Tivadar Vida

Late Antique Metal Vessels in the Carpathian Basin

Luxury and Power in the Early Middle Ages

Hereditas Archaeologica Hungariae

Archaeolingua Foundation

Institute of Archaeology, RCH, Hungarian Academy of Sciences

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Series editors

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For Katinka, Bence, Gergő and Zoli

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Editors' Foreword

This book is the first in a new series designed to shed fresh light on various aspects of the archaeological heritage of Hungary to both a scholarly audience and the broader public interested in Hungarian archaeology. The series' title is a reference to the shared cultural legacy of the one-time Roman Empire and a reminder of how much we all owe to the Latin language. This cultural legacy and heritage (*hereditas*) incorporates not only the relics of the distant Hungarian past, but of all the peoples who had once passed through and settled in this region as well as the many objects and commodities brought from faraway lands that enriched the daily life or special ceremonial occasions of the peoples living here.

By launching this series, our intention was to promote an appreciation and awareness of this cultural heritage and to brush away at least some of the cobwebs that so often obscure our view of the past, by presenting the outstandingly important archaeological finds, discovered either through strokes of good luck, or recovered during time-consuming, meticulous fieldwork, that are one of the major sources of Hungary's history and art history. We felt that there would be a definite interest in a new series of relatively short books that would focus on one particular archaeological problem, period, or group of finds written for both the academic community and the interested broader public in a clear, lucid style with persuasive argumentation and copious notes, complete with a detailed bibliography for further reading. The illustrations accompanying the text were chosen with a view to adding a special extra to the text. Another important consideration was to publish the books in English too, in order to offer a guide to the many new exciting discoveries made in Hungarian archaeological scholarship and to make them more readily accessible to the international scholarly community.

Our choice of the series title, *Hereditas Archaeologica Hungariae* (HAH), is, at the same time, a tribute to three of the perhaps most influential and widely read archaeological series whose publication was discontinued: the *Archaeologia Hungarica* and the *Fontes Archaeologici Hungariae* series as well as the one-time *Hereditas* series published by Corvina Publishing House, whose volumes appearing in the 1970s and 1980s were written by the perhaps greatest minds of Hungarian archaeology at the time, and which presented the archaeological heritage of the Neolithic, the Bronze Age, the Celts, the Romans, the ancient Hungarians and the Cumanians in a most enjoyable style. Twenty-five years later, two institutions, Archaeolingua Foundation and the Institute of Archaeology of the Research Center for the Humanities of the Hungarians Academy of Sciences, both deeply committed to bringing together Hungarian and international archaeological research

and to presenting the new finds and advances in this disciple in a lively, legible style and in an attractive format, joined forces to launch this new series.

If this new series will inspire further research and the future curation of the immense volume of archaeological finds housed in various Hungarian public collections, much of which was brought to light and lovingly conserved during the past decades, our work was not in vain: we have made our small contribution to ensuring the preservation of this rich heritage for future generations and to making these finds speak not only to the specialists of our discipline, but also to the broader interested public.

Elek Benkő, Erzsébet Jerem, Gyöngyi Kovács, József Laszlovszky

Introduction

In 569, Baian, the khagan of the Avars, a people arriving from the depths of Asia, unsuccessfully laid siege to the once famous imperial city of Sirmium (modern Sremska Mitrovica in Serbia) and through his envoys sent a message that he would be willing to withdraw in exchange for his some trifles. Although Bonos, commander of the town's defences, and the city's leaders, the bishop among them, found this request perfectly in order, believing that Baian would have been content with "a silver plate, a little gold and a vestment in the Scythian taste",[1] they nonetheless refused him for fear of incurring the emperor's wrath. This episode, related by the Byzantine historian Menander Protector, is a perfect illustration of the attitudes of both the Byzantines and the Barbarians to gifts, to objects crafted of gold and silver. Baian felt that by receiving the gifts, he would not lose face before the peoples who had joined him as allies, while the Byzantine officials did not dare offer even a silver plate and a few pieces of gold to the khagan without the emperor's consent and approval because this would have meant, no matter how marginally, a form of diplomatic recognition.

Many tens of thousands of graves, treasures and settlements have been uncovered from the long Migration-period history of the Carpathian Basin, spanning the period from the first to the tenth century AD. Given that literary sources are extremely scanty for this period, the economy, the social relations and the cultural contacts of the peoples once settling in this region can only be studied through what has been preserved in the archaeological record. One particular group of finds sheds light on the relations between the peoples of the Migration period and the late antique civilisation of the Mediterranean. The elites of the Barbarian peoples had developed an unmistakable penchant for luxury items of Mediterranean origin and they made every effort to ensure a continuous supply of these goods. In addition to articulating the self-identity of the late antique aristocracy and being a means of social display, these splendid works of art also embodied the splendour of a rich and powerful civilisation, and were thus suitable for expressing social status and prestige in the cultural milieu of the Barbarian elites too.[2] Luxury goods of foreign origin, and late antique and early Byzantine vessels of precious and copper-alloy metals, jewellery studded with precious stones, weapons and costume accessories, especially brooches and belts, thus became visual statements of self-identity. Barbarian nobles expressed their membership in the elite through the symbols of Rome and Byzantium, their political adversaries who were more powerful culturally, and by employing these symbols, they staked out their social position not just to the outside world, but in their own societies too *(Fig. 1)*. Vessels of gold, silver and other metals, both the artistic masterpieces of late antique Mediterranean civilisation and the more humble products of quotidian craft activities, reached the rulers and nobles of the Germanic peoples,

From time immemorial human beings have surrounded themselves with "things," from private everyday objects such as beds, chairs, crockery, clothes, and tools to houses, streets, villages, towns, cars, and ships. They all represent our concepts of practicality, comfort, beauty, and, to a certain extent, our own identity. Objects reflect ourselves – they remind us of who we are, of our past, of our forebears, and so on. The world of things in which we live has a time index that refers not only to our present but also, and simultaneously, to different phases and levels of our past.

(Jan Assmann: Cultural Memory and Early Civilization)

Figure 1. The gold treasure from Pietroasa on the cover of Alexandru Odobescu's book published in 1889

the Huns, the Bulgars and the Avars, through the diplomatic and other wide-reaching channels of the Roman and, later, of the Byzantine Empire. These vessels became status symbols and the mediums of social display in the Carpathian Basin too, and were deposited in the burials and lavish treasures that can be linked to the aristocracy and the nobles of the peoples settling in this region.

The present study surveys the late antique metal vessels produced in Mediterranean workshops that reached the Barbarian peoples of the Carpathian Basin. In order to better understand the role and significance of these vessels, we must first take a look at their cultural milieu in late antiquity.[3] Their form and ornamentation, their manufacturing techniques and imagery all provide important clues about when and where they were made, about the artistic, cultural and social background of their creation, and about their social role. Additionally, we can gain an insight into the late antique manufacturing techniques of relief-decorated artistic metalwork (known also as toreutics) made by embossing and chasing, and the most recent advances made in this field of research.

Next, we shall look at the role of late antique metal vessels in the Barbarian world. Diplomatic envoys travelled regularly between Rome, Byzantium and the early medieval peoples in times of war and peace alike, and alliances were generally accompanied by gift-giving. The acquisition of particularly fine wares and commodities could also take the form of organised trade, war booty, subsidies and annual taxes paid for securing peace, or even grave looting.[4] In the Barbarian world, the narrower milieu of the ruler, and in particular the members of his armed retinue, received a share of the booty and other goods according to their position in the social hierarchy. The practice of gift-giving was presumably adopted by the nobles too, and the circulation of valuable objects was one of the main pillars of what has been described as a prestige economy.[5] The role of late antique and early Byzantine metal vessels in Barbarian society underwent a profound transformation, which can archaeologically best be grasped through the study of their find circumstances. While metal vessels were sometimes placed in burials as repositories of food offerings for the journey to the otherworld, the elegantly crafted pieces, alongside various other items, were expressions of the deceased's prominent social status, which was sometimes also indicated by the very size and form of the grave.

Although many studies have already been devoted to the vessels of precious and copper-alloy metal from the Carpathian Basin, the many new assemblages brought to light more recently and the theoretical and methodological advances made in this field of archaeological research have considerably broadened our interpretative framework. This study on the late antique metal vessels found in Barbarian contexts was inspired by my belief that the study of Antiquity should also extend to the fringes of the ancient world and should incorporate the history and culture of the new Barbarian centres and tribal kingdoms emerging on the political and cultural frontiers of the ancient world.[6]

My initial interest in the many artistic and social questions raised by late antique metal vessels was sparked during my study of the brass jug adorned with hunting scenes found in the Avar cemetery excavated at Budakalász in 1989. How and why was a magnificent relic representing and reflecting the visual

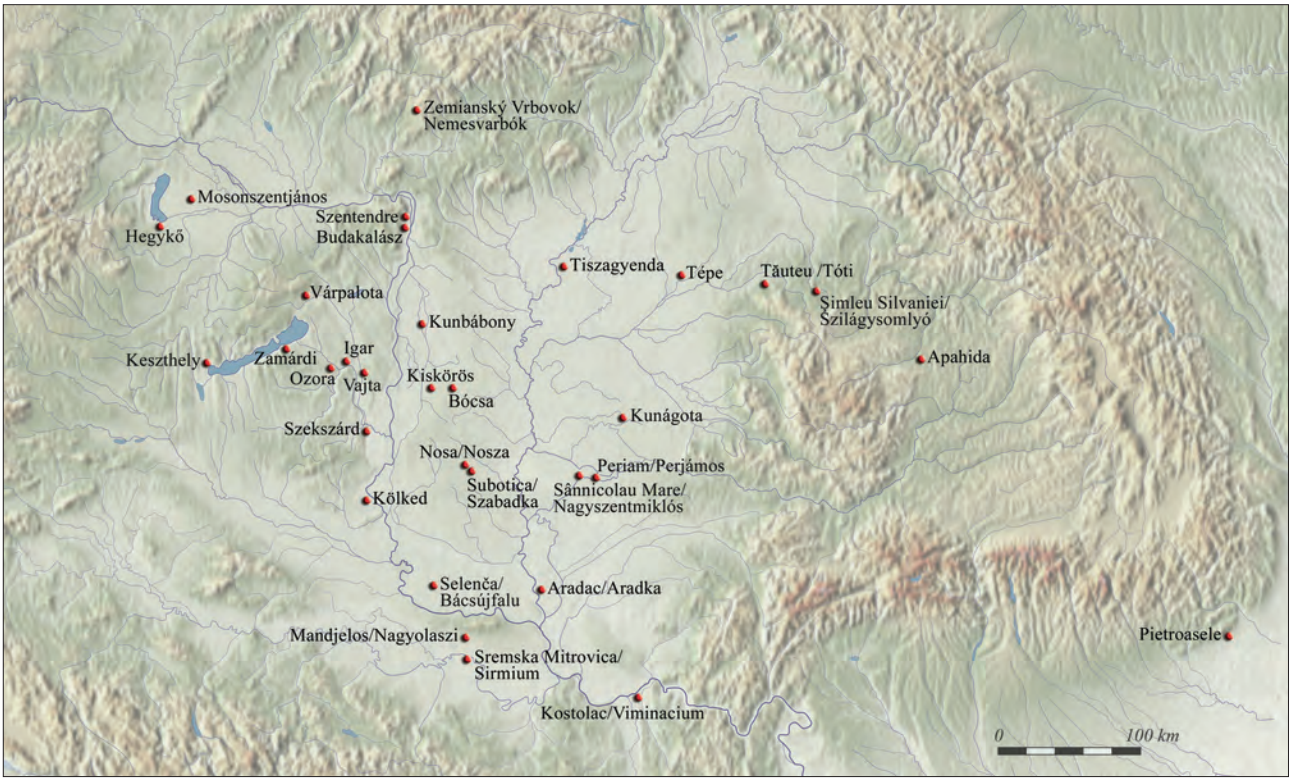


Figure 2. Distribution of late antique precious metal and copper-alloy vessels in the Carpathian Basin

vocabulary of an alien culture deposited in the burial of an Avar individual? Can a late antique metal vessel from the Mediterranean contribute to identifying the cultural impacts of late antique and early Byzantine civilisation on the Barbarians of the Carpathian Basin, and if so, how? Can we assume that the late antique metal vessels in the possession of the Barbarian elite attest to an effort to adopt late antique Mediterranean culture, lifeways and lifestyles? As tokens of former alliances, peace treaties or perhaps campaigns, were the vessels mediums of evoking events that had involved the entire community and of maintaining traditions, or, as we would say today, means of keeping the community's cultural memory alive? This study seeks an answer to these questions through a look at the formal and technological traits of the currently known late antique and early Byzantine metal vessels from the Carpathian Basin, combined with an iconographic interpretation of their depictions, a closer examination of the possible message conveyed by their visual idiom, and an assessment of their social and cultural role and significance *(Fig. 2)*.

Changes in the Final Centuries of Antiquity

Our perception of the final period of Antiquity has been fundamentally altered by the work of several leading scholars such as Peter Brown, Glen W. Bowersock, Garth Fowden and Averil Cameron.[7] Today, the late antique period – and, indirectly, the Migration period – is not seen as a period of decline marked by the fall of Rome and the destruction of antique civilisation, but as the onset of a new historical period, the dawn of a new cultural epoch leading to the transformation of political power, the economy and society, which found an expression in the arts, literature and theology, and eventually permeated all wakes of life. The late antique transformation in the broader sense occurred between the third and seventh centuries, although it became a distinctly independent cultural period in the fourth to sixth centuries. It is less known that Péter Váczy, an eminent scholar of the Hungarian Middle Ages, had called this period the "antique Middle Ages" well ahead of his time. Renowned historians of the early Middle Ages such as Patrick Geary, Peter Heather and Walter Pohl fitted the early history of the early medieval Barbarian peoples into the historical transformation of late antiquity, and by doing so, they highlighted the need for art historians and archaeologists to search more systematically for the imprints of the transition from Antiquity to the Middle Ages in the archaeological record. In many cases, this meant little more than a fresh approach to the interpretation of already known finds and assemblages.

Art historical studies have demonstrated that the late antique transformation was in fact a continuation of the many-centuries-old Hellenistic artistic tradition in a new form, with the appearance of Hellenistic themes and styles adapted to respond to the period's new cultural milieu.[8] The symbolic and allegorical visual idiom so popular in late antiquity meant the gradual abandonment of the naturalism of Hellenistic art, reflected in the more abstracted, symbolic depiction of the grand mythological narratives as well as in the gradual break with the realistic portrayals of classical art.[9] The many diverse forms in which the late antique elite articulated its self-identity and the countless forms of social display (buildings, metal vessels and textiles) expressed their refinement and intellectual self-awareness as well as their perception of the world around them and the changes thereof.[10] Studies in this field have also addressed how certain elements of late antique social display, burial customs, lifeways, costume and religion were adopted by Barbarian societies, and Barbarian elites in particular.[11]

At the time of the transformation of the late antique world, during the transition from the Roman Age to the Middle Ages, the former ethnic, cultural, social and religious boundaries became more fluid, social relations underwent a fundamental change, new forms of social display emerged, and ethnic and religious

identities were re-defined. The spiritual and material culture of late antiquity was the result of a complex process of transformation whose study calls for the collaboration of several disciplines (history, archaeology, art history, linguistics, literature and philosophy as well as the natural sciences). I was fully aware of this when I undertook the archaeological and art historical assessment of the late antique metal vessels of the Carpathian Basin alongside their culture historical and social historical interpretation. One of my principal goals in writing this book was to illustrate how the gold, silver and copper-alloy vessels of the Mediterranean testify to the communication and cultural dialogue between late antique civilisation and the Barbarian world at the time of the transition from Antiquity to the Middle Ages.

The cultural attribution of precious metal and copper-alloy vessels often poses an acute problem because there is no clear boundary between late antiquity and the Byzantine period either in historical, archaeological or art historical studies, and several periodisation schemes exist side by side in current research.[12] The traditional boundary between Antiquity and the Middle Ages, the date of the fall of the West Roman Empire (476 AD), did not mark a change in the empire's eastern half. Although the general term "late antiquity" refers to the persistence of the cultural foundations of a period lasting for several centuries, a more nuanced periodisation is necessary in order to better understand the dynamics of the transformation. In this study, the label "late antique" covers the period between the mid-third and the mid-fifth century, a period that was followed by the spectacular transformation of the economic, cultural and spiritual realms, especially in the East Roman Empire. New forms of artistic representation appeared alongside a host of new artefact types used in daily life, ranging from jewellery and costume accessories to utilitarian objects, which can be assigned to the early period of Byzantine history. The early phase of independent Byzantine civilisation lasted until the mid- or late seventh century in various regions of the empire.[13]

Barbarian Kingdoms in the Carpathian Basin in Late Antiquity

The Migration period in the Carpathian Basin covers the roughly millennium-long period from the start of Roman rule in Pannonia to the arrival and settlement of the ancient Hungarian tribes and the foundation of the medieval Hungarian kingdom, spanning the period from the first century to the turn of the millennium. The label early Middle Ages is sometimes used for denoting the second half of this period, during which the region's ethnic and cultural tapestry was rewoven several times by the Germanic peoples arriving from the north and south, and the nomadic or semi-nomadic peoples and military bands arriving from the east – Sarmatians, Huns, Alans, Avars, Bulgars and ancient Hungarians – all of whom strove to bring the local sedentary population under their sway.

In Roman and Byzantine eyes, the Germans living in villages and the equestrian nomadic tribal confederations of the Eurasian steppe were both part of the Barbarian world, even though there was little difference between the provincial Roman population and the agrarian, livestock-breeding communities living in the Germanic lands. The large-scale population movements intensified from 375 onward, after the appearance of the Huns. The Germanic peoples fleeing the Hunnic advance breached the western frontier of the Roman Empire and eventually gained the upper hand, founding their own kingdoms.

During the centuries of the Migration period, the Carpathian Basin became a centerstage of stormy events, whose repercussion reverberated across Eurasia. Most of the westward fleeing Barbarian peoples, who later shaped the history of Europe, settled here for some time and a few renowned historical personages too are known to have lived in this region during their life. Athaulf, the Visigothic king, who later married Galla Placidia, daughter of the West Roman Emperor Honorius, and founded the Visigothic kingdom of Africa, began his long trek from this region, as did Geiserich, king of the Vandals, who ransacked Rome in 455. Odoacer, who in 476 toppled Romulus Augustulus, the last West Roman emperor, and founded the first Barbarian state in Italy, was the son of Edika, the Scirian king, who had settled in the Danube-Tisza interfluve. Theoderich the Great, the later Ostrogothic king, spent his childhood in the Carpathian Basin and in 473 led his troops from Pannonia to the Balkans and thence to Italy. The great kings of the Huns, Ruga, Bleda and Attila, who inspired such fear in the European peoples, lived in their central seats in the Tisza-Maros region. Ardaric, the Gepidic king and the leader of the alliance that eventually toppled to the Hunnic rule, settled in the Tisza region with his people. The Gepids later extended their rule to Transylvania and then occupied Sirmium, the town which became the centre of their kingdom and the seat of the Arian Gepidic bishop, where even silver coins in the Byzantine fashion were minted. The Langobards settled in Pannonia after 510, during

Figure 3. Aerial photo of the excavation of the Budakalász cemetery. The cemetery is located near a Roman watch-tower on the Danube bank. ⬭ Cemetery; ☐ Watch-tower

the reign of King Wacho, and brought the local population under their dominion. Two generations later, the Langobards led by Alboin conquered northern Italy. The Barbarian peoples migrating to the one-time province of Pannonia encountered the relics of the Roman cultural landscape, the towns and villas, and came into contact with the Romanised local population. Only the name of Baian has survived of the Avar khagans who built a powerful khaganate in the Carpathian Basin after the arrival and settlement of this people of Asian stock in 568. Stubbornly clinging to their eastern social organisation and cultural habits, the Avars, who waged wars with Byzantium for over half a century, were the first to unite the eastern and western half of the Carpathian Basin under their rule for over two and a half centuries. Unwilling to adapt and fit into the existing social and cultural European order, the Avars remained an intrusive people in Europe until their power waned. In 791, Charlemagne, the Christian Carolingian ruler, led a victorious campaign against them. The Avars retreated to the eastern half of the Carpathian Basin; the region's south-westerly parts were seized by the Bulgars, while the greater portion of its the western half came under Carolingian overlordship until the arrival of the ancient Hungarians.

Whatever course events took in the Carpathian Basin, Rome and later Byzantium always took a keen interest in the fate of the peoples settling and building their kingdoms on the empire's fringes, and strove to bring these peoples under their influence in order to ensure their position as the dominant power.[14] Political influence eventually brought with it a diverse range of cultural impacts, and thus the material and spiritual culture of the Barbarian peoples underwent a continuous transformation in the new geopolitical and cultural milieu. The magnificent late antique metal vessels played a prominent role in this extraordinary process of transformation; mediated by the elite of the Migration period, they also had a visible impact on the culture of the middle classes and the commoners.

Metal Vessels as Archaeological, Art Historical and Historical Sources

Ranging from the superb to the more humble in terms of their artistic workmanship and technological quality, the late antique metal vessels known from the Carpathian Basin are suitable for studying various dimensions of the cultural, social and historical contacts between the antique world and the Barbarian realms, despite their relatively low number and the many gaps in our knowledge regarding their find circumstances. Vessels crafted from silver and gold were without exception recovered from the sumptuous burials of high-ranking individuals and they attest to the luxury and wealth of the upper echelons of the elite, of their high social standing and wide-ranging contacts.[15] Copper-alloy vessels were attainable for a broader circle of the nobles, indicating the wide social demand for late antique luxury items among the Barbarian elites. Inquiries into the social role of metal vessels are often constrained by the lack of their one-time archaeological context, either owing to ancient or to modern disturbances such as grave looting and damage caused by modern treasure hunters. Metal vessels are rarely brought to light on archaeological excavations because, being valuable items, they were constantly repaired and once they became unfit for use, they were melted down and reworked into new objects. This highlights the importance of the metal vessels recovered from burials because only a rigorous examination of the archaeological context can shed light on the motives governing their deposition, which in turn can illuminate the social role of metal vessels.

The late antique metal vessels reaching the Carpathian Basin represent a diverse range of types regarding their material and form as well as their craftsmanship. In their original cultural milieu, they were made in workshops producing metalwork of varying artistic quality, depending on the needs of the different social classes a particular workshop catered to. The precious metal vessels made for the elite were the works of skilled master craftsmen and are direct reflections of the themes and styles of late antique high culture, and they also allude to the matters that preoccupied people, either on the personal or on the community level.[16] Silver vessels stamped with Byzantine imperial control stamps are of immense help in determining the date of a particular piece. Vessels were stamped not for their artistic quality or aesthetic value, but for controlling the circulation of precious metals. The silver vessels produced in state workshops between the reigns of Anastasius I and Constans II (491–668) bear the stamps of the *comes sacrarum largitionum*, a high-ranking fiscal official, that guaranteed the pureness of the silver and thus the pieces made during this period can be accurately dated.[17]

In most cases, however, the study of late antique metal vessels rests on several pillars because, aside from the above exceptions, their cultural attribution and dating is rarely aided by inscriptions or control stamps. Their age is usually determined from their shape, their proportions and manufacturing techniques, while

the parallels to their characteristic traits shed light on the formal affinities of a particular vessel. The metal vessels of late antiquity reflect the gradual abandonment of the forms and ornamental traditions of the Roman Age, although the changes are not so great that the prototypes cannot be clearly recognised and the vessels themselves cannot be fitted into the many-stranded process of the transformation of late antique relief-decorated metalwork.[18] The analogies to the scenes and ornaments covering metal vessels illuminate the artistic and cultural milieu in which they were produced. The stylistic analysis ultimately positions a particular vessel among the contemporary figural depictions regarding its artistic quality and can be of aid in identifying the workshop or even the craftsman. The comparative analysis of the iconography contributes to the interpretation of the concrete or symbolic meaning of the depictions.[19]

The formal and technological traits of copper-alloy vessels suggest that they were mass-produced, one rare exception being the Budakalász jug that was cast using the lost-wax technique and adorned with a series of remarkable reliefs enhanced with chasing. These vessels were manufactured in local workshops by metalsmiths who copied the luxurious objects used by the aristocracy, whereby the trappings of the "good life" enjoyed by the wealthy became attainable to a wider circle.

Any reconstruction of the social role of metal vessels is impossible without various scientific, technological and archaeological mineralogical analyses. Archaeometric studies offer a wealth of new information on technology and provide important clues for identifying workshops. Inquiries into manufacturing techniques shed light on the successive work phases in the production of these vessels. The traces of casting, repoussé work and lathe-turning can be studied micro- and macroscopically, as can the tool marks left by the cold working of the vessel surface. In many cases, the composition of the metal – its copper, zinc, tin, lead, silver and gold content – can be of aid in the cultural attribution of metalwork and in determining its place of manufacture. In the case of metal inlays, the components are identified using microanalytical analyses. The study of technological processes can contribute to reconstructing the organisational framework of metal vessel production, and can shed light on the activity of workshops and craftsmen as well as on their cultural and social milieu.

The magnificent creations of late antique metalwork cannot be studied in an artificially restricted cultural or geographical unit, and thus the gold, silver and copper-alloy vessels reaching the Carpathian Basin can only be interpreted within a broader Mediterranean, European and Eurasian cultural context. The acquisition, use, distribution and funerary deposition of Mediterranean metal vessels were determined by roughly the same cultural, economic and social circumstances in various regions of early medieval Barbarian Europe, whether in Britain, the Rhine region or Pannonia.[20] Therefore, contemporary European or even Eurasian parallels can and should be used in assessing the social and cultural role of Mediterranean metal vessels in the Carpathian Basin. In this study, I shall look at the role of the gold, silver and copper-alloy vessels in the late antique transformation from a Barbarian perspective, with the ultimate goal of defining the place of this remarkable source material in the universal domain of late antique studies.

A Brass Jug with Hunting Scenes from Budakalász

Find circumstances and description of the jug

An Avar cemetery with several thousand graves was discovered north of Roman Aquincum, in modern Budakalász, on a small hillock overlooking the Danube opposite Luppa Island. A Roman watch-tower had once stood near the cemetery, whose ruins were most likely still visible in the Avar period *(Fig. 3)*. The location was strategically important because Luppa Island and Szentendre Island offered excellent conditions for crossing the Danube. The Budakalász cemetery was opened at the very beginning of the Avar period by the local population, which included Merovingian German groups, local Romanised remnants and the Avars arriving from the Eurasian steppe. The finds recovered from the burials indicate that the cemetery was used between the last quarter of the sixth century and the mid-eighth century. One grave contained a *solidus* (gold coin) struck by Heraclius, the Byzantine emperor, and his son Heraclius Constantine between 616 and 626. The settlement of the community using the cemetery has not been found yet.

Another grave in the cemetery yielded a remarkable relic of late antique art, a jug adorned with hunting scenes *(Figs 6–8)*. The unusual metal vessel had probably contained food or drink offerings for the journey to the otherworld and its deposition in the burial signalled the high social status of the deceased in her community. Food and drink offerings were customarily placed in clay vessels during the Avar period – the 1600 excavated burials of the Budakalász cemetery yielded roughly 170 wheel-turned and hand-thrown vessels, alongside a bronze cup, a glass flask and the remnants of a leather vessel. Metal vessels were only placed in the graves of individuals who had enjoyed a prominent social status.

Similarly to the cemetery's other burials, this grave was also strongly disturbed and the more valuable items had been looted. The human skeletal remains lay scattered in the grave, not in their anatomical order. The human bones left in the grave after it had been plundered indicate that the deceased had been a tall, robust woman. The articles left behind by the grave robbers in the burial were jewellery and utilitarian artefacts dating from the first third of the seventh century: silver gilt earrings, a needle-case, an iron knife and an arrowhead fragment. The jug adorned with hunting scenes was placed in the corner of the grave and luckily escaped the attention of the grave looters who had plundered the burial *(Figs 4–5)*.

The jug stands 27 cm tall together with its handle. It is covered with greenish-brown patina today, but it had once dazzled its beholders with an entirely different interplay of colours. Made of brass with a high zinc content,[21] the jug glittered as if of gold, on which the silver and copper plate inlays accentuating various details such as hunting weapons, costume and plants created a truly captivating effect. Brass was regarded as a very special material in Antiquity: it was alloyed from copper and 20% zinc carbonate, and was highly

Figures 4–5. The early Byzantine jug with hunting scenes in Grave 740, a plundered and disturbed burial in the Avar cemetery at Budakalász

popular in the early Byzantine period.[22] Certain areas were highlighted with inlays of metal foil: these were first incised with parallel grooves and a groove was also made around the contours with a sharp tool. The silver and copper foils were then hammered into the grooves. The adhesion bonding kept most of the silver and copper foils in place up to the present.

The jug has a funnel-shaped mouth, its neck is covered with graceful, densely-set wavy lines, its body widens under the midline and abruptly tapers above the flaring foot. Conforming to the late antique taste, its body is covered with relief friezes of plant and figural scenes. The graceful handle rising above the mouth was soldered to the rim and the belly. It is decorated with a predatory beast emerging from under a diamond-shaped leaf on the curve of the handle. The creature's front paws rest on the handle, its head is held high and its mouth opens wide in a roar. The engraved beard-like mane under the cheeks suggest a lioness.

The two wide registers separated by an uneven groundline each contain four hunting scenes evoking Hellenistic traditions. The two registers are framed by a Lesbian *kymation* pattern of slender leaves harking back

Figures 6–8. Brass jug with hunting scenes from Grave 740 of the Budakalász cemetery. Ferenczy Museum, Szentendre

to antique motifs. The vein running down the middle of the elongated heart-shaped leaves is covered with copper foil, the area between the leaves with silver foil. The base was cast in one with the jug's body and it was decorated with a row of acanthus leaves during the cold working after casting. The jug's body was carefully polished, a procedure in part performed on a lathe: the tiny depression in the centre of the base is the centering point where the vessel was fixed to the lathe and three lathe-turned concentric circles are visible on the base's underside.

Judging from its thick walls (0.6 cm), its weight (2 kg with the handle) and the reliefs covering its body, the Budakalász jug was made using lost-wax casting, a procedure widely used in the antique world. The raised figures and the plants, and the relatively high relief scenes all point towards this casting technique, which was eventually confirmed by X-ray photos too.[23] Because the mould used in lost-wax casting is destroyed, the jug is a unique piece. During lost-wax casting, a clay core corresponding to the jug's intended volume is made, then a layer of wax as thick as the vessel's desired wall thickness is applied to the core. The semi-reliefs and

Figure 9. Brass jug with hunting scenes from Grave 740 of the Budakalász cemetery. Ferenczy Museum, Szentendre

Figure 10. Roll-out drawing of the hunting friezes on the Budakalász jug.
Ferenczy Museum, Szentendre

ornamental motifs were incised into the wax layer. Next, the wax was coated with fine clay and was embedded in an additional layer of clay after it had dried.. The clay casing, the wax layer and the internal clay core were held in place with bronze chaplets to ensure that they would not move during firing and casting. The wax was removed by heating, which also ensured that the clay mould would harden, and the molten brass, heated to over 1000 °C, was poured into the void left after the molten wax ran out. The ends of the chaplets and the protrusions left by the pouring channel were cut off or filed away, and the remaining unevenness of the vessel surface was polished, However, the broken ends of the chaplets in the vessel interior were not removed: they are still clearly visible on the fibre-optical digital images *(Figs 63–65).*[24] Finally, the vessel surface was carefully polished during cold working and chiselled *(Figs 9–10).*

Origins of the form

The jug's form and proportions are crucial for determining the vessel's date based on the chronological position of the vessel shape and its imagery. As we have seen, the Budakalász jug is a unique piece and it has no truly close analogies. In terms of its elegant craftsmanship and elaborate reliefs, the jug echoes the late antique silver vessels decorated with repoussé and chasing. However, the care taken in adding tiny details to the imagery is extremely rare in the case of cast copper-alloy vessels. The form and proportions of the Budakalász jug represent a major departure from the silver and copper-alloy vessels of the Roman Age and, to some extent, from those of the earlier fifth century as well *(Figs 11–12)*.

