S L O V E N S K Á A R C H E O L Ó G I A
ČASOPIS ARCHEOLOGICKÉHO ÚSTAVU SLOVENSKEJ AKADÉMIE VIED

HLAVNÝ REDAKTOR GABRIEL FUSEK
Vydavateľ: Archeologický ústav Slovenskej akadémie vied, Akademická 2, 949 21 Nitra

S L O V E N S K Á A R C H E O L Ó G I A
JOURNAL OF THE INSTITUTE OF ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE SLOVAK ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

GENERAL EDITOR GABRIEL FUSEK
Publisher: Institute of Archaeology of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, Akademická 2, SK – 949 21 Nitra

SLOVENSKÁ ARCHEOLÓGIA

SUPPLEMENTUM 2

Zbigniew Robak – Matej Ruttkay
(editors)

CELTS – GERMANS – SLAVS

A Tribute Anthology to Karol Pieta

The publication was supported by
the Scientific Grant Agency of the Ministry of Education, Science, Research and Sport of the Slovak Republic
and the Slovak Academy of Sciences (under the VEGA grant no. 2/0143/18 and 2/0124/20)
and the Slovak Research and Development Agency under the contract no. APVV-19-0563.

INSTITUTE OF ARCHAEOLOGY SAS
NITRA 2021

Zbigniew Robak – Matej Ruttkay (editors)

Celts – Germans – Slavs
A Tribute Anthology to Karol Pieta

Slovenská archeológia – Supplementum 2
Peer-reviewed journal

Articles are indexed and covered in WoS, Scopus, EBSCO, ERIH PLUS, and CEJSH databases.

http://archeol.sav.sk/index.php/sk/slovenska-archeologia/
http://archeol.sav.sk/index.php/en/publications/the-slovenska-archeologia-journal-2/

Distribued by
Archeologický ústav SAV, Akademická 2, SK – 949 21 Nitra
e-mail: nraukniz@savba.sk

Printed by
VEDA, vydavateľstvo SAV, Bratislava

ISSN 1335-0102 (print)
ISSN 2585-9145 (online)

Published: December 2021 Reg. no. MK SR 3404/09 IČO 00 166 723

CONTENTS

TABULA GRATULATORIA

Peter BEDNÁR, Nitra
Marek BEDNAREK, Wrocław
Ján BELJAK, Zvolen
Noémi BELJAK PAŽINOVÁ, Nitra
Lucia BENEDIKOVÁ, Nitra
Zdeněk BENEŠ, Praha
Sándor BERECKI, Târgu Mureş
Zora BIELICHOVÁ, Nitra
Martina BLEČIĆ KAVUR, Koper
Tomasz BOCHNAK, Rzeszów
Zuzana BORZOVÁ, Nitra
Dragan BOŽIČ, Ljubljana
Gertrúda BŘEZINOVÁ, Nitra
Helena BŘEZINOVÁ, Praha
Marek BUDAJ, Bratislava
Aleksander BURSCHE, Warszawa
Radoslav ČAMBAL, Bratislava
Claus von CARNAP-BORNHEIM, Schleswig
Igor CHOMA, Bratislava
Viktoria ČISŤAKOVA, Praha
Ivan ČIŽMÁŘ, Brno
András CSUTHY, Komárno
Zoltán CZAJLIK, Budapest
Katarzyna CZARNECKA, Warszawa
Klaudia DAŇOVÁ, Nitra
Marko DIZDAR, Zagreb
Petr DRESLER, Brno
Eduard DROBERJAR, Hradec Kralové
Przemysław DULĘBA, Wrocław
Kristian ELSCHEK, Nitra
Zdeněk FARKAŠ, Bratislava
Stephan FICHTL, Strasbourg
Pavel FOJTÍK, Prostějov
Herwig FRIESINGER, Wien
Július FRÖHLICH, Černošice
Martin FURMAN, Žilina
Gabriel FUSEK, Nitra
Luděk GALUŠKA, Brno
Marek GERE, Komárno
Petra GOLÁŇOVÁ, Brno
Martin GOLEC, Olomouc
Zuzana GOLEC Mírová, Praha
Stefan GROH, Wien
Karina GRÖMER, Wien
Michał GRYGIEL, Kraków
Mitja GUŠTIN, Piran
Zsombor GYŐRFFY-VILLÁM, Tapolca-Diszel
Mária HAJNALOVÁ, Nitra
Erzsébet HANNY, Budapest
Milan HANULIAK, Nitra
Janka HEČKOVÁ, Nitra
Miloš HLAVA, Olomouc
Gabriela HOLKOVÁ, Nitra
Attila HORVÁTH M., Budapest
Miriam JAKUBČINOVÁ, Nitra
Beáta JANČÍKOVÁ, Nitra
Pavol JELÍNEK, Bratislava
Dagmar JELÍNKOVÁ, Brno
Jan JÍLEK, Brno
Tereza JOŠKOVÁ, Hradec Kralové
Maciej KARWOWSKI, Wien
Boris KAVUR, Koper
Michel KAZANSKI, Paris
Anton KERN, Wien
Miroslava KISSOVÁ, Nitra
Andrzej KOKOWSKI, Lublin
Tomáš KÖNIG, Bratislava
Bartosz KONTNY, Warszawa
Mária KOTOROVÁ-JENČOVÁ, Miňovce
Pavel KOUŘIL, Brno
Branislav KOVÁR, Nitra
Martin KRENN, Wien
Alexandra KRENN-LEEB, Wien
Lukáš KUČERA, Olomouc
Jan KYSELA, Brno
Jozef LABUDA, Banská Štiavnica
Nina LAU, Schleswig
Magdalena MĄCZYŃSKA, Łódź
Renata MADYDA-LEGUTKO, Kraków
Tomáš MANGEL, Hradec Kralové
Anna MASTYKOVA, Moskva
Teresa MAZUREK, Chełm
Vincent MEGAW, Adelaide
Jiří MILITKÝ, Praha
Jozef MORAVČÍK, Žilina
Andrej NOVÁK, Spišská Belá
Attila PAPP, Budapest
Lumír POLÁČEK, Brno
Zuzana POLÁKOVÁ, Nitra
Miroslav POPELKA, Hulín

Andrej PRELOŽNIK, Koper
Rudolf PROCHÁZKA, Brno
Naďa PROFANTOVÁ, Praha
Péter PROHÁSZKA, Nitra
Marzena PRZYBYŁA, Kraków
Dieter QUAST, Mainz
Ján RAJTÁR, Nitra
Peter C. RAMSL, Wien
Dominik REPKA, Nitra
Zbigniew ROBAK, Nitra
Judyta RODZIŃSKA-NOWAK, Kraków
Peter ROMSAUER, Nitra
Marcin RUDNICKI, Warszawa
Aurel RUSTOIU, Cluj-Napoca
Alexander T. RUTTKAY, Nitra
Matej RUTTKAY, Nitra
Jaroslava RUTTKAYOVÁ, Nitra
Vladimir SALAČ, Praha
Peter ŠALKOVSKÝ, Nitra
Pavel SANKOT, Praha
Jan SCHUSTER, Łódź
Marián SOJÁK, Spišská Nová Ves
Eszter SOÓS, Pécs
Boris STOKLAS, Bratislava
Tereza ŠTOLCOVÁ, Nitra
Piotr STRZYŻ, Łódź
Matej STYK, Nitra
Eva SZAKOS, Budapest
Gergely SZENTHE, Budapest
Károly TANKÓ, Budapest
Jaroslav TEJRAL, Brno
Krzysztof TUNIA, Kraków
Vladimír TURČAN, Bratislava
Šimon UNGERMAN, Brno
Andrea VADAY, Pécs
Vladimír VARSIK, Nitra
Natalie VENCLOVÁ, Praha
David VÍCH, Vysoké Mýto
Vít VOKOLEK, Pardubice
Andrej VRTEL, Bratislava
Jiří WALDHAUSER, Praha
Jozef ZÁBOJNÍK, Nitra
Juraj ZAJONC, Bratislava

LAUDATION

PhDr. Karol Pieta, DrSc.

On November 17, 2021, PhDr. Karol Pieta, DrSc. – one of the most distinguished Slovak archaeologists – celebrated his 80th birthday. He was born in Nitra, where he still lives. Already as a child, he showed deep interest in archaeology when he tirelessly searched the fields around Nitra and Nové Sady for shreds and other finds later delivered to archaeologists at the Nitra Castle. Those meetings were later often mentioned by another renowned archaeologist, T. Kolník, who already in 1955 noticed, perhaps for the first time, that the young boy has his heart set on archaeology (*Kolník 2001*, 370). Mysterious ramparts on Zobor or Žibrica, caves on the castle hill, nooks and crannies of half-ruined cellars opened their spaces to be filled by the young Karol's imagination. In his mind, the spaces were filled with secret lives of our ancestors, shreds revealed fates of former inhabitants. Before long, he started to work on archaeological research. After school for one year, he practised at the Institute of Archaeology of the Slovak Academy of Sciences (IA SAS). The institute documentation from those years includes numerous, meticulously elaborated notifications and reports about surface surveys. After that, in 1959, he was admitted to study archaeology at the J. E. Purkyně University in Brno (today Masaryk University in Brno). It was Brno – either through the university, the professors, particularly F. Kalousek or the city itself – that left its lasting mark on his future. It could be said that the experience also programmed his future beliefs. It also positively affected his ties with Moravia. This stage in his life, he fondly recollects. Here, his long-term scientific and personal relations were established with his classmates (V. Goš, E. Grepl and V. Furmánek) and other colleagues. That is why the Jubilarian had and continues to have close professional and friendly ties with the Moravians and Czechs (J. Tejral, R. Pleiner, I. Pleinerová, N. Venclová, M. Čižmář, P. Kouřil, L. Galuška and many others).

After his graduation, the then director, A. Točík employed him at IA SAS where he still works. Soon afterwards, in 1965, he was sent to perform rescue research before the construction of the Liptovská Mara reservoir in northern Slovakia. The Havránok hillfort together with the Celts formed the first of five pillars of his archaeological life. In the recent twenty years, further pillars emerged – Bojná (a Great Moravian agglomeration), Failaka (Kuwait, a Bronze Age and 7th–9th c. settlement), Poprad (a princely grave from the end of the 4th c.) and archaeological parks in Liptovská Mara and Bojná. The pillars reflect key topics: the Celts – the Romans/the Germans – the Slavs. This inspired us to issue a special number of Slovenská archeológia – Supplementum presenting the most recent archaeological findings in those three areas in Central Europe. We do so out of respect for a unique researcher and an exceptional person. It is a tribute to an archaeologist who sets trends for archaeological research in those fields and whose knowledge and expertise arouse our admiration.

The first research area, covering virtually 40 years of the Jubilarian research – the Celts, the Púchov culture and Liptovská Mara – dominated his work until 2005. Those works culminated in 2008, in a comprehensive publication about the Celtic settlement in Slovakia published in both Slovak and German (*Pieta 2008*; *2010*) which is one of the most frequently quoted works of the entire Slovak archaeology.

An example of his unwavering energy and determination is shown by his research in the Bojná agglomeration. In the 1990s, traces of the treasure hunting started to appear more frequently on the site. Often, there were piles of iron artefacts abandoned on the ground. Those events were documented by archaeologists from numerous institutions but with the same result: items were collected and that was the end of it. At least, it was so, until Karol Pieta entered the stage. He knew the mountainous region, was acquainted with the area and soon realised that something peculiar was going on. Through a network of his lay associates, he had spread the word and immediately started surveys on the hillfort. Soon, he made exceptional discoveries revealing the existence of a significant power centre in the 9th c.: the plaques with Christian motifs, the bronze bell, numerous hoards of iron finds. Immediately, the first finds aroused an unprecedented interest of the professional and lay public. The discovery of further fortifications from various historic periods, mines, early medieval burial mounds or decayed roots consolidated his position. Karol Pieta gather around himself a group of collaborators who worked on both land and aerial surveys, LIDAR scanning, radiocarbon

dating, excavations as well as the analysis and publication of finds (Z. Borzová, M. Jakubčinová, M. Cheben, Z. Robak, M. Ruttkay, T. Vangľová and many others). The results have been embodied in dozens of research papers and four monographs.

In 2004, during a friendly chat with a director of the Monuments Board of the Slovak Republic, K. Kosová, M. Ruttkay found out that they have a visitor, an archaeologist from distant Kuwait. One thing led to another and they soon agreed to introduce the guest to Slovak archaeology. The guest turned out to be Sh. Shehab, director of the Kuwait National Museum who in Europe was looking for partners for the exploration of Failaka Island destroyed by Iraqi troops. L. Benediková from the Karol Pieta's department – then responsible for international relations – guided the guest. Karol's engagement led to signing a preliminary cooperation agreement. As soon as the winter season of 2005/2006, a Slovak team, led by the Jubilarian, was already working on the island. Since 2016, he works as a field director of the research on the Early Islamic, Nestorian settlement achieving unique results concerning the Dilmun settlement and contributing to the knowledge about the settlement development between the 7th and 9th c.

Another proof that Karol Pieta is a man of action is the discovery of a remarkable grave with wooden furniture from the end of the 4th c. in Poprad-Matejovce. In the autumn of 2005, M. Soják led to the suspension of construction works in the industrial area. Immediately after expert commissions, Karol Pieta initiated and organised thorough research in 2006 that lasted four months. Using his contacts, he invited a renowned partner with experience in archaeological organic material – the Schleswig Museum headed by C. von Carnap. As a consequence, he created a research team that comprehensively investigated the feature but also preserved and assessed the finds. Remarkable findings of the interdisciplinary project involving researchers from eight countries were published in numerous papers in renowned journals (e.g. Nature) and will be comprehensively published in a forthcoming four-volume monograph. At the same time, the preparation of the exposition of the grave in the Museum in Poprad is coming to an end (*Pieta/Štolcová 2021*).

Karol Pieta also contributed to the development of the first and, so far, the largest archaeological open-air museum in Slovakia: the decayed settlement Liptovská Mara on Havránok hill. Here, influenced by R. Pleiner and I. Pleinerová, the first Slovak experimental archaeology lab was established. This inspired his research in Bojná, where, in cooperation with local authorities, he reconstructed several features on the Valy hillfort and intensely works on the establishment of the archaeological park on the village outskirts. He applies his experiences with archaeological expositions on other sites – for instance in Hainburg, Austria. All of the reconstructions arouse the considerable interest of the public.

To sketch Karol Pieta's image, we allow ourselves to mention how our own lives were influenced by meeting and working with the Jubilarian. In 1985, during field surveys in Nitra-Párovské Háje, M. Ruttkay, as a young employee of the Regional Nitra Museum, discovered two violated features and two damaged pottery kilns. The shreds resembled early medieval pottery. There were, however, some distinct differences. During an expert inspection, he received various tips concerning pottery dating but only Karol Pieta correctly attributed it to the Migration Period. This confirmed that Karol Pieta is an excellent expert in material culture and led to the first joint research and a long-term partnership that gradually grew into a friendship. As a student, Z. Robak began working on the research in Bojná. Gradually, he became a true student of Karol Pieta and then a permanent employee of IA SAS. These events contributed to the development of a research team (K. Pieta, M. Ruttkay, P. Bednár, Z. Robak, supplemented also by other researchers) that successfully investigates numerous local and international research projects aimed at the Early Middle Ages.

Of course, Karol Pieta is active also other areas influencing national and international archaeological research and the lay public. Here, his merits are visible particularly in the popularisation of archaeological findings to which his expertise, attitude and communication skills considerably contribute. He intensely cooperated with numerous artists, particularly an academic sculptor Ľ. Cvengrošová, who transformed archaeological motifs into dozens of works of art – statues, medals, paintings and plaques. Finally, the Jubilarian belongs to the most active researchers in all types of media cooperating also on the preparation of documentary movies or presentations.

He has held several positions at the Institute starting from a specialist to a senior researcher. Between 1991 and 1992 he became one of the deputy directors and continues performing this function successfully today. In the last two decades, he lectured at several universities at home and abroad. More or less continuously, he lectures at the Masaryk University in Brno where he shares his knowledge about the Late Iron Age with younger generations. Slovak and international students – particularly from Poland, the Czech Republic and

Ukraine – come to Bojná for student field practice. All these left a mark on dozens of young researchers he raised.

Through his everyday research work, he shows the energy we all envy. He is an excellent field archaeologist and still heads excavations in the Bojná agglomeration. He belongs to the most active Slovak researcher in field surveys – particularly in areas of Liptov, Turiec, Považský Inovec and Strážovské vrchy. He led APVV projects and today he is a member of an APVV team investigating early medieval power centres. He also leads a new VEGA project. He actively participates in the organisation of international scientific conferences, particularly 'International Symposion Grundprobleme and International Conference the La Tène in Middle Europe. The Celts.' Equally important is his systematic contact and cooperation with lay collaborators throughout Slovakia.

The Jubilarian published 409 papers and 12 monographs. His research is well received not only at home but also abroad. Apart from abundant citations, the reception of his works is documented by his membership in international institutions and associations. He is a corresponding member of the German Archaeological Institute (DAI), member of the European Association for the advancement of archaeology by experiment (EXAR), European Association of Archaeologists, National Committee ICOMOS, North European Symposium for Archaeological Textiles (NESAT), full member of the Austrian Archaeological Institute in Vienna (ÖAW) and member of the Board of the Institute for Archaeological Heritage in Brno. Regularly, he is invited to the Accreditation Committee of the Institute of Archaeology of the Czech Academy of Sciences (IA CAS) and he is a member of the Committee for PhD. defences in the archaeology of the IA CAS. Another confirmation of the Jubilarian's position is his membership in editorial boards of international journals: Acta Archaeologica Austriaca (Austria), Acta Archaeologica Carpathica (Poland), Carnuntum Jahrbuch (Austria), Živá archeologie. (Re)konstrukce a experiment v archeologii (Czech Republic).

He is also a member of the Learned Society of Slovakia and the Scientific Board of the Liptov Museum in Ružomberok. In the last term of office, he served as a deputy of the Scientific Grant Agency (VEGA) Committee for Historic and Social Sciences. Finally, he is a chairman of the Archaeological Board at the Ministry of Culture of the Slovak Republic.

Karol Pieta has received numerous awards. Among the most prestigious, we could mention the Gold Medal of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, Cristal Wing in the category medicine and sciences for the year 2008 (2009), Award of the Nitra Self-Government Region (2011), Award of the City of Nitra (2011), Scientist of the Year 2011 (2012), the Pribina Cross 2nd class (2012), Award for the lifelong contributions for the Slovak science development, Slovak Literary Fund (2014), Award for Science and Technique of the Minister of Education, Science, Research and Sport (2016) and numerous awards of the Presidium of the Slovak Academy of Sciences for his contributions in science and popularization. Finally, he is an honorary citizen of Bojná.

Karol is well known for his openness, insightfulness and ability to find solutions instead of obstacles. Archaeology is his life and his motto is 'Don't put off until tomorrow what you can do today'. It is remarkable that besides all his research activities, he still finds time for sport (skiing, tourism), theatre, art, good books, work in Rotary Club and meetings with friends.

Unfortunately, due to pandemic measures, the celebrations of Karol Pieta's jubilee were limited to a close family circle. Therefore, keeping the social distance, we raise glasses to wish him health and a continuous stream of positive energy. We wish the Jubilarian long years of health, wellbeing, joy of grandchildren and many more scientific successes!

Ad multos annos!

Zbigniew Robak and Matej Ruttkay

BIBLIOGRAPHY

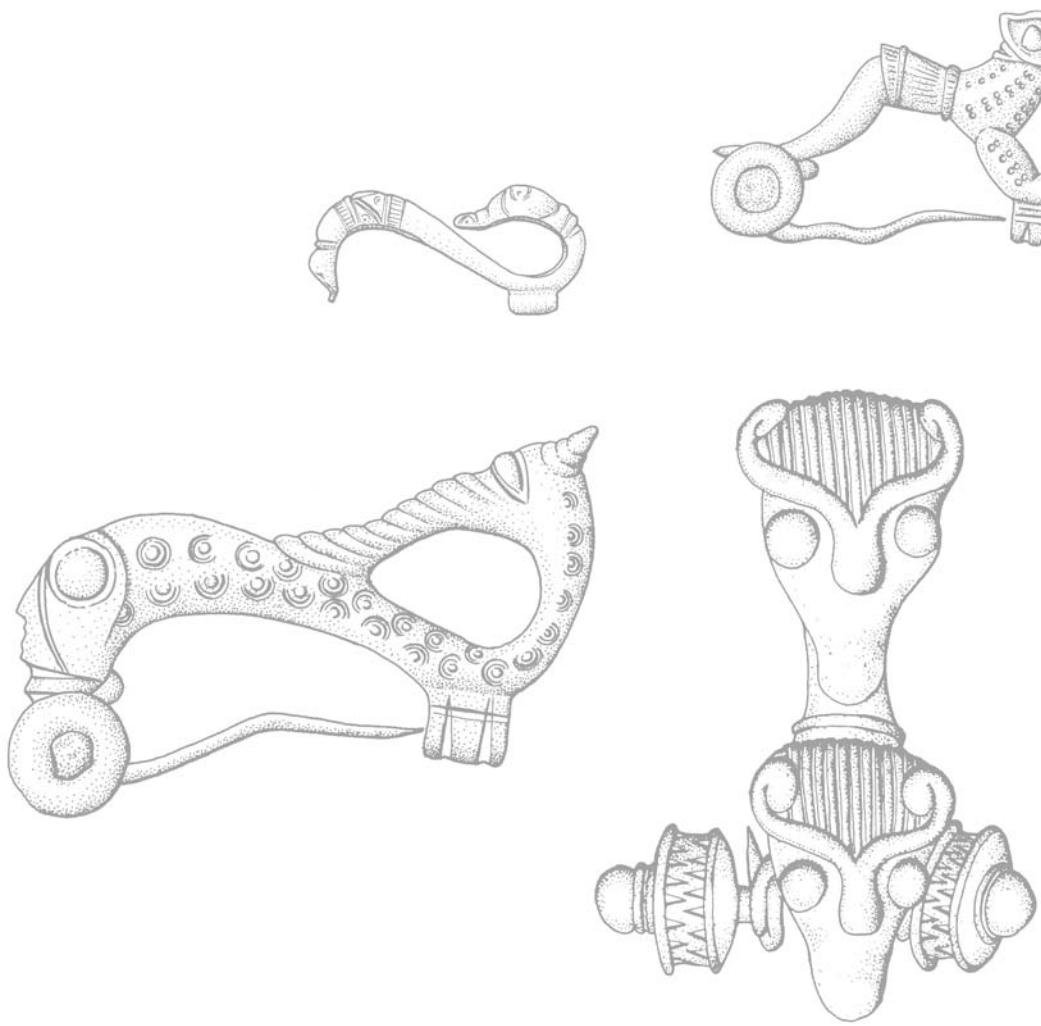
Kolník 2001 – T. Kolník: PhDr. Karol Pieta, DrSc., 60. ročný. *Slovenská archeológia* 49, 2001, 370–373.

Pieta 2008 – K. Pieta: *Keltské osídlenie Slovenska. Mladšia doba laténska*. Archaeologica Slovaca Monographiae. Studia 11. Nitra 2008.

Pieta 2010 – K. Pieta: *Die keltische Besiedlung der Slowakei. Jüngere Latènezeit*. Archaeologica Slovaca Monographiae. Studia 12. Nitra 2010.

Pieta/Štolcová 2021 – K. Pieta/T. Štolcová: *Knieža z Popradu a jeho hrobka*. Archeologické pamätníky Slovenska 12. Nitra 2021.

The Celts



SLOVENSKÁ ARCHEOLÓGIA – SUPPLEMENTUM 2
Z. Robak/M. Ruttkay (eds.): Celts – Germans – Slavs.
A Tribute Anthology to Karol Pieta. Nitra 2021, 19–27.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.31577/slovarch.2021.suppl.2.1

DEPOT VON SICHELN AUS DER HALLSTATTZEIT IN LETANOVCE[1]

LUCIA BENEDIKOVÁ – MARIÁN SOJÁK

The Early Iron Age Sickle Hoard from Letanovce. The paper deals with the analyses and evaluation of the hoard of five iron sickles with bent projection on the base, discovered in Letanovce in Spiš region. In Slovakia it is the sixth known site with the ocurrence of this type of artefact. The main territory of distribution of named type of sickles, dated to the Early Iron Age, is the area north and northwest to the Carpathian arc. Symbolic meaning of the Hallstatt Period iron sickles, found on different types of sites, is discussed.

Keywords: Spiš region, Early Iron Age, hoard, iron sickles.

Im Jahr 2020 bemerkte Richard Raffaj, ein instruierter Mittarbeiter des Archäologischen Institutes der SAW, während eines touristischen Spaziergangs in Slovenský raj (Slowakisches Paradies), unweit des alten Hohlwegs aus Letanovský mlyn auf Čingov einen Zufallsfund einer Eisensichel. In der Vermutung, dass es sich um eine vereinzelte mittelalterliche Sichel handelt, überreichte er sie zur Dokumentation der höher genannten Institution. Nach der Besichtigung der Entdeckungsstelle mit dem Finder, gezielt auf die Ermittlung näherer Fundumstände (GPS-Vermessung), haben wir die Fundstelle mit einem Metalldetektor überprüft. Die Begehung zeigte, dass die Sichel kein Einzelexemplar war, sondern ein Bestandteil eines Depots (Abb. 1: 1; 2; 3).

LAGE UND FUNDBESTAND

Zur Entdeckung kam es am nordöstlichen Fuß von Čertova sihoť in der Meereshöhe 677 m. Insgesamt fünf Sicheln befanden sich seicht unter dem gegenwertigen Terrain (ca. 10 cm). Eine dünne Bodenschicht ist die Folge eines heraufsteigenden Kalksteinuntergrunds auf die Oberfläche des Kamms. Die Sicheln waren unregelmäßig auf einer Fläche von 30 × 30 cm verteilt. Es ist also vorauszusetzen, dass sie ursprünglich in einer Leinen- oder Lederhülle gelagert, bzw. nur mit einer Schnur verbunden waren. Zwischen dem Waldhumus, stark vermischt mit dem Muttergestein, waren keine organischen Überreste sichtbar und die Flotation der entnommenen Erdprobe, hat diese Tatsache auch nicht bestätigt.

Beschreibung der Artefakte

- Sichel mit einer Halbbogenklinge, geradem Rücken und konkaver glatten Schneide, mit einer Basis, die fließend auf die Schneide anknüpft, mit seitlich abgebogenem Fortsatz; abgebrochene Klingenspitze, Länge 13,8 cm, Rückenbreite 0,45 cm, Gewicht 45,28 g (Abb. 2: 1; 3: 1);
- Sichel mit einer Halbbogenklinge, mit geradem Rücken und konkaven glatten Schneide, mit leicht abgesetzter Basis mit seitlich abgebogenem Fortsatz; abgebrochene Klingenspitze, Länge 17,7 cm, Rückenbreite 0,5 cm, Gewicht 61,30 g (Abb. 2: 2; 3: 2);
- Sichel mit einer Halbbogenklinge, geradem Rücken und konkaver glatten Schneide, mit einer Basis, die fließend auf die Schneide anknüpft, mit seitlich abgebogenem Fortsatz; abgebrochene Klingenspitze, Länge 16,4 cm, Rückenbreite 0,5 cm Gewicht 75,36 g (Abb. 2: 3; 3: 3);
- Sichel mit einer Halbbogenklinge, mit geradem Rücken und konkaven glatten Schneide, mit leicht abgesetzter Basis mit seitlich abgebogenem Fortsatz; abgebrochene Klingenspitze, Länge 18,0 cm, Rückenbreite 0,4 cm, Gewicht 47,61 g (Abb. 2: 4; 3: 4);
- Sichel mit einer Halbbogenklinge, mit geradem Rücken und konkaver glatten Schneide, mit leicht abgesetzter Basis mit seitlich abgebogenem Fortsatz; Länge 19,1 cm, Rückenbreite 0,4 cm, Gewicht 47,9 g (Abb. 2: 5; 3: 5).

AUSWERTUNG DES FUNDES

Beim Depotfund handelt es sich um Sicheln, die alle zum selben Typ von Eisensicheln mit seitlich abgebogenem Fortsatz auf der Basis gehören. Diese typologische Gruppe ist relativ variabel und im ihren Rahmen unterscheiden sich die einzelnen Exemplare durch ihre Länge, Basis- und Fortsatzform und -anschluss u. ä.

[1] Der Artikel ist im Rahmen des Projektes VEGA 1/0399/18 und des Projektes APVV-16-0441 entstanden.

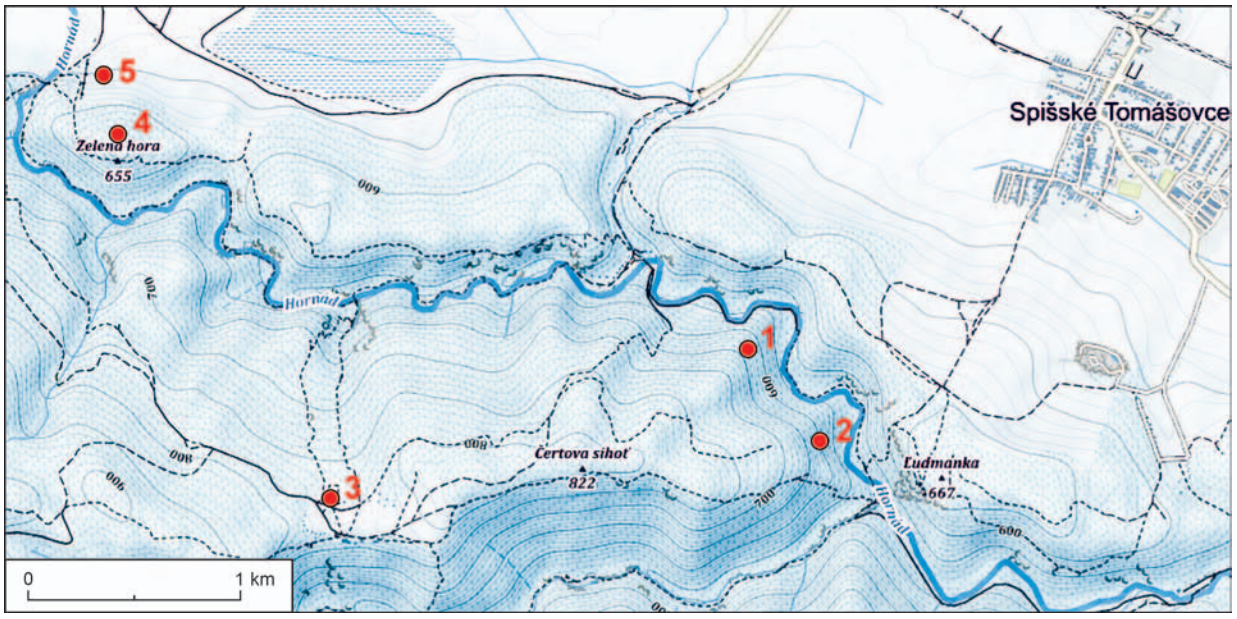


Abb. 1. Karte der Fundorte aus der Hallstattzeit in der Umgebung des Sicheldepots. 1 – Letanovce, nordöstlicher Fuß von Čertova sihoť (Depot von Sicheln); 2 – Letanovce, Höhle Čertova diera; 3 – Letanovce, Kláštorisko; 4 – Hrabušice, Zelená hora; 5 – Hrabušice, Pod Zelenou horou (Unterlage nach www.mapy.cz; bearbeitet; Literatur zu den Fundorten im Text).

Abb. 2. Letanovce, nordöstlicher Fuß von Čertova sihoť. Fotodokumentation der Sicheln aus der Hallstattzeit (Foto M. Soják).

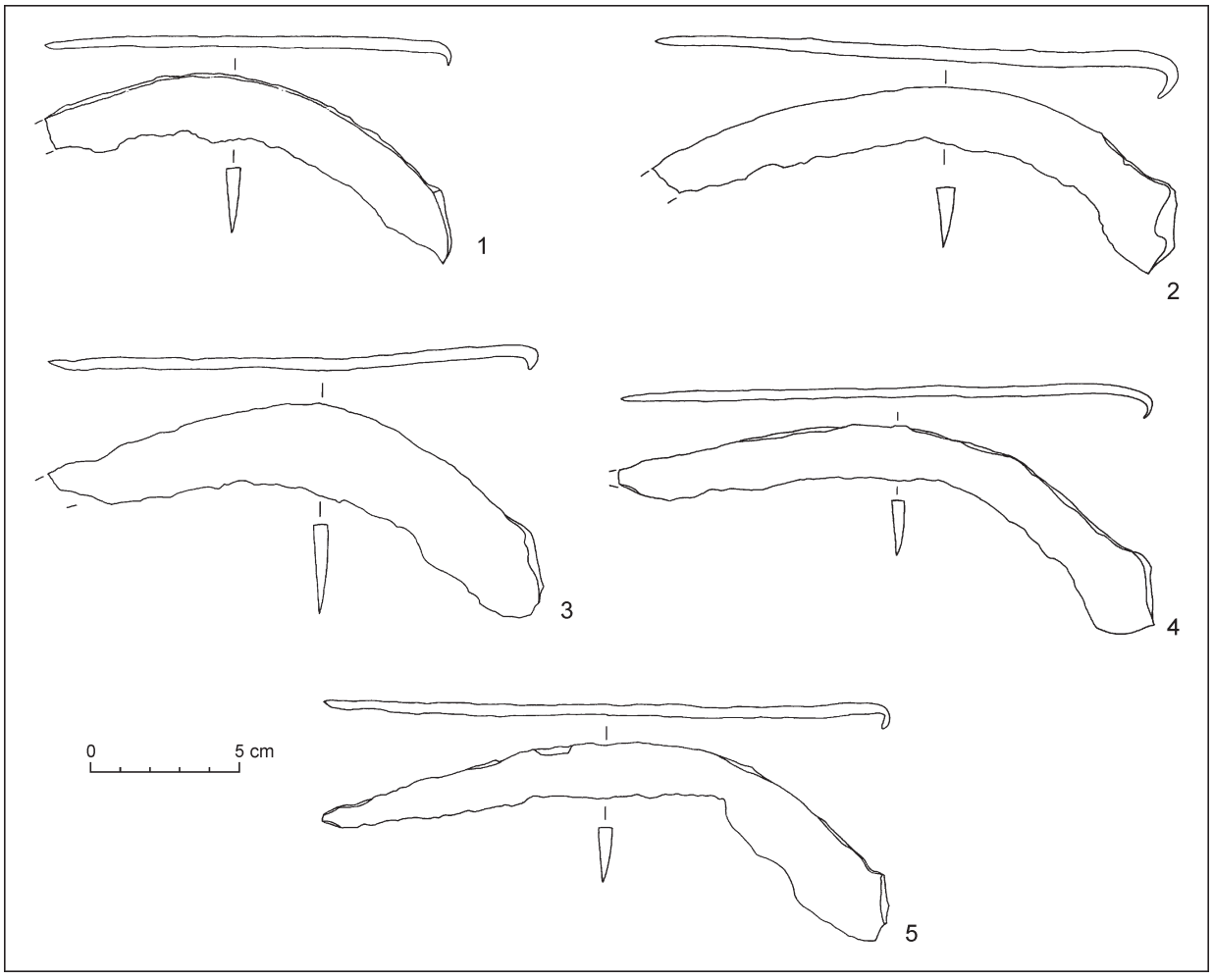


Abb. 3. Letanovce, nordöstlicher Fuß von Čertova sihoť. Zeichnerische Dokumentation der Sicheln aus der Hallstattzeit (Zeichnung M. Soják).

Es handelt sich um Artefakte, dessen Verbreitungsbereich hauptsächlich die Gebiete sind, die nördlich und nordwestlich von den Karpaten liegen – von Lausitz durch Großpolen bis Oberschlesien, mit vereinzeltem Vorkommen in Pommern, Kujawien, in Kleinpolen und Mittelpolen (Abb. 4; *Derrix 2001*, 81, Abb. 40: 1; *Gedl 1995*, 99). Auf diesem Gebiet wurden sie in Gräbern, Siedlungen und Depots entdeckt (*Derrix 2001*, 81). Eiserne Sicheln, die nicht in einem abgeschlossenem Fundkomplex mit datierbaren Begleitmaterial vorkommen, sind keine geeigneten Artefakte zu einer feineren Chronologisierung. Im Fall des präsentierten Sichel-Typs, handelt es sich um Produkte, die im Laufe der ganzen Hallstattzeit benutzt wurden (*Derrix 2001*, 80–82; *Gedl 1995*, 98).

Es wurde kein Ring bei den beschriebenen Sicheln gefunden, der zur Befestigung der Sicheln zum Griff dienen würde, wobei eine Fangauskragung gleichzeitig einem Umdrehen des Werkzeugs vermeiden würde. Am Griff wurde auch keine Öffnung für einen Niet festgestellt, der – wie z. B. bei den latènezeitlichen Sicheln (*Pieta 2008*, 224) – die hölzerne Griffverkleidung fixierte und den Ring ersetzte. Im Falle der Sicheln mit seitlich abgebogenem Fortsatz ist das Befestigungsprinzip am Griff etwas unterschiedlicher und gerade der abgebogene Fortsatz auf der Sichelbasis stellt eine technische Innovation dar (*Derrix 2001*, 81). Aufgrund formaler Ähnlichkeiten mit bronzenen Knopfsicheln ist vorauszusetzen, dass auch die Befestigungsart unseres Eisensichel-Typs an einen Holzgriff ähnlich war (*Derrix 2001*, 81; die Terminologie der einzelnen Bestandteile von Knopfsicheln siehe in *Sommerfeld 1994*, Abb. 45). Die Sichel war in einer hölzernen Spalte im Griff befestigt, auf dessen Seite sich zugleich zwei knopfartige Ausschnitte befanden, die zur Einstellung der Neigung dienten (*Derrix 2001*, 81; *Sommerfeld 1994*, 157–161, Abb. 46). Zur Befestigung der Sichel an den Griff gebrauchte man einen Holzkiel, beziehungsweise eine Schnur oder ein Lederschleifen, was auch einige eiserne Exemplare aus

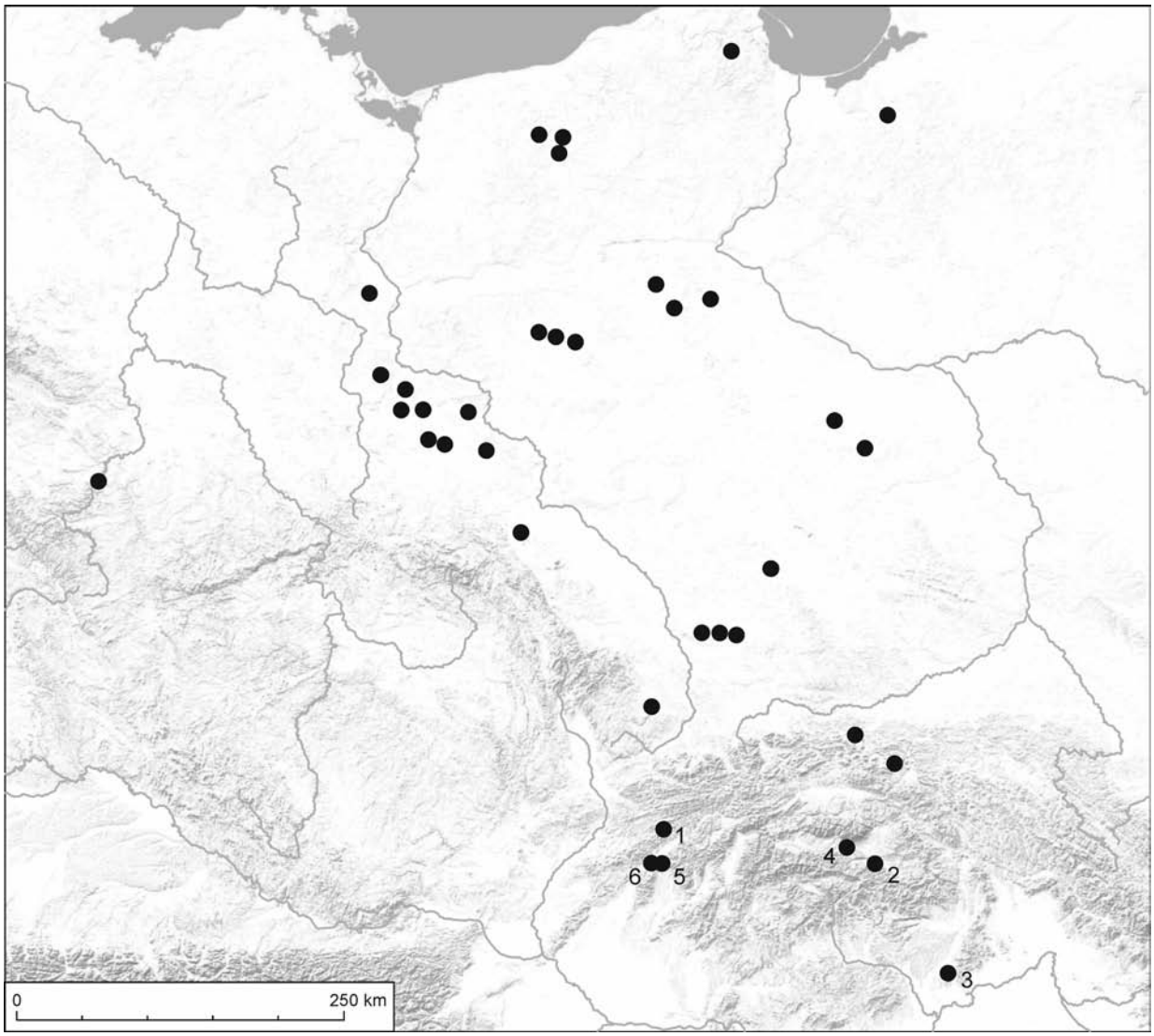


Abb. 4. Das Vorkommen der Eisensicheln mit seitlich abgebogenem Fortsatz in Europa. 1 – Kvašov, Ostrá hora; 2 – Letanovce, nordöstlicher Fuß von Čertova sihoť; 3 – Nižná Myšľa, Sazalík; 4 – Poprad-Kvetnica – Hranovnica – Gánovce-Filice, Zámčisko; 5 –Trenčianske Teplice, Čertova skala; 6 – Trenčianske Teplice, Čvirigovec (nach *Derrix 2001*, 214, 215, Abb. 40: 1; 1–6 – ergänzt, Literatur im Text).

Polen mit erhaltenen Schnurresten und Fragmente der Holzgriffen zeigen (*Derrix 2001*, 81; *Gedl 1995*, 95, Taf. 34: 682, 694; *Sommerfeld 1994*, 159, 160). Diese Befestigungsart hatte mehrere Vorteile – sie ermöglichte einen problemlosen Austausch der Sichel, eine sichere Befestigung unterschiedlich geformter Sicheln, als auch eine variable Winkeleinstellung des Werkzeugs (*Sommerfeld 1994*, 159).

Aus dem Gebiet der Slowakei sind uns analogische Typen von eisernen Sicheln mit seitlich abgebogenem Fortsatz nur aus wenigen Fundstellen bekannt (Abb. 4). Aus der Zips kennen wir bislang nur eine eiserne Sichel dieses Typs, welche aus einer hallstattzeitlicher Burgwallanlage aus der Lage Zámčisko gewonnen wurde, die sich zwischen Poprad-Kvetnica, Hranovnica und Gánovce-Filice befindet (Länge 12 cm; *Miroššayová 1992*, 134, 136, Abb. 2: 5; *Slivka/Vallašek 1981*, 267). Eine weitere ähnliche Sichel stammt aus der Lage Čertova skala in Trenčianske Teplice, wo es sich um einen Einzelfund, ohne angegebene Fundumstände handelt (Länge ohne abgebrochene Klingenspitze beträgt 9,8 cm; *Furmánek 2006*, 32, Taf. 8: 132). Angeblich stammt ein anderes Exemplar (Länge 10,4 cm) aus der Lage Čvirigovec auch im Katastergebiet von Trenčianske Teplice, das zusammen mit weiteren Gegenständen einen Hortfund eisernen Artefakten bilden könnte (*Čambal 2015*, Abb. 2: 5). Ähnlich ohne nähere Fundumstände ist eine kleine Sichel aus der Burgwallanlage Ostrá hora im Katastergebiet von

Kvašov im mittleren Waagtal (Länge ohne abgebrochene Klingenspitze beträgt 9 cm; *Benediková 2006*, 246, Taf. LXVII: 8). Entsprechend als in Letanovce ist auch der nächste der bislang bekannten Gegenstände dieses Typs aus der Slowakei ein Depotfund. Es handelt sich um eine Sichel aus einem Depot eiserner Gegenstände aus der Lage Sazalík in Nižná Myšľa (Länge 25,6 cm; *Miroššayová 1980*, Abb. 2: 7).

Aus der geschilderten Übersicht ist scheinbar, dass der größte Fund unter den eisernen Sicheln mit seitlich abgebogenem Fortsatz aus der Slowakei die Sichel aus Nižná Myšľa ist. Zu den kleinsten bekanntesten Exemplaren aus der Slowakei gehören Sicheln aus Kvašov und Trenčianske Teplice aus der Region Považie (beide unvollständig). Sicheln dieses Typs aus dem heutigen Polen (wo es die größte Konzentration dieser Artefakte gibt), erreichen die Länge von 9,7 bis 32 cm (im Falle der ganzerhaltenen Exemplare). Sicheln mit einer Länge mehr als 20 cm erscheinen nur selten, in der Regel kommen Exemplare vor, die ungefähr bis 18 cm lang sind (vergleiche *Gedl 1995*, 94–97). Das bedeutet, dass drei in diesem Beitrag beschriebene Exemplare aus Letanovce (Abb. 2: 2, 4, 5; 3: 2, 4, 5) zwischen längere Stücke gehören. Eine außergewöhnliche Länge unter den slowakischen Sicheln erreicht das Artefakt aus Nižná Myšľa.

Sicheln mit seitlich abgebogenem Fortsatz sind nicht der einzelne Typ von eisernen Sicheln aus der Hallstattzeit auf dem Gebiet der Slowakei. *E. Miroššayová* (*1980*, 384) und *E. Studeníková* (*2007*, 52–62) charakterisierten auch weitere typologische Gruppen von Eisensicheln, nämlich, außer dem hier analysierten Typ mit seitlich abgebogenem Fortsatz (bei E. Studeníková Typ IV – Sicheln mit breiterer Klinge und seitlich abgebogenem Fortsatz), definierten sie die Griffdornsicheln (bei E. Studeníková Typ I), Griffdornsicheln mit abgebogenem Griffende (bei E. Studeníková Typ II; bei E. Miroššayová Typ 2/Variante 1), Sicheln mit schmaler Klinge und kurzem Griff mit gebogener Basis (bei E. Studeníková Typ III; bei E. Miroššayová Typ 2/Variante 2) und Griffzungensicheln (bei E. Studeníková Typ V).

Außer Sicheln mit seitlich abgebogenem Fortsatz, die wir in unseren Beitrag analysieren, wird aus der Zips nur die Eisensichel aus der Lage Hradisko I in Smižany – Spišské Tomášovce angegeben, die in Literatur nur erwähnt wird, ohne Darstellung und deshalb ist eine typologische Deutung unmöglich (*Javorský 1993*, 20; *Soják 2003*, 130). Sie soll in einer erforschten Behausung „*auf Čingov (Hradisko I) in der Nähe der Ferienhütte von Slovenská sporiteľňa gefunden worden sein. Außer Keramik fand man mehrere Gegenstände aus Eisen (Fibel, Sichel und Hammer)*“ (*Soják 2003*, 140). Im Fundkomplex, der aus dem Zipser Museum ins Archäologische Institut der SAW im Jahr 2020 zurückgegeben wurde, ist es gelungen, einen eisernen Gegenstand aus der Lage Pod Hradiskom I zu identifizieren. Es handelte sich hierbei aber nicht um eine Sichel, sondern der leichten Klingenkrümmung und querangeschlossener dornenartigen Basis nach, eher einem Messer mit abgebrochener Spitze (Inventar-Nr. 941/84, Länge 16,50 cm, Rückenbreite 0,2 cm, Gewicht 36 g; Abb. 5: 1). Anhand naher Analogien (wie z. B. dem Depot eisernen Gegenständen in Liptovská Sielnica-Liptovská Mara), kann man ihn wahrscheinlich in die Latènezeit eingliedern (*Pieta 2000a*, 136, 140, Abb. 4: 7). Man könnte vermuten, dass es sich bei dem hier dargestellten Messer und der, in der Literatur nur erwähnter Sichel, möglicherweise um einen und denselben Gegenstand handeln könnte.

Aus Hrabušice, Zelená hora, sollte, nach der Gliederung von E. Studeníková, eine Sichel des Typs III stammen (nicht publizierter Fund; *Studeníková 2007*, 57). Es ist nicht gelungen, dieses Artefakt aufzufinden, aber im Bestand, der aus dem Zipser Museum im Jahr 2020 ins Archäologische Institut der SAW zurückgegebenen wurde, ist es ähnlich als im vorherigen Fall gelungen, eine eiserne Sichel mit Halbbogenklinge und abgebrochenem Ende, mit geradem Rücken, konkaver Schneide und mit verschmälerter Basis und seitlich abgebogenem Fortsatz zu identifizieren, bei welcher aber eine andere Lage angegeben war – nämlich Pod Zelenou horou (Inventar-Nr. 466/85, Länge 21,10 cm, Rückenbreite 0,4–0,5 cm, Gewicht 125 g; Abb. 5: 2). Im Teil, wo die Klinge zur Basis übergeht, befindet sich eine Öffnung für einen Niet, der zur Befestigung der Sichel in den hölzernen Griff dient (*Pieta 2008*, 224). Aufgrund der Länge stellen wir fest, dass es sich um eine Sichel handelt. Dieses Artefakt findet Analogien in der Latènezeit, z. B. im Depot aus Liptovská Sielnica-Liptovská Mara, aus Plavecké Podhradie, Pohanská, oder aus Velem, Szent Vid, wo ihm formennah einerseits Sicheln, andererseits kurze Sensen sind (Halbsicheln; *Paulík/Tomčíková 2005*, 103, 104, Taf. II: 6–9; *Pieta 2000a*, 135, 136, 139, Abb. 5: 3, 4, 6, 16, 18; *2010*, Abb. 109; F27; *Tankó/Szabó 2019*, Abb. 8: 1; 9: 1). Es ergibt sich jedoch auch die Möglichkeit die Sichel in die spätere Periode zu datieren, nämlich in die Spätkaiserzeit, bzw. in die Völkerwanderungszeit. Aus dieser Zeit kennt man die Analogien z. B. aus den Siedlungen der Nordkarpatischen Gruppe im Norden der Westkarpaten oder aus den germanischen Fundorten in der Westslowakei (*Benediková/Pieta 2018*, 168, Taf. IV: 9, mit Literatur). Auch hier stellt sich die Frage, ob die nicht publizierte Sichel des Typs III aus der Lage Zelená hora, erwähnt bei *E. Studeníková* (*2007*, 57), nicht identisch mit der hier beschriebenen Sichel aus der Latènezeit sein könnte, die aus der Lage

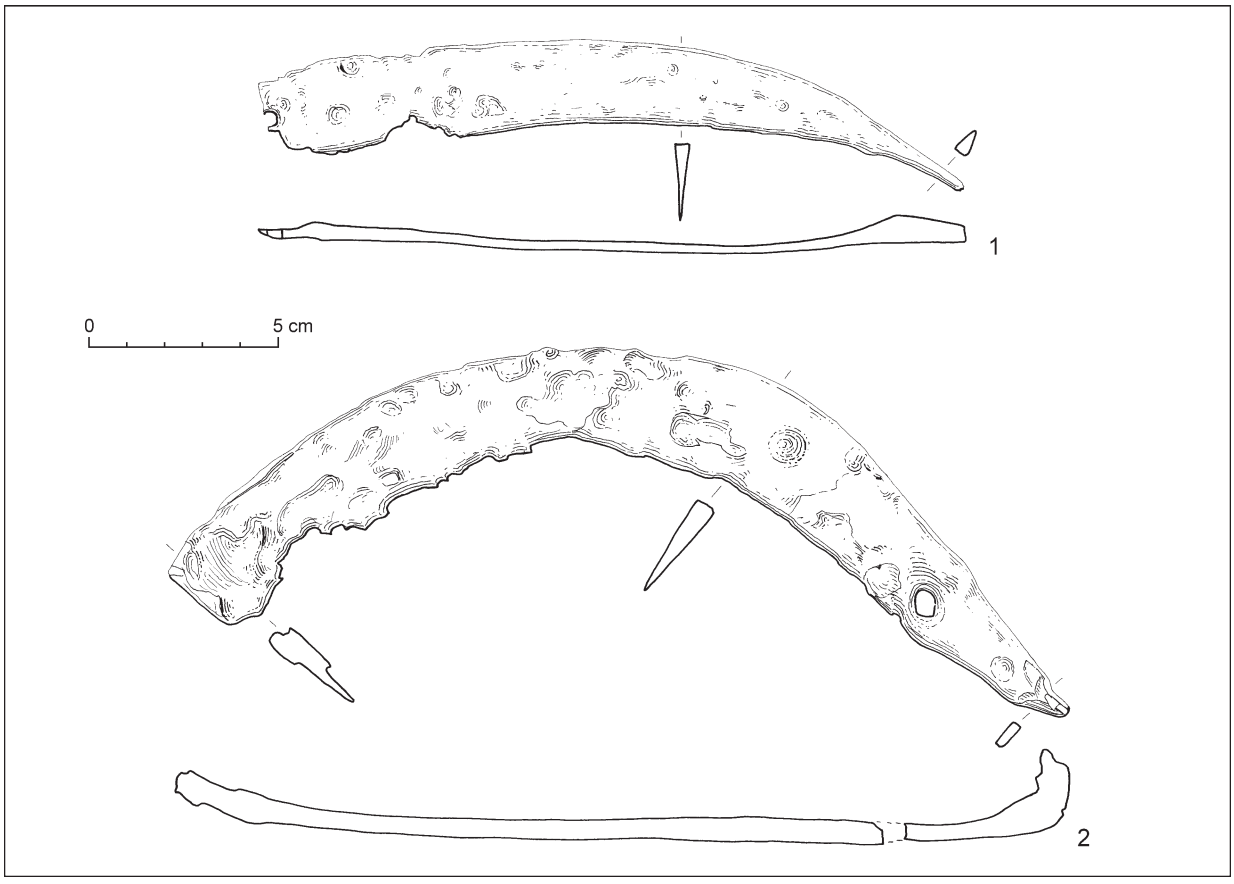


Abb. 5. 1 – Spišské Tomášovce, Pod Hradiskom I, eisernes Messer; 2 – Hrabušice, Pod Zelenou horou, Eisensichel (Zeichnung J. Marettová).

Pod Zelenou horou stammt. Die hallstattzeitlichen Sicheln des Typs III stehen nämlich von der Form her, den geschilderten Mähwerkzeugen aus der Latènezeit nah.

BESIEDLUNG DER MIKROREGION IN DER UMGEBUNG VON LETANOVCE IN DER HALLSTATTZEIT

Im Katastergebiet von Letanovce, unweit von der Fundstelle des Sicheldepots – östlich von Kláštorisko – sind drei Linien von Wallanlagen sichtbar, die sich quer durch den Hang ziehen, dessen Terrain sich vom Kamm Čertova sihoť zu Kláštorisko senkt. Von ihnen Wall I und Wall II wurden in der Hallstattzeit als Schutz des Refugiums auf Kláštorisko aufgebaut, das wahrscheinlich den Bewohner niedriger liegenden, benachbarten Siedlungen im Vorgebirge diente (Abb. 1: 3; *Miroššayová 1992*, 134; *1998*, 6–14, mit Literatur). Im Gegenteil dazu, gehörte die letzte Wallanlage (III) zur zeitgenössischen Burgwallanlage aus der jüngeren Bronzezeit auf Čertova sihoť (*Miroššayová 1998*).

Im Katastergebiet von Letanovce ist auch die Nutzung der Höhle Čertova diera in der Hallstattzeit belegt (Abb. 1: 2; *Bárta 1958*, 471–476; *Soják 2007*, 53 ff., mit Literatur). Aus der Höhle stammt neben anderen Gegenständen auch eine Nadel vom Typ Orava, die ein Produkt typisch für das Gebiet Orava und Liptov ist, wobei vorauszusetzen ist, dass auf dem Gebiet von Orava auch eine Werkstatt zur Herstellung dieses Schmucks existierte (*Novotná 1980*, 165, Taf. 47: 1110 – die Fundstelle von Letanovce, Čertova diera, ist hier als Spišské Tomášovce, Čertova diera, angegeben). Zum hallstattzeitlichen Schmuck, der in der Höhle entdeckt wurde, gehört auch eine Kahnfibel vom Typ Šmarjeta, der in HC und HD1 auftritt (*Novotná 2001*, 76–79, Taf. 19: 198). Zu weiteren Artefakten aus der hallstattzeitlichen Höhle Čertova diera zählen auch Teile und Fragmente eines Pferdegeschirrs, als auch verschiedene Anhänger oder Tonspinnwirtel (*Miroššayová 2003*, Abb. 5; *Soják 2007*, 53, 54, Abb. 50: 9–13; 54: 1). Unter diesen Gegenständen ist der aussagekräftigste ein kreuzförmiger Riemenzierrat eines Pferdegeschirrs. *E. Miroššayová* (*2003*, 368), datiert ihn in die Zeit zwischen dem 7. bis zur ersten Hälfte des

6. Jh. v. Chr. *C. Metzner-Nebelsick* (*2002*, 335) ordnet solche Knöpfe zu ihrem Typ C/Xb ein. Dieser sollte jünger als der verwandte Typ C/Xa sein, der ihrem Horizont IIIb gehört (dem Frühabschnitt der älteren Hallstattzeit, d. h. Ende des 8. bis zur ersten Hälfte des 7. Jh. v. Chr.; *Metzner-Nebelsick 2002*, 335, Abb. 78).

Unter den, aus der Hallstattzeit stammenden, bedeutendsten Denkmälern in der Nähe von Letanovce, muss auch die hallstattzeitliche Besiedlung im benachbarten Katastergebiet von Hrabušice, auf der Burgwallanlage auf der Lage Zelená hora (Abb. 1: 4),[2] als auch auf der Siedlung Pod Zelenou horou erwähnt werden (Abb. 1: 5; *Miroššayová u. a. 1991*). Von der Burgwallanlage Zelená hora stammen S-förmig profilierte Tassen mit einem hohen Henkel mit zoomorpher Applikation, die uns auch aus anderen Fundstellen des Zips-Gebiets, als auch der Region Pohronie bekannt sind (*Benediková 2017*, 362, Abb. 17, mit Literatur). Problematisch bei dieser relativ markanten dekorativen Applikation auf den Henkeln, die in der Form von stilisierter Tierköpfchen oder stöpsel-, bzw. hornförmigen Auskragungen erscheint, ist für eine archäologische Datierung ihr relativ langzeitliches Vorkommen in verschiedenen kulturellen Umgebungen von der Hallstattzeit bis in die mittlere Latènezeit. Chronologisch oder kulturell kann man sie nur in dem Fall eingliedern, wenn das Gefäßprofil, von welchem sie stammen, erhalten bleibt. Gefäße aus Zelená hora[3] haben Analogien in Keramikkomplexen der Vekerzug-Kultur und sind ungefähr von der späten Hallstattzeit bis in die ältere Latènezeit zu datieren (*Benediková 2006*, 202–205; *2017*, 362). Auf der Siedlung Pod Zelenou horou untersuchte man metallurgische Objekte zur Produktion von Eisen, aus welchen ein Teil in die spätere Hallstattzeit bis zur mittleren Latènezeit datiert wird (*Miroššayová u. a. 1991*). Aus der Siedlung stammt auch der Depotfund von 28 massiven Eisenbeilen mit geschlossener rechteckiger oder ovaler Tülle (*Javorský 1982*, 117, Abb. 78: 3; *Miroššayová u. a. 1991*). Analogische Eisenbeile fand man in der Zips schon bei der Grabung auf Zelená hora, während der Begehung in Spišská Teplica, oder zufällig in Veľký Slavkov (*Polla 1962*, 259; *Soják 2001*, 177, Abb. 111: 1; *2003*, 139, Abb. 13: 3). Im Gegenteil von kleineren Eisenbeilen mit geschlossener rechteckiger Tülle des nordalpinen Typs, die in der Mittel- und Westslowakei vorkommen, sind die Beile aus der Zips aufgrund markanter Größenunterschiede bezeichnet (vorübergehend) als eiserne Beile des Zipser-Typs (Vorschlag zur Aussonderung dieses Typs von Beilen siehe in *Benediková/Miroššayová 2014*, 27; dazu siehe auch *Benediková 2017*, 360, 362, 366, 368, mit Literatur). Ein ausdrucksvolles Artefakt aus der Fundstelle Pod Zelenou horou ist eine Keulenkopfnadel mit einem durch Buckel begrenzten Kugelhals (*Miroššayová 2003*, 359, 360, 368, 369, Abb. 5: 7, mit komplexer Artefaktanalyse). Nächste Analogien stammen aus dem Gebiet der Vysocko Kultur (*Miroššayová 2003*, 369). Funde der Vysocko Kultur finden Analogien in der waldsteppischen Gegend des Dnepr- und Dnistergebiets (*Petrenko 1978*, 8 ff.). Unsere Nadel ähnelt am meisten dem Typ 3/Variante 1 (bezogen auf die Kopfform) und dem Typ 4/Varianten 1, 2, 4 (bezogen auf die Halsform; *Petrenko 1978*, Taf. 1: 3–7, 11–38; 2: 6, 7). Genannte Typen und Varianten gehören der Periode vom Ende des 7. bis zum Anfang des 5. Jh. v. Chr. an (*Petrenko 1978*, 8, 11).

SCHLUSS

Eiserne Sicheln mit seitlich abgebogenem Fortsatz aus dem Depotfund in Letanovce sind eindeutig in den Zeitrahmen der Hallstattzeit einzugliedern und gehören zu dem Typ von Mähwerkzeugen, der im Norden von Mitteleuropa vorkommt. Aus der Slowakei stammen alle bekannten Vertreter dieses Typs, mit der Ausnahme des Artefakts aus Nižná Myšľa, aus dem Gebirge-Bereich der Westlichen Karpaten.

Eiserne Sicheln der Hallstattzeit betrachtet man nicht als ganz „übliche" Artefakte, die in „üblichen" Fundzusammenhängen entdeckt wurden. Ihr Vorkommen in der Siedlungsumgebung einer höheren sozialen Schicht, in Gräbern männlicher Eliten oder im Opferkontext im Rahmen von Europa, erlaubt die Sicheln als Status- oder Machtsymbole anzusehen, und über ihrer symbolischer Bedeutung im rituellen oder Kultbereich der hallstattzeitlichen Gesellschaften zu überlegen (*Studeníková 2007*, 64, 65, mit Literatur). Auf der anderen Seite, der Wandel der Gewohnheit die Sicheln in Depots und Gräbern zu lagern, zugunsten des Vorkommens in der älteren Eisenzeit in Gräbern, zeigt auf den Verlust ihrer Bedeutung als vormonetäres Zahlungsmittels, die die Sicheln in der Bronzezeit hatten (*Derrix 2001*, 76, 82, 83; *Sommerfeld 1994*).

Das Depot der eisernen Sicheln mit seitlich abgebogenem Fortsatz, entdeckt in der Nähe der Höhle Čertova diera in Letanovce, ist der einzige Depotfund auf dem Gebiet der Slowakei, dessen

[2] Die Grabung von M. Slivka belegte eine hallstattzeitliche Befestigung aus Stein, die Ergebnisse wurden leider noch nicht publiziert.

[3] Die Information über der Gestalt der Gefäßen stammt von dem Grabungsleiter M. Slivka, wofür ihm die Autoren dankbar sind.

Inhalt ausschließlich nur aus diesem Typ von Artefakten besteht. Eine weitere Sichel des gleichen Typs aus Nižná Myšľa war auch ein Bestandteil eines Depotfunds, kombiniert jedoch mit anderen eisernen Werkzeugen und Waffen. Bei den restlichen drei aus der Slowakei stammenden analogischen Sicheln sind weder Fundumstände noch Begleitmaterial bekannt. Funde aus Ostrá hora in Kvašov und Zámčisko in Poprad-Kvetnica – Hranovnica – Gánovce-Filice stammen aus Burgwallanlagen mit belegter Besiedlung während der Hallstattzeit, was auch auf den Fundkontext der Sicheln in einem Milieu der örtlichen Eliten hinweist. Bei der Sichel aus Trenčianske Teplice wird die Lage Čertova skala angegeben, was eine bekannte Burgwallanlage aus der mittleren und späten Latènezeit ist (*Pieta 2000b*; *2012*). Aus dieser Fundstelle ist uns zwar keine hallstattzeitliche Besiedlung bekannt, aber es ist zu vermuten, dass diese dominante Erhebung über dem Zuflusstal von Váh, dem Bach Teplička, in den älteren Epochen eine symbolische oder strategische Bedeutung für die örtliche Kommunität gehabt haben könnte. Eine solche Bedeutung musste während der Spätbronzezeit und Hallstattzeit eine andere Fundstelle in der Nähe von Trenčianske Teplice wieder im Flusstal vom Bach Teplička gehabt haben – befestigte Höhenlage Čvirigovec, die als ein bekannter Fundort der Artefakte und Hortfunde aus dieser Zeit angegeben wird (*Čambal 2015*, 217).

Depotfunde von Eisensicheln der anderen Typen sind uns auch aus anderen slowakischen Regionen bekannt, wobei es sich um Fundkomplexe handelt, die entweder nur Sicheln oder Sicheln in Kombination mit anderen eisernen Gegenständen beinhalten (*Studeníková 2007*).

Die Platzierung der Depotfunde von eisernen Sicheln auf dem nordöstlichen Fuß von Čertova sihoť ermöglicht keine eindeutigen Schlussfolgerungen über die Verbindung dieses Depotfunds auf eine zeitgenössische Höhensiedlung oder Kultstelle. Auf dem alleinigen Kamm existierte zwar ein Burgwall, aber in einer älteren Zeitperiode. Die nicht weit entfernte Höhle Čertova diera könnte auch Vermutungen über symbolische Aspekte des Sichelfunds erwecken, zugleich müssen wir aber überlegen, aus welchem Grund die Sicheln nicht direkt in der Höhle, bzw. im Falle des gesuchten Zusammenhangs mit der Siedlung der örtlichen Elite auf der benachbarten Erhebung mit belegter Nutzung während der Hallstattzeit auf Kláštorisko, hinterlegt wurden.

Die Gründe der Deponierung der Sicheln am Fuß von Čertova sihoť, über dem Tal des Flusses Hornád, müssen für jetzt unbeantwortet bleiben.

LITERATUR

Bárta 1958 – J. Bárta: Praveké osídlenie jaskyne Čertova džura v Slovenskom raji. *Archeologické rozhledy* 10, 1958, 471–476, 494, 495.

Benediková 2006 – L. Benediková: *Besiedlung der Westkarpaten und des nördlichen Teils der Ostkarpaten von der Hallstattbis zur Mittellatènezeit.* Dissertation. Archeologický ústav SAV. Nitra 2006. Unpubliziert.

Benediková 2017 – L. Benediková: Kulturkontakte des slowakischen Teils der Westkarpaten während der Hallstattzeit. In: E. Miroššayová/Ch. Pare/S. Stegmann-Rajtár (Hrsg.): *Das nördliche Karpatenbecken in der Hallstattzeit. Wirtschaft, Handel und Kommunikation in früheisenzeitlichen Gesellschaften zwischen Ostalpen und Westpannonien.* Archaeolingua Series Maior 38. Budapest 2017, 335–381.

Benediková/Miroššayová 2014 – L. Benediková/E. Miroššayová: The Early Iron Age iron socketed axes from Slovakia. In: E. Miroššayová/S. Stegmann-Rajtár (Hrsg.): *Das nördliche Karpatenbecken in der Hallstattzeit. Zusammenfassungen der Vorträge und Poster zur internationalen Tagung.* Nitra – Košice 2014, 27.

Benediková/Pieta 2018 – L. Benediková/K. Pieta: Využitie krajiny stredného Liptova v praveku a včasnej dobe dejinnej. *Študijné zvesti AÚ SAV* 63, 2018, 147–196.

Čambal 2015 – R. Čambal: Železné predmety z neskorej doby bronzovej a staršej doby železnej z Čvirigovca. In: J. Bartík (red.): *Zborník na pamiatku Jozefa Paulíka. Štúdie.* Zborník SNM. Archeológia. Supplementum 9. Bratislava 2015, 211–217.

Derrix 2001 – C. Derrix: *Frühe Eisenfunde im Odergebiet. Studien zur Hallstattzeit in Mitteleuropa.* Universitätsforschungen zur prähistorischen Archäologie 74. Bonn 2001.

Furmánek 2006 – V. Furmánek: Die Knopfsicheln und die Sichelgußformen in der Slowakei. In: V. Furmánek/M. Novotná: *Die Sicheln in der Slowakei.* Prähistorische Bronzefunde. Abteilung XVIII, 6. Band. Stuttgart 2006, 1–55.

Gedl 1995 – M. Gedl: *Die Sicheln in Polen.* Prähistorische Bronzefunde. Abteilung XVIII, 4. Band. Stuttgart 1995.

Javorský 1982 – F. Javorský: Prieskumy Výskumnej expedície Spiš. *AVANS 1981*, 1982, 110–134.

Javorský 1993 – F. Javorský: Z nepísaných dejín Smižian. In: F. Žifčák (zost.): *Smižany.* Smižany 1993.

Metzner-Nebelsick 2002 – C. Metzner-Nebelsick: *Der „Thrako-Kimmerische" Formenkreis aus der Sicht der Urnenfelder- und Hallstattzeit im südöstlichen Pannonien.* Vorgeschichtliche Forschungen 23. Rahden/Westf. 2002.

Miroššayová 1980 – E. Miroššayová: Depot železných predmetov z Nižnej Myšle. *Slovenská archeológia* 28, 1980, 383–394.

Miroššayová 1992 – E. Miroššayová: Osídlenie Spiša v dobe halštatskej. In: S. Czopek (red.): *Ziemie polskie we wczesnej epoce żelaza i ich powiązania z innymi terenami.* Rzeszów 1992, 133–138.

Miroššayová 1998 – E. Miroššayová: Praveké osídlenie na Kláštorisku a Čertovej sihoti v Slovenskom raji.

In: I. Chalupecký (zost.): *Z minulosti Spiša. Ročenka Spišského dejepisného spolku v Levoči 3–4, 1995–1996*. Levoča 1998, 5–14.

Miroššayová 2003 – E. Miroššayová: K problematike tzv. skýtskych nálezov z regiónu Spiša. In: J. Gancarski (red.): *Epoka brązu i wczesna epoka żelaza w Karpatach polskich. Materiały z konferencji.* Krosno 2003, 357–378.

Miroššayová u. a. 1991 – E. Miroššayová/F. Javorský/Ľ. Mihok/A. Hollý: Metalurgická činnosť na lokalite Pod Zelenou horou v Hrabušiciach. *Nové obzory* 32, 1991, 71–97.

Novotná 1980 – M. Novotná: *Die Nadeln in der Slowakei.* Prähistorische Bronzefunde. Abteilung XIII, 6. Band. München 1980.

Novotná 2001 – M. Novotná: *Die Fibeln in der Slowakei.* Prähistorische Bronzefunde. Abteilung XIV, 11. Band. Stuttgart 2001.

Paulík/Tomčíková 2005 – J. Paulík/K. Tomčíková: Ďalší hromadný nález železných predmetov v Plaveckom Podhradí. *Slovenská archeológia* 53, 2005, 85–122.

Petrenko 1978 – V. G. Petrenko: *Ukraschenia Skifii VII–III vv. do n. e.* Archeologija SSSR. Svod archeologitscheskich istotschnikov D4–5. Moskva 1978.

Pieta 2000a – K. Pieta: Ein Depot latènezeitlicher Eisengegenstände aus Liptovská Mara. In: H. Friesinger/K. Pieta/J. Rajtár (Hrsg.): *Metallgewinnung und -verarbeitung in der Antike (Schwerpunkt Eisen).* Archaeologica Slovaca Monographiae. Communicationes 3. Nitra 2000, 135–160.

Pieta 2000b – K. Pieta: Latènezeitlicher Burgwall und Opferplatz (?) in Trenčianske Teplice. In: J. Bouzek/H. Friesinger/K. Pieta/B. Komoróczy (Hrsg.): *Gentes, Reges und Rom.* Spisy Archeologického ústavu AV ČR 16. Brno 2000, 97–120.

Pieta 2008 – K. Pieta: *Keltské osídlenie Slovenska. Mladšia doba laténska.* Archaeologica Slovaca Monographiae. Studia 11. Nitra 2008.

Pieta 2010 – K. Pieta: *Die keltische Besiedlung der Slowakei. Jüngere Latènezeit.* Archaeologica Slovaca Monographiae. Studia 12. Nitra 2010.

Pieta 2012 – K. Pieta: Trenčianske Teplice. In: S. Sievers/O. H. Urban/P. C. Ramsl (Hrsg.): *Lexikon zur keltischen Archäologie*. Wien 2012, 1861.

Polla 1962 – B. Polla: Zisťovací historicko-archeologický výskum na bratríckom hrade na Zelenej hore v Hrabušiciach. *Slovenská archeológia* 10, 1962, 253–279.

Slivka/Vallašek 1981 – M. Slivka/A. Vallašek: Výsledky prieskumu hradiska v Poprade-Kvetnici. *AVANS 1980*, 1981, 266–268.

Soják 2001 – M. Soják: Terénny prieskum na Spiši. *AVANS 2000*, 2001, 175–185.

Soják 2003 – M. Soják: Stručné dejiny Spiša od najstarších čias po rozhranie letopočtov. In: R. Gładkiewicz/M. Homza (red.): *Terra Scepusiensis. Stav bádania o dejinách Spiša.* Levoča – Wrocław 2003, 115–144.

Soják 2007 – M. Soják: *Osídlenie spišských jaskýň od praveku po novovek.* Archaeologica Slovaca Monographiae. Studia 10. Nitra 2007.

Sommerfeld 1994 – Ch. Sommerfeld: *Gerätegeld Sichel. Studien zur monetären Struktur bronzezeitlicher Horte im nördlichen Mitteleuropa.* Vorgeschichtliche Forschungen 19. Berlin – New York 1994.

Studeníková 2007 – E. Studeníková: Fragment einer hallstattzeitlichen eisernen Sichel aus der Bratislavaer Region. Eiserne Sicheln im nodostalpinen Hallstattgebiet. *Musaica* 25, 2007, 45–71.

Tankó/Szabó 2019 – K. Tankó/G. V. Szabó: Depotfunde spätlatènezeitlicher Eisengegenstände aus dem Oppidum von Velem-Szent Vid, Ungarn. In: P. C. Ramsl/K. Rebay-Salisbury/P. Trebsche (Hrsg.): *Schichtengeschichten. Festschrift für Otto H. Urban.* Universitätsforschungen zur prähistorischen Archäologie 328. Bonn 2019, 145–161.

Manuskript angenommen am 25. 9. 2021

Abstract translated by Lucia Benediková
Übersetzt von Dominka Boháčová

Mgr. Lucia Benediková, PhD.
Archeologický ústav SAV
Akademická 2
SK – 949 21 Nitra
lucia.benedikova@gmail.com

PhDr. Marián Soják, PhD.
Archeologický ústav SAV
Oddelenie záchranných výskumov – Spiš
Mlynská 6
SK – 052 01 Spišská Nová Ves
sojak@ta3.sk

SLOVENSKÁ ARCHEOLÓGIA – SUPPLEMENTUM 2
Z. Robak/M. Ruttkay (eds.): Celts – Germans – Slavs.
A Tribute Anthology to Karol Pieta. Nitra 2021, 29–38.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.31577/slovarch.2021.suppl.2.2

REMARKABLE CONTINUUM: PROVODOV – 'RYSOV' HILLFORT BETWEEN 650–370 BC[1]

IVAN ČIŽMÁŘ – ZUZANA GOLEC MÍROVÁ – MARTIN GOLEC

The transition between the late Hallstatt period and the early La Tène period represents a notable phase of the Moravian prehistory. It is associated with the concept of the so-called 'first Celtic expansion' as promoted by Miloš Čižmář. The current sources on the 5th c. BC confirm the discontinuity of development in HD3 and LTA; and the expansion concept was recently confirmed by Petra Goláňová. Adding to the topic, Martin Golec and Zuzana Mírová have brought up the yet ignored aspect of central site with the continuity of elites during HD1–D3 at Habrůvka – 'Býčí skála'. The social system during the late Hallstatt period in Moravia can be defined as largely centralised, which conforms to P. Goláňová's theory on LTA. The Provodov – 'Rysov' hillfort provides ample evidence in the form of finds dating to HD1–LTA and is discussed within the framework of this topic.

Keywords: Moravia, late Hallstatt Period, early La Tène Period, hillfort, metal, glass, amber, ceramic, social system.

INTRODUCTION

The Provodov – 'Rysov' hillfort, Zlín distr. is a significant site situated in the hilly part of the Southeast Moravia (Fig. 1). The ever-increasing quantity of finds makes it, inevitably, a supra-regional centre which helps us analyse broader issues regarding the late Hallstatt period and the early La Tène period. The remarkable line-up of items found pertains to four stages, i.e. HC2b–LTA. Our idea on the nature of the hillfort is based on metal detector finds; individual studies focused on various groups of sources have been published earlier, including the description of the site (e.g. *Čižmář 2012*; *Čižmář/Čižmářová 2014*; *Čižmář et al. 2019*; *Čižmář/Kohoutek/Langová 2014*; *Langová 2007*; *Mírová 2019*; *2020*; *Novák 2017*; *2020a*).

Based on long-term cooperation with some amateur archaeologists we have been able to detect numerous significant items dating to the aforementioned Hallstatt period, especially unusually large amount of eastern type militaria (*Kozubová/Golec 2020a*; *2020b*; *Novák 2017*; *2020b*), of particular significance are two hoards number 1 and 2 which contain bronze, amber and glass jewellery dating to HD1–D2 (*Čižmář 2012*; *Čižmář/Čižmářová 2014*; *Golec/Fojtík 2020*, fig. 68). Items dating to the early La Tène period have been brought to our attention only recently (*Mírová 2019*; *2020*), while there are no known finds attributed to LTB–C. Another clearly identifiable time period is the late La Tène period – LTC2–D1. In addition to ten hoards from the time period, this site has yielded dozens of not-yet-published finds, which allows us to consider the theory of continuous settlement (*Čižmář/Kohoutek/Langová 2014*).

The purpose of this article is to point out the aforementioned continuity of HD1–LTA which, considering a broader context, contributes to the explanation of the transition from the Hallstatt period to the early La Tène period. Recently data was published and commented on in relation to Hallstatt hillforts (*Golec/Fojtík 2020*; *Novák 2020a*) as well as early La Tène hillforts (*Goláňová 2018*). The abnormally large quantity (174) of bronze, iron, glass, amber and ceramic items (not including pottery), as well as the context and the degree of luxury, makes the Rysov hillfort one of the most significant sites dating to the aforementioned periods.

CATALOGUE

1. Bronze navicella fibula (Fig. 2: 1; 3: 1) – Šmarjeta type (*Novák 2017*, pl. 1: 5; *2020a*, pl. I: 12).
2. Bronze navicella fibula (Fig. 2: 2; 3: 2) – type with straight bow (*Novák 2017*, pl. 1: 4; *2020a*, pl. I: 4).
3. Bronze navicella fibula (Fig. 3: 3) – type with straight grooving (*Novák 2017*, pl. 1: 1; *2020a*, pl. I: 8).
4. Bronze navicella fibula (Fig. 2: 3; 3: 4) – type with straight grooving (*Novák 2017*, pl. 1: 2; *2020a*, pl. I: 7).

[1] The authors gratefully acknowledge the support of the Palacky University Olomouc (FPVČ_UPOL 452101601/30) for financial support.

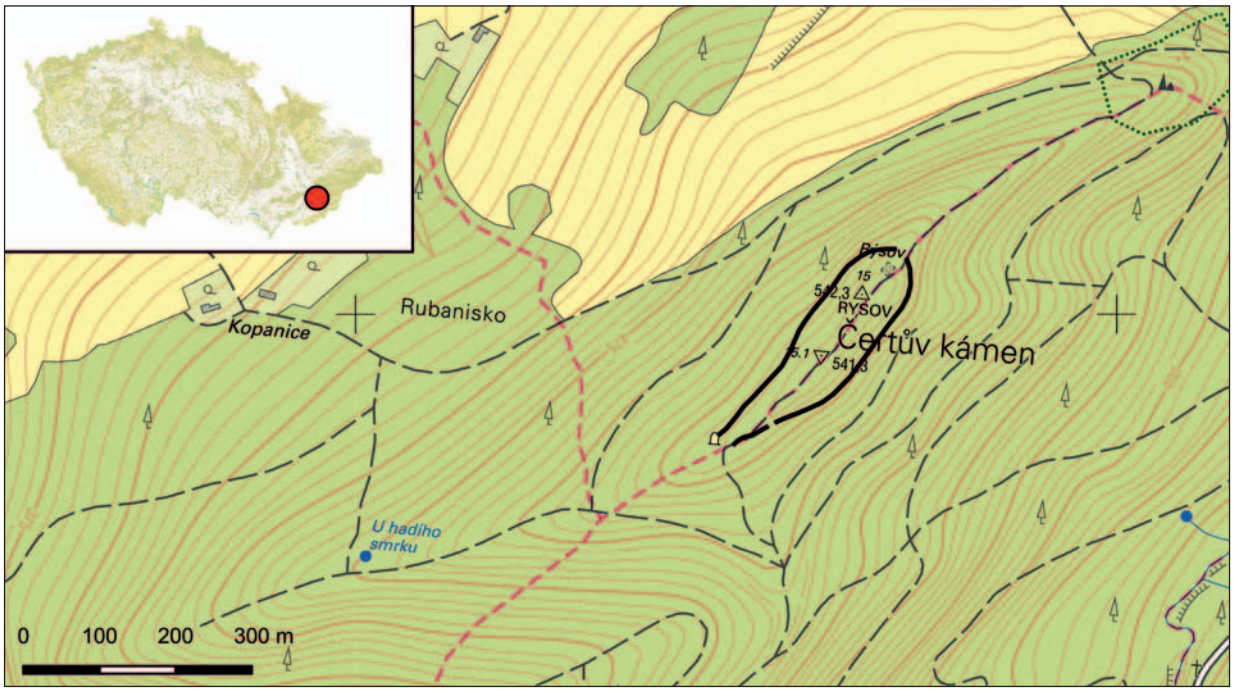


Fig. 1. Provodov – 'Rysov' hillfort, Zlín distr. (source ČÚZK).

5. Bronze navicella fibula (Fig. 2: 5; 3: 5) – Šmarjeta type, with biconical foot (*Novák 2017*, pl. 1: 3; *2020a*, pl. I: 22).
6. Bronze navicella fibula (Fig. 2: 6; 3: 6) – Wicina type, with biconical foot (*Novák 2020a*, pl. I: 26).
7. Bronze fibula with decorated foot (Fig. 2: 7; 3: 7) – spring is missing (*Novák 2017*, pl. 1: 6; *2020a*, pl. I: 27).
8. Bronze bracelet/armlet (Fig. 2: 8; 3: 8) – ribbed (*Novák 2017*, pl. 1: 7).
9.–12. 4 bronze bracelets/armlets (Fig. 2: 9; 3: 9–12) – hoard no. 2; ribbed, Hallstatt variant (*Čižmář/Čižmářová 2014*, fig. 9: 2–5).
13.–16. 4 bronze bracelets/armlets (Fig. 2: 13; 3: 13–16) – hoard no. 2; spiral-shaped, ending with small heads (*Čižmář/Čižmářová 2014*, fig. 9: 6–9).
17.–18. 2 bronze bracelets/armlets (Fig. 2: 17; 3: 17, 18) – hoard no. 1; with simple ends and grooving (*Čižmář 2012*, fig. 1: 8, 9).
19. Bronze pendant with 2 waterfowl and triangular pendant (Fig. 2: 19; 3: 19) – composed from 4 parts, on the bronze ring are 3 pendants, 2 almost identical in the form of waterfowls, head of the one is missing, both ending with rings, 3rd is triangular with ring, undecorated. D.: ring diam. 1.6 cm, cross-section diam. 0.3–0.4 cm, l. of the 1st pendant 3.9 mm, hanging hole diam. 0.5 cm, l. of the 2nd pendant 2.7 cm, hanging hole diam. 0.5 cm, l. of the flat triangular pendant 3.3 cm, hanging hole diam. 0.5–0.6 cm. Deposited: Muzeum jihovýchodní Moravy ve Zlíně, Acq. no. 53/21. Unpublished.
20. Bronze pendant (Fig. 2: 20; 3: 20) – hoard no. 1; Travnik type (*Čižmář 2012*, fig. 1: 7).
21.–26. 6 bronze pendants (Fig. 2: 21; 3: 21–26) – hoard no. 1; circular with eyes in the sides (*Čižmář 2012*, fig. 1: 1–6).
27. Iron side ring from horse bit with a semi-spherical tip of a clamp (Fig. 2: 27; 3: 27) – composed from ring and clamp with seal-shaped ending (*Čižmář et al. 2019*, fig. 3: 4).
28. Iron two-part bit with a ball on a bit (Fig. 2: 28; 3: 29) – Beine type (*Mírová 2019*, fig. 47: 9; pl. 60: 10; *2020*, pl. 7: 5).
29. Iron one-piece bit with rosette-winding cheek-pieces (Fig. 2: 29; 3: 29) – Provodov type (*Čižmář/Langová/Kohoutek 2014*, fig. 8: 4; *Mírová 2019*, fig. 47: 11; pl. 61: 1; *2020*, pl. 8: 1).
30. Iron axe (Fig. 2: 30; 3: 30) – type with closed quadratical socket of the rectangular cross-section (*Novák 2017*, pl. 4: 7).
31. Iron axe (Fig. 3: 31) – type with closed quadratical socket of the rectangular cross-section. D.: l. 12.7 cm, w. of the edge 5.5 cm, socket cross-section 3.9 × 3.4 cm. Deposited: Muzeum jihovýchodní Moravy ve Zlíně, Acq. no. 261/2018. Unpublished.
32. Iron axe (Fig. 3: 32) – type with closed quadratical socket of the rectangular cross-section (*Novák 2017*, pl. 4: 9).
33. Iron sickle (Fig. 2: 33; 3: 33) – with thorn, type I after E. Studeníková (*Novák 2017*, pl. 4: 6).
34. Iron sickle (Fig. 2: 34; 3: 34) – with a stem and side protrusion, type V after E. Studeníková (*Novák 2017*, pl. 4: 8).
35.–111. 77 bronze double-edged, trilateral and triple-edged arrowheads (Fig. 2: 35; 3: 35–111) – with outer socket of the older type (*Bartík et al. 2017*, fig. 4: 129–131; *Čižmář et al. 2019*, fig. 3: 9–11; *Klápa 2017*, fig. 7: 24–26; *Novák 2017*, pl. 2; 3; *2020a*, pl. II: P1–P49; *2020b*, pl. 1; 2).
112.–131. 20 massive glass beads (Fig. 2: 112–131; 3: 112–131) – hoard no. 2; blue, green, brown and grey colour (*Čižmář/Čižmářová 2014*, fig. 10: 23–42).
132.–134. 3 small glass beads (Fig. 2: 132–134; 3: 132–134) – hoard no. 2, colour unknown (*Čižmář/Čižmářová 2014*, fig. 10: 17–19).
135.–140. 6 subtle glass beads (Fig. 2: 135–140; 3: 135–140) – hoard no. 2; blue colour (*Čižmář/Čižmářová 2014*, fig. 10: 11–16).

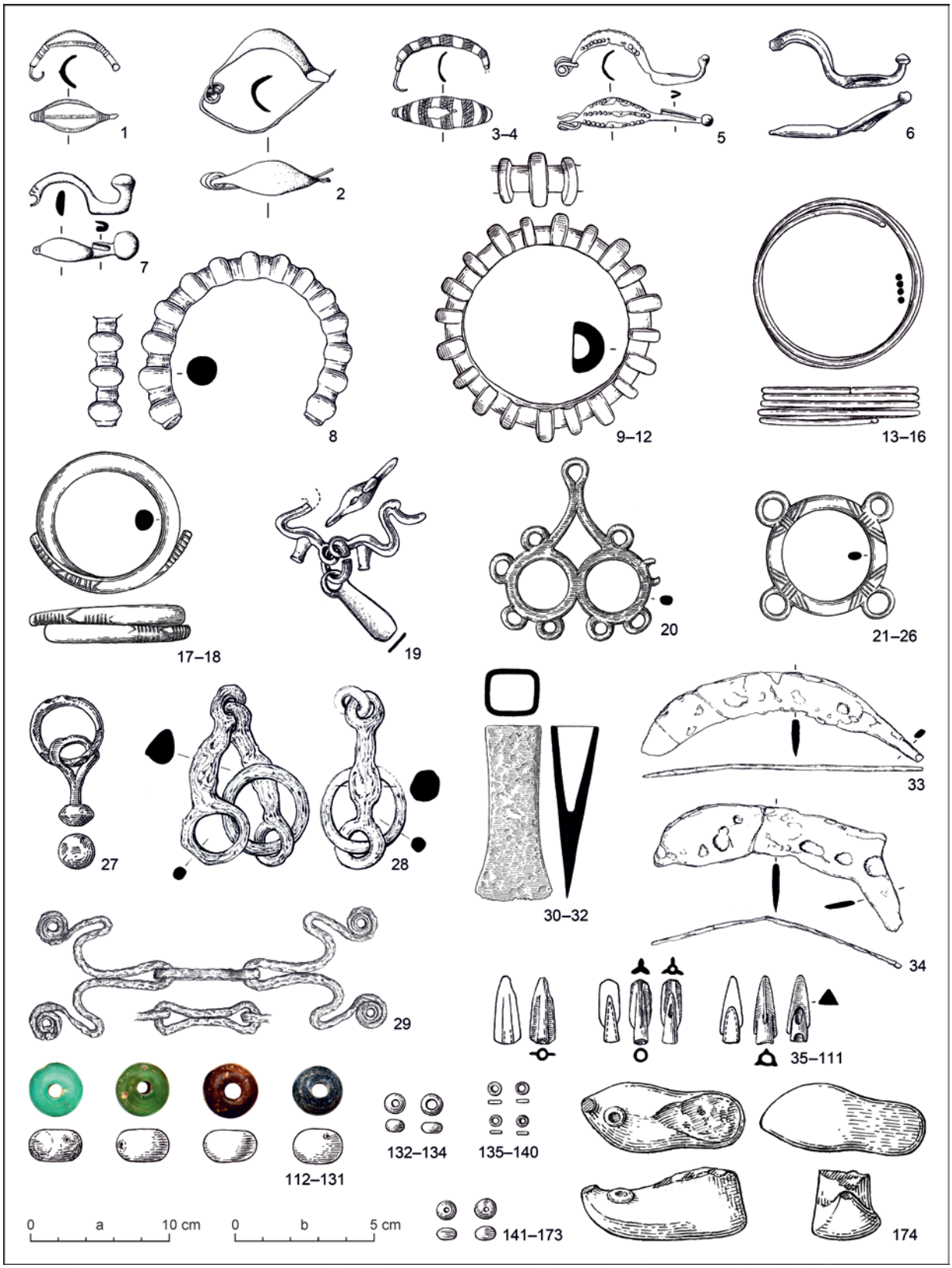


Fig. 2. Selection of finds HD–LTA from the Provodov – 'Rysov' hillfort (according to *Čižmář 2012*; *Čižmář/Čižmářová 2014*; *Čižmář et al. 2019*; *Čižmář/Langová/Kohoutek 2014*; *Mírová 2019*; *Novák 2017*; *2020*; 19, 30, 174 – drawn by A. Krechlerová). Scale: a – 29, 30, 33, 34; b – other.

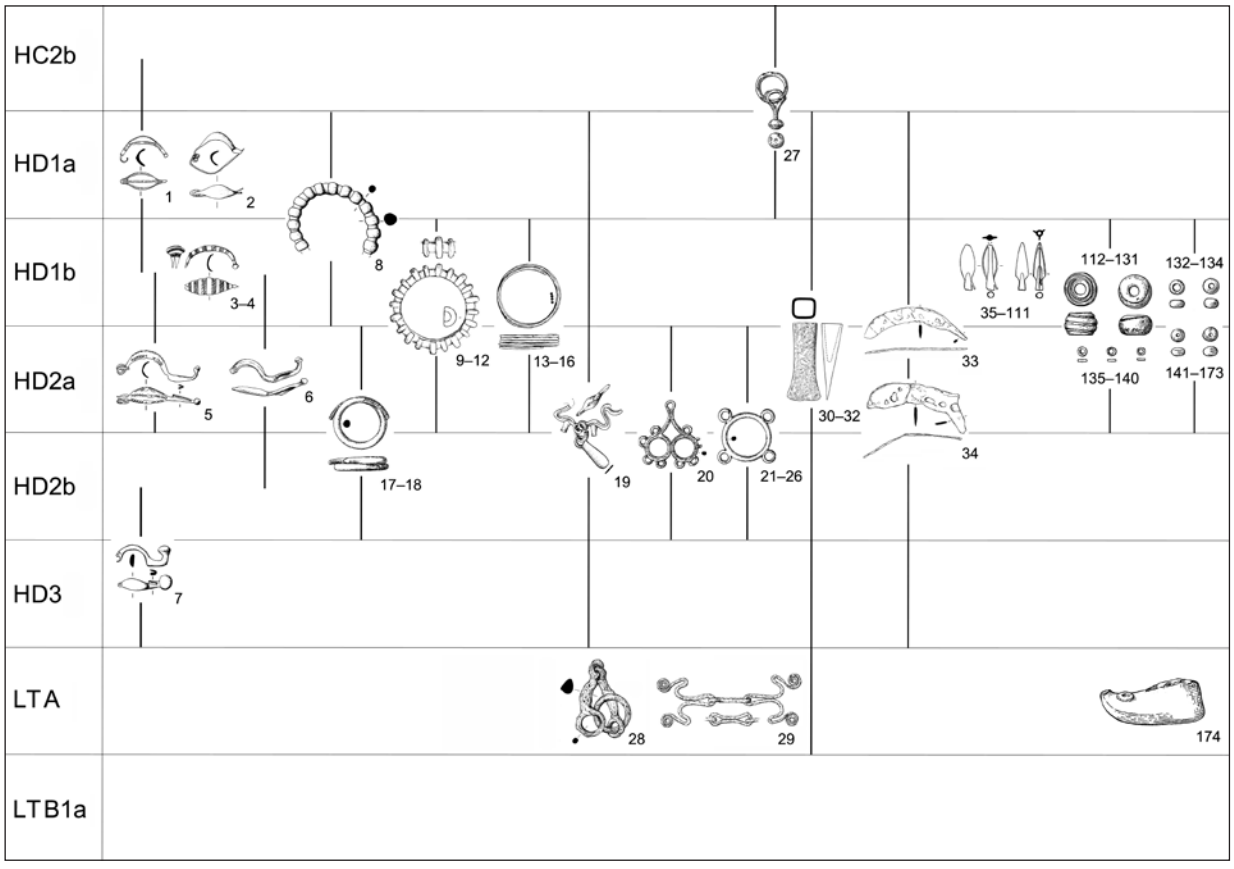


Fig. 3. Chronological position of bronze, iron, glass, amber and ceramic items from the Provodov – 'Rysov' hillfort (sizes not to scale, links according to catalogue).

141.–173. 33 amber beads (Fig. 2: 141–173; 3: 141–173) – hoard No. 2; oval-shaped, disc-shaped, loaf-shaped and lentil-shaped (*Čižmář/Čižmářová 2014*, fig. 9: 10–29; 10: 1–10, 20–22).

174. Ceramic sculpture in the shape of the shoe with raised tip (Fig. 2: 174; 3: 174) – broken off in the ankle, end damaged, the outline of the sole is indicated, near the tip on the left is a plastic ring with small hole. Surface smoothed, sometimes polished, medium-grained material with mica. D.: l. 5.9 cm, h. 2.6 cm, w. 2.5 cm, hole 0.3–0.4 mm. Deposited: Muzeum jihovýchodní Moravy ve Zlíně, Inv. no. 77142 (changed place of deposition; *Langová 2007*; *2012*).

TYPOLOGICAL AND CHRONOLOGICAL EVALUATION OF FINDS

Numerous artefacts from the site have been published earlier; in which case the relevant sources are referenced or discussed. The not-yet-published finds are subject of typological and chronological evaluation. The dating of these finds is based on the chronology according to *Golec/Fojtík* (*2020*, fig. 3).

Bronze fibulae – seven pieces represent the main axis of the dating of the site. They were summarised by *M. Novák* (*2020a*). What is yet to be resolved is the oldest dating of navicella fibulae in Moravia, i.e. whether or not they belong to HC2. While M. Novák writes that the oldest items of this kind, the Šmarjeta type (Fig. 2: 1; 3: 1) date to HC2–D1, these fibulae are missing in the strictly defined contexts. Artefacts dating to HD1 can be found with other authors (*Golec/Fojtík 2020*, 106; *Parzinger/Nekvasil/Barth 1995*, fig. 1; *Říhovský 1993*, pl. 24). Another navicella fibula belongs to HD1a (Fig. 2: 2; 3: 2), while two fibulae with lateral stripes to HD1b (Fig. 2: 3; 3: 3, 4). A younger Šmarjeta type fibula with bi-conical foot and double-direction winding belongs to HD2a (Fig. 2: 5; 3: 5), as does Wicina type fibula, formally a fibula with decorative foot (bi-conical) dating typically to HD2a (Fig. 2: 6; 3: 6). The youngest fibula with decorative foot belongs to HD2b–D3 (Fig. 2: 7; 3: 7).

Bronze bracelets/armlets – twelve pieces represent a significant chronological timestamp, in addition to the aforementioned fibulae. Eight of them were found in two hoards. Hoard number 2 (*Čižmář/Čižmářová 2014*) contained four bronze ribbed items with uneven D-ribs (Fig. 2: 9; 3: 9–12),

it is the Hallstatt variant according to H. Parzinger with the focus point in HD1b–D2a (*Parzinger/Nekvasil/Barth 1995*, pl. 73–75). An item with wide ribs/rolls can be older (Fig. 2: 8; 3: 8) with focus in HD1a. Ribbed bracelets/armlets in various versions were found mostly in Moravian hoards (cf. *Golec/Fojtík 2020*, 121,122). Hoard number 2 also included four spiral-shaped bronze bracelets/armlets closely related to the Býčí skála variant, with heads and, often, grooving (Fig. 2: 13; 3: 13–16); they are dated identically to focus in HD1b–D2a (*Golec/Fojtík 2020*, 121; *Parzinger/Nekvasil/Barth 1995*, pl. 15, 16). Hoard number 1 (*Čižmář 2012*) contained two bronze bracelets/armlets with simple ends and grooving (Fig. 2: 17; 3: 17, 18). Being younger in terms of development, they belong to HD2. They have analogies in Habrůvka – 'Býčí skála' (*Golec/Fojtík 2020*, 121, 125; *Parzinger/Nekvasil/Barth 1995*, pl. 11: 89–96).

Bronze pendants – combined three-part pendant, one triangle-shaped and two water bird shaped, represents a unique find in Moravia (Fig. 2: 19; 3: 19); its dating is consistent with the broader period of HD1–D3. Only a triangle-shaped pendant with a ring has analogies in Moravia; we know of decorated or non-decorated versions, with a hole or ring. Several pieces with a ring were found in Habrůvka – 'Býčí skála'; one featured zigzag shaped decoration (*Parzinger/Nekvasil/Barth 1995*, pl. 20: 220–222, 225). The largest set of 55 pieces with holes or rings comes from a compound belt of a noblewoman from the hoard found at Bohdalice-Pavlovice – 'Ve Žlebcách' which dates to HD1 (*Čižmář/Čižmářová 2014*, fig. 5: 26–33; 6: 1–43). Similarly, HD1 is identified as the timeframe of a drinking horn with two pendants with rings from Popovice H1 (*Golec/Fojtík 2020*, fig. 68). The same period, HD1b, is the origin of two pieces with holes from the hoard found at Roštín – 'Vlčák' (*Golec/Kos 2020*, fig. 2: 11–14). Analogies with water birds with stand can be found in Italy, on Etruscan ritual carts with wash basins. We know them from the end of the 7th c. BC from Veii and Vetulonia, or from the turn of the 7th and 6th c. BC from a cart with a bronze vessel from Italy (unknown site) and a ritual cart in the shape of two horned cows from Salerno where water birds feature other pendants (*Woytowitsch 1978*, 54–58, 64, pl. 22: 121, 124, 126; 27: 139). Six round-shaped bronze pendants with eyelets on sides (Fig. 2: 21; 3: 21–26) were found in hoard no. 1; their dating (as HD2) is based on bracelets/armlets with simple ends and channelling. Their analogies include one piece with inner cross e.g. from the hoard from Roštín – 'Vlčák' dating to HD1b (*Golec/Kos 2020*, fig. 2: 8); at Habrůvka – 'Býčí skála' from HD1b–D3 (*Parzinger/Nekvasil/Barth 1995*, pl. 20: 213–215), or in the form of nine pieces from a hoard formerly listed as Uherské Hradiště dating to HD1–D2 (*Čižmář 2012*, fig. 2: 4–7, 9–13; *Golec/Fojtík 2020*, fig. 68). The Trávnik-type pendant (Fig. 2: 20; 3: 20) has analogies in Moravia in the form of two pieces from the hoard formerly listed as Uherské Hradiště (*Čižmář 2012*, fig. 2: 1, 2).

Iron horse harness – the harness is represented by three pieces of bits and its parts. The oldest find attributed to HC2b–D1a is a side ring from a bit with a clamp with a semi-spherical tip (Fig. 2: 27; 3: 27). Similar clamps can be found on bits dating to HC2 (Brno-Holásky H2 – 'U Tuřan', Mokrá-Horákov – 'Hlásnica'; for more details see *Čižmář et al. 2019*; *Mírová 2019*, 118–121), artefacts with lentil-shaped tip were found at Šmarjeta and Vače in Slovenia (*Werner 1988*, pl. 62: 372; 63: 383) dating roughly to HC2–D1. As for the later period of LTA, we know of two types of bit from Provodov – 'Rysov'. The first one is a two-part iron bit with a ball on the bit (Fig. 2: 28; 3: 28) which represents the Beine type (M BB10 according to *Mírová 2019*, MST 16c according to *Trachsel 2004*). It dates to the final stage of the LTA phase; it was found at another LTA hillfort of Lukov – 'Ostroh' and is common in Bohemia and France (*Mírová 2019*, 130; *Trachsel 2004*, 491). The second one-piece bit with rosette-winding cheek-pieces and very short bit (7.8 cm; Fig. 2: 29; 3: 29) which represents the eponymous Provodov type (M BB11 according to *Mírová 2019*, 130), which based on the length of the bit and decorative U-shaped cheek pieces suggest LTA; similar analogies can be found in the form of the Sedlec type (MST 16c according to *Trachsel 2004*, 491), a rare type from the same time period found in Bohemia and France (*Mírová 2019*, 130).

Iron axes – axes with closed quadratic bushing appear in Moravia during the HD phase; their further development can be noticed during the La Tène period as well. There are three known pieces from Provodov – 'Rysov' (Fig. 2: 30; 3: 30–32).[2] None of them has a widened blade which only became typical during the early La Tène period (*Fröhlich/Michálek/Jiřík 2011*, 142). Based on this fact, it can be assumed that all of them belong to the Hallstatt period's HD phase (*Novák 2017*, 208, 209). The oldest evidence of this axe in Moravia comes from a hoard of women's jewellery at Bánov – 'Skalky' whose dating is based on snake-shaped fibulae, type IIIa4, according to Tecco Hvala, i.e. HD1b (*Golec/Bartík/Chrástek 2021*). Hallstatt artefacts dating roughly to HD1b–D3 come from Habrůvka – 'Býčí skála'

[2] More finds of this type are known from Provodov – 'Rysov', but they are not currently available for documentation.

(*Parzinger/Nekvasil/Barth 1995*, pl. 29: 318; 30: 319–322). Dating to LTA, there are two pieces which were found in hoard 1/1987 at the Ježkovice – 'Černov' hillfort along with other items typical for LTA (*Čižmář 1993*, fig. 254: 1, 7, 8); the third item is unpublished. The correct dating is further confirmed by other pieces with bushings in not-yet-published hoards from this site. Known analogies include western Slovakia, e.g. early La Tène hillfort at Horné Orešany (*Pieta 2008*, fig. 1: 2) or a hoard dating to the late Hallstatt period and the early La Tène period at Udiča (*Pieta 2008*, 147, fig. 65: 1, 5, 6).

Iron sickles – according to M. Novák both are type I with straight spike (Fig. 2: 33; 3: 33) and type V with a stem and protrusion on the side (Fig. 2: 34; 3: 34) according to E. Studeníková (*Novák 2017*, 209, 210). We establish the dating to be the longer period of HD1–D3. Two iron sickles, one larger fragment and a second one with a straight spike from Habrůvka – 'Býčí skála' (*Parzinger/Nekvasil/Barth 1995*, pl. 45: 403, 404) belong to HD1b–D3. Two iron sickles from the Křenovice – 'Hradisko' and its vicinity at 'Vinice' date to HC2–D3 (*Tichá Bambasová 2020*, pl. 27: 1, 2). Another iron sickle with straight spike found at Slavkov u Brna H4 – 'Rauscher' belongs to HC2 (*Dobisíková et. al. 2010*, fig. 23: 12). A second Hallstatt sickle with vertical spike from a grave (with no exact dating) was found at Moravičany H323 – 'Dílečky' (*Nekvasil 1982*, pl. 101: 3).

Bronze arrowheads of the eastern type – eastern-type militaria in Moravia are represented mostly by bronze arrowheads (*Bartík et al. 2017*; *Klápa 2017*). The largest set containing 77 pieces was found at Provodov – 'Rysov' (*Novák 2017*; *2020a*; *2020b*). Their dating was subject of recent recurring debate. Bronze double-edged, trilateral and triple-edged arrowheads with outer socket (Fig. 2: 35; 3: 35–111) belong, in terms of origin, to the fourth group according to A. Kozubová a M. Golec; they belong to the Ciumbrud group and the West-Podolian group, and chronologically, to HD1b (with links to discussion cf. *Kozubová/Golec 2020a*, 355, fig. 2: 1–12; *2020b*; *Golec/Fojtík 2020*, 215, 216).

Glass beads – dating to the Hallstatt period were summarised quite recently (*Kršová 2017*) and updated to include chronology (*Golec/Fojtík 2020*, 135–137). Hoard number 2 contained twenty large (Fig. 2: 112–131; 3: 112–131) blue, green, brown and grey spherical glass beads with flat poles, three small blue beads (Fig. 2: 132–134; 3: 132–134) and six small glass beads (Fig. 2: 135–140; 3: 135–140) of unknown colour (*Čižmář/Čižmářová 2014*, 49, 50, fig. 10: 11–19, 23–42). The set of larger beads has the best analogies at Habrůvka – 'Býčí skála' HD1b–D3 (*Haevernick 1995; Parzinger/Nekvasil/Barth 1995*, pl. 77; 78; 81–84; *Golec/Mírová 2020*). The small beads too have analogies at the same site, but also in the form of graves of noblewomen of the Horákov group, with compound belts dating to HD1, as well as other graves and sometimes even hoards (as summarised in *Golec/Fojtík 2020*, 125–130).

Amber beads – amber finds dating to the Hallstatt period in Moravia have been summarised (*Chytráček et al. 2017*) and updated (*Golec/Fojtík 2020*, 137–139) quite recently. Hoard number 2 contained 32 amber beads (Fig. 2: 141–173; 3: 141–173) – oval- or disc-shaped, as lentil-shaped, along with one oblong ring with a rib around the perimeter (*Čižmář/Čižmářová 2014*, 49, 50, fig. 9: 10–29; 10: 1–10, 20–22). Amber artefacts have been found in graves and hoards alike; we even have evidence of workshops focused on the processing of amber. Since HD1 we are seeing significant increase in the amounts of amber (*Golec/Fojtík 2020*, fig. 46).

Ceramic sculpture – part of ceramic sculpture in the shape of a boot with a raised tip and hole (Fig. 2: 174; 3: 174) was described by *J. Langová* (*2001*) who, on the other hand, focused on the general description of the depiction of footwear from the Bronze Age to the La Tène period. According to her the fragment of the sculpture that was probably 20 to 25 cm tall dates to the late Hallstatt period (*Langová 2007*; *2012*). As for the depiction of footwear with raised tip, we know of various analogies from the early La Tène period – e.g. on boot-shaped fibulae – *Schuhfibeln* – from Dürrnberg bei Hallein or Kleiner Knetzberg (see *Binding 1993*, pl. 12: 1–8); or from the Moravian site Určice – 'Hájové' (*Goláňová 2018*, fig. 70: 14), or from a fibula depicting of a man wearing shoes with raised tips, with holes in the tips for amber intarsia from the Manětín-Hrádek site (see *Binding 1993*, pl. 10: 2). Footwear is also depicted on pendants (see *Schönfelder 1999*) or vessels – e.g. vessel of Etruscan origin from Jíkev in Bohemia (*Danielisová et al. 2018*, fig. 28). Conversely, the depiction of footwear with raised tip is existing very rarely in the Hallstatt period (situlae art), which is why authors assume that the most probable dating of the fragment would suggest LTA. The round-shaped bed on the item may suggest luxury finish (elite?).

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

A key source of information on the HD–LTA society in Moravia is the study of hillforts or hilltop sites. The summary of Hallstatt sites was made by *M. Čižmář* (*2004*) while the most recent data on chronology within HC2–D3 was published by *M. Novák* (*2020a*). Based on his conclusion, the dating of hillforts is much more variable

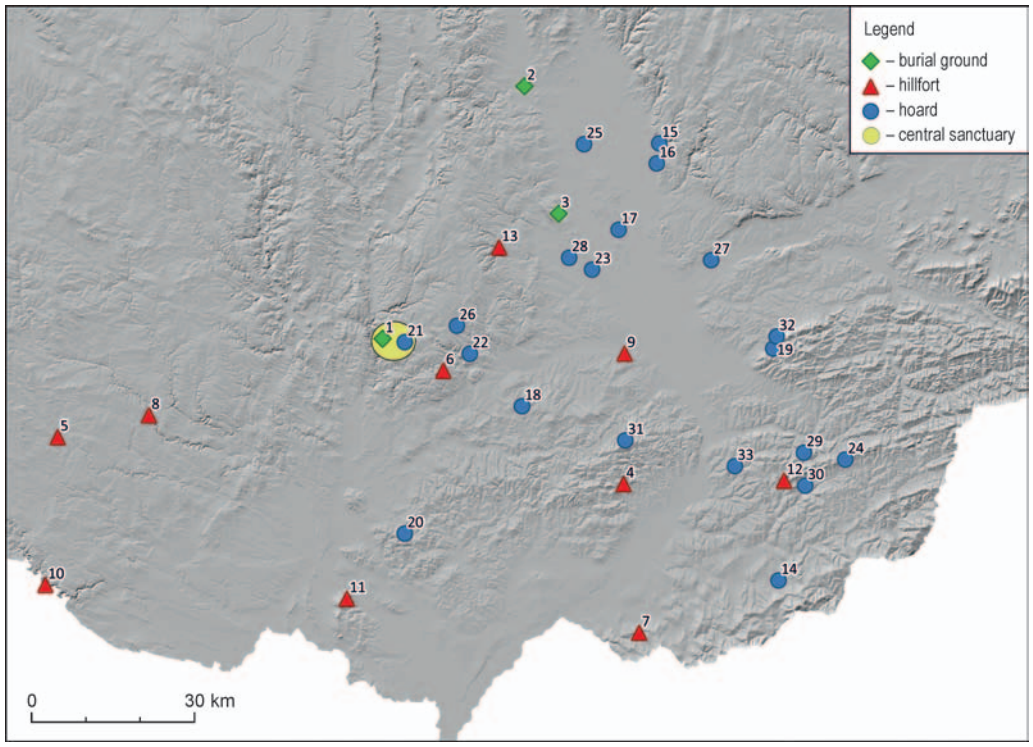


Fig. 4. Map of selected burial grounds, hillforts (hilltop sites) and hoards in HD–LTA in Moravia (list according to Fig. 5).

compared to what was stated earlier. M. Novák does not discuss the social role of these hillforts, even though this issue is very important. As for the Hallstatt period, we cannot understand these hillforts to be social centres, due to, among other things, the lack of material evidence of elites (on methodology see Z. Mírová and M. Golec in *Golec/Fojtík 2020*, 194–198; *Mírová/Golec 2018*, fig. 18). The concept as a result of the state of research is still debatable. Central sites, such as Závist and Vladař from HD2–LTA, are so far unknown in Moravia. And based on the available data, the culmination of the popularity of hillforts is associated with phases HD1–D2, as very few sites are attributed to HD3. They include the aforementioned Provodov – 'Rysov' (Fig. 4; 5; *Novák 2017*, 196, 197, pl. 1: 6), or Křenovice – 'Hradisko' (Fig. 4; 5; *Tichá Bambasová 2020*, fig. 36; 37). We assume that the number of hillforts was reduced in HD3 and the overall situation changed compared with HD1–D2. The resulting situation of this network comprising six sites in LTA can be found in the list prepared by P. Goláňová – Buchlovice – 'Modla', Ježkovice – 'Černov', Kramolín – 'Hradisko', Lukov – 'Ostroh', Pavlov – 'Děvín'/Perná – 'Kotel' and Stínava – 'Ježův hrad' (Fig. 4; 5; *Goláňová 2018*, fig. 23). The links to previous Hallstatt settlements remain open. Some of them (cf. *Goláňová 2018*, 53–56) have yielded Hallstatt finds dating to HD (cf. *Novák 2020a*), namely Ježkovice – 'Černov', Buchlovice – 'Modla' (both not published) or Pavlov – 'Děvín'/Perná – 'Kotel' (recently in *Holubová/Navrátil 2020*). P. Goláňová identifies these LTA sites as a regular network and asks whether they might have played a role similar to that of the central hillforts of Závist and Vladař in Bohemia (*Goláňová 2018*, 62).

With new finds dating to HD and LTA coming, it is evident that both periods must be studied concurrently and the respected data must be compared. As shown in Fig. 5, the status of Provodov – 'Rysov' is exceptional, hence significant. The site represents a remarkable continuum spanning 250 to 300 years as represented by finds starting possibly in HC2, and then in HD1–D3 and LTA. What is yet to be answered is the question of the function of the site, especially during the LTA phase. That being said, the eastern type militaria dating mostly to HD1b suggest that, at least during this time period, that the site served as a refuge, i.e. hillfort under siege by an external attacker. It is important to note that the site remained in use and the attack did not prove fatal for the occupants.

The Provodov – 'Rysov' with its 174 bronze, iron, glass, amber and ceramic artefacts represent a key source of information for the evaluation of the period between HC2b–LTA. Other sources include hoards of the same dating, of which we know twenty. They were mostly created between

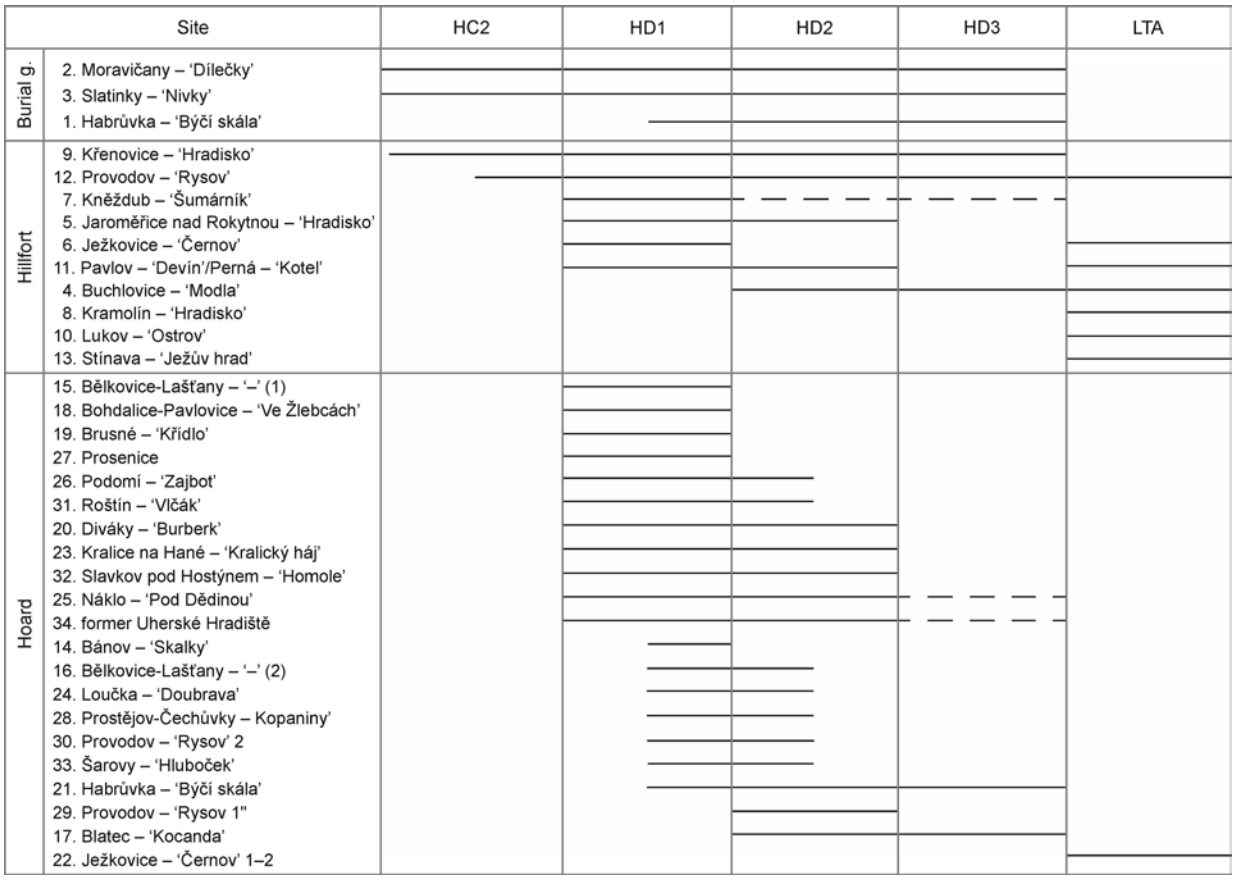


Fig. 5. Chronology of selected sites from HD–LTA in Moravia. 1 – central sanctuary with burial ground and hoards; 2, 3 – burial ground; 4–13 – hillforts/hilltop sites; 14–33 – hoards (according to *Dohnal 2003*; *Goláňová 2018*; *Golec/Fojtík 2020*; *Golec/Kos 2020*; *Golec/Mírová 2020*; *Holubová/Navrátil 2020*; *Kalábek 2020*; *Martínek 2019*; *Novák 2020*; *Tichá Bambasová 2020*). Added by the authors.

HD1–D2, while only a handful of them is attributed to HD3 (Fig. 5). They contain numerous chronologically sensitive items, some of which belonged to elites, while other artefacts come from hillforts such as hoard 1 and 2 at Provodov – 'Rysov'. Exceptional status in Moravia is granted to the central sanctuary at Habrůvka – 'Býčí skála' dating to HD1b–D3 (Fig. 5), whose chronology (*Parzinger/Nekvasil/Barth 1995*, fig. 1) is now based on division of six wagons (BS1 – HD1b–D2a; BS2 – HD2b; BS3 – HD3; *Golec/Mírová 2020*; *Mírová 2019*, 88–96, fig. 26–33). This would suggest a centralised social system; the rise of the sanctuary coincides with the attack on Provodov – 'Rysov' during HD1b (around 575 BC). In this system, the (centralised?) regular network of hillforts identified by P. Goláňová (as being in the final stage of existence in LTA), now with Provodov – 'Rysov' included, played a key role.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bartík et al. 2017 – M. Bartík/E. Čermáková/V. Čisťakova/I. Čižmář/M. Čižmář/M. Daňhel/P. Fojtík/J. Frolík/M. Golec/M. Kalábek/O. Klápa/P. Knotek/B. Komoróczy/J. Langová/T. Merta/J. Musil/M. Novák/M. Popelka/D. Rožnovský/D. Říčan/R. Sedláček/Z. Schenk/P. Šín/J. Šmerda/B. Tomešová/D. Válek/D. Vích/V. Vránová/J. Waldhauser/T. Zeman: The Vekerzug and other Eastern cultures in the Czech Republic. *Studia Archaeologica Brunensia* 22, 2017, 27–69. DOI: https://doi.org/10.5817/SAB2017-1-3

Chytráček, M. et al. 2017 – M. Chytráček/M. Golec/O. Chvojka/M. Metlička/J. Michálek/M. Novotná/D. Frolíková: Jantar starší doby železné a průběh jantarové stezky ve střední Evropě. *Památky archeologické* 108, 2017, 121–256.

Čižmář 1993 – M. Čižmář: Keltská okupace Moravy (doba laténská). In: V. Podborský a kol.: *Pravěké dějiny Moravy.* Vlastivěda Moravská. Země a lid. Nová řada 3. Brno 1993, 380–423.

Čižmář 2004 – M. Čižmář: *Encyklopedie hradišť na Moravě a ve Slezsku*. Praha 2004.

Čižmář 2012 – M. Čižmář: Dva halštatské depoty z Moravy. K datování závěsů typu Trávník. In: R. Kujovský/V. Mitáš (eds.): *Václav Furmánek a doba bronzová. Zborník k sedemdesiatym narodeninám*. Archaeologica Slovaca Monographiae. Communicationes 13. Nitra 2012, 71–77.

Čižmář/Čižmářová 2014 – M. Čižmář/J. Čižmářová: Pozdně halštatský nález z Pavlovic (okr. Vyškov) a několik dalších halštatských depotů z Moravy. In: J. Čižmářová/N. Venclová/G. Březinová (eds.): *Moravské křižovatky. Střední Podunají mezi pravěkem a historií*. Brno 2014, 35–56.

Čižmář/Čižmářová/Humpolová 2020 – I. Čižmář/H. Čižmářová/A. Humpolová (eds.): *Jantarová stezka v proměnách času*. Brno 2020.

Čižmář et al. 2019 – I. Čižmář/A. Fojtík/M. Golec/J. Langová/Z. Mírová/M. Novák/M. Popelka: Detektorová prospekce na výšinné lokalitě Rysov u Provodova (okr. Zlín) v roce 2017. *Vlastivedný zborník Považia* 29, 2019, 189–210.

Čižmář/Kohoutek/Langová 2014 – M. Čižmář/J. Kohoutek/J. Langová: Depoty z doby laténské z Rýsova, obec Provodov (okr. Zlín). In: J. Čižmářová/N. Venclová/G. Březinová (eds.): *Moravské křižovatky. Střední Podunají mezi pravěkem a historií*. Brno 2014, 641–653.

Danielisová et al. 2018 – A. Danielisová/M. Chytráček/J. Kysela/P. Sankot: Pět staletí keltské civilizace v Čechách. In: J. Militký/J. Kysela/M. Tisucká (eds.): *Keltové. Čechy v 8. až 1. století před Kristem*. Praha 2018, 65–114.

Dobisíková et al. 2010 – M. Dobisíková/M. Geisler/J. Kala/P. Kos/B. Mikulková/D. Parma/A. Přichystal: Halštatské pohřebiště ze Slavkova u Brna (okr. Vyškov). In: V. Furmánek/E. Miroššayová (eds.): *Popolnicové polia a doba halštatská*. Archaeologica Slovaca Monographiae. Communicationes 11. Nitra 2010, 57–100.

Dohnal 2003 – V. Dohnal: Šumárník ve starší a mladší době halštatské. *Pravěk. Nová řada* 13, 2003, 221–252.

Fröhlich/Michálek/Jiřík 2011 – J. Fröhlich/J. Michálek/J. Jiřík: Nové nálezy kovových předmětů z doby halštatské a laténské v jižních Čechách. *Archeologické výzkumy v jižních Čechách* 24, 2011, 129–161.

Goláňová 2018 – P. Goláňová: *The Early La Tène Period in Moravia*. Studien zur Archäologie Europas 32. Bonn 2018.

Golec/Bartík/Chrástek 2021 – M. Golec/J. Bartík/T. Chrástek: Der Hort von Bánov in Mähren. *Archäologie in Deutschland* 4, 2021, 42–43.

Golec/Fojtík 2020 – M. Golec/P. Fojtík: *Centrum východohalštatské kultury na střední Moravě*. Archaeologica Olomucensia 5. Olomouc 2020.

Golec/Kos 2020 – M. Golec/P. Kos: The Hallstatt hoard of Roštín "Vlčák", Kroměříž district (CZ). In: *Čižmář/Čižmářová/Humpolová 2020*, 71–87.

Golec/Mírová 2020 – M. Golec/Z. Mírová: Hallstatt Period in Moravia. Elites, centralization and social model in Ha D1–D3. In: O. Chvojka/M. Chytráček/H. Gruber/L. Husty/J. Michálek/R. Sandner /K. Schmotz/S. Traxler (eds.): *Fines Transire* 29, 2020, Rahden/Westf., 107–127.

Haevernick 1995 – T. E. Haevernick: Die Glassperlen. In: H. Parzinger/J. Nekvasil/F. E. Barth (Hrsg.): *Die Býčí skála-Höhle. Ein hallstattzeitlicher Höhlenopferplatz in Mähren*. Römisch-germanische Forschungen 54. Mainz am Rhein 1995, 93–97.

Holubová/Navrátil 2020 – Z. Holubová/A. Navrátil: Nové poznatky k halštatskému osídlení Pálavy. In: *Čižmář/Čižmářová/Humpolová 2020*, 21–31.

Kalábek 2020 – M. Kalábek: Bělkovice-Lašťany (k. ú. Bělkovice, okr. Olomouc). *Přehled výzkumů* 61/1, 2020, 191–206.

Klápa 2017 – O. Klápa: 'Scythian' findings in the Moravia. *Acta Archaeologica Carphatica* 52, 2017, 65–82.

Kozubová/Golec 2020a – A. Kozubová/M. Golec: Aus der Nähe oder aus der Ferne? Zu den hallstattzeitlichen Funden vom östlichen Typ aus Mähren. In: A. Kozubová/E. Makarová/M. Neumann (eds.): *Ultra velum temporis. Venované Jozefovi Bátorovi k 70. narodeninám*. Slovenská archeológia – Supplementum 1. Nitra 2020, 349–360. DOI: https://doi.org/10.31577/slovarch.2020.suppl.1.29

Kozubová/Golec 2020b – A. Kozubová/M. Golec: Předměty vekerzugské kultury a předměty východního typu na Moravě. In: M. Golec/P. Fojtík: *Centrum východohalštatské kultury na střední Moravě*. Archaeologica Olomucensia 5. Olomouc 2020, 210–218.

Kršová 2017 – M. Kršová: *Skleněné korálky z pohřebišť doby halštatské na Moravě*. Magisterská diplomová práce. Masarykova univerzita. Filozofická fakulta. Ústav archeológie a muzeologie. Brno 2017. Online availabe at: https://is.muni.cz/th/bclv0/Diplomova_prace.pdf

Langová 2001 – J. Langová: Boty z hlíny – pravěké a středověké keramické nádobky ve tvaru obuvi. In: *Obuv v historii. Sborník materiálů ze III. mezinárodní konference 25.–27. září 2000*. Zlín 2001, 168–179.

Langová 2007 – J. Langová: Zlomek hliněné plastiky z hradiska Rýsov u Provodova. *Pravěk. Nová řada* 17, 2007, 251–261.

Langová 2012 – J. Langová: Rýsov u Provodova. Hradisko, které stále ještě nevydalo všechna svá tajemství. In: M. Prachař et al.: *Provodov. Kapitoly z dějin obce*. Provodov 2012, 21–29.

Martínek 2019 – J. Martínek: *Jantarová stezka. Výstavní katalog*. Brno 2019.

Mírová 2019 – Z. Mírová: *The horse in the Bronze and Iron Ages in Moravia*. Archaeologica Olomucensia 3. Olomouc 2019.

Mírová 2020 – Z. Mírová: Vůz a koňský postroj v době laténské na Moravě. In: *Čižmář/Čižmářová/Humpolová 2020*, 355–383.

Mírová/Golec 2018 – Z. Mírová/M. Golec: *Hallstatt Magnate Graves from Brno-Holásky 1 and 2 in Central European Context*. Archaeologiae Regionalis Fontes 13. Olomouc 2018.

Nekvasil 1982 – J. Nekvasil: *Pohřebiště lužické kultury v Moravičanech. Katalog nálezů. Textová část. Obrazová část*. Fontes Archaeologiae Moravicae 14. Brno 1982.

Novák 2017 – M. Novák: Moravský „Molpír"? Halštatské nálezy z opevněného výšinného sídliště Provodov-Ludkovice „Rysov" (okr. Zlín). *Pravěk. Nová řada* 25, 2017, 185–228.

Novák 2020a – M. Novák: K chronologii moravských výšinných lokalit starší doby železné. In: V. Mitáš/O. Ožďáni (eds.): *Doba popolnicových polí a doba halštatská*. Archaeologica Slovaca Monographiae. Communicationes 25. Nitra 2020, 147–162.

Novák 2020b – M. Novák: Nové poznatky k hrotům východního typu z Rysova. In: *Čižmář/Čižmářová/Humpolová 2020*, 89–98.

Parzinger/Nekvasil/Barth 1995 – H. Parzinger/J. Nekvasil/F. E. Barth: *Die Býčí skála-Höhle. Ein hallstattzeitlicher Höhlenopferplatz in Mähren*. Römisch-Germanische Forschungen 54. Mainz 1995.

Pieta 2008 – K. Pieta: *Keltské osídlenie Slovenska. Mladšia doba laténska*. Archaeologica Slovaca Monographiae. Studia 11. Nitra 2008.

Říhovský 1993 – J. Říhovský: *Die Fibeln in Mähren*. Prähistorische Bronzefunde. Abteilung XIV, 9. Band. Stuttgart 1993.
Schönfelder 1999 – M. Schönfelder: Knöpfe an Schuhen der Frühlatènezeit. *Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt* 29, 1999, 537–552.
Tichá Bambasová 2020 – S. Tichá Bambasová: *Křenovice – „Hradisko" a jeho zázemí v době halštatské*. Archaeologiae Regionalis Fontes 14. Olomouc 2020.
Trachsel 2004 – M. Trachsel: *Untersuchungen zur relativen und absoluten Chronologie der Hallstattzeit*. Universitätsforschungen zur prähistorischen Archäologie 104. Bonn 2004.
Werner 1988 – W. M. Werner: *Eisenzeitliche Trensen an der unteren und mittleren Donau*. Prähistorische Bronzefunde. Abteilung XVI, 4. Band. München 1988.
Woytowitsch 1978 – E. Woytowitsch: *Die Wagen der Bronze- und frühen Eisenzeit in Italien*. Prähistorische Bronzefunde. Abteilung XVII, 1. Band. München 1978.

Manuscript accepted 4. 6. 2021

Translated by Petr Bokůvka

Mgr. Ivan Čižmář, Ph.D.
Ústav archeologické památkové péče Brno, v. v. i.
Kaloudova 30
CZ – 614 00 Brno
cizmar@uapp.cz

Mgr. Zuzana Golec Mírová
Ústav pro archeologii
Filozofická fakulta Univerzity Karlovy
Celetná 20
CZ – 116 42 Praha
mirova.z@seznam.cz

Mgr. Martin Golec, Ph.D.
Katedra historie, sekce archeologie
Univerzita Palackého v Olomouci
Na Hradě 5
CZ – 779 00 Olomouc
golec@seznam.cz

SLOVENSKÁ ARCHEOLÓGIA – SUPPLEMENTUM 2
Z. Robak/M. Ruttkay (eds.): Celts – Germans – Slavs.
A Tribute Anthology to Karol Pieta. Nitra 2021, 39–43.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.31577/slovarch.2021.suppl.2.3

THE COLLABORATION OF NUMISMATICS AND ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE DATING OF CELTIC COINS

JÚLIUS FRÖHLICH

As shown by the finds from the Dřemčice village in North Bohemia, even confrontation of available numismatic and archaeological sources and approaches often do not lead to unambiguous and correct chronological conclusions. Therefore, in cases of unknown or unclear finding context, it is important to apply all available methods based on typological, iconographical, metrological, metallographic data and other criteria. In selected cases, analyses of the artistic aspect of Celtic coins and their pictorial elements in the context of decoration of contemporaneous archaeological artefacts also seem to be of interest. To verify the approach, we selected a Celtic coin from the earlier phase of Central European Celtic coinage and we compared it with decorations of a Hungarian style sword.

Keywords: Moravia, Bohemia, Slovakia, La Tène Period, Celtic coins, Celtic art.

INTRODUCTION

Due to the absence of written sources and scarcity of Celtic coins with a reliable context of discovery, the dating of Celtic coins is a laborious process that will not end even if new finds become available. Therefore, whenever the archaeological material allows, contrasting numismatic and archaeological sources may contribute to specifying both relative and absolute chronology of the coins.

An example of such a process in the Central European Celtic numismatics is evidenced by a thorough work done by K. Castelin – a numismatist – and J. Waldhauser – an archaeologist (*Castelin/Walhauser 1981–1984*). Together, the researchers confronted numismatic material, represented by small silver coins with horses and one gold coin with a boar, with a collection of archaeological finds from the La Tène settlement located to the west of the Dřemčice village in Litoměřice district.

Karel Castelin analysed three silver coinages – the first obol (*Kolníková 2012*, annexe 1, 183, type C; *Militký 2018*, 86–89, type II: 29, var. 1/2 – Horoměřice/Dřemčice; 190, 191, II/29.1/2 (1); 370, 96/2; 407, pl. 25, 96/2), the second obol (*Dembski 1991*, 6, 7, type Roseldorf/Němčice II; *Kolníková 2012*, annexe 1, 182, type/var. Bi; *Militký 2018*, 103–106, 246, 247, 370, 407, the type with a boss/horse; II: 43.4/1 (1); pl. 25, 96/3), and the third obol of the Karlstein type which in the European context is known in numerous local variations. Originally, it was named by *K. Pink* (*1958*) after a Southern Bavarian site – Karlstein – near Salzburg. Based on the contemporary numismatic knowledge and published finds, K. Castelin assumed that silver coins with a horse were used by inhabitants of the settlement located to the west of Dřemčice in the second half or the last third of the 1st c. BCE, i.e. in the LTD2 stage (*Castelin/Waldhauser 1981–1984*, 15, 19).

In contrast to Castelin's dating, J. Waldhauser characterised the collection of other archaeological finds from Dřemčice as '*belonging to the stages LTC1–LTD1, thus in 2nd and the 1st century BCE, most likely before the mid-1st century*'. However, under the pressure of the numismatic dating, Waldhauser assumed that '*from the archaeological perspective, it seems likely that in the last third of the 1st century, silver Celtic coins were no longer in circulation in todays' Czechia, Celtic oppida had been abandoned and the settlement in the entire region was clearly Germanic*'. Therefore, according to Waldhauser '*silver coins, metal items and traces of blacksmiths works should be attributed to the times around or shortly after 50 BCE*' (*Castelin/Waldhauser 1981–1984*, 4, 14–20).

A large number of new finds of coins after 1990 – including previously unknown types and variations of small silver coins with a horse – mainly from areas linked with one of the branches of the amber trail, passing from Polish Silesia through lowland Moravia and the juxta-Danubian region to the south – showed that even the confrontation of numismatic and archaeological sources does not provide an unambiguous chronology of small silver coins from the Celtic settlement located to the west of Dřemčice. At least not the one that could be accepted both by numismatists and archaeologists. According to the extant knowledge, the first type of obol from Dřemčice was minted in the Middle La Tène stages LTC1–LTC2, i.e. between 260/250–190/180 BCE (*Militký 2018*, 86–89) or between

the first half and the beginning of the second half of the 2nd c. BCE (*Kolníková 2012*, 53). According to J. Militký, the second type of obol from Dřemčice should be associated with the LTC2 horizon – i.e. between 190/180–130/120 BCE (*Militký 2018*, 106). Finally, the third obol – of the Karlstein type – was lost and cannot be dated more precisely than generally back to the LTD stage.

As shown by the finds from Dřemčice, even the confrontation of extant archaeological and numismatic knowledge does not necessarily lead to unambiguous chronological conclusions. Thus, to obtain the most reliable dating of items found in unknown or unclear contexts, it is necessary to use all available methods including typological, iconographic, metrological, metallurgic or other findings. In selected cases, the artistic consideration of visual aspects of Celtic coins in the context of contemporary archaeological artefacts seems also an appropriate supplementary analysis. To verify the possibility of dating Celtic coins that lack necessary contextual details, the present paper discusses selected examples of Celtic coins from the older phase of the Central European Celtic coinage (3rd–mid-2nd c. BCE).

GOLD COINAGE ATTRIBUTED TO THE ATHENA ALKIDEMOS GROUP

1/24 stater of the type bird-like featured head/warrior's figure (Fig. 1), Au, 0.327 g, 5.9/5.7 mm, 3 h, site Němčice nad Hanou, private collection, no. 5350.

Obverse: a left-facing head with clearly stylised bird features and a large, almond-shaped eye. The top of the head is adorned by a headdress arranged in several strands flowing down from a clasp on the neck into a loose arch. A legible beard is oriented upwardly and ends with a small indent at the nose height.

Reverse: a left-facing figure of a belted warrior holding a shield in an arm extended forward. The shield is decorated with a symbol resembling the letter Λ. In the second hand – raised over the head – the warrior holds a short stabbing weapon. At the elbow height, the figure is wrapped in a two-part robe flowing down. In front of the warrior's front leg, there lies a Λ letter and behind his back leg, there are horizontally placed letters ΛI.

References: *Fröhlich 2012–2013*, 14–17, no. 4/1; fig. 4: 1; 6a; *2016*, 175, 185, fig. 9: 7; 12: 17; *Kolníková 2012*, 19, 95, 170, no. 105; fig. 8: 105; 83: 105; *Militký 2016*, 149, 150; *Paulsen 1933*, 141, no. 140; pl. 7: 140.

The coin has been found in the area of the Celtic production and trade centre near Němčice nad Hanou in Moravia, where an abundant numismatic (*Kolníková 2012*; *Militký 2011–2012*) and archaeological (*Čižmář/Čižmářová/Meduna 2018*; *Čižmář/Kolníková 2006*; *Čižmář/Kolníková/Noeske 2008*; *Venclová 2016*) material has been discovered. Currently, based

Fig. 1. Němčice nad Hanou, Prostějov distr. The 1/24 stater of the type bird-like featured head/warrior's figure (magnified). a – obverse; b – reverse.

on the archaeological finds, the chronology of the Němčice settlement is clearly attributed to stages LTB2–LTC2. However, the settlement did not continue there in the late La Tène period (*Čižmář/Kolníková 2006*, 267).

The Celtic coin belongs to a large group of Celtic Athena Alkis coinage. The group is named after an image of the Greek goddess – Athena Alkidemos – present at numerous older Hellenistic items (*Fröhlich 2016*, 179–183). Starting from the second third of the 3rd c. BCE, the image became an inspiration for the entire group of gold and silver Celtic coins.

Interestingly, however, instead of the Athena Alkidemos image, the reverse of the 1/24 stater from Němčice (Fig. 1: b) is decorated with the warrior's figure precisely modelled on the goddess (*Fröhlich 2012–2013*, 11, note 1). Judging by the reverse of this stater fraction, it is assumed that such coins were minted starting from about 250 BCE (*Fröhlich 2012–2013*, 23–28; *2016*, 183–186, fig. 12: 17; *Militký 2016*, 149, 150).

However, this type of coinage is interesting primarily due to the image on the obverse. The bird-like motif is exceptional in the Middle-Danube Celtic milieu – despite small bird-like decorative patterns being widespread there in the middle La Tène period (*Čižmář 2012*; *Jandrasits 2003*). 53 small bronze bird figurines were found only at the Němčice site (*Čižmář 2012*, 155–165, no. 8; 9; fig. 9–13). 20 further bird reliefs come from Lower Austria (*Jandrasits 2012*). Unfortunately, the chronological value of this specific archaeological material is low – diversity of finds and their technological features allow dating the bird sculptures roughly back to the LTC stage.

Unlike La Tène bronze animal figurines, some other archaeological artefacts provide significantly more precise chronological information. Particularly, among Celtic weaponry, swords – due to the complexity of construction and decoration details – show a sufficient variety of types and, thus, allow for a very precise chronological analysis.

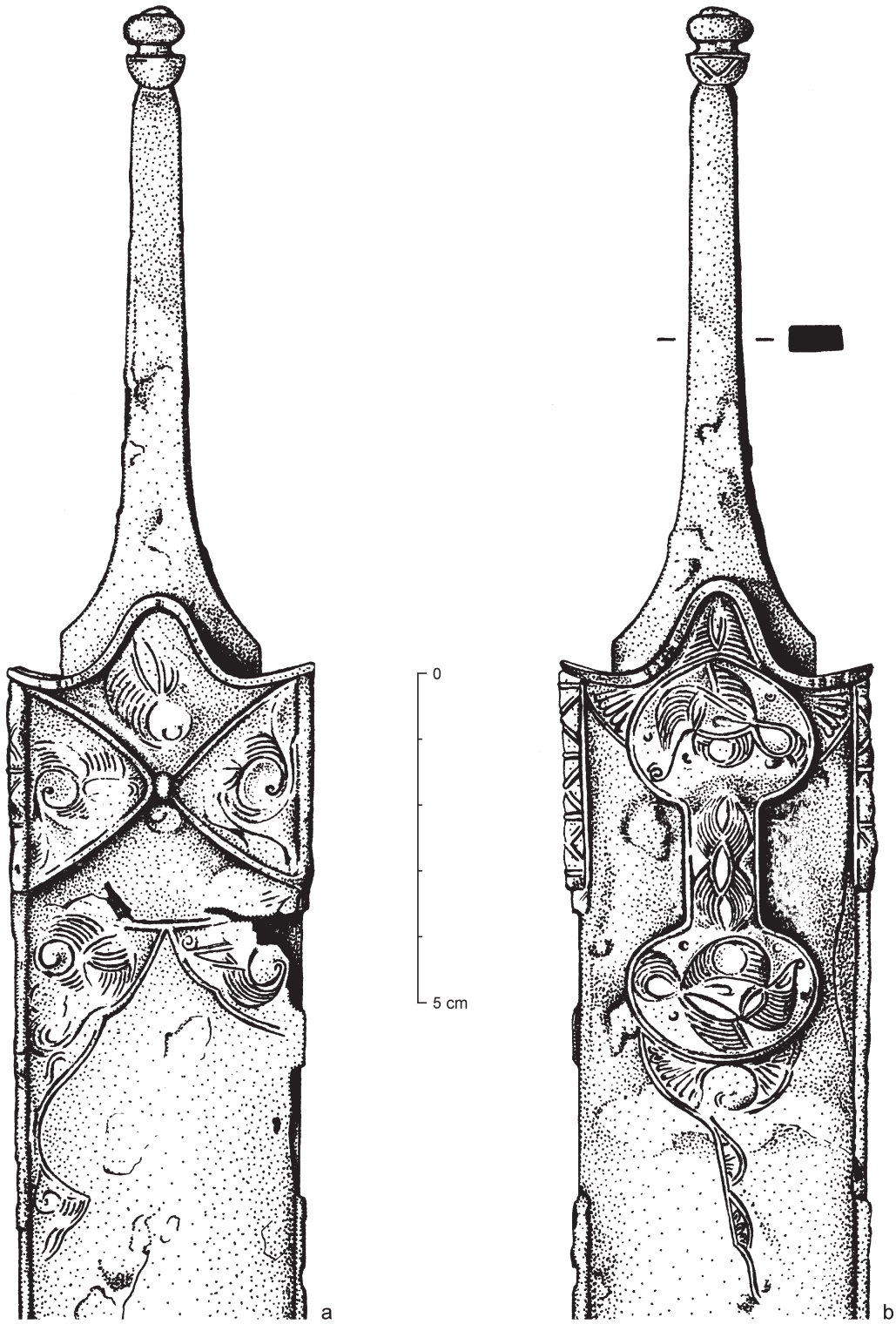


Fig. 2. The scabbard of the sword Drňa, Rimavská Sobota distr. a – front side of the upper part of the scabbard; b – back-side of the upper part of the scabbard (*Zachar 1974*, fig. 6).

The explanatory power of La Tène swords allows for artistic and chronological analysis of the bird motif on the obverse of the small Celtic coinage (Fig. 1). Currently, based on the image of the warrior on the reverse, but also based on the high – 98.5% – Au content in the alloy and the weight of this nominal unit, it is dated back to the beginning of the LTC1 stage, i.e. about the mid-3rd c. BCE.

An iron sword with a scabbard found in an urn grave on a Halstatt and La Tène cemetery in

the 'Birinyi part' site to the south-east of the Drňa village, Rimavská Sobota distr., offers a good opportunity for visual comparisons with the obverse of the Celtic coinage (*Balaša 1963*).

The scabbard can be attributed to the Hungarian sword style. The exceptional preservation and decorative patterns of the scabbard – related to the construction details: locket, loop, clasp and chape – turned particular attention of an archaeologist, *L. Zachar* (*1974*, 73–78, fig. 6; *1987*, 33, 34, 165, cat. 124; 125; fig. 124; 125).

The mouth of the scabbard (Fig. 2) resembles a butterfly with a small relief knot in the middle. The butterfly-like clasp on the scabbard of the sword from Drňa is characteristic for the turn of LTB and LTC stages. An important element of the scabbard from Drňa is its decoration. Decorative elements are concentrated on the front and back sides of the item. The front side – as well as the back one – was decorated with numerous techniques: hammering, engraving and embossing. The techniques give an impression of three-dimensionality and particular decorativeness as a characteristic feature of the Hungarian sword style. The basic decorative motif is a volute made of multiple lines (*Zachar 1974*, 73–78, fig. 6). Interestingly, although the ornaments are very distinctive, the backside of the scabbard, fastened to a belt with a loop, could not be seen by bystanders. The decoration, thus, was most likely 'private' and dedicated to the eyes of the owner of this magnificent weapon. However, the bird motif decorating the coin from Němčice nad Hanou was by no means private (Fig. 1). Instead, it was made to allure as wide an audience as possible.

The analysis of the obverse of the gold coin from Němčice could be considerably informed by decorative patterns on the scabbard backside of a sword from Drňa – particularly ornaments on flat parts of a loop (Fig. 2: b). The decoration of the backside of the scabbard comprises several motifs that form, similarly as on the front side, bundles of parallel lines. According to L. Zachar '*basic components of the decoration consist of zoomorphic motifs of birds on the loop neck, eight-shaped motif with a vertical, lenticular etching and finally also palmetto-shaped motifs around the throat and the below the lower plate*' (*Zachar 1974*, 75, fig. 6: b). '*The comparison of the details on the scabbard from Drňa with decorations of Hungarian swords reveals that the item should be dated back the beginning of the LTC period*' (*Zachar 1974*, 76). Also, at the same site in Drňa, another Celtic sword with a scabbard was found. However, around the opening, the scabbard is decorated with a dragon motif with a roof-shaped fitting suggesting that the item is older and should be attributed to the LTB stage.

The Hungarian sword style reflects the creativity of weapon manufacturers in the Carpathian Basin in the 2nd c. BCE. This particular artefact, however, could be considered an import confirming cultural relations between the Carpathian Basin and Western Europe (*Zachar 1987*, 35).

Other transfers of knowledge and technology – most likely from central parts of France – contributed to the development of Central European coinage. Importantly, such transfers included the production of bimetallic coin dies that were composed of an iron hand and a bronze stamping insert. Most likely, however, such dies were imported to the Middle Danube Valley not directly from Western Europe but rather were brought by foreign groups of Celtic warriors returning home from looting expeditions in the Balkans after 280/279. Material evidence of such transfers is strengthened by a set of Celtic coin dies from Moravia (*Fröhlich 2017b*) and coin dies from a Celtic mint in Szalacska in South Hungary (*Gohl 1907*). It is believed that during their well-documented migrations, members of the Gallic tribe – Volkae-Tektosages – served as intermediaries in the process.

Zoomorphic bird motifs on the plates of the loop of the sword from Drňa (Fig. 2: b) and particularly the ornament decorating the bottom plate resemble the bird's head on the coin from Němčice (Fig. 1: a).

The bird motif on the sword scabbard from Drňa (chronologically attributed to the LTC1 stage) and the head with bird-like features on the averse of the 1/24 stater from Němčice nad Hanou – the figure on the reverse suggests that minting of such coins started about 250 BCE – corroborate archaeological and numismatic dating of both of those finds.

This conclusion is encouraging. Particularly, it seems that the analysis of artistic aspects of ancient coins – or the analysis of the stylistics of specific motifs – could inform relative and absolute chronology of ancient coins even when the context of the find is lacking.

The popularity of the headdress – with hair tied on the back of the neck and flowing down – reflects also in Celtic coins. In the Carpathian

Fig. 3. Hrhov, Rožňava distr. Reverse of a tetradrachma with an audoleon monogram (magnified; *Fröhlich 2017a*, 35, 36, no. 28, 29).

Basin, the headdress resembling the bird's head motif is present on the reverse of a tetradrachm found in a hoard comprising Celtic coins in Hrhov, Rožňava distr. (Fig. 3; *Fröhlich 2017a*, 35, 36, no. 28; 29). Similar stylised heads decorate other eastern Celtic tetradrachms, e.g. an equestrian on the reverse of the type-II (*Göbl 1973*, pl. 33: 408), *Baumreiter* tetradrachm (*Göbl 1973*, pl. 12: 129) and some other. However, in this case, the image depicts some headgear rather than a headdress.

CONCLUSIONS

Without exaggerating, both described items could be considered to be the most representative examples of fine art in entire Celtic Europe. The La Tène sword scabbard from Drňa is unique due to its impressive, innovative decorations and perfect artistic execution. The gold coin of the Paulsen 140 type is exceptional due to the mastery of the die manufacturer who managed to place all those perfectly stylised innovative features on the miniature surface of the coin.

The bird motif decorating the scabbard from Drňa and similar averse of 1/24 stater from Němčice allows comparison of artistic aspects of both artefacts. The analysis suggests archaeological and numismatic dating of the finds to be correct.

The conclusion is encouraging. It seems that the artistic analysis of ancient coins – or stylistics of specific motifs – may inform relative and absolute chronology of ancient coins even when contextual information about the finds is absent.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Balaša 1963 – G. Balaša: Mladohalštatské a keltské pohrebisko v Drni. *Archeologické rozhledy* 15, 1963, 687–693, 708.

Castelin/Waldhauser 1981–1984 – K. Castelin/J. Waldhauser: Addenda k nálezu keltských mincí u Dřemčic na Litoměřicku a problém oppida v severozápadních Čechách. *Litoměřicko* 17–20, 1981–1984, 3–42.

Čižmář 2012 – M. Čižmář: Nálezy drobné lidské a zvířecí plastiky z Moravy. In.: G. Březinová/V. Varsik (eds.): *Archeológia na prahu histórie. K životnému jubileu Karola Pietu*. Archaeologica Slovaca Monographiae. Communicationes 15. Nitra 2012, 145–173.

Čižmář/Čižmářová/Meduna 2018 – M. Čižmář/J. Čižmářová/J. Meduna: *Němčice a Staré Hradisko. Spony – Němčice und Staré Hradisko. Fibeln*. Brno 2018.

Čižmář/Kolníková 2006 – M. Čižmář/E. Kolníková: Němčice – obchodní a industriální centrum doby laténské na Moravě. *Archeologické rozhledy* 58, 2006, 261–283.

Čižmář/Kolníková/Noeske 2008 – M. Čižmář/E. Kolníková/H.-Ch. Noeske: Němčice-Víceměřice – ein neues Handels- und Industriezentrum der Latènezeit in Mähren. Vorbericht. *Germania* 86, 2008, 655–700.

Dembski 1991 – G. Dembski: Neue Keltenmünzen aus Niederösterreich. *Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Numismatischen Gesellschaft* 31, 1991, 5–10.

Fröhlich 2012–2013 – J. Fröhlich: Nález keltských mincí z Horných Orešian-Majdánu na Slovensku. Zlato a pôvod keltských mincí typu Athéna Alkidemos. *Numismatický sborník* 27, 2012–2013, 9–32.

Fröhlich 2016 – J. Fröhlich: Keltské mince s konskou protomou a skupina Aténa Alkidemos. *Numismatický sborník* 30, 2016, 166–192.

Fröhlich 2017a – J. Fröhlich: *Poklad keltských mincí z Hrhova*. Kremnica 2017.

Fröhlich 2017b – J. Fröhlich: Súbor razidiel keltských zlatých mincí z Moravy. *Folia numismatica* 31, 2017, 125–146.

Gohl 1907 – Ö. Gohl: A szalacskai kelta pénzverő és bronzöntő műhely. *Numizmatikai Közlöny* 6, 1907, 47–64.

Göbl 1973 – R. Göbl: *Ostkeltischer Typen-Atlas*. Braunschweig 1973.

Jandrasits 2003 – H. Jandrasits: Keltische Münzgewichte und Tierfiguren mit möglicher Gewichtsfunktion aus Österreich. *Römisches Österreich* 26, 2003, 75–84.

Kolníková 2012 – E. Kolníková: *Němčice. Ein Macht-, Industrie- und Handelszentrum der Latènezeit in Mähren und Siedlungen am ihren Rande. Kommentierter Fundkatalog. Münzen*. Spisy Archeologického ústavu AV ČR Brno 43. Brno 2012.

Militký 2011–2012 – J. Militký: Keltské mince z areálu obchodně-produkčního centra v Němčicích nad Hanou (okr. Prostějov). *Numismatický sborník* 26, 2011–2012, 163–178.

Militký 2016 – J. Militký: Neobvyklé typy zlatých keltských mincí ze skupiny Athéna Alkidemos. *Numismatický sborník* 30, 2016, 139–156.

Militký 2018 – J. Militký: *Keltské mincovnictví ve 3. a 2. století před Kristem v Čechách*. Praha 2018.

Paulsen 1933 – R. Paulsen: *Die Münzprägung der Boier*. Wien – Leipzig 1933.

Pink 1958 – K. Pink: Die keltischen Münzen vom Magdalensberg. *Carinthia I*, 148, 1958, 130–144.

Venclová 2016 – N. Venclová: *Němčice and Staré Hradisko. Iron Age glass and glass-working in Central Europe*. Praha 2016.

Zachar 1974 – L. Zachar: Datovanie pošiev keltských mečov z Drne a Košíc. *Zborník SNM* 68. *História* 14, 1974, 55–80.

Zachar 1987 – L. Zachar: *Keltské umenie na Slovensku*. Bratislava 1987.

Manuscript accepted 5. 7. 2021

Translated by Magdalena Adamus and Zbyšek Šustek

Ing. Július Fröhlich
Česká archeologická společnost
CZ – 252 28 Černošice
julius.frohlich@gmail.com

SLOVENSKÁ ARCHEOLÓGIA – SUPPLEMENTUM 2
Z. Robak/M. Ruttkay (eds.): Celts – Germans – Slavs.
A Tribute Anthology to Karol Pieta. Nitra 2021, 45–55.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.31577/slovarch.2021.suppl.2.4

THE LA TÈNE GRAVE AND OTHER EVIDENCE OF LTB–D1 SETTLEMENT IN MIKULOVICE, PARDUBICE DISTRICT

TEREZA JOŠKOVÁ – VÍT VOKOLEK – PAVEL SANKOT[1]

The paper presents a comprehensive evaluation of the still largely unattended activities from the La Tène period at the major polycultural site in Mikulovice, Pardubice distr., Czech Republic. The site is known mainly for rich finds of grave gifts from the Early Bronze Age and also for its extensive settlement activities in HA2–LTA. Thanks to the rescue excavations prior to the construction of residential houses in recent decades, the situation and artefacts of the course of LTB–D1 have been captured. The main axis of the paper is the analysis and evaluation of the find of the solitary La Tène inhumation grave. On this basis, it addresses the issues of possible links and contacts between the eastern Bohemian region and the Moravian area. The topic of settlement activities in Mikulovice during the younger period of the Iron Age is further addressed by analysing the pottery and evaluating several captured residential situations.

Keywords: Eastern Bohemia, La Tène civilisation, settlement, isolated grave.

INTRODUCTION

The polycultural site Mikulovice, Pardubice district, has been an object of archaeological interest since the 19th c. (most recently in *Hlava/Frolík 2020*), and it is famous especially for its exceptional finds from the Early Bronze Age (collectively in *Ernée/Langová 2020*) and from the late Hallstatt period to the early times of La Tène (*Jošková 2020*; *Sedláček/Sankot 2013*). However, an unexpected discovery of an inhumation grave in 2009 indicated unforeseen activities during the La Tène period itself. Owing to the recent rescue excavation, other small residential situations and finds have been captured; they can be dated to LTB–D1 stages (Fig. 1). Although these finds are unique so far, in relation to the previous development from HD–LTA, by their nature they help significantly in the research of the La Tène activities in the Pardubice region. The following paper aims to evaluate and bring into the overall context all activities from the La Tène period in Mikulovice.

THE NATURE OF THE SITE AND THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE EXCAVATIONS

Mikulovice is situated on a gravel river terrace of the Chrudimka river, which is covered by loess drifts or gravel sand (*Demek/Mackovčin 2006*). The altitude ranges most frequently from 240 to 252 m a.s.l., with a significant strategic landmark in the form of the Mikulovice hill, 275.2 m a.s.l. The area is part of a fairly fertile area of the eastern Elbe basin and from a geomorphological point of view it belongs to the Heřmanoměstská tabule (Heřmanův Městec Shield; *Jančák/Hrnčiarová/Mackovčin 2009*, 66, 67, 122–125).

A detailed overview of the existing archaeological activities on the site is described in a recently issued publication (*Hlava/Frolík 2020*, 24–32), along with a list of all of its cultural components from the Neolithic to the beginning of the Migration Period (*Jošková/Langová/Jílek 2020*). The paper presents the latest findings from the excavations (*Frolík/Sedláček/Švédová 2010; Sedláček 2007; Sedláček et al. 2009; Sedláček/Švédová 2011; Zavoral 2015* and further literature) conducted by the East Bohemian Museum in Pardubice since 2006.[2]

THE DISCOVERY OF THE INHUMATION GRAVE

An isolated inhumation grave, marked as feature 2094, was examined on parcel no. 241/62, in the location called 'V loučkách' at the end of June and in early July 2009 (*Frolík/Sedláček/Švédová 2010*, 13).

[1] The participation of P. Sankot was financially supported by Ministry of Culture of the Czech Republic (DRKVO 2019-2023/17.II.c, National Museum, 00023272).

[2] The Institute of Archaeology of the Czech Academy of Sciences in Prague also significantly contributed to the research during the period 2006–2010; regional museums in Vysoké Mýto and Chrudim were also participating.

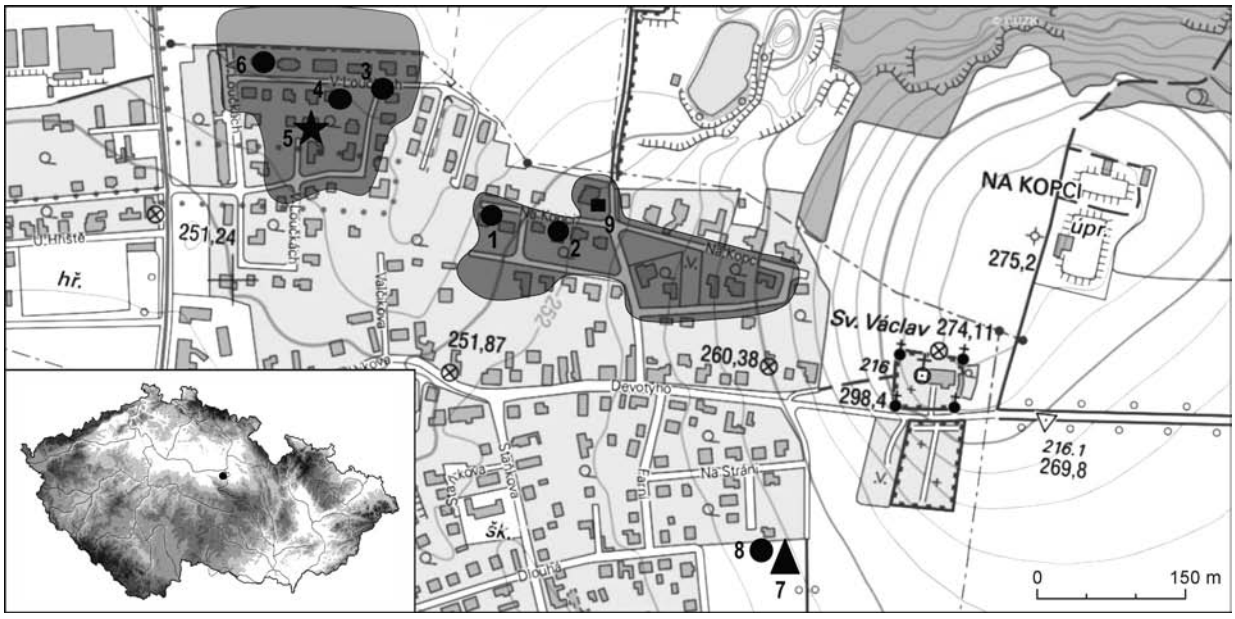


Fig. 1. Mikulovice, Pardubice distr. Site plan with marked La Tène activities. 1–4, 6–8 – small settlement finds; 5 – inhumation grave; 7 – sunken hut; 8 – early La Tène mask brooch. Legend: black – finds from the period LTB–D1; dark grey polygons – the extent of settlement in HD2–LTA (compiled by T. Jošková).

The finding situation

After cleaning, the top of the grave appeared to be an irregular rectangle with partially rounded angles, sized 287 x 134 cm, with its longer axis oriented in the NNE–SSW direction. At a depth of 20 cm, the grey-brown filling of the feature narrowed down to a rectangular space with maximum dimensions of 210 × 60 cm. The grey-brown clay filling, mixed with loess, reached the rounded bottom in the form of a step recess at a depth of 46 cm. The field plan also documents the traces of a wooden coffin. The buried individual's skeleton was in a normal, stretched supine position, with the head-to-north-north-east orientation with azimuth of 23 degrees (Fig. 2). The palm of the left hand was under the pelvis, with the palm of the right hand placed on the pelvis. The grave goods included an iron fibula, placed on the middle part of the chest, a bronze bracelet on the left hand and an iron ring left of the pelvis (*Jošková 2020*, 134, 135, fig. 55). The indication of an alleged find of an iron rivet beside the skull in the field plan of the grave could not be verified.

Evaluation of finds

The bronze bracelet with a rounded D-shaped cross-section 8 x 4 mm in size has an internal diameter of 60 mm (Fig. 2: 2). The bracelet has a smooth surface. Viewed from the side, its ends are thickened in a club-shaped form; viewed from the top, they are thickened in a seal-shaped form. The smooth-faced bronze bracelets, with differently thickened profiles, form a numerous series in the find pool from flat cemeteries already since the LTB1b–c stage (*Čižmář 1978*, 137; *Holodňák 1988*, 93, fig. 25; *Sedláčková/Waldhauser 1987*, fig. 41). Bronze rings with seal-shaped thickened ends, separated from the body by a knob, may be found in some substantially younger finds units, even from the period of LTB2b (*Mangel/Zavoral 2017*, 326). The shape of the Mikulovice bracelet corresponds to the display of the BR-A4-A type, classified by *J. Bujna* (*2005*, 17, fig. 3), in the typology of ring jewellery from flat cemeteries from Slovakia, representing an advanced form from the transition of the LTB1/LTB2 stages.

The younger dating is indicated by the shape of the iron fibula in the Mikulovice grave furnishing (Fig. 2: 1a). The iron fibula has a foot equipped with a massive knob, 18 mm in diameter, with an end leaning towards the bow with a half cuff. A part of the bow, preserved only at the winding, indicates the start of probably a high arched shape with an oval section. The extended winding has of 4 + 4 threads with a large diameter of 16 mm, the string is missing. Based on the X-ray image (Fig. 2: 1b), captured by J. Hošek,[3] the entire winding is filled

[3] Data for X-ray computed tomography (CT) was performed using a universal X-ray system X-Test (provided with a 200 μm resolution detector) employing a primary X-ray generator (COMET MXR-225HP/11 set at max. voltage 225 kV, max. power 800 W and 0.4 mm focal spot).

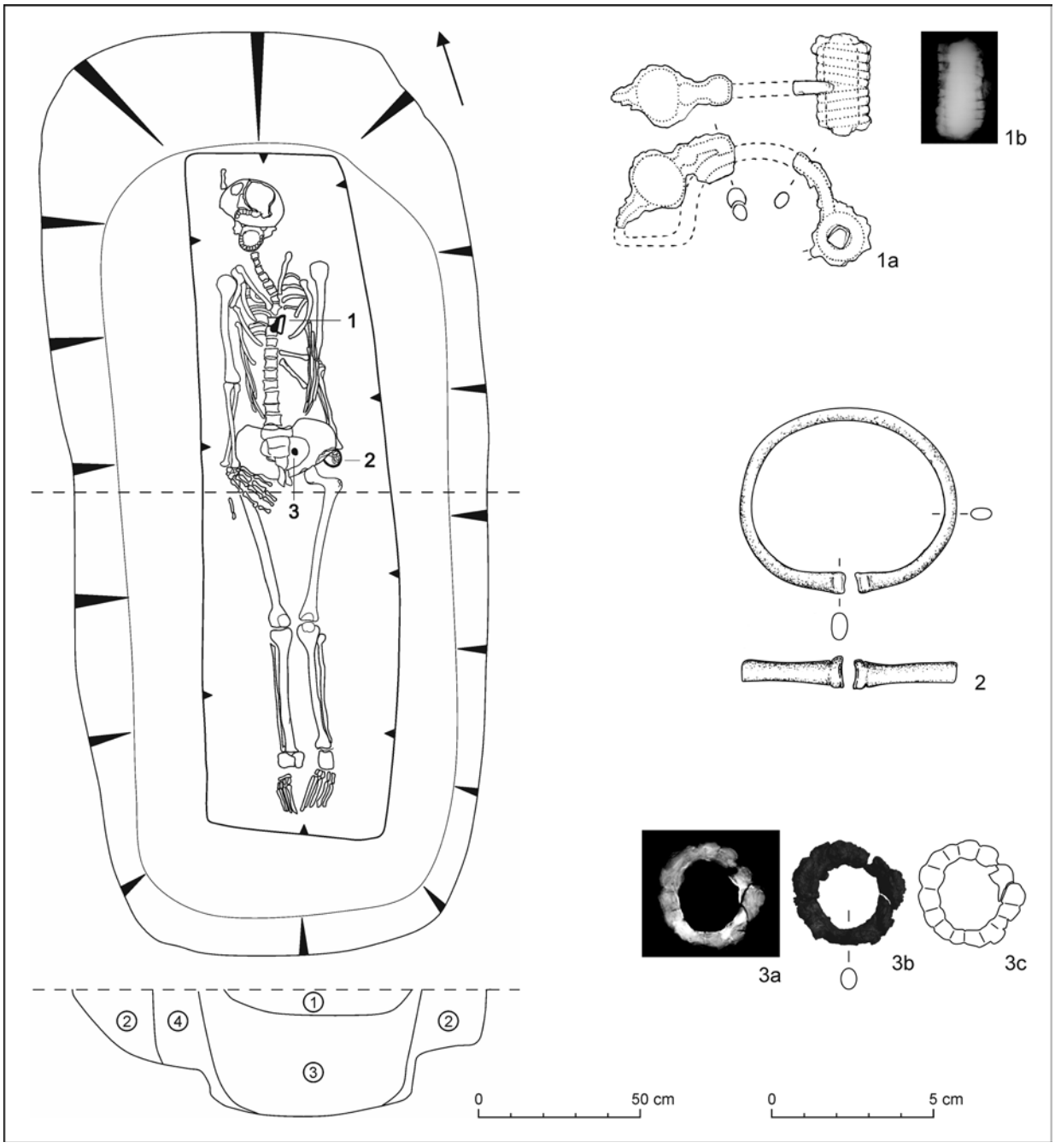


Fig. 2. Mikulovice, Pardubice distr. La Tène inhumation grave (feature 2094) with equipment. 1 – iron fibula (b – X-ray image of its winding); 2 – bronze bracelet; 3 – iron ring (a – X-ray image, b – today surface, c – interpretation). The layers of the grave profile correspond to the description in the text (drawing 1a – M. Černý; 2, 3c – T. Jošková; digitization T. Jošková; X-ray images by I. Nacherová and J. Hošek).

with a massive iron axis, 10 mm in diameter, with tapered ends. The assumed length of the fibula should be 72 mm. In the detailed typology of iron fibulas from Slovakia, it corresponds to the EF-C9-A shape, which represents the leading type of the groups 6, 7 (*Bujna 2003*, 72, fig. 47A). Chronologically, group 6 belongs to the LTB2b stage (*Bujna 2003*, 99).

The iron ring has an external diameter of 34 × 31 mm. X-ray images (Fig. 2: 3) captured by I. Nacherová display details of its shape, made of knobs, each 6.4 mm in diameter.[4] The range of

[4] In the conservation laboratory of the Central Bohemian Museum in Roztoky, Prague, using the Eresco 42 industrial X-ray unit at 90 kV, 2 mA and 100 kV, 1.5 mA.

analogous shapes of rings with a knobs body can be observed in the find pool from La Tène cemeteries from the Moravian area. *J. Čižmářová* (*2009*, 79, pl. 30: 7) shows an iron ring with a knobs structured surface, 35 mm in diameter, from the cemetery in Holubice – 'Dílce', Vyškov distr. Another one comes from the LTB2a stage grave in Mostkovice 1, 'Za hřbitovem' site (*Čižmářová 2017*, 178, pl. 62: 11). Yet another 27 × 24 mm diameter bronze ring with knobs along its perimeter can be found in a richly equipped female grave K 800 on the cemetery in Hrušky, Vyškov distr. (*Čižmářová 2013*, 127, pl. 20: 13). It is probably not accidental that an iron ring with a 30 mm diameter, with knobs along the perimeter was also identified in Bohemia among the more recent finds of the grave goods from the grave 122/2010, cemetery in Bašť, Praha-východ district, along with weapons and iron fibulas from the end of the LTB2 stage, known from the Danube basin area (*Pecinovská/Baloun/Sankot 2014*, 753, 759, fig. 6: B: 3).

From the point of view of social interpretation, the grave from Mikulovice, equipped with one bronze bracelet, can be assigned to garniture 400, as defined by *J. Waldhauser* (*1987*, 39, fig. 5), which is associated with the burials of young to adult women. In the case of graves equipped with a single bronze bracelet, which, in the 410 garniture variant, contains one or two fibulas as well as one or more objects in addition to one bracelet, which is also the case of the Mikulovice grave, the original definition of this garniture by *J. Waldhauser* (*1978 II*, 152, pl. 58; *1979*, 56, pl. 4) allows also the possibility of being identified as the equipment of a male grave. This is also in line with the conclusion of the anthropological assessment of the grave of Mikulovice, which identifies the buried individual as a man of the adultus I–II age group, within the range of 25–40 years of age (*Stránská 2016*).

Assessment of the location and layout of the grave

In the middle section of the grave filling profile, there is a more or less horizontal layer 1 (deep black clay fill)[5] stretching from the level of the overburden to the depth of about 10 cm. Layer 1 covers the grey-brown clay layer 3, which fills the grave pit as far as the curved bottom of the grave. At the interpretation level, this form of the profile appears to reflect a 58 cm wide wooden coffin with a rounded bottom, gouged from a tree trunk(?) and covered with a plate on the top. A similar image of the profile of a wooden coffin, with a similar width of 50–55 cm, with a rounded bottom, gouged from a tree trunk and covered from the top with a horizontal plate, is known from the grave 18 from the burial grounds in Blučina, Brno-venkov district (*Čižmářová 2011*, 105, pl. 14: 3). The eastern Bohemian example of the use of a wooden sarcophagus with a rounded bottom, which was gouged from a tree trunk, including an observable part of the originally undoubtedly horizontal sarcophagus lid, is the find of the grave in Chrudim (*Mangel/Danielisová/Jílek 2013*, fig. 32: 1; *Musil 2008*, 50, fig. 4).

Similar to the profile of the pit of grave 12 from Radovesice I (*Waldhauser 1987*, fig. 7), the profile of the Mikulovice grave pit also clearly shows another coloured layer 4, attached from the western side to the contour of the sarcophagus. It cannot be excluded that this may be a result of the lateral sealing. According to *J. Waldhauser* (*1987*, 51), the use of wooden sarcophagi can be observed throughout the Bohemian-Moravian-Silesian area, taking into account the quality of recent research, in particular. On the recently examined burial grounds in Vliněves, Mělník district, the layout of graves with a wooden coffin or another structure was identified in graves with all types of grave equipements (*Limburský et al. 2015*, 227, tab. 2).

Even with recent excavation of Bohemian La Tène cemeteries, the layout of the grave pit with a perimeter step, running around the central part of the Mikulovice grave pit, remains unique. This circumferential step is 25–45 cm wide here. On the other hand, various forms of this grave architecture, with different grave pit layouts from the standard shape, can be found in the La Tène cemeteries on the territory of Moravia, again mostly with the evidence of a wooden coffin. We can mention the shape of the grave 20 on the cemetery in Blučina 3 – 'Konopné zahrádky', Brno-venkov district (*Čižmářová 2011*, 106, pl. 15: 2). Similarly, it is found in the grave on the cemetery in Žatčany, Brno-venkov district (*Čižmářová 2011*, pl. 20: 3), furthermore grave 13 on the cemetery in Lovčičky 1 – 'Strážce', Vyškov district (*Čižmářová 2013*, pl. 70: 2) or graves 41 and 51 on the cemetery in Hulín – 'U Isidorka', Kroměříž district (*Čižmářová 2017*, pl. 85: 2; 86: 2).

The documentation of the cemetery in Hustopeče 2 – 'Šibenky', Břeclav district (*Čižmářová 2019*, 139–159, pl. 45–56), presents a whole range of layouts of the bottom of the grave, where almost half of the burials is recorded in the eccentric position, which created space for a wide circumferential step or free area. The finding situation of the grave

[5] Layer 2 was mix clay with loess (grave backfill).

K 813 at Hustopeče 2 – 'Šibenky' and K 571 at the Pavlov 2 – 'Horní pole I' cemetery provides an explanation of the possible function of these peripheral steps to locate part of the grave goods (*Čižmářová 2019*, 280, pl. 59: 2) or offerings (*Čižmářová 2019*, 144, pl. 46: 5).

The skeleton in the Mikulovice grave was oriented with its head toward the north-north-east. In addition to some regions of Switzerland and Bavaria, the orientation of the skeleton with its head toward the north is typically dominant in Bohemia and the neighbouring Moravia and Silesia regions (*Lorenz 1978*, 71). The north-south to northeast-southwest direction of the grave axis is also most frequent in the nearest area of the La Tène cemeteries in the upper Elbe basin area (*Mangel 2009*, 31).

In addition to the chronological classification, the grave from Mikulovice raises, in particular, the question of its isolated position on the site (Fig. 1: 5). Due to the fact that the La Tène cemeteries were established near the existing settlements also in the eastern Bohemian region (*Mangel 2009*, 44–49), the entirely isolated placement of the grave in Mikulovice in the whole surveyed area is another prominent property of this feature. The conducted advance surveys confirm the absence of other graves in the entire surrounding area of more than 14,700 m^2 (with a wider area up to 42,000 m^2). The completely intact condition of feature 2094 helps eliminate the possibility of any traces of deliberate destruction rites of graves. There is a possible link with the 35 m distant feature 1942/2009 of a storage pit on parcel 241/56 (Fig. 1: 4), defined as part of the settlement component with a theoretical possibility of similar dating as the above studied grave. Alternatively, there were other small pottery finds on the site that can be dated to LTB–C1 (Fig. 1), which are addressed below.

Professional reasons cannot be excluded, either – in accordance with the example of the 'Sklářské údolí' location near Prášily, Klatovy district (*Dreslerová et al. 2019*), with an isolated position of separate settlement units with an extremely low degree of identification by contemporary archaeological methods. Another possibility of deliberately isolated placement of the grave with the burial of a socially sanctioned individual cannot be excluded. Such a practice has been recently identified, for example, in an isolated group of graves at the cemetery in Hostivice, Praha-západ district; the graves are located several dozen meters from the standard cemetery. This isolated group of graves includes burials of individuals with a possible physical handicap, as well as individuals of exogenous nature, including an inhumation grave of a man aged 35–50 with a stone lining of the grave pit, equipped only with a collection of pottery typical for the Moravian region (*Klementová/Sankot 2020*, 247, 248, fig. 2; 3: 2; 6: 1, 2).

The Mikulovice grave in time and space

In addition to the analogies of the metal belt ring equipment, the relationship between the grave in Mikulovice and in some flat cemeteries in the Moravian region in the form of a grave pit with a significant peripheral step was discussed. This corresponds to the Moravian analogies and it is probably also associated with the ritual practices of one certain community representing the La Tène culture. In the Chrudim-Pardubice region, the relationship between the La Tène civilization representatives and the areas lying east of Bohemia is also marked by the oldest flat grave in Chrudim, with the element of the funeral rite typical specifically of the areas east of Bohemia, starting with Moravia. Namely, it is the presence of a bone of a lower extremity of a swine, identified among the bone finds from the respective grave (*Musil 2008*, 52).

According to the conclusions of *J. Waldhauser* (*1988*, 65, 66), the regions in the western part of eastern Bohemia, in the Mrlina and upper Cidlina river basins 'tended more toward central Bohemia'. According to this author (*Waldhauser 1988*, 65), the onset of the phenomenon of the La Tène flat cemeteries in the mentioned region can be dated already to LTB1b, whereas the La Tène settlement with flat cemeteries in the eastern upper Elbe basin area, according to *T. Mangel* (*2009*, 39), can be questionably dated to the end of the LTB1b–c stage, and with certainty from the LTB2a stage. On the other hand, the southern situated concentration of La Tène cemeteries in the Chrudim area, subsequently extending to the Pardubice area, starts already in the LTB1b–c (*Mangel/Zavoral 2017*, 327).

Due to the geographical location of the Chrudim-Pardubice region, the cultural influence of the Moravian region is not surprising. Contacts between the eastern Bohemian and Moravian regions in the La Tène period were already recognized by *J. Waldhauser* (*1988*, 67) and *V. Vokolek* (*1993*, 79); the links of some of the eastern Bohemian finds were traced in this direction, as far as the Carpathian Basin (*Sankot 1991*). These contacts are also illustrated by the map of spreading of ritual manifestations, deposition of pottery, presence of animal bones and scissors, typical of the funeral rite in the areas of the Carpathian Basin, Moravia and Silesia, with the subsequent expansion to the La Tène flat cemeteries, particularly in the area of eastern Bohemia (*Waldhauser 1987*, fig. 9). The work of *T. Mangel* and

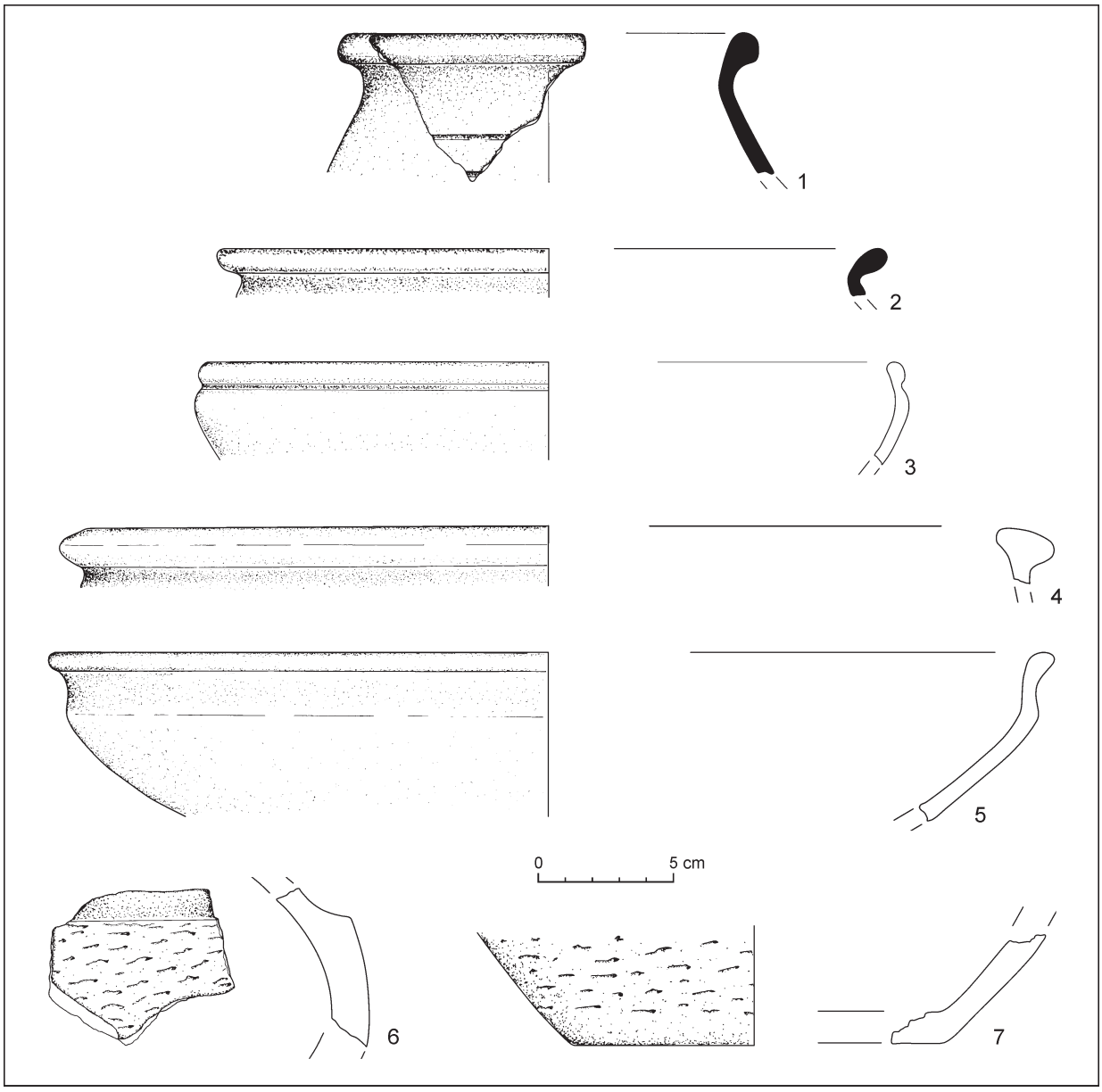


Fig. 3. Mikulovice, Pardubice distr. Typical fragments of pottery from LTB–D1 period. 1 –feature 1/2016b; 2 – feature 252/07; 3, 5 – feature 1942/2009; 4 – feature 175/07; 6 –feature 41/08; 7 – surface finds. Legend: black – fine pottery (drawing T. Jošková).

T. Jošková (*2019*) brings the latest complete treatment of data on the pool of finds of La Tène components with the manifestations of the burial rite, providing evidence of contacts of the eastern Bohemian region with the Moravian area and other areas of the La Tène settlement in the south-east neighbourhood throughout the periods of La Tène culture from the LTB stage up until the LTD1 stage. It is not surprising that the new excavations, such as in the case of the isolated grave from the LTB2b stage in Mikulovice, provide, as far as possible, additional data on the representatives of the La Tène civilization in the Chrudim-Pardubice region, where other common features with the Moravian region in the grave goods and layouts of graves cannot be overlooked. These include the presence of animal bones in the grave goods, so far known by the first indication in the grave in Chrudim from the LTB1b–c stage (*Musil 2008*, 52). In this context, the grave in Mikulovice can be seen as another example of a grave unit with elements of grave goods and funeral rite typical of the areas east of Bohemia, the onset of which, according to the example of the grave in Chrudim, with the evidence of meat offerings, can be linked to the process of establishing a local group of La Tène flat cemeteries.

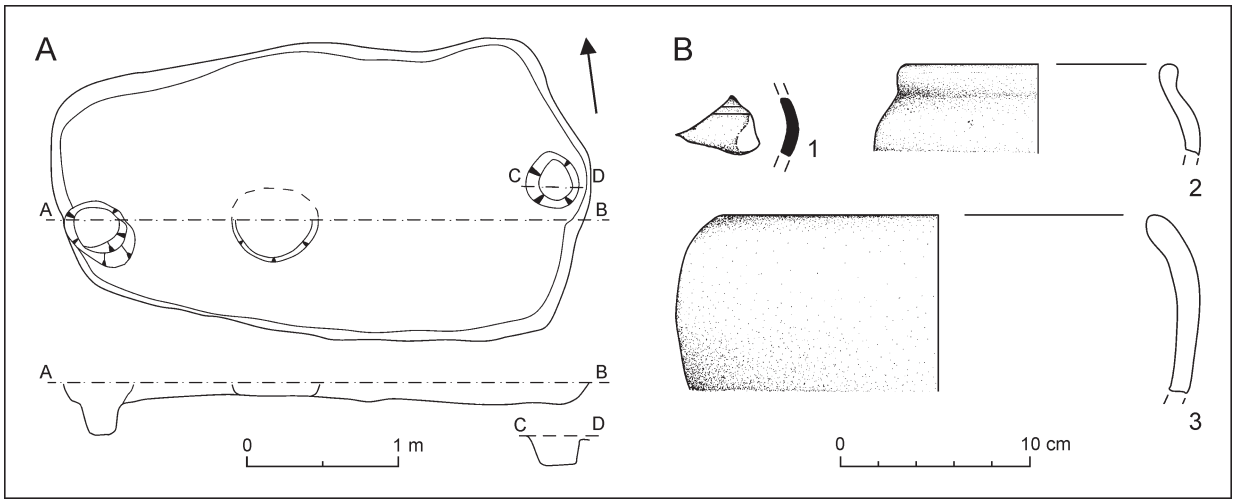


Fig. 4. Mikulovice, Pardubice distr. A – La Tène sunken hut on the parcel no. 26/3; B – pottery finds. Legend: black – fine pottery (drawing and digitization T. Jošková).

EVIDENCE OF THE SETTLEMENT COMPONENT FROM THE LTB–D1 PERIOD

The question of the chronological and spatial link between the above-mentioned inhumation grave and the prospective settlement may be partially resolved by several relatively recently discovered settlement situations and artefacts. However, for most of the features, which involved La Tène pottery (sherds), dating to the younger part of the Iron Age is not conclusively proven. This is due to the intensive polycultural settlement at the site with frequent intrusions. Only typical fragments of La Tène vessels are shown (Fig. 3; 4: B).

Description and evaluation of archaeological situations

The clearly La Tène situations include feature 1/2016a from the rescue excavation on parcel no. 26/3 in 2016 (Fig. 1: 7). The shape was trapezoid with oval corners and angled walls, transitioning into a flat bottom. There were three post-holes inside. The feature had an east-west orientation (Fig. 4). The filling contained the total of 13 fragments of pottery,[6] a stone and a lump of daub.

In formal terms, it is a typical La Tène sunken hut with two opposing posts in the centres of the shorter sides. Here, in the approximate centre of the axis (about 2/3 length), there was an additional, probably support post (Fig. 4: A). Dimensions of feature 1/2016a were not large (max. 346 x 298 cm, depth 8.3–15 cm), however, they are not different from standard dimensions of other sunken huts (cf. *Danielisová et al. 2018*, 132, fig. 8). With the area of 10.3 m^2 it is closer to the lower average (*Venclová 2008*, 46, 47).

According to the classification by *J. Meduna* (*1980*, 54), it is the A-2a type, which is distinguished from the A-1 type by adding more posts along the approximate axis. Using the classification based on the system defined by *J. Waldhauser* (*1993*, 347–380, fig. 12),[7] the feature would fall into group 120. Analogous types of sunken structures are known from the Bohemian and Moravia. Since this type of construction was used throughout the whole La Tène period (e.g. Radovesice LTA–B: *Waldhauser 1993*, 347–380; Tuchlovice II LTB2: *Šneidrová 1955*; Ohrozim LTC2–D1: *Čižmář 2015*, 439, 440), it is impossible to provide closer chronological determination on this basis (cf. *Danielisová et al. 2018*, 132, 133, fig. 8).[8] Apart from a small collection of pottery fragments (29 items in total), no other objects or structural

[6] 16 other fragments came from the surface collection at the site of the sunken hut, including a fragment of a belly of turned fine pottery with embellishment (Fig. 4: 1); further, 5 graphite sherds from bodies, 2 fragments of a bowl(?), which can be attached together; 2 fragments of semi-coarse sand pottery; 8 fragments of bellies of micaceous pottery (probably from a single vessel).

[7] The partially underground features, 'sunken huts', of the La Tène period are further addressed by *K. Motyková-Šneidrová* (*1960*), or more recently in the Bachelor's thesis by *J. Hricáková* (*2007*).

[8] These types of structures were already present at the end of the Hallstatt period and persisted until the earlier stage of the Egg B2 stage of the Roman period (*Hricáková 2007*, 25).

elements were found to aid better specification of the function of the feature. It is standard to assume residential or production purpose for these types of settlement situations (*Šnajdrová 1955*, 199–202; *Venclová 2001*, 43).

With reservations, it is possible to include feature 1/2016b (Fig. 1: 8) of a circular shape and rounded bottom, found in parcel no. 26/2 (Veselý 2021), to the La Tène period as well. It can be assumed from the absence of culturally different archaeological situations in its surroundings as well as the proximity of the sunken hut 1/2016a. It is a larger post hole (diameter 71.5 cm, depth 105.7 cm), which was probably part of an unpreserved (or unrecorded) overhead structure. The size of the hole does not differ from typical situations in other settlements of the La Tène time (cf. *Venclová 1998*, 49–79). Several non-diagnostic pottery fragments were found in the filling, which can be classified as the La Tène or Silesian-Platěnice culture. The only exception is the fragment (Fig. 3: 1) obtained from the bottom layer, which originates from the upper part of a bottle or cup made of fine material, turned on the wheel, with embellishment.

Dating of the other settlement situations in Mikulovice to the La Tène period is uncertain due to the number of other, culturally different finds in the filling. It is a storage pit, feature 175/2007, in the 'Pod Kostelem' location (Fig. 1: 1) with a relatively regular circular shape and slightly curved walls. A fragment of ledged rim edge was found in the filling (Fig. 3: 4); in addition, there were fragments dating to the Únětice culture, as well as HAB–D1 and HD2–LTA. In the same location (Fig. 1: 2), there was a pit with an irregular layout – feature 252/2008. In addition to the share of fragments from HD2–LTA and from the Urnfield culture period, there was also a fragment of a bowl or goblet from fine pottery (Fig. 3: 2).

Other finds were excavated at the 'V Loučkách' site. A fragment of a bipartite pots with grated surface (Fig. 3: 6) comes from a simple, oval-shaped hole (feature 41/2008; Fig. 1: 3). In addition, fragments of vessels dating to the Urnfield culture were found in the filling. A regular round object, feature 1942/2009 (diam. 110 cm, preserved depth max. 69.5 cm; Fig. 1: 4) was situated in the vicinity of the La Tène grave 2094. Based on the slightly curved walls passing into an almost flat bottom, it can be interpreted as a storage pit. The filling was rather mixed and contained pottery of the Únětice culture, Urnfield culture, HD2–LTA and the Roman period, as well as a few fragments of burned La Tène bowls (Fig. 3: 3, 5).

Analysis of pottery fragments

Apart from the numerous finds from LTA (*Jošková 2020*, 130–131), chronologically the oldest pottery finds are the fragments of bowls from feature 1942/2009 (Fig. 1: 3). In both cases, they are slightly burned bowls of fine sand pottery. One of them has a slightly curved profile (Fig. 3: 5); another one has fluting under its lip (Fig. 3: 3). Based on the analogies from other cemeteries (Kloboučky, Vyškov district; *Čižmářová 2013*, pl. 21: 12, 13) as well as settlements, these can be dated to LTB, or LTB2–C1 (*Salač/Kubálek 2015*, 54, fig. 24; *Venclová 1998*, 158). The bowl fragment, with fluting under the lip finds its closest analogy in the burial grounds in Hořenice, Náchod district, to be generally dated to LTB2 (*Mangel 2009*, 39, pl. 20: 2).

The goblet/bottle fragment of fine pottery with a thickened rim (Fig. 3: 1)[9] from feature 1/2016b could also be dated to LTB2–C1/2 due to its embellishment with engraved lines and the profile of the lip. Similar shapes are known from cemetery (e.g. Vliněves; *Limburský et al. 2015*, fig. 11: 3). Only very few fragments were found in the filling of the sunken hut 1/2016a. Their fractional nature and the absence of other chronologically diagnostic artefacts make more accurate dating impossible. Both in the case of a neckless bowl with rounded profile (Fig. 4: 3), and the fragment of wheel turned fine pottery with an incised line (Fig. 4: 1) can be placed within a wide range of the LTB–D1 stages. The same applies to the fragment of a S-profiledpot with curved neck with a slightly curved neck (Fig. 4: 2), although these variants are most often dated to LTB–C1 (*Venclová 2001*, 49; *Venclová et al. 2008*, 192).

A fragment of the ledged rim can be considered chronologically younger (Fig. 3: 4), found in the storage pit in the 'Pod Kostelem' site (Fig. 1: 1). These types of rims are generally associated with the oppidum of the LTC2–D1 stages and they are known directly from the oppida (*Danielisová 2010*, 99, 104) or lowland settlements (*Wilczek 2014*, pl. 7: 12; 13: 11) as well as the rectangular enclosures (*Jošková 2016*, 107, 123). We can apply the same dating to the bipartite pots with grated surface from feature 41/08 (Fig. 1: 3; 3: 6) and from the surface collection in 2010 (Fig. 1: 6; 3: 7).[10] This type of surface treatment is most often associated with LTC2–D1, with the beginnings on LTC1 (*Venclová 1998*, 160; *2001*, 30–32).

[9] Due to the small size, it is not possible to establish clearly whether it is a goblet or a bottle (bottle: diam. of the neck ≤ max. 1/2 diam. of the belly; cup: max. diam. is equal or slightly exceeds the diam. of the mouth; according to *Venclová 1998*, 84, 85).

[10] In the collection (apart from BB, BC–HD1 and HD2–LTA sherds), there were four other small fragments of bellies of fine sand pottery, with polished finish and sandwich firing effect, which can be dated to LTB–D1 by their nature.

The presented data confirm the existence of settlement activities in Mikulovice during the period LTB–C1. It is also evidenced by the nature of individual fragments, which can be placed directly into LTB2–C1 (Fig. 3: 1, 3, 5; 4: 2), or to a wide range LTB–D1 (Fig. 4: 1, 3). The presence of the settlement pottery from the respective period is important to complement the hitherto not well documented part of La Tène period in the Chrudim-Pardubice region (see *Thér/Mangel/Gregor 2015*). Due to the presence of a few fragments typical of LTC2–D1, we may assume that the activities could continue even during the younger stages of La Tène period.

The question of spatial relations with the La Tène grave 2094 has not yet been reliably resolved. The nearest demonstrably La Tène settlement feature – sunken hut (1/2016a) is located more than 600 m away. While some of the findings indicate the possibility of even closer settlement situations, the data do not yet provide a more accurate determination of the chronological-spatial links.

CONCLUSION

About 15 years ago, Mikulovice in the Pardubice district was known mainly for its rich cemetery from the Early Bronze Age, as a large settlement from the period HD2–LTA (Fig. 1), or for its Roman period activities. Subsequent settlements in the later periods of La Tène period were not documented here. In 2009, a male inhumation grave was excavated, whose affiliation to the Late Iron Age was undeniable. Based on the nature of the equipment it can be dated to the LTB2b stage. The context of placing of the deceased and the isolated location of the grave are also interesting. A coffin with a cover and a step projection were recorded (Fig. 2). Together with the iron ring with knobs (Fig. 2: 3), we may assume links with the south-eastern regions.

The chronological and spatial relationship with the pottery finds, identified at the site in the following years, is unclear. Typical pottery fragments are few, but the condition may be due to the poor detectability of the LTB–C1 pottery to some extent. The settlement features are mainly represented by the sunken hut (feature 1/2016a) at the southern edge of the village (Fig. 1: 7, 8; 4) and the nearby post hole (feature 1/2016b). Due to the presence of items of other cultures in the filling, the emergence and use of several other settlement features containing pottery from LTB–D1 cannot be clearly related to the Late Iron Age. Based on the analysis of the ceramic material, the settlement activities of the site can be already assumed in LTB2–C1. A few fragments indicate the possibility of activities in the LTC2–D1 period.

In contrast to the Mikulovice settlement during the HD2–LTA period (Fig. 1), the La Tène (LTB–D1) finds appear sporadic. However, based on the above data, it must be taken into account in the future. The southern edge of the village (Fig. 1: 7, 8) is interesting, as the ongoing settlement can be expected here. The findings are important to complement the picture of the Pardubice-Chrudim settlement region, especially during the LTB–C1 period, which is still not well known.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bujna 2003 – J. Bujna: Spony z keltských hrobov bez výzbroje z územia Slovenska. (Typovo-chronologické triedenie LTB- a C1-spôn.) *Slovenská archeológia* 51, 2003, 39–108.

Bujna 2005 – J. Bujna: *Kruhový šperk z laténskych ženských hrobov na Slovensku*. Nitra 2005.

Čižmář 1978 – M. Čižmář: Keltské pohřebiště v Makotřasích, okres Kladno. *Památky archeologické* 69, 1978, 117–144.

Čižmář 2015 – I. Čižmář: Pozdně laténská chata z Ohrozimi, okr. Prostějov. *Archeologické rozhledy* 67, 2015, 438–463.

Čižmářová 2009 – J. Čižmářová: *Keltská pohřebiště z Holubic a Křenovic*. Pravěk. Supplementum 19. Brno 2009.

Čižmářová 2011 – J. Čižmářová: *Keltská pohřebiště na Moravě. Okresy Brno-město a Brno-venkov*. Brno 2011.

Čižmářová 2013 – J. Čižmářová: *Keltská pohřebiště na Moravě. Okresy Blansko a Vyškov*. Brno 2013.

Čižmářová 2017 – J. Čižmářová: *Keltská pohřebiště na Moravě. Okresy Hodonín, Kroměříž, Olomouc, Opava, Prostějov, Přerov, Uherské Hradiště a Zlín*. Brno 2017.

Čižmářová 2019 – J. Čižmářová: *Keltská pohřebiště na Moravě. Okresy Břeclav a Znojmo*. Brno 2019.

Danielisová 2010 – A. Danielisová: *Oppidum České Lhotice a jeho sídelní zázemí*. Archeologické studijní materiály 17. Praha 2010.

Danielisová et al. 2018 – A. Danielisová/J. Kysela/T. Mangel/R. Kyselý/J. Militký: Iron Age site in Žehuň, Central Bohemia. An open settlement with central functions. *Památky archeologické* 109, 2018, 127–178.

Demek/Mackovčin 2006 – J. Demek/P. Mackovčin (eds.): *Hory a nížiny. Zeměpisný lexikon ČR*. Brno 2006.

Dreslerová et al. 2019 – D. Dreslerová/R. Kozáková/M. Metlička/V. Brychová/P. Bobek/ Č. Čišecký/A. Pokorná/ J. Michálek/B. Strouhalová: Human activity in the upper regions of the Šumava mountains during prehistory as reflected in archaeological and proxy data. Multidisciplinary research of the La Tène archaeological site in the Sklářské valley. *Fines Transire* 28, 2019, 187–199.

Ernée/Langová 2020 – M. Ernée/M. Langová (eds.): *Mikulovice. Pohřebiště starší doby bronzové na Jantarové stezce*. Památky archeologické. Supplementum 21. Praha 2020.

Frolík/Sedláček/Švédová 2010 – J. Frolík/R. Sedláček/J. Švédová: Pokračování záchranného archeologického výzkumu v Mikulovicích (okr. Pradubice) v roce 2009. *Zprávy České archeologické společnosti*. Supplément 78, 2010, 13, 14.

Hlava/Frolík 2020 – M. Hlava/J. Frolík: Z historie archeologického poznání. In: *Jošková/Langová/Jílek 2020*, 24–51.

Holodňák 1988 – P. Holodňák: Keltská pohřebiště ve středním Poohří. *Památky archeologické* 79, 1988, 38–105.

Hricáková 2007 – J. Hricáková: *Laténské polozemnice v Čechách*. Bakalářská práce. Ústav pro pravěk a ranou dobu dějinnou. Filozofická fakulta. Univerzita Karlova v Praze. Praha 2007. Online availabe on: http://hdl.handle.net/20.500.11956/13173

Jančák/Hrnčiarová/Mackovčin 2009 – V. Jančák/T. Hrnčiarová/P. Mackovčin: Geografická poloha. In: T. Hrnčiarová/P. Mackovčin/I. Zvara: *Atlas krajiny České republiky*. Praha 2009, 54–72.

Jošková 2016 – T. Jošková: *Valový objekt u Markvartic (okr. Jičín) ve světle analýz a archeologických poznatků*. Diplomová práce. Katedra archeologie. Filozofická fakulta. Univerzita v Hradci Králové. Hradec Králové 2016. Online availabe on: https://theses.cz/id/spqjf2/STAG85498.pdf

Jošková 2020 – T. Jošková: Když udeřilo železo… In: *Jošková/Langová/Jílek 2020*, 112–131.

Jošková/Langová/Jílek 2020 – T. Jošková/M. Langová/J. Jílek (eds.): *Mikulovice. Život na hraně*. Pardubice 2020.

Klementová/Sankot 2020 – J. Klementová/P. Sankot: Neue latènezeitliche Gräber in Hostivice, Landkreis Prag-West. In: I. Čižmář/H. Čižmářová/A. Humpolová (eds.): *Jantarová stezka v proměnách času*. Brno 2020, 245–257.

Limburský et al. 2015 – P. Limburský/P. Sankot/H. Březinová/J. Likovský: Laténské pohřebiště v pískovnách u Vliněvsi, okr. Mělník. *Památky archeologické* 106, 2015, 181–246.

Lorenz 1978 – H. Lorenz: Totenbrauchtum und Tracht. Untersuchungen zur regionalen Gliederung in der frühen Latènezeit. *Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission* 59, 1978, 1–380.

Mangel 2009 – T. Mangel: *Laténská pohřebiště v horním Polabí*. Hradec Králové 2009.

Mangel/Danielisová/Jílek 2013 – T. Mangel/A. Danielisová/J. Jílek: *Keltové ve východních Čechách*. Hradec Králové – Nasavrky – Pardubice 2013.

Mangel/Jošková 2019 – T. Mangel/T. Jošková: East Bohemian Finds of Belt Segments with a Central Knob and Sites Plates as Evidence of Interregional Contacts during the La Tène period. In: N. Beljak Pažinová/D. Repka (red.): *Sedem kruhov Jozefa Bujnu*. Studia Historica Nitriensia 23. Supplementum 2. Nitra 2019, 465–480. DOI: https://doi.org/10.17846/SHN.2019.23.S.465-480

Mangel/Zavoral 2017 – T. Mangel/T. Zavoral: Doklad laténského pohřbu z Duban, okr. Pardubice. *Archeologie ve středních Čechách* 21, 2017, 323–329.

Meduna 1980 – J. Meduna: *Die latènezeitlichen Siedlungen in Mähren*. Praha 1980.

Motyková-Šneidrová 1960 – K. Motyková-Šneidrová: Osídlení z mladší doby laténské, z doby římské a stěhování národů v Záluží u Čelákovic II. *Památky archeologické* 51, 1960, 161–183.

Musil 2008 – J. Musil: Nález laténského hrobu v Chrudimi v ulici Obce Ležáků. *Časopis společnosti přátel starožitností* 116, 2008, 50–54.

Pecinovská/Baloun/Sankot 2014 – M. Pecinovská/L. Baloun/P. Sankot: Laténské pohřebiště v Bašti, okr. Praha-východ. *Archeologie ve středních Čechách* 18, 2014, 745–766.

Salač/Kubálek 2015 – V. Salač/T. Kubálek: *Laténská sídlištní keramika v severozápadních Čechách*. Praha 2015.

Sankot 1991 – P. Sankot: Motifs zoomorphes dans l´art laténien de la Bohème au III^{e} siècle avant J.-C. In: *Etudes Celtiques* 28, 1991, 401–433. DOI: https://doi.org/10.3406/ecelt.1991.1970

Sedláček 2007 – R. Sedláček: Archeologický výzkum při výstavbě kolonie RD v Mikulovicích. *Zprávy České archeologické společnosti*. Supplément 68, 2007, 28.

Sedláček et al. 2009 – R. Sedláček/J. Frolík/J. Musil/J. Švédová: Nejnovější výzkumy na polykulturní lokalitě Mikulovice, okr. Pardubice. *Zprávy České archeologické společnosti*. Supplément 75, 2009, 19, 20.

Sedláček/Sankot 2013 – R. Sedláček/P. Sankot: Découverte d'une fibule à masque dans la structure no 8 de Mikulovice, district de Pardubice, Bohême de l'Est. In: S. Krausz/A. Colin/K. Gruel/I. Ralston/T. Dechezleprêtre (dir.): *L'Âge du Fer en Europe. Mélanges offerts à Olivier Buchsenschutz*. Ausonius éditions. Mémoires 32. Bordeaux 2013, 567–581.

