103.

⁵⁶ GARAM 2001, 81.

⁵⁷ BLAY 2015.

⁵⁸ BLAY 2015, 3.

⁵⁹ BLAY 2015, 3.

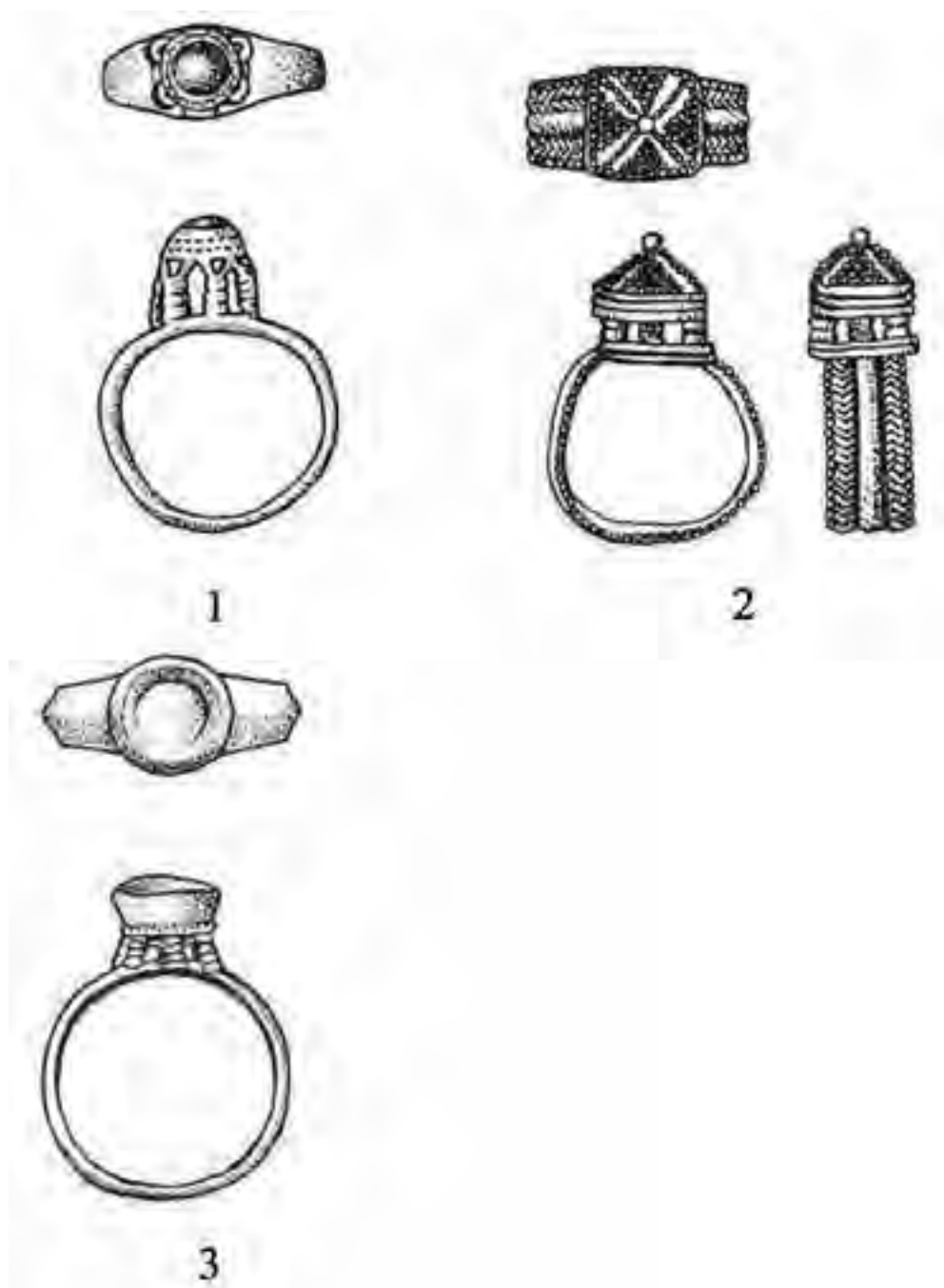


Abb. 14. Architektonische goldene Fingerringe: 1. Keszthely-Fenekpuszta, Horreum, Grab 6; 2. Biharnagybajom, Streufund; 3. Gyenesdiás Grab 64 (after GARAM 2001)

des Karpatenbeckens gehören die Fingerringe zu reich zu nennenden, vornehmen Frauengräbern. Vermutlich sind sie Importgegenstände, die beschränkt, nur gewissen Personen erreichbar waren. Ihr Besitz schuf zugleich auch Prestige. All das zeigt, dass die Beziehung des Karpatenbeckens zum Mediterraneum (im engeren Sinne zum Byzantinischen Reich) schon seit Anfang des 6. Jh. nachweisbar ist und zugleich nach dem Machtwechsel im Karpatenbecken intensiver wird.

DATIERUNG UND HISTORISCHE INTERPRETATION

Der Solidus am Schädel des Frauenskelettes im Gyulaer Grab (*Abb. 5, 1; Abb. 6, 1*) lag dort als Obulus. Die Münze ist ein in Konstantinopel geprägter Solidus Justinians I. Typ MIB 7, mit der Prägezeit 1. 9. 542 – 14. 11. 565.⁶⁰ Die bekannten byzantinischen Solidi aus Gepidengräbern sind fast ausnahmslos als Obulus gefunden worden.

Bezüglich der Lage von Grab 75 im Gräberfeld von Gyula liegen nicht alle Informationen vor, weil die vollständige Freilegung der Umgebung des Grabes noch nicht geschehen ist. Doch aufgrund der dokumentierten Charakteristiken der Bestattung und der obigen Detaillierung der Grabfunde kann die Klärung der Datierung des Grabes und der historischen Zusammenhänge versucht werden. Der Bestattungsritus, die Tatsache der Sargverwendung, bietet eine relativ weite Datierungsmöglichkeit an. Die Erscheinungen, die auf eine Balkenkonstruktion verweisen, welche Balkenskelette oder Grabgebäude voraussetzt, waren eher in der Awarenzeit als in der vorangehenden Periode bekannt, sie wurden seit dem 7. Jahrhundert verbreitet verwendet. Die Typen der Sargklammern im Gyulaer Grab kommen an vielen Fundorten der Awarenzeit vor, es gibt sie innerhalb der Epoche lange Zeit. Der Kamm des Grabes lässt sich typologisch mit ähnlichen Gegenständen der Gepidenzeit verbinden, die in der Awarenzeit kaum mehr nachzuweisen sind und nach und nach verschwinden. Die Analogien des Frauengehängegürtels, eines der charakteristischsten Stücke der dokumentierten Trachtelemente der im Gyulaer Grab bestatteten Frau, sind ausgesprochen von awarenzeitlichen Fundorten bekannt, die im germanischen Milieu Transdanubiens und Siebenbürgens freigelegt wurden. Die Analogien der Kreuzdarstellung auf dem vergoldeten Beschlag des Gürtelgehänges finden sich auf Gegenständen byzantinischer Herkunft. An sich weist diese Kreuzdarstellung noch nicht unbedingt auf den christlichen Glauben der Bestatteten hin, wird sie jedoch zusammen mit dem anderen bedeutenden Fund der Bestattung bewertet, mit dem architektonischen Goldfingerring (mit Kirchen- oder Kapellendarstellung), kann die Zugehörigkeit zum Christentum der bestatteten Frau erwogen werden. Der bei der Bestattungszeremonie als Obulus in den Mund gelegte Solidus von Justinian I. datiert den Bestattungszeitpunkt in die Awarenzeit, ins letzte Drittel des 6. oder auf den Anfang des 7. Jh.⁶¹

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⁶⁰ Für die Bestimmung der Münze danken wir Péter Somogyi. Zu den Fragen der archäologischen Datierung zwischen germanischer und awarischer Zeit: KONCZ 2015, 315–340.

⁶¹ Ähnliche Funde im Merowingerstil gibt es auch aus dem awarenzeitlichen Mitteltheißgebiet. VIDA 2009, 261–280; VIDA–FODOR 2013, 157–173; VIDA 2013, 107–323.

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DIE ROLLE DER KÜNSTLICHEN SCHÄDELDEFORMATION IN DEN FRÜHMITTELALTERLICHEN GESELLSCHAFTEN DES ÖSTLICHEN KARPATENBECKENS

Anett Mihácz-Pálfi

The role of artificial cranial deformation in the early Medieval societies in the Eastern Carpathian Basin

My research has focused on the burials of individuals with artificially deformed skulls in the Eastern Carpathian Basin. The archaeological sites presented in my paper clearly indicate that the custom of the artificial cranial deformation was widespread in the Hungarian Great Plain in the fifth-sixth centuries (rather frequent in the 6th c. A.D.). About the question of survival of the custom of the previous communities at some sites can be assumed, but at other sites the survival can definitely be excluded. Based on the research of the anthropological and the archaeological data the determination of social status of the people with artificially deformed skulls is a challenging task as the survival of the custom of these populations. Although most of the anthropological and archaeological researches state that the artificial cranial deformation usually implies higher social status, on the basis of the current archaeological finds it could not be seen, because in most of the archaeological sites and graves with artificially deformed skulls usually there are only simple grave goods, and elaborate pieces from precious metals or other high-value material were hardly found, special burial customs were almost not marked. Even though a lot of graves were disturbed and robbed and certainly there are some exceptions the majority of these burials are poorly furnished.

Keywords: Hunnic and Gepidic periods; archaeological and historical data; anthropological and paleopathological data; artificial cranial modification; survival of the custom; social status

„sic propter proelia natos maternus deformat amor“¹

Heute werden Tattoos und Piercings als ästhetische Dekoration des menschlichen Körpers, die wie einige charakteristische Verfahren des Körperschmucks bei afrikanischen, asiatischen, australischen oder amerikanischen Stämmen Körpermodifikation darstellen, immer mehr akzeptiert. Im Zusammenhang mit diesen Modalitäten der Körpermodifikation sollte man jedoch nicht vergessen, dass sie in manchen Gemeinschaften, in einigen Fällen mehrere Bedeutungen haben. Es ist auch allgemein bekannt, dass einige chinesische Mädchen und Frauen bis ins 20. Jahrhundert immer noch spezielle, verzerrende Fußbandage trugen, die unserem Erachten nach als menschliche Folter angesehen werden können. Gleichzeitig bedeutete es für sie und für die Männer der chinesischen Gesellschaft nicht nur Anmut, sondern auch ein Statussymbol und eine Prestigefrage. Der sogenannte Lotusfuß war in China als eine allgemeine Gewohnheit verbreitet. Ähnliche Ausdrucksmethoden von kultureller Identität, sozialem Status und weiblicher Schönheit wurden durch eine Reihe fehlgeleiteter Vorstellungen unter „zivilisierten“ westlichen Gesellschaften geschaffen. Die wohlhabendsten europäischen Frauen trugen Korsett zwischen dem 16. und 19. Jahrhundert. Mehr noch, moderne westliche Frauen verschonen ihre Körper

¹ *Sidonius Apollinaris, Panegyricus*, 30–31, 255–256: ed. ANDERSON 1936.



Abb. 1. Prozess der Kopfdeformierung mit einer speziellen Konstruktion – Cowliz-Mutter mit ihrem Kind in ihren Armen (Paul Kanes Gemälde) Caw-wacham. Das Gemälde wurde zwischen 1848 und 1853 von Paul Kane gemalt (Chinookan). The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, Canada



Abb. 2. Prozess der kreisförmigen (circularis) Kopfdeformierung mit Bindfäden – Arawe-Mutter mit ihrem Kind in ihrem Schoß in Papua-Neuguinea (Foto: Beatrice Blackwood) Das Foto wurde 1937 von Beatrice Blackwood aufgenommen. Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford, England

nicht, da sie sich Tag für Tag für Mode, Schönheit und soziale Erwartungen aufopfern. Abgesehen von den neuen und modernen Körpermodifikationsmethoden hat aus kulturanthropologischer, historischer und archäologischer Sicht die künstliche Schädeldeformation die größte Betonung bekommen (Abb. 1–2).²

Meine Forschung beschäftigt sich thematisch mit dem Problemkreis der künstlichen Schädeldeformation.³ Vorliegende Studie wurde der Untersuchung der Bestattungen von Verstorbenen mit künstlich deformiertem Schädel in der Spätantike und in der frühen Merowingerzeit im östlichen Karpatenbecken gewidmet.⁴ Die internationale und nationale Forschungsgeschichte der historischen Anthropologie und Archäologie wird ab dem 19.–20. Jahrhundert bis heute kurz vorgestellt. Nach einem kurzen historischen Überblick werden Methodik der Schädeldeformation und die wichtigsten Hintergrundangaben zusammengefasst. Sowohl die

² MIHÁCZI-PÁLFI 2018, 55–56.

³ Die Analyse hat der Forschungsfond NKFI K 111853 unterstützt.

⁴ Ich möchte mich bei meiner ehemaligen Betreuerin Ágnes B. Tóth bedanken, dass sie mir zu jener Zeit als Thema meiner Diplomarbeit die künstliche Schädeldeformation empfahl. Sie steuerte wertvolle Beiträge zu meiner Arbeit bei. Besonderer Dank gilt den Anthropologen Antónia Marcsik und Zsolt Bereczki, ohne deren Hilfe und professionelle Beratung meine Forschung nicht möglich gewesen wäre. Ich bedanke mich für Bereczkis Bewertung mehrerer humanitärer Fälle. Außerdem möchte ich mich bei Valéria Kulcsár, Kornél Sóskúti und János József Szabó für die unveröffentlichten Informationen ihrer archäologischen Grabung bedanken.

anthropologischen und paläopathologischen als auch die historischen und archäologischen Ergebnisse werden berücksichtigt.

Aufgrund der historischen und archäologischen Angaben wurden mehrere Versuche unternommen, den Ursprung der künstlichen Schädeldeformation in der Völkerwanderungszeit zu bestimmen. Nach der Skizzierung des theoretischen Hintergrunds folgt die Essenz meiner Studie, die Analyse der Bestattungen mit deformierten Schädeln in der Zeit des Hunnenreiches und des Gepidischen Königiums. Ich beabsichtige nicht, auf alles, was in der Fachliteratur verfügbar ist, im Detail einzugehen. Ich konzentriere mich lediglich auf relevante Fälle mit authentischer Information. Während meiner Arbeit werden die oft unkorrekten Angaben in der Literatur geklärt, die im Laufe der Jahrzehnte gesammelt wurden. Danach werden die sogenannten prekären Fälle herausgefiltert. Nur mit wohl dokumentierten, sogenannten gut bestimmten Fällen werde ich mich befassen.

Es gibt zahlreiche Fragen, die bei der Forschung der Bestattungen mit künstlich deformierten Schädeln auftauchen. Welche „Ethnien“,⁵ Gemeinschaften, soziale Schichten pflegten die Sitte der Schädeldeformation, und wann ließen sie es hinter sich? Weitere Fragen ergeben sich hinsichtlich der Verbreitung der Sitte. Stehen Migration oder „ethnische“ / kulturelle Beziehungen zwischen Gemeinschaften in bestimmten Gebieten dahinter? Während der Studie versuche ich, diese Fragen zu beantworten. Doch ohne eindeutige Antworten auf die oben verfassten Problembereiche kann ich oft nur Fragen stellen. Mit dem Thema sollte sich nicht nur ein Anthropologe, sondern auch ein Archäologe auf jeden Fall befassen. Der Schlüssel zum Problem europäischer künstlicher Schädeldeformation liegt – nach Lajos Bartucz – in Ungarn.⁶

FORSCHUNGSGESCHICHTE

Die Sitte der künstlichen Schädeldeformation behandelt man schon seit der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts. Zum ersten Mal sammelte Karl Ernst von Baer deformierte Schädel auf der Krim und in Österreich.⁷ Derzeit schrieb József Lenhossék über deformierte Schädel in Ungarn.⁸ Eric John Dingwall erschuf das Fundament für die Forschung der Schädeldeformation weltweit.⁹ Weitere grundlegende Arbeiten wurden von Lajos Bartucz¹⁰ und János Nemeskéri¹¹ verfasst. Joachim Werner sammelte die Funde der Zeit ab Christi Geburt, ausgehend von der Region Tienschan ganz bis zum Gebiet der heutigen Schweiz (5-6. Jh.).¹² Auch István Kiszelys Sammlung, die in der BAR erschien, muss ich hier erwähnen.¹³ Neben einer Reihe ausgezeichneten Studien wurde die neueste Sammlung (bis zum Anfang der 2000er Jahre) der Fundorte im heutigen Ungarn, insbesondere in

⁵ In Klammern merke ich an, dass ich die ethnische Interpretation zu abstrahieren versuche. Darum verwende ich Anführungszeichen, wenn die Namen der Ethnien erwähnt werden.

⁶ BARTUCZ 1936, 29. Meiner Ansicht nach bedeutet die künstliche Schädeldeformation keine Verformung (im strengen Sinn des Wortes), weil die absichtliche Deformation des Schädels die ästhetische Rolle des Kopfes eher erhöhen, als negativ beeinflussen (deformieren) sollte. Daher schlug ich vor, den Begriff des künstlich geformten Schädels zu verwenden. Da sich jedoch der alte Terminus in über anderthalb Jahrhunderten in der Forschung der Völkerwanderungszeit etablierte hat, bin ich bei der Verwendung des geläufigen Begriffes geblieben.

⁷ BAER 1860.

⁸ LENHOSSÉK 1878.

⁹ DINGWALL 1931.

¹⁰ BARTUCZ 1938.

¹¹ NEMESKÉRI 1952.

¹² WERNER 1956.

¹³ KISZELY 1978.



Abb. 3. Karte der Fundstellen mit künstlich deformierten Schädeln in der Großen Ungarischen Tiefebene in der Hunnen- und Gepidenzeit

der Südlichen Tiefebene, 2006 veröffentlicht.¹⁴ Nicht zuletzt, unterstützen Balázs Gusztáv Mendes Notizen¹⁵ und Diplomarbeiten der Studenten die aktuelle Forschung.¹⁶

Dank der anfänglichen und kontinuierlichen Forschung und Datensammlung können mehr und mehr Informationen über die Verbreitung der Sitte, die Methode der Schädeldeformation, den morphologischen Charakter der Individuen, ihr Sterbealter und ihr Geschlecht gewonnen werden. Im Jahr 1938 rechnete Lajos Bartucz mit 19 archäologischen Fundstellen des historischen Ungarn, im Jahr 1963 Mihály Párducz mit 42 Fundstellen auf dem Gebiet des heutigen Ungarn, einschließlich mit 14 Fundstellen in der Region Theiß, Kreisch und Mieresch, und István Kiszely

¹⁴ BERCZKI-MARCSIK 2006.

¹⁵ MENDE O. J.

¹⁶ SZÉCSÉNYI-NAGY 2008; DEÁK 2011; MIHÁCZI-PÁLFI 2011; DEÁK 2013; MIHÁCZI-PÁLFI 2013a.

im Jahr 1978 mit 15 Fundstellen in der gleichen Region. Im Jahr 1990 nahm János Cseh insgesamt 52 Fundorte der Großen Ungarischen Tiefebene, der Donau-Timiş-Region und Siebenbürgens in den Kataster auf, samt 28 weiterer Fundorte der Regionen Theiß, Kreisch und Mieresch. Margit Nagy erhöhte die Zahl der Fundorte in der Großen Ungarischen Tiefebene im Jahre 2002 auf 32.¹⁷ In meiner Arbeit nahm ich 26 bestimmte Fundstellen aus dem Gebiet der Tiefebene unter die Lupe (Abb. 3).¹⁸

ANTHROPOLOGISCHE UND PALÄOPATHOLOGISCHE HINTERGRUNDANGABEN

Die künstliche Deformation des Schädels wurde durch absichtliche Beeinflussung der weichen, nahtlosen Schädelplatte des Säuglings erreicht, weil die Schädelknochen zu diesem Lebensalter weniger widerstandsfähig sind. Die Spuren der Bandage sind hauptsächlich auf der Stirnoberfläche, dem Bregma (Treffpunkt der Kranz- und Pfeilnaht) und dem Genick sichtbar.¹⁹ Eine der größten Schwierigkeiten für Anthropologen ist, das fragmentierte Skelettmaterial und Schädel zu bestimmen. Zu der Determination der Deformation (gewöhnlich bei wohlerhaltenen Schädeln) wird üblicherweise der Oetteking-Ginzburg-Žirov-Indikator genommen,²⁰ also das Verhältnis der Distanzen zwischen Basion und Antibasion bzw. Glabella und Inion (Abb. 4).²¹ Die Formel lautet folgendermaßen:

$$\frac{\text{Linie Basion–Antibasion} \times 100}{\text{Linie Glabella–Inion}} = \text{Deformationsindikator}^{22}$$

Zusätzlich wird der Neigungswinkel des Stirnprofils und der Winkel der Deformation berücksichtigt.²³ Auf dem IX. Internationalen Kongress für Anthropologie und Archäologie wurden zehn Methoden der Deformation zugewiesen,²⁴ von denen ich die drei charakteristischsten für beide Geschlechter in der frühen Völkerwanderungszeit im Karpatenbecken schildere. Bei einfacher *frontalis* Stirnformung ging die Bandage von der Stirn bis zum Genick; infolgedessen wurden die Stirn und das Scheitelbein (ausgenommen der mit der Bandage verbundenen Oberfläche der flachen Stirn) vorspringend. Die einfache *occipitalis* Formgebung könnte durch das Festbinden an der Wiege oder der Verstärkung mit einem am Genick befestigten Holzstück erfolgen; infolgedessen hob sich die Stirn, der obere und untere Teil des Genicks wurden flach und senkten sich. Die *fronto-occipitalis* Deformation entstand durch die Verwendung einer starken Doppelbindung an der Stirn, dem Genick und dem Scheitelbein. Diese Doppelformgebung beinhaltet die proportionale oder symmetrische Deformation der Stirn und des Genicks. Als Folge ragte die Kranznaht hervor (Abb. 5).²⁵

Humanwissenschaftliche Forschungen berichten von zahlreichen vermuteten pathologischen Veränderungen. Kleinere Deformationsprozesse änderten das Volumen des Hirnschädels

¹⁷ BÓNA–NAGY 2002, 147, Abb. 74; NAGY 2004, 173, 238–239, Abb. 35.

¹⁸ Siehe später die Analyse, bzw. Anm. 57. In dieser Arbeit beschäftige ich mich nicht mit den 15 unbestimmten Fundstellen (Abb. 3, Tabelle 1). Anhand des aktuellen Standes der Forschung (2011–2013) gibt es 138 veröffentlichte und 205 unveröffentlichte, also insgesamt 343 Fälle in Ungarn (mündliche Kommunikation von Zsolt Bereczki).

¹⁹ MENDE o. J.; Mündliche Kommunikation von Zsolt Bereczki.

²⁰ KÓVÁRI–SZATHMÁRY 2003, 135; HAJDU–BERNERT 2007, 328–329.

²¹ NEMESKÉRY–SZATHMÁRY 1990, 155; KISZELY 2006, 439.

²² Der Schädel wird *hypomakrokran* (leicht deformiert) genannt, wenn das Endergebnis weniger als 89 ist. Es wird als *hypermakrokran* (stark deformiert) bezeichnet, wenn das Endergebnis höher als 100 ist (CZIGÁNY 2001, 251).

²³ LIPTÁK–MARCSIK 1977, 43.

²⁴ *Frontalis, occipitalis, fronto-occipitalis, naso-occipitalis, lateralis/temporoparietalis, fronto-sincipito/parietalis, fronto-sincipito-occipitalis, quadrangularis, circularis, sphericus, anullaris* (CZIGÁNY 2001, 250).

²⁵ CZIGÁNY 2001, 250; KISZELY 2006, 440.

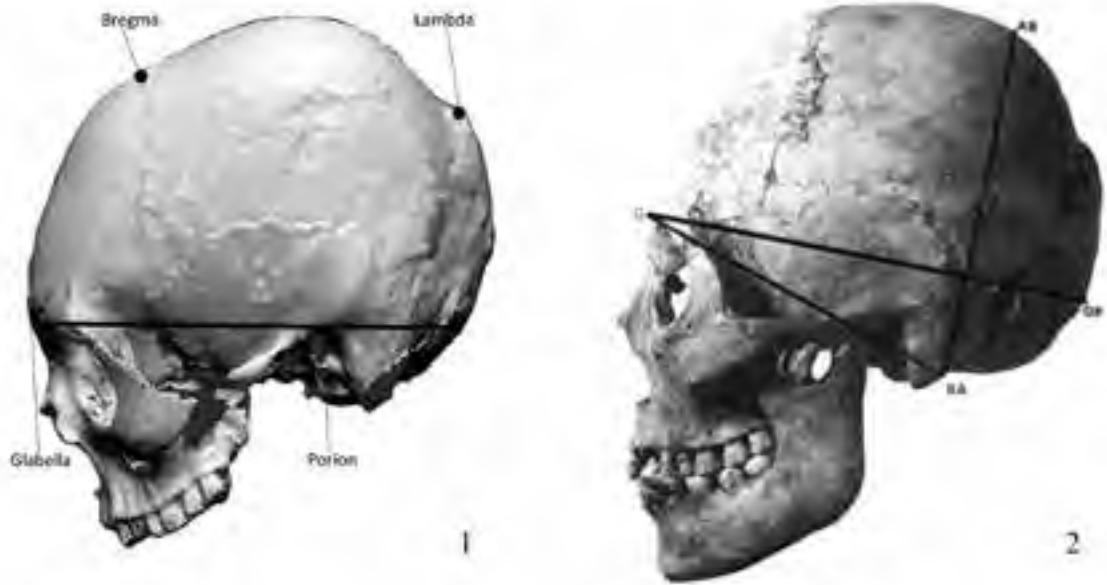


Abb. 4. 1. Schädel mit der Bezeichnung von Glabella, Porion, Bregma und Lambda (after MAYALL ET AL. 2017, fig. 2); 2. Oetteking–Ginzburg–Žirov-Indikator: Distanz der Basion–Antibasion und Glabella–Inion des Schädels (after KISZELY 1978, fig. 37)

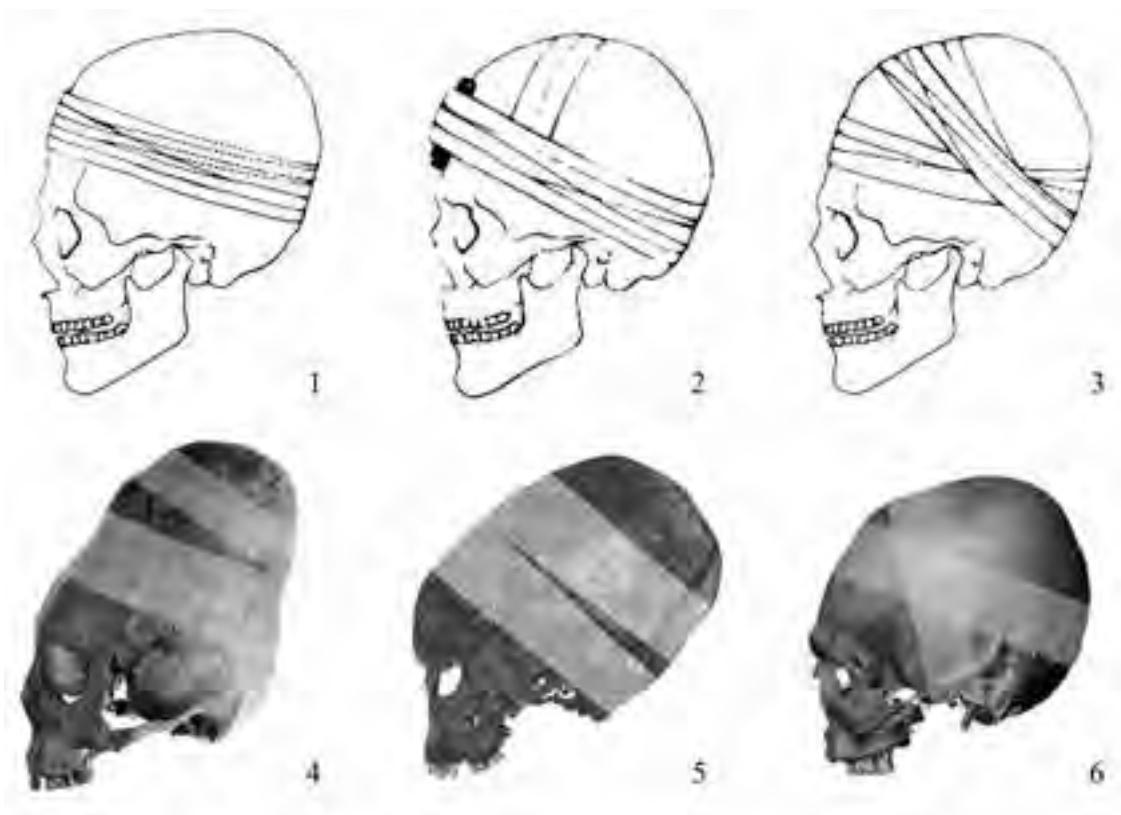


Abb. 5. Interpretationsmöglichkeiten der charakteristischen Deformationsmethoden im 5-6. Jahrhundert: 1. circularis; 2. mit Stirnpolster; 3. fronto-occipitalis (after KISZELY 1978, 35.1–3); 4–5. circularis (Georgien); 6. fronto-occipitalis (Karpathenbecken) (after MAYALL ET AL. 2017, fig. 5–7)

nicht, nur seine Form. In morphologischen Studien wurde festgestellt, welche Volumen- und Formänderung und pathologische Veränderungen Deformationsprozesse größeren Ausmaßes verursacht haben könnten. Der Gehirn- und Gesichtsschädel, bzw. die Schädelbasis erlitt eine starke Deformität, wodurch die Felsenbeine hervorstehen konnten.²⁶ An der früheren Linie von Gelenken und Bandagen wurden das Schädeldach und das Scheitelbein ausgedünnt. Osteoporose konnte mithilfe von Röntgenstrahlen verifiziert werden.²⁷ Die Stirnnaht konnte unter Umständen bis zum Lebensende offen bleiben oder sich nach einiger Zeit schließen.²⁸ Der mit Bandagen langfristig ausgeübte Druck auf offene Nähte und Fontanelle könnte zu krampfartigen Kopfschmerzen geführt haben, laut Ildikó Pap und László Józsa sogar zur Hirnatrophie und zur Schädigung der Gehirnwandung und des Kammersystems. Diese kranialen Drucksignale am inneren Schädel können als Spuren der Gehirnkrämpfe interpretiert werden. Dieser Druck könnte mit der Vermehrung der Pacchioni-Grübchen und der Dehnung und Abflachung des Türkensattels einhergegangen sein.²⁹

Außerdem könnten die Schläfenbeine in den Thorax gequetscht worden und das große Hinterhauptsloch sagittal, länglich in ovaler Form gedehnt sein, bzw. der Kieferwinkel kann sich erweitert haben. Der Durchmesser des Gehörgangs könnte sich in ovaler oder abgerundeter, dreieckiger Form verändert haben, was zur chronischen Entzündung des zentralen Luftwegs führen kann, oder auch zu Schwerhörigkeit und sogar Taubheit. Im Falle der Augenhöhle (*orbita*) bestand auch die Gefahr der Verengung, die zu Lähmung des Sehnervs, Sehverschlechterung oder Erblindung führen konnte.³⁰ Laut Ildikó Pap und László Józsa ist nicht außer Acht zu lassen, dass sich die Nasennebenhöhlen der Individuen mit deformiertem Schädel nur in seltenen Fällen entwickelt haben, was sich im Fehlen von Erwärmung, Befeuchtung und Filterung der eingeatmeten Luft widerspiegelt und so zu Bronchitis oder Lungenentzündung führen konnte.³¹ Das besagte Verfahren vermochte Karies und Prognathie (Neigung der oberen Frontzähne bis zu 45 Grad) begünstigen. Letzterer Zustand legt die Frage nahe, ob das Individuum überhaupt kauen konnte.³²

Einige Anthropologen (Lajos Bartucz, János Nemeskéri, Ildikó Pap) spekulierten, dass die Bandage unter dem Unterkiefer verlief. Immer mehr Forscher (Pál Lipták, Ferenc Szalai, Zsolt Bereczki, Antónia Marcsik, Gusztáv Balázs Mende) bezweifeln jedoch diese Annahme, weil es das Atmen, Sprechen und die Ernährung des Kindes behindert hätte, und es scheint keine Spur der Bandage im Unterkiefer zu sein.³³ Laut Gusztáv Balázs Mende könnte die Bandage am *fronto-occipitalis* die Vergrößerung des Frontallappens behindert haben,³⁴ während sie in der Region des Scheitelbeins und Temporalis das Lappenwachstum induziert haben konnte. Seiner Ansicht nach vermochten diese Veränderungen nicht zum Verlust oder der Überaktivität von Hirnstrukturen

²⁶ CZIGÁNY 2001; TÓTH ET AL. 2001, 52; KISZELY 2006, 437.

²⁷ KISZELY 2006, 436–437; CZIGÁNY 2008, 7.

²⁸ Im letzteren Fall könnte die Deformationsprozess die Kapazität des Hirnschädels beeinflusst haben. Normalerweise schließen sich die Nähte bis zum zweiten Lebensjahr (MENDE O. J.).

²⁹ TÓTH ET AL. 2001, 52; CZIGÁNY 2001; BERECKZI–MARCSIK 2006, 102; KISZELY 2006, 437; PAP–JÓZSA 2006; CZIGÁNY 2008, 7–8.

³⁰ CZIGÁNY 2001; BERECKZI–MARCSIK 2006, 102; KISZELY 2006, 436–437; PAP–JÓZSA 2006; HAJDU–BERNERT 2007, 332.

³¹ PAP–JÓZSA 2006.

³² TÓTH ET AL. 2001, 52; BERECKZI–MARCSIK 2005, 32; PAP–JÓZSA 2006. Es wird angenommen, dass die Bandage entfernt wurde, um die Ernährung zu ermöglichen (CZIGÁNY 2008, 7).

³³ BARTUCZ 1938; NEMESKÉRI 1952; PAP 1983; LIPTÁK 1983; SZALAI 1994, 107; BERECKZI–MARCSIK 2005, 32; PAP–JÓZSA 2006.

³⁴ István Kiszely rechnete als Folge der Verkümmerng des Frontallappens mit der Verschlechterung der geistigen Fähigkeiten des Individuums und ließ gleichzeitig die Annahme verlauten, dass diesen Individuen vielleicht übernatürliche Kräfte zugeschrieben wurden, weshalb man sie bewusst „ins Leben rief“ und spirituelle Tätigkeiten initiierte (KISZELY 2006, 438).

führen.³⁵ Mit letzterer Aussage stimmte auch Antónia Marcsik überein, die oben erwähnten pathologischen Veränderungen seien nur Annahmen, und es bedarf weiterer Forschung, um sie zu beweisen. Dennoch meinen viele Anthropologen, dass die Schädeldeformation mit keinen schwerwiegenden pathologischen Manifestationen in Verbindung gebracht werden konnte.³⁶

In jedem Fall wäre es unerlässlich, um das Problem zu klären, die Individuen ohne und mit künstlich deformiertem Schädel in einer Population zu vergleichen.³⁷ Die Hypothesen, dass die Schädeldeformation aus spirituellen Gründen, im Falle künftiger religiöser Anführer der Gemeinschaft bereits im Kindesalter eingeleitet wurde, verwerfe ich unter anderem auch deshalb, weil weder archäologisches Material noch schriftliche Quellen so etwas belegen. Meiner Ansicht nach wurde besagte Sitte sowohl bei Männern als auch bei Frauen im Sinne eines modischen Schönheitsideals verbreitet, und nicht deformieren, z. B. um in den Augen der Feinde als furchteinflößend zu gelten, wie es aufgrund schriftlicher Quellen in der Fachliteratur erwähnt wird.³⁸

ARCHÄOLOGISCHE UND HISTORISCHE HINTERGRUNDANGABEN

Es scheint immer wahrscheinlicher, dass – entgegen dem allgemeinen Bewusstsein – die Sitte der Schädeldeformation schon lange vor dem Erscheinen der Hunnen im Eurasien bestand. Heute ist bekannt, dass sie in der Mitte des 1. Jahrtausends v. Chr.³⁹ im Osten Zentralasiens erschien, im heutigen Kirgisistan und Tadschikistan.⁴⁰ Parallelen werden mit Schädeln Fundorten des 5-3. Jahrhunderts im Ferghanatal bestärkt. Laut Aydogdy Kurbanov stammen die am frühesten datierten Schädeln Fundorte aus dem 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr., z. B. vom Fundort Aktam (Kirgisistan). Deformierte Schädeln Fundorte stammen aus der auf das 5-4. Jahrhundert datierte Stadt Merv (Turkmenistan), aus Chirikrabat (4-3. Jahrhundert, Kasachstan), und von anderen Fundstellen auf dem Gebiet des heutigen Kasachstan.⁴¹ Diese neueren Angaben machen die These Joachim Werners, dass die ältesten Fundorte auf die Zeit der Geburt Christi und der Jahrhunderte danach, in den Regionen Tienschan und Pamir datiert wurden, obsolet.⁴²

Die Gelehrten des Altertums schrieben über die sogenannten Völker der *Macrones* und *Macrocephali*. Es ist jedoch fraglich, ob sich die beiden Begriffe auf dieselben Völker beziehen.⁴³

³⁵ MENDE o. J.

³⁶ Mündliche Kommunikation von Antónia Marcsik und Zsolt Bereczki. Ich bin damit einverstanden, dass eine Gesellschaft grundsätzlich keinen Zweck hat, ihre Gemeinschaft geistig zu verletzen.

³⁷ Mündliche Kommunikation von Antónia Marcsik.

³⁸ Siehe Anm. 57.

³⁹ Bzw. noch früher, auf die Zeit der Bestattungen von Typ Katakomben kann der Anfang der Sitte der Schädeldeformation datiert werden. Doch ist es unwahrscheinlich, dass die Sitte bis zum 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr. unverändert geblieben wäre (ISTVÁNOVITS–KULCSÁR 1998, 23).

⁴⁰ ISTVÁNOVITS–KULCSÁR 1998, 21–23.

⁴¹ KURBANOV 2010, 129–131.

⁴² Nach Werners Meinung gilt die Schädeldeformation für beide Geschlechter (13 Männer, 9 Frauen, 2 Kinder in einer vorher unbekanntem mongoliden Population im Fundort Kenkol). Werner verband die Gruppe Kenkol mit dem Stamm Xiongnu. Fast alle Schädel in den Kurganen bestatteter Individuen waren künstlich deformiert, jedoch gab es kein deformierter Schädel in beigabenlosen Gräbern (WERNER 1956, 9, 16, 97–98).

⁴³ Die *Macronians* / *Macrones* wurden vor allem von Herodotos (5. Jahrhundert v. Chr.) und Valerius Flaccus (1. Jahrhundert n. Chr.) erwähnt (*Herodotos* II, 104: ed. GODLEY 1920; *Valerius Flaccus* V, 151: ed. WIJSMAN 1996). Nach Apollonius Rhodius (3. Jahrhundert v. Chr.) waren die *macrocephali* die Völker von *Macria* (Griechische Insel Euboia). Sie lebten in der Nähe von Cerasus (heute Giresun, Türkei) (*Apollonius Rhodius* II, 1602: ed. PRESTON 1811). Es gibt keine glaubwürdige Verbindung zwischen dem Namen der beiden Völker. Nach William Preston "some writers assert, that these *Macrones* had their name, because most of them were *Macrocephali*, or had uncommonly long heads; like some among the *Persians*, and like certain savage tribes of this day" (PRESTON 1811, 69).

Hippocrates (5-4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.) beschrieb als erster, dass die *Makrokephalen* bei Kindern eine absichtliche Schädeldeformation durchführten. Weiterhin „*longissima enim habentes capita generosissimos existimant*“, das heißt, sie glauben, dass die Adeligen den längsten Kopf haben.⁴⁴

Infolge des erfolgreichen Angriffs der Xiongnu auf das Yuezhi (Yuèzhī)-Reich (später Kutschu), zogen sich die Yuezhi aus dem Tarimbecken nach Westen zurück, ganz bis zum Amu Darja. Diese Migration brachte vielleicht auch Sakengruppen mit sich. Auf dem baktrischen Gebiet des Kuschanreiches (10–233 / 375 v. Chr.) kamen Münzen zum Vorschein, auf denen Könige mit künstlich deformiertem Schädeln abgebildet waren.⁴⁵

Dies wird durch die Funde deformierter Schädel bestätigt, die in der Kuschanzeit gefunden wurden, wie in Surkhandarya und Kashkadarya (Usbekistan).⁴⁶ Wegen des Aufstiegs der Kutschu im 1. Jahrhundert n. Chr., war die Bevölkerung, die früher (im 2. Jahrhundert v. Chr.) aus Aorsen, Saken und Massageten bestand, gezwungen nach Nordwesten zu wandern.⁴⁷ Die Sitte der Schädeldeformation hätte also durch Migration in der Ural–Wolga-Steppe entstehen können, wo ein neuer Horizont gegen Ende des 1. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. entstand.⁴⁸

Im Laufe des 3-4. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. erschien die Sitte im Dnjepr-Gebiet, also wieder westlich der Ural–Wolga-Region. Einerseits möchte ich auf die Fälle der Sarmaten nicht mehr gesondert eingehen, andererseits muss ich hier darauf hinweisen, dass einige leicht deformierte Schädel aus sarmatenzeitlichen Gräberfeldern (3. Jahrhundert) in der Großen Ungarischen Tiefebene stammen.⁴⁹

Die Sitte der Schädeldeformation wurde durch die in den 370er Jahren an der Wolga erscheinenden Hunnen und Alanen⁵⁰ in Ost- und Mitteleuropa verbreitet. Weitere Ausgrabungen und Funde könnten die Theorie beweisen, dass die Sitte nicht während der Hunnenzeit, sondern schon im 3. Jahrhundert mit dem sarmatischen Stammesbündnis oder mit der neuen Infiltration der Mitglieder des Verbundes im Karpatenbecken und innerhalb dessen in der Großen Ungarischen Tiefebene erschienen ist.

Gleichwohl wird nicht bestritten, dass die Sitte der Schädeldeformation gegen Ende des 4. Jahrhunderts und hauptsächlich im 5. Jahrhundert n. Chr., unter mehreren Gruppen im Karpatenbecken verbreitet wurde. Am Ende des 4. Jahrhunderts sind in den Gräberfeldern der Nördlichen Tiefebene Zeichen einer, teils mit den Sarmaten der Südlichen Tiefebene kontinuierliche, teils mit einer neuen Bevölkerung verbundene, sarmatisch-alanische Gruppe zu erkennen.⁵¹ Es kann sein, dass die Sitte von ihnen mitgebracht wurde, aber wegen der geringen Anzahl von Fällen⁵² kann dies momentan nicht genau bestimmt werden.⁵³

⁴⁴ Hippocrates VIII, 83: ed. FOËS–GARDEIL 1838.

⁴⁵ ISTVÁNOVITS–KULCSÁR 1997, 161.

⁴⁶ KURBANOV 2010, 130.

⁴⁷ ISTVÁNOVITS–KULCSÁR 1998, 22–23.

⁴⁸ So konnte es auch dazu kommen, dass die Funde der Fundstelle Tillja Tepe (Afghanistan), wo eine Frau mit deformiertem Schädel, zusammen mit wertvollen Beigaben bestattet wurde, die Antezedenzen des Fundmaterials der Kurganen am Unterlauf des Don sind. Die Befunde beider Fundorte stammen aus dem 1. Jahrhundert n. Chr. (ISTVÁNOVITS–KULCSÁR 1998, 23). BATIEVA 2006, 53–72 berichtete von zahlreichen sarmatenzeitlichen deformierten Schädeln im 1-3. Jahrhundert n. Chr. am Unterlauf des Don.

⁴⁹ MARCSIK 2011, 426.

⁵⁰ Nach der Schlacht von Hadrianopolis im Jahre 378 wurden die ersten hunnisch-alanisch-gotischen Gruppen von Alatheus und Saphrax angeführt.

⁵¹ ISTVÁNOVITS 2001, 17.

⁵² MARCSIK 2011, 426. Ein römisches Einzelgrab ist in der Wende des 2-3. Jahrhunderts aus dem III. Bezirk von Budapest (in der Nähe von Aquincum) bekannt (HAVAS ET AL. 2006, 174–176). Bis jetzt ist es das einzige der frühesten Gräber mit deformiertem Schädel, vgl. die sarmatenzeitliche Bestattung in Kiskundorozsma (PAJA 2003, 165, 168).

⁵³ Eine Kultur ist durch kulturelle Verschmelzung mehrerer „ethnischer“ Gruppen entstanden, das ist die sog. Akkulturation. Eine Kultur könnte also mehr als eine „Volksgruppe“ umfassen. Akkulturation bedeutete jedoch nicht notwendigerweise Assimilation. Danach könnten die Völkergruppen, die mit den

Nach Werners schon veralteter Ansicht wurde diese Sitte von den hunnischen Eliten gepflegt. Er ging bei den, mongolide Züge aufweisenden Männern mit künstlich deformiertem Schädel von Attilas Gefolgsleuten aus. Denn der Bestattungsritus der Hunnen ist nicht wirklich bekannt, nur bei den iranischen und germanischen Völkern, die mit ihnen verbündet waren und / oder von ihnen unterworfen wurden, kann die Sitte im 5., bzw. 6. Jahrhundert n. Chr. in einzelnen Gräbern und kleinen, kurzlebigen Gräberfeldern, oder in vielen großen Reihengräberfeldern auf dem Gebiet der Großen Ungarischen Tiefebene beobachtet werden.⁵⁴ In Transdanubien ist der vorherige Typ der Bestattungen entscheidend aus dem 5. Jahrhundert n. Chr.⁵⁵

Regionale und chronologische Unterscheidungen lassen sich zwischen dem östlichen und westlichen Karpatenbecken treffen. In dieser Studie nahm ich mich den Fundstellen der Ungarischen Tiefebene an und im Rahmen einer nächsten Arbeit möchte ich sie mit den transdanubischen Fundorten vergleichend analysieren. Die archäologischen Aspekte, das heißt die sogenannten Bestattungen mit künstlich deformierten Schädeln in Pannonien, und über die Grenzen dieser Provinz hinaus bis nach Rumänien, sogar auf der Krim, wurden bereits durch mich und andere archäologisch-anthropologische Fachkollegen behandelt.

Mehrere Forscher⁵⁶ bezogen sich auf die folgenden zwei Zeilen von Sidonius Apollinaris (5. Jahrhundert n. Chr.): „(...) *consurgit in arctum massa rutunda caput, geminis sab fronte cavernis visus adest oculis absentibus (...)*“, was bedeutet, dass die rundliche Menge in den schmalen Schädel aufsteigt, und es zwei Hohlräume für die fern voneinander sitzenden Augen unter der Stirn gibt. Meiner Meinung nach unterstützt dieser Text die Tatsache der Schädeldeformation nicht. Aber Bartucz's nächster Zusatz, der sich immer noch auf Sidonius Apollinaris bezieht (hier jedoch nicht auf Latein zitiert), ist gerechtfertigt: dass die beiden Nasenlöcher nicht aus dem Gesicht herausragen können, die schwache Nase wird von der darüber gewundenen Bandage herabgedrückt, um dem Helm Platz zu machen. Sidonius Apollinaris setzt seine Beschreibung so fort: „*sic propter proelia natos maternus deformat amor*“,⁵⁷ das heißt, so verzerrt die mütterliche Liebe die Kinder im Namen späterer Schlachten.⁵⁸ Ich finde wichtig, die Quelle von Sidonius Apollinaris in diesem Thema zu betonen, weil die wichtigsten Historiker, die über die Hunnen, Gepiden und Awaren schrieben, die Schädeldeformation nicht erwähnten. Fragt sich, ob sie sich nicht an dieses Phänomen erinnerten?

Alanen lebten und ihnen nahe standen, in die Tiefebene gekommen sein. Nach der Ansicht von Károly Mesterházy, im Fundort Biharkeresztes-Ártánd-Nagyfarkasdomb kann der Einfluss der Koexistenz der Hunnen und Gepiden anhand der Kleidung, Schuhschnallen und typischen Krüge bestimmt werden. An diesem Punkt kann die oben erwähnte Akkulturation erfasst werden. Demnach lebten bestimmte „Volkselemente“ zusammen, aber sie bestatteten nicht auf die gleiche Weise. Bald darauf sind die Hunnen / Alanen jedoch womöglich mit den Gepiden verschmolzen (MESTERHÁZY 2009, 73, 88, 91).

⁵⁴ Sowohl die ost-, als auch die westgermanischen Gruppen pflegten diese Sitte in mehreren Teilen von Europa, siehe die Sweben [z. B. Ladendorf], Thüringen [z. B. Lützen], Bajuwaren [z. B. Straubing], Alemannen [z. B. Weingarten], Franken [z. B. Dossenheim], bzw. Burgunden [z. B. Saint-Prex] (WERNER 1956; ALT 2006, 115–126; KAZANSKI 2006, 127–139; mündliche Kommunikation von Ágnes B. Tóth).

⁵⁵ Die Fundorte mit deformierten Schädeln aus dem westlichen Teil des Karpatenbeckens wurden von DEÁK 2011; DEÁK 2013 und TOBIAS ET AL. 2010 gesammelt.

⁵⁶ DINGWALL 1931, 30; WERNER 1956, 16.

⁵⁷ „*acta cerebri in cameram vix ad refugos lux pervenit orbes, non tamen et clausos; nam fornice non spatioso magna vident spatia, et maioris luminis usum perspicua in puteis compensant puncta profundis. tum, ne per malas excrescat fistula duplex, obtundit teneras circumdata fascia nares, ut galeis cedant: sic propter proelia natos maternus deformat amor, quia tensa genarum non interiecto fit latior area naso*“ (Sidonius Apollinaris, *Panegyricus*, 30–31, 248–257: ed. ANDERSON 1936).

⁵⁸ MIHÁCZI-PÁLFI 2018.

ANALYSE DER GRÄBER DER VERSTORBENEN MIT KÜNSTLICH DEFORMIERTEM SCHÄDEL IM 5-6. JH. IN DER GROSSEN UNGARISCHEN TIEFEBENE

Die Lösung der Probleme von unkontrollierbaren Umständen dieser Funde, die von unvollständiger und kontroverser Ausgrabungsdokumentation herrühren, erwarte ich mit wenig Hoffnung. Es birgt weitere Probleme, dass oft kein archäologisches oder anthropologisches Material verfügbar ist (bzw. noch nicht verarbeitet oder veröffentlicht wurde). Anhand einzelner, nur in der Fachliteratur bekannter, anthropologischer oder archäologischer Angaben der vielen Fälle und wegen fehlender oder nur fragmentarisch vorhandener, anthropologischer und archäologischer Materialien, wurden die unbestimmten, als unklar erkannten Fälle, die im Anhang zwar aufgelistet wurden, nicht weiter verfolgt (20 Fälle von 15 Fundorten, *Tabelle 1*). Aus oben genannten Gründen war es notwendig, die mit relevanten anthropologischen und archäologischen Informationen bestimmten Fälle zu trennen. Im Rahmen meiner Analyse werden 58 Gräber mit künstlich deformierten Schädeln aus 26 Fundstellen im 5-6. Jahrhundert, in der Großen Ungarischen Tiefebene beschrieben (*Tabelle 2*).⁵⁹ In der Studie sind nur die Bestattungen relevant, die über aussagekräftige Informationen (auf der Grundlage glaubwürdiger Angaben) verfügen. Nach der Beschreibung der festgestellten Schädeldeformation besteht der nächste Schritt darin, gut dokumentierte Fälle in einen archäologischen Kontext zu stellen. Wenn ich die deformierten Schädel in die Datenbank aufnehme, berücksichtige ich die folgenden Kriterien: die genaue Bestimmung des Grabes, Geschlecht, Sterbealter, Morphologie, Pathologie, Methodik der Deformation, Graborientierung, Grabplünderung und Grabstörung, Kleidungszubehör, Beigabe etc. (*Abb. 6–7*).

Geschlechterverteilung, Sterberate und Taxonomie

Aufgrund der untersuchten Fälle war die Anzahl der deformierten Schädel bei Männern und Frauen fast gleich: 28 Frauen (48 %) und 21 Männer (36 %). In drei Fällen (5 %) liegen keine Angaben zur Geschlechtsbestimmung vor. Vier Kinder (7 %) können gezählt werden. In der Altersgruppe Infans I. sind drei Kinder (5 %), bzw. in der Altersgruppe Infans II. ist ein Kind (2 %) gestorben.⁶⁰ Die relativ niedrige Sterberate von Kindern zeigt, dass die Mehrheit das Erwachsenenalter erreichte.⁶¹ Daher scheint die fatalste Folge der Schädeldeformation, also das vorzeitige Sterben nicht gerechtfertigt zu sein. Nur eine jugendliche Frau (2 %) ist in der Altersgruppe Juvenilis gestorben.⁶² Die meisten Erwachsenen (bei 58 Fällen insgesamt 23 Individuen (40 %), davon elf Frauen, zehn Männer und zwei Individuen mit unbestimmten Geschlecht, sind im Adultus-Alter gestorben, darunter insgesamt 18 Individuen (31 %), davon neun Männer und neun Frauen im Maturus-Alter in der

⁵⁹ In dem Fundort Tiszagyenda kamen 22 Individuen mit deformiertem Schädel zum Vorschein, sie sind noch unpubliziert (RÁCZ 2016, 326 mit der entsprechenden Referenzen). Weitere Analyse der Bestattungen von Verstorbenen mit deformiertem Schädel im südlichen, bzw. östlichen Karpatenbecken, unter anderem Viminacium (MIKIĆ 1994), Timișoara-Freidorf (GÁL 2011), Florești-Polus Center (FERENCZ ET AL. 2009), werden (hoffentlich) in der Zukunft publiziert. Die literarische Besprechung der anthropologischen Angaben der gepidischen Population in der Großen Ungarischen Tiefebene wurde von SZÉCSÉNYI ET AL. 2018 zusammengefasst.

⁶⁰ Ein Kind von Ároktő-Csík-gát (Grab 15/a): Sterbealter von 1–2 Jahren, ein Kind von Rákóczifalva-Bivalyító (Grab 84): Sterbealter von 3–4 Jahren, ein Kind von Hajdúnánás-Fürj-halom-dűlő (444/620): Sterbealter von 3,5–4,5 Jahren, ein Kind von Biharkeresztes-Ártánd-Nagyfarkasdomb (Grab 35): Sterbealter von 8–10 Jahren. Diese Gräber wurden in dem 5. Jh., höchstens von dem Ende des 5. Jahrhunderts bis zum Anfang des 6. Jahrhunderts datiert. Zsófia Rác bezog sich auf das Ergebnis der Diplomarbeit von Anna Szécsényi-Nagy, dass es kein Individuum mit deformiertem Schädel in der Altersgruppe Infans und Juvenilis in mehreren gepidenzeitlichen Reihengräberfeldern (vgl. Erwachsenen im Maturus- und Adultus-Alter z. B. in Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok oder Kiszombor) bekannt (SZÉCSÉNYI-NAGY 2008; RÁCZ 2016, 327).

⁶¹ Vgl. Transdanubien, siehe DEÁK 2011, 13–14; DEÁK 2013, 23 25, 33.

⁶² Eine Jugendliche von Ároktő (Grab 168): Sterbealter von 15–17 Jahren.

Tabelle 1. Unbestimmte Fälle – Übersichtstabelle der in der Fachliteratur geirrten Fälle der deformierten Schädel in der frühen Völkerwanderungszeit in der Großen Ungarischen Tiefebene, bes. in dem Theißgebiet

Fundort	Grab	Geschlecht	Sterbealter	Orientierung	Maßangaben des Grabes (cm)	Plünderung	Materiellen Erinnerungen	Angaben der Schädel (Deformation, Taxonomie etc.)	Datierung	Referenzen
1 Csongrád-Berzsenyi Str. 4.	1	o. A.	o. A.	S-N	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	<i>fronto-occipitalis</i>	hunnenzeitlich	PÁRDU CZ 1963.
2 Csongrád-Városháza	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	Kamm	o. A.	hunnenzeitlich	PÁRDU CZ 1963.
3 Gyula-Homokbánya	o. A.	♂	Ad.	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	hunnenzeitlich	PÁRDU CZ 1963.
4 Gyula-Homokbánya	o. A.	K	1-2	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	hunnenzeitlich	PÁRDU CZ 1963.
5 Gyula-Kétegyháza Straße	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	Keramik (Fragmenten)	o. A.	hunnenzeitlich	PÁRDU CZ 1963.
6 Kunszentmiklós –Középszenttamás (Bak ér)	o. A.	K	0,5-1	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	Bernstein- und Glasperlen, Muschel, Tongefäß	o. A.	433-466	H. TÓTH 1967, BERE CZKI-MARCSIK 2006.
7 Mezőkövesd-Mocsolyás	19/32?	o. A.	o. A.	W-O	T.: 200	nein	Perlenkette (Glas)	o. A.	o. A.	LOVÁSZ 1997, LOVÁSZ 1999.
8 Rákóczi falva-Kastélydomb	169	o. A.	Erwachsene	W-O	L.: 200, Br.: 70, T.: 180	o. A.	-	o. A.	500-550	CSEH 2005.
9 Szentes-Berekhát	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	472-568	CSALLÁNY 1961, PÁRDU CZ 1963.
10 Szentes-Berekhát	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	472-568	CSALLÁNY 1961, PÁRDU CZ 1963.
11 Szőreg-Téglagyár	75	o. A.	Inf. I. o. Er-wachsene	W-O	L.: 200, Br.: 90, T.: 150	o. A.	zweireihiger Kamm	o. A.	533-566	CSALLÁNY 1961, NAGY 2005.
12 Szőreg-Téglagyár	126	♂	Mat.	W-O	L.+Br.: o. A., T.: 165	o. A.	-	o. A.	533-566	CSALLÁNY 1961, NAGY 2005.
13 Tiszadob-Ókenéz	1	♂	45-46	SO-NW	o. A.	o. A.	Eisenaxt	leicht, <i>fronto-occipitalis</i>	Ende des 4. Jhs.-450	PÁRDU CZ 1963 NEMESKERI-SZATHMÁRY 1990, BERE CZKI-MARCSIK 2006.
14 Tiszadob-Sziget	24	♂?	Inf II.	W-O	L.: 220, Br.: 80	ja	Eisenschmalle	o. A.	cca. 350-Anfang des 5. Jhs.	ISTVÁNOVITS 1991, 1993, BERE CZKI-MARCSIK 2006.
15 Tiszadob-Sziget	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	MARCSIK 2011.
16 Tiszakarád-Inasa	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	ja	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	LOVÁSZ 1986.
17 Tiszakarád-Inasa	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	LOVÁSZ 1986.
18 Tiszavasvári-Városföldje-Jegyző-tag	28	♀	Juv.-Ad.	o. A.	o. A.	ja	-	leicht, <i>fronto-occipitalis</i>	hunnenzeitlich	SZATHMÁRY 1984-1986, ISTVÁNOVITS 1999, BERE CZKI-MARCSIK 2006.
19 Tótkomlós-Nagy Str. 35	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	Fragment einer Eisengegenstände, Feuerstein, geschliffener Steinkeil	o. A.	hunnenzeitlich	KOVALOVSKI 1959.
20 Törökszentmiklós-Kenderpart	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	W-O	o. A.	o. A.	Mahlstein	o. A.	o. A.	CSEH 2005.

Tabelle 2. Bestimmte Fälle – Übersichtstabelle der Fälle der deformierten Schädel in der frühen Völkerwanderungszeit in der Großen Ungarischen Tiefebene, bes. in dem Theißgebiet⁶³

Fundort	Grab	Geschlecht	Sterbealter	Orientierung	Maßangaben des Grabes (cm)	Plünderung	Materiellen Erinnerungen	Angaben der Schädel (Deformation, Taxonomie etc.)	Datierung	Referenzen
1 Apátfalva–Kossuth Str. 151.	1	♀	18–22	NW–SO	L.: 180, Br.: 80–40, T.: 165	ja	zweireihiger Kamm, mit Glasur überzogenen Krug, Glasbecher	stark, <i>fronto-occipitalis</i>	cca 366–450	BÉRES–VÖRÖS 1998, BERECZKI–MARCSIK 2006.
2 Ároktő–Csik-gát	15/a	K	1–2	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	5. Jh.	KÖVÁRI–SZATHMÁRY 2003.
3 Ároktő–Csik-gát	156	♂	19–28	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	5. Jh.	KÖVÁRI–SZATHMÁRY 2003.
4 Ároktő–Csik-gát	166	♂	21–25	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	<i>circularis</i> , gerade	5. Jh.	KÖVÁRI–SZATHMÁRY 2003, MOLNÁR ET AL. 2014.
5 Ároktő–Csik-gát	166/a	♀	21–25	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	stark, <i>circularis</i> , gerade	5. Jh.	KÖVÁRI–SZATHMÁRY 2003, MOLNÁR ET AL. 2014.
6 Ároktő–Csik-gát	167	♀	30–60	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	5. Jh.	KÖVÁRI–SZATHMÁRY 2003.
7 Ároktő–Csik-gát	168	♀	15–17	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	stark, <i>circularis</i> , gerade	5. Jh.	KÖVÁRI–SZATHMÁRY 2003, MOLNÁR ET AL. 2014.
8 Biharkeresztes–Ártánd–Kisfarkasdomb	19	♀	Ad.	W–O	L.: 180, Br.: 45–50, T.: 65	o. A.	–	leicht, <i>fronto-occipitalis</i>	Ende des 4. Jhs.–cca 450	BERECZKI–MARCSIK 2006, MESTERHÁZY 2007.
9 Biharkeresztes–Ártánd–Lencsésdomb	6	♀	Sen.	W–O	L.: 190, Br.: 55, T.: 200	ja	Eisenfibel, Eisenschnalle, Messer	stark, <i>fronto-occipitalis</i>	5. Jh.–Anfang des 6. Jhs.	BERECZKI–MARCSIK 2006, MESTERHÁZY 2005.
10 Biharkeresztes–Ártánd–Nagyfarkasdomb	35	K	8–10	N–S	T.: 93	o. A.	Gefäß	<i>fronto-occipitalis</i>	5. Jh.	BERECZKI–MARCSIK 2006, MESTERHÁZY 2009.
11 Egerlővő–Homokpart	1	♀	Mat.	W–O	o. A.	ja	–	o. A.	2. Hälfte des 6. Jhs.	LOVÁSZ 1984–1985, BERECZKI–MARCSIK 2006.
12 Hajdúnánás–Fűrj-halomdtűlő	441 / 618	♀	25–34	W–O	o. A.	o. A.	Ohring, Fibel, Bernstein- und Glasperlen, Nadelbehälter, Spiegel, Kamm	o. A.	2. Hälfte des 5. Jhs.	RÁCZ 2016.
13 Hajdúnánás–Fűrj-halomdtűlő	444 / 620	K	3,5–4,5	W–O	o. A.	o. A.	Fibel, Bernstein- und Glasperlen, Kamm	o. A.	Ende des 5. Jhs.–Anfang des 6. Jhs.	RÁCZ 2012; RÁCZ 2016.
14 Hódmezővásárhely–Gorzsa	93	♀	Ad.–Mat.	W–O	L.+ Br.: o. A., T.: 136	o. A.	Gefäß, Eisenfibel, Eisenschnalle, Spinnwirtel, Bernstein	o. A.	cca 500–568	CSALLÁNY 1961, PÁRDU CZ 1963, BERECZKI–MARCSIK 2006.

⁶³ Abkürzungen in der Tabelle: ♂ = Männerskelett; ♀ = Frauenskelett; K = Kinderskelett; ? = fraglich, Skelett unbestimmten Geschlechts; L. = Länge; Br. = Breite; T. = Tiefe; Fst. = Fundstelle; o. A. = ohne Angaben; Inf. I. = Infans I.; Inf. II. = Infans II.; Juv. = Juvenilis; Ad. = Adultus; Mat. = Maturus; Sen. = Senilis. Hinweis: Zum leichteren Betrachten wurden die absoluten Daten in einigen Fällen angegeben.

	Fundort	Grab	Geschlecht	Sterbealter	Orientierung	Maßangaben des Grabes (cm)	Plünderung	Materiellen Erinnerungen	Angaben der Schädel (Deformation, Taxonomie etc.)	Datierung	Referenzen
15	Hódmezővásárhely-Kis-homok	96	♂	Mat.	W-O	L.: 230, Br.: 70-65, T.: 158	ja	Silberschnalle, Bronzeplatte, Bronze o. Eisenschnalle, Punze oder Locher aus Eisen, Platte der Helm-, Lanzen spitze	<i>fronto-occipitalis</i> (kleinasiatische Tauridenversion)	466-500	NAGY 2002, NAGY 2004, BERECZKI-MARCSIK 2006.
16	Hódmezővásárhely-Kis-homok	104	♂	Mat.	SW-NO	L.: 220, Br.: 77, T.: 160	nein	zweireihiger Kamm, Messer, Eisenschnalle, Taschenschnalle, Feuerstein, Eisenhaken des Sarges	<i>fronto-occipitalis</i> (kleinasiatische Tauridenversion)	450-567	NAGY 2002, NAGY 2004, BERECZKI-MARCSIK 2006.
17	Kál-Legelő	13	♀	40-50	W-O	o. A.	ja	-	<i>fronto-occipitalis</i> (Mongoloide)	5-6. Jh.	BERECZKI-MARCSIK 2005. JÁNOS JÓZSEF SZABÓ mündliche Kommunikation
18	Kál-Legelő	33	♂	Sen.	o. A.	o. A.	ja	o. A.	<i>fronto-occipitalis</i> (europo-Mongoloide)	5-6. Jh.	BERECZKI-MARCSIK 2005.
19	Kiszombor-B	43	♂	55-60	SW-NO o. SSW- NNO	L.: 190, Br.: 80, T.: 170	o. A.	zweireihiger Kamm, Bronzeschnalle, Eisenschnalle, Messer, Feuerkammer, Feuerstein	stark, <i>fronto-occipitalis</i> (dolichocephal, Mongoloide)	475- Anfang des 6. Jhs.	TÖRÖK 1936, CSALLÁNY 1961, PÁRDU CZ 1963, BERECZKI-MARCSIK 2006.
20	Kiszombor-B	45	♂	Mat.	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	Eisenschnalle	<i>fronto-occipitalis</i> (Mongoloide)	475- Anfang des 6. Jhs.	TÖRÖK 1936, CSALLÁNY 1961, PÁRDU CZ 1963, BERECZKI-MARCSIK 2006.
21	Kiszombor-B	50	♀	Ad.	SW-NO	L.: 240, Br.: 90, T.: 100	o. A.	zweireihiger Kamm, Gefäß, Eisenhaken	<i>fronto-occipitalis</i> dolichocephal, (Mongoloide)	475- Anfang des 6. Jhs.	TÖRÖK 1936, CSALLÁNY 1961, PÁRDU CZ 1963, BERECZKI-MARCSIK 2006.
22	Kiszombor-B	54	o. A.	Mat.	SW-NO o. SSW- NNO	L.: 220, Br.: 90, T.: 125	o. A.	zweireihiger Kamm	<i>fronto-occipitalis</i> (Mediterranoide)	475- Anfang des 6. Jhs.	TÖRÖK 1936, PÁRDU CZ 1963, BERECZKI-MARCSIK 2006.
23	Kiszombor-B	57	♂	Ad.	SW-NO o. SSW- NNO	L.: 250, Br.: 80, T.: 140	o. A.	zweireihiger Kamm, Eisenschnalle, Bronzezering	<i>fronto-occipitalis</i> (brachycran)	475- Anfang des 6. Jhs.	TÖRÖK 1936, CSALLÁNY 1961, PÁRDU CZ 1963, BERECZKI-MARCSIK 2006.
24	Kiszombor-B	225	♀	60-65	SW-NO	L.: 220, Br.: 70, T.: 180	o. A.	zweireihiger Kamm, Eisenschnalle, Messer, Bernstein-, Kreide- und Glasperlen	<i>fronto-occipitalis</i> (Mongoloide)	475- Anfang des 6. Jhs.	TÖRÖK 1936, CSALLÁNY 1961, BERECZKI-MARCSIK 2006.

	Fundort	Grab	Geschlecht	Sterbealter	Orientierung	Maßangaben des Grabes (cm)	Plünderung	Materiellen Erinnerungen	Angaben der Schädel (Deformation, Taxonomie etc.)	Datierung	Referenzen
25	Kiszombor-B	376	♂	Ad.	SW-NO	L.: 280, Br.: 100, T.: 120	o. A.	einreihiger Kamm, Bronzeschnalle, Silbernierte, Feuerstahl, Feuerstein, Eisenschnalle	stark, <i>fronto-occipitalis</i>	475–Anfang des 6. Jhs.	TÖRÖK 1936.
26	Kiszombor-B	389	♂	Ad.	SSO-NNW	L.: 230, Br.: 80, T.: 130	o. A.	zweireihiger Kamm, Glasperlen	stark, <i>fronto-occipitalis</i> (brachycran, Mongoloide)	475–Anfang des 6. Jhs.	TÖRÖK 1936, PARDUCZ 1963, BERECZKI-MARCSIK 2006.
27	Magyarcsanád-Bökény	12	♀	Ad.	O-W	L.+ Br.: o. A. T.: 185	o. A.	Eisenring, Achat- und Bernsteinperle; Spinnwirtel, Eisenfibel, Bronzeplatte (Amulettkapsel), Textilreste	o. A.	466–567	NAGY 2005, BERECZKI-MARCSIK 2006.
28	Magyarcsanád-Bökény	27	o. A.	o. A.	W-O	L.+ Br.: o. A. T.: 100	o. A.	Fragment einer Bronzeplatte	o. A.	466–567	NAGY 2005.
29	Magyarcsanád-Bökény	31	♀	Ad.	W-O	L.: 215, Br.: 80–60, T.: 153	ja	Gefäß, Kamm, Donar-Amulett, Bronzeplatte, Bernstein- und Glasperlen, Bronzefibel, Eisenschnalle, Beschlag aus schlechtem Silber, Spinnwirtel, Eisenhaken	o. A.	466–567	NAGY 2005.
30	Mezőkeresztes-Cethalom	3	♀	20–30	W-O	L.: 220, Br.: 64, T.: 220	ja	Kämme, Fibelpaar, Perlen, gekerbte Goldfolie, Fragment einer Eisengegenstände	o. A.	450–500	WOLF-SIMONYI 1997, SIMONYI 1999, SIMONYI 2005.
31	Nyíregyháza, M3/36/c	40	♂	40–80	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	leicht, <i>fronto-occipitalis</i> o. <i>circularis</i> , schräg	5–6. Jh.	MOLNÁR ET AL. 2014.
32	Nyíregyháza, M3/36/c	42	♂	40–80	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	leicht, <i>circularis</i> , schräg	5–6. Jh.	MOLNÁR ET AL. 2014.
33	Nyíregyháza, M3/36/c	49	♀	30–60	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	leicht, <i>circularis</i> , gerade	5–6. Jh.	MOLNÁR ET AL. 2014.
34	Nyíregyháza, M3/36/c	50	♂	37–46	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	mittel, <i>tabularis</i> , schräg	5–6. Jh.	MOLNÁR ET AL. 2014.
35	Nyíregyháza, M3/36/c	61	♀	35–55	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	leicht, <i>tabularis</i> , gerade	5–6. Jh.	MOLNÁR ET AL. 2014.
36	Nyíregyháza, M3/36/c	220	♀	40–80	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	mittel, <i>tabularis</i> , schräg	5–6. Jh.	MOLNÁR ET AL. 2014.

Fundort	Grab	Geschlecht	Sterbealter	Orientierung	Maßangaben des Grabes (cm)	Plünderung	Materiellen Erinnerungen	Angaben der Schädel (Deformation, Taxonomie etc.)	Datierung	Referenzen
Óföldéak-Ürmös, M43/9	189	♀	Mat.	N-S	o. A.	o. A.	zweireihiger Kamm, Eisenfibel, Eisenschmalle, Messer	o. A.	5. Jh.	SÓSKUTI 2009.
Pusztataskony-Ledence, Fst. 1	61/80	♀	30-50	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	leicht, <i>fronto-occipitalis</i> (Europid)	gepidenzeitlich	SZENICZEY ET AL. 2016.
Pusztataskony-Ledence, Fst. 1	193/237	♀	25-35	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	stark, <i>fronto-occipitalis</i>	gepidenzeitlich	SZENICZEY ET AL. 2016.
Pusztataskony-Ledence, Fst. 1	218/270	♂	35-45	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	stark, <i>fronto-occipitalis</i> (Cr-moid)	gepidenzeitlich	SZENICZEY ET AL. 2016.
Pusztataskony-Ledence, Fst. 2	270/337	♀	35-50	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	mittel, <i>fronto-occipitalis</i> (brachymorph)	hunnenzeitlich	SZENICZEY ET AL. 2016.
Rákóczi falva-Bivalytó, Rokkant Föld I. Fst. 3	82	♂	40-45	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	<i>fronto-occipitalis</i> (dolichocran)	gepidenzeitlich	HAJDU-BERNERT 2007.
Rákóczi falva-Bivalytó, Rokkant Föld I. Fst. 3	84	K	3-4	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	<i>fronto-occipitalis</i>	gepidenzeitlich	HAJDU-BERNERT 2007.
Rákóczi falva-Bivalytó, Rokkant Föld I. Fst. 3	86	♀	25-30	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	<i>fronto-occipitalis</i>	gepidenzeitlich	HAJDU-BERNERT 2007.
Rákóczi falva-Bivalytó, Rokkant Föld I. Fst. 3	88	♂	20-25	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	<i>fronto-occipitalis</i>	gepidenzeitlich	HAJDU-BERNERT 2007.
Rákóczi falva-Bivalytó, Rokkant Föld I. Fst. 3	90	♂	35-40	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	<i>fronto-occipitalis</i>	gepidenzeitlich	HAJDU-BERNERT 2007.
Szentes-Kökényzug	75	♂	Ad.	SW-NO	L.+Br.: o. A. T.: 150	o. A.	Kamm, Feuerstein, Obsidian, Eisenschmalle	o. A.	480-568	CSALLÁNY 1961, BERECZKI-MARCSIK 2006.
Szentes-Nagyhegy	44	o. A.	o. A.	SW-NO	L.+Br.: o. A., T.: 120	o. A.	Eisenschmalle, Messer	o. A.	480-600	CSALLÁNY 1961, PÁRDUCZ 1963.
Szirmabesenyő-Homokbánya	o. A.	♂	Ad.	N-S	L.: 230, Br.: 50, T.: 178	o. A.	Krug, Tierknochen, zweischneidiges Schwert, Beschläge der Schwertscheide, Dolch, Silberschmalen (von Gürtel und Schwert)	<i>fronto-occipitalis</i> (Nordoid-Mongoloide)	433-466	MEGAY 1952, BONA 1993, BERECZKI-MARCSIK 2006.
Szolnok-Szanda	1	♀	o. A.	W-O	L.+Br.: o. A. T.: 130	ja	vergoldete Bronzefibel, Bronzering, Messer, Spinnwirtel	o. A.	Wende des 5-6. Jhs.	CSALLÁNY 1961, BONA 2002.
Szolnok-Szanda	11	♀	o. A.	W-O	L.+Br.: o. A. T.: 140	o. A.	Kamm, Spinnwirtel, Eisenschmalle, Messer	o. A.	Ende des 5. Jhs.-6. Jh.	CSALLÁNY 1961, BONA 2002.
Szolnok-Szanda	32	o. A.	o. A.	W-O	L.+Br.: o. A. T.: 140	o. A.	Eisenschmalle, Messer, Eisenstichel	o. A.	Ende des 5. Jhs.-6. Jh.	CSALLÁNY 1961, BONA 2002.
Szolnok-Szanda	108	♀	o. A.	W-O	L.: 156, Br.: 42, T.: 150	o. A.	-	o. A.	Ende des 5. Jhs.-6. Jh.	CSALLÁNY 1961, BONA 2002.

	Fundort	Grab	Geschlecht	Sterbealter	Orientierung	Maßangaben des Grabes (cm)	Plünderung	Materiellen Erinnerungen	Angaben der Schädel (Deformation, Taxonomie etc.)	Datierung	Referenzen
54	Szolnok-Szanda	119	♂	Ad.	W-O	L.: 180, Br.: 55-45, T.: 165	o. A.	zweireihiger Kamm, Eisenschnalle, Dorn der Bronzeschnalle, Messer, Feuerstahl, Feuerstein	o. A.	Ende des 5. Jhs.-6. Jh.	CSALLÁNY 1961, BONA 2002.
55	Szolnok-Szanda	127	♂	o. A.	W-O	L.: 212, Br.: 70, T.: 150	ja	Kamm, Eisenschnalle, Messer, Feuerstein	o. A.	Ende des 5. Jhs.-6. Jh.	CSALLÁNY 1961, BONA 2002.
56	Szolnok-Zagyva-part, Alcsi	VII/19	♀	o. A.	SW-NO	L.: 215, Br.: 65, T.: 70-75	nein	zweireihiger Kamm, Eisenschnalle (zerstört), silbernes Ohringpaar	o. A.	Ende des 5. Jhs.	CSEH 2005.
57	Tápé-Széntégláégető	391	♀	Juv./Ad.	W-O	L.: 173, Br.: 67, T.: 45-135	nein	zweireihiger Kamm	stark, <i>fronto-occipitalis</i> (Europide)	cca 475-Anfang des 6. Jhs.	B. TÓTH 1994, BEREZKI-MARCSIK 2006.
58	Üllő, Fundstelle 5	4864	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	o. A.	polyedrisches Ohringpaar, Spiegel, Schnalle, Schuh-schnallen, Perlen	o. A.	hummenzeitlich	KULCSAR 2018 TARI ET AL. 2004, TARI ET AL. 2006, VALÉRIA KULCSAR mündliche Kommunikation

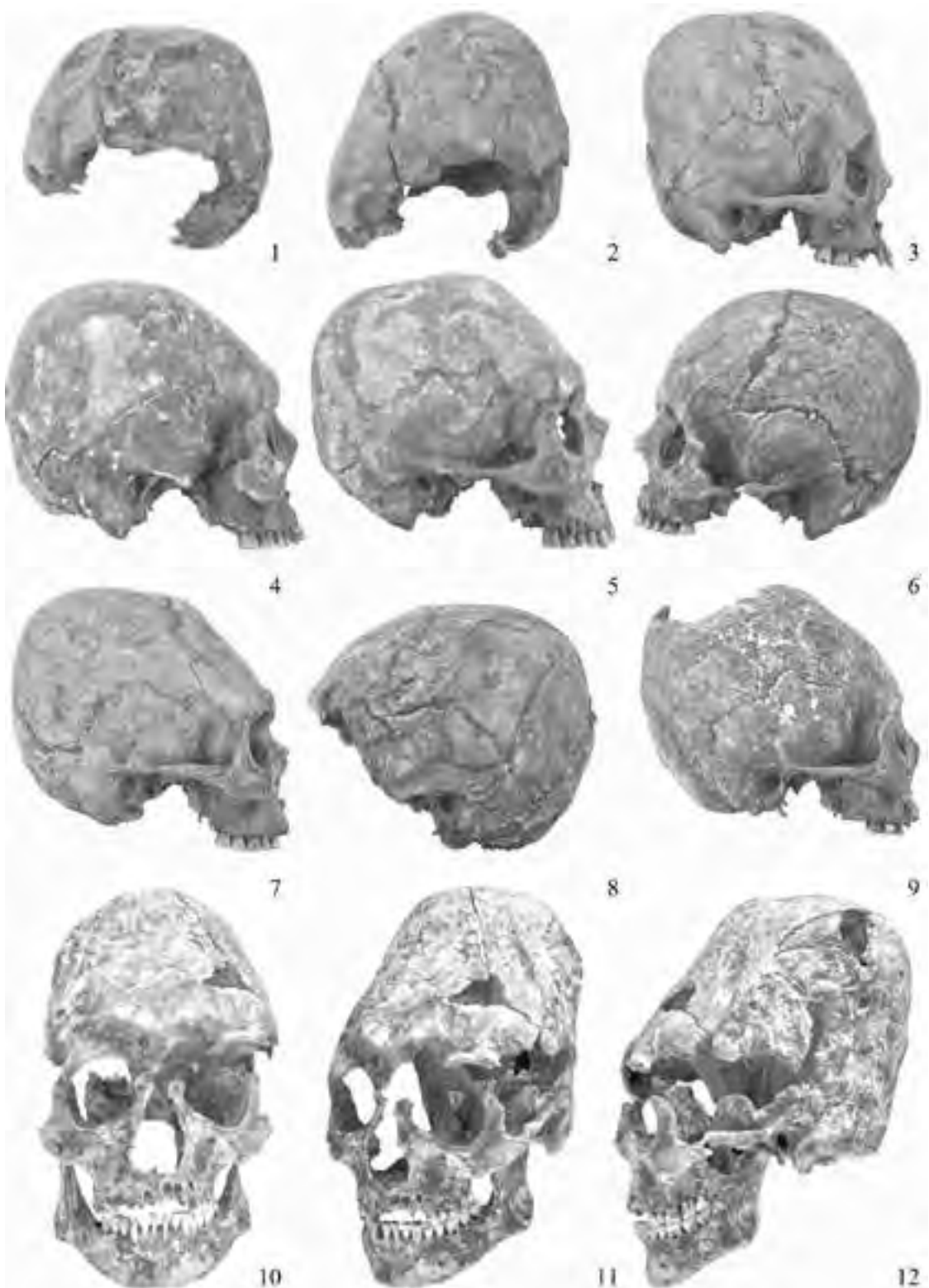
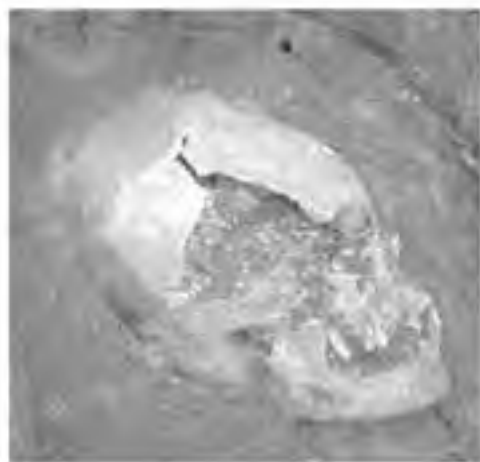


Abb. 6. Künstlich deformierte Schädel in der Großen Ungarischen Tiefebene im 5-6. Jahrhundert.
1. Ároktő, Csík-gát Grab 166; 2. Grab 166/a; 3. Grab 168; 4. Nyíregyháza, M3 Fundstelle 36/c Grab 40;
5. Grab 42; 6. Grab 49; 7. Grab 50; 8. Grab 61; 9. Grab 220 (after MOLNÁR ET AL. 2014, fig. 1–3);
10–12. Pusztataskony-Ledence, Fundstelle 1 Grab 218/270 (after SZENICZEY ET AL. 2016, fig. 2)



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6

Abb. 7. Künstlich deformierte Schädel in der Großen Ungarischen Tiefebene im 5-6. Jahrhundert.
1. Óföldaák-Ürmös, Fundstelle M43/9 Grab 189 (after SÓSKUTI 2009, 23); 2. Szolnok-Zagyva-part, Alcsi Grab VII/19 (after MGAH 2005, Taf. 93.2); 3. Mezőkeresztes-Cethalom Grab 3 (after MGAH 2005, Taf. 84.1); 4. Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok Grab 104 (after MGAH 2002, Taf. 71. 4); 5. Magyarcsanád-Bökény Grab 27 (after MGAH 2005, Taf. 79.1); 6. Magyarcsanád-Bökény Grab 31 (after MGAH 2005, Taf. 81.1)

	Fundstelle und Geschlecht	♀	♂	Kind	?	o. A.
1.	Apátfalva–Kossuth Str. 151. 1.	●				
2.	Ároktő–Csík-gát 15/a			●		
3.	Ároktő–Csík-gát 156.		●			
4.	Ároktő–Csík-gát 166.		●			
5.	Ároktő–Csík-gát 166/a	●				
6.	Ároktő–Csík-gát 167.	●				
7.	Ároktő–Csík-gát 168.	●				
8.	Biharkeresztes–Ártánd-Kisfarkasdomb 19.	●				
9.	Biharkeresztes–Ártánd-Lencsésdomb 6.	●				
10.	Biharkeresztes–Ártánd-Nagyfarkasdomb 35.			●		
11.	Egerlövő–Homokpart 1.	●				
12.	Hajdúnánás–Fűrj-halom-dűlő 441/618	●				
13.	Hajdúnánás–Fűrj-halom-dűlő 444/620			●		
14.	Hódmezővásárhely–Gorzsa 93.	●				
15.	Hódmezővásárhely–Kishomok 96.		●			
16.	Hódmezővásárhely–Kishomok 104.		●			
17.	Kál–Legelő 13.	●				
18.	Kál–Legelő 33.		●			
19.	Kiszombor–B 43.		●			
20.	Kiszombor–B 45.		●			
21.	Kiszombor–B 50.	●				
22.	Kiszombor–B 54.				●	
23.	Kiszombor–B 57.		●			
24.	Kiszombor–B 225.	●				
25.	Kiszombor–B 376.		●			
26.	Kiszombor–B 389.		●			
27.	Magyarcsanád–Bökény 12.	●				
28.	Magyarcsanád–Bökény 27.				●	
29.	Magyarcsanád–Bökény 31.				●	
30.	Mezőkeresztes–Cethalom 3.	●				
31.	Nyíregyháza, M3/36/c 40.		●			
32.	Nyíregyháza, M3/36/c 42.		●			
33.	Nyíregyháza, M3/36/c 49.	●				
34.	Nyíregyháza, M3/36/c 50.		●			
35.	Nyíregyháza, M3/36/c 61.	●				
36.	Nyíregyháza, M3/36/c 220.	●				
37.	Óföldséák–Ürmös, M43/9. 189.	●				
38.	Pusztataskony–Ledence, Fst. 1. 61/80	●				
39.	Pusztataskony–Ledence, Fst. 1. 193/237	●				
40.	Pusztataskony–Ledence, Fst. 1. 218/270		●			
41.	Pusztataskony–Ledence, Fst. 2. 270/337	●				
42.	Rákóczifalva–Bivalytó 82.		●			

	Fundstelle und Geschlecht	♀	♂	Kind	?	o. A.
43.	Rákóczifalva–Bivalyó 84.			●		
44.	Rákóczifalva–Bivalyó 86.	●				
45.	Rákóczifalva–Bivalyó 88.		●			
46.	Rákóczifalva–Bivalyó 90.		●			
47.	Szentes–Kökényzug 75.		●			
48.	Szentes–Nagyhegy 44.					●
49.	Szirmabesenyő–Homokbánya		●			
50.	Szolnok–Szanda 1.	●				
51.	Szolnok–Szanda 11.	●				
52.	Szolnok–Szanda 32.					●
53.	Szolnok–Szanda 108.	●				
54.	Szolnok–Szanda 119.		●			
55.	Szolnok–Szanda 127.		●			
56.	Szolnok–Zagyva-part, Alcsi VII/19.	●				
57.	Tápé–Szentégláégető 391.	●				
58.	Üllő, Fundstelle 5. 4864.	●				



Großen Ungarischen Tiefebene.⁶³ Nur drei Individuen (5 %), zwei Frauen und ein Mann erreichten das Senilis-Alter.⁶⁴ Über die restlichen neun Individuen (15 %) haben wir keine Informationen hinsichtlich ihres Sterbealters.

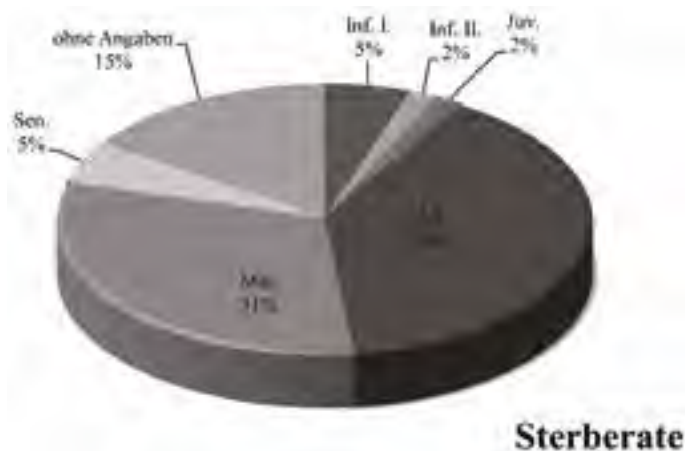
Über den taxonomischen Charakter von Individuen gibt es normalerweise keine Informationen (45 Fälle, 78 %). Die restlichen 22 % sind Mongolide (sechs Fälle, 10 %), Tauride (zwei Fälle, 3 %), ebenfalls zwei Europide, ein Europomongolide, ein Nordoid-Mongolide und ein Mediterranide (2 %).

⁶³ Ich vernachlässige ihre Liste, siehe *Tabelle 4*.

⁶⁴ Eine der Frauen von Kiszombor-B (Grab 225) und Biharkeresztes-Ártánd-Lencsésdomb (Grab 6), bzw. ein Mann von Kál-Legelő (Grab 33).

	Fundstelle und Lebensalter	Inf. I.	Inf. II.	Juv.	Ad.	Mat.	Sen.	o. A.
1.	Apátfalva–Kossuth Str. 151. 1.				●			
2.	Ároktő–Csík-gát 15/a	●						
3.	Ároktő–Csík-gát 156.				●			
4.	Ároktő–Csík-gát 166.				●			
5.	Ároktő–Csík-gát 166/a				●			
6.	Ároktő–Csík-gát 167.					●		
7.	Ároktő–Csík-gát 168.			●				
8.	Biharkeresztes–Ártánd-Kisfarkasdomb 19.				●			
9.	Biharkeresztes–Ártánd-Lencsésdomb 6.						●	
10.	Biharkeresztes–Ártánd-Nagyfarkasdomb 35.		●					
11.	Egerlövő–Homokpart 1.					●		
12.	Hajdúnánás–Fürj-halom-dűlő 441/618				●			
13.	Hajdúnánás–Fürj-halom-dűlő 444/620	●						
14.	Hódmezővásárhely–Gorzsa 93.				●			
15.	Hódmezővásárhely–Kishomok 96.					●		
16.	Hódmezővásárhely–Kishomok 104.					●		
17.	Kál–Legelő 13.					●		
18.	Kál–Legelő 33.						●	
19.	Kiszombor–B 43.					●		
20.	Kiszombor–B 45.					●		
21.	Kiszombor–B 50.				●			
22.	Kiszombor–B 54.				●			
23.	Kiszombor–B 57.				●			
24.	Kiszombor–B 225.						●	
25.	Kiszombor–B 376.				●			
26.	Kiszombor–B 389.				●			
27.	Magyarcsanád–Bökény 12.				●			
28.	Magyarcsanád–Bökény 27.							●
29.	Magyarcsanád–Bökény 31.				●			
30.	Mezőkeresztes–Cethalom 3.				●			
31.	Nyíregyháza, M3/36/c 40.					●		
32.	Nyíregyháza, M3/36/c 42.					●		
33.	Nyíregyháza, M3/36/c 49.					●		
34.	Nyíregyháza, M3/36/c 50.					●		
35.	Nyíregyháza, M3/36/c 61.					●		
36.	Nyíregyháza, M3/36/c 220.					●		
37.	Óföldsétek–Ürmös, M43/9. 189.					●		
38.	Pusztataskony–Ledence, Fst. 1. 61/80					●		
39.	Pusztataskony–Ledence, Fst. 1. 193/237				●			
40.	Pusztataskony–Ledence, Fst. 1. 218/270					●		
41.	Pusztataskony–Ledence, Fst. 2. 270/337					●		
42.	Rákóczfalva–Bivalyó 82.					●		

	Fundstelle und Lebensalter	Inf. I.	Inf. II.	Juv.	Ad.	Mat.	Sen.	o. A.
43.	Rákóczifalva–Bivalyó 84.	●						
44.	Rákóczifalva–Bivalyó 86.				●			
45.	Rákóczifalva–Bivalyó 88.				●			
46.	Rákóczifalva–Bivalyó 90.				●			
47.	Szentes–Kökényzug 75.				●			
48.	Szentes–Nagyhegy 44.							●
49.	Szirmabesenyő–Homokbánya				●			
50.	Szolnok–Szanda 1.							●
51.	Szolnok–Szanda 11.							●
52.	Szolnok–Szanda 32.							●
53.	Szolnok–Szanda 108.							●
54.	Szolnok–Szanda 119.				●			
55.	Szolnok–Szanda 127.							●
56.	Szolnok–Zagyva-part, Alcsi VII/19.							●
57.	Tápé–Széntégláégető 391.				●			
58.	Üllő, Fundstelle 5. 4864.							●



Lokalisierung der Fundorte

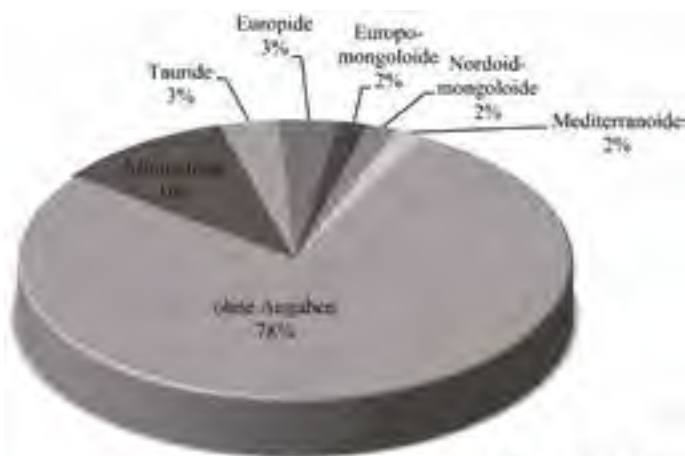
Die Fundorte der sicheren Fälle des Theißgebietes konzentrieren sich auf vier Hauptgebiete. Ein Gebiet befindet sich bei dem Zusammenfluss, bzw. in der Region der unteren Theiß und Mieresch (Magyarcsanak, Apátfalva, Kiszombor, Tápé, Hódmezővásárhely, Szentes). Die zweite Einheit ist im Gebiet der zentralen Theiß, an der Mündung der Theiß und Zagyva gruppiert (Szolnok, Rákóczifalva). Die dritte Einheit befindet sich an der oberen Theiß (Kál, Egerlövő, Mezőkeresztes, Ároktő und Szirmabesenyő). Die vierte Einheit kann in der Region Kreisch gefunden werden (Biharkeresztes). Man kann den Raum des Donau-Theiß-Zwischenlandes auch nicht ignorieren (Üllő).