The prototypes of the round-bellied Budakalász jug set on a low foot can be sought among the sheet-metal and cast copper-alloy vessels. A late fourth-century jug crafted from sheet bronze from Syria bearing a Dionysiac scene in repoussé – a satyr playing his pan-pipe – is quite close to the Budakalász jug, although the main relief scene framed by a band filled with plants and animal figures covers almost the entire body of the Syrian jug.[25] The rounded belly of the early Byzantine bronze jugs of the late fifth and early sixth century became more prominent, as shown by a piece recovered from the Plemmyrion shipwreck off the coast of Sicily *(Fig. 93. 10)*.[26] The strong tapering of the vessel body towards the base preserves the antique tradition.

Regarding its form, the Budakalász jug shares many similarities with early Byzantine cast bronze jugs. Their form and proportions, the form of the base and of the handle rising above the rim are more or less identical.[27] Another similarity is the division of the vessel body into two decorated registers as on the Budakalász jug, but these never featured relief scenes, only engraved vignettes and other ornaments. Cast jugs of this type abound in the sixth- and seventh-century burials of the Frank, Alemann, Bavarian and Langobard elite across Barbarian Europe.[28]

The rounding of the vessel body slightly under the midline provides a crucial clue for dating. The belly of early fifth-century late antique jugs is less rounded and the vessels retain their slender form as illustrated, for example, by the jugs bearing Dionysiac scenes and animal figures of the Seuso Treasure.[29] The silver jug of the Malaya Pereshchepina Treasure discovered in the Ukraine, dating from two centuries later as shown by the control stamp of the Emperor Mauricius Tiberius (582–602),[30] differs significantly from these tall, slender vessels. This jug is a close formal parallel to the Budakalász jug among the early Byzantine silver vessels. That this form survived into the seventh century is attested by a silver jug recovered together with an impressive number of Byzantine *solidi* from one of the kurgans (barrows) of Podgornensky in the Don region, whose base was stamped with the beardless portrait of Constans II (630–668), indicating a date between 641 and 651/2.[31] The find circumstances of this jug are identical with the context in which the Budakalász jug was found: it had been deposited in the burial of a wealthy Khazar living on the fringes of the Byzantine Empire. The greatest circumference of Byzantine vessels shifted to the vessel's lower quarter during the seventh century, as shown by the Byzantine silver jug of the Vrap Treasure from Albania.[32]

Figure 11. 1. Silver jug of the Malaya Pereshchepina Treasure, Ukraine, seventh century. State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg; 2. Silver jug from Kurgan 14, Podgornensky, Don region, Russia, seventh century. Regional Museum of Local History, Rostov-on-Don; 3. Copper-alloy jug from Grave 17 of the Langobard cemetery at Nocera Umbra, Italy, seventh century. Museo Nazionale dell'Alto Medioevo, Rome; 4. Copper-alloy jug, Montale, Italy, seventh century. Palazzo dei Musei: Museo Archeologico Etnologico, Modena

Figure 12. 1. Bronze sheet-metal jug with a depiction of a satyr playing a pan-pipe, Syria, fourth century. Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Mainz; 2. Silver jug, fourth century. Musée du Louvre, Paris; 3. Bronze sheet-metal jug with a depiction of the Adoration of the Magi, seventh–eighth century. Dölger-Institut, Bonn; 4. Cast copper-alloy jug, fifth century. Musée Bardo, Tunis, Tunisia

Comparable sheet-metal bronze jugs are known from Corinth in Greece,[33] and the survival of the form in an eighth-century Barbarian milieu is reflected by Jug 2 of the Nagyszentmiklós Treasure of Avar origin (Sânnicolau Mare, Romania).[34]

In conclusion, we may say that in breaking with the fourth- and fifth-century formal traditions, the Budakalász jug marks a major milestone in the development of late antique metalwork. The form characterised by a more rounded lower portion evolved around the turn of the fifth and sixth centuries and remained dominant in later periods too, as exemplified by the silver and copper-alloy jugs of the seventh and eight centuries, and by their re-appearance among the later, ninth- and tenth-century metal vessels of Byzantium.[35]

Iconography

The late antique-early Byzantine artistic and cultural milieu in which the jug was produced is staked out by the contemporary visual counterparts of the scenes covering the jug. A comparative analysis of analogous finds also sheds light on the spiritual background and social demand which inspired the creation of the Budakalász jug. By examining the iconographic parallels taken from various artistic genres – large mosaics, wall paintings, metal vessels, ivory and stone carvings, textiles – I seek an answer to the question of whether the hunting scenes recalling Hellenistic traditions can be linked to a classical mythological narrative and whether the hunters can be identified with any of the main characters of a familiar hunting legend. My other line of inquiry concerns the determination of whether the hunting scenes were designed to evoke a real hunting event or to convey a symbolic message.

Three main hunting imageries are traditionally distinguished in antique art. The most widespread type, with the longest tradition, is the portrayal of various hunting adventures taken from classical mythology such as Meleager and Atalanta's Calydonian boar hunt or Hercules' capture of the Erymanthian boar and the Ceryneian hind. Another major type of hunting imagery is represented by depictions of animal chases and staged animal combats in circuses and amphitheatres. The animal combats organised as spectacles to entertain the public were performed by experienced hunters trained specifically for this task, who were often rewarded with prizes. The third type of hunting imagery immortalising hunts in open nature gained immense popularity during the late antique period. This group includes portrayals of hunting in imperial game parks too.[36] The hunting scenes on the Budakalász jug can be assigned to the latter category because the scenes have no apparent connection with a mythological narrative, while they do contain elements of the natural landscape such as a groundline, rocks and caves as well as a stylised depiction of the vegetation, while references to the built environment are wholly lacking.

The cyclically repeated hunting scenes in the jug's relief frieze have no focal point and none eclipses the others – still, perhaps owing to its theme, the lion hunt in the upper register draws the eye. A huge lion

pounces from behind a Mediterranean pine and attacks the terrified rider who raises his sword while attempting to escape the beast *(Fig. 13)*. The attack catches both the horseman and his horse by surprise, for both cast a terrified backward glance at the viciously snarling lion. The hunt of the king of all animals was once a royal prerogative and thus several iconographic types evolved for the portrayal of imperial lion hunts. Following ancient Near Eastern and Hellenistic precedents, the depiction of lions gained immense prominence in Roman imperial art;[37] as a symbol of royal power, lions often appear on the mosaics of Byzantine and even of Umayyad palaces.[38] However, the scene on the Budakalász jug does not portray a victorious hunter and neither are there any royal insignia or attributes associated with the hunter. The scene shows the lion pursuing the hunter, a popular theme in late antiquity. We learn nothing about the outcome of the hunt – all we see is the dramatic moment when the furious beast emerges from behind a tree, threatening the horseman and his horse. A plate from Karnak in Egypt bears a similar scene *(Fig. 14)*.[39] In this imagery, the lion hunt has a symbolic meaning: the bloodthirsty lion is a metaphor of death destroying life on earth, whom only Hercules, the semi-divine hero can vanquish. It has been suggested that the lions appearing among the symbols of late Roman funerary relics were a symbol of death, as evidenced by the presence of this beast on one particular group of Roman sarcophagi from the third century onward.[40] Others have argued that lion depictions were vested with a protective, apotropaic role.[41]

Figure 13. Lion hunt. Detail of the Budakalász hunting jug. Ferenczy Museum, Szentendre

Figure 14. Lion pouncing from behind a tree to attack a hunter. Medallion of a silver plate, Karnak, fourth century. Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz (Photo by J. Tietz-Glagow)

The next scene in the upper register is a leopard hunt, the perhaps most intriguing one from a cultural perspective *(Fig. 15)*. The portrayal of the hunter turning backward to shoot his arrows, conforming to steppean light cavalry tactics, was not part of the classical tradition and bespeaks an oriental cultural impact in late antique art. The horseman clad in a short tunic, as customary in late antique depictions, gallops to the right and shoots his arrows backward at the leopards running in opposite directions, one of which turns to look at the hunter. Sasanian rulers are often shown hunting in a similar pose on silver plates and textiles. A sixth-century textile from Antinoë in Egypt, possibly commemorating the campaign of the Sasanian ruler Chosroes I (531–579), likewise portrays the caped rider shooting backward.[42] The figure of the mounted hunter shooting arrows to his rear became a standard element of early Byzantine art by the later fifth century, appearing on the mosaic of the peristyle, the colonnaded inner courtyard, of the Great Palace in Constantinople, on the mosaic of the dining hall (*triclinium*) in the Triclinos Building in Apamea in Turkey[43] and on the mosaics of Antioch in Turkey. The portrayal of a mounted horseman firing his arrows backward on the Budakalász jug conforms to the composition and stylistic norms of late antique art *(Fig. 16)*. Similarly to the

Figure 15. Mounted hunter with reflex bow and fleeing leopards. Detail of the Budakalász hunting jug. Ferenczy Museum, Szentendre

1

3

Figure 16. Late antique parallels to the mounted archer. 1. Detail of a mosaic in the Great Palace of Constantinople, late fifth century. Great Palace Mosaic Museum, Istanbul; 2. Hunting mosaic of the Triclinos Building, Apamea, late fifth–early sixth century. Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire (Photo © Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Bruxelles); 3. Detail of a Sasanian textile, Antinoë, Egypt, sixth century. Musée des Tissus et des Arts décoratifs, Lyon

jug's other horse depiction, the horse of the hunter wielding a composite bow recalls the equids of the antique tradition rather than the stocky, thick-necked, short-legged eastern horses galloping on Sasanid plates. The leopard hunter's wreath-like mass of curls and clothing too follows the late antique fashion.

Three of the jug's eight scenes depict a bear hunt. In two, the hunters are on foot and thrust their spear into the bear rearing up to attack *(Figs 17, 19)*. In one vignette, the hunter is shown from the back; he has dropped his sword and shield in the heat of combat and pierces the bear's throat with his spear. The best counterparts to this scene can be found on the Mildenhall plate from Britain[44] and the Acteon and Narcissus scene of the Megalopsychia Hunt Mosaic at Daphne near Antioch *(Figs 18, 20)*.[45] The other hunter with his fluttering cape is shown frontally as he wounds the bear bitten by his dog. The

Figure 17. Bear hunt I. Detail of the Budakalász hunting jug. Ferenczy Museum, Szentendre

Figure 18. Bear hunter. Detail of a silver plate of the Mildenhall Treasure, England, fourth century. British Museum, London Reg. number 1946,1007.1. (Photo © the Trustees of the British Museum)

Figure 19. Bear hunt II. Detail of the Budakalász hunting jug. Ferenczy Museum, Szentendre

Figure 20. Detail of the Megalopsychia Hunt Mosaic, Daphne, Antioch, late fifth-early sixth century. Hatay Archaeological Museum, Antakya, Turkey

iconography of the third scene is quite unique: the hunter's cloak flutters behind his shoulder, revealing his naked body as he grasps a huge club and prepares to strike the beast squatting before him. The hunter's nakedness is an allusion to the classic portrayal of Hercules' feats, who, being a *heros*, is portrayed naked, but this is an unusual element in late antique, non-mythological hunting scenes *(Fig. 21)*.[46]

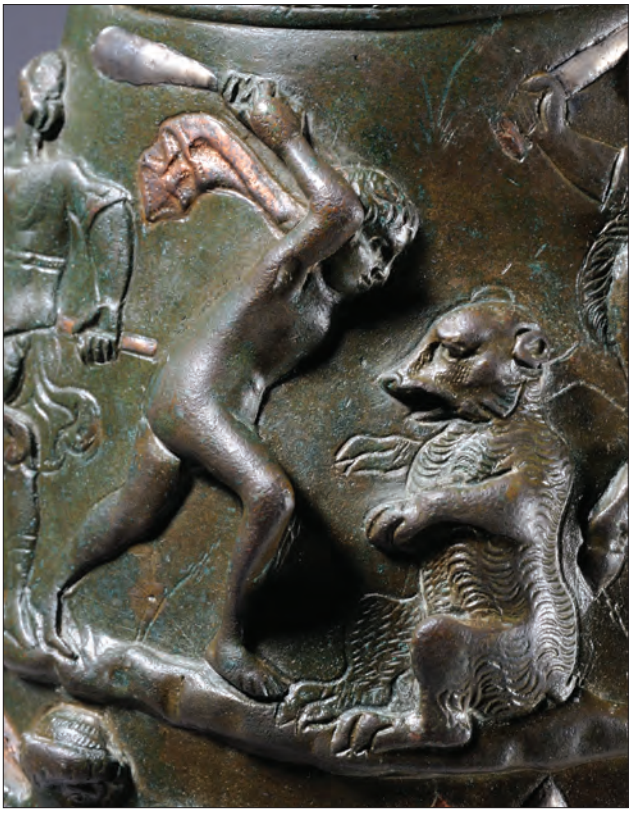


Figure 21. Bear hunt III. Detail of the Budakalász hunting jug. Ferenczy Museum, Szentendre

One perennial iconographic element in the commemoration of hunting adventures was the figure of the wounded hunter, overwhelmed by his prey and falling to ground *(Fig. 22)*. The hunter in one scene of the lower register has lost his sword and falls desolately to the ground, holding his shield over his head, trying to fend off the leopard pouncing on him. A similar event is portrayed on the mosaics of the Villa Olmeda in Spain *(Fig. 23)*,[47] and the peristyle mosaic of the Great Palace in Constantinople,[48] which show the hunter fallen to the ground and lifting his shield over his head to protect himself from the attacking beast. The hunting frieze on the Hippolytus ewer of the Seuso Treasure has a lion springing upon the hunter who holds his shield up and still grasps a sword in his right, hoping he will be spared.[49] The iconographic parallels of the scenes with a fallen hunter generally include another person who rushes to his companion's side to save him. The second hunter is usually on horseback and leans sideways or backward in the saddle as he thrusts his spear deep into the attacking animal's body. The figure of the rider arriving to save his hapless companion appears in several late antique hunting scenes as, for instance, on the mosaic of a villa in Carthage, which depicts the fallen hunter protecting himself with his shield while his mounted companion transfixes the attacking lion with his spear.[50] The Budakalász jug also has a mounted hunter coming to the rescue and thrusting his spear backward, but two scenes later, after the animal combat and the cave scene *(Fig. 24)*. We will never know why the craftsman of the Budakalász jug changed the well-known and popular iconographic model – however, what this small detail does tell us is that the goldsmith was not so much concerned with creating a faithful copy of the well-known hunting scene. but rather with commemorating the fateful combat pitting the hunter against the beast, and one beast against another one.

Figure 22. The fallen hunter. Detail of the Budakalász hunting jug. Ferenczy Museum, Szentendre

Figure 23. Hunting mosaic of a Roman villa, fourth century. Villa Romana la Olmeda, Spain

Figure 24. Mounted hunter with spear, coming to the rescue of his companion. Detail of the Budakalász hunting jug. Ferenczy Museum, Szentendre

A bear overwhelms a boar on a rock between the fallen hunter and the rider wielding his spear *(Fig. 25)*. Rearing on its two hind legs, the bear grasps the boar's head with its paws and viciously bites its neck, while the rider coming to his companion's rescue thrusts his spear into the bear's back, a slight divergence from the general scheme of animal combat scenes. Bears are often portrayed in an aggressive posture, attacking a ruminant or a boar. A fourth-century marble relief from Sardis in Turkey bearing an animal combat scene shows a bear attacking a boar and biting its neck,[51] while the early fifth-century mosaic found in the Nile Festival Building at Sepphoris in Israel depicts a hunchback bear confronting a boar.[52] The combat between a bear and a boar appears between the Dionysiac scenes on a fourth-century mosaic from El Djem in Tunisia. The vicious encounter between a boar and a bear – whether appearing among hunting or Dionysiac scenes – was an allegory of the clash of good and evil. The portrayal of animal combats was a symbol of good luck in Byzantine art.[53]

Figure 25. Combat between a bear and a boar on a rock, with a leopard fleeing into a cave underneath. Detail of the Budakalász hunting jug. Ferenczy Museum, Szentendre

Figure 26. Dog pursuing an animal fleeing into a cave. Small Hunt Mosaic of the Villa Romana del Casale, fourth century. Piazza Armerina, Sicily

Figure 27. Tiger hunt. Detail of the Budakalász hunting jug. Ferenczy Museum, Szentendre

A cave entrance can be seen under the rock atop which the bear attacks the boar. An animal scurries through the entrance, only its hind quarters are visible. The scene depicts a creature, no doubt a leopard judging from its spotted fur, fleeing into its lair. Caves are often depicted in antique hunting scenes as well as on hunt sarcophagi with a mythological theme of the Roman period. A comparable scene occurs on the Small Hunt Mosaic of the Piazza Armerina villa in Sicily,[54] where a fox pursued by a dog scuttles into a cave *(Fig. 26)*. Despite its fragmentary condition, the image of a predatory creature fleeing into a cave can be clearly made out on the fifth-century Megalopsychia Hunt Mosaic.[55]

The creature in the tiger hunt scene is clearly recognisable from its stripes and it is also quite obvious that the animal is a tigress *(Fig. 27)*. One

Figure 28. Tiger hunters. Detail of the Hunt Mosaic of the Triclinos Building, Apamea, late fifth–early sixth century. Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire (Photo © Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Bruxelles)

widespread belief in antiquity was that there were only tigresses among this species and there were many fanciful ideas about the proper way to hunt tigers, according to which the hunter first had to catch and carry away one of the cubs from its mother, which then immediately began to chase the hunter, enabling his companions to steal the other cubs. This scene appears on the Worcester Hunt Mosaic from Daphne near Antioch[56] and on the Hunt Mosaic in the Central Church at Cyrene in Libya.[57] Two riders with spears attack a tigress clutching her prey on the mosaic in the dining hall of the Triclinos Building in Apamea *(Fig. 28)*.[58] The tiger cubs are lacking from the scene on the Budakalász jug, suggesting that the goldsmith's intention was not the perpetuation of the antique mythological tradition, but the portrayal of a paired combat scene.

It would appear that the Avar-period owner of the Budakalász jug was not content with the elaborate hunting scenes covering the vessel because she engraved her own symbolic message on the jug's neck, a horse galloping under the sun or a star *(Fig. 29)*, a symbol whose meaning eludes us. Comparable rudimentary incisions of horses and horsemanship are often found on the metal and bone artefacts of the Avar period – the *graffito* on the neck of the Budakalász jug differs but little stylistically from the other similar figures.[59] It should here be recalled that similarly simple ritual (shamanistic) scenes were often added to the Byzantine and Sasanian silver bowls hung in the forest sanctuaries of the Finno-Ugrian peoples living along the Kama river in the Perm region in Russia.[60]

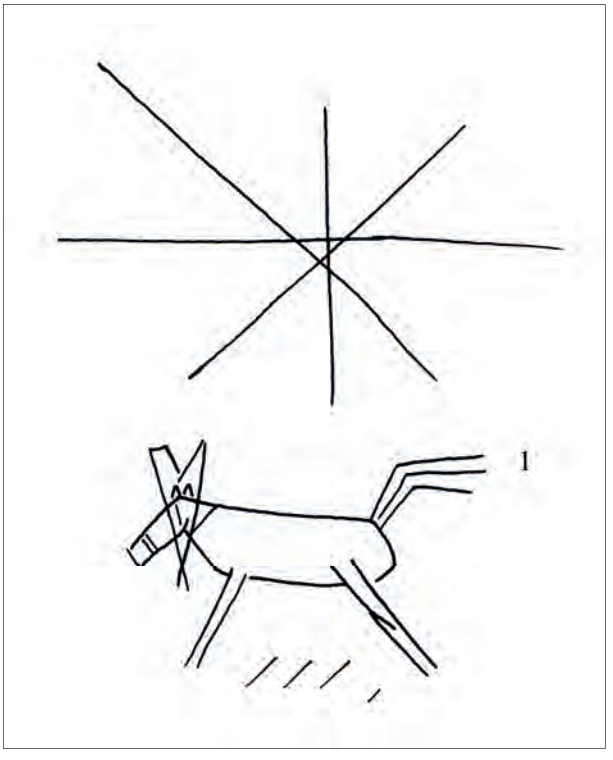


Figure 29. Graffito of a horse galloping under a star on the neck of the Budakalász jug. Ferenczy Museum, Szentendre

The hunters appearing in various scenes of the Budakalász jug all wear a short-sleeved tunic reaching to their knees, while its curved neckline is indicated by a punched line around the neck. Short tunics were fashionable and widespread across the Mediterranean during the fifth to seventh centuries; the tunics worn by wealthier folks were often adorned with colourful textile roundels or squares. A textile roundel (*orbiculus*) can be seen on the tunic worn by the bear hunters. Three hunters wear a sleeveless cape which billows behind them as an indication of their brisk movements. The perhaps most striking trait common to all the hunters depicted on the jug is their hair style, brushed forward to form a raised fringe of thick curls

Figure 30. The wreath hair-style of the bear hunters. Detail of the Budakalász hunting jug. Ferenczy Museum, Szentendre

Figure 31. The wreath hair-style. Aphrodisias, Turkey, later fifth century. Ephesus Archaeological Museum, Selçuk

around the forehead and the nape while leaving the ears free, that was fashionable in the fifth century, during the Theodosian age, and was still worn (and depicted) in some places during the next century. A wreath hair style resembling the one on the Budakalász jug *(Fig. 30)* appears on the portraits of the mid- and later fifth-century from Aphrodisias *(Fig. 31)*[61] and Ephesus in Asia Minor.

The natural environment and the various elements of the landscape appear rather schematically in the scenes adorning the Budakalász jug.[62] The participants of the combat scenes are placed on the groundline, echoing the late antique style, and this coarsely drawn, uneven and thick line is one of the few references to the landscape. Trees, stylised bushes and tufts of grass are all that indicate the vegetation. Plants play a minor role and are relegated to the background in the primary scenes. They have no function in separating the successive scenes, or the hunters and their prey. Three scenes on the jug have trees with a crown indicated by simple triple leaves, recalling the stylised rendering of trees on late Roman silver vessels. The fresh shoots on the branches and on top of the canopy, the flowers and fruits between the leaves are depicted by chased curved lines terminating in triple punched dots or extending beyond the leaves. These schematic trees have been identified as maple or sycamore trees, both species native to the Mediterranean. However, the tree in the lion hunt scene is an unusual hybrid species, whose lower leaves resemble sycamore, while its crown recalls the umbrella-shaped canopy of stone pine (*Pinus pinea*), a conifer likewise native to the Mediterranean *(Fig. 32)*. The goldsmith made some effort to depict the shrubs on the Budakalász jugs. Bushes, flowers and grass appear in the scenes and in the spaces between the scenes. Stems ending in double leaves can be found in two instances: these can be regarded as part of the undergrowth, perhaps bushes, differing from the tufts

of grass used as space fillers. The ivy-leaved plant depicted in three spots to evoke the vegetation of the landscape has been stylised into a simple ornamental element. A comparable depiction can be seen between the Star of David and the medallion around it on a mosaic uncovered in the Constantinian villa at Daphne near Antioch.[63]

The bow of the hunter on the Budakalász jug is a composite or reflex bow. Solely reflex bows were depicted in the East Roman Empire from the fourth century onward.[64] The short swords wielded by the hunters on the Budakalász jug represent the Roman *gladius*, the customary weapon in classical depictions. However, we know that the use of the *gladius* in the Roman and early Byzantine army declined in late antiquity and that long swords became the norm both in the early Byzantine and in the Germanic and steppean world. It would seem that the goldsmith of the Budakalász jug did not deem it particularly important to depict the weapons of his own age and drew from the earlier antique repertoire.

The foliate pattern known as the Lesbian *kymation* encircling the vessel body above and below the figural panels was an ornamental element in Greek architecture, which was later transferred to the minor arts *(Fig. 33)*.[65] The leaves of the *kymation* motif became more elongated and slender in late antique art, but the finer details of the original motif disappeared. On some sixth-century silver vessels such as one of the silver dishes from the burial of Raedwald (†624), King of East Anglia, uncovered at Sutton Hoo[66] and one of the silver dishes of the ecclesiastical treasure discovered at Canoscio in Perugia,[67] the style of the Lesbian *kymation* closely matches the motif on the Budakalász jug and can also be likened to the similar ornament on the silver amphora from Malaya Pereshchepina, dated by the control stamp of the Emperor Mauricius Tiberius.[68] The goldsmith of the Budakalász jug thus adopted the sixth-century variant of this ornamental motif, again pointing to a date in the early sixth century for the jug.

The broad-leaved acanthuses encircling the foot of the jug have their antecedents in late Roman art. The foot of the early fifth-century Hippolytus ewer of the Seuso Treasure is covered with a similar foliate design *(Fig. 34)*.[69] The acanthuses on the Budakalász jug are identical to the ones on the Byzantine silver bowl depicting a grazing horse from Sludka in the Perm region of Russia[70] as well as to the

Figure 32. Lion with a stone pine in the background. Detail of a silver plate, fifth century. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

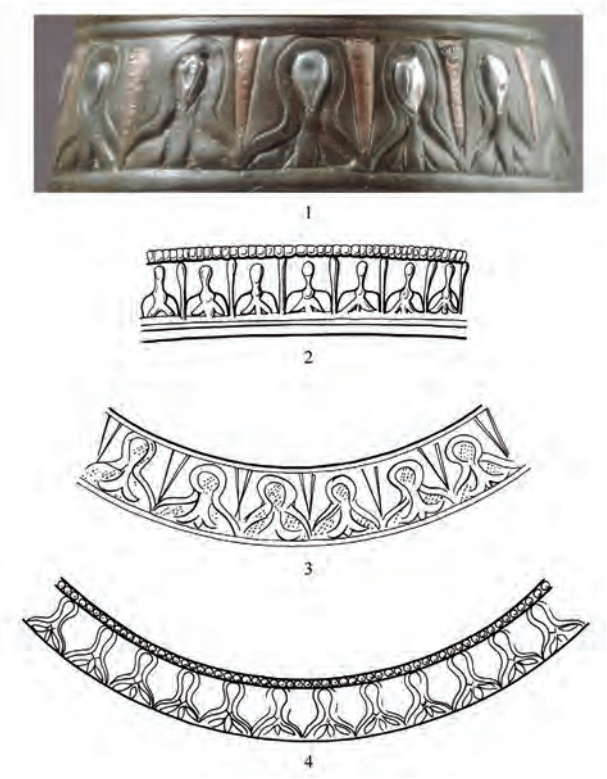


Figure 33. Lesbian *kymation* on sixth-century vessels. 1. Detail of the Budakalász hunting jug. Ferenczy Museum, Szentendre; 2. Silver amphora. Malaya Pereshchepina. State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg; 3. Fluted silver bowl with the relief image of a female head. Sutton Hoo, East Anglia. British Museum, London; 4. Silver bowl. Canoscio, Museo del Duomo, Italy

Figure 34. Engraved acanthus design on the foot. Detail of the Budakalász hunting jug. Ferenczy Museum, Szentendre

acanthus design on the Hippolytus and Phaedra plate and the Daphnis and Chloe plate in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection, dating from the sixth century on the testimony of the imperial control stamps.[71]

Composition, style and workshop

The jug's hunting scenes are only related to depictions with a similar theme on late Roman silver vessels regarding the Hellenistic concept of hunters and hunting imagery, while a closer stylistic resemblance cannot be demonstrated. Given that the hunting relief of the Budakalász jug has no exact counterpart in late antique metalwork, the composition of the figural scenes and their style can only be compared to similar depictions in other artistic genres.[72] The most typical element in the composition of the Budakalász jug is that the vessel body is divided into horizontal friezes of differing width filled with figural scenes and vegetal patterns. By adopting this decorative scheme, the goldsmith followed the widespread design principle of late antiquity, which recurs on both metal and clay vessels as well as on large mosaics and wall paintings.

The portrayal of the hunt on the reliefs of the Budakalász jug differs fundamentally from the dynamic depictions of hunting adventures in the late Roman period. On the mosaic of the Carthage villa, the Hippolytus ewer of the Seuso Treasure, the Emona balsam container (*balsamarium*) *(Fig. 35)*,[73] and the silver jug from Zhigailovka in the Ukraine,[74] the hunters move freely, all being part of the same hunting event *(Fig. 36)*. In contrast, the hunting scenes illustrating the combat between the hunter and his prey do not

Figure 35. Roll-out drawing of a bronze balsam container (*balsamarium*). Emona, Slovenia, fourth century

Figure 36. Roll-out drawing of the hunting frieze of the Zhigailovka jug, fourth century. Regional History Museum, Sumy, Ukraine

create the impression of a continuous hunting narrative, but are rather separate *emblemata*, independent compositions simply placed beside one another. The scenes are thematically linked by their subject, but the depicted scenes are set in different spaces and are not part of a linear narrative. Each scene can be viewed separately because neither overshadows the other regarding the overall composition of the frieze. The "isola-

tion" of individual scenes and decorative motifs is accentuated by the lack of any overlaps between the scenes, which also robs the entire frieze of any liveliness in its overall effect. There is no clear beginning or end to the scenes on the Budakalász jug, with individual scenes repeated cyclically on the vessel body. The viewer's gaze is not directed to a narrative with many characters, but to personal combat, to the illustration of personal *virtus*.

The compositional principles of individual scenes are more coherent. with a visible effort to reproduce the suspense and dynamism of the combat scenes, even if this intention founders on the unnatural proportions of the hunters and their prey as well as on the apparent disregard for the natural proportions of human and animal anatomy, an oft-encountered trait of late antique art. There is no depth to the scenes: only the raised reliefs. the groundline and the plants set at different heights create some illusion of depth. The overall effect of the Budakalász hunting reliefs is two-dimensional, with the actors and the plants all placed on the groundline. The leopard scurrying into its cave is the single scene where a third dimension, some sense of depth can be perceived.

The compositional principles of the jug's hunting reliefs echo the so-called figure-carpet style, which is best represented by the fifth- and sixth-century mosaics of the Near East.[75] On the mosaics of Syrian villas such as the Triclinos Building at Apamea, the Megalopsychia Hunt Mosaic and the Worcester Hunt Mosaic from the summer residence at Daphne near Antioch[76] as well as on the mosaic of the peristyle in the Great Palace in Constantinople, the figures are set in front of a neutral background, exactly as on the Budakalász jug *(Figs 37–39)*. Each figure stands on the same level, there is no depth to the scenes. The figures are often separated by trees. At the same time, the positioning of the scenes is not arbitrary, but governed by strict rules. The hunting mosaics of Antioch are arranged diagonally. The perceptible abstraction in the composition of the figural scenes is all the more apparent in the depiction of the vegetation. Although a simplified rendering of the shrubs with double leaves can be traced from the late Roman period onward in scenes set in a natural environment, stylised ivy-leaved trees are not encountered on earlier silver vessels.

The figures of each scene are modelled with different proportions, lacking any reality and coherence. The anatomical traits of the hunters and of the various creatures depicted on the Budakalász jug are highly disproportionate, lacking the charming elegance of the portrayals of classical antiquity. At the same time, both the hunters and their prey were drawn with a similar attention to finer details as on the period's silverware, making them comparable to the hunters and animal figures appearing in the friezes on the late fourth–early fifth-century Zhigailovka jug and the Hippolytus ewer of the Seuso Treasure. Still, as far as artistic quality is concerned, the figural scenes on the Budakalász jug are hardly comparable to the delicate and graceful portrayals of the seventh-century David Plates, a set of silver vessels narrating the life of David found at Lambousa in Cyprus.[77]

The hunters and animals on the Budakalász jug are executed in high relief, recalling the ebullient, fleshy stone sculptures and ivory carvings. The figures on the Barberini Diptych, depicting the Byzantine emperor,

Figure 37. Hunt mosaic. Apamea, Syria, later fifth century.
Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire (Photo © Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Bruxelles)

Figure 38. Worcester Hunt Mosaic, Daphne, Antioch, later fifth–early sixth century. Worcester Art Museum, Worcester, United States (Photo © Worcester Art Museum)

which is regarded as one of the finest creations of early Byzantine ivory carving (currently housed in the Louvre), almost seem to step out of the scene, just like the lion hunter of the Budakalász jug. The strong three-dimensional effect is accentuated by additional elements on both pieces.[78] The hunters' heads and bodies are shown in semi-profile on the jug, except for the lion hunter and the wounded hunter who are portrayed in three-quarter view.

The artist of the Budakalász jug took particular care in fashioning the hunters' costume. The folds of the short tunics follow the body's musculature and echo the hunters' vigorous movements. The rendering of the costumes echoes the excitement of the hunt. Although the capes flying behind the hunters' back create the impression of dynamic movement, their decorative, symmetric arrangement is nonetheless rather affected, indicating the aside from depicting the costume, they were also intended to be space fillers.