Sedláček/Švédová 2011 – R. Sedláček/J. Švédová: Sezóna 2010 v Mikulovicích (okr. Pardubice). *Zprávy České archeologické společnosti*. Supplément 81, 2011, 11, 12.

Sedláčková/Waldhauser 1987 – H. Sedláčková/J. Waldhauser: Laténská pohřebiště ve středním Polabí, okr. Nymburk. *Památky archeologické* 78, 1987, 134–204.

Šneidrová 1955 – K. Šneidrová: Laténská osada u Tuchlovic na Novostrašecku. *Památky archeologické* 46, 1955, 185–206.

Stránská 2016 – P. Stránská: *Antropologický posudek č. 1151. Lokalita Mikulovice, okr. Pardubice*. Archiv AÚ AV ČR, č. P7A 43204. Praha 2016. Unpublished.

Thér/Mangel/Gregor 2015 – R. Thér/T. Mangel/M. Gregor: *Život hrnčíře začíná v LT A… Výroba keramiky v době laténské na Chrudimsku*. Červený Kostelec 2015.

Venclová 1998 – N. Venclová: *Mšecké Žehrovice in Bohemia. Archaeological Beckground to a Celtic Hero 3rd–2nd Cent. B.C.* Sceaux 1998.

Venclová 2001 – N. Venclová: *Výroba a sídla v době laténské. Projekt Loděnice*. Praha 2001.

Venclová 2008 – N. Venclová (ed.): *Archeologie pravěkých Čech 7. Doba laténská*. Praha 2008.

Venclová et al. 2008 – N. Venclová/V. Čulíková/D. Dreslerová/M. Gregorová/M. Hložek/L. Kovačiková/R. Kyselý/M. Malkovský/Fr. Marek/L. Peške/J. Zavřel: *Hutnický region Říčansko*. Praha 2008.

Veselý 2021 – J. Veselý: *Stručná nálezová zpráva ze záchranného archeologického výzkumu v Mikulovicích na parc.č. 26/2 – RD Koppová*. Nálezová zpráva č. j. VČM 402/2016. Archiv Východočeského muzea v Pardubicích. Pardubice 2021. Unpublished.

Vokolek 1993 – V. Vokolek: *Počátky osídlení východních Čech*. Hradec Králové 1993.

Waldhauser 1978 II – J. Waldhauser (ed.): *Das keltische Gräberfeld bei Jenišův Újezd in Böhmen. I. Band – Quellen und Gutachten. II. Band – Auswertung*. Archeologický výzkum v severních Čechách 6–7. Teplice 1978.

Waldhauser 1979 – J. Waldhauser: Konfrontation der anthropologischen und archäologischen Ermittlung von Männer-, Frauen- und Kindergräbern auf keltischen Nekropolen in Böhmen. *Anthropologie* 17, 1979, 55–62.

Waldhauser 1987 – J. Waldhauser: Keltische Gräberfelder in Böhmen. *Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission* 68, 1987, 25–179.

Waldhauser 1988 – J. Waldhauser: Keltská pohřebiště na Jičínsku. *Zpravodaj Krajského muzea východních Čech* 15, 1988, 56–76.

Waldhauser 1993 – J. Waldhauser et. al.: *Die hallstatt- und laténzeitliche Siedlung mit Gräberfeld bei Radovesice in Böhmen*. Archeologický výzkum v severních Čechách 21. Praha 1993.

Wilczek 2014 – J. Wilczek: Hrnčířské dílny ve Višňovém. *Pravěk. Nová řada* 22, 2014, 167–256.

Zavoral 2015 – T. Zavoral: *Záchranný archeologický výzkum – Mikulovice „Východ". Inženýrské sítě a komunikace pro RD*. Nálezová zpráva. Pardubice 2015. Archiv Východočeského muzea v Pardubicích, VČM 521/2014. Unpublished.

Manuscript accepted 6. 6. 2021

Translated by Martin Brňovják

Mgr. Tereza Jošková
Univerzita Hradec Králové
Rokitanského 62
CZ – 500 03 Hradec Králové
tereza.joskova@uhk.cz

PhDr. Pavel Sankot
Národní muzeum
Václavské náměstí 68
CZ – 115 79 Praha
pavel.sankot@nm.cz

PhDr. Vít Vokolek
Jindřišská 1757
CZ – 530 02 Pardubice

SLOVENSKÁ ARCHEOLÓGIA – SUPPLEMENTUM 2
Z. Robak/M. Ruttkay (eds.): Celts – Germans – Slavs.
A Tribute Anthology to Karol Pieta. Nitra 2021, 57–68.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.31577/slovarch.2021.suppl.2.5

FORTIFICATIONS FROM THE LATE IRON AGE IN THE REGIONS OF POHRONIE AND POIPLIE[1]

BRANISLAV KOVÁR

Fortified sites from the La Tène Period belong to the main research topics of Karol Pieta. He has contributed to their field excavations in the mountainous environment of Slovakia to a great extent. He also very intensely deals with their classification and dating. In the text, I try to apply his knowledge on the research of the fortified sites in the regions of the Hron and Ipeľ river basins and also confront them with the latest research. K. Pieta has distinguished several types of fortifications: hillfort, castella, small hillfort, refuge place, etc. Unlike other authors, he did not consider only the size of the fortified area, but also its use. Individual fortifications and enclosed areas might have had a practical function, social or symbolic meaning. K. Pieta promotes mainly the defensive and protective function of the fortified sites in the territory of Slovakia. There had to be real reasons and favourable conditions for existence of fortifications, as they were often large structures challenging as for work power and its organization, project with some experience as well as available sources of building material and strategical thinking of the authors. Nevertheless, he does not exclude possible central, commercial or sacral function of the fortified settlements. I have selected the regions of Pohronie and Poiplie in the analysis for three reasons – they are more or less complexly processed and their character allows application of results also for other parts of the north of the Carpathian Basin, maybe with the exception of the area of the Bratislava oppidum. The third characteristics of the chosen region which was the reason for selecting it as a 'model' is that it is partly a peripheral area of the La Tène settlement in the north of the Carpathian Basin, where two cultural areas meet – the La Tène and Púchov cultures. According to the current state of research, there are 26 fortified sites of different sizes and forms in the area.

Keywords: Slovakia, La Tène Period, fortifications, hillforts.

The topic of fortifications from the La Tène and other historical periods is one of the topics which celebrator Dr. Karol Pieta[2] deals with. He focused mainly on the research of montane settlement in the territory of Slovakia. Other areas studied by him included the mountainous parts of the Hron and Ipeľ river basins. He personally studied several fortifications there – not only from the Iron Age. He has also greatly contributed to the definition of fortified settlements from the late Iron Age. In the article (essay), I will focus on perception of fortifications from the Hron and Ipeľ river basins in the La Tène Period from the aspect of research and from K. Pieta's point of view.

We detect fortified or enclosed sites in Europe since the Neolithic (*Harding/Sievers/Venclová 2006*). This applies to the northern part of the Carpathian Basin as well. In the Iron Age, we observe exponential increase in the number of fortifications in Western Europe (*Romankiewicz et al. 2019*, 1). Unlike the neighbouring Czech Republic (*Salač ed. 2019*) or the British Isles (*Halliday 2018*, 37–51), there is no complex registry of hillforts for the territory of northern Carpathian Basin, therefore, we cannot confirm similar conclusions, although we can assume them. Fortifications occurred rather frequently in the La Tène Period in the regions of the Hron and Ipeľ river basins.

How should we define the concepts of fortified place, hillfort or fortification? Can refuges without fortifications be classified in these categories? Did *oppida* occur in the north of the Carpathian Basin? We have brief reports on fortifications from the Iron Age by antique authors, although none of them refers to the north of the Carpathian Basin. The famous Greek philosopher Herodotos mentions the town of Paréné (or Pyrene), which could be identified with the fortified settlement from the Early Iron Age – Heuneburg (*Herodotos* 2, 33). The note of Roman statesman Gaius I. Caesar on a Gallic wall – *murus gallicus* (*Caesar* 7, 23) is known as well. This description was also confirmed by archaeological excavations. *Murus gallicus* contains a massive box construction from alternating transversely and

[1] The text is written as part of projects VEGA 2/0124/20: Medieval economy (6th–13th centuries) and VEGA 01/0240/21: The landscape and settlements of the Celts and Germans. Mutual relations, relations in and with the landscape.

[2] I wish to express my sincere gratitude to Dr. Karol Pieta for all his advice and help on my archaeological journey.

longitudinally laid beams; the ends of transverse beams ended in the face of the stone wall. This type of defensive wall was common mainly in the west and in the Alpine territory, it met a different type of construction which was used especially in central Europe. Its foundations consisted of a row of vertical poles in the front defensive wall which were connected with the back line of poles (Altkönig/Priest) or with a rampart (Kelheim type) with horizontal woods. However, there are several variations of both construction elements (*Audouze/Buchsenschutz 1992*, 85–104; *Buchsenschutz/Ralston 1981*; *Collis/McLaren/Ralston 1976*; *Pieta 2008*, 110).

The topic of hillforts from the La Tène Period in the territory of Slovakia has been dealt with by several researchers. The Little Carpathian site of Pohanská in Plavecké Podhradie was studied by *J. Paulík* (*1976*), *K. Pieta* (*2008*, 112) and *R. Čambal* (*2015*). *A. Točík* (*1981*) and *G. Březinová* (*2010*; *2012*) studied La Tène fortifications at the polycultural site of Šurany-Nitriansky Hrádok-Zámeček. *P. Čaplovič* (*1987*) dealt with hillforts in Orava. *P. Šalkovský* studied and processed the site in Detva-Kalamárka (*Benediková/Kovár 2007*, 143–160; *Šalkovský 1994*; *2001*; *2002*). Fortifications in the region of Liptov were studied mainly by *M. Furman* (*2016*). K. Pieta scientifically studied several fortified sites from the Iron Age, in northern Slovakia in the environment of the Púchov culture (Liptovská Mara[3] I-Havránok, Kvačany-Hrádková, Nemecká-Hradisko, Horná Lehota-Hrádok, Trenčianske Bohuslavice-Malovecké, Folkušová-Havrania skala, Necpaly-Brotnice and others) as well as in southwestern Slovakia (Bratislava-Devín, Horné Orešany-Slepý vrch, Plavecké Podhradie-Pohanská; *Pieta 2008*; *2010*[4]). He investigated some sites in northern Slovakia together with L. Benediková (e.g. Liptovský Trnovec-Hrádok, Liptovské Matiašovce-Nad Konislavou, Liptovský Trnovec-Opálenica; *Benediková/Pieta 2018*, 147–196).[5]

DEFINITION OF A FORTIFIED AREA

Archaeological literature identifies fortified sites from the La Tène Period as hillforts (*hradisko* in Slovak) or small hillforts (*hrádok* in Slovak) and points mainly to their defensive and central function. It might be more accurate to call these areas 'enclosed or fortified areas', i.e. they are enclosed places which physically or conceptually delimit a certain area. Entrance in this area is limited and controlled. The place can be enclosed by a rampart, ditch, palisade or a fence. People might have used natural elements for enclosing – steep slopes, swamps or rivers. Therefore, archaeologists do not necessarily detect the 'enclosure' with their research methods (*Harding 2012*, 1–6).

In the Slovak archaeological investigation, the opinion is predominant that the hilly terrain of the Carpathian Basin is more than suitable for building fortifying structures (e.g. *Pieta 2008*, 110). Fortifications from the La Tène Period are often associated with mountainous terrain. Nevertheless, we must not forget that La Tène fortifications are not necessarily located on hills (*Harding 2012*, 1). The more frequent fortifications in the mountain environment in the territory of Slovakia might only reflect the state of research, not the historic reality. Building fortifications in the montane environment in the Late Iron Age can be preconditioned by the suitable terrain in Slovakia.

In his work dedicated to the La Tène settlements, J. Collis defined three types of settlement sites in Slovakia – settlements of the Zemplín type, hillforts and open settlements (*Collis 1975*, 70–73). Besides the eponymous site (Zemplín-Hrádok) studied by *B. Benadik* (*1965*), *V. Budinský-Krička*, *E. Miroššayová* (*2019*)[6], D. Čaplovič (*Miroššayová/Čaplovič 1991*), L. Luštiková (*Luštíková/Miroššayová 2009*) and *M. Ruttkay (in press*), he classified a combination of a fortified site with an unfortified settlement (settlements) nearby in the same type, such as Bratislava-Devín (*Pieta/Plachá/Hlavicová 1986*; *Plachá 1972*; *1991*) and Nitra (*Bednár/Březinová/Ptáčková 2005; Březinová/Chropovský 2020*). J. Collis also distinguished the category of hillforts, where he includes mainly the fortified sites from the Púchov culture environment as well as the La Tène site of Šurany-Nitriansky Hrádok-Zámeček, further to the south. The last category in his classification contained open settlements where he included e.g. the area of Bratislava (*Collis 1975*, 70–73). Collis's typology was influenced by the then state of research. For instance, it is questionable to what extent the *oppidum* in Bratislava can be classified among open settlements. We don't have a lot of information about open settlements[7] of the Němčice-Roseldorf type in the north of the Carpathian Basin (*Čižmář/Kolníková 2006*; *Čižmář/Kolníková/Noeske 2008*; *Salač 2005*, 290–292), but we

[3] And other sites here – Liptovská Mara II–VII.

[4] See more literature there.

[5] I wish to thank my colleague L. Benediková for consultations regarding this text.

[6] You can find more literature about hillfort from Zemplín here.

[7] *G. Březinová* (*2006*) processed open settlement from Slovakia.

can consider that archaeological locations from Nitra-Zobor (Šindolka, Martinský vrch), Nitra-Chrenová (II, III), Nitra-Mikov Dvor (Rozvodňa elektriny) have features this type (*Březinová 2000*; *Březinová/Chropovský 2020*).

Z. Smrž considers only division of upland sites into hillforts, i.e. sites with man-made fortification, and upland settlements which must have natural protection from three sides at least (*Smrž 1991*, 63).

D. Harding divided fortified (or rather enclosed) sites in a simpler way, i.e. by their size – *oppida*, large, medium and small hillforts. He classified sites of 1–30 ha among large hillforts. *Oppida* were spreading over areas larger than 30 ha (*Harding 2012*, 8, 9).

K. Pieta understood the concepts of hillfort, small hillfort, fortification, or refuge place as something used to protect individuals or groups of people with use of natural or artificial barriers placed between the defender and the attacker. In his opinion, even the oldest fortifications were not created accidentally, they required careful logistic preparation which must have considered the capacity, material and technical possibilities of protection and the assumed aims of the offender (*Fichtl 2000*, 53, 54; *Pieta 2008*, 109).

K. Pieta divided fortifications in five categories (*Pieta 2008*, 120–126): hillforts (with the sub-category of *oppida*), small centres – *castella*, small hillforts, refuge places and linear protective structures. K. Pieta includes larger fortified areas usually of several hectares in the category of hillforts. Within the category of hillforts, he distinguishes a separate sub-category of *oppida* which he defines as fortified central settlements and includes Bratislava (it is approx. 60 ha with baileys), Plavecké Podhradie (49 ha), Bratislava-Devín (9.5 ha), Smolenice (9 ha) and Trenčianske Bohuslavice (9 ha) among them. He includes the Zemplín type in the category of hillforts.[8] In this type, he classifies smaller hillforts with the function of some kind of a fortified acropolis (e.g. the site of Liptovská Mara, 1.6 ha) which could have been used basically only as refuges. Unfortified settlements were located in their vicinity. *D. W. Harding* (*2012*, 8) divides hillforts in a similar way. K. Pieta see different development between west side and east site of the Carpathia. We can see large urban settlements (Oberleiserberg, Staré Hradisko) on the west. The settlements located east of the Hungarian Gate have a different appearance. They are characterized by their fortifications, around which the production settlements are concentrated (Zemplín type; *Pieta 2001*, 784).

Small centres, so-called *castella*, are described by K. Pieta as smaller hillforts with permanent settlement, often with traces of intense crafts. He presents the site of Šurany-Nitriansky Hrádok-Zámeček (1.6 ha) as an example (*Pieta 2008*, 121).[9]

Pieta's third distinguished category includes small hillforts. They are small fortified sites whose size does not exceed 1 ha. They are often very small and they might have had the function of a kind of fortified farmsteads of important individuals or they had strategical function and protected smaller settlement units in the hilly landscape. They might have been located also inside larger older prehistoric or La Tène fortifications. In the environment of northern Slovakia, they were situated at foothills, where small hillforts, often open settlements, were located. The site of Kvačany-Hrádková (0.18 ha; *Pieta 2008*, 121–125) is a typical example.

Use of natural protective qualities of the location for protection of the inhabitants or their properties is a characteristic feature of refuge places. If they were fortified, it was not done along the whole circumference, remains of older fortifications could have been used, like in the case of the site called Katova skala in Sklabinský Podzámok (*Pieta 2008*, 125).

The last category comprises linear protective structures. They are fortifications with either only temporary function or they delimited a certain territory (a border). They are often not spatially closed. The system of fortifications from the site of Podtureň is an example (*Pieta 2008*, 126).

The categories distinguished by K. Pieta bring a certain system in the categorization of fortifications in the La Tène Period in the territory of Slovakia. However, the borders between individual types are often unclear and influenced by the state of research at the particular site. In the Slovak archaeological literature, three names for different types of Iron Age fortification occur most frequently – hillforts, small hillforts and refuge places. Authors rarely present the exact difference between hillforts and small hillforts. Hillforts are mostly vaguely defined as areas larger than other fortified sites. It is also difficult to distinguish between hillforts and refuge places. *Oppida* should be defined more precisely as well.

Individual fortifications and enclosed areas may have had a practical function, a social or symbolic meaning. The practical function of fortifications and enclosed areas lies mainly in creation of barriers preventing e.g. children or farm animals from getting lost. According to E. Neustupný, fortification has a social meaning especially from the aspect of defence (it protects the whole society). There is also

[8] We can suppose that site Nitra-castle is from the same category (*Březinová/Chropovský 2020*).

[9] After new research by *G. Březinová* (*2010*) is possible that site is from different category (Zemplín type?).

creation of a commercial centre within the fortified area. The symbolic meaning of fortifications can be associated mainly with the identity of the society. For instance, hillforts can be used as a symbol of larger communities. They help define 'our space' against 'their space' (*Neustupný 2006*, 1–4). The symbolic meaning can also be associated with specification of a sacral space. For instance, at the hillfort of Glauberg from the Iron Age, where – apart from settlement areas – burial grounds were discovered, it is assumed that parts of the fortifications symbolically divided the world of the dead from the world of the living (*Posluschny 2019*, 9–18).

K. Pieta promotes mainly the defensive and protective functions of the fortified sites in the territory of Slovakia. There must have been real reasons and favourable conditions for creation of fortifications, since they were often extensive constructions requiring work power and its organization on a high level as well as project of the construction with experience, available sources of building material and strategical thinking of the authors. At the same time, he does not exclude possible central, production or sacral function of the fortified settlements (*Pieta 2008*, 69–76).

THE UPPER HRON AND IPEĽ RIVER BASINS – FORTIFICATIONS

The regions of Pohronie and Poiplie are defined by the Hron and Ipeľ river streams in this text. The studied area, however, is wider from the geographical point of view, therefore I include the nearby sites from the regions of Poľana and the Štiavnické vrchy hills in it. They are the areas where the La Tène (the lower Hron and Ipeľ river basins) and Púchov cultures of the Late Iron Age were spread. I have chosen the region as an example for three reasons – it is more or less complexly processed (*Beljak 2006*; *Beljak/Beljak Pažinová/Mitáš 2015*; *Beljak/Kučeráková 2015*; *Březinová 2006*; *Kovár 2016*) and its character allows application of the results on other parts of the north Carpathian Basin, probably with the exception of the area of the *oppidum* in Bratislava. The third characteristics of the selected region due to which I have chosen the area as a 'model' is that it is partly a peripheral territory of the La Tène settlement in the north of the Carpathian Basin, where two cultural spheres meet (La Tène and Púchov cultures). We must point to the fact that some of the following conclusions are conditioned by the state of research, as e.g. no fortified settlements have been recorded on the Hungarian side of the Ipeľ river basin so far (*Kovár 2016*, 221).

We cannot assume continuous settlement in stage LTA on the majority of the studied Pohronie and Poiplie territory. Survival of the Hallstatt population (the Vekerzug and Lusatian cultures) in the La Tène Period also remains an unanswered question, although it is suggested by some finds. The Vekerzug culture might have survived in the region until as late as stage LTC1 (*Kovár 2016*, 223). In the course of stage LTB, density of settlement increased mainly in the territory of the lower Hron and Ipeľ river basins. It is probably associated with penetration of the expanding Celtic ethnic group from the west (*Bujna 1994*, 9). In the Middle La Tène Period (stages LTB2/LTC1 to LTC1), density of settlement in the region is still increasing. Relics of the so-called Pre-Púchov stage occur in the upper Hron river basin in that period. In the Late (LTC2) and Final La Tène Period (LTD), density of settlement seems to be decreasing. It was expressed most significantly in stage LTD. This fact, however, does not apply to the upper Hron river basin, which became a domain of the Púchov culture (*Kovár 2016*, 223–225).

We have recorded two types of settlements in the Upper Hron river basin – open and fortified settlements. Open settlement means a site without discovered man-made (ramparts, ditches) or natural (inaccessible terrain) fortification elements. Many sites from the regions of Pohronie and Poiplie are indicated as settlements in literature, however, there is often only ceramic material, often fragmentary. We know several hundreds of La Tène sites in the region (*Beljak/Beljak Pažinová/Mitáš 2015*; *Kovár 2016*). Only the sites with identified settlement features (houses, storage pits, etc.) or cultural layers or numerous archaeological finds allowing assumptions of an inhabited area can be definitely identified as settlements. Settlement features from the Late Iron Age in southern Slovakia were located at the following sites:[10] Barca-Kovalcsík (*Kovács 1982*; *1989*), Bielovce-Telek (*Fusek 1986*), Breznica (*Mosný 1988*), Čaka (*Vladár 1962*), Chľaba (*Bujna 1980*; *Hanuliak 1989*), Slovenské Ďarmoty (*Vendtová 1964*), Šarovce (*Kuzmová 1980*; *Novotný 1955*), Tekovský Hrádok (*Kujovský 1985*), Včelince-Lászlófala (*Furmánek/Marková 1986*; *Kovács 1984*) and Stránska (*Rusnák 2007*). Further investigation could confirm existence of other settlement features. Settlement features were also discovered at fortified sites – at Kalamárka in Detva (*Šalkovský 2002*) and Hronská Dúbrava-Trnavá Hora-Hrádok (*Pieta 2008*, 37; *Pieta/Mosný 1990a*; *1999*).[11]

26 sites from the La Tène Period with documents of fortification or at locations with extreme terrain properties which were probably used as protective

[10] The chronology of sites is by authors of research. It is possible that it will be changed after the next excavation.

[11] In literature, the site is localized in cadastral areas of two villages.

Tab. 1. Fortifications from the Late Iron Age in the regions of Pohronie and Poiplie. The chronology of sites is by authors of the research. It is possible that it will be changed after the next excavation.

	Site	Altitude [m]	Extent of fortification [m²]	Type of fortification	Chronology	References
1.	Badín	–	–	–	LTD	*Pieta 2008*, 40
2.	Banská Bystrica-Hôrka	439	–	–	LTB2/LTC1–LTD2	*Budinský-Krička 1947*
3.	Bzenica-Sobotište	392.2	–	rampart	LTB2/LTC1–LTC2/LTD1	*Beljak/Kučeráková 2015*, 11; *Mosný 1988*; *Pieta 2008*, 41
4.	Čebovce-Zámok	437	–	rampart	LTC1–LTC2	*Čambal/Kovár 2014*
5.	Detva-Kalamárka	808.3	10,000	rampart	LTA, LTB, LTC, LTD	*Šalkovský 2002*
6.	Horná Lehota-Hrádok	834	2,400	rampart, gate?	LTB–LTC1	*Mácelová 1992*; *Pieta/Mosný 1996b*; *2000*; *2001*; *2002*
7.	Horné Pršany-Hrádok	660	4,200	rampart	–	*Petrikovich 1947; Pieta 1993*
8.	Hrochoť-Chochulka	–	–	–	–	*Beljak/Kučeráková 2015*, 8
9.	Hronská Dúbrava/ Trnavá Hora-Hrádok	416.2	1,840 –2,100	rampart	LTB2/LTC1–LTC1	*Pieta 2008*, 37, 122; *Pieta/Mosný 1990a*; *1999*
10.	Lieskovec-Hrádok	–	–	–	–	*Beljak/Kučeráková 2015*, 11; *Mosný 1986*
11.	Lučatín-Hradište	–	–	–	–	*Beljak/Kučeráková 2015*, 11; *Mosný 1990*
12.	Málinec	–	–	–	–	*Pieta 2008*, 37
13.	Nemecká	786	–	rampart	–	*Mácelová 1995*; *Mácelová/Mosný/Pieta 1997*; *Pieta/Mosný 1996a*
14.	Podzámčok hrad Dobra Niva	347	–	–	–	*Beljak/Kučeráková 2015*, 11
15.	Ponická Huta	580	–	rampart	LTC1–LTC2	*Pieta 2008*, 37
16.	Rybník-Krivín	315	470,000 – 510,000	rampart, gates	LTA?, LTB?, LTD2	*Furmánek 1969; Veliačik/Srnka/Valo 2002*
17.	Selce-Hrádok	780	–	–	LTB/LTC– LTD2	*Mácelová 1980*; *Mosný, undated*; *Pieta 1989*; *1990*; *2008*, 40
18.	Sielnica-Hrádok	–	–	–	–	*Beljak/Kučeráková 2015*, 11
19.	Stará Bašta-Pohanský vrch	436.2–577.9	420,000	rampart	–	*Furmánek 1996*; *1997*
20.	Stará Kremnička	408,1	–	–	–	*Pieta 2008*, 37
21.	Šášovské Podhradie/ Žiar nad Hronom-Suť	718	–	–	–	*Pieta 2008*, 37
22.	Šášovské Podhradie/ Žiar nad Hronom-castle Šášov	–	–	–	–	*Beljak/Kučeráková 2015*, 11
23.	Širkovce-castle	–	–	–	–	*Furmánek/Sankot 1985*, 275
24.	Zvolen-Pustý hrad	478.3–571.4	–	–	–	*Beljak/Kučeráková 2015*, 8
25.	Zvolen-Veľká Stráž	–	–	rampart	–	*Beljak/Kučeráková 2015*, 11
26.	Žiar nad Hronom	–	–	–	LTC2, LTD	*Pieta 2008*, 37

elements have been identified in the defined area so far (Fig. 1; Tab. 1). The available sources on some sites do not mention whether there is any evidence of fortification, but as they are located at altitudinally exposed places and are often small, we can assume their refuge function.

We have documented several fortified and upland sites from the studied area[12] – Badín (*Pieta 2008*, 40), Banská Bystrica-Hôrka (*Budinský-Krička 1947*), Bzenica-Sobotište (*Beljak/Kučeráková 2015*, 11; *Mosný 1988*; *Pieta 2008*, 37–41), Čebovce-Zámok (*Čambal/Kovár 2014*), Detva-Kalamárka (*Šalkovský 2002*), Horná Lehota-Hrádok (*Mácelová 1992*; *Pieta/Mosný 1996a*; *2000*; *2001*; *2002*), Horné Pršany-Hrádok (*Petrikovich 1947*; *Pieta 1993*), Hrochoť-Chochulka (*Beljak/Kučeráková 2015*, 8), Hronská Dúbrava-Trnavá Hora-Hrádok (*Pieta 2008*, 37; *Pieta/Mosný 1990a*; *1999*), Lučatín-Hradište (*Beljak/Kučeráková 2015*, 11; *Mosný 1990*), Málinec (*Pieta 2008*, 37), Nemecká-Hradisko (*Mácelová 1995*; *Mácelová/Mosný/Pieta 1997*; *Pieta/Mosný 1996a*), Ponická Huta-Poniky (*Pieta 2008*, 37), Rybník-Krivín (*Furmánek 1969*; *Veliačik/Srnka/Valo 2002*), Selce-Hrádok (*Mácelová 1980*; *Mosný, undated; Pieta 1989*; *1990*), Sielnica-Hrádok (*Beljak/Kučeráková 2015*, 11), Stará Bašta-Pohanský hrad (*Furmánek 1996*; *1997*), Stará Kremnička (*Pieta 2008*, 37), Šášovské Podhradie/Žiar nad Hronom-Suť (*Pieta 2008*, 37), Zvolen-Veľká Stráž (*Beljak/Kučeráková 2015*, 11) and Žiar nad Hronom (*Pieta 2008*, 37). Settlement from the La Tène Period was probably also present at medieval castles, such as Dobrá Niva-Podzámčok (*Malček 2000*), Širkovce (*Furmánek/Sankot 1985*, 275), Šášov in Šášovské Podhradie/Žiar nad Hronom, Lieskovec-Hrádok (*Beljak/Kučeráková 2015*, 11) and in Zvolen-Pustý hrad (*Beljak/Kučeráková 2015*, 8). At medieval castles, later construction might have destroyed older fortifications.

The hillforts in Detva-Kalamárka (808.3 m a.s.l.), Horná Lehota-Hrádok (834 m a.s.l.) and Nemecká-Hradisko (786.3 m a.s.l.) were situated at the highest locations. The largest system of fortification is found at the hillforts of Krivín near Rybník (approx. 47–51 ha) and Stará Bašta-Pohanský hrad (approx. 42 ha). Nevertheless, both sites were settled in longer periods and the extent of their use in the La Tène Period will be subject to further investigation.

With the exceptions of the sites in Čebovce-Zámok, Detva-Kalamárka, Málinec and Stará Bašta-Pohanský hrad, all fortified sites were located in the upper Hron river basin,[13] which can be associated with the character of the natural environment, as well as the state of research, which could be confirmed by the site of Čebovce-Zámok located most to the south within the studied area (*Čambal/Kovár 2014*). The upper Hron river basin belongs to the peripheral areas of the Púchov culture. Building fortifications at peripheral zones was typical of the Púchov culture also in its other territories, e.g. in southwestern Slovakia, in the contact zone with the La Tène culture.

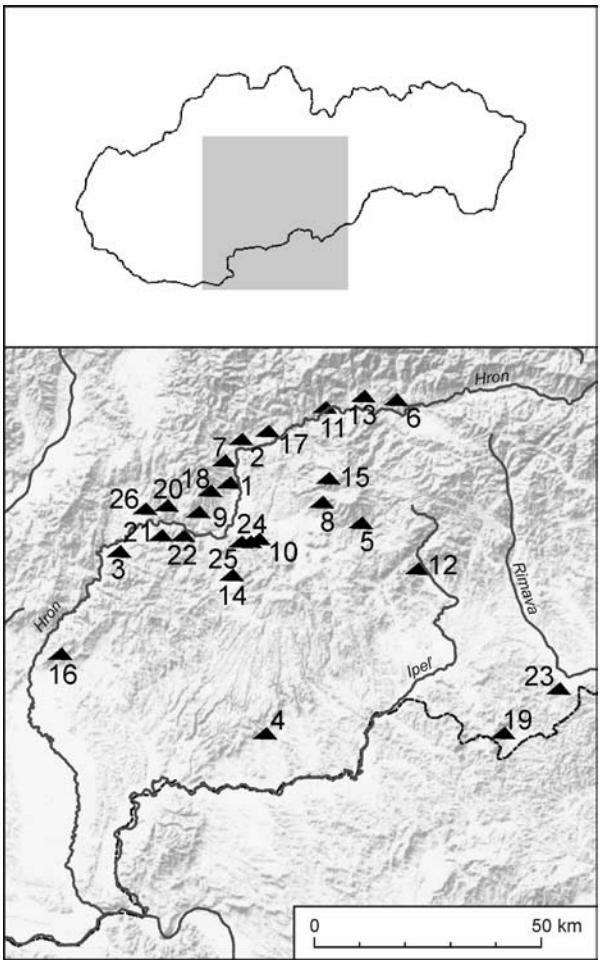


Fig. 1. Fortifications from the Late Iron Age in the regions of Pohronie and Poiplie. 1 – Badín; 2 – Banská Bystrica-Hôrka; 3 – Bzenica-Sobotište; 4 – Čebovce-Zámok; 5 – Detva-Kalamárka; 6 – Horná Lehota-Hrádok; 7 – Horné Pršany-Hrádok; 8 – Hrochoť-Chochulka; 9 – Hronská Dúbrava/Trnavá Hora-Hrádok; 10 – Lieskovec-Hrádok; 11 – Lučatín-Hradište; 12 – Málinec; 13 – Nemecká-Hradisko; 14 – Podzámčok castle Dobra Niva; 15 – Ponická Huta; 16 – Rybník-Krivín; 17 – Selce-Hrádok; 18 – Sielnica-Hrádok; 19 – Stará Bašta-Pohanský hrad; 20 – Stará Kremnička; 21 – Šášovské Podhradie/Žiar nad Hronom-Suť; 22 – Šášovské Podhradie/Žiar nad Hronom-castle Šášov; 23 – Širkovce-castle; 24 – Zvolen-Pustý hrad; 25 – Zvolen-Veľká Stráž; 26 – Žiar nad Hronom.

[12] I wish to thank my colleague Ján Beljak for his help with creation of the registry of sites.

[13] The territory approx. from Hronský Beňadik northeastwards, upstream of the Hron river.

The fortification in Bzenica-Sobotište is located on a small hill (altitude 392 m a.s.l.). The site was accessible from the north. The perimeter of the rampart, which is 3–4 m, wide is 90 m. The rampart has slid in its top part and created a terrace. It is doubled at the entrance. On the eastern side, it is connected to the eastern rock (*Mosný 1988*).

The hillfort situated at the site of Kalamárka near Detva is pear-shaped and is 0.9 ha large. It is made of the hilltop plateau in altitude of 808.3 m a.s.l. which gradually transfers to the Poľana massif. It was protected by an approx. 50 m long rampart from the east (*Šalkovský 2001*, 39). The site was settled in both Iron ages and started as early as the Bronze Age. The large area of the hillfort, numerous finds, the system of fortifications and documents of metallurgy confirm the importance of the hillfort in the La Tène Period (*Šalkovský 1987*; *1988*; *1990*; *1994*; *2001*; *2002*).

The small fortified site in Horná Lehota-Hrádok was located in altitude of 834 m a.s.l. and covers a rather small area – 0.24 ha. Near the site, settlements with probably also La Tène population were discovered (*Mácelová 1992*; *Pieta/Mosný 1996b*; *2000*; *2001*; *2002*).

The hillfort in Rybník-Krivín was settled mainly in the Hallstatt Period, but the settlement continues to the La Tène Period. The hillfort consists of six courtyards whose total size is approx. 47–51 ha. Unfortunately, it is not clear how large the area was in the La Tène Period. The highest altitude in the area of the hillfort is 368 m a.s.l. Several preserved lines of ramparts are hundreds of metres long. There are simple as well as semi-tongs gates. The site was protected by inaccessible terrain from the northwest (*Furmánek 1969*; *Janšák 1929*, 27–30; *Veliačik/Srnka/Valo 2002*).

Dimensions of the fortified area in Horné Pršany-Hrádok are approx. 60 × 70 m (0.42 ha). The terrain divides it into several plateaus. The rampart fortification is visible on the western, less on the northwestern and south-western, side. The altitude is 660.5 m a.s.l. (*Petrikovich 1947*; *Pieta 1993*).

A small fortified site is also located in Nemecká-Hradisko; the fortification is situated on the rugged mountain ridge in the altitude of approx. 786 m a.s.l. The ramparts are preserved on two narrower sides. The fortification had two construction phases. Authors of the excavations say that they discovered traces of woods in the rampart. The site is indicated as 'hrádok' (small hillfort) in literature (*Mácelová/Mosný/Pieta 1997*; *Pieta/Mosný 1996a*).

The La Tène settlement near Stará Bašta-Pohanský hrad used the extensive old fortification from probably as early as the Late Bronze Age (*Furmánek 1996*; *1997*). The altitude varied between 436.2 and 577.9 m a.s.l.

The fortified site of Stará Kremnička is known from surveys of P. Mosný and K. Pieta. It is situated 481 m a.s.l. The ridge on which it is located runs in the NW-SE direction. It is protected by rocks from three sides. Two dump ramparts loom in the terrain on the accessible side (information from K. Pieta; *Mosný 1986*).

An area of 80 × 23 m was fortified at the site on the border between the cadastral areas of Hronská Dúbrava and Trnavá Hora-Hrádok. The enclosed area is approx. 0.8 ha. It was located 416.2 m a.s.l. and the stone rampart was clearly visible mainly on its northern side. It was dumped from the local andesite rock, which was slag-burnt at the rampart's coping. A hut from the La Tène Period was also discovered there; it was probably destroyed by fire (*Pieta 2008*, 122; *Pieta/Mosný 1990a*).

Traces of rampart fortification loom at some places also in Badín (*Pieta 2008*, 40), Málinec, Lieskovec-Hrádok (approx. 400 m a.s.l.), Selce-Hrádok (*Mácelová 1980*; *Mosný, undated*; *Pieta 1989*; *1990*). A refuge-type settlement is supposed in Lučatín-Hradište (*Mosný 1990*). A small (still unmeasured) fortified area with ramparts was also located in Čebovce-Zámok, but it was destroyed by medieval construction (*Beljak/Beljak Pažinová/Mitáš 2015*, 18; *Čambal/Kovár 2014*).

When building fortifications in the studied area, strategic and well protected sites were occupied. The system of protection often included inaccessible terrain (e.g. Bzenica, Nemecká, Stará Kremnička). At some sites, we can suppose use of older fortification. However, this must be confirmed by further investigation (e.g. Detva, Rybník, Stará Bašta).

According to the above-mentioned typology by K. Pieta, individual fortified settlements can be classified into different categories. The sites in Rybník-Krivín and Stará Bašta-Pohanský hrad might belong to hillforts. They are large fortified areas. As for the hillforts of Krivín and Stará Bašta, the size of settlement in the La Tène Period is not clear from the published sources. Both sites were settled also in previous historical periods. The importance of the site in Rybník-Krivín is emphasized by finds of iron slag and flakes which could confirm crafts at the hillfort (*Furmánek 1969*; *Veliačik/Srnka/Valo 2002*). The question is whether the site of Detva-Kalamárka can be included in this category, but with regard to the intense settlement in the La Tène Period, I think, I can classify it as a hillfort. Several traces of crafts were also detected in Detva-Kalamárka. The sites of Detva-Kalamárka and Rybník-Krivín are located in the contact zone of the La Tène and Púchov cultures, which confirms their special status.

The area of the fortified site in Čebovce-Zámok has not been exactly defined with regard to the later

medieval settlement. However, it is probably a site of small size. Despite this, a wide range of finds comes from it. They allow us to assume that it was a central site. Its importance is emphasized by finds of Celtic coins (*Čambal/Kovár 2014*; *Fröhlich 2013*). The site could be included in Pieta's category of castella. The small fortification from Horná Lehota-Hrádok might belong to the same category, as traces of metallurgy were discovered there and other unfortified settlements from the La Tène Period are located in its surroundings.

Small fortifications – small hillforts – also occur in the studied area. They are Badín, Bzenica-Sobotište, Horné Pršany-Hrádok and Hronská Dúbrava-Trnavá Hora-Hrádok; all of them are small fortifications. Further investigation might reveal if open settlements from the La Tène Period were situated in their surroundings. A sandstone crucible for casting metal artefacts was discovered in Horné Pršany-Hrádok, thus, it is legitimate to consider also other than defensive function of the small hillfort, despite its size.

The sites at altitudinally exposed places can be classified into refuges – the castle of Dobrá Niva (537.3 m a.s.l.; *Malček 2000*) and the castle of Šášov (717.6 m a.s.l.; *Pieta 2008*, 37).

In the studied territory, the sites of Rybník-Krivín, Stará Bašta-Pohanský hrad and probably also Detva-Kalamárka can be classified as large hillforts. Nevertheless, smaller types of fortifications – *castella* and small hillforts – dominate. A considerably large part of the studied area belongs to the territory of the Púchov culture and its initial development phase in the so-called Pre-Púchov stage. In the environment of the Pre-Púchov stage and Púchov culture, smaller fortifications are predominant (*Pieta 1982*, 133–146). As for some fortified sites in the Hron and Ipeľ river basins, we do not know whether they were permanently settled or used as refuges.

It can be mentioned as an interesting fact that e.g. in England and Wales, it is considered that there is one large hillfort (more than 1 ha), 3 medium and 6 small ones per 10 fortified sites (*Harding 2012*, 9). The territory of Wales can be – similarly to our area of interest – characterized as a montane environment. According to this classification, we could record 3 large hillforts (Rybník-Krivín, Stará Bašta-Pohanský hrad, Detva-Kalamárka), 2 medium (Čebovce-Zámok, Horná Lehota-Hrádok) and 21 small fortifications in the studied area. Naturally, the comparison is rather approximate. Nevertheless, we must not forget the pragmatic fact that the number of large hillforts at a specific territory is limited by the capacity and abilities of the community building them. Apart from the number of working hours, we must consider the management of wood, stone and earth – either at the construction of fortification or at its future repairs.

We do not know large open lowland settlements, like those in Levroux, Basel (Gasfabrik), Lovosice, Němčice, Roseldorf or Sajópetri (*Fernández-Götz 2018*, 132) from the studied territory.[14] According to the current state of research, there are unfortified settlements, but certain fortification elements can be assumed at them. We have recorded several large Celtic burial grounds in the lower Hron and Ipeľ river basins, such as Malé Kosihy (*Bujna 1995*) and Levice (*Samuel 2007*). High density of sites from the La Tène Period with limited information value has also been documented. Both these factors can indicate that some central and large settlements might have existed in this territory.

Fortified sites were probably also built on important routes. There is no reconstruction of network of roads or water routes from the La Tène Period in the Carpathian Basin so far. Nevertheless, I assume that the strategy of locating roads in the studied area during the La Tène Period was identical to the strategies in other historical periods, e.g. in the Middle Ages.

P. Ivanič assumes several main directions of early medieval routes in the investigated region. First one was leading from Štúrovo along the right bank of the Hron river to the area of today's Zvolen, from where it continued towards Banská Bystrica (*Ivanič 2011*, 73). In the Middle Ages, the road diverged in the territory of today's Hronský Beňadik – one part was running further along the Hron river to central Slovakia, the other part turned westwards as far as the region of Nitra (*Hunka/Ruttkay 1998*, 297–300). The hillfort in Rybník-Krivín is situated there. Other fortified sites are located along the Hron river. The second route also started in the area of Štúrovo and continued to Lučenec along the right bank of the Ipeľ river (*Ivanič 2011*, 73). In the beginning of these two roads course, it is assumed that a used ford was located in the territory of the lower Hron river basin, on the touch of the Hron and Danube, probably somewhere between Mužla and Chľaba (*Hunka/Ruttkay 1998*, 297). Third route is presented by P. Ivanič in the area of Šahy, where a ford across the Ipeľ river is assumed. From there, the road continued to Zvolen. The castella in Čebovce-Zámok was probably located somewhere along this road. P. Ivanič assumes a parallel road on the left bank of the Ipeľ river (*Ivanič 2011*, 73). The *castellum* in Čebovce can be – despite its small area – an example of an important centre. It had a strategic location; it was situated on a possible important road and

[14] We have it in other parts of today's Slovakia, for example Nitra-Zobor-Šindolka (*Březinová 2000*).

not far from sources of raw materials. We also find indices of minting there.

In the La Tène Period, we must expect occupation of most fortified and upland sites in the studied region in stage LTB, although some sites (Detva-Kalamárka, Horná Lehota-Hrádok, Rybník-Krivín) were settled as early as the Hallstatt Period, or even the Bronze Age. Only further research can answer the question whether they were sites with already existent fortification settled on purpose (or sites with remains of old fortification) or people just used the site for its terrain properties. However, continuity of settlement from the Hallstatt Period to the La Tène Period cannot be confirmed. Fragments of vessels with applied decoration in form of animal heads on handles were found in Detva-Kalamárka, Horná Lehota-Hrádok and Nemecká-Hradisko (*Máceľová 1992*, 72, fig. 32; *Pieta/Mosný 1996a*, fig. 106: 1; *Šalkovský 2002*, 103, fig. 4: 1, 2), but their dating is rather wide – from the Hallstatt Period to the Middle La Tène Period (*Benediková 2017*, 362).

It is mainly the territory of the upper Hron river basin where settlement of most fortified sites survives as late as the end of the La Tène Period (stage LTD). Most fortified settlements in the region of Pohronie exist mainly in the Middle and Late La Tène Period (*Kovár 2016*). The hillforts in the Ipeľ river basin (Čebovce, Málinec) end their existence in stage LTC, which could be associated with the gradual decline and extinction of settlement in the territory of the La Tène culture in southern Slovakia in the Late La Tène Period (*Kovár 2016*).

We have recorded several sources of ores in the studied territory which might have been used in the La Tène Period. The fortified sites in Stará Kremnička, Šášovské Podhradie, Trnavá Hora and Žiar nad Hronom were situated near the Štiavnické vrchy hills with known sources of various metal ores.

Sources of gold were located near the site of Detva (*Miklós/Hrnčiarová 2002*, map 23, 89). Other sources of gold are near Lovinobaňa and near the village of Ozdín (area of Uderiná; *Rojkovič 1997*, 58). The fortified site in Málinec is situated near the village of Ozdín. The small hillfort in Horná Lehota might have used the sources near Čierny Balog (*Rojkovič 1997*, 60). The sites near Banská Bystrica could have profited from the copper ore in the Špania dolina valley. Traces of metallurgy were detected at the sites of Detva, Horná Lehota and Horné Pršany.

CONSTRUCTION OF FORTIFICATION

Rampart fortification was recorded at some studied fortifications. Unfortunately, the state of research does not allow solving construction details. We are not able to describe the character of gates or confirm existence of towers; in most cases, we do not know anything about the construction of rampart body.

At the hillfort of Rybník-Krivín, there are hundreds of metres long lines of ramparts whose height – with regard to the terrain – varies between 1 m and 10 m. The massiveness of the rampart suggests that it was originally reinforced with an external wooden wall or an internal, possibly box, construction. At some places, multiple rows of dry-laid stones were preserved, probably remains of stone walls on the front side of the most vulnerable sections of the defensive wall. The hillfort was originally enclosed by one peripheral rampart with three gates. Other lines of ramparts with semi-tongs gates were added later. Thus, there were several types of gates – simple gates detected as free spaces in the rampart, or semi-tongs entrances (*Jansák 1929*, 27–30; *Veliačik/Srnka/Valo 2002*).

The excavation at the site of Detva-Kalamárka indicate shell constructions of La Tène ramparts. From the outside, one of the La Tène ramparts was made of a massive supporting wall of stone, the core was made of dumped earth reinforced with wood, a narrow stone screen was on the inside. The rampart was built in the Late Bronze Age and rebuilt as early as the Middle Ages. Therefore, information on its width and height can be inaccurate. Moreover, its circumference changed as well – the total width of the rampart body varied from 3 to 8 m and its preserved height was approx. 1 m (*Šalkovský 2002*, 101, 102).

A burned rampart of the local andesite quarried stone which was not studied in detail was detected at the hillfort of Hronská Dúbrava-Trnavá Hora-Hrádok (*Pieta/Mosný 1990a*; *1999*).

CONCLUSION

Mostly small fortifications of the castella or small hillfort type – according to the classification by K. Pieta – dominate in the investigated territory. With the exception of the sites in Detva and Čebovce, fortifications are situated in the territory of the Púchov culture. With regard to their location (roads, inaccessible terrain), they were probably used mostly for defence. The sites of Detva, Rybník, Stará Bašta and Čebovce could have been centres. However, this hypothesis must be confirmed by further archaeological research. We have not recorded upland sites like Bratislava, Bratislava-Devín, Plavecké Podhradie-Pohanská, Trenčianske Bohuslavice-Malovecké, Zemplín from the investigated territory. There are no lowland sites like Němčice-Roseldorf either, but next research can change it.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Audouze/Buchsenschutz 1992 – F. Audouze/O. Buchsenschutz: *Towns, villages and countryside of celtic Europe. From the beginning of the second millenium to the end of the first century BC*. London 1992.

Bednár/Březinová/ Ptáčková 2005 – P. Bednár/G. Březinová/ S. Ptáčková: Neskorolaténske osídlenie hradného návršia v Nitre. *Študijné zvesti AÚ SAV* 37, 2005, 115–185.

Beljak 2006 – J. Beljak: Púchovská kultúra a Germáni na Pohroní v staršej dobe rímskej. In: E. Droberjar/M. Lutovský (eds.): *Archeologie barbarů 2005. Sborník příspěvků z I. protohistorické konference "Pozdně keltské, germánské a časně slovanské osídlení". Kounice, 20–22. září 2005*. Praha 2006, 257–272.

Beljak/Kučeráková 2015 – J. Beljak/K. Kučeráková: Vývoj osídlenia na strednom Pohroní od doby laténskej do včasného stredoveku. *Študijné zvesti AÚ SAV* 57, 2015, 7–56.

Beljak/Beljak Pažinová/Mitáš 2015 – J. Beljak/ N. Beljak Pažinová/V. Mitáš: *Stredné a horné Poiplie. Svedectvo archeológie*. Archaeologica Slovaca Monographiae. Varia 2. Nitra 2015.

Benadik 1965 – B. Benadik: Die Spätlatènezeitliche Siedlung von Zemplín in der Ostslowakei. *Germania* 43, 1965, 63–91.

Benediková 2017 – L. Benediková: Kulturkontakte des slowakischen Teils der Westkarpaten während der Hallstattzeit. In: E. Miroššayová/Ch. Pare/S. Stegmann-Rajtár (Hrsg.): *Das nördliche Karpatenbecken in der Hallstattzeit. Wirtschaft, Handel und Kommunikation in früheisenzeitlichen Gesellschaften zwischen Ostalpen und Westpannonien*. Archaeolingua Series Maior 38. Budapest 2017, 335–381.

Benediková/Kovár 2007 – L. Benediková/B. Kovár: Einige Bemerkungen zu den Funden aus dem Burgwall Detva-Kalamárka. *Východoslovenský pravek* 8, 2007, 143–160.

Benediková/Pieta 2018 – L. Benediková/K. Pieta: Využitie krajiny stredného Liptova v praveku a včasnej dobe dejinnej. *Študijné zvesti AÚ SAV* 63, 2018, 147–196.

Březinová 2000 – G. Březinová: *Nitra-Šindolka. Siedlung aus der Latènezeit. Katalog*. Archaeologiae Slovaca Monographiae. Catalogi 8. Nitra – Bratislava 2000.

Březinová 2006 – G. Březinová: Sídliská a sídliskové nálezy z laténskej doby na juhozápadnom Slovensku. *Študijné zvesti AÚ SAV* 40, 2006, 9–50.

Březinová 2010 – G. Březinová: Sídlisko z neskorolaténskej polohy Zámeček v Šuranoch, Nitrianskom Hrádku. In: J. Beljak/G. Březinová/V. Varsik (eds.): *Archeológia barbarov 2009. Hospodárstvo Germánov, sídliskové a ekonomické štruktúry od neskorej doby laténskej po včasný stredovek. Zborník referátov z 5. protohistorickej konferencie. Nitra 21.–25. septembra 2009*. Archaeologica Slovaca Monographiae. Communicationes 10. Nitra 2010, 113–130.

Březinová 2012 – G. Březinová: The Biritual Cemetery at Šurany-Nitriansky Hrádok, District of Nové Zámky, Slovakia. In: S. Berecki (ed.): *Iron Age Rites and Rituals in the Carpathian Basin. Proceedings of the International Colloquium from Târgu Mureş, 7–9 October 2011*. Bibliotheca Mvsei Marisiensis. Seria Archaeologica 5. Târgu Mureş 2012, 259–272.

Březinová/Chropovský 2020 – G. Březinová/B. Chropovský: *Sídliská z doby laténskej v Nitre*. Archaeologica Slovaca Monographiae. Fontes 27. Nitra 2020.

Buchsenschutz/Ralston 1981 – O. Buchsenschutz/I. B. M. Ralston: Les forrtifications des âges des métaux. *Archéologia* 154, 1981, 24–35.

Bujna 1980 – J. Bujna: Sídliskový objekt badenskej kultúry a sídlisko z doby laténskej v Chľabe. *AVANS 1978*, 1980, 65–70.

Bujna 1994 – J. Bujna: Mladšia doba železná-laténska na Slovensku. (Prehľad stavu bádania za posledné dve desaťročia.) *Studia Historica Nitriensia* 2, 1994, 7–39.

Bujna 1995 – J. Bujna: *Malé Kosihy. Latènezeitliches Gräberfeld. Katalog*. Archaeologica Slovaca Monographiae. Catalogi 7. Nitra 1995.

Caesar – G. I. Caesar: *Zápisky o vojne v Galii*. Preložil J. Hrabovský. Bratislava 2008.

Čambal 2015 – R. Čambal: Datovanie hradiska Pohanská pri Plaveckom Podhradí v dobe laténskej z pohľadu archeologických a numizmatických nálezov. *Numizmatika* 25, 2015, 41–44.

Čambal/Kovár 2014 – R. Čambal/B. Kovár: Keltské nálezy z Čeboviec (okr. Veľký Krtíš) a ich regionálne postavenie. In: J. Čižmářová/N. Venclová/G. Březinová (eds.): *Moravské křižovatky. Střední Podunají mezi pravěkem a historií*. Brno 2014, 305–314.

Čaplovič 1987 – P. Čaplovič: *Orava v praveku, vo včasnej dobe dejinnej a na začiatku stredoveku*. Martin 1987.

Čižmář/Kolníková 2006 – M. Čižmář/E. Kolníková: Němčice – obchodní a industrialní centrum doby laténske na Moravě. *Archeologické rozhledy* 58, 2006, 261–283.

Čižmář/Kolníková/Noeske 2008 – M. Čižmář/E. Kolníková/ H.-Ch. Noeske: Němčice-Víceměřice – ein neues Handels- und Industriezentrum der Latènezeit in Mähren. Vorbericht. *Germania* 86, 2008, 655–700.

Collis 1975 – J. Collis: *Defended Sites of the Late La Tène in the Central and Western Europe*. British Archaeological Reports. Supplementary Series 2. Oxford 1975.

Collis/McLaren/Ralston 1976 – J. Collis/I. B. McLaren/I. Ralston: Late La Tène Defence. *Germania* 54, 1976, 135–146.

Fernández-Götz 2018 – M. Fernández-Götz: Urbanization in Iron Age Europe: Trajectories, Patterns, and Social Dynamics. *Journal of Archaeological Research* 26, 2018, 117–162.

Fichtl 2000 – S. Fichtl: *La ville celtique. Les oppida de 150 av. J.-C. à 15 ap. J.-C*. Paris 2000.

Fröhlich 2013 – J. Fröhlich: Niekoľko keltských mincí z juhu stredného Slovenska. Hontiansko-novohradsko-gemerský región. *Numizmatika* 23, 2013, 9–18.

Furman 2016 – M. Furman: *Opevnenia na Liptove. Refúgia, hradiská a hrádky od praveku po stredovek*. Žilina 2016.

Furmánek 1996 – V. Furmánek: Komplexný archeologický prieskum Pohanského hradu nad Starou Baštou. *AVANS 1994*, 1996, 51–53.

Furmánek 1997 – V. Furmánek: Ďalšie nálezy z Pohanského hradu nad Starou Baštou. *AVANS 1995*, 1997, 47.

Furmánek/Marková 1986 – V. Furmánek/K. Marková: Výskum sídliska vo Včelinciach. *AVANS 1985*, 1986, 80–83.

Furmánek/Sankot 1985 – V. Furmánek/P. Sankot: Nové latenské nálezy na středním Slovensku. *Slovenská archeológia* 38, 1985, 273–303.

Fusek 1986 – G. Fusek: Záchranný výskum v Bielovciach. *AVANS 1985*, 1986, 83–85.

Halliday 2019 – S. Halliday: How many hillforts are there in Scotland? Revisited. In: *Romankiewicz et al. 2019*, 37–51.

Hanuliak 1989 – M. Hanuliak, M.: Praveké, včasnodejinné a stredoveké osídlenie v Chľabe. *Slovenská archeológia* 37, 1989, 151–212.

Harding 2012 – D. W. Harding: *Iron Age Hillforts in Britain and Beyond*. Oxford 2012.

Harding/Sievers/Venclová 2006 – A. Harding/S. Sievers/N. Venclová (eds.): *Enclosing the Past. Inside and Outside in Prehistory*. Sheffield Archaeological Monographs 15. Sheffield 2006.

Hérodotos – Hérodotos: *Dějiny aneb Devět knih dějin nazvaných MÚSY*. Přeložil J. Šonka. Praha 2004.

Hunka/Ruttkay 1998 – J. Hunka/M. Ruttkay: Historické komunikácie na území stredovekého Slovenska. *Archaeologia Historica* 23, 1998, 295–302.

Ivanič 2011 – P. Ivanič: *Stredoveká cestná sieť na Pohroní a Poiplí*. Nitra 2011.

Jansák 1929 – Š. Jansák: Slovenské hradiská z doby halštatskej. *Sborník muzeálnej slovenskej spoločnosti* 23, 1929, 1–32.

Kovács 1982 – Š. Kovács: Keltská chata a nálezy z doby rímskej v Barci. *AVANS 1981*, 1982, 155–163.

Kovács 1984 – Š. B. Kovács: Výskumy a prieskumy múzea v okrese Rimavská Sobota. *AVANS 1983*, 1984, 45–51.

Kovár 2016 – B. Kovár: The Settlements of the Hron, Ipeľ, Slaná and Rimava River Basins during the La Tène Period. In: S. Berecki (ed.): *Iron Age Chronology in the Carpathian Basin. Proceesings of the Internagtional Coloquium from Târgu Mureş 8–10 October 2015*. Bibliotheca Mvsei Marisiensis. Series Archaeologica 12. Târgu Mureş 2016, 219–234.

Kujovský 1985 – R. Kujovský: Záchranný výskum v Tekovskom Hrádku. *AVANS 1984*, 1985, 139.

Kuzmová 1980 – K. Kuzmová: Nížinné sídliská z neskorej doby laténskej v strednom Podunajsku. *Slovenská archológia* 28, 1980, 313–340.

Luštíková/Miroššayová 2009 – L. Luštíková/E. Miroššayová: Príspevok k osídleniu polohy Hradisko v Zemplíne. *Východoslovenský pravek* 9, 2009, 159–168.

Mácelová 1980 – M. Mácelová: Nové nálezy lužickej kultúry a púchovskej kultúrnej skupiny z hrádku v Balážoch. *AVANS 1979*, 1980, 134–136.

Mácelová 1992 – M. Mácelová: Nálezy z Hornej Lehoty. *AVANS 1990*, 1992, 72, 73.

Mácelová 1995 – M. Mácelová: Prvé nálezy na hradisku v Nemeckej. *AVANS 1993*, 1995, 94.

Mácelová/Mosný/Pieta 1997 – M. Mácelová/P. Mosný/K. Pieta: Zisťovací výskum na hradisku v Nemeckej. *AVANS 1995*, 1997, 130, 131.

Malček 2000 – R. Malček: Zbery v okresoch Zvolen a Detva. *AVANS 1998*, 2000, 128, 129.

Miklós/Hrnčiarová 2002 – L. Miklós/T. Hrnčiarová (eds.): *Atlas krajiny Slovenskej republiky*. Bratislava – Banská Bystrica 2002.

Miroššayová 2019 – E. Miroššayová: Laténske osídlenie na Východoslovenskej nížine. In: N. Beljak Pažinová/D. Repka (red.): *Sedem kruhov Jozefa Bujnu*. Studia Historica Nitriensia 23. Supplementum 2. Nitra 2019, 237–253. DOI: https://doi.org/10.17846/SHN.2019.23.S.237-253

Miroššayová/Čaplovič 1991 – E. Miroššayová/D. Čaplovič: Najnovšie výsledky výskumu včasnodejinného a stredovekého osídlenia v Zemplíne. *Východoslovenský pravek* 3, 1991, 115–132.

Neustupný 2006 – E. Neustupný: Enclosures and fortifications in Central Europe. In: *Harding/Sievers/Venclová 2006*, 1–4.

Novotný 1955 – B. Novotný: Nové laténske nálezy na dolnom Pohroní. *Archeologické rozhledy* 7, 1955, 781–794.

Paulík 1976 – J. Paulík: *Keltské hradisko Pohanská v Plaveckom Podhradí*. Bratislava 1976.

Pieta 1982 – K. Pieta: *Die Púchov-Kultur*. Archaeologica Slovaca Monographiae. Studia 1. Nitra 1982.

Pieta 1990 – K. Pieta: Nové nálezy na hrádku v Selciach pri Banskej Bystrici. *AVANS 1988*, 1990, 138, 139.

Pieta 1993 – K. Pieta: Hradisko a výšinné sídlisko z doby laténskej a rímskej v Horných Pršanoch. *AVANS 1992*, 1993, 106, 107.

Pieta 2001 – K. Pieta: Jan Filip a neskorolaténske osídlenie Slovenska. *Archeologické rozhledy* 53, 2001, 780–788.

Pieta 2008 – K. Pieta: *Keltské osídlenie Slovenska. Mladšia doba laténska*. Archaeologica Slovaca Monographiae. Studia 11. Nitra 2008.

Pieta 2010 – K. Pieta: *Die Keltische Besiedlung der Slowakei. Jüngere Latènezeit*. Archaeologica Slovaca Monographiae. Studia 12. Nitra 2010.

Pieta/Mosný 1990a – K. Pieta/P. Mosný: Hradisko pri Trnavej Hore. *AVANS 1988*, 1990, 139.

Pieta/Mosný 1990b – K. Pieta/P. Mosný: Prieskum sídlisk z doby rímskej na strednom Pohroní. *AVANS 1988*, 1990, 139, 140.

Pieta/Mosný 1996a – K. Pieta/P. Mosný: Laténske hradisko so stredovekým osídlením pri Nemeckej. *AVANS 1994*, 1996, 140.

Pieta/Mosný 1996b – K. Pieta/P. Mosný: Nové nálezy z laténskeho hradiska pri Hornej Lehote. *AVANS 1994*, 1996, 140–142.

Pieta/Mosný 1999 – K. Pieta/P. Mosný: Hrádok púchovskej kultúry pri Hronskej Dúbrave. *AVANS 1997*, 1999, 138.

Pieta/Mosný 2000 – K. Pieta/P. Mosný: Sídlisko z doby železnej v Hornej Lehote. *AVANS 1999*, 2000, 104, 105.

Pieta/Mosný 2001 – K. Pieta/P. Mosný: Halštatské a laténske osídlenie v Hornej Lehote. *AVANS 2000*, 2001, 160, 161.

Pieta/Mosný 2002 – K. Pieta/P. Mosný: Výskum v Hornej Lehote. *AVANS 2001*, 2002, 161, 162.

Pieta/Plachá/Hlavicová 1986 – K. Pieta/V. Plachá/J. Hlavicová: Devín v dobe laténskej a rímskej. In: V. Horváth (zost.): *Najstaršie dejiny Bratislavy. Referáty zo sympózia 28.–30. októbra 1986*. Bratislava 1986, 86–101.

Plachá 1972 – V. Plachá: Archeologický výskum devínskeho hradu v rokoch 1966–1970. *Archeologické rozhledy* 24, 1972, 73–78.

Plachá 1991 – V. Plachá: Devín. In: B. Polla/A. Vallašek (zost.): *Archeologická topografia Bratislavy*. Bratislava 1991, 20–23.

Posluschny 2019 – A. G. Posluschny: Does fortified always equate do defensive? Some thoughts on the fortification systems of the Glauberg hillfort. In: *Romankiewicz et al. 2019*, 9–18.

Rojkovič 1997 – I. Rojkovič: *Rudné ložiská Slovenska*. Bratislava 1997.

Romankiewicz et al. 2019 – T. Romankiewicz/M. Fernádez-Götz/G. Lock/O. Büchsenschütz (eds): *Enclosing space, opening new Gorund. Iron Age studies from Scotland to mailand Europe*. Oxford – Philadelphia 2019.

Rusnák 2007 – R. Rusnák: Objekty zo staršej a mladšej doby železnej zo Stránskej. *Východoslovenský pravek* 8, 2007, 59–75.

Ruttkay, in press – M. Ruttkay: Výskum na hradisku Zemplín. *AVANS 2017*, in press.

Salač 2005 – V. Salač: Vom Oppidum zum Einzelgehöft und zurück – zur Geschichte und dem heutigen Stand

der Latèneforschung in Böhmen und Mitteleuropa. *Alt Thüringen* 38, 2005, 279–300.
Salač 2019 – V. Salač (ed.): *Atlas pravěkých a raně středověkých hradišť v Čechách*. Praha 2019.
Šalkovský 1994 – P. Šalkovský: *Hradisko v Detve*. Materialia Archaeologica Slovaca 11. Nitra 1994.
Šalkovský 2001 – P. Šalkovský: Výšinné hradisko v Detve – osídlenie v mladšej a neskorej dobe bronzovej. *Slovenská archeológia* 49, 2001, 39–58.
Šalkovský 2002 – P. Šalkovský: Výšinné hradisko v Detve – protohistorické osídlenie. *Slovenská archeológia* 50, 2002, 99–126.
Samuel 2007 – M. Samuel: Nová polykultúrna lokalita v Leviciach. *AVANS 2005*, 2007, 173, 174.
Smrž 1991 – Z. Smrž: Výšinné lokality mladší doby kamenné až raného středověku v severozápadních Čechách. Pokus o sídelně historické hodnocení. *Archeologické rozhledy* 43, 1991, 63–89.
Točík 1981 – A. Točík: *Nitriansky Hrádok-Zámeček. Bronzezeitliche befestige Ansiedlung der Maďarovce-Kultur. I, II. Tafeln, Pläne*. Materialia Archaeologica Slovaca 3. Nitra 1981.
Veliačik/Srnka/Valo 2002 – L. Veliačik/F. Srnka/J. Valo: Hradisko Krivín v Rybníku. *Študijné zvesti AÚ SAV* 35, 2002, 27–42.
Vendtová 1964 – V. Vendtová: Výskum v Slovenských Ďarmotách roku 1962. *Archeologické rozhledy* 16, 1964, 347–369.

UNPUBLISHED SOURCES

Budinský-Krička 1947 – V. Budinský-Krička: *Bánska Bystrica*. Výskumná správa 289/47. Dokumentácia AÚ SAV Nitra.
Furmánek 1969 – V. Furmánek: *Rybník*. Nitra 1969. Výskumná správa 4782/69. Dokumentácia AÚ SAV Nitra.
Mosný 1986 – P. Mosný: Manuscript SAS 121. Výskumná správa 36/86. Dokumentácia AÚ SAV Nitra.
Mosný 1988 – P. Mosný: Manuscript SAS 137/88. Dokumentácia AÚ SAV Nitra.
Mosný, undated – P. Mosný: Manuscript SAS 138. Dokumentácia AÚ SAV Nitra.
Petrikovich 1947 – J. Petrikovich: *Horné Pršany*. Výskumná správa 428/47. Dokumentácia AÚ SAV Nitra.
Pieta 1989 – K. Pieta: *Selce*. Nitra 1989. Výskumná správa 12442/89. Dokumentácia AÚ SAV Nitra.
Vladár 1962 – J. Vladár: *Čaka*. Nitra 1962. Výskumná správa 184/62. Dokumentácia AÚ SAV Nitra.

Manuscript accepted 12. 9. 2021

Translated by Viera Tejbusová and author

Mgr. Branislav Kovár, PhD.
Archeologický ústav SAV
Akademická 2
SK – 949 21 Nitra
brano.kovar@gmail.com

SLOVENSKÁ ARCHEOLÓGIA – SUPPLEMENTUM 2
Z. Robak/M. Ruttkay (eds.): Celts – Germans – Slavs.
A Tribute Anthology to Karol Pieta. Nitra 2021, 69–79.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.31577/slovarch.2021.suppl.2.6

GREETINGS FROM NOVÉ ZÁMKY – 40 YEARS OF TEXTILE RESEARCH IN SLOVAKIA[1]

TEREZA ŠTOLCOVÁ – JURAJ ZAJONC – KARINA GRÖMER

This article briefly presents the history of textile archaeology in Slovakia, the foundations of which were laid out by Karol Pieta. With his scientific curiosity and hunger for the new adventures, Karol Pieta has been crossing the boundaries of his discipline his whole life. The conditions for the preservation of organic materials are generally very unfavourable, which is why they were often overlooked by archaeologists. Interest for textiles first started with remains hidden in tubular anklets dated to the La Tène Period, initially noticed and studied by Karol Pieta. The most unique ones come from Nové Zámky and shed light on an embroidery technique of the Late Iron Age. The majority of prehistoric textiles in Slovakia are dated to the La Tène Period and it is comparable with finds from the Czech Republic and Austria. A find from an unknown location analysed in 2021, can with certainty be assigned to the corpus of La Tène Period textiles. It can be assumed that linen tabbies made of simple z-spun threads were preferred in this period. Textiles were found in different circumstances, usually mineralised on metal artefacts in graves. The primary use of these textiles was for clothing and ritual wrappings. A secondary use is evidenced by textile fillings of bronze hollow anklets. A Celtic female dress was reconstructed based on the position of artefacts found in the graves, as well on the observations of La Tène Period textiles, in particular the Nové Zámky embroidery. It is interesting to see, that textiles were apparently used as a code to reflect social and aesthetic values. In society they played an important role in the definition and expression of social space and of group relations.

Keywords: Slovakia, La Tène Period, textiles, reconstruction of dress, visual coding.

INTRODUCTION

Karol Pieta's research interests are varied, one of them being textile archaeology. His 80th birthday gives us therefore an opportunity to make a connection between him and our interest for archaeological textiles. Tereza Štolcová (formerly Belanová) started working on archaeological textiles during her doctoral thesis in 2003 when Karol Pieta was her supervisor at the Institute of Archaeology of the Slovak Academy of Sciences (*Štolcová 2010*). He directed her to the La Tène Period textiles from the territory of Slovakia and Moravia (*Belanová 2005a*; *2005b*), which later became a part of a broader Europe-wide research on textiles (*Belanová-Štolcová 2012*). Tereza enthusiastically took over Karol's work, which he started in the early 80s. Thanks to his wide network of specialists abroad, she got in touch with some of the leading textile experts in archaeology, like Lise Bender Jørgensen or John Peter Wild.

Cooperation with a wide range of researchers from in- and outside Slovakia has always been a main task in Karol Pieta's scientific life – empowered by his cordial character, his scientific curiosity and wish to share the new knowledge. The work on archaeological textiles that emerged from sites in Slovakia could only be done in studying and comparing contemporary finds in a wider geographical area (*Pieta 1992*). This especially applies to the Iron Age, where Slovak sites are embedded into wider cultural frameworks such as Hallstatt and La Tène cultures. Karol Pieta developed contacts with colleagues working on textiles from Austria, starting with Hans-Jürgen Hundt, who was active until the 1980's in the studies of textiles from the salt mines in Hallstatt and Dürrnberg (*Hundt 1961*; *1987*), as well as Hallstatt and La Tène Period graves (*Hundt 1974*). With the fall of the Iron Curtain, Karol Pieta's contacts with Austria and its research institutions have been reinforced, with broader possibilities for personal travels and contacts in which the Natural History Museum Vienna (NHM) has played a central role. At the conference on Iron Age textiles organised by the NHM Vienna at Hallstatt in 2004 (*Bichler et al. 2005*), Karina Grömer got into contact with Karol Pieta and Tereza Štolcová. Since then, a fruitful cooperation led to shared presentations and publications as Iron Age textile technology from Austria and Slovakia (*Belanová-Štolcová/Grömer 2009*). The work on the wider geographical area

[1] The study was realised within the VEGA project No. 2/0001/18 'Slovakia and the Middle Danube Region: Development from the Early history to the Early Middle Ages'.

of Central Europe and its eastern part leads to interesting new insights into textiles as important factors for economic, technological and even social developments.

Last but not least it is important to mention Karol Pieta's overlap of his discipline, which he also utilised as one of the pioneers of experimental archaeology in Slovakia at e.g. the late Iron Age settlement Havránok at Liptovská Mara. Tereza Štolcová together with the ethnologist Juraj Zajonc used his work (*Pieta 1996*; *1999*), knowledge and unpublished documentation when reconstructing the warp-weighted loom from the La Tène Period (*Belanová/Harmadyová/Zajonc 2005*) and the Hallstatt Period (*Štolcová/Zajonc 2014*; *2015*). Around 1983/1984, Juraj Zajonc, as a first year student at the Faculty of Arts, Comenius University in Bratislava, visited Darina Bialeková at the Institute of Archaeology of the SAS in Nitra to consult spindle whorls for a student project. She pointed out to Juraj that one of her colleagues has been working on textile fragments recovered from bronze anklets. In fact, these were the famous textile fragments from Nové Zámky. They stuck in Juraj's mind as strips of tabby weave mounted in between the glass plates, the appearance of which did not interest him much. Two years later he realized they were an important discovery in the history of textiles, when he saw one of the fragments on the cover of the book 'The Beginnings of Clothing in Slovakia' (*Furmánek/Pieta 1985*). He learned from it that the holes of the needle punctures in the fabric are unique evidence of decoration embroidered on a La Tène Period textile. He made a sketch of this motif in which he reconstructed the embroidery. Juraj Zajonc had no idea that this was his first, but not last encounter with this unique textile, which lead him to the man who discovered it (*Belanová/Birkušová/Zajonc 2005*).

LA TÈNE PERIOD TEXTILES IN SLOVAKIA AND MORAVIA IN CONTEXT

The majority of prehistoric textiles in Slovakia are dated to the La Tène Period (*Belanová 2005a*; *Belanová-Štolcová 2012*; *Bender Jørgensen 1992*; *2005*; *Pieta 1992*). Most of these finds come from the periods LTB1, B2 and C1 (380–180 BC), known in the Middle Danube region as the so-called horizon of the flat Celtic inhumation graves (*Bujna 2004*, 321). The conditions for the preservation of organic materials are generally very unfavourable in this territory and archaeologists have thus tended to overlook such finds. All these textiles were found mineralised on metal objects in graves, where any organic matter was replaced by metal salts (Fig. 1–4). In a wider area north of the Middle Danube, i.e. the territory of the Czech and Slovak Republics, textiles dated to the La Tène Period are generally represented by corroded fragments adherent to metal objects like swords, shields, scabbards, lance-, spear- and arrowheads, knives, fibulae, anklets or belt rings. The primary use of these textiles is for clothing and ritual wrappings. A significant group of finds of secondary use is presented by bronze hollow anklets filled with textiles. Graves situated in the modern south-west Slovakia and Moravia – south-eastern part of the Czech Republic, have been analysed and/or revisited in the past two decades (*Belanová 2005a*; *2005b*; *Belanová-Štolcová 2009*; *2012*; *Štolcová 2011*; *2013*; *2019*).[2] They show similar characteristics and therefore are summarised in this article as one corpus of finds. Mineralised fragments consist of either simple tabbies or 2/1 and 2/2 twills, predominantly

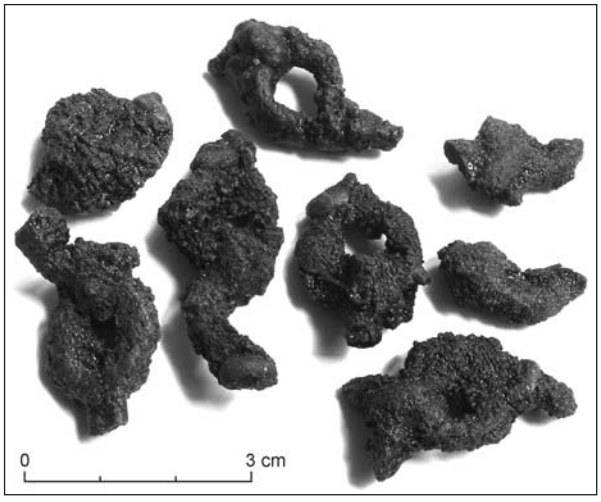


Fig. 1. Veľká Maňa, Nové Zámky distr. Inhumation grave 42/53. Fragments of an iron belt with mineralised tabby fabric (photo T. Štolcová).

[2] Sites in south-west Slovakia: Bučany-Kopanice (Trnava distr.); Hurbanovo-Abadomb, Bacherov Majer, Chotín VIII, X-Horná ľanová zem, Malé Kosihy-Horné Konopnice, Svätý Peter (Komárno distr.); Kamenín-Kisvölgy, Malá n. Hronom-Rövid Föld, Nové Zámky-Slovlik, Palárikovo-Dolný Keresztúr, Veľká Maňa (Nové Zámky distr.); Trnovec n. Váhom-Horný Jatov (Šaľa distr.). Sites in south-eastern part of Czech Republic (Moravia): Blučina-Konopné zahrádky, Telnice-Cihelna Mrkvicova, Bedřichovice (Brno-venkov distr.); Brno-Maloměřice, Plíže; Brno-Židenice, Táborská ulice (Brno-město); Břeclav-Na Zvolencích, Hustopeče-Šibenky, Mušov-U Propustě, Sedlec-škola (Břeclav distr.); Bučovice-Lišky, Holubice-Dílce, Křenovice-Přední díl, Nížkovice-Záhumenice, Slavkov u Brna-Povětrníky, Marefy-U Lišek (Vyškov distr.); Miroslav-Nám. Svobody 3 (Znojmo distr.); Svatobořice-Mistřín, Trávniky (Hodonín distr.); Postoupky-Hradisko (Kroměříž distr.). Textiles from the remaining part of Czech Republic (Bohemia) are listed in *Belanová-Štolcová 2012*, pl. 15: 4, c.f. further bibliography.

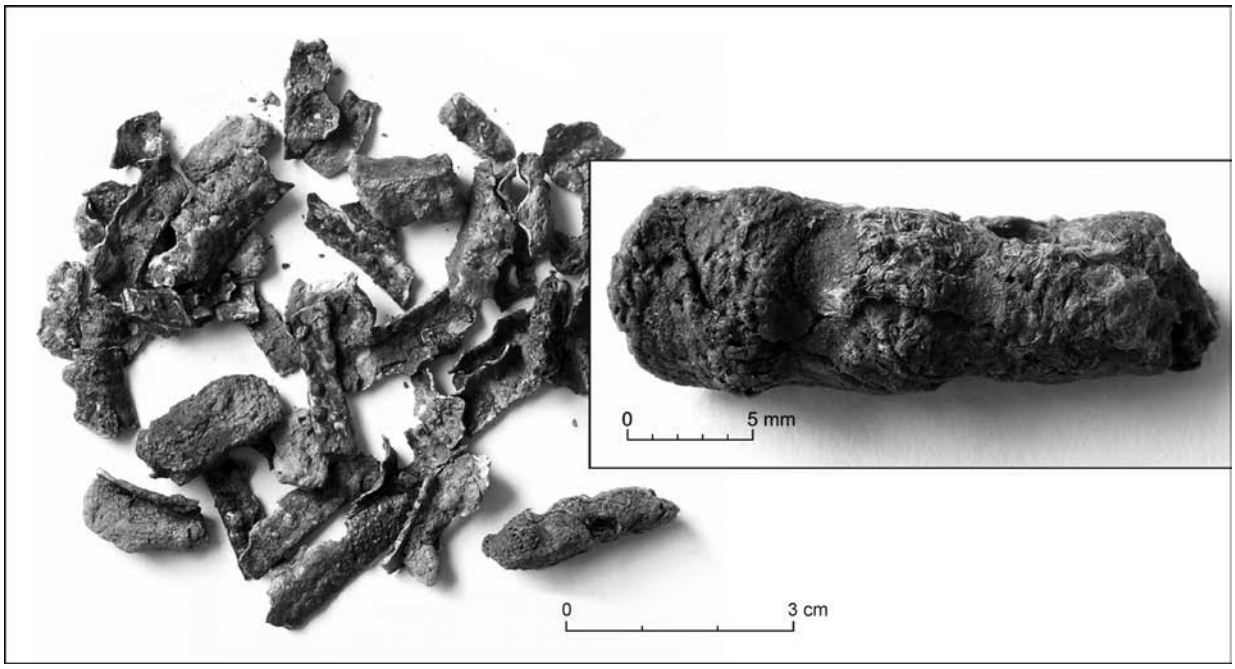


Fig. 2. Palárikovo, Nové Zámky distr. Inhumation grave 58/72. Fragmented bronze anklet and a detail of a textile plug found in one of the ends of the anklet. Tabby weave with z-twisted threads (photo T. Štolcová).

made of z/z-spun single threads with some exceptions of S2z/z, z/S or z/s twisted yarns. The thread count varies from very coarse ones with 4–8 cm in both systems, up to 28 threads in 1 cm. Very finely woven textiles come almost exclusively from the filling of the tubular bronze anklets. Most of the determinable material was identified as flax, which is caused not only by a preference for linen textiles, but unfortunately also the mode of preservation and the state of research. Apart from the unique find of Nové Zámky with traces of embroidery, discussed below, La Tène Period textiles from the territory of Slovak and Czech Republic lack any information about sewing techniques, starting borders, and decoration or colour. However, the fragments of textiles twisted tightly inside tubular anklets provide other insights into textile manufacturing and use. Thus, it is quite demanding to say anything more about the function of mineralised textiles. In some cases, different weaves are present on a metal object in several layers, which indicates the use of several garment types or the way how it was worn. It may be concluded that coarser (woollen) fabrics are identified as upper garments and the finer ones are mostly linen, being part of an undergarment of the deceased (*Belanová-Štolcová 2012*, 320; *Bender Jørgensen 1992*, 49). Textiles were also used as parts of ritual wrappings of individual artefacts in grave (weapons or tools), or they might be recycled as fillings in anklets.

THE ISSUE OF TUBULAR ANKLETS

Bronze tubular anklets are a typical jewellery deposited in pairs in female inhumation graves and are commonly dated to the Old and Middle La Tène Period (stages LTB1b up to LTB2/LTC1), i.e. to the second quarter of the 4th up to the first half of the 3rd c. BC (*Bujna 2004*, 321; *2005*, 140–149). In this context, a type with transversely ribbed hoop and moulded decoration of triple protuberances and the so-called caterpillar type are the most important ones (after *Bujna 2005*, fig. 16: type BR-C1, BR-C2, BR-C3 and BR-C4). They occur across the eastern area of Austria through Transdanubia and in the whole Carpathian Basin (*Bujna 2005*, 147). Apart from materials like fine clay or sand, they are usually filled with firmly twisted pieces of textile. Since these are usually very well preserved, they are the best source of information about textiles in the Late Iron Age from this area. However, they came to light only in the 80's when Karol Pieta studied them in detail (*Pieta 1992*). Textile fillings most likely served a role in the production process of the anklet (*Hundt 1978*, 622; *Kostelníková 2002*, 325; *Müllauer/Ramsl 2007*; *Pieta 1992*, 56).

From the territory of south-west Slovakia, twisted textiles that were found in tubular anklets are known from Hurbanovo (grave 11/80), Nové Zámky (grave 9), Palárikovo (grave 1/69, 15/70, 43/71, 50/71, 53/71, 58/72), Svätý Peter (grave 55, 58),

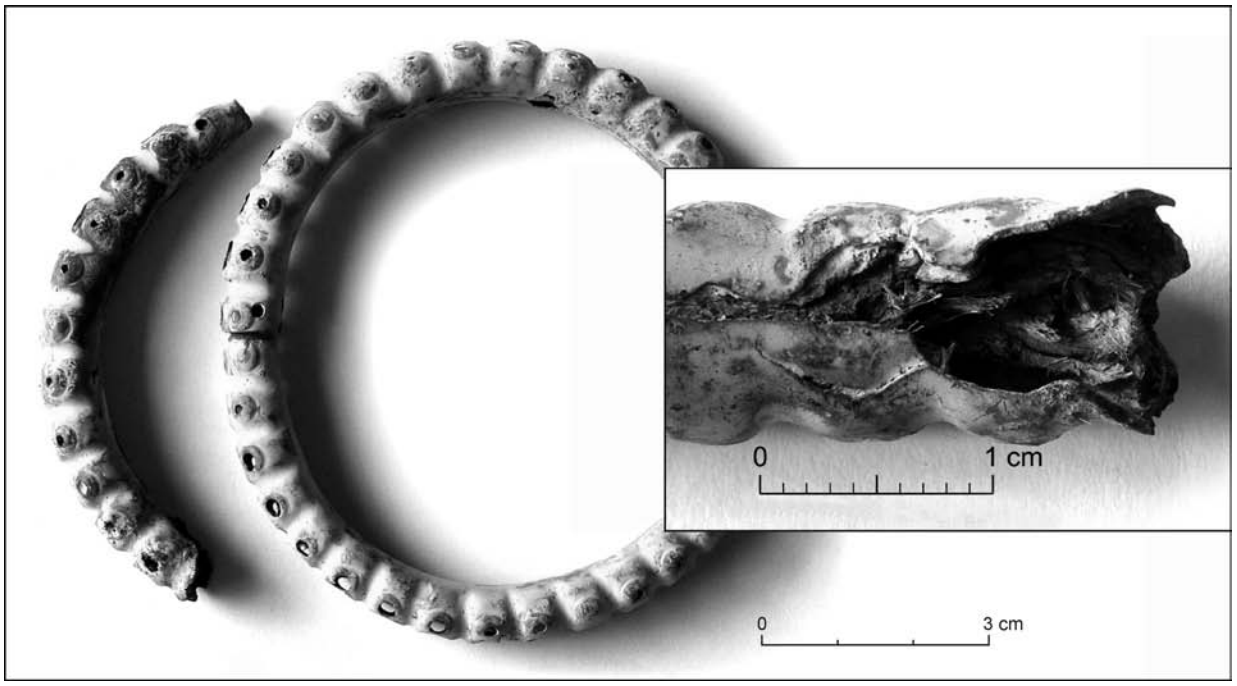


Fig. 3. Veľká Maňa, Nové Zámky distr. Inhumation grave 113/54. S2z-plied and 0.8 cm thick cord placed in a bronze anklet (photo T. Štolcová).

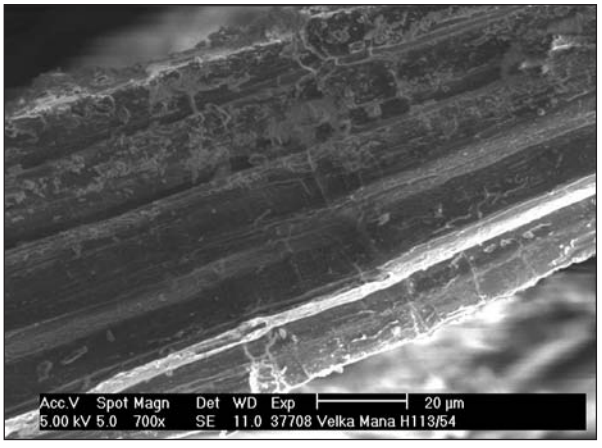


Fig. 4. Veľká Maňa. Nové Zámky distr. Inhumation grave 113/54. Detail of linen fibres from the cord placed in a bronze anklet (photo T. Štolcová).

Trnovec and Váhom (grave 233, 234), Veľká Maňa (grave 104, 113, 116, 129).[3] In some of these anklets, textiles were found in the closing ends in a form of plug (Fig. 2). Some had just a thick twisted cord (Fig. 3; 4), however, most of the fabrics had a very fine quality with z/z twist direction, thickness of thread between 0.3 mm to 0.8 mm and a thread count ranging from 7 up to 28 threads per cm. Similarly, Moravian sites showed the same features of textiles retrieved from the tubular anklets: Brno-Maloměřice (*Belanová 2005b*), Miroslav and Mušov (*Kostelníková 2002*), Nížkovice (*Štolcová 2013*) and Bedřichovice (*Štolcová 2019*). In all cases, the flax fibre was dominant, in some cases hemp was also detected (*Belanová-Štolcová 2012*, 314, 319). There are parallel finds in Austria, such as Early La Tène anklets from Schrattenberg filled with textiles (*Grömer et al. 2019*) or from Mannersdorf am Leithagebirge (*Müllauer/Ramsl 2007*).

ALL ROADS LEAD TO NOVÉ ZÁMKY

None of the above mentioned textiles showed such special features like the find from Nové Zámky (*Pieta 1992*; *Furmánek/Pieta 1985*, 52–55) and was cited all over the Europe (e.g. *Banck-Burgess 1999*, 60; *Grömer 2016*, 203, 204) or used in dress reconstructions (e.g. *Wilson 2017–2018*, 37). Five fragmented fabrics come from a pair of tubular anklets dated to the LTB2 and belonged to the grave goods of a young female buried at a small Celtic graveyard (*Pieta 1992*, 54). She wore two bronze arm rings and one sapropel ring on her wrists, two hollow anklets on her ankles, two silver rings on the fingers of her left hand. Her garment was fastened by one bronze fibula under her chin and the other one on her right

[3] Further details on these finds, catalogue of finds and bibliography in *Belanová-Štolcová 2012*, 321, 322, pl. 15: 2.

Fig. 5. Textiles recovered from the La Tène Period anklets. Inhumation grave, unknown location. 1 – no. 387; 2 – no. 388 (photo T. Štolcová).

shoulder. Two other fibulae were found on the right side of the body, as well as two ceramic pots. Three rings on her right side made of bronze sheet suggest a belt. Bronze tweezers could have been originally placed in a pocket that was attached to the belt (*Pieta 1992*, 55, 56).

All five fragments are made of a linen tabby, with 0.3–0.8 mm thick and z-spun threads in both directions. The thread count was about 20–24 threads in warp and 12–14 threads in weft. Initial analyses have shown that these pieces were originally embroidered with a red woollen thread (*Pieta 1992*, 57). However, years later it was not possible to identify this thread anymore (*Belanová 2005a*, 180). Karol Pieta could prove that fragment no. 1 and 5 belonged originally together and were embroidered by a running stitch. He identified the composition of the pattern as two plaited stripes with S-motifs and trumpets in a form of horn of plenty (*Pieta 1992*, 57). The edge of fragments no. 1 and 5 was finished with an overcast stitch. The other three fragments also bear the stitch holes of embroidery but did not show such an intricate design. Pattern on the fragment no. 2 consists of a strip of diagonal flat S-curves with a widened upper part. The lower part of this pattern was not preserved. On fragment no. 3 cutting traces were identified. Besides a running-dog or a trumpet-like pattern, it also showed a similar pattern to fragment no. 2. Fragment no. 4 has a pattern in a form of diagonal lines, similarly to no. 2 and 3. Fragment no. 2 and 4 also shows some traces of mending (*Pieta* 1992, 57–60).

Twenty years have passed since the publication of 'The Beginnings of Clothing in Slovakia', when Tereza Štolcová encouraged Juraj Zajonc to look at the unique Nové Zámky finds again, this time with an ethno-archaeological approach. When considering the reinterpretation of its embroidery,[4] it became clear that it is not only a unique example of this type of La Tène decoration, but also of contemporary ornamental Waldalgesheim style on a textile product. Karol Pieta reconstructed the pattern by following the irregularities as seen on the original pieces. The goal of our work was to make an ideal reconstruction of the fragment no. 1. The embroidery was copied to a paper by putting fine pins through the stitch holes in their direction. It showed that the embroidery was initially respecting the motifs, not the

[4] Original interpretation published in *Pieta 1992* was updated in *Belanová/Birkušová/Zajonc 2005.*

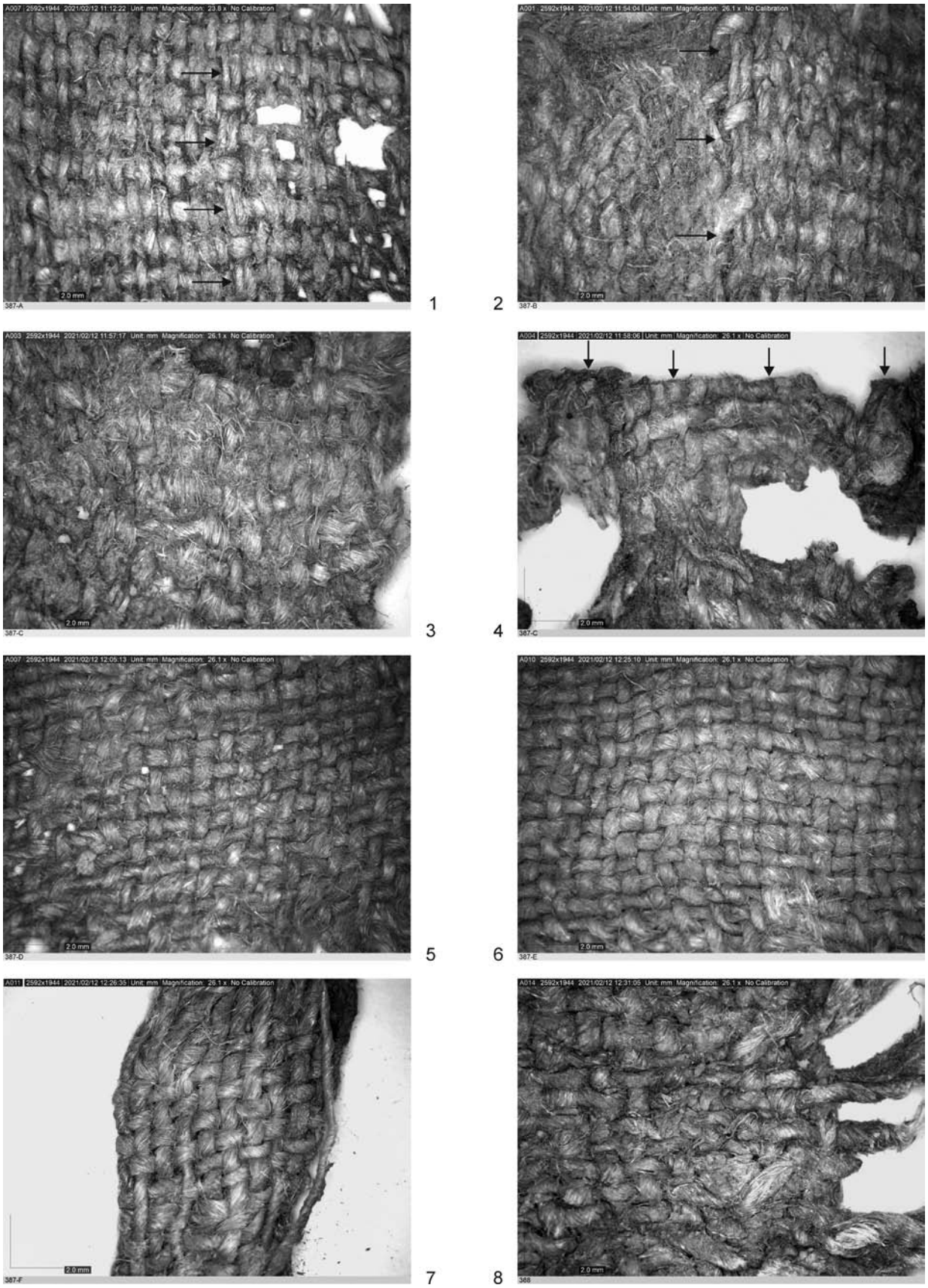


Fig. 6. Microscopic photos of the Fig. 5: 1–7 – textiles from anklet no. 387; 8 – textile from anklet no. 388; 1, 2 – arrows showing a double thread; 4 – arrows showing traces after cutting (photo T. Štolcová).

rows in the fabric. By redrawing it onto a squared paper, the design was schematised. We started with a spatial interpretation of the composition: two intersecting bands forming a double-threaded motif. For each band, one can see the reverse and obverse with positive and negative alternating S-motifs. This way, the former interpretation of Karol Pieta was slightly corrected, as we consider the element of horn of plenty only as a part of the surface of the bands with S-motifs. Also, from the practical point of view, we corrected the running stitch to a satin stitch, which would be more plausible to use in creating such a composite design (*Belanová/Birkušová/Zajonc 2005*, 128–130).

NEW FINDS OF UNKNOWN LOCATION

Above all, an unpublished find of unknown origin was discovered in the archives of the Institute of Archaeology of the SAS and recently analysed by Tereza Štolcová. We would like to dedicate this analysis to Karol Pieta. Unfortunately, it does not contain any information about the site or dating. It consists of a pair of fragmented anklets with transversely ribbed hoop and moulded decoration of triple protuberances (Fig. 5).

An anklet with assigned no. 387 (Fig. 5: 1) contained six fragments and no. 388 (Fig. 5: 2) one fragment of a textile. The size of the first group is A – 39 × 81, B – 57 × 39, C – 38 × 31, D – 55 × 16, E – 78 × 16, F – 24 × 6 mm and the second it is 60 × 36 mm. All of them are simple linen tabbies with z-spun threads in both systems (Fig. 6). Pieces A–C from find no. 387 belonged together. The thickness of thread is 0.4–0.6/0.7–0.8 mm,[5] the count is 12–14 threads in warp and 7–8 in weft and the angle of twist varies between 24°–30°/34°–37°. There is a weaving error in two pieces in the form of a double thread (Fig. 6: 1, 2) and some traces after cutting too (Fig. 6: 4). Pieces D–F are denser and originally must have belonged together too, as they show the same features, having thickness of threads 0.5–0.6 mm in warp and 0.7–0.8 mm in weft, thread count of 12–14/12–13 and the angle of twist 29°–35°/37°. A piece of textile from no. 388 consists of threads 0.8/0.6 mm thick, thread count of 9/10–12 and angle of twist of 30°/31°.

Even though we do not know the find context, the anklet and the textile inside can be dated to the LTB2 and assigned to a female inhumation grave. Moreover, the textile fragments from these anklets show the same features as the comparable material from the eastern part of central Europe, where tabbies made of simple z-spun threads are predominant in this period (*Belanová-Štolcová 2012*, 314–322; *Belanová-Štolcová/Grömer 2009*, 10, 11; *Bender Jørgensen 1992*, 135; *2005*, fig. 1; *Grömer 2012*, 44–47; *Grömer et al. 2019*; *Stöllner 2005*, 161).

RECONSTRUCTION OF THE DRESS

The NHM Vienna has a long tradition in experimental archaeology. In the last decades there has also been a focus on the reconstructions of prehistoric garments, both for textile research (e.g. *Grömer/Rösel-Mautendorfer/Bender Jørgensen 2013*), as well as for various educational activities of the museum. For the reconstruction of a representative Celtic woman's dress, Karina Grömer selected for

Fig. 7. Slovak-Austrian team documenting the reconstruction of La Tène Period dress at the Natural History Museum in Vienna, based on Nové Zámky find – from left to right: K. Grömer, K. Pieta and T. Štolcová, June 2011 (archive T. Štolcová, reconstruction by K. Grömer).

[5] In small fragments without a selvedge it is hard to differ between warp and weft threads. Therefore, we take over the method of *L. Bender Jørgensen* (*1986*, 288), who attributes a higher number of threads to the warp and a lower to the weft. The set of threads is indicated by a 'slash', where the first number indicates the warp and the second number the weft thread. The same applies to the thread thickness, the direction of spin and the angle of twist.

Fig. 8. Detail of the dress in Fig. 7, Nové Zámky embroidery (photo K. Pieta, reconstruction by K. Grömer).

the basic textile design the famous embroidered fabric from Nové Zámky (Fig. 7; 8).

The overall reconstruction and silhouette of the dress is based on diverse pictorial sources, especially from the works of situla art (*Lucke/Frey 1962*; *Turk 2005*), as the 'pure' La Tène Period design is more abstract and clearly recognisable dress elements are difficult to obtain (*Bagley 2014*). In situla art, men and women (seldomly children) are depicted in different garments – both in civil festive garments and in military outfits. Women's clothing is typically depicted in the form of long dresses that reach up to the calves, combined with veils of various lengths (Situla Vače: *Lucke/Frey 1962*, pl. 73). These dresses often have half-length sleeves, the hems are curved or straight and sometimes decorated with braids. The dress is sometimes gathered around the waist with a belt.

In order to reconstruct clothing from the Early La Tène Period using this evidence, the position of the artefacts in the graves is important. By their position, these are the functional elements of the interplay between garment and dress accessories and jewellery: for example, a belt in a functional position in the pelvic area indicates that it held a belted garment; fibulae found in the shoulder area indicate that fabrics of garments have been stitched together in the upper body area. This information from the graves supplements the pictorial sources.

This way, a wealthy Celtic woman from present Austria and Slovakia was reconstructed in a beautiful white linen A-shaped dress. It was decorated with the 'Nové Zámky embroidery' on the sleeves and the lower hem. To hold the garment in place, a chain belt was used. As usually two small fibulae were found in the upper body area, we decided to add a green mantle whose quality and colour reflect evidence from the Dürrnberg saltmines (*Stöllner 2005*).

THE IMPACT OF TEXTILES ON THE VISUAL APPEARANCE

The significance of clothing and textiles for the expression of identity and prestige in prehistory cannot be underestimated, being a distinctive factor of non-verbal communication (e.g. *Grömer 2016*; *Sommer 2012*; *Sørensen 1997*; *Wells 2008*). Garments not only protect against heat, cold and wet weather conditions. In a social meaning, garments are important medium to communicate identities, gender, age, group membership and social status.

It is interesting to look at the visual qualities (textures, colours, patterns, weave types) which were created in textiles in the 1st millennium BC, and what might have been their impact on society. Especially the Nové Zámky textile with its remarkable embroidery gives us some clues, showing the way in which textiles were used as a code to reflect particular social and aesthetic values. New theories in textile research also discuss the visibility of textile structures and pattern types from different

vantage points: what can be seen from far away and from nearby (see also *Grömer 2017*)? This poses questions about the proximity of interaction among members of different social groups. Who was able to come near enough to an elite person wearing a sophisticated and 'expensive' textile to see effects that can only be seen from nearby (such as spin patterns on a find from Hochdorf in the form of small-scale houndstooth checks in woad blue and red dyed with an insect dye – c.f. *Banck-Burgess 2012*)? In this, the Nové Zámky embroidery plays an interesting role, as it has been carried out in bright red on white linen ground – so widely visible. This illustrates that Iron Age textiles of Central Europe defined and expressed a 'social space', group relationships, and demonstrated visual codes of the society.

CONCLUSIONS

Karol Pieta is an exceptional personality in Slovak archaeology. He incorporates multidisciplinary knowledge into his reflections on archaeological textiles. For example, he will make an archaeological find available to an ethnologist to help reveal connections with younger cultural expressions. It is a pleasure for us to enter such a rare dialogue with people from different disciplines. In this dialogue, the topics have already gone beyond the framework of textiles. Consequently, Juraj Zajonc was invited to make a technological and functional analysis of a bast container and several wooden finds from the princely tomb in Poprad-Matejovce, dated to the end of the 4th c. AD (Fig. 9). Tereza Štolcová has been cooperating with Karol Pieta on this unique find from the very beginning. This great adventure, which began for her at the archaeological research in Poprad in 2006 and continued with the processing of textile and leather finds in Schleswig, Germany, they will conclude together in 2022 as the authors of the exhibition 'The Prince of Poprad and His Tomb' at the Podtatranské múzeum in Poprad. However, the journey of getting to know the history of textiles will continue, and all three of us are looking forward to new challenges in textile archaeology, greatly in debt to the foundations laid out in Slovakia by Karol Pieta.

Fig. 9. J. Zajonc and T. Štolcová examining wooden stool from Poprad-Matejovce in the archives of the Institute of Archaeology SAS in Nitra, November 2020 (photo K. Pieta).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bagley 2014 – J. M. Bagley: *Zwischen Kommunikation und Distinktion. Ansätze zur Rekonstruktion frühlatènezeitlicher Bildpraxis*. Vorgeschichtliche Forschungen 25. Rahden/Westf. 2014.

Banck-Burgess 1999 – J. Banck-Burgess: *Hochdorf IV. Die Textilfunde aus dem späthallstattzeitlichen Fürstengrab von Eberdingen-Hochdorf (Kreis Ludwigsburg) und weitere Grabtextilien aus Hallstatt- und latènezeitlichen Kulturgruppen*. Forschungen und Berichte zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte in Baden-Württemberg 70. Stuttgart 1999.

Banck-Burgess 2012 – J. Banck-Burgess: Case Study: the Textiles from the Princely Burial at Eberdingen-Hochdorf, Germany. In: M. Gleba/U. Mannering (eds.): *Textiles and textile production in Europe. From Prehistory to AD 400*. Ancient Textiles Series 11. Oxford 2012, 139–150.

Belanová 2005a – T. Belanová: The State of Research of La Tène Textiles from Slovakia and Moravia. In: *Bichler et al. 2005*, 175–189.

Belanová 2005b – T. Belanová: Určenie textilných zvyškov. In: J. Čižmářová: *Keltské pohřebiště v Brně Maloměřicích*. Pravěk. Supplementum 14. Brno 2005, 65–74.

Belanová/Birkušová/Zajonc 2005 – T. Belanová/S. Birkušová/J. Zajonc: Dva príklady rekonštrukcie na základe archeologického nálezu: výšivka a paličkovaná čipka. In: M. Kotorová-Jenčová (zost.): *Experimentálna archeológia a popularizácia archeologického bádania v múzejnej a školskej*

praxi. Zborník referátov z konferencie, Hanušovce nad Topľou. Hanušovce nad Topľou 2005, 123–148.

Belanová/Harmadyová/Zajonc 2005 – T. Belanová/K. Harmadyová/J. Zajonc: Devín: experimentálna rekonštrukcia snovadla a krosien v doby laténskej. In: M. Kotorová-Jenčová (zost.): *Experimentálna archeológia a popularizácia archeologického bádania v múzejnej a školskej praxi. Zborník referátov z konferencie, Hanušovce nad Topľou*. Hanušovce nad Topľou 2005, 105–122.

Belanová-Štolcová 2009 – T. Belanová-Štolcová: Analýza textilných zvyškov z Holubic a Křenovic. In: J. Čižmářová: *Keltská pohřebiště z Holubic a Křenovic*. Pravěk. Supplementum 19. Brno 2009, 36–44.

Belanová-Štolcová 2012 – T. Belanová-Štolcová 2012: Slovak and Czech Republics. In: M. Gleba/U. Mannering (eds.): *Textiles and textile production in Europe. From Prehistory to AD 400*. Ancient Textiles Series 11. Oxford 2012, 306–331.

Belanová-Štolcová/Grömer 2009 – T. Belanová-Štolcová/K. Grömer: Loom-weights, Spindles and Textiles – Textile Production in Central Europe from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age. In: E. B. Andersson Strand/M. Gleba/U. Mannering/Ch. Munkholt/M. Ringgard (eds.): *North European Symposium for Archaeological Textiles X, 13.–18. 5. 2008 in Copenhagen*. Ancient Textiles Series 5. Oxford 2009, 9–20.

Bender Jørgensen 1986 – L. Bender Jørgensen: *Forhistoriske textiler i Skandinavien. Prehistoric Scandinavian Textiles*. Nordiske Fortidsminder. Serie B, 9. København 1986.

Bender Jørgensen 1992 – L. Bender Jørgensen: *North European Textiles until AD 1000*. Aarhus 1992.

Bender Jørgensen 2005 – L. Bender Jørgensen: Hallstatt and La Tène Textiles from the Archives of Central Europe. In: *Bichler et al. 2005*, 133–150.

Bichler et al. 2005 – P. Bichler/K. Grömer/R. Hofmann-de Keijzer/A. Kern/H. Reschreiter (eds.): *Hallstatt Textiles: Technical Analysis, Scientific Investigation and Experiment on Iron Age Textiles*. British Archaeological Reports International Series 1351. Oxford 2005.

Bujna 2004 – J. Bujna: K problematike birituality u Keltov. *Študijné zvesti AÚ SAV* 36, 2004, 321–338.

Bujna 2005 – J. Bujna: *Kruhový šperk z laténskych ženských hrobov na Slovensku*. Nitra 2005.

Furmánek/Pieta 1985 – V. Furmánek/K. Pieta: *Počiatky odievania na Slovensku*. Dávnoveké umenie Slovenska 19. Bratislava 1985.

Grömer 2012 – K. Grömer: Austria: Bronze and Iron Ages. In: M. Gleba/U. Mannering (eds.): *Textiles and textile production in Europe. From Prehistory to AD 400*. Ancient Textiles Series 11. Oxford 2012, 306–331.

Grömer 2016 – K. Grömer: *The Art of Prehistoric Textile Making. The development of craft traditions and clothing in Central Europe*. Veröffentlichungen der Prähistorischen Abteilung 5. Vienna 2016.

Grömer 2017 – K. Grömer: Textiles as Early Iron Age prestige goods – a discussion of visual qualities. In: R. Schumann/S. van der Vaart-Verschoof (eds.): *Connecting Elites and Regions. Perspectives on contacts, relations and differentiation during the Early Iron Age Hallstatt C period in Northwest and Central Europe*. Leiden 2017, 221–236.

Grömer et al. 2019 – K. Grömer/P. Ramsl/K. Wiltschke-Schrotta/J. Wollmann: *Latènezeitliche Gräber aus Schrattenberg mit „Torques" und Textil*. Annalen des Naturhistorischen Museums Wien. Serie A 121. 2019, 5–33.

Grömer/Rösel-Mautendorfer/Bender Jørgensen 2013 – K. Grömer/H. Rösel-Mautendorfer/L. Bender Jørgensen: Visions of Dress. Recreating Bronze Age Clothing from the Danube Region. *Textile* 11/3, 2013, 218–241. DOI: https://doi.org/10.2752/175183513x1379321037403

Hundt 1961 – H.-J. Hundt: Neunzehn Textilreste aus dem Dürrnberg in Hallein. *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums* 8, 1961, 7–25.

Hundt 1974 – H.-J. Hundt: Die Textilreste aus den Gräbern vom Dürrnberg. In: F. Moosleitner/L. Pauli/E. Penninger: *Der Dürrnberg bei Hallein II*. Münchner Beiträge zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte 17. München 1974, 136–142.

Hundt 1978 – H.-J. Hundt: Beobachtungen zur Herstellung Frühlatènezeitlicher Hohlarmringe vom Dürrnberg. In: L. Pauli: *Der Dürrnberg bei Hallein III/2*. Münchner Beiträge zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte 18. München 1978, 619–623.

Hundt 1987 – H.-J. Hundt: Vorgeschichtliche Gewebe aus dem Hallstätter Salzberg. *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz* 34, 1987, 261–269.

Kostelníková 2002 – M. Kostelníková: Laténské nánožníky s textilní výplní z Miroslavi (okr. Znojmo) a Mušova (okr. Břeclav). *Přehled výzkumů* 43, 2002, 325, 326.

Lucke/Frey 1962 – W. Lucke/O.-H. Frey: *Die Situla in Providence*. Römisch-Germanische Forschungen 26. Mainz 1962.

Müllauer/Ramsl 2007 – N. Müllauer/P. Ramsl: Herstellungstechnische Untersuchungen an Hohlblechreifen aus dem Latènezeitlichen Gräberfeld von Mannersdorf am Leithagebirge, Niederösterreich. *Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt* 37, 2007, 67–84.

Pieta 1992 – K. Pieta: Keltische Textilreste mit Stickereien aus Nové Zámky, Südslowakei. In: L. Bender Jørgensen/E. Munksgaard (eds.): *Archaeological Textiles in Northern Europe: Report from the 4th NESAT Symposium 1.–5. May 1990 in Copenhagen*. Tidens Tand 5. Copenhagen 1992, 52–65.

Pieta 1996 – K. Pieta: *Liptovská Mara. Včasnohistorické centrum severného Slovenska*. Archeologické pamätníky Slovenska 5. Bratislava 1996.

Pieta 1999 – K. Pieta: Der archäologische Park und die Feuchtschichtengrabung in Liptovská Mara. In: E. Jerem/I. Poroszlai (eds.): *Archaeology of the Bronze and Iron Age: Experimental Archaeology, Environmental Archaeology, Archaeological Parks. Proceedings of the International Archaeological Conference, Százhalombatta, 3–7 October 1996*. Budapest 1999, 357–366.

Sommer 2012 – C. M. Sommer: Dress and Identity – A Social Psychologist's Perspective. In: S. Schrenk/K. Vössing/A. Wieczorek/M. Tellenbach (Hrsg.): *Kleidung und Identität in religiösen Kontexten der römischen Kaiserzeit*. Publikationen der Reiss-Engelhorn. Museen Mannheim 47. Regensburg 2012, 257–263.

Sørensen 1997 – M. L. S. Sørensen: Reading Dress: The Construction of Social Categories and Identities in Bronze Age Europe. *Journal of European Archaeology* 5, 1997, 93–114.

Štolcová 2010 – T. Štolcová: *Vývoj výroby textilu a odevu v severnom Podunajsku od konca praveku po včasný stredovek*. Dizertačná práca. Archeologický ústav SAV Nitra. Nitra 2010. Unpublished.

Štolcová 2011 – T. Štolcová: Analýza zvyškov textilu z okresov Brno-město a Brno-venkov. In: J. Čižmářová: *Keltská pohřebiště na Moravě. Okresy Brno-město a Brno-venkov*. Brno 2011, 59–70.

Štolcová 2013 – T. Štolcová: Analýza textilných zvyškov z laténskych hrobov z okresu Vyškov. In: J. Čižmářová: *Keltská pohřebiště na Moravě. Okresy Blansko a Vyškov*. Brno 2013, 93–107.

Štolcová 2019 – T. Štolcová: Analýza zvyškov textilu z laténskych hrobov v okrese Břeclav a Znojmo. In: J. Čižmářová: *Keltská pohřebiště na Moravě. Okresy Břeclav a Znojmo*. Brno 2019, 109–129.

Štolcová/Zajonc 2014 – T. Štolcová/J. Zajonc: Rekonštrukcia tkania v dobe halštatskej na základe nálezu tkáčskej dielne z Dunajskej Lužnej. *Zborník SNM* 108. *Archeológia* 24, 2014, 59–82.

Štolcová/Zajonc 2015 – T. Štolcová/J. Zajonc: Interdisciplinary reconstruction of weaving on the warp-weighted loom in the Hallstatt Period. In: K. Grömer/F. Pritchard (eds.): *Aspects of the Design, Production and Use of Textiles and Clothing from the Bronze Age to the Early Modern Era. NESAT XII. The North European Symposium of Archaeological Textiles, 21st–24th May 2014 in Hallstatt, Austria*. Archaeolingua Main Series 33. Budapest 2015, 295–307.

Stöllner 2005 – Th. Stöllner: More than Old Rags – Textiles from the Iron Age Salt-mine at the Dürrnberg. In: *Bichler et al. 2005*, 161–174.

Turk 2005 – P. Turk: *Images of Life and Myth. Exhibition Catalogue*. Ljubljana 2005.

Wells 2008 – P. S. Wells: *Image and Response in Early Europe*. London 2008.

Wilson 2017–2018 – K. Wilson: Mensen in Stof. *Inzicht BLKVLD Uitgevers* 2017–2018, 36–41.

Manuscript accepted 4. 6. 2021

Translated by authors

Mgr. Tereza Štolcová, PhD.
Archeologický ústav SAV
Akademická 2
SK – 949 21 Nitra
tereza.stolcova@gmail.com

PhDr. Juraj Zajonc, CSc.
Ústav etnológie a sociálnej antropológie SAV
Klemensova 19
SK – 813 64 Bratislava
juraj.zajonc@savba.sk

PD Dr. Karina Grömer
Naturhistorisches Museum Wien
Burgring 7
A – 1010 Wien
karina.groemer@nhm-wien.ac.at

SLOVENSKÁ ARCHEOLÓGIA – SUPPLEMENTUM 2
Z. Robak/M. Ruttkay (eds.): Celts – Germans – Slavs.
A Tribute Anthology to Karol Pieta. Nitra 2021, 81–93.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.31577/slovarch.2021.suppl.2.7

NEW SETTLEMENT FROM THE LA TÈNE PERIOD IN SEREĎ[1]

KLAUDIA DAŇOVÁ – MIROSLAVA KISSOVÁ

During rescue excavations in the town of Sereď, Galanta distr., SW Slovakia, a settlement from the La Tène Period was uncovered. The article analyses two sunken features, pit-houses. A usual set of pottery consisting of bowl and vase shapes, situlas and situla-shaped pots was discovered in their fills. One of the features is well dated by two fragments of bracelets made of sapropelite. Settlement is dated to the Middle La Tène Period.

Keywords: Southwestern Slovakia, La Tène Period, pit-house, pottery, bracelets.

INTRODUCTION

The studied site of Prúdy is located in the northern part of Sereď (Galanta distr., SW Slovakia), near the currently modified stream of the Váh river (Fig. 1). During the rescue excavations in 2018 and 2019 associated with the construction of technical infrastructure for the investment housing construction, a settlement from the Late Iron Age was discovered. The archaeological research consisted of monitoring of excavations during construction of communications in the newly built residential area of Prúdy on both sides of the previously existent road, within length of 980 m and width of approx. 8 m. The layer of hummus removed from the body of the road was 30 cm thick. Topsoil was up to 40 cm thick at some places. Therefore, it was necessary to study the area of the road complexly, by means of purposefully located trenches with depths reaching the sediments with visible features (50–70 cm). 44 trenches were located in the area of the roads as part of the research. The deeper ditches for pipelines and sewerage were also monitored. Both ditches were led through the body of the road. Nine settlement features were investigated during the excavations (Fig. 1). They were concentrated on a slight elevation – a loess terrace. Besides common settlement pits, two residential features (huts) indicated as no. 5 and 8 were also studied. This study deals with these two features. Finds will be complexly published elsewhere.

Sereď belongs to the towns with relatively good archaeological background. Several sites from various periods of prehistory and the Middle Ages are situated in the urban area of the town and in the immediate vicinity of the archaeological excavations. The important sites, such as Mačianske vŕšky (including settlement from the La Tène Period; *Paulík 1955*; *1957*) and Sereď manor, also include the Area of ZIPP factory. It is located in the immediate vicinity of the studied site of Prúdy. In 1958, a cremation burial from the Late Iron Age was discovered there (*Bialeková 1958*) and in 1976, skeleton and settlement finds from the Eneolithic and Middle Ages (10th–11th c.) were added to it (*Bialeková 1989*, 96; *Šalkovský 1976*). Excavation at the site of Prúdy, approx. 200 m south of the detected La Tène features, continued in 2020. The research did not confirm continuation of the La Tène settlement southwards, however, medieval settlement was recorded.[2]

DESCRIPTION OF THE FIND CONTEXT

Settlement of the La Tène Period was documented on a slight loess elevation, near which extinct meanders of the Váh river were recorded. Features no. 5 and 8 were 36.5 m far from each other. East of feature no. 5, in its immediate surroundings, a cluster of daub with pottery was found. It was indicated as feature no. 3. It had irregular shape of 440 × 320 × 5 cm. The pottery as well as the daub were discovered just below the topsoil. The same situation was discovered near feature no. 8. West of it, feature no. 6 was located. It had irregular shape of 206 × 180 × 5 cm. The remarkable proximity of features no. 3 and 6 to pit-houses no. 5 and 8 as well as their character suggest that they might have been results of levelling of construction debris from features no. 5 and 8 (Fig. 1).

[1] The article was supported by grant projects of VEGA no. 2/0001/18 and APVV-18-0276.

[2] We thank to B. Kovár for information.

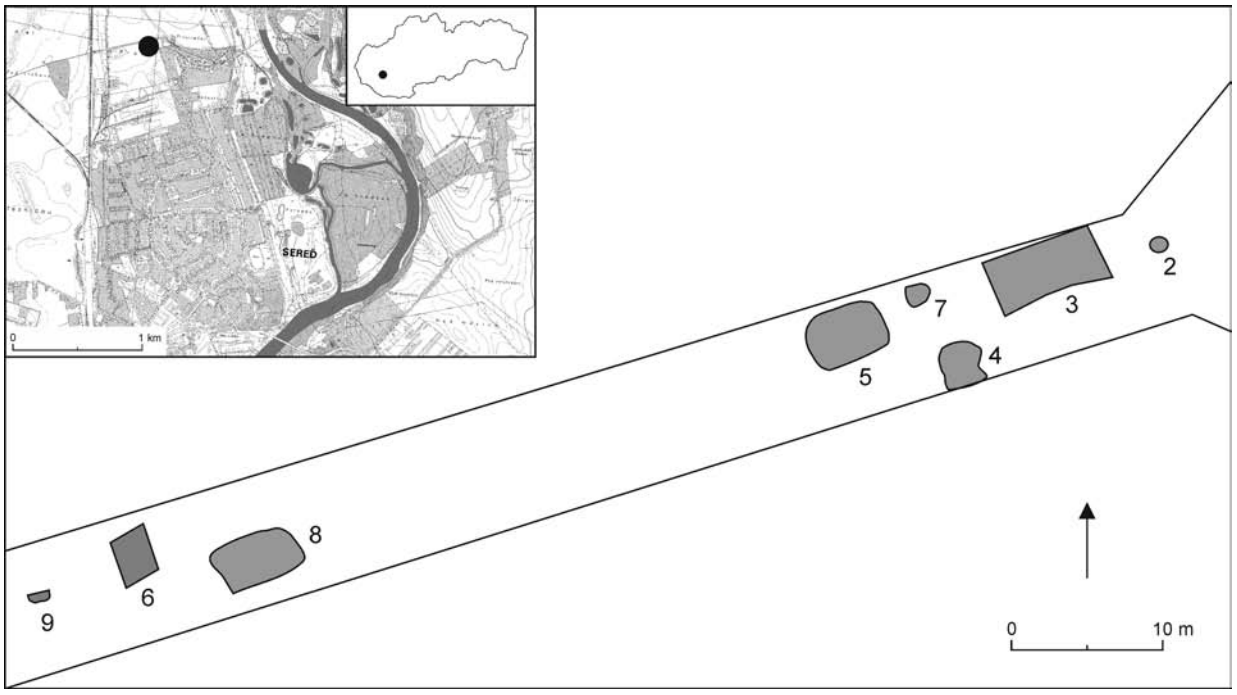


Fig. 1. Sereď, Prúdy site. Excavation plan and location of excavated area (author K. Daňová).

Feature no. 5 represents the classical La Tène type of a sunken feature with double pole construction. The pit-house had rectangular shape with slightly rounded corners, walls conically falling to the almost flat bottom and size of 517 × 350 × 68 cm (Fig. 2). It was north-south oriented. The eastern part of the feature was disturbed by trench 26. The feature had compact fill composed of dark to black loam with numerous sherds (more than 42.8 kg!), daub, charcoals and animal bones which occurred as early as the level of detection. The fill was homogeneous, without multiple layers. The bottom of the pit-house was sunken in the hard loess layer mixed with small stones, it was almost flat, only disturbed by smaller pits. Two deeper postholes no. 5/2 and 5/7 in the middle of the shorter walls and oriented along the feature's longer axis probably created the basic supporting system of the structure (size of posthole no. 5/2: 45 × 36 × 72 cm; no. 5/7: 36 × 34 × 56 cm). Six more holes were identified along the longer walls; they looked like short furrows or double postholes (no. 5/1, 5/5 and 5/8). However, their depth was minimum (posthole no. 5/1: 73 × 30 × 20 cm; no 5/3: 52 × 46 × 8 cm; no. 5/4: diam. 36 cm, depth 8 cm; no. 5/5: 72 × 42 × 16 cm; no. 5/6: 42 × 36 × 20 cm; no. 5/8: 72 × 36 × 11 cm). Their fills were homogenous, dark brown. The function of these pits is disputable. They could have been additional supporting pillars, shallowly sunken, or they might have been sunken by pressure.

Feature no. 8 was identified in the profile of the sewerage furrow and its connection which disturbed the feature from three sides. The preserved shape was rectangular, with rounded corners and walls conically falling to the almost flat bottom and its size was 520 × 325 × 58 cm (Fig. 3). Its fill was almost identical with the sunken terrain and it was composed of dark loam. After the fill had been removed, eight sunken pits were identified in the feature's bottom (with the fill identical with the feature's backfill) and along its central line in the east-west direction, a furrow of 380 × 68 × 7 cm was running. The supporting construction of the feature included double postholes situated along its longer axis, in the middle of the shorter walls; no. 8/3 and 8/4 in the western wall and no. 8/5 and 8/6 in the eastern wall (sizes of postholes: no. 8/3: 37 × 32 × 28 cm; no. 8/4: 30 × 26 × 46 cm; no. 8/5: 52 × 42 × 62 cm; no. 8/6: diam. 32 cm, depth 53 cm). Larger holes with circular ground plans and bowl-shaped bottoms were uncovered in the southwestern (hole no. 8/1: diam. 66 cm, depth 30 cm) and north-western corners of the pit-house (hole no. 8/2: diam. 70 cm, depth 31 cm). Hole no. 8/1 was partly covered by a large flat burned stone. In the eastern part of feature no. 8, oval holes no. 8/7 and 8/8 were studied (sizes: no. 8/7: 60 × 50 × 40 cm; no. 8/8: 103 × 75 × 47 cm). Nevertheless, it is not clear from the find context whether this was a superposition of several features or

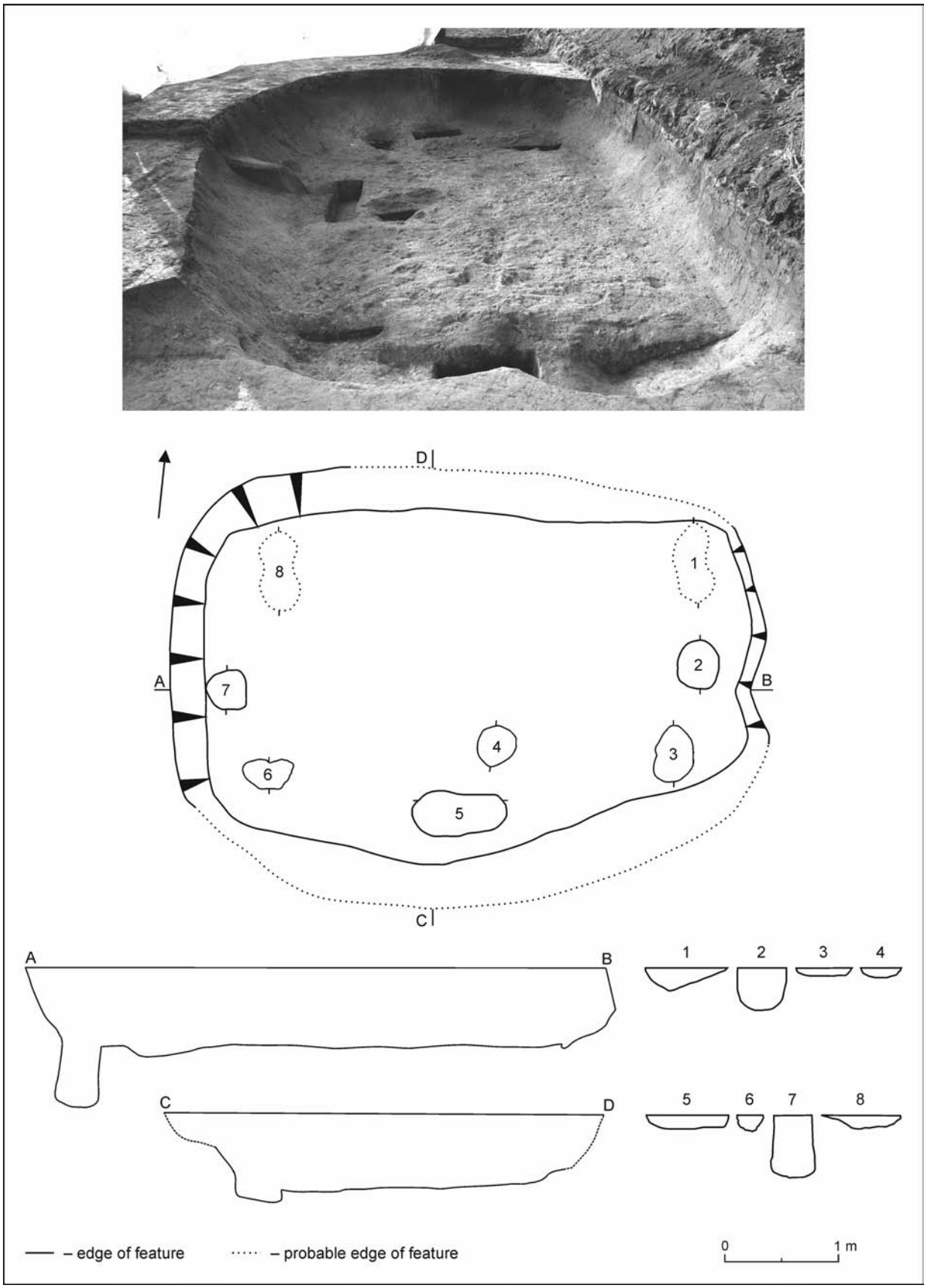


Fig. 2. Sereď, Prúdy site. Feature no. 5 (photo and drawn by K. Daňová).

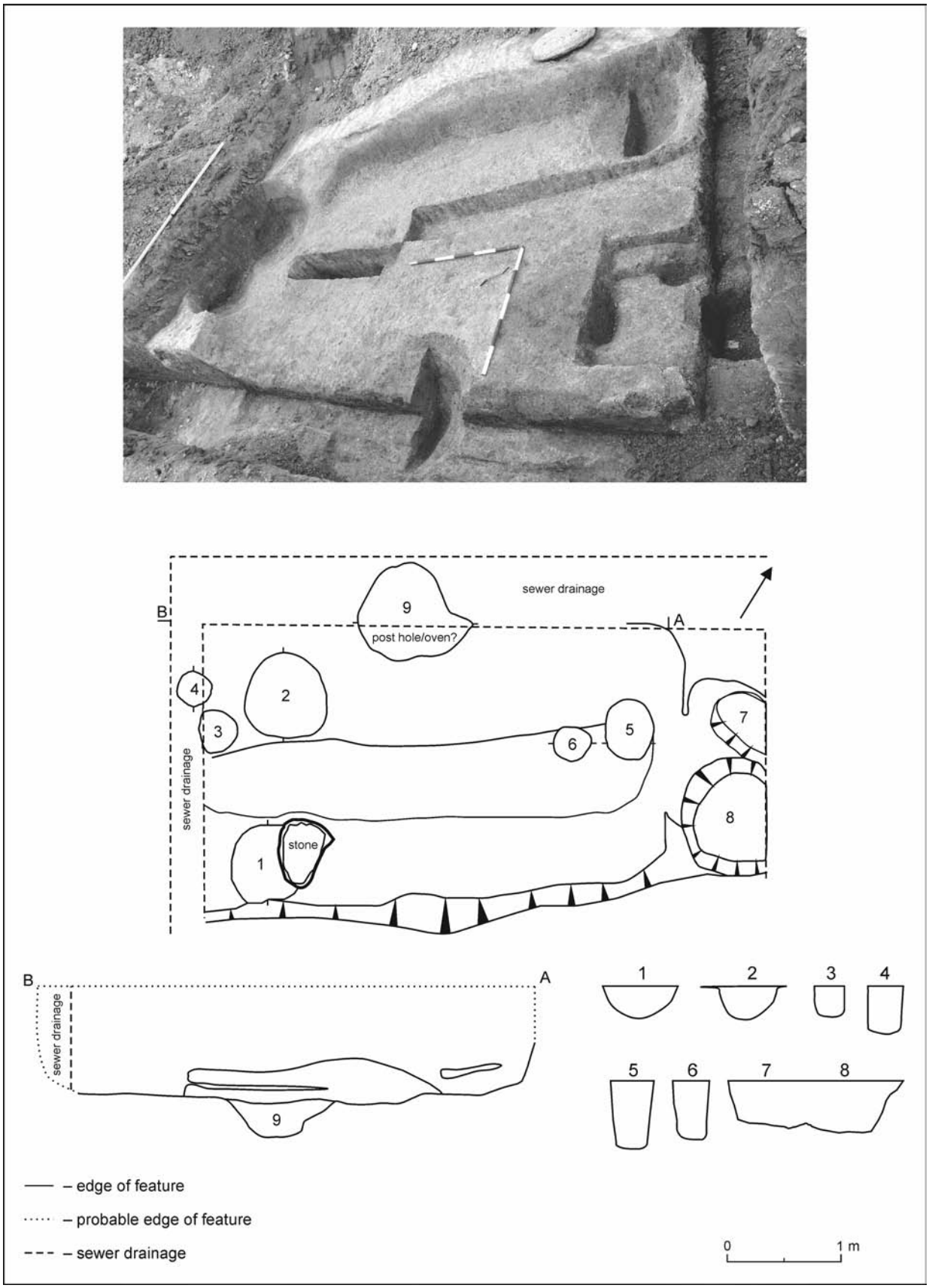


Fig. 3. Sereď, Prúdy site. Feature no. 8 (photo and drawn by K. Daňová).

an entrance recess as part of feature no. 8. Fill of pits no. 8/7 and 8/8 was no different from the fill of feature no. 8 itself. In the northern part of the feature, approximately in the middle, a burned area (hearth?) indicated as feature no. 8/9 of 100 × 82 × 52 cm was located. Its backfill consisted of a burned layer with charcoals.

Both features represent the most commonly occurring type of pit-houses at La Tène settlements of southwestern Slovakia which can be classified into the basic type A according to the classification by *J. Meduna* (*1980*, 48–56) with two postholes located on the longer central axis, in the middle of the shorter walls. From the aspect of construction, doubled bearing poles in feature no. 8 are interesting. However, it is not possible to say from the find context whether it was an additional repair supporting the roof or the poles were sunken during the pit-house's construction. The depth to which the poles are sunken is usually evidence of additional building of a roof; the hole left by a secondary pole is normally shallower. Postholes no. 8/5 and 8/6 were approx. equally sunken – 62 or 52 cm deep. On the other hand, postholes near the western wall show greater differences in depth. Posthole no. 8/3 was sunken 'only' 28 cm deep, while post considerably variable. Additional postholes or other depressions in the floors are not exceptional. At the settlement in Nitra-Šindolka, they were recorded e.g. in features no. 12/68, 68/75, 176/85 and 190/86 (*Březinová 2000*, fig. 7; 15; 38; 43; 44). Pits reaching below the floor level were also found at the settlement in Nitra-Chrenová II in feature no. 20/71 as well as at Nitra-Mikov dvor, Construction of electricity substation site, in features no. 74/80 or 293/84 (both sites *Březinová/Chropovský 2020*, fig. 14; 20; 31). Other holes were studied also in the interiors of pit-houses at the site of Prúdy. Six shallow holes with irregular ground plans and shape of short furrows or doubled postholes were discovered along the inner circumference of feature no. 5. Nevertheless, they were well distinguishable from the feature's floor in the terrain. Here, the question arises whether it was a supporting system of the house or they were just holes made on purpose when the house was used, e.g. depressions for depositing large vessels for storing food, the shallower holes might have been created by pressure of heavy and massive furniture (e.g. for sitting). In feature no. 5, traces of a heating device were not detected, although ashes were identified in the backfill of posthole no. 5/6.

Feature no. 8 had more complex construction elements. In its eastern part, holes no. 8/7 and 8/8 were detected. Their fill was no different from the backfill of the whole feature no. 8. In the place where both holes ended, the feature's walls widened northwards and southwards. The find context suggests that an entrance recess in the feature was located there. Entrances to the pit-houses were identified also at the settlement in Nitra-Šindolka in pit-house no. 12/68 and 189/86 (*Březinová 2000*, fig. 7; 43), at the settlement in Komjatice, Kňazova jama site, in feature no. 173/79 (*Horváth 2014*, 72, 73) or in feature no. 69 studied at the site of Pri mlyne in Čierne Kľačany (*Březinová et al. 2015*, 265). Another element in feature no. 8 was a shallow furrow running through the centre of the feature. Its function, similarly to the function of two large holes in the western part of the feature, is unknown. Holes no. 8/1 and 8/4 were 'twins' with their shapes and sizes; they were located on both sides of the furrow. The holes might have had a working function. The eastern part of hole no. 8/1 was covered with a large stone, which was considerably weathered or burned – it was friable. It is not probable that it was part of the pole's supporting structure. As it was a flat stone, it might have been part or base of a heating device, which might be documented by the fact that it was significantly burned. Approximately in the middle of the northern wall of feature no. 8, hole no. 8/9 was located. It was burned and charcoals were discovered in its fill. With its shape and size, it resembled holes no. 8/1 and 8/2, but with regard to its size, it could have been a heating device – sunken hearth. Traces of fire are not rare nor common finds in La Tène pit-houses. At the settlement in Nitra-Šindolka, remains of fire were found in two out of 32 pit-houses (features no. 72/75 and 128/76: *Březinová 2006a*, 16); in Komjatice, a stove was documented in feature no. VI/79 (*Horváth 2014*, 71), in Nitra-Šindolka, Športový areál site, a hearth was found in feature no. 8/83 (*Chropovský/Fusek 1988*, 144, 145). As many as five hearths were found in feature no. 1 at the site of Cífer, Záhumenice site. According to the authors of the excavation, it was probably a production feature where hearths were gradually built in various parts of the pit-house (*Cheben/Ruttkay/Ruttkayová 2012*, 295, fig. 1: 6). Traces of small pointed holes in the floor or remains of benches were not detected in any of the features at the site of Prúdy. The interior area of the pit-houses is 18.10 m^2 for feature no. 5 and at least 16.9 m^2 for feature no. 8. Compared to the average size of pit-houses, which is 14.37 m^2 in the territory of southwestern Slovakia (*Březinová 2006a*, 18), the features from the site of Prúdy rank among the larger ones.

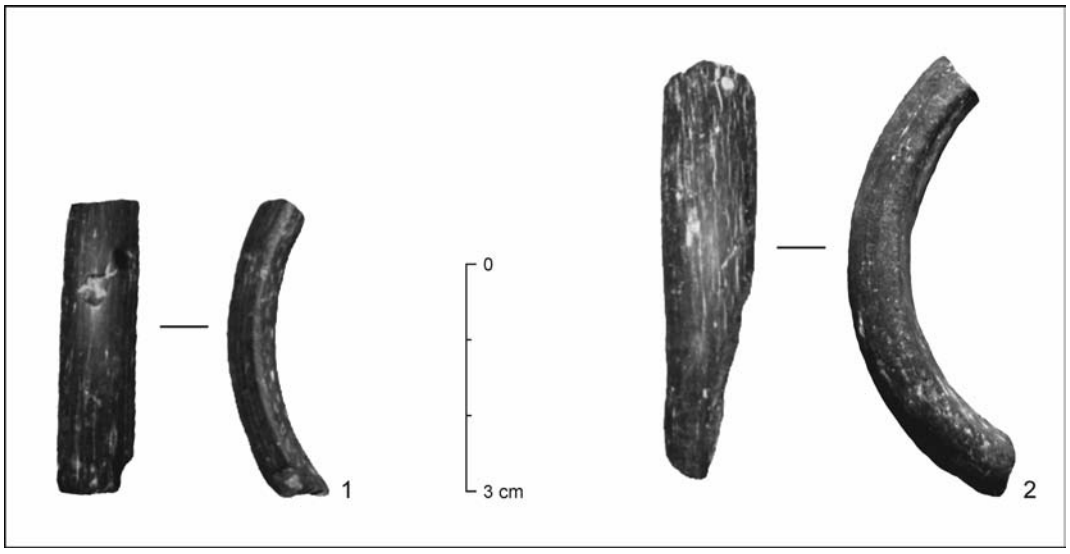


Fig. 4. Sereď, Prúdy site. Fragments of sapropelite bracelets from feature no. 5 (photo by M. Kissová).

EVALUATION OF FINDS

The considerable part of the assemblage of finds obtained from both studied features consists of fragments of vessels; in feature no. 5 their weight is more than 42.8 kg. Apart from pottery, two fragments of sapropelite bracelets, one spindle whorl, several clay discs, whetstones, fragments of clay weights, two unidentifiable iron fragments, daub and animal bones were discovered. Similarly, to production waste, iron slag occurred in the backfill of feature no. 5. Feature no. 8's backfill was poorer in finds. Together with pottery fragments, a bone awl, a grinding slab and animal bones were found in it. Chronologically sensitive artefacts, mainly brooches, are absent among the finds. Only the fragments of sapropelite bracelets and pottery can date the features more exactly.

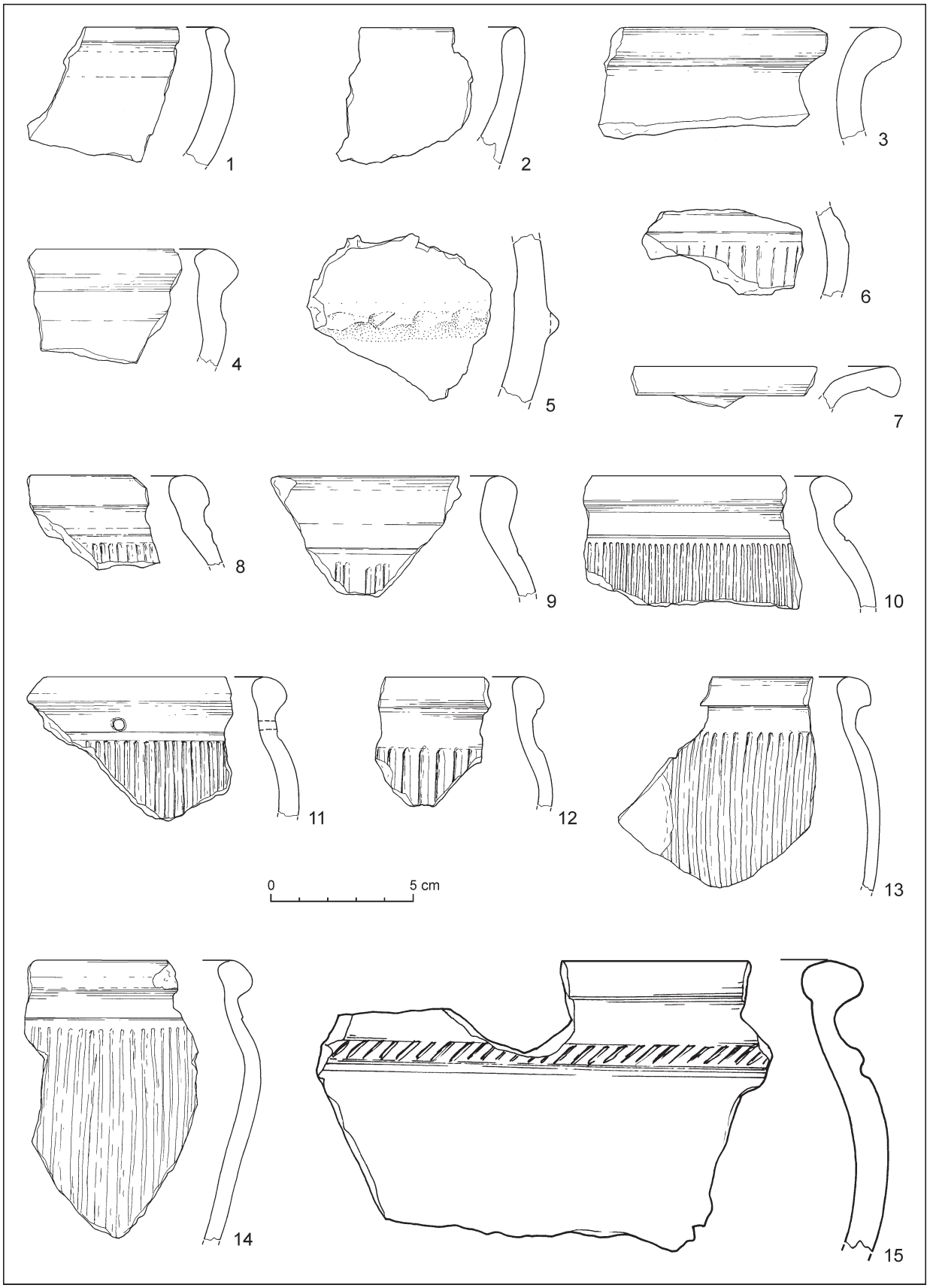
Two fragments of sapropelite bracelets stand out among the above-mentioned finds (Fig. 4; Pl. III: 12, 13). Both exemplars had cross-section in shape of rounded letter D, which classifies them into type C according to the classification by *J. Bujna* (*2005*, fig. 21). The fragment of a sapropelite bracelet published by *J. Paulík* (*1957*, 802) also comes from Sereď. Sapropelite jewels are rather exceptional finds at settlements from the La Tène Period. *G. Březinová* (*2018*, 35) has recorded 31 sites with finds of sapropelite rings from the territory of Slovakia. Their occurrence at burial grounds is associated mainly with LTB2–LTC1 horizon (*Bujna 2005*, 19).

A large number of pottery material containing fragments of typical Middle La Tène pottery made on potter's wheel as well as without it comes from feature no. 5. Identical character can be observed on finds from feature no. 8, which includes only fragmentary sherds. The share of hand-made pottery in the processed assemblage is rather low. The most frequent vessel shapes included bowls and bowl-shaped vessels. The wheel-made pottery contained mainly bowls with S-shaped profiles (Pl. II: 1, 5, 6, 9–11, 15, 16; III: 2, 9, 10; V: 7, 8, 10, 12). In most cases, the profile of the belly was slightly rounded; slightly sharp bellies are less frequent (Pl. II: 9; III: 2, 9, 10). The second group of bowls occurring in the backfill of features no. 5 and 8 contained exemplars with inverted mouths, also with slightly rounded profiles (Pl. II: 4, 7, 8, 13, 17; III: 1, 3, 7). The bowls' surface was decorated only with shallow engraved peripheral lines. Stamped or polished decoration occurring at the end of LTC1, but typical mainly of stage LTC2 (*Březinová 1996*, 155; *2006b*, 313), was not identified on any exemplar. Exemplars of conical or biconical hand-made bowls were represented by minimum numbers (Pl. I: 2). Compared to bowls and bowl shapes, other types of vessels were much less frequent in the assemblage. As for situlas and situla-shaped pots, the type with slightly inverted mouths and thickened rims of various profiles was predominant (Pl. I: 4, 8–15; III: 6; IV: 1, 3–6; V: 6, 9), including bodies and bottoms (Pl. I: 6; IV: 7, 8, 10, 11; V: 1, 3–5). In one case, a plastic horizontal band below the neck decorated with engraved decoration was identified (Pl. I: 15). Bodies of these vessels were usually decorated by means of vertical combing,

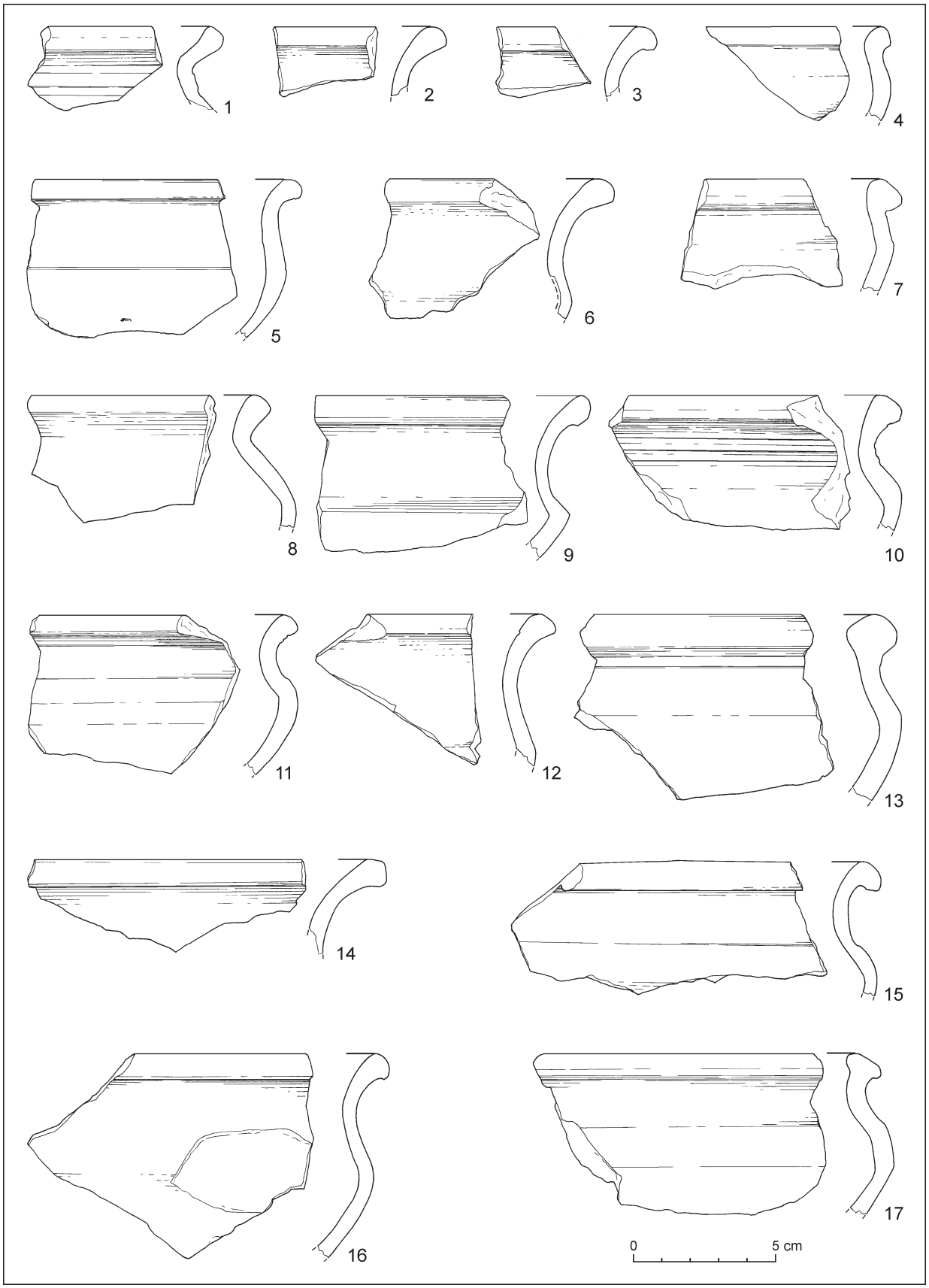
undecorated exemplars are rare (Pl. I: 4, 15; III: 6). Oblique or metope-shaped combing has not been recorded. Situlas with addition of graphite as well as without it were found. Some of them, mainly the graphite exemplars, had reparation holes below their necks (Pl. I: 11; III: 6; IV: 4, 5; V: 9). On the bottom of one situla, in its middle, a mark in shape of a circular shallow groove was documented (Pl. V: 1). However, the fragmentariness of sherd does not enable to attribute it to the certain type. Based on the typological classification of marks, it can be classified in the case of empty wheel into Kappel 5 subtype (*Kappel 1969*, fig. 52). Marks on vessel bottoms are basically associated only with graphite situlas. It is assumed that they are marks of individual production centres or workshops with production of this vessel type (*Hlava 2008*, 216). The assemblage probably contained also hand-made pots with inverted mouths and non-profiled flat or rounded rims whose surface was undecorated or decorated plastically in form of pressed peripheral tapes (Pl. I: 5). Several exemplars represented vases (Pl. III: 4, 5, 8, 11; IV: 12) and bottles (Pl. I: 7). Part of a vase-shaped vessel with decoration on the interface of the body and neck in form of a wave line from feature no. 5 (Pl. III: 11) belongs to the best-preserved exemplars. The inventory from features no. 5 and 8 will be published in detail elsewhere, together with other assemblages of finds from the site of Prúdy.

CONCLUSION

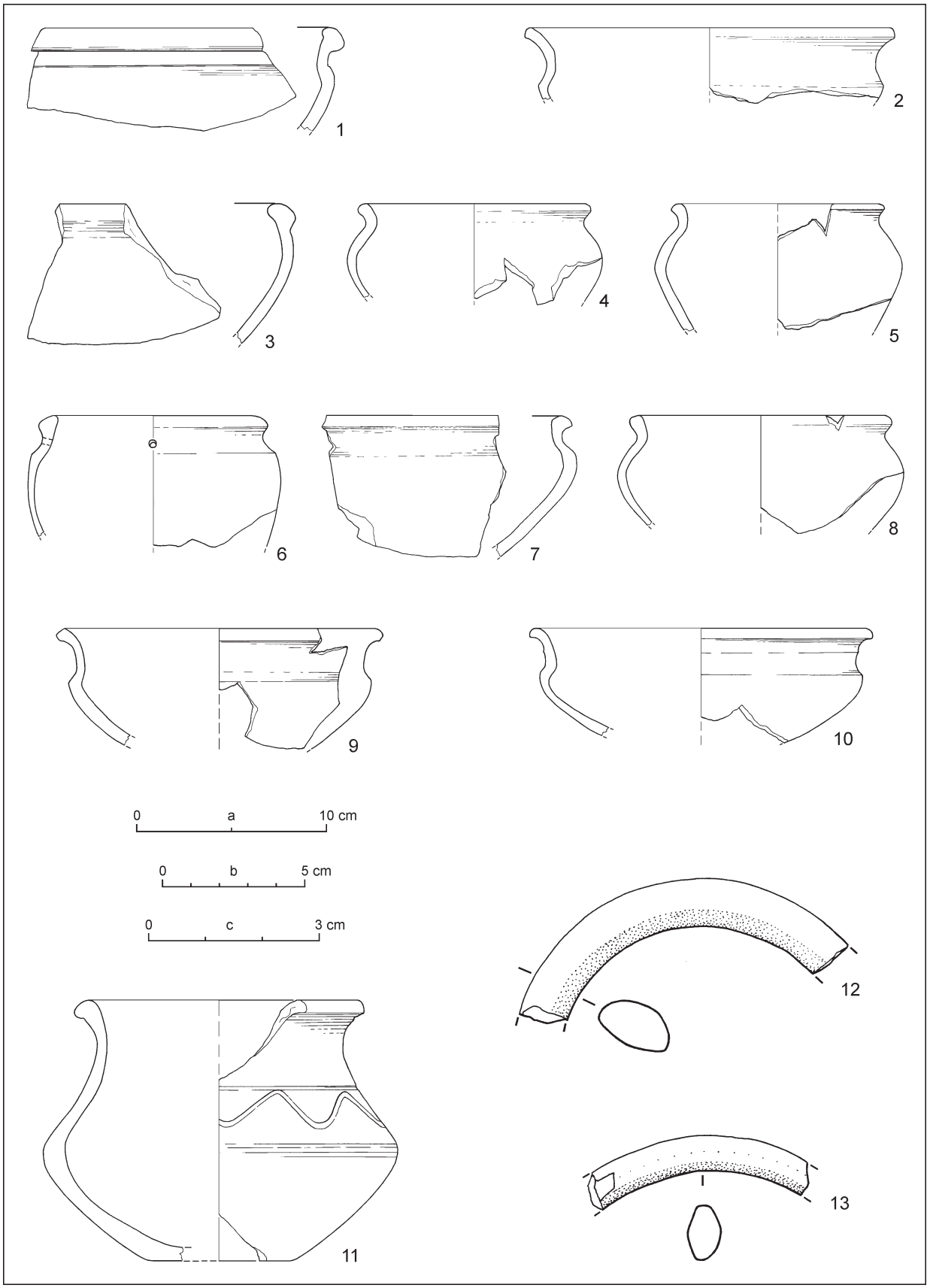
During the archaeological excavations in Sereď, Prúdy site, nine settlement features were studied. Residential features indicated as feature no. 5 and 8 are most remarkable among them. Both pit-houses represent typical Celtic construction of sunken features with two postholes in the middle of their shorter walls which occurred at most La Tène settlements in southwestern Slovakia (*Březinová 2000*; *2006a*; *Březinová/Chropovský 2020*; *Kuzmová 1980*, 318). The settlement features can be considered contemporary, belonging to the horizon of the Middle La Tène Period. This is suggested by the fragments of vessels which can be classified into basic pottery shapes of the La Tène Period. More than 42 kg of sherd fragments come from the fill of feature no. 5; the inventory was preserved in fragments and it was not possible to reconstruct a single complete vessel. The number of sherds and fragmentary miniature artefacts suggest that feature no. 5 was – after its primary, probably residential, function had ended – secondarily used as a refuse pit for damaged or useless objects and pottery. The preliminary analysis of the pottery inventory from both features allows their chronological classification into stage LTB2–LTC1, eventually at the beginning of stage LTC2. It is suggested by the absence of younger elements on pottery, including polished decoration on bowls and oblique or metope-shaped combing on situlas. Also, the remarkable prevalence of finer round profiles of bowls and bowl-shaped vessels in the pottery assemblage supports this dating, since there is an assumption of their development from finely rounded profiles to sharper profiles; the peak of this tendency is represented by bowls of Békasmegyer type (*Čambal 2011*, 105). Dating to the Middle La Tène Period is confirmed by the finds of fragments from bracelets made of sapropelite. This jewel is very popular mainly in stage LTB2 and in the beginning of the following stage LTC1 (*Březinová 2018*, 40, 41).



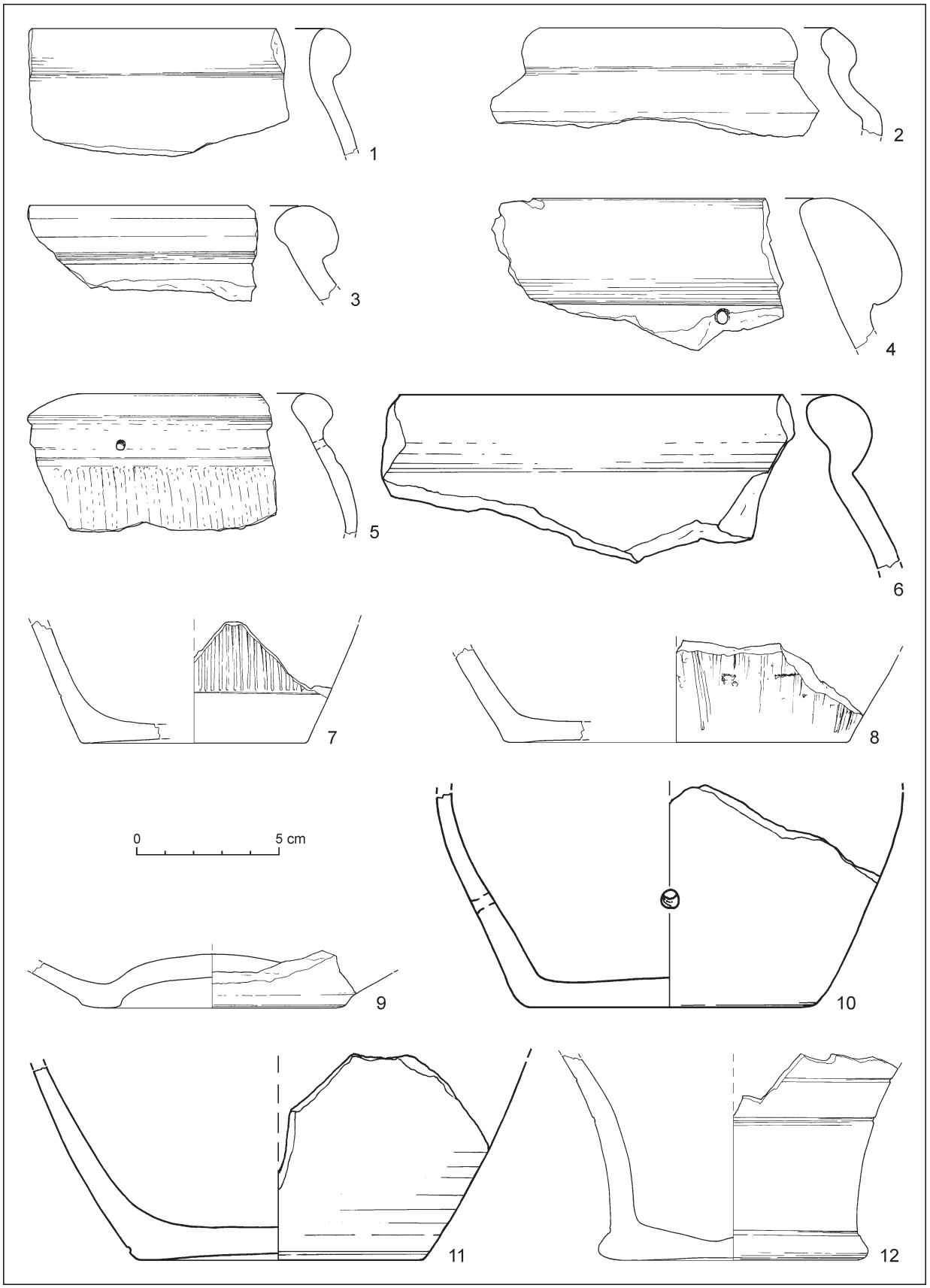
Pl. I. Sereď, Prúdy site. Feature no. 5. Selected finds (drawn by Z. Nagyová).



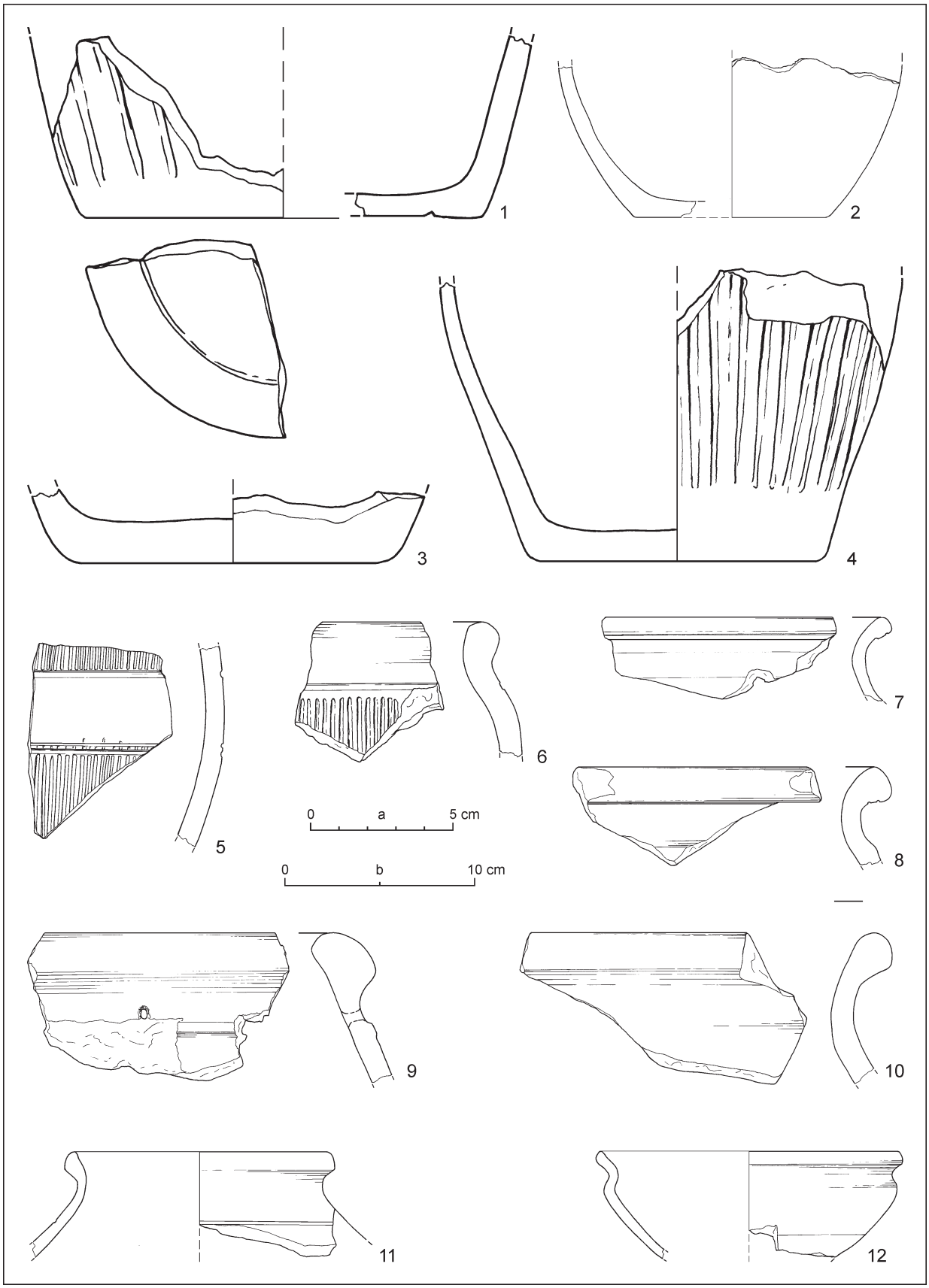
Pl. II. Sereď, Prúdy site. Feature no. 5. Selected finds (drawn by Z. Nagyová).



Pl. III. Sereď, Prúdy site. Feature no. 5. Selected finds (drawn by Z. Nagyová). Scale: a – 1–10; b – 11; c – 12, 13.



Pl. IV. Sereď, Prúdy site. Feature no. 5. Selected finds (drawn by Z. Nagyová).



Pl. V. Sereď, Prúdy site. 1–4 – feature no. 5; 5–12 – feature no. 8. Selected finds (drawn by Z. Nagyová). Scale: a – 1–10; b – 11, 12.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bialeková 1958 – D. Bialeková: *Sereď*. Nitra 1958. Výskumná správa 422/58. Dokumentácia AÚ SAV Nitra. Unpublished.

Bialeková 1989 – D. Bialeková (zost.): *Pramene k dejinám osídlenia Slovenska z konca 5. až 13. storočia. I. zväzok. Bratislava, hlavné mesto SSR a Západoslovenský kraj*. Nitra 1989.

Březinová 1996 – G. Březinová: Laténske sídlisko v Šali-Veči v okrese Galanta. *Študijné zvesti AÚ SAV* 32, 1996, 141–158.

Březinová 2000 – G. Březinová: *Nitra-Šindolka. Siedlung aus der Latènezeit. Katalog*. Archeologica Slovaca Monographiae. Catalogi 7. Nitra 2000.

Březinová 2006a – G. Březinová: Sídliská a sídliskové nálezy z laténskej doby na juhozápadnom Slovensku. *Študijné zvesti AÚ SAV* 40, 2006, 9–50.

Březinová 2006b – G. Březinová: Laténske sídlisko vo Výčapoch-Opatovciach. *Pravěk. Nová řada* 16, 2006, 309–324.

Březinová 2018 – G. Březinová: *Šperk zo skla a sapropelitu u Keltov na Slovensku*. Archaeologica Slovaca Monographiae. Studia 30. Nitra 2018.

Březinová/Chropovský 2020 – G. Březinová/B. Chropovský: *Sídliská z doby laténskej v Nitre*. Archaeologica Slovaca Monographiae. Fontes 27. Nitra 2020.

Březinová et al. 2015 – G. Březinová/M. Cheben/M. Ruttkay/M. Vojteček: Dve sídliská z doby laténskej na hornom Požitaví. In: J. Bartík (red.): *Zborník na pamiatku Jozefa Paulíka. Štúdie*. Zborník SNM. Archeológia. Supplementum 9. Bratislava 2015, 255–274.

Bujna 2005 – J. Bujna: *Kruhový šperk z laténskych ženských hrobov na Slovensku*. Nitra 2005.

Čambal 2011 – R. Čambal: Sídliskové objekty zo strednej a neskorej doby laténskej v Slovenskom Grobe. *Zborník SNM* 105. *Archeológia* 21, 2011, 83–114.

Cheben/Ruttkay/Ruttkayová 2012 – I. Cheben/M. Ruttkay/J. Ruttkayová: Zahĺbené chaty z doby laténskej v Číferi. In: G. Březinová/V. Varsik (eds.): *Archeológia na prahu histórie. K životnému jubileu Karola Pietu*. Archaeologica Slovaca Monographiae. Communicationes 14. Nitra 2012, 289–298.

Chropovský/Fusek 1988 – B. Chropovský/G. Fusek: Výsledky výskumov na stavenisku športového areálu v Nitre. *Študijné zvesti AÚ SAV* 24, 1988, 143–156.

Hlava 2008 – M. Hlava: Grafit v době laténské na Moravě. *Památky archeologické* 99, 2008, 189–258.

Horváth 2014 – P. Horváth: Laténske sídlisko v Komjaticiach, poloha Kňazova jama. *Študijné zvesti AÚ SAV* 56, 2014, 69–110.

Kappel 1969 – I. Kappel: *Die Graphittonkeramik von Manching*. Die Ausgrabungen in Manching 2. Wiesbaden 1969.

Kuzmová 1980 – K. Kuzmová: Nížinné sídliská z neskorej doby laténskej v strednom Podunajsku. *Slovenská archeológia* 28, 1980, 313–338.

Meduna 1980 – J. Meduna: *Die latènezeitlichen Siedlungen in Mähren*. Praha 1980.

Paulík 1955 – J. Paulík: Halštatská a halštatsko-laténska osada pri Seredi. *Slovenská archeológia* 3, 1955, 135–194.

Paulík 1957 – J. Paulík: Halštatsko-laténske osídlenie Mačanských vŕškov pri Seredi. *Archeologické rozhledy* 9, 1957, 784, 795, 801–804.

Šalkovský 1976 – P. Šalkovský: *Sereď*. Nitra 1976. Výskumná správa 3057/76. Dokumentácia AÚ SAV Nitra. Unpublished.

Manuscript accepted 2. 10. 2021

Translated by Viera Tejbusová

PhDr. Klaudia Daňová, PhD.
Archeologický ústav SAV
Akademická 2
SK – 949 21 Nitra
klaudia.danova@gmail.com

Mgr. Miroslava Kissová, PhD.
Archeologický ústav SAV
Akademická 2
SK – 949 21 Nitra
miroslava.svihurova@gmail.com

SLOVENSKÁ ARCHEOLÓGIA – SUPPLEMENTUM 2
Z. Robak/M. Ruttkay (eds.): Celts – Germans – Slavs.
A Tribute Anthology to Karol Pieta. Nitra 2021, 95–106.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.31577/slovarch.2021.suppl.2.8

MIDDLE LA TÈNE BRONZE FIBULAE DECORATED IN PSEUDO-FILIGREE AND PSEUDO-GRANULATION TECHNIQUES OF THE SCORDISCAN VARIANT

A Recognizable Feature of the Local Middle La Tène Female Costume[1]

MARKO DIZDAR

Certain forms of bronze fibulae, alongside some forms of bronze belts, are recognizable items of the Middle La Tène Scordiscan female costume. One of those forms is the so-called Scordiscan variant of bronze fibulae with round plates decorated in pseudo-filigree and pseudo-granulation techniques. Fibulae belonging to this heterogeneous group, with specific variants singled out, are characteristic of communities along the Danube River which shared similar ideas of decoration of the female body during the Middle La Tène. The presence of numerous variants of fibulae clearly points to the existence of local workshops, regardless of noticeably the same basic decorative design concept in their production. Fibulae assigned to the Scordiscan variant have a characteristic trefoil motif with a knob on the top of the round plate and are, for now, known only from Scordiscan sites, due to which they can probably be considered products of their workshops. Finds of fibulae assigned to some other variants were also discovered at Scordiscan sites, indicating the existence of cultural contacts with neighbouring communities. In any case, bronze fibulae decorated in pseudo-filigree and pseudo-granulation techniques provide valuable findings of decorating Scordiscan women's bodies, as well as their public presentation, i.e., the fibulae probably represent a recognizable manifestation of their visual identity.

Keywords: Carpathian Basin, Middle La Tène Period, Scordisci, fibulas, female costume.

INTRODUCTION

The period of the Late Iron Age in the south-eastern part of the Carpathian Basin was marked by characteristic material legacy assigned to the Scordiscan community, assumed to have arisen from the symbiosis of Celtic settlers and the local population. Within the material legacy of the Scordisci, who shared similar ritual norms with other communities of the Eastern Celts, aside from the numerous forms recorded in the Carpathian Basin, there are also certain particularities, primarily in forms belonging to female costume and jewellery. They are considered to be the contribution of the legacy of the autochthonous population and the position of the Scordisci in the south-eastern edge of the La Tène Culture. One of the influences of the autochthonous legacy is thought to be the decoration of objects in pseudo-filigree and pseudo-granulation techniques, while production of such objects by casting is considered to be the influence of the La Tène Culture (*Rustoiu/Ferencz 2017*, 351). It was in the area of the south-eastern Carpathian Basin during the later phase of the Early Iron Age, where a tradition of decorating in filigree and granulation techniques existed and was adopted by the Celts and, consequently, the Scordisci (*Majnarić-Pandžić 1970*, 27; *2006*; *Szabó 1975*, 148, 155; *1991*, 319; *2009*, 70–73; *2014*, 86, 87; *Szabó/Tankó 2012*, 103–109). Decoration in pseudo-filigree and pseudo-granulation techniques is thought to have emerged in the Transdanubian area during LTB2, as testified by Bölcske-type fibulae with such decorations, as well as certain ring jewellery items (*Brezňanová 2008*, 11, 12, 17; *Szabó 1975*, 148, 155). Distribution of the heterogeneous group of bronze Middle La Tène fibulae decorated in the techniques of pseudo-filigree and pseudo-granulation, mostly recorded at sites located between Lake Balaton and the Danube River, also points to that. These fibulae have a characteristically decorated round plate on the foot, with various motifs executed in these techniques. Previous research shows that this is a recognizable part of the Middle La Tène female costume, i.e. from LTC1 (*Brezňanová 2008*, 17; *Bujna 2003*, 95, 106). Numerous identified variants pointing to certain forms being local, i.e. produced in few workshops

[1] This article was funded by the Croatian Science Foundation with the project (IP-06-2016-1749): Iron Age Female Identities in the Southern Carpathian Basin (FEMINE).

(*Brezňanová 2008*, 16, 17), regardless of noticeably the same basic decorative design concept in their production by the Eastern Celts. One of these workshops was situated in the Scordiscan territory, as testified by finds of fibulae that manifest common characteristics in form, decoration, and technology, due to which they were identified as fibulae of the so-called Scordiscan variant. Given that these objects are gender-specific, wearing them might have indicated different aspects of the social identities of women, as well as their position within the community. Functional and decorative objects of the female costume and jewellery hold an important position in defining the characteristic material legacy of the Scordisci. Middle La Tène female costume of the Scordisci is represented by various forms of iron and bronze belts, buckles, and fibulae of different shapes. A considerable number of Middle La Tène bronze fibulae from Scordiscan sites belong to a widely distributed legacy of the La Tène Culture, pointing to existence of cultural contacts and their position in the communication network of the Carpathian Basin. On the other hand, some forms are characteristic for the Scordisci, like the somewhat later bronze fibulae of the Boljevci variant, decorated with enamel (*Dizdar 2014b*; *2019*). One of the forms that we can consider a recognizable manifestation of Middle La Tène Scordiscan female costume is bronze fibulae decorated in the techniques of pseudo-filigree and pseudo-granulation, which were identified as the Scordiscan variant. Such fibulae, as a functional but also a decorative item, also represented an important part of the costume and visual identity of women who wore them.

BRONZE FIBULAE DECORATED IN PSEUDO-FILIGREE AND PSEUDO-GRANULATION TECHNIQUES FROM THE SITES OF THE SCORDISCI

The Middle La Tène material legacy of the Scordisci today is mostly known due to research of cemeteries and numerous chances finds also probably originating from destroyed graves, especially from the area of Syrmia and eastern Slavonia (*Majnarić-Pandžić 1970*; *Todorović 1968*; *1971*; *1974*). Actually, a small number of graves, primarily graves of warriors with weaponry, originate from the Middle La Tène (LTC1–C2), while only a few of preserved contemporary graves are female (*Božič 1981*, 318, fig. 3; *Dizdar 2016*, 75, 85, 86; *2018*, 16; *Guštin 1984*, 324, fig. 13). Due to that, information about the circumstances and context of finds are missing for almost all bronze fibulae decorated in the techniques of pseudo-filigree and pseudo-granulation, aside from the fibula from grave 27 from the Osijek-Zeleno polje cemetery. However, a detailed analysis of this group of fibulae from Scordiscan sites points to the emergence of a locally distributed form which probably represented an important feature of their female Middle La Tène costume. On the other hand, identifying forms with analogies in neighbouring areas might point to the direction and intensity of cultural contacts with contemporary communities, especially the ones along the Danube River, with which the Scordisci shared many common features in the development of their material legacy.

Bronze fibulae of the Middle La Tène scheme with a round plate on the foot decorated in the techniques of pseudo-filigree and pseudo-granulation, for now, represent one of the well-represented groups of fibulae at Scordiscan sites. These fibulae were first identified as variant B decorated in filigree which is dated to the 1st c. BC (*Todorović 1968*, 53). Since they all have the same shape, aside from one from Osijek, fibulae shaped and decorated in this fashion were thought to be products of the same workshop (*Majnarić-Pandžić 1970*, 26). The fibulae from Osijek were dated to the latest horizon of the cemetery (*Majnarić-Pandžić 1970*, 39), which would correspond with LTC1 (*Guštin 1984*, 324, App. 1: 36). In the analysis of finds from the Scordiscan cemetery in Kupinovo, I. Drnić provides a detailed description of fibulae with round and perforated plates decorated in the techniques of pseudo-filigree and pseudo-granulation from Kupinovo, Srijemska Mitrovica, and Novi Banovci, identifying them within the local Slavonian-Syrmian variant, i.e. variant BF-H1D-A from LTC1 (*Drnić 2015*, 79, 80).

Detailed classifications of Middle La Tène bronze fibulae with a round plate on the foot decorated in the techniques of pseudo-filigree and pseudo-granulation was proposed by *G. Brezňanová* (*2008*) and *A. Jovanović* (*2011*). G. Brezňanová, with certain modifications, adopted J. Bujna's classification[2] and conducted analysis of all known finds of fibulae from group BF-H1-D. Special attention was given to dimensions of the fibulae, the way the plate is connected to the foot, the motifs on the plate, the outline of the bow, and the way the spring

[2] J. Bujna classified bronze fibulae decorated in the techniques of pseudo-filigree and pseudo-granulation from Slovakian sites as group BF-Hy1-D which he dated to LTC1a-b (*Bujna 2003*, 59, 60, 91, fig. 25; 26). G. Brezňanová left out the letter y which marks the spring with an internal chord appearing on fibulae from Slovakian sites, while in other areas, fibulae with external chords also appear, as well as the fibulae with the chord wrapped around the bow (*Brezňanová 2008*, 1).

is shaped. Based on typological characteristics, 12 variants of fibulae (A–L) were identified. They were dated to LTC1, showed local distribution, and pointed to the position of workshops for their production. Most fibulae were recorded in the area of the Carpathian Basin, especially along the Danube River, but they appear all the way to the south-eastern Alpine region and Transylvania. Three production centres were recognized – one situated in Syrmia or the Scordiscan one, one along the Upper Sava and Drava Rivers or the Tauriscan one, and the one in the area of Transdanubia (*Brezňanová 2008*, 16, 17, fig. 1). The analysis showed that fibulae from Scordiscan and Tauriscan sites have larger dimensions and a plate soldered to the foot, while the fibulae from Hungarian and Slovakian sites are smaller and have plates connected to the foot by rivets (*Brezňanová 2008*, 11–13, 16, 17). A. Jovanović's classification is similar, conducted during the analysis of rich female cremation burial 56 from Brežice, dated to LTC1, in which a bronze fibula with a round plate decorated in pseudo-filigree technique was recorded. Given the motifs on the plates, three variants were identified: – the variant from the south-eastern Alpine region has characteristic S-motifs executed in pseudo-filigree technique on the round plate. Most finds of these fibulae were discovered at sites in Slovenia. Fibulae of the Slavonian-Syrmian variant have characteristic trefoil motif on their plates executed in pseudo-filigree technique, mostly discovered at sites in Slavonia, Serbia, and southern Slovakia. Therefore, this variant includes fibulae decorated in the same motif, but the plate could have been connected by rivets or soldering. Fibulae of the Hungarian variant have a plate filled with motifs executed in techniques of pseudo-filigree and pseudo-granulation. Likewise, other forms were identified, that cannot be assigned to any of the mentioned variants (*Jovanović A. 2011*, 55–58, fig. 5; 6; *Rustoiu 2013*, 91, fig. 8). This classification of three identified variants was later used by B. Sicherl as well (*Sicherl 2017,* 45, fig. 11).

Bronze fibulae of the Scordiscan variant

As has been pointed out, most bronze fibulae with a round plate decorated in the techniques of pseudo-filigree and pseudo-granulation from Scordiscan sites were assigned to variant BF-H1-D-A or the so-called Scordiscan variant (*Brezňanová 2008*, 11, 16, 17, fig. 2: 1–5), i.e. Slavonian-Syrmian variant (*Jovanović A. 2011*, 57, 63, 64). The further analysis uses typological classification proposed by G. Brezňanová, with a description of all known fibulae decorated this way from Scordiscan sites, alongside which some other newly-discovered or little-known finds belonging to the so-called Scordiscan but also some other variants are depicted as well. Likewise, attention is given to some construction characteristics of the fibulae, especially to the way the plate is connected to the foot, to potentially recognize certain distribution areas which shared some technological findings in creating fibulae of this group.

Fibulae of the Scordiscan variant, representing a homogenous group of finds, have a round perforated plate on the foot. The plate is rosette-shaped and has a decoration executed in the pseudo-filigree technique along the edge. In the central part, there is a trefoil motif, i.e. three rings with a knob in the middle. Trefoil motif is usually conically protruding, although it can rarely be aligned with the edge decorated in pseudo-filigree technique. The spring has four coils with an internal chord, whereas, in some fibulae, the inner chord is wrapped around the end of the bow. The plate is soldered to the foot, while its end is connected to the bow by a clasp. The bow, most commonly, when preserved, has a trapezoidal outline and circular cross-section. Preserved fibulae are more than 5.5 cm, i.e. between 6.5 and 7.5 cm long.

One of the well-preserved fibulae, that describes basic construction characteristics of fibulae of the Scordiscan variant was discovered in trench 6 at the Osijek-Zeleno polje cemetery in eastern Slavonia. According to E. Spajić, the fibula originated from a destroyed inhumation grave (*Brezňanová 2008*, 3, fig. 2: 1; *Spajić 1954*, 14, pl. V: 33; *Szabó 1975*, 148, fig. 1; *Todorović 1968*, 53, 143, pl. XVII: 5). The fibula, 7.2 cm long, has a low bow with a circular cross-section (Fig. 1: 1). The end of the foot is inserted in a specially made 3.3 cm long cast part placed above the bow with a round conically protruding plate in the middle. On one side of the plate 1.8 cm in diameter, there is a slightly trapezoidal broadening in which, on the bottom side, the end of the foot is inserted, while on the other side of the plate, towards a simple clasp, there are three low and narrow ribs. The bottom side of the trapezoidal broadening placed below the plate is bent downwards, making a groove in which the end of the foot is inserted and they are soldered together. That way the cast part with the round plate becomes a constituent part of the foot, which was recorded in all other fibulae of this variant. The plate's edge is decorated in the technique of pseudo-filigree, while in the centre, there is a conically protruding trefoil motif with a knob in the middle. The spring has four coils with an internal chord.

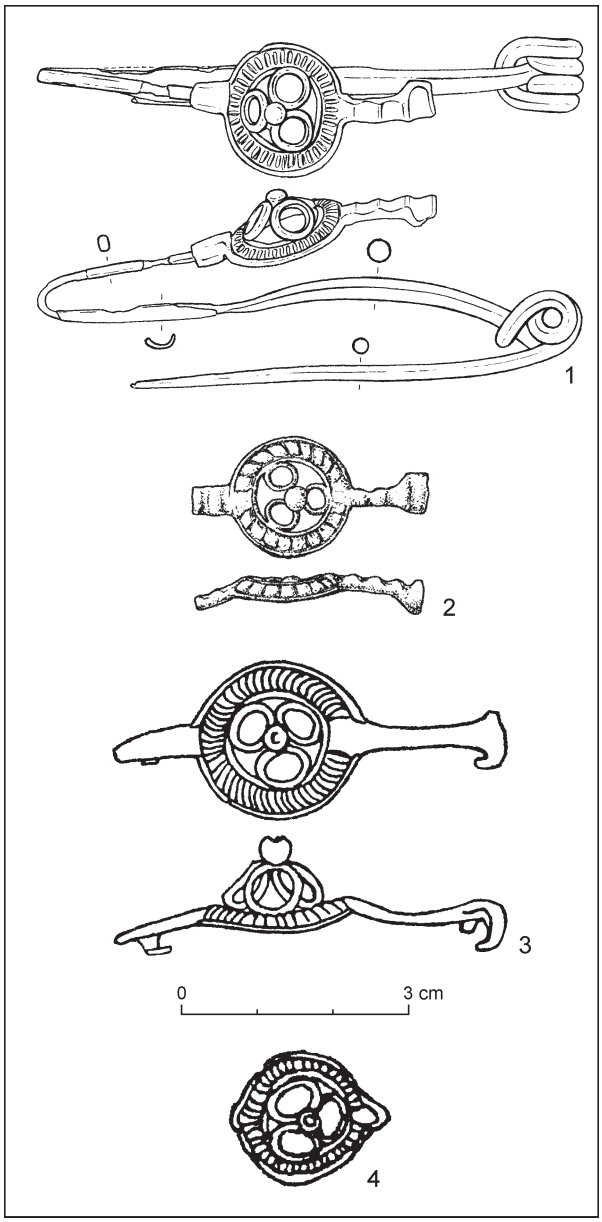


Fig. 1. Bronze fibulae of the Scordiscan variant (BF-H1D-A). 1 – Osijek-Zeleno polje, trench 6 (drawing by M. Rončević); 2 – Novi Banovci (*Drnić 2015*, fig. 21: 3); 3 – Zemun, Danube River bank (*Todorović 1971*, pl. LXV: 11); 4 – Mlava valley (*Stojić 2000*, pl. I: 57).

Another Scordiscan cemetery, the one in Kupinovo in Syrmia, yielded two fibulae of this form. One of them is 6.8 cm long and has a plate with a trefoil conically protruding motif and a knob on the top (Fig. 2: 1). The part of the foot between the plate and the clasp is ribbed. The spring consists of four coils with an internal chord. The other fibula is 6.95 cm long and also has a spring consisting of four coils with an internal chord wrapped around the bottom part of the bow (Fig. 2: 2). The central trefoil motif with a knob is aligned with the edge of the plate. The foot is long and bent in the shape of the letter U. The part of the foot in front of the plate, as well as the part between the plate and the clasp, is ribbed. Both fibulae were dated to LTC1 (*Brezňanová 2008*, 3, fig. 2: 2, 5; *Drnić 2015*, 79, 153, pl. 34: 6, 7; *Hunyady 1942*, pl. XXI: 8; *Jovanović B.* 1987, 838, pl. LXXXIII: 8; *Majnarić-Pandžić 1970*, 26, 81, pl. IX: 3, 5; *Todorović 1974*, fig. 113 down). Fibula from Srijemska Mitrovica, 7 cm in preserved length (Fig. 2: 3), also has a conically protruding plate with a trefoil motif and a spring consisting of four coils with an internal chord which is wrapped around the bow (*Brezňanová 2008*, 3, fig. 2: 4; *Drnić 2015*, 80, fig. 21: 1; *Majnarić-Pandžić 1970*, 45, 88, pl. XXIII: 3). Another fibula, with a spring shaped the same way, was discovered in Srijemska Mitrovica (Fig. 2: 4). The plate has a slightly protruding trefoil motif with a knob in the middle. The bow is slightly elevated and has a circular cross-section (*Drnić 2015*, 80, fig. 21: 2). All of these fibulae, as well as one from Kupinovo, due to the chord wrapped around the bow, are assumed to originate from the same workshop (*Brezňanová 2008*, 11; *Drnić 2015*, 80; *Majnarić-Pandžić 1970*, 26). This way of shaping the spring with an internal chord wrapped around the bow was also recorded on a 5.1 cm long bronze fibula discovered in warrior grave 1 from Brestovik. The foot also has a round plate decorated in pseudo-granulation technique with a rosette motif, i.e. with six knobs placed along the edge of the plate and one in the middle. The spring consists of six coils. Weaponry finds date the grave to LTC1 (*Popović 1994*, 53, fig. 14). This way of shaping the spring with a wrapped chord is considered to represent influences from the south-eastern Alpine region (*Brezňanová 2008*, 11). A fragment of a foot with a plate 3.1 cm in preserved length discovered at the bank of the Danube River near Zemun is assigned to the fibulae of the Scordiscan variant (Fig. 1: 3). Only the separately cast part with a round plate connected to the rest of the foot was preserved, as testified by the bent bottom side of the part of the foot in front of the plate. The foot was connected to the bow by a smooth clasp, while the plate was decorated with a trefoil motif and a knob in the middle; both of them conically protruding (*Brezňanová 2008*, 3, fig. 2: 3; *Todorović 1968*, 53, 154, pl. LV: 13; *1971*, 143, pl. LXV: 11). This variant also includes a find of a part of a fibula from Novi Banovci, out of which also the separately cast ending part of the foot was preserved (Fig. 1: 2). In the central part of the plate there is a trefoil motif with a knob, aligned with the edge of the plate. The part between the plate and the clasp is longer and ribbed, as well as the short part placed in front of the plate (*Drnić 2015*, 80, fig. 21: 3). The Scordiscan variant also includes a find of a round plate discovered in the Mlava River valley

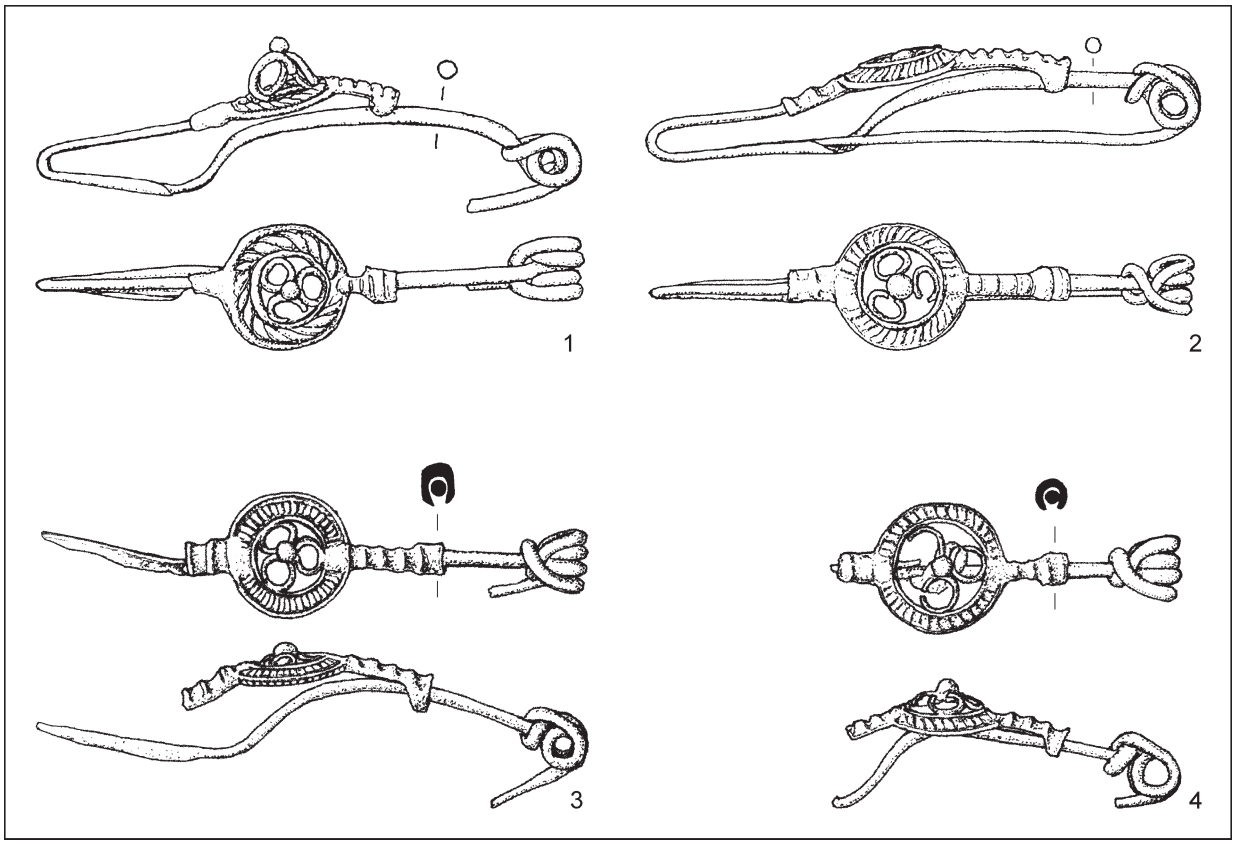


Fig. 2. Bronze fibulae of the Scordiscan variant (BF-H1D-A). 1 – Kupinovo (*Drnić 2015*, pl. 34: 6); 2 – Kupinovo (*Drnić 2015*, pl. 34: 7); 3 – Srijemska Mitrovica (*Drnić 2015*, fig. 21: 1); 4 – Srijemska Mitrovica (*Drnić 2015*, fig. 21: 2). Without scale.

(Fig. 1: 4; *Stojić 2000*, 62, pl. I: 57) and a part of a foot with a round plate from the settlement of Rapanović polje near Triješnica in north-eastern Bosnia. It seems that the central part with the trefoil motif and the knob, conically protruding in comparison to the edge, is also executed in pseudo-filigree technique (*Kosorić 1982*, 125, pl. IV: 34).

Decorating the round plate with a sequence executed in pseudo-filigree technique along the edge and with a central protruding trefoil motif with a knob on the top was also recorded in fibulae of the variant BF-H1D-K discovered in grave 425 at the Malé Kosihy cemetery and in grave 13 at the Michal nad Žitavou cemetery, which were dated to LTC1a. However, in the fibulae in question, the plate is attached to the foot by rivets (*Brezňanová 2008*, 3, 10, 13, fig. 3: 6, 7).[3] These fibulae, considering the central motif, are thought to be Scordiscan influence, with noticeable differences in dimensions and the outline of the bow, as well as the spring consisting of six internal chords (*Brezňanová 2008*, 16; *Drnić 2015*, 80). A. Jovanović included these fibulae in the Slavonian-Syrmian variant, due to the central motif on the plate (*Jovanović A. 2011*, 57, 64). Find of a plate from a fibula originating from Sárbogárd is similar to the fibulae of the Scordiscan variant in the shape of the central trefoil motif. Its plate was probably damaged in cremation and was decorated with a conically protruding trefoil motif. The plate also has a decoration along its edge, making this find also similar to fibulae of the Scordiscan variant. At the top of the protruding plate seems to be a rosette motif executed in the pseudo-granulation technique. Given its central motif, M. Szabó also connects this fragment with fibulae discovered at Scordiscan sites (*Szabó 1975*, 148, pl. I: 8). On the other hand, fibulae of the Scordiscan variant are similar in the way their plate is soldered to the foot to the ones discovered at sites around the upper Sava and Drava Rivers and which are associated with Tauriscan workshops. The similarity is manifested in dimensions, while the difference is noticeable in the execution of the central motif on the plate (*Brezňanová 2008*, 5, 16, 17, fig. 2: 7–11).

[3] Cremation grave 425 from the Malé Kosihy cemetery (*Brezňanová 2008*, 10, fig. 3: 7; *Bujna 1995*, 82, pl. 40: C: 1; *2003*, 59); grave 13 from the Michal nad Žitavou cemetery (*Benadik 1961*, 193, fig. 20: 6; *Brezňanová 2008*, 10, fig. 3: 6).

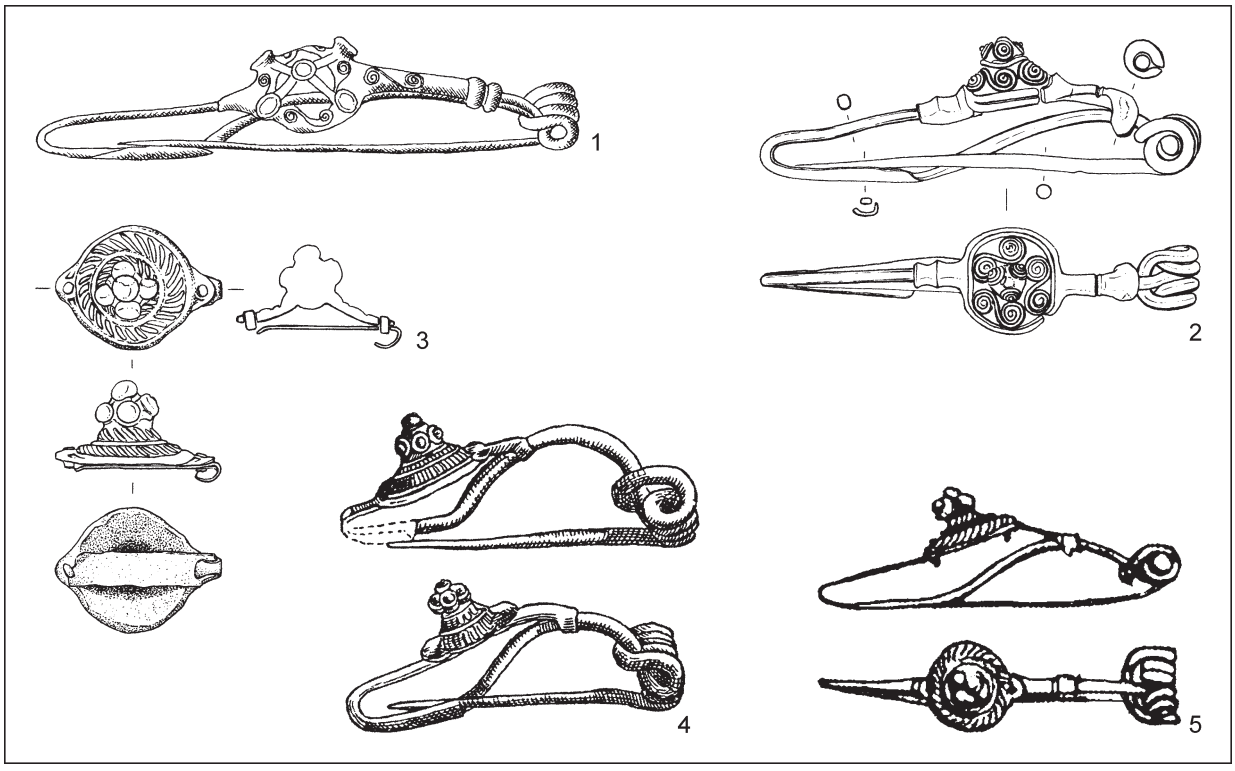


Fig. 3. Bronze fibulae of different variants. 1 – Seona-Orešac (*Jovanović B. 1987,* fig. 41: 5); 2 – Osijek-Zeleno polje, grave 27 (drawing by M. Rončević); 3 – Vinkovački Banovci-Šuma (drawing by M. Rončević); 4 – Apátipuszta, grave 22 (*Brezňanová 2008*, fig. 3: 3); 5 – Ludas-Varjú-dűlő, grave 685 (*Szabó/Tankó 2012*, fig. 186: 1). Without scale.

Other bronze fibulae from the sites of the Scordisci

Alongside bronze fibulae of the so-called Scordiscan variant (BF-H1D-A), finds of some other variants of fibulae with plates decorated in the aforementioned techniques were also recorded at Scordiscan sites. Find of a unique fibula, assigned to variant BF-H1D-F (*Brezňanová 2008*, 7, 12, fig. 2: 6), originates from the site of Seona-Orešac near Smederevo, allegedly from a destroyed inhumation grave (*Todorović 1968*, 28). The fibula is 11.3 cm long and, for now, represents one of the largest fibulae of this type known so far (Fig. 3: 1). It is one of the most lavishly decorated bronze fibulae from the Scordiscan territory which has, at the end of a long foot, a large perforated plate decorated with complex ornament. The foot and the plate are soldered together. Along the edge of the plate, on four juxtaposed spots, and in the middle, some recesses were filled with enamel. The recesses along the edge were connected to the central recess by narrow bands on which there is a decoration executed in pseudo-filigree technique. On the round edge of the plate, between the recesses, there is an S-motif also executed in the same technique. This motif also appears on the foot, right next to the plate, towards the double clasp. The low and long bow has a trapezoidal outline, while the spring consists of four internal chords (*Jovanović B. 1987*, 838, fig. 41: 5; *Todorović 1968*, 141, pl. IX: 6; *1974*, pl. XVIII; *Vukmanović/Radojčić 1995*, 22, cat. no. 16). Alleged part of a bronze fibula from the bank of the Danube River near Zemun was also assigned to this variant, but it is probably a part of Late La Tène horse bits (*Todorović 1968*, 154, pl. LIV: 21; *1971*, 96, pl. XLVI: 3).

Like the fibula from Seona, a unique form from Scordiscan sites is bronze fibula discovered in inhumation grave 27 at the Osijek-Zeleno polje cemetery (*Spajić 1962*, 40, pl. XV: 10; *Szabó 1975*, 148, fig. 1; *Todorović 1968*, 53, 143, pl. XVII: 4), assigned to variant BF-H1D-E (*Brezňanová 2008*, 5, 12, fig. 2: 12). The fibula is 5.8 cm long and has a low bow with a circular cross-section (Fig. 3: 2). The end of the long foot is soldered to a separately made cast 2.9 cm long part placed above the bow and has a round conically protruding plate 1.4 cm in diameter. In front of the plate, there is a narrow ring-shaped thickening, while towards the plate, there is a groove. A simple clasp attaches the foot to the bow near the spring. The edge of the plate is executed in two connected wires of circular cross-section. The plate is decorat-

ed with three S-motifs executed in pseudo-filigree technique above which there is a ring made of narrow wire with a hemispherical hollow protrusion executed in the shape of three smaller springs also made in the same technique. The spring consists of four coils with internal chord.

Two bronze Early La Tène fibulae of the Karaburma 63 type with massive bows decorated with an oval decoration, i.e. almond motif, are also mentioned as finds from grave 27. Chains hang from fibula's springs (*Spajić 1962*, 39, 40, pl. XIV: 8; XV: 9). These fibulae represent a local variant of Duchov-type fibulae from LTB2 (*Božič 1981*, 317, pl. 1: 15; 6: 3; 11: 4; *Drnić 2015*, 76). Detailed analysis revealed they belong to variant c of this type of fibula (*Marić 2015*, 151, 152). Among jewellery also discovered in the grave are a fragment of a two-part bronze bracelet of the Osijek type (*Spajić 1962*, 40, pl. XV: 11) dated to LTC1 (*Božič 1981*, 319, pl. 2: 28; 11: 12) and a fragment of a sapropelite bracelet with an oval cross-section (*Spajić 1962*, 40). Given the different periods to which the fibulae and the Osijek-type bracelet are dated, these are probably finds from two destroyed female graves, one of which belonged to LTB2, and the other to LTC1. This is confirmed by the fact that the finds were handed over to the museum by workers, i.e. they were not discovered in grave assemblages, which once again testifies to part of graves published by E. Spajić not being reliable (*Dizdar 2014a*, 190; *2018*, 25–27). In any case, the later assumed grave would probably include the bronze fibulae decorated in pseudo-filigree technique and a fragment of the Osijek-type bronze bracelet.

The mentioned fibula of the BF-H1D-E variant from grave 27 (*Brezňanová 2008*, 5, 12, fig. 2: 12) for now represents a single find of this variant. Conically protruding plate and rosette motif on its top make it similar to the fibulae of variants BF-H1D-G and BF-H1D-I discovered at sites in western Hungary (*Brezňanová 2008*, 9, 12, 13, fig. 3: 1, 3, 4), rather than to the fibula of the Scordiscan variant discovered at the cemetery in Osijek. This is no surprise, considering the position of the Osijek cemetery on the Drava River and its already documented connection to sites in western Hungary (*Dizdar 2018*, 25). Nevertheless, this fibula is connected to Scordiscan variant fibulae in the way the foot is joined to the round plate, i.e. the soldered joint. On the other hand, based on the way the plate is decorated in S-motifs, G. Brezňanová connects this fibula to variant B recorded at sites at the upper Sava and Drava Rivers, i.e. it is assumed that they were imported from the Tauriscan territory (*Brezňanová 2008*, 5, 11, 12).

Find of decorated round plate from a fibula's foot discovered at the site of Vinkovački Banovci-Šuma situated east of Vinkovci can also be assigned to variant BF-H1D-I (*Brezňanová 2008*, 9, 12, 13, fig. 3: 3, 4). The fragment was discovered during the field survey conducted in spring 2019.[4] Only the conically protruding plate which was situated on the foot was preserved (Fig. 3: 3). The plate, 1.6 cm in diameter, has an edge decorated with a double sequence of pseudo-filigree decoration, while in the top part, there is a rosette motif executed in four knobs and another knob on the very top. One smaller semi-oval protrusion with a rivet attached to a narrow band-shaped plate placed on the bottom side of the round plate is placed on each of the two juxtaposed sides of the plate. The fragment of this fibula differs in the way the plate attaches to the foot from the fibulae of the Scordiscan variant, i.e. this is, for now, the only known find of this type of attaching of the plate in the Scordiscan territory.

The round plate of the fibula from Vinkovački Banovci, in the way it is decorated and its plate is attached to the foot, corresponds to fibulae discovered in western Hungary which were identified as variant BF-H1D-I and which are assumed to be products of the same workshop. It is emphasized that the fibulae of this variant have, aside from the way the plate is attached to the foot by rivets, a characteristic conically protruding plate with a double sequence executed in pseudo-filigree technique along the edge, while on the top there is a rosette motif executed in the technique of pseudo-granulation – four knobs on the side and one on the top. Likewise, the fibulae of this variant have a shorter and higher bow with a semi-circular outline, a short foot, and a spring made of six coils with an internal chord (*Brezňanová 2008*, 9, 13, fig. 3: 3, 4). Two fibulae of this variant were discovered in grave 22 at the Apátipuszta cemetery (Fig. 3: 4; *Wosinsky 1896*, 567, 568, pl. CXLIII: 6, 7), while one was discovered at the Rácalmás-Kulcs cemetery and has a profiled clasp connecting to the middle of the bow (*Szabó 1975*, 148, pl. I: 6, 7). Fibula from cremation grave 685 at the Ludas-Varjú-dűlő cemetery in which an adult woman was buried can also be assigned to variant BF-H1D-I. The grave was dated to horizon 6, i.e. LTC1. The fibula is 5.1 cm long and assigned to type BF-Hy1-Aa-D in J. Bujna's classification. On a somewhat longer foot, there is a round plate which on the conically protruding central part have four knobs and another on the top (Fig. 3: 5). Two rivets attach the plate to the foot. The spring consists of six coils with an internal chord (*Szabó/Tankó 2006*, 333,

[4] I would like to thank my colleagues Hrvoje Vulić and Boris Kratofil from the Municipal Museum in Vinkovci for the finds collected at the Vinkovački Banovci-Šuma site.

fig. 6: 1; *2012*, 28, 94, 95, 142, fig. 150; 186: 1; pl. X: 5). It is pointed out that the fibula's shape was recorded in the Eastern Celts in the area of the Carpathian Basin (*Szabó/Tankó 2012*, 95).

