

# A THISTLE BROOCH/*DISTELFIBEL* FROM BRIGETIO

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**Abstract:** A very rare brooch was found during my research in the Collection of the Hungarian National Museum. According to the main characteristics, its type can be defined easily. It belongs to thistle-brooches/*Distelfibeln*. I would like to present this brooch in detail.

**Keywords:** rosette-/thistle-brooch, *Distelfibel*, Brigetio

## INTRODUCTION

The main aim of this paper is the presentation of a brooch from the ancient site of Brigetio/Szőny. The brooch belongs to the Hungarian National Museum/Tussla Collection (Budapest). The brooch arrived at the collection through purchase, therefore no close information can be given about its finding circumstances. The Tussla family collected ancient finds from their land, and they sold or gave them to the Hungarian National Museum. The lands of the Tussla family were between East Ó-Szőny and Almásfüzitő.<sup>1</sup> The Roman military camp and the *canabae* can be located in this territory of Szőny. Although I have no information regarding the finding context of the brooch, I suppose that it came from the territory of the military camp or the *canabae*.

Even though our brooch has a special form, its type can be defined easily – it belongs to the type of the thistle-brooch/*Distelfibel*.

## GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THISTLE-BROOCHES/*DISTELFIBELN*

Before starting my presentation on this brooch of the Hungarian National Museum, I would like to summarize the information about thistle-brooches.

One of the main characteristics of this type is the tube/case of the pin-construction that protects the spring-construction. The tube and the bow were made of the same piece of metal. In the case of full pieces, the numbers of springs cannot be examined, but the broken brooches give us the missing information. Generally, these brooches were made with 4 + 4 spring turns.<sup>2</sup> Behind the tube, the bow is highly arched, broad and decorated with fluting, while the foot (second part of the bow) is stretched, broadens toward the catchplate, and it is also decorated with

<sup>1</sup> NAGY 1930, 112; PAULOVICS 1942, 217; PROHÁSZKA 2016, 41.

<sup>2</sup> GASPAR 2007, 134–138.

fluting. The most important characteristic of this type of brooch is the decorated, multi-part dividing disc of different forms.<sup>3</sup> Occasionally, some other decoration elements can be observed on the underside of the bow. This decoration is composed of a narrow metal sheet and a stick with end-buttons.<sup>4</sup> The catchplate of thistle-brooches has a barred opening (*Fig. 1*).

In the near past, A. Böhme-Schönberger and T. Schlip have made a research about the fabrication of thistle-brooches. Their examination was based on a brooch from Badenheim.<sup>5</sup> After their observations, the fabrication process of thistle-brooches can be reconstructed well. These brooches were made of several casted parts that were assembled in a strict order and brazed at the end of the process.<sup>6</sup> One of the great results of this research is about the role of the stick with end-buttons, which fits to the dividing disc by the narrow metal sheet. They were not just decorative elements of the brooch but they had a functional role in its construction. This multi-part and vulnerable construction can be fixed on one more part by the metal sheet and the stick (*Fig. 2*).<sup>7</sup>

Thistle-brooches were mainly produced in the territory of Gallia. Their fabrication is attested at the oppidum of Bibracte and at Augustodunum, a Gallo-Roman site nearby.<sup>8</sup> Since they appear in high number in Canton of Valais, V. Rey-Vodoz supposed that they could have also been made in this territory.<sup>9</sup> The main distribution area of this type is not just modern-day France, but Great Britain and the Rhine-Danube area as well. They are rare finds in the eastern part of the Roman Empire, however, they can be found in the Barbaricum.<sup>10</sup>

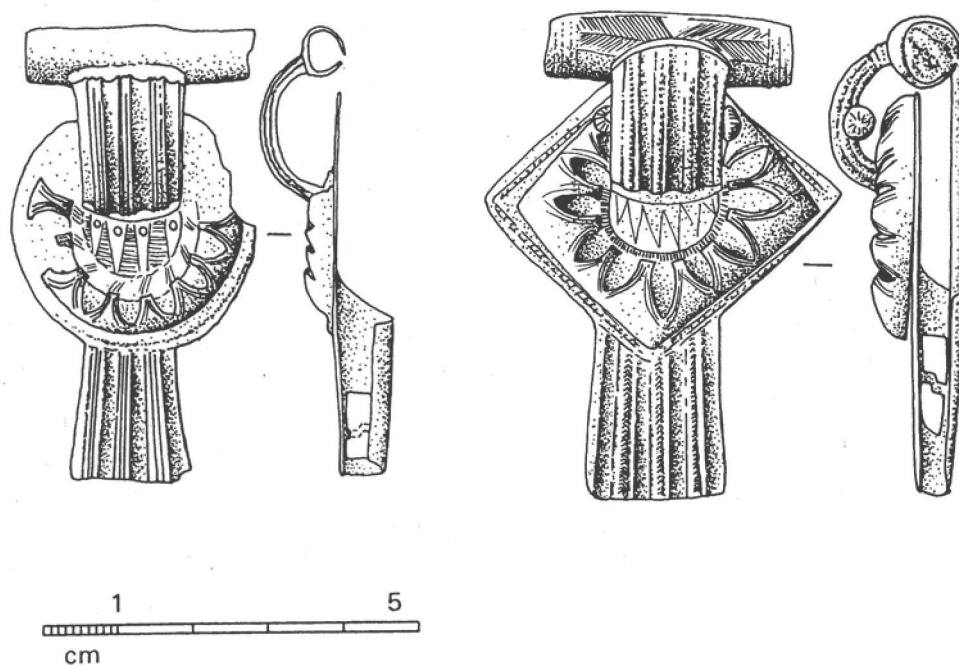


Fig. 1. Two of M. Feugère's thistle-brooches (No. 1364 and 1376)

<sup>3</sup> Brooches with round and diamond-shaped dividing discs belong to different variants. For example: round dividing disc: RIHA 1979, 101, Variante 4.5.1, 4.5.2; FEUGÈRE 1985, 288–289, Feugère 19a1–2, 19b, 19c, diamond-shaped dividing disc: RIHA 1979, 101, Variante 4.5.2; FEUGÈRE 1985, 288–289, Feugère, 19d1–2, 19e, 19f.