Whilst the form of the jug follows Hellenistic traditions, the realistic portrayal of the hunters is rooted in the classical tradition and stands in stark contrast to the more metaphoric meaning of the scenes. The visual style of the Budakalász jug is essentially determined by the full form of the figures and the vibrant energy of their movements. This visual style, characterised by intricate detailing, is typical for the arts under the reigns of Anastasius (491–518) and Justinian I (527–565) in the late fifth and early sixth century. The splendid ivory diptychs of the consuls Areobindus[79] and Anastasius[80] from 506 and 517 are fine examples of naturalistic forms, full plasticity and loving attention to the smallest detail.

Regarding their composition and style, the hunting scenes of the Budakalász jug can be best compared to the Sens *pyxis*, an ivory casket made in Constantinople, now dated to the early sixth century.[81] The close-set scenes narrate the same cyclically repeated, decorative continuity of the hunt as on the Budakalász jug. The scenes depict a mounted hunter with a sword turning backward in his saddle pursued by a lion, a hunter with a spear accompanied by his dog and a hunter on foot with a reflex bow.

The jug's pleasing effect was created by the high relief of its scenes, its golden yellow colour and the silver and copper inlays on certain objects, plants and bodily parts, resulting in strong colour contrasts.[82] The effort to create vivid colour combinations was one of the period's general artistic tendencies, which was widespread both in the monumental arts (architecture, mosaics and sculpture) and in the minor arts.[83] In the early Byzantine period, the gilding of silver vessels reflects the taste for the use of colours.

The jug's artistic craftsmanship indicates that its patron and the goldsmith both strove to live up to the values of the period's court art. The workmanship of the vessel body, the finely chased details, the applied decorative elements and the attention given to the tiniest ornamental detail differ little from the period's silverware. In sum, the form of the Budakalász jug, the style of its scenes and their overall composition suggest a date in the early sixth century. This period corresponds to the classical revival in early Byzantine art, beginning with Anastasius I's reign, that flourished in full under Justinian I. The artworks standing closest in terms of the jug's frieze and the composition of its scenes can be assigned to the same period. In view of its

affinities with other splendid creations of court art, the Budakalász jug was probably made in a workshop catering to the elite of the East Roman Empire, perhaps in Constantinople or in Antioch.[84]

Social milieu of the patron and the artist

The pleasing appearance of the Budakalász jug and its manufacturing technique sheds light not only on the craftsman who made it, but also on the patron and his milieu. The superb craftsmanship in itself indicates that the jug was made for a high-ranking patron. One intriguing question concerns the preoccupation with social display that the decorative scenes were designed to express. Let us now take a closer look at the role of hunting. Hunting was a highly popular theme in the late Roman and early Byzantine period, appearing on the mosaics and wall paintings of both private and public buildings, villas, palaces and churches as well as in the minor arts. Hunting scenes were symbols of victory, of the triumph of Virtue over the forces of nature (over evil and death).[85] Hunting scenes were excellent mediums for portraying manly qualities because traditional male virtues such as manliness and valour could be associated with, and presented through, hunting. In this sense, the hunter was no ordinary person, but a hero, a *heros*, whose portrayal conveyed a specific meaning *(Figs 38–39)*.

The changes in the attitudes to hunting during the Roman Age are very instructive. Initially, hunting was regarded as a base task performed by servants, and only much later did it become the pleasurable activity of the elite. Sallust, the Roman historian living between 86 and 35 BC, described hunting as a lowly occupation. Slightly later, Horace (65–8 BC) mentions it as a typical aristocratic pursuit. On the testimony of the literary sources, hunting was a regular exercise in the military camps because it was regarded as an excellent preparation for combat and warfare. The virtues of the emperor (*virtus Augusti*) are first portrayed through a quotidian event, a hunt, on the eight circular reliefs (*tondi*) of the Hadrianic period incorporated into the Arch of Constantine (272–337).[86]

Later, the wealthy nobles too strove to have themselves portrayed during hunting. In the late antique period, hunting scenes became fashionable because they alluded to the patron's lifestyle of leisure, conveying that he was so wealthy and affluent that he could afford to pass his time hunting.[87] Hunting scenes thus became a symbol of the aristocratic "good life" in private and public buildings alike as well as on the artefacts of daily life.[88] The hunter embodied the estate owner of noble ancestry, who demonstrated his virtues, especially his valour, through hunting, proving thereby his worthiness for his high social position.[89] With the spread of Christianity, bloody gladiator fights were abolished by imperial edict and as a substitute for these spectacles, hunts and circus games were staged in the arenas. On late antique reliefs, the emperor and other high-ranking officials are portrayed as presiding over the games. Similar depictions are unknown in Roman imperial art. The luxurious life pursued by the aristocracy of late antiquity involved hunting adventures that

Figure 39. Megalopsychia Hunt Mosaic, Daphne, Antioch, later fifth–early sixth century. Hatay Archaeological Museum, Antakya, Turkey

put manly courage and skills to the test. Hunting mosaics became more frequent in various buildings; very often, only a single figure evoked the original hunting narrative, as on the Megalopsychia Hunt Mosaic of Daphne, which has the name Akteon written beside one of the hunters, and there was a definite tendency towards portraying the favoured pastime of the wealthy aristocracy instead of mythological hunting narratives. Fine examples of aristocratic hunts appear on several outstanding mosaics of late antiquity, for example at Carthage[90] and Piazza Armerina.[91] With its evocation of hunting in nature, the Budakalász jug is an elegant work of art and thus one possible interpretation is that it had been made for a high-ranking patron

who had himself participated in hunts and that he had commissioned the jug for commemorating this pleasant pastime of his aristocratic life.

In some cases, the depiction of hunting was an expression of one's classical erudition. The hunt mosaics that were commissioned increasingly often for private buildings from the third century onward frequently evoke hunting narratives from classical mythology. However, since the schematic depictions contained few references to the original myth, the craftsmen generally added the names of the characters. The name of Akteon appears beside one figure and that of Narkissos beside another on the Megalopsychia Hunt Mosaic. No such identification of the hunters is possible in the case of the Budakalász jug; at most, the naked hunter striking the bear with his club can perhaps be seen as an allusion to Hercules. Although cut down to their bare bones, the mythological hunting scenes adorning the opulent mosaics allowed their viewers to identify with the fate of the myth's characters and they were, simultaneously, an indication of the importance attached to classical erudition in the aristocracy's identity as well as of its display as was expected in that social milieu. In this sense, the hunting scenes on the Budakalász jug can be viewed as an evocation of classical ideals.[92]

In addition to displaying the carefree life of the élite, the combat scenes set beside each other were a suitable medium for conveying more abstract messages of the late antique world. In a letter written in the mid-fourth century, the orator Libanius (314–394) addressed the ethical aspects of hunting. The hunter was suitable for portraying a man who by his strength, skills, virtues and wits emerged victorious from combat, and in this context, hunting conveyed an essentially positive message. The victory over the forces of nature was a symbol of the triumph of Good over Evil.[93] Hunting scenes could be part of early Christian religious symbolism, as shown by the mosaic cupola of the Centcelles chapel in Spain, the earliest depiction of this type.[94] In the fourth and fifth centuries, these scenes evoked the flamboyant lifestyle of the aristocracy through allusions to ancient mythology; from the fifth and sixth century onwards, hunting scenes transmitted a Christian message as part of the adornment of early Christian churches, while from the sixth and seventh centuries, they were allegories of imperial power on the elegant silver dishes produced in state workshops.[95] However, hunting was a popular theme not only in elite milieus, but also on the personal belongings of a much wider social class. The example set by the victorious hunter was a source of inspiration for all, and hunting, as an apotropaic symbol of good luck,[96] became a popular and widespread decorative motif of secular buildings and churches alike, as well as of jewellery, costume adornments and small quotidian objects in the late antique world.[97]

Precious Metal Vessels

The early Byzantine jug with hunting scenes from Budakalász was a highly prized personal possession during the Avar period too since it was deposited in the grave of its owner to accompany her to the otherworld. The grave itself had been strongly disturbed, countless traces of the burial's contexts had been obliterated and many articles had been removed from the burial by the grave looters, making it difficult to judge the jug's role in social display and its possible role as a status symbol. However, the role of late antique precious metal and copper-alloy vessels in Barbarian societies can be reconstructed from a comparative study of similar assemblages from the Migration period of the Carpathian Basin.

Pietroasa (Pietroasele, Romania)

The use of gold vessels during late antiquity and in the early Byzantine period is mostly known from the descriptions in the literary sources because no assemblages of this type have come to light on the territory of the empire.[98] The Pietroasa Treasure, discovered in 1837 on the outer fringes of the southern Carpathian Mountains, contained three golden vessels – a jug and two bowls – which, on the testimony of their formal traits, had been produced in a Roman imperial workshop in the late fourth or early fifth century. The hoard of luxury items included several magnificent jewellery pieces: a large bird-shaped brooch and two smaller bird-shaped brooches, all three encrusted with semi-precious stones, a wide collar, similarly set with stones, a solid gold bracelet with flaring terminals and two other gold bracelets.

A 36 cm tall, elegant gold jug crafted from delicate sheet gold was found together with the above objects. It has a typically late Roman form and is the single gold piece known to date *(Fig. 40)*. Its slightly more rounded variants

Figure 40. Gold jug of the Pietroasa Treasure, fourth–fifth century. National Museum of Romanian History, Bucharest

Figure 41. Geometric ewer of the Seuso Treasure. fourth–fifth century. Hungarian National Museum, Budapest

Figure 42. Gold plate of the Pietroasa Treasure, fourth century. National Museum of Romanian History, Bucharest

are known from the Seuso Treasure (the Hippolytus ewer and the Geometric ewers) *(Fig. 41)*.[99] The chased and engraved ornamentation of the vessel body, the engraved curved ornament, the beading on the rim and the stylised acanthus leaves assign the jug to the late fourth or early fifth century.[100] However, the stylised foliate pattern on the neck and the base differs from the more naturalistic late antique achantus leaves and is better matched by similar designs on Barbarian metalwork, suggesting that the jug had been refashioned in a Barbarian workshop working from Roman models.[101]

The large plate with a diameter of 56 cm is a typical piece of late antique vessel services.[102] It was made from sheet gold and set on a low foot. Two repoussé bead-rows encircle the edge, enclosing an incised zig-zag motif and vegetal ornamentation *(Fig. 42)*. Although the engraved rosette in the centre of the plate was a widespread motif in the later fourth century, the interlace pattern enclosing has no parallels in the late antique world. The plate's formal and technological traits suggest that it had been made in a workshop in the East Roman Empire.[103]

The gold *patera* decorated with the figure of a seated goddess has a plain exterior, while its interior bears a series of reliefs in repoussé. It is set on a ring base and has a diameter of 25.7 cm. The enthroned female figure set in the centre is surrounded by a narrow frieze of sleeping men and predatory creatures and a wider frieze of thirteen standing and three seated figures. The friezes most likely portray followers of the cult of Orpheus or Dionysius, who can be associated with the enthroned goddess in the centre, perhaps a mother goddess *(Fig. 43)*. The key to the scene is undoubtedly the enthroned female figure in the centre, but although several interpretations have been proposed, neither is truly convincing.[104] Given the blend of Greek and oriental

Figure 43. Gold *patera* decorated with the figure of a seated goddess of the Pietroasa Treasure, fourth century. National Museum of Romanian History, Bucharest

stylistic elements as well as its technological traits, the *patera* is generally dated to the fourth century and is assumed to have been made in an Antiochian workshop.[105]

The octagonal cups with panther handles came to light with the other pieces of the treasure. The openwork cups are set with garnets and glass, and the handles too are set with precious stones (almandines, emeralds, turquoise and rock crystals). The polished, translucent precious stones adorning the cells of the cups recall the Cup of Chosroes, the Sasanian ruler (531–579), in the French National Library in Paris. A similar inlay technique was used for adorning the burnt golden cup of the Hunnic treasure found at Szeged-Nagyszéksós.[106]

Made up of objects befitting a royal owner, the Pietroasa Treasure was concealed before the mid-fifth century at the latest, at least judging from the many similarities with the Szilágysomlyó Treasure (Şimleu Silvaniei, Romania). Earlier, it was believed that the Pietroasa Treasure could be linked to the Visigothic royal centre in north-eastern Muntenia; more recently, it has been associated with a royal Barbarian centre of the Hunnic period. The Pietroasa Treasure had belonged to a member of the Barbarian elite who was an equal partner to the East Roman emperor on the testimony of his royal insignia and the golden vessels produced in a late Roman imperial workshop that he had received in recognition of a diplomatic alliance.[107]

Tăuteu (Hung. Tóti, Romania)

Two magnificent silver vessels of late antique metalwork came to light in 1970 in a sand-pit on the outskirts of Tăuteu in north-western Romania. No remnants of a grave were found during the subsequent excavations in the area of the findspot; however, charcoal and the remains of some organic material, perhaps of the bag in which the vessels had been concealed, were documented. One vessel, standing 64 cm tall, is a jug with narrow neck and ovoid body lacking a handle. It is fragmented and shows signs of heavy

repairs. The vessel body is divided into five zones filled with figural, vegetal and decorative ornamentation in repoussé. The wide middle frieze portrays a Dionysiac procession with Dionysus, Apollo, Pan and a maenad, one of Dionysus' followers. The frieze above this scene has a shepherd wandering with his dog in a rural setting, while the other narrow frieze underneath shows the procession of the Nereids (Naiads) and a sea monster.[108] The disproportionate modelling and irregular dimensions of the figures in the scenes are most striking (for example, Dionysius' fingers and the hand of Silenus, Dionysius' tutor). The jug's form, the decorative motifs and their styles as well as the inscriptions date the vessel to the late fourth or early fifth century, a date that is consistent with the iconographic parallels to the mythological scenes. Two silver jugs (*amula*) from Qustul in Nubia, deposited in the tomb around 380–390, can be regarded as a formal prototypes.[109] The slightly more rounded form of the unusually tall Tăuteu jug reflects a departure from the original form, and thus a date in the early fifth century is quite feasible *(Figs 44–45)*.

Figures 44–45. Silver jugs of the Tăuteu (Tóti) Treasure, early fifth century. Criş County Museum, Oradea (Nagyvárad)

The smaller jug from Tăuteu was strongly fragmented and is extensively restored in its current form. The round-bellied silver vessel with medium wide neck, lacking a handle, is set on a low, flaring foot. In view of its wide neck and unusually rounded, ovoid form, the vessel was probably produced sometime in the early fifth century.[110] The vessel body is covered with figural and vegetal decoration and ornamental motifs in repoussé arranged in four zones. The wide middle frieze depicts the combat between Bellerophon, the later king of Lycia, and the Chimaera, a female monster, in a manner quite unique for the late antique period, as well as a mounted hunter pursuing a lion, of which small portions survive. Bellerophon's portrayal follows the canon of the classical period, which is rarely encountered on late antique metal vessels. The vessel's other side depicts a helmeted Athena holding an olive branch in her outstretched hand and a snake emerging from under drapery folds. The middle frieze is framed by a stylised wreath pattern,

underneath which there is a series of marine scenes, while the area immediately above the foot is decorated with acanthus leaves.

The form and adornment of the Tăuteu vessels assign them to late fourth or early fifth century. There were no associated finds that would provide clues as to the identity of their one-time owner or to the role of jugs in the Barbaricum during the late Roman period. The fine workmanship suggests that the jugs were made in an East Roman workshop and that similarly to the two treasures from Szilágysomlyó, the Gelénes Treasure and the Ormód Treasure (Brestovo, Ukraine), they reached the Gepidic centre in the north-easterly part of the Carpathian Basin as a diplomatic gift.[111]

Apahida (Hung. Apahida, Romania)

Two silver jugs with facetted body were recovered from a disturbed burial during gravel mining in 1889 (Apahida I burial). The other articles found in association with the vessels were a cross-decorated, openwork, onion-headed brooch, a solid gold bracelet with flaring terminals, six boar-head-shaped pendants set with precious gems, a gem-encrusted cage-cup for a metal or wooden cup, three gold finger-rings, two decorated with engraved crosses, the third with the name Omharus, gem-inlaid buckles and strips of gold.[112]

The two silver jugs, both with a rectangular base, stand 30 cm tall. Their mouth is similarly rectangular with a rounded spout. The angular handles are attached to the mouth with an openwork plate. The neck of both jugs is decorated with vegetal motifs, while the vessel body portrays a pair of dancers, a maenad and a satyr, who can be recognised from their distinctive attributes (pan-pipes, castanets, crooked staffs, and panther or ram skins).[113] Signs of repair can made out on both jugs *(Fig. 46)*.

The Apahida jugs can be assigned to the late antique angular-sided vessels. Comparable facetted jugs can be cited from Aquincum, the Seuso Treasure (the Dionysus ewer and the Animal ewer), from the Malaya Pereshchepina Treasure and the Podgornensky tumulus burial. The iconographic and stylistic counterparts of the scenes on the Apahida jugs date the vessels to the late fourth or early fifth century,[114] a date that is supported by the resemblance to the form and posture of the satyr on the Dionysus ewer of the Seuso Treasure.[115] The counterparts to the stylised plant ornament too occur on the period's metalwork and in mosaic art. The simple vegetal decoration of the Apahida jugs shares some similarities with the ornamentation of the Tăuteu vessels.

The early medieval insignia of rank and personal articles recovered from the Apahida I burial suggest that it was a royal burial. The splendid onion-headed gold brooch decorated with a cross motif is matched by the brooch found in the grave of Childeric I, King of the Franks, uncovered in Tornacum (modern Tournai in Belgium). A second burial, yielding one of the period's most sumptuous assemblages in Europe, was found

Figure 46. Silver jugs of the Apahida I burial, early fifth century. National Museum of Romanian History, Bucharest

at Apahida in 1968. The gem-inlaid grave finds from the two burials provide evidence that in the later fifth century, after the Hunnic period, members of the Gepidic royal family, who maintained good relations with the Byzantine court, buried their dead at Apahida. The precious silver vessels were undoubtedly received as diplomatic gifts.[116]

Budapest-Aquincum (Hungary)

A hoard of silver gilt articles was discovered under a paving stone by the southern entrance to the military amphitheatre in Aquincum (in modern Nagyszombat Street) in 1943. Two cups, two chip-carved brooches with spiral decoration and four late antique niello-inlaid silver beads were part of the treasure.[117] The two 6 cm high semi-spherical silver cups are plain, save for the gilt band framed by lathe-cut lines encircling their rim and a gilt circular field similarly encircled by a lathe-cut line in their interior *(Fig. 47)*.

Earlier, the semi-spherical cups from Aquincum were likened to the gold cups of the Szilágysomlyó and Szeged-Nagyszéksós Treasures in terms of their form and function; however, there is nothing to confirm the formal link between them and their manufacturing techniques differed quite significantly. The golden cups of the Szilágysomlyó and Szeged-Nagyszéksós Treasures were hammered from sheet gold and were most likely the work of a goldsmith active in an elite Barbarian milieu. In contrast, the silver cups from Aquincum were created from sheet silver on an anvil, using the general metalworking technique of the late antique period, while the lines of the circular field in the base interior and the band around the rim were cut with a lathe.[118] The use of the anvil and the lathe suggest a permanent workshop active in the area. Thus, the technological traits of the two vessels attest to the activity of silversmiths familiar with late antique metalworking techniques and vessel forms as well as to a stable infrastructure of workshops.

Semi-spherical cups are known from the territory of the Roman Empire and from the Barbarian lands alike from the first century onward. The cups from Aquincum follow the Roman tradition; their proportion and lathe-turned rim resemble the goblets from Viminacium (modern Kostolac in Serbia), dated to the later fourth century.[119] The similar manufacturing technique and size suggest that the Aquincum cups and the Viminacium goblets were made in late antique workshops. Drinking cups were regularly deposited in pairs in the elite burials of the Barbaricum and in the treasures linked to the elite from the Roman period onward, as shown by the hoards found at Krakovany-Stráže (Strázsa-Vágőr, Slovakia), Leuna, Haagerup and Verpelev. Their use attests to the drinking customs and

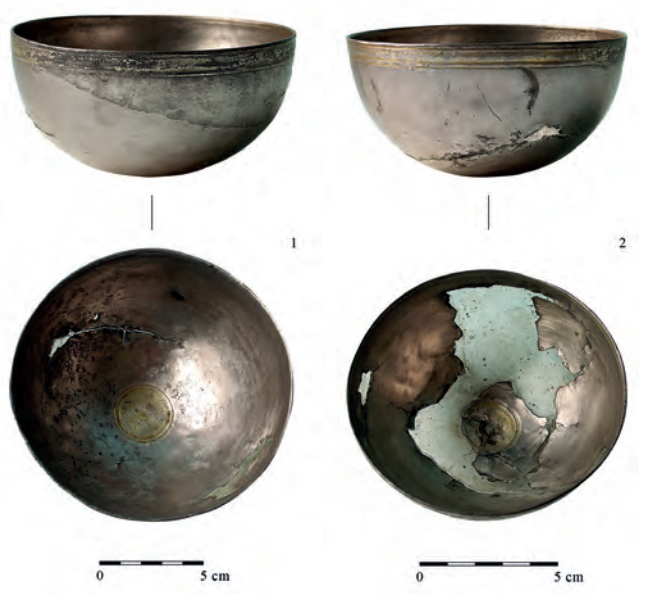


Figure 47. Silver cups of the treasure discovered by the entrance to the military amphitheatre in Aquincum. Budapest, Nagyszombat Street, late fifth century. Aquincum Museum, Budapest

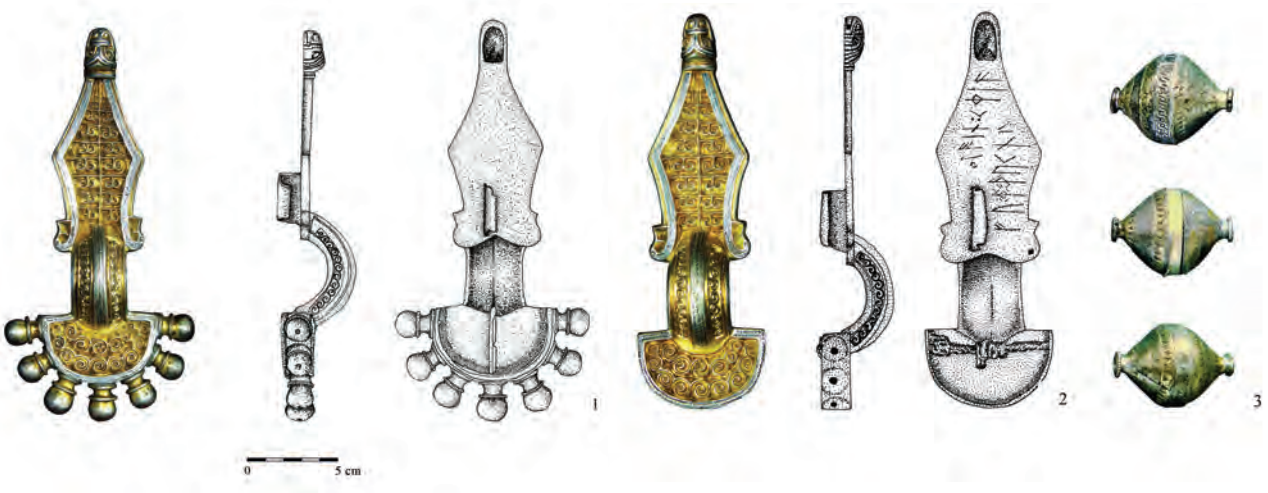


Figure 48. 1–2. Silver gilt brooches of the treasure discovered by the entrance to the military amphitheatre in Aquincum. Budapest, Nagyszombat Street, late fifth century; 3. Niello-inlaid silver beads of the Aquincum Treasure. Aquincum Museum, Budapest

rituals among the Barbarian nobles. The simple semi-spherical cups remained popular for a long time, as shown by the silver and copper-alloy pieces found as late as the sixth century in various assemblages.

The ritual practices of the Barbarian elites of the Roman period were adopted and imitated by the nobles of the Migration period and the early Middle Ages too. The cups from Aquincum, attesting to these practices, were the prized possessions of a local noble in the later fifth century. The silver gilt brooches and the late antique niello-inlaid silver beads were produced by a goldsmith or workshop active in the Middle Danube region in the later fifth century *(Fig. 48).* Judging from their manufacturing technique, the silver cups were crafted in a late Roman workshop and it is also possible that they came into the possession of their Barbarian owner as gifts. The splendid treasure reflects the existence of a Barbarian centre near the former military amphitheatre of Aquincum and sheds light on the cultural contacts as well as the political and social organisation of a period from which written sources are largely lacking.[120]

Tépe (Hungary)

A silver treasure was discovered on the outskirt of the village of Tépe in an area known as Öregkert in 1911. The treasure comprised one-quarter of an early Byzantine silver gilt plate[121] alongside other articles such as a gold sword-hilt mount, a golden pseudo-buckle and the fragments of a silver goblet, suggesting that they came from the burial of a high-ranking Avar noble *(Fig. 49)*. The plate originally had straight long sides and trilobed short sides, the latter accentuated with antithetical, open-mouthed dolphins whose fins curl into spiral volutes on the lobes. The plate's rim is framed by a wavy line and leaf-and-egg moulding with gilding on the stylised leaf motifs between the eggs. The rim interior is adorned with a delicate beadrow *(Fig. 50)*.

The palmette motif in the centre of the plate's long side is set in the round field formed by two raised cornucopia-like motifs. A bud motif is set between the lower scrolls from which a pair of symmetrical leaves curls outward. There was a setting for a gemstone in the centre of the plate, from which flutes of different width run radially to the edge. The motifs between the cornucopia, the dolphins and the egg mouldings were originally gilded. A low rectangular foot was soldered to the plate, which was perforated on its long side, perhaps for suspension *(Fig. 51)*.

None of the currently known late antique plates resemble the form of the piece from Tépe and thus its formal and ornamental traits can only be set in context using indirect analogies from late Roman and early Byzantine art. One formal precursor to the plate comes from the Kaiseraugst Treasure dating to the Roman period *(Fig. 52. 2)*.[122] The control stamps of

Figures 49–50. Fragment of the Tépe plate and its drawing, sixth century. Hungarian National Museum, Budapest

Figure. 51. Reconstruction of the silver plate from Tépe, sixth century. Hungarian National Museum

Figure 52. 1. Polycandelon of the Sion Treasure. Kumulca-Büyük Asar, Turkey, 550–560. Dumbarton Oaks Collection, Washington; 2. Silver plate of the Kaiseraugst Treasure, fourth century. Römermuseum Augst, Augst, Switzerland (photo courtesy of the Römermuseum Augst)

Justinian I assign the Tépe plate to between 547 and 556,[123] and it is therefore hardly surprising that it bears a formal resemblance to the polycandelon of the Sion Treasure found at Kumluca-Büyük Asar (ancient Corydalla, Turkey) dated to around 550–560 by the control stamps.[124] Both pieces are decorated with symmetrically placed dolphin figures *(Fig. 52. 1)*.

The perhaps most distinctive ornamental motif of the Tépe plate is the raised palmette between two cornucopias. A similar raised plant motif can be found on the silver lamp in the Stuma Treasure from Syria, dating from around 574–576/8 on the testimony of the control stamps.[125] A comparable plant ornament can be found on the large fluted paten (the plate for holding the Host) from Sion[126] and on the paten of a private collection in Geneva,[127] as well as on a tall jug made in Constantinople, currently housed in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.[128] An Ionian *kymation* pattern encircles the rim of the large paten of the Sion Treasure,[129] of which a more poorly executed version can be seen on the Tépe plate *(Fig. 53)*.

The Tépe plate was quartered after it was first discovered, either by the grave looters or by the lucky finders, explaining why it was buried with other, similarly fragmented finds the second time and why it was discovered as part of an assemblage that comprised finds typical for the high-status burials of the Avar period. Assuming that the various articles in the treasure originate from the same source, perhaps from a hoard or a treasury, allows further speculation about the assemblage. The elegantly crafted golden pseudo-buckle was once part of an extravagant belt set, which links the fragmentary Tépe Treasure to the most lavish Avar burials, the royal and elite graves of the Avar period. Although highly fragmented in its current form, the

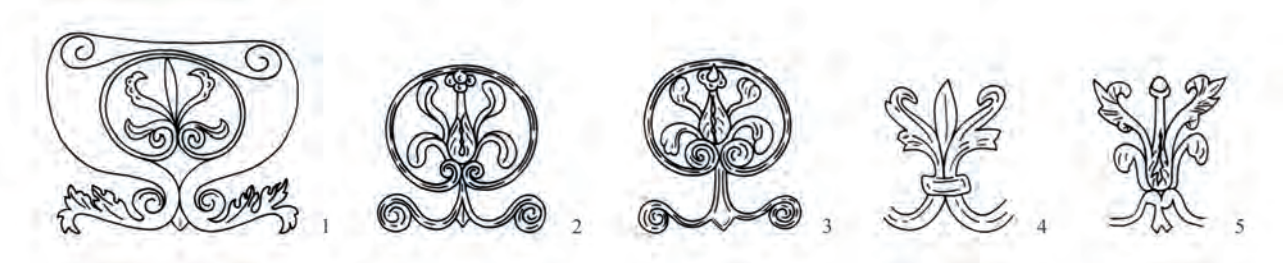


Figure 53. Parallels to the plant ornament of the Tépe plate. 1. Tépe, sixth century. Hungarian National Museum, Budapest; 2. Paten of the Sion Treasure, Kumulca-Büyük Asar, Turkey, 550–560. Dumbarton Oaks Collection, Washington; 3. Paten, sixth century. Private collection, Geneva; 4. Lamp. Hamah (or Kaper Koraon) Treasure, Kurin, Syria, sixth century. The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore; 5. Jug. Constantinople, sixth century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

treasure's composition and the high craftsmanship and technological level of its artefacts suggest that the early Byzantine and Avar-period objects – the gold sword-hilt mount and the fluted silver goblet – had originally been part of the same collection of precious objects, which had been owned by a member of the Avar elite.[130] Accordingly, the objects of the Tépe Treasure came from the treasury or the burial of a high-status leader of similar rank as the Avar noble buried at Kunbábony *(Fig. 54)*.