Pair of fibulae from the Sárbogárd-Szecsőd cemetery assigned to variant BF-H1D-G (*Brezňanová 2008*, 7, 9, fig. 3: 1) is similar to the mentioned fibulae of the BF-H1D-I variant. The plate's bottom part is decorated with four concentric pseudo-filigree sequences, while the upper part has four knobs and another on the top. The spring consists of six coils with an internal chord (*Szabó 1975*, 147, pl. I: 4, 5). The already mentioned deformed fragment of a decorated plate with a trefoil motif damaged in cremation originates from the same site, probably a grave (*Szabó 1975*, 148, pl. I: 8). Two fibulae worn in pair were discovered in cremation grave 87/167 at the Sajópetri-Homoki-szőlőskert cemetery are also close to variant BF-H1D-I. A woman between the age of 15 and 18 was buried in the grave, whose costume, aside from an iron belt, all together included nine bronze and iron fibulae. The grave was dated to horizon 6, i.e. LTC1. Fibulae are 4.2 and 4.5 cm long, one of them damaged, probably in cremation. The plate of one of the fibulae has the lower half decorated with two sequences of densely placed smaller knobs, while on the to there is one larger knob. The plate of another fibula has only one sequence of sparsely placed knobs along the edge and a larger knob on the top as well. The fibulae have the springs consist of four coils with an external chord (*Szabó/Tankó 2018*, 126, 143, 144, fig. 112; pl. LVIII: 8, 9).

There is a rosette motif on the top of the plate of fibulae of two more variants also recorded at sites in western Hungary, with the difference in the number of concentric circles executed in pseudo-filigree technique in the bottom part of the plate. Fibula from grave 2 from the Aba-Belsőbáránd cemetery dated to LTC1a, was assigned to variant BF-H1D-H. The fibula has a plate decorated with seven pseudo-filigree concentric sequences, one of which is wider. The top had a rosette motif. Spring consists of six coils with an external chord (*Brezňanová 2008*, 9, fig. 3: 2; *Petres 1971*, 139, fig. 3; *Szabó 1975*, 147, pl. I: 2, 3). Fibulae from the Jutas cemetery are also assigned to this variant (*Brezňanová 2008*, 9; *Hunyady 1942*, pl. XXI: 9). The BF-H1D-J variant 5.5. cm long fibula from grave 2 at the Szob cemetery is similar. The fibula has a plate with four pseudo-filigree concentric sequences, while on the top, there is a rosette motif composed of four small knobs. The spring has five coils with an external chord (*Brezňanová 2008*, 10, 13, fig. 3: 5; *Horváth 1945*, 62, fig. 2: 1; *Tankó 2014*, 264, 265, fig. 6). The round plate is placed above the bow and it seems to be separately cast and soldered to the long foot, similarly to the plates of the Scordiscan and Tauriscan variants (*Brezňanová 2008*, 10, 13).

The mentioned comparisons for the find of the plate from Vinkovački Banovci show that it was probably a part of a BF-H1D-I variant fibula which, as well as fibulae of some other variants (BF-H1D-G, -H), is assumed to have been produced in workshops situated in the area of western Hungary. Common characteristics, aside from smaller dimensions, are the way the plate connects to the foot and the plate decorated with a rosette motif in the middle (*Brezňanová 2008*, 9, 17, fig. 3: 1–5). Due to that, the fragment of the fibula from Vinkovački Banovci can probably be considered proof of established cultural contacts between the area of eastern Slavonia and western Syrmia with western Hungary during the Middle La Tène, as shown by some other types of finds (*Dizdar 2014a*, 190; *2016*, 86; *2018*, 25–27).

CONCLUSION

Bronze fibulae with a round plate on the foot decorated in the techniques of pseudo-filigree and pseudo-granulation are a recognizable form of the Middle La Tène female costume of the Scordisci. They are fibulae of the so-called Scordiscan variant (BF-H1D-A) representing local style (Fig. 4) of a widely distributed form of Middle La Tène fibulae which was produced according to the decorative concept of the Eastern Celts and which is perhaps best recognized in characteristic forms of female costume (*Hauschild 2010*, 173). Actually, the mentioned regionalization recognized during the Middle La Tène is especially visible in female costume – in characteristic forms of belts and fibulae, as well as some items of ring jewellery (*Dizdar 2016*; *2018*). Fibulae of the Scordiscan variant have plates decorated with a trefoil motif executed in repoussé technique with a knob in the middle. Their characteristics are larger dimensions and the plate soldered to the foot. Although none of the fibulae from Scordiscan sites originate from closed grave assemblages, they can probably be dated to LTC1 when fibulae of this heterogeneous group from the sites in the Carpathian Basin are dated (*Brezňanová 2008*, 19; *Bujna 2003*, 95, 106). Therefore, this is a group of fibulae with various variants identified, which were mostly recorded at sites along the Danube River and to the moth of the Sava River, but are known all the way to the south-eastern Alpine region. Three basic production centres were identified, each with characteristic forms recognized based on the combination of morphological and technological characteristics of fibulae (*Brezňanová 2008*; *Jovanović A. 2011*). The distribution of certain

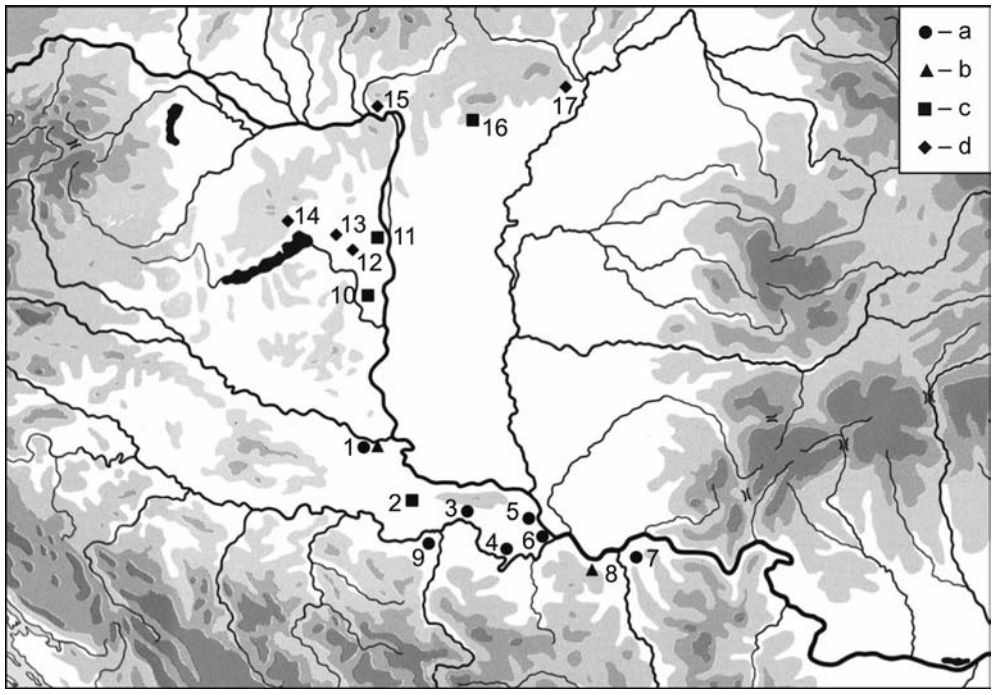


Fig. 4 Distribution of fibulae decorated in pseudo-filigree and pseudo-granulation techniques. Caption: a – fibulae of the Scordiscan variant (BF-H1D-A); b – fibulae of other variants from the Scordiscan sites (BF-H1-D-E and -F); c – fibulae of the BF-H1D-I variant; d – fibulae of other Transdanubian variants (BF-H1D-G, -H and -J). 1 – Osijek-Zeleno polje; 2 – Vinkovački Banovci-Šuma; 3 – Srijemska Mitrovica; 4 – Kupinovo; 5 – Novi Banovci; 6 – Zemun; 7 – Mlava River valley; 8 – Seona-Orešac; 9 – Triješnica-Rapanović polje; 10 – Apátipuszta; 11 – Rácalmás-Kulcs; 12 – Sárbogárd-Szecsőd; 13 – Aba-Belsőbáránd; 14 – Jutas; 15 – Szob; 16 – Ludas-Varjú-dűlő; 17 – Sajópetri-Homoki-szőlőskert.

variants, including the Scordiscan variant (Fig. 4), points to the position of workshops for their production (*Brezňanová 2008*, 16, 17). The recognizable characteristics of the fibulae of the Scordiscan variant in comparison to other variants point to their origin in workshops that were situated in their territory and produced items according to widely accepted ideas.

On the other hand, the find of the round plate from the foot of the fibulae from Vinkovački Banovci has direct comparison with fibulae of the BF-H1D-I variant recorded in the area of Hungary (Fig. 4). They correspond in the way they were produced, i.e. the way their plate is connected to the foot by rivets and the way the rosette motif is executed in pseudo-granulation technique. If we assume that this fragment originates from a destroyed grave, it is possible that the fibula was integrated into the local Middle La Tène female costume. Likewise, this find probably represents a proof of cultural transfer through communication which followed the course of the Danube River and which was already documented for certain Middle La Tène forms of female costume and jewellery (*Dizdar 2016*, 86; *2018*, 25–27). Moreover, a similar direction of contacts is indicated by somewhat older fibulae of the Bölcske type from LTB2, one of which was discovered in Vukovar, whose decoration techniques, as well as motifs, probably represent a conceptual paradigm for the creation of Middle La Tène forms of fibulae (*Brezňanová 2008*, 12, 17; *Majnarić-Pandžić 2007*, 801; *Szabó 1975*, 149–151, 155). Actually, fibulae of the Bölcske type also show higher distribution along the Danube (*Rustoiu 2008*, 118, fig. 58; *2009*, 7, fig. 1). The opposite direction of cultural contacts is considered to be reflected by fibulae of the variant BF-H1D-K recorded at sites in south-western Slovakia. These fibulae are also decorated with a trefoil motif with a knob in the middle, due to which is assumed that they were probably created under the influences from the south of the Carpathian Basin (*Brezňanová 2008*, 16). Actually, it was always thought that it was the Celts coming to the south-eastern part of the Carpathian Basin, and consequently, the Scordisci, who transferred knowledge about the decoration in filigree and granulation techniques towards the northern parts of the Carpathian Basin (*Majnarić-Pandžić 1970*, 27; *2006*; *Szabó 1975*, 148, 155; *1991*, 319; *2009*, 70–73; *2014*, 86, 87; *Szabó/Tankó 2012*, 103–109). Production of items with such decoration by casting is considered to be the influence of the La Tène Culture (*Rustoiu/Ferencz 2017*, 351). The creation of this way of decorating is found in Transdanubia

during LTB2, as testified by the mentioned fibulae of the Bölcske type, as well as items of ring jewellery decorated in this fashion (*Brezňanová 2008*, 11, 12).

Middle La Tène female costume of the Scordisci, although only a small number of graves is preserved, is today well-known thanks to numerous finds originating from destroyed cemeteries in Symia and eastern Slavonia (*Majnarić-Pandžić 1970*; *Todorović 1968*; *1971*). Fibulae of the Scordiscan variant decorated in the techniques of pseudo-filigree and pseudo-granulation are a recognizable group of finds. Almost canonically executed central motif and the same technological principle of their production indicates that this is an important part of their costume, alongside some other forms of bronze belts and fibulae. Such objects testify to the emergence of a recognizable visual code that could be used to express certain social or gender identities, while female costume probably also had an important symbolical role in social communication. Actually, some details of female costume could signify that its owner belongs to a certain community within a wider cultural landscape. The fibulae of the Scordiscan variant could be a good example since they have a unique form that was produced according to a widely-accepted concept of decoration. On the other hand, the existence of numerous variants produced according to a similar paradigm indicates that certain communities that are ethnically and/or culturally different, but have close contacts and share a common way of life, could create a costume of similar functional structure (*Rustoiu/Uruştiu 2013*, 77, 78). Therefore, this is one recognizable regional form of the Middle La Tène female costume, characteristic of communities situated along the Danube which shared similar ideas of decoration of women's bodies. These fibulae represented a recognizable external expression of a defined visual code and identity of women in Danube region. Wearing them, as a part of the complex decoration of woman's bodies, was probably important in creating an idealized image of their wearers and their social status. Likewise, it needs to be pointed out that areas of distribution of various variants of fibulae partly overlap (Fig. 4), which might point to the possibility of certain workshops producing fibulae of different forms, with personal selectivity potentially playing an important role. Finds of certain fibulae outside of their basic area of distribution, such as the fragment from Vinkovački Banovci, could point to the mobility of women who wore such fibulae or the craftsmen who produced them. But, likewise, these could have been objects of cultural transfers, used for exchanging ideas and knowledge necessary for the production of such complex objects. Due to that, these fibulae, as functional, but also decorative elements, probably represented an important part of the costume and visual identity of women who wore them, i.e. they testify to the way bodies of Scordiscan women were decorated and publicly presented. My esteemed colleague Karol Pieta dedicated a part of his abundant scholarly opus to the Middle La Tène female costume and jewellery items. We wish him many more such papers.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Benadik 1961 – B. Benadik: Grafitova keramika v laténskych hroboch na Slovensku. *Slovenská archeológia* 9, 1961, 175–208.

Božič 1981 – D. Božič: Relativna kronologija mlajše železne dobi v jugoslovenskem Podonavju. *Arheološki vestnik* 32, 1981, 315–336.

Brezňanová 2008 – G. Brezňanová: Príspevok k jednému z typov stredolaténskych spôn. *Slovenská archeológia* 56, 2008, 1–20.

Bujna 1995 – J. Bujna: *Malé Kosihy. Latènezeitliches Gräberfeld. Katalog.* Archaeologiae Slovaca Monographiae. Catalogi 7. Nitra 1995.

Bujna 2003 – J. Bujna: Spony z keltských hrobov bez výzbroje z územia Slovenska. (Typovo-chronologické triedenie LTB- a C1-spôn.) *Slovenská archeológia* 51, 2003, 39–108.

Dizdar 2014a – M. Dizdar: Bronze Belt from Osijek – Evidence of Contacts of the Scordisci with Central Europe and Manching During the Middle La Tène? In: M. Guštin/W. David (eds.): *The Clash of Cultures? The Celts and the Macedonian World.* Schriften des Kelten Römer Museums Manching 9. Manching 2014, 189–200, in press. Online available at: https://pdfcookie.com/documents/gutin-m-david-w-eds-the-clash-of-cultures-the-celts-and-the-macedonian-world-manching-2014-in-print-ex2040jw6pl3

Dizdar 2014b – M. Dizdar: Bronze Fibulae with Enamel Inlay from Scordiscan Sites. In: S. Berecki (ed.): *Iron Age Crafts and Craftsmen in the Carpathian Basin. Proceedings of the International Colloquium from Târgu Mureş, 10–13 October 2013.* Bibliotheca Mvsei Marisiensis. Series Archaeologica 7. Cluj-Napoca 2014, 97–114.

Dizdar 2016 – M. Dizdar: Middle La Tène Female Iron Belts in the south-eastern part of the Carpathian Basin – is it Something Local and/or Global? In: S. Berecki (ed.): *Iron Age Chronology in the Carpathian Basin. Proceedings of the International Colloquium from Târgu Mureş, 8–10 October 2015.* Bibliotheca Mvsei Marisiensis. Series Archaeologica 12. Cluj-Napoca 2016, 75–96.

Dizdar 2018 – M. Dizdar: Reflections about Some Specific Finds of Female Costume in the Southern Carpathian Basin – Can We Recognize Female Mobility in the Middle La Tène? In: S. Berecki/A. Rustoiu/M. Egri (eds.): *Iron Age Connectivity in the Carpathian Basin. Proceedings of the International Colloquium from Târgu Mureş, 13–15 October 2017.*

Bibliotheca Mvsei Marisiensis. Series Archaeologica 16. Cluj-Napoca 2018, 15–38.

Dizdar 2019 – M. Dizdar: New finds of bronze fibulae with enamel – what women liked to wear during the Middle and Late La Tène in the southern Carpathian Basin. In: N. Beljak Pažinová/D. Repka (red.): *Sedem kruhov Jozefa Bujnu*. Studia Historica Nitriensia 23. Supplementum 2. Nitra 2019, 33–47.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.17846/SHN.2019.23.S.33-47

Drnić 2015 – I. Drnić: *Kupinovo. Groblje latenske kulture – Kupinovo. A La Tène Culture Cemetery*. Katalozi i monografije 12. Zagreb 2015.

Guštin 1984 – M. Guštin: Die Kelten in Jugoslawien. *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz* 31, 1984, 305–363.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.11588/jrgzm.1984.0.58782

Hauschild 2010 – M. Hauschild: 'Celticised' or 'Asimilated'? In search of foreign and indigenous people at the time of the Celtic Migrations. In: S. Berecki (ed.): *Iron Age Communities in the Carpathian Basin. Proceedings of the International Colloquiums from Târgu Mureş, 9–11 October 2009*. Bibliotheca Mvsei Marisiensis Seria Archaeologica II. Cluj-Napoca 2010, 171–180.

Horváth 1945 – J. A. Horváth: A Szobi kelta temető. *Folia Archaeologica* 5, 1945, 60–65.

Hunyady 1942 – I. Hunyady: *Kelták a Kárpátmedencében, Táblakötet*. Dissertationes Pannonicae. Ser. II. Fasc. 18. Budapest 1942.

Jovanović A. 2011 – A. Jovanović: Middle La Tène female grave 56 from Brežice, Slovenia. In: M. Guštin/M. Jevtić (eds.): *The Eastern Celts. The Communities between the Alps and the Black Sea*. Annales Mediterranei. Koper – Beograd 2011, 51–64.

Jovanović B. 1987 – B. Jovanović: Istočna grupa. In: A. Benac (ed.): *Praistorija jugoslavenskih zemalja V. Željezno doba*. Sarajevo 1987, 815–854.

Kosorić 1982 – M. Kosorić: Rezultati istraživanja praistorijskih naselja na području Semberije. *Članci i građa za kulturnu istoriju istočne Bosne* 14, 1982, 121–132.

Majnarić-Pandžić 1970 – N. Majnarić-Pandžić: *Keltsko-latenska kultura u Slavoniji i Srijemu*. Acta Musei Cibalensis 2. Vinkovci 1970.

Majnarić-Pandžić 2006 – N. Majnarić-Pandžić: Balkan Jewellery Production Techniques In Iron Age Pannonia. *Folia Archaeologica Balkanica I. In Honorem Verae Bitrakova Grozdanova*. Skopje 2006, 129–143.

Majnarić-Pandžić 2007 – N. Majnarić-Pandžić: Brončani srednjolatenski nakit iz Vukovara ukrašen plastičnim i pseudofiligranskim stilom. In: M. Blečić/M. Črešnar/B. Hänsel/A. Hellmuth/E. Kaiser/C. Metzner-Nebelsick (ur. – Hrsg. – eds.): *Scripta Praehistorica in honorem Biba Teržan*. Situla 44. Ljubljana 2007, 797–811.

Marić 2015 – A. Marić: Nova interpretacija groba sa skeletnim ukopom žene iz mlađeg željeznog doba s Kamenjače u Brezi kod Sarajeva. *Godišnjak Centar za balkanološka ispitivanja* 44, 2015, 143–157.

Petres 1971 – E. F. Petres: *A Kelták Fejér Megyében*. Fejér Megye Története I/3. Székesfehérvár 1971.

Popović 1994 – P. Popović: Latenski nalazi iz Brestovika. *Zbornik narodnog muzeja* 15/1, 1994, 51–56.

Rustoiu 2008 – A. Rustoiu: *Războinici şi societate în aria celtică Transilvăneană. Studii pe marginea mormântului cu coif de la Ciumeşti*. Interferenţe etnice şi culturale în milenile I a. Chr.–I p. Chr. 13. Cluj-Napoca 2008.

Rustoiu 2009 – A. Rustoiu: Masters of metals in the Carpathian basin (workshops, production centres and funerary manifestations in the early and middle La Tène). *Ephemeris Napocensis* 19, 2009, 7–21.

Rustoiu 2013 – A. Rustoiu: A. Double Costumes in Female Burials from the Carpathian Basin. Comments Regarding Some Garment Assemblages from Fântânele (Romania) and Brežice (Slovenia). In: I. V. Ferencz/N. C. Rişcuţa/O. T. Bărbat (eds.): *Archaeological Small Finds and Their Significance. Proceedings of the Symposium: Costume as an Identity Expression*. Cluj-Napoca 2013, 89–100.

Rustoiu/Ferencz 2017 – A. Rustoiu/I. V. Ferencz: Cross-cultural connections between the Middle and Lower Danube Regions during the Late Iron Age. *Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt* 47, 2017, 341–357.

Rustoiu/Urusţiu 2013 – A. Rustoiu/A. Urusţiu: Indigenous and Celtic Garment Assemblages in Banat and the Surrounding Areas at the Beginning of the La Tène Period (Observations Regarding the Silver Spiral Earrings). In: I. V. Ferencz/N. C. Rişcuţa/O. T. Bărbat (eds.): *Archaeological Small Finds and Their Significance. Proceedings of the Symposium: Costume as an Identity Expression*. Cluj-Napoca 2013, 77–88.

Sicherl 2017 – B. Sicherl: Ein Neufund einer Fibel des Typs Benstrup aus Anreppen, Kreis Paderborn. Zu den Kulturbeziehungen zwischen dem Maasgebiet und Nordwestdeutschland zu Beginn der späten Eisenzeit. *Archäologie in Ostwestfalen* 13, 2017, 37–49.

Spajić 1954 – E. Spajić: Nalazište mlađeg željeznog doba s terena Osijeka. *Osječki zbornik* 4, 1954, 7–18.

Spajić 1962 – E. Spajić: Nalazište mlađeg željeznog doba s terena Osijeka. *Osječki zbornik* 8, 1962, 37–55.

Stojić 2000 – M. Stojić: Najnoviji slučajni nalazi fibula iz gvozdenog doba u dolini Mlave. *Viminacivm* 11, 2000, 57–67.

Szabó 1975 – M. Szabó: Sur la Question du Filigrane dans l'Art des Celtes Orientaux. *Alba Regia* 14, 1975, 144–165.

Szabó 1991 – M. Szabó: The Celts and Their Movements in the Third Century B.C. In: *The Celts. Exibition Catalogue*. Milano 1991, 303–320.

Szabó 2009 – M. Szabó: L'art du pseudo-filigrane. Une technique des peuples celtiques d'Europe centrale. *Dossiers d'Archeologie* 335, 2009, 68–73.

Szabó 2014 – M. Szabó: Sur la question de l'elite des celtes orientaux a l'Age du Fer. *Acta Archaeologia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 65, 2014, 73–117.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.1556/AArch.65.2014.1.3

Szabó/Tankó 2006 – M. Szabó/K. Tankó: Nécropole laténienne à Ludas–Varjú-dűlő. *Acta Archaeologia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 57, 2006, 325–343.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.1556/aarch.57.2006.4.2

Szabó/Tankó/ 2012 – M. Szabó/K. Tankó: La nécropole celtique à Ludas–Varjú-dűlő. In: M. Szabó (dir.): *La nécropole celtique à Ludas–Varjú-dűlő*. Budapest 2012, 9–152.

Szabó/Tankó 2018 – M. Szabó/K. Tankó: La nécropole celtique à Sajópetri–Homoki-Szőlőskert. In: M. Szabó (dir.): *La nécropole celtique à Sajópetri–Homoki-Szőlőskert*. Paris 2018, 9–222.

Tankó 2014 – K. Tankó: The graves of Szob and some southern aspects of La Tène finds from northern Hungary. In: M. Guštin/W. David (eds.): *The Clash of Cultures? The Celts and the Macedonian World*. Schriften des Kelten Römer Museums Manching 9. Manching 2015, 259–267, in press. Online availale at: https://pdfcookie.com/documents/gutin-m-david-w-eds-the-clash-of-cultures-the-

celts-and-the-macedonian-world-manching-2014-in-print-ex2040jw6pl3
Todorović 1968 – J. Todorović: *Kelti u jugoistočnoj Evropi*. Dissertationes et Monographiae 7. Beograd 1968.
Todorović 1971 – J. Todorović: *Katalog praistorijskih metalnih predmeta*. Serija zbirke i legati Muzeja grada Beograda 3. Beograd 1971.
Todorović 1974 – J. Todorović: *Skordisci*. Monumenta Archaeologica 2. Novi Sad – Beograd 1974.
Vukmanović/Radović 1995 – M. Vukmanović/N. Radović: *Katalog metala II*. Praistorija 3. Beograd 1995.
Wosinsky 1896 – M. Wosinsky: *Tolnavármegye. Az őskortól a honfoglalásig*. Tolnavármegye története. Budapest 1896.

Manuscript accepted 1. 7. 2021

Translated by Kristina Deskar

Dr. sc. Marko Dizdar
Institute of Archaeology
Jurjevska ulica 15
HR – 100 00 Zagreb
marko.dizdar@iarh.hr

SLOVENSKÁ ARCHEOLÓGIA – SUPPLEMENTUM 2
Z. Robak/M. Ruttkay (eds.): Celts – Germans – Slavs.
A Tribute Anthology to Karol Pieta. Nitra 2021, 107–116.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.31577/slovarch.2021.suppl.2.9

FELL INTO AN ETERNAL SLEEP

Finding the Human Skeleton in the La Tène Dwelling from Bratislava-Devín, Záhrady Site[1]

MATEJ STYK – DOMINIK REPKA

The finds of human remain in settlement features from the La Tène period are rare, especially cases when we can interpret these finds as proof of ritual activities. One of them represents archaeological research of the La Tène settlement with 38 archaeological features situated in the Záhrady site, located southeast of the urban area of Bratislava in the city part Devín. The article is evaluated the burial context in feature no. 74, which represents a common La Tène dwelling, where skeletal remains of a man were found. It aims to reconstruct several aspects connected to properties, existence, destruction, and secondary usage through the method of inverse transformation. Based on interim results, are created hypotheses focusing on the interpretation of such behaviour. Can we join these activities with intramural burial or its only proof of disposal of the dead? Interpretation goes further when taking in count presents of the charcoal layer, which may indicate more deep activities connected with cremation rituals. Those questions are discussed in the context of central European archaeology and the need for rethinking some old conclusions is emerged.

Keywords: Slovakia, La Tène Period, settlement burial, ritual activities.

INTRODUCTION

During the years 2014 and 2015, Archeologická Agentúra, s. r. o.[2] carried out rescue excavation in the Záhrady site, located southeast of the urban area of Bratislava in the city part Devín (Fig. 1). There were two cremation graves from the Kalenderberg Group (*Bielichová et al. 2020*; *Bodoriková et al. 2019*) and settlements from the Late Hallstatt period and from the Middle to the Late La Tène period (*Chmelo et al. 2015*). In this article, our attention is focused on the La Tène settlement, of which 38[3] excavated archaeological features were examined. One interesting finding assemblage was found in one of the La Tène features. It was feature 74, which most likely had residential character, but skeletal remains of a man were found inside.

Find assemblage

Feature 74 was captured in the northern part of the La Tène settlement area on a slight terrain plane spanning from NW to SE. From a constructional point of view, the structure represented a common La Tène dwelling in lowland settlements (*Březinová/Hečková 1994*, 79–81; the second group of huts

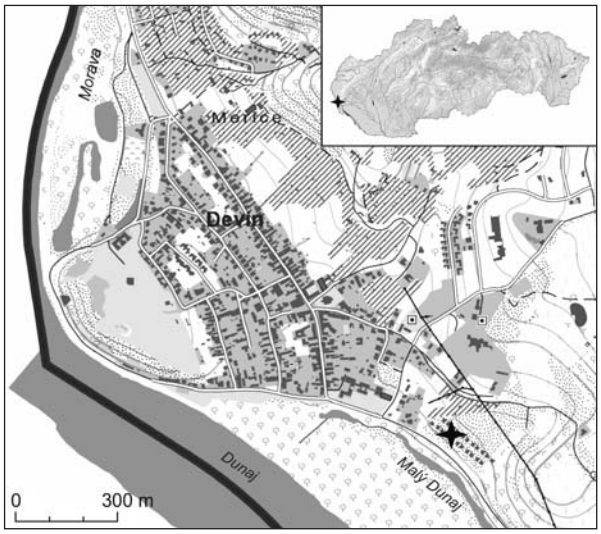


Fig. 1. Bratislava-Devín. Location of the researched Záhrady site (https://www.geoportal.sk/).

[1] This work was supported by grant of VEGA 1/0680/16 'Archaeology of death. Burial practices in the Late Prehistory to Protohistory in the territory of Slovakia'.

[2] Our thanks belong to the management of the company, namely Mgr. Bohuslav Šebesta, PhD., and PhDr. Mgr. František Žák Matyasowszky, PhD.

[3] Another 10 features can most likely be assigned to La Tène settlement based on horizontal stratigraphy. Excavation of the La Tène settlement is currently being processed and will be published.

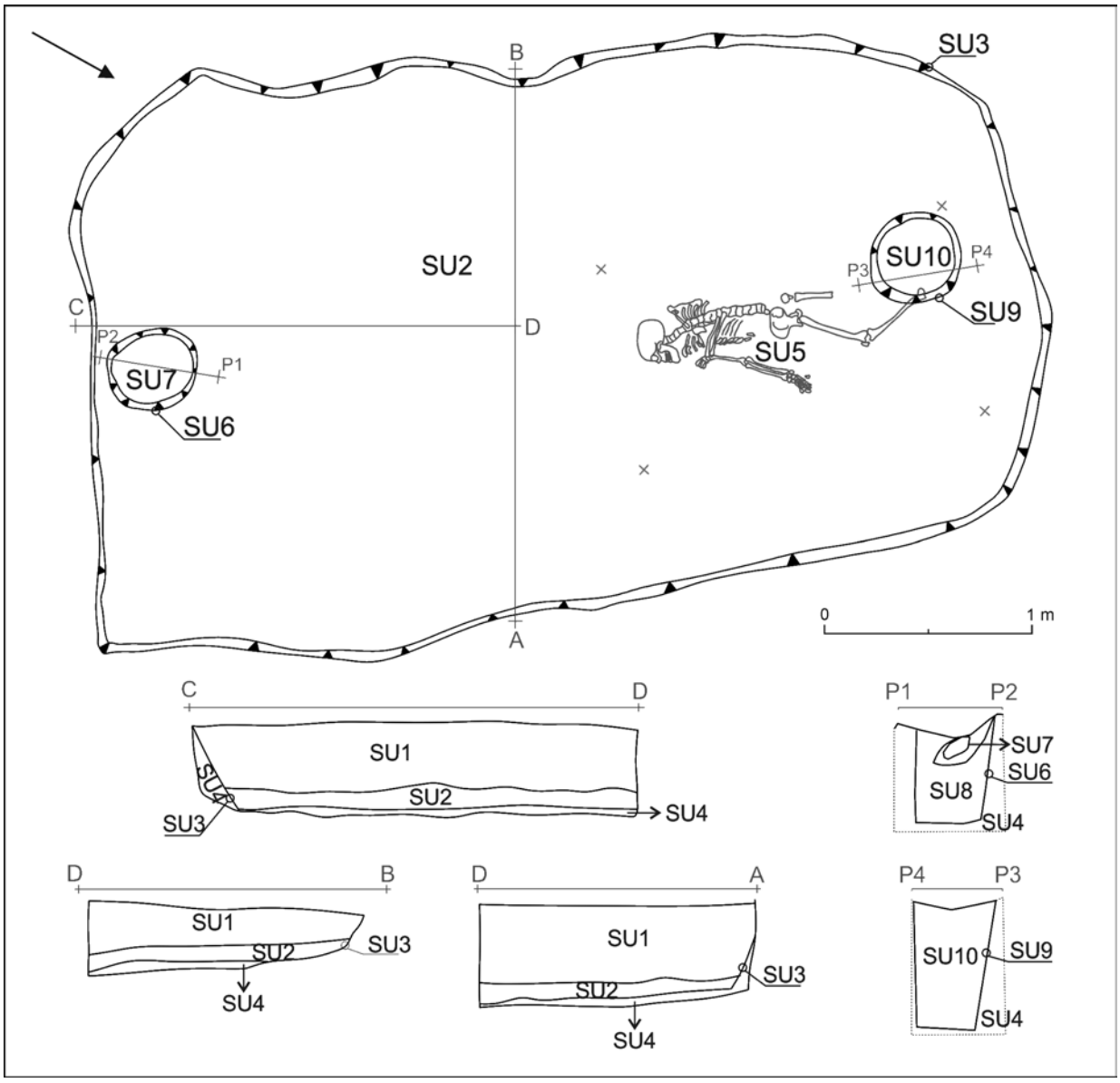


Fig. 2. Bratislava-Devín, Záhrady site. Plan of feature 74 with burial context (created according to *Chmelo et al. 2015*, 287–289, fig. 19–21).

according to *Březinová 2006*, 16; pit-houses of group 'b' according to *Kuzmová 1980, 318).* The sunken part, discovered during excavation, had a square floor plan with dimensions 460 × 250 cm. Besides the filling, the feature contained a stratigraphic unit (SU2) composed of burnt charcoal (Fig. 2), which was located directly above the loess subsoil. During the La Tène period, plank floors occur mainly in a mountain environment (*Pieta 2008*, 94), but in this situation, the layer records probably the destruction of the building. The floor was distinguished only by stratigraphic interface with loess subsoil. The use of clay as a floor covering typical for La Tène dwellings (*Horváth 2014*, 73) was not documented. According to the sunken part and proportions of a gable roof, the internal space had minimal dimensions of 550 × 340 cm.

During lowering of inner layers of the feature, in its northern half on the long central axis, the human skeleton was found in a depth of 60 cm below the terrain level above the burnt charcoal layer (SU2). The orientation of the entire feature 74 and skeletal remains was SE – NW. The body lay on its back with a slight tilt on the right hip. The left hand was bent at the elbow and placed on the left shoulder. In contrast, the right hand was loosely placed along the body. Also, the lower right limb was slightly bent. The skull was placed on the southeast side and

Fig. 3. Bratislava-Devín, Záhrady site. 3D visualisation of archaeological reconstruction of primary usage feature 74 as a dwelling (QR online 3D model).

was faced toward the east, respectively northeast. No signs of violent death were found on the bones. After the removal of human bones, two post-holes were found in the middle of the shorter walls.

RECONSTRUCTION

Throughout the analysis of excavated contexts, several aspects connected to properties, existence, and destruction, as well as secondary use, can be evaluated. The reconstruction represents the process of inverse transformation (*Neustupný 2007*, 75), by which we are trying to get to the moment of exit transformation (germ. *sterbendes Gut*; *Eggers 1959*, 258–262).

Existence and destruction of the structure

During archaeological excavation, inside feature 74, movable archaeological finds were found. There were 67 pottery fragments and two metallic objects – a bronze link from the chain belt and a fragment of the iron fibula. The majority of pottery fragments were accumulated in the northern half of the feature, while the above-mentioned metallic objects were in the northwest part, in the same area as human remains. Because we do not have exact positional information and depth of finds, we can only assume they come from inside filling SU1 or layer SU2.

We base the reconstruction of the dwelling mainly on stratigraphic observations. The origin and use of the building are documented by the excavation of lowered part (SU3) and by foundations of load-bearing columns that supported the roof (SU6 and SU9). No remains of floor or interior parts have been preserved, as well as no material sources were documenting active use of structure gathered from the bottom level (Fig. 3). Considering the shortage of evidence, it is impossible to determine with certainty the function of the structure. To some extent, the absence of a hearth, a bench along with one of longer walls, wooden floor, or primary waste from the bottom level questions the household function (cf. *Kuzmová 1980*, 320, 321; *Neustupný/Venclová 1996*, 43). For our situation, the destruction of the dwelling is more important. Considering the relatively small number of pottery (cf. *Březinová 2000)* and the absence of primary waste, resp. waste *de facto*, we can assume that even though the layer full of burnt charcoal suggests structure fire and its collapse, it could not happen suddenly and unexpectedly. The more likely explanation would be the abandonment of the dwelling and its recycling within the life cycle of dwellings of La Tène settlements. We do not encounter the evidence of intentional burning down of a dwelling in La Tène period (*Březinová 2006*, 9–18), and thus the motive for these acts, which could endanger nearest buildings, is unknown. It could be connected to the secondary use of the structure, which did not have to be its result, but the cause.

Secondary use of the feature

After the feature stopped fulfilling its primary function (of the dwelling?), the exit transformation (*Neustupný 2007*, 51) began about which we know

very little. We can say for sure that the feature was not destroyed gradually. Neither it was gradually covered also with a settlement layer or secondary waste (*Kuna/Němcová 2012*, 173–175). After removing load-bearing columns from post-holes, empty space was filled by interior remains (SU8 and SU10), but no layer was created at the bottom level. Approximately 10 cm thick layer (SU2) full of small charcoal, which creates the bottom level of the feature, represents burning down of the feature. In the period after the destruction of the dwelling, when feature 74 represented an unused waste pit filled with burnt remains, secondary use of the feature occurs. It represents the placement of the human remains in the northern half of the lowered part of the feature. The time that has passed since destruction up until deposition of the human remains is unknown. Based on the sharp stratigraphic interface between the charcoal layer (SU2) and the inside filling of the feature (SU1), we can assume that it was a short period during which gradual filling of the feature did not happen. Deposition of the human remains on its own can be understood as an intentional activity rather than a random placement or deposition in situ within catastrophic destruction of the dwelling. That is explained by the stratigraphic record when the human remains (SU5) are in direct contact with the charcoal layer (SU2) and at the same time lie in superposition with the post-hole (SU9). Also, no additional indications of digging were found in the near vicinity of the human remains (Fig. 2). The latest filling (SU1) forms a homogeneous part, surrounding human remains as well as the entire space of the lowered part of the feature (Fig 4). Besides the stratigraphic record, the taphonomy processes are also important, evaluated mainly by *anthropologie de terrain* (*Černý 1995*; *Duday et al. 1990*). Looking at the human cadaver (Fig. 2), we can see deposition on the back with a slight tilt of the right side. The absence of the right upper limb bones and parts of the left lower limb is caused mainly by the method of excavation rather than taphonomy processes. The presence of labile articulations (for example phalanxes of hand) and followed anatomical position of the bones confirms primary burial, which had to follow in a short time after the death of the buried (*Prokeš 2007*, 17). The process by which the positional transformation was carried out (*Nilsson Stutz 2006*, 221) shows decomposition in the secondary hollow space. This fact confirms the absence of a grave-pit as well as other construction near the remains. At the same time, it defines the process of depositing as a short-term event, which had to be followed by filling the feature. Considering the relative dating of the inside filling (SU1) at the end of stage LTC1 it is possible to synchronise these events with each other.

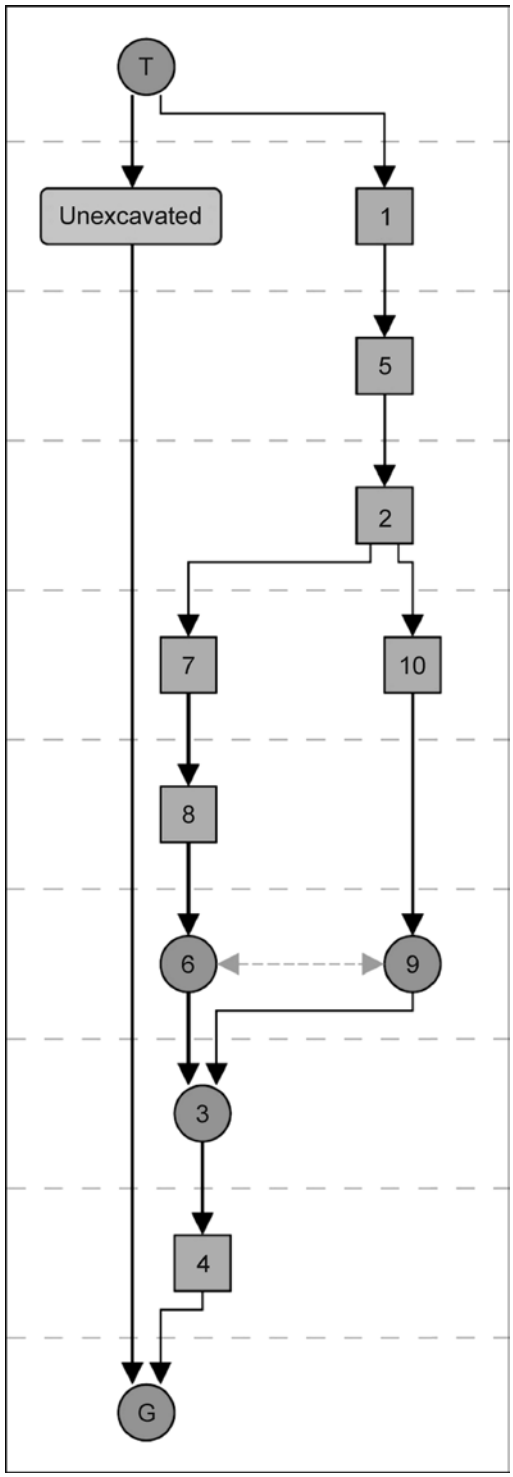


Fig. 4. Bratislava-Devín, Záhrady site, feature 74. Harris matrix of stratigraphic units. 1 – dark brown, sandy-clay filling admixture of small charcoals, rarely daub; 2 – greyish brown sandy-clay layer with many small charcoals; 3 – trench of feature no. 74; 4 – bright yellow sandy layer bedrock; 5 – human remains; 6 – trench of post-hole no. 80; 7 – brown clay filling with charcoals and sand; 8 – sandy-clay, yellow-brown filling with charcoals; 9 – trench of post-hole no. 79; 10 – sandy-clay, yellow-brown filling with charcoals and daub; T – top surface; G – interface to geology.

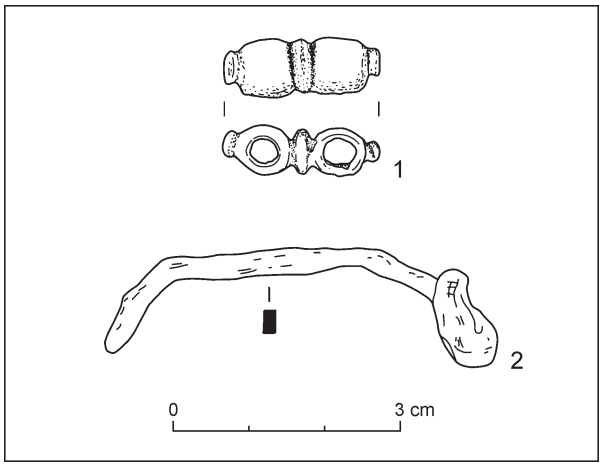


Fig. 5. Bratislava-Devín, Záhrady site, feature 74. Metal objects (drawing by E. Šebestová, D. Repka).

Dating of the feature

Artefacts found inside filling are important for the dating of the feature. For pottery, the greatest importance is in S-shaped profiled wheel-made bowls. Their out curved edge is characterised by conical cutting, which creates a roof-like shape. Bowls shaped like this appear in the Early and Middle La Tène period (compare *Březinová et al. 2015*, 259, 261, 262, pl. 1: 2, 5, 6; 3: 6, 7; 4: 5; *Čambal 2011*, 89, 90, pl. II: 1, 2, 5, 7, 9, 12, 14a; III: 14). Numerous representations in the feature have wheel-made situlas with rounded edges and with an addition of graphite. But these are present during a longer period from Early (*Březinová et al. 2015*; *Čambal 2011*) till Late La Tène period (type I/1b according to *Čambal 2004*, 16).

The dating of the feature is possible due to the pair of metallic objects, mainly by bronze rod link formed by a pair of rings from the chain belt (Fig. 5). The rings are separated by a slight boss. One button-like knob is located at the end of both sides. Based on the type of classification of mentioned link (type Gk-J, resp. variant Gk-J-AXa according to *Bujna 2011*, 100–105, fig. 42), it is possible to reconstruct the overall shape of the belt. Chain belt composed of bronze moulded rod links, which linked massive bronze rings of circular cross-section. Origin of the belt can be searched in the west Celtic environment, specifically in the territory of present-day Switzerland (e.g. *Kaenel 1990*, 131, 436, 437, 441, fig. 65; pl. 70; 71; 75; *Tanner 1980*, pl. 26; 29; 46; 63; 89; 84), Germany (*Krämer 1985*, pl. 39) or the Czech Republic (*Bujna 2011*, 104, 105), where it appears in the Middle La Tène period (stage LTC1). In Slovakia, belts of this type are known from grave 741 at the burial ground of Holiare (*Benedik/Vlček/Ambros 1957*, 96, 189, fig. 28: 11–14; pl. XXXVII: 3–5) and from the Celtic sacrificial ground in Trenčianske Teplice (*Pieta 2000*, fig. 8: 23–25), dated similarly in stage LTC1, resp. its end.

The second metallic object is the fragment of iron fibula most likely to type with a strapped foot (MLT-scheme) with an internal cord and frame-shaped bow. Its better dating is impossible due to the absence of significant parts in the particular foot. Fibula with a strapped foot appears during a long period from the Middle to Late La Tène period (*Čambal 2017*, 87–89).

For the dating of the feature, the horizontal stratigraphy is also important, which supports the assumption of the existence of structure in the early settlement phase. With surrounding La Tène dwellings (features no. 81, 85, 86, 88), the feature in the perimeter 20 m is in respect with other dwellings, which indicates the existence of enclosed space-defining areas of individual households. What seems different is immediate proximity with the production area (features no. 10, 13, 15–18, 33, 39), which is later[4] than feature 74. Mutual disposition considering different dating points out usage of the inner area of the settlement rather than anything else.

Identity of the buried

The anthropologic analysis found out that skeletal remains found in feature 74 most likely belonged to a male around 25 to 29 years old. His body height reached only 151.89 cm (*Kolena 2015*, 353–359). The average height of adult Celtic men in the central European area was much higher. Based on skeletal remains from Celtic burial ground in the central European area, we can conclude that most males reached a height in a span around 160 to 180 cm. Women were slightly shorter, at the level of 140 to 165 cm (e.g. *Benadik/Vlček/Ambros 1957*, 258, 259; *Jakab 2016*, 128–130, tab. 12; 13; fig. 8; *Waldhauser 1999*, 136). Besides abnormally low height, the man found in feature 74 suffered from strong neck pain. The pain was caused by blockage of vertebrae in the cervical area of the spine. It also caused reduced mobility of the neck as well as increased muscle weakness. The above-mentioned condition could have been the result of congenital disease. Such disease caused incredible handicap in performing any physical activity (*Kolena 2015*, 353–359).

[4] Excavation of the La Tène settlement is currently being processed and will be published.

INTERPRETATION

The absence of signs of violence suggests that the individual died of a natural cause. The death during sudden destruction of the dwelling can be ruled out as well, which is supported by archaeological find assemblage, whereas lower limbs partially interfered into the space of post-hole. These means that it was no longer standing when the man, resp. his body got into the dwelling. After the destruction of the dwelling in stage LTC1, the life in the settlement does not end but continues, which is supported by construction and usage of other dwellings, as well as farm and productional buildings in its vicinity. Based on the presented facts, we present several hypotheses that describe the causes of such a specific context.

Disposal of the dead

Presents situation when human remains are non-ceremonially placed into settlement feature, without the presence of grave equipment and other adjustments of inner space. In our case, it would be disposed of the deceased into the space of the destroyed structure of feature 74. In the given situation, this act would mean the easiest method to 'get rid of' a human cadaver. The reasons for this activity can be connected to the lower social status of the individual caused by abnormally low height with reduced mobility. Which to a large extent, is suggested by mentioned reconstruction of the identity of the buried. For hygienic reasons, the removal of the destroyed structure in the emerging production was a logical solution.

Intramural burial

In prehistoric archaeology, finds of human remains in settlement features (*Pankowská/Monik 2017*) or in waste pits and ditches (*Jelínek 2007*) are not uncommon. Understanding the practical side, it can also be about forms of burial that respected specific procedure of burial rites (*Šumberová/Valentová 2011*, 246). In this case, the excavated situation in feature 74 would present the burial rite of a specific individual, which reflects a gradual change of forms of burial rite, observed in burial grounds (*Haruštiak 2009*, 154–157) with its ritual expression. Inhumation burial rite with an absence of grave goods and additional work spent on burial structure may reflect the adaptation of burial ceremonies to new trends.

Burial as a part of rituals

The previous hypothesis draws a parallel between burial rites in burial grounds and settlements. Is it possible to explore a continuation of ritual processes associated with death in a settlement area? From prehistory, we know that finds from settlements may as well present liminal places, notably boundaries and entrances (*Brück 2006*, 302). Is the charcoal layer under the deceased a remain of symbolic cremation pyre or just proves the destruction of the structure? The ritual activity before the actual remains deposition might be a part of burial practices in the form of modification of the burial object's inner space.

DISCUSSION

We can come across settlement burials/depositions of human remains in different sites, not only in Slovakia (*Repka 2014*, 40, fig. 9; *Šefčáková 2012*, 491–493; *2014*, 190–193, 196, 197) but basically throughout the whole known Celtic world (e.g. *Čižmár 2000*; *Holodňák 2015*; *Lange 1983*; *Trebsche 2013*; *Waldhauser 1999*, 39–41; *2010*; *Waldhauser u. AG 1993*, 313–315). In many cases, the position of individuals found in settlements features differs from those we know in similar burial grounds. That is the case of the presented find from Devín. In the case of full inhumation remains in anatomical position, lateral is most common, alternatively also with bent lower limbs. There are also known cases of a prone position called 'sitting position' (*Lamb 2018*). Certain similarities can be seen even in the find assemblage, at least as far as stratigraphy is concerned. Some individuals were not placed directly at the bottom of a feature or the floor level, but either at the burnt or charcoal layers. The above-mentioned situation was discovered in one of the dwellings from the end of the Middle La Tène period, at the hillfort from Závist in central Bohemia (*Motyková/Drda/Rybová 1978*, 102–104, fig. 23). A child's skeleton was found above the layer of fire destroyed dwelling from the Middle La Tène period also in Bánov near Nové Zámky (*Pavúk 1964*, 324, 325). However, more detailed finding circumstances are not known.

In the case of finds in Devín, burning down of the entire structure is unlikely, mainly due to the context of surrounding structures or the absence of burnt remains of daub within the space of the feature. The presence of the ash layer in the feature is often associated with its burning down (compare features VI and XI from Komjatice-Kňazova jama: *Horváth 2014*, 73, 74). The second interpretative option can be recycling of the part of the dwelling and

burning of unusable components. While in early prehistory, these processes are documented (*Bickle 2013*, 169–172) in the La Tène period, this question of the structures' life cycle remains unanswered (*Pieta 2008*, 69–71).

The presence of human remains in settlement features is often connected to the destruction horizon (individual phases) of a settlement, such as at mentioned hillfort from Závist. The destruction of the building with the buried individual from the Middle La Tène period is followed by another settlement phase (*Motyková/Drda/Rybová 1978*, 104). In the case of another Czech site Soběsuky, there were 16 individuals buried in settlement features. A minimal part is dated back to the beginning of the Early La Tène period (stage LTB1). The abovementioned is put into a relationship with an early stage of settlement, caused by the arrival of a new population during Celtic historical migration at the beginning of the 4th c. BC (*Holodňák 2015*, 8). Similarly, in site Soběsuky, findings of human individuals are interpreted from La Tène settlement in Moravian Mutěnice (*Čižmár 2000*, 81–84, 88). Numerous evidences from the territory of Slovakia are connected to later historical events. Specifically, during the first half of the 1st c. BC, when power intervention of Dacians into the area of the Central Danube region was documented. These include finds from several locations in the space of Bratislava oppidum (*Repka 2014*, 40; with other literature; *Šefčáková 2014*, 190–193). The analysed finds from feature 74 in Devín are related to an early phase of settlement. After its destruction at the end of stage LTC1, life in the settlement does not end but continues till the end of the Late La Tène period.

On some of the previously mentioned human skeletal remains were found traces of violent death. In a certain context, those would point out the violent destruction of (certain phase) the settlement. From our point of view, the absence of these traces, as shown in finds of the individual from feature 74 in Devín, is more important. In given cases, it is possible to consider ritual practices. This includes finds from Závist, Mutěnice, and the part from the Bratislava oppidum. For example, four individuals without traces of (fatal) injury were placed on burnt timbering in a storage pit on the Panská street no. 19–21. Interestingly, the male remains without a head were placed in the pit together with a female skull. Free placement of the bodies indicates that the deceased was thrown into the pit already dead (*Šefčáková 2012*, 491, 492). Posthumously placed remains of well-build male were found, most likely in a storage pit dug directly in a dwelling on the Main Square (Hlavné námestie) no. 8 (*Šefčáková 2012*, 492). In the Late La Tène period P. Jud interprets a presence of human bones in settlements and oppida as a result and a final phase of multistage burials, as evidenced by finds from Basel-Gasfabrik settlement (*Jud 2008*, 147–160). A good example is the oppidum of Manching. There were found over 5 000 human bones and parts of skeletons (*Hahn 1999*, 137). The crucial fact is that human bones are related to several ritual practices different for isolated bones, inhumation remains, and separate skulls (*Sievers 2003*, 103). In the Devin case, only partial inhumations deposited in pits and ditches are similar, very often buried in abnormal positions (*Sievers 2003*, 101, fig. 107). In the same situation, there is no clear evidence of restriction to specific sex or age groups (*Lange 1983*, 7). If these finds indicate an exceptional treatment of the dead, it can be evidence of burials of individuals with special social status.

An interesting finding situation was discovered in the lower part of nearby Devín hill. The destructed stone feature with five damaged human skeletons has been carried out (*Pieta 2008*, 182). Initially, they were associated with the destruction of local settlement at the beginning of the second decade of the 1st c. BC. However, the analysis of osteological material revealed that part of it was boiled. Based on the analysis, ritual practices need to be considered (*Pieta 2008*, 182).

The evidence of ritual practices in settlement contexts offers a different view on the existence of the charcoal layer in feature 74. Unless it represents the destruction of the previous structure or method of recycling during settlement existence, it may be directly connected to the burial of human remains and thus reflect a certain ritual activity. In this context, the importance is in processes, which are ongoing in different settlement areas. Those are presented by gradual change of burial rite at burial grounds when cremation was culminating at the end of stage LTC1 (*Bujna 2004*, 326) associated with an easement of specific practices (*Haruštiak 2009*, 156) and an inventory simplification (*Pieta 2008*, 283). These are related to increasingly dominant activities associated with cremation as a ritual transformation (see *Oestigaard 1999*, 345–364). These activities are most notably documented at the end of burial activities, or when archaeology no longer has the evidence of use of burial grounds, such as finds from the 1st of May Square (Námestie 1. mája) in Nitra (*Pieta 1993*, 53–55). Interpretation of recorded context would in this sense represent a symbolic pyre without a cremation of the body. Considering the absence of traces of burning in the excavated feature 74, the alternative is a relocation of embers from a different source and the creation of significant visual perception (*Williams 2004*, 271–277) associated with the burial of a unique individual.

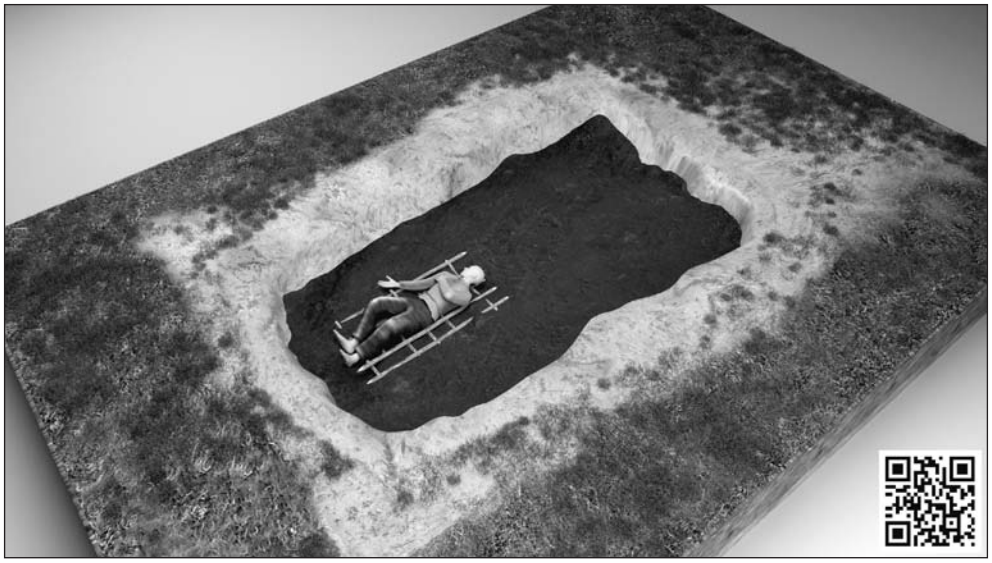


Fig. 6. Bratislava-Devín, Záhrady site. 3D visualisation of archaeological reconstruction of secondary usage feature 74 with inhumation burial (QR online 3D model).

CONCLUSION

Interpretation of the occurrence of human remains in the settlement area is often a complex issue. It is mainly affected by documentation of all find circumstances directly in the field. Only in this case, it is possible to relevantly reconstruct the reasons that led to these practices. Unfortunately, we often encounter the opposite or the absence of a more detailed analysis. One of the paper's objectives was to show a possible approach to the analysis and evaluation of these specific finds. The placement of the male individual in the feature 74 in La Tène settlement in Bratislava-Devín can be identified as a burial through reconstruction of find context, even though he was in the destroyed dwelling (Fig. 6). Based on find circumstances, we ruled out a direct connection with a process of its destruction. Besides, no signs of 'violent' death were found on the bones. Ritual reasons are also confirmed by the presence of the buried of lower stature with a physical disability and the presence of charcoal layer, on which he was placed and is not connected probably with the destruction of the structure.

BILIOGRAPHY

Benadik/Vlček/Ambroz 1957 – B. Benadik/E. Vlček/C. Ambroz: *Keltské pohrebiská na juhozápadnom Slovensku*. Archaeologica Slovaca Monographiae. Fontes 1. Bratislava 1957.

Bickle 2013 – P. Bickle: Of Time and the House: the Early Neolithic Communities of the Paris Basin and their Domestic Architecture. In: D. Hofmann/J. Smyth (eds): *Tracking the Neolithic House in Europe. Sedentism, Architecture and Practise*. New York – Dordrecht – Heidelberg – London 2013, 151–182.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4614-5289-8_7

Bielichová et al. 2020 – Z. Bielichová/M. Hajnalová/P. Kmeťová/P. Barta: Animal and Plant Remains from Two Kalenderberg Group (Hallstatt Culture) Cremation Graves in Devín-Záhrady, Slovakia. *Interdisciplinaria Archaeologica* 11, 2020, 149–176.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.24916/iansa.2020.2.2

Bodoriková et al. 2019 – S. Bodoriková/F. Žák Matyasowszky/B. Šebesta/M. Šútor 2019: Žiarové hroby z lokality Bratislava-Devín, poloha Záhrady (Slovensko, 9. stor. pred n. l.). *Slovenská antropológia* 22/1, 2019, 26–32.

Březinová 2000 – G. Březinová: *Nitra-Šindolka. Siedlung aus der Laténezeit. Katalog.* Archaeologiae Slovaca Monographiae. Catalogi 8. Nitra – Bratislava 2000.

Březinová 2006 – G. Březinová: Sídliská a sídliskové nálezy z laténskej doby na juhozápadnom Slovensku. *Študijné zvesti AÚ SAV* 40, 2006, 9–50.

Březinová et al. 2015 – G. Březinová/M. Cheben/M. Ruttkay/M. Vojteček: Dve sídliská z doby laténskej na hornom Požitaví. In: J. Bartík (red.): *Zborník na pamiatku Jozefa Paulíka. Štúdie.* Zborník SNM. Archeológia. Supplementum 9. Bratislava 2015, 255–274.

Březinová/Hečková 1994 – G. Březinová/J. Hečková: K problematike laténskeho osídlenia v Nitre-Šindolke. *Študijné zvesti AÚ SAV* 31, 1994, 73–96.

Brück 2006 – J. Brück: Fragmentation, Personhood and the Social Construction of Technology in Middle and Late Bronze Age Britain. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 16, 2006, 297–315.

Bujna 2004 – J. Bujna: K problematike birituality u Keltov. *Študijné zvesti AÚ SAV* 36, 2004, 321–338.

Bujna 2011 – J. Bujna: *Opasky ženského odevu z doby laténskej*. Nitra 2011.

Čambal 2004 – R. Čambal: *Bratislavský hradný vrch – akropola neskorolaténskeho oppida*. Zborník SNM. Archeológia. Suplementum 1. Bratislava 2004.

Čambal 2011 – R. Čambal: Sídliskové objekty zo strednej a neskorej doby laténskej v Slovenskom Grobe. *Zborník SNM* 105. *Archeológia* 21, 2011, 83–114.

Čambal 2017 – R. Čambal: Spony z nekorej doby laténskej z územia juhozápadného Slovenska s dôrazom na zázemie bratislavského oppida. In: E. Droberjar/B. Komoróczy (eds.): *Římské a germánské spony ve střední Evropě. Archeologie barbarů 2012*. Spisy Archeologického ústavu AV ČR Brno 53. Brno 2017, 87–106.

Černý 1995 – V. Černý: Význam tafonomických procesů při studiu pohřebního ritu. *Archeologické rozhledy* 47, 1995, 301–313.

Chmelo et al. 2015 – L. Chmelo/B. Šebesta/M. Šútor/F. Žák Matyasowszky: *Záhrady – Devín*. Nitra 2015. Výskumná správa P021. Archeologická Agentúra, s. r. o. Unpublished.

Čižmář 2000 – M. Čižmář: Nálezy lidských kostí na moravských sídlištích doby laténské. In: I. Pavlů (ed.): *In memoriam Jan Rulf.* Památky archeologické. Supplementum 13. Praha 2000, 81–91.

Duday et al. 1990 – H. Duday/P. Courtaud/É. Crubezy/P. Sellier/A.-M. Tillier: L'Anthropologie «de terrain»: reconnaissance et interprétation des gestes funéraires. *Bulletins et Mémoires de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris. Nouvelle Série* 2, 1990, 29–49.

Eggers 1959 – H. J. Eggers: *Einführung in die Vorgeschichte*. 1. Auflage. München 1959.

Hahn 1999 - E. Hahn: Zur Bestattungssitte in der Spätlatènezeit. Neue Skelettfunde aus dem Oppidum von Manching. In: M. Kokabi/E. May (Hrsg.): *Beiträge zur Archäozoologie und prähistorischen Anthropologie* 2, 1999, 137–141.

Haruštiak 2009 – J. Haruštiak: Vývoj pohrebného rítu na keltských pohrebiskách z územia Slovenska. *Slovenská archeológia* 57, 2009, 117–168.

Holodňák 2015 – P. Holodňák: Lidské pozůstatky v kontextu sídlištních objektů doby halštatské až laténské ze Soběsuk (okr. Chomutov). *Živá archeologie. (Re)konstrukce a experiment v acheologii* 17, 2015, 3–9.

Horváth 2014 – P. Horváth: Laténske sídlisko v Komjaticiach, poloha Kňazova jama. *Študijné zvesti AÚ SAV* 56, 2014, 69–110.

Jelínek 2007 – P. Jelínek: Nálezy detských skeletov v sídliskových objektoch z neolitu, eneolitu a doby bronzovej z juhozápadného Slovenska. *Študijné zvesti AÚ SAV* 42, 2007, 71– 98.

Jelínek/Kovár/Benuš 2010 – P. Jelínek/B. Kovár/R. Benuš: Sídliskové nálezy ľudských kostier z lokality Vydrica (Bratislava, Slovensko). In: R. Tichý/R. Štulc (eds.): *Hroby, pohřby a lidské pozůstatky na pravěkých a středověkých sídlištích*. Živá archeologie. (Re)konstrukce a experiment v acheologii. Supplementum 3**.** Hradec Králové 2010, 25–31.

Jud 2008 – P. Jud: *Die Töpferin und der Schmied. Basel-Gasfabrik, Grabung 1989/5. Text.* Materialhefte zur Archäologie in Basel 20A. Basel 2008.

Kaenel 1990 – G. Kaenel: *Recherches sur la periode de La Tène en Suisse occidentale. Analyse des sépultures*. Cahiers d'archéologie romande 50. Lausanne 1990.

Kolena 2015 – B. Kolena: Osteologická analýza jedinca z objektu 74, Bratislava-Devín/Záhradky. In: *Chmelo et al. 2015*, 353–359. Unpublished.

Krämer 1985 – W. Krämer: *Die Grabfunde von Manching und die latènezeitlichen Flachgräber in Sudbayern*. Die Ausgrabungen in Manching 9. Stuttgart 1985.

Kuna/Němcová 2012 – M. Kuna/A. Němcová: *Výpověď sídlištního odpadu. Nálezy z pozdní doby bronzové v Roztokách a otázky depoziční analýzy archeologického kontextu*. Praha 2012.

Kuzmová 1980 – K. Kuzmová: Nížinné sídliská z neskorej doby laténskej v strednom Podunajsku. *Slovenská archeológia* 28, 1980, 313–340.

Lamb 2018 – A. W. Lamb: Seated Burials of the La Tène Iron Age. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 37, 2018, 429–442.

Lange 1983 – G. Lange: *Die menschlichen Skelettreste aus dem Oppidum von Manching.* Die Ausgrabungen in Manching 7. Wiesbaden 1983.

Motyková/Drda/Rybová 1978 – K. Motyková/P. Drda/A. Rybová: *Závist. Keltské hradiště ve středních Čechách*. Praha 1978.

Neustupný 2007 – E. Neustupný: *Metoda archeologie*. Plzeň 2007.

Neustupný/Venclová 1996 – E. Neustupný/N. Venclová: Využití prostoru v laténu: region Loděnice. *Archeologické rozhledy* 48, 1996, 615–642, 713–724.

Nilsson Stutz 2006 – L. Nilsson Stutz: Unwrapping the dead. Searching for evidence of wrappings in the mortuary practices at Zvejnieki. In: L. Larsson/I. Zagorska (eds): *Back to the Origin. New Research in the Mesolithic-Neolithic Zvejnieki Cemetery and Environment, Northern Latvia.* Acta Archaeologica Lundensia. Series 8, No. 52. Stockholm 2006, 217–233.

Oestigaard 1999 – T. Oestigaard: Cremations as Transformations. When the Dual Cultural Hypothesis was Cremated and Carried Away in Urns. *European Journal of Archaeology* 2, 1999, 345–364.

Pankowská/Monik 2017 – A. Pankowská/M. Monik: Evidence of innovation and social differentiation in burial practices in Early Bronze Age Moravia. *Archaeological and Anthropological Sciences* 9, 2017, 915–933. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1007/s12520-016-0313-4

Pavúk 1964 – J. Pavúk: Osídlenie z doby laténskej a rímskej v Bánove na Slovensku. *Archeologické rozhledy* 16, 1964, 323–336.

Pieta 1993 – K. Pieta: Stredolaténske zvieracie žiarové hroby alebo doklady kultových praktík z Nitry? *Slovenská archeológia* 41, 1993, 41–58.

Pieta 2000 – K. Pieta: Laténezeitlicher Burgwall und Opferplatz (?) in Trenčianske Teplice. In: J. Bouzek/H. Friesinger/K. Pieta/B. Komoróczy (Hrsg.): *Gentes, Reges und Rom*. Spisy Archeologického ústavu AV ČR 16. Brno 2000, 97–120.

Pieta 2008 – K. Pieta: *Keltské osídlenie Slovenska. Mladšia doba laténska*. Archaeologica Slovaca Monographiae. Studia 11. Nitra 2008.

Prokeš 2007 – L. Prokeš: *Posmrtné změny a jejich význam při interpretaci pohřebního ritu (ke vztahu mezi archeologií a forenzními vědami).* Archaeologia mediaevalis Moravica et Silesiana. Supplementum 1. Brno 2007.

Repka 2014 – D. Repka: Pohrebiská z doby laténskej na Slovensku. Stav bádania. *Študijné zvesti AÚ SAV* 56, 2014, 23–54.

Šefčáková 2012 – A. Šefčáková: Stopy dávnych ľudských osudov. Antropologické nálezy z oblasti Bratislavy do

12. storočia. In: J. Šedivý/T. Štefanovičová (zost.): *Dejiny Bratislavy 1. Od počiatkov do prelomu 12. a 13. storočia. Brezalauspurc na križovatke kultúr*. Bratislava 2012, 489–507.

Šefčáková 2014 – A. Šefčáková: Antropologické nálezy z Bratislavského hradu zo sezón výskumov 2008–2010. In: M. Musilová/P. Barta/A. Herucová (zost.): *Bratislavský hrad, dejiny, výskum a obnova*. Bratislava 2014, 189–198.

Sievers 2003 – S. Sievers. *Manching. Die Keltenstadt*. Führer zu archäologischen Denkmälern in Bayern. Oberbayern 3. München 2003.

Šumberová/Valentová 2011 – R. Šumberová/J. Valentová: Dům mrtvých, nebo dům živých? Laténský objekt s lidskými kostrami z Nových Dvorů, okr. Kutná hora. *Archeologické rozhledy* 63, 2011, 220–250.

Tanner 1980 – A. Tanner: *Das Latènegräberfeld von Trun-Darvella*. Schriften des Seminars für Vorgeschichte der Universität Bern 5. Zürich 1980.

Trebsche 2013 – P. Trebsche: Die Regelhaftigkeit der ‚irregulären' Bestattungenim österreichischen Donauraum während der Latènezeit. In: N. Müller-Scheeßel (Hrsg.): *‚Irreguläre' Bestattungen in der Urgeschichte. Norm, Ritual, Strafe ...? Akten der Internationalen Tagung in Frankfurt a. M. vom 3. bis 5. Februar 2012*. Kolloquien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte. Band 19. Bonn 2013, 387–408.

Waldhauser 1999 – J. Waldhauser: *Jak se kopou keltské hroby. Laténská pohřebiště ze 4.–3. století v Čechách*. Praha 1999.

Waldhauser 2010 – J. Waldhauser: Lidské osteologické pozůstatky v sídelních strukturách z období Ha D – LT D v Čechách a na Moravě. In: R. Tichý/R. Štulc (eds.): *Hroby, pohřby a lidské pozůstatky na pravěkých a středověkých sídlištích*. Živá archeologie. (Re)konstrukce a experiment v acheologii. Supplementum 3**.** Hradec Králové 2010, 151–156.

Waldhauser u. AG 1993 – J. Waldhauser und Arbeitsgruppe: *Die hallstatt- und laténzeitliche Siedlung mit Gräberfeld bei Radovesice in Böhmen*. Archeologický výzkum v severních Čechách 21. Praha 1993.

Williams 2004 – H. Williams: Death Warmed up: The Agency of Bodies and Bones in Early Anglo-Saxon Cremation Rites. *Journal of Material Culture* 9, 2004, 263–291. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1177/1359183504046894

Manuscript accepted 25. 6. 2021

Translated by Michal Styk and Matej Styk

Mgr. Matej Styk, PhD.
Katedra archeológie
Univerzita Konštantína Filozofa v Nitre
Hodžova 1
SK – 949 74 Nitra
mstyk@ukf.sk

doc. Mgr. Dominik Repka, PhD.
Katedra archeológie
Univerzita Konštantína Filozofa v Nitre
Hodžova 1
SK – 949 74 Nitra
drepka@ukf.sk

SLOVENSKÁ ARCHEOLÓGIA – SUPPLEMENTUM 2
Z. Robak/M. Ruttkay (eds.): Celts – Germans – Slavs.
A Tribute Anthology to Karol Pieta. Nitra 2021, 125–119.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.31577/slovarch.2021.suppl.2.10

A LATE IRON AGE GRAVE WITH HUMAN REMAINS FROM APAHIDA IN THE COLLECTION OF ENDRE OROSZ*

SÁNDOR BERECKI

In 2015, the grandchildren of Endre Orosz, a self-thought archaeologist and collector who operated mainly in Cluj County, donated his archaeological collection to the Mureş County Museum. Cremated human remains of one of the Late Iron Age graves in Apahida, Transylvania were also found among the finds. From the nearly one hundred Late Iron Age graves, this is the only known find suitable for anthropological analyses.

Keywords: Romania, Late Iron Age, Celts, human bones, cremation.

The Late Iron Age cemetery in Apahida, Transylvania, was unearthed in 1900 during work in the gravel mine. Initially, a local teacher, Endre Orosz, collected the finds from the site, and later 21 graves were excavated under the direction of *István Kovács* (*1911*). In the years after the excavations, new graves were unearthed, most of the finds of which were also found in the Orosz collection. Because Orosz recorded the finds by the day they turned up, in most cases it is not possible to determine whether the items unearthed on one day belonged to one or more graves, as well as whether all the items from one grave were included in his collection.

The same is true for the two vessels found in the Orosz collection, unearthed on Saturday, 24th March 1900. In 1947, Vlad Zirra, archaeologist at the Institute of Archaeology in Bucharest, researched the collection at Cluj, found a (today missing) note of E. Orosz according to which on that day a large, wheel-thrown vessel was found together with a smaller, handmade vessel inside (*Zirra 1967*, fig. 47: 6; *1976*, 141, 142, fig. 10: 7, 8). In 2015, when the Orosz collection was donated to the Mureş County Museum by the descendants of the family (*Berecki/Horti/Kacsó/Nyulas 2017*), the handmade vessel was no longer in the collection, only the wheel-thrown vessel and the cremated bones belonging to the grave could be found.

Based on the grave inventories collected by Orosz in the Apahida cemetery, barely a half-dozen graves with handmade vessels can be assumed, while none of the 21 graves unearthed during the excavations of Kovács contained handmade wares. Among the objects unearthed on 28th March 1900, along with the large handmade urn with four knobs, was a small jug, also handmade, while on 25th March 1914 a large handmade urn and a handmade jug was found. Two handmade vessels found by Orosz were sent to the museum in Aiud/Nagyenyed (Alba County), unfortunately no information has survived about their find circumstances.

The eight-knobbed, inverted truncated cone-shaped, 90 mm high cup (Fig. 1: 1; *Crişan 1971*, fig. V: 2; *Zirra 1976*, fig. 10: 8), unearthed on 24th March 1900 belongs to the type Németi-C2/C3 (*Németi 1988a*, 97, with analogies). This pottery form is

Fig. 1. Apahida. The vessels recovered by E. Orosz on 24th March 1900 (drawing after *Zirra 1976*).

* This work was supported by a grant of the Ministry of Research and Innovation, CNCS - UEFISCDI, project number PN-III-P4-ID-PCE-2020-0566, within PNCDI III. I warmly thank Szilárd-Sándor Gál (Mureş County Museum) for the analysis of the anthropological analysis and Imola Kelemen (Szekler Museum of Ciuc) for the archaeozoological analysis.

characteristic for the late period of the Early Iron Age, and it is also found in La Tène grave inventories. In the Pişcolt/Piskolt cemetery (Satu Mare county) this pottery type appears mainly in the early LT graves (*Németi 1988b*, 54, 61, fig. 6: M139: 6, 8; 10: M202: 8; *1989*, 86, fig. 10: M151: 2, 3), but it was also found in LTC burials (*Németi 1992*, 62, fig. 3: M20: 10). Late Iron Age vessels of this type are between 70 and 110 mm high, their colour is mostly brick red or brown and, unlike the eight-knobbed vessel of Apahida, usually have four knobs. In terms of their distribution, it can be observed that during the Late Iron Age they are most common in the cemeteries of the lowlands, west of the Apuseni Mountains (*Németi 1988a*, 97).

Given that the number of anthropological analyses of Late Iron Age burials in Transylvania is very small, the description of the only known anthropological material of one of the most significant Celtic cemeteries in Transylvania to date could provide important information for later research in this field.

According to the anthropological record, from the cremated bones belonging to the grave found on 24th March 1900 the 85% of the skeleton is missing. The weight of the 62 bones is 48 g, their dimensions vary between 4 and 39 mm. The bones show a variety of colours ranging from grey-brown to yellow, indicating a burning temperature at 440–525 °C (phase 3–4 of heating according to *Nicholson 1993*; *Shipman/Foster/Shoeninger 1984*). Among the cremated bones small fragments from the parietal, occipital and frontal bones together with part of the orbits (from the right side) could be identified. The postcranial skeleton is represented by some fragments from long bones, especially their diaphysis or middle part. The ecto- and endocranial sutures and the dimensions of long bones show signs of an adult person. The determination of sex was not possible.

Among the cremated human bones, a mandibular second premolar of a swine was found, indicating the presence of animal offerings in the grave. There is no further information in order to reconstruct the character or composition of the entire animal offering from the grave. In the Late Iron Age graves of the Carpathian Basin the most frequent animal offering is the swine (almost 90% of the food offerings from this period), then the sheep, hen, cattle, hare and fish (*Vörös 2008*).

The colour of the cremated bones from Apahida indicate a burning temperature at 440–525 °C. In the case of the cremation graves from Fântânele the temperature of 400–645 °C is average (*Berecki/Vaida 2017*, 27, 28). At Ludas, in most cases it was 200 °C (*Tankó 2012*, 212), between 200 and 800 °C at Hegyfalu (*Balázs/Hornok/Tóth 2015*, 7), 400–600 °C at Zvonimirovo (*Šlaus/Novak 2013*, 518), and 250–600 °C sometimes even 700–900 °C at Dobova (*Hincak/Guštin 2011*, 250).

The anthropological material from the grave of Apahida fits in all respects the Late Iron Age burial customs of the Carpathian Basin. It can be observed that in this period the amount of bones placed in graves rarely exceeds 20%. Experimental archaeological research has shown that the cremated remains of an adult individual are between 1500 and 3000 g, depending on the intensity of the cremation, in addition to their height and sex (*McKinley 1993*; *Trotter/Hixon 1974*).

In the cemetery at Ludas, the weight of the cremated human remains in a grave rarely went above 400 g (*Tankó 2012*, 212). Likewise, at Mátraszőlős (*Almássy 2012*) and Hegyfalu (*Balázs/Hornok/Tóth 2015*) the weight of the cremated bones was below 30 g. In the cremation grave 46A from Fântânele-Dealul Iuşului only 10% of the burned human bones were placed (*Berecki/Vaida 2017*, 27, 28). In the case of prehistoric cremation burials, it can be observed that cremation is always partial, therefore most of the bones remain on the pyre and only soft tissues are consumed by fire.

There is no doubt that there is also a quantitative loss of bones during the archaeological research process and in the laboratory preparation and conservation, but this loss is presumably insignificant in most cases. In the grave from Apahida both the skull and the postcranial skeleton is represented by a few fragments, indicating a tendency for representing the entire body as *pars pro toto*. This is also indicated by the fact that not only larger pieces were placed in the grave, as there were several pieces smaller than 10 mm between the bones. Although it is unlikely due to the careful storage methods of Endre Orosz, it cannot be ruled out that in the case of the Apahida finds, the several relocations of the collection may have contributed to the decrease in the amount of the above presented bone material. Yet, probably the small amount of cremated human remains in the grave, a typical aspect of the cremation burials during the Late Iron Age, is more likely to be related to the ceremonial or burial customs of the period (*Rebay-Salisbury 2010*). It is conceivable that not all the bones were collected from the pyre after the cremation ceremony, but it can also be assumed that not the entire body was cremated.

It can be concluded, that the cremation grave from Apahida found by E. Orosz on 24th March 1900 shows aspects of the widespread and characteristic manipulation of human bodies and burial customs of the 3rd–2nd c. BC in the Carpathian Basin.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Almássy 2012 – K. Almássy: A Mátraszőlős-királydombi kelta temető I. A sírok leírása. *A nyíregyházi Jósa András Múzeum Évkönyve* 54, 2012, 71–215.

Balázs/Hornok/Tóth 2015 – A. Balázs/P. Hornok/G. Tóth: Birituális La-Téne kori temető Hegyfalu határában (Vas megye). Embertani eredmények. *Specimina Electronica Antiquitatis* 21, 2015, 1–12.

Berecki/Horti/Kacsó/Nyulas 2017 – S. Berecki/E. Horti/K. Kacsó/D. Nyulas: *Orosz Endre régészeti gyűjteménye – Colecţia arheologică a lui Endre Orosz*. Catalogi Musei Marisiensis, series archaeologica III. Cluj-Napoca 2017.

Berecki/Vaida 2017 – S. Berecki/D.-L. Vaida: Morminte duble din a doua epocă a fierului în Bazinul Carpatic – Late Iron Age double burials in the Carpathian Basin. *Istros* 23, 2017, 13–54.

Crişan 1971 – I. H. Crişan: Necropola celtică de la Apahida. *Acta Musei Napocensis* 8, 1971, 37–70.

Hincak/Guštin 2011 – Z. Hincak/M. Guštin: Anthropological analysis of Celtic graves from Brežice and Dobova (Slovenia). In: M. Guštin/M. Jevtić (eds.): *The Eastern Celts The Communities between the Alps and the Black Sea*. Annales Mediterranei. Koper – Beograd 2011, 241–254.

Kovács 1911 – I. Kovács: Az apáhidai őskori telep és La-Tène temető. *Dolgozatok az Erdélyi Nemzeti Múzeum Érem- és Régiségtárából* 2, 1911, 1–69.

McKinley 1993 – J. I. McKinley: Bone Fragment Size and Weights of Bone from Modern British Cremations and the Implications for the Interpretation of Archaeological Cremations. *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology* 3, 1993, 283–287.

Németi 1988a – I. Németi: Unele aspecte ale evoluţiei ceramicii din a doua epocă a fierului în nord-vestul R. S. România (Latène B–C). *Studii şi Cercetări de Istorie Veche şi Arheologie* 39, 1988, 87–111.

Németi 1988b – I. Németi: Necropola Latène de la Pişcolt, jud. Satu Mare. I. *Thraco-Dacica* 9, 1988, 49–73.

Németi 1989 – I. Németi: Necropola Latène de la Pişcolt, jud. Satu Mare. II. *Thraco-Dacica* 10, 1989, 75–114.

Németi 1992 – I. Németi: Necropola Latène de la Pişcolt, jud. Satu Mare. III. *Thraco-Dacica* 13, 1992, 59–112.

Nicholson 1993 – R. A. Nicholson: Morphological Investigation of Burnt Animal Bone and an Evaluation of its Utility in Archaeology. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 20, 1993, 411–428.

Rebay-Salisbury 2010 – K. Rebay-Salisbury: Cremations: fragmented bodies in the Bronze and Iron Ages. In: K. Rebay-Salisbury/M. L. S. Sørensen/J. Hughes (eds.): *Body Parts and Bodies Whole. Changing Relations and Meanings*. Oxford 2010, 64–71.

Shipman/Foster/Shoeninger 1984 – P. Shipman/G. Foster/M. Shoeninger: Burned Bones and Teeth: An Experimental Study of Colour, Morphology, Crystal Structure and Shrinkage. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 11, 1984, 307–315.

Šlaus/Novak 2013 – M. Šlaus/M. Novak: Antropološka analiza spaljenih ljudskih kostiju – An archaeological analysis of cremated human bones. In: M. Dizdar: *Zvonimirovo-Veliko polje. Groblje latenske kulture – A Cemetery of the La Tène Culture*. Zagreb 2013, 513–519.

Tankó 2012 – É. Tankó: L'Étude des trouvailles anthropologiques de la nécropole celtique de Ludas. In: M. Szabó (dir.): *La nécropole celtique à Ludas – Varjú-dűlő*. Budapest 2012, 197–217.

Trotter/Hixon 1974 – M. Trotter/B. B. Hixon: Sequential Changes in Weight, Density and Percentage Ash Weight of Human Skeletons from an Early Fetal Period Through Old Age. *The Anatomical Record* 179, 1974, 1–18.

Vörös 2008 – I. Vörös: Offered pigs from the Celtic cemeteries in Hungary. In: Á. Szabó/P. Vargyas (eds.): *Cultus deorum studia religionum ad historiam. Vol. I. De Oriente Antiquo et Regione Danuvii Praehistorica. In memoriam István Tóth*. Ókortudományi Dolgozatok 1. Pécs 2008, 303–322.

Zirra 1967 – V. Zirra: *Un cimitir celtic în nord-vestul României*. Baia Mare 1967.

Zirra 1976 – V. Zirra: La nécropole La Tène d'Apahida. *Dacia n. s.* 20, 1976, 129–165.

Manuscript accepted 17. 9. 2021

Translated by author

Sándor Berecki, PhD
Muzeul Judeţean Mureş
str. Mărăşti 8A
RO – 540328, Târgu Mureş
sberecki@yahoo.com

SLOVENSKÁ ARCHEOLÓGIA – SUPPLEMENTUM 2
Z. Robak/M. Ruttkay (eds.): Celts – Germans – Slavs.
A Tribute Anthology to Karol Pieta. Nitra 2021, 121–127.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.31577/slovarch.2021.suppl.2.11

SOMETHING WENT WRONG: ON THE BRONZE CHAIN-BELT REJECTS FROM ČEJKOVICE (HODONÍN DISTRICT, CZ)[1]

PETRA GOLÁŇOVÁ – MILOŠ HLAVA

In the Central European La Tène period, there is only relatively very scarce evidence of bronze smelting in the form of half-finished products and rejects; the reason for this absence may be their proactive recycling. They only appear in greater quantities from LTC; it is also when we can date five chain-belt elements from Čejkovice presented in this paper. Other evidence of bronze smelting (crucibles, bronze lumps, casting spills) is not rare in South Moravia (it is documented in as many as seven sites in the surroundings of Čejkovice only) prompting considerations on the (de)centralisation of bronze working. At the current state of knowledge, bronze smelting seems to have been quite decentralised in Moravia in the 3rd–2nd centuries BC. Therefore, it does not seem to have been concentrated only in large agglomerations; for the moment we cannot say much in this respect about other regions including Central Moravia with Němčice nad Hanou.

Keywords: South Moravia, Late Iron Age, non-ferrous metallurgy, chain-belts, craft organisation.

INTRODUCTION

Bronze smelting and the manufacturing of bronze artefacts was a specialised craft in the La Tène period. The research into this production activity has recently focused on the analyses of the alloys in order to determine their provenance using trace element patterns and lead isotope analysis (cf. *Danielisová et al. 2017*; *2020*; *2021*; *Danielisová/Strnad/Mihaljevič 2018*). As a matter of fact, in contrast to the large quantities of final products, the evidence of their manufacture is relatively rare. Apart from actual manufacturing structures, the past bronze smelting areas can be signalled by raw materials and production waste (rejects, remains of investment moulds) as well as by instruments (crucibles, flan moulds, casting moulds) and half-finished objects (cf. *Venclová 2001*, 5; *Záruba 2015*). Among these, rejects and half-finished objects are relatively rare (*Schäfer/Scharff 2003*). Therefore, the five chain-belt elements from Čejkovice (Fig. 1: 1) presented in this paper contribute considerably to our present knowledge and at the same time make us ponder the degree of (de)centralisation of bronze smelting in the (Middle and Late) La Tène period (not only) in South Moravia.

THE FINDS

The artefacts listed below are kept in the Regional Museum in Mikulov, acc. no. 37/2021.

1. Chain-belt pendant – miscast (Fig. 2: 1). A strongly articulated chain-belt pendant, the base is decorated with three incised lines creating a triangle. The suspension eyelet did not cast – only its very base is present. Casting burrs on the lower part of the pendant resulting from the leaking mould were not cleaned off. Length (excluding the eyelet stub) 18 mm, max. diam. 12.4 mm.
2. Chain-belt link – miscast/half-finished? (Fig. 2: 2). A complete chain-belt link with a central knob flanked from each side with a fine rib; there are two holes in each of the side-plates. The edges of the side-plates feature unremoved casting burrs and sprue remains. Length 25.4 mm, width 14 mm (including the sprue remains), the central knob dimensions 11.4 × 10.6 mm.
3. Chain-belt fragment – miscast (Fig. 2: 3). A side-plate with a bronze knob on the transition to the central part and on the outer longer side. The three holes in the plate are only hinted at by divots – they do not go through. Dimensions 16 × 11.8 mm.
4. Chain-belt fragment – miscast (Fig. 2: 4). A side plate of a belt link whose central part failed to cast. There are uncleaned burrs on the plate and a rest of a sprue on its outside. The originally intended three holes are preserved only as divots on only one side of the plate. Plate dimensions 18 × 10.6 mm.
5. Chain-belt fragment – miscast (Fig. 2: 5). A chain-belt side-plate with a portion of the adjacent shaft at which point the object is broken. The cast bronze failed to fill-in one of the plate's corners leaving one of the three holes open; there are uncleaned burrs around the plate. Out of the intended three holes two were cast as mere divots, the third one did cast hollow but also open to the side. Plate dimensions 18.4 × 9.3 mm.

[1] The paper was written thanks to Grant Agency of Masaryk University (MUNI/A/1122/2020). We are grateful to the finder Jan Ivančic and our colleague František Trampota (Regional Museum in Mikulov) for enabling us to publish the finds exposed in the exhibition Keltové pod Pálavou.

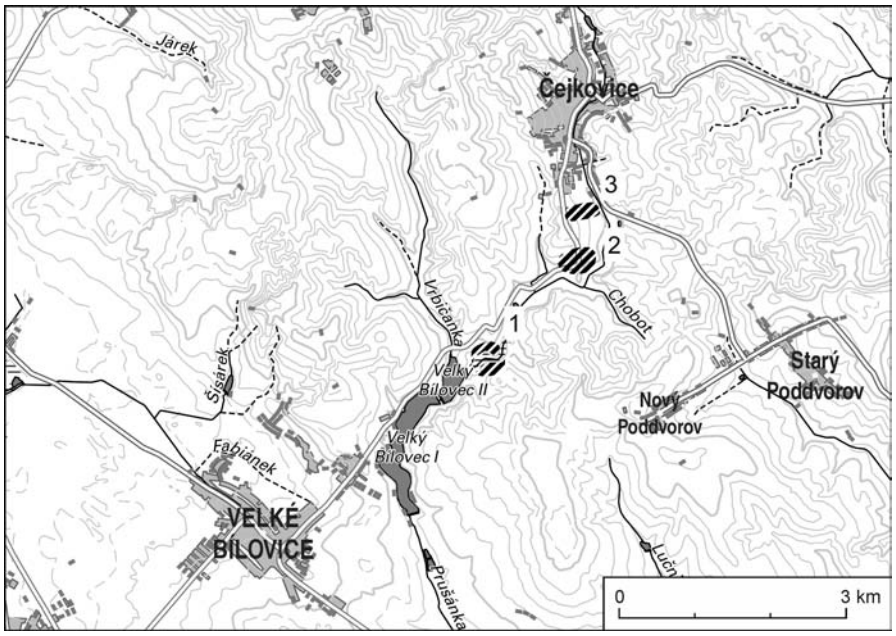


Fig. 1. Čejkovice, Hodonín distr. La Tène period settlement in the municipality territory which can be precisely localised. 1 – Úzké úlehle, Nivy/Niva pod silnicí; 2 – Padělky od Chobota; 3 – Haltýře/Padělky u Mlíčka (layout T. Tencer).

TERRITORIAL CONTEXT

The objects were discovered on the north-west slope of a nameless hill (altitude 232 m a.s.l.) south of Čejkovice near the Prušánka stream which drains into the Velký Bílovec pond several hundred metres further downstream. Based on the information provided by the finder, Jan Ivančic, four of the artefacts were found on the stream's left bank at the Úzké úlehle location while one comes from the Nivy/Niva pod silnicí location on the right bank (Fig. 1: 1).[2] Traces of La Tène period activities are thus present on both banks of the stream overlooking the area once occupied by a – currently defunct – pond documented in the maps of the 2nd Military Mapping Survey of the Austrian Empire (1816) as the '*Helesni Teich*'; its original location can still be made out in the landscape by its water-logged nature.

No La Tène period artefacts have so-far been published from the find spot. However, a La Tène period settlement was identified in 1970 a mere 2 km further north in the Čejkovice territory in the Padělky od Chobota location (Fig. 1: 2). A pottery crucible for bronze smelting was even discovered in one of the features (ger. *Grubenhaus*) excavated there (*Čižmář 2002a*, 243, 248, fig. 1: 1; *Klanica 1971*; *Waldhauser 1986*, 207, fig. 5: D; cf. also e.g. *Meduna 1980*, 66; *Škojec* 2000, 407, 408, fig. 3: 15–18; 4: 1–9 – under the name Padělky u Mlíčka; *Čižmářová 2004*, 162). A La Tène settlement with the remains of at least 28 dugout features dated to LTB–C were documented when intersected by a linear infrastructure trench some 800 m north of the site of Čejkovice-Padělky od Chobota in the Haltýře location (though based on the cadastral map they rather belong to the Padělky u Mlíčka location; Fig. 1: 3; *Kostrouch 2011*).

It is also worth realising that it was still in the Čejkovice territory (in an unknown location, allegedly in a field) that a dog figure was found (*Červinka 1902*, 140, fig. 70) dated to the La Tène period (*Čižmář 2012*, 151, 160, fig. 13: 15; *Čižmářová 2004*, 162 with a fig.; cf. *Škojec 2000*, 409, fig. 4: 20).

TYPOLOGICAL AND CHRONOLOGICAL CONTEXT

All four chain-belt links from Čejkovice can most probably be classified as the type with a central knob. A single one of them (Fig. 2: 2) belongs to the relatively rare variety with ribs flanking the knob and double hole in the side plates (*Mangel/Jošková 2019*, fig. 3; 4; tab. 1). Three fragments (Fig. 2: 3–5) can be classed as the variants with triple holes in the side plates well documented in Moravia in the

[2] Another four half-finished chain-belt links and a belt pendant were discovered at the Úzké úlehle location during the final works on the present paper. It could not be taken into consideration here.

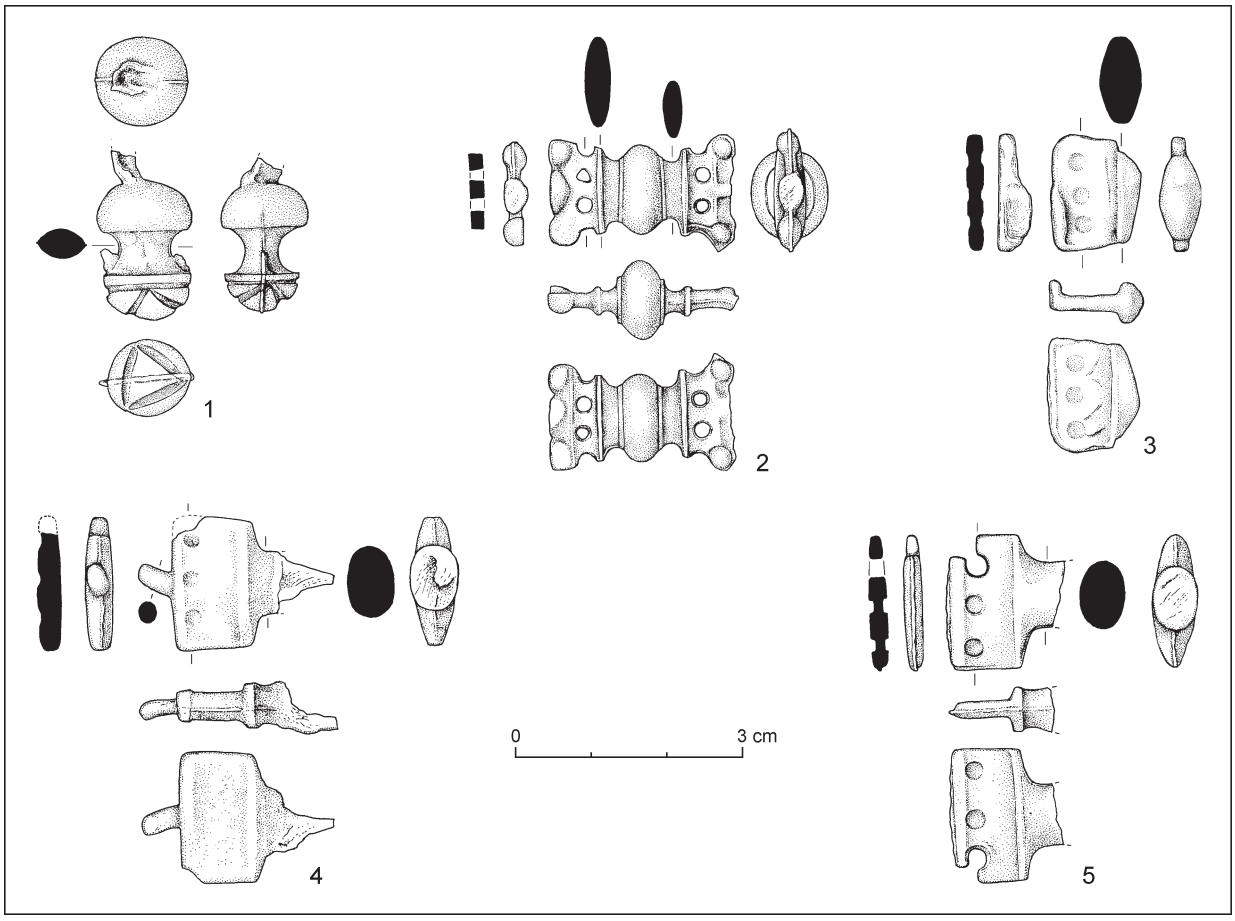


Fig. 2. Čejkovice-Úzké úlehle, Nivy/Niva pod silnicí, Hodonín distr. Half-finished artefacts/rejects of chain-belt components. 1 – pendant; 2–5 – chain-belt links (drawing by S. Plchová).

regions of Břeclav and Hodonín (*Goláňová et al. 2020*, 31, 32, fig. 2: 2; 3: 12; 4: 10, 11; 5: 7; *Mangel/Jošková 2019*, fig. 4; tab. 1) while also common in south-west Slovakia and Lower Austria (*Mangel/Jošková 2019*, fig. 4; tab. 1). Chain-belt links of this type are also among the best represented in Němčice nad Hanou in Central Moravia (*Čižmář/Kolníková/Noeske 2008*, 661, fig. 8: 1–3). They can be broadly dated to LTC2 with possible continuity to LTD1 (*Mangel/Jošková 2019*, 469).

The chain pendant from Čejkovice (Fig. 2: 1) is very close in its shape and dimensions to the finds from Lednice-Podholmy and Želetice (*Goláňová/Kysela 2019*, 72, 79, fig. 2: 3) though in the case of the Čejkovice pendant we cannot decide whether the suspension eyelet was intended to be rectangular as in the other two cases. The date of these pendants is most probably identical to that of the chain-belt links (most likely LTC2), since pieces with this decoration are absent in burials but present in Němčice nad Hanou, whose occupation peaked in LTC2 (*Čižmář et al. 2008*, fig. 4: 3; *Čižmář/Kolníková/Noeske 2008*, fig. 8: 14). They are documented not only in Moravia but also in Bohemia and south-western Slovakia (cf. *Goláňová/Kysela 2019*, 79 with an overview of the sites).

MANUFACTURING CONTEXT

All the presented finds from Čejkovice bear traces of miscasting and uncleaned casting residues. The rough castings were obviously not further worked once the failure was discovered. Casting the links by means of a sprue in the centre of the side plates (cf. the unremoved sprue – Fig. 2: 4) was apparently a common practice as its traces have been observed in various (unfinished) semi-products/rejects (Hrušky-Tvrdonické Podsedky: *Goláňová et al. 2020*, fig. 4: 1; Němčice nad Hanou: *Čižmář/Čižmářová/Kejzlar 2011*, fig. 5: 10; *Čižmář/Kolníková/Noeske 2008*, fig. 9: 3). The slanted orientation of the sprue may suggest that the links were cast in series in a single complex mould in

which the radial sprues distributed the metal to the individual imprints of the objects to be cast; such a procedure is documented in other cases (cf. the mould for casting brooches from Bibracte: *Guillaumet/Labaune 2011*, 898, ill. 6).

The assemblage of five rejects from Čejkovice clearly suggest a (nearby?) workshop manufacturing bronze artefacts/smelting bronze. The objects are either production waste (testifying thus to chain-belt manufacturing at the site) or raw material intended for further recasting. Two fragments (Fig. 2: 4, 5) come from links of identical dimensions and may thus have resulted from a single event (failed casting of links of a single chain-belt); alternatively, they could represent two marginal mishaps in bulk of quality output which were then set aside for recasting. More information on the raw material could be gained in the future from composition analyses (*Danielisová et al. 2017*; *2021*; cf. *Goláňová et al. 2020*, 24–29) even though in mass production the alloy composition of the various segments of a single chain-belt could have varied (*Čižmář et al. 2020*, 115, tab. 1). The sudden increase in the manufacture of bronze objects, first and foremost chain-belts, in LTC which is reflected in the quantity of their finds in metal detector surveys (*Danielisová et al. 2018*; *Goláňová et al. 2020*) brought about a large demand for the raw material and necessitated its massive recycling (*Danielisová et al. 2017*, 92–96; *Kysela 2016*, 206).

In South Moravia, bronze casting rejects were also documented in Hrušky-Tvrdonické Podsedky (*Goláňová et al. 2020*, 32, fig. 4: 1) and we can also add those from Bernhardsthal in the Austrian part of the Thaya/Dyje valley (*Allerbauer/Jedlicka 2000*, 616, fig. 8: 2).[3]

Bronze casting rejects are not very common finds – most probably because they were being systematically recycled, in particular in the early phases of the La Tène period (cf. *Goláňová 2018*, 80–82). It is not until LTC that rejects as well as half-finished artefacts appear in greater amounts. The finds described so-far come mainly from large agglomerations (Němčice nad Hanou: *Čižmář/Kolníková/Noeske 2008*, 662, fig. 9: 2–5; Nowa Cerekwia: *Rudnicki 2014*, 425, fig. 4: 7; Berching-Pollanten: *Schäfer 2010*, 172, fig. 129) and medium-size settlements accredited with central functions (Žehuň: cf. *Danielisová et al. 2018*, 149). They are also present at some oppida – e.g. at Třísov in which other evidence of bronze casting is documented (crucibles, moulds – *Danielisová et al. 2017*; *Kysela 2017*, 468) or at Staré Hradisko (*Čižmář 2002b*, fig. 6: 2; 7: 1, 2; 8: 1). At Stradonice, bronze casting rejects and half-finished objects have not been published in much detail (cf. *Píč 1906*, pl. LVIII: 5, 6 – sprue cones, 13 – crucible; cf. *Venclová ed. 2008*, app. 5: 1)[4] with the exception of the last excavations in which one semi-finished object and several crucible fragments have been unearthed (*Rybová/Drda 1994*, 116, fig. 39: 7).

The most common finds evidencing non-ferrous metallurgy are crucibles. In Moravia they are quite significantly represented in the regions of Břeclav and Hodonín: out of the 13 sites in which crucibles have been found, listed by Miloš Čižmář in 2002, eight are localised in this territory (Čejkovice, Křepice, Mistřín, Mutěnice, Pavlov, Pouzdřany, Tvrdonice, Velké Hostěrádky); the items from Pouzdřany and Velké Hostěrádky as well as some of the numerous crucibles from Mistřín proved to have been used for smelting gold (*Čižmář 2002a*, 243–247).

Other evidence of smelting in lesser known sites in South Moravia include bronze lumps and casting spills from Lednice-Herdy and Lednice-Podholmy (their dating to the La Tène period is very likely based on the alloy composition – *Goláňová/Kysela 2019*, 74, 81, fig. 2: 12, 13).

The final piece of evidence of bronze metallurgy consists of – at least partly – moulds for casting specific artefacts. Several items of this kind are documented at the oppidum of Staré Hradisko (*Čižmář 2002b*, fig. 6; 7: 3–9) though similar finds have come to light also in other settlement types (cf. Milonice: *Lečbych/Mikulková 2014*, 388, 399, fig. 21: 4) including some from the beginning of the La Tène period (Modrá: *Goláňová 2018*, 81, fig. 32: 1; Břeclav region – Pavlov: *Horálková 1990*, 207, 209, fig. 1: 4).

CONCLUSION

Finds which can be linked with smelting activities are not rare in the regions of Břeclav and Hodonín. Only the territory of ca. 15 km around Čejkovice-Úzké úlehle, seven other sites can be listed which produced other evidence of non-ferrous metallurgy; without exception they are open lowland settlements (Fig. 3; Čejkovice-Padělky od Chobota, Lednice-Herdy, Lednice-Podholmy, Mistřín, Mutěnice, Tvrdonice, Velké Hostěrádky). Although some of these finds do not date to the same phase as the Čejkovice-Úzké úlehle rejects

[3] Michelstetten in Lower Austria yielded four crucibles and a half-finished object with uncleaned burrs (*Trebsche 2010*, 81, pl. 80; Fn. 10897).

[4] The published images suggest that we are dealing here with material for recasting rather than with rejects.

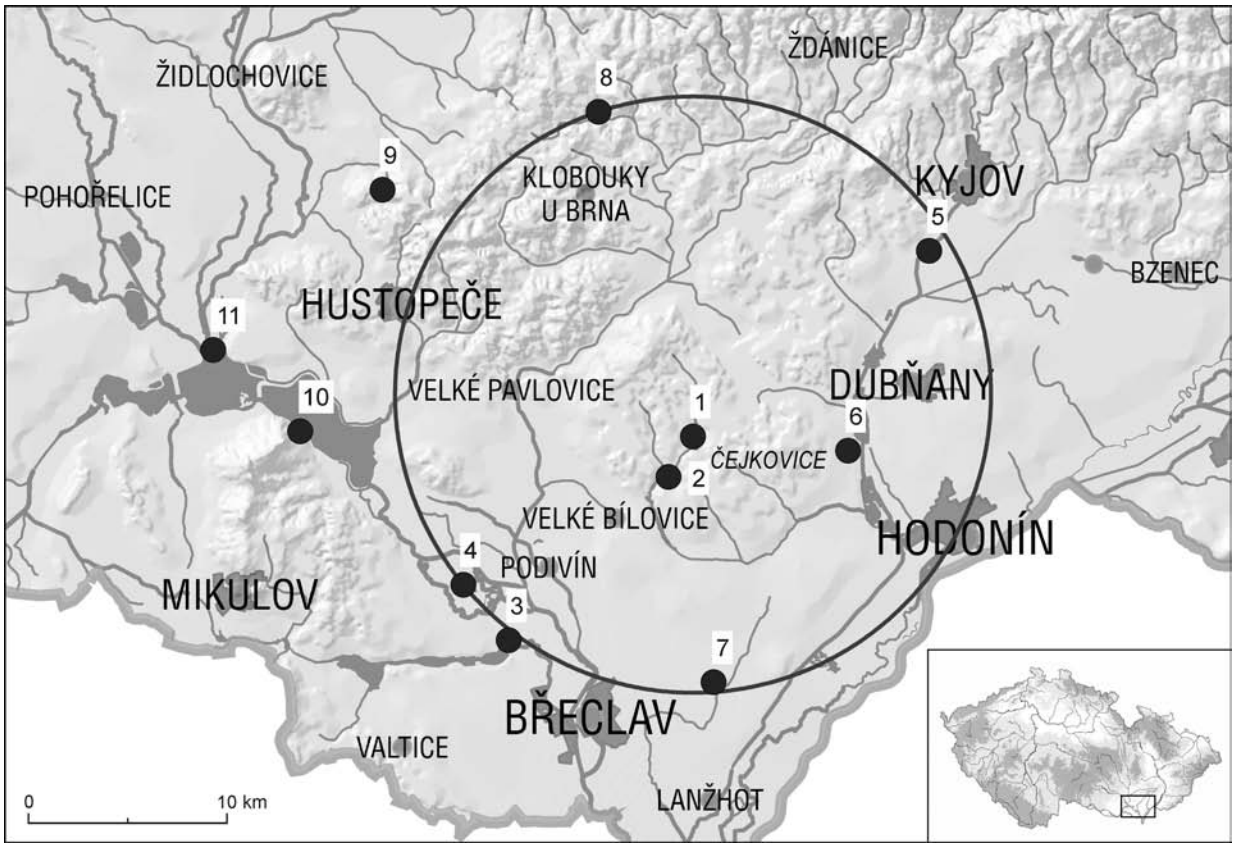


Fig. 3. The La Tène period sites in South Moravia (within 15 km of Čejkovice) with evidence of non-ferrous metallurgy. 1 – Čejkovice-Padělky od Chobota (crucible); 2 – Čejkovice-Úzké úlehle, Nivy/Nivy pod silnicí (half-finished artefacts/rejects); 3 – Lednice-Herdy (bronze lump); 4 – Lednice-Podholmy (sprues); 5 – Mistřín (crucibles); 6 – Mutěnice (crucible); 7 – Tvrdonice (crucible, rejects); 8 – Velké Hostěrádky (crucible); 9 – Křepice (crucibles); 10 – Pavlov (crucibles, casting mould); 11 – Pouzdřany (crucible). Layout T. Tencer.

(the Pavlov crucibles date at the latest to the beginnings of LTB: *Čižmář 2002a*, 248, fig. 2: 1, 2) it is clear that at the present state of knowledge we can postulate rather decentralised smelting activities in the 3rd–2nd century BC Moravia. Therefore, this craft need not have been by any means associated only with large settlements (for Lower Austria cf. *Trebsche et al. 2020*, 477); it is not clear what the situation was in other regions including Central Moravia with Němčice nad Hanou.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Allerbauer/Jedlicka 2000 – S. Allerbauer/F. Jedlicka: KG Bernhardsthal, MG Bernhardsthal, VB Mistelbach. *Fundberichte aus Österreich* 39, 2000, 614–616.

Červinka 1902 – I. L. Červinka: *Morava za pravěku*. Vlastivěda moravská. I. Země a lid. Brno 1902.

Čižmář 2002a – M. Čižmář: Nálezy tyglíků na laténských nížinných sídlištích na Moravě. *Pravěk. Nová řada* 12, 2002, 243–255.

Čižmář 2002b – M. Čižmář: Ökonomische Struktur des Oppidums Staré Hradisko. In: C. Dobiat/S. Sievers/T. Stöllner (Hrsg.): *Dürrnberg und Manching. Wirtschaftsarchäologie im ostkeltischen Raum. Akten des Internationalen Kolloquiums in Hallein/Bad Dürrnberg vom 7. bis 11. Oktober 1998.* Kolloquien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte 7. Bonn 2002, 297–313.

Čižmář 2012 – M. Čižmář: Nálezy drobné lidské a zvířecí plastiky z Moravy. In: G. Březinová/V. Varsik (eds.): *Archeológia na prahu histórie. K životnému jubileu Karola Pietu*. Archaeologica Slovaca Monographiae. Communicationes 14. Nitra 2012, 145–173.

Čižmář/Čižmářová/Kejzlar 2011 – M. Čižmář/J. Čižmářová/J. Kejzlar: Detektorová prospekce archeologických lokalit na Moravě v roce 2010. *Přehled výzkumů* 52, 2011, 86–95.

Čižmář et al. 2008 – M. Čižmář/J. Čižmářová/J. Kejzlar/E. Kolníková: Detektorová prospekce lokalit z doby laténské na Moravě. *Přehled výzkumů* 49, 2008, 125–131.

Čižmář et al. 2020 – I. Čižmář/B. Mikulková/M. Kmošek/M. Chovanec/J. Kala: Dva mimořádné hroby z latén-

ského pohřebiště v Rousínově. *Přehled výzkumů* 61, 2020, 105–122.

Čižmář/Kolníková/Noeske 2008 – M. Čižmář/E. Kolníková/H.-Ch. Noeske: Němčice-Víceměřice – ein neues Handels- und Industriezentrum der Latènezeit in Mähren. Vorbericht. *Germania* 86, 2008, 655–700.

Čižmářová 2004 – J. Čižmářová: *Encyklopedie Keltů na Moravě a ve Slezsku*. Praha 2004.

Danielisová et al. 2017 – A. Danielisová/J. Kysela/M. Mihaljevič/J. Militký: Metal working at the oppidum of Třísov, South Bohemia – A review. In: J. Kysela/A. Danielisová/J. Militký (eds.): *Stories that made the Iron Ages. Studies in Iron Age Archaeology dedicated to Natalie Venclová*. Prague 2017, 83–99.

Danielisová et al. 2018 – A. Danielisová/J. Kysela/T. Mangel/R. Kyselý/J. Militký: Iron Age site in Žehuň, Central Bohemia. An open settlement with central functions. *Památky archeologické* 109, 2018, 127–178.

Danielisová et al. 2020 – A. Danielisová/D. Bursák/L. Strnad/J. Trubač/H. Čižmářová/D. Daněček/K. Smíšek: Rituals, Hoards or Travellers? Archaeometry of the Iron Age Bronze Wheel Amulets. *Interdisciplinaria Archaeologica. Natural Sciences in Archaeology* 11, 2020, 33–45.
DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.24916/iansa.2020.1.3

Danielisová et al. 2021 – A. Danielisová/P. Pajdla/D. Bursák/L. Strnad/J. Trubač/J. Kmošek: Claiming the land or protecting the goods? The Duchcov hoard in Bohemia as a proxy for 'Celtic migrations' in Europe in the 4th century BCE. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 127, 2021.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jas.2020.105314

Danielisová/Strnad/Mihaljevič 2018 – A. Danielisová/L. Strnad/M. Mihaljevič: Circulation Patterns of Copper-Based Alloys in the Late Iron Age Oppidum of Třísov in Central Europe. *Metalla* 24, 2018, 5–18.

Goláňová 2018 – P. Goláňová: *The Early La Tène Period in Moravia*. Studien zur Archäologie Europas 32. Bonn 2018.

Goláňová et al. 2020 – P. Goláňová/B. Komoróczy/M. Kmošek/E. Kolníková/M. Vlach/M. Zelíková: New Metal and Glass Finds from the Late Iron Age in South Moravia. The Contribution of Citizen Science to Knowledge of the La Tène Settlement Structure in the Břeclav Region. *Přehled výzkumů* 61, 2020, 9–41.

Goláňová/Kysela 2019 – P. Goláňová/J. Kysela: What can the dwarfs tell? On settlements and anthropomorphic statuary in La Tène Southern Moravia. In: N. Beljak Pažinová/D. Repka (red.): *Sedem kruhov Jozefa Bujnu*. Studia Historica Nitriensia 23. Supplementum 2. Nitra 2019, 71–92.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.17846/SHN.2019.23.S.71-92

Guillaumet/Labaune 2011 – J.-P. Guillaumet/Y. Labaune: Les activités artisanales de Bibracte et d'Autun: une pérennité des savoir-faire. In: M. Reddé/P. Barral/F. Favory/J.-P. Guillaumet/M. Joly/J.-Y. Marc/Ph. Nouvel/L. Nuninger/Ch. Petit (dir.): *Aspects de la Romanisation dans l'Est de la Gaule* 2. Collection Bibracte 21. Glux-en-Glenne 2011, 895–906.

Horálková 1990 – P. Horálková: Kovolitecká chata z laténského sídliště v Pavlově. In: V. Nekuda/J. Unger/M. Čižmář (eds.): *Pravěké a slovanské osídlení Moravy. Sborník příspěvků k osmdesátým narozeninám akademika Josefa Poulíka*. Brno 1990, 205–210.

Klanica 1971 – Z. Klanica: Laténské sídliště v Čejkovicích (okr. Hodonín). *Přehled výzkumů 1970*, 1971, 40.

Kostrouch 2011 – F. Kostrouch: Čejkovice (okr. Hodonín). *Přehled výzkumů* 52, 2011, 208.

Kysela 2016 – J. Kysela: Sitos – chrémata? Chalkos – eikona? K řeckým mincím ve střední Evropě mladší doby železné. *Numismatický sborník* 30, 2016, 193–227.

Kysela 2017 – J. Kysela: L'oppidum de Třísov (CZ). L'atelier de bronzier (?) fouillé en 1981–1982 et l'artisanat sur les acropoles des oppida en Europe centrale. In: S. Marion/S. Deffressigne/J. Kaurin/G. Bataille (dir.): *Production et proto-industrialisation aux âges du Fer. Perspectives sociales et environnementales. Actes du 39e colloque international de l'AFEAF Nancy, 14–17 mai 2015*. Collection Mémoires 47. Bordeaux 2017, 467–474.

Lečbych/Mikulková 2014 – M. Lečbych/B. Mikulková: Laténské sídliště z Milonic (okr. Vyškov). In: J. Čižmářová/N. Venclová/G. Březinová (eds.): *Moravské křižovatky. Střední Podunají mezi pravěkem a historií*. Brno 2014, 377–402.

Mangel/Jošková 2019 – T. Mangel/T. Jošková: East Bohemian Finds of Belt Segments with a Central Knob and Sites Plates as Evidence of Interregional Contacts during the La Tène period. In: N. Beljak Pažinová/D. Repka (red.): *Sedem kruhov Jozefa Bujnu*. Studia Historica Nitriensia 23. Supplementum 2. Nitra 2019, 465–480.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.17846/SHN.2019.23.S.465-480

Meduna 1980 – J. Meduna: *Die latènezeitlichen Siedlungen in Mähren*. Praha 1980.

Píč 1906 – J. L. Píč: *Le Hradischt de Stradonitz en Bohême.* Leipzig 1906.

Rudnicki 2014 – M. Rudnicki: Nowa Cerekwia – the Middle La Tène centre of power north of the Carpathians. In: J. Čižmářová/N. Venclová/G. Březinová (eds.): *Moravské křižovatky. Střední Podunají mezi pravěkem a historií*. Brno 2014, 421–437.

Rybová/Drda 1994 – A. Rybová/P. Drda: *Hradiště by Stradonice. Rebirth of a Celtic oppidum*. Praha 1994.

Schäfer 2010 – A. Schäfer: *Die Kleinfunde der jüngerlatènezeitlichen Siedlung von Berching-Pollanten, Lkr. Neumarkt i.d. Oberpfalz*. Marburger Studien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte 24. Rahden/Westf 2010.

Schäfer/Scharff 2003 – A. Schäfer/W. Scharff: The ceramics of a Celtic Bronze foundry from the Oppidum of Kelheim, Germany. In: S. Di Pierro/V. Serneels/M. Maggetti (eds.): *Ceramic in the Society. Proceedings of the 6th European Meeting on Ancient Ceramics Fribourg, Switzerland, 3–6 October 2001*. Fribourg 2003, 261–266.

Škojec 2000 – J. Škojec: Archäologische Fundstätten und Funde im „Hinterland" des Burgwalls von Mikulčice IV (Katastralgebiete Čejkovice, Dolní Bojanovice, Josefov, Nový Poddvorov, Petrov, Prušánky, Starý Poddvorov, Strážnice, Sudoměřice, Vnorovy). In: L. Poláček (Hrsg.): *Studien zum Burgwall von Mikulčice* 4. Spisy Archeologického ústavu AV ČR Brno 18. Brno 2000, 405–495.

Trebsche 2010 – P. Trebsche: Auswertung der latènezeitlichen Befunde und Funde von Michelstetten. In: E. Lauermann (Hrsg.): *Die latènezeitliche Siedlung*

von Michelstetten. Die Ausgrabungen des Niederösterreichischen Museums für Urgeschichte in den Jahren 1994–1999. Archäologische Forschungen in Niederösterreich 7. St. Pölten 2010, 15–115.

Trebsche et al. 2020 – P. Trebsche/J. M. Bagley/M. Karwowski/M. Kohler-Schneider/J. Militký/E. Pucher/P. C. Ramsl/K. Wiltschke-Schrotta: Kontinuitäten, Neuerungen und Brüche. In: P. Trebsche (Hrsg): *Keltische Münzstätten und Heiligtümer. Die jüngere Eisenzeit im Osten Österreichs (ca. 450 bis 15 v. Chr.)*. Wien 2020, 466–486.

Venclová 2001 – N. Venclová: *Výroba a sídla v době laténské. Projekt Loděnice*. Praha 2001.

Venclová ed. 2008 – N. Venclová (ed.): *Archeologie pravěkých Čech 7. Doba laténská*. Praha 2008.

Waldhauser 1986 – J. Waldhauser: Kupfergewinnung und -verhüttung in Böhmen und Mähren während der Späthallstatt- und Latènezeit (Forschungsstand). In: B. Gramsch (Hrsg.): *Siedlung, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft während der jüngeren Bronze- und Hallstattzeit in Mitteleuropa. Internationales Symposium Potsdam, 25. bis 29. April 1983*. Die Veröffentlichungen des Museums für Ur- und Frühgeschichte in Potsdam 20. Berlin 1986, 197–212.

Záruba 2015 – T. Záruba: *Doklady barevné metalurgie na lokalitách doby laténské na území Čech a Moravy*. Bakalářska diplomová práce. Masarykova univerzita v Brně. Filozofická fakulta. Ústav archeológie a muzeologie. Brno 2015. Online available at: https://is.muni.cz/th/dv7ls/

Manuscript accepted 10. 3. 2021

Translated by Jan Kysela

Mgr. Petra Goláňová, Ph.D.
Ústav archeologie a muzeologie
Filozofická fakulta
Masarykova univerzita
Arna Nováka 1
CZ – 620 00 Brno
golanova@phil.muni.cz

Mgr. Miloš Hlava, Ph.D.
sekce archeologie Katedry historie
Filozofická fakulta
Univerzita Palackého v Olomouci
Křížkovského 10
CZ – 771 80 Olomouc
mihlava@seznam.cz

SLOVENSKÁ ARCHEOLÓGIA – SUPPLEMENTUM 2
Z. Robak/M. Ruttkay (eds.): Celts – Germans – Slavs.
A Tribute Anthology to Karol Pieta. Nitra 2021, 129–136.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.31577/slovarch.2021.suppl.2.12

A NEW TYPE OF A LA TÈNE REIN GUIDE RING FROM VENDOLÍ (SVITAVY DISTRICT) AND ITS IMPORTANCE IN A REGIONAL AND SUPRA-REGIONAL CONTEXT

TOMÁŠ MANGEL – DAVID VÍCH

The article presents the find of a La Tène rein guide ring from Vendolí, Svitavy district. Morphological-typological analysis has shown that it was a so far unknown type dating to LTD1. From a regional point of view, the find complements the mosaic consisting of other, so far scarce La Tène artefacts discovered in the Svitavy region and along with them, it testifies to the existence of a communication corridor connecting permanently settled areas in eastern Bohemia and Moravia. In a supra-regional context, it represents a new hybrid form, combining features of certain western and eastern types of rein guide rings which constituted a functional and at the same time representative part of horse harness. Along with some similarly shaped finds, it represents a specific central European variant of these remarkable artefacts associated with the world of late La Tène social elites.

Keywords: Czech Republic, Svitavy region, La Tène Period, rein guide ring, communication corridor, social identity.

INTRODUCTION

Issues associated with horses and wagons have been the focus of intensive interest for a long time, especially in the context of cultural manifestations of the Hallstatt period. Over recent years, the above-mentioned topics have frequently also been addressed in connection with the La Tène period (e.g. *Mírová 2019*; *2020*; *Pieta 2008*, 236–243; *Schönfelder 2002*, 131–327). One such topic are questions associated with the appearance and meaning of harness for draught animals. Evidence for it in archaeological sources is very scarce and, in most cases, it is represented by rein guide rings which were part of a wooden yoke. The importance of rein guide rings can be seen on two levels. Their practical function was to guide the rein guides and prevent them from becoming tangled (*Schönfelder 2002*, 224). On the other hand, such lavishly decorated and, in most cases strongly typified specimens also had a symbolic function. In this sense, it is possible to perceive La Tène rein guide rings as a materialized expression of the social identity of wagon owners who belonged to privileged social classes (*Mangel/Jošková/Krásný 2019*, 41, 42).

Evidence for the existence of rein guide rings in Central Europe had until recently been very scarce, however, over recent years, mostly due to the intensive use of metal detectors in archaeology, their numbers have increased (summed up, e.g. in *Čambal 2016*, 128; *Mangel/Jošková/Krásný 2019*; *Mírová 2019*, 105–107, fig. 38; *Pieta 2008*, 237–239, 309, fig. 113; *Schönfelder 2002*, 224–244, fig. 138–152; pl. 30–40; on new findings from Bohemia and Moravia: *Mangel 2020*, footnote 1). One of the very recent finds of this type is a rein guide ring found at Vendolí, Svitavy district (Czech Republic). This find not only extends the number of known rein guide rings, but it also enriches the range of known types, as it is an until now unknown shape. Thus, it allows us to open discussion about the typological development and importance of rein guide rings for our understanding of the late La Tène period.

THE FIND SPOT AND FIND CIRCUMSTANCES

The find was made with a metal detector by Tomáš Lusk, a collaborator of the Regional Museum in Vysoké Mýto on September 3rd, 2020. The finder immediately informed the museum's archaeological department. Thus, the find circumstances could be checked out by an archaeologist on the very same day, immediately after the discovery. The rein guide ring was found in the cadastral area of Vendolí, Svitavy district, at the location of 'Žlaby', which is situated ca 1900 m north from the centre of the village, at the southwestern edge of the Javornický ridge (Fig. 1; WGS84 coordinates: 49.756472° N; 16.410286° E). The find spot is located on a densely forested slope with an inclination of 24°, at 513 m a.s.l. No other artefacts were found in the surroundings, despite repeated metal detector surveys.

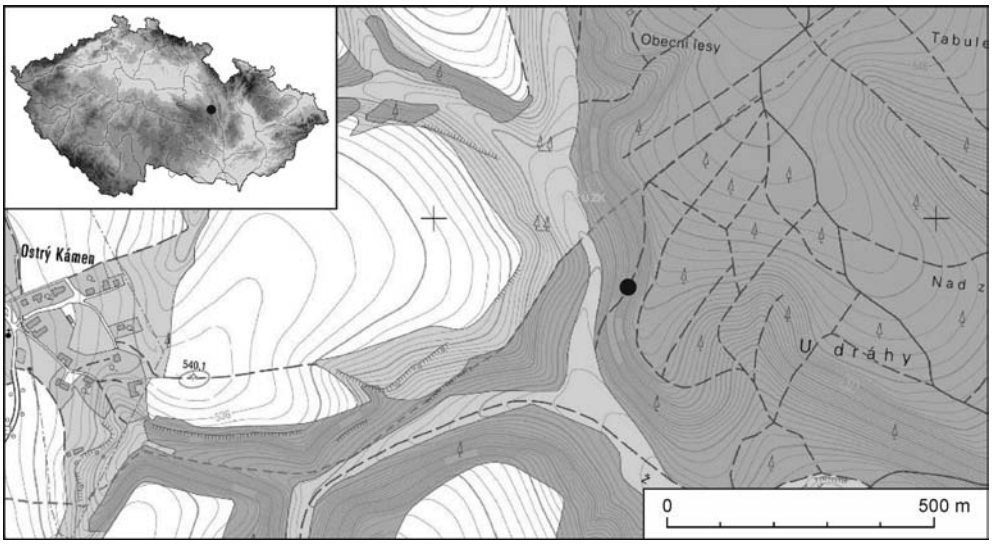


Fig. 1. Vendolí, Svitavy distr. The find spot of the rein guide ring is marked with a circle. Base map: ČÚZK.

DESCRIPTION AND TYPOLOGICAL-MORPHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF THE ARTEFACT

The object is a cast bronze rein guide ring (Fig. 2) whose body contains a wide kidney-shaped eyelet in the upper part. The ends of the eyelet's body resembling volutes are attached to a prominent central bar so that two little hooks protrude from it towards the centre. In the downward direction, the central bar changes into a swollen neck decorated with a prominent bulge which is linked to a roughly square, arched fixing plate. On the bottom side of the plate, there is placed a round loop which originally served for attaching the ring to the base. The central part of the fixing plate is on both sides decorated with pairs of wedge-shaped thin embedded lines with centrally placed concentric circles. The total height of the object is 94 mm (87 mm without the loop), the dimensions of the fixing plate are 30 × 35 mm and its thickness ranges between 3–4 mm. The outer dimensions of the kidney-shaped eyelet are 80 × 58 mm, while its inner width is 57 mm. The object weights 230 g. The surface parts of the object do not show any signs of wear, and except a minor bent in the attaching loop, no signs of mechanical damage are visible.

It is beyond doubt that the Vendolí find is a La Tène rein guide ring. This assumption is based on its general design and decoration. Certain problems are naturally connected with its classification, as there is no exact analogy for it among known finds. It is also not possible to ascribe it to any of the previously defined types (cf. *Schönfelder 2002*, 224–244). The wide, kidney-shaped eyelet with clearly separated ends decidedly points to the eastern La Tène Orešac type.[1] From the viewpoint of classification, the hook-shaped ends of the eyelet also seem to be of great importance. An object with an indication of a similar termination was found at the Dacian site of Piatra Roşie in Romania – it is actually an Orešac type rein guide ring (*Rustoiu/Ferencz 2002*, 231, fig. 1: 6). Another artefact whose fixing plate bears very similar decoration consisting

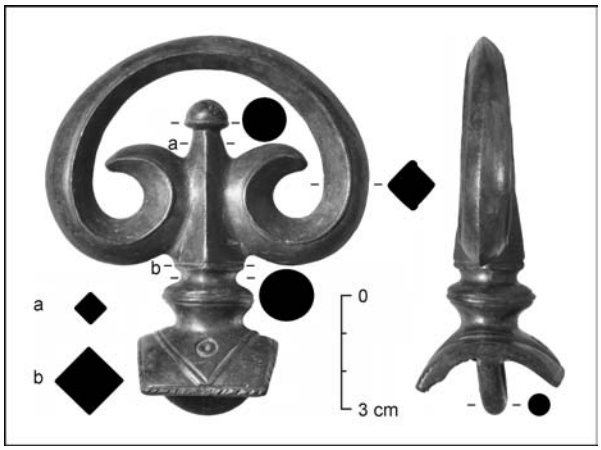


Fig. 2. Vendolí, Svitavy distr. Bronze rein guide ring (photo by T. Mangel).

[1] Characteristic features of Orešac type rein guide rings are a wide, kidney-shaped eyelet whose ends are distinctly separated by a relatively narrow neck, and a fixing plate which is decorated with embossed ribs on the sides (*Schönfelder 2002*, 236, fig. 145).

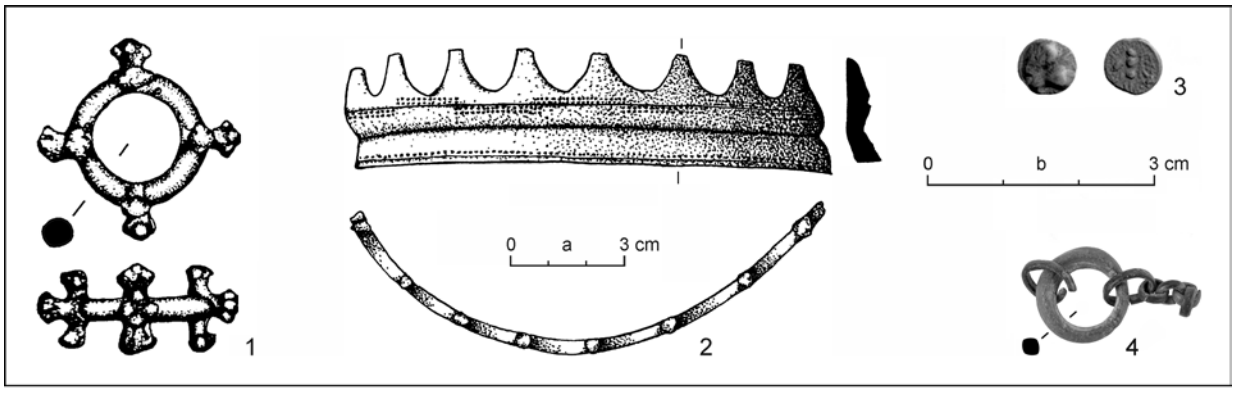


Fig. 3. La Tène finds from the Svitavy region. 1 – Čistá-Brlenka (*Vích 2014*, fig. 4: 7); 2 – Křenov (*Vích 2017*, fig. 18); 3 – Vendolí (*Militký 2018*, pl. 18: 65/1); 4 – Bělá nad Svitavou (photo by T. Mangel). Scale: a – 2; b – 1, 3, 4.

of embedded concentric circles and wedge-shaped lines comes from the Carpathian Basin, from the site of Divici in Romania (*Rustoiu/Ferencz 2002*, 231, fig. 1: 7). On the other hand, the find in question differs from the Orešac type by the absence of characteristic ribs on both sides of the fixing plate and by the presence of an elongated central neck with a knob-shaped end which represents a sort of central bar. The presence of such a bar, as well as the character of the fixing plate and the overall proportions of the find point towards Hoppstädten type rings which are widespread in western and central Europe. Moreover, a specific variant of Hoppstädten type rein guide rings features hook-shaped projections coming out of the central bar (*Mírová 2019*, 107, pl. 58: 1). The assignment of the Vendolí find to this type is unfortunately impossible due to the different shape of the eyelet, as well as the way of attachment of the central bar to its body.[2] Therefore, it seems reasonable to classify similar finds, where the eyelet's body is interrupted and its volute shaped ends are attached to the center bar on the sides, as the Vendolí type. The use of this hybrid form can be, probably similarly to both the abovementioned types, sought in the LTD stage (cf. *Mírová 2019*, 149, fig. 59). With regard to the fact that the La Tène culture gradually died away in Bohemia and Moravia around the half of 1th c. BC, this dating can be, such as in the case of other similar finds, narrowed down to the earlier part of the above stage, i.e. to LTD1 (*Mangel/Jošková/Krásný 2019*).[3]

DISCUSSION

The contribution of the discovery of the Vendolí rein guide ring can be seen both in a regional and supra-regional context. It was made in the eastern hilly part of the Svitavy Upland (Svitavská pahorkatina; *Demek/Mackovčin 2006*, 433), which is an archaeologically poor territory. This space actually makes up a contrasting transition between intensively settled areas in Bohemia in the west and in Moravia in the east (cf. *Danielisová et al. 2018*, fig. 37). Until recently no convincing evidence for any La Tène period activities had been known from there. Sporadic references in earlier literature are usually associated with finds and information which can be considered dubious.[4] However, the above situation is gradually changing to the better. Thanks to metal detectors surveys in the Svitavy region over the last decade, it has been

[2] The Hoppstädten type features a prominent closed circular eyelet and a central bar whose bottom saddle-shaped end is soldered to the eyelet. The eyelet is connected to the fixing plate, which is usually decorated with triangles, by a relatively thin neck (*Schönfelder 2002*, 239, 240, fig. 149).

[3] The applied chronological concept for the end of the La Tène culture is based on the so-called south German chronology which presumes the decline of Bavarian, Bohemian and Moravian oppida during the LTD1b subphase (*Fischer 1988*; *Waldhauser 1983*).

[4] These include: 1. an ambiguous mention of La Tène cremation graves(?) from Bělá nad Svitavou (*Filip 1956*, 392) which is probably linked to also ambiguously dated finds of pottery and iron tools known from the nearby village of Brněnec (*Czerny 1907*, 33, 34; *Richter 1955, 142*); 2. an alleged discovery of Celtic coins at Květná which was most probably a misunderstanding – the find has a connection with the so-called hoard from Plumlov and the misunderstanding stems from similar German eponyms (Květná/Blumenau and Plumlov/Plumenau/ Mährisch Blumenau: *Skutil 1934*, 16, footnote 15; *1947–1948*, footnote 30); 3. a La Tène potsherd deposited without additional information about the find circumstances and find spot in the collection of the village school at Moravská Chrastová (*Skutil 1947–1948*, footnote 30); 4. a disc secondarily ground from a ceramic fragment which is deposited in the collection of the Municipal Museum and Gallery in Polička (inventory no. H1121) – unfortunately, no details about the find circumstances and find spot are available.

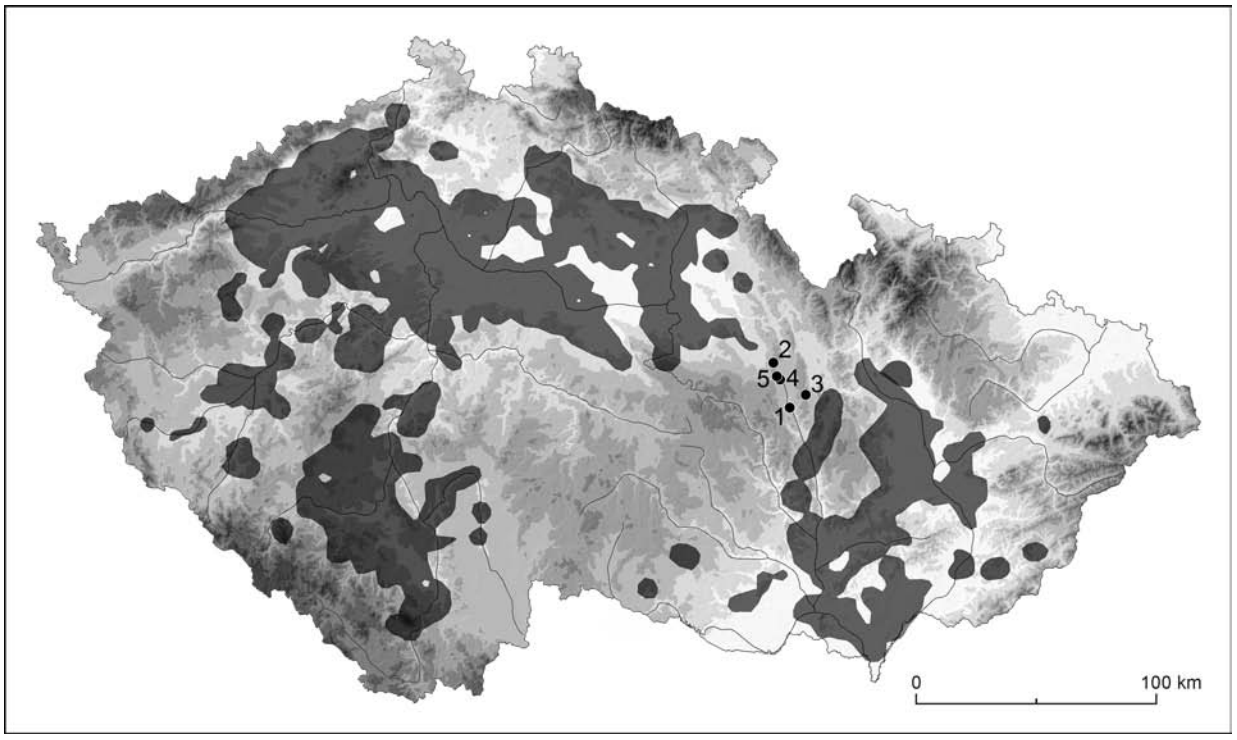


Fig. 4. La Tène finds from Svitavy region in the context of LTC–D1 settlement in Bohemia and Moravia. 1 – Bělá nad Svitavou; 2 – Čistá-Brlenka; 3 – Křenov; 4, 5 – Vendolí (base map after *Danielisová et al. 2018*, fig. 37; modified and complemented).

possible to register a small, but still important collection of artefacts dating back to late stages of the La Tène period. The earliest evidence for La Tène activities is a fragment of a bronze chain from Bělá nad Svitavou (Fig. 3: 4; 4: 1)[5] which probably originally formed part of a chain belt. The above artefact is only fragmentarily preserved, but it can most likely be attributed to the Gk-E1B group of bronze chain belts which chronologically belong to LTB2/C1–LTC1 (*Bujna 2011*, 87–89, 137, fig. 36; 59). Yet another La Tène find was also made in the cadastral area of Vendolí (Fig. 4: 4), just like the rein guide ring (Fig. 4: 5). It is a gold 1/8 stater of the Athena Alkidemos type (Fig. 3: 3) which is a typical Celtic coin minted in the area of so-called corridor of the Amber road between Silesia and Lower Austria in LTC2 (*Militký 2018*, 285, 286, 357, pl. 18: 65/1). Near the village of Čistá-Brlenka, there was found a bronze so-called *Knotenring* (Fig. 3: 1; 4: 2; *Vích 2014*, 120, 126, 127, fig. 4: 7; 7) which can most probably be dated to LTC2–D1 (*Dębiec/Karwowski 2016*). A so-called *Kronenhalsring* found at Křenov is also dated to the La Tène period (Fig. 3: 2; 4: 3; *Vích 2017*, 644, 658, fig. 18). It is a foreign object originating from Jutland and the northern German zone of the Jastorf culture. Although finds of this ring-jewellery are practically unknown in the La Tène territory (except for pieces found at Nowa Cerekwia and Němčice nad Hanou: *Rudnicki 2014*, 428), based on northern analogies, dating of the *Kronenhalsring* from Křenov to the period of LTC–D1 is unquestionable (*Adler 2003*, 274; *Brandt 2001*, 99, 100).

All these finds are isolated so they do not prove the existence of any permanent agrarian settlement in the local landscape. The type of landscape which is characteristic of the eastern part of the Svitavy Upland, was usually not very attractive for agriculture during the La Tène period (*Holbová 2019*; *Venclová 2008*, 23–28). An explanation for the presence of such finds therefore has to be sought in other areas of human activities, even though such a quest is quite complicated due to the nature of find circumstances. They do not enable us to reach an unequivocal decision whether these objects were unintentionally lost or intentionally buried in earth, as it is presumed e.g. in the case of isolated La Tène finds from the Bavarian-Bohemian border

[5] The unpublished find of part of a belt was made by Milan Klačanský, a collaborator of the Regional Museum in Vysoké Mýto. With the exception of a *Knotenring* from Čistá-Brlenka which is kept in a private collection, all the other finds including the rein guide ring from Vendolí are the property of the Pardubice Region and are registered in the collections of the Regional Museum in Litomyšl.

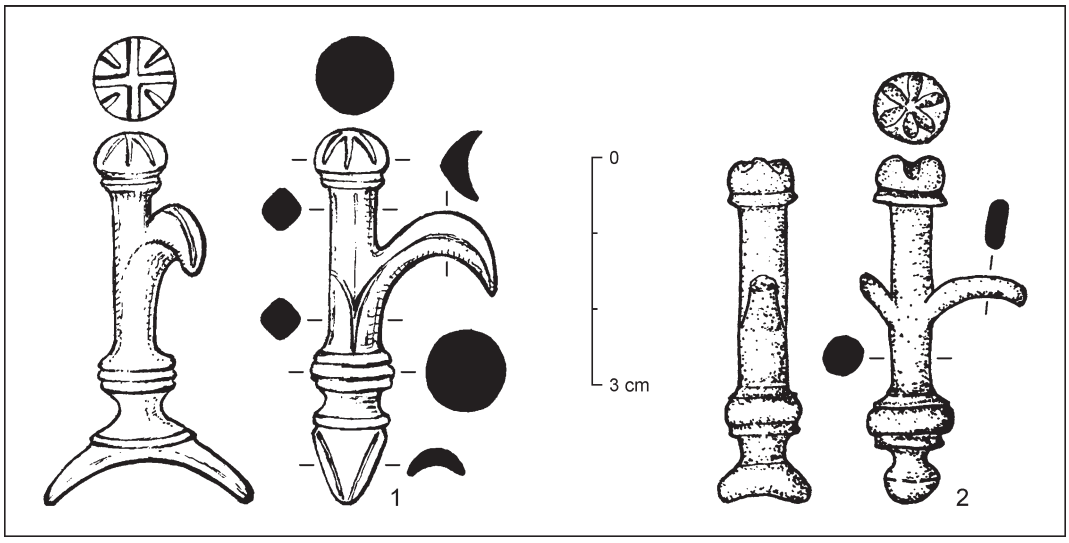


Fig. 5. Hoppstädten type rein guide rings, Malé Hradisko variant. 1 – Malé Hradisko, Prostějov distr. (*Mírová 2019*, pl. 58: 1a); 2 – Třísov, Český Krumlov distr. (drawing T. Kolegar and T. Jošková).

region (*Řezáč/John* 2019, 115). However, certain clues are available thanks to the spatial distribution of such finds (Fig. 4). On this basis, it is possible to consider their links, either direct or indirect, to a long-distance communication corridor connecting permanently settled areas in eastern Bohemia with populations living in southern and central Moravia. The existence of an alternative to such a corridor is also supposed, e.g. by J. Martínek and M. Golec for the Hallstatt period (*Martínek/Golec 2020*, 47, fig. 5). For the La Tène period, some kind of connection between these two regions is indirectly indicated by imports known from both sides of the imaginary border during LTB2 at the latest (e.g. *Mangel/Jošková 2019*). On the Bohemian side, evidence for La Tène settlement nearest to Vendolí (if we do not consider isolated finds) can be found at Tisová; a small ceramic collection dated with caution to the La Tène period is also known from Nedošín, ca 18 km away in the northeast direction (*Vích 2003*, 311, fig. 2: 9–11; pl. 3: 5, 6, 11–20). On the Moravian side, this is represented by several sites ca 25 km away in the northern part of the Boskovice Graben (*Vích 2003*, 313–317, fig. 3; pl. 5–16; *2017*).

In order to fully understand the importance of the rein guide ring from Vendolí, it is necessary to look beyond the borders of Bohemia and Moravia and examine it in a broader context. As already mentioned, a noticeable feature of this type are its hook-shaped ends attaching to the sides of the central bar. In this respect, the find is not so unique. A similar design which is nevertheless undoubtedly derived from the Hoppstädten type was pointed out by *Z. Mírová* (*2019*, 107, pl. 58: 1) in context of a specimen from the oppidum of Malé Hradisko (Fig. 5: 1). She proposed to call this new shape the Malé Hradisko variant. Another, until now unpublished, specimen belonging to this variant was identified among a collection of finds from the south Bohemian oppidum of Třísov (Fig. 5: 2).[6] Although the Vendolí ring distinctly differs from these finds in basic features (the shape of the eyelet, the way of attachment of the bar), certain partial similarities with the Malé Hradisko variant are apparent. All these cases have in common the existence of a central bar with hooks. In the current state of knowledge, the group of 'hooked' rein guide rings seems to be limited in number and its importance will have to be defined in the future. Despite this, the established facts allow us to form at least one hypothesis. All so far known finds of rein guide rings come from the territory of Bohemia and Moravia. These are areas where interactions (although of varying intensity) with both western and eastern La Tène zones took place. This phenomenon is apparent, for instance, from the directions from which Mediterranean imports reached these areas (*Kysela 2014*), from the composition of some coin assemblages (*Militký 2015*, 115–153), as well as from other categories of artefacts (e.g. *Čižmář/Čižmářová/Meduna 2018*, 40, 41; *Dizdar 2015*; *2020*; *Pierrevelcin 2012*). In the case

[6] The find is deposited in the South Bohemian Museum in České Budějovice under the inventory number A33867. The authors thank to D. Daněček for the information about this find, to J. Militký for permission to work with it and to P. Zavřel for providing it to them for analysis.

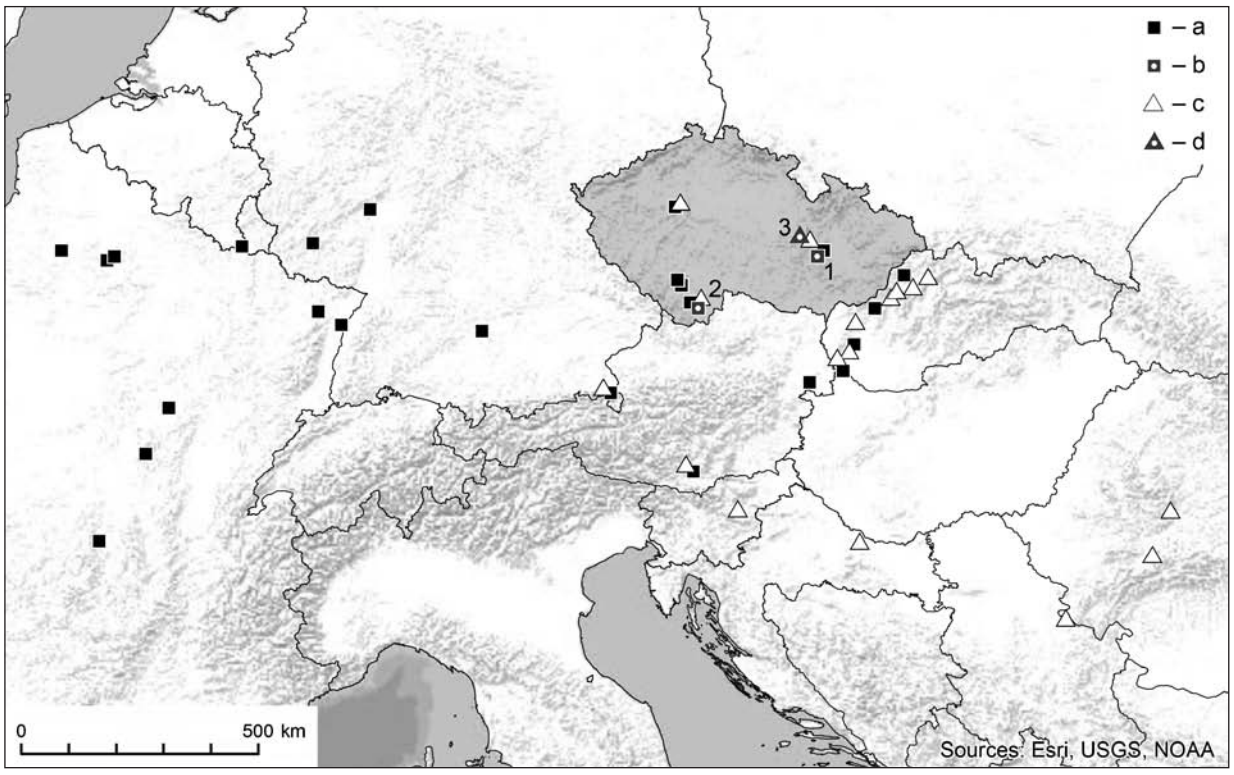


Fig. 6. Finds of rein guide rings with a central bar and inner hooks (Hoppstädten type, Malé Hradisko variant, and Vendolí type) in the context of distribution of the Hoppstädten and Orešac types. 1 – Malé Hradisko, Prostějov distr.; 2 – Třísov, Český Krumlov distr.; 3 – Vendolí, Svitavy distr. Legend: a – Hoppstädten type; b – Hoppstädten type, Malé Hradisko variant; c – Orešac type; d – Vendolí type (compiled by T. Mangel).

of rein guide rings, this is also revealed by the distribution areas of western and eastern types. They seem to overlap in the area between the Ohře River and the Váh River (*Mangel/Jošková/Krásný 2019*, 40, 41, fig. 6). This fact can be demonstrated on the example of the distribution of the Hoppstädten and Orešac types (Fig. 6), while the 'hooked' rings show partial but convincing relations to these. Moreover, the shape specifics of both types meet in the appearance of the Vendolí rein guide ring. The rein guide rings of the Vendolí type and the Malé Hradisko variant most likely represent specific central European forms of these artefacts which are a result of influences from areas further west and east. In a social context, they can be understood as one of the specific manifestations of identity of central European elites of the late La Tène period.

CONCLUSION

The rein guide ring from Vendolí was recovered in the Bohemian and Moravian border region, from where only a few isolated La Tène finds are known. However, our knowledge about the distribution of finds is changing and the amount of evidence testifying to use of this landscape during the La Tène period is gradually increasing. These activities, taking place in later stages of the above period, are most probably related to use of communication arteries connecting communities settled along the Moravian and east Bohemian parts of the imaginary border. The existence of such a connection is also indicated by finds of imports known from both areas.

The Vendolí find represents a so far unknown form of rein guide rings which in itself combines the properties of western and eastern types of this part of horse harness. It was these shape specifics that allowed us to define a new type of rein guide rings designated as the Vendolí type. Its use can most probably be dated to LTD1. Viewed from a broader perspective, the discussed object expands a scanty group of rein guide rings, which have in common the presence of a central bar with side hooks. Rein guide rings bearing these formal features seem to be specific central European shapes of these functional decorations and symbolic items which are a manifestation from the world of high social classes of La Tène society.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adler 2003 – W. Adler: *Der Halsring von Männern und Göttern. Schriftquellen, bildliche Darstellungen und Halsringfunde aus West-, Mittel- und Nordeuropa zwischen Hallstatt- und Völkerwanderungszeit*. Bonn 2003.

Brandt 2001 – J. Brandt: *Jastorf und Latène. Kultureller Austausch und seine Auswirkungen auf soziopolitische Entwicklungen in der vorrömischen Eisenzeit*. Internationale Archäologie 66. Rahden/Westf. 2001.

Bujna 2011 – J. Bujna: *Opasky ženského odevu z doby laténskej*. Nitra 2011.

Čambal 2016 – R. Čambal: Spätlatènezeitliche Jochendbeschläge aus dem Gebiet von Bratislava. *Zborník SNM* 110. *Archeológia* 26, 2016, 125–132.

Čižmář/Čižmářová/Meduna 2018 – M. Čižmář/J. Čižmářová/J. Meduna: *Němčice a Staré Hradisko. Spony – Němčice und Staré Hradisko. Fibeln*. Brno 2018.

Čižmářová/Venclová/Březinová 2014 – J. Čižmářová/N. Venclová/G. Březinová (eds.): *Moravské křižovatky. Střední Podunají mezi pravěkem a historií*. Brno 2014.

Czerny 1907 – A. Czerny: Aus grauer Vorzeit. *Mitteilungen zur Volkskunde des Schönhengster Landes* 3, 1907, 23–46.

Danielisová et al. 2018 – A. Danielisová/M. Chytráček/J. Kysela/P. Sankot: Pět staletí keltské civilizace v Čechách. In: J. Militký/J. Kysela/M. Tisucká (eds.): *Keltové. Čechy v 8. až 1. století před Kristem*. Praha 2018, 64–91.

Dębiec/Karwowski 2016 – M. Dębiec/M. Karwowski: A Typological Study of the La Tène Knotenringe in the Territory of the Boii. In: M. Karwowski/P. C. Ramsl (eds.): *Boii – Taurisci. Proceedings of the International Seminar, Oberleis-Klement, June 14th–15th 2012*. Mitteilungen der Prähistorischen Kommission 85. Wien 2016, 115–146.

Demek/Mackovčin 2006 – J. Demek/P. Mackovčin (eds.): *Hory a nížiny. Zeměpisný lexikon ČR*. Brno 2006.

Dizdar 2015 – M. Dizdar: The Boii and their connections with the Scordisci – Contacts between central Europe and south-eastern Pannonia during the La Tène Culture. In: M. Karwowski/V. Salač/S. Sievers (Hrsg.): *Boier zwischen Realität und Fiktion. Akten des internationalen Kolloquiums in Český Krumlov vom 14.–16. 11. 2013*. Kolloquien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte 21. Bonn 2015, 295–308.

Dizdar 2020 – M. Dizdar: Late La Tène bronze fibulae with loops on the foot (fibules à crête). Contacts between Central Europe and the south-eastern Carpathian Basin. In: I. Čižmář/H. Čižmářová/A. Humpolová (eds.): *Jantarová stezka v proměnách času*. Brno 2020, 559–568.

Filip 1956 – J. Filip: *Keltové ve střední Evropě*. Praha 1956.

Fischer 1988 – F. Fischer: Südwestdeutschland im letzten Jahrhundert vor Christi Geburt. In: D. Planc (Hrsg.): *Archäologie in Württemberg. Ergebnisse und Perspektiven archäologischer Forschung von der Altsteinzeit bis zur Neuzeit*. Stuttgart 1988, 235–250.

Holbová 2019 – T. Holbová: Nestandardní polohy s doklady laténských aktivit ve východních Čechách. *Archeologie východních Čech* 17, 2019, 73–105.

Kysela 2014 – J. Kysela: Okruhy středomořského importu ve střední Evropě pozdní doby laténské. In: *Čižmářová/Venclová/Březinová 2014*, 229–242.

Mangel 2020 – T. Mangel: Nález laténského vodícího kroužku ze Mšeckých Žehrovic, okr. Rakovník. *Archeologie ve středních Čechách* 24, 2020, 213–218.

Mangel/Jošková 2019 – T. Mangel/T. Jošková: East Bohemian finds of belt segments with a central knob and side plates as evidence of interregional contacts during the La Tène period. In: N. Beljak Pažinová/D. Repka (red.): *Sedem kruhov Jozefa Bujnu*. Studia Historica Nitriensia 23. Supplementum 2. Nitra 2019, 465–480.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.17846/SHN.2019.23.S.465-480

Mangel/Jošková/Krásný 2019 – T. Mangel/T. Jošková/F. Krásný: Nález laténského vodícího kroužku z Markvartic v kontextu obdobných nálezů z Čech a Moravy. *Študijné zvesti AÚ SAV* 66, 2019, 33–48.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.31577/szausav.2019.66.3

Martínek/Golec 2020 – J. Martínek/M. Golec: Dálkové komunikace moravské doby halštatské. In: M. Golec/P. Fojtík (eds.): *Centrum východohalštatské kultury na střední Moravě*. Archaeologica Olomucensia 5. Olomouc 2020.

Militký 2015 – J. Militký: *Oppidum Hradiště u Stradonic. Komentovaný katalog mincovních nálezů a dokladů mincovní výroby*. Praha 2015.

Militký 2018 – J. Militký: *Keltské mincovnictví ve 3. a 2. století před Kristem v Čechách*. Praha 2018.

Mírová 2019 – Z. Mírová: *The Horse in the Bronze and Iron Age in Moravia – Kůň v době bronzové a železné na Moravě*. Archaeologica Olomucensia 3. Olomouc 2019.

Mírová 2020 – Z. Mírová: Vůz a koňský postroj v době laténské na Moravě. In: I. Čižmář/H. Čižmářová/A. Humpolová (eds.): *Jantarová stezka v proměnách času*. Brno 2020, 355–383.

Pierrevelcin 2012 – G. Pierrevelcin: *Les relations entre la Bohême et la Gaule du IVe au Ier siècle avant J.-C*. Dissertationes archaeologicae Brunenses/Pragensesque 12. Praha 2012.

Pieta 2008 – K. Pieta: *Keltské osídlenie Slovenska. Mladšia doba laténska*. Archaeologica Slovaca Monographiae. Studia 11. Nitra 2008.

Řezáč/John 2019 – M. Řezáč/J. John: Mezi Boiohemem a Vindelikem. In: P. Rožmberský/P. Mikota/R. Trnka (eds.): *Na stopě (pre)historii jihozápadních Čech 3. Sborník přátel k životnímu jubileu Zdeňka Procházky*. Plzeň 2019, 115–123.

Richter 1955 – V. Richter: Prehistorie Moravského Třebovska. *Časopis Společnosti přátel starožitností* 63, 1955, 141–147.

Rudnicki 2014 – M. Rudnicki 2014: Nowa Cerekwia – the Middle La Tène centre of power north of the Carpathians. In: *Čižmářová/Venclová/Březinová 2014*, 421–437.

Rustoiu/Ferencz 2002 – A. Rustoiu/I. V. Ferencz: Piese ornamentale de car din Dacia preromană. *Thraco-Dacia* 23, 2002, 231–242.

Schönfelder 2002 – M. Schönfelder: *Das spätkeltische Wagengrab von Boé. Studien zu Wagen und Wagengräbern der jüngeren Latènezeit*. Monographien 54 des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums. Mainz 2002.

Skutil 1934 – J. Skutil: Moravská addenda k Paulsenovi. *Numismatický časopis československý* 10, 1934, 7–23, 165, 167.

Skutil 1947–1948 – J. Skutil: Z nejdávnější minulosti Litomyšlska a Poličska. *Od Trstenické stezky* 23, 1947–1948, 14–16, 38–48, 58–62, 75–80.
Venclová 2008 – N. Venclová (ed.): *Archeologie pravěkých Čech 7. Doba laténská*. Praha 2008.
Vích 2003 – D. Vích: Laténské nálezy na českomoravském pomezí. *Pravěk. Nová řada* 13, 2003, 309–350.
Vích 2014 – D. Vích: Pravěk Svitavské brázdy a okolí. In: *Čižmářová/Venclová/Březinová 2014*, 117–132.
Vích 2017 – D. Vích: Doba laténská v severní části Boskovické brázdy ve světle drobných kovových nálezů. *Archeologické rozhledy* 69, 2017, 629–671.
Waldhauser 1983 – J. Waldhauser: Závěrečný horizont keltských oppid v Čechách. (Konfrontace výkladů historických pramenů, numismatiky a archeologie.) *Slovenská archeológia* 31, 1983, 325–356.

Manuscript accepted 21. 6. 2021

Translated by Jan Machula

Mgr. Tomáš Mangel, Ph.D.
Katedra archeologie
Filozofická fakulta
Univerzita Hradec Králové
Rokitanského 62
CZ – 500 03 Hradec Králové III
tomas.mangel@uhk.cz

PhDr. David Vích
Regionální muzeum ve Vysokém Mýtě
A. V. Šembery 125
CZ – 566 01 Vysoké Mýto
dvich@centrum.cz

SLOVENSKÁ ARCHEOLÓGIA – SUPPLEMENTUM 2
Z. Robak/M. Ruttkay (eds.): Celts – Germans – Slavs.
A Tribute Anthology to Karol Pieta. Nitra 2021, 137–148.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.31577/slovarch.2021.suppl.2.13

EIN SPÄTLATÈNEZEITLICHER BEFUND IM PALAIS RASUMOFSKY, WIEN III, LANDSTRASSE (GRABUNG 2011)

PETER C. RAMSL[1] – RADOSLAV ČAMBAL

A Late La Tène Period Object in Palais Rasumofsky, Vienna III, Landstraße (Excavation 2011). The present article is a processing of the finds of a La Tène period feature from Vienna III-Landstraße (Palais Rasumofsky). On 8 August 2011, excavation work began in the inner courtyard of the Palais Rasumofsky (Vienna III, Landstraße) due to the planned construction of an underground car park. During the work on the following days, extensive remains of a cellar in the north-eastern part of the area came to light. In addition, a fragment of pottery from the La Tène period was recovered from the excavated material. The subsequently excavated object was a so-called 'sunken hut' disturbed by walls on the northwest and southwest sides. It was preserved in a dimension of 2.5 by 2.3 m and contained six post pits. The maximum depth of the pit was 0.8 m. The finds contain mainly of pottery, composed of broken pieces of vessels decorated with comb lines, undecorated pieces and a few painted pieces, mainly in the form of pots, bowls and individual pieces such as a lid and a tripod vessel. The find of two spindle whorls made of pottery is worth mentioning. In addition to pottery, the find material from the pit house included animal bones and a small number of iron and non-ferrous metal objects. Among the pottery, pots with thickened club rims and those with bottom marks stand out. The material dates to the Late La Tène period (LTD2) and can be compared well with that from Bratislava-Castle.

Keywords: Austria, Late La Tène Period, pit house, pottery.

Am 8. August 2011 wurde aufgrund des geplanten Baus einer Tiefgarage mit Baggerarbeiten im Innenhof des Palais Rasumofsky (Wien III, Landstraße) begonnen. Bei den Arbeiten an den folgenden Tagen traten umfangreiche Baureste eines Kellers im Nordostteil der Fläche zu Tage, wie auch ein Maueransatz an der südwestlichen Profilkante. Darüber hinaus konnte aus dem Aushubmaterial ein latènezeitliches Keramikbruchstück geborgen werden (*Käferle/Schön 2011a*).

Das latènezeitliche Material der Grube wurde vom Erstautor zur Bearbeitung übernommen, die Tierknochen kamen ins Naturhistorische Museum Wien, wo sie in der ersten Zoologischen Abteilung (Archäologisch-Zoologische Sammlung) von Dr. Konstantina Saliari und Dr. Erich Pucher bearbeitet wurden (*Saliari/Pucher/Ramsl* 2015).[2] Schließlich wurden der Befund und die Funde in diesem Rahmen von Radoslav Čambal und Peter C. Ramsl bearbeitet.

HISTORIE

Fürst Andreas Kirillowitsch Rasumofsky, russischer Gesandter am Wiener Hof, erwarb nach seiner Ankunft in Wien im Jahr 1791 im Laufe mehrerer Jahre einige Grundstücke in der damaligen Rauchfangkehrer Gasse (Abb. 1). Er erwarb neben dem Gartenhaus und einem Teil des Gartens des berühmten Dr. Franz Anton Mesmer auch das anschließende Kottel'sche Haus sowie sechs kleinere bebaute Gründe mit den ehemaligen Konskriptionsnummern 254–260. 1803 reichte Fürst Rasumofsky

[1] An dieser Stelle möchte ich dem Jubilar alles Gute, Gesundheit und vor allem Zufriedenheit wünschen. Unvergessen ist unsere langjährige Freundschaft, die vor unzähligen Jahren (es muss in den 1990ern gewesen sein) begann, als ich als junger Student das erste Mal in das Archäologische Institut in Nitra kam und von allen Kolleginnen und Kollegen herzlich aufgenommen wurde. Es folgten zahlreiche Begegnungen (mit intensivem wissenschaftlichen Austausch und auch gemütlichen Abendveranstaltungen) auf den jährlich veranstalteten Kelti/Keltové Tagungen der tschechisch-slowakischen Eisenzeitgruppe und schließlich mein dreijähriger Aufenthalt in Nitra (2016–2018) im Rahmen des SASPRO-Projektes 1340/03/03 „Male Identities in La Tène Cemeteries (MILT) in the Middle Danube Region", wo Karol als mein „Scientist in Charge" fungierte und sich auch sehr einsetzte, dass ich das Projekt schließlich bekommen konnte.

[2] Für die Zurverfügungstellung des Materials sei dem Besitzer des Grundstückes, Mag. Adrian Riklin sowie Mag. Christoph Blesl (Bundesdenkmalamt, Abt. Archäologie) herzlich gedankt. Ebenso möchten wir den Ausgräberinnen, Mag. Doris Käferle und Mag. Doris Schön (AS-Archäologieservice) und dem Grabungsteam für die Grabungsdokumentation und zusätzliche mündliche Informationen danken. Dr. Konstantina Saliari und Dr. Erich Pucher sei für die Auswertung, Interpretation und Publikation der gefundenen Tierknochen gedankt.

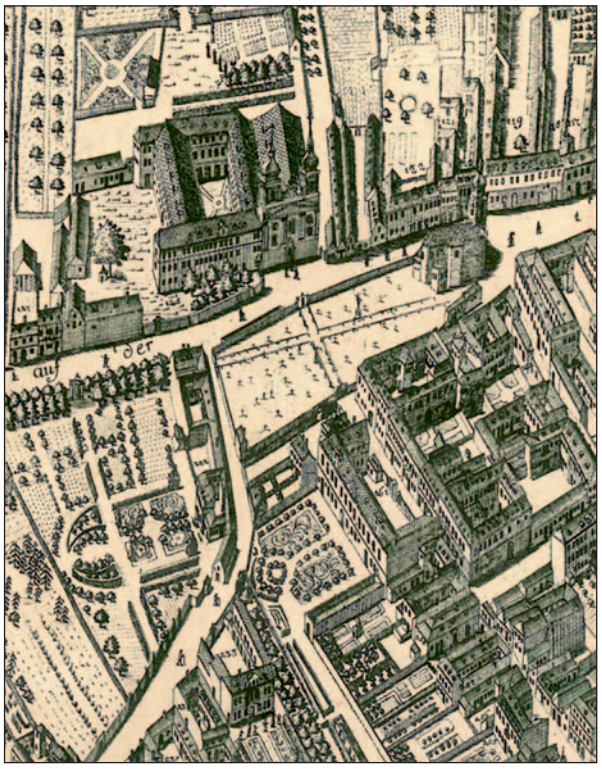


Abb. 1. Historische Darstellung des Palais Rasumofsky (*Käferle/Schön 2011a*, Abb. 2).

um Erteilung des Baukonsenses beim Wiener Magistrat ein, wobei mehrere Pläne von Joseph Meissl, der als Baumeister für die Bauarbeiten verantwortlich sein sollte, beigelegt waren. Die Pläne zeigen teilweise unterschiedliche Grundrissentwürfe und spiegeln den komplizierten Entstehungsprozess des Palais mit seinem angrenzenden Gartenhaus wider. Die Annahme Margarete Girardis, dass die Errichtung des Gebäudes zügig vorangeschritten sei und dass 1807 bereits große Teile standen ist demnach vehement anzuzweifeln (*Girardis 1937*). Am 31. Dezember 1814 brannte der Gartentrakt ab, wobei wertvolle Kunstschätze wie die Bibliothek verloren gingen (*Käferle/Schön 2011b*).

GRABUNG

Im Westbereich des Baggerschnittes kam der Befund eines latènezeitlichen Objekts zutage, der jedoch im Westen sowie im Süden von den Ziegelmauern gestört wurde. Dieser Befund hatte eine noch erhaltene Grundfläche von etwa 2,5 × 2,3 m und wies annähernd die Form eines Viertelkreises auf, wobei im Osten eine leicht abgerundete Erweiterung festzustellen war. Die Wände waren nach innen gekippt und der Übergang zum fast flachen Boden abgerundet. Das Objekt wies eine maximale Tiefe von ca. 0,80 bis 0,85 m auf, wobei aufgrund der Störung durch Ziegelmauern und der Baggerarbeiten das Interface nur eine Tiefe von 0,5 m zeigte. Die obersten Verfüllungen waren mittelgraubraun bis dunkelgraubraun und enthielten neben Kieseln etwas Holzkohle und vor allem Hüttenlehm. Die Schicht SE 90 bedeckte eine „Scherbenlage" mit den Resten eines größeren Gefäßes (Abb. 2). Die folgende Schicht (SE 96) ist gekennzeichnet durch eine hell- bis mittelbraune Farbgebung und wenigen gelben Lehmflecken sowie etwas gebrannten Lehm und Holzkohle. Nach Abbau dieser Schicht war im Osten bereits der gewachsene Boden erreicht. In der restlichen Fläche überlagerten sich die Befunde zweier sehr dünner hell- bis mittelgraubrauner Schichten mit Holzkohle und wiederum etwas gebranntem Lehm (SE 98, 104), wobei die letzte Schicht (SE 104) auch einen hohen Anteil an Asche aufwies und insgesamt sechs Pfostenlöcher überdeckte (IF 113–118), die sehr unterschiedliche Formen und Tiefen aufwiesen. Die Pfostenlöcher 113–116 lagen in einer zirka Nordost-Südwest verlaufenden Reihe in der Westhälfte des erhaltenen Objektes. Die Pfostenlöcher 117 und 118 befanden sich östlich annähernd parallel dazu jedoch leicht nach Nordosten versetzt. Zur etwaigen Innenausstattung des Grubenhauses liegen keine weiteren Befunde vor. Bei dem vorliegenden Objekt handelt es sich nach erster Beurteilung um den Rest eines latènezeitlichen Grubenhauses.

Die Keramik setzt sich vor allem aus kammstrichverzierten Gefäßbruchstücken, unverzierten sowie wenigen bemalten Stücken zusammen, die hauptsächlich in Form von Töpfen, Schüsseln und in Einzelstücken wie einem Deckel und einem Dreifußgefäß vorliegen. Darüber hinaus ist der Fund zweier Spinnwirtel aus Keramik erwähnenswert. Neben Keramik umfasste das Fundmaterial des Grubenhauses Tierknochen, Hüttenlehm und in geringer Anzahl Eisen- sowie Buntmetallobjekte.

Befund

Bei dem ergrabenen Objekt handelt es sich um eine eingetiefte Hütte, die an der Nordwest- und Südwestseite von Mauern gestört war (Abb. 3). Sie war in einer Dimension von 2,5 × 2,3 m erhalten und enthielt sechs Pfostengruben. Die maximale Tiefe der Grube betrug 0,8 m.

Eintiefungen größerer Dimension in annähernd rechteckiger Form werden in der Eisenzeit meist als Eingetiefte Hütten (also Bauten, wo das Dach mehr oder weniger direkt an den Boden anschließt) oder auch als Grubenhäuser bezeichnet. Diese sogenannten Grubenhäuser kommen beispielsweise im Karpatenbecken nicht nur in der gesamten Eisenzeit,

Abb. 2. Wien III, Palais Rasumofsky, latènezeitliches Grubenhaus. Scherbenlage in der obersten Verfüllung (Foto Käferle/Schön, AS, BDA).

Abb. 3. Wien III, Palais Rasumofsky. Gesamtaufnahme des Grubenhauses (Foto Käferle/Schön, AS, BDA).

sondern auch im Mittelalter und in der Neuzeit vor (*Timár 2016*, 191). Innerhalb der Grubenhäuser kann zwischen verschiedenen Konstruktionstypen unterschieden werden und es wurden eine Reihe von Typologien aufgestellt (z. B. *Karl 1996*, 56–72; *Meduna 1980*, 48; *Waldhauser u. AG 1993*, 348, Abb. 146).

AUSWERTUNG DER KERAMIK

Aus der Lokalität stammen zahlreiche Fundstücke in Form von Keramikfragmenten. Sie sind typische Formen für die Spätlatènezeit. Die zahlreichsten Analogien sind aus dem Gebiet des Oppidums von Bratislava bekannt.

Situlentöpfe

Auf der Fundstelle sind am häufigsten Situlentöpfe mit einem verstärkten Rand der Gruppe I vertreten (Taf. I: 1–3, 5; II: 9). Sie treten sowohl mit als auch ohne Graphit im Ton auf oder nur mit graphitierter Oberfläche. Zu dieser Gruppe von Gefäßen gehört auch eine Situla mit einer verstärkten Kante und einer Rille auf der Oberseite (Taf. I: 2). Dazu gehört auch ein großes graues Vorratsgefäß mit einem metopen-artigen Kammstrich auf der Oberfläche und mit einem Reparaturloch (Taf. III: 8). Ähnliche Töpfe kamen bei Ausgrabungen in Bratislava am Námestie Slobody Platz zutage, als ein Zweikammern – Töpferofen untersucht wurde. Leider sind sie bis jetzt nicht analysiert worden (*Jansák 1955*, 217, 218, Abb. 2; 3). Alle Typen haben zahlreiche Analogien in spätlatènezeitlichen Oppida und Siedlungen in Mitteleuropa. Diese Randformen gehören zeitlich in die Stufen LTC2 bis LTD1 und LTD2 (*Bednár/Březinová/Ptáčková 2005*, 145, 146; *Bónis 1969*; *Březinová 2000*; *Březinová/Chropovský 2020*, 57–61; *Čambal 2004*, 27; *Čambal/Kovár/Hanuš 2012*, 120; *Pieta/Zachar 1993*, 157; *Trebsche 2010*; *2011*).

Töpfe mit kolbenförmig verdickten, gerade oder schräg abgestrichenen Rändern

Zu einer Gruppe nächst den sogenannten Töpfen mit kolbenförmig verdickten, gerade oder schräg abgestrichenen Rändern gehört ein Exemnplar, dass ohne die Hilfe einer Töpferscheibe hergestellt wurde. Seine Oberfläche ist mit einem schrägen Kammstrich bedeckt, der typisch für die späten Formen der spätlatènezeitliche Keramik ist (Taf. I: 7). Der Typ liegt in der Nähe der Gruppe der Töpfe vom Typ I/2, die im Gebiet der südwestlichen Slowakei mit dem Zentrum in Bratislava und Umgebung vorkommen, wo diese spezifische Form während der Stufe LTD2 auftritt und zu den gängigen Keramiktypen im Bratislaver Oppidum sowie an mehreren Orten im mittleren Donauraum gehört (*Čambal et al. 2016*, 147–164, Abb. 1: 2–4). Es gibt ihn sowohl scheibengedreht als auch nur frei mit der Hand geformt. Die näheren Analogien stammen aus dem Grubenhaus 3/78 in Senec-St. Martin (*Čambal/Mináč/Zachar 2010*, 143, 145, Taf. I: 20, 21, 23). Sie treten auch in Österreich, in der Steiermark und auch selten in Slowenien auf. Es war ein Gebiet, das mit den Stämmen der Taurisci und Noriker in Verbindung gebracht werden kann. Hierher gehören die Funde von Södingberg bei Köflach, Lebing und Frauenberg bei Leibnitz (*Čambal et al. 2016*, 149, Abb. 5; 6). W. Artner erwähnt diese Art von Topf als eine der führenden Formen der Stufe LTD2 (*Artner 1998–1999*).

Verzierungsmotive auf der Keramik

Das charakteristischste dekorative Element der keltischen Keramik, insbesondere an der Situlatöpfen, ist der sogenannte „Kammstrich". Es erscheint manchmal in Kombination mit schrägen Rillen (Taf. I: 1) oder mit metopenartigem Kammstrich in schräger Ausführung, typisch für mittelgroße graue Vorratsgefäße (Taf. I: 9). Die Kombination von vertikalem und schrägem Kammstrich wird als junges Element bei der Dekoration von Keramik angesehen, die hauptsächlich in der späten Latènezeit auf oppidaler Keramik auftritt (*Čambal 2004*, 22; *Hlava/Vich 2007*, 37). In ähnlicher Weise sind die jungen Elemente bei der Dekoration von Gefäßen durch vertikalem und metopenartigem Kammstrich (Taf. I: 4). Zum vorliegenden Inventar gehört auch eine Scherbe mit eingeglätteter Dekoration in Form eines schrägen Gitters (Taf. II: 12), die andererseits auch typisch für graue Keramik mit vasenartigen Formen ist. Diese Dekorationsarten und ihre gegenseitigen Kombinationen gehören zum Kanon der spätlatènezeitlichen Stufen LTD1a und LTD2 (*Čambal/Kovár/Hanuš 2012*, 121).

Bodenzeichnen

Aus der Fundstelle stammen zwei verschiedene Situlenböden mit Bodenzeichnen. Bodenzeichen treten einerseits auf Graphitkeramiken auf und grundsätzlich nur auf situlenförmigen Töpfen. Nach der Typologie von *I. Kappel* (*1969*, Abb. 52), resp. von *M. Čižmář* und *J. Meduna* (*1985*, Abb. 3: 1–5) gehört das erste Bodenzeichen (Taf. I: 1) zur Gruppe 7, das zweite Exemplar (Taf. II: 9) ist eine Kombination der Gruppen 7 und 11. Beide sind auch aus dem Oppidum Bratislava-Vydrica bekannt (*Čambal/Kovár 2019*, Taf. II: 4a–c). Die Bodenzeichen auf den Situlentöpfen sind grundsätzlich nur mit Graphitmagerung verbunden, und ihre Herstellung ist eng mit dem Gebiet Böhmen,

Mähren, Österreich und Bayern verbunden. In der Spätlatènezeit (LTD1 und LTD2) gibt es Bodenzeichen auch auf Keramik ohne Graphitmagerung im Oppidum von Bratislava und aus der Flachsiedlung in Kúty. Es wird davon ausgegangen, dass es sich um Marken einzelner Produktionszentren oder Werkstätten handelt, in denen diese Art von Töpfen hergestellt wurde (*Hlava 2008*, 216). Eines der Produktionszentren für Graphitonkeramik mit Bodenzeichen war Staré Hradisko in Mähren, wo Graphitsitulen mit verschiedenen Zeichen der Typen 6a, 6b, 9 und 11 hergestellt wurden (*Čižmář/Meduna 1985*, Abb. 4; 6; *Hlava 2008*, 216), ebenso in Manching (*Kappel 1967*). Bei den Funden aus dem Gebiet der Stadt Bratislava kennen wir derzeit 14 Arten von Bodenzeichen (*Čambal/Kovár 2019*, 180–182; *Vrtel 2012*, 170). Es ist wahrscheinlich, dass solche Bodenzeichen am Ende von LTC2 auftreten, ihr größtes Auftreten ist jedoch im LTD1 (*Čižmář/Meduna 1985*, 93, 94; *Kappel 1969*, 117). Ist es jedoch wahrscheinlich, dass die Bodenzeichen noch in der Stufe LTD2 auftreten, was aber mit der Frage verbunden ist, ob sie zu diesem Zeitpunkt noch produziert wurden oder nicht (*Čambal/Kovár 2019*, 182).

Dreifußgefäße

Ein rekonstruierbares Exemplar dieser Keramik stammt ebenfalls aus dieser Fundstelle. Topfartige Dreifüße der Gruppe VI (Taf. III: 7) werden auf einer Töpferscheibe aus Ton mit oder ohne Beimischung von Graphit hergestellt. Sie haben eine typische abgerundete Kante und einen relativ niedrigen Körper. Dreifüße werden auch innerhalb der Funde von Bratislava eindeutig auf den Überganghorizont LTD/LTD2, besonders nach LTD2 datiert (*Čambal 2004*, 29, Taf. XIV: 7; LXI: 9, 10; LXII: 2; *Čambal et al. 2006*, 141, Taf. III: 5a, b; V: 7; *Musilová/Lesák 1996*, Taf. III: 5, 6; *Pieta 1996*, 185, Abb. 1: 10, 11, 13; *Pieta/Zachar 1993*, 161, Abb. 91: 1–5; *Urban 1996*; *Zachar 1982*, Abb. 6; *Zachar/Rexa 1988*, Abb. 17: 8). Gleiches gilt für Nitriansky Hrádok (*Pieta 1996*, Abb. 1: 12). Sie wurden zuletzt auch im 3. Wiener Bezirk (Landstraße) gefunden (*Adler-Wölfl 2012*, 168, Abb. 4: 2).

Schüsseln

Die zahlreichste Gruppe neben den situativen Töpfen in den Funden der Mittel- und Spätzeit sind die konischen La Tène-Schalen Typ V/2 mit einer nach innen gezogenem Rand (Taf. II: 8). Sie gehören jedoch nicht zu chronologisch empfindlichen Formen und haben zahlreiche Analogien in allen La Tène-Siedlungen in ganz Mitteleuropa (*Čambal 2004*, 19, 27, 28; *Čambal/Kovár/Hanuš 2012*, 120).

Kelchförmige Becher

Ein fassförmiges Gefäß mit einem geraden, nicht verstärkten Rand vom Typ IV tritt im vorliegenden Material nur in einem Fall in Form eines Fußfragments auf (Taf. II: 7). Sie kommen im Oppidum von Bratislava häufig als Teil feintoniger Tischkeramik vor (*Musilová/Lesák 1996*, 87 ff.). Es ist eine Keramik, die zum Materialkanon der Stufe LTD2 gehört (*Čambal 2004*, 18, 19, Taf. XLII; *Čambal/Kovár/Hanuš 2012*, 121; *Pieta/Zachar 1993*, Abb. 108; *Zachar/Rexa 1988*, 60, Abb. 19). Direkte Analogien stammen aus Wien ebenfalls vom Rochusmarkt (*Adler-Wölfl/Mosser 2015*, 21, 22, Abb. 9: rechts)

Flaschen/Vasen

Der Hals eines dünnwandigen Flaschen-/Vasengefäßes der Gruppe II/1 stammt ebenfalls aus der Lokalität (Taf. III: 4). In diesem Fall handelt sich um weiße Flächenbemalung, was typisch für diesen Gefäßtyp ist. Bei dieser Art von Keramik wurden häufig horizontale Streifen unterschiedlicher Breite auf den Körper gemalt. Vorwiegend wurden rote, orange und weiße Engoben verwendet. Es ist eine typisch spätlatènezeitliche Form, die zur feinen Tischkeramik gehört. Im Oppidum von Bratislava finden sich zahlreiche Analogien (*Čambal 2004*, 25, Taf. XXXIV; XXXV; *Čambal et al. 2015*, 228, 229, Abb. 3; *Čambal/Kovár/Hanuš 2012*, 121, 122; *Pieta/Zachar 1993*, 157). Zu einer spätlatènezeitlichen Flasche gehört auch der Unterteil mit Boden (Taf. II: 11).

Bemalte Keramik

Ein Teil des Keramikinventars sind bemalte Scherben. Es ist eine Kombination aus weißer, orangefarbener und roter Malerei in horizontalen Streifen (Taf. I: 8; III: 1). Sie gehören zu den Flaschen der Gruppe II. Schwarz gemalte Gittermotive (Taf. I: 6), weisen wiederum Analogien im Fundmaterial aus der Oppidum Bratislava auf, wo sie im Sepia Farbton aufgetragen wurden (*Čambal 2004*, 24; *Čambal/Gregor 2008*, 97–106, Taf. I; II) und selten mit schwarzer Farbe (*Čambal 2004*, Taf. LXIII: 1, 2; LXXIV). Es gab auch eine relativ dickwandige Scherbe mit zwei horizontalen Bändern, die in grau-schwarz gehalten waren (Taf. III: 2). Aus Wien vom Rochusmarkt (Wien III) stammt eine ähnliche Bemalung mit grauer Malerei (*Adler-Wölfl/Mosser 2015*, 22, Abb. 9: links). Es gibt auch ein schwarzes Motiv in Form eines Schachbretts und vertikaler Bänder auf weißem Hintergrund (Taf. III: 3) ähnlich wie in Manching (*Maier 1970*, Taf. 108: 11). Auch ein weiteres Flaschen-/Vasenfragment

mit Bemalung, wo ein mehrmaliges Girlandenmotiv bzw. ein Halbmondmuster in brauner Farbe auf weisen Hintergrund, mit roten und orangenen Streifen (Taf. III: 6) auftritt, hat Parallelen in Manching (*Maier 1970*, 89, 90, Taf. 89: 1234–1237). Möglicherweise handelt es sich in diesem Fällen um Manchinger Importe. Die Flaschen/Vasen vom Typ II/1 und II/3 sind ein typischer Bestandteil des spätlaténezeitlichen Materials der Oppidazeit. Ein ähnliches Halbmondmotiv ist auch aus Bratislava bekannt (*Pieta/Zachar 1993*, Abb. 90: 6). Es gibt sowohl bemalte als auch unbemalte Exemplare davon. Während der Spätlatènezeit konzentrierte sich ihre Produktion auf Zentren wie Manching (*Maier 1970*), Stradonice, Třísov, Staré Hradisko (*Cumberpatch 1993*, 81 ff.) und Bratislava (*Čambal 2004*, 23–27, Taf. LXVIII–LXXVI; *Čambal et al. 2015*, 228–229; Abb. 3: 1, 3, 7, 8, 11; *Cumberpatsch 1993*, 60). Ein Fragment eines topfförmigen, dünnwandigen Gefäßes mit Malerei hat breite weiße horizontaler Streifen auf orangefarbenen Hintergrund (Taf. I: 10) und ist ebenfalls eine typische spätlaténezeitliche Form. Interessant ist, dass es ein sekundär gebohrtes Loch besitzt, welches mit Blei verstopft ist. Wahrscheinlich handelt es sich um ein Reparaturloch, welches üblicherweise mit eisernen Klammern repariert wurde. Solche gebohrten Reparaturlöcher treten häufig bei Siedlungskeramik auf. Mit Hilfe von Eisen- und selten Bronzeklammern wurden hauptsächlich Graphitton-Situlentöpfe, aber auch andere Gefäßformen repariert (*Čižmář 2003*, 57; *Meduna 1980*, 110, 111).

Deckel

Ein Stück ist auf dieser Fundstelle durch einen größeren konischen Deckel Gruppe VIII/1c vertreten (*Čambal 2004*, 26). Es handelt sich um ein Exemplar mit versetztem Innenrand größerer Form, auf der Töpferscheibe gedreht, aus fein geschlämmtem Ton in hellbrauner und dunkelgrauer Farbe (Taf. III: 5). Diese Art der Deckel wurde wahrscheinlich für einige der Varianten kleiner und mittlerer Töpfe verwendet. Die Deckeloberfläche wurde sorgfältig ohne Spuren von Malerei mit Engobe behandelt. Exemplare davon erscheinen auch in Wien am Leopoldsberg (*Urban 1999*, Abb. 63: 442). Sie kommen hauptsächlich im 1. Jahrhundert vor Christus vor, d. h. sie gehören zum Materialkanon der Stufe LTD1 und insbesondere LTD2. Sie werden häufig auch rot bemalt. Üblich sind z. B. im Oppidum von Bratislava und ihrem Hinterland (*Čambal 2004*, 26, 29, Taf. LVII; *Čambal et al. 2015*, 228, Abb. 3: 7, 8; *Pieta/Zachar 1993*, Abb. 90: 4; *Urban 1996*, Abb. 1: 4; *1999*, 221; *Zachar 1981*, Abb. 10: 13; *1982*, 173: 4; *Zachar/Rexa 1988*, Abb. 17: 9).

Spinnwirtel

Weitere Keramikfunde aus der Fundstelle sind Spinnwirteln, die aus latènezeitlichen Situlentopfscherben mit Kammstrich auf der Oberfläche hergestellt wurden (Taf. II: 5, 6). Spinnwirteln dieser Art gehören zu den häufigsten Funden in Siedlungen aus dem Mittel- und Spätlatènezeit (LTC2 bis LTD2) in ganzes Mitteleuropa. Dies weist auf eine entwickelte eigene häusliche Webproduktion hin (*Březinová/Chropovský 2020*, 61). Für die Chronologie der mittleren- und späten Latènezeit haben diese Funde (durch ihre Einheitlichkeit) keine wichtige Bedeutung – außerdem wurden sie ja aus älteren latènezeitlichen Scherben gefertigt (*Čambal 2004*, 30, 31, Taf. LXXV).

Zusammenfassend kann gesagt werden, dass die Keramik aus der Rasumofskygasse in die spätlatènezeitlichen Stufen LTD1 und LTD2 datiert werden kann. Die wahrscheinlich ältesten Exemplare sind die Situlentöpfe mit Bodenzeichen, die nach LTD1 datierbar sind, mit einer Überlappung bis LTD2. Andere Formen von Tongefäßen gehören in die Stufe LTD2, einschließlich auch der Situlentöpfe, Flaschen, Deckel sowie bemalter Keramik. Eines der chronologisch jüngsten Stücke ist das handgemachte Gefäß aus der Gruppe der sogenannten Töpfe mit kolbenförmig verdickten, gerade oder schräg abgestrichenen Rändern, die nach LTD2 datieren.

Andere Kleinfunde

Neben den Keramikfunden konnten auch weitere Kleinfunde aus Buntmetall, Eisen und Knochen gemacht werden.

Aus Buntmetall sind ein Draht (Taf. II: 3), ein rinnenförmiges Objekt (Taf. II: 2) sowie ein halbkugelförmiges Artefakt (Taf. II: 1), die nicht einer bestimmten Funktion zugeordnet werden können. Eventuell kann das halbkugelförmige Artefakt als Nagelkopf bezeichnet werden. Daneben liegen noch einige undefinierte nicht abgebbildete Fragmente aus Eisen vor.

Aus Knochen ist ein bemerkenswertes Artefakt (Taf. II: 4). Es handelt sich dabei um ein geschnitztes, schmales, stiftförmiges Objekt mit rechteckigem Querschnitt und seitlich abstehenden Fortsätzen (im oberen Bereich zwei, im mittleren einer), die vermutlich abgerochen sind. Die Funktion ist unbekannt.

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Der Fundort im Palais Rasumofsky reiht sich gut in die bisher bekannten Auffindungen in Wien Landstraße ein (Abb. 4). Bei dem beschriebenen Befund handelt sich um eine eingetiefte Hütte

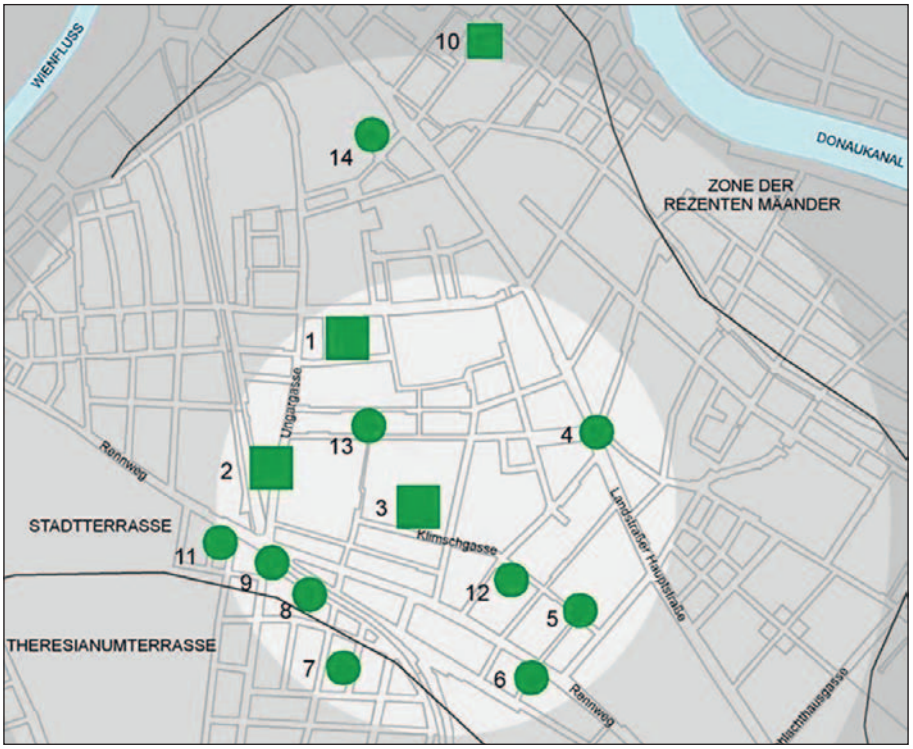


Abb. 4. Latènezeitliche Fundstellen in Wien III, Palais Rasumofsky als Nr. 10 (ergänzt nach *Donat/Pichler/Sedlmayer 2002*, Abb. 4).

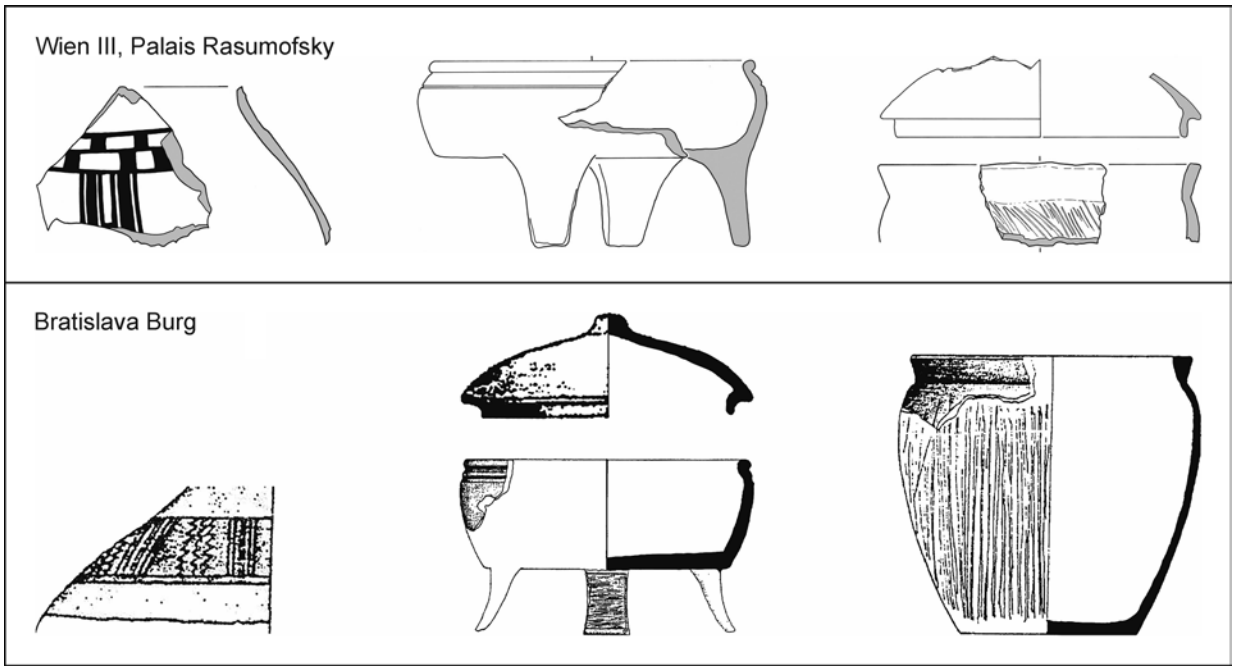
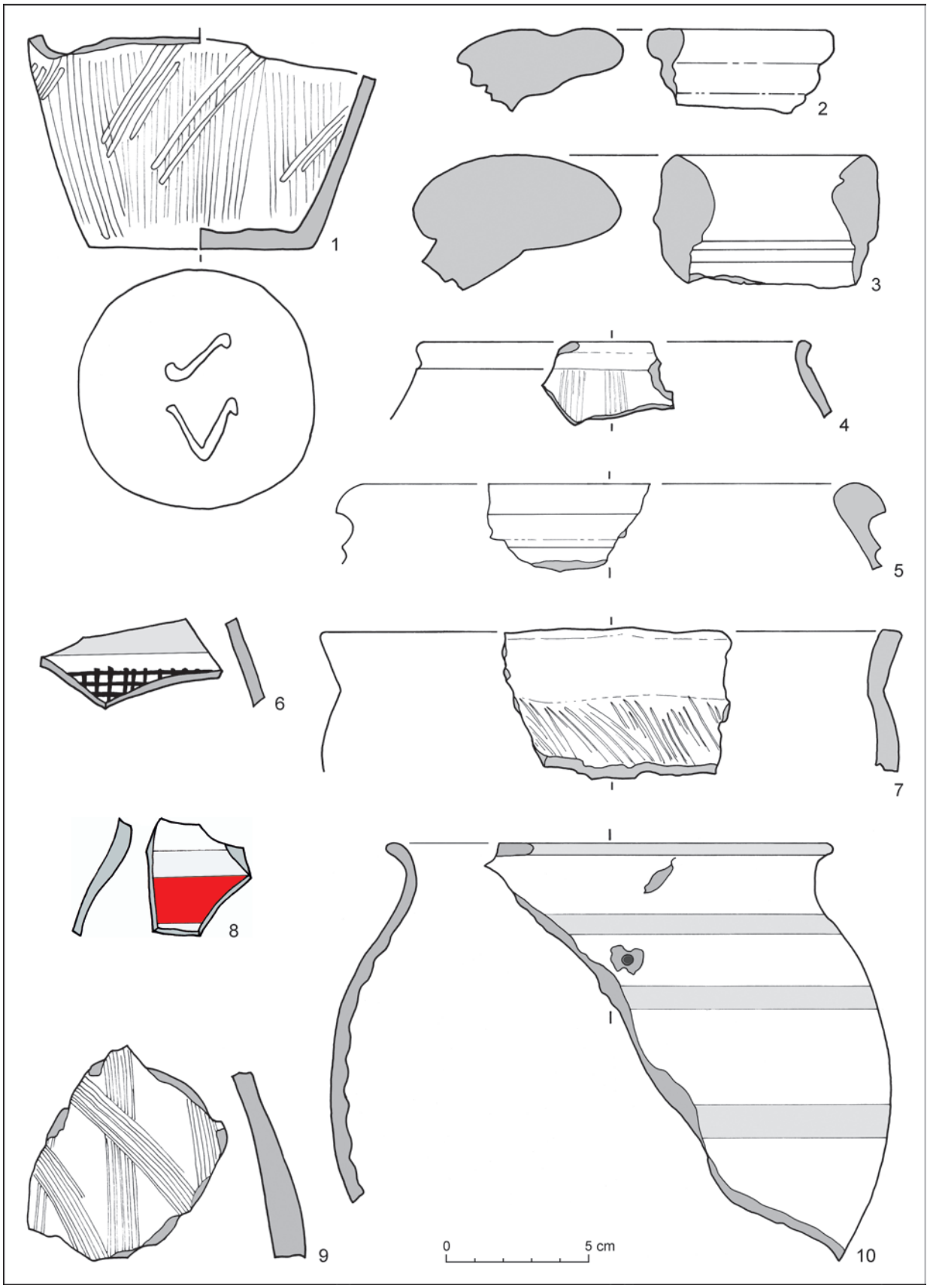
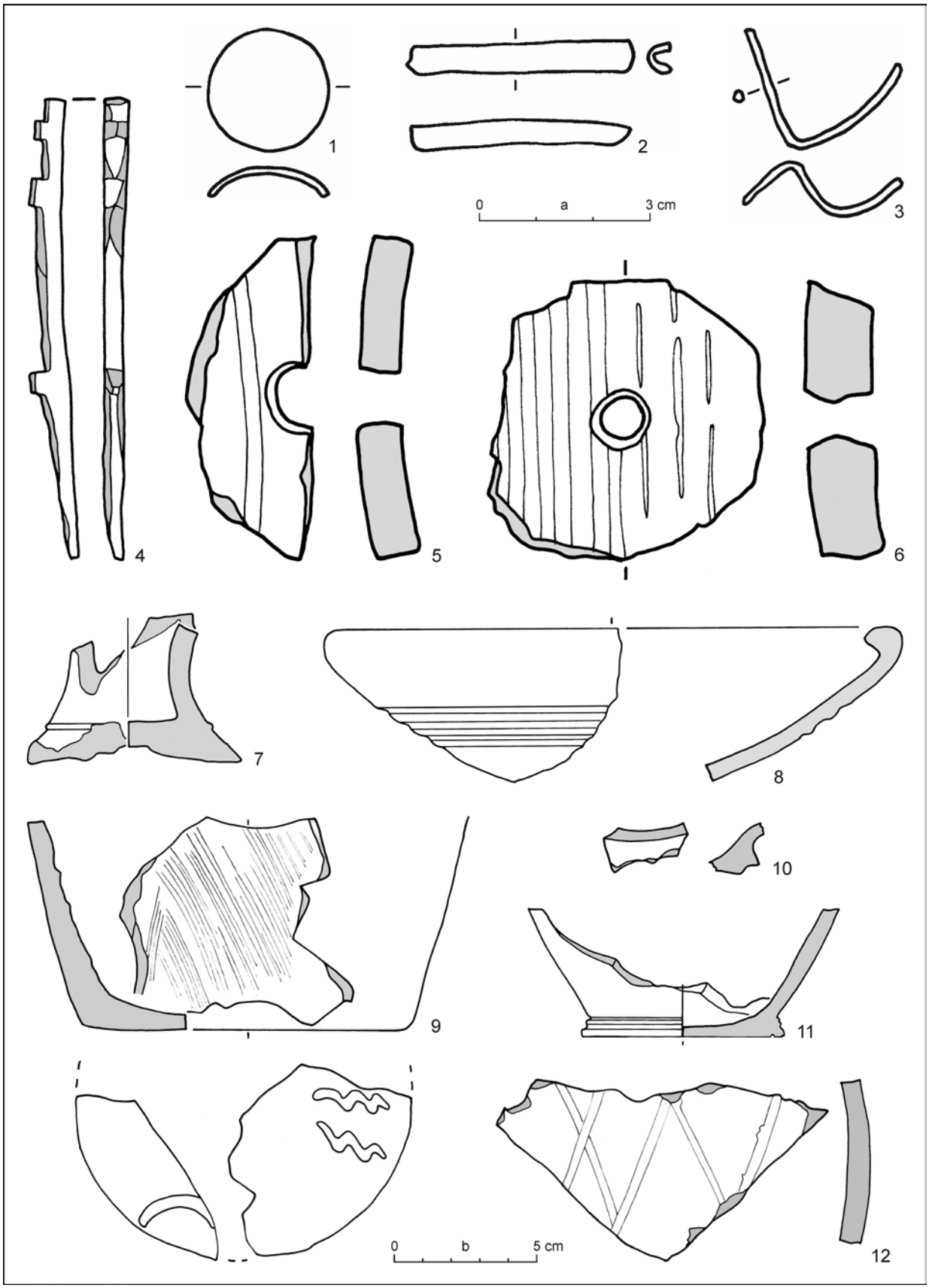


Abb. 5. Vergleich der Funde (P. C. Ramsl, ergänzt nach *Čambal 2004*, Taf. LXVIII).