Orientierung der Gräber

In Bezug auf die Orientierung der Gräber kann gesagt werden, dass die W–O Orientierung in den pannonischen Provinzen ab Mitte des 4. Jahrhunderts dominierte, und ab der Mitte, bzw. dem letzten

Fundstelle und taxon	Mongoloide	Tauride	Europide	Mediterra- noide	Europa- mongoloide	Nordoid- mongoloide	o. A.
1. Apátfalva–Kossuth Str. 151. 1.							●
2. Ároktő–Csík-gát 15/a							●
3. Ároktő–Csík-gát 156.							●
4. Ároktő–Csík-gát 166.							●
5. Ároktő–Csík-gát 166/a							●
6. Ároktő–Csík-gát 167.							●
7. Ároktő–Csík-gát 168.							●
8. Biharkeresztes–Ártánd-Kisfarkasdomb 19.							●
9. Biharkeresztes–Ártánd-Lencsésdomb 6.							●
10. Biharkeresztes–Ártánd-Nagyfarkasdomb 35.							●
11. Egerlövő–Homokpart 1.							●
12. Hajdúnánás–Fűrj-halom-dűlő 441/618							●
13. Hajdúnánás–Fűrj-halom-dűlő 444/620							●
14. Hódmezővásárhely–Gorzsa 93.							●
15. Hódmezővásárhely–Kishomok 96.		●					
16. Hódmezővásárhely–Kishomok 104.		●					
17. Kál–Legelő 13.	●						
18. Kál–Legelő 33.					●		
19. Kiszombor–B 43.	●						
20. Kiszombor–B 45.	●						
21. Kiszombor–B 50.	●						
22. Kiszombor–B 54.				●			
23. Kiszombor–B 57.							●
24. Kiszombor–B 225.	●						
25. Kiszombor–B 376.							●
26. Kiszombor–B 389.	●						
27. Magyarcsanád–Bökény 12.							●
28. Magyarcsanád–Bökény 27.							●
29. Magyarcsanád–Bökény 31.							●
30. Mezőkeresztes–Cethalom 3.							●
31. Nyíregyháza, M3/36/c 40.							●
32. Nyíregyháza, M3/36/c 42.							●
33. Nyíregyháza, M3/36/c 49.							●
34. Nyíregyháza, M3/36/c 50.							●
35. Nyíregyháza, M3/36/c 61.							●
36. Nyíregyháza, M3/36/c 220.							●
37. Óföldsétek–Ürmös, M43/9. 189.							●
38. Pusztataskony–Ledence, Fst. 1. 61/80			●				
39. Pusztataskony–Ledence, Fst. 1. 193/237							●

Fundstelle und taxon	Mongoloide	Tauride	Europide	Mediterranoide	Europo-mongoloide	Nordoid-mongoloide	o. A.
40. Pusztataskony–Ledence, Fst. 1. 218/270							●
41. Pusztataskony–Ledence, Fst. 2. 270/337							●
42. Rákóczifalva–Bivalyó 82.							●
43. Rákóczifalva–Bivalyó 84.							●
44. Rákóczifalva–Bivalyó 86.							●
45. Rákóczifalva–Bivalyó 88.							●
46. Rákóczifalva–Bivalyó 90.							●
47. Szentes–Kökényzug 75.							●
48. Szentes–Nagyhegy 44.							●
49. Szirmabesenyő–Homokbánya						●	
50. Szolnok–Szanda 1.							●
51. Szolnok–Szanda 11.							●
52. Szolnok–Szanda 32.							●
53. Szolnok–Szanda 108.							●
54. Szolnok–Szanda 119.							●
55. Szolnok–Szanda 127.							●
56. Szolnok–Zagyva-part, Alcsi VII/19.							●
57. Tápé–Széntégláégető 391.			●				
58. Üllő, Fundstelle 5. 4864.							●



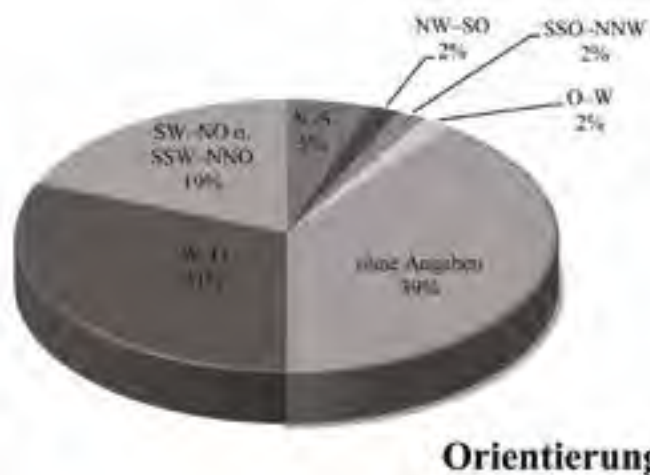
Taxonomie

Drittel des 5. Jahrhunderts im gesamten Karpatenbecken.⁶⁵ Im Allgemeinen kann man sagen, dass Beigaben (Gefäße [besonders an den Füßen, manchmal am Kopf], Waffen, Münzen etc.) ab dem 5. Jahrhundert in den Bestattungen mit W–O Orientierung im Vergleich zu Bestattungen mit N–S

⁶⁵ OTTOMÁNYI 2016, 130.

	Fundstelle und Orientierung	W-O	SW-NO o. SSW-NNO	N-S	NW-SO o. NNW-SSO	SSO- NNW	O-W	o. A.
1.	Apátfalva–Kossuth Str. 151. 1.				●			
2.	Ároktő–Csík-gát 15/a							●
3.	Ároktő–Csík-gát 156.							●
4.	Ároktő–Csík-gát 166.							●
5.	Ároktő–Csík-gát 166/a							●
6.	Ároktő–Csík-gát 167.							●
7.	Ároktő–Csík-gát 168.							●
8.	Biharkeresztes–Ártánd-Kisfarkasdomb 19.	●						
9.	Biharkeresztes–Ártánd-Lencsésdomb 6.	●						
10.	Biharkeresztes–Ártánd-Nagyfarkasdomb 35.			●				
11.	Egerlövő–Homokpart 1.	●						
12.	Hajdúnánás–Fürj-halom-dűlő 441/618	●						
13.	Hajdúnánás–Fürj-halom-dűlő 444/620	●						
14.	Hódmezővásárhely–Gorzsa 93.	●						
15.	Hódmezővásárhely–Kishomok 96.	●						
16.	Hódmezővásárhely–Kishomok 104.		●					
17.	Kál–Legelő 13.	●						
18.	Kál–Legelő 33.							●
19.	Kiszombor–B 43.		●					
20.	Kiszombor–B 45.		●					
21.	Kiszombor–B 50.		●					
22.	Kiszombor–B 54.		●					
23.	Kiszombor–B 57.		●					
24.	Kiszombor–B 225.		●					
25.	Kiszombor–B 376.		●					
26.	Kiszombor–B 389.					●		
27.	Magyarcsanád–Bökény 12.						●	
28.	Magyarcsanád–Bökény 27.	●						
29.	Magyarcsanád–Bökény 31.	●						
30.	Mezőkeresztes–Cethalom 3.	●						
31.	Nyíregyháza, M3/36/c 40.							●
32.	Nyíregyháza, M3/36/c 42.							●
33.	Nyíregyháza, M3/36/c 49.							●
34.	Nyíregyháza, M3/36/c 50.							●
35.	Nyíregyháza, M3/36/c 61.							●
36.	Nyíregyháza, M3/36/c 220.							●
37.	Óföldsétek–Ürmös, M43/9. 189.			●				
38.	Pusztataskony–Ledence, Fst. 1. 61/80							●
39.	Pusztataskony–Ledence, Fst. 1. 193/237							●

	Fundstelle und Orientierung	W-O	SW-NO o. SSW-NNO	N-S	NW-SO o. NNW-SSO	SSO- NNW	O-W	o. A.
40.	Pusztataskony-Ledence, Fst. 1. 218/270							●
41.	Pusztataskony-Ledence, Fst. 2. 270/337							●
42.	Rákóczifalva-Bivalyító 82.							●
43.	Rákóczifalva-Bivalyító 84.							●
44.	Rákóczifalva-Bivalyító 86.							●
45.	Rákóczifalva-Bivalyító 88.							●
46.	Rákóczifalva-Bivalyító 90.							●
47.	Szentes-Kökényzug 75.		●					
48.	Szentes-Nagyhegy 44.		●					
49.	Szirmabesenyő-Homokbánya			●				
50.	Szolnok-Szanda 1.	●						
51.	Szolnok-Szanda 11.	●						
52.	Szolnok-Szanda 32.	●						
53.	Szolnok-Szanda 108.	●						
54.	Szolnok-Szanda 119.	●						
55.	Szolnok-Szanda 127.	●						
56.	Szolnok-Zagyva-part, Alcsi VII/19.		●					
57.	Tápé-Széntégláégető 391.	●						
58.	Üllő, Fundstelle 5. 4864.							●



Orientierung mit einer kleineren Anzahl beobachtet werden können.⁶⁶ Aus der Berechnung von 58 Bestattungen (in 23 Fällen [39 %] gibt es keine Angaben zur Orientierung) kann geschlossen werden, dass die W-O Orientierung am häufigsten (in 18 Fällen [31 %]) verbreitet ist.⁶⁷ Die meisten W-O

⁶⁶ Weitere Informationen für die N-S Orientierung siehe ISTVÁNOVITS 1984–1985, 32, 35; MESTERHÁZY 2009, 83–84.

⁶⁷ Biharkeresztes-Ártánd-Kisfarkasdomb Grab 19, Biharkeresztes-Ártánd-Lencsésdomb Grab 6, Egerlövő-Homokpart Grab 1, Hajdúnánás-Fürj-halom-dűlő Grab 441/618 und 444/620, Hódmezővásárhely-Gorzsa Grab 93, Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok Grab 96, Kál-Legelő Grab 13, Magyarcsanád-Bökény Grab 27, 31, Mezőkeresztes-Cethalom Grab 3, Szolnok-Szanda Grab 1, 11, 32, 108, 119, 127, Tápé-Széntégláégető Grab 391.

orientierten Gräber werden vom letzten Drittel des 4. Jahrhunderts bis zum mittleren Drittel des 6. Jahrhunderts datiert. Anschließend wurden SW–NO oder SSW–NNO ausgerichtete Orientierungen in elf Fällen (19 %) durchgeführt.⁶⁸ In drei Fällen (5 %) wurde eine N–S Orientierung beobachtet.⁶⁹ In der spätsarmatischen Zeit und in der Hunnenzeit wurde mit solch einer Orientierung bestattet. Die NW–SO Orientierung trat nur in einem Fall (2 %) in der Südlichen Tiefebene auf.⁷⁰ Jeweils ein Fall weist O–W,⁷¹ bzw. SSO–NNW Orientierung auf (2–2 %).⁷² Anhand der oben genannten Fälle kann zusammenfassend gesagt werden, dass die W–O (bzw. SW–NO, OW–SO) Orientierung, die in der zweiten Hälfte des 4. Jahrhunderts und im 5. Jahrhundert allgemein verbreitet wurde, Merkmal der Gepiden in der Großen Ungarischen Tiefebene ist. Im Karpatenbecken des 5. Jahrhunderts wurden diese verschiedenen Orientierungen oft in einem Gräberfeld gefunden. Dies hängt möglicherweise nicht nur mit verschiedenen „Ethnien“ zusammen, sondern ebenso mit Veränderungen in der Auffassung des Lebens nach dem Tod. Diese neue Bestattungsweise kann zusammen mit neuen Arten von Funden beobachtet werden.

Materiellen Erinnerungen der Bestattungen

Über die Gegenstände der Bestattungen (58 Fälle) habe ich Informationen nur in 36 Fällen (in vier Gräbern gibt es keine Funde). Wie im Fundmaterial der Epoche, können auch im Großteil der genannten Fundorte Käämme gefunden werden.⁷³ Insgesamt 20 Käämme kamen aus 19 Gräbern zum Vorschein (14 %, 13 Stücke von 12 Frauen,⁷⁴ 6 Stücke von 6 Männern,⁷⁵ bzw. im Fall eines Kammes ist das Geschlecht des Besitzers nicht definiert).⁷⁶ Käämme kamen nicht nur bei beiden Geschlechtern vor, sondern auch in jedem Lebensalter. Einer von 20 Käämmen war einreihig,⁷⁷ die anderen zweireihig. Sieben Käämme waren verziert,⁷⁸ vier waren unverziert⁷⁹ (über die anderen wurden keine Notizen hinsichtlich Verzierungen vermerkt).

⁶⁸ Kiszombor Grab 43, 45, 50, 54, 57, 225 und 376, Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok Grab 104, Szentes-Kökényzug Grab 75, Szentes-Nagyhegy Grab 44, Szolnok-Zagyva-part, Alcsi Grab VII/9.

⁶⁹ Biharkeresztes-Ártánd-Nagyfarkasdomb Grab 35, Óföldséak-Ürmös, Fundstelle M43/ 9, Grab 189, Szirmabesenyő-Homokbánya.

⁷⁰ Apátfalva-Kossuth Str. 151. Grab 1 (vom letzten Drittel des 4. Jahrhunderts bis zur Mitte des 5. Jahrhunderts).

⁷¹ Magyarcsanak-Bökény Grab 12 (vom letzten Drittel des 5. Jahrhunderts bis zum Ende mittleres Drittels des 6. Jahrhunderts).

⁷² Kiszombor-B Grab 389 (vom letzten Viertel des 5. Jahrhunderts bis zum Anfang des 6. Jahrhunderts).

⁷³ Der häufigste Fund in Gräbern ist der Kamm (insgesamt wurden 87 Stücke, 74 zweireihig, 13 einreihig) um den Kopf bei beiden Geschlechtern und Kindern gefunden (TÖRÖK 1936, 121, 123). In einem Drittel der Gräber in Szőreg-Téglagyár wurden die Käämme auf der Stirn oder auf beiden Seiten des Kopfes, bei beiden Schultern, beim rechten Arm, bei beiden Arm und Hand, bzw. auf dem Sternum, beim linken Knie und beim Fuß gefunden (NAGY 2005b, 145–147).

⁷⁴ Apátfalva-Kossuth Str. 151. Grab 1, Hajdúnánás-Fürj-halom-dűlő Grab 441/618 und 444/620, Kiszombor-B Grab 50, 57, 225, Magyarcsanak-Bökény Grab 31, Mezőkeresztes-Cethalom Grab 3 (2 Stück), Óföldséak-Ürmös, Fundstelle M43/ 9, Grab 189, Szolnok-Szanda Grab 11, Szolnok-Zagyva-part, Alcsi Grab VII/19, Tápé-Széntégláégető Grab 391.

⁷⁵ Kiszombor-B Grab 43, 376, 389, Szentes-Kökényzug Grab 75, Szolnok-Szanda Grab 119, 127.

⁷⁶ Kiszombor-B Grab 54.

⁷⁷ Kiszombor-B Grab 376.

⁷⁸ Apátfalva-Kossuth Str. 151 Grab 1, Kiszombor-B Grab 54, 376, Mezőkeresztes-Cethalom Grab 3, Szolnok-Szanda Grab 127, Szolnok-Zagyva-part, Alcsi Grab VII/19, Tápé-Széntégláégető Grab 391.

⁷⁹ Kiszombor-B Grab 43, 50, 57, Szolnok-Szanda Grab 119.

Übliches Objekt zum Befestigen des Gürtels ist die Eisenschnalle, die von 17 Individuen (13 %, acht Männern,⁸⁰ sieben Frauen⁸¹ und zwei unbestimmten Individuen)⁸² getragen wurde. Oft wurde auch eine Bronzeschnalle zur Befestigung der Tasche verwendet.⁸³ Vier von den Männern mit deformierten Schädeln trugen Bronzeschnallen.⁸⁴ Sowohl Bronze- als auch Eisenschnallen waren im 5-6. Jahrhundert vorhanden. Silberschnallen konnten sich wahrscheinlich nur hiesige Stammesführer leisten.⁸⁵ Neben dem Kamm und der Schnalle war der nächsthäufigste Fund das einschneidige Messer in den Bestattungen mit deformierten Schädeln (11 Fälle [8 %]).⁸⁶

Allgemein verbreitete Funde waren Fibeln,⁸⁷ Perlen aus Glas, Chalzedon, Kreide, Bernstein und Hirsenerlen,⁸⁸ Amulette aus Bergkristall, Tierzähnen und Knochen,⁸⁹ Spinnwirtel,⁹⁰ Feuerstähle,⁹¹ Gefäße⁹² etc. Die meisten Waffen⁹³ sind lorbeerblattförmige Lanzenspitzen mit hohlem Schaft, zweischneidige Schwerter, Schilde, zwei- und dreischneidige Pfeilspitzen. Auf Särge hinweisende

⁸⁰ Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok Grab 96, 104, Kiszombor-B Grab 43, 45, 376, Szentes-Kökényzug Grab 75, Szolnok-Szanda Grab 119, 127.

⁸¹ Kiszombor-B Grab 57, 225, Magyarcsanak-Bökény Grab 31, Biharkeresztes-Ártánd-Lencsésdomb Grab 6, Szolnok-Szanda Grab 11, Szolnok-Zagyva-part, Alcsi Grab VII/9, Óföldsák-Ürmös, Fundstelle M43/ 9, Grab 189.

⁸² Szentes-Nagyhegy Grab 44, Szolnok-Szanda Grab 32.

⁸³ TÖRÖK 1936, 123–125.

⁸⁴ Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok Grab 96, Kiszombor-B Grab 43, 376, Szolnok-Szanda Grab 119.

⁸⁵ Der hunnische Krieger von Szirmabesenyő hatte zwei Silberschnallen. Einer der führenden Männer von Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok (Grab 96) hatte auch eine Silberschnalle. Voriger kann in das mittlere Drittel des 5. Jahrhunderts, nachheriger ist in das letzte Drittel des 5. Jahrhunderts datiert werden.

⁸⁶ Bei 5 Männern: Biharkeresztes-Ártánd-Lencsésdomb Grab 6, Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok Grab 104, Kiszombor-B Grab 43, Szolnok-Szanda Grab 119 (2 Stück), Grab 127. Bei 4 Frauen: Kiszombor-B Grab 225, Szolnok-Szanda Grab 1, 11, Óföldsák-Ürmös, Fundstelle M43/ 9, Grab 189. Bei 2 unbestimmtem Geschlecht: Szentes-Nagyhegy Grab 44, Szolnok-Szanda Grab 32. In Kiszombor gab es in 34 Gräber (in etwa einem Drittel aller Gräber des Gräberfeldes). In Kishomok war die Zahl des Messers viel höher (45 %). In Szőreg war diese Zahl auch hoch (bei Frauen: mehr als 27 %, bei Männern: etwa 50 %). Textile Überreste, die hauptsächlich an den Eisenmesser festkorrodiert waren, wurden auch in 14 Gräbern von Szőreg, beobachtet (NAGY 2005b, 145).

⁸⁷ Hinsichtlich der Gräbern mit deformiertem Schädel gibt es neun Fälle: Biharkeresztes-Ártánd-Lencsésdomb Grab 6, Óföldsák-Ürmös, Fundstelle M43/9, Grab 189, Hódmezővásárhely-Gorzsa Grab 93, Magyarcsanak-Bökény Grab 12 und 31, Mezőkeresztes-Cethalom Grab 3, Hajdúnánás-Fürj-halom-dűlő Grab 441/618 und 444/620, Szolnok-Szanda Grab 1.

⁸⁸ Hinsichtlich der Gräber mit deformiertem Schädel wurden Perlen in acht Frauengräbern gefunden: Hajdúnánás-Fürj-halom-dűlő Grab 441/618 und 444/620, Kiszombor-B Grab 225, 389 (unbestimmtes Geschlecht), Magyarcsanak-Bökény Grab 12, 31, Mezőkeresztes-Cethalom, Üllő, Fundstelle 5, Objekt 4864.

⁸⁹ In der Südlichen Tiefebene gibt es drei Fälle: Hódmezővásárhely-Gorzsa Grab 93, Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok Grab 96, Magyarcsanak-Bökény Grab 31.

⁹⁰ Insgesamt acht Stücke aus sechs Gräbern: Hajdúnánás-Fürj-halom-dűlő Grab 444/620; Hódmezővásárhely-Gorzsa Grab 93, Magyarcsanak-Bökény Grab 12 (2 Stück) und 31, Szolnok-Szanda Grab 1 (2 Stück) und Grab 11.

⁹¹ Insgesamt 7-8 Stücke wurden bei 6 Männern und bei einem Individuum mit unbestimmtem Geschlecht gefunden (Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok Grab 96, Kiszombor-B Grab 43, 376, Szentes-Kökényzug Grab 75 (2 Stück), Szolnok-Szanda Grab 119, 127.

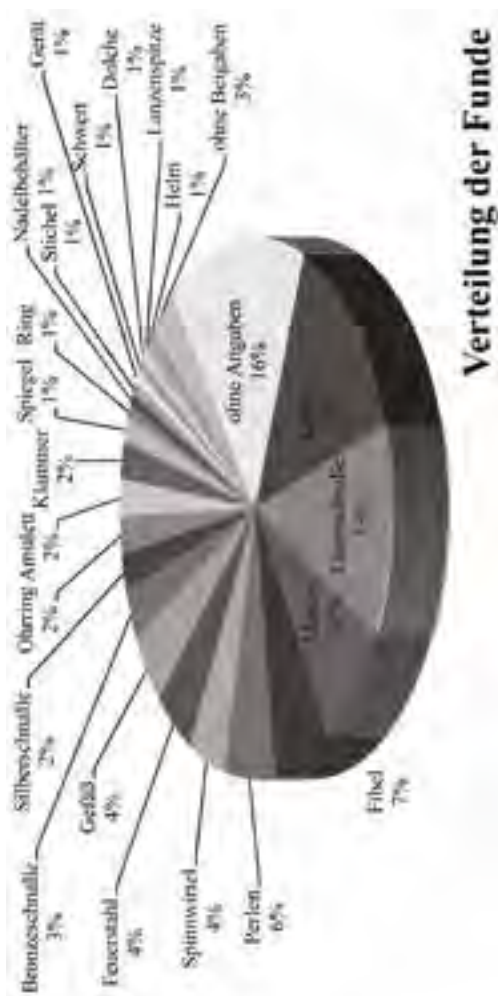
⁹² In 6 Fällen, bei 4 Frauen, bei einem Mann und bei einem Individuum mit unbestimmtem Geschlecht wurde gefunden: Apátfalva-Kossuth Str. 151. Grab 1, Hódmezővásárhely-Gorzsa Grab 93, Kiszombor-B Grab 50, Magyarcsanak-Bökény Grab 31, Szirmabesenyő-Homokbánya, Biharkeresztes-Ártánd-Nagyfarkasdomb Grab 35. Andernfalls waren die Keramikbeigaben in Gräbern mit Verstorbenen mit deformierten Schädeln in der Südlichen Tiefebene häufiger.

⁹³ Die Krieger von Szirmabesenyő-Homokbánya und Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok (Grab 96) wurden mit seinen Waffen begraben, ersterer mit eisernen Lanze und Helm, letzterer mit zweischneidigem Schwert und Dolch.

	ohne Angaben	ohne Beigaben	Helm	Lanzenspitze	Dolche	Schwert	Gerät	Eisenstichel	Nadelbehälter	Ring	Spiegel	Eisenklammer	Amulett	Ohring	Silberschnalle	Bronzeschnalle	Gefäß	Feuerstahl	Spinnwirtel	Perlen	Fibel	Messer	Eisenschnalle	Kamm	Fundstelle und Funde	
1.		•															•							•	1. Apátfalva-Kossuth Str. 151. 1.	
2.																										2. Ároktő-Csik-gát 15/a
3.		•																								3. Ároktő-Csik-gát 156.
4.		•																								4. Ároktő-Csik-gát 166.
5.		•																								5. Ároktő-Csik-gát 166/a
6.		•																								6. Ároktő-Csik-gát 167.
7.		•																								7. Ároktő-Csik-gát 168.
8.																						•				8. Biharkeresztes-Ártánd-Kisfarkasdomb 19.
9.																						•				9. Biharkeresztes-Ártánd-Lencsésdomb 6.
10.																										10. Biharkeresztes-Ártánd-Nagyfarkasdomb 35.
11.																										11. Egerlövő-Homokpart 1.
12.									•		•										•					12. Hajdúnánás-Fürj-halom-dűlő 441/618
13.																					•					13. Hajdúnánás-Fürj-halom-dűlő 444/620
14.													•								•					14. Hódmezővásárhely-Gorzsa 93.
15.													•								•					15. Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok 96.
16.												•										•				16. Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok 104.
17.																										17. Kál-Legelő 13.
18.																										18. Kál-Legelő 33.
19.																						•				19. Kiszombor-B 43.
20.																							•			20. Kiszombor-B 45.
21.																								•		21. Kiszombor-B 50.
22.																								•		22. Kiszombor-B 54.
23.																							•			23. Kiszombor-B 57.
24.																						•				24. Kiszombor-B 225.
25.																							•			25. Kiszombor-B 376.
26.																								•		26. Kiszombor-B 389.
27.																										27. Magyarcsanád-Bökény 12.

	ohne Angaben	ohne Beigaben	Helm	Lanzenspitze	Dolche	Schwert	Gerät	Eisenstichel	Nadelbehälter	Ring	Spiegel	Eisenklammer	Amulett	Ohring	Silberschnalle	Bronzeschnalle	Gefäß	Feuerstahl	Spinnwirtel	Perlen	Fibel	Messer	Eisenschnalle	Kamm	Fundstelle und Funde	
28.																									Magyarcsanád-Bökény 27.	
29.													●							●	●		●	●	Magyarcsanád-Bökény 31.	
30.																				●	●				Mezőkeresztes-Cethalom 3.	
31.	●																								Nyíregyháza, M3/36/c 40.	
32.	●																								Nyíregyháza, M3/36/c 42.	
33.	●																								Nyíregyháza, M3/36/c 49.	
34.	●																								Nyíregyháza, M3/36/c 50.	
35.	●																								Nyíregyháza, M3/36/c 61.	
36.	●																								Nyíregyháza, M3/36/c 220.	
37.																						●		●	Óföldvár-Ürmös, M43/9. 189.	
38.	●																								Pusztataskony-Ledence, Fst. 1. 61/80	
39.	●																								Pusztataskony-Ledence, Fst. 1. 193/237	
40.	●																								Pusztataskony-Ledence, Fst. 1. 218/270	
41.	●																								Pusztataskony-Ledence, Fst. 2. 270/337	
42.	●																								Rákóczifalva-Bivalyó 82.	
43.	●																								Rákóczifalva-Bivalyó 84.	
44.	●																								Rákóczifalva-Bivalyó 86.	
45.	●																								Rákóczifalva-Bivalyó 88.	
46.	●																								Rákóczifalva-Bivalyó 90.	
47.														●					●							Szentes-Kökényzug 75.
48.																						●				Szentes-Nagyhegy 44.
49.															●	●										Szirmabesenyő-Homokbánya
50.																				●	●					Szolnok-Szanda 1.
51.																						●				Szolnok-Szanda 11.
52.																						●				Szolnok-Szanda 32.
53.																										Szolnok-Szanda 108.
54.																							●	●		Szolnok-Szanda 119.

Fundstelle und Funde	Kamm	Eisenschnalle	Messer	Fibel	Perlen	Spinnwirtel	Feuerstahl	Gefäß	Bronzeschnalle	Silberschnalle	Ohrhring	Amulett	Eisenklammer	Spiegel	Ring	Nadelbehälter	Eisenstichel	Gerät	Schwert	Dolche	Lanzenspitze	Helm	ohne Beigaben	ohne Angaben
55. Szolnok-Szanda 127.	●	●	●				●																	
56. Szolnok-Zagyva-part, Alcsi VII/19.	●	●									●													
57. Tápé-Széntégláégető 391.	●																							
58. Üllő, Fundstelle 5. 4864.					●																			●



Eisenhaken mit von Rost eingeschlossenen Holzüberresten kamen ebenfalls zum Vorschein.⁹⁴ Allerdings gibt es relativ wenige Ohrringe⁹⁵ und Spiegel,⁹⁶ fast keine typischen Pinzetten, Scheren und Sichel in den Bestattungen mit künstlich deformierten Schädeln der Großen Ungarischen Tiefebene.⁹⁷

Möglichkeit der Datierung der Schädeldeformation und der Bestattungen mit künstlich deformierten Schädeln

Nachdem die Schädeldeformation im Säuglingsalter begonnen wurde, kann sie im Falle gut datierbarer Gräber einen Hinweis darauf geben, wann die Sitte verwendet wurde.⁹⁸ Aufgrund des Sterbealters kann festgestellt werden, dass der adulte Krieger von Szirmabesenyő, dessen Grab auf das mittlere Drittel des 5. Jahrhunderts datiert wird, frühestens um 400 und spätestens gegen 440/445 auf die Welt kam. Im Fall der juvenilen Frau von Apátfalva (Sterbealter zwischen 18 und 22 Jahren), kann festgestellt werden, dass sie zwischen dem letzten Drittel des 4. Jahrhunderts und der Mitte des 5. Jahrhunderts lebte, frühestens um 345, spätestens um 430 geboren.

Der im Maturus-Alter verstorbene Mann von Kishomok (Grab 96), der im letzten Drittel des 5. Jahrhunderts (mindestens 40, höchstens 60 Jahre alt) starb, ist zwischen 405/410 und 460 geboren. Die im Adultus-Alter verstorbene Frau von Tápé (Grab 391) starb im letzten Viertel des 5. Jahrhunderts oder am Anfang des 6. Jahrhunderts, also ist sie zwischen 435 und 475 geboren. Da wir in vielen Fällen ein ziemlich breites Intervall durch die Untersuchung der Geburtszeit des Individuums erhalten, kann diese Methode keine Möglichkeit für genaue Angaben bieten, aber in der Hoffnung, wenigstens ungefähre Angaben liefern zu können, habe ich die obigen Beispiele angesprochen.

DIE ROLLE DER SCHÄDELDEFORMATION IN DER GESELLSCHAFT

Oft stellt sich die Frage nach der Fähigkeit der Archäologie, soziale Strukturen anhand der Bestattungen zu skizzieren. Die Menge der Informationen, die sich auf die Fundorte und andere Tatsachen beziehen (ungeöffnete oder zum Teil freigelegte Gräberfelder, Grabstörung, fehlende Publikationen usw.), machen es schwierig, die Rolle der Individuen mit deformiertem Schädel in der Gesellschaft zu erforschen. Im Folgenden möchte ich nicht auf alle Fundstellen zu sprechen kommen, sondern nur anhand eines Pro-Kontra-Beispiels versuchen darzustellen (bestätigen oder

⁹⁴ TÖRÖK 1936, 132.

⁹⁵ Nur zwei Bestattungen mit deformiertem Schädel ist in der Großen Ungarischen Tiefebene bekannt: Üllő, Fundstelle 5, Objekt 4864, Hajdúnánás-Fürj-halom-dűlő Grab 441/618 und Szolnok-Zagyva-part, Alcsi Grab VII/9.

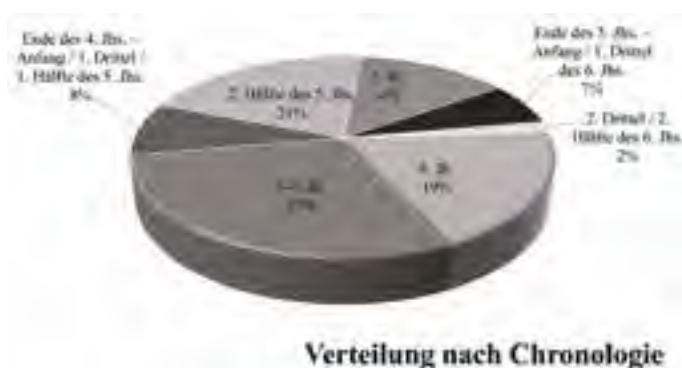
⁹⁶ Nur zwei Bestattungen aus dem 5. Jahrhundert: Üllő, Fundstelle 5, Objekt 4864; Hajdúnánás-Fürj-halom-dűlő Grab 441/618.

⁹⁷ Im Falle des Gräberfeldes Kiszombor-B kann man sagen, dass sich die Besitzer der Schilddornschnallen aus dem ersten Drittel des 6. Jahrhunderts hinsichtlich der Bestattungssitten von den anderen unterscheiden, z. B. die Benutzung der Kämmen), aber das Tragen von sowohl Gürteln als auch Gürteltaschen, die Verwendung des Sargs und das Fehlen der Keramikbeigaben sind typisch (NAGY 2004, 173-174). Im Angesicht dieser Feststellung kann über die durch Dezső Csallány zwischen 472 und 620 datierte Gräber von Kiszombor bestimmt werden, dass die Individuen mit deformiertem Schädel vor dem ersten Drittel des 6. Jahrhunderts begraben werden mussten, da es in diesen Gräbern zwar viele Kämmen, doch keine Schilddornschnallen gab. Meiner Meinung nach wurden die Individuen mit deformiertem Schädel zwischen dem letzten Viertel des 5. Jahrhunderts und dem Anfang des 6. Jahrhunderts bestattet. Es handelt sich wohl nicht um einen Zufall, dass die Gräber von Tápé-Széntégláégető der Ansicht von Ágnes B. Tóth nach auch in diese Zeit fallen (B. TÓTH 1994, 300).

⁹⁸ Es kann nicht erwidert werden, ob die Individuen mit deformiertem Schädel hier in der Großen Ungarischen Tiefebene geboren wurden. In vielen Fällen besteht der starke Verdacht einer negativen Antwort.

	Fundstelle und Datierung	Ende des 4. Jhs. – Anfang / 1. Drittel / 1. Hälfte des 5. Jhs.	2. Hälfte des 5. Jhs.	5. Jh.	Ende des 5. Jhs. – Anfang / 1. Drittel des 6. Jhs.	2. Drittel / 2. Hälfte des 6. Jhs.	6. Jh.	5-6. Jh.
1.	Apátfalva-Kossuth Str. 151. 1.	●						
2.	Ároktő-Csík-gát 15/a			●				
3.	Ároktő-Csík-gát 156.			●				
4.	Ároktő-Csík-gát 166.			●				
5.	Ároktő-Csík-gát 166/a			●				
6.	Ároktő-Csík-gát 167.			●				
7.	Ároktő-Csík-gát 168.			●				
8.	Biharkeresztes-Ártánd-Kisfarkasdomb 19.	●						
9.	Biharkeresztes-Ártánd-Lencsésdomb 6.			●				
10.	Biharkeresztes-Ártánd-Nagyfarkasdomb 35.			●				
11.	Egerlövő-Homokpart 1.					●		
12.	Hajdúnánás-Fürj-halom-dűlő 441/618		●					
13.	Hajdúnánás-Fürj-halom-dűlő 444/620				●			
14.	Hódmezővásárhely-Gorzsa 93.						●	
15.	Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok 96.		●					
16.	Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok 104.							●
17.	Kál-Legelő 13.							●
18.	Kál-Legelő 33.							●
19.	Kiszombor-B 43.		●					
20.	Kiszombor-B 45.		●					
21.	Kiszombor-B 50.		●					
22.	Kiszombor-B 54.		●					
23.	Kiszombor-B 57.		●					
24.	Kiszombor-B 225.		●					
25.	Kiszombor-B 376.		●					
26.	Kiszombor-B 389.		●					
27.	Magyarcsanád-Bökény 12.						●	
28.	Magyarcsanád-Bökény 27.						●	
29.	Magyarcsanád-Bökény 31.						●	
30.	Mezőkeresztes-Cethalom 3.		●					
31.	Nyíregyháza, M3/36/c 40.							●
32.	Nyíregyháza, M3/36/c 42.							●
33.	Nyíregyháza, M3/36/c 49.							●
34.	Nyíregyháza, M3/36/c 50.							●
35.	Nyíregyháza, M3/36/c 61.							●
36.	Nyíregyháza, M3/36/c 220.							●
37.	Óföldséák-Ürmös, M43/9. 189.		●					

	Fundstelle und Datierung	Ende des 4. Jhs. – Anfang / 1. Drittel / 1. Hälfte des 5. Jhs.	2. Hälfte des 5. Jhs.	5. Jh.	Ende des 5. Jhs. – Anfang / 1. Drittel des 6. Jhs.	2. Drittel / 2. Hälfte des 6. Jhs.	6. Jh.	5-6. Jh.
38.	Pusztataskony-Ledence, Fst. 1. 61/80							●
39.	Pusztataskony-Ledence, Fst. 1. 193/237							●
40.	Pusztataskony-Ledence, Fst. 1. 218/270							●
41.	Pusztataskony-Ledence, Fst. 2. 270/337	●						
42.	Rákóczifalva-Bivalytó 82.							●
43.	Rákóczifalva-Bivalytó 84.							●
44.	Rákóczifalva-Bivalytó 86.							●
45.	Rákóczifalva-Bivalytó 88.							●
46.	Rákóczifalva-Bivalytó 90.							●
47.	Szentes-Kökényzug 75.						●	
48.	Szentes-Nagyhegy 44.						●	
49.	Szirmabesenyő-Homokbánya	●						
50.	Szolnok-Szanda 1.				●			
51.	Szolnok-Szanda 11.						●	
52.	Szolnok-Szanda 32.						●	
53.	Szolnok-Szanda 108.						●	
54.	Szolnok-Szanda 119.						●	
55.	Szolnok-Szanda 127.						●	
56.	Szolnok-Zagyva-part, Alcsi VII/19.				●			
57.	Tápé-Széntégláégető 391.				●			
58.	Üllő, Fundstelle 5. 4864.	●						



widerlegen), ob Individuen mit deformiertem Schädel eine besonders wichtige Rolle im sozialen Leben ihrer Gemeinschaft gespielt haben.⁹⁹

⁹⁹ DINGWALL 1931, 30; KISZELY 2006, 437, 444.

Nach einer Theorie ist die Schädeldeformation, die die höchsten Ränge und eine ästhetische Rolle repräsentiert, zuerst in der obersten Schicht der Gesellschaft verwurzelt,¹⁰⁰ und von dort auf das Niveau gewöhnlicher Leute „durchgesickert“. Im Lichte dessen kann angenommen werden, dass in der Großen Ungarischen Tiefebene – abgesehen von einigen wenigen besonderen Fällen – im 5-6. Jahrhundert nur das gemeine Volk erfasst werden kann. Zwischen den analysierten Fundorten in der Tiefebene zeigen sich vereinzelt Bestattungen, kleine „Familiengräberfelder“, bzw. später Reihengräberfelder.¹⁰¹

Die für die Fundorte typische Störung¹⁰² bezieht sich auf immer häufiger auftretende Grabplünderungen, die auf reichere Umstände und die Entstehung einer damit verbundenen, wohlhabenderen sozialen Schicht hindeuten können.¹⁰³ Ebenso können die verschiedenen Erscheinungen, wie die Veränderung der Orientierung das Auftreten einer neuen „Ethnizität“ (oft, aber nicht immer) darstellen, aber ebenso als Veränderungsprozess des Ritus hinsichtlich der Bestattungsrepräsentation verstanden werden. Meiner Ansicht nach jedoch lassen die materialen Merkmale in der gepidenzeitlichen Tiefebene in keiner Weise auf eine hohe soziale Schicht schließen.

Bei genauerer Betrachtung der Fälle zeigt sich, dass aus dem Grab von Apátfalva eher für Transdanubien typische römische Importgegenstände (mit Glasur überzogener Krug, Glasbecher) vom letzten Drittel des 4. Jahrhunderts und bis zur Mitte des 5. Jahrhunderts ans Licht kamen.¹⁰⁴ Außer eines beigabenlosen anderen Grabes gibt es keine weiteren Informationen über die Größe der Grabstätte. So sind die sozialen Schlussfolgerungen nicht fundiert. Das relativ reiche Grabensemble von Szirmabesenyő (Spatha, Sax, Silberschnallen), das in die Mitte des 5. Jahrhunderts datiert wurde, lässt auf den hohen militärischen Rang seines Besitzers schließen. Auf jeden Fall sollte man bedenken, dass es sich um ein Einzelgrab handelt.¹⁰⁵ Das ungestörte Gräberfeld mit acht Gräbern in Szolnok-Zagyva-part, Alcsi (am Ende des 5. Jahrhunderts) kann eine gute Grundlage für den Vergleich der Verstorbenen ohne und mit deformiertem Schädel im sozialen Maßstab bieten. Aus einigen Gräbern kamen Waffen zum Vorschein. Silber- oder vergoldete Gegenstände, die als wertvollstes Kleidungszubehör galten, kommen nicht im Grab der Frau mit deformiertem Schädel vor.¹⁰⁶ Sie wurden im Grab eines Mannes und einer anderen Frau gefunden. Jedenfalls ist es vorstellbar, dass die Frau mit deformiertem Schädel anderes Kleidungszubehör aus wertvollem Material oder in besonderem Stil hatte. Was in der Vergangenheit als wirklich wertvoll angesehen werden konnte, hat sich im Laufe der Jahrhunderte nur in diesem regionalen Klima und Bodenverhältnissen nicht erhalten.

In dem kleinen „familiären“ Gräberfeld Mezőkeresztés vom Ende des 5. Jahrhunderts bis zum Anfang des 6. Jahrhunderts wurden ungestörte Kindergräber neben dem Grab eines Mannes und einer Frau entdeckt. Im Grab der Frau mit deformiertem Schädel wurden silbervergoldete, fünfköpfige Fibelpaare und Kleidungszubehör aus Goldfolien entdeckt, und im Grab eines Kindes Gürtel mit Silberbeschlagen, das Goldfolien-Mundstück einer Messerscheide und eine mit Silberplatten überzogene Bronzeschnalle, während die anderen Gräber von Männern und

¹⁰⁰ Dies wird von eurasiatischen Befunden (z. B. reiche Bestattungen der Saken, Kurgane der Kenkol-Gruppe, Münze der Könige der Kuschan und Hephthaliten) bezeichnet.

¹⁰¹ Im Allgemeinen wurden die Verstorbenen in abgerundet rechteckigen Gräbern in ausgestreckter Position auf den Rücken gelegt.

¹⁰² Bei den untersuchten Gräbern mit deformiertem Schädel gibt es meistens keine Informationen über Grabstörungen, was jedoch nicht spezifisch bedeutet, dass diese Gräber nicht geplündert wurden. Wir sind uns bei 10 Gräbern von 8 Fundstellen über Störungen bewusst, und in nur drei Fällen ist es sicher, dass sie nicht beraubt wurden (über die anderen gibt es keine Informationen).

¹⁰³ ISTVÁNOVITS 1984–1985, 34.

¹⁰⁴ BÉRES-VÖRÖS 1998, 177–180.

¹⁰⁵ MEGAY 1952, 132–133; BÓNA 1991, Abb 41, 1–3, Abb. 42, Abb. 61, 260–261, 276.

¹⁰⁶ CSEH 2005, 19, 21–22, 25–27.

Kindern keine Beigaben enthielten.¹⁰⁷ Trotz der Grabstörung kamen aus Edelmetall hergestellte Gegenstände aus mehreren Gräbern der Verstorbenen mit deformiertem Schädel zum Vorschein. Ob Gegenstände geraubt wurden, bleibt eine unbeantwortete Frage.

Der Mann mit deformiertem Schädel, der in Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok mit einer Waffe begraben wurde (Grab 96), könnte der bewaffnete Anführer seiner Gemeinschaft im letzten Drittel des 5. Jahrhunderts gewesen sein. Das andere Grab eines Mannes mit deformiertem Schädel (Grab 104) hebt sich nicht von den anderen Gräbern ab, dennoch muss die Grabstörung erwähnt werden.¹⁰⁸ Im Gräberfeld des 5-6. Jahrhunderts von Szolnok-Szanda gibt es nur ein Grab eines Individuums mit deformiertem Schädel (Grab 1), das einen überragenden Fund beinhaltet (eine vergoldete Bronzefibel aus der Wende des 5-6. Jahrhunderts). Doch waren die anderen Bestattungen mit deformiertem Schädel gegenüber Bestattungen ohne deformierte Schädel (z. B. mit vergoldeter Silberadlerschnalle) sehr arm.¹⁰⁹ Die armseligen Funde (z. B. Kamm, Spinnwirtel, verschiedene Eisengegenstände)¹¹⁰ des kleinen Familiengräberfeldes aus dem 5. Jahrhundert in Óföleák verfügen über keine Angaben, die soziale Schichtung zu klären. Die ungestörten Gräber aus dem Ende des 5. Jahrhunderts und dem Anfang des 6. Jahrhunderts von Tápé mit dem Fundmaterial (zweireihiger Kamm) spiegeln armselige Bestattungsformen wider.¹¹¹

In Magyarcsanak sticht nur eins der drei Gräber mit deformiertem Schädel mit seinen Beigaben hervor. Allerdings spiegelte die Materialzusammensetzung und die Herstellungstechnik der Funde kein herausragendes Merkmal wider.¹¹² Im Gräberfeld von Hódmezővásárhely-Gorzsa aus dem 6. Jahrhundert kam selbst aus Gräbern mit mehreren Beigaben und Waffen kein Fund zum Vorschein, der aus im gesellschaftlichen Leben relevantem Edelmetall erstellt worden wäre.¹¹³ Fast die meisten deformierten Schädel sind aus Gräbern von Kiszombor-B bekannt, die keine Waffen oder andere herausragende Funde enthielten, nur die häufigsten Beigaben und Kleidungszubehör, wie Käämme, Eisenschnallen, Messer und Perlen. Anhand der alten Ausgrabungsdokumentation ist diese Fundstelle auch nicht wirklich geeignet, soziale Unterschiede zu untersuchen.¹¹⁴

Zusammenfassend kann gesagt werden, dass die meisten Fälle mit deformiertem Schädel nicht geeignet sind, soziale Schichtungen zu untersuchen, daher ist die archäologische Forschung der sozialen Schichtung ziemlich schwierig. Verglichen mit den Bestattungsbedingungen von Menschen mit deformiertem Schädel, finde ich im Vergleich zu den anderen Gräbern der Gräberfelder (falls die Frage relevant ist), dass sie abgesehen von ein oder zwei Fällen,¹¹⁵ zumindest in der Großen Ungarischen Tiefebene, keinen signifikanten Unterschied, d. h. kein signifikant höheres oder niedrigeres soziales Niveau aufweisen.

¹⁰⁷ WOLF-SIMONYI 1995, 5, 9–11; WOLF-SIMONYI 1997, 128–129; SIMONYI 1999, 72; SIMONYI 2005, 206.

¹⁰⁸ BÓNA-NAGY 2002, 73–78; NAGY 2004, 150, 154, 173–175.

¹⁰⁹ BÓNA 2002, 236.

¹¹⁰ SÓSKUTI 2009, 23; SÓSKUTI-MARCSIK 2018, 313.

¹¹¹ B. TÓTH 1994, 288, 300.

¹¹² NAGY 2005a, 97, 100–105, 113–114,

¹¹³ BANNER 1933–1934, 251–271; CSALLÁNY 1961, 126–130, 330; PÁRDU CZ 1963, 9–10. Vgl. im Fundort Szőreg-Téglagyár wurde fast die Hälfte der Männer im mittleren Drittel des 6. Jahrhunderts mit Waffe bestattet. Aber beide Männer mit deformiertem Schädel (jedoch unbestimmte Fälle!) gehörten nicht zu diesem bewaffneten Kreis, obwohl es keine Informationen über die Plünderung der Gräber gibt (CSALLÁNY 1961, 163–167; NAGY 2005b, 132, 134, 195, 197). Aufgrund der Diplomarbeit von Anna Szécsényi-Nagy erwähnte Zsófia Rác noch eine männliche Person (Grab 10) im Maturus-Alter mit deformiertem Schädel von Szőreg (SZÉCSÉNYI-NAGY 2008; RÁC 2016, 327).

¹¹⁴ TÖRÖK 1936; PÁRDU CZ 1963, 10–11.

¹¹⁵ Zum Beispiel, bewaffneter militärischer Rang, siehe Szirmabesenyő, Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok Grab 96 (MEGAY 1952, 132–133; BÓNA 1991, 260–261, 276; BÓNA-NAGY 2002, 73–78; NAGY 2004, 150, 154, 173–175).

KONTINUITÄT DER SITTE DER SCHÄDELDEFORMATION

Die Sitte der Schädeldeformation erschien nicht erst während der Hunnenzeit in der Großen Ungarischen Tiefebene, sondern es gibt bereits aus der Sarmatenzeit eine kleine Anzahl deformierter Schädel im Donau-Theiß-Zwischenland.¹¹⁶ Frühere Angaben dieses Phänomens erlaubten uns jedoch nicht, die tatsächliche Ausübung der Sitte früher, also auf die Sarmatenzeit, auf das 3-4. Jahrhundert zu datieren. Demnach kann die regionale Kontinuität bis zum 5. Jahrhundert nicht unterstützt werden, da es möglich ist, die Erscheinung der Sitte mit neueren sarmatischen und hunnischen Einwanderungswellen zu erklären.

Was das Land jenseits der Theiß betrifft, begann die tatsächliche Ausübung der Sitte etwas später, zur Zeit der Gepidischen Herrschaft. Auch in der neueren Forschung wurde betont, dass das Phänomen der Schädeldeformation nach dem Fall des Hunnenreiches und des Gepidischen Königums nicht verschwand, sondern – wenn auch in kleinerer Zahl – während der Awarenzeit weiterverfolgt werden kann. Laut Ivett Kővári und László Szathmáry, lebte eine Bevölkerungsgruppe, die die Sitte weiter pflegte, an einigen Fundorten im oberen Theißgebiet (Ároktó) vom 5. Jahrhundert bis zur frühen Awarenzeit. Ihrer Meinung nach kann eine starke biologische Verbindung zwischen einem Teil der Bevölkerung der frühen Awarenzeit und der späten Awarenzeit, sowie zwischen der späten Awarenzeit und dem 9. Jahrhundert dargestellt werden. Man versuchte, diese Feststellungen mithilfe statistischer Vergleichsstudien des Schädeltests zu stützen.¹¹⁷ Ferenc Szalai hatte zuvor gedacht, dass die lokale Bevölkerung womöglich in die Awaren aufgenommen wurde.¹¹⁸ Erzsébet Fóthi und Gábor Lőrinczy durchsuchten die Abstammung der Schädeldeformation von Frauen in Szegvár in der hunnischen „Ethnie“.¹¹⁹

In Kiszombor-B gibt es eine große Ähnlichkeit zwischen den deformierten Schädeln der Gräberfelder aus der Gepiden- und Awarenzeit. Ich nehme an, die Frau von Kiszombor-B (Grab 234) könnte in einer gepidenzeitlichen Gemeinde geboren worden sein, und ihr Kopf wurde in ihrer Kindheit deformiert.¹²⁰ In diesem Fall kann die Schädeldeformation das „Überleben“ eines gepidenzeitlichen Individuums beschreiben.¹²¹ Selbstverständlich ist dies kein Indiz für das allgemeine Fortleben der Gewohnheit bis in die Awarenzeit. Doch könnte ich die Theorie der Kontinuität der früheren Gewohnheit und des östlichen Ursprungs der Sitte nicht ausschließen. Beide Phänomene könnten sogar Seite an Seite existiert haben.

Nach der Meinung von Tamás Hajdu weist die in der Awarenzeit beobachtete Schädeldeformation (im Fall der von ihm und seinen Kollegen untersuchten Stelle) nicht auf das Überleben der lokalen gepidenzeitlichen Population oder Gewohnheit hin.¹²² Zusammenfassend ist es zwar nicht ganz klar, ob die gepidenzeitlichen Überlebenden im Falle von Bestattungen mit deformiertem Schädel zu der Awarenzeit gezählt werden sollten, oder ob es eine andere „ethnische“ Zugehörigkeit gab oder eine neue Welle von Einwanderern dazukam, die die Sitte mit sich brachte. Ich meine obwohl es in dieser Sitte ein Weiterlebensmuster gibt, ist es wegen der geringen Anzahl von Fällen jedoch nicht empfehlenswert, weitreichende Schlussfolgerungen zu ziehen. Momentan kann die Sitte der Schädeldeformation ohne die Aussage von „Ethnizität“ als fremdes Phänomen in der Awarenzeit interpretiert werden.

¹¹⁶ Diese Funde wurden im Rahmen der Forschung von Antónia Marcsik entdeckt (MARCSIK 2011, 426).

¹¹⁷ KŐVÁRI-SZATHMÁRY 2003, 160–161.

¹¹⁸ SZALAI 1994, 103.

¹¹⁹ FÓTHI-LŐRINCZY 2000, 37.

¹²⁰ Als sie ihr Lebensende (30–35 Jahren) erreichte, hatten sich Machtverhältnisse und politische Beziehungen in ihrem Umfeld bereits verändert, was sich in den Lebensverhältnissen und Begräbnisgewohnheiten ihrer Familie und Gemeinde zeigte (z. B. in der Verbreitung neuer Arten von Schmuck).

¹²¹ Über gepidisches Weiterleben in der Awarenzeit, siehe BEREZKI-MIHÁCZI-PÁLFI 2014; MIHÁCZI-PÁLFI-BEREZKI 2017, 176–178; KISS 2015, 191–247; VIDA 2018.

¹²² HAJDU ET AL. 2010, 349. Hier möchte ich nicht auf die awarenzeitlichen Fälle konzentrieren, weil die früher analysiert wurden (MIHÁCZI-PÁLFI 2013b; MIHÁCZI-PÁLFI 2014).

Hauptsächlich wegen der Anzahl von awarenzeitlichen Fundorten mit deformierten Schädeln, verglichen mit der Anzahl der Fundorte ohne deformierte Schädel, ist es unbestreitbar, dass die Schädeldeformation der Awarzeit im Vergleich mit der Praxis vom 5-6. Jahrhundert nicht so bedeutend war. Ich meine, dass die Verarbeitung von Fällen deformierter Schädel der Awarzeit nicht nur anthropologisch, sondern auch archäologisch gerechtfertigt ist. In Zukunft sollte die Frage der Kontinuität als eines der wichtigsten Schlüsselemente noch gründlicher betrachtet werden.

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Die frühesten archäologischen Fundstellen mit künstlich deformierten Schädeln stammen aus dem 3-4. Jahrhundert und liegen in der Großen Ungarischen Tiefebene. Innerhalb des Limes, in Transdanubien, gehören die betreffenden Gräber eher in die erste Hälfte des 5. Jahrhunderts, doch wurden sie ab der zweiten Hälfte des 5. Jahrhunderts bis zur Mitte des 6. Jahrhunderts in der Tiefebene angelegt. Nicht nur Gräberfelder der Sarmaten-, Hunnen- und Gepidenzeit, auch aus der Awarzeit sind einige Fälle bekannt.

Im Zentrum meiner Forschung stehen die Funde und Befunde des 5-6. Jahrhunderts. Für diese Studie wurde der Schwerpunkt vor allem auf die in der Südlichen Tiefebene lokalisierten Gräber mit deformierten Schädeln gelegt. 58 Bestattungen der 26 Fundstellen von Verstorbenen mit deformierten Schädeln wurden hier analysiert. Die Fundorte befinden sich in vier Bereichen: die Regionen untere Theiß und Mieresch, Mittel-Theiß, obere Theiß und Kreisch. Die oben genannten Ergebnisse zusammenfassend, kam ich zu folgenden Schlussfolgerungen. Für die Individuen mit deformiertem Schädel sind die Deformationsmethoden *frontalis*, *fronto-occipitalis* und *circularis* im 5-6. Jahrhundert charakteristisch. Es gibt einen ähnlichen großen Anteil der Schädeldeformation bei Frauen und Männern. Die meisten Individuen mit deformiertem Schädel starben im Adultus-Alter, viele von ihnen im Maturus-Alter, einige von ihnen im Senilis-Alter. Gelegentlich trat Kindersterblichkeit auf, allerdings in keiner entscheidenden Zahl. Infolgedessen erreichten die meisten Individuen mit deformiertem Schädel das Erwachsenenalter. Die Frage der pathologischen Veränderungen ist umstritten. Meiner Meinung nach gab es keine schwerwiegenden pathologischen Folgen, die sich negativ auf ihre Gesundheit ausgewirkt hätten. Ein großer Teil des untersuchten Materials ist durch die West-Ost-Orientierung und starke Grabstörung gekennzeichnet. Letzterer Umstand kann die aus den Angaben gezogenen Schlussfolgerungen leicht verfälschen. Die Riten der Bestattungen der Verstorbenen mit deformiertem Schädel entsprechen den Merkmalen der jeweiligen Epoche und Gemeinschaft.

Die meisten Fälle der deformierten Schädel in der Großen Ungarischen Tiefebene hängen nicht mit der sozialen Schichtung der gegebenen Gemeinschaft zusammen. Denn das Phänomen war sowohl in den höheren als auch unteren sozialen Schichten vorhanden. Dies wird anhand der Bestattungen der Verstorbenen mit deformiertem Schädel mit reicheren und (besonders) ärmeren Funden belegt. Insgesamt kann festgestellt werden, dass kein signifikanter Unterschied in den Fällen der analysierbaren Fundorte aufgrund der Grabungsbedingungen der Individuen mit deformiertem Schädel, im Vergleich zu den Bestattungen ohne deformierte Schädel der betreffenden Gräberfelder gezeigt wurde. Das heißt, es gibt keine deutlich höhere oder niedrigere soziale Ebene (mit Ausnahme weniger Fälle). Obwohl sofort hinzugefügt werden sollte, dass die Mehrheit der bisher bekannten Fundorte mit deformierten Schädeln für das Studium der sozialen Schichtung ungeeignet ist. Es scheint, als könnte und sollte man die Sitte der Schädeldeformation nicht mit einzelnen sozialen Schichten des 5-6. Jahrhunderts assoziieren. Bei der Analyse der Verstorbenen mit deformierten Schädeln müssen die beiden grundlegenden Fakten berücksichtigt werden, dass die künstliche Schädeldeformation, beziehungsweise die Bestattung der Individuen von Familie und / oder Gemeinschaft abhängig waren.

Aufgrund der Tatsache, dass die künstlichen Schädeldeformationen im Kleinkindalter einerseits und die Bestattungen von erwachsenen Individuen mit solchen Deformationen andererseits im Wesentlichen voneinander unabhängig zu beurteilende Erscheinungen sind, lassen sich interessante Beziehungen zwischen den betroffenen Individuen, ihren Angehörigen und der Gesellschaft herausarbeiten. Neben der Suche nach Analogien und Hinweisen auf kulturelle Kontakte werden Beigaben, Kleidungszubehör, sowie selbstverständlich auch Bestattungsritus und andere rituelle Traditionen untersucht. Veränderungen von Kleidung, Tradition und Innovation, der ehemaligen Migrations- und Kommunikationsräume, bzw. Netzwerk und Handelsbeziehungen, sowie persönliche Mobilität und schließlich soziale Zugehörigkeiten und Differenzierungen sind wichtige Aspekte, die im regionalen und chronologischen Vergleich der Erkennung, Beschreibung und Unterscheidung kultureller Gruppierungen des 5-6. Jahrhunderts dienen. Der politisch-wirtschaftlich-kulturelle Hintergrund für diese Bestattungen änderte sich natürlich im Laufe der Zeit und in Abhängigkeit vom jeweiligen Einflussbereich. Die obigen Fragen werden weitere, kombinierte anthropologische und archäologische Untersuchungen der Gräber der Verstorbenen mit deformiertem Schädel erfordern.

LISTE DER FUNDSTELLEN

Fundstellen der bestimmten Fälle:

1. Apátfalva-Kossuth Str. 151. (Komitat Csongrád)
2. Ároktó, Csík-gát (Komitat Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén)
3. Biharkeresztes-Ártánd-Kisfarkasdomb (Komitat Hajdú-Bihar)
4. Biharkeresztes-Ártánd-Lencsésdomb (Komitat Hajdú-Bihar)
5. Biharkeresztes-Ártánd-Nagyfarkasdomb (Komitat Hajdú-Bihar)
6. Egerlövő-Homokpart (Komitat Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén)
7. Hajdúnánás-Fürj-halom-dűlő (Komitat Hajdú-Bihar)
8. Hódmezővásárhely-Gorzsa (Komitat Csongrád)
9. Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok (Komitat Csongrád)
10. Kál-Legelő, Fundstelle III (Komitat Heves)
11. Kiszombor-B (Komitat Csongrád)
12. Magyarcsanak-Bökény (Komitat Csongrád)
13. Mezőkeresztes-Cethalom (Komitat Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén)
14. Nyíregyháza, M3/36/c (Komitat Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg)
15. Óföldéak-Ürmös, Fundstelle M43/ 9 (Komitat Csongrád)
16. Pusztataskony-Ledence, Fundstelle 1 (Komitat Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok)
17. Pusztataskony-Ledence, Fundstelle 2 (Komitat Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok)
18. Rákóczifalva-Bivalytó, Rökkant Föld I, Fundstelle 3 (Komitat Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok)
19. Szentés-Kökényzug (Komitat Csongrád)
20. Szentés-Nagyhegy (Komitat Csongrád)
21. Szirmabesenyő-Homokbánya (Komitat Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén)
22. Szolnok-Szanda (Komitat Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok)
23. Szolnok-Zagyva-part, Alcsi (Komitat Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok)
24. Tápé-Széntégláégető (Komitat Csongrád)
25. Tiszagyenda (Komitat Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok)
26. Üllő, Fundstelle 5 (Komitat Pest)

Fundstellen der unbestimmten Fälle:

27. Csongrád-Berzsenyi Str. 4. (Komitat Csongrád)
28. Csongrád-Városháza (Komitat Csongrád)
29. Gyula-Homokbánya (Komitat Békés)
30. Gyula-Kétegyháza Straße (Komitat Békés)
31. Kunszentmiklós-Középszenttamás (Bak-ér) (Komitat Bács-Kiskun)
32. Mezőkövesd-Mocsolyás, Fundstelle 3 (Komitat Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén)
33. Rákóczifalva-Kastélydomb (Komitat Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok)
34. Szentés-Berekhát (Komitat Csongrád)
35. Szőreg-Téglagyár (Komitat Csongrád)
36. Tiszadob-Ókenéz (Komitat Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg)
37. Tiszadob-Sziget (Komitat Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg)
38. Tiszakarád-Inasa (Komitat Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén)
39. Tiszavasvári-Városföldje-Jegyző-tag (Komitat Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg)
40. Tótkomlós-Nagy Str. 35. (Komitat Békés)
41. Törökszentmiklós-Kenderpart (Komitat Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok)

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NUMISMATIK / NUMISMATICS

COIN FROM THE GEPIDIC PERIOD CEMETERY OF BERETTYÓÚJFALU, HUNGARY. THE CROSS SERIES OF THE SIRMIMUM GROUP

István A. Vida – Alain Gennari – Zoltán Farkas

In 2015 a new coin type of the Sirmium group was found in a Gepidic cemetery during archaeological excavations, in archaeological context in Berettyóújfalu, Hungary. It belongs to a group of types bearing a central cross on their reverse. The coins – which are not directly linked to any other monogram quarter siliqua, and have no actual parallels in any late antique/early medieval coinages – were most likely minted by the Gepids, between 536, the capture of Sirmium by the Gepids and 552, the defeat of the Gepids by the Longobards.

Keywords: Gepids; Ostrogoths; migration period; *siliqua*; imitation; coin find; Sirmium group


In the spring of 2015 a peculiar silver coin was found on the Great Hungarian Plain during an excavation of a Gepidic-Avar¹ cemetery prior to the construction of the M4 motorway in the outskirts of Berettyóújfalu. The coin was brought to the Hungarian National Museum by the leader of the excavation, Zoltán Farkas for identification, where research of the coins of the migration period had been started recently by Alain Gennari and István Vida.



*Fig. 1. Coin of the Sirmium group from Grave 288 of the Gepidic cemetery at Berettyóújfalu
(photo: Ferenc Balázs Csáti)*

¹ There were also 23 Avar graves in the area, they are dated to the 8th century AD. Thus it is likely that the cemetery was not used continuously. The entire cemetery has not been excavated, as some graves fall outside the track of the future road. The archaeological finds of the cemetery are not processed yet.

The small silver coin is a pierced “*quarter siliqua*”,² which clearly belongs to the “Sirmium Group”³ based on stylistic attributes.

Obv. Traces of blundered inscription: [...]  [...]. Diademed bust right (Justin I?).

Rev. No legend. Cross flanked by two stars, arch above and below, all within wreath.

Its weight is 0.60 g; its diameter is 18 mm. The die axis is either 4 h or 10 h; as all the leaves of the wreath seem to go in the same direction, no top or bottom can be identified.

THE CEMETERY

The nearly 200 graves of the cemetery (Fig. 12) were arranged in 8 rows; all of them were rectangular pit graves with straight walls. The deceased had been buried on their backs, in extended position. 80-85% of the graves was robbed, and the small number of finds have made its dating difficult.

The pair of graves no. 141 and no. 288 (Fig. 13) was found in the northern third of the recovered cemetery section. Their contour appeared on the surface as a robbed grave, however, two separate graves with different depths could be distinguished during their excavation. The upper one had been disturbed around the chest, therefore only a double-sided bone comb remained beside the head and some iron loops beside the legs. While cleaning the grave, the rim of a vessel appeared near the southern edge, which led us to find another burial with the undisturbed, but poorly preserved remains of a presumably Inf II or Juvenilis-aged girl. Her grave goods were a bone comb placed beside the head, beads around the neck and the chest, and seemingly bronze objects (one of these was the coin) (Fig. 14); a bronze buckle and a wheel-thrown vessel beside the legs.

The dating of this grave is quite problematic. Based on the superposition, it is older than the grave atop it, since on one hand only Grave 141 was visible on the surface, and on the other hand the bottom of Grave 141 cut the vessel of Grave 288. However, due to the looting and its grave goods that cannot be dated precisely (bone comb and iron loops), the date of the younger grave cannot be specified within the Gepidic period. Most of the finds of Grave 288 raise similar difficulties. The bone comb found in very poor condition beside the head is similar to the other one, and it does not help dating. The round amber beads, the flattened octahedron-shaped carnelian bead, and the segmented stick beads composing her necklace were present in the Carpathian Basin from the Sarmatian period until the early Avar period. Most of the metal objects on the string are fragments used secondarily, which cannot be used for dating either. The buckle found in the grave is a cast bronze buckle with the prong curved on the ring, which appeared in this region in the 5th century AD, and remained in use until the Avar period. The vessel uncovered at the feet has a spherical body and a straight rim, a type representing 5–6th century domestic pottery in Gepidic graves. In summary, the grave belongs the earliest group of the cemetery, however, it cannot be dated precisely between the 5–6th centuries.

THE COINS

Including the coin from Berettyóújfalu we know a total of 11 specimens belonging to two main reverse types bearing a central cross. Two of the coins (Fig. 9 and 10) are modern forgeries for sure,⁴

² The coin we are dealing with is a so-called “*quarter siliqua*”, a modern term which in ancient times was used only for units of weight.

³ A term used in METLICH 2004 for non-Italian coins of the Ostrogoths or Gepids.

⁴ Working on this paper we have met two coins in the online catalogue of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, which were identical (even the flans!) apart from a tiny difference on the reverse in the star. For our inquiry Mr. Karsten Dahmen, curator of the Münzkabinet has confirmed, that those were two different coins with different weights.

and the coin cited by Alram–Hahn⁵ is presumably also a modern forgery.⁶ Thus the number of coins is reduced to 8 only.⁷

As written, there are two main reverse type, that can be related each other in a way that is still not clear. The first type (Figs 2–7) may represent the Golgotha, with a rainbow above,⁸ but the interpretation is not sure, the design can be derived from a simplified Theoderic monogram as well. It is also possible that the simplified monogram was then re-interpreted by the engraver. The second type (Figs 8–11), has a “latin cross” within wreath flanked by symbols (sometimes a supposed C and a star and sometimes something still unclear like in Fig. 8), but, as written, two of these coins are modern forgeries, and the third’s authenticity is still questionable.

The Berettyóújfalu coin seem to be a sub-type of the Golgotha coins, where the arch (or rainbow) is doubled. This might be due to careless engraving, or more probably to the doubling occurred during the operation of duplication of an existing die.

In the Kamenica coin the leaves of the wreath go in the same direction, the wreath has no top and bottom, the small signs flanking the cross might go back either to the two crosses of the other group, or to the crescent and star of this group.

While it is hard to say which is the prototype for this coinage, it seems acceptable to suppose that the coin in Fig. 2 was probably minted before coins n. 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7.

The interpretation of the design in the reverse of the second group is also problematic. In a first time it was assigned to Cunimund for example by Metlich, but this interpretation was questioned by Alain Gennari in 2017, and the interpretation as a *staurogram* cannot be excluded.⁹



Fig. 2. Coin from unknown site (NAC, Auction 75, lot 431.; courtesy of Numismatica Ars Classica)

Obv.: VY ΛΙΤVΙ V. Diademed, draped(?) bust right (Justin I?).

Rev.: No legend. Cross flanked by two stars and two smaller crosses, arch above, small circle below, all within wreath.

0.72 g; ? mm; ? h; same pair of dies as coin number 3, same reverse die as coin number 6 and 7.

⁵ ALRAM–HAHN 1993, 79.

⁶ We did not see the coin in hand, but based on the photo published by Alram–Hahn (ALRAM–HAHN 1993, 79) it is also made with the same obverse die as the Berlin forgeries.

⁷ It is conceivable that an authentic coin of this type exists, and it was copied, but we cannot be sure, that it is not a fantasy coin.

⁸ GENNARI 2017, 49: The mountain, the three crosses with one major cross, two stars and a bow in the sky, that, as noted by Alessandro Vallar, is mentioned in Genesis 9, 16 ‘Whenever the rainbow appears in the clouds, I will see it and remember the everlasting covenant between God and all living creatures of every kind on the earth.’

⁹ For the whole problem see GENNARI IN PRESS. These types were unknown to the earlier research, like KENT 1971; DEMO 1994.



Fig. 3. Grave find¹⁰ from Kamenica. Gradski Muzej Vinkovci; Inv. 1109
(courtesy of Hrvoje Vulić, Gradski Muzej Vinkovci)

Obv.: VY ΛITVIϞV. Diademed, draped(?) bust right (Justin I?).

Rev.: No legend. Cross flanked by two stars and two smaller crosses, arch above, small circle below, all within wreath.

0.68 g; 16 mm; ? h; same pair of dies as coin number 2, same reverse die as coin number 6 and 7.



Fig. 4. Coin from unknown site (NAC, Auction 92, Lot 903.; courtesy of Numismatica Ars Classica)

Obv.: VNVϞTVϞN[...]. Diademed, draped(?) bust right (Justin I?).

Rev.: No legend. Cross flanked by two smaller crosses, arch above, small circle below, all within wreath.

0.71 g; ? mm; ? h



Fig. 5. Coin from unknown site (Jean Elsen, Auction 126, Lot 316.; courtesy of Jean Elsen & ses Fils)

¹⁰ VULIĆ 2016a, 91–92; VULIĆ 2016b, 140–141. During our research we also discussed the coin with Hrvoje Vulić in email, where wrote: “The coin was found in the foundation (stratigraphical unit 89) of Object 6 (Fig. 17 and 18), a large tomb with a robbed brick built grave. The grave was plastered from inside and probably painted since some pieces of paint remained. The roof was constructed from flat laid bricks with slated bricks covering them. It was really heavily robbed with just few bones, scattered bone fragments remaining, even the bricks from the floor of the grave were taken out. It is difficult to say whether it was reused or not. Object 6 is in the North-western corner of the inner court of the complex.”

Obv.: [...]. Diademed, draped(?) bust right (Justin I?).

Rev.: No legend. Cross flanked by two smaller crosses, arch above, small circle below, all within wreath.

? g; ? mm; ? h



Fig. 6. Grave find¹¹ from Kranj-Lajh (Narodni Muzej, Ljubljana, KOS 1981)

Obv.: No legend. Nimbate, draped bust of an angel facing, probably St. Michael archangel, within circle of dots.

Rev.: No legend. Cross flanked by two stars and two smaller crosses, arch above, small circle below, all within wreath.

0.72 g; 14 mm; 11 h; Same pair of dies as coin number 7, same reverse die as coins number 2 and 3.



Fig. 7. Grave find,¹² from Rifnik (Pokrajinski Muzej, Celje, KOS 1981)

Obv.: No legend. Nimbate, draped bust of an angel facing, probably St. Michael archangel, within circle of dots.

Rev.: No legend. Cross flanked by two stars and two smaller crosses, arch above, small circle below, all within wreath.

0.69 g; 15 mm; 11 h; Same pair of dies as coin number 6, same reverse die as coins number 2 and 3.

¹¹ KOS 1981.

¹² KOS 1981.



Fig. 8. Stray find,¹³ Kamenica (Gradski Muzej Vinkovci; Inv. N 1110.; courtesy of Hrvoje Vulić and Gradski Muzej Vinkovci)

Obv.: Traces of blundered legend. Diademed, draped(?) bust right (Justin I?).¹³
 Rev.: No legend. Cross flanked by two linear symbols, all within wreath.
 0.46 g; 18 mm; ? h



Fig. 9. Modern forgery from the Friedrich Stefan collection Staatliche Museen zu Berlin; Inv. 18252140 (courtesy of Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz)

Obv.: ΟΙ ΙΒΣΤΙΝΣ Ρ ΛΥ. Diademed, draped(?) bust right (Justin I?).
 Rev.: No legend. Cross, crescent to left, star to right, all within double wreath.
 0.68 g; 16 mm; 6 h; Same pair of dies as coin number 10, same reverse die as coin number 11.



Fig. 10. Modern forgery from the Friedrich Stefan collection Staatliche Museen zu Berlin; Inv. 18254929 (courtesy of Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz)

Obv.: ΟΙ ΙΒΣΤΙΝΣ Ρ ΛΥ. Diademed, draped(?) bust right (Justin I?).
 Rev.: No legend. Cross, crescent to left, star to right, all within double wreath.
 0.67 g; 16 mm; 6 h; Same pair of dies as coin number 9, same reverse die as coin number 11.

¹³ VULIĆ 2016b. In an email Hrvoje Vulić wrote: “What is interesting is that another ... coin was found in 2014, but it was a surface detector find so it lacks context details but it is still interesting.”



Fig. 11. Modern forgery(?) allegedly found in Carnuntum (after ALRAM-HAHN 1993)

Obv.: ΟΙ ΙΒΤΙΝΣ Ρ ΛΥ. Diademed, draped(?) bust right (Justin I?).

Rev.: No legend. Cross, crescent to left, star to right, all within double wreath.

0.76 g; 16 mm; 6 h; Same reverse die as coin number 9 and 10.

It must be noted that the obverse die of the coins *Figs 9, 10 and 11*, is found in many other coins of the Sirmium Group with the Theoderic Monogram on the reverse, see for example the coins of type 6 in Gennari 2017, with anepigraphic reverse with Theoderic simplified monogram and obverse in the name of Justin I.

This obverse, O96 in Gennari 2017, links 6 specimens with theoderic monogram, with the 3 specimens in *Figs 9–11*, and the two forgeries were probably made copying this existing coins.

WHO MINTED THE COINS?

While the coins in *Figs 9–11* are linked to the Sirmium group by identity of obverse die, the Golgotha coins and the "figural" coins are not directly linked to any other monogram quarter siliqua.

The design of the cross coins – and the figural coins Gennari type 3 as well – is radically different from other coins of the Sirmium group and from the Italian Ostrogothic coinage, moreover there are no actual parallels in any late antique/early medieval coinages.

Based on geographical reasons and on the influence of the Sirmium group for the general obverse style, we presume that the coins were minted by the Gepids, even if we are not supposed to speculate of a sort of „national“ currency, we think, that some authority in the Pannonia Sirmiensis area minted the coins for some reason. We must not forget, that from the 4th century Sirmium was an important ecclesiastic centre, the place for several councils, for a while, from ca 294 AD, it was the capital of the empire. So it must have had an important cultural influence even at this time, so coin designs may have been inspired here by ideas or works of arts nowadays unknown to us.

The special link between the "Golgotha Coins", the Gennari's type 3 "figural coins", and the "cross and symbols coins *Figs 8–11*", seems to be a general Christian pattern. We have a possible Golgotha representation, a scene of the "*Dominus legem dat*" with an altar, a cross, a dove and the crown of thorns, and a latin cross flanked by symbols that may even be, turned upside-down, a *staurogram*, anyway all Christian symbols.

DATING THE COINS

As Alain Gennari has demonstrated¹⁴ the minting of Sirmium Group was initiated by the Ostrogoths following their conquest of Sirmium in 505, probably in 508/510. Gothic coinage seems to end in Sirmium in c. 528.¹⁵ On the other hand the Sirmium Group does not consist of "official" ostrogothic

¹⁴ GENNARI 2016, 73–74.

¹⁵ GENNARI 2016, 75; GENNARI IN PRESS, 86.

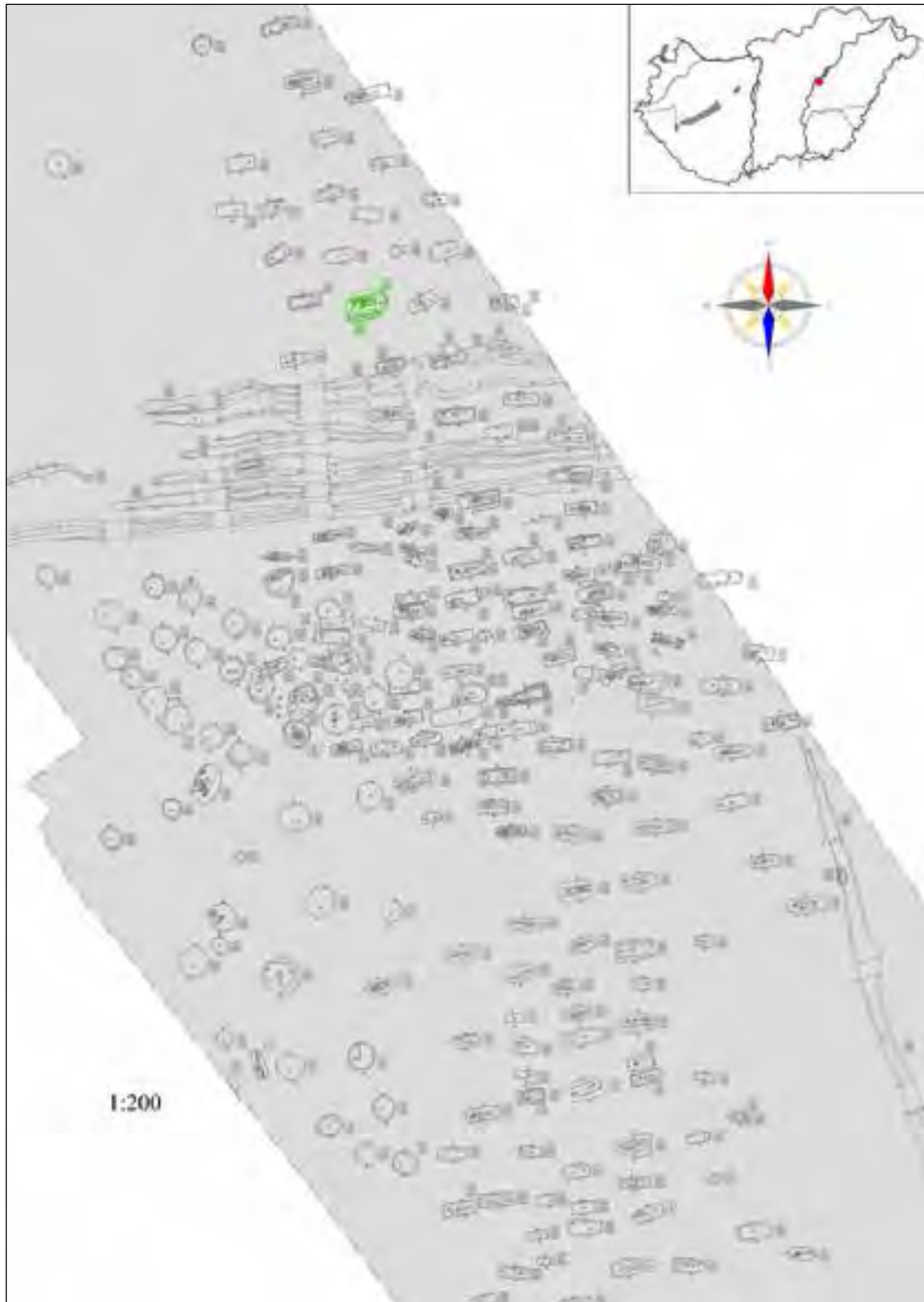


Fig. 12. Map of the excavated area (cemetery, ditches) at Berettyóújfalu, Hungary
(Zoltán Farkas, courtesy Salisbury Régészeti Kft.)

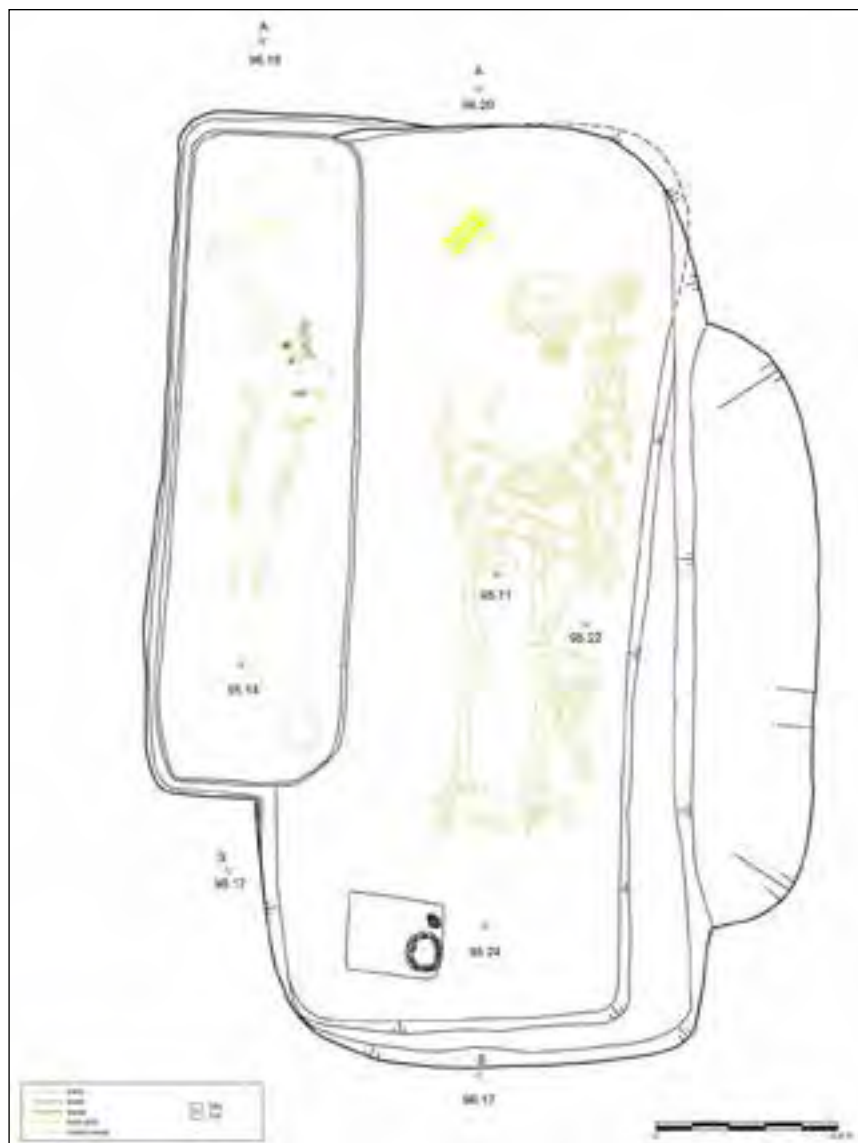


Fig. 13. Graves 141 and 288 at Berettyóújfalu, Hungary (Zoltán Farkas, courtesy Salisbury Régészeti Kft.)

coins only, but there are many imitative coins similar in style. The cross coins belong to these imitative group, A. Gennari regards them the last coins of the Sirmium Group, and vaguely dates them to the 550's–560's.¹⁶

Archaeological evidence seem to query this dating. The Berettyóújfalu coin – which is a degenerative imitation of the Golgotha coins – was found in a grave, that was used long before the closure of the cemetery dated by the Avar conquest in 567. Thus the Golgotha coins were minted before the mid-6th century.

Slovenian finds (Fig. 6 and 7) dated by Peter. Kos¹⁷ to the 2nd half of the 7th century struck with the same reverse dies as the first NAC coin (Fig. 2) and the Vinkovci grave find (Fig. 3) were very

¹⁶ GENNARI IN PRESS, 86–87.

¹⁷ KOS 1981.



*Fig. 14. Detailed context of the coin find in the grave 288
(photo: Zoltán Farkas, courtesy Salisbury Régészeti Kft.)*

intriguing. The re-dating of the graves¹⁸ to the 2nd half of the 6th century has solved the chronological problems, but the particular style of the obverses is a phenomenon, that cannot be explained yet.

Unfortunately the Croatian finds (*Fig. 3 and 7*) cannot be dated exactly either, the robbed grave and the stray find do not provide a sure *terminus ante quem*. The coins must have been lost or buried before the destruction of Syrmia by the Avars in 582, and because of their non-Byzantine character they were likely minted before 567, when the Byzantine Empire re-conquered the region.

A *terminus post quem* can be ascertained by the fact, that all coins are minted in the name of the Emperor Justin. Based on the chronology of the Berettyóújfalu cemetery this cannot be Justin II (565–578), but Justin I (518–527) only.

¹⁸ MARTIN 2000, 194–196; CIGLENEČKI 2001, 191; BIERBRAUER 2003, 616; VULIĆ 2016b, 141.



Fig. 15. Grave 141 Berettyóújfalu, Hungary
(photo: Zoltán Farkas,
courtesy Salisbury Régészeti Kft.)



Fig. 16. Graves 288 at Berettyóújfalu, Hungary
(photo: Zoltán Farkas,
courtesy Salisbury Régészeti Kft.)

Based on the little data we have, we assume, that the cross coins were minted on the peak of Gepid power between 536, the capture of Sirmium by the Gepids and 552, the defeat of the Gepids in the Battle of Asfeld.

The manuscript was closed in June 2017, thus we were not able to use the accomplishments of Željko Demo's very important works.¹⁹

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SPÄTRÖMISCH-BYZANTINISCHE FUNDMÜNZEN AUS GEPIDENGRÄBERN

Péter Somogyi

Late Roman and Byzantine Coins found in Gepid graves

Information about the Late Roman and Byzantine coins found in graves attributed to the Gepids shall be sufficiently available in individual find reports, contributions, monographs and collected works on the history and archaeology of the Gepids. However, a critical review and processing of the source group are still lacking. The present work aims to close this research gap. The overview of the relevant coin graves follows an archaeological evaluation, and finally, with reference to the difficulties in their ethnic interpretation, the capabilities and limitations of coin dating mentioned by using examples from the source group.

Keywords: Carpathian Basin; Eastern Roman Empire; Byzantine Empire; Huns; Gepids; Avars; tribute and subsidy payments; coins found in burial assemblages; dating by coins; ethnic interpretation

DIE TRIBUT- UND SUBSIDIENZAHLUNGEN VON 424 BIS 625 AN DIE GENTES IM KARPATENBECKEN

Die freiwillige oder erzwungene, gelegentliche oder regelmäßige Überlassung von Gütern (im allgemeinsten Sinn des Wortes) ist ein fester Bestandteil der zwischenmenschlichen Beziehungen. Sie findet auf allen Ebenen der Gesellschaft statt. Je nach Konkretisierungsform des Aktes und Sichtweisen der Akteure spricht man von Gaben, Geschenken, Spenden, Schutz- und Bestechungsgeldern, Subsidien, Tributen, Reparationen, Subventionen und Fördermitteln. Beispiele dafür sind vom Altertum bis zur jüngsten Gegenwart zulänglich bekannt.

Schon ein flüchtiger Überblick der einschlägigen Überlieferungen aus dem spätantiken und frühmittelalterlichen Europa zeigt, dass die Tribut- und Subsidienzahlungen an die barbarischen Gentes, die die Grenzprovinzen gefährdeten, in der Diplomatie West- und Ostroms einen wichtigen Platz einnahmen. Zum einen aus der Not heraus, wenn die zur Abwehr notwendigen Truppen gerade nicht zur Verfügung standen, zum anderen aus ökonomischen Überlegungen, wenn die Finanzierung eines Friedensabkommens oder eines Bündnisses die Staatskasse weniger belastete und die Gentes sich darauf einließen. Am wertvollsten unter den Aufzeichnungen, die von diesen Vereinbarungen berichten, sind die, die Hinweise sowohl zur Höhe als auch zur Dauer der Tribut- oder Subsidienzahlungen enthalten.

Diesbezüglich ist die Quellenlage zur Geschichte der Gentes, die sich in der Spätantike und im Frühmittelalter im Karpatenbecken ansiedelten, besonders günstig. Da sie die Sicherheit der oströmisch-byzantinischen Donauprovinzen ernst- und dauerhaft bedrohten, musste sich Konstantinopel mit ihnen *volens nolens* befassen und so gut es ging auch arrangieren. Das aufgezwungene politische Interesse fand seinen Niederschlag dann auch in der imperialen Geschichtsschreibung. Dem ist zu verdanken, dass die zeitliche und betragsmäßige Entwicklung der Zahlungen an die Gentes im Karpatenbecken sich über einen Zeitraum von 200 Jahren in einzigartiger Weise rekonstruieren lässt.

An die Hunnen, deren Machtzentrum sich in den Jahren nach 420 bereits im Karpatenbecken befand, musste Ostrom von 424 bis 449 jährlichen Tribut in einem Gesamtwert von mehr als

30.000 Pfund Gold bezahlen.¹ Das ist eine Menge, die in gemünzter Form mehr als zwei Millionen Solidi entsprach. Unter den germanischen Gentes, die sich in der Region nach dem Untergang der Hunnenherrschaft für kürzere oder längere Zeit etablierten, ist von den Gepiden, Ostgoten, Herulern und Langobarden überliefert, dass sie als Verbündete Subsidien bezogen. Die Subsidien an die Gepiden im Wert von 100 Pfund Gold wurden von 454 bis 565 mit kleineren Unterbrechungen jährlich bezahlt, woraus sich eine Summe von schätzungsweise 720.000 Solidi ergibt.² Den auf dem Gebiet der pannonischen Provinzen gesiedelten Ostgoten stand seit 459 ein jährliches Subsidium im Wert von 300 Pfund Gold zu. Da sie diesen Siedlungsraum bereits 473 verließen,³ dürfte der Gesamtwert der an sie geflossenen Zahlungen höchstens 320.000 Solidi betragen. Mit den in den pannonischen Raum eingedrungenen Langobarden schloss Ostrom um 535 das erste Bündnis ab, welches bis 565 immer wieder erneuert wurde. Die Höhe der vereinbarten Subsidien ist nicht überliefert.⁴ Unbekannt ist auch die Höhe der Subsidien an die um 512 von Ostrom in der Gegend von Singidunum angesiedelten Heruler.⁵

Desto ausführlicher sind die Berichte zu den Tributzahlungen an die Awaren, an ein asiatisches Reitervolk, das seit 567/8 das Karpatenbecken beherrschte. Von dort aus fielen awarische Kriegsscharen regelmäßig in die Balkanprovinzen des byzantinischen Reichs ein. Um die Raubzüge einzudämmen, zahlte ihnen Konstantinopel von 575 bis 625 Tribut, der anfangs 80.000 Solidi pro Jahr ausmachte, jedoch später mehrmals erhöht wurde: 585 auf 100.000, 598 auf 120.000, 604 auf 150.000, 620 auf 180.000 und 623 auf 200.000 Solidi pro Jahr. Aus diesen Angaben lässt sich nun eine Gesamtsumme von 6.360.000 Solidi errechnen.⁶

Unter der Annahme, dass die Tribute und Subsidien vertragskonform eintrafen und ausschließlich in gemünztem Gold geliefert wurden, wären im Laufe von 200 Jahren mehr als 9.400.000 Solidi an die im Karpatenbecken gleichzeitig oder nacheinander gesiedelten Gentes geflossen, mehr als 40.000 kg reines Gold (*Abb. 1*). In Wirklichkeit trafen die Zahlungen nicht in jedem Jahr ein und auch wenn sie ankamen, dürfte ein Teil von ihnen aus Luxusgütern – Seidenstoffen, Gewürzen, Edelsteinen und anderen Prestigeobjekten – bestanden haben. Deshalb verfügten die gentilen Herrscher sicher über weniger Gold als oben berechnet wurde, aber auf jeden Fall über eine beachtliche Menge von Goldmünzen. Wie diese von den Gentes eingesetzt und verwendet wurden, dazu liefern die literarhistorischen Quellen nur spärliche Belege.

FUNDMÜNZEN ALS NUMISMATISCHER NIEDERSCHLAG DER TRIBUT- UND SUBSIDIENZahlungen

Der Geschichtsschreiber Priskos, der 449 mit einer oströmischen Gesandtschaft bei den Hunnen am Hofe Attilas weilte, erwähnt die mit Gold und Edelsteinen verzierten Schwerter, Stiefel- und Zaumzeugriemen der vornehmen Hunnen.⁷ Die aus Solidusgold gefertigten und als archäologische Funde überlieferten Schmucksachen der Hunnenzeit bestätigen einwandfrei die Richtigkeit dieser Beobachtung und illustrieren zugleich vielfältig das literarhistorisch Festgehaltene.⁸ Die aus

¹ KISS 1986, 108; BÓNA 1991, 47, 55, 58, 60, 89; PROHÁSZKA 2009, 84–85.

² Die Höhe der üblichen Jahrgelder, die die Gepiden erhielten, gibt *Jordanes, Getica* 264: ed. MOMMSEN 1882 nicht an (POHL 1980, 263). Daher ist es unklar, auf was die sich in der ungarischen Gepidenforschung eingebürgerte Wertangabe von 100 Pfund zurückgeht. Vgl. BÓNA 1974, 14; KISS 1986, 109; BÓNA 1986, 142; BÓNA 1993, 54–55!

³ KISS 1986, 109; WOLFRAM 1990, 262–263; POHL 1980, 264.

⁴ BÓNA 1974, 23–24; BÓNA 1993, 107–108, 140; POHL 2008, 27–28.

⁵ *Prokopios, De bello Gothico* III.33, 13–14: ed. VEH 1966; DIETZ 1987, 46; POHL 1988, 44, 350 mit Anm. 4.

⁶ KISS 1986, 109. Der vorliegenden Berechnung liegt jedoch POHL 1988, 502 zugrunde. Zu den Details s. POHL 1988, 65, 76, 82, 154, 180–181, 238, 246–247 und 398, Anm. 32 mit Aufzählung der früheren Rekonstruktionsversuche!

⁷ *Priskos, Fr. 8*: ed. BLOCKLEY 1981; DOBLHOFFER 1955, 54; BÓNA 1991, 77.

⁸ KISS 1986, 123–129; MENGHIN–SPRINGER–WAMERS 1987, 153–185; BÓNA 1991; DAIM 1996, 67–194.