<sup>4</sup> Narrow metal sheets mostly disappear, but sticks with end-buttons can remain in better condition. For example: DOLLFUS 1973, Pl. 14. 137–138, Pl. 15, Pl. 16. 143–144, 146–147, 149, Pl. 17. 150–154, Pl. 20. 177–181; RIHA 1979, Taf. 20. 532–533; FEUGÈRE 1985, Pl. 103. 1347, 1350, Pl. 104, 1355–1356, 1360, 1363, Pl. 105, 1376.

<sup>5</sup> The brooch came from grave No. 13 of the Celtic-Roman cemetery of Badenheim in 1991 (BÖHME-SCHÖNBERGER-SCHLIP 2006, 77).

<sup>6</sup> BÖHME-SCHÖNBERGER-SCHLIP 2006, 77–81, Abb. 3–4.

<sup>7</sup> BÖHME-SCHÖNBERGER-SCHLIP 2006, 80–81.

<sup>8</sup> BÖHME-SCHÖNBERGER-SCHLIP 2006, 77. Bibracte/Mont Beuvray: GUILLAUMET 1984, Pl. 51. 179–180. Augustodunum/Autun: CHARDRON-PICAULT *et al.* 2007, 48–50, Fig. 36/7.

<sup>9</sup> REY-VODOZ 1986, 161.

<sup>10</sup> REY-VODOZ 1986, 161; BÖHME-SCHÖNBERGER-SCHLIP 2006, 75; GASPAR 2007, 30, 42.

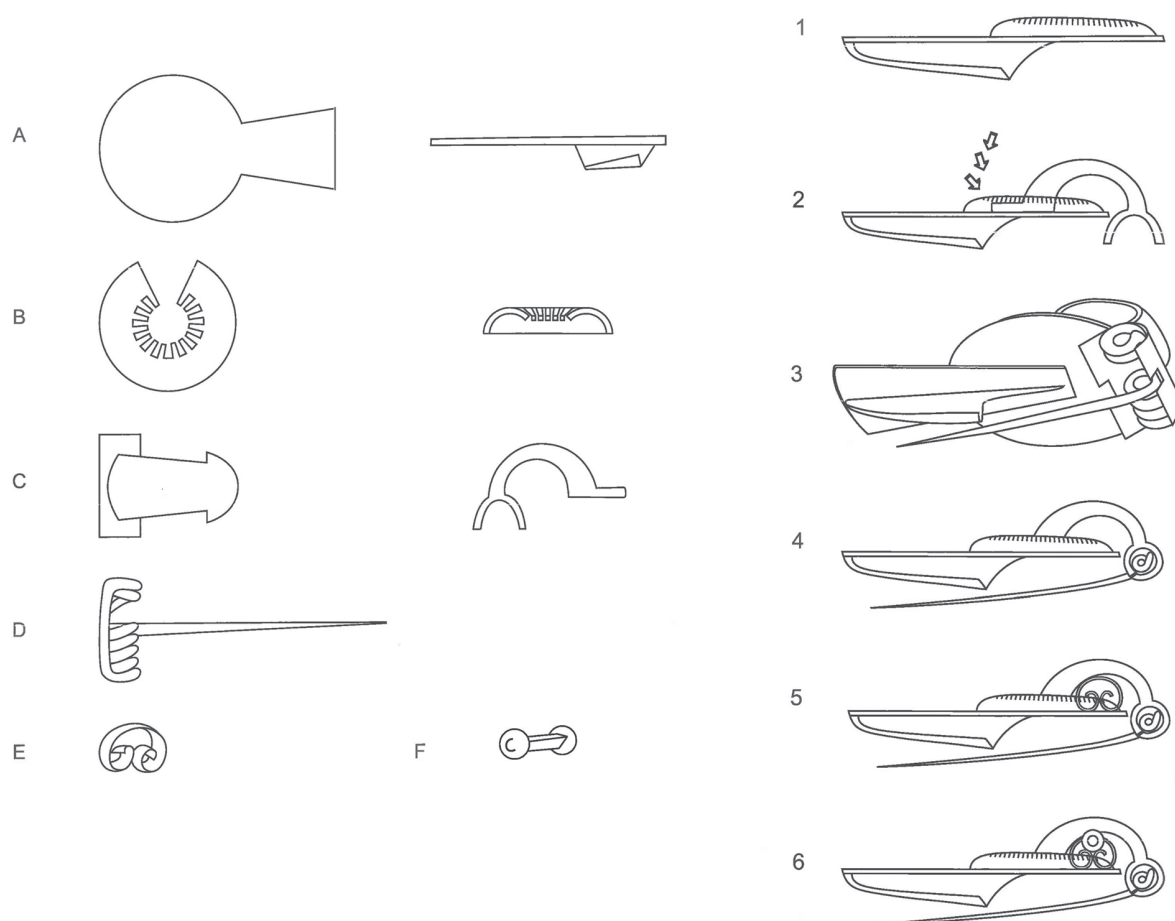


Fig. 2. The fabrication process of thistle-brooches (BÖHME-SCHÖNBERGER-SCHLIP 1995, Abb. 3–4)

#### THISTLE-BROOCHES/DISTELFIBELN IN PANNONIA

Some thistle-brooches were already published in the great monographic studies about Pannonian brooches.<sup>11</sup>

Iлона Kovrig discussed this type in her group V. The brooches of her study belong to three sub-types of thistle-brooches. T. XXIX. 10–11 brooches from Siscia and an unknown site<sup>12</sup> belong to M. Feugère's subtypes 19a, 19c and 19d.<sup>13</sup>