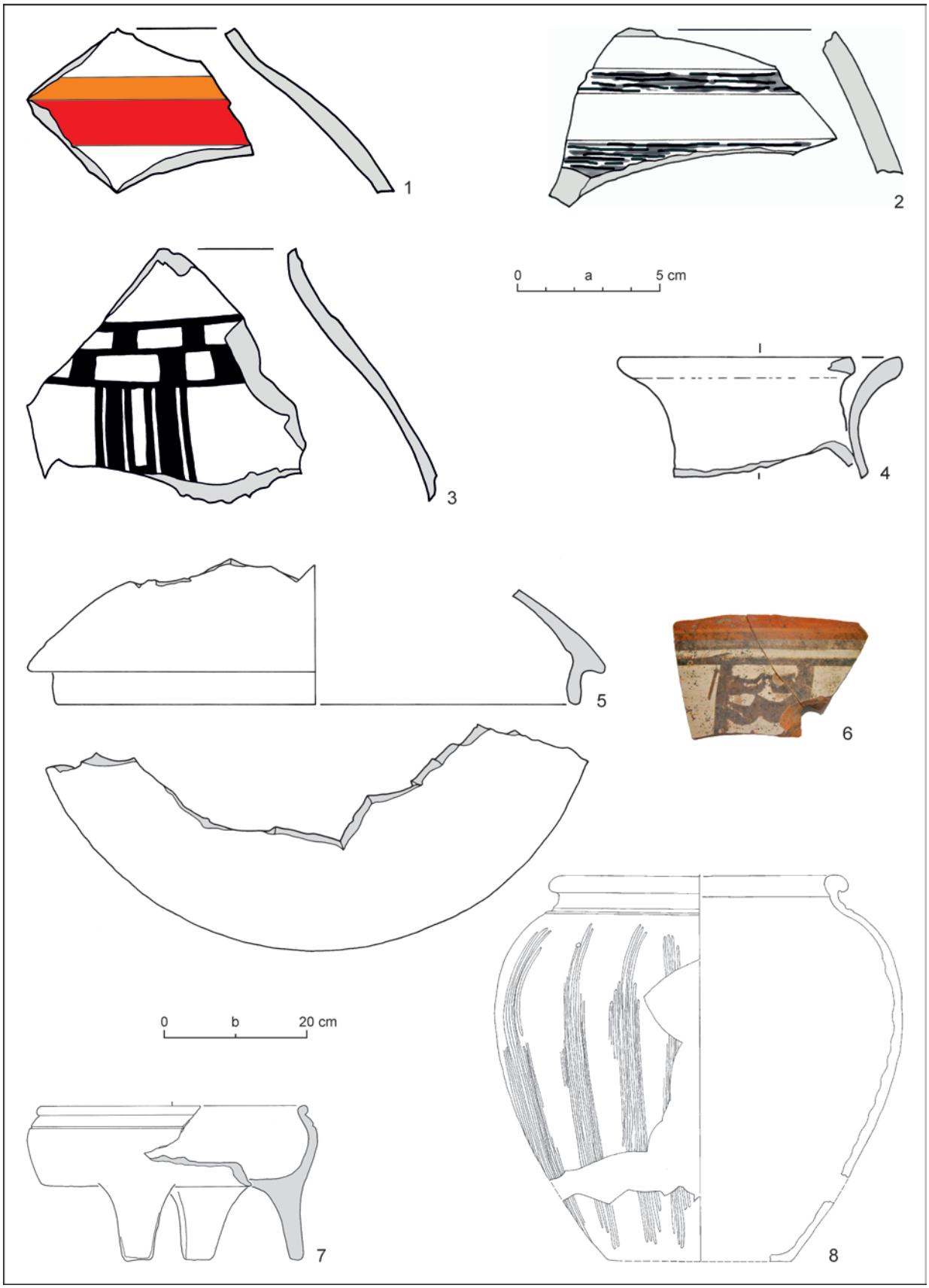
mit Spuren von Pfostenlöchern. Die Funde darin (Keramik und einige wenige Kleinfunde aus Buntmetall, Knochen und Eisen) datieren in die Spätlatènezeit. Das vorgestellte Material kann gut mit dem von Bratislava Burg verglichen werden, wie auf Abb. 5 zu sehen ist.



Taf. I. Wien III, Palais Rasumofsky, latènezeitliches Grubenhaus. Keramikfunde.



Taf. II. Wien III, Palais Rasumofsky, latènezeitliches Grubenhaus. 1–6 – Kleinfunde; 7–12 – Keramikfunde. Maßstab: a – 1–6; b – 7–12.



Taf. III. Wien III, Palais Rasumofsky, latènezeitliches Grubenhaus. Keramikfunde. Maßstab: a – 1–6; b – 7, 8.

LITERATUR

Adler-Wölfl 2012 – K. Adler-Wölfl: Spätlatènezeitliche Fundstellen in Wien. *Zborník SNM* 106. *Archeológia* 22, 2012, 166–185.

Adler-Wölfl/Mosser 2015 – K. Adler-Wölfl/M. Mosser: Archäologie am Rochusmarkt. Die Grabungen in Wien 3, Rasumofskygasse 29–31. *Fundort Wien* 18, 2015, 4–48.

Artner 1998–1999 – W. Artner: Der Frauenberg bei Leibnitz, Steiermark, in der Spälatènezeit und in der vorclaudischen Kaiserzeit. *Archaeologia Austriaca* 82–83, 1998–1999, 221–341.

Bednár/Březinová/Ptáčková 2005 – P. Bednár/G. Březinová/S. Ptáčková: Neskorolaténske osídlenie hradného návršia v Nitre. *Študijné zvesti AÚ SAV* 37, 2005, 115–186.

Bónis 1969 – E. S. Bónis: *Die spätkeltische Siedlung Gellérthegy-Tabán in Budapest*. Archaeologia Hungarica, S. N. 47. Budapest 1969.

Březinová 2000 – G. Březinová: *Nitra-Šindolka. Siedlung aus der Latènezeit. Katalog*. Archeologica Slovaca Monographiae. Catalogi 7. Nitra 2000.

Březinová/Chropovský 2020 – G. Březinová/B. Chropovský: *Sídliská z doby laténskej v Nitre*. Archaeologica Slovaca Monographiae. Fontes 27. Nitra 2020.

Čambal 2004 – R. Čambal: *Bratislavský hradný vrch – akropola neskorolaténskeho oppida*. Zborník SNM. Archeológia. Suplementum 1. Bratislava 2004.

Čambal et al. 2006 – R. Čambal/M. Gregor/T. Krampl/P. Nagy: Neskorolaténske objekty v Bratislave na Čajkovského ulici č. 9. *Zborník SNM* 100. *Archeológia* 16, 2006, 123–160.

Čambal et al. 2015 – R. Čambal/I. Bazovský/B. Kovár/M. Buda: Boische Besiedlung im Oppidum von Bratislava und seinem Hinterland. In: M. Karwowski/V. Salač/S. Sievers (Hrsg.): *Boier zwischen Realität und Fiction. Akten des internationalen Kolloquiums in Český Krumlov vom 14.–16. 11. 2013*. Römisch-germanische Kommision des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Kolloquien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte 21. Bonn 2015, 225–242.

Čambal et al. 2016 – R. Čambal/M. Gregor/I. Bazovský/G. Březinová/B. Kovár/M. Karwowski: The Pottery with Thickened Club Rim at the End of the Late La Tène Period in the Middle Danube Region (Mineralogical and Petrographic Characteristics). In: M. Karwowski/P. C. Ramsl (eds.): *Boii – Taurisci. Proceeding of the Internatiional Seminar. Oberleis-Klement, June 14th–15th 2012*. Mitteilungen der Praehistorischen Kommission 85. Wien 2016, 147–169.

Čambal/Gregor 2008 – R. Čambal/M. Gregor: Engoby a pigmenty neskorolaténskej keramiky z bratislavského oppida. *Zborník SNM* 102. *Archeológia* 18, 2008, 95–110.

Čambal/Kovár 2019 – R. Čambal/B. Kovár: Značky na nádobách z doby laténskej na príklade lokality Bratislava-Vydrica. In: I. Bazovský/G. Březinová (eds.): *Ľudia a hory – archeologická perspektíva. Interakcie ľudských spoločenstiev horských a podhorských oblastí západného Slovenska*. Zborník SNM. Archeológia. Suplementum 12. Bratislava – Nitra 2019, 179–188.

Čambal/Kovár/Hanuš 2012 – R. Čambal/B. Kovár/M. Hanuš: Typológia neskorolaténskej keramiky z Bratislavy-Vydrice. In: G. Březinová/V. Varsik (eds.): *Archeológia na prahu histórie. K životnému jubileu Karola Pietu*. Archaeologica Slovaca Monographiae. Communicationes 14. Nitra 2012, 117–136.

Čambal/Mináč/Zachar 2010 – R. Čambal/V. Mináč/L. Zachar: Laténske objekty 3/78 a 7/78 zo Senca-Svätého Martina. In: J. Beljak/G. Březinová/V. Varsik (eds.): *Archeológia barbarov 2009. Hospodárstvo Germánov, sídliskové a ekonomické štruktúry od neskorej doby laténskej po včasný stredovek. Zborník referátov z 5. protohistorickej konferencie. Nitra 21.–25. septembra 2009*. Archaeologica Slovaca Monographiae. Communicationes 10. Nitra 2010, 131–154.

Čižmář 2003 – M. Čižmář: *Laténské sídliště v Bořitově*. Pravěk. Supplementum 10. Brno 2003.

Čižmář/Meduna 1985 – M. Čižmář/J. Meduna: Značky na dnech laténské keramiky na Moravě. *Památky archeologické* 76, 1985, 78–100.

Cumberpatch 1993 – C. G. Cumberpatch: The Circulation of Late La Tène Slip Decorated Pottery in Slovakia, Southern Poland and Transdanubian Hungary. *Slovenská archeológia* 41, 1993, 59–81.

Donat/Pichler/Sedlmayer 2002 – P. Donat/E. Pichler/H. Sedlmayer Aspekte spätkeltische und frührömischer Siedlungsentwicklung in Wien-Landstraße. *Fundort Wien* 5, 2002, 76–100.

Girardis 1937 – M. Girardi: *Das Palais Rasumofsky. Geschichte und Schicksale eines Alt-Wiener Palastes*. Wien 1937.

Hlava 2008 – M. Hlava: Grafit v době laténské na Moravě. *Památky archeologické* 99, 2008, 189–258.

Hlava/Vích 2007 – M. Hlava/D. Vích: Laténské osídlení Boskovicka. In: M. Hlava/D. Vích: *Laténské osídlení Boskovicka. Laténské osídlení Uničovska. Českomoravské pomezí v době římské*. Pravěk. Supplementum 17. Brno 2007, 11–86.

Janšák 1955 – Š. Janšák: Hrnčiarska dielňa z neskorého laténu v Bratislave. *Slovenská archeológia* 3, 1955, 195–221.

Käferle/Schön 2011a – D. Käferle/D. Schön: *Grabungsbericht Archäologie Service, Palais Rasumofsky*. Wien 2011. Maßnahmennummer 01006.11.4. Unveröffentlicht.

Käferle/Schön 2011b – D. Käferle/D. Schön: KG Landstraße, 3. Bezirk. *Fundberichte aus Österreich* 50, 2011, 457, 458.

Kappel 1969 – I. Kappel: *Die Graphittonkeramik von Manching*. Ausgrabungen in Manching 2. Wiesbaden 1969.

Karl 1996 – R. Karl: *Latènezeitliche Siedlungen in Niederösterreich. Untersuchungen zu Fundtypen, Keramikchronologie, Bautypen, Siedlungstypen und Siedlungsstrukturen im latènezeitlichen Niederösterreich*. Historica Austria. Band 2–3. Wien 1996.

Maier 1970 – F. Maier: *Die Bemalte Spätlatène-Keramik von Manching*. Ausgrabungen in Manching 3. Wiesbaden 1970.

Meduna 1980 – J. Meduna: *Die latènezeitlichen Siedlungen in Mähren*. Praha 1980.

Musilová/Lesák 1996 – M. Musilová/B. Lesák: Neskorolaténske osídlenie na Hlavnom námestí č. 7. v Bratislave. *Zborník SNM* 90. *Archeológia* 6, 1996, 87–105.

Pieta 1996 – K. Pieta: Römische Import der Spätlatènezeit in der Slowakei. *Arheloški vestnik* 47, 1996, 183–195.

Pieta/Zachar 1993 – K. Pieta/L. Zachar: Neskorolaténske oppidum v historickom jadre mesta. In: T. Štefanovičová (zost.): *Najstaršie dejiny Bratislavy*. Bratislava 1993, 148–209.

Saliari/Pucher/Ramsl 2015 – K. Saliari/E. Pucher/P. C. Ramsl: Römische Haustiere eines Latènezeitlichen Hausherrn in Vindobona (Wien)? *Beiträge zur Archäozoologie und Prähistorischen Anthropologie* 10, 2015, 71–78.

Timár 2016 – L. Timár: The Sunken-Featured Buildings of the Middle La Tène Period: Problems and Reconstructions. In: M. Karwowski/P. C. Ramsl (eds.): *Boii – Taurisci. Proceedings of the International Seminar. Oberleis-Klement, June 14th–15th, 2012*. Mitteilungen der Prähistorischen Kommission 85. Wien 2016, 191–203.

Trebsche 2010 – P. Trebsche: Auswertung der latènezeitlichen Befunde und Funde von Michelstetten. In: E. Lauermenn (Hrsg.): *Die latènezeitliche Siedlung von Michelstetten. Die Ausgrabungen des Niederösterreichischen Museums für Urgeschichte in den Jahren 1994–1999*. Archäologische Forschungen in Niederösterreich 7. St. Pölten 2010, 15–115.

Trebsche 2011 – P. Trebsche: Eisenzeitliche Graphittonkeramik im mittleren Donauraum. In: K. Schmotz (Hrsg.): *Vorträge des 29. Niederbayerischen Archäologentages*. Rahden/Westf. 2011, 449–481.

Urban 1996 – O. H. Urban: Zur Chronologie der jüngeren Latènezeit in Ostösterreich. *Arheloški vestnik* 47, 1996, 197–207.

Urban 1999 – O. H. Urban: *Der Leopoldsberg. Archäologische Forschungen auf dem Wiener Hausberg*. Wiener archäologische Studien. Band 2. Wien 1999.

Vrtel 2012 – A. Vrtel: Keltské oppidum v Bratislave. In: J. Šedivý/T. Štefanovičová (zost.): *Dejiny Bratislavy 1. Od počiatkov do prelomu 12. a 13. storočia. Brezalauspurc na križovatke kultúr*. Bratislava 2012, 164–179.

Waldhauser u. AG 1993 – J. Waldhauser und Arbeitsgruppe: *Die hallstatt- und laténzeitliche Siedlung mit Gräberfeld bei Radovesice in Böhmen*. Archeologický výzkum v severních Čechách 21. Praha 1993.

Zachar 1981 – L. Zachar: Neskorolaténske vrstvy na Partizánskej ulici v Bratislave. *Zborník SNM* 75. *História* 21, 1981, 35–54.

Zachar 1982 – L. Zachar: Príspevok k problematike bratislavského oppida. *Zborník SNM* 76. *História* 22, 1982, 31–49.

Zachar/Rexa 1988 – L. Zachar/D. Rexa: Beitrag zur Problematik der spätlatènezeitlichen Siedlungshorizonte innerhalb des Bratislavaer Oppidums. *Zborník SNM* 82. *História* 28, 1988, 27–72.

Manuskript angenommen am 16. 6. 2021

Abstract translated by Peter C. Ramsl

Priv. Doz. Mag. Dr. Peter C. Ramsl
Institut für Urgeschichte und Historische Archäologie
Franz-Klein-Gasse 1
A – 1190 Wien
peter.ramsl@univie.ac.at

Mgr. Radoslav Čambal, PhD.
SNM – Archeologické múzeum
Žižkova 12
P. O. BOX 13
SK – 810 06 Bratislava
radoslav.cambal@snm.sk

SLOVENSKÁ ARCHEOLÓGIA – SUPPLEMENTUM 2
Z. Robak/M. Ruttkay (eds.): Celts – Germans – Slavs.
A Tribute Anthology to Karol Pieta. Nitra 2021, 149–165.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.31577/slovarch.2021.suppl.2.14

KOMÁRNO IN THE LA TÈNE PERIOD[1]

GERTRÚDA BŘEZINOVÁ – MAREK GERE

In this exceptional strategical location on the confluence of the Danube and Váh river we have evidence of settlement in the end of the Middle and Late La Tène period. Although no area excavation has been carried out yet, important finds and features supported by rescue excavations allow us to classify this locality as an important site. Features and finds have been confirmed at eight locations. As for settlement features, they are pits of various functions and production features including the remarkable site of Nádvorie Európy square with a series of six pottery kilns. They produced high-quality goods made on potter's wheel which also contained painted pottery. We suppose that Komárno in the La Tène period was one of eminent locations with concentration of production and trade. Thus, contacts were directed to the north, along the so-called Váh route, as well as southwards and southwestwards.

Keywords: Southwestern Slovakia, Late La Tène Period, settlement agglomeration, settlement of central status, production features, pottery, coins.

INTRODUCTION

The town of Komárno is located in the exceptional transportation-geographical location directly controlling the Dunaj (Danube) and Váh's streams. As it has been showing recently, it was the territory of these two rivers' confluence where the most intense settlement documented in the Neolithic and Eneolithic, La Tène and Roman periods as well as in the Middle Ages and Post-medieval period was situated. The choice of the site for settlement was not an accidental process in the La Tène period or any other historical period. It was a combination of factors which bearers of the La Tène culture took into consideration. The most important ones included proximity of water streams, favourable soil and climatic conditions, proximity of trade routes as well as sources of raw materials. The current Komárno's location met almost all the described attributes.

THE GEOGRAPHICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SITUATION

Komárno is the southernmost and the lowest located town in the territory of the Slovak Republic, near the confluence of the Váh and Danube rivers. From the aspect of geomorphology, the territory in question belongs to the central part of the Podunajská nížina (Danube lowland). The area here is a typical lowland. Hydrographically, it is part of the Danube river basin. Geographically, it belongs to the southern part of the Pannonian Basin, where it is part of the Gabčíkovská panva basin regional-geological unit (*Miklós/Hrnčiarová 2002*). Sediments of Tertiary and Quaternary can be found in the geological composition of the territory. The quaternary sediments in the studied area are represented mainly by fluvial facies of Holocenic sediments. These sediments' facial-genetic composition is diverse. Mostly, sandy flooded soils or quaternary clays are predominant. So-called buried riverbeds of older streams are frequently found in the neigbouring areas. Lithologically, they are made up of highly plastic clays, loams, less frequently very fine-grained grey to grey-black sands with a high proportion of organic substances. Their bedrock is built of fluvial sediments of lake-river origin, such as – mainly – sands and gravel sands with various proportions of sand with multi-stage polycyclic development which are collectors of quaternary groundwater. Hydrological conditions are directly associated with the geological structure. Fluvial sediments – gravels and sands flooded by the Danube and Váh rivers – are the principal bearers of groundwater. From the aspect of the total structure, the site is located in a zone where groundwaters come to the surface. In the narrow riparian zone, water levels of the Danube and Váh, less frequently precipitations and vapour, participate in the groundwater regime (*Varjú 2009*).

[1] This work was supported by the Slovak Research and Development Agency under the Contract no. APVV-15-0491 and by VEGA project no. 1/240/21.

Fig. 1. Komárno, aerial photo. Location of La Tène sites. 1 – Dunajské nábrežie street; 2 – Kossuthovo námestie square; 3 – Palatínova ulica street; 4 – Nádvorie Európy square; 5 – Anglia Park; 6 – New Fortress; 7 – Old Fortress; 8? – location of the hoard of coins according to the catalogue of Saint Germain museum. Photo source: Komárno City Archive.

Fig. 2. Komárno, Second military survey. Location of La Tène sites. 1 – Dunajské nábrežie street; 2 – Kossuthovo námestie square; 3 – Palatínova ulica street; 4 – Nádvorie Európy square; 5 – Anglia Park; 6 – New Fortress; 7 – Old Fortress; 8? – location of the hoard of coins according to the catalogue of Saint Germain museum. Map source: www.geoportal.gov.sk

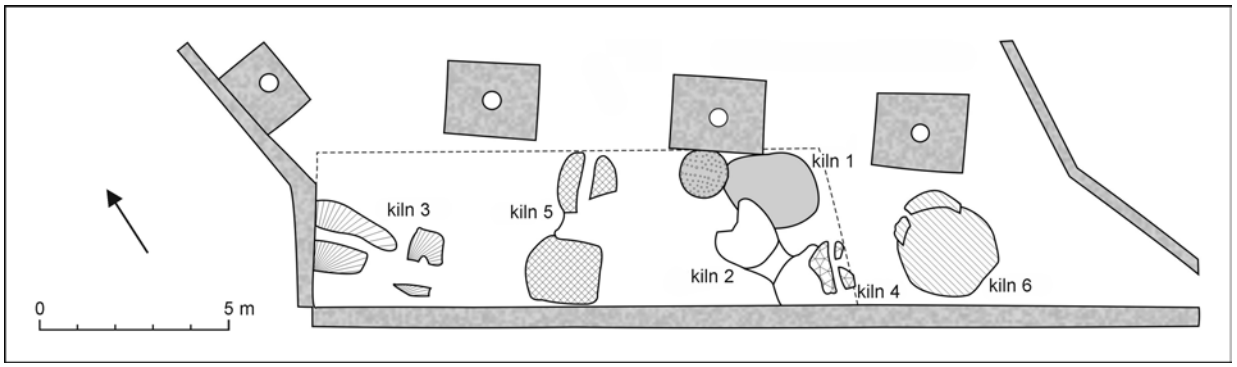


Fig. 3. Komárno, Nádvorie Európy square site. Spatial distribution of pottery kilns (based on materials from *J. Koštial 2004* and *K. Pieta 2008*, adapted by M. Gere).

RECORD OF INDIVIDUAL SITES WITH EVIDENCE OF LA TÈNE SETTLEMENT IN THE TOWN' CADASTRAL AREA (Fig. 1; 2)[2]

1. **Komárno, Dunajské nábrežie site.**
In 1978, an archaeological excavation was carried out in the area of Dunajské nábrežie street, where P. Ratimorská studied a circular pit dated to the La Tène period (*Ratimorská 1980*). Daub and fragments of pottery including part of a storage vessel with a massive rim.

2. **Komárno, Kossuthovo námestie site** – postmedieval cemetery from the 16th–18th c.
In 2011, during the rescue researsch of SAHI, o.z., a shallow feature with finds from the late La Tène period was uncovered. It is a settlement pit whose exact outline has not been detected. Its documented depth was 10–15 cm. Several vessel fragments, one complete cup with a handle, daub and a dog skeleton come from its fill (*Jelínek/Teslíková/Gere 2011*). The feature is dated to LTD.

3. **Komárno, Palatínova ulica street site** – church and postmedieval cemetery from the 16th–18th c.
In 1999, excavations led by P. Ratimorská and E. Dénešová were carried out at the courtyard of the service part of the Jesuit monastery in Komárno. It uncovered a fragment of postmedieval architecture. In addition, graves of the cemetery belonging to the St. Andrew's Church were found in all trenches. Mainly La Tène pottery was obtained from the studied areas, however, with regard to intense burying, it was only found in secondary position. Nevertheless, its quantitative representation suggest intense settlement of the site in the La Tène period. The archaeological and architectural research of the monastery building's norhtern wing in 2004 came to similar conclusions (*Bednár 2006*, 34; *Bednár/Kvasnicová/Ratimorská 2005*, 151).

4. **Komárno, Nádvorie Európy (Courtyard of Europe) site.**
Research led by P. Ratimorská and K. Pieta studied the battery of 6 pottery kilns (*Koštial 2004*; *Mangel/Thér 2018; Pieta 2008*, 177, fig. 86: 1–11). The excavated area in 2000–2001 was approx. 130 m^2, during 2003, after interior walls enclosing the current space had been built, it was 62 m^2. The site is situated on a slight loess elevation under the tiled surface of today's square, on the premises of Európália shopping centre in the centre of Komárno. The basic terrain elevation is 108.75 m a.s.l. This value is a result of terrain works associated with construction of the shopping centre and is not the original terrain level of the site. The excavated area is approx. 4 m below the current surface of the courtyard. Another research was carried out there in 2020 by J. Koštial. It was focused on documentation of the remaining find situation (Fig. 3).

5. **Komárno, Park Anglia site** (previously known as Leninove sady and Mestský park).
A rescue research was carried out there in 1982. Three features with numerous sherds, iron slag and graphite from the La Tène period appeared in profiles of furrows (*Ratimorská 1983*, 211, 212). Besides sherds (*Pieta 2008*, fig. 77: 1–13; 86: 1–11) representing storage vessels with massive rims, pots, bowls with everted rims, a situla with incompact horizontal combing, subtle bottle shapes and a bowl with a wavy line on its inner surface, fragments of painted vessels and a bronze brooch of the Beltz type were discovered there (*Pieta 2008*, fig. 77: 14).

6. **Komárno, Nová pevnosť (New Fortress) site.**
Two rescue excavations were carried out there. In 2012, the Archaeoservices s.r.o. company in cooperation with the Podunajské múzeum in Komárno carried out a rescue excavation. Five features and a cultural layer from the La Tène period were detected. Based on the evaluation of pottery, they can be dated to stages LTC2–LTD1 with extension probably to stage LTD2 (*Gere 2013*). Feature no. 6 was uncovered in furrow no. 7. It contained a large amount of iron slag (up to 10 kg), sherds, daub and individual animal bones (Fig. 4).
The excavation at the site of New Fortress continued in 2019 as part of the project called 'New construction of a staircase down to the basement of Barracks from exterior' (*Gere/Gereová 2019*). A cultural layer (111.5–110.4 m

[2] The authors of the article wish to thank PhDr. P. Ratimorská for her enormous effort to save archaeological monuments in the town and its surroundings.

Fig. 4. Komárno, New Fortress site. Feature 6/12. 1 – ground plan of the feature; 2 – detail of the iron cake left after melting.

a.s.l.) and a settlement feature from the La Tène period (1/19) were discovered in Trench 1. Several features were documented in other parts of the trench; five of them (2/19, 4/19, 10–12/19) can be also dated to the La Tène period by the obtained material.

7. **Komárno, Stará pevnosť (Old Fortress) site.** During the rescue excavation by SAHI, o. z., settlement of the site from several historical periods was documented. The most remarkable settlement has been documented from the Eneolithic. In Section 2, a feature which can be dated to the La Tène period by pottery was identified. A large number of ceramic material from this period was also found in secondary sites (*Jelínek/Straková/Benková 2010*). A fragment of a bottom from a situla-shaped pot with a stamp also comes from this site (*Gere 2017*, fig. 1: 6).

8. **Komárno, the site at the confluence of the Danube and Váh rivers**, i.e. on the northern side of the Slovak-Hungarian border, in today's Komárno. A depot of 34 Celtic coins was discovered in 1874. The location where the coins were found is identified according to the description in the Saint Germain museum's catalogue (*Hunka/Kolníková 1994*, 49; *Kolníková/Kolník 2004*, 13).

ANALYSIS OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOURCES

Based on the confirmed sites with finds from the La Tène period, we assume that it is a settlement agglomeration (Fig. 1; 2). We can find there settlement pits of various character, a battery of pottery kilns, possible remains of a metallurgical furnace or a production workshop as well as cultural layers rich in pottery material. This is the current state of research and it is only a question of time when other settlement features will be studied. All previously studied sites were investigated by means of rescue excavations, thus, there were no open-area or systematically focused excavations. However, the fact that older evidence of settlement is disturbed by massive intervention related to construction of features in the Middle Ages and Postmedieval period must be taken into consideration. The structures include an anti-Turkish invasion fortress, when the Old Fortress started to be built in 1546 on foundations of an older castle and the New Fortress started in 1658.

Settlement features

It was possible to detect several features and a rather rich cultural layer from the La Tène period. They are oval pits without more detailed identification which were probably used for working purposes. Their diameters vary between 100 and 200 cm and they were sunken 150–160 cm below the terrain level. They contained mainly pottery (Pl. I–IV) and miniature artefacts (Fig. 6; Pl. V). Samples of fauna and flora were also taken; 16 samples for analysis of vegetal macroremains from the area of pottery kilns at Nádvorie Európy square were expertly evaluated (*Hajnalová 2002*, 55, 56).

Production features

Pottery kilns

During the rescue excavation carried out in 2000–2004 by P. Ratimorská and K. Pieta (most terrain works were done in 2000–2001) in the area of Nádvorie Európy square (Fig. 3), 6 pottery kilns were studied over an area of 130 m^2 (*Koštial 2004*; *Pieta 2008*). During 2003, after interior walls had been built, the area was 62 m^2. Investigation of the whole area was carried out in 2020 (*Koštial 2021*). These firing aggregates are in various stages of construction and reconstruction (they have not been completely processed and evaluated yet). The vertical stratigraphy of the site confirms that the large battery of kilns was not operating simultaneously. Firing could have been carried out simultaneously in max. four aggregates, although the pottery practice documented by ethnographic sources probably meant seasonal firing in one or two kilns (*Koštial 2004*). Sherds representing a group of high-quality wheel-made pottery come from the excavation's area and they also include goods with painted decoration. Hand-made so-called Dacian pottery is absent. Fragments of vessels representing high-quality wheel-made goods were found on the grate of kiln 1. As for kiln 1, we suppose that it is the oldest one. Although painted goods come from the kilns, none was found in kiln 1 (Pl. II). In the final excavations in 2020 (*Koštial 2021*) a bronze fibula of Almgren 65 type[3] was discovered in the area in front of kiln 1, which is very important for dating of this battery of kilns. All of them are double-chamber vertical kilns which were – in central Europe – collected and evaluated by *T. Mangel* and *R. Thér* (*2018*, fig. 100). The kilns in Komárno are dated to the earlier phase of the Late La Tène period, LTD1. The find of the fibula, however, does not exclude possible existence (opening) of this space also in LTD2.

Metallurgical furnace?

When the New Fortress was investigated in 2012, feature no. 6/2012 was studied in furrow 7 (Fig. 4). It was located under the modern made-up ground,

[3] The find is deposited in the Podunajské múzeum in Komárno.

Fig. 5. Komárno, New Fortress site. Modified shard with a dimple (front and from behind).

16–32 cm below the current terrain and its fill was made up by pale brown loam layer with clay and daub, continuing in a pale brown sandy layer. The bottom of the feature reached 103 cm deep from the current terrain (altitude 111 m a.s.l.). A large amount of iron slag (as much as 10 kg), sherds, daub and individual animal bones come from its fill (*Gere 2013*, 90, pl. VI; IX). We assume that it is the bottom part of a metallurgical shaft furnace of a round shape with a 'slag cake' at the feature's bottom. The investigation confirmed that construction of the Old and New fortresses disturbed the upper layers from the La Tène period, which is suggested by numerous finds from that period, unique medieval pottery and finds of human bones found on the rampart of the fortress some of which might come from the terrain works in its interior. A fragment form a vessel body secondarily shaped into a disc comes from the rampart (Fig. 5). There is a dimple on its inside. The sherd's size is 4.8 x 4.6 cm and it is 1.4 cm thick. The ceramic matter contains a low portion of graphite. In the central part of the sherd's inner side, there is a secondarily made dimple with smooth walls, narrowing in a funnel shape towards the bottom. The dimple is 1.1 cm wide and 0.5 cm deep. Such modified sherd of a vessel could have been used as a dosing plate for non-ferrous metals. Besided the melting pots and dosing plates, sherds of larger vessels were also adapted to dosing (*Březinová 2007*; *Kolníková 2012*). Nevertheless, we cannot exclude the possibility that the sherd shaped into a disc with the unfinished drilled hole might have been used as a spindle whorl in weaving. We have recorded such artefacts e.g. in Bratislava, Hradný vrch (Castle hill) site (*Čambal 2004*, 30, pl. LXV: 6).[4]

A workshop?

Two features (feature 1, 2) from the site of Park Anglia can be classified as production features. The author interpreted them on the basis of finds of iron slag, amount of graphite and burned layers as remains of production features (*Ratimorská 1983*, 212). Besides sherds (*Pieta 2008*, fig. 77: 1–13; 86: 1–11), where storage vessels with massive ruffs, bowls with everted rims, a situla with incompact horizontal combing, the finds included subtle bottle shapes and a bowl with inner wavy line, fragments of painted vessels and a Beltz J type bronze brooch (*Pieta 2008*, fig. 77: 14). However, detailed information on the features is absent.[5]

Material culture

This study deals with the finds from features and layers obtained by excavations and collection from the above mentioned sites. Most of them are pottery and – less frequently – various miniature artefacts. Samples of fauna and flora have also been taken from the studied layers and features, however, they have not been evaluated yet.

Pottery

Basic evaluation of pottery from two sites – Park Anglia and New Fortress – from excavation in 2012 has been published (*Gere 2013*; *Pieta 2008*, fig. 77). It is of high quality and painted pottery is also represented. The vessels are made on potter's wheel and they correspond with the shapes possibly

[4] In case of the find from Komárno, the dimple is not located in the centre and the shape of the sherd itself is not circular. Natural science analyses could help us solve this problem.

[5] Only sherds are deposited in the Podunajské múzeum in Komárno.

Fig. 6. Komárno, New Fortress site. 1 – copper coin of the Veľký Bysterec type – feature 2/19; 2 – strap loop with triskeles – feature 1/19.

datable to the end of the Middle La Tène period, stage LTC2, as late as the Late La Tène stage LTD1 and LTD2; we rely on the range of shapes from Bratislava, the castle, according to *R. Čambal* (*2004*, 203, 204, pl. LXVII; LXVIII). As far as the finds from Park Anglia are concerned, we can consider earlier dating to stages LTC2 and LTD1. A pot edge with claviform rim (*Gere 2013*, pl. IV: 3) typical of stage LTD2 also occurred in the collection from the New Fortress site (*Čambal et al. 2014*, 63–73; *Čambal/Kovár/Hanuš 2012*). Such dating is supported by fragments of conical bowls with arcuately everted offset necks with S-shaped profiles of the Békásmegyer type with distinctly everted rims (*Gere 2013*, pl. IV: 2; VII: 2). In pottery, it is a rather recent element occurring in the transitional stage LTD1/D2 and in stage LTD2 (*Čambal 2004*, 28). Represented shapes include storage vessels with massive rims, a strainer (*Gere 2013*, pl. I: 5) and a conical lid (*Gere 2013*, pl. IV: 1). The so-called Dacian pottery was not found in these two collections. Such pottery was detected when research continued in 2019 (*Gere/Gereová 2019*) at the New Fortress site in feature 2/19 (Pl. IV: 1–8). In a pit with a circular groundplan which was detected just under the medieval layer, at the altitude of 111.09 m, a large number of pottery representing a range of late La Tène shapes of high quality wheel-made vessels (Pl. I) as well as hand-made shapes with various plastic protuberances, the so-called Dacian pottery, was discovered. Other finds from the feature's fill are also very important for dating of the pottery. They include a bronze (copper?) coin, an iron haft (socket?), a whetstone and a tooled antler (Fig. 6: 1; Pl. V: 1, 3, 8). The pit's diameter is 160 cm and its depth is 196 cm. High-quality pottery from bowls and bottle-shaped vessels with decoration in form of impressed circumferential wavy line and oblique bands arranged along the perimeter into triangles was found on the grate of kiln 1 at Nádvorie Európy square (PL. II). We assume that such vessels were fired in the kilns and chronologically, they belong mainly to the early phase of the Late La Tène period. Only three stamps on the bottoms of probably situla-shaped vessels come from Komárno. Based on the typology elaborated by *I. Kappel* (*1969*) and complemented by *M. Čižmář* and *J. Meduna* (*1985*), they belong to types 2 and 6a. According to analogies from well-dated finds from the site of Bratislava-Vydrica, such stamped vessels belong to stages LTD1 to LTD2 (*Čambal/Kovár 2019*, fig. 3).

Vessels decorated with painting

We have recorded 271 exemplars of painted pottery from the sites in Komárno. It is currently known from four sites: Anglia Park (22 exemplars), Nádvorie Európy square (138 exemplars), Old Fortress (8 exemplars exclusively from recent interventions) and New Fortress (103 exemplars; 56 of them come from feature 2/2019). The fragmentary condition of this material, unfortunately, often does not allow us to identify the original shape of the vessels. Plate III: a–h presents samples of decorative motifs found in Komárno so far as well as the colour scale used for painted decoration (Pl. III: i–m). It was applied mainly on bottles, where short bulbous shape with arcuately everted and funnel-shaped mouth prevails (Pl. III: 7). A fragment of a funnel-shaped rim with applied white engobe can also be classified among bottles (Pl. III: 5). From other shapes, there are deep semiglobular bowls. Their decoration consisted of wider and narrower bands of red and white colour (Pl. III: 1, 4, 8, 9). Rared shapes with applied paint include conical bowls with S-shaped profiles. This shape is represented by areal red paint extending to the inner side of the rim (Pl. III: 9). In the La Tène period, paint has been documented almost exclusively on high-quality pottery (finely washed clay, high-quality firing). Painting was done by coloured clay engobes applied on vessels before firing (*Čambal/Gregor 2008*, 103–106; *Repka 2020*, 88). Easter Celtic painted decoration of pottery consisted of several basic colours, such as white, red and brown, black, or their shades – reddish brown, dark brown, greyish brown (sepia), brownish yellow, beige. The above mentioned elements of primary as well as secondary paint have been recently described and classified by *I. Žernožičková* (*2017*)

on the basis of the collected finds from the Staré Hradisko oppidum in Moravia. It is obvious from the evaluation of pottery shapes and decorative motifs that the Late La Tène painted pottery from Komárno is not different from the traditional geometrical ornamentation of the eastern Celtic environment. The painted fragments can be attributed to bottle-shaped vessels, semiglobular and conical bowls, cups and lids. As for decoration, application of white and red engobes in form of horizontal bands and wavy lines is dominant, however, areal painting and application of a secondary ornament also occurs. Secondary ornaments are represented in the geometric zone by traditional elements – straight lines, wavy lines, zig-zag lines and grids. The pottery kilns of Komárno document presence of a workshop manufacturing these specific luxurious goods. On the basis of our current information, we assume the occurrence of painted pottery in the territory of Komárno mainly in stage LTD1, in a reduced form possibly as late as stage LTD2.

Hand-made Dacian pottery

Besides wheel-made pottery, hand-made vessels occur at the settlements from the La Tène period. In the Late La Tène period, this production is complemented with vessels decorated with various plastic protuberances and garlands. They are mainly barrel shapes or conical bowls and bowls with handles. They were found at two sites in the territory of Komárno-Kossuthovo námestie square (Pl. IV: 9) and the New Fortress in feature 2/19 (Pl. IV: 1–8). Analogous shapes come from the sites in the Nitra river basin, Nitra Castle, Nitra-Svätoplukovo námestie square and Nitra-Mikov Dvor and in Šurany-Nitriansky Hrádok (*Bednár/Březinová/Ptáčková 2005*; *Březinová 2009*; *2010*; *Březinová/Katkin 2004*; *Březinová/Ruttkay 2019*).

Miniature artefacts

Parts of garments and jewels

• Brooches/fasteners

A bronze brooch of the Beltz J type is known from the Park Anglia site (*Pieta 2008*, 77: 14). Details of its find context are unknown. We suppose that it was part of fill in production features (*Ratimorská 1983*, 212). More exact dating of these brooches, also on the basis of finds from Staré Hradisko (*Čižmář/Čižmářová/Meduna 2018*, 43) and Manching (*Gebhard 1991*, 35, pl. 12: 203, 204), is limited by younger stage LTD1. Dating is confirmed by other finds from Mostná ulica street in Nitra (*Březinová/Samuel 2007*, fig. 43) and Devín (*Pieta/Zachar 1993*, fig. 115: 9).

Two iron brooches from feature 4/19 from the New Fortress site were found in a considerably corroded condition. After their restoration[6], they can be classified into individual types. The iron brooch with one-piece construction and long spring (6 + 7) is 52 mm long and the coils' span is 36 mm. There is a stud on the bow (Pl. V: 5).

According to the map of occurrence of such brooches (*Pieta 2008*, fig. 25: B), they are associated mainly with the Púchov environment in Slovakia. Their dating to LTC2 and LTD1 has been confirmed at the oppida in Manching (*Gebhard 1991*, type 22 and 23) and Staré Hradisko (*Čižmář/Čižmářová/Meduna 2018*, 116).

The second iron brooch belongs to wire brooches with one-piece construction (Pl. V: 6). The total length of the brooch is 46 mm, the bow's height is 20 mm. Due to damage by corrosion, it is difficult to interprete other parts of the brooch. The spring is simple, two-sided. Bronze variants of such brooches are again associated with the Púchov territory and sites like Dolný Kubín-Veľký Bysterec, Liptovská Sielnica-Liptovská Mara, Jalovec, Jánovce-Machalovce, Vyšný Kubín (*Pieta 2008*, fig. 25: A). Iron variants come e.g. from Folkušová (*Pieta 2008*, fig. 26: 1) or the oppidum of Staré Hradisko (*Čižmář/Čižmářová/Meduna 2018*, 233).

A bronze brooch of Almgren 65 type was discovered at Nádvorie Európy square in the loading area of kiln 1.[7] Brooches of Late La Tène construction with frame catchplates and asymetrically decorated bows and breaks decorated with plastic ribs often occur at oppida in the Middle Danube region and Czech-Moravian territory, where their iron variant prevails (*Čižmář/Čižmářová/Meduna 2018*, 49). Dating falls to the interface between stages LTD1 and LTD2.

Lithic artefacts

A whetstone with quadrangular base and its upper part well modified for grip comes from the New Fortress, feature 2/19 (Pl. V: 3). Material: sandstone. Whetstones are common in settlement and production features during the whole La Tène period (*Illášová 2000*, 225; *Pieta 2008*, 74).

[6] We wish to thank Mgr. M. Knoll.

[7] As the material has not been published yet, we do not publish the brooch without the other author's consent.

Metal artefacts

A strap loop (patch) from the New Fortress, feature 4/19, is made of bronze (Fig. 6: 2; Pl. V: 4). It is annular, with diameter of 22 mm. In the middle, there is a disc with diameter of 12 mm. Along the rim of the disc, there is a fine circumferential recess. The disc's body is divided into three parts, so-called triskeles, by a recess. On the back, there are two evenly located attachment rings. Based on analogies, this artefact was part of decoration of horse harness (*Pieta 2008*, fig. 113: 1–11; *Schönfelder 2002*).

An iron haft (socket?) with unknown function (Pl. V: 2) as well as an iron sleeve? also come from feature 2/19 at the New Fortress site (Pl. V: 1).

Antler artefacts

A tooled antler artifact, possibly a functional tool, comes from feature 2/19 at the New Fortress site (Pl. V: 8). Almost complete antlers (of a deer?) with cut-off side tines come from the same site, feature 4/19 (Pl. V: 7). The preserved part is 800 mm long.

Tooled bone and antler artifacts are not frequently found at sites from the La Tène period in Slovakia. For instance, only 16 exemplars were found at only three settlements at the settlement agglomeration in Nitra (*Březinová 2014*). This could imply lower interest in this type of material, lack of it or, possibly, that the local population did not adopt the complicated technique of processsing this raw material. Newer finds were processed from the settlement in Bratislava, Zlaté piesky site (*Hrnčiarik 2019*, fig. 1).

Coins

A hoard of Celtic coins comes from today's territory of Komárno. As the exact find context is unknown, we present the site with a question mark (Fig. 1: 8?; 2: 8?). As stated by E. Kolníková (*Kolníková/Kolník 2004*, 14), K. Castelin published a hoard of Celtic coins deposited in Musée des Antiquiteés Nationales in Saint-Germain-en Laye near Paris in 1970. According to his information, it was discovered in 1876. It was enlisted in the catalogue of the numismatic collection in that year, with the information '*... hoard was discovered in Komárno, the capital town of Komárno County in Žitný ostrov river island near the confluence of the Danube and Váh rivers, 1876*' (*Kolníková/Kolník 2004*, 14). K. Castelin was not sure which Komárno the find comes from. He did not know whether it was the left or the right side of the Danube or whether the hoard was found somewhere in its vicinity. His doubts, however, are dispelled by the information in the catalogue of the museum in Saint-Germain – '*it was discovered at Žitný ostrov river island, near the confluence of the Danube and Váh rivers*', i.e. on the northern side of the Slovak-Hungarian border, in today's Komárno (*Hunka/Kolníková 1994*, 49, no. 21). According to E. Kolníková, this depot is a great contribution to solution of the topic of the Veľký Bysterec type of coins, although this type is only represented by one exemplar in the hoard from Komárno. This coin was included in a hoard of 33 other coins of the Szőny type (*Kolníková/Kolník 2004*, tab. 4). It is the first hoard with such composition and the first common occurrence of tetradrachm of the Veľký Bysterec type and the above mentioned miniature coins. They suggest contacts – probably mercantile – of the La Tène settlement in the area of Komárno with the settlement environment of the Púchov culture in northern Slovakia. Its direction was given by the Váh river or its contributaries (*Kolníková/Kolník 2004*). Miniature coins similar to those in the hoard from Komárno were found at the neighbouring site of Komárom-Szőny (Kom. Komárom-Esztergom) in Hungary. They are deposited in the Hungarian National Museum in Budapest, the year of its discovery is 1910. The hoard includes a golden Boian 1/3 stater. The authors are considering existence of a Late La Tène mint in the territory of today's Komárno, where these miniature coins were minted shortly after the first half of the 1st c. BC (*Kolníková/Kolník 2004*, 15).

Another coin of the Veľký Bysterec type (Fig. 6: 1) comes from more recent excavations. It comes from feature 2/19 at the New Fortress site. The coin is a copper didrachm of the Veľký Bysterec type and weighs 5 g. It is another document of occurrence of these north Slovak coins in the south of Slovakia. They arrived there probably along the Váh trade route[8]. The fact that it consists of copper[9], might be associated with the fact that from the mid 2nd–1st c. BC mints dealt with minting of silver, but golden and copper coins were minted in some regions as well (*Kolníková/Bakoš/Pauditš 2014*, 156).

Graphite

Interesting finds include a lump of raw graphite from the site of New Fortress, feature 1/2019. The feature's oval groundplan was detected in sector 1. The feature is associated with layer 3 (cultural layer

[8] We wish to thank PhDr. E. Kolníková, DrSc., for identification. Date of identification: 11. 4. 2019.

[9] According to identification by Mgr. M. Knoll, it is bronze with high proportion of copper and with admixture of tin.

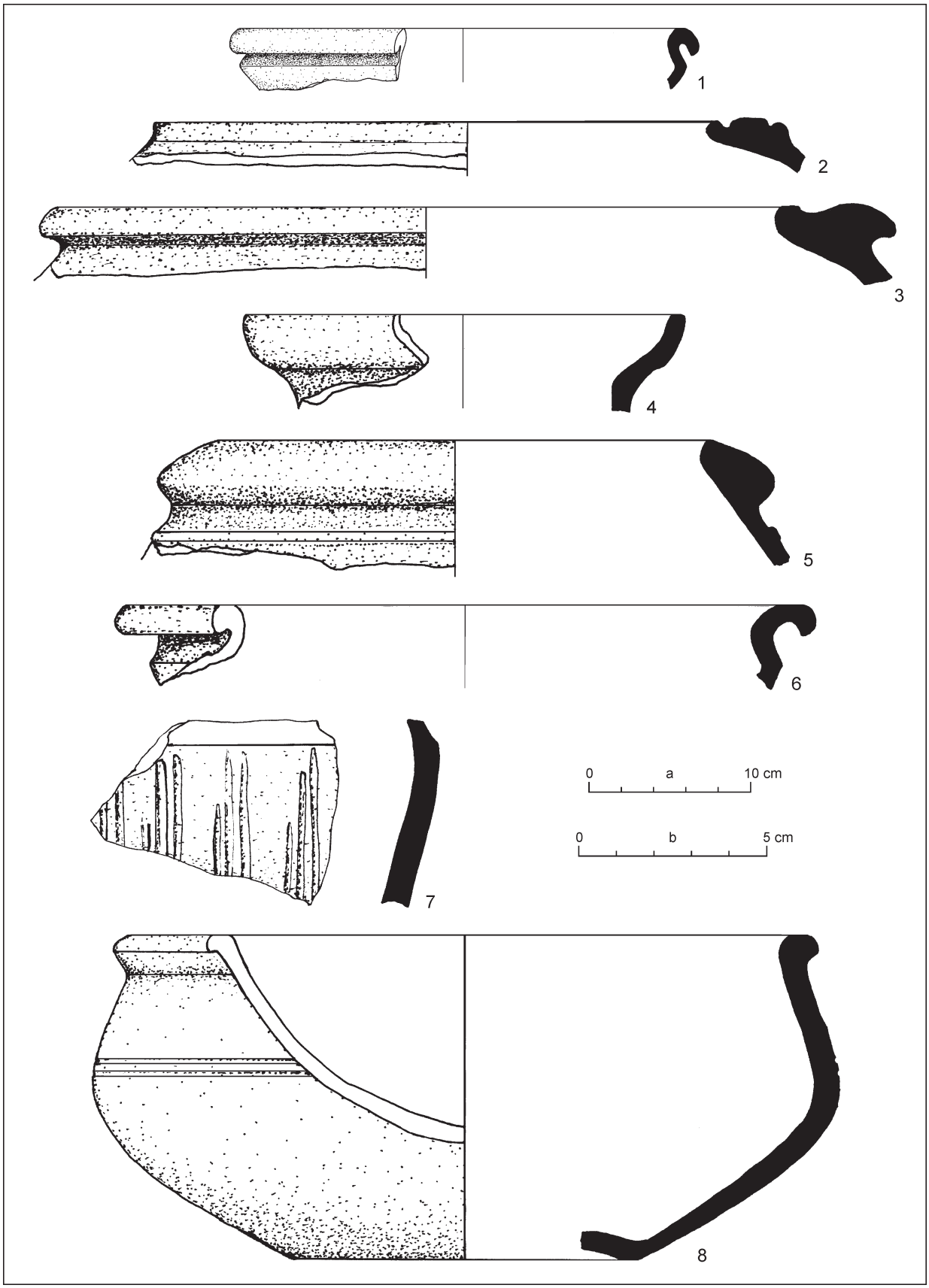
from the La Tène period). Inventory: pottery from the La Tène period, a bronze strap loop, a lump of graphite, daub. The graphite raw material was probably used at pottery production. It is also mentioned in the production feature from Anglia Park, however, more detailed material for verification of this find is absent. The importance of graphite in the La Tène period is dealt with in several studies which are summarized in a monograph by *D. Repka* (*2020*, 98–102).

FINAL REFLECTIONS

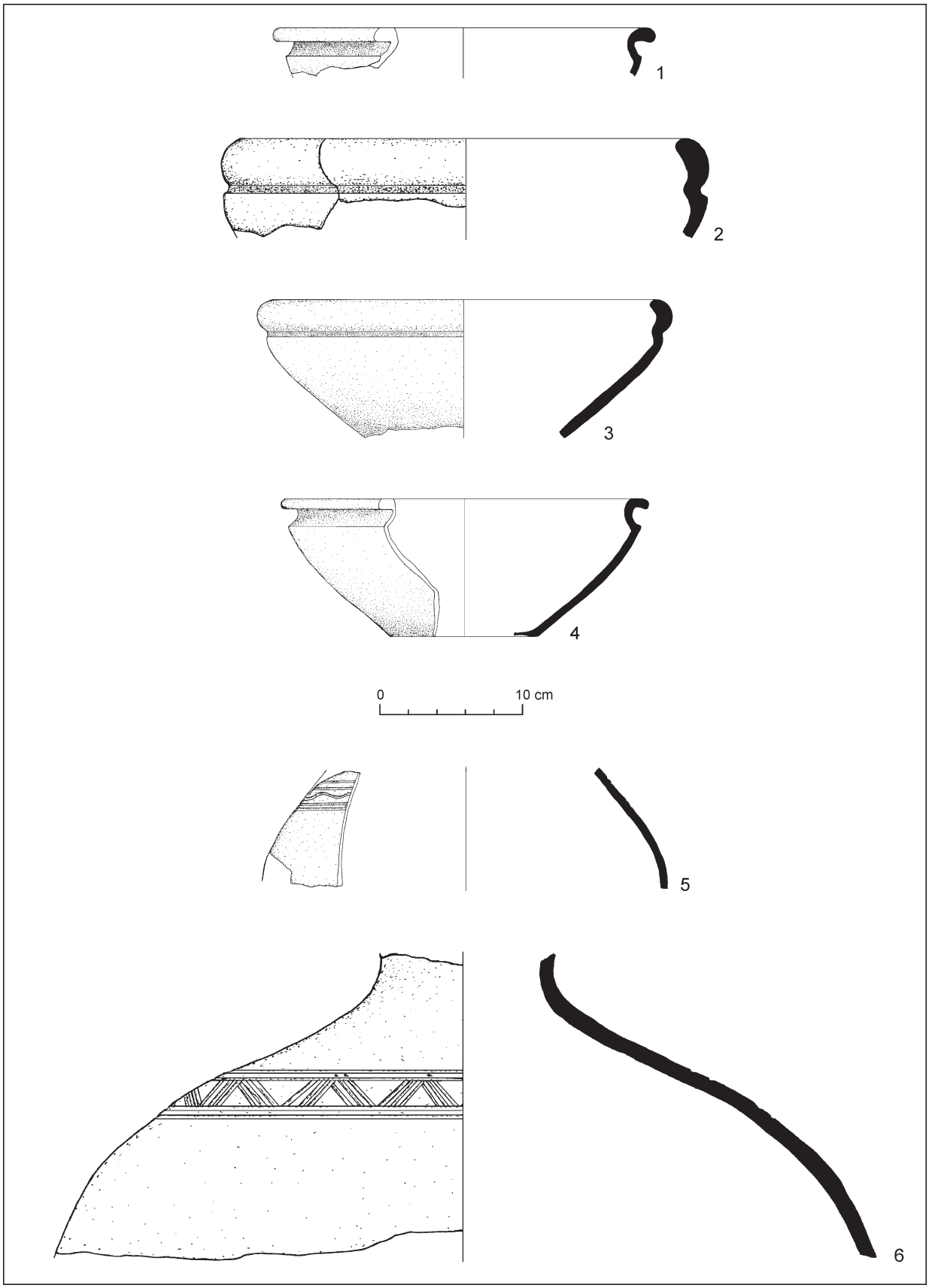
The aim of this article was to present sufficiently documented material of the settlement of Komárno at the end of the Middle and during the Late La Tène period. Despite the fact that systematic archaeological investigations focused on settlement in the La Tène period have not been caried out, we were able to summarize multiple evidence of the exceptional character of this strategical point in the south of Slovakia.

We follow from the fact that similarly to the importance of this place in building an anti-Turkish invasion fortress in the 16th –17 th c., it was very important for the local people in the La Tène period. Unfortunately, such intense earth works probably destroyed older settlement. In spite of this, even smaller rescue projects always confirm evidence of its existence. Settlement pits, massive layers with numerous material are the evidence that a large settlement, possibly a central settlement, must have been located in this area, with documents of production and of course with live contacts with the surrounding world. The favourable geographical location on the confluence of two great rivers – the Danube and Váh – helped Komárno to become a crucial strategical point. Features detected at individual sites in the town confirm existence of manufacture focused on metallurgy (New Fortress, Park Anglia) and pottery production (Nádvorie Európy square). We suppose that the vessels manufactured there travelled along the Váh route northwards and along the Danube route southwards and westwards by means of busy trade. These contacts are indirectly confirmed by finds of miniature artefacts, such as fasteners and coins, mainly two coins of the Veľký Bysterec type. Based on metal finds and pottery, the La Tène settlement in Komárno can be dated to the end of the 2nd and to the 1st c. BC. The quality and range of artefacts from the La Tène period confirm the assumed importance of the territory of Komárno in that period and possible presence of a Late La Tène centre. Special attention should be paid to the numerous Late La Tène painted goods which have multiple analogies at Late La Tène settlements of central character, such as Nitra (the sites of the castle and Mikov dvor), Šurany-Nitriansky Hrádok, Bratislava, Esztergom, Budapest. Functionality of pottery kilns is dated – also due to absence of thick, so-called Dacian, pottery – to LTC2/D1–D1. Probably identically, settlement existed at other sites too, but it survives as late as LTD2, or the turn of eras.

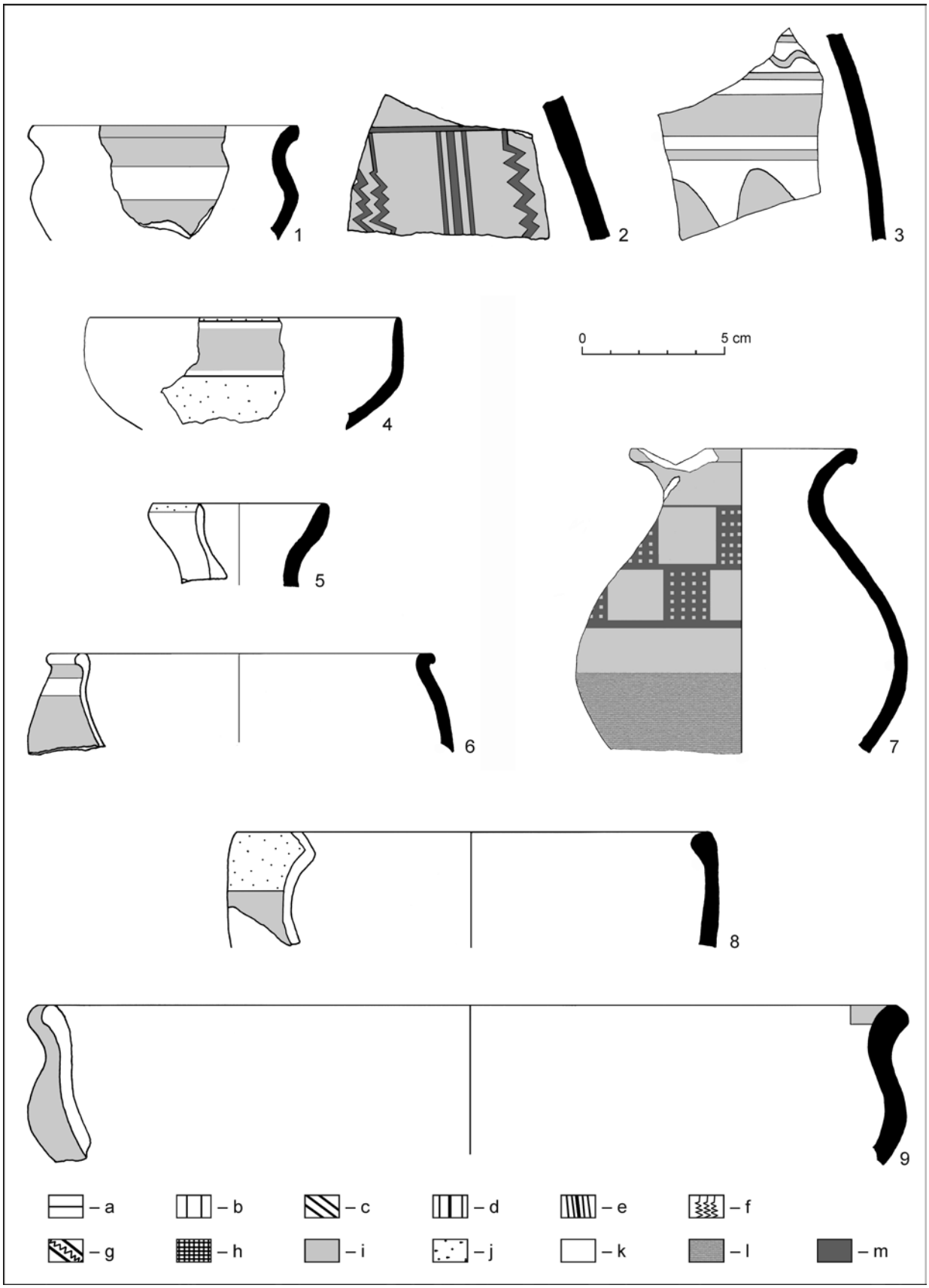
Several other interesting finds which could be associated with the settlement in Komárno in the Late La Tène period are contained in the collections of the Podunajské múzeum in Komárno. Unfortunately, their find contexts are absent. There is a fragment of a late type of a glass bracelet. Its colour is dark blue, almost black (*Gebhard 1989*). It is a Jezerine type brooch (*Lamiová-Schmiedlová 1961*, pl. XVIII: 3) whose origin must be searched for in the territory of Central Italy and the East Alpine Arc. The limit values of its dating are 20 BC–20 AD. It comes from Bratislava, Hlavné námestie 7 square (*Musilová/Lesák 1996*, pl. II: 3) and Michalská ulica street (*Vrtel 2009*, pl. 1: 6). As far as more extensive contacts with the Mediterranean territory are concerned, we must mention an interesting artefact mentioned at evaluation of Mediterranean imports from the oppidum in Třísov (*Kysela/Danielisová/Militký 2014*, 579). It is part of a bronze ladle, simpula, dated to the last third of the 2nd c. BC–third quarter of the 1st c. BC.



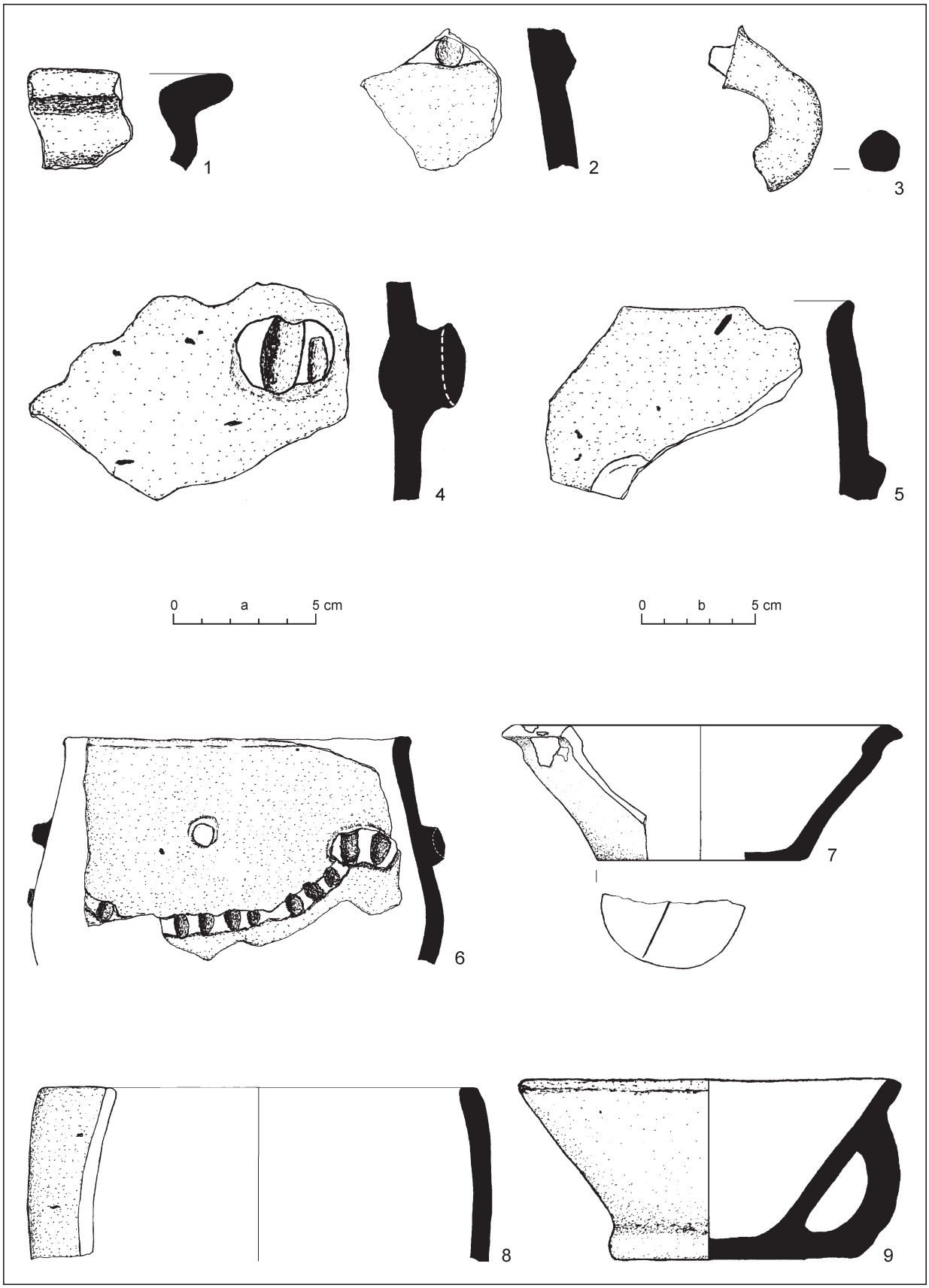
Pl. I. Komárno, New Fortress site, feature 2/19. Selected pottery. Scale: a – 1–3; b – 4–8.



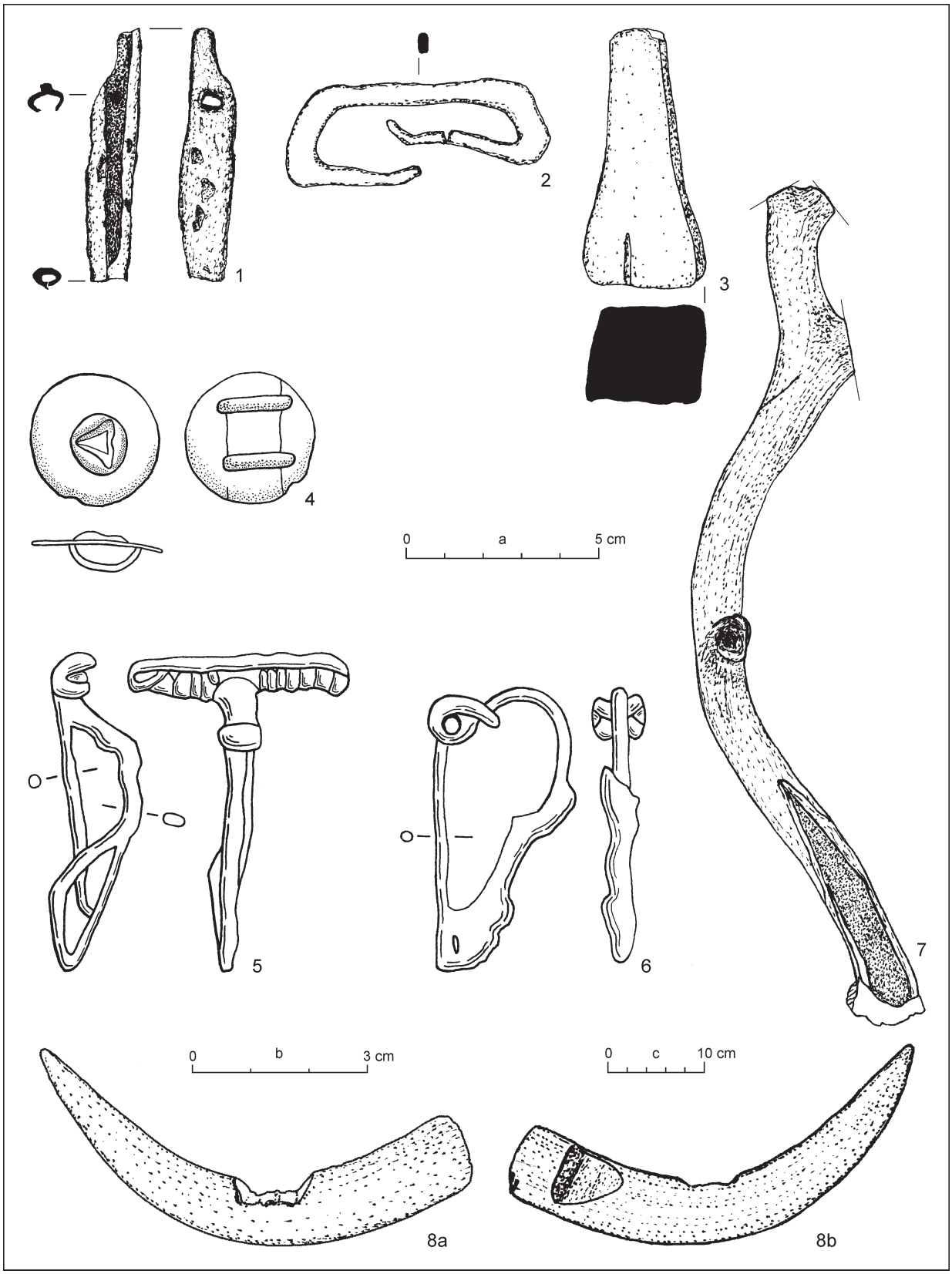
Pl. II. Komárno, Nádvorie Európy square site. Kiln 1. Selected pottery from the grate (2004).



Pl. III. Komárno, New Fortress site. Selected painted pottery. Legend: a–h – samples of decorative motifs; i–m – colour scale (i – red; j – no paint; k – white; l – brown; m – sepia pattern).



Pl. IV. Komárno. Selected Dacian pottery. 1–8 – New Fortress site, feature 2/19; 9 – Kossuthovo námestie square site, feature 107D/2011. Scale: a – 1–5; b – 6–9.



Pl. V. Komárno, New Fortress site. Miniature artefacts. 1 – iron socket (haft?), feature 2/19; 2 – iron strap loop, feature 2/19; 3 – whetstone, feature 2/19; 4 – bronze strap loop with triskeles, feature 1/19; 5 – iron brooch with multiple spring, feature 4/19; 6 – iron brooch, feature 4/19; 7 – antlers (semifinished product), feature 4/19; 8 – tooled antler artefact, feature 2/19. Scale: a – 1–3, 8; b – 4–6; c – 7.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bednár 2006 – P. Bednár: Záchranný archeologický výskum bývalého kláštora jezuitov v Komárne. *AVANS 2004*, 2006, 33–35.

Bednár/Březinová/Ptáčková 2005 – P. Bednár/G. Březinová/S. Ptáčková: Neskorolaténske osídlenie hradného návršia v Nitre. *Študijné zvesti AÚ SAV* 37, 2005, 115–185.

Bednár/Kvasnicová/Ratimorská 2005 – P. Bednár/M. Kvasnicová/P. Ratimorská: Komárno – bývalá rezidencia a kolégium jezuitov. Predbežná správa o výsledkoch archeologického a umelecko-historického výskumu. *Archaeologia historica* 30, 2005, 149–163.

Březinová 2007 – G. Březinová: Münzprägungbeweis in der latènzeitlichen Siedlung Nitra-Šindolka? *Slovenská numizmatika* 18, 2007, 31–40.

Březinová 2009 – G. Březinová: Neskorolaténske osídlenie Nitry. In: M. Karwowski/E. Droberjar (eds.): *Archeologia Barbarzyńców 2008. Powiązania i kontakty w świecie barbarzyńskim. Materiały z IV Protohistorycznej Konferencji Sanok, 13–17 października 2008*. Collectio Archaeologica Ressoviensis 13. Rzeszów 2009, 55–70.

Březinová 2010 – G. Březinová: Sídlisko z neskorolaténskej polohy Zámeček v Šuranoch, Nitrianskom Hrádku. In: J. Beljak/G. Březinová/V. Varsik (eds.): *Archeológia barbarov 2009. Hospodárstvo Germánov, sídliskové a ekonomické štruktúry od neskorej doby laténskej po včasný stredovek. Zborník referátov z 5. protohistorickej konferencie. Nitra 21.–25. septembra 2009.* Archaeologica Slovaca Monographiae. Communicationes 10. Nitra 2010, 113–130.

Březinová 2014 – G. Březinová: La Tène Bone and Antler Artefacts from Nitra. In: S. Berecki (ed.): *Iron Age Crafts and Craftsmen in the Carpathian Basin. Proceedings of the International Colloquium from Târgu Mureș, 10–13 October 2013*. Bibliotheca Mvsei Marisiensis. Seria Archaeologica 7. Cluj-Napoca 2014, 191–198.

Březinová/Katkin 2004 – G. Březinová/S. Katkin: Sídliskový objekt z neskorej doby laténskej v Nitre-Malom seminári. *Študijné zvesti AÚ SAV* 36, 2004, 115–176.

Březinová/Samuel 2007 – G. Březinová/M. Samuel a kolektív: *„Tak čo, našli ste niečo?" Svedectvo archeológie o minulosti Mostnej ulice v Nitre*. Nitra 2007.

Březinová/Ruttkay 2019 – G. Březinová/M. Ruttkay: A Late La Tène feature from Nitra-Svätoplukovo námestie square, Slovakia. In: P. C. Ramsl/K. Rebay-Salisbury/P. Trebsche (Hrsg.): *Schichtengeschichten. Festschrift für Otto H. Urban*. Universitätsforschungen zur Prähistorischen Archäologie 328. Bonn 2019, 163–173.

Čambal 2004 – R. Čambal: *Bratislavský hradný vrch – akropola neskorolaténskeho oppida*. Zborník SNM. Archeológia. Suplementum 1. Bratislava 2004.

Čambal et al. 2014 – R. Čambal/I. Bazovský/G. Březinová/B. Kovár/M. Karwowski: Problematika hrncov s tzv. „kyjovitým" okrajom zo záveru neskorej doby laténskej v stredodunajskom priestore. In: B. Komoróczy (ed.).: *Sociální diferenciace barbarských komunit ve světle nových hrobových, sídlištních a sběrových nálezů (Archeologie barbarů 2011)*. Spisy Archeologického ústavu AV ČR Brno 44. Brno 2014, 63–73.

Čambal/Gregor 2008 – R. Čambal/M. Gregor: Engoby a pigmenty neskorolaténskej keramiky z bratislavského oppida. *Zborník SNM* 102. *Archeológia* 18, 2008, 95–107.

Čambal/Kovár 2019 – R. Čambal/B. Kovár: Značky na nádobách z doby laténskej na príklade lokality Bratislava-Vydrica. In: I. Bazovský/G. Březinová (eds.): *Ľudia a hory – archeologická perspektíva. Interakcie ľudských spoločenstiev horských a podhorských oblastí západného Slovenska*. Zborník SNM. Archeológia. Suplementum 12. Bratislava – Nitra 2019, 179–188.

Čambal/Kovár/Hanuš 2012 – R. Čambal/B. Kovár/M. Hanuš: Typológia neskorolaténskej keramiky z Bratislavy-Vydrice. In: G. Březinová/V. Varsik (eds.): *Archeológia na prahu histórie. K životnému jubileu Karola Pietu*. Archaeologica Slovaca Monographiae. Communicationes 14. Nitra 2012, 117–136.

Čižmář/Čižmářová/Meduna 2018 – M. Čižmář/J. Čižmářová/J. Meduna: *Nemčice a Staré Hradisko. Spony – Němčice und Staré Hradisko. Fibeln*. Brno 2018.

Čižmář/Meduna 1985 – M. Čižmář/J. Meduna: Značky na dnech laténské keramiky na Moravě. *Památky archeologické* 76, 1985, 78–100.

Gebhard 1991 – R. Gebhard: *Die Fibeln aus dem Oppidum von Manching*. Stuttgart 1991.

Gere 2013 – M. Gere: Záchranný archeologický výskum Komárno-„Nová pevnosť". *Iuxta Danubium* 15, 2013, 87–108.

Gere 2017 – M. Gere: Značky na dnách grafitových nádob z doby laténskej v zbierke Podunajského múzea v Komárne. In: A. Csuthy/P. Vanya (eds.): *Mérföldkövek – Míľniky 2015–2017*. Komárno 2017, 100–107.

Gere/Gereová 2019 – M. Gere/M. Gereová: *Komárno-Nová pevnosť, okres Komárno. „Novostavba schodiska do suterénu Kasárne z exteriéru"*. Komárno 2019. Výskumná dokumentácia. Archív Podunajského múzea Komárno 3/19. Unpublished.

Hajnalová 2002 –E. Hajnalová: Rastlinné makrozvyšky analyzované v roku 2001. *AVANS 2001*, 2002, 55–58.

Hrnčiarik 2019 – E. Hrnčiarik: La Tène bone and antler artefacts from Bratislava Zlaté Piesky. In: N. Beljak Pažinová/D. Repka (red.): *Sedem kruhov Jozefa Bujnu*. Studia Historica Nitriensia 23. Supplementum 2. Nitra 2019, 449–456. DOI: https://doi.org/10.17846/SHN.2019.23.S.449-456

Hunka/Kolníková 1994 – J. Hunka/E. Kolníková: *Nálezy mincí na Slovensku IV*. Nitra 1994.

Illášová 2000 – Ľ. Illášová: Steinartefakte aus der latènezeitliche Siedlung in Nitra-Šindolka. In: G. Březinová: *Nitra-Šindolka. Siedlung aus der Latènzeit. Katalog*. Archaeologie Slovaca Monographie. Catalogi 8. Nitra – Bratislava 2000, 335–338.

Jelínek/Straková/Benková 2010 – P. Jelínek/L. Straková/M. Benková: *Komárno, okres Komárno „Stará pevnosť"*. Komárno 2010. Výskumná dokumentácia. Slovenský archeologický a historický inštitút – SAHI o. z. Bratislava 2010. Archív Krajského pamiatkového úradu Nitra KN/T-0009. Unpublished.

Jelínek/Teslíková/Gere 2011 – P. Jelínek/T. Teslíková/M. Gere: *Revitalizácia centrálnej mestskej časti – Kossuthovo námestie*. Komárno 2011. Výskumná dokumentácia. Slovenský archeologický a historický inštitút – SAHI o. z. Bratislava 2011. Archív Krajského pamiatkového úradu Nitra KN/T-0058. Unpublished.

Kappel 1969 – I. Kappel: *Die Graphittonkeramik von Manching*. Die Ausgrabungen in Manching 2. Wiesbaden 1969.

Kolníková 2012 – E. Kolníková: K technike a technológii v keltskom mincovníctve – nálezy zo Slovenska. *Numismatický sborník* 26, 2012, 31–57.

Kolníková/Bakos/Pauditš 2018 – E. Kolníková/F. Bakos/P. Pauditš: Zdroje kovu v keltských mincovniach na Slovensku. *Zborník SNM* 112. *Archeológia* 28, 2018, 141–304.

Kolníková/Kolník 2004 – E. Kolníková/T. Kolník: Mince a spony – depot z neskorolaténskeho hradiska Rochovica pri Žiline (numizmaticko-archeologické súvislosti). *Slovenská archeológia* 52, 2004, 1–35.

Koštial 2004 – J. Koštial: *Komárno – Nádvorie Európy. Technologická a funkčná analýza komplexu hrnčiarskych pecí z doby laténskej*. Diplomová práca. Univerzita Konštantína Filozofa v Nitre. Filozofická fakulta. Katedra archeológie. Nitra 2004. Online available at: https://www.academia.edu/6957507/Kom%C3%A1rno_N%C3%A1dvorie_Eur%C3%B3py._Technologick%C3%A1_a_funk%C4%8Dn%C3%A1_anal%C3%BDza_komplexu_hrn%C4%8Diarskych_pec%C3%AD_z_doby_lat%C3%A9nskej._Nitra_2004

Koštial 2021 – J. Koštial: *Komárno, Nádvorie Európy*. Komárno 2021. Výskumná dokumentácia. In prepare.

Kysela/Danielisová/Militký 2014 – J. Kysela/A. Danielisová/J. Militký: Středomorské importy z oppida Třísov. Nálezy z povrchové prospekce s detektory kovů v letech 2007–2013. *Archeologické rozhledy* 66, 2014, 567–608.

Lamiová-Schmiedlová 1961 – M. Lamiová-Schmiedlová: Spony z doby rímskej na Slovensku. *Študijné zvesti AÚ SAV* 5, 1961, 7–142.

Mangel/Thér 2018 – T. Mangel/R. Thér: *Laténské hrnčířské pece ve střední Evropě*. Hradec Králové 2018.

Miklós/Hrnčiarová 2002 – L. Miklós/T. Hrnčiarová (eds.): *Atlas krajiny Slovenskej republiky*. Bratislava – Banská Bystrica 2002.

Musilová/Lesák 1996 – M. Musilová/B. Lesák: Neskorolaténske osídlenie na Hlavnom námestí č. 7. v Bratislave. *Zborník SNM* 90. *Archeológia* 6, 1996, 87–105.

Pieta 2008 – K. Pieta: *Keltské osídlenie Slovenska. Mladšia doba laténska*. Archaeologica Slovaca Monographiae. Studia 11. Nitra 2008.

Pieta/Zachar 1993 – K. Pieta/L. Zachar: Mladšia doba železná (laténska). In: T. Štefanovičová (zost.): *Najstaršie dejiny Bratislavy*. Bratislava 1993, 143–209.

Ratimorská 1980 – P. Ratimorská: Archeologické prieskumy a nálezy v okrese Komárno. *AVANS 1978*, 1980, 226–228.

Ratimorská 1983 – P. Ratimorská: Záchranné výskumy a prieskumy v okrese Komárno. *AVANS 1982*, 1983, 211–214.

Repka 2020 – D. Repka. *Laténska keramika ako predmet štúdia*. Vysokoškolská učebnica. Nitra 2020.

*Schönfelder 200*2 – M. Schönfelder: *Das spätkeltische Wagengrab von Boé (Dép. Lot-et Garonne). Studien zu Wagen und Wagengräbern der jüngeren Latènezeit*. Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum. Monographien 54. Mainz 2002.

Varjú 2009 – Z. Varjú: *Inžinierske siete ústrednej pevnosti – Vodovod a kanalizácia – IG prieskum*. Správa z geologického prieskumu areálu pevnosti. Komárno 2009. Mestský úrad Komárno. Unpublished.

Venclová 2016 – N. Venclová: *Němčice and Staré Hradisko. Iron Age Glass and Glass–working in Central Europa*. Praha 2016.

Vrtel 2009 – A. Vrtel: *Neskorolaténske oppidum v Bratislave – remeselná výroba, výmena a obchod*. Dizertačná práca. Archeologický ústav Slovenskej akadémie vied. Nitra 2009. Unpublished.

Žernožičková 2017 – I. Žernožičková: Late La Tène painted pottery decoration from the oppidum of Staré Hradisko. In: J. Kysela/A. Danielisová/J. Militký (eds.): *Stories that Made the Iron Age. Studies in Iron Age Archaeology dedicated to Natalie Venclová*. Prague 2017, 223–241.

Manuscript accepted 3. 6. 2021

Translated by Viera Tejbusová

doc. PhDr. Gertrúda Březinová, CSc.
Archeologický ústav SAV
Akademická 2
SK – 949 21 Nitra
gertruda.brezinova@savba.sk

Mgr. Marek Gere
Podunajské múzeum v Komárne
Palatínova 13
SK – 945 05 Komárno
marek.gere@gmail.com

SLOVENSKÁ ARCHEOLÓGIA – SUPPLEMENTUM 2
Z. Robak/M. Ruttkay (eds.): Celts – Germans – Slavs.
A Tribute Anthology to Karol Pieta. Nitra 2021, 167–178.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.31577/slovarch.2021.suppl.2.15

SPECIAL FEATURES FROM CSEPEL ISLAND

Reliquiae of the Celtic Red Deer Cult at the Vicinity of Budapest

ATTILA HORVÁTH M. – ERZSÉBET HANNY

During the excavations prior to the building of the M0 motorway in Hungary between 1988 and 1989 remains of various cultures were unearthed on the almost 2,500 m² site of Szigetszentmiklós-Üdülősor, among others a late Celtic rural settlement. Further excavations in 2008 and 2010 revealed additional parts of the settlement. From one of the features came an enormous deer antler with some ceramic fragments. This feature was largely similar to the one excavated in 1989, also containing an antler. Both were found on the area of the waterside settlement. For sure these findings can be connected to the Celtic cultural cycle, in which the red deer and the roe were regarded as sacred. Although the original Celtic names are unknown and they are not recorded until the late Celtic era, based on the Graeco-Roman inscriptions one can safely assume these findings were offerings to the Celtic deer god.

Keywords: Hungary, Late La Tène Period, settlement, red-deer antlers, ceremonies, *Cernunnos*.

During the excavations prior to the building of the M0 motorway around Budapest, some 250 features of various ages were unearthed in Szigetszentmiklós-Üdülősor between 1988 and 1989 by archaeologists of the Budapest History Museum led by Anna Endrődi. On the almost 2,500 m² site remains of various cultures living here from the middle Copper Age to the Árpád age were found.

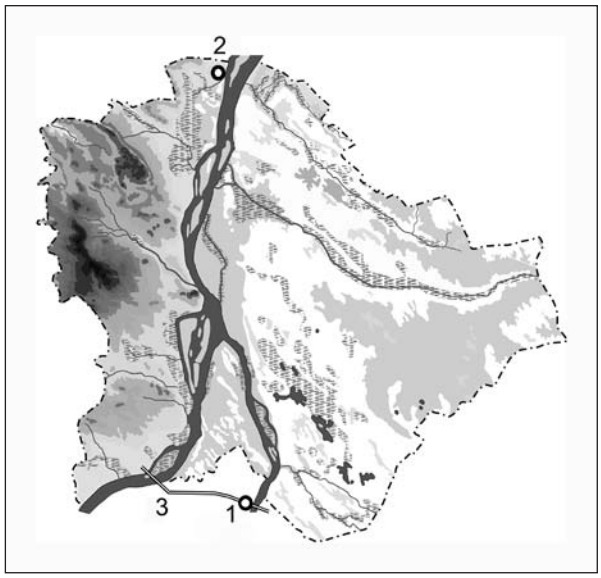


Fig. 1. Palaeohydrography of the Danube in the area of Budapest and the location of Celtic sites with antlers. 1 – Szigetszentmiklós-Üdülősor; 2 – Budapest III, Királyok útja 291–293; 3 – section of the M0 Motorway on Csepel Island (computer graphics by A. Horváth M.).

The archaeological site lies some 100 m from the Soroksár Danube branch on a onetime island that emerged from the floodplain, 3 km outside the administrative border of Budapest (Fig. 1: 1). The surface of Csepel Island was formed by the erosion and accumulation of the Danube, and also deflation by wind, although on a smaller scale. During the Holocene the Danube flown in several branches which developed the low and high floodplain levels. Most archaeological sites here lie some 96–103 m a.s.l. Their surface is covered with calcareous mud, while meanders are filled with denser sediments (mud, clay). Both surfaces can be covered, due to more arid periods, by sand or even small mounds (*Schweitzer 1992*, 9–13).

The excavation of the late Celtic partial settlement, found in Szigetszentmiklós-Üdülősor was published by *Erzsébet Hanny* (*1992*).

Exactly twenty years later during the expansion of the M0 motorway in 2008, new excavations began on the site conducted by Attila Horváth M. and Anna Endrődi, with the contribution of Eszter Kovács†. Three phases of excavations were conducted south to the already existing motorway and the bridge arching over the Danube branch, on some 17,000 m² area between 2008 and 2010. A total of 1,458 units were unearthed with findings largely similar to the previously found ones (*Endrődi/Horváth 2009*, 150–166; *Endrődi/Horváth/Kovács 2011*, 139–150).

[1] Results of the excavations were published by *Havassy/Selmeczi 1992*.

A new section of the previously excavated late Celtic waterfront settlement also came to light. A total of 155 units belonging to the settlement can be dated to the La Tène D2 period (late 1st c. BCE; *Hanny 1992*, 254) excavated in 1988–1989, 2008 and 2010.

Celtic findings mostly came to light on areas near the Danube or the present Üdülősor road, both in 2008 and 2010. Units found in the thick flood layer were mostly storage or garbage pits, from which findings similar to the previous excavations were unearthed. Fragments of fine textured, well-levigated wheel thrown vessels, tempered with fine-grained sand, in gray, beige and orange colours (the latter, the so-called *oppidum* pottery, was coated with a red or red-and-white painted decoration), situlae with combed decoration usually tempered with gritty sand or gritted mica and occasionally with graphite and fragments of great storage vessels were also found in the features. According to this findings both of the pits can be clearly dated to the La Tène D2 period.

Beside the pits unearthed on the site, traditional semi subterranean houses, one edifice identified as roofed storage pit (*Hanny 1992*, 248–250, 254), remains of a house with cellar (SE 403/2008), a house filled with iron slag indicating metalworking (SE 1–3; 10/2008) and a workshop with external furnaces were also found (*Endrődi/Horváth 2009*, 160, fig. 6). As significant as they are, however, the most important right now are two pits uncovered in 1989 and 2008 respectively.

The 202–201/1989 pit structure (Pl. I: 1).

Together they are 160 cm long, 110–60–95 cm wide, 40–50 cm deep, oriented in an E–W direction. The filling from the upper 15 cm was yellow with wattle and daub with black humus below that. The straight bottom was covered with clay mixed with ash. From the layer above that came fragments of grey and dark grey wheel thrown bowls, a spindle weight made from the bottom of a similar vessel, pieces of liquefied slag, a small lump of graphite and a red deer antler (Pl. II: 1; *Hanny 1992*, 247, pl. 4; 10; 16).

Pit 1090/2010 (Pl. I: 2; II: 2, 3).

Diam. 100 cm; depth 57 cm; 99,6 m a.s.l., 25 cm below today's surface. During the demolition there were fragments of fine textured, well-levigated wheel thrown vessels, tempered with fine-grained sand, in gray, beige (Pl. III: 1–5; IV: 3), and orange colours in the pit. The latter, the so-called *oppidum* pottery, was coated with red or red and white painted decoration. (Pl. IV: 1) There were rough pottery in the pit as well. These situlae with combed decoration were formed of roughly kneaded clay, usually tempered with gritty sand or gritted mica and occasionally with graphite (Pl. III: 6–11). Besides, a stone, a loom weight and many wattle and daub fragments were excavated. The red deer antler was laid on the side fragment of a large storage vessel (Pl. II: 2, 3; III: 12)[2] on the thick bottom layer of the pit, mixed with charcoal, ash and daub (*Endrődi/Horváth 2011*, 145–147, fig. 9). The findings from both of the pits can be dated to the La Tène D2 period.

As of now we have limited knowledge regarding Celtic rituals, however based on the excavated units we believe the antlers' presence and placement are somehow connected to some ceremony. In both cases there were charcoal and ash mixed in the bottom layers of the pits although no signs of fire were found. The antlers laid on this layer were not naturally shed, but taken from a sacrificed animal with a piece of the skull with almost all certainty. A similar phenomenon can be observed on Szigetszentmiklós-Üdülősor in the case of unit 1076/2010, which also had a carcass of a swine without skull and limbs laid on a thick bottom layer mixed with charcoal and daub, together with various ceramic fragments dating to the La Tène D2 period (*Endrődi/Horváth 2009*, 146, 147, fig. 10).

These ritually buried antlers are by no means unique, however, in the Celtic cultural cycle. Remains of the red deer cult with western origin can be found in many places of the country, mainly at burial sites but also in settlements. Whole animal burials are more common in Western Hungary sites, such as Keszthely-Fenékpuszta (*Müller/Sugár 2001*, 43–45), Balatonőszöd-Temetői dűlő (*Horváth 2019*, 121–125) and Tihany-Óvár (*Regenye 2004*, 189, 190). However, different rites can also be found on the sites mentioned above. For example, Judit Regenye found a whole, although shed antler similar to Szigentszentmilós (Pl. V: 4), next to a pit containing a dismembered carcass of a red deer (*Regenye 2004*, 189, 190, fig. 7; 8)

A really close parallel to Szigetszentmikós, however, can be found in the vicinity of Budapest. Ildikó Poroszlai unearthed a similar shed antler during the excavations of Százhalombatta-Földvár (Pl. V: 1). The pit bottom was plastered with yellow clay and the antler was laid on the top if it. There are no information regarding the filling or signs of fire. During the excavation only two La Tène D fragment was found (*Poroszlai 2003*, 207).[3]

Partial antler burials are also not uncommon, however. This phenomenon can also be found on the previously mentioned Sopron-Krautacker (*Jerem 2003*, 545–549), Balatonőszöd-Temetői dűlő (*Horváth*

[2] The storage vessel fragment is 65 cm long, 23–27 cm wide and 1.6 cm thick. The antler is 83 cm long.

[3] Information and photography courtesy of Magdolna Vincze and Gabriella Németh, Matrica Museum, Százhalombatta. Findings will be published by Gabriella Németh in place of the late Ildikó Poroszlai.

2019, 119, 121) and Tihany-Óvár sites (*Regenye 2004*, 189, 190, fig. 7: 7). Several animal skulls found in Sopron-Krautacker was published by Erzsébet Jerem and points out a particular red deer frontal bone found in unit 228 (*Jerem 2003*, 549, footnote 13). László Bartosiewicz also points out similar findings from Sajópetri-Hosszú dűlő, which as of now the easternmost occurrence of the LaTène red deer findings (*Bartosiewicz 2007*, 292, 295).

Partial red deer antler findings were also recovered from Budapest III, Királyok útja (Fig. 1: 2), Békásmegyer, at the Danube riverbank (Pl. V: 2, 3).[4] They were found on two adjacent lots and in both cases the antlers were laid on the pit bottom plastered with clay. No signs of fire were found although in the case of unit 293/45 next to the orderly arranged antlers of a gigantic stag, the metacarpus of a cattle was laid in the pit, which indicates ritualistic nature and it cannot be associated with craft activities (Pl. V: 3).

Animals sacrificed during the funerals or animal bones found in sacrificial pits in the settlement (swine, dogs, horses, cattle, poultry, rarely red deer), occasional ritualistic burials of humans or human body parts is a known phenomenon in the Celtic cultural cycle.

A standalone find from Sopron-Krautacker is a partial red deer antler from a human burial (*Jerem 2003*, 545) However, during the excavation of Celtic sanctuaries in Pákozd-Keltaforrás (*Petres 1972*) and Roseldorf (*Holzer 2008*, 128, 131; *2015*, 141, fig. 4) sites, among others, archaeologists registered signs of human sacrifices beside animal offerings.

Beside dwellings and farm buildings on the large settlement, archaeologists managed to isolate three simultaneously used cultic areas in Roseldorf-Sandberg site, Upper Austria. They found two larger and five smaller square shaped sanctuaries surrounded by sacrificial trenches, and a large sacrificial pit was also excavated.

These sanctuaries can be dated mostly to the early and middle La Tène period, and as it seems they were used in cults of gods connected to various jewellery, tools or weapons, or various species of animals. Based on the numerous horse bones and tacks excavated around the second large sanctuary (feature 30) the unit can be connected to the cult of the goddess Epona (*Holzer 2014*, 126–129).

Beside the human remains and large amount of animal bones excavated from the sacrificial trench of the first large sanctuary (feature 1), two really significant findings need to be mentioned. One is the druid crown made of iron straps and the second is a red deer antler modified for ceremonial purposes by removing the skull, formed into a prism and drilled through in order to fasten it to the statue of the deer god (Pl. V: 8; *Holzer 2009a*, 175–178, fig. 4–11).

The first large sanctuary is reconstructed in the museum of Asparn an der Zaya in Lower Austria (*Lauermann 2009*), where the sanctuary statue that later became known as *Cernunnos* (Pl. VI: 3) was created based on the deer god depiction on the Gundestrup cauldron (Pl. VI: 2) and the wooden statues (Pl. VI: 4) found in a well excavated in Fellbach-Schmieden, Baden-Würtenberg (*Martin-Kilchner 2007*, 36, 37, fig. 3).

Considering the pits with red deer antlers found in Szigetszentmiklós, as mentioned above, they are not rare in the Carpathian Basin. According to our current knowledge their easternmost occurrence can be found in Sajóperi (*Szabó 2007*) and in Čurug, Vojvodina (*Trifunović 2014*). It seems they cannot be found on the Great Hungarian Plains or Transylvania. László Bartosiewicz interprets the antler remains as bone processing and possible dietary supplements, namely the consumption of hunted animals, based on the bone findings from Sajópetri. The only exception is the skull fragment which he connects, although reluctantly, to the Celtic red deer cult, also present in Transdanubia (*Bartosiewicz 2007*, 295, 296, fig. 85).

The La Tène D ceramic assembly from the pits found in Szigetszentmiklós clearly dates the units and the settlement, and puts them in the corresponding cultural cycle, even so if the investigation of the surrounding area is ignored, although painted ceramic fragments sometimes marked with gemma-shaped seal, typical in oppidiums are present as stray finds. Description of the findings and position of the antlers have already been mentioned above. It's worth mentioning that on other, also unfortified settlements, fragments of late black painted and red-white striped ceramics are present likewise (*Trifunović 2014*, fig. 12).

The settlement in Szigetszentmiklós is open, rural and close to water (*Hanny 2017*; *Maráz 2011*), with an animal offering that is typical to the Celtic faith. Many parallels can be found in Hungary and also abroad (*Horváth 2019*, 125, 126). The most conspicuous in this assembly are the pits themselves. Their bottom is plastered with burnt pieces of daub, mixed with ash and charcoal remains, although none of the bottoms are burnt through and atypical to the ordinary garbage pits. The antlers are whole, although not in pairs. It's almost certain they were not put to

[4] Information and photography courtesy of Gábor Szilas, Budapest History Museum, Department of Prehistory and Migration Period.

the pits as waste from a workshop. Based on their sheer sizes they could very well be hunting trophies.

That's not the case now, however. The findings are so called sacrificial pits, the antlers are not trophies but votive gifts, together with the vessel fragments, to a celestial being known mostly from the western Celtic culture. The Hercuniates tribe, the Taurisci and the Boii are both mentioned in this regard (*Szabó/Borhy 2015*, 57, 58). Mostly they are believed to have Gaulic origin and connected to a certain god. It's original Celtic name is unknown, but based on Titus Livius, Tacitus and others, also on Latin inscriptions, such as the Nautae Parisiaci relief it's regarded as *Cernunnos* (Pl. VI: 7; *Hatt 1980*, 69, fig. 9).

It can be found on cauldrons, stelae and stone monuments, always the same but always a bit different. A typical attribute of its depictions is the posture, which usually is regarded as the 'Buddha sitting', but can be described as a figure sitting with crossed legs, raised hands and elbows. Jan Filip noticed this unusual sitting position in the 60s and connected the hoofed figure wearing a torques from Bouray with the 'deer god' (Pl. VI: 5; 1st to 2nd c. BCE; *Baigl/Vernou 2001–2002*, fig. 10; *Filip 1963*, 200).[5]

The figure either holds something in their hand or not, has beard or not, but always has headdress resembling antlers, sometimes combined with a helmet and always wears a torques which is the attribute of its godhood or lordship. This is sometimes in its right hand, sometimes on the antlers, sometimes around the neck.

Comparing the depictions this torques is twisted with a globular end, a massive metal object presumably made of gold. On the depictions it can appear with a boar, bull, dog, snake and red deer (Pl. VI: 2, 9; Gundestrup cauldron, Reims relief), as the 'lord of the beasts', the giver of fertility and wealth, a vegetation god with a natural connection to solstice, life and death (*Hainzmann 2012*; *Pointrenaud 2014*, 1–6). Fertility, good harvest, the death and revival and nature, however, often connected to the same god in other European cultures.

Cernunnos is already identified as Jupiter, Apollon or even Diana in the 1st c. CE. In the Hellenic world it is known as *Karnonos* or *Kernunnus*, the Dacians call it *Juppiter Cernenus*; these are showing the syncretism of the Graeco-Roman world (*Guštin 2006*, 125–127).

According to Miklós Szabó, the underworld can also be connected to it, based on the ram headed snakes in its left hand on the depictions (Gundestrup). These two-faced attributes should be examined as whether the findings came from a settlement or a cemetery (*Szabó 2005*, 98).

Erzsébet Jerem connects these pits found in open settlements along rivers to fertility rites, be it in South England, France or Hungary. Although the systematic publication of Celtic religious beliefs in Hungary leaves much to be desired, some attempts were made to interpret the findings (e.g. *Horváth 2019*, 126, 127; *Jerem 2003*, 556). Foreign research tried the same as well (e.g. *Holzer 2014*, 129, fig. 11: 8; *Martin-Kilcher 2007*).

One would presume that rites and beliefs connected to *Cernunnos* were brought by romanized Gaul soldiers serving in Roman legions, originally coming from Gallia province, however, signs of the red deer cult already appearing in the La Tène C period. Moreover, it seems based on the findings from Western Hungary (Sopron-Krautacker) that a certain form of the cult is already present in the La Tène B2 period, and became demonstrably more popular in the La Tène D period (*Jerem 2003*, 545–548; *Regenye 2004*, 189; 190).

Beside the partial sacrificial pits only containing antlers, the tradition of burying the whole animal is also present (*Horváth 2019*). However, this tradition cannot be traced back to previous times and undoubtedly can be dated to the La Tène D period.

Taking these facts into account we can presume that the cult of *Cernunnos* that originates from Gallia merged with an already existing and similar system of beliefs here in the Carpathian Basin, which also regarded red deer and roe deer as symbols of fertility and rebirth.

There are no soldiers buried in Szigetszentmiklós, not even a cemetery. The settlement came into being roughly around the end of the 1st c. BCE and exists even in the 1st c. CE. They practiced some kind of a fertility cult connected to their old beliefs and only the newcomers, the Romanized or Roman historiographers, travellers who has some knowledge of the Celtic peoples connects these rites with the multifunctional Gaul *Cernunnos*, sometimes during the 1st or 2nd c. CE. Most of the written sources and depictions can be dated to the Romanized period, mostly to the time of Traianus.

There is no zoological classification in place for the antlers found in Szigetszentmiklós, however, based on other excavations we know that specimens, mostly young stags were hunted down during fall (*Bartosiewicz 2004*, 203).

In agreement with Peter-Röcher we can safely state that there were no *Cernunnos* depictions on the sites cited above. Anthropomorphic depictions of

[5] A hoofed god wearing a torques can also be seen on a Gallo-Roman statue in Angoulême with a small deer resting on its lap (Museé des Beux-Arts, Verteuil-sur-Charente; see *Baigl/Vernou 2001–2002*).

the 'Lord of the beasts', the 'Deer god', the cycle of nature and seasons only appeared after the Roman conquest. Every depiction is from after the 2nd c. CE. The name itself is only known from Latin sources, from after the conquest (*Peter-Röcher 2012–2013*, 195, 196).

We have made the mistake trying to reconstruct beliefs of older times from newer depictions and sources. These have its own downsides but at the moment we have no better option.

We can also determine that the Celts, if we accept this name as an overall denomination, had no pantheon or even standard gods with strictly assigned roles. They believed in tribal gods (*Szabó 1971*, 60) which strongly connected families and clans. The deer or the ritualistic burial of antlers, the worship of a fertility and underworld god named after the Roman conquest is mainly present in the Gaul/Celtic area and we can safely say it spreads eastward from there.

However, we can also state if we take a look at the map that sacrificial deer findings are not always dependent on the presence of Western Celtic people. They occur earlier in the Carpathian Basin and can be found from the La Tène B2 period. This suggests that red deer and antler burials are evidences of religious beliefs brought here by a certain group of people, but also results of old traditions relying on local principles.[6]

The already present populace of Celtic origin, which also connected the red deer or roe deer to fertility and cyclic renewal easily adopted and accepted the named god of Graeco-Roman practice.

The cult of the red deer, and the depiction of the entity with horns and hooves or sometimes with snakes can be traced from the early Bronze Age all through the Middle Ages to early modern history in various religious beliefs. This entity, which symbolises fertility and also the cycle of life and death through the seasonal rebirth of nature, went through a change of function by Romanisation and the spread of Christianity. It's possible that the traditional depiction of Evil in the European cultural cycle was heavily influenced by the depictions of the west Celtic *Cernunnos*, which seeped into the Christian iconography by Roman globalisation.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Baigl/Vernou 2001–2002 – J-P. Baigl/C. Vernou: Un nouveau Cernunnos découvert en Charente. *Aquitania. Revue interrégionale d'archéologie* 18, 2001–2002, 7–28.

Bartosiewicz 2004 – L. Bartosiewicz: A Tihany-Óváron feltárt szarvascsontváz előzetes vizsgálata. In: E. Gy. Nagy/J. Dani/Zs. Hajdú (szerk.): *ΜΩΜΟΣ II. Őskoros Kutatók II. Összejövetelének konferenciakötete. Debrecen, 2000. november 6–8*. Debrecen 2004, 201–208.

Bartosiewicz 2007 – L. Bartosiewicz: Ossements animaux. In: M. Szabó (dir.): *L'habitat de l'époque de La Tène à Sajópetri Hosszú-dűlő.* Budapest 2007, 285–306.

Bober 1951 – P. F. Bober: Cernunnos: Origin and Transformation of a Celtic Divinity. *American Journal of Archaeoloy* 55, 1951, 13–51.

Endrődi/Horváth 2009 – A. Endrődi/A. Horváth M.: Régészeti kutatások Szigetszentmiklós-Üdülősoron, az M0 autópálya nyomvonalán – Archaeological investigations at Szigetszentmiklós-Üdülősor in the path of the M0 motorway. *Aquincumi Füzetek* 15. *A BTM Aquincumi Múzeumának ásatásai 2008-ban – Excavations at the Aquincum Museum in 2008*, 2009, 150–166.

Endrődi/Horváth/Kovács 2011 – A. Endrődi/A. Horváth M./E. Kovács: Újabb kutatások Szigetszentmiklós-Üdülősoron, az M0 autópálya nyomvonalán. – Recent investigations at Szigetszentmiklós-Üdülősor along the path of the M0 motorway. *Aquincumi Füzetek* 17. *A Budapesti Történeti Múzeum ásatásai 2010-ben – Excavations at the Budapest History Museum in 2010*, 2011, 139–150.

Filip 1966 – J. Filip: *A kelta civilizáció és öröksége*. Budapest 1966.

Guštin 2006 – M. Guštin: Zu einigen Figuralmotiven im Gebiet der Taurisker. In: W.-R. Teegen/R. Cordie/O. Dörrer/S. Rieckhoff/H. Steuer (Hrsg.): *Studien zur Lebenswelt der Eisenzeit. Festschrift für Rosemarie Müller*. Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde 52. Berlin – New York 2006, 115–131.

Hainzmann 2012 – M. Hainzmann: Cernunnos. In: S. Sievers/O. H. Urban/P. C. Ramsl (Hrsg.): *Lexikon zur keltischen Archäologie A–K*. Wien 2012, 327, 328.

Hanny 1992 – E. Hanny: Kelta település nyomai az M0 autópálya nyomvonalán (Szigetszentmiklós-Üdülősor, -Vízműtelep). In: *Havassy/Selmeczy 1992*, 241–276.

Hanny 2017 – E. Hanny: Kelták a Pálos kolostor környékén. La Tène D kori település a Budakeszi úton (Budaszentlőrinc). *Budapest Régiségei* 50, 2017, 69–93.

Hatt 1980 – J-J. Hatt: Die keltische Götterwelt und ihre bildliche Darstellung in vorrömischer Zeit. In: P. Krön (Hrsg.): *Die Kelten in Mitteleuropa. Kultur Kunst Wirtschaft. Salzburger Landesausstellung 1. Mai–30. Sept. 1980 im Keltenmuseum Hallein Österreich*. Salzburg 1980, 52–67.

Havassy/Selmeczy 1992 – P. Havassy/L. Selmeczy (szerk): *Régészeti kutatások az M0 autópálya nyomvonalán 1*. BTM Műhely 5. Budapest 1992.

Holzer 2008 – V. Holzer: Der keltische Kultbezirk in Roseldorf/Sandberg, Niederösterreich. In: C. Eggl/P. Trebsche/I. Balzer/J. Fries-Knoblach/J. K. Koch/H. Nortmann/J. Wiethold (Hrsg.): *Ritus und Religion in der Eisenzeit. Beiträge zur Sitzung der AG Eisenzeit während der Jahrestagung des Mittel- und Ostdeutschen Verbandes*

[6] We would like to express our gratitude here to our dear colleagues who helped us with this paper (Károly Tankó, Dominik Repka, Peter C. Ramsl, Mitja Guštin, Marija Ljustina, Teodora Radišić, Sándor Berecki and Katalin Almássy).

für Altertumsforschung e. V. in Halle an der Saale 2007. Beiträge zur Ur- und Frühgeschichte Mitteleuropas 49. Langenweissbach 2008, 125–134.

Holzer 2009a – V. Holzer: Druideninsignie und Götterfigur. Zeugen keltischer Rituale in Roseldorf/Niederösterreich. In: G. Tiefengraber/B. Kavur/A. Gaspari (eds.): *Keltske študije II. Studies in Celtic Archaeology Papers in honour of Mitja Guštin*. Protohistoire Européenne 11. Montagnac 2009, 173–184.

Holzer 2009b - V. Holzer: *Roseldorf Interdisziplinäre Forschungen zur größten keltischen Zentralsiedlung Österreichs. Kg. Roseldorf, MG. Sitzendorf an der Scmida*. Schriftenreihe der Forschung im Verbund 102. Wien 2009.

Holzer 2014 – V. Holzer: Roseldorf – An Enclosed Central Settlement of the Early and Middle La Tène Period in Lower Austria (Roseldorf/Němčice Centre). In: M. Fernández-Götz/H. Wendling/K. Winge (eds.): *Paths to Complexity. Centralisation and Urbanisation in Iron Age Europe*. Oxford – Philadelphia 2014, 122–131.

Holzer 2015 – V. Holzer: Opferkulte und Rituale der Kelten am Beispiel der Heiligtümer von Roseldorf/Niederösterreich. *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* 145, 2015, 135–154.

Horváth 2019 – T. Horváth: Kelta szarvasáldozatok Balatonőszöd-Temetői-dűlő (M7/S10 lelőhely) La Tène D településen. In: L. Bartosiewicz/K. T. Biró/ P. Sümegi/ T. Törőcsik (szerk.): *Mikroszkóppal, feltárásokkal, mintavételezéssel, kutatásokkal az archeometria, a geoarcheológia és a régészet szolgálatában. Tanulmányok Ilon Gábor régész 60 éves születésnapi köszöntésére*. Szeged 2019, 115–133.

Jerem 2003 – E. Jerem: Animal sacrifice and ritual deposits of the Iron Age. Ritual treatment of animals: A case study from Sopron-Krautacker, NW Hungary. In: E. Jerem/ P. Raczky (Hrsg.): *Morgenrot der Kulturen. Frühe Etappen der Menschheitsgeschichte in Mittel- und Südosteuropa. Festschrift für Nándor Kalicz zum 75. Geburtstag*. Budapest 2003, 541–565.

Lauermann 2009 – E. Lauermann: Roseldorf rekonstruiert. Ein keltischen Heiligtums entsteht in Asparn an der Zaya. *EuroREA. Journal of (Re)construction and Experiment in Archaeology* 6, 2009, 20–26.

Maráz 2011 – B. Maráz: Budapest késő La Tène-kori településtörténeti képe. In: K. Kővári/Zs. Miklós (szerk.): *„Fél évszázad terepen." Tanulmánykötet Torma István tiszteletére 70. születésnapja alkalmából*. Budapest 2011, 243–260.

Martin-Kilchner 2007 – S. Martin Kilchner: Brunnenfüllungen aus römischer Zeit mit Hirschgeweih, Tieren, Wertsachen und Menschen. In: S. Groh/H. Sedlmayer (Hrsg.): *Blut und Wein, Keltisch-Römischen Kultpraktigen. Akten des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institut und vom Archäologischen Verein Flavia Solva veranstalteten Kolloquiums am Frauenberg bei Leibnitz (Österreich), Mai 2006*. Montagnac 2007, 36–54.

Müller/Sugár 2001 – R. Müller/L. Sugár: A kétezer éves zalai szarvaslelet. *Milleneumi Vadászati Almanach. Zala megye*. Budapest 2001, 43–45.

Peter-Röcher 2012–2013 – H. Peter-Röcher: Der Silberkessel von Gundestrup. Ein Zeugnis keltischer Religion? *Offa 69–70*, 2012–2013, 189–199.

Petres 1972 – É. F. Petres: On Celtic Animal and Human Sacrifices. *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 24, 1972, 365–383, pl. XXXII–XXXV.

Pointrenaud 2014 – G. Pointrenaud: *Der Hirschgott der Kelten*. Vortrag gehalten an der Universität Leipzig am 19. 6. 2014. Online available at: https://www.academia.edu/7439359

Poroszlai 2003 – I. Poroszlai: Százhalombatta-Földvár. *Régészeti Kutatások Magyarországon 2000 – Archaeological lnvestigations in Hungary 2000*, 2003, 207, 208.

Regenye 2004 – J. Regenye: Előzetes jelentés a Tihany-Óvárban folytatott feltárásról. In: E. Gy. Nagy/J. Dani/ Zs. Hajdú (szerk.): *ΜΩΜΟΣ II. Őskoros Kutatók II. Összejövetelének konferenciakötete. Debrecen, 2000. november 6–8*. Debrecen 2004, 187–199.

Schweitzer 1992 – F. Schweitzer: A Szigetszentmiklóstól északra húzódó M0 autópálya környezetében elhelyezkedő régészeti lelőhelyek geomorfológiai viszonyai. In: *Havassy/Selmeczi 1992*, 9–13.

Szabó 1971 – M. Szabó: *A kelták nyomában Magyarországon*. Budapest 1971.

Szabó 2005 – M. Szabó: *A keleti kelták. A késő vaskor a Kárpát-medencében*. Budapest 2005.

Szabó/Borhy 2015 – M. Szabó/L. Borhy: *Magyarország története az ókorban: Kelták és rómaiak*. Budapest 2015.

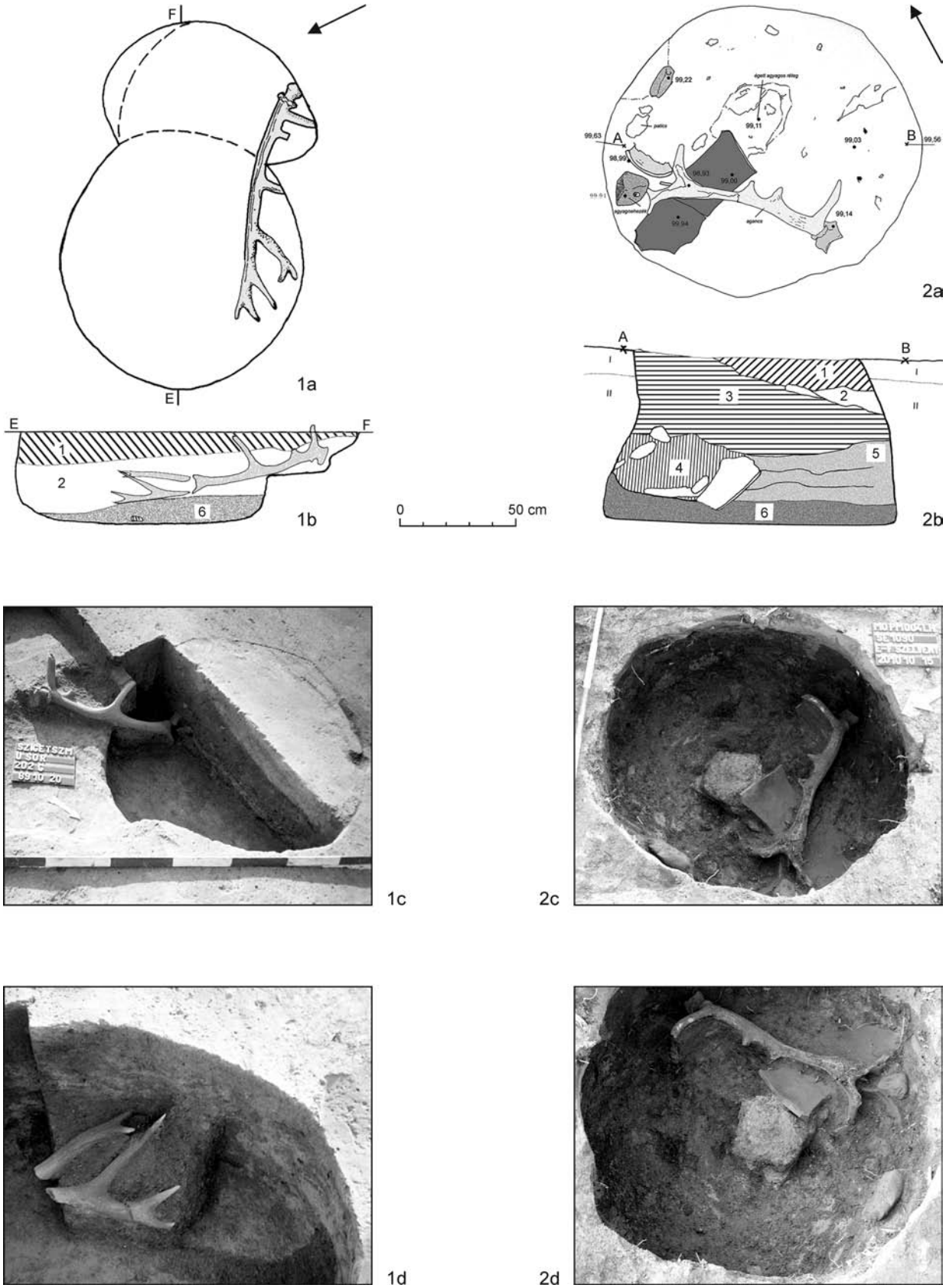
Trifunović 2014 – Trifunović: Čurug 'Stari Vinogradi' – settlement between eras. In: M. Guštin/W. David (eds.): *The Clash of Cultures? The Celts and the Macedonian World*. Schriften des Kelten Römer Museums Manching 9. Manching 2014, 225–238. In press. Online available at: https://pdfcookie.com/documents/gutin-m-david-w-eds-the-clash-of-cultures-the-celts-and-the-macedonian-world-manching-2014-in-print-ex2040jw6pl3

Manuscript accepted 25. 6. 2021

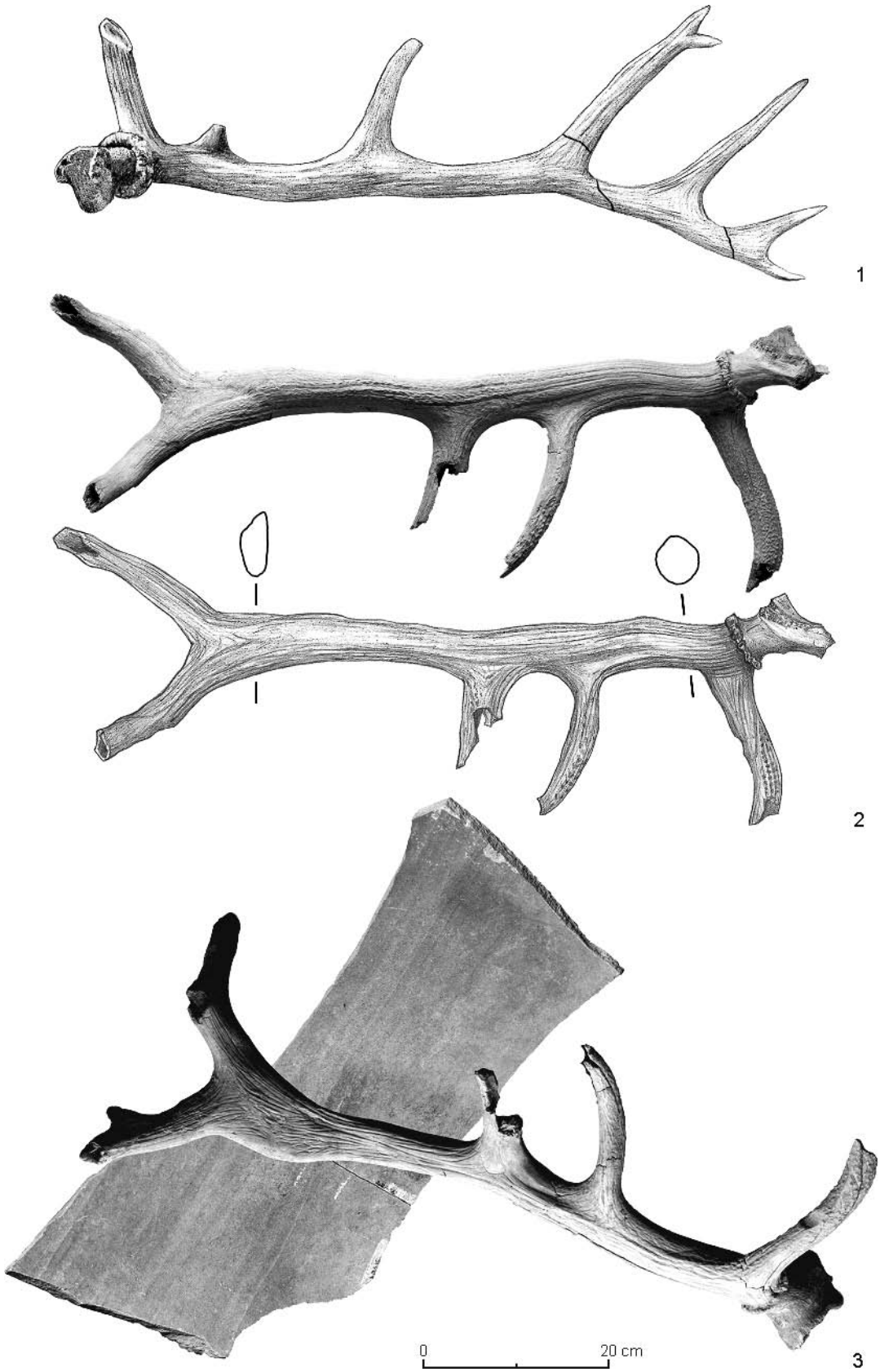
Translated by Dániel Horváth

Attila Horváth M.
Budapest History Museum
Szent György tér 2
H – 1014 Budapest
horvath.m.attila@gmail.com

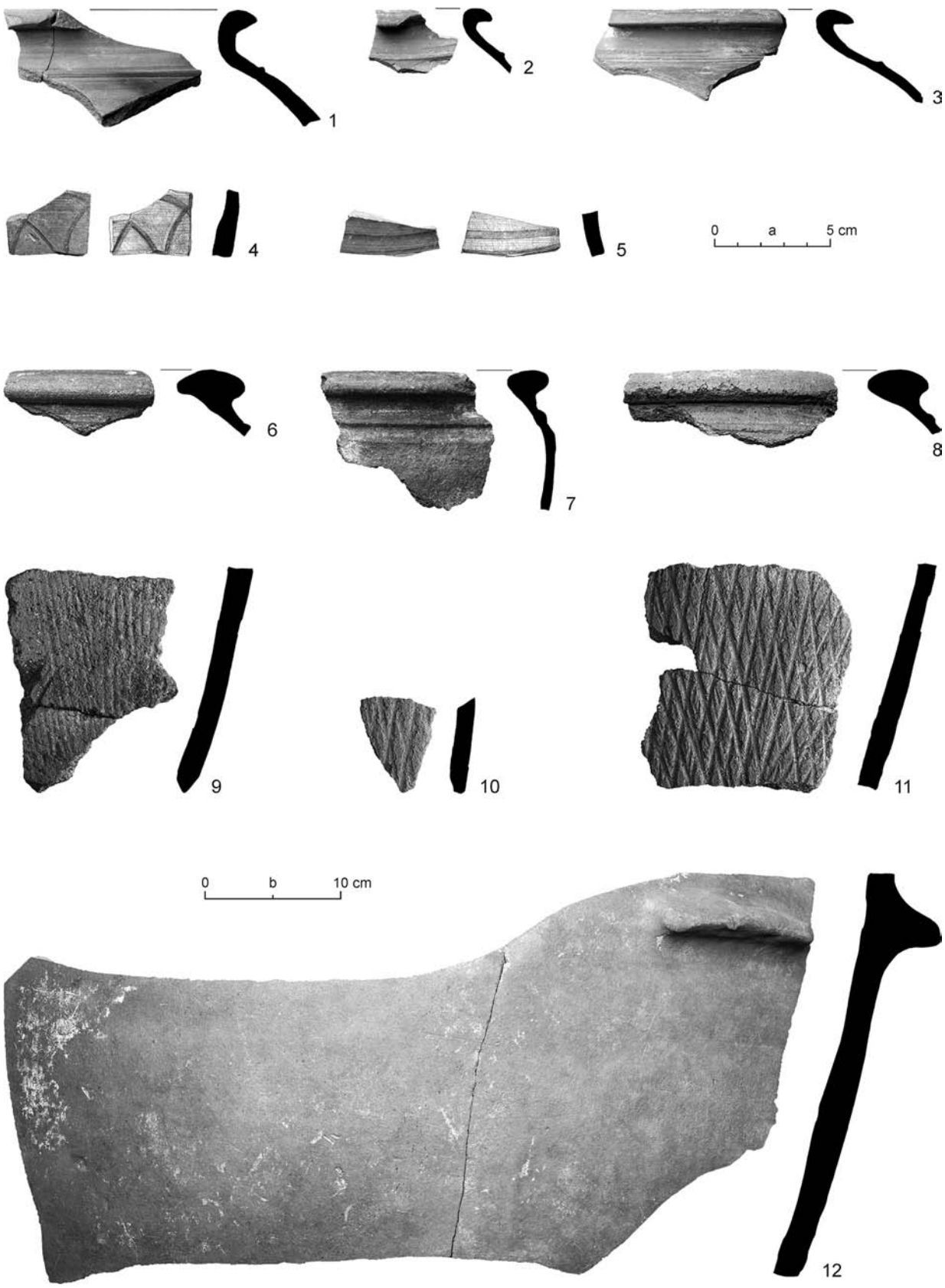
Erzsébet Hanny PHD
Budapest History Museum
Szent György tér 2
H – 1014 Budapest
zsabus@gmail.com



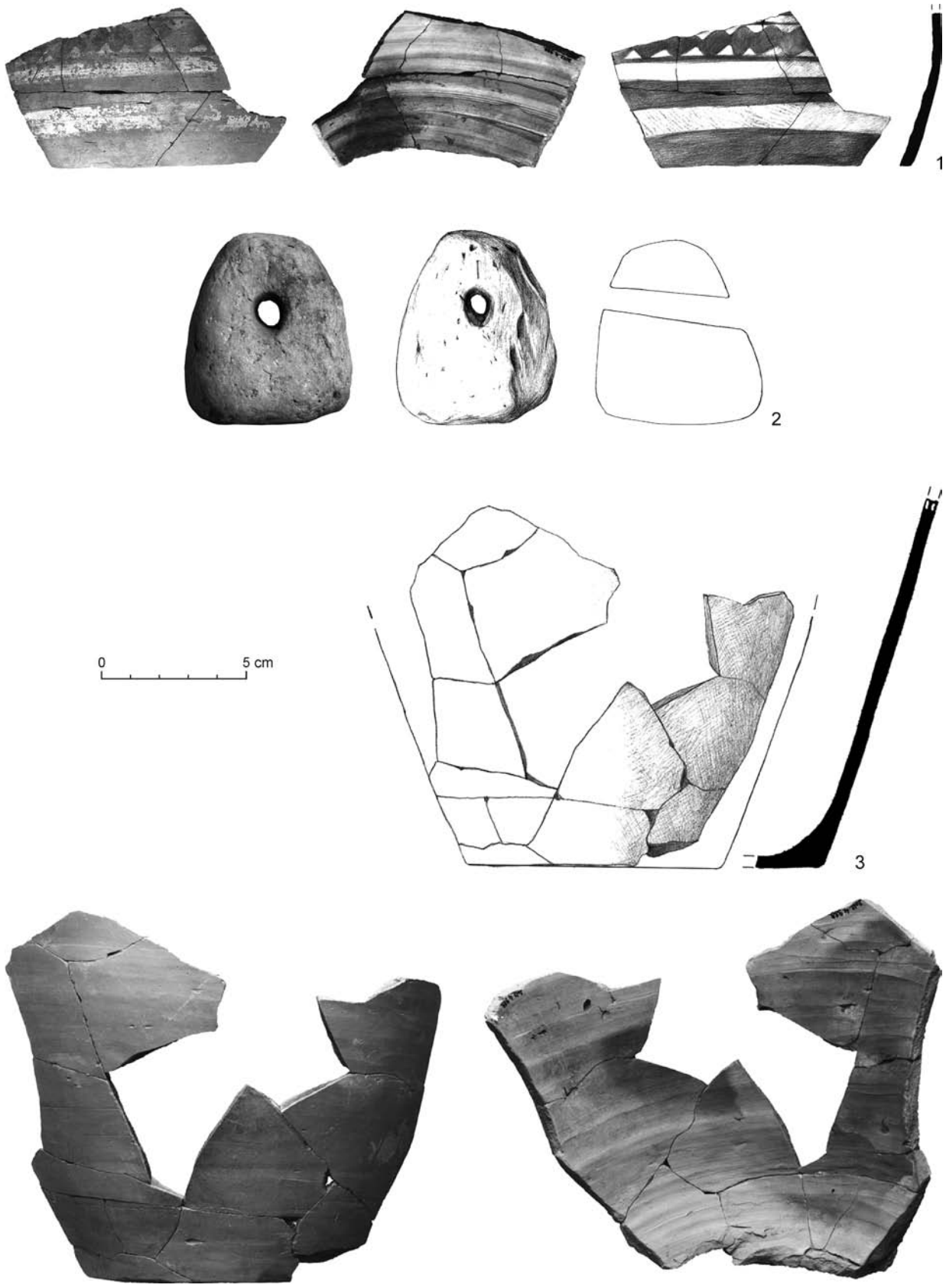
Pl. I. Sacrificial pits with red deer antlers from Szigetszentmiklós-Üdülősor. 1 – structure 202–201/1989; 2 – structure 1090/2008 (drawings E. Hanny and G. Gyenes, photos A. Horváth M.).



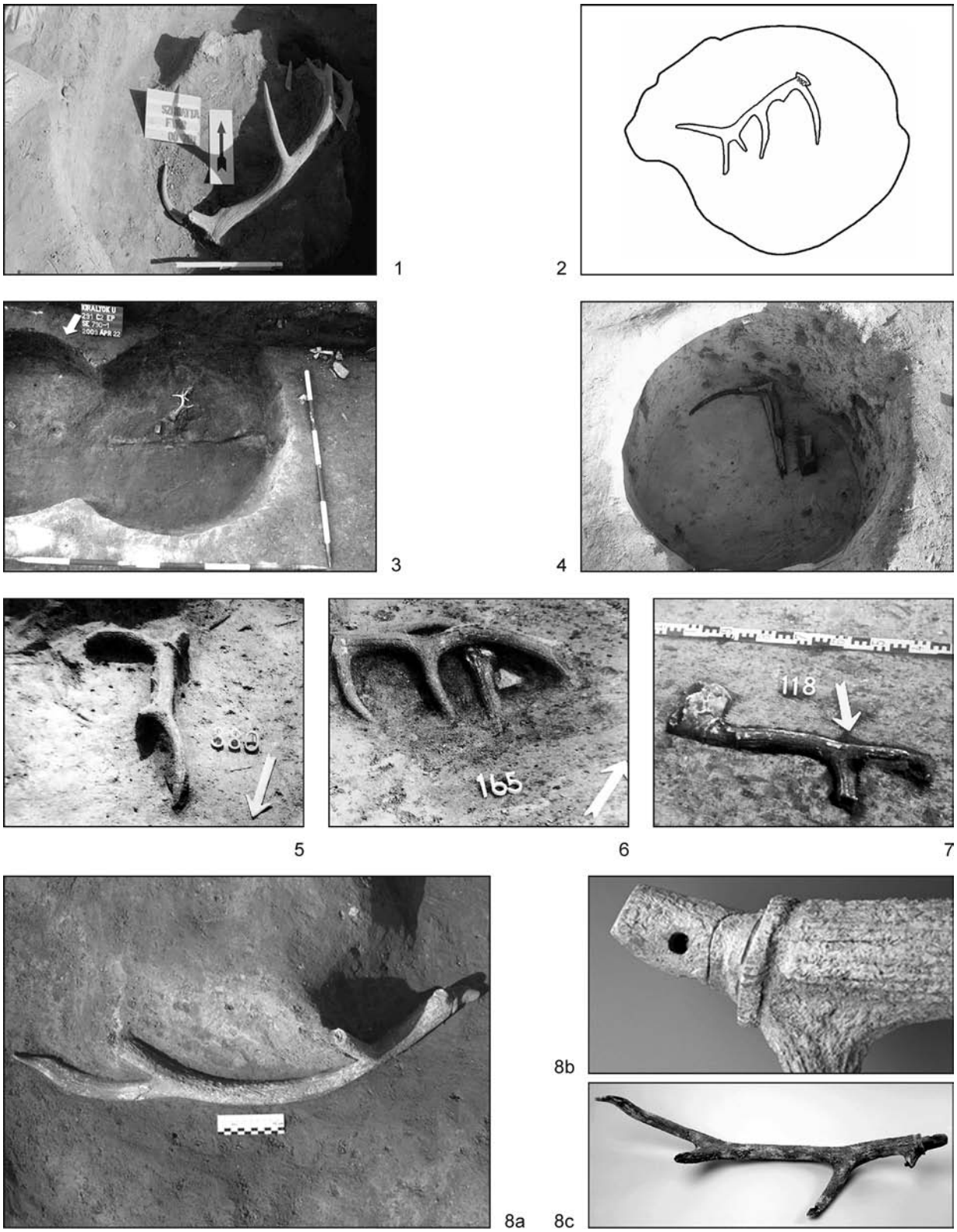
Pl. II. Red deer antlers from Szigetszentmiklós-Üdülősor. 1 – reconstruction of the red deer antler from the structure 202–201/1989; 2 – red deer antler from the structure 1090/2008; 3 – position of the antler and great storage vessel fragment in sacrificial pit 1090/2008 (drawings O. Kangyal, photos N. Szilágyi).



Pl. III. Finds from the structure 1090/2008 at Szigetszentmiklós-Üdülősor. 1–3 – rim fragments of wheel thrown vessels; 4, 5 – fragments of wheel thrown vessels with smoothed decoration; 6–11 – rim and side fragments of situlae with combed decoration; 12 – fragment of a great storage vessel (drawings O. Kangyal, photos N. Szilágyi). Scale: a – 1–11; b – 12.



Pl. IV. Finds from the structure 1090/2008 at Szigetszentmiklós-Üdülősor. 1 – fragments of red and red-white painted vessel; 2 – loom weight; 3 – remnant of a wheel thrown storage vessel (drawings O. Kangyal, photos N. Szilágyi).



Pl. V. Analogies to the Celtic red deer cult. 1 – Százhalombatta-Földvár (photo I. Poroszlai); 2 – Tihany-Óvár (after *Regenye 2004*); 3 – Budapest III, Királyok útja 291 (photo G. Szilas); 4 – Budapest III, Királyok útja 293 (photo G. Szilas); 5–7 – Sopron-Krautacker (after *Jerem 2003*); artificially processed, skull-proof stag red deer antler rod as part of a *Cernunnos* statue from the large sanctuary at Roseldorf, feature 1, cult district 1: a – appearance of the red deer antler (*Holzer 2009a*, 117. fig. 8.), b – carved rosette and end pin with drilled hole (*Holzer 2009b*, 66, fig. A: 127, 128.), c – carved and drilled red deer antler (*Holzer 2014*, 130, fig. 11: 8).

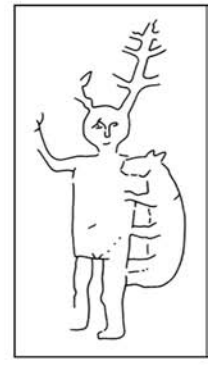

1


2


3


4


5


6


7


8


9

Pl. VI. Depictions of *Cernunnos*. 1 – Valcamonica, rock carving (after *Hatt 1980*); 2 – the deer god on the Gundestrup cauldron (after *Peter-Röcher 2013*); 3 – Roseldorf, reconstruction of the shrine statue (after *Lauermann 2009*); 4 – Fellbach-Schmiden, carved wood red deer statues (after *Martin-Kilchner 2007*); 5 – Bouray, statue in 'Buddha sitting' (after *Filip 1966*); 6; Bela Krajina, Gallo-Roman gravestone (after *Guštin 2006*); 7 – Paris, the 'Nautae Parisiaci' relief (after *Hatt 1980*); 8 – Verteuil-sur-Charente, headless statue of *Cernunnos* with a red deer on his lap (after *Baigl-Vernou 2002*); 9 – Reims, *Cernunnos* Celtic horned god Gallo-Roman relief (after *Bober 1951*).

SLOVENSKÁ ARCHEOLÓGIA – SUPPLEMENTUM 2
Z. Robak/M. Ruttkay (eds.): Celts – Germans – Slavs.
A Tribute Anthology to Karol Pieta. Nitra 2021, 179–192.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.31577/slovarch.2021.suppl.2.16

FINDS FROM THE LA TÈNE PERIOD FROM PODSKALIE, POVAŽSKÁ BYSTRICA DISTRICT

RADOSLAV ČAMBAL – MAREK BUDAJ

Several sites with rich finds are known from the area of the Púchov culture with a wide range of finds. They include a mass find from the central Považie region, from the hitherto little-known site of Podskalie, on the flank of the Veľké skaly hill in the district of Považská Bystrica. It contains two examples of a hitherto unknown, new type of belt hook, a belt ornament and a pseudo-filigree basket amulet. A key, lock spring, cramp irons and two knives were also found. Several Celtic coins in circulation on the territory of the Púchov culture also come from this site, namely the Divinka, Nitra, Veľký Bysterec types, the Slovak or Kolačno type, the Liptovská Mara and Simmering types. The hoard and the coins date the site to the late La Tène period LTD.

Keywords: Western Slovakia, late La Tène Period, Púchov culture, hoard, belt hook, Celtic coins.

The collections of the Slovak National Museum's Museum of Archaeology house an interesting set of metal objects made of bronze and iron.[1] The objects were handed over at the beginning of 2021 to the museum via an intermediary by the finder, who first published the find on the internet site LovecPokladu.cz. According to the available information, the set of items, which the finder described as a hoard, was found together in one place. It comes from the cadastral distr. of the municipality of Podskalie in the Považská Bystrica distr.[2] It is a find from the southern slope of the tongue-shaped promontory of the narrow Veľké skaly ridge (near the spot height of 412), just above the municipality of Podskalie in the Súľovské vrchy hills (Fig. 1).

This is a poly-cultural site, belonging to the area of the Púchov culture in the central Považie region, until now known only from the surveys of the Institute of Archaeology of the Slovak Academy of Sciences Nitra. It is known generally thanks to the illegal activities carried out there and resulting finds.

An initial survey was carried out here in 2016 in the northern part of the exposed site of Veľké skaly, the highest peak of which is Roháč (720 m a.s.l.). It was only in 2018 that an archaeological site was successfully confirmed in the southern part of Veľké skaly, that is from the southern slopes at the edge of the municipality of Podskalie towards the north-east. According to available information, the set of items, or hoard, in question also originates from this area. The finds obtained in the survey by staff of the IA SAS in Nitra confirmed a settlement in the late La Tène period, as well as finds from the Hallstatt period, Roman times, the period of the migration of nations, the early Middle Ages and the Modern Period. However, for the moment it is not known what type of settlement it is. A hoard from the Hallstatt period originates from this site (*Benediková 2019*, 136–147; *2020*). Based on obtained finds, the greatest intensity of settlement probably dates from the late La Tène period until early Roman times. Several forged iron nails, a clamp iron and a late La Tène fibula, dated to the late La Tène period originate from here (*Benediková 2019*, 136–147, fig. 12). Numismatic finds in the form of Celtic coins are also known from this site.[3]

COMPOSITION OF THE SET

1. Copper belt hook no. 1, entirely preserved in the form of an 'anchor', broken into four pieces. At the dividing line between the neck and the body, there is an unornamented transversal relief moulding. At the end of the belt hook there is a simple, bent hook. The neck of the belt hook between the hook and the transversal moulding does not have any ornamentation. Underneath the

[1] The objects are stored in the collections of the SNM – Museum of Archaeology in Bratislava under the registration numbers AP 97101–AP 97117.

[2] The authors wish to thank their colleague Mgr. Pavol Jelínek, PhD., and Štefan Chren for information concerning the finds.

[3] The authors wish to thank their colleague Mgr. Lucia Benediková, PhD., from the Institute of Archaeology of the Slovak Academy of Sciences in Nitra (AÚ SAV Nitra) for information about the site, on unpublished finds of coins and their localisation on the site.

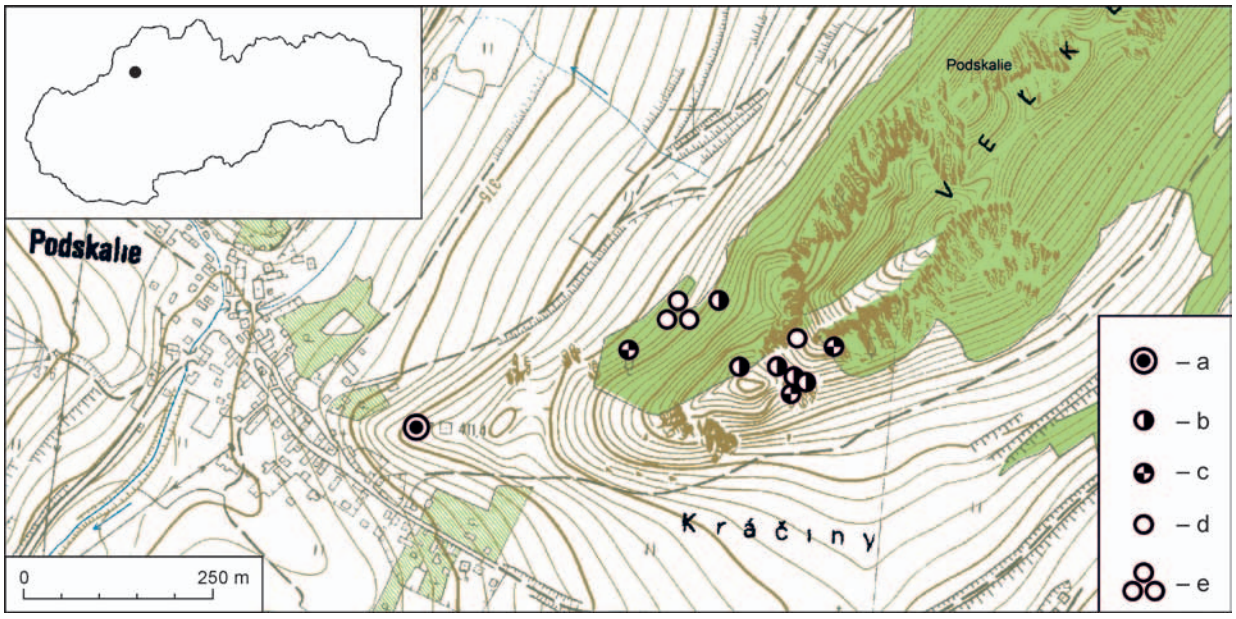


Fig. 1. Podskalie, Považská Bystrica distr. Section from a map indicating the site of the find of the La Tène hoard and Celtic coins. Legend: a – hoard; b – coins Divinka type; c – coins Veľký Bysterec type; d – coins Nitra type; e – hoard of Nitra type.

Fig. 2. Podskalie. Detail of the ornamentation on belt hook no. 2. 1, 3 – punching on the ridge of the hook and grooves on the transversal moulding; 2 – punched ornamentation in the form of circles and triangles by the transversal ridge; 4, 6 – notched ornamentation of the belt hook no. 1 (4 – of the edge of the body; 6 – of the arm); 5 – punching on the edge of the body of the belt hook in two rows (photo by R. Čambal).

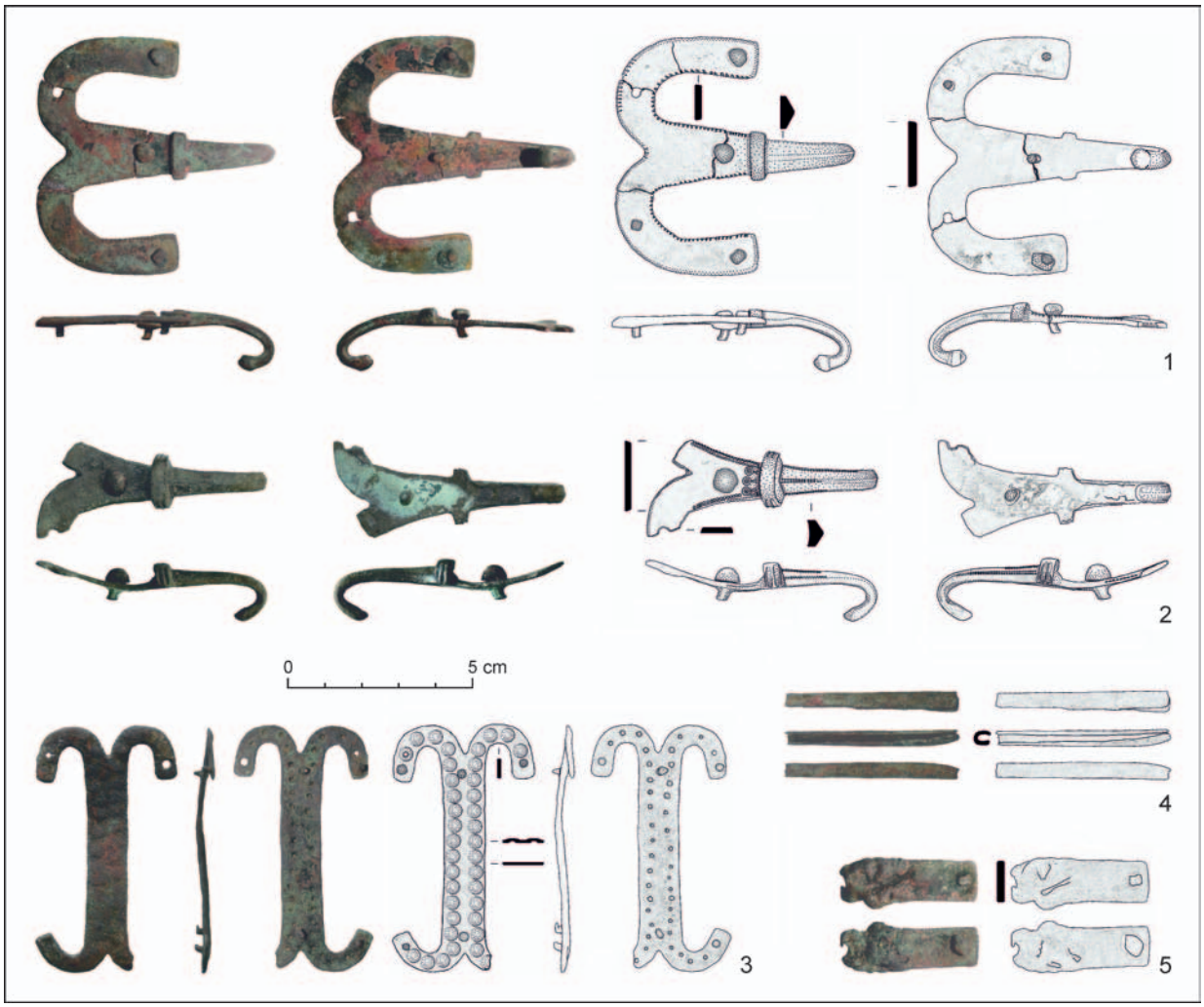


Fig. 3. Podskalie. Part of the belt accessories from the hoard. 1 – belt hook no. 1 (copper); 2 – belt hook no. 2 (brass); 3 – belt ornamentation; 4 – bronze moulding; 5 – arm of the belt hook no. 2 (drawings and photo by R. Čambal).

transversal moulding, in the centre there is a preserved rivet with a low, oval head. The edges of the metal plate are also decorated with short serratures placed close together from the transversal moulding along the outside of the inner edges of both plate arms in a U-shape (Fig. 2: 4, 6). In the central part of both arms there is a hole, or a hole with a rivet. Both arms end in a quadratic shape, and before the end there is a rivet. Dimensions: l. 6.4 cm, w. 6.5 cm, thickness of metal plate 1–1.25 mm (Fig. 3: 1; reg. no. AP 97101).

2. Brass belt hook no. 2 in the shape of an 'anchor'. The lower part in the form of arms is missing. At the dividing line between the neck and the body there is an ornamented transversal relief moulding with two transversal grooves on the sides (Fig. 2: 1–3); on the upper surface, the grooves are missing as a result of the wear and tear of the surface. At the end of the belt hook, there is a simple bent hook. Between the hook and the transversal moulding, on the edge of the neck and on the sides, there is ornamentation in the form of double lines of indentations (Fig. 2: 1, 3). The transversal moulding on the back is fringed by one row of small circular punches. Behind them, there are three larger circular punches, from which triangles emerge towards the transversal moulding (Fig. 2: 2). The edges of the metal plate part are also ornamented with punching in two rows (Fig. 2: 5). In the middle there is a preserved rivet with a semi-globular head. In the part of the left arm of the belt hook, there is a hole for a rivet in the middle of the broken arm. Dimensions: l. 6.5 cm, w. > 2.8 cm, thickness of the metal plate 1 mm (Fig. 3: 2; reg. no. AP 97102).
3. Brass rectangular metal plate with rivet, ending quadratically at one end, on the other end melted down and deformed. It is probably the arm of belt hook no. 2 (Fig. 3: 5; reg. no. AP 97103).
4. Decorative forging made from copper plate in the shape of a letter 'X', with the ends bent on both sides in the shape of a letter 'U'. The surface is decorated on the surface with small embossments, with four rivets out of six preserved. Dimensions: l. 6.7 cm, total width including arms 3.6 cm, width of the body 1–1.1 cm, thickness of the metal plate 0.1 cm (Fig. 3: 3; reg. no. AP 97104).

Fig. 4. Podskalie. The hoard. 1 – pseudo-filigree amulet; 2 – bracelet; 3 – iron key; 4 – lock spring (drawings and photo by R. Čambal).

5. Bronze brim made of sheet metal with a 'U'-shaped cross-section. Dimensions: l. 4.7 cm, w. 0.4 cm, thickness of the metal plate 0.6 cm (Fig. 3: 4; reg. no. AP 97105).
6. Bronze pseudo-filigree, circle-shaped amulet, cast with ornamentation in the form of an imitation of two braided wires in the shape of a circular basket with a central hole. On the top, there is an open handle, placed on the full part of the amulet. Dimensions: height 8 cm, w. 2.2 cm, diam. 6.8 cm, diam. of the central hole 1.1 cm (Fig. 4: 1; reg. no. AP 97106).
7. Fragment of a bronze bracelet from a rod of circular/oval cross-section with a casting, or notches along the circumference. Dimensions: diam. 4.8 cm (Fig. 4: 2; reg. no. AP 97107).
8. Iron hooked key with an eyelet, with a rectangular body of rectangular section and a simple hook with a circular section. The body is decorated on the upper surface with eight circular punches with a diameter of 0.4 cm. The key ends with a simple oval eyelet, the ends of which overlap. Dimensions: length of the key 10.7 cm, total length including the eyelet 12.6 cm, width of the body 0.7–0.9 × 0.25 cm, diam. of the hook rod 0.4 cm (Fig. 4: 3; reg. no. AP 97108).
9. Iron spring from a lock system, with a punch-shaped ending of a circular section, bent at a right angle on one side, and on the other with a right-angled double bent end. Dimensions: l. 10.2 cm, diam. of the circular part 0.55 × 0.7 cm, width of the metal plate 0.7 × 0.2–0.4 × 0.08 cm (Fig. 4: 4; reg. no. AP 97109).

Fig. 5. Podskalie. 1–5 – cramp irons from the hoard; 6 – bronze buckle; 7; 8 – knife blades (drawings and photo by R. Čambal).

10. Cramp iron no. 1 with a body of a flat, rectangular section, from which two pointed protuberances emerge in parallel at both ends. Dimensions: l. 8.9 cm (Fig. 5: 1; reg. no. AP 97110).
11. Cramp iron no. 2 with a body of a flat, rectangular section, from which two pointed protuberances emerge in parallel at both ends. Dimensions: l. 5.7 cm (Fig. 5: 2; reg. no. AP 97111).
12. Cramp iron made of metal plate no. 5, with arms folded over double on both sides. Dimensions: 4.3 cm (Fig. 5: 3; reg. no. AP 97112).
13. Cramp iron no. 3, made of a rod of circulation section. Both arms are bent into a right angle, pointed and bent over. Dimensions: l. 4.7 cm; diam. of the rod 0.5 cm (Fig. 5: 4; reg. no. AP 97113).
14. Cramp iron no. 4 with flaps placed perpendicularly to the wide body with a rectangular section. Dimensions: 4.5 cm (Fig. 5: 5; reg. no. AP 97114).
15. Bronze buckle of a square shape made of bronze wire with a circular to oval section, with a bronze cast tongue with a hole, and an iron axis of circular section. Dimensions: l. 2.8 cm, w. 2.7 cm (Fig. 5: 6; reg. no. AP 97115).
16. Blade of an iron knife with a wide, flat tang. Dimensions: total l. 12.3 cm (Fig. 5: 7; rec no. AP 97116).
17. Blade of an iron knife with a flat tang. Dimensions: total l. 12.8 cm (Fig. 5: 8; reg. no. AP 97117).

EVALUATION

Belt hooks and parts of a belt

According to the current state of research, the two belt hooks which are in this set are for the moment an unknown and unique type of belt clasp. At present, according to the current state of research, not only from the territory of the Púchov culture (*Pieta 1982*; *2008*; *2010*), but also within the Central Danube geographic area, we are not aware of any find of this type of belt hook (*Bujna 2011*). Given their shape, we may call them *'anchor-shaped belt hooks'*. In terms of its type, the hook itself of the belt hooks is based on zoomorphic belt hooks in the form of the

Tab. 1. Podskalie. Chemical composition of articles from hoard of non-ferrous metals. Results of measurements using the XRF method.

Hoard		Chemical composition and percentage of metal (%) Measurement time: 30 sec							
		Cu	Sn	Pb	Sb	Fe	Ni	Co	Zn
1.	Belt hook no. 1 (Fig. 3: 1)	99.88	–	–	0.05	–	–	0.05	–
2.	Belt hook no. 2 (Fig. 3: 2)	90.68	2.35	0.093	0.09	0.2	–	0.09	6.58
3.	Belt decoration (Fig. 3: 3)	99.93	–	–	0.015	–	–	0.015	–
4.	Circural amulet (Fig. 4: 1)	87.62	8.96	1.17	0.127	0.084	–	0.127	2.01
5.	Bracelet (Fig. 4: 2)	89.43	9.06	0.128	0.382	0.727	0.088	0.029	–

Spectral surface X-ray analysis was performed on a XRF analyzer NITON XL3t, made by Thermo Fisher Scientific, NITON, USA (the analysis was performed by R. Čambal).

neck and head of a horse, but in this case, it is only in a purely simple, functional form. Each of them has a different ornamentation. On belt hook no. 1 (Fig. 3: 1), the inner edges of the arcs of the body and shoulders are notched (Fig. 2: 4, 6), and there is also an indication of this along the edge on the rear part of the object. The bronze belt hook no. 2 (Fig. 3: 2) is decorated with several types of punching (Fig. 2: 1–3, 5). The three circular punches on the other side of the relief ridge, from which triangles emerge towards the transversal moulding are of interest. In theory, this could be the symbol of the triangular human body and a circular head in the form of a punch. An object made of metal plate with a rivet, which was originally one of the arms of the belt hook (Fig. 3: 5), also probably belonged to this belt hook. Both belong to a belt made of organic material, most probably leather. As a clothing accessory, they were part of women's traditional clothing, and in this case, considering the width of the completely preserved belt hook no. 1, it is possible to ascertain approximately the width of the belt. It was a relatively wide band of leather, around 6–6.5 cm wide and 0.2–0.25 cm thick, on to which the belt hooks were fixed using five rivets on the body and on the arms, at a maximum distance of 4.8 cm from each other. Copper ornamentation in the form of plate forging made of copper in the shape of the letter 'X' with bent ends (Fig. 3: 3) appears to have been part of the ornamentation of the belt with belt hook no. 1. On its surface there is ornamentation in the form of embossments, which were hammered from the underside of the metal plate. The bronze moulding (Fig. 3: 4), which edged the organic part of the belt also probably belonged to the belt, and was perhaps on the opposite side facing the belt hook, where there was a hole in the belt used to place the hook of the belt hook. For dating it is important that belt hook no. 2 is made of brass and in the La Tène environment brass is known only from the 2nd half of the 1st c. BCE may indicate the dating of these belt hooks to LTD2. Belt hooks can be dated perhaps at the end of LTD1 and the beginning of LTD2 sometime before the middle of the 1st c. BCE, thanks to the belt hook no. 2, which is already brass (with low zinc content – 6%; see Tab. 1). Brass appears in the La Tène environment as the influence of the Roman Empire, of which it is technology. It appears as a raw material for brooches sometime after 60 BCE (*Danielisová 2020*, 128, 129; *Istenič/Šmit 2007*, 146).

Amulet

Circular pseudo-filigree amulets made by casting in the form of a circular basket, and imitating braided double wires are known from several sites of finds from the late La Tène period, and the beginning of the earlier Roman period. Typologically and shape-wise, the closest items to our specimen, made of bronze (Fig. 4: 1), occur mainly in the area settled by bearers of the Púchov culture (*Bazovský 2014*; *Pieta 2008*; *2010*; *2014*; *2019*). Within the Púchov culture, there exist two types of these amulets. The first is a cast amulet made of pseudo-filigree. There are small discs between the lines of the pseudo-filigree. The find from Folkušová (*Pieta 2014*, fig. 7: 12) as well as the find from Križovany nad Dudváhom (*Bazovský 2014*, 616, fig. 3) and Brodské *(Kraskovská 1970*, 364, fig. 2: 6) belongs to this category. An identical amulet to the one mentioned above comes from grave no. 3 in Mikušovce, from the site Malý hrádok, where it was found together with a pair of Noric-Pannonian fibulae type A 238e (*Garbsch 1965*, 57, fig. 23) and one A 67b1 (*Demetz 1999*, 135). The amulet was found in the area of the individual's waist, on the left-hand side of the pelvis (*Pieta 2019*, 264, 265, 273), which might indicate its function as part of a belt accessory. It is dated to the beginning of the earlier Roman period, to the Tiberian period,

that is B1 (*Pieta 2019*, fig. 23: 32). The second type is also a cast amulet, but the lattice of the body does not have pseudo-filigree wires. This type was found in Liptovská Mara I (*Pieta 1982*, pl. XXVIII: 4), as well as in grave 1703 in the eponymous site of Malbork-Wielbark in the area of the Wielbark culture (*Rudnicki 2012*, pl. 1: 39). The new find from the hoard from Velký Vřešťov, Trutnov distr. in the Hradec Králové, Hradec region of eastern Bohemia also belongs to this type.[4] As far as the function of the circular pseudo-filigree amulet is concerned, this is suggested by its position in grave no. 3 Mikušovce; similarly to the set of finds from Podskalie, it was found together with two belt hooks and a metal plate belt ornamentation.

Bracelet

The set also includes half of a bronze rod bracelet with relief castings, or notching around its edge with profiled ends (Fig. 4: 2). Is alike a typical La Tène bracelet, belonging to BR-B6 according to J. Bujna's classification, occurring in La Tène female graves from LTB2c, maybe LTC1a too (*Bujna 2005*, 28, fig. 8: B6; 15). But the dating of others items in the hoard is significantly younger, so dating the bracelet to LTB2–LTC1 is unlikely. The 'bracelet' fragment may also be from the group 'Knotenrings' type 1C (*Dębiec/Karwowski 2016*, 120, fig. 6). Knotenrings of various types belong to the end of the Middle and Late La Tène (LTC2–LTD).

Parts of a lock system

The set of items also includes two objects related to a lock system. They are a simple hook key with a flat handle, decorated with circular punches (Fig. 4: 3). We are aware of similar, but unornamented, specimens from Manching (*Jacobi 1974*, 154, pl. 46: 736–742). The second object is a lock spring (Fig. 4: 4). Two identical finds also come from the oppidum in Manching (*Jacobi 1974*, pl. 47: 751, 752).

Cramp irons

Iron connecting elements in the form of clips, or cramp irons, used to connect wood, are common finds in sites from the La Tène period. In this site of objects, they were found in five pieces and in four different versions (Fig. 5: 1–5). Similar finds are known from numerous sites in Slovakia (*Pieta 2008*, 86, fig. 40: 1–11), a significant number come from hillfort Pohanská in Plavecké Podhradie (*Paulík 1976*, 151, pl. XLIV: 1–4, 10; XLVIII: 1), where as well as in layers, they were also found in the mass find no. 5 (*Pieta 2008*, 86). They are represented in great numbers in Manching. Smaller cramp irons and clips were used more for carpentry and cooperage.

Knives

Two blades of iron knives were also found among the objects. In one case, with a wide tang coming out of the upper part of the back of the blade (Fig. 5: 7). An almost identical knife comes from Cífer, which is sometimes attributed to the grave equipment of a Germanic warrior (*Bazovský 2017*, 15, fig. 1: 2). However, it is not certain whether it really is part of his grave equipment. Similarly, such a knife was also found on the Veľký Kolačín-Markovica (*Pieta 2010*, fig. 102: 5). The second knife has a tang set sharply at a right angle, coming out from the centre of the blade (Fig. 5: 8). In the La Tène period, such types of knives occurred only rarely. Due to their shape, it is probably that they are rather types from the Roman period or Middle Ages. They have numerous analogies in finds from the early Middle Ages to the High Middle Ages. Similar early medieval finds are the knife from Kláštor pod Znievom (*Pieta 2020*, fig. 16: 5) and from Modra-Zámčisko (*Farkaš 2001*, fig. 18: 1, 18). They are represented in large numbers in finds from medieval castles and settlement sites, for example from Dračí hrádok near Stupava (*Farkaš 2006*, fig. 45: 3).

Belt buckle

The discreet belt buckle made of coloured metal with a bronze tongue and an iron axle gives the impression of being a foreign element in this set of items, from the point of view of its dating (Fig. 5: 6). Its shape and structure do not belong to the La Tène period. The structure of the buckle belongs rather to the Middle Ages. It is probably a buckle from a horse tackle strap or a narrow belt.

Coins

The set of coins from Podskalie represent a wide range of nominals which were in circulation

[4] We would like to thank our colleague Mgr. Pavol Horník from the Muzeum východních Čech in Hradec Králové (Eastern Bohemia).

Fig. 6. Podskalie. Silver Celtic coins. 1, 2 – tetradrachma of the Nitra type; 3–8 – quinarii of the Divinka type; 9 – tetradrachma of the Veľký Bysterec type; 10 – tetradrachma of the 'Slovak type' or Kolačno type; 11 – Liptovská Mara type; 12 – drachma of the Simmering type (photo by M. Budaj).

mainly in the course of the 1st c. BCE in the area of the Púchov culture. The only import is a drachma of the Simmering type, which was minted in the Bratislava oppidum.

CATALOGUE OF THE COINS[5]

1. Central and Upper Považie/North-western Slovakia, tetradrachma of the Nitra type (Fig. 6: 1).
   Literature: *Kolníková 1973*, 19, no. 13.
   Dimensions: 10.16 g; 21.9 × 22.9 mm.
   RFA analysis:
   - avers: Ag – 89.29%; Au – 0.40%; Cu – 4.47%; Sn – 2.18%; Pb – 3.66%;
   - revers: Ag – 90.97%; Au – 0.35%; Cu – 4.78%; Sn – 1.47%; Pb – 2.43%.

2. Central and Upper Považie/North-western Slovakia, tetradrachma of the Nitra type (Fig. 6: 2).
   Literature: *Kolníková 1973*, 19, no. 11(?).
   Dimensions: 9.95 g; 22.2 × 22.5 mm.
   RFA analysis:

[5] We would like to thank doc. RNDr. J. Tirpák, CSc., from the Gemmology Institute of the Faculty of Natural Sciences of Constantine the Philosopher University in Nitra and PhDr. J. Rajtár, CSc., from the Institute of Archaeology of the Slovak Academy of Sciences in Nitra for carrying out analyses of the coins. The measurements were performed as part of the VEGA grant 2/0150/15: Raw Materials and Technology in the Early Historic Period in Slovakia. The analysis was carried out using a portable X-ray fluorescence spectrometer DELTA CLASSIC+ of the Olympus brand USA, which is aimed at non-destructive quantitative analysis.
The technical parameters of the instrument: DELTA CLASSIC+ is an energy-dispersal RTG-fluorescence spectrometer; 4-watt RTG lamp with a current of up to 200uA; detector Si-PIN; integrated full VGA camera; possibility of narrowing the RTG ray from 9 to 3 mm for analysing small items or heterogeneous materials.

- avers: Ag – 87.12%; Au – 0.40%; Cu – 8.75%; Sn – 2.32%; Pb – 1.41%;
- revers: Ag – 88.63%; Au – 0.35%; Cu – 6.86%; Sn – 2.61%; Pb – 1.55%.

Note: the coin comes from a hoard of nine coins of the Nitra type, which have not been preserved.

3. Central and Upper Považie/North-western Slovakia, quinarius of the Divinka type (Fig. 6: 3).
Literature: *Kostur/Gášpár 2018*, 259, no. 213.
Weight: 2.65 g.
Note: the more precise localisation of the coin within the hill-fort is not known.

4. Central and Upper Považie/North-western Slovakia, quinarius of the Divinka type (Fig. 6: 4).
Literature: *Kostur/Gášpár 2018*, 259, no. 213.
Dimensions: 1.67 g; 12.98 × 13.2 mm.
RFA analysis:
- avers: Ag – 92.62%; Au – 0.51%; Cu – 4.78%; Zn – 1.25%; Pb – 0.85%;
- revers: Ag – 88.30%; Au – 0.51%; Cu – 9.05%; Zn – 1.33%; Pb – 0.92%.

5. Central and Upper Považie/North-western Slovakia, quinarius of the Divinka type (Fig. 6: 5).
Literature: *Kostur/Gášpár 2018*, 259, no. 213.
Dimensions: 1.64 g; 12.9 × 13.5 mm.
RFA analysis:
- avers: Ag – 89.08%; Au – 0.51%; Cu – 6.15%; Sn – 3.25%; Pb – 1.01%;
- revers: Ag – 89.11%; Au – 0.59%; Cu – 6.11%; Sn – 3.19%; Pb – 1%.

6. Central and Upper Považie/North-western Slovakia, quinarius of the Divinka type (Fig. 6: 6).
Literature: *Kostur/Gášpár 2018*, 259, no. 213.
Dimensions: 2.55 g; 14.38 × 14.57 mm.
RFA analysis:
- avers: Ag – 94.75%; Au – 0.48%; Cu – 3.96%; Pb – 0.81%;
- revers: Ag – 94.08%; Au – 0.49%; Cu – 4.52%; Pb – 0.91%.

7. Central and Upper Považie/North-western Slovakia, quinarius of the Divinka type (Fig. 6: 7).
Literature: *Kostur/Gášpár 2018*, 259, no. 213.
Dimensions: 1.78 g; 13.1 × 13.25 mm.
RFA analysis:
- avers: Ag – 92.75%; Au – 0.53%; Cu – 4.59%; Zn – 0.80%; Pb – 1.33%;
- revers: Ag – 93%; Au – 0.54%; Cu – 4.40%; Zn – 0.84%; Pb – 1.22%.

8. Central and Upper Považie/North-western Slovakia, quinarius of the Divinka type (Fig. 6: 8).
Literature: *Kostur/Gášpár 2018*, 259, doesn't have.
Dimensions: 2.37 g; 14.1 × 14.8 mm.
RFA analysis:
- avers: Ag – 90.97%; Au – 0.37%; Cu – 3.81%; Sn – 4.13%; Pb – 0.72%;
- revers: Ag – 90.41%; Au – 0.45%; Cu – 4.71%; Sn – 3.63%; Pb – 0.81%.

9. Upper Považie/Northern, North-western and Eastern Slovakia/Spiš, tetradrachma of the Veľký Bysterec type (Fig. 6: 9).
Literature: *Kolníková 2004*, fig. 1: VB/A.
Dimensions: 9.50 g; 18.4 × 20 mm.
RFA analysis:
- avers: Ag – 90.36%; Au – 1.18%; Cu – 4.76%; Sn – 3.23%; Pb – 0.47%;
- revers: Ag – 89.78%; Au – 1.11%; Cu – 4.76%; Sn – 3.73%; Pb – 0.62%.

10. Považie, tetradrachma of the 'Slovak type' or Kolačno type (Fig. 6: 10).
Literature: *Kostur/Gášpár 2018*, 113, no. 96.
Dimensions: 64. 6.02 g; 18.68 × 19.2 mm.
RFA analysis:
- avers: Ag – 90.81%; Au – 1.46%; Cu – 4.75%; Sn – 1.40%; Pb – 1.57%;
- revers: Ag – 90.87%; Au – 1.38%; Cu – 4.75%; Sn – 1.42%; Pb – 1.58%.

11. Northern Slovakia, Liptovská Mara type (Fig. 6: 11).
Literature: *Kolníková 2004*, fig. 2: LM.
Dimensions: 3.81 g; 16.9 × 17.9 mm.
RFA analysis:
- avers: Ag – 1.24%; Cu – 82.41%; Sn – 5.04%; Zn – 0.72%; Pb – 9.24%; As – 1.34%;
- revers: Ag – 1.38%; Cu – 76.54%; Sn – 5.93%; Zn – 0.73%; Pb – 13.22%; As – 1.29%.

12. South-western Slovakia, Boii, Bratislava, drachma, Simmering type (Fig. 6: 12).
Literature: *Paulsen 1933*, no. 942–947.
Dimensions: 2.07 g; 12.2 × 13.27 mm.
RFA analysis:
- avers: Ag – 0.65%; Cu – 59.29%; Sn – 26.73%; Zn – 0.81%; Pb – 10.22%; As – 2.30%;
- revers: Ag – 0.54%; Cu – 62.03%; Sn – 24.79%; Zn – 0.83%; Pb – 9.60%; As – 2.21%.

Of all the coins, the most interesting ones are the tetradrachmas of the Nitra type, which were already known in the specialist literature before the First World War (*Dessewffy 1910*, no. 566; 1009; *1914*). This type of coin entered the specialist literature under the name of the Nitra type (*Kolníková 1973*, 15; *Pink 1974*, 66, 67). This name was given based on their first processing, when out of the fourteen known specimens, three of them came from the County Museum in Nitra (*Dessewffy 1914*), which led to the erroneous assumption that they must have been found in that city (*Ondrouch 1964*, no. 49). Whereas Dessewffy already saw a clear connection with the Cotini and coins of the Veľký Bysterec and Spiš types (*Dessewffy 1914*, 122). At present, it is clear that these coins were minted and circulated mainly in the Považie region, around Púchov and Považská Bystrica, where they mainly appeared in the hill-forts of the Púchov culture such as Jasenica, Považská Bystrica distr., Nimnica-Holiš, Púchov distr., Skalka nad Váhom, Trenčín distr. (summed up in *Kolníková/Bakoš/Pauditš 2018*, 184, 185). In addition to one-off finds, they are also known from hoards of coins. As well as the set we are studying, consisting of around nine coins, 13 to 14 tetradrachmas of the

Nitra type together with 38 spatula-shaped staters were found in Lysica, Žilina distr. (*Fröhlich 2019*). This is also the northernmost documented occurrence of these coins in Slovakia. Tetradrachmas of the Nitra type were first minted in the second half of the 1st c. BCE, which is not contradicted by their occurrence either in Podskalie or in other sites. Based on an iconographic match with the Roman Republic denarius L. Papius L. f. Celsus, or T. Carisius minted in 45 BCE, we assume they were minted after this period (*Fröhlich 2019*, 20; *Moravčík/Kolníková 2000*, 90). Their circulation probably continued during the Roman period, as testified by their connection with coins of the Veľký Bysterec type. Veľký Bysterec types appear on rare occasions minted on top of Nitra type coins (*Dessewffy 1914*, 122; *Kolníková 1973*, 20; *1984*, 174, 175). Since it is certain that the Veľký Bysterec types were in circulation until Augustine times (4 BCE–12 CE) then this also applies to the Nitra type coins (for further details, see below). Coins of the Nitra type were subjected to analysis and show a relatively stable and relatively high quality of purity varying from 87.12–90.97%. Unfortunately, we still today lack a greater number of analyses of these coins.

When evaluating the specimens of Veľký Bysterec type coins from Jánovce Machalovce, it has been shown that they have similar purities, with an average of 90% Ag, which would document their belonging to a single currency system (*Soják 2015*). The specimen examined by us (cat. no. 9) also has such a purity, and this also applies in the case of the Divnika types (cat. no. 3–8). The approximately ideal purity of all the silver coins shows that it is a single currency system. This fact is also underlined by their joint occurrence not only in this hill-fort, but in other hill-forts (e.g. Košeca-Nozdrovice, where the Veľkobystrecký type, Divinka, Slovak types and so on were also found etc.; *Kolníková 1998a*). However, it must be said that the purity tests carried out so far point to the instability of coins of the Veľký Bysterec type. Specimens with a silver content of around 70–80% also appear frequently (*Fröhlich 2015*, 120, tab. 1; *Soják 2015*, 29, tab. 1). This implies that these coins were minted for a long time (see below), and during this period, they were unable to maintain a stable purity.

The highest number of coins in Podskalie is composed of six quinarii of the Divnika type. These are specific and relatively high-quality coins with a particular and as yet unexplained symbolism. Their iconographic origin was searched for in the Prague type, for which a production in Prague was long assumed (*Kolníková 2000*). However, today it is clear that they have nothing in common with Prague and these coins were rather minted in the territory of Thüringen (summary in *Militký 2015*, 132, 133). However, it is difficult to imagine that they would have looked for ideas for minting their own coins from there, or used patterns from quinarii from the Trier region (*Fröhlich 2019*, 23). They had only minimal contacts with both regions. The idea that an itinerant coin-maker from this region would have come here is completely excluded (*Kolníková/Bakoš/Pauditš 2018*, 161). They are local mintages which were produced in this part of Slovakia, and together with other types of coins document a highly-professional and managed minting industry in the 1st c. BCE. The problem with the Divinka type coins is that they lack detailed typology.

An interesting feature of the set we are studying is that it also includes heavier specimens of 2.55 g and 2.67 g (cat. no. 3 and 6).[6] The geographic circulation of these coins is approximately the same as in the case of the Nitra type, and their finds mainly come from the Považie region, with a slightly increased number recorded in northern Slovakia. Today, including the studied set, we record eight sites with these coins (Divinka and Lysica, Žilina distr.; Dolný Kubín; Košeca-Nozdrovice, Ilava distr.; Považská Bystrica; Skalka nad Váhom, Trenčín distr. and Sučany, Martin distr.; in summary e.g. *Fröhlich 2019*; *Kolníková/Bakoš/Pauditš 2018*, 184). Out of the set in Podskalie, five coins were analysed, and these showed relatively high purities from 88.30–94.75%. These coins could be dated, like the Nitra type, to the second half of the 1st c. BCE.

A one-off specimen in the set of Celtic coins was the coin of the Veľký Bysterec type. It is one of the most numerous Celtic coins on the territory of Slovakia, recorded in approximately 32 sites (*Kolníková/Bakoš/Pauditš 2018*, 185, 186). They occur not only in hill-forts and settlements but are also known in numerous coin hoards. An as yet unpublished find of around 1,000 of these coins even originates from the important hill-fort of Jánovce-Machalovce (*Fröhlich 2015*, 118). However, it is their chronological classification that is of interest, since on the basis of the find from Óhuta, the beginning of their mintage can be dated to the end of the 2nd c. to the beginning of the 1st c. BCE (*Kolníková 2004*, 38; *Prohászka 2011–2012*, 46). They were in circulation for a longer period of time, because we still record

[6] The weights of these coins are quite unstable and range from 1.542 to 2.8 g (the heaviest specimen comes from Dolný Kubín: *Kolníková 2000*, 82; *Kolníková/Bakoš/Pauditš 2018*, 184, b/6).

them in the Roman period. In addition, the hoard from Dolný Kubín-Veľký Bysterec also points to this fact. In that hoard, in addition to the Veľký Bysterec, Spiš and Zemplín types, there was also one Roman Republic Augustus coin from 2 BCE to 14 CE, which clearly indicates the period when it was hidden (*Pieta/Kolníková 1986*). Archaeological investigations at Liptovská Mara, where part of the Celtic coins were found in this horizon, too, also date them to Roman times (*Pieta 1982*, 68). As proven by the Celtic coins from Podskalie, most of them were in circulation together, and for this reason we may assume that they were circulating during the Roman period, too.

Some of the most particular – and probably also the most problematic – coins from Podskalie include the tetradrachma, which has stirred up some confusion since its discovery (cat. no. 10). Recently, it has entered the specialist literature under the unfortunate name of Slovak type (*Kostur/Gášpár 2018*, 113, no. 96, 97). Before this, the name of Kolačno was recommended, based on the place of its first find (*Kolníková 2015*, 14, fig. 3: 12). However, its name as Slovak type is problematic for the simple reason that this name had already been given, longer ago, in the specialist literature to another – albeit very similar – coin, also originating from the territory of Slovakia (*Pink 1974*, no. 483; *Ručka 2012*, 131–133). These coins stand out for their well-worked head on the averse, and another version of a horse on the reverse. Above it, there is a circle, and not dots as on the coin we are currently studying. Further confusion was caused concerning these coins by the first processing of their finds on the territory of Slovakia in the 1990s. At the time of analysing the collection of finds from Košeca-Nozdrovice and Trenčianske Bohuslavice, these coins were classified among the Velem type, which was minted on the territory of today's Hungary (*Kolníková 1998a*, 213, fig. 1: 4; *1998b*, 31, fig. 6: 5, 7). This was because this type of coin was originally considered in the older literature as the Velem type, and its Slovak origin was not known (*Pink 1974*, 75). However, today it is clear that these coins are mainly concentrated in the Považie area, especially around Púchov, Trenčín and Považská Bystrica. Still today, they are recorded in the already mentioned Trenčianske Bohuslavice, Nové Mesto nad Váhom distr., Košeca-Nozdrovice, Ilava distr., Kolačno, Partizánske distr., Skalka nad Váhom(?), Trenčín distr., Nimnica, Púchov distr., Udiča, Považská Bystrica distr. and Slatina nad Bebravou (Udrina hill-fort), Bánovce nad Bebravou distr. (*Kolníková 2003*; mentioned here as Velem). The place where the coins were minted should be sought in one of these hill-forts. We cannot exclude the possibility that it was in Udrina, from where several specimens of these coins originate (this is as yet unprocessed material). The tetradrachma of the above-mentioned type underwent great development in terms of weight and iconography. We are aware of beautifully made specimens with weights from 11.90 g all the way to specimens with around 6.02 g and a typically worsened quality of image, associated with the decrease in weight.[7] The falling quality was probably also reflected in the purity of these coins, but this assumption will only be able to be checked when a larger number of purity tests have been carried out. The above-mentioned were part of a wider currency system, and in addition to the tetradrachmas, we are also aware of didrachmas with a weight of around 5 g and obols with a weight of around 0.74 g (*Kostur/Gašpár 2018*, 113, 114, no. 96–99). As can be seen from the specimen studied, the above-mentioned coins had relatively high purities of 90.81–90.87% Ag. Unlike the majority of the coins from the set of Podskalie, however, these ones are older, and the beginning of their minting falls within LTC, that is two centuries BCE, which is also shown by the finds. They appear in intensively settled sites of finds during this period, as is the case for the location of their assumed mintage in Udrina, from where the core of the finds from LTC1 and LTC2 originate (*Pieta 2008*, 112). They appeared here in one find together with older types of staters which were minted with certainty in LTC2, probably in the second century BCE (*Fröhlich 2017*, 4).

First of all, we must expect that these coins were in circulation for a long time, because they also appear in sites such as Košeca-Nozdrovice which were only founded after the disappearance of the settlement in Trenčianske Bohuslavice and which were still intensively used in LTD2 (*Pieta 2008*, 58). This is not contradicted by the situation in Podskalie, from where the majority of coins originate only in the second half of the 1st c. BCE, although there is proven settlement in all periods, including LTC (*Benediková 2019*, 136–143).

The only specimen here was represented by a copper coin of the Liptovská Mara type. The origin of these low-quality coins can be looked for in Liptovská Sielnica-Liptovská Mara, Liptovský Mikuláš distr., where around 80 Celtic coins were found together with further evidence of coin minting during archaeological excavations (*Pieta 1996*, 78). Of these, up to 24 were of the Liptovská Mara type (*Kolníková 2004*, 26, 27). In addition to a low

[7] This is a sample of around twelve tetradrachmas to which the authors had access; all of them come from the Považie area.

purity, they also showed unstable weights ranging between 1.09 and 5.63 g, with diameters between 13.8 and 17.5 mm (*Kolníková 2004*, 26). Purity tests of the above-mentioned coin showed a relatively high percentage of tin, which was also recorded in the case of other local mintages. Despite the fact that there are tin deposits in our region, their mining has never been historically proven, and they were probably imported here (*Soják 2015*, 29). There is more tin also on one exported coin from the set, which is the Simmering type drachma minted in the Bratislava oppidum in around 70–44 BCE (cat. no. 12). This coin is evidence of contacts with the above-mentioned area.

The set of coins from Podskalie is a precious probe into the currency in circulation in this part of Slovakia. Despite the fact that there are also mintages here dated to the 2nd c. BCE, the whole set is probably made up of coins which were in circulation mainly in the second half of the 1st c. BCE.

DATING

The set of items labelled as the hoard from Podskalie can be roughly dated to the late La Tène period of the Púchov culture. The pseudo-filigree amulet is important as a dating element. For the moment, the belt hooks are a one-off type which we have called 'anchor-type' due to their shape. We assume that the belt hooks, the ornamentation of the belt, and perhaps amulet, too, were originally in the form of two belts made of organic material placed in the ground together with cramp irons, a key and the spring of a lock. It is not excluded that in the case of the belts, it might be a certain form of ritual deposit. A ritual subtext is assumed, for example, in the find of the bronze chain belt from LTC2 in Hluboké pri Kunštátsku in Moravia (*Čižmář/Jarůšková 2019*, 389). We can date the La Tène composition of finds from this set (belt hooks, belt ornamentation, amulet, fragment of a bracelet, cramp irons, key and lock spring) with the greatest probability roughly to the La Tène period LTD, perhaps at the end of LTD1 and the beginning of LTD2 sometime before the middle of the 1st c. BCE and that thanks to the belt hook no. 2, which is already brass. The set also includes items in the form of a bronze buckle and two iron knife blades which belong rather to the Middle Ages or Modern period, which fits in with the settlement pattern of the finding site. The finds of several types of Celtic coins in circulation within the Púchov culture and Považie, mainly belonging to LTD2 also fit in with the concept of the late La Tène settlement of the site. Finds from this site in the form of a hoard and different types of Celtic coins provide significant additional information on its settlement in the late La Tène period.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bazovský 2014 – I. Bazovský: Bronzové predmety z Križovian nad Dudváhom (okr. Trnava, JZ Slovensko). In: J. Čižmářová/N. Venclová/G. Březinová (eds.): *Moravské křižovatky. Střední Podunají mezi pravěkem a historií*. Brno 2014, 615–620.

Bazovský 2017 – I. Bazovský: Bojovnícky hrob z Cífera (?) a počiatky germánskeho osídlenia Slovenska. *Študijné zvesti AÚ SAV* 61, 2017, 13–19.

Benediková 2019 – L. Benediková: Archeologická topografia okresu Považská Bystrica. Pramene z neskorej doby bronzovej až strednej doby laténskej so zreteľom na nálezy depotov. (prípadová štúdia stredné Považie). In: I. Bazovský/G. Březinová (eds.): *Ľudia a hory – archeologická perspektíva. Interakcie ľudských spoločenstiev horských a podhorských oblastí západného Slovenska*. Zborník SNM. Archeológia. Suplementum 12. Bratislava – Nitra 2019, 125–152.

Benediková 2020 – L. Benediková: *Podskalie „Veľké skaly (Roháč)"*. Nitra 2020. Výskumná správa 20265/20. Dokumentácia AÚ SAV Nitra. Unpublished.

Bujna 2005 – J. Bujna: *Kruhový šperk z laténskych ženských hrobov na Slovensku*. Nitra 2005.

Bujna 2011 – J. Bujna: *Opasky ženského odevu z doby laténskej*. Nitra 2011.

Čižmář/Jarůšková 2019 – I. Čižmář/Z. Jarůšková: Nález keltského řetězového opasku z Kunštátska (okr. Blansko). In: N. Beljak Pažinová/D. Repka (red.): *Sedem kruhov Jozefa Bujnu*. Studia Historica Nitriensia 23. Supplementum 2. Nitra 2019, 379–393. DOI: https://doi.org/10.17846/SHN.2019.23.S.379-393

Danielisová 2020 – A. Danielisová: Bohemia at the End of the La Tène Period: Objects, Materials, Chronology, and Main Development Trends – A Review. *Památky archeologické* 111, 2020, 113–157. DOI: https://doi.org/10.35686/PA2020.3

Dębiec/Karwowski 2016 – M. Dębiec/M. Karwowski: A Typological Study of the La Tène Knotenringe in the Territory of the Boii. In: M. Karwowski/P. C. Ramsl (eds.): *Boii – Taurisci. Proceeding of the Internatiional Seminar. Oberleis-Klement, June 14th–15th 2012*. Mitteilungen der Praehistorischen Kommission 85. Wien 2016, 115–146.

Demetz 1999 – S. Demetz: *Fibeln der Spätlatène- und frühen römischen Kaiserzeit in den Alpenländern*. Frühges-

chichtliche und Provinzialrömische Archäologie 4. Raden/Westf. 1999.

Dessewffy 1910 – M. Dessewffy: *Gróf Dessewffy Miklós barbár pénzei*. A Numizmatikai Közlöny külön-melléklete. Budapest 1910.

Dessewffy 1914 – M. Dessewffy: Felvidéki barbárpénzeink egy csoportja. *Numizmatikai Közlöny* 13, 1914, 121, 122.

Farkaš 2001 – Z. Farkaš: Zisťovací výskum v Modre, poloha Zámčisko. *Zborník SNM* 95. *Archeológia* 11, 2001, 135–168.

Farkaš 2006 – Z. Farkaš: Stredoveké opevnenie v Stupave, poloha Dračí hrádok. *Zborník SNM* 10. *Archeológia* 16, 2006, 235–302.

Fröhlich 2015 – J. Fröhlich: Dve pozoruhodné keltské mince s hrboľom na averze. *Slovenská numizmatika* 20, 2015, 118–131.

Fröhlich 2017 – J. Fröhlich: Počiatky lopatkovitých statérov púchovskej kultúry a prvé známe dobové falzum z mincí tejto skupiny. *Numismatické listy* 72, 2017, 3–9.

Fröhlich 2019 – J. Fröhlich: Mince púchovskej kultúry z Lysice-Hôrky. *Folia numismatica* 33. Supplementum ad Acta Musei Moraviae. Scientiae sociales 104. Studie. Brno 2019, 3–28.

Garbsch 1965 – J. Garbsch: *Die norisch-pannonische Frauentrach im 1. und 2. Jahrhundert*. Münchner Beiträge zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte 11. Veröffentlichungen der Kommission zur archäologischen Erforschung des spätrömischen Raetien 5. München 1965.

Istenič/Šmit 2007 – J. Istenič/Ž. Šmit: The begining of the use of Brass in Europe with particular reference to southeastern Alpine region. In: S. La Niece/D. Hook/P. Craddock (eds.): *Metals and Mines. Studies in Archeometallurgy. Selected papers from the conference Metallurgy. A Touchstone for Cross-cultural Interaction held at the British Museum 28–30 April 2005*. London 2007, 140–147.

Jacobi 1974 – G. Jacobi: *Werkzeug und Gerät aus dem Oppidum von Manching*. Die Ausgrabungen in Manching 5. Stuttgart 1974.

Kolníková 1973 – E. Kolníková: Ku keltským minciam tzv. Nitrianskeho typu. In: P. Radoměrský (ed.): *Karel Castelin. Sborník příspěvků k oslavě jeho životního numismatického díla sestavený u příležitosti jeho 70. narozenin*. Hradec Králové 1973, 13–21.

Kolníková 1984 – E. Kolníková: Beitrag zur Problematik des ostkeltischen Münzwesens. In: G. Grasmann/W. Janssen/M. Brandt (Hrsg.): *Keltische Numismatik und Archeologie. Numismatique celtique et Archéologie. Veröffentlichung der Referate des Kolloquiums keltische Numismatik vom 4. bis 8. Februar 1981 in Würzburg*. British Archaeological Reports International Series 200. Oxford 1984, 166–184.

Kolníková 1998a – E. Kolníková: Keltské a rímske republikánske mince z Košece-Nozdrovíc. *Slovenská numizmatika* 15, 1998, 213–217.

Kolníková 1998b – E. Kolníková: Výpoveď nálezov mincí o keltskom hradisku v Trenčianskych Bohuslaviciach. *Slovenská numizmatika* 15, 1998, 11–44.

Kolníková 2000 – E. Kolníková: Napodobovanie keltských „kvinárov pražského typu" na Slovensku. *Numismatické listy* 56, 2000, 80–83.

Kolníková 2003 – E. Kolníková: Fundmünzen in den laténezeitlichen Burgwällen und anderen Höhenlagen in der Slowakei. *Slovenská archeológia* 51, 2003, 223–246.

Kolníková 2004 – E. Kolníková: Severoslovenské keltské mince s hrboľom na averze. *Slovenská numizmatika* 17, 2004, 11–52.

Kolníková 2015 – E. Kolníková: Mince v laténskom osídlení Nitry a nitrianskeho regiónu. *Numizmatika* 25, 2015, 10–21.

Kolníková/Bakoš/Pauditš 2018 – E. Kolníková/F. Bakoš/P. Pauditš: Zdroje kovu v keltských mincovniach na Slovensku. *Zborník SNM* 112. *Archeológia* 28, 2018, 141–195.

Kostur/Gášpár 2018 – L. Kostur/G. Gášpár: *Katalog keltských mincí na území Čech, Moravy, Horního Rakouska, Slovenska a severního Maďarska*. Praha 2018.

Kraskovská 1970 – Ľ. Kraskovská: Nálezy z doby rímskoprovinciálnej v Senickom okrese. *Študijné zvesti AÚ SAV* 18, 1970, 362–368.

Militký 2015 – J. Militký: *Oppidum Hradiště u Stradonic. Komentovaný katalog mincovních nálezů a dokladů mincovní výroby*. Praha 2015.

Moravčík/Kolníková 2000 – Š. Moravčík/E. Kolníková: Keltská minca tzv. Nitrianskeho typu z Jasenice. *AVANS 1999*, 2000, 89, 90.

Ondrouch 1964 – V. Ondrouch: *Nálezy keltských, antických a byzantských mincí na Slovensku*. Bratislava 1964.

Paulík 1976 – J. Paulík: *Keltské hradisko Pohanská v Plaveckom Podhradí*. Fontes Archeologického ústavu Slovenského národného múzea v Bratislave 3. Martin 1976.

Paulsen 1933 – R. Paulsen: *Die Münzprägungen der Boier, mit Berücksichtigung der Vorboiischen Prägungen*. Leipzig – Wien 1933.

Pieta 1982 – K. Pieta: *Die Púchov-Kultur*. Archaeologica Slovaca Monographiae. Studia 1. Nitra 1982.

Pieta 1996 – K. Pieta: *Liptovská Mara. Včasnohistorické centrum severného Slovenska*. Archeologické pamätníky Slovenska 5. Bratislava 1996.

Pieta 2008 – K. Pieta: *Keltské osídlenie Slovenska. Mladšia doba laténska*. Archaeologica Slovaca Monographiae. Studia 9. Nitra 2008.

Pieta 2010 – K. Pieta: *Die keltische Besiedlung der Slowakei. Jüngere Latènezeit*. Archaeologica Slovaca Monographiae. Studia 12. Nitra 2010.

Pieta 2014 – K. Pieta: Hradiská vo Folkušovej-Necpaloch a Blatnici. Juhovýchodné vplyvy v púchovskej kultúre. *Slovenská archeológia* 62, 2014, 125–165.

Pieta 2019 – K. Pieta: Early Roman Period Burials of Púchov Culture. Burried Natives or Offered Foreigners? *Slovenská archeológia* 67, 2019, 241–286. DOI: https://doi.org/10.31577/slovarch.2019.67.8

Pieta 2020 – K. Pieta: Nové včasnostredoveké nálezy z Turca. *Študijné zvesti AÚ SAV* 67, 2020, 349–370. DOI: https://doi.org/10.31577/szausav.2020.67.16

Pieta/Kolníková 1986 – K. Pieta/E. Kolníková: Druhý hromadný nález keltských mincí z Dolného Kubína-Veľkého Bysterca. *Slovenská archeológia* 34, 1986, 383–408.

Pink 1974 – K. Pink: *Die Münzprägung der Ostkelten und Ihrer Nachbarn*. 2. ergränzte und verbesserte Auflage. Leipzig – Braunschweig 1974.

Prohászka 2011–2012 – P. Prohászka: Az óhutai kelta kincslelet (1846). *Numizmatikai Közlöny* 110–111, 2011–2012, 37–50.

Ručka 2012 – M. Ručka: Keltské mince – typ „kůň-kůň" – drobný nominál tetradrachem „slovenského typu". *Folia Numismatica* 26. Supplementum ad Acta Musei Moraviae. Scientiae sociales 104. Studie. Brno 2012, 127–133.

Rudnicki 2012 – M. Rudnicki: Finds and Context of Șimleul Silvaniei Type Bracelets North of the Carpathians and the Sudety. In. S. Berecki (ed.): *Iron Age Rites and Rituals in the Carpathian Basin. Proceedings of the International Colloquium from Târgu Mureş, 7th–9th October 2011*. Târgu Mureş 2012, 461–492.

Soják 2015 – M. Soják: Lokalita Jánovce-Machalovce v kontexte nových numizmatických nálezov z doby laténskej. *Numizmatika* 25, 2015, 22–34.

Manuscript accepted 9. 6. 2021

Translated by Stephanie Staffen

Mgr. Radoslav Čambal, PhD.
SNM – Archeologické múzeum
Žižkova 12
P. O. BOX 13
SK – 810 06 Bratislava
radoslav.cambal@snm.sk

Mgr. Marek Budaj, PhD.
SNM – Historické múzeum
Kabinet numizmatiky
Vajanského nábrežie 2
P. O. BOX 13
SK – 810 06 Bratislava 16
marek.budaj@snm.sk

SLOVENSKÁ ARCHEOLÓGIA – SUPPLEMENTUM 2
Z. Robak/M. Ruttkay (eds.): Celts – Germans – Slavs.
A Tribute Anthology to Karol Pieta. Nitra 2021, 193–195.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.31577/slovarch.2021.suppl.2.17

A NORIC-PANNONIAN BELT CLASP FROM THE POD ROHAČKOU SETTLEMENT, PLOŠTÍN, LIPTOVSKÝ MIKULÁŠ DISTRICT

MARTIN FURMAN

In recent years, we have been monitoring a number of new archaeological finds from the Liptov Basin, either from well-known or newly discovered archaeological sites. The well-known archeological site Pod Rohačkou is no exception. Together with the Rohačka fortified settlement and the surrounding fortifications Bodová, Končistý, Iľanovská poludnica and Demänovská hora, they form a micro-region with traces of settlement from the Bronze Age to the Middle Ages. In 2018, the Žilina Regional Monuments Board began a systematic archaeological research of the archaeological site Pod Rohačkou under the Rohačka fortifications. During the six seasons so far, a set of more than 350 items from various time periods from prehistory to modern times has been obtained. Based on previous knowledge, the polycuctural character of the Pod Rohačkou site can be defined as the period from the Bronze Age to the Roman period, with the most significant representation of the Roman phase of the Púchov culture. It is this period that includes finding no. 67, which is an incomplete belt clasp, so-called Noric-Pannonian type and is the subject of this short contribution.

Keywords: Slovakia, Liptov region, Early Roman Period, Púchov culture, Noric-Pannonian belt clasp.

In recent years, we observe an increasing number of new archaeological finds from either newly discovered or already known sites in the Liptov Region (e.g. *Furman 2019*; *2020*; *Lofajová/Furman 2019*). The well-known archaeological site Pod Rohačkou is no exception. Together with the Rohačka hillfort and neighbouring fortificatons – such as Bodová, Končistý, Iľanovská poludnica and Demänovská hora – the sites form a micro-region with traces of settlement ranging from the Bronze Age to the Middle Ages (*Furman 2016*). A complex review of research on this exceptional region can be found in a published article by *Benediková et al. (2019*).

Thus, there is no need to discuss it in detail in this brief paper. The name of Karol Pieta will forever be associated with the discovery of many of the sites, not only those abovementioned. Long-term systematic research on the now well-known site Havránok in Liptovská Mara provided foundations for his seminal works on early historic times, the Púchov Culture period in North-Western Slovakia (*Pieta 1982*). Over the next almost 40 years, Karol Pieta gathered new knowledge about other, mainly highland sites and contributed to the re-evaluation of many previous views on the scarcity of the settlement in the Liptov Region. The current brief paper concerning another find, a Noric-Pannonian belt clasp from Liptov, contributes to the current knowledge about the occurrence of this magnificent belt set – the so-called Noric-Pannonian type.

In 2018, Regional Monuments Board Žilina started systematic archaeological research of the open settlement below the Rohačka fortifications. The fortifications were known already in the 18th c. when *Matthias Bel* (*2014*, 217) mentioned them for the first time. A metal detection survey was initiated after a collection of archaeological finds – mostly bronze clasps – was handed over to the archaeologists (see *Brezňanová/Furman 2019*). By the end of 2020, during the six research seasons, we obtained a set of over 350 items dating back to various periods, from prehistory to modern times. In the first stage, the research aims at documenting the scope and character of the settlement as well as its chronological frames. Since the site is now exploited as arable land, systematic metal detection is possible twice a year – in spring or autumn, following ploughing or sowing. Documenting relevant archaeological finds with an accuracy up to a decimetre using a GPS tool – LT 500 T – allows us to determine the scope of the settlement in the area relatively well.

Based on the recent findings, the settlement Pod Rohačkou could be attributed to the period between the Bronze Age and the Roman Period, with considerable traces of the Roman phase of the Púchov Culture. Find no. 67 – the fragment of the Noric-Pannonian belt clasp – comes from that period. The clasp was found in the southwestern part of the site at a depth of 5 cm, during an autumn metal detection survey in 2018 (Fig. 1).

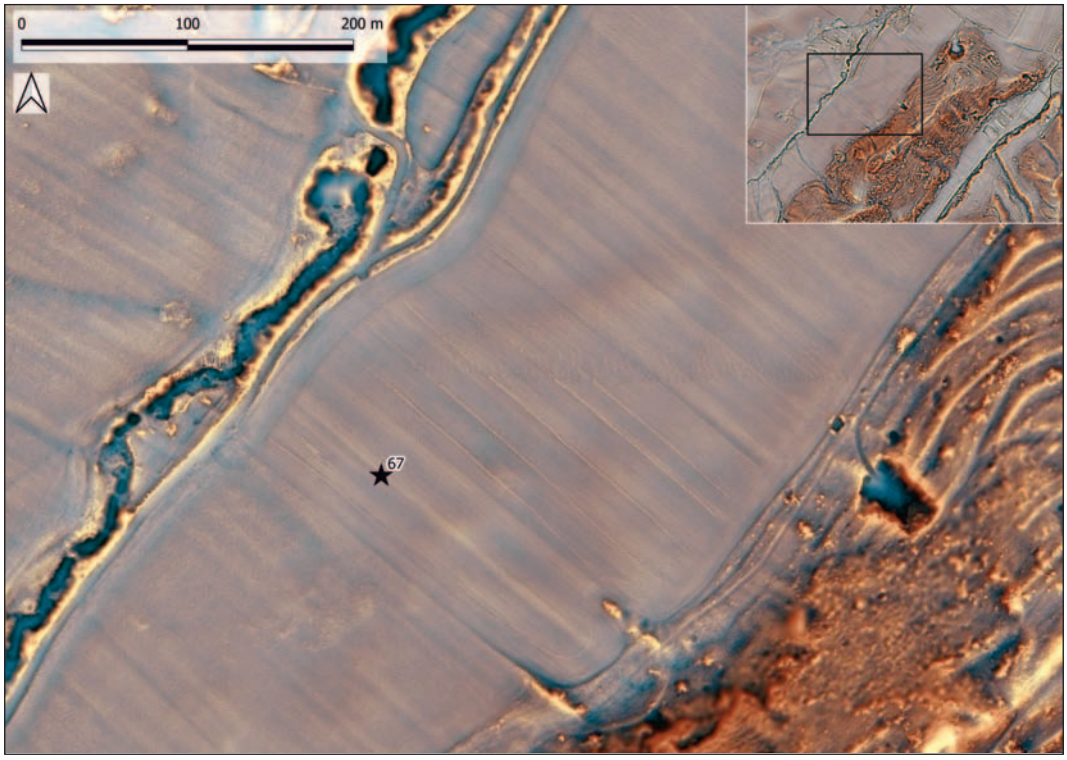


Fig. 1. Ploštín. Lidar image of the open settlement Pod Rohačkou with the spot where the Noric-Pannonian belt clasp was found (source ÚGKK SR; elaborated by T. Lieskovský and J. Zachar).

DESCRIPTION AND EVALUATION OF THE FIND

Unfortunately, this rectangular clasp with a bent frame and two thorns found on the settlement Pod Rohačkou is damaged. It lacks one side and the back of the clasp is bent (Fig. 2). Nevertheless, based on characteristic features, it was possible to reliably determine its type as G2b (*Garbsch 1965*, 81, fig. 43). The front, concave side – a bit narrower than the backside – has two undecorated fastening thorns. The preserved shorter concave side is framed by two gentle ribs. *J. Garbsch* (*1965*, 81, 82) recognised this type based on single finds from Magdelensberg and Sisak and determined the type chronology based on similar forms known from assemblages to the period between the reign of Tiberius (14–37 AD) and the first decades of the 2nd c. AD. Most likely, the clasp was about 49 mm long and 28 mm wide – which is consistent with the finds from Magdelensberg and Sisak. The damaged item from the settlement Pod Rohačkou weighs 11,806 g.

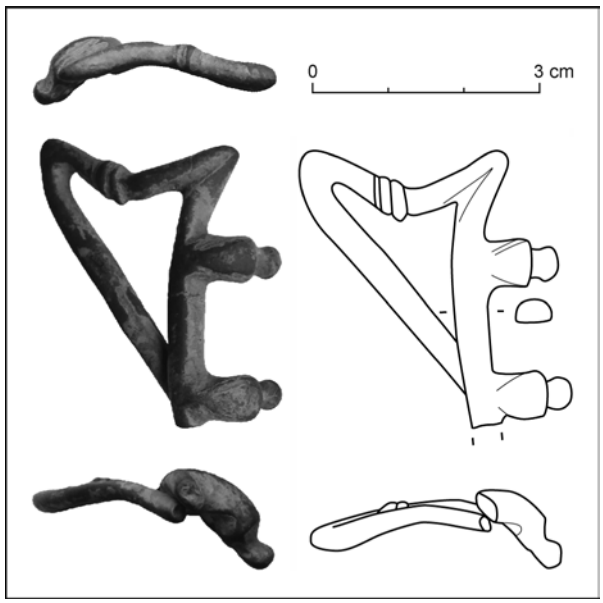


Fig. 2. Ploštín. Noric-Pannonian belt clasp from the settlement Pod Rohačkou (elaborated by M. Furman).

From North-Western Slovakia, there are Noric-Pannonian clasps both with one (types of the G1 group) and two fastening thorns (types of the G2 group). K. Pieta investigated such clasps in numerous works (*Pieta 1982*; *2014*; *2019*). In Northern Slovakia, clasps of those types were found in Early Roman layers of the decline horizon of the Púchov Culture, on hillforts in Podskalie and Vyšný Kubín (*Pieta 2014*, 149) but also as parts of female Noric-Pannonian belt sets (Bytča-Hrabové: *Pieta 2019*, 245 f.). According to *P. Łuczakiewicz* and

M. Schönfelder (*2008*, 162), clasps can be found in both male and female graves and thus are not related to gender.

The closest analogies to the clasp from the settlement Pod Rohačkou can be found in a skeletal double grave in Bytča-Hrabové (*Pieta 2019*, 246, fig. 6: 28d). Both items have similarly framed shorter edges and fastening thorns resemble duck heads without engraved ornaments. Unlike similar clasps from Blatica or Bytča-Hrabové, thorns of the find from Pod Rohačkou are inwardly bent. The feature is not a result of secondary damages to the item. Similar types of Noric-Pannonian clasps with two thorns are known from Blatnica and Košeca-Nozdrovice (*Pieta 2019*, 272, fig. 27: 5, 6). The equipment from grave 1 from Bytča – according to an anthropological report by *J. Jakab* (*2011*, 117) of a 30–40-year-old woman – contains also a pair of the Almgren 67 fibulas, bronze rivets and boat-like plaques with a pair of rivets on each side. All these types of items were present on the settlement Pod Rohačkou. They were scattered throughout the site with a considerable concentration in the south-eastern part of the area. The well-documented presence of profiled belt-ends, boat-like plaques and various small shields indicates that inhabitants of the settlement agglomeration Pod Rohačkou wore belt sets of the so-called Noric-Pannonian type.

Thanks to the preliminary metal detection surveys on the arable land, the open settlement Pod Rohačkou provides an abundant database of archaeological finds from the period between the Bronze Age and the Roman phase of the Púchov Culture, the latter being also most prominent on the site. In terms of the finds, the settlement Pod Rohačkou resembles numerous settlements in the Liptov (Liptovská Mara-Havránok, Likavka-Predné hony) and Turiec (Blatnica-Rovná, Folkušová-Necpaly). This, in turn, corroborates the view that, in prehistoric times and early historic periods, there were intense mutual contacts between the regions and at the turn of the eras, both belonged to one cultural milieu. The clasp discussed in this paper provides yet another confirmation of this hypothesis.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bel 2014 – M. Bel: *Liptovská stolica*. Čadca 2014.

Benediková et al. 2019 – L. Benediková/M. Furman/Z. Bielichová/J. Mihályová/J. Tirpák: Čo (staro)nového pod Rohačkou? In: L. Benediková/G. Březinová/E. Horváthová/S. Stegmann-Rajtár (eds.): *Fragmenty času. Venované Elene Miroššayovej k 70. narodeninám*. Študijné zvesti AÚ SAV – Supplementum 1. Nitra 2019, 51–88. DOI: https://doi.org/10.31577/szausav.2019.suppl.1.2

Brezňanová/Furman 2019 – G. Brezňanová/M. Furman: Súbor nálezov zo sídliska v Ploštíne pod hradiskom Rohačka. Príspevok je venovaný prof. Jozefovi Bujnovi k jeho životnému jubileu 70. rokov. *Monument revue* 2, 2019, 12–22.

Furman 2016 – M. Furman: *Opevnenia na Liptove. Refúgiá, hradiská a hrádky od praveku po stredovek*. Žilina 2016.

Furman 2019 – M. Furman: Tri nové archeologické náleziská na Liptove zistené leteckým laserovým skenovaním. *Monument revue* 2, 2019, 2–5.

Furman 2020 – M. Furman: *Nové objavy v Žilinskom kraji I. Archeologické aktivity Krajského pamiatkového úradu Žilina v rokoch 2014–2018*. Žilina 2020.

Garbsch 1965 – J. Garbsch: *Die Norisch-pannonische Frauentracht im 1. und 2. Jahrhundert*. Müncher Beiträge zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte 11. München 1965.

Jakab 2011 – J. Jakab: Kostry zo ženského dvojhrobu púchovskej kultúry v Bytči. *AVANS 2008*, 2011, 116–118.