From his comparison of the grave of the Avar noble buried at Kunbábony and the finds from Malaya Pereshchepina, archaeologist Attila Kiss concluded that the former can hardly be regarded as the burial of the khagan, the highest Avar-period dignitary, exactly because of the lack Byzantine, Sasanian or Turkic precious metal vessels reflecting the many links between the period's royal elite.[131] The Tépe plate is a clear indication that Byzantine vessels had reached the Avars of the Carpathian Basin. The silver gilt plate made in an imperial workshop in Constantinople may have been a gift from the Byzantine emperor, making it a relic of diplomatic relations between the Avars and the

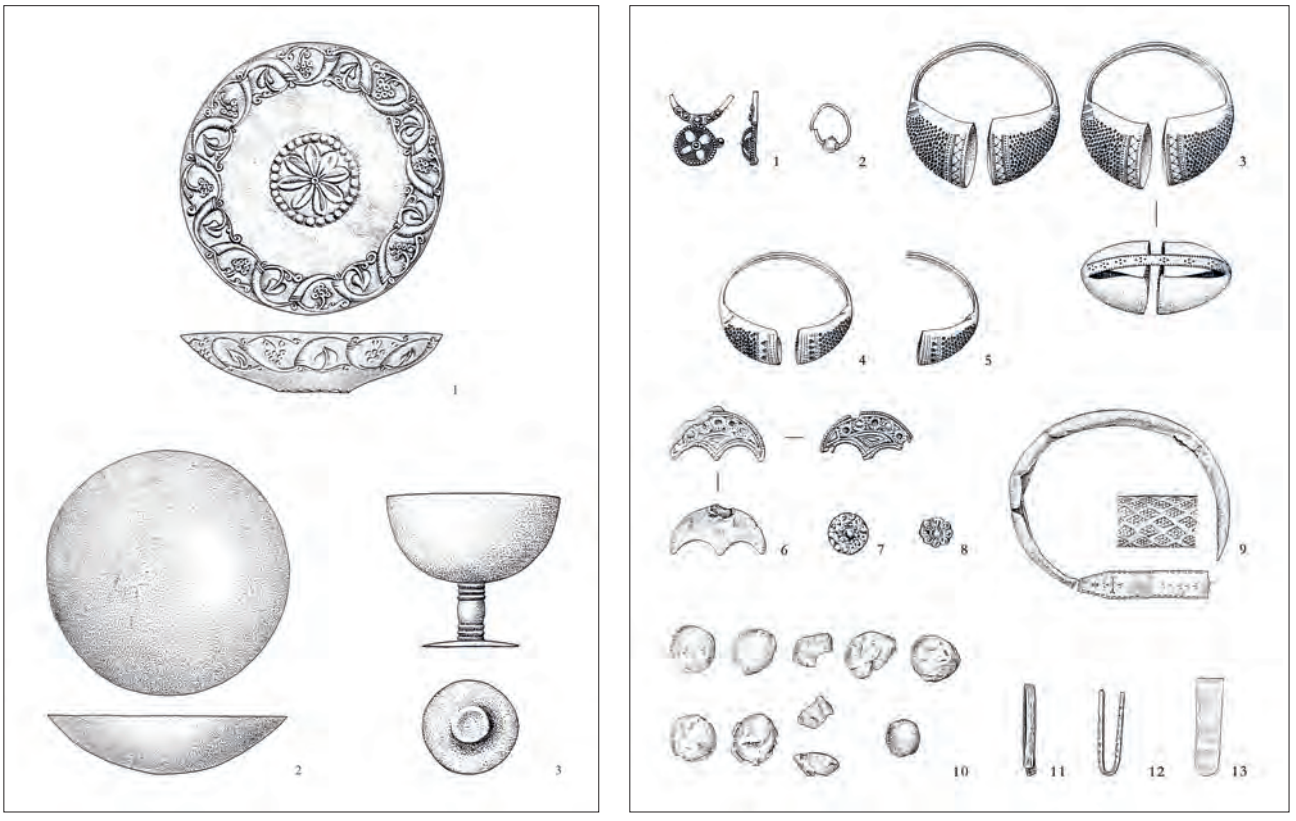
Figure 54. Finds of the Tépe Treasure, seventh century. 1. Gold pseudo-buckle; 2. Gold openwork sword-hilt mount; 3. Reconstruction of the silver goblet. Hungarian National Museum, Budapest

Byzantines; alternately, it may have been part of booty, military tribute or annual subsidies paid to the Avars. Assuming that the silver plate and the articles owned by a member of the Avar elite had originated from the same source before they were buried, we may also presume that the pieces of the treasure were once the grave goods of an Avar noble on par with the noble buried at Kunbábony. We have no way of knowing how and when the silver plate made around 550 reached the Avars, but the gold pseudo-buckle and the other finds suggest that it had been deposited in a grave or buried as a collection assembled in the earlier seventh century.[132]

Zemianský Vrbovok (Hung. Nemesvarbók, Slovakia)

An assemblage of silver metalwork was discovered at Zemianský Vrbovok in 1938, made up of a plain and a decorated early Byzantine plate alongside a goblet, stamped bracelets, a neckring, earrings with star pendants, silver coins and scrap silver *(Figs 55–57)*.[133] The shallow plate has a diameter of 16.5 cm and is decorated with an eight-petalled rosette enclosed within a bead-row border in the centre and a pattern of cornucopias and

Figure 55. Silver plate of the Zemianský Vrbovok (Nemesvarbók) Treasure and details of its decorative design. Zemianský Vrbovok, Slovakia, seventh century. Slovak National Museum, Bratislava (Pozsony)



Figures 56–57. The Zemianský Vrbovok (Nemesvarbók) Treasure. Zemianský Vrbovok, Slovakia, seventh century. Slovak National Museum, Bratislava (Pozsony)

scrolling vine tendrils around the edge. A veined, heart-shaped grape leaf or grape bunch hangs from the tendrils curling out of the cornucopias. The tendrils terminate in a double scroll. The 17 cm wide plain plate is decorated in repoussé *(Fig. 56)*. Small shallow plates were widely popular in late antique and early Byzantine metalwork, and they are also encountered among contemporary Sasanian metal vessels.[134] Plates of this type were generally produced in imperial workshops to be given away as gifts.

The ornamentation of the Zemianský Vrbovok plate was created by working from the reverse, as was customary in early Byzantine metalwork.[135] Of the many similar plates, suffice it here to cite the patens decorated with eagles and a female bust from Sardinia[136] and the pieces from Zalesie in the Ukraine.[137] The bead-row-enclosed rosette in the centre of the Zemianský Vrbovok plate has several contemporary analogies and the scrolling vine tendril was likewise a motif much employed in late antique art. The vine tendril and cornucopia on the plate are virtually identical with the similar adornment found on sixth-century ivory carvings, as shown by the

Figure 58. Plate of the Zalesie Treasure, seventh century. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna

veined leaves of the tendrils on the ivory diptych of Areobindus.[138] Contemporary formal parallels to the Zemianský Vrbovok plate include the vessels of the assemblage found at Kuczurmare (modern Veliky Kučurov in the Ukraine),[139] and the splendid plate of the Zalesie Treasure *(Fig. 58)*, whose round Byzantine stamps indicate a date in the seventh century.[140] The shared traits of these three repoussé-decorated plates were first noted and discussed by Professor István Bóna (1930–2001), although he believed that only the plates from Kuczurmare were Byzantine products and that the pieces from Zemianský Vrbovok and Zalesie represented Sasanian-Sogdian metalwork.[141] The finds from Zemianský Vrbovok included eighteen silver coins (*hexagramma*) of Constantine IV (669–674) in mint condition that had never been in circulation, scrap silver and semi-finished jewellery.[142] The early Byzantine plate from Zemianský Vrbovok and the silver coins had no doubt been valuable gifts that reached the Avar Khaganate from the Byzantine Empire.

There has been much speculation as to the identity of the treasure's one-time owner. According to Bedřich Svoboda, the Czech archaeologist who first described and published the finds, the treasure had belonged to a Byzantine itinerant goldsmith active in the Avar lands,[143] a view that is still widely accepted, even though István Bóna relegated the notion of an itinerant goldsmith to the realm of fanciful ideas.[144] The springboard for this interpretation was the scrap silver in the treasure, which could be seen as raw material, but there was no other artefact in the assemblage (such as goldsmith's tools) to suggest that it had belonged to a goldsmith. As hoarded raw material, the scrap silver and broken silver artefacts in the treasure intended for remelting and reuse could have been owned by any wealthy individual.

The treasure's articles that are closely allied to the jewellery and other personal possessions of Avar nobles can shed some light on the identity of the assemblage's one-time owner. Counterparts of the silver goblet can be cited from the elite burials of the Avar period found at Kiskőrös and Igar, while its gold variants are known from the high-status nobles' burials brought to light at Bócsa and Kunbábony as well as from the Nagyszentmiklós Treasure.[145] The bracelets with flaring terminals bearing a stamped design were highly fashionable among wealthy Avar women.[146] Parallels to the sheet-metal neckring with stamped ornament are known not only among the early Byzantine finds of the Carpathian Basin, but also among the contemporaneous Eastern

European assemblages.[147] Earrings with star pendants were typical jewellery pieces on the fringes of early Byzantine civilisation that were principally worn by the peoples of Central, South-East and Eastern Europe.

The pieces of the Zemianský Vrbovok Treasure thus suggest that the assemblage was concealed in the later seventh century or towards its end. Previously, the deposition of this treasure and of the Zalesie and Kuczurmare assemblages was explained by various historical events, specifically with the westward migration of the Bulgars and the stormy events leading to the rise of the Khazar Khaganate. The silver coins are an indication that Byzantium was increasingly concerned about the region and that relations between the region's elite and the Byzantine court were renewed because the coins minted in the imperial mint had reached the Barbaricum in the wake of some diplomatic event. The Avars established relations with Byzantium in the last third of the seventh century – in fact, the Avar delegation invited to Constantinople in 678 to participate in the celebration of the Byzantine victory over the Arabs was received with great respect.[148]

In the light of the above, two interpretations of the Zemianský Vrbovok Treasure can be proposed. The first, that its owner was a member of the Avar political elite, who as a powerful regional leader living on the fringes of the Avar Khaganate had received the valuable Avar and Byzantine jewellery and other articles from the central Avar power within the framework of the Avar-period prestige economy.[149] In this interpretation, the Zemianský Vrbovok Treasure is a reflection of the custom of gift-giving within the Avar Khaganate.

However, given that the findspot of the Zemianský Vrbovok Treasure lies beyond the territory of the Avar Khaganate as outlined by the contemporary grave finds, another explanation is equally feasible. The nature and the composition of the treasure shares numerous similarities with two other hoards found beyond the borders of the Avar Khaganate, namely the Zalesie Treasure in the Ukraine and the burial uncovered at Čadjavica (Csadjavica) in Croatia.[150] All three assemblages contain valuable objects such as plates and jewellery produced in Byzantine workshops alongside silver jewellery and costume adornments in the Byzantine style, which were made using similar techniques and reflect a more or less identical taste. The bracelets and neckrings with stamped ornamentation were produced in workshops drawing from the provincial Byzantine tradition. Additionally, all three assemblages include objects that are typical for the burials and treasures of the Avar-period elite. It would appear that the three assemblages can be associated with individuals who had enjoyed a roughly identical social status, had maintained similar cultural contacts and had access to similar resources, and whose social display was essentially based on Byzantine luxury goods as well as the jewellery, costume accessories and precious metal vessels typical for the Avar elite. In other words, the finds from Zemianský Vrbovok, Zalesie and Čadjavica can be linked to nobles living on the fringes of the Avar Khaganate, who were subordinate to the Avars. As allies, they came into the possession of luxury items typically possessed by the Avar-period elite through gift exchanges with the Avar elite. The Byzantine prestige goods may similarly have reached them from the Avars, although it is also possible that they received these directly from the Byzantine Empire because the Byzantine court strove to maintain friendly relations with the neighbours of the Avars, her erstwhile enemies.

Figure 59. The Pietroasa Treasure. Pietroasele, Romania, late fourth–early fifth century. National Museum of Romanian History, Bucharest

Precious Metal Vessels in the Treasury

Gold vessels as mediums of social display in the Barbarian world

The possession and distribution of gold was the prerogative of sovereigns in both the antique and the Barbarian world.[151] Only a few burials are known from the first millennium AD in Europe that yielded gold vessels. These include the Osztrópataka burial (Ostrovany, Slovakia), presumably the grave of a Vandalic king buried with Barbarian and Roman insignia of power that included a golden conical chalice,[152] and the high-status grave uncovered at Haβleben in Germany that contained a gold cup. There are countless references to the production, use and, more importantly, the donation of gold vessels in Roman and Byzantine literary and visual sources, even though not a single one has yet been found on the one-time territory of the empire. One of the wall paintings depicting the finding of Moses in the Nile in the third-century Dura Europos synagogue in Syria shows the handmaiden of Pharaoh's daughter holding a golden jug.[153] At the marriage of Galla Placidia, daughter of the Roman Emperor Theodosius I, to the Visigothic King Athaulf in Narbo (modern Narbonne) in 414, fifty young slaves carried the wedding gifts, each bearing aloft two gold dishes, one filled with gold, the other full of precious gems from the looted riches of Rome. Fredegar records in his chronicle that Thorismond, the Visigothic king, received a superb golden dish encrusted with gemstones from Aetius, the Roman army commander, before the all-decisive Battle of Catalaunum.[154]

None of the currently known early medieval royal burials of Western Europe contained gold vessels. It was not recorded whether the grave of the Frankish King Childeric I in Tornacum (modern Tournai in Belgium), opened in 1653, had contained silver or gold vessels. The Sutton Hoo ship burial, believed to be the grave of Raedwald, king of East Anglia, yielded but silver vessels: a large silver plate weighing 5.64 kg bearing the control stamp of the Byzantine Emperor Anastasius I,[155] a fluted silver bowl[156] and ten shallow early Byzantine bowls.[157] The recently excavated Anglo-Saxon royal burial at Prittlewell, identified as the grave of Saebert, grandson of Ethelbert I, did not contain any gold vessels[158] and neither did the sarcophagus of Arnegunde, the Frankish Queen, in the Saint Denis Cathedral that was opened in 1959.[159] None of the royal burials of the Frankish, Gothic and Anglo-Saxon kingdoms emerging on the ruins of the Roman Empire yielded gold vessels symbolising personal wealth and power – these graves, at most, contained silver vessels that played a role in social interactions modelled on late antique traditions.

The lack of gold vessels in Western Europe and their abundance in the royal burials of the Eastern European steppe nomads is a reflection of the different attitudes to gold in these societies. The significance of the Pietroasa Treasure lies not merely in its profusion of golden vessels, but principally in that it is the single Migration-period assemblage from the Barbaricum in which original late antique gold vessels have

been preserved *(Fig. 59)*. Golden vessels have solely been found in the extravagantly furnished royal and princely burials and in the magnificent treasures of the Barbaricum during the period marked by the flourishing of the Roman and Byzantine Empires, suggesting that they were exceptional possessions of a few select members of the elite. The very fact that the vessels of the Pietroasa Treasure were crafted from gold is an indication that it came from a royal milieu, which is also borne out by the royal insignia of the treasure.[160] This riches of this royal treasury comprised gold vessels of both the late antique Mediterranean and the orient. The vessels made in Barbarian workshops tend to follow oriental forms and decorative schemes as shown, for example, by the polygonal, glass-inlaid bowls with handles modelled in the shape of animals. The peers of the owner of the Pietroasa Treasure were the region's sovereigns with whom close contacts were maintained.

Figure 60. The Nagyszentmiklós Treasure. Nagyszentmiklós (Sânnicolau Mare), Romania, seventh–eighth century. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna

A similarly wide range of inter-regional contacts is reflected by the extravagant Malaya Pereshchepina Treasure whose pieces included seventeen gold vessels weighing ten kilograms as well as twenty silver vessels weighing a total of fifty kilograms. Of the gold vessels, eleven gold goblets were Byzantine products. while three were Turkic.[161] Six vessels among the predominantly Byzantine and Sasanian silver vessels represented Central Asian metalwork.[162] The sceptre, the elegant belt-set with the pseudo-buckle and the monogrammed gold finger-ring are indications of the owner's royal status, as is the exceptionally high number of gold vessels and the sixty-nine Byzantine gold *solidi*, all part of the riches of the royal treasury.[163] Jewellery articles such as necklaces, bracelets and finger-rings, various weapons such as long and short swords and a bow-case, and harness ornaments were all part of the treasure. The monogrammed finger-ring revealed that the treasure was owned by Kuvrat Khan, ruler of Greater Bulgaria, a sovereign known from the written sources.

Conforming to the steppean nomadic traditions, gold vessels, most of which were products of their own metalwork, are frequently encountered in the burials and treasures of the Barbarian kings and nobles of the Carpathian Basin and Eastern Europe – suffice it here to refer to the Kunbábony jug and the Bócsa goblet.[164] These assemblages rarely contain late antique or early Byzantine gold vessels. The craftsmanship, artistic quality, decorative motifs and formal traits of some of the magnificent golden vessels of the Nagyszentmiklós Treasure suggest that they had been made in a princely or perhaps in the khagan's court. While the Nagyszentmiklós Treasure does not contain a single Byzantine object, each of its pieces bespeaks a strong Byzantine cultural influence.[165] The goldsmiths blended early Byzantine and oriental (steppean, Sasanian and Central Asian) prototypes and motifs to create a unique set of vessels that would cater to their Avar patrons' desire for self-representation. The selective adoption of certain visual traditions and the artistic quality of the Nagyszentmiklós Treasure suggests the collaboration of Byzantine goldsmiths *(Fig. 60)*.

A vessel service of pure gold was one of the mediums of displaying the power and wealth of a steppean ruler, as shown by the many assemblages of this type from the Eurasian steppe such as the one from Mongun Taiga.[166] At the same time, Barbarian royal treasuries were not exclusively made up of gold vessels and the like: for instance, the vessels embodying the wealth of the khagan's treasury uncovered by the memorial stele of Bilgä (†743), the eastern Turkic khagan, contained, in addition to gold tableware, a similar set of silver vessels.[167] Assemblages of gold vessels provide an idea of the immense riches in the Avar treasury as described in Frankish sources[168] and of the wealth of the Turkic khagans as reported in the Byzantine sources. Menander Protector narrates that before entering the pavilion of the Turkic khagan, the Byzantine envoys saw a long line of wagons laden with an enormous amount of silverware, plates and baskets, and animal figures wrought of silver, an impressive display of the wealth of the king of the Turks.[169]

The royal treasury: Power and wealth

The use of precious metal tableware was a royal prerogative and part of royal social display among the Barbarian peoples of the Roman period and the early Middle Ages, as shown by the extravagantly furnished burials discovered at Krakovany-Stráže (Strázsa-Vágőr) and Osztrópataka (Ostrovany) in Slovakia and at Haßleben in Germany, which can be regarded as royal or princely graves. Precious metal vessels thus became part of Barbarian royal treasuries as high-prestige objects and gifts.[170] The primary function of these vessels, whether originating from the Mediterranean or made by Barbarian goldsmiths, was the demonstration and display of the wealth and might of those in power – kings and nobles – not only to the world around them, but also to their own subjects. The custom of presenting gifts of silver vessels became a widespread practice among Barbarian nobles too.[171]

Royal insignia were part of the grave goods and treasures of the individuals at the peak of Barbarian society. The large bird-shaped brooch of the Pietroasa Treasure, a local development from late Roman onion-headed brooches, is an imitation of the ultimate emblem of the Roman emperors' power, the so-called imperial brooch (*Kaiserfibel*).[172] Made at the onset of the fifth century, the brooch was worn on the right shoulder as was customary for Roman imperial brooches used for fastening the purple cloak, reflecting the adoption of a particularly spectacular element of Roman imperial representation. The golden collar and the bracelets with flaring terminals in the treasure were likewise the insignia of royal power used in Barbarian culture.[173]

One good clue to the interpretation of the one-time role and social function of the silver jugs from Tăuteu is that their find spot lies close to Szilágysomlyó, the place where two opulent hoards coming from another royal treasury were discovered. The form of the jugs echoes late Roman metalwork, while the mythological scenes on them attest to their manufacture in a workshop in the Roman Empire, providing incontestable evidence that they had reached the eastern half of the Carpathian Basin as diplomatic gifts.[174] Contemporary scholarship tends to agree that the two treasures discovered at Szilágysomlyó were accumulated in the Gepidic royal treasury from the late third century onward and that they were buried sometime before the mid-fifth century. The Tăuteu jugs reflect the contacts between the local Germanic elite and the Roman Empire, and similarly to the deposition of the treasures found at Szilágysomlyó, Gelénes and Ormód, their burial can be linked to the stormy events of the Hunnic period.[175]

Deposited in the Apahida I burial were insignia of power from the later fifth century. The late antique openwork gold brooch decorated with a cross was quite certainly produced in a Roman workshop and was no doubt an imperial gift.[176] A similar onion-headed brooch was recovered from the burial of Childeric I, the Frankish king, together with a sceptre topped by a rock crystal ball, a late Roman royal emblem.[177] Childeric's grave and the Apahida I burial both contained a solid gold bracelet with flaring terminals, a symbol of royal power in the Barbarian world.[178] The exceptionally rich Apahida II burial found in 1968 and the remarkably

Figure 61. Finds from the Apahida I burial. Apahida, Romania, later fifth century. National Museum of Romanian History, Bucharest

high crafstmanship of its finds, on par with similarly magnificent European assemblages, too underpin that the Apahida burials represent the graves of the Gepidic royal family *(Fig. 61)*.[179] The silver vessels had thus been part of the riches in the Gepidic royal treasury and their deposition in the grave symbolised the royal treasury.[180]

Childeric I was buried with over a hundred Byzantine gold *solidi*, some two hundred silver coins and an agate vessel from the royal treasury. The ship burial at Sutton Hoo, the burial of Raedwald, King of East Anglia, yielded a sceptre, an obvious emblem of kingship,[181] alongside countless costume accessories such as a belt set inlaid with gemstones and weapons (a helmet, a sword and a shield).[182] The early Byzantine silver vessels mentioned in the above were part of these riches and symbolised the royal treasury.[183]

Gift exchanges: Diplomatic relations

During the Migration period and in early medieval Europe, exchanges of expensive gifts played a major role in maintaining and cementing amicable relations between kings and peoples as part of political and social interactions such as diplomatic legations, alliances, nuptials, ceremonial feasts and the like.[184] These exchanges generally meant gifts of jugs, plates, tableware and drinking cups because resplendent vessels of silver and gold were particularly suitable for re-affirming existing alliances.[185] Several descriptions of gift exchanges between ruling sovereigns are known from the literary sources, and a similar practice can be noted between the king and the nobles in his retinue as well as between the ruler and church dignitaries.[186]

The Roman-made gold vessels surviving in the Pietroasa Treasure were doubtless a diplomatic gift sent to one of the Barbarian rulers of the Hunnic period, perhaps to the king of the Goths.[187] Judging from their form and ornamentation, the silver jugs from the Apahida I burial and Tăuteu were likewise made in a workshop of the Roman Empire. Owing to its fragmentary condition and its uncertain find circumstances, we can merely speculate whether the Tépe plate, produced in the Byzantine imperial workshop, had been acquired as booty or whether it had been a gift to acknowledge the empire's alliance with the Avars.

Precious metal vessels made in the workshops of different cultures that would be a reflection of wide-ranging diplomatic contacts and recognition by the period's powers are lacking from the currently known Avar-period nobles' burials. The high-status burials of the Avar period tend to contain Avar metalwork, as shown by the finds from the Kunbábony and Bócsa burials as well as by the vessels of the Nagyszentmiklós Treasure, the latter made by goldsmiths who created a unique blend of Eurasian and Byzantine traditions in the Avar khagan's court.[188] Byzantine silver vessels have so far solely been found in the treasures from Zemianský Vrbovok and Tépe, but only in the case of the latter can we assume that it had originally been deposited in a royal burial.[189] Curiously enough, the close Avar-Byzantine relations recorded in the sources and the exchange of gifts accompanying legations are barely reflected in the number of Byzantine precious metal vessels of the Avar period unearthed to date. In contrast, the Malaya Pereshchepina Treasure that can be linked to Kuvrat, the Bulgar khan, who died around 650, contains an astonishingly wide range of magnificent vessels reflecting wide-ranging cultural and political contacts with diverse geo-political regions: the Byzantine plates, jugs and goblets, and the Sasanian, Turkic and Central Asian precious metal vessels are eloquent testimony to the Bulgar khan's far-flung diplomatic relations.[190] The Roman and Byzantine luxury goods and tokens of royal power attest to the efforts of the Roman and, later, of the Byzantine Empire to maintain diplomatic relations with the leaders of the Barbarian powers emerging beyond the empire's frontiers. It is also noteworthy that the mythological scenes adorning the vessels presented to the Barbarians do not contain allusions to political, cultural or religious propaganda. The Dionysiac scenes evoked the good cheer and cordiality of ceremonies, festivities and feasts that enhanced the splendour of the court.

Tradition and cultural memory

The vessels and jewellery of the Pietroasa Treasure were produced within a relatively brief span of time, between the close of the fourth and the initial quarter of the fifth century, implying that its one-time owner had no time to amass the goods he had acquired or commissioned.[191] In the face of the Hunnic advance, the treasure was buried in the second quarter of the fifth century, not long after its objects had been crafted.[192] Times of peace favoured the emergence of royal treasuries and the continuous accumulation of wealth. Under more peaceful conditions, the vessels hoarded in the royal treasuries became a symbol of the continuity of a legitimate political power. This process can be noted during the Roman period too, as shown by the relief-ornamented silver plate from the burial of a Quadic king found at Krakovany-Stráže, dating from roughly a hundred years earlier.[193] The Roman imperial medallions and gem-studded costume accessories in the Szilágysomlyó Treasures were accumulated during roughly one and a half centuries, between 290 and 430/440. Recent research has convincingly demonstrated that the earliest golden vessels (the goblet and the drinking horn) of the Nagyszentmiklós Treasure, associated with a high-ranking Avar-period leader, perhaps with the khagan himself, predated the latest pieces (the rounded bowl, the handled bowl and Jug 2) by roughly one and a half centuries *(Fig. 60)*.[194]

The form and the visual style of the silver jugs from the Apahida I burial clearly indicate that they were made three-quarters of a century earlier than the other articles deposited in the grave around the late fifth century. The jugs were thus part of the Gepidic royal treasury, and although they suffered damage during their use and were repeatedly repaired, they were a visual mnemonic of an earlier important diplomatic or social event – they retained their significance and embodied the family traditions of their owner. Similarly, the Anastasius Dish and the fluted silver bowl bearing the relief image of a female head of the Sutton Hoo ship burial predated the time of the funeral by roughly a hundred years and became an emblem of the leadership tradition of the owner's family.[195]

The silver gilt Tépe plate was made around 550 on the testimony of the imperial control stamps. The date of the other early Avar objects in the assemblage indicates that it was buried as a hoard that had been accumulated up to the second third of the seventh century.[196] Assuming that the plate had reached the Avars soon after it had been made, at the time that diplomatic relations were established between the Avars and Byzantium, it had been part of the Avar-period leader's treasury for half a century. However, this remains no more than speculation and all we know for certain is that the plate had come into the possession of the Avars before its burial in the middle third of the seventh century.

The golden vessels of the Pietroasa and the Nagyszentmiklós Treasures are opulent luxury goods suitable for representation on a scale befitting the owner's rank at diplomatic or ritual events, ceremonies and feasts. The silver jugs from the Apahida I burial and Tăuteu are large, representative table vessels which were most

Figure 62. "Dido and Aeneas at the banquet" (Aeneid 2.1–2). Codex Vergilii Romanus, late fifth century. Vatican Library, Rome, lat. 3867 (fol. 100v) (Photo © 2016, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana)

likely used for serving drinks, suggested also by the Dionysiac scenes adorning them. The feasts organised by the kings played an important role in strengthening social cohesion through the evocation of military feats and heroic exploits.[197] On these occasions, the precious metal vessels were visual mnemonics of some outstanding event, a victory or an alliance, as well as symbols of power and of the respect for, and renown of, the kingdom and its people.[198] The precious metal vessels evoking these memorable events are important sources for the better understanding of the period's culture of memory.[199]

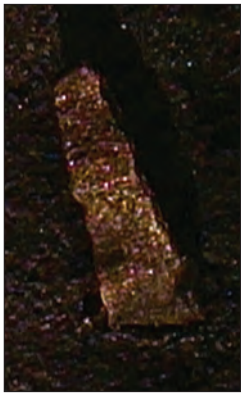
The allure of the Empire

As we have seen in the foregoing, elegant silver and gold vessels bear witness to the prosperity, wealth and social display of the late antique aristocracy, while their graceful form and elegant ornamentation was designed to attest to and reflect the erudition, lifestyle and cultural values of their owners.[200] Emperors were rarely portrayed on the precious metal vessels of the fourth and fifth centuries; they were more commonly adorned with mythological and pastoral scenes, or with depictions evoking the luxurious life of the elite. From the sixth century onward, symbols of Christianity or the state ideology began to appear on these vessels. The sovereign donated magnificent plates to the highest dignitaries and the holders of high offices,[201] and the custom of exchanging gifts also spread among the elite. These forms of diplomatic and social interaction can be noted in the Barbarian kingdoms too, and we can confidently assume that gift-giving was customary not only between a sovereign and his subjects, but among nobles too.[202] The gifts given to members of the armed retinue in Barbarian societies sealed the bonds between the ruler and his subjects.[203]

Mediterranean metal vessels played a role in social display not only in the late antique world, but also among the Barbarians. The possession of these vessels was seen as a token of high status and they often adorned audience halls and were used when entertaining guests *(Fig. 62)* and during feasts linked to religious ceremonies. Some pieces were displayed or hung on the walls to impress envoys and visiting guests, as recorded by the Byzantine envoy who witnesses the precious metal vessels heaped on the wagons among the tents.[204] The foot of the Tépe plate was perforated for suspension. Court feasts provided an especially excellent occasion for displaying magnificent metal vessels, as eating and serving dishes, as basins for hand-washing, or for presenting libations.[205] However, the demonstration of these functions in Barbarian milieus runs into difficulties.

Jugs and bowls served for hand-washing at Roman and Byzantine banquets and the use of similar vessels in elite Barbarian milieus of Western Europe reflects the adoption of Roman habits. Sets of jugs and *patera*s (bowls with a handle) made of precious metal have not been found in the Carpathian Basin and the sets known from the western Merovingian lands are without exception copper-alloy vessels.[206] The inscription on the underside of the handle of the *patera* from Malaya Pereshchepina clearly refers to a set which in its

Figure 63. Examination of the Budakalász jug in the laboratory of the Institute of Archaeology



Figures 64–65. Fibre-optical digital images of the interior of the Budakalász jug, showing the rough surface after casting and the stub of the casting chaplet that secured the internal clay core during casting

original milieu was made up of a jug and a bowl suitable for pouring and holding water.[207] The sixth-century fluted dish from the Sutton Hoo burial and its late antique prototypes can, to a certain extent, be interpreted as luxurious wash-basins, as can its late antique formal predecessors known from the Kaiseraugust and the Seuso Treasures.[208] In this sense, the presence of the bowl can in itself be seen as an adoption of the table hand-washing basin in the case of both precious metal and copper-alloy vessels (see the discussion of the Hegykő bowl below). At the same time, the use of these vessels for a variety of different purposes such as eating, serving and washing dishes can be noted during the Roman period too, and we have no reason to assume that they were used differently during the early Middle Ages. Late antique precious metal vessels thus became a medium of the self-representation of an elite group in Barbarian societies and they were simultaneously tokens of amicable relations with the high civilisations of the Mediterranean world. The study of the precious metal vessels brought to light on the fringes of the late antique world, in the contact zone between antique and Barbarian civilisation, sheds light on the onset and the initial phase of the cultural transformation of a Barbarian elite that had come into contact with the late antique civilisation of the Mediterranean. Studies on manufacturing techniques and the findings of other archaeometric analyses complement the traditional archaeological, art historical and cultural anthropological inquiries into the nature of this transformation *(Figs 63–65).*

Copper-Alloy Vessels

Jugs

Bočar (Hung. Bocsár, Serbia)

A section of a Gepidic cemetery looted in antiquity was excavated in Bočar in the central Banat region between 1959 and 1963. The cemetery was not plundered by chance for it had contained lavishly furnished burials as indicated by gilt brooches, a *solidus* of Justinian I and two late antique bronze vessels *(Fig. 66)*. The Gepidic kingdom bordered on the Byzantine Empire and relations between them intensified when the Gepids occupied Sirmium, the former imperial town.[209] The vessels reached the region through the local nobility and they had presumably been deposited in their burials.[210]

Figure 66. Bronze vessels from the Gepidic cemetery at Bočar (Bocsár), sixth century. National Museum of Kikinda, Serbia

Tiszagyenda (County Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok, Hungary)

The preliminary report on the discovery of a high-status warrior grave at Tiszagyenda notes that the burial contained a Mediterranean jug.[211] The warrior was laid to rest with his long double-edged sword (*spatha*), his shield, his weapon-belt and a gold *solidus* minted under the Emperor Mauricius Tiberius. The coin is a clear indication that the burial cannot predate his ascension to the throne in 582. The warrior's horse and its ornate harness were found in a separate burial. The tall jug has a cylindrical neck, prominent shoulders and a cylindrical body. Its neck is covered with short punched lines. The body of the copper-alloy jug was hammered from sheet metal and the neck was added separately. Its form assigns it to the sheet-metal jugs used widely during the sixth to ninth centuries in the Byzantine Empire *(Fig. 67)*.