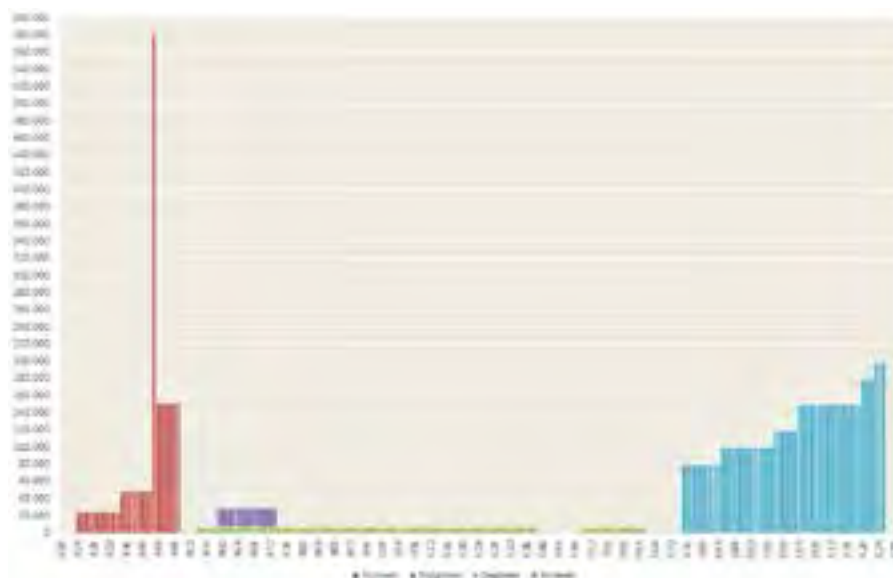


Abb. 1. Die Entwicklung der Tribut- und Subsidienszahlungen von 424 bis 625 an die Gentes im Karpatenbecken. Die Höhe der Jahresbeträge in Solidi entspricht den bekannten Angaben der oströmisch-byzantinischen Geschichtsschreiber (1 Pfund = 72 Solidi). Von 459 bis 473 sind die Zahlungen an die Gepiden und jene an die Ostgoten übereinander dargestellt (Grafik: der Verfasser)

Solidusgold gefertigten lokalen Goldschmiedearbeiten gehören ebenfalls der archäologischen Hinterlassenschaft der germanischen Gentes und der Awaren an.⁹ Deshalb besteht kein Zweifel, dass ein Teil der Goldmünzen, die infolge der Tribut- und Subsidienszahlungen in die Region gelangten, als Rohstoff zur Fertigung von Schmuck- und Verzierungsstücke diente.

Über diesen sowohl literarhistorisch als auch archäologisch belegten mittelbaren Einsatz der Goldmünzen hinaus gibt es auch Hinweise zu ihrer unmittelbaren Verwendung. Wie die von den Eigentümern nie gehobenen Münzdepots Bíňa (Bény), Esztergom, Hódmezővásárhely-Szikáncs Sóshartyán aus der Hunnen-, Firtosvárálja (Firtușu), Kleinschelken (Șeica Mică/Kisselyk) aus der Gepiden- und Bácskertes (Kupusina), Monostorszeg (Bački Monoštor), aus der Awarenzeit) zeigen,¹⁰ wurden sie auch in Münzform aufbewahrt. Manche der aufbewahrten Stücke wurden dann zu Schmuck umgebildet, vor allem zu Anhängern, oder den Toten als Charonsmünze in den Mund oder in die Hand gelegt.¹¹ Die erste Anwendung lässt sich aus den gelochten oder geösten Fundmünzen, die zweite aus der Fundlage der Grabfundmünzen gut ableiten. Es gibt auch Stücke, die aufgrund ihrer Münzbilder schlechter Ausführung und wegen der verballhornten Legenden als örtliche Imitationen der Imperialprägungen bestimmt werden konnten. Bezüglich Gewicht und Goldgehalt stehen sie diesen in keiner Weise nach.¹² Wir wissen nicht, warum bei den barbarischen Gentes vollgewichtige Solidusstücke aus eingeschmolzenem Solidusgold mit plump ausgeführten Prägestöcken geschlagen wurden. Auf jeden Fall steht fest, dass einige der vorhandenen Goldmünzen auch als Vorlage zur Fertigung von Prägestöcken Verwendung fanden.

Es versteht sich, dass die spätromisch-byzantinischen Goldmünzen nicht nur mit den imperialen Zahlungen, sondern auch auf anderen Wegen in die Region gelangen konnten. Von diesen sind Löse-

⁹ KISS 1986, 130–133; MENGHIN–SPRINGER–WAMERS 1987, 199–254; DAIM 1996, 197–449; RÁCZ–KONCZ 2015, 397–429.

¹⁰ Bíňa, Esztergom, Hódmezővásárhely-Szikáncs, Sóshartyán: PROHÁSZKA 2009, 93–95, 109–110; Firtosvárálja: SOMOGYI 2016; Kleinschelken: SOMOGYI 2009; Monostorszeg, Bácskertes: SOMOGYI 1997, 26, Nr. 4, 136, 62, Nr. 47, 138–139.

¹¹ SOMOGYI 2014, 141–151.

¹² SOMOGYI 1997, 122–134; SOMOGYI 2014, 177–180.

und Bestechungsgeldzahlungen und einmal sogar eine Zahlung an die Gepiden für die Überfahrt von slawischen Kriegsscharen auf der Donau direkt überliefert.¹³ Indirekte literarhistorische Hinweise dazu sind Berichte von ständigen Einfällen in die Reichsprovinzen, von barbarischen Verbänden im spätrömisch-byzantinischen Dienst, von auf Reichsgebiet gelegenen Marktplätzen, wo die Barbaren mit den Provinzialen frei handeln durften, und von persönlichen Geschenken an barbarische Gesandten und Vornehmen.¹⁴ Im Gegensatz zu den Quellen über die Tribut- und Subsidienszahlungen erlauben sie jedoch nicht, die aus den festgehaltenen Ereignissen resultierende Soliduszufuhr zu quantifizieren. Deshalb ist sich die Forschung darüber einig, dass die goldenen Fundmünzen aus dem 5. bis 7. Jahrhundert im Karpatenbecken größtenteils der unmittelbare numismatische Niederschlag der literarhistorisch belegten Tribut- und Subsidienszahlungen sind.

Die untersuchte Quellengruppe besteht aus Goldmünzen, die aus Hort- oder Grabfunden stammen, und aus Goldmünzen, die als Einzelfunde entweder ohne Fundzusammenhang oder mit unbekanntem Fundumständen dokumentiert sind. Die geografische Voraussetzung für ihre Zuordnung zur Quellengruppe ist, dass sie Funde innerhalb des Karpatenbeckens sind und die chronologische, dass ihre Prägezeit in die Jahre der Tribut- und Subsidienszahlungen fällt, also zwischen 424 und 625. Die auf diese Art definierte Quellengruppe lässt sich nach historisch-archäologischen Kriterien in Untermengen aufteilen. So spricht man von Fundmünzen der Hunnenzeit (420–454) und der Awarenzeit (ab 567/8), die im ganzen Karpatenbecken vorkommen können.¹⁵ Da sich die Siedlungsgebiete der Gepiden und Langobarden innerhalb des Karpatenbeckens aufgrund literarhistorischer Angaben und der Verbreitung des ihnen zugesprochenen archäologischen Fundmaterials gut bestimmen lassen, ist es auch berechtigt, östlich der Theiß und in Siebenbürgen spätestens ab 454, in Sirmien ab 535 von gepidischen und im heutigen Ungarn westlich der Donau ab den 520er Jahren von langobardischen Fundmünzen zu sprechen.¹⁶ Fundmünzen den Ostgoten, Herulern oder anderen im Karpatenbecken zu dieser Zeit historisch belegten Gentes (Sweben, Skieren und Sarmaten) zuzuordnen, ist beim aktuellen Forschungsstand nur bedingt möglich.¹⁷ Unter den genannten Gentes sind die Gepiden die einzigen, die während des gesamten Zeitraums der Tribut- und Subsidienszahlungen im Karpatenbecken siedelten.

FUNDMÜNZEN ALS EIN MÖGLICHER BELEG FÜR DIE AWARENZEITLICHEN GEPIDEN

Mit Hilfe der Prägezeit von Fundmünzen lässt sich das Überdauern einer archäologischen Sach- und Sittenkultur über ein in der Regel historisch datierbares Ereignis hinaus dann nachweisen, wenn die Münzen einem dem archäologischen Kulturkreis eindeutig zuordenbaren Befund entstammen und erst nach dem historisch datierten Ereignis geprägt wurden. Als numismatischer Beweis für die awarenzeitlichen Gepiden kämen also die aus gepidischem Kontext stammenden und nach 567/8 geprägten Fundmünzen in Frage.

Den gepidischen Münzhortfund von Firtosvárálja sah man lange als die numismatische Bestätigung für die historischen Berichte, welche nach 567/8 im Karpatenbecken unter awarischer Herrschaft lebende und im awarischen Heer kämpfende Gepiden erwähnen. Begründet wurde dies damit, dass eine Auflistung der spätrömisch-byzantinischen Herrscher, deren Goldstücke man dem Fund glaubte zuordnen zu können, mit den Kaisern Mauritius Tiberius und Heraclius schließt, und dass auch ein in den Jahren 616–625 geprägter Solidus des Heraclius existiert, dessen

¹³ *Priskos, Fr. 7 und 14*: ed. BLOCKLEY 1981; DOBLHOFER 1955, 25 und 63; BÓNA 1991, 55, 58; POHL 1992, 182–183; *Prokopios, De bello Gothico* IV, 25, 6: ed. VEH 1966; DIETZ 1987, 51; KISS P. 2015, 142, Anm. 788.

¹⁴ *Priskos, Fr. 6*: ed. BLOCKLEY 1981; DOBLHOFER 1955, 22–23; BÓNA 1991, 55; POHL 1980, 265; POHL 1992, 182–183, 191, 198; PROHÁSZKA 2009, 85.

¹⁵ Zu den hunnenzeitlichen Fundmünzen s. PROHÁSZKA 2007, PROHÁSZKA 2009 und PROHÁSZKA 2011, zu den awarenzeitlichen SOMOGYI 1997 und SOMOGYI 2014.

¹⁶ WOLFRAM 1990, 323; POHL 2008, 26–27; VIDA 2008, 73–74; KISS P. 2015, 131–132.

¹⁷ POHL 1980, 273–277; KISS P. 2015, 83–84.

Herkunft aus dem Fund als verbrieft angesehen wurde. Es lag nun auf der Hand, sie für Stücke zu halten, die aus den byzantinischen Tributzahlungen an die Awaren stammen und von diesen an die Gepiden als Lohn für ihren Kriegsdienst weitergegeben wurden.¹⁸ Die kritische Durchsicht der vorliegenden, aber bisher nie bewerteten Archivdaten hat nun eine Reihe von Indizien gebracht, die gegen die Glaubwürdigkeit dieser Provenienzangaben sprechen.¹⁹

Die meisten der Goldstücke, die aus dem Fund in Firtosvávalja erfasst werden konnten, sind Solidi des Theodosius II., also Münzen aus der Hunnenzeit. Der gepidische Hortfund in Kleinschelken zeigt dasselbe Bild. Der einzige Unterschied zwischen den beiden Funden besteht darin, dass die Reihe der nach 450 geprägten und nachweislich überlieferten Münzen in Kleinschelken mit einem Solidus des Iustinus I. und in Firtosvávalja mit Goldstücken des Iustinianus I. schließt.²⁰ Die Zusammensetzung der zwei Hortfunde veranschaulicht nun den materiellen Aspekt der historischen Berichte über den Gepidenkönig Ardarich: Er spielte eine bedeutende Rolle in Attilas Kriegsrat und nahm an seinen Feldzügen teil, führte nach Attilas Tod den Aufstand gegen die Hunnen an und wurde nach dem Sieg über sie zum Verbündeten Ostros.²¹ Demnach ist mit gutem Recht anzunehmen, dass die in Firtosvávalja und Kleinschelken deponierten Goldmünzen einerseits aus dem bis 449 an die Hunnen bezahlten oströmischen Tribut stammen, aus dem die Gepiden einen Teil als Lohn für ihren Kriegsdienst erhielten oder nach der Schlacht am Nedao von den Hunnen erbeuteten und andererseits aus den nach 454 direkt von Ostrom an die Gepiden bezahlten Subsidien.

Die Zuordnung des Münzhortfunds von Firtosvávalja zu den Gepiden ist durch seine Zusammensetzung und Deponierung am Rande eines gepidischen Siedlungsgebiets unbestritten. Da sich jedoch die kontinuierliche Thesaurierung über die Schicksalsjahre der Gepiden hinaus nicht bestätigen lässt, erfüllt der Fund die chronologische Voraussetzung nicht, um numismatischer Beweis für awarenzeitliche Gepiden zu sein.

Unter den ohne Fundzusammenhang oder mit unbekanntem Fundumständen aus den gepidisch-awarischen Siedlungsgebieten dokumentierten Einzelfundmünzen können nur die voriustinianischen Prägungen vorbehaltlos den Gepiden zugeordnet werden, weil die Münzen des Iustinianus I. in diesen Regionen auch aus awarischem Kontext belegt sind.²² Sie und die nach 567/8 geprägten Münzen dieser Fundgruppe können keiner der beiden Gentes eindeutig zugeordnet werden. Mehr, als dass die Fundmünzen des Iustinianus I. der Gepiden- oder Awarenzeit und die von seinen Nachfolgern der Awarenzeit angehören, kann man über sie nicht sagen. Deshalb scheiden sie ebenfalls als möglicher numismatischer Beweis für die awarenzeitlichen Gepiden aus.

Die Zuordnung von Einzelfundmünzen zu einer archäologischen Sach- und Sittenkultur ist nur dann möglich, wenn ihre Fundumstände bekannt und archäologisch eindeutig bestimmbar sind. Diese Art von Einzelfundmünzen, die bis jetzt aus den gepidisch-awarischen Siedlungsgebieten dokumentiert werden konnten, sind ausnahmslos Grabfundmünzen (*Abb. 2*). Zum Glück, weil man die gepidischen von den awarischen Bestattungen aufgrund des Grabinventars und des Befunds archäologisch gut unterscheiden kann. Wenn es nun unter den aus Gepidengräbern stammenden spätromisch-byzantinischen Münzen auch solche gibt, die nach der historisch fixierten Einwanderung der Awaren 567/8 geprägt wurden, dann liefern diese Münzgräber die gesuchte numismatische Bestätigung für das literarhistorisch belegte Überdauern der Gepiden in der Awarenzeit.

¹⁸ KISS 1992, 60–63; SOMOGYI 2014, 38–39.

¹⁹ SOMOGYI 2016, 189–207.

²⁰ SOMOGYI 2009, 440–444; SOMOGYI 2016, 216–255.

²¹ POHL 1980, 247–249, 253, 256; WOLFRAM 1990, 256, 259–260; BÓNA 1993, 53–54; *Jordanes, Getica* 199–200, 217, 260–263; ed. MOMMSEN 1882.

²² SOMOGYI 2014, 70.

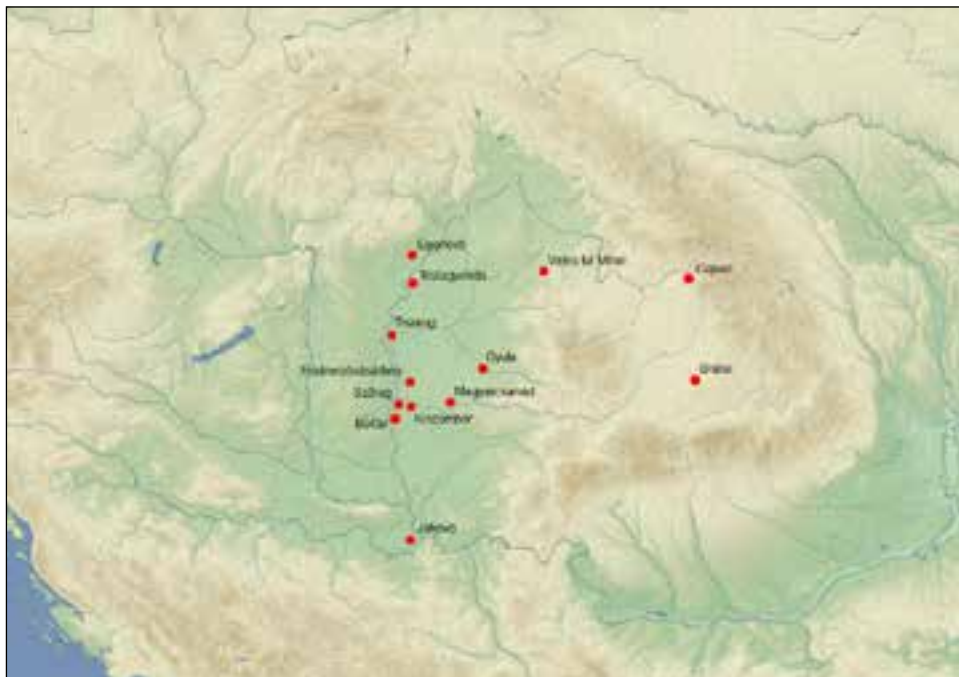


Abb. 2. Die Verbreitung der Gepidengräber mit spätrömisch-byzantinischen Münzen (Grafik: der Verfasser)

DIE QUELLENGRUPPE

Angaben und Hinweise zu den spätrömisch-byzantinischen Fundmünzen aus Gepidengräbern liegen in einzelnen Fundberichten, Beiträgen, Monographien und Sammelwerken zur Geschichte und Archäologie der Gepiden hinlänglich vor.²³ Die kritische Durchsicht und Bearbeitung der Quellengruppe steht jedoch immer noch aus. Die vorliegende Arbeit hat nun zum Ziel, diese Forschungslücke zu schließen. Wegen der überschaubaren Anzahl der einschlägigen Fundmünzen ist die Orientierung in der Zusammenschau ohnehin kein Problem. Deshalb wurde beschlossen, sie nicht nach Fundstellen in alphabetischer Reihenfolge, sondern nach dem Jahr ihrer Entdeckung oder Erstveröffentlichung chronologisch gereiht zu besprechen. Diese Art der Darstellung hat nämlich den Vorteil, zugleich auch einen Leitfaden zur Forschungsgeschichte der Quellengruppe zu bieten.

Im Programm des Realgymnasiums zu Makó für das Schuljahr 1924/25 berichtete der Gymnasiallehrer Kálmán Eperjessy über Befunde und Funde, die er im Laufe des Schuljahrs auf dem Gebiet der nördlich vom Fluss Maros gelegenen Flur Bökény der Gemeinde Magyarcsanak hatte beobachten und bergen können. Am 5. April 1925 gelang es ihm ein Grab freizulegen, auf das er bei der Kontrolle des vom Fluss angegriffenen und weggespülten Südrands der Fundstelle im Profil des Hochufers aufmerksam wurde. Das Grabinventar bestand aus einem unverzierten kleinen Tongefäß links vom Schädel, roten, rosafarbenen und grünen Perlen um den rechten Arm und aus zwei zusammengerosteten Bronzemünzen in der linken Hand: eine von Konstantin I. (306–337) und eine mit Solidusstempeln geschlagene barbarische Imitativprägung. Diese ließ Eperjessy von András Alföldi bestimmen, der aufgrund der Münzbilder zum Schluss kam, dass die Vorlage

²³ CSALLÁNY 1941, 122; CSALLÁNY 1943, 31; HUSZÁR 1954, 75, 79, 86, 88; BÓNA 1980, 81; BÓNA 1986, 134, 140–143, 156; NAGY 1993, 77; PROHÁSZKA 2009, 95–96; STANCIU 2011, 21, 47–49, Abb. 11, 57, Abb. 13 und die einschlägigen Einträge im Fundkatalog 320–395.

zur Fertigung der Prägestöcke ein Solidus des Leo I. (457-474) oder des Zeno (474-491) gewesen sein konnte.²⁴

Das wegen dem hohen Wasserstand von einem Boot aus freigelegte Grab ging zuerst als Grab A, neuerlich als Grab 3 des teilweise vom Maros zerstörten gepidischen Gräberfeldes Magyarcsanád-Bökény in die Literatur ein. Aus dem Inventar ist im Museum Szeged nur noch das Tongefäß vorhanden.²⁵ Zur Imitativprägung liegt jedoch eine Beschreibung von Kálmán Eperjessy vor: „Auf dem Avers behelmte Kaiserbüste mit Speer und Schild. Die Legende fängt mit den Zeichen OII 11 (die ersten zwei für die Buchstaben DN) an. Auf dem Revers Victoria links stehend mit einem Langkreuz in der Rechten. Stern rechts und links im Feld. Die Sigle fehlt. Aus der Imitation der Legende VICTORIA AVGGG sind die Zeichen Λ,CTOϞ[...]GGG ΛIϞ zu erkennen.“²⁶

Da diese Münzbilder beinahe hundert Jahre lang unverändert blieben, kommen in Ermangelung des Herrschernamens gleichermaßen Solidi von Leo I. bis Iustinianus I. als Vorlage in Frage. András Alföldi, der die Imitativprägung noch sichten konnte, entschied sich aufgrund ihrer Ausführung für eine Vorlage aus der zweiten Hälfte des 5. Jahrhunderts. Für seine leider nicht mehr kontrollierbare Entscheidung scheint zu sprechen, dass sich die Kaiserbüsten auf Solidi des Anastasius I., Iustinus I. und Iustinianus I. von denen auf Solidi des Leo I. und Zeno stilistisch tatsächlich gut unterscheiden lassen. Auf jeden Fall steht fest, dass der als Vorlage verwendete Solidus, egal von welchem Kaiser, nur aus Thessalonica stammen konnte, weil nur Solidi aus dieser Münzstätte einen Stern rechts und links im Feld aufweisen: Leo I. = MIR 16ab (462-474), Zeno = MIR 19 (476-491), Anastasius I. = MIB 14-15 (491-518), Iustinus I. = MIB 6-7 (518-527) und Iustinianus I. = MIB 20-21 (527-542).

Im Juni 1926 stieß man bei Erdarbeiten im Gemüsegarten von Sándor Stanc in Valea lui Mihai (Érmihályfalva) in einer Tiefe von 1,5 m auf ein mit dem Schädel nach Westen gerichtetes menschliches Skelett. Aus dem von den Arbeitern zerstörten Grab konnte man wenige Bruchstücke eines Eisenhelms, die fragmentierte Klinge eines zweischneidigen Langschwertes und eines Kampfmessers, die silbernen Mundstück- und Ortbandbeschläge der hölzernen Schwertscheide, einen Bernsteinanhänger, zwei Silberschnallen und eine Goldmünze, letztere aus der Mundhöhle, geborgen werden. Als der Archäologe Márton Roska im Nachhinein den Garten um das Grab untersuchte, fand er in gleicher Tiefe drei weitere Gräber, die jedoch schon früher entdeckt und leergeräumt wurden. Seinen Bericht über den Fund legte er 1930 auf Ungarisch und 1932 auf Rumänisch vor.²⁷ Seitdem taucht das Grab in Arbeiten zur frühmittelalterlichen Archäologie Mitteleuropas immer wieder auf und ist mittlerweile sogar zum Sinnbild des in der Schlacht von Nedao „mit dem Schwert wütenden Gepiden“ geworden.²⁸

Die Goldmünze mit einem Gewicht von 4,59 g stellt eine Imitativprägung nach einem Solidus des Theodosius II. aus Konstantinopel dar. Als Prägezeit seiner Vorlage werden in der Literatur die Jahre 442/3 oder das Jahr 443 angeführt.²⁹ In Wirklichkeit lässt sich die Emissionszeit des Typus (MIR 33aa oder RIC 322) so genau nicht bestimmen. Der Prägechronologie des MIR zufolge wurden diese Solidi in den Jahren 443-450, laut dem Chronologiesystem des RIC 441-450 geprägt. Im Gegensatz zu den anderen Fundobjekten gelangte der Imitativsolidus nicht ins Museum Cluj (Kolozsvár). Ihn behielt ein gewisser Ernő Andrassy für sich, der Teile des Grabinventars gerettet und manche Details zum Befund beobachtet hatte. Von dem seitdem verschollenen Stück war lange nur eine in den Fundberichten von Márton Roska veröffentlichte und in der Sekundärliteratur immer wieder

²⁴ EPERJESSY 1925, 8–9.

²⁵ NAGY 2005, 98, Taf. 21/3.

²⁶ EPERJESSY 1925, 8–9.

²⁷ ROSKA 1930 und ROSKA 1932. Zur Fundgeschichte und zum Inventar zuletzt STANCIU 2011, 365–367, Taf. 13–15.

²⁸ STANCIU 2011, 367 mit einem Auszug aus der umfangreichen Bibliographie. Zum „mit dem Schwert wütenden Gepiden“ s. BÓNA 1986, 140 und BÓNA 1993, 54.

²⁹ WERNER 1935, 32; BÓNA 1986, 140; BÓNA 1991, 245 und 274; STANCIU 2011, 367.



Abb. 3. Die Imitatioprägung nach einem Solidus des Theodosius II. von Valeu lui Mihai
(Foto und Zeichnung nach BÓNA 2004, Abb. 3/2 und Abb. 4/3)

reproduzierte Zeichnung bekannt.³⁰ Erst im Jahre 1991 wurden existierende Archivfotos von Avers und Revers erwähnt und die davon gefertigten Zeichnungen vorgelegt.³¹ Die späte Entdeckung des Fotos ist der Verdienst von István Bóna, der jedoch nicht vermerkte, wann und wo er die 2004 letztlich auch veröffentlichten Fotos gefunden hatte (Abb. 3).³²

Bei der 1928 an der Fundstelle Kiszombor B durchgeführten Ausgrabung konnte Ferenc Móra 426 Gräber freilegen, von denen sich 140 als gepidisch erwiesen. Sie wurden erst nach seinem Tod von Gyula Török, dem jungen Mitarbeiter des Stadtmuseums Szeged im Jahre 1936 veröffentlicht. Zum ärmlichen, aus neun Perlen, einem fragmentierten bronzenen Armband, einem Eisenmesser, einer bronzenen Stylusnadel und einer ovalen Eisenschnalle bestehenden Inventar des Grabes 40 gehört auch eine Goldmünze, die sich unter dem Unterkiefer fand.³³ Dabei handelt es sich um einen Solidus des Anastasius I. vom Typ MIB 4 (1.9.492 - 1.9.507) aus der Offizin 5 der Münze Konstantinopel (Abb. 4).³⁴

Im Auftrag des Stadtmuseums Hódmezővásárhely führte im August 1930 János Banner Ausgrabungen an mehreren Fundstellen in der Gemarkung der Stadt durch, deren Ergebnisse er 1934 auch schon vorlegte. Auf einem teilweise bereits abgetragenen Hügel in der Flur Gorzsa, der sich auf dem Gebiet des Gehöfts von Pál Kis befand, legte er 97 Gräber frei, von denen 32 Teil eines gepidischen Gräberfeldes waren. Im Grab 19, welches im Grabungsprotokoll die Nummer 61 erhielt, lag in der geschlossenen linken Hand des Skelettes eine Goldmünze. Weitere Beigaben im Grab waren ein Beinkamm, eine Eisenschnalle und ein Eisenmesser.³⁵ Die Goldmünze, ein Solidus

³⁰ ROSKA 1930, 231, Abb. 148/5 und ROSKA 1932, 70, Abb. 5.

³¹ BÓNA 1991, 245, Abb. 27/1.

³² BÓNA 2004, 83, Abb. 3/2 und Abb. 4/3. Ungeachtet dessen greift man jedoch heute noch auf die Zeichnung von Márton Roska zurück. Vgl. STANCIU 2011, 622, Taf. 13/3 und DOBOS 2017, Taf. 27/4!

³³ TÖRÖK 1936, 105, Taf. LXVI/40; CSALLÁNY 1961, 174, Taf. CXV/10-23.

³⁴ HUSZÁR 1954, 86, Nr. 313, Taf. XXV/313. Das Foto des Avers und Revers erhielt ich von Róbert Újszászi Museum Szeged (E-Mail vom 18. April 2018), wofür ich mich auch hier bedanke.

³⁵ BANNER 1934, 260, Taf. LXX/11 und LXXII/1.



Abb. 4. Der Solidus des Anastasius I. von Kiszombor B (Foto: Museum Szeged)



Abb. 5. Der Solidus des Iustinus I. von Hódmezővásárhely-Gorzsa (Foto nach HUSZÁR 1954, Taf. XXV/195)

des Iustinus I., gelangte auch ins Museum Hódmezővásárhely, wo sie derzeit nicht mehr auffindbar ist.³⁶ In seinem 1961 erschienenen Gepidenkorpus hielt Dezső Csallány das Grabinventar bereits ohne Münze fotografisch fest.³⁷ Die Münze besprach er nach dem Münzkatalog von Lajos Huszár aus dem Jahre 1954. Dort finden sich auch Fotos des Avers und Revers,³⁸ welche Huszár, der mit der Aufnahme des Münzbestandes zu seinem Katalog um 1935 begann, vermutlich noch vor dem Ende des Zweiten Weltkriegs erhielt. Huszárs Angaben zufolge gehörte der nun verschollene Solidus dem Typ MIB 3 (1.9.522 - 4.4.527) an und entstammte der Offizin 4 der Münze Konstantinopel (Abb. 5).

Seinen unter den Veröffentlichungen des Stadtmuseums Szeged 1943 erschienenen Beitrag zu den archäologischen Fundorten der Gepiden schließt Dezső Csallány mit der Aufzählung der ihm damals bekannten „münzdatierten“ Gräberfelder. Außer den oben besprochenen Münzgräbern von Magyarcsanád-Bökény, Kiszombor B, Hódmezővásárhely-Gorzsa nennt er als vierte Fundstelle die von Szőreg-Téglagyár, wo durch den Lehmabbau schon 1902, 1903 und 1908 Gräber angeschnitten und zerstört wurden. Ein Teil dieser Funde gelangte ins Museum Szeged, wo sie inventarisiert wurden. Csallány zufolge gehörte zu diesen Funden auch ein seltener Solidus des Anastasius I., der in einem Tongefäß gefunden wurde. Dabei bezieht er sich auf das Inventarbuch und auf die Erklärungsüberschrift zu der Münze, die einst unter den von Szőreg eingelieferten Funden ausgestellt war. Denn die Münze selbst war zu dieser Zeit in der Museumssammlung nicht mehr zu finden.³⁹

³⁶ Für die Angabe bedanke ich mich Mihály Göbolyös Museum Hódmezővásárhely (E-Mail vom 12. April 2018).

³⁷ CSALLÁNY 1961, 128–129, Taf. CCXXVII/4, CCXXX/13 und CCXXXI/9.

³⁸ HUSZÁR 1954, 79, Nr. 195, Taf XXV/195.

³⁹ CSALLÁNY 1943, 31, Anm. 96.

Im Inventureintrag 14/1908 ist in der Tat von einer im Tongefäß gefundenen Münze die Rede, jedoch von einer Silbermünze.⁴⁰ Nach diesem Eintrag beschrieb Csallány ein Grab, welches er in seinem Gepidenkorpus als das Grab XII von Szőreg-Téglagyár vorlegte. Dort ist die Münze nicht mehr als ein seltener Solidus, sondern als eine seltene Silbermünze des Anastasius I. angeführt.⁴¹ Die Münzherrbestimmung, die unter Bezug auf die seitdem ebenfalls verschollene Erklärungsüberschrift allein nur von Csallány überliefert wurde, lässt sich leider nicht mehr kontrollieren.

Die Flur Kormandin in der nördlichen Gemarkung des an der Save gelegenen Dorfes Jakovo ist seit dem Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts als archäologische Fundstelle mit einer Siedlung aus der Kupfersteinzeit und einem Gräberfeld aus dem Frühmittelalter bekannt. Im Laufe der vom Museum Zemun an der Fundstelle 1956-1958 durchgeführten drei Grabungskampagnen konnten 26 Gräber des Gräberfeldes freigelegt werden. Das ergrabene Material und dessen Bewertung wurden von Danica Dimitrijević bereits 1960 veröffentlicht und die Bestattungen aufgrund archäologisch-anthropologischer Merkmale den in Sirmien angesiedelten Gepiden zugeordnet. Zum aus zwei Perlenketten, einer Fibel, Toilettengarnitur, Kamm, Spinnwirtel, Eisenschnalle und einem Messerfragment bestehenden Inventar des Grab 5 gehört auch eine Münze, die auf einer der zwei Perlenketten aufgefädelt war.⁴²

Die Münze, von der eine Beschreibung und eine Zeichnung in der Fundpublikation vorliegen, hat Danica Dimitrijević als „einen furnierten Solidus mit dem Bilde des Kaisers Anastasius I. bestimmt, der vermutlich in Italien zur Zeit des Gotenkönigs Theoderich (493-518) geprägt wurde“.⁴³ Diese an sich richtige Einordnung ließ sich nun aufgrund der Fotos vom Avers und Revers des im Museum Zemun verwahrten Stückes weiter präzisieren,⁴⁴ dass es sich dabei um eine gelochte, goldplattierte Falschmünze mit Buntmetallkern nach einem Solidus des Theoderich im Namen des Anastasius I. vom Typ MIB 16 (11.4.491 – um 500) aus der Münze Mediolanum handelt. Avers: DNANASTA | SIVSPPAVC – Gewappnete Büste im Dreiviertelprofil mit Speer über die rechte Schulter. Helm mit Diadembändern und Trifolium am Diadem. Revers: VICTORI | AAVCCC [Ligatur aus M und D] I – Victoria links stehend, mit zweilinig gezeichnetem Langkreuz. Stern rechts im Feld. In der Exergue COMOB. An manchen Stellen, so auch an der Stelle der Ligatur, ist die Plattierung nicht mehr vorhanden, sonst in gutem Zustand (*Abb. 6*).

Südwestlich der Gemeinde Cepari, in der Gabelung der Straße von Cepari nach Mintiu und Tärpiu, stießen die Arbeiter beim Ausheben der Fundamente eines Wohnhauses am 22. August 1958 in einer Tiefe von 0,7 m auf ein menschliches Skelett. Es lag „gestreckt auf dem Rücken mit dem Kopf nach Westen, die Füße nach Osten gerichtet, die Arme parallel zum Körper.“ An Beigaben fand man eine dunkelrote Glasperle „in der Nähe des Halses“, einen goldenen Ring „an einem Fingerglied der rechten Hand, eine goldene Schnalle „neben der linken Hüfte“, ein goldenes Armband und eine Goldmünze „zwischen der linken Hand und dem Becken.“ Der Grabfund wurde 1960 von Dumitru Protase vorgelegt.⁴⁵ Aufgrund der Beschreibung und der Fotos vom Avers und Revers lässt sich die prägefrische Münze als ein Solidus des Theodosius II. vom Typ MIR 25b (430-441) aus der Offizin 6 der Münze Konstantinopel bestimmen (*Abb. 7*).

Auf dem Gemeindegebiet des unweit der Theiß gelegenen Dorfes Bočar wurden in der Flur Pesak beim Sandabbau seit 1959 immer wieder Gräber angeschnitten, von denen 27 dokumentiert

⁴⁰ NAGY 2005, 198, Anm. 10.

⁴¹ CSALLÁNY 1961, 149; NAGY 2005, 123; GÂNDILĂ 2013, 409 und 531, Nr. 410 sprach das Silberstück als einen Miliarense an.

⁴² DIMITRIJEVIĆ 1960, 12, Taf. IV/1–11.

⁴³ DIMITRIJEVIĆ 1960, 28 und 49.

⁴⁴ Das Foto des Avers und Revers erhielt ich aus dem Museum Zemun (E-Mail vom 24. April 2012). Für die Erledigung bin ich den Mitarbeitern des Museums, für die Vermittlung Mihailo Milinković zum Dank verpflichtet.

⁴⁵ PROTASE 1960.



Abb. 6. Die goldplattierte Falschmünze mit Buntmetallkern von Jakovo-Kormandin, nach einem Solidus des Theoderich im Namen des Anastasius I (Foto: Museum Zemun)



Abb. 7. Der Solidus des Theodosius II. von Ceparı (Foto nach PROTASE 1960, Abb. 3/1)

werden konnten. Eine auf der Fundstelle 1963 durchgeführte Rettungsgrabung brachte weitere 25 Gräber hervor. Das zwangsläufig geborgene und systematisch ergrabene Material gelangte ins Museum Kikinda. Zu dem sich als gepidisch erwiesenen Gräberfeld liegen bloß ein 1971 erschienener kurzer Vorbericht von Milorad Girić und Danica Dimitrijević und eine mit den Zeichnungen ausgewählter Fundobjekte bebilderte Zusammenfassung von Mihailo Milinković aus dem Jahre 2005 vor.⁴⁶ Aus diesen geht hervor, dass das Grab 4/61 eine Goldmünze des Iustinianus I. enthielt.⁴⁷ Wie die Fotos des Avers und Revers der im Museum Kikinda aufbewahrten Goldmünze (Inv.Nr.: A 1655, Gewicht: 4,0 g, Durchmesser: 20 mm) zeigen,⁴⁸ handelt es sich um einen Solidus vom Typ MIB 7 (1.9.542 – 14.11.565) aus der Offizin 8 der Münze Konstantinopel (Abb. 8).

Im 1968 freigelegten, altgeplünderten Grab 190 des gepidischen Gräberfeldes 3 von Bratei fand sich eine Kupfermünze des Iustinianus I., die zusammen mit einem bronzenen Ohring, einem ovalen Kalksteinanhänger, einem Eisenmesser, einer kleinen ovalen Bronzeschnalle und einer ovalen Eisenschnalle neben dem linken Schienbein und linken Fuß lag.⁴⁹ Bucur Mitrea bestimmte sie als ein 16-Nummien-Stück aus Thessalonica vom Typ DOC 98a (527-565),⁵⁰ welcher dem Typ

⁴⁶ DIMITRIJEVIĆ–GIRIĆ 1971; MILINKOVIĆ 2005, 207–208, Abb. 33–35 und 36/3.

⁴⁷ DIMITRIJEVIĆ–GIRIĆ 1971, 191; MILINKOVIĆ 2005, 208; GÂNDILĂ 2013, 493, Nr. 60. Der Nummerierung zufolge war das Münzgrab die vierte der 1961 beim Sandabbau angeschnittenen und geborgenen Bestattungen. Das Frauengrab 4 mit zwei Fibeln, Spinnwirtel, Bernsteinperle und zwei Beinkämmen wurde während der Rettungsgrabung 1963 freigelegt. CURTA–GÂNDILĂ 2013, 105, Anm. 14 fassten die zwei Gräber versehentlich zu einem Grab zusammen.

⁴⁸ Für das Foto des Avers und Revers und die Genehmigung zur Veröffentlichung danke ich der Direktorin des Museums, Lidija Milašinović, auch an dieser Stelle recht herzlich (E-Mail vom 28. März 2017).

⁴⁹ BÄRZU 2010, 229, Taf. 33.

⁵⁰ MITREA 1969, 550, Nr. 64.



Abb. 8. Der Solidus des Iustinianus I. von Bočar (Foto: Museum Kikinda)



Abb. 9. Der Follis des Iustinus II. von Egerlövő (Foto nach SOMOGYI 1997, 38, Nr. 21)

MIB 169a entspricht. Die Prägezeit des Letzteren lässt sich aktuell auf die Jahre 538-542 bzw. 538-552 einschränken.⁵¹

Auf dem Gemeindegebiet von Egerlövő wurden in der Flur Homokpart 1983 beim Sandabbau drei Gräber angeschnitten und zerstört. Im Laufe der anschließenden Rettungsgrabungen wurden 52 größtenteils altgeplünderte Bestattungen eines gepidischen Gräberfeldes freigelegt. Im Männergrab 31 fanden sich oberhalb eines an der linken Hüfte gelegenen 30 cm langen Eisenmessers eine Kupfermünze und ein rundes Buntmetallplättchen. Die stark abgegriffene Kupfermünze stellt einen Follis des Iustinus II. vom Typ MIB 46a-b (572/73) aus der Offizin 1 der Münze Nicomedia dar (Abb. 9).⁵²

Bei Rettungsgrabungen am in der Gemarkung von Tiszagyenda gelegenen Ostufer des Góitó mit Funden aus der Bronze-, Sarmaten-, Gepiden-, Awaren- und Árpádenzeit wurde 2006 auch das Grab eines mit seinen Waffen (Spatha mit Gurtbeschlägen vom Typ Herrlisheim-Schwarzrheindorf sowie Schild und Speer), mit tauschierter dreiteiliger Gürtelgarnitur und mit einem byzantinischen Bronzeblechkrug bestatteten vornehmen Gepiden freigelegt. Zum Inventar gehört auch noch eine Goldmünze, ein Solidus des Mauritius Tiberius vom Typ MIB 4 (Aug. 582 – Aug. 583) aus der Offizin 9 der Münze Konstantinopel, die neben dem Schädel lag (Abb. 10).⁵³

⁵¹ GÁNDILÁ 2013, 493, Nr. 60.

⁵² LOVÁSZ 1991, 56–61, 60–61, Taf. I/3, Taf. IV/3-4, 7; SOMOGYI 1997, 38–39, Nr. 21.

⁵³ Zum Befund und Inventar: KOCSIS 2007; KOCSIS 2010; KISS P. 2015, 242–243, Abb. 73/1-2; VIDA 2018, 540, Abb. 6/3-6; Zur Münze: SOMOGYI 2009, 284–285, Kat. 15; SOMOGYI 2014, 203, Kat. 23.



Abb. 10. Der Solidus des Mauritius Tiberius von Tiszagyenda-Gói-tó (Foto nach SOMOGYI 2014, 203, Abb. 50)



Abb. 11. Der Solidus des Iustinianus I. von Gyula-Nagy-Szóló III (Foto nach LISKA 2016, 282, VI.28G)



Abb. 12. Der Solidus des Anastasius I. von Tiszaug (Foto: Museum Kecskemét)

Bei den auf dem östlichen Stadtgebiet von Gyula, auf der Fundstelle Nagy-Szóló III durchgeführten Rettungsgrabungen wurde im Oktober 2015 das Grab einer Gepidin entdeckt und freigelegt, die u.a. mit einem mit silbernen Beschlägen und einer Silberschnalle montierten Gürtel und mit einem goldenen Fingerring bestattet wurde (Grab 75). Unter dem Unterkiefer lag eine Goldmünze (Abb. 11), ein in Konstantinopel geprägter Solidus des Iustinianus I. vom Typ MIB 7 (1.9.542 – 14.11.565).⁵⁴

Die in der Gemarkung von Tiszaug an der Trasse einer geplanten Straßenerweiterung durchgeführten Rettungsgrabungen brachten archäologische Funde aus der Sarmaten-, Gepiden- und Awarenzeit hervor. So gelang es, 97 Gräber eines gepidischen Gräberfeldes freizulegen, dessen Besonderheit darin besteht, dass die Holzkonstruktion der Särge dank dem lehmhaltigen Boden ausgezeichnet dokumentiert werden konnte. In einem der im Sommer 2018 freigelegten Gräber

⁵⁴ Zum Befund und Inventar: LISKA 2015; LISKA 2016, VI.28A-D: Schnalle und Gürtelbeschläge, VI.28F: Fingerring, VI.28G: Solidus; VIDA 2018, 540, Abb. 3/1–2; BENCsik-VÁRI-LISKA im vorliegenden Band.

lag in der Mundhöhle eines mit einem Speer bestatteten Mannes eine Goldmünze, ein Solidus des Anastasius I. vom Typ MIB 4 (1.9.492 – 1.9.507) aus der Offizin 8 der Münze Konstantinopel (Abb. 12).⁵⁵

ARCHÄOLOGISCHE BETRACHTUNG DER QUELLENGRUPPE

Sieben der dreizehn Grabfundmünzen sind Solidi, allesamt aus Konstantinopel, was vor dem Hintergrund der regelmäßigen Tribut- und Subsidienszahlungen keine große Überraschung ist. In diesem Kontext überrascht auch der Imitativsolidus von Valea lui Mihai nicht. Er und die vier weiteren hunnenzeitlichen Imitativprägungen nach Solidi des Theodosius II.⁵⁶ passen ohne weiteres ins allgemeine Bild, dass die Nachbildung goldener Imperialprägungen, die bezüglich Gewicht und Goldgehalt ihren Vorlagen in keiner Weise nachstehen, bei den meisten spätantiken und frühmittelalterlichen Gentes eine weit verbreitete Praxis als eine Erscheinungsform der *imitatio imperii* war. Ob das mit nach einem thessalonischen Solidus gefertigten Solidusstempeln auf Buntmetallschrötling geschlagene Stück von Magyarcsanád-Bökény, das offensichtlich nicht vergoldet war, ebenfalls aus diesem Grund oder absichtlich als Falschmünze mit weniger wertvollem Metall hergestellt wurde, lässt sich nicht entscheiden. Dafür ist das gelochte Exemplar von Jakovo eindeutig eine Falschmünze. Es wurde nämlich mit offiziellen Stempeln oder diesen täuschend ähnlichen Stempeln auf Buntmetallschrötling geschlagen und dann vergoldet. Wegen der mediolanischen Prägeplätze ist diese Falschmünzwerkstatt in Italien zu suchen. Von dort dürfte das Stück in den östlichsten Winkel der sirmischen Pannonia gelangt sein, die von 504 bis spätestens 537 Teil des ostgotischen Königreichs war.⁵⁷

Wie die Verteilung und Zusammensetzung der jenseits der byzantinischen Donaugrenze gefundenen Kupfermünzen zeigen, gelangten diese aus den Balkanprovinzen zu den Gentes über der Donau.⁵⁸ Sie sind der numismatische Niederschlag von alltäglichen Geschäfts- und Handelsbeziehungen und haben mit den politisch-diplomatischen Entwicklungen nichts zu tun.⁵⁹ Auch das 16-Nummien-Stück von Bratei und der Follis von Egerlövő sind in diesem Zusammenhang zu verstehen.

Wenn die Beobachtung der Finder richtig war und die ins Museum gebrachte Silbermünze von Szőreg tatsächlich in dem in einem zerstörten Grab gefundenen Tongefäß lag, haben wir es mit einem ungewöhnlichen, im frühmittelalterlichen Karpatenbecken meines Wissens beispiellosen Befund zu tun.⁶⁰ Dazu kommt noch, dass aus der Region sonst keine weitere Silbermünze des Anastasius I. bekannt ist. Daher ist es doppelt schade, dass sich die Münzbestimmung nicht mehr kontrollieren lässt.

Ungewöhnlich ist auch, jedoch diesmal im positiven Sinn, dass die Fundlage der Münzen, bis auf die von Bočar, in den Fundberichten genau festgehalten sind. Demnach lagen sie in fünf Gräbern im oder am Schädel (Kiszombor, Gyula, Tiszagyenda, Tiszaug und Valeu lui Mihai), in drei Bestattungen in der linken Hand (Cepari, Hódmezővásárhely und Magyarcsanád). Dies ist ein klarer Hinweis auf ihre Verwendung als Totenobolus. Andersartige Mitgaben der Münzen sind

⁵⁵ WILHELM 2018. Foto des Avers und Revers, sowie die Angaben zur Fundlage der Münze ließ mir der Grabungsleiter Gábor Wilhelm Museum Kecskemét zukommen (E-Mail vom 19. September 2018). Dafür und für die Genehmigung zur Veröffentlichung danke ich ihm recht herzlich.

⁵⁶ BÓNA 1991, 245, Abb. 27/1–3 und 273–274, Taf. XIII; BÓNA 2004, 82–84, Abb. 3–4.

⁵⁷ WOLFRAM 1990, 320–323.

⁵⁸ GÂNDILĂ 2009.

⁵⁹ SOMOGYI 2014, 9; SOMOGYI 2017, 30, Abb. 9.

⁶⁰ Eine zweite byzantinische Münze, die angeblich ebenfalls aus einem gepidischen Grab in einem Tongefäß zum Vorschein kam, ist von Dorobanți bekannt (GÂNDILĂ 2013, 342 und 501, Nr. 126). Bei der Kontrolle dieser Angabe stellte sich heraus, dass die dazu vorliegenden Fundberichte einander widersprechen. Da es mir nicht gelang, die Sachlage bis zum Redaktionsschluss zu klären, wurde das Stück, ein Halbfollis des Anastasius I. vom Typ MIB 33 (1.9.512–1.7.518), im vorliegenden Beitrag nicht berücksichtigt.

nur im Grab von Jakovo (eine Falschmünze als Schmuck), in den Gräbern von Bratei und Egerlövó (Kupfermünzen als Tascheninhalt) und im Grab XII von Szóreg (eine Silbermünze in einem Tongefäß) belegt. Es scheint, dass bei den Gepiden bei der Mitgabe eines Totenobolus Goldmünzen und ihre Imitationen hoch im Kurs standen. Demnach ist es durchaus berechtigt, den Solidus von Bočar – den einzigen, von dem ohne Hinweis auf seine Fundlage berichtet wurde – ebenfalls für einen Totenobolus zu halten.⁶¹

Wie die ausgesprochen ärmlichen Beigaben führenden Obolusgräber (Hódmezővásárhely, Kiszombor und Magyarcsanak) zeigen, war die Mitgabe eines Solidus kein der gepidischen Elite vorbehaltenes Privileg. Ärmlich ausgestattete Obolusgräber sind auch aus der Awarenzeit bekannt.⁶² Daher ist es keine Frage, dass durch die unmittelbaren und mittelbaren Kanäle der gepidischen und awarischen Prestigeökonomie auch die unteren Gesellschaftsschichten ihren bescheidenen Anteil aus den Subsidiens- und Tributzahlungen hatten. Die gepidischen Münzgräber lassen bei der Münzmitgabe keine geschlechtsspezifischen Merkmale erkennen (Frau: 6; Mann: 4; unbekannt: 3).

MÖGLICHKEITEN UND GRENZEN DER MÜNZDATIERUNG AN BEISPIELEN AUS DER QUELLENGRUPPE

Unter den aus Gepidengräbern stammenden spätromisch-byzantinischen Münzen gibt es zwei, die nach 567/8 geprägt wurden: den Follis von Egerlövó (572/3) und den Solidus von Tiszagyenda (582/3). Diese Münzgräber liefern somit den numismatisch unumstößlichen Beweis, dass im mittleren Theißgebiet zwei Gepiden erst nach der historisch fixierten Einwanderung der Awaren bestattet wurden. Diese zwei Begräbnisse setzen in der Region jedoch die Existenz von gepidischen Sepulturgemeinschaften in der Awarenzeit voraus.⁶³

Die Prägezeit der Grabfundmünzen – genau genommen das erste Jahr der Prägeperiode der einzelnen Münztypen, die sich aus den aufgrund numismatischer und historischer Erkenntnisse erarbeiteten Prägechronologien ergibt – bestimmt bekanntlich keinen exakten, sondern nur den frühestmöglichen Zeitpunkt, den sogenannten *terminus post quem* der Grablegung. Wann sie nach diesem Zeitpunkt am ehesten stattfand, lässt sich, wenn überhaupt, durch die antiquarische Auswertung des Grabinventars oder mittels ¹⁴C-Datierungen begrenzen.

Aus den gepidischen Münzgräbern liegen keine ¹⁴C-Messungen vor und über antiquarisch aussagekräftiges Fundinventar verfügen leider auch nicht mehr als fünf: die Frauengräber von Cepari, Jakovo und Gyula sowie die Männergräber von Valea lui Mihai und Tiszagyenda.

Aufgrund der goldenen Schnalle wird das Grab von Cepari, das frühestens 430 angelegt wurde, in das zweite Drittel des 5. Jahrhunderts datiert.⁶⁴ Zum Inventar des Grabes von Jakovo gehört auch eine gegossene Bronzefibel vom Typ Hahnheim I. Solche Fibeln waren in der ersten Hälfte des 6. Jahrhunderts verbreitet, woraus sich für die bestimmt nicht vor 491 erfolgte Grablegung ein späterer Zeithorizont ergibt.⁶⁵ Die drei Silberbeschläge aus dem Grab von Gyula mit dem *terminus post quem* 542 stellen die typologischen Vorläufer für die Beschläge der awarenzeitlichen Gürtelhänger dar. Und die genaue Entsprechung des Kreuzes, das in der Mitte des einen Beschlags einpunziert ist, findet sich auf dem Reliquienbehälter des Grabes 84 von Szentes-Nagyhegy, dessen Errichtung in den Anfang der Awarenzeit, ins letzte Drittel des 6. Jahrhunderts, datiert wird.⁶⁶ Das bestimmt nicht vor 441 angelegte Grab des „mit dem Schwert wütenden Gepiden“ von Valea lui Mihai wird

⁶¹ MRKOBRAĐ 1980, 56 sprach den von ĐIMIĐRIJEVIĆ–ĐIRIĆ 1971, 191 ohne Hinweis auf die Fundlage erwähnten Solidus bereits als einen Obolus an. MIĐINKOVIĆ 2005, 208 bezieht sich auf diese Bestimmung.

⁶² SOMOGYI 2014, 149–150 mit Anm. 1032.

⁶³ KISS P. 2015, 217–244; VIDA 2018, 540–541.

⁶⁴ BÓNA 1986, 134; CSEH 1993; RÁCZ 2016, 343.

⁶⁵ ĐIMIĐRIJEVIĆ 1960, 22.

⁶⁶ VIDA 2018, 538.

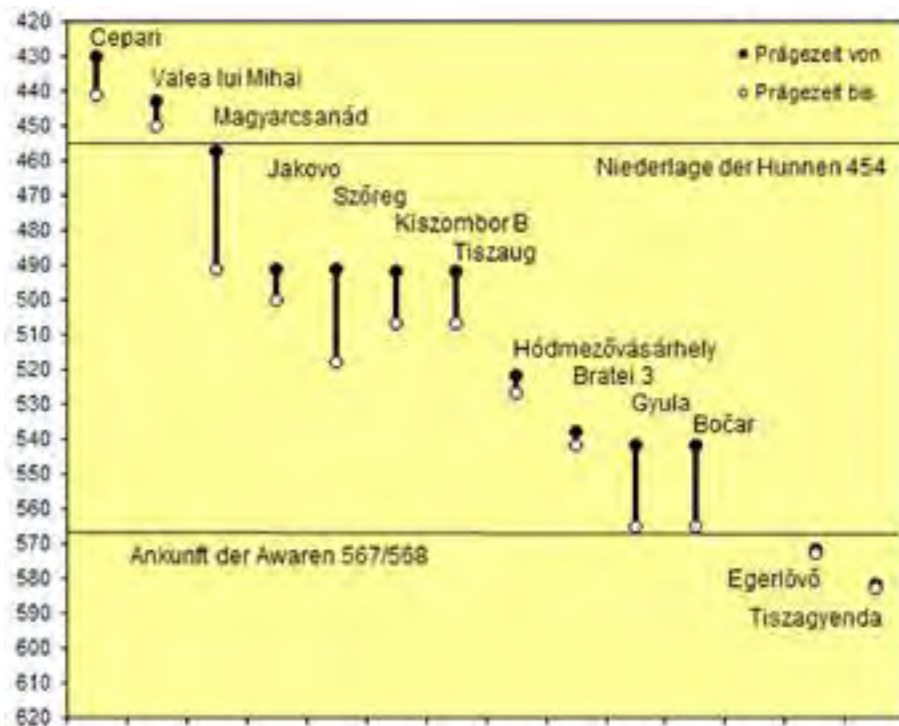


Abb. 13. Münzspiegel der Gepidengräber (Grafik: der Verfasser)

aufgrund der westlichen Analogien zu den silbernen Mundstück- und Ortbandbeschlügen ins letzte Drittel des 5. Jahrhunderts datiert, wobei eine Grablegung erst am Anfang des 6. Jahrhunderts auch nicht ausgeschlossen wird.⁶⁷ Die dreiteiligen Gürtelgarnituren, von denen eine auch das Grab von Tiszagyenda mit dem *terminus post quem* 582 aufweist, werden im Chronologiesystem der merowingerzeitlichen Gürtelgarnituren in die Jahre 570 bis 630 datiert.⁶⁸ Die mit Beschlügen vom Typ Herrlisheim-Schwarzrheindorf verzierten Spathagurte und die Schildbuckel mit vergoldeten Bronzenieten, die ebenfalls Teile des Grabinventars sind, waren in der zweiten Hälfte des 6. Jahrhunderts in Gebrauch.⁶⁹

Um die Unsicherheit bei der punktuellen Münzdatierung zu minimieren, wurde von der deutschen Merowingerforschung bereits in den 1950er Jahren eine Methode entwickelt, die sämtliche Münzen aus Gräbern betrachtet, die aufgrund ihres Inventars derselben Zeitstufe angehören. Die Münzen einer solchen Stufe bilden den sogenannten Münzspiegel.⁷⁰ Die Methode des Münzspiegels lehnt sich an die Bestimmung der wahrscheinlichsten Deponierungszeit eines vergrabenen Münzhortes durch das späteste Prägedatum seiner jüngsten Münzen an. Demnach bestimmt das späteste Prägedatum der jüngsten Münzen aus einem Münzspiegel das ungefähre Ende der zugehörigen Zeitstufe. Würde nämlich die Zeitstufe zeitlich darüber hinausreichen, „... so träten bei einer ausreichend großen Zahl von Münzgräbern und bei kontinuierlichem Münzumlauf in einem oder mehreren Grabfunden der betreffenden Stufe unweigerlich eine oder mehrere noch jüngere Münzen auf.“⁷¹

Wie oben gezeigt, gehören die dreizehn Münzgräber unterschiedlichen Zeitstufen an. Wegen ihrer von der Forschung derzeit akzeptierten Zuordnung zu den Gepiden ist es aber durchaus

⁶⁷ STANCIU 2011, 367; DOBOS 2017, 271.

⁶⁸ MARTIN 1990, 66, Abb. 5/Schicht 2.

⁶⁹ VIDA 2018, 540; KISS P. 2015, 242–243.

⁷⁰ MARTIN 2008; SOMOGYI 2017.

⁷¹ MARTIN 2008, 145.

berechtigt, sie in einer gemeinsamen, übergeordneten Zeitstufe zusammenzufassen. Sie entspricht dann genau dem Zeitraum, in dem die im Karpatenbecken historisch bis 626 glaubwürdig belegten Gepiden archäologisch auch nachweisbar sind. Folglich bilden die aus ihren Gräbern stammenden Münzen ebenfalls einen Münzspiegel (*Abb. 13*). Dank der regelmäßigen Tribut- und Subsidienszahlungen ist auch die Voraussetzung eines kontinuierlichen Münzumschlages gegeben. Das Prägejahr der jüngsten Münze, des Solidus von Tiszagyenda, weist nun darauf hin, dass sich die Zeit der durch Gräber und Grabinventare archäologisch „sichtbaren“ Gepiden nach 582/3 dem Ende zuneigte. Dies ist im Vergleich zu den letzten glaubwürdigen historischen Belegen allzu früh. Weil jedoch die Vorstellung realitätsfern ist, dass die um diese Zeit im Awarenland lebenden und von den Byzantinern als Gepiden wahrgenommenen Menschen nach ihrem Tod nicht als Gepiden bestattet wurden, ist der Grund für die Abweichung einzig und allein in der geringen Zahl der Münzgräber zu suchen. Folglich ließe sich das Ergebnis erst durch neue Münzgräber verbessern. Und genau darin liegt die Schwäche der Münzspiegel-Methode.

Der numismatische Beleg für die Existenz von awarenzeitlichen Gepiden im mittleren Theißgebiet ergab sich aus dem glücklichen Zusammentreffen eines historischen Datums und der Prägezeiten von zwei byzantinischen Münzen, woran wegen der Exaktheit der Jahreszahlen nicht zu rütteln ist. Die Beweisführung hat dennoch einen wunden Punkt: Die Zuordnung eines archäologischen Befunds zu einer historisch überlieferten Gruppe von Menschen, in diesem Fall der ostgermanischen Gens der Gepiden, bleibt aller methodologischen Sorgfalt zum Trotz letztendlich immer unsicher. Dies gilt auch dann, wenn ihre Zuordnung bei einem bestimmten Forschungsstand allgemein angenommen wird.

Die Annahme oder Ablehnung eines Zuordnungsversuchs resultiert nämlich aus dem Zusammenspiel von objektiven und subjektiven Faktoren, die sich in der Zeit laufend ändern. Einerseits erweitert sich objektiv durch neue Funde und Befunde der archäologische Datenbestand ständig und zu dessen Untersuchung stehen zusätzlich zu den antiquarischen immer mehr naturwissenschaftliche Methoden zur Verfügung. Andererseits ändert sich auch die für die Subjektivität „verantwortliche“ Forschercommunity. Sowohl ihre personelle Zusammensetzung, als auch der persönliche, durch das gesellschaftliche und akademische Umfeld bestimmte Zugang der einzelnen Mitglieder zu den Forschungsthemen befinden sich im Wandel. Derzeit gibt es Forscher und Forschungswerkstätten, die die ethnische Interpretation in der Frühmittelalterarchäologie gänzlich ablehnen.⁷² Andere lassen sie zu, sofern die chronologische und geografische Verbreitung einer mittels archäologisch-antiquarischer Methoden gut absonderbaren Sach- und Sittenkultur mit dem zeitlich entsprechenden Siedlungsgebiet einer historischen Gens übereinstimmt, wobei die Vermeidung der gemischten Argumentation ihr oberstes Gebot ist. Archäologisch-antiquarisch nicht ausreichend oder nicht eindeutig untermauerte und/oder durch gemischte Argumentation aufgestellte ethnische Interpretationen, deren Zahl zum Glück rückläufig ist, lehnen jedoch auch sie ab.⁷³

Als praktisches und themenbezogenes Beispiel für die Schwierigkeiten bei der ethnischen Interpretation bietet sich das awarenzeitliche Gräberfeld von Kölked-Feketekapu A geradezu an. Attila Kiss, der das am westlichen Donauufer gelegene Gräberfeld freigelegt und mustergültig vorgelegt hatte, sprach die Gräber mit zweifelsohne germanischem Fundgut den Gepiden zu. Dabei wies er darauf hin, dass die Gepiden die einzige der germanischen Gentes waren, deren Existenz im Karpatenbecken auch nach 567/8, in der Awarenzeit belegt ist. Dass das Gräberfeld außerhalb der historisch überlieferten gepidischen Siedlungsgebiete (östliches Theißgebiet, Siebenbürgen, Sirmien) lag, erklärte er mit der Übersiedlung der Gepiden auf ein Gebiet, das sich mit der einst römischen Provinz Valeria deckt. Dabei handelt es sich um ein historisch nicht belegtes Ereignis und Attila Kiss schloss darauf aus der Verbreitung von Fundtypen im östlichen Westungarn, die zu den

⁷² BRATHER 2000; BRATHER 2004.

⁷³ BIERBRAUER 2004; VIDA 2006; STADLER 2008. Der Diskussionsverlauf wurde unlängst von KISS P. 2015, 194–196 zusammengefasst.

Leitfunden des von der Forschung einhellig den Gepiden zugeschriebenen Fundguts angehören.⁷⁴ Sein in den 1980er und 1990er Jahren mehrmals vorgelegtes Erklärungsmodell stieß jedoch auf Kritik und die awarenzeitliche Verbreitung von Fundobjekten germanischen Charakters im östlichen Westungarn werden heute differenzierter und ohne Zuordnung zu einer oder mehreren historischen Gentes betrachtet.⁷⁵

Der derzeitig bestehende Konsens über die Ablehnung der Gepidentheorie von Attila Kiss heißt natürlich nicht, dass sie grundsätzlich falsch ist. Endgültig ließe sie sich, wenn überhaupt, durch den Vergleich anthropologischer und genetischer Merkmale der archäologisch-historischen Gepiden mit denen der Population von Kölked oder mit Hilfe der Strontiumisotopenanalyse nachweisen oder verwerfen. Vor diesem Hintergrund wurden die drei byzantinischen Münzen aus den Gräbern 29, 253 und 354 von Kölked-Feketekapu A, ein Solidus des Heraclius vom Typ MIB 8a (613-616) aus der Offizin 5 der Münze Konstantinopel, ein Kupferstück des Iustinus II. von Typ MIB 51 (569/70) aus Cyzicus und eine Kupfermünze des Iustinianus I. vom Typ 169d (542-547) aus Thessalonica in der vorliegenden Arbeit nicht berücksichtigt.⁷⁶ Um die chronologisch-historische Aussagekraft des vorgelegten Münzbestandes nicht unnötig zu schwächen, wurden dazu nur Münzgräber ausgewählt, die zurzeit einvernehmlich als gepidisch gelten.

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⁷⁴ KISS 1987; KISS 1992; KISS 1996, 286–305.

⁷⁵ KISS P. 2015, 206–210.

⁷⁶ SOMOGYI 1997, 55–57, Nr. 38–40.

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SIEDLUNGEN /
SETTLEMENTS

OBJEKTE UND STRUKTUR DER GEPIDENZEITLICHEN SIEDLUNG IN CAREI (GROSSKAROL, NAGYKÁROLY)-BOBALD, RUMÄNIEN

Róbert Gindele

Features of the gepidic settlement part from Carei (Grosskarol/Nagykároly) – Bobald, Romania

The settlement was discovered during the construction of a highway around Carei and was marked with the name reference Bobald/Bobáld No. 1. The road touches the archeological site 620 m long and 20-25 m wide, its distance extends about 300 m, approximately parallel to the high terrace of the brook Mérgeş. The part of the terrace near the water was densely populated from the Stone Age to the abandonment of the medieval village of Bobald. The new road actually touching the western edge of these sites. Apart from the 18 gepidic features from the settlements, still 24 graves were discovered. The settlement of Carei is located on the north-eastern border of the Gepidic settlement block of the Great Hungarian Plain, in this geographic zone no other major archeological excavation of the gepidic settlements is known. In our study we analyze the structure of the settlement, the typology of the dwellings and their use in the context of the Gepidic settlements from Great Hungarian Plain and Transylvania.

Keywords: North-West Romania; Gepidic settlements; structures of the settlements; typology of the dwellings

Die Gepidensiedlung von Carei (deutsch: Großkarol, ungarisch: Nagykároly) wurde während des Baus einer Landstraße um Großkarol entdeckt und erhielt den Namen Fundstelle Bobald/Bobáld Nr. I. Die Landstraße berührt die archäologische Fundstelle 620 m lang und 20-25 m breit, auf einer Strecke von ung. 300 m weit, etwa parallel zur hohen Terrasse des Baches Mérgeş (Karte 1). Der an das Wasser nahe gelegene Teil der Terrasse war ab der Steinzeit bis zum Wüstfallen des mittelalterlichen Dorfes Bobald dicht bewohnt,¹ die Landstraße berührte den westlichen Rand dieser Fundstellen. Außer der 18 gepidischen Siedlungsbefunden wurden noch 10 bronzezeitliche, 16 keltische Befunde, darunter 2 Töpferofen-Werkstätten, 24 gepidische Gräber und 27 aus XVI-XVII. aufgedeckt.

Die Siedlung von Großkarol liegt an der nordöstlichen Grenze des gepidischen Siedlungsblocks der Tiefebene Alföld, in dieser geographischen Zone ist bisher noch keine andere größere archäologische Ausgrabung gepidischer Siedlungen bekannt.

ÜBERSICHT DER GEPIDISCHEN SIEDLUNGSFORSCHUNG

Auf dem Alföld ist die Erforschung der gepidischen Siedlungen hinter der Erforschung der Grabstätten zurückgeblieben. Die ersten gepidischen Häuser wurden von Zsolt Csalog an den Fundstellen Kengyel-Csöbörépart (1959) und Tiszaszőlös-Csontospart III (1963) ausgegraben² (Karte 2). Der Befund wurde damals noch nicht als gepidisch identifiziert. In Siebenbürgen wurde relativ spät, 1969 von István Bóna das erste als gepidisch interpretierte Haus in Tiszafüred Fundstelle Külsőfokpart 29/A aufgedeckt³. Nachher folgten in den 70-er und 80-er Jahren auf dem Alföld (Große Ungarische Tiefebene) weitere kleinere Ausgrabungen, wo je Grabung nur einige

¹ NÉMETI 1999, 64–67.

² CSALOG 1964.

³ BÓNA 1970.



1



2

Karte 1. Mikroregion Großkarol (Nagykároly/Carei) und der Verlauf der Landstraße um Großkarol und die Fundstelle; 2. Die Trasse des Weges und die Terasse des Baches Mérgeš

Siedlungsbefunde identifiziert worden sind.⁴ Erwähnenswert ist noch die Arbeit von János Cseh, der vor allem in der Gegend von Kengyel und Tiszafüred gepidische Siedlungsbefunde dokumentiert hat.⁵ János Cseh hat in den 1980-er Jahren die aufgrund der Publikationen bekannte Siedlungen kurz zusammengefasst,⁶ Ágnes B. Tóth hat ihre Doktorarbeit zwischen 1980-83 mit dem Thema gepidische Siedlungen geschrieben, aufgrund deren im Jahre 2006 ihre zusammenfassende Arbeit betreffend gepidische Siedlungen erschienen ist.⁷

Ab 1990-er Jahre, dank der großen Rettungsgrabungen auf dem Alföld wurden zahlreiche gepidische Siedlungsteile aufgedeckt. Im Nyírség, während der Straßenbau, an der Fundstelle Nyíregyháza-Harangod, wurden neben dem jetzigen Friedhof einige Befunde aufgedeckt,⁸ in der Sandgrube Törökszentmiklós-Surjány, am Ufer des Teiches Moros wurden, vier Gebäude und 31 Gruben aufgedeckt⁹, beim Bau des Stausees im Nagyunság an der Grenze des Beckens Tiszabura-Bónis wurden 4 Häuser und 1 Vorratsgrube aufgedeckt,¹⁰ eine gepidische Siedlung wurde an der Fundstelle des Hügels Tiszagyenda-Búzaszerző dokumentiert,¹¹ beim Bau der Gasleitung wurde in Rákóczifalva-Kengyelpart ein mit Heizgrube versehener Ofen identifiziert¹² und zwei Häuser an der Fundstelle Kengyeldűlő I.¹³ Ebenfalls beim Bau einer Gasleitung erschienen gepidische Siedlungen in Apátfalva-Nagyút dűlő (Kreis Csongrád, Fundstelle MOL36.)¹⁴ und Fundstelle Belezi-csatorna IX., Magyarcsanád 10.¹⁵ Während der Regelungsarbeiten der Theiß (Tisza) hat man gepidische Siedlungen in Tiszagyenda gefunden.¹⁶ Im Kreis Jász-Nagykun, während der größten Wasserregelungsarbeiten an den Fundstellen Rákóczifalva-Bagi-földek 5.–8.–8A., wurden ein Siedlungsteil, bestehend aus mehr als 250 Befunden (davon 80 Häuser) ausgegraben.¹⁷ Die Aufarbeitung der Befunde dieser Fundstelle wird sicherlich die bisherigen Forschungsergebnisse der gepidischen Siedlungen in ein neues Licht stellen. Im östlichen Teil des Alföld, auf dem Gebiet des heutigen Rumäniens, gab es zwischen 1977-81 Grabungen in Biharea, wo 5 Häuser¹⁸

⁴ Battonya-Sziondai rasen I: SZABÓ-VÖRÖS 1979. 1 Haus und 1 Grube; Battonya-VOTSZ-Sandgrube: SZABÓ 1978. 2 Haus und 7 Gube; Biharkeresztes-Ártánd, Január 1 TSZ: NEPPER-MÁTHÉ 1977, 182; B. TÓTH 2006, 18–19. 1 Haus; Eperjes-Csikós Tafel: B. TÓTH 2006, 19–27. 2 Häuser; Szarvas-Bezina: B. TÓTH 2006, 30–32. 1 Haus; Szentes-Belsőecser B. TÓTH 2006, 33–35. 1 Haus, 1 Grube; Egerlövő-Homokpart: LOVÁSZ 1986-87. 1 Haus.

⁵ Kengyel-Baghy-major-Kengyelpart I: 6 Häuser, 1 Grube (CSEH 1986b, 190–206; CSEH 1993a, 17–28; CSEH 1999b, 61–75); Kengyel-Baghy-major-Kengyelpart II: 1 Haus (CSEH 1986b, 190–206; CSEH 2004a, 49–69.); Kengyel-Baghy-major-Kengyelpart III: 1 Haus (CSEH 1992, 9–34.); Kengyel-Baghy-homok: 5 Häuser, 1 Außenofen, 1 Töpferbrennwerkstatt (CSEH 1986b, 190–206; CSEH 1993a, 5–111; CSEH 1994, 24–45); Kengyel-Vígh tanya: 5 Häuser (CSEH 1986b, 190–206; CSEH 1996b, 7–10; CSEH 1999b, 61–75); Rákóczifalva-Erdő parti határrész-VIII dűlő: 2 Häuser (CSEH 1997b, 173–195); Szolnok-Zagyva part: 4 Häuser, 3 Gruben, 1 Brunnen, 1 Töpferbrennwerkstatt (CSEH 1999a); Szelevény-Sweiger-tanya: 3 Häuser, 2 Fallgruben, 1 Außenofen, 1 Außenfeuerplatz, 1 Töpferofen (CSEH 2004b); Szelevény-Sárga part: 1 Haus, 2 Gruben (CSEH 1997a); Tiszafüred-Morotvapart: 9 Häuser, 2 Gruben, 1 Außenofen (CSEH 1986a, CSEH 1991); Tiszafüred-Tiszaszőlős-Alsórépart-Aszópart: 7 Häuser (CSEH 1996a); Törökszentmiklós-Erdős utca 50: 1 Töpferofen (CSEH 1990b).

⁶ CSEH 1986b, 203–205.

⁷ B. TÓTH 2006.

⁸ MARKÓ 2012.

⁹ TÁRNOKI 2012.

¹⁰ VÁCZI 2010.

¹¹ KOCSIS-MOLNÁR 2008.

¹² CSÁNYI 2004a.

¹³ CSÁNYI 2004b.

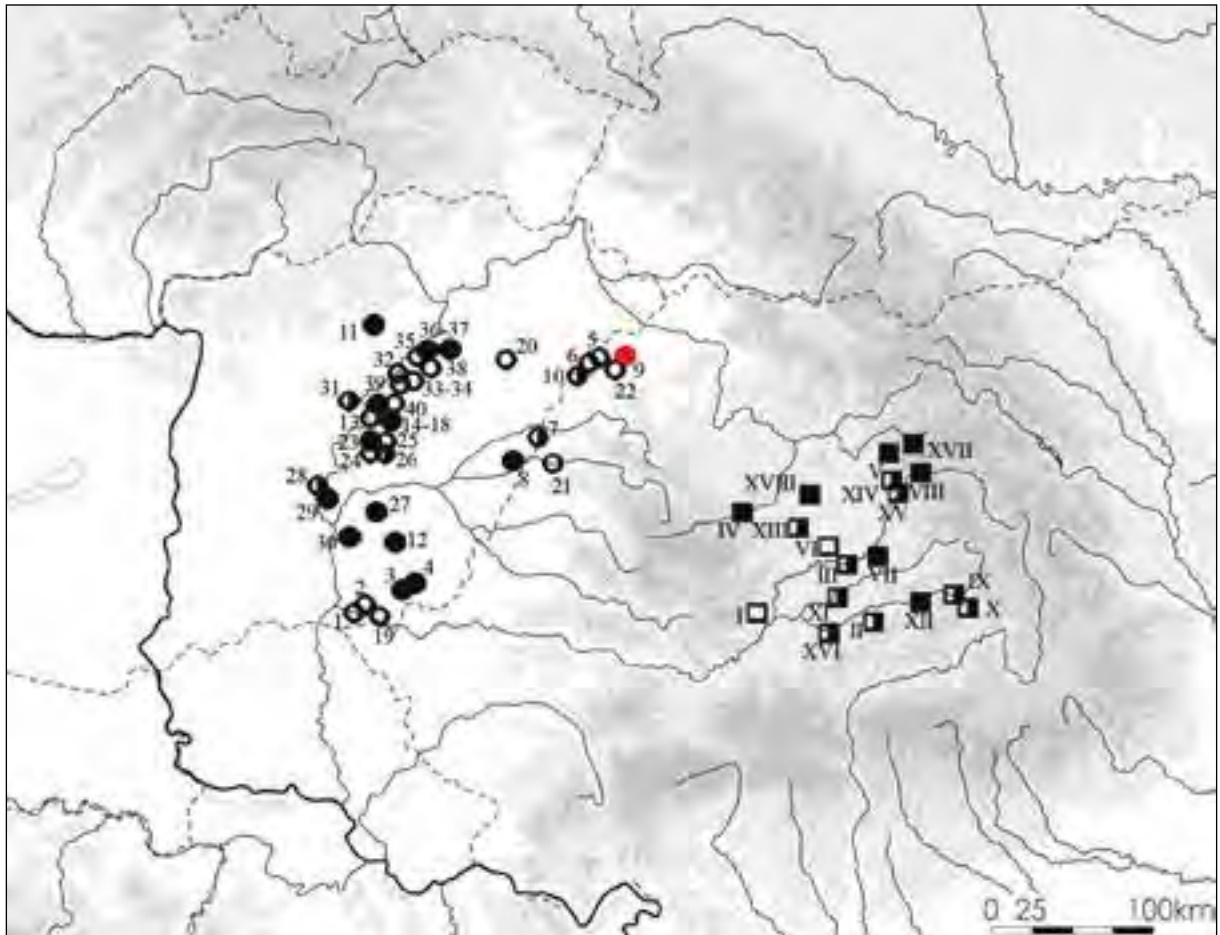
¹⁴ PÓPITY 2009.

¹⁵ DEÁK 2009.

¹⁶ BÁRÁNY-HAJNAL 2010.

¹⁷ MASEK 2012.

¹⁸ DUMITRAȘCU 1994, 167–180.



Karte 2. Die durch die archäologische Grabungen erforschten gepidischen Siedlungen im Karpatenbecken. Kreis für ungarische Tiefebene und Quadrat für Siebenbürgen. Volle Zeichen – veröffentlicht; halbvolle Zeichen – teilweise Veröffentlicht; Leere Zeichen – berichtet oder erwähnt. Rote Kreise: Großkarol (Nagykároly/Carei).

Ungarische Tiefebene: 1. Apátfalva-Nagy út-dűlő (Csongrád megye, MOL36. lelőhely), PÓPITY 2009; 2. Apátfalva-Belezi-csatorna IX, DEÁK 2009; 3. Battonya-Sziodnai gyep I, SZABÓ-VÖRÖS 1979; 4. Battonya-VOTSZ-Homokbánya, SZABÓ 1978; 5. Berea X, STANCIU 2011, 51; 6. Berea XXI, STANCIU 2011, 51; 7. Biharea/Bihari-Agyagbánya, DUMITRAȘCU 1982, DUMITRAȘCU 1994, 167–180; 8. Biharkeresztes-Ártánd, Január 1 TSZ, NEPPER-MÁTHÉ 1977, 182; B. TÓTH 2006, 18–19; 9. Carei/Nagykároly-Umweg, Fst. 1; 10. Ciumesti/Csomaköz 1. STANCIU 2011, 51; 11. Egerlövő-Homokpart, LOVÁSZ 1986–87; 12. Eperjes-Csikós tabla, B. TÓTH 2006, 19–27; 13. Kengyel-Csöbörérpárt, CSEH 1986b, 190–202; 14. Kengyel-Baghy-major-Kengyelpart I, CSEH 1986b, 190–206; CSEH 1993a, 17–28; CSEH 1999b, 61–75; 15. Kengyel-Baghy-major-Kengyelpart II, CSEH 1986b, 190–206; CSEH 2004a, 49–69; 16. Kengyel-Baghy-major-Kengyelpart III, CSEH 1992, 9–34; 17. Kengyel-Baghy-homok, CSEH 1986b, 190–206; CSEH 1993a, 5–111; CSEH 1994, 24–45; 18. Kengyel-Vígh tanya, CSEH 1986b, 190–206; CSEH 1996b, 7–10; CSEH 1999b, 61–75; 19. Magyarcsanád 10. Lh., DEÁK 2009; 20. Nyíregyháza-Harangod, MARKÓ 2012; 21. Oradea/Nagyvárad-Szalka domb, Unveröffentlicht; 22. Petrești/Mezőpetri, Unveröffentlicht; 23. Rákóczifalva-Erdő parti határrész-VIII dűlő, CSEH 1997b, 173–195; 24. Rákóczifalva-Kengyelpart, CSÁNYI 2004a; 25. Rákóczifalva-Kengyeldűlő I, CSÁNYI 2004b; 26. Rákóczifalva-Bagi-földek 5.–8.–8A, MASEK 2012; 27. Szarvas-Bezina, B. TÓTH 2006, 30–32; 28. Szelevény-Sweiger-tanya, CSEH 2004b; 29. Szelevény-Sárga-part, CSEH 1997a; 30. Szentés-Belsőecser, B. TÓTH 2006, 33–35; 31. Szolnok-Zagyva-part, CSEH 1999a; 32. Tiszabura-Bónis hát, VÁCZI 2010; 33. Tiszagyenda-Búzaszerző halom, KOCSIS-MOLNÁR 2008; 34. Tiszagyenda, BÁRÁNY-HAJNAL 2010; 35. Tiszfüred-Külsőfokpart 29/A, BÓNA 1970; 36. Tiszfüred-Morotvapart, CSEH 1986a, CSEH 1991; 37. Tiszfüred-Tiszaszőlős-Alsórétpart-Aszópart, CSEH 1996a; 38. Tiszaszőlős-Csontospart III, CSEH 1987, 37; 39. Törökszentmiklós-Erdős utca 50, CSEH 1990b; 40. Törökszentmiklós-Surjány-Morostó part, TÁRNOKI 2012.

Siebenbürgen: I. Alba Iulia-Monolit, MOGA ET AL. 2005; MOGA ET AL. 2006; MOGA ET AL. 2007; BOUNEGRU-

OTA 2006; II. Bratei/Baráthely-La Zăvoi-Nisipărie, BÂRZU 1994–95; III. Cipău/Maroscsapó-Gârle, VLASA ET AL. 1966, 407; IV. Cluj-Polus center, LĂZĂRESCU 2009; V. Dipsa-Fundoaie, GAIU 1993; VI. Iernut/Radnót-Peșes, Ausgrabungen von Călin Cosma; VII. Morești/Malomfalva-Podei/Borşofeld/Ciurgău, HOREDT 1979; VIII. Ocnița-La Ștefăluțu, GAIU 1994; IX. Porumbeni Mici/Kisgalambfalva-Galath, NYÁRÁDI 2011, 328–331; X. Porumbeni Mari/Nagygalambfalva, NYÁRÁDI 2011, 331–332; XI. Sânmiclăuș/Betlehenszentmiklós-Gruisor, ANGHEL–BLĂJAN 1977; XII. Sighișoara/Segesvár-Dealul Viilor, HARHOIU–BALTAG 2006, 2006b; XIII. Soporu de Câmpie/Mezőszopor-Cuntenit/Hodaie, PROTASE–ȚIGARĂ 1960; PROTASE 1962, 534; XIV. Stupini-Vătășina, GAIU 2002; XV. Stupini-terasa dintre pârâul Brătienilor și valea Blândă, GAIU 1999; XVI. Șeica Mică/Kisselzk/Kisselyk-Cetate, HOREDT 1964; HOREDT 1969; XVII. Șirioara/Sajósárvár-Livada, GAIU 1984, 59–62; XVIII. Țaga-Hrube, PROTASE 2003, 21

und eine Werkstatt für Knochenbearbeitung¹⁹ aufgedeckt wurden. In den 1990-er Jahren wurden auf dem Szálka-Hügel in Großwardein (Oradea/Nagyvárad) – ein paar Häuser,²⁰ in Petersdorf (Petrești/Mezőpetri) 2013 konnten die Spuren von zwei Nebengebäuden²¹ dokumentiert werden. Während der Aufdeckung von anderen Zeitaltern wurden, etwa 12-15 km entfernt von der Siedlung von Großkarol, ein Haus an den Fundstellen Berea (Bere) X, 3 Häuser in Berea (Bere) XXI und Schomagosch (Ciumesti/Csomaköz) I identifiziert.²²

In Siebenbürgen begannen bereits in den 1950-er Jahren Ausgrabungen von Siedlungen aus dem V-VI. Jahrhundert. Im Marosch- und Kokeltal fand die Ausgrabung der gepidischen Siedlungen mit den größten Oberflächen im Grenzgebiet der Ortschaften Malomfalva (Morești)-Podei statt (37 Häuser). Das ist, aufgrund der Veröffentlichung von Kurt Horedt, bis heute einer der Grundpfeiler der Forschung für gepidische Siedlungen.²³ Außerdem gab es größere Ausgrabungen in der Siedlung Baráthely (Brateiu) Nr.1, wo 44 Grubenhäuser und 6 oberirdische Häuser entdeckt wurden, die später, in den 90er Jahren publiziert wurden.²⁴ Die dritte bedeutende Forschung fand in Schäßburg (Sighișoara/Segesvár)-Szőlőhegy (Weinberg) zwischen 1976-85 statt. Später in den Jahren 1990-2000, vor kurzem, erschien über die Ausgrabungsergebnisse eine Monografie.²⁵

In Kleinschelken (Șeica Mică/Kissejk), zwischen 1956-59 in Soporu de Câmpie (Mezőszopor) wurden einige gepidische Häuser aufgedeckt,²⁶ in den 50-er Jahren in Porumbeni Mici (Kisgalambfalva) und in Porumbeni Mari (Nagygalambfalva) fanden auch Ausgrabungen gepidischer Befunde statt,²⁷ zwischen 1965-67 in Țaga (Cege) Fundstelle Hrube wurden 11 Häuser, 8 Abfallgruben, 2 Öfen és 2 Feuerstellen,²⁸ 1953-54 entdeckt. 1960 in Cipău (Maroscsapó)- Fundstelle Gârle wurden 9 Häuser und 3 Gruben dokumentiert,²⁹ dann erfolgte in den 1960-er,-70-er Jahren in Sânmiclăuș (Betlehenszentmiklós)-Gruisor,³⁰ in den 80-er Jahren in Șirioara (Sajósárvár)-Rât Fundstelle³¹ eine kleinere Grabung.

Die 1990-er Jahre brachten einen Wendepunkt in der Erforschung der gepidischen Siedlungen in Siebenbürgen. Es erschienen mehrere Forschungen mit zusammenfassenden Charakter, eine nach der anderen. Gleich nach der Wende erschien das Kataster gepidischer Befunde in Siebenbürgen von János Cseh, die aufgrund von früheren Publikationen 87 Fundstellen erwähnt.³²

¹⁹ DUMITRAȘCU 1982.

²⁰ Nicht publiziert, präsentiert von Sorin Bulzan in mehreren Vorträgen.

²¹ Nicht publiziert, Grabung des Autors.

²² STANCIU 2011, 51.

²³ HOREDT 1979.

²⁴ BÂRZU 1994–95.

²⁵ HARHOIU–BALTAG 2006, 2006b.

²⁶ PROTASE–ȚIGARĂ 1960; PROTASE 1962, 534.

²⁷ Zusammenfassend NYÁRÁDI 2011, 328–332.

²⁸ PROTASE 2003, 21.

²⁹ VLASA ET AL. 1966, 407.

³⁰ ANGHEL–BLĂJAN 1977.

³¹ GAIU 1984, 59–61.

³² CSEH 1990a, 66–74.

Später wurde der Stand der gepidischen Siedlungsforschung in Siebenbürgen von Radu Harhoiu zusammengefaßt.³³ Auf dem Gebiet Nordsiebenbürgens, was heute größtenteils dem Gebiet des Kreises Biztritz-Nöbnerland entspricht (Bistrița-Năsău/Beszterce-Naszód), hat Corneliu Gaiu einen Befundkataster zusammengestellt³⁴ mit insgesamt 63 Siedlungen. Davon hat der Autor leider nur bei einigen archäologischen Ausgrabungen durchgeführt (Dipșa,³⁵ Očnița,³⁶ Stupini-Vătășina,³⁷ Stupini- Brătienilor an der Seite der Bachterasse und im Tal Blândă³⁸). Eine zusammenfassende Arbeit über gepidische Siedlungen in Siebenbürgen stammt von Gabriel Rustoiu, er hat 111 Siedlungen identifiziert.³⁹ Monografisch hat Dumitru Protase die Siedlung Țaga veröffentlicht.⁴⁰ Die letzte Zusammenfassung des gepidischen Fundmaterials an der Großen Kokel stammt von Zsolt Nyárádi.⁴¹ Neue Ausgrabungen zwecks Identifizierung gepidischer Siedlungen fanden in den 1990-er Jahren an den Fundstellen Radnuten (Iernut/Radnót)-Pe Șes statt, wo einige Häuser und Gruben aufgedeckt worden sind.⁴² Ab den 1990er Jahren dank einiger Rettungsgrabungen erweiterte sich das gepidische Fundmaterial in Siebenbürgen. In Weißenburg (Alba Iulia/Gyulafehérvár)-Monolit Fundstelle wurden während mehreren Ausgrabungen (ab 2003) zahlreiche gepidische Häuser und andere Befunde aufgedeckt.⁴³ Vlad Lăzărescu hat den gepidischen Siedlungsteil während der Rettungsgrabung in Klausenburg (Cluj-Napoca/Kolozsvár)-Polus Center dokumentiert.⁴⁴ Die Sachkultur der Gepiden in Ungarn und in Rumänien wurde 2011 im Rahmen von Ausstellungen und durch die dazu verwirklichten Kataloge vorgestellt.⁴⁵

Im Banat blieb die Forschung der gepidischen Siedlungen weit zurück im Vergleich mit den anderen beiden Regionen. In Cladova wurde ein Hausteil aufgedeckt.⁴⁶ Im Süden des Alföld, das heute zu Serbien gehört, begrenzte sich die gepidische Siedlungsforschung nur auf ein paar Stellen, neben Čurug wurde ein Haus, dann auf einem Gebiet von fünf Hektaren wurden fünf Häuser und drei gepidische Gruben dokumentiert.⁴⁷

SIEDLUNGSGRÖSSE

Was die Struktur der gepidischen Siedlung bei Großkarol angeht, sollten wir in erster Linie die Art der Forschung in Betracht ziehen. Die 620 m lange und 20-25 m breite Ausgrabungsoberfläche hat mit aller Wahrscheinlichkeit den Westrand der Siedlung durchschnitten, so sind ungefähr 10-15% der Siedlung, der Teil, durch die Ausgrabungen dokumentiert. Dank der ausgedehnten Geländebegehung der Umgebung,⁴⁸ die 5-6 km entlang die Bobalder Terasse des Baches Merges erforscht hat, wissen wir, dass unsere Siedlung nicht ein kleiner Teil mehrerer sich kettenartig ausdehnender Siedlungssysteme ist, sondern ist es eine größere zusammenhängende Siedlung. Wenn man den Längsschnitt der Ausgrabung untersucht, kann man beobachten, dass die Trasse des

³³ HARHOIU 1999-2001, 108–110.

³⁴ GAIU 2003.

³⁵ GAIU 1993; PROTASE 2000, 140.

³⁶ GAIU 1994.

³⁷ GAIU 2002.

³⁸ GAIU 1999.

³⁹ RUSTOIU 2005.

⁴⁰ PROTASE 2003.

⁴¹ NYÁRÁDI 2011.

⁴² Grabung von Călin Cosma, nicht publiziert.

⁴³ MOGA ET AL. 2005; MOGA ET AL. 2006; MOGA ET AL. 2007; BOUNEGRU–OTA 2006.

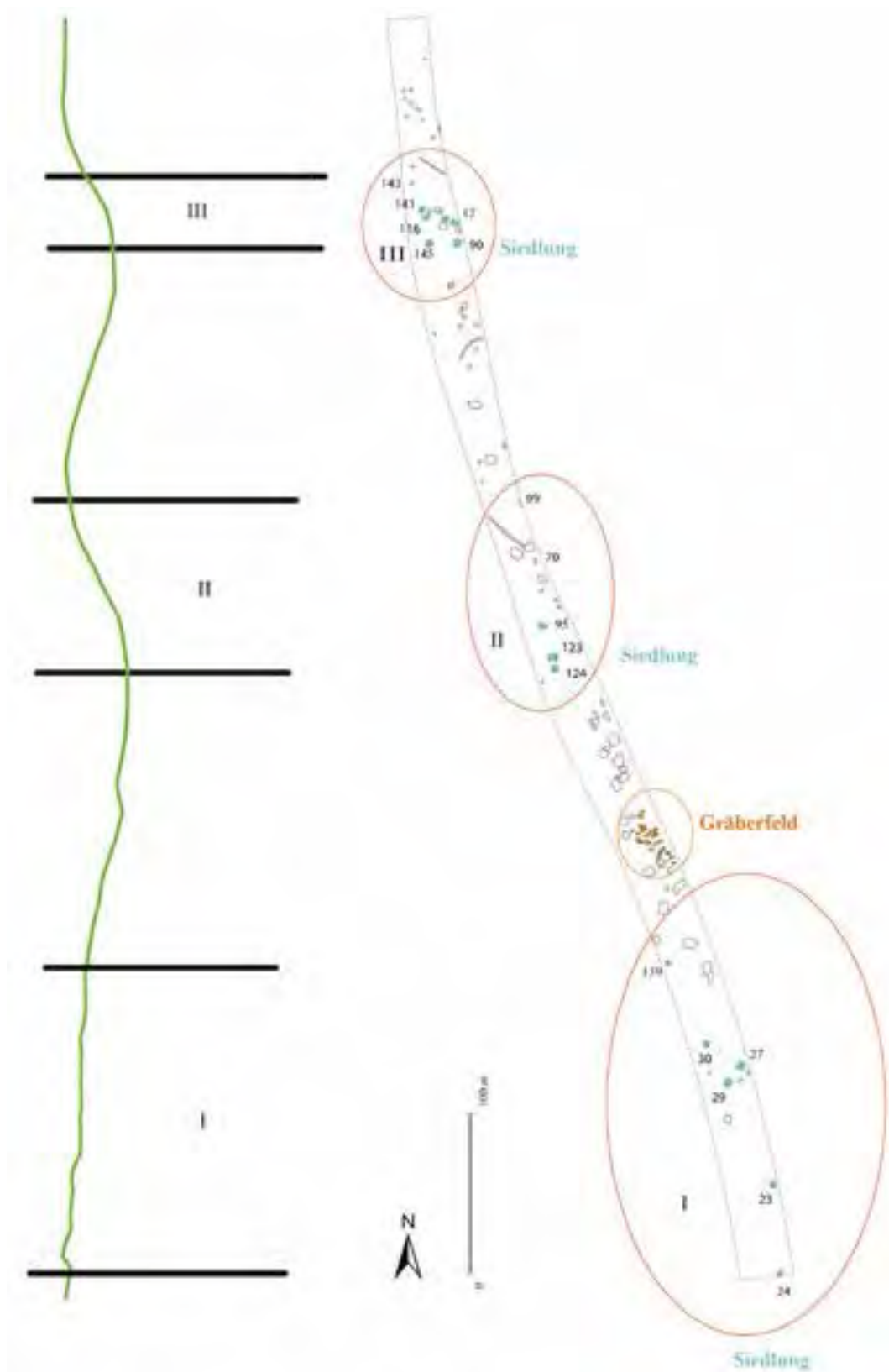
⁴⁴ LĂZĂRESCU 2009.