Lofajová Danielová/Furman 2019 – B. Lofajová Danielová/M. Furman (eds.): *Výsledky nových archeologických výskumov na strednom Slovensku II. a III. Zborník príspevkov z 2. a 3. ročníka konferencie archeológov pôsobiacich v oblasti stredného Slovenska. Banská Bystrica 2017 – Oravský Podzámok 2018*. Dolný Kubín – Bratislava 2019.

Łuczkiewicz/Schönfelder 2008 – P. Łuczkiewicz/M. Schönfelder: Untersuchungen zur Ausstattung eines späteisenzeitlichen Reiterkriegers aus den südlichen Karpaten- oder Balkanraum. *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums* 55, 2008, 159–209. DOI: https://doi.org/10.11588/jrgzm.2008.1.16837

Pieta 1982 – K. Pieta: *Die Púchov-Kultur*. Archaeologica Slovaca Monographiae. Studia 1. Nitra 1982.

Pieta 2014 – K. Pieta: Hradiská vo Folkušovej-Necpaloch a Blatnici. Juhovýchodné prvky v púchovskej kultúre. *Slovenská archeológia* 62, 2014, 125–165.

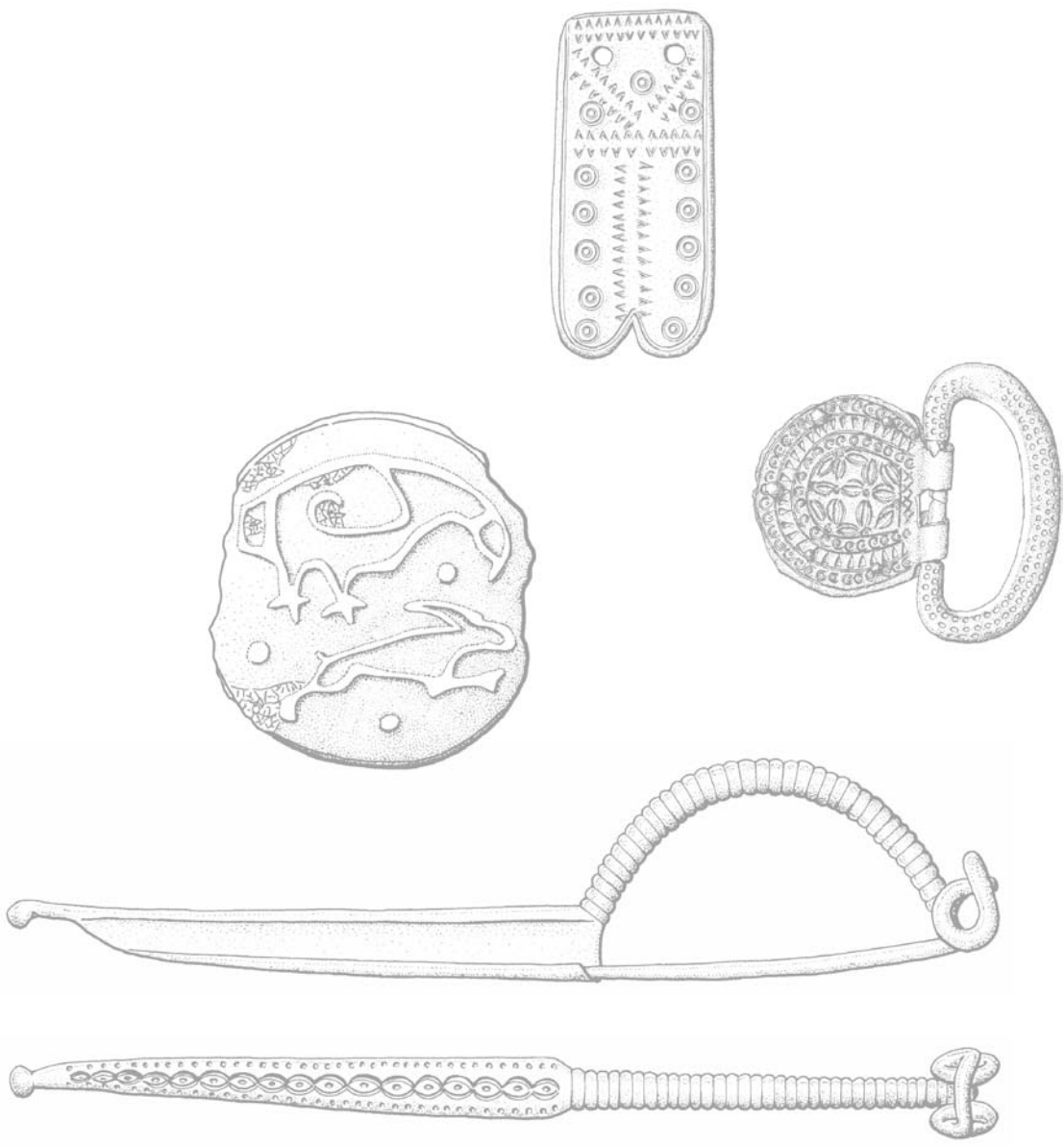
Pieta 2019 – K. Pieta: Early Roman Period Burials of Púchov Cuture: Buried Natives or Offered Foreigners? *Slovenská archeológia* 67, 2019, 241–286. DOI: https://doi.org/10.31577/slovarch.2019.67.8

Manuscript accepted 4. 6. 2021

Translated by Magdalena Adamus

Mgr. Martin Furman, PhD.
Krajský pamiatkový úrad Žilina
Mariánske námestie 19
SK – 010 01 Žilina
martin.furman.za@gmail.com

The Germans



SLOVENSKÁ ARCHEOLÓGIA – SUPPLEMENTUM 2
Z. Robak/M. Ruttkay (eds.): Celts – Germans – Slavs.
A Tribute Anthology to Karol Pieta. Nitra 2021, 199–206.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.31577/slovarch.2021.suppl.2.18

EIN ISOLIERTES KÖRPERGRAB AUS DEM 1. JH. N. CHR. VOM GERMANISCHEN FÜRSTENSITZ IN ZOHOR, WESTSLOWAKEI[1]

KRISTIAN ELSCHEK

An Isolated Skeletal Grave from the 1st Century AD from the Germanic Nobility Seat in Zohor, Western Slovakia. Skeletal graves from the Region north of the Middle Danube are quite rare, because the cremation burials significantly predominated. In Zohor, beside richly equipped princely skeletal graves, also one isolated female skeletal grave of a 50–60 years old woman was excavated. It was found in the settlement area from the 1st c. AD, the equipment of the grave was rather poor than rich: two brooches Almgren 68, a small iron knife, a bronze needle und two small ceramic vessels. The median of the absolute ^{14}C dating was about 40 AD.

Keywords: Slovakia, 1st century AD, Germans, skeletal grave, absolute dating.

DIE FUNDSTELLE

Die polykulturelle Fundstelle von Zohor-Flur Piesky mit der Besiedlung vom Neolithikum, der Bronzezeit, Latènezeit, Römischen Kaiserzeit, und dem Frühmittelalter ist seit den 30-er Jahren des 20. Jahrhunderts bekannt. Die Fundstelle befindet sich an der Bernsteinstraße, die entlang des Marchflusses nach Norden führt (Abb. 1; 2). Sie liegt auf einem Sand/Schotterterrasse über dem Überschwemmungsgebiet des Marchflusses etwa 14 km nördlich vom Zusammenfluss der Donau mit der March entfernt. Beim Sand- und Schotterabbau wurden hier mehrere Fürstengräber aus der Römischen Kaiserzeit in den 30-er bis 50-er Jahren des 20. Jh. gestört, wobei ein Teil der Funde in die Museen von Bratislava und Martin kam (*Kolník 1959*; *Kraskovská 1959*; *Ondrouch 1957*). Weitere Rettungsgrabungen realisierte hier die Archäologische Abteilung des Slowakischen Nationalmuseums (z. B. *Studeníková 1978*), die Prospektion und weitere Rettungs- und Forschungsgrabungen werden hier seit 1994 vom Archäologischem Institut der SAW realisiert.[2] Seit 1994 konnten etwa 100 Siedlungsobjekte und 24 Brandgräber vom 1.–3. Jahrhundert, ein neues Fürstengrab Nr. 6-Objekt 217/2010 der sog. Lübsow/Lubieszewo-Gruppe vom 2. Jh. und das hier behandelte Körpergrab-Objekt 230/2010 vom 1. Jh. untersucht werden.

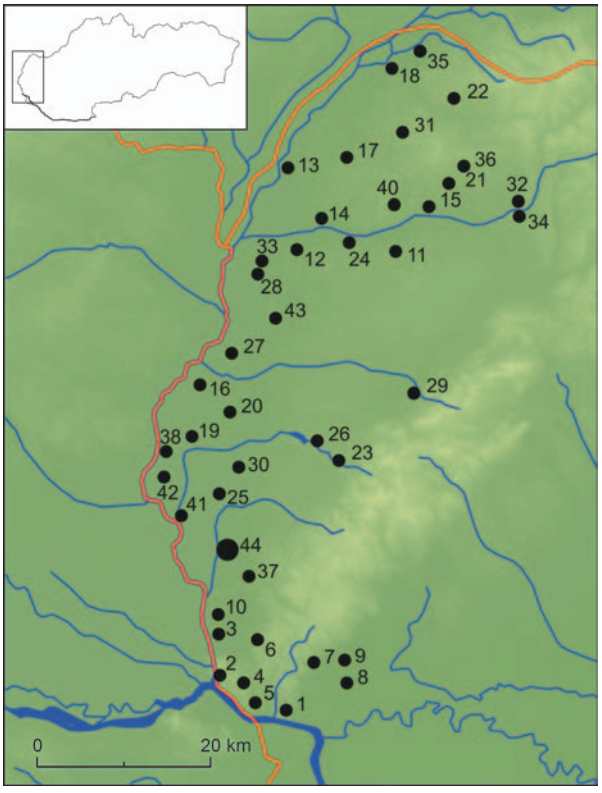


Abb. 1. Marchgebiet mit Fundstellen auf slowakischem Gebiet aus der Römischen Kaiserzeit. Fundstelle Zohor ist unter Nr. 44 situiert.

[1] Der Beitrag entstand im Rahmen des Grantprojektes VEGA Nr. 2/0001/18, und ist dem Kollegen PhDr. Karol Pieta, DrSc., zum 80. Geburtstag gewidmet.

[2] K. Elschek.

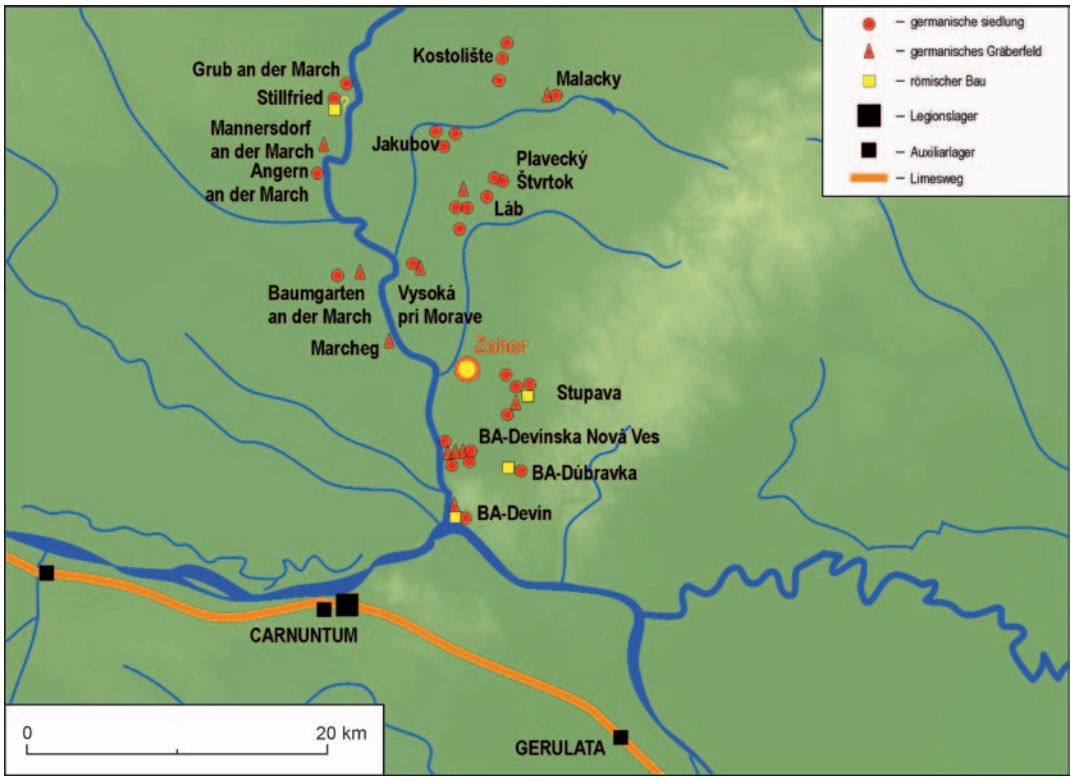


Abb. 2. Südliches Marchgebiet mir Fundstellen aus der Römischen Kaiserzeit.

Zu weiteren Befunden gehören ein Hortfund von Bronzegefäßbruchstücken (*Elschek 2002*), ein Sepulkrakobjekt (*Elschek/Rajtár/Varsik 2011*), weitere Funde vom Brandgräberfeld kamen ins Slowakische Nationalmuseum.

KÖRPERGRÄBER IN BÖHMEN UND IM NORDDANUBISCHEN BARBARIKUM WÄHREND DES 1. JH.

Während der Römischen Kaiserzeit wurde in Böhmen und dem norddanubischen Barbarikum bei den Germanen die Brandbestattung auf Nekropolen in Nähe von Siedlungen bevorzugt, so wie das auch in Zohor der Fall ist. Selten kommen germanische Körpergräber einzeln oder in kleinen Gruppen vor. Schon *J. Lichardus* (*1984*, 54–56) stellte beim birituellen Gräberfeld von Abrahám, das weiter unten behandelt wird fest, daß die Körpergräber eine geschlossene Gruppe im Süden des Gräberfelds bildeten. Erst später kamen südlich und östlich dieser Gruppe weitere jüngere Brandgräber dazu, wobei die Körpergräbergruppe respektiert blieb. Eine spezielle Problematik stellen die Körpergräber mit fürstlicher Ausstattung der sog. Lübsow-Lubieszewo Gruppe vor (*Eggers 1949–1950*; *Schuster 2010*). Diese Gräber liegen fast ausschließlich isoliert von den Brandgräberfeldern, so wie das auch in Zohor der Fall ist (*Elschek 2013b*).

In Böhmen befaßte sich mit den germanischen Körpergräbern während der Stufe B1 der Römischen Kaiserzeit nach *J. Lichardus* (*1984*, 48–51) auch *E. Droberjar* (*2006*, 650–652, 695–697). Er führt hier 36 Körpergräber an die nur 6,4 % der Gräber aus der Zeitstufe B1 nach H. J. Eggers (0–50 n. Chr.) bilden (*Eggers 1951*). Die Gräber kommen nach E. Droberjar in Böhmen entweder einzeln oder in kleinen Gruppen von 2–4 Körpergräbern vor, wobei sie sich in der Regel außerhalb von zeitgleichen Brandgräberfeldern befinden. Er stellte weiter fest, daß die Körpergräber der Stufe B1 in Böhmen viel zahlreicher als in Mitteldeutschland sind wo er nur 7 Körpergräber aus dieser Zeit anführt (*Droberjar 2006*, 650).

Im norddanubischen Barbarikum sind Körpergräber aus der Älteren Römischen Kaiserzeit auch nicht zahlreich vertreten. Aus Mušov in Südmähren stammt ein Körpergrab von der Flur „U Sv. Jána" das aber wahrscheinlich schon in die Stufe B2 gehört, möglicherweise stammt auch die ältere Komponente vom hiesigen Königsgrab aus der Flur Neurissen aus der Stufe B1 (*Droberjar 2006*, 650). Aus Velatice stammen zwei Körpergräber Nr. 3 und 20 (*Jílek/Kuča/Sojková 2011*, 242, Abb. 5: 3, 4; Taf. III; VIII). Zu den Beigaben vom Körpergrab Nr. 17 (bzw. jetzt

Tab. 1. Körpergräber aus Abrahám und Sládkovičovo (Südwestslowakei).

Grab	Fibel	Gefäß	Nadel	Nähnadel	Andere	Datierung	Geschlecht	Alter
Abrahám – Körpergräber								
3	A68 (3 St.)	1	1	1	–	B1c	Frau	16–18
4	A67 (2 St.)	1	–	–	Armring	B1b	Frau	40–50
11	–	–	–	–	Feuerstahl	?	Mann	–
12	A68	1	–	–	–	B1c	Frau	30–40
13	–	1	–	–	–	?	–	–
121	A68 (2 St.)	–	–	–	Bronzegefäß (2 St.)	B1c	Mann	50–60
124	A67 + römische Fibel	1	–	–	–	B1b–c	Kind	–
135	A68 (3 St.)	–	–	–	–	B1c	Frau	40–60
135a	–	–	–	–	–	–	Kind	8–10
138	A45	–	–	–	Gürtelbeschlag	B1b–c	Frau?	–
140	A56	–	–	–	–	B1c	Erwachsen	–
144	A45 + 49 + 55	1	–	–	–	B1b	Frau	50–60
145A	–	–	–	–	–	?	–	–
Sládkovičovo – Körpergräber								
27	A69 + A145	2	–	–	–	B2a	–	–
28	A60	1	1	–	–	B2a	–	–
31	–	–	–	–	–	?	–	–
39	A68	–	–	1	–	B1c	–	–
40	–	–	–	–	–	?	–	–
41	–	–	–	–	Messer	?	–	–

Nr. 20)[3] aus Velatice gehörte auch eine Fibel vom Typ Almgren 68 (*Tejral 1977*, 323–324, Abb. 16: 7). Dieser Fibeltyp ist auch in Körper- und Brandgräbern des birituellen Gräberfelds von Mikulov vertreten, wo 16 Skelettgräber und 19 Brandgräber abgedeckt aber bisher nicht zusammenfassend publiziert wurden (*Peškař 1972*, 36, Taf. 10: 1; *Tejral 1977*, 324, Abb. 18: 7–9).

Aus Niederösterreich stammen zwei Körpergräber aus der frühen Kaiserzeit aus Schleinbach (*Lauermann 2017*, 241; *Mitscha-Märheim 1930*; *Pollak 1980*, 119), weitere Brand- und Körperbestattungen sind auch vom Gräberfeld aus Baumgarten an der March bekannt, vom weiblichen Körpergrab des 1. Jh. aus der Fundstelle 6 stammen u. a. norisch-pannonische Trachtbestandteile und ein römischer Spiegel (*Adler 1976*, Abb. 10–15; *Garbsch 1965*, 224; *Pollak 1980*, 11–13, Taf. 3; 4). Das Körpergrab mit reicher Bestattung aus Neuruppersdorf wird zu den Fürstengräbern der Lübsow-Gruppe gereiht (*Adler 1975*), allerdings gehört dieses Grab wahrscheinlich schon in die Zeitphase B2.

In der Westslowakei wurden mehrere Körpergräber im Rahmen der Brandgräberfelder von Abrahám und Sládkovičovo östlich der Kleinen Karpaten untersucht (*Kolník 1980*). Nur einige Körpergräber gehören wahrscheinlich noch in die Zeitphase B1b (25–50 n. Chr.),[4] die meisten dann in die Phase B1c (50–70 n. Chr.).[5] In Abrahám war die Orientierung der Körpergräber vorwiegend NW–SO und W–O wobei sich in den Körpergräbern von Abrahám und Sládkovičovo keine Waffen befanden (*Lichardus 1984*, 52–56), wie das auch bei den Fürstengräbern der Lübsow Gruppe der Fall ist (Tab. 1).

[3] Jetzt nach neuer Nummerierung Grab Nr. 20 (vorher als Nr. 17 publiziert) das etwas abseits von den Brandgräbern situiert war (nach *Jílek/Kuča/Sojková 2011*, 242).

[4] Nach *Kolník 1977*, 149–159.

[5] Nach *Kolník 1977*, 159–161.

Abb. 3. Zohor-Piesky. Körpergrab-Objekt 230/2010.

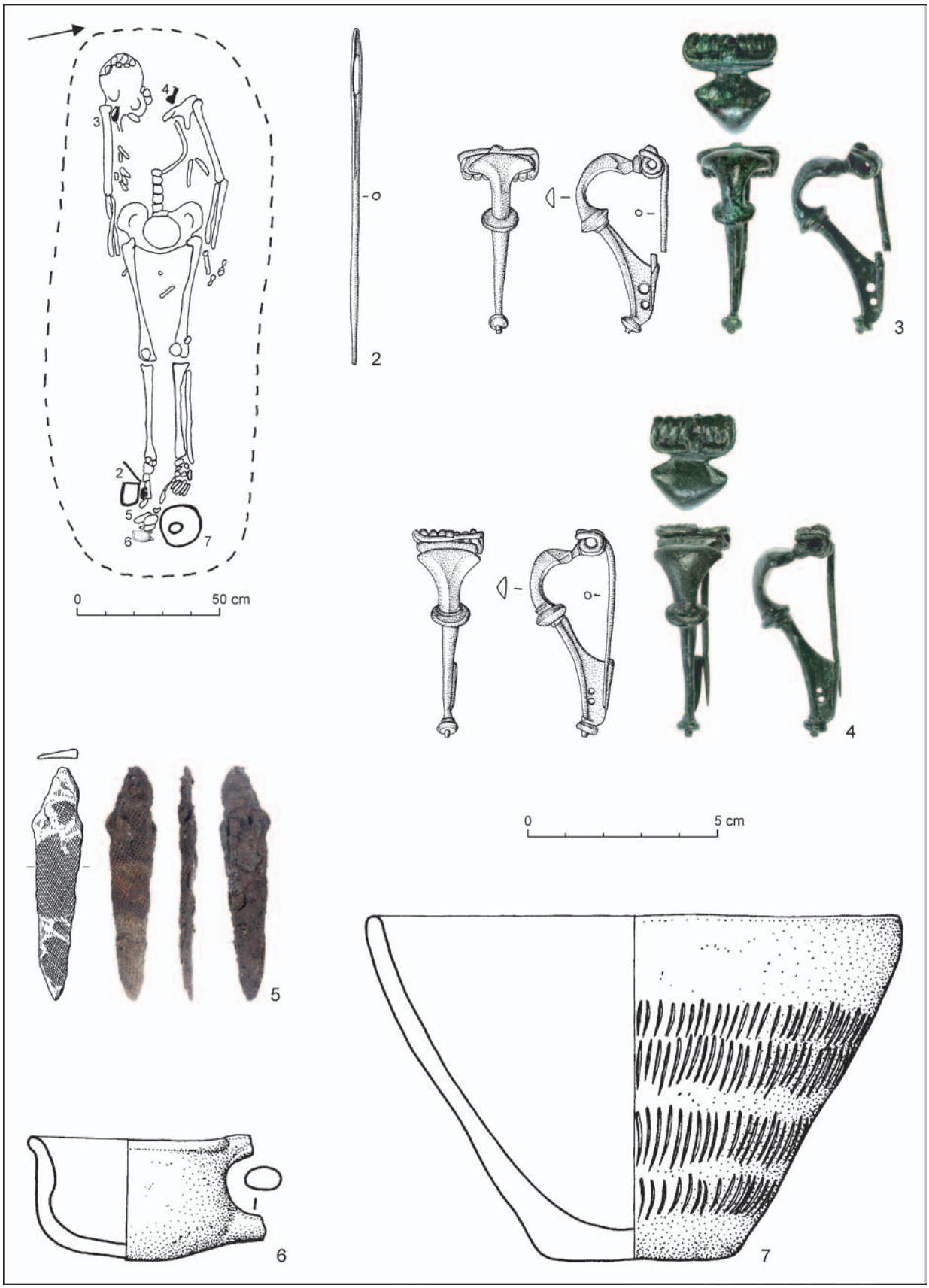


Abb. 4. Zohor-Piesky. Körpergrab-Objekt 230/2010. 2–4 – Bronze; 5 – Eisen; 6, 7 – Keramik.

KÖRPERGRAB-OBJEKT 230/2010

Während der Rettungsgrabung im Jahr 2010 wurde in Zohor ein einzelnes seicht vertieftes Körpergrab untersucht. Das Skelettgrab lag an der Kante Humus/Mutterboden. Es war im germanischen Siedlungsbereich vom 1. Jh. n. Chr. situiert. Etwa 30 m in nördlicher Richtung wurde das germanische Fürstengrab Nr.6-Objekt 217/2010 von der 1. Hälfte des 2. Jh. untersucht, in nordöstlicher Richtung befand sich das ausgedehnte germanische Brandgräberfeld vom 1.–3. Jh. (*Elschek 2007*; *2013b*; *2014a*; *2014b*), in nördlicher und nordöstlicher Richtung befanden sich weitere Abschnitte der germanischen Zentralsiedlung vom 1.–4. Jh. (*Elschek 1997*; *2011*; *2013a*; *2015*). Die Tote lag in gestreckter Lage am Rücken. Nach der anthropologischen Analyse handelte es sich bei der Toten um eine für diese Zeit alte Frau von 50–60 Jahren die etwa 161–164 cm groß war und an Arthrose litt.[6] Die entwickelten Muskelansätze deuten auf eine relativ schwere Arbeit, die die Frau in ihrem Leben verrichtete. Der Grund warum die Tote isoliert im Siedlungsbereich des 1. Jh. und nicht am Brandgräberfeld bestattet wurde ist fraglich, es ist möglich, daß sie eine spezielle Rolle im Rahmen der hiesigen Kommunität erfüllte oder handelte es sich um eine körperbehinderte Frau.

An den Schultern der Bestatteten befanden sich je eine Fibel Almgren 68 und bei den Füßen zwei kleine keramische Gefäße, ein Eisenmesser und eine bronzene Nähnadel (Abb. 3; 4: 1). Die Fibeln Almgren 68 werden vorwiegend um die Mitte des 1. Jh. und während des 3. Viertels des 1. Jh. getragen. Die späten Exemplare des Typs Almgren 68 mit deutlich S-förmig gebogenem Körper waren wahrscheinlich auch noch in flavischer Zeit in Verwendung. Nach der Analyse von I. Peškař werden Fibeln vom Typ Almgren 68 seit den 30-er bis 70-er Jahren getragen (*Peškař 1972*, 77, 78). Der Verbreitung des Überganstyps Almgren 67/68 und dem Typ Almgren 68 im Barbarikum widmete sich M. Mączyńska, sie datiert den Typ Almgren 68 in die claudische bis vespasianische Zeit (*Mączyńska 2001*). Am Magdalensberg in der Provinz Noricum gehören Fibeln vom Typ Almgren 68 und Halbfabrikate von diesen etwa in die claudische Zeit – ca. 35/40–50 n. Chr. (*Sedlmayer 2009*, 155–162, Abb. 107; Taf. 20–22). Die Produktion von Fibeln des Typs Almgren 68 ist auch in der Nachfolgersiedlung vom Magdalensberg in Virunum belegt (*Cociș 2019*, 62, 63).

Zum Körpergrab-Objekt 230/2010 zeitlich verwandte Körpergräber mit 1–3 Fibeln des Typs Almgren 68 wurden in der Südwestslowakei in birituellen Gräberfeldern Abrahám (Gräber 3, 12, 121, 135) und Sládkovičovo (Grab 39) untersucht (Tab. 1).

Weitere Funde vom Grab tragen zur Datierung nicht entscheiden bei, die Nähnadel und das Messer mit Geweberest waren während der ganzen römischen Kaiserzeit in Verwendung. Nach vorläufiger Analyse von T. Štolcová handelt es sich beim Geweberest in dem das kleine Messer eingepackt wurde um ein leinwandiges Gewebe. Der Textilabdruck ist auf einer Seite und der Messerkante erhalten geblieben. Die zwei kleinen Keramikgefäße sind auch keine typischen Repräsentanten von germanischen Keramikformen des 1. Jh. Das Miniaturgefäß – kleine Henkeltasse hat fürs 1. Jh. Parallelen in der Südwestslowakei, in Sládkovičovo-Grab 77 (*Kolník 1980*, 323, Grab 77 g) und Bratislava-Dúbravka-Objekt 1/83 (*Elschek 2017*, 175, Taf. I: 9). E. Droberjar reihte kleine Henkeltassen vom 2. Jh. aus Südmähren zum Typ 5300 (*Droberjar 1997*, 62). Miniaturgefäße vom quadischen Gebiet bearbeitete *E. Krekovič* (*2014*). Der Problematik der Miniaturgefäße in der Slowakei wurde ein Kolloquium gewidmet (*Turčan 2016*), ähnliche kleine Keramiktassen waren aber hier nicht vorhanden. Parallelen zu den konischen Keramikgefäßen vom 1. Jh. finden wir aus der Südwestslowakei in Bratislava-Dúbravka im Objekt 22/88 etwa aus claudisch-frühflavischer Zeit der Zeitstufen B1b–B1c (*Elschek 2017*, 192, Taf. 18: 7, 9), E. Droberjar reihte konische Gefäße des 2. Jh. aus Südmähren zum Typ 2600 (*Droberjar 1997*, 55).

Katalog der Funde
(Abb. 4)

1. Körpergrab einer Frau mit Grabbeigaben.
2. Nähnadel, Ae, L. 8,9 cm, Inv. 1730/2010.
3. Typ Almgren 68. Kräftig profilierte Fibel, Ae, eingliedrig, mit dreiteiligem Bügelknoten, kurzem verbreiterten oben gewölbten Kopfteil, Stützplatte, Sehnenhaken und Spiralrolle mit vier Windungen an jeder Seite, obere Sehne und Nadel, stabförmiger Fuß mit Knopfabschluss, trapezförmiger beschädigter Nadelhalter mit zwei kreisförmigen Öffnungen, L. 5,5 cm, Inv. 1728/2010-Kat. Fibel Nr. 80.
4. Typ Almgren 68. Kräftig profilierte Fibel, Ae, eingliedrig, mit dreiteiligem Bügelknoten, kurzem verbreiterten oben gewölbten Kopfteil, Stützplatte, Sehnenhaken und der Spiralrolle mit vier Windungen an jeder Seite, oberer Sehne und Nadel, stabförmiger Fuß mit Knopfabschluss, trapezförmiger beschädigter Nadelhalter, L. 5 cm, Inv. 1729/2010-Kat. Fibel Nr. 83.
5. Messer. Fe, mit Gewebeabdruck auf einer Seite und der Messerkante, L. 6,2 cm, Inv. 1725/2010.
6. Kleine Henkeltasse, Dm. M. 4.9 cm, H. 3,4 cm, Inv. Ker. 387/2010.
7. Kleine konische becherförmige Schüssel, vier waagerechte Reihen von Rillen, Dm. M. 13,6 cm, H. 9,1 cm, Inv. Ker. 388/2010.

[6] Die anthropologische Analyse führte RNDr. Július Jakab, CSc., durch (*Jakab 2015*, 119, 120).

^{14}C Analyse der Knochenproben vom Körpergrab-Objekt 230/2010 (Abb. 5)

Die Knochenproben der Toten für die ^{14}C Probe (Zähne) realisierte das Laboratorium Datowań Bezwzględnych in Kraków im Jahr 2012.[7] Der Median liegt um 40 n. Chr. (Abb. 5). Die Daten entsprechen etwa der konventionellen Datierung der Fibeln vom Typ Almgren 68 die wie oben erwähnt am meisten in den 30–70-er Jahren des 1. Jh. getragen wurden. Ähnliche Daten erbrachte auch die ^{14}C Datierung der Holzeinfassung vom Brunnen aus Mušov-Neurissen, der sich beim römischen Holzgebäude mit Apsis befand. Diese betrug 1970 ± 40 BP, bzw. 50 BC–130 AD mit 95,4 % Wahrscheinlichkeit (*Groh 2015*, 181, Tab. 14).

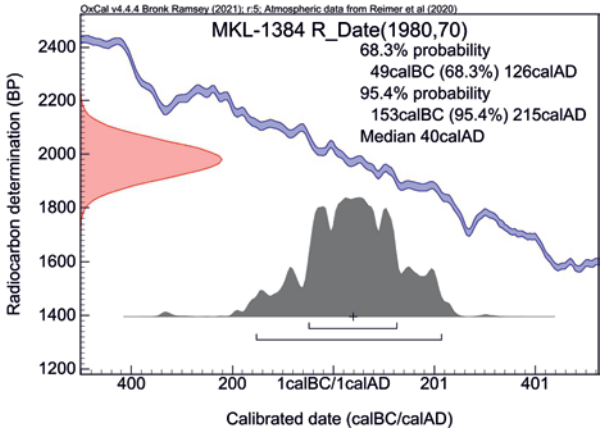


Abb. 5. Zohor-Piesky. Die ^{14}C Analyse der Knochenproben vom Körpergrab-Objekt 230/2010.

LITERATUR

Adler 1975 – H. Adler: Ein germanisches Körpergrab der Römischen Kaiserzeit in Neuruppersdorf. *Fundberichte aus Österreich* 14, 1975, 15–26.

Adler 1976 – H. Adler: Kaiserzeitliche Funde aus Baumgarten an der March. *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* 106, 1976, 7–16.

Cociș 2019 – S. Cociș: *The Brooch Workshops from Dacia and the other Danubian Provinces of the Roman Empire (1st c. BC–3rd c. AD)*. Cluj-Napoca 2019.

Droberjar 1997 – E. Droberjar: *Studien zu den germanischen Siedlungen der Älteren Römischen Kaiserzeit in Mähren*. Fontes Archaeologici Pragenses 21. Praha 1997.

Droberjar 2006 – E. Droberjar: Hornolabští Svebové – Markomani. K problematice dalšího vývoje großromstedtské kultúry ve stupni Eggers B1 („Zeitgruppe 3“) v Čechách (dobřichovská skupina). *Archeologie ve středních Čechách* 10, 2006, 599–712.

Eggers 1949–1950 – H. J. Eggers: Lübsow. Ein germanischer Fürstensitz der älteren Kaiserzeit. *Praehistorische Zeitschrift* 34–35, 1949–1950, 58–111.

Eggers 1951 – H. J. Eggers: *Der römische Import im freien Germanien*. Atlas zur Urgeschichte 1. Hamburg 1951.

Elschek 1997 – K. Elschek: Archeologický výskum v Zohore v roku 1995. *AVANS 1995*, 1997, 40–43, 207–211.

Elschek 2002 – K. Elschek: Ein Hortfund von römischen Bronzegefäßbruchstücken, neue Grab- und Siedlungsfunde aus Zohor (Westslowakei). In: K. Kuzmová/K. Pieta/J. Rajtár (Hrsg.): *Zwischen Rom und dem Barbaricum. Festschrift für T. Kolník zum 70. Geburtstag*. Archaeologica Slovaca Monographiae. Communicationes 5. Nitra 2002, 245–260.

Elschek 2007 – K. Elschek: Der germanische Fürstensitz von Zohor (Westslowakei) während der römischen Kaiserzeit. Kurze Übersicht. *Zborník SNM* 101. *Archeológia* 17, 2007, 265–280.

Elschek 2011 – K. Elschek: Záchranný výskum v areáli A.S.A. Zohor v roku 2008. *AVANS 2008*, 2011, 85–87, 295.

Elschek 2013a – K. Elschek: Pokračovanie záchranného výskumu v areáli A.S.A. Zohor. In: *AVANS 2009*, 2013, 92, 93, 287.

Elschek 2013b – K. Elschek: Zohor. Ein neues Fürstengrab der „Lübsow-Gruppe“ und Brandgräber mit Edelmetallbeigaben aus Zohor (Westslowakei). In: M. Hardt/O. Heinrich-Tamáska (Hrsg.): *Macht des Goldes, Gold der Macht. Herrschafts- und Jenseitspräsentation zwischen Antike und Frühmittelalter im mittleren Donauraum. Forschungen zu Spätantike und Mittelalter. Band 2. Akten des 23. Internationalen Symposiums der Grundproblemeder frühgeschichtlichen Entwicklung im mittleren Donauraum. Tengelic, 16.–19. 11. 2011*. Weinstadt 2013, 91–123.

Elschek 2014a – K. Elschek: Nové žiarové hroby z 2. polovice 2. storočia zo Zohora na západnom Slovensku. In: V. Turčan (zost.): *Stĺp Marca Aurelia a stredné Podunajsko. Štúdie*. Zborník SNM. Archeológia. Supplementum 8. Bratislava 2014, 41–50.

Elschek 2014b – K. Elschek: Zohor v dobe rímskej. Nový germánsky kniežací hrob a žiarové pohrebiská na Záhorí. In: B. Komoróczy (ed.): *Sociální diferenciace barbarských komunit ve světle nových hrobových, sídlištních a sběrových nálezů (Archeologie barbarů 2011)*. Spisy Archeologického ústavu AV ČR Brno 44. Brno 2014, 113–131.

Elschek 2015 – K. Elschek: Pokračovanie záchranného výskumu v areáli A.S.A. Zohor v roku 2010. *AVANS 2010*, 2015, 74–77, 266–270.

Elschek 2017 – K. Elschek: *Bratislava-Dúbravka im 1. bis 4. Jahrhundert n. Chr. Germanischer Fürstensitz mit römischen Bauten und die germanische Besiedlung*. Archaeologica Slovaca Monographiae. Studia 29. Nitra 2017.

Elschek/Rajtár/Varsík 2011 – K. Elschek/J. Rajtár/V. Varsik: Sepulkrálny objekt zo Zohora. In: E. Droberjar (ed.): *Archeologie barbarů 2010. Hroby a pohřebiště Germánů mezi Labem a Dunajem. Sborník příspěvků ze VI. Protohistorické konferencie. Hradec Králové, 6.–9. září 2010*. Studia Archaeologica Suebica I. Olomouc 2011, 133–151.

[7] Prof. dr hab. inż. Marek Krąpiec.

Garbsch 1965 – J. Garbsch: *Die norisch-pannonische Frauentrach im 1. und 2. Jahrhundert*. Münchner Beiträge zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte 11. Veröffentlichungen der Kommission zur archäologischen Erforschung des spätrömischen Raetien 5. München 1965.

Groh 2015 – St. Groh: Römische Feldlager in der March-Thaya-Region. In: St. Groh/H. Sedlmayer: *Expeditiones Barbaricae. Forschungen zu den römischen Feldlagern von Engelhartstetten, Kollnbrunn und Ruhhof, Niederösterreich*. Archäologische Forschungen in Niederösterreich. Neue Folge 2. Krems 2015, 154–184.

Jakab 2015 – J. Jakab: Dve kostry zo staršej doby rímskej v Zohore. *AVANS 2010*, 2015, 119, 120.

Jílek/Kuča/Sojková 2011 – J. Jílek/M. Kuča/T. Sojková: Pohřebište z doby římské ve Velaticích. *Slovenská archeológia* 59, 2011, 235–309.

Kolník 1959 – T. Kolník: Germánske hroby zo staršej doby rímskej zo Zohora, Žlkoviec a Kostolnej pri Dunaji. *Slovenská archeológia* 7, 1959, 144–162.

Kolník 1977 – T. Kolník: Anfänge der germanischen Besiedlung in der Südwestslowakei und das Regnum Vannianum. In: B. Chropovský (Hrsg.): *Symposium Ausklang der Latène-Zivilisation und Anfänge der germanischen Besiedlung*. Bratislava 1977, 143–171.

Kolník 1980 – T. Kolník: *Römerzeitliche Gräberfelder in der Slowakei*. Archaeologica Slovaca Monographiae. Fontes 14. Bratislava 1980.

Kraskovská 1959 – Ľ. Kraskovská: Hroby z doby rímskej v Zohore. *Slovenská archeológia* 7, 1959, 99–143.

Krekovič 2014 – E. Krekovič: Miniaturgefäße im quadischen Kultur-Gebiet in der Slowakei. In: R. Madyda-Legutko/J. Rodzińska-Nowak (red.): *Honoratissimum assensus genus est armis laudare. Studia dedykowane Profesorowi Piotrowi Kaczanowskiemu z okazji siedemdziesiątej rocznicy urodzin*. Kraków 2014, 443–453.

Lauermann 2017 – E. Lauermann: Zum Forschungsstand der Römischen Kaiserzeit und der Völkerwanderungszeit in norddanubischen Niederösterreich. In: *Na hranicích impéria. Extra fines imperii. Jaroslavu Tejralovi k 80. narozeninám*. Brno 2017, 235–254.

Lichardus 1984 – J. Lichardus: *Körpergräber der frühen Kaiserzeit im Gebiet der südlichen Elbgermanen*. Saarbrückener Beiträge zur Altertumskunde. Band 43. Bonn 1984.

Mączyńska 2001 – M. Mączyńska: Das Verbreitungsbild der Fibeln A. 67/68 und A. 68 im Barbarikum. *Slovenská archeológia* 49, 2001, 165–179.

Mitscha-Märheim 1930 – H. Mitscha-Märheim: Germanische Funde aus dem Bezirk Mistelbach in Niederösterreich. *Jahrbuch für Landeskunde von Niederösterreich. Neue Folge* 23, 1930, 1–24.

Ondrouch 1957 – V. Ondrouch: *Bohaté hroby z doby rímskej na Slovensku*. Bratislava 1957.

Peškař 1972 – I. Peškař: *Fibeln aus der römischen Kaiserzeit in Mähren*. Praha 1972.

Pollak 1980 – M. Pollak: *Die germanischen Bodenfunde des 1.–4. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. Im nördlichen Niederösterreich*. Studien zur Ur- und Frühgeschichte des Donau- und Ostalpenraumes 1. Wien 1980.

Schuster 2010 – J. Schuster: *Lübsow. Älterkaiserzeitliche Fürstengräber im nördlichen Mitteleuropa*. Bonner Beiträge zur Vor- und Frühgeschichtlichen Archäologie 12. Bonn 2010.

Sedlmayer 2009 – H. Sedlmayer: *Die Fibeln vom Magdalensberg. Funde der Grabungsjahre 1948–2002 und Altfunde des 19. Jahrhunderts*. Kärntner Museumsschriften 79. Archäologische Forschungen zu den Grabungenauf dem Magdalensberg 16. Klagenfurt am Wörthersee 2009.

Studeníková 1978 – E. Studeníková: Nálezy z doby bronzovej v Zohore, okr. Bratislava-vidiek. *Zborník SNM* 72. *História* 18, 1978, 9–37.

Tejral 1977 – J. Tejral: Die älteste Phase der germanischen Besiedlung zwischen Donau und March. In: B. Chropovský (Hrsg.): *Symposium Ausklang der Latène-Zivilisation und Anfänge der germanischen Besiedlung*. Bratislava 1977, 307–342.

Turčan 2016 – V. Turčan: Vierzehnter Jahrgang der Kolloquien zu den Fragen der römisch-germanischen Archäologie. *Zborník SNM* 110. *Archeológia* 26, 2016, 193, 194.

Manuskript angenommen am 19. 9. 2021

Übersetzt von Verfasser
Abstract translated by author

PhDr. Kristian Elschek, CSc.
Archeologický ústav SAV
Akademická 2
SK – 949 21 Nitra
kristian.elschek@savba.sk

SLOVENSKÁ ARCHEOLÓGIA – SUPPLEMENTUM 2
Z. Robak/M. Ruttkay (eds.): Celts – Germans – Slavs.
A Tribute Anthology to Karol Pieta. Nitra 2021, 207–215.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.31577/slovarch.2021.suppl.2.19

ROMAN PERIOD SILVER BRACELET AND BROOCH FROM OTASLAVICE, PROSTĚJOV DISTRICT

JAN JÍLEK – PAVEL FOJTÍK – LUKÁŠ KUČERA – MIROSLAV POPELKA

A silver shield-head bracelet and a silver eastern-type spring-cover fibula were found in Otaslavice through metal detector survey. Both artefacts are closely related to finds attributed to the Wielbark culture. Their dating conforms to phase B2a or the second third of the 2nd c., respectively.

Keywords: Central Moravia, Roman Period, Wielbark culture, silver finds, bracelet, fibula.

INTRODUCTION AND CIRCUMSTANCES OF DISCOVERY

In October 2020 Radek Környei found two fragments of silver items at the site locally known as 'Kelecká' in the cadastre unit of Otaslavice, Prostějov distr. (Fig. 1). In line with the established cooperation with the Prostějov bureau of the Institute for Archaeological Heritage is handed them over for the purpose of evaluation and safekeeping with the respective museum. The site in question is located to the NW of the present-day village of Otaslavice and it is bisected by a road between the village and the major road connecting Brodek u Prostějova and Prostějov. As for geomorphologic classification, the site is a small hill (288.9 m a.s.l.) along a longer ridge which represents the western edge of Drahanská vrchovina, represented here by its part known as Konická vrchovina or, more precisely, its easternmost section known as Myslejovický hřbet (*Demek/Mackovčin 2006*, 306). The latter protrudes here into the vast SW part of Hornomoravský úval, namely Prostějovská pahorkatina and its section known as Kojetínská pahorkatina (*Demek/Mackovčin 2006*, 229).

The purpose of this short article is to introduce the new silver finds and to explain them within their relevant Central European contexts. Considering the circumstances of discovery, we cannot offer detailed conclusion regarding chronology. That being said, even these minor finds help paint a decent picture of Central Moravia in second century AD.

Description of items

1. Fragment of silver shield-head bracelet (ger. *Schild-Kopfarmringe*) deformed by fire, with pseudo-granulation decoration. The head has the following features: fan-shaped widened part with small grooves and astragal is attached to a stripe with two rows of pseudo-granulation with wavy line; the conical widening of the head is then attached to a stripe with pseudo-granulation and wavy line. The widened stick-shaped part of the bracelet bears two rows of notches shaped as the letter V – simplified fishbone motif, and three rows of astragal. The ring of the bracelet itself was represented by a silver stick with the diameter of an irregular circle. Dimensions 26 × 22 × 11 mm, weight 16.8744 g. Muzeum a galerie v Prostějově, item no. 310916 (Fig. 2: 1).
2. Fragment of eastern-series silver spring-cover fibula (ger. *Rollenkappenfibel*) damaged by fire, with roof-shaped edge of the bow bearing decoration comprising two vertical lines of astragal. The upper part of the bow is decorated with stamped rings. The knot is one-sided and disc-shaped and bears fir branch decoration framed by two rows of smaller astragal. The leg is decorated with a pair of stamped rings. Its deformed catch plate is folded; it is assumed that its shape was that of an irregular quadrangle. Dimensions 38 × 15 × 12 mm, weight 12.9078 g. Muzeum a galerie v Prostějově, item no. 310917 (Fig. 2: 2).

ARTEFACT ANALYSIS

Based on its shape, the fragment of the silver bracelet was identified as the Blume I type (*Blume 1912*, 64, 65, fig. 78; 79). The classification in newer systems is not very straightforward. The fragment in question is partially consistent with the Wójcik I

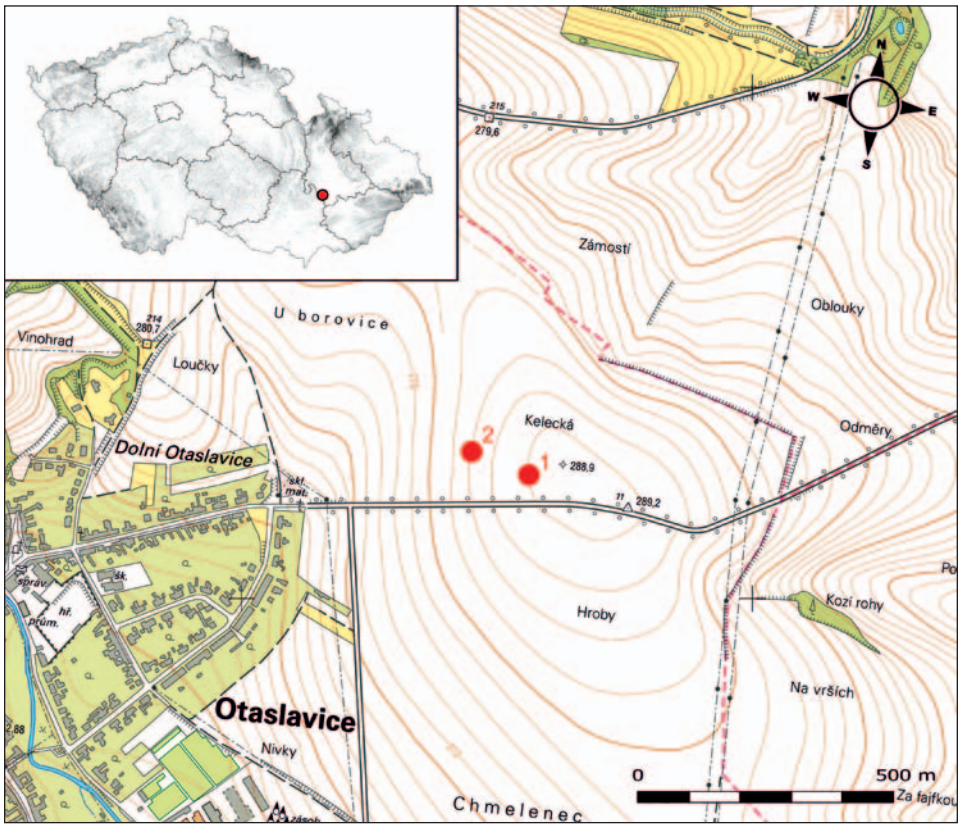


Fig. 1. Otaslavice, Prostějov distr., site of discovery of the silver items in question. 1 – bracelet; 2 – fibula. Map source ČÚZK (created by M. Popelka).

type; that being said, the widening of somewhat off-set edges makes it rather closer to the type Wójcik IIIAb (*Wójcik 1978*, 45–47, 54, 55, 93, 94, pl. I: 11; IV: 2). Based on more recent classification by *J. Strobin* (*2000*, 245, 246, fig. 17) it better corresponds to type I. It is a silver item whose ends were achieved through hammering in a mould, which fact is indicated by two shallow depressions at the rear side of the end of the bracelet (for more details see *Natuniewicz-Sekuła 2017*, 208, 209; *Strobin 2000*, 237, fig. 10; 13). Decoration is made via pseudo-granulation techniques and depletion – stamping. Both of these processes are documented vis-à-vis the decoration of the aforementioned group of bracelets (cf. *Strobin 2000*, fig. 22; *Ziemlińska-Odojowa 1999*, 17, pl. XII: 3).

Only a handful of exact analogies exist,[1] but we can still identify several very relevant pieces. The shape of shield-head ends of the silver bracelets from grave 336 (Fig. 3: 1) at the Kowalewko burial ground (*Skorupka 2001*, 89, 149, pl. 100: 7, 8) is the closest item to the Otaslavice piece. Similarities are most prominent with regard to the classification of the decorative ends, with two ribs that separate the conical part. Other similarities include the shaping of the ends of the bracelets – slightly offset and widened. The artefacts from Kowalewko are distinct thanks to decoration. This group can also include bronze artefacts from the burial ground at Babi Dół-Borcz, grave 43 (Fig. 3: 2; *Mączyńska/Jakubczyk 2017*, 251, fig. 8; *Mączyńska/Urbaniak 2007*, 26, 37, fig. 2: 5, 6), as well as yet another bronze item from Chajew (Fig. 3: 3; *Kaszewska 1987*, 118, 120, fig. 1: c–e) whose similarities with the find from Otaslavice include the edges of ends and head with two ribs. Less evident examples include finds from the burial ground at Ulkowy, grave 93 (*Tuszyńska 2005*, 34, 35, pl. XXXVIII: 4, 5) with more complex ends, but with strip-shaped body without set-off, and with different decoration.

As for territory outside of the Wielbark culture, we shall mention the Wójcik IIIAb type golden bracelet from cremation grave in Wulzeshofen (Fig. 3: 4; *Beninger 1932*, 216, 217, fig. 3; *Tejral 2015*, 82, 88, fig. 34: 5) where the shape of the band is very similar to that of the find from Otaslavice,

[1] We would like to thank J. Rajtár (AÚ SAV Nitra), M. Przybyła and E. Rydzewska (IA, Uniwersytet Jagielloński) for the necessary direction.

Fig. 2. Otaslavice, Prostějov distr. 1– Blume I type silver bracelet; 2 – A38/39 or 38/41 type fibula (drawing by A. Krechlerová, photo by Z. Golec Mírová).

including the set-off of the widened ends. That being said, the shape of the ends is different, as is decoration. Another similar artefact was found at the cremation burial ground in Sekule (disrupted graves; Fig. 3: 5); this item can be classified as the Wójcik I type (*Iván/Kovácsová/Rajtár 2019*, 294, fig. 10: 4); this example is also distinctive in terms of decoration. As for Moravian finds, the one closest to the fragment from Otaslavice is a silver fragment from Dobromilice (*Čižmář et al. 2013*, 299, fig. 2: 5) which is classified as Wójcik IIA or Strobin IB type, respectively (*Zeman 2017*, 134). It is a silver fragment possibly from settlement context whose end features two ribs.

The dating of the item from Otaslavice can be based, for the most part, on the aforementioned analogies. The burial 336 from Kowalewko is dated as the turn of phase B2b of the Wielbark culture (1st half of the 2nd c.; cf. most recently in *Mączyńska 2007*, 5), especially due to the presence of type A 38/41 and type A 120 fibulae (*Skorupka 2001*, 89, 149). Similar dating may apply to grave 43 at Babi Dół-Borcz (*Mączyńska/Urbaniak 2007*, 26, 37), with somewhat later grave 93 from the Ukowy burial ground

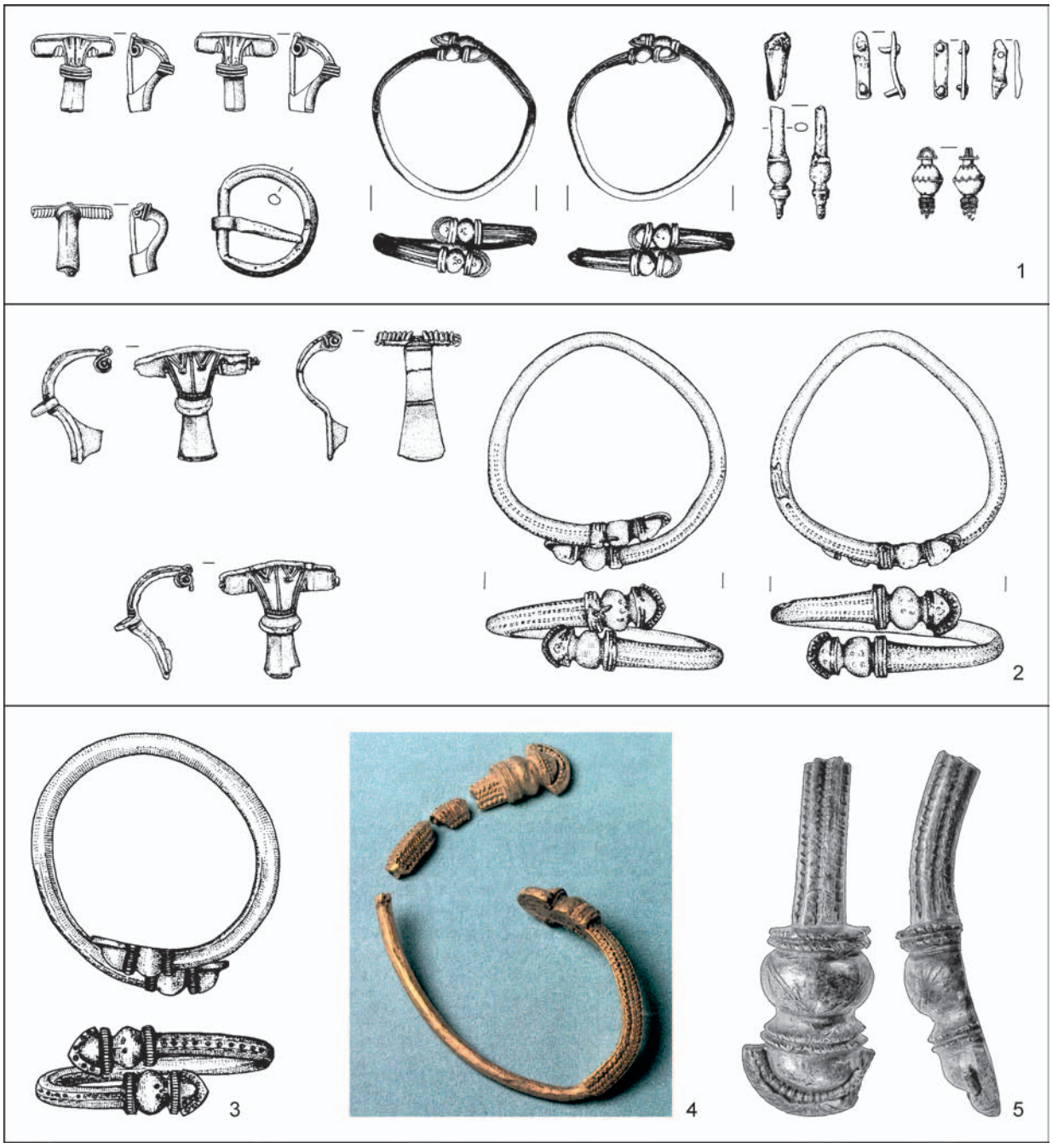


Fig. 3. Selected finds from inhumation graves (1, 2) and selected related bracelets (3–5). 1 – Kowalewko, grave 336 (*Skorupka 2001*); 2 – Babi Dół-Borcz, grave 43 (*Mączyńska/Jakubczyk 2017*); 3 – Chajew (*Kaszewska 1987*); 4 – Wulzeshofen (*Tejral 2015*); 5 – Sekule (*Iván/Kovácsová/Rajtár 2019*). Various scales.

which is attributed to phases B2b–B2c (*Tuszyńska 2005*, 34, 35, 46), i.e. around mid-2nd c. The famous golden find from Wulzeshofen belongs to the period of Marcomannic wars or shortly after them (*Tejral 2015*, 88, fig. 43). However, the golden jewel is not a typical representative of bracelets of the middle Roman Period. Some experts refer to it as a local imitation or adaptation of Wielbark style (*Strobin 2000*, 241), or even a prominently stylised late example (*Rajtár 2013*, 136, 137) based quite possibly on the Middle Danubian tradition (*Iván/Kovácsová/Rajtár 2019*, 295).

Within the framework of the chronology of the Roman Period used for the Germanic peoples along the Elbe river on the territory of the former Czechoslovakia, the Otaslavice piece would belong to phase B2a (first half of the 2nd c., cf. *Tejral 1986*, 106). The golden find from Wulzeshofen suggests that similar

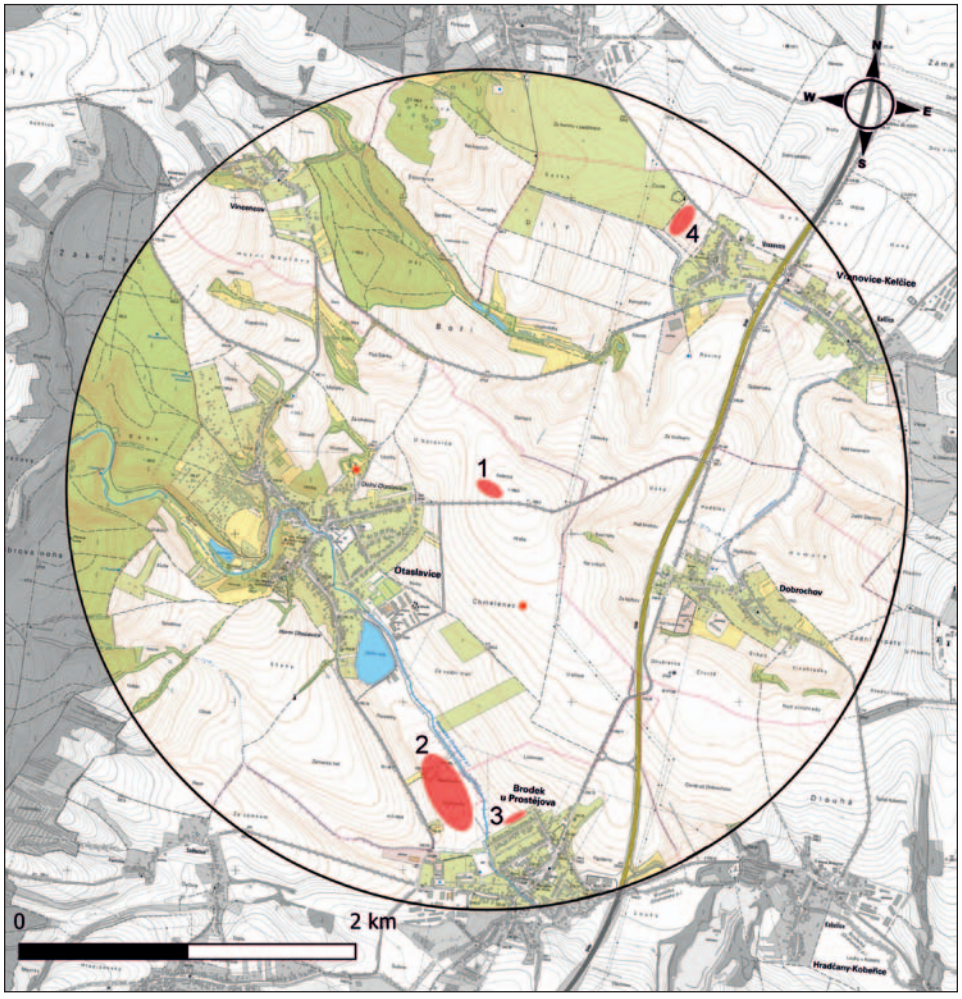


Fig. 4. Topography of selected Roman Period sites in the vicinity of the site of discovery of the silver items in question. 1 – Otaslavice – 'Kelecká'; 2 – Otaslavice/Brodek u Prostějova – 'Bažantnice', larger settlement; 3 – Brodek u Prostějova – 'Lískovec', settlement; 4 – Vranovice, below the cemetery, settlement. Red dots without numbers – isolated finds of Roman coins. Map source ČÚZK (localisation by P. Fojtík).

forms were popular after the mid-2nd c. Therefore, second third of the 2nd c. is also a possibility.

For the time being, it is still unknown whether some of these shield-head bracelets from Bohemia and Middle Danubian region constitute Wielbark imports (e.g. *Droberjar 2015a*, 46–48), local imitations of the Wielbark style (*Droberjar 2015a*, 46), or evidence of local production traditionally derived from the oldest jewel from an opulent inhumation grave number 5 at Zohor (*Iván/Kovácsová/Rajtár 2019*, 294, 295; *Tejral 1999*, 175). At this point, we shall point out that finds attributed to the material culture of the Germanic peoples settled around the Elbe River are often damaged by the heat of the cremation mound, which makes dating more complicated. Debates on local production which, at least in the early stages, could have represented a source of inspiration for Wielbark culture production, are based on individual differences in shapes, early specimens and mapping of sites. This scheme, based essentially on the theory on significant inspiration potential of the Middle Danubian region, which saw progressive development thanks to the proximity of the Roman border, has been analysed several times. However, we must say that, in the case of the bracelets analysed here, we must wait for a complex resolution. A key answer to all main questions could be found in a discovery of workshops or relics thereof, or semi-products, of which there are none so far.

The second find from Otaslavice represents a silver fibula damaged by the heat of fire; its precise dating is therefore based on its condition. Based on the shape of the foot and catch plane, we can identify it as type A38/39 or A38/41, with some degree of discretion. Interestingly, the decoration on the knot on the bow resembles the decoration on the bracelet. The A38/39 type fibulae belong to B2 stage with the

Tab. 1. Otaslavice, Prostějov distr. XRF data of measurement of silver bracelet and silver brooch (created by L. Kučera).

Sample	Ag	Cu	Cr	Mn	Fe	Ni	Zn	As	Sn	Au	Pb	S
Bracelet (spot no. 1)	97.43	1.38	0.00	0.00	0.24	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.57	0.25	0.00
Bracelet (spot no. 2)	95.28	1.24	0.00	0.01	2.16	0.00	0.05	0.00	0.00	0.45	0.29	0.00
Brooch (spot no. 1)	95.13	2.86	0.00	0.00	0.29	0.01	0.05	0.00	0.39	0.58	0.54	0.00
Brooch (spot no. 2)	93.79	1.79	1.84	0.00	1.01	0.03	0.04	0.00	0.06	0.55	0.51	0.00

optimal occurrence during the phase B2b of the Wielbark chronology (*Mączyńska 2009*, 33; *Olędzki 1998*, 74); and as for absolute chronology, *M. Olędzki* (*1995*, 235) puts them between 100 and 150, which would correspond to phase B2a by *J. Tejral* (*1986*, 106). *E. Droberjar* (*2015a*, 38; *2015b*, 107, tab. 1) who was the last to summarise the dating of A38/39 type fibulae on our territory did not rule out the possibility of the occurrence of these items over a long period of B2b phase (130/140–150/170). This theory was based on finds in graves in Prague-Vysočany at the site locally known as 'Na Klíčově' (grave 2/1888; *Anonymous 1888*, 318–320; *Svoboda 1948*, fig. 29) and Jevíčko (grave 7; *Droberjar/Jarušková 2017*, 47) which suggest the second half of the 2nd c. (due to the presence of younger artefacts). The aforementioned type of fibulae does not belong to the typical signs of the transitional period of B2/C1.

ROMAN PERIOD SETTLEMENT IN THE VICINITY OF THE SITE OF DISCOVERY

Otaslavice, Prostějov distr., being part of the Brodecko micro-region, belongs to the so-called 'old settlement area' with countless archaeological sites and finds, but also increased interest in the study of these sources, which has lasted for more than a century. The strategic location of the village in the proximity of the mouth of Vyškovská brána at the flat Hornomoravský úval is supported by the clearly prominent highest point of the area, the Předina hill, which, at 313 m a.s.l, constitutes a dominant feature of the area (today it features a transmitter station and an observation tower). It is assumed that in the past it must have been a very important reference point within the geographical centre of Moravia. Regarding spatial and chronological aspects, we shall mention large settlement along the right bank of the Brodečka river which has proved to be rich in finds, specifically at the site locally known as 'Bažantnice', cadastre unit Brodek u Prostějova and Otaslavice (see *Fojtík 2019*, 60, 61, with a list of available sources and bibliography), which is localised approximately 2 km to the south of the site of discovery of the two items, thereby allowing for the speculation on the existence of a cremation burial ground (Fig. 4). Traces of a Germanic settlement is also registered at the site locally known as 'Lískovec', cadastre unit of Brodek u Prostějova, where a pit was analysed in 2000 following disruption due to the construction of optical cable network (*Šmíd 2001*). Next one is located on the slope below the cemetery in the village of Vranovice (random find of a bronze fibula in the collections of the Prostějov Museum and unpublished surface collections of M. Šmíd from 1991). The aforementioned activities during the Roman Period are supported by more frequent isolated finds of Roman coins: as for the area in question, we can mention Hadrian's denarius from the site known as 'Chmelenec' in Otaslavice, or Iulia Maesa's sestertius from the Otaslavice clay pit, as well as an antoninianus of Gordian III from the site locally known as 'Štěpnice' (cf. e.g. *Gottwald 1924*, 123).

XRF ANALYSIS AND STATISTICAL EVALUATION

Both silver artefacts (bracelet I Blume type and brooch A38/39 or A38/41 type) were analysed using handle X-ray fluorescence spectrometer Vanta (Olympus, USA). The parameters were as follow – excitation energy 0–40 kV, acquiring time 60 s for phase 1 (8–40 kV) and 10 s for phase 2 (0–8 kV), radius of measured area was 9 mm. The surface of both artefacts was polished using corundum polishing adapter. Each spot was measured in three replicates and consequently the data were averaged.

Measured XRF data (Tab. 1) were transferred to statistical software R (*R Core team 2020*; *Wickham 2016*) and studied by principal component analysis (PCA) and cluster analysis (CA). Fig. 5 shows the Score Plots (PCA) of XRF data obtained by analysis of silver shield-head bracelet from Otaslavice and from literature, i.e. 13 silver snake-head (*Schlangenkopf, Schild-Kopfarmringe*) bracelets (4 pcs Wójcik IIIA, 2 pcs Wójcik IVB and 7 pcs Wójcik V type; *Natuniewicz-Sekuła 2017*, tab. 2; measured in replicates) and 1 silver shield-headed bracelet from Hroznová Lhota I (*Zeman 2017*, tab. XIV). Note that,

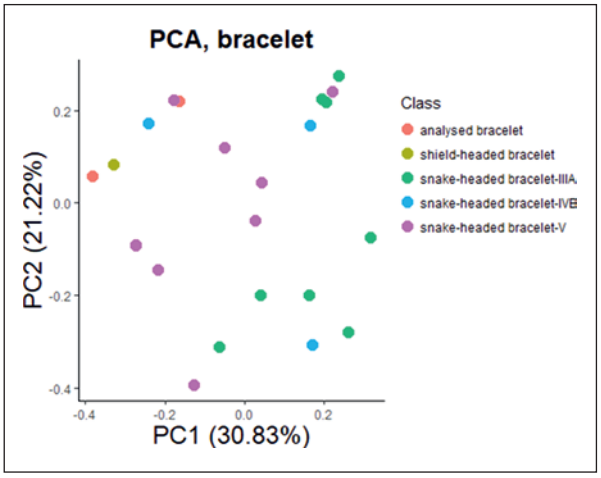


Fig. 5. Otaslavice, Prostějov distr. Principal component analysis of XRF data of silver bracelets (created by L. Kučera).

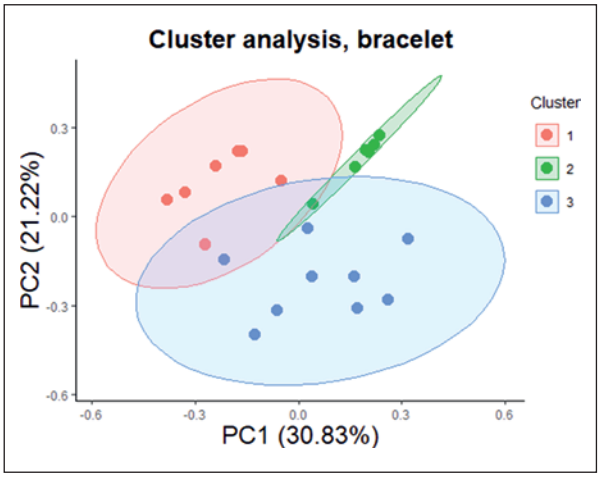


Fig. 6. Otaslavice, Prostějov distr. Cluster analysis of XRF data of silver bracelets (created by L. Kučera).

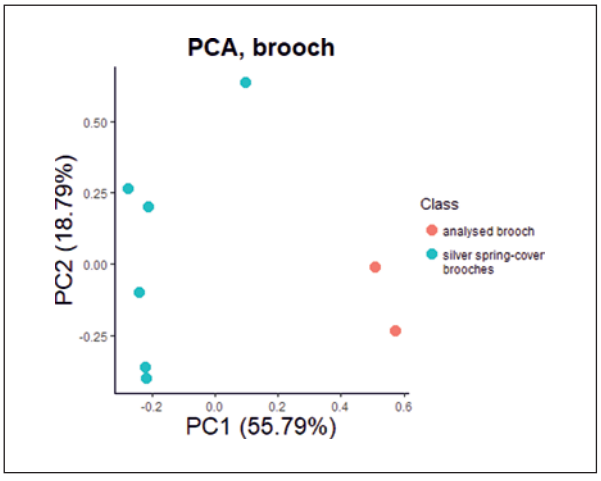


Fig. 7. Otaslavice, Prostějov distr. Principal component analysis of XRF data of silver brooch (created by L. Kučera).

both datasets from literature for statistical evaluation were measured by XRF as well. Distinct segregation of analysed bracelet, shield-headed and snake-head bracelets type Wójcik V from snake-head bracelets type Wójcik IIIA and IVB was observed (except one bracelet Wójcik IVB). The first two components explain 52.05% of the variability in data. Note, that cumulative proportion of variance with third and fourth component explains 66.55% and 76.75% of the variability in data. The cluster analysis proved the presence of three clusters (Fig. 6). The analysed bracelet is located in cluster with silver shield-headed bracelet from Hroznová Lhota I and four snake-head bracelets (i.e. three Wójcik type V and one Wójcik type IVB). Based on those results we can conclude that the analysed bracelet has material properties close to the shield-headed bracelet from Hroznová Lhota I and snake-head bracelets belongs to Wójcik type V. The XRF data of silver brooch from Otaslavice was compared with a later silver spring-cover brooches (*Natuniewicz-Sekuła 2017*, tab. 2). PCA analyses (Fig. 7) shows segregation of studied brooch from the later silver spring-cover brooches. In conclusion, we can say that their material composition is different.

CONCLUSION

Both silver artefacts represent relatively rare finds on the Moravian and Middle Danubian territory. They are, however, becoming more frequent thanks to increased use of metal detectors (cf. new discoveries of bracelets: *Čižmář et al. 2013*, 299, 300, fig. 2: 5; 5: 9; *Droberjar 2015a*, 48; *Zeman 2017*, 134, map 5). As for workmanship and decorative elements, the finds from Otaslavice reflect the reference to the Wielbark artistic tradition. Considering the 'spatial proximity' of the fibula and the bracelet on the site, similarities in workmanship and condition upon discovery (deformation, evident damage by heat of fire), we can speculate that they come from scattered cremation graves, but this theory cannot be confirmed or ruled out. Making the situation even more complicated, no other finds attributed to the Roman Period were made at the site, which would otherwise help clarify the situation. We have to approach both items solely as finds made through metal detector survey.

From above mentioned results of XRF analysis we can hypothesize that typologically different bracelets Blume I and Wójcik V originating from similar silver alloy. Based on the already published research, a silver processing in barbarian settlements was done by melting of a Roman silver items (including coins) and consequent manufacturing of barbarian jewellery (*Droberjar 2014*; *Voß 2013*).

As for chronological dating, the items belong to the 2nd c. (stage B2). The A38/39 or A38/41 type fibula dates to between B2a and early B2b phases. The bracelet close to the Blume I type dates to between B2a and B2b phases. Based on Polish analogies the optimal occurrence would fall under the period prior to the half of the 2nd c., but based on the golden bracelet from the cremation grave in Wulzeshofen, we cannot rule out the possibility it dates to after the half of the 2nd c.

The significance of the silver bracelet for the Roman Period community is hard to ascertain with respect to the context of the discoveries. However, if we were to look at the occurrence of silver and gold bracelets on the Wielbark culture territory and outside of this area, we could say that these items were typical in graves of members of elites (*Beliavets/Przybyła/Voroniatov 2018*, 166, 168, 175, tab. 2). Silver artefacts are more commonly found in graves of women, while they are much rarer in graves of men (*Skóra 2015*, 176, footnote 44). During the Middle Roman Age in particular they represented typical grave goods in graves of elites. In the case of golden, and quite possibly even silver, items found outside the centre of the Wielbark culture, these jewels are considered as gifts (prestigious goods), and they are perceived as evidence of communication within the *Barbaricum*, and this phenomenon is in no way contradicting the imitation trends and fascination of 'the Wielbark aesthetics' (*Beliavets/Przybyła/Voroniatov 2018*, 174–176, fig. 8).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Anonymous 1888 – Anonymous: Z Vysočan. *Památky archeologické* 14/6, 1888, 318–320.

Beliavets/Przybyła/Voroniatov 2018 – V. Beliavets/M. Przybyła/S. Voroniatov: Gold rings from Pilipki in Podlasie: some remarks on the connections between the Wielbark culture and Scandinavia at the close of the early and in the beginnings of the late Roman Period. In: B. Niezabitowska-Wiśniewska/P. Łuczkiewicz/S. Sadowski/M. Stasiak-Cyran/M. Erdrich (red.): *Studia Barbarica. Profesorowi Andrzejowi Kokowskiemu w 65. rocznicę urodzin*. Lublin 2018, 158–187.

Beninger 1932 – E. Beninger: Zwei germanische Funde von Wulzeshofen in Niederösterreich. *Wiener Prähistorische Zeitschrift* 19, 1932, 215–238.

Blume 1912 – E. Blume: *Die germanischen Stämme und die Kulturen zwischen Oder und Passarge zur römischen Kaiserzeit*. Mannus-Bibliothek 8. Würzburg 1912.

Čižmář et al. 2013 – M. Čižmář/J. Čižmářová/M. Kejzlar/E. Kolníková: Detektorová prospekce archeologických lokalit na Moravě v roce 2011. *Přehled výzkumů* 54/2, 2013, 298–303.

Demek/Mackovčin 2006 – J. Demek/P. Mackovčin (eds.): *Hory a nížiny. Zeměpisný lexikon ČR*. Brno 2006.

Droberjar 2014 – E. Droberjar: Stříbro na žárovém pohřebišti z doby římské v Jevíčku. In: B. Komoróczy (ed.): *Sociální diferenciace barbarských komunit (Archeologie barbarů 2011)*. Spisy Archeologického ústavu AV ČR Brno 44. Brno 2014, 133–148.

Droberjar 2015a – E. Droberjar: Wielbarské vlivy v Čechách a na Moravě. In: L. Tyszler/E. Droberjar (red.): *Barbari superiores et inferiores. Archeologia barbarzyńców 2014. Procesy integracji środkowoeuropejskiego Barbaricum Polska – Czechy – Morawy – Słowacja*. Łódź – Wieluń 2015, 35–60.

Droberjar 2015b – E. Droberjar: Markomannen und Superiores Barbari in Třebusice und Jevíčko zur Zeit der Markomannenkriege. Zur Problematik der Übergangsstufe B2/C1 in Böhmen und Mähren. *Přehled výzkumů* 56/2, 2015, 103–125.

Droberjar/Jarůšková 2017 – E. Droberjar/Z. Jarůšková: *Barbaři v pohybu. Jevíčko a Malá Haná v době římské*. Boskovice 2017.

Fojtík 2019 – P. Fojtík: Archeologické lokality a nálezy na katastrálním území městyse Brodek u Prostějova (okr. Prostějov). *Střední Morava. Vlastivědná revue* 48, 2019, 55–96.

Gottwald 1924 – A. Gottwald: *Pravěká sídliště a pohřebiště na Prostějovsku*. Prostějov 1924.

Iván/Kovácsová/Rajtár 2019 – R. Iván/L. Kovácsová/J. Rajtár: Das germanische Brandgräberfeld in Sekule und seine Bindungen zur Przeworsk-Kultur. In: K. Kot-Legieć/A. Michałowski/M. Olędzki/M. Piotrowska (eds.): *Kultura przeworska, procesy przemian i kontakty zewnętrzne*. Łódź 2019, 291–396.

Kaszewska 1987 – E. Kaszewska: Bransolety żmijowate w Polsce środkowej. *Prace i Materiały Muzeum Archeologicznego i Etnograficznego w Łodzi. Seria Archeologiczna* 34, 1987, 117–124.

Mączyńska 2007 – M. Mączyńska: Wielbark-Kultur. In: *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde 34*. Berlin – New York 2007, 1–20.

Mączyńska 2009 – M. Mączyńska: Der frühvölkerwanderungszeitliche Hortfund aus Łubiana, Kreis Kościerzyna (Pommern). *Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission* 90, 2009, 14–416.

Mączyńska/Urbaniak 2007 – M. Mączyńska/A. Urbaniak: Babi Dół-Borcz, pow. Kartuzy, stan. 2. Badania cmentarzyska z okresu rzymskiego w latach 1993–2003. *Acta Universitatis Lodziensis. Folia Archaeologica* 25, 2007, 25–52.

Mączyńska/Jakubczyk 2017 – M. Mączyńska/I. Jakubczyk: Das Gräberfeld der Wielbark-Kultur von Babi Dół-Borcz, Kr. Kartuzy, FSt. 2. In: B. V. Eriksen/A. Abegg-Wigg/R. Bleile/U. Ickerodt (Hrsg. – eds.): *Interaktion ohne Grenzen. Beispiele archäologischer Forschungen am Beginn des 21. Jahrhunderts. Band I – Interaction without borders. Exemplary archaeological research at the beginning of the 21st century. Volume I*. Schleswig 2017, 249–256.

Natuniewicz-Sekuła 2017 – M. Natuniewicz-Sekuła: The Craft of the Goldsmith in Wielbark Culture in the Light of the Finds from the Cemetery at Weklice, Elbląg Commune and Other Necropolis of Roman Period from Elbląg Heights. Technological Studies of Selected Aspects.

Sprawozdania Archeologiczne 69, 2017, 185–233. DOI: https://doi.org/10.23858/SA69.2017.008

Olędzki 1995 – M. Olędzki: Typologie, Chronologie und Verbreitung der ostgermanischen Varianten der Rollenkappenfibeln. *Praehistorische Zeitschrift* 70, 1995, 228–247.

Olędzki 1998 – M. Olędzki: Rollenkappenfibeln der östlichen Hauptserie Almgren 37–41 und die Variante Fig. 42–43. In: J. Kunow (Hrsg.): *100 Jahre Fibelformen nach Oscar Almgren. Internationale Arbeitstagung 25.–28. Mai 1997 in Kleinmachnow, Land Brandenburg.* Forschungen zur Archäologie im Land Brandenburg 5. Wünsdorf 1998, 67–84.

R Core Team 2020 – R Core Team: *A language and environment for statistical computing. R Foundation for Statistical Computing*. Vienna 2020. Online available at: http://www.R-project.org/

Rajtár 2013 – J. Rajtár: Das Gold bei den Quaden. In: M. Hardt/O. Heinrich-Tamáska (Hrsg.): *Macht des Goldes, Gold der Macht. Herrschafts- und Jenseitsrepräsentation zwischen Antike und Frühmittelalter im mittleren Donauraum. Akten des 23. Internationalen Symposiums der Grundprobleme frühgeschichtlichen Entwicklung im mittleren Donauraum. Tengelic, 16.–19. 11. 2011. Forschungen zu Spätantike und Mittelalter Band 2.* Weinstadt 2013, 125–150.

Skóra 2015 – K. Skóra: *Struktura społeczna ludności kultury wielbarskiej*. Łódź 2015.

Skorupka 2001 – T. Skorupka: *Kowalewko 12. Cmentarzysko birytualne ludności kultury wielbarskiej (od połowy I w. n. e. do początku III w. n. e.).* Archeologiczne badania ratownicze wzdłuż trasy gazociągu tranzytowego. Tom II. Wielkopolska. Cz. 3. Poznań 2001.

Šmíd 2001 – M. Šmíd: *Lískovec, „Optické propojení Brno – Ostrava – Český Těšín, úsek Prostějov"*. Brodek u Prostějova 2001. Nálezová zpráva 16/01. Archiv ÚAPP Brno, v. v. i. Unpublished.

Strobin 2000 – J. Strobin: Modelowanie w kształtownikach – uwagi na temat technik kucia w metaloplastyce kultury wielbarskiej. *Światowit* 2 (43), fascykul B, 2000, 231–252.

Svoboda 1948 – B. Svoboda: *Čechy a římské Imperium*. Praha 1948.

Tejral 1986 – J. Tejral: Importe. In: *Tabula Imperii Romani. Castra Regina, Vindobona, Carnuntum*. Auf der Grundlage der Weltkarte 1 : 1 000 000. M–33 Praha. Praha 1986, 103–109.

Tejral 1999 – J. Tejral: Die Völkerwanderungen des 2. und 3. Jhs. und ihr Niederschlag im archäologischen Befund des Mitteldonauraumes. In: J. Tejral (Hrsg.): *Das mitteleuropäische Barbaricum und die Krise des römischen Weltreiches im 3. Jahrhundert.* Spisy Archeologického ústavu AV ČR Brno 12. Brno 1999, 137–213.

Tejral 2015 – J. Tejral: Some Remarks on the Transitional Phase between Early Roman and Late Roman Periods in the Region North of the Middle Danube. *Přehled výzkumů* 56/2, 2015, 43–101.

Tuszyńska 2005 – M. Tuszyńska: *Ulkowy. Cmentarzysko kultury wielbarskiej na Pomorzu Gdańskim (badania na trasie autostrady A 1 Gdańsk-Toruń)*. Gdańsk 2005.

Voß 2013 – H. U. Voß: Chapter 19. Roman silver in 'Free Germany'. Hacksilber in context. In: F. Hunter/K. Painter (eds.): *Late Roman Silver. The Traprain Treasure in Context*. Edinburgh 2013, 305–319.

Wickham 2016 – H. Wickham: *ggplot2. Elegant Graphics for Data Analysis*. New York 2016.

Wójcik 1978 – T. Wójcik: Pomorskie formy bransolet wężowatych z okresu rzymskiego. *Materiały Zachodniopomorskie* 24, 1978, 35–113.

Zeman 2017 – T. Zeman: *Střední Pomoraví v době římské. Svědectví povrchové prospekce*. Archaeologica Olomucensia 2. Olomouc 2017.

Ziemlińska-Odojowa 1999 – W. Ziemlińska-Odojowa: *Niedanowo. Ein Gräberfeld der Przeworsk- und Wielbark-Kultur in Nordmasowien*. Monumenta Archaeologica Barbarica 7. Kraków 1999.

Manuscript accepted 9. 8. 2021

Translated by Lukáš Kučera and Petr Bokůvka

PhDr. Jan Jílek, Ph.D.
Ústav archeologie a muzeologie
odd. klasické archeologie
Filozofická fakulta Masarykovy univerzity
Joštova 220/13
CZ – 662 43 Brno
mitridates@post.cz

PhDr. Pavel Fojtík
Ústav archeologické památkové peče Brno, v. v. i.
pobočka Prostějov
Tetín 8
CZ – 796 01 Prostějov
pavfojtik@seznam.cz

RNDr. Lukáš Kučera, Ph.D.
Katedra analytické chemie
Přírodovědecká fakulta
Univerzita Palackého v Olomouci
17. listopadu 12
CZ – 771 46 Olomouc
lukas.kucera@upol.cz

Mgr. Miroslav Popelka
Ústav archeologické památkové peče Brno, v. v. i.
pobočka Hulín
Třebízského 195
CZ – 768 24 Hulín
popelka@uapp.cz

SLOVENSKÁ ARCHEOLÓGIA – SUPPLEMENTUM 2
Z. Robak/M. Ruttkay (eds.): Celts – Germans – Slavs.
A Tribute Anthology to Karol Pieta. Nitra 2021, 217–224.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.31577/slovarch.2021.suppl.2.20

„ARME" UND „REICHE" GRÄBERFELDER DER WIELBARK-KULTUR – EINIGE BEISPIELE

MAGDALENA MĄCZYŃSKA

'Poor' and 'Rich' Burial Grounds of the Wielbark Culture – a Few Examples. Cemeteries attributed to the Wielbark culture – similarly to all other cemeteries – could be divided into those well- and poorly equipped. Interestingly, however, while in some cemeteries there are at least a couple of lavishly equipped graves, in others – even located in the close neighbourhood – poorly equipped graves dominate. This phenomenon has been observed in several cases and is difficult to explain with the current state of research. It seems that the differences in equipment at various cemeteries reflect the social stratification and the fact that groups of various economic statuses cohabited in the near vicinity.

Keywords: Poland, Roman Period, Wielbark culture, burial grounds, burial customs.

Als ich vor vielen Jahren, nach einigen Grabungskampagnen auf dem Gräberfeld in Babi Dół-Borcz in Pommern und von der Armut der dortigen, oft auch beigaben losen Bestattungen etwas deprimiert, Ryszard Wołągiewicz, den Ausgräber u. a. einer anderen „armen" Nekropole – von Grzybnica – fragte, welche Ursachen hinter den arm und reich ausgestatteten Gräbern stehen können, habe ich die folgende Antwort erhalten: „Es ist noch zu früh, darüber nachzudenken." Diese Worte wurden den Anlass, diese kleine Studie zu schreiben.

Im ganzen barbarischen Europa der römischen Kaiserzeit sind Gräberfelder mit ärmerer und reicherer Ausstattung, aber auch Einzelbestattungen der gesellschaftlichen Eliten bekannt. Die Studien zur Sozialstruktur erfreuen sich einer umfangreichen Literatur, von der nur die neueren und die römische Kaiserzeit betreffenden Studien angeführt seien (*Becker 2005*; *von Carnap-Bornheim 2006*; *Gebühr 1976*; *Hedeager 1980*; *Kunst 1978*; *Nagy 2007*; *Quast 2009*; *Schuster 2010*; *Skóra 2015*; *Steuer 1982*).

Heute ist der Forschungsstand zu den Nekropolen der Wielbark Kultur im Vergleich zu den 60-er und 70-er Jahren, als die nachkriegszeitlichen Ausgrabungen auf einigen Gräberfeldern begonnen haben, unvergleichbar besser und wir können versuchen, Überlegungen zu folgendem Problem anzustellen: Worin liegt der Grund, dass benachbarte, manchmal nur einige Kilometer voneinander entfernte Nekropolen mit etwa gleicher Belegungsdauer so verschieden ausgestattet sind? Es gibt Gräberfelder mit reichen bzw. sehr reichen Beigaben, während die benachbarten eine arme oder eine einfach durchschnittliche Ausstattung aufweisen.

Gleich jetzt müssen wir festhalten, dass an dieser Stelle statistischen Abrechnungen betreffs der Quantität reicher, durchschnittlich ausgestatteter und armer Gräber auf einem Gräberfeld nicht verwenden werden können, da bisher nur zwei Gräberfelder mit Hügeln und Steinkreisen vollständig bzw. fast vollständig ausgegraben worden sind: Babi Dół-Borcz, Kr. Kartuzy, zur Publikation von mir und I. Jakubczyk bereits vorbereitet und Nowy Łowicz, Kr. Drawsko Pomorskie, von A. Cieśliński und A. Kasprzak bearbeitet (s. unten). Von den flachen Nekropolen sind Kowalewko, Kr. Oborniki (*Skorupka 2001*) und Niedanowo, Kr. Nidzica (*Ziemlińska-Odojowa 1999*) vollständig untersucht worden. Es folgen fast gänzlich ausgegrabene Gräberfelder, wie Cecele, Kr. Siemiatycze (*Jaskanis 1996*) und Nadkole, Kr. Węgrów (*Andrzejowski/Żórawska 2002*). Die systematisch untersuchten Nekropolen, wie z. B. Lubowidz und Pruszcz Gdański, Fpl. 10 (s. unten) wurden vor Grabungsbeginn teilweise zerstört, während andere im heute bebauten Areal liegen (Abb. 1).

Als erstes Beispiel werden hier zwei Nekropolen an der Ostseeküste, Czarnówko und Lubowidz, Kr. Lębork, angeführt, die 4 km voneinander entfernt liegen. Czarnówko, das bisher größte Gräberfeld der Wielbark-Kultur, zählt mindestens 2400 Bestattungen (*Schuster 2014*; *2018*). Neun davon waren ausserordentlich reich ausgestattet und bargen Silber-, Bronze- und Glasgefässe, darunter solche Unikate wie einen Bronzekessel mit suebischen Köpfen, ein Glasgefäss in Fischform und einen Glasbecher mit Schwanendarstellungen. Es folgen goldene und silberne Trachtbestandteile, die alle in die fortgeschrittene Stufe B 2 bzw. in die

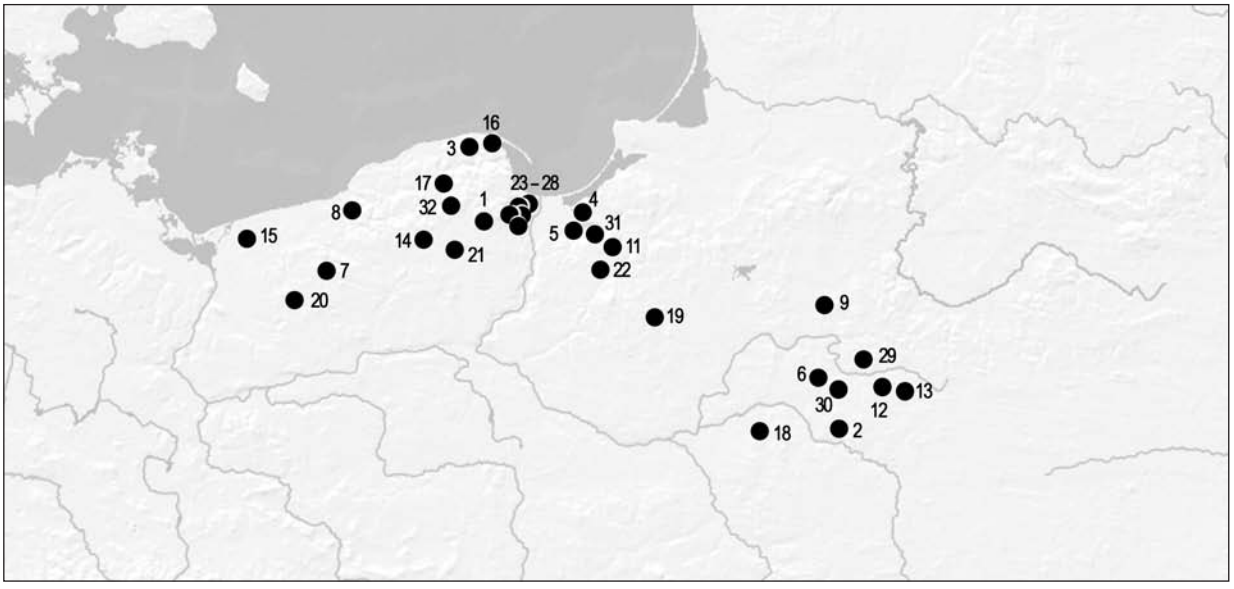


Abb. 1. Im Text erwähnte Gräberfelder der Wielbark-Kultur. 1 – Babi Dół-Borcz; 2 – Cecele; 3 – Czarnówko; 4 – Elbląg–Moniuszkistrasse; 5 – Elbląg-Pole Nowomiejskie; 6 – Grochy Stare; 7 – Gronowo; 8 – Grzybnica; 9 – Jasionowa Dolina; 10 – Kowalewko; 11 – Krosno; 12 – Kutowa, Fpl. I; 13 – Kutowa, Fpl. II; 14 – Leśno; 15 – Lubieszewo; 16 – Lubowidz; 17 – Mściszewice; 18 – Nadkole; 19 – Niedanowo; 20 – Nowy Łowicz; 21 – Odry; 22 – Połowite; 23–28 – Pruszcz Gdański, Fpl. 2, 4–7, 10; 29 – Rostołty; 30 – Szpaki; 31 – Weklice; 32 – Węsiory.

Stufe C1 datieren. In Lubowidz mit etwa 300 nicht zerstörten Bestattungen vorwiegend aus der Stufe B2/C1 zählen dagegen zu den Importen nur ein Fragment eines Glasgefäßes und Glasperlen, darunter zwei mit Gesichtdarstellungen (*Wołągiewicz 1995*). Unbekannt ist, wie viele Gräber in Lubowidz während der Sandgewinnung zerstört wurden; aus diesem Teil stammt ein importierter Spinnrocken aus Bernstein. Die Funde römischer Spinnrocken aus Bernstein sind ausserordentlich selten; sie wurden bisher lediglich in Lubowidz, Czarnówko, Grab R380, Pruszcz Gdański, Fpl. Zuckerfabrik und Kowanówko, Kr. Oborniki, entdeckt (*Schuster 2018*, 97–101, Abb. 43). Der Spinnrocken von Lubowidz deutet darauf hin, dass sich im zerstörten Teil des Gräberfeldes reich ausgestattete Gräber befunden haben könnten. Allerdings wären in den zahlreichen, noch vor dem Beginn der systematischen Ausgrabungen im Jahre 1939 von H. Agde publizierten Kurzberichten (*Wołągiewicz 1995*, 11) Funde von Bronze- bzw. Glasgefässen sicher erwähnt worden, wenn diese tatsächlich gefunden worden wären.

Das nächste Beispiel sind die Gräberfelder auf der Elbinger Höhe. Hier stoßen wir auf erhebliche Probleme, da zwei Nekropolen in Elbląg (Elbing) selbst, Elbląg-Pole Nowomiejskie (damals Neustädter Feld) und Elbląg-Moniuszkistrasse (damals Scharnhorststrasse) zerstört sind und ihr Fundmaterial vermischt ist. Die beiden sind nur lückenhaft aus den Ausgrabungen aus dem 19. Jh. und aus der Zeit vor dem Zweiten Weltkrieg (*Natuniewicz 2000*, 108–112, dort die ältere Literatur) bekannt. Drei weitere, ebenfalls nur aus einigen Kurzberichten bekannte Nekropolen, sind von der Stadt Elbląg einige Kilometer entfernt.

Entlang der westlichen und südlichen Ränder der Elbinger Höhe befinden sich nach *J. Okulicz-Kozaryn* (*1992*, 139) und *A. Cieśliński* (*2010*, 151, 154, Karte 3; 4) einige Dutzend Nekropolen und fast doppelt so viel Siedlungsspuren. Die Blütezeit der Besiedlung datiert hier ab der Stufe B2. Die Nekropole in Weklice, 12 km von Elbląg entfernt und seit 1984 systematisch untersucht, nimmt hier einen besonderen Platz ein. Etwa 500 Grabinventare sind bereits veröffentlicht (*Natuniewicz-Sekuła 2015–2016*; *Natuniewicz-Sekuła/Okulicz-Kozaryn 2007*; *2011*). Das mit Ausnahme einer späten Bestattung, von B1b bis C2b belegte Gräberfeld, hat mehrere silberne Trachtbestandteile und Schmucksachen sowie Perlenketten aus bunten Glasperlen geliefert. Zu den bereits publizierten Grabinventaren zählen neun mit sehr reicher Ausstattung, u. a. mit monströsen Fibeln mit Gold- und Silberfolie, römischen Scheibenfibeln, Bronze- und Glasgefässen, terra sigillata, sogar ein glasierter Kantharos wurde gefunden. Grab 150 enthielt einen Amulettsatz, eine Perlenkette, einen verzierten Gürtel und Fibeln mit Pressblechauflagen mit Ansichtsmasken. Die hier beigesetzte, über 60-jährige Dame wird als eine Seherin interpretiert; ob das zutrifft, sei dahingestellt – jedenfalls war ihre soziale Stellung sicher sehr hoch.

Etwas weiter südlich, in der Iława-Seeplatte, liegt die Nekropole in Połowite (Pollwitten), Kr. Ostróda (*Cieśliński 2010*, Nr. 124; *Eggers 1964*), von der 27 Gräber und Streufunde bekannt sind. In sechs Bestattungen wurden zwölf Glasbecher E 189 entdeckt, dazu kommen ein gewellter Bronzeeimer und das Fragment eines zweiten (E 44 und 48). Das Gräberfeld war hauptsächlich in der Stufe C1b belegt. Diese zwei Nekropolen, Weklice und Połowite, sind die reichsten Freidhöfe in der Region.

Das einige Kilometer von Weklice entfernte Gräberfeld von Krosno, Kr. Elbląg, hat dagegen einen unvergleichlich ärmeren Charakter. Nach den Ausgrabungen vom Ende des 19. Jh. und aus der Nachkriegszeit (*Andrzejowski/Bursche 1987*; *Jarzec 2018*; *Okulicz/Bursche 1987*) zu urteilen handelt es sich um eine eine grosse, nehrere hundert Bestattungen zählende Nekropole, jedoch – mit Ausnahme von einigen silbernen Fibeln und Schmucksachen – ohne reichere Beigaben. Die reichste Ausstattung weist Grab 374 auf: vier Fibeln A. II 41, davon zwei aus Silber, und ein Fragment eines silbernen Schlangenkopfarmringes (*Jarzec/Chowaniec 2017*). Im Vergleich zum Reichtum der Nekropole von Weklice macht Krosno den Eindruck eines „armen Verwandten".

Eine sehr dankbare Grundlage für unsere Vergleichsstudien wäre der Komplex von sechs Gräberfeldern in Pruszcz Gdański an der unteren Weichsel, welche in einer Entfernung von nur zwei Kilometern zu beiden Seiten des Flusses Radunia liegen. Sie sind leider aus verschiedenen Gründen nur teilweise untersucht (*Pietrzak 1988*; *1997*, Abb. 1). Im Falle des vollständig publizierten Gräberfeldes Fpl. 10 (*Pietrzak 1997*) wurde etwa ein Drittel durch Kiesgrube zerstört; von über 500 geretteten Bestattungen datieren etwa 150 in die römische Kaiserzeit. Nur in einem Grab befanden sich eine Kelle/Sieb-Garnitur E 160, weitere acht können aufgrund einiger Fibeln und langer Halsketten, verzierter Gürtel und dem Fragment eines barbarischen Spinnrockens als reicher gelten. Etwa 40 Grabkomplexe waren sehr arm ausgestattet. Die Nekropole wurde in den Stufen B1–B2/C1 am intensivsten belegt, aus der jüngeren Kaiserzeit stammt nur etwa ein Dutzend Gräber. Das zweite Gräberfeld in Pruszcz Gdański, Fpl. 7, weist ebenfalls mehrere hundert Bestattungen auf, wobei alle Funde aus der Vorkriegszeit verschollen sind. Die Nekropole scheint auch in der jüngeren und späten Kaiserzeit intensiver belegt gewesen zu sein (*Pietrzak/Tuszyńska 1988*; *Tuszyńska 2006*). Gerade aus dieser Zeit stammen einige reichen Gräber. Die dritte Nekropole von Pruszcz Gdański, Fpl. 5 – liegt im Bereich eines neuzeitlichen Friedhofs und konnte nur teilweise untersucht werden (*Pietrzak/Cymek/Rożnowski 2015*). Es wurden 64 Bestattungen ausgegraben, vorwiegend mit reichen Beigaben, u. a. eine Bronzeschüssel mit gekerbtem Rand, ein Glasbecher mit aufgelegten Fäden, eine facettierte Glasschale, alle aus der Stufe D 1, ferner zwei silberne Schildfibeln mit vergoldeten Folien mit Vogeldarstellungen, eine Fibel vom Typ Dybäck/Independenţa (*Schuster 2017*) und mehrere Glas- und Bernsteinketten. Die Belegung dieses Gräberfeldes setzte im Vergleich zu den zwei bereits erwähnten später ein und der Reichtum an Beigaben stammt aus den Stufen C3–D1, als auf den anderen keine Verstorbenen mehr beigesetzt wurden.

Drei weitere Nekropolen von Pruszcz Gdański, „Hartsteinfabrik", „Zuckerfabrik" und „Prauster Dreieck" (Fpl. 2, 4 und 6) sind nur aus Kurzberichten bekannt; publiziert wurden nur einige Grabkomplexe (*La Baume 1926*; *Schindler 1939*; *1941*). Aus Grab V vom Gräberfeld „Zuckerfabrik" stammt eine Kelle E 161 (*Schindler 1939*, 41), von der Nekropole „Prauster Dreieck" eine Schildfibel aus der Stufe D1 (*Schindler 1941*).

Das vollständig untersuchte Gräberfeld von Kowalewko, Kr. Oborniki (*Skorupka 2001*) zählt beinahe 500 Bestattungen, die meistens arm oder beigabenlos waren. 83 Gräber sind durchschnittlich ausgestattet, reiche Gräber gibt es nur acht, u. a. ein mit einer Bronzekanne und eines mit einem Glasbecher E 193. Von anderen Importen sind nur je zwei Scheibenfibeln in vier Gräbern und über 700 Glasperlen aus 60 Grabinventaren zu nennen. Somit kann das Gräberfeld nicht als „reich" betrachtet werden.

Gehen wir zu den Hügelnekropolen über. Die ältesten Grabhügel in Pommern datieren in die Stufe B1b bzw. den Anfang der Stufe B2. Die Sitte, Hügel zu errichten, dauerte bis zur Stufe C1b, als die Friedhöfe in Pommern verlassen wurden; dagegen datieren die Hügel vom so genannten Rostołty-Typus aus den Gebieten rechts der Weichsel – in Masowien und Podlachien – von C1b bis D1 (*Cieśliński 2015*, 22 f.). Die Ausstattung der Gräber unter diesen jüngeren Hügeln ist differenziert, worüber noch die Rede sein wird.

Alle 29 Grabhügel der pommerschen Nekropole Gronowo, Kr. Drawsko Pomorskie (*Machajewski 2013*) wurden untersucht, während die Zone der Flachgräber fast unberührt ist. Die Gräber unter den Hügeln sind reich ausgestattet, u. a. mit insgesamt sechs Bronzegefässen, zwei Spinnrocken einheimischen Typs, Textilienresten vom Typ Virring in drei Gräbern, einem Glasgefäß, 23 Sporen in 12 Gräbern sowie mit Zusammensetzungen des Frauenschmucks, der für den „Barock-Stil" der Wielbark-Kultur typisch ist – hervorzuheben ist der reichste Grabhügel 22 (*Wołągiewicz 1973*; *1974*). Ein Flachgrab aus dem Jahr 1926 mit nicht ganz

gesichertem Inventar enthielt neben Sporen zwei Bronzegefässe E 125 und 160 sowie zwei terra sigillata-Teller. Die Hügel über mehreren Gräbern werden als Grabstätten einer Familie interpretiert und ihre Ausstattung weist auf die Entstehung einer privilegierten Schicht hin (*Machajewski 2013*, 69), welche der Autor der Monographie von Gronowo einige Jahre früher sogar Führungsschicht nannte (*Machajewski 2006*, 35). Trotz dem Beigabenreichtum sind zehn Gräber in Gronowo entweder beigabenlos oder nur mit einzelnen Gegenständen ausgestattet, wobei die Hügel einen ungestörten Eindruck machen.

Ähnlich reich ausgestattet ist das Hügelgräberfeld von Leśno, Kr. Tuchola. Es wurden hier 13 von insgesamt 15 Grabhügeln ausgegraben. Einige reichen Gräber waren nicht überhügelt, aber mit einem Steinkranz umgeben (*Walenta 2009*). In zwei der 59 untersuchten Flachgräbern befanden sich Trinkhornbeschläge und verzierte, nicht in Trachtlage deponierte Gürtel; die sonstigen waren arm ausgestattet. Zu den frühesten Bestattungen zählt hierher Grab 29 mit einer keltischen Silbermünze und zwei Fibeln A. III 52.

Die große Nekropole von Odry, Kr. Chojnice, wie Leśno im Tuchola-Wald gelegen, mit (Stand 2003) 29 Hügeln und 582 Flachgräbern (*Grabarczyk 1997*, 37–79; *2007*; *Kmieciński 1968*) zeigt ein ganz anderes Bild. Bis auf einige, tatsächlich reiche Bestattungen, jedoch ohne Metallgefässe, wie Hügel 4, Grab 1 und 2 oder auch Grab 127, enthielten die übrigen hinsichtlich Importe nur zwei Fibeln und Halsketten mit einigen Dutzend Glasperlen. Über 300 Gräber der Ausgrabungen von J. Kmieciński sind nie veröffentlicht worden, aber aus den Zusammenstellungen ihrer Inventare in der Arbeit von *T. Grabarczyk* (*1997*) geht hervor, dass auch diese gar nicht reich ausgestattet waren. Das Gräberfeld von Węsiory, Kr. Kartuzy (*Grabarczyk 2001*; *Kmieciński/Blombergowa/Walenta 1966*), mit verhältnismässig reichen – doch ausschliesslich lokalen – Beigaben in den Gräbern unter den Hügeln 6 und 15, kann als relativ arme Nekropole gelten. Ähnlich stellt sich die Lage in Babi Dół-Borcz, Kr. Kartuzy vor, das 15 km von Węsiory entfernt liegt (*Mączyńska/Jakubczyk 2017a*; *2017b*). Die Nekropole wurde vollständig untersucht und umfasst fünf Grabhügel und 114 Flachgräber. Die Gräber, mit wenigen Ausnahmen vom Typ „Wielbark-Barock", sind entweder arm oder beigabenlos; an Importen sind nur zwei Fibeln und kleine Glasperlen zu nennen, an kostbaren Gegenständen zwei goldene Fingerringe aus einem stark gestörten Flachgrab. Es ist jedoch anzumerken, dass mehrere Bestattungen von Babi Dół gründlich gestört waren. Eine arme Ausstattung ist ebenfalls für Grzybnica, Kr. Koszalin charakteristisch, wo Gräber mit drei Fibeln bzw. mit längeren Perlenketten selten sind (*Hahuła/Wołągiewicz 2001*).

Sehr interessant ist die Ausstattung von sekundären Gräbern der Wielbark-Kultur in den Hügeln der pommerschen, hallstattzeitlichen Kultur in Mściszewice, Kr. Kartuzy (*Amtlicher Bericht 1902*, 40–43; *1903*, 37 f.; *1907*, 27 f.; *Janiak 2010*; *La Baume 1934*, 130–133; *Skóra 2010*, 29–31). Noch im 19. Jh. wurden hier etwa 350 Hügel registriert, von denen nur einige bis heute erhalten blieben. Die sekundären Bestattungen der Wielbark-Kultur enthielten u. a. Gefäße E 44 und 193, Sporen und Silberfibeln, also Beigaben der höheren sozialen Schicht, einige waren allerdings beigabenlos. Die gewellten Eimer E 44–49 konzentrieren sich in Südskandinavien und an der südlichen Ostseeküste (*Quast 2009*, 120–123, Abb. 7; *Schuster 2018*, 41, Abb. 11; *Tejral 2006*, Abb. 25). Nach D. Quast bilden sie den Horizont, der sich mit den Lübsow-Gräbern vergleichen lässt, aber später datiert (B2/C1–C1a), die Gräber mit solchen Metallgefässen sind als Bestattungen lokaler Eliten zu interpretieren. Die Nekropole von Mściszewice ist überhaupt ein sehr interessantes Beispiel, da sich die Gräber der Wielbark-Kultur ausschliesslich in viel älteren Hügeln befanden. Leider ist völlig unbekannt, ob dort auch Flachgräber entdeckt wurden.

In der Studie von *K. Skóra* (*2010*, 29–32) sind einige weiteren Beispiele von Wielbark-Bestattungen in den älteren Hügeln angeführt worden, wie in Leśno und Nowy Łowicz. Die Autorin, ähnlich wie *S. Brather* (*2009*, 101) meint, dass die älteren Grabkonstruktionen absichtlich von den jüngeren Gesellschaften ausgewählt wurden.

Was die jüngere, bereits erwähnte Rostołty-Hügelgräbergruppe in Masowien und Podlachien anbelangt, hat J. Jaskanis in seiner Monograpbie (*Jaskanis 2012*, 195–239, dort die ältere Literatur) einen Vergleich dieser Hügel von elf, nur wenige Dutzend Kilometer voneinander entfernten Fundplätzen in Podlachien durchgeführt. Den zentralen Platz nehmen die Nekropolen in Rostołty, Grochy Stare und Szpaki ein, die – obwohl gestört – zugleich am reichsten ausgestattet sind. Ihr Invetar bestand u. a. aus Bronze- und Glasgefässen E 161, 189, 192, 209, pressblechverzierten Gegenständen, gläsernen Spielsteinen, Gemmen und zerschnittenem Goldschmuck. Die ältesten sind Hügel in Rostołty, die ab der Stufe B2/C1 angelegt wurden, die Mehrzahl der Hügel der Zentralgruppe datiert in die Stufen C1b–C2. Die peripher gelegenen Hügel, wie Jasionowa Dolina und Kutowa, Fpl. I, datieren jünger und reichen in die Stufe D1 hinein. Sie scheinen viel ärmer ausgestattet gewesen zu sein. Auch die Flachnekropolen in unmittelbarer Nachbarschaft der Hügelnekropolen, wie Cecele (*Jaskanis 1996*) und Kutowa, Fpl. II, weisen eine durchschnittliche und arme Ausstattung auf.

J. Jaskanis hält die reichen Rostołty-Hügel für die Grabstätten der Führungsschicht, ohne jedoch eine tiefere Begründung zu liefern.

Zwei Jahre nach dem Erscheinem der Monographie von J. Jaskanis hat *A. Cieśliński* (*2014*) die Rostołty-Hügel im breiteren Kontext analysiert. Auch er hat auf die arme Ausstattung einiger davon aufmerksam gemacht (*Cieśliński 2014*, 82 f.), und sie mit den pommerschen Hügeln der Wielbark-Kultur verglichen, die Gräber von Verstorbenen mit durchschnittlichen oder gar keinen Beigaben überdecken. Als ein solches Beispiel kann das ungestörte zentrale Grab eines Mädchens(?) mit armer Ausstattung unter Hügel V von Babi Dół-Borcz (*Mączyńska/Jakubczyk 2015*) angeführt werden. Der Hügel, der größte der fünf vom Gräberfeld, wurde für eine jugendliche Person errichtet, die jedoch eine besondere Stellung in der dortigen Gesellschaft innegehabt haben muss, da für sie mit großem Arbeitsaufwand ein staatliches Grabmonument geschaffen wurde. Sehr arm ausgestattete Gräber unter Hügeln sind auch von Odry (Grabhügel 20) und Węsiory (Grabhügel 8) bekannt (*Grabarczyk 1997*, 26–28).

Es scheint, dass eine eindeutige Antwort auf die Frage nach den Ursachen von Unterschieden in der Ausstattung in nahen gelegenen oder sogar benachbarten Nekropolen nicht möglich ist. Oft wird die Entfernung von den großen Handelsstraßen hervorgehoben, was den Zugang zu Luxusgütern unmöglich machte (*von Carnap-Bornheim 2006*, 113; *Nagy 2007*, 149; *Schuster 2014*, 56 f.) oder auch der Bestattungsritus, der nicht verlangte, Reichtum zu manifestieren (*Brather 2009*, 94; *Steuer 1982*, 233). Im Fall von Gräberfeldern, die nur ein paar Kilometer voneinander liegen, ist es schwierig zu vermuten, dass nur die bestattende Gemeinschaft eines davon den Zugang zu Handelstransaktionen hatte. In dem Fall, den Erwägungen von *H. Steuer* (*1982*, 233 f.) folgend, der als Beispiel zwei frühkaiserzeitliche mitteldeutsche Nekropolen anführt, und zwar eine, durchschnittlich ausgestattete von Wahlitz und eine zweite, 40 km entfernt davon von Kleinzerbst mit mehreren reichen Bestattungen, ist zu vermuten, dass Kleinzerbst der Friedhof von gehobenen Mitgliedern der Gesellschaft war, während in Wahlitz die abhängigen Bauern beigesetzt wurden. Nach den Berechnungen desselben Verfassers (*Steuer 2007*, 356–359) war die Bevölkerungsdichte in der römischen Kaiserzeit relativ hoch und die Entfernung zwischen einzelnen Siedlungen betrug von 2 bis 4 km, während die sogenannten Fürstengräber nicht weniger als 20–30 km voneinander entfernt lagen.

Mit der Zeit lösten sich die Wirtschafts-, vermutlich auch die Herrschaftszentren auf. Dies ist sehr deutlich am Beispiel der Gräber von Lübsow in Pommern zu sehen. Die hier Bestatteten spielten eine führende Rolle in den Stufen B1–B2a in der Region. Später verlor das Zentrum an Bedeutung und entstanden neue, wie Gronowo, Nowy Łowicz (50 und 80 km von Lübsow entfernt), Odry im Binnenland und Czarnówko an der Ostseeküste (*Mączyńska/Rudnicka 2004*, 422–425, Abb. 18; *Schuster 2010*, 260–262, Abb. 108–110). Andere, wie der Komplex von Pruszcz Gdański an der unteren Weichsel, behielten ihre Stellung während der ganzen Kaiserzeit.

Es scheint, dass der Hauptgrund der Differenzierung der Ausstattung einzelner Gräberfelder in der sozialen Struktur zu suchen ist. Die Unterschiede im Grabritus, obwohl möglich, z. B. im Fall armer, aber großer Hügel, waren hier wahrscheinlich nicht erstrangig. Die hier angeführten Beispiele einiger sehr unterschiedlich ausgestatteten Nekropolen bezeugen, dass wir heute das Problem auf unvergleichbar breiterer Basis diskutieren können, obwohl sich eine endgültige Lösung nicht finden lässt.

LITERATUR

Amtlicher Bericht 1902 – XXII. Amtlicher Bericht über die Verwaltung der naturhistorischen, archäologischen und ethnologischen Sammlungen des Westpreussischen Provinzial-Museums für das Jahr 1901, 1902.

Amtlicher Bericht 1903 – XXIII. Amtlicher Bericht über die Verwaltung der naturhistorischen, archäologischen und ethnologischen Sammlungen des Westpreussischen Provinzial-Museums für das Jahr 1902, 1903.

Amtlicher Bericht 1907 – XXVII. Amtlicher Bericht über die Verwaltung der naturhistorischen, archäologischen und ethnologischen Sammlungen des Westpreussischen Provinzial-Museums für das Jahr 1906, 1907.

Andrzejowski/Bursche 1987 – J. Andrzejowski/A. Bursche: Archeologia biblioteczna. Cmentarzyska kultury wielbarskiej w Krośnie, stanowisko 1 i w Wielbarku, woj. elbląskie. In: A. Pawłowski (red.): *Badania archeologiczne w woj. elbląskim w latach 1980–1983*. Malbork 1987, 233–277.

Andrzejowski/Żórawska 2002 – J. Andrzejowski/A. Żórawska: Cmentarzysko kultury wielbarskiej na stan. 1 w Nadkolu, woj. mazowieckie. In: J. Andrzejowski/R. Prochowicz/A. Żórawska (red.): *Varia Barbarica. Zenoni Woźniak ab amicis dicta*. Monumenta Archaeologica Barbarica. Series Gemina 1. Warszawa – Lublin 2002, 29–80.

Becker 2005 – M. Becker: Bemerkungen zu Aussagekraft und Struktur kaiserzeitlicher Grabinventare. In: J. Müller (Hrsg.): *Alter und Geschlecht in ur- und frühgeschichtlichen Gesellschaften. Tagung Bamberg 20.–21. Februar 2004*.

Universitätsforschungen zur prähistorischen Archäologie 126. Bonn 2005, 151–155.

Brather 2009 – S. Brather: Tod und Bestattung im frühen Mittelalter. Repräsentation, Vorstellungswelten und Variabilität am Beispiel merowingerzeitlicher Reihengräberfelder. *Etnographisch-Archäologische Zeitschrift* 50, 2009, 93–115.

von Carnap-Bornheim 2006 – C. von Carnap-Bornheim: Zwischen Anpassung und Widerstand? Überlegungen zu Fürstengräbern der römischen Kaiserzeit im Barbaricum. In: C. von Carnap-Bornheim/D. Krausse/A. Wesse (Hrsg.): *Herrschaft – Tod – Bestattung. Zu den vor- und frühgeschichtlichen Prunkgräbern als archäologisch-historische Quelle. Internationale Fachkonferenz Kiel 16.–19. Oktober 2003*. Universitätsforschungen zur prähistorischen Archäologie 139. Bonn 2006, 111–126.

Cieśliński 2010 – A. Cieśliński: *Kulturelle Veränderungen und Besiedlungsabläufe im Gebiet der Wielbark-Kultur an Łyna, Pasłęka und oberer Drwęca*. Berliner Beiträge zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte. Neue Folge 17. Berlin 2010.

Cieśliński 2014 – A. Ciesliński: Kopce kultury wielbarskiej z Mazowsza i Podlasia a tzw. typ rostołcki – próba nowego spojrzenia na związki cmentarzysk kurhanowych z północnej i wschodniej Polski. *Wiadomości Archeologiczne* 65, 2014, 45–93.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.36154/wa.65.2014.02

Cieśliński 2015 – A. Ciesliński: Stan i perspektywy badań nad nekropolami kurhanowymi kultury wielbarskiej. In: M. Fudziński/H. Paner (red.): *Kontakty ponadregionalne kultury wielbarskiej. Przemiany kulturowe w okresie rzymskim na Pomorzu*. Gdańsk 2015, 17–29.

Eggers 1964 – H.-J. Eggers: Das kaiserzeitliche Gräberfeld von Pollwitten, Kreis Mohrungen, Ostpreussen. *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz* 11, 1964, 154–175.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.11588/jrgzm.1964.0.35844

Gebühr 1974 – M. Gebühr: Zur Definition älterkaiserzeitlicher Fürstengräber vom Lübsower-Typ. *Praehistorische Zeitschrift* 49, 1974, 82–136.

Grabarczyk 1997 – T. Grabarczyk: *Kultura wielbarska na Pojezierzach Krajeńskim i Kaszubskim*. Łódź 1997.

Grabarczyk 2001 – T. Grabarczyk: O Węsiorach w trzydzieści pięć lat później. *Pomorania Antiqua* 18, 2001, 231–247.

Grabarczyk 2007 – T. Grabarczyk: Wyniki prac wykopaliskowych na cmentarzysku w Odrach, gm. Czersk, woj. pomorskie w latach 1995–2003. *Acta Universitatis Lodziensis. Folia Archaeologica* 25, 2007, 5–23.

Hahuła/Wołągiewicz 2001 – K. Hahuła/R. Wołągiewicz: *Grzybnica. Ein Gräberfeld mit Steinkreisen der Wielbark-Kultur in Pommern*. Monumenta Archaeologica Barbarica 8. Warszawa – Koszalin 2001.

Hedeager 1980 – L. Hedeager: Besiedlung, soziale Struktur und politische Organisation in der älteren und jüngeren römischen Kaiserzeit Ostdänemarks. *Praehistorische Zeitschrift* 55, 1980, 38–109.

Janiak 2010 – R. Janiak: Czy w Mściszewicach odkryto kolejny pochówek kultury wielbarskiej? In: A. Urbaniak/R. Prochowicz/I. Jakubczyk/M. Levada/J. Schuster (red.): *Terra Barbarica. Studia ofiarowane Magdalenie Mączyńskiej w 65 rocznicę urodzin*. Monumenta Archaeologica Barbarica. Series Gemina 2. Łódź – Warszawa 2010, 697–701.

Jarzec 2018 – A. Jarzec: *Krosno, stan. 1. Nekropola kultury wielbarskiej z obszaru starożytnego ujścia Wisły. Materiały z badań w latach 1980–2009*. Światowit. Supplement Series B. Barbaricum 12. Warszawa 2018.

Jarzec/Chowaniec 2017 – A. Jarzec/R. Chowaniec: Zestaw srebrnych ozdób z grobu 374 z cmentarzyska kultury wielbarskiej w Krośnie, pow. Pasłęcki. In: J. Andrzejowski/C. von Carnap-Bornheim/A. Cieśliński/B. Kontny (red.): *Orbis Barbarorum. Studia ad archaeologiam Germanorum et Baltorum temporibus Imperii Romani pertinenta Adalberto Nowakowski dedicate*. Monumenta Archaeologica Barbarica. Series Gemina 6. Warszawa – Schleswig 2017, 373–382.

Jaskanis 1996 – J. Jaskanis: *Cecele. Ein Gräberfeld der Wielbark-Kultur in Ostpolen*. Monumenta Archaeologia Barbarica 2. Kraków 1996.

Jaskanis 2012 – J. Jaskanis: *Wodzowskie kurhany kultury wielbarskiej na Podlasiu*. Białystok 2012.

Kmieciński 1968 – J. Kmieciński (red.): *Odry. Cmentarzysko kurhanowe z okresu rzymskiego w powiecie chojnickim*. Łódź 1968.

Kmieciński/Blombergowa/Walenta 1966 – J. Kmieciński/M. Blombergowa/K. Walenta: Cmentarzysko kurhanowe ze starszego okresu rzymskiego w Węsiorach w pow. Kartuskim. *Prace i Materiały Muzeum Archeologicznego i Etnograficznego w Łodzi* 12, 1966, 37–119.

Kunst 1978 – M. Kunst: Arm und Reich – Jung und Alt. (Untersuchungen zu sozialen Gruppierungen auf dem Gräberfeld vom Hamfelde, Kreis Herzogtum Lauenburg). *Offa* 35, 1978, 86–109.

La Baume 1926 – W. La Baume: W. La Baume: Ausgrabungen bei Praust, Kreis Danziger Höhe (1925 und 1926). *Blätter für deutsche Vorgeschichte* 4, 1926, 1–9.

La Baume 1934 – W. La Baume: *Urgeschichte der Ostgermanen*. Ostlandforschungen 5. Danzig 1934.

Machajewski 2006 – H. Machajewski: Pomorze Środkowe w okresie rzymskim i we wczesnej fazie okresu wędrówek ludów. In: W. Nowakowski/J. Borkowski/A. Cieśliński/A. Kasprzak (red.): *Goci i ich sąsiedzi na Pomorzu. Materiały z konferencji „Goci na Pomorzu Środkowym", Koszalin 28–29 października 2005*. Koszalińskie zeszyty muzealne. Seria A. Studia Archaeologica Pomeranica. Tom II. Koszalin 2006, 35–63.

Machajewski 2013 – H. Machajewski: *Gronowo. Ein Gräberfeld der Wielbark-Kultur in Westpommern*. Monumenta Archaeologica Barbarica 18. Warszawa 2013.

Mączyńska/Jakubczyk 2015 – M. Mączyńska/I. Jakubczyk: „Dziewczynka z zapałkami"? Kurhan V na cmentarzysku kultury wielbarskiej w Babim Dole-Borczu, pow. kartuski, stan. 2. In: B. Kontny (red.): *Ubi tribus faucibus fluenta Vistulae fluminis ebibuntur. Jerzy Okulicz-Kozaryn in memoriam*. Światowit. Supplement Series B. Barbaricum 11. Warszawa 2015, 477–488.

Mączyńska/Jakubczyk 2017a – M. Mączyńska/I. Jakubczyk: Cmentarzysko kultury wielbarskiej w Babim Dole-Borczu, pow. Kartuzy, stan. 2. Wstępne podsumowanie wyników badań. In: M. Fudziński/W. Świętosławski/W. Chudziak (red.): *Pradoliny pomorskich rzek. Kontakty kulturowe i handlowe społeczeństw w pradziejach i wczesnym średniowieczu*. Gdańsk 2017, 214–222.

Mączyńska/Jakubczyk 2017b – M. Mączyńska/I. Jakubczyk: Das Gräberfeld der Wielbark-Kultur von Babi Dół-Borcz, Kr. Kartuzy, FSt. 2. In: B. V. Eriksen/A. Abegg-

Wigg/R. Bleile/U. Ickerodt (Hrsg. – eds.): *Interaktion ohne Grenzen. Beispiele archäologischer Forschungen am Beginn des 21. Jahrhunderts. Band I – Interaction without borders. Exemplary archaeological research at the beginning of the 21st century. Volume I.* Schleswig 2017, 249–256.

Mączyńska/Rudnicka 2004 – M. Mączyńska/D. Rudnicka: Grab mit römischen Importen aus Czarnówko, Kr. Lębork (Pommern). *Germania 82*, 2004, 397–429.

Nagy 2007 – L. Nagy: Beiträge zur Frage der gesellschaftlichen Stellung der in den römerzeitlichen Hügelgräbern Bestatteten in Transdanubien. *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 58, 2007, 145–163. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1556/aarch.58.2007.1.5

Natuniewicz 2000 – M. Natuniewicz: „Nowe" znaleziska ze starych wykopalisk. Ocalałe materiały archeologiczne z okresu wpływów rzymskich z okolic Elbląga. In: J. Kolendo/W. Nowakowski (red.): *Antiquitates Prussiae. Studia z archeologii dawnych ziem pruskich*. Warszawa 2000, 105–206.

Natuniewicz-Sekuła 2015–2016 – M. Natuniewicz-Sekuła: Weklice, stan. 7, pow. elbląski, woj. warmińsko-mazurskie. Badania w latach 2015–2016. *Światowit* 13–14 (54–55), fascykul A/B, 2015–2016, 235–240.

Natuniewicz-Sekuła/Okulicz-Kozaryn 2011 – M. Natuniewicz-Sekuła/J. Okulicz-Kozaryn: *Weklice. A Cemetery of the Wielbark Culture on the Eastern Margin of Vistula Delta (Excavations 1984–2004).* Monumenta Archaeologica Barbarica 17. Warszawa 2011.

Okulicz/Bursche 1987 – J. Okulicz/A. Bursche: Badania birytualnego cmentarzyska kultury wielbarskiej w Krośnie na stanowisku 1 w województwie elbląskim. In: A. Pawłowski (red.): *Badania archeologiczne w woj. elbląskim w latach 1980–1983*. Malbork 1987, 207–231.

Okulicz-Kozaryn 1992 – J. Okulicz-Kozaryn: Centrum kulturowe z pierwszych wieków naszej ery u ujścia Wisły. *Barbaricum* 2, 1992, 137–155.

Pietrzak 1988 – M. Pietrzak: Cmentarzyska z Pruszcza Gdańskiego w młodszym okresie rzymskim. In: J. Gurba/A. Kokowski (red.): *Kultura wielbarska w młodszym okresie rzymskim (materialy z konferencji). Tom I*. Lublin 1988, 51–65.

Pietrzak 1997 – M. Pietrzak: *Pruszcz Gdański, Fundstelle 10. Ein Gräberfeld der Oksywie- und Wielbark-Kultur in Ostpommern*. Monumenta Archaeologica Barbarica 4. Kraków 1997.

Pietrzak/Cymek/Rożnowski 2015 – M. Pietrzak/L. Cymek/F. Rożnowski: *Pruszcz Gdański, stanowisko 5. Cmentarzysko z późnego okresu wpływów rzymskich i wędrówek ludów*. Gdańsk 2015.

Pietrzak/Tuszyńska 1988 – M. Pietrzak/M. Tuszyńska: *Période romaine tardive (Pruszcz Gdański 7)*. Inventaria Archaeologica Pologne 60. Warszawa 1988.

Quast 2009 – D. Quast: Frühgeschichtliche Prunkgräberhorizonte. In: M. Egg/D. Quast (Hrsg.): *Aufstieg und Untergang. Zwischenbilanz des Forschungsschwertpunktes „Eliten"*. Monographien des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums 82. Mainz 2009, 107–142.

Schindler 1939 – R. Schindler: Neue Gräberfunde aus Praust. *Gothiskandza* 1, 1939, 38–51.

Schindler 1941 – R. Schindler: Ein Grabfund der Völkerwanderungszeit aus Praust. *Gothiskandza* 3, 1941, 53–56.

Schuster 2010 – J. Schuster: *Lübsow. Älterkaiserzeitliche Fürstengräber im nördlichen Mitteleuropa*. Bonner Beiträge zur Vor- und Frühgeschichtlichen Archäologie 12. Bonn 2010.

Schuster 2014 – J. Schuster: Złoty wiek – Czarnówko w okresie wpływów rzymskich i w okresie wędrówek ludów – Golden Age – Czarnówko during the Roman Period and the Migration Period. In: J. Andrzejowski (red. – ed.): *Okruch złota w popiele ogniska… Starożytne nekropole w Czarnówku i ich tajemnice – A Fleck of Gold in the Ashes… Mysteries of the Prehistoric Cemeteries in Czarnówko*. Monumenta Archaeologica Barbarica. Series Popularis 1. Lębork – Warszawa 2014, 53–89.

Schuster 2017 – J. Schuster: Fibeln vom Typ Dybäck. Independenţa als Beispiel weitreichender Kontakte zwischen Nord- und Südosteuropa an der Schwelle zur Völkerwanderungszeit. In: *Na hranicích impéria. Extra fines imperii. Jaroslavu Tejralovi k 80. narozeninám*. Brno 2017, 371–380.

Schuster 2018 – J. Schuster: *Czarnówko, Fpl. 5. Acht Prunkgräber – Zeugnisse neuer Eliten im 2. Jh. n. Chr. im Ostseeraum*. Monumenta Archaeologica Barbarica 19. Lębork – Warszawa 2018.

Skóra 2010 – K. Skóra: Intruz w kurhanie? O pochówkach wtórnych w obrzędowości pogrzebowej kultur wielbarskiej i przeworskiej. In: K. Skóra/T. Kurasiński (red.): *Wymiary inności. Nietypowe zjawiska w obrzędowości pogrzebowej od pradziejów po czasy nowożytne*. Acta Archaeologica Lodziensia 56. Łódź 2010, 27–43.

Skóra 2015 – K. Skóra: *Struktura społeczna ludności kultury wielbarskiej*. Łódź 2015.

Skorupka 2001 – T. Skorupka: *Kowalewko 12. Cmentarzysko birytualne ludności kultury wielbarskiej (od połowy I w. n. e. do początku III w. n. e.).* Archeologiczne badania ratownicze wzdłuż trasy gazociągu tranzytowego 2. Wielkopolska, cz. 3. Poznań 2001.

Steuer 1982– H. Steuer: *Frühgeschichtliche Sozialstrukturen in Mitteleuropa. Eine Analyse der Auswertungsmethoden des archäologischen Quellenmaterials*. Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse 128. Göttingen 1982.

Steuer 2007 – H. Steuer: Besiedlungsdichte, Bevölkerungsgrössen und Heeresstärken während der älteren Römischen Kaiserzeit in der Germania magna. In: G. A. Lehmann/R. Wiegels (Hrsg.): *Römische Präsenz und Herrschaft im Germanien der augusteischen Zeit. Der Fundplatz von Kalkriese im Kontext neuerer Forschungen und Ausgrabungsbefunde*. Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse. Folge 3, 279. Göttingen 2007, 337–362.

Tejral 2006 – J. Tejral: Die germanische Giessereiwerkstatt in Pasohlávky (Bez. Břeclav). Ein Beitrag zur Frage der Fernhandels- und Kulturbeziehungen nach den Markomannenkriegen. *Památky archeologické* 97, 2006, 133–170.

Tuszyńska 2006 – M. Tuszyńska: Zapinki zdobione emalią z cmentarzysk w Pruszczu Gdańskim i Ulkowach, pow. Gdański. In: A. Bursche/R. Ciołek (Hrsg.): *Corpus der römischen Funde im europäischen Barbaricum. Polen. Supplement – Band 3. Neue Funde römischer Importe aus Polen III*. Warszawa 2006, 51–62.

Walenta 2009 – K. Walenta: *Leśno i mikroregion w okresie rzymskim*. Chojnice 2009.

Wołągiewicz 1973 – R. Wołągiewicz: Gronowo 1973. Badania na cmentarzysku kurhanowym z okresu wpływów rzymskich. *Materiały Zachodnio-Pomorskie* 19, 1973, 129–168.

Wołągiewicz 1974 – R. Wołągiewicz: Zagadnienie stylu wczesnorzymskiego w kulturze wielbarskiej. In: F. Lachowicz (red.): *Studia Archaeologica Pomeranica. Profesorowi doktorowi Janowi Żakowi w 25-lecie pracy naukowej*. Koszalin 1974, 129–152.

Wołągiewicz 1995 – R. Wołągiewicz: *Lubowidz. Ein birituelles Gräberfeld der Wielbark-Kultur aus der Zeit vom Ende des 1. Jhs. v. Chr. bis zum Anfang des 3. Jhs. n. Chr.* Monumenta Archaeologica Barbarica 1. Kraków 1995.

Ziemlińska-Odojowa 1999 – W. Ziemlińska-Odojowa: *Niedanowo. Ein Gräberfeld der Przeworsk- und Wielbark-Kultur in Nordmasowien*. Monumenta Archaeologica Barbarica 7. Kraków 1999.

Manuskript angenommen am 10. 7. 2021

Übersetzt von Jan Schuster

prof. dr hab. Magdalena Mączyńska
Bobrzyńskiego 43/61
PL – 38-340 Kraków
magdalena.babidol@gmail.com

SLOVENSKÁ ARCHEOLÓGIA – SUPPLEMENTUM 2
Z. Robak/M. Ruttkay (eds.): Celts – Germans – Slavs.
A Tribute Anthology to Karol Pieta. Nitra 2021, 225–231.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.31577/slovarch.2021.suppl.2.21

DIE ENTE – DER HEILIGE VOGEL DER GOTEN?

ANDRZEJ KOKOWSKI – TERESA MAZUREK

The Duck – the Sacred Bird of the Goths? With three new finds of the Masłomęcz type duck fibulae, their number has increased to 14. The concentration of these primers in the Masłomęcz group and the surrounding area seems to confirm the thesis about their local production. In the essay, the duck is presented as an ornamental motif in the cultures of the Gothic circle of the Late Roman Period, which indicates that this bird played a certain role in the beliefs of the Goths.

Keywords: Eastern Poland, Roman Period, Goths, Sarmatians, religion, bird fibula.

Im Jahre 1980 wurde in Masłomęcz, Gem. Hrubieszów, Woi. Lubelskie, Fpl. 15 ein interessantes Körpergrab Nr. 10 entdeckt (*Kokowski 1983*, Taf. 302). Mit dieser Entdeckung kamen zwei wichtige Kulturmerkmale zum Vorschein, die später als einige der Ausgliederungsgrundlagen der gotischen Masłomęcz-Gruppe gedient haben (*Kokowski 1997*; *2009*, 187–198). Erstens, die im Grab bestattete Frau war ohne Kopf beigesetzt, was auf die Sitte der Zerstückelung der Leiche vor dem Begräbnis hinweist. Das zweite Merkmal ist eine Armbrustfibel A VII mit dem Bügel in Form einer schwimmenden Ente. Die effektvolle Fibel wurde bald ein Zeichen, sozusagen ein Wappen nicht nur der Masłomęcz-Gruppe, aber auch der Lubliner Archäologie (*Kokowski 2007a*, 36, 37; *2012*, 76–79; *2014*, 78–81).

Im Gräberfeld Masłomęcz wurden noch drei weitere Entenfibeln entdeckt. Kindergrab 56 enthielt zwei solche Exemplare (*Kokowski/Koman 1985*, Taf. 337: 1, 2), das dritte kam in Grab 460 zum Vorschein (*Kokowski 2003*, 278, Abb. 1: d). Somit wurde eine These gestellt, dass die Entenfibeln hochwahrscheinlich als lokale Herstellung der Masłomęcz-Gruppe gelten sollen. Sie datieren in die Stufe C1a.

Einen Anlass zum vorgelegten Aufsatz sind drei neue Funde der Entenfibeln und die Notwendigkeit, den vierten ähnlichen Fund von Grabowiec voll zu publizieren, der bisher nur aus einem Foto bekannt ist (*Kokowski 2007b*, Einkleber; s. auch *Bender 2009*, 56, Abb. 24: 3), der zuerst als römisch, nicht lokal interpretiert wurde. Alle Exemplare sind aus Bronze hergestellt.

1. **Buśno, Gem. Białopole (AZP 83–92), Kr. Chełm, Woi. lubelskie.** Einzelfund, ohne genaue Lokalisation. Bügel gerade, dachförmig, unten abgeflacht, L. 30 mm. Fuß schwalbenschwanzförmig, Br. 10 mm, mit von unten befestigtem halbrundem Halter zum Achsenloch, Achse nicht erhalten. Oberteil des Bügels verdickt und verbreitert, mit stilisiertem „Entenkopf" auf kurzem, romboidalem, 3 mm hohem „Hals" beendet. Auf dem „Entenkopf" feine, schräge Kerben. Unter dem Bügel nicht ganz erhaltener Nadelhalter, erhaltene H. 8 mm, Br. 10 mm. Rohstoff: Kupferlegierung (nach metallographischer Analyse im Labor der Staatlichen Beruflichen Hochschule in Chełm), Sn – 38,977 %; Cu – 24,069 %; Pb – 16,092 %; Fe – 7,432 %; Si – 6,588 %; Ca – 5,797 %; Ag – 0,355 %; Sb – 0,355 %; Zn – 0,177 %; Sc – 0,108 %; Zr – 0,035 %. Sammlung: Muzeum Ziemi Chełmskiej in Chełm, Inv.-Nr.: MZCH/A/9925; Kat.-Nr. 7687 (Abb. 1: 3; 2: 1).
2. **Ukraine (Westukraine?), Fundort unbekannt.** Aus dem Internetforum der „Schatzsucher" Mit dem Fund von Buśno fast identisch. Von allen Fibeln des Masłomęcz-Typs unterscheidet sich die Fibel daran, dass statt eines Fußes mit Schwanz ist ein hinter der Mutter schwimmendes Kücken-Entlein dargestellt. Ausmaße unbekannt (Abb. 1: 1).[1]
3. **Ostpolen (vermutlich vom Bereich der Masłomęcz-Gruppe oder Umgebung), Fundort unbekannt.** Aus dem Internetforum der „Schatzsucher". Wie der Fund von Buśno, jedoch unverziert, Schwanz fächerförmig. Ausmaße unbekannt (Abb. 1: 2).
4. **Grabowiec, Gem. loco, Kr. Zamość, Woi. lubelskie.** Ohne genaue Lokalisation, Sammlung der prähistorischen und frühmittelalterlichen Funde aus der Umgebung von Grabowiec (*Kokowscy 2012*, 252). Bronzene Armbrustfibel, Bügel gebogen, im Querschnitt romboidal, in Form einer schwimmenden Ente. Niedriger Nadelhalter unter dem Hals des stilisierten Vogels. Kurzer Schwanz, schräg gekerbt. L. 48 mm, Br. 3–6 mm, H. 1 mm, Spirallänge 16 mm. Stilistisch wie Entenfibeln A VII von der Masłomęcz-Gruppe. Privatbesitz (Abb. 1: 4; 2: 2).

Ein gemeinsames Merkmal der Fibeln vom Masłomęcz-Typ ist, dass die Achsen des Bügels,

[1] Die Fibeln Nr. 3 und 4 wurden zwar auf dem karierten Papier fotografiert, doch ein kariertes Feld schwankt zwischen 4 × 4 mm und 6 × 6 mm. Die Größe der Fibel lässt sich somit nicht ganz genau bestimmen.

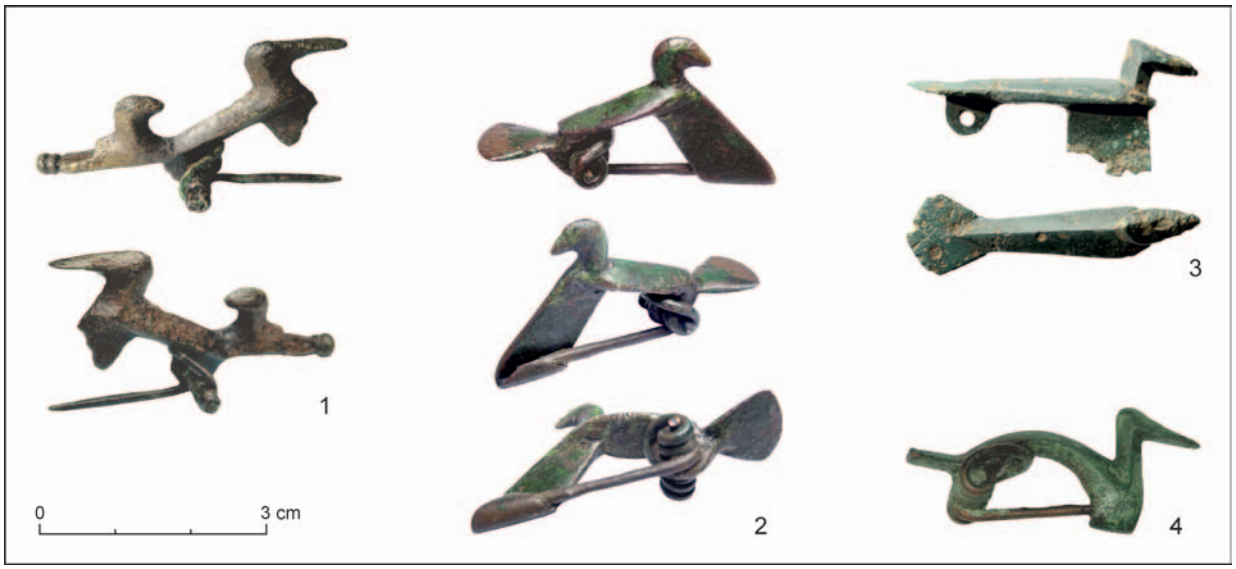


Abb. 1. Entenfibeln. 1 – „Westukraine“; 2 – „Ostpolen“; 3 – Buśno; 4 – Grabowiec.

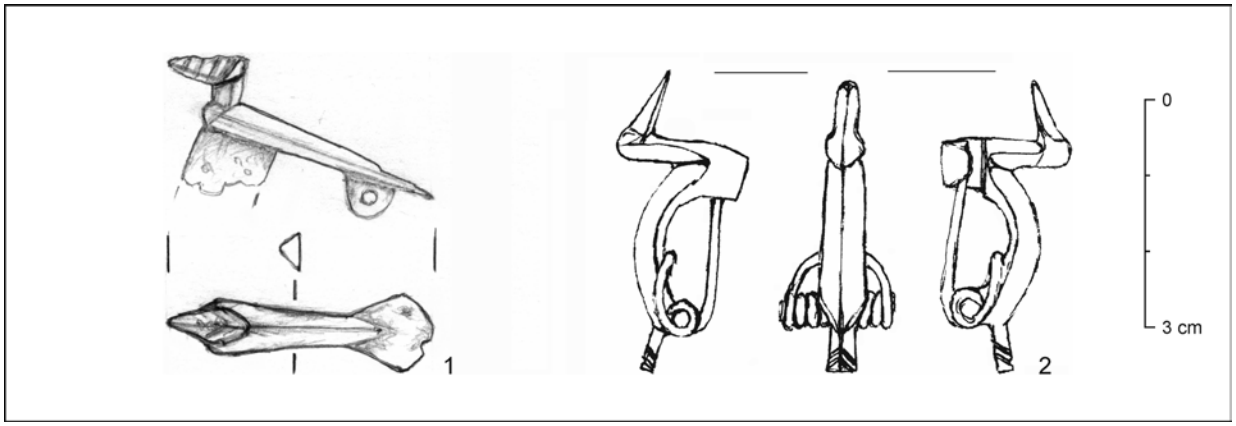


Abb. 2. Entenfibeln. 1 – Buśno; 2 – Grabowiec (Zeichnung T. Mazurek).

des hohen, meistens leicht nach unten verbreiterten Nadelhalters und der Nadel ein etwa rechtwinkliges Dreieck bilden. Darüber, auf der längeren Seite, ist eine von unten flacher Darstellung einer schwimmenden Ente angebracht. Der unprofilierte, trapezförmige Fuß bildet die Verlängerung der Bügelachse. Alle Fibeln sind etwa gleich groß, dagegen ist ihre Verzierung differenziert, wie Augen oder ihr Mangel, verschiedene Kerben auf dem Schnabel und fuß; der letztgenannte manchmal mit Zahnornament, das Feder markiert.

Das Exemplar von Grabowiec steht stilistisch den oben beschriebenen nahe, jedoch ist der Nadelhalter niedrig, der Bügel in Form des Entenkörpers gebogen und der parallel zur rechteckigen, nicht trapezförmigen, im Querschnitt dachförmigen Verschlussachse verlaufende Fuß. Der Fund findet seine fast genaue Entsprechung in der Fibel vom Kultplatz der Przeworsk-Kultur in Otalążka, Kr. Radom (*Skorupka 2008*, 42, Abb. 26) und in der Fibel von Pritzier, Grab 846, Ldkr. Ludwigslust-Parchim (*Schuldt 1955*, 69, Abb. 328) in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern (vgl. *Bender 2008*, 56–60). Auf die römische Herkunft des Exemplars von Otalążka weist die metallographische Analyse hin, die eine komplizierte, „nichtbarbarische“ Rezeptur aufweist (*Biborski 2009*).

Im *Barbaricum* haben wir also mit zwei unterschiedlichen Mustern der Entenfibeln, Masłomęcz und Otalążka zu tun. Zur dritten Gruppe gehören die Vogelfibeln mit dem Bügel in Form einer Taube, diese aber sind vor allem aus den römischen Provinzen bekannt.

Die neueste Studie über die kaiserzeitlichen Entenfibeln im mitteleuropäischen *Barbaricum*

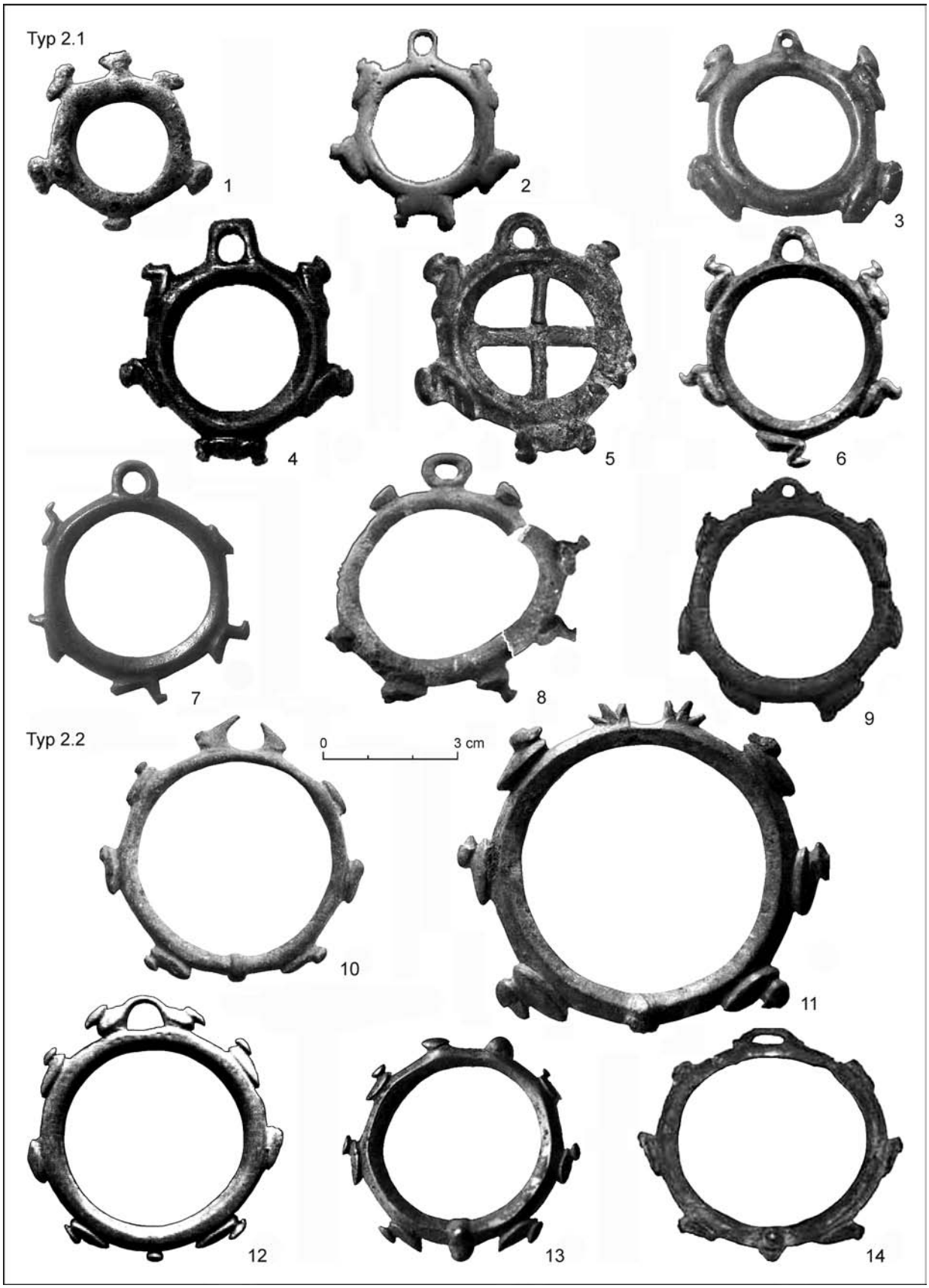


Abb. 3. Entenringe der Černjachov-Kultur (nach *Magomedov 2018*).

verdanken wir *E. Droberjar* (*2018*). Er hat elft ihm bekannte Exemplare von sieben im römischen Sinn „barbarischen" Fundstellen zusammengestellt und ihre Verwandtschaft mit provinzialrömischen Fibeln hervorgehoben: vier von Masłomęcz, zwei von Ostróżek Wielki (eigentlich Wielki Ostróżek [Великий Острожок], Rai. Chmel'nyc'kyj, obl. Vinnycja, Ukraine)[2]; je ein von Piatroviči (Пятровічы, Weißrussland; *Beljavec 2016*, 411, Abb. 8); Csongrád – Sövényháza; Martfű, Zsófia-Meierei (beide Ungarn – s. unten); Vrbová Lhota (Böhmen) und ein stark im Feuer deformiertes Exemplar von Ulów, Fpl. 7, Gem. und Kr. Tomaszów Lubelski (*Niezabitowska-Wiśniewska 2015*, 334, 335, Abb. 2: 1). Die Funde von Otalążka und Pritzier blieben dagegen von ihm unberücksichtigt. E. Droberjar hat auch auf die Verwandtschaft der Masłomęcz-Fibeln mit der Gruppe der römischen Vogelfibeln aufmerksam gemacht, unter denen die Taubenfibeln überwiegen (vgl: *Steinklauber 2010*, 21, 22, Foto 2: 3; Taf. 2: 2, 3). Unter ihnen befinden sich auch solche, die als Entenfibeln bezeichnet werden können, wie das von E. Droberjar angeführte Exemplar von Letcombe Regis (Oxford) auf den Britischen Inseln. Es ist jedoch zu bemerken, dass die Unterschiede zwischen Bezeichnungen Taube/Ente oft intuitiv sind. Am Rand unserer Erwägungen ist es zu erwähnen, dass bisher aus dem *Barbaricum* nur zwei römische Taubenfibeln stammen, eine vom unbekannten Fundort in der Ukraine, vielleicht aus der Gegend von Odessa (Sammlung: Odesskij Gorodskij Archeologičeskij Muzej, Nr. OGAM, A-4425: *Ambroz 1966*, 36, Taf. 21; hier als „sitzende Taube" beschrieben) und eine vom ebenfalls unbekannten Fundort in der Slowakei (Sammlung: damaliges Slowakisches Museum in Bratislava, heute Slovenské národné múzeum – Archeologické múzeum; *Lamiová-Schmiedlová 1961*, 131, Nr. 256; Taf. XI: 10).

Wie schwierig ist, einen Fund als barbarisch bzw. antik zu bestimmen, sehen wir am folgenden Beispiel: die silberne Entenfibel vom Typ Masłomęcz aus dem sarmatischer Grab in Martfű, Zsófia-Meierei, hielt E. Droberjar für barbarisch, während nach *A. Vaday* (*2005*, 77, Taf. 4: 7) wurde sie als provinzialrömisch betrachtet. Die Fibel unterscheidet sich von jenen vom Typ Masłomęcz nicht nur vom Rohstoff, aber auch davon, dass der Vogelkörper verziert ist (was bisher bei den Masłomęcz-Fibeln nicht vorkommt). Darüber hinaus ist der Nadelhalter bei dem Exemplar von Martfű durchlocht und mit einer Kette versehen. An den Achsenenden hängen an Ketten zwei halbmondförmige Anhänger, schließlich ist der Schwanz ebenfalls durchlocht, woran vermutlich derselbe Anhänger ebenfalls hing. Dies aber kann eine lokale, sarmatische Adaptation des germanischen Musters sein, die dem lokalen Geschmack entsprach. Keinem Zweifel unterliegt dagegen der zweite Fund aus dem sarmatischen Bereich, von Csongrád-Sövényháza, da die dort gefundene Bronzefibel sicher nach dem Masłomęcz-Muster hergestellt wurde (*Párducz 1950*, 155, Taf. XXVII: 1).

Das Vorkommen der Entenfibel vom Typ Masłomęcz im sarmatischen Bereich wurde ein unter anderen Argumenten für die These für die Kontakte der Goten mit den sarmatischen Nomaden bereits in der mittleren Kaiserzeit (B2/C1–C1a; *Kokowski 2003; 2004; 2019*, 59–61).

Die Bevölkerung des gotischen Kulturkreises[3] verwendete figürliche Motive äußerst selten, wobei am häufigsten die stilisierte Entendarstellung auftritt, besonders auf den in der Černjachov-Kultur verbreiteten kreisförmigen Anhängern mit Entenminiaturen am Umfang (Abb. 3; *Magomedov 2018*). Das Entenmotiv kommt auch auf der silbervergoldeten Pressblechapplikation mit Gesichtsmaske mit Delphinen und Räubervogelköpfen von Grab 453 in Masłomęcz vor (Abb. 4; *Kokowski 2001*, 39, Abb. 4). Sie kann aber skandinavischer Herkunft sein, da in Skandinavien die vergoldeten Pressblecharbeiten am häufigsten auftreten (vgl. *von Carnap-Bornheim/Ilkjær* 1996, 409–470).

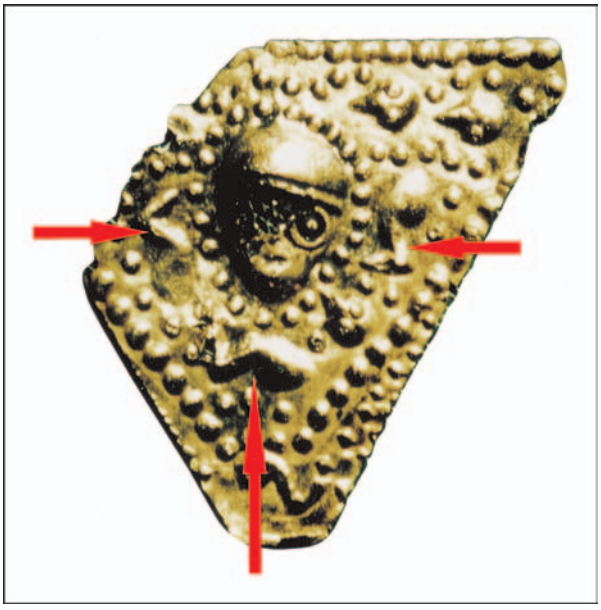


Abb. 4. Pressblech mit Gesichtsmaske von Grab 453 in Masłomęcz. Die Entendarstellungen sind mit Pfeilen markiert. Ohne Maßstab (Foto A. Kokowski).

[2] Die beste Dokumentation dieser Funde s. *Gałęzowska 2010*, 251–254, Abb. 2: 1; 3.

[3] Dazu zählen die Wielbark-, Černjachov-, Sântana de Mureş-Kulturen und die Masłomęcz-Gruppe (*Kokowski 1997*).

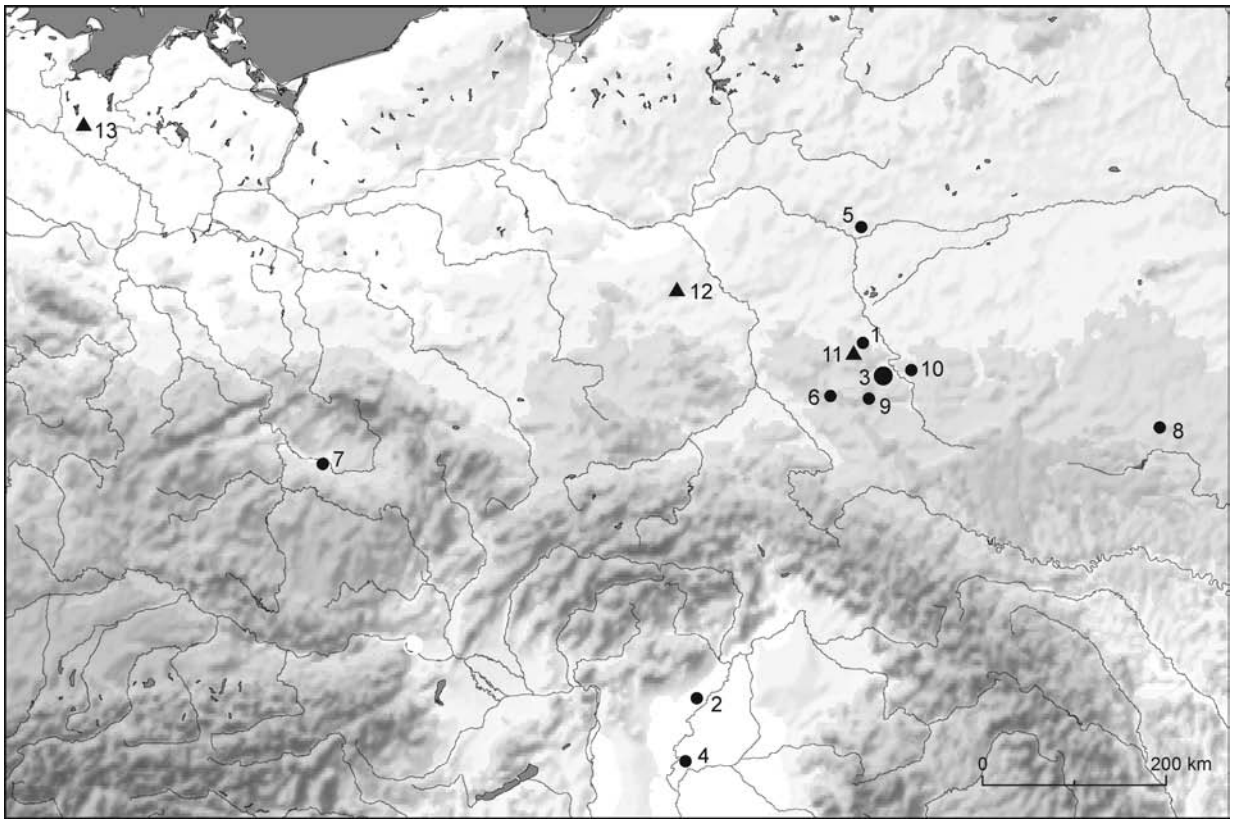


Abb. 5. Verbreitung der Vogelfibeln in *Barbaricum*. Kreis – Masłomęcz-Muster: 1 – Buśno; 2 – Csongrád-Sövényháza; 3 – Masłomęcz, Fpl. 15; 4 – Martfű; 5 – Piatroviči; 6 – Ulów, Fpl. 7; 7 – Vrbová Lhota; 8 – Wielki Ostrożek; 9 – „Ostpolen"; 10 – „Westukraine". Dreieck – Otalążka-Muster: 11 – Grabowiec; 12 – Otalążka; 13 – Pritzier.

Viele Archäologen sehen fast in jeder figürlichen Darstellung eine symbolische Bedeutung aus dem Glaubens- und Religionskreis. Die Vögel sind dabei überall vertreten (*Skorupka 2008*, 35–41); die Ente ist von vielen, antiken und barbarischen Glaubenssystemen bekannt (s. *Lunczer 2009*, 48; *Rowland 1978*, 49–51). Daher tritt sie vermutlich auch in der provinzialrömischen Welt auf (s. *Patek 1942*, 295; *Riha 1979*, 199; *Vaday 1981*). Wir verfügen zwar über keine Angaben zur wahrsagerischen Rolle der Enten, es gibt jedoch noch ein Argument für ihre wichtige Rolle in der Glaubenswelt.

In der Masłomęcz-Gruppe herrschte die Sitte, den Verstorbenen ins Grab Tiere beizulegen. Meistens sind es einzelne Stücke, seltener einige, wie Säugetiere, Amphibien, Fische und Vögel (*Rogatko 1991*). Unter den letztgenannten befinden sich auch Enten (*Kalisz 2006*).

Wahrscheinlich ist es etwas übertrieben, die Enten als „heilige Vögel" bei den Goten zu betrachten, doch kann ihre Symbolik in der kaiserzeitlichen geistigen Kultur eine wichtige Rolle gespielt haben. Die Anzahl der Entenfibeln vom Typ Masłomęcz – heute 14 Exemplare – in der Masłomęcz-Gruppe und in ihrer Nachbarschaft scheint die These über ihre lokale Herstellung zu belegen (Abb. 5). Es fehlen leider präzise Argumente für ihr Auftreten in Mittelböhmen und bei den sarmatischen Jazygen. Hier müssen wir uns mit einer allgemein angenommenen These über die Kulturkontake zwischen Hrubieszów-Becken und genannten Gebieten befriedigen.

LITERATUR

Ambroz 1966 – A. K. Ambroz: *Fibuly juga evropejskoj časti SSSR II v. do n. e.–IV v. n. e.* Archeologija SSSR. Svod archeologičeskich istočnikov D1–30. Moskva 1966.

Beljavec 2016 – V. G. Beljavec: Nasel'nictva vel'barskaj kul'tury ŭ historyka-kul'turnym razvicci zjamel' Belarusi rubjažu II/III – pačatku V st. n. ė. In: O. N. Levko/D. V. Duk (red.): *Slavjane na territorii Belarusi v dogosudarstvennyj period. Kniga I. K 90-letiju so dnja roždenija doktora istoričeskich nauk, profesora Leonida Davydoviča Pobolja*. Minsk 2016, 384–450.

Bender 2009 – W. Bender: *Otalążka. Stanowisko kultowo-bagienne z młodszego okresu rzymskiego*. Materiały Starożytne i Wczesnośredniowieczne 8. Warszawa 2009.

Biborski 2009 – M. Biborski: Wyniki badań składu chemicznego zapinki z Otalążki, pow. grójecki, stan. 1. In: *Bender 2009*, 93–96.

von Carnap-Bornheim/Ilkjær 1996 – C. von Carnap-Bornheim/J. Ilkjær: *Illerup Ådal 5–7. Die Prachtausrüstungen*. Jutland Archaeological Society Publications 25. Århus – Moesgård 1996.

Droberjar 2018 – E. Droberjar: Eine Vogelfibel mit hohem Nadelhalter vom Typ Masłomęcz aus Vrbová Lhota (Mittelböhmen). In: B. Niezabitowska-Wiśniewska/P. Łuczkiewicz/S. Sadowski/M. Stasiak-Cyran/M. Erdrich (red.): *Studia Barbarica. Profesorowi Andrzejowi Kokowskiemu w 65. rocznicę urodzin. Tom II*. Lublin 2018, 74–84.

Gałęzowska 2010 – A. Gałęzowska: Znaleziska z okresu rzymskiego z terenu Ukrainy w zbiorach Muzeum Archeologicznego w Poznaniu. In: A. Urbaniak/R. Prochowicz (red.): *Terra Barbarica. Studia ofiarowane Magdalenie Mączyńskiej w 65. rocznicę urodzin*. Monumenta Archaeologica Barbarica. Series Gemina 2. Łódź – Warszawa 2010, 251–260.

Kalisz 2006 – J. Kalisz: Pochówki zwierzęce na cmentarzyskach grupy masłomęckiej. In: L. Kostuch/K. Ryszewska (red.): *Zwierzę jako sacrum w pradziejach i starożytności I*. Kielce 2006, 53–59.

Kokowscy 2012 – E. und A. Kokowscy: Kościana rękojeść nahajki z okolic Grabowca, w pow. hrubieszowskim. *Wiadomości Archeologiczne* 62, 2012, 252–254.

Kokowski 1983 – A. Kokowski: *Période Romaine Tardive. Civilisation de Černjachov*. Inventaria Archaeologica Pologne 50. Warszawa 1983.

Kokowski 1997 – A. Kokowski: Die Masłomęcz-Gruppe. Ihre Chronologie und Beziehungen innerhalb des gotischen Kulturkreises – ein Beispiel für den kulturellen Wandel der Goten im Verlauf ihrer Wanderungen. *Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission* 78, 1997, 641–833.

Kokowski 2001 – A. Kokowski: Romerske glasbægre i Barbaricum H. J. Eggers type 189 i Mellem- og Nordeuropa. Zur Distribution der Glassgefässe Typ Eggers 189 im Gebiet des mittel und nordeuropäischen Barbaricums. *Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie 2001*, 35–46.

Kokowski 2003 – A. Kokowski: Geschichte der Verbindungen der Goten mit den Sarmaten im Lichte der Untersuchungen der Masłomęcz-Gruppe und der Kulturen des Goten-Kreises. In: C. von Carnap-Bornheim (Hrsg.): *Kontakt-Kooperation-Konflikt. Germanen und Sarmaten zwischen dem 1. und dem 4. Jahrhundert nach Christus*. Neumünster 2003, 275–302.

Kokowski 2004 – A. Kokowski: Przyczynek do historii kontaktów Germanów i Sarmatów w świetle badań archeologicznych. In: A. Kokowski (red.): *Sarmaci i Germanie*. Studia Sarmatica 1. Lublin 2004, 11–70.

Kokowski 2007a – A. Kokowski: *30 powodów do dumy z mieszkania w krainie Gotów*. Zamość 2007.

Kokowski 2007b – A. Kokowski: *Goci – od Skandzy do Campi Gothorum (od Skandynawii do Półwyspu Iberyjskiego)*. Warszawa 2007.

Kokowski 2009 – A. Kokowski: Kontinuität und Diskontinuität der Besiedlung in der jüngeren vorrömischen Eisenzeit und in der römischen Kaiserzeit am Beispiel des Hrubieszów-Beckens. *Přehled výzkumů* 50, 2009, 181–212.

Kokowski 2012 – A. Kokowski: *Gocka duma Masłomęcza*. Masłomęcz – Hrubieszów – Lublin 2012.

Kokowski 2014 – A. Kokowski: *Gocka duma Masłomęcza. Archeologiczne dziedzictwo regionu hrubieszowskiego*. Masłomęcz – Hrubieszów – Lublin 2014.

Kokowski 2019 – A. Kokowski: *Illerup Ådal 15. Kleinfunde von zivilem Charakter*. Jutland Archaeological Society Publications 25. Århus – Moesgård 2019.

Kokowski/Koman 1985 – A. Kokowski/W. Koman: *Néolithique et la période romaine aux environs de Hrubieszów, Pologne de l'est*. Inventaria Archaeologica Pologne 54. Warszawa 1985.

Lamiová-Schmiedlová 1961 – M. Lamiová-Schmiedlová: Spony z doby rímskej na Slovensku. *Študijné zvesti AÚ SAV* 5, 1961, 7–142.

Lunczer 2009 – C. Lunczer: *Vögel in der griechischen Antike. Eine Untersuchung über Kenntnisse und Wahrnehmung der antiken Vogelwelt*. Disertation. Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg. Philosophishen Fakultät. Schorndorf 2009. Online verfügbar unter: http://archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/volltextserver/10154/1/Lunczer_Diss_Voegel.pdf

Magomedov 2018 – B. Magomedov: Ring-Shaped Pendants „with Ducks" of Chernyakhov Culture. In: B. Niezabitowska-Wiśniewska/P. Łuczkiewicz/S. Sadowski/M. Stasiak-Cyran/M. Erdrich (red.): *Studia Barbarica. Profesorowi Andrzejowi Kokowskiemu w 65. rocznicę urodzin – For profesor Andrzej Kokowski on his 65th Birthday. Tom I*. Lublin 2018, 502–511.

Niezabitowska-Wiśniewska 2015 – B. Niezabitowska-Wiśniewska: Ulów, stanowisko 7 – nowe cmentarzysko kultury wielbarskiej na Roztoczu Środkowym – z badań nad kontaktami kultury wielbarskiej i kultury czerniachowskiej. In: M. Fudziński/H. Paner (red.): *Kontakty ponadregionalne kultury wielbarskiej. Przemiany kulturowe w okresie wpływów rzymskich na Pomorzu*. Gdańsk 2015, 331–362.

Párducz 1950 – M. Párducz: *A Szarmatakor emlékei Magyarorsyágon III*. Archaeologia Hungarica 30. Budapest 1950.

Patek 1942 – E. Patek: *A Pannóniai fibulatípusok elterjedése és eredete – Verbreitung und Herkunft der römischen Fibeltypen in Pannonien*. Dissertationes Pannonicae. Ser. II. Fasc. 19. Budapest 1942.

Riha 1979 – E. Riha: *Die römischen Fibeln aus Augst und Kaiseraugst*. Forschungen in Augst 3. Augst 1979.

Rogatko 1991 – J. Rogatko: Znaleziska szczątków zwierzęcych na cmentarzyskach grupy masłomęckiej i kultury czerniachowskiej. *Archeologia Polski* 36, 1991, 151–191.

Rowland 1978 – B. Rowland: *Birds with Human Souls. A Guide to Bird Symbolism*. Knoxville 1978.

Schuldt 1955 – E. Schuldt: *Pritzier. Ein Urnenfriedhof der späten römischen Kaiserzeit in Mecklenburg*. Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Schriften der Sektion für Vor- und Frühgeschichte 4. Berlin 1955.

Skorupka 2008 – T. Skorupka: *Na skrzydłach przeszłości – On wings of the past. Motywy ptaków na zabytkach archeologicznych z ziem polskich (XI w. p.n.e.–XVII w. n.e.) – The motives of the Birds in the archaeological relicts in the Polish lands (11th vent. BC–17 th AC). Katalog wystawy – Exhibition Catalogue*. Poznań 2008.

Steinklauber 2010 – U. Steinklauber: Der Burgberg von Eppenstein als archäologischer Fundort der Römerzeit und der Spätantike. *Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereines für Steiermark* 101, 2010, 9–34.

Vaday 1981 – A. Vaday: Szarmata sírok Martfü-Zsófia Majorban. *Szolnok Megyei Múzeumi Évkönyv,* 1981, 5–9.

Vaday 2005 – A. Vaday: *Corpus der römischen Funde im europäischen Barbaricum. Ungarn 1. Komitat Szolnok*. Budapest 2005.

Manuskript angenommen am 15. 7. 2021

Übersetzt von Magdalena Mączyńska

prof. dr hab. Andrzej Kokowski
Instytut Archeologii
Uniwersytet Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej
pl. Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej 4
PL – 20-031 Lublin
berig1@gazeta.pl

mgr Teresa Mazurek
Muzeum Ziemi Chełmskiej im. W. Ambroziewicza
Lubelska 55
PL – 22-100 Chełm
teresamazurek42@gmail.com

SLOVENSKÁ ARCHEOLÓGIA – SUPPLEMENTUM 2
Z. Robak/M. Ruttkay (eds.): Celts – Germans – Slavs.
A Tribute Anthology to Karol Pieta. Nitra 2021, 233–247.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.31577/slovarch.2021.suppl.2.22

ANMERKUNGEN ZU EINEM ASPEKT BARBARISCHER BILDKUNST IN DER RÖMISCHEN KAISERZEIT UND ZUR ANHALTENDEN VERNICHTUNG EUROPÄISCHEN KULTURERBES

JAN SCHUSTER

Notes on an Aspect of Barbarian 'Pictorial' Art in the Roman Iron Age and the Ongoing Destruction of European Cultural Heritage. The so-called bulls-head brooches are one of the most remarkable results of Roman Period barbarian art. Until now they were known mostly from the regions of the Western Balts and the neighbouring Wielbark culture in the North-Eastern part of Central Europe. The interesting question where those brooches were created was discussed broadly throughout many years. New finds – unfortunately all gathered by illegal metal detecting raids and offered for sale – shed a new light on the issue. Found at the Ukraine they show that the appearance of bulls-head brooches has to be seen in a broader, supra-cultural context. All specimen can be dated in a relatively short period of 60–70 years in the time before and after 200 AD. The same applies to so-called duck brooches that were known from a few sites only. All new-found brooches were offered for sale at East European web sites. In the second part of the paper I discussed the problem, how archaeology should treat such finds.

Keywords: Ukraine, Roman Iron Age, bulls-head brooches, duck brooches, illegal detector finds.

Ein bemerkenswertes Ergebnis kunsthandwerklichen Schöpfens während der Römischen Kaiserzeit im „barbarischen" Teil Europas sind recht selten auftretende Fibeln mit einer plastischen Verzierung am Fußabschluss, die entweder als gehörnter Tierkopf oder nur als Hörner selbst ausgebildet ist.[1] In der Regel wird davon ausgegangen, dass es sich bei den Darstellungen um Rinder handelt, wobei als Parallelen und Deutungsgrundlagen zumeist Trinkhornendbeschläge in Rinderkopfform sowie kleine Rinderfiguren aus Kupferlegierung (*Andrzejowski/Cieśliński 2007*, 295 ff; *Gandert 1957*; *Nowakowski 1989*; *2016b*; *Rasmussen 2007*; *Schoknecht 2006*; *Schuster 2001*, 417 ff.; *Schuster/Dulęba 2012*; *Stenberger 1946*; *Thrane 1989*; *Tischler 1950*) herangezogen werden. Innerhalb der beiden letztgenannten Fundgruppen gibt es Stücke, die recht realistisch geformt sind und an der Abbildung eines Rindes keinen Zweifel lassen. Für andere, stärker stilisierte, kann nur aufgrund der eindeutigeren Exemplare angenommen werden, dass eine Rinderdarstellung intendiert war. Gleiches gilt auch für die eingangs erwähnter Fibeln. Zwar wurde für diese auch eine alternative Interpretation mit Blick auf das aus der mittelmeerischen und germanischen Bildkunst bekannte Motiv „gehörntes Pferd" erwogen,[2] doch werde ich im Folgenden die griffige Bezeichnung „Rinderkopffibeln" verwenden. Hinsichtlich einer eindeutigen Entscheidung für die ausschließliche Interpretation als gehörntes Pferd sehe ich keinen Raum.

Die Trinkhornbeschläge, die Rinderfiguren und die Fibeln mit Rinderkopf- oder Hörnerabschluss gehören zu den frühen, vorvölkerwanderungszeitlichen Zeugnissen einer Bildersprache, die ausweislich der weiträumigen – aber jeweils andere Schwerpunkte aufweisenden – Verbreitung in vielen Regionen von Nord- bis Mitteleuropa verstanden wurde. Diese und auch weitere, mitunter sehr versteckt platzierte figürliche Darstellungen sind aber nicht sehr zahlreich, so dass J. Werner – bezogen auf die im Zentrum seiner Studie stehende ethnische Gruppe – die berühmte These des „bilderfeindlichen Germanen" aufstellen konnte (*Werner 1966*, 38), die von F. Maier – bezogen auf die ältere Römische Kaiserzeit folgendermaßen auf den Punkt gebracht wurde: „... *im übrigen hält sich*

[1] Unberücksichtigt bleiben zwei völkerwanderungszeitliche Stücke aus Masuren, die vollständig als Tier gestaltet sind und auch keine zeitliche Verbindung zu den mittelkaiserzeitlichen Fibeln haben (vgl. *Nowakowski 2016a*; *2016b*, 134).

[2] *Schulte 2011*, 70 ff. mit Berufung auf *Oxenstjerna 1956*, 37 ff; 47 und *Beilke-Voigt 2006*, 96 f.; ähnlich auch *Nowakowski 2016b*, 135 f. Zum Motiv des gehörnten Pferdes in der germanischen Kunst: *Pesch 2011a*; *2011b*. Vgl. auch *Skvorcov/Pesch 2011*, 426 ff. Das gleiche Problem betrifft im Übrigen auch kleine hallstattzeitliche Tierplastiken, bei denen oft nur die Anwesenheit von Hörnern über die Zuweisung zur Gruppe der Pferde- oder zur Gruppe der Rinderdarstellungen entscheidend zu sein scheint (siehe *Teßmann 2009*). Ein Diskussionsbeitrag zum Thema der Erkennbarkeit und Unterscheidbarkeit von gehörnten Pferden gegenüber Rindern: *Hegewisch 2018*, 152 ff.

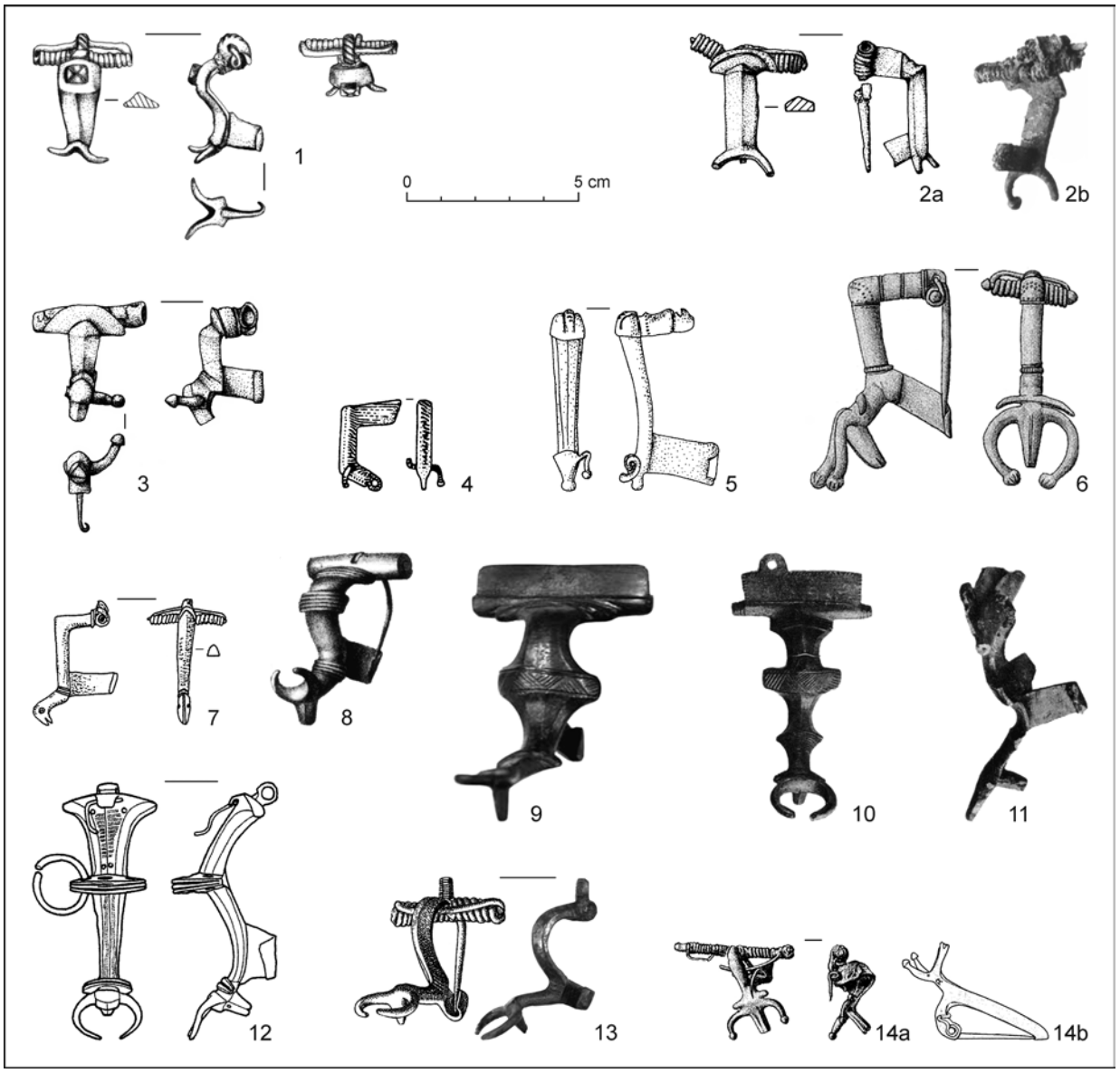


Abb. 1. Bislang bekannte mittelkaiserzeitliche Rinderkopffibeln. 1 – Opalenie (Nr. 8); 2a – Groß-Linichen/Świerczyna (Nr. 9); 2b – älteres Foto der Fibel mit anderem Erhaltungszustand; 3 – Kraśnik Piaski (Nr. 2); 4 – Ringelsdorf (Nr. 22); 5 – „Transsilvanien" (Nr. 24); 6 – Mingfen/Miętktie (Nr. 4); 7 – Łubiana (Nr. 3); 8 – Gruneiken/Grunajki (Nr. 1); 9 – Klein Puppen/Spychówko (Nr. 7); 10, 11 – Moythienen/Mojtyny (Nr. 5); 12 – Červonochyžynci (Nr. 11); 13 – Nikutowen/Nikutowo (Nr. 6); 14a – Zauschwitz (Nr. 23); 14b – Rekonstruktion.

das germanische Handwerk an das Prinzip absoluter Figurenlosigkeit" (*Maier 1981*, 350). In der Zwischenzeit ist sie aber ins Wanken geraten,[3] Inspirationen zum Einsetzen bildlicher Darstellungen im germanischen Kunsthandwerk aus anderen Kulturgebieten sind vielfältig und treten zu verschieden Zeiten auf. Den größten Einfluss hatten unbestritten die keltische und die römische Welt (*Blankenfeldt 2007*, 105),[4] wobei im Fall des Themas „Rind/Stier" besonders auf ostkeltische Statuetten und Anhänger aus Kupferlegierung der Spätlatènezeit hinzuweisen ist (*Pieta 2006*; *2010*, 327 f., bes. Fototaf. 31; 32; 42).[5]

Bislang war eine sehr begrenzte Zahl von mittelkaiserzeitlichen Rinderkopffibeln bekannt, die vor allem im Gebiet der Bogaczewo-Kultur des westbaltischen Kulturkreises sowie der Wielbark-

[3] Vgl. *Blankenfeld 2007*; *2015*.

[4] Vgl. auch *Martens 1999*.

[5] Vgl. auch *Maier 1981*, 350.

Kultur und mit einigen wenigen Exemplaren in weiter Streuung über Mittel- und Osteuropa gefunden wurden (*Andrzejowski/Cieśliński 2007*, Abb. 18; *Mączyńska 2011*, Abb. 21; *Nowakowski 1989*, Abb. 4; *2016b*, Abb. 1; *Schuster 2001*, Abb. 3.). Zwischenzeitlich kamen aber weitere Funde in Ost- und Südosteuropa zu Tage, die den geographischen Rahmen des Auftretens solcher Spangen stark erweitern, jedoch leider zu einem Großteil bei Raubzügen mit Metalldetektoreinsatz geborgen wurden.[6] Der Umgang mit diesen Stücken berührt ein wissenschaftsethisches Problem, worauf ich im zweiten Teil des Beitrages zurückkomme.

Die bekannten Rinderkopffibeln repräsentieren sehr verschiedene Formen, wobei sich aber gewisse Wiederholungen zeigen. Völlig richtig haben J. Andrzejowski und A. Cieśliński angemerkt, dass die Zuweisung aller masurischen „Rinderkopffibeln" durch Th. Hauptmann zur Variante 3 seiner Serie 3 „Masurisch-samländische Gruppe der Dreisprossenfibeln" aus formal-typologischen Gründen nicht haltbar ist (*Andrzejowski/Cieśliński 2007*, 292, Anm. 41). Das Stück von Gruneiken/Grunajki (Abb. 1: 8) entspricht eher den Fibeln Hauptmann Serie 4 „frühe Dreisprossenfibeln im Baltikum", die beiden Fibelpaare von Moythienen/Mojtyny und Klein Puppen/Spychówko (Abb. 1: 9–11) gehören zu den Dreisprossenfibeln masurischer Form.[7] Manche von diesen verfügen über eine plattenartige Fortsetzung der Scharnierhülse, die durchlocht sein kann und in diesem Fall zur Befestigung einer weiteren Zier, vermutlich einer zwei Fibeln verbindenden Schnur oder eines Kettchens. Letzteres dürfte auch auf die beiden Rinderkopffibeln von Moythienen/Mojtyny zugetroffen haben.

Die Fibel von Mingfen/Miętkie (Abb. 1: 6) hingegen ist eine Kniefibel ähnlich A 137, deren runde Fußplatte jedoch durch den Rinderkopf ersetzt wurde. Die Fibelform A 137 mit der charakteristischen Betonung des Bügelknicks ist für die das Samland einnehmende Dollkeim-Kovrovo-Kultur typisch und aus anderen Gebieten nicht bekannt (*Nowakowski 1998b*, 199, Abb. 4). Man sollte also meinen, dass auf dieser Form aufbauende Rinderkopffibeln auch nur im westbaltischen Kulturgebiet auftreten können. Tatsächlich war die Fibel von Mingfen/Miętkie lange Zeit ein Einzelstück, nun aber lassen sich ihm drei in weiter Entfernung geborgene Funde zur Seite stellen. Eine Rinderkopffibel aus „Transsilvanien" (Siebenbürgen) verfügt über einen knieförmigen Bügel mit starker Betonung des Knicks, der „Rinderkopf" ist in diesem Fall klein und wirkt fast wie ein umgearbeiteter Fußknopf (Abb. 1: 5). Leider ist unbekannt, ob die Fibel aus dem barbarischen oder aus dem provinzialrömischen Teil Siebenbürgens stammt. Es wäre denkbar, dass es sich um die Umsetzung einer provinzialrömischen Kniefibelform handelt.[8] Anzumerken ist allerdings, dass es auch eine Reihe barbarischer Kniefibeln mit der Bügelknickbetonung gibt, deren Fuß glatt endet, also ohne Fußscheibe.[9] Es ist somit durchaus möglich, dass die Form mit Fußscheibe A 137 und die Form mit Rinderkopf gleichermaßen Derivate derartiger „einfacher" Fibeln darstellen.[10] Eine weitere Rinderfibel mit Bügel der Form A 137 wurde in der Umgebung von Odessa gefunden (Abb. 2: 2), hinzu tritt noch ein zweites Stück aus der Ukraine, dessen Fundregion leider unbekannt ist (Abb. 3: 2). Sein Bügel ist allerdings nicht recht-, sondern stumpfwinklig geknickt. Will man nicht annehmen, dass es sich bei den drei Neufunden um „Importe" aus dem westbaltischen Kulturgebiet handelt, muss man eine – bislang noch nicht gut belegte – weiträumige Verbreitung der Grundform annehmen.[11]

Eine Fibel mit knieförmigem Bügel ist ebenfalls die Ausgangsform einer Gewandschließe von Ringelsdorf (Abb. 1: 4), die allerdings schwerlich „Rinderkopffibel" genannt werden kann. Aufgrund der hornförmigen Fortsätze (Einsätze?) am Bügelknick ergibt sich die Frage, ob auch dieses Stück der Gruppe der hier besprochen Fibeln anzuschließen ist. Es steht den elbgermanischen Kniefibeln wie A 141 oder A 143 nahe, könnte aber aufgrund des hohen und schräg gestellten Nadelhalters (der eine Anhebung des Fußabschnittes des Bügels zur Folge

[6] Sie wurden auf den Internetportalen www.violety.com und www.domongol.org angeboten [Zugriffe 2018–2020].

[7] Zu dieser Fibelform zuletzt umfassend: *Szter 2010*, 214 ff., Abb. 10–14.

[8] Vgl. Funde aus Porolissum (*Cociş 2004*, Taf. LXXX: 1219–1221). Hier werden sie explizit als Form A 137 angesprochen (ebd. 102 f.). Hinsichtlich der Kniefibeln ähnlich A 137 äußerte *M. Mączyńska* (*2011*, 50) die interessante Vermutung, dass es sich bei diesen um Umsetzungen provinzialrömischer Formen, etwa Kovrig 104/104a, handeln könnte.

[9] Z. B. Weklice, woj. warmińsko-mazurskie, Grab 83 (*Natuniewicz-Sekuła/Okulicz-Kozaryn 2011*, Taf. XXX: 83: 1); Łubiana, pow. Kościerzyna, woj. pomorskie (*Mączyńska 2011*, 349, Taf. 8: FB 115). Die typologische Ansprache nach Almgren gestaltet sich entsprechend schwierig und es wird sowohl auf die Form A 132 als auch auf die Form A 137 verwiesen (*Mączyńska 2011*, 42; vgl. auch *Szter 2010*, 211).

[10] Die Frage wurde schon von *E. Droberjar* (*2012*) angesprochen, bedarf aber noch einer eingehenderen Analyse.

[11] Belege gibt es bislang aus den Gebieten des westbaltischen Kulturkreises, der Wielbark – sowie der Przeworsk-Kultur, aus dem nördlichen Vorland der mittleren Donau sowie aus der Ungarischen Tiefebene (*Mączyńska 2011*, 342).

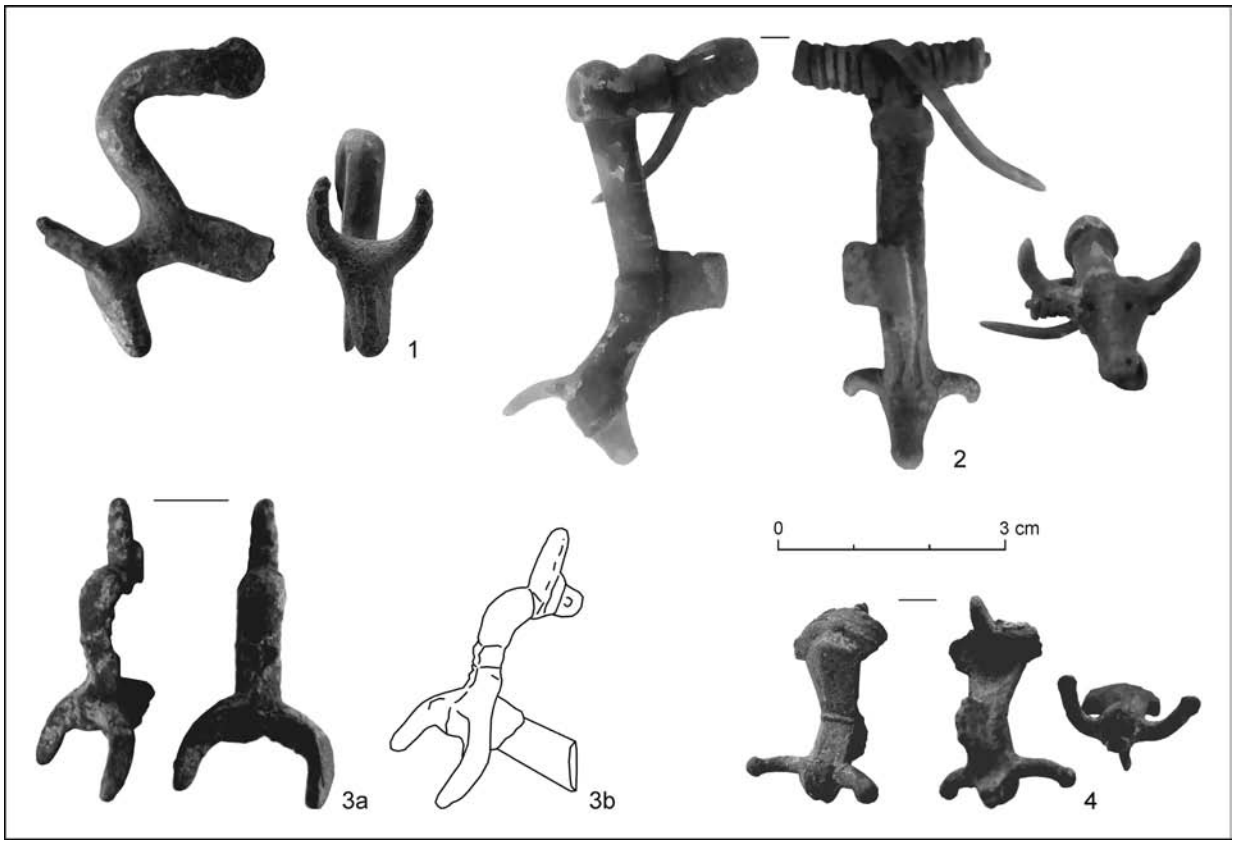


Abb. 2. Rinderkopffibeln aus der Ukraine mit bekannter Fundregion. 1 – Medžybiž (Nr. 13); 2 – Odes'ka oblast' (Nr. 14); 3a – Dnipropetrovs'ka oblast' (Nr. 12); 3b – Rekonstruktion; 4 – Chmel'nyc'ka oblast' (Nr. 10).

hatte) schon der jüngerkaiserzeitlichen Gruppe A VII (hier der Form A VII 1,1 = sog. Kniefibelderivate: *Schulte 2011*, 56 ff., Abb. 29) zugewiesen werden. Offen bleibt, ob es sich bei den Fortsätzen mit kugelförmiger Verdickung des Abschlusses tatsächlich um Hörnerdarstellungen handelt oder nicht schlicht um eine nun die ehemals vorhandenen Zieraufsätze aus Perldraht entbehrende, verbogene Bügelsprosse wie bei Fibeln A 144, die bei derartigen Fibeln auch genau an der gleichen Stelle des Bügels sitzt wie die Fortsätze des Ringelsdorfer Exemplars.

Als Kniefibelderivat kann die Rinderkopffibel von Łubiana in Pommern gelten (Abb. 1: 7). Der Bügel ist exakt rechtwinklig geknickt und seine Teilabschnitte verlaufen geradlinig. Im Hort selbst gibt es einige Parallelstücke, allerdings mit Kopf- und Fußknopf (*Mączyńska 2011*, 349, Taf. 8: F8, F73, F 76, F89, FB 91, 106, FB 89, FB 91).[12] Diese wurden als „Kniefibeln der Form Łubiana" bzw. als „Kniefibeln sarmatischen Typs" bezeichnet, die Entsprechungen in der Provinz Dacia haben (*Mączyńska 2011*, 45 f., Abb. 18).[13] Derartigen Stücken kann auch eine Rinderkopffibel unbekannter Lokalisierung aus der Ukraine (Abb. 3: 1) zugewiesen werden, deren Kopf wie bei manchen Stücken aus der Dacia leicht verdickt ist.

Bei dem Exemplar von Červonohižinci ist die typologische Herleitung nicht so einfach (Abb. 1: 12), in der Publikation wird eine Verbindung zu den Dreisprossenfibeln vermutet.[14] Aus meiner Sicht handelt es sich wohl eher um eine osteuropäische Spangenform aus dem Umfeld später kräftig profilierter Fibeln, deren Entwicklungslinie von Fibeln der masowischen Variante, möglicherweise auch von Fibeln A 84 (*Dąbrowska 1993–1994*, 5 ff., 10 ff.) ausging. Fibeln der masowischen Variante sind vor allem aus dem östlichen Teilgebiet der Przeworsk-Kultur bekannt (*Andrzejowski/Cieśliński*

[12] Vgl. auch ein silbernes Exemplar aus Grab 605 von Weklice, woj. warmińsko-mazurskie (*Natuniewicz-Sekuła 2015–2016*, 236, Abb. 2: 2).

[13] Allerdings gibt es aus der Dacia nicht viele Belege, die auch andere Bügelausformungen haben (vgl. *Cociş 2004*, Taf. CXIV: 1618–1625).

[14] Ähnlich auch *Nowakowski 2016b*, 132 f.

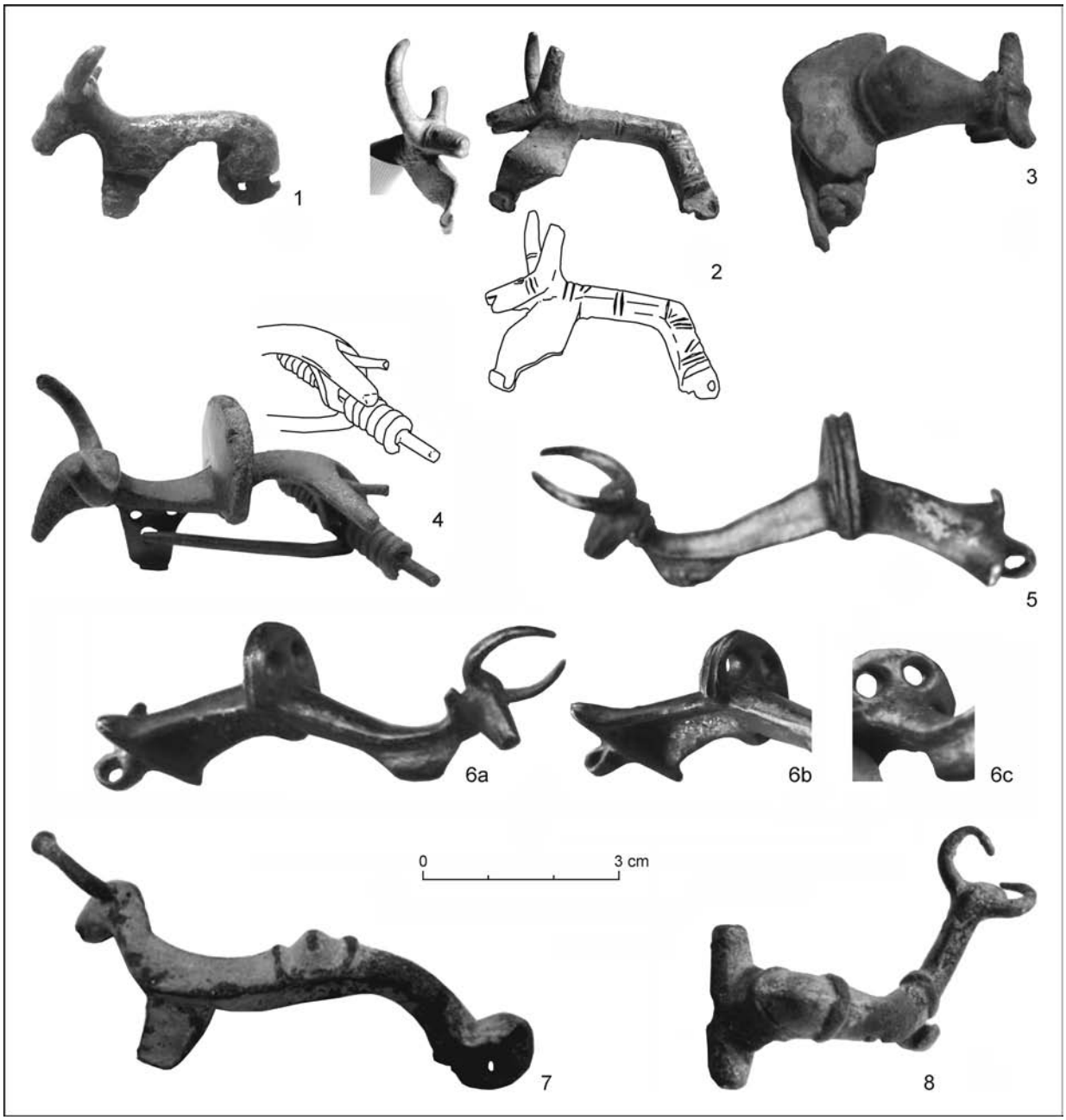
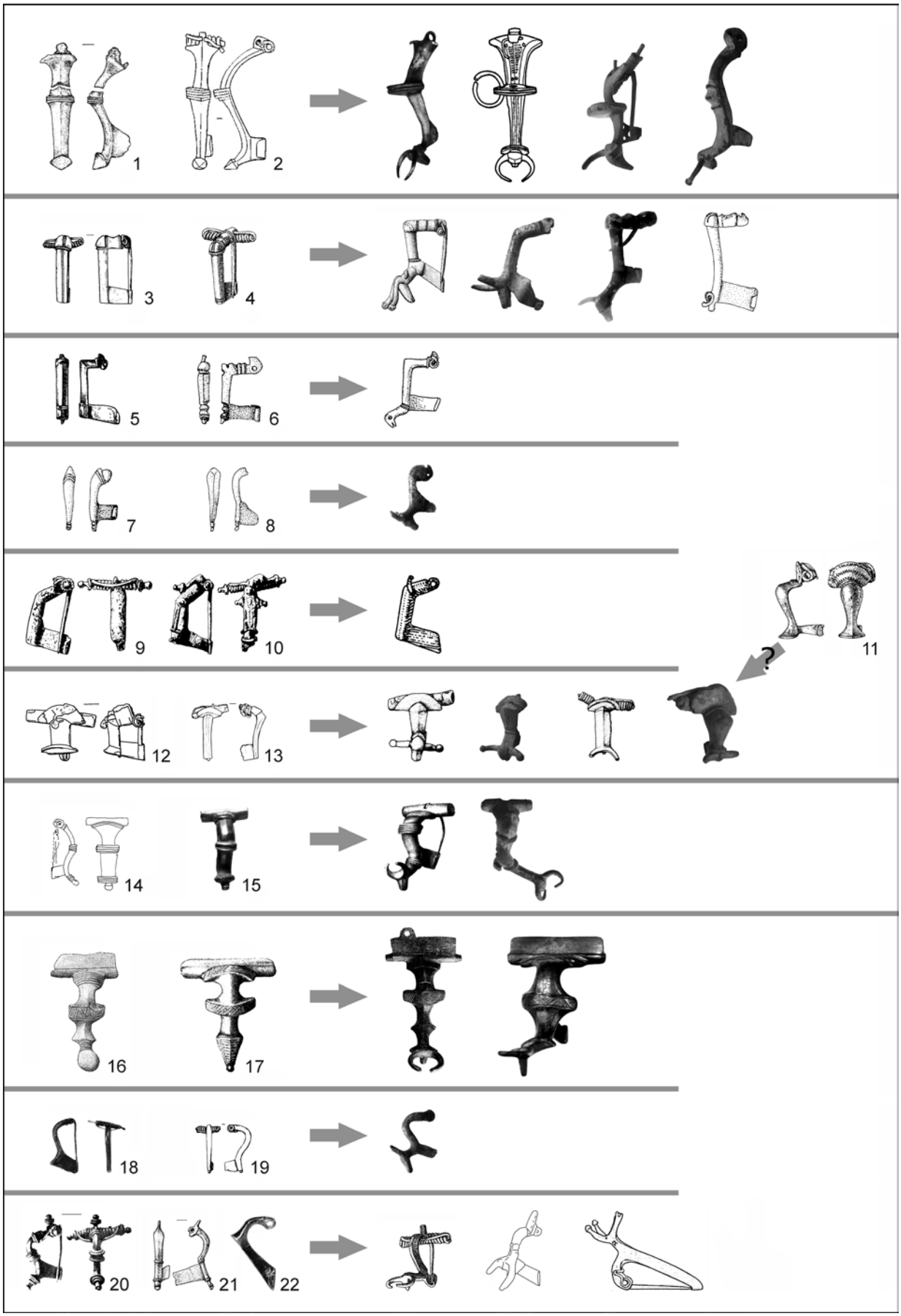


Abb. 3. Rinderkopffibeln aus der Ukraine bzw. Osteuropa, deren Fundregionen unbekannt sind. 1 – Nr. 15; 2 – Nr. 16; 3 – Nr. 17; 4 – Nr. 18; 5 – Nr. 19; 6 – Nr. 25, mit Details; 7 – Nr. 20; 8 – Nr. 21.

2007, 289, Abb. 12), streuen aber auch weit in die Ukraine und wurden hier offenbar zu anderen Formen weiterentwickelt (*Andrzejowski, im Druck*). Sie zeichnet ein flacher, aber seitlich verbreiterter Kopf aus, der Bügel ist oft breit und flach. Zwei weitere Rinderkopffibeln aus der Ukraine, deren Fundregion nicht bekannt ist (Abb. 3: 4, 5, 7), sowie ein Stück, das mutmaßlich auch aus der Ukraine stammt (Abb. 3: 6), scheinen ebenfalls osteuropäische Derivate später kräftig profilierter Fibeln zu repräsentieren. Die Wiederholung mehrerer Merkmale bei drei dieser Spangen spricht für einen regionalen Typ mit Bezug zu einem Gebiet irgendwo in Osteuropa, mutmaßlich in der Südwestukraine.