The Tiszagyenda jug was an Eastern Mediterranean mass product. Recent studies on this vessel type have revealed that it had several formal variants, enabling the identification of major workshop centres. Comparable vessels manufactured from copper-alloy sheet metal were current in the eastern Mediterranean during the sixth to eighth centuries, predominantly in Asia Minor and the Near East (Sardis, Constantinople and Dor; *Fig. 68*).[212] It was earlier believed that this

Figure 67. Early Byzantine sheet-metal jug from Tiszagyenda, sixth century. Hungarian National Museum, Budapest

Figure 68. Distribution of early Byzantine sheet-metal jugs in the eastern Mediterranean

type was not among the commodities circulated through long-distance trade because it did not appear among the so-called Coptic copper-alloy vessels known from the Rhine region and Britain. More recently, however, an eastern Mediterranean sheet-metal flagon has been discovered in the Anglo-Saxon royal burial uncovered at Prittlewell, indicating that aside from Tiszagyenda, the type had reached other European regions too.[213]

The mounted warrior laid to rest with a *spatha* and a flamboyant weapon-belt typical for the Germanic peoples was buried at the beginning of the Avar rule on the testimony of Mauricius Tiberius' coin found in his grave. The burial can be fitted into the series of other burials in the Middle Tisza region, which can be linked to Germanic groups surviving into the Avar period. The Tiszagyenda jug is a unique find from the Carpathian Basin – being an eastern Mediterranean product, it seems more likely that it was part of the booty acquired during the Balkanic campaigns rather than a trade commodity. Byzantine sources repeatedly mention that Gepidic warriors participated in the Avar campaigns against Byzantium,[214] and it seems likely that the Tiszagyenda warrior had fought in one of these campaigns and that the copper-alloy jug and the Byzantine *solidus* placed in his grave probably preserved the memory of his military exploits.

Kölked-Feketekapu (County Baranya, Hungary)

Late antique copper-alloy jugs were recovered from two early Avar period cemeteries in Transdanubia. The wooden funerary structure (*Totenhaus*) and the large coffin reinforced with iron clamps in one of the extraordinarily large graves (measuring 320 cm by 205 cm by 335 cm) in the Kölked-Feketekapu burial ground in itself indicated that the grave had been dug for a high-ranking person, which was confirmed by the metal jug and other lavish grave goods, which included a folding stool *(Figs 69–70).*[215] The finds were, without exception, accessories of the period's female costume: a silver gilt and a bronze veil pin, a silver gilt buckle decorated with an interlace design, the silver mounts and the gem-inlaid strap-end of a pendent strap worn on the belt, a gold-hilted dagger and glass beads.

The brass jug has an everted rim, a medium-long conical neck and squat shoulders. The body is rounded at the carination, the lower half is constricted towards the flaring conical base. The high-drawn handle rising above the rim was soldered to the rim and the vessel body *(Fig. 71).* According to the X-ray fluorescence

Figures 69–70. Finds from Grave 173 of the Kölked-Feketekapu B cemetery, seventh century: 1a–b. Veil pins; 2. Glass bead necklace; 3. Silver gilt buckle; 4. Silver-inlaid iron strap-end set with gemstones; 5. Gold-hilted knife with sheath. Hungarian National Museum, Budapest

Figure 71. Brass jug from Grave 173 of the Kölked-Feketekapu B cemetery, sixth–seventh century. Hungarian National Museum, Budapest

analysis, the jug was made from sheet brass.[216] Its formal traits assign the jug to the Mediterranean narrow-necked, squat-shouldered copper-alloy jugs, whose variant with everted rim has good parallels from northern Italy,[217] and sheet-metal jugs with comparable proportions occur among the finds from the Crypta Balbi workshop in Rome.[218] The best counterpart to the Kölked jug comes from a sixth-century ecclesiastical treasure found at Durostorum (modern Silistra in Bulgaria; *Fig. 94. 11*).[219] More distant formal analogies are encountered among early Byzantine silver jugs, for example among the vessels of the Hamah (or Kaper Koraon) Treasure found in Syria.[220]

The brass jug was recovered from a high-status female burial of the Kölked cemetery, whose prominent social standing is reflected by her silver gilt costume accessories and jewellery. The gilt pins found by her head suggest that she wore a veil in the Mediterranean fashion, while the silver belt mounts and the pendent ornament worn on the belt are an indication that she lived in eastern Pannonia and wore the costume of the local elite and not of the nobles coming from the eastern steppe. The richness of her grave goods attests to her prominent social status and wide-ranging contacts, similarly to the grave goods of the other high-status individuals interred in the Kölked cemetery. This local elite with a Merovingian culture retained its far-flung international contacts under the rule of the Avars, and thus the presence of the jug in the Carpathian Basin need not be linked to an Avar campaign in the Balkans since the vessel may have reached Pannonia through personal or trade contacts.[221]

Zamárdi (County Somogy, Hungary)

One of the strongly plundered graves in the Avar-period cemetery investigated at Zamárdi-Rétiföldek yielded a cast copper-alloy jug of the late Roman period *(Fig. 73)*.[222] The jug was found in its original position by the head in the grave's right corner. The jewellery and other artefacts from the grave – a fragmentary bronze chain, a bronze needle-case, a bone casket with bronze mounts and an iron cleaver – suggest that the grave contained a female burial. The spouted jug with constricted neck and high-drawn handle has a classical Hellenistic form. The vessel has prominent shoulders, a constricted base and a low foot. A silver-inlaid leaf pattern encircles the base of the neck.[223] The vessel's lower half is decorated with fluting extending to the base.

On the testimony of its Roman period counterparts, the Zamárdi jug harks back to an Italian form that appeared in the second century, whose variants are attested both in Italy and Pannonia (Intercisa/modern Dunaújváros, Keszthely and Vajta; *Fig. 72*).[224] The Roman jug was probably deposited in the grave as an "antique", although the Avar community using the cemetery could hardly have been aware that the jug had been made some four centuries earlier. It seems likely that the jug was found on an abandoned Roman settlement or in a plundered grave. The role of this Roman copper-alloy vessel in Avar funerary display differed little from that accorded to the copper-alloy vessels reaching the Carpathian Basin from the Byzantine Empire.

Figure 72. Roman-period bronze jugs. 1. Keszthely-Újmajor; 2. Intercisa; 3. Vajta. Hungarian National Museum, Budapest

Figure 73. Roman-period bronze jug from Grave 1635, Zamárdi, second century. Rippl Rónai Museum, Kaposvár

The extensive plundering of the grave indicates that it had contained the burial of a wealthy individual. No matter how incomplete, the surviving grave goods are suitable for assessing the deceased's one-time social milieu and cultural background. The grave goods were made up of adornments such as a bronze chain for a belt pendant and various implements such as a bronze needle-case and a cleaver typical for the Merovingian burials of the early Avar period, suggesting that the woman interred in the grave came from the local Pannonian population and not from the eastern immigrant groups.[225]

Buckets

Periam (Hung. Perjámos, Romania)

The rounded buckets found in assemblages from the Carpathian Basin visibly represent an early Byzantine type. The find context of the handleless bucket made from sheet metal found at Periam in the Banat region is not known.[226] It has an incurving neck, incurving shoulder and a rounded body. A pair of rings were riveted to the rim for the handle, one of which broke off. The bucket has a low ring base bearing a cross with flaring arms in repoussé on its underside, suggesting a former liturgical function (*Figs 74–75*).

Figures 74–75. Bronze bucket with a cross on its underside. Periam (Perjámos), Romania, sixth century. Museum of Banat, Timişoara (Temesvár)

Copper-alloy variants of this bucket type were previously unknown. However, its formal traits echo elements of various Byzantine silver objects bearing imperial control stamps. The lamp of the Hamah (or Kaper Koraon) Treasure is dated by the control stamp of the Emperor Phocas (602–610),[227] while a silver vessel made in Constantinople or Syria bears the stamp of Heraclius Constantine (613–629).[228] The formal similarities with the lamps suggest a seventh-century date for the Periam bucket, which is also supported by the equal-armed cross on its underside.

Várpalota (County Veszprém, Hungary)

One of the strongly disturbed graves in the Avar-period cemetery investigated at Várpalota-Gimnázium yielded a rounded copper-alloy bucket and a bronze purse buckle of the Byzantine type *(Fig. 76).*[229] According to the excavator, the grave contained the burial of a man. The bucket was created from cast sheet metal on an anvil and attained its final form by hammering from the inside, at least judging from the hammering marks in its interior and on the underside of the foot. The round-sectioned handles were cast separately. A pair of lathe-cut lines encircles the upper part of the bucket. The remnants of fire-gilding, still visible on the vessel at the time of its excavation, are no longer visible owing to the conservation

Figure 76. Early Byzantine bucket from Grave 204 of the Avar cemetery of Várpalota, sixth century. Laczkó Dezső Museum, Veszprém

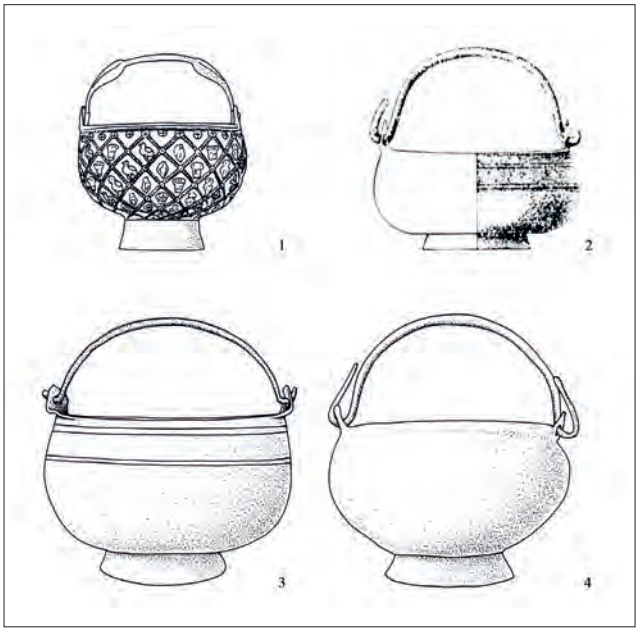


Figure 77. Early Byzantine buckets, sixth–seventh centuries. 1. Vrap, Albania. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; 2. Plemmyrion shipwreck, off the coast of Sicily. Museo Archeologico Regionale Paolo Orsi, Syracuse; 3. Várpalota-Gimnázium, Grave 204. Laczkó Dezső Museum, Veszprém; 4. Nocera Umbra, Grave 32. Museo Nazionale dell'Alto Medioevo, Rome

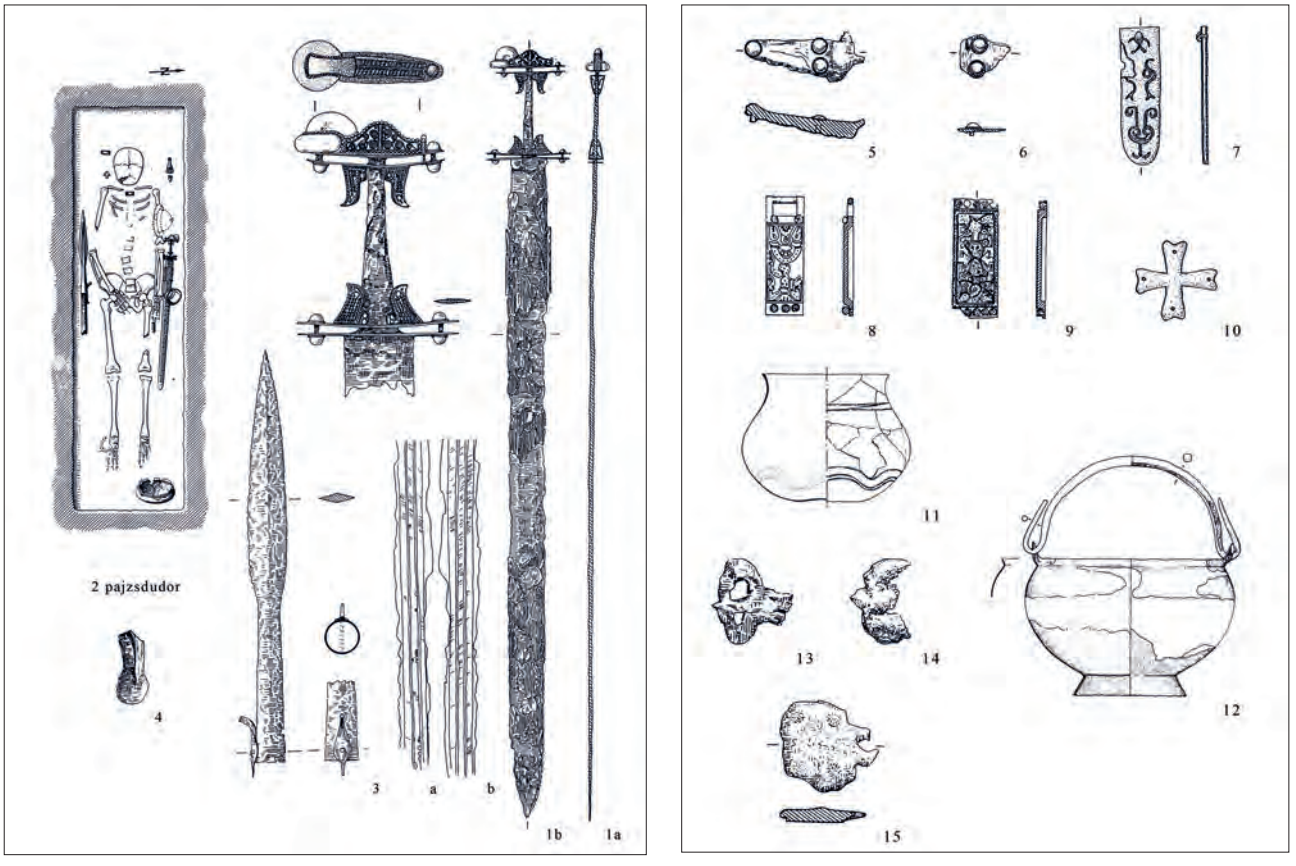
work. The 12.47% zinc content of the metal indicates that it was made from brass, a popular material in the early Byzantine period.[230]

The early Byzantine buckets are distinguished from their Roman period forerunners by their more rounded lower part and their higher conical foot. A handled bucket resembling the one from Várpalota was found together with a sheet-metal jug, candlesticks and a balance scale in the cargo of the shipwreck discovered near Plemmyrion in Sicily *(Fig. 77)*.[231] A good formal counterpart of the Várpalota bucket comes from the sixth-century assemblage of ecclesiastical vessels found at Durostorum *(Fig. 94)*.[232] A more elegant silver variant of this bucket type was part of the Vrap Treasure, which contained various other early Byzantine liturgical silver vessels. The control stamps on the underside of the bucket decorated with animal figures set in a lattice pattern date the vessel to the reign of Anastasius I or Justinian I. It is now housed in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York *(Fig. 77)*.[233]

Bácsújfalu (Selenča, Serbia)

Aside from the above, yet another Byzantine bucket dating from the early Avar period is known from the Carpathian Basin. The strongly damaged vessel and its handle were first interpreted as the remnants of a cauldron.[234] Instead of a large cauldron, however, the surviving vessel fragments rather come from a smaller bucket whose form recalls the piece from Várpalota.[235] The Bácsújfalu bucket contained the remains of a funerary sacrifice, conforming to the steppean custom of the Avar period.

In their original function, these early Byzantine buckets functioned as containers of holy water, as was assumed in the case of the silver bucket in the Vrap Treasure.[236] This liturgical function is supported by their inscriptions and the crosses on them. The handle of the Durostorum bucket is inscribed with the following



Figures 78–79. Bucket from the grave of a Langobard warrior. Nocera Umbra, Grave 32, seventh century. Museo Nazionale dell'Alto Medioevo, Rome

text: "Holy Virgin, help your servant Candidanu!", which underscores that the bucket was intended for ecclesiastical use.[237] The liturgical function of the Periam bucket is indicated by the Byzantine cross on its underside. The other finds from the Plemmyrion shipwreck such as the lamps and the candlesticks too suggest an ecclesiastical assemblage *(Fig. 93)*. Its role in church liturgy perhaps explains why small buckets of this type were not among the commodities of long-distance trade since this type is lacking from among the early Byzantine vessels that were traded to the north from the Mediterranean in the late sixth and during the seventh century.[238]

The three early Byzantine buckets could have reached the Carpathian Basin variously. The most likely of these is that they were part of the loot taken from a church during one of the Avar campaigns in the Balkans.[239] In its new milieu, the bucket's original function changed and it was used for secular purposes, as a container of a steppean type sacrifice (Bácsújfalu) or as an object of display in a male burial of the local population (Várpalota), similarly as in the grave of a wealthy warrior buried with his weapons in the Langobard cemetery excavated at Nocera Umbra in Italy, where the handled bronze bucket was a status symbol signalling his social standing *(Figs 78–79)*.[240]

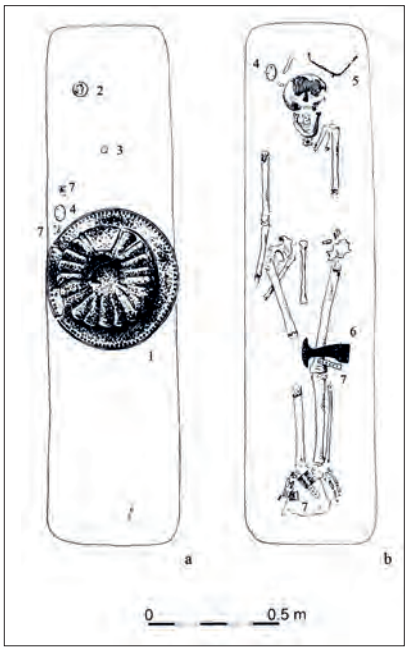
Bowls

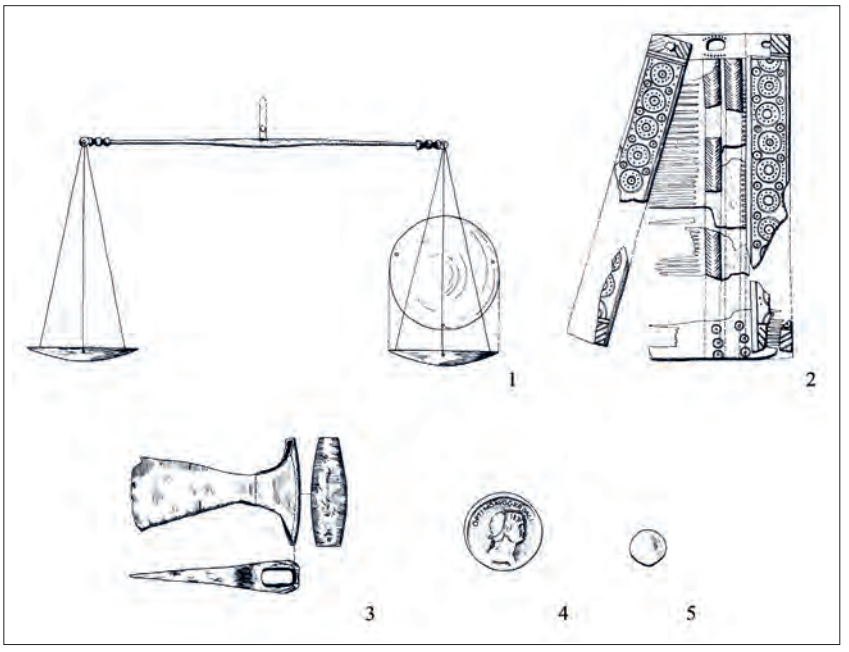
Hegykő (County Győr-Moson-Sopron, Hungary)

One of the graves in the Langobard cemetery excavated at Hegykő yielded a fluted brass bowl with beaded rim *(Figs 80–81)*.[241] The bowl was found in an upside-down position in the plundered burial and thus its original place within the grave is not known. The other grave goods included a Byzantine equal-arm balance scale, a small lead weight, a bronze coin of the Emperor Trajan (98–117), an iron battle-axe, a double-sided comb by the feet and the remains of resin *(Figs 82–83)*.

The brass sheet-metal bowl[242] was heavily damaged; it had been repaired and patched in several spots before its deposition, suggesting a long period of use. The vessel's exterior is smooth, carefully worked, without any hammer marks, suggesting it had been in part made on an anvil.

Figures 80–81. Fluted brass bowl with beaded rim and bronze plaques riveted to its base from Grave 34 of the Langobard cemetery at Hegykő, sixth century. Sopron Museum, Sopron





Figures 82–83. Finds from Grave 34 of the Langobard cemetery at Hegykő, sixth century. Sopron Museum, Sopron

The Late Roman models of the Hegykő bowl are the fluted silver bowls known as washing basins, whose exemplars are known from Sabač (Szabács, Serbia)[243] and Kaiseraugst in Switzerland *(Fig. 84)*.[244] The deep bowl of the Seuso Treasure represents a type with spiral fluting.[245] A good contemporaneous formal analogy to the copper-alloy bowl from Hegykő comes from the royal burial at Sutton Hoo,[246] a fluted bowl dated to the late fifth–sixth century by the classicising female head in profile set in a medallion and the stylised leaf pattern, the Lesbian *kymation*, enclosing it *(Fig. 85)*.[247] The Sutton Hoo bowl is the single contemporaneous silver counterpart of the copper-alloy bowl from Hegykő. The treasure found at Stara Zagora (antique Augusta Traiana) in Bulgaria was made up of early Byzantine jugs and plates as well as a rounded sheet-metal bowl with beaded rim whose resemblance to the Hegykő bowl enabled the reconstruction of the latter's foot.[248] The few comparable fluted bowls found on the territory of the one-time Merovingian Empire, for instance at Dalsheim[249] and Rommersheim[250] in Germany *(Fig. 86)*, probably originated from the eastern Mediterranean. The creation of the fluted decoration called for a pre-planned design and guidelines as well as the use of an anvil, activities that can best be conceptualised in a permanent workshop. The two-handled bowl set on a high foot from one of the sixth-century graves in the municipal cemetery of the Byzantine

Figure 84. Fluted bowls. 1. Silver bowl, Sabač (Szabács, Serbia), fourth century. National Museum of Serbia, Belgrade; 2. Spiral-fluted bowl, Seuso Treasure, later fourth century. Hungarian National Museum, Budapest; 3. Silver bowl, Kaiseraugst Treasure, Switzerland, fourth century. Römermuseum Augst, Augst (Photo courtesy of the Römermuseum Augst)

Figure 85. Fluted bowl with a classicising female head in profile set in a medallion, Sutton Hoo, East Anglia, sixth century. British Museum, London

town at Viminacium in the Lower Danube region is, despite its lack of fluting, one of the closest analogies to the Hegykő bowl.[251]

The form and ornamentation of the Hegykő bowl are thus unrelated to the simple sheet-metal bowls with beaded rim found in the burials of the Merovingian nobles, and have more in common with the similar sixth-century vessels of Mediterranean origin such as the ones from Stara Zagora, Viminacium and Sutton Hoo. The determination of the social status of the person buried at Hegykő is no easy task, given that the grave had been plundered and that the other valuables deposited in it had been removed. A Byzantine equal-arm balance scale deposited in the grave suggests that its owner had been a wealthy person who possessed gold and that the scale had been used for weighing the metal.[252] The Mediterranean copper-alloy bowl

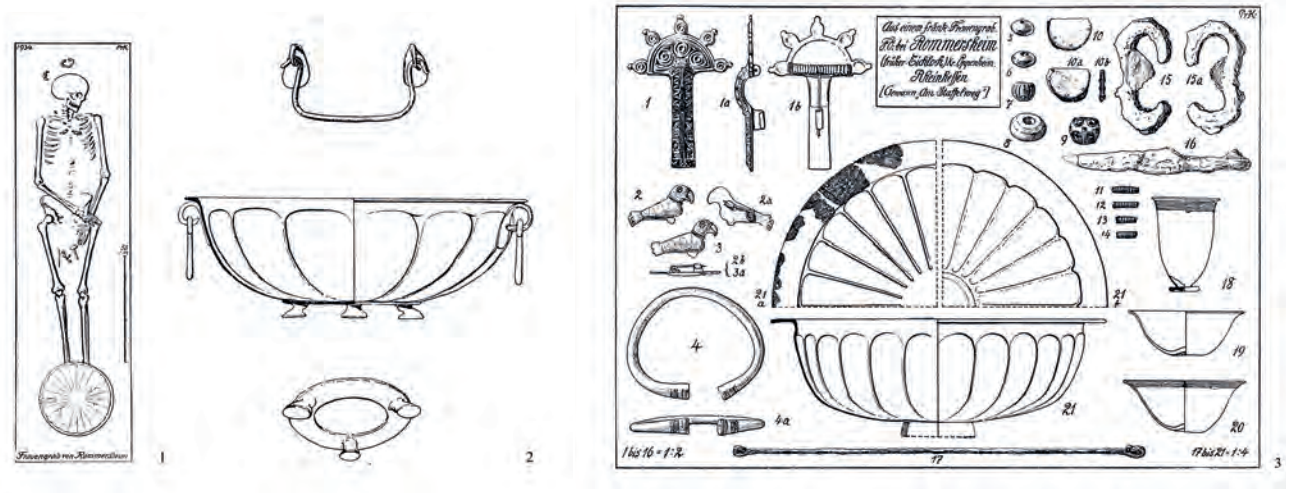


Figure 86. 1. Fluted bronze bowl, Rommersheim, Germany, sixth century;
2. Fluted bronze bowl, Dalsheim, Germany, fifth–sixth century. Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Mainz

reflecting wide-ranging contacts and the Byzantine scale can perhaps be taken as an indication of the deceased's mobility in life and of his occupation (perhaps a merchant), which would have assigned him a prominent position in the Langobard community settling at Hegykő. The low number of Mediterranean imports recovered from Langobard contexts in the Carpathian Basin suggests that the bowl had been a personal gift received through gift-exchange rather than through trade, perhaps as part of the Byzantine-Langobard relations emerging in the middle third of the sixth century.[253] After Byzantium gave her blessing to their occupation of southern Pannonia, the Langobards were able to acquire Byzantine products directly.[254]

Mosonszentjános (County Győr-Moson-Sopron, Hungary)

Three Langobard burials were uncovered in a small family graveyard at Mosonszentjános between 1965 and 1967, one of which preserved the traces of a large post-framed funerary structure (*Totenhaus*) constructed for the man interred in the grave.[255] The burial was extensively plundered, but even so, several artefacts had been overlooked by the grave-robbers, which indicated that the deceased had been a high-status person. The surviving grave good were a large, two-handled, copper-alloy bowl, the interlace-decorated gilt bronze mounts and hoops of a wooden bucket, a conical glass cup with painted patterns, a shield boss with gilded rivets, the silver pommel of an iron sword, two pottery vessels and a large, ovoid, one-handled grey jug *(Fig. 87)*.

Figure 87. Grave goods of a Langobard noble, Grave II, Mosonszentjános, sixth century. 1. Glass cup; 2. Jug; 3. Lance; 4. Shield boss; 5. Cup; 6. Bronze bowl; 7. Wooden bucket decorated with gilt bronze mounts. Hanság Museum, Mosonmagyaróvár

The Mosonszentjános bowl is the single one of its kind in Pannonia, whose form could be reconstructed from similar early Byzantine pieces. Good counterparts to the shallow bowl are known from the Stara Zagora Treasure. The bowl's high foot points to a Mediterranean origin.[256] Its formal and technological traits suggest that similarly to the fluted bowl found at Hegykő, this piece had also reached Pannonia from the Byzantine Empire.[257] The high-status graves at Mosonszentjános were uncommonly large, and despite their extensive plundering, enough survived of the lavish grave goods to attest to the high social position once enjoyed by the deceased. One of the other graves in this graveyard contained a deer burial beside the horse burial, which is frequently encountered in the graves of the nobles of the Merovingian period.[258]

Zamárdi (County Somogy, Hungary)

A copper-alloy bowl set on a low openwork base was recovered from one of the burials in the Avar-period cemetery investigated at Zamárdi *(Figs 88–89)*.[259] The bowl was found in a looted adult burial and contained small seeds. The other finds from the burial were an iron buckle, a fragmentary iron knife and the bronze attachment plaques of belt mounts, suggesting that a man had been interred in the grave. A pair of rings for the omega-shaped handles was soldered under the rim of the brass bowl. The bowl was cast using the lost-wax

Figures 88–89. Cast brass bowl with openwork base and drop handles from Grave 244, Zamárdi-Rétiföldek, seventh century. Rippl Rónai Museum, Kaposvár

technique and the cast piece was then cold worked. The foot decorated with an openwork pattern was cast in one with the bowl. The bowl's exterior and interior was polished on a lathe, as evidenced by the narrow concentric turn-marks and the centering points. However, only the visible parts of the vessel were polished, while the interior of the foot-ring and the bowl's underside were left rough. The lightly-drawn equal-armed cross on the underside was incised into the wax model, i.e. it was created as part of the casting process.

Bowls of this type were mass-produced in the Byzantine Empire, in Egypt, in the Near East, in Asia Minor and in Italy, while they could hardly have been produced in the European Barbaricum in the lack of workshops familiar with brass and the necessary casting technology. A fifth-century prototype of the bowl was recovered from one of the tumulus graves of the Ballana cemetery in Nubia,[260] while a sixth-century piece comes from Viminacium *(Figs 90–91).*[261] Comparable cast copper-alloy bowls occur from the late sixth century and throughout the seventh century in the burials of high-ranking Frankish, Alemannic, Bavarian, Anglo-Saxon and Langobard nobles, for example at Civezzano in Italy and at Hüfingen and Wonsheim in Germany.

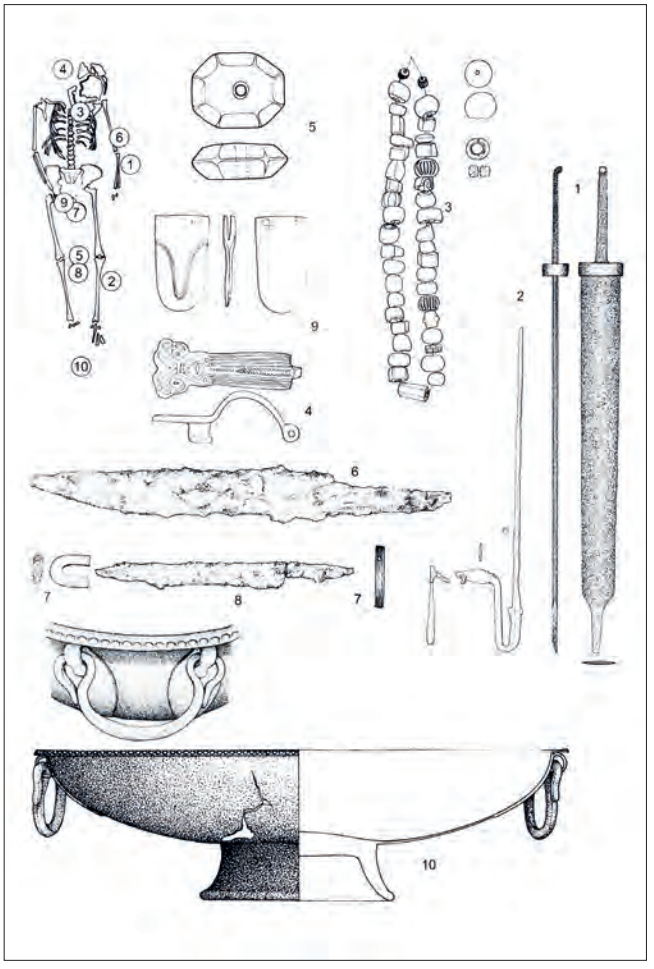


Figure 90. Grave 118 of the late antique cemetery at Viminacium (modern Kostolac), Serbia, sixth century

Judging from its form, the cast copper-alloy vessel could have been manufactured both in an eastern and a western Mediterranean workshop since products of both regions reached the Carpathian Basin during the early Avar period. A look at the metal composition can be of aid in resolving this question. The proportion of copper and zinc in the metal composition of the Zamárdi bowl indicates that it was made from brass.[262] While the cast copper-alloy vessels of the early Byzantine period made in Egypt and Asia Minor stand out by their high zinc content,[263] the copper-alloy vessels reaching the Anglo-Saxons[264] and the Franks[265] generally contain a lower amount of copper and zinc and a higher proportion of lead and tin. The Zamárdi bowl is characterised by a medium-high zinc content, a small

Figure 91. Copper-alloy bowl with beaded rim from Grave 118, Viminacium (modern Kostolac), Serbia, middle third of the sixth century. National Museum of Požarevac

amount of lead and a surprisingly high proportion of tin, suggesting that it had been made in a western Mediterranean (Italian) workshop rather than in an Egyptian, Near Eastern or Anatolian one.