⁴⁵ GAIU 2011, HAVASSY 1999. Diese Ausstellungen und Kataloge begränzen sich leider nur auf die Gebiete einiger Länder.

⁴⁶ BORONEANȚ 1980, 119.

⁴⁷ BUGARSKI 2012, 25.

⁴⁸ NÉMETI 1999, 64–67.



Karte 3. Durschnitt des Reliefmodells und die drei Siedlungsgruppe (I–III), dazwischen die tiefe nasse Zone.
Mit blau die Siedlungsbefunde und mit gelb die Gräber

Weges mehrere kleinere, zeitweilige Wasserläufe durchquert, und auf den Terrassen dieser befinden sich die aufgedeckten Befunde in drei Gruppen (*Karte 3; Taf. 4:1*). Es stehen uns leider nur wenige Daten zur Verfügung, was die Entwicklung der gepidischen Siedlungen auf dem Alföld angeht. Am Rand von Battonya, in der Nähe der rumänischen Grenze, an beiden Ufern des Bächleins Száráz (eigentlicher Altarm von Marosch) etwa 2 km lang, konnte man mehrere, aneinander nahe liegende Siedlungsspuren identifizieren. An der Fundstelle Battonya-Sziondai gyep I, wurden während einer kleinen Probegrabung ein Grubenhaus und eine Vorratsgrube entdeckt.⁴⁹ Der Ausgräber beobachtete, dass die gepidischen Siedlungen neben dem Bächlein Szanda den Wasserlauf dicht folgen, sie liegen an den flacheren Buckeln, gegenüber den früheren sarmatischen Siedlungen, die oft 10 km weit von diesen Buckeln entfernt sind.⁵⁰ Die Forschung von János Cseh basiert auf Geländebegehungen und kleineren Ausgrabungen. Er untersuchte die Gegend zwischen den Orten Kengyel und Rákócújfalu, an der einstigen Ufern des Theiß-Strombettes etwa 12 km lang, wo ähnlich wie im Battonya mehrere, 200-2000 m voneinander entfernt liegende Siedlungsspuren identifiziert werden konnten. Aufgrund der Keramikstreuung variieren die Siedlungen zwischen 30-40 m x 30-40 m und 100-130 x 50-60 m.⁵¹ Anhand der Oberflächenbefunde, wo die innere Chronologie der gepidischen Siedlungen fehlt, kann man nur Einschätzungen treffen, was die Siedlungsgrößen für bestimmte Zeiten angeht. Auf dem westgermanischen Gebiet haben die zu einer bestimmten Zeit existierenden Siedlungen in der Merowingerzeit meistens eine bis drei wirtschaftliche Einheiten nicht übertroffen, nur in Ausnahmefällen wurden fünf oder sogar elf wirtschaftliche Einheiten dokumentiert.⁵²

SIEDLUNGSSTRUKTUR, INNENAUFBAU

Die gepidische Siedlung von Großkarol entwickelte sich auf den Terrassen des zeitweiligen Wasserlaufs zum Bach Mérgeš, sie besteht aus mehreren Untereinheiten. Hier sind für die innere Siedlungsstruktur voneinander bestimmten Entfernungen gelegene Häuser/Befund-Gruppen charakteristisch. Aufgrund der inneren Struktur der gepidischen Siedlungen kann man mehrere Siedlungstypen identifizieren, vor allem aufgrund der Klassifizierung germanischer Siedlungen nach Herbert Jankuhn.⁵³ Da in den meisten Fällen nur eine kleinere oder größere Fläche der Siedlungen aufgedeckt werden konnte, beschreibt diese Klassifizierung allerdings nur die Situation der vorliegenden Forschung.

1. Alleinstehende wirtschaftliche Einheit „Einzelhof“. Diese Siedlungsstruktur ist vielleicht am schwersten zu identifizieren. Bei Egerlövő-Homokpart wurde während der Ausgrabung einer größeren Oberfläche nur ein einziges Haus identifiziert⁵⁴, was an eine alleinstehende wirtschaftliche Einheit andeutet. Etwa 15 km südwestlich von der Großkaroler Siedlung entfernt, an der Feldmark von Petersdorf (Petrești/Mezőpetri), auf einem Gebiet wo überhaupt keine archäologische Befunde bekannt sind, trennt ein Wassergraben zwei gepidische Siedlungsbefunde durch.⁵⁵ Wenn man den Charakter des Gebiets in Betracht zieht zählte die gepidische Siedlung bei Petersdorf höchstwahrscheinlich zur oben genannten Kategorie.

2. Aus Häusergruppen bestehende Siedlungsreihe ist die typische Form des gepidischen Siedlungssystems, wo sich einige Häuser, Vorratsgruben, Außenöfen oder Brunnen gruppieren. Die Befundgruppen liegen einige zehn Metern voneinander entfernt. Eine solche ist die Siedlung

⁴⁹ SZABÓ-VÖRÖS 1979.

⁵⁰ SZABÓ-VÖRÖS 1979, 226.

⁵¹ CSEH 1986b, 190.

⁵² DONAT-ULLRICH 1971, 258.

⁵³ JANKUHN 1969.

⁵⁴ LOVÁSZ 1986-87, 128, Bild 1.

⁵⁵ Grabung des Autors im Jahre 2013. Nicht publiziert.

von Großkarol, in Siebenbürgen Cluj-Napoca (Klausenburg/Kolozsvár)-Polus Center,⁵⁶ Sopor de Câmpie,⁵⁷ Ocnita,⁵⁸ Sighișoara (Schäßburg)/Segesvár)-Weinberg.⁵⁹ Auf dem Alföld Tiszafüred-Morotvapart wurde auf einer Fläche von etwa 6000 m² eine Gruppe von 2-4 Grubenhäusern erforscht, die Entfernung zwischen ihnen ist etwa 80 m. Eine ähnliche aus mehreren Befunden gebildete wirtschaftliche Einheit, 30-50 m oder 100-150 m voneinander entfernt wurde auf dem Gebiet der Mittleren-Theiß in den Siedlungen Tiszafüred-Tiszaszőlős, Szelevény-Bohonyapart, Szolnok-Zagyva-part,⁶⁰ am östlichen Rand des Alföld in Biharea dokumentiert.⁶¹ Diese Siedlungsstruktur ist in den mitteleuropäischen germanischen Siedlungen wohl bekannt (zum Beispiel in Böhmen Jenštejn,⁶² auf langobardischem Gebiet, in Balatonlelle⁶³).

3. Zusammenhängende Siedlungen, wo die Häuser in größeren, geschlossenen Gruppe erscheinen. Man kann beobachten, dass dieser Typ der gepidischen Siedlungen in erster Linie für Siebenbürgen charakteristisch ist. Ähnliche Situation kennen wir in den Fundstellen von Morești,⁶⁴ Stupini im B Sektor,⁶⁵ Dipșa-Fundoaie⁶⁶ und vielleicht in Cipău-Gârle.⁶⁷

In Brateiu (Baráthely) Siedlung Nr. 1 wurde ein 50-60 m großes freies Gebiet zwischen zwei Siedlungsblöcken dokumentiert. In der wahrscheinlich mehrphasigen Siedlung waren um einen zentralen Raum von 40-50 m Durchmesser Häuser gelegen.⁶⁸ Das ist eine äußerst seltene Siedlungsstruktur, ähnliche kennt man aus dem kaiserzeitlichen Barbarikum in Nordpolen, aus der Siedlung Debczyno.⁶⁹

WIRTSCHAFTLICHE EINHEITEN

Die Möglichkeit der Untersuchung der inneren Struktur wirtschaftlicher Einheiten gepidischer Siedlungen wurde zuerst von Kurt Horedt in der Veröffentlichung der Siedlung von Morești angeschnitten. Seiner Meinung nach kann man auf der dort aufgedeckten etwa 60x60 Meter großen Fläche diese Einheiten schwer ermitteln.⁷⁰ Eine weitere Schwierigkeit stellt unserer Meinung nach die hohe Zahl der Grubenhäuser dar, als auch die niedrige Zahl von anderen Gebäudetypen, die sich an diese knüpfen, sowie das Fehlen dieser.⁷¹ Zum Lösen dieser Problematik können wir die Antwort, unserer Meinung nach, in den auf Häusergruppen aufgeteilten Siedlungen finden, wo diese Gruppen Ausgangspunkte für das Bestimmen der gesuchten wirtschaftlichen Einheiten darstellen können. Die Basis der wirtschaftlichen Einheit auf den gepidischen Siedlungen ist das Grubenhaus. Ganz wahrscheinlich gab es auch Oberflächenhäuser, die Spuren dieser konnten aber überzeugend nicht identifiziert werden. In der in Morești ausgegrabener Siedlung wurden mehrere eingestampfte Erde- und Steinoberflächen mit gepidischer Keramik identifiziert, die

⁵⁶ LĂZĂRESCU 2009, 340, Abb. 1.

⁵⁷ PROTASE-ȚIGARĂ 1960 Abb. 13.

⁵⁸ GAIU 1994, 54, Pl. 1.

⁵⁹ HARHOIU-BALTAG 2006, 510, Abb. 963.

⁶⁰ CSEH 1996a, 71.

⁶¹ DUMITRAȘCU 1994, Abb. 22.

⁶² DROBERJAR-TUREK 1997, Abb.3.

⁶³ SKRIBA-SÓFALVI 2004, 156-157.

⁶⁴ HOREDTE 1979, 89, Abb. 38.

⁶⁵ GAIU 2002, 132, Abb. 4.

⁶⁶ GAIU 1993, 97, Abb. 2.

⁶⁷ VLASA ET AL. 1966, 406, Abb. 7.

⁶⁸ BĂRZU 1994-95, Abb. 1.

⁶⁹ MACHAJEWSKI 1986, 41, Abb. 2.

⁷⁰ HOREDTE 1979, 121.

⁷¹ Das ist wahrscheinlich eine spezielle Erscheinung in den Gepidensiedlungen. Unserer Meinung nach kann man nicht an technische Unaufmerksamkeit knüpfen, da in früheren, kaiserzeitlichen, sarmatischen oder germanischen Siedlungen auch zahlreiche Spuren von Nebengebäuden identifiziert werden konnten.

vom Forscher als *Laufflächen* erklärt worden sind.⁷² Ähnliches, mit Stein belegtes und gepidischer Keramik gemischtes Niveau konnte ein an der Fundstelle Porumbenii Mici-Galath identifiziert werden.⁷³

Die Analysen betreffend wirtschaftliche Einheiten kennen wir eher aus den westgermanischen Gebieten. Der Grund der Wirtschaftseinheiten alemannischer Siedlungen ist das große oberirdische Haus, identifiziert aufgrund von Pfostenlochreihen (Wohnstallhaus). Die Größe einer wirtschaftlichen Einheit wurde auf 1000-2000 m² bestimmt, mit Ausnahme der Führerwirtschaftseinheiten, die eine Größe bis zu 4000 m² erreichen konnten.⁷⁴ In einem anderen Fall, in der Siedlung Warendorf von Westfalen datiert auf die zweite Hälfte des 7. Jh., hat die wirtschaftliche Einheit die Größe von 10 000 m² erreicht.⁷⁵

Das Grubenhaus, als Grundlage der wirtschaftlichen Einheit, ist eher für die mitteleuropäischen germanische Siedlungen charakteristisch (zum Beispiel böhmisch-mährische), aber auch hier können (viel seltener) oberirdische Häuser erscheinen.⁷⁶ Wenn eine wirtschaftliche Einheit nur aus Grubenhäusern besteht, kann man mit Recht voraussetzen, dass manches auch als Werkstatt gedient haben könnte.⁷⁷ Theoretisch kann eine wirtschaftliche Einheit aus folgenden Komponenten bestehen: Wohngebäude, Stall, Speicherräume oder Vorratsgruben, Außenfeuerstellen oder Öfen, Brunnen, und eventuell zur industriellen Tätigkeit nötige Befunde. Auf der gepidischen Siedlung von Großkarol ist die Konturierung dieser wirtschaftlichen Einheiten innerhalb der Häusergruppen schwierig wegen Fehlen der Zäune oder Spuren der Umzäunung und wegen der Breite der aufgedeckten Trasse (20-25 m). Sicherlich lag ein Teil dieser wirtschaftlichen Einheiten außerhalb der aufgedeckten Trasse, deshalb kann man laut Stand der aktuellen Forschung die Bestimmung der einzelstehenden gesellschaftlichen Einheiten nicht durchführen.

HÄUSER

In der gepidischen Siedlung Großkarol-Bobáld konnten auf der aufgedeckten Trasse keine Pfostenlöcher oder abgebrannte Wandreste, oberirdischer Häuser deuten identifiziert werden. Von den 18 Befunden sind 14 in die Erde eingegrabene, als Häuser identifizierbare Bauten, mit Ausnahme von zweien davon sind sie gerundet, quadratförmig. Die typologische Einordnung der Grubenhäuser gründet sich auf die Zahl und Gestaltung der Pfostenlöcher. Der Baustil der Häuser, die Zahl der Pfosten, die das Dach tragen und ihre Gestaltung, hängen wahrscheinlich mit der Größe der Häuser zusammen. In Morești konnte man beobachten, dass kleinere Häuser über keine Pfostenlöcher verfügten. Die größeren hatten je 1-1 Pfostenlöcher an der kürzeren Seite, noch größere hatten Pfosten in den Ecken oder je 3-3 Pfosten an den entgegengesetzten Seiten oder an allen Seiten.⁷⁸ Wenn man die Größen der bestimmenden Häuser in der Siedlung von Großkarol in Betracht zieht (*Tabelle 1*) kann man feststellen, dass die kleinsten, die ohne Pfostenlöcher sind (139, 145), kaum mehr als 8 m² groß sind. Auffallend ist die Größe des Hauses 123 (16 m²), das an seinen kürzeren Seiten 3-3 Pfostenlöcher hat, aber die anderen Häuser dieser Art sind nicht unbedingt anders als diejenige, die an den kürzeren Seiten 1-1 Pfostenloch haben.

⁷² HORED T 1979, 118.

⁷³ NYÁRÁDI 2011, 329.

⁷⁴ BÜCKER ET AL. 1997, 314–317.

⁷⁵ WINKELMANN 1958, 516.

⁷⁶ PLEINEROVA 2007, 88.

⁷⁷ PLEINEROVA 2007, 84.

⁷⁸ HORED T 1979, 101.

Tabelle 1. Liste mit der Größe (in aufsteigender Reihenfolge) und Typ der Grubenhäuser aus der Siedlung von Grosskarol

Nr.	Größe	Oberfläche	Tiefe ab der Konturierung	Typ
145	270 x 300 cm	8,1 m ²	60 cm	ohne Pfostenlöcher
139	320 x 255 cm	8,16 m ²	47 cm	ohne Pfostenlöcher
23	300 x 280 cm	8,4 m ²	85 cm	mit 1-1 Pfostenloch an der kürzeren Seite
24	304 x 278 cm	8,45 m ²	58 cm	mit 1-1 Pfostenloch an der kürzeren Seite
116	328 x 270 cm	8,85 m ²	52 cm	mit 3-3 Pfostenlöcher an ihrer kürzeren Seite
30	300 x 310 cm	9,3 m ²	55 cm	mit 1-1 Pfostenloch an der kürzeren Seite
27	334 x 296 cm	9,88 m ²	40 cm	mit 3-3 Pfostenlöcher an ihrer kürzeren Seite
124	340 x 315 cm	10,7 m ²	50 cm	Pfostenlöcher in den vier Ecken des Hauses
17	300 x 360 cm	10,8 m ²	45 cm	mit 1-1 Pfostenloch an der kürzeren Seite
95	350 x 320 cm	11,2 m ²	40 cm	?
29	396 x 320 cm	12,6 m ²	56 cm	mit 1-1 Pfostenloch an der kürzeren Seite
123	480 x 335 cm	16 m ²	60 cm	mit 3-3 Pfostenlöcher an ihrer kürzeren Seite

Häuser ohne Pfostenlöcher. Donat 1988 F, Typ Leube 2009 F1

Auf der Seite der Trasse in der Siedlung von Großkarol wurden nur zwei solche Häuser (139, 145) dokumentiert (Taf. 1:2; Taf. 3:6). Dieser Haustyp erscheint auch auf dem Alföld und in Siebenbürgen, aber man kann feststellen, dass es besonders charakteristisch für einige siebenbürgische Siedlungen ist (Ocnîța-La Ștefăluțu,⁷⁹ Stupini-Vătășină,⁸⁰ Dipșa-Fundoaie,⁸¹ Sopor de Câmpie-Cuntenit⁸²). (Karte 4)

Häuser mit 1-1 Pfostenloch an der kürzeren Seite. Donat 1988 A, Typ Leube 2009 A2

In der Siedlung, die in der Studie untersucht wurden erscheint dieser Haustyp klar in drei Fällen (17, 17/1, 24) (Taf. 3:7; Taf. 1:5), aber bei einigen anderen Häusern, wo auch mehrere Pfostenlöcher waren, deuten die tieferen Pfostenlöcher auf diese Struktur (23, 29, 30) (Taf. 1:7, 6, 4). Wenn man dieser Haustyp auf die Landkarte projiziert, kann man feststellen, dass es eher für die Siedlungen der Tiefebene charakteristisch ist. (Karte 5)

Pfostenlöcher in den vier Ecken des Hauses. Leube 2009 Typ B1

In Großkarol, ähnlich zu den selteneren Häusern ohne Pfostenlöcher, erscheint dieser Haustyp nur in einem Fall (124) (Taf. 2:5), und er ist allgemein anwesend sowohl auf den gepidischen Siedlungen der Tiefebene als auch in Siebenbürgen, aber mit den anderen verglichen in viel niedriger Zahl. (Karte 6)

Häuser mit 3-3 Pfostenlöcher an ihrer kürzeren Seite Donat 1988 C1, Leube 2009 C und die Variante dieser mit dem ergänzenden Pfosten an der längeren Seite Donat 1988 C2, Leube 2009 D

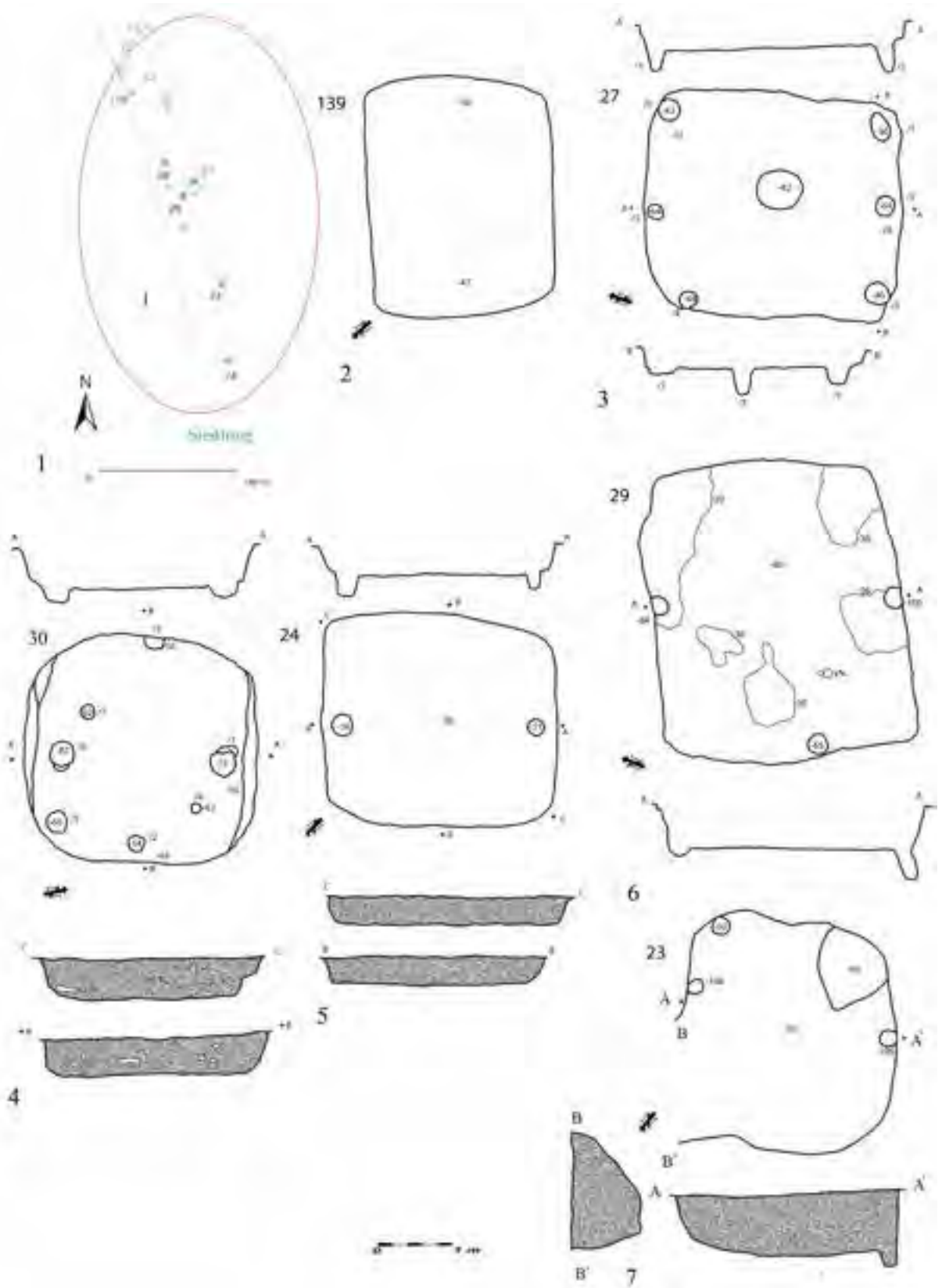
In der Siedlung von Großkarol wurde dieser Haustyp in 3 Fällen dokumentiert (27, 123, 116) (Taf. 1:3; Taf. 2:6; Taf. 3:3). Er erscheint in großer Zahl in gepidischen Siedlungen. Man kann feststellen, dass

⁷⁹ GAIU 1994.

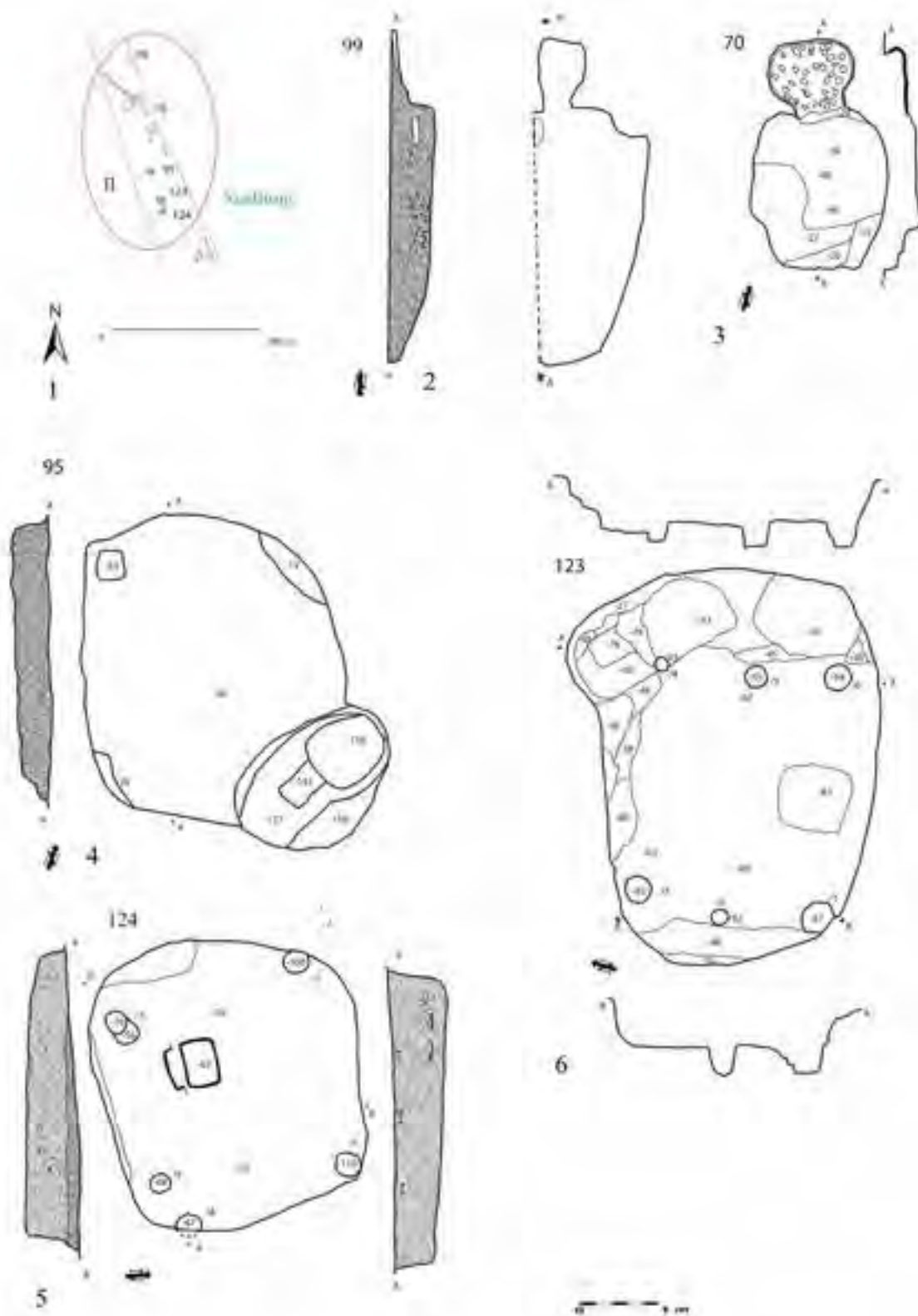
⁸⁰ GAIU 2002.

⁸¹ GAIU 1993, 91–93.

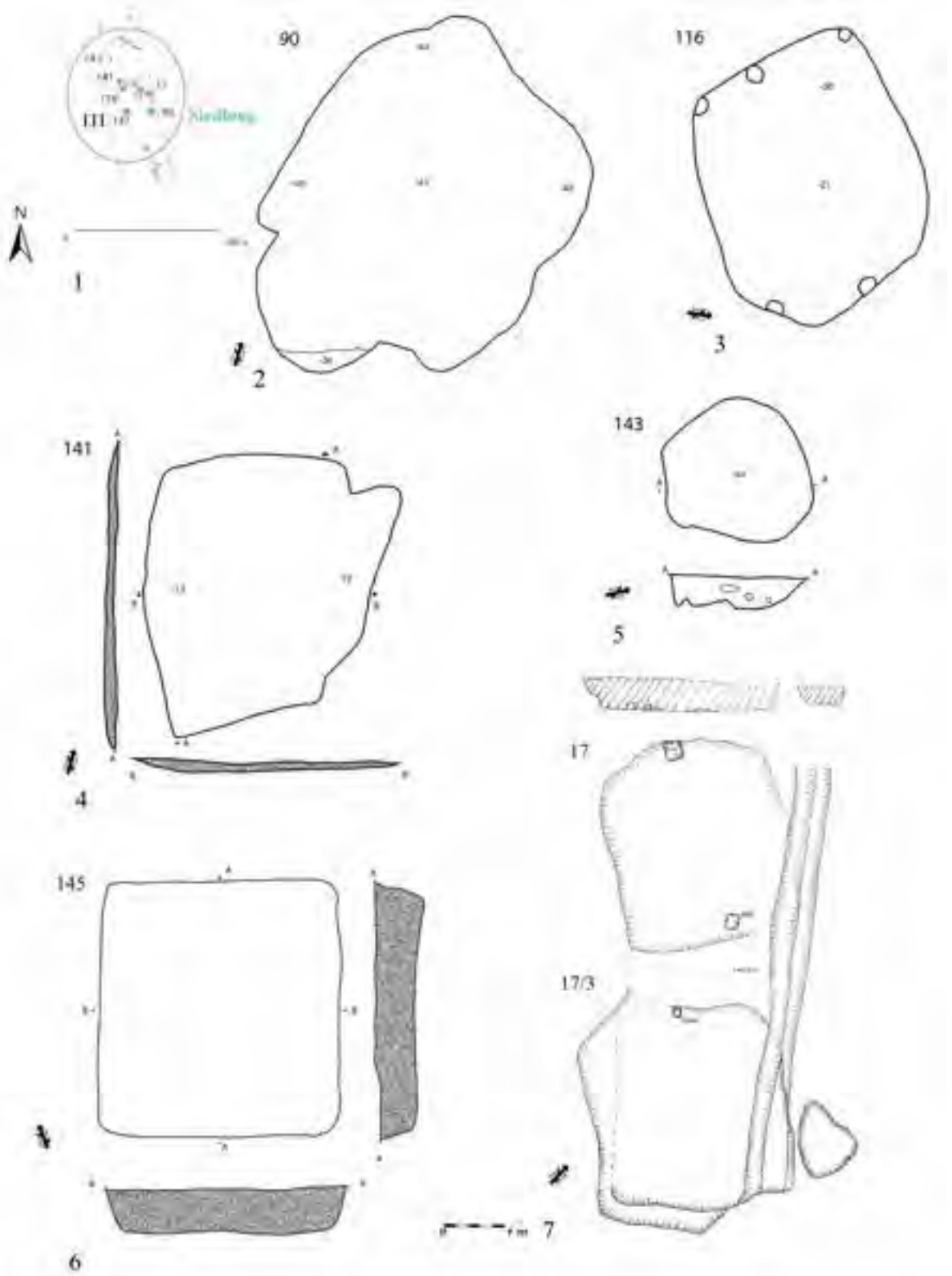
⁸² PROTASE 1962, 534.



Taf. 1. Befunde aus dem ersten Siedlungsteil



Taf. 2. Befunde aus dem zweiten Siedlungsteil



Taf. 3. Befunde aus dem dritten Siedlungsteil



1

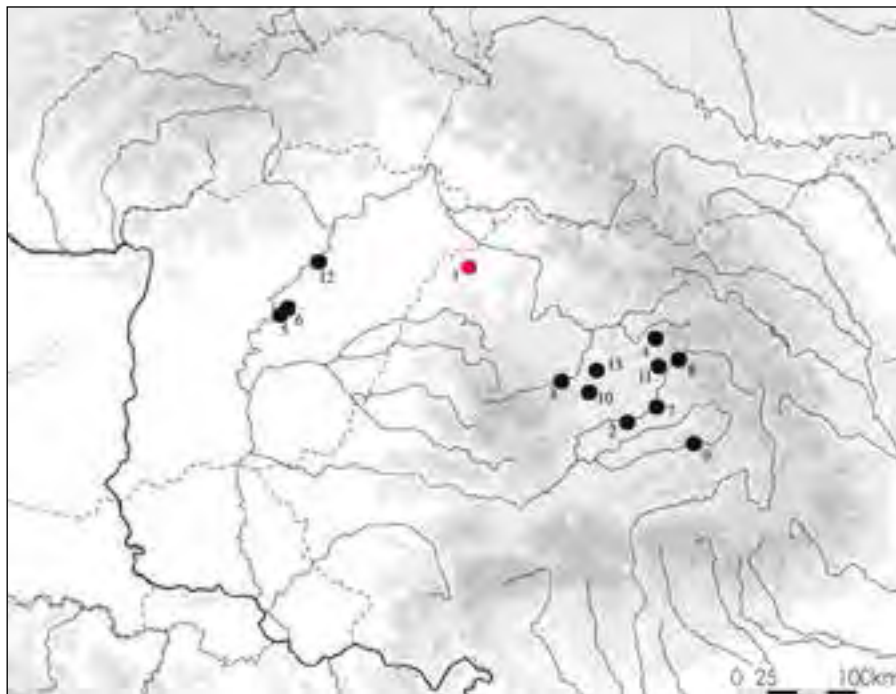


2

Taf. 4. Luftaufnahme: 1. Die Trasse des Weges und die erforschten Siedlungsteilern; 2. Die Trasse des Weges und die Grabungen, im Vorplan Bach Mérges mit ihrem nassen Tal mit Wiese und die Terasse mit Ackerfeldern. Der Obstgarten mit dem Haus ist die Tell-Siedlung mit archäologischer Basis



Taf. 5. Fotos der wichtigsten Befunde



Karte 4. Häuser ohne Pfostenlöcher.

1. Carei/Nagykaroly; 2. Cipău/Maroscsapó-Gârle (B5, B6, B7, B8), PROTASE 1966, 406, Fig.7; 3. Cluj/Kolozsvár-Polus center, (Cx09A:3,3x2,8m; Cx33B:3,5x2,47m), LĂZĂRESCU 2009, 326, 336; 4. Dipșa/Dipse-Fundoaie (L1: 3,8x3,2m; L5: 4,2x3,3m; L6: 4x3,6m; L7: 3x3,8m; L8: 3,6x4m; L9: 3,8x4,2m; L11: 3,6x4m; L13: 3,3x?m; L14:2,8x3,6m; L17-:?m), GAIU 1993, 91–93; 5. Kengyel-Baghy-major-Kengyelpart II (180–200x?m), CSEH 2004a, 58–59, 5–6 kép; 6. Kengyel-Vigh tanya (3x2,9m), CSEH 1992, 20; 7. Morești/Malomfalva (L1: 3,2x3,2m; LG2–3: 3,6x2,9m; LEF3–3: 6x3,3m; LCD–5–6: 3,4x3m), HOREDT 1979, 90–99; 8. Ocnîța-La Ștefăluclu (L1:3x3,6 mit Steinplatten umgrenzte Feuerstelle an nordischen Seite; L6– 4x4,2m Ofen aus Flussstein in der westlichen Ecke; L10: 3x3,3m), GAIU 1994, 50–51; 9. Sighișoara/Segesvár-Dealul Viilor (L40: 4x3m), HARHOIU–BALTAG 2007a, 17, fig. 8; HARHOIU–BALTAG 2007b, 49–50; 10. Soporu de Câmpie/Felsőszopor-Cuntenit (5 Häuser), PROTASE–ȚIGARĂ 1960, 391–392; PROTASE 1962, 534; 11. Stupini/Mezősolymos-Vătășină (Sect.A. L3: 3,3x2,8m; L4: 3,45x2,8m; L5: 3,8x3,2m; Sect.B. L62: 6x3,8m; L9: 3,85x3,6m mit Steinplatten umgrenzte Feuerstellenordischen Ecke; L10: 3,3x3,7 mit Steinplatten umgrenzte Feuerstelle; L14: 2,7x3,3m; L17: 3x3,1m feuerstelle in der nordischen Ecke; L19: 3,3x2,45 Steinfeuerstelle, die das L20 Haus überschattet; L20: 2,8x3,45m; L21: 3x3m; L22: 3x2,8m mit Feuerstelle; L23: 3,7x3m; L24: 3,4x2,9m das L25 Haus überschattet; L25: 2,7x2,55m; L26: 3,7x3,9 mit Feuerstelle; L27: 3,3x3,4m), GAIU 2002, 114–119; 12. Tiszafüred-Külsőfokpart (2,5x2,5m), B. TÓTH 2006, 39, Abb. 24; 13. Țaga/Cege-Hrube (L2: 2,3x2,25m; L10: 3,25x3,35m), PROTASE 2003, 25, fig. 5; 27, fig.9

für die siebenbürger Siedlungen in Morești⁸³ und Țaga- Hrube⁸⁴ eher dieser Typ charakteristisch ist. Am meisten verbreitet ist dieser Haustyp in Mitteleuropa. Aus Böhmen ist Jenštejn,⁸⁵ Sobešuky⁸⁶ bekannt, 70% der Häuser der größeren Ausgrabung in Brezno gehörten zu diesem Typ.⁸⁷ Ähnliche Häuser sind auch von der Langobarden-Siedlung in Balatonlelle bekannt.⁸⁸ (Karte 7)

⁸³ HOREDT 1979, 90–99.

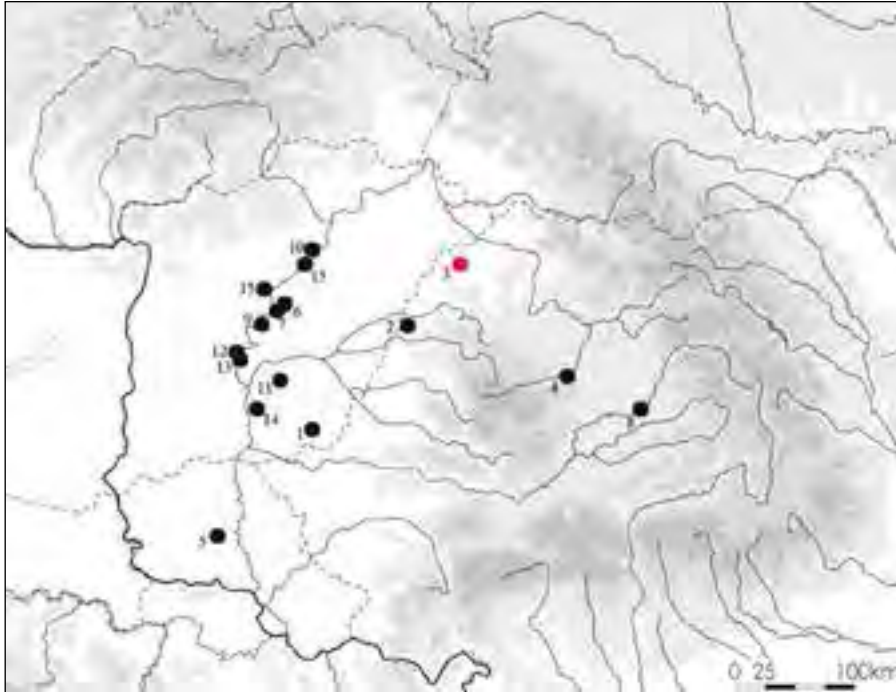
⁸⁴ PROTASE 2003, 22, Abb. 2; 26, Abb. 7; 29, Abb. 11; 63, Abb. 19.

⁸⁵ DROBERJAR–TUREK 1997, Abb. 5.

⁸⁶ BLAŽEK 1997, Abb. 4–7.

⁸⁷ PLEINEROVA 2007, 82.

⁸⁸ SKRIBA–SÓFALVI 2004, 122, Bild 1.



Karte 5. Häuser mit 1–1 Pfostenloch an der kürzeren Seite.

1. Battonya-Vörös Október TSZ (3,10x2,96 m), SZABÓ 1978, 63, 65 4.ábra; 2. Biharea/Bihari (3,55x3,25m), Spuren der Knochenverarbeitung, DUMITRAȘCU 1982, 108, fig.1; 3. Carei/Nagykároly-17, 17/1, 23; 4. Cluj/Kolozsvár-Polus center (02B: 3,9x2,77m, 24B: 2,83x2,22; 26B:5,07x3,66m), LĂZĂRESCU 2009, 320, 330, 333; 5. Čurug, BUGARSKI 2012, 27; fig.12; 6. Kengyel-Vigh tanya, CSEH 1992, 12; 7. Kengyel-Kengyelpart I, CSEH 1999a, 66, 7. kép; 8. Moreștil/Malomfalva-Podei (L2: 2,8x2,6m; LS28: 2,9x2,9m, L2-3: 3,7x3,5m; L-KL3-4: 3,2x3,2m; IK6: 4,4x4m; GH8: 3,6x3,6m; MNIV-V: 2,7x2,7m mit Ofen?), HOREDT 1979, 90–99; 9. Rákóczi-falva-Nyolcas dűlő I (3,2–3,5x?m), CSEH 1997b, 174, 4. kép; 10. Tiszafüred-Morotvapart (2,9 x2,9 m), CSEH 1986a, 12, 1 kép; (II/2: 2,92x?), CSEH 1991, 168, 166, 4. ábra; (II/4: 3,26x3,24m), CSEH 1991, 168–169, 167, 5. ábra; (III/5: 3,36x3,40m) CSEH 1991, 170, 171, 6. ábra; 11. Szarvas-Bezina (3,5x3,3m), B. TÓTH 2006, 31, Abb.18; 12. Szelevény-Sárga-part (4x?m), CSEH 1997a, 119, 4. kép; 13. Szelevény-37.sz. lh. Kistrépart (1 ház: 2,8x2,8m), CSEH 2004a,106; 9. kép; 14. Szentés-Belsőecser (2,8x3?m), B. TÓTH 2006, 34, Abb.20; 15. Solnok-Zagyva-part (XVI/12, XVI/14 obj.), CSEH 1999a, 43, 3. kép; 16. Tiszafüred-Tiszaszőlős (2,95x2,35m), CSEH 1996a, 82, 6 ábra

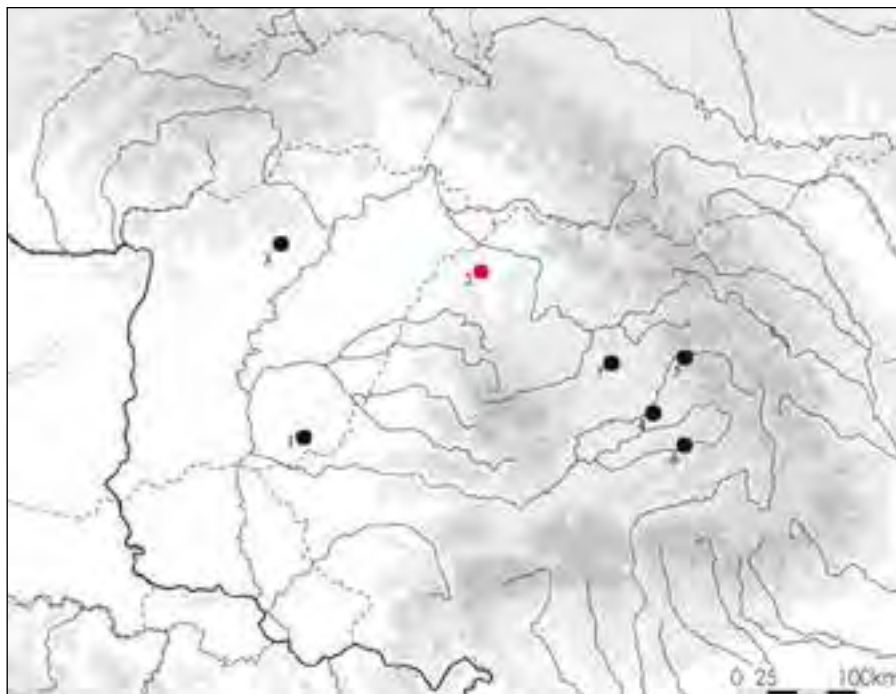
BRENNEINRICHTUNGEN IN DEN HÄUSERN

In der Siedlung von Großkarol haben wir mit einer Ausnahme keine Feuerstellen in den Häusern gefunden. Im Boden des Hauses 123 wurde eine den Boden gegrabene quadratische Grube mit ausgebrannten Wänden dokumentiert (Taf. 2:5; Taf. 5:7,8). Diese Siedlungerscheinung ist einzigartig in den Befundtypen der Zeit, stimmt aber mit den früheren von den Vandalen-Siedlungen gut bekannten nord-südlich orientierten, rechteckigen, ausgebrannten Gruben aus dem 2-5. Jh. überein.⁸⁹ Ähnliche quadratische Feuerstellen sind vom Schäßburg (Sighișoara/Segesvár)-Weinberg bekannt,⁹⁰ das kann man aber mit der Grube mit ausgebrannten Wänden von Großkarol nicht verwechseln. Ähnliche quadratische Gruben mit ausgebrannten Wänden sind von den Siedlungen der Przeworsk-Kultur gut bekannt,⁹¹ aber in Häuser sind sie nur in der Fundstelle Stobnica-Trzymor 2 erschienen. Sie waren in den Boden der Häuser eingegraben, in der Mitte

⁸⁹ GINDELE–ISTVÁNOVITS 2009, 15; SOÓS 2011.

⁹⁰ HARHOIU–BALTAG 2007, 129, Abb. 1101.

⁹¹ Zusammenfassend GINDELE 2015.



Karte 6. Pfostenlöcher in den vier Ecken des Hauses.

1. *Battonya-Sziondai gyep I*, (3,9x3,12m), SZABÓ 1979, 219–221, 4. kép; 2. *Carei/Nagykároly*, 124; 3. *Egerlövő-Homokpart*, (2,5x2m), LOVÁSZ 1986–87, 129, 2. kép; 4. *Morești/Malomfalva-Podei* (MN2–3: 3,9x3,7m, EIV–V: 3,5x3,3m), HOREDT 1979, 90–99; 5. *Ocnița-La Ștefălucu* (L9: 2,9x3,2 m), GAIU 1994, 51; 6. *Sighișoara/Segesvár-Dealul Viilor* (cx 43: 3,5x2,5m, cx 65: 3,3x2,5m, cx 112: 3x3m), HARHOIU–BALTAG 2007b, 128, Fig. 1100, 134, Fig. 1106., 142, fig. 1114; 7. *Cege/Țaga-Hrube* (L8: 3x2,6m), PROTASE 2003, 25, fig. 6

oder am Hausrand, mit Nord-Süd Ausrichtung.⁹² Ebenfalls in dieser Siedlung ist eine quadratische ausgebrannte Grube mit rundum eingerahmten Graben eingegraben worden, die vom Ausgräber als kultischer Platz identifiziert worden ist.⁹³

Die in den Häusern liegenden Brenneinrichtungen sind für die gepidische Siedlungen nicht charakteristisch, ihr Vorkommen ist nur aus einigen siebenbürgischen Siedlungen bekannt. (Karte 8) Nach der Typologie von Gabriel Rustoiu kann man Feuerplätze identifizieren, die mit Steinen umgeben sein können und Brennöfen, die oval oder quadratisch, mit Steinen umgelegt, eventuell runde oder ovale Steinöfen sein könnten.⁹⁴ In der Siedlung von Malomfalva gibt es nur in Ausnahmefällen Brenneinrichtungen, die in der Ecke des Hauses 22 gefundenen Flachsteine können auf zeitweilige Feuerplätze deuten. In der unmittelbaren Nähe des Hauses 34 gab es eine Feuerstelle.⁹⁵ Die in den siebenbürgischen gepidischen Siedlungen ergrabenen Brenneinrichtungen sind eng verbunden mit Häusertypen ohne Pfostenlöcher (*Ocnița-La Ștefălucu*,⁹⁶ *Stupini-Vătășină*,⁹⁷ *Dipșa-Fundoaie*⁹⁸). Dieser Zusammenhang kann wahrscheinlich entweder eine regionale Gruppe oder einen chronologischen Unterschied bedeuten. Auf dem Alföld wurde die holzkohlenartige, etwas durchgebrannte, fleckenartige Erscheinung auf dem Boden der Häuser als Feuerplatz

⁹² WIKLAK 1983, 178.

⁹³ WIKLAK 1983, 179.

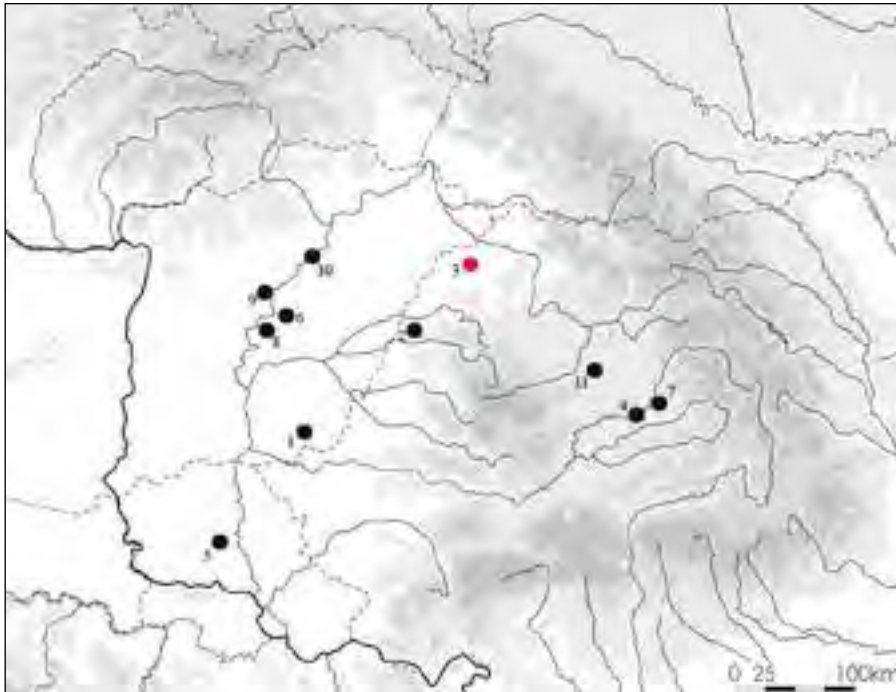
⁹⁴ RUSTOIU 2005, 50.

⁹⁵ HOREDT 1979, 113.

⁹⁶ GAIU 1994.

⁹⁷ GAIU 2002.

⁹⁸ GAIU 1993, 91–93.



Karte 7. Häuser mit 3–3 Pfostenlöcher an ihrer kürzeren Seite.

1. Battonya-Vörös Október TSZ, (2,72x2,26 m), SZABÓ 1978, 61–62, 64, 3. ábra; 2. Biharea/Bihari, (L2: 3,16x2,92m; L5: 3,75x4,5m), DUMITRAȘCU 1994, 167, 173, 326, fig. 80.; 3. Carei/Nagykároly; 4. Cipău/Maroscsapó-Gârle, (B2, B3), PROTASE 1966, 406, Fig.7.; 5. Čurug, BUGRAKI 2012, 27, fig.12.; 6. Kengyel-Kis tanya, (3,2x3m), CSEH 2007, 346, 355, 1. Kép.; 7. Morești/Malomfalva-Podei, (L3: 4x4,5m; L4: 3x2,8m; L5: 5,1x4,9m (Webhaus); L6: 4x4m; LA: 4x2,9m; LB: 4x3,9m; H4–5: 4x3,6m, DE6–7: 3,2x3m; M7: 3,8x3,4m; KL1: 4x3,6m; IKII: 3,6x2,4m; MNIV–V: 2,8x2,7m), HOREDŤ 1979, 90–99.; 8. Rákóczifalva-Nyolcas dűlő I, (3,5x?m), CSEH 1997b, 176, 7. Kép.; 9. Szolnok-Zagyva part, (4x3,5m), CSEH 1999a, 44, 4. Kép.; (XVI/10 obj: 3,30x3,50, XI/47 obj: 3,00x3,40 m), CSEH 2000, 92, 1. Kép.; 10. Tiszafüred-Tiszaszőlős, (3,2x2,8m), CSEH 1996a, 82, 7. ábra; 11. Cegal/Țaga-Hrube, (L1: 3,40x3,35m; L9: 3,35x3,10m; L15: 3,20x3,10m; L16: 3,20x3,10m; L17: 3x2,8m; L21: 3x3m), PROTASE 2003, 22, fig. 2; 26, fig. 7; 29, fig. 11; 63, fig. 19

interpretiert.⁹⁹ Die in die Wänden eingegrabene Brennöfen sollten als eine getrennte Gruppe behandelt werden, sie sind, genauso wie die Außenöfen, nur Bedienungsgruben, sie wurden vom Hausinneren gespeist. In den gepidischen Siedlungen sind diese sehr selten, wir kennen nur einen von der Fundstelle Kengyel-Baghy-major-Kengyelpart I.¹⁰⁰

ÄUSSERE BRENNÖFEN

In der Siedlung von Großkarol wurden zwei in die Erde eingegrabene äußere Brennöfen entdeckt (70, 99) (Taf. 2:2-3). Beide hatten eine Bedienungsgrube und die Platte des einen war (70) (Taf. 5:5) mit körnigen, schiebengedrehten Scherben verkleidet. Außenöfen wurden in den Siedlungen von Porumbenii Mici-Galath,¹⁰¹ Țaga-Hrube¹⁰² gefunden, leider konnte die Bedienungsgrube aber nicht dokumentiert werden. In der Siedlung Brateiu Nr. 1 wurden zwei äußere Brennöfen identifiziert.¹⁰³

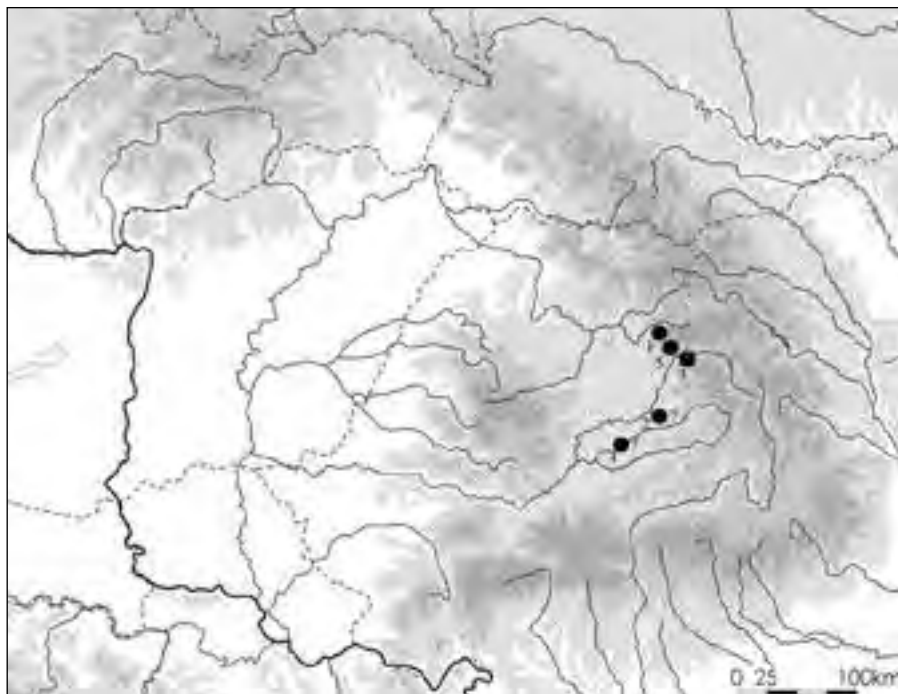
⁹⁹ CSEH 1991, 165, Abb. 3, 167, Abb. 5.

¹⁰⁰ CSEH 1993b, 19, Bild 2; 20, Bild 3; 24, 7.

¹⁰¹ NYÁRÁDI 2011, 330.

¹⁰² PROTASE 2003, 37.

¹⁰³ BĂRZU 1994-95, 246.



Karte 8. Brenneinrichtungen in den Häusern.

1. *Dipşal/Dipse-Fundoaie*, (ohne Pfostenlöcher L1: 3,8x3,2m ausgebrannte Oberfläche; L5: 4,2x3,3m; L7: 3x3,8m; L11: 3,6x4m Feuerstelle mit Steindeckung; L10: 3,8x4m; L17: 4x?m Öfen mit Steindeckung *kemencék*), GAIU 1993, 91–93.; 2. *Moreşti/Malomfalva-Podei*, (1–1 Pfostenlöcher MNIV–V: 2,7x2,7m, temporäre Ofen?), HOREDIT 1979, 90–99, 112.; 3. *Ocniţa-La Ştefălucu*, (L1: 3x3, mit Steinplatten umgrenzte Feuerstelle an nordischen Seite; L6: 4x4,2m mit Steinplatten umgrenzte Feuerstelle in der westlichen Ecke; L10: 3x3,3m), GAIU 1994, 50–51.; 4. *Sânmiclăuş/Betlenszentmiklós-Gruişor*, (Haus aus dem V. Schnitt, 3 Feuerstellen), ANGHEL–BLĂJAN 1977, 288–289.; 5. *Stupini/Mezősolymos-Vătăşină*, (Sect.B. L9: 3,85x3,6m, mit Steinplatten umgrenzte Feuerstelle in der nordischen Ecke; L10: 3,3x3,7 mit Steinplatten umgrenzte Feuerstelle; L17: 3x3,1m Feuerstelle in der nordischen Ecke; L19: 3,3x2,45 Steinofen; L22: 3x2,8m mit Feuerstelle; L26: 3,7x3,9 mit Feuerstelle), GAIU 2002, 114–119

Ein ähnlicher Ofen wie der von Großkarol mit Arbeitsgrube wurde in der Fundstelle Szelevényrét aufgedeckt, aber dessen Platte war nicht mit Scherben verkleidet.¹⁰⁴ Ein ähnlicher Außenofen, 100x80 cm groß, wurde am südlichen Teil mit Arbeitsgrube an der Fundstelle Tiszafüred-Morotvapart dokumentiert.¹⁰⁵

GRUBEN

In der erforschten Siedlung von Großkarol konnte nur eine einzige Grube dokumentiert werden (143) (*Taf.* 3). Diese ist oval, mit ungleichmäßigem Boden, ihre Funktion konnte nicht bestimmt werden. Die Gruben erscheinen in den gepidischen Siedlungen in viel geringerer Zahl als in früheren, kaiserzeitlichen Siedlungen. Diese haben verschiedene Größen und Formen, einen Durchmesser von 1-2 m, sind rund oder oval. Wir kennen einige mit schrägen Wänden von den

¹⁰⁴ CSEH 2004b, 82–83, 118, Bild 21.

¹⁰⁵ CSEH 1991, 175.

Fundstellen Battonya-Vörös Október TSZ,¹⁰⁶ Battonya-Szionda gyep I,¹⁰⁷ Ţaga-Hrube,¹⁰⁸ sowie klassische, bienenstockförmige Vorratsgruben in den Fundstellen Tiszafüred-Morotvapart,¹⁰⁹ Szentes-Belsőecser,¹¹⁰ Ţaga-Hrube.¹¹¹ Vorratsgruben im Boden der Häuser eingetieft in der Siedlung von Moreşti wurde nur in einem Fall signalisiert in der Ecke des Hauses 7.¹¹² Die Vorratsgrube in Tiszafüred-Tizzaszólós ausgegrabenen Hausecke vertieft sich nicht unter dem Bodenniveau, wurde vielleicht als eine Art Nische verwendet.¹¹³ In einem anderem Fall vertieft sich die Grube etwa 40 cm unter dem Bodenniveau.¹¹⁴ Ins Haus gegrabene Vorratsgrube wurde auch in der gepidischen Siedlung von Biharea beobachtet.¹¹⁵

INDUSTRIELLE TÄTIGKEITEN (WEBEN, KNOCHENBEARBEITUNG, EISENBEARBEITUNG)

In der Siedlung von Großkarol haben wir zahlreiche Webgewichte gefunden, die auf Textilherstellung andeuten, und aus typologischer Betrachtungsweise mit den allgemein gepidischen Formen völlig übereinstimmen. Einige lagen auf dem Boden der Häuser, andere in der Hausabfüllung, aber sie haben kein System gebildet, aufgrund dessen „*in situ*“ Webstühle angenommen werden konnten. Die Frage der gepidischen Webehäuser wurde von Kurt Horedt für die zwei Häusern in Moreşti angeschnitten (13, 27), aufgrund der Tongewichte, die neben den Wänden gefunden worden sind.¹¹⁶ Diese Häuser sind größer als gewöhnlich (6,2x5,6 m és 5,1x4,9 m) und gehören zu demselben Typ (3-3 Pfostenlöcher an den kürzeren Seiten, bei einem mit 1-1 Pfostenloch ergänzt an der längeren Seite). Auf dem Alföld in Tiszafüred-Morotvapart, wurde ebenfalls aufgrund von Tongewichten ein Haus mit ähnlicher Funktion identifiziert.¹¹⁷ Es ist kleiner, 2,9x2,9 m groß, in den zwei Seitenmitten mit 1-1 Pfostenloch. Übrigens gab es dort auch Knochenbearbeitung. Ein anderes Webhaus wurde in Szolnok-Zagyva-part postuliert (Markseite Alcs), 3,30-3,50x3,00-3,40 m. An den kürzeren Seiten mit 3-3 Pfostenlöchern und in Kengyel-Baghy-homok.¹¹⁸ Laut Gabriel Rustoiu wurden in den Webehäusern wahrscheinlich für die ganze Gemeinschaft Textilien gefertigt.¹¹⁹

In der Siedlung von Großkarol wurden Funde, die Knochenbearbeitung andeuten, Hirschgeweih mit Schnittspuren und andere Knochen sowie Abfälle von Knochenkämmen oder halbfertige Kammstücke aufgedeckt. Insgesamt wurden in sieben Befunden (29, 30, 123, 17, 90, 116, 141) Funde identifiziert, die auf Knochenbearbeitung deuten (*Karte 9D*), was verglichen mit den bisher bekannten gepidischen Werkstätten eine überraschende Menge ist. Wir kennen bis jetzt Knochenbearbeitung andeutende Gegenstände von Tiszafüred-Morotvapart,¹²⁰ Kengyel-Baghy-major Kengyel-part I,¹²¹ Kengyel-part II,¹²² Tiszagyenda¹²³ und Biharea.¹²⁴

¹⁰⁶ SZABÓ 1978, 67, Abb. 6.

¹⁰⁷ SZABÓ-VÖRÖS 1979, 222, Bild 5.

¹⁰⁸ PROTASE 2003, 36, Abb. 13.

¹⁰⁹ CSEH 1991, 180, Abb. 11.

¹¹⁰ B. TÓTH 2006, 34, Abb. 20.

¹¹¹ PROTASE 2003, 36, Abb. 13.

¹¹² HOREDTE 1979, 113.

¹¹³ CSEH 1996a, 82, Abb. 6.

¹¹⁴ CSEH 1996a, 82, Abb. 7.

¹¹⁵ DUMITRAŞCU 1994, 167.

¹¹⁶ HOREDTE 1979, 93–97.

¹¹⁷ CSEH 1986a.

¹¹⁸ CSEH 2000, 91–94.

¹¹⁹ RUSTOIU 2005, 51.

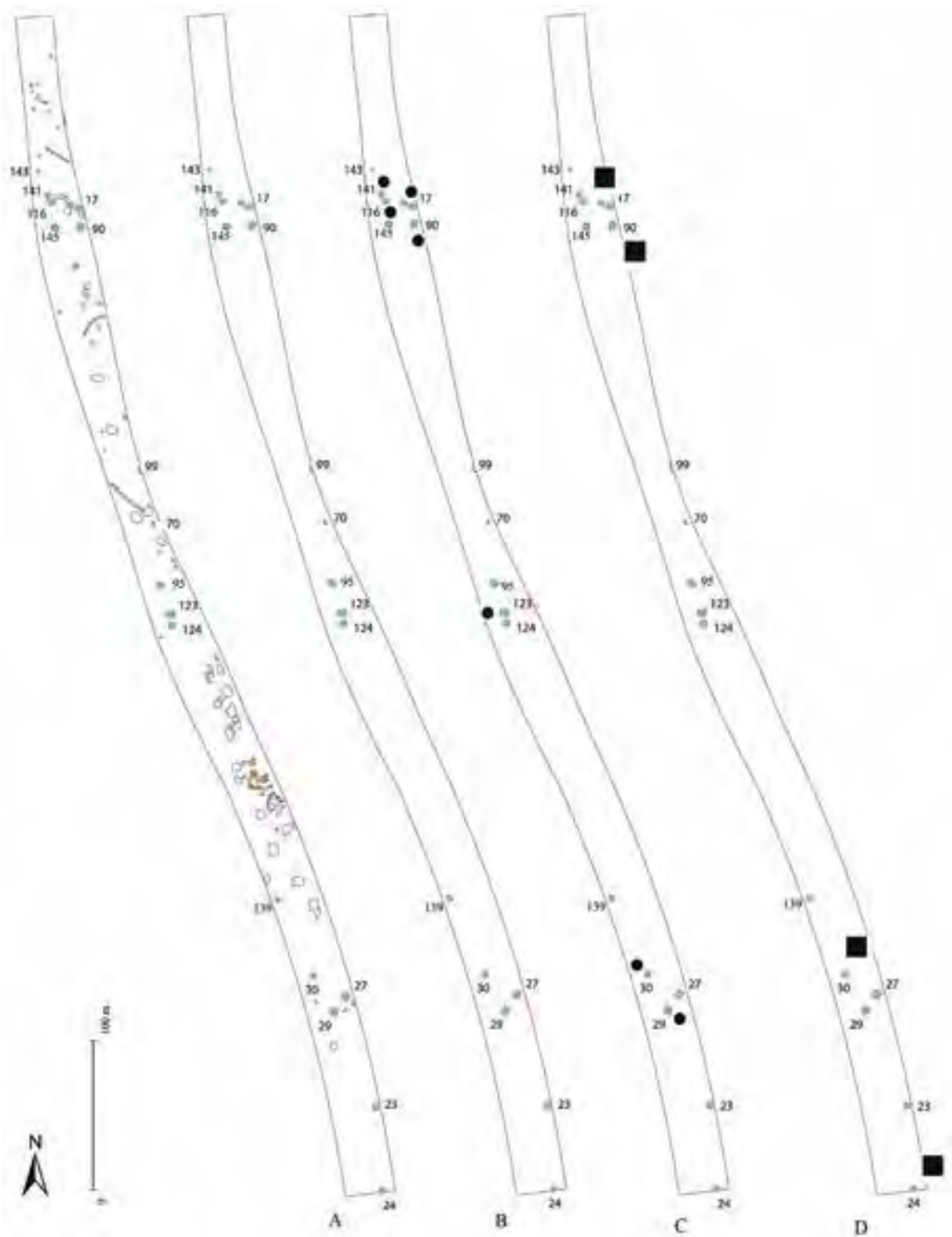
¹²⁰ CSEH 1986a.

¹²¹ CSEH 1999b, 65.

¹²² CSEH 2004a, 52.

¹²³ BÁRÁNY-HAJNAL 2010.

¹²⁴ DUMITRAŞCU 1982.



Karte 9. A. Gesamtplan, mit blau die gepidischen Siedlungsbefunde und mit gelb die Gräber; B. Die gepidischen Siedlungsbefunde; C. Spuren der Eisenverarbeitung (Schlacke) in der Erfüllung des Befundes; D. Spuren der Eisenverarbeitung Knochenverarbeitung in der Erfüllung des Befundes

Auf Eisenbearbeitung in der Siedlung von Großkarol deutet die hier ausgegrabene Eisenschlacke. Wir kennen solche von vier Befunden (23, 30, 17, 90) (*Karte 9C*). Laut aktuellem Stand der gepidischen Siedlungsforschung gibt es Anzeichen für Eisenbearbeitung nur in Tiszafüred-Morotvapart,¹²⁵ Soporu de Câmpie¹²⁶ und Morești.¹²⁷

Die Orientierung der Häuser in der aufgedeckten Zone der Ausgrabung von Großkarol der drei Befundegruppen innerhalb der Gruppe ist auch nicht gleichartig. In der I. Gruppe ragt das Haus 139 heraus, in der III. Gruppe erscheinen aufgrund der Orientierung zwei Untergruppen: die Objekte 17-17/1-145 und 90-116-141. Bei einer Analyse sollte man natürlich beachten, dass wir nur über den Informationen aufgedeckten Siedlungsteils in der nur 20-25 m breiten Trasse verfügen, spätere Erforschungen könnten die hier präsentierten Annahme grob subtilisieren oder verändern.

Die Aufteilung der Häusertypen aufgrund der Befundentypen zeigt in der II. Gruppe Unterschiede. Hier fehlt der Typ ohne Pfostenlöcher und der mit 1-1 Pfostenloch an den kürzeren Seiten, und nur hier gibt es den Typ mit Pfostenlöchern in der Ecke. In der II. Gruppe gibt es nur zwei Häuser, diese Aufteilung kann auch zufallsartig sein. Die II. Befundegruppe ist ebenfalls auffällig mit seinen zwei äußeren Öfen. Spuren der Knochenbearbeitung gibt es in allen drei Gruppen, aber in der II. Gruppe fehlt die Schlacke für Eisenbearbeitung. Wahrscheinlich deutet der unterschiedliche Charakter der II. Befundegruppe auf eine andere wirtschaftliche Verwendung.

Die gepidische Siedlung von Großkarol markiert die geographische nord-östliche Grenze des gepidischen Siedlungsblocks auf dem Alföld, es liegt auf dem früheren germanisch-sarmatischen Grenzgebiet, auf dem Gebiet einer früheren germanischen Siedlung.

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¹²⁵ CSEH 1991, 194.

¹²⁶ PROTASE–ȚIGARĂ 1960, 392.

¹²⁷ HOREDŤ 1979, 150.

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DIE FORSCHUNG ZU GEPIDISCHEN SIEDLUNGEN IN UNGARN. SPÄTANTIKE KONTINUITÄTSMODELLE IM KERNGEBIET DES HUNNENREICHES¹

Zsófia Masek

Settlement research of the Gepidic period in Hungary – Late Antique continuity models in the core of the Hunnic Empire

The study begins with a short research history of the settlement studies of the 5th-6th centuries AD in the Hungarian Plain, from the early and small archaeological materials to the modern large-scale excavations connected to road constructions and water regulation projects. Large-scale Gepidic period settlements are known nowadays from different regions, which could form an adequate basis towards a regional research and pottery analysis. On the other hand, the systematic topographical research of the Tisza region is uneven and patchy. The settlement network north of the Körös River has been hardly investigated before. Besides, the burials and cemeteries are known mostly from the direct proximity of the Tisza, due to rescue excavations of the 19th-21th centuries. The study provides insight into various research topics of different regions. The general notion “Gepidic” is used as a chronological concept (late 5th – early 6th centuries AD) referring to the archaeological material of the Hungarian Plain and the eastern Carpathian region.

The habitation of the Danube–Tisza Interfluvium in the Gepidic period seems to be unambiguous. Nonetheless, the old theory about the deserted Gepidic–Lombardic frontier zone is revised, based on a reevaluation of the burials and settlement remains of this territory. Signs of human habitation decreased here in the 5th century AD, but the archaeological material of the Hunnic period is distinctly present, mainly in the proximity of the Danube and Tisza. The Tisza could not constitute a closed boundary of the Gepidic Kingdom. In addition, a notable population (larger cemeteries, or any settlement remains) also cannot be proven on the right side of the river. These alterations of the habitation could be related to changes in the environmental conditions, because the results of thermoluminescence analyses show a strong sand activity in the quicksand regions in the 4th-6th centuries.

In Southeast Hungary, the vicinity of Hódmezővásárhely is studied more thoroughly on account of a full topographical research. Cemeteries of more generations or denser settlement remains are present only in the natural region nearest to the Tisza (South Tisza Region), which is not characteristic for other periods e.g. Roman-period Sarmatian sites. The pattern could be explained with – instead of emphasising the strategic importance of the riverside – that the eastern natural regions (the plateaus between the rivers Körös and Maros) did not belong to the primary settlement area of the population. In the Middle Tisza Region the “golden horizon” of the Hunnic period is almost completely lacking. To study the transformation processes of the 5th century, we should mostly work with the settlement pattern, the settlements themselves and the pottery. Drainage projects in this region resulted in large rescue excavations along the Tisza at multi-layered, densely populated localities on the former banks. Two major site-clusters were investigated here.

In the vicinity of Tiszabura, the settlement continuity – the continuous use of the Late Roman-period settlement structures or a direct spatial continuity – is not detectable. The situation is to be interpreted as a local continuity of habitation in a settlement-cluster. In Rákóczi-falva-Bagi-földek, local settlement continuity in the 4th-6th centuries can be documented. The geographic and economic

¹ Diese Arbeit wurde von dem Staat Ungarn, durch die Staatlichen Stiftung der Wissenschaftlichen Forschung NKFI/OTKA K 111-853 und K 128-035 unterstützt.

conditions at this site, unlike Tiszabura, could have been ideal for the shifting populations of this area. New settlement units of the 5th century formed nearby the former settlement horizon, in whose area a later resettlement took place. Meanwhile, the settlement structure of Rákóczfalva has undergone similar changes as in Tiszabura.

Different continuity models can be identified along the left bank of the Tisza, especially when the settlement and burial sites are considered together. The transformation of the settlement pattern of the 5th century in the Hungarian Plain could not be directly linked to historical events and may be reconstructed as a mosaic-like, longer process.

Keywords: Gepidenzeit; Hunnenzeit; Siedlungsforschung; Topographie; Umweltarchäologie

Die Forschung zu gepidischen Siedlungen in Ungarn musste bis in die letzten Jahrzehnte mit kleinen Sondierungen und Plangrabungen arbeiten. Die Grabungen der Universität Szeged vor dem zweiten Weltkrieg haben nicht nur eine vorgeschichtliche, sondern auch eine sarmaten- und gepidenzeitliche Siedlungsforschung in Ungarn etabliert. Die erste gepidenzeitliche Siedlung wurde von János Banner 1934 in Hódmezővásárhely ausgegraben (Hódmezővásárhely-Kotacpart, Grube 10, Kom. Csongrád). Dank zweier Geweihkammfragmente hat Banner diese Fundstelle zu Recht als germanenzeitlich identifiziert.² Das Siedlungsmaterial blieb unpubliziert, aber es hatte einen großen Einfluss auf die weitere Keramikforschung, denn im Werk von Mihály Párducz diente es als Ausgangsbasis zur Bestimmung der gepidischen Siedlungs- und Gräberfeldkeramik der Südtiefenebene sowie der völkerwanderungszeitlichen transdanubischen Siedlungskeramik.³ In den folgenden Jahrzehnten wurden weitere Befunde untersucht und dokumentiert, beispielsweise 1959 im Rahmen einer kleinen Notgrabung in Kengyel (Kom. Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok). Allerdings wurde dieses Material damals in die Árpádenzeit datiert.⁴ Das erste gepidenzeitliche Gebäude wurde 1969 in Tiszafüred (Kom. Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok) dokumentiert. Aber auch dieser Befund blieb bis 2006 unpubliziert.⁵

Nach den oben benannten vielfältigen, unpublizierten Aktivitäten hat János József Szabó die ersten Mitteilungen über die Gepidensiedlungen des Békéser Komitats veröffentlicht.⁶ Im Komitat Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok hat János Cseh seit der Mitte der 1980-er Jahre bis heute zahlreiche Siedlungsausschnitte freigelegt und vorgelegt. Die größten Grabungen – von Tiszafüred-Morotvapart (1984–1985) und Szolnok-Zagyva-part (1987) – gehörten in die Reihe der großartigen Rettungsgrabungen der spätsozialistischen Flussregulierungsentwicklungen.⁷ Die Archäologische Topographie Ungarns hat in Südostungarn zahlreiche Siedlungen entdeckt, so dass gepidenzeitlichen Siedlungsstrukturen wohlbegründet erforscht werden können.⁸ Die Aufsätze von Ágnes B. Tóth haben das Thema mehrfach zusammengefasst,⁹ nachdem ihre Ergebnisse auch in einer monographischen Bearbeitung publiziert wurden.¹⁰ Diese Monographie bildet einen Meilenstein in der Siedlungs- und Keramikforschung, welche die Zeit der kleineren Ausgrabungsflächen abschloss. Gerade in diesen Jahren wurden nämlich die ersten

² BANNER 1934, 106; MASEK 2018b.

³ PÁRDU CZ 1937, 175–177; PÁRDU CZ 1949, 88; PÁRDU CZ 1959, 362.

⁴ CSALOG 1960; CSEH 1986, 190–194; B. TÓTH 2006, 45; Vollpublikation: CSEH 2014; Krugfragment mit Ausgußrohr: CSEH 2015, 59, Kat. 6.

⁵ BÓNA 1970; B. TÓTH 2006, 36–39.

⁶ SZABÓ 1978; SZABÓ–VÖRÖS 1979.

⁷ S. den Siedlungskataster in B. TÓTH 2006, 42–48; die wichtigsten Aufsätze seitdem: CSEH 2007; CSEH 2009; CSEH 2014; CSEH 2015.

⁸ MRT 6; MRT 8; MRT 10.

⁹ B. TÓTH 1987; B. TÓTH 1991; B. TÓTH 2014; B. TÓTH 2016, 208–214.

¹⁰ B. TÓTH 2006.

großräumigen gepidischen Siedlungen entdeckt, die in den nächsten Jahren die Gepidenforschung neu prägen.

Früher kannten wir aus Tiszafüred-Morotvapart und Szolnok-Zagyvapart 10 bzw. 11 Gebäude, und 15 bzw. 15–16 Siedlungsobjekte aus diesen zwei Fundstellen.¹¹ Diese waren zwar die größten Siedlungen des Theißgebiets, doch die meisten Fundstellen waren dennoch kleinere Siedlungsteile oder Einzelhöfe. Erst in dem letzten anderthalb Jahrzehnt wurde klar, dass im Theißgebiet, genau wie in Siebenbürgen (Morești¹²), auch größere Fundstellen mit verschiedenen Siedlungsstrukturen existierten.

Die erste größere Siedlung wurde im Jahre 2002 in Hódmezővásárhely, Kishomok (Kom. Csongrád) mit circa 25 in den Boden eingetieften Gebäuden freigelegt. Die Fundstelle liegt in der Nähe des Kishomoker Gräberfeldes.¹³ Zwei weitere Fundstellen direkt am Theißufer: Tiszagyenda, Lakhatom (2006) und Rákóczifalva, Bagi-földek (2006–2007, beide Kom. Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok) sind den modernen Wasserregulierungsarbeiten des Flusses zu verdanken. Dies sind heute die größten erforschten gepidenzeitlichen Fundstellen des Mitteldonaubeiets.¹⁴ Die neueste große gepidische Siedlung wurde 2015 in der Nähe von Berettyóújfalu (Kom. Hajdú-Bihar) ausgegraben. Zusätzlich zu den 40–50 Gebäuden ist eine Töpferwerkstatt mit zwei Öfen und das benachbarte, fast völlig ausgegrabene gepidische Gräberfeld bemerkenswert. Diese Fundstelle hat aus der Hinsicht des regionalen Keramikspektrums des Kreisch- und Berettyógebiets auch große Bedeutung.¹⁵

Falls wir diese Fundstellen mit denen vergleichen, die bis 2006 aus Siedlungspublikationen zur Verfügung standen, ist die Forschungslage als befriedigend zu bewerten: die gepidischen Siedlungen sind aus verschiedenen Regionen der *Gepidia* gleichmäßig bekannt. Die größte Forschungslücke ist in der Südtiefebene zu finden, doch die neuen Ausgrabungen von Čurug/Csurog bieten auch Einblicke in die Siedlungen dieser Region.¹⁶ Aus der neuen Forschung Siebenbürgens ist die Siedlungspublikation von Florești/Szászfenes in der Nähe von Cluj-Napoca hervorzuheben.¹⁷ In der Samosch-Gegend sind mehrere kleinere Fundstellen bekannt, sowohl aus Plangrabungen als auch aus Geländebegehungen.¹⁸ Die nördliche Ausbreitung der gepidenzeitlichen Siedlungen im Theißgebiet ist unklar. Deshalb ist die Publikation der Siedlungsfunde – nach denen von Egerlövö¹⁹ – aus Onga nördlich der Theiß bemerkenswert. Das Keramikmaterial ist in das späte 5. Jahrhundert zu datieren und steht zunächst in gepidischer Keramiktradition.²⁰ Die gepidische Fundorte sind nordöstlich der Kerngebiete der Besiedlung an der Theiß nur sehr sporadisch zu finden. Die Siedlung von Nádudvar (Kom. Hajdú-Bihar) ist das erste publizierte Material aus dieser Region. Diese Fundstelle wirft komplizierte Kontinuitätsfragen hinsichtlich der spätsarmaten- und gepidenzeitlichen Siedlungskontinuität ähnlich wie im mittleren Theißgebiet auf.²¹

Außer der Siedlungsgrabungen zeigt die reale Forschungslage der Gepidenzeit in Ungarn ein sehr uneinheitliches Bild. Die offiziell bekannten gepidischen Siedlungen verdichten sich im Lande südlich der Kreisch, im Kom. Csongrád und Békés (*Abb. 1*). Die Gründe hierfür liegen in systematischen topographischen Forschungen (*Abb. 2*). Unser erstes großes Forschungsproblem ist, dass die Komitate Békés und Csongrád eine dichte Besiedlung aufweisen, doch ist die Besiedlung nördlich des Kreisch-Tales unklar. Zu diesem uneinheitlichen Verbreitungsbild muss ergänzt werden, dass die meiste Gräber und Gräberfelder direkt an der Theiß wegen

¹¹ CSEH 1991, 157; CSEH 1999, 41.

¹² HORED T 1979.

¹³ Ausgrabung von Csilla Balogh, Lívia Bende, Gábor Lőrinczy und Csaba Szalontai, unpubliziert.

¹⁴ Tiszagyenda: HAJNAL 2007; Rákóczifalva s. unten.

¹⁵ FÜZESI ET AL. 2015.

¹⁶ TRIFUNOVIĆ–PAŠIĆ 2003, 280–282, fig. 15.

¹⁷ LĂZĂRESCU 2009.

¹⁸ Zusammenfassend STANCIU 2011, 49–63.

¹⁹ LOVÁSZ 1988.

²⁰ SOÓS 2014.

²¹ BOCSI 2016.

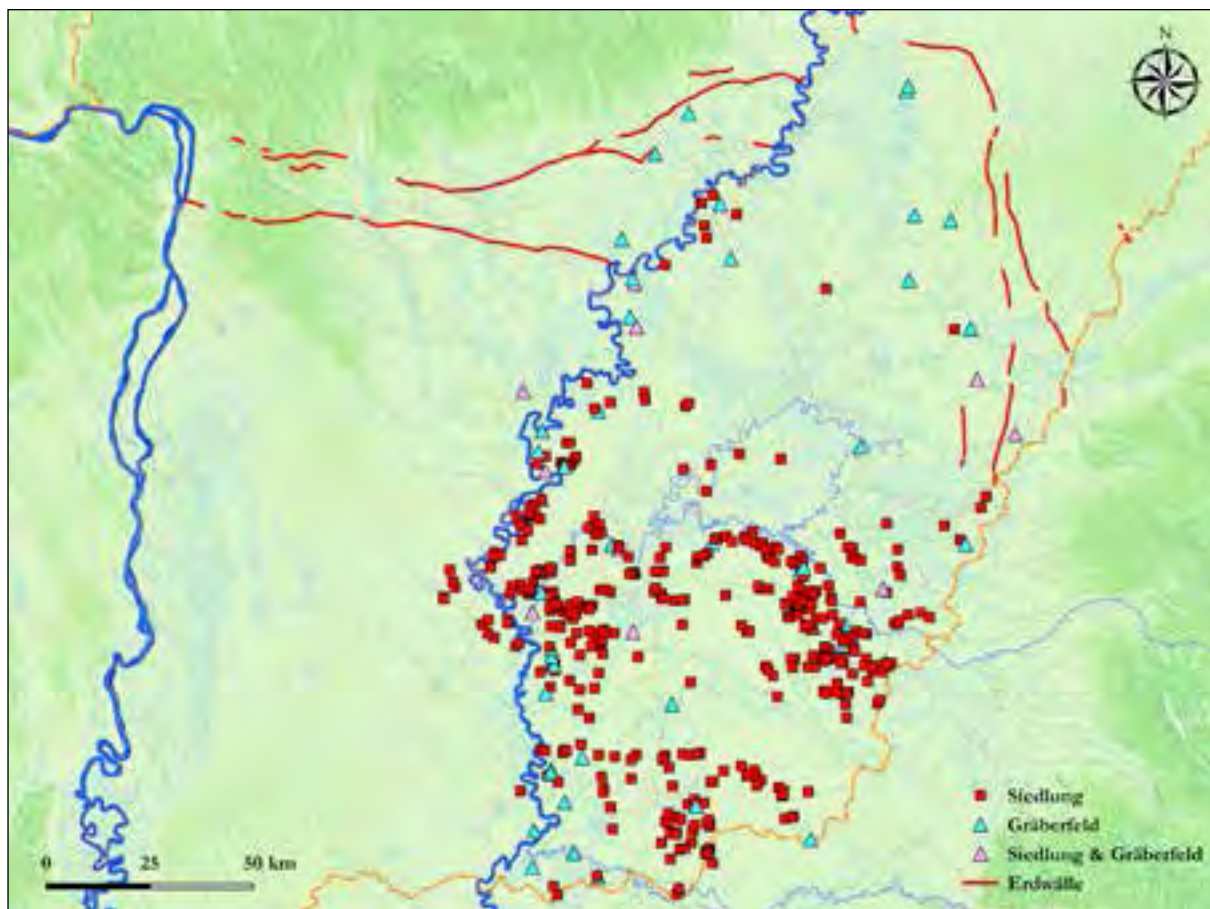


Abb. 1. Gepidenzeitliche Fundstellen in Ungarn

Wasserregulierungsarbeiten und Dammbauen, also dank Notgrabungen des 19–21. Jahrhunderts, bekannt sind.

Aufgrund dieser Publikationslage sind heute die regionalen Merkmale der Siedlungskeramik schon gut erforschbar, jedoch ist diese Untersuchung nicht die Aufgabe des vorliegenden Aufsatzes. Das Ziel der folgenden Studie ist es aufgrund verschiedener Forschungssituation, diverse Regionen mit unähnlichen Forschungsproblemen vorzustellen. Das Bild wird nicht einheitlich sein. Dieses war aber wegen der skizzierten Forschungslage und Fundortstreuung auch nicht erwarten.

Zuvor müssen einigen Bemerkungen zu den Begriffen „gepidisch“ und „gepidenzeitlich“ gemacht werden. Nur eine Kulturgruppe ist im späten 5. Jahrhundert und in der ersten Hälfte des 6. Jahrhunderts in der großen Tiefebene östlich der Donau erfassbar. Diese Region entspricht dem Kerngebiet des gepidischen Königreichs, das die schriftlichen Quellen überliefern. Die Gräberfelder beinhalteten Keramik relativ guter und vielfältiger Qualität, deren eindeutige Analogien in den Siedlungen zu finden sind. Deshalb ist das Siedlungsmaterial unbeschwert als „gepidenzeitlich“ sowie auch als „gepidisch“ zu bestimmen. Doch diese Begriffe deuten keine ethnische oder politische Einheit an.

Die Versuche, die kaiserzeitlichen Gepiden archäologisch zu erfassen, blieben erfolglos.²² Das gepidische Königtum des 5–6. Jahrhunderts ist politisch der „Nachfolgestaat“ des europäischen Hunnenreiches und bildete sich in dessen Kerngebiet heraus. Deshalb ist es wahrscheinlich, dass in der Tiefebene Gemeinschaften unterschiedlicher Herkunft und Identitäten lebten. Die frühen

²² KLEEMANN 2005; BIERBRAUER 2006; KISS 2015, 23–50.

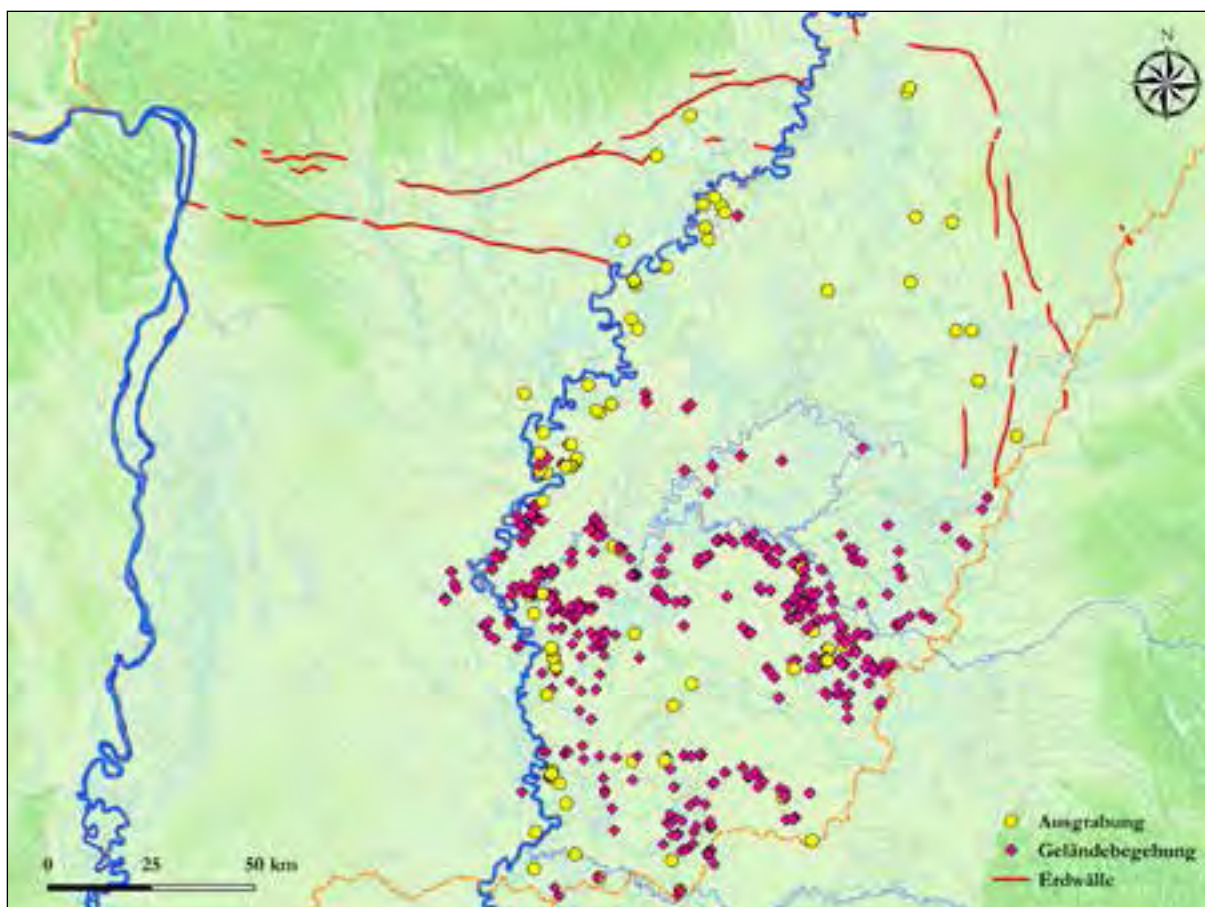


Abb. 2. Archäologische Tätigkeiten in den gepidenzeitlichen Fundstellen in Ungarn

Forschungsergebnisse der Völkerwanderungszeit Ungarns hatten vor István Bóna über der Diversität der germanenzeitlichen Hinterlassenschaften meist einen ähnlichen Standpunkt.²³ Nach Bónas Werk und dem Höhepunkt der ethnischen – historischen Archäologie des 20. Jahrhunderts betonte man wieder die unterschiedlichen Wurzeln des archäologischen Nachlasses und die starke Mobilität der Personengruppen.²⁴ Daher erscheint es sinnvoll, die Transformation der spätantiken Strukturen, die Akkulturationsprozesse des 5. Jahrhunderts und die Entstehung der gepidenzeitlichen archäologischen Kultur intensiver zu studieren.

Die ethnonymische Grundbegriffe können im Fall des archäologischen Nachlasses der Tiefebene als chronologische *termini technici* benutzt werden. In dieser Hinsicht wird auch der Begriff „hunnenzeitlich“ neu definiert. Eine der wichtigsten Forschungsfragen Ostungarns gilt den Kontakten der spätsarmatischen (C2–D1/D2) bzw. der spätsarmatisch–hunnenzeitlichen (C3/D1–D1/D2) chronologischen Horizonten mit dem hunnenzeitlichen Grab-, Hort- und Einzelfunden (D1–D2/D3) und dem gepidenzeitlichen Nachlass (ab D2/D3–D3?). Die relative- und absolutchronologische Überlappung ist zwischen diesen Kulturgruppen bzw. Denkmäler umstritten. Das liegt nicht zuletzt an der stark ethnisch–historisch geprägten Forschung. Auch der Charakter der Fundstellen (schwierig zu datierende spätantike Grab- und Siedlungshorizonte, vielfältige hunnenzeitliche kulturelle Merkmale: Einzelgräber und Einzelfunde) verhindert die relativ- und absolutchronologischen Untersuchungen. Um ethnische Fallstricke zu vermeiden,

²³ TÖRÖK 1936, 176; BARTUCZ 1936, 203; PÁRDU CZ 1937, 176.

²⁴ B. TÓTH 2006, 125; RÁCZ 2016, 330; KISS 2015, 99–101.

sollten nur solche Fundtypen als gepidisch betrachtet werden, die über direkte Parallele mit den merowingergzeitlichen Gräberfeldern des Ostkarpatenbeckens verknüpft werden können. Im Folgenden werden unter hunnenzeitlichen Fundtypen und Fundstellen nur solche verstanden, die sich nach den bisherigen Forschungen weder zur sarmatischen noch zur gepidischen archäologischen Kulturgruppen zuweisen lassen.

FORSCHUNGSFRAGEN DER DONAU-THEISS ZWISCHENSTROMLAND DIE WESTLICHE GEPIDISCHE GRENZZONE

Die Besiedlung des Donau-Theiß Zwischenstromlands scheint in der Gepidenzeit ziemlich eindeutig zu sein. Nach István Bóna bildete das Land zwischen den Gepiden und Langobarden in der Zeit der germanischen Königtümer eine leere Grenzzone. Dies bedeutet, dass die langobardischen Denkmäler an der Donau und die gepidische an der Theiß mit dem Grenzschutz der Länder zusammenhängen dürften. Damals waren nur einige Fundorte an der rechten Seite der Theiß bekannt. Auf der Karte von István Bóna aus dem Jahre 1974 / 1976, welche das „gepidische Siedlungsgebiet“ zeigt, sind Siedlungspuren westlich der Theiß nur im Nordwesten, zwischen zwei Armen der Erdwälle der Tiefebene (Csörsz-Graben) zu sehen. Es handelt sich um die seit langem bekannten Grabfunde aus der Gemarkung von Tarnaméra²⁵ und das damals neu entdeckte Gräberfeld von János Győző Szabó in Kisköre-Pap-tanya²⁶.

Schon ein Jahrzehnt spätere rechnete die Forschung damit, dass gepidenzeitliche Fundstellen in einem breiteren Band an der rechten Seite der Theiß südlich der Kreischmündung vorhanden sein könnten. Auf der nächsten Karte von István Bóna erschienen im benannten Gebiet nicht nur einige Fundstellen,²⁷ sondern eine breitere Siedlungszone.²⁸ Dieses „Siedlungsgebiet“ wurde sozusagen kanonisiert: die Grenzlinie der *Gepidia* beruht seitdem auf dieser Karte, ohne dass eine detaillierten Aufarbeitung erfolgte.²⁹ Erst 1998 hat Attila Kiss in einem kurzen Aufsatz diese Fundorte durch einige weitere ergänzt, danach hat Ágnes B. Tóth seine Ergebnisse 2016 überprüft.³⁰

Die Fundsituation deutet an, dass die Theiß nach der Hunnenzeit keine scharfe lineare Grenze bildete. Allerdings kommen Fundstellen im Zwischenstromland nur vereinzelt vor und die Verbreitung der hunnen- und gepidenzeitlichen Fundorte wurde lange nicht getrennt betrachtet, weil Bóna fast alle hunnenzeitlichen Funde in der Region für gepidisch hielt. Die Frage soll heute nochmals gestellt werden, ob das Zwischenstromland fundleer ist, wann genau die vorherige Besiedlung abbrach und welche Gründe dafür verantwortlich waren, natürliche oder anthropogene?