Eine weitere Gruppe von Rinderkopffibeln zeichnet ein breiter Bügel mit Mittelgrat aus, der entweder parallele Seitenkanten aufweist oder V-förmig gestaltet ist. Er hat ferner einen betonten Knick, womit solche Stücke an Kniefibeln erinnern. Oberhalb dieses Knicks befindet sich ein breiter, massiver Kamm, was die Spangen in die Nähe der Kopfkammfibeln stellt. In der Tat steht ein


1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
?
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22

Stück wie jenes von Kraśnik Piaski (Abb. 1: 3) den Fibeln A 125 näher als den Kniefibeln, das ihm durchaus ähnliche Exemplar von Groß-Linichen/Świrczyna hingegen (Abb. 1: 2) hat eher Merkmale ostmitteleuropäischer Kniefibeln A 132. Die schwer einzuordnende Spange von Opalenie (Abb. 1: 1) gehört wohl auch zu den Kopfkammfibeln und hat Entsprechungen in Fibeln der Formen 3b, 5b und 7b nach Machajewski.[15] Ein drittes Stück dieser Gruppe, dessen Fundregion innerhalb der Ukraine nicht mehr ermittelt werden kann, ist gedrungen und verfügt über eine großformatige halbkreisförmige Kopfplatte (Abb. 3: 3). Es wäre denkbar, dass es sich um eine Weiterentwicklung von Fibeln A V, Ser. 8 oder der östlichen Kniefibeln handelt. Allerdings ist es auch nicht unwahrscheinlich, dass eine provinzialrömische Kniefibel mit halbrunder Kopfplatte wie Jobst 13C–D (*Jobst 1975*, 63 ff.) bzw. A 247 bzw. Merczi Var. B/1–4 (*Merczi 2011*, 29 ff.) als Vorlage diente. Solche Stücke sind auch aus dem nördlichen Schwarzmeerküstengebiet bekannt (*Ambroz 1966*, 28). Die typologischen Ausgangsformen sind folglich recht vielfältig und verraten kein einheitliches Muster, wie der Vergleich zeigt (Abb. 4).

Seit langem beschäftigt die Forschung die Frage nach der Herkunft der Rinderkopffibeln. *W. Gaerte* (*1929*, 220) sprach sich für eine Herleitung der Fibeln mit Rinderkopf bzw. Rinderhörnern aus dem „südrussischen" Raum aus, wogegen *O. F. Gandert* (*1957*, 137) mit dem Fehlen von dortigen Belegen argumentierte. M. Mączyńska sah aufgrund der Konzentration von Funden im Gebiet der westbaltischen Bogaczewo-Kultur den Ursprung dieser seltenen Trachtbestandteile in Masuren und sprach die Stücke von Zauschwitz und Červonohižinci als „westbaltische Exporte" an (*Mączyńska 2011*, 50), das Exemplar von Groß-Linichen/Świerczyna als einheimische Nachahmung einer westbaltischen Vorlage. Alle sieben Fibeln aus dem Gebiet der Bogaczewo-Kultur interpretiert W. Nowakowski als Produkte eines einzigen Handwerkers, der Inspirationen aus dem Gebiet der Przeworsk-Kultur verarbeitete (*Nowakowski 2016b*, 136). Allerdings scheinen mir die angeführten Trinkhornendbeschläge in Rinderkopfform aus deren Gebiet als zu schwache Basis für eine solche Annahme, denn ihre Zahl ist nicht gerade überwältigend.

In der auch aus typologischen Gründen als Einzelstück anzusprechenden Fibel von Opalenie an der unteren Weichsel wollten J. Andrzejowski und A. Cieśliński den Prototyp der „gehörnten" Fibeln und das Ergebnis eines formalen Experiments erkennen (*Andrzejowski/Cieśliński 2007*, 294). Letzteres scheint mir zu „technisch" gedacht und darf wohl ausgeschlossen werden, wenn man den – freilich nicht erschließbaren, aber wohl vorauszusetzenden – kultischen oder apotropäischen Aspekt berücksichtigt, der zu Fertigung einer Fibel mit Rinderhörnern veranlasste. Das Exemplar von Opalenie gilt als ältestes Stück (der zeitlich bestimmbaren Fibeln) und soll aufgrund der begleitenden Fibeln A 42 (*Tuszyńska 2005*, 435, Taf. I: 1, 2) in B2a datieren (*Nowakowski 2016b*, 131). Allerdings ist eine derart frühe Einordnung keineswegs gesichert, da Spangen A 42 auch noch im jüngeren Abschnitt der Phase B2 auftreten können (*Chilińska-Früboes 2020*, 170 f.). Die Rollenkappenfibel (*Eggers/Stary 2001*, Taf. 317: 7) aus dem Grabinventar mit gleichfalls nur „gehörnter" Fibel von Groß-Linichen/Świerczyna ist aufgrund des Grades ihrer Beschädigung typologisch nicht genau anzusprechen, eine Bestimmung als frühe Rollenkappenfibel der östlichen Serie (*Andrzejowski/Cieśliński 2007*, 296; *Nowakowski 2016b*, 132) ist nicht über jeden Zweifel erhaben. Die Rinderkopffibel selbst gehört in das Umfeld später Fibeln mit Kopfkamm, genauso wie auch die Spange von Kraśnik Piaski, die mit zwei Fibeln A 43 kombiniert ist. Letztere datieren gelegentlich schon in spätes B2, gelten jedoch als Leitform der Subphase B2/C1a (*Mączyńska 2011*, 41; *Rajtár 2018*, 57 ff.). Zum Inventar mit der Kniefibel von Mingfen/Miętkie gehört eine Dreisprossenfibel A 96, womit eine Datierung ebenfalls in die beginnende jüngere

[15] Vgl. *Machajewski 1998*.

Abb. 4. Herleitungsschema der verschiedenen Formen der Rinderkopffibeln. 1– Ciebłowice Duże, Grab 108 (PL; *Dzięgielewska/Kulczyńska 2008*, 34, Taf. LXIX: 108: 1); 2 – Olbia/Parutyne (UA; *Ambroz 1966*, Taf. 7: 14); 3 – Weklice, Grab 83, (PL; *Natuniewicz-Sekuła/Okulicz-Kozaryn 2011*, 42, Taf. XXX); 4 – Macharren/Machary (PL; *Gaerte 1929*, Abb. 168: e); 5 – Museum Brno (CZ; *Peškař 1972*, Taf. 15: 2); 6 –Porolissum (RO; *Cociş 2004*, 199, Taf. LXXX: 1221); 7 – Porolissum (RO; *Cociş 2004*, 199, Taf. CXIV: 1624); 8 – Ilişua (RO; *Cociş 2004*, 199, Taf. CXIV: 1625); 9 – Zethlingen, Grab 454 (D; *Worbs 1979*, Taf. 8: 454); 10 – Zethlingen, Grab 17 (D; *Worbs 1979*, Taf. 10: 17: a); 11 – Museum Olomouc (CZ; *Peškař 1972*, Taf. 17: 7); 12 – Chmielów Piaskowy, Grab 39 (PL; *Godłowski/Wichman 1998*, 36, Taf. LIX: 7); 13 – Drozdowo (PL; *Andrzejowski/Maciałowicz 2017*, 217, Abb. 23: 3); 14 – Fürstenau/Leśniewo (PL; *Wiśniewska 2011*, 125, Taf. V); 15 – Althof-Insterburg, Grab I (RU; *Chilińska-Früboes 2020*, 37, Taf. 1); 16 – „Ostpreußen" (*Nowakowski 1998*, 125, Taf. 31: 625); 17 – Fürstenwalde/Poddubnoe (RU; *Tischler/Kemke 1902*, Taf. II: 14); 18 – Thorsberger Moor, PA 36 (D; *Blankenfeldt 2015*, 356, Taf. 6); 19 –Malbork-Wielbark (PL; *Sekuła 2006*, 192, Abb. 1: 13); 20 – Moythienen/Mojtyny, Grab 41 (PL; *Hollack/Peiser 1904*, 25, Taf. 6); 21 – Sieluń (PL; *Prochowicz/Rakowski 2013*, 200, Abb. 2: 3); 22 – Thorsberger Moor, PA 38 (PL; *Blankenfeldt 2015*, 356, Taf. 6).

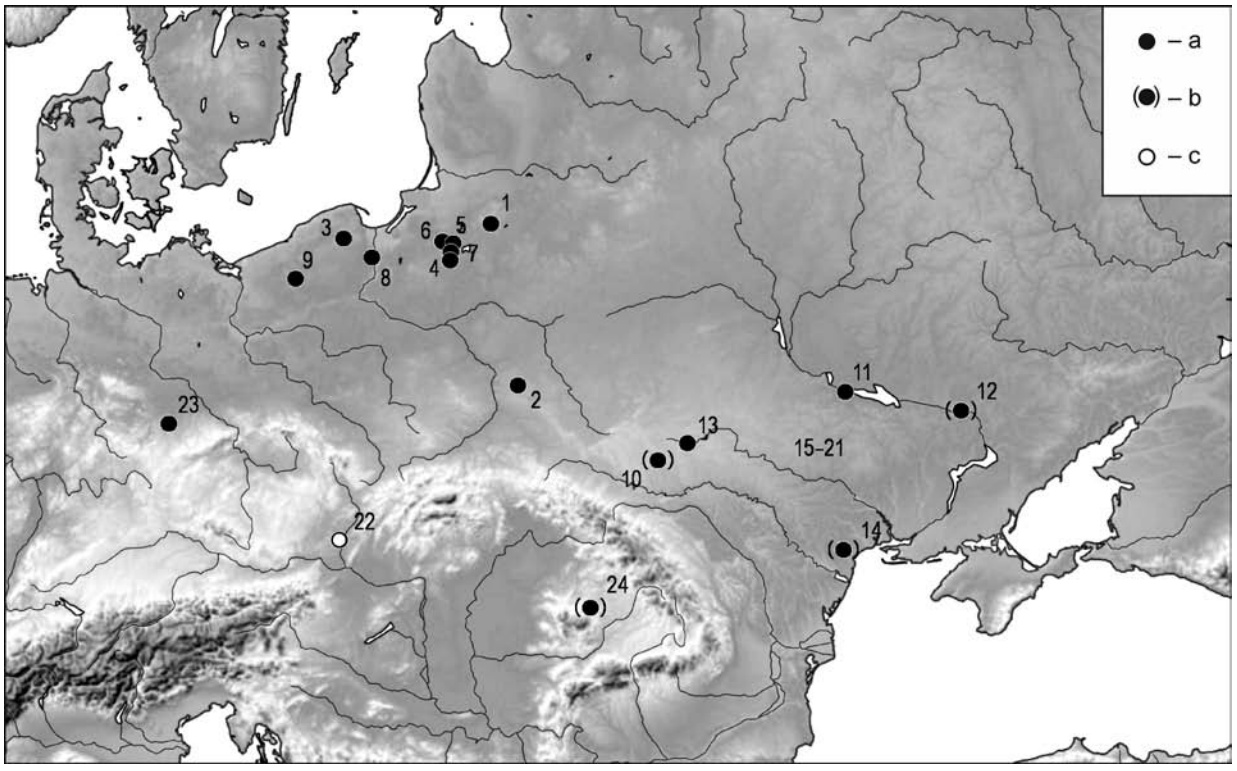


Abb. 5. Verbreitung aller bekannten Rinderkopffibeln. Die Nummern entsprechen der Nummerierung in der Fundliste. Legende: a – sicherer Fund; b – Fundort nur annähernd bekannt; c – unsicherer Fund.

Kaiserzeit (Subphase B2/C1a) abgesichert ist (*Nowakowski 2016b*, 131). Die Dreisprossenfibeln der masurischen Form von Klein Puppen/Spychówko und Moythienen/Mojtyny können in C1a datiert werden (*Nowakowski 2016b*, 132), die typologisch jüngeren Fibeln mit hohem Nadelhalter von Nikutowen/Nikutowo und Zauschwitz in die Phase C1 (vermutlich in deren älteren Abschnitt).

In den sich recht klar abzeichnenden Horizont der Verwendung von „gehörnten" und von Rinderkopffibeln, der in die (wohl fortgeschrittene) zweite Hälfte des 2. Jahrhunderts und in die ersten Jahrzehnte des 3. Jahrhunderts fällt und somit etwa ca. 60–70 Jahre markiert, passen sich auch die Neufunde trotz ihrer unbekannten Zusammenhänge und Fundvergesellschaftungen ein. Die Spange ohne bekannte Fundregion mit halbkreisförmiger Kopfplatte zeigt – wie dargelegt – Anklänge an provinzialrömische Kniefibeln Jobst 13C–D. Solche Stücke datieren nach I. Kovrig ab der zweiten Hälfte des 1. Jahrhunderts (*Kovrig 1941*, 120), in jüngeren Arbeiten werden sie allerdings in das fortgeschrittene 2. und in die erste Hälfte des 3. Jahrhunderts datiert (*Böhme 1972*, 18 f.; *Merczi 2012*, 494; *Petković 2010*, 363; *Redžić 2007*, 33). Die übrigen Funde lassen sich typologisch schon bekannten Rinderkopffibeln anschließen und sprengen den genannten Zeitrahmen nicht.

Das Auftreten dieser Funde in der heutigen Ukraine dürfte noch Anlass für weitere Diskussionen sein, wird doch der Verbreitungsschwerpunkt der mittelkaiserzeitlichen Rinderkopffibeln deutlich nach Südosten erweitert (Abb. 5); ihr Erscheinen dort kann aus chronologischen Gründen keineswegs mit der Černjachov-Kultur verknüpft werden. Somit handelt es sich bei den Rinderkopffibeln offenbar um mindestens drei Kulturräume übergreifende Funde (germanischer Kulturraum, westbaltischer Kulturraum und?). Dieser Umstand verdient Beachtung, denn Arbeiten zur figürlichen Darstellung und zur germanischen Religion fokussieren allgemein zu stark auf Mittel- und Nordeuropa, es fehlen darin zumeist Verweise auf das ostmittel- und osteuropäische Fundgut.[16] Das führt zu einem verzerrten Abbild der Entwicklungsgeschichte germanischer Bildkunst und zur Ausblendung von entscheidenden Impulsen aus nord- und südöstlich an den germanischen Raum angrenzenden Gebieten. So zeichnet sich zum Beispiel immer deutlicher ab, dass die ältesten Vertreter der rinderkopfförmigen, zumeist mit Skandinavien assoziierten Trinkhornendbeschläge mit Rinderkopf aus dem heute

[16] Vgl. *Blankenfeldt 2007*; *2015*; *Rasmussen 2007*.

polnischen Raum Mitteleuropas vorliegen (*Dulęba/Schuster 2012*, 393)[17] und das Eindringen von Inspirationen unmittelbar aus den spätkeltischen Siedlungsgebieten zwischen Alpenraum und mittlerer Donau widerspiegeln könnten. Auch die Thematik der Rinderkopffibeln muss vor diesem Hintergrund noch einmal neu betrachtet werden, was aber den Rahmen des Beitrages sprengen würde.

Ein Kommentar ist noch hinsichtlich der aus der Ukraine vorliegenden Rinderkopffibeln nötig. Sie wurden sämtlich durch Sondengänger entdeckt und standen zum Verkauf. Das Problem der illegalen Sondengängerei ist hinlänglich bekannt und vielfach diskutiert, daher ist es an dieser Stelle auch entbehrlich, die Schädlichkeit derartigen Tuns für Wissenschaft und Gesellschaft erneut zu betonen. Die Zahl der zu diesem Thema erschienenen Literatur ist äußerst umfangreich und auf die Anführung entsprechender Sammelbände, Monographien und Aufsätze wird an dieser Stelle verzichtet. Ich möchte hier nur auf einen Aspekt des Phänomens illegaler, zumeist kommerzieller Artefaktsuche mithilfe des Metalldetektors eingehen: die Reaktion der Fachwelt auf in Bild bekannt gewordene Funde, also auf die auf entsprechenden Internetseiten präsentierten und zum Verkauf angebotenen Artefakte. Es wäre natürlich aus rein wissenschaftsethischen Gründen vertretbar, diese Stücke zu ignorieren, um den Akteuren, die den Rahmen der Legalität verlassen haben, nicht noch ein ihre Tätigkeit gewissermaßen rückwirkend legitimierendes Podium zu bieten. Ein solches Vorgehen würde aber nichts an der Tatsache ändern, dass diese Artefakte nun einmal „da sind" (und es im Übrigen vor der Auffindung auch schon waren), sie haben allein schon durch ihre Existenz einen wissenschaftlichen Wert. Die sich aus diesem Konflikt ergebene Frage lautet auf den Punkt gebracht: Kann ich wissenschaftliche Arbeiten zu entsprechenden Artefaktgruppen und zu auf ihrer Analyse basierenden, verallgemeinernden Untersuchungen verfassen, wissend, dass es weitere Funde gibt, die ich aufgrund ihrer „Herkunft" unberücksichtigt lasse, die aber auf meine Untersuchungen, Argumentationen und Schlussfolgerungen Einfluss haben können? Noch zugespitzter kann man es folgendermaßen formulieren: Arbeite ich unter bewusster Weglassung solcher Funde wissenschaftlich korrekt? Um es an dieser Stelle noch einmal ganz deutlich zu sagen: Ich verurteile jegliche illegale, metalldetektorgestützte Sammlertätigkeit und auch den Handel mit archäologischen Artefakten. Leider werden wir dieser Plage nicht Herr und müssen uns daher Strategien überlegen, wie wir mit den Unmengen von vorhandenen, leider nur rumpfartigen Informationen umgehen. Nicht nur in der Ukraine werden archäologische Fundplätze geplündert, aber hier in extrem zu nennender Intensität. Ganze Gräberfelder werden durchkämmt und kommerziell ausgebeutet, wie unter anderem Fotos von angehäuften Fibeln, Schnallen, Riemenzungen und dergleichen belegen. Es wird Kulturgut in einem Maße zerstört und unterschlagen, dass viele Fragen, Aspekte und Zusammenhänge der Frühgeschichte in Ost-, Mittel- und Nordeuropa nur noch schwer oder unter Umständen gar nicht mehr zu klären sein werden. Dabei zeigen die Detektorfunde eindeutig, dass die Landschaften zwischen (Westlichem) Bug, Karpatenbogen, Dnepr und Schwarzem Meer einen Schlüsselraum für das Verständnis vieler frühgeschichtlicher Entwicklungsprozesse im Spannungsfeld zwischen barbarischer Welt (einschließlich Skandinavien) und Rom/Ostrom[18] sowie zwischen Mittel- und Osteuropa bilden. Mittlerweile zeichnen sich völlig neue – aufgrund der illegalen Sammlertätigkeit leider oftmals nur unscharf erkennbare – Fundlandschaften ab, ja Verbreitungsschwerpunkte ganzer Objekttypen verschieben sich nach Osten und das in einem Umfang, den man sich noch vor wenigen Jahren nicht hätte vorstellen können.[19] Die gesamteuropäische Dimension dieser Vorgänge und Veränderungen ist noch gar nicht richtig abzuschätzen. Daher kommt man aus meiner Sicht nicht umhin, ja ist es nachgerade unsere Pflicht, so viele Daten wie nur irgend möglich zusammenzutragen und zu publizieren.[20] Das Risiko des Verlustes der - ohnehin schon begrenzten - Informationen ist extrem groß. Die hier diskutierten Rinderkopffibeln sind ein gutes Bei-

[17] Funde: Legionowo, pow. Legionowo, woj. mazowieckie (*Nowakowski 2017*; *Orliński 2011*); Klein Moitzow, Kr. Greifenberg/Mojszewko, pow. Gryfice, woj. zachodniopomorskie (*Eggers/Stary 2001*, 99, Taf. 280: 7); Osiek, pow. Jarocin, woj. wielkopolskie (*Pawlak 2008*, 212, Abb. 4) – zusammenfassend zur Datierung: *Nowakowski 2017*, bes. 124 f.

[18] Siehe beispielsweise die Arbeiten zu römischen Goldmünzen und barbarischen Imitationen und deren Einfluss auf den Beginn einer germanischen Münzprägung – z. B. *Bursche 2013*; zuletzt: *Bursche/Myzgin 2020*, bes. Kt. 6.

[19] Zu entsprechenden, eigentlich für die Przeworsk-Kultur typischen Funden jetzt eindrucksvoll: *Andrzejowski, im Druck*. Zu goldenen Lunula-Anhängern siehe *Skvorcov 2014*, Abb. 4. Siehe auch Funde von Hemmoorer Eimern aus der Ukraine: *Levada/Potupčik 2017*; *Nadvirniak/Pohorilec' 2014*; *Petrauskas/Didenko 2019*.

[20] *H. J. Eggers* (*1951*, 12) formulierte dies – zwar bezogen auf andere Zeiten und Umstände, aber dennoch immer noch gültig – folgendermaßen: *„... scheint der Druck und die dadurch bedingte rasche Dezentralisierung das einzig wirksame Mittel zu sein, ein wissenschaftliches Material zu retten."*

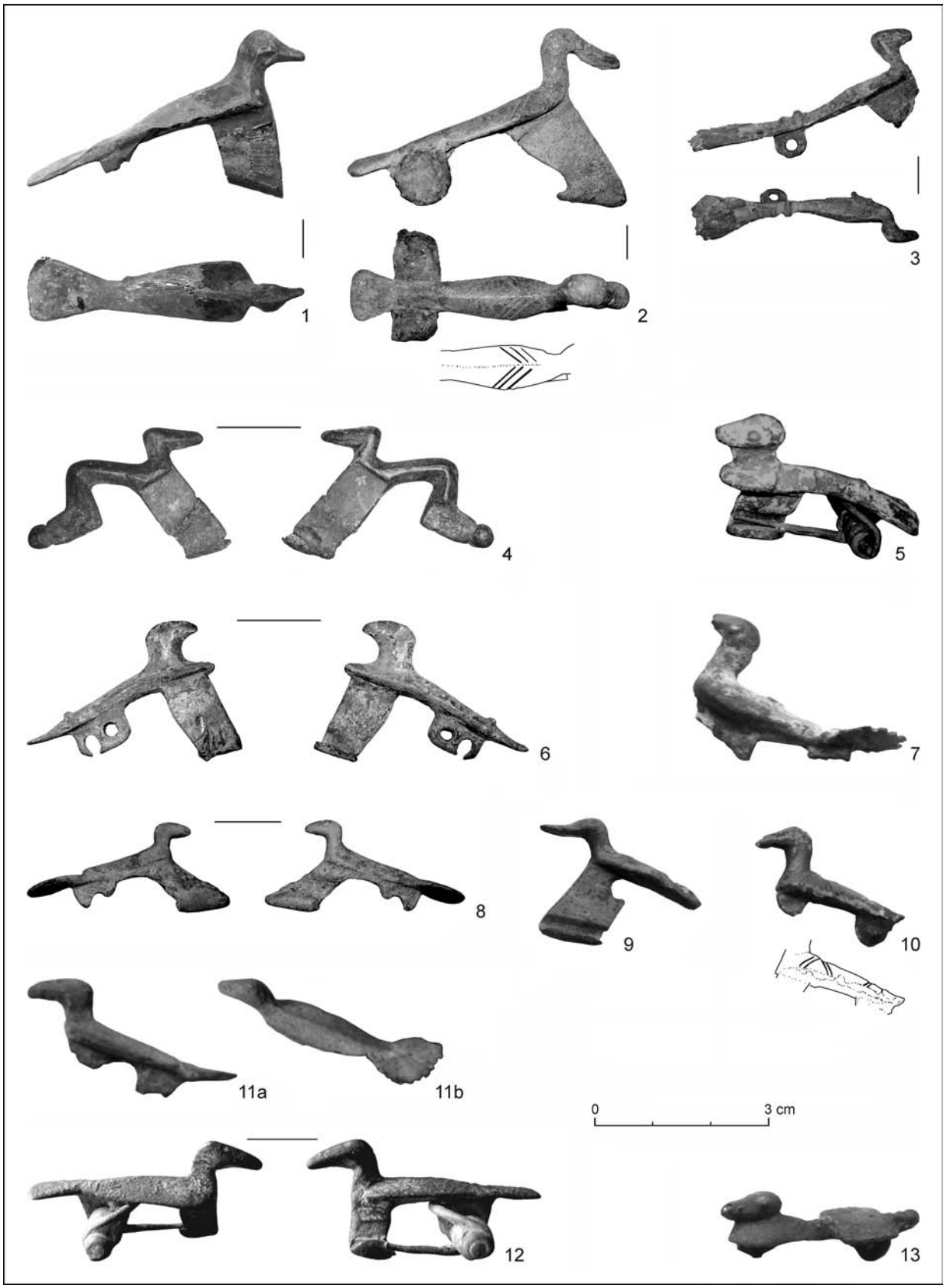


Abb. 6. Neufunde von Fibeln vom Typ Masłomęcz und verwandter Fibeln (11 [?] und 12) aus der Ukraine. 1 – L'vivs'ka oblast'; 2–6, 8 – Rivnens'ka oblast'; 7, 9, 10, 13 – Dnipropetrovs'ka oblast'; 11 – Chmel'nic'ka oblast', Deražnians'kiy rajon; 12 – Osteuropa. Nr. 13 wohl nicht vom Typ Masłomęcz, eher spätkaiserzeitlich.

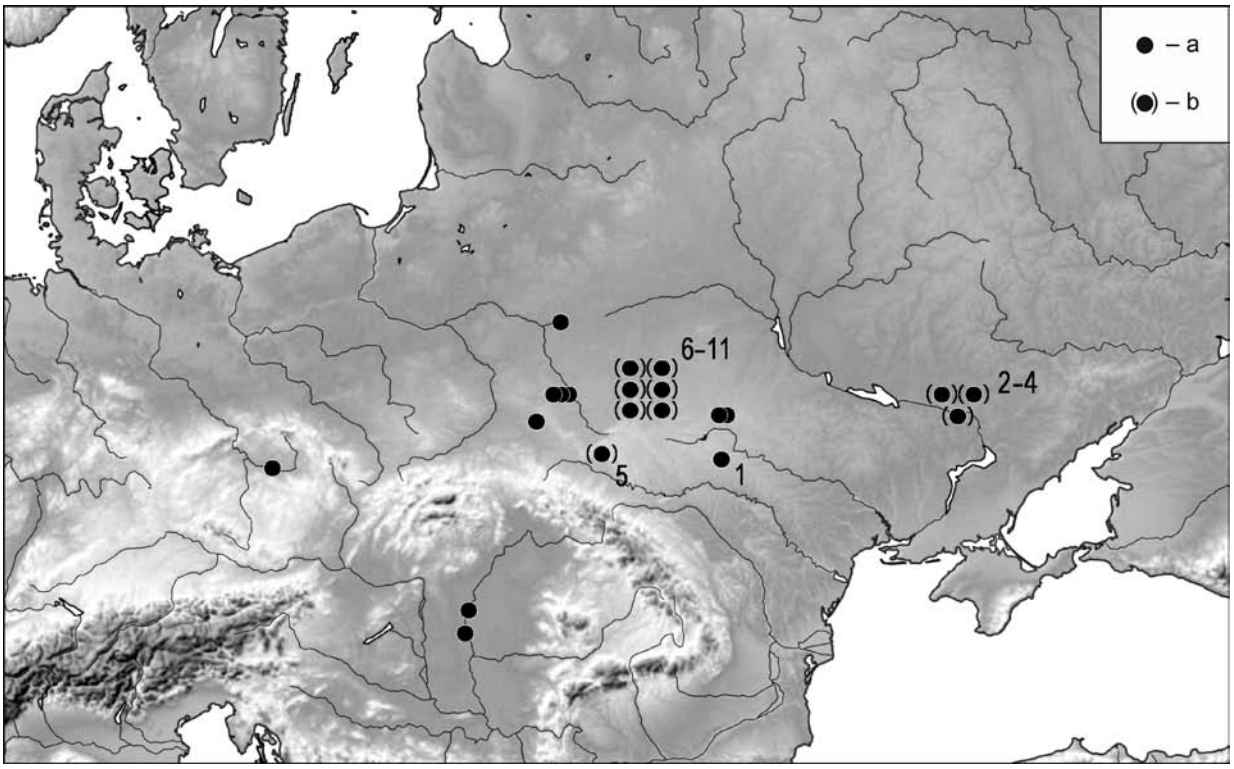


Abb. 7. Verbreitung aller bekannten Fibeln vom Typ Masłomęcz (nicht nummerierte Fundplätze siehe *Droberjar 2018*). 1 – Chmel'nic'ka oblast', Deražnians'kiy rajon; 2–4 – Dnipropetrovs'ka oblast'; 5 – L'vivs'ka oblast'; 6–11 Rivnens'ka oblast'. Legende: a – sicherer Fund; b – Fundort nur annähernd bekannt.

spiel: Alle auf Abb. 3 präsentierten Stücke stammen sämtlich aus der Ukraine, aber leider kennen wir die Fundregionen nicht mehr.[21] Sie waren bekannt, die Angaben sind aber aufgrund des Versagens von Datenträgern verloren gegangen.[22]

Aus dem oben angeführten Grund lege ich hier ebenfalls mit dem Metalldetektor entdeckte Funde von den mit den Rinderkopffibeln thematisch verwandten, barbarischen Vogelfibeln mit hohem Nadelhalter vor (Abb. 6), ohne sie hier genauer zu diskutieren. Es kann auf die entsprechende Literatur zu dieser Spangenform verwiesen werden, die wohl auf provinzialrömische Vorlagen zurückgeht und unlängst als Typ Masłomęcz definiert wurde (*Beliavec 2007*, 314, Abb. 6; 13: 2; *Droberjar 2018*; *Gałęzowska 2010*, 250 ff.; *Kokowski 1987*, Abb. 29: a–c; *1995*, 37; *Niezabitowska-Wiśniewska 2015*, 333 f., Abb. 2: 1). Gut datierbare Exemplare stammen aus der Subphase C1a. Die Konzentration der „Entenfibeln" zwischen Westlichem und Südlichem Bug (Pivdennij Buh) wird durch die Neufunde[23] bestätigt und verdichtet, bemerkenswert ist allerdings eine Gruppe von Funden (von einer unbekannten Anzahl von Fundplätzen) im mittleren Dneprgebiet (Abb. 7). Sie lässt vermuten, dass in Zukunft weitere Belege aus dem Raum westlich des Dnepr erwartet werden können – wenn es sie nicht schon längst gibt und wir nur über ihre Auffindung nicht unterrichtet sind. Unklar ist aufgrund der Fundumstände, wie die vermutlich sämtlich „vor-Černjachov-zeitlichen" Funde von Fibeln des Typs Masłomęcz aus der Ukraine kulturell einzuordnen sind, diese Frage betrifft allerdings auffallend viele Funde, die in den letzten Jahren illegal geborgen wurden und unterstreicht die Dringlichkeit einer eingehenden Beschäftigung mit ihnen.

[21] Auf den einschlägigen Internetseiten werden oftmals nur die Oblasti angegeben und nur sehr selten genauere Angaben oder gar der Fundort selbst, sicher auch, um den „Claim" des jeweiligen Sondengängers vor Konkurrenz zu schützen.

[22] Die Fotos auf Abb. 3 (außer Nr. 6) verdanke ich Jacek Andrzejowski (Warszawa), der ebenfalls zugängliche Daten zu illegal gesuchten und geborgenen Funden gesammelt hat. Ein Zusammenbruch des Servers, auf dem die Daten gespeichert waren, und zufällig wenig später der Ausfall der externen Festplatte mit den Sicherungskopien der Daten haben zur Folge, dass die Stücke zwar noch mit Fotos bezeugt sind, aber keinerlei Angaben zu ihrer Herkunft innerhalb der Ukraine mehr vorliegen.

[23] Fotos auf den Internetseiten www.violety.com und www.domongol.org [Zugriffe Januar 2018, März 2019, Februar 2020; Dezember 2020].

FUNDLISTE DER RINDERKOPFFIBELN

Polen

1 Grunajki, pow. Gołdap, woj. warmińsko-mazurskie/ Gruneiken, Kr. Darkehmen.
Grab 12: drei Bügelprofilierungen, Hülsenscharnier; A V, Ser. 1, ähnlich Hauptmann Serie 4 – frühe Dreisprossenfibeln im Baltikum (*Andrzejowski/Cieśliński 2007*, Abb. 14: e; *Tischler 1879*, Taf. IX [III]: 15).

2 Kraśnik Piaski, pow. Kraśnik, woj. lubelskie.
Grab 37: geknickter Bügel, breiter Kopfkamm, Hörner mitgegossen; A 132, Var. (*Andrzejowski/Cieśliński 2007*, Abb. 19: d; *Wichrowski 1998*, 108, Abb. 4: 3).

3. Łubiana, pow. Kościerzyna, woj. pomorskie.
Hort: schmaler, knieförmig geknickter Bügel, Kopfknopf, obere Sehne, Hörner abgebrochen; A V, Ser. 9/A VII (*Andrzejowski/Cieśliński 2007*, Abb. 19: c; *Mączyńska 2011*, 349, Taf. 9: F 18; 106: F 18).

4. Miętkie, pow. Szczytno, woj. warmińsko-mazurskie/ Mingfen, Kr. Ortelsburg.
Grab 3: massiver, geknickter Bügel; A 137, Var. (*Andrzejowski/Cieśliński 2007*, Abb. 14: a; *Garte 1929*, Abb. 169: a; *Nowakowski 1998a*, 117, Abb. 13: 304; Taf. 16: 304; *Schmidt 1906*, 461, Abb. 2).

5. Mojtyny, pow. Olsztyń, woj. warmińsko-mazurskie/ Moythienen, Kr. Sensburg.
Grab 1–7: 2 Ex. A V, Ser. 1, „masurischer Typ" (*Andrzejowski/Cieśliński 2007*, Abb. 14: b–c; *Hollack/Peiser 1904*, 43, 44, Taf. I: d: 7b).

6. Nikutowo, pow. Mrągowo, woj. warmińsko-mazurskie/ Nikutowen, Kr. Sensburg.
S-förmiger Bügel mit dachförmigem Querschnitt, stabförmiger Kopfknopf, untere Sehne; A VII (*Andrzejowski/ Cieśliński 2007*, Abb. 14: d; *Gaerte 1929*, Abb. 169: d).

7. Spychówko, pow. Szczytno, woj. warmińsko-mazurskie/ Klein Puppen, Kr. Ortelsburg.
2 Ex. A V, Ser. 1, „masurischer Typ"; Hörner mitgegossen (*Andrzejowski/Cieśliński 2007*, Abb. 14: f; *Gaerte 1929*, Abb. 169: b; *Hollack/Peiser 1904*, 24 f.; *Nowakowski 2016b*, Abb. 3: 1).

8. Opalenie, pow. Tczew, woj. pomorskie.
Grab 122: breiter, S-förmiger Bügel mit Kopfkamm und rechteckigem „Aufsatz" (*Andrzejowski/Cieśliński 2007*, 294, Abb. 17; *Tuszyńska 2005*, 435, Taf. I: 3).

9. Świerczyna, pow. Drawski, woj. zachodniopomorskie/ Groß-Linichen, Kr. Dramburg.
Grab 3: breiter, geknickter Bügel mit dachförmigem Querschnitt, Kopf mit breitem und flachem Kamm, hoher Nadelhalter; A 125/A 132, Var. (*Andrzejowski/ Cieśliński 2007*, 295 f., Abb. 19: b; *Gandert 1957*, 137, Anm. 76, Abb. 2).

Ukraine

10. Chmel'nyc'ka oblast' (Хмельницька область).
Detektorfund: breiter, leicht geknickter Bügel, Kopfkamm (Machajewski Form 7b/A 132); Hörner mitgegossen (Abb. 2: 4).

11. Červonochyžynci, Čerkas'ka oblast' (Червонохижинці, Черкаська область).
Detektorfund: „kräftig profilierte" Fibel mit extrem hohem Bügelkamm, stark verbreitertem Kopf, Sehnenhaken und oberer Sehne, Hörner mitgegossen, Bügelkamm durchlocht und mit einhängendem Ring (*Magomedov/ Kuštan 2002*).

12. Dnipropetrovs'ka oblast' (*Дніпропетровська область*).
Detektorfund: annähernd S-förmiger Bügel, stabartige Kopfverlängerung (A VII); Hörner mitgegossen (Abb. 2: 3).

13. Medžybiž, Letyčivs'kiy rayon, Chmel'nyc'ka oblast' (Меджибіж, *Летичівський район*, Хмельницька область).
Detektorfund: S-förmiger Bügel, hoher Nadelhalter (A VII); Hörner mitgegossen (Abb. 2: 1).

14. Odes'ka oblast' (Одеська область).
Detektorfund: knieförmig (A 137 Var.); Hörner mitgegossen (Abb. 2: 2).

15.–21. „Ukraine". Sieben Exemplare ohne nähere Lokalisierung (Detektorfunde):

15. Annähernd knieförmig geknickter Bügel mit Kopfverdickung; Sehnenhaken; typologisch nicht genau anzusprechen, ähnlich Cociş Typ 32b2 (Abb. 3: 1).
16. Knieförmig geknickter Bügel mit Rillengruppenverzierung; hoher Nadelhalter; A 137, Var. (Abb. 3: 2).
17. Knieförmig geknickter, in der Sicht von oben zum Kopf hin stark breiter werdender Bügel, halbkreisförmige Kopfplatte, offenbar obere Sehne; A V, Serie 8, aber auch ähnlich Jobst 13D (Abb. 3: 3).
18. „Kräftig profilierte" Fibel mit extrem hohem Bügelkamm, stark verbreitertem Kopf mit lappenartigen Enden und oberer Sehne, die augenscheinlich durch eine Durchlochung des Steges am Bügelkopf geführt ist; A IV, Var. (Abb. 3: 4).
19. „Kräftig profilierte" Fibel mit extrem hohem Bügelkamm, verbreitertem Kopf mit lappenartigen Enden und ösenartigem Steg am Kopf zur Aufnahme der Spiralachse; Bügelkamm mehrfach durchlocht; A IV, Var. (Abb. 3: 5).
20. „Kräftig profilierte" Fibel mit vermutlich verbreitertem Kopf, mit Steg mit zwei Durchlochungen für Spiralachse und obere Sehne; A IV, Var. (Abb. 3: 7).
21. Mit drei Bügelprofilierungen und Hülsenscharnier; ähnlich Hauptmann Serie 4, „frühe Dreisprossenfibeln im Baltikum" (Abb. 3: 8).

Österreich

22. Ringelsdorf, MG Ringelsdorf-Niederabdorf, VB Gänserndorf.
Detektorfund: bolzenförmiger, geknickter Bügel, Hörner auf Höhe des Bügelknicks, hoher Nadelhalter; A V, Ser. 9/A VII); Interpretation unsicher (*FÖ 2000*, 664, Abb. 826).

Deutschland

23. Zauschwitz, Kr. Leipziger Land, Sachsen.
Grab 25: A VII, eher westliche Serie (*Meyer 1969*, 122, Abb. 37: 1).

Rumänien

24. Siebenbürgen.
Knieförmig; A 137, Var. (*Cociş 2004*, 116, 205, Taf. CI: 1426).

Osteuropa

25. Vermutlich Ukraine. „Kräftig profilierte" Fibel mit verbreitertem Kopf, mit Öse für die Spiralachse und Sehnenhaken; Bügelkamm dreifach durchlocht; A IV, Var. (Abb. 3: 6).

LITERATUR

Ambroz 1966 – A. K. Ambroz: *Fibuly juga evropejskoj časti SSSR. II v. do n. e.–IV v. n. e.* Archeologija SSSR. Svod archeologičeskich istočnikov D1–30. Moskva 1966.

Andrzejowski, im Druck – J. Andrzejowski: The Eastern Zone of the Przeworsk culture – and What it Comprehends. *Acta Archaeologica Carpatica* 55, im Druck.

Andrzejowski/Cieśliński 2007 – J. Andrzejowski/A. Cieśliński: Germanie i Bałtowie u schyłku starożytności. Przyjazne związki czy wrogie sąsiedztwo? In: A. Bitner-Wróblewska/W. Nowakowski (red.): *Kultura bogaczewska w 20 lat później. Materiały z konferencji, Warszawa 26–27 marca 2003*. Seminarium Bałtyjskie 1. Warszawa 2007, 279–319.

Andrzejowski/Maciałowicz 2017 – J. Andrzejowski/A. Maciałowicz: Między północą a południem. Zespół osadniczy z późnej epoki żelaza w Jarnicach nad Liwcem w świetle dalekosiężnych powiązań. *Wiadomości Archeologiczne* 68, 2017, 179–234.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.36154/wa.68.2017.09

Beilke-Voigt 2006 – I. Beilke-Voigt: Das Tieropfer in archäologischen und weitere Quellenzeugnissen. *Ethnographisch-Archäologische Zeitschrift* 47, 2006, 87–102.

Beliavec 2007 – V. G. Beliavec: K izučeniju pamiatnikov veľbarskoj kuľtury v Belarusi. In: M. Fudziński/H. Paner (red.): *Nowe materiały i interpretacje. Stan dyskusji na temat kultury wielbarskiej*. Gdańsk 2007, 293–344.

Blankenfeldt 2007 – R. Blankenfeldt: Der bilderfeindliche Germane? In: Ch. Grünewald/T. Capelle (Hrsg.): *Innere Strukturen von Siedlungen und Gräberfeldern als Spiegel gesellschaftlicher Wirklichkeit? Akten des 57. Sachsensymposions vom26. bis 30. August 2006 in Münster. Veröffentlichungen der Altertumskommission im Provinzialinstitut für Westfälische Landes- und Volksforschung*. Landschaftsverband Westfalen-Lippe 17. Münster 2007, 99–107.

Blankenfeldt 2015 – R. Blankenfeldt: *Die persönlichen Ausrüstungen*. Das Thorsberger Moor 2. Schleswig 2015.

Böhme 1972 – A. Böhme: Die Fibeln der Kastelle Saalburg und Zugmantel. *Saalburg-Jahrbuch* 29, 1972, 5–112.

Bursche 2013 – A. Bursche: The Battle of Abritus, the Imperial Treasury and Aurei in Barbaricum. *The Numismatic Chronicle* 173, 2013, 151–170.

Bursche/Myzgin 2020 – A. Bursche/K. Myzgin: The Gothic Invasion of the mid-3rd c. AD and the Battle of Abritus: Coins and Archaeology in East-Central Barbaricum. *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 33, 2020, 195–229.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.1017/S1047759420000987

Chilińska-Früboes 2020 – A. Chilińska-Früboes: *Fibel, Tracht und Interkulturalität. Die Dollkeim/Kovrovo-Kultur der älteren Römischen Kaiserzeit im nördlichen Ostpreußen*. Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte und Archaologie der Ostseegebiete 18. Kiel – Hamburg 2020.

Cociş 2004 – S. Cociş: *Fibulele din Dacia Romană*. Bibliotheca Ephemeris Napocensis 3. Cluj-Napoca 2004.

Dąbrowska 1993–1994 – T. Dąbrowska: Późne odmiany fibul silnie profilowanych w Polsce. *Wiadomości Archeologiczne* 53, 1993–1994, 3–35.

Droberjar 2012 – E. Droberjar: Nová varianta spony typu Almgren 132 z Jevíčka. K přechodným formám Almgrenovy skupiny ve stupni B2/C1. In: G. Březinová/V. Varsik (Hrsg.): *Archeológia na prahu histórie. K životnému jubileu Karola Pietu*. Archaeologica Slovaca Monographiae. Communicationes 15. Nitra 2012, 235–245.

Droberjar 2018 – E. Droberjar: Eine Vogelfibel mit hohem Nadelhalter vom Typ Masłomęcz aus Vrbová Lhota (Mittelböhmen). In: B. Niezabitowska-Wiśniewska/P. Łuczkiewicz/S. Sadowski/M. Stasiak-Cyran/M. Erdrich (red.): *Studia Barbarica. Profesorowi Andrzejowi Kokowskiemu w 65. rocznicę urodzin*. Tom II. Lublin 2018, 74–84.

Dulęba/Schuster 2012 – P. Dulęba/J. Schuster: Eine kaiserzeitliche Rinderfigur aus Kupferlegierung von einem Siedlungsplatz der Przeworsk-Kultur. *Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt* 42, 2012, 387–399.

Dzięgielewska/Kulczyńska 2008 – M. Dzięgielewska/M. Kulczyńska: *Ciebłowice Duże. Ein Gräberfeld der Przeworsk-Kultur im südwestlichen Masowien*. Monumenta Archaeologica Barbarica 14. Warszawa 2008.

Eggers 1951 – H. J. Eggers: *Der römische Import im freien Germanien*. Atlas zur Urgeschichte 1. Hamburg 1951.

Eggers/Stary 2001 – H. J. Eggers/P. F. Stary: *Funde der Vorrömischen Eisenzeit, der Römischen Kaiserzeit und er Völkerwanderungszeit in Pommern*. Beiträge zur Ur- und Frühgeschichte Mecklenburg-Vorpommerns 38. Lübstorf 2001.

FÖ 2000 – Fundberichte aus Österreich 39, 2000.

Gaerte 1929 – W. Gaerte: *Urgeschichte Ostpreußens*. Ostpreußische Landeskunde in Einzeldarst 1. Königsberg i. Pr. 1929.

Gałęzowska 2010 – A. Gałęzowska: Znaleziska z okresu rzymskiego z terenu Ukrainy w zbiorach Muzeum Archeologicznego w Poznaniu. In: A. Urbaniak/R. Prochowicz (red.): *Terra Barbarica. Studia ofiarowane Magdalenie Mączyńskiej w 65. rocznicę urodzin*. Monumenta Archaeologica Barbarica. Series Gemina 2. Łódź – Warszawa 2010, 251–260.

Gandert 1957 – O. F. Gandert: Das bronzene Rinderfigürchen von Berlin-Schöneberg. *Berliner Blätter für Vor- und Frühgeschichte* 6, 1957, 108–152.

Godłowski/Wichman 1998 – K. Godłowski/T. Wichman: *Chmielów Piaskowy. Ein Gräberfeld der Przeworsk-Kultur im Świętokrzyskie-Gebirge*. Monumenta Archaeologica Barbarica 6. Kraków 1998.

Hegewisch 2018 – M. Hegewisch: Tierdarstellungen auf germanischer Keramik. Eine kurze Besprechung der abgebildeten Tierarten. In: M. Ljubičev/K. Myzgin (Hrsg.): *Chronologie und Münzfunde der späten römischen Kaiserzeit und Völkerwanderungszeit. Aktuelle archäologische Forschungen in Zentral- und Osteuropa. Materialien des Feldseminars an der Basis der Expedition bei Vojtenki 15.–17. September 2016.* Ostrogothica. Heft 3. Charkov 2018, 146–181.

Hollack/Peiser 1904 – E. Hollack/F. E. Peiser: *Das Gräberfeld von Moythienen*. Königsberg i. Pr. 1904.

Jobst 1975 – W. Jobst: *Die römischen Fibeln aus Lauriacum*. Forschungen in Lauriacum 10. Linz 1975.

Kokowski 1987 – A. Kokowski: *Grupa masłomęcka w okresie rzymskim (III–IV wiek naszej ery)*. Lublin 1987.

Kokowski 1995 – A. Kokowski: *Grupa masłomęcka. Z badań nad przemianami kultury Gotów w młodszym okresie rzymskim*. Lublin 1995.

Kovrig 1937 – I. Kovrig: *Die Haupttypen der kaiserzeitlichen Fibeln in Pannonien*. Dissertationes Pannonicae. Ser. II. Fasc. 4. Budapest 1937.

Levada/Potupčik 2017 – M. Levada: M. Potupčik: Nowe eksponaty z okresu wpływów rzymskich w Muzeum

Krajoznawczym w Winnicy. In: J. Andrzejowski/A. Cieśliński/B. Kontny (red.): *Orbis barbarorum. Studia ad archaeologiam Germanorum et Baltorum tempudoribus Imperii Romani pertinentia Adalberto Nowakowski dedicata*. Monumenta Archaeologica Barbarica. Series Gemina 6. Warszawa – Schleswig 2017, 409–420.

Mączyńska 2011 – M. Mączyńska: Der frühvölkerwanderungszeitliche Hortfund aus Łubiana, Kreis Kościerzyna (Pommern). *Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission* 90, 2011, 7–482.

Magomedov/Kuštan 2002 – B.V. Magomedov/D. P. Kuštan: Fibula z holovoju byka z Čerkaskoji oblasti. *Archeolohija* 3, 2002, 66, 67.

Maier 1981 – F. Maier: Eine germanische Stierfigur der späten Kaiserzeit aus dem Rhein-Main-Gebiet. *Germania* 59, 1981, 331–356.

Martens 1999 – J. Martens: En halsring med fugleformede endestykker fra Nordre Rør, Østfold. Om betydningen af de zoomorfisk udsmykkede genstande fra afslutningen af den yngre føromersk jernalder. *Universitets Oldsaksamling Årbok*, 1999, 41–74.

Merczi 2011 – M. Merczi: Térdfibulák Komárom-Esztergom Megyéből. *Komárom-Esztergom Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei* 17, 2011, 7–80.

Merczi 2012 – M. Merczi: A Budaörs–Kamaraerdei-Dűlőben feltárt római *vicus* fibulái. In: K. Ottományi (szerk.): *Római* vicus *Budaörsön. Régészeti tanulmányok*. Budapest 2012, 473–528.

Meyer 1969 – E. Meyer: *Das germanische Gräberfeld von Zauschwitz, Kr. Borna*. Arbeits- und Forschungsberichte zur sächsischen Bodendenkmalpflege. Beiheft 6. Berlin 1969.

Nadvirniak/Pohorilec' 2014 – O. V. Nadvirniak/O. H. Pohorilec': Novi znachidki bronzovych kazaniv typu Hemmoor na Podilli. *Oium* 4, 2014, 151–155.

Natuniewicz-Sekuła 2015–2016 – M. Natuniewicz-Sekuła: Weklice, stan. 7, pow. elbląski, woj. warmińsko-mazurskie. Badania w latach 2015–2016. *Światowit* 13–14 (54–55), fascykul A/B, 2015–2016, 235–240.

Natuniewicz-Sekuła/Okulicz-Kozaryn 2011 – M. Natuniewicz-Sekuła/J. Okulicz-Kozaryn: *Weklice. A Cemetery of the Wielbark Culture on the Eastern Margin of Vistula Delta (Excavations 1984–2004)*. Monumenta Archaeologica Barbarica 17. Warszawa 2011.

Niezabitowska-Wiśniewska 2015 – B. Niezabitowska-Wiśniewska: Ulów, stanowisko 7 – nowe cmentarzysko kultury wielbarskiej na Roztoczu Środkowym – z badań nad kontaktami kultury wielbarskiej i kultury czerniachowskiej. In: M. Fudziński/H. Paner (red.): *Kontakty ponadregionalne kultury wielbarskiej. Przemiany kulturowe w okresie wpływów rzymskich na Pomorzu*. Gdańsk 2015, 331–362.

Nowakowski 1989 – W. Nowakowski: Kultura wielbarska a zachodniobałtyjski krąg kulturowy. In: J. Gurba/A. Kokowski (red.): *Kultura wielbarska w młodszym okresie rzymskim (materialy z konferencji). Tom 2*. Lublin 1989, 143–159.

Nowakowski 1998a – W. Nowakowski: *Die Funde der römischen Kaiserzeit und der Völkerwanderungszeit in Masuren*. Bestandkataloge des Museums für Vor- und Frühgeschichte 6. Berlin 1998.

Nowakowski 1998b – W. Nowakowski: Die Nebenformen Almgren 133 und 137 aus heutiger Sicht. In: J. Kunow (Hrsg.): *100 Jahre Fibelformen nach Oscar Almgren. Internationale Arbeitstagung 25.–28. Mai 1997 Kleinmachnow, Brandenburg*. Forschungen zur Archäologie im Land Brandenburg 5. Wünsdorf 1998, 197–201.

Nowakowski 2016a – W. Nowakowski: Die zwei völkerwanderungszeitlichen Stierfibeln aus Masuren. In: B. Chudzińska/M. Wojenka/M. Wołoszyn (red.): *Od Bachórza do Światowida ze Zbrucza. Tworzenie się słowiańskiej Europy w ujęciu źródłoznawczym. Księga jubileuszowa Profesora Michała Parczewskiego*. Krakow – Rzeszów 2016, 105–111.

Nowakowski 2016b – W. Nowakowski: Items with the oxhead on the shores of the Baltic Sea in the Roman Period. *Archaeologia Baltica* 23, 2016, 129–139. DOI: https://doi.org/10.15181/ab.v23i0.1300

Nowakowski 2017 – W. Nowakowski: Okucie rogu do picia z Legionowa na tle znalezisk plastyki bukefalicznej w Barbaricum (zarys problematyki i kierunkow planowanych poszukiwań badawczych). In: W. Nowakowski/W. Orliński/M. Woińska (red.): *Relacje kultury przeworskiej i lateńskiej na Mazowszu. Wnioski z badań cmentarzyska przeworskiego w Legionowie CSP*. Legionowo – Warszawa 2017, 119–134.

Orliński 2011 – W. Orliński: Okucie rogu do picia zakończone głową byka z cmehtarzyska kultury przeworskiej w Legionowie, pow. loco. *Wiadomości Archeologiczne* 62, 2011, 241–243.

Oxenstierna 1956 – E. Oxenstierna: *Die Goldhörner von Gallehus*. Lidingö 1956.

Pawlak 2008 – E. Pawlak: Cmentarzysko ludności kultury przeworskiej w Osieku, pow. Jarocin. In: H. Machajewski (red.): *Wielkopolska w dziejach. Archeologia o regionie*. Poznań 2008, 207–213.

Pesch 2011a – A. Pesch: Gehörnte Pferde. Elitenkommunikation und synthetische Tradition am Beginn germanischer Bildkunst. In: B. Ludowici/H. Pöppelmann: *Das Miteinander, Nebeneinander und Gegeneinander von Kulturen. Zur Archäologie und Geschichtewechselseitiger Beziehungen im 1. Jahrtausend n. Chr.* Neue Studien zur Sachsenforschung 2. Stuttgart 2011, 9–17.

Pesch 2011b – A. Pesch: Dicke Vögel und gehörnte Pferde. Frühe Etablierung protostaatlicher Strukturen im Spiegel der Bilder. In: L. Boyé (Hrsg.): *Arkologi i Slesvig/Archäologie in Schleswig. Sonderband „Det 61. Internationale Sachsensymposion 2010", Haderslev, Danmark*. Neumünster 2011, 45–56.

Peškař 1972 – I. Peškař: *Fibeln aus der römischen Kaiserzeit in Mähren*. Praha 1972.

Petković 2010 – S. Petković: *Rimske fibule z Srbiji od I do V veka n.e.* Arheološki institut. Posebna izdanja. Knjiga 50. Beograd 2010.

Petrauskas/Didenko 2019 – O. V. Petrauskas/S. V. Didenko. Znachidky ryms'kych rečej z pivničnoho Podillja (novi nadchodžennja do fondiv Nacional'noho muzeju istorii Ukrainy. *Oium* 6, 2019, 148–168.

Pieta 2006 – K. Pieta: Ein junglatènezeitlicher Stieranhänger aus Udiča/Slowakei. In: W.-R. Teegen et al. (Hrsg.): *Studien zur Lebenswelt der Eisenzeit. Festschrift für Rosemarie Müller.* Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde 52. Berlin – New York 2006, 133–147.

Pieta 2010 – K. Pieta: *Die keltische Besiedlung der Slowakei. Jüngere Latènezeit.* Archaeologica Slovaca Monographiae. Studia 12. Nitra 2010.

Prochowicz/Rakowski 2013 – R. Prochowicz/T. Rakowski: Sieluń, pow. makowski – nowe stanowisko kultury wielbarskiej na północnym Mazowszu. *Wiadomości Archeologiczne* 64, 2013, 198–210.

Rajtár 2018 – J. Rajtár: Die Fibeln vom Typ Almgren 43. In: B. Niezabitowska-Wiśniewska/P. Łuczkiewicz/S. Sadowski/M. Stasiak-Cyran/M. Erdrich (red.): *Studia Barbarica. Profesorowi Andrzejowi Kokowskiemu w 65. rocznicę urodzin*. Tom II. Lublin 2018, 52–72.

Rasmussen 2007 – B. M. Rasmussen: Trinkhornbeschläge aus Schleswig – ein Magazinfund. Über die rinderkopfförmigen Trinkhornbeschläge der Römischen Kaiserzeit und ihre Funktion. In: S. Burmeister/H. Derks/J. von Richthofen (Hrsg.): *Zweiundvierzig. Festschrift für Michael Gebühr zum 65. Geburtstag*. Internationale Archäologie. Studia Honoraria 25. Rahden/Westf. 2007, 191–206.

Redžić 2007 – S. Redžić: *Nalazy rimskih fibula na nekropolama Viminacijuma*. Arheologija i Prirodne Nauke. Posebna Izdanja 2. Beograd 2007.

Schmidt 1906 – H. Schmidt: Ostpreußische Beiträge. *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 38, 1906, 456–484.

Schoknecht 2006 – U. Schoknecht: Zu den Rinderfigürchen aus Mecklenburg-Vorpommern. *Archäologische Berichte aus Mecklenburg-Vorpommern* 13, 2006, 33–39.

Schulte 2011 – L. Schulte: *Die Fibeln mit hohem Nadelhaltert (Almgren Gruppe VII)*. Göttinger Schriften zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte 32. Neumünster 2011.

Schuster 2001 – J. Schuster: Einige Elemente aus dem westbaltischen Kulturkreis, der Wielbark- und der Przeworsk-Kultur in den Gebieten westlich der Oder ab dem späten zweiten Jahrhundert. In: M. Meyer (Hrsg.): *„... Trans Albim fluvium" Forschungen zur vorrömischen, kaiserzeitlichen und mittelalterlichen Archäologie. Festschrift für Achim Leube zum 65. Geburtstag*. Internationale Archäologie. Studia Honoraria 10. Rahden/Westf. 2001, 417–429.

Schuster/Dulęba 2012 – J. Schuster/P. Dulęba: Eine kaiserzeitliche Rinderfigur aus Kupferlegierung von einem Siedlungsplatz der Przeworsk-Kultur. *Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt* 42, 2012, 387–399.

Sekuła 2006 – M. Sekuła: Ocalałe zabytki pochodzące z badań niemieckich na cmentarzysku w Malborku-Wielbarku w zbiorach muzeów polskich. In: W. Nowakowski/A. Szela (red.): *Pogranicze trzech światów. Kontakty kultur przeworskiej, wielbarskiej i bogaczewskiej w świetle materiałów z badań i poszukiwań archeologicznych*. Światowit. Supplement. Series P. Prehistory and Middle Ages 14. Warszawa 2006, 175–223.

Skvorcov 2014 – K. N. Skvorcov: Zniszczony pochówek z zawieszką lunulowatą z Półwyspu Sambijskiego. *Wiadomości Archeologiczne* 65, 2014, 277–283. DOI: https://doi.org/10.36154/wa.65.2014.14

Skvorzov/Pesch 2011 – K. Skvorzov/A. Pesch: Krieger, dicke Vögel und gehörnte Pferde? Ein Sattelbeschlag aus Mitino (Obl. Kaliningrad). *Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt* 41, 2011, 419–438.

Stenberger 1946 – M. Stenberger: Djurfigurer från äldre järnålder. *Fornvännen* 41, 1946, 149–165.

Szter 2010 – I. Szter: Cmentarzysko z okresu wpływów rzymskich i z okresu wędrówek ludów w Kamieniu na Pojezierz Mazurskim. *Wiadomości Archeologiczne* 61, 2010, 201–331.

Teßmann 2009 – B. Teßmann: Drei Pferdefigürchen aus dem Berliner Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte. Zur Verbreitung und Funktion bronzener Tierplastiken der älteren Eisenzeit. *Acta Praehistorica et Archaeologica* 41, 2009, 189–205.

Thrane 1989 – H. Thrane: Bovidenstatuetten von Fünen. *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 23, 1989, 363–416.

Tischler 1879 – O. Tischler: Ostpreussische Gräberfelder III. *Schriften der Physikalisch-Ökonomischen Gesellschaft zu Königsberg* 19, 1879, 159–269.

Tischler 1950 – F. Tischler: Über einige Trinkhornendbeschläge in Form eines Stierkopfes aus der römischen Kaiserzeit. *Praehistorische Zeitschrift* 34–35, 1950, 374–384.

Tischler/Kemke 1902 – O. Tischler/H. Kemke: *Ostpreussische Altertümer aus der Zeit der grossen Gräberfelder nach Christi Geburt*. Königsberg i. Pr. 1902.

Tuszyńska 2005 – M. Tuszyńska: Cmentarzysko w Opaleniu, gmina Gniew, stanowisko 1. Badania 2001–2003. In: M. Fudziński/H. Paner (red.): *XIV sesja pomorzoznawcza. Vol. 1. Od epoki kamienia do okresu rzymskiego*. Gdańsk 2005, 435–440.

Werner 1966 – J. Werner: *Das Aufkommen von Bild und Schrift in Nordeuropa*. Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse. Sitzungsberichte 4. München 1966.

Wichrowski 1998 – Z. Wichrowski: Badania archeologiczne na cmentarzysku kultury przeworskiej w Kraśniku-Piaskach, stan. 2, woj. Lubelskie. *Archeologia Polski Środkowowschodniej* 3, 104–109.

Wiśniewska 2011 – A. Wiśniewska: Materiały z cmentarzyska w Leśniewie, pow. kętrzyński (dawne Fürstenau, Kr. Rastenburg). *Wiadomości Archeologiczne* 62, 2011, 119–167.

Worbs 1979 – R. Worbs: *Zethlingen, ein Brandgräberfeld der spätrömischen Kaiserzeit aus der Altmark*. Wissenschaftliche Beiträge der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg. Band 1979/12. Reihe L. Vor- und frühgeschichtliche Beiträge. Band 14. Halle/Saale 1979.

Manuskript angenommen am 28. 5. 2021

Abstract translated by author

prof. dr hab. Jan Schuster
Instytut Archeologii Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego
Narutowicza 65
PL – 90-131 Łódź
jan.schuster@uni.lodz.pl

SLOVENSKÁ ARCHEOLÓGIA – SUPPLEMENTUM 2
Z. Robak/M. Ruttkay (eds.): Celts – Germans – Slavs.
A Tribute Anthology to Karol Pieta. Nitra 2021, 249–259.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.31577/slovarch.2021.suppl.2.23

FIND OF GALLIENUS ANTONINIANUS CONTEMPORARY FORGERY FROM THE PUSTÝ HRAD CASTLE IN ZVOLEN, SLOVAKIA[1]

JÁN BELJAK – NOÉMI BELJAK PAŽINOVÁ – BORIS STOKLAS

The paper discusses a single find of a Roman coin – a subaerat Gallienus antoninianus – a random find from the Pustý hrad (Deserted) Castle in Zvolen. The find corroborates the view that the site was settled in the Early or Late Roman Period. The coin is a Roman currency commonly used in trade with the Quadi. A thorough analysis of the coin allowed us to determine its age, method of production and interpret its historical context. So far, no similar contemporary finds of young subaerat antoninianus coins are known from the Danubian *Barbaricum*.

Keywords: Central Slovakia, castle, antoninianus forgery, Late Roman Period.

We have known imitations or counterfeit coins since the times of antiquity (*Kolníková 1978*). The introduction of coins as a currency and a generic equivalent of a value was extremely important for the development of the economy and mainly trade – local as well as long-distance. Coins were considerable concentrations of precious metals and their values. Thus, they allowed faster cumulation of property and fortune. Counterfeiters of coins or coiners were primarily greedy and although their activity was illegal, the attractivity of economic prosperity was stronger than their fear of punishment. In the Late Roman Period, a large number of coins of various quality, including counterfeit exemplars, was in circulation. Money in general was losing its value in the 3rd–4th c. AD. The proportion of precious metal was reduced on purpose, which led to the devaluation of coins and a disproportionate increase in their number. Circulating counterfeit money or fake coins were successful mainly in politically or socially unstable times. For counterfeiters, imitation of coins' value by imitating the design but using a lower proportion of precious metal was important (*Hunka 2013*, 131). Expansion of imitating was thus an inseparable part of the use of coins.

The presented article aims to present the unique find of a contemporary imitation of a subaerat antoninianus of the emperor Gallienus (Fig. 1: 1). The coin was accidentally discovered in the mixed cultural layer of trench 1A studied in the summer season of 2018 at the courtyard near the entrance gate of the National Cultural Monument of Pustý hrad (Deserted) Castle in Zvolen (Fig. 2; 3). Excavations at this site have been carried out systematically since 1992 every summer, until now. It was started by archaeologist V. Hanuliak, with whom the monument's renovation is associated. Since 2009, the research and renovation have been coordinated by the Institute of Archaeology of SAS in Nitra and led by J. Beljak. The long-term goal is not only the renovation of the castle as a monument but also protecting the monument and its presentation for the generations now and in the future (*Beljak Pažinová/Beljak 2020*).

The perennial modern systematic research of the Pustý hrad Castle in Zvolen has brought numerous movable as well as immovable finds which elucidate the extent and the character of the settlement from prehistory to the High Middle Ages and gradually explain the construction in the area and its catchment area (*Beljak/Beljak Pažinová/Šimkovic 2018*, 3–63; *Beljak et al. 2014*; *Pažinová et al. 2013*). As late as season 2018, no finds from the Roman Period were known from the site of Pustý hrad Castle in Zvolen, which the discovery of the counterfeit antoninianus of emperor Gallienus definitely changed. We aim to present the find context, analyse the coin itself and its possible role in the historical context of Germanic settlement in the territory of the central Pohronie region in the Late to Final Roman Period.

[1] The contribution was created in the frame of VEGA project No. 1/0240/21 The landscape and settlements of the Celts and Germani Mutual relations, relations in and with the landscape and VEGA project No. 2/0018/19 Ecological Analyses of Landscape Acculturation in Slovakia since Early Prehistory until Today.

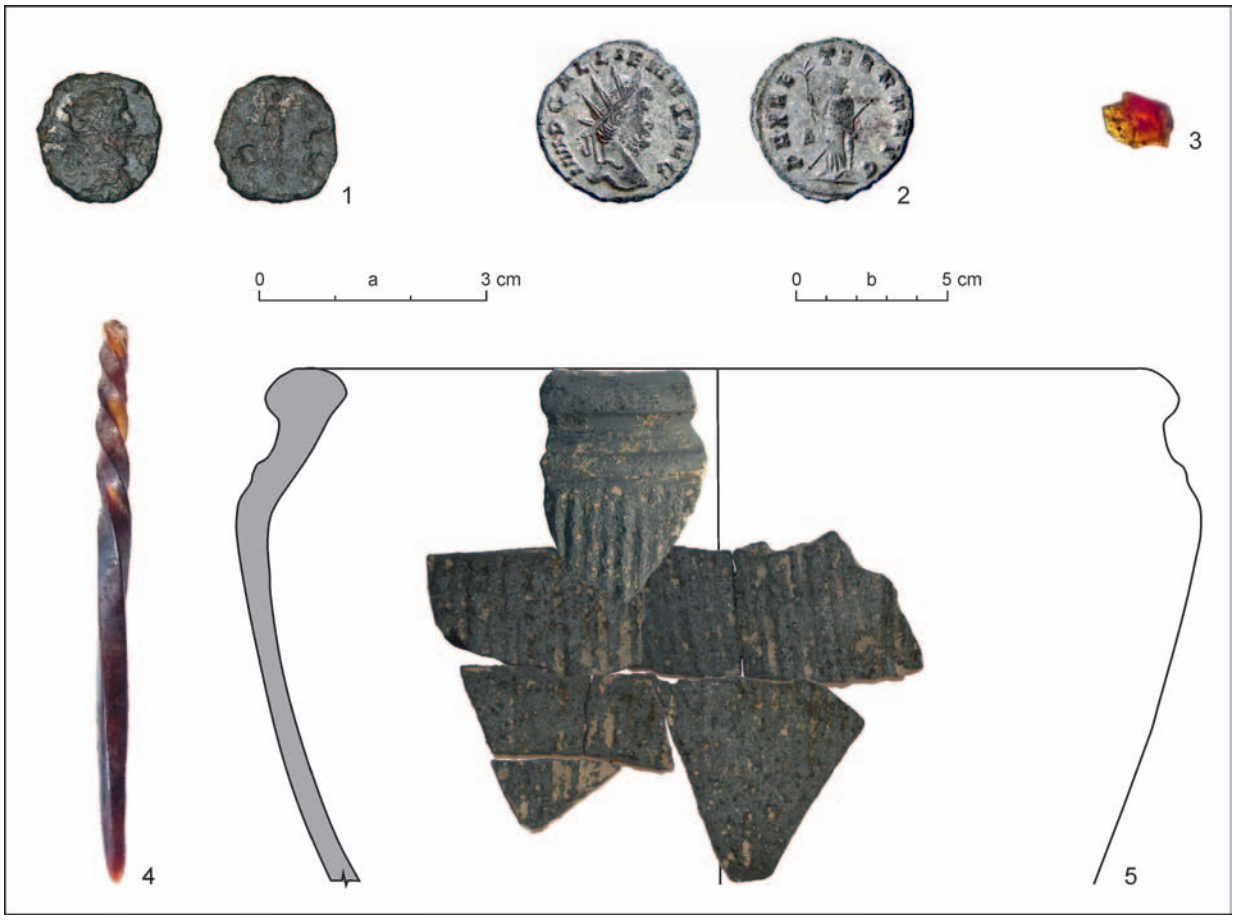


Fig. 1. Pustý hrad Castle in Zvolen, Upper castle. The southern line of the medieval fortification. Trench 1A/2018. Selected protohistoric finds. 1 – subaerat antoninianus of Emperor Gallienus; 2 – an illustrative image of Emperor Gallienus Antoninianus (*RIC* 252) with a similar image on the averse and reverse as on the coin from the Pustý hrad Castle (https://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/gallienus/RIC_0252.jpg); 3 – fragment of a raw piece of amber; 4 – amber needle; 5 – Middle La Téne vessel (photo M. Čierny, J. Beljak, drawing N. Beljak Pažinová). Scale: a – 1, 3, 4; b – 5; without scale – 2.

THE SETTLEMENT AT THE SITE OF PUSTÝ HRAD CASTLE IN ZVOLEN

The monument spreads over two tops of the hill with the same name, which is located at the southwestern edge of the town of Zvolen, in the Javorie hills, above the confluence of the Hron river and the Slatina stream. The site is known mainly thanks to medieval builders, as Hungarian kings from the Árpád family had a massive stone castle built there in the Middle Ages; its catchment area used the natural properties of the site (Fig. 3). On the hilltop plateau (571 m a.s.l.), the Upper castle with an area of 3.5 ha was built by the end of the 12th c. and lower (476 m a.s.l.), the Lower castle of 0.7 ha was built in the first half of the 13th c. The massive seat lost its fortifying function gradually, in the 14th c. At the beginning of the 15th c., it was not renewed (*Beljak/Beljak Pažinová/Šimkovic 2018*, 19–28, 50–52).

The Pustý hrad Castle hill still has an excellent strategical location with a good view of the Zvolenská kotlina basin and its wider surroundings. Therefore, it is no surprise that this area was popular with settlers since prehistory. The oldest recorded settlement comes from the Late Stone Age, when – mainly at the site of the Lower castle – an upland settlement from the end of the Baden culture was located (*Beljak et al. 2014*; *Beljak Pažinová/Niklová/Beljak 2015*). The settlement from the Late Bronze Age, when a hillfort of the Lusatian, later Kyjatice, cultures was built, is dominant in the framework of prehistoric periods. Its collapse is dated to the turn of stages HB and HC, when a crisis (depopulation) affected also other territories settled by the Kyjatice culture in the Carpathian territory (*Beljak/Putško/Beljak Pažinová*, *in press*).

The Pustý hrad Castle hill was not ignored in Protohistory either. On the hilltop plateau, La Tène sherds of the Púchov culture are sporadically discov-

Fig. 2. Pustý hrad Castle in Zvolen. Aerial image of the medieval castle. In the foreground the Upper castle, in the background the Lower castle and the town of Zvolen. Purple colour and red arrow mark the trench 1A/2018 (photo J. Beljak).

ered and two iron brooches from the end of the Late La Tène (LTC2 and LTD1) period were also found (*Beljak et al. 2014*, 125) as well as fragments of glass bracelets. Torsos of graphited vessels, including fragments of a pot with reinforced rim, short neck with a plastic ring and the body roughened by vertical grooves (Fig. 1: 5) from the 2nd c. BC (LTC2) were identified also in trench 1A/2018, from which the find of the presented Roman coin comes as well. The nearest settlement of the Púchov culture was located at the site of Haputka, just below the Pustý hrad Castle (the castle's entrance area), another settlement is known from the site of Zvolen-Balkán on the opposite side of the Slatina river running below the Pustý hrad Castle hill (more details in *Beljak 2018*, 35, 36). The Púchov culture's population was the last for long centuries to have permanently occupied the hilltop plateau of the Pustý hrad Castle. Finds of decorated sherds dated to the 10th–11th c. discovered near the eastern line of fortification on the hilltop plateau of the Upper castle were considered to be the last traces of settlement before the construction of the royal castle (*Beljak/Beljak Pažinová 2018*, fig. 21; *Beljak/Beljak Pažinová/Šimkovic 2018*, fig. 24; *Šimkovic/Beljak/Maliniak 2011*, 6, 27, 29). A new chapter of the previously unknown history of the site has been opened by the find of the subaerat, which suggests certain movement at the site in the Late or Final Roman Period.

Description of the coin

The Roman Empire, Gallienus (253–268 AD), subaerat antoninianus, 'from years 260–268 AD' (Fig. 1: 1).
Obverse: Emperor's head on the right with a radial crown, legend: GALLI...
Reverse: A figure standing on the left, illegible legend.
Note: The coin has a bronze core plated with silver.
Weight: 2.28 g
Diam.: 16.76 × 18.05 mm
Location Ob./Rv.: 6 h
Identification: *RIC V 2001*, 129–190.
Year of discovery: 2018
Location of find: Pustý hrad Castle in Zvolen, the site of Upper castle, trench 1A/2018 (approx. 560 m a.s.l.)

The coin discovered at the Pustý hrad Castle in Zvolen is a historical counterfeit, a so-called subaerat, which was very carefully produced. Their cores were made of non-ferrous metals or alloys. The coin from the Pustý hrad Castle had a copper core which was either plated with silver foil attached to the copper core by heating or a piece of alloy of silver and copper and a melting additive was placed on a disc. Surface tension made the alloy flow evenly and cover the whole disc (*Stoklas 2017*, 23). After being slightly heated, the disc was joined to the foil by a strike of a hammer, i.e. impact of a die. Although the silver foil has fallen off most of the surface and the legends on the obverse and reverse are almost impossible to

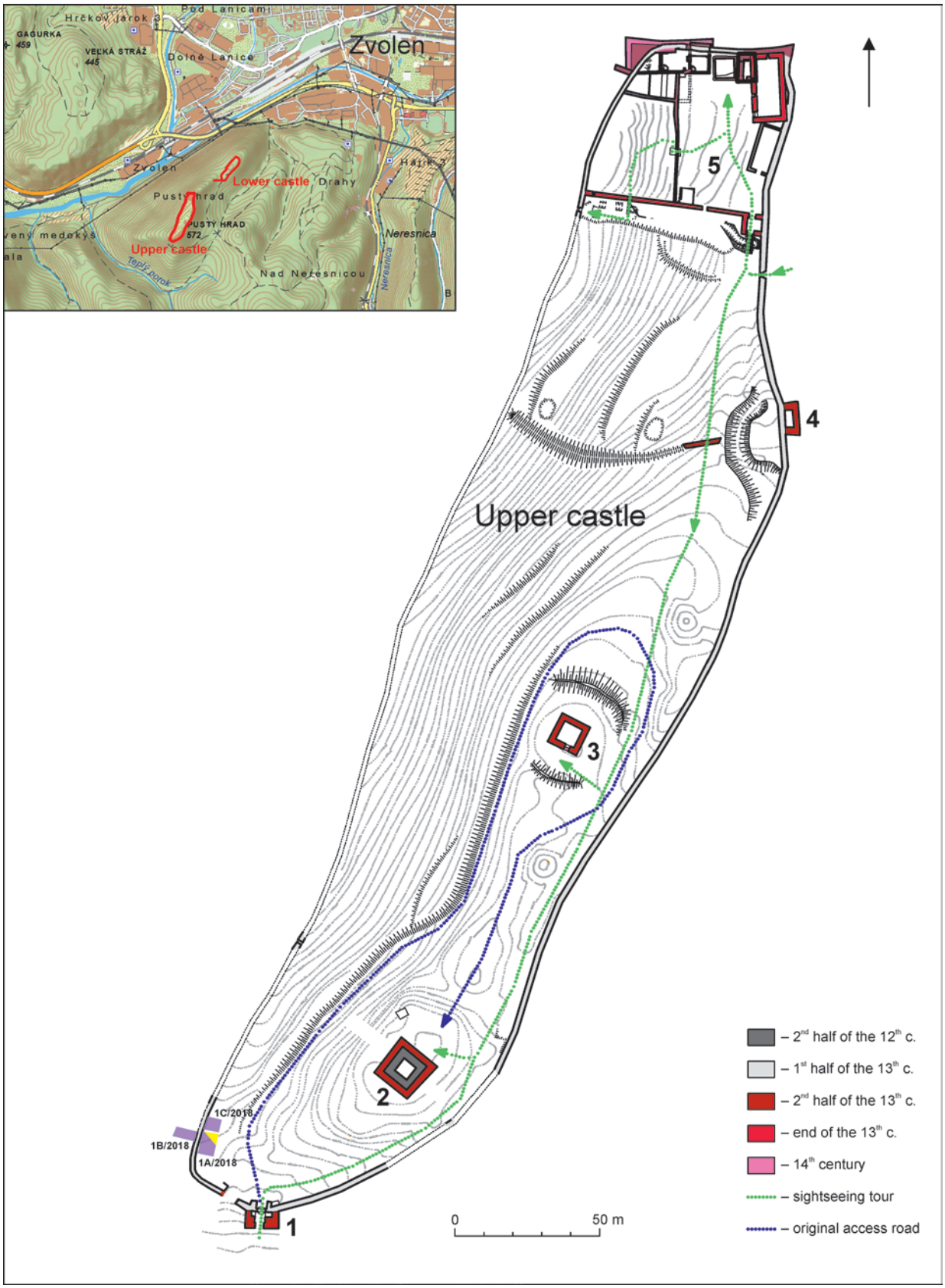


Fig. 3. Pustý hrad Castle in Zvolen. Ground plan of the Upper castle with construction phases. 1 – entrance gate; 2 – tower I. (oldest castle); 3 – tower II.; 4 – flanking tower in the eastern line of fortification; 5 – the area of the so-called Donč Castle. Purple painted trench 1/2018 and with yellow marked the layer with the subaerat antoninianus (author N. Beljak Pažinová).

Fig. 4. Pustý hrad Castle in Zvolen, Upper castle. The southern line of the medieval fortification. Trench 1A/2018 (right) and 1C/2018 (left). 1 – a remnant of a medieval log cabin with a mortar floor; b – a younger medieval log building with sustaining wall (photo J. Beljak).

read, a well visible part of the legend on the obverse has been preserved. By this, we can identify the emperor depicted on the coin. The inscription GALLI... can be associated with legends saying GALLIENVS AVG or GALLIENUS P AVG. These legends together with the portrait design are typical of coins from Gallienus's absolutism in 260–268 AD.

IMPORTANT FACTS ASSOCIATED WITH THE DISCOVERY OF THE HISTORICAL COUNTERFEIT OF AN ANTONINIANUS AT THE PUSTÝ HRAD CASTLE IN ZVOLEN

The coin discovered at the Pustý hrad Castle in Zvolen is an interesting and from the aspect of numismatics, also important find. To prove its uniqueness and exceptionality, we will focus on four crucial facts.

1. Find context and location

The artefact was discovered when the course of the southern line of the medieval fortification of the Upper Pustý hrad Castle west of the main entrance gate was being uncovered. Trench 1/2018 situated there was divided into three sectors. Sector 1B (7 × 3 m) was located in the exterior part of the castle, near the external face of the southern line of the medieval fortification. In this part, presence of a prehistoric stone-earthen rampart under the medieval curtain wall was verified and the trench confirmed that the fortification of the medieval Upper castle covering an area of 3.5 ha was built as early as the end of the 12th or the beginning of the 13th c. at the latest.

Near the interior face of the fortification (Fig. 4), sectors 1A (5 × 7 m) and 1C (4 × 4.5 m) were located. Stone foundation wall was confirmed there, documenting a medieval log building added to the interior face of the fortification in the 13th c. An older log cabin with a mortar floor from the 13th c. was also added to the southern curtain wall.

As many as 13 stratigraphic units altogether were detected in the area of trench 1A/2018 (Fig. 5). When the first top layer of forest hummus was removed, a stone-loam layer was recognizable in the south-eastern part of the trench. It was composed mostly of smaller stones with the occurrence of finds from the High Middle Ages. A compact stone-earthen structure (construction?) was running in the middle of the trench. In this layer, the Roman coin of emperor Gallienus was found. It was not discovered in the

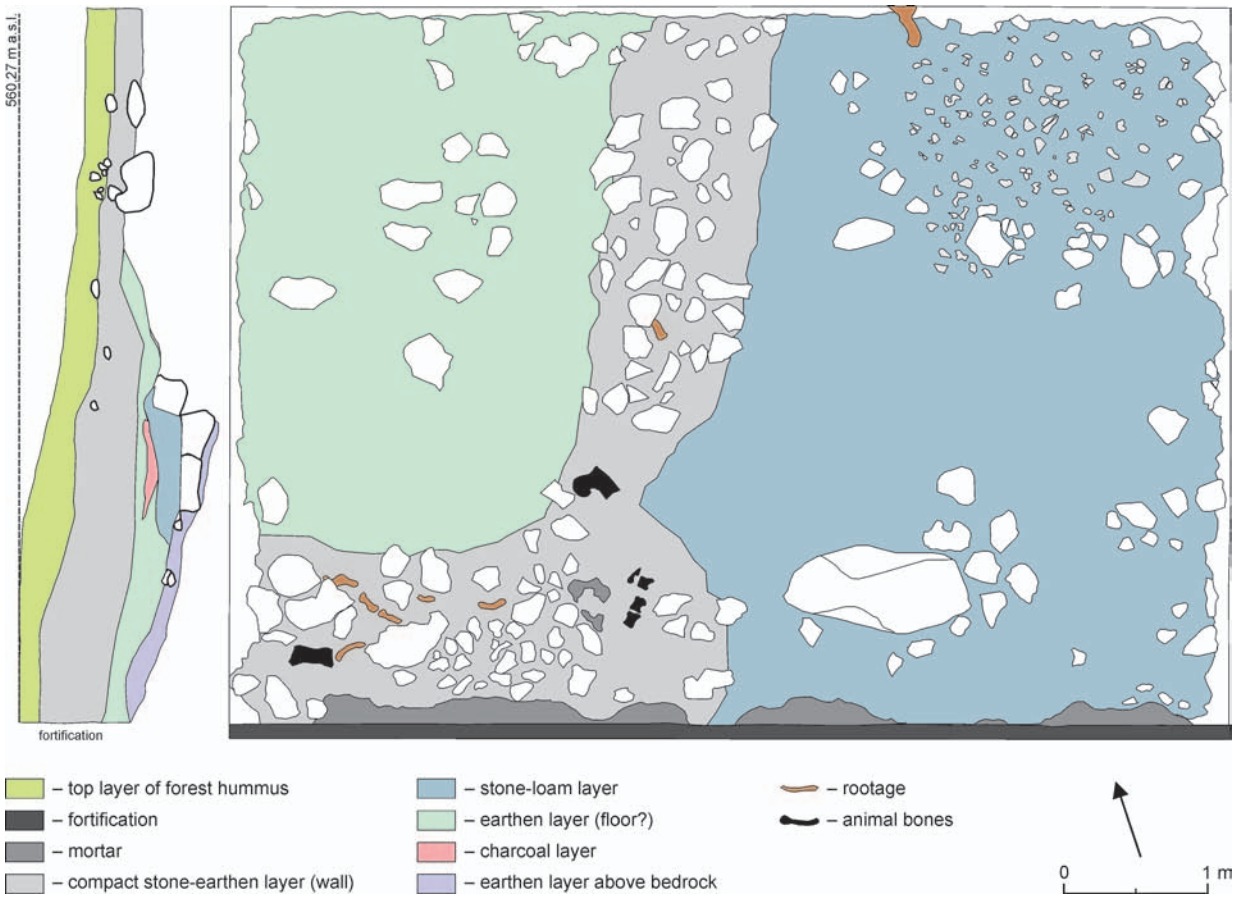


Fig. 5. Pustý hrad Castle in Zvolen, Upper castle. The southern line of the medieval fortification. Trench 1A/2018. Drawing of the floor plan and profile of the trench with cultural layers and finding situations (drawing A. Loydl).

trench itself; it was withdrawn from the layer during sifting and use of metal detector.[2] Identification of the artefact as a coin was possible after it had been cleaned and conserved. Other unique finds from protohistory also come from the same layer. They are a torso of a modified pin(?) made of amber (Fig. 1: 4) and another small unprocessed piece of amber (Fig. 1: 3). Such finds made of organic material are not unknown in the Roman environment thanks to the flourishing trade relations along the Amber Route (*Pliny the Elder*, XXXVII: 35, 36; *Tacitus*, 45). In the north-western corner of trench 1A/2018, several sherds of graphited vessels from the end of the Middle La Tène Period (Fig. 1: 5) and fragments of glass bracelets were also discovered. Finds from the La Tène Period were previously detected only in the northern part of the castle area and are thus a very important clue for possible detection of La Tène settlement in other parts of the large bailey of the medieval castle. An important fact following from the stratigraphic situation in trench 1A is that the protohistoric finds were found in secondary locations in the mixed layer from the High Middle Ages in max. depth of 0.3–0.4 m below the current terrain surface.

2. Age of the coin, its identification and dating

Although the coin is badly preserved, some features can be recognized and thus, the coin can be identified and roughly dated. Some features of the preserved part of the portrait, such as its longer neck and end of the portrait in the lower part, are not common on antoninianus from the 3rd c. They are rare only on coins of Antoninus IV Elagabalus and Gallienus. Such portrait edge is more typical of older coins from the 1st and 2nd c. AD, on denarii.

Models for historical fake coins were usually older coins minted with often longer time-lapse, since the time of subaerat coins production. The discovered coin is a model of an antoninianus, which was the leading face value of the Roman monetary system of the 3rd c. AD. Its name is derived from

[2] For the discovery, we wish to thank our colleague Ivan Trnka for his precise work at searching for finds.

the name of an emperor from the Severan dynasty, Antoninus III, so-called Caracalla (211–217 AD), who ordered its minting in 214 AD.

Antoninianus is characterized mainly by the portrait of the emperor with a radial crown or by the location of an emperor's or empress's bust on a crescent. The radial crown on the emperor's head is a symbol of the double face value as well as two other lower or higher face values of the monetary system, such as dupondius or double aureus (binio; *Vondrovec 2007*, 310) from the reign of emperor Gordianus III (238–244 AD) to the monetary reform of emperor Diocletianus (284–305 AD) in 294 AD, which cancelled their production. The model was, thus, the coin of emperor Gallienus minted between 260 and 294 AD. However, the fake coin cannot be dated. We can only estimate its occurrence sometime between 260 and 276 AD, since the last silver, or billon, coins in the central European *Barbaricum* come from the beginning of the emperor Probus's reign (276–282 AD), although a little later occurrence before the year of Diocletianus' reform cannot be excluded either.

3. Technology of production of the coin and its possible use

The find of the subaerat deserves our attention from the technological as well as a material point of view. Around the middle 3rd c. AD, antoninians become more frequent. They came from official mints, however, the silver they contained was only found on their surface. They were produced by a different technology than subaerat coins. Mercury was used for silvering and when it evaporated, silver precipitated on the surface of the coin (*Stoklas 2017*, 23). Coins silvered using this technology have been known from older periods, too. Such antoninians are accompanied – for some time – with silver or billon mints and, thus, we cannot be certain if these are official coins or counterfeits or if such coins with the silvered surface are contemporary with their silver counterparts. After 260 AD, there are fewer coins with silvered surface and in the final third of the 3rd c. AD, they are considered official mints. The coin from the Pustý hrad Castle in Zvolen was subject to a metallographic analysis,[3] which showed the following proportions of metals: Cu 74,9%; Ag 10,88%; Pb 6,53%; Fe 5,29%; Sn 2,03%; Zn, 0,25%; Ti 0,23%; Au 0,20%. The higher proportions of lead, iron and tin are not surprising, since their presence in such amounts is typical for subaerat coins. Except for tin, these elements with low proportions are traces of a coin disc's modification (*Peter 1990*, 85, 87). From the aspect of material as well as technology, we can state that the find represents a silver-plated subaerat coin.

The historical counterfeit coin is probably associated with the settlement of the region in the Late Roman Period. The latest numismatic research has shown that antoninians as well as some of their contemporary counterfeits were used in the territory settled by the Suebi as late as the Late Roman Period. They are present in considerable numbers in currently known hoards of coins from late antiquity (*Stoklas/Hrabkovský 2019*). Finds of other, denarius subaerat, coins sometimes even occur at Suebi settlements from the Late Roman Period and the beginning of the Great Migration Period. The best example is the find of a subaerat denarius of emperor Hadrianus in the fill of feature 107/65 from the late Suebi settlement in Zlechov (Uherské Hradiště distr.), which was archaeologically dated through other finds from the fill to the course of the 4th c. AD (*Militký/Zeman 2007*, 184, 185). Historical counterfeits of this kind had the same function in the Germanic environment as in the territories of provinces. For certain, the goal was to deceive and cause financial harm to the coin's receiver. The function of such coins in the territory of *Barbaricum*, however, remains a question. We suppose that due to frequent damages to such coins revealing their core and leaving very little silver material on the surface, they could still have been used as money, however, having a value of some of the late antique bronze coins. Nevertheless, this is just a hypothesis, since the archaeological situations from the Late Roman barbarian settlements do not allow confirmation of such statements.

4. Historical context, or where other subaerat antoninians were discovered

The much more frequent occurrence of subaerat antoninians in the territory of the Roman provinces at the Middle Danube than in the territory of the central European *Barbaricum* leads us to the statement that these historical counterfeits originated in coiners' workshops in the territory of the Roman Empire. The subaerat antoninians with their models dated after 260 AD are very rare in the provincial environment. In the territory of

[3] AGLE III μProbe – energy-dispersive X-ray fluorescence spectrometer; anode: Rh (Rodium), high voltage: 40kV, Current: 20μA. X-ray diam.: 300μm (monocapillary), lenght of measurement: 100s, detector: semiconductive Si (Li) with active surface of 30 mm^2, resolution for 5,9 eV Mn Ka line (source Fe55): 142.7 eV F.W.H.M. by 1 kCPS, amplifier resolution: 17μs.

Slovakia, i.e. former barbarian territory, we have not recorded such young subaerats at all. This fact makes the new find from central Slovakia even more interesting.

The nearest analogy can be found in the find of Roman coins from the area of Brigetium (Komárom-Szőny), which was an important military point and a distribution centre of the Roman goods heading for the *Barbaricum* in the Roman Period (*Hečková 1982*, 26). A subaerat coin with the model of the emperor Gallienus's antoninianus from 266–267 AD with the emperor's head on the obverse bearing a radial crown and turned right was also discovered there. The coin's reverse depicts goddess Pax standing on the left, holding an olive branch and a transversely oriented long sceptre (Fig. 1: 2; after the numismatic catalogue *RIC V 2001*, 153, no. 253). The reverse of this coin is significantly similar to the find from the Pustý hrad Castle, although the depicted goddess cannot be identified with certainty. One more subaerat antoninianus made after the model from 265 AD was found among the finds from this site (*Lányi/Redő/Torbágyi 1999*, 236). There were also other finds of subaerat antoninians corresponding with the models by emperor Aurelianus (270–275 AD) and emperor Probus (276–282 AD). There were three exemplars of the first and two of the second (*Lányi/Redő/Torbágyi 1999*, 242, 243). Another such find of a subaerat coin minted after 260 AD comes from Esztergom (Komárom-Esztergom Comitatus), which was also a trade and production centre on the Roman-Quadi border zone called Solva by the Romans. There, a historical counterfeit of the emperor Aurelianus's antoninianus (270–275 AD) was found. It had no find context either and was only accidentally found in the catchment area of the former Roman camp (*Lányi/Redő/Torbágyi 1999*, 135, 242). Interestingly, no other analogies of such historical subaerat counterfeits of antoninianus were discovered in the border area of today's Hungary and Austria and all the above-mentioned finds are concentrated in the northern border area of the former province of Pannonia Inferior adjacent to the territory of the Quadi. A trade route started there along which Roman goods travelled northwards, to the barbarian territory (*Beljak 2014*, 298).

Several finds of subaerat Roman coins and other historical counterfeits come from the territory of western Slovakia. However, they only make up a small fragment of all finds of Roman coins in this territory. A subaerat denarius of Iulia Domna comes from Bohdanovce nad Trnavou, Trnava distr., a subaerat denarius of Septimus Severus was found in Borský Sv. Jur-Húšky, Senica distr., subaerat denarii of Traianus and Septimus Severus come from the Germanic settlement in Chotín-Horné Konopište, Komárno distr. (*Stoklas 2017*, 23). The most recent addition to this special collection of coins is a perforated subaerat denarius of emperor Hadrianus from Želiezovce, Levice distr. (*Bazovský/Budaj 2020*, 44).

Counterfeit Roman coins also come from the area of the Roman military camp in Iža- Leányvár (*Nemeškalová-Jiroudková 1972*). They were coins of the crew's soldiers or coins from their pay or the circulation on the opposite side of the Danube. They are represented by a silvered denarius of emperor Hadrianus, an unidentifiable subaerat denarius from the 1st–2nd c. AD and an unidentifiable subaerat antoninianus from the 3rd c. AD.

As far as the find of the antoninianus with the portrait of probably Philipp I (244–249 AD) from the Germanic settlement in Bohdanovce nad Trnavou, Trnava distr. and the antoninianus of Gordianus III (238–244 AD) from the settlement in Hurbanovo-Hurbanovský potok stream, Komárno distr. (*Stoklas 2017*, 23) are concerned, we cannot be positively sure if they are counterfeits. This could be suggested by their rare occurrence among the mints dated between 238 and 253 AD as well as much more frequent silver-plated subaerat coins.

DISCUSSION

Processing of the unique find of the subaerat from the Pustý hrad Castle in Zvolen has brought some new historical evidence. The most essential ones include the fact that it is an artefact that arrived at the site probably in the Late to Final Roman Period and is associated with the movement of the Germanic population in the territory of the Zvolenská kotlina basin in central Slovakia. According to the previously known archaeological sources, the Quadi settled this region more intensely as late as the beginning of the Late Roman Period (last decades of the 2nd c. AD), i.e. shortly after they had arrived at the lower Pohronie region (*Beljak 2009*, 215). The reasons behind the shift of the Germanic settlement to the mountain basins of central Slovakia could include the increase of population, development of the Germanic society in the favourable Severan period as well as interest in the exploitation of ore sources in this space. The furnace discovered at the site of Zvolen-Haputka (*Beljak 2009*; *Hanuliak/Malček/Pieta 2000*, 47, 48) located on the north-eastern foothill of the Pustý hrad Castle hill is evidence of metallurgic activity of the first Quadi generation in the central Pohronie region.

The presence of the Quadi population in the Late and Final Roman Period (3rd–4th c. AD) is documented mainly in form of pottery finds from the Zvolenská, Žiarska and Pliešovská basins (more information in *Beljak 2006*; *2018*, 36–40; *Beljak/Kučeráková 2015*; *Beljak/Malček 2009*; *Pieta/Mosný 1990*). The region of Horehronie located further to the north, which remained unsettled after the extinction of the Púchov culture at the beginning of the 1st c., is occupied by the Germanic people/Quadi as late as the Final Roman Period. Traces of their material culture are documented mainly in the Ľupčianska kotlina basin (*Mosný 1998*).

As for finds of Roman coins in this region, two bronze coins of Roman emperors Constantius I and Constantius Gallus discovered in the northern part of the Zvolenská kotlina basin, in the allotment's colony under Suchý vrch hill in Banská Bystrica (*Mácelová 1992*) were detected as stray finds.

The settlement at upland sites in the mountainous areas in the central and upper Pohronie region is a phenomenon of the Late Roman Period and the beginning of the Great Migration Period. It is not a permanent settlement; it is often only sporadic use of elevated protective sites. Finds occur at new upland sites (Nemce-Hrádok, Jastrabá-Jastrabá skala, etc.) as well as former hillforts of the Púchov culture (Detva-Kalamárka, Horné Pršany-Veľký hrádok, Hrochoť-Chochulka, Hrochoť-Jánošíkova skala, Selce-Hrádok, Šášovské Podhradie-Šášov Castle, etc.), which might be the case of the Pustý hrad Castle hill. It is an expression of the unsteady situation at the turn of the 4th and 5th c. AD (*Fusek/Zábojník 2003*, 324). It is also important, that trade contacts with Pannonia were not interrupted in that period. The pottery production of Roman provinces is represented at the sites by the Pannonian coarse grey pottery in form of storage vessels and bowls (*Beljak 2014*). The fragment of a glass cup with a fused fibre from Detva-Kalamárka (*Šalkovský 2002*, fig. 61: 5) which can be dated from the last third of the 4th c. to the first decades of the 5th c. AD is also considered an import. The coin found at the Pustý hrad Castle was a Roman coin commonly used in the payment system in the barbarian environment.

Finally, one more interesting fact should be mentioned in the end of the discussion. The find of a historical counterfeit of a Roman coin discovered at the Pustý hrad Castle in Zvolen is not the only find of Roman money in the territory of a medieval castle in Slovakia. A historical counterfeit denarius of Septimus Severus with tinned surface was discovered during the archaeological excavation at the Devín Castle in 1973, in one of the medieval economic buildings located in the central part of the castle (*Stoklas 2017*, 23, 24; *2018*, 47).

CONCLUSION

This article aimed to draw attention to and analyse a unique find of a Roman coin – a historical counterfeit of an antoninianus of emperor Gallienus, which was most probably minted in the last decades of the 3rd c. AD. It was a rather unexpected find discovered with a metal detector in the mixed cultural layer of the bailey near the main entrance gate to the Pustý hrad Castle in Zvolen. When trench 1A/2018 located near the interior face of the southern line of the medieval curtain wall at the Upper castle was being excavated, a badly preserved corroded round plate was found. After it had been cleaned and conserved, it was identified as a Roman coin.

The thorough analysis of the artefact points to the fact that it is a historical counterfeit that arrived at the site in the Late or Final Roman Period. Although historical counterfeits are rather frequent in the territories of former Roman provinces, their numbers among finds from the Middle Danube *Barbaricum* are significantly lower. The artefact was probably associated with the settlement of the Germanic tribe of Quadi in the territory of the Zvolenská kotlina basin. We consider it a Roman coin and also evidence of the activity of contemporary counterfeiters who joined the copper core with silver foil by striking a hammer against a punch after putting the foil on the disc. The find which could have been used in common trade cannot be associated with any specific activity at the site so far, as the protohistoric settlement is very scarce there. On the other hand, we have pointed to the intense settlement activity of the Quadi/Suebi in the Zvolenská kotlina basin and the surrounding areas of central Slovakia. Therefore, it was just a question of time when traces of this historical period would be identified at the upland site of the Pustý hrad Castle in Zvolen. The find of the historical counterfeit of an antoninianus helped us fill this period.

The fact that counterfeit coins are not unknown at the Pustý hrad Castle in Zvolen is also interesting. The seat has a long counterfeiting tradition since fake coins were minted right at the royal castle at the turn of the 13th and 14th c. (*Hanuliak/Hunka 2000*). A postmedieval clay mould for counterfeit coins – 15 Kreutzer of emperor Leopold I from the second half of the 17th c. – comes from the castle as well (*Hunka/Beljak Pažinová/Beljak 2021*).

The find of the historical counterfeit of an antoninianus of emperor Gallienus from the Pustý hrad Castle in Zvolen is a unique numismatic find not only from a medieval castle in central Slovakia but also from the whole territory of Slovakia since we do not know any similar artefact of a young subaerat antoninianus from the environment of the Transdanubian *Barbaricum*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bazovský/Budaj 2020 – I. Bazovský/M. Budaj: Rímske mince z germánskeho sídliska v Želiezovciach (okr. Levice). *Denarius. Numizmatický časopis* 8, 2020, 36–55.

Beljak 2006 – J. Beljak: Púchovská kultúra a Germáni na Pohroní v staršej dobe rímskej. In: E. Droberjar/M. Lutovský (eds.): *Archeologie barbarů 2005. Sborník příspěvků z I. protohistorické konference "Pozdně keltské, germánské a časně slovanské osídlení." Kounice, 20.–22. září 2005*. Praha 2006, 257–272.

Beljak 2009 – J. Beljak: Osídlenie vo Zvolene v dobe rímskej na príklade osád Haputka a Balkán. In: M. Karwowski/E. Droberjar (eds.): *Archeologia Barbarzyńców 2008: powiązania i kontakty w świecie barbarzyńskim. Materiały z IV Protohistorycznej Konferencji Sanok, 13–17 października 2008*. Collectio archaeologica Ressoviensis 13. Rzeszów 2009, 211–228.

Beljak 2014 – J. Beljak: Die quadische Enklave im Gran- und Eipeltal – Eine Grundcharakteristik der Ansiedlung. In: B. Komoróczy (ed.): *Archeologie barbarů 2011. Sociální diferenciace barbarských komunit ve světle nových hrobových, sídlištních a sběrových nálezů*. Spisy Archeologického ústavu AV ČR Brno 44. Brno 2014, 295–316.

Beljak 2018 – J. Beljak: Osídlenie Zvolenskej kotliny vo včasnej dobe dejinnej. In: N. Beljak Pažinová/Z. Borzová (eds.): *Stredné Slovensko v stredoveku. Vývoj osídlenia regiónu pred udelením mestských privilégií mestu Zvolen*. Zvolen 2018, 34–47.

Beljak/Beljak Pažinová 2018 – J. Beljak/N. Beljak Pažinová: Výskum a obnova Pustého hradu vo Zvolene. In: N. Beljak Pažinová/Z. Borzová (eds.): *Stredné Slovensko v stredoveku. Vývoj osídlenia regiónu pred udelením mestských privilégií mestu Zvolen*. Zvolen 2018, 212–235.

Beljak/Beljak Pažinová/Šimkovic 2018 – J. Beljak/N. Beljak Pažinová/M. Šimkovic: *Pustý hrad vo Zvolene a hrad Peťuša vo svetle aktuálnych výskumov*. Zvolen 2018.

Beljak et al. 2014 – J. Beljak/N. Beljak Pažinová/B. Beláček/M. Golis/J. Hunka/A. Krištín/V. Kohút/P. Maliniak/M. Mordovin/M. S. Przybyła/D. Repka/M. Slámová/M. Šimkovic/B. Tóth/O. Žaár: *Pustý hrad vo Zvolene, Dolný hrad 2009–2014*. Nitra 2014.

Beljak/Kučeráková 2015 – J. Beljak/K. Kučeráková: Vývoj osídlenia na strednom Pohroní od doby laténskej do včasného stredoveku. *Študijné zvesti AÚ SAV* 57, 2015, 7–56.

Beljak/Malček 2009 – J. Beljak/R. Malček: Nálezy z Vígľaša-Pstruše. *AVANS 2007*, 2009, 31, 32.

Beljak/Putško/Beljak Pažinová, in press – J. Beljak/M. Putško/N. Beljak Pažinová: Unusual find of newborn skeletal remains from the Late Bronze Age settlement at Pustý hrad (Deserted castle) in Zvolen (Central Slovakia). In: J. Gancarski (red.): *Epoka brązu i wczesna epoka żelaza w Karpatach*, in press.

Beljak Pažinová/Beljak 2020 – N. Beljak Pažinová/J. Beljak: Benefits of the long-term research of the Pustý hrad castle (Deserted castle) in Zvolen and its prospects for the future. *Archaeologia historica* 45, 2020, 941–956. DOI: https://doi.org/10.5817/AH2020-2-20

Beljak Pažinová/Niklová/Beljak 2015 – N. Beljak Pažinová/M. Niklová/J. Beljak: Deserted castle – Lower castle in Zvolen in the context of the Baden Culture settlement in Middle Gran region. In: M. Nowak/A. Zastawny (eds.): *Via Archaeologica. Źródła z badań wykopaliskowych na trasie autostrady A4 w Małopolsce. The Baden culture around the Western Carpathians*. Kraków 2015, 395–411.

Fusek/Zábojník 2003 – G. Fusek/J. Zábojník: Príspevok do diskusie o počiatkoch slovanského osídlenia Slovenska. *Slovenská archeológia* 51, 2003, 319–337.

Hanuliak/Hunka 2000 – V. Hanuliak/J. Hunka: Poklad mincí z Pustého hradu pri Zvolene. *Archaeologia historica* 25, 2000, 359–367.

Hanuliak/Malček/Pieta 2000 – V. Hanuliak/R. Malček/K. Pieta: Záchranný výskum vo Zvolene. *AVANS 1999*, 2000, 47–49.

Hečková 1982 – J. Hečková: Podiel výrobných centier rímskych provincií na spoločensko-ekonomickom vývoji naddunajského barbarika vo svetle rímskych importov. *Slovenská archeológia* 30, 1982, 5–77.

Hunka 2013 – J. Hunka: *Mince Arpádovcov z rokov 1000–1301. Ich podiel na vývoji hospodárstva stredovekého Slovenska*. Archaeologica Slovaca Monographiae. Studia 15. Nitra 2013.

Hunka/Beljak Pažinová/Beljak 2021 – †J. Hunka/N. Beljak Pažinová/J. Beljak: Hlinená forma na odlievanie falošných mincí z Pustého hradu vo Zvolene. *Studia Historica Nitriensia* 25, 2021, 85–97. DOI: https://doi.org/10.17846/SHN.2021.25.1.153-165

Kolníková 1978 – E. Kolníková: *Keltské mince na Slovensku*. Dávnoveké umenie Slovenska 2. Bratislava 1978.

Lányi/Redő/Torbágyi 1999 – V. Lányi/R. Redő/M. Torbágyi: *Die Fundmünzen der römischen Zeit in Ungarn. Band III. Komitat Komárom-Esztergom*. Berlin – Budapest 1999.

Mácelová 1992 – M. Mácelová: Nález rímskych mincí v Banskej Bystrici. *AVANS 1990*, 1992, 72.

Militký/Zeman 2007 – J. Militký/T. Zeman: Nálezy římských mincí na sídlišti ze sklonku doby římské a počátku doby stěhování národů ve Zlechově (okr. Uherské Hradiště). *Numismatický sborník* 22, 2007, 183–187.

Mosný 1998 – P. Mosný: Výsledky prieskumu v Ľupčianskej doline. *AVANS 1996*, 1998, 120.

Nemeškalová-Jiroudková 1972 – Z. Nemeškalová-Jiroudková: Oběh mincí v oblasti římskeho kastelu v Iži na Leányváru. *Slovenská numizmatika* 2, 1972, 115–131.

Pažinová et al. 2013 – N. Pažinová/J. Beljak/M. Slámová/B. Beláček: Stredoveká cestná sieť v okolí zvolenského Pustého hradu. Analýza na základe antropogénnych reliéfnych foriem. *Študijné zvesti AÚ SAV* 54, 2013, 153–170.

Peter 1990 – M. Peter: *Eine Werkstätte zur Herstellung von subaeraten Denaren in Augusta Raurica*. Studien zu Fundmünzen der Antike. Band 7. Berlin – Mann 1990.

Pieta/Mosný 1990 – K. Pieta/P. Mosný: Prieskum sídlisk z doby rímskej na strednom Pohroní. *AVANS 1988*, 1990, 139, 140.

Pliny the Elder – G. Plinius Starší: Kapitoly o přírodě. Praha 1974.

RIC V 2001 – H. P. Mattingly/A. E. Sydenham/H. P. Webb: *The Roman Imperial Coinage. Volume 5, Part 1. Valerian I to Florian*. Reprinted. Stroud 2001.

Šalkovský 2002 – P. Šalkovský: Výšinné hradisko v Detve – protohistorické osídlenie. *Slovenská archeológia* 50, 2002, 100–124.

Šimkovic/Beljak/Maliniak 2011 – M. Šimkovic/J. Beljak/P. Maliniak: *Zvolenský Pustý hrad. Sprievodca po hrade*. Zvolen 2011.

Stoklas 2017 – B. Stoklas: Napodobneniny a falzá rímskych mincí v oblasti stredodunajského barbarika z 1.–3. storočia po Kr. *Numizmatika* 27, 2017, 19–26.

Stoklas 2018 – B. Stoklas: Nálezy mincí z doby rímskej v katastrálnom území Bratislava-Devín od počiatkov archeologických výskumov po súčasnosť. *Denarius. Numizmatický časopis* 7, 2018, 35–51.

Stoklas/Hrabovský 2019 – B. Stoklas/M. Hrabovský: Staré rímske razby mincí z oblasti stredodunajského barbarika v neskoroantickom období. *Numismatický sborník* 33, 2019, 123–138.

Tacitus – P. C. Tacitus: *Tacitova Germania, čili, Kniha o poloze, mravech a národech Germanie*. Praha 1886.

Vondrovec 2007 – K. Vondrovec: Gesamtdarstellung und Auswertung des antiken Fundmünzmaterials im Museum Carnuntinum. In: M. Alram/F. Schmidt-Dick (Hrsg.): *Numismata Carnuntina. Forschungen und Material*. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Denkschriften, 353. Band. Die Fundmünzen der römischen Zeit in Österreich. Abteilung III. Niederösterreich. Band 2. Die antiken Fundmünzen im Museum Carnuntinum. Wien 2007, 55–340.

Manuscript accepted 5. 10. 2021

Translated by Viera Tejbusová

PhDr. Ján Beljak, PhD.
Archeologický ústav SAV
Akademická 2
SK – 949 21 Nitra
jan.beljak@savba.sk

prof. PhDr. Noémi Beljak Pažinová, PhD.
Univerzita Konštantína Filozofa v Nitre
Tr. A. Hlinku 1
SK – 949 74 Nitra
nbpazinova@ukf.sk

Mgr. Boris Stoklas, PhD.
SNM – Historické múzeum
Oddelenie numizmatiky
Bratislavský hrad
P. O. BOX 13
SK – 810 06 Bratislava
boris.stoklas@snm.sk

SLOVENSKÁ ARCHEOLÓGIA – SUPPLEMENTUM 2
Z. Robak/M. Ruttkay (eds.): Celts – Germans – Slavs.
A Tribute Anthology to Karol Pieta. Nitra 2021, 261–280.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.31577/slovarch.2021.suppl.2.24

A ROMAN PERIOD SUNKEN HOUSE FROM BELADICE[1]

JAROSLAVA RUTTKAYOVÁ – MATEJ RUTTKAY

The present study discusses the inventory of finds from a sunken house that decayed in the last third of the 3rd c. or the first half of the 4th c. The feature was investigated in 2010. The backfill layers contain a relatively large number of archaeological finds – pottery, glass, bronze, iron, bone and antler artefacts. Specifically, the collection of finds includes a coin, bone and bronze needles, spindle whorls, an amulet, iron knives, nails and fragments of tools. The analysis of pottery shows that the majority of ceramics were used for dining purposes while larger vessels – storage containers – are rare. Only a minor part of the pottery finds from the feature are Roman imports. Special attention is paid to the iron amulet box and the fragment of a clay vessel with a rooster-like (or hen-like) spout. The research together with other surveys in the Upper Žitava region corroborates the view that – contrary to previous beliefs – the region was densely settled from the end of the 2nd c. to the 5th c.

Keywords: Western Slovakia, *Barbaricum*, Late Roman Period, sunken house, Germanic and Roman finds.

A significant part of Karol Pieta's research interests was focused on the study of the Roman Period and the Migration Period. Together, almost forty years ago, we researched an important settlement dated back to the 3rd – 5th c. in Nitra-Párovské Háje (*Pieta/Ruttkay 1997*). In 2009 and 2010, in turn, together with our colleagues, we had an opportunity to investigate a similar settlement in Beladice in the Upper Žitava Region. Out of respect for Karol Pieta, we would like to present one of the features discovered in this interesting settlement complex.

In 2009 and 2010, rescue excavations took place along planned R1 expressway Nitra – Selenec – Beladice – Tekovské Nemce (Fig. 1). One of the most significant archaeological discoveries was made on a spot of 'Beladice junction', a site known since 1990 (*Ruttkay/Ruttkayová 1992*, 92). During the excavations, a part of the extensive, polyculture site endangered by the construction works was explored. A significant fragment of the explored area was covered by a settlement from the Roman and Migration Periods. Based on preliminary analysis, the settlement included 88 features – 10 sunken houses, 12 deep storage pits, 6 free-standing furnaces (including a pottery kiln) and unspecified pits and free-standing postholes (*Ruttkay et al. 2015*). Among other things, the excavations provided a remarkable collection of finds from the Roman and Migration Periods (Fig. 2). Still, however, it remains uncertain whether the settlement was used continuously during these periods.

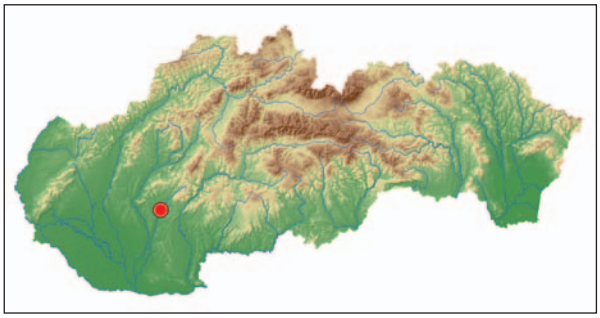


Fig. 1. Beladice. Localization on the map of the Slovak Republic.

The site is located on the left bank – facing south – of the Bocegaj creek in Dolina, partly in the floodplain. The micro-region abounds in archaeological sites (*Bednár/Ruttkay 1991*; *Ruttkayová/Ruttkay 2015*). Traces of prehistoric and early historic settlement can be found mainly on the opposite bank of the valley. Thus, it seems likely that in the Roman and Migration Periods both banks of the creek were inhabited.

The research in 2009 and 2010 was hampered by complex climatic, particularly pedologic, conditions on the site. Yellow-brown clayish layers

[1] This work was supported by the Slovak Research and Development Agency under the Contract no. APVV-19-0563 and by VEGA project no. 2/0124/20.

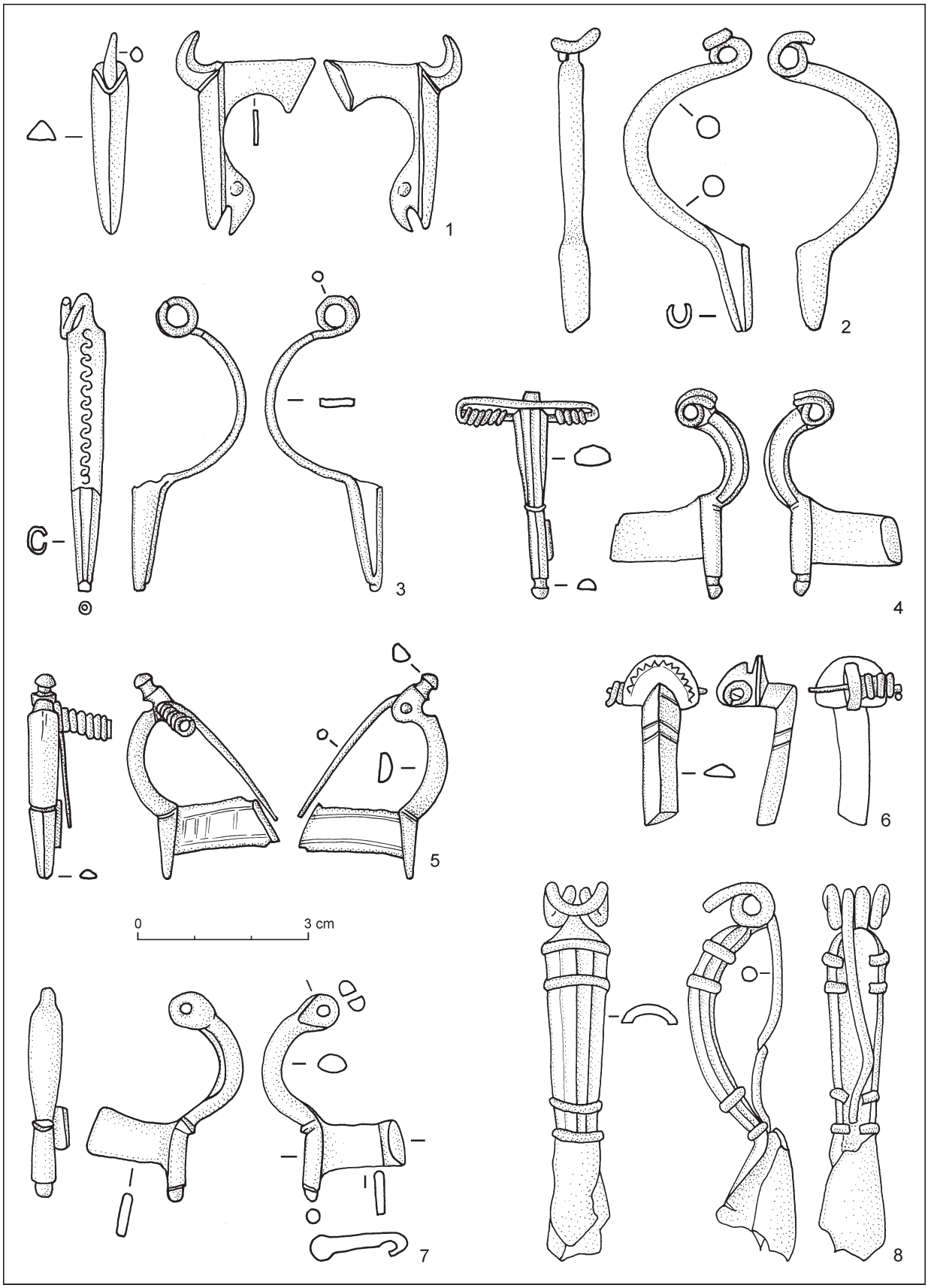


Fig. 2. Beladice. Selection of finds from different features from the site.

Fig. 3. Beladice. Plan of the eastern part of the site.

alternate here with a black-brown layer, mainly in the eastern part of the site. Apparently, in this (eastern) part of the site, there were no features. Since the layer below the topsoil contained finds, it was clear that the layer is not a subsoil. Thus, despite that the layer was on the limit of the construction works depth, we decided to explore the site using a network of trenches. As a result, we were able to identify numerous, originally 'invisible' features. Due to a considerable number of tangibles, feature no. 175 holds a special place among the discoveries (Fig. 3). The feature was captured thanks to trenches no. 110 and 111.

DESCRIPTION OF FEATURE NO. 175

A rectangular sunken house with slightly rounded corners (Fig. 4). Dims.: 420 × 480 cm, depth measured from the discovery level 82–102 cm. The longer side is oriented along the NE–SW axis. On the flat bottom, we found 7 postholes: one in the middle of each of the shorter walls and two by each of the longer walls. The posts had diameters of 18–22 cm while the postholes were 38–62 cm wide. The postholes bottoms were captured at 42–62 cm below the floor level. The floor/bottom was made of smeared clay. In the western part, there was a red-burnt oval surface. On the eastern side, in turn, between a couple of postholes, there was an arched protrusion.

Finds were discovered at various levels of the backfill – i.e. slightly moved compared to the original position. In many cases, it was possible to match pottery shards from the upper layers with those from the bottom. Most likely, the finds reflect the activities of the settlement inhabitants around the feature during the Roman Period.

Finds

Bone and antler

1. Fragments of deer (?) antlers (inv. no. 029454_DP_2143a). Dims.: L. 7.61 cm (Fig. 5: 6).
2. Fragments of animal bone? (inv. no. 029454_DP_2143b). Dims.: L. 10.1 cm (Fig. 5: 7).
3. Fragments of a deer (?) antler (inv. no. 029454_DP_2884). Dims.: L. 8.4 cm (Fig. 5: 5).
4. A bone stick-shaped needle (inv. no. 029454_DP_2440), the needle butt is slightly widened and flattened. The item is circular in inter-section and has a pointed tip. Dims.: L. 10 cm (Fig. 6: 16).
5. A bone comb (inv. no. 029454_DP_2442), fragments of semi-circular plates of a three-layer, multi-part comb.

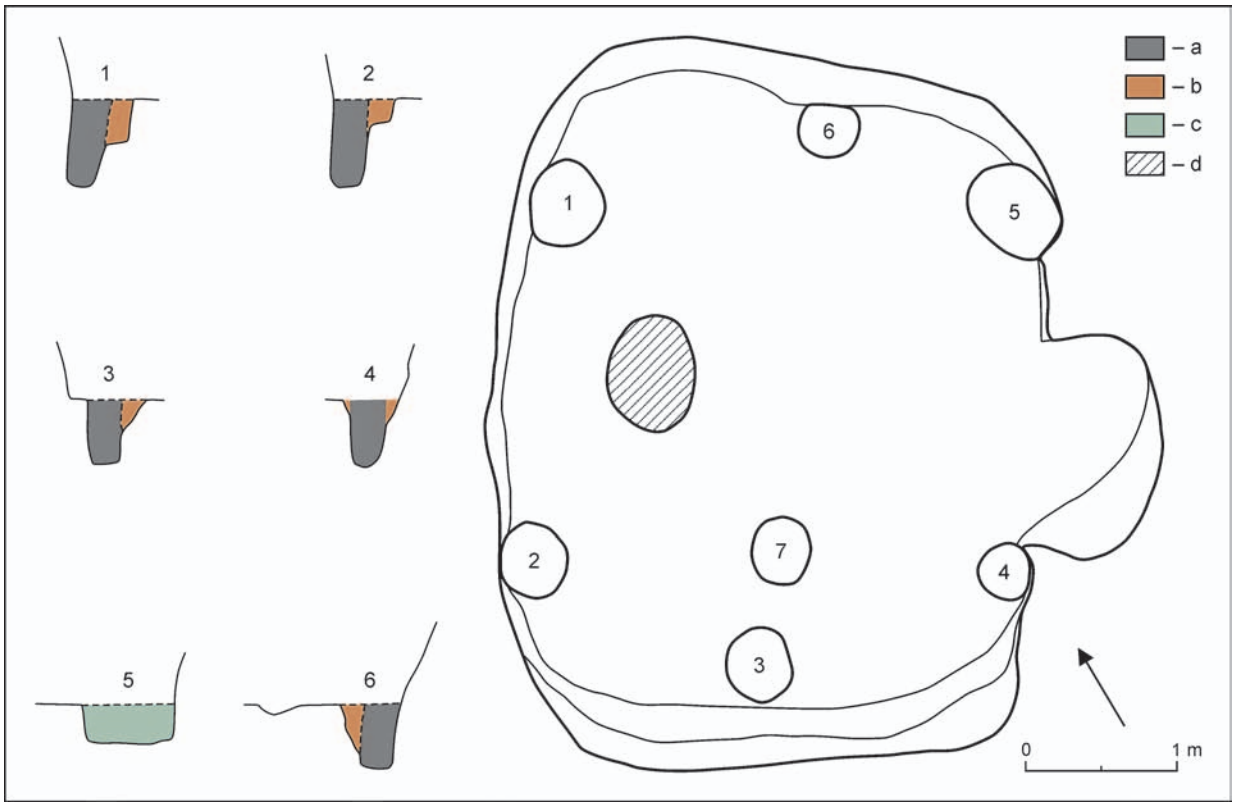


Fig. 4. Beladice. Feature no. 175. Legend: a – traces of the original post (grey); b – original post-hole (brown); c – not clear situation, possibly damaged by rodents; d – burned area.

The outer plate is decorated with concentric circles arranged in the shape of the X-letter (analogy Stráže: *Zeman 2001*, fig. 4: 19). In the middle plate, there was a preserved iron rivet. Dims.: L. 8.5 cm, mass 6.369 g; L. 7.5 cm, mass 7.385 g (Fig. 6: 7).

Metal

6. A coin, antoninianus – Salonina (253–268), Galenius' wife (inv. no. 029454_DP_1882). Obverse: bust of the Empress with a tiara and a typical contemporary hairstyle, SALONINA AVG. Reverse: female silhouette (Juno?) holding, probably, a bowl in her left hand and a sceptre or a cornucopia in the right hand, inscription: IVNO… AVG. Dims.: D. 2.1 cm, mass 3.056 g, composition: Sn 3.509, Ag 27.851, Pb 1.814, Cu 65.876 (Fig. 6: 6).
7. A bronze fitting (inv. no. 029454_DP_1897) with a hanging ring and a profiled body formed as a profiled knot. Composition: considerable addition of main elements – Sn 11.075, Pb 16.053, Zn 4.656, Cu 65.603. Dims.: L. 3.5 cm, mass 3.005 g (Fig. 6: 4).
8. A silver conical clamp (inv. no. 029454_DP_1900) made of a gilded silver plate twisted into the shape of a cone. Its narrower side is attached to (inserted into?) a profiled ring. Composition: a considerable addition of main elements – Sn 10.072, Ag 51.364, Au 32.253, Cu 3.229. Dims.: L. 2.3 cm, mass 1.783 g (Fig. 6: 1).
9. A bronze needle (inv. no. 029454_DP_1898), circular in inter-section and slightly arched. One tip is narrowed and pointed while the other is thicker, rounded and has a narrow oval opening. Composition: considerable addition of main elements – Sn 27.922, Ag 0.406, Pb 0.661, Au 0.198, Zn 0.428, Cu 68.855. Dims.: L. 6 cm, mass 0.908 g (Fig. 6: 15).
10. A bronze (?) wire (inv. no. 029454_DP_1902a) thin and circular in inter-section, deformed. One end of the wire was hooked. Composition: considerable addition of main elements – Sn 2.036, Ag 0.113, Pb 0.733, Au 1.080, Zn 1.048, Cu 91.127. Dims.: L. 4.7 cm, mass 0.264 (Fig. 6: 2).
11. A fragment of a bronze item (inv. no. 029454_DP_1901) is an arched small rod, circular in inter-section with a bold tip (?). Dims.: L. 3.2 cm, mass 3.816 g.
12. A bronze plate (inv. no. 029454_DP_2439). A buckle fastening plate, thin rectangular plate bent in the middle and joint with two bronze rivets. Composition: considerable addition of main elements – Sn 12.669, Ag 0.334, Pb 2.661, Zn 8.146, Cu 70.800. Dims.: 2.3 × 1.7 cm, mass 3.356 g (Fig. 6: 3).
13. A fragment of a bronze/copper plate (inv. no. 029454_DP_2452), thin rectangular plate (from a vessel?) covered with green patina. Composition: considerable addition of main elements – Sn 0.013, Ag 0.064, Pb 0.588, Zn 0.137, Cu 98.095. Dims.: 5 × 1.7 cm, mass 3.475 g (Fig. 6: 8).
14. An iron container, amulet box (inv. no. 029454_DP_1883). The cylindrical container is closed with a lid firmly attached to the container (due to corrosion?). In the middle of the lid, there is an arched ring made of

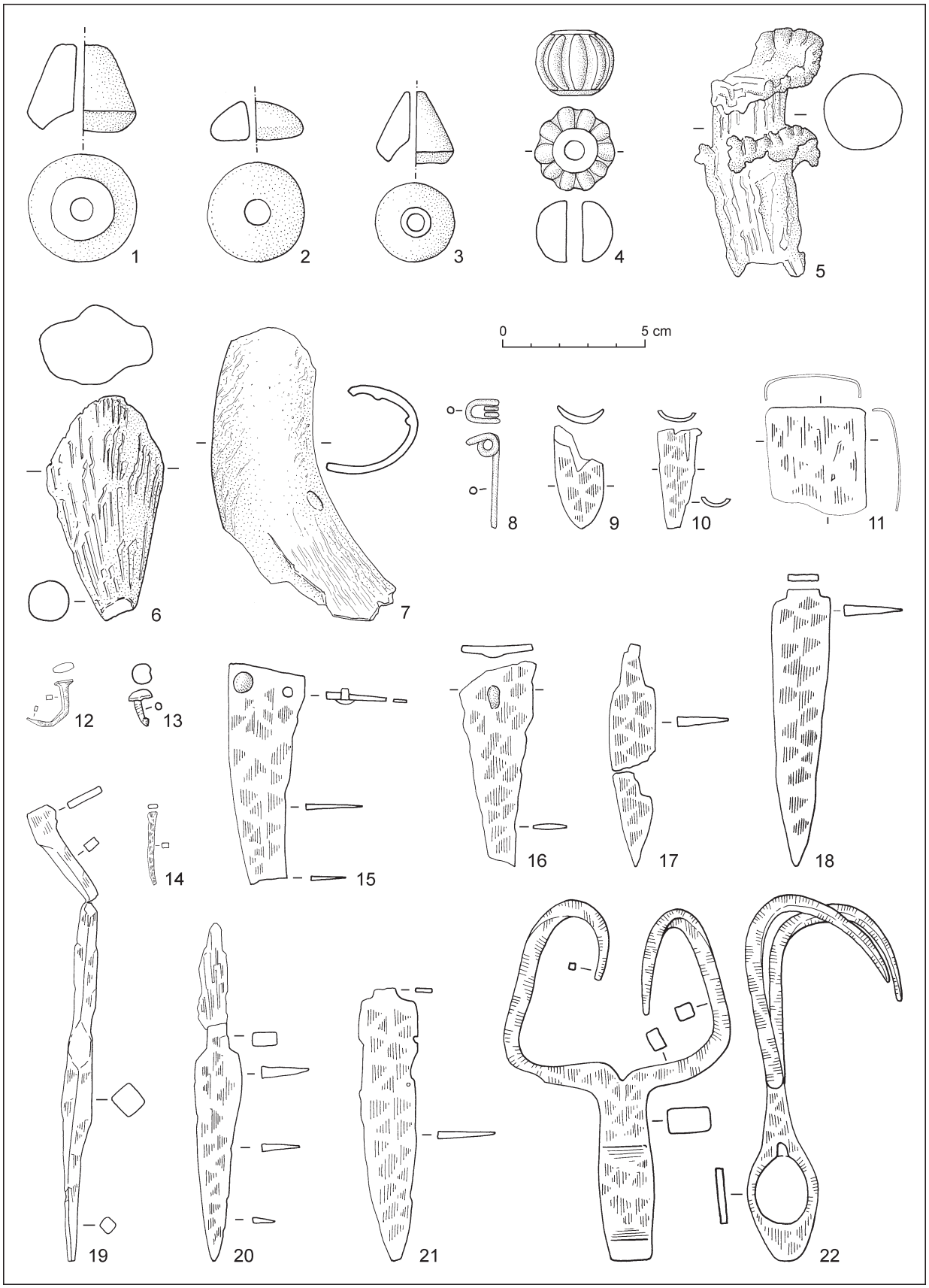


Fig. 5. Beladice. Feature no. 175. Selection of finds. 1–4 – ceramics; 5–7 – antlers/bone; 8–22 – iron.

Fig. 6. Beladice. Feature no. 175. Selection of finds.

Fig. 7 Beladice. Feature no. 175. Amulet box.

bronze wire used for hanging and locking (?) the item. Dims.: H. 2.6 cm, diam. 3–3.3 cm (Fig. 7).

15. An iron 'fork' (inv. no. 029454_DP_2045) with a clamp fastening the tool to a wooden handle. Its flat side splits into two (probably not secondarily) bent teeth. Dims.: L. 13 cm (Fig. 5: 22).
16. An iron tool (inv. no. 029454_DP_1926). A surgical (?) tool, rectangular in inter-section with a split-tip and a square thorn. Dims.: L. 15.8 cm, mass 29.517 g (Fig. 5: 19).
17. A fragment of an iron brooch (inv. no. 029454_DP_2449) with a quadruple winding, upper bow and a fragment of a pin. Dims.: L. 3.2 cm, mass 1.981 g (Fig. 5: 8).
18. A fragment of an iron wire/nail (inv. no. 029454_DP_1902b) a small rod rectangular in inter-section. Dims.: L. 1.8 cm, mass 0.34 g.
19. An iron nail (inv. no. 029454_DP_1903) with a flat, shield-like head and a thorn circular in inter-section. Dims.: L. 5.9 cm, mass 4.272 g.
20. An iron nail (inv. no. 029454_DP_1906b) wider in the upper part and a thorn rectangular in inter-section. Dims.: L. 4 cm, mass 4.93 g.
21. An iron nail (inv. no. 029454_DP_1907) with a flat square head and a thorn square in inter-section. Dims.: L. 4.9 cm, mass 5.133 g.
22. An iron nail (inv. no. 029454_DP_1911a) with a flat narrow rectangular head and a thorn square in inter-section. Dims.: L. 5 cm, mass 4.75 g (Fig. 5: 12).
23. An iron item – sickle? (inv. no. 029454_DP_1905), a slightly bent (sickle-like) plate with an iron rivet and an opening for another rivet on one end. Dims.: L. 7.1 cm, mass 17.036 g (Fig. 5: 15).
24. An iron item (inv. no. 029454_DP_1906a), a triangle plate with an opening for a rivet. Dims.: L. 7.1 cm, mass 15.47 g.
25. A fragment of an iron drill tip (inv. no. 029454_DP_1911b). Dims.: L. 3.6 cm, mass 6.737 g (Fig. 5: 9).
26. An iron rivet/nail? (inv. no. 029454_DP_2450) with a shield-like head and a short thorn bent at the end. Dims.: L. 1.3 cm, mass 0.762 g (Fig. 5: 13).
27. An iron nail (inv. no. 029454_DP_2451) is a small rod, rectangular in inter-section. Dims.: L. 5.1 cm, mass 4.251 g (Fig. 5: 14).
28. An iron item (inv. no. 029454_DP_2393), a square plate fitting with bent edges and a small round opening. Dims.: 3.8 × 3.5 cm, mass 6.429 g (Fig. 5: 11).
29. An iron knife (inv. no. 029454_DP_1908), a flat tang with a fragment of a wooden handle. Dims.: L. 11.2 cm, mass 13.985 g (Fig. 5: 20).
30. An iron knife (inv. no. 029454_DP_1909), a fragment of a flat tang. Dims.: L. 9.7 cm, mass 18.160 g (Fig. 5: 18).
31. An iron tool (inv. no. 029454_DP_1910), a fragment of a blade with a tip. Dims.: L. 3.4 cm (Fig. 5: 10).
32. An iron knife (inv. no. 029454_DP_1927), a blade. Dims.: L. 9.1 cm, mass 13.486 g (Fig. 5: 21).
33. An iron knife (inv. no. 029454_DP_2453) with a bent spine and a flat tang. Dims.: L. 7 cm, mass 7.736 g (Fig. 5: 17).
34. An iron lump (inv. no. 029454_DP_2446). Dims.: 1.6 × 1 cm, mass 3.690 g.

Glass

35. A fragment of a glass vessel (inv. no. 029454_DP_1881), thin, transparent glass with light-green or blueish reflexes, irregular. Its outer side is decorated with arched glass threads (rivets). Dims.: 3 × 2.1 cm, mass 2.147 g (Fig. 6: 9).
36. A fragment of a glass vessel (inv. no. 029454_DP_1913), thicker, transparent (colourless) triangle piece of glass. On the front, decorated with plastic trim. Dims.: 3.7 × 1.2 cm, mass 2.585 g (Fig. 6: 10).
37. A fragment of a dark blue bracelet (inv. no. 029454_DP_1914), type 13 according to Venclová (*Březinová 2018*, 55, fig. 3: 13). A fragment of a ring with two central ribs decorated with a white zigzag line. Dims.: L. 2.2 cm, W. 0.8 cm, mass 1.557 g (Fig. 6: 13).
38. A fragment of the rim of the bottom of the glass vessel (inv. no. 029454_DP_1915). A ring-like bolded bottom of a glass. Type? Thicker transparent glass of greenish

colour and bent. Dims.: L. 3 cm, W. 1 cm, mass 3.492 g (Fig. 6: 12).

39. A glass bead (inv. no. 029454_DP_1921), blue opaque glass, flat square shape with rounded corners. In the middle, there is an opening. Dims.: 2.2 × 1.4 × 0.7 cm, mass 3.236 g (Fig. 6: 11).

Pottery

40. A clay spindle whorl (inv. no. 029454_DP_1930), conical with longitudinal edges (facetted), black. Dims.: H. 2.8 cm, mass 38.430 g (Fig. 5: 1).
41. A clay spindle whorl (inv. no. 029454_DP_2443), spherical, decorated with vertical grooves, dark-grey. Dims.: H. 2.2 cm, mass 16.198 g (Fig. 5: 4).
42. A fragment of a clay spindle whorl (inv. no. 029454_DP_2444), conical, dark-grey (Lengyel culture?). Dims.: H. 2.5 cm, mass 6.420 g (Fig. 5: 2).
43. A fragment of a clay spindle whorl (inv. no. 029454_DP_2445): conical, dark-grey. Dims.: H. 1.5 cm, mass 5.769 g (Fig. 5: 3).
44. A fragment of clay vessel (inv. no. 029454_DP_1929), a rooster head (hollow) with a fragment of a comb preserved. Round indentations – eyes – and a fragment of a beak. Brick-colour. Dims.: H. 5 cm, W 4 cm (Pl. IV: 1).
45. A clay foot (inv. no. 029454_DP_1928), a vessel foot, full, cylindrical. Grey-brown colour. Dims.: H. 6.3 cm (Lengyel culture?).
46. A reconstructed vessel (Pl. I: 12).
47. A reconstructed vessel (Pl. I: 3).
48. *Terra sigillata*, 9 pcs (Pl. IV: 2, 4–10).
49. Pannonian brick-coloured pottery, 9 pcs (Pl. IV: 3).
50. Pannonian grey pottery, 7 pcs (Pl. IV: 11, 13).
51. Fine-grained grey pottery made with pottery wheel, 13 pcs (Pl. IV: 14).
52. Coarse grained light grey made with pottery wheel, 27 pcs.
53. Hand-made pottery, 893 pcs (Pl. I–III).

Other

53. A stone chip (inv. no. 029454_DP_2441), a narrow white blade made of flint? Dims.: L. 3.6 cm, mass 1.492 g.
54. Resin (inv. no. 029454_DP_2457), a small lump and irregular pieces of black (charred) resin. Dims.: 1.2 × 0.9 cm, mass 0.366 g, 0.66 g, 0.013 g (Fig. 6: 14).

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

The sunken house represents type III according to *T. Kolník* (*1998*, 145) or type C1 according to *A. Leube* (*2009*, 147, 148, fig. 99) or type B2 according to *E. Drobejar* (*1997*, 22, 23) – a very popular type in the region spanning from the Spree in eastern Germany to eastern Slovakia (*Varsik 2011*, 28). The type of feature is the most typical Roman construction in the Germanic milieu in southwestern Slovakia. Typically, a tongue-shaped protrusion/niche in the south-eastern wall is interpreted as an entrance (*Kolník 1998*, 145). However, it cannot be ruled out that the space where a heating device stood. The latter hypothesis is corroborated by numerous excavations (e.g. Nitra-Párovské Háje) which revealed that exactly on this spot ash accumulated, often in a shallow basin-like recess. An additional post in the feature axis could indicate that the dwelling was reconstructed or that its interior was divided. Similar arrangements are known from other sites (Nitra-Párovské Háje, Branč: *Kolník/Varsik/Vladár 2007*, fig. 7). Also, in many cases, posts were more densely arranged along the longer middle axis or in the middle of the feature. In the latter case, the post could have been added due to the construction being unstable.

With an internal area of 20.1 m^2, the feature belongs to those larger in the Germanic milieu. On the site, there were other sunken houses with areas ranging from 12.5 to 26.2 m^2. In sites around Bratislava from 4.5 to 25.5 m^2 (*Varsik 2011*, 30). The house floor was repeatedly smeared with a clayish layer, often unevenly. There was a relatively large number of small (diam. 3–7 cm) pointed holes in the floor. Similar holes are common also on other sites. However, their function is still not satisfactorily explained. The arrangement of the holes provides no clues as to their function. It seems possible that the holes are remains of activities requiring fixing some tools to the floor (yarn spinning?). On the other hand, the holes could drain water from the floor.

The postholes were placed close to the sunken house walls. In the profiles, we were able to identify an original counter of a post (Fig. 4). The posts were flat on the bottom or slightly rounded and their diam. was between 18 and 24 cm. The only exception is posthole no. 3 with a diam. of 62 cm. However, the original contour of the post was not captured. A preliminary analysis of coals indicates that the feature was built of oak.

A heavily charred oval area indicates that there was a fireplace there. Since the floor itself was not charred, it seems unlikely that the house was burnt. On the other side, it is unlikely that there was an open fire in the house without any cover. Indeed, in similar features, portable heating devices were used (*Kolník/Varsik/Vladár 2007*, 19).

We have no evidence of whether the walls had log or wattle and daub construction. An analogy from Nitra-Párovské Háje corroborates the latter hypothesis. The light could enter the interior through 'sliding windows' in underground parts of the walls.

The most interesting find among bone and antler items is the fragment of the three-layer comb with a semi-circular hand and iron rivets (Fig. 6: 7). Combs are relatively common finds in Germanic graves but appear also in settlements. Due to their chronological sensitivity and aesthetic appeal,

combs belong to the most important bone and antler products. According to T. Zeman, the comb from Beladice belongs to the largest group of three-layer multi-part combs with semi-circular hands with the toothed middle part fixed by outer plates (Thomas, type I). In this group, decorated specimens are considered younger (*Thomas 1960*, fig. 27–30; *Zeman 2001*, 113, 114). The combs appeared from the 3rd c. to the mid-4th c. and only exceptionally in the 5th c. (*Kolník 1961*, 253, 254; *Lamiová-Schmiedlová 1964*, 197; *Pernička 1967*, 72; *Thomas 1960*, 92; *Zeman 2001*, 114). The outer plate of the comb from Beladice was decorated with concentric circles arranged in the shape of the letter X. A comb from Krakovany-Stráže had a similar ornament (*Zeman 2001*, fig. 4: 19).

Bone needles (Fig. 6: 16) with a stick-like butt are present already in the Roman Period stage B2. Since then, we observe a considerable development of needle shapes. At the beginning of the younger Roman Period, in stage C1, stick-like needles were decorated with a mesh or a motif of engraved concentric circles commonly used on combs. Starting from stage C3/D1, needles gradually disappear from the archaeological material (*Zeman 2001*, 123, 125, fig. 8: 36, 37, 53). Simple bone needles belong to common finds in Germanic settlements. Most likely, their appearance is related to leather and cloth processing.

Previous research showed that homemade production of simple bone and antler items was common in virtually every Germanic settlement. On burial grounds, we find mostly toiletries and fragments of attire. In the Roman Period, the production of such items could be relatively advanced (*Zeman 2001*, 110). The oldest site with indirect traces of bone processing in Slovakia is a feature from a settlement Nitra-Mikov dated back to the 1st–2nd c., where awls and ready-made bone needles were found (*Pieta 1993*, 86). Traces of bone processing – raw material, semi-products and waste – were found also in settlements in Abráham (*Kolník 1981*, 133, 134), Stupava (*Turčan 2005*, 295), Pobedim (*Kolník 1962*, 349) and Vajnory (*Varsik 2012*, 256).

The backfill of the feature contained a considerable number of metal finds. One of the most interesting finds is the iron container, amulet box (Fig. 7), with a bronze wire (chain?) used for locking the item. In the literature, the find is referred to as casket (*Kietlińska/Dąbrowska 1963*, 191), bronze cylindrical casket (*Jaskanis 1977*, 304), case (*Bursche/Chowaniec 2001*, 41), powder box (*Bichir 1973*, 111). Unlike capsule-shaped pendants (smaller and firmly joint), amulet box can be easily opened and closed. A movable lid is linked with the item by a chain (wire). The wire passing through the box indicates that it did not contain liquids (Fig. 7). Numerous specimens, including the one from Beladice, are decorated. The decorations mainly comprised embossed dots, rounded grooves, zigzag lines (Zemplín, grave 123), concentric circles, rosettes or fish motifs. Some specimens are decorated with miniature bucket-shaped pendants, bells or rings hung to the bottom of the main body of an item. Undecorated specimens are known mainly from Scandinavia and the Wielbark Culture (*Czarnecka 2010*, 232). They could be part of necklaces, attached to belts or serve as pendants (*Czarnecka, 2010*, 229) and were used to store various substances or items. Possibly, they had some cult or 'magical' function (*Czarnecka 2010*, 232). According to *Wamers* (*2003*, 620), similar containers in the Roman Empire were used to store medical ointments, cosmetics (pigments) or for various cult reasons. Also, in the *Barbaricum*, they could have similar functions. Most often, they are made of bronze plate and only exceptionally of silver or iron (*Bursche 1998*, 175, 176; *Czarnecka 2010*, 229). Thus, the iron specimen from Beladice could be considered unique. So far, we were unable to analyse the capsule contents. Tomography shows that it contained some non-liquid substance. The movable lid indicates that whatever the content was, it could be extracted or replaced. This suggests some perfumes or magical, protective substances.

In *Barbaricum*, similar items are known from rich female graves (or graves with female equipment) but were found also in children (girls?) graves. There, they are considered imports from the Roman provinces (*Kietlińska/Dąbrowska 1963*, 191). They were worn by children from upper social strata, boys before maturity (?) – *toga virilis* – but are not strictly related to one cultural milieu. Most commonly, they are found in Scandinavia and the Wielbark Culture. Several items are known from the Elbe region and the Bogaczewo Culture, single items appear in the Przeworsk Culture and among western Germanic peoples. Amulet boxes were found on cemeteries in Karpow attributed to the Poieneşti-Vârteşcoiu Culture. Two specimens are known from Zemplín and are related to the presence of the Dacians. Similar items were found in graves of Sarmatian women in Hungary and Serbia but also Hunnic graves. The majority of amulet boxes – from the Sarmatian milieu to the Scandinavia – are dated back to stages B2/C1–C1a and the beginnings of stage C2 (*Czarnecka 2010*, 233, fig. 2). Only uniquely, they are attributed to stage B1 (grave 13, Zemplín: *Budinský-Krička/Lamiová-Schmiedlová 1990*, pl. II: 12, 13) and B2 (grave 123, Zemplín: *Peškař 1972*, 80). K. Czarnecka mentioned further analogies from younger sites and points to their common presence in the Merovingian (6th–7th c.) and Anglo-Saxon burial grounds. According to the author, such contain-

ers are universally used items, present in various regions of the Roman Empire and the *Barbaricum* (among numerous cultural and ethnic groups – from the Sarmatians, Dacians, Germanic peoples to the Balts) and are indicators of female and children (girls) grave furnishings (*Czarnecka 2010*, 234).

Feature 175 contained four fragments of iron knives (Fig. 5: 17, 18, 20, 21) and a small piece of a fifth blade. Interestingly, there was a fragment of a wooden handle on one of the knives which are rare in our environment (Fig. 5: 20). Apart from the small blade piece, all other finds could be unambiguously attributed to the type of knives most common in Slovakia and the *Barbaricum* during the Roman Period. Those were even knives with a flat tang and a blade offset at both sides – type 1 according to Droberjar. The blade, however, could be offset at the right angle, obtuse angle or obliquely (*Droberjar 1999*, 113). Knives, as common tools (or weapons), were used by men and women as confirmed by their presence in both male and female graves. Knives themselves have low chronological value mainly due to their simple shape being relatively stable during longer periods (*Lamiová-Schmiedlová 1969*, 482). Their dating is possible indirectly thanks to the presence of other finds in a feature (fibulas, bronze vessels or pottery). A find of a collection of knives in combination with craft tools (drill, scalpel?, etc.) indicates that handicraft production – perhaps wood processing – took place close to the feature.

The iron item resembles a 'fork' with two teeth (Fig. 5: 22). However, there is no matching socket. Consequently, the item function remains uncertain. Possibly, it could be part of vehicle construction. So far, we know only one distantly parallel item from Branč (*Kolník/Varsik/Vladár 2007*, pl. 173: 3).

The bronze needle (Fig. 6: 15) are usually found in the Germanic milieu in settlements and graves. An interesting collection of 33 needles comes from a Germanic settlement in Cífer-Pác, the site 'nad Mlynom' (over the mill). The site is interpreted as a seat of a Quadi, pro-Roman Germanic duke (*Kolník 1999*, 132–135) dated back to the third and fourth quarter of the 4th c. (*Kolník 1986*, 419). Most needles – made of bronze – were used for sewing and were 4–10 cm long (*Štolcová/Kolník 2010*, 481).

The silver/bronze antoninianus (Fig. 6: 6) of Salonina (253–268), Galenius' wife provides important information concerning the dating of the backfill layers. Apparently, the feature decayed not before the second half of the 3rd c. The unique find of the coin of emperor Gallienus' wife may be associated with the conflicts between the Romans and the Germanic people in the '50 s and the '60 s of the 3rd c. (*Stoklas 2020*, 147). As an analogy, we could refer to a hoard of the last silver coins minted during the reign of Gallienus, Salonina coins and Valerian II from the Roman fortified camp Comagena (Tulln, Austria). On that site, there are two catastrophic horizons documented, including one dating back to the year 258 (*Stoklas 2020*, 146). The Germanic threat was imminent until the mid-'60 s of the 3rd c. Finally, there are also records confirming an expedition of Gallienus to Carnuntum. Therefore, it is possible that amidst similar conflicts, the coin as well as other imports could fall into the hands of the Germanic warriors.

Feature 175 contained also a set of glass finds: fragments of vessels and beads (Fig. 6: 9–13). An antique type – the fragment of La Tène bracelet (Fig. 6: 13) was found there as well. It corroborates the view that Celtic products were used during the Roman Period. The fragment of a glass vessel (Fig. 6: 9) could be part of a goblet. Similar goblets made using a similar technique are known both from Cologne and Rome (*Hrnčiarik 2013*, 61). The square blue glass bead with rounded edges has few parallels (Fig. 6: 11). A smaller green bead from grave 29 on a bi-ritual cemetery from the late Roman Period in Brulino-Koski has a similar shape (*Kempisty 1968*, fig. 36) and is dated back to phase C1b–C2 (*Stawiarska 1987*, 88, 89). A distant analogy is provided by a find from Chotín dated back the stage B2/C1–C2 (*Březinová 1994*, 98).

Pottery

960 pottery shards were found in the feature. Noteworthy, the collection of pottery is very fragmented with only a few shards matching and only three vessels reconstructed. Predominantly, it is kitchen pottery and is divided into two basic groups: made in hand (93.3%) and on a potter's wheel (6.7%). Only 8 shards could be attributed to the prehistoric intrusion.

Local hand-made pottery

Hand-made pottery is usually referred to as local – Germanic. Among the shards, bowls and pots (or vase-like vessels) predominate. The analysis of rim types shows that the feature contained at least 61 bowls and 46 pots (vase-like vessels). 39.7% of pottery were made of fine-grain material with an addition of smaller stones (up to 2.6 mm, sometimes also larger). The colours ranged from brown to grey-black with the surface being unsmoothed. 41.5% of pottery were made from fine-grane material with addition of smaller stones with the smoothed surface (sometimes both sides). 11.1% of pottery shards were made of a very finer material with smoothed

– often highly polished surface, usually ranging from grey to black (engobe). The remaining 3% – small bowl-like items – were made of finely-floated material, polished to achieve black-metal gloss. Predominantly, the collection contains smaller vessels, bowls up to 8 cm high and pots/vessel-like items up to 20 cm. Medium pot-like items ranging from 20 to 30 cm are rare. Storage pots – larger than 30 cm – are exceptional (4 vessels). Bowls could be divided into 6 main groups:

- conical with straight, slightly obtuse walls, occasionally with stick-like rim (Varsik IB);
- conical with a slightly inward rim (Pl. I: 6; Varsik IA);
- conical with a clearly inward rim (Varsik IA);
- semi-circular bowls (Varsik IC);
- segmented bowls with a cylindrical neck (Pl. I: 4; Varsik II);
- shallow bowls/plates with a sharp profile and rounded bottom (Varsik II).

Most bowls/cups were rather low. Sharp profiles are rarer while rounded bottoms dominate. There was also one omphalos, which could point to an older settlement horizon from the 2nd c. (*Beljak 2010b*, 145; *Knápek/Šedo 2016*). Taller, deep bowls with the short neck are typical for the second half of the 2nd c. (*Varsik 2011*, 59) were absent. Occasionally, there were bowls with a sharp profile and a rounded bottom (Pl. I: 4) characteristic of assemblages dated back to the 2nd c. and the first half of the 3rd c. (*Kolník/Varsik/Vladár 2007*, pl. 3: 12; 8: 9). The vast majority of bowls is undecorated. Very few were decorated with fine grooves, engraved waves, shallow etchings, plastic etched trimmings or mock barbotine (Pl. I: 5). The, geographically, closest example of a real barbotine-decorated item is known from Branč – a semi-circular bowl dated back to stages B2, B2/C1 (*Kolník/Varsik/Vladár 2007*, 25, fig. 21: 1).

Among pots, S-shaped profiled forms with the widest part of the belly around the middle of a pot height, rarer in the upper third, were most common (Varsik IV, resp. Droberjar 1000–1900). Sometimes, the pots were decorated with engraved ornaments (Pl. I: 12, 13; II; III): usually bolder etches, various combinations of notches, crescent and triangle scratches, square punches and branch-like ornaments. Rarely, there were fine (thin) grooves. In one case, the pot was decorated with multiple bundles of waves and sometimes a simple horizontal wave. Larger, oval recesses are typical of younger, Germanic pottery (*Kolník/Varsik/Vladár 2005*, 316). One of the pots was decorated with a *Rädchenverzierung* (ger.) triangle (not square) ornaments (Pl. II: 13). Stamping was used in only two cases – a round or slightly oval rosette (Pl. III: 2, 4) with analogies known from a site in Šarovce (*Beljak 2010a*, fig. 16: 9, 10). This could be a reflection of similar decoration applied on grey Pannonian pottery, which became widespread in northern Pannonia in the third century (*Krekovič 1981*, 351; *Maróti 1990*, fig. 1: 18–20) Rims were decorated relatively often (12%). Usually with various types of oblique grooves and once with a wave. One item was decorated with so-called wolf teeth – i.e. a hatched or punched ornament in the middle of triangle frames.

The function of a coarse-grained cylindrical foot(?) remains unknown. The collection of local pottery contains only a few items typical of the B2 stage. Similarly, we observe no analogies to items typical of the second half of the 4th c. All these corroborate dating the finds back to the 3rd or the first half of the 4th c., i.e. the late Roman Period stages C1 and C2.

The hand-made zoomorphic vessel (Pl. IV: 1) – originally used as an application on some specific vessel – is noteworthy. It resembles a rooster head (part of the comb is missing) with the beak used as the spout. The material indicates the item was locally produced. The closest analogy could be found in Jakuszowice in Poland (*Kaczanowski/Rodzińska-Nowak 2000*, fig. 4) in a feature unambiguously dated back to stage C2. The Jakuszowice feature publication refers to numerous analogies (*Kaczanowski/Rodzińska-Nowak 2000*; *Rodzińska-Nowak 2006*). The function of this zoomorphic vessel with a spout is unclear. It could be a child's toy. More likely, however, it was related to some cult rituals involving pouring some liquid from a vessel. The latter is further corroborated by the fact that roosters, domestic fowls and, generally, birds were significant aspects of ritual imagery of the Barbarians (*Kaczanowski/Rodzińska-Nowak 2000*, 110).

Roman provincial pottery

The smallest group consists of imported Roman provincial vessels. The group could be further divided into 5 subgroups: *terra sigillata*, Pannonian brick-coloured pottery, Pannonian brown-grey pottery, fine-grained grey pottery and coarse-grained grey pottery.

Terra sigillata is represented by only 9 items (Pl. IV: 1, 3–9), Dragendorf 37 bowls, two egg-and-dart decorated shards (however, in one case, it could be either a poor-quality egg-and-dart decoration or an imperfect stamping). A small, extremely thin-walled shred is most likely a fragment of a cup-like vessel (Pl. IV: 3). One of the shards (Pl. IV: 5) – Westerndorf III belong to the Kempten group. It has not yet been identified from the territory of *Barbaricum* and is also unknown in the Roman provinces,

except for Kempten determined by E. Droberjar). According to Kellner, it is related to the Westerndorf III workshop, which is dated to the second part of 3rd c. (*Kellner 1962*, 124, 125, fig. 1: 4; pl. 8: 4–6). So far, we were unable to classify a small fragment with a relief ornament (Pl. IV: 7). In stage C1, a considerable import of Westerndorf and Rheinzabern *terra sigillata* started (*Varsik 2011*, 31).

Shreds of a Pannonian brown-grey pot comes, most likely, from one ring-bowl with the rim diam. of 21 cm (Pl. IV: 10), characteristic mostly of the second half of the 2nd c. (*Beljak/Kolník 2007*, 140) and but also occurs in the 3rd c. (*Varsik 2008*, 300; *2011*, 53, fig. 27) and one small thin-walled bowl (or a cup) with a clearly curved rim with a diam. of 6 cm (Pl. IV: 12). The other seven shards cannot be assigned to any specific type.

The Pannonian brick-colour pottery is represented by 9 shreds. Original forms cannot be defined. One of the shards is a fragment of a ring-like bottom (diam. 10 cm), most likely from a taller jug (Pl. IV: 12).

The find of grey, slightly coarse pottery belongs to the most interesting pottery finds. It is a fragment of a storage vessel with a horizontally curved rim (Pl. IV: 14; *Droberjar 2022*, *in press*; *Petznek 1998*, foldpl. 1: type 3.4). Just below the neck, the vessel was decorated with horizontal lines. Specific forms of those vessels were already at the end of the 2nd c. The most intense development started at the end of the 3rd c. Other shards attributed to this group were decorated with fine grooves on the outside and, generally, clear horizontal lines on the inside. Other 14 shards cannot be linked with any specific type of vessels. Finally, 15 shreds, which cannot be linked with specific types of vessels, represent fine-grained grey well burnt pottery.

The above description shows that – compared to other published assemblages from Slovakia – feature 175 contained only a limited amount of pottery imported from Roman provinces (*Varsik 2011*, 48, tab. 3). This could indicate weak relations with the Roman provinces. However, the so-called small finds (mainly glass and the coin) challenges the hypothesis. Most pottery items belong to relatively long-lived forms (*Droberjar 1997*, 43; *Varsik 2011*, 56–68) with the greatest occurrence in the 3rd c. A limited amount of Pannonian pottery could corroborate the view of E. Krekovič concerning the decline of this pottery popularity in stage C2 (*Krekovič 1981*, 354, 361). A few shards show links with the pottery from the end of the 2nd c. (*Rädchenverzierung* decoration, *barbottino*). This applies, for instance, to the reconstructed vessel with analogies from the wooden-soil camp in Iža and the ornaments on small bowls/cups (*Rajtár 2015*, 389–391). The entire collection shows no common features with pottery used after the mid-4th c. (e.g. *Turčan 2018*, 288–292). E. Droberjar notices that *Krausengefäß* vessels could inform the analysis of products transported in them to the Germanic milieu (*Droberjar 2022*, *in press*). Indeed, they were certainly not imported solely as pots. The composition of the ceramic finds indicates that, at least until the last third of the 3rd c., Germanic settlers preferred smaller vessels, usually table ceramics. Rarely, they used ceramic vessels for storage or transport. For those purposes, they clearly used other, possibly wooden containers or leather bags. Primarily, the pottery found in Beladice was used for dining. Less often it was used for cooking and only exceptionally for food storage or transport.

CHRONOLOGY

The vast majority of the finds come from the feature backfill and, most likely, are unrelated to the feature original function. Some of them seem to reflect the developments in the second half of the 2nd c. (roulette decoration, omphalos). However, the finds show little resemblance to assemblages dated back to the end of the 2nd c. (*Beljak 2010b*, 146). Large amounts of the pottery have its origin in C1–C2 in the Danube region (*Varsik 2011*, fig. 27) and central Bohemia region (*Droberjar/Prostředník 2004*, pl. 22) Informed by typological analogies and the Saloninas († 268) antoninianus – which marks at least the lower time bound – we can determine that the inventory was put in the backfill, roughly, in the third quarter of the 3rd c. or first half (closer to the beginning) of the 4th c. The decay, thus, could be related to stages C2/C3 (according to Godłowski) or the early phase of stage C3 (according to Tejral) of the Roman Period chronology.

The Bocegaj valley in Roman Times

The research in Beladice as well as other researchers over the last 40 years fundamentally changed our understanding of the Upper Vah region in the first half of the first millennium. Although the still widely used settlement map published in 1998 shows four settled areas (*Rajtár 1998*, map 2), now we are aware of the existence of 64. Also, in the Bocegaj valley, archaeological sites are relatively densely distributed. Approximately 1,800 m to the east, on a north-facing slope over the confluence of the Bocegaj and the Drevenica, there are clear traces of a settlement certainly attributable also to the 2nd c.

(*Ruttkay/Ruttkayová 1992*, 92). Another site is located to the north, on the left bank of the Bocegaj creek (*Ruttkay/Ruttkayová 1992*, 92). 100 m to the south-east of the reservoir and 100–200 m to the south of the creek, on the right bank of the Bocegaj, a large collection of wheel-made pottery, imported *terra sigillata* and somehow fewer examples of hand-made Germanic pottery were found (*Bednár/Ruttkay 1991*, 27). Approximately 800–1,300 m to the east of the Baratsko grange, on the right bank of the Bocegaj, there is another site attributed to Roman times with Roman Period wheel-made pottery (*Ruttkay/Ruttkayová 1992*, 92). A similar density of Germanic settlements is observed in most parts of the Upper Vah region (*Ruttkayová/Ruttkay 2015*, 30).

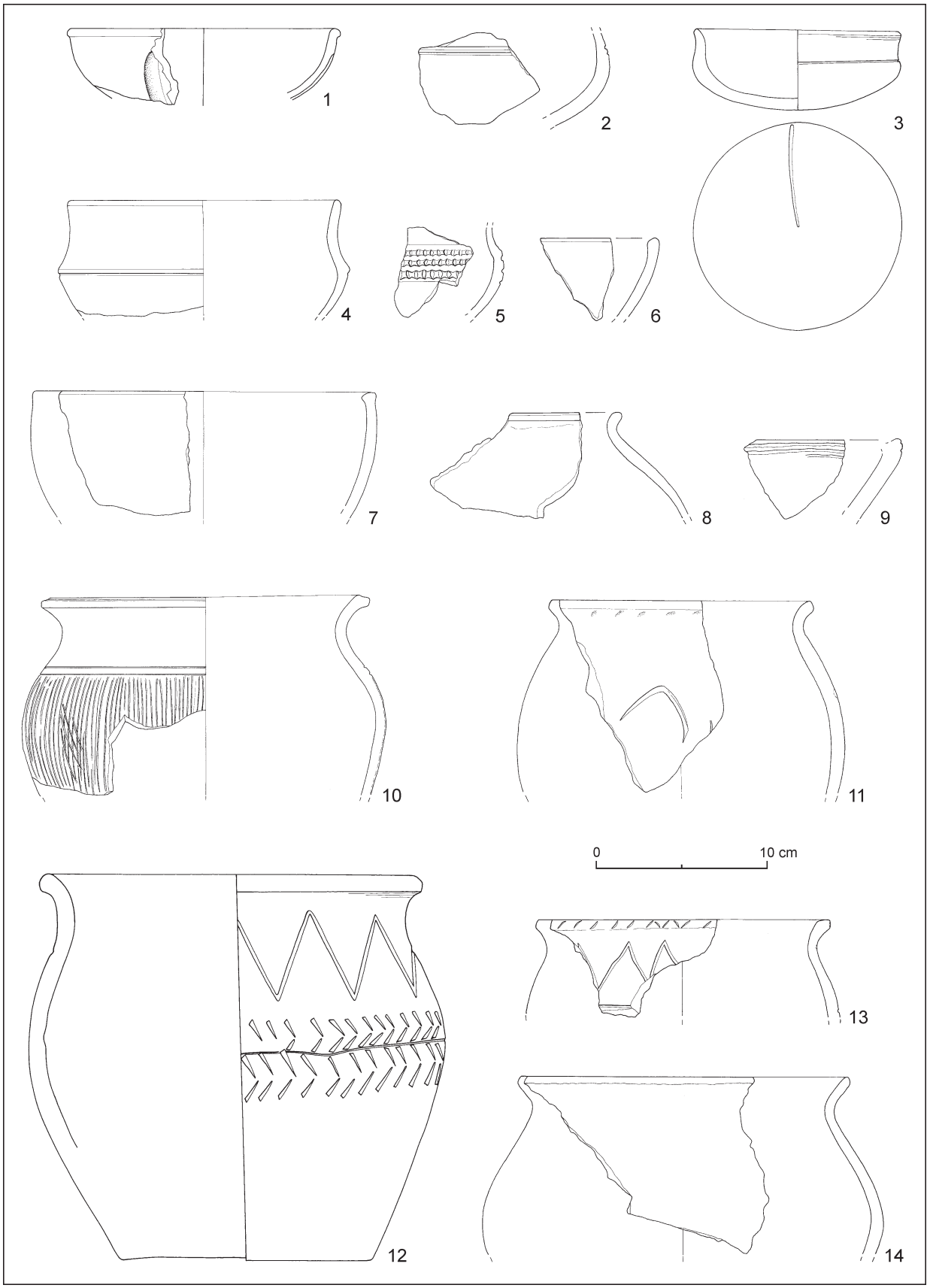
Two Roman marching camps were found on the southern bound of the Upper Žitava region, only 12 km to the south of the Beladice site (*Bátora et al. 2012*). Perhaps, it is just a matter of time, when, as T. Kolník expects similar camps will be discovered in the Nitra region (only 15 km to the west of Beladice) or the Vah region in the Želiezovce – Šarovce area (35 km to the south-east) with a considerable concentration of finds dated back to the 2nd and 3rd c. During the Marcomannic wars at the end of the 2nd c., Roman marching camps in the Žitava region were used to control lands with a denser Germanic settlement. The settlement density in the 3rd c. in the Žitava region indicates that the Romans' presence there had had no long-term effects and the Germanic settlement flourished. Consequently, we can conclude that the Upper Žitava region – compared to other parts of the Danube region – was extremely densely settled from the mid-Roman Period until the Migration Period.

CONCLUSIONS

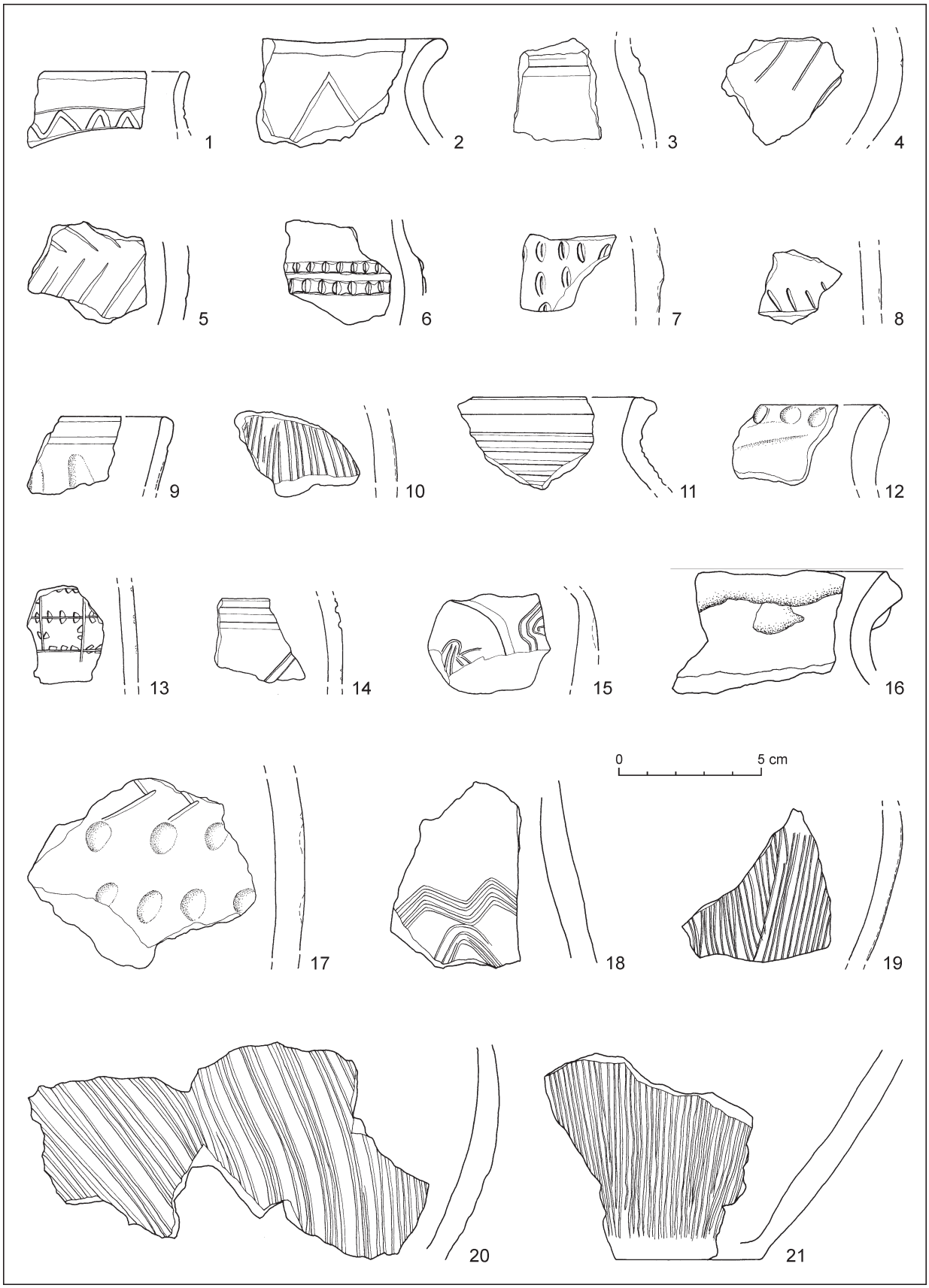
Feature 175 from the Beladice site researched in 2009 and 2010 provided a relatively large collection of finds that shed light on the life of the Germanic community in the 3rd c. Numerous imports in the feature itself and other features on the site indicate that the Germanic people maintained intense contacts (either in a state of conflict or peace) with the Roman provinces. The presence of fragments of glass vessels and a large number of smaller vessels – certainly elements of the tableware – shows that the Germanic people put great emphasis on the dining quality. Possibly including wine consumption (*Varsik 2009*). The unrest that disturbed the northern border of the Roman Empire after the mid-3rd c. suggests that, probably, products from the Roman provinces could get into the Žitava region through the war-time looting.

The investigated sunken house (hut) was a standard dwelling in the early Roman Period. The finds indicate that the backfill contained artefacts from the next period – from the end of the 2nd c. to, most likely, the beginning of the 4th c. A minimum number of prehistoric finds (despite the frequent occurrence of prehistoric features in the area) indicates that the feature was gradually backfilled after it had decayed (no distinct layers were observed). The relatively large collection of pottery and small finds point to the variability of the material culture and the predilection for imported items – either glass or metal products. Two finds deserve exceptional attention: the zoomorphic vessel depicting a rooster head and the iron capsule. Both could have magical functions but we cannot preclude that the capsule was used also for storing fragrant substances. Ceramic finds indicate that the inhabitants preferred smaller vessels, most likely used for dining. Supplies were stored rather in wooden containers or leather bags. The feature analysed here helps to reconstruct the Germanic people lives in the early Roman Times in the Upper Žitava region.

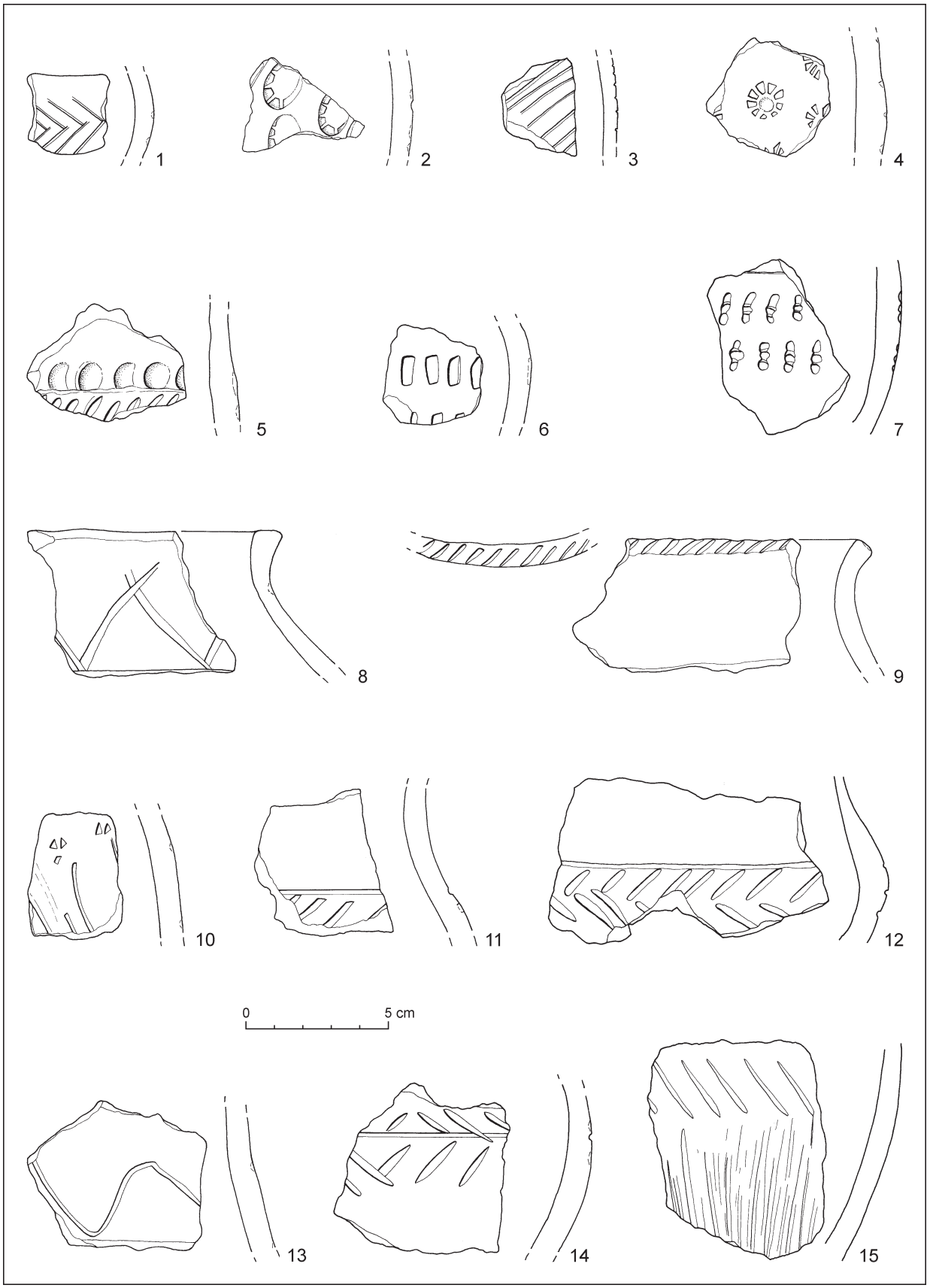
The feature, as well as the entire site, supplements the dense Germanic settlement network in the Upper Žitava region from the mid-2nd c. to the turn of the 4th and 5th c. This questions older claims about the only sporadic presence of the Germanic people in the area. The abundance of sites in this relatively small area shows a radically different picture. Possibly also this dense settlement network contributed to the decision about building two Roman marching camps in nearby Vráble at the end of the 2nd c. The presence of the camps, however, did not interfere with the development of the Germanic settlement activities.



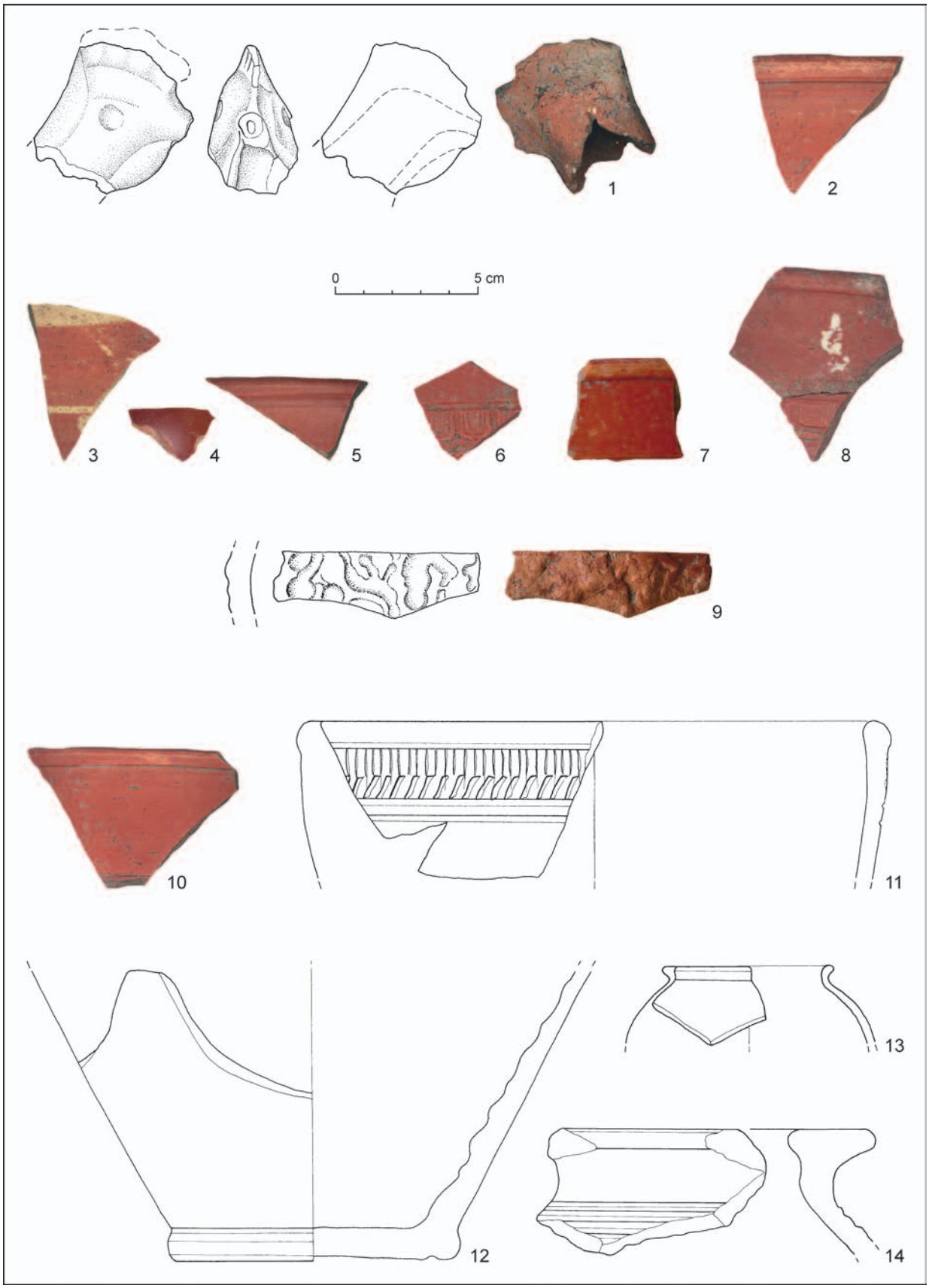
Pl. I. Beladice. Feature no. 175. Hand-made pottery.



Pl. II. Beladice. Feature no. 175. Hand-made pottery, decoration variants.



Pl. III. Beladice. Feature no. 175. Hand-made pottery, decoration variants.



Pl. IV. Beladice. Feature no. 175. 1 – hand-made pottery; 2–14 – Roman provincial pottery.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bátora et al. 2012 – J. Bátora/A. Behrens/J. Gresky/ M. Ivanova/ K. Rassmann/P. Tóth/K. Winkelmann: The Rise and Decline of the Early Bronze Age Settlement Fidvár near Vráble, Slovakia. In: J. Kneisel/ W. Kirleis/M. D. Corso/N. Taylor/V. Tiedtke (eds.): *Collapse or Continuity? Environment and Development of Bronze Age Human Landscapes. Proceedings of the International Workshop "Socio-Environmental Dynamics over the Last 12,000 Years. The Creation of Landscapes II (14th–18th March 2011)" in Kiel. Volume 1*. Universitätsforschungen zur prähistorischen Archäologie 205. Bonn 2012, 111–129.

Bednár/Ruttkay 1991 – P. Bednár/M. Ruttkay: Prieskum povodia potoka Bocegaj. *AVANS 1989*, 1991, 26–28.

Beljak 2010a – J. Beljak: Germánska osada v Šarovciach. J. Beljak/G. Březinová/V. Varsik (eds.): *Archeológia barbarov 2009. Hospodárstvo Germánov, sídliskové a ekonomické štruktúry od neskorej doby laténskej po včasný stredovek. Zborník referátov z 5. protohistorickej konferencie. Nitra 21.–25. septembra 2009*. Archaeologica Slovaca Monographiae. Communicationes 10. Nitra 2010, 33–66.

Beljak 2010b – J. Beljak: Germánske osídlenie v Štúrove a na Dolnom Pohroní v staršej dobe rímskej. *Zborník SNM* 104. *Archeológia* 20, 2010, 141–173.

Beljak/Kolník 2007 – J. Beljak/T. Kolník: Rímskoprovinciálna keramika z germánskej osady v Štúrove. In: E. Droberjar/O. Chvojka (eds.): *Archeologie barbarů 2006. Sborník příspěvků z II. protohistorické konference (České Budějovice, 21.–24. 11. 2006).* Archeologické výzkumy v jižních Čechách. Supplement 3. České Budějovice 2007, 135–157.

Bichir 1973 – G. Bichir: *Cultura carpică*. Bucureşti. 1973.

Březinová 1994 – G. Březinová: Sklené nálezy z Chotína. *Študijné zvesti AÚ SAV* 30, 1994, 97–106.

Budinský-Krička/Lamiová-Schmiedlová 1990 – V. Budinský-Krička/M. Lamiová-Schmiedlová: A late 1st century B.C.–2nd century A.D. Cemetery at Zemplín. *Slovenská archeológia* 38, 1990, 245–341.

Bursche 1998 – A. Bursche: *Złote medaliony rzymskie w Barbaricum. Symbolika prestiżu i władzy społeczeństw barbarzyńskich u schyłku starożytności*. Światowit. Supplement Series A. Antiquity 2. Warszawa 1998.

Bursche/Chowaniec 2001 – A. Bursche/R. Chowaniec: Puzderko brązowe z cmetarzyska kultury wielbarskiej w Krośnie, powiat pasłęcki. In: W. Nowakowski/ A. Szela (eds.): *Officina archaeologica optima. Studia ofiarowane Jerzemu Okuliczowi-Kozarynowi w siedemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*. Światowit. Supplement Series P. Prehistory and Middle Ages 7. Warszawa 2001, 41–45.

Czarnecka 2010 – K. Czarnecka: Metalowe pojemniczki tzw. Amulettendose w europejskim Barbaricum. In: A. Urbaniak/R. Prochowicz (red.): *Terra Barbarica. Studia ofiarowane Magdalenie Mączyńskiej w 65. rocznicę urodzin*. Monumenta Archaeologica Barbarica. Series Gemina 2. Łódź – Warszawa 2010, 229–238.

Droberjar 1997 – E. Droberjar: *Studien zu den germanischen Siedlungen der älteren römischen Kaiserzeit in Mähren*. Fontes Archaeologici Pragenses 21. Praha 1997.

Droberjar 1999 – E. Droberjar: *Dobřichov-Pičhora. Ein Brandgräberfeld der ältern römischen Kaiserzeit in Böhmen. (Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis des Marbod-Reichs.)* Fontes Archaeologici Pragenses 23. Praha 1999.

Droberjar 2022, in press – E. Droberjar: K významu římsko-provinciálních zásobnic s okružím (Krausengefäße) ze 2. století v Jevíčku v kontextu nadunajského Barbarika. *Přehled výzkumů*, in press.

Droberjar/Prostředník 2004 – E. Droberjar/J. Prostředník: Turnov-Maškovy zahrady – germánský dvorec ze 3. století. *Památky archeologické* 95, 2004, 31–106.

Hrnčiarik 2013 – E. Hrnčiarik: *Römisches Kulturgut in der Slowakei. Herstellung, Funktion und Export römischer Manufakturerzeugnisse aus den Provinzen in der Slowakei*. Universitätsforschungen zur prähistorischen Archäologie 222. Bonn 2013.

Jaskanis 1977 – J. Jaskanis: Cmentarzyska kultury zachodniobałtyjskiej z okresu wpływów rzymskich. Materiały do badań nad obrządkiem pogrzebowym. *Materiały Starożytne i Wczesnośredniowieczne* 4, 1977, 239–350.

Kaczanowski/Rodzińska-Nowak 2000 – P. Kaczanowski/ J. Rodzińska-Nowak: Tonplastik von der Siedlung der Przeworsk-Kultur in Jakuszowice, Fundstelle 2, Gemeinde Kazimierza Wielka. In: J. Bouzek/ H. Friesinger/K. Pieta/B. Komoróczy (Hrsg.): *Gentes, Reges und Rom. Auseinandersetzung – Anmerkung – Anpassung. Festschrift für Jaroslav Tejral zum 65. Gegurtstag.* Spisy Archeologického ústavu AV ČR Brno 16. Brno 2000, 107–115.

Kellner 1962 – H.-J. Kellner: Die raetischen Sigillata-Töpfereien und ihr Verhältnis zu Westerndorf. Zur Sigillata-Töpferei von Westerndorf III. *Bayerische Vorgeschichtsblätter* 27, 1962, 115–129.

Kempisty 1966–1967 – A. Kempisty: Birytualne cmentarzysko z późnego okresu rzymskiego w miejscowości Brulino-Koski, pow. Ostrów Mazowiecka. *Wiadomości Archeologiczne* 32, 1966–1967, 409–450.

Kietlińska/Dąbrowska 1963 – A. Kietlińska/T. Dąbrowska: Cmentarzysko z okresu wplywów rzymskich we wsi Spicymierz, pow. Turek. *Materiały Starożytne* 9, 1963, 143–254.

Knápek/Šedo 2016 – R. Knápek/O. Šedo: Misky s omfalem v živote barbarských společností doby římské. *Zborník SNM* 110. *Archeológia* 26, 2016, 221–279.

Kolník 1961 – T. Kolník: Pohrebisko v Bešeňove (príspevok k štúdiu doby rímskej na Slovensku). *Slovenská archeológia* 9, 1961, 219–300.

Kolník 1962 – T. Kolník: Nové sídliskové nálezy z doby rímskej na Slovensku. *Archeologické rozhledy* 14, 1962, 344–397.

Kolník 1981 – T. Kolník: Sídliskové nálezy z doby rímskej v Abraháme. *AVANS 1980*, 1981, 133–135.

Kolník 1986 – T. Kolník: Römische Stationen im slowakischen Abschnitt des nordpannonischen Limes-

vorlandes. *Archeologické rozhledy* 38, 1986, 411–434, 467–472.

Kolník 1998 – T. Kolník: Haus und Hof im quadischen Limesvorland. In: A. Leube (Hrsg.): *Haus und Hof im östlichen Germanien. Tagung Berlin 4. bis 8. Oktober 1994*. Universitätsforschungen zur prähistorischen Archäologie 50. Schriften zur Archäologie der germanischen und slawischen Frühgeschichte 2. Bonn 1998, 144–159.

Kolník 1999 – T. Kolník: Nordpannonische Limesvorland-Forschung 1984–1986. In: N. Gudea (ed.): *Roman Frontier Studies Proceedings of the XVIIth Frontier Studies*. Zalău 1999, 131–137.

Kolník/Varsik/Vladár 2005 – T. Kolník/V. Varsik/J. Vladár: Nálezové súbory z germánskych sídlisk na juhozápadnom Slovensku s prítomnosťou mincí z druhej polovice 3. storočia. Branč, objekt 60. *Zborník SNM* 99. *Archeológia* 15, 2005, 313–323.

Kolník/Varsik/Vladár 2007 – T. Kolník/V. Varsik/J. Vladár: *Branč. Germánska osada z 2. až 4. storočia*. Archaeologica Slovaca Monographiae. Catalogi 10. Nitra 2007.

Krekovič 1981 – E. Krekovič: Rímska importovaná keramika na Slovensku. *Slovenská archeológia* 29, 1981, 341–376.

Lamiová-Schmiedlová 1964 – M. Lamiová-Schmiedlová: Hrebene z doby rímskej a sťahovania národov z východného Slovenska. *Archeologické studijní materiály* I, 1964, 191–201.

Lamiová-Schmiedlová 1969 – M. Lamiová-Schmiedlová: Römerzeitliche Siedlungskeramik in der Südostslowakei. *Slovenská archeológia* 17, 1969, 403–502.

Leube 2009 – A. Leube: *Studien zu Wirtschaft und Siedlung bei den germanischen Stämmmen im nördlichen Mitteleuropa während des 1. bis 5./6. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.* Römisch-Germanische Forschungen 64. Mainz am Rhein 2009.

Maróti 1990 – É. Maróti: Pannonische Glanztonware mit Stempelverzierung von Zalalövő. *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 42, 1990, 97–110.

Pernička 1967 – R. M. Pernička: K problematice středoevropského vývoje hřebenů v době laténské a římské se zvláštním zřetelem k moravským nálezům. *Sborník prací Filozofické fakulty brněnské univerzity. Řada archeologicko-klasická* E12, 1967, 63–79.

Peškař 1972 – I. Peškař: *Fibeln aus der römischen Kaiserzeit in Mähren*. Praha 1972.

Petznek 1998 – B. Petznek: Römerzeitliche Gebrauchskeramik aus Carnuntum. Ausgrabungen des Bundesdenkmalamtes 1971 bis 1972. Teil 1. *Carnuntum Jahrbuch 1997*, 1998, 167–323.

Pieta 1993 – K. Pieta: Osídlenie z doby rímskej a sťahovania národov v Nitre. In: K. Pieta (ed.): *Nitra. Príspevky k najstarším dejinám mesta*. Nitra 1993, 74–91.

Pieta/Ruttkay 1997 – K. Pieta/M. Ruttkay: Germanische Siedlung aus dem 4. und 5. Jh. in Nitra-Párovské háje und Probleme der Siedlungskontinuität. In: J. Tejral/H. Friesinger/M. Kazanski (Hrsg.): *Neue Beiträge zur Erforschung der Spätantike im mittleren Donauraum*. Spisy Archeologického ústavu AV ČR Brno 8. Brno 1997, 145–163.

Rajtár 1998 – J. Rajtár: *Kríza rímsko-germánskych vzťahov v stredodunajskej oblasti v 2. storočí*. Dizertačná práca. Archeologický ústav SAV Nitra. Nitra 1998. Unpublished.

Rajtár 2015 – J. Rajtár: Germánske nálezy z rímskeho drevozemného tábora v Iži. *Zborník SNM* 109. *Archeológia* 25, 2015, 379–399.

Rodzińska-Nowak 2006 – J. Rodzińska-Nowak: Zoomorficzna plastyka figuralna z cmentarzysk kultury przeworskiej. In: L. Kostuch/K. Ryszewska (red.): *Zwierzę jako sacrum w pradziejach i starożytności I*. Kielce 2006, 11–26.

Ruttkay et al. 2015: M. Ruttkay/A. Bistáková/K. Daňová/M. Gabulová/M. Cheben/R. Malček: Záchranné archeologické výskumy na trase výstavby rýchlostnej cesty R1 v úseku Nitra-Selenec – Beladice. *AVANS 2010*, 2015, 211–215.

Ruttkay/Ruttkayová 1992 – M. Ruttkay/J. Ruttkayová: Pokračovanie výskumu horného Považia. *AVANS 1990*, 1992, 91–93.

Ruttkayová/Ruttkay 2015 – J. Ruttkayová/M. Ruttkay: *Horné Požitavie. Svedectvo archeológie*. Archaeologica Slovaca Monographiae. Varia 5. Nitra 2015.

Stawiarska 1987 – T. Stawiarska: *Katalog paciorków szklanych z obszaru Polski północnej w okresie wpływów rzymskich*. Wrocław – Warszawa – Kraków – Gdańsk – Łódź 1987.

Stoklas 2020 – B. Stoklas: *Začiatok hospodárskej krízy rímskeho impéria v konfrontácii s nálezmi antoniniánov v 2.–3. storočí po Kristovi na území Čiech, Moravy, Slovenska, Horného a Dolného Rakúska a Maďarska*. Dizertačná práca. Univerzita Hradec Králové. Filozofická fakulta. Katedra archeologie. Hradec Králové 2020. Online available at: https://theses.cz/id/tebe7w/

Štolcová/Kolník 2010 – T. Štolcová/T. Kolník: Tkáčske dielne z neskorej doby rímskej v Cíferi-Páci. In: J. Beljak/G. Březinová/V. Varsik (eds.): *Archeológia barbarov 2009. Hospodárstvo Germánov, sídliskové a ekonomické štruktúry od neskorej doby laténskej po včasný stredovek. Zborník referátov z 5. protohistorickej konferencie. Nitra 21.–25. septembra 2009*. Archaeologica Slovaca Monographiae. Communicationes 10. Nitra 2010, 467–487.

Thomas 1960 – E. Thomas: Studien zu den germanischen Kämmen der römischen Kaiserzeit. *Arbeits- und Forschungsberichte zur sächsischen Bodendenkmalpflege* 8, 1960, 54–215.

Turčan 2005 – V. Turčan: Nálezové súbory z germánskych sídlisk na juhozápadnom Slovensku s prítomnosťou mincí z druhej polovice 3. storočia. Objekt č. 1/96 zo Stupavy, poloha Morávkovo pole. *Zborník SNM* 99. *Archeológia* 15, 2005, 293–300.

Turčan 2018 – V. Turčan: Germánsky sídliskový objekt z Dunajskej Lužnej. *Zborník SNM* 112. *Archeológia* 28, 2018, 287–300.

Varsik 2008 – V. Varsik: Germánske sídliskové objekty z doby rímskej datované terrou sigillatou do doby Severovcov. Nálezové súbory z germánskych sídlisk sprevádzané severovskou terrou sigillatou. Veľký Meďer, objekt 106. *Zborník SNM* 102. *Archeológia* 18, 2008, 293–306.

Varsik 2009 – V. Varsik: Rímske sklo z niektorých germánskych sídlisk na západnom Slovensku. *Študijné zvesti AÚ SAV* 45, 2009, 133–150.

Varsik 2011 – V. Varsik: *Germánske osídlenie na východnom predpolí Bratislavy. Sídliská z doby rímskej v Bratislave-Trnávke a v okolí.* Archaeologica Slovaca Monographiae. Fontes 18. Nitra 2011.

Varsik 2012 – V. Varsik: Hospodárstvo Germánov v bratislavskom priestore. In: J. Šedivý/T. Štefanovičová (zost.): *Dejiny Bratislavy 1. Od počiatkov do prelomu 12. a 13. storočia. Brezalauspurc na križovatke kultúr.* Bratislava 2012, 254–256.

Wamers 2003 – E. Wamers: Pyxis. In: H. v. Beck/D. Geuenich/H. Steuer (Hrsg.): *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde 23.* Berlin – New York 2003, 620–624.

Zeman 2001 – T. Zeman: Germánska kostěná a parohová industrie doby římské ve středoevropském barbariku. *Sborník prací Filozofické fakulty brněnské univerzity. Řada archeologická* M6, 2001, 107–147.

Manuscript accepted 30. 9. 2021

Translated by Magdalena Adamus

PhDr. Jaroslava Ruttkayová
Ponitrianske múzeum v Nitre
Štefánikova 1
SK – 949 01 Nitra
jaroslava.ruttkayova@gmail.com

doc. PhDr. Matej Ruttkay, CSc.
Archeologický ústav SAV
Akademická 2
SK – 949 21 Nitra
matej.ruttkay@savba.sk

SLOVENSKÁ ARCHEOLÓGIA – SUPPLEMENTUM 2
Z. Robak/M. Ruttkay (eds.): Celts – Germans – Slavs.
A Tribute Anthology to Karol Pieta. Nitra 2021, 281–289.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.31577/slovarch.2021.suppl.2.25

A LATE ROMAN *SPATHA*

ANDREA VADAY – EVA SZAKOS

In connection with a double-edged *spatha* found in a late Roman grave at the archaeological site of Hegyeshalom, Holdas-szántók, we examine the possibility of Celtic or Germanic origin of the Late Imperial Pannonian swords. The different parts of the swords are taken individually as a basis for comparison, given the shape of the hilt, blade shoulder, blade length and tip, scabbard and chape. In addition to the Western and Central European territories, we also cover the Eastern, parthus influence, and also the long swords of the Sarmatian tribes living in the vicinity of Pannonia provide information on the subject of late Roman *spathas*. It cannot be ignored that during many occasions the Imperium Romanum faced the different weapons and fighting style of the enemies on the battlefield, to which they were forced to adapt in the hope of victory. In determining the origin of swords, it makes difficult that we can only speak of a 'pure' Roman type if the weapon is identical in every detail to either the Celtic or the Germanic swords. Complicating the subject further the fact that the ethnicity of swords cannot be determined in all cases. Even if they were acquired as booty or are subject of trade by Barbarians and vice versa by the Romans, they are placed in the typological system based on the location of the archaeological site.
After the sword discussed, it is also important to address the issue of the archaeological context the *spatha* was found. The deceased buried with the *spatha* in the Roman cemetery of Hegyeshalom, Holdas-szántók may have been a military veteran, confirmed by the fact that he was buried with his pilum, *spatha* and paludamentum. His onion-headed fibula suggests that after his dismissal from the military, he also held some sort of position in the community.

Keywords: Pannonia, Late Roman Imperial Period, *spatha*, germanic double-edged swords.

In the early decades of the last century, both Celtic and Germanic origins were raised in relation to long, straight double-edged swords of the Romans.[1] It is no coincidence that in several European provinces of the Roman Empire the typical weapon of the fusing autochthonous population of late Iron Age Celtic and Germanic origin was the long double-edged sword. In addition to the financial aspects, their usual fighting style may have contributed to the fact that, when enlisted, they could take their weapons with them into the army, regardless of whether the short sword, the *gladius* was still in use in the Roman infantry in the Early Imperial era.

Question may arise as to whether written sources can shed light on the origins of weapons. Latin sources use different words for sword, the names *ferrum*,[2] *ensis*, *gladius*, *spatha*, also *sica,* and even *pars pro toto a mucro*[3] appears. Of these, *sica* refers to the shape of the sword, while *gladius* and *spatha* most often refer to the size of the weapon. Sometimes, however, there are exceptions. In the description of Germania at the end of the 1st c. AD, Tacitus uses the word *gladius* for the sword of the Germans,[4] adding even the 'short' adjective to the northern Germanic tribes.[5] In this work, the author uses the *gladius* in a general sense to refer to the sword and not to the Roman weapon form. He writes in the same way when describing the invasion of Moesia, when he uses *gladius* for the swords of both the Roxolans and the Romans, adding that the sword of the Barbarians is *praelongus* while that of the Romans is *levis*.[6] This is evidenced by the fact that the Sarmatian sword differs not only in length from the Roman *gladius*, but also in its use, i.e. similar to the long swords of the Far East, it is also suitable for two-handed fencing technique. It also means a formal difference; their grip is longer than the grips of one-handed swords.

The Roman military leadership was sooner or later forced to adapt to the fighting style of the

[1] *Coussin 1926*, 226–231. The Gallic connection is still highlighted today: *Bishop 2020*, 5.

[2] The word 'iron' is also used for the sword in several languages.

[3] The point of the weapon (sword, spear).

[4] *Tacitus Germania* 6, 2; 18, 4; 24, 2.

[5] *Tacitus Germania* 44. 2: '*breves gladii*'.

[6] *Tacitus Historiae* I 79, 3–4: '*sed tum umido die et soluto gelu neque conti neque gladii, quos praelongos utraque manu regunt, usui... Romanus... levi gladio inermem Sarmatam... comminus fodiebat...*' (highlight from us).

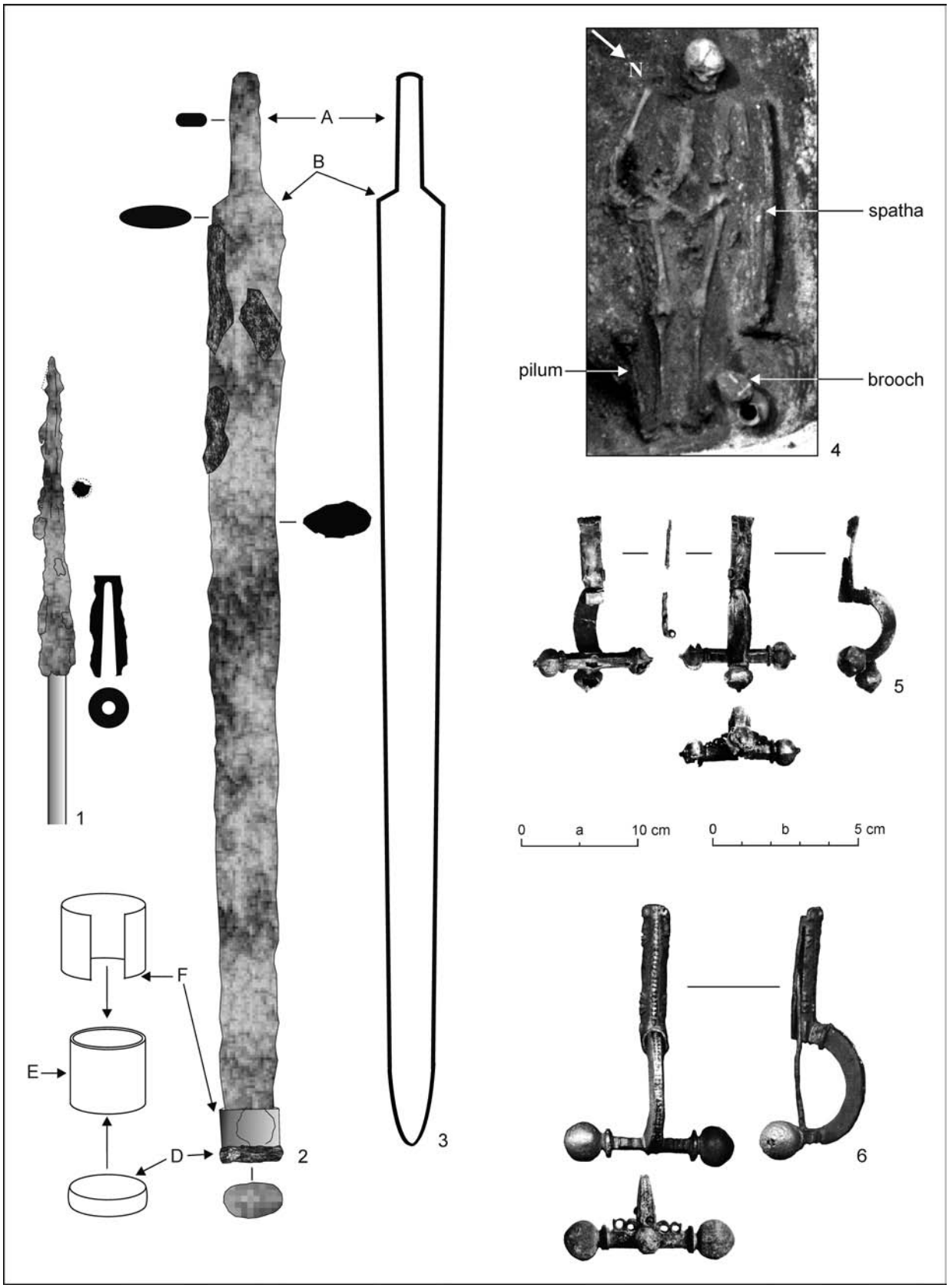


Fig. 1. Hegyeshalom. Grave 42 (75). 1–3, 5, 6 – drawing and photos A. Vaday; 4 – photo A. Figler. Scale: a – 1–3; b – 5, 6.

enemies,[7] which also meant taking over similar types of weapons. The recurrent Parthian attacks in the East also contributed to the change, as the Roman infantry armed with a *gladius* on their *balteus* faced warriors with long swords. Joachim Werner also pointed out the Eastern influence in the armament to defend Persian tactics and weapons (*Werner 1966*, 137, 138). Despite the compulsion, the transition was not rapid either, the short sword, *gladius*, was only replaced by the long sword, the *spatha* in the Antonine era, which was accompanied by a change in fighting style and tactics.

Due to character limitations, we could only raise here a few necessary thoughts regarding both the origin and the change that was taking place, which is essential in relation to the late Roman *spatha* analysed below.