Countless bowls bearing an equal-armed Byzantine cross on their underside are known from the Mediterranean and some are even encountered in the graves of Barbarian nobles (Aschheim, Cividale, Hüfingen, Winkel, Wohnsheim and Wickhambreux). The cross on these vessels is a clear indication that the bowls had been used in church liturgy, but this function cannot be confirmed in the Barbarian cultural milieu, and thus their occurrence in the graves of individuals interred according to pagan rites can hardly be seen as a reference to the Christian faith of the deceased.[266]

The copper-alloy bowl found at Zamárdi may have reached Pannonia as part of booty, although other possibilities are also feasible. This is the single type among the copper-alloy vessels of the Avar period of which we know that it had been a commodity of Mediterranean long-distance trade during the later sixth and throughout the seventh century, and that various pieces had reached Western Europe.[267] The Zamárdi bowl represents the easternmost occurrence of this bowl type in the Central European region. Given that its metal composition suggests that it was the product of an early Byzantine workshop active in Italy, the bowl could have reached the Avar-period population living in the southern Balaton region through personal or trade contacts with Italy. A handful of other finds such as a silver-inlaid iron folding stool, *millefiori* beads and glass cups also attest to items circulated through long-distance trade, which in turn suggest that the leaders of the local Germanic groups and of the descendants of the Romanised population of Pannonia during the early Avar period were able to procure Mediterranean luxury items for themselves, in part through long-distance trade.

Copper-Alloy Vessels at Nobles' Feasts

Copper-alloy vessels in Pannonia of old

In the lands of the one-time Roman and Byzantine Empires, late antique copper-alloy vessels used in daily life and in church liturgy are known solely from treasures and settlements, but not from burials, because everyday objects were not placed into the burials of Christians for the journey to the otherworld.[268] In contrast, late antique copper-alloy vessels such as jugs, plates and amphoras were regarded as status symbols by the Barbarian peoples of Europe and Italy, and were accordingly deposited in the burials of the Langobard, Alemannic, Bavarian, Frankish and Anglo-Saxon nobles during the fifth to seventh centuries.[269] At the same time, copper-alloy vessels are not encountered in the burials of the steppean peoples with a nomadic cultural background either in the Carpathian Basin, or in the steppe region bordering on the Pontic.

The above clearly suggest that the diversity in the use of copper-alloy vessels and their deposition in burials can be traced to differing cultural attitudes, all of which are encountered in one form or another in the Carpathian Basin, where these European cultural trajectories can be meaningfully modelled. Adding the hitherto neglected vessels from the sites dating from the Langobard period (Hegykő, Mosonszentjános) and the Avar period (Budakalász, Kölked, Tiszagyenda, Várpalota, Zamárdi) discussed here to the maps showing the European distribution of Mediterranean copper-alloy vessels, we find that similarly to the European populations of the Merovingian period, the Langobard- and especially the Avar-period local population in Transdanubia, in the eastern half of the former province of Pannonia, had a high appreciation for the late antique copper-alloy vessels from the Mediterranean and deposited them in their graves. The deceased interred in the Pannonian burials containing copper-alloy vessels were without exception high-ranking members of their community and all had ties with the European Merovingian culture. The finds from the Transdanubian cemeteries described in the above are eloquent illustrations of the many different ways in which these communities were culturally embedded in the Europe of their age.[270]

Most of the graves containing Mediterranean copper-alloy vessels had been extensively looted and thus the social rank of the deceased can only be determined indirectly. In most cases, the very fact that the grave had been robbed and the extent of the plundering is in itself an indication of the deceased's probable wealth. The metal vessel from the high-status graveyard at Mosonszentjános was recovered from an outstandingly rich Langobard-period burial. Although the Hegykő grave was a looted burial too, the Byzantine scale found with the metal vessel attests to the one-time prosperity of the deceased.

The exceptionally lavish grave goods of the Kölked-Feketekapu burial were a reflection of the interred woman's high social standing.[271] The status of the warrior buried at Tiszagyenda is indicated by the early

Byzantine metal vessel as well as by the ornate weapons, the silver-inlaid mounts of his weapon belt, the gold *solidus* of the Emperor Mauricius Tiberius and the burial of his horse and its harness in a separate grave.[272] The silver gilt earrings in the plundered Budakalász grave points to a wealthy individual, but not to extraordinary riches. No other finds providing clues as to the social status of the deceased survived in the Várpalota and the Zamárdi graves that contained the early Byzantine vessels. At Mosonszentjános and Kölked, the nobles were buried separately in a smaller graveyard,[273] while in the other cemeteries, the graves containing the metal vessels lay among the other burials arranged in rows. Thus, the overall picture is that individuals buried with copper-alloy vessels were members of the wealthier social groups and that they had acquired these articles through personal contacts, during their travels, through trade or during military campaigns.[274] Similarly, copper-alloy vessels frequently accompany the burials of wealthy, high-status individuals (both men and women) in Western Europe during the Merovingian period. The copper-alloy vessels from Transdanubia reveal that the elite of the local (Germanic) population followed the Western European Merovingian custom by depositing these vessels in their burials.

Mediterranean copper-alloy vessels have not been found in the royal and princely burials or in the commoners' graves of the steppean nomad population of the early medieval period in the Carpathian Basin, even though it seems most unlikely that they had not been part of the booty acquired during the Byzantine-Balkanic campaigns. The single early Byzantine copper-alloy vessel was recovered from a funerary sacrificial assemblage in the steppean tradition found at Bácsújfalu – in this case, however, the vessel was not a medium of social display, but functioned simply as a container. The Avar elite was buried with the silver and gold jugs and goblets produced by their own goldsmiths, a practice that has been mostly documented in the eastern half of the Carpathian Basin, where the elite clinging to its steppean traditions had settled (Kunbábony, Bócsa, Kunágota). The elite of the eastern population appears to have had no taste for the Mediterranean copper-alloy vessels which were culturally alien to them – they only prized the precious metal vessels they had received as valuable gifts. The deposition of the silver and gold vessels in the grave conformed to the Eurasian steppean traditions of the sixth and seventh centuries.[275]

Court culture: Feasting and hand-washing

Copper-alloy vessels were regarded as highly valuable commodities by the Western European Barbarian peoples during the fifth to seventh centuries because their own coppersmiths were unable to produce these wares and because their procurement from the Mediterranean ran into difficulties.[276] Owing to their high social prestige, copper-alloy vessels became status symbols and were eventually deposited in the burials of the Langobard and early Avar nobles together with their valuable costume adornments and jewellery. Thus, similarly to the situation in the Barbaricum during the Roman period, copper-alloy vessels were placed in

Figure 92. Hand-washing scene in the Stuttgart Psalter, ca. 820 (Cod. Bibl. fol. 32, [66] 31v)

the burials not of the aristocracy, but of a broader class of nobles.[277] The form of the copper-alloy vessels reflected a blend of centuries-long traditions and various functional considerations in late antique Mediterranean civilisation. These valuable vessels were put to various uses in the Carpathian Basin, and their function could even change from time to time.[278] The elite's efforts to obtain and possess late antique copper-alloy vessels with a high prestige reflect the desire to emulate the "court culture" and life-style of the

Mediterranean nobles and to adopt their table customs *(Fig. 92)*.[279] A similar tendency can be noted during the Celtic period, when the use of antique import vessels signalling the high status of their elite owners similarly marked a rudimentary adoption of the Mediterranean life-style.[280] In this sense, the deposition of late antique metal vessels in early medieval graves attests to the attempts of copying the customs and life-style of the imperial aristocracy. The examination of well-documented archaeological contexts and a meticulous study of the function of copper-alloy vessel can shed light on some dimensions of this cultural tendency.

According to one interpretation, copper-alloy bowls were used for hand-washing (finger-washing) as was customary at aristocratic feasts in late antiquity, when the only pieces of cutlery were forks.[281] Another explanation is that the jugs and plates were used for serving food and drink. Several depictions of antique feasts (*symposion*) have survived on which metal vessels are shown as being used for eating, serving and storing food.[282] Although jug and bowl services expressly used for hand-washing have not been found in the Carpathian Basin, the bowls can be regarded as an indication of this function in themselves.[283] Sets made up of a jug and a bowl have been found in the burial of several Merovingian nobles. One of the passages in the chronicle of the Fontenelle Abbey written in the earlier ninth century mentions a metal jug and a handled bowl that can be regarded as a hand-washing service.[284]

The vessels recovered from the burials of the Barbarian nobles living in the Roman period[285] and in the early Middle Ages[286] attest to the importance of court feasts, during which late antique metal vessels played a prominent role in serving food. This function is sometimes confirmed by the food remains found in them (such as animal bones, walnuts, fruits). A bronze bowl from Faversham (Kent) in England contained hazelnuts.[287] Of the copper-alloy vessels found in the Carpathian Basin, the Zamárdi bowl contained small seeds, while the remains of some organic substances (perhaps lipids from food) were identified in the Budakalász jug.[288] A functional change in how these vessels were used in the Barbarian milieu must certainly be reckoned with because the vessels earlier serving as hand-washing bowls had to be absolutely watertight, but once they became unsuitable for hand-washing, they could still be used for serving solid food at meals.[289] The brass bowl from Hegykő was patched by the time it was deposited in the grave, meaning that it had become unsuitable for holding liquids.

There is no direct literary evidence on whether the Merovingian nobles had used these vessels for washing or personal grooming, and thus their one-time function can only be deduced from a closer look at their find contexts and the accompanying finds.[290] One of the bronze bowls with beaded rim in the Westheim cemetery in Bavaria was found together with a comb, the other with scissors, suggesting that they had been used for personal grooming,[291] A comb and scissors were associated with the bowl placed in the burial of a mounted warrior in the Alach cemetery,[292] also in Germany, while the sheet-metal and the cast copper-alloy bowls in the Horkheim cemetery each contained a comb, underscoring the possible use of these vessels in grooming routines.[293] Textile remnants from linen, silk, feather pillows and woollen blankets are often found on the vessels.[294]

Although the copper-alloy vessels were deposited in the graves in accordance with the pagan custom of furnishing the deceased's burial, several vessels (such as the Zamárdi bowl) bear a cross on their underside.

Vessels with a similar form and function as the ones recovered from secular burials were used in church liturgy and in monastic milieus.[295] Some jug types were suitable for liturgical purposes too,[296] and in this sense, the copper-alloy vessels found in monasteries may have been symbols of a Mediterranean life-style as well as of Christian culture. The Greek inscription on the handle of a bowl found at Güttingen in Switzerland exhorts to ritual washing, as does the inscription on the jug from Thierhaupten in Germany.[297] Early medieval jugs from Spain are frequently inscribed with the word *vita* ("life"), perhaps alluding to their use in baptisms.[298] Further research is needed to establish whether the metal vessels bearing crosses placed in burials reflecting pagan funerary practices can be taken as an indication of the deceased's familiarity with the Christian faith despite the Barbarian milieu.[299] At the same time, the secular use of objects decorated with Christian symbols or scenes is also feasible, as seems likely in the case of the early Avar bowl found at Zamárdi.[300]

Trade and booty

Mediterranean copper-alloy vessels were extensively used in Europe from Spain to Britain, and the circulation of various commodities through long-distance trade undoubtedly played a major role in this widespread

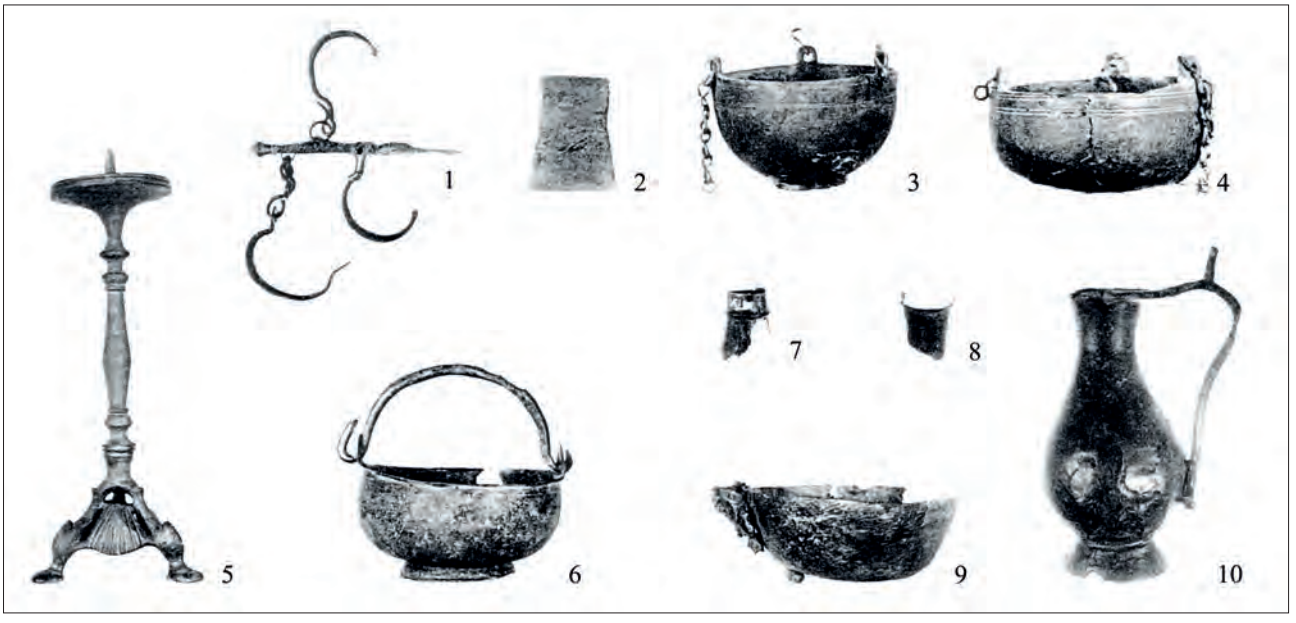


Figure 93. Lamps, a bucket, a jug, a candlestick and a scale from the cargo of the Plemmyrion shipwreck off the coast of Sicily, sixth century. Museo Archeologico Regionale Paolo Orsi, Syracuse

Figure 94. Ecclesiastical treasure, Durostorum (modern Silistra), Bulgaria, sixth century. Silistra History Museum, Silistra

distribution.[301] While the rather uniform range of copper-alloy vessel types across Western Europe reflects a highly-organised trade, items acquired through personal contacts and during travels must also be considered.[302] In contrast, the rich diversity of sheet-metal and cast metal vessels reaching the Carpathian Basin does not suggest an organised trade activity on a regular basis and with a consistent intensity.[303] The evidence from Western Europe indicates that the Zamárdi bowl and the Kölked jug are the single copper-alloy vessel types that circulated through long-distance trade during the sixth and seventh centuries, and thus only in the case of these two vessels can we assume that they mark the easternmost boundary of this trade network. At the same time, the finds from several eastern Transdanubian cemeteries (e.g. Kölked, Budakalász and Szekszárd) include objects that could have been acquired through trade, such as *millefiori* beads and silver-inlaid iron stools, implying that the long-distance trade routes from the Mediterranean leading to early medieval Western Europe also passed through Pannonia during the early Avar period.

Recent studies have demonstrated that the cast metal vessels reaching Western Europe through trade were produced in Italy and this possibility must certainly be considered in the case of the metal vessels found in the Carpathian Basin too, especially in view of the metal composition of the Zamárdi bowl, which is highly similar to that of the Italian pieces.[304] However, direct trade links between the Carpathian Basin and the Byzantine Empire also seem likely, given that the two bordered on each other, and various items could have reached the Carpathian Basin as parts of booty acquired during campaigns, as part of trade along the frontier, or through the mediation of provincial Byzantine settlers *(Fig. 96)*.[305]

The strikingly low number of copper-alloy vessels found in Langobard and Gepidic contexts rather points to personally acquired pieces and personal contacts (Hegykő, Bočar). The archaeological record indicates the presence of wealthy social groups in the Carpathian Basin during the sixth and seventh centuries who acquired Mediterranean metal vessels and other luxury goods such as the early Christian Menas flask (*ampulla*) from Savaria[306] and Mediterranean glass vessels[307] not necessarily as part of booty, but through personal contacts, in the course of their travels, or through trade.

Figure 95. Early Byzantine metal vessels and their Avar-period clay copies from the seventh century. 1. Footed bowl, Zamárdi, Grave 244. Rippl Rónai Museum, Kaposvár; 2. Clay cauldron, Tiszavasvári. Jósa András Museum, Nyíregyháza; 3. Bucket, Várpalota, Grave 204. Laczkó Dezső Museum, Veszprém; 4. Clay cauldron, Bokros. Móra Ferenc Museum, Szeged; 5. Bronze cauldron, Csolnok. Hungarian National Museum, Budapest; 6. Clay cauldron, Kölked-Feketekapu. Hungarian National Museum, Budapest

Late Antique Metal Vessels and Barbarian Clay Pots

Scholarship on the Migration period and the early Middle Ages in the Carpathian Basin has so far neglected a detailed examination of the influence of late antique Mediterranean metal, glass and ceramic vessels on local pottery production. Studies on the pottery of the Barbaricum during the Roman period have progressed much farther in this respect. Earlier, the correlation of the vessels brought to light on archaeological excavations with the vessels described in the literary sources gave a huge impetus to the study of Roman-period pottery.[308] A similar comparison is now available for Byzantine pottery too, which will undoubtedly promote the identification of genuine Byzantine wares and their local copies in Barbarian contexts.[309]

Late antique traditions in pottery production during the fifth and sixth centuries in the Carpathian Basin have so far only been identified in the case of ceramic wares found on settlements, and these mostly relate to technological details.[310] However, the possible formal similarities with antique metal and glass wares has not been examined in detail. As far as seventh and eighth-century Avar-period pottery is concerned, the technological and formal similarities with early Byzantine types have been studied in detail, although close formal links can only be assumed in the case of a few flask, jug and pot types.[311] In general, pottery fired to a yellowish-red colour can be associated with Byzantine pottery production technologies, while a formal link can be assumed in the case of a handful of more rounded pots and jugs with globular lower body. Direct links with early Byzantine metalworking is indicated by the Byzantine amphoras and oil-lamps found in southern Transdanubia.[312]

It seems to me that the seventh–tenth-century baking bells used for baking bread and meat, and the hand-thrown and wheel-turned cauldrons hung above an open fire were modelled on Mediterranean prototypes. The use of fragile clay baking bells and cauldrons that would have been unsuited to transportation reflects a sedentary life-style. The clay cauldrons of the Carpathian Basin were initially linked to the new population groups arriving from the east; later, they were regarded as copies of Roman cauldrons or they were seen as a locally evolved ceramic type without any obvious prototypes. Sheet-metal cauldrons that could have been the models for the local clay variants have been recovered from several early Avar burials, for instance at Bölcske, Csolnok, Lovčenac (Szeghegy, Serbia) and Szentes-Kaján.[313] Although metal baking-bells are not known, the clay versions are attested on the settlements and in the forts of the early Byzantine period, and the use of this vessel type embodying a distinctive culinary culture spread to the Carpathian Basin too from the later seventh century onward.[314] The clay cauldrons of the Avar period are characterised by straight sides and a strongly rounded base,[315] traits that are typical for early Byzantine cauldrons and buckets *(Fig. 95)*. Parallels

to the Bölcske and Csolnok cauldrons with straight sides and rounded base can be cited from Mediterranean assemblages such as the ones from Stara Zagora in Bulgaria,[316] Nin in Croatia[317] and Yassi Ada in Turkey.[318] In view of the formal parallels from Corinth[319] and Eleutherna in Greece[320] and from Sardis in Turkey[321] that were made using the same technique, the Avar-period copper-alloy cauldrons hark back to early Byzantine rather than to Roman models, while clay cauldrons most likely copied the form of contemporaneous Byzantine metal vessels.

The local clay copies of late antique metal vessels provide incontestable evidence that Mediterranean culinary habits and the Mediterranean life-style had been embraced not only by the elite, but had reached the lower social classes as well, and gradually came to permeate all groups of Avar-period society. This innovative transformation sparked by cultural impacts from the outside world ran parallel to the continued existence of old traditions and did not wholly obliterate old customs. Many dimensions of this colourful cultural world yet remain to be explored in order to have a better understanding of how the lives of the peoples living in the Carpathian Basin had changed during the early Middle Ages.

Figure 96. Map of sites mentioned in the text

Conclusion

The valuable precious metal and copper-alloy vessels made in Roman and Byzantine workshops that reached the Barbarian lands attest to the wide-ranging contacts between the late antique world of the Mediterranean and the early medieval Barbarian kingdoms emerging on its fringes. Precious metal vessels have mostly been recovered from the burials and the treasures of the elite, while the copper-alloy vessels used in daily life are generally found in assemblages of the middle classes. The metal vessels from the Mediterranean, which have been preserved on the settlements of the Migration-period and early medieval elite as well as in their burials and in their treasures, reached the peoples of the Carpathian Basin in many different ways.

That these vessels were produced in a genuine late antique cultural milieu is indicated by their form, manufacturing techniques, ornamentation and imagery, which often provide clues to their date and, in exceptionally lucky cases, to their workshop, as well as to the artistic and social background of their production. Precious metal vessels were important elements of the king's and the nobles' social display, and they played a prominent role in maintaining amicable relations between the elites and in forging and sealing alliances between late antique states and the Barbarian kingdoms. Late antique metal vessels retained their prominence as status symbols in the Barbarian world too, although there were changes in their use as well as in their function, and a shift can be noted in their social role too. Late antique and early Byzantine vessels in the possession of the Barbarian nobles of early medieval Europe became important mediums of social display not only during their owners' lives, but also after their death after being deposited in their burials.

Precious metal vessels principally attest to the relations between sovereigns. They were generally made in imperial workshops catering to the elite and are therefore outstanding relics of late antique metalwork and art, which, quite uniquely, have been mostly preserved in the archaeological legacy of the Barbarian kings, princes and nobles living beyond the empire. The vessels found in the treasures and burials of the Barbarian elite were deliberately selected and this provides an opportunity for taking a closer look at the reason as well as the purpose of this selection. Given that the importance ascribed to metal vessels was an expression of the community's values and customs, as was their deposition, they figure prominently in studies on social display. The social role or roles of the deceased – as a leader, warrior, father, official, wealthy person, etc. – had a profound influence on the burial mode in the Migration period and the early Middle Ages, and these were articulated through a deliberate selection of the grave goods to be placed in the grave by the community performing the burial. This, in turn, inspired studies on social roles and cultural impacts as reflected by late antique metal vessels.

Divorced from their original context in the lands beyond the empire, the use and the social importance of late antique metal vessel changed little after coming into the possession of the Barbarian elite because they remained the mediums of expressing the prominent social status, power and the "good life" of the aristocracy and the nobles in the Barbarian lands too. The Roman and the Byzantine court, and the culture and life-style of the elite served as a model for the Barbarians, and the ultimate purpose of emulation was the legitimisation of power and of an elite status.

The vessels deposited in graves and in treasures symbolised the royal treasury and were in this sense the embodiment of rulership, just like they had been on occasions calling for ceremonial feasts. The objects associated with memorable events such as legations, nuptials or the conclusion of peace were mediums of cultural memory in societies that lacked literacy and relied on oral traditions, and they therefore played a crucial role in the self-representation of the higher social classes.

In contrast, the cheaper sheet-metal or cast copper-alloy vessels reached a much broader circle of the elite and reflected the appeal as well as the option of adopting an unfamiliar, but nonetheless attractive life-style. The copper-alloy vessels placed in burials were similarly status symbols, and owing to their much higher number, they reflect the emulation of antique models in culinary culture or, in the case of hand-washing bowls, of cleanliness during feasts among high-status groups.

Because of the period's funerary customs, the distribution patterns of the vessels deposited in the graves outline the cultural milieus and geographic regions in which antique metal vessels were viewed as status symbols and as desirable goods by the period's social groups. In addition to a study of their form and the style of their decoration and imagery, the examination of the find contexts of antique metal vessels and of how they were used is equally important – studies in this field have shown that these elements of material culture attest to the many forms of diplomatic and social communication. The study of late antique metal vessels from the Barbaricum has offered fresh insights into the regional extent and temporality as well as the nature and social impact of cultural and other networks – gift exchanges, diplomatic relations, trade, booty, etc. – extending beyond the frontiers of late antique civilisation. In the wake of these studies, and from the information contained in the written sources and the archaeological record, we now have a better understanding of the role played by antique metal vessels in the outward and inward social display of the Migration-period and early medieval peoples, as well as of their new functions in pagan and Christian rituals, whether performed as parts of ceremonial feasts or during sacrifices.

Notes

1 Menander Protector: *Excerpta de sententiis* (*Excerpta historica iussu imp. Constantini Porphyrogeneti confecta*, vol. IV), edited by U. Ph. Boissevian, Berolini 1906, 456, 12–458, 30.

2 Hardt 1998a, 317–331; Hardt 1998b, 255–280; Hardt 2003, 95–107; Schmauder 2003, 81–94; Wickham 2004, 9–18; Hardt 2004; Hardt 2008, 125–143; Quast 2011, 253–268.

3 H.-H. von Prittwitz und Gaffron – H. Mielsch: *Das Haus Lacht vor Silber.* Köln, Bonn: Rheinland Verlag GmbH 1997; Leader-Newby 2004.

4 Hardt 2004, 136–215.

5 Pohl 1988, 178–185.

6 Török 2005a, 37–50, 51–111.

7 P. Brown: *The World of Late Antiquity, from Marcus Aurelius to Muhammad. AD 150–750*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich 1971; Bowersock 1990; P. Brown: *The Rise of Western Christendom. Triumph and Diversity A.D. 200–1000.* Oxford and Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell 1996; A. Cameron: *The Mediterranean World in Late Antiquity, AD 395–600.* London, New York: Routledge 1993; P. Brown et al.: The World of Late Antiquity Revisited. Symbolae Osloenses. *Norwegian Journal of Greek and Latin Studies* 72, 1997, 5–90; A. Cameron: The 'long' late antiquity: a late twentieth-century model. In: T. P. Wiseman (ed.): *Classics in Progress. Essays on Ancient Greece and Rome*. Oxford: Oxford University Press 2002, 165–191. For a discussion of religious and political transformations, see G. Fowden: *Empire to Commonwealth. Consequences of Monotheism in Late Antiquity.* Princeton: Princeton University Press 1993.

8 Bowersock 1990. László Török has persuasively argued that the changes in Hellenistic style, iconography and imagery in late antiquity can best be described as a transfiguration rather than as a transformation. Török 2005a, 9–112.

9 B. Kiilerich: *Late fourth century classicism in the plastic arts. Studies in the so-called Theodosian renaissance.* Odense University Classical Studies 18. Odense: University Press 1993; B. Kiilerich: *The Obelisk Base in Constantinople. Court Art and Imperial Ideology.* Rome: Giorgo Bretschneider 1998.

10 J. Elsner: *Art and the Roman Viewer. The Transformation of Art from the Pagan World to Christianity.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1995; J. Elsner: *Imperial Rome and Christian Triumph. The Art of the Roman Empire AD 100–450.* Oxford History of Art. Oxford: Oxford University Press 1998; Muth 2001, 95–116.

11 For comprehensive overviews of the new advances in historical and archaeological research, see the studies in the thirteen volumes of the series *Transformation of the Roman World*, edited by I. Wood, and in the six volumes of the series *Late Antique Archaeology*, edited by L. Lavan, published to date.

[12] For the problems in the periodisation of the late antique and early Byzantine period, see Á. Bollók: The Archaeology of the Byzantine State. *Antaeus* 33, 2015, 265–314.

[13] Török 2005b, 11.

[14] F. Lotter: *Völkerverschiebungen im Ostalpen-Mitteldonauraum zwischen Antike und Mittelalter (375–600).* Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde 39. Berlin, New York: De Gruyter 2003, 46–57.

[15] M. Mundell Mango: The archaeological context of finds of silver in and beyond the Eastern Empire. In: N. Cambi–E. Marin (eds.): *Radovi XIII. Međunarodnog Kongresa za Starokršćansku Arheologiju.* Split-Poreč (25.9.–1.10.1994). Acta XIII Congressus Internationalis Archaeologiae Christianae III (Studi di Antichità Cristiana LIV); Vjesnik za Arheologiju i Historiju Dalmatinsku Supl. 87–89. Città del Vaticano. Split 1998, 207–252.

[16] Leader-Newby 2004, 61–122.

[17] J. P. C. Kent: The comes sacrarum largitionum. In: Cruikshank Dodd 1961, 35–45.

[18] Engemann 1984, 115–131. For a recent discussion of metal jugs, see Vida 2010, 363–382.

[19] J. W. Solomonson: Kunstgeschichtliche und ikonographische Untersuchungen zu einem Tonfragment der Sammlung Benaki in Athen. *Bulletin Antieke Beschaving* 48, 1973, 3–90; Török 2005a, 37–50.

[20] Harris 2003, 56–67.

[21] The metal composition of the Budakalász jug is as follows: iron (Fe): 0.219%, copper (Cu): 74.69%, zinc (Zn): 18.308%, lead (Pb): 4.085%, tin (Sn): 1.958%. I would here like to thank Zoltán May of the Institute of Materials and Environmental Chemistry of the Chemical Research Centre of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences for the new XRF measurements (October 15, 2010). The measurements were funded by NKFIH-OTKA Grant 89981.

[22] O. Werner: Über das Vorkommen von Zink und Messing in Altertum und im Mittelalter. *Erzmetall* 23, 1970, 259–269; P. T. Craddock: The composition of the copper alloys used by the Greek, Etruscan and Roman civilizations, 3. The origins and early use of brass. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 5, 1978, 1–16; P. T. Craddock: Zinc in Classical Antiquity. In: P. T. Craddrock (ed.): *2000 Years of Zinc and Brass* [Meeting Bristol 1985]. British Museum Occasional Paper 50. London: British Museum 1990, 1–6; J. Riederer: Kupfer, Bronze, Messing. In: J. Riederer: *Archäologie und Chemie. Einblicke in die Vergangenheit.* Ausstellung des Rathgen-Forschungslabors SMPK. Berlin: Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz 1987, 99–130. In the antique world, brass was produced in Cyprus, Egypt, the Caucasus and Iran. Pliny: *Naturalis historiae* 34, 2. 117.

[23] The X-ray photos were made by Dr. László Nagy in 1996 in the Korányi Hospital.

[24] The jug's endoscopic examination was performed by Dr. Balázs Gusztáv Mende in the Archaeometry Laboratory of the Institute of Archaeology of the Research Centre for the Humanities of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in 2015.

[25] M. Schulze-Dörrlamm: Neuerwerbungen für die Sammlungen. *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseums* 41/2, 1994, 653–654, Abb. 92.

[26] Fallico 1967, 94, Fig. 10. 16.

[27] For a recent overview of early Byzantine cast jugs, see Werz 2005, 1–137.

[28] Plain copper-alloy jugs as well as variants with a simple engraved decoration were mass-produced in several workshops of the Mediterranean lying in Italy, Asia Minor, the Balkans, Iberia and Sardinia, and reached distant parts of Europe through long-distance trade. Schulze-Dörrlamm 2010; Drauschke 2011, 125–135.

[29] Mundell Mango–Benett 1994, 241–266 and 267–318.

[30] Zalesskaya et al. 1997, 274–275, Cat. no. 4.

[31] S. A. Naumenko – S. I. Bezuglov: Új bizánci és iráni leletek a Don vidék sztyeppéiről – New Finds of Byzantine and Iranian Import in the Steppes of the Don Region. *A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Közleményei – Studia Archaeologica* II, 1996, 255, Fig. 2.

[32] E. Cruikshank Dodd: Byzantine Silver Stamps. More Treasure from Syria. *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 22, 1968, 276, No. 103.

[33] Davidson 1952, Pl. 51, No. 556.

[34] Bálint 2004, 30, 35, 443.

[35] For the survival of late antique and early Byzantine vessel forms, see Engemann 1984, 115–131; M. Mundell Mango: Continuity of fourth/fifth century silver plate in the sixth/seventh centuries in the Eastern Empire. *Antiquité Tardive* 5, 1997, 83–92.

[36] *Ludiaria venatio* (animal combat), *ludi amphitheatrales* (staged circus games), *spectaculum venatorium* (staged spectacles of hunting), *saepta venatiorum* (hunting in game parks). Lavin 1963, 181–286; M. Mundell Mango – C. Mango – A. C. Evans – M. Hughes: A 6th-century Mediterranean bucket from Bromeswell Parish, Suffolk. *Antiquity* 63, 1989, 299.

[37] For the imperial virtues illustrated by, and personified through, hunting, see Aymard 1951, 393–420.

[38] Levi 1947, Vol. I, 581; R. Ettinghausen: Arab Painting. Treasures of Asia 4. Geneva: Skira 1977, 38; Mundell Mango 1986, 275.