Dieser Problembereich ist im nördlichen Teil dieses Gebietes, die barbarischen Gebiete gegenüber der Strecke von Aquincum bis Intercisa gut zu erforschen (*Abb. 3*). Falls die hunnenzeitlichen Funde nördlich des Csörsz-Grabens nicht berücksichtigt werden – dort sind andere Kontinuitätsprozesse zu vermuten³¹ –, blieben keine Fundorte der sog. Tiszadob-Gruppe oder der Gepidenzeit, mit Ausnahme der Gemarkung Szolnok direkt an der Theiß. Trotzdem sind einige Funde des vorherigen

²⁵ BÓNA 1976, 32–33. Meines Wissens ist nirgendwo ausgeführt, ob diese Karte auf den Fundort des 6. Jahrhunderts Tarnaméra, Sandgrube des Fehér István verweist (CSALLÁNY 1961, Kat. 218; NAGY 2002) oder auf einen anderen hunnenzeitlichen Grabfund, welchen Bóna für gepidisch hielt (Tarnaméra, Urak-dűlője: BÓNA–SZABÓ 2002).

²⁶ BÓNA 2002.

²⁷ Wie in BÓNA 1976, 32–33. Die Grundlage dieser Karte ist die Kartenbeilage von CSALLÁNY 1961, s. B. TÓTH 2016, Anm. 48.

²⁸ BÓNA 1984, 304–305. Der nordwestliche Ansatz wurde nach der Arbeit von János Győző Szabó zwischen die Flüsse Zagyva und Tarna vorverlegt (SZABÓ 1969; B. TÓTH 2016, Anm. 56).

²⁹ BÓNA ET AL. 1993, Kartenbeilage; VISY 2003, 282.

³⁰ KISS 1998; B. TÓTH 2016, 197–200.

³¹ Die Datierung des Grabensystems wird diskutiert, jedoch steht außer Zweifel, dass die Verhältnisse der spätantiken bzw. hunnenzeitlichen Grabfunde zu den Wällen eine eigenständige Forschungsaufgabe darstellt.

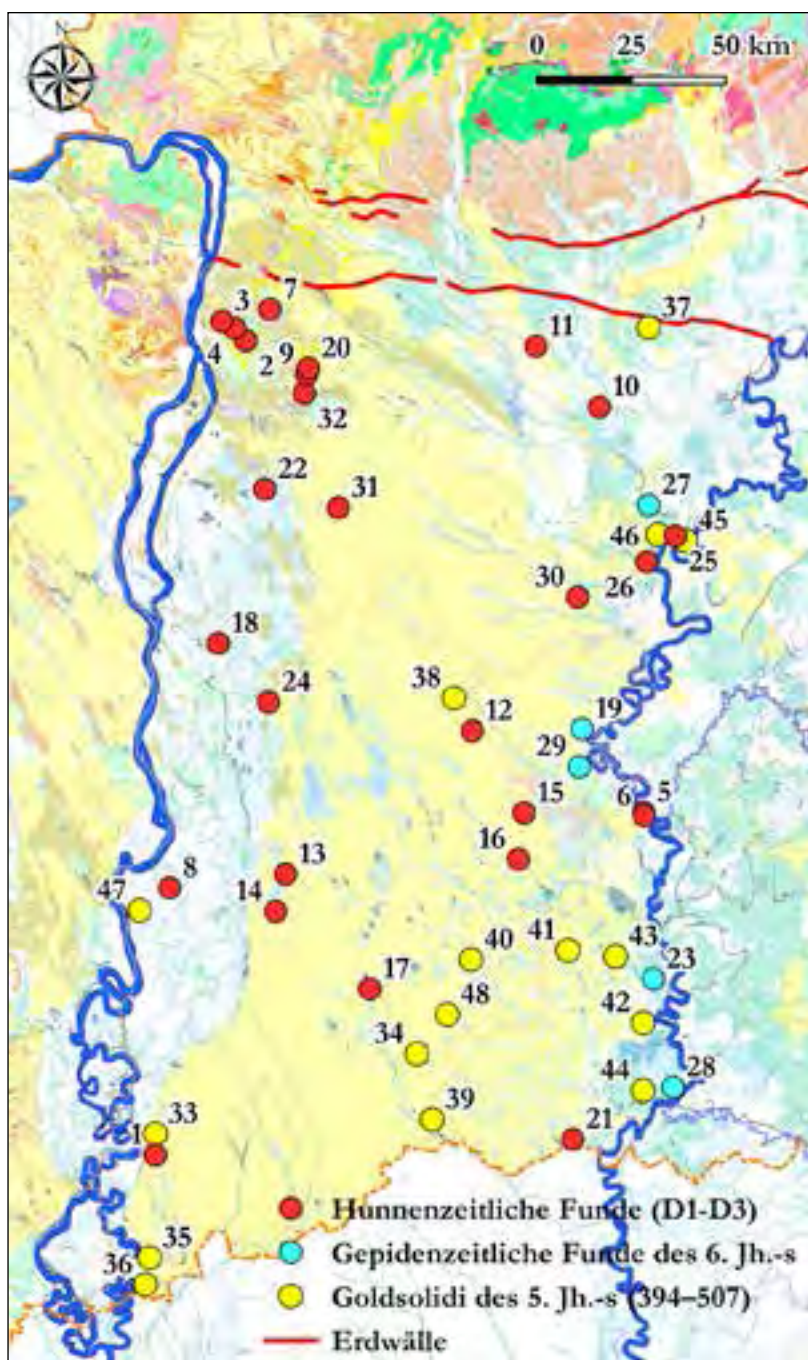


Abb. 3. Hunnen- und gepidenzeitliche Fundorte des Donau-Theiß Zwischenstromgebietes in Ungarn, südlich der Erdwälle. 1. Baja; 2. Budapest-Keresztúri út; 3. Budapest-Vezér utca; 4. Budapest-Zalavár utca; 5. Csongrád-Kenderföldek/Laktanya; 6. Csongrád-Werbőczy utca; 7. Csömör; 8. Dunapataj-Bakodpuszta; 9. Ecsér-Fst. 6; 10. Jánoshida-Káposztás-dűlő; 11. Jászberény-Szőlő-dűlő; 12. Kecskemét-Mindszenti-dűlő; 13. Kiskőrös; 14. Kiskőrös-Csonthalom; 15. Kiskunfélegyháza; 16. Kiskunfélegyháza-Kővágó-ér; 17. Kiskunhalas; 18. Kunszentmiklós-Középszenttamás; 19. Lakitelek-Szikra; 20. Maglód-Fst. 1; 21. Szeged-Röszke-Nagyszéksós; 22. Ócsa-Kincses-hegy; 23. Sövényháza-Pecsora; 24. Szabadszállás-Boczká-tanya; 25. Szolnok-Vár; 26. Szolnok-Vegyji művek; 27. Szolnok-Zagyvóapart; 28. Tápé-Széntégláégető; 29. Tiszaalpár; 30. Törtel-Czakó-halom; 31. Újhartyán; 32. Üllő-Fst. 5-9. Goldmünzen. 33. Baja; 34. Balotaszállás; 35. Dávod; 36. Hercegszántó; 37. Jászapáti; 38. Kecskemét; 39. Kelebia; 40. Kiskunmajsa; 41. Kistelek-Alsórét; 42. Sándorfalva-Homok majorság; 43. Sövényháza; 44. Szeged; 45-46. Szolnok; 47. Uszód; 48. Zsana (Nachweise s. im Text)

Horizontes präsent, die mit der spätsarmatischen Kultur nicht mehr, mit der gepidischen dagegen noch nicht übereinstimmen.

Zumeist sind es Altfunde, wie der mögliche Grabfund mit einer goldenen Zikadenfibel aus Csömör,³² das „Reitergrab“ von Újhartyán,³³ das Frauengrab mit kleinen vogelkopfförmigen Bronzeschnallen aus Jánoshida,³⁴ und die Gräbergruppe mit Kurzschwert und ein Fibelpaar Léva/Levice Typ von Jászberény.³⁵ Aus den Funden der Stadt Budapest sind hunnenzeitliche Gräber entlang des Rákos-Bachs herauszuheben.³⁶ Aus neuen Ausgrabungen stammen die hunnenzeitlichen Gräber von Ecsér, Maglód und Üllő, aus der Nähe eines großflächigen Handwerkszentrums der Spätsarmatenzeit.³⁷ Hier finden wir die beiden einzigen hunnischen Kesselfunde der Tiefebene, den berühmten Fund aus Törtel, und das neue Kesselfragment aus Ócsa.³⁸ Solidi kommen im Karpatenbecken in diesen Jahrzehnten allerdings relativ häufig vor,³⁹ kennen wir aus diesem Gebiet doch nur drei Goldmünzen. Zwei frühere sind in der Gemarkung von Szolnok an der Theiß ans Tageslicht gekommen (Theodosius II. 430–440 bzw. umstrittener Typ desselben Kaisers). Ein Solidus von Kaiser Leo ist aus Jászapáti bekannt (462/466).⁴⁰ In den letzten Jahrzehnten des 5. Jahrhunderts wurde diese Landschaft bis zur Awarenzeit fundleer.

Aus der Fundsituation zeichnet sich vielleicht die Priorität der Landschaft gegenüber Aquincum aus, aber die Fundstellen können auch mit den Bauarbeiten in und um Budapest erklärt werden. Es ist bemerkenswert, dass in diesem Gebiet keine reich ausgestatteten hunnenzeitlichen Frauengräber bzw. solche mit Blechfibeln bekannt sind. Die Fundstellen der hunnischen Metallkessel sind möglicherweise hauptsächlich durch die ehemaligen Verkehrswege bedingt gewesen.⁴¹ Sicher ist, dass es sich bei den hunnenzeitlichen Objekten um Einzelfunde und -gräber oder Gräbergruppen handelt. Ihre kulturellen Kontakte sind unterschiedlich: sie sind als hunnisch (Kesseln), alanisch (Kurzschwerter von Jászberény), reiternomadisch-hunnisch (Gräber von Újhartyán, Üllő oder Zugló), oder germanisch (Jánoshida) geprägt. Allein die kleinen Vogelkopfschnallen von Jánoshida und Üllő sind eventuell mit den gepidenzeitlichen Fundtypen vergleichbar aufgrund eines Lesefundes aus dem Fundort des Gräberfeldes Magyarcsanak-Bökény.⁴² Andere charakteristische Fundgattungen haben keine Kontakte bzw. Fortsetzungen in den gepidischen Gräberfeldern jenseits der Theiß. Die hunnenzeitlichen Gräber deuten kleine soziale Gemeinschaften an, die in der Gepidenzeit nicht in dieser Region ansässig blieben.

Die Fundstellen des späten 5. und des 6. Jahrhunderts im nördlichen Zwischenstromgebiet beschränken sich nach unserem gegenwärtigen Wissen im östlichen Vorland der Gebirgslandschaft: der erwähnte Grabfund von Tarnaméra, Sandgrube; Egerlövő (Siedlung und Gräberfeld);⁴³ die Gräber von Mezőkeresztés und Szihalom;⁴⁴ sowie Kisköre-Pap-tanya (Gräberfeld)⁴⁵ und Kisköre-Gát (unpubliziertes Grab)⁴⁶ am Theißufer.⁴⁷ Die Besiedlungskontinuität dieses Gebiets sollte mit

³² RÓMER 1871; VÁGÓ 2015, 376.

³³ BÓNA 1961.

³⁴ CSALLÁNY 1961, 235–236, Kat. 226; KOVRIG 1963, 196–197.

³⁵ PÁRDUCZ 1959, 318; CSALLÁNY 1961, 236, Kat. 227; VADAY 1989, 239, Kat. 61.

³⁶ NAGY 2006; NAGY 2010.

³⁷ TARI 2006, 16, 37, 42–48.

³⁸ MASEK 2017.

³⁹ PROHÁSZKA 2014, 48–49.

⁴⁰ PROHÁSZKA 2014, Abb. 5, 7.

⁴¹ MASEK 2017, 76, 84, 108.

⁴² NAGY 2005b, 108, Taf. 26. 2.

⁴³ LOVÁSZ 1988; LOVÁSZ 1991.

⁴⁴ SIMONYI 2005; VIDA–FODOR 2013.

⁴⁵ BÓNA 2002.

⁴⁶ KOREK 1973, 13, 27.

⁴⁷ S. dazu B. TÓTH 2016, 203–206 mit weiteren Funden aus den ersten zwei Dritteln des 5. Jahrhunderts dem Vorland sowie aus der Gebirgsregionen.

einer Neubewertung der sog. Tiszadob-Gruppe verknüpft werden. Die Denkmäler dieses Gebiets können andererseits topographisch locker an die sporadischen Fundstücken und den Gräbern des 6. Jahrhunderts in den angrenzenden Gebirgen angeschlossen werden.⁴⁸

Die wichtigste Folgerung, die sich aus der topographischen Lage der Fundstellen ergibt ist, dass gepidenzeitliche Funde in der Nähe der rechten Seite der Theiß südlich von Kisköre nur bei Szolnok vorkommen. Um Szolnok zeichnet sich eine bemerkenswerte Fundkonzentration am westlichen Flussufer ab mit dem Gräberfeld und der Siedlung von Szolnok-Zagyvapat,⁴⁹ sowie den Waffengräbern von Szolnok-Vegygyár und Szolnok-Vár (allerdings können die letzten beiden mit je einem *umbo* des Horgos-Typs auch früher datiert werden).⁵⁰ Diese Verdichtung sollte eher als Ausnahme betrachtet werden. Eine gepidenzeitliche Besiedlung ist eigentlich an der rechten Seite der Theiß südlich der Erdwälle bis Szolnok nicht beweisbar, und die fundleeren Regionen der Donau-Theiß Zwischenstromgebiets untermauern diese Schlussfolgerung.

Der Südwesten des Siedlungsgebietes sollte auch überprüft werden.⁵¹ Die Region direkt westlich an der Theiß, südlich der Kreischmündung scheint dichter besiedelt gewesen zu sein, was auch durch Geländebegehungen unterstützt werden kann. Doch die Fundorte Balotaszállás, Kelebia, Kiskunmajsa, Kistelek und Zsana auf der Karte von Attila Kiss sind Fundstellen von Solidi, die alle Lesefunde sind. Die räumlich eng begrenzten Fundorte des Dunau-Tales, die Attila Kiss als skirisch betrachtete, sollen hier nicht erörtert werden.⁵² Es ist aber bemerkenswert, dass die Fundverteilung in den Komitaten Pest und Bács-Kiskun sehr ähnliche Merkmale aufweisen: vereinzelte Funde und Gräber mit unterschiedlichen kulturellen Kontakten, meist in der Nähe des Donautales, ohne eindeutig gleichzeitige Siedlungsfunde und in die letzten Jahrzehnten des 5. und das 6. Jahrhundert datierbaren Fundeinheiten. Verstreute Denkmäler sind – wie im Norden – auch tief in der Sandgebieten zu finden, wie ein Goldsolidus von Leo I und ein neues hunnenzeitliches Waffengrab, beide aus Kecskemét,⁵³ sowie die heutzutage fast vergessenen silbernen Schwertbeschläge mit Schuppenverzierung von Kiskunhalas.⁵⁴

So bleiben uns westlich, in der Nähe der Theiß die Gräber mit hunnenzeitlichen Fibeltypen von Csongrád (Streufunde eventuell von Csongrád-Kettőshalmi-Flur (?),⁵⁵ Csongrád-Werbőczi utca,⁵⁶ und Csongrád-Hanffelder/Kaserne⁵⁷). Am östlichen Rand des Sandgebiets liegt Kiskunfélegyháza, woher ein lange bekannter Grabfund stammt,⁵⁸ und wo 1998 ein Kurzsword östlichen Ursprungs gefunden wurde.⁵⁹ Gegenüber der Maroschmündung befindet sich die hunnenzeitliche Fundstelle von Szeged-Röszke-Nagyszéksós. Die erwähnten Solidi sollen um die Funde von Sövényháza (Honorius, 402), Szeged (Theodosius II), und Sándorfalva (Zeno) ergänzt werden.⁶⁰ Eine spätere chronologische Festsetzung haben die Grabfunde von Lakitelek-Szikra,⁶¹ Alpár,⁶² Sövényháza-

⁴⁸ KISS 1981; B. TÓTH 2016, 203–206.

⁴⁹ CSEH 1999; CSEH 2005b.

⁵⁰ CSEH 2005a; MASEK 2018a, 415–417.

⁵¹ S. KISS 1998, 191, Liste 2; PROHÁSZKA 2014; B. TÓTH 2016, 197–200.

⁵² S. KISS 1998, 191, Liste 1.

⁵³ PROHÁSZKA 2014a, 63, Abb. 7; DÁGI-MRÁV 2017, Beilage.

⁵⁴ ALFÖLDI 1932, 26–27, 74, Taf. XXXIII; BÓNA 1991, Abb. 37. 1–2, 252.

⁵⁵ CSALLÁNY 1961, 224–226, Kat. 197. Der Fundort und die Zusammengehörigkeit der Funde, die aus verschiedenen Zeitstufen stammen, sind fraglich. Ihr Sammler (Sándor Farkas) hat archäologische Funde vorrangig aus der Gemarkung von Csongrád und Szentes geborgen und gesammelt (s. CSALLÁNY 1961, 224 sowie die Register des UNM-s), deshalb ist es unsicher von welchem Theißufer diese Funde stammen.

⁵⁶ PÁRDUCZ 1938.

⁵⁷ PÁRDUCZ 1959, PÁRDUCZ 1963

⁵⁸ KISS 1983, 114–119; B. TÓTH 2016, Anm. 33.

⁵⁹ BALOGH–V. SZÉKELY 2018. Zu den eventuell in Kistelek geborgenen Funden s. B. TÓTH 2016, Anm. 78.

⁶⁰ PROHÁSZKA 2014.

⁶¹ CSALLÁNY 1961, 231, Kat. 209.

⁶² CSALLÁNY 1961, 232, Kat. 210.

Percsora⁶³ und Tápé-Széntégláégető.⁶⁴ Die letzten beiden können in die letzten Jahrzehnte des 5. Jahrhunderts und den Anfang des 6. Jahrhunderts datiert werden, doch die gegossenen Bügelknopffibeln von Lakitelek und Alpár weisen eine spätere Datierung auf.⁶⁵

Aus dem 6. Jahrhundert kennen wir wenige Fundstücke westlich der Theiß, und es gibt keine Spuren von größeren Gräberfeldern oder von Gräbergruppen, die als Anlagen von Reihengräberfeldern interpretiert werden könnten. Mit der Ausnahme von Tápé-Széntégláégető stammen die späteren Grabfunden nicht aus identifizierbaren, registrierten Fundorten. In der letzten, mehrphasigen Fundstelle war eine spätsarmatenzeitliche Siedlung in der Umgebung der Gräber erfassbar.⁶⁶ Die als gepidenzeitlich registrierten Fundorte von Tiszaalpár, Csongrád und Algyó sind lediglich durch Geländebegehungen zumeist den 1980er Jahren bekannt (Abb. 2). Sie erfordern im Feld eine Prüfung, weil gepidenzeitliche Siedlungerscheinungen in dieser Mikroregion seitdem nicht mehr freigelegt werden konnten.⁶⁷

Die Veränderung der Besiedlung im südlichen Zwischenstromgebiet hat ähnliche Charakteristika wie im Norden.⁶⁸ Die südlichen Fundeinheiten haben teils andere kulturelle Elemente (mehrere Solidi bes. gegenüber der Marosch-Mündung, Blechfibelgräber von Csongrád, Kiskőrös, Kiskunfélegyháza bzw. das hervorragende Ensemble von Dunapataj, sowie der Fund von Szeged-Röszke-Nagyszéksós), aber das Übergewicht der Fundorte der Hunnenzeit in der Nähe der beiden Flüssen sowie das weitgehende Fehlen jüngerer Horizonte ist beiden Regionen gemeinsam.⁶⁹ Der Besiedlungswandel ist für die Zeit der Reihengräberfelder eine allgemeine Forschungsfrage. Nach unserem heutigen Wissen ist eine Besiedlung in dieser Zeitperiode nur durch die kleinen Anhäufungen von Gräbern und Lesefunden direkt an der Theiß nachweisbar (Kisköre, Szolnok, Lakitelek und Alpár, Csongrád?, Sövényháza, Tápé). Die geringe Gräberzahl und der Mangel an Siedlungsfunden lässt für die Gepidenzeit entlang des rechten Theißtales eine signifikante Besiedlung anzweifeln.

DIE NATURWISSENSCHAFTLICHE ERFORSCHUNG DER SANDGEBIETE

In diesem Zusammenhang soll auf neue Forschungen verwiesen werden, die mit naturwissenschaftlichen Methoden die Sandgebiete des Zwischenstromlandes untersucht haben. Es wurde mehrmals erörtert, dass die Sandhügellandschaft für die Landwirtschaft der Germanen wahrscheinlich nicht geeignet war, im Gegensatz zu der Großviehzucht der Awaren. Diese Vermutung lebt mit der Grenzzone-Theorie weiter, obwohl die Siedlungsforschung mehrmals darauf aufmerksam gemacht hatte dass die gepidischen Denkmäler keine entwickelten Agrartechniken aufweisen.⁷⁰ Falls wir uns diese Vermutung aus der Perspektive der Römerzeit anschauen, sieht die Situation ganz anders aus. Die Sandgebiete waren in der Römerzeit nämlich dichter besiedelt und hatten ein agrikulturelles System mit eindeutigen romanisierten Elementen. Es gibt botanische Beweise dafür, dass die Romanisierung der sarmatischen Landwirtschaft hier in der Nähe des pannonischen Limes noch stärker war, als jenseits der Theiß.⁷¹ Die wichtigste Forschungsfrage ist warum dieses rurale System in der Völkerwanderungszeit verschwand. Nach

⁶³ CSALLÁNY 1961, 226–227, Kat. 199.

⁶⁴ B. TÓTH 1994. Der hunnenzeitliche Grabfund von Tápé-Lebő, Grab 2 (PÁRDUZ 1959, Kat. 35) befindet sich an der anderen Seite der Theiß.

⁶⁵ B. TÓTH 2016, Anm. 33, 206.

⁶⁶ B. TÓTH 1994, Abb. 1; VÖRÖS 1992, Abb. 2.

⁶⁷ Zu unpublizierten Keramikfunden westlich der Theiß, die eventuell aus der Gepidenzeit stammen vgl. B. TÓTH 2016, Anm. 78.

⁶⁸ Die Region gegenüber der Pannonia Secunda in der Vojvodina, Serbien, wurde hier nicht dargelegt (IVANIŠEVIĆ–BUGARSKI 2008, BUGARSKI 2012; B. TÓTH 2016, 207).

⁶⁹ B. TÓTH 2016, 199, 207.

⁷⁰ B. TÓTH 1987, 7–8; B. TÓTH 2006, 51–52; B. TÓTH 2014, 201–203; B. TÓTH 2016, 212–213.

⁷¹ HAJNALOVÁ 2011.



Abb. 4. Ereignisse der Erosionsforschung (Sandbewegungen) in Kiskunhalas (Fundstelle MOL 5):
 1. Sandschicht des 14.-16. Jh.; 2. Schicht und Bodenniveau aus der Wende des 13./14. Jh.;
 3–8. Sandschichtung zwischen den 3.-12. Jh.; 9. Trampelschicht von Tieren aus dem 3. Jh.;
 10. römertime Bodenniveau (nach NYÁRI–ROSTA 2009, Abb. 1)

der Ansicht der Verfasserin ist diese Frage wichtiger als die präzise chronologische Festsetzung dieser Vorgänge.

Die neuen naturwissenschaftlichen Forschungen zeigen, dass nach der Römerzeit in dem Sandgebiet starke Sandbewegungen stattfanden. In einigen Fundstellen fangen diese Bewegungen bestimmt schon in der späten Römerzeit, im 3./4. Jahrhundert, an.⁷² Die mehrphasigen Fundstellen und zahlreiche OSL-Daten zeigen, dass zwischen den sarmatischen und den mittelalterlichen (árpádenzeitlichen) archäologischen Horizonten dichte Sandschichten liegen, die in einigen Fällen etwa anderthalb Meter stark sind (Abb. 4). Die neuen umweltarchäologischen Ergebnisse verweisen im 4.-6. Jahrhundert eindeutig auf starke Klimaänderungen in Ostungarn.⁷³ Die Sandbewegung kann aber auch mit anthropogenen Prozessen erklärt werden: der Vegetationsmangel und der Abbruch der landwirtschaftlichen Produktion der Agrarlandschaft kann Sandbewegungen hervorrufen oder unterstützen und akzelerieren. Die klimatischen Forschungen dieses Gebietes stehen aber erst am Anfang, deshalb können wir nicht eindeutig behaupten, ob klimatische Veränderungen im Hintergrund stehen. Die Transformation der Kulturlandschaft am Ende der Römerzeit soll mit neuen Fragestellungen erforscht und mit naturwissenschaftlichen Methoden beantwortet werden. Die Verhältnisse der verstreuten hunnenzeitlichen Fundorte und des spätantiken Besiedlungssystems sollen in diesen neuen Rahmen interpretiert werden, um die Veränderungen der ökonomischen Faktoren besser zu verstehen.

⁷² MASEK 2018a, 394–396.

⁷³ MASEK 2018a, 386–391.

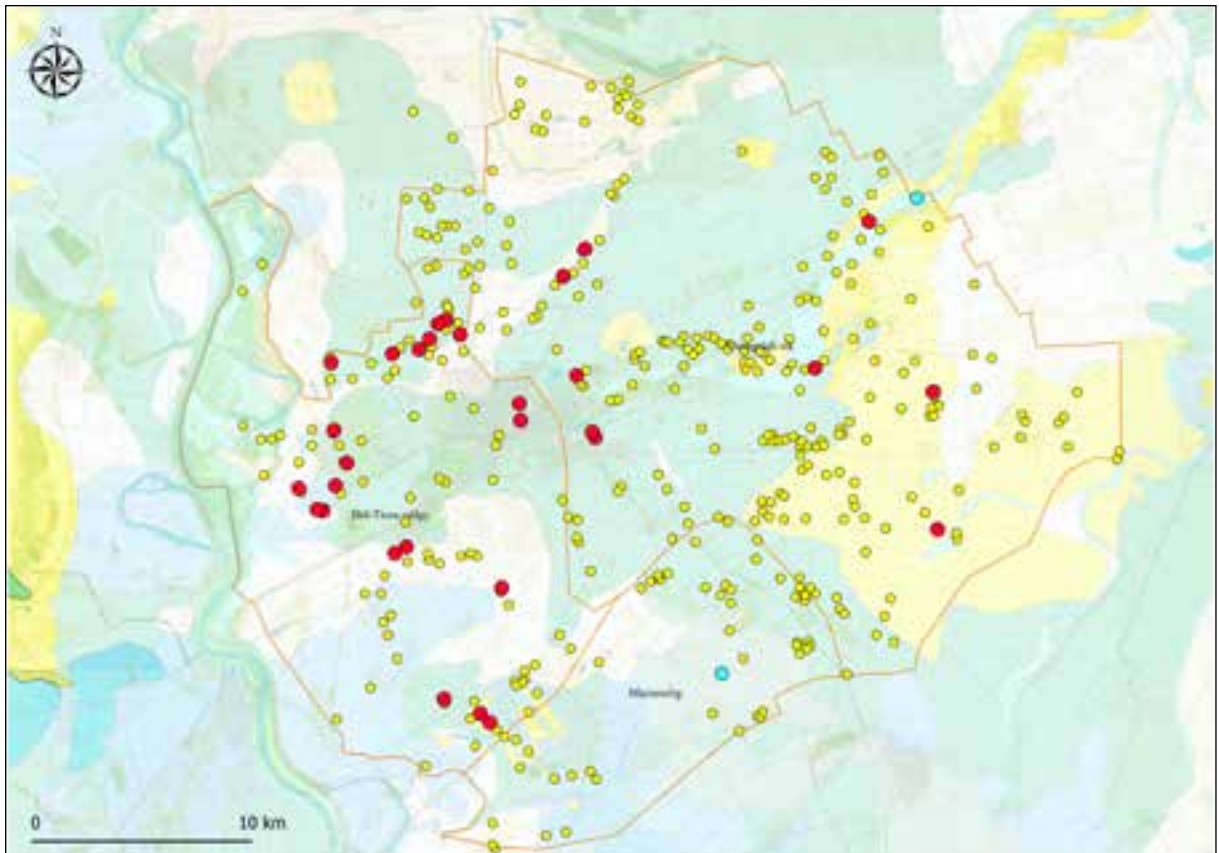


Abb. 5. Sarmatenzeitliche (●), hunnenzeitliche (●),
und gepidenzeitliche (●) Fundstellen in Hódmezővásárhely

FORSCHUNGSFRAGEN DER ÖSTLICHEN THEISSGEGEND DIE BESIEDLUNGSSTRUKTUR IM SÜDLICHEN THEISSGEBIET

Wenden wir uns den Regionen zu, wo gepidische Siedlungen vorzufinden sind. Als Fallbeispiel habe ich die Siedlungsstruktur in der Gemarkung von Hódmezővásárhely untersucht.⁷⁴ In diesem Gebiet stehen auch topographische Arbeiten zur Verfügung, und mit Hilfe dieser ist das reale Besiedlungssystem der Völkerwanderungszeit erforschbar. Ein anderes wichtiges Merkmal ist, dass hier Altfunde sowie neue Ausgrabungen und größere Fundstellen vorliegen.

Die Stadtgemarkung gehört zur größten Peripherie Ungarns und zählt zu den besterforschten Regionen des Theißgebietes. Die alten Streufunde, die Plangrabungen der Vorkriegszeit und die neuere Notgrabungen geben zusammen ein eindeutiges Bild: die Fundorte verdichten sich in einer sog. geographischen Kleinlandschaft (naturräumliche Untereinheit). Dieser Naturraum ist das Süd-Theiß-Tal, welches direkt am Fluss und seinem Überschwemmungsgebiet liegt. Die Fundorte scheinen die niedrigen überschwemmungsfreien Regionen der Csongrádi-sík (Csongráder-Ebene) und der Marosszög (Marosch-Eck) zu vermeiden. Da sind sie nur in sehr beschränkter Zahl anwesend, obwohl zahlreiche größere Bäche durch diese Landschaften fließen. Die Situation ist mit dem Wasserabstand oder mit sedimentologischen Differenzen nicht erklärbar (Abb. 5).

Die naturräumlichen und anthropogenen Bedingungen der Besiedlung können sich in verschiedenen geographischen Regionen unterscheiden. Die Benutzung der naturräumlichen

⁷⁴ MASEK 2018b.

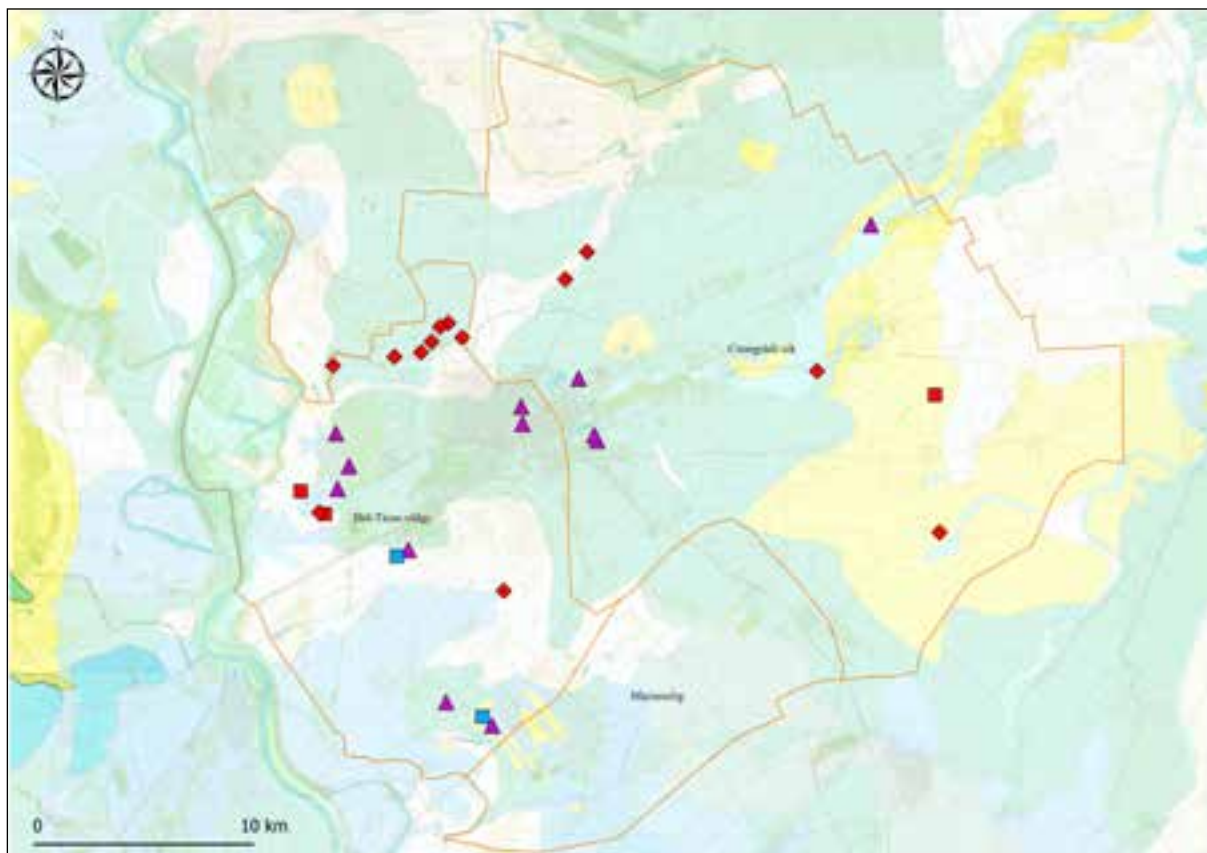


Abb. 6. Charakter der gepidischen Fundstellen in Hódmezővásárhely: Gräberfeld (▲); Gräberfeld und Siedlung (■); Siedlung (■); Siedlungsspuren aus topographischen Arbeiten (◆)

Untereinheiten wurde als Ausgangspunkt der prediktiven Modellierungen des Denkmalschutzes und der archäologischen Besiedlungsforschung in den letzten Jahren auch in Ungarn akzeptiert.⁷⁵ In Hódmezővásárhely befinden sich 70% der gegenwärtig bekannten gepidenzeitlichen Fundorte auf 30,5% des untersuchten Areals. Die Ergebnisse der Geländebegehungen zeigen auch, dass gepidische Fundorte auch fernab der Theiß vorkommen können, doch sind die Gebiete des Theiß-Tales dichter besiedelt (Abb. 6). Die Siedlungen des Theiß-Tales haben unterschiedliche Ausdehnungen, wobei sie in der Csongrádi-sík und der Marosközög meist ziemlich klein sind. Die Kartierung der Gräberanzahl der Gräberfelder betont diese morphologische Situation (Abb. 7). Im Bereich des Süd-Theiß-Tales sind mehrere Gräber und größere Gräberfelder bekannt, wobei keine Reihengräberfelder in der östlichen Ebene vorkommen. Dieses Bild bedeutet vermutlich dass demographisch größere und dauerhaft angesiedelte Gemeinschaften nur in der westlichen Landschaft nachweisbar sind.

Die allgemeine Streuung der registrierten archäologischen Fundstellen ist gar nicht so uneinheitlich. Die römische Besiedlung ist beispielsweise, wie überall in der Tiefebene, sehr dicht. Die sarmatische Siedlungen richten sich auch an den naturräumlichen Vorgaben aus, doch verteilen sie sich nach einem anderen System in der Landschaft (Abb. 5). Diese Merkmale bestätigen, dass unterschiedlichen naturräumlichen Voraussetzungen des Theiß-Tales für die Auswahl des Habitats in der Gepidenzeit einen großen Vorteil darstellten.

Ein ausführlicher Vergleich mit der spätantiken Besiedlung ist leider noch nicht möglich, da die Forschungssituation der Sarmatenzeit Ungarns zurückgeblieben ist. Es kann nur eine Untersuchung

⁷⁵ STIBRÁNYI-MESTERHÁZY-PADÁNYI-GULYÁS 2012.

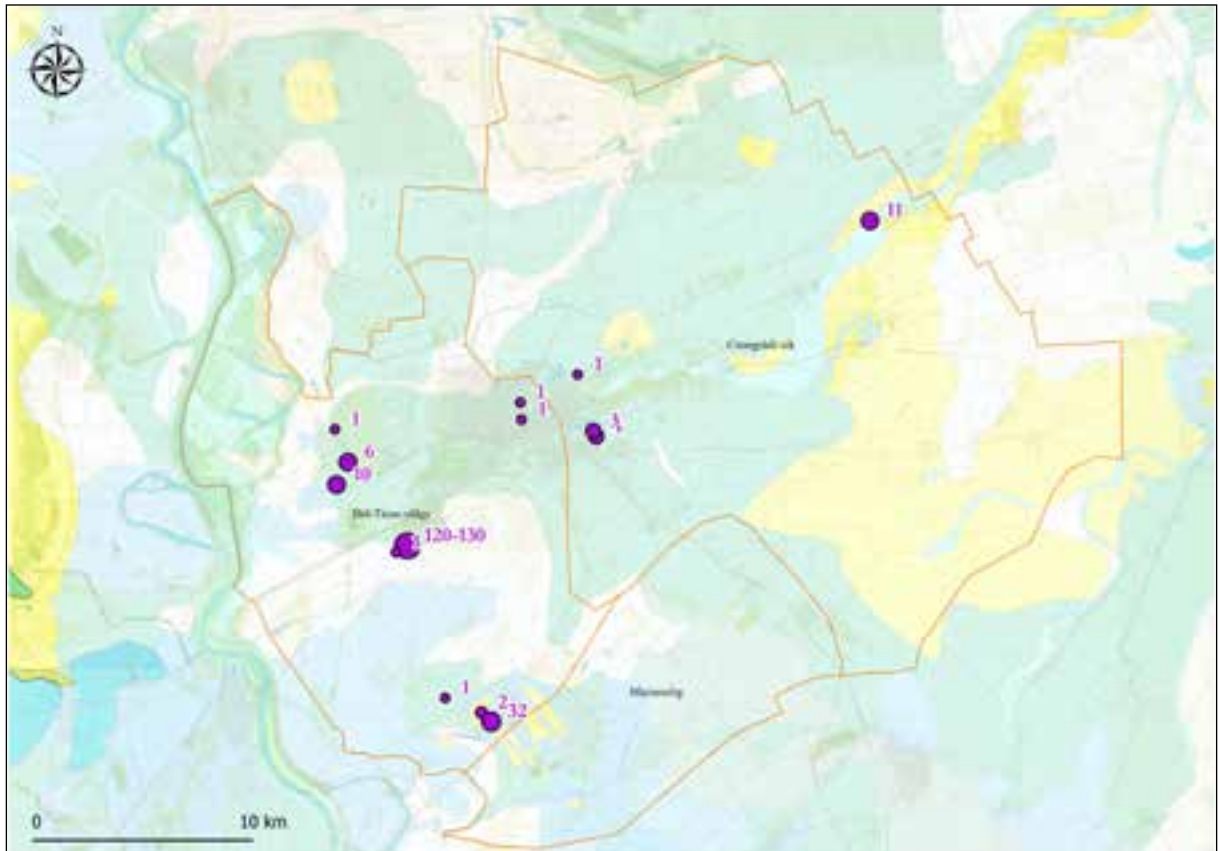


Abb. 7. Minimale Gräberzahl aus der Gepidenzeit in Hódmezővásárhely

der topographischen Lage der herausragenden hunnenzeitlichen Fundorte ausgeführt werden. Das Frauengrab mit großem Blechfibelpaar und vergoldeter Silberschnalle von Hódmezővásárhely-Sóshalom (Periode D2 oder D2/D3) stammt aus dem nordöstlichen Rand des untersuchten Gebiets.⁷⁶ Der Goldmünzenfund von Hódmezővásárhely-Szikáncs (t.p.q.: 443/444) stammt aus der südöstlichen Umgebung (Abb. 5). Nach derzeitiger Forschungslage sieht es so aus, dass diese Fundorte keine Verbindung mit der gepidenzeitlichen Besiedlung hatten. Eine direkte topographische Kontinuität der Fundstellen der Hunnen- und Gepidenzeit ist hier also nicht nachweisbar.

Die gepidische Siedlungsgrabungen von Hódmezővásárhely sind fast alle unpubliziert. Außer der erwähnten Freilegungen von Kotacpart (1934) und Kishomok (2002) ist eine weitere Fundstelle in Gorzsa entdeckt worden (2008).⁷⁷ Die gepidenzeitlichen Funde von Kotacpart stammen aus einer einzigen Grube. Es kann nicht präziser datiert werden, obwohl die Keramik eine große Variabilität zeigt.⁷⁸ Die Publikation weiterer Siedlungsmaterialien wird wichtige Einblicke in regionale Besonderheiten des Spektrums der Gebrauchskeramik bieten. Zudem könnten diese Publikationen einen Vergleich zwischen Grab- und Siedlungskeramik, beispielsweise von Kishomok bieten.

Für die Rekonstruktion der Besiedlung zwischen der Sarmaten- und der Gepidenzeit, also dem 5. Jahrhundert, dieser Region haben wir keine überzeugende archäologische Erklärung. Ähnlich wie im Fall des Donau-Theiß-Zwischenstromgebiets sind neue Fragestellungen zur gepidenzeitlichen Besiedlung um Hódmezővásárhely ohne die Einziehung der Umweltarchäologie und naturwissenschaftlicher Methoden nicht zu beantworten.

⁷⁶ NAGY 2005a.

⁷⁷ WOLF 2014, 627.

⁷⁸ MASEK 2018b.

KONTINUIERLICHE NUTZUNG DER KULTURLANDSCHAFT OHNE SIEDLUNGSKONTINUITÄT IM MITTLEREN THEIßGEBIET

Im Fokus der Dissertation der Verfasserin stand die Frage der Umstrukturierung der Besiedlung und der Siedlungskeramik zwischen der Spätantike und dem Frühmittelalter (4–6. Jh. n. Chr.) im mittleren Theißgebiet. Die reichen Funde der Hunnenzeit fehlen aus diesem Gebiet fast komplett. Falls wir über den Transformationsprozessen des 5. Jahrhunderts irgendwas erfahren wollen, müssen wir mit der Besiedlungsstruktur, den Siedlungen selbst und der Keramik arbeiten.

Diese Region hat eine etwas andere Quellenüberlieferung als die südlicheren Landschaften. Die modernen Entwässerungsprojekte entlang der Theiß erforderten große Rettungsgrabungen oftmals mehrschichtiger, dicht besiedelter Fundorte. Auch sind im mittleren Theißgebiet keine übergreifenden systematischen topographischen Arbeiten durchgeführt worden. Die einzige Ausnahme bildet ein Band, der den Tiszazug („Theißwinkel“) im Mündungsgebiet der Flüsse Theiß und Kreisch berührt (*Abb. 8*).⁷⁹ Die Großbaustellen der letzten Jahrzehnte haben den infrastrukturell schwer erreichbaren Tiszazug fast nicht berührt. Unser Wissen über das völkerwanderungszeitliche Siedlungsnetz ist also bruchstückhaft, dennoch bieten die großen Notgrabungen punktuell einzigartige Einblicke in die Landschaftsnutzung an der Theiß.

Anhand eines Fallbeispiels der Gemarkung von Tiszabura soll das erläutert werden (*Abb. 9*). Zwischen zwei seit langem entwässerten Auen der Theiß ist ein Kanal mit einer Schleuse gegraben worden, wodurch mehrere mehrperiodige Fundstellen in eine lange Strecke angeschnitten wurden. Eine spätkaiserzeitliche Siedlung befand sich in der Mitte des Abschnittes (Fundstelle 3–4). Ihre Struktur ist gewöhnlich für sarmatische Siedlungen: sie ist dicht besiedelt, hat nur wenige eingetiefte Gebäude doch viele Speichergruben, Öfen und andere Befunde, die mit landwirtschaftlicher Produktion zusammenhängen könnten. Einzigartig ist, dass mit Hilfe von GoogleEarth-Bildern ein vollständiger Sperrgraben dieser Siedlung identifizierbar war (*Abb. 10*). Die sarmatenzeitliche Datierung dieses Grabens wurde durch die Ergebnisse der Notgrabungen im Norden und auch im Süden unterstützt. Südlich des Siedlungsgrabens wurde ein sarmatisches Gräberfeld mit südlich orientierten Gräbern freigelegt (Fst. 4). Nördlich dieser Einfassung wurde ein weiterer Graben der römischen Kaiserzeit erfasst (Fst. 2). Der Fortsatz dieses Befundes ist auch in der Satellitenbildern zu verfolgen (*Abb. 10*). Die Funktion dieser Anlagen wird bis zur abschließenden Bearbeitung der spätkaiserzeitlichen Siedlungsbefunde vermutlich unklar bleiben, obwohl der Graben die gesamte halbinselartige Landzunge zwischen den Überschwemmungsgebieten abzuschließen scheint. In dem letztgenannten Graben war ein hunnenzeitliches Einzelgrab mit nord-südlicher Ausrichtung eingetieft. Die Bestattung war zwar ausgeraubt, doch einige Funde (ein Paar goldener hörnchenförmiger Haarringe und ein einglätverzierter Krug mit Kragenrand) blieben im Grab erhalten.⁸⁰

Weiter nördlich – etwa in 400 Meter Distanz – befindet sich ein gepidenzeitlicher Bestattungsplatz mit 14 W-O-orientierten Gräbern. Es lassen sich kleinere Gräbergruppen mit unterschiedlichen Bestattungsriten und Beigabensitten unterscheiden (Fst. 1, *Abb. 11*). Gepidenzeitliche Siedlungsbefunde kamen hier (Fst. 1–4) nicht vor. Doch südlich von der sarmatenzeitlichen Siedlung und des zugehörigen Gräberfeldes fanden sich in zwei weiteren benachbarten Fundstellen Reste einer gepidenzeitlichen Siedlung (Fst. 5–6, *Abb. 11*). Die Befunde bestanden aus Grubenhäuser ohne Öfen, aus wenigen flachen Gruben und einigen Brunnen in einer Gruppe geordnet. Entgegen der spätkaiserzeitlichen (sarmatischen) Siedlung zeigte die gepidische Fundstelle weder eine geplante Raumstruktur noch gut abgrenzbare Aktivitätszonen.

Während der Ausgrabungen (2009–2011) hat die Verfasserin das Umfeld dieser Fundstellen durch Geländebegehungen systematisch weiter erforscht (*Abb. 11*). Römerzeitliches Material konnte weiträumig nachweisen werden, aber die Siedlung mit Einfriedung grenzte sich räumlich gut ab,

⁷⁹ KALICZ 1957.

⁸⁰ Anthropologische Auswertung des Grabes: SZENICZEY ET AL. 2017.

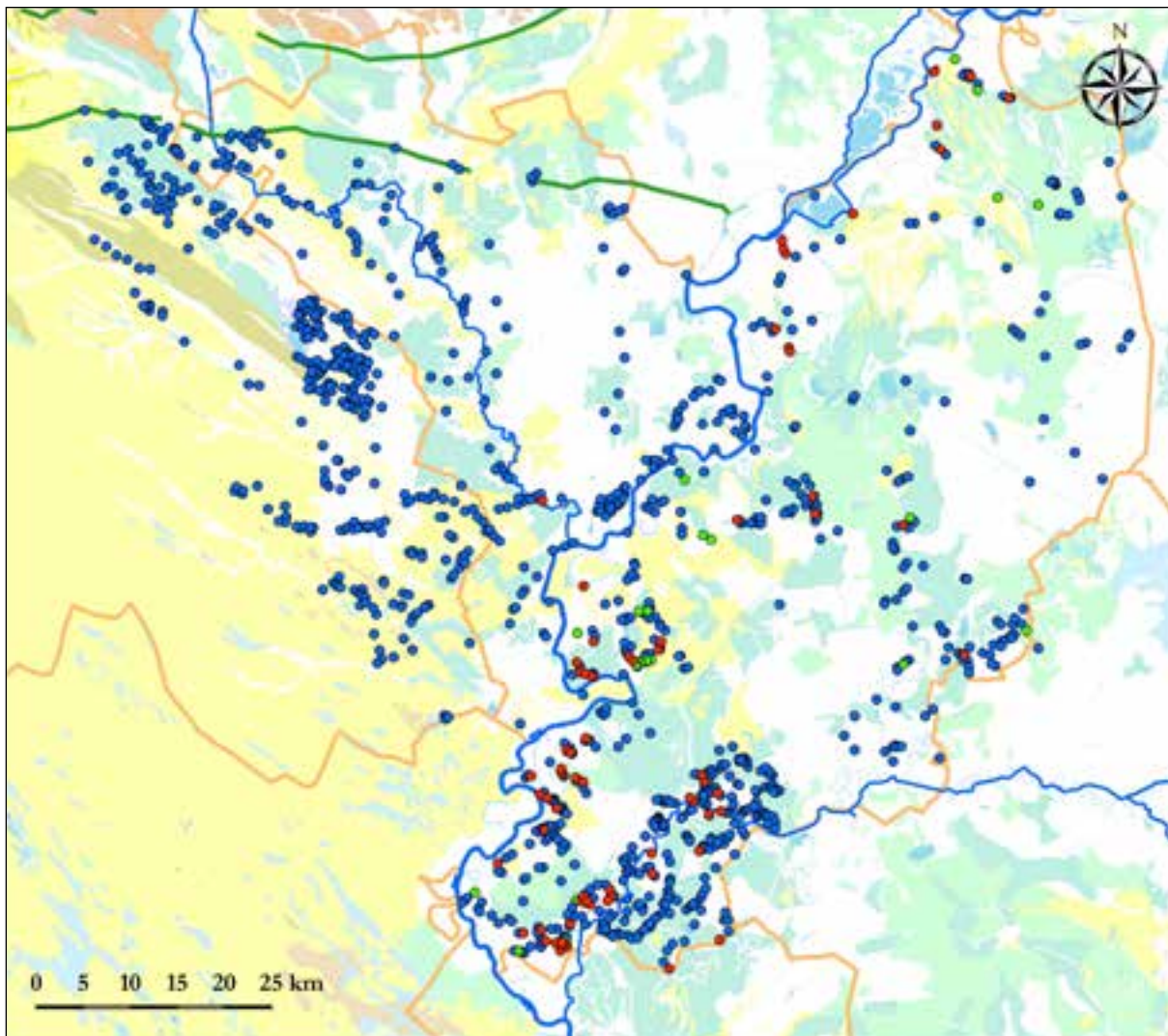


Abb. 8. Sarmatenzeitliche (blau), gepidenzeitliche (grün) und gemeinsame (rot) Fundstellen im mittleren Theißgebiet

mit Ausnahme eines vermutlich früheren Siedlungsteils im Süden, der bei der Ausgrabungen (Fundstellen 4–5) auch dokumentiert wurde. Die gepidenzeitlichen Denkmäler der Fundstelle 5–6 setzen sich nach Westen und Osten des Grabungsschnittes fort, sind aber begrenzt auf die kleinen sandigen, in SW-NO-Richtung verlaufenden Erhebungen. Die gepidenzeitliche Siedlung bestand aus kleineren Höfen, wie im Ausgrabungsschnitt, der Mangel von größeren Fundkonzentrationen zeigt. Zwischen den gepidenzeitlichen Gräbern und Siedlungsbefunden liegt eine Distanz von ca. 1 km. Daher ist es unsicher, ob die gleichen Gemeinschaften die beiden Fundstellen benutzt haben. Eine germanenzeitlich geprägte Scherbe lag in der Nähe des Gräberfeldes, direkt an der modernen Bebauung des Dorfgebiets. Eventuell ist dieses Artefakt einer anderen, den Gräber zugehörigen Siedlung zuschreiben.

Die Besiedlungssituation wirft Fragen auf. Soll die Besiedlung als kontinuierlich betrachtet werden? Oder sollen wir lieber die Verschiebung der Siedlungs- und Bestattungsplätze betonen? Nach der Meinung der Verfasserin sind beide Antworten affirmativ.

Im Laufe des 5. Jahrhunderts änderte sich in dieser Landschaft nicht nur die Siedlungslage(n), sondern auch die innere Siedlungsstruktur, die Bebauung, die Befundtypen sowie das Funktions-



Abb. 9. Die geographische Umgebung der Fundstellen 1–5 von Tiszabura

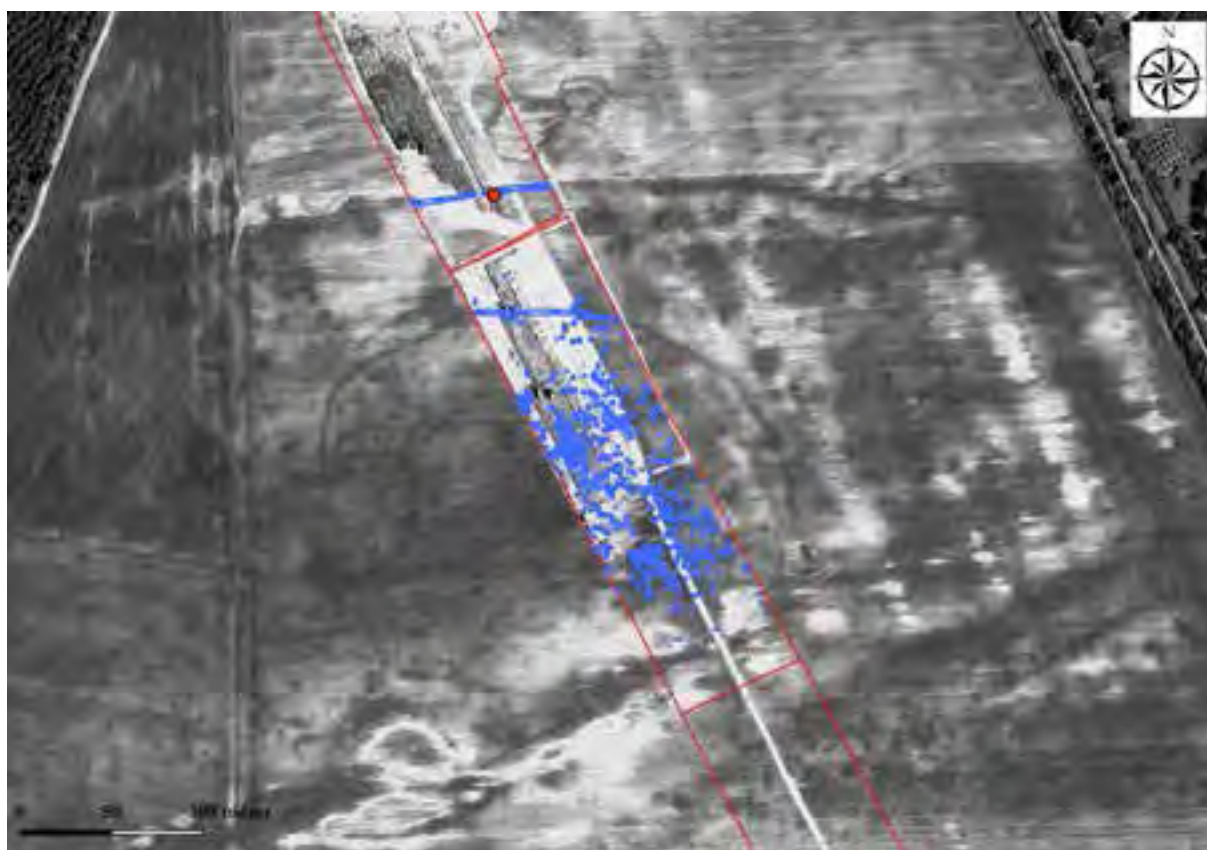


Abb. 10. Graben der sarmatischen Siedlung der Fundstelle 3 in Tiszabura



Abb. 11. Kontinuitätsforschungen in Tiszabura: 1. gepidenzeitliches Gräberfeld; 2. hunnenzeitliches Grab (rot markiert); 3. spätsarmatische Siedlung und verstreute Siedlungsspuren (mit blau markiert); 4–6. gepidenzeitliche Siedlungsteil und Siedlungsspuren aus Geländebegehung (mit grün markiert)

und Formenspektrum der Keramik. Statt eines geschlossenen „sarmatischen Dorfes“, das eine ständige Raumnutzung einer größeren Gemeinde erkennen lässt, sind verstreute „gepidische Höfer“ nachweisbar. Außer der verschiedenen Raumstruktur sind die unterschiedlichen lokalen geographischen Bedingungen hervorzuheben. Die spätkaiserzeitliche Siedlung befand 2–3 Meter tiefer in Schwemmlandsediment (Schluff) als die gepidenzeitlichen Gräber und Siedlungsbefunde. Die gepidenzeitlichen Siedlungsspuren lagen auf flugsandigen Sandbanken. Diese Abweichung muss für die Bewohner so bedeutend gewesen sein, dass sie die Ortauswahl wesentlich bestimmte. In der Tiefebene sind ähnliche Veränderungen mehrmals beobachtet worden: die sarmatenzeitlichen Fundstellen finden sich in tiefer gelegenen Teilen, die gepidenzeitlichen auf kleinen Erhöhungen und Hügelketten in direkter Nähe von Fließgewässern lagen.⁸¹

Der spätsarmatenzeitliche Siedlungshorizont der Fundstelle 3 ist mit der letzten Periode der sarmatischen Keramik der Tiefebene (C3–D1/D2) zu parallelisieren.⁸² Das hunnenzeitliche Grab der Fundstelle 2 datiert zwischen D1–D2/D3, die gepidenzeitlichen Gräber der Fundstelle 1 in die Stufe D2/D3 und die darauf folgenden Jahrzehnte.⁸³ Der Siedlungsteil der Fundstelle 5 datiert in

⁸¹ Zuerst SZABÓ–VÖRÖS 1979, 226; B. TÓTH 1987, 5.

⁸² Persönliche Beobachtung der Verfasserin in der Ausgrabung.

⁸³ SZENICZEY ET AL. 2017, 313.



Abb. 12. Gepidenzeitliche einglättverzierte Feinkeramik und Krüge körniger Magerung aus Tiszabura, Fundstelle 5

den Horizont D3. Die Keramik der gepidenzeitlichen Siedlung ist technologisch und typologisch vielfältig. Neben gedrehten Töpfe verschiedener Qualität, einigen stark gemagerten Krügen und Vorratsgefäßen ist der Anzahl der Feinkeramik ziemlich hoch (Abb. 12). Die Feinkeramik beinhaltet keine gestempelte Keramik oder andere entwickelte gepidische Feinkeramikformen mit Ausnahme eines einglättverzierten kleinen bikonischen Gefäßes. Das Material ist ziemlich früh, etwa der 2. Hälfte des 5. Jahrhunderts und Anfang des 6. Jahrhunderts zuzuschreiben.⁸⁴ Die Vogelfibel aus dem Abraum der Ausgrabung widerspricht diese Datierung nicht.⁸⁵

Aufgrund der relativen Chronologie der Fundstellen ist es unwahrscheinlich, dass eine voneinander unabhängige Raumnutzung stattfand. Das interessanteste ist die topographische Lage des hunnenzeitlichen Grabes: es passt nicht mehr in die römischen Strukturen, liegt aber dennoch darin. Es sondert sich von dem sarmatischen Gräberfeld ab, und hat auch mit den gepidenzeitlichen Gräbern keine Verbindung. Dieses Phänomen findet bei den meisten als germanisch interpretierten Gräbern in den römischen Provinzen, die in direkter Nähe spätrömischer Gebäudekomplexe angelegt wurden.⁸⁶ Hier und da ist der genaue chronologische Abstand zwischen „Römer-“ und „Hunnenzeit“ umstritten. Das Erscheinungsbild und die Datierungsmöglichkeiten der Siedlungen sind zwar sehr unterschiedlich, doch die Fragen nach hunnenzeitlichen Gebäuden, nach der Weiternutzung römischer Siedlungsobjekte, nach dem Fehlen von nicht-römischen Siedlungshorizonten im Umfeld der spätesten Begräbnisse sind gemeinsame Forschungsprobleme in den provinziäl-römischen Gebieten und im Barbaricum. In Tiszabura sind die gepidenzeitlichen Befunde von der älteren römischerzeitlichen Siedlung räumlich klar abgetrennt. Die gepidenzeitlichen

⁸⁴ MASEK 2018a, 344–364.

⁸⁵ RÁCZ 2011.

⁸⁶ VIRÁGOS 2008, 205–210; KLEEMANN 2008.

Hinterlassenschaften sind nur in der angrenzenden benachbarten Landschaftselementen anwesend, und ferner der spätrömerzeitlichen Denkmäler sind nicht nachweisbar.

Die fundamentale Veränderung des Siedlungsbildes deutet auf einen markanten Wandel in der Lebens- und Wirtschaftsform, und in der gesellschaftlichen Struktur. Diese Vorgänge und die hier nicht analysierten Wandel in der Alltagskultur und der Keramikherstellung weisen aber nicht unbedingt auf einen Populationswechsel hin. Die skizzierten Aspekte passen sich in die beschriebenen spätantiken Auflösungstendenzen ein. In der Landwirtschaft zeichnet sich in der Tiefebene eine fortdauernde Nutzung der Kulturlandschaft ab. Weitere Interpretationen erlauben die unterschiedlichen kulturellen Merkmale der freigelegten Bestattungen. Die Diskontinuität der Bestattungsplätze zwischen der Römer-, Hunnen- und Gepidenzeit weist auf einen geistige Wandel im Verlauf des 5. Jahrhunderts. Diese Prozesse können mit einer bedeutenden personellen Mobilität und dynamische Zuwanderungen erklärt werden.

Die Siedlungskontinuität im Sinne einer direkten räumlichen Kontinuität in der Benutzung der Siedlungsstrukturen ist in Tiszabura nicht nachweisbar. Allerdings ist die Situation als eine lokale Besiedlungskontinuität in einem Fundstellen-Cluster zu interpretieren. Die Transformationsprozesse dieser Landschaft sollten daher nicht mit einem raschen Zäsur bzw. einem historischen Ereignis verbunden, sondern eher als eine längere Umwandlung rekonstruiert werden.

SIEDLUNGSKONTINUITÄT MIT VORBEHALTEN: DAS SIEDLUNGSMODELL VON RÁKÓCZIFALVA

Anhand eines zweiten Fallbeispiels, der Fundstelle Rákóczifalva-Bagi-földek aus dem mittleren Theißgebiet, soll ein anderes Kontinuitätsmodell vorgestellt werden (*Abb. 13*). Ähnlich wie in Tiszabura sind auch hier mehrere Fundstellen entlang der neuen Dammstrecke ausgegraben worden, die allerdings zeitlich und räumlich unmittelbar zusammenhängen (Rákóczifalva-Bagi-földek 5–8–8A, 2006–2007). In der mittleren Fundstelle 8A erstreckte sich ein S-N-orientiertes sarmatisches Gräberfeld, bei dem einige Bestattungen von einem Kreisgraben umgeben waren. Der Bestattungsplatz ist seit dem 2/3. Jahrhunderten belegt worden und auch im 4. Jahrhundert genutzt.⁸⁷ Westlich des Gräberfeldes lag eine mittelgroße, dicht besiedelte spätkaiserzeitliche Siedlung (Fundstelle 5).⁸⁸ Weitere, kleinere spätsarmatische Siedlungseinheiten lassen sich westlich und östlich dieses Siedlungskerns nachweisen (*Abb. 14*).

Über 7 Hektar verteilte sich eine große gepidenzeitlichen Siedlung (Fst. 5–8–8A). Verstreut in den Fundstellen fanden sich einige Gräber mit germanenzeitlicher Ausstattung (W-O-Orientierung, Kammbeigabe⁸⁹). Ihre Beigaben sind ärmlich, weshalb ihre Datierung in die Hunnen- oder in die nach-hunnische Gepidenzeit umstritten ist.

Genau aus dieser Fundstelle stammt eine goldene frühawarenzeitliche Menschenfigur.⁹⁰ Daneben befanden sich hier zwei vollständig ausgegrabene awarische Gräberfelder (Fst. 8 bzw. 8A).⁹¹ Ähnlich verstreut wie die gepidischen Siedlungsbefunde fanden sich auch solche der Awarzeit (Fst. 5–8–8A).⁹² Die Fundorte lieferten herausragende vorgeschichtliche Denkmäler, während jüngere, mittelalterliche Befunde und Funde fast vollkommen fehlten.

Die Bestimmung der sarmaten-, gepiden- und awarenzeitlichen Siedlungshorizonte bildete zunächst das wichtigste Ziel. Eindeutig war festzustellen, dass die Befunde wegen der langen Nutzung des Siedlungsareals häufig kulturell gemischtes Material haben. Eine Rekonstruktion der Siedlungsstruktur getrennt nach chronologischen Horizonten war nur anhand detaillierter Keramikstudien möglich.

⁸⁷ Bisher wurde davon ein Grabensemble des 3. Jahrhunderts publiziert: MASEK 2014a.

⁸⁸ MASEK 2012a; MASEK 2015a.

⁸⁹ MASEK 2016, Kat. no. 9, 12, 16, 18–20.

⁹⁰ RÁCZ 2012.

⁹¹ SCHMID 2015; MÁCSAI 2011.

⁹² KONDE 2015; KONDE 2017.



Abb. 13. Die geographische Umgebung der sarmaten- (blau) und gepidenzeitlichen (grün) Fundstellen von Rákóczifalva und Kengyel

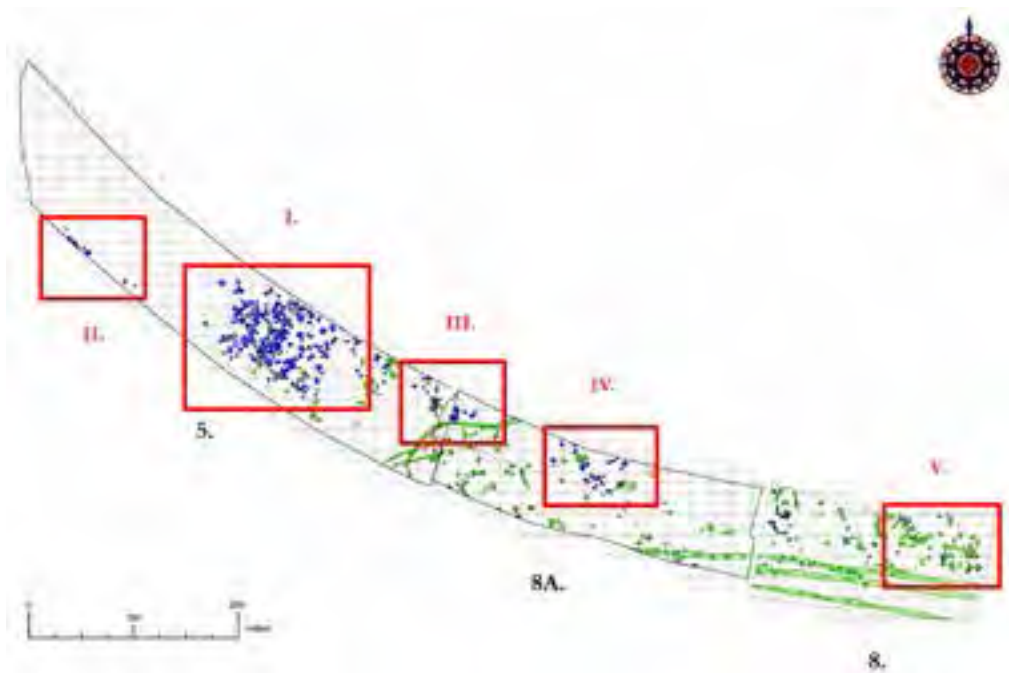


Abb. 14. Spätsarmatenzeitliche Siedlungseinheiten in Rákóczifalva-Bagi-földek (Siedlungshorizont I)

Zur Unterscheidung der spätsarmaten- und gepidenzeitlichen Siedlungskeramik hatte die Verfasserin in der Literatur kein geeignetes Vorbild. Bei der Bearbeitung wurde in kurzer Zeit klar, dass die bisherigen Publikationen sich meist nur als formale Analogien benutzen lassen. Allerdings haben die sarmaten-, hunnen- und gepidenzeitliche Grab- und Siedlungskeramik in der Tiefebene auch gemeinsame Formen. Deshalb und wegen des bruchstückhaften Siedlungsmaterials wurde mit Merkmalen der Herstellungstechnologie gearbeitet, wie die Brenntechnologie der Feinkeramik,⁹³ die Drehtechnik und die Oberflächenbehandlung der Feinkeramik,⁹⁴ zudem den Aufbau und die Drehtechnik der Kochgefäße körniger Magerung⁹⁵. Als Referenzmaterial konnte ich die Keramik aus Rákóczipfalva, ältere Siedlungskeramik des 2–3. Jahrhunderts des Oberen Theißgebiets⁹⁶ sowie Grabkeramik aus sarmatischen, hunnenzeitlichen und gepidischen Kontext nutzen.⁹⁷

Die methodische Grundlage war der Datierungsversuch der einzelnen Scherben (statt der Keramikeinheiten) und die statistische Vergleichbarkeit aller untersuchten Merkmale. Die Aufarbeitung fand in einem komplexen gemeinsamen Beschreibungssystem statt. Alle Eigenschaften der technologischen und formellen Charakteristika wurden selbst analysiert. Die Einträge wurden mit Begriffen „sarmatisch“, „gepidisch“ oder „fraglich“ bezeichnet. Diese Termini sind als vorläufige Arbeitsbegriffe für die Aufarbeitung und Statistik benutzt worden. Mit dieser Methodik wurden kleineren unsicheren Übergangsgruppen definiert und eindeutiger an einem kulturellen Horizont geknüpft (z. B. regionale spätkaiserzeitliche bzw. gepidenzeitliche Waren der gedrehten Haushaltskeramik körniger Magerung).

Eine der wichtigsten Forschungsfragen war die Interpretation dieser gemischten Fundeinheiten. Wenn „sarmatische“ Keramik in „gepidischen“ Siedlungsobjekten vorkommt, kann dies durch drei Modellen erklärt werden: 1.) Die sarmatenzeitliche Töpferei wurde auch in der Gepidenzeit noch gefertigt; sarmatische und gepidische Keramik wurde (zumindest zeitweise) parallel produziert; 2.) nur einige Gefäße und Haushalte überlebten die Zeit und konnten in der jüngeren Periode noch genutzt werden; 3.) die Keramikscherben der älteren Keramiktradition stellen in den jüngeren Fundensembles einfach nur Abfall dar. Am Ende der Bearbeitung ist das erste Modell völlig abzulehnen. Am wahrscheinlichsten ist das dritte Modell, auch wenn das zweite nicht gänzlich ausgeschlossen werden konnte.

Ein anderes wichtiges Verfahren war die Einbeziehung der Siedlungsstruktur in die Interpretation, und die mehrfache Revisionen von solchen Fundeinheiten, die nicht in die Siedlungsbilder passten. Bei der Verarbeitung des Materials, vor allem bei der spätsarmatischen Siedlung wurde die *refitting* Methode⁹⁸ mit Erfolg angewendet (Abb. 15). So wurde klar, dass die spätsarmatische Siedlung größtenteils aufgrund einer Aktivität zugrunde ging, da mehrere zusammenpassende Scherben großräumig verstreut waren. Darüber entstand ein gepidenzeitlicher Siedlungshorizont. Die jüngeren Gebäude überlappten die ältere Siedlung, und berücksichtigten die kaiserzeitlichen Befunde nicht, doch enthalten sie mehr Scherben sarmatischer als gepidischer Prägung.

Zu einem besseren Verständnis des Siedlungsabbruchs der Völkerwanderungszeit verdient die spätkaiserzeitliche Siedlung Aufmerksamkeit. Dieser Siedlungsteil hatte nur eine kurze Lebensdauer, wie die geringe Anzahl der Superpositionen und die klare innere Struktur erkennen

⁹³ MASEK 2011.

⁹⁴ MASEK 2013; MASEK–VÉNINGER 2017.

⁹⁵ MASEK 2014b.

⁹⁶ MASEK 2012b.

⁹⁷ Einige Ergebnisse zur sarmatischen Grabkeramik der Museumssammlung des UNM-s aus technologischer Sicht s. MASEK–VÉNINGER 2017. Eine umfassende Neubewertung der hunnenzeitlichen Grabkeramik Ostungarns, welche meist aus Neubewertung von Altfunden besteht, ist in Bearbeitung (erste Ergebnisse bei MASEK 2013). Bei der Beurteilung der gepidischen Keramiktechnologie war die Durchsicht der publizierten Grabkeramik in den Sammlungen der Museen von Szentes und Hódmezővásárhely eine enorme Hilfe.

⁹⁸ Z. B. BOELICKE 1982.

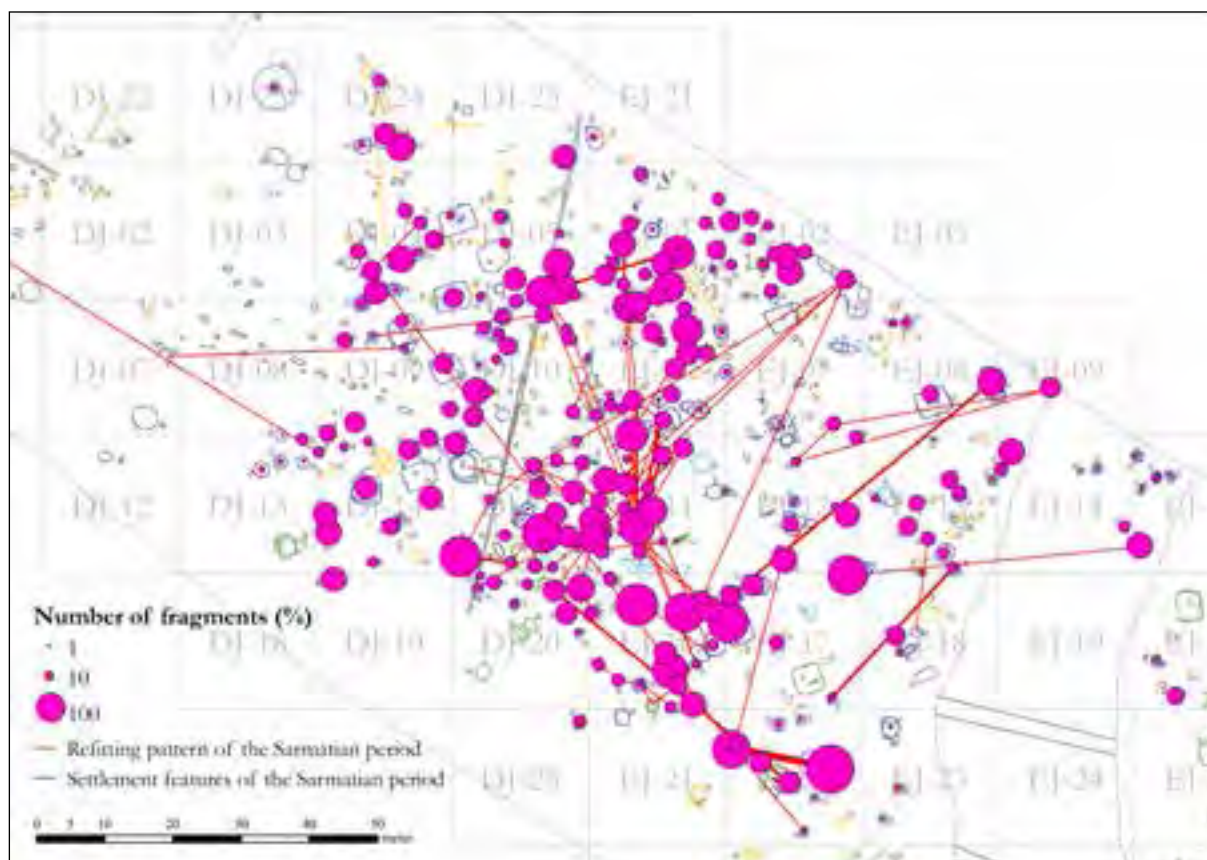


Abb. 15. Ergebnisse der refitting-Methodik in Rákóczifalva-Bagi-földek, Siedlungshorizont I, Siedlungseinheit I (rote Linien), und die Streuung der Keramikanzahl in Prozentsatz

lassen. Das mit *refitting* angepasste Keramikmaterial zeichnete das Bild einer großräumigen Planierungsschicht in sekundärer Lage, zumeist in Speichergruben, vor. Diesem Horizont waren – durch *refitting* unterstützt – acht menschliche Skelette in fünf Speichergruben zuzuweisen, alle in anatomischer Ordnung (Abb. 16). Nach den Analysen der Keramikstreuung, der Grubenfüllungen bzw. des Hüttenlehmes von verbrannten Gebäuden (Abb. 15) ist anzunehmen, dass im Kern des ausgegrabenen Siedlungsteils ebenerdige Häuser standen, die keine archäologischen Spuren hinterließen. In jedem Fall lassen sich nur relativ wenige Gebäude nachweisen, zu denen etwa 250 Speichergruben gehörten. Ähnlich der spätsarmatischen Siedlung von Tiszabura hat auch diejenige aus Rákóczifalva-Bagi-földek ein intensiv genutztes, räumlich gut organisiertes Zentrum. Dieses Siedlungsbild ist in der gesamten Tiefebene zu beobachten.⁹⁹

Die gepidenzeitliche Siedlung hat einen ganz anderen strukturellen Charakter. Aus der Streuung der gestempelten Keramik ist abzulesen, dass sich die Siedlung im 6. Jahrhundert in der gesamten Fundstelle ausdehnte (Abb. 17). Auch bei der Beurteilung der gepidischen Siedlungshorizonte kommt dem *refitting* eine wichtige Rolle zu (Abb. 18).

Betrachtet man zusammenfassend das Siedlungsbild, so ist zu betonen, dass vielfältige Strukturen in diesem umfangreichen Gebiet parallel nebeneinander existierten. In einigen Bereichen erschienen die Gebäude in losen Gruppen, z. B. über dem großen sarmatischen Siedlungskern (Abb. 17). An anderen Stellen traten sie verstreut als Einzelhöfe auf, und zwar in einiger Distanz zueinander sowie mit einem mehrperiodigem Grabensystem geteilt und umgrenzt (Abb. 18). Es gab zwei Befunde, wo ein Haus mit kreisartigem Graben umgeben war (Abb. 17). Eine dieser

⁹⁹ MASEK 2018a, 28–30.



Abb. 16. Drei männliche Skelette in eine Speichergrube geworfen
(Rákóczifalva-Bagi-földek, Siedlungshorizont I, Siedlungseinheit I)

Situationen ist eindeutig nachweisbar an der Sperrgrabenöffnung im SO. Die andere Konstruktion stand in einem mehrperiodigem Bereich, wo vier Siedlungsphasen mit Hilfe von Superpositionen trennbar sind. Der Graben gehört zur dritten Phase; ob das Gebäude in seiner Mitte zeitgleich ist, bleibt unklar. Separierte Gebäude und einfache Umzäunungen waren bislang aus gepidischen Siedlungen nicht bekannt. Sie sind vermutlich mit sozialer Differenzierung und Repräsentation zu erklären. Ein neues Phänomen zeigt auch der östliche Siedlungsteil, wo die Gebäuden unregelmäßig ausgerichtet, aber doch dicht nebeneinander standen. Mit Öfen ausstattete Gebäude wurden ausschließlich in diesem Siedlungsteil freigelegt (15 Gebäude mit 16 Öfen). Aufgrund einiger Baumerkmale sowie Metallüberresten ist dieser Siedlungsteil als ein langlebiges, industrielles Werkstattzentrum zu interpretieren (Abb. 19). Die nächsten Analogien zu diesen Befunden sind in spätkaiserzeitlichen Siedlungen des Theißgebiets zu finden.

Die gepidenzeitlichen Gebäude gehören größtenteils zu mittelgroßen Grubenhäusern (Abb. 20.a). Die kleinen Gebäude konzentrierten sich im Osten, und sind eher als Werkstattobjekte zu identifizieren. Die größten Gebäude von Rákóczifalva hatten ein Ausdehnen/eine Ausdehnung, die bisher aus gepidischen Siedlungen nicht bekannt war. Die obere Grenze der bisher publizierten Häuser des Theißgebiets betrug 16 m².¹⁰⁰ Die größten drei Häuser waren in einer Gruppe und mit gleicher Orientierung angeordnet (Abb. 20.b).

Zu den Baustrukturen ist zu bemerken, dass die Hälfte der Häuser (51) keine Pfostenlöcher hatte. Vereinzelt war ein zentrales Pfostenloch nachweisbar: eine technische Lösung, die in den

¹⁰⁰ CSEH 1993, 145, 153 (Kengyel–Kiss-tanya); CSEH 1997, 115–116 (Szelevény–Sárga partoldal); B. TÓTH 2006, 48. In Siebenbürgen sind größere Gebäuden nur in zwei Fällen in Malomfalva/Morești beobachtet (HOREDT 1979, 93–94, Abb. 41–43).

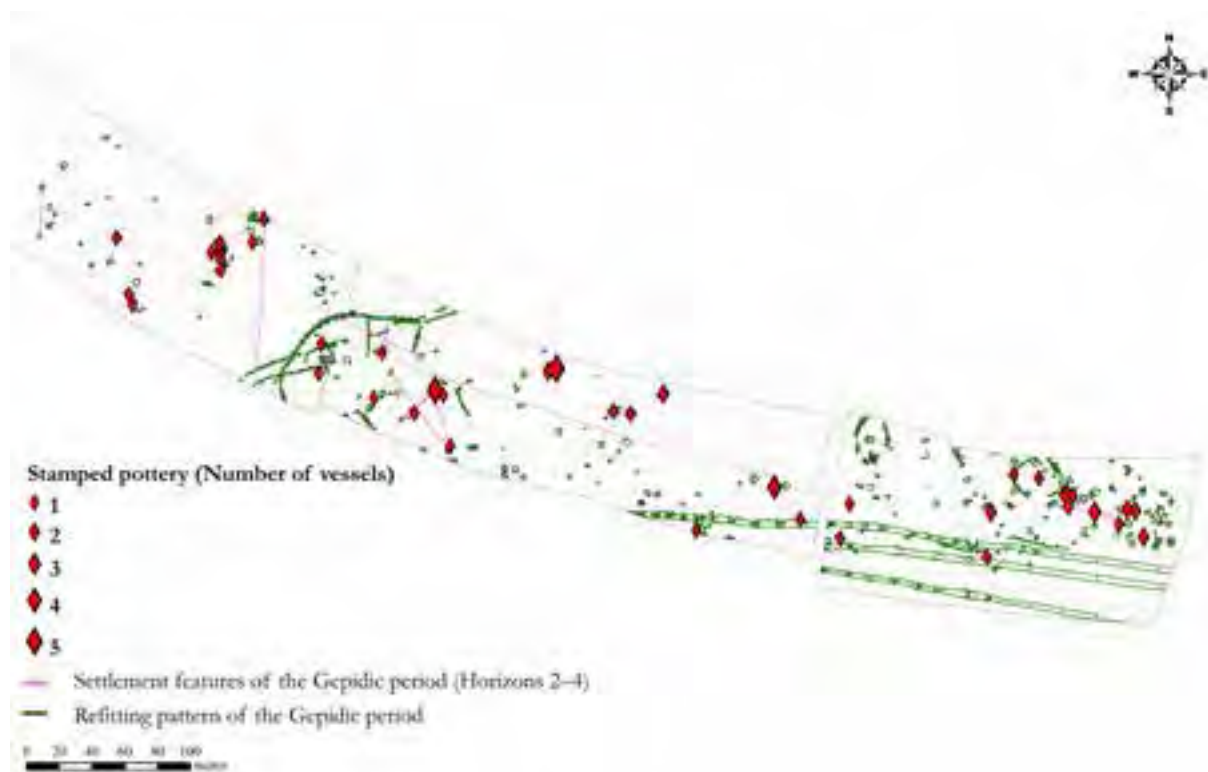


Abb. 17. Die Streuung der gepidenzeitlichen gestempelten Keramik nach Gefäßzahlen (1–5, Rákóczfalva-Bagi-földek, Siedlungshorizont III)

sarmatischen Siedlungen oft vorkommt. Die zweigrößte Gruppe bilden die Grubenhäuser mit zwei Pfostenlöchern. Die Variationen mit drei- oder mehreren Pfosten in einer Achse sowie mehrpfostigen asymmetrische Strukturen sind auch häufig. Sechspfostenhäuser sind Raritäten, und Vierpfostenhäuser fehlen völlig. Diese Proportionen stimmen mit den bisherigen Erkenntnissen der kleineren gepidischen Ausgrabungen im Großen und Ganzen überein.¹⁰¹ Heute kann schon festgestellt werden, dass die gepidische Baukonstruktionen der Grubenhäuser mit der transdanubischer Grubenhäuser des 5.-6. Jahrhunderts nicht viel gemeinsam haben. Dort kommen nämlich am häufigsten die Eckpfostenhäuser mit 4 oder 6 (manchmal 8) Pfosten vor.¹⁰²

Die Gefäßkeramik der Siedlungen des 4.-6. Jahrhunderts ist in Rákóczfalva in vier Horizonten zu trennen.¹⁰³ Den ersten Horizont bildet das bekannte spätsarmatisch-hunnenzeitliche Keramikmaterial der zentralen Tiefebene (C3–D1/D2). Den zweiten Horizont charakterisiert ein technologischer Rückschritt der Feinkeramik (z. B. späte Krüge des Murga-Stils) und ein technologischer Aufstieg der gedrehten Kochkeramik körniger Magerung (z. B. Töpfe spätantiker Prägung mit gegliederter Schulter). Der Horizont hat in Siedlungsgrabungen bisher keine Analogien, denn er ist aufgrund der Grabkeramik und aus relativchronologischen Gründen in die Stufe D2/D3 zu datieren. Der dritte Horizont entspricht der entwickelten gepidenzeitlichen Siedlungskeramik der Periode D3 und später. Darin kann man zwei Phasen unterscheiden: eine ältere mit ungestempelter Keramik vom Ende des 5. – Anfang des 6. Jahrhunderts, und eine zweite mit gestempelter Keramik und den zugehörigen gepidischen Feinkeramiktypen des entwickelten 6. Jahrhunderts. Die genaue Erscheinungszeit der gestempelten Keramik ist wegen der kontinuierlichen Benutzung der Siedlung bzw. der einzelnen Siedlungsobjekte schwer definierbar.

¹⁰¹ MASEK 2015b, 416–421.

¹⁰² PÁRDUCZ 1949; SKRIBA–SÓFALVI 2004; ÓDOR 2009; BOCSI 2008; BLAY 2012.

¹⁰³ MASEK 2018a, 51–282.



Abb. 18. Ergebnisse der refitting-Methodik in Rákóczifalva-Bagi-földek, Siedlungshorizont III (lila Linien)



Abb. 19. Werkstattgebäude in Rákóczifalva-Bagi-földek

Die Beurteilung des vierten Horizonts ist ähnlich kompliziert. Er ist charakterisiert durch einen raschen technischen Niedergang, „plumpe“ Formen der Drehscheibenkeramik sowie dem fast vollständigen Fehlen von Fein- bzw. gestempelter Keramik. Wie der zweite Horizont hat auch der vierte keine publizierten Analogien in der Siedlungsforschung. Aus relativchronologischen Gründen und einigen Analogien aus Gräbern der Frühawarenzeit kann dieser Horizont in die

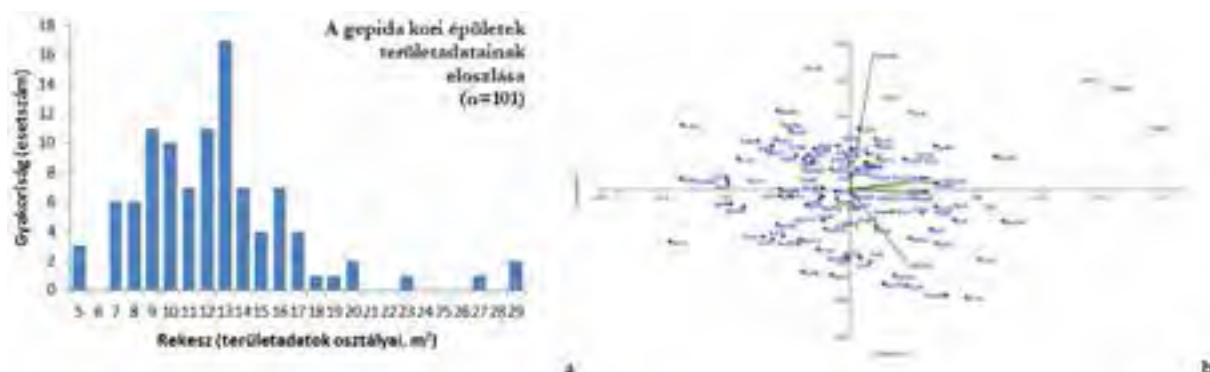


Abb. 20. Histogramm der Flächeninhalte (a) und PCA-Analyse (b) der gepidenzeitlichen Grubenhäuser

2. Hälfte des 6. Jahrhunderts, an den Beginn der Frühawarenzeit datiert werden. Der bearbeitete Scherbenanzahl aus der Siedlung besteht aus ca. 19 000 Scherben.

Die Siedlungsbefunde des zweiten Horizontes entstanden östlich des Siedlungskerns des ersten Horizontes. Zwei lose Siedlungseinheiten waren abgrenzbar, die aus einigen Grubenhäusern und Speichergruben bestanden. Ein Bruch der Siedlungsstruktur zwischen den zweiten bis vierten Horizonten war nicht zu beobachten. Die Ansiedlung entwickelte sich kontinuierlich seit dem zweiten Horizont. Im Westen überlagerte der dritte Horizont den Siedlungskern des ersten Horizontes mit einem starken Strukturwandel. Im Osten, am Theißufer, waren dagegen andere Prozesse rekonstruierbar. In und um die Werkstattgebäude mit den Öfen bzw. Feuerstätten wurde Keramik des ersten, dritten und vierten Horizontes gefunden. (Material des 2. Horizontes trat nur am westlichen Rand dieser Zone auf.) Die Vermischung des keramischen Materials der verschiedenen Horizonte ist in den Fundeinheiten der Werkstattzone nur gering. Eine Interpretation der Fundstücke des ersten Horizontes als Abfall ist zu ablehnen, da sie in mehreren Gebäuden als geschlossene Fundeinheiten erschienen. Die räumlich gut begrenzten Befunde deuten auf eine Kontinuität der Bauweise, der Funktion der Gebäude sowie handwerklicher Gebräuche hin. Diese Kontinuitätselemente lassen eine spezialisierte Traditionskontinuität vermuten, die eventuell durch Bevölkerungskontinuität bedingt ist.

Eine vergleichbare Folgerung ergab sich aus der Analyse der Geweihkämme der Fundstelle. Diese Fundgattung (besonders die punzverzieren zweiseitigen Kämme aus den Siedlungskontexten der Horizonte 1–3 und ihre Analogien) deutet auf fortdauernde Werkstattnutzung nebst Rezeption neue Formtypen im 5. Jahrhundert hin.¹⁰⁴

Die Kontinuitätsfragen der Keramikherstellung sollen in weiteren Aufsätzen behandelt werden. Die Vorgänge sind aber schon klar zu umschreiben. Zunächst kam es zur Auflösung der regionalen spätkaiserzeitlichen Töpfereitraditionen, es folgten neue Einflüsse spätantiker Prägung und des hunnenzeitlichen Kulturkomplexes, danach folgte die kleinräumigen Aufsplitterung einhergehend mit technologischem Rückgang.

Der starke Bruch der Siedlungsstruktur entstand – mit Ausnahme der Werkstattzone – zwischen den ersten beiden Horizonten. Der zweite Horizont ist nur unter Vorbehalt als „gepidisch“ zu bestimmen, da Analogien zur Keramik aus den gepidischen Reihengräberfeldern fehlen. Der Wechsel der Bestattungsplätze und des Grabritus' im 5. Jahrhundert ist in Rákóczi falva schwer zu beurteilen. Die zwei gut datierbaren hunnenzeitlichen Gräber weisen ein abweichendes Grabritual auf, lagen aber in der Nähe der sarmatenzeitlichen Bestattungen. Eine kontinuierliche Nutzung des Areals ist nicht auszuschließen. Zur weiträumigen Gepidensiedlung müsste ein größeres Gräberfeld in der Nähe gehören, das aber unbekannt ist. Dessen Belegungsbeginn

¹⁰⁴ MASEK 2016.

könnte unsere Konzeptionen über die Verlagerung der Bestattungsplätze und den Wandel der Glaubensvorstellungen der Bevölkerung dieser Fundstelle präzisieren.

In Rákóczifalva-Bagi-földek ist eine lokale Besiedlungskontinuität vom 4. bis ins 6. Jahrhundert nachweisbar. Die geographischen und ökonomischen Bedingungen waren an diesem Fundort, im Gegensatz von Tiszabura, ideal. Trotzdem sind an beiden Fallbeispielen vergleichbare Vorgänge erkennbar. Die Siedlungsstruktur von Rákóczifalva hat eine ähnliche Veränderung durchlaufen wie in Tiszabura. Die neue Ansiedlung des 5. Jahrhunderts wurde nicht über, sondern neben den älteren angelegt. Weitere Veränderungen zeichnen sich im Erscheinungsbild der Grubenhäuser ab, ebenso beim Fehlen von Speichergruben in der Gepidenzeit. Statt einer dicht und intensiv besiedelten spätkaiserzeitlichen Siedlung hat die jüngere eine lose, segmentierte Struktur, was auf eine soziale und wirtschaftliche Umstrukturierung der Population hinweist. Der 'degree of continuity' war in Rákóczifalva höher: hier ist mit einer permanenten Nutzung der Landschaft zu rechnen. Auch zwischen den Bestattungsplätzen der Spätkaiser- und Hunnenzeit in Rákóczifalva existierte kein scharfer Bruch.

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Für die Erforschung der gepidenzeitlichen Besiedlung sollten unterschiedliche Regionen verglichen werden. Dabei müssen aus überlieferungsbedingten Gründen die Gepidensiedlungen im Donau-Theiß Zwischenstromgebiet ausgeklammert werden. Dort können nur gezielte topographische Projekte die Art und die Veränderungen der spätantiken-frühmittelalterlichen Besiedlung auflösen. Für den geforderten Vergleich müssen alle bekannten Denkmäler über einen längeren Zeitraum hinweg systematisch berücksichtigt werden – die sog. reiternomadisch-hunnischen und die Funde germanischer Prägung – da klare chronologische Zäsuren zwischen diesen nicht nachweisbar sind. Andererseits sind die Forschungsfragen des 5. Jahrhunderts – wie überall im Römischen Reich und im Barbaricum – ohne das Studium der spätrömerzeitlichen Besiedlung nicht zu verstehen.