In her monographic study, Erzsébet Patek recollected the brooches from Pannonia and created a new typology. She discussed the brooches of Gaulish origin in type E.1.<sup>14</sup> I. Kovrig's group IV–V belong to this type, and so do thistle-brooches. E. Patek's T. XII. 7–8 refer to Feugère 19a and 19c.<sup>15</sup> According to her list, these brooches were found in an unknown site (T. XII. 7), Erdőd, Mannersdorf am Leithagebirge, Siscia and an unknown site (T. XII. 8).<sup>16</sup> Based on our research in the Hungarian National Museum, a few corrections should be made about these find places, because the sites of T. XII. 7 and 8 seem to be confused. According to E. Patek the brooch from the Hungarian National Museum belongs to T. XII. 7, but actually, it refers to T. XII. 8.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>11</sup> KOVRIG 1937, 13–14, 114, XXIX. t. 10–11; PATEK 1942, 42–44, 202, XII. t. 7–8.

<sup>12</sup> KOVRIG 1937, 92–93.

<sup>13</sup> FEUGÈRE 1985, 182, 288.

<sup>14</sup> PATEK 1942, 42–45, 115–117.

<sup>15</sup> FEUGÈRE 1985, 182, 288.

<sup>16</sup> PATEK 1942, 202.

<sup>17</sup> The brooch can be found under Inv.no. 62.33.34 in the Collection. I would like to say thanks to Zsolt Mráv for the research opportunity and Tamás Szabadváry for his help in the storage. As listed above, T. XII. 7 brooches were found in Erdőd, Mannersdorf am Leithagebirge, Siscia and an unknown site.

After this short review, it is evident that thistle-brooches are not common finds in Pannonia. Occasionally, some thistle-brooches have been published in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and nowadays. The brooch from Carnuntum has a round dividing disc,<sup>18</sup> just like the brooch from Epöl.<sup>19</sup> (Fig. 3) Another thistle-brooch of the Hungarian National Museum has been found recently. Unfortunately, its finding circumstances are uncertain; it was found in Hungary or in the Northern Balkans.<sup>20</sup> No thistle-brooches can be found among the recently published brooches of the excavations in North-Eastern Pannonia, although some typical types of the western provinces appear there.<sup>21</sup> I believe that the low number of the known finds is not the fault of the researches; thistle-brooches truly seem to be underrepresented in Pannonia.

#### THE BROOCH FROM BRIGETIO

The starting point of this study is the brooch Inv.no. 63.22.81 (Fig. 4). It is relatively small; its length is 6.1 cm and its broadest part at the tube of the pin-construction is 2.9 cm. The two-piece brooch is made of copper-base alloy by casting. Its pin and its catchplate are broken. Its pin-construction probably consists of 4+4 turns and it is protected by a tube. The highly arched and ribbed bow joins to the tube directly. A small, plain and oval disc divides the first part of the bow and the foot (the second part of the bow). The disc is decorated with dotting: a stylized flower and two tendrils can be seen on its surface. After the disc, the ribbed bow is narrower but it broadens toward the catchplate. Although the catchplate is broken, it probably turned to the right side and was decorated with

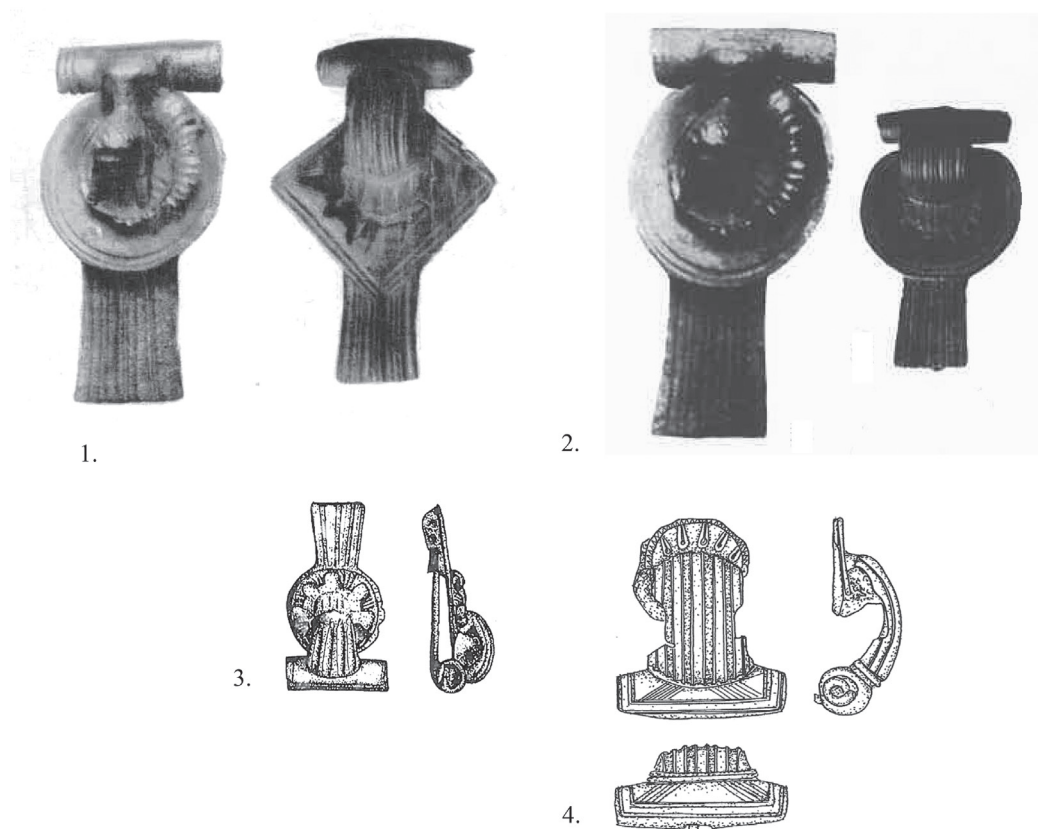


Fig. 3. Thistle-brooches. 1: KOVRIG 1937, T. XXIX. 10–11; 2: PATEK 1942, T. XII. 7–8; 3: from Carnuntum; 4: from Epöl-Palkóvölgyi dűlő

<sup>18</sup> JOBST 1992, 488, 492, Kat. 22.