[39] H. Mielsch – B. Niemeyer: *Römisches Silber aus Ägypten in Berlin.* Winckelmannsprogram der Archäologischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin 139/140. Berlin: De Gruyter 2001, 12–15, 34–37, Abb. 15–16.

[40] B. Andreae: *Die Symbolik der Löwenjagd.* Gerda Henkel Vorlesung. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag 1985, 13–14; J. Stroszeck: *Löwen-Sarkophage. Sarkophage mit Löwenköpfen, Schreitenden Löwen und Löwenkampfgruppen.* Die Antiken Sarkophagreliefs 6. 1. Berlin: De Gruyter 1998, 66–67.

[41] Raeck 1992, 62–63.

[42] H. Toll': Sasanido-egipetskaja tkan' iz Antinoi. In: *Recueil d' études, dédiées à la mémoire de N. P. Kondakov.* Archéologie, Histoire de l'Art, Études byzantines. "Seminarium Kondakovianum". Praga 1926, 93–100, Abb. 2; M. Martiniani-Reber: *Lyon: Musée historique des tissus: Soieries sassanides, coptes et byzantines V^e–XI^e siècle.* Inventaire des Collections Publiques Françaises 30. Paris 1986, 52–53.

[43] Balty 1969, Pl. XIII.

[44] K. S. Painter: *The Mildenhall Treasure. Roman Silver from East Anglia.* London: The British Museum Press 1977, 13, 64, Fig. 16, No. 5.

[45] Levi 1947, Vol. I, Fig. 136.

[46] Maguire–Maguire 2007, 97–134.

[47] P. de Palol – J. Cortes: *La villa romana de la Olmeda, Pedrosa de la Vega (Palencia). Excavationes de 1969 y 1970.* Vol. 1. Acta Arqueologica Hispanica 7. Madrid: Comisaría General del Patrimonio Artístico y Cultural 1974, Pls LVI–LVII.

[48] Brett 1947, Pl. 28.

[49] Mundell Mango–Bennett 1994, 384, Fig. 10-33.

[50] Carthage, House of the Horses (Maison des Chevaux): Dunbabin 1978, Pl. XII. 25.

[51] G. M. A. Hanfmann – N. H. Ramage: *Sculpture from Sardis: The Finds through 1975.* Archaeological Exploration of Sardis 2. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press 1978, Fig. 290, No. 147.

[52] E. Netzer – Z. Weiss: New evidence for late-Roman and Byzantine Sepphoris. The Roman and Byzantine Near East: Some recent archaeological research. *Journal of Roman Archaeology Suppl. Ser.* 14. Ann Arbor 1995, 164–176, 275, fig. 7.

[53] Raeck, 1992, 62–63; Maguire–Maguire 2007, 58–67.

[54] A. Carandini – A. Ricci – M. de Vos: *Filosofiana. The Villa of Piazza Armerina. The Image of a Roman Aristocrat at the Time of Constantine.* Palermo: S. F. Flaccovio 1982, 177.

[55] Levi 1947, Vol. II, Pl. LXXVIII.b.

[56] Levi 1947, Vol. I, 363–365, Fig. 151, Vol. II, Pl. CLXXII.b.

[57] Cyrene, Central Church, northern wall: E. Alföldi-Rosenbaum – J. Ward-Perkins: *Justinianic Mosaic Pavements in Cyrenaican Churches.* Monografie di Archeologia Libica XIV. Roma: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider 1980, Pl. 39. 3, 40.

[58] Balty 1969, Pl. IX.

[59] Nosa/Nosza (Serbia): D. Dmitrievič – J. Kovačević – Z. Vinski: Seoba naroda. Arheološkog nalazi Jugoslovenskog podunavlja. *Zemun* 1962, 54, No. 45, Fig. 1; Subotica-Pörös/Szabadka-Pörös (Serbia): A. Ranisavljev: *Early medieval necropolis near Mokrin.* Serbian Archaeological Society 4. Belgrade 2007, T. 37; Mandjelos/Nagyolaszi (Serbia): S. Ercegović-Pavlović: An Avarian Equestrian Grave from Mandjelos. Avarski kon'anički grob iz Mandjelosa. Sirmium IV. Beograd 1982, 53, Fig. 2.

[60] B. I. Leshchenko: Ispol'zovanie vostochnogo serebra na Ural'e. In: V. D. Darkevic: *Khudozhestvennyi metal vostoka, VIII–XIII. vv.* Moskva: Nauka 1976, 176–188; Bálint 2010, 246, Abb. 91,3.

[61] J. Inan – E. Alföldi-Rosenbaum: *Römische und frühbyzantinische Porträtplastik aus der Türkei. Neue Funde.* Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern 1979, Taf. 257. 1–4, Nr. 204, Taf. 258: 1, 2, Nr. 201.

[62] E. Alföldi-Rosenbaum: Meeresstadtplatte. In: Cahn–Kaufmann-Heinimann 1984, 218–221.

[63] Room 2 of the House of Ge and the Seasons: Levi 1947, Vol. I. 346–347, Vol. II, Pl. CXXXII.a.

[64] Peristyle of the Great Palace in Constantinople: Brett 1947, Pl. 39; Sarrîn (Osroéne): J. Balty: *La mosaïque de Sarrîn (Osroêne).* Bibliothèque archéologique et historique 140. Inventaire des mosaïques antiques de Syrie 1. Paris: Paul Geuthner 1990, Pl. II. 1; Worcester Hunt Mosaic, Daphne, Antioch: Levi 1947, Vol. I, 364, Fig. 151.

[65] Ganzert 1983, 123–202.

[66] Bruce-Mitford 1983, 48, Fig. 40.

[67] F. Volbach: Il tesoro di Canoscio. Ricerche sull'Umbria tardo-antica e preromanica. In: *Atti del II Convegno di Studi Umbri. Gubbio 24–28 maggio 1964*. Perugia 1965, 303–316.

[68] Matzulewitsch 1929, Taf. 28.

[69] Vida 2010, 363–382.

[70] Matzulewitsch 1929, Taf. 30.

[71] M. Ross: *Metalwork, Ceramics, Glass, Glyptics, Painting. Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Medieval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection* 1. Washington, D.C.: Harvard University Press 1962, Pls VIII–IX.

[72] For a comparative stylistic analysis of the products of different artistic genres and the difficulties of dating, see Kitzinger 1965, 341–352; for a discussion of stylistic development, see L'orange 1965; Solomonson 1973, 3–90; Kitzinger 1984; G. Hellenkemper-Salies: Die Datierung der Mosaiken im Grossen Palast zu Konstantinopel. *Bonner Jahrbücher* 187, 1987, 273–303; St. Lehmann: Ein spätantikes Relief mit Zirkusspielen aus Serdica in Thrakien. *Bonner Jahrbücher* 190, 1990, 146, note 33.

[73] Carthage villa: Dunbabin 1978, Pl. XII. 25; Emona: Plesničar-Gec 2002, 251, Fig. 5; Seuso Treasure: Mundell Mango–Bennet 1994, 364, Fig. 10-33.

[74] V. G. Putzko: Serebrjanye kuvsiny iz Zhigailovki. *Vestnik Drevnej Istorii* 171/4, 1984, Ris. 5–7.

[75] For the emergence of the figure-carpet style, see Levi 1947, Vol. I, 581, note 101; Lavin 1963; Kitzinger 1965, 346–351.

[76] The mosaic is currently housed in the Worcester Art Museum in the United States, hence its name; the mosaic is generally dated between 480 and 526: Balty 2001, 314–315.

[77] The artefacts of the treasure found in Lambousa in 1902 are divided between the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York and the Museum of Antiquities in Nicosia. A. Stylianou – I. Stylianou: *Hoi thēsauroi tēs Lampusēs = The Treasures of Lambousa*. Nicosia 1969, 20, Pl. 18, 24, Pl. 20, 26, Pl. 21, 28, Pl. 30, Pl. 24, left, 32, Pl. 25 and 38, Pl. 29; Steven H. Wander: The Cyprus Plates: The Story of David and Goliath. *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 8, 1973, 89–104; G. Noga-Banai: Early Byzantine Elite Style: The David Plates and Related Works. *Boreas* 25, 2002, 225–237.

[78] Volbach 1976, 47–48, Nr. 48.

[79] Volbach 1976, Nr. 8.

[80] Volbach 1976, Nr. 21.

[81] Volbach 1976, Nr. 102; Jannic Durand (ed.): *Byzance. L'art byzantin dans les collections publiques françaises*. Paris: Musée du Louvre, Réunion des musées nationaux 1992, 79, Nr. 29.

[82] M. Hengel: Eine spätantike Messingkanne mit Achilleus-Darstellungen aus Jerusalem. Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Bericht 1. Heidelberg 1982, 47–48, note 106.

[83] The appearance and application of a wide range of inlay techniques in the minor arts was hardly independent of the visual vocabulary of the monumental artistic genres. E. Bielefeld has argued for a deliberate choice of colours conforming to the period's *opus sectile* compositions created from coloured stones: E. Bielefeld: Eine Patene aus dem französischen Krönungsschatz. *Gymnasium* 79, 1972, 403–423.

[84] Mundell Mango 1986, 274–275.

[85] Nonnus, *Dionysiaca* 13,19; Aymard 1951, 363, 513; A. Effenberger: *Frühchristliche Kunst und Kultur. Von den Anfängen bis zum 7. Jahrhundert.* München: C. H. Beck 1986, 49; Török 1998, 98.

[86] W. Martini – E. Shernig: Das Jagdmotiv in der imperialen Kunst hadrianischer Zeit. In: W. Martini (Hrsg.): *Die Jagd der Eliten in den Erinnerungskulturen von der Antike bis in die Frühe Neuzeit.* Formen der Erinnerung 3. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2000, 129–155.

[87] Levi 1947, Vol. I, 236–244, 337–345, 358–59, 364–65; Balty 1969, 35; Dunbabin 1978, 48–52; Raeck 1992, 31; Warland 2000, 171–188.

[88] H. Maguire: The Good Life. In: Bowersock–Brown–Grabar 1999, 238–257; Török 2005b, 111–136.

[89] Muth 2001, 114–116.

[90] Dunbabin 1978, 48–52.

[91] Raeck 1992, 31.

[92] Muth 2001, 114–116; Török 2005b, 96–111.

[93] Török 2005b, 81.

[94] The lower portion of the mosaic cupola of the Centcelles villa complex is decorated with scenes of deer and boar hunting. H. Schlunk: *Die Mosaikkuppel von Centcelles.* Madrider Beiträge 13. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern 1988, 18–47, 146–157. For a discussion of how the conversion of a part of the aristocracy to Christianity had an impact on the imagery of hunting, see Warland 2000, 176–177.

[95] K. Weitzmann (ed.): *Age of Spirituality. Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Century.* Exhibition Catalogue. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art and Princeton University Press 1979, 425–432, 482, Cat. nos 64 and 111.

[96] Maguire–Maguire 2007, 58–67.

[97] The apotropaic nature of a Christian scene and of an animal scene on a Tunisian vessel was pointed out by André Grabar: *Christian Iconography. A Study of its Origins.* Bollingen Series XXXV. 10. Princeton University Press 1969, 16–18, 52–54, Pl. 39; for a similar interpretation, see Fr. Baratte: Héros et chasseurs: La tenture d'Artémis de la Fondation Abegg à Riggisberg. *Monuments et Mémories* 67, 1985, 55; V. Zalesskaya: Stzeni ohoti na rannevizantiyskih filakteriyah simvolika obrazov. In: *Antichnaya toreutika. Sbornik nauchnih trudov.* Leningrad 1986, 135–140.

[98] Schmauder 2002a, 53–55.

[99] Mundell Mango–Benett 1996, 364–426.

[100] Odobescu (1889–1900) 1976, 602–603, Figs 1–3, Pl. IV.

[101] Harhoiu 1999, 273–302.

[102] S. Martin-Kirchler: Römisches Tafelsilber: Form- und Funktionsfragen. In: Cahn–Kaufmann-Heinimann 1984, 393–404.

[103] Schmauder 2002a, 193.

[104] Schmauder 2002a, 194–196.

[105] The formal and stylistic traits indicate that the plate was made in Antioch after 360: M. von Heland: *The Golden Bowl from Pietroasa.* Stockholm Studies in History of Art. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell 1973, 65, 99ff; Harhoiu 1977, 11.

[106] Fettich 1953, Taf. XVI.

[107] Harhoiu 1997, 273–330; Schmauder 2002a, 49–53.

[108] S. Dumitrașcu: *Tezaurul de la Tăuteni Bihor.* Oradea 1973; Schmauder 2002a, 88–90; Schmauder 2002b, 209–214.

[109] Qustul, Tumulus Q3, Q3–112: Török 1988, 155, Pl. III.

[110] Vida 2010, 363–382.

[111] Harhoiu 1997, 273–330; Schmauder 2002a, 175–184; Schmauder 2002b, 222–223.

[112] Hampel 1905, Vol. III, Taf. 32–36; Odobescu (1889–1900) 1976, 20, Fig. 21.

[113] For an excellent analysis of the jug's decorative scenes and style, see Schmauder 2002a, 184–186.

[114] Vida 2010, 363–382.

[115] Mundell Mango 1996, 81, Fig. 13.

[116] Harhoiu 1997, 273–330; Schmauder 2002a, 184–186.

[117] Nagy 1993, 356–357, Abb. 4–6, Taf. V–VI.

[118] A. Mutz: *Die Kunst des Metalldrehens bei Römern. Interpretation antiker Arbeitsverfahren auf Grund von Werkspuren.* Basel, Stuttgart: Springer 1972, 43–44.

[119] T. Cvetićanin – I. Popović – J. Kondić – V. Popović – B. Borić – Brešković: *Antique Silver from Serbia.* Beograd 1994, 330–332, Nos. 277–281.

[120] Nagy 1993, 356–357.

[121] The dimensions of the Tépe plate are as follows: L. 34 cm, W. 24 cm. For a recent discussion, see Garam 2001, 173, Taf. 129–130, Taf. XXXIX.

[122] Cahn-Kaufmann-Heinmann 1984.

[123] Cruikshank Dodd 1961, 74–75, No. 11.

[124] The Sion Treasure is dated by Byzantine control stamps. Boyd 1993, 9, 24–25, S25.1, S28.1, S31.1.

[125] Mundell Mango 1986, 155–158, Fig. 33.3.

[126] Boyd 1993, 14–16, 19, Figs S1.1, S1.5, S3.2.

[127] Boyd 1993, Fig. S3.1, S3.2

[128] Mundell Mango 1986, 257–258, No. 86.

[129] Boyd 1992, Fig. S1.1, S1.5.

[130] Éva Garam voiced a similar opinion: Garam 1993, 36–41; for pseudo-buckles, see Garam 2000, 215–228.

[131] A. Kiss: A kunbábonyi 1., kora-avar vezéri sír leleteinek belső összefüggései. A leletanyag csoportosítása. *Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungariae* 1994–95, 267–286.

[132] The plate was reconstructed by Éva Garam: Garam 2001, 173, Taf. 129–130, Taf. XXXIX. 2.

[133] Svoboda 1953, 33–108; T. Štefanovičová: Der Silberschatz von Zemiansky Vrbovok. In: F. Daim (Hrsg.): *Reitervölker aus dem Osten. Hunnen + Awaren.* Ausstellungskatalog. Eisenstadt 1996, 275.

[134] P. O. Harper: *Silver Vessels of the Sasanian Period I. Royal Imagery.* New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art and Princeton University Press 1981.

[135] Svoboda 1953, 41, Abb. 5, 6.

[136] L. Pani Ermini – M. Marinone: *Catalogo dei materiali paleocristiani a altomedioevali.* Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Cagliari. Roma 1981, 75, Fig. 118 (Nureci), 75–76, Fig. 119 (Tharros); E. Cruikshank Dodd: A Silver Vessel in the Collection of Elie Borowski. In: C. Mango – O. Pritsak (eds.): *OKEANOS. Essays presented to Ihor Ševčenko on his sixtieth birthday* . Harvard Ukrainian Studies VII. Cambridge, Mass.: Ukrainian Research Institute, Harvard University 1983, 145–157.

[137] Ugrin 1987, 11–15, Fig. 1–5.

[138] Areobindus diptych, 506 AD: Volbach 1976, 34, Taf. 7, Nr. 14; "Holy Women at the Tomb of Christ", Milan, Castello Sforzesco, 400 AD: Volbach 1976, 80, Taf. 60, Nr. 111. The cornucopia motif later appearing on the late Avar cast bronze strap-ends of the eighth century reflects Mediterranean cultural impacts: Werner 1986, 47–48.

[139] R. Noll: *Vom Altertum zum Mittelalter. Spätantike, altchristliche, völkerwanderungszeitliche Denkmäler der Antikensammlung.* Wien: Kunsthistorisches Museum 1974, 83, Taf. 56.

[140] N. Fettich: *Régészeti tanulmányok a késői hun fémművesség történetéhez – Archäologische Studien zur Geschichte der späthunnischen Metallkunst.* Archaeologia Hungarica, Budapest 1951, Taf. I; Ugrin 1987, 11–15, Figs 1–5.

[141] Bóna 1992, 136–137. The plates represent a period of Byzantine art (the late seventh, early eighth century) of which very little has survived. The employment of the late Sasanian style was a conscious artistic decision, similarly as in the case of the tenth-century Byzantine silverware imitating Islamic metalwork. K. G. Karacharov: Vizantijskij kuvsin iz okrestnostei Surguta. In: A. Y. Trufanov (ed.): *Barsova Gora. Drevnoszti Taezhnogo Priobja*. Eekaterinburg-Surgut 2008, 50–55.

[142] P. Radoměrský: Byzantské mince z pokladu v Zemianském Vrbovku. *Památky Archeologické* 1, 1953, 109–127.

[143] Svoboda 1953; Ugrin 1987, 104; T. Štefanovičová: Der Silberschatz von Zemiansky Vrbovok. In: F. Daim (Hrsg.): *Reitervölker aus dem Osten. Hunnen + Awaren.* Ausstellungskatalog. Eisenstadt 1996, 275; Bálint 2006, 153.

[144] Bóna 1992, 132–137.

[145] Garam 2002, 97, Fig. 22.C; Bálint 2010, 534–540.

[146] For a recent overview of bracelets with flaring terminals, see Garam 2001, 67–72. Their western analogies are discussed by B. Wührer: *Merowingerzeitlicher Armschmuck aus Metall.* Europe médievale 2. Montagnac: Mergoil 2000, 27–48.

[147] For the Avar-period finds, see Garam 2001, 48–49; for the Eastern European finds, see T. Vida – Th. Völling: *Das slawische Brandgräberfeld von Olympia.* Archäologie in Eurasien 9. Rahden/Westf.: Marie Leidorf Verlag 2000, 61–76, Abb. 23–31.

[148] P. Somogyi: *Byzantinische Fundmünzen der Awarenzeit.* Monographien zur Frühgeschichte und Mittelalterarchäologie 5. Innsbruck: Universitätsverlag Wagner 1997, 71–72; Cs. Bálint: Der Beginn der Mittelawarenzeit und die Einwanderung Kubers. *Antaeus* 29–30, 2008, 29–62.

[149] Pohl 1988, 178–185.

[150] Csanád Bálint described these assemblages as being culturally unattributable. Bálint 2004, 309.

[151] The *Vita Aureliani* of the *Historia Augusta* reports that the emperor permitted the use of golden vessels (SHA vita Aureliani XLVI); J. Iluk: The Export of Gold from the Roman Empire to Barbarian Countries from the 4th to 6th Centuries. *Münstersche Beiträge zur antiken Handelsgeschichte* 4. 1, 1985, 79–102. For the prestige economy of the Avar period, see Pohl 1988, 178–184; Hardt 2003, 95–107.

[152] Prohászka 2006, 51–54, 131, Taf. 11. 6.

[153] C. H. Kraeling: *The Excavations at Dura Europos. The Synagogue.* Final Report 8/1. New Haven: Yale University Press, London: C. Cumberlege, Oxford University Press 1956, 174ff, Pl. 67.

[154] *Urbiculum aureum gemmis ornatum* (a golden dish adorned with gemstones). *Chronicle of Fredegar* 2.53; Hardt 2004, 102, 285ff.

[155] Bruce-Mitford 1983, 45–69.

[156] Bruce-Mitford 1983, 45–69, Figs 40–45.

[157] Bruce-Mitford 1983, 69–111; Harris 2003, 169–171.

[158] Blackmore 2008, 339.

[159] A. France-Lanord – M. Fleury: Das Grab der Arnegundis in Saint Denis. *Germania* 40, 1962, 341f.

[160] Prohászka 2006, 97–102; E. H. Tóth – A. Horváth: *Kunbábony. Das Grab eines Awarenkhagans.* Kecskemét 1992, 191–194. Csanád Bálint interprets the Nagyszentmiklós Treasure as having been owned by a regional high-ranking leader: Bálint 2004a, 604–607.

[161] Zalesskaya et al. 1997, 200–203, 315, Nos 72–73 and 75–76.

[162] Zalesskaya et al. 1997, 316, Nos 78–80.

[163] Zalesskaya et al. 1997, 214–219, 323, No. 96. We know that Childeric's grave at Tornacum (modern Tournai) contained an immense number of Byzantine *solidi* and that Merovingian coins had been placed in the ship burial of Raedwald, King of East Anglia, at Sutton Hoo. Quast 2011, 253–268;

[164] Garam 2002; Bálint 2006, 147–159; Hardt 2003, 95–107.

[165] Bálint 2004, 253–304.

[166] A. D. Grač: *Arheologicheszkie raskopki v Mongun-Tajge i issledovania v Centralnoi Tuve (Polevoi sezon 1957 g.).* Trudi tuvinskoi kompleksnoi arheologo-etnograficheszkoi ekspedicii 1. Materiali po Arheologii i Etnografii Zapadnoi Tuvi. Moskva 1960, 7–150.

[167] D. Bayar: Gedenkstätten und Steinskulpturen der Alttürkischen Zeit. In: *Dschingis Khan und seine Erben. Das Weltreich der Mongolen.* Ausstellungskatalog. München: Hirmer Verlag 2005, 69–80.

[168] *Thesaurus inaestimabilis* (inestimable treasury). V. H. Elbern: "Awarenschatz". In: *Lexikon des Mittelalters* 1. München, Zürich: Artemis & Winkler 1980, 1287; Pohl 1988; Bálint 2006, 148–151.

[169] Menander Protector: *Excerpta de legationibus.* C. de Boor: Berlin 1903, 192–195.

[170] *Thesauri* (treasuries). Vierck 1974, 309–380; B. Arrhenius: *Garnet Jewellery. Emergence and social implications*. Stockholm 1985; Hardt 1998, 317–331.

[171] Ian Wood interpreted the custom of giving gifts of silver vessels among the aristocracy as a rudimentary form of commodity exchange: Wood 2000, 303–304.

[172] Schmauder 2002a, 65–66, Taf. 106; The small onion-headed brooch can be assigned to Pröttel's Type 6. D. Brown: The Brooches in the Pietroasele Treasure. *Antiquity* 46, 1972, 111–116; M. Schmauder: Imperial representation or barbaric imitation? The imperial brooches (*Kaiserfibeln*). In: W. Pohl – H. Reimitz (eds.): *Strategies of Distinction. The Construction of Ethnic Communities, 300–800*. The Transformation of the Roman World 2. Leiden, Boston, Köln: Brill 1998, 288, Figs 11–12. The large eagle brooch and the small brooch were made around 400 or in the early fifth century.

[173] This phenomenon can be described with the concept of *imitatio imperii* (imitation of the empire): Quast 2011, 253–268.

[174] Harhoiu 1999, 281–288; Schmauder 2002b, 209–214.

[175] I. Bóna: A gepidák a hun uralom előtt. In: B. Köpeczi (ed.): *Erdély története a kezdetektől 1606-ig*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó 1987, 133–134.

[176] Good parallels to the onion-headed brooches of Keller/Pröttel's Type 6 can be quoted from Reggio Emilia and the Palatine Hill in Rome: Schmauder 2002a, 197.

[177] D. Quast: Zwischen Sutton Hoo und dem Palatin. Ein spätantikes Zepter aus dem Childerichgrab. *Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt* 40, 2010, 285–296.

[178] Hampel 1905, Vol. III, Taf. 32–36.

[179] K. Horedt – D. Protase: Das zweite Fürstengrab von Apahida (Siebenbürgen). *Germania* 50, 1972, 174–220; J. Werner – H. Kuhn – K. Horedt: „Apahida". *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde*[2] 1, 1968, 365–367.

[180] Quast 2011, 258–259.

[181] A. S. Dobat: The King and his Cult: The Axe-Hammer from Sutton Hoo and its Implications for the Concept of Sacral Leadership in Early Medieval Europe. *Antiquity* 80, 2006, 880–893.

[182] Bruce-Mitford 1983, 69–111.

[183] Bruce-Mitford 1983, 45–69, 69–111; Harris 2003, 169–171.

[184] M. Mauss: *Die Gabe. Form und Funktion des Austauschs in archäischen Gesellschaften*. Frankfurt: Suhrkamp Verlag 1968; Hardt 1998a, 255–280.

[185] The *vasa aurea argentea* (gold and silver vessels) known from the sources (e.g. Livy Book 27, 4, 8–18, Book 30, 15, 11, Book 31, 11) served as gifts to deserving individuals for their loyal service. Th. Schäfer: *Die Dakerkriege Trajans auf einer Bronzekanne*. Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts 104, 1989, 312, note 61; Wood 2000, 303–334.

For the late Roman custom of donating silver vessels, see A. Cameron: Observations on the distribution and ownership of late Roman silver plate. *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 5, 1992, 178–185. The late Roman and early Byzantine custom of gift-giving was also adopted by the early medieval elite: Hardt 1998a, 317–331; F. Curta: Merovingian and Carolingian gift giving. *Speculum* 81, 2006, 671–699.

186 Constantine Porphyogenitus mentions that once, when he went to war, he made gifts of silver and bronze plates to his officers. I am grateful to Gergely Szenthe for calling my attention to this passage. J. F. Haldon: *Constantine Porphyrogenitus Three Treatises on Imperial Military Expeditions*. Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae XXVIII. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschafteen 1990, 109; Hardt 1998a, 317–326; Hardt 2004; A. Cutler: Gift and Gift Exchange as aspects of the Byzantine, Arab, and related economies. *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 55, 2001, 247–278; F. A. Bauer: Gabe und Person. Geschenke als Träger personaler Aura in der Spätantike. Eichstätter Universitätsreden 116. Eichstätt-Ingolstadt 2009, 1–55.

187 Harhoiu 1999, 273–302; Schmauder 2002a, 186–197.

188 Bálint 2004, 569–608.

189 Garam 1993, 36–41.

190 Zalesskaya et al. 1997.

191 *Thesauri ex longo tempore* (treasures [amassed] for a long time); Einhard, *Vita Karoli Magni* 13,16.

192 Harhoiu 1999, 273–302; Schmauder 2002a, 186–197.

193 J. Bouzek: Das grosse Lanx von Stráže bei Piešťany und der Klientelstaat der Quaden. In: K. Kuzmová –K. Pieta – J. Rajtár (Hrsg.): *Zwischen Rom und dem Barbaricum. Festschrift für Titus Kolník zum 70. Geburtstag.* Nitra 2002, 225–229.

194 F. Daim – P. Stadler: Der Goldschatz von Sînnicolaul Mare (Nagyszentmiklós). In: *Reitervölker aus dem Osten. Hunnen + Awaren.* Burgenländische Landesausstellung. Eisenstadt 1996, 439–445; Bálint 2004, 530–568.

195 Bruce-Mitford 1983, 49–111; Quast 2011, 253–268.

196 Garam 1993, 36–41.

197 Hardt 2004, 286–291.

198 Hardt 1998, 317–326; Hardt 2004.

199 See, for example, the drinking bowl made from the Gepidic king Kunimund's skull in Alboin's court: Hardt 2004, 286–291.

200 Wood 2000; Cutler 2001. The scenes adorning the silver vessels alluded to the erudition (*paideia*) of both the goldsmiths and the patrons: Leader-Newby 2004.

201 For *largitio*, see Wood 2000, 303–314; Bauer 2009.

202 Cameron 1992, 178–185; Hardt 1996, 431–444; Hardt 1998, 317–331; Hardt 2004; Bauer 2009; Curta 2006, 671–699.

203 Pohl 1988, 178–185.

204 See note 169.

205 Müller 2006, 49–53.

206 Nuber 1972, 181 f.

[207] *χερνιβόζε(στον) = aquamanilia:* Zalesskaya et al. 1997, 44.

[208] Bruce-Mitford 1983, 58–69; see the section on fluted bowls, below; Baratte 1984, 133–136 .

[209] A. Sarantis: War and diplomacy in Pannonia and the north-west Balkans during the reign of Justinian: the Gepid threat and imperial responses. *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 63, 2009, 15–63.

[210] M. Milinković: "Serbien". In: *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde* 28, 2006, 207–211, Abb. 33. 4.

[211] L. Kocsis: A tiszaroffi víztározó gátjának nyomvonalában végzett megelőző régészeti feltárásról (About the Preventive Excavation Made on the Trace of the Dam of the Tiszaroff Reservoir). *Magyar Múzeumok* 2007, 39–41. http://www.vkki.hu/index.php?mid=312 (last accessed December 4, 2012).

[212] B. Pitarakis: Une production caractéristique de cruches en allige cuivreux (VI^{e}–VIII^{e} siècles): Typologie, Techniques et Diffusion. *Antiquité Tardive* 13, 2005, Fig. 2.

[213] Blackmore 2008, 332, Abb. 11. However, not all sheet-metal jugs with cylindrical neck were made in the eastern Mediterranean; judging from their formal traits, one particular group was produced in Italian workshops. Schulze-Dörrlamm 2010, 251.

[214] A. Kiss: Germanen im awarenzeitlichen Karpatenbecken. In: F. Daim (Hrsg.): *Awarenforschungen.* Studien zur Archäologie der Awaren 4. Wien 1992, 37–38.

[215] Garam 2001, 383, Taf. 132, 2; Kiss 2001, 260–261. The dimensions of the jug are as follows: H. 21.0 cm, diam. of rim 8.8 cm, diam. of base 9.3 cm. The folding stool was made of wood and only its iron stretcher survived in the grave: Kiss 2001, 64, Taf. 50, 12. For the interpretation of folding stools, see S. Gütermann: Faltstühle in frühmittelalterlichen Gräbern. Vorkommen, Konstruktion und Bedeutung. *Zeitschrift für Archäologie des Mittelalters* 39, 2011, 37–107.

[216] Iron (Fe): 0.108%, copper (Cu): 82.867%, zinc (Zn): 12.173%, lead (Pb): 0.4%. I would here like to thank Zoltán May of the Institute of Materials and Environmental Chemistry of the Chemical Research Centre of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences for the XRF measurements (October 15, 2010). The measurements were funded by NKFIH-OTKA Grant 89981.

[217] Carretta 1982, Tav. 8–9.

[218] M. S. Arena – P. Delogu – L. Paroli – M. Ricci – L. Saguì – L. Venditelli (a cura di): *Roma dall' antichità al medioevo. Archeologia e storia nel Museo Nazionale Romano Crypta Balbi.* Milano: Electa 2001, 422–423, II. 4. 1020, II. 4. 1021.

[219] Angelova–Buchvarov 2007, Fig. 12.

[220] Mundell Mango 1986, 104–107, Fig. 14. 2–3.

[221] Schulze-Dörrlamm 2010.

[222] The dimensions of the jug are as follows: H. 21.5 cm, diam. 12 cm. Garam 2001, 383, Taf. 132. 1.

[223] Ganzert 1983, 123–202.

[224] For a comprehensive discussion of the jug form, see Nuber 1972, 60–72.

[225] Vida 2008, 13–46.

[226] D. Ţeicu: Căldarea de cult paleocreştină de la Periam. *Thraco-Dacica* XI, 1990, 153–156, Fig. 1. The vessel's height is 18 cm.

[227] Mundell Mango 1986, 102f., No. 13.

[228] Silver lamp, 610–613, in: C. Stiegemann (Hrsg.): *Byzanz. Das Licht aus dem Osten. Kult und Alltag im Byzantinischen Reich vom 4.–15. Jahrhundert*. Mainz 2001, 209–210. Nr. II. 4.