Das mittleren Theißgegend weist ein hohes Maß an Besiedlungskontinuität auf. Doch bedeutet das nicht, dass die römerzeitlichen Siedlungen unberührt, ohne grobe Veränderungen weiter bestanden. Eine solche direkte Kontinuität der Siedlungsstruktur ist nur bei der Werkstattzone von Rákóczifalva zu vermuten, doch müssten diese archäologischen Ergebnisse noch durch naturwissenschaftliche Untersuchungen und eine feinere Chronologie gestützt werden. Der Wandel der Besiedlung im 5. Jahrhundert entlang des linken Theißufers ist ein vielschichtiger, langandauernder Prozess und nicht direkt zu historischen Ereignissen zu knüpfen. Verschiedene Kontinuitätsmodelle sind entlang der Flussufer nachweisbar, gerade dann, wenn Siedlungen und Bestattungsplätze zusammen berücksichtigt werden können.

Zu den wichtigsten Ergebnissen meiner Forschungen zählt – neben der Vorlage bisheriger Ausgrabungen – der Perspektivwechsel: die Methodik der Landschaftsarchäologie in meinem Arbeitsgebiet anzuwenden und zu etablieren.

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TRANSFORMATION DER SIEDLUNGEN AM ENDE DES 4. UND IM 5. JAHRHUNDERT IN NORDOST-UNGARN

Eszter Soós

Transformation of the settlements in Northeast Hungary at the end of the 4th and in the 5th centuries AD

The northeast part of the Carpathian Basin was densely populated in the late Roman Age. East of the Rivers Hernád and Torysa, in Transcarpathia all the way to the limes of the former Roman Dacia the settlements of the Przeworsk culture, mostly identified with Vandals, can be found. We can count with Sarmatian sites in the lowland areas of the Upper Tisza Region. The settlement finds from the territories of the North Hungarian Range between the Rivers Danube and Sajó are related with the Quadi material culture from the present day western Slovakia.

The inhabitants of the Roman Age settlements making a living mainly from agriculture and livestock farming had multi-level connections. Most of the everyday utensils have been manufactured locally in the settlements in a self-sufficient way, while certain types of the artefacts were purchased from workshops providing regional markets. In addition to the regional trade and exchange networks, long-distance connections can be traced on the basis of Roman and Barbarian imported items.

Radical changes began in the second half of 4th century AD which rearranged the former cultural and economic conditions throughout the Carpathian Basin. The dense settlement network declined, most settlements from late Roman Age date to the turn of the 4th–5th or the beginning of the 5th century AD. In this period new technological and typological characteristics appeared among the settlement finds, most of which show connections with the Sântana de Mureş–Chernyakhov culture. Continuity can be observed in some areas, however, in these regions the new cultural influences brought forth the formation of a specific material culture. However, newcomers had also settled in the Upper Tisza Region: so far, the so-called Post-Chernyakhov horizon can primarily be identified in Hungary based on cemeteries.

A new social and economic system was formed in the 5th century AD that differed from the social structure of the previous late Roman Age. Small grave groups or lonely burials were spread all over the Carpathian Basin as remains of a new social system. The settlements belonging to the 'classical' Hunnic period graves are mostly unknown in the Carpathian Basin and also in the territories of the North Hungarian Range. The main reason behind the problem is that the dating of the settlement finds, consisting of pottery, iron and bone tools, is not compatible with the relative chronology of the Hunnic period worked out based on grave goods. The research of the representative burials and the remains of everyday life were separated in this period.

New sites with contemporary burials and settlement remains like Hernádóvécse–Nagy rét Site no. 4 will help to solve this methodological problem.

Keywords: Upper Tisza Region; Sântana de Mureş–Chernyakhov culture; settlements; continuity; migration

Im archäologischen Fundgut des mittleren Donaugebietes ist ab der zweiten Hälfte des 4. Jahrhunderts mit Veränderungen zu rechnen, die zur Entfaltung der „internationalen“ Modeerscheinungen der Hunnenzeit führten. Diese Prozesse wurden von der Forschung vor allem anhand der wesentlich besser datierbaren Grabfunde beschrieben, während die Veränderungen in

den Siedlungen und im alltäglichen Leben kaum bekannt sind.¹ Dies gilt besonders für das obere Theißgebiet, dessen herausragende Rolle die ungarische Forschung bereits mehrmals betonte.

Das Gebiet war in der vorangehenden späten römischen Kaiserzeit in mehrere Kulturzonen unterteilt (Abb. 1). In der ungarischen Tiefebene, nördlich bis zur Theiß-Linie kann das sarmatische Siedlungsgebiet umgrenzt werden.² In den Tälern der Berg- und Hügellandschaften in der Ost-Slowakei, in Transkarpatien, NW-Siebenbürgen, im Partium und teilweise in Ungarn können ab dem 2. Jahrhundert die Fundplätze der sog. Przeworsk-Kultur nachgewiesen und mit den Vandalen identifiziert werden.³ Die südöstliche Grenze der Przeworsk-Besiedlung war der dakische Limes,⁴ nach der Aufgabe der Provinz erschien hier die Sântana de Mureş-Kultur, deren Verbreitungsgebiet jedoch die Przeworsk-Gebiete nicht erreichte.⁵ Westlich vom Fluss Sajó/Slaná im Nördlichen Mittelgebirge zeigen die Funde mit dem quadischen Fundgut Ähnlichkeit.⁶

Das Siedlungsnetz des karpatenländischen Barbaricums entstand während der Konjunktur nach den Markomannenkriegen und entwickelte sich ununterbrochen bis zum Ende der römischen Kaiserzeit. Das Fundgut der dicht besiedelten sarmatischen und germanischen Gebiete zeugt von einem stabilen Handels- und Tauschnetzwerk. Ein Teil der Gebrauchsgegenstände wurde vor Ort hergestellt, der andere Teil aus spezialisierten regionalen Werkstattzentren herangeschafft.⁷ Auf einen etablierten Fernhandel mit anderen Gebieten des römischen Reiches und mit Nord-Europa weisen die Luxusgüter hin.⁸ In der herausgebildeten Wirtschaftsstruktur zeigen die Bestattungen ein kulturell unterschiedliches Bild: im Gegensatz zu den langfristig benutzten und mit großer Gräberzahl gekennzeichneten sarmatischen Gräberfeldern⁹ können in den Przeworsk Gebieten die ohnehin spärlichen Brandbestattungen ab der Mitte des 3. Jahrhunderts nicht mehr nachgewiesen werden.¹⁰ Die ausgedehnten und oft mit mehreren Hundert Urnengräbern ausgestatteten Gräberfelder in den quadischen Gebieten werden bis zum Ende der späten Kaiserzeit kontinuierlich benutzt.¹¹

Ab dem letzten Drittel des 4. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. erscheinen neue Elemente in der materiellen Kultur des Donaubeckens, die von der früheren Forschung als unmittelbarer Einfluss der Černjachov-Kultur, später als allgemein verbreitete, östliche Modeerscheinung interpretiert wurden. Der Prozess kann bis heute nicht genau beschrieben werden, es muss jedoch in Hinsicht der historischen Ereignisse sowohl mit Völkerbewegungen, als auch mit weit verbreiteten Modeerscheinungen gerechnet werden.¹²

Parallel dazu verändert sich sowohl das Siedlungsnetz, als auch das Wirtschaftssystem. Die Veränderungen betrafen sarmatische und germanische Gebiete unterschiedlich. Im Gegensatz zur Siedlungskonzentration¹³ der südlichen Tiefebene, spielten sich die Prozesse im nördlichen und nordöstlichen Karpatenbecken regional ungleichmäßig ab. In manchen Gebieten kann Kontinuität beobachtet werden, die die Entfaltung regionaler Gruppen herbeiführte.¹⁴ Darüber hinaus können mehrere, neu angesiedelte Gruppen identifiziert werden, wie die *Nordkarpatische Gruppe* oder der,

¹ TEJRAL 1988; TEJRAL 1992; TEJRAL 1997; TEJRAL 1999; KAZANSKI 2012.

² MASEK 2012, 257–261.

³ SOÓS 2016, Fig. 1.

⁴ GINDELE 2010, Karte 2–3.

⁵ KÖRÖSFŐI ET AL. 2010.

⁶ SOÓS–TANKÓ 2018.

⁷ Bestes Beispiel dafür ist die schnell gedrehte Keramik (ISTVÁNOVITS ET AL. 2011; SOÓS 2016, 457–458, Fig. 5.)

⁸ CARNAP–BORNHEIM 2001; ISTVÁNOVITS–KULCSÁR 2003, 232–238.

⁹ ISTVÁNOVITS–KULCSÁR 2017.

¹⁰ HULLÁM 2012, 92.

¹¹ GODŁOWSKI 1992; PIETA 1999, 171.

¹² TEJRAL 1999; TEJRAL 2000, 5–6.

¹³ VADAY 1994; ISTVÁNOVITS–KULCSÁR 2017, 381–384.

¹⁴ Sogenannte Post-Przeworsk Siedlungen (PIETA 1999, 185).

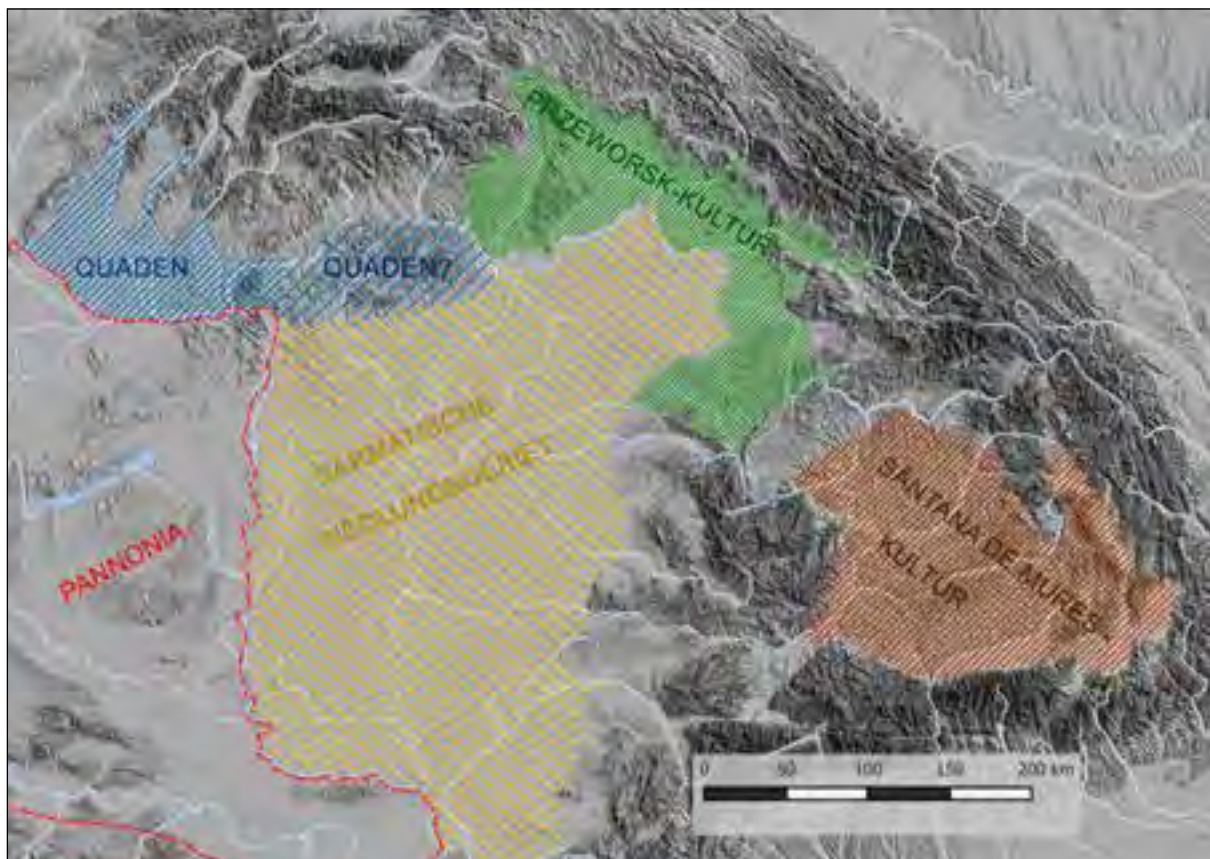


Abb. 1. Das kulturelle Bild des nordöstlichen Karpatenbeckens im 4. Jahrhundert n. Chr.

entlang der Theiß – leider bisweilen nur anhand von Grabfunden beschriebene – sog. Tiszadob-Kreis.

Für das 5. Jahrhundert, also für die klassische Hunnenzeit entsteht im ganzen Karpatenbecken eine von der spätkaiserzeitlichen abweichende, sozioökonomische Struktur. Die Bestattungen, die von der Forschung seit längerem als Einzelgräber oder als Kleinfamiliengräberfelder¹⁵ beschrieben wurden sind Belege eines neuen, teilweise familienbasierten Wirtschaftssystems. Die zu den Bestattungen gehörenden, den spätkaiserzeitlichen Siedlungen gegenüber mehr auf Selbstversorgung eingestellten Siedlungsplätze sind kaum bekannt. Die Datierung der meistens aus Keramik und Geräte bestehenden Siedlungsfunde kann mit der, meist durch Grabfunde erarbeitete Relativchronologie der Hunnenzeit kaum synchronisiert werden. Als Folge trennte sich innerhalb der archäologischen Forschung die Untersuchung der repräsentativen Grabfunde die des alltäglichen Lebens. Werden die bekannten Grab- und Siedlungsfunde kartiert, sind die Missverhältnisse gut sichtbar.

Die vorliegende Studie konzentriert sich in erster Linie auf die Siedlungsgeschichte des nördlichen Karpatenbeckens, besonders auf das obere Theißgebiet, das eine wesentliche Rolle während der Periode spielte (Abb. 2). Um ein komplexes Bild über die Periode zu erstellen, genügen die Untersuchungen der Trachtelemente und Grabfunde kaum. Es ist unerlässlich, die gerade in wachsender Anzahl freigelegten Siedlungsbefunde und Funde zu untersuchen und zu veröffentlichen, deshalb werden hier die bisher bekannten und die neuesten Daten über die Siedlungen der Region zusammengetragen. Die Ergebnisse werden vor allem hinsichtlich der

¹⁵ KISS 1996, 87–90; TEJRAL 1999a, 255–274.

Kontinuität zusammengefasst. Es wird versucht, die Veränderung der Lebensweise zwischen der Kaiserzeit und der Merowingerzeit anhand zweier nordungarischer Siedlungen aus dem 5. Jahrhundert zu modellieren.

VERÄNDERUNG DER SIEDLUNGSFUNDE IN DER FRÜHEN HUNNENZEIT

Am Ende der spätrömischen Kaiserzeit begannen auf dem Gebiet des karpatenländischen Barbaricums kraftvolle Veränderungen, deren Verlauf durch die Forschung vor allem anhand von Grabfunden umrissen wurde. Neben den offensichtlich neuen Elementen der materiellen Kultur sind andere Forschungsbereiche, wie Umwandlung des Siedlungsnetzes, Dynamik der Siedlungsentwicklung, sowie Kontinuität zwischen Kaiserzeit und Hunnenzeit kaum angesprochen.¹⁶

Der Zerfall des regionalen Verbindungssystems spätrömischer Siedlungen betraf die sarmatischen und germanischen Gebiete unterschiedlich. Die großen Kulturkreise der späten Kaiserzeit gingen nicht simultan und im gleichen Takt unter, die Veränderungen sind oft eher regional und nur auf dem Niveau der Siedlungen zu erfassen. Diese Tatsache bereitet bei der Fundbearbeitung oft methodologische Schwierigkeiten, da die Funde der ab der Kaiserzeit benutzten Siedlungen kaum wesentliche Veränderungen zeigen. Ihre Datierung erfolgt anhand von Analogien und ohne jegliche naturwissenschaftliche absolutchronologische Datierungsmethode, demnach werden einige Funde – fälschlicher Weise – in die spätkaiserzeitliche chronologische Stufe „zurückgeschoben“. Die mangelnden, umfassenden Publikationen der Siedlungsfunde führt dazu, dass man nicht eindeutig entscheiden kann, ob die Importfunde eine gewisse chronologische Stufe oder einen späteren, selbständigen Siedlungshorizont signalisieren. Beim heutigen Stand der Forschung können also die innere Struktur, Ausdehnung der hunnenzeitlichen Siedlungen und die Veränderungen nur in wenigen Fällen untersucht werden.

DAS SARMATISCHE SIEDLUNGSGEBIET

Im sarmatischen Fundgut kann zwischen der späten Kaiserzeit und der Hunnenzeit kein scharfer Bruch beobachtet werden. Eine Veränderung kann lediglich im kleineren Teil des Fundmaterials, vor allem aufgrund neuer Formen und Verzierungsarten erfasst werden.

Seit längerer Zeit werden die Schalen mit S-Profilierung¹⁷, Krüge vom Typ Murga¹⁸ – dessen Vorbilder innerhalb der Černjachov-Gebieten gesucht wurden – als hunnenzeitlich bestimmt und mit den angesiedelten östlichen, gotisch/germanischen Gruppen identifiziert.¹⁹ Die neuesten Analysen weisen eher auf einen Wirkungsmechanismus hin. Im Siedlungsmaterial tauchen öfters Funde mit fremdem Ursprung auf, die mit Sicherheit Importstücke sind. Ein gutes Beispiel dafür bietet das Černjachov-Gefäß mit drei Henkeln aus der Siedlung von Rákóczifalva-Bagi földek.²⁰ In breitem Kreis sind die förmlichen und technologischen Neuerungen, wie z.B. die Drachenschalen oder die Gürtelgefäße,²¹ bzw. die sogenannte Schwarzkeramik,²² und die körnigen gedrehten Kochgefäße weit verbreitet.²³ Die eingeläuteten Verzierungs-elemente und die neue Modewelle

¹⁶ TEJRAL 1997, 328.

¹⁷ PÁRDU CZ 1950, Taf. CXXIII,25, CXXVIII,13; PÁRDU CZ 1959, 358–359, Typ. 10, Abb. 26, Abb. 3, 28–29, 31, Typ. 4, Abb. 2, 4.

¹⁸ VADAY 1994.

¹⁹ PÁRDU CZ 1959, 341–342; zusammenfassend siehe dazu: MASEK 2011, 249–252.

²⁰ MASEK 2013, 242.

²¹ VADAY 1982; VADAY 1985, 25, 29; VADAY 1989, 141–143.

²² MASEK 2011, 263–266.

²³ ISTVÁNOVITS ET AL. 2011; MASEK 2014, 193–194, 1. kép 6, 7.

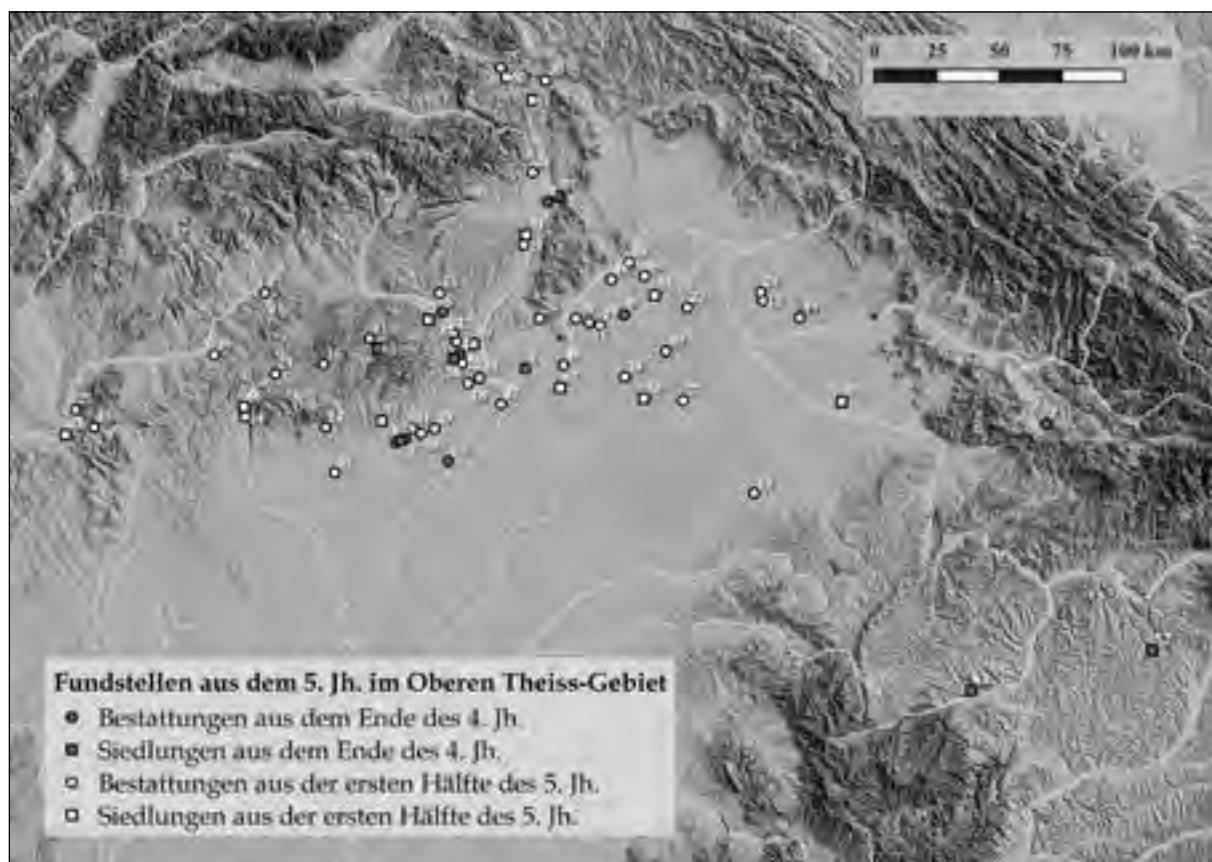


Abb. 2. Siedlungs- und Grabfunde des oberen Theißgebietes aus dem 5. Jahrhundert n. Chr. (s. Anhang)

signalisierende schwarz polierte Oberflächen erscheinen zumeist an traditionellen sarmatischen Formen.²⁴

Auch das Siedlungsnetz veränderte sich wesentlich: in der südlichen Tiefebene, die ab der Mitte des 5. Jahrhunderts ein zentraler Bereich ist, kann eine Konzentration der Siedlungen beobachtet werden,²⁵ während im oberen Theißgebiet die Entwicklung der Siedlungen nicht gleichmäßig verlief.

Auf dem Niveau der Siedlungsbefunde sind auch neue Elemente greifbar. Während der Kaiserzeit waren die Feuerstellen selten innerhalb der Häuser. Die bisher bekannten Lehmöfen,²⁶ die an den Häusern von außen angelegt sind, kennen wir aus den hunnenzeitlichen Siedlungen von Pişcolt-Lutărie, Tiszavasvári und Tiszaeszlár.²⁷ Dieser Ofentyp ist in der heimischen Tradition fremd und bleibt in den sarmatischen Siedlungen sowohl des mittleren Theißgebietes, als auch in der südlichen Tiefebene unbekannt.²⁸

²⁴ MASEK 2013, 242.

²⁵ VADAY 1985, 33; VÖRÖS 1987, 133; VADAY 1994, 105.

²⁶ KOVALOVSKI 1980, 18–20, 9–11. Zeichnung; ISTVÁNOVITS 1999, 174–175, Fig. 2–3; GINDELE 2010, 94–95, Abb. 54.

²⁷ KOVALOVSKI 1980, 9–13, 18–22. Zeichnung. Der Fundplatz wurde auf das 3–4 Jahrhundert datiert, aufgrund des doppelseitigen Kammes und der Töpfe mit körniger Magerung kann eine Kontinuität bis zur Wende des 4. und 5. Jahrhunderts angenommen werden.

²⁸ PINTYE ET. AL. 2003, 217; MASEK 2012b, 55; SZALONTAI-TÓTH 2000, 61–62.

In zahlreichen spätsarmatischen Siedlungen tauchen einzelne zeitbestimmende Funde, wie die Krüge vom Typ Murga²⁹, Schalen mit eingelättem Rand, gedrehte Kochgefäße mit körniger Magerung³⁰ auf. Die bisher veröffentlichten Siedlungsfunde zeigen jedoch keine dominanten Veränderungen, die Typen der späten Kaiserzeit wurden weiterhin benutzt.³¹ Die sarmatische Keramikherstellung darf im Grunde genommen als konservativ angesehen werden, deshalb können zahlreiche Siedlungen aus der Periode zwischen dem 2/3. und 5. Jahrhundert nicht näher datiert werden. Nur einige Funde zeigen Merkmale eines hunnenzeitlichen Fortbestehens der Siedlungen, bei Mangel zeitbestimmender Funde werden Fundplätze in die Kaiserzeit datiert. Ein gutes Beispiel für dieses Phänomen bietet der vergoldete Silberbeschlag eines hunnenzeitlichen Sattels aus Nyíregyháza-Oros, in dessen Umfeld nur für die gesamte Sarmatenzeit typische graue gedrehte Ware zum Vorschein kam.³²

Aus den spätsarmatischen Siedlungen kommt im Allgemeinen eine beachtbare Menge an Keramik zum Vorschein, die zumeist unpubliziert oder nur aus vorläufigen Berichten bekannt ist. Anhand der bisher untersuchten Funde und Fundplätze können die Veränderungen, die auf die Hunnenzeit hindeuten ab dem letzten Viertel des 4. und ab der Wende des 4. zum 5. Jahrhundert bestimmt werden. Die spätere Stufe eines möglichen sarmatischen Weiterlebens³³ ist unklar, vor allem im oberen Theißgebiet.³⁴

Ab der Wende des 4. zum 5. Jahrhunderts kann innerhalb des sarmatischen Siedlungsgebietes mit der Ansiedlung neuer Gruppen gerechnet werden. Eine aufgrund der Bestattungen deutlich umrissene Gruppe ist der sog. Tiszadob-Kreis³⁵, dessen Siedlungen bisweilen noch nicht identifiziert wurden. Fraglich ist auch, welche Siedlungen zu den zahlreichen, am nördlichen Grenzgebiet des sarmatischen Siedlungsbereiches jüngst freigelegten, „klassischen“ hunnenzeitlichen Gräbern und Gräberfeldern gehören.³⁶ Ein bewaffnetes Männergrab aus Tiszavasvári-Dancs tehenészet wurde in die erste Hälfte des 5. Jahrhundert datiert und mit dem nahliegenden sarmatischen Siedlungsteil in Verbindung gebracht.³⁷ Wichtige neue Ergebnisse werden von den Siedlungs- und Gräberfeldanalysen der Fundplätze in der Gemarkung von Nyíregyháza und Nagykálló erwartet, die vorläufig in die Mitte bzw. erste Hälfte des 5. Jahrhundert datiert und als germanisch bestimmt wurden.³⁸

DAS GEBIET DER PRZEWORSK-KULTUR

Die Entwicklung der innenkarpatischen Przeworsk-Siedlungen – vor allem in den Flußtälern der Berglandschaften östlich und nördlich vom oberen Theißgebiet – verlief regional unterschiedlich. Die Herstellung und Benutzung schnellgedrehter Keramik war in den Grenzgebieten zu Dakien,

²⁹ ISTVÁNOVITS 1999, I. tábla 1, X. tábla 1–2, XVI. tábla 5, XXIV. tábla 2.

³⁰ ISTVÁNOVITS 1999, 178–179, IX. tábla, XII–XIII. tábla, XXII. und XXXIII. tábla.

³¹ Wie z.B. die zuletzt auf die Wende des 4. zum 5. Jahrhundert datierten Siedlungen von Pişcolt-Lutărie und die Fundplätze im Umfeld von Sanislău-Ciumeşti-Berea (GINDELE 2010, 94–95, Abb. 54–55; GINDELE 2011, 218).

³² ISTVÁNOVITS–KULCSÁR 2014.

³³ MASEK 2012; MASEK 2013; BOCSI 2016.

³⁴ Einen zusammenfassenden Vortrag über diesen Themenkreis hielt Eszter Istvánovits bei der Konferenz „Kollaps – Neuordnung – Kontinuitäten. Das Theißgebiet nach dem Untergang des Hunnenreiches“. Internationale Tagung im Archäologischen Institut der Eötvös Loránd Universität (Budapest) am 14.–15. Dezember 2015.

³⁵ ISTVÁNOVITS 1993, 100–103; ISTVÁNOVITS–KULCSÁR 1999, 76; ISTVÁNOVITS–KULCSÁR 2017, 385–387.

³⁶ Pl. Nyíregyháza-Oros, Úr-Csere (MARTA ET AL. 2004); Nyíregyháza-Rozsrétszőlő (PINTYE 2014); Nagykálló-Ipari park (ISTVÁNOVITS–KULCSÁR 2017, 325–326, Fig. 269).

³⁷ KÖRÖSFŐI 2016a, 150.

³⁸ Nyíregyháza-Csorda Páskum I-II und Nyíregyháza-Harangod (MARKÓ 2012; PINTYE 2016; RÁCZ 2016, 303).

vor allem im Partium weit verbreitet. Westlich von dem Zips-Gemer-Erzgebirge sind die Wirkungen der archaisch-germanischen handgeformten Töpferei zeitlich wesentlich länger spürbar. Die intensiven Handelskontakte zu Pannonien sind durch die hohe Anzahl an römischen Importfunden gekennzeichnet, daneben ist auch der Einfluss der Quaden erkennbar.³⁹ Die unterschiedlichen kulturellen Kontakte des nach Norden offenen Hernád-Tales und des siebenbürgischen Somesch-Gebietes sind auch in der frühen Hunnenzeit nachvollziehbar.

Südöstlich von dem Zips-Gemer-Erzgebirge ist am Ende des 4. Jahrhunderts im Gegensatz zur dichten Besiedlung der späten Kaiserzeit eine drastische Ausdünnung des Siedlungsnetzes zu beobachten.⁴⁰ Nur wenige dauerten bis zum Ende der späten Kaiserzeit fort, wie z.B. Csengersima-Peta.⁴¹ Ähnliche Fundplätze wie Culciu Mare-Zöldmező,⁴² Bocşa-La pietriş,⁴³ Sarasău-Zăpodie⁴⁴ sind bisweilen nur aus vorläufigen Berichten bekannt. Im Fundgut der weiterlebenden siebenbürgischen Fundplätze sowie aus den Siedlungen des Partiums können „Post-Černjachov“-Elemente nachgewiesen werden, wie z.B. Geweihkämme mit halbkreisförmigem Griff, Fibeln mit umgeschlagenem Fuß, sowie große bikonische Schüsseln mit eingeglätteter Verzierung.⁴⁵ Das Gefäßspektrum dieser Siedlungen bildet eine organische Fortsetzung der vorangehenden Traditionen besonders im Hinblick auf Technologie und Formenschatz. Die Veränderung zeigt sich teilweise durch die technologischen Neuerungen, teilweise durch neue Typen, die vorher nicht vorhanden waren. Die am ausführlichsten publizierten Fundplätze dieser Periode sind Culciu Mare-Boghilaz,⁴⁶ und Apa-Moşia Brazilor auf der Sathmar-Ebene. Im Fundgut beider Fundplätze werden die für die spät Kaiserzeit charakteristischen halbkugelförmigen und scharf profilierten Schüsseln mit einfachem, eingeglätteten Liniendekor durch große, halbkugelförmige Schüsseln mit eingeglättetem Netzdekor ersetzt, wobei die Mehrzahl des Fundmaterials die kaiserzeitliche Tradition fortführt. Interessanterweise sind neue Herstellungstechniken an archaischen Formen zu erkennen: im Gegensatz zu der sog. Schwarzkeramik⁴⁷ der sarmatischen Gebiete verbreitet sich hier das oxidierende Brennverfahren.⁴⁸

Die erwähnten fortlebenden Fundplätze werden im Allgemeinen nur durch die auf die Wende des 4. zum 5. Jahrhunderts datierten Funde zeitlich eingestuft. Die obere Zeitgrenze der an Metallgegenständen relativ armen Siedlungen kann lediglich anhand der Keramikmerkmale kaum bestimmt werden.

Auch innerhalb des Przeworsk-Verbreitungsgebietes kamen neu angelegte Siedlungen ohne kaiserzeitliche Vorbilder vor. Der Unterschied besteht nur darin, dass die ungarische Forschung eher auf Untersuchung der Grabfunde basierte, während aus dem Gebiet Siebenbürgens und des Partiums mehr Siedlungen bekannt sind. Ihre Interpretation ist oft schwierig, da einige Forscher die Funde als kaiserzeitlich⁴⁹, andere als dakisch⁵⁰ bestimmten.

Die Siedlung von der Wende des 4. zum Jahrhundert und aus dem beginnenden 5. Jahrhundert von Lazuri-Râtul lui Bela ist am vollständigsten bearbeitet und veröffentlicht. Auf dem Fundplatz wurden zehn Töpferofen freigelegt, die das Vorhandensein der lokalen Keramikproduktion beweisen. Neben den großen, dünnwandigen Schüsseln mit breitem Rand tauchen auch bikonische Gefäße mit gedrungenem Bauch auf, die bereits die Formen des 6. Jahrhunderts anzeigen. Aufgrund

³⁹ Soós 2015, 361–365; Soós 2017, 36–37.

⁴⁰ GINDELE 2010, 145; STANCIU 2008, Fig. 1–2.

⁴¹ GINDELE 2011, 217.

⁴² STANCIU 1995; MATEI–STANCIU 2000, Nr. 55, 43–44, Pl. 25–28; STANCIU 2008.

⁴³ MATEI–STANCIU 2000, 34–36, Nr. 23; STANCIU 2008.

⁴⁴ STANCIU 2008.

⁴⁵ STANCIU 2008, Pl. 1–3; GINDELE 2010, 64–66, Abb. 36.

⁴⁶ GINDELE 2010, 76–85, Abb. 44–49.

⁴⁷ MASEK 2011, 263–268.

⁴⁸ GINDELE 2010, 64–66, Abb. 36.

⁴⁹ GINDELE 2010, 64–66, 142.

⁵⁰ PROTASE 2008.

der facettierten Oberfläche der Krüge wies der Bearbeiter der Funde nicht nur auf Kontakte zur Černjachov-Kultur hin, sondern auch auf mögliche Impulse aus Südpolen.⁵¹

Die Mehrheit der neu entdeckten Fundorte liegt in der nordwestlichen Verbreitzungszone der Sântana de Mureş-Kultur.⁵² Die Siedlung in Suceag-Oradba wurde in die Stufen C3-D2 datiert und liegt in der Nähe von Pălatca, eines der jüngsten Gräberfelder der Kultur.⁵³ In der Siedlung wurden drei Töpferofen freigelegt, anhand der die Siedlung als Töpferzentrum bestimmt wurde. Unter den Funden sind jüngste Varianten der Fibel mit umgeschlagenem Fuß und ein Feuerstahl besonders zu nennen, die beide auf Post-Przeworsk Kontakte hinweisen.⁵⁴ Das Keramikensemble besteht aus dünnwandigen Krügen vom Typ Murga mit fein eingeglätteten Muster, Schüssel und feinen Töpfen und zeigt enge Verwandtschaft zu der spätrömischen Keramik Pannoniens.⁵⁵ Die Facettierung signalisiert die Stufe D2.⁵⁶

Zahlreiche aus der Sicht der Periode wichtige Siedlungen sind nur aus vorläufigen Berichten bekannt. Die mehrperiodige Siedlung von Archiud-Hänsuri wurde seit den 1960-Jahren systematisch erforscht. Zur frühvolkwanderungszeitlichen Siedlungsteil gehören sechs oberirdische und zwei eingetiefte, ohne Pfosten angelegte, Gebäude. Auf dem Hügel über dem Siedlungsgebiet wurden weitere 158 Gruben freigelegt, von denen in 18 menschliche Knochenreste, bzw. in 13 vollständige Hundeskelette freigelegt wurden.⁵⁷ Die Siedlung wird mit dem dako-romanischen Horizont in Verbindung gebracht. Die Funde, wie z.B. die Fibel mit umgeschlagenem Fuß, Blechfibel mit halbkreisförmiger Kopfplatte, ein konisches Becherfragment und die zumeist grobe, weniger feine, schnell gedrehte Keramik datieren die Siedlung auf die Wende des 4/5. Jahrhunderts bzw. auf die ersten Hälfte des 5. Jahrhunderts. Aufgrund eines facettierten Krugfragmentes kann sie eventuell noch die Stufe D2 erlebt haben.⁵⁸

Neben den oben besprochenen Siedlungen können weitere, bislang nicht untersuchte Fundensembles erwähnt werden, deren zukünftige Bearbeitung neue Daten sichern würden. Der Fundplatz von Țaga-Hrube muss aufgrund einer Bronzemünze des Constans bzw. eines zweiseitigen Kammes ebenfalls hier angeführt werden.⁵⁹ In Bolda-La Spini wurde lediglich ein Töpferofen freigelegt, deshalb ist seine Rolle innerhalb der Siedlung nicht bestimmbar. Die Gefäße werden meistens von der Töpferscheibe „abgeschnitten“. Dieses Verfahren lässt sich am Boden der Gefäße erkennen und kann in die Stufen C3/D1 datiert werden.⁶⁰ Auf dem Fundplatz von Medieșu Aurit-La Oșanu führte Sever Dumitrașcu eine kleinere Grabung durch, wobei ein Gebäude und drei Öfen ans Tageslicht kamen. Anhand der Veröffentlichung der Töpfe und Schalen mit grober Magerung könnte der Fundort ebenfalls in diese Stufe datiert werden.⁶¹

In den Przeworsk-Gebieten westlich des Zips-Gemer-Erzgebirges liefen teilweise ähnliche Prozesse ab, dieses Gebiet stand jedoch aufgrund der Nähe der nördlichen Pässe der Karpaten in engerer Beziehung zu den Post-Przeworsk Fundplätzen.

Auch im Hernád-Tal erlebten zahlreiche kaiserzeitliche Fundplätze das 5. Jahrhundert,⁶² deren Entwicklung, sowie die Zusammensetzung des archäologischen Fundmaterials, vor allem der

⁵¹ GINDELE 2010, 142, 159, Abb. 16–17, Abb. 19–20, Abb. 25, 6, 8.

⁵² Oradea-Salca, Mișca, Suplacul de Barcău (OPREANU 2011, 197).

⁵³ OPREANU 2013, 56–57.

⁵⁴ OPREANU 2005.

⁵⁵ OPREANU–COCIȘ 2002; OPREANU 2013.

⁵⁶ OPREANU 2013, Pl. II/1.

⁵⁷ GAIU 1999, 277; KÖRÖSFŐI 2016, 117, 182–183. T.

⁵⁸ KÖRÖSFŐI 2016, 117.

⁵⁹ KÖRÖSFŐI 2016, 53, 15. T.

⁶⁰ MATEI–STANCIU 2000, 36–37, Nr. 26, Pl. 44–58; GINDELE 2010, 107.

⁶¹ DUMITRAȘCU 1997, 527, Pl. V. Der genaue Fundplatz konnte nicht mehr identifiziert werden und die Funde sind vermutlich verschollen. (Mündliche Mitteilung von Robert Gindele.)

⁶² In den früheren Studien wurde die Datierung der Siedlungskeramik nur anhand der eingeglätteten Verzierung bis zum Anfang des 5. Jahrhunderts geschoben (Garadna-Kastély zug: SALAMON–TÖRÖK

Keramikproduktion keine scharfe Zäsur zeigen. In der jüngsten Siedlungsperiode können typische, in die Stufe C3/D1 datierte Funde nachgewiesen werden, während die Mehrheit der Keramik spätkaiserzeitliche Tradition zeigt. Im Gebiet des heutigen Ungarns befindet sich im Hernád-Tal eine der größten freigelegten Siedlungen in Garadna-Kovács tanya, die ab der zweiten Hälfte des zweiten Jahrhunderts besiedelt war.⁶³ Ein konischer Glasbecher, sowie ein doppelseitiger Knochenkamm datieren die jüngsten Siedlungsbefunde in die Stufe C3/D1. Das Anlegen der Siedlung in der slowakischen Nižná Myšľa-Alamenev wurde aufgrund der handgeformten Töpfe und Vorratsgefäße mit plastischer Verzierung sowie Bruchstücken von Terra Sigillata und schnellgedrehter Keramik in das 3. Jahrhundert datiert. Einen jüngeren Horizont signalisieren das eingeläutete Muster, der doppelseitiger Kamm und zahlreiche, in die Stufe C3 datierte gravierte Fibel mit umgeschlagenem Fuß.⁶⁴ Eine ähnliche Fundsituation kann auch in der Siedlung von Trstené pri Hornáde vermutet werden, obwohl hier profilierte Gefäße nur aus Siedlungsschichten bekannt sind.⁶⁵

Die genannten Fundorte befinden sich im mittleren Lauf des Hernád-Tales. Nördlich des Košice-Beckens nahm die Entwicklung der fortlebenden Siedlungen einen anderen Lauf und den neu herausgebildet Kreis nennt man – aufgrund der vorherrschend nördlichen Einflüssen der Dobrodziń-Kultur – allgemein *Post-Przeworsk-Horizont*⁶⁶.

Anhand der Veröffentlichung war auf dem Fundplatz von Prešov die Przeworsk-Besiedlung ab dem 2. Jahrhundert n. Chr. bis zum 5. Jahrhundert ununterbrochen. In den jüngeren Befunden war der Anteil an gedrehter Grobkeramik höher. Als Lesefund kam ein Knochenkamm Typ Černjachov zu Tage, der zusammen mit Dreihenkelschalen mit Stempelverzierung und einer späten Variante der zweigliedrigen Fibel mit umgeschlagenem Fuß eine Datierung an die Wende des 4. und 5. Jahrhunderts anzeigt.⁶⁷ Ein vergleichbares Bild zeigt die Siedlungskeramik von Ostrovany. Für die Periode sind Gefäße mit größerem Durchmesser, Glättverzierung und horizontale Rippenverzierung charakteristisch, die auch in anderen ostslowakischen Fundplätzen belegt sind. Ungewöhnlich sind jedoch der mit senkrechter Rille versehene Rand, die unvermittelte Verdünnung des Randes sowie die scharfe Profilierung des Fußringes.⁶⁸ Diese Merkmale sind von anderen Fundplätzen nicht bekannt. Anhand des Knochenkammes Typ Černjachov und des facettierten Krugfragments datierten die Bearbeiter der Funde den Siedlungsteil auf die erste Hälfte des 5. Jahrhunderts mit der Vorbemerkung, dass gewisse Veränderungen der materiellen Kultur ab dem Ende des 4. Jahrhunderts präsent sind.⁶⁹

Im Fundmaterial der oben besprochenen Siedlungen kommen Merkmale vor, die auf Verbindungen mit den nördlichen Karpaten hindeuten, wobei auch intensive Kontakte zu den südwestlichen Černjachov-Gebieten belegt sind. Besonders eindeutig zeigen dies die Funde mit

1960; Ždaňa–Duboxa: LAMIOVÁ-SCHMIEDLOVÁ–OLEXA 2003. Die vertikalen Wellenlinien und selten die Netzverzierung kommen jedoch ab dem 3. Jahrhundert n. Chr. vor, genauso wie der hohe Anteil an schnellgedrehter Keramik.

⁶³ SOÓS 2015, 288, 297; SOÓS 2016, Fig. 5.

⁶⁴ BÉREŠ ET AL. 1991, Obr. 3–4, 6, 11, Tab. II, 1 Tab. III, 7, Tab. VIII, 3, Tab. IX.; PIETA 1999, 185, Abb. 13.

⁶⁵ JUREČKO 1983, Obr. 14.

⁶⁶ BUDINSKÝ-KRIČKA 1963, 42, Abb. 22, Taf. XI, 6, Taf. XV, 6; BÉREŠ ET AL. 1991, Obr. 3–4, 6, 11, Tab. II, 1; LAMIOVÁ-SCHMIEDLOVÁ–TOMÁŠOVÁ 1999, 127; PIETA 1999, 185. Pieta reiht den Fundplatz von Nižná Myšľa-Alamenev auch zum „*post-Przeworsk*“ Kreis, obwohl die dort entdeckten Funde einen andersartigen Charakter haben, z.B. ist die dickwandige Drehscheibenkeramik mit Rippenverzierung nicht vorhanden. Es ist wahrscheinlicher, dass die Siedlung auch in der Spätphase existierte und an der Wende des 4/5. Jahrhunderts aufgegeben wurde.

⁶⁷ BUDINSKÝ-KRIČKA 1963, 42, Abb. 21, Taf. XI, 6, Taf. XV, 6.

⁶⁸ LAMIOVÁ-SCHMIEDLOVÁ–TOMÁŠOVÁ 1999, Tab. I, 4–5, Tab. IV, 2–5, Tab. X, 18, 21.

⁶⁹ LAMIOVÁ-SCHMIEDLOVÁ–TOMÁŠOVÁ 1999, 127–128; LAMIOVÁ-SCHMIEDLOVÁ ET AL. 2017, 37–38, Tab. XXXI, 1, Tab. XXXII, 9, Tab. LV, 7–8.

zweifellos östlicher Herkunft: eine bikonische Dreihenkelchale aus Prešov⁷⁰, sowie die pontische Fischsoßenamphora aus Ostrovany.⁷¹

Entlang der nördlichen Nebenflüsse der Theiß, auf früheren Przeworsk-Gebieten darf auch mit Hinterlassenschaft der neu Angesiedelten gerechnet werden. In Miskolc-Szirma-Fáskert⁷² wurden den Gräbern aus Tiszadob-Sziget vergleichbare, auf die Wende des 4/5. Jh. bzw. auf den Anfang des 5. Jahrhunderts datierte Gräberfunde identifiziert. Das neulich entdeckte Gräberfeld mit 22 Gräbern bei Sajószentpéter ist weiterhin unpubliziert, die Funde, vor allem eine große Blechfibel aus der Stufe D2 weist auf enge Kontakte mit der Černjachov-Kultur hin.⁷³

Weitere jüngst entdeckte Siedlungen datiert man in den Anfang des 5. Jahrhunderts. Zwei bereits publizierte und bearbeitete Fundstellen werden in dieser Studie kurz besprochen (Hernádvécse-Nagy rét und Onga-Teknő lapos).

Der Fundplatz von Sajószentpéter-Vasúti őrház lieferte ein Dutzend eingetiefter Grubenhäuser bzw. Speichergruben, die anhand einer Fibel vom Typ Léva-Prsa bzw. anhand eines Glasbeckers vom Typ Snartemo in die Stufen D2-D3 datiert wurden. Die Keramik besteht größtenteils aus grobkörniger und feiner Drehscheibenkeramik: vor allem Töpfe, Schalen und weniger verzierte Krüge vom Typen Murga.⁷⁴ An der Fundstelle von Miskolc-ALDI 2 wurden zwei eingetieft Häuser mit jeweils zwei Öfen freigelegt. Neben dem umfangreichen keramischen Material bestehend zumeist aus grobkörniger Drehkeramik wurden datierbare Eisenwerkzeuge und römische Münzen nachgewiesen.⁷⁵ Im Bodrog-Tal kann gleicherweise mit einer Besiedlung nach der späten Kaiserzeit gerechnet werden. Eine stark erodierte Siedlung kam bei Cigánd-Diósd I. zum Vorschein. Unter den keinem Befunden mehr zuweisbaren Funden finden wir eine Perle aus Halbedelstein, Münzen sowie eine Fibel vom Typ Bratei. Vorläufig wurde die Siedlung in die Kaiserzeit datiert, war aber wahrscheinlich zwischen dem Ende des 4. und Anfang des 5. Jahrhunderts besiedelt.⁷⁶ Eine etwas spätere Benutzung (Mitte des 5. Jahrhunderts) zeigen die früher als sarmatisch bestimmten Siedlungsfunde aus Streda nad Bodrogom.⁷⁷

DIE NORDKARPATISCHE GRUPPE

Auf dem Gebiet der einstigen Púchov-Kultur in der slowakischen Berglandschaft kann ab der zweiten Hälfte des 4. Jahrhunderts eine neue kulturelle Einheit, die sogenannte *Nordkarpatische Gruppe* umrissen werden. Die Benennung bezieht sich auf einen neuen und für kurze Zeit greifbaren Siedlungshorizont, der ab der Stufe C3 datiert werden kann. Die Fundplätze werden kurz nach 400 n. Chr. – nach der Meinung polnischer Kollegen in der Mitte des 5. Jahrhunderts – aufgegeben⁷⁸, wahrscheinlich als Folge eines aggressiven Ereignisses.⁷⁹ Diese Fundplätze in der zuvor zur Besiedlung kaum genutzten Berglandschaft sind vermutlich Spuren einer Verlagerung. Die Besiedlung geographisch höher liegenden Regionen kann auch im Verbreitungsgebiet der

⁷⁰ BUDINSKÝ-KRIČKA 1963, Tab. XV, 6.

⁷¹ LAMIOVÁ-SCHMIEDLOVÁ-TOMÁŠOVÁ 1999, 129–130, Obr. 27, LAMIOVÁ-SCHMIEDLOVÁ ET AL. 2017, Tab. XXXIII, 2.

⁷² SOÓS 2018.

⁷³ RÁCZ 2016, 303, note 15.

⁷⁴ TÓTH 2013, 128, V. t. 14, VIII. t. 1, X. t. 7, 9, XII. t. 1, XVI. t. 3, XXXI. t. 6

⁷⁵ CSENGERI 2011.

⁷⁶ KISJUHÁSZ 2010; TEJRAL 2015, 297–307.

⁷⁷ POLLA 1969; PIETA 1987, 411, IX, 12.

⁷⁸ MADYDA-LEGUTKO-TUNIA 2008, 231.

⁷⁹ PIETA 1999, 182; MADYDA-LEGUTKO-TUNIA 2008, 245–246.

Pzeworsk-Kultur in den Beskiden⁸⁰ beobachtet werden. Ähnliche Tendenzen liegen auch aus den quadischen Gebieten im Südwesten vor.⁸¹

Die Ansiedlung zeigen die charakteristischen Typen der Stufe C3: späte Varianten der Bronzefibeln mit umgeschlagenem Fuß, eiserne Bogenfibel mit langem Nadelhalter, Käbme vom Typ Černjachov, die grundsätzlich für die Fundplätze der polnischen Dobrodzień-Gruppe charakteristisch sind.⁸² Aufgrund des begrenzten Ausmaßes an freigelegten Siedlungsflächen und wegen der oft zerstörten stratigraphischen Verhältnissen verfügen wir über sehr wenige Daten über Siedlungsstrukturen. Die dichteste Ansiedlung kann in die Zips-Region lokalisiert werden.⁸³ Für die Keramikherstellung der Nordkarpatischen Gruppe sind – im Gegensatz zu anderen Gebieten der Periode – der hohe Anteil an handgeformter Keramik, sowie die grobe Scheibentechnik und die oft vorkommenden eingeritzten Verzierungsmotiven charakteristisch. Ein weiteres spezifisches Phänomen für die späteste Phase der Pzeworsk-Kultur ist die Stempelverzierung der sogenannten *Krausengefäße*.⁸⁴ Die entlang des Poprad entdeckten Töpferöfen⁸⁵ sind Beweise für lokale Keramikherstellung und fast in jeder Siedlung kamen Spuren der Metallverarbeitung vor.⁸⁶ In einem durchaus neuen Licht lässt das auf die Wende des 4/5. Jahrhunderts datierten Fürstengrab von Poprad-Matejovce⁸⁷ die Machtposition der Gruppe erscheinen. Die materielle Kultur der Gruppe wurde vorher vor allem aufgrund ärmlicher Keramik und spärlicher Kleinfunde bestimmt; Bestattungen waren überhaupt nicht bekannt. Eine Ausnahme ist das Grab von Rajbot, das mit Gruppen der in die inneren Gebiete der Karpaten umgezogenen Spät-Pzeworsk-Kultur in Verbindung gebracht wurde.⁸⁸

Als erster benutzte Karol Pieta die Benennung Nordkarpatische Gruppe.⁸⁹ Er zählte neben den Fundplätzen der Zips auch die Fundorte von Prešov und Ostrovany in der Umgebung von Prešov zu dieser Gruppe, obwohl sie früher als zur selbständigen Prešov-Gruppe gehörend interpretiert wurden.⁹⁰ Die östliche Verbreitung der Nordkarpatische Gruppe in der Ost-Slowakei hat er nicht näher bestimmt, im Falle der oben erwähnten Fundplätzen betonte er eher starke östliche Einflüsse.⁹¹ Die Bearbeiter der Fundplätze des Hordád- und Torysa-Tales haben dagegen die Verbindungen mit der vorangehenden kaiserzeitlichen Pzeworsk-Kultur herausgehoben und eine Kontinuität vermutet.⁹² In der Umgebung von Prešov erscheinen auch – obwohl seltener – Vorratsgefäße mit Stempelverzierung,⁹³ der Anteil handgeformter Keramik ist jedoch geringer. Die Formen der feinen und schnellgedrehten Keramik und die scharfen Rillenverzierungen zeigen nähere Kontakte zur nördlichen Seite der Karpaten, wie z.B. zum späten Fundmaterial der Siedlung Jakuszowicze.⁹⁴

⁸⁰ MADYDA-LEGUTKO 2000, 226–227, Abb. 4, Abb. 6; „Carpathian Group of the Przeworsk culture“ (MADYDA-LEGUTKO–TUNIA 2008, 246).

⁸¹ TEJRAL 1999, 238–243; PIETA 1999, 182.

⁸² SZYDŁOWSKI 1977; PIETA 1999, Abb. 11.

⁸³ PIETA 1991, 377–378.

⁸⁴ MADYDA-LEGUTKO–TUNIA 2008, 231–232, Fig. 2, Fig. 3.

⁸⁵ Kežmarok-Vrbové (GIERTLOVÁ-KUČEROVÁ–SOJÁK 2005, Fig. 5).

⁸⁶ PIETA 1987, 388.

⁸⁷ PIETA–ROTH 2007.

⁸⁸ BIBORSKI–ZAGÓRSKA-TELEGA 2008.

⁸⁹ PIETA 1991, 376.

⁹⁰ PIETA 1987, 388; PIETA 1999, 181, Abb. 9.

⁹¹ PIETA 1987, 391.

⁹² LAMIOVÁ-SCHMIEDLOVÁ 1969, 478 und BUDINSKÝ-KRIČKA 1963, 36–37.

⁹³ BUDINSKÝ-KRIČKA 1963, Tab. XIV, 7; LAMIOVÁ-SCHMIEDLOVÁ-TOMÁŠOVÁ 1999, Tab. III, 19. An dieser Stelle möchte ich mich bei Kamil Švaňa (Trnavska Univerzita) für die zahlreichen Ratschläge und freundlichen Gespräche bedanken.

⁹⁴ RODZIŃSKA-NOWAK 2000, 196, Abb. 1; KACZANOWSKI–RODZIŃKA-NOWAK 2008, Abb. 3.

DIE GEBIETE DER QUADEN

Im Gebiet der West-Slowakei sind – dem Theißgebiet gegenüber – andere Wirkungen sichtbar, vor allem aufgrund ihrer geographischen Lage und der unmittelbaren Nachbarschaft mit den römischen Provinzen. Das Ende der Kaiserzeit wird konventionell nördlich von Pannonien durch das Erscheinen vereinzelter Körpergräber oder kleinerer Gräberfelder gekennzeichnet.⁹⁵

Für einen Teil der C3 datierten Fundplätze können intensive römisch-quadische Beziehungen und der Beginn der Produktion von schnellgedrehter Keramik im Barbaricum beschrieben werden. In der germanischen Fürstenresidenz von Bratislava-Dúbravka signalisieren die Sechspostengebäude, Gruben und Fibeln mit umgeschlagenem Fuß der Stufe C3 die starken römischen Kontakte des 4. Jahrhunderts.⁹⁶

Der demographische Rückgang zwischen der zweiten Hälfte des 4. Jahrhunderts und der ersten Hälfte des 5. Jahrhunderts wird auch im quadischen Siedlungsnetz deutlich. Die Abwanderung der Quaden im Jahre 406. n. Chr. ist auch durch historische Quellen belegt.⁹⁷ Das Ende der meisten intensiv bewohnten quadischen Siedlungen ist durch die Stufe C3 markiert und bedeutet gleichzeitig die letzte Phase der spätrömischen Kaiserzeit. Im Fundgut der späten Siedlungen erscheinen vor allem Fibel mit umgeschlagenem quadratischem Fuß und Kerbschnittverzierung, Geweihkämme mit halbkreisförmiger oder dreieckiger Griffplatte, Münzen des 4. Jahrhunderts und erhebliche Menge an Importwaren, wie Sigillaten aus den Argonnen und Nord-Afrika, glasierte Reibschüssel, späte Formen von Ringschüsseln.⁹⁸ Dieses Fundspektrum ist jedoch nicht überall präsent. Zur letzten Phase der Siedlung von Branč-helyfölkde gehörten nur einige, auf der Grabungsfläche zerstreut angelegte Befunde mit schlichten Funden und ohne Importfunde, was wiederum auf eine Verarmung hindeutet.⁹⁹ Die letzte Phase der ausgedehnten, vorläufig unpublizierten Siedlung von Beckov wurde an die Wende des 4/5. Jahrhunderts datiert, hauptsächlich aufgrund der ärmlichen Keramik und eines Eisenhortes, vergraben in einem Baubefund.¹⁰⁰

Die Wende des 4/5. Jahrhunderts wird nicht nur durch das Abbrechen der Siedlungen charakterisiert: es gibt zudem zahlreiche Münzdepots aus Bronze und Silber¹⁰¹ und in Gebäuden verborgene Depots mit Eisenwerkzeugen.¹⁰² Die für den Ackerbau günstigen Siedlungsumgebungen in den Flusstälern werden aufgegeben, die neuen Siedlungen befinden sich in engen Bach- und Flusstälern im oberen Gran- und Waag-Gebiet.¹⁰³ Eine ganz eigenständige Erscheinung ist die Nutzung der seit der Spätbronzezeit nicht mehr aufgesuchten Höhlen.¹⁰⁴

Die neu gegründeten mährischen und westslowakischen Flachsiedlungen wurden nach dem führenden Fundort Typ Zlechov benannt.¹⁰⁵ Die Leitfunde der Stufe C3/D1 sind Fibeln mit umgeschlagenem Fuß, doppelseitige Kämmen, sowie Kämmen Typ Černjachov, schnell gedrehte Keramik mit grober Magerung und die feinen, selten eingeläutete Keramik, die den Töpferwaren des oberen Theißgebietes ähneln. Im Fundgut der wenigen mährischen Siedlungen markieren den als „donauländischer Kreis“ oder „Murga-Stil“¹⁰⁶ benannten Horizont Krüge vom Typ Murga, bikonische Schüsseln mit eingeläuteter Verzierung¹⁰⁷, schnell gedrehte Töpfe mit grober

⁹⁵ PIETA 1999, 171; TEJRAL 1999, 205–207.

⁹⁶ ELSCHKE 2004.

⁹⁷ PIETA 1999, 175; TEJRAL 1999, 220; VARSÍK 2011, 228.

⁹⁸ VARSÍK 2011, 226–228, Abb. 106.

⁹⁹ KOLNÍK ET. AL. 2007, 35, Obr. 17.

¹⁰⁰ VARSÍK ET. AL. 2006.

¹⁰¹ Z.B. Banská Bystrica (PIETA 1987, 386–388).

¹⁰² PIETA 1999, 182; VARSÍK 2011, 228.

¹⁰³ PIETA 1987, 386–388; PIETA 1999, 178; TEJRAL 1999, 241; RUTTKAY 2009.

¹⁰⁴ PIETA 1999, 182.

¹⁰⁵ TEJRAL 2000, 13; ZEMAN 2006; ZEMAN 2007.

¹⁰⁶ TEJRAL 1985; TEJRAL 1988, 267.

¹⁰⁷ TEJRAL 1985, 130, Abb. 17, 5–7.

Magerung.¹⁰⁸ Sie werden aufgrund der römischen Reibschalen in die erste Hälfte bzw. ins zweite Drittel des 5. Jahrhundert datiert.¹⁰⁹ Auch in der Baustruktur der Gebäude ist eine Veränderung sichtbar: in den ab 400 n. Chr. gebauten Häuser befinden sich die Pfosten nicht entlang der Längsseite, sondern an den Ecken oder an den Schmalseiten. Das Erscheinen dieser in der Literatur als Eckpfostenhäuser benannte Gebäude wird mit den hunnenzeitlichen, teilweise ethnisch bedingten Veränderungen in Zusammenhang gebracht.¹¹⁰

Während die tschechische Forschung den Horizont eindeutig definiert, bleibt die Frage der Siedlungskontinuität in der mittleren Slowakei unbeantwortet. Es ist wichtig zu vermerken, dass sowohl die tschechische als auch die slowakische Forschung zwischen den Stufen C3/D1 und D1-D2 mit einer Diskontinuität rechnet.¹¹¹ In diesem Sinne wird in der ersten Hälfte des 5. Jahrhunderts mit neuen, ohne heimische Vorbilder gegründeten Siedlungen gerechnet.¹¹²

Die am vollständigsten publizierten Fundplätze befinden sich in der Umgebung der gut datierbaren und ab den Stufen B2/C1 existierenden kaiserzeitlichen Siedlungen. Die Siedlung von Nitra-Párovské Háje mit Töpferofen war zwischen den Stufen C3/D1-D2 benutzt. Sowohl die Funde, als auch die Befunde können zeitlich gut getrennt werden. Die Bearbeiter der Funde rechnen mit einem Bruch nach dem Ende der späten Kaiserzeit, lassen jedoch die Frage eines möglichen Weiterlebens offen.¹¹³ Im Fundplatz von Štúrovo-Vojenské cvičisko wurden anhand der handgeformten Keramik spätrömischer Tradition eine Stufe C3 und eine Stufe D1 unterschieden. Für die Spätphase der Siedlung sind die gedrehte Keramik mit körniger Magerung und ein hoher Anteil an Töpfen kennzeichnend. Das breite Gefäß mit eingezogenem Rand und Rippenverzierung weist eine Fundprovinienz in der Černjachov-Kultur auf.¹¹⁴

Die slowakische Forschung führt im Allgemeinen das Erscheinen der für die Periode typischen schnell gedrehten Töpfe mit körniger Magerung und Deckelpfalz – aufgrund der geographischen Lage der Fundorte und des hohen Anteils an Importstücken – auf provinzialrömische Einflüsse zurück.¹¹⁵ Das teilweise parallel verbreitende Tafelgeschirr mit eingeglätteten Mustern wurde zunächst *Foederatenware* bezeichnet, unmittelbar danach als römisch¹¹⁶ oder als romanisierte swebische¹¹⁷ Produkte. In der Umgebung von Wien und nördlich der Donau können starke regionale Unterschiede beobachtet werden. Auf dem Fundplatz von Bratislava-Devín ist die weiterlebende quadische Tradition bestimmend,¹¹⁸ während in den Siedlungen näher zum Limes, wie z.B. in Schletz oder Mannersdorf der Anteil an Keramik mit körniger Magerung höher ist.¹¹⁹

Es sind Fundensembles bekannt, die auf die Mitte des 5. Jahrhunderts datiert werden können, wie z.B. Vyčapy-Opatovce. Ihre Beziehungen zur Umgebung sind aber nicht rekonstruierbar.¹²⁰ Nur wenige zur Periode gehörenden Fundplätze können an spätkaiserzeitliche Komplexen angebunden werden, wie Iža, oder die germanische Residenz in Cífer-Pác.¹²¹ Aus einer Grube auf

¹⁰⁸ FRIESINGER 1984; TEJRAL 1985, 140–141, Abb. 19, 2, 3, 5, 6 und Abb. 20, 5–7.

¹⁰⁹ Velké Němčice (PEŠKAŘ 1983; TEJRAL 1985, 124.)

¹¹⁰ Österreich (KERN 1996, 16, Abb. 4, 3); in Mähren: Rajhradice (PŘICHYŠTAL–VACHŮTOVÁ 2007), Zlechov (ZEMAN 2006, Obr. 4, 1–3), in der Slowakei: Nitra-Párovské Háje (PIETA–RUTTKAY 1997), Štúrovo-Vojenské cvičisko (BELJAK–KOLNÍK 2008, Fig. 6, 1, Fig. 7, 1), zusammenfassend: TEJRAL 1990, 28–29, Abb. 3; TEJRAL 1998, 193–202.

¹¹¹ PIETA–RUTTKAY 1997.

¹¹² VARSÍK 2011, 229, Abb. 109.

¹¹³ PIETA–RUTTKAY 1997

¹¹⁴ BELJAK–KOLNÍK 2008, 80, Fig. 13:6.

¹¹⁵ BELJAK–KOLNÍK 2008, 78; VARSÍK 2011, 227–228, Abb. 106.

¹¹⁶ POLLAK 1980, 199; FRIESINGER–KELCHLER 1981, 255, Abb. 49.

¹¹⁷ TEJRAL 1999, 250–252.

¹¹⁸ PIETA–PLACHÁ 1989.

¹¹⁹ WINDL 1996; KERN 1996.

¹²⁰ TOČÍK 1962, 204, Abb. 13; TEJRAL 1982, 378, Abb. 45; PIETA 1987, 391.

¹²¹ KUZMOVÁ–RAJTÁR 2010; ŠVAŇA 2014.

dem letztgenannten Fundplatz sind neben römischen glasierten Fragmente und eingeglätteter Feinkeramik auch quadische Traditionen belegt. Eine Fibel Typ Bakodpuszta datiert den Befund in die zweite Hälfte des 5. Jahrhunderts.¹²²

Wahrscheinlich wird sich die Zahl der Fundplätze aus der zweiten Hälfte des 5. Jahrhundert erhöhen. Auf dem Fundplatz von Tesárske Mlyňany wurde ein Gräberfeld mit 74 Gräbern freigelegt.¹²³ Die dazugehörenden Siedlungen sind zwar unbekannt, anhand der vorläufigen Grabungsberichte ist jedoch mit Spuren einer Besiedlung zu rechnen.¹²⁴

Die spätkaiserzeitliche quadische Besiedlung erstreckte sich auch auf dem Gebiet des Nördlichen Mittelgebirges. Die Grenze zwischen dem quadischen und dem Pzreworsk-Verbreitungsgebiet ist zur Zeit – aus Mangel an Veröffentlichungen – noch nicht bestimmbar. Die materielle Kultur der kaiserzeitlichen Siedlungen zwischen Donauknie und Sajó ist zwar nicht näher bekannt, archäologische Daten weisen darauf hin, dass die meisten der hier befindlichen Fundplätzen die Wende des 4/5. Jahrhunderts erlebt haben. Diese mögliche Datierung ergibt sich in Vác-Csörögi rét durch eine grün glasierte Schale, eine große Eisenfibel mit umgeschlagenem Fuß und einen doppelseitigen Kamm.¹²⁵ Der Fundplatz von Ózd-Stadion, der in der Originalpublikation in die Mitte des 4. Jahrhunderts datiert wurde, dürfte aufgrund der späten Fibel mit umgeschlagenem Fuß und des Knochenkammes mit gewölbten Rücken bis zur Stufe C3/D1 benutzt worden sein.¹²⁶

Neben den ausgedehnten kaiserzeitlichen Siedlungen kamen auch solche ans Tageslicht, bei denen ein hunnenzeitlicher Horizont belegt ist. In Szurdokpüspöki wurde eine mehrperiodige Siedlung freigelegt, deren Baubefunde sowie ein Töpferofen vorläufig in die 4. Jahrhundert datiert wurde. Die feine Grauware, Töpfe mit körniger Magerung, profilierte Tassen, römische glasierte Reibschalen, ein zweireihiger Knochenkamm, sowie die Eisenfibel mit umgeschlagenem Fuß lassen eine Datierung bis in die erste Hälfte des 5. Jahrhunderts zu und können wahrscheinlich mit den Frauengräbern, die mit einzigartigen Fibel ausgestattet wurden und ebenfalls auf diesem Fundplatz vorkamen in Verbindung gebracht werden.¹²⁷ In Szilvásvár-Lovaspálya wurde 2016 eine ausgedehnte, in das 2/3. Jahrhundert datierte Siedlung freigelegt, wo auch ein weiterer, getrennter Horizont ausgegliedert wurde. Die Keramik mit körniger Magerung, mehrere Geweihkämme vom Typ Černjachov sowie eine Gürtelschnalle mit auf dem Bügel gebogenem Dorn datieren die Befunde von der Wende des 4/5. Jahrhunderts bis zum zweiten Drittel des 5. Jahrhunderts.¹²⁸

DIE WICHTIGSTEN FRAGEN DER SIEDLUNGSGESCHICHTE DES OBEREN THEISSGEBIETES IM 5. JAHRHUNDERT

Die zur Verfügung stehenden Publikationen erlauben uns leider nicht, die Prozesse im nordöstlichen Karpatenbecken während des 4–5. Jahrhunderts besser zu verstehen. Anhand der vorhin dargestellten Fundplätze können nur die wichtigsten Fragen der Siedlungsgeschichte, Chronologie und Kontinuität, umrissen werden.

Im oberen Theißgebiet – unabhängig davon, ob es sich um sarmatische oder germanische Siedlungsgebiete sich handelt – liefern in der letzten Stufe der römischen Kaiserzeit ähnliche Vorgänge ab.

Die Siedlungsdichte nahm ab der Wende des 4/5. Jahrhunderts stark ab. Einige kaiserzeitliche Siedlungen liefen bis in die Stufen C3-C3/D1 (*Abb. 3*).

¹²² CHEBEN–RUTTKAY 1997, 91, Abb. 2, 1; VARSÍK–KOLNÍK 2009, 257–263, Obr. 1–3.

¹²³ RUTTKAY 2007.

¹²⁴ RUTTKAY 2009.

¹²⁵ KULCSÁR 2004, 229, Fig. 2, 2, Fig. 3, 2–3.

¹²⁶ PÁRDUCZ–KOREK 1959, 35, Taf. III, 2, 6; TEJRAL 1992, 243, Abb. 9, 1.

¹²⁷ BÁCSMEGI–GUBA 2007, 16–17, 20–25.

¹²⁸ SALAMON–TÖRÖK 1960; FARKAS ET AL. in press. Die kaiser- und hunnenzeitlichen Siedlungsteile werden von der Autorin bearbeitet.

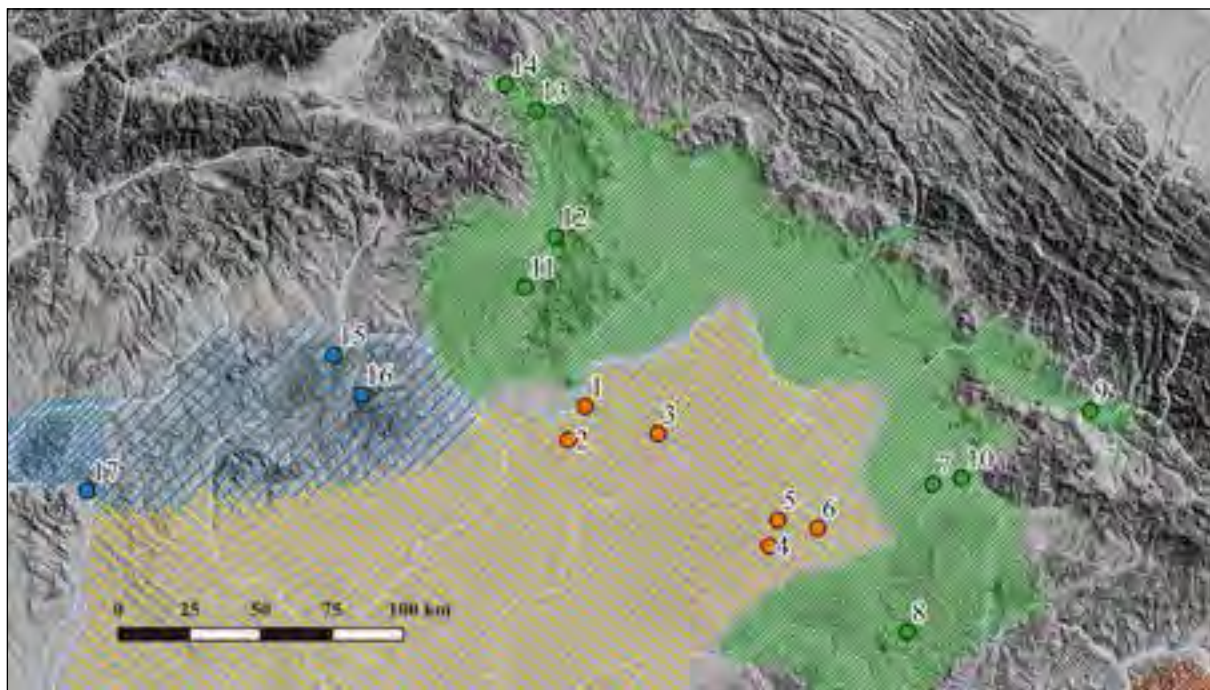


Abb. 3. Weiterlebende Siedlungen im oberen Theißgebiet an der Wende des 4/5. Jh.

1. Tiszaeszlár-Bashalom; 2. Tiszavasvári-Városföldje; 3. Nyíregyháza-Oros; 4. Pişcolt-Lutărie/Piskolt;
5. Ciumeşti/Csomaköz; 6. Ghenci-Lutărie/Gencs; 7. Culciu Mare-Boghilaz/Nagykolcs;
8. Bocşa-La pietriş/Boksa; 9. Sarasău/Szarvaszó; 10. Apa-Moşia Brazilor/Apa;
11. Garadna-Kovács tanya; 12. Trstené pri Hornáde/Abaújnádasd; 13. Prešov/Eperjes;
14. Ostrovany-Nad Immonou/Osztropataka; 15. Ózd-Stadion;
16. Szilvásvár-Lovaspálya; 17. Vác-Csörögi rét

Im Fundmaterial und in der Keramikherstellung kann keine scharfe Zäsur beobachtet werden: Das kaiserzeitliche Fundspektrum wurde mit anderen, eine neue Periode und neu Modeerscheinungen einleitenden Funden ergänzt.¹²⁹ Unter den Kleinfunden sind Bronzefibeln mit rechteckigem, umgeschlagenem Fuß, gravierte Silberfibeln, Eisenfibeln mit langem Nadelhalter, doppelseitige Kämmе und Kämmе vom Typ Černjachov zu nennen. In der Keramikherstellung erscheinen einerseits neue Formen und neue Verzierungen – vor allem eingeglättete Muster –, andererseits sind aber auch technologische Neuerungen sichtbar. Das Fundmaterial zeigt im Vergleich zur Kaiserzeit keine weiteren dominanten Unterschiede.

Zeitlich parallel ist aber auch mit solchen Siedlungen zu rechnen, die ohne Vorläufer neu gegründet wurden und durch Leitformen der Stufe C3/D1-D1 charakterisiert sind (Abb. 4).

In mehreren Fällen befinden sich diese Fundplätze im Umfeld der kaiserzeitlichen Siedlungen,¹³⁰ trotzdem markieren die neuen Formen und die Technologie der Keramikherstellung, eine abweichende Töpfertradition und auch die Zusammensetzung der Keramik zeigt eine wesentliche Veränderung. Für die Siedlungskeramik sind in geringer Anzahl handgeformte Keramik, graue

¹²⁹ TEJRAL 1999, 229.

¹³⁰ Anhand der bisherigen Daten handelt es sich vielmehr um Platzkontinuität. Um die Frage entscheiden zu können, sind weitere Veröffentlichungen notwendig. Altfunde, wie Ózd-Stadion sollten neu bearbeitet werden (PÁRDU CZ–KOREK 1959). Im Falle von Prešov geht aus der Publikation nicht vor, ob die Besiedlung kontinuierlich ist, oder die jüngsten Funde aus anderen Befunden stammen. Anhand der Bildtafeln können die Befunde 13/55 und 14/55 eindeutig als spät eingestuft werden (BUDINSKÝ-KRIČKA 1963, Tab. V, Tab. XIV). Ähnliche Phänomene wurden an den spätrömischen Fundplätzen entlang der Donau dokumentiert (POLLAK 1980).



Abb. 4. Neu gegründete Siedlungen am Ende des 4. und im 5. Jh.

1. Szurdokpüspöki; 2. Andornaktálya-Kis rét dűlő; 3. Miskolc-ALDI 2; 4. Sajószentpéter-Vasúti őrház;
5. Onga-Teknő lapos; 6. Hernádvécse-Nagy rét; 7. Nyíregyháza-Csorda Páskum;
8. Lazuri-Râtul lui Bela/Lázári; 9. Suceag-Oradba/Szucság

Feinkeramik (vor allem bikonische oder profilierte Schüsseln, Krüge mit Kragenrand und Glättverzierung), sowie eine wesentliche Menge an schnell gedrehten Töpfen und Schüsseln mit körniger Magerung charakteristisch.

Die Zusammensetzung der Siedlungsfunde ist vom Donauknie bis Partium ähnlich, die einzelnen Keramikformen sind jedoch nicht immer in unmittelbarer Analogie zueinander. Die aus unterschiedlichen Regionen stammenden Gruppen adaptierten auf Basis ihrer Töpfertraditionen die Modeerscheinungen der Periode ganz unterschiedlich. Ähnliche Erscheinung ist auch bei den vielfältigen Grabfunden zu erkennen.¹³¹ Die verschiedenen Formvarianten in den einzelnen Siedlungen können auch damit erklärt werden, dass mit dem Ende der spätkaiserzeitlichen Töpferzentren die Siedlungen gezwungen waren, für den eigenen Bedarf Keramik herzustellen. Als Folge dessen finden wir in den einzelnen Fundorten unterschiedliche Gefäßformen. Die Siedlungen, die am Ende des 4. und am Anfang des 5. Jahrhunderts gegründet wurden, waren vielfältig mit der spätkaiserzeitlichen materiellen Kultur und der spätrömischen Welt verbunden.¹³² Die Siedlungskeramik, vor allem die Eingelättverzierung steht den spätrömischen Traditionen näher als den späteren Perioden des 5. Jahrhunderts.¹³³ Hinsichtlich der Gräber dieser Periode

¹³¹ TEJRAL 2000, 22.

¹³² HOREDTE 1982, 123; OPREANU 2013, 54–57.

¹³³ TEJRAL 2000, 13.

wurde ein ähnliches Phänomen beobachtet, wobei lokale und spätrömische Elemente betont wurden.¹³⁴

Eine wichtige Frage ist die Herkunft der Bewohner dieser neu gegründeten Siedlungen. Im Falle einiger Fundorte werden die lokalen römisch-provinzialen Elemente betont. Bei den Siedlungen in der Umgebung der Sântana de Mureș-Kultur rechnet man offensichtlich mit Einflüssen der späten Przeworsk- und Dobrodzień-Kultur. Im quadischen Verbreitungsgebiet und auf dem Gebiet der Przeworsk-Kultur werden die östlichen Elemente und die Einflüsse der Černjachov-Kultur hervorgehoben.¹³⁵ Im Grunde können diese Siedlungen mit dem bereits aufgrund der Grabfunde ausgesonderten Post-Černjachov-Horizont in Verbindung gebracht werden.¹³⁶ Analogien zu den auffälligen, von der lokalen Tradition abweichenden Fundtypen und Technologien mit östlichem Gepräge findet man in der Spätphase der Sântana de Mureș-Černjachov-Kultur.¹³⁷ Insgesamt kann jedoch keiner der Fundorte eindeutig dieser Kultur zugewiesen werden. Im Falle der Grabfunde wies die Forschung auf eine ähnliche Erscheinung hin. Die unmittelbaren Analogien einiger Fundtypen, die man als typische Artefakte östlichen Ursprungs bestimmte, sind aus dem Verbreitungsgebiet der Černjachov-Kultur nicht bekannt und es scheint, sie durchliefen einen erheblichen Wandel, eine Art „Romanisierung“ bevor sie in Mittel- und Westeuropa in die Erde gelangten.¹³⁸

Trotzdem können einige Fundplätze als Nachlass von Gemeinschaften betrachtet werden, die aus dem Verbreitungsgebiet der Sântana de Mureș-Kultur kamen. Diese Populationen folgten eher der neuesten und rasch sich verändernden Mode, statt ihren „Traditionen“, aus einer anderen geographischen Umgebung. Heute ist es schwer zu beantworten, aus welchen Gebieten sie ins obere Theißgebiet gelangten. Als Herkunftsgebiet können die Černjachov-Kultur östlich der Karpaten und die Sântana de Mureș-Kultur in Siebenbürgen in Erwägung gezogen werden. Es ist aber nicht ausgeschlossen, dass auch aus geringerer Entfernung Umsiedlungen stattgefunden haben.¹³⁹

Die bisherigen Daten lassen an der Wende des 4/5. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. eine facettenreiche Siedlungsgeschichte rekonstruieren. Anstatt scharf getrennter Zeithorizonte muss auf dem Gebiet des Nördlichen Mittelgebirges mit weiterlebenden Gemeinschaften gerechnet werden, die spätkaiserzeitlichen Traditionen folgten, während in ihrer unmittelbaren Nachbarschaft auch neu angesiedelte Gruppen erschienen. Diese Mosaikhaftigkeit der unterschiedlichen kulturellen Elemente konnte sogar über mehrere Generationen bestehen.¹⁴⁰ Natürlich bedarf dieser Grundgedanke weiterer Forschungen. In jedem Fall unterstützen die erstaunlich frühen Radiokarbonaten der Siedlung von Zlechov diese Vorstellungen.¹⁴¹

In der späteren Phase des 5. Jahrhunderts vermutete die Forschung aufgrund der Grabfunde eine Diskontinuität zwischen den Stufen D1 und D2.¹⁴² Den Grund dafür lieferte die Veränderung des Charakters der Grabbeigaben zwischen dem Anfang und dem mittleren Drittel des 5. Jahrhunderts, der klassischen Hunnenzeit. Die Bestimmung der Funde als *donauländisch* oder *ostgermanisch*¹⁴³ zeigt anstatt eines ethnischen, eher einen chronologischen Charakter. Bei

¹³⁴ Z.B. Tiszadob-Sziget (ISTVÁNOVITS 1993; ISTVÁNOVITS–KULCSÁR 1999); Mezőszemere-Kismari fenék (VADAY–DOMBORÓCZKI 2001); Szihalom-Budaszög und Szihalom-Pamlényi tábla (FODOR 1997; VÁRADI 1997); TEJRAL 1999, 233.

¹³⁵ Teilweise aufgrund östlicher Importstücke wie Amphoren oder Henkelgefäße (GRALAK 2012, 170; MADYDA–LEGUTKO–TUNIA 1993, 47–49, Pl. XXXIIIa; BUDINSKÝ–KRIČKA 1963, Tab. XV, 6; LAMIOVÁ–SCHMIEDLOVÁ–TOMÁŠOVÁ 1999, 129–130, Obr. 27).

¹³⁶ TEJRAL 2000, 6–11, STANCIU 2008; OPREANU 2011.

¹³⁷ MASEK 2011.

¹³⁸ TEJRAL 2000, 6–7; TEJRAL 2016, 135–136.

¹³⁹ TEJRAL 1999, 243; ISTVÁNOVITS–KULCSÁR 2017, 387.

¹⁴⁰ Sogar bis zur Mitte des 5. Jahrhunderts (TEJRAL 1999, 243).

¹⁴¹ STADLER ET. AL. 2008, 161; ZEMAN 2009, 286, 291.

¹⁴² TEJRAL 1999, 238; TEJRAL 2000, 23; PIETA 1987, 391.

¹⁴³ TEJRAL 1999, 238–262.

der Bearbeitung der Gräberfelder von Tiszadob-Sziget und Ártánd-Kis- und Nagyfarkasdomb wurden früher die römischen, sarmatischen und germanischen Merkmale unterstrichen¹⁴⁴, während heute eher über eine umfassende Modeerscheinung einer Epoche gesprochen wird.¹⁴⁵ Die Veränderungen zwischen dem Anfang und dem zweiten Drittel des 5. Jahrhunderts werden unlängst eher als Prozess beschrieben, der in der hunnenzeitlichen materiellen Kultur greifbar ist. Anhand der neuen statistischen Untersuchung hunnenzeitlicher Frauengräber lässt sich eine kontinuierliche Entwicklung feststellen. Es handelt sich um Modeerscheinungen, an die sich Gruppen – unabhängig territorialer Begrenzung – angepasst haben, die früher als unterschiedliche Ethnien bestimmt wurden.¹⁴⁶ Im Falle der Siedlungen sehen wir einen ähnlichen Verlauf: ein Teil der ab der Wende des 4/5. Jahrhunderts bewohnten Siedlungen wurden in den späteren Phasen auch weiterhin benutzt. Die in die Stufe C3 datierten Funde von Jakuszowice lassen die späteste Phase der Siedlung bestimmen, aber der großen Schnallen mit um den Bügel gebogenem Dorn zeigt an, dass sie noch im zweiten Drittel des 5. Jahrhunderts bestand.¹⁴⁷ Ähnliches wird auch im Falle des neulich entdeckten Fundortes von Szilvásvárads-Lovaspálya vermutet.

Die genaue Gründungszeit der in das zweite Drittel oder auch in die zweite Hälfte des 5. Jahrhunderts datierte Siedlungen, wie die hier besprochene Onga, bzw. Lázári und Nyíregyháza-Csorda Páskum, ist unsicher. Im Allgemeinen kann beobachtet werden, dass ihre keramische Auswahl ärmlicher ist, als in den vorangehenden Perioden. Neben dem hohen Anteil an gedrehten Kochgefäßen mit körniger Magerung findet man auch Feinkeramik, die kaum Ähnlichkeiten mit spätrömischen Traditionen zeigt. An mehreren Fundorten erscheinen die zeitbestimmenden großen, breiten bikonischen Schüsseln, die bereits als Vorbilder der bikonischen Schüsseln des 6. Jahrhunderts dienen, die auch im gepidischen Fundmaterial vorkommen.¹⁴⁸ Die wenigen publizierten Fundorte zeigen immer deutlichere Beziehungen zu den gepidischen Siedlungsgebieten.¹⁴⁹

Es ist wichtig zu betonen, dass die Besiedlungsgeschichte der zweiten Hälfte des 5. Jahrhunderts im oberen Theißgebietes unerforscht ist. Auch die Dynamik und die Gründe für die Entvölkerung der Gebirgslandschaft im 6. Jahrhundert bleiben ungeklärt.

Im Weiteren wird versucht, durch die Analyse zweier nordostungarischer Fundplätze die oben gestellten Fragen zu beantworten. Es werden die kulturellen Beziehungssysteme, die Veränderungen der materiellen Kultur sowie der Lebensweise untersucht und die Ergebnisse ausgewertet.

HERNÁDVÉCSE-NAGY RÉT, 4. FUNDORT

Beschreibung des Fundortes

In der Gemarkung von Hernádvécse wurden bei Bauarbeiten in der Hauptstraße Nr. 3, die Miskolc mit Kassa verbindet, 2004 mehrere Fundplätze freigelegt. Neben Siedlungsbefunden aus dem Neolithikum und aus der Spätbronzezeit wurde ein Siedlungsteil, der ins 2–3. Jahrhundert datierten Przeworsk-Kultur, sowie Teil eine hunnenzeitliche Siedlung entdeckt.¹⁵⁰ Der Fundort befindet sich auf der rechten Terrasse des Hernád- bzw. des einstigen Bársonyos-Baches. Die Breite der Grabungsfläche betrug 30–40 m. Die Siedlungsbefunde des 5. Jahrhunderts kamen zerstreut auf einer Fläche von ca. 1,5 ha vor.

¹⁴⁴ VÖRÖS 1987, 136; ISTVÁNOVITS–KULCSÁR 1999; ISTVÁNOVITS–KULCSÁR 2017, 385–387.

¹⁴⁵ KISS 2015, 48–49.

¹⁴⁶ RÁCZ 2016.

¹⁴⁷ KACZANOWSKI–RODZIŃKA–NOWAK 2008.

¹⁴⁸ TÓTH 2006, 83–85.

¹⁴⁹ SOÓS 2014.

¹⁵⁰ SOÓS ET AL. 2018.

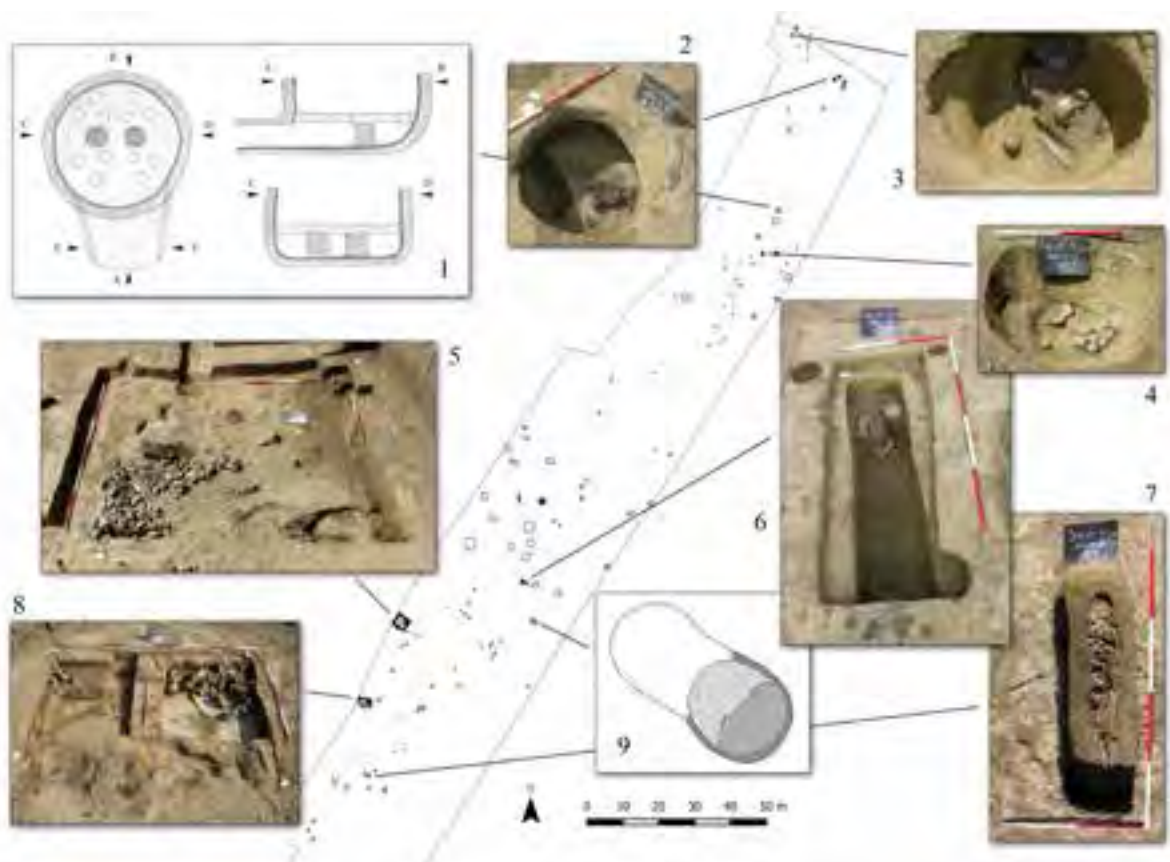


Abb. 5. Hernádvécse-Nagy rét, Fundplatz Nr. 4.

1. s161 Töpferofen; 2. s164; 3. s308; 4. s187 Gruben; 5. s125 Gebäude; 6. s309 Grab; 7. s1 Grab; 8. s61 Gebäude; 9. s4 Backofen

In der locker strukturierten Siedlung kamen im südwestlichen Teil der Grabungsfläche zwei Baubefunde vor, sie standen in einer Entfernung von 20 m voneinander (Abb. 5, 5, 8). Südlich davon wurden nur zwei größere Gruben freigelegt. Beide Gebäude waren quadratisch, NNO-SSW gerichtet, kaum eingetieft und wahrscheinlich mit einem Pfettendach gedeckt (Abb. 8).

Der s125 war vollständig und hatte eine Gesamtfläche von 14,5 m². Das Fundament der Gebäude bildeten Balken mit einem Durchmesser von 20–25 cm, das Gerüst der Wände bestand ebenfalls aus Holzpfeuern und Flechtenwerk, und war mit Lehm verputzt. In der obersten Füllungsschicht der Befunde wurden Holzkohlpartikel dokumentiert, die auf eine hölzerne Dachkonstruktion hinweisen. In der nordöstlichen Ecke beider Häuser standen jeweils ein, aus kleinen Steinen gebauter Herd mit Lehmplatte und einem Durchmesser von 1 m. In der nordwestlichen Ecke des Baubefundes s61 standen dem Herd gegenüber fünf große Lehmgewichte: Spuren eines Webstuhles. 60 m nordöstlich den Häuser, dem Hügelrücken senkrecht zugewendet wurden flache ovale Gruben angelegt, davon war eine zylinderförmig, eine weitere konisch. Die nächste Grubenreihe bestand aus unregelmäßigen, flachen, zylinder- und bienenkorbförmigen Gruben (Abb. 5, 2–4). Dazwischen kam ein Töpferofen Typ Henning-A mit Gitterunterstützung zum Vorschein (Abb. 5, 1). An der nördlichen Seite des Fundplatzes kamen in zwei Gruppen und in einer Entfernung von 15 Metern fast ausschließlich bienenkorbförmige Gruben und Pfostenlochreihen zu Tage. In jeder Gruppe befand sich mindestens eine größere Grube mit beachtlichem

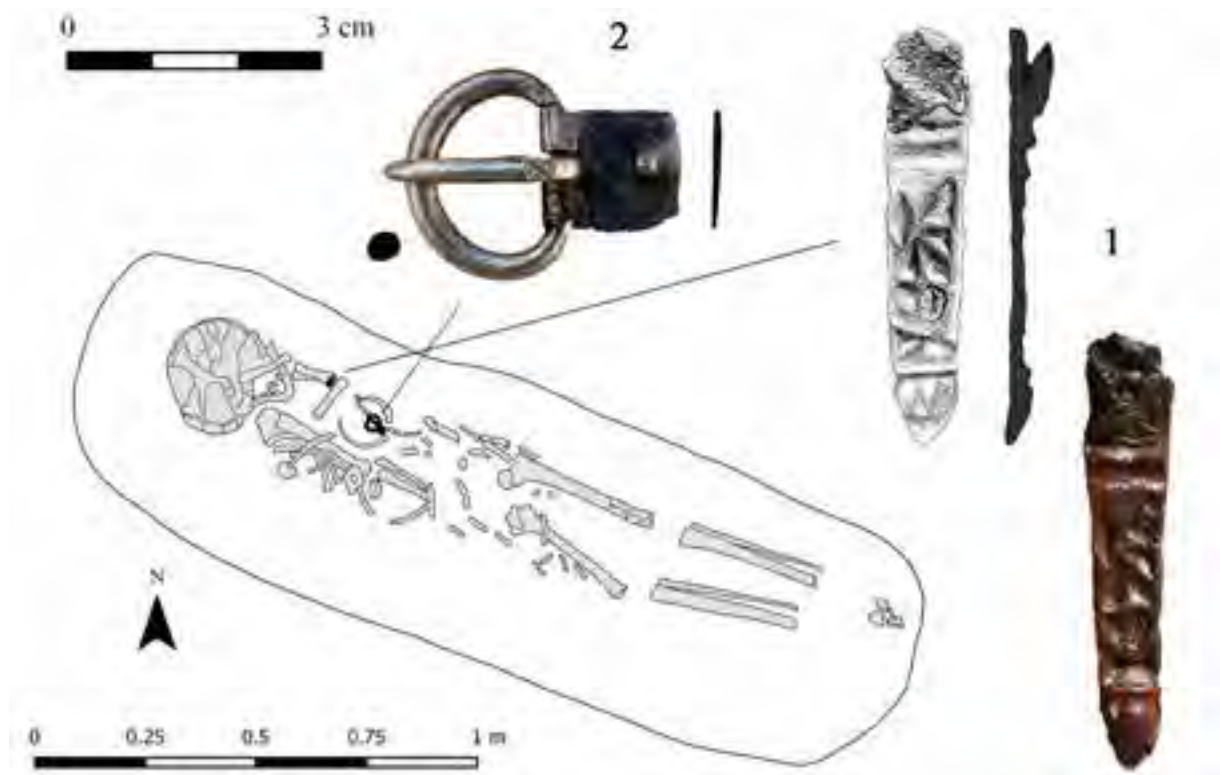


Abb. 6. Hernádvécse-Nagy rét, Grab 1.