<sup>19</sup> MERCZI 2016, 448–450, Kat. 1, 1. T. 1.

<sup>20</sup> The brooch is unpublished. I would like to thank the information to István Vida, archaeologist of the Hungarian National Museum.

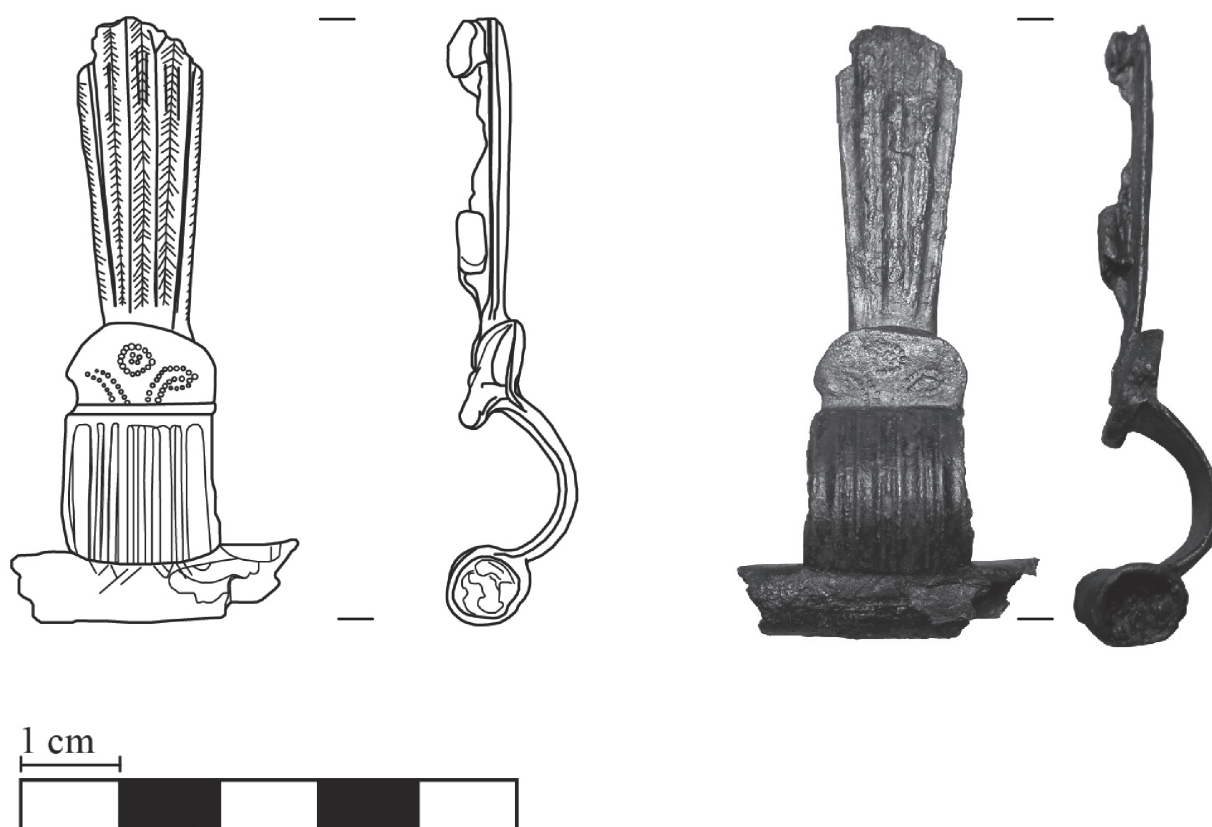


Fig. 4. Thistle-brooch from Brigetio

a barred opening. The bows of thistle-brooches usually had inlay or enamelled decoration,<sup>22</sup> but no traces can be seen on 63.22.81.

Parallels of our brooch can be found in foreign studies. In the monographic study of M. A. Dollfus, similar brooches with small dividing disc belong to the II.B subtype.<sup>23</sup> M. Feugère discussed brooches with small dividing disc in his subtype 19a. Thistle-brooches with round, multi-part dividing disc were also presented in this subtype.<sup>24</sup> Unlike M. A. Dollfus and M. Feugère, E. Riha classified brooches with small dividing disc in a separate variant (4.5.1).<sup>25</sup> J. Philippe collected brooches from the Seine-Marne area and he developed the typology of M. Feugère. Thistle-brooches with small dividing disc were discussed in his 19g1 variant.<sup>26</sup>

J. Philippe collected several parallels of these relatively rare brooches, but only 20 brooches were listed in his monographic study.<sup>27</sup> Today, the number of the parallels increased to more than double (*Tab. 1*). Most often, we have bare information about the find circumstances of these objects. Leastwise, several kinds of sites can be mentioned. Riha 4.5.1 brooches were found in settlements, sanctuaries, military camps and cemeteries. Most of the brooches came from modern-day France and the others were found in Great Britain, Germany, Spain, Switzerland, Austria, Slovenia and Hungary (*Fig. 5*).<sup>28</sup>

<sup>21</sup> For example: Budaörs: MERCZI 2012, 476–478, Nr. 5–6, Fig. 1.5–6; Győr-Ménfőcsanak: BIRÓ 2013, 249, Abb. 2.1; Páty: OTTOMÁNYI 2007, 134–135, 151, Fig. 114.3–4, Fig. 125.3.

<sup>22</sup> ETTLINGER 1973, 81; RIHA 1979, 102; LEGROS 1999, 34.

<sup>23</sup> Dollfus II. B.: DOLLFUS 1973, 96–103, 107–109, Pl. 14. 133–136.