[229] The Várpalota-Gimnázium burial was disturbed by an earth-moving machine and only the skull and one of the leg bones remained in their original position. I. Erdélyi – P. Németh: A Várpalota-gimnáziumi avar temető. Le cimetière avar de Várpalota-Lycée. *Veszprém Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei* 8, 1969, 189, 177, Fig. 25; Garam 2001, 173–174, Taf. 131. 1, Taf. XL. 1. The dimensions of the vessel are as follows: H. 13.5 cm, diam. 21.0 cm.

[230] Iron (Fe): 0.03%, copper (Cu): 87.15%, zinc (Zn): 12.47%, nickel (Ni): 0.09%. I am grateful to Balázs Szőke (Restaurátor Bt.) for performing the XRF measurements (April 16, 2011).

[231] Fallico 1967, 94, Fig. 10, Fig 16.

[232] The treasure contained jugs, plates, buckets, bronze and copper vessels, censers and two liturgical lamps decorated with griffins. Atanasov 2006, 350, Tabl. IX. A description of the treasure can be found in Angelova–Buchvarov 2007, 82, Fig. 12.

[233] Cruikshank Dodd 1961, 246–247, No. 88; Werner 1984, 14, Taf. X. The single currently known cast gold belt-set of the late Avar type was part of this treasure.

[234] Dezső Csallány interpreted the vessel as a cauldron or a helmet. D. Csallány: A bácsújfalusi avarkori hamvasztásos lelet. Trouvaille d'objets incinérés de l'époque avare à Bácsújfalu.*Archaeologiai Értesítő* 80, 1953, 138, Pl. XXXI. 12, Pl. XXXIV. 3.

[235] Pl. W. Gaitzsch: *Eisenfunde aus Pergamon. Geräte, Werkzeuge und Waffen*. Pergamenische Forschungen 14. Berlin, New York: De Gruyter 2005, Taf. 73. 9.

[236] Cruikshank Dodd 1961, 246–247; Werner 1984, 14.

[237] *+Θ(EOΘEKO)C BOHΘH CON TO ΔOΛΩI KANΔIΔIANΩ*; V. Velkov: Altchristliche Inschriften vom unterdonauländischen Limes (Provincia Moesia Secunda). In: *Akten des XII. Internationalen Kongresses für Christliche Archäologie* II. Bonn 1995, 1251–1254; Atanasov 2006, 350, Tabl. IX.

[238] Schulze-Dörrlamm 2010.

[239] The *Chronicon Paschale*, written at this time, offers a vivid description of the looting of Constantinopolitan churches, recounting how the Avars forced their way into the Church of Saints Cosmas and Damien in Blachernae, and into the Church of the Holy Archangel on the other side of the city in the suburb of Promotus, how they made off with the ciborium and other (church) treasures, and how they broke up the altar-table of the Church of the Archangel. After they were finished with plundering the churches, they took the looted riches and their prisoners and crossed the Danube without encountering any resistance. *Chronicon Paschale*, p. 712, 9–713, 14 (Glossar B I 33–34).

[240] Carretta 1982, 25–26, Tav. 13, 4; C. Rupp: *Das langobardische Gräberfeld von Nocera Umbra* 1. Ricerche di Archeologia Altomedievale 31. Firenze: All'Insegna del Giglio 2005, Taf. 52, 12.

[241] I. Bóna – J. Horváth: *Langobardische Gräberfelder in West-Ungarn*. Monumenta Germanorum Archaeologica Hungariae 6. Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum 2009, 42–43, Abb. 19, Taf 10. 1.

[242] Composition: iron (Fe): 0.36%, copper (Cu): 78.28%, zinc (Zn): 10.49%, lead (Pb): 5.75%, tin (Sn): 4.662%, antimony (Sb): 0.106%. I would here like to thank Zoltán May of the Institute of Materials and Environmental Chemistry of the Chemical Research Centre of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences for the measurements

[243] Diam. 41.5 cm. Lenkei 1955, 103–104, Taf. XXIII. It is currently housed in the National Museum of Serbia in Belgrade: T. Cvetićanin – I. Popović – J. Kondić – V. Popović – B. Borić-Brešković: *Antique Silver from Serbia.* Beograd: Narodni Musej 1994, 368, No. 357; M. A. Guggisberg (Hrsg.): *Der spätrömische Silberschatz von Kaiseraugst. Die neuen Funde. Silber im Spannungsfeld von Geschichte, Politik und Gesellschaft der Spätantike.* Forschungen in Augst 34. Augst 2003, 273, Abb. 254.

[244] Baratte 1984, 133–136.

[245] Mundell Mango–Bennett 1994, 427–441, Fig. 13-1–2.

[246] The diameter and height of the Sutton Hoo bowl are roughly the same as that of the Hegykő bowl (40 cm x 38.9 cm); Bruce-Mitford 1983, 45–69, Figs 40–45.

[247] Ganzert 1983, 123–202. For the Lesbian *kymation* on the Budakalász jug, see pp. 37–38 above.

[248] The bowl was probably made in a workshop under ecclesiastic control that produced objects for liturgical use: Ilieva–Cholakov 2005, 56, No. 11, Fig. 11.

[249] Schnellenkamp 1934, 78–79, Abb. 3, 21.

[250] Schnellenkamp 1934, 80, Abb. 4.

[251] Grave 118, dated to sixth century, in the cemetery of the Byzantine town of Viminacium (modern Kostolac. Serbia); D. Spasić-Đurić: *Viminacium the capital of the Roman province of Upper Moesia.* Pozarevac: Narodni Muzej 2002, 85, Fig. 85; Ivanišević–Kazanski–Mastikova 2006, 168–171, Pl. 15. 10, Fig. 48.

[252] Before the emergence of a stable monetary economy, Byzantine scales were used for checking the weight of gold and silver coins, and for measuring scrap precious metals: J. Henning: Handel, Verkehrswege und Beförderungsmittel im Merowingerreich. In: *Die Franken. Wegbereiter Europas vor 1500 Jahren: König Chlodwig und seine Erben. Ausstellungskatalog.* Mainz: Philipp von Zabern 1996, 789–801.

[253] The Langobards received an annual tribute from Byzantium from 536, and diplomatic relations between them grew more intense after 546: K. P. Christou: *Byzanz und die Langobarden. Von der Ansiedlung in Pannonien bis zur endgültigen Anerkennung (500–680).* Athens: Historical Publications St. D. Basilopoulos 1991; J. Jarnut: *Geschichte der Langobarden.* Stuttgart: Kohlhammer Verlag 1982; W. Pohl: Justinian and the Barbarian Kingdoms. In: M. Maas (ed.): *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Justinian.* Cambridge, NY: Cambridge University Press 2005, 448–476; Somogyi 2014, 183.

[254] Florin Curta assumes that Mediterranean groups had settled in Pannonia by this time. F. Curta: Before Cyril and Methodius: Christianity and Barbarians beyond the Sixth- and Seventh-Century Danube Frontier. In: F. Curta (ed.): *East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press 2005, 181–219, esp. 184.

[255] Grave II of the Mosonszentjános graveyard measured 390 cm × 200 cm × 350 cm. R. Pusztai: Mosonszentjános. In: R. Busch (Hrsg.): *Die Langobarden. Von der Unterelbe nach Italien.* Veröffentlichung des Hamburger Museums für

Archäologie und die Geschichte Harburgs (Helms-Museum) Band 54. Neumünster: Wachholtz 1988, 288–291, 296–297, Nr. 93–94, 97.

256 Upward-pointing handles attached to the rim are rarely encountered on Byzantine bowls, although a few exceptions can be cited, such as the vessel in the Stara Zagora Treasure: Ilieva–Cholakov 2005, 56, Nr. 12, Fig. 12.

257 Somogyi 2014, 183.

258 The finds from the Mosonszentjános graveyard will be the subject of István Koncz's PhD thesis.

259 The dimensions of the bowl are as follows: H. 9.5 cm, diam. 26.3 cm, diam. of base 16.5 cm; Bárdos 1992, 3–40; Garam 2001, 174, 432, Taf. XL, 2; Bárdos–Garam 2009, 43, 230, Taf. 30.

260 The burial can be dated to 450/460: Török 1988, 134.

261 Ivanišević–Kazanski–Mastikova 2006, 168–171, Pl. 15. 10, Fig. 48.

262 The metal composition of the Zamárdi bowl is as follows: iron (Fe): 0.32%, copper (Cu): 81.6%, zinc (Zn): 5.0%, lead (Pb): 1.06%, silver (Ag): 0.12%, tin (Sn): 11.9%. The measurements were made by László Költő and Miklós Kis Varga. Bárdos 1992, 12.

263 H. Dannheimer: Zur Herkunft der koptischen Bronzegefäße der Merowingerzeit. *Bayerische Vorgeschitsblätter* 44, 1979, 134–135, 143.

264 W. A. Oddy – P. T. Craddock: Scientific examination of the Coptic bowl and related Coptic metalwork found in Anglo-Saxon contexts. In: Bruce-Mitford 1983, 756.

265 Perin 2005, 85–97.

266 A. Schülke: On Christianization and Grave-Finds. *European Journal of Archaeology* 2:1, 1999, 77–106.

267 Schulze-Dörrlamm 2010, 250–253.

268 V. Bierbrauer: Christliche Jenseitsvorstellungen und romanische Beigabensitten vom 5. bis zum 6./7. Jahrhundert. In: N. Krohn – U. Koch (Hrsg.): *Grosso Modo. Quellen und Funde aus Spätantike und Mittelalter. Festschrift für Gerhard Fingerlin zum 75. Geburtstag.* Forschungen zu Spätantike und Mittelalter 1 = Mannheimer Geschichtsblätter, Sonderveröffentlichung 6. Weinstadt: Verlag Bernhard Albert Greiner 2012, 39–50.

269 M. Mundell Mango: Tracking Byzantine silver and copper metalware. In: M. Mundell Mango (ed.): *Byzantine Trade, 4th–12th Centuries. The Archaeology of Local, Regional and International Exchange.* Papers of the Thirty-eighth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, St. John's College, University of Oxford, March 24. Society for the Promotion of the Byzantine Studies 14. Ashgate 2009, 230–236.

270 For a recent discussion, see Vida 2008, 13–46.

271 Kiss 2001, 74–78.

272 Kocsis 2007, 13.

273 A. Burzler: *Archäologische Beiträge zum Nobilifizierungsprozess in der jüngeren Merowingerzeit.* Materialhefte zur Bayerischen Vorgeschichte A 77. Kallmünz: M. Lassleben 2000, 96–128.

274 Drauschke 2011, 135, Kap. 8.

275 Mundell Mango 2009, 230–236, 229, Fig. 15. 4.

[276] Drauschke 2011, 125–135, esp. 135, for the value of cast bronze vessels; for their trade, see Mundell Mango 2009; Schulze-Dörrlamm 2010, 250–253.

[277] Frey 2001, 779; Schulze-Dörrlamm 2010, 252; Drauschke 2011, 273.

[278] M. Mundell Mango: Silver in Changing Contexts. In: F. Althaus – M. Sutcliffe (eds.): *The Road to Byzantium. Luxury Arts of Antiquity.* London: Fontanka Publishers 2006, 59–65.

[279] V. Bierbrauer: *Ostgermanische Oberschichtsgräber der römischen Kaiserzeit und des frühen Mittelalters. Raum – Zeit – Kultur – Ethnikum.* Peregrinatio Gothica II, Archaeologia Baltica 8, 1989, 46–47; Müller 2006, 49–69.

[280] F. Fischer: ΚΕΙΜΗΛΙΑ. Bemerkungen zur kulturgeschichtlichen Interpretation des sogenannten Südimports in den späten Hallstatt- und frühen Latène-Kultur des westlichen Mitteleuropas. *Germania* 51, 1973, 436–459; D. Krausse: *Hochdorf III. Das Trink- und Speiseservice aus dem späthallstattzeitlichen Fürstengrab von Eberdingen-Hochdorf (Kr. Ludwigsburg).* Forschungen und Berichte zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte in Baden-Württemberg 64. Stuttgart: K. Theiss 1996, 321–330.

[281] Müller 2006, 49–69; see the hand-washing scene of the Stuttgart Psalter (Cod. Bibl. 2,23, fol. 32); Vroom 2007, 313–361; Schulze-Dörrlamm 2010, 272, Abb. 24–25.

[282] Müller 2006, 49–69. Several depictions have survived of antique *symposia* on which food was served and stored in metal vessels; see, e.g., "Dido and Aeneas at the banquet" (Virgil, Aeneid 2.1–2), *Codex Vergilii Romanus* fol. 100v.; Vroom 2007, 313–361.

[283] Vessels for this purpose could have been made from materials other than metal such as clay and wood.

[284] *Gesta Abbatum Fontanellensium: urceos Alexandrinos cum aquamanilibus duos* (two Alexandrinian jugs and wash-basins): Roth 1980, 156–158.

[285] J. Peska – J. Tejral (Hrsg.): *Das Germanische Königsgrab von Mušov in Mähren.* Monographien des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz 55. 1. Mainz: Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, 2002.

[286] Bruce-Mitford 1983.

[287] Frey 2001, 779.

[288] Timpel 1990, 72. For the contents of the Zamárdi bowl, see Bárdos 1992, 12. The organic remains in the Budakalász jug were examined by Ferenc Gyulai.

[289] L. Grunwald: *Grabfunde des Neuwieder Beckens von der Völkerwanderungszeit bis zum frühen Mittelalter. Der Raum von Bendorf und Engers.* Internationale Archäologie 44. Rhaden/Westf.: Marie Leidorf Verlag 1998, 37; Frey 2001, 779.

[290] A. Harris – M. Henig: Hand-washing and Foot-washing, Sacred and Secular, in Late Antiquity and the Early Medieval Period. In: A. Harris – M. Henig (eds.): *Intersections: The Archaeology and History of Christianity in England. Papers in Honour of Martin Biddle and Birthe Kjølbye-Biddle.* Oxford: Archaeopress 2010, 25–38.

[291] R. Reiβ: *Der merowingerzeitliche Reihengräberfriedhof von Westheim (Kreis Weiβenburg-Gunzenhausen).* Wissenschaftliche Beibände zum Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums 10. Nürnberg: Verlag des Germanischen Nationalmuseums 1994, 145.

[292] Timpel 1990, 72, 137, Abb. 17. 2 and 146, Abb. 27.

[293] Patches of green patina were visible on all the combs: U. Koch: Fränkische Reihengräber aus Horkheim (Kr. Heilbronn). *Jahrbuch für schwäbisch-fränkische Geschichte* 27, 1973, 15–29.

[294] Roth 1973, 502.

[295] Müller 2007, 88.

[296] U. Roth: Urcei Alexandrini. Zur Herkunft des gegossenen „koptischen" Buntmetallgeräts aufgrund von Schriftquellen. *Germania* 58, 1980, 156–161; Carretta 1982, 13f; Trier 1992, 290–293; Werz 2005.

[297] F. Garscha: Die Bronzepfanne von Güttingen. *Germania* 17, 1933, 39f. The inscription of the jug from Thierhaupten-Oberbaar too suggests hand-washing in accordance with the liturgical practice: *lababo inter innocentes manus meas et circumdabo altarem tuum d(omi)ne* ("I will wash my hands in innocence, so will I compass thy altar, oh Lord"; Psalm 26): Trier 1992, 280, Abb. 4b; 291.

[298] P. de Palol Salellas: *Bronces Hispanovisigodos de origen mediterráneo. I. Jarritos y Pateneas liturgicos.* Barcelona 1950.

[299] The presence of a jug and bowl in a burial can hardly be taken as an indication of the deceased's Christian faith, given that they were deposited according to pagan funerary customs.

[300] J. Engemann: Anmerkungen zu spätantiken Geräten des Alltagslebens mit christlichen Bildern, Symbolen und Inschriften. *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 15, 1972, 154–155.

[301] Drauschke 2011, 135.

[302] Keim 2007, 127, 145–147; Drauschke 2011, 125–135.

[303] Périn 2005, 2005, 85–97.

[304] In Italy, cast metal vessels were deposited in burials in accordance with the Langobard funerary customs. Coptic bowls appear north of the Alps at around this time too. The seventh-century trade routes leading northward from Italy along the Roman roads extended as far as the Rhine region. Keim 2007, 126–127; Schulze-Dörrlamm 2010, 253.

[305] Drauschke 2011, 132.

[306] Z. Kádár: Die Menasampulle von Szombathely (Steinamanger, Ungarn) in Beziehung zu anderen frühchristlichen Pilgerandenken. In: E. Dassmann – K. Thraede – J. Engemann (Hrsg.): *Akten des XII. Internationalen Kongresses für Christliche Archäologie* II. Münster 1995, 886–888, Taf. 116.

[307] The existence of long-distance trade in the late sixth and during the seventh century is confirmed also by the trade in Mediterranean glass vessels. For the glass drinking horns from Kiskundorozsma, see Garam 2001; J. Drauschke: 'Byzantine' and 'oriental' imports in the Merovingian Empire from the second half of the fifth to the beginning of the eighth century. In: A. Harris (ed.): *Incipient Globalization? Long-Distance Contacts in the Sixth Century.* Reading Medieval Studies Volume 32. BAR International Series 1644. London: Archaeopress 2007, 59; Keim 2007, 126 III. 1. 30.

[308] For the Latin names of Roman vessels appearing in the written sources and their possible correlation with archaeological finds, see W. Hilgers: *Lateinische Gefäßnamen. Bezeichnungen, Funktion und Form römischer Gefäße nach den antiken Schriftquellen.* Beihefte der Bonner Jahrbücher 31. Düsseldorf: Rheinland-Verlag 1969. For the relationship between Roman and Barbarian vessel forms, see M. Hegewisch: Germanische Adaptionen römischer

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309 Bakirtzēs 1989.

310 Zs. Bocsi: Ordacsehi-Kis töltés és Zamárdi-Kútvölgyi dűlő 5-6. századi telepeinek kerámiái. In: T. Vida (ed.): *Thesaurus Avarorum. Régészeti tanulmányok Garam Éva tiszteletére – Archaeological Studies in Honour of Éva Garam*. Budapest 2012, 187–204.

311 T. Vida: *Die awarenzeitliche Keramik I. (6.–7. Jh.)*. Varia Archaeologia Hungarica 8. Budapest 1999; Hajnal 2005, 437–480.

312 Hajnal 2005, 437–480.

313 É. Garam: Római kori rézüstök korai avar sírokban. Römerzeitliche Kupferkessel in frühawarischen Gräbern. *Archaeológiai Értesítő* 109, 1982, 73–76.

314 T. Vida: Sütőharangok és sütőfedők – régészeti adatok Dél- és Közép-Európa étkezési kultúrájához. In: B. Kolozsi – K. Szilágyi (eds.): *Sötét idők falvai. 8–11. századi települések a Kárpát-medencében*. Tempora Obscura 1/2. Debrecen 2011, 701–817.

315 A similar change in life-style can be assumed in Eastern Europe during the seventh to ninth centuries, when nomadic groups gradually adopted a more sedentary life-style and began to make and use similar clay cauldrons on their settlements: S. A. Pletneva: Ot kocheviy k gorodam. Salto-mayatskaya kutlura. *Materiali i Issledovaniya po Arkheologii SSSR* 1967, 110; O. V. Lopan: Srednevekovie glinayanie podvesnie kotly s vnutrennimi ruchkami-ushkami. In: V. Petruhin (ed.): *Materiali i issledovanniya po arheologii Dona II. Khazarskiy proekt*. Moskva: Erusalim 2007, 240–311.

316 Ilieva–Cholakov 2005, 56, Nr. 13, Fig. 13; Čolakov–Ilieva 2005, 53–85.

317 Kothinia-κωθώνια: Bakirtzēs (1989) 134–135, 147, Pl. 29. 1.

318 Kakkabos-kakkabion-κακκάβια-χυτρο κακκάβια, Bakirtzēs (1989) 131, 147, Pl. 9. 1.

319 The cauldron came to light from a canal near the agora in Corinth: Davidson 1952, 73, Nos 552–553, Pl. 51; S. Cesario (MO), pozzo Spilamberto (sixth century/early seventh century): S. Gelichi – N. Giordani (eds.): *Il tesoro nel Pozzo. Pozzi deposito e tesaurizzazioni nell'antica Emilia*. Modena 1994, 128, Fig 108. 5.

320 A twelfth-thirteenth century cauldron came to light from a late Byzantine house in Pyrgi, Aghia Anna, Sector II; M. Xanthopoulou: Cauldron. In: N. Chr. Stampolidis (ed.): *Eleutherna. Polis-Acropolis-Necropolis*. Athens 2004, 216, No. 184.

321 J. C. Waldbaum: Metalwork from Sardis: The Finds through 1974. In: G. M. A. Hanfmann – J. A. Scott (eds.): *Archaeological Exploration of Sardis* 8. Cambridge, Mass., London: Harvard University Press 1983, 91, Nos 514, 517. H. 36.8 cm, diam. 47.2–43.0 cm.

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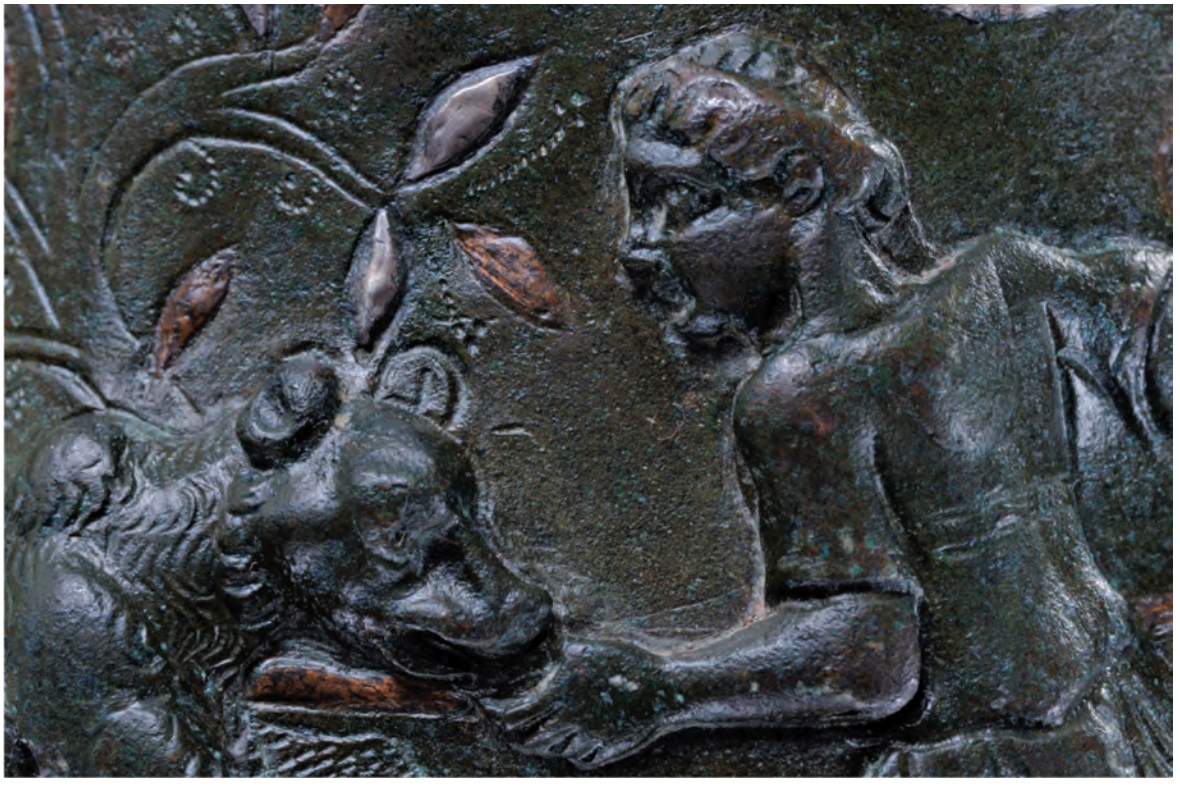

Glossary

Acanthus – A flowering plant also known as bear's breeches, with pretty, gracefully curving leaves, delicate shoots and elegantly undulating surface, which made it particularly suitable as an ornamental element in architecture and the other arts.

Allegory – A symbolic imagery, the metaphor for, or the personification of, an idea or abstract concept, whereby the portrayed events, persons and abstract ideas are vested with a second, hidden meaning.

Arianism – A non-Trinitarian movement challenging the divine nature of Jesus, according to which the Son of God did not always exist, but was created by the Father, and is therefore not consubstantial with the Father. This belief was preached by Arius, a presbyter in Alexandria, and his followers in the fourth century. Although Arianism was condemned at the Council of Constantinople convened in 381, it continued to flourish beyond the borders of the Roman Empire up to the sixth century among the Germanic peoples.

Comes sacrarum largitionum – "Count of the Sacred Largesses". A leading financial official in the late Roman and early Byzantine Empire, who in the period between the reign of the Emperors Anastasius I and Constans II (491–668) was responsible for stamping the silver vessels produced in imperial workshops and thus guarantee the pureness of the silver.

Cornucopia – A horn filled with fruit and flowers, a mythological symbol of fertility, prosperity, magnanimity and abundance (from Latin *cornu copiae*).

Diptych – Originally writing tablets strung together and used for writing on their wax-coated surface. Late antique diptychs with elaborately carved ivory covers containing good wishes, given as gifts by high-ranking officials when they came into office, or on the occasion of the New Year, are especially valuable.

Embossing – Relief decoration created by cold-working sheet metal with a hammer on an anvil.

Frieze – Band-like field on vessels or buildings filled with figural or ornamental decorations.

Gladius – Short sword with wide, double-edged blade.

Graffito, graffiti – Depictions, writings, engravings, etc. on the walls of private or public buildings, or on objects, made using different techniques, whose creator usually remains unknown.

Hexagram – A large silver coin of the Byzantine Empire, principally used during the seventh century.

Imitatio imperii – The emulation of the power, social and cultural structures and of the custom and lifestyle of empires by peoples or groups living beyond its borders.

Kymation – An architectural moulding or painted ornament with stylised vegetal elements, usually a frieze-like band on entablatures or on columns, as well as on wood and metalwork, which was later adopted in the minor arts. The

Doric *kymation* was a simple ornament of abstracted leaves, the Ionian version was an alternation of oval leaves and lancet-shaped spandrel tips, while the Lesbian variant had elongated heart-shaped leaves alternating with lance-like darts.

Largitio – The term denoting donation or gift-giving in the Roman period (from the Latin word for "largesse"), part of the social and political system. The emperor and the nobles ensured the support and loyalty of their subjects through expensive gifts (such as heavy precious metal vessels and money).

Maenads – Similarly to Silenus and the satyrs, the maenads were the companions of Dionysius in Greek mythology. The were often portrayed as being in a state of ecstasy from their frenzied dance, and as running through the woods and tearing to pieces any animal they happened to come across.

Megalopsychia – Magnanimity (Greek μεγαλοψυχία), one of the virtues of the ancient world.

Meroving – Frankish dynasty reigning between the late fifth and the mid-eighth centuries.

Millefiori – A glasswork technique for producing decorative patterns on glass (from Italian "thousand flowers").

Niello – A dark alloy of copper, silver, lead and sulphur used as an inlay on engraved metalwork.

Orbiculus – A richly embroidered roundel attached to clothes in antiquity.

Palmette – The abstracted symmetrical depiction of palm leaves, the most popular stylised plant ornament next to acanthus leaves.

Peristyle – A columned porch or open colonnade insurrounding a court in a building.

Pinus pinea – A Mediterranean pine species, known also as stone pine or parasol pine, with a distinctive umbrella-shaped canopy, cultivated for its edible pine nuts.

Pyxis – A small lidded box made in various shapes out of metal, wood or ivory.

Relief – Any sculptural work of art, which projects from a solid background of the same material.

Repoussé – Embossing.

Romanisation – The adoption of Roman culture by the peoples conquered by the Roman Empire. Romanised communities retaining their culture even after the fall of the empire often survived into the sixth–seventh centuries.

Satyrs – Naked creatures with heads and bodies like men, and ears, legs and tails like goats. Satyrs were the companions of Dionysus in Greek mythology.

Solidus – Gold coin.

Spatha – A long sword with a broad, double-edged blade.

Symposion – A social occasion for feasting in antiquity.

Thesauri – Treasures or treasuries.

Triclinium – The dining hall in Roman villas, usually with three couches around the table.

Umayyad – A dynasty ruling after Muhammad's death, which gave its name to the Islamic Caliphate between 661 and 750. Its seat was in Damascus.

Virtus Augusti – The virtue of the emperor.

Index of Geographic Names

Aistumak	modern Stuma, Syria
Alach	Germany
Antinoe	ancient Antinopolis, modern Sheikh 'Ibada, Egypt
Antioch	ancient Antiochia, modern Antakya, Turkey
Apahida	Hung. Apahida, Romania
Apamea	modern Qal'at al-Mudik, Syria
Aphrosodias	modern Geyre, Turkey
Aschheim	Germany
Augusta Traiana	modern Stara Zagora, Bulgaria
Bácsújfalu	Selenča, Serbia
Ballana	ancient cemetery, Lower Nubia, Egypt
Bočar	Hung. Bocsár, Serbia
Bocsár	Bočar, Serbia
Bölcske	County Tolna, Hungary
Brestovo	Hung. Ormód, Ukraine
Budakalász	County Pest, Hungary
Čađavica	Hung. Csadjavica, Croatia
Canoscio	Italy
Carthage	ancient Carthago, Tunis
Centcelles	Spain
Civezzano	Italy
Cividale	Italy
Corinthus	modern Corinth, Greece
Corydalla	modern Kumulca-Büyük Asar, Haciveliler, Turkey
Cyrene	modern Shahhat, Lybia
Csadjavica	Čađavica, Croatia
Csolnok	County Komárom-Esztergom, Hungary
Dalsheim	Germany
Daphne	ancient settlement near Antioch, modern Harbiye, Turkey
Dor	Israel
Dunaújváros	Roman Intercisa, County Fejér, Hungary
Durostorum	modern Silistra, Bulgaria
El Jem	ancient Thysdrus, Tunisia
Ephesus	modern Efes, near Selçuk, Turkey
Faversham	England
Gelénes	County Szabolcs-Szatmár, Hungary
Güttingen	Germany
Haagerup	Denmark
Hamah	ancient Epiphania, Syria
Harbiye	ancient Daphne, near Antioch, Turkey
Haβleben	Germany
Hildesheim	Germany
Hüfingen	Germany
Intercisa	Roman name of modern Dunaújváros, Hungary
Kaiseraugst	Switzerland
Kaper Koraon	Kurin, Syria
Keszthely	County Zala, Hungary
Kostolac	ancient Viminacium, Serbia
Krakovány-Stráže	Hung. Sztrázsa, Vágőr, Slovakia

Kuczurmare	Veliky Kučurov, Ukraine
Kumulca-Büyük Asar	Haciveliler, ancient Corydalla, Turkey
Kurin	ancient Kaper Koraon, Syria
Lambousa	Cyprus
Leuna	Germany
Lovčenac	Hung. Szeghegy, Serbia
Lübsow	Lubieszewo, Poland
Mildenhall	England
Mongun Taiga	western Altai Mountains, Russia
Nagyszentmiklós	Sânnicolau Mare, Romania
Narbonne	ancient Narbo Martius or Narbo, France
Nemesvarbók	Zemianský Vrbovok, Slovakia
Nocera Umbra	Italy
Nureci	Sardinia
Olmeda	Spain
Ormód	Brestovo, Ukraine
Osztrópataka	Ostrovany, Slovakia
Perjámos	Periam, Romania
Piazza Armerina	Sicily, Italy
Pietroasa	Pietroasele, Romania
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Sart	ancient Sardis, Turkey
Selenča	Hung. Bácsújfalu, Serbia
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Sutton Hoo	England
Szabács	Sabač, Serbia
Szeged-Nagyszéksós	County Csongrád, Hungary
Szeghegy	Lovčenac, Serbia
Szilágysomlyó	Şimleu Silvanei, Romania
Tharros	Sardinia
Thysdrus	modern El Jem, Tunisia
Tiszagyenda	County Jásznagykun-Szolnok, Hungary
Tornacum	modern Tournai, Belgium
Tóti	Tăuteu, Romania
Tournai	ancient Tornacum, Belgium
Vágőr	Krakovány-Stráže, Slovakia
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