Volumen: im südlichen Siedlungsbereich war es eine ovale, flache Grube, im nördlichen Teil war es die bienenkorbförmige Grube.

In der Siedlung war ein Zerstörungshorizont identifizierbar. Das Feuer konservierte das Balkenfundament beider Gebäude, die Spuren der auf den Fußboden gestürzten Dachkonstruktion. Aus der Füllschicht der Baubefunde wurden nur wenige, stark fragmentierte Funde geborgen, was darauf hinweist, dass die Gebäude entweder ausgeräumt oder nicht mehr benutzt wurden. Der Zerstörungshorizont konnte auch in den Gruben beobachtet werden: gebrannter Lehmschutt wechselte sich mit stark aschigen und viel Holzkohlenpartikel beinhaltenden Füllungsschichten.

Die Bestattungen

Im südlichen Teil der Grabungsfläche, zwischen den Siedlungsbefunden, kamen zwei Skelettgräber zum Vorschein (Abb. 5, 6–7). Beide, teilweise gestört, waren NW-SO gerichtet: im ersten wurde ein 10–11 Jahre altes Mädchen, im zweiten ein erwachsener Mann von 35–45 Jahren beigesetzt.

Aus dem Kindergrab liegen eine silberne Schnalle mit um den Bügel gebogenen Dorn und quadratischem Beschlag sowie ein Fragment eines schmalen, bronzenen Fibelfußes mit einzigartiger Kerbschnittverzierung vor (Abb. 6).

Die Silberschnalle ist gewöhnliche Grabbeigabe in Frauen- und Männergräbern des 5. Jahrhunderts. Formgleichen Schnallen sind auch aus Bronze und Eisen hergestellt worden.¹⁵¹ Das Fibelfragment – zwar von schlechter Qualität – ist ein Einzelstück: die Verzierung und die schmale Form sind aus der Region nicht bekannt. Ihre Datierung ins zweite Drittel des 5. Jahrhunderts wird durch die Kerbschnittverzierung gesichert.¹⁵² Es ist auffallend, dass die bislang aus

¹⁵¹ TEJRAL 1988, 227; BAKAY 1978, 151–152, Abb. 3, 9, Abb. 4, 9; KOVÁCS 2004, 127; BÓNA 1991, 54, Fig. 40, 1, 4

¹⁵² TEJRAL 2015, 324.

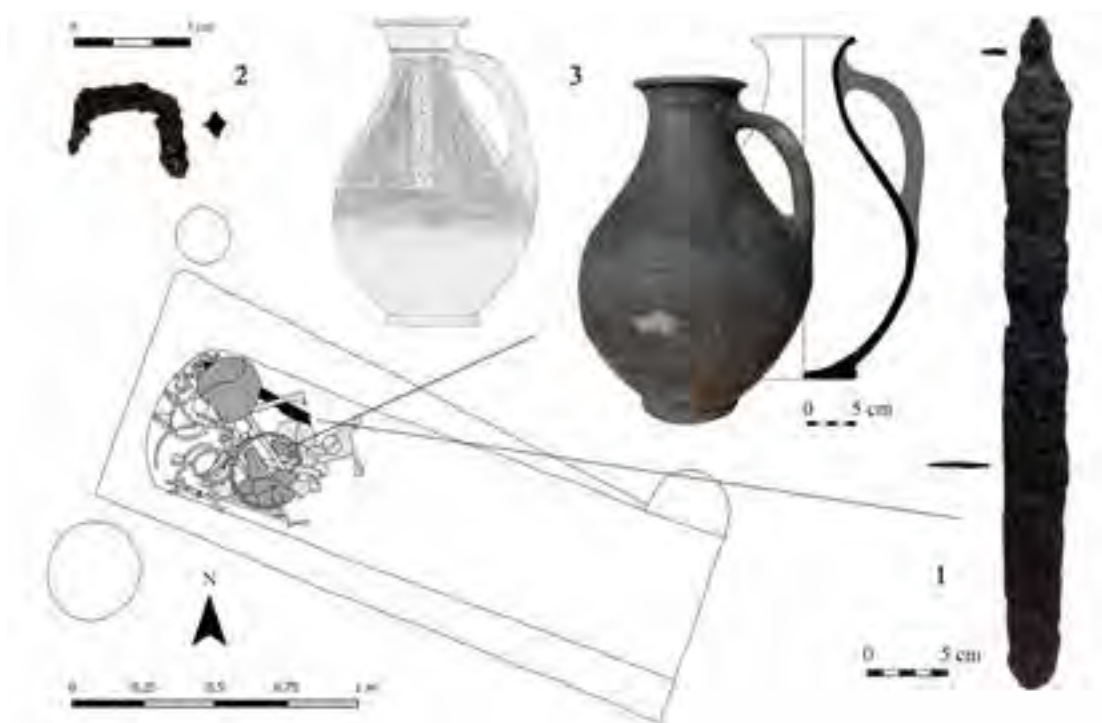


Abb. 7. Hernádvecse-Nagy rét, Grab 309.

der nordungarischen Berglandschaft bekannten und in die Stufen D2/D3 datierten Fibel mit Kerbschnittverzierung (wie z.B. Erdökövesd, Jobbágyi oder Szurdokpüspöki) Unikate sind.¹⁵³ Das Kind wurde wahrscheinlich im zweiten Drittel des 5. Jahrhunderts bestattet.

Neben dem erwachsenen Mann lag im stark zerstörten Grab ein Krug vom Typ Murga mit eingeglättetem Zick-Zack-Muster sowie Bruchstücke eines großen zweischneidigen Schwertes (Abb. 7).

Die feine Herstellungstechnik des großen Kruges mit Fußring steht in engerer Beziehung mit der spätrömischen Töpferei, als mit der ungefähr gleichzeitigen gröberen Grabkeramik „östlichen“ Gepräges.¹⁵⁴ Die beste Analogie des Kruges von Hernádvecse liegt aus dem hunnenzeitlichen sarmatischen Fundplatz von Szentes-Nagyhegy vor.¹⁵⁵ Auch das Schwert mit trapezförmigem Griffdorn und ohne Parierstange besitzt die besten Parallelen in dieser Umgebung: in den hunnenzeitlichen sarmatischen Gräbern der südlichen Tiefebene, wie z.B. Tápé-Malajdok A,¹⁵⁶ Tápé-Malajdok B, Grab 5,¹⁵⁷ Csongrád-Berzsenyi Str., Grab 7,¹⁵⁸ oder Sándorfalva-Eperjes.¹⁵⁹ Das Männergrab kann in die erste Hälfte des 5. Jahrhunderts datiert werden. Die zwei Bestattungen und die Siedlung sind mit ihrer Datierung in die erste Hälfte bzw. ins zweite Drittel des 5. Jahrhunderts beinahe gleichzeitig.

¹⁵³ TEJRAL 1988, Abb. 34; KISS 1981, 167–168, Taf. I, 6; BÁCSMEGI-GUBA 2007, 16.

¹⁵⁴ Eingehende technologische Analyse der vor allem als Grabbeigabe vorkommenden Krüge mit Kragenrand siehe: MASEK 2013.

¹⁵⁵ PÁRDU CZ 1950, CXXIV, 12; MASEK 2013, Abb. 2, Abb. 6, 6.

¹⁵⁶ PÁRDU CZ-KOREK 1948, 297, LXIV. t. 4.

¹⁵⁷ PÁRDU CZ 1941, 114, XXVIII. t. 5.

¹⁵⁸ PÁRDU CZ 1963, 20, II. t. 22.

¹⁵⁹ VÖRÖS 1985, 160.



Abb. 8. Hernádvecse-Nagy rét, Gebäude mit Ofen, 1: str.61, 2: str.125

Die Siedlung

Die Siedlungsbefunde und ihre Funde zeigen ebenfalls sehr interessante kulturelle Beziehungen.

Die *Gebäude mit Steinöfen* (Abb. 8) haben in der Region keine Vorbilder, denn aus den spätkaiserzeitlichen Häusern fehlen Feuerstellen im Inneren. In der späten Kaiserzeit finden wir eine Feuerstelle innerhalb der Gebäude nur in bestimmten Regionen der Sântana de Mureș-Černjachov-Kultur. In der späten Phase der Kultur waren Steinöfen im oberen und mittleren Dnjestr-Gebiet verbreitet.¹⁶⁰

Die besten Parallele der Öfen von Hernádvecse finden wir in den siebenbürgischen Siedlungen aus dem 3–4. Jahrhundert der Sântana de Mureș-Kultur, wie Olteni-Cariera de nisip,¹⁶¹ Cristuru-Secuiesc-Felsőlok,¹⁶² Filiași-Nagyerdő-földje,¹⁶³ Telekfalva-Református templom,¹⁶⁴ Székelyudvarhely-Kadicsfalvi rét.¹⁶⁵ Anhand der neuesten Daten bzw. der Neubewertung der Altfunde darf in jedem der bisher dokumentierten Häuser der Kultur mit einem Steinofen gerechnet werden, und somit gilt der Typ als typische Sântana de Mureș Tradition.¹⁶⁶

Westlich davon tauchen ähnliche Konstruktionen nur in einigen *Post-Černjachov*-Fundorte auf, z.B. im nordöstlichen Teil des Karpatenbeckens (Abb. 9).

In den spätsarmatischen Siedlungen von Tiszavasvári-Városföldje-Jegyző tag,¹⁶⁷ Tiszaeszlár-Bashalom¹⁶⁸ und jüngst auch in Nyíregyháza-Csorda-Páskum¹⁶⁹ wurden Lehmöfen innerhalb der Häuser gefunden, eine Erscheinung, die von der sarmatischen Tradition völlig abweicht. Der kurze Grabungsbericht über die Freilegung des Fundplatzes von Miskolc-ALDI 2, den man aufgrund

¹⁶⁰ MAGOMEDOV 1999, 71.

¹⁶¹ BUZEA-ZĂGREANU 2011, 40–41, 4–5. tábla.

¹⁶² KÖRÖSFŐI 2011, 108, 10. t. 4, 11. t. 2.

¹⁶³ KÖRÖSFŐI 2011, 110, 19. t. 1–2.

¹⁶⁴ NYÁRÁDI-SÓFALVI 2011, 177–178, 1–4. t.

¹⁶⁵ KÖRÖSFŐI ET. AL. 2010.

¹⁶⁶ KÖRÖSFŐI 2016, 167, 11. ábra.

¹⁶⁷ ISTVÁNOVITS 1999, 189–192.

¹⁶⁸ KOVALOVSKI 1980, 18–22, 9–13. rajz. Der Fundplatz wurde auf das 3.–4. Jahrhundert n. Chr. datiert. Anhand des doppelseitigen Kammes und der schnell gedrehten Keramik mit grober Magerung dürfte die Siedlung bis zur Wende des 4./5. Jahrhunderts benutzt geworden sein.

¹⁶⁹ PINTYE 2016, 108, Fig 9, Fig 11.



Abb. 9. Gebäude mit Öfen aus dem 4. und 5. Jh.

1. Intercisa; 2. Miskolc-ALDI 2; 3. Hernádvécse-Nagy rét; 4. Nižná Myšľa-Alamenev/Alsósemlye;
5. Tiszavasvári-Városföldje. Jegyző tag; 6. Tiszaeszlár-Bashalom; 7. Nyíregyháza-Csorda Páskum;
8. Pișcolt-Lutărie/Piskolt; 9. Ţaga-Hrube/Cege; 10. Archiud-Hănsuri/Mezőkerked.

Fundorte in Sântana de Mureș-Kultur nach KÖRÖSFŐI 2016

der spätrömischen Münzen datierte, erwähnt ähnliche Öfen.¹⁷⁰ Die ausführliche Bearbeitung des Fundortes von Nižná Myšľa-Alamenev ist noch nicht publiziert; in den Grabungsberichten werden jedoch aus Steinen angelegte Öfen genannt.¹⁷¹ Weiter im Westen sind derartige Öfen nicht bekannt. Die einzige Ausnahme bildet der Baubefund in der obersten Schicht des einstigen Castrum von Intercisa, deren Errichtung mit dem Erscheinen einer hunnenzeitlichen Gruppe verbunden wurde.¹⁷²

Das Fundmaterial

Im Fundmaterial der Siedlung von Hernádvécse dominierte die Keramik, vor allem die schnell gedrehte Feinkeramik: bikonische oder profilierte Schüsseln, Töpfe und Krüge mit Kragenrand und eingeglättetem Muster (Abb. 10).

In den Töpferöfen wurden auch schnell gedrehte Gefäße mit grob-körniger Magerung gebrannt, vor allem Töpfe, aber auch profilierte Schüsseln, Krüge, Becher und Deckel wurden aus diesem

¹⁷⁰ CSENGERI 2011.

¹⁷¹ Leider geht es aus der Publikation nicht hervor, ob sie zum frühem oder späteren Abschnitt der Siedlung gehören (BEREŠ ET AL. 1991; PIETA 1999, 185, Abb. 12–13).

¹⁷² BÓNA 1991, 262–263, Fig. 67; VIDA 2011, 632.



Abb. 10. Hernádvécse-Nagy rét, Keramikauswahl. Feinkeramik
1. s20; 2, 5-6. s161; 3, 8. s160; 4. s187; 7. s164

Material angefertigt (Abb. 11). Die Grobkeramik ist durch einige handgeformte Topffragmente und Bruchstücke großer Vorratsgefäße repräsentiert (Abb. 11, 14).

Die besten Analogien der Typen und Formen finden wir außer in dieser Region in der Provinz Valeria, sowie in den spätrömischen Fundorten und Siedlungen des 5. Jahrhunderts nördlich der Donau.

Murga-Krüge mit kugeligem Bauch, Randlippe und Glättverzierung waren im Fundort mit vielen Exemplaren belegt (Abb. 10, 1–2). Ähnliche Formen und Verzierung sind in der Region aus den in die Stufen D2-D3 datierten Siedlungen von Sajószentpéter¹⁷³ und Tiszavasvári¹⁷⁴ bekannt. Dem Krug mit breiter Mündung stehen ähnliche Formen aus Mähren nahe.¹⁷⁵

Die Parallelen der schnell gedrehten *profilierten Schüsseln* von Hernádvécse (Abb. 10, 4, 6) finden wir in Pannonien, sowie in den Gebieten nördlich der Donau,¹⁷⁶ aber sie sind auch in einigen Gegenden Nordostungarns heimisch.¹⁷⁷

Die frühesten Exemplare der *bikonischen tiefen Schalen* (Abb. 10, 8) sind aus der spätrömischen Befestigung von Pilismarót bekannt.¹⁷⁸ Die Form war im zweiten Drittel des 5. Jahrhunderts geläufig, ihre Größe und Profil macht sie zum Bindeglied zwischen den profilierten Schüsseln und den bikonischen Schüsseln des 6. Jahrhunderts.¹⁷⁹ Ähnliche Stücke sind aus Ártánd¹⁸⁰ und Onga, sowie aus Nordost-Pannonien und aus Mähren¹⁸¹ überliefert.

Die *feinen schnell gedrehten Töpfe* (Abb. 10, 7) waren in der späten Kaiserzeit sowohl in sarmatischen als auch in Przework-Gebieten selten. In der Provinz Valeria dagegen waren sie Leittypen der hunnenzeitlichen Feinkeramik. Die Oberfläche der Gefäße aus Hernádvécse war oft unverziert, die provinzialrömischen Töpfe waren dagegen oft mit Glättverzierung versehen.¹⁸²

Die *profilierten Schüsseln und Töpfe mit körniger Magerung* (Abb. 11, 1–5, 7, 10–11) waren gleichermaßen im pannonischen und mährischen Gebiet verbreitet.¹⁸³ Die schnell gedrehten Töpfe wurden mit fein gesiebttem Kies gemagert und machten den größten Anteil der Siedlungskeramik aus, sowohl in barbarischen¹⁸⁴ als auch in provinzialrömischen Siedlungen.¹⁸⁵ Es ist unbedingt zu erwähnen, dass wir die besten Analogien der Schüsseln aus Hernádvécse finden im keramischen

¹⁷³ TÓTH 2013, VIII. t. X. t. 1, 7, 9, XII. t. 1.

¹⁷⁴ ISTVÁNOVITS 1999, Pl. I, 1, Pl. X, 1–2, Pl. XVI, 5, Pl. XXIV, 2, Pl. LII, 5.

¹⁷⁵ Líšeň-Staré Zámky, Bez. Brno-město (TEJRAL 1985, Abb. 16, 4.).

¹⁷⁶ Pilismarót-Malompaták (OTTOMÁNYI 1996, 83, Abb. 3, Typ 8–12, Abb. 4, Typ. 13, 16), Leányfalu (OTTOMÁNYI 1991, 25–26, 3. T. 16.), Biatorbágy (OTTOMÁNYI 2008, 14. kép), Wien-Aspern (TEJRAL 1985, Abb. 18, 4, 6.) und Velké Němčice (PEŠKAŘ 1983, Abb. 4, 6–7), Nitra-Párovské Háje (PIETA-RUTKAY 1997, Abb. 8–9).

¹⁷⁷ Nyíregyháza-Keleti elkerülő, Fundplatz Nr. 14. (PINTYE 2016, I. t. 3–4, XIII. t. 3, 5–6).

¹⁷⁸ Pilismarót (OTTOMÁNYI 1991); OTTOMÁNYI 1996, 97–98, Abb. 5, 29; HÁRSHEGYI-OTTOMÁNYI 2013, Fig. 3, 5.

¹⁷⁹ Vorbilder oder Varianten des Typen sind vielleicht die Schüssel aus Lazuri-Râtul lui Bela (GINDELE 2010, Abb. 17, 16–19).

¹⁸⁰ TÓTH 2006, 83–85, Taf. 5, 1.

¹⁸¹ OTTOMÁNYI-SOSZTARICS 1998, 179, 184; FRIESINGER-KERCHLER 1981; PEŠKAŘ 1983; ihre Einflüsse sind bis zu den tschechischen Gebieten zu beobachten (RYBOVÁ 1976); TEJRAL 1985, 141, Abb. 23, Abb. 24, 1–5; HORVÁTH 2011, 631.

¹⁸² Visegrád, Leányfalu (OTTOMÁNYI 2009, 423), Keszthely-Fenekpuszta (HORVÁTH 2011, 638–639, Abb. 17.), Ordacsehi-Csereföld (BOCSI ET. AL. 2016, 2. T. 6–8.). Auch im Falle der Siedlung von Suceag bei Cluj werden die starken provinzialen Einflüsse betont (OPREANU-SOCIȘ 2002, Abb. 10–11).

¹⁸³ Leányfalu (OTTOMÁNYI 1991, 3. tábla 13), Visegrád-Gizellamajor (OTTOMÁNYI 2012, 2. kép 2–3; OTTOMÁNYI 2015, 6. kép 2), Tokod (LÁNYI 1981, Abb. 11, 12), Mušov (TEJRAL 1985, Abb. 21, 3); Velké Němčice (PEŠKAŘ 1983), und auch Szurdokpüspöki (BÁCSMEGI-GUBA 2007, 23).

¹⁸⁴ Suceag (OPREANU-SOCIȘ 2002, Abb. 19), Nyíregyháza-Csorda-Páskum (PINTYE 2016, II. t. 4, VIII. t. 5, XII. t. 2.), Štúrovo (BELJAK-KOLNÍK 2008, Fig. 5, 12–13, Fig. 8, 6–9), Lazuri-Râtul lui Bela (GINDELE 2010, Abb. 27), Nitra-Párovské Háje (PIETA-RUTKAY 1997, Abb. 8–9).

¹⁸⁵ Ordacsehi-Csereföld (BOCSI ET. AL. 2016, 4. T. 2–10, 5. T. 6, 6. T. 1), Zamárdi-Kútvölgyi dűlő, Ordacsehi-Kis töltés (BOCSI 2008, 422–424, Abb. 7–8), Dunaújváros (BÓNA 1991, 262–263, Fig. 67).



Abb. 11. Hernádóvécse-Nagy rét, Keramikauswahl. Grobkeramik.
1, 3, 16. s161; 2, 13. s166 4; 10-11. s308; 5, 15. s164; 6, 9, 12. s160; 7. s125; 8, 14. s187

Material der Befestigung von Tokod finden, wo auch Krüge mit Kragenrand (Abb. 11, 9) und grober Magerung vorkamen.¹⁸⁶

Aus dem Baubefund s61 liegt ein kleiner zylindrischer und am unteren Teil fächerförmig ausbreitender Tongegenstand aus körnigem Material vor (Abb. 12). Seine Größe und Form entspricht den metallenen axtförmigen Anhängern und stellt wahrscheinlich eine aus Ton gefertigte Variante dieses Anhängertyps dar.

Die axtförmigen Anhänger aus Silber- oder Kupferblech wurden auch aus Kalkstein, Bernstein, Glas oder Knochen hergestellt und waren in den Bestattungen im Schwarzmeerraum ab hellenistischen Zeiten verbreitet. Im sarmatischen Fundgut des Karpatenbeckens erscheinen sie ab dem 2. Jahrhundert n. Chr., allgemein verbreitet sind sie im 5. Jahrhundert. Sie sind meistens Beigaben in Frauen- und Mädchengräbern.¹⁸⁷ In den kleineren hunnenzeitlichen Gräberfeldern kamen in einzelnen Gräbern auch mehrere Exemplare vor.¹⁸⁸ Die silbernen und verzierteren Varianten des Typen Untersiebenbrunn–Coșoveni können ins zweite Drittel des 5. Jahrhunderts datiert werden.¹⁸⁹ Die früheren Studien betonten die Fundprovenienz in der Černjachov-Kultur¹⁹⁰ und ihre ostgotische Herkunft.¹⁹¹ Die neueste Fundliste zeigt jedoch, dass innerhalb der Sântana de Mureș-Kultur nur vier bzw. östlich von den Karpaten weitere acht Exemplare bekannt sind,¹⁹² während im sarmatischen Siedlungsgebiet der Tiefebene aus 64 Fundorten insgesamt 128 Stücke belegt sind.¹⁹³

Die Siedlung von Hernádvecse darf anhand der Verzierung und Form, vor allem anhand der Glättverzierung der bikonischen Schüsseln und eines Ausgusstüllenfragmentes (Abb. 11, 16) in die erste Hälfte bzw. ins zweite Drittel des 5. Jahrhunderts datiert werden.



Abb. 12. Hernádvecse-Nagy rét, Tonanhänger aus dem Gebäude s61

ONGA-TEKNŐ LAPOS

Der Fundplatz von Onga-Teknő lapos wurde 2006 während Erweiterungsarbeiten an der Hauptstraße zwischen Miskolc und Szerencs archäologisch untersucht.

Der Fundplatz liegt auf einer kleinen Anhöhe im einstigen Überschwemmungsgebiet des Bársonyos-Baches, östlich von der Kreuzung zwischen der Hauptstraße Nr. 37 und der Eisenbahnlinie, die Felsőzsolca und Onga verbindet.

Auf einer schmalen Fläche von 3375 m² wurden eingetiefte Pfostenhäuser mit unterschiedlichen Ausmaßen dokumentiert, die zu zweit in einer Entfernung von 50–60 m voneinander standen (Abb. 13, 1, 4, 6–7). In der unmittelbaren Umgebung der Gebäude wurden zwei bis vier mittelgroße bzw. größere Gruben dokumentiert. Die Gruben waren verhältnismäßig klein und flach mit einem Durchmesser von ca. 60–80 cm (Abb. 13, 3, 5). Die für die späte Kaiserzeit besonders typischen bienenkorbformigen Gruben kamen nicht ans Tageslicht. Auf der Fläche zwischen den Gebäudegruppen kamen Spuren von zwei Pfostengebäuden zum Vorschein. Im nur teilweise freigelegten östlichen Gebäude wurden die Pfosten in einer Entfernung von 2–3 Metern errichtet.

¹⁸⁶ LÁNYI 1981, Abb. 3.

¹⁸⁷ VADAY 1989, 54–55, Abb. 6; GULYÁS 2015, 133.

¹⁸⁸ KISS 1996, 59, Abb. 6.

¹⁸⁹ TEJRAL 1997, 335.

¹⁹⁰ TEJRAL 1982, 131.

¹⁹¹ BIERBRAUER 1975, 172.

¹⁹² KÖRÖSFŐI 2016, 260.

¹⁹³ GULYÁS 2015, 133.

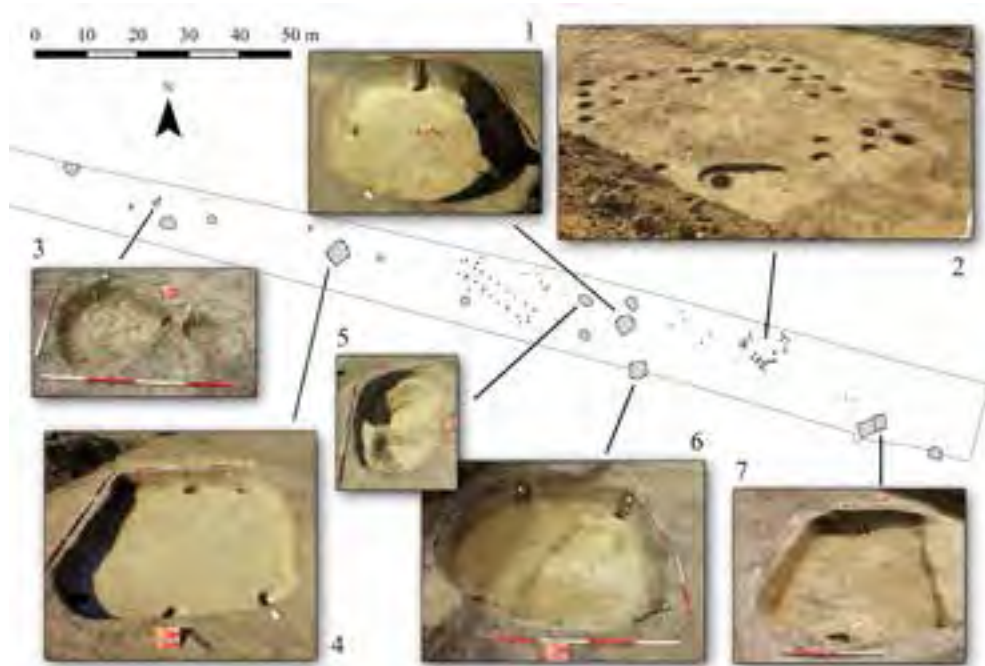


Abb. 13. Onga-Teknő lapos

1. s71; 2. s83-95, s97-98, s100-102, s105-109; 3. s17; 4. s30; 5. s69; 6. s12; 7. s13

Der östliche Baubefund war etwa 6x6 m groß und wurde mit dicht aneinandergereihten Pfosten aufgebaut: an manchen Stellen wurden die Pfosten durch weitere verstärkt und an den Ecken dickere Träger eingebaut (Abb. 13, 2). Diese Konstruktion kann als *Pfostenspeicher* bestimmt werden.¹⁹⁴ Der Brunnen der Siedlung wurde im mittleren Bereich der Grabungsfläche dokumentiert.

In Onga waren die Gebäude in unterschiedlicher Konstruktionsweise errichtet, die Spuren des Einganges oder einer Feuerstelle wurde jedoch in keinem Fall beobachtet (Abb. 14). Neben der unregelmäßigen Ausformung wurden die Pfähle bei den Vier- und Sechs-Pfostenkonstruktionen an den Ecken aufgestellt. Das Eckpfostenhaus erschien im nordöstlichen Teil des Karpatenbeckens an der Wende des 4/5. Jahrhunderts,¹⁹⁵ und war in den Siedlungen bis in die zweite Hälfte des 5. Jahrhunderts im Gebrauch.¹⁹⁶ In den gepidischen Siedlungen des 6. Jahrhunderts waren die Sechs-Pfostenkonstruktionen seltener,¹⁹⁷ man fand eher unregelmäßige Grundrisse mit zwei, vier oder fünf dachtragenden Pfosten.¹⁹⁸

DAS FUNDMATERIAL

Die Mehrzahl der Funde aus Onga-Teknő lapos bestand aus Keramik. Das Tafel- oder Serviergeschirr bestand aus Feinkeramik ohne Magerung, wie z.B. bikonische Schüsseln mit eingeglätteter Verzierung, sowie kleinen Krügen und Bechern. 80% der schnell gedrehten jedoch mit körniger Magerung angefertigten Gefäße bildeten Töpfe. Aus demselben Ton wurden aber auch Schüsseln

¹⁹⁴ TÓTH 2006, 64–65.

¹⁹⁵ Österreich (KERN 1996, 16, Abb. 4, 3); in Mähren Rajhradice (PŘICHYŠTAL–VACHŮTOVÁ 2007), Zlechov (ZEMAN 2006, obr. 4, 1–3), in der Slowakei Nitra-Párovské Háje (PIETA–RUTKAY 1997), Štúrovo-Vojenské cvičisko (BELJAK–KOLNÍK 2008, Fig. 6, 1, Fig. 7, 1), zusammenfassend: TEJRAL 1990, 28–29, Abb. 3; TEJRAL 1998, 193–202.

¹⁹⁶ Battonya (SZABÓ 1978, 61–62, 3. ábra; TÓTH 2006, 121, Abb. 31); Sajószentpéter (TÓTH 2013, 30–37).

¹⁹⁷ MASEK 2015, 416–421, Fig. 7–8.

¹⁹⁸ TÓTH 2006, 39–42.

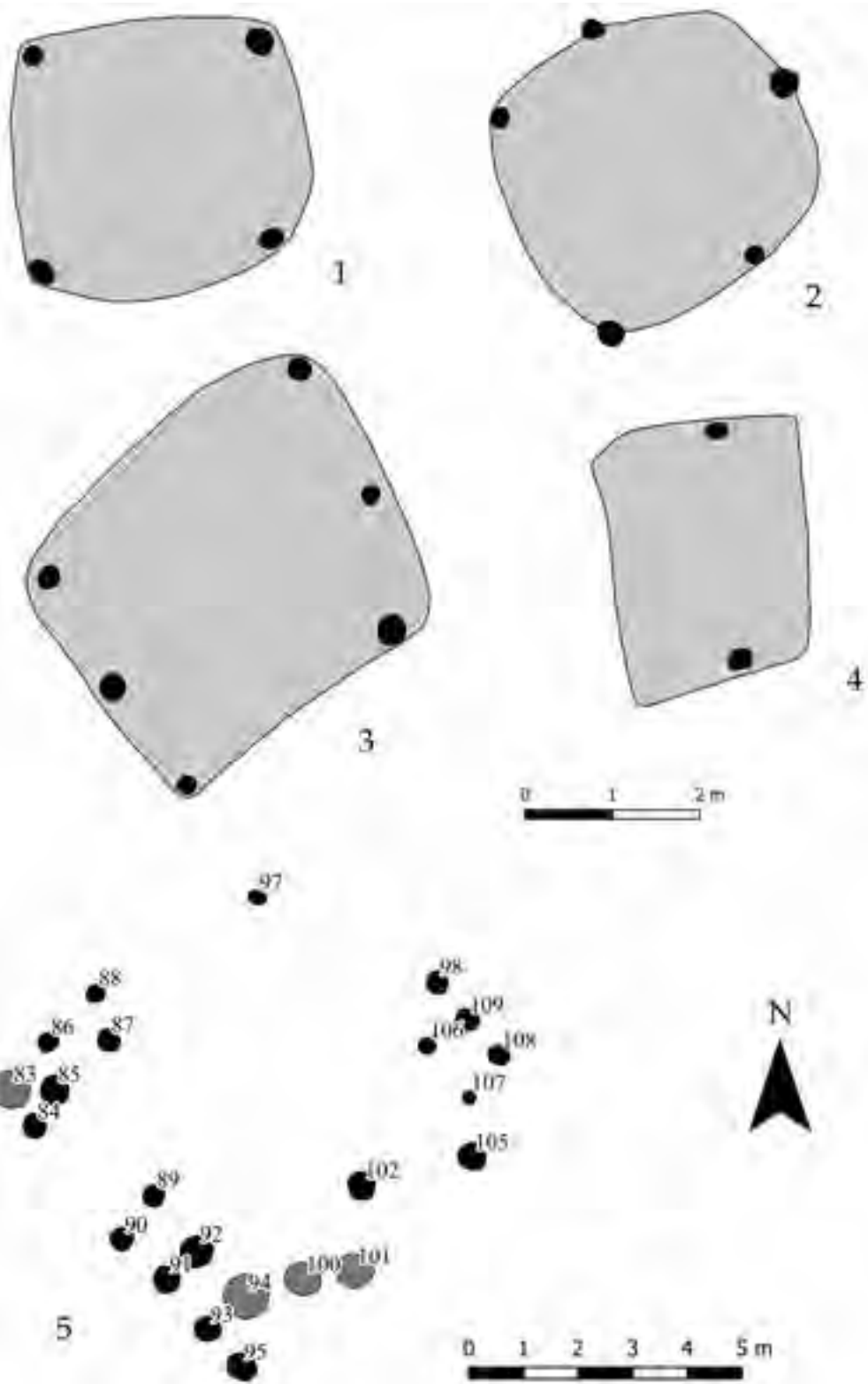


Abb. 14. Onga-Teknő lapos, eingetiefte und oberirdische Gebäude
1. str.12; 2. str.71; 3. str.30; 4. str.13; 5. Pfostenspeicher



Abb. 15. Onga-Teknő lapos, Keramikauswahl:
1, 9-11. s12; 2, 6, 8, 14. s45; 3-4. s19; 5, 7. s13; 12-13. s149

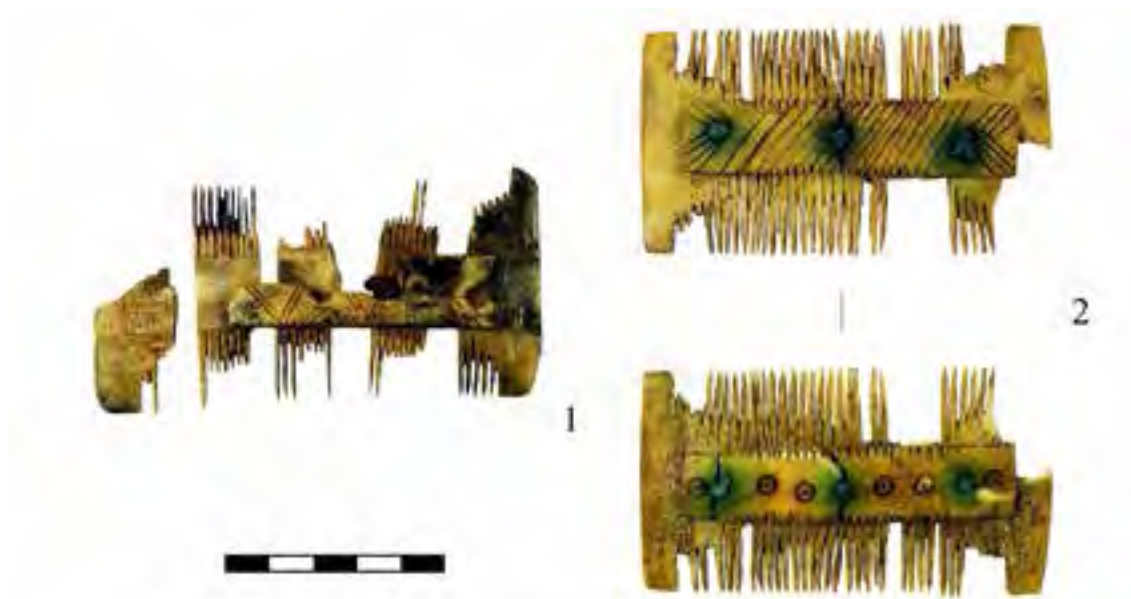


Abb. 16. Onga-Teknő lapos, Knochenkämm: 1. str.45; 2. str.145

und Krüge hergestellt. Die handgeformte Keramik repräsentiert nur 10% des gesamten keramischen Materials und besteht aus kleineren Töpfen und Deckeln (Abb. 15).

Aus dem Brunnen, sowie aus einem der Gebäude entstammt jeweils ein doppelseitiger Knochenkamm. Der eine ist mit bronzenen, der anderen mit eisernen Nietern zusammengefügt und mit schräg eingeritzten Linien bzw. mit Kreispunktverzierung dekoriert (Abb. 16).

Aus Mangel an genau datierbaren Kleinfunden kann die Siedlung von Onga nur ungefähr eingestuft werden. Eine *Schüssel* mit weit ausladendem Rand und körniger Magerung und ein *Krug* mit schmalen Hals und eingeritzter Verzierung (Abb. 15, 3-4) zeigen sehr enge Kontakte zur Keramik der spätrömischen Fundplätze im Donauknie.¹⁹⁹ Die Analogien der bikonischen Schüsseln mit Glättverzierung (Abb. 15, 1-2) können ins zweite Drittel des 5. Jahrhunderts datiert werden.²⁰⁰ Die *profilierten Schüssel mit körniger Magerung* (Abb. 15, 9-10) tauchen auch hier auf,²⁰¹ ihre Formenvariation ist weniger einheitlich, als in Hernádvécse. Interessanterweise wurden aus demselben Rohstoff auch den sarmatischen²⁰² Grundformen ähnliche Schüssel mit verdickendem Rand hergestellt (Abb. 15, 8). Die *Töpfe mit körniger Magerung* (Abb. 15, 11-12) können mit den Typen II/b und II/c des typologischen Systems von Ágnes B. Tóth gleichgestellt werden, ähnliche Formen waren auch im Siedlungsmaterial von Ártánd sehr häufig. Der Größenbereich der Töpfe und ihr Anteil im Siedlungsmaterial macht sie mit den gepidischen Gebieten der Tiefebene im 6. Jahrhundert vergleichbar.²⁰³

Zusammenfassend kann der Siedlungsteil ins zweite Drittel des 5. Jahrhunderts datiert werden, einige Befunde erlebten auch die zweite Hälfte des 5. Jahrhunderts, das Ende der Siedlung ist ungewiss.²⁰⁴

¹⁹⁹ Tokod (LÁNYI 1981, 75, 77–78, Abb. 6, Abb. 11), Visegrád-Gizellamajor (OTTOMÁNYI 2015, 19, 6. kép 1–3). Jüngst werden sie in die erste Hälfte des 5. Jahrhunderts datiert (HÁRSHEGYI–OTTOMÁNYI 2013, 486–489, 508–513, Fig. 6).

²⁰⁰ Siehe Hernádvécse; TÓTH 2006, 85, 121.

²⁰¹ Wie z.B. in Sajószentpéter (TÓTH 2013, XIII. t. 8.) und in Nyíregyháza (PINTYE 2016, XXVI. t.).

²⁰² VADAY 1989, 147, Abb. 39.

²⁰³ TÓTH 2006, 98.

²⁰⁴ SOÓS 2014, 195.

VERÄNDERUNGEN DER LEBENSWEISE WÄHREND DES 5. JAHRHUNDERTS

Die Analogien der Formen und Verzierungen der oben besprochenen zwei Fundplätze zeigen unterschiedliche Netzwerke. Die profilierten Schüsseln, die Murga-Krüge aus Hernádvécse-Nagy rét sind sowohl in barbarischen als auch in provinzialrömischen Gebieten des nordöstlichen Karpatenbeckens weit verbreitet. Ähnliche Zusammensetzungen in der Siedlungskeramik können von NW-Siebenbürgen bis Mähren ab der Wende des 4./5. Jahrhunderts und in der ersten Hälfte des 5. Jahrhunderts beobachtet werden. Das keramische Material von Onga-Teknő lapos wird durch die bikonischen und eingeglätteten Schüssel mit der Siedlung von Hernádvécse verknüpft. Die meisten Parallele der Töpferwaren finden wir in der weiteren Umgebung des Fundplatzes und zwar in den Siedlungen der nördlichen Tiefebene und des Berettyó-Gebietes ab der zweiten Hälfte des 5. Jahrhunderts.

Obwohl das Hernádvécse engere Beziehungen zum Post-Černjachov Horizont zeigt und Onga eher mit den gepidischen Siedlungen in Verbindung stand, können die zwei Siedlungen mit einer zeitlichen Überlappung in der Mitte des 5. Jahrhunderts existiert haben. Diese Erscheinung, wie auch die frühe Datierung der Siedlung von Battonya, macht die kulturelle Mosaikhaftigkeit der Periode nachvollziehbar.

Die offensichtlichen kulturellen Unterschiede, die anhand der Typologie und Verzierungsmotive ausgegliedert werden können, stellen natürlich die Frage, in wie weit sie auf Veränderungen in der Lebensweise zwischen dem Ende der Kaiserzeit und dem 6. Jahrhundert hindeuten. Zur Beantwortung dieser Frage sind komplexe Untersuchungen nötig. Im Rahmen dieser Studie wurden die Ergebnisse der Siedlungsstrukturanalyse und die funktionale Untersuchung des keramischen Materials vorgenommen.

DIE SIEDLUNGSSTRUKTUR

Um die Struktur beider Siedlungen vergleichen zu können wurden die Befunde in Gruppen geteilt. In Hernádvécse befanden sich die Gebäude in einer Entfernung von 20 m zueinander, alle andere Befundtypen gruppieren sich 40 bzw. 80 m nördlich von ihnen. Die den Gebäuden näher gelegenen Befunde waren flache Gruben und größere Speichergruben. In der nördlichen Befundgruppe wurden neben dem Töpferofen zylindrische und bienenkorbformige Speichergruben dokumentiert (Abb. 17).

Onga-Teknő lapos zeigt eine völlig andere Struktur. Jeweils zwei Gebäude wurden nebeneinander gebaut. Zwischen den Gebäudegruppen spannte sich eine Entfernung von ca. 50 m. In der Siedlung wurden keine, zum Speichern geeignete Gruben dokumentiert, in der Nähe der Häuser waren nur einige flache unregelmäßige Gruben freigelegt. Das Speichern von Naturerzeugnissen erfolgte also nicht mehr in unterirdischen Gruben, sondern in oberirdischen Pfostenstrukturen (Abb. 18).

Die Siedlungen waren länger, über mehrere Generationen hindurch bewohnt. Die neben einander stehenden Gebäude waren wahrscheinlich nicht gleichzeitig genutzt, sondern spiegeln unterschiedliche Siedlungsperioden wieder. Die begrenzte Grabungsfläche beschränkt auch unsere Kenntnisse über Siedlungsstruktur. Trotzdem darf das theoretische Modell der oben umrissenen Siedlungseinheiten erwägt werden.

Die Siedlungseinheiten sind in beiden Siedlungen unterschiedlich. In Hernádvécse befanden sich im nächsten Umfeld des Gebäudes eine größere Speichergrube, in einer Entfernung von 40 m weitere flache Gruben bzw. Speichergruben. Die Töpferei war weit von den Gebäuden angelegt, in ihrem Umfeld wurden nur Speichergruben entdeckt. In Onga dagegen waren die flachen Gruben von den Gebäuden nur 5-10 m entfernt, im weiteren Umfeld der Häuser wurden nur oberirdische Speicherstrukturen angeordnet.

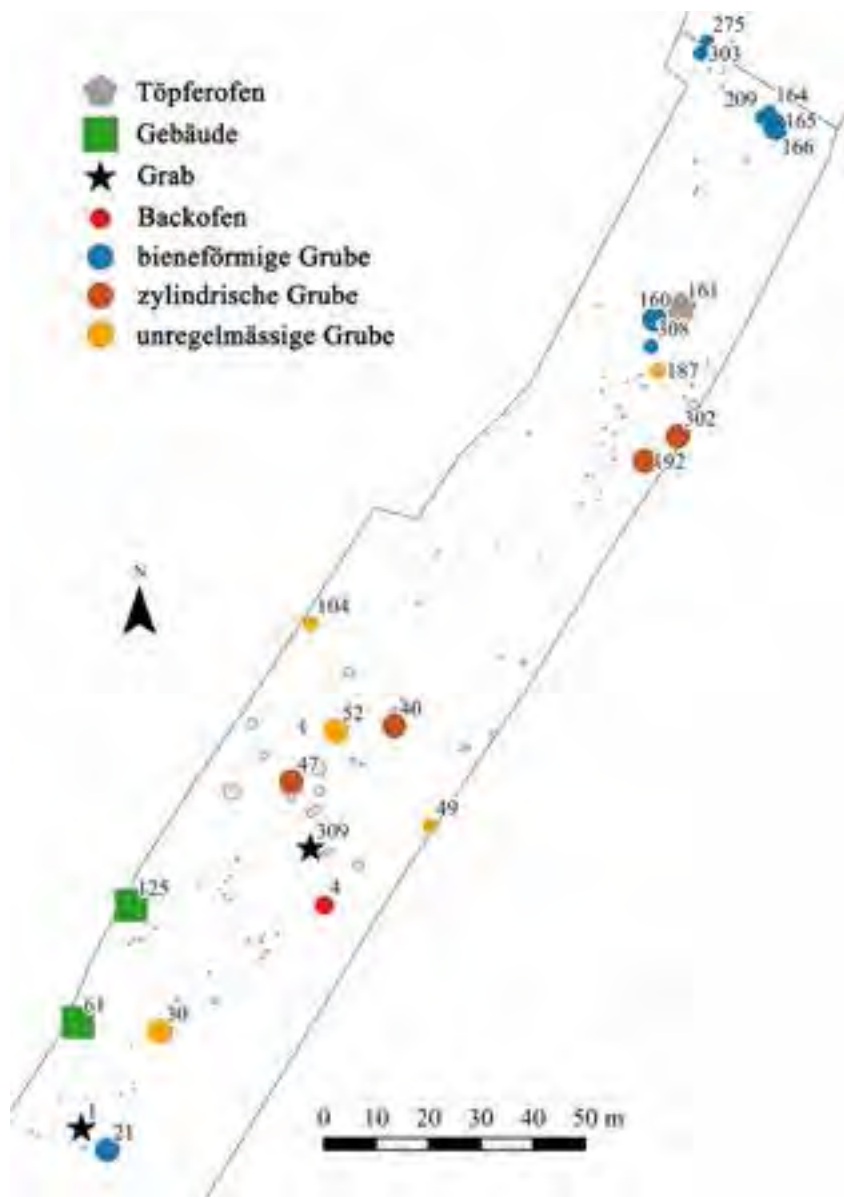


Abb. 17. Hernádvécse-Nagy rét. Siedlungsstruktur

Die Veränderungen, die anhand der oben dargestellten Siedlungen umrissen wurden, lassen sich gut an die Übergangsperiode zwischen Spätkaiserzeit und Gepidenzeit knüpfen. Die spätkaiserzeitlichen germanischen Siedlungen zeigen im allgemeinen eine Reihenstruktur auf, wobei die Gebäudegruppen in einer Entfernung von 25-35 m zueinander angelegt wurden.²⁰⁵ Um das Ende der Spätkaiserzeit wurde der wachsende Bedarf an Speicherkapazität mithilfe zylindrischen und bienenkorbformige Gruben gelöst, Brunnen und Öfen wurden äußerst selten entdeckt. Anhand der bisherigen Daten zeigten die gepidischen Siedlungen des 6. Jahrhunderts eine sehr lose Struktur. Die Gebäude bzw. Gebäudegruppen und die zu ihnen gehörenden Befunde kommen in einem Abstand von 60-80 m zum Vorschein.²⁰⁶ Zwar sind oberirdische Pfostenspeicher

²⁰⁵ KOLNÍK ET AL. 2007, Abb. 6–10; VARSÍK 2011, Abb. 5–6.

²⁰⁶ Z.B. Tiszafüred-Morotvapart (CSEH 1991, 195).

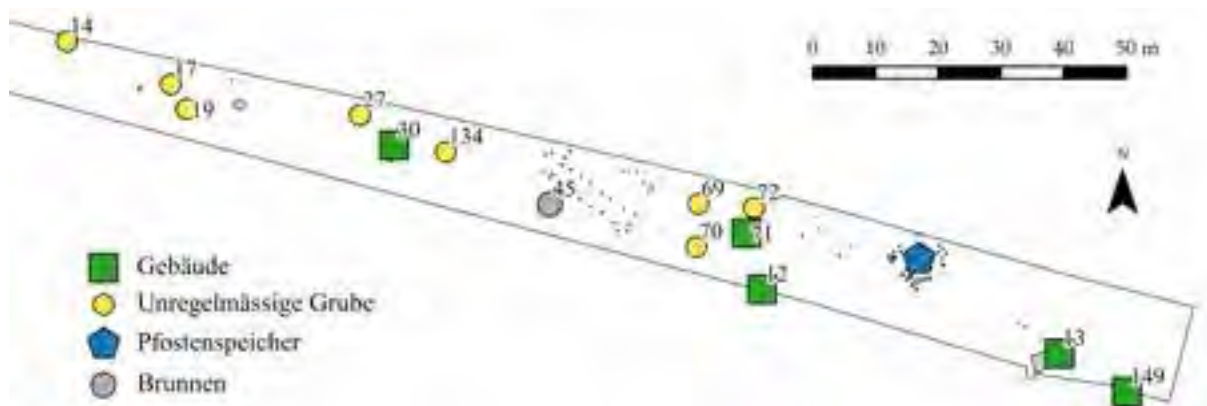


Abb. 18. Onga-Teknő lapos. Siedlungsstruktur

wie die in Onga sehr selten, die niedrige Zahl der Speichergruben ist eine typische Erscheinung der Periode.²⁰⁷

VERÄNDERUNG DES TAFELGESCHIRRS

Die Untersuchung des keramischen Materials beschränkte sich grundsätzlich auf typochronologische Fragen und Analyse der Verzierungsmotive. Die kulturellen Veränderungen können sowohl an der Herstellungstechnik, als auch an Form bzw. Verzierung nachvollzogen werden. Auch die schlichte Analyse der Funktion und Zusammensetzung des keramischen Materials führt uns zu ähnlichen Ergebnissen.

In einem wirtschaftlichen-funktionalen Bezugssystem können Gefäße als Hinweise auf Essgewohnheiten oder als Interaktion mit Lebensmitteln interpretiert werden.²⁰⁸ Aus funktionaler Sicht unterscheidet man zwischen Gefäße zum Speichern, zum Zubereiten und zum Verzehr von Lebensmitteln. Natürlich lassen sich die Kategorien nicht scharf abgrenzen. Es ist durchaus lebensecht, dass einige Gefäße sowohl zum Kochen als auch zum Servieren benutzt wurden, außerdem werden Gefäße aus anderen Rohstoffen wie Holz und Leder hier außer Acht gelassen. Eine solche Gruppierung spiegelt nicht die damalige Realität wieder, sondern ein aufgrund des Fundstoffes erstelltes Modell. Dennoch wird die Möglichkeit geboten, die Siedlungsfunde aus einer neuen Perspektive zu vergleichen.

Das feine Tafelgeschirr in Hernádvécse bestand aus Schüsseln, Töpfen und zahlreichen Krügen. Einige Schüsseln, sowie Gefäße zur Aufbewahrung von Flüssigkeiten bzw. Töpfe besaßen eine grobe Magerung. Handgeformte Töpfe wurden wahrscheinlich auch als Kochgefäße benutzt. Der Anteil an großen Speichergefäßen war wesentlich kleiner als in den spätkaiserzeitlichen Siedlungen.

In Onga war die Proportion der Schüssel und Töpfe innerhalb der Feinkeramik fast gleich, die Ensemble waren durch einige Krüge und Becher ergänzt. Grob gemagerte Typen waren Schüsseln und Krüge, dominant erscheinen jedoch Töpfe, deren Anteil hier den aus Hernádvécse überstieg. Speichergefäße sind so gut wie gar nicht belegt.

Wegen der starken Fragmentierung wurde im Vergleich eine annähernde Gefäßzahl angegeben. Da sowohl die Grabungsflächen, als auch das Fundmaterial beider Siedlungen unterschiedlich groß waren, wurde hier anstatt der absoluten Anzahl der Prozentanteil der einzelnen Typen angeführt und dargestellt.

²⁰⁷ CSEH 1991; MASEK 2012b, 43–45, 55–56; MASEK 2015, 409–413.

²⁰⁸ RICE 1987, 207–210, 236–242.

Ein Diagramm, das anhand der Funktion der Keramiktypen beider Siedlungen erstellt wurde, zeigt keine wesentlichen Unterschiede. Unter dem Tafelgeschirr sind Schüsseln und Töpfe weiterhin bestimmend. Töpfe waren in Hernádvecse in größerer Zahl aus fein gemagertem Ton, in Onga eher aus Ton mit körniger Magerung hergestellt (Abb. 19). Trotz dieses Unterschiedes ist die Proportion der Leittypen in beiden Siedlungen relativ gleich. Zwei Erscheinungen müssen hervorgehoben werden. Die erste ist die völlige Abwesenheit großer Speichergefäße in der Siedlung von Onga. Die andere ist die besonders große Zahl der Feinkeramik zur Aufbewahrung von Flüssigkeiten in der Siedlung von Hernádvecse. Das Vorhandensein eines Töpferofens erklärt die hohe Zahl dieser Gefäße und deutet auf lokale Herstellung hin. Gleichzeitig wird in der ersten Hälfte bzw. Mitte des 5. Jahrhunderts der Murga-Stil zum Leittyp, sowohl bei Siedlungsfunden als auch bei Grabfunden. Wird die Keramik nicht nur aus stilgeschichtlicher Hinsicht analysiert, so kann allgemein festgestellt werden, dass Krüge zur Aufbewahrung von Flüssigkeiten oder zum Trinken benutzt werden. Eine naturwissenschaftliche Untersuchung der Feinkeramik wäre erwünscht, da vermutlich nicht allein der Murga-Stil, sondern auch eine mit ihm zusammenhängende Trinkgewohnheit oder ein gewisses Getränk verbreitet wurde.

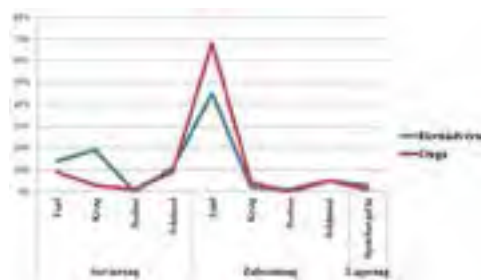


Abb. 19. Vergleich der Gefäßensembles aus Hernádvecse und Onga

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Die Siedlungsgeschichte des oberen Theißgebietes bedarf offensichtlich weiterer Forschungen. Auf Grund der bisher veröffentlichten Siedlungen aus dem Gebiet Rumäniens, Ungarns und der Slowakei können auch gegenwärtig Prozesse umgerissen werden, die anhand der Grabfunde bereits angesprochen wurden.

Im oberen Theißgebiet verliefen am Ende des 4. und am Anfang des 5. Jahrhunderts ähnliche Vorgänge ab, unabhängig davon, ob es in der Spätkaizerzeit durch Sarmaten oder Germanen bewohnt war. Die Siedlungsdichte nahm stark ab. Ein Teil der ausgedehnten spätkaiserzeitlichen Siedlungen erlebte diese Periode, die mit der Erscheinung von Fundtypen der Stufen C3 und D1 charakterisiert werden kann. In den meisten fortlebenden Siedlungen zeigt die Veränderung des Fundmaterials keinen scharfen Bruch. Die neue Mode signalisierenden Funde werden parallel zu den spätkaiserzeitlichen Gegenständen benutzt.

Darüber hinaus wurden zunehmend neu gegründete Siedlungen entdeckt. Ihr Fundmaterial lässt sich von dem der kaiserzeitlichen Fundorte markant absondern, da nicht nur neue keramische Formen, sondern auch neue Herstellungstechniken erscheinen. Die neuen Siedlungen können größtenteils mit dem aufgrund Bestattungen bestimmten sogenannten *Post-Černjachov-Horizont* in Verbindung gebracht werden. Im Fundmaterial vermischen sich in verschiedenen Proportionen die lokalen spätrömischen Traditionen mit den Merkmalen der *Sântana de Mureș-Černjachov-Kultur*. Die Herkunft der neuen Siedler darf teilweise auf dem Gebiet dieser Kultur lokalisiert, jedoch nicht näher bestimmt werden. Die materielle Kultur passte sich vorzugsweise der neuen Mode an, anstatt den alten Traditionen zu folgen, die sich in anderen Regionen entwickelten.

Die Besiedlung des nördlichen Karpatenbeckens am Ende des 4. und am Anfang des 5. Jahrhunderts zeigen mikroregionale Unterschiede. In einigen Regionen und Fundplätzen lebten die spätkaiserzeitlichen Gruppen weiter, während sich in ihre Umgebung Gemeinschaften mit neuartiger Kultur ansiedelten. Da die Fundorte der Periode anhand von Kreuzdatierungen und Analogien datiert werden, sind die Unterschiede oft verwischt: einige Fundorte werden in die späte Kaiserzeit verschoben, die neu gegründeten Fundplätze als selbständige Horizonte ausgegliedert.

Zur besseren Kenntnis der Periode wären naturwissenschaftlich begründete absolute Daten notwendig.

Aus dem zweiten Drittel bzw. der zweiten Hälfte des 5. Jahrhunderts ist eine wesentlich geringere Anzahl an Fundplätzen bekannt. Ein Teil der Forschung vermutete einen Bruch zur vorangehenden Periode. Diese Zäsur war vor allem anhand der in die Hunnenzeit datierten Grabfunde bestimmt, die als „donauländisch“ oder „ostrogotisch“ definiert wurden. Die neuen Ergebnisse der Siedlungsforschung zeigen, dass es sich vielmehr um eine kontinuierliche Entwicklung handelt, und die erwähnten Charakteristika keineswegs ethnische Zugehörigkeit, sondern eher neue Modeerscheinungen an der Wende des 4./5. und der ersten Hälfte des 5. Jahrhunderts signalisieren.

Die in dieser Studie vorgestellten Siedlungen aus NO-Ungarn unterstützen das Konzept einer kontinuierlichen Umwandlung von der späten Kaiserzeit in die Gepidenzeit.

In Hernádvécse-Nagy rét wurde eine mehrperiodige Siedlung mit Gebäuden, Töpferofen und Speichergruben freigelegt. Der als Gehöft interpretierte Fundplatz kann in die erste Hälfte bzw. Mitte des 5. Jahrhunderts datiert werden. Die Vorbilder der Häuser mit Holzbalkenfundament und Steinöfen sind im Gebiet der Sântana de Mureș-Kultur zu finden. Die Analogien der Keramik liegen dagegen aus dem nördlichen Barbaricum des Karpatenbeckens, sowie aus den spätrömischen und hunnenzeitlichen Siedlungen der Provinz Valeria vor.

Die Siedlung von Onga-Teknő lapos dürfte in die Mitte bzw. zweite Hälfte des 5. Jahrhunderts datiert werden. Unter den Siedlungsbefunden sind Gebäude, flache Gruben und oberirdische Pfostenspeicher zu nennen. Parallelen zum Fundmaterial sind – außer in der Region – aus den spätrömischen Fundplätzen des Donauknies bekannt. Einige Funde zeigen enge Kontakte zum gepidischen Siedlungsgebiet des 6. Jahrhunderts.

Das Formenspektrum und der Verzierungsschatz beider Siedlungen lassen sich – mit einer gewissen Überlappung – zu zwei Modehorizonten der Hunnenzeit verknüpfen. Werden die Funde und Befunde der Siedlungen nach Funktionen gruppiert, so ist eine ununterbrochene Entwicklung greifbar. Die große Zahl an Speichergruben, wie es in Hernádvécse beobachtet wurde, war in Onga nicht mehr vorhanden: hier wurden oberirdische Pfostenspeicher errichtet. In Hinsicht der Zusammensetzung des keramischen Materials kann der Rückgang an Tafelgeschirr und die Zunahme der grobgemagerten Töpfe beobachtet werden. In Onga fehlen nicht nur die Speichergruben sondern auch die Speichergefäße, ein Phänomen, das auf die komplexe Transformation der Lebensmittelverwahrung hindeutet. Anhand der oben angeführten Beispiele ist zwischen der spätkaiserzeitlichen und der gepidischen Lebensweise kein scharfer Bruch, eher ein kontinuierlicher Übergang denkbar. Die hier formulierten Gedanken und Forschungsansätze können natürlich durch die Bearbeitung und Veröffentlichung weiterer Siedlungen präzisiert werden.

ANHANG

Siedlungs- und Grabfunde des oberen Theißgebietes aus dem 5. Jahrhundert n. Chr.

Bestattungen

Ende 4. bis Anfang 5. Jh.

1. Čaña/Csána (BÓNA 1991)
2. Budești (BÓNA 1991)
3. Mezőszemere-Kismari fenék (VADAY–DOMBORÓCZKI 2001)
4. Miskolc-Szirma-Fáskert (SOÓS 2018)

5. Sajószentpéter-Harmadik Vető (KIRÁLY–TÓTH 2013)
6. Szihalom-Budaszög (FODOR 1997)
7. Szihalom-Pamlényi tábla (VÁRADI 1997)
8. Tiszadob-Sziget (ISTVÁNOVITS 1993)
9. Tiszakarád-Inasa (LOVÁSZ 1989)
10. Tiszavalk-Kenderföldek (GARAM–VADAY 1990)

Mitte bis zweite Hälfte 5. Jh.

11. Balsa (KOVRIK 1959)
12. Barabás-Bagolyvár (BÓNA 2002)
13. Dindești/Érdengeleg (BÓNA 1986)
14. Domoszló-Víztározó (BÓNA 2002b)
15. Edelény (CSALLÁNY 1961)
16. Erdőkövesd (CSALLÁNY 1961)
17. Gáva-Katóhalom (HAMPEL 1911)
18. Hejőkeresztúr-Homokbánya (CSALLÁNY 1958)
19. Hernádvecse-Nagy rét, 4. lh. (SOÓS ET AL. 2018)
20. Kapušany/Kapi (BUDINSKÝ–KRIČKA 1957)
21. Kisterenye-Újbánya (DORNYAY 1936)
22. Kistokaj-Homokbánya (BÓNA 1991)
23. Kisvárda-Darusziget (NÉMETH 1988)
24. Košice/Kassa (GERMANEN 1988)
25. Letkés-Vízfogó (PAPP–SALAMON 1980)
26. Mád (KOVRIK 1951)
27. Máriapócs (ISTVÁNOVITS–KULCSÁR 2018)
28. Mezőkaszony/Koszony (WERNER 1959)
29. Mezőkeresztes-Cethalom (SIMONYI 2005)
30. Mezőkövesd-Mocsolyás (LOVÁSZ 2005)
31. Mezőkövesd-Nyárfa Gasse 8 (CSALLÁNY 1961)
32. Miskolc-Sajó part (CSALLÁNY 1961)
33. Muhi (LESZIH 1939)
34. Nyíregyháza-Stadion (CSALLÁNY 1958)
35. Ostrovany/Osztropataka (LAMIOVÁ–SCHMIEDLOVÁ–TOMASOVA 1999)
36. Pácín-Szenna Domb (PINTÉR–NAGY 2012)
37. Prša/Perse (PIETA 1987, 391)
38. Streda Nad Bodrogom/Bodrogszerdahely (BÓNA 1991)
39. Szécsény (CSALLÁNY 1961)
40. Székely (KOVRIK 1959)
41. Szilvásvárads-Lovaspálya (RÁCZ–GULYÁS in press)
42. Szirmabesenyő-Homokbánya (MEGAY 1952)
43. Szob (KOVRIK 1959)
44. Szurdokpüspöki (BÁCSMEGI–GUBA 2007)
45. Tarnaméra-Úrak dűlője (BÓNA–SZABÓ 2002)
46. Tiszalök-Árpád utca (KOVRIK 1951)
47. Tiszapalkonya (KOVRIK 1959)
48. Vajdácaska-Dögtér (MASEK 2011)
49. Velika Bakta/Nagybakta (BÓNA 1991)
50. Zalkod (HAMPEL 1905)

Siedlungen

51. Andornaktálya-Kis rét dűlő (BÁLINT ET AL. In press)
52. Archiud-Hänsuri/Mezőerked (GAIU 1999)
53. Cigánd-Diós (KISJUHÁSZ 2010)
54. Hernádvécse-Nagy rét (SOÓS ET AL. 2018)
55. Lazuri-Râtul lui Bela/Lázári (GINDELE 2010)
56. Miskolc-ALDI 2 (CSENGERI 2011)
57. Nižná Myšľa-Alamenev/ Alsómislye (PIETA 1999)
58. Nyíregyháza-Csorda páskum (PINTYE 2016)
59. Onga-Teknő lapos (SOÓS 2014)
60. Ostrovany/Osztropataka (LAMIOVÁ-SCHMIEDLOVÁ-TOMÁŠOVÁ 1999)
61. Prešov/Eperjes (BUDINSKÝ-KRIČKA 1963)
62. Sajószentpéter-Vasúti őrház (TÓTH 2013)
63. Štúrovo-Vojenské cvičisko/Párkány (BELJAK-KOLNÍK 2008)
64. Suceag-Oradba/Szucság (OPREANU 2013)
65. Szilvásvárads-Lovaspálya (FARKAS ET AL. In press)
66. Szurdokpüspöki (BÁCSMEGI-GUBA 2007)
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INTERPRETATION OF A 5TH- AND 6TH-CENTURY FARM-LIKE SETTLEMENT.

THE CASE STUDY OF TISZABURA-NAGY-GANAJOS-HÁT, HUNGARY

Dóra Szabó

The aim of the current study¹ is to provide a possible interpretation for the use of the site at Tiszabura–Nagy-Ganajos-hát, a small, farm-like settlement remain in the middle of the Tisza region. This settlement type with scattered groups of settlement features is characteristic to the 5th and 6th centuries in the eastern part of the Carpathian Basin. Besides these, more complex, village-like settlements (e.g. Rákóczifalva, Berettyóújfalu) are also known owing to recent large-scale excavations. This analysis attempts to understand the use of farm-like settlements and their possible relationship to larger, village-like settlements and raises the hypothesis of seasonal exploitation of the Tiszabura site by the investigation of its landscape, environment, settlement structure, settlement features and finds.

Keywords: 5th and 6th centuries; Carpathian Basin; settlement research; scattered settlement pattern; seasonality

5TH- AND 6TH-CENTURY SETTLEMENTS

Generally, the 5th- and 6th-century settlement traces are groups of settlement features, mainly sunken-featured buildings (abbreviated as SFB) and pits, where the distinct groups are situated in few hundred metre distance from each other.² János Cseh mentions such building and pit concentrations at the sites of Szolnok-Alcsi, Battonya, Tiszafüred, and Tiszaszőlős.³

However, the fine chronological differentiation of these groups of settlement features in several cases cannot be done, thus it cannot be confirmed if they existed contemporaneously.⁴ This characteristic scattered, loose, farm-like settlement structure was mainly observed on field surveys and small-scale excavations. The paradox of the excavated large, 5th- and 6th-century cemeteries with high number of graves and the mainly sporadic settlement traces with few settlement features were solved by the assumption that the communities of small settlement groups shared larger cemeteries throughout generations.⁵ Recently, on development-led excavations another type of settlements came to light: large-scale, village-like settlements, such as Rákóczifalva⁶ and Berettyóújfalu, whose layouts are although not unified, still follow some organisational principles.⁷

Few researchers have examined questions relating to the landscape and environment of settlements in this period (5th and 6th centuries). B. Tóth's recent study⁸ focuses on how the hydrological characteristics of the Hungarian Plain affected the communication lines, transport and trade lines and the locations of settlements within the strict time frame of 455–567 AD. According

¹ The study is based on the poster presentation displayed at the conference, 'Kollaps – Neuordnung – Kontinuitäten. Das Theissgebiet nach dem Untergang des Hunnenreiches', in 2015.

² B. TÓTH 2016, 208–215; CSEH 1999b, 62, 1. kép.

³ CSEH 1999a, 43; about the site of Battonya see: SZABÓ–VÖRÖS 1979, 218–230.

⁴ B. TÓTH 2016, 215.

⁵ B. TÓTH 2016, 212.

⁶ MASEK 2015.

⁷ MASEK 2015, 425.

⁸ B. TÓTH 2016.

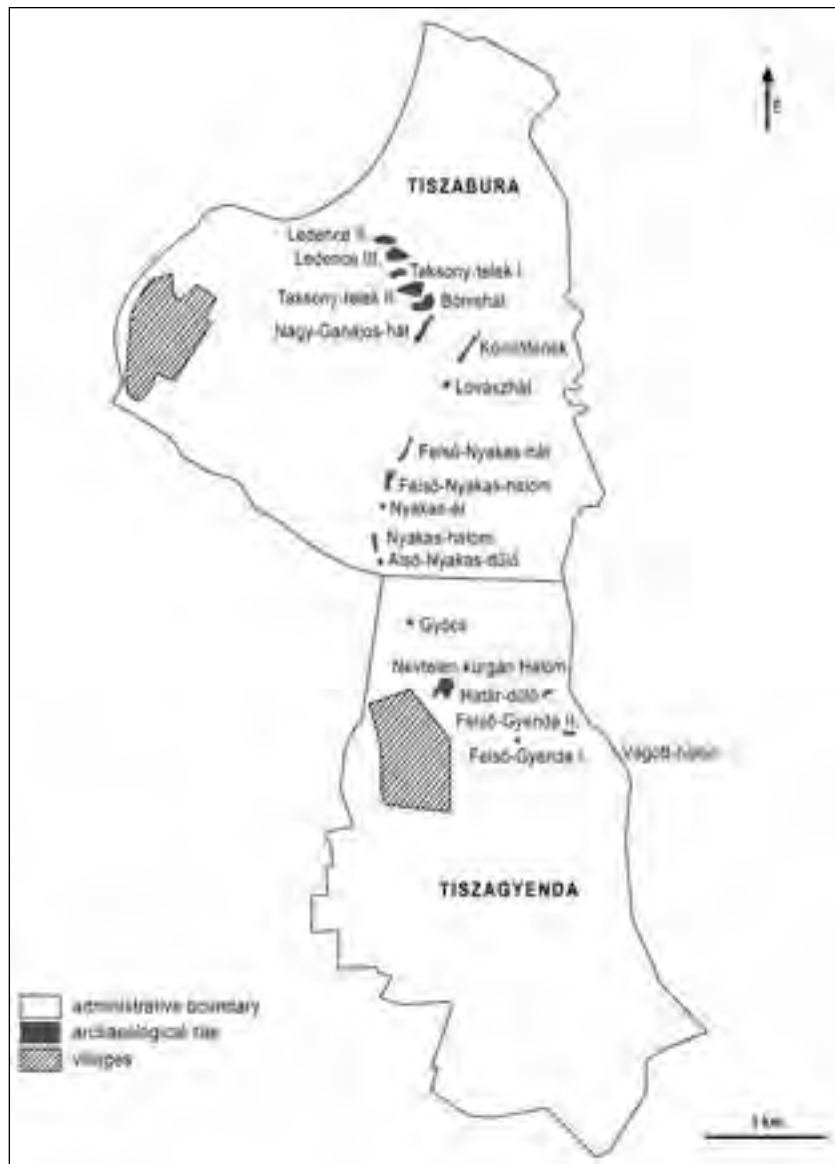


Fig. 1. The microregion of the archaeological site of Tiszabura-Nagy-Ganajos-hát (after TÁRNOKI 2007, 299)

to B. Tóth a dramatic decrease can be observed in the number of settlements from the end of the 5th century in the Duna-Tisza Interfluve region, the settlements and cemeteries can mainly be found in a 15–20 km wide zone along the valley of the Tisza River and its affluents.⁹ Based on field surveys and excavations these settlements and cemeteries were situated on higher, flood-free areas following the line of the rivers,¹⁰ while those territories which were further away from the Tisza River or its affluents seem to be abandoned or at least were not chosen for the locations of settlements or cemeteries.¹¹ B. Tóth considers political and historical factors as well as possible environmental changes as the causes of the shrinkage of the populated area.¹²

⁹ B. TÓTH 2016, 199, 215.

¹⁰ B. TÓTH 2016, 208–213, 215; see also CSEH 1999a, 42.

¹¹ B. TÓTH 2016, 215.

¹² B. TÓTH 2016, 213.

THE MICROREGION OF THE TISZABURA-NAGY-GANAJOS-HÁT SITE

Before the construction of the reservoir spillway of Nagykunság, field surveys were carried out on the whole territory of the planned construction site in the surroundings of Tiszabura in 2006 (*Fig. 1*), in the course of which 5th- and 6th-century pottery sherds were found at the archaeological sites of Bónishát, Kömlőfenék, and Taksony-telek I-II.¹³ It is likely that the sites of Bónishát and Taksony-telek II. represent one joint archaeological site.¹⁴ The sites of Tiszabura-Bónishát (northeast from Tiszabura, on the northern edge of the high bank of the Tisza) and Tiszabura-Ledence I-II. were excavated by the Institute of Archaeology, Eötvös Loránd University. At the site of Bónishát, the remains of a small Gepidic settlement came to light.¹⁵ The in-filling of the buildings contained ash and a large number of finds: besides the significant amount of pottery, iron household tools, antler combs and semi-finished, carved antler discs were found in the settlement features.¹⁶ The site of Tiszabura – Ledence is situated on the flat area emerging from the former flood basin of the Tisza River, its location is one level deeper than the platform of Bónishát.¹⁷ Its north and west parts formed the former high bank of the river.¹⁸ On the southwestern part of the site Ledence I eight Gepidic burials were excavated.¹⁹ Most of the graves contained iron belt buckles and antler combs, in one case a sword was placed next to the deceased person.²⁰ Some of the deads' skulls were strongly distorted.²¹ The remain of the cemetery excavated on the southwestern part of Ledence I continued to the northern part of Ledence II, therefore it is likely that the same cemetery extended to the unexcavated area between the two sites.²²

THE SITE OF NAGY-GANAJOS-HÁT

The archaeological site of Nagy-Ganajos-hát, which is the focus of the current study, is situated eastwards from the town of Tiszabura (Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok County, Hungary). It is located 87 metres above the sea level in an area structured by sand hills on the western bank of the former brook Ganajos (transmuted into a channel) (*Fig. 2*). The northeastern end of the hill consists of two smaller prominences. Its geographical situation is very similar to other Gepidic settlements known from this period. Before the construction of the above-mentioned reservoir spillway a development-led excavation was carried out by the Damjanich János Museum at the site of Nagy-Ganajos-hát.²³ Previously, field surveys were also accomplished on the long-stretching sand back, where scattered prehistoric pottery sherds and a great number of broken human bones were collected (*Fig. 3*).

SETTLEMENT STRUCTURE

During the excavation period (2009 and 2010) an approximately 1.7 ha-large area was excavated. The archaeological site extended to the deeper, clayey area, which begins by the northern foot of the hill (*Fig. 3*). Eight settlement features could be dated to the 5th and 6th centuries. They constituted three foci, which were situated in a greater distance from each other. Two settlement features (No

¹³ TÁRNOKI 2007, 298–301.

¹⁴ TÁRNOKI 2007, 301.

¹⁵ Zsófia Masek analyzes the settlement as part of her PhD dissertation: MASEK 2018.

¹⁶ VÁCZI 2010, 366–367.

¹⁷ FÜZESI–SEBŐK 2010, 367; FÜZESI–SEBŐK–V. SZABÓ 2012, 377.

¹⁸ FÜZESI–SEBŐK 2010, 367; FÜZESI–SEBŐK–V. SZABÓ 2012, 377.

¹⁹ FÜZESI–SEBŐK 2010, 368.

²⁰ FÜZESI–SEBŐK 2010, 368.

²¹ FÜZESI–SEBŐK 2010, 368.

²² FÜZESI–SEBŐK–V. SZABÓ 2012, 379.

²³ I would like to thank Marietta Csányi and Judit Tárnoki for the opportunity of investigating this 5th- and 6th-century settlement remain.



Fig. 2. The geographical environs of the site on the map of the Second Ordnance Survey (1806-1869). The site is highlighted with red square. (<http://www.openstreetmap.org/copyright>, last accessed: April 29, 2017)

146 and 150) were excavated in the north-western part, one SFB (No 135) was situated in the north-eastern part, while four further settlement features (No 12, 18, 30 and 56) occupied the southern part of the excavated area. The group of features in the north-western part of the site was 138 m far from the SFB No 135 in the northeast, and 152 m far from the southern group of settlement features. The distance between the SFB No 135 and the southern group of features is 72 m. A scattered and loose settlement structure can be outlined without any visible organizational principles (Fig. 4).

The well, No 33 is situated in the centre of the site, slightly separated from the above-mentioned features. The 5th- and 6th-century settlement might continue northwest and northeast outside the limits of the excavated area, however, in the southern part this cannot be assumed. Traces of ditches or fences, referring to the division of space, were not observed. A Late Bronze Age ditch, extending from northeast to northwest in the southern part of the excavated area, was not visible on the surface in the 5th and 6th centuries anymore, as the SFB No 18 was already dug into the in-filling of this ditch.

SETTLEMENT FEATURES

The southern group of settlement features included two small SFBs (No 12 and 18), another shallow feature (No 30) and a large pit (No 56). The two square SFBs with rounded corners were located in 20-metre distance from each other. Their orientations were different: the axis of SFB 12 was



Fig. 3. The archaeological site of Tiszabura-Nagy-Ganajos-hát. The blue area represents the extension of the archaeological site, the red area shows the territory of the excavation

oriented northeast – southwest, while the orientation of SFB 18 was west – east. Their floor area was about 7.28 and 9.57 sq m. Their trampled floor appeared -20/-26 cm deep, measured from the level of scraping. In none of the buildings could postholes or traces of fireplaces be observed. The orientation of the shallow settlement feature (No 30) with irregular shape was similar to SFB 12. Based on their close proximity and similar orientation, their relationship is presumable. The shallow feature (No 30) had a floor area of 10.5 sq m. The three settlement features mentioned above contained a very small number of finds: a few pottery sherds (mostly wall fragments),



Fig. 5. Sunken-featured building No 135 with earth bank (photographed by Károly Kozma)

animal bones, a loom weight and a fragment from an antler comb from SFB 12. The in-filling of the large (23.5 sq m) Pit 56 contained 37 % of the 5th- and 6th-century finds of the settlement remain. Pit 56 was situated 20–30 m far from the previous settlement features. The southern and western walls of the pit with uneven floor were tiered. From its in-filling ash, burned bone splinters, shells, fishbones, a spindle whorl, a fishing pawl, charcoal, an iron knife and great number of pottery sherds came to light.

Well 33 was situated 33 m far from the southern settlement focus. On the edge of the feature pieces of lime precipitation were placed. The in-filling of the well with a diameter of 310 cm contained a scarce number of pottery sherds and an intact cattle skull.

The northwest–southeast oriented SFB (No 135) in the north-eastern part of the excavated area was larger than the above-mentioned ones, considering its floor area (11.88 sq m) as well as its depth (-56/ -80 cm, measured from the level of scraping). Its floor was trampled. Postholes or fireplaces neither here could be observed. However, along its eastern, southern and western sides a 25–60 cm wide earth bank ran around (Fig. 5). Ágnes B. Tóth mentions such features from Eperjes and Szarvas, where the earth banks were located in the corners of the SFBs. These phenomena were interpreted as seats or work surfaces.²⁴ János Cseh also observes the same phenomenon in Kengyel–Baghy-homok.²⁵ In Tiszafüred János Cseh finds it conceivable that the bank which ran along the eastern wall of a SFB, in which traces of possible weaving and antler processing activities were detected, could be related to the structure of a loom.²⁶ From the in-filling of SFB 135 a great number of pottery sherds, slag, loom weight, grindstone, and animal bones came to light. In its close proximity there were not any settlement features which could unambiguously be identified as Gepidic.

A significant number of finds came to light from the settlement feature, No 146 in the north-western part of the area. Only half of the feature was excavated, because of the limits of the excavated area. A round depression deepened into the horizontal floor of the rectangular building (Fig. 6). Its finds consist of a great number of pottery sherds, animal bones and slag. The in-filling of the beehive-shaped pit (No 150), 12 m far from the above-mentioned feature, also contained 5th- and 6th-century finds and ash.

²⁴ B. TÓTH 2006, 41.

²⁵ CSEH 1999b, 63.

²⁶ CSEH–LASZLOVSZKY–SIKLÓDI 1984, 14; CSEH 1986, 5.



Fig. 6. Settlement feature No 146 (photographed by Károly Kozma)

THE FUNCTION OF THE BUILDINGS

In none of the SFBs (No 12, 18 and 135) could fireplaces be observed. The absence of fireplaces is a typical characteristic of 5th- and 6th-century sunken-featured buildings in this region,²⁷ although on the floor of some of them, patches of burned clay with ash layer on top could be observed.²⁸ In Rákóczifalva in some SFBs two different forms of ovens were excavated: in one case it was a built oven, while in the other 14 SFBs the ovens were dug into the floor of the buildings and they extended over the pit of them.²⁹ In some of the buildings with ovens a further, small, central hearth was also found, but central hearths were excavated in SFBs without any ovens as well.³⁰

None of the above-mentioned SFBs (No 12, 18 and 135) had postholes. Thus, the roof structure could lean on the ground or on the ascending wall, if such existed (pieces of loam were found in the in-filling of SFBs). SFBs without any postholes were common in the 5th and 6th centuries in the Great Hungarian Plain and in Transylvania as well.³¹ In the 5th- and 6th-century settlement of Rákóczifalva most of the SFBs did not have any postholes.³²

The floor areas of the SFBs in Tiszabura are small, comparing to the average in the Tisza region (5–16 sq m).³³

In general, the small floor area of 5th- and 6th-century SFBs and the absence of hearths or ovens from them have induced the challenge of their use as *dwelling*s and different solutions and assumptions relating to the possible use of these sunken-featured constructions have emerged. They are often interpreted as workshops, for example *weaving houses*, *antler processing workshops* or *pottery workshops* have been appearing in archaeological works from time to time. These assumptions are mainly based on in situ documented loom weights in one row or bunch³⁴ and on debris from antler processing found on the floor of buildings.³⁵ However, the term workshops are not clear in these

²⁷ B. TÓTH 2006, 48, 58; MASEK 2015, 422.

²⁸ B. TÓTH 2006, 41.

²⁹ MASEK 2015, 422.

³⁰ MASEK 2015, 422.

³¹ CSEH 2004, 77, fn. 8; B. TÓTH 2006, 48, 58.

³² MASEK 2015, 418.

³³ B. TÓTH 2006, 48.

³⁴ MASEK 2015, 423; B. TÓTH 2006, 49; CSEH 1986.

³⁵ E.g. BÁRÁNY-HAJNAL 2010; B. TÓTH 2006, 49; CSEH 1986.

works and they do not necessarily mean an individual workshop, which serves the settlement or a smaller region, these could also be household industries or for instance the weaving houses could relate to household production.³⁶ Moreover, within these SFBs several activities could take place, it is difficult to prove that they were used solely for one specific activity. One of the roots of these assumptions can be the direct projection of early medieval written sources, mainly law books (lex Alamannorum, lex Baiuvariorum, lex Visigothorum, lex Langobardorum), to excavated settlement features, as in these written sources separate buildings for different functions are mentioned, such as weaving-, baking houses and bays.

The function of pits is another central issue, besides the bell-shaped, possibly storage pits, some shallow pits with wide mouth are often identified as *working pits*,³⁷ although it has not been explained yet what kind of work could have been carried out in them. In the site of Nagy-Ganajoshát the beehive-shaped pit (No 150) could have used as storage based on its shape, while the functions of the shallow settlement feature No 30, the pit No 56 and the feature with the depression No 146 are not identifiable.

THE DESTRUCTION AND IN-FILLING OF THE SETTLEMENT FEATURES

The eight, 5th- and 6th-century settlement features included a small number of finds, which mainly came from the in-filling of three features: the pit No 56, the SFB No 135 and the settlement feature No 146. The other features contained a minimal number of finds. It is conspicuous that the in-fillings of most of the features were very ashy. This can refer to the burn of the SFBs. It is conceivable that the ashy debris, after the burn of the settlement features No 12, 18 and 30, might have been buried into the nearby pit (No 56). This would explain the scarce number of finds found in the three above-mentioned settlement features and the abundance of artefacts in the pit No 56. The same situation might have happened with the settlement feature No 146 and the nearby storage pit No 150 in the north-western part of the excavated area. The in-filling of the depression at the bottom of the settlement feature No 146 had started before the destruction of the rectangular feature, as they had different in-fillings.

Very few finds came to light from the settlement features, and there were no vessels which could be completely pieced together. Moreover, in most cases the pottery sherds were so fragmented that the original form of the dishes could not be identified. Based on these observations, I assume that the settlement features were not in use at the time of their burning/ destruction, but were emptied before, and only the waste remained in the buildings and around them.³⁸ Finally, the waste and the ashy debris were buried into the pits and the pits of SFBs.

Concerning the well (No 33), it is not clear if it was in use during the 5th and 6th centuries, or the Gepidic finds were thrown into the depression of a previous well.

POTTERY

A total of 129 pottery sherds came to light from the in-filling of settlement features. Within the highly fragmented pottery assemblage I separated three main groups based on the fabric characteristics (preparation of the clay, the type of tempering material and the degree of tempering), the technique of pottery forming and the mode of firing: I. wheel-made pottery, fired in a reduced atmosphere (87-88%); II. wheel-made pottery, fired in an oxidizing atmosphere (11%); and III. hand-made pottery (2%). Within the first group (wheel-made pottery, fired in a reduced atmosphere) three

³⁶ PEACOCK 1982, 90–113.

³⁷ See for example in B. TÓTH 2006, 49; CSEH 1999a, 43, 47, Abb. 7.

³⁸ See Schiffer's argument about „draw down“ process during the abandonment of settlements: SCHIFFER 1985, 27.

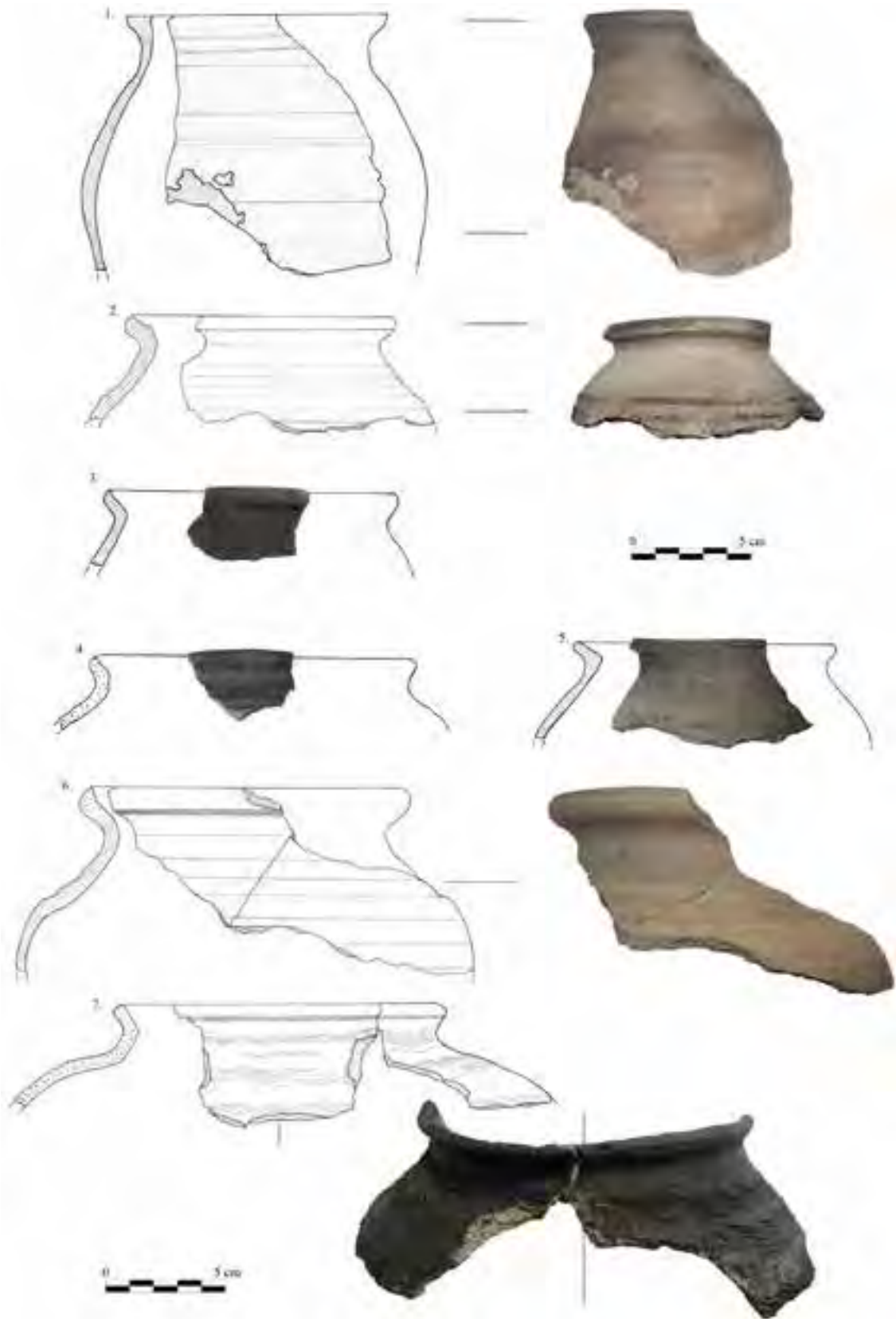


Fig. 7. Pottery finds: 1, 3–5 from Pit 56; 2, 6–7 from Settlement feature No 146



Fig. 8. Pottery finds: 1–2, 5 from Settlement feature No 146; 3, 8 from Sunken-featured building No 135; 4 from Pit 150; 6–7 from Pit 56



Fig. 9. Small finds: 1, 3–4 from Pit 56; 2 from Sunken-featured building No 12; 5 from Sunken-featured building No 18

subcategories could be separated: (I/1.) sherds from fine raw material, with excellent quality and thin walls; (I/2.) the raw material contains moderate amount of grit temper, the sherds have average quality with coarse surfaces; and (I/3.) the raw material of the sherds contain abundant amount of grit, thus the surfaces of the sherds are coarse.

Vessel types

The fine pottery in the assemblage was represented by very few sherds: a handle of a jug (Fig. 8.7), a well-polished wall fragment and two sherds with conical shape (probably from bowls) from Pit 56; and a handle of a jug (Fig. 8.5) from the settlement feature No 146 can be classified as fine wares.

Mainly sherds of pots could be identified from the settlement features No 56 and 146 (Fig. 7). The pots were medium-sized with mouth diameters of 11–13 cm. Based on the formal typology of Ágnes B. Tóth³⁹ broad-shouldered (I.) and rounded (II.) pots were present in the assemblage without neck (*sub-group a*) or with a short neck (*sub-group b*).

Three sherds, from the settlement features No 56 and 146, can be reconstructed as storage vessels (Fig. 8.6). Three dark red sherds, tempered with grit, from the feature No 146 could have

³⁹ B. TÓTH 2006, 96–99, Abb. 27.

belonged to a granary based on their wide diameters. János Cseh describes a sherd from the site of Rákóczifalva – Nyolcas-dűlő, which could be reconstructed as a granary.⁴⁰

Two further sherds, which belonged to coarse ware, can be identified as bowls, and a wall fragment can be reconstructed as a mug (Fig. 8.4).

Considering the surface treatment and decoration of sherds, on coarse pottery the incised, the ribbed and the comb impressed wave band decoration could be observed (Fig. 7.1–2, 4, 6–7; Fig. 8.1–3, 6, 8) The surface of the fine pottery was polished, but stamped or burnished decoration, which are characteristic to the Gepidic fine wares, could not be observed.

Tools

A scarce number of small finds, tools and an accessory came to light from the in-filling of settlement features: a fragment from an antler comb, an iron knife, a spindle whorl, pieces of loom weights, fragments from grindstones, a stone tool and a bone tool, which was identified as fishing pawl (Fig. 9).

DISCUSSION AND POSSIBLE INTERPRETATION

The small number of pottery sherds and the highly fragmented assemblage did not enable a more precise dating for the settlement features than the Gepidic period, from the second half of the 5th century until the second third of the 6th century. Neither the small finds found in the in-filling of the settlement features can provide a hint in gaining a more precise dating. The fine chronological relationship between the settlement features cannot be defined, superpositions could not be observed. However, either the settlement features were used contemporaneously or they were used by different generations, the small number of the finds, their characteristics, and the relative position and qualities of the settlement features are remarkable.

The structure of the settlement can be characterized as scattered, the settlement features are located in a greater distance from each other without any kind of organizational principle. No boundary features were found, which would refer to the structure of the space or to the delimitation of courtyards. By the orientation of the buildings the position of other settlement features were not taken into consideration.

Neither inside the SFBs (12, 18, 135), nor outside of them, between the settlement features, were ovens or fireplaces found. (Although, this is a general phenomenon in the Gepidic period.)

Within the buildings with small floor area, no postholes could be found, therefore they must have had a simpler structure, a rather hut-like build-up. I assume that less energy was invested in their construction.

The number of finds was small and the assemblage was really fragmented. Furthermore, the almost complete absence of fine pottery (with stamped or burnished decoration) is conspicuous. Within the small finds the spindle whorl and the loom weights belonged to textile making, the fragments of grindstones refer to grain processing, while the fishing pawl and the fishbones from the in-filling of the features allude to fishing.⁴¹ The slag from some of the settlement-features would indicate metal working.

Based on all the information provided above, I find it possible that the 5th- and 6th-century settlement features excavated at Nagy-Ganajos-hát were in use for a short period of time. The lack of organizational principle in the settlement structure, the simpler construction of the buildings without postholes or built ovens, fireplaces and their small floor areas; the small number of finds and the absence of fine pottery, in addition the fact that only one feature can be identified as storage pit (No 150), reinforce the hypothesis of short-term use of the site. However, from the above data

⁴⁰ CSEH 1997, 189, Abb. 19/I.