<sup>24</sup> Feugère 19a: FEUGÈRE 1985, 288, Pl. 103. 1347–1353, Pl. 104. 1354–1365, Pl. 105. 1366–1367, Nr. 1368–1372.

<sup>25</sup> Riha 4.5.1: RIHA 1979, 101–102, Taf. 20. 526–530.

<sup>26</sup> Philippe 19g1: PHILIPPE 2000, 74–75, 78–79, Fig. 29.

<sup>27</sup> PHILIPPE 2000, 79, Fig. 32.

<sup>28</sup> The list of sites has been updated with Érd-Elvira major (\*) at the last moment. The Riha 4.5.1 brooch was found in 2018 and it also belongs to the Collection of the Hungarian National Museum. I would like to express my gratitude to István Vida for the information about this brooch.



Table 1.

Nr.	Reference	Site	Context	Decoration of the small dividing disc
1.	Mentioned in: PHILIPPE 2000, 74.	Andard (Main-et-Loire)	[lack of data]	[lack of data]
2.	FEUGÈRE 1985, No. 1355, Pl. 104, 1355.	Annecy (Savoie)	settlement	undecorated, plain
3.	MORIN-JEAN 1911, Fig. 11.	Arcis-sur-Aube (Aube)	[lack of data]	undecorated, plain
4.	DOLLFUS 1973, Pl. 14, 134.	Arnières-sur-Iton, Chenappeville	bath building	undecorated, plain
5.	FEUGÈRE 1985, No. 1362, Pl. 104, 1362.	Auterive (Saint-Orens)	settlement	undecorated, plain
6.	LEPAGE 1992, 248, Nr. 25, Fig. 2, 25.	„Châtelet” de Gourzon	oppidum	undecorated, plain
7.	FAUDET 1999, Pl. VII, 47.	„Châtelet” de Gourzon	[lack of data]	undecorated, plain
8.	DOLLFUS 1973, Pl. 14, 135.	Léry	cemetery	undecorated, plain
9.	PHILIPPE 2000, no. 167, fig. 29.	Lieusaint (Seine-et-Merme)	[lack of data]	zigzag motif
10.	PIETRUK 2005, Pl. 12, 56.	Metz, Sablon	[lack of data]	undecorated, plain
11.	FAUDET–POMMERET 1985, No. 54.	Nuits-Saint-Georges (Côte d’Or)	sanctuary	undecorated, plain
12.	FAUDET–POMMERET 1985, No. 250.	Nuits-Saint-Georges (Côte d’Or)	settlement	chased diamond motifs?
13.	FAUDET–POMMERET 1985, No. 251.	Nuits-Saint-Georges (Côte d’Or)	settlement	undecorated, plain
14.	FEUGÈRE 1985, No. 1351, Pl. 103, 1351.	Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges (Haute-Garonne)	settlement	zigzag motif
15.	FEUGÈRE 1985, No. Pl. 104, 1360.	Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges (Haute-Garonne)	settlement	undecorated, plain
16.	FEUGÈRE 1985, No. 1361, Pl. 104, 1361.	Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges (Haute-Garonne)	settlement	undecorated, plain
17.	<a href="http://artefacts.mom.fr/fr/result.php?id=FIB4074&amp;find=CLS&amp;pagenum=1&amp;affmode=list">http://artefacts.mom.fr/fr/result.php?id=FIB4074&amp;find=CLS&amp;pagenum=1&amp;affmode=list</a> (2018-02-13)	Saint-Romain-en-Gal	settlement	undecorated, plain?
18.	FEUGÈRE 1985, No. 1353, Pl. 103, 1353.	Saint-Rome-de Cernon (Aveyron)	sanctuary	undecorated, plain
19.	FEUGÈRE 1985, No. 1354, Pl. 104, 1354.	Saint-Rome-de Cernon (Aveyron)	sanctuary	undecorated, plain
20.	LEGROS 1999, Pl. II, 8.	Soisson	[lack of data]	undecorated, plain
21.	<a href="http://artefacts.mom.fr/fr/result.php?id=FIB4074&amp;find=CLS&amp;pagenum=1&amp;affmode=list">http://artefacts.mom.fr/fr/result.php?id=FIB4074&amp;find=CLS&amp;pagenum=1&amp;affmode=list</a> (2018-02-13)	Villeneuve-sur-Lot, Chemin de Rouquette	[lack of data]	undecorated, plain
22.	<a href="http://artefacts.mom.fr/fr/result.php?id=FIB4074&amp;find=CLS&amp;pagenum=1&amp;affmode=list">http://artefacts.mom.fr/fr/result.php?id=FIB4074&amp;find=CLS&amp;pagenum=1&amp;affmode=list</a> (2018-02-13)	Tarn	[lack of data]	undecorated, plain
23.	FAUDET–TISSERAND 1982, No. 104.	Musée Bargoin – Clermont- Ferrand	/	undecorated, plain
24.	FAUDET–TISSERAND 1982, No. 105.	Musée Bargoin – Clermont- Ferrand	/	zigzag motif
25.	FAUDET 1999, Pl. VII, 48.	Musée du Louvre	/	chased diamond motif and pointed dots
26.	PIETRUK 2005, Pl. 12, 57.	Musée du Metz	/	undecorated, plain
27.	LE CLERT 1898, Nr. 355, Pl. XXXIV, 355.	Musée de Troyes	/	chased hatched-motif
28.	HATTATT 2000, Fig. 168, 786.	France	/	undecorated, plain
29.	HATTATT 2000, Fig. 168, 787.	France	/	undecorated, plain
30.	ERICE LACABE 1995, Lám. 11, 95.	Aoiz	[lack of data]	undecorated, plain
31.	VAN BUCHEM 1941, pl. III, 7.	Nijmegen	[lack of data]	undecorated, plain
32.	MACKRETH 2011, Pl. 16, 5796.	Baldock	settlement	double dividing discs with zigzag motifs on each of them
33.	MACKRETH 2011, Pl. 16, 5799.	Braughing	settlement	zigzag motif
34.	HAWKES–CRUMMY 1995, Fig. 6, 24.	Colchester (Kiln Road, Sheepen 1971)	settlement	undecorated, plain
35.	Mentioned in: PHILIPPE 2000, 74.	Faversham	[lack of data]	[lack of data]
36.	Mentioned in: PHILIPPE 2000, 74.	Silchester	[lack of data]	[lack of data]