THE *SPATHA* FROM HEGYESHALOM

In 1996, during the construction works of the M15 motorway, András Figler carried out a rescue excavation in an archaeological site called Hegyeshalom, Holdas-szántók (Hungary). Among the 56 graves belonging to the Late Roman Imperial period cemetery, only grave 42 (75) with SW–NE orientation had two relatively intact weapon: a *spatha* and a *pilum*. In addition to the typical items of Late Roman costume and grave furniture, nine, 4th c. worn or already completely illegible coins also came to light. The latest of them was an extremely worn coin of Valentinian I. dated between 350 and 378.[8]

The double-edged iron *spatha* lay on the left side of the body, parallel to the upper arm, detached, with its point toward the foot. Remains of a rusted iron scabbard are visible on the blade (Fig. 1: 2). The shoulder curves down to the blade collar. The blade here is 5.5 cm wide. The total length of the sword is 93.5 cm, the width of the blade is 5 cm and the length of the tang is 10.3 cm. The heavily rusty blade is only 4.3 cm wide above the chape. The iron chape is an oval-based cylindrical plate, with a 1.3 cm thick oval-shaped terminal cap with a diameter of 5 × 2.8 cm attached to the bottom. A 3 cm wide bronze plate was twisted over the bottom iron plate to decorate the surface of the chape. Fine textile pieces were preserved in the rust on the top side of the sword and also the bronze plate of the chape. Since there was no human bone or any other finds nearby, it could not belong to the clothing of the dead worn at the funeral. It could not be the remnants of the material covering the *feretrum* either, because it was only observed at the top of the scabbard.[9]

A bronze fibula with onion head was found between the left ankle of the body and the longitudinal wall of the grave (Fig. 1: 6; *Vaday 2019*, 549).[10] Its head button was hexagonal and smaller in size,[11] in contrast to the pressed spherical buttons at the end of the crossbar. The original button on the head was lost at some point during use, so it was replaced with a smaller, different type of button. In doing so, the new button was no longer placed to the position of the original button,[12] but was attached to the pin. However, during the repair, the pin could no longer rotate in a full arc, so it was probably only suitable for a thinner material due to its small movement, or simply pinned into the fabric. The fibula may have belonged to the cloak of the deceased, the *paludamentum*, which could had been laid down at the funeral next to him on the left side of the *feretrum*, partially covering the sword as well.

Next to the right lower leg of the dead, with its tip toward the shorter wall of the grave, the head of a corroded iron pilum was found. The socketed head with a circular cross section for the wood handle is visible 8 cm long on the rusty inner side. Its damaged point has the form of a deltoid. L: 27.4 cm (Fig. 1: 1).[13]

The deceased may have been a military veteran, confirmed by the fact that he was buried with his pilum, *spatha* and *paludamentum*. His onion-headed fibulas (Fig. 1: 5, 6) suggest that after his dismissal from the military, he also held some sort of position in the community.[14]

In recent research, the basis of different classifications of Roman swords (*Biborski 1978*; *Biborski/Ilkjær 2006*; *Miks 2007*) is the length of the weapon,

[7] For example, against the equestrian and archer Sarmatians, Syrian archers using similar tactics were directed to Pannonia, and even the fan-shaped towers of the Roman Forts point to adaptation to the barbaric fighting style.

[8] The consistency of the coin points to longer use before it was buried.

[9] There were two bronze buckles in the grave from Hegyeshalom, one lying on the right leg belonging to the detached pouch, the other fastening the waist belt, it was found between the femurs. There was no archaeological find to suggest a way to suspend the scabbard.

[10] In the image of the fibula, the side and top view photo was taken after the restoration, the image of the head was taken before the restoration.

[11] The photo was taken before the restoration, it was lost during the restoration.

[12] The location of the original bulb can be easily observed in the usual place on the head side of the bow above the pin

[13] A detailed report on all aspects of the finds found in the grave will be covered in the full evaluation of the cemetery.

[14] In accordance with local traditions, he was laid on a *feretrum* on eternal rest.

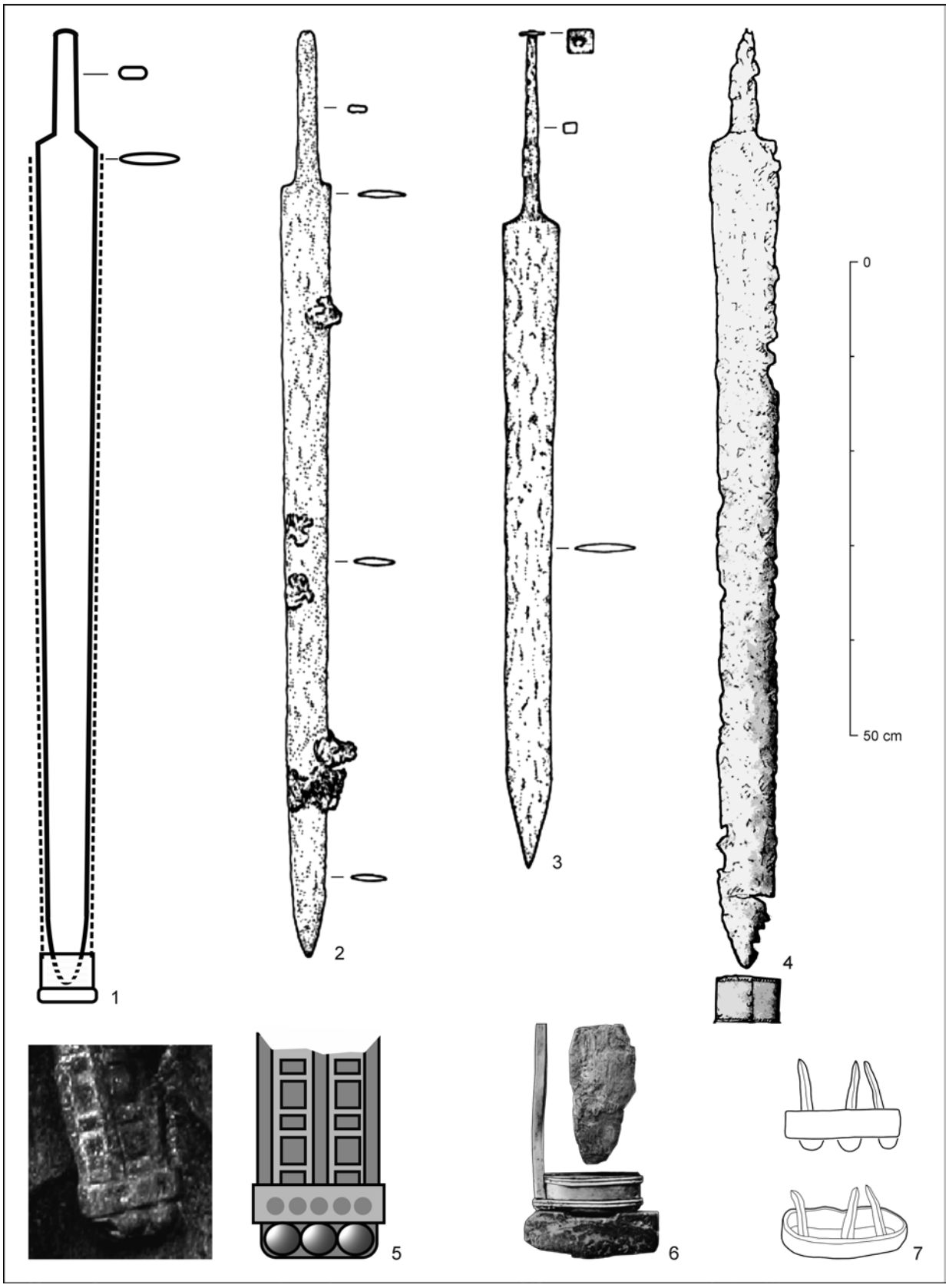


Fig. 2. Reconstruction of the sword with chape from Hegyeshalom and selected typological analogies. 1 – Hegyeshalom (drawing A. Vaday); 2, 3 – Iža (after *Rajtár 1994*); 4, 7 – Zalaszentgrót (after *Bishop 2020*; *Müller 1976*); 5 – detail of the sword from the Portrait of the Four Tetrarchs (drawing A. Vaday); 6 – Altlußheim (after *Garscha 1936*). Scale: 1–4.

which is complemented by the design of the hilt, the shoulder, the shape of the blade edge (*Miks 2009*, 136), the point of the blade, as well as the closure of the hilt and the shape of the cross guard. The scabbard of the sword is also characteristic, and even the way the weapon is worn with the suspension parts. Weapons were also classified based on the proportion of the parts.[15]

During the evaluation of the sword from Hegyeshalom there was no financial support to apply material analysis, which is also useful by defining Roman swords (*Biborski et al. 1982*) and the import of weapons (*Biborski/Kaczanowski 1989*). Moreover, due to the absence of exact parallels, it cannot be fitted into the typological systematization listed above, therefore in the search for parallels we can only rely on the characteristic features of certain parts of swords. It is no coincidence that most of these parallels come from the finds of the Carpathian Basin, an attempt to explain this will be made below.

Of the typological parallels, tangs can be divided into two types: either narrow towards the end or have parallel edges. It is worth comparing the two Antonine-era swords found in the wood-earth camp of Iža (Slovakia), a *spatha* and a *semispatha*. One has a total length of 88 cm, of which the tang is 15 cm long, with a rectangular cross-section and parallel edges (Fig. 2: 2; *Rajtár 1994*, 83, fig. 3: 1). The other sword is 79 cm long, of which the tang is 18 cm, with a square cross-section, gradually 18 cm towards the end of the hilt, which ends in a rivet head (Fig. 2: 3; *Rajtár 1994*, 85, fig. 3: 2). The 10.3 cm long tang of the sword from Hegyeshalom has a rectangular shape with rounded corners (Fig. 1: 2A; 2: 1). Its shape and cross-section are similar to the tang of the longer *spatha* in Iža (Fig. 2: 2; *Rajtár 1994*, 83, fig. 3: 1). The end of the blade also corresponds to this. The angled point of the shorter Iža *semispatha* on the other hand, is common among gladii. The sword from Cserszegtomaj, Dobogódomb (Hungary) was lost in World War II, the dimensions are unknown, only its photograph remains (*Mráv 2010–2013*, 55, 56, fig. 8: 14), its tang is similar to that of the *semispatha* in Iža, although the point of the blade is not angled, but sharply curves. The sword of the auxiliary cavalry, dated to the last quarter of the 1st c., also indicates that the elements used for typology can often be mixed.

The damaged tang of the Budapest, Bécsi út (Hungary) sword was 14 cm long, but according to the type of sword, this could also be parallel-sided, with silver plates bent on the hilt in eight rows. Based on the publication of Margit Nagy, the wooden cover of the hilt could have been 3 cm in diameter (*Nagy 2004*, 237). The hilt of the sword from Hegyeshalom may have been made of wood, but no wood remains were preserved in the rust on the tang and it had no metal plates. While the *spathae* from Hegyeshalom and Budapest, Bécsi út had no crossguard, the sword from the grave of Zalaszentgrót (Hungary) was reconstructed with a crossguard in its first publication (*Müller 1976*, fig. 12: 3). Later it was published without it (Fig. 2: 4; *Bishop 2020*, 20, without further number).

The heavily corroded sword from Hegyeshalom is 88.5 cm long, and approximately 5 cm wide. The cross-section of the blade thickened towards the middle, so it had no fuller. Its point is not visible due to the rusted chape, but as the blade gradually tapers at the bottom without breaking, the point may have been sharpened in a curved line (Fig. 1: 3).[16]

The double-edged long sword from Budapest, Bécsi út remained in fragments. According to Margit Nagy, the total length of the sword on the grave drawing was 105 cm including the chape, but at the time of restoration it was determined to be 95 cm. It could not be decided due to the rust, but according to the author, it is possible that it had a fuller (*Nagy 2004*, 235, 237).[17] The sword from Zalaszentgrót is 87.5 cm long, 7 cm wide at the rectangular blade collar, with a straight double-edged blade that gradually narrows.

Christian Miks studied the blade length of *pugiones*, *gladii* and *spathae* from 100 BC to around 500 AD, the longest of which was 85 cm *(Miks 2007*, fig. 1; *2017*, fig. 1). The blade of the sword from Hegyeshalom is longer than this, although the chape covers the point of the blade, but it can still be around 88 cm. The shape (width-length) of the blade is close to the narrow Nydam/Straubing type, which has been replaced by the Illerup/Wyhl type dating from the middle of the 3rd c. (*Miks 2007*, 99–103). The late form of this type is the Ejsbol variant, however, incorporation of the sword from Hegyeshalom into this system is difficult based on its other parts. In the second half of the 4th c., double-edged swords with 5 cm wide blades, similar to those of Hegyeshalom,

[15] These aspects can only be used with intact pieces, but most of the time, due to fragmentation and rusting, it can only be done with greater safety on some of the weapons. Where the edges of the blade gradually taper to the end of the tip, the blade-to-tip ratio cannot be calculated.

[16] Reconstruction of the blade.

[17] The broken part of the sword from grave 6 of the cemetery from Tiszavalk, Kenderföldek (Hungary), has been restored, so its details are now invaluable, but fortunately part of the hilt and blade has remained, where the fuller of the weapon is clearly visible (*Garam/Vaday 1990*, 182, fig. 11: 12).

are found in the territory of Upper Elbe, Oder and Vistula, and are found in large numbers in the territory of the Przeworsk-culture (*Kokowski 2003*, 170–183, fig. 63). It should be noted that most of them either have crossguard or their blades gradually narrow towards the point, which makes them different in shape from the straight blade of the *spatha* from Hegyeshalom.[18]

Later in the 4th c. the proportions of the swords change. The shoulders of the sword from Hegyeshalom run obliquely down into the blade. This can also be observed in Bronze Age weapons, but also occurs in the East at the Scythians and later on is also characteristic by La Tène swords. For Roman swords, oblique shoulder can also mean the survival of archaic features, especially in Hispania and Gaul (*Bishop 2020*, 5–7). The shoulders of the Hegyeshalom sword do not run at the same angle down into the blade and are not of the same length. (Fig. 1: 2B) Swords with similar shoulders also occur in inhumation burials dated between the end of the 3rd c. and the first half of the 4th c., e.g. Monceau-le-Neuf, grave 2, France, Lampertheim, grave III, Germany and Stockstadt, grave 1, Germany (*Schulze-Dörlamm 1985*, 510, 511, 514, 516, 517, fig. 2a: 6; 5: 2; 7: 3). Long, double-edged swords with asymmetrical shoulders also occur in the graves of the Late Sarmatian period of the Great Hungarian Plain, e.g. in the cemetery of the Sarmatian army protecting the Roman ramparts, Mezőszemere, Kismari Fenék, the 95 cm long sword of the grave 38 (*Domboróczki 1997*, 138, cat. 1, fig. 94; 95; *Vaday/Domboróczki 2001*, 18–20, 86) but the 90 cm long sword of the grave 42 (*Vaday/Domboróczki 2001*, 86, fig. 36: 2), the broken-ended weapon of the grave 58 (*Vaday/Domboróczki 2001*, 24–26, fig. 40; 42: 1) and the 87.6 cm long sword of grave 13 of the Attila-era cemetery of Alattyán, Tulát can also be listed here (*Kovrig 1963*, 10, 11, 193–197, pl. XLV: 15: 3; *Vaday 1985*, fig. 5: 11; *1988–1989*, 231, cat. 3, pl. 6: 13). To continue the description of parts of the sword from Hegyeshalom, it is 5.5 cm wide at the top of the blade, and 2–2.5 cm lower already has a width of 6 cm. Question arises, whether it is a matter of chance only due to rust, or was the scabbard slightly shorter than the blade. Like at the tang, there was no wood residue in the rust, so it is not possible to decide whether the scabbard was made of wood or a thin iron sheet was bent into the wood. The scabbard of the sword from Budapest, Bécsi út was assumed to be made of wood (*Nagy 2004*, 237, note 44). The 78.5 cm long scabbard of the *spatha* from Zalaszentgrót is also made of wood. Based on the wood remains, it can be well reconstructed that the scabbard on both sides was 0.4 cm wider than the blade. According to Robert Müller, '*the 4.7 and 4.5 cm wide strip of leather observed at 12.3 and 39.3 cm from the blade collar is a remnant of a leather band holding the two parts of the scabbard together*' (*Müller 1976*, 60).

The chape of the Hegyeshalom sword is oval-bottomed, jar-like, 1.3 cm high, made of iron, the upper part of which is covered with a 3 cm wide bronze plate. In its unrestored state, the rivets are not visible at the bottom of either the bronze plate of the chape or the iron terminal cap. On the upper side of the chape plate, a fine textile was preserved in the rust.

The chape of the Budapest, Bécsi út sword was perished, it was rectangular in shape, 6 to 7 cm long and 5 cm wide, and presumably a silver plate was bent on it (*Nagy 2004*, 237, fig. 17: 5). Based on the in situ photograph, it could have been a plate metal chape (*Nagy 2004*, 237, fig. 10: 3). Margit Nagy also mentions its parallels (*Nagy 2004*, 251, 252).

The chape of the sword from Zalaszentgrót was made of two parts. The top was a corroded 4–4.1 cm wide, worn silvered bronze plate bent into an oval shape 5.9–1.9 cm in diameter. The two edges of the plate were decorated with punched crosses, the two ends were fastened together with four rivets, the ends of which were curved. Based on this, it can be stated that the wall of the scabbard is made of 0.5–0.7 cm thick wood. The scabbard was closed by a flanged iron plate that fitted exactly to the former plate. Three 4.6 cm long terminal knobs with hemispherical heads and rectangular cross-section were fixed to the bottom (Fig. 2: 7; *Müller 1976*, fig. 11: 4a, b, 5a, b). It is important to note that there is no chape on the photograph made in situ of the grave (*Müller 1976*, fig. 8; 10).

The three chapes with the straight bottom belong to the so-called Gundremmingen type of late Roman chapes.[19] The chape type was described in 1966 by *Joachim Werner* (*1966*, 139–141) and then supplemented by Christian Miks with the Jakuszowice variant (*Miks 2007*, 408–411). The latest detailed analysis of the type was done by *Michael Schmauder* (*2018*). Straight-bottomed 'Persian-type' Late Imperial chapes can be found among the Germans even before the Hunnic period (*Possenti 2011*, 440). These widespread (*Iriarte 2006*, 83, note 27), simplified, tube-shaped, straight-bottomed chapes with three rivets on the bottom according to Michel Feugére, were innovations in late Roman fabrics responsible for supplying Roman armament and armor due to their easy production (*Feugére 2002*, 247). Based on Christian Miks' typology (*Miks 2007*, 408–411), Oster-

[18] Gerlachsen, Schriesheim, Mainz-Kostheim, Wiesbaden, Lugi, Zelniki Wielke: *Schulze-Dörlamm 1985*, 565, 566, Fundliste 4.

[19] Based on Christian Miks' typology, they are types A809 and A780 (*Miks 2007*, 408–411).

burken/Kemathen-type and Asiatic-type *spathae* are common with Gundremmingen-type chapes. Based on its occurrence with Asiatic-type sword forms, it is suggested that it could have been manufactured by a workshop in the East or outside the Empire, and in connection with its occurrence with a crossbar also an eastern workshop related to the Hun rule of the Carpathian Basin emerged (*Schmauder 2018*, 523, 524). Their shape is similar to the chapes of eagle-headed swords depicted on the porphyry Portrait of the Four Tetrarchs (Fig. 2: 5). The bottom of the scabbard on the long double-edged sword in the grave of the German leader of Lébény Magasmart (Hungary) was made of a thin copper plate, the surface was covered with a silver plate divided by ribs (*Pusztai 1966*, 103, fig. 4: 1). As an exact parallel, a chape plate of a fragmented sword found in Altlußheim (Germany) can be cited, where even an iron disc similar to the find from Hegyeshalom remained at the bottom of the chape (Fig. 2: 6; *Pusztai 1966*, 109, note 19, with former bibliography). The chape plate of the 5th c. Altlußheim grave was considered to be of Eastern origin (*Garscha 1936*, 193, pl. 40: lb–e). The dating of the chape type is between 300 AD and the first half of the 5th c. based on current finds and depictions (*Miks 2015*, 20; *Schmauder 2018*, 524).

The characteristic features of some parts of the swords may also indicate different ethnic contexts. In the case of Pannonia, in addition to the ethnic affiliation of the owner of the weapon, his social status,[20] economic status[21] as well as his occupation[22] was assessed as an influencing factor. Nevertheless, weapons do not often occur in Early and Middle Imperial burials, which makes comparisons difficult.

The situation will not change later, weapon is also relatively rare in the Late Roman Imperial graves of Pannonia.[23] This is also understandable, as weapons owned by the treasury had to be handed over to the *curator fisci* by the soldiers when they were disarmed.[24] Nevertheless, albeit infrequently, weapons were placed in the graves.[25] Many Barbarians were enlisted in the Roman army, so the deceased with the sword of Hegyeshalom could also be a settled German warrior, or one from the left bank of the Danube who, according to tradition, was buried with a weapon (*Feugère 2002*, 34, with previous opinions). This would be supported by the fact that in the Lower Elbe-Loire area, only 25 *spathae* are known from the graves of the 4–5th c. (*Böhme 1974*, 97, note 33), however, in the Rhine-Main region the graves are characterized by offensive weapons during this period (*Schulze-Dörlamm 1985*, 552).

In Pannonia, the Roman-Barbarian neighbourhood dates back several centuries to the Late Imperial Era, therefore peaceful and wartime events between the two areas could have had an impact on armaments. Like in the Province, there are only a few sword graves in the early and Middle Sarmatian period of the Sarmatian *Barbaricum*. It can also be explained by the fact that there is no metal deposit in the Great Plain, they were forced to import iron, and the supply of weapons was difficult. In the second half of the 4th c., however, in the Prehunnic, then in the Attila era, and later in the 5th c., the situation changed when the role and importance of the military increased due to the war. Armed graves appear at Sarmatian centers,[26] strategic points, river crossings,[27] in border areas[28] and along routes also used by the military.[29]

The appearance of the Huns in Europe forced many tribes to flee. The Barbarians endangered the provinces partly in *Ister* and partly along the *Danuvius*. Rome intended an important role in the Roman entrenchment defending Pannonia as an 'advanced limes'. In its construction, the Roman soldiers and the Sarmatians of Eastern origin living in the Carpathian Basin at this period worked in an alliance, the latter also taking part in the defence

[20] Buried are hunters or high-ranking individuals (*Feugére 2002*, 34, with previous opinions).

[21] See the carriage burials of the rich indigenous aristocracy (*Ottományi 2016*, 126, 192, 263, note 671, with previous literature).

[22] Cserszegtomaj-Dobogódomb (*Mráv 2010–2013*, 55, 57, 61), Sankt Georgen/Lajtaszentgyörgy, Austria (*Mráv 2010–*2013, 71, with the relevant literature).

[23] In 1972, examining 2210 4th c. burials, Lányi found that only 24 burials had any weapons at all (*Lányi 1972*, 83).

[24] There have been rare individual cases where a veteran soldier has retained his weapon (*Woods 1993*).

[25] According to *M. Nagy* (*2004*, 253), the burial of the Budapest, Bécsi út sword, which dates back to the turn of the 4th–5th c., is explained by the fact that *'the sword was considered the property of the buried and out of respect for a military officer of presumably barbarian descent they did not comply with the provision'*.

[26] Due to size limitations we will mention here only a few of the sword graves.

[27] Like the already mentioned grave 13 from Alattyán, Tulát (*Vaday 1988–1989*, 231, pl. 11: 19; with previous literature).

[28] A previous example: At Hortobágy, Poroshát (Sarmatian-Germanic border) 4th mound group, grave 8, silver plate chape sword (*Zoltai 1941*, 285, pl. VI: 38, 39a, b). There are several Germanic objects at the site, so it is quite difficult to decide whether the weapon is of Eastern origin or whether the sword came from the Germans to its owner.

[29] Sándorfalva, Eperjes, grave 5 (*Vörös 1982–1983*, 142, 143, fig. 9). Long double-edged sword with a straight iron strap chape.

of the entrenchment. With this in mind, it is also important to draw attention to the chapes in the *Barbaricum* of the Carpathian Basin. In the cemeteries of the army protecting the entrenchment, the simpler chape of the sword of grave 38 from Mezőszemere, Kismari-Fenék (*Vaday/Domboróczki 2001*, fig. 29: 4) and the swords of grave 34 from Tiszadob-Sziget (*Istvánovits 1993*, fig. 16: 4), also refer to the possible eastern connection system regarding the chape.

Within the middle line of the entrenchment – intersecting the former line of the ditch – a group of graves of barbarian military families protecting the ditch was found in Mezőszemere, Kismari-Fenék (Hungary). In grave 38, on the left side of the skeleton, between the body and the arm, a 95 cm long, 5 cm wide-bladed sword was laid with a narrow, straight-bottomed, oval-based chape attached to the wooden scabbard with two nails (*Vaday/Domboróczki 2001*, 20, fig. 27; 29: 1, 4). In the same site, at grave 42, a detached sword with a 77 cm long blade and a 13 cm long hilt (*Vaday/Domboróczki 2001*, 24, fig. 36: 2), to which a 'magical bead also belonged' (*Vaday/Domboróczki 2001*, 23, 24, fig. 37) was also placed to the left of the body. In grave 58, the sword was placed on the left of the body, partly on his arm, partly on his thigh, its 8 cm long broken tang remained, and only a 59 cm long piece of the blade was preserved (*Vaday/Domboróczki 2001*, 14–25, fig. 42: 1). Tiszavalk (Hungary) is also located inside the entrenchment. Here in grave 6 a long sword was laid on the left of the dead. The scabbard and hilt cover were made of wood. The hilt of the ritually bent and broken sword[30] is 6 cm long, the length of the blade is 68.7 cm, the width is 5.2 cm (*Garam/Vaday 1990*, 182, 188, fig. 10: 1; 11: 12). A so-called 'magical bead' hung from both the Mezőszemere and the Tiszavalk swords. Outside the Roman entrenchment, already in the Germanic settlement area at Tiszadob Sziget (Hungary), in the grave 34, on the left side of the body a long sword with a fuller and an iron chape was laid, which is more common among the Germans and less common among the Sarmatians (*Istvánovits 1993*, 110, fig. 16: 4).[31]

It is also clear from the listed swords that in the Provinces of the Roman Empire the form of weapons was influenced partly by the weapons of the Celtic and Germanic autochthon population, and partly by the weapons of the Germans, Sarmatians and other settled Barbarians living in the neighbourhood provinces. The fighting and fencing techniques of different ethnic groups could also influence the shape and size of swords. By the Late Imperial era, Celtic elements had already been incorporated and became Roman, but Germanic features were constantly present. In addition to these, the Eastern, Persian influence may also be taken into account regarding Late Roman *spathae*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Biborski 1978 – M. Biborski: Miecze z okresu wplywów rzymskich na obszarze kultury przeworskiej. *Materiały Archeologiczne* 18, 1978, 53–165.

Biborski et al. 1982 – M. Biborski/P. Kaczanowski/Z. Kędzierski/J. Stępiński: Metallographische Untersuchungen als Kriterium einer Identifikation römischer Schwerter. In: J. Piaskowski/M. Biborski (eds.): *Ancient Iron Manufactures Centres in Northern Central Europe*. Archaeologia Interregionalis 3. Warszawa – Krakow 1982, 65–98.

Biborski/Ilkjær 2006 – M. Biborski/J. Ilkjær: *Illerup Ådal 11–12. Die Schwerter und die Schwertscheiden. 11. Textband. 12. Katalog, Tafeln und Fundlisten*. Jutland Archaeological Society Publications 25. Århus 2006.

Biborski/Kaczanowski 1989 – M. Biborski/P. Kaczanowski: Zur Identifizierung römischer Schwertimporte im Lichte metallographischer Untersuchungen, In: R. Pleiner (ed.): *Archaeometallurgy of Iron. International Symposium of the Comité pour la sidérurgie ancienne de l'UISPP. Liblice, 5–9 October 1987*. Prague 1989, 379–385.

Bishop 2020 – M. C. Bishop: *The Spatha. The Roman Long Sword*. Bloomsbury 2020.

Böhme 1974 – H. W. Böhme: *Germanische Grabfunde des 4. bis 5. Jahrhunderts zwischen unterer Elbe und Loire. Studien zur Chronologie und Bevölkerungsgeschichte*. Münchner Beiträge zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte 19. München 1974.

Couissin 1926 – P. Couissin: *Les armes romains. Essai sur les origines et l'évaluation des armes individuélles du légionnaire romain*. Paris 1926.

Domboróczki 1997– L. Domboróczki: Mezőszemere – Kismari-Fenék. In: P. Raczky/T. Kovács/A. Anders (szrek. – eds.): *Utak a múltba. Az M3-as autopálya régészeti leletmentései – Paths into the past. Rescue excavations on the M3 motorway*. Budapest 1997, 99–102, 186, 187.

Feugère 2002 – M. Feugère: *Weapons of the Romans*. Stroud – Charleston 2002.

Garam/Vaday 1990 – É. Garam/A. Vaday: Sarmatische Siedlung und Begräbnisstätte in Tiszavalk. *Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungariae* 1990, 171–219.

Garscha 1936 – F. Garscha: Das völkerwanderungszeitliche Fürstengrab von Altlußheim. *Germania* 20, 1936, 191–197.

[30] Damage to the weapon was not a custom among the Romans, but it was a common phenomenon in both late La Tène and Germanic cremation graves.

[31] Fig. 16: 1 depicts a central fuller in a section, but on the other side of the very rusty weapon, it is not visible.

Iriarte 2006 – A. Iriarte: De reconstructie van de militaire uitrusting. In: J. H. Pouls/H. J. G. Crompvoets (eds.): *De Gouden Helm uit de Peel. Congres over de Gouden Helm uit de Peel op 25 maart 2006*. Meijel 2006, 79–90.

Istvánovits 1993 – E. Istvánovits: Das Gräberfeld aus dem 4.–5. Jahrhundert von Tiszadob-Sziget. *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 45, 1993, 91–146.

Kokowski 2003 – A. Kokowski: Die Przeworsk-Kultur. Ein Völkerband zwischen 200 vor Chr. und 375 nach Chr. In: A. Kokowski/C. Leiber (Hrsg.): *Die Vandalen. Die Könige. Die Eliten. Die Krieger. Die Handwerker. Publikation zur Ausstellung „Die Vandalen". Ausstellung im Weserrenaissance-Schloss Bevern vom 29. März bis 26. Oktober 2003*. Nordstemmen 2003, 77–183.

Kovrig 1963 – I. Kovrig: *Das awarenzeitliche Gräberfeld von Alattyán*. Archaeologia Hungarica N. S. 40. Budapest 1963.

Lányi 1972 – V. Lányi: Die spätantiken Gräberfelder in Pannonien. *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 24, 1972, 53–213.

Miks 2007 – Chr. Miks: *Studien zur römischen Schwertbewaffnung in der Kaiserzeit*. Kölner Studien zur Archäologie der römischen Provinzen. Band 8. Rahden/Westf. 2007.

Miks 2009 – Chr. Miks: Ein römisches Schwert mit Ringknaufgriff aus dem Rhein bei Mainz. *Mainzer Archäologische Zeitschrift* 8, 2009, 129–165.

Miks 2015 – Chr. Miks: Sword, gladius. In: *The Encyclopedia of the Roman Army*. Chicheste – Malden, MA, 2015. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118318140.wbra1463

Mráv 2010–2013 – Zs. Mráv: The Roman Army along the Amber Road between Poetovio and Carnuntum in the 1st Century A.D. – Archaeological evidence. A preliminary research report. *Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungariae 2010–2013*, 49–100.

Müller 1976 – R. Müller: Római kori leletek Zalaszentgrótról. *Zalai Gyűjtemény* 6, 1976, 33–68.

Nagy 2004 – M. Nagy: Két késő római kori fegyveres sír az aquincumi canabae nyugati szélén. *Budapest Régiségei* 38, 2004, 231–315.

Ottományi 2016 – K. Ottományi: A budaörsi római *vicus* temetője. In: K. Ottományi (szerk.): *A budaörsi római* vicus *temetője. Régészeti tanulmányok*. Budapest 2016, 9–372.

Possenti 2011 – E. Possenti: Una tomba di cavaliere della metà del V secolo da Arzignano (Vicenza). *Archeologia Medievale* 38, 2011, 431–457.

Pusztai 1966 – R. Pusztai: A lébényi germán fejedelmi sír. *Arrabona* 8, 1966, 99–118.

Rajtár 1994 – J. Rajtár: Waffen und Ausrüstungsteile aus dem Holz-Erde-Lager von Iža. *Journal of Roman Military Equipment Studies* 5, 1994, 83–95.

Schmauder 2018 – M. Schmauder: Ein spätrömischer Ortbandabschluss? Zu einem exzeptionellen Objekt aus der Sammlung Langfeld. In: M. Aufleger/P. Tutlies (Hrsg.): *Das Ganze ist mehr als die Summe seiner Teile. Festschrift für Jürgen Kunow anlässlich seines Eintritts in den Ruhestand*. Materialien zur Bodendenkmalpflege im Rheinland 27. Bonn 2018, 521–528.

Schulze-Dörlamm 1985 – M. Schulze-Dörlamm: Germanische Kriegergräber mit Schwertbeigabe in Mitteleuropa aus dem späten 3. Jahrhundert und der ersten Hälfte des 4. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz* 32, 1985, 509–569.

Tacitus Germania – Cornelius Tacitus: *Germania Agricola Dialogus de oratoribus*. Ed. E. Koestermann. Lipsiae 1962.

Tacitus Historiae – Cornelius Tacitus: *Historiarum libri*. Ed. E. Koestermann. Lipsiae 1961.

Vaday 1985 – A. Vaday: Sarmatisches Gräberfeld in Törökszentmiklós-Surján-Újtelep. *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 37, 1985, 345–390.

Vaday 1988–1989 – A. Vaday: Die sarmatischen Denkmäler des Komitats Szolnok. Ein Beitrag zur Archäologie und Geschichte des sarmatischen Barbaricums. *Antaeus* 17–18, 1988–1989, 9–159.

Vaday 2019 – A. Vaday: Angaben zur Rekonstruktion der Leichenbetten. In: G. I. Farkas/R. Neményi/M. Szabó (eds.): *Visy 75. Artificem commendat opus. Studia in honorem Zsolt Visy*. Pécs 2019, 547–557.

Vaday/Domboróczki 2001– A. Vaday/L. Domboróczki: Mezőszemere, Kismari-fenék. Spätkaiser-frühvölkerwanderungszeitliches Gräberfeldsdetail. *Agria* 37, 2001, 5–206.

Vörös 1982–1983 – G. Vörös: Hunkori szarmata temető Sándorfalva-Eperjesen. *Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve* 1, 1982–1983, 129–172.

Werner 1966 – J. Werner: Spätrömische Schwertortbänder vom Typ Gundremmingen. *Bayerische Vorgeschichtsblätter* 31, 1966, 134–141.

Woods 1993 – D. Woods: The ownership and disposal of military equipment in the Late Roman army. *Journal of Roman Military Equipment Studies* 4, 1993, 55–65.

Zoltai 1941 – L. Zoltai: Die Hügelgräber der römischen Kaiserzeit in Hortobágy. *Laureae Aquincenses. Memoriae Valentini Kuzsinszky dicatae II. Aquincumi babérágak, Kuzsinszky Bálint emlékének szenteli Budapest-székesfővárosközönsége és a Pázmány-Egyetem Érem- és Régiségtani Intézete*. Dissertationes Pannonicae. Ser. II. Fasc. 11. Budapest 1941, 269–308.

Manuscript accepted 7. 6. 2021

Translated by Eva Szakos

Andrea Vaday DSc, Prof.
University of Pécs
Department of Archaeology
Rókus utca 2. 'M' épület I. emelet
H – 7624 Pécs
vaday54@gmail.com

Eva Szakos
Castle Headquarters Integrated Regional Development Centre
Department of Archaeology
Szent Mihály u. 4
H – 6721 Szeged
evi.szakos@gmail.com

SLOVENSKÁ ARCHEOLÓGIA – SUPPLEMENTUM 2
Z. Robak/M. Ruttkay (eds.): Celts – Germans – Slavs.
A Tribute Anthology to Karol Pieta. Nitra 2021, 291–300.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.31577/slovarch.2021.suppl.2.26

STORAGE VESSELS IN THE LATE ROMAN AND EARLY MIGRATION PERIOD IN THE POLISH WEST CARPATHIANS

Economic Aspect

RENATA MADYDA-LEGUTKO – KRZYSZTOF TUNIA

The article concerns large storage vessels (*Krausengefäße*) from the Late Roman Period and the Early Migration Period, found in large numbers in the Polish West Carpathians. Traditionally, it has been assumed that they were used to store grain. It seems, however, that storage vessels found inside houses probably were local 'pantries' – places used to keep various agricultural and gathered produce and its products, intended for direct consumption. They were probably also used to store drinking water. Storage vessels dug into the ground outside houses may have served as local reservoirs of water for consumption or pottery manufacture. The water might have been brought to the settlement in other, smaller, 'storage' vessels. On the other hand, ground granaries and pits dug in the ground, properly secured against birds, rodents and postharvest pests, were much more suitable for long-term grain storage. The characteristic rim of the *Krausengefäße* vessels, shaped as a flange, was undoubtedly functional and connected to the vessel's closure system. It was an element of a tight cover whose function was to make access to the inside of the vessel as difficult as possible. The lid was probably made of organic material, thick textile of leather, which – once placed over the vessel and tied under the flange – tightly sealed the vessel. This flange-shaped rim was an important invention, which served to strengthen the edges of the vessel and allowed the vessel to be closed easily, quickly and tightly. It secured the contents during both transport and storage.

Keywords: Polish West Carpathians, Late Roman and Early Migration Periods, storage vessels.

Pottery is the most common bulk material found at the settlements from the Roman Period and the early phase of the Migration Period. In the literature, a lot of attention has been devoted to the typological and technological aspects of such finds, much less to their function; the latter is more difficult to analyse and requires historical and ethnological reflection and often also specialist analyses.

For the purposes of this article, the broad ceramic set of that time has been narrowed down to the large-capacity vessels known as *Krausengefäße*. They appeared in the area of Central European *Barbaricum* in the Late Roman Period and differed in the method of manufacture, shape and proportions depending on the region in which they were made. Their precursors were large storage vessels with a flange, known already in the Celtic world (*Furger-Gunti 1979*, 87; *Woźniak 2000*, 302).

Such vessels have garnered interest for quite some time. Works on the subject, based on the material from Silesia (*Boege 1937*; *Jahn 1925*; *von Richthofen 1928*) or analysing vessels from the former territory of Eastern Lesser Poland (*Śmiszko 1939/1948*), were published already in the first half of the 20th c. The advancement of the research in the Przeworsk culture area resulted in further publications (*Bohr 2008*; *Dobrzańska 1990*, 46–48; *Godłowski 1969*, 99, 100, 174; *Machajewski/Pietrzak 2008*, 235–237; *Marchelak 2010*, 104, 113–115, 119, fig. 11: 1–4; *Pazda 1980*, 199–202; *Rodzińska-Nowak 2006*, 131–138; *Wilk 2005*; *Żychliński 1999*; *2008*).

Vessels of the *Krausengefäße* type undoubtedly appeared to satisfy some economic needs of the then community. Not without significance is their similarity to the large storage vessels used in the Roman world. They correspond to two categories of Roman pottery, i.e. dolia (*dolium*) and amphorae (*Peña 2011*, 20). The former are very large vessels with a capacity of 400–3000 litres; they were permanently dug in the ground and generally used to store wine, olive oil, oil, grains. The latter vessels were smaller, with a capacity of 6–150 litres, and served as portable containers for transport and storage. They were used to distribute freshly made goods and post-distribute various products. They were mainly used for foodstuffs – wine, olive oil, oil, processed fish, fruit. However, their use was wider ranged; they served as a universal packaging for goods which are only partially recognised today. The literature and finds attest that amphorae

were used to transport and store alum, tar, resin, honey, nuts, cabbage, etc. (*Peña 2011*, 25).

In the studies on the Roman Period in the Central European *Barbaricum*, much attention has already been devoted to the economy, but deliberations on the functional aspect of pottery are rare. The discussions have mainly focused on the potential uses of ceramics. In general, a distinction has been made between table- and kitchenware, while the function of large storage vessels has been considered less often, despite the fact that such vessels constitute a significant percentage share of the pottery assemblage of the communities of the period discussed, at least in the upper basins of the Vistula and the Oder Rivers, and especially in the mountain areas. The digging of large vessels into the ground within the settlements has been noted.

When attempting to determine the purpose of storage vessels in our area of interest, it is necessary to refer – for lack of direct information – to the data from the analysis of the material from the *Imperium Romanum*, where large vessels had economic use. However, the reconstruction of the whole variety of uses of pottery is made difficult by the issue of the primary use for which the vessel was manufactured and its secondary, often *ad hoc*, uses (e.g. a doghouse from a horizontally placed large vessel; a container for a liquid for poultry or a dog at a farm, made from a fragment of such a vessel; a large sherd used as a lid of a vessel, etc.; *Peña 2011*, 193–208). It is then worth focusing on the suggestions concerning only the most likely forms of primary use of large vessels in our area of interest.

In the Late Roman Period and the Early Migration Period in the Polish Carpathians, fragments of vessels with flange-shaped rims (*Krausengefäße)* and, in exceptional cases, also whole vessels of the same type can be found in large numbers at settlement sites. The share of storage vessels in the ceramic material varies between different settlements in the Beskid Mts zone. If we compare the number of sites from the Polish Carpathians dated from the Late Roman Period to the Early Migration Period and the similarly dated sites where vessels of the *Krausengefäße* type have been found, it can be observed that such specimens were present at almost half of all sites (*Madyda-Legutko 1995*, list III; V; map 4; 5; *Wilk 2005*, 342). As a result of new excavations, the share of storage vessels in the pottery assemblage is gradually increasing. Thus, they were common vessels, probably multifunctional, serving purposes which are difficult to unambiguously determine but most probably related mainly to the food economy.

The range of occurrence of storage vessels in the Carpathians is not limited to the Polish Carpathian zone only, as they are also known from the area south of the main Carpathian watershed – from Orava (*Čaplovič 1987*, 192, 193, fig. 88: 1, 4, 6–8; *Lofajová Danielová/Furman 2019*; *Pieta 1991*, fig. 5: 10), Spiš (*Giertlová-Kučerová/Soják 2005*, 122, fig. 8: 7, 8; 9: 1, 2; 10: 3, 4; 14: 2, 5, 6, 7; *Pieta 2003*, 156–158, fig. 6: 22, 24), Liptov (*Pieta 1991*, fig. 5: 11) and from the vicinity of the town of Prešov in eastern Slovakia (*Lamiová-Schmiedlová/Tomášová 1999*, 99, pl. III: 17; VI: 3–5; XI: 6). It can then be said that they are one of the many elements of the set of vessels used by the people of the so-called North Carpathian group. They are also found farther to the east, at the settlements of the Carpathian Barrow culture located in the foreland of the East Carpathians (*Vakulenko 2010*, 118, 119, fig. 64: 1–3; 65: 1–4). Numerous fragments of storage vessels also occur north of the Polish Carpathians, in the material from the settlements of the Przeworsk culture population, from almost the entire area that it occupied, and are particularly common in Lesser Poland and Silesia.

The storage vessels with flange-shaped rims known from the Polish Beskid Mts zone differ mainly in the technology of manufacture and in some morphological features. They were formed either from clays tempered with coarse- and medium-grained crushed stone or from clays with no or an insignificant amount of coarse-grained mineral temper and mainly with an admixture of sand or chamotte (*Madyda-Legutko 1995*, list V.1; V.2; map 6; *1996*, 83–91; *2011*, 298–300, 302). The first group is dominant in the western part of the Carpathians, the second in the San River basin (*Madyda-Legutko 1996*, 85; *2011*, 297–300, fig. 2: 11; 4: 1a, b; *Wilk 2005*, 344). It should be noted here that, in terms of technology, vessels of the first group are characteristic of the pottery developing in the territory of the Przeworsk culture, i.e. in the areas located to the north of the Carpathians. On the other hand, the manufacture of storage vessels from clays without a significant amount of mineral temper is alien to the traditions of the Przeworsk pottery and is reminiscent of the pottery of the Dacian circle (*Madyda-Legutko 1996*, 90, 91; *2011*, 298, 300).

In this article, we wish to focus on the storage vessels discovered in the West Carpathians, including the Sącz Basin, the Beskid Sądecki Mts and, to some extent, the adjacent mountainous areas of Slovakia, i.e. in an area of a certain cultural unity referred to as the North Carpathian group.

The storage vessels from the Polish West Carpathians differ in dimensions, proportions and

shape of the rim. The vessels reach 80 cm in height, and the inner diameter of the rim is always smaller than the diameter of the body and the height of the vessel. In all probability, the height of the vessel was limited by the length of a hand with a scoop used to remove its contents. The vessels usually have bulbous bodies, with maximum circumference positioned above half the height of the vessel. Such features also characterise storage vessels from other parts of the Polish Carpathian zone. Slimmer specimens, with more egg-shaped bodies, are occasionally encountered. A few examples have distinct necks (*Madyda-Legutko/Tunia 1993*, pl. XXII: a).

A considerable variety is observed in the shape of the flange that crowned the vessels and after which they were named (Fig. 1: 21). The flange of the vessels from the Beskid Sądecki Mts and the Sącz Basin is most often either expanded on both sides and rounded or sharply bevelled on the outside and inverted to various degrees (*Madyda-Legutko 1996*, 87, fig. 8: 1–3, 5, 6, 11–13; 9: 1–5, 8, 10–12; *Madyda-Legutko/Tunia 1993*, fig. 10–13). It usually measures 3–5 cm in width; the widest ones reach 6 cm (*Madyda-Legutko/Tunia 1993*, 58). In the areas farther to the east, on the upper San River, a greater diversity of rims can be observed (*Madyda-Legutko 1996*, 90, fig. 10: 7–9; *Wilk 2005*, fig. 4; 5). The flange, sometimes with circumferential grooves on the upper surface, was undoubtedly functional, not decorative and was most likely related to the vessel's closure system. It was an element connected to the lid, a tight cover, the purpose of which was to make access to the inside of the vessel as difficult as possible. The lid was probably made of organic material, thick fabric (felt) or leather, which – once placed over the vessel and tied with a cord under the flange – tightly sealed the vessel. According to some researchers, the lid may have been in the form of a flat disc made of wood (*Dobrzańska 1990*, 47; *Wilk 2005*, 365). However, even in such a case, the tightness of the closure was guaranteed by the additional cover of organic material tied under the flange. Therefore, this flange-shaped rim was an important invention, which served to strengthen the edges of the vessel and made it possible to close the vessel easily, quickly and tightly. It protected the contents during both transport and storage.

Storage vessels were mainly hand-made, although traces of use of a potter's wheel are also sometimes visible. During the field exploration of the storage vessel at Moszczenica Wyżna, Nowy Sącz district, site C, feature no. 1 (Fig. 1: 19, 20; *Madyda-Legutko/Tunia 1978*, 122, fig. 13), it was observed that it had been built from several-centimetre-wide bands. Traces of fusing the bands used to make the vessels are also visible on the sherds of storage pottery from the settlement at Lesko, Lesko district on the San River (*Barłowska 1984*, 65; *Wilk 2005*, 347).[1] In some storage vessels, traces of use of a potter's wheel are observed not only under the rim but also on the parts near the bottom; for example, a circumferential ring on the base of one of the vessels from Rytro, Nowy Sącz district, site A (*Madyda-Legutko/Tunia 1993*, 60, 61, pl. XXII: a).[2]

The storage vessels from the West Carpathians, regardless of their size and manufacturing technique, are decorated mainly with incised ornamentation, placed in the upper part of the body. It takes the form of a single or multiplied wavy line, arranged in a single, double, sometimes triple band, even of a garland character (*Barłowska 1984*, pl. III: 1; *Madyda-Legutko 1996*, 89; *Wilk 2005*, 357, 361, fig. 9; 10). Ornaments in the form of parallel deep grooves also appear on the upper part of the body. The storage vessels from the Beskid Sądecki Mts and the Sącz Basin were not decorated with stamped ornamentation, which was sometimes used to embellish the flange and bodies of the storage vessels from the settlements in the upper Poprad River basin (*Giertlová-Kučerová/Soják 2005*, fig. 8: 7; 9: 1, 2; 14: 2, 3).

At the excavated settlements in Beskid Sądecki Mts, storage vessels were discovered mainly within large residential features. At the settlement at Moszczenica Wyżna, Nowy Sącz district, site C (437 m a.s.l.), a storage vessel, 80 cm high (Fig. 1: 19, 20), was dug into the ground near a house (feature no. 9) and farm buildings (*Madyda-Legutko/Tunia 1978*, 122, 123,

[1] It is believed that Greek immense storage vessels (pitos, *pithoi*) were probably built in parts – after drying one part of the vessel, another one was added – as there was a risk that the lower walls may collapse under the weight of the upper parts. This has also been confirmed by the observations of contemporarily made copies of such vessels; they are made from 2–3 separate parts, which are fused together only at the end of the whole process (http://www.crete.pl/znaleziska-archeologiczne/pitos.html [21. 1. 2021]). Thus, the use of a potter's wheel to make such vessels required a lot of skill.
There was also a proverb in ancient Greece saying that making a pitos required a lot of experience and knowledge – *άλλα στά παιδιά σας καί στά παιδιά τών φίλων σας καί μήπως σας συμβαίνει εκείνο ακριβώς πού λέγει ή παροιμία, νά'αρχίζετε τήν κεραμευτική άπό πιθάρι...* one cannot start the teaching profession with the most difficult (i.e. teaching), that is – as the well-known proverb says – a potter does not start being a potter by making a pitos (Plato, Laches, 187b, translation by E. Papuci-Władyka; cf. *Ziomecki 1961*, 62, with further literature; *Poleska 2006*, 70; see also http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Plat.+Lach.+187b&fromdoc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0175 [4. 10. 2021]).

[2] On the other hand, fully wheel-made storage vessels appear at the settlements situated on the San River (*Madyda-Legutko 2011*, fig. 2: 11; 4: 1a, b).

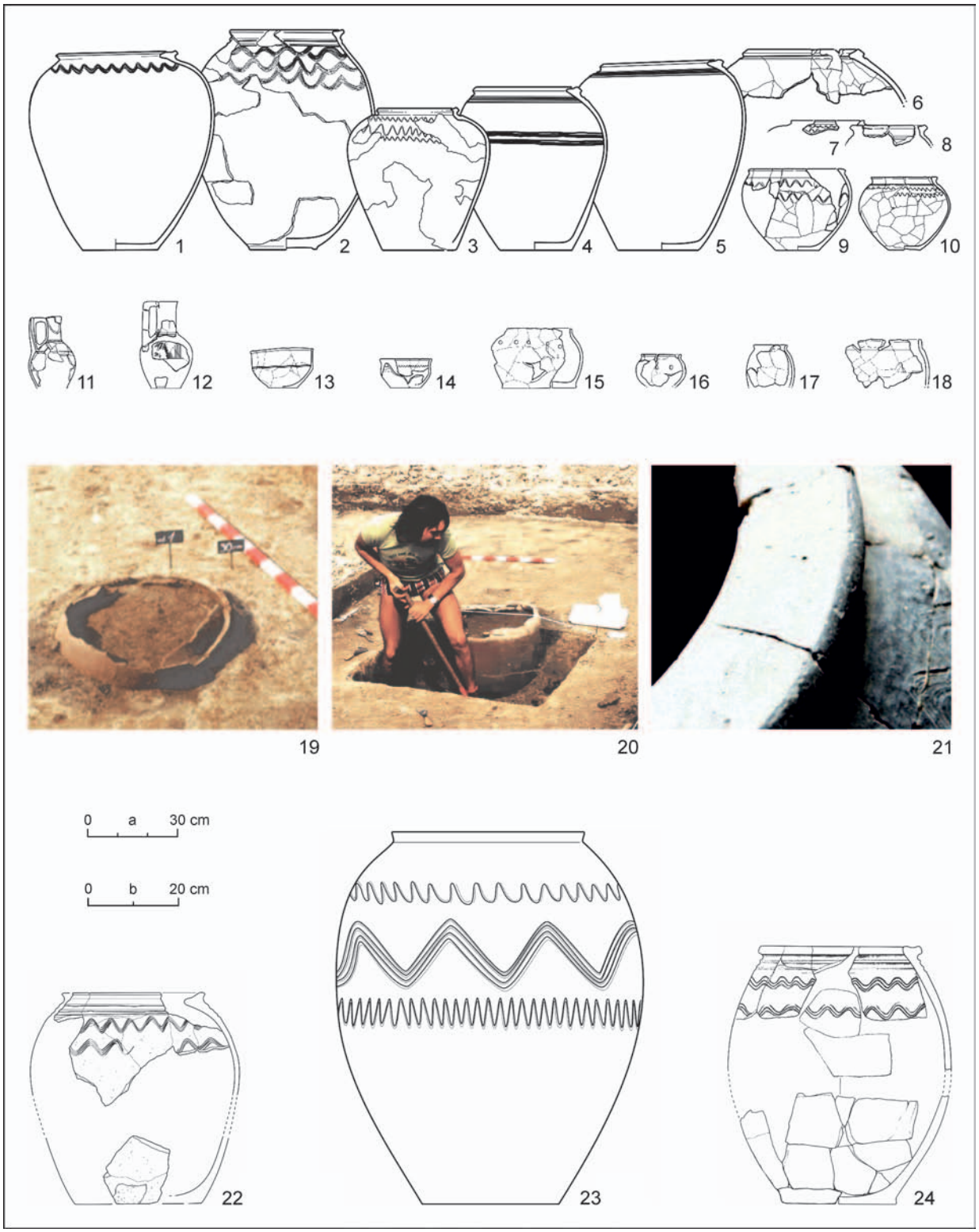


Fig. 1. *Krausengefäße* type storage vessels. 1–18 – Rytro, Nowy Sącz distr., site A (*Madyda-Legutko/Tunia 1993*, 36, 37; drawing by U. Socha); 19, 20 – Moszczenica Wyżna, Nowy Sącz distr., site C, exploration of storage vessel dug into the ground (photo by K. Tunia); 21 – Rytro, Nowy Sącz distr., site A, feature no. 5/81, broad, flange-like rim of storage vessel no. 1 (*Madyda-Legutko/Tunia 1993*, pl. XXI: a; photo M. Grygiel); 22 – Podegrodzie, Nowy Sącz distr., Archaeological Museum in Kraków collection (drawing by U. Potyrała); 23 – Vyšný Kubín, Dolný Kubín distr., Ostrá skala Mt. (*Pieta 1991*, fig. 5: 10); 24 – Hrdoš Mt. at the border between Žaškov, Dolný Kubín distr. and Komjatná, Ružomberok distr. (*Lofajová Danielová/Furman 2019*, pl. 1: 1). Scale: a – 1–18; b – 22–24.

fig. 13; *Madyda-Legutko 2011*, fig. 6: 1a–c). A large, flat stone lay between the rim sherds; it may have served as a lid. The vessel contained caryopses of various cereals (*Lityńska 1985*, 158, tab. 3). According to M. Lityńska, the data was insufficient to reconstruct the structure of crops. However, it cannot be excluded that the presence of various caryopses in the vessel may indicate shared storage of different cereals or that different grain species were sown within one field (*Tunia 2004*, 346). The hut next to which the vessel was dug, contained upper parts of four storage vessels and base sherds of seven more (*Madyda-Legutko/Tunia 1978*, 125, fig. 12: a–c).

At the settlement at Rytro, Nowy Sącz district, site A (485 m a.s.l.), fragments of several storage vessels were found by the northern inner wall of a hut (feature no. 5/81), in a shallow, longitudinal depression (*Madyda-Legutko/Tunia 1993*, 36, 37). Together with other vessel fragments, they formed a distinct pottery cluster, from which five whole vessels of different dimensions (Fig. 1: 1–5) and large parts of three other vessels (Fig. 1: 6–8) were reconstructed. The cluster also included kitchen- and tableware, represented by hand-made pots (Fig. 1: 15–18), wheel-made bowls (Fig. 1: 13, 14) and two deep 'bowls' with flange-shaped rims made of the same clay as the one used to manufacture the large storage vessels (Fig. 1: 9, 10). Jugs with the handle bent at a right angle and with a groove inside (Fig. 1: 11, 12) were found at both ends of the cluster. This arrangement of vessels, observed during the excavations, corresponds to their original placement in the hut. Apart from the cluster described above, the feature also contained numerous sherds from various vessels, including hand-made pots (*Madyda-Legutko/Tunia 1993*, 28). It should be noted that fragments of storage vessels were also found in the other sixteen features discovered at the Rytro settlement (*Madyda-Legutko/Tunia 1993*, 53).

At the settlement at Piwniczna, Nowy Sącz district, site A (602 m a.s.l.), the upper part of a storage vessel was found in the centre of the remains of a large hut (feature no. 3); its fill also contained numerous fragments of other vessels of this type (*Madyda-Legutko/Tunia 1993*, fig. 4: a–e). It has been suggested that there were at least nine storage vessels there (*Madyda-Legutko/Tunia 1980*, 147, 148; *1993*, 61).

Large numbers of storage vessels have been observed not only at the settlements established in the Beskid Sądecki Mts but also at the settlements existing in the intra-mountainous Sącz Basin. Unfortunately, due to the rescue nature of the excavations carried out there, we do not have detailed information regarding the deposition of vessels. Two clusters of storage vessel sherds were discovered at the settlement at Nowy Sącz-Biegonice, site 20 (305 m a.s.l.); the vessels were most probably embedded in the ground (*Cabalska/Madyda-Legutko/Tunia 1990*, 165, fig. 12: a, b; 23: f, g). Additionally, the number of other storage vessels from said settlement can be estimated at least five specimens (*Cabalska/Madyda-Legutko/Tunia 1990*, fig. 17: k; 20: d–f; 21: c; 22: c–e; 23: e). At the settlement at Podegrodzie, Nowy Sącz district (314 m a.s.l.), excavated in 1953 (*Madyda-Legutko 1995*, no. 553; *1996*, 10), the upper parts of at least three storage vessels were discovered in a settlement pit (Fig. 1: 22). There was also a jug there (*Madyda-Legutko/Tunia 2020*, fig. 7: 5). Fragments of a storage vessel were also discovered at the multicultural settlement at Stary Sącz, site 1 – Na Lipiu (320 m a.s.l.; *Jodłowski 1988*, 11–13, fig. 3).

At other settlements excavated in the Polish Carpathian zone, storage vessels occur – as mentioned before – in large numbers. Intentional digging of storage vessels into the ground has also been confirmed (*Madyda-Legutko/Tunia 2020*, 292). Such a practice is also known from the areas north of the Carpathians, from the territory of the Przeworsk culture (*Kaczanowski/Madyda-Legutko 1988*, 263; *Rodzińska-Nowak 2012*, 134, 135; *Stasiak-Cyran 2016*, 71). Of note is the distribution of storage vessels at the settlement at Przywóz, Wieluń district, on the Warta River, which resembles the one from Moszczenica Wyżna, site C. A large storage vessel was embedded in the ground outside a residential building, while in the centre of the building and closer to the western wall, there were fragments of two other such vessels (*Jadczyk 1971*, 176, fig. 4; *Jadczykowa 1973*, 131, 148, fig. 5; pl. II: 8, 9). The digging of storage vessels into the ground is a manifestation not only of an adaptation of a practice originating in the Mediterranean civilisation (Fig. 2: 3), but also of the manner in which they were used.

Outside the Beskid Sądecki Mts, storage vessels in the Polish Carpathians are found not only in residential dwellings but also in various types of pits. A trapezoidal pit (feature no. 4/65) at the settlement at Świerchowa, Jasło district, site 1, contained fragments of at least four storage vessels and other pottery (*Szałapata 1966*, 35, fig. 2; 3: a, c; 4: b, e). It should be taken into consideration, however, that the fragments of storage vessels found in some pits at settlements (e.g. Podegrodzie, Świerchowa) may have been discarded as waste. At the settlement at Lesko, Lesko district, on the San River, in pit no. 14 (homestead II), interpreted by the researcher as an in-ground storage, there were supposed to be fragments of at least three storage vessels and numerous other potsherds (*Barłowska 1984*, 58–60, pl. I: 1, 3, 5,

Fig. 2. Ethnological and historical analogies to storage vessels. 1 – porter carrying vessel with a liquid, Ayacucho, Peru 1978 (photo by K. Tunia); 2 – porter carrying an aryballos, Pachacamac, Peru, Inca culture, around 1500, Ethnologisches Museum der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin (photo by D. Graf); 3 – dolia dug into the ground, Ostia Antica, Italy (photo by J. Zagórska-Telega).

7, 8). The pit also contained burnt remains of various species of cereals and other crops (*Barłowska 1984*, 80–82, 89; *Lityńska-Zając 2004*, 365). Emmer wheat and spelt have been preserved in the form of naked caryopses and loose fragments of chaff, which gives reason to assume that they were stored after threshing. Hulless oat caryopses, which may belong to the cultivated form of *Avena sativa* or the wild form of *A. fatua* (*Barłowska 1984*, 80–82, 89; *Lityńska-Zając 2004*, 373), as well as barley (*Hordeum vulgare L.*) and rye (*Secale cereale L.*) were also present. The Lesko researcher believes that, between the three homesteads (I, II, III), the population living there used at least 20 storage vessels during the time the settlement was occupied (*Barłowska 1984*, 89). It should be stressed, however, that, despite the numerous finds of storage vessels both in the Polish Carpathians and in the area of the Przeworsk culture, the vessels containing cereal remains are rare (cf. *Dobrzańska 1981*, 265).

It is also worth mentioning that numerous storage vessels have been found in the remains of settlements in Slovakia, within the North Carpathian group. In Orava, in the village of Vyšný Kubín, Dolný Kubín district, at the Ostrá skala site (812 m a.s.l.), in a small test unit E/75, three storage vessels were discovered in a space of 3 × 5 m (*Čaplovič 1976*, 81; *1987*, fig. 83; *Pieta 1991*, fig. 5: 10). One of them is the largest example of such pottery heretofore known from the whole range of the North Carpathian group. It is 89 cm high (Fig. 1: 23). Two large storage vessels were discovered on the border between Orava and Liptov, on the mountain of Hrdoš (950 m a.s.l.) in the Velká Fatra Mts (Fig. 1: 24; *Lofajová Danielová/Furman 2019*, pl. 1: 1, 5). Numerous remains of storage vessels have been encountered at the sites of the North Carpathian group located at similarly high altitudes in Liptov. They are known from Liptovský Ján, Liptovský Mikuláš district, site Hrádok (876 m a.s.l.; *Pieta 1992*, 86, 87) and Turík, Ružomberok district, site Hradište (947 m a.s.l.; *Benediková/Pieta 2018*, 177; *Pieta 1991*, fig. 5: 11). Numerous examples of storage vessels are also known from the settlements of the North Carpathian group in Spiš (*Giertlová-Kučerová/Soják 2005*, 122, fig. 8: 7, 8; 9: 1, 2; 10: 3, 4; 14: 2, 5–7; *Pieta 2003*, 156–158, fig. 6: 22, 24).

In the archaeological literature, it has been assumed that storage vessels served as grain containers while also noting that, due to their varied size, they may have had other functions (*Gajewski 1959*, 135; *Pazda 1980*, 202; *Rodzińska-Nowak 2012*, 135; *Wielowiejski 1960*, 117, 152). However, it should be

[3] http://doradztworolnicze.com.pl/magazynowy-odwieczny-problem [21. 1. 2021]

Fig. 3. Ethnological and historical storage vessel. Wooden 'container' for a grain, Tylicz, Nowy Sącz distr., product of Carpathian Lemkos, the turn of the 19th and 20th c., Museum in Tylicz collection (photo by J. Kieblesz).

emphasised that grain stored in living quarters for a long time would spoil due to high humidity and temperature. Longer storage of grain without loss of quality is possible at a temperature below 16 °C and at a humidity of at most 12%.[3] Various ground granaries as well as pits dug into the ground and properly secured against birds, rodents and post-harvest pests were definitely better suited for such storage. Some aspects related to this issue have been mentioned before (cf. *Bednarczyk 1988*, 172, 173; *Coles 1977*, 44–53; *Rodzińska-Nowak 2012*, 133, 134; *Skowron 2014*, 72–77). Large storage vessels discovered in the remains of houses must have served a different purpose. It has also been considered in the literature that they may have been used to make pickles (*Gajewski 1959*, 135; *Pazda 1980*, 202; *Rodzińska-Nowak 2012*, 135; *2017*, 655) or to store food preserved with salt, as it was observed at Carnuntum (*Grünewald 1979*, 56).

It seems to us, however, that the storage vessels kept inside houses were local 'pantries', a place for storing various agricultural and gathered produce and its products, which were intended for direct consumption. They may also have contained processed food obtained through husbandry or hunting. Perhaps some of them were used to store relatively small quantities of grain for immediate everyday needs. It cannot be excluded that they also held drinking water.

The set of storage vessels was probably complemented by containers made of organic materials, such as baskets or containers made of wood, which have not been preserved. Wooden 'containers' hollowed out of tree trunks, known also from the Carpathians, may serve as an interesting ethnological example of objects intended for long-term storage of cereals (Fig. 3). On the other hand, vessels dug into the ground outside houses could have served as local reservoirs of water for consumption or pottery manufacture, possibly carried from streams or springs in other, slightly smaller, 'storage' vessels. Tight cover would make such a transport easier. Ethnological documentation from a remote mountainous region in the Andes, where large ceramic vessels were used for foot transport of liquids, may act as a proof that this is indeed possible. Such containers even of considerable size and weight, carried on the back, successfully fulfilled their role (Fig. 2: 1, 2).

It is also worth drawing attention to the secondary uses of the type of pottery under discussion; a well-preserved hearth made from sherds of large vessels discovered in the village of Siemonia, Będzin district (*Krauss 1955*, 104) may serve as an example. Likewise, an *ad hoc* adaptation of large potsherds within a homestead, e.g. as pot lids or drinking troughs for animals, cannot be excluded.

Due to their size and weight, storage vessels were most probably made at the site of their later

use. This is evidenced by the fragments of broken specimens in the backfills of already-out-of-use pottery kilns at some settlements. Such a situation was recorded in the Carpathian Mountains in Sanok, Sanok district, at site 59–60 (*Bulas et al. 2019*, 72, fig. 12: 3–7) and site 54 (*Madyda-Legutko 2011*, fig. 3: 10; 4: 1–7; *Madyda-Legutko/Pohorska-Kleja/Rodzińska-Nowak 2008*, 10–15, fig. 3: 1; 4: 1–7, 10–16, 18), and at Lipnica Dolna, Jasło district, site 8 (*Kłosowicz/Leszczyński 2017*, pl. III: 1–3, 5–8; IV: 1, 2, 4, 9–11; V: 1, 3–7; VI: 6, 8; VII: 1, 2, 9–10; VIII: 7). It is worth it here to draw attention to the research on the identification of the raw materials used to make the storage vessels discovered at the settlement of the Przeworsk culture at Kolonia Nieszawa, Opole Lubelskie district. Considering the chemical composition and thermal behaviour of the pottery samples and their comparison with local clays, it has been shown that two samples (vessels), may be 'imports' from outside the region (*Daszkiewicz/Schneider/Bobryk 2016*, 239–241, tab. 2). Assuming the results are correct, they may suggest that the vessels were not made on site but transported to the place of use. Based on their technological and stylistic similarity, it has also been suggested in the literature that the storage vessels from Giecz, Środa Wielkopolska district (northern Greater Poland), were made in Silesia and shipped to their users over a considerable distance (*Żychliński 1999*). The suggestion that such vessels were used as containers in trade, especially when using waterways, is also worth mentioning here (*Pazda 1980*, 202).

These and other specialist analyses of the *Krausengefäße* type storage vessels from the Late Roman Period and the beginning of the Migration Period may validate a number of statements concerning their use and manufacture mentioned in the article, which are merely suggestions at the current stage of research.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Barłowska 1984 – A. Barłowska: Osada z późnego okresu wpływów rzymskich w Lesku, woj. Krosno. *Materiały i Sprawozdania Rzeszowskiego Ośrodka Archeologicznego za lata 1976–1979*, 1984, 51–101.

Bednarczyk 1988 – J. Bednarczyk: Der Ausgrabungen eines Kultplatzes und einer Siedlung der Przeworsk-Kultur in Inowrocław, Kujawien. *Offa* 45, 1988, 167–180.

Benediková/Pieta 2018 – L. Benediková/K. Pieta: Využitie krajiny stredného Liptova v praveku a včasnej dobe dejinnej. *Študijné zvesti AÚ SAV* 63, 2018, 147–196.

Błażejewski 2008 – A. Błażejewski (red.): *Ceramika warsztatowa w środkowoeuropejskim Barbaricum*. Wrocław 2008.

Boege 1937 – W. Boege: Ein Beitrag um Formenkreis der wandalischen Irdenware aus Völkerwanderungszeit. *Altschlesien* 7, 1937, 44–59.

Bohr 2008 – M. Bohr: Zur sogenannten keramischen Gruppe von Boege. In: *Błażejewski 2008*, 287–292.

Bulas et al. 2019 – J. Bulas/M. Mazurek/M. Okońska/W. Pordyło: Wielokulturowe stanowisko 59–60 w Sanoku w świetle badań wykopaliskowych z lat 2017–2018. *Raport* 14, 2019, 55–81.

Cabalska/Madyda-Legutko/Tunia 1990 – M. Cabalska/R. Madyda-Legutko/K. Tunia: Wyniki badań stanowiska z epoki brązu, początków epoki żelaza i z późnego okresu rzymskiego w Nowym Sączu-Biegonicach. *Acta Archaeologica Carpathica 29*, 1990, 163–214.

Čaplovič 1976 – P. Čaplovič: Sídlisko z doby rímskej a slovanskej na Ostrej skale nad Vyšným Kubínom. *AVANS 1975*, 1976, 78–82.

Čaplovič 1987 – P. Čaplovič: *Orava v praveku, vo včasnej dobe dejinnej a na začiatku stredoveku*. Martin 1987.

Coles 1977 – J. Coles: *Archeologia doświadczalna*. Warszawa 1977.

Daszkiewicz/Schneider/Bobryk 2016 – M. Daszkiewicz/G. Schneider/E. Bobryk: Nieszawa Kolonia, ceramika z okresu rzymskiego – technologia i pochodzenie w świetle badań laboratoryjnych. In: M. Stasiak-Cyran (red.): *Nieszawa Kolonia stanowisko 5, pow. Opole Lubelskie. Interdyscyplinarna monografia osady z okresu rzymskiego*. Lublin 2016, 225–243.

Dobrzańska 1981 – H. Dobrzańska: Z zagadnień gospodarki ludności kultury przeworskiej w okresie rzymskim na obszarze Małopolski. *Acta Archaeologica Carpathica* 21, 1981, 259–271.

Dobrzańska 1990 – H. Dobrzańska: *Osada z późnego okresu rzymskiego w Igołomi, woj. krakowskie. Część II*. Kraków 1990.

Furger-Gunti 1979 – A. Furger-Gunti: *Die Ausgrabungen im Basel Münster I. Die spätkeltische und augusteische Zeit (1. Jahrhundert v. Chr.). Untersuchungen zur spätkeltisch-frührömischen Übergangszeit in Basel*. Basler Beiträge zur Ur- und Frühgeschichte. Band 6. Derendingen – Solothurn 1979.

Gajewski 1959 – L. Gajewski: Badania nad organizacją produkcji pracowni garncarskich z okresu rzymskiego w Igołomi. *Archeologia Polski* 3, 1959, 101–158.

Giertlová-Kučerová/Soják 2005 – M. Giertlová-Kučerová/M. Soják: Novšie nálezy severokarpatskej skupiny v povodí rieky Poprad. *Študijné zvesti AÚ SAV* 38, 2005, 113–136.

Godłowski 1969 – K. Godłowski: *Kultura przeworska na Górnym Śląsku*. Katowice 1969.

Grünewald 1979 – M. Grünewald: *Die Gefäßkeramik des Legionslagers von Carnuntum (Grabungen 1968–1974)*. Der römische Limes in Österreich 29. Wien 1979.

Jadczyk 1971 – I. Jadczyk: Wyniki badań w Przywozie, pow. Wieluń, na stanowisku 1 i 1a z okresu wpływów rzymskich. *Sprawozdania Archeologiczne* 23, 1971, 169–180.

Jadczykowa 1973 – I. Jadczykowa: Budynki mieszkalne osady produkcyjnej w Przywozie, pow. Wieluń, część I. *Prace*

i Materiały Muzeum Archeologicznego i Etnograficznego w Łodzi. Seria Archeologiczna 20, 1973, 129–162.

Jahn 1925 – M. Jahn: Schlesien zur Völkerwanderungszeit. In: G. Kossina (Hrsg.): *Bericht über die achte Tagung der Gesellschaft für deutsche Vorgeschichte. Cöthen 10.–14. Juni 1924*. Mannus. Ergänzungsband 4. Leipzig 1925, 147–156.

Jodłowski 1988 – A. Jodłowski: Badania osady wielokulturowej w Starym Sączu na stanowisku 1. *Badania archeologiczne prowadzone przez Muzeum Żup Krakowskich Wieliczka w latach 1986–1987*. Wieliczka 1988, 5–13.

Kaczanowski/Madyda-Legutko 1988 – P. Kaczanowski/R. Madyda-Legutko: Wyniki badań osady z okresu późnorzymskiego w Drochlinie, woj. Częstochowa, stan. 3. *Sprawozdania Archeologiczne* 40, 1988, 245–269.

Kłosowicz/Leszczyński 2017 – M. Kłosowicz/T. Leszczyński: Wyniki badań osady z okresu wpływów rzymskich w Lipnicy Dolnej, stan. 8, pow. jasielski. In: J. Gancarski (red.): *Stan i potrzeby badań archeologicznych w Karpatach*. Krosno 2017, 451–519.

Krauss 1955 – A. Krauss: Cmentarzysko rzymskie i osada odkryte w miejscowości Siemonia- Kolonia Podmłynie, pow. Będzin. *Wiadomości Archeologiczne* 22, 1955, 104–106.

Lamiová-Schmiedlová/Tomášová 1999 – M. Lamiová-Schmiedlová/B. Tomášová: Nálezový horizont z prelomu doby rímskej a doby sťahovania národov na viacvrstvovom sídlisku v Ostrovanoch. *Slovenská archeológia* 47, 1999, 75–142.

Lityńska 1985 – M. Lityńska: Szczątki roślinne z okresu wpływów rzymskich ze stanowiska A i C w Moszczenicy Wyżnej, woj. nowosądeckie. *Acta Archaeologica Carpathica* 24, 1985, 153–168.

Lityńska-Zając 2004 – M. Lityńska-Zając: Szczątki roślinne z okresu rzymskiego ze stanowisk archeologicznych w polskiej części Karpat. In: J. Gancarski (red.): *Okres lateński i rzymski w Karpatach polskich*. Krosno 2004, 363–387.

Lofajová Danielová/Furman 2019 – B. Lofajová Danielová/M. Furman: Hrdoš – nová archeologická lokalita severokarpatskej skupiny na pomedzí Oravy a Liptova. *Zborník Slovenského národného múzea* 113. *Archeológia* 29, 2019, 269–281.

Machajewski/Pietrzak 2008 – H. Machajewski/R. Pietrzak: Ze studiów nad ceramiką naczyniową kultury przeworskiej z późnego okresu rzymskiego i wczesnej fazy okresu wędrówek ludów w Wielkopolsce. In: *Błażejewski 2008*, 225–251.

Madyda-Legutko 1995 – R. Madyda-Legutko: *Zróżnicowanie kulturowe polskiej strefy beskidzkiej w okresie lateńskim i rzymskim. Katalog stanowisk*. Uniwersytet Jagielloński. Rozprawy Habilitacyjne nr 304/2. Kraków 1995.

Madyda-Legutko 1996 – R. Madyda-Legutko: *Zróżnicowanie kulturowe polskiej strefy beskidzkiej w okresie lateńskim i rzymskim*. Uniwersytet Jagielloński. Rozprawy habilitacyjne nr 304/1. Kraków 1996.

Madyda-Legutko 2011 – R. Madyda-Legutko: Drehscheibenkeramik aus dem Gebiet der polnischen Karpaten zur regionalen Differenzierung. In: J. Bemmann/M. Hegewisch/ M. Meyer/M. Schmauder (Hrsg.): *Drehscheibentöpferei im Barbaricum. Technologietransfer und Professionalisierung eines Handwerks am Rande des Römischen Imperiums*. Bonner Beiträge zur Vor- und Frühgeschichtlichen Archäologie 13. Bonn 2011, 295–306.

Madyda-Legutko/Pohorska-Kleja/Rodzińska-Nowak 2008 – R. Madyda-Legutko/E. Pohorska-Kleja/J. Rodzińska-Nowak: Ceramika z warsztatu garncarskiego z Sanoka, stan. 54, na tle materiałów ceramicznych z terenu górnego dorzecza Sanu. Próba interpretacji. In: *Błażejewski 2008*, 9–23.

Madyda-Legutko/Tunia 1978 – R. Madyda-Legutko/K. Tunia: Wyniki badań stanowisk okresu rzymskiego w Moszczenicy Wyżnej, woj. Nowy Sącz. *Acta Archaeologica Carpathica* 18, 1978, 113–149.

Madyda-Legutko/Tunia 1980 – R. Madyda-Legutko/K. Tunia: Wyniki badań stanowiska z okresu rzymskiego w Piwnicznej, woj. Nowy Sącz. *Acta Archaeologica Carpathica* 20, 1980, 143–152.

Madyda-Legutko/Tunia 1993 – R. Madyda-Legutko/K. Tunia: *Rytro. Karpacka osada z okresu wędrówek ludów.* Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego 1118. Prace Archeologiczne 57. Kraków 1993.

Madyda-Legutko/Tunia 2020 – R. Madyda-Legutko/K. Tunia: Decline of antiquity and the beginning of a new era in the Polish Carpathians. *Študijné zvesti AÚ SAV* 67, 2020, 285–308.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.31577/szausav.2020.67.14

Marchelak 2010 – I. Marchelak: Materiały z osady z wczesnego okresu wędrówek ludów w Bizorendzie, stanowisko 12, gm. Sobków, woj. świętokrzyskie. In: H. Machajewski/B. Jurkiewicz (red.): *Ceramika rzemieślnicza jako źródło do badań nad zróżnicowaniem garncarstwa kultury przeworskiej*. Pułtusk 2010, 101–161.

Pazda 1980 – S. Pazda: *Studia nad rozwojem i zróżnicowaniem lokalnym kultury przeworskiej na Dolnym Śląsku*. Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis 443. Studia Archeologiczne 10. Wrocław 1980.

Peña 2011 – J. T. Peña: *Roman Pottery in the Archaeological Record*. Cambridge 2011.

Pieta 1991 – K. Pieta: The North Carpathians at the beginning of the Migration Period. *Antiquity* 65, 1991, 376–387. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003598X00079886

Pieta 1992 – K. Pieta: Nálezy zo začiatku doby sťahovania národov v Liptovskom Jáne. *AVANS 1990*, 1992, 86, 87.

Pieta 2003 – K. Pieta: Spiš vo včasnej dobe dejinnej. In: R. Gładkiewicz/M. Homza (red.): *Terra Scepusiensis. Stan badań nad dziejami Spiszu*. Levoča – Wrocław 2003, 149–159.

Poleska 2006 – P. Poleska: *Celtycki mikroregion osadniczy w rejonie podkrakowskim*. Biblioteka Muzeum Archeologicznego w Krakowie 2. Kraków 2006.

von Richtchofen 1928 – B. von Richtchofen: Germanische Krausengefäße des 4. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. aus der Provinz Oberschlesien und ihre weitere Verbreitung. In: *Festgabe für den 70jährigen Gustaf Kossinna von Freunden und Schülern*. Mannus. Ergänzungsband 6. Leipzig 1928, 73–95.

Rodzińska-Nowak 2006 – J. Rodzińska-Nowak: *Jakuszowice stanowisko 2. Ceramika z osady kultury przeworskiej z młodszego i późnego okresu wpływów rzymskich i wczesnej fazy okresu wędrówek ludów*. Prace Archeologiczne 61. Kraków 2006.

Rodzińska-Nowak 2012 – J. Rodzińska-Nowak: *Gospodarka żywnościowa ludności kultury przeworskiej*. Kraków 2012.

Rodzińska-Nowak 2017 – J. Rodzińska-Nowak: Niech skiśnie! O niektórych sposobach konserwowania i przetwarzania pożywienia pochodzenia roślinnego w pradziejach. In: J. Andrzejewski/C. von Carnap-Bornheim/

A. Cieśliński/B. Kontny (red.): *Orbis Barbarorum. Studia ad archaeologiam Germanorum et Baltorum temporibus Imperii Romani pertinentia Adalberto Nowakowski dedicata*. Monumenta Archaeologica Barbarica. Series Gemina 6. Warszawa – Schleswig 2017, 653–657.

Skowron 2014 – J. Skowron: *Osada w działaniu. Osady ludności kultury przeworskiej w Polsce Środkowej od młodszego okresu przedrzymskiego do okresu wędrówek ludów*. Biblioteka Wielkopolskich Sprawozdań Archeologicznych 7. Poznań 2014.

Stasiak-Cyran 2016 – M. Stasiak-Cyran: Charakterystyka osady w Nieszawie Kolonii w świetle analizy źródeł archeologicznych i badań interdyscyplinarnych. In: M. Stasiak-Cyran (red.): *Nieszawa Kolonia stanowisko 5, pow. Opole Lubelskie. Interdyscyplinarna monografia osady z okresu rzymskiego*. Lublin 2016, 10–210.

Szałapata 1966 – A. Szałapata: Badania archeologiczne w Świerchowej, pow. Jasło. *Materiały i Sprawozdania Rzeszowskiego Ośrodka Archeologicznego za rok 1965*, 1966, 35–44.

Śmiszko 1939/1948 – M. Śmiszko: Duże naczynia baniaste okresu rzymskiego w Małopolsce Wschodniej. *Wiadomości Archeologiczne* 16, 1939/1948, 211–233.

Tunia 2004 – K. Tunia: Środowiskowe uwarunkowania gospodarki rolniczo-hodowlanej na terenach górskich w czasach prahistorycznych. Casus zachodniokarpackiego osadnictwa późnorzymskiego. In: J. Gancarski (red.): *Okres lateński i rzymski w Karpatach polskich*. Krosno 2004, 329–356.

Vakulenko 2010 – L. V. Vakulenko: *Ukraïns'ki Karpaty u pizn'oryms'kyj čas (etnokul'turni ta socjal'no-ekonomični procesy)*. Kyïv 2010.

Wielowiejski 1960 – J. Wielowiejski: *Przemiany gospodarczo-społeczne u ludności południowej Polski w okresie późnolateńskim i rzymskim*. Materiały Starożytne 6. Warszawa 1960.

Wilk 2005 – M. Wilk: Późnorzymskie naczynia zasobowe (w typie Krausengefäße) na obszarze południowo-wschodniej Polski. *Materiały i Sprawozdania Rzeszowskiego Ośrodka Archeologicznego* 26, 2005, 305–372.

Woźniak 2000 – Z. Woźniak: Lateńskie dolia z Krakowa-Mogiły. In: R. Madyda-Legutko/T. Bochnak (red.): *SVPERIORES BARBARI. Księga ku czci Profesora Kazimierza Godłowskiego*. Kraków 2000, 301–309.

Ziomecki 1961 – J. Ziomecki: Techniki ceramiczne w starożytnej Grecji. *Archeologia. Rocznik Instytutu Historii Kultury Materialnej Polskiej Akademii Nauk* 12, 1961, 48–74.

Żychliński 1999 – D. Żychliński: Szerokokołnierzowe naczynia zasobowe (typu Krausengefässe) z Giecza w Wielkopolsce Północnej. In: A. Kokowski (red.): *Kultura Przeworska* 4. Lublin 1999, 193–199.

Żychliński 2008 – D. Żychliński: Ceramika naczyniowa z okresu wędrówek ludów z osady ludności kultury przeworskiej w Gieczu, pow. Środa Wielkopolska, stanowisko 21–22. In: J. Skowron/M. Olędzki (red.): *Kultura Przeworska. Odkrycia – interpretacje – hipotezy* 2. Łódź 2008, 383–452.

Manuscript accepted 27. 5. 2021

Translated by Kinga Brzezińska

prof. dr hab. Renata Madyda-Legutko
Uniwersytet Jagielloński
Instytut Archeologii
ul. Gołębia 11
PL – 31-007 Kraków
rmlegutko@o2.pl

dr Krzysztof Tunia
Polska Akademia Nauk
Instytut Archeologii i Etnologii
ul. Sławkowska 17
PL – 31-016 Kraków
ktunia@gmail.com

SLOVENSKÁ ARCHEOLÓGIA – SUPPLEMENTUM 2
Z. Robak/M. Ruttkay (eds.): Celts – Germans – Slavs.
A Tribute Anthology to Karol Pieta. Nitra 2021, 301–315.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.31577/slovarch.2021.suppl.2.27

THE ANIMAL REMAINS FROM THE LATE ROMAN AND EARLY MIGRATION PERIOD SETTLEMENTS AT VRBOV AND LAZISKO (NORTHERN SLOVAKIA)[1]

ZORA BIELICHOVÁ

The aim of the contribution is to present the very first information on the animal remains from the North Carpathian Group unfortified settlements (4th–5th c. AD) of northern Slovakia. Although the analysed sample size is small – 348 specimens in total – it sheds light on animal husbandry, hunting and the animal-based diet of these populations. Despite their different natural settings, the riverine settlement at Vrbov-Vrbovský lesík (Kežmarok distr.) and the hilltop settlement at Lazisko-Zvon (Liptovský Mikuláš distr.) showed the same dependence on domestic livestock with a focus on cattle (*Bos taurus*) and caprines (*Ovis/Capra*). The higher age-at-slaughter of both species suggested they were most probably of mixed utility, i.e. they produced meat, milk and wool. At both sites, pigs (*Sus domesticus*) occurred in low numbers. The butchered horse bones (*Equus caballus*) from Lazisko indicated that horse meat was occasionally consumed. Results also suggested that wild mammals played a negligible role in either subsistence terms or the economy. The find of a brown bear tooth from Lazisko, most probably an amulet, reflects the sporadic hunting activities that did take place.

Keywords: Slovakia, Late Roman, Early Migration Period, North Carpathian group, archaeozoology, diet.

INTRODUCTION

Archaeologists exploit many sources of information while trying to solve their 'ancient puzzles'. In the spring of 2021, during writing a book about the discovery of the extraordinary chieftain's grave in Poprad-Matejovce (e.g. *Lau/Pieta 2014*; *Štolcová et al. 2014*), Karol Pieta entered my lab with two boxes of animal bones connected to his past research activities in Liptov and Spiš. Both of these small but unique materials were supposed to shed more light on the subsistence of the people who had entombed their 'prince' in Poprad. During the Late Roman and Early Migration periods when the burial took place, the mountains and valleys of northern Slovakia and southern Poland were inhabited by the so-called North Carpathian group people (*Pieta 1991*; *2008*). They probably engaged in a mixture of agriculture and livestock herding with a distinctive activity connected to mining, iron smithing, pottery or textile production, bone-working and trade (*Béreš et al. 1991*; *Budinský-Krička 1963*; *Lamiová-Schmiedlová 1964*; *Madyda-Legutko/Tunia 1993*; *Pieta 1991*; *2008*). Their characteristic material culture appears in sites located on both sides of the Carpathian passes with strong similarities with the material culture of the final phase of the Przeworsk Culture and the Ostrovany-Blažice late Roman group in eastern Slovakia. Some artefacts display evidence of contacts with the disintegrating Chernyakhov-Sântana de Mureş complex in southeast Slovakia and Pannonia Province (*Pieta 1991*, 385).

The archaeobotanical research in southern Poland showed that the North Carpathian group were primarily made up of settled populations involved in cultivation of cereals such as barley, rye, bread wheat, emmer wheat, spelt or millet (e.g. *Lityńska-Zając 1993*; *Madyda-Legutko/Tunia 1993*, 98). Finds of sickles, scythes, coulters or massive knives occurred (e.g. *Pieta 1991*). This paper provides the very first insight into animal husbandry of these people and the part of their diet that was animal-based diet. On the basis of analysis of the small bone assemblages from Vrbov (Kežmarok distr.) and Lazisko (Liptovský Mikuláš distr.) I tried to answer the following research questions: What animals did the North Carpathian populations exploit? Did they keep and bred animals locally? What was the meat diet of the locals? Was the diet comparable to other Late Roman and Early Migration period (Germanic) settlements within the area of Slovakia? Did they hunt for meat? What did their domestic animals look like? And what was the use of the animals?

[1] This work has been supported by the National Scientific Grant Agency VEGA no. 2/0001/18. I am indebted to Alice M. Choyke from the Central European University in Vienna for valuable comments and corrections of English.

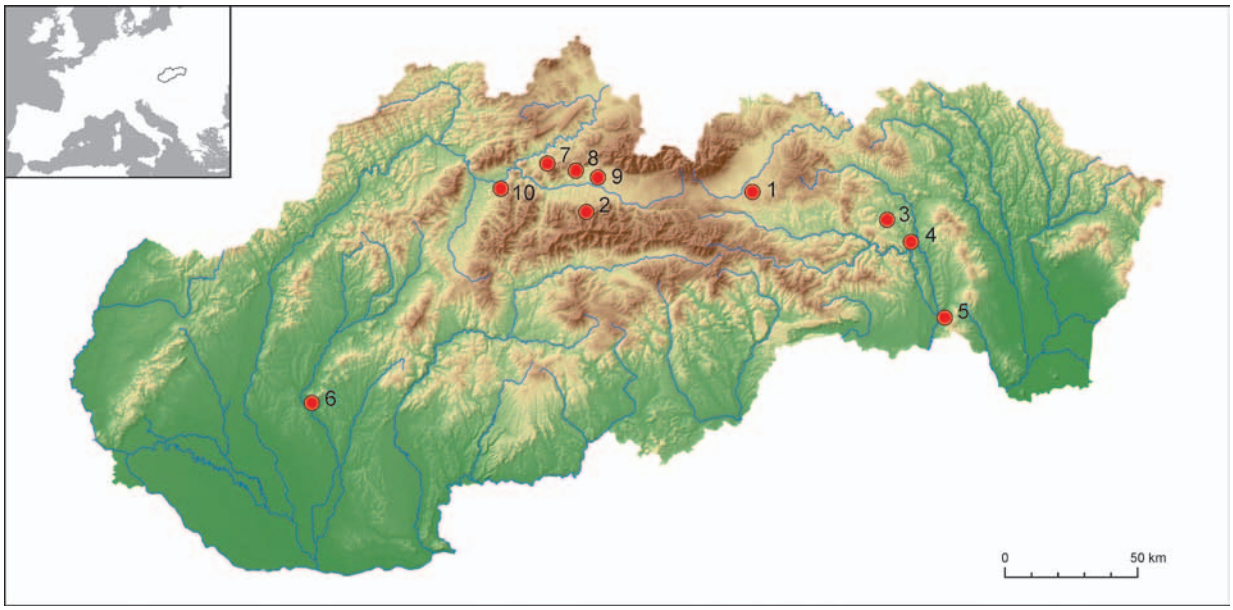


Fig. 1. The archaeological sites from Slovakia considered in the text. The Late Roman and Early Migration period settlements: 1 – Vrbov-Vrbovský lesík; 2 – Lazisko-Zvon; 3 – Ostrovany-Pri kaštieli and dom F. Štelbackého; 4 – Prešov-Pavlovičovo námestie; 5 – Nižná Myšľa-Alamenev; 6 – Nitra-Párovské Háje. The Iron Age settlements: 7 – Vyšný Kubín; 8 – Kvačany; 9 – Liptovská Sielnica-Liptovská Mara; 10 – Sučany (author P. Červeň).

MATERIAL AND METHODS

While the artefacts from the open settlement at Vrbov-Vrbovský lesík (*Kiefer/Kolník 1995*) and the hilltop settlement at Lazisko-Zvon (850 m a.s.l.; *Pieta/Hanuliak 1988*) belong to relatively well-known (e.g. *Giertlová-Kučeráková/Soják 2002*; *2005*; *Pieta 1991*; *2008*; *Soják 2015*), the information on ecofacts have so far been missing. The archaeofaunal remains from, the excavation at Vrbov-Vrbovský lesík supervised by L. Kiefer, F. Javorský and K. Pieta in 1985, included 10 samples retrieved from unspecified features and cultural layers (*Bielichová 2021a*). The bone material from Lazisko-Zvon, excavated by K. Pieta in 1989, comprised 13 samples from unspecified cultural layers (*Bielichová 2021b*). In total, 22 archaeozoological samples including 348 specimens were analysed.

Due to the rescue character of the excavation, no systematic environmental sampling was carried out.[2] The archaeofaunal material consists only of large and medium-sized bones of vertebrates. The majority of skeletal elements were fragmented before deposition and display old fractures. Except for short bones such as the phalanges, *carpalia/tarsalia* or the teeth, no complete element was recorded. The bone surfaces were relatively well preserved.

The archaeozoological analysis followed standard methods. The identification process employed a basic visual-comparative method and a magnifier lamp with low resolution (1.75 × mag.). The archaeological and modern reference material housed at the archaeozoological laboratory of the Institute of Archaeology of the Slovak Academy of Sciences in Nitra and relevant identification manuals were used (e.g. *Kolda 1936*; *Schmid 1972*). The unidentified specimens were assigned to the auxiliary 'taxonomic' groups of medium- (MM) and large-sized (LM) mammals. The approximate age at slaughter/death of animals was estimated on the basis of dental eruption/abrasion and the fusion stage of the long bone epiphyses (criteria from *Habermehl 1961*; *Silver 1969*). Natural or artificial bone modifications were classified according to *R. L. Lyman* (*1994*). Measurements, taken by slide callipers with the accuracy of 0.1 mm, were recorded after *A. von den Driesch* (*1976*). The withers height of sheep was calculated on the basis of a formula introduced by *M. Teichert* (*1975*).

The quantitative results were evaluated following the primary methods including the number (NISP) and weight (WISP) of identified specimens. Due to the overall low number of finds and rescue character of the excavations, results are presented as a unit

[2] A few daub samples with plant imprints and two soil samples from Vrbov and Lazisko have been analysed in 2021 by Jana Mihályiová from the IA SAS in Nitra.

Tab. 1. Vrbov-Vrbovský lesík. Taxonomic and anatomic determination. Quantified by NISP.

Vrbov	*cornu*	*cranium*	*maxilla*	*mandibula*	*dens*	*vertebra*	*costa*	*scapula*	*humerus*	*radius*	*ulna*	*pelvis*	*tibia*	*patella*	*calcaneus*	*talus*	*metapodium*	*metacarpus*	*metatarsus*	*phalanx*	?	Total
Bos taurus	–	–	2	1	14	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	1	–	–	1	2	–	22
cf. *Bos taurus*	–	–	–	–	–	1	3	1	1	1	–	–	3	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	11
Bos sp.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	1
Ovis aries	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	–	–	3
Ovis/Capra	–	–	–	2	19	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	1	–	–	1	–	–	–	24
cf. *Ovis/Capra*	–	2	–	5	–	1	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	10
Sus domesticus	–	–	1	2	7	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	3	1	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	16
Unidentified MM	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	6	8
Unidentified MM/LM	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	23	26
Unidentified LM	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	11	13
Total	1	2	3	10	40	4	7	1	2	1	1	3	6	1	1	2	1	3	1	4	40	134

per site and not sub-sampled within the explored areas (soundings/features). The only exception was feature 1 at Vrbov and sounding 1-location 11 at Lazisko, where, in addition to NISP and WISP, the minimum number of individuals (MNI) have been estimated. To increase the number of finds of particular species, the totals for domestic animals such as cattle, caprines and pig also include specimens of the tentative identification (cf. *Bos taurus* and cf. *Ovis*/*Capra*).

The results from Vrbov and Lazisko were compared to all available (published and unpublished) archaeozoological data from the Late Roman and Early Migration settlements in Slovakia (Fig. 1). In the east, bone assemblages dated to the 3rd–5th c. AD were unearthed at Ostrovany, located in 'Pri kaštieli' and 'Dom F. Štelbackého' (*Lamiová-Schmiedlová 1964*), at Prešov, located in 'Pavlovičovo námestie' (*Budinský-Krička 1963*) and at Nižná Myšľa, located in 'Alamenev' (*Béreš et al. 1991*). According to the archaeologists, these sites represent the limits of the North Carpathian Group settlement area.[3] The archaeozoological analyses were carried out by *C. Ambros* (*1960*; *1961*; *1962*) and *V. Rajtová* (*1964*; *1991*). In the southwest, information about archaeofauna was only available from the analysis carried out by *C. Ambros* (*1986*). The animal bone material, recovered from the ash pit of the pottery kiln and three refuse pits in Nitra, located in 'Párovské Háje', was dated to the Early Migration period, i.e. early 5th c. AD (*Pieta*/*Ruttkay 1986*; *1997*).

RESULTS

Vrbov, location Vrbovský lesík

The animal bones and teeth from the riverine unfortified settlement at Vrbov comprise 134 specimens. The material was in a fragmentary state and only a single long bone (metapodium) was preserved completely. Ochre-colored specimens, some with their surfaces covered with a thin layer of brown clay, predominated. The surface bone structures were moderately or strongly eroded.

The taxonomy and anatomy were identified in 87 specimens, i.e. in more than a half of the finds (65%). Within the identifiable sample, the presence of cattle (*Bos taurus*), pig (*Sus domesticus*) and sheep (*Ovis aries*) was plausibly evidenced. The occurrence of goats cannot be ruled out, nor can it be confirmed (*Ovis*/*Capra* [caprines]).

The species representation was relatively balanced, although slightly more caprines (42.5% of NISP) and cattle (39.1% of NISP) was observed (Tab. 1). Pig remains represented roughly half

[3] K. Pieta, personal communication.

Tab. 2. Vrbov-Vrbovský lesík. Assessment of age. Quantified by NISP.

Vrbov	*juvenis*	*juvenis/subadultus*	*subadultus*	*subadultus/adultus*	*adultus*	*adultus/maturus*	Total
Bos taurus	1	1	–	6	5	1	14
cf. *Bos taurus*	–	–	–	3	1	–	4
Ovis aries	–	–	–	1	2	–	3
Ovis/Capra	–	–	–	–	4	–	4
cf. *Ovis/Capra*	–	–	–	–	1	–	1
Sus domesticus	1	–	1	2	1	–	5
Unidentified MM/LM	–	–	–	3	–	–	3
Unidentified LM	–	–	–	10	–	–	10
Total	2	1	1	25	14	1	44

these numbers (18.4% of NISP). Wild species were absent, although a single phalanx of Bos displayed a relatively great width and length parameters and robusticity suggesting that it may have come from either a female aurochs (*Bos primigenius*) or (which seems more likely) large domestic cattle (*Bos taurus*) – a bull or an ox. Regarding the MNI, remains of at least five individuals in different age categories were found in feature 1/85. In addition to cranial and postcranial bones of the adult sheep older than 3–4 years, bones of at least two calves, aged 0.5–1 and 1.5–2.5 years the adult cattle older than 3 years and a juvenile pig aged 5–10 months were recorded.

The dental and skeletal age (Tab. 2) of cattle attested the presence of adults (older than 3–4 years) as well as juvenile individuals (0.5–1 year and 1.5–2.5 years). A variable age at slaughter was recorded for pigs. On the other hand, juvenile individuals were not identified among the caprine finds. All aged specimens had permanent teeth and closed epiphyseal fissures, i.e. were older than 2 years. The whole assemblage reflected only sporadic presence of juvenile animals from all domestic species (10% NISP).

The sex and morphometric data from Vrbov are scarce (Tab. 3). A find of a parietal bone fragment with rudimentary horncore's protrusion probably belonged to a female sheep. The withers height of a local sheep individual was calculated (WRH = 595.61 mm) on the basis of the greatest length (119.6 mm) of a single metacarpus recovered in feature 1/85.

Several anthropogenic changes in the natural shape of bones were identified in the Vrbov assemblage. Skinning of the sheep's body is evidenced by multiple short and shallow surface incisions (from a knife blade?) on a distal epiphysis of a metacarpal bone. The fragmentary character and spiral fracturing observed on several long bones suggest intentional breaking of green bones by people/dogs. Probable carnivore gnawing marks were recorded only rarely (NISP = 3). Contact of animal carcasses with fire of a possible anthropogenic origin was not clearly documented, although variable (dark orange spots) discoloration of the proximal epiphysis of the sheep's metacarpal suggests it. There were no calcined or carbonized bones.

Lazisko, location Zvon

The analysed assemblage from the hilltop unfortified settlement at Lazisko comprises 214 specimens. The material was in a fragmentary state, lacking any completely preserved long bones. The bones were ochre-coloured. Some had black-and-purple spots of unknown origin on their outer surfaces, perhaps developed during the deposition or post-excavation processing of the material. The surface bone structures were relatively well preserved, with only slight to moderate erosion evidenced.

The taxonomic and skeletal element identification was possible in 160 specimens, i.e. in the majority of finds (75.5%). The remainder was assigned to the groups by size (Tab. 4). Horse (*Equus caballus*), cattle (*Bos taurus*), pig (*Sus domesticus*) and sheep (*Ovis aries*) were plausibly identified. Similarly, to Vrbov, goat bones were not confirmed and the majority of small ruminants were classified as caprines (*Ovis/Capra*). As for the wild fauna, an isolated canine of a brown bear (*Ursus arctos*), originally registered as a small find (DP 11/89; Fig. 2), was identified. The occurrence of gnawing marks made by a medium-sized carnivore indicated the presence of domestic dogs running loose in the Lazisko settlement. Counting the MNI for sounding 1-position 11 suggested the presence of at least six individuals including three cattle, two caprines and one pig.

Among domestic animal remains (NISP = 163), cattle predominated (68.7%). Remains of caprines were relatively common (25.2%), but the bones of pig (4.3%) and horse (1.8%) occurred only sporadically. The representation of wild species was again

Tab. 3. Osteometrical data of the finds from Vrbov and Lazisko.

Site	Skeletal element	Side	Measurement(s)	Notes
Cattle (*Bos taurus*)				
Vrbov 7/13	*molar 1 superior*	sin	L = 21.23, B = 19.78	–
Vrbov 7/14	*molar 1 superior*	sin	L = 24.67, B = 10.99	–
Vrbov 6/4	*molar 3 inferior*	sin	L = (33.98), B = 14.91	–
Lazisko 4/5	*molar 3 inferior*	sin	L = 34.10, B = 13.26	–
Vrbov 11/8	*mandibula*	dx	AvdD9 = 37.40, L-M1 = 19.58, B-M1 = 13.19, L-M2 = 23.46, B-M2 = 13.45	–
Lazisko 3/3	*mandibula*	dx	L-M3 = 30.59, B-M3 = 11.17	–
Lazisko 8/6	*radius*	dx	Bp = 76.90, BFp = 70.43	–
Lazisko 7/3	*pelvis*	dx	LA = 51.68	–
Lazisko 6/12	*tibia*	dx	Bp = 74.08	–
Lazisko 6/32	*tibia*	dx	Bd = 54.88, Td = 39.02	–
Lazisko 9/2	*tibia*	sin	Bd = 50.50	–
Vrbov 7/5	*talus*	dx	GLl = 62.50, GLm = (55.56)	–
Lazisko 6/15a	*talus*	sin	GLl = 57.6, Dl = 31.38, GLm = 53.61, Bd = 36.52	individual A
Lazisko 6/15b	*talus*	dx	GLl = 56.07, Dl = 31.26, GLm = 51.72, Dm = 30.90, Bd = 36.67	individual A
Lazisko 6/20	*calcaneus*	dx	GB = 35.6	–
Lazisko 7/1	*calcaneus*	sin	GB = (42.48)	–
Lazisko 6/21	*metacarpus*	sin	Bp = 44.10	–
Lazisko 2/4	*metatarsus*	dx	Dd = 19.9	–
Lazisko 5/3	*metatarsus*	dx	Bd = 44.85, Dd = 20.51	–
Lazisko 8/5	*metatarsus*	sin	Bd = 49.52	–
Vrbov 7/6	*phalanx 1, anterior*	?	SD = 23.56, GLPe = (52.95), Bd = 27.42	–
Lazisko 6/19	*phalanx 1, posterior*	?	GLpe = 55.62, Bp = (23.70), SD = 19.18, Bd = 23.63	–
Lazisko 7/4	*phalanx 1, posterior*	?	GLPe = (54.88), Bp = 26.30, SD = 21.28, Bd = 26.00	–
Lazisko 6/17	*phalanx 1*	?	GLpe = 48.72, Bp = 24.31, SD = 20.32	–
Lazisko 6/18	*phalanx 1*	?	GLpe = 52.17, Bp = (26.03), SD = 21.26, Bd = 23.63	–
Vrbov 92/1	*phalanx 2 anterior*	?	GL = 41.39	*Bos* sp.
Vrbov 7/7	*phalanx 2*	?	Bp = (27.91), SD = 22.79, Bd = (21.69)	–
Lazisko 6/16	*phalanx 3*	?	Ld = (51.24), MBS = (24.70)	–
Pig (*Sus domesticus*)				
Vrbov 7/2	*molar 2 superior*	dx	L-M2 = 16.24, B-M2 = 12.59	–
Vrbov 155/1	*mandibula*	dx	L-M2 = 20.26, B-M2 = 13.61, L-M3 = 34.02, B-M3 = 15.73	–
Lazisko 7/6	*scapula*	dx	SLC = 20.67	–
Vrbov 7/1	*talus*	sin	GLl = 37.28, Gm = 34.64	–
Vrbov 7/4	*patella*	sin	GL = 34.67, GB = 18.23	–
Sheep (*Ovis aries*)				
Lazisko 8/30	*radius*	dx	Bp = (30.86)	–
Lazisko 6/1	*tibia*	dx	Bp = (40.24)	–
Vrbov 9/1	*metacarpus*	dx	GL = 119.6, Bp = 21.87, SD = 12.26, Bd = 23.84, Dd = 8.59	–
Vrbov 9/2	*metacarpus*	sin	GL = 119.7, Bp = 21.24, SD = 12.45, Bd = 23.21, Dd = 8.59	–

Tab. 3. Continuation.

Site	Skeletal element	Side	Measurement(s)	Notes
Caprines (*Ovis/Capra*)				
Vrbov 8/12	*mandibula*	sin	AvdD9 = 25.70	–
Lazisko 6/5	*mandibula*	sin	L-M1 = 15.36, B-M1 = 7.22	juvenile (6–12 months)
Vrbov 8/14	*molar 1-2 inferior*	dx	L-M1 = 13.14, B-M1 = 7.57, L-M2 = 15.89, B-M2 = 8.72	–
Lazisko 6/6	*molar 1 inferior*	dx	L-M1 = 15.19, B-M1 = 6.99	–
Lazisko 6/7	*molar 1 inferior*	dx	L-M1 = 12.83, B-M1 = 7.28	–
Lazisko 6/3	*pelvis*	dx	LA = 28.43	–
Lazisko 6/4	*tibia*	?	SD = (12.30)	–
Lazisko 7/10	*metacarpus*	dx	Bp = 22.20	–
Horse (*Equus caballus*)				
Lazisko 6/29	*radius*	dx	Bd = 72.34, BFd = 59.56	–
Lazisko 8/26	*pelvis*	sin	LA = (59.07)	–
Brown bear (*Ursus arctos*)				
Lazisko 11/89	*caninus superior*	sin	GL = 88.80, smallest diameter of the crown base = 20.15, largest diameter of the crown base = 15.28	–

The table provides a list of measurements in millimetres taken according to the method of A. von den Driesch (1976). The measurements are arranged after species with indication of site and specimen number. The abbreviations or measurement numbers follow *A. von den Driesch* (*1976*), i.e. A – acetabulum; AvdD – measurement number after Angela von den Driesch; B – breadth; D – depth; Dia – diameter; G – greatest; L – length; l – lateral; M – molar; m – medial; S – smallest; d – distal; p – proximal. The side of the bone is left (sin), right (dx) or unknown. The values in the brackets indicate approximative measures.

Tab. 4. Lazisko-Zvon. Taxonomic and anatomic determination. Quantified by NISP.

Lazisko	*cornu*	*cranium*	*maxilla*	*mandibula*	*dens*	*atlas*	*vertebra*	*costa*	*scapula*	*humerus*	*radius*	*ulna*	*pelvis*	*femur*	*tibia*	*calcaneus*	*talus*	*metapodium*	*metacarpus*	*metatarsus*	*phalanx*	?	Total
Bos taurus	1	–	1	9	8	1	–	–	2	–	2	2	3	3	7	2	2	1	4	5	6	–	59
cf. *Bos taurus*	–	1	1	2	–	–	13	21	1	2	–	1	1	2	2	–	–	1	1	1	–	3	53
Ovis aries	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1
Ovis/Capra	–	–	2	4	18	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	–	4	–	–	–	2	1	–	–	35
cf. *Ovis/Capra*	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	4	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	5
Sus domesticus	–	–	–	1	4	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	7
Equus caballus	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	3
Ursus arctos	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1
Bos/Equus	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1
Unidentified MM	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	2
Unidentified MM/LM	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	6	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	16
Unidentified LM	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	6	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	23	31
Total	1	1	4	16	31	2	15	37	6	4	3	3	8	5	14	2	2	2	7	7	8	36	214

Fig. 2. Lazisko-Zvon. The brown bear (*Ursus arctos*) canine tooth. Unworked (photo by P. Červeň).

negligible. The horse remains (Fig. 3) belonged to an adult (*acetabulum*, *radius*) and a subadult individual (*phalanx 1*). In total, 139 specimens (65.6%) could be assigned to age categories (Tab. 5). The juvenile and subadult individuals (0.5–2.5 years) represented 19.4% of the identified specimens, subadult/adult 61.9% and adult animals (3–4 years and more) represented 18.7% of the total. In cattle, the juvenile and subadult individuals account for about 20% (NISP = 50) of the assemblage while caprines account for 31.6% (NISP = 19) of the total. As mentioned above, a horse is most likely represented by two individuals – the subadult one, at 1.5 to 2.5 years and the adult, older than 3.5 years. Diverse age was recorded for cattle: juvenile (aged 6–12 months and 12–24 months), subadult (1.5–3.5 years old) and adult individuals (3.5–4 years old). In caprines, individuals of 6–12 month, 1.5–2 years, 2–2.5 years, 3–4 years and older were present. The sheep were killed as a young adult (by the 1.5–2nd year) and adults (at 3rd–4th year). Pig remains from individuals both younger and older than one year were recorded. Unfortunately, the sex of these animals could not be determined. Morphometric analysis provided only few measurements (Tab. 3) and the absence of complete long bones or skulls remains did not allow withers height calculation or morphological assessments.

The processing of animal carcasses at the studied site is indicated by the variety of cranial and postcranial skeletal elements in the assemblage, including meatless bones such as the skull, horncores, metapodials, or phalanges. Butchered remains were recorded for all the domestic species, although the overall low number of finds for pigs and horses limited analysis of butchery patterns. A number of

Tab. 5. Lazisko-Zvon. Assessment of age. Quantified by NISP.

Lazisko	*juvenis*	*juvenis?*	*juvenis/ subadultus*	*juvenis/ subadultus?*	*subadultus*	*subadultus/ adultus*	*subadultus/ adultus?*	*adultus*	*adultus?*	?	Total
Bos taurus	4	–	4	–	2	11	9	12	8	3	53
cf. *Bos taurus*	–	–	3	4	–	7	29	–	–	7	50
Ovis aries	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	1
Ovis/Capra	1	–	1	3	1	–	8	3	1	2	20
cf. *Ovis/Capra*	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	–	3	5
Sus domesticus	–	1	–	–	–	1	1	–	–	1	4
Equus caballus	–	–	–	–	1	–	1	1	–	–	3
Ursus arctos	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	1
Bos/Equus	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	1
Unidentified MM	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2
Unidentified MM/LM	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	16	16
Unidentified LM	–	–	–	–	–	1	14	–	–	16	31
Total	5	3	8	7	4	21	65	17	9	48	187

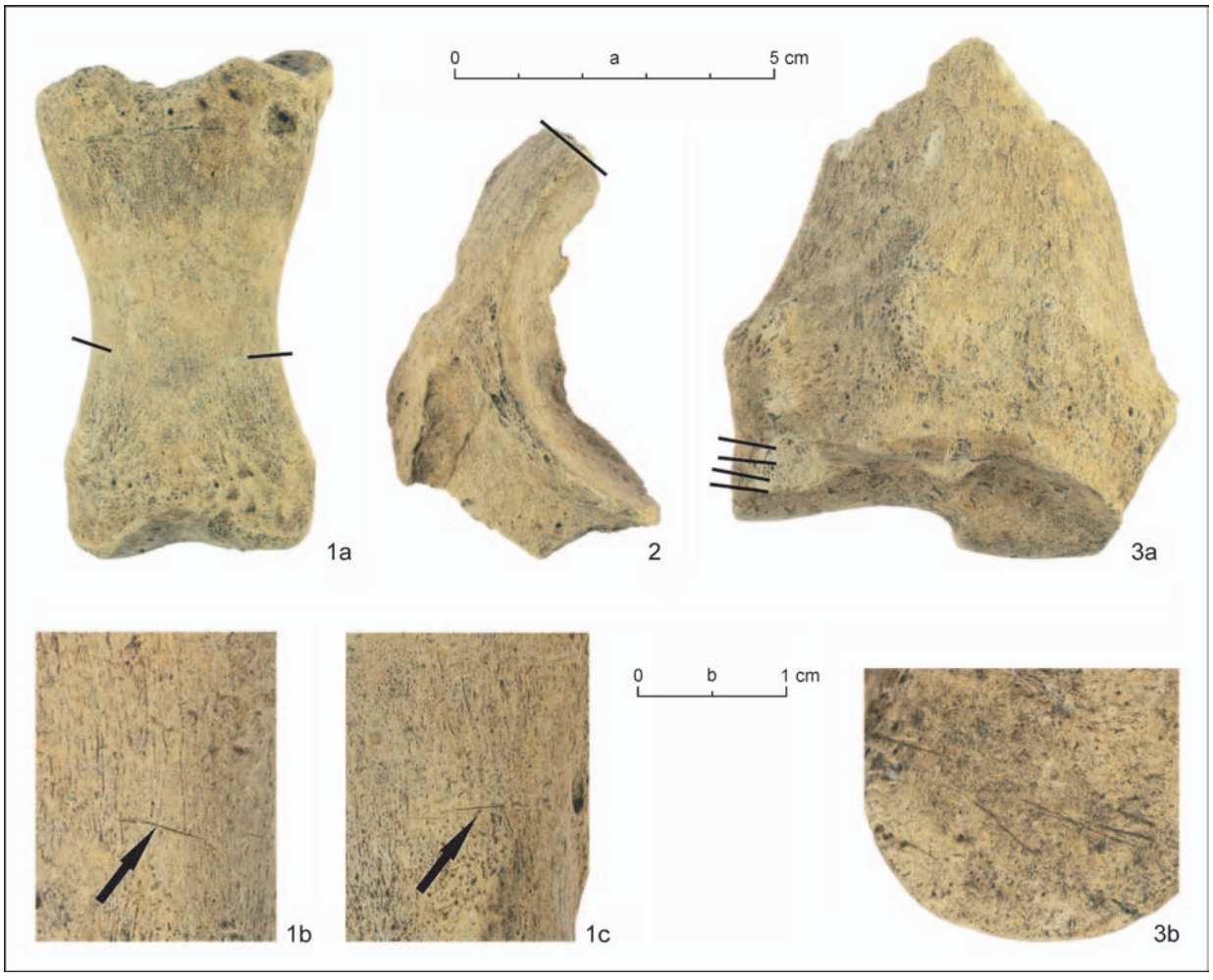


Fig. 3. Lazisko-Zvon. The horse remains (*Equus caballus*) with location of cut and chop marks. 1 – first phalanx of a subadult individual (note the fusing proximal epiphysis), dorsal view (b, c – transversal, skinning marks located in the middle of diaphysis, lateral and medial view); 2 – fragment of the left acetabulum with chop marks; 3 – distal part of the right radius of an adult individual, dorsal view (b – multiple transversal cut marks in epiphysis, lateral view). Scale: a – 1a, 2, 3a; b – 1b, 1c, 3b (photo by P. Červeň).

spiral fractures on green bone evidence butchery activities by the population. Beside the examples of shallow and short cut marks caused by the puncture and pulling a small sharp blade along the bone surface during hide removal, there were also marks that attest the processing of the animals' carcasses (e.g. dismembering of joints, tendon and meat removal, etc.). A few isolated cases of short and shallow cut marks situated laterally or medially in the middle of the phalanx diaphysis were present in a horse (Fig. 3: 1b, c). There were also marks from cuts and chop marks from breaking the bones (especially ribs, lower mandible, and scapula) into portions of different size (pot/grill-sizing or for the preparation of particular dishes; Fig. 3: 2, 3).

Burnt or partially burnt bones occurred sporadically (NISP = 7). Their colour spectrum runs from reddish brown to brown-black suggested the bone element came into contact with an open fire/heat, with a temperature ranging between 250 °C to 550 °C. The marks were found on a few cattle bone specimens like a humerus and metapodium from sounding III and a distal tibia from sounding IV. Intensive burning (carbonization or calcination; black-brown-grey to white coloration) was registered in two unidentified long bone fragments from an unidentified large mammal in sounding 1. Traces of carnivore gnawing were rare (NISP = 2), indicating that dogs or other scavengers had only limited access to the kitchen waste in the studied (residential?) settlement area.

A solitary finds of a bear upper canine (*caninus superior*) was unworked. A weak sign of abrasion on the enamel part of the crown, developed during

the life of the animal, suggested that the animal was a young adult when it died. Half of the tooth's tip was freshly broken off, perhaps during post-excavation processing or handling.

Non-anthropogenic modifications are represented by the polishing and pitting in the first phalanx of a pig. This bone most probably represents kitchen leftovers digested by dogs.

The assemblage also contained a pathological specimen, probably of traumatic origin or from a long-term tethering of the animal. A longitudinal depression with round edges was observed below the proximal epiphysis, on the dorsal side of a caprine metacarpus.

DISCUSSION

Meat Diet

The refuse from the North Carpathian group settlements at Vrbov and Lazisko is dominated by bones of domestic animals. The analysis clearly attested consumption of beef, lamb/mutton and pork at both sites. The fragmentary character of bones and butchery marks from the perimortal period support this assumption. The relative quantitative results suggest that during the Late Roman and Early Migration periods the North Carpathians preferred beef and lamb/mutton in their diet. It very likely that people also consumed horse meat, at least at Lazisko. The paucity of sexing and ageing data, however, provided only preliminary information on kinds of meat cuts that were preferred. In Vrbov, consumption of pork from a male individual of 1–2 years old was attested. The absence of meat from juvenile and subadult caprines was observed at this site as well, but it is questionable whether this absence reflects 'meat preferences' in caprine herd management (see below) or the overall small number of finds analysed (age category was identified for eight specimens only). Although beef came mainly from adult cattle, consumption of veal was documented at both sites, for instance at Vrbov, very young animals were slaughtered before and shortly after their first winter (at the age of 6–12 months and 1.5 year). At Lazisko, the age estimation clearly evidenced killing of cattle, sheep, pig and horses in various age categories – as juveniles (6–12 months), subadults (1.5 to 2.5 years), young adults (at 3rd or 4th year) or as even older adults (after the 3rd or 4th year). The veal, lamb and pork from young animals was definitely a part of the meat dishes at Lazisko.

The butchering pattern included a number of spiral fractures, resulting most probably from breaking fresh, green bone (*Lyman 1994*, 319, fig. 8: 4). This suggests there was deliberate marrow exploitation at both settlements. A number of cut marks made by a knife, observed mainly in Lazisko, attested the processing of animal bodies including skinning, joint disarticulation, portioning (e.g. shoulder blade, ribs) or defleshing meat from the bone. The initial stages of carcass processing are indicated by the occurrence of meatless parts of the cranial region (e.g. cattle and sheep horn cores) and postcranial skeletal elements (e.g. caudal vertebrae, phalanges) in the assemblages. Except for the brown bear upper canine, all identified species were kept on or brought live to the sites. Aside from the meat and marrow, the horn, hide, sinew, viscera or blood were available for the local kitchen and craft activities. Examples of cut marks on non-meaty skin-covered bone surfaces (e.g. metapodials, phalanges) clearly suggest skinning activities (horse, cattle, caprines).

The absence of wild species remains in the studied assemblages indicate that the subsistence of the North Carpathian group was broadly dependent on agriculture. Wild mammals[4] represented just the occasional (seasonal?) enrichment of the diet (*Pieta 1991*; *Tunia 1989*). Although the number of studied finds was relatively small and non-representative, the achieved results probably reflect the presence of simple meat dishes consumed in the highlands and the population's dependence on domestic animal production. Interestingly, despite their different geographic settings, the Lazisko (hilltop) and Vrbov (river terrace), beef and mutton/lamb were preferred in both communities. In Liptov, such a dietary pattern is characteristic for nearly all analysed Iron Age and Roman period settlements from the Púchov Cultural milieu (Fig. 4). Some recent archaeozoological data from the protohistoric settlements at Likavka-Predné hony and Ploštín-Pod Rohačkou fits fully the 'mountain diet' (*Benediková et al. 2019*; *2020*). It must be added, however, that beef and lamb/mutton was also preferred at some Late Roman period settlements situated in the lowlands of southwestern Slovakia (e.g. Veľký Meder or Most pri Bratislave; *Bielichová 2019a*). Here, in the region of Bratislava, the growing popularity of pork towards the 3rd and 4th c. AD was recorded and interpreted as a consequence of a more stable and rich economy, general population

[4] This assumption refers only to wild mammals. Fish, wild/domestic birds and other microfauna cannot be studied on the basis of yet available archaeozoological data from Slovakia.

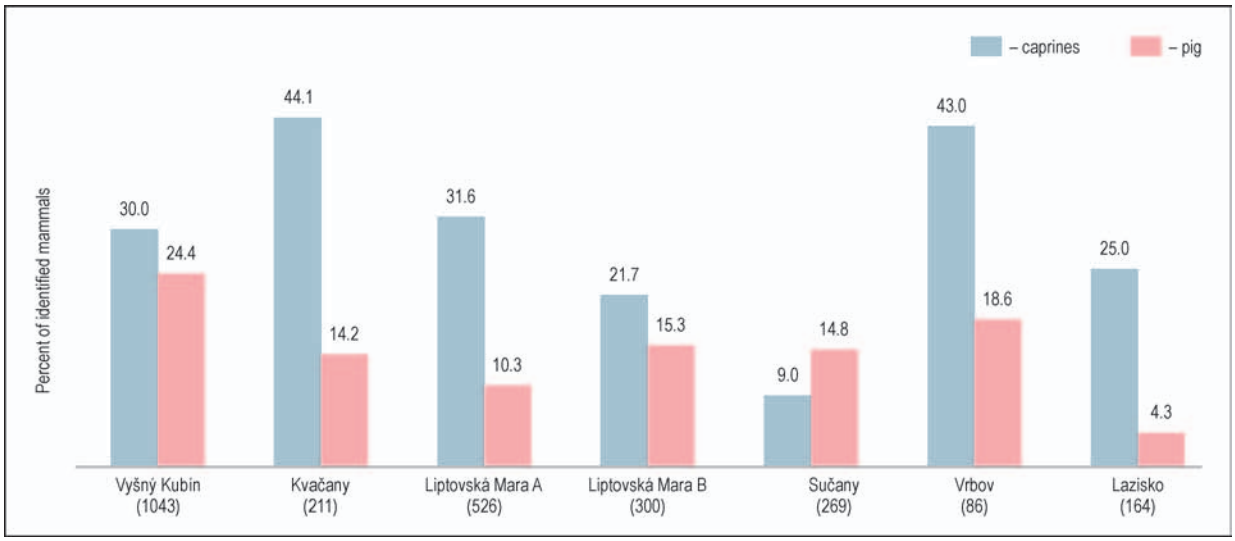


Fig. 4. The representation of caprines and pig remains at the Púchov culture (NISP data from *Ambros 1978*; *Pieta 1982*) and the North Carpathian group settlements from northern Slovakia. Hallstat period: Vyšný Kubín; La Tène period: Kvačany, Liptovská Mara I; Early Roman period: Liptovská Mara II, Sučany; Late Roman/Early Migration period: Vrbov, Lazisko.

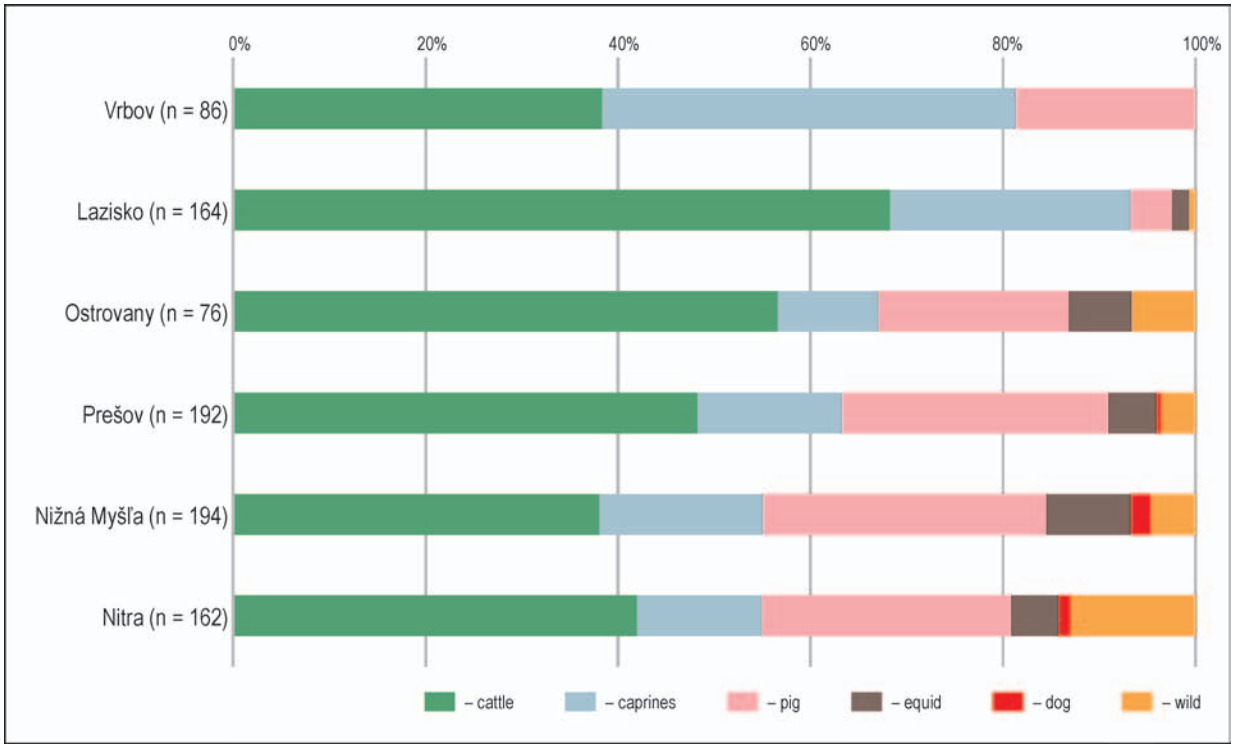


Fig. 5. The representation of domestic and wild mammals at the settlements of the Late Roman and Early Migration period in Slovakia (NISP data from *Ambros 1960*; *1961*; *1962*; *1986*; *Rajtová 1964*; *1991*).

increase or adaptation of Roman culinary traditions (*Bielichová 2019a*, 83). Occasional hippophagy also occurred in Quadi settlements (e.g. *Bielichová 2019*, 82; *Fabiš/Bielichová 2014*).

The faunal assemblages of contemporary settlements in Prešov, Nižná Myšľa or Ostrovany, representing the eastern limit of the North Carpathian group settlements, display a very similar dietary pattern for meat with a preference for beef and pork and variable meat types including goat, chicken, red deer, beaver, donkey and fresh-water mussels (Fig. 5; *Ambros 1961*; *Rajtová*

1964; *1991)*. The only analysed early migration period settlement faunal assemblage from the southwest – Nitra-Párovské Háje – also comprised a rich species spectrum including wild boar, wolf, roe deer, hare, fish, and chicken with eggs (*Ambros 1986*). The game at these settlements comprised 3.6% at Prešov-Pavlovičovo námestie to 13.3% at Nitra-Párovské Háje out of the total of identifiable bone specimens.[5]

Interestingly, a solitary find of a brown bear molar was also reported from Ostrovany (*Rajtová 1964*, 269), but as in Lazisko, its archaeological context remained questionable. This tooth was also not worked (e.g. no perforation or modification of the root) or evidence of use (e.g. polish), so it is hard to determine their use or importance for people at the settlement. A study of brown bear remains including skull fragments, mandibles, carpalia and phalanges from the central La Tène and Early Roman settlement at Liptovská Sielnica-Liptovská Mara however, suggest that rather than specialized hunting for meat and/or skin, bears may have been killed occasionally as a consequence of their attacks on domestic livestock (*Chrószcz et al. 2014*). Keeping teeth as hunting trophies or amulets, evidenced for instance by a perforated tooth from the Late La Tène settlement at Liptovská Mara (*Pieta 1982*, pl. XIII: 31), is a possible explanation for the presence of isolated brown bear teeth from Lazisko and Ostrovany, although other interpretations cannot be excluded (e.g. *Grimm 2013*; *Oehrl 2013*).

Animal Husbandry

Based on the variety of anatomical parts and a number of juvenile individuals, the meat eaten at Vrbov and Lazisko originated from locally reared cattle and caprines. Most possibly, this subsistence pattern also applied to horses and pigs. The proximity of water and grazing lands, typical of both sites, must have been a determining factor for the North Carpathian people's animal production. From the spring to the autumn, the surrounding highlands offered rich pastures, but the harsh times of winter may have forced people to provide additional fodder and shelter for the animals. Finds of the reaping tools including short scythes and bow-shaped massive knives for pruning work from these sites can reflect such activities (*Pieta 1991*, 383). North Carpathian group find assemblages also contain a significant number of artefacts of foreign origin including a Mediterranean conch-shell (*Murex trunculus*), also found on contemporary Pannonian sites, was found at Vrbov (*Pieta 1991*, 378, 379, fig. 2: 26; *Soják 2015*, 132, fig. 184: 1). Nevertheless, the low number of animal bones do not permit comments on potential supplying of domestic animals from other regions, but it is important to draw attention to the finds from the eastern limit zone, where such imports were observed. In Ostrovany, besides the Late Roman African pottery lamps and the amphorae, remains of originally African species such as donkey (*Equus asinus*), provided a clear indication of contacts with the Roman provinces (*Rajtová 1964*).

As evidenced by the relative representation of taxa, local husbandry was focused on cattle and caprines (sheep identified, goat presumed). The rare osteometric data suggested that cattle and sheep were small to middle-sized animals, very similar to the stock kept by the Celtic and Germanic tribes previously settled in the Central European region (e.g. *Benecke 1994; Bielichová 2019a*, *2019b*; *Bökönyi 1974*; *Fabiš 2000*; *2003*). The size of sheep was evidenced by the calculated withers height of a single sheep from Vrbov (60 cm) which fully corresponds to the average values given for the Iron Age and Migration period sheep (*Bielichová 2019a*, 95; *2019b*; 224; *Bökönyi 1974*, 177–181). For example, the average La Tène sheep from the settlement in Nitra-Šindolka was 60.2 cm at the withers (*Fabiš 2000*, 302), while Germanic sheep kept at Nitra-Chrenová were significantly larger (69.65 cm on the average) and probably represent one of the improved Pannonian Roman 'breeds' (*Fabiš 2003*, 109). In Hungary, sheep with withers heights below 60 cm were considered local (*Bökönyi 1974*, 178). In general, the Roman and Migration period sites of Central Europe display great variability and regional differences in the size of sheep (ranging from 50.4 at Neuss to 85.4 cm at the Roman site of Tác-Gorsium; *Benecke 1994*, 375, tab. 45). At Przeworsk Culture settlements, sheep were a bit larger than the individual from Vrbov with withers heights of ca. 63–64 cm (*Benecke 1994*, 169).

As for cattle, the range of measurements recorded on skeletal elements from Vrbov and Lazisko faunal assemblages does not exceed the variation reported at other Iron Age and Roman period settlements (see *Benecke 1994*; *Bielichová 2019a*; *2019b*; *Bökönyi 1974*) and indicates that small and short-horned (?) animals were kept. On the other hand, a few Late Roman specimens from Ostrovany suggested the presence of an extraordinarily

[5] In Nitra, the percentage of wild mammals is increased due to counting in the bones from partial roe deer and hare skeletons (*Ambros 1986*).

large individual[6] and/or the possible coexistence of two cattle 'breeds' – one smaller than and the other larger than modern cattle (*Rajtová 1964*, 266, 267, pl. III–V). In comparison, osteometric data from the site materials analysed for this paper correspond to the smaller type of cattle. The cattle from the Quadi settlements in southwestern Slovakia had an average withers height 117 cm with slightly larger talus than those recorded at Vrbov and Lazisko (compare Tab. 3 to *Bielichová 2019a*, 94, tab. 11). This would suggest that the 'mountain cattle' were smaller than those from lowlands adjacent to the Danube provinces. The information on cattle kept in the mountains during the Iron Age and Early Roman period from Liptovská Mara (WRH of 102.3–113.4 cm) supports this supposition. In other parts of Europe, the average Germanic cattle withers height was 109 cm while that of Roman-provincial cattle was 124 cm (*Benecke 1994*, 167).

Regarding local horses, their size may be assessed on the basis of their overall morphology and a couple of recorded measurements. The breadth of the distal radius from Lazisko (Bd = 72.34 and BFd = 59.56 mm) was comparable, although not exceeding those from a reference early medieval stallion (Bd = 74.01; BFd = 61.25 mm; WRH = 132.5 cm).[7] The late/final Roman period horse from the Quadi settlement at Nitra-Chrenová displayed slightly larger radius measurements (Bd = 77.2; BFd = 65.7 mm; *Fabiš 2003*, 126) than those measured on the specimen from Lazisko. There is also a measurable horse metatarsus from Ostrovany from a small-sized horse with slender limbs (*Rajtová 1964*, 265, 266, pl. II). In Europe, the withers height of Germanic horses ranged between 113 and 147 cm (*Benecke 1994*, 171). For instance, finds from Liptovská Mara showed that during the La Tène and Early Roman period small- to middle-sized horses with wither heights between 126 and 138 cm were kept (*Bielichová 2019b*, 226). A comparison with the reference stallion indicated that the horses from Lazisko probably did not exceed the range of small-sized horses and might have been similar to the recent Hucul or Carpathian pony with an average height of 136 cm. This breed, native to the Carpathian Mountains, was originally used as a draft animal for pulling timber in forests, a pack animal, and riding horse on rough terrain or inaccessible mountainous routes.[8]

And what was the focus of animal husbandry among the North Carpathian group people? The obtained ageing data suggest that cattle and caprines were species of combined utility. At Vrbov, the presence of female(s) and the late slaughter age of caprines (only individuals older than 2 years) suggest they were also exploited for secondary products such as milk and wool/hair. A higher slaughter age was dominated among cattle too, but some individuals were also killed early (0.5–1 year old). This is the age when calves are being weaned. That cattle and caprines were also kept for milk and wool is also likely at Lazisko. The bones of juveniles (up to first year) and young adults (up to fourth year) prevail in the faunal assemblage. In cattle, the butchery marks clearly indicate meat exploitation, but at the same time, slaughtering weaned calves in the post-lactation period (6–12 months) is evidence that dairy cows were also kept for milk production. In sheep, the earliest slaughter occurred between 6th and 12th month. In cattle, lactation lasts up to 300 days and the calves stay with cows to relieve the milk production, while in caprines this period is shorter, around 100–140 days, and the presence of offspring is not necessary, so the young animals can be weaned earlier (*Ballase 2003*). Most possibly, cattle and sheep had combined uses within the subsistence economy, probably providing both primary (meat, hide, bones, sinew and blood) as well as secondary products (milk and wool). At Vrbov, processing of animal wool/hair is also suggested by finds of shepherd shears and clay spindle whorls, although the latter may also have been used for spinning plant fibres (*Pieta 1991*, 384, fig. 6: 18).[9] Evidence for local weaving activity was reported also from the eastern, marginal zone of the North Carpathian group, Prešov-Pavlovičovo námestie (*Budinský-Krička 1963*, 31, 32) and Nižná Myšľa-Alamenev (*Béreš et al. 1991*, 175).

The bone remains showed that meat and fat was the primary focus in pig breeding in Vrbov and Lazisko. In Vrbov, the presence of a male pig at an optimal slaughter age (between its first and second year) fits with a deliberate selection of (subadult) males for slaughter and keeping females alive for breeding purposes. As evidenced by the low number of skeletal remains from horse, this species was not kept primarily for its meat but were used

[6] This specimen (145 cm; *Rajtová 1964*, 267) may rather represent an aurochs, as the assessed withers height exceeds that for contemporary cattle.

[7] The skeleton of an adult stallion (ca. 8–10 years old) from the early medieval cemetery in Dubovany-Pápež (8th–9th c. AD) served as a reference individual in the archaeozoological laboratory in Nitra.

[8] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hucul_pony

[9] K. Pieta, personal communication.

for the transportation of commodities and people. Nevertheless, at least in Lazisko the death and consumption of young horses speaks for mixed utility. Was the slaughter of horses a deliberate act, a seasonal practice or just a coincidence? Were the young horses injured or was it a 'crisis' plan for getting some meat for people/dogs? Unfortunately, this faunal assemblage cannot provide answers although the butchery of young (subadult) horses was already noted in the faunal assemblage from Prešov-Pavlovičovo námestie (*Ambros 1962*). The possibility of the combined utility of equids at protohistoric sites must be studied in more detail in the future, but it is possible that except for meat, hides, bones, or milk, the hooves or hide were also exploited. Our findings provide a relatively convincing evidence that horse hide was processed at the settlement.

CONCLUSIONS

The results of archaeozoological analysis from Vrbov and Lazisko reflect a pastoral animal economy as well as the preferences of beef and sheep(goat?) meat in the diet of the North Carpathian groups settled in the mountains and valleys of northern Slovakia. The agriculture was probably based on cultivating crops and herding both large and small ruminants. Hunting for dietary reasons was not common. The variety of skeletal elements present in these assemblages, including skull, horns, terminal parts of the limbs or tail vertebrae attest that cattle and caprines (sheep) at least were kept and slaughtered locally. Domestic cattle (*Bos taurus*), sheep (*Ovis aries*) and pigs (*Sus domesticus*) were identified at both settlements. Horses (*Equus caballus*) and brown bear (*Ursus arctos*) have been registered only at the hilltop settlement in Lazisko. Observed carnivore gnawing marks (common in the Lazisko assemblage), also suggest that domestic dogs were present and had access to the food refuse. Unlike other contemporary sites in the region, no bird and fish remains have been registered. However, this may also be due to recovery and sampling techniques.

The evaluation of relative quantity of finds (NISP) has shown that people preferred beef, veal, mutton and lamb in diet. At Vrbov, caprines (42.5%) and cattle (39.1%) dominated the assemblage. Pigs represented only half their number (18.4%). At Lazisko, cattle dominated (68.7%) although caprines were relatively common (25.2%). Pigs (4.3%) and horses (1.8%) occurred sporadically. Pork and horse meat probably only represented an occasional enrichment of the diet here. A single find of a brown bear canine tooth from Lazisko cannot be interpreted in terms of diet. Nevertheless, people might have killed a wild 'beast' to protect their animal herds and households from marauding animals and subsequently eat the meat of killed animals. In any case, game seems to have had negligible importance in the diet at both sites. In contrast to that, the contemporary lowland settlements in eastern (Prešov, Ostrovany, Nižná Myšľa) and southwestern Slovakia (Nitra) display a much more variable meat diet with a higher percentage (3.6% to 13.3% of NISP of mammals) of game. Most probably, a mountainous diet was simpler and contained a high proportion of dairy products. Mixed exploitation of cattle and caprines and a focus on secondary products is indicated by the dominance of subadult/adult individuals in the faunal waste and the presence of ewe and lambs, killed after being weaned (before the first winter) or between their first and second years of life. Without doubt, the milk (from cows, ewes, goats? or mares?) and its products (cheese and yoghurt) were at least seasonally available. The animal fleece/hair may have been produced that way too. Domestic textile production was indicated by finds of clay spindle whorls and a shepherd's shears in Vrbov as well as at Lazisko. The observed skinning marks on the studied horse and cattle bones also provide substantial evidence for processing of hides, horn or bone at these settlements.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ambros 1978 – C. Ambros: Prírastky a analýzy archeozoologického materiálu. *AVANS 1977,* 1978, 19–27.

Ballase 2003 – M. Balasse: Keeping the young alive to stimulate milk production? Differences between cattle and small stock. *Anthropozoologica* 37, 2003, 3–10.

Benecke 1994 – N. Benecke: *Archäozoologische Studien zur Entwicklung der Haustierhaltung in Mitteleuropa und Südskandinavien von den Anfängen bis zum ausgehenden Mittelalter*. Schriften zur Ur- und Frühgeschichte 46. Berlin 1994.

Benediková et al. 2019 – L. Benediková/M. Furman/Z. Bielichová/J. Mihályová/J. Tirpák: Čo (staro)nového pod Rohačkou? In: L. Benediková/G. Březinová/E. Horváthová/S. Stegmann-Rajtár (eds.): *Fragmenty času. Venované Elene Miroššayovej k 70. narodeninám*. Študijné zvesti AÚ SAV – Supplementum 1. Nitra 2019, 51–88. DOI: https://doi.org/10.31577/szausav.2019.suppl.1.2

Benediková et al. 2020 – L. Benediková/Z. Bielichová/J. Mihályiová/K. Hensel: Sídlisko zo staršej doby rímskej v Likavke (okr. Ružomberok). In: I. Čižmář/H. Čižmářová/A. Humpolová (eds.): *Jantarová stezka v proměnách času*. Brno 2020, 465–500.

Béreš et al. 1991 – J. Béreš/M. Lamiová-Schmiedlová/L. Olexa: Záchranný výskum na polykultúrnom sídlisku v Nižnej Myšli, poloha Alamenev, okr. Košice. *Východoslovenský pravek* 3, 1991, 166–190.

Bielichová 2019a – Z. Bielichová: Archaeozoology of the Late Roman Period Settlement at Veľké Zálužie in the Context of Regional Data. *Slovenská archeológia* 67, 2019, 61–112.

Bielichová 2019b – Z. Bielichová: Doba laténska na západnom a strednom Slovensku z pohľadu archeozoológie. In: I. Bazovský/G. Březinová (eds.): *Ľudia a hory – archeologická perspektíva. Interakcie ľudských spoločenstiev horských a podhorských oblastí západného Slovenska*. Zborník SNM. Archeológia. Suplementum 12. Bratislava – Nitra 2019, 195–238.

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

Budinský-Krička 1963 – V. Budinský-Krička: Sídlisko z doby rímskej a sťahovania národov v Prešove. *Slovenská archeológia* 11, 1963, 5–58.

Chroszcz et al. 2014 – A. Chrószcz/M. Janeczek/E. Pasicka/Z. Bielichová/Z. Zawada/J. Kleckowska-Nawrot/A. Szarek: Paleopathology of brown bears (Ursus arctos, L. 1758) from Liptovská Mara, Northern Slovakia. *Research Opinions in Animal & Veterinary Sciences* 4/1, 2014, 35–39.

von den Driesch 1976 – A. von den Driesch: *A Guide to the Measurement of Animal Bones from Archaeological Sites*. Peabody Museum Bulletins 1. Harvard 1976.

Fabiš 2000 – M. Fabiš: Analyse der Tierreste aus der latènezeitlichen Siedlung in Nitra-Šindolka. In: G. Březinová: *Nitra-Šindolka. Siedlung aus der Latènezeit. Katalog.* Archaeologiae Slovaca Monographiae. Catalogi 8. Nitra – Bratislava 2000, 299–334.

Fabiš 2003 – M. Fabiš: Archeozoologická analýza (1996–2000). In: Březinová a kol.: *Nitra-Chrenová. Archeologické výskumy na plochách stavenísk Shell a Baumax. Katalóg.* Archaeologica Slovaca Monographiae. Catalogi 9. Nitra 2003, 99–131.

Fabiš/Bielichová 2014 – M. Fabiš/Z. Bielichová: Úvodná štúdia k archeozoológii vo Veľkom Mederi. *Študijné zvesti AÚ SAV* 56, 2014, 169–182.

Giertlová-Kučeráková/Soják 2002 – M. Giertlová-Kučeráková/M. Soják: Hrnčiarske pece z neskorej doby rímskej vo Vrbove. *AVANS 2001*, 2002, 52, 53.

Giertlová-Kučeráková/Soják 2005 – M. Giertlová-Kučeráková/M. Soják: Novšie nálezy severokarpatskej skupiny v povodí rieky Poprad. *Študijné zvesti AÚ SAV* 38, 2005, 113–136.

Grimm 2013 – O. Grimm: Bear skins in northern European burials (first millennium AD). In: O. Grimm/U. Schmölcke (eds.): *Hunting in northern Europe until 1500 AD. Old traditions and regional developments, continental sources and continental influences*. Schleswig 2013, 277–296.

Habermehl 1961 – K.-H. Habermehl: *Die Altersbestimmung bei Haustieren, Pelztieren und beim jagdbaren Wild*. Berlin – Hamburg 1961.

Kiefer/Kolník 1995 – L. Kiefer/T. Kolník: Ďalšie nálezy severokarpatskej kultúrnej skupiny z Vrbova. *AVANS 1993*, 1995, 79, fig. 52.

Kolda 1936 – J. Kolda: *Srovnávací anatomie zvířat domácích se zřetelem k anatomii člověka*. Brno 1936.

Lamiová-Schmiedlová 1964 – M. Lamiová-Schmiedlová: Kontrolný výskum v Ostrovanoch. *AVANS 1963*, 1964, 233–264.

Lau/Pieta 2014 – N. Lau/K. Pieta: Das Grab von Poprad-Matejovce in der Slowakei – Konstruktion, Ausstattung und Wiederöffnung eines frühvölkerwanderungszeitlichen Kammergrabes. In: A. Abegg-Wigg/N. Lau (Hrsg.): *Kammergräber im Barbaricum. Zu Einflüssen und Übergangsphänomenen von der vorrömischen Eisenzeit bis in die Völkerwanderungszeit. Internationale Tagung. Schleswig 25.–27. November 2010*. Neumünster – Hamburg 2014, 343–364.

Lityńska-Zając 1993 – M. Lityńska-Zając: Odciski roślinne na polepie i węgle drzewne ze stanowiska a w Rytrze, woj. Nowy Sącz. In: *Madyda-Legutko/Tunia 1993*, 149–158.

Lyman 1994 – R. L. Lyman: *Vertebrate Taphonomy*. *Cambridge Manuals in Archaeology*. Cambridge 1994. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139878302

Madyda-Legutko/Tunia 1993 – R. Madyda-Legutko/K. Tunia: *Rytro. Karpacka osada z okresu wędrówek ludów*. Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego 1118. Prace Archeologiczne 57. Kraków 1993.

Oehrl 2013 – S. Oehrl: Svá beitum vér björnuna á mörkinni norðr – Bear hunting and its ideological context (as a background for the interpretation of bear claws and other remains of bears in Germanic graves of the 1st millennium AD). In: O. Grimm/U. Schmölcke (eds.): *Hunting in northern Europe until 1500 AD. Old traditions and regional developments, continental sources and continental influences*. Schleswig 2013, 297–332.

Pieta 1982 – K. Pieta: *Die Púchov-Kultur*. Archaeologica Slovaca Monographiae. Studia 1. Nitra 1982.

Pieta 1991 – K. Pieta: Hradisko Zvon v Lazisku. *AVANS 1989*, 1991, 79, 80.

Pieta 2008 – K. Pieta: Höhensiedlungen der Völkerwanderunszeit im nördlichen Karpatenbecken. In: H. Steuer/V. Bierbrauer (Hrsg.): *Höhensiedlungen zwischen Antike und Mittelalter von den Ardennen bis zur Adria*. Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde 58. Berlin – New York 2008, 457–480.

Pieta/Hanuliak 1988 – K. Pieta/V. Hanuliak: Výšinné sídlisko z neskorej doby rímskej v Lazisku. *AVANS 1987*, 1988, 111.

Pieta/Ruttkay 1986 – K. Pieta/M. Ruttkay: Výskum v Nitre-Párovských Hájoch. *AVANS 1985*, 1986, 191, 192.

Pieta/Ruttkay 1997 – K. Pieta/M. Ruttkay: Germanische Siedlung aus dem 4. und 5. Jh. in Nitra-Párovské Háje und Probleme der Siedlungskontinuität. In: J. Tejral/H. Friesinger/M. Kazanski (Hrsg.): *Neue Beiträge zur Erforschung der Spätantike im mittleren Donauraum*. Spisy Archeologického ústavu AV ČR Brno 8. Brno 1997, 145–163.

Rajtová 1964 – V. Rajtová: Zvieracie kosti z výskumu v Ostrovanoch. *Študijné zvesti AÚ SAV* 13, 1964, 265–270.

Rajtová 1991 – V. Rajtová: Hodnotenie zoologického materiálu z osady v Nižnej Myšli, poloha Alamenev. *Východoslovenský pravek* 3, 1991, 191, 192.

Schmid 1972 – E. Schmid: *Atlas of animal bones*. Amsterdam – London – New York 1972.

Silver 1969 – I. A. Silver: The ageing of domestic animals. In: D. R. Brothwell/E. S. Higgs (eds.): *Science in archaeology. A survey of progress and research. 2nd edition*. New York 1969, 250–268.

Soják 2015 – M. Soják: *Spiš. Svedectvo archeológie*. Archeologica Slovaca Monographiae. Varia 4. Nitra 2015.

Štolcová et al. 2014 – T. Štolcová/D. Schaarschmidt/S. Mitschke: Textile finds from a chieftain's grave. Preliminary report from Poprad-Matejovce, Slovakia. *Archaeological Textiles Review* 56, 2014, 50–59.

Teichert 1975 – M. Teichert: Osteometrische Untersuchungen zur Berechnung der Widerristhöhe bei Schafen. In: A. T. Clason (ed.): *Archaeozoological studies*. Amsterdam – Oxford 1975, 51–69.

Tunia 1989 – K. Tunia: Umweltbedingtheiten der Agrar- und Viehzuht-Wirtschaft auf den gebirgigen Gebieten in der Urgeschichte. Casus der westkarpathischen spätkaiserzeitlichen Besiedlung. *Acta Archaeologica Carpathica* 28, 1989, 119–144.

UNPUBLISHED SOURCES

Ambros 1960 – C. Ambros: *Prešov-Pavlovičovo námestie*. Nitra 1960. Výskumná správa.

Ambros 1961 – C. Ambros: *Prešov-Pavlovičovo námestie*. Nitra 1961. Výskumná správa.

Ambros 1962 – C. Ambros: *Prešov-Pavlovičovo námestie*. Nitra 1962. Výskumná správa.

Ambros 1986 – C. Ambros: *Nitra-Párovské Háje, poloha Jarok*. Nitra 1986. Výskumná správa 11596/86. Dokumentácia AÚ SAV Nitra.

Bielichová 2021a – Vrbov, poloha Vrbovský lesík. Nitra 2021. Výskumná správa 20425/21. Dokumentácia AÚ SAV Nitra.

Bielichová 2021b – Lazisko, poloha Zvon. Nitra 2021. Výskumná správa 20426/21. Dokumentácia AÚ SAV Nitra.

Manuscript accepted 8. 7. 2021

Translated by author

Mgr. Zora Bielichová
Archeologický ústav SAV
Akademická 2
SK – 949 21 Nitra
zora.miklikova@gmail.com

SLOVENSKÁ ARCHEOLÓGIA – SUPPLEMENTUM 2
Z. Robak/M. Ruttkay (eds.): Celts – Germans – Slavs.
A Tribute Anthology to Karol Pieta. Nitra 2021, 317–322.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.31577/slovarch.2021.suppl.2.28

MÜNZEN AUS DER ÄLTEREN RÖMERZEIT IM MILIEU DER NORDKARPATHISCHEN GRUPPE IN DER ZIPS

MARIÁN SOJÁK – ANDREJ NOVÁK[1]

Coins from the Early Roman Period in the North Carpathian Group in the Spiš. The paper discusses Roman coins found separately in the outskirts of the town of Spišská Belá (Kežmarok distr.). The analysis showed that the coins are Roman denarii from the 1st–2nd c., between years 73 and 180 CE. All the coins were found at registered archaeological sites attributed to the northern Carpathian group dated back to the turn of the 4th and 5th c. Most likely, the coins were not in circulation so deep in *Barbaricum*. Instead, they had been gathered and transferred through generations, and the precious metal they were made of – silver – was later secondarily used. This hypothesis is corroborated by finds of numerous coins with broken edges including seven denarii from Spišská Belá. The secondary use of older Roman denarii by people belonging to the northern Carpathian group was confirmed at numerous sites in Spiš (e.g. the hoard from Žehra, Temná Cave) or Liptov but also in Czechia, Lesser Poland, Ukraine and Upper Silesia.

Keywords: Slovakia, North Carpathian group, Roman coins, communication.

EINLEITUNG

In den Jahren 2018 bis 2020 ist es dank einer systematischen Rekognoszierung im Kataster der Gemeinde Spišská Belá, Bez. Kežmarok (Abb. 1) gelungen, eine interessante Kollektion numismatischen Charakters zu entdecken. Hervorzuheben sind Exemplare römischer Münzen aus dem 1.–2. Jh. n. Chr., die aus folgenden archäologischen Lokalitäten stammen (Abb. 2).

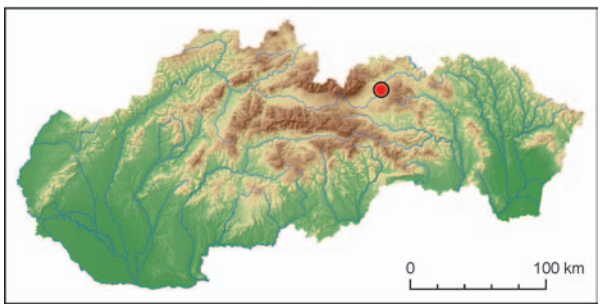


Abb. 1. Karte der Slowakei mit der Lokalisierung von Spišská Belá.

1. Krivá medza – bei der Eisenbahnstrecke
Rom, Domitianus (81–96), Rom, Denar 92–93, Ag, 19 mm, 2,66 g. *RIC II*, 790 (Abb. 3: 1).
A: Kopf nach rechts, Lorbeerkranz, IMP CAES DOMIT AVG GERM P M TR P (XV).
R: Minerva steht links, linke Hand an der Hüfte, Lanze in der rechten, IMP XXII COS XVII CENS P P P.

2. Kahlenberg – am Fuß von Stirn
a) Rom, Traianus (98–117), Rom, Denar 103–111, Ag, 18,5 mm, 1,86 g (abgebrochener Rand). RIC II, 118 (Abb. 3: 2).
A: Kopf nach rechts, Lorbeerkranz, (IMP) TRAIANO AVG (GER DAC PM TRP).
R: Aequitas steht links, mit Füllhorn in linker Hand, Waage in der rechten, COS V PP SPQR OPTIM (O PRINC).
b) Rom, Antoninus Pius (138–161), Rom, Denar 140–143, Ag, 17,5 mm, 2,55 g, abgewetzte Oberfläche. *RIC III*, 64 (Abb. 3: 3).
A: Kopf nach rechts, Lorbeerkranz, (ANTONINVS AVG PIVS P P TR P COS III).
R: Clementia steht links, mit Zepter in linker Hand, Opferschale in der rechten, (CLEMENTIA AVG).
c) Rom, Commodus (177–192), Rom, Denar 180, Ag, 16–18,5 mm, 1,98 g. *RIC III*, 264 (Abb. 3: 4).
A: Lockenkopf von Marcus Aurelius nach rechts, (DI) VVS M ANTO (NINVS PIVS).
R: rechts Adler auf einer Stange stehend, schaut nach links, CONSECRATIO.
d) Rom, Faustina II. (145–180), Rom, Denar 156–161, Ag, 18–19 mm, 2,57 g. *RIC III*, 496 (Abb. 3: 5).
A: Kopf rechts, FAVSTINA AVGVSTA.
R: Concordia steht links, in der linken Hand ein Füllhorn, in der rechten Opferschale, (AVGVSTI PII FIL).

3. **Hoher Rand**
a) Rom, Vespasianus (69–79), Rom, Denar 73, Ag, 17 mm, 1,58 g (zweimal abgebrochene Ränder, abgewetzte Oberfläche). *RIC II*, 546 (Abb. 3: 6).
A: umkränzter Kopf nach rechts, IMP C (AES VESP AVG CENS).
R: Kaiser sitzt auf dem Stuhl rechts, mit Zepter in linker Hand, Olivenzweig in der rechten, (PONTIF MAXIM).
b) Rom, Traianus (98–117), Rom, Denar 107–108, Ag, 19 mm, 1,49 g (zweimal abgebrochene Ränder). *RIC II*, 96 (Abb. 3: 7).

[1] Der Beitrag entstand im Rahmen des EG-Mittelprojektes Nr. 02/0101/19 und 02/0124/20 der Agentur VEGA.

Abb. 2. Spišská Belá. Fundstätte römischer Münzen im Katastergebiet der Stadt. 1 – Krivá medza, bei der Eisenbahnstrecke; 2 – Kahlenberg, am Fuß von Stirn; 3 – Hoher Rand (nach www.mapy.cz, bearbeitet).

A: umkränzter Kopf nach rechts, (IMP T)RAIANO AVG GE(R DAC P M TR P);
R: dakischer Gefangene sitzt rechts auf einem Haufen dreier Schutzschilder, auf den Seiten zwei Lanzen und zwei Schwerte, mit verbundenen Händen hinter dem Rücken, COS V P P (S P Q R OPTIMO PRINC), im Abschnitt DAC CAP.

AUSWERTUNG DER NUMISMATISCHEN FUNDE

Alle präsentierten Funde der einzeln entdeckten römischen Münzen stammen aus registrierten archäologischen Fundstellen, auf welchen außer urzeitlichen Besiedlungen (vorwiegend aus dem Epipaläolithikum, Mesolithikum, Neolithikum und der Bronzezeit) auch markante Siedlungen der Nordkarpathischen Gruppe aus dem Ende der Römerzeit und Anfang der Völkerwanderung belegt sind (*Pieta 1991*). Aus keiner Lage sind bis jetzt bekannte Denkmäler, die genauso alt wie die datierten Münzen wären, d. h. eingegliedert in die Púchov-Kultur der älteren Römerzeit. Allgemein gibt es im derzeitigen Gemeindegebiet, bis auf bescheidene und problematisch datierte Funde aus älteren Rekognoszierungen (*Kollárová/Novák/Soják 2015*, 87 ff.), keine Spuren nach Besiedlung aus der ganzen Latènezeit und der älteren Römerzeit, d. h. intensive Belege der Träger der Púchov-Kultur in der Zips (*Soják 2006a*, 40 ff.). Die gleiche Situation wiederholt sich auch auf vielen anderen Fundstellen in der Zips, auf welchen nach dem Untergang der Púchov-Kultur erst die Besiedlung des Volkes der Nordkarpathischen Gruppe dominiert. Im Gegensatz dazu ist für jetzt die Besiedlung der Przeworsk-Kultur aus dem Ende des 2. bis 3. Jh. n. Chr. auf dem behandelten Gebiet für diesmal weniger markant und bindet sich bisher vorbehaltslos auf die Unterzips im Flussgebiet von Hornád (Doľany, Klčov, Levoča, Nemešany, Smižany/Spišské Tomášovce, Spišský Hrhov). Eine andere kulturelle Situation ist im Flussgebiet von Poprad in der Oberzips, wo nach der Púchov-Kultur vorläufig ein Siedlungshiatus zu verfolgen ist und die darauffolgende Besiedlung schließt an die Träger der Nordkarpathischen Gruppe an. In einen Zusammenhang mit dieser Gruppe sind die Traianus-Denare aus den Lokalitäten Vlková-Levkovce (*Soják 1998*), Stráne pod Tatrami (*Soják 2002*), wie auch Hôrka-Primovce (*Soják 2004*), aber vor allem der Satz der Denkmäler aus Žehra-Temná jaskyňa (Dunkle Höhle), die sich in der Travertin-Felswand von Spišský hrad (Zipser Burg) befindet, zu setzen (*Soják 2005a*; *2005b*; *2006b*). Die zuletzt erwähnte Lokalität mit Funden römischer Münzen, zwei Lederbeuteln und anthropologischen Überresten des Inhabers des Geldbetrags (*Jakab*

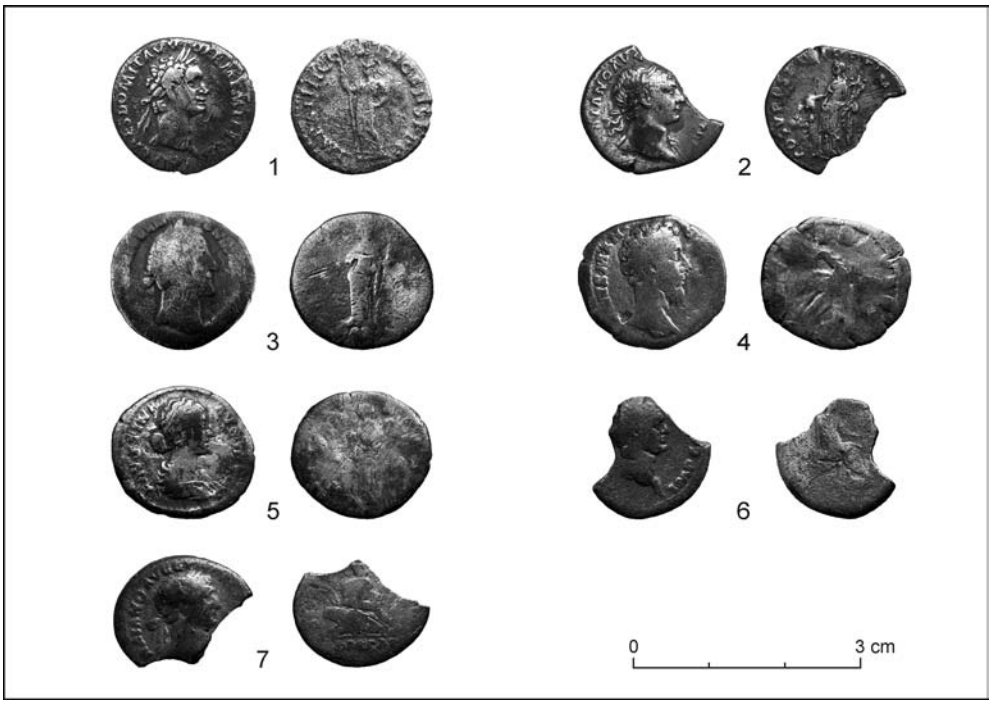


Abb. 3. Spišská Belá. Römische Denare aus Begehungen der Lagen Krivá medza, bei der Eisenbahnstrecke (1), Kahlenberg, am Fuß von Stirn (2–5) und Hoher Rand (6, 7). 1 – Domitianus; 2, 7 – Traianus; 3 – Antoninus Pius; 4 – Commodus; 5 – Faustina II.; 6 – Vespasianus (Foto M. Soják).

2005) wurde früher, auch wenn mit angedeuteten Vorbehalten, mit dem Untergangshorizont der dortigen Púchov-Besiedlung aus dem Abschluss des 2. Jh. n. Chr. verbunden. Darüber zeugt der Burgwall der Púchov-Kultur, situiert auf der Anhöhe der Burgberges und mit reichen Denkmälern aus seiner ganzen Entwicklungszeit. Die neuere Radiokarbondatierung der Knochenüberreste aus Temná jaskyňa zeigte aber eindeutig die Bindung dieser Fundeinheit mit einem „spätrömischen Barbaren".[2] Wahrscheinlich hängt mit derselben Besiedlung auch der Zufallsfund eines Traianus-Denars aus Poprad (ein nicht publizierter Fund von M. Kiska in den 80-er Jahren des 20. Jh.; *RIC II 1968*, 169) zusammen, entdeckt im Hinterland einer naheliegenden Siedlung der Nordkarpathischen Gruppe, die auf der Flur Za Popradom lokalisiert wurde (*Soják 2003a*, 133). Vielleicht kann man mit dem gleichen kulturellen Milieu den Zufallsfund eines Hadrianus-Denars in Verbindung setzen, den man im Jahr 2018 hinter dem westlichen Rand der Firma Slovdekra entdeckte (ein nicht publizierter Fund; *RIC II 1968*, 81), hinter dem östlichen Rand der erfassten nordkarpathischen Besiedlung auf der Flur Smižianska roveň. Auf der letztmalig erwähnten Flur vermerken wir jedoch auch eine Besiedlung aus dem Ende der älteren (Ende der Púchov-Kultur) und Anfang der jüngeren Römerzeit, worüber Funde römischprovinzialen Keramik Terra Sigillata aus der 2. Hälfte des 2. Jh. bis erste Hälfte des 3. Jh. n. Chr. und in der Zips einzigartige antike Gemme aus dem vorausgesetzten 3. Jh. n. Chr. (*Daňová/Soják 2013*; *Soják 2014*, 45), zeugen. Der gemeinsame Nenner aller höher genannten und im präsentierten Beitrag analysierten Funde aus Spišská Belá, ist eine mehr oder weniger abgewetzte Oberfläche der einzelnen Exemplare, was über einen langfristigen Umlauf zeugt, bzw. über Anwendung während langer 200 bis 300 Jahre, zeugt. Die Prägungen aus Spišská Belá sind sogar absichtlich auf den Randen einmal, bzw. zweimal ausgebrochen, was über einer sekundären Gewinnung und Nutzung des kostbaren Metalls (in diesem Fall des Silbers) zur Wiederverwendung zeugt. Ein ähnlicher Fall ist die Kollektion von Denaren aus Temná jaskyňa, wo sich unter markant abgenutzten Münzen eine mit mehrfach abgebrochenem Rand befand. Gleich ist auch der Fall des fragmentarisch erhaltenen Hadrianus-Denars aus Janovce bei Bardejov, der als Zufallsfund auf dem Weg näher zur

[2] Die Radiokarbonanalyse der menschlichen Überreste in Poznań wies auf ein Alter zwischen 234–381 AD hin. Die Anfänge der Nordkarpathischen Gruppe sind bisher nicht zuverlässig datiert, obwohl das Ende dieser Daten aus Temná jaskyňa hervorragend auf ihre Entwicklung passt.

entgegengesetzten/nördlichen Seite der Karpaten entdeckt wurde (*Soják/Fecko 2015*).

Es ist wichtig zu erwähnen, dass die analysierten Münzen aus dem Kataster von Spišská Belá nicht die einzigen sind, die wir auf dem Gebiet der jetzigen Gemeinde registrieren. Dies belegen Lesefunde von Michael Greisiger, einem Zipser-Polyhistoren, aus der Wende des 19. und 20. Jh. (*Minarovičová 1996*; *Soják 2006a*, 43 mit Abb.) und auch weitere Funde größerer Zahl von Prägungen ohne näher bekannten Fundumständen (*Soják 2008*, 36, hier weitere Lit.). Bei den meisten Funden handelt es sich um Prägungen aus der älteren Römerzeit, die eindeutig mit der erörteten kulturellen Gruppe zusammenhängen. Das belegt vorwiegend die zahlreiche Begleitkeramik aus dominanten verzierten Vorratsgefäßen mit Krause, vereinzelt auch mit anderen zeitgenössischen Begleitartefakten einschließlich solcher, die aus Metall hergestellt wurden. Zu erwähnen sind vor allem die Gewandschließen – Fibeln aus Bronze (mit umgeschlagenem Fuß aus Veľká Lomnica und aus Stráne pod Tatrami, Typ Wiesbaden aus Kahlenberg/Stirn: *Lipták 1935*, 63, Taf. XIV unten; *Novotná/Soják 2013*, 30 f., Abb. 20: 1; *Soják 2003*, 171 ff., Abb. 5 und nicht publiziert), oder Silber (Spišská Belá, bei Mlynský ker; nicht publiziertes Fragment einer Blech-Bogenfibel, der jüngsten im Rahmen der Nordkarpathischen Gruppe).[3] Viele Münzen aus den ersten zwei Jahrhunderten n. Chr. aus der Zips können genauso mit einer spätrömischen Besiedlung zusammenhängen und müssen daher nicht eine gleichzeitige Besiedlung mit deren Datierung/Umlauf indizieren. Als Beispiel sind Funde aus dem Travertin-Komplex Dreveník über Spišské Podhradie zu erwähnen, wo einzelne Exemplare römischer Münzen gefunden wurden, zusammen mit einem Depot von 60 Stücken von Münzen mit dem Bildnis des Kaisers Hadrianus aus der älteren Römerzeit (*Kolníková 1972*, 104; *1980*, 72 – hier unter Spišské Vlachy; *Šmálik 1967*), sowie auch aus weiteren Zipser Fundstellen (*Soják 2000; 2008*, 34 ff.).

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Die Interpretation der Funde römischer Münzen ist kompliziert und hängt von vielen Faktoren ab, in Abhängigkeit von Zufallsfunden oder Depots, Fundumständen, der Zusammensetzung der geretteten Kollektionen, die oft aus Depots mit einer großen Zeitspanne bestehen (*Kolníková 1972*; *1973*). Deshalb überrascht nicht im *Barbaricum*, so weit von *Limes Romanus* entfernt, schon seit längerer Zeit angesammeltes Vermögen in Form von Münzen aus relativ feinem Silber. Diese wurden von Generation zu Generation übergeben und bereitgestellt zur sekundären Nutzung jahrzehntelang nach der Ausscheidung der gültigen Umlaufswährung. Die Funktion der römischen Münzen als gesetzliches Umlaufsgeld ist auf dem Gebiet des Römischen Reichs wie in der Nähe des römischen Limes gültig. Im Gegenteil, weit in *Barbaricum*, hatten sie ohne Zweifel eine andere Bedeutung, ob als Erinnerungsgegenstände, die aus Kriegszügen von Veteranen gebracht wurden, oder durch einen breit verzweigten Handel, der durch die Zips bis auf das Territorium des heutigen Polens verlief, der sich vielleicht dank prosperierendem Handel mit Eisenrohstoff entwickelte. In den Funden überwiegen Denare aus dem 2. Jh. n. Chr., die die markanteste Gruppe der römischen Münzen in dem ganzen barbarischen Milieu (*Bursche 1994*), einschließlich des slowakischen Gebiets (*Kolníková 1994*), bilden. Den bisherigen Funden nach, war ihr Hauptzufluss im Verlauf der turbulenten Ereignisse der Markomannenkriege, was durch vorherrschende Prägungen mit dem Abbild von Marcus Aurelius zum Ausdruck gebracht wird. Deshalb wäre es nicht überraschend, wenn auf schrittweise besiedeltem Gebiet durch die nordkarpathischen Einwohner diese hier zufällig entdeckten älteren Prägungen der römischen Münzen trafen. Diese müssen nicht immer ein langfristig gesammeltes Eigentum repräsentieren, sondern es kann sich auch um Münzen handeln, die einfach verlorengegangen sind oder absichtlich im Wirbel der Kriegskonflikte und auf wichtigen Straßen, Handelszügen versteckt wurden. Es ist zweifellos, dass die germanischen Stämme auch römische Exemplare, ausgefertigt aus Kupfer/Bronze, nicht verachtet haben, die auch wenn in einem geringen Ausmaß, hier vertreten sind. Auf die Tatsache, dass es sich bei den Münzen aus Spišská Belá berechtigt um römische Münzen handelt, machen nicht nur markante spätrömische Artefakte aus einzelnen Fundstätten, begleitet von abgewetzten spätrömischen Münzen aufmerksam, sondern auch eine auffällig dichte Kumulation der nordkarpathischen Besiedlung im Extravillan der heutigen Stadt, wo wir ungefähr 15 Lokalitäten der Nordkarpathischen Gruppe vermerken (*Giertlová-Kučerová/Soják 2005*, 118 f.; *Soják 2006a*, 41). Auf einer der behandelnden Lokalitäten mit Vorkommen von zwei hier präsentierten römischen Münzen (Hoher Rand) wurde im Jahr 2007 eine archäologische Ausgrabung, orientiert auf die mesolithische Besiedlung der Lokalität, realisiert. In der Sonde belegte man ein vertieftes Objekt, in dem neben urzeitlichen Artefakten auch ein Tierknochen und

[3] Für Konsultationen zu den Fibelfunden danke ich K. Pieta.

Holzkohle aufgetreten sind. Die ^{14}C-Analyse der beiden organischen Reste wies auf die ältere Römerzeit (1870 ± 30 BP, 1915 ±35 BP) hin, wobei während der Rekognoszierung auf der Fundstelle auch Scherben der Nordkarpathischen Gruppe gefunden wurden (*Valde-Nowak/Soják 2010*, 4, Abb. 5; 6).

Eine analogische Situation mit dem Auftreten von älteren römischen Münzen in spätrömischer Umgebung registrieren wir aus anderen Regionen der Slowakei (Selce, Turík u. a.). Ein bedeutender Fund der den Gebrauch und vielleicht auch den Umlauf von alten römischen Denaren in der jüngeren Römerzeit (aus dem Ende des 3. bis Verlauf des 4. Jh. n. Chr.) belegt, stammt aus dem Areal der germanischen Siedlung in Bratislava-Trnávka, wo man in der Verfüllung einer quadischen Grubenhütte 13 verstreute Denare von Nero bis Marcus Aurelius fand (*Varsik 2002*, 43–45). Ähnliche Fundkomplexe stammen auch aus Kleinpolen (z. B. Befunde aus den Fundstellen Zagórzyn oder Świlcza; *TIR 2002*, 356 ff., Nr. 884; bzw. 319, Nr. 775; *Kunisz 1969*; *1985*), weiter aus der Ukraine oder dem oberschlesischen Gebiet (*Kolníková/Pieta 2009*). Gleichermaßen gibt es auch auf dem Gebiet von Tschechien eine Reihe von Belegen, dass die Denare aus den 1.–2. Jh. n. Chr. noch im 5. Jh. n. Chr., also in der Völkerwanderungszeit massenhaft im Umlauf waren (*Militký 2013*, 38 ff.).

Die repräsentierten numismatischen Funde sind Zeugen der Tatsache, dass man die Bedeutung der römischen Münzenfunde nicht nur auf ihren Datierungswert einschränken kann, ohne Rücksicht auf den breiteren wirtschaftlich-gesellschaftlichen Grad der heimischen barbarischen Fundumgebung (*Kolníková 1986*). Sie sind Zeugen einer langzeitigen Anhäufung von hochwertigen römischen Prägungen, die genügend geeignetes Silbermetall enthielten, um den Trägern der Nordkarpathischen Gruppe zur Produktion von verschiedenen Metallprodukten dienen zu können, unter welchen die größte Bedeutung bestimmt Fibeln, Schnallen seltener auch Werkzeuge hatten.[4]

LITERATUR

Bursche 1994 – A. Bursche: Die Markomannenkriege und der Zufluß römischer Münzen in das Barbaricum. In: H. Friesinger/J. Tejral/A. Stuppner (Hrsg.): *Markomannenkriege – Ursachen und Wirkungen*. Spisy Archeologického ústavu AV ČR Brno 1. Brno 1994, 471–485.

Daňová/Soják 2013 – M. Daňová/M. Soják: Unikátny nález antickej gemy zo Spišskej Novej Vsi – polohy Smižianska roveň. *Zborník SNM* 107. *Archeológia* 23, 2013, 61–66.

Giertlová-Kučerová/Soják 2005 – M. Giertlová-Kučerová/M. Soják: Novšie nálezy severokarpatskej skupiny v povodí rieky Poprad. *Študijné zvesti AÚ SAV* 38, 2005, 113–136.

Jakab 2005 – J. Jakab: Kostra muža s poúrazovými zmenami z doby rímskej z jaskyne pri Žehre. *Východoslovenský pravek* 7, 2005, 101–106.

Kollárová/Novák/Soják 2015 – Z. Kollárová/A. Novák/M. Soják: *Dr. Michal Greisiger*. Kežmarok 2015.

Kolníková 1972 – E. Kolníková: K interpretácii nálezov rímskych mincí na Slovensku. *Slovenská numizmatika* 2, 1972, 7–114.

Kolníková 1973 – E. Kolníková: Ku konfrontácii nálezov mincí s výsledkami bádania o dobe rímskej na Slovensku. *Slovenská archeológia* 21, 1973, 167–186.

Kolníková 1980 – E. Kolníková: *Rímske mince na Slovensku*. Ars Slovaca Antiqua. Dávnoveké umenie Slovenska 10. Bratislava 1980.

Kolníková 1986 – E. Kolníková: Kritický rozbor a klasifikácia nálezov rímskych mincí na Slovensku. *Slovenská numizmatika* 9, 1986, 59–97.

Kolníková 1994 – E. Kolníková: Die Markomannenkriege im Lichte der Fundmünzen aus der Slowakei. In: H. Friesinger/J. Tejral/A. Stuppner (Hrsg.): *Markomannenkriege – Ursachen und Wirkungen*. Spisy Archeologického ústavu AV ČR Brno 1. Brno 1994, 487–496.

Kolníková/Pieta 2009 – E. Kolníková/K. Pieta: Spätrömische und völkerwanderungszeitliche Münzhorte und andere Münzfunde im Nordkarpatenraum In: M. Woloszyn (ed.): *Byzantine Coins in Central Europe between the 5th and 10th century*. Kraków 2009, 117–132.

Kunisz 1969 – A. Kunisz: *Chronologia napływu pieniądza rzymskiego na ziemie Małopolski*. Wrocław – Warszawa – Kraków 1969.

Kunisz 1985 – A. Kunisz: *Znaleziska monet rzymskich z Małopolski*. Wrocław – Warszawa – Kraków – Gdańsk – Łódź 1985.

Lau/Pieta 2014 – N. Lau/K. Pieta: Das Grab von Poprad-Matejovce in der Slowakei – Anlage, Konstruktion und Ausstattung eines frühvölkerwanderungszeitlichen Kammergrabes. In: A. Abegg-Wigg/N. Lau (Hrsg.): *Kammergräber im Barbaricum. Zu Einflüssen und Übergangsphänomenen von der vorrömischen Eisenzeit bis in die Völkerwanderungszeit. Internationale Tagung. Schleswig, 25.–27. November 2010*. Schriften des Archäologischen Landesmuseums Ergänzungsreihe 9. Neumünster – Hamburg 2014, 343–364.

Lipták 1935 – J. Lipták: *Urgeschichte und Besiedlung der Zips. Bilder aus der Zipser Vergangenheit*. Kesmark 1935.

Militký 2013 – J. Militký: Depoty a hromadné nálezy římských a raně byzantských mincí. In: L. Smejtek/M. Lutovský/J. Militký: *Encyklopedie pravěkých pokladů v Čechách*. Praha 2013, 36–42.

Minarovičová 1996 – E. Minarovičová: Keltské a rímske mince zo súkromnej zbierky Michala Greisigera. *Zborník SNM* 90. *História* 36, 1996, 131–141.

Novotná/Soják 2013 – M. Novotná/M. Soják: *Veľká Lomnica-Burchbrich. Urzeitliches Dorf unter den Hohen Tatra*. Archaeologica Slovaca Monographiae. Studia 16. Nitra 2013.

[4] Zu erwähnen ist auch z. B. ein silberner Pfriem aus einem Kammergrab in Poprad-Matejovce (*Lau/Pieta 2014*, 360, Abb. 17).

Pieta 1991 – K. Pieta: The North Carpathians at the Beginning of the Migration Period. *Antiquity* 65 (247), 1991, 376–387.
RIC II 1968 – H. Mattingly/E. A. Sydenham: *The Roman Imperial Coinage. Volume II. Vespasian to Hadrian*. London 1968.
RIC III 1968 – H. Mattingly/E. A. Sydenham: *The Roman Imperial Coinage. Volume III. Antoninus Pius to Commodus*. London 1968.
Šmálik 1967 – Š. Šmálik: Nález rímskej mince pri Spišskom Podhradí. *Nové obzory* 9, 1967, 208–210.
Soják 1998 – M. Soják: Rímska minca z Vlkovej-Levkoviec. *Slovenská numizmatika* 15, 1998, 225–227.
Soják 2000 – M. Soják: Nálezy rímskych mincí na Spiši: problém riešenia rímsko-barbarských vzťahov na základe numizmatických prameňov. *Numizmatika* 17 – supplementum, 2000, 97–104.
Soják 2002 – M. Soják: Nález rímskej mince zo Strání pod Tatrami. *Slovenská numizmatika* 16, 2002, 184–186.
Soják 2003a – M. Soják: Prieskum a výskum v oblasti Spiša. *AVANS 2002*, 2003, 132–142.
Soják 2003b – M. Soják: Rašelinisko Trstinné lúky pri Spišskej Belej v kontexte pravekého a včasnodejinného osídlenia. *Východoslovenský pravek* 6, 2003, 167–173.
Soják 2004 – M. Soják: Traianov denár z Hôrky-Primoviec. *Slovenská numizmatika* 17, 2004, 195, 196.
Soják 2005a – M. Soják: Die Entdeckung römischer Münzen und menschlicher Knochen in der Höhle Temná, Gemeinde Žehra, Nordslowakei. *Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt* 35, 2005, 77–87.
Soják 2005b – M. Soják: Osídlenie Temnej jaskyne pod Spišským hradom. *Východoslovenský pravek* 7, 2005, 83–100.
Soják 2006a – M. Soják: Pred prvou písomnou zmienkou. In: Z. Kollárová (zost.): *Spišská Belá*. Prešov 2006, 23–51, 130.
Soják 2006b – M. Soják: Unikátny nález z doby rímskej pod Spišským hradom. *Acta Musaei Scepusiensis 2006. Pohľady do minulosti* 6. Levoča 2006, 9–24.
Soják 2008 – M. Soják: Výpoveď nálezov antických mincí zo Spiša. *Zborník SNM* 100. *História* 46, 2008, 31–44.
Soják 2014 – M. Soják: Spišská Nová Ves v archeologických svedectvách. In: I. Chalupecký (zost.): *Dejiny mesta Spišská Nová Ves*. Spišská Nová Ves 2014, 32–65.
Soják/Fecko 2015 – M. Soják/P. Fecko: Ojedinelý nález rímskej mince z Janoviec pri Bardejove. *Slovenská numizmatika* 20, 2015, 171–173.
TIR 2002 – P. Kaczanowski/U. Margos (eds.): *Tabula Imperii Romani. M 34–Kraków*. Kraków 2002.
Valde-Nowak/Soják 2010 – P. Valde-Nowak/M. Soják: Contribution to the Mesolithic in the Slovak Carpathians. *Slovenská archeológia* 58, 2010, 1–12.
Varsik 2002 – V. Varsik: Rímske mince z Bratislavy-Trnávky. *Slovenská numizmatika* 16, 2002, 41–50.

Manuskript angenommen am 22. 9. 2021

Übersetzt von Dominika Boháčová
Abstract translated by Lucia Benediková

PhDr. Marián Soják, PhD.
Archeologický ústav SAV
Oddelenie záchranných výskumov – Spiš
Mlynská 6
SK – 052 01 Spišská Nová Ves
sojak@ta3.sk

MUDr. Andrej Novák
Mierová 9
SK – 059 01 Spišská Belá
novak.mudr@gmail.com

SLOVENSKÁ ARCHEOLÓGIA – SUPPLEMENTUM 2
Z. Robak/M. Ruttkay (eds.): Celts – Germans – Slavs.
A Tribute Anthology to Karol Pieta. Nitra 2021, 323–332.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.31577/slovarch.2021.suppl.2.29

GRABKAMMER, TOTENHAUS, RITUALRÄUME

Überlegungen zum Kammergrab von Poprad-Matejovce

NINA LAU – CLAUS VON CARNAP-BORNHEIM

Chamber Tomb Burial Chamber, House of Dead, Ritual Space. Consideration on the Chamber-grave from Poprad-Matejovce. The tomb of Poprad-Matejovce from the late 370s AD, its discovery, excavation and later exploration is closely linked to the person of Karol Pieta. The excellent preservation of organic material even in the higher layers of finds as well as the detailed documentation make the tomb a model case for chamber tombs of the late Roman Period and early Migration Period for questions concerning the level of meaning of structural aspects, the rites connected with the concept of the afterlife, internal spatial structures of the tombs, find zones and all the detailed processes of tomb construction, procession and burial. Thus, the outer burial chamber can be regarded as a general ritual space in which all elements connected with the burial can be located. Through an entrance on the east side, the burial public could view all the burial rites materialised in this ritual space as well as the deceased laid out on his bed in the inner chamber. The inner chamber is constructed as a house of the dead with a gabled roof, defining a space exclusively reserved for the laid out dead with his personal grave goods and costume/status elements. The architecture of the inner chamber is clearly based on the element of the *domus aeterna* from Roman burial contexts. The tomb at Poprad clearly shows an inner zoning. In addition to the zone reserved for the dead within the house of the dead, another space is defined to the south of the house of the dead, in which only objects from the sphere around the funerary banquet and cleaning rituals were found. An important find is the funerary bier, which had been dismantled and deposited on the roof after the mortuary house had been closed. This was certainly used during the procession to the burial site and is a singular find in the *Barbaricum*. All in all, the grave at Poprad shows indications of rites and ideas of the afterlife that are difficult to decipher because, in contrast to Roman burial rites, written sources are lacking in the *Barbaricum* of this period.

Keywords: Slovakia, Roman Period, chamber grave, ritual zones, house of the dead, procession.

Mit der Entdeckung und Ausgrabung des Kammergrabes von Poprad-Matejovce in den Jahren 2005 und 2006 ist Karol Pieta und seinem Team einer der bedeutendsten Funde der europäischen Archäologie der letzten Jahrzehnte gelungen.[1] Die Erhaltung der Grabkammer, das außergewöhnliche, wenn auch beraubte Inventar und seine regionale Position eröffnen der Scientific Community weitreichende Interpretationsperspektiven und dies weit über den zeitlichen Rahmen des ausgehenden 4. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. und das südliche Karpatenvorland hinaus. Die Verfasser dieses Beitrages sind dem Jubilar für die von ihm eröffnete Möglichkeit ganz besonders dankbar, eine aktive Rolle in der Konservierung und Auswertung dieses Grabkomplexes spielen und so in einem internationalen Netzwerk tätig sein zu dürfen. Das gute Betriebsklima innerhalb des Projektes ist ganz wesentlich durch den Jubilar geprägt, den wir nicht nur als exzellenten Forscher und Wissenschaftler, sondern auch als außergewöhnlich sympathischen Menschen und vielseitige Persönlichkeit kennen und schätzen gelernt haben (Abb. 1).

Das Grab von Poprad-Matejovce aus den späten 370er Jahren n. Chr. mit seiner äußeren Grabkammer und dem inneren Totenhaus sowie Mobiliar, Leder und Textilien ist aufgrund der hervorragenden Erhaltung von organischen Fundmaterialien bis in die höchsten Fundschichten hinein und der damit verbundenen Möglichkeit, Objekte zu erfassen, die sonst in Grabfunden nicht oder nur teilweise dokumentiert werden können, von ganz außergewöhnlichem Quellen- und Interpretationswert. Darüber hinaus ist die detaillierte Funddokumentation in Kombination mit der Analysemöglichkeit im Geographischen Informationssystem unter Einbindung von Höhendaten als Modellfall für weitere theoretische Überlegungen zu Kammergräbern der römischen Kaiserzeit und Völkerwanderungszeit im *Barbaricum* anzusehen.

Ein Kammergrab wird zumeist anhand architektonischer Merkmale definiert, wobei diese neben

[1] Generell zum Befund siehe *Belanová/Pieta 2007*; *Lau 2017*; *Lau/Pieta 2014*; *2017*; *Pieta 2009*; *Pieta/Roth 2007*; *Štolcová 2015*; *Štolcová/Schaarschmidt/Mitschke 2014*; *Štolcová/Zink/Pieta 2009*.

Abb. 1. Der Jubilar zusammen mit Peter Roth, ehemaliger Direktor des Podtatranské múzeum in Poprad, auf dem Dach der äußeren Grabkammer aus Poprad-Matejovce zu Beginn der Ausgrabungen im Juli 2006 (Foto Š. Hritz).

einer oberirdischen Markierung in Form eines Grabhügels der Nachweis oder die Annahme einer in Regel hölzernen, seltener steinernen äußeren Grabkammer sind, die den Grabraum definieren und durch weitere Kammereinbauten und/oder die räumliche Zonierung von Beigaben(-kategorien) unterteilt sein können (Abb. 2). Diese bauliche Ebene ist jedoch Ausdruck einer mit ihr unmittelbar in Verbindung stehenden Bedeutungsebene, die Ausdruck des dem jeweiligen Grab zugrundeliegenden Jenseitskonzeptes ist. So sind die baulichen Merkmale als die materiellen Äußerungen vielfältiger Vorstellungen im Kontext von Toten- und Ahnenkult, Erinnerungskultur und Religions- und Jenseitsvorstellungen zu sehen. Wenngleich diese Inhalte kaum erschließbar sind, können für die Kammergräber der römischen Kaiserzeit und Völkerwanderungszeit jedoch einige bauliche Aspekte hinsichtlich ihrer Bedeutungsebene diskutiert bzw. neue Fragen aufgeworfen werden, wobei diese hier modellhaft anhand des Grabes von Poprad-Matejovce beleuchtet werden sollen. Es erlaubt besonders wichtige Überlegungen zu den mit dem Jenseitskonzept verbundenen Riten, zur inneren räumlichen Struktur der Kammergräber, zu Fundzonen und zu den Vorgängen in Verbindung mit dem Bau des Grabes, der Aufbahrung des Toten sowie zu Prozession und seiner Bestattung (Abb. 2; Tab. 1).

GRABHÜGEL/MONUMENTALISIERUNG DES GRABES

Grabhügel werden häufig als bauliches Merkmal von Kammergräbern verschiedener Zeitstellungen herangezogen (z. B. *Steuer 1998*). Während bei einigen Kammergräbern sie markierende Grabhügel noch gut in der Landschaft erkennbar waren,[2] konnte dieser bei anderen Gräbern nur noch durch Rekonstruktionen nachgewiesen werden, wie z. B. in Gommern, Lkr. Jerichower Land (*Becker 2014*, 229) oder Ellekilde im östlichen Seeland bei Torslunde (*Iversen 2014*, 134). Bei anderen Befunden fehlen wiederum die Nachweise (so bei dem Grab von Poprad-Matejovce) oder sind vielmehr nicht anzunehmen, wie bei den Gräber von Wrocław-Zakrzów (*Quast 2014*, 325, 326). Generell ist die Sitte einer Überhügelung von Gräbern sowie die Anlage von Steinpackungen – unabhängig von der Existenz einer Grabkammer – Ausdruck regionaler/lokaler Praktiken, was ihre Aussagekraft bezüglich eines

[2] Z. B. bei den schwedischen, C3b-zeitlichen Gräbern von Lilla Jored, Tibble sn., und Fullerö, Gamla Uppsala sn. (zuletzt *Rau 2014*).

Tab. 1. Gegenüberstellung von baulichen Aspekten von Kammergräbern und ihrer möglichen Bedeutungsebene auf Basis der Beobachtungen anhand des Grabes von Poprad-Matejovce.

Bauliche Ebene eines Kammergrabes	Bedeutungsebene
Grabhügel	Monumentalisierung des Grabes (in Poprad nicht nachgewiesen).
Äußere Grabkammer	Gesamter Ritualraum für alle Elemente der Bestattung selber sowie der mit ihr verbundenen Handlungen (in Poprad nachgewiesen).
Innere Grabkammer	Totenhaus mit Sphäre allein für den aufgebahrten Toten und seinen personengebundenen Requisiten (in Poprad nachgewiesen).
Räumliche Zonierung durch strukturierte Beigabenensembles	Unterschiedliche rituelle Zonen für verschiedene Elemente der Bestattung: 1. Aufbahrung und Inszenierung des Toten; 2. Totenmahl und Reinigung; 3. Prozession (alle in Poprad nachgewiesen).

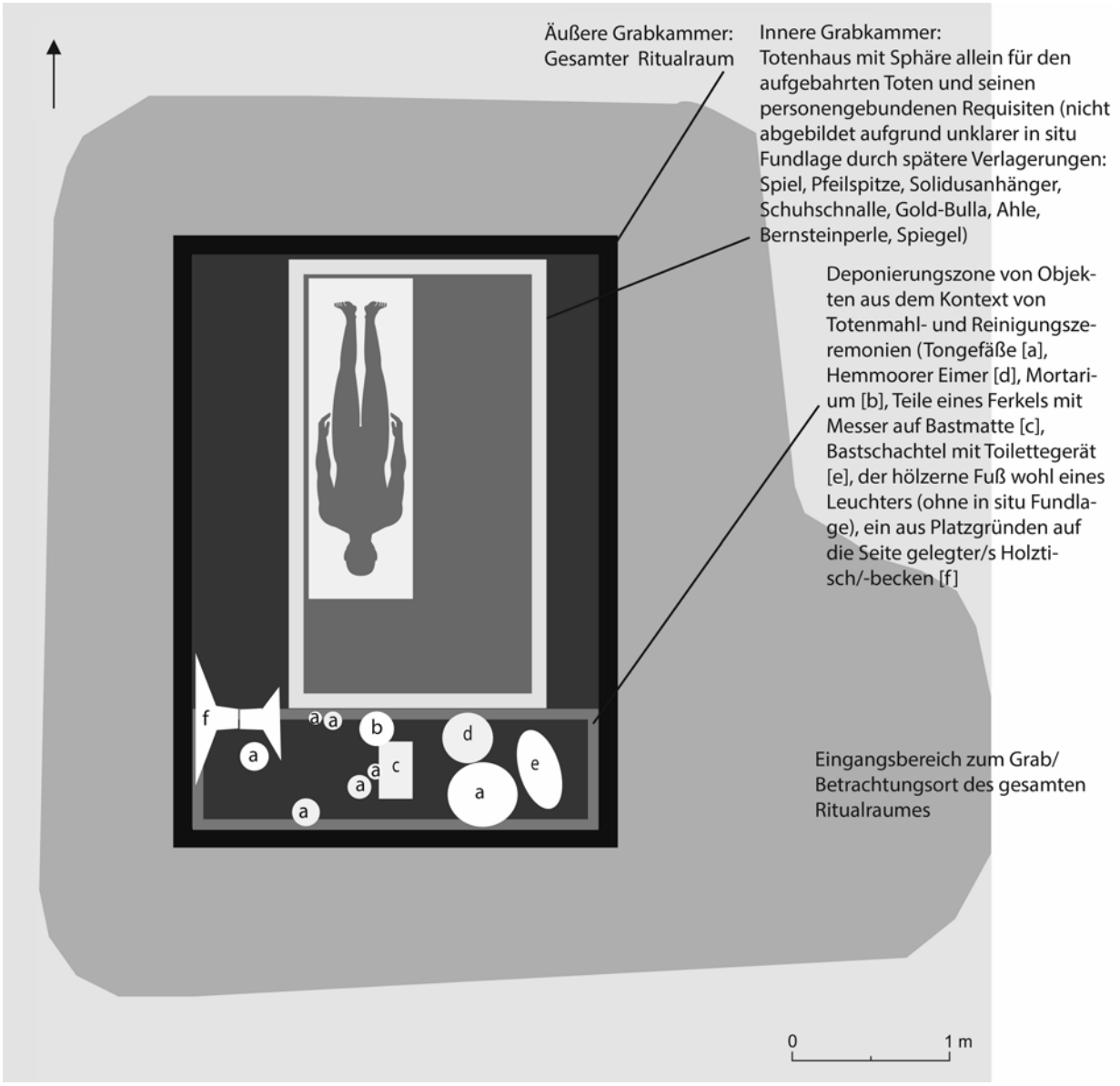


Abb. 2. Im Text erwähnte Zonen der Architektur- und Bedeutungsebene des Grabes von Poprad-Matejovce.

wesentlichen Charakteristikums von Kammergräber relativiert. Vor diesem regionalen Hintergrund sollten die überhügelten Gräber der Wielbark-Kultur von Pielgrzymowo, woj. warmińsko-mazurskie (ehemals Pilgramsdorf; *Lau 2012*; *2014*) oder Lubieszewo, woj. zachodniopomorskie (ehemals Lübsow; *Schuster 2014a*) diskutiert werden.

Die Anlage von Grabhügeln – wenn sie denn nicht dem Kontext der einheimischen Grabsitten entspringt – scheint dem Wunsch zu entsprechen, ein Monument zu schaffen, dass die kurzlebigen Bestattungsvorgänge überdauert (*Rau 2014*, 161). Das Kammergrab wird so ab dem Zeitpunkt seiner Errichtung als Denkmal in das kollektive Gedächtnis der Gemeinschaft implementiert. Hierzu passt, dass einige Kammergräber als früheste Grabfunde in Nekropolen gelten können, an denen sich spätere Grablegen deutlich orientieren – diese sind somit als Gründergräber dieser Friedhöfe zu identifizieren.[3]

ÄUSSERE GRABKAMMER ALS RITUALRAUM

Die Kammeraußenkonstruktion ist augenscheinlich das am einfachsten zu identifizieren Element eines Kammergrabes. Dabei wird der Begriff Kammergrab intuitiv verwendet, oder es werden unterschiedliche Kriterien für die Ansprache eines Kammergrabes zugrunde gelegt, die sich zumeist an den Maßen der vermeintlichen Kammer bzw. bei Nicht-Erhaltung von Holz oder fehlenden Befundbeobachtungen an den Ausmaßen der Grabgrube orientieren, die mit denjenigen einer potentiellen Kammer gleichgesetzt werden. Dabei ist die Tiefe der Grabkammer nur selten ein geeignetes Kriterium, da die ehemalige Befundtiefe oft nicht sicher zu bestimmen ist bzw. die zumeist fehlende Holzerhaltung in den oberen Befundschichten dazu führt, dass die Tiefe der Grabgrube kaum von der Höhe einer Holzkammer unterschieden werden kann (siehe *Schuster 2014a*). Im Falle von Poprad-Matejovce wurde die N–S orientierte rechteckige Grabgrube mindestens 4,20 m in den Boden eingetieft, während die äußere Kammer vom Boden bis zur Decke 2,30 m maß. Das Dach befand sich also mindestens 1,90 m unterhalb des Bodenniveaus. Zumeist wird daher die Mindestbreite eines Grabes für eine mögliche Ansprache als Kammergrab herangezogen (z. B. *Abegg-Wigg 2014a*, 424; *Bemmann/Voß 2007*, 164). Statt jedoch einer Definition anhand konkreter (Mindest-) Maße sollte eine deutlich über die Ausmaße eines Körpergrabes hinausgehende Größe hinsichtlich der Funktion einer Kammer beurteilt werden, die – neben einem immobilen Kammereinbau aus Holz oder Stein – eine Inszenierung der bestatteten Person mitsamt ihren zugewiesen Grabbeigaben und persönlichen Attributen, eine räumliche Strukturierung des Grabes durch eine Anordnung der Ausstattung und seiner Einteilung in verschiedene rituelle Zonen und somit des zugrunde liegenden Jenseitskonzepts zulässt (Abb. 2; dazu auch *Becker 2014*, 232 mit Anm. 7; *Boye 2014*, 123; *Quast 2014*, 323).

Nur bei wenigen Gräbern ist Architektur der Holzkammern – die den quantitativ die größten Anteil von Grabkammern darstellen – detaillierter beschreibbar. Die am besten erhaltene hölzerne Grabkammer in Blockbau von 4,28 × 3,22 m findet sich in Poprad-Matejovce (zur Beschreibung *Lau/Pieta 2014*); sie grenzte den gesamten Grab- bzw. Ritualraum nach außen ab. Die gesamte Inszenierung der Bestattung war von oben über einen stufenförmigen Zugang im Osten einsehbar, der vermutlich für diesen Zweck für das Bestattungspublikum angelegt wurde (Abb. 2).

Direkte Hinweise auf die Konstruktion weiterer hölzerner Grabkammern finden sich z. B. in Pielgrzymowo, woj. warmińsko-mazurskie, Polen (*Lau 2012*, 23 ff.; *2014*), Neudorf-Bornstein, Kr. Rendsburg-Eckernförde, Grab 4 und 7 (zuletzt *Abegg-Wigg 2014a*), Gödaker Grab 8, Tensta sn., Schweden (*Ekholm 1925*, 326 ff.) oder Lilla Jored, Kville sn., Schweden (zuletzt *Rau 2014*). Neben den Holzkammern finden sich – wesentlich seltener – auch Steinkammern wie in Wrocław-Zakrzów (zuletzt *Quast 2014*) oder Lilla Jored, wo sich innerhalb der gemauerte Steinkammer von 3,6 × 1,8 m wiederum eine hölzerne Innenkammer befand (*Rau 2014*).

Es stellt sich die Frage, ob die bautechnischen Merkmale dieser Außenkammern überhaupt relevant sind oder ob nicht vielmehr der durch sie geschaffene Raum das wesentliche Element dieser (Kammer-)Gräber war (siehe auch *Rau 2014*, 161 ff.). In diesem Raum wurden die gesamten für die Inszenierung des Jenseitskonzepts wesentlichen Elemente arrangiert, präsentiert und inszeniert, denn im Regelfall befinden sich außerhalb des Grabraumes keine weiteren zum Grab gehörenden Objekte. Der Grabraum insgesamt dient damit der Aufbahrung des oder der Toten mit den von der Bestattungsgemeinschaft ausgewählten Trachtelementen und Grabbeigaben, den Elementen des Totenmahls und der Körperpflege sowie dem Totenhaus (siehe unten). Die massive Holz- oder Steinkammer trägt nicht nur zur Dauerhaftigkeit

[3] Z. B. Ellekilde bei Torslunde, östl. Seeland (*Iversen 2014*); Bockshornschanze bei Quedlinburg (*Ludowici 2018*); Gräber 363 und 500 von Schleitheim-Hebsack, Kanton Schaffhausen, Schweiz (*Leicht 2002*).

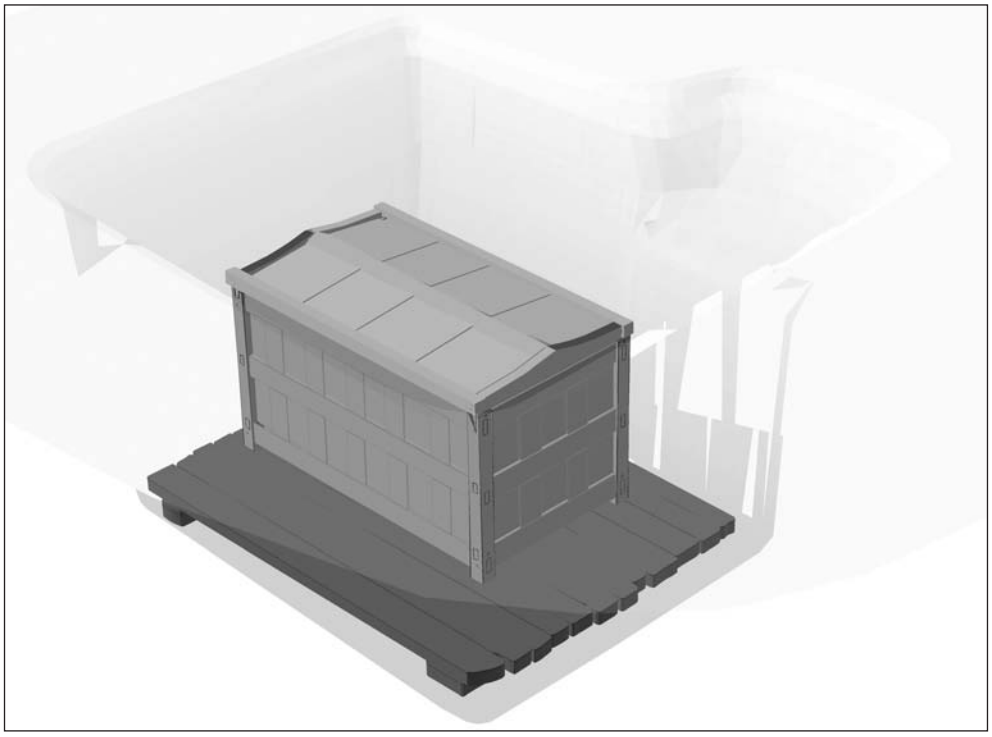


Abb. 3. Rekonstruktion des Totenhauses von Poprad-Matejovce (GIS/ArcScene K. Göbel, ZBSA; Grafik N. Lau, ZBSA).

der Bestattung bei, sondern in ihr finden zudem jene Objekte ihren Platz, die aus dem Kontext der flüchtigen, handlungsbezogenen Begräbnisrituale (Totenmahl, Totenwaschung, Leichenprozession) stammen (s. u.). Die äußere Grabkammer ist somit der Raum für die Materialisierung sämtlicher Vorgänge des Begräbnisses und belegt sichtbar für die Bestattungsgemeinschaft, dass ein bestimmtes Jenseits- und Bestattungskonzept vollständig und regelkonform ausgeführt worden ist.

DAS TOTENHAUS – DER RAUM FÜR DEN TOTEN

Im Grab von Poprad-Matejovce konnte eine vollständig erhaltene, innere Grabkammer aus Lärchenholz in architektonischer Ausgestaltung eines Hauses nachgewiesen werden. Das Totenhaus mit 2,89 m Länge, 1,67 m Breite und 1,73 m Höhe war in Ständerbautechnik konstruiert und trug ein Giebeldach (siehe *Lau/Pieta 2014*). In der Innenkammer von Poprad verdeutlichen sich zwei Aspekte: die Existenz einer zweiten inneren Kammer (unabhängig von der architektonischen Ausformung) sowie die architektonische Ausgestaltung der inneren Kammer als (Toten-)Haus (Abb. 2; 3). Aufgrund schwieriger Erhaltungsbedingungen von Holz vor allem in höheren Fundschichten gibt es in anderen Grabfunden kaum oder nur wenige bauliche Hinweise auf eine zweite, innere Kammer,[4] geschweige denn auf die ihre Architektur. Nur bei Pfostenspuren von Firstbalken kann sicher auf ein Giebeldach geschlossen werden.[5] Das Beispiel von Poprad-Matejovce zeigt aber, dass Satteldächer im Befund auch vorkommen können, ohne dass dies in den unteren Fundschichten nachgewiesen werden könnte.