⁴¹ Fishbones were also documented in other Gepidic settlements. They are known for example from Kengyel (CSEH 1999b, 59–75) and Battonya (SZABÓ-VÖRÖS 1979, 228).

it is not clear if the site was occupied only once for a short period of time or was used more than once for shorter terms.

B. Tóth mentions in her work in relation to water transport, that there are 5th- and 6th-century sites along the Tisza and Körös rivers, which were inaccessible by land most of the year, as the flood basin of the Tisza river was under water for eight-nine months a year.⁴² She assumes that these sites were only accessible by water, especially those territories which were heavily articulated by meanders of the rivers. An example is the 5th- and 6th-century site of Hódmezővásárhely–Kishomok. Margit Nagy summarizes the hydrological characteristics and the archaeological sites of its microregion.⁴³ She concludes, that the surrounding of the archaeological site of Kishomok was under water most of the year and assumes that the site, which is situated on a sand hill, was only accessible by water.⁴⁴ Nagy believes that subsistence activities, such as fishing, animal husbandry and even horticulture on flood-free sand banks were likely to happen in this environment.⁴⁵

The likely short use of the archaeological site of Nagy-Ganajos-hát and the above outlined periodic character of the flood basin of the Tisza river and its affluents encouraged me to raise the question if the above described archaeological site could have been used seasonally, at a specific period of the year.

John R. Cross summarizes the until then issued works about seasonality in archaeological research.⁴⁶ According to him the most common aim of these works is to determine the season/s during which the examined site was occupied, used.⁴⁷ There are number of tools and techniques in use to answer this question: incremental growth in mollusk shell, teeth and fish scales; presence or absence of seasonally available species; cyclical changes in bone tissue; insect remains or plant macrofossils etc. These sources of information are linked to seasonal changes in temperature and food availability.⁴⁸ For instance, at an early Archaic coastal site in southern Peru (from 10 to 6.5 ka) the seasonality of mollusk gathering could be detected.⁴⁹ The occupiers of the site were fishermen, who were also engaged with mollusk gathering and hunting for herbivores in the nearby *lomas* ecosystems.⁵⁰ *Lomas* ecosystems are fog oases, which flourish during the fog season from June to December on the western slope of the coastal hills.⁵¹ The remains of small fishes and most of the artefacts, hooks, harpoon heads etc., clearly refer to fishing activities.⁵² The main question of the article is whether the archaeological site was occupied year-round or only seasonally. They investigate this question by studying the seasonality of mollusk gathering. They examined the growth lines of shells, as the month when the mollusks died/ were collected can be determined by counting their growth cycles.⁵³ The gained results showed that mollusk gathering was conducted during austral spring and summer, thus a seasonally switching exploitation strategy can be reconstructed with the use of shoreline resources during summer, complemented with the consume of *lomas* resources in winter.⁵⁴

Ancillary source of data for seasonality, what archaeologists also use, is the attributes of the archaeological sites, such as site size and location, storage facilities, structures, artifact assemblages etc., which can refer to human responses to seasonal fluctuation.⁵⁵ Several works concerning with

⁴² B. TÓTH 2016, 196.

⁴³ BÓNA–NAGY 2002, 34–36.

⁴⁴ BÓNA–NAGY 2002, 36.

⁴⁵ BÓNA–NAGY 2002, 36.

⁴⁶ CROSS 1988, 55–64.

⁴⁷ CROSS 1988, 55.

⁴⁸ CROSS 1988, 55.

⁴⁹ CARRÉ ET AL. 2009, 1173–1178.

⁵⁰ CARRÉ ET AL. 2009, 1173.

⁵¹ CARRÉ ET AL. 2009, 1173.

⁵² CARRÉ ET AL. 2009, 1174.

⁵³ CARRÉ ET AL. 2009, 1175–1176.

⁵⁴ CARRÉ ET AL. 2009, 1176–1178.

⁵⁵ CROSS 1988, 55.

seasonality focus on the investigation of hunter-gatherers and creating typological categories, such as collectors and foragers, residential base, location etc.⁵⁶ Cross criticizes⁵⁷ the common use of the term 'annual round' to describe subsistence strategies and mobility for hunter-gatherers.⁵⁸ The 'annual round' focuses on year-to-year environmental fluctuation. However, Cross argues that besides the predictable elements of seasonal fluctuation, the unpredictable factors of seasonality are also important.⁵⁹ He also draws attention to some of the pitfalls of interpreting seasonality from archaeological data: many works generalize the accumulated data from a single site to an annual round model to a whole region or period.⁶⁰ Single indicators for seasonality can also be misleading: the investigation of incremental growth in mollusk shells can only give the time of the year when they were harvested, but it does not necessarily mean that the site was abandoned when shells were not accessible.⁶¹ Cross also emphasizes the difficulty of the interpretation of negative evidence, the visibility of seasons can be different, certain seasons can have more indicators than others,⁶² thus the lack of evidence cannot be interpreted as the abandonment of the site in a certain season. Another important aspect, what Cross highlights, is that the environment does not only contain the natural landscape, but the social landscape as well, the social landscape assigns human responses, defines access to resources, restricts mobility, schedules activities and work.⁶³ According to Cross one of the main aims of seasonality research should be the understanding of the effect of seasonal variation on the social landscape.⁶⁴ One of the possible tools to gain insight into its effect/s on the social landscape is human physiology: the study of nutritional status, health indicators or mortality, which can refer to social inequalities.⁶⁵ The consequences of seasonal variation to the form of division of labor, to the accessibility of different raw materials, as well as to the kinds and rates of social interaction are also important aspects.⁶⁶

CONCLUSION

The seasonal use of the site of Tiszabura – Nagy-Ganajos-hát cannot be proved for certain, as the gained information is not enough to verify the hypothesis. However, the above work can shed light on the potential of seasonality research, a so far neglected area of the study of the early medieval settlements in the Carpathian Basin. Recently the attention of research started to focus on the lifestyle and subsistence strategies of the 5th- and 6th-century population in the eastern part of the Carpathian Basin.⁶⁷ The question of seasonality of small, scattered settlements, which very likely were not accessible by land during floods, fits into this research theme. Questions relating to the supposedly seasonally inhabited settlements can be: how they related to larger, village-like settlements; what information can be gained about the division of labor, who lived and worked at these sites; and if it is possible to detect different diet, nutritional and health status at these sites comparing to the village-like settlements. All these questions need interdisciplinary research, which involves the investigation of both the 5th- and 6th-century cemeteries and settlements, to be answered. Although, it is difficult to detect seasonality at archaeological sites, its investigation is inevitable for the understanding of subsistence strategies and changes.

⁵⁶ For example BINFORD 1980, 4–20.

⁵⁷ CROSS 1988, 56.

⁵⁸ See for example BINFORD 1980.

⁵⁹ CROSS 1988, 56.

⁶⁰ CROSS 1988, 57.

⁶¹ CROSS 1988, 58.

⁶² CROSS 1988, 58.

⁶³ CROSS 1988, 59.

⁶⁴ CROSS 1988, 61.

⁶⁵ CROSS 1988, 61.

⁶⁶ CROSS 1988, 61.

⁶⁷ Ongoing NKFIH project with the coordination of Zsófia Rácz.

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ENVIRONMENTAL HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE GEPIDIC SETTLEMENT OF RÁKÓCZIFALVA

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We present the results of the environmental historical and geoarchaeological analysis of Rákóczifalva–Bagi-föld and Rákóczifalva–Rökkant-föld (Fig. 1) archeological sites in Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok County. They were discovered in the course of several hectares of archaeological excavations related to the migration period, especially the Gepids era. A significant number of Gepids sites and finds¹ were found in both the investigated area and the wider area of the site, in the middle reach of the Tisza valley. So the geoarchaeological and environmental historical analysis of the Gepids sites in Rákóczifalva can also provide a model for the settling strategy and lifestyle of the Gepids communities.² The purpose of our work is to present how geoarchaeological and environmental historical factors impacted local settling and lifestyles in the Gepids communities³ during the migration period. In addition, to demonstrate the relationship of the Gepids communities and their environment in the Rákóczifalva site compared to other Gepids in the Great Hungarian Plain.⁴

Keywords: Rákóczifalva; geoarchaeological analysis; environmental historical analysis; archaeozoology

STUDY SITE

NATURAL CONDITIONS OF THE AREA

In terms of the borders of the Rákóczifalva–Bagi-földek and Rökkant-földek sites, it can be said that it is protected from the north, south and west, as it is bordered by the Tisza River and the deeper Tisza alluvium (Figs 1–5). It is open only from the eastern direction, because the area is connected eastward to the high river bank of the Tisza River and it extends as a peninsula into the deeper Tisza floodplain. The study site belongs to the Great Hungarian Plain, including the Middle Tisza region, the Nagykunság little region group and the Szolnok-Túri alluvial plain, Szolnok-Alluvial Plain little regions. It lies in the western part of the Szolnok-Túri alluvial plain. The relative relief value of the little region is low, 2m/km². The slightly wavy plain in the study site and the floodplain at the edge of the Tisza River can be classified as orographic relief type.⁵ Examining a 1:10000 scale map, the deepest point of the area is 79.2 m and the highest is 90 m. Despite the low relative relief value of the Szolnok-Túri alluvial plain, there is a difference of more than 10 m above sea level difference within a short distance in the study area. This value is extremely high in the Great Hungarian Plain, especially if we consider the general nature of the little region.

The above-mentioned little regions have a moderately warm-dry climate, close to the warm-dry climate. The annual sunshine duration is between 1970 and 2010 hours. The average annual temperature is 10.9 °C, the mean temperature of the vegetation period is 17.3-17.4 °C. The frost-free period begins on 7-8th April, the first autumn frosts are expected around 20th October. So the frost-free period is 196 days long. Annual precipitation is 510-540 mm, the growing period's precipitation amount is 300 mm. The aridity index is 1.3-1.38. The area is a dry, heavily anhydrous

¹ CSEH 1986, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1997, 1999a, 1999b, 2001, 2002; MASEK 2014.

² CSEH 1999c, 2007, 2009, 2013; B. TÓTH 1999; NAGY 1999; MASEK 2012, 2014.

³ KOVÁCS ET AL. 2007, 2008; KOVÁCS-VÁCZI 2007; MASEK 2012, 2014.

⁴ B. TÓTH 1999, 2006.

⁵ MAROSI-SOMOGYI 1990.

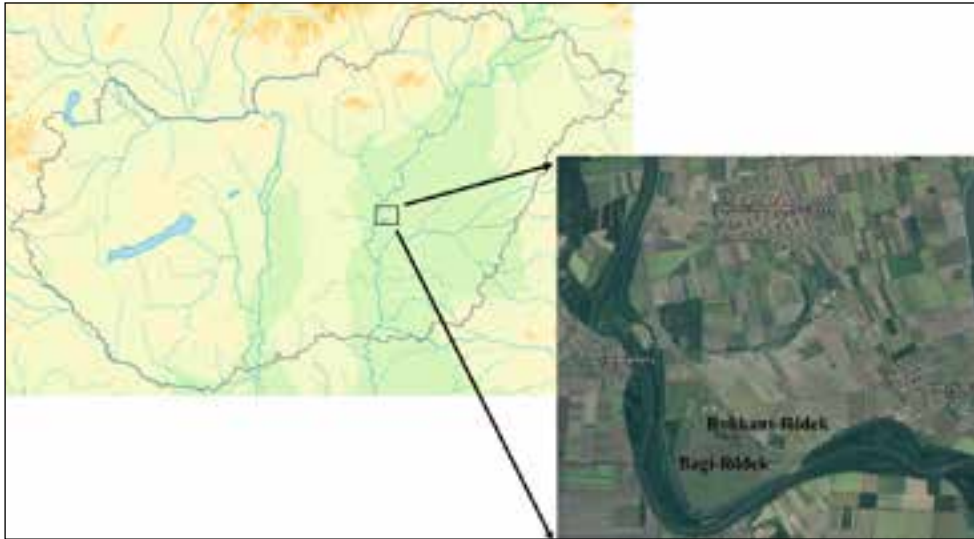


Fig. 1. The location of the study site in Hungary and in GoogleMaps



Fig. 2. The morphological conditions and the vegetation of the study site in the First Austrian Military Survey (1782)



Fig. 3. The morphological conditions and the vegetation of the study site in the Second Austrian Military Survey (1869)

area. Precipitation is 150 mm less than the local value of the potential evaporation.⁶ Based on the data of the Szolnok meteorological station and the Walter-Lieth diagram⁷, the area belongs to the driest areas of the Great Hungarian Plain. On the basis of the average annual rainfall of 500 mm and the distribution of rainfall (Fig. 6), there is a significant risk of drought in the second half of summer

⁶ MAROSI-SOMOGYI 1990.

⁷ WALTER-LIETH 1960, Fig. 5.



Fig. 4. The morphological conditions and the vegetation of the study site in the Third Austrian Military Survey (1875)



Fig. 5. The morphological conditions and the vegetation of the study site in the Hungarian Military Survey (1943)

and in autumn. This occurs especially when continental and/or sub-Mediterranean climate effects develop resulting maximum monthly temperature conditions (Fig. 6) in the examined area. In this

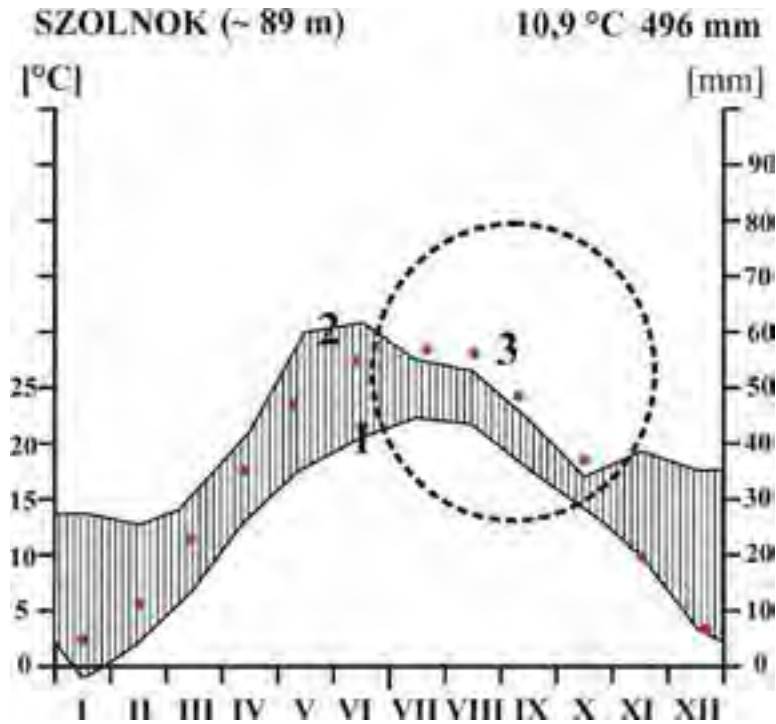


Fig. 6. Walter-Lieth diagram based on the meteorological station in Szolnok
 1 = monthly average temperature values, 2 = monthly average precipitation values, 3 = dashed circle, drought period, red circle = monthly maximum temperature values

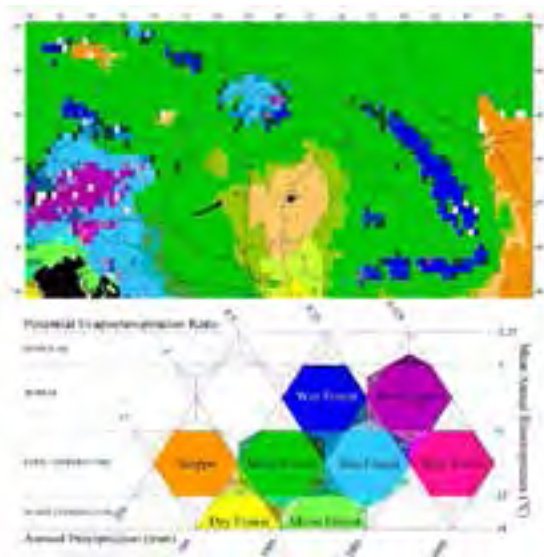


Fig. 7. Position of the analyzed region on spatial distribution of the Carpathian Region's core and transitional life zones for the beginning of 20th century based on the Holdridge modified life zone system (after SZELEPCSÉNYI ET AL. 2014, 2015, 2018)



Fig. 8. Pedological map of Lajos Kreybig (1937) about the study site (indicated as Felső and Alsó Varsánypusztá in the map) – brown color = chernozem soil, blue color = hydromorphic soil, purple color = alkaline soil, yellow color = sand soil

case evaporation exceeds rainfall at the end of summer and early autumn and periodic steppe

climatic conditions develop.

Based on the bioclimatic analysis of the Carpathian Basin⁸, the study site belongs to the central part of the Pannonian forest steppe zone (Fig. 7). At the same time, the little regions belong to the Tiszántúl flora region. Potential forest associations are willow-poplar-alder gallery forest, oak-ash-elm gallery forest, alkaline oak forest and loess-mantled terrain (*Aceri tatarico-Quercetum*) in the floodplain.⁹ Vegetation development and its change will be analyzed later, as we have a pollen core from the area that was revealed by the Department of Geology and Paleontology of the University of Szeged. Based on the recent plant associations the examined area is a cultivated steppe: pastures with weeds, poplar and acacia plantations, in deeper areas swamp vegetation mixed with weeds or with saline plants occur.

On the basis of the cores of the Department of Geology and Paleontology, University of Szeged two types of recent soils can be distinguished in the area. One of them is the chernozem (black earth) soil that can be found on natural elevations, the other is the alkaline meadow soils (Fig. 8) which have a significant water effect.

The results of the Kreybig soil mapping (1933) and pedological mapping (Fig. 8) were used to characterize the soils of the examined area.¹⁰ In this historical map alluvial meadow, chernozem, alkaline and sandy soil types were identified in the study site, but in a different spatial extension compared to our results.

GEOLOGY AND EVOLUTION OF THE AREA

Since only Quaternary formations could be detected on the surface of the examined area (Figs 9–10), the geological development history of the area is presented by discussing Quaternary events. The bedrock of these Quaternary formations is Tertiary sediments lying more hundred meters deep from the surface. Among these the most significant layer is the Törteli Formation¹¹ that developed at the end of the Tertiary, in the last phase of the Pannonian filling up. On the Törteli Formation the Zagyva Formation developed.¹² Thin-layered clay, aleurite and sandstone layers accumulated indicating a delta background, presenting marshy and floodplain environment. Its upper level evolved in an alluvial plain, in a fluviolacustrine environment. After the fluviolacustrine state the water network of the Great Hungarian Plain changed and was significantly different from the current water network: the Tisza river flowed eastern than nowadays. The Danube River met the Tisza at the height of Csongrád.¹³ According to the latest data¹⁴ the Tisza valley was formed about 20,000 years ago. The Tisza River, which until then followed the valley of the Körös and Berettyó creeks, bypassed the Nyírség from the north and took its current direction.¹⁵ Thus, in the Tisza region, the Tisza River became significant regarding morphology and sedimentology from the Upper Wurmian (MIS2).¹⁶ Due to tectonic movements sediments (of Tisza origin) of different age in different altitudes can be found in the area.¹⁷ So it is not surprising that the surface is covered by upper Pleistocene-Holocene sediments in Rákóczifalva–Bagi-földek and Rökkant-földek sites

⁸ SZELEPCSÉNYI ET AL. 2014, 2018.

⁹ MAROSI-SOMOGYI 1990.

¹⁰ KREYBIG 1937.

¹¹ JUHÁSZ 1992.

¹² JUHÁSZ–MAGYAR 1992; JUHÁSZ 1992.

¹³ SÜMEGHY 1944, 1953; MIHÁLTZ 1953; MOLNÁR 1965.

¹⁴ TIMÁR ET AL. 2005.

¹⁵ SÜMEGHY 1944.

¹⁶ SÜMEGI ET AL. 2018.

¹⁷ RÓNAI 1972; 1985; TIMÁR ET AL. 2005.



Fig. 9. Geological structure of the study site (based on the 1:100.000 scale geological map of the Hungarian National Geological Institute, 1969)

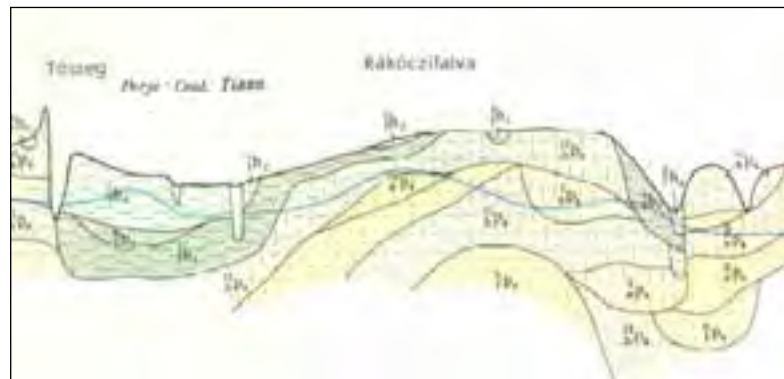


Fig. 10. Geological cross section of the study site (based on the 1:100.000 scale geological map of the Hungarian National Geological Institute, 1969)

and older Pleistocene layers and the Pliocene bedrock sediments (clay, sand) are only known from drilling.¹⁸

The most widespread upper Pleistocene sediment on the surface is loess; the type of loess that is connected to rivers and floodplains, i.e. a Pleistocene floodplain sediment¹⁹, formerly known as loess like Pleistocene alluvial sediment or better known infusion loess (alluvial loess). Infusion loess differs from typical loess in its porosity, carbonate and clay content and biofacies.²⁰

In the Middle Tisza region there was also sand movement, which can be observed today north of the examined area in Szolnok-Szandaszőlős. The sandy area of Tiszaföldvár at the southern part of the Szolnok-Túri alluvial plain is the continuation of the sandy area of the Danube-Tisza Interfluve.²¹

The results of the geological mapping were compared with the results of the geological map of József Sümeghy and András Rónai. The 1:200.000 scale geological map of the Tiszántúl (1941) by Sümeghy and the complex maps of the Great Hungarian Plain (Fig. 9), the 1:100.000 scale Szolnok

¹⁸ RÓNAI 1972; 1985.

¹⁹ SÜMEGI 2005; SÜMEGI ET AL. 2015.

²⁰ HORUSITZKY 1898, 1899, 1903, 1905, 1909, 1911; PÉCSI 1993; SÜMEGI ET AL. 2015.

²¹ HALAVÁTS 1895; MIHÁLTZ 1953; MOLNÁR 1965; RÓNAI 1972, 1985.

map sheet made by András Rónai. In the Sümeghy's map 'old-Holocene' and 'new-Holocene' alluvial soil surrounded the island-like 'upper Pleistocene lowland loess' formation. The expansion and position of the loess formation in the Great Hungarian Plain is very similar to that of the alkaline soil 'island' surrounded by alluvial soil in the Kreybig map.

The results of the mapping of the Great Hungarian Plain led by András Rónai are similar, although it showed a more inaccurate result in the examined area.²² Their cross-section of several drillings is slightly south of our study area (Fig. 10); two drillings were conducted in the study site (Fig. 10). Based on their map, an infusion loess covered (floodplain sediment) surface was explored in the area, and the residual surface was surrounded by deeper Pleistocene and Holocene channels and beds filled with fine grained sediments and still developing alluvial plains (Figs 9–10).

The geological surveys before our study pointed to Pleistocene muddy loess and infusion loess (floodplain) sediments in the Rákóczifalva-Bagi- and Rokkant-földek sites. In the middle of this sediment Pleistocene loessy sand was found, according to these maps. In the northern part of the area semi-circular shaped Holocene aleurite appeared (Fig. 9). East of this area the residual surface is covered by Pleistocene muddy loess and infusion loess. The southern area is not so uniform in a geological point of view. From east to west the map indicates loess (aleurite rich sediment), muddy loess, infusion loess (floodplain sediment), riverine sand, loessy sand and close to the Tisza River muddy, infusion loess occurs again.

METHODS

Analysis of historical maps of the site

Examination of the maps before and after river regulations (1847) is as follows. Although the study site can be recognized in the maps of Ptolemaiosz²³, Tabula Peutingeriana from the end of antiquity²⁴, Angelino Dulcert from the medieval period (1339)²⁵ and in the map of Lázár deák from 1528²⁶, but the first maps that can be evaluated from an environmental historical point of view are the maps from the 18th century (AD). The first (1782), the second (1869) and the third (1875) Austrian military survey and the Hungarian military survey²⁷ from the second world war were used in our study. We also used the Middle Tisza region map²⁸ of Lietzner-Sándor (1970) by János Lietzner Keresztelő, the county engineer of Heves-Külső Szolnok. By analyzing historical maps, we tried to reveal the development of the area and the effect of human impact.

Exogenous geological analysis

An EOv map with a scale of 1:10,000 is available from the area. Using this map we have calibrated the measurement points using ArcView 3.2 software. After that we created the digital relief model of the area (1:10000 EOv map) using ArcGis software. The digital relief model was used for the geomorphological analysis of the study site. In addition, we used the aerial photographs prepared by the Institute of Archaeological Sciences of the Eötvös Loránd University to map the local surface of the area. The purpose of the exogenous geological-morphological analysis was to reconstruct the environment of the site as accurately as possible.

²² RÓNAI 1969, 1972, 1985.

²³ FEHÉR 2004.

²⁴ TÓTH 2004.

²⁵ ÍRÁS 2013.

²⁶ TÖRÖK 1996.

²⁷ STEGENA 1981; TIMÁR ET AL. 2006.

²⁸ SUGÁR 1989.

Geoarcheological analysis

During geoarcheological analysis 300 shallow (3-5 m deep) cores were taken at 5 cm intervals by a spiral drilling machine²⁹ in Rákóczifalva-Bivaly-tó, Bagi-földek and Rökkant-földek sites. Boreholes were created along geological sections parallel to each other in such a way that all exogenous geological-geological-pedological units were explored. We used the international nomenclature of Troels-Smith³⁰ during sediment description.

Undisturbed samples were taken by a Russian corer³¹ by overlapping technique³² in a filled up point bar channel at the boundary of the Rökkant-földek and Bagi-földek sites. Samples were cut lengthwise and stored in the usual manner at 4°C.³³ Size distributions, organic material, carbonate content (LOI) and pollen analytical analysis was carried out. In describing the colors of the sediment the Munsell soil color charts were used.³⁴ Sedimentological analysis was carried out using an Easy Laser Particle Sizer 2.0. laser particle sizer (42 grain fractions) after proper sample preparation.³⁵

During magnetic susceptibility analysis the magnetizable element content of the sediment is measured. For this purpose air-dried and powdered samples are prepared to measure the loss of mass. Bartington MS2 Magnetic Susceptibility Meter was used at 2.7 MHz³⁶ that is suitable for laboratory and field analysis as well. Three measurements were done for each sample and values were averaged.

Dean's method (1974) was used for the determination of carbonate and organic material content. Sedimentological and LOI analysis was carried out and interpreted at 4 cm intervals. We presented the sedimentological data and succession, and the cross section of geoarcheological data using the Psimpoll software by Keith David Bennett (1992).

Pollen analyses

Pollen analytical analysis was carried out on the undisturbed samples of the core deepened in the point bar channel. The retrieved cores were also subsampled at 1-2-4-cm intervals for pollen analysis. A volumetric sampler was used to obtain 2 cm³ samples, which were then processed for pollen.³⁷ Lycopodium spore tablets of known volume were added to each sample to determine pollen concentrations. A known quantity of exotic pollen was added to each sample in order to determine the concentration of identified pollen grains.³⁸ A minimum count of 500 grains per sample (excluding exotics) was made in order to ensure a statistically significant sample size.³⁹ The pollen types were identified and modified according to MOORE ET AL. (1991), BEUG (2004) and PUNT ET AL. (2007), KOZÁKOVÁ-POKORNY (2007), supplemented by examination of photographs in REILLE (1992, 1995, 1998) and of reference material held in the Hungarian Geological Institute, Budapest. Percentages of terrestrial pollen taxa, excluding Cyperaceae, were calculated using the sum of all those taxa. Percentages of Cyperaceae, aquatics and pteridophyte spores were calculated relative to the main sum plus the relevant sum for each taxon or taxon group. Calculations, numerical analyses and graphing of pollen diagrams were performed using the software package Psimpoll 4.26.⁴⁰ Local pollen assemblage zones (LPAZs) were defined using optimal splitting of information

²⁹ SÜMEGI 2001, 2002, 2013.

³⁰ TROELS-SMITH 1955.

³¹ BELOKOPYTOV-BERESNEVICH 1955.

³² SÜMEGI 2001, 2002, 2013.

³³ SÜMEGI 2001, 2002, 2013.

³⁴ COLOUR 1991.

³⁵ SÜMEGI ET AL. 2015.

³⁶ SÜMEGI ET AL. 2015.

³⁷ BERGLUND-RALSKA-JASIEWICZOWA 1986.

³⁸ STOCKMARR 1971.

³⁹ IVERSEN-FÆGRI 1964; FÆGRI-IVERSEN 1989; PUNT 1976-1995; MOORE ET AL. 1991.

⁴⁰ BENNETT 2005.

content⁴¹, zonation being performed using the 20 terrestrial pollen taxa that reached at least 5% in at least one sample. The paleovegetation was reconstructed using the works of SUGITA (1994), SOEPBOER ET AL. (2007), JACOBSON–BRADSHAW (1981), PRENTICE (1985) and MAGYARI ET AL. (2010). Pollen extraction was carried out with the help of Tibor Cserny geologist, in the former laboratory of the Hungarian Geological Institute. We express our gratitude to Tibor Cserny organizing the pollen extraction.

Macrobotanical analysis

The archeobotanical material (anthracological) was obtained from the samples collected by 4 to 10 cm, flotated from uniformly 2.7 kg of samples. The quantity of the samples is in accordance with the German standards.⁴² In obtaining and processing the samples we followed the guidelines of Ferenc Gyulai (2001) regarding the sampling and flotating process. In flotating the samples the dual flotating method and 0.5 mm and 0.25 mm sieves were used.⁴³

Charcoal material was analyzed using a Zeiss Jenapol optical microscope at 10, 20, 50 and 100x magnification.⁴⁴ Wood identification was carried out using the reference book of GREGUSS (1945, 1972) and SCHWEINGRUBER (1990) and the web based identification work of SCHOCH ET AL. (2004).

Archaeozoological analysis

Large volume of bones, more than 6000 pieces of animal bones occurred from ten archeological cultures in the study sites, from the middle Neolithic (AVK) to the Arpadian Age. So the area was often inhabited for thousands of years. In addition, there were also objects of Copper Age (Tiszapolgár culture, Bodrogkeresztúr culture), Bronze Age (Halomsíros culture, Gáva culture), Celtic, Sarmatian and Avars with more or less vertebrate remains. Most of the finds are well preserved, only some of the prehistoric bones were in poor condition, often heavily laced, which made the determination difficult. Altogether 979 pieces were found in Gepid archeological objects that were in excellent condition. Identification of bones was carried out using the reference books of SISSON (2014) and SCHMID (1972), and the work of VONDEN DRIESCH (1976) for bone size measurement.

RESULTS

Historical maps

The analysis of historical maps (Figs 2–5) clearly shows the transformation of landscape utilization in the study sites before and after river regulation processes (1847). Although in the first Austrian military survey (Fig. 2) the nomenclature is still very poor and the morphological survey was not entirely accurate, in addition, the mapping of the Tisza coast was rough, it was obvious that in the coastal area of Tisza River (in the Bagi-földek site, according to archeologists) there were only gallery forests suitable for floodplain farming and marshy, boggy areas. It was also clearly visible in the first Austrian military survey (1782; Fig. 2) that in the Rokkant-földek (as it is called by archeologists) in the area called Varsány Puszta (in the later survey Alsó Varsány (Fig. 3) and Alsó Varsány puszta – Fig. 4) there are two periodic creeks between the Bivaly Lake and the Tisza valley. The first Austrian military map does not indicate the name of the Bivaly Lake; only a temporary, swampy area is marked. An abandoned, over-developed, unregulated curve of Tisza River can be reconstructed from its drawing (Fig. 2).

⁴¹ BIRKS–GORDON 1985.

⁴² JACOMET–KREUZ 1992.

⁴³ NÁFRÁDI–SÜMEGI 2013.

⁴⁴ NÁFRÁDI–SÜMEGI 2015.

In other parts of the area scattered gardens, arable lands, grazing fields representing extensive animal husbandry are indicated in the first Austrian military map (Fig. 2). In addition, several mound that helps location identification are shown in the study area (Fig. 2).

The second Austrian military survey (1869) is very important in an exogenous geological and morphological point of view (Fig. 3). Bivaly Lake has been shown in this map, which clearly shows that it is an earlier over-developed curve of the Tisza River, which was connected to the regulated Tisza River through water outlet (canal) only periodically, during floods (Fig. 3). From this area of the Bivaly Lake (Felső (Upper) Varsány puszta), through Alsó (Low) Varsány puszta, four deeper, canal-like formations led to the actively developing valley of the Tisza (called Bagi-földek in our work). There was a lake in the area of Bagi-földek, according to the map Lake Fenék, which was connected to the active Tisza River through the water outlet of Szolnok. Based on the map, the Bagi-földek were a suitable area for fishing, gathering, waterfront farming (gathering of gallery forest crops, sedge, reed, construction and wood utilization for energy) before river regulations. On the basis of exogenous geological characters the Bagi-földek were an point bar series of the unregulated Tisza River (Fig. 3).

At the same time, in the second Austrian military map, Rokkant-földek (Alsó (Lower) Varsány) is an older (probably Pleistocene) residual surface, a point bar series rising a few meters above the alluvium of Tisza River and it did not affect the development of the Tisza alluvium at the end of the Pleistocene and during the Holocene, rather it seems to be a terrace level (Fig. 3). The second Austrian military map (1869) clearly shows the traces of groundwater regulation, the groundwater drainage ditches and the artificial barrier system along the active riverbed of the Tisza River (Fig. 3). At the same time, settlements and the associated gardens and arable lands are extensive, while grazing fields and pasture lands can be observed in smaller regions further from the settlements and are more clearly defined than in the first Austrian military survey (Fig. 3).

Based on the map prepared by the Second military survey (1869), it is clear that north from the Bagi-földek, on the alluvium of the Tisza River called Varsány puszta, there is a large abandoned Tisza River channel, the Bivaly Lake, which has been transformed into an oxbow. At the same time, south from the Bagi-földek the point bar series in the riverbed of the Tisza River (that is younger than the Bivaly Lake) is called Fenék Lake (Fig. 3). In the Bagi-földek (Alsó – Varsány) in the second military survey) that is emerging from the Tisza alluvium there are more channel like hollows (Fig. 3), older point bar channels a few hundred meters apart from each other. Bagi-földek are located in a peninsula-like form in the Tisza alluvium. Its eastern part has already been utilized as a plough land, but the surface above the point bar channels has been utilized as pasture land (Fig. 3).



Fig. 11. The map of the study site by Sándor Lietzner (1790)

The third Austrian military survey (1875) shows the impact of river regulation, the drainage channels, the formation of a barrier system along the Tisza River, the development of the floodplain area between the dams and the development of settlements. In addition, the geographical names and the exogenous geological units that were already noticed and described in the second Austrian military survey (Fig. 4) can be observed.

In the Hungarian military survey (1943) dam-system protected settlements, roads, the extension of arable lands and garden cultures and the transformed landscape and agricultural system as a result of river regulation and groundwater drainage can be observed (Fig. 5). The nomenclature of the Hungarian Royal Geological Institute and the Hungarian Geological Institute during the geological and pedological mapping of the Great Hungarian Plain (Figs 8–10).

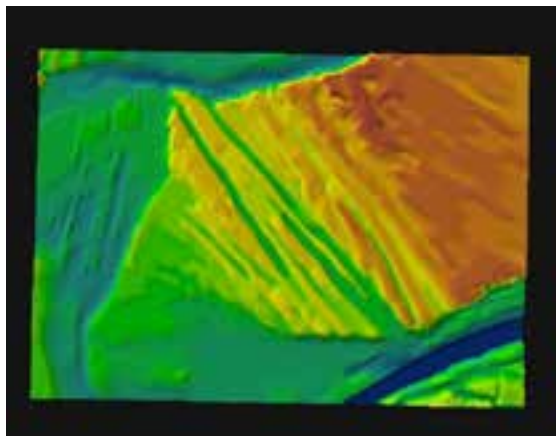


Fig. 12. Digital elevation model of the study site

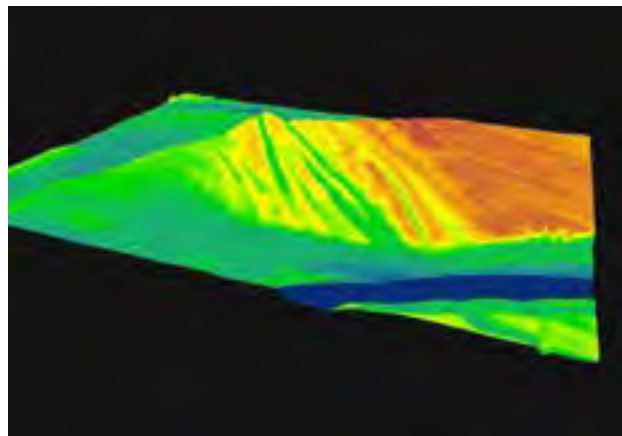


Fig. 13. 3D drawing of the study site on the basis of the digital elevation model

In the Lietzner-Sándor's map of 1790 (Fig. 11) the recording of the Middle Tisza region was completed.⁴⁵ In this map the emerged location of the point bar structure of the Rokkant-földek and the deeper location of the Bagi-földek associated with the Tisza alluvium can be clearly seen (Fig. 11).

In addition to the analysis of historical maps, we prepared the digital elevation model (Figs 12–13) of the area to understand the exogenous geological situation and morphological conditions. The 1:10000 scale digital elevation model clearly demonstrates the existence of a point bar series in a deeper position that is related to the unregulated Tisza riverbed and developed in the curve of the Tisza River over a few centuries. To the northeastern direction in an elevated position (residual surface or terrace level) a series of an older point bar can be found (Figs 12–13).

Based on the digital elevation model, the Bagi-földek site is located in the deeper and younger alluvium of the Tisza River characterized by good water supply while the Rokkant-földek site in an older residual surface rising above the alluvium. In this older point bar series only periodic flood water flew through the point bar channels from the direction of the Bivaly Lake towards the Tisza alluvium (Figs 12–13). So Gepids communities settled in the point bar series of the high and low floodplain. These surfaces provided different farming possibilities for the Gepids communities of the migration period: the utilization of the gallery forest, gatherings in the area of the forests and floodplain, fishing and hunting, extensive animal husbandry on the higher, drier areas and plant cultivation around the settlements and houses.

As our goal was to reconstruct the environmental history of the Gepids settlement as complex as possible, we conducted geoarcheological drillings (Fig. 14) along a double geological section that explored the deeper (Bagi-földek) and the higher (Rokkant-földek) point bar series as well (Fig. 14). Based on these drillings, the geological and pedological conditions of the exogenous geological and geomorphological units could be mapped and the environmental, geological and pedological characters of the Gepids communities could be specified (Fig. 14).

After the formation of the geological profile (Figs 14–15) it was confirmed that the point bar series in the Rokkant-földek developed at the end of the Pleistocene. This is proved by the loess-like sediment layers of the point bar channels excavated by drillings, the relatively high position, and the carbonate and coarse aleurite rich sedimentary environment. The deeper geological position of the Bagi-földek is of Tisza alluvium origin, its clay and organic material rich geological layers support its Holocene formation and development (Fig. 15).

⁴⁵ SUGÁR 1989.

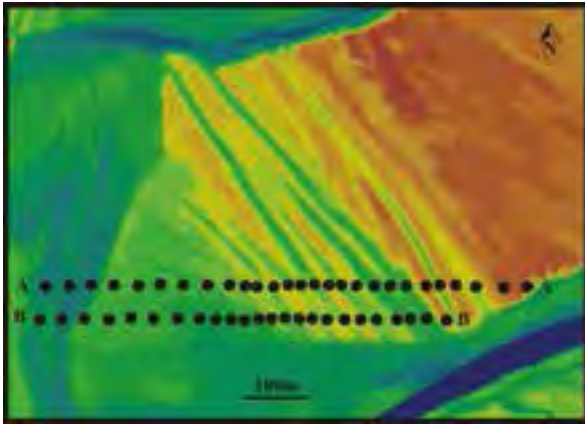


Fig. 14. The location of parallel geological sections and geoarchaeological drilling points in the digital elevation model of the site

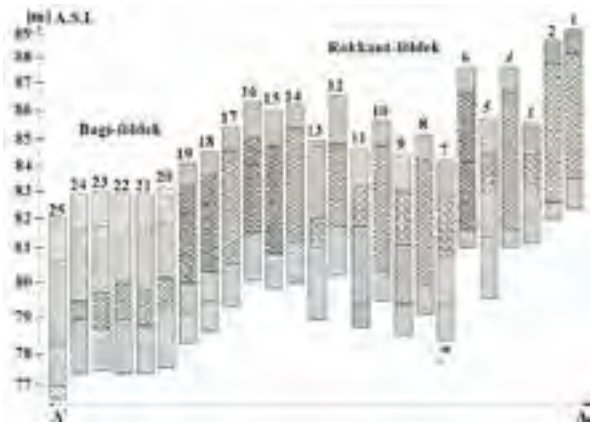


Fig. 15. Geological section of the Bagi-földek and Rökkant-földek in Rákóczifalva and the layers of the cores (TROELS-SMITH 1955, symbols)
A.S.L. = Above Sea Level, * = undisturbed core sequence for pollen analyses,
A – A' = geological section

The Bagi-földek got continuous water supply through the water outlet system of the Tisza, until the Tisza River regulation processes and dam building; so in the migration period, at the time of the settling of the Gepids, there could not be permanent settlements in this area only in higher elevations (Rökkant-földek), in the semi-peninsula-like Pleistocene point bar series (Figs 12–15). Since the Pleistocene higher, flood-free surface is semi-circular, peninsula-like (Figs 11–14), the settling of archaeological cultures, including the Gepids houses and settlements in the Rökkant-földek, follows a camber form (Fig. 16). So, the Gepids communities lived in the boundary of two different local ecoregions, in the edge of a flood-free area that has good water supply, in a protected, elevated area surrounded by living waters (Figs 12, 13, 16). This settling strategy, the closeness of living water, the high position, the flood-free island-peninsula-like Pleistocene residual surface for settling, animal husbandry and plant cultivation in the Great Hungarian Plain was established since the Early Neolithic. The first data on this type of land utilization was published by Tibor Mendöl, a Hungarian social geography researcher in 1928 and 1929, before the recognition and phrasing of the Early Neolithic Körös culture.⁴⁶ Mendöl made a colored contour map of Szarvas and its surroundings, including the so-called Érpárt within a Neolithic settlement. He recognized the Pleistocene loess covered higher, flood-free surfaces and ascribed them to the area of Neolithic settling, farming and livestock breeding. He also described the periodically flooded floodplains that were covered by reed, gallery forest and tussock sedge and was utilized for hunting and gathering. This theory has been repeatedly reinforced during environmental and geoarchaeological research in the Tisza River and its adjacent valleys.⁴⁷ So the Gepids communities utilized one of the most important features of the Great Hungarian Plain, i.e. its local (few hundred m² to a few km²), mosaic-like nature. Thus, the settlements were in a transition zone regarding geomorphological situation (Fig. 16). As a result, the elevated chernozem soil covered surfaces (cereal cultivation, gardens) and areas of alluvial soils (floodplain forest management, grazing, gathering, meadows fields), saline soils (sheep grazing), the canal lakes, living waters (fishing) and water outlet channels (wells) were located within 5 km, approximately one hour walk from the Gepids settlements. So, all food-producing areas were reached by the members of the Gepids community within an hour walk

⁴⁶ MENDÖL 1928, 1929.

⁴⁷ NANDRIS 1970, 1972; KOSSE 1979; SHERRATT 1982, 1983; CREMASCHI 1992; SÜMEGI 2003, 2004; SÜMEGI-MOLNÁR 2007; SÜMEGI 2012; SÜMEGI ET AL. 2012.

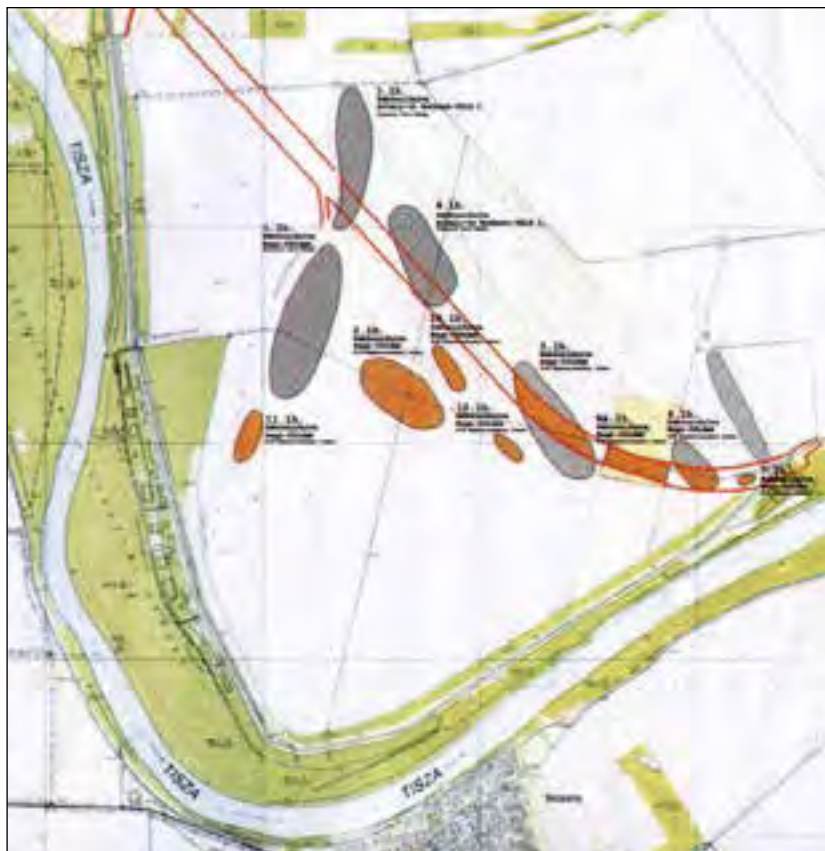


Fig. 16. The location of the archeological sites in Rákóczifalva and the Gepids settlement

(within a 5 km radius). In addition, the semi-circular, peninsula-like settling in the Tisza floodplain and alluvium provided significant protection in the Great Hungarian Plain.

Sedimentological analysis

At the 7th drilling point of the first geological core section a 3 m deep undisturbed core was taken with overlapping technique in the Pleistocene point bar channel. During the drilling, the following layers were described by the method of TROELS-SMITH (1955). Magnetic susceptibility, particle size analysis, LOI and water soluble element content analysis were investigated. The Late Holocene near surface part that is significant regarding the Gepid age and migration period was sampled at 2 cm intervals for sedimentological and water soluble elements content, while the Pleistocene and Early Holocene bedrock level at 4 cm intervals (Fig. 17).

In the bedrock between 300 and 240 cm yellowish grey (Munsell color 10 YR 7/4) slightly cross-laminated sandy aleurite, aleuritic sand developed. The layer gradually transformed towards the surface, parallel laminated structure appeared, fine sandy coarse aleurite, coarse aleuritic fine sand dominated sediment layer developed. In this level carbonate filled root structures appeared, called biogalleries. Grain size indicate coarse grains, although grain size distribution is variable; the organic material content is low and the carbonate content is the highest. Magnetic susceptibility (MS signal) and the sediment and LOI content indicate minimal changes in the development of the

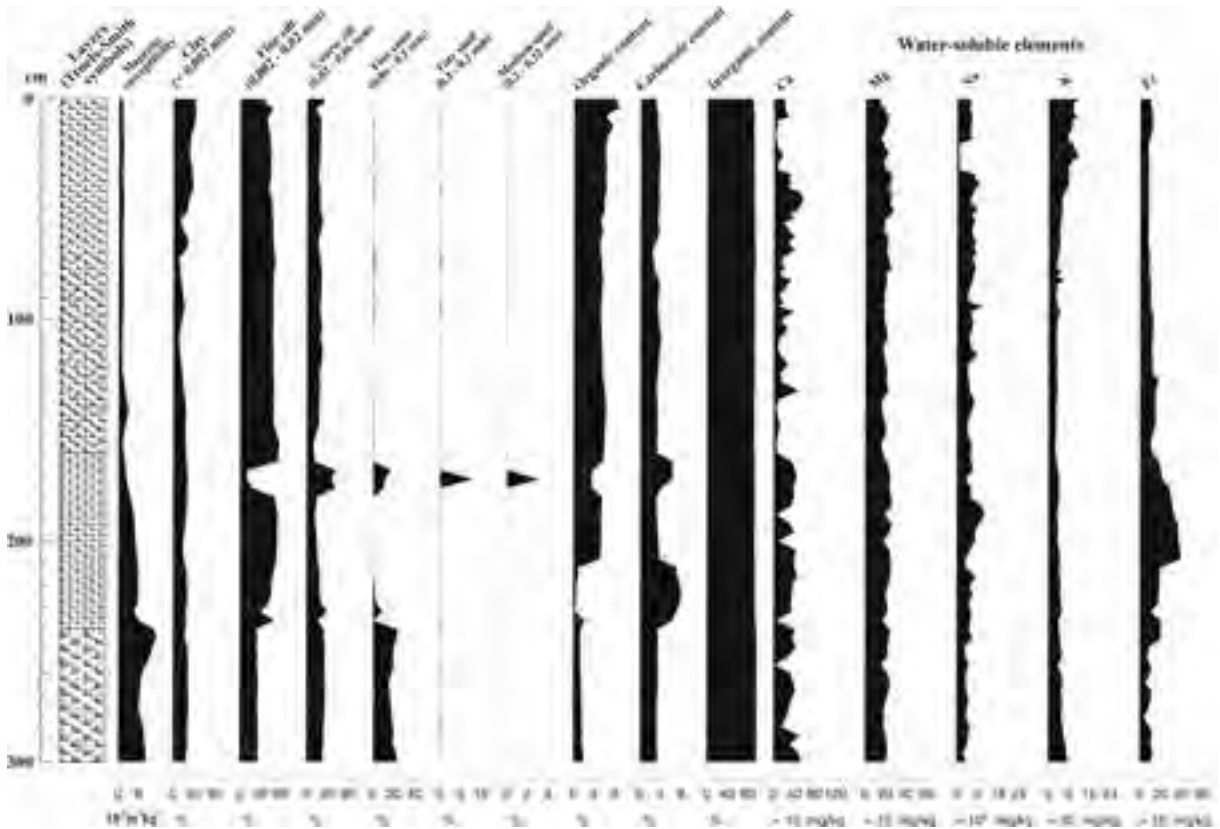


Fig. 17. Sedimentological and geochemical results from the undisturbed core sequence of an infilled point-bar channel in Rökkant-földek at Rákóczfalva

layer, but the changing values of water-soluble elements suggest significant water cover and cyclic drying periods.

The development of laminations occurred at a maximum thickness of 1 cm, and it is likely that in this interval we could have reconstructed stronger cycles of sedimentation and development due to the sedimentological changes of the sample. The development of the layer can be linked to the active evolving stage of the Pleistocene point bar and to the late phase of the channel filling up. Due to its emerged position, its high carbonate content and water-soluble Ca and Mg content, the point bar did not belong to the sedimentation area of Tisza River.⁴⁸ Probably the development of the point bar was the result of the development of the catchment area of the Danube River.

Grain size distribution changed between 240 and 160 cm. Sand content decreased in this level of the profile and yellowish brown (10 YR 5/6) fine aleuritic coarse aleurite, coarse aleuritic fine aleurite dominated layer developed. In the near surface part of this level a significant sand fraction rise occurred that can be linked to an extraordinary flood period. The carbonate content increased considerably as well as organic material content, however this latter appeared less in the color of the sediment. De the slightly reddish shade was associated with the increase of water-soluble iron.

Based on the development of the sediment and sediment parameters, the point bar could gradually emerged due to the appearance and incision of the Tisza River. As a result, the active development of the point bar was completed and transformed to a drainage system at the end of the Pleistocene. In this level of the profile a flood cycle could be detected on the basis of a significant sand intercalation according to grain composition analysis. This level developed at the end of Pleistocene; however this whole layer was clearly evolved in a stagnant water environment.

⁴⁸ MOLNÁR 1965.

The development, appearance and facies of the sediment are specific to point bar loess, floodplain sediments formed at the end of the Pleistocene.⁴⁹

Between 160 and 70 cm (10 YR 4/2) clayey fine aleurite accumulated. The organic material content increased, the carbonate content was steady indicating major soil formation and weathering at the early stage of Holocene. At the same time among water soluble elements Fe content decreased. This may indicate a deeper groundwater location and post-movement of elements after water regulation processes of the 20th century, and the cyclic change of groundwater level may be indicated by the cyclic change of other water-soluble elements. The development of this sediment layer can be linked to soil formation and more favorable weather conditions at the beginning of the Holocene; in addition, to the leaching of sediments with significant clay and organic material content. However, element composition could have change as a result of groundwater level decrease associated with modern water regulation as well.

Between 70 cm and the surface a slightly polyhedron structured, blackish brown (10 YR 3/1), clay-rich fine aleurite with significant organic material content developed and soil formation have started. This layer may be marshy-eutrophic lake sediment originally, but its element composition has changed as a result of soil formation and modern water regulation. The latter is primarily shown by the reduction of water soluble Fe content and the less significant MS signal. Although the layer where soil formation have started represent hydromorphic soil formation characters (polyhedron structure), the significant water-soluble Na and K content indicate salinisation and an upward moving groundwater system with significant water-soluble elements in the capillary zone. As a result, besides hydromorphic soil formation, saline soil development started in the area as well. These processes were observed already in the 20th century during the geological survey and agrogeological (pedological) mapping of the area.⁵⁰

According to our data, during the migration period, during the existence of the Gepid kingdom⁵¹, an organic material rich lake-swamp system appeared in the examined area. This layer has transformed due to soil formation that was the result of modern river and groundwater regulation.

Pollen analysis

According to the pollen analysis carried out on samples of the point bar channel, 10 pollen units (pollen horizons) were separated in the profile.

The first pollen horizon developed between 300 and 240 cm. Statistically evaluable pollen material did not occur, only a few samples contained scattered Gramineae and *Pinus* pollen indicating drying processes.

The second pollen horizon evolved between 240 and 210 cm. Statistically evaluable terrestrial pollen material were found that reached the minimum of 500 pieces of pollen grains.⁵² In this level the non-arboreal pollen (NAP) material exceeded 60% while arboreal pollen (AP) grain ratio was below 40% with *Pinus* subgenus *Pinus* taxa, which can spread to significant distances (*Fig. 18*). On the basis of the pollen composition a Pleistocene open parkland with scattered pine trees and willow-alder trees existed. In addition, grassy cold steppe vegetation developed in the environment of the area at this time.

The third pollen zone developed between 210 and 170 cm. Basically, the pollen composition did not change, but the proportion of AP exceeded 50% (*Fig. 18*). This indicates a cold forest steppe⁵³ at the end of the Pleistocene (*Fig. 18*). The rise of woody vegetation ratio was caused by an increase in

⁴⁹ SÜMEGI ET AL. 2015.

⁵⁰ SÜMEGHY 1944, 1953; KREYBIG 1937.

⁵¹ NAGY 1999; B. TÓTH 1999.

⁵² MAGYARI ET AL. 2010.

⁵³ ALLEN ET AL. 2000; PRENTICE ET AL. 1996.

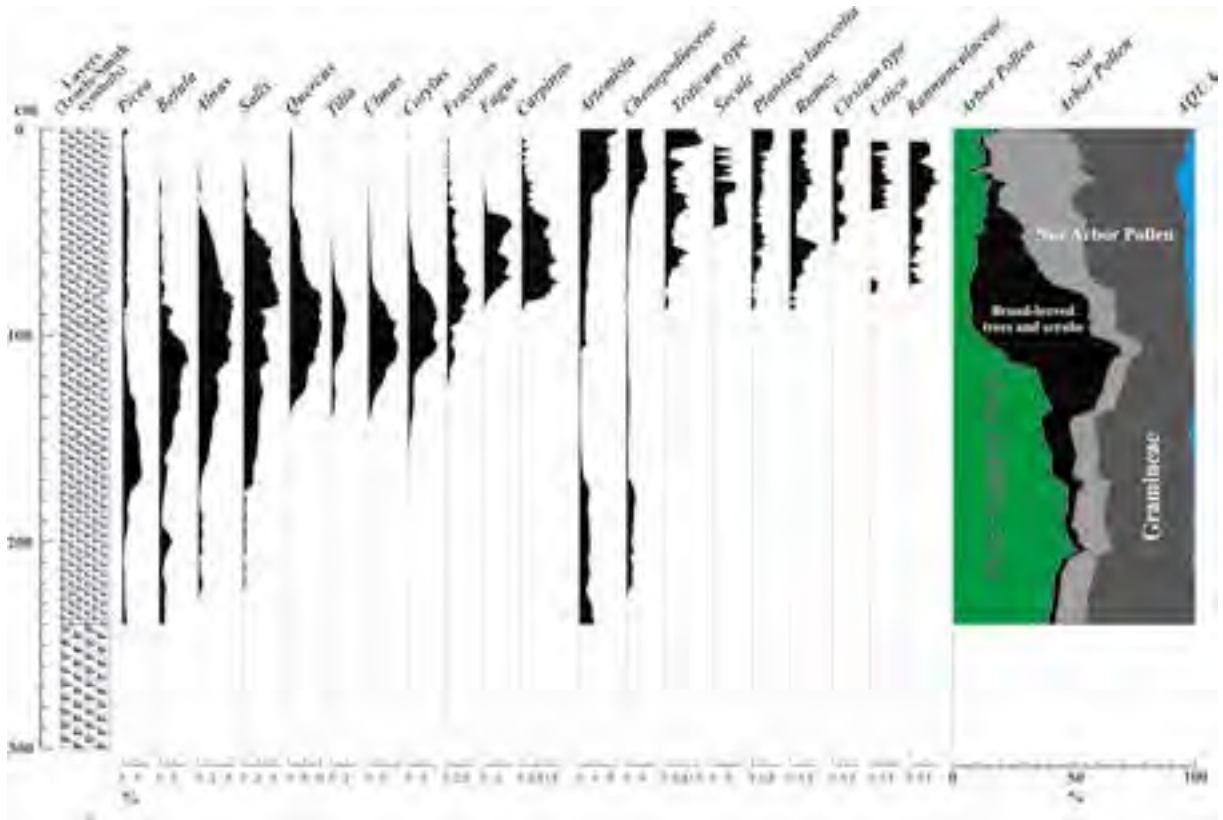


Fig. 18. Pollen analytical results from the undisturbed core sequence of an infilled point-bar channel in Rökkant-földek at Rákóczi-falva

the proportion of *Pinus* genus, which can spread to significant distances. Thermo- and mesophilous elements could not be detected among deciduous trees only narrow-leaved trees appeared such as willow and alder with higher tolerance-level. Compared to the previous zone humidity increased.

The fourth pollen horizon developed between 170 and 130 cm. AP ratio was between 50 and 60%; although the amount of deciduous trees and shrubs, especially birch (*Betula*) and hazel (*Corylus*) is higher. Mixed forest steppe developed. Among woody vegetation coniferous trees and birch (*Betula*) dominated while herbaceous taxa indicate grasses-wormwood-pigweed dominated. Cold steppe, forest steppe existed with patches of trees.

The fifth pollen zone developed between 130 and 110 cm. The ratio of coniferous trees remained significant, while the proportion of deciduous trees and shrubs increased, especially the ratio of birch (*Betula*; Fig. 18). Thermo-mesophilous (oak, ash, elm, lime) pollen appeared and AP ratio rose to 60-70%, which corresponds to the forest steppe phase⁵⁴ and to the northern part of the Euroasian forest steppe zone;⁵⁵ in addition to the forest steppe zone mixed with taiga in the drier basins of the Altai region.⁵⁶ This pollen horizon corresponds to the transition phase of the Pleistocene and Holocene.

The sixth pollen zone developed between 110 and 80 cm (Fig. 18). The ratio of coniferous elements decreased, as well as that of herbaceous taxa. AP ratio decreased to 50-60% that corresponds to a temperate forest steppe⁵⁷ at the beginning of the Holocene, similarly to other residual surfaces in

⁵⁴ ALLEN ET AL. 2000; PRENTICE ET AL. 1996.

⁵⁵ MAGYARI ET AL. 2010.

⁵⁶ SÜMEGI 1996; SÜMEGI ET AL. 1999, 2013a; MAGYARI ET AL. 2014; TÖRŐCSIK-SÜMEGI 2016.

⁵⁷ ALLEN ET AL. 2000; PRENTICE ET AL. 1996.

the Tisza valley.⁵⁸ In other words, the climatic, pedological, relief and bedrock conditions in the area led to the development of a mild continental climate, temperate forest steppe development after the cold forest steppe phase at the end of the Pleistocene. These data clearly disprove the theories that forest steppes in the Great Hungarian Plain are the result of human transformation of a forest environment.⁵⁹ On the basis of these publications, human impact has been continuously increased in the Great Hungarian Plain from the emergence of Neolithic farming. This led to the creation of cut-off areas in the forest environment that had expanded due to technical development and growing population. So a mosaic-like forest steppe vegetation has stabilized in the Great Hungarian Plain probably already in prehistoric times, before the emergence of land cultivation. Our data from the Rákóczifalva sites together with our previous data⁶⁰ clearly demonstrates the natural development of the temperate forest steppe in the Great Hungarian Plain (Pannonian forest steppe biogeographic unit). This pollen horizon is the level of hardwood gallery forest (oak-ash-elm), forest steppe (oak-lime-hazel) and grassy steppe mosaics, without human impact.

The seventh pollen zone developed between 80 and 60 cm (Fig. 18) when hornbeam (*Carpinus*) and beech (*Fagus*) appeared and became dominant. Parallel to this, pollen indicating crop production and animal husbandry, cereals and pollen of weeds appeared in the section. It is likely that this pollen level is in accordance with the Neolithic and the beginning of the Copper Age, i.e. with the first plant cultivation and weed vegetation phase.

The eighth pollen horizon evolved between 60 and 40 cm (Fig. 18). Beech (*Fagus*) and hornbeam (*Carpinus*) pollen dominate among woody vegetation elements. At the same time, weed composition has changed dramatically and the proportion of herbaceous pollen (NAP) exceeded 60%. In this level the natural forest steppe became anthropogenic steppe vegetation, where woody vegetation (in the form of gallery forest) subsisted only in the active Tisza floodplain, in deeper locations with high groundwater level. Both crop production and animal husbandry could have been significantly increased on the basis of the pollen ratio of cultivated plants and weeds. This horizon can be identified with the end of the Copper Age and the entire Bronze Age.

The ninth pollen zone developed between 40 and 25 cm where arboreal pollen ratio decreased to below 30% (Fig. 18). This significant change began in the Hungarian Great Plain at the end of the Bronze Age and the beginning of the Iron Age.

The tenth pollen horizon evolved between 25 and 15 cm that is the level of the migration period. The ratio of cultivated plants such as *Triticum* type, *Secale*, cereal show significant fluctuations. At the same time, the proportion of weeds (*Rumex*, *Urtica*, *Plantago lanceolata*, *Ranunculus*, etc.) spreading to trampling, chewing, grazing and the pollen of grasses, wormwood, pigweed has become dominant. AP ratio was below 20% in this level of the profile. The area was continuously inhabited during the migration period and the communities continued to carry out extensive livestock farming and cereal production in varying intensity.

The pollen zone of the medieval period developed from 15 cm to the surface. It is probable that post-medieval levels have dried up and destroyed during soil formation processes. During the Medieval period the impact of crop production is stronger and more stable. Weed vegetation transformed compared to the migration period and as a result mosaics and zones of crop production and animal husbandry could develop and stabilize in the area. It is likely that house groups or farm-like settlements with stable dirty roads evolved in the area during the medieval period.

Interpretation of pollen results

Based on the exogenous geological, geomorphological and sedimentological data, the pollen profile was formed in a Pleistocene residual surface, i.e. in a point bar channel of a point bar series rising

⁵⁸ SÜMEGI ET AL. 2005.

⁵⁹ BERNÁTSKY 1914; RAPAICS 1918; CHAPMAN 1994, 1997, 2017; CHAPMAN ET AL. 2009; MAGYARI ET AL. 2012.

⁶⁰ SÜMEGI 1989, 1995, 1996, 2005; SÜMEGI ET AL. 2012, 2013b.

above the Tisza alluvium. The Pleistocene point bar is probably of Danube origin and consequently its mineral composition and sedimentological development was separated from the sedimentary systems of the Tisza River. We were able to carry out a comprehensive sedimentological and geochemical study of the full development of the point bar channel. In addition, we could evaluate the development of the study area on the basis of the environment historical analysis of the profile from the end of the Pleistocene to the end of the medieval period. In spite of the outstanding geomorphological and sedimentological results regarding human settlements, the most significant environmental historical data were provided by pollen analytical results. The pollen material was moderately well and well preserved and statistically evaluable from the end of the Pleistocene to the end of the medieval period.

The most important feature of pollen material is that pollen composition indicates forest steppe vegetation⁶¹ from the end of the Pleistocene, through the late glacial/post-glacial transition period until to the early Holocene period. On the basis of our results this pollen composition corresponds to the northern part of the Late Pleistocene Eurasian forest steppe zone mixed with coniferous trees, or to the mixed-leaved taiga forest steppe in the Altai basin.⁶²

These pollen data clearly support the models based on quartermalacological data.⁶³ According to these in some regions of the Great Hungarian Plain, in the Pannonian forest steppe zone, there was a natural shift from cold forest steppe (in the Late Pleistocene) to temperate forest steppe (in the Holocene) on a regional and local level as well.

Thus, the concept that explains the development of the entire forest steppe zone with human effects in the Great Hungarian Plain, although this theory has survived to the present day, cannot be sustained anymore. In areas of hundreds of square kilometers at the regional level and in some square kilometers at the local level, it could be proved that a natural temperate steppe-forest steppe evolved in some parts of the Great Hungarian Plain⁶⁴ at the end of the Pleistocene and at the beginning of the Holocene. Based on the previous results and analysis of different areas, due to the mosaic environmental conditions small local temperate steppe regions and patches developed in the forest steppe zone at the beginning of the Holocene; based on our previous data, mainly due to edaphic reasons.⁶⁵ In other words, parallel vegetation development evolved in the basin caused by mosaic environmental conditions. Despite increasing human effects, this parallel development has survived until to the 19th century, until to the spread of industrial civilization and water regulation. The parallel vegetation development was, of course, influenced by human effects as well; but their development and the magnitude of human effects were very different from each other and were not homogenous as it was suggested by John Chapman.⁶⁶ There was not a general system in the development of the vegetation of the Great Hungarian Plain as a result of the different ecoregions.⁶⁷

The mosaic effect persisted in the vegetation despite the gradually increasing human impact at the beginning of and during the Neolithic. At the same time, as a result of plant cultivation, animal husbandry, human settlements and paths in the study area, a diverse composition of weed vegetation developed between the Neolithic and the medieval period. Cereals, including *Triticum* type and *Secale*, indicate a significant fluctuation in the level of the migration period and the level of the Gepidic Kingdom. At the same time, the ratio of weeds (*Rumex*, *Urtica*, *Plantago lanceolata*, *Ranunculus*, etc.) spreading to trampling, chewing and grazing and the amount of grasses, wormwood and pigweed has become dominant. Arboreal pollen ratio was below 20% in this horizon of the profile.

⁶¹ ALLEN ET AL. 2000; PRENTICE ET AL. 1996; MAGYARI ET AL. 2010.

⁶² SÜMEGI 1996; SÜMEGI ET AL. 1999, 2013a; MAGYARI ET AL. 2014; TÖRÖCSIK ET AL. 2015; TÖRÖCSIK–SÜMEGI 2016.

⁶³ SÜMEGI 1989, 1995, 1996, 2005, 2007.

⁶⁴ SÜMEGI 1989, 1995, 1996, 2005.

⁶⁵ SÜMEGI 1989, 1996, 2011; SÜMEGI ET AL. 2005, 2012, 2013b; TÖRÖCSIK ET AL. 2015; TÖRÖCSIK–SÜMEGI 2016.

⁶⁶ CHAPMAN ET AL. 2009; CHAPMAN 2017.

⁶⁷ SÜMEGI 1996, 2005, 2011, 2016; SÜMEGI ET AL. 2012, 2013b.

During the migration period and the rule of the Gepidic Kingdom the area was continuously inhabited and the alternating communities carried out extensive animal husbandry that was supplemented by cereal cultivation, the latter with varying intensity. These data support the plant remains (millet, wheat, barley) of a Gepidic site called Sándorfalva-Eperjes⁶⁸ and the local cereal cultivation⁶⁹ in Szolnok-Zagyvart site.⁷⁰ It is likely that the good relief, protective features, the diverse and fertile soil conditions and the proximity of rivers and creeks have played a prominent role in the continuous use of the area. Similar settlements⁷¹ with a completely similar morphological situation can be found in several places in the Middle Tisza region (Tiszapüspöki, Kengyel, Szolnok, Törökszentmiklós). Though, these similar exogenous geological features have so far been ignored in the interpretation of the settling of Gepids.

Based on our data, Gepids settled in a completely altered vegetation environment in the peninsula-like residual surface of the Tisza valley that had a great importance with respect to protection and natural factors. We were not able to determine the Gepids vegetation environment more precisely, even with radiocarbon analysis, because the margin of error of radiocarbon analysis is such wide that it covers the 5th and 6th centuries, the level of Gepids settling. This could only be refined by archeobotanical and archeozoological analysis of samples from Gepids objects, including wells. With the exception of our data, we do not have such comprehensive data regarding Gepids settlements at the moment, only archeozoological⁷² and sporadic archeobotanical data.⁷³

It is clear from the archeobotanical (anthracological) analysis of Gepids objects of the Rákóczifalva site that construction wood derived from the Tisza alluvium hardwood gallery forest, while archeozoological findings suggest remarkable livestock in the era of the Gepids Kingdom.

At the end of the migration and during the medieval period, the stabilization and increase of land cultivation was observed. As a result, a significant, though diffuse structured settlement and permanent roads could develop in the study area and one of the greatest of human impact evolved in the archaeological site of Rákóczifalva.

Macrobotanical analysis

Although anthracological material has been found in the archaeological sites of Rákóczifalva since the Neolithic, but most of the wood residues were found in the objects of the migration period, from Gepid objects.⁷⁴ Anthracological material of the Gepid objects is as follows.

A total of 1069 pieces of charcoal fragments were found and identified in 13 samples of Gepid (6-7th century) objects. 64.4% (688 pieces) of the charcoal fragments belong to oak (*Quercus*) genus. Ash (*Fraxinus*) is also represented in a significant proportion with a value of 29.1% (311 pieces). In addition, the ratio of maple (*Acer*) is lower which accounts for 3.6% (39 pieces) of the total material; the ratio of fir (*Abies*) is 1.7% (18 pieces), while the ratio of elm (*Ulmus*) is 1.2% (13 pieces). Charcoal fragments clearly indicate the presence of a hardwood gallery forest (oak-ash-elm) in the vicinity of the settlements. At the same time, the presence of fir (*Abies*) is a particular surprise, as it is an alien element in the Great Hungarian Plain, especially in its center of warm and dry climate (Fig. 6). However, in the eastern part of the Gepidic Kingdom, in the higher mountains encircling the Transylvanian Basin, including the Carpathians and Transylvanian mid-Mountains, there are larger forests of this species at a height of 1300 meters.⁷⁵ As a result, the presence of fir charcoal

⁶⁸ GALÁNTA 1981; BÁLINT 1991.

⁶⁹ B. TÓTH 2003, 2004.

⁷⁰ CSEH 1999b.

⁷¹ CSEH 1986, 1990, 1992, 1993, 1999b.

⁷² SZABÓ-VÖRÖS 1979.

⁷³ BÁLINT 1991; B. TÓTH 2003, 2004.

⁷⁴ NÁFRÁDI-SÜMEGI 2015.

⁷⁵ FEUREDEAN-WILLIS 2008.

indicate exportation and it cannot be excluded that fir trees (that originate clearly from mountainous areas) have been utilized in connection with a ceremony (settlement, house warming).

Archeozoological analysis

The vertebrate fauna analysis from the Gepidic objects supported the combined use of the deeper Tisza alluvium that has good hydrological characters, oxbows and water outlets, and the flood-free, dry surfaces suitable for grazing fields, animal husbandry and plant cultivation. This is in concordance with the results of pollen analysis.

Most of the mid-size (979 pieces) animal bones of Gepids' objects can be interpreted as kitchen waste. It was hard to find whole bones that indicate that meat and bones were cut together during cooking. In spite of that most of the bones could be identified. Only 28 bones were unidentifiable and found to be remnants of large or small mammals. The finds contained the remains of domestic animals, wild birds that could not be identified on a species level, fish and aquatic animals. That suggests hunting, although antler fragments did not turn up (Fig. 19).

Species	NISP	%	Minimum number of individuals	Maximum number of individuals
Cattle– <i>Bos taurus</i> L.	275	28,9	8	22
Sheep – <i>Ovis aries</i> L.	10	31,9	2	2
Goat – <i>Capra hircus</i> L.	1		1	1
Sheep or goat – Caprinae G.	292		9	19
Pig – <i>Sus domesticus</i> Erxl.	94	9,9	8	18
Horse – <i>Equus caballus</i> L.	43	4,5	3	9
Hen – <i>Gallus domesticus</i> L.	38	4,0	4	11
Dog – <i>Canis familiaris</i> L.	108	11,4	5	5
Cat – <i>Felis catus</i> L.	5	0,5	1	1
Domestic species	861	91,1	41	88
Goose – Anseridae sp.	8	0,8	1	1
Domestic or wild species	8	0,8	1	1
European pond turtle – <i>Emys orbicularis</i> L.	2	0,2	1	2
Catfish – <i>Silurus glanis</i> L.	2	0,2	1	2
Pike – <i>Esox lucius</i> L.	2	0,2	2	2
Fish – Pisces sp.	40	4,2	1	5
Wild species	46	4,8	5	11
Rodent – Rodentia sp.	4	0,4	1	2
Bird – Aves sp.	27	2,9	3	6
Other species	36	3,8	5	9
Unidentified mammal	28	–	–	–
Total remains	979	100	51	108

Fig. 19. List of species with number of individuals from the Gepidic settlement

This is the one and only archaeological period in the Rákóczifalva site, where neat bones are not the most common; although the amount of neat bones are not much less than the number of small ruminants (sheep and goat). The remnants of all mammalian domestic species were found in the findings. Among them horses were rarely cut off – probably because of their high value. Poultry remains were also found, mostly hen bones, but some goose bones were found as well. In addition

to the remains of meat-producing animals, bones of dogs and cats were also discovered. Probably dogs chewed more bones; there are signs of tooth on 16 findings including cattle, small ruminants, pigs and even hens. It is not possible to estimate the number of bones that have been fully ate up. The cartilage bone ends of young poultry, especially hens, could be easily consumed by cats or even by humans that result taphonomic losses. Significant number of fish bones refers to fishing and the extensive use of the alluvium. Fishing covered several species, the larger catfish, pike and smaller fishes.

We calculated for each species the minimal and maximal number of individuals (*Fig. 19*). In the first case we calculated the number of bones for all of the same species of the site, and in case of the maximum number of individuals we took the objects into one-one unit, calculated separately for each object and then summed up the results. The actual number of individuals of each species can be between the two values; the smallest number of individuals is certainly below and the maximum is overestimated.

In the vicinity of the settlement, a grazing livestock of 23-53 individuals (sheep, goats, cattle, horses) was required. These numbers do not seem to be significant, especially since we do not have information about how many years the Gepids' settlement was inhabited. But still the continuous catering, grazing and winter feeding of a few dozen animals could be challenging. It should also be taken into account that not the entire Gepidic settlement was excavated so the number of individuals was definitely higher.

The difference between the number of cattle and small ruminants (sheep and goats) is only 28 bones (the number of small ruminants is higher), so their proportions can be considered as equal. There is little or no difference between the minimum and maximum number of individuals. Small ruminants include sheep and goats. The bones of the two species are so similar that they can hardly be distinguished, only on the basis of some features of some bones. The number of such bones are 11 (10 sheep and 1 goat) in the Gepids findings. In general, sheep remnants are more common in all periods and goats are rarer. There are sheep/goat finds that were chewed by dogs; most of them originate from a meat-rich body part (*Fig. 20*).

	Cattle	Sheep or goat	Pig	Horse	Hen	Goose
Head region	63	46	42	6	2	–
Trunk region	77	44	12	6	2	–
Meaty limb region	44	91	19	19	24	8
Dry limb region	37	42	4	2	10	–
Terminal bones	9	10	–	4	–	–
Teeth	22	25	17	4	–	–
Other bones	23	45	–	2	–	–

Fig. 20. Distribution of the bones according to body region

The age distribution of individuals was diverse (*Fig. 21*). Two sheep and one goat were adults; the age distribution of the only sheep/goat individuals was mixed. Based on the smallest number of individuals, one of them was 1-2 years old, one 1-1.5 years old. Three animals were young (less than 2.5 years old), one nearly adult (2.5-3.5 years) and three adults.

On the basis of the other individual count, the number of the two sheep and one goat did not change. In case of the 19 sheep/goats, young and adult animals were found in nearly half-half ratio: 9 specimens were juvenile (young), one of them was between 1 and 2 years old, one of them less than 1.5 years old and one between 2 and 3 years old. The age of the other 6 young animals could not be identified more precisely, but they are certainly less than 2.5 years old. Three animals were of subadultic age, i.e. nearly mature and 6 were adult specimens. The age of one animal could not

Age categories	Cattle		Sheep and goat		Pig		Horse		Hen		Goose	Dog	Cat
	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.			
Neonatus	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Infantilis	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Juvenilis	1	7	5	9	4	7	1	2	2	4	-	1	-
Subadultus	1	3	1	3	1	2	1	1	-	-	-	2	1
Adultus	3	7	6	9	2	3	1	6	2	7	1	-	-
Maturus	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Senilis	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unknown		2	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	8	22	12	22	8	18	3	9	4	11	1	5	1

Fig. 21. The distribution of remains by the age categories of animals

	Cattle	Sheep	Goat	Sheep/goat	Pig	Horse	Dog	Cat	Hen	Goose
Horn	4	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Skull	26	1	-	10	9	2	3	-	2	-
Maxilla	13	-	-	11	14	-	2	-	-	-
Jaw	12	-	-	22	18	4	3	-	-	-
Hyoid	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tooth	22	-	-	25	17	4	5	-	-	-
Atlas	4	-	-	1	1	-	1	-	-	-
Cervical vertebra	1	-	-	4	-	9	-	-	-	-
Thoracic vertebra	8	-	-	5	1	-	5	-	-	-
Lumbar vertebra	6	-	-	2	-	1	10	3	-	-
Sacrum	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	-
Lumbosacrale	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Vertebra	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-
Rib	41	-	-	27	6	3	38	-	-	-
Sternum	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Coracoideum	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
Scapula	7	2	-	7	4	1	-	-	-	-
Pelvis	20	-	-	5	3	-	4	-	1	-
Arm bone	8	4	-	7	6	1	5	-	2	2
Radius	4	-	-	16	3	1	6	-	3	1
Ulna	3	-	-	3	1	1	5	-	3	1
Carpus	4	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Metacarpal	8	1	-	13	-	-	-	-	-	-
Femur	12	-	-	16	3	4	4	-	5	1
Tibia	13	-	-	39	3	4	3	-	-	-
Tibiotarsus	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	1
Fibula	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-
Astragalus	6	-	-	3	1	-	-	-	-	-
Calcaneus	4	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-
Tarsus	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Metatarsus	2	2	-	18	-	1	-	-	-	-

	Cattle	Sheep	Goat	Sheep/goat	Pig	Horse	Dog	Cat	Hen	Goose
Tarsometatarsus	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	10	–
Metapodium	2	–	–	1	–	–	11	–	–	–
First phalanx	3	–	–	5	–	1	–	2	–	–
Middle phalanx	3	–	–	3	–	2	–	–	–	–
Distal phalanx	3	–	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	–
Sesamoideum	3	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–
Long bone	22	–	–	45	–	2	–	–	–	–
Flat bone	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Total	275	10	1	292	94	43	108	5	38	8

Fig. 22. The anatomical distribution of remains by species



Fig. 23. Skull- and horn core fragment of cattle

be identified. Interestingly, the bones of very young animals, younger than 1 year, were not found. The cut off of young animals indicates meat production as milk and wool use is only possible in case of adult animals. The majority of the animals were slaughtered in the excavated area of the settlement that is indicated by the anatomical distribution (Fig. 22).

The 275 neat bones represent 28.9% of the detectable findings. The bones come from at least 8 up to 22 animals, their age distribution is mixed (Fig. 21). Out of the 8 individuals one was juvenile, which is 1-3 years old in case of neat. One was subadult, that is, 3-4 years old, 3 individuals were adults, so over 4 years old. One individual was 6-7 and one was 6-8 years old, already mature. One specimen died or was slaughtered as an old animal.

The age distribution was slightly different in case of the 22 individuals, more heterogeneous. The number of young animals was 7, 3 were nearly adults, 7 were adult, 2 matured, 2 were old, and 2 were undetermined.

A metatarsus bone of a neat could be used to calculate the withers and to determine the sex of the animal. The 236 mm long bone derived from an approximately 126 cm tall cow.⁷⁶ This cow is considered to be large compared to other samples from different periods. Bones suitable for withers calculation from Celtic, Sarmatian, Late Sarmatian, bones from the 4th-5th century, late migration period and Arpadian age occurred and were used for calculation; each animal was a cow. The height of the Celtic animal was small, around 107 cm. The Sarmatian cows were 111 and 117 cm tall, the 4th-5th century animals were 114-115 cm, from the late migration period they were

⁷⁶ NOBIS 1954; CALKIN 1960.

106, 114, 116 and 122 cm tall, and the Arpadian age was a small cow, only 108 cm. The fragment of a skull and horn also derived from a cow (*Fig. 23*).

The number of chewed bones was low in the Gepids material. Out of 7 findings there were 4 phalanges, 1 astragalus, 1 calcaneus and 1 tibia. The number of cut beef bones was 2, one is a tibia and the other is a 5 cm long horn and its fragment with parallel trimming and pole-axe traces (*Fig. 19*).

Among meat-producing animals, ruminants are followed by domestic pigs: 94 pig bones account for 9.9% of the findings. Regarding the number of individuals, the lowest number is 8, the highest is 18 (*Fig. 21*). Compared to the amount of bones, this number is very significant, as it approximates the number of small ruminants and cattle. The age distribution of individuals is mixed. In the case of pigs, it is common that very young animal remains appear in the findings, as they are short-lived, fast-growing animals that have more piglets at the same time, making it easy to replace slaughtered animals. Comparing to other domestic species pigs are meat producing animals, there is no other forms of utilization.

Based on the smallest number of individuals, one pig was only $\frac{1}{2}$ years old and one was $\frac{3}{4}$ years old when it was slaughtered. A 1 year old animal can be considered as young as well. There were a few specimens that could not be precisely defined: one 2-3 years old, a younger than 2.5 years old, one 2.5-3.5 years old and 2 adult pig, including a male animal.

The number of individuals per object (the maximum number of individuals) was as follows. It added 10 animals to the above mentioned: the number of juvenile pigs (less than 2.5 years old) was not one, but 4, there were 2 individuals that were 2.5-3.5 years old and 3 individuals (instead of 2) were adult. The age of 5 animals could not be defined.

On the basis of charcoal analysis, hardwood gallery forest existed in the vicinity of the settlement, mostly with oak trees. Oak acorn served as the basis for pig feeding. In October and November pigs ate fallen acorns up in the forest, while in the case of early snowfall they ate the rest of the acorns during spring.

The number of horse bones is 43 pieces that presents 4.5% of the definable bones. The number of individuals is at least 3 (one juvenile, one subadult and one adult), maximum 9. The age distribution of the 9 individuals indicate 6 adults (6 individuals), 2 young (1-3 years), and one subadult, i.e. nearly mature (*Fig. 21*). Bones for withers calculation could not be found in the bone assemblage.

Although the number of chicken bones (38 pieces) was behind the horses (43 pieces), using the number of individuals calculations (minimum and maximum) it preceded the number of horse individuals. The minimum number of individuals was at least 4, maximum 11. Based on the minimum number of individuals, 2 specimens were not yet mature and there were 2 adults, including one male and one female. Based on the number of individuals per object (maximum number), 11 specimens could be identified (*Fig. 21*), of which 4 were non-mature, 7 were adults including 3 female and one male.

From one object (No. 194, a building) 8 bones of an adult goose-like bird were found. In addition, the number of dogs and cats were the same for both calculations (*Fig. 21*). 5 dog bones were identified. One of them was newborn, one was a puppy, one young and 2 adults. Withers calculation could be done on the basis of a healthy thigh bone (*Fig. 24*). A short, 24-29 cm tall (withers) dog that had slightly curved legs⁷⁷ could be identified. Such small dogs are very rare during this period of time and can only be observed in the Roman Empire. The animal can be categorized as small-sized dogs; its weight could be between 4.5 and 11.5 kg, such as sausage-dog, beagles, fox terriers that can be observed nowadays.

The 5 cat bones originate from the same object, a pit, and were identified as adult animals. Their role could be to keep rodents away in the vicinity of houses and crop storage pits. Based on the composition of domestic animals the Gepids settlements were surrounded by extensive pastures,

⁷⁷ KOUDELKA 1885.



Fig. 24. Femur of a small dog



Fig. 25. Vertebra of a catfish (*Silurus glanis*)



Fig. 26. Mandible of a pike (*Esox lucius*)



Fig. 27. Bone anvil from a horse's jaw (both sides)



Fig. 28. Bone anvil from a horse's jaw (both sides)

including saline pastures that are more favorable for sheep. Furthermore, the ratio of wet meadows and meadows was also outstanding due to the high number of cattle and horse remains.

The number of fish bone was 44 in the manual collected samples. It would have been possible to multiply this quantity by the sieving of the filling material of the objects. The remains included 2 catfish and 2 pike bones (*Fig. 20*). The catfish is common in rivers and lakes while the pike favor lakes and oxbows with fresh water income and rich vegetation. The catfish is a large fish; its meat is delicious, fat-rich, and bone free. The advantage of the pike is that it does not pit in winter, so it can be fished from leak, its meat is white, clean, tasty, but has bones. The quality of the meat is influenced by the purity of the water and the taste of small fishes ate up by the pike. The minimum number of fish bones was 4, of which 1 catfish (*Fig. 25*), 2 pikes (*Fig. 26*) and a non-definable species could be identified. According to the maximum calculation 2 catfishes, 2 pikes and 5 unidentified fishes were found in the Gepids objects.

The shell remains of the European pond turtle were also discovered. This turtle species – that is the only one native turtle species in the Carpathian Basin – favor shallow, muddy stagnant water that could be found in the vicinity of Rákóczifalva as well. As a reptile, it favors sunny places, dense forest lakes and oxbows with gallery forest. Only turtle shell fragments occurred in the findings, which refers to the consumption of turtle meat.

Bone artefacts did not turn up, but an interesting find, a bone anvil (*Figs 27–28*) was found made from a horse's jawbone. On the flat surface of the jawbone, the mold of sickle teeth blade appears in rows. The bone anvil was used when the sickle teeth was repaired or recovered, or when the broken teeth of a metal anvil was replaced by a bone anvil. This object has already been known in the Mediterranean region from the Greek and Roman period, but in Hungary the earliest bone anvil appeared from the Arpadian age. In Rákóczifalva, besides the Gepids finds, Sarmatian and Late Sarmatian artefacts occurred as well. Their significance is that they carry information about animal husbandry and bone processing, it is an evidence that forge operated in the settlement, where metal tools were maintained and they indicate cereal production as well.⁷⁸

We know very little about the Gepids' animal husbandry and hunting habits so the archaeozoological research of as many archeological excavations as possible and the publication of results is very important. In a Southeast Hungarian archeological site, in Battonya, farm-like Gepids settlements were excavated.⁷⁹ The archeozoological material of some houses and pits were revealed and the same environmental historical finds were discovered as in the case of Rákóczifalva. The most important livestock was cattle, sheep and goats. Pig breeding was not important in Battonya, but in Rákóczifalva the number of pig bones was significant. Dog, cat and chicken remains occurred in Battonya as well. There is no proof of hunting in Rákóczifalva while in Battonya red deer hunting was observed. Fishing, which could supplement the amount of meat obtained from the slaughter of domestic animals, can be observed in both sites of the Great Hungarian Plain.

SUMMARY

Geoarcheological, archeobotanical and archeozoological analysis have been carried out in the central, one of the hottest parts of the Great Hungarian Plain, in the Tisza valley, where a Gepids settlement and its surroundings was excavated. Based on the results of the digital relief model, maps, historical maps and geoarchaeological analysis of geological drillings, the Bagi-földek are located on a deeper and younger alluvial surface with good water supply and are connected to the development of the Tisza River, while the Rökkant-földek are located on an older residual surface and are rising above the alluvium. The Gepids communities settled on an point bar series located on the high-floodplain and low floodplain in a semi-circular, semi-peninsula-like protected

⁷⁸ TUGYA 2015, 21–27.

⁷⁹ SZABÓ-VÖRÖS 1979, 228.

area. These surfaces provided different farming possibilities for the Gepids communities of the migration period: the utilization of the gallery forest, gatherings in the area of the forests and floodplain, fishing and hunting, extensive animal husbandry on the higher, drier areas and plant cultivation around the settlements and houses.

Based on the bone composition of the domestic animals, the area was surrounded by extensive grazing fields, including saline pastures favorable to sheep, but the area of wet meadows and meadows was also outstanding indicated by the high ratio of cattle and horse bones in the 6th century, during the Gepids settling. Poultry provided a significant source of meat and eggs. Hunting was not common in the Gepids community based on the archaeozoological remains, but fishing was observable in the Tisza River and in its oxbows. The pond turtle provided meat as well. Shells were collected and seasonally consumed. Bone artefacts are already known from the late Sarmatian period (punch tool, chisels, rubbed bone and skates) in the Great Hungarian Plain, but the presence of bone anvil in the Gepids material is currently a real curiosity.

We know very little about the animal husbandry, hunting habits and meat consumption of the Gepids, so it is necessary to carry out and publish archaeozoological research of as many excavations as possible. In previous works, a farm-like Gepids settlement was discovered at the border of Battonya⁸⁰ and by the analysis of bones of some houses and pits we found the same archaeozoological result as in the case of Rákóczifalva. The most important domestic animals were cattle, sheep and goat in both of the sites. Pigs were not significant in Battonya while in the case of Rákóczifalva it was much more important. Based on the number of individuals their importance is almost the same. Dog, cat and chicken remains were also present in the Battonya site.

There is no proof of hunting in Rákóczifalva while red deer hunting was observed in Battonya. Fishing, which could supplement the amount of meat obtained from the slaughter of domestic animals, could be observed in both sites of the Great Hungarian Plain.

According to our data, the inhabitants of the excavated Gepids settlement fully utilized its Tisza valley environment for food production on an organic level in the migration period, in the 6th century. The environment occupied by the Gepids community, the floodplain islands and residual surfaces in the Tisza Valley was inhabited from the early Neolithic. The exploitation of their environment, from settlement strategy to gathering, has a similar system as in the case of the Gepids settlement we have described. However, the ratio of unproductive farming (hunting, fishing, gathering) and productive farming (land cultivation, animal husbandry) was different in the life of these communities.

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⁸⁰ SZABÓ-VÖRÖS 1979, 228.

Bone measurements by species (mm)

Abbreviations: *b* – breadth; *Bd* – Greatest breadth of the distal end; *BF* – Breadth of the *Facies articularis basalis*; *BFcd* – Greatest breadth of the *Facies articularis caudalis*; *BFcr* – Greatest breadth of the *Facies articularis cranialis*; *BFd* – Greatest breadth of the *Facies articularis distalis*; *Bp* – Greatest breadth of the proximal end; *DC* – Greatest depth of the *Caput femoris*; *Dd* – Greatest depth of the distal end; *DI* – Greatest depth of the lateral half; *Dm* – Greatest depth of the medial half; *Dp* – Depth of the proximal end; *DPA* – Depth across the *Processus anconaeus*; *GB* – Greatest breadth; *GL* – Greatest length; *Glm* – Greatest length of the medial half; *l* – length; *LA* – Length of the acetabulum including the lip; *LO* – Length of the olecranon; *SB* – Smallest breadth of diaphysis; *SD* – Smallest depth of diaphysis; *SDO* – Smallest depth of the olecranon

CATTLE

	M3 l.	M3 b.						Height of the mandible in front of P2	Height of the mandible in front of M1	Height of the mandible behind M3
194. obj. Maxilla	28,3	17,7								
	P2-M3 l.	P2-4 l.	M1-3 l.	M3 l.	M3 b.					
338. obj. Mandible	124,8	47,7	78,0				32,4	44,4	81	
338. obj.	132,4	47,4	83,6	36,6	15,4		37,7	52,6		
	BFcd									
541. obj. Atlas	85,2									
	SB SD									
21. obj. Humerus	20,7	24,4								
	Bd									
338. obj. Radius	56,3									
	DC									
338. obj. Femur	40,1									
	Bd	Dd								
365. obj. Tibia	52,4	39,4								
	GL	Glm	DI	Dm	Bd					
21. obj. Astragalus	68,1	60,6	36,5	39,8	42,9					
338. obj.	56,9	52	30,7	31,6	34,2					
541. obj.	59,2	53,9	33,2		38,6					
	SB									
69. obj. Metatarsus	23									

SHEEP

	SB	SD						Height of the mandible in front of P2	Height of the mandible in front of M1
1. obj. Humerus	16,4	16,2							
	P2-M3 l.	P2-4 l.	M1-3 l.	M3 l.	M3 b.				
21. obj. Mandible	76,3	23,1	53,1	22,8	7,3		16,3	23,3	
194. obj. Mandible							13,4		
	SB SD								
373. obj. Tibia	16,4	13,1							
	Bp	Dp							
194. obj. Meatacarpus	23,6	15,9							

PIG

	M1-M3 l.	M3 l.	M3 b.
21. obj. Mandibula	57,6	28,4	15,2

194. obj. Humerus	138,8	29,1	8,5	21,7	
194. obj. Humerus	139,1	29,1	8,5	21,4	
194. obj. Ulna	159,0	13,6	11,9	5,5	
194. obj. Femur				16,9	15,7

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