Table 1. continued

37.	SIMON 1976, Taf. 55, 30.	Bad Nauheim	military camp	dotted spirals and leaves
38.	Mentioned in: PHILIPPE 2000, 74.	Haltern	military camp	undecorated, plain?
39.	Mentioned in: PHILIPPE 2000, 74. and RIHA 1979, 102.	Mainz	military camp	[lack of data]
40.	Mentioned in: PHILIPPE 2000, 74. and RIHA 1979, 102.	Neuss	military camp	[lack of data]
41.	SIMPSON 2000, Pl. I, 7.	Neuss	military camp	undecorated, plain
42.	CORDIE-HACKENBERG–HAFFNER 1997, Taf. 515/ Grab1867/e	Wederath-Belgium	cemetery, Grave No. 1867.	undecorated, plain
43.	RIHA 1979, Nr. 526, Taf. 20, 526.	Augst-Kaiseraugst	settlement	wolf-tooth motif
44.	RIHA 1979, Nr. 527, Taf. 20, 527.	Augst-Kaiseraugst	settlement (insula 20)	undecorated, plain
45.	RIHA 1979, Nr. 528, Taf. 20, 528.	Augst-Kaiseraugst	settlement (insula 30)	wolf-tooth motif
46.	MAZUR 2010, Fig. 16, 497.	Avenches	settlement (insula 13)	undecorated, plain
47.	REY-VODOZ 1986, Pl. 6, 102.	Martigny	sanctuary	undecorated, plain
48.	ETTLINGER 1973, Taf. 7, 8.	Riddes	[lack of data]	undecorated, plain
49.	SEDMAYER 2009, Taf. 5.155.	Magdalensberg	settlement	zigzag motif
50.	Mentioned in: SEDLMAYER 2009, Abb. 129.	Ljubljana	[lack of data]	undecorated, plain
51.	unpublished	*Erd-Elvira major	stray find	?



Fig. 5. The distribution of Riha 4.5.1 variant

Although all the brooches listed in *Tab. I* have small dividing disc, their decorations are different. Most frequently, the dividing disc is undecorated and plain,<sup>29</sup> but it is often decorated with chased zigzag motif or wolf-tooth motif.<sup>30</sup> Some complex figures can also be mentioned. The brooch from the Musée de Louvre has a dividing disc with small diamond-shaped motifs and pointed dots,<sup>31</sup> and the brooch from the Musée de Troyes probably has a dividing disc with chased hatch-motif.<sup>32</sup> In the military camp of Bad Nauheim a close parallel of 63.22.81 was found. Its dividing disc is decorated with dotted spirals and leaves.<sup>33</sup>

There is no doubt that these brooches belong to thistle-brooches, because they have almost all main characteristics of the type. However, they are special because of their small dividing disc. How can this difference be explained? Hereinafter, I try to find an answer to this question.

#### THOUGHTS ABOUT THE RIHA 4.5.1 = PHILIPPE 19G1 VARIANT

Researchers tried to explain the missing of the multi-part dividing disc in several ways. I summarized these interpretations and added some new possibilities:

1. They are half-made brooches;
2. They are broken brooches;
3. They are fixed and recycled brooches;
4. They are full pieces without the multi-part dividing disc.

Let's start with the first explanation. At this point, we should return to A. Böhme-Schönberger's and T. Schlip's work about the fabrication process. According to their reconstruction the process could happen in the following order: at first the decorated metal sheet of the dividing disc (B) was attached to the foot (second part of the bow) (A); next the bow with the cast tube (C) was joined to the others; then the spring-construction (D), the narrow metal sheet (E) and the stick with end buttons (F) were also soldered (*Fig. 2*).<sup>34</sup> The beginning of the fabrication is important for us now. Since the dividing disc was part of the brooch before the two parts of the bow were joined, Riha 4.5.1 brooches are not half-made products. If they were half-made brooches, they would remain in different form during the fabrication.

According to the second possibility, these brooches are broken objects and their multi-part discs have been broken down.<sup>35</sup> The decorations of the small dividing discs could attest this theory, because Riha 4.5.1 brooches and other thistle-brooches with multi-part dividing discs have the same decoration on their small discs. Examples of plain, chased and dotted decorations can also be mentioned.<sup>36</sup> A brooch from Vannes is important; originally it had a multi-part dividing disc but it is partly broken down today. The dotted tendril decoration of its small disc is very similar to the decoration of 63.22.81.<sup>37</sup> Multi-part discs remained in different sizes, and sometimes they can be seen only around the edges of the small discs.<sup>38</sup>

In the examination of the second theory, the narrow metal sheet and the small stick with end-buttons also have an importance. In the last step of the fabrication process, these elements were attached to the brooch.<sup>39</sup> As I mentioned earlier, these parts not only have decorative but functional role as well. The vulnerable brooch-construction can be fixed with these elements on one more part as well.<sup>40</sup> If we look at the reconstruction of the fabrication process, it is very interesting to us, because the metal sheet originally joined the large disc of the brooches. That is why I suppose that brooches with small dividing disc and small stick with end-buttons originally had multi-part discs.

<sup>29</sup> *Tab. I*. Nr. 2–8, 10–11, 13, 15–23, 26, 28–31, 34, 41, 44, 46–48, 50.

<sup>30</sup> *Tab. I*. Nr. 9, 14, 32–33, 45, 47, 49.

<sup>31</sup> *Tab. I*. Nr. 25; FAUDET 1999, 17, Nr. 48.

<sup>32</sup> *Tab. I*. Nr. 27; LE CLERT 1898, 113, Nr. 355.

<sup>33</sup> *Tab. I*. Nr. 37; SIMON 1976, 226, Nr. 30.

<sup>34</sup> BÖHME-SCHÖNBERGER–SCHLIP 2006, 79–80, Abb. 4.

<sup>35</sup> DOLLFUS 1973, 98; RIHA 1979, 101.

<sup>36</sup> For example: Undecorated small disc: FEUGÈRE 1985, Pl. 103. 1348, Pl. 104. 1363; PIETRUK 2005, Pl. 14. 60, Pl. 15. 63. Chased decoration: FEUGÈRE 1985, Pl. 103. 1347, Pl. 105. 1373, 1376. Dotted decoration: RIHA 1979, Taf. 20. 535.

<sup>37</sup> COTTEN 1985, 110–112, Pl. 21. 198.

<sup>38</sup> For example: FEUGÈRE 1985, Pl. 103. 1350, 1352.

<sup>39</sup> BÖHME-SCHÖNBERGER–SCHLIP 2006, 80, Abb. 4.5–6.

<sup>40</sup> *Tab. I*. Nr. 2, 15, 20, 48.



The third explanation follows the former one directly. If the large discs of brooches broke down during their usage, their remains could be rasped or cut, then the brooch could be used again. This process is not unimaginable, because fixed brooches are known from the scientific literature.<sup>41</sup>

In the case of the brooch 63.22.81 from Brigetio, neither the second nor the third theory can be an answer. No remains of the narrow metal sheet or the small stick, furthermore no fragments of the large disc can be seen on our brooch.

Finally, let's discuss the fourth theory, that is Riha 4.5.1 brooches are full pieces without the large disc. At this point the chronological knowledge about thistle-brooches should be summarized. The typo-chronological order of thistle-brooches can probably help us to find an explanation. Are Riha 4.5.1 brooches prototypes or final variants of thistle-brooches?<sup>42</sup>

According to the former literature, thistle-brooches were used from the Augustan Age to the Tiberian/Claudian Age, and occasionally until the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century. Different variants of thistle-brooches were used simultaneously, not just after each-other.<sup>43</sup>

I have no information about the find circumstances of the brooch 63.22.81, therefore it is not suitable for a chronological examination. Fortunately, some of the listed Riha 4.5.1 brooches were found in dated contexts (Tab. 2). According to the collected information, Riha 4.5.1 brooches were certainly used in the Augustan Age, thus they are surely not the final variants of thistle-brooches. So, are they prototypes? Although they were not only found in Augustan Age context but in later periods, former literature seems to be correct that this type of brooch could be a transitional step between Riha 4.5.2 thistle-brooches and the former ones. In Augst/Kaiseraugst and Avenches, Riha 4.5.1 brooches came from layers that can be dated to the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century and the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century. These data attest a long using period of the brooches in certain cases. They can be supposedly used by more generations, and transferred from their original range of users to another one.

The last topic of the study is defining the range of wearers. Our questions are the followings:

- Is there any specialization by gender?
- Is the Riha 4.5.1 = Philippe 19g1 typical of one gender?

**Table 2.**

Nr.	Site	Dating	Reference
33.	Braughing	15 BC–AD 1	MACKRETH 2011, 28.
38.	Haltern	12 BC–AD 9	PHILIPPE 2000, 75.
50.	Ljubljana	10 BC–15 AD	SEDLMAYER 2009, 202–203.
41.	Neuss	50 BC–Augustan Age	SIMPSON 2000, 10.
45.	Augst-Kaiseraugst	its context is dated by pottery to the late Augustan Age and Tiberian Age	RIHA 1979, 101–102.
42.	Wederath-Belgium	No. 1867 grave is dated by the coins of Claudius (o: RIC 100), Nero (p: RIC 543, r: -) and Vespasianus (q: RIC 449)	CORDIE-HACKENBERG-HAFFNER 1997, 11; GELDMACHER 2004, Liste 41.
11.	Nuits-Saint-Georges (Côte d'Or)	the beginning of the 1 <sup>st</sup> century AD	FAUDET-POMMERET 1985, 68.
44.	Augst-Kaiseraugst	its context is dated by pottery to the Flavian Age	RIHA 1979, 101–102.
46.	Avenches	its context is dated by pottery to the second half of the 1 <sup>st</sup> century and the 2 <sup>nd</sup> century	MAZUR 2010, 51.

<sup>41</sup> For example: BAYLEY–BUTCHER 2004, 34, Fig. 21–22, Pl. 10.

<sup>42</sup> R. Erice Lacabe described the variant as a transitional step between thistle-brooches and Langton-Down brooches (ERICE-LACABE 1995, 82). A. Böhme-Schönberger put the Riha 4.5.1 variant after types Metzler 11 = Feugère 15, Metzler 12 = Feugère 16 and before developed thistle-brooches (Metzler 13 = Feugère 19) (BÖHME-SCHÖNBERGER 2002, 215, Abb. 1). H. Leifeld had the same opinion about the development (LEIFELD 2007, 183).

The following authors also wrote about the development of the different forms: ETTLINGER 1973, 81; REY-VODOZ 1986, 161; MACKRETH 2011, 28.

<sup>43</sup> RIHA 1979, 101; FEUGÈRE 1985, 291–292; PHILIPPE 2000, 75, 78; BÖHME-SCHÖNBERGER–SCHLIP 2006, 75; GASPAR 2007, 30, 42; SELDMAYER 2009, 21–22.

The answer seems to be easy. In the earliest literature, this brooch type was connected to women's costume.<sup>44</sup> However, the subject needs more discussion. Cemetery contexts and depicted costumes can be examined.

The Riha 4.5.1 variant cannot be found on tombstones, only the general thistle-brooch form. Firstly, a famous monument from Mainz can be mentioned that has been already discussed a lot. On this grave monument the woman (Menimane) wears thistle-brooch/*Distelfibel* or *Kragenfibel*.<sup>45</sup> Another example can be mentioned from Ingelheim am Rhein.<sup>46</sup> The costume of this woman was definitely pinned with a thistle-brooch. Depicted thistle-brooches suggest that these brooches were popular accessories of women's costume at the time of making these stone monuments.

Archaeological finds from cemetery contexts are the next. It is supposed that in the late LT period men and women wore the same brooches. This habit probably changed in the time around the birth of Christ. As A. Böhme-Schönberger reminded, early forms of thistle-brooches (Metzler 11–12) were not surprising in the graves No. A–B of men in Goebblange-Nospelt.<sup>47</sup> In these graves, thistle-brooches were not in pairs as it is usual in men's clothing. Women's habit differs from men's; women usually wore two or more brooches. According to A. Böhme-Schönberger although early forms of thistle-brooches can be found in men's graves, later types are generally missing from their costumes. In Lamadelaine/GR2 period,<sup>48</sup> these brooches were used mostly by women.<sup>49</sup>

Thistle-brooches from the cemetery of Wederath-Belginum should also be mentioned. In this cemetery, early and later thistle-brooches (Metzler 11–13) were found in a great number.<sup>50</sup> Out of the 40 graves, the gender of the deceased can be identified in 23 cases. According to anthropological examinations, 74% of the dead were women, but sometimes these brooches were also found with men.<sup>51</sup> Moreover, in the men graves No. 526, 666, 1296 and 1324, thistle-brooches were found in pairs, and two other brooches (Feugère 10a4) also came from grave No. 666.<sup>52</sup> In double grave No. 1867, one Riha 4.5.1 brooch was found. In this grave, an 18–20 year old young man and a 20–40 year old woman were buried. Among their objects, a wire-brooch and an omega-brooch (Riha 8.1.2) were also found.<sup>53</sup> Unfortunately, it cannot be decided which of the two owned the thistle-brooch.

In his study, A. Böhme-Schönberger mentioned some cemeteries from Germany. In these graves (No. 63 of Diersheim, No. 8 of Miesau), thistle-brooches and weapons were found together. According to the weapons, deceased are supposed to be men. More than one thistle-brooch came from these graves and an eye-brooch was also found in grave No. 63 of Diersheim. In Diersheim, the elite of Germanic people were buried, so A. Böhme-Schönberger supposed that these thistle-brooches were used by Germanic men.<sup>54</sup> In his study, he also examined thistle-brooches from the Barbaricum. Feugère 16 and Feugère 19 brooches were published from graves of men in Schkopau and Dobřichov-Piřhora.<sup>55</sup> These grave contexts suggest that although in the Celtic cultural area these brooches were generally worn by women, elsewhere they were also popular among men, even by wearing more pieces.

Sometimes thistle-brooches were found in military-camps,<sup>56</sup> and in former literatures these brooches were supposed to be worn by the female escort of men.<sup>57</sup> Indeed, thistle-brooches were mostly worn by women but as we have seen above they were occasionally used by men. Based on this information Riha 4.5.1 brooches from military-camps<sup>58</sup> could also be worn by men. In the beginning, I mentioned that the brooch 63.22.81 supposedly came from the military camp or the *canabae* of Brigetio. Its owner might have been a man who received it directly or indirectly from the main distribution area of the variant. In the Celtic area, this brooch variant can be undoubtedly defined as a traditional costume accessory, however, in Pannonia it can be interpreted as a mark of the Romanization.

<sup>44</sup> ETTLINGER 1973, 82; RIHA 1979, 101.

<sup>45</sup> *Distelfibel* or *Kragenfibel*: BÖHME-SCHÖNBERGER 1995, 5. *Distelfibel*: LUPA Nr. 16485.

<sup>46</sup> BEHRENS 1927, 53, Abb. 3.4; BÖHME-SCHÖNBERGER 1995, 9, Abb. 5.b; BÖHME-SCHÖNBERGER–SCHLIP 2006, 75; LUPA Nr. 7089.

<sup>47</sup> BÖHME-SCHÖNBERGER 2002, 217.

<sup>48</sup> METZLER-ZENS–MÉNIEL 1999, 343.

<sup>49</sup> According to A. Böhme-Schönberger, the range of wearers of thistle-brooches and *Kragenfibel* changed in the same way (BÖHME-SCHÖNBERGER 2002, 217).

<sup>50</sup> GELDMACHER 2004, 69–70.

<sup>51</sup> GELDMACHER 2004, 71.

<sup>52</sup> HAFFNER 1974, 17, 38, Taf. 153/Grab 526/26, Taf. 176/Grab 666/5; HAFFNER 1991, 6–7, 13–14, Taf. 346/Grab 1296/f–g, Taf. 354/Grab 1324/f.

<sup>53</sup> GELDMACHER 2004, 69.

<sup>54</sup> BÖHME-SCHÖNBERGER 2002, 218–219, Abb. 2–3.

<sup>55</sup> BÖHME-SCHÖNBERGER 2002, 219–220.

<sup>56</sup> LEIFELD 2007, 187.

<sup>57</sup> BÖHME-SCHÖNBERGER 2002, 218.

<sup>58</sup> *Tab. I.* Nr. 37–41.

## SUMMARY

The main aim of my paper was the presentation of a brooch from Brigetio. I attempted to update the knowledge about thistle-brooches in Pannonia. Riha 4.5.1 brooches have a specific form; instead of the multi-part disc they have a small dividing disc. Based on their form they supposed to be half-made, broken, fixed or full objects without the large disc. According to the reasoning, some of the Riha 4.5.1 brooches can be broken pieces, but our brooch from Brigetio seems to be a full brooch without the large dividing disc. Based on chronological data, this variant can be described as the step preceding Riha 4.5.2 thistle-brooches. I suppose that beyond the central distribution area, Riha 4.5.1 thistle-brooches were probably used by men who served as soldiers in the Roman army.

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