In Poprad lässt sich anhand Lage der – allerdings aufgrund der Graböffnung und -beraubung determinierten – Fundobjekte nachweisen, dass sich in der inneren Kammer ausschließlich der Tote mit seinen Tracht-, Schmuck- und Statuselementen auf dem Bett liegend befand, umgeben von den personengebundenen Grabbeigaben (Abb. 2; Spiel, Pfeilspitze, Solidusanhänger, Schuhschnalle, Gold-Bulla, Ahle, Bernsteinperle, Spiegel). Gefäße, Toilettezubehör und Speisebeigaben fanden sich hier interessanterweise nicht. Während die äußere Kammer also als äußerer Abschluss des Gesamtgrabes zu verstehen ist, in dem sich unterschiedliche räumliche Einheiten befinden, ist die innere

[4] Z. B. Lilla Jored, Sætrang, Ringerike k., und Fullerö, Gamla Uppsala sn. (*Rau 2014*, 148 f.), in Wrocław-Zakrzów (*Quast 2014*) sowie in Mušov in Mähren (*Peška 2002*).

[5] Z. B. Neudorf-Bornstein Grab 4 und 7: *Abegg-Wigg 2014b*, 109, 111, 112, 114, 116, Abb. 4; 6; 10; 12, mit weiteren Beispielen.

Kammer in Poprad-Matejovce ein wesentlicher Bestandteil des Grabarrangements und zudem eine räumliche Sphäre, die dem aufgebahrten Toten vorbehalten ist. Da die architektonische Gestaltung als Haus in Poprad als reine Definition des Raumes nicht notwendig gewesen wäre, ist anzunehmen, dass ihr eine andere Bedeutung zugrunde liegt. Ein Giebeldach als Symbol eines Totenhauses, im Römischen *domus aeterna*, ist von zahlreichen Beispielen in Grabkontexten aus dem römischen Kulturkreis in unterschiedlichen Epochen bekannt. Am Offensichtlichsten sind dabei die architektonischen Gestaltungen der giebeldachförmigen Deckel bestimmter kaiserzeitlicher Sarkophagtypen (z. B. *Hülden 2006*, 88 ff.; *Koch 1993*, 19, 114, 115, Abb. 7: 3; 64; 65; *Schach-Dörges 2005*, 141 f.; *Steskal 2017*, 185, fig. 10: 12), darüber hinaus findet sich das *domus aeterna* jedoch auch in der Gestaltung römischer Hausurnen symbolisiert (z. B. *Sinn 1991*, 115, Kat. Nr. 109–121). Vor allem kommen Giebeldächer jedoch bei römischen Grabbauten unterschiedlichster Epochen und geographischer Räume vor. In den germanischen Provinzen im Rheinland finden sich z. B. steinerne Grabhäuser aus dem 2. und 3. Jh. n. Chr.,[6] so z. B. die sog. „Grutenhäuschen" aus dem weiteren Trierer Raum mit einer oberirdischen *cella memoria* mit giebelförmigem Dach sowie einer ebenerdigen oder unterirdischen Grabkammer (*hypogaeum*; *Abegg-Wigg 2014b*, 422; *Faust 2001*; *Kuhnen/Pfahl 2007*; *Siedow 2009*)

Eine ebenfalls zweiteilige Grabarchitektur mit oberirdischer *cella memoria* und unterirdischem *hypogaeum* findet sich auch im spätrömischen/frühchristlichen Pannonien (*Hudák/Nagy 2009*, 10–13, 17, 18; *Magyar 2012*, 125, 126; *Nagy 2014*, 95 ff.). Grabhäuser mit architektonisch gestalteten Giebeldächern sind zudem generell typisch für kleinasiatische Grabarchitektur (z. B. in der Hafennekropole in Ephesos: *Steskal 2017*, 185, Abb. 10: 12), doch auch in Italien selbst kommen Grabhäuser mit Giebeldächern vor (z. B. *Platt 2012*, 215, 216, Abb. 3).

Bei zweiteilig konstruierten Grabbauten – obwohl räumlich und chronologisch weit auseinander und teilweise in anderem religiösen Kontext stehend – wird neben der architektonischen auch eine funktionale Zweiteilung angenommen: die nach der Bestattung nicht mehr zugängliche, unterirdischen Grabkammer war der/den bestatteten Person/en vorbehalten, während in dem oberirdischen Grabbau – auch noch nach der Bestattung – Totengedenkfeierlichkeiten und die Totenmahle stattgefunden haben (*Nagy 2019*, 96; *Schörner 2005*, 226).[7] Eine ähnliche funktionale Zweiteilung zeigt sich auch anhand der verschiedenen rituellen Zonen im Grab von Poprad-Matejovce (s. u.). Dass die Grabhäuser mit Giebeldach als ein offenbar fester Bildtopos noch bis in die Spätantike und frühbyzantinische Zeit generell im Römischen Reich etabliert wurden, zeigen Darstellungen auf verschiedensten Bildträgern.[8] Zu Lebzeiten des bestatteten jungen Mannes aus Poprad zwischen den späten 350er und den späten 370er Jahren n. Chr. waren die Grabhäuser mit Giebeldach in einigen Gebieten des Römischen Reiches und zumindest als fester Topos in der Bildwelt präsent, weshalb eine römische Beeinflussung des Grabbaus aus Poprad augenscheinlich ist.

ZONIERUNG DES GRABES

Bereits *M. Becker* (*2014*, 232) stellte fest, dass eine eigenständige Aufbettung auf oder in einem Möbel oder Behältnis sowie das bewusste Arrangement von strukturierten Ensembles von Gegenständen wesentliche Elemente von Kammergräbern darstellen. Verschiedene, räumlich getrennte Zonen für bestimmte Objektensembles sowie die Aufbahrung auf einem Totenbett können auch für das Grab von Poprad-Matejovce nachgewiesen werden – obwohl hier Aussagen zur ursprünglichen, detaillierten Fundlage aufgrund der frühgeschichtlichen Öffnung des Grabes, mit der eine Entnahme, Zerstörung und Verlagerung fast aller in der inneren Kammer liegenden Objekte einhergehen, begrenzt sind (Abb. 2). Das innere Totenhaus ist als räumliche Zone für den Toten selbst konzipiert (s. o.). Die Aufstellung des Bettes an der Westwand des Totenhauses ermöglichte es dem Bestattungspublikum vom Zugang zur Grabkammer (s. o.) aus die gesamte Inszenierung zu betrachten und die Erfüllung und Repräsentation des zugrundeliegenden Jenseitskonzepts zu begutachten. Dabei ist die Zusammenstellung der beigegebenen Objekte weder als Abbild der tatsächlichen Lebenswelt des Tote anzusehen, noch entsprang sie ausschließlich dem Wunsch der Bestattungsgemeinschaft, seinen (hochrangigen) sozialen Status zu demonstrieren. Vielmehr wird es sich um semiophore Objekte handeln,[9] die vielleicht neben bestimmten religiösen Vorstellungen auch bedeutende Lebensabschnitte oder Ereignisse im Leben des Toten, seiner sozialen Gemeinschaft oder Ahnengemeinschaft sowie

[6] Generell zu den römischen Grabbauten in den germanischen Provinzen siehe *Willer 2005* und *Scholz 2012*.

[7] Bildlich dargestellt auf dem Relief des Hateriergrabes um 120 n. Chr. (*Sinn/Freyberger 1996*, 51 ff., Nr. 6; Abb. 6; Taf. 11; 12; 13: 5).

[8] Zahlreiche Beispiele u. a. bei *Volbach 1958*, Nr. 88; 103; 205; *Stützer 1983*, 53, Abb. 26.

[9] Theoretische Überlegungen zu Grabbeigaben als Semiophoren finden sich z. B. bei *Halsall 2003*, 62 f.; 65; *Härke 2003*; *2014*).

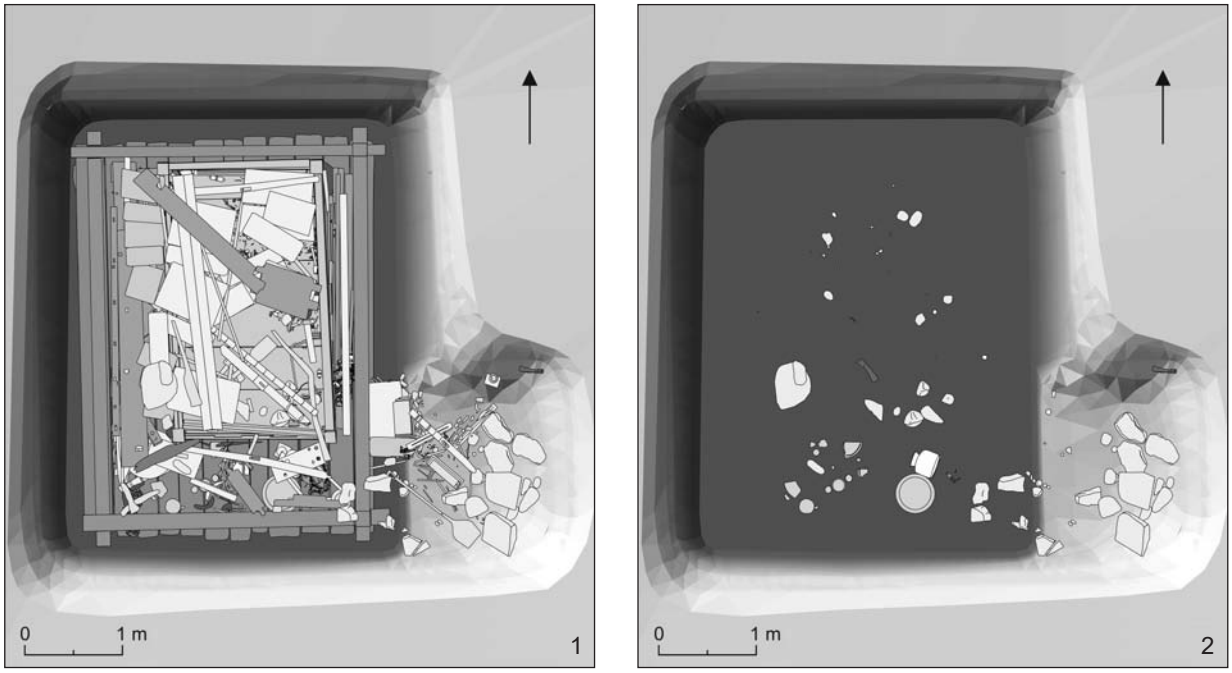


Abb. 4. 1 – das Grab von Poprad-Matejovce wie bei der Ausgrabung dokumentiert (zur besseren Sichtbarkeit ohne das Dach der äußeren Grabkammer); 2 – Visualisierung des Befundes ohne erhaltene Organik (GIS K. Göbel, ZBSA; Inhalt und Grafik N. Lau, ZBSA).

die Zugehörigkeit zu einer bestimmten Gruppenidentität oder die Stellung innerhalb eines sozialen Systems symbolisierten. Der Raum südlich des Totenhauses dagegen kann als Deponierungszone von Objekten betrachtet werden, die im Kontext von Totenmahl- und Reinigungszeremonien stehen (sieben Tongefäße, Hemmoorer Eimer, Mortarium, Teile eines Ferkels mit Messer, Bastschachtel mit Toilettegerät, der hölzerne Fuß wohl eines Leuchters, ein aus Platzgründen auf die Seite gelegter/s Holztisch/-becken) stehen. Nach dem Verschließen des Totenhauses wurden die Einzelteile einer hölzernen Transportkiste, die sicherlich während einer Prozession zum Transport des Toten gedient hat, auf dem Giebeldach niedergelegt: Ein Befund, für den es bislang keine sichere Parallele gibt.

Das Grab von Poprad-Matejovce zeigt also verschiedene rituelle Zonen, die verschiedenen Aspekten der Bestattung (Aufbahrung und Präsentation der bestatteten Person, Elemente des Totenmahl und der Reinigung, Prozession) und damit unterschiedlichen Bedeutungsebenen von Objektarrangements zugewiesen waren, evtl. vergleichbar mit der funktionalen Zweiteilung verschiedener römischer Grabbauten (s. o).[10]

Unseren Überlegungen liegt die Annahme zugrunde, dass ein Kammergrab der römischen Kaiserzeit und frühen Völkerwanderungszeit im germanischen *Barbaricum* als ein für ein bestimmtes Jenseitskonzept fest definierter Raum zu verstehen ist, in dem sich verschiedene rituelle sowie soziale Aspekte von Grabbau, innerer Strukturierung des Raumes, seiner Einrichtung und Ausstattung vereinen. Diese Aspekte können – abhängig von verschiedenen determinierenden Faktoren – in mehr oder weniger starker Ausprägung im Befund zum Ausdruck kommen (Abb. 4); einige tauchen immer wieder auf und sind sicherlich als fest vereinbartes, allgemein verständliches Zeichensystem zu werten, welches für damalige Bestattungsgemeinschaften notwendig war, um ein bestimmtes Jenseitskonzept zu realisieren und zum Ausdruck zu bringen. Archäologische Spuren sämtlicher mit dem eigentlichen Totenritual zusammenhängenden Vorgänge, z. B. Opfer, Totenmahle, Aufbahrung, Prozession, Gesänge sowie vor allem sicherlich die Totenrede, aber auch spätere wiederkehrende Riten sind kaum interpretierbar. Im Gegensatz dazu, sind zu den konkreten Handlungsabläufen bei römischen Bestattungen hochstehender/adliger Persönlichkeiten zahlreiche Details aus Schriftquellen bekannt. Diese geben darüber hinaus auch Aufschluss über die diesen zugrundeliegenden Vorstellungen, so z. B. zur Aufnahme der bestatteten

[10] Dass ähnliche Raumverteilungen bei weiteren Kammergräbern vorkommen können, zeigen die Überlegungen von *Rau* (*2014*) und *Schuster* (*2014b*).

Person in die Ahnengemeinschaften und ihrer damit verbundenen Historisierung und Heroisierung.[11] Zwar können römische Bestattungssitten und Jenseitsvorstellungen nicht auf germanische Befunde übertragen werden, dennoch zeigen sie, mit welcher Bandbreite an Riten, Handlungen und generell komplexen Jenseitsvorstellungen auch im *Barbaricum* gerechnet werden muss. Gerade hier zeigt sich die Bedeutung des Grabes von Poprad-Matejovce, da das Grab Fundkategorien aufweist, die sonst aufgrund seltener Erhaltung von Organik v. a. in den oberen Fundschichten nicht belegt sind. Diese Fundkategorien liefern wichtige Hinweise auf komplexe Ideen und Riten und zeigen durch ihre räumliche Strukturierung rituelle Zonen, die mit dem zugrundeliegenden Jenseitskonzept verknüpft sind. Letztendlich können diese Aspekte nicht in umfassender Weise entschlüsselt werden, weil im jüngerkaiserzeitlichen und frühvölkerwanderungszeitlichen *Barbaricum* eine entscheidende Informationsquelle fehlt: die entsprechende schriftliche Überlieferung.

LITERATUR

Abegg-Wigg 2014a – A. Abegg-Wigg: Die Grabkammern aus Holz der Römischen Kaiserzeit von Neudorf-Bornstein. In: *Abegg-Wigg/Lau 2014*, 105–122.

Abegg-Wigg 2014b – A. Abegg-Wigg: Holzkammergräber in den westlichen Provinzen des Römischen Reiches. In: *Abegg-Wigg/Lau 2014*, 421–436.

Abegg-Wigg/Lau 2014 – A. Abegg-Wigg/N. Lau (Hrsg.): *Kammergräber im Barbaricum. Zu Einflüssen und Übergangsphänomenen von der vorrömischen Eisenzeit bis in die Völkerwanderungszeit. Internationale Tagung. Schleswig, 25.–27. November 2010*. Schriften des Archäologischen Landesmuseums Ergänzungsreihe 9. Neumünster – Hamburg 2014.

Becker 2014 – M. Becker: Die Kammer als Grab – Gommern und Vergleichbares. In: *Abegg-Wigg/Lau 2014*, 229–240.

Belanová/Pieta 2007 – T. Belanová/K. Pieta: Discovery of a Unique Chamber Tomb in Poprad-Matejovce (Slovakia). *Archaeological Textile Newsletter* 44, 2007, 18–20.

Bemmann/Voß 2007 – J. Bemmann/H.-U. Voß: Anmerkungen zur Körpergrabsitte in den Regionen zwischen Rhein und Oder vom 1. bis zur Mitte des 5. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. In: A. Faber/P. Fasold/M. Struck/M. Witteyer (Hrsg.): *Körpergräber des 1.–3. Jahrhunderts in der römischen Welt. Internationales Kolloquium Frankfurt am Main. 19.–20. November 2004.* Schriften des Archäologischen Museums Frankfurt am Main 21. Frankfurt am Main 2007, 153–183.

Boye 2014 – L. Boye: Chamber graves on Zealand in the late Roman Iron Age. In: *Abegg-Wigg/Lau 2014*, 123–132.

Ekholm 1925 – G. Ekholm: Gravfältet vid Gödåker. *Fornvännen* 1925, 326–346.

Faust 2001 – S. Faust: Das „Grutenhäuschen" bei Igel und die Grabkammer am Reichertsberg in Trier. Bemerkungen zu den neueren Untersuchungen. *Trierer Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst des Trierer Landes und seiner Nachbargebiete* 64, 2001, 143–158.

Flaig 2015 – E. Flaig: Prozessionen aus der Tiefe der Zeit. Das Leichenbegängnis des römischen Adels – Rückblick. In: D. Boschung/K.-J. Hölkeskamp/Cl. Sode (Hrsg.): *Raum und Performanz. Rituale in Residenzen von der Antike bis 1825*. Stuttgart 2015, 99–126.

Graham 2009 – E. J. Graham: Becoming persons, becoming ancestors. Personhood, memory and the corpse in Roman rituals of social remembrance. *Archaeological Dialogues* 16, 2009, 51–74.

Halsall 2003 – G. Halsall: Burial rites: Graves, Texts and Time in Early Merovingian Northern Gaul. In: J. Jarnut/M. Wemhoff (Hrsg.): *Erinnerungskultur und Bestattungsritual. Archäologisch-Historisches Forum*. MittelalterStudien des Instituts zur Interdisziplinären Erforschung des Mittelalters und seines Nachwirkens, Paderborn. Band 3. München 2003, 61–74.

Härke 2003 – H. Härke: Beigabensitte und Erinnerung: Überlegungen zu einem Aspekt des frühmittelalterlichen Bestattungsrituals. In: J. Jarnut/M. Wemhoff (Hrsg.): *Erinnerungskultur und Bestattungsritual. Archäologisch-Historisches Forum*. MittelalterStudien des Instituts zur Interdisziplinären Erforschung des Mittelalters und seines Nachwirkens, Paderborn. Band 3. München 2003, 107–125.

Härke 2014 – H. Härke: Grave goods in early medieval burials: messages and meanings. *Mortality* 19, 2014, 41–60. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1080/13576275.2013.870544

Häussler 2010 – R. Häussler: Ahnen- und Heroenkulte in Britannien und Gallien: Machtlegitimation oder Bewältigung innerer Krisen? In: J. Rüpke/J. Scheid (Hrsg.): *Bestattungsrituale und Totenkult in der römischen Kaiserzeit. Rites funéraires et culte des morts aux temps impériales*. Potsdamer Altertumswissenschaftliche Beiträge 27. Stuttgart 2010, 57–92.

Hudák/Nagy 2009 – K. Hudák/L. Nagy: *A Fine and Private Place. Discovering the Early Christian Cemetery of Sopianae/Pécs*. Heritage Booklets 6. Pécs 2009.

Hülden 2006 – O. Hülden: *Gräber und Grabtypen im Bergland von Yavu (Zentrallykien). Studien zur antiken Grabkultur in Lykien 1*. Antiquitas 45. Bonn 2006.

Iversen 2014 – R. Iversen: The chamber grave at Ellekilde. A late Roman Iron Age princely burial and cemetery from Torslunde, East Zealand, Denmark. In: *Abegg-Wigg/Lau 2014*, 133–144.

Kierdorf 1980 – W. Kierdorf: *Laudatio funebris. Interpretationen und Untersuchungen zur Entwicklung der römischen Leichenrede*. Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie 106. Meisenheim am Glan 1980.

Koch 1993 – G. Koch: *Sarkophage der römischen Kaiserzeit*. Darmstadt 1993.

Kuhnen/Pfahl 2007 – H.-P. Kuhnen/St. F. Pfahl: Orient und Okzident: Römische Körpergräber in Trier. In: A. Faber/P. Fasold /M. Struck /M. Witteyer (Hrsg.):

[11] Siehe u. a. *Flaig 2015*; *Graham 2009*; *Häussler 2010*; *Kierdorf 1980*; *Kunst 2008*; *Pina Polo 2009*; *Toynbee 1971*.

Körpergräber des 1.–3. Jahrhunderts in der römischen Welt. Internationales Kolloquium Frankfurt am Main. 19.–20. November 2004. Schriften des Archäologischen Museums Frankfurt am Main 21. Frankfurt am Main 2007, 383–401.

Kunst 2008 – Chr. Kunst: Der Leichnam des Princeps zwischen Consecratio und Damnatio. *Potestas. Religión, poder y monarquía. Revista del Grupo Europeo de Investigación Histórica* 1, 2008, 79–100.

Lau 2012 – N. Lau: *Pilgramsdorf/Pielgrzymowo. Ein Fundplatz der römischen Kaiserzeit in Nordmasowien. Eine Studie zu Grabsitten, Archivalien und Fundbestand*. Studien zur Archäologie und Siedlungsgeschichte der Ostseegebiete 11. Neumünster 2012.

Lau 2014 – N. Lau: Kammergrab und Gräberfeld von Pilgramsdorf (Pielgrzymowo) – Ein Fundplatz zwischen kulturellem Kontext und überregionalen Einflüssen. In: *Abegg-Wigg/Lau 2014*, 199–228.

Lau 2017 – N. Lau: Überlegungen zur gedrechselten Totenliege aus dem frühvölkerwanderungszeitlichen Grab von Poprad-Matejovce. In: B. V. Eriksen/A. Abegg-Wigg/R. Bleile/U. Ickerodt (Hrsg. – eds.): *Interaktion ohne Grenzen. Beispiele archäologischer Forschungen am Beginn des 21. Jahrhunderts. Band I – Interaction without borders. Exemplary archaeological research at the beginning of the 21st century. Volume I.* Schleswig 2017, 457–466.

Lau/Pieta 2014 – N. Lau/K. Pieta: Das Grab von Poprad-Matejovce in der Slowakei – Anlage, Konstruktion und Ausstattung eines frühvölkerwanderungszeitlichen Kammergrabes. In: *Abegg-Wigg/Lau 2014*, 343–364.

Lau/Pieta 2017 – N. Lau/K. Pieta: Die antike Öffnung des Kammergrabes von Poprad-Matejovce. In: *Na hranicích impéria. Extra fines imperii. Jaroslavu Tejralovi k 80. narozeninám*. Brno 2017, 255–265.

Leicht 2002 – J. Leicht: Schleitheim-Hebsack. Die spätkaiserzeitlichen Kammergräber. In: A. Burzler/M. Höneisen/J. Leicht/B. Ruckstuhl (Hrsg.): *Das frühmittelalterliche Schleitheim. Siedlung, Gräberfeld und Kirche*. Schaffhauser Archäologie 5. Schaffhausen 2002, 78–121.

Ludowici 2018 – B. Ludowici: Chamber grave 41 from the Bockshornschanze near Quedlinburg (central Germany): evidence of the practice of falconry by women from the middle of the 1st century? In: K.-H. Gersmann/O. Grimm (Hrsg.): *Raptor and human – falconry and bird symbolism throughout the millennia on a global scale* 1–3. Advanced studies in the archaeology and history of hunting 1.1 – 1.4. Kiel – Hamburg 2018, 1293–1302.

Magyar 2012 – Z. Magyar: Késő császárkori sírépületek Pannoniában. *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 137, 2012, 125–144. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1556/archert.137.2012.6

Nagy 2019 – L. Nagy: *Pagans, Christians and their Surrounding. Archeological, Patristic and Church Historical Studies*. Tesaurus Historiae Ecclesiasticae in Universitate Quinqueecclesiensi 8. Pécs 2019.

Peška 2002 – J. Peška: Das Grab. In: J. Peška/J. Tejral (Hrsg.): *Das germanische Königsgrab von Mušov in Mähren. Teil 1.* Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum. Monographien 55. Mainz 2002, 3–72.

Pieta 2009 – K. Pieta: Das germanische Fürstengrab aus Poprad-Matejovce. In: U. von Freeden/H. Friesinger/E. Wamers (Hrsg.): *Glaube, Kult und Herrschaft. Phänomene des Religiösen im 1. Jahrtausend n. Chr. in Mittel- und Nordeuropa. Akten des 59. Internationalen Sachsensymposions und der Grundprobleme der frühgeschichtlichen Entwicklung im Mitteldonauraum*. Kolloquien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte 12. Bonn 2009, 107–122.

Pieta/Roth 2007 – K. Pieta/P. Roth: Kniežacia hrobka z Popradu-Matejoviec. *Pamiatky a múzeá. Revue pre kultúrne dedičstvo* 3, 2007, 44–47.

Pina Polo 2009 – F. Pina Polo: Eminent corpses: roman aristocracy's passing from life to history. In: F. M. Simón/F. Pina Polo/J. R. Rodríguez (eds.): *Formae Mortis. El tránsito de la vida a la muerte en las sociedades antiguas*. Barcelona 2009, 89–100.

Platt 2012 – V. Platt: Framing the Dead on Roman Sarcophagi. *Res. Anthropology and aesthetics* 61–62, 2012, 213–227.

Quast 2014 – D. Quast: Die Steinkammergräber aus Wrocław-Zakrzów. In: *Abegg-Wigg/Lau 2014*, 323–342.

Rau 2014 – A. Rau: Spätkaiserzeitlich-frühvölkerwanderungszeitliche Kammergräber der Sætrang-Lilla Jored-Gruppe. In: *Abegg-Wigg/Lau 2014*, 145–166.

Schach-Dörges 2005 – H. Schach-Dörges: Imitatio Imperii im Bestattungsbrauch? *Germania* 83, 2005, 127–150.

Scholz 2012 – M. Scholz: *Grabbauten in den nördlichen Grenzprovinzen des römischen Reiches zwischen Britannien und dem Schwarzen Meer, 1.–3. Jahrhundert n. Chr.* Monographien des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz 103. Mainz 2012.

Schörner 2005 – H. Schörner: Grabarchitektur, Ausstattung und Beigaben als Indikatoren der Romanisierung/Romanisation in „Asia" am Beispiel des Grabbaues am Theater in Priene. In: G. Schörner (Hrsg.): *Romanisierung – Romanisation. Theoretische Modelle und praktische Fallbeispiele*. BAR International Series 1427. Oxford 2005, 219–234.

Schuster 2014a – J. Schuster: Bestattungen vom Lübsow-Typ als Kammergräber – ein Phantom? In: *Abegg-Wigg/Lau 2014*, 31–54.

Schuster 2014b – J. Schuster: Dobór i układ darów w inhumacyjnych grobach książęcych z pierwszej połowy I tysiąclecia po Chr. w północnej i środkowej Europie. *Wiadomości Archeologiczne* 65, 2014, 5–43. DOI: https://doi.org/10.36154/wa.65.2014.01

Siedow 2009 – M. Siedow: Mit Kammern versehene Grabbauten in Trier und Umgebung. In: D. Boschung (Hrsg.): *Grabbauten des 2. und 3. Jahrhunderts in den gallischen und germanischen Provinzen. Akten des Internationalen Kolloquiums Köln 22. bis 23. Februar 2007*. Zakmira-Schriften 7. Wiesbaden 2009, 13–164.

Sinn 1991 – F. Sinn: Die Grabdenkmäler 1. Reliefs, Altäre, Urnen. In: G. Dahltrop/H.Oehler (Hrsg.): *Katalog der Skulpturen I, 1.* Monumenta Artis Romanae: Vatikanische Museen. Museo Gregoriano Profano Ex Lateranense Vatikanische Museen. Museo Gregoriana Profan ex Lateranense. Mainz am Rhein 1991.

Sinn/Freyberger 1996 – F. Sinn/K. S. Freyberger: *Die Grabdenkmäler 2. Die Ausstattung des Hateriergrabes. Katalog der Skulpuren I, 2*. Monumenta Artis Romanae: Vatikanische Museen. Museo Gregoriano Profano Ex Lateranense Vatikanische Museen. Museo Gregoriana Profan ex Lateranense. Mainz am Rhein Mainz am Rhein 1996.

Steskal 2017 – M. Steskal: Reflections on the mortuary landscape of Ephesus: The archaeology of death in a Roman metropolis. In: J. R. Brandt/E. Hagelberg/G. Bjørnstad/S. Ahrens (eds.): *Life and death in Asia Minor in hellenistic, roman, and byzantine times. Studies in Archaeology and Bioarchaeology*. Studies in Funerary Archaeology 10. Oxford 2017, 176–187.

Steuer 1998 – H. Steuer: Fürstengräber. Allgemeines. In: H. v. Beck/H. Steuer/D. Timpe (Hrsg.): *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde* 10. Berlin – New York 1998, 168–175.

Štolcová 2015 – T. Štolcová: Unique Early Migration Leather Finds from Poprad-Matejovce, Slovakia. *Archaeological Leather Group Newsletter* 42, 2015, 5–8.

Štolcová/Schaarschmidt/Mitschke 2014 – T. Štolcová/D. Schaarschmidt/S. Mitschke: Textile finds from a chieftain's Grave. Preliminary report from Poprad-Matejovce, Slovakia. *Archaeological Textiles Newsletter* 56, 2014, 50–59.

Štolcová/Zink/Pieta 2009 – T. Štolcová/G. Zink/K. Pieta: Textiles from the Chieftain Grave in Poprad-Matejovce. Report on the First Stage of Laboratory Examination. *Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt* 39, 2009, 263–277.

Stützer 1983 – H. A. Stützer: *Die Kunst der römischen Katakomben*. Köln 1983.

Toynbee 1971 – J. M. C. Toynbee: *Death and Burial in the Roman World*. Ithaca 1971.

Volbach 1958 – W. F. Volbach: *Frühchristliche Kunst. Die Kunst der Spätantike in West- und Ostrom*. München 1958.

Willer 2005 – S. Willer: *Römische Grabbauten des 2. und 3. Jahrhunderts nach Christus im Rheingebiet*. Beihefte Bonner Jahrbücher 56. Mainz 2005.

Manuskript angenommen am 16. 9. 2021

Abstract translated by authors

Dr. Nina Lau
Zentrum für Baltische und Skandinavische Archäologie
Schloss Gottorf
Schlossinsel 1
D – 24837 Schleswig
nina.lau@zbsa.eu

Prof. Dr. Dr. h. c. Claus von Carnap-Bornheim
Stiftung Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesmuseen
Schloss Gottorf
Schlossinsel 1
D – 24837 Schleswig
claus.carnap@landesmuseen.sh

SLOVENSKÁ ARCHEOLÓGIA – SUPPLEMENTUM 2
Z. Robak/M. Ruttkay (eds.): Celts – Germans – Slavs.
A Tribute Anthology to Karol Pieta. Nitra 2021, 333–341.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.31577/slovarch.2021.suppl.2.30

MORE LIGHT?

Some Remarks on the Function of a Roman *Mortarium* from the 'Princely' Grave in Poprad-Matejovce

JUDYTA RODZIŃSKA-NOWAK

The article discusses the presumed functions of the provincial Roman *mortarium* discovered in the 'princely' grave in Poprad-Matejovce. The vessel may have served as a container for some unspecified food, as a component of a feast accompanying a funeral ceremony, or it may have been used as a lamp. In both cases, the strong influence of Roman culture on the population of the southern zone of *Barbaricum* at the end of antiquity is evident.

Keywords: Slovakia, Spiš region, Roman Period, 'princely' grave, *mortarium*, funerary rite, romanisation.

INTRODUCTION

The 'princely' grave from Poprad-Matejovce (Poprad distr., Slovakia), dated to the early phase of the Migration Period, is undoubtedly one of the most spectacular archaeological discoveries made in Central Europe in this century. The find was made by chance at the foot of the High Tatra mountains, in the area covered by the Northern Carpathian group in the above-mentioned chronological section, from which no other sepulchral sites of the people of the mentioned unit are known so far.[1] A lot of attention has already been paid in literature to the impressive construction of this tomb, consisting of two wooden chambers, as well as to traces of its reopening and robbery, which probably took place shortly after the funeral ceremony. Studies have also been undertaken on the surviving elements of its inventory, among which the numerous objects made of raw materials of organic origin deserve special attention (*Lau 2013*; *2017*; *Lau/Pieta 2010*; *2017*; *Pieta 2009*).

The furnishings of the 'princely' burial also included eight ceramic vessels, found between the walls of the inner and outer chambers of the tomb, in the vicinity of a bucket made of brass sheeting, a basket woven from bast containing, among other things, silver-plated iron scissors, and near a cluster of animal bones accompanied by an iron knife (*Lau 2013*, 17, 19; *Lau/Pieta 2010*, 350, fig. 8; *2017*, 258, fig. 3; *Pieta 2009*, 116, fig. 14). Seven of the clay vessels mentioned derive from the local, i.e. barbarian cultural environment. These include a hemispherical, hand-made bowl of considerable size (with a spout diam. of ca. 37 cm) and six small specimens that can be described as bowls or dishes. Three of them are hand-made, while another three were made using a potter's wheel. All the vessels show technological and stylistic features of the late Roman and early Migration Period, i.e. phases C3-D, in the area of the Przeworsk culture, south-western Slovakia and Moravia, as well as in the Chernyakov culture. By far the greatest number of stylistic references to the above-mentioned examples can be found among the ceramic inventories of the Przeworsk culture (*Rodzińska-Nowak, forecoming*). Thus, the existence of influences coming from these directions, which have long been noticed in the studies on the ceramics of the Northern Carpathian group (*Mączyńska 2005*, 157; *Madyda-Legutko 1996*, 97, 98; *Pieta 1991*, 383; *2009*, 119; cf. *Madyda-Legutko/Tunia 2008*, 246) was once again confirmed.

ROMAN *MORTARIUM* FROM THE 'PRINCELY' GRAVE IN POPRAD-MATEJOVCE

Typological affiliation and chronology

In addition to the above-mentioned seven ceramic vessels from the barbarian environment, the grave in Poprad-Matejovce contained one provincial Roman glazed *mortarium*, which is the subject of the present study (Fig. 1). It is a specimen made on a potter's wheel, resembling an inverted, truncated cone, with a crescent-shaped rim and a gutter-shaped

[1] The only exception is perhaps the sepulchral site at Rajbrot, małopolskie voj. (PL; cf. *Biborski/Zagórska-Telega 2008*).

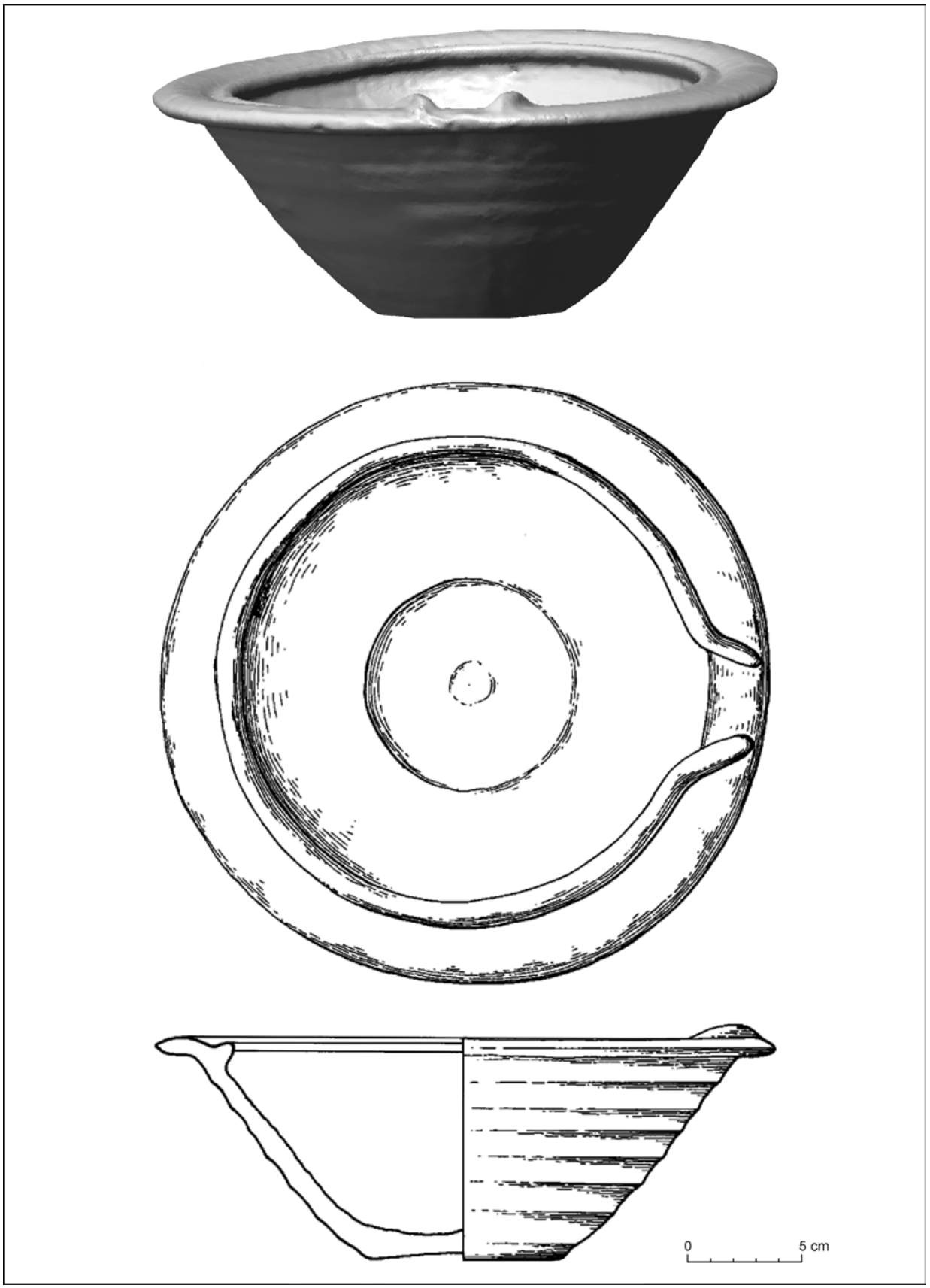


Fig. 1. Poprad-Matejovce. The Roman *mortarium* (drawn N. Vaššová).

spout (dimensions: total height 10 cm; spout diam. 26 cm; bottom diam. 8.3 cm). The outer surface, pale greyish in colour with small dark glaze patches, is smooth but slightly rough, while the inner surface is intentionally roughened, also with traces of a green-yellowish glaze, the remains of which were also preserved on the surface of the crescent-shaped rim (*Rodzińska-Nowak*, forecoming).

Similar specimens have been included in the 13th group of Roman form *mortaria* according to the classification system of *R. P. Symonds* (*2012*). The author classified conical vessels occurring in the 2nd and 3rd c. mainly in Moesia and Dacia, as well as in Pannonia, into the above-mentioned group. It was from these forms in Moesia Superior and Pannonia that *mortaria* characteristic of the later period, covered with lead glaze, were to develop (*Symonds 2012*, 184–188, fig. 11; 12). The presence of traces of glaze inside the vessel, as in the case of the *mortarium* from Poprad-Matejovce, is considered to be a feature indicating a late antique metric (*Bru Calderón 2011*, 25). This specimen finds analogues among *mortaria* known, among others, from the Zlechov settlement in Moravia (*Zeman 2006*, 462, fig. 7: 17; *2008*, 68–71, fig. 17: 1–3) and from the St. Pölten-Rathausplatz site in Lower Austria (*Bru Calderón 2011*, pl. II: 4, 5). It is reasonable to believe that the vessel in question comes from Pannonia, where glazed *mortaria* were produced on a large scale from the mid-4th c. onwards. It is probably from there that they reached the southern *Barbaricum* zone, where they enjoyed considerable popularity (*Groh/Sedlmayer 2002*, 303; *Grünewald 1979*, 68; *1992*; *Krekovič 1973*; *Rodzińska-Nowak*, forecoming; *Zeman 2008*, 70, 71).

Glazed *mortaria* are found in large numbers in the provinces of the Roman state at sites dated to the end of the 3rd c. and the 4th c., and their presence is considered to be an indicator of the degree of acculturation of the local population, manifested among other things in the adoption of typically Roman models in the culinary arts. These vessels were in fact mainly used for grinding foodstuffs, e.g. herbs, spices, seeds, fruits, salt, etc., as well as for grinding sauces, preparing flour dishes or dairy products, such as *moretum* – a type of herbal cheese eaten with bread mentioned in Roman written sources (*Apicius, De re coquinaria*, I, 35; *Cramp/Evershed/Eckardt 2011*, 1341; cf. *Bru Calderón 2011*, 25). Finds of vessels of this type are known, as mentioned, also from the southern zone of central European *Barbaricum*, where they occur both on settlements and in sepulchral contexts. *Mortaria* were discovered, among others, on settlements in Branč, Nitra distr. (SK; *Kolník/Varsik/Vladár 2007*, pl. 24: 12; 68: 6; 145: 3, 4), Štúrovo, Nové Zámky distr. (SK; *Beljak/Kolník 2008*, 78), Drslavice and Zlechov, Uherské Hradiště distr. (CZ), Pasohlávky, Brno-venkov distr. (CZ; *Tejral 2002*, 355; *Zeman 2006*; *2008*, 68–71), Maiersch, Horn distr. (A; *Pollak 1980*, 66, pl. 44: 4; 59: 8) and Ringelsdorf, Gänserndorf distr. (A; *Allerbauer/Jedlicka 2000*, 660, fig. 788). The chronological position of glazed mortars from the above-mentioned settlements has been usually fixed to the second half of the 4th c. and the first half of the 5th c. (*Krekovič 1973*, 102; *Tejral 1999*, 229; *Varsik 1998*, 50, 85; *2004*, 262; *Zeman 2008*, 68–71). Finds of such vessels are also attested in cemeteries, including Pohořelice, Brno-venkov distr. (CZ; *Čižmář 1997*, 26, fig. 7: 13) or Abrahám, Galanta distr. (SK; *Kolník 1973*, 386, fig. 29: 4a–c).

The assemblage of ceramics of barbarian origin discovered in the 'princely' tomb at Poprad-Matejovce is chronologically consistent and can be dated to phases C3–D, and the chronological position of the imported *mortarium* fully confirms the above dating of this assemblage.

Alleged function during a funerary ceremony

All the above-mentioned ceramic vessels forming part of the equipment of the grave at Poprad-Matejovce, including the *mortarium* in question, were discovered, as already mentioned, between the walls of the inner and outer chamber of the grave in the vicinity of a Hemmoor bucket, a basket made of bast and a cluster of animal bones accompanied by a knife (*Lau 2013*, 17, 19; *Lau/Pieta 2010*, 350, fig. 8; *2017*, 258, fig. 3; *Pieta 2009*, 116, fig. 14). A detailed analysis of the traces associated with the reopening and robbery of a tomb in antiquity by N. Lau and K. Pieta proved that the pottery, together with the objects in its vicinity, was probably in situ at the time of discovery in 2006, i.e. it did not bear any signs of displacement, although five vessels, including the *mortarium* in question, had been broken, probably during the robbery of the tomb (*Lau/Pieta 2017*, 258; *Pieta 2009*, 116). It is therefore possible to speculate that the vessels were located in a zone where gifts of food intended for the deceased were deposited, which seems to be supported in particular by the presence of the aforementioned animal bones, among which were the remains of a piglet and possibly a deer. It should also be noted that the presence of hazelnuts was recorded within the inner chamber, which may have both been a source of food and may have had some symbolic significance in funerary rituals (*Lau 2013*, 19; *Pieta 2009*, 116; cf. *Andrzejowski 2011*, 187, fig. 7; *Dąbrowska 2008*, 145; *Niewęgłowski 1993*; *Schuster 2014*, 36).

We may risk a statement that a hand-made bowl of considerable size together with six small vessels

(bowls), three of which are also hand-made, and three more made by means of a potter's wheel, constitute a service for a communal consumption of an alcoholic beverage. A large hemispherical bowl probably served as a container for storing this drink (*Rodzińska-Nowak*, forecoming). Based on the results of the analysis of the contents of some vessels known from other graves of representatives of barbarian elites, it can be assumed that the beverage could have been, for example, beer sweetened with honey or mead, although the presence of wine or fruit wine cannot also be categorically excluded (cf. *Crane 1999*, 515; *Jahns 2001*; *Hellmund 2010*, 252, 253, 261; *Körber-Grohne 1985*, 121, 122; *Rodzińska-Nowak 2018*, further literature therein). Looking at the set of six different, not always carefully crafted, bowls accompanying the large bowl, however, it is hard to resist the impression that they fit neither the grandiose form of the grave at Poprad-Matejovce nor, still less, the colloquial notions of 'princely' tableware. This observation leads us in this case to consider the validity of H. Steuer's conception that sets of dishes and fragments of animal carcasses found in the burials of elites were not originally intended for the deceased, but are a trace of a feast accompanying a funeral ceremony (*Totenmahl*). This feast was intended, among other things, to reflect the existing hierarchy in the community, i.e. the division between rulers and ruled, and any remains of it were ritually deposited in the grave (*Steuer 2006*, 14, 20; cf. *Schuster 2014*, 29). If we assume that the aforementioned concept accurately explains the situation observed in the case of the grave from Poprad-Matejovce, the question arises what function the imported provincial Roman *mortarium* could have had in the funerary rites?

The manifestations of strong Roman influence evident both in the form of the grave from Poprad-Matejovce and in certain elements of its furnishings have already been repeatedly pointed out in the literature. In particular, the construction of the inner chamber, topped with a gabled roof modelled on some Roman tombs and sarcophagi (*Lau/Pieta 2010*, 350; *2017*, fig. 6, 8, 10), was pointed out, as well as the presence of a wooden bed, finding analogies among luxurious Roman furniture, depictions of which are known from iconographic sources from the turn of the 4th and 5th c. (*Lau 2017*). Following this line of thought, is it possible to think that the *mortarium* placed in the burial proves the reception in the deceased's immediate environment of Roman customs related to the preparation of meals?

According to some authors, the relatively numerous presences of imported provincial Roman mortars in the settlements of the barbarian population settled in the Danube zone can be regarded as a sign of their romanisation and seems to support their adoption, to some extent, of Roman culinary customs (cf. *Kolník 1994*, 250). However, it should be stated that, based on the currently available sources, both archaeological and biological, it is very difficult to assess what might have been the scale of the influence of Roman patterns in terms of dietary patterns or ways of preparing meals on the population of the aforementioned zone of the *Barbaricum* (cf. *Hajnalová/Varsik 2010*). According to some scholars, however, the presence of *mortaria* can be interpreted not as a direct reflection of the 'romanisation' of dietary modes, but rather as a manifestation of a more complex process of cultural adaptation of this type of vessel, both within and outside the kitchen (cf. *Cramp/Evershed/Eckardt 2011*, 1350).

On the other hand, it has to be said that Roman patterns of behaviour were sometimes followed by representatives of the upper strata of barbarian communities. This can be confirmed by a case recorded in Thuringia, where in Haarhausen, Ilm distr. (D) a pottery workshop was discovered, dated to the second half of the 3rd c., producing, probably for the needs of the local elite, pottery according to Roman models, including *mortaria* (*Dušek 1984*; *1992*). It is worth noting that at the same time in the mentioned area there is evidence of a different structure of herds of cattle, and presumably also of sheep, which shows characteristics of the Mediterranean circle (*Benecke 1994*, 151; *Rodzińska-Nowak 2012*, 116). This seems to further support the thesis that the local elite adopted Roman patterns in the field of economy and perhaps even diet. It is worth emphasising that so far, no *mortaria* have been found in the Odra or Vistula basins. An isolated and unexpected discovery, however, is a fragment of such a vessel, encountered at the Vorbasse settlement in central Jutland (DK) (*Lund Hansen 2014*).

Coming back to the discussed *mortarium* find from the grave in Poprad-Matejovce, it should be stated that among the wooden objects preserved inside the mentioned grave, no remains of a club, with which foodstuffs were usually crushed or ground in a mortar, were found. We also do not have the results of specialist analyses, which could provide a basis for inferring its contents. In view of the above, we can only assume that the *mortarium* placed in the 'princely' tomb, near the set of vessels intended for the consumption of alcoholic beverages and fragments of animal carcasses, contained a dish (e.g. cheese, meat sauce, flour dish?) which was part of the feast accompanying the funeral ceremony. Given the use of a mortar, it seems likely that the recipe for this dish may have been more or less borrowed from Roman culinary tradition.

Considering the above-mentioned manifestations of the Roman culture influence visible both in the construction of the tomb from Poprad-Matejovce and in certain elements of its furnishing, it is worth considering yet another possible interpretation of the function of the discussed *mortarium* during the funeral ceremony. It should be remembered that the use of these vessels in the Roman world sometimes went far beyond the kitchen function. Among other things, they were useful for making medicines and cosmetics, for grinding dyes, but they were also used as containers for burning incense, and as lamps (*Droberjar 2005*, 67; *Kolník 1973*, 386; *Krekovič 1973*, 99, 100; *Symonds 2012*, 169–172, 187, 188).

Both the results of the analysis of ancient written sources and the results of the study of archaeological artefacts suggest that light played an important role in Roman funerary customs (cf. *Madyda-Legutko 2017*, 412, 417; *Menzel 1953*; *von Schnurbein 1977*, 54–72; *Winniczuk 1983*, 465). Light sources in the form of olive lamps were therefore a common element of tomb furnishings in the Roman world, and they also occur in large numbers in archaeological contexts indicating that they performed various ritual functions, including votive gifts and magical objects (*Diosono 2020*; *Diosono/Cinaglia 2016*). The presence of imported Roman olive lamps is also attested in *Barbaricum*, but they are among the relatively few finds. Clay specimens predominate among them, although specimens described in the literature as bronze are also known. The artefacts of the discussed category are found on settlements and sometimes also on sepulchral sites, which allows us to believe that they were given a certain symbolic meaning also in the native, i.e. barbarian funerary ritual (cf. *Madyda-Legutko 2017*, 417). Finds of these imports are concentrated in the near-limes zone, in the middle Danube basin (south-western Slovakia, Moravia, Lower Austria), on the Rhine, between the Rhine and the Weser, and on the Lippe River (*Hrnčiarik 2013a*, 166, map 77; *Jančo 2001*, map 2; *Krekovič 1996*, fig. 1; *Madyda-Legutko 2017*, 411). In other areas they occur in dispersion, although there are areas so far completely devoid of finds of these monuments. This observation applies, for example, to Scandinavia (cf. *Lund Hansen 1987*).

The presence of imported olive lamps is also attested in the Slovak part of the Carpathians. Two lamps are known from the settlement area of the Púchov culture, which should most probably be associated with the eponymous settlement of this unit in Púchov (SK) on the Váh river and dated to the second half of the 2nd c. AD (*Hrnčiarik 2013a*, 167; *2013b*, 142, inv. no. 2102, 2103; pl. XC: 2102, 2103; *Krekovič 1983*, 512, 513, 515, pl. I: 8, 9; *1996*, 142; *Madyda-Legutko 2017*, 415). In addition, several fragments of North African lamps come from a settlement of the Northern Carpathian group population at Kežmarok-Vrbov, Kežmarok distr., dated to the end of the Late Roman period and the early phase of the Migration Period (*Giertlová-Kučerová/Soják 2005*, 114, 123, fig. 3: 2; *Hrnčiarik 2013a*, 167; *2013b*, 163, 164, inv. no. 2369–2372; pl. XC: 2369–2372; *Pieta 1991*, 378, fig. 2: 27, 28), of which three fragments, from a workshop in central Tunisia, are dated to 330–370 (*Hrnčiarik 2013a*, 167; *Madyda-Legutko 2017*).

In the context of the present discussion, the find of a bronze two-burner lamp of the Mahdia type discovered in a 'royal' grave in Mušov, Mikulov distr. (CZ), in the southern part of Moravia, dated to the period immediately before the Markomanic Wars, deserves particular attention. Inside the lamp, linen fibres were found, probably originally constituting its wick, which allows us to conclude that it was used for its intended purpose (*Künzl/Künzl 2002*, 581; *Opravil 2002*, 490). The lamp represents a type dated to the reign of Augustus, so its chronological position is much older than the date it was placed in the grave (*Künzl 2002*, 471, 472; *Peška/Tejral 2002*, 502). The inventory of this burial included other objects of an 'antiquarian' nature, which suggests that they were collected over a longer period of time by representatives of the local elite (*Peška/Tejral 2002*, 509, 510). The placement of the lamp in the grave may support the view that the surroundings of the deceased adopted certain beliefs and eschatological ideas, borrowed from the provincial Roman environment. The presence of yet other imports in the inventory of this burial also seems to testify to the adaptation of Roman patterns of behaviour (*Madyda-Legutko 2017*, 417, 418; *Peška/Tejral 2002*, 502).

Relatively little is known about the light sources of native origin used by the people of *Barbaricum* (cf. *Hegewisch 2005*, 93; *2006*, 269; *2009*; *2010*; *Wunderlich 2002*). There are indications that rooms were lit using wax or tallow candles,[2] which were known in the ancient world (*Hegewisch 2010*, 194–197; *Madyda-Legutko 2017*, 413; *Wunderlich 2000*, 83–86). Some researchers suppose that the function of lamps could have been performed by some forms of ceramic vessels (cf. *Hegewisch 2009*; *2010*). There is a view in the literature that the so-called Dacian bowls, found not only in areas inhabited by the Dacians, but also in areas where contacts with this cultural milieu are attested, may have been used as lamps. These bowls, characterised by a specific form, are found throughout

[2] In the 'princely' grave in Poprad-Matejovce, a wooden disc was found, which was interpreted as a candlestick in the catalogue of artefacts forming part of the monograph on this grave that is being prepared for publication.

the Roman period (*Egri/Rustoiu 2008*, 84; *Istvánovits/Pintye 2011*, 103; *Madyda-Legutko 2017*, 414). It is worth mentioning that very similar forms of ceramic vessels found in Gaul are clearly interpreted as lamps (cf. *Delor-Ahü/Kasprzyk 2006*, 59, fig. 5).

In view of the above, it is possible to speculate that the provincial Roman *mortarium* discovered in the 'princely' grave at Poprad-Matejovce could have been used as a lamp, as was sometimes the case in the Roman world (cf. *Droberjar 2005*, 67; *Krekovič 1973*, 99, 100; *Symonds 2012*, 169–172, 187, 188). For example, a vessel is known from Apulum (Moesia Superior), like the specimen from Poprad-Matejovce representing the 13th mortar group in the classification according to *R. P. Symonds* (*2012*), with clear traces of soot inside, probably used as a light source or possibly as a container for burning incense (*Bjelajac 1992–1993*, 139, 140; *Symonds 2012*, 187, 188, fig. 12: 135). In order for the *mortarium* to serve as a lamp it seems likely that it will be filled for this purpose with beef tallow, fish fat or vegetable oil, e.g. linseed oil. The wick could have been made of plant fibres, e.g. flax, analogous to the lamp from the burial at Mušov (*Hegewisch 2010*, 194–197; *Hrnčiarik 2013a*, 168, 169; *Opravil 2002*, 490). However, we should caveat that so far, we do not have the results of analyses that would certify the presence of residues of burnt fat inside vessels known from the *Barbaricum* site (cf. *Madyda-Legutko 2017*, 413). This remark also applies to the *mortarium* in question, broken during grave robbing.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, it should be stated that the magnificent form of the 'princely' grave at Poprad-Matejovce, as well as some of its preserved furnishings, such as the wooden bed, undoubtedly prove the strong influence of Roman culture on the elite population living in the southern zone of *Barbaricum* at the end of antiquity (cf. *Lau 2017*; *Lau/Pieta 2010*, 350; *2017*, fig. 6, 8, 10). The presence of a glazed *mortarium* is one of the manifestations of the aforementioned interactions. This vessel can most probably be interpreted as part of the tableware used during the feast accompanying the funerary ceremony (*Totenmahl*). It presumably contained a dish, the recipe of which may have been related to Roman culinary customs to some extent. However, bearing in mind the numerous and varied uses of Roman mortars, some of which were completely unrelated to the culinary arts, we cannot categorically exclude the possibility that the vessel may have served as a source of light during funerary ceremonies. Indeed, light played an important role in Roman funerary customs, and the presence of imported lamps in some graves of the Barbarians is interpreted as one of the evidences of the adoption by this population of certain eschatological imagery originating from the provincial Roman culture (cf. *Józefów 2009*; *Madyda-Legutko 2017*, 413; *Rodzińska-Nowak 2006*; *Rodzińska-Nowak/Zagórska-Telega 2007*, 269, 270; *Witteyer 1993*).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Allerbauer/Jedlicka 2000 – S. Allerbauer/F. Jedlicka: KG Ringelsdorf, MG Ringelsdorf-Niederabsdorf, VB Gänserndorf. *Fundberichte aus Österreich* 39, 2000, 660, 661.

Andrzejowski 2011 – J. Andrzejowski: Out of the social structure? A Late Roman Period female grave from Jartypory, Eastern Poland. In: D. Quast (Hrsg.): *Weibliche Eliten in der Frühgeschichte. Female elites in protohistoric Europe. Internationale Tagung vom 13. bis zum 14. Juni 2008 im RGZM im Rahmen des Forschungsschwerpunktes »Eliten«.* Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseum. Tagungen 10. Mainz 2011, 185–199.

Apicius – Marcus Gavius Apicius: *De re coquinaria* = *Apicjusz. O sztuce kulinarnej. Ksiąg dziesięć*. Tekst, przekład i komentarz I. Mikołajczyk, S. Wyszomirski. Toruń 2012.

Beljak/Kolník 2008 – J. Beljak/T. Kolník: Germanic settlement from the Late Roman and Early Migration periods in Štúrovo. In: *Niezabitowska-Wiśniewska et al. eds. 2008*, 65–88.

Benecke 1994 – N. Benecke: *Archäozoologische Studien zur Entwicklung der Haustierhaltung in Mitteleuropa und Südskandinavien von den Anfängen bis zum ausgehenden Mittelalter*. Schriften zur Ur- und Frühgeschichte 46. Berlin 1994.

Biborski/Zagórska-Telega 2008 – M. Biborski/J. Zagórska-Telega: Rajbrot, site 4, commune: Lipnica Murowana – Migration Period cemetery. In: *Niezabitowska-Wiśniewska et al. eds. 2008*, 89–96.

Bjelajac 1992–1993 – L. Bjelajac: Mortaria in the Moesia Danube valley. *Starinar NS* 43–44, 1992–1993, 139–148.

Bru Calderón 2011 – M. Bru Calderón: *Spätantike glasierte Keramik aus der Grabung St. Pölten-Rathausplatz*. Diplomarbeit. Institut für Klassische Archäologie. Universität Wien. Wien 2011.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.25365/thesis.17851

Čižmář 1997 – M. Čižmář: Das Gräberfeld der Völkerwanderungszeit in Pohořelice (Bez. Břeclav), In: J. Tejral/H. Friesinger/M. Kazanski (Hrsg.): *Neue Beiträge zur Erforschung der Spätantike im mittleren Donauraum. Materialen der Internationalen Fachkonferenz. Kravsko 17.–20. Mai 1995*. Spisy Archeologického ústavu AV ČR Brno 8. Brno 1997, 23–30.

Cramp/Evershed/Eckardt 2011 – L. J. E. Cramp/R. P. Evershed/H. Eckardt: What was a mortarium used for? Organic residues and cultural change in Iron Age and Roman Britain. *Antiquity* 85, 2011, 1339–1352.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003598X00062098

Crane 1999 – E. Crane: *The World History of Beekeeping and Honey Hunting*. Routledge – New York 1999.

Dąbrowska 2008 – T. Dąbrowska 2008: *Młodszy okres przedrzymski na Mazowszu i zachodnim Podlasiu. Zarys kulturowo-chronologiczny*. Materiały Starożytne i Wczesnośredniowieczne 7. Warszawa 2008.

Delor-Ahü/Kasprzyk 2006 – A. Delor-Ahü/M. Kasprzyk: Rouilly-Saint-Loup, "établissement de défense" (Aube). Découverte d'un lot céramique spécifique. *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique Champenoise* 99/4, 2006, 54–59.

Diosono 2020 – F. Diosono: Lamps as ritual and 'magical' objects in archaeological contexts. In: A. Mastrocinque/J. E. Sanzo/M. Scapini (eds.): *Ancient magic. Then and now*. Potsdamer Altertumswissenschaftliche Beiträge 74. Stuttgart 2020, 139–157.

Diosono/Cinaglia 2016 – F. Diosono/T. Cinaglia: Light on the water: ritual deposit of lamps in Lake Nemi. *Journal of Roman Archeology* 29, 2016, 451–468.

Droberjar 2005 – E. Droberjar 2005: *Věk barbarů. České země a stěhování národů z pohledu archeologie*. Praha – Litomyšl 2005.

Dušek 1984 – S. Dušek: Die Produktion römischer Drehscheibenkeramik in Thüringen – Technologie, ökonomische und gesellschaftliche Konsequenzen. In: R. Feustel (Hrsg.): *Römerzeitliche Drehscheibenware im Barbaricum*. Weimarer Monographien zur Ur- und Frühgeschichte 11. Weimar 1984, 5–18.

Dušek 1992 – S. Dušek: *Römische Handwerker im germanischen Thüringen. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen in Haarhausen, Kreis Arnstadt. Fundbericht*. Weimarer Monographien zur Ur- und Frügeschichte 27. Teil A, B. Stuttgart 1992.

Egri/Rustoiu 2008 – M. Egri/A. Rustoiu: Imported lamps from pre-Roman Dacia. In: C. A. Roman/N. Gudea (eds.): *Trade and local production of lamps from Prehistory until the Middle Age*. Lychnological Acts 2. Cluj-Napoca 2008, 79–86, pl. 30–33.

Giertlová-Kučerová/Soják 2005 – M. Giertlová-Kučerová/M. Soják: Novšie nálezy severokarpatskej skupíny v povodí rieky Poprad. *Študijné zvesti AÚ SAV* 38, 2005, 113–136.

Groh/Sedlmayer 2002 – S. Groh/H. Sedlmayer: *Forschungen im Kastell Mautern-Favianis. Die Grabungen der Jahre 1996 und 1997*. Der römische Limes in Österreich 42. Wien 2002.

Grünewald 1979 – M. Grünewald: *Die Gefässkeramik des Legionslagers von Carnuntum (Grabungen 1968–1974)*. Der römische Limes in Österreich 29. Wien 1979.

Hajnalová/Varsik 2010 – M. Hajnalová/V. Varsik: Kvádske roľníctvo na Slovensku z pohľadu archeológie a archeobotaniky. In: J. Beljak/G. Březinová/V. Varsik (eds.): *Archeológia barbarov 2009. Hospodárstvo Germánov, sídliskové a ekonomické štruktúry od neskorej doby laténskej po včasný stredovek. Zborník referátov z 5. protohistorickej konferencie. Nitra 21.–25. septembra 2009*. Archaeologica Slovaca Monographiae. Communicationes 10. Nitra 2010, 181–224.

Hegewisch 2005 – M. Hegewisch: Germanische Nachahmungen römischer Metall-, Glas- und Keramikgefäße – eine kurze Übersicht. *Památky archeologické* 96, 2005, 79–104.

Hegewisch 2006 – M. Hegewisch: Germanische Adaptionen römischer Importgefäße. *Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission* 86, 2006, 197–348.

Hegewisch 2009 – M. Hegewisch: Lampen im Barbaricum. Ein kurzer Beitrag zur Beleuchtung in germanischen Siedlungen. In: K. Myzgin (Hrsg.): *Ostrogothica. Archäologie des Zentral- und Osteuropas in der Späten Römischen Kaiserzeit und der Völkerwanderungszeit. Sammelband der wissenschaftlichen Schriften zum 10. Jahrestag der Germanisch-Slawischen archäologischen Expedition der Charkover-Nationalen-V.-N. Karazin-Universität*. Charkov 2009, 19–33.

Hegewisch 2010 – M. Hegewisch: Lampen im Barbaricum. Ein Beitrag zur Beleuchtung in germanischen Siedlungen. In: T. Armbruester/M. Hegewisch (Hrsg.): *Beiträge zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte der Iberischen Halbinsel und Mitteleuropas. Studien in honorem Philine Kalb*. Studien zur Archäologie Europas 11. Bonn 2010, 193–228.

Hellmund 2010 – M. Hellmund: Honigreste in einem Eibenholzeimer aus dem Fürstengrab von Gommern. In: M. Becker: *Das Fürstengrab von Gommern*. Veröffentlichungen des Landesamtes für Denkmalpflege und Archäologie Sachsen-Anhalt-Landesmuseum für Vorgeschichte 63. Band 1. Halle/Saale 2010, 247–261.

Hrnčiarik 2013a – E. Hrnčiarik: *Römisches Kulturgut in der Slowakei. Herstellung, Funktion und Export römischer Manufakturerzeugnisse aus den Provinzen in der Slowakei. Teil 1*. Universitätsforschungen zur prähistorischen Archäologie 222. Bonn 2013.

Hrnčiarik 2013b – E. Hrnčiarik: *Römisches Kulturgut in der Slowakei. Herstellung, Funktion und Export römischer Manufakturerzeugnisse aus den Provinzen in der Slowakei. Teil 2*. Universitätsforschungen zur prähistorischen Archäologie 222. Bonn 2013.

Istvánovits/Pintye 2011 – E. Istvánovits/G. Pintye: Az alföldi Barbaricum mécsesei. *A nyíregyházi Jósa András Múzeum Évkönyve* 53, 2011, 83–111.

Jahns 2001 – S. Jahns: Zum Pollenspektrum im Fürstengrab 9/1995. In: F. Lüth/H. U. Voß: Neue Römergräber aus Hagenow – ein Vorbericht. *Bodendenkmalpflege in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern. Jahrbuch* 48, 2001, 199–202.

Jančo 2001 – M. Jančo: Nálezy lámp z doby rímskej v Čechách. *Památky archeologické* 92, 2001, 165–183.

Józefów 2009 – B. Józefów: Problematyka identyfikacji i badań obiektów kremacji w okresie rzymskim – busta, ustryny i jednorazowo wykorzystane miejsca kremacji (Badania miejsc kremacji). In: W. Dzieduszycki/J. Wrzesiński (red.): *Metody. Źródła. Dokumentacja*. Funeralia Lednickie 11. Poznań 2009, 225–239.

Kolník 1973 – T. Kolník: Pohrebisko z doby sťahovania národov v Abraháme. *Slovenská archeológia* 21, 1973, 359–399.

Kolník 1994 – T. Kolník: Zur Verbreitung und Beliebheit der Reibschalen und deren Nachahmungen bei den swebischen Germanen (Quaden). *Alba Regia* 25, 1994, 249–252.

Kolník/Varsik/Vladár 2007 – T. Kolník/V. Varsik/J. Vladár: *Branč. Germánska osada z 2. až 4. storočia*. Archaeologie Slovaca Monographie. Catalogi 10. Nitra 2007.

Körber-Grohne 1985 – U. Körber-Grohne: Pflanzliche und tierische Reste aus dem Fürstengrab von Hochdorf. Die Biologie als Hilfswissenschaft der Archäologie. In: D. Planck/J. Biel/G. Süsskind/A. Wais (Hrsg.): *Der Keltenfürst von Hochdorf, Methoden und Ergebnisse der Landesarchäologie in Baden-Württemberg*. Stuttgart 1985, 117–123.

Krekovič 1973 – E. Krekovič: Zur Frage der Reibschüsseln. *Musaica* 13, 1973, 99–107.

Krekovič 1983 – E. Krekovič: Römische Lampenfunde im slowakischen Barbaricum. *Archeologické rozhledy* 35, 1983, 510–516, 595.

Krekovič 1996 – E. Krekovič: Römische Lampen im freien Germanien und in Osteuropa. In: *Acta Rei Cretariae Romanae Fautorum* 33. Congressus undevicesimus Rei Cretariae Romanae Fautorum in Dacia habitus 1994. Timişoara 1996, 141–144.

Künzl 2002 – S. Künzl: Zwei Antiquitaten aus der Zeit des Kaisers Augustus: Lampe und Klapptisch. In: *Peška/Tejral Hrsg.* 2002/2, 471–474.

Künzl/Künzl 2002 – S. Künzl/E. Künzl: Römische Metallobjekte und anderes. In: *Peška/Tejral Hrsg.* 2002/3, 581–596.

Lau 2013 – N. Lau: Das Grab von Poprad-Matejovce in der Slovakei – Ein Blockhaus mit Inneneinrichtung aus der frühen Völkerwanderungszeit. *Archäologische Nachrichten aus Schleswig-Holstein* 19, 2013, 16–19.

Lau 2017 – N. Lau: Überlegungen zur gedrechselten Totenliege aus dem frühvölkerwanderungszeitlichen Grab von Poprad-Matejovce. In: B. V. Eriksen/A. Abegg-Wigg/R. Bleile/U. Ickerodt (Hrsg. – eds.): *Interaktion ohne Grenzen. Beispiele archäologischer Forschungen am Beginn des 21. Jahrhunderts. Band I – Interaction without borders. Exemplary archaeological research at the beginning of the 21st century. Volume I.* Schleswig 2017, 457–466.

Lau/Pieta 2010 – N. Lau/K. Pieta: Das Grab von Poprad-Matejovce in der Slowakei – Konstruktion, Ausstattung und Wiederöffnung eines frühvölkerwanderungszeitlichen Kammergrabes. In: A. Abegg-Wigg /N. Lau (Hrsg.): *Kammergräber im Barbaricum. Zu Einflüssen und Übergangsphänomenen von der vorrömischen Eisenzeit bis in die Völkerwanderungszeit*. Schriften des Archäologischen Landesmuseums Ergänzungsreihe 9. Neumünster – Hamburg 2010, 343–364.

Lau/Pieta 2017 – N. Lau/K. Pieta: Die Antike Öffnung des Kammergrabes von Poprad-Matejovce. In: *Na hranicích Impéria. Extra fines Imperii. Jaroslavu Tejralovi k 80. narozeninám*. Brno 2017, 255–265.

Lund Hansen 1987 – U. Lund Hansen: *Römischer Import im Norden. Warenaustausch zwischen dem römischen Reich und dem freien Germanien während der Kaiserzeit unter besonderer Berücksichtigung Nordeuropas*. Nordiske Fortidsminder. Serie B. Band 10. København 1987.

Lund Hansen 2014 – U. Lund Hansen: Ein Reibschalenfragment aus Vorbasse (Region Syddanmark/Dk) – erster Fund von Reibschalen in Skandinavien. In: Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum (Hrsg.): *Honesta Missione. Festschrift für Barbara Pferdehirt*. Monographien des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums. Band 100. Mainz 2014, 445–454.

Mączyńska 2005 – M. Mączyńska: Zanik kultury przeworskiej. In: P. Kaczanowski/M. Parczewski (red.): *Archeologia o początkach Słowian. Materiały z konferencji, Kraków, 19–21 listopada 2001*. Kraków 2005, 157–163.

Madyda-Legutko 1996 – R. Madyda-Legutko: *Zróżnicowanie kulturowe polskiej strefy beskidzkiej w okresie lateńskim i rzymskim*. Uniwersytet Jagielloński. Rozprawy habilitacyjne nr 304/1. Kraków 1996.

Madyda-Legutko 2017 – R. Madyda-Legutko: Rola światła w życiu codziennym i w obrzędowości pogrzebowej ludności środkowoeuropejskiego Barbaricum. In: J. Miziołek/J. Gancarski/A. Guz-Iwaniec (red.): *Światło w dziejach człowieka, sztuce, religii, nauce i technice 1*. Krosno 2017, 411–433.

Madyda-Legutko/Tunia 2008 – R. Madyda-Legutko/K. Tunia: Late Roman and Early Migration Period in Polish Beskid Mts., Carpathians. Settlement aspect. In: *Niezabitowska-Wiśniewska et al. eds. 2008*, 227–248.

Menzel 1953 – H. Menzel: Lampen im römischen Totenkult. In: H. Klumbach (Hrsg.): *Festschrift des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums in Mainz zur Feier seines hundertjährigen Bestehens 1952. Band 3*. Mainz 1953, 131–138.

Niewęgłowski 1993 – A. Niewęgłowski: Leszczyna i orzechy laskowe jako materialne korelaty religii w Polsce przedchrześcijańskiej. In: M. Kwapiński/H. Paner (red.): *Wierzenia przedchrześcijańskie na ziemiach polskich*. Gdańsk 1993, 47–55.

Niezabitowska-Wiśniewska et al. eds. 2008 – B. Niezabitowska-Wiśniewska/M. Juściński/P. Łuczkiewicz/S. Sadowski (eds.): *The Turbulent Epoch. New materials from the Late Roman Period and the Migration Period*. Monumenta Studia Gothica 5. Lublin 2008.

Opravil 2002 – E. Opravil: Bestimmung der Pflanzenreste. In: *Peška/Tejral Hrsg.* 2002/3, 488–490.

Peška/Tejral 2002 – J. Peška/J. Tejral: Gesamtinterpretation des Königsgrabes von Mušov. In: *Peška/Tejral Hrsg.* 2002/2, 501–513.

Peška/Tejral Hrsg. 2002 – J. Peška/J. Tejral (Hrsg.): *Das germanische Königsgrab von Mušov in Mähren. Teil 1–3*. Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum. Monographien 55. Mainz 2002.

Pieta 1991 – K. Pieta: The North Carpathians at the beginning of the Migration Period. *Antiquity* 65, 1991, 376–387. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003598X00079886

Pieta 2009 – K. Pieta: Das germanische Fürstengrab aus Poprad-Matejovce. In: U. von Freeden/H. Friesinger/E. Wamers (Hrsg.): *Glaube, Kult und Herrschaft. Phänomene des Religiösen im 1. Jahrtausend n. Chr. in Mittel- und Nordeuropa. Akten des 59. Internationalen Sachsensymposions und der Grundprobleme der frühgeschichtlichen Entwicklung im Mitteldonauraum*. Kolloquien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte 12. Bonn 2009, 107–122.

Pollak 1980 – M. Pollak: *Die germanischen Bodenfunde des 1.–4. Jahrhunderts nach Chr. im nördlichen Niederösterreich*. Denkschriften Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften 147. Wien 1980.

Rodzińska-Nowak 2006 – J. Rodzińska-Nowak: Zoomorficzna plastyka figuralna z cmentarzysk kultury przeworskiej. In: L. Kostuch/K. Ryszewska (red.): *Zwierzę jako sacrum w pradziejach i starożytności I*. Kielce 2006, 11–25.

Rodzińska-Nowak 2012 – J. Rodzińska-Nowak: *Gospodarka żywnościowa ludności kultury przeworskiej*. Opera Archeologiae Iagellonicae 2. Kraków 2012.

Rodzińska-Nowak 2018 – J. Rodzińska-Nowak: Napoje alkoholowe mieszkańców Barbaricum. In: B. Niezabitowska-Wiśniewska/P. Łuczkiewicz/S. Sadowski/M. Stasiak-Cyran/M. Erdrich (red.): *Studia Barbarica. Profesorowi Andrzejowi Kokowskiemu w 65. rocznicę urodzin. Tom II*. Lublin 2018, 580–588.

Rodzińska-Nowak, forecoming – J. Rodzińska-Nowak: Die Keramik aus dem „Fürstengrab" in Poprad-Matejovce. In: M. Ruttkay/C. von Carnap-Bornheim (Hrsg.): *Das Kammergrab von Poprad-Matejovce 1*. Nitra – Schleswig, forecoming.

Rodzińska-Nowak/Zagórska-Telega 2007 – J. Rodzińska-Nowak/J. Zagórska-Telega: Uwagi na temat obrządku

pogrzebowego na cmentarzysku kultury przeworskiej w Opatowie, stan. 1, woj. śląskie. *Acta Universitatis Lodziensis. Folia Archaeologica* 25, 2007, 267–283.

von Schnurbein 1977 – S. von Schnurbein: *Das römische Gräberfeld von Regensburg. Text.* Archäologische Forschungen in Regina Castra – Regensburg 1. Kallmünz 1977.

Schuster 2014 – J. Schuster: Dobór i układ darów w inhumacyjnych grobach książęcych z pierwszej połowy I tysiąclecia po Chr. w północnej i środkowej Europie. *Wiadomości Archeologiczne* 65, 2014, 5–44. DOI: https://doi.org/10.36154/wa.65.2014.01

Steuer 2006 – H. Steuer: Fürstengräber, Adelsgräber, Elitegräber. Methodisches zur Anthropologie der Prunkgräber. In: C. von Carnap-Bornheim/D. Krausse/A. Wesse (Hrsg.): *Herrschaft – Tod – Bestattung. Zu den vor- und frühgeschichtlichen Prunkgräbern als archäologisch-historische Quelle. Internationale Fachkonferenz Kiel 16.–19. Oktober 2003*. Universitätsforschungen zur prähistorischen Archäologie 139. Bonn 2006, 11–25.

Symonds 2012 – R. P. Symonds: A brief history of the ceramic mortarium in antiquity. *Journal of Roman Pottery Studies* 15, 2012, 169–214.

Tejral 1999 – J. Tejral: Archäologisch-kulturelle Entwicklung im norddanubischen Raum am Ende der Spätkaiserzeit und am Anfang der Völkerwanderungszeit. In: J. Tejral/Ch. Pilet/M. Kazanski (éd.): *L' Occident romain et l' Europe au début de l'époque des Grandes Migrations*. Spisy Archeologického ústavu AV ČR Brno 13. Brno 1999, 205–271.

Tejral 2002 – J. Tejral: Region pod Pavlovskými vrchy v době stěhování národů. In: S. Stuchlík (ed.): *Oblast vodního díla Nové Mlýny od pravěku do středověku*. Brno 2002, 355–369.

Varsik 1998 – V. Varsik: *Štruktúra germánskych sídlisk z 2.–3. storočia na juhozápadnom Slovensku (Branč a Veľký Meder)*. Dizertačná práca. Archeologický ústav SAV Nitra. Nitra 1998. Unpublished.

Varsik 2004 – V. Varsik: Zur Entwicklung der quadischen Siedlung von Veľký Meder (SW Slowakei). *Študijné zvesti AÚ SAV* 36, 2004, 257–275.

Winniczuk 1983 – L. Winniczuk: *Ludzie, zwyczaje, obyczaje starożytnej Grecji i Rzymu*. Warszawa 1983.

Witteyer 1993 – M. Witteyer: Die Ustrinen und Busta von Mainz-Weisenau. In: M. Struck (Hrsg.): *Römerzeitliche Gräber als Quellen zu Religion, Bevölkerungsstruktur und Sozialgeschichte. Internationale Fachkonferenz vom 18.–20. Februar 1991 im Institut für Vor- und Frühgeschichte der Johannes-Gutenberg-Universität Mainz*. Archäologische Schriften des Instituts für Vor- und Frühgeschichte der Johannes-Gutenberg-Universität Mainz 3. Mainz 1993, 69–80.

Wunderlich 2002 – C.-H. Wunderlich: »Lightkultur«: Fettnäpchen, Tranfunzeln und Armleuchter. Vorgeschichtliche Beleuchtungstechnik in der Museumsnacht. *Archäologie in Sachsen-Anhalt NF* 1, 2002, 83–94.

Zeman 2006 – T. Zeman: Sídliště z pozdní doby římské ve Zlechově. Stav zpracování, východiska a cíle projektu. In: E. Droberjar/M. Lutovský (eds.): *Archeologie Barbarů 2005. Sborník příspěvků z I. protohistorické konference „Pozdně keltské, germánské a časně slovanské osídlení" (Kounice, 20.–22.září 2005)*. Praha 2006, 451–469.

Zeman 2008 – T. Zeman: Zlechov. *Sídliště ze závěru doby římské a počáteční fáze stěhování národů a jeho postavení v rámci pozdního svébského osídlení Moravy*. Dizertační práce. Masarykova univerzita. Filozofická fakulta. Brno 2008. Online available at: https://theses.cz/id/27dhez/

Manuscript accepted 20. 4. 2021

Translated by author

dr hab. Judyta Rodzińska-Nowak, prof. UJ
Instytut Archeologii Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego
Gołębia 11
PL – 31-007 Kraków
rodzinska@interia.pl

SLOVENSKÁ ARCHEOLÓGIA – SUPPLEMENTUM 2
Z. Robak/M. Ruttkay (eds.): Celts – Germans – Slavs.
A Tribute Anthology to Karol Pieta. Nitra 2021, 343–347.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.31577/slovarch.2021.suppl.2.31

NEUE ALTFUNDE GEHENKELTER RÖMISCHER SOLIDI DES KAISERS VALENS AUS TRANSKARPATIEN (UKRAINE)

PÉTER PROHÁSZKA

Old New Roman Solidi of Valens with Suspension Loop from Transcarpathia (Ukraine). The article deals with two Roman gold coins of Valens, which were found in Transcarpathia. Only reports are about them in the Archive of the Hungarian National Museum. They were found in Užhorod and Nagyszlatina. Both coins have a suspension loop. Thanks to the descriptions it was possible to evaluate the finds. They belong to the evidences of the Roman political relationship with the German elites.

Keywords: Ukraine, Transcarpathia, Roman Period, solidi of Valens, coins with suspension loop.

Die Freilegung und Bearbeitung des germanischen Fürstengrabes von Poprad-Matejovce ist eng mit Karol Pieta verbunden (*Pieta 2009*). Beim Grabinventar befand sich eine Beigabe, die auch für die Datierung eine wichtige Rolle spielt. Es handelt sich um einen Solidus (Abb. 1) von Kaiser Valens, Typ RIC IX 49a. Die Münze wurde zwischen 9. August 375 und 25. August 383 in Trier geprägt und gibt den *terminus post quem* der Bestattung an. Der Solidus wurde nicht als Grabobolus ins Grab gelegt, sondern mit der angelöteten Öse als Schmuck getragen. Die Goldmünzen erscheinen ab der ersten Hälfte des 3. Jh. wieder in größerer Zahl im Karpatenbecken (*Prohászka 2004*), wobei jedoch die Zahl der Prägungen der einzelnen Kaiser nach Zeit und Gebiet differiert (*Prohászka 2009*). Sie zeigen mit ihrer Verbreitung auch die Bedeutung der Gentes bzw. ihre Siedlungsgebiete in der römischen Außenpolitik an. In der zweiten Hälfte des 3. Jh. kommen die Goldmünzen in besonders hoher Zahl vor, aber sie sind auch noch im 4. Jh. charakteristisch. Die Münzen kamen jedoch überwiegend als Streufunde zum Vorschein, und nur wenige stammen aus Gräbern (Osztrópataka/Ostrovany, Madaras-Halmok, Poprad-Matejovce). Von den Solidi des Kaisers Valens sind nur wenige Exemplare aus dem Karpatenbecken bekannt (*Gabler 1975*, 66, 67; *Prohászka 2011a*; *2011b*). Wir möchten hier ihre Zahl um zwei Altfunde vermehren, über die jedoch nur archivalischen Angaben zur Verfügung stehen. Die Archivalien stellen eine wichtige und kaum genutzte Quelle dar, obwohl sich in Akten, Briefen und Notizen immer wieder Beschreibungen, Zeichnungen oder Abgüsse zahlreicher römischer Goldmünzen finden. Die Angaben zu den hier dargelegten Solidi befinden sich im Archiv des Ungarischen Nationalmuseums.

Abb. 1. Der Solidus aus dem Grab von Poprad-Matejovce.

Nagyszlatina (1900), heute Nižne Šolotvino, Ukraine

Fundumstände: Streufund. Der Apotheker des Dorfes Szerednye János Speck sandte eine römische Goldmünze an das Nationalmuseum, die „*Ung megye, Nagy Szlatina község határában, a föld művelése alkalmával találtatott.*“ – „An der Grenze des Dorfes Nagy Szlatina, Komitat Ung, beim Ackerbau gefunden wurde.“ Speck erkundigte sich nach der Bestimmung bzw. dem Wert der Münze. Nach der Abschrift des Antwortbriefes von József Hampel gehörte die eingesandte Goldmünze zu Kaiser Valens und wurde im 4. Jh. n. Chr. geprägt. Sie gehörte zu den gewöhnlichen Typen. Eine Skizze Hampels von der Münze findet sich auf dem Blatt, die auch eine Öse über der Kaiserbüste zeigt (Abb. 2).

Die Münze: Solidus des Valens, mit einer Öse versehen.

Emission: Konnte nicht bestimmt werden.

Verbleib/Literatur: Unbekannt – Ungarisches Nationalmuseum, Archiv des Münz- und Antikenkabinettes 660/1900.

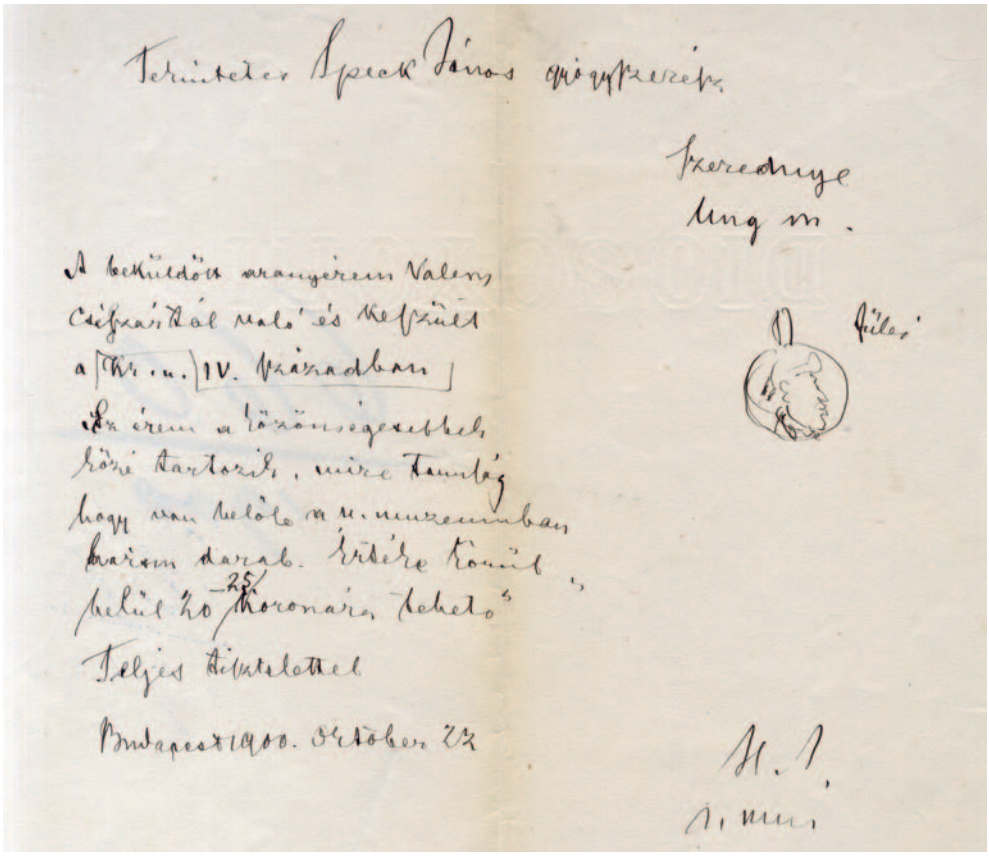


Abb. 2. József Hampels Zeichnung des gehenkelten Solidus von Nagyszlatina/Nižne Šolotvino (UNM Archiv).

Tab. I. Katalog der Solidi des Kaisers Valens (364–378) im Karpatenbecken.

1.	Iža (Slowakei)	Antiochia, RIC 2d (364–367)	*Ondrouch 1964*, 147
2.	Jászberény (Ungarn)	Sirmium, RIC 1b (364)	UNM, Archiv des Münz- und Antikenkabinettes. 230/1887
3.	Poprad-Matejovce (Slowakei)	Trier, RIC 49a (375-383) ▲	*Pieta 2009*
4.	Nagyszlatina (Nižne Šolotvino, Ukraine)	Valens ▲	S. im Beitrag
5.	Ormód (Brestov, Ukraine)	Im Hort befanden sich zwei Solidi des Valens: a) Sirmium, RIC 1b (364) ● b) Constantinopolis, RIC 3c (364–367)	*Kropotkin 2005*, 123; *Kuzsinszky 1892*
6.	Szilágysomlyó (Şimleu Silvaniei) Schatz I.	Im Hort befanden sich neben anderen Multipla und Goldschmuck sieben Multipla des Valens: a) Rom, RIC 25 (375–378) ▲ b) Thessalonica, RIC 28 (375–378) ▲ c) Thessalonica, RIC 28 (375–378) ▲ d) Rom, RIC 26 (375–378) ▲ e) Rom, RIC 26 (375–378) ▲ f) Antiochia, RIC 38 (375–378) ▲ g) Antiochia, RIC 37 (375–378) ▲	*Bursche 1998*, 241–246
7.	Szügy (Ungarn)	1837 wurde ein Schatz, bestehend aus Goldmünzen des Valentinianus I. und Valens sowie Goldstücken, gefunden. Im Fund befanden sich mindestens 15 Solidi, von denen manche gehenkelt oder gelocht waren.	*Prohászka 2007*
8.	Titel (Serbien)	Im zweiten Schatz (1879) befanden sich unter den Goldmünzen auch Prägungen des Valens. Nur ein Solidus wurde beschrieben: Trier, RIC 1c/4 (364–367).	*Prohászka 2011a*, 155
9.	Ungvár (Užhorod, Ukraine)	Valens, Typ RIC 2 ▲	S. im Beitrag

▲ – mit Öse; ● – gelocht

Ungvár (1930), heute Užhorod, Ukraine

Fundumstände: Streufund. Béláné Hegedűs erkundigte sich in einem Brief nach dem Wert eines Solidus von Valens und einer Napoleon-Goldmünze aus dem Jahr 1859. In dem Brief beschrieb sie die Münze so: „*az érem egyik oldala egy nemes, római arcélű fejet ábrázol egyik oldalán DN Valens, másik oldalán Pfagg betűkkel, másik oldala egy férfialakot ábrázol, ki jobbjában valami hosszú lándzsafélét tart, baljában pedig egy gömbön egy lábon álló nőalakot, ki kezében valami szívalakú karikát emel magasra, egyik oldalán ‚Restitutor', a másikon ‚Reipublicae' felírással. Az éremnek a római fej fölött füle van...*" – „eine Seite der Münze zeigt einen adeligen, römischen Kopf, auf einer Seite steht DN Valens, auf der anderen Buchstaben mit Pfagg. Die andere Seite zeigt eine Männergestalt, die in ihrer Rechten irgendeine lange Lanze und in ihrer Linken eine Kugel hält, auf der eine auf einem Fuß stehende Frauengestalt steht, die in ihrer Hand einen herzförmigen Ring hält. Auf dieser Seite steht eine Inschrift mit ‚Restitutor' auf der einen und ‚Reipublicae' auf der anderen Seite. Die Münze hat über dem römischen Kopf eine Öse..."

Die Münze: Solidus des Valens, mit Öse. Av: DN VALENS PF AVG, Büste mit Diadem nach rechts. Rv: RESTITVTOR REIPUBLICAE, der stehende Kaiser, in einer Hand *labarum*, in der anderen eine auf einem Globus stehende Victoria haltend.

Emission: Eine genauere Bestimmung ist nicht möglich, weil die Buchstaben der Prägestätte nicht beschrieben wurden. Er gehört in die Serie Typ RIC 2 (364–378).

Verbleib/Literatur: Unbekannt – Ungarisches Nationalmuseum, Archiv des Münzkabinettes 177/1930.

Aus dem *Barbaricum* des Karpatenbeckens kennen wir Goldmünzen des Valens (mit diesen neuen Stücken) von insgesamt neun Fundorten (Tab. 1). Manche befanden sich in den Hortfunden von Szügy, Titel (1879), Ormód/Brestov bzw. im Fund I von Szilágysomlyó. Die Münzen des Hortes von Szilágysomlyó waren jedoch Multipla bzw. Medaillons (*Bursche 1998*, 241–246). Die anderen drei Horte bestanden ausschließlich aus Solidi. Eine Münze befand sich im Grab von Poprad-Matejovce und vier Solidi des Valens wurden als Streufunde entdeckt.

Aus dem Teil des *Barbaricums* westlich vom Karpatenbecken ist nur ein Stück bekannt. Dieser Solidus [Coh. 31 = Ant RIC 2d (345–367)] wurde in Iža gefunden (*Ondrouch 1964*, 147), wo die römische Gegenfestung von Brigetio noch im 4. Jh. stand. Aus Brigetio kennen wir ebenfalls nur einen Solidus des Valens, der im südöstlichen Bereich des Legionslagers ans Tageslicht kam und zur Serie RIC 16 oder 22 (367–375) gehört. Er wurde ebenfalls in Antiochia geprägt (*Berković-Borota 1885*, 204). In Pannonien sind noch manche Antiochener Prägungen aus Carnuntum bekannt (*Prohászka 2011b*, 79, 80), die darauf deuten können, daß diese Münzen durch das Militär hierher gelangten. Höchstwahrscheinlich überschritt der Solidus aus Iža in ähnlicher Weise die Donau. Die meisten Solidi des Valens zeigen einen Schwerpunkt im nordöstlichen Bereich des Karpatenbeckens. Nördlich der Karpaten, in Südpolen, sind nur zwei Goldmünzen des Valens bekannt (*Bodzek 2009*, 162–167; *Bursche 1996*). Ein Medaillon kam in Przemyśl zum Vorschein, ein Solidus befand sich im Hort von Krasnystaw I. Über diese Münze stehen uns keine genaueren Angaben zur Verfügung (*Bodzek 2009*, 182, 183). Das 29,5 g schwere Medaillon, Typ RIC 37–38a–b (376), kam 1934 beim Pflügen in der Nähe des Flusses San ans Tageslicht (*Bodzek 2009*, 185).

Von den etwas mehr als ein Dutzend Solidi kann man nur die Hälfte bestimmen. Ein Solidus aus Jászberény gehört nach seiner Beschreibung in einem an das Nationalmuseum geschickten Brief zum Typ RIC 1b und wurde in Sirmium (364) geprägt (UNM, Archiv des Münz- und Antikenkabinettes 230/1887). Ebenfalls zu diesem Typ gehört ein Solidus im Hort von Ormód/Brestov (Abb. 3), der gelocht war (*Kuzsinszky 1892*). Der andere Solidus von Valens in diesem Hort ist eine Prägung aus Konstantinopel, Typ RIC 3c (364–367). Die einzige bestimmbare Valens-Münze aus dem 1879 gefundenen Hort von Titel ist eine Trierer Prägung vom Typ RIC 1c/4 (364–367; *Prohászka 2011a*, 155). Der Solidus aus Ungvár/Užhorod gehörte zur Serie Typ RIC 2, allerdings wurde die Prägestätte nicht festgehalten. Die jüngste Münze, auch eine Trierer Prägung vom Typ RIC 49a, befand sich im Grab von Poprad-Matejovce (*Pieta 2009*). Sie wurde zwischen 375 und 378 geprägt. Ebenfalls aus diesen Jahren stammen die Multipla im Fund I von Szilágysomlyó. Drei wurden in Rom, zwei in Thessaloniki und zwei in Antochia geprägt (*Bursche 1998*, 241–246). Nach diesen Angaben gelangten in den 360er Jahren erstmals Solidi zu den Gentes jenseits der Donau, etwas später, um 375, erscheinen dann wieder die späteren Typen des Valens im Fundmaterial.

Abb. 3. Die beiden Solidi aus dem Hort von Ormód/Brestov.

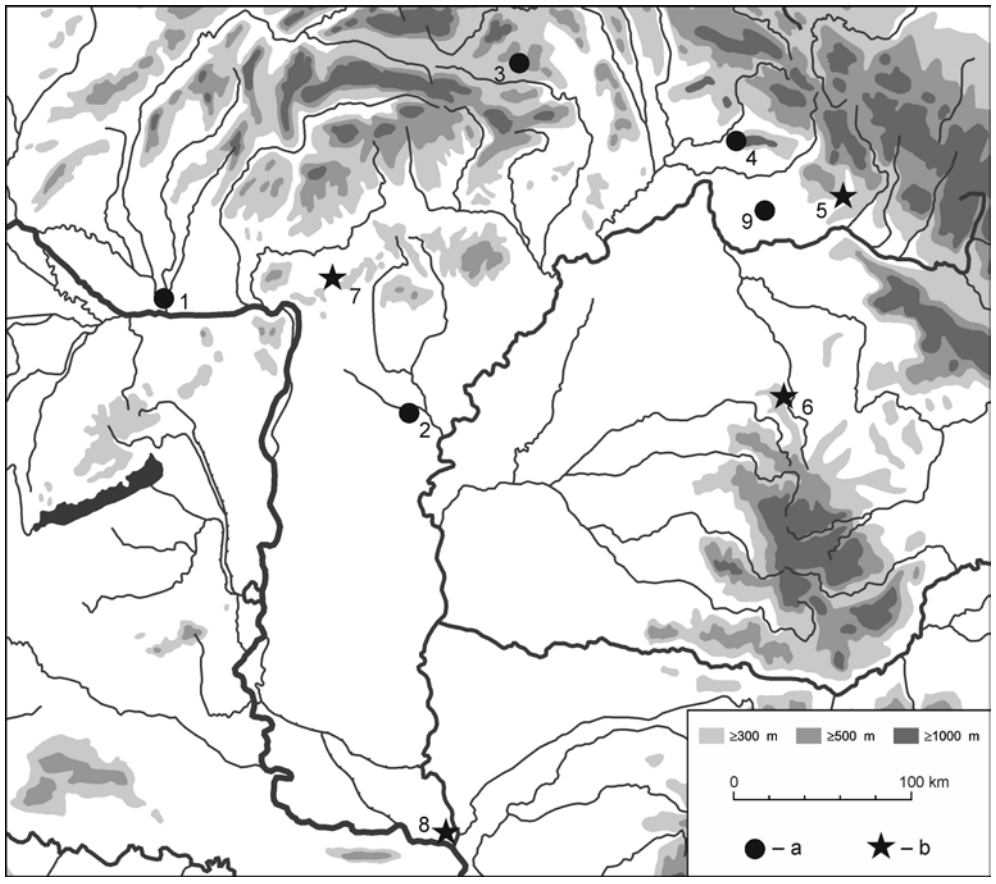


Abb. 4. Die Verbreitung der Goldmünzen des Valens im Karpatenbecken. 1 – Iža; 2 – Jászberény; 3 – Poprad-Matejovce; 4 – Nagyszlatina/Nižne Šolotvino; 5 – Ormód/Brestov; 6 – Szilágysomlyó/Şimleu Silvaniei; 7 – Szügy; 8 – Titel; 9 – Ungvár/Užhorod. Legende: a – Einzelfund; b – Hortfund.

Bis auf die Münze im Hort von Titel (1879) erscheinen die Goldmünzen nördlich der Linie Szolnok – Nagyvárad/Orodea, hauptsächlich im nordöstlichen Teil des Karpatenbeckens (Abb. 4). In diesem Gebiet kommen auch die Solidi der Nebenkaiser von Valens vor (*Prohászka 2011a*, 162, 163). Seit der zweiten Hälfte des 3. Jh. ist eine Zunahme der Goldmünzen im Fundmaterial dieses Gebietes beobachtbar, obwohl der Goldmünzverkehr unterschiedliche Intensivität zeigt. Trotzdem kann man von einem fast kontinuierlichen „Geldverkehr" sprechen, was man mit der spezifischen politischen Rolle der hier angesiedelten Völker zu erklären versuchte (*Bóna 1986*, 60). Welche Kontakte bzw. Ereignisse aber dahinterstanden, darüber stehen uns keine Angaben zur Verfügung (*Stallknecht 1969*). Diese Völker können die Goldmünzen nur von der kaiserlichen Regierung erhalten haben, welche die Münzen als Instrumente der römischen Sicherheits- bzw. Außenpolitik nutzte (*Bemmann 2003*, 58–62).

Die Solidi bzw. Multipla hatten bei den germanischen Völkern in der jüngeren römischen Kaiserzeit eine sekundäre Verwendung gefunden, weil sie gehenkelt oder gelocht als Schmuck getragen wurden. Die größeren und schwereren Medaillons, wie zum Beispiel im Fund I von Szilágysomlyó, spielten – worauf Aleksander Bursche hinwies – bei der Legitimierung der germanischen Könige/Fürsten gewiß eine Rolle (*Bemmann 2005*, 31; *Bursche 1998*, 210–212; *1999*, 221–228). Höchstwahrscheinlich trugen die Angehörigen der germanischen Oberschicht die Aurei/Solidi ebenfalls als Statussymbole (*Bemmann 2005*, 31). Ob dieser Brauch römische Vorbilder hatte oder sich bei den Germanen herausgebildet hat, kann man nicht sicher entscheiden. Gewiß wurden ab dem 3. Jh. im Römischen Reich gefaßte Münzen als Schmuck getragen (*Prohászka 2004*, 47). Dieser Brauch erscheint im *Barbaricum* ab der zweiten Hälfte des 3. Jh. und ist nicht nur im Karpatenbecken, sondern auch im europäischen *Barbaricum* bis zum 5. Jh. zu beobachten. Mehr als die Hälfte der Goldmünzen von Valens aus dem Karpatenbecken haben eine Öse oder ein Loch. In den Hortfunden von Ormód/Brestov und Szügy

befanden sich gehenkelte sowie gelochte Solidi (*Kuzsinszky 1892*; *Prohászka 2007*). Neben den zwei alten Funden war auch der Solidus im Grab von Poprad-Matejovce gehenkelt.

Das 5. Jh. brachte nicht nur zahlreiche Veränderungen in der politischen, ethnischen und wirtschaftlichen Lage, sondern auch bei der Verwendung der Goldmünzen im Karpatenbecken. Ihre Rolle als Statussymbol hörte auf, denn im Fundmaterial beläuft sich die Zahl der gelochten und gehenkelten Solidi kaum auf ein halbes Dutzend (*Prohászka 2009*).

LITERATUR

Bemmann 2003 – J. Bemmann: Romanisierte Barbaren oder erfolgreiche Plünderer? Anmerkungen zur Intensität, Form und Dauer des provinzialrömischen Einflusses auf Mitteldeutschland während der jüngeren Römischen Kaiserzeit und der Völkerwanderungszeit. In: A. Bursche/R. Ciolek (red.): *Antyk i Barbarzyny. Księga dedykowana Profesorowi Jerzemu Kolendo.* Warszawa 2003, 55–108.

Bemmann 2005 – J. Bemmann: Zur Münz- und Münzersatzbeigabe in Gräbern der Römischen Kaiserzeit und Völkerwanderungszeit des mittel- und nordeuropäischen Barbaricums. In: H.-J. Häßler (Hrsg.): *Neue Forschungsergebnisse zur nordwesteuropäischen Frühgeschichte unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der altsächsischen Kultur im heutigen Niedersachsen.* Studien zur Sachsenforschung 15. Oldenburg 2005, 1–62.

Berković-Borota 1885 – M. Berković-Borota: Das Standlager Bregätium der Legio I Adjutrix, pia fidelis. Römerfunde und Ausgrabungen beim Baue der Positions-Batterie nächts Ó-Szőny bei Komorn. *Österreichische Militärische Zeitschrift* 4, 1885, 177–204.

Bodzek 2009 – J. Bodzek: Remarks in the Inflow of Roman Coins into Southern Poland in the Second Half of the 4th and in the 5th Centuries A.D. In: M. Woloszyn (ed.): *Byzantine Coins in Central Europe between the 5th and 10th Century.* Moravia Magna. Seria Polona. Vol. III. Kraków 2009, 155–204.

Bóna 1986 – I. Bóna: Szabolcs-Szatmár megye régészeti emlékei. In: G. Entz (szerk.): *Szabolcs-Szatmár megye műemlékei* I. Budapest 1986, 15–91.

Bursche 1996 – A. Bursche: *Later Roman-Barbarian Contacts in Central Europe Numismatic Evidence*. Studien zur Fundmünzen der Antike 11. Berlin 1996.

Bursche 1998 – A. Bursche: *Złote medaliony rzymskie w Barbaricum. Symbolika prestiżu i władzy społeczeństw barbarzyńskich u schyłku starożytności*. Warszawa 1998.

Bursche 1999 – A. Bursche: Die Rolle römischer Goldmedaillone in der Spätantike. In: W. Seipel (Hrsg.): *Barbarenschmuck und Römergold. Der Schatz von Szilágysomlyó.* Wien 1999, 39–54.

Gabler 1975 – D. Gabler: Zur Fragen der Handelsbeziehungen zwischen den Römern und den „Barbaren" im Gebiet östlich von Pannonien. In: H. Grünert/H.-J. Dölle (Hrsg.): *Römer und Germanen in Mitteleuropa*. Berlin 1975, 87–121.

Kropotkin 2005 – V. V. Kropotkin: *Les trouvailles de monnaies romaines en U.R.S.S.* Moneta 49. Wetteren 2005.

Kuzsinszky 1892 – B. Kuzsinszky: Az ormódi aranykincs érmei. *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 12, 1892, 225–338.

Ondrouch 1964 – V. Ondrouch: *Nálezy keltských, antických a byzantských mincí na Slovensku*. Bratislava 1964.

Pieta 2009 – K. Pieta: Das germanische Fürstengrab aus Poprad-Matejovce. In: U. von Freeden/H. Friesinger/E. Wamers (Hrsg.): *Glaube, Kult und Herrschaft. Phänomene des Religiösen im 1. Jahrtausend n. Chr. Akten des 59. Internationalen Sachsensymposions und der Grundprobleme der frühgeschichtlichen Entwicklung im Mitteldonauraum*. Kolloquien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte 12. Bonn 2009, 107–122.

Prohászka 2004 – P. Prohászka: *Az osztrópatakai vandál királysír.* Esztergom 2004.

Prohászka 2007 – P. Prohászka: Der spätrömische Schatzfund von Szűgy (1837). *Numismatický sborník* 22, 2007, 31–38.

Prohászka 2009 – P. Prohászka: Ost- und Weströmische Goldmünzen aus dem 5. Jahrhundert im Karpatenbecken. In: M. Woloszyn (ed.): *Byzantine Coins in Central Europe between the 5th and 10th Century.* Moravia Magna. Seria Polona. Vol. III. Kraków 2009, 83–115.

Prohászka 2011a – P. Prohászka: Die spätrömischen Solidusfunde aus Titel (Serbien). *Acta Archaeologica Carpathica* 46, 2011, 145–170.

Prohászka 2011b – P. Prohászka: Bemerkungen zum spätrömischen und frühvölkerwanderungszeitlichen Goldmünzverkehr in Pannonia I und Valeria. In: O. Heinrich-Tamáska (Hrsg.): *Keszthely-Fenékpuszta im Kontext spätantiker Kontinuitätsforschung zwischen Noricum und Moesia.* Castellum Pannonicum Pelsonense 2. Budapest – Leipzig 2011, 61–86.

Stallknecht 1969 – B. Stallknecht: *Untersuchungen zur römischen Außenpolitik in der Spätantike (306–395 n. Chr.).* Habelts Dissertationsdrucke. Alte Geschichte 7. Bonn 1969.

Manuskript angenommen am 29. 9. 2021

Abstract translated by author
Übersetzt von Verfasser

Mgr. Dr. Péter Prohászka, PhD.
Archeologický ústav SAV
Akademická 2
SK – 949 21 Nitra
prohaszkapeter1975@gmail.com

SLOVENSKÁ ARCHEOLÓGIA – SUPPLEMENTUM 2
Z. Robak/M. Ruttkay (eds.): Celts – Germans – Slavs.
A Tribute Anthology to Karol Pieta. Nitra 2021, 349–357.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.31577/slovarch.2021.suppl.2.32

ON THE ORIGIN OF THE SHIELD BOSSES OF THE TYPE DOBRODZIEŃ

MICHEL KAZANSKI

The shield bosses of the type Dobrodzień possess typical longitudinal flutes or facets on the calotte. These artefacts are well known in the *Barbaricum*, particularly in the Middle Danube area and to the north of the Carpathians, with a few isolated finds documented to the east of the Carpathians, on the eastern Black Sea coast, and on the Roman empire's Danubian frontier. The images of the shield bosses of the type Dobrodzień rarely occur on the Roman pictures (the *Monza diptych*) and on the metalware discovered in the *Barbaricum* (horse tack plates from Untersiebenbrunn). The period of existence of the shield bosses of the type Dobrodzień as a whole corresponds to 370s–430s. The article suggests the Roman origin of this weaponry: most likely, it was manufactured in a workshop in the Middle Danube area. Moreover, it is still possible that there were some Germanic prototypes for faceted shield bosses were known in the Germanic context already in the late 1st and 2nd c.

Keywords: Middle Danube area, Great Migration Period, shield boss, Stilicho.

The shield bosses called Dobrodzień-Zieling T type (*Kazanski 1988*, 76, fig. 6; 7; *2019; Ščukin 1992*; *Zieling 1989*, 160–162) stand out for their spheroconical, rather high calotte featuring vertical fluting or faceting and sometimes a horizontal flute at the base of the calotte and relatively narrow eaves. This article will discuss the possible origin of these artefacts. Most finds of these shield bosses originate from barbarian sites in Central Europe relatable with the Germans from the Late Roman and Early Migration periods (Fig. 1: a). Therefore, the artefacts in question are sometimes called Germanic (see e.g. *Feugère 1993*, 248). However, there is one shield boss discovered in the Eastern Baltic context, in a grave at the cemetery of Krikštonys in the Neman area (Appendix no. 1; Fig. 2: 1). In the European *Barbaricum* east of the Carpathians, there is only one known shield boss discovered at the settlement from the Roman period called Zaliski, in Western Ukraine (Appendix no. 10; Fig. 2: 3). There are three shield bosses originating from the territory of present-day Abkhazia on the eastern Black Sea coast (Appendix no. 11; 12; Fig. 3: 6–8). Finally, there is a shield boss found in the territory of the Roman Empire, in the fort of Hinova on the Danube (Appendix no. 13; Fig. 3: 5).

Discussing the shield bosses of the type Dobrodzień, it is worth mentioning their ancient images. The best known is a diptych from Monza (Fig. 4: 1), which is most often related to the famous Roman military commander of Vandal origin Stilicho and is dated to ca 395 (for details see: *Kiilerich/Torp 1989*, with bibliography). I would like to call the researchers' attention to the distinct image of a shield boss of the type Dobrodzień on circular horse tack plates from the all-known grave in Untersiebenbrunn in Lower Austria (Fig. 4: 2; see e.g. *Tejral 2011*, fig. 125). It is demonstrative that the fine 'shield boss' from Untersiebenbrunn shows the same star-shaped field as that of the shield boss from the *Monza diptych*. The find from Untersiebenbrunn is a reference point for the Stage D2 (the so-called Untersiebenbrunn horizon) of the *Barbaricum* timeline (380s/400s–440s/450s). According to the summary of the finds in close assemblages, the shield bosses of the type Dobrodzień possibly date from the late Stage C3 (generally, 300s/320s–350s/370s) to the early Stage D2 (380s/400s–440s/450s) according to the European *Barbaricum* timeline, i.e. 370s–430s (for details see: *Kazanski 2019*, 160–163, with bibliography).

Although almost all the known shield bosses in question originate from the barbarian, primarily Germanic, context, I think it sounder that this weaponry type was of the Roman origin: perhaps it was initially related to the workshops in Pannonia and Noricum. An argument supporting the Roman origin of these shield bosses is the already mentioned diptych from Monza (Fig. 4: 1). I think it would be totally improbable to imagine Stilicho, similarly to any other high-ranked barbarian living in the Empire as a possible

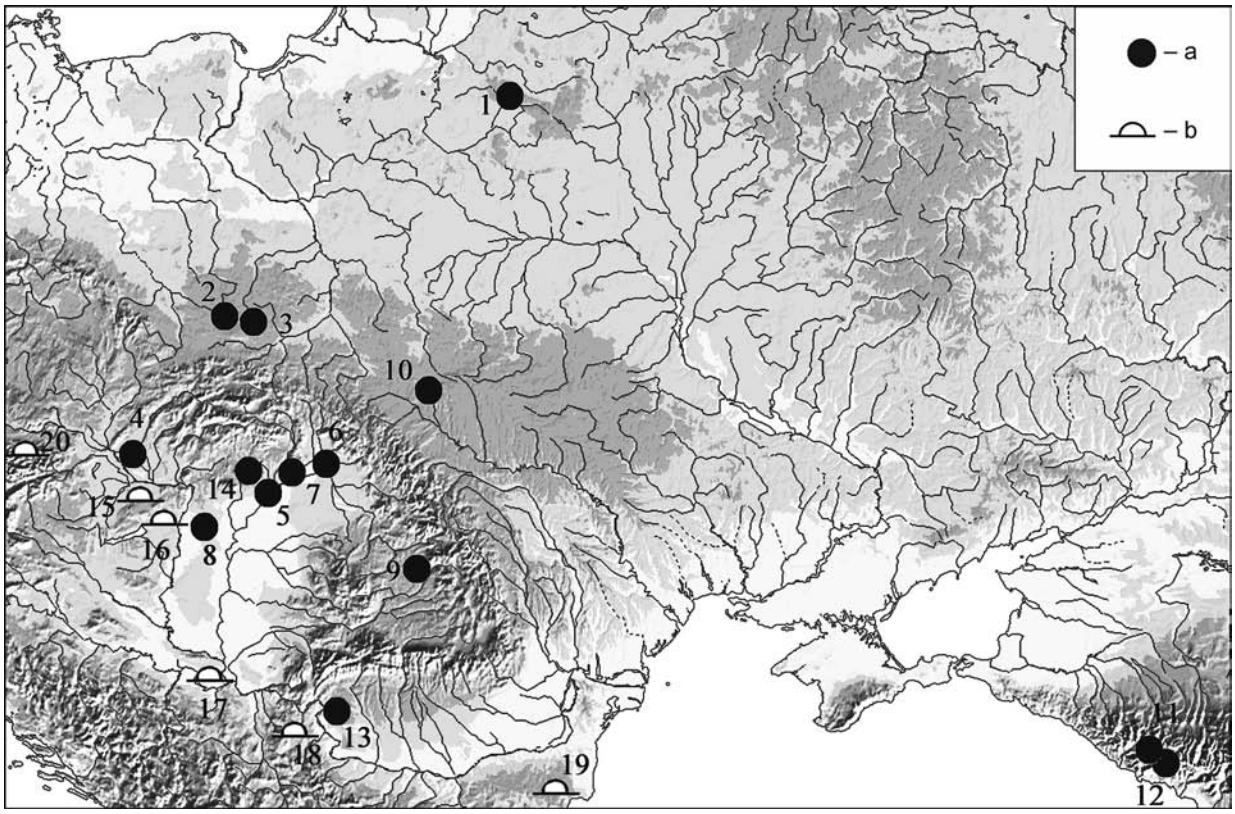


Fig. 1. Distribution map. a – the shield bosses of the type Dobrodzień (after *Kazanski 2019*, fig. 1); b – the location of the *scutaria* on the Danube (after *Bishop/Coulston 1993*, fig. 135). 1 – Krikštonys (App. no. 1); 2 – Dobrodzień (App. no. 2); 3 – Olsztyn (App. no. 3); 4 – Mušov (App. no. 4); 5 – Tiszavalk (App. no. 5); 6 – Tiszakarád-Inasa (App. no. 6); 7 – Tiszadob-Sziged (App. no. 7); 8 – Ujhartyán (App. no. 8); 9 – Budeşti (App. no. 9); 10 – Zaliski (App. no. 10); 11 – Shapka-Abgydzrakhu (App. no. 11); 12: Shapka-Akh'iatsrarkhu (App. no. 12); 13 – Hinova (App. no. 13); 14 – Szihalom-Budaszög (App. no. 14); 15 – Carnuntum; 16 – Aquincum; 17 – Sirmium; 18 – Horreum Margi; 19 – Marcianopolis; 20 – Lauriacum.

owner of the diptych, agreeing to have any 'barbarian' feature on his official portrait. Such an interpretation contradicts all what we already know about the integration of barbarians into the Roman governmental structure. 'Barbarian' material culture was absolutely not acceptable to the Western Roman power elite.

In 417, a special decree prohibiting barbarian haircuts and barbarian clothes of animal hides/furs in Rome and neighbouring regions was published (*Codex Theodosianus* 14. 10. 4 as cited in: *Chastagnol 1976*, 94); according Pseudo-Aurelius Victor's account, Emperor Gratian (375–383) aroused the hatred of his troops against himself when he made public appearances wearing Alanic, i.e. barbarian, attire (*Pseudo-Aurelius Victor, Epit*., 411. 47: Gratian and Maximus). It hardly was any general of barbarian origin in Roman service allowing himself such an extravagant behaviour. It is worth remembering that Stilicho was actually accused of having barbarian sympathies (*Stein 1959*, 253; *Rutilus Namatianus, De reditu* 2. 16–60, as cited in: *Chastagnol 1976*, 83, 84), which finally appeared the cause of his murder.

There is an interpretation of the 'barbarian' shield boss on the *Monza diptych* as an evidence of the new fashion launched by the leaders of barbarian *foederati* (*Kargopol'tsev/Bazhan 1993*, 117). This fashion really existed in the Great Migration: in the Western Roman Empire, it is documented by military leaders' graves of the Untersiebenbrunn horizon (see above), such as Mundolsheim, Fürst, Lébény-Magasmart, and Lengyeltóti (for details see *Kazanski 1999*). However, the commanders of the troops of barbarian *foederati* in Roman service represented by these graves were obviously ranked lower than Stilicho or Roman generals in general. Along with their barbarians, they actually were outside the Roman society, so they did not order official diptychs for themselves. As for the case of Stilicho, he had no relation to the leaders of *foederati*, being the commander of the Western Roman Empire's regular army (*Stein 1959*, 226). It should be noted that the shield boss's typical star-shaped

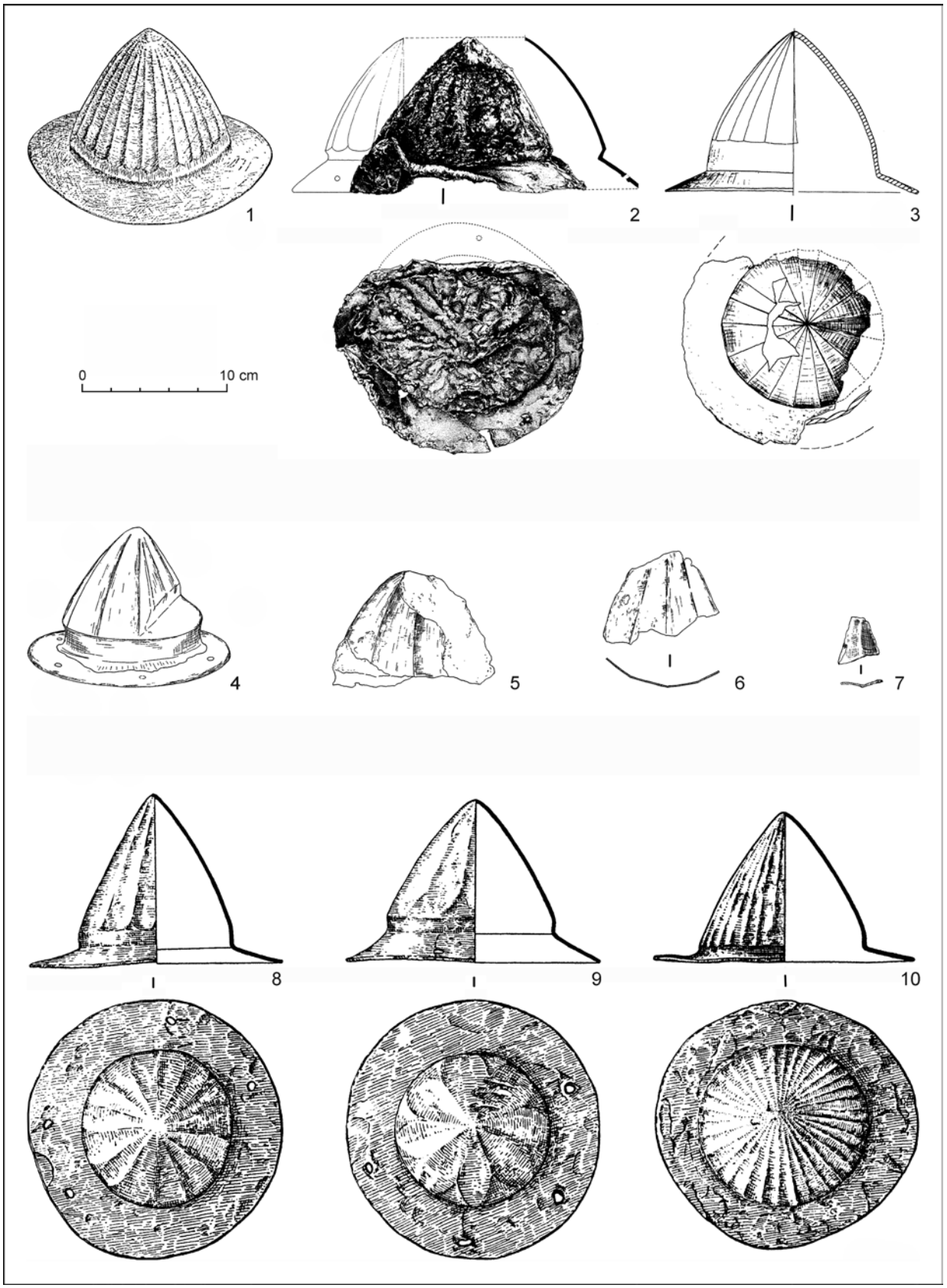


Fig. 2. Shield bosses of the type Dobrodzień. 1 – Krikštonys, grave 2; 2 – Tiszadob-Sziged, grave 34; 3 – Zaliski; 4–6 – Dobrodzień; 7 – Olsztyn; 8–10 – Mušov, building 10 (after *Kazanski 2019*, fig. 2; 3).

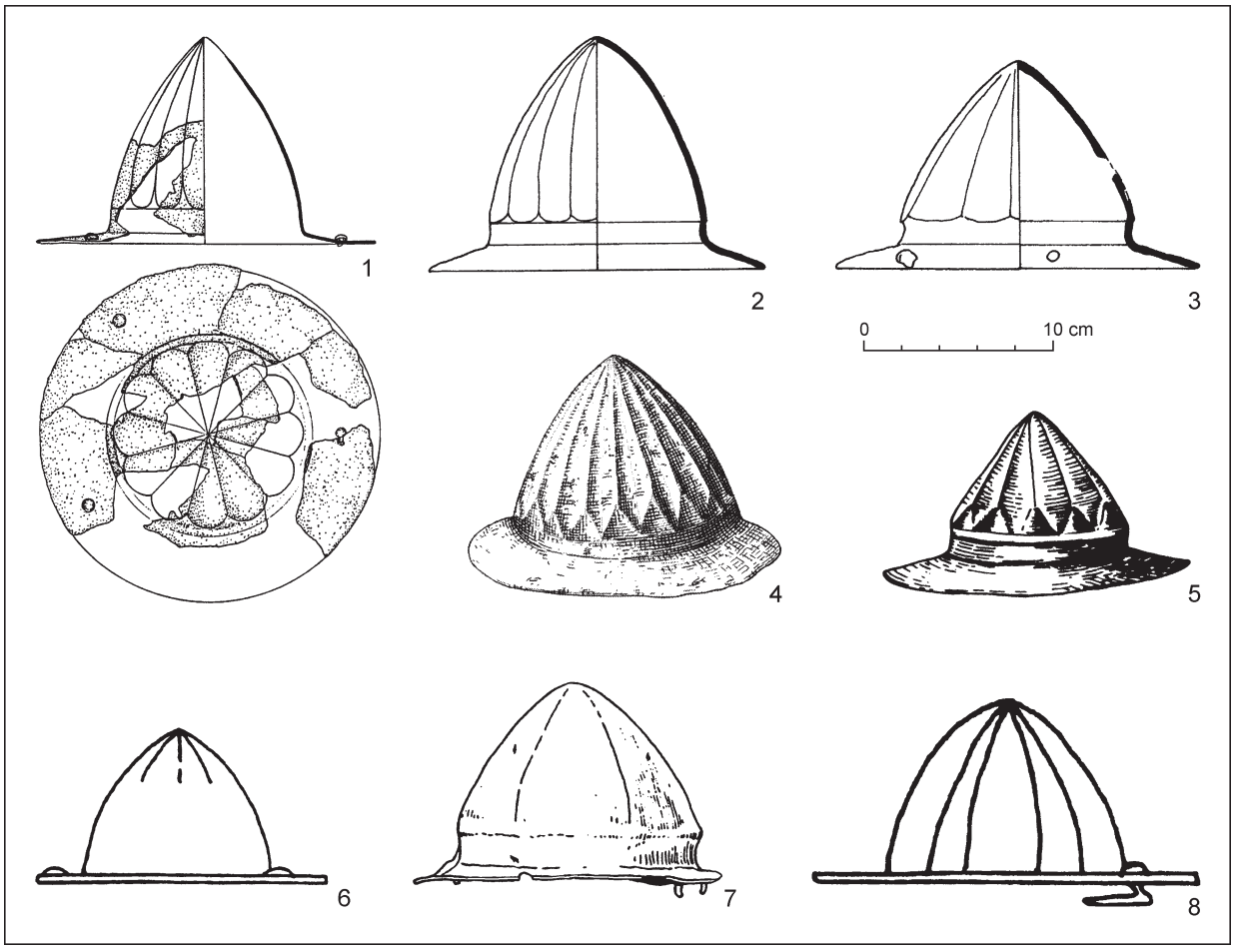


Fig. 3. Shield bosses of the type Dobrodzień (continueation). 1 – Tiszavalk, grave 6; 2 – Tiszakarád-Inasa; 3 – Budeşti; 4 – Ujhartyán; 5 – Hinova; 6 – Shapka-Abgydzrakhu, out of context; 7 – Shapka-Abgydzrakhu, grave 6; 8 – Shapka-Akh'iatsrarkhu, grave 20 (1–4, 6–8 – after *Kazanski 2019*, fig. 4–6; 7 – after *Harhoiu 1998*, 177, pl. LXXXIII: E).

eaves depicted on the diptych from Monza and on the horse tack from Untersiebenbrunn meet with parallels among reliably attributed Roman shield bosses from the first half of the 3rd c. discovered in the fort of Dura Europos on the Euphrates (Fig. 5; *James 2004*, 175, fig. 95, no. 603, 604; see also *Przybyła 2014*, 217) and are not known on the shield bosses from the *Barbaricum*.

According to their geographic location in the epicentre of the shield bosses of the type Dobrodzień distribution area (Fig. 1: a), the Empire's provinces on the Danube, primarily Pannonia and Noricum, gave the best fit for the production area of these shield bosses, and more precisely, their prototypes. Let me remind that according to the *Noticia Dignitatum*, these Danubian provinces of the Empire, and particularly Lauriacum, Carnuntum, Aquincum, and Sirmium, housed the most part of the state workshops, *scutaria*, which made shields for the Roman army (Fig. 1: b). Moreover, there are more elements of the material culture in the *Barbaricum* which obviously spread from the Roman provinces on the Danube, such as the artefacts showing stamped designs (for details see: *Kazanski/Mastykova 2017*, with bibliography). Another argument for the Roman rather than barbarian attribution of the shield bosses of the type Dobrodzień is their appearance in the eastern coast of the Black Sea (Fig. 1: 11, 12). Although there were German elements dated from the Great Migration period in this region, first, their number there was much smaller than it is commonly considered, and second, these German elements penetrated to the eastern Black Sea coast with the Roman army (for details see: *Kazanski 2015*).

However, there still is a certain 'barbarian-track'. Actually, the shield bosses with faceted calotte, possibly distant predecessors of the shield bosses of the type Dobrodzień, are known in the *Barbaricum* as early as the Roman period.

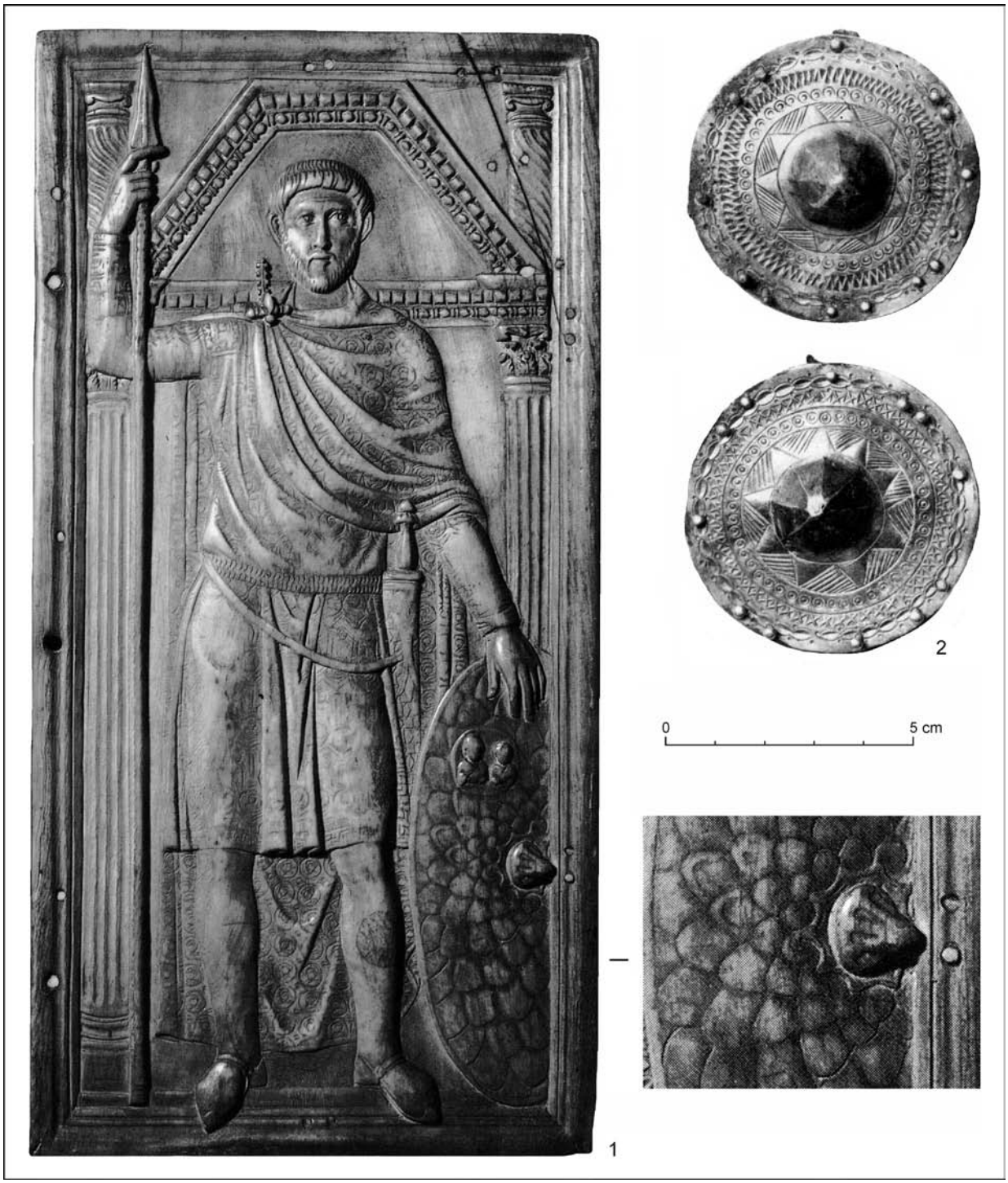


Fig. 4. The images on: 1 – the diptych from Monza; 2 – a horse tack from Untersibenbrunn (after *Kazanski 2019*, fig. 7).

It is the case of the shield boss with a pin, of the type Zieling B2d, from grave 2 of the cemetery of Drogichin-Kozarovka (Polish Drohiczyn-Kozarówka) in western Belorussia which belonged to the Przework culture (Fig. 6: 8; *Szmit 1921*, fig. 39: 47; *Zieling 1989*, 731, 732, No. 1029; fig. 8). The shield boss with a pin, of the type Zieling B2d, and also the brooch of the type Almgren 111 from the same grave (Fig. 6: 6) belonged to Stage B2 of the 'barbarian' timeline, i.e. 70s/80s–160s/170s. It is still possible that further studies would gradually fill in the gap in between of the faceted shield bosses from the Roman period and those of the type Dobrodzień.

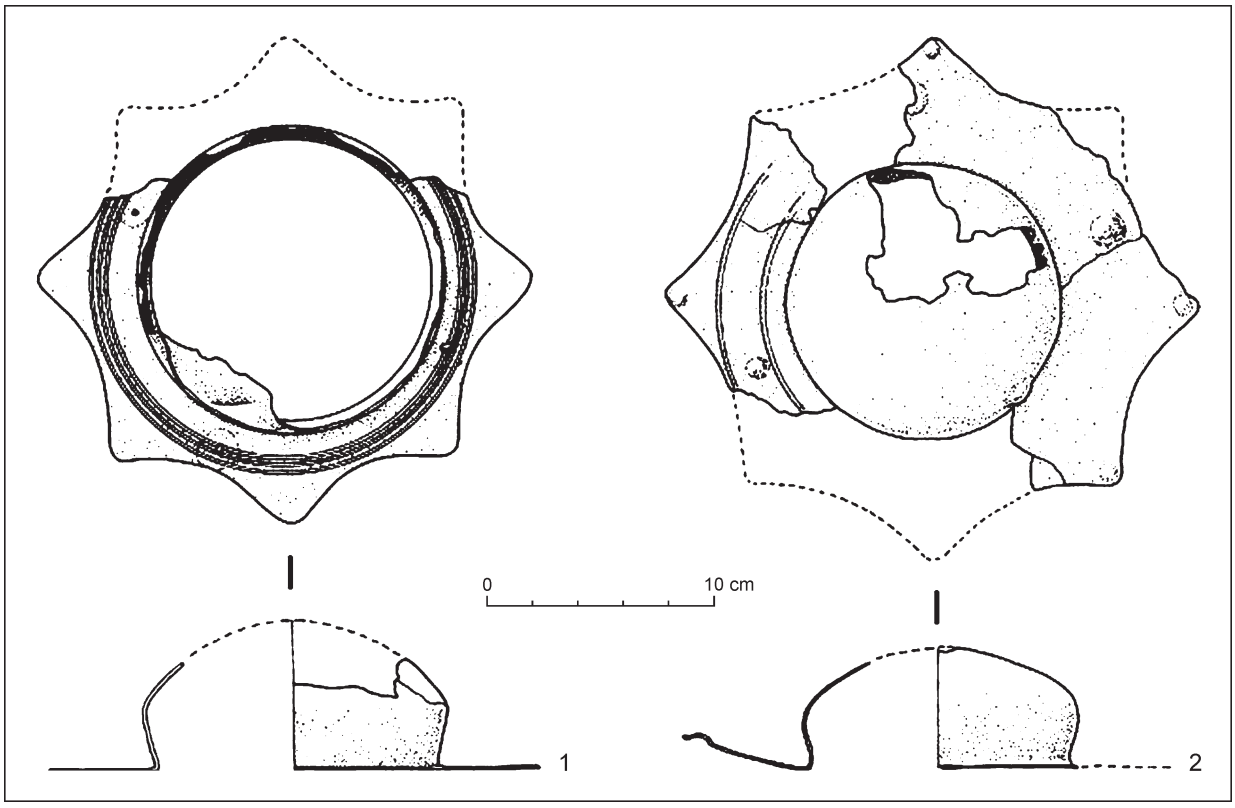


Fig. 5. A Roman shield boss from Dura Europos (after *James 2004*, fig. 95; no. 603, 604).

APPENDIX

The finds of the Shield Bosses of the Type Dobrodzień

1. Krikštonys (Lazdijų distr.), grave 2 (Fig. 1: 1; 2: 1). *Kulikauskas 1959*, fig. 9; *Kazakevičius 1988*, 126, 128; *Zieling 1989*, no. 1961.
2. Dobrodzień-Rędzina (Opole voi.), cemetery, cremation graves layer (Fig. 1: 2; 2: 4–6). *Szydłowski 1974*, 77, pl. XCIII; XCV; *Zieling 1989*, no. 996–1001.
3. Olsztyn (Warmian-Masurian voi.), cemetery, cremation graves layer (Fig. 1: 3; 2: 7). *Szydłowski 1974*, 141, pl. CLXVII: e, f; *Zieling 1989*, no. 1319, 1320.
4. Mušov (Břeclav distr.), building 10 (Fig. 1: 4; 2: 8–10). *Trňáčková 1985; Tejral 1986*, fig. 15: 1, 2; *2011*, 207, fig. 79: 1, 3, 4.
5. Tiszavalk (Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén county), grave 6 (Fig. 1: 5; 3: 1). *Garam/Vaday 1990*, fig. 10, 11; *Istvánovits/Kulcsár 1987–1989*, 63, pl. II: 3.
6. Tiszakarád-Inasa (Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén county), grave 35 (Fig. 1: 6; 3: 2). *Istvánovits/Kulcsár 1987–1989*, 63, pl. II: 1.
7. Tiszadob-Sziged (Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg county), grave 34 (Fig. 1: 7; 2: 2). *Istvánovits/Kulcsár 1987–1989*, 63, fig. 14: 2, 15; pl. II: 4; *Istvánovits 1993*, fig. 14–16.
8. Ujhartyán (Pest county), an inhumation grave accompanied with a horse burial (Fig. 1: 8; 3: 4). *Bóna 1961*; *Zieling 1989*, no. 2006; *Istvánovits/Kulcsár 1987–1989*, 67, pl. II: 5; *Tejral 2011*, fig. 37.
9. Budeşti (Maramureş county), grave? (Fig. 1: 9; 3: 3). *Horedt 1982*, 147–150; fig. 59: 2; *Istvánovits/Kulcsár 1987–1989*, 48, pl. II: 6.
10. Zaliski (Shumsk distr.), a building (Fig. 1: 10; 2: 3). *Kokowski 1996*, fig. 1.
11. Shapka-Abgydzrakhu (Guilripsh distr.), grave 6 (Fig. 1: 11; 3: 7), and a find out of the context (Fig. 3: 6). *Trapsh 1971*, 25–28, pl. III; XXXVI: 8; *Kazanski 1994*, 447, Appendix 2: 21: a, j; fig. 4: 3.
12. Shapka-Akh'iatsrarkhu (Guilripsh distr.), grave 20 (Fig. 1: 12; 3: 8). *Trapsh 1975*, 26, 27, pl. XVI: 5 (cited as an analogous artefact); XIX: 1 (cited as an analogous artefact); XXI: 3 (incorrect picture, for the image see: *Voronov/Shenkao 1982*, fig. 5: 11); XXII: 3; XXIII: 5; XXIV: 2 (cited as an analogous artefact), 12; *Kazanski 1994*, 447, Appendix 2: 23; fig. 4: 1.
13. Hinova (Mehedinți county), the Late Roman fort (Fig. 1: 13; 3: 5). *Davidescu 1980*, 68, fig. 19: g; *Harhoiu 1998*, 177, pl. LXXXIII: E.
14. Szihalom-Budaszög (Heves county), grave X. 1. B (Fig. 1: 14). *Fodor 1997*, 123.

Fig. 6. Grave goods from grave 2 in the cemetery of Drogichin-Kozarovka (after *Szmit 1921,* fig. 39: B).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bishop/Coulston 1993 – M. C. Bishop/J. C. N. Coulston: *Roman Military Equipment from the Punic Wars to the fall of Rome*. London 1993.

Bóna 1961 – I. Bóna: Az újhartyáni germán lovassír. *Archeologiai Értesitő* 88, 1961, 192–209.

Chastagnol 1976 – A. Chastagnol: *La fin du monde antique. De Stilicon à Justinien (5 siècle et début 6).* Paris 1976.

Davidescu 1980 – M. Davidescu: *Cetatea romană de la Hinova*. Bucureşti 1980.

Feugère 1993 – M. Feugère: *Les armes des romaines de la République à l'Antiquité tardive*. Paris 1993.

Fodor 1997 – L. Fodor: Szihalom-Budaszög. Késő szarmatak-kora népvándorlás kori temető a IV–V. századból – Szihalom-Budaszög. Late Sarmatian and Early Migration Period Cemetery from the A.D. 4th–5th Century. In: P. Raczky/T. Kovács/A. Anders (szrek. – eds.): *Utak a múltba. Az M3-as autopálya régészeti leletmentései – Paths into the past. Rescue excavations on the M3 motorway*. Budapest 1997, 120–123.

Garam/Vaday 1990 – É. Garam/A. H. Vaday: Sarmatische Siedlung und Begräbnisstätte in Tiszavalk. *Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungariae*, 1990, 171–219.

Harhoiu 1998 – R. Harhoiu: *Die frühe Völkerwanderungszeit in Rumänien*. Archaeologia Romanica 1. Bukarest 1998.

Horedt 1982 – K. Horedt: *Siebenburgen in spätrömischer Zeit*. Bukarest 1982.

Istvánovits 1993 – E. Istvánovits: Das Gräberfeld aus dem 4.–5. Jahrhundert von Tiszadob-Sziget. *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 45, 1993, 91–146.

Istvánovits/Kulcsár 1987–1989 – E. Istvánovits/V. Kulcsár: Pajzsos temetkezések a Dunától keletre eső kárpát-medencei Barbaricumban. *A nyíregyházi Jósa András Múzeum Évkönyve* 30–32, 1987–1989, 47–96.

James 2004 – S. James: *The Excavations at Dura-Europos Conducted by Yale University and the French Academy of Inscriptions and Lettres, 1928 to 1937: Final Report VII, the Arms and Armour and Other Military Equipment*. London 2004.

Kargopoľtsev/Bazhan 1993 – S. Yu. Kargopoľtsev/I. A. Bazhan: Umbony shchitov i boevye topory rimskogo vremeni. *Peterburgskii arkheologicheskii vestnik* 2, 1993, 113–126.

Kazakevičius 1988 – V. Kazakevičius: *Oruzhie baltskikh plemen II–VIII vekov na territorii Litvy*. Vilnius 1988.

Kazanski 1988 – M. Kazanski: Quelques parallèles entre l'armement en Occident et à Byzance (IVe–VIIe s.). In: C. Landes (éd.): *Gaule mérovingienne et monde méditerranéen. Les derniers Romains en Septimanie, IVe–VIIIe siècles. Actes des IXe Journées d'archéologie mérovingienne, Lattes, 24–27 septembre 1987.* Journées d'Archéologie Mérovingienne 9. Lattes 1988, 75–87.

Kazanski 1994 – M. Kazanski: Les éperons, les umbo, les manipules de boucliers et les haches de l'époque romaine tardive dans la région pontique: origine et diffusion. In: C. von Carnap-Bornheim (Hrsg.): *Beiträge zu römischer und barbarischer Bewaffnung in den ersten vier nachchristlichen Jahrhunderten. Akten des 2. Internationalen Kolloquiums in Marburg a. d. Lahn, 20.–24. Februar 1994*. Veröffentlichung des Vorgeschichtlichen Seminars der Philipps-Universität Marburg 8. Lubin – Marburg 1994, 429–485.

Kazanski 1999 – M. Kazanski: Les tombes des chefs militaires de l'époque hunnique. In: Th. Fischer/G. Precht/J. Tejral (Hrsg.): *Germanen beiderseits des spätantiken Limes. Materialien des 10. Internationalen Symposiums „Grundprobleme der frühgeschichtlichen Entwicklung im nördlichen Mitteldonaugebiet". Xanten vom 2.–6. Dezember 1997*. Spisy Archeologického ústavu AV ČR Brno 14. Köln – Brno 1999, 293–316.

Kazanski 2015 – M. Kazanski: Germanskie elementy v material'noi kul'ture Abkhazii v pozdnerimskoe vremia i v epokhu pereseleniia narodov. *Scripta antiqua. Voprosy drevnei istorii, filologii, iskusstva i material'noi kul'tury* 4, 2015, 33–60.

Kazanski 2019 – M. Kazanski: Umbony tipa Dobrodzień epokhi pereseleniia narodov: rasprostranenie, proiskhozhdenie i datirovka. *Stratum plus* 4, 2019, 155–167.

Kazanski/Mastykova 2017 – M. Kazanski/A. Mastykova: The Sösdala Findings in the Perspective of Central and South-Eastern Europe. In: C. Fabech/U. Näsman (eds.): *The Sösdala Horsemen and the Equestrian Elite of Fifth Century Europe*. Jutland Archaeological Society publications 99. Højbjerg 2017, 297–311.

Kiilerich/Torp 1989 – B. Kiilerich/H. Torp: Hic est, hic Stilicho. The Date and Interpretation of a Notable Diptych. *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 104, 1989, 319–371.

Kokowski 1996 – A. Kokowski: W kwestii rozprzestrzeniania się umb z facetowaną pokrywą (typ Dobrodzień). In: A. Kośko (red.): *Z badań nad genezą regionalizmu kulturowego społeczeństw Kujaw.* Studia i materiały do dziejów Kujaw – Niżu Polski 6. Poznań 1996, 179–187.

Kulikauskas 1959 – P. Kulikauskas: Naujas archeologinis paminklas Užnemunėje (V–VII amžių jotvingių senkapis Krikštonyse, Lazdijų raj). *Lietuvos TSR Mokslų akademijos darbai. Serija A* 1(6), 1959, 71–88.

Przybyła 2014 – M. J. Przybyła: Foederati na Zelandii? Analiza uzbrojenia pochówku z pierwszej poł. III w. po Chr. z Aasø, Zelandia. In: R. Madyda-Legutko/J. Rodzińska-Nowak (red.): *Honoratissimum assensus genus est armis laudare. Studia dedykowane Profesorowi Piotrowi Kaczanowskiemu z okazji siedemdziesiątej rocznicy urodzin*. Kraków 2014, 213–224.

Pseudo-Aurelius Victor, Epit. – C. L. F. Panckoucke (ed.)/N. A. Dubois (tr.): *Pseudo-Aurelius Victor. Épitomé de Caesaribus*. Online available at: https://fr.wikisource.org/wiki/Epitomé_de_Caesaribus

Ščukin 1992 – M. B. Ščukin: A propos des contacts militaires entre les Sarmates et les Germains à l'époque romaine (d'après l'armement et spécialement les umbo des boucliers et les lances). In: F. Vallet/M. Kazanski (éd.): *L'armée romaine et les Barbares du IIIe au VIIe siècle. Actes du colloque international, Saint-Germain-en-Laye 24–28 février 1990*. Memoires de l'Association française d'archéologie mérovingienne 5. Rouen 1992, 323–334.

Stein 1959 – E. Stein: *Histoire du Bas-Empire. Tome premier. De l'Etat Romain à l'Etat Byzantin (284–476)*. Paris 1959.

Szmit 1921 – Z. Szmit: Groby z okresu lateńskiego i rzymskiego na cm. «Kozarówka» w Drohiczynie nad Bugiem. *Wiadomości Archeologiczne* 6, 1921, 61–70.

Szydłowski 1974 – J. Szydłowski: *Trzy cmentarzyska typu dobrodzieńskiego.* Rocznik Muzeum Górnośląskiego w Bytomiu. Archeologia 11. Bytom 1974.

Tejral 1986 – J. Tejral: Fremde Einflüsse und kulturelle Veränderungen nördlich der mittlerer Donau zu Beginn der Völkerwanderungszeit. In: J. Kmieciński (red.): *Peregrinatio Gothica.* Archaeologia Baltica 7. Łódź 1986, 175–238.

Tejral 2011 – J. Tejral: *Einhemische und Fremde. Das norddanubische Gebiet zur Zeit der Völkerwanderung.* Spisy Archeologického ústavu AV ČR Brno 33. Brno 2011.

Trapsh 1971 – M. M. Trapsh: *Trudy v chetyrech tomach. Tom 3. Kul'tura tsebel'dinskikh nekropolei.* Tbilisi 1971.

Trapsh 1975 – M. M. Trapsh: Kul'tura gornoi Abkhazii v nachale epokhi srednevekov'ia. In: M. M. Trapsh: *Trudy v chetyrech tomach. Tom 4. Materialy po arkheologii srednevekovoi Abkhazii*. Sukhumi 1975, 9–87.

Trňáčková 1985 – Z. Trňáčková: Ein Hortfund von metallgegenständen aus der späten Kaiserzeit und frühen Völkerwanderungszeit aus Mušov. *Památky archeologické* 86, 1985, 279–284.

Voronov/Shenkao 1982 – Yu. N. Voronov/N. K. Shenkao: Vooruzhenie voinov Abkhazii IV–VII v. In: A. K. Ambroz/I. F. Erdeli (red.): *Drevnosti epokhi velikogo pereseleniia narodov V–VIII vekov. Sovetsko-vengerskii sbornik*. Moskva 1982, 121–165.

Zieling 1989 – N. Zieling: *Studien zu germanischen Schilden der Spätlatène- und der römischen Kaiserzeit im freien Germanien*. British Archaeological Reports International Series 505. Oxford 1989.

Manuscript accepted 7. 6. 2021

Translated by Nikita Khrapuno

Michel Kazanski, dr. hab.
Centre national de recherche scientifique
UMR 8167 – Orient et Mediteranée
52, rue du Cardinal Lemoine
FR – 752 31 Paris cedex 05
michel.kazanski53@gmail.com

SLOVENSKÁ ARCHEOLÓGIA – SUPPLEMENTUM 2
Z. Robak/M. Ruttkay (eds.): Celts – Germans – Slavs.
A Tribute Anthology to Karol Pieta. Nitra 2021, 359–361.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.31577/slovarch.2021.suppl.2.33

THE BEAUTY OF GARNETS IS ETERNA

MITJA GUŠTIN

This paper addresses several small belt buckles made of gold or copper-alloy with garnets or almandines inlays, as typical migration-period jewellery products of the Hunnic and Gothic cultural circles. Despite appearing on the antiquities market without any information on the finding context, they still deserved to be published on account of some peculiarities and so-far unknown variations of the motifs and details, whose examination will improve our knowledge of the jewellery production of the migration period.

Keywords: Migration Period, small buckles, polychrome style.

When participating in a Festschrifts to a person who we either hold dear or admire as a model in research and scholarly endeavours, the character of such paper can be twofold. We can either produce a paper praising the jubilee's personality and his or her opus, or we can write a contribution towards a theme from the sphere of his or her scholarly interests. I am glad to use this opportunity to acquaint Karol Pieta and the academic community with several interesting belt buckles from the treasury of the European heritage of the migration period.

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE TREASURY OF POLYCHROME STYLE

Almandine, a silicate mineral from the garnet group, was among the most popular decorative precious stones in Late Antiquity, used in the manufacturing of polychrome-style jewellery in Pontus, the Mediterranean, and later even by Germanic jewellers. The name almandine (*carbunculus alabandicus* in Pliny the Elder) derives from the province of Alabanda in Caria in south-western Asia Minor, where garnets, including almandines, were used in ancient jewellery manufacturing. The almandine stands out in the whole garnet group for its red colour. In antiquity it was mostly inserted in gold jewellery, while from the 3rd and 4th c. it was executed in the cloisonné technique, featuring small, polished stone tiles set into special compartments ('beds').[1] A peculiarity of the crystal garnet (lat. *granatus* = corn) lies in the fact that some of them have the same shape and colour as pomegranate seeds (*Punica granatum*), and are as such often inlaid in the jewellery without cutting (*Pavlovič 2017*, 72).

The word polychrome denotes well-defined decoration distinguished by a glittering effect in a variety of colours, but also in one colour combined with a gold ground and semi-precious stones, glass, or enamel. This style, mostly employed by late antique eastern Mediterranean and Black Sea workshops in Pontus, Syria and Palmyra, and especially in Crimean Kerch in the late 4th c., was designed for the barbarian elites, above all the Huns, Sarmatians, and Germanic tribes, who were keen on polychrome-decorated weapons, horse harness, and jewellery. At the beginning of the 5th c., valuable examples of this style spread massively in the hinterland of the northern Black Sea, and from the Middle Danube area to the western fringes of the Pannonian Plain, as transpires from a number of elite graves of the so-called Untersiebenbrunn horizon. A small number of such finds stem from the area stretching from western Europe to the Atlantic coast (*Kazanski 1996*). The popularity of the polychrome style among the Huns had an effect on the elites of the neighbouring Alani and Sarmatians. In the aftermath of the fall of the Hunnic Empire in 454, the former Hunnic vassals Ostrogoths disseminated the polychrome style along the Apennines, while the Visigoths brought it to the Pyrenean Peninsula (*Vinski 1986*, 21).

Typical for the Italian Peninsula is the manufacturing of jewellery in various stylistic combinations (polychrome, granulation, enamel, and so on), in accordance with local late antique tradition but also

[1] Although in Classical Antiquity garnets were not employed on a large scale, they were mostly used as the inlays in gems and medallions in the manufacturing of prestigious jewellery (*Pion et al. 2020*, 835, 850).

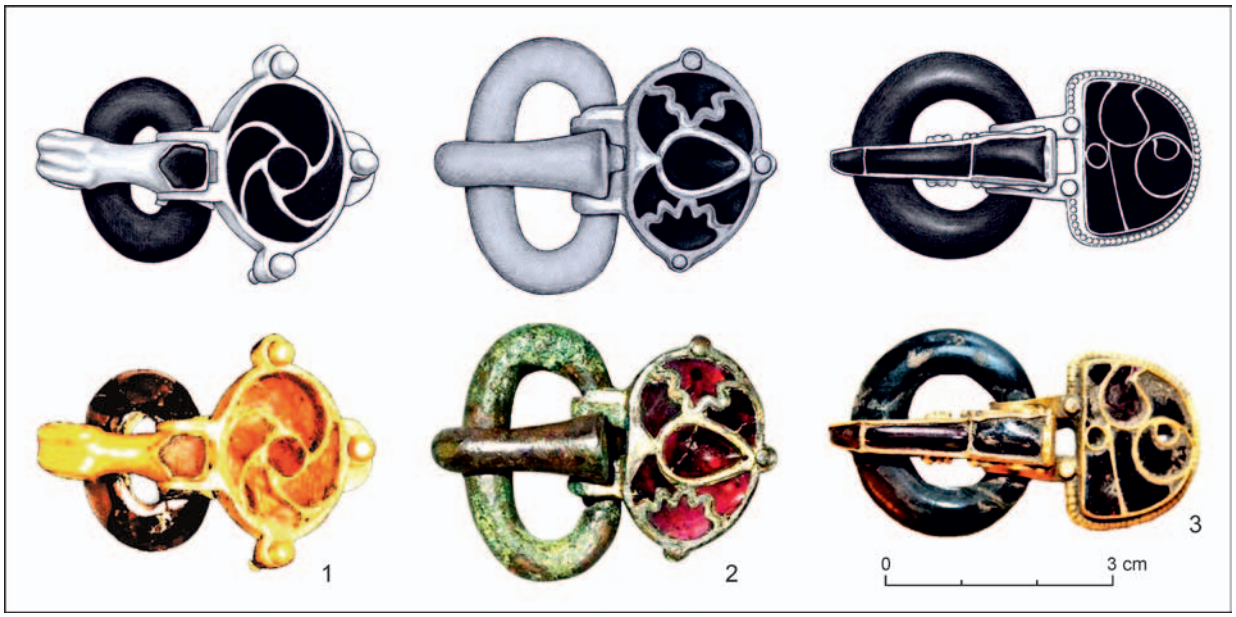


Fig. 1. Polychrome buckles from the antiquities market of the migration period archaeological treasuries. 1, 2 – without scale (the photographs-based drawings were made by Janže Lorber, Krška vas).

with tastes of the Ostrogothic rulers. As the successors to the Ostrogothic Empire, the Longobards adopted and transformed the polychrome style of decoration, transmitting it as such to the Merovingian cultural circles of the Bajuwars Alamanni, and Franks. From there, the polychrome style was conveyed to western European regions, where it flourished in all its splendour to the mid-7th c. (*Pion et al. 2020*, 835). One of the testimonies for this is an incredibly rich find of the warrior-equipment depot from Staffordshire (West Midlands, UK; *Fern/Dickinson/Webster* 2019).

Late antique and early medieval polychromes are represented by two specific styles of jewellery decoration, weapons, and horse harness. The first group comprises artefacts with the visible gold ground and spaced cells, each taking a convex- or flat-polished almandine, garnet or glass inlay (see e.g. Zmajevac). The other group is characterised by the surface covered in a network of variously shaped cells ('beds') that, as a rule, hold smoothly polished tiny tiles made of larger almandines or some other material; this is called cloisonné (cf. e.g. Potoci-Vrba; *Vinski 1986*, 22).

I would like to use this opportunity to shortly bring attention to two small gold buckles and one copper-alloy, all three decorated in polychrome (Fig. 1). Their photographs have appeared on the antiquities market, while the artefacts probably finished in private collections.

In many cases the appearance of gold artefacts on the antiquities market rightly provokes suspicion about their authenticity. In this example, however, I believe that the photograph gives a reliable proof that the buckles are originals, despite the lack of any information on the finding circumstances. Therefore, these objects deserve to be published, and the arguments for this should be the same as I adduced when publishing a group of peculiar finds from the antiquities market, allegedly found in the surrounding of Brza Palanka in Serbia, in the territory of Roman Egeta. Those objects were made in the shape of a bird of prey, fish, and cicada, respectively, and were decorated with garnets or almandines (*Guštin 2020*, 127–130, fig. 4).

Small gold buckles decorated in the polychrome style are often found as outstanding migration-period grave goods. In their basic conception, the two gold and one copper-alloy examples under discussion here correspond with many other small buckles that normally possess a belt-plate covered in four or five geometrically arranged cells carrying almandines; three fixing rivets are spaced regularly along the belt-plate's rim. An elongated smooth prong reaches over a massive gold or copper-alloy oval loop (e.g. *Bona 1991*). Our two examples stand apart from the general type especially on account of the loop made of rock crystal (Fig. 1: 1)[2] or other semi-precious stone, possibly porphyry (Fig. 1: 2)[3].

[2] E.g. Kranj-Lajh, lacking the grave context (*Stare 1980*, 83, pl. 134: 7; *Knific/Nabergoj 2016*, 55, fig. 64).

[3] E.g. Kranj-Lajh, grave 12/2004 (*Šmit et al. 2014*).

The differences are displayed in the arrangement of the cells with garnets or almandines on the prong and in details of the shapes of the cells on the belt-plate, which are not regularly geometric. The buckle in Fig. 1: 3 is specific for its belt-plate whose rim is decorated with a beading motif.

According to the ellipsoidal and semi-circular shape, the belt-plates of small buckles are classified as type A (after Kazanski), which spread from the western coast of the Iberian Peninsula (Beja) to the Ural Mountains (Kosasar, Novogregorievka), with the concentration in the territory of the former Roman province of Pannonia and to a lesser extent the wider hinterland of the Black Sea (*Kazanski 1996*, 121–123, map in fig. 9; cf. *Eger 2015*, fig. 15). The buckle in Fig. 1: 2 is relatively common for its shape, a smooth prong and undulating cells' contours, while the buckles in Fig. 1: 2 and 1: 3 stand out for their craftsmanship and particular shapes of the prongs decorated with inlaid stones, with one of them specific for its widened and moulded tip (Fig. 1: 1). The belt-plate cells of the buckle in Fig. 1: 3, executed in a kind of Jugendstil/Art Nouveau manner, place this artefact on top of the artistic achievements of a period that in itself stands out in decorative richness.

Description of the buckles based on the photographs

- Fig. 1: 1. Gold buckle of unknown size, with the loop made of rock crystal. A small ellipsoidal belt-plate is decorated with five cells, with the central one round and the remainder spirally shaped. Judging from the photograph, the cells held flat-polished garnets or almandines. Three rivets fixed the plate to the belt. At the beginning of the prong there is a largish cell holding a flat garnet or almandine. The shape of the wide moulded tip of the prong stands apart from the rule.
- Fig. 1: 2. Copper-alloy buckle of unknown size, with the loop made of copper-alloy. A small ellipsoidal belt-plate is decorated with seven cells, with the central one tear-shaped and the remainder deriving the appearance from their undulating contours. The side cells bear flat-polished garnets or almandines, while the central stone is convex-polished. The surface of the belt-plate shows traces of gilding. Three rivets fixed the plate to the belt.
- Fig. 1: 3. Gold buckle ca. 4.5 cm long, with the loop made of rock crystal of almandine colour. A small semi-circular belt-plate is rimmed with the motif of ribbed wire. The belt-plate carries eight differently shaped cells with flat-polished garnets or almandines, while at the beginning of the buckle bar there are two rivets for fixing on the belt. An elongated prong is decorated with three cells bearing convex-polished garnets or almandines, while its sides are embellished with granulation and a thin wire.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bóna 1991 – I. Bóna: *Das Hunnenreich*. Budapest – Stuttgart 1991.

Eger 2015 – Ch. Eger: Zur Deutung reich ausgestatteter Männergräber des mittleren 5. Jhs. im Mittelmeerraum. In: T. Vida (ed.): *Romania Gothica II. The Frontier World Romans, Barbarians and Military Culture. Proceedings of the International Conference at the Eötvös Loránd University. Budapest, 1–2 October 2010*. Budapest 2015, 237–283.

Fern/Dickinson/Webster 2019 – C. Fern/T. Dickinson/L. Webster (eds.): *The Staffordshire Hoard: An Anglo-Saxon Treasure*. Research Report of the Society of Antiquaries of London 80. London 2019.

Guštin 2020 – M. Guštin: Profesor Zdenko Vinski u Ljubljani – nekoliko primjera polikromnog stila nepoznatog porijekla. In: M. Jarak/M. Bunčić (ur.): *Zdenko Vinski, život i znanstveni rad. Zbornik radova sa znanstvenog skupa održanog u Zagrebu 2016. godine*. Zagreb 2020, 147–159.

Kazanski 1996 – M. Kazanski: Les tombes "princières" de l'horizon Untersiebenbrunn, le problème de l'identification ethnique. In: *L'identité des populations archéologiques. Actes des XVI^e rencontres internationales d'archéologie et d'histoire d'Antibes*. Sophia Antipolis 1996, 109–126.

Knific/Nabergoj 2016 – T. Knific/T. Nabergoj: *Srednjeveške zgodbe s stičišča svetov*. Ljubljana 2016.

Pavlovič 2017 – D. Pavlovič: Dragocenosti iz daljne Indije. In: G. Oitzl (ur.): *Preteklost pod mikroskopom. Naravoslovne raziskave v muzeju*. Ljubljana 2017, 71–76.

Pion et al. 2020 – C. Pion/B. Gratuze/P. Périn/T. Calligaro: Bead and Garnet Trade between the Merovingian, and Indian Worlds. In: B. Effros/I. Moreira (eds.): *The Oxford Handbook of the Merovingian World*. New York 2020, 819–859.

Šmit et al. 2014 – Ž. Šmit/H. Fajfar/M. Jeršek/T. Knific/J. Lux: Analysis of garnets from the archaeological sites in Slovenia. *Nuclear Instruments and Methods in Physics Research B* 328, 2014, 89–94.

Stare 1980 – V. Stare: *Kranj, nekropola iz časa preseljevanja ljudstev*. Katalogi in monografije 18. Ljubljana 1980.

Vinski 1986 – Z. Vinski: Epoha seobe naroda. In: N. Tanasijević-Popović (ed.): *Umjetnost na tlu Jugoslavije. Rani srednji vijek*. Beograd – Zagreb – Mostar 1986, 19–27.

Manuscript accepted 13. 7. 2021

Translated by Branka Migotti

Prof. Phd., Phd. h. c. Mitja Guštin
emeritus of University of Primorska
Pusterla 7
SI – 6330 Piran
mitja.gustin@upr.si

SLOVENSKÁ ARCHEOLÓGIA – SUPPLEMENTUM 2
Z. Robak/M. Ruttkay (eds.): Celts – Germans – Slavs.
A Tribute Anthology to Karol Pieta. Nitra 2021, 363–370.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.31577/slovarch.2021.suppl.2.34

THE FEMALE COSTUME OF THE EAST GERMANIC TRADITION FEATURING BIG TWO-PLATE BROOCHES IN THE NORTH CAUCASUS IN THE GREAT MIGRATION PERIOD

ANNA MASTYKOVA

This paper addresses the female costume of the East Germanic tradition which was widespread in the North Caucasus throughout the Great Migration period. It was characterised by one or two big two-plate brooches (measuring more than 10 cm in length) worn on the chest or shoulders. Germanic elements, in female costume in particular, spread through the material culture of the North Caucasus in the early stage of the Great Migration period, in the last third of the 4th c. and the first decades of the 5th c. However, the costume featuring big two-plate brooches appeared in the said region, similarly to Europe in general, a bit later, in the second third of the 5th c. Almost all the archaeologically documented cases of the costume in question appearing in the burial context were in the Black Sea coast of the North Caucasus, primarily in the cemetery of Diurso in the vicinity of the present-day Novorossiysk. The 6th c. written sources documented there the area where the Tetraxitae Goths lived. According to Procopius of Caesarea, the Tetraxitae Goths originated from the eastern Crimea. The 6th c. Anonymous Periplus mentioned in the same area the Eudusiani people who spoke Gothic language. In the 5th c., the Tetraxitae Goths migrated from the eastern Crimea to the North Caucasus: the Utigur Huns took them when leaving the northern Black Sea area for the east. Outside of the coastal area, the big two-plate brooches and their diminished copies occurred on the sites of the type Pashkovskii–Karpovka which belonged to the proto-Adyghe population of the Kuban. The costume featuring two-plate brooches was certainly considered prestigious at least by the Tetraxitae Goths who created the cemetery of Diurso. The graves containing the attire in question usually featured rather rich grave goods. All the researchers agree that the costume featuring big two-plate brooches on the chest or shoulders was of East Germanic origin. Its prototype existed in the Cherniakhov archaeologic culture. In the Hunnic period, the costume with small two-plate brooches, which were especially widespread in the Cherniakhov culture and the northern Black Sea areas, became the background for the shaping of the 'princely' costume with big brooches of similar form. In its own turn, this new prestigious costume became the prototype of the East Germanic attire with big two-plate brooches as a 'folk' replica of prestigious East Germanic costume of the Hunnic period. From the second half of the fifth to the early sixth century, this costume was imitated by the East Germanic 'middle class' to become widely distributed in the *Barbaricum* from the North Caucasus to the Pyrenees.

Keywords: North Caucasus, Great Migration Period, Tetraxitae Goths, female costume, brooches.

The female costume of the East Germanic tradition in the Great Migration period typically featured one or two brooches on shoulders or chest. Especially demonstrative are big brooches (measuring more than 10 cm in length) often made of a metal sheet with a semi-circular or polyhedral head-plate, a relatively short bow, and an elongated plated foot-plate (Fig. 1: 1–11).[1] This paper will discuss the pattern of the appearance and distribution of this costume in the North Caucasus.

Germanic elements, in the female costume in particular, spread through the material culture of the North Caucasus already in the early stage of the Great Migration period, in the last third of the fourth and the first decades of the fifth centuries (for details see: *Kazanski/Mastykova 2003a*). However, the costume featuring big two-plate brooches appeared in this region, as everywhere in Europe, a little bit later, in the second third of the 5th c. (*Mastykova 2009*, 51, 52). Almost all the archaeologically documented cases of the costume in question discovered in the burial context appeared in the Black Sea coast of the North Caucasus (Fig. 2: 1), in the vicinity of the present-day Novorossiysk, where the sixth-century written sources documented the area populated by the Tetraxitae Goths. According to Procopius of Caesarea, the Tetraxitae Goths originated from the eastern Crimea. There they joined the Utiguri Huns who retreated from Europe (according to Procopius, in the period when the Vandals already established themselves in

[1] The Russian scholarship traditionally determined them as *dvuplastinchatye fibuly*, the German as *Blechfibeln*, and the French as *fibules en tôle d'argent*. The English language does not have a stable adequate equivalent of the said terms. This paper suggests the term two-plate brooches for the artefacts in question.

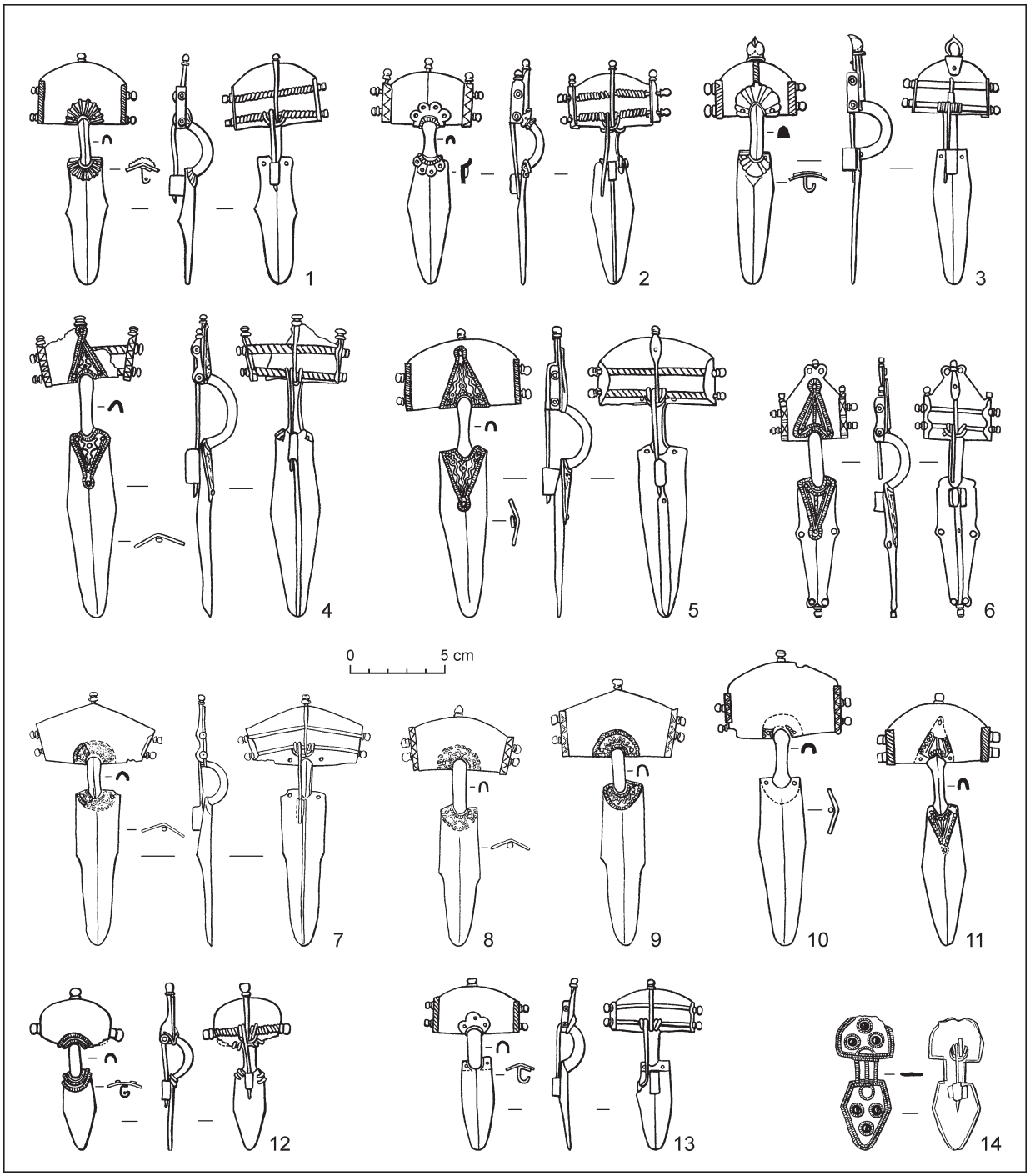


Fig. 1. Diurso, Krasnodar distr. The examples of two-plate brooches from the post-Hunnic period from cemetery. 1, 12 – grave 483; 2, 3 – grave 300; 4 – grave 197; 5 – grave 292; 6 – grave 420; 7 – grave 259; 8 – grave 408; 9 – grave 410; 10 – grave 291; 11 – grave 500; 13 – grave 510; 14 – grave 490 (*Dmitriev 1982*, fig. 1).

North Africa, i.e. after 429 AD) and migrated with them to the North Caucasus (*Procopius 1962–1968*, VIII: 5). In 548 AD the embassy from the Tetraxitae came to Constantinople (*Procopius 1962–1968*, VIII: 4: 11–13). It was a rather numerous people, as in 551 AD a troop of the Tetraxitae of 2,000 warriors, a considerable force in that period, participated in the war between the Utiguri and the Cutriguri Huns (*Procopius 1962–1968*, VIII: 18, 22). Another source mentioning the Goths in the Caucasus coast is the anonymous Periplus, possibly dated to the 6th c., the so-called Pseudo-Arrian, which mentioned the people of Eudusiani, who spoke Gothic or Taurian language and lived near the

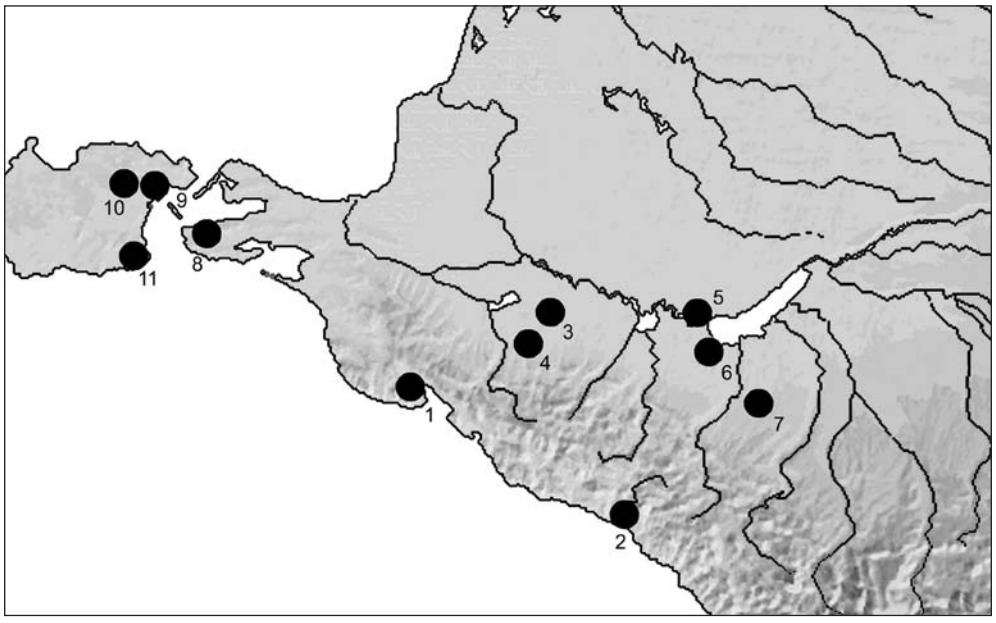


Fig. 2. Distribution area of the two-plate brooches featuring the East Germanic tradition in the post-Hunnic period in the north-eastern Black Sea area. 1 – Diurso; 2 – Bzhid I; 3 – Khabl'; 4 – Varnavinskoe, site 3; 5 – Khutor Lenina, site 4; 6 – Krasnodarskoe Lake; 7 – Maikop; 8 – Taman'; 9 – Kerch'; 10 – Chokrak; 11 – Dzhurga-Oba. Due to the size of the map, the location of archaeological sites is tentative.

harbour of Pagras[2] (Continuation of the Anonymous Periplous, Codex Londonienses, § 22. Cited through: *Baschmakoff 1948*, 139).

Present-day researchers related the archaeological sites of the Tetraxitai Goths in the Black Sea coast of the Caucasus, in the vicinity of Novorossiysk, primarily to the cemetery of Diurso (Fig. 2: 1; *Dmitriev 2003*). Unfortunately, the cemetery of Diurso has not been published completely; however, the graves containing two-plate brooches have been introduced into the scholarship (*Dmitriev 1982*). There are but fragmentary data concerning other graves. The total number of graves from the fifth to ninth century investigated on the cemetery of Diurso is 525 plus 16 graves of horses. In the excavator A. V. Dmitriev's words, the graves published belonged to the early stages of the cemetery. According to our present knowledge, these stages date from the 450s to 530s/540s AD (for details see: *Kazanski 2002*). Big two-plate brooches occurred in some female and children's graves no. 197, 259, 292, 408, 410, 420, 490, 500, 516, 517. There were smaller imitations of big two-plate brooches in graves 483 and 510 (Fig. 1: 12, 13). Moreover, two-plate brooches became offerings uncovered in male graves 300 and 291 (Fig. 1: 2, 3, 10). There is a big two-plate brooch originating from grave 57 in the cemetery of Bzhid I (Fig. 2: 2); another artefact was discovered as a chance find in Myskhako, but the latter stemmed rather from an earlier stage of the Hunnic period (*Mastykova 2002*; *2009*, cat. no. 1: 1–3). Outside the coastal area, big two-plate brooches and their smaller copies occurred at the sites of the type Pashkovskii-Karpovka, which belonged to the proto-Adyg population of the Kuban, such as Khabl', grave 1; Khutor Lenina, site 4; Krasnodar Water Reservoir; Maikop;[3] Varnavinskoe, site 3, grave 38 (Fig. 2: 3–7; *Mastykova 2009*, 51, 52; cat. no. 2: 1, 3, 4; *Sukhanov/Sviridov 2018*, fig. 3: 4).[4]

Paired two-plate brooches are documented at the dead person's shoulders (Fig. 3: 1–3; Diurso, graves 408, 410, 420; Khabl'). In grave 483 of the

[2] *Ἀνονύμου Περίπλους Πόντου Εὐξίνου (Anonymi Periplus Ponti Euxini)*, **§ 64: '**Ἀπὸ οὖν Σινδικοῦ λιμένος ἕως Πάγρας λιμένος πρώην ᾤκουν ἔθνη οἱ λεγόμενοι Κερκέται ἤτοι Τορίται, νῦν δὲ οἰκοῦσιν Εὐδουσιανοὶ λεγόμενοι τῃ Γοτθικῃ καὶ Ταυρικῃ χρώμενοι γλώττῃ.' See A. Podossinov's translation: '<The space> from the Sindian harbour as far as the harbour of Pagras was earlier inhabited by the peoples called the Kerketai or the Toritai, but now here live so-called Eudousianoi who are using the Gothic and the Tauric language' (*Podossinov 2011*).

[3] Most likely, this is the place where the artefact was purchased.

[4] Moreover, the sites in the western and central Sub-Caucasia contained local replicas and imitations of two-plate brooches, which will not be considered in this paper (see: *Mastykova 2009*, 53–55).

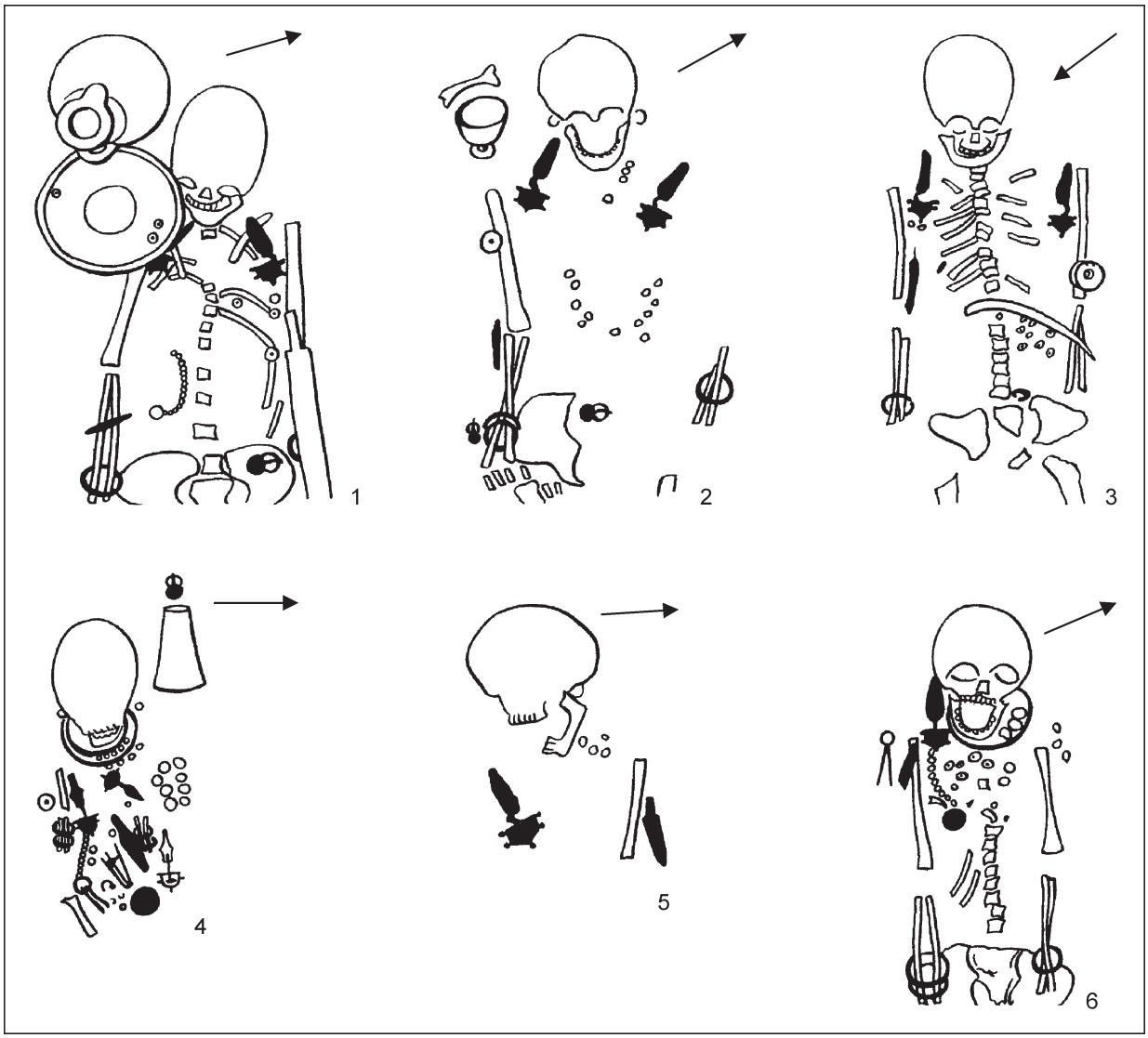


Fig. 3. Diurso, Krasnodar distr. Location of two-plate brooches in the graves of cemetery. 1 – grave 408; 2 – grave 410; 3 – grave 420; 4 – grave 483; 5 – grave 517; 6 – grave 516 (*Dmitriev 1982*, fig. 7: 1–6).

cemetery of Diurso there were three two-plate brooches: two of them laid on the shoulders and the third one across the chest, closer to the neck area (Fig. 3: 4). There were solitary two-plate brooches located on the left shoulder (Diurso, grave 490) or on the right shoulder (Fig. 3: 5, 6; Diurso, graves 292, 500, 516, 517; Bzhid I, grave 57; *Mastykova 2009*, 147).

Undoubtedly, the costume featuring two-plate brooches was considered prestigious by at least the Tetraxitai Goths who created the cemetery of Diurso (for details see: *Mastykova 2002*). The graves containing the costume in question were accompanied with rather abundant grave goods. The attire featuring two-plate brooches contained additional bow brooches (Bzhid I, grave 57; Diurso, graves 410 and possibly 517), neck-rings (Diurso, graves 292, 483, 500, 516), bracelets (Diurso, graves 292, 408, 410, 420, 483, 490, 500, 516; Bzhid I, grave 57), necklaces of beads (Diurso, graves 292, 408, 410, 483, 490, 516, 517; Khabl'); various earrings (Diurso, graves 292, 410, 483, 490, 517; Bzhid I, grave 57), belt fittings (Diurso, graves 408, 410, 420, 500, 517), footwear fittings (Diurso, graves 408, 410, 483, 490, 500, 516, 517; Khabl'), pectoral chains (Diurso, graves 408, 410, 483, 516; Bzhid I, graves 57), a chain with a beast-nail-shaped pendant (Diurso, graves 516); pendant beads (Diurso, graves 420, 500; *Mastykova 2009*, 148, 149).

It would be hard to determine the function of the goods discovered on chest, near wrists, on girdle, or at/above the foot of the dead persons: were they the elements of the costume or funerary offerings? Among these finds, there were: accumulations of

beads (Diurso, grave 420 – at the girdle; Diurso, grave 483 – in the chest and belly area, and also at the left humeral bone; Bzhid I, grave 57 – on the chest), mirrors (Diurso, grave 483 – on the girdle; Diurso, grave 410 – at the right humeral bone, accompanied with a chain and bow-shaped brooch fragments), knives (Diurso, grave 408 – across the right forearm, near a chain; Diurso, grave 410 – at the right elbow; Diurso, grave 420 – along the right humeral bones; Diurso, grave 483 – on the chest; Diurso, grave 516 – at the right shoulder, along with a toilet ware set; Diurso, grave 517 – at the left humeral bone, near bow-shaped brooch fragments), a pincers and a bone needle (Diurso, grave 500 – on the left leg), a needle-case and a toilet ware set hanged on chains (Diurso, grave 483 – on the chest), and a metal bulla (Diurso, grave 420 – on the left elbow). A possible explanation of such locations of grave goods is that they were hanged on chains or in some other way to the brooches or the belt. However, it is still possible that they were simply placed above the dead body as funeral offerings. The following artefacts probably became offerings: knives (Diurso, grave 408 – at the dead person's feet), earrings (Diurso, grave 483 – at the dead woman's belly), buckles (Diurso, grave 483 – near the glass vessel; Diurso, grave 410 – at the right wrist; possibly Diurso, grave 408 – at the foot near the footwear buckles, and grave 500 – at the right feet below the pitcher), a bow brooch (Diurso, grave 483 – in a fine pot near the dead person's foot), and a mirror (possibly Diurso, grave 500 – on the left shoulder). Obviously, there was a funeral offering comprising a set of artefacts placed at the dead person's feet: a pair of two-plate brooches, a pair of polyhedral earrings, a fragmented mirror, beads, and a knife (Diurso, grave 500; *Mastykova 2009*, 149).

All the researchers have interpreted the costume featuring big two-plate brooches on the chest or shoulders as of the East Germanic origin. Its prototype existed in the Cherniakhov culture. The female costume of the Cherniakhov population included a pair of small two-plate brooches (measuring less than 10 cm in length) and a necklace of beads, often (but not always) accompanied with a belt buckle, with a comb and/or a set of toilet ware hanged from the belt. This costume also included shell and pyramidal bone pendants (*Mastykova 2007*, with bibliography). Outside the Cherniakhov culture area, the graves containing paired small and medium-size two-plate brooches of the East Germanic tradition were widely distributed in Europe in the Great Migration period, from the South Urals to the Pyrenees (for details on them see: *Ambroz 1966*, 76–91; *Gauß 2009*). The costume featuring small two-plate brooches, especially distributed in the Cherniakhov culture and in the northern Black Sea areas, formed the background for the shaping of the 'princely' costume with big brooches of a similar form. The latter attire appeared in the Danube area ca. 400 AD (Stage D2, according to the European *Barbaricum* timeline, i.e. 380s/400s–440s/450s AD) in the aristocratic environment, and thence spread as far as the Pyrenees and the Caucasus (*Ambroz 1966*, 86–91; *Kazanski/Mastykova 2003b*; *Kazanski/Périn 1997*). The component parts of this 'princely costume' determined as the style/horizon Untersiebenbrunn were borrowed from different traditions: Germanic, Sarmatian-Alanic or, mor exactly, Pontic, which was widely represented among the nomads of the steppe, and also among the settled populations of the northern Black Sea area, and finally the Roman one (*Kazanski 1996b*; *Kazanski/Mastykova 2003b*). As an example, paired two-plate brooches in the costume of the type Untersiebenbrunn were borrowed from the Cherniakhov culture female costume (*Bierbrauer 1971*; *Kazanski 1996b*, 113–117), though mirrors and fine gold appliques represent steppe, or Sarmatian-Alanic influences (*Mastykova 2014*; *Mastykova/Kazanski 2006*). However, the latter are well known also among the settled populations of Bosporus and Tanais, and to a lesser degree, in the south-western Crimea. Big belt buckles were possibly borrowed from the prestigious Romanized costume of the fourth and fifth century (*Martin 1991*, 34–42, 55, 56, 63–79).

The horizon Untersiebenbrunn contains demonstrative big two-plate brooches plated with gold leaf and featuring polychrome decoration and plain silver two-plate brooches (for the numerous examples see: *Tejral 2011*). By the mid-fifth century (Stage D2/D3 or the horizon Smolín, corresponding to the 430s/440s–460s/470s AD), the aristocratic costume of the East Germanic tradition had predominating plain silver brooches, which were direct predecessors of the North Caucasus two-plate brooches (for the examples see: *Tejral 2011*). Their direct prototypes were probably the Danube brooches from Smolín with palmette-shaped appliques at the bow (cf. Fig. 1: 1–3), from Kosino with triangular appliques (cf. Fig. 1: 4–6, 11), and from Bakódpuszta with semi-circular appliques (cf. Fig. 1: 7–10; *Mastykova 2009*, 51, 52).

The North Caucasus brooches certainly were a simplified replica of the Danube brooch under study; most likely, these imitations were made in a workshop at the Cimmerian Bosporus (*Mastykova 2009*, 51), quite logical for the fashion trends of the period. Simultaneously, by the late fifth century, big two-plate brooches among the Germans in the

Balkans and on the Danube and the Ostrogoths in Italy were replaced with the radiate-headed brooches, which had come into fashion from the mid-fifth century on. In the same period in the second half of the 5th c., there shaped a 'democratic' or 'less-expensive' version of the fashion for the formerly prestigious costume of the Danubian 'princesses' featuring two-plate brooches, which was represented by numerous finds from the Cimmerian Bosporus, particularly Kerch, Taman, Chokrak, and the vicinity of Kerch (Fig. 2: 8–10; for example: *Ajbabin 2011*, fig. 40: 6, pl. 28: 18, 21; 29: 2, 12, 25; *Kühn 1974*, pl. 230: 51: 30, 35; 231: 51: 39, 40; 224: 51: 93, 100, 102; *Werner 1961*, pl. 22: 99; 23: 101), as well as in more prestigious context of Dzhurga-Oba (Fig. 2: 11; *Ermolin 2012*, fig. 3: 9, 10), among the Goths of the country of Dory in the south-western Crimea (*Ajbabin 2011*, pl. 28: 18, 21; 29: 2, 12, 25; *Kühn 1974*, pl. 219: 51: 1, 6, 7; *Werner 1961*, pl. 22: 98), and in other regions of Europe among the Spanish Visigoths (*Ebel-Zepezauer 2000*, 16–21; *Kazanski/López Quiroga/Périn* 2018) and the persons of the East Germanic origin in Northern Gallia (for the details see: *Kazanski/Mastykova/Périn 2008*). Almost in every place, similarly to the cemetery of Diurso (*Mastykova 2002*), this type of costume now corresponded to the 'working class' of the barbarian society rather than the ruling elite culture. In this connection demonstrative are the finds in the eastern Crimea, in the neighbourhood of the North Caucasus. Although two-plate brooches remained also a part of the prestigious attire in this region according to the finds from the second half of the fifth century in the cemetery of Dzhurga-Oba, they also occurred in the urban cemeteries of Bosporus (present-day city of Kerch) withing the grave goods of the family tombs of the local 'middle class' (*Ajbabin 2011*, pl. 26: 5; 28: 18, 21; 29: 2, 12, 25). Specific distribution patterns of the fashion for two-plate brooches were most likely related with migrations of some prestigious groups of the middle Danube population. This fashion was possibly brought to Spain and Southern Gallia by the people of a noble member of the Amali family, Vidimer by name, who came to the Visigothic court, followed by his retinue, in 473 AD (*Périn 1993*). In northern Gallia, two-plate brooches possibly spread among the families of Danubian origin who joined the Late Roman/Early Merovingian army (for details see: *Kazanski/Périn 1997*). Finally, this fashion could be introduced into the northern Black Sea area by the German allies of the Huns, such as the Angisciri, who retreated to the east with Attila's sons after the defeat at Nedao (*Kazanski 1996a*, 327).

In the North Caucasus, one can see the beginning of the acculturation of the costume featuring big two-plate brooches introduced there by the Tetraxitai Goths: it was often accompanied with neck-rings (Diurso, graves 292, 483, 500, 516) uncommon for the Germans; moreover, paired brooches, which predominated in the Danube costume, appeared there only in four of eight cases (Diurso, graves 408, 410, 420, 483). The absence of big belt buckles in the graves of the cemetery of Diurso should be particularly mentioned: these buckles, common in the East Germanic female's attire in the said period, are sometimes considered typical for it. Anyway, this interpretation requires considerable corrections. As it has already been mentioned, M. Martin proved that big belt buckles were typical of the prestigious Romanized female costume in the fifth and sixth century. However, Roman ladies wore these belts in their costume without brooches. The fifth-century Roman costume became the background for the shaping of the female attire of the Romanized population of the Burgundy, Aquitania, and Northern Gallia in the late 6th and 7th c. which included big belt buckles sometimes accompanied with small brooches of the Roman tradition. This is enough to prove that the big belt buckles were not a clothing element typical of the East Germans only (*Martin 1991*).

Moreover, some of the graves in the North Caucasus (Diurso, grave 490: Fig. 1: 14; Chmi 1 in North Ossetia, grave 4/little girl's skeleton; Pashkovskaia cemetery no. 1 in the Kuban area, grave 4 of the year 1949) featuring small brooches uncovered the local evolution of Germanic prototypes of two-plate brooches. Although the brooches discovered there belong to the local types, in grave 4 (little girl's skeleton) of Alan cemetery of Chmi 1 the brooches were paired typically of the German tradition, and in grave 490 of Diurso cemetery their position on the shoulder strictly meets with the East Germanic tradition (*Mastykova 2009*, 151). The adaptation of the formerly prestigious Germanic costume with two-plate brooches is well known among the non-Germanic peoples in the 5th and 6th c. Two-plate brooches of local forms distributed among the Balts in East Prussia, Baltic Sea Finns in the modern Finland area, among the Finno-Hungarian population of the forest zone of the Oka and the Volga basins, and even in the southern Urals and the Aral Sea area at the Dzhetyasar archaeological culture. Obviously, in a few cases, like those of the finds in the Urals or the Central Asia where the Germanic presence was hardly possible, the appearance of the brooches in question indicated the fashion (*Mastykova 2009*, 151, 152).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ajbabin 2011 – A. I. Ajbabin: *Archäologie und Geschichte der Krim in byzantinischer Zeit*. Monographien des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums 98. Mainz 2011.

Ambroz 1966 – A. K. Ambroz: *Fibuly iuga evropeiskoi chasti SSSR. II v. do n. e.–IV v. n. e.* Arkheologija SSSR. Svod arkheologicheskikh istochnikov D1-30. Moskva 1966.

Baschmakoff 1948 – A. A. Baschmakoff: *La synthèse des périples pontiques. Méthode de précision en paléo-ethnologie*. Etudes d'ethnographie, de sociologie et d'ethnologie 3. Paris 1948.

Bierbrauer 1971 – V. Bierbrauer: Zu den Vorkommen ostgotischer Bügelfibeln in Raetia II. *Bayerische Vorgeschichtsblatter* 36, 1971, 131–165.

Dmitriev 1982 – A. V. Dmitriev: Rannesrednevekovye fibuly iz mogil'nika na r. Diurso. In: A. K. Ambroz/I. Erdeli (eds.): *Drevnosti epokhi Velikogo pereseleniia narodov V–VIII vekov*. Moskva 1982, 69–107.

Dmitriev 2003 – A. V. Dmitriev: Mogil'nik Diurso – etalonnyi pamiatnik drevnostei V–IX vekov. In: T. I. Makarova/S. A. Pletneva (eds.): *Krym, Severo-Vostochnoe Prichernomor'e i Zakavkaz'e v epokhu srednevekov'ia IV–XIII veka*. Moskva 2003, 200–206.

Ebel-Zepezauer 2000 – W. Ebel-Zepezauer: *Studien zur Archäologie der Westgoten vom 5.–7. Jh. n. Chr.* Mainz 2000.

Ermolin 2012 – A. Ermolin: Džurga-Oba. A Cemetery of the Great Migration Period in the Cimmerian Bosporus. In: V. Ivanišević/M. Kazanski (eds.): *The Pontic-Danubian Realm in the Period of the Great Migration*. Paris 2012, 340–348.

Gauß 2009 – F. Gauß: *Völkerwanderungzeitlichiche „Blechfibeln". Typologie, Chronologie, Interpretation*. Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde 67. Berlin – New York 2009.

Kazanski 1996a – M. Kazanski: Les germains orientaux au Nord de la mer Noire pendant la seconde moitié du V^{e} s. et au VI^{e} s. *Materialy po arkheologii, istorii i etnografii Tavrii* 5, 1996, 324–337, 567–581.

Kazanski 1996b – M. Kazanski: Les tombes "princières" de l'horizon Untersiebenbrunn, le problème de l'identification ethnique. In: *L'identité des populations archéologiques. Actes des XVI^{e} rencontres internationales d'archéologie et d'histoire d'Antibes*. Sophia Antipolis 1996, 109–126.

Kazanski 2002 – M. Kazanski: Die Chronologie der Anfangsphase des Gräberfeldes von Djurso. In: J. Tejral (Hrsg.): *Probleme der frühen Merowingerzeit im Mitteldonauraum*. Spisy Archeologického ústavu AV ČR Brno 19. Brno 2002, 137–158.

Kazanski/López Quiroga/Périn 2018 – M. Kazanski/J. López Quiroga/P. Périn: Le costume féminin "princier" de tradition germanique orientale à l'Époque des Grandes Migrations en Espagne et en Gaule du sud et ses réiniscences dans le Royaume Hispano-Wisigothique. In: J. López Quiroga (ed.): *In Tempore Sueborum. El tiempo de los Suevos en la Gallaecia (411–585). El primer reino medieval de Occidente. Volumen de estudios*. Ourense 2018, 61–84.

Kazanski/Mastykova 2003a – M. Kazanski/A. Mastykova: Les éléments germaniques dans la civilisation de la population du Caucase du Nord à l'époque des grandes migrations. In: C. von Carnap-Bornheim (Hrsg.): *Kontakt – Kooperation – Konflikt. Germanen und Sarmaten zwischen dem 1. und 4. Jahrhundert nach Christus*. Neumünster 2003, 135–176.

Kazanski/Mastykova 2003b – M. Kazanski/A. Mastykova: Les origines du costume "princier" féminin des Barbares à l'époque des Grandes Migrations. In: F. Chausson/H. Ingelbert (eds.): *Costume et société dans l'Antiquité et le haut Moyen Age*. Paris 2003, 107–120.

Kazanski/Mastykova/Périn 2008 – M. Kazanski/A. Mastykova/P. Périn: Die Archäologie der Westgoten in Nordgallien. Zum Stand der Forschung. In: S. Brather (Hrsg.): *Zwischen Spätantike und Mittelalter*. Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde 57. Berlin – New York 2008, 149–192.

Kazanski/Périn 1997 – M. Kazanski/P. Périn: Les Barbares "orientaux" dans l'armée romaine en Gaule. *Antiquités Nationales 29*, 1997, 201–217.

Kühn 1974 – H. Kühn: *Die germanischen Bugelfibeln der Völkerwanderungszeit. II. Teil. Die germanischen Bügelfibeln in Süddeutschland. 2 Bände*. Graz 1974.

Martin 1991 – M. Martin: Zur frühmittelalterlichen Gürteltracht der Frau in der Burgundia, Francia und Aquitania. In: G. Donnay (ed.): *L'Art des invasions en Hongrie et en Wallonie*. Mariemont 1991, 31–84.

Mastykova 2002 – A. V. Mastykova: Soziale Hierarchie der Frauengräber der Nordkaukasischen Dürsonekropole im fünften bis sechstens Jahrhundert (anhand der Trachtmaterialien). In: J. Tejral (Hrsg): *Probleme der frühen Merovingenzeit im Mitteldonauraum*. Spisy Archeologického ústavu AV ČR Brno 19. Brno 2002, 225–236.

Mastykova 2007 – A. V. Mastykova: Le costume féminin de la civilisation de Černjahov avec des fibules en tôle métallique. In: J. Tejral (Hrsg.): *Barbaren in Wandel. Beiträge zur Kultur- und Identitätsumbildung in der Völkerwanderngszeit*. Spisy Archeologického ústavu AV ČR Brno 26. Brno 2007, 201–217.

Mastykova 2009 – A. V. Mastykova: *Zhenskii kostium Tsentral'nogo i Zapadnogo Predkavkaz'ia v kontse IV–seredine VI v. n. e*. Moskva 2009.

Mastykova 2014 – A. V. Mastykova: "Kniazheskii" kostium s zolotymi applikatsiiami v epokhu Velikogo pereseleniia narodov. *Kratkie soobshcheniia Instituta arkheologii* 232, 2014, 136–150; colour insert: XIII–XVII.

Mastykova/Kazanski 2006 – A. Mastykova/M. Kazanski: A propos des Alains en Occident à l'époque des Grandes migrations: le costume à appliques en or. In: J. López Quiroga/A. M. Martínez Tejera/J. Morín de Pablos (eds.): *Gallia e Hispania en el contexto de la presencia 'germánica' (ss. V–VII). Balance y Perspectivas*. Actas de la Mesa Redonda hispano-francesca celebrada en la Universidad Autónoma de Madrid (UAM) y Museo Arqueológico Regional de la Comunidad de Madrid. Oxford 2006, 289–306.

Périn 1993 – P. Périn: L'armée de Vidimer et la question des dépôts funéraires chez les Wisigoths en Gaule et en Espagne (V^e–VI^e siècles). In: F. Vallet/M. Kazanski (eds.): *L'armée romaine et les barbares du III^e au VII^e siècle*. Saint-Germain-en-Laye 1993, 411–424.

Podossinov 2011 – A. V. Podossinov: Anonymi Periplus Ponti Euxini (2037). In: H.-J. Gehrke/F. Maier (eds.): *Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker. Part V*. Brill 2011. DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1873-5363_jcv_a2037

Procopius 1962–1968 – Procopius: *History of the Wars. Volumes V–VIII*. Translated by H. W. Dewing. Loeb Clasical Library 217. London – Cambridge (Mass.) 1962–1968.

Sukhanov/Sviridov 2018 – E. V. Sukhanov/A. N. Sviridov: Novye rannesrednevekovye pogrebeniia s territorii Zapadnogo Predkavkaz'ia. *Rossiiskaia arkheologiia* 4, 2018, 114–129. DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.31857/S086960630003393-1

Tejral 2011 – J. Tejral: *Einhemische und Fremde. Das norddanubische Gebiet zur Zeit der Völkerwanderung*. Spisy Archeologického ústavu AV ČR Brno 33. Brno 2011.

Werner 1961 – J. Werner: *Katalog der Sammlung Diergardt (Völkerwanderungszeitlicher Schmuck). Band 1. Die Fibeln*. Berlin 1961.

Manuscript accepted 22. 9. 2021

Translated by Nikita Khrapunov

Dr. hab. Anna Mastykova
Institute of Archaeology of the Russian Academy of Sciences
19 Dmitrii Ul'ianov Str.
RU – 117292 Moscow
amastykova@mail.ru

SLOVENSKÁ ARCHEOLÓGIA – SUPPLEMENTUM 2
Z. Robak/M. Ruttkay (eds.): Celts – Germans – Slavs.
A Tribute Anthology to Karol Pieta. Nitra 2021, 371–378.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.31577/slovarch.2021.suppl.2.35

MIGRATION PERIOD FINDS FROM CÍFER-PÁC[1]

JÁN RAJTÁR – JOZEF ZÁBOJNÍK

The paper presents three artefacts from the Migration Period collected by systematic survey at the settlement Cífer-Pác. They are the fragments of two fibulas with triangular headplate, which can be dated to the period around half of the 5th c. and the thorn of buckle probably from the same period. Analysis by X-ray fluorescence spectrometry (ED-XRF) showed that all of them were made from the alloy of copper (Cu) and zinc (Zn) with the admixture of lead (Pb), therefore from the lead brass. Together with some of the older findings, as settlement feature with silver gold-coated fibula with three knobs on the head and also recently found cemetery with the finding of fibula of type Prša-Levice, they fill up the mosaic of settlement of this site in the migration period.

Keywords: Western Slovakia, Migration Period, settlement, fibulas.

INTRODUCTION

First archaeological site in Cífer-Pác was discovered in 1965 by the then external employee of the Institute of Archaeology of SAS Viliam Kráľovič on the right bank of the Gidra stream, opposite a former mill (*Varsik 2019*, 223). Later, in 1969–1980, Titus Kolník conducted extensive systematic excavations at the site. They were focused mainly on research of a Germanic settlement with a residence of the Quadi elite from the 4th c.; however, other numerous evidences of multiple settlement in various periods of prehistory and until the Middle Ages was also uncovered there (review in *Kolník 1991*). Only about 200–250 m southwest of the uncovered area of the Germanic residence, a burial ground from the Avar Khaganate period was discovered and investigated (*Fusek 2006*; *Zábojník 2008*, 272, 273).[2] Further collections and aerial surveys confirmed that the settlement on the right bank of the Gidra stream was considerably intense and extensive there (Fig. 1: 1, 2, 8).

In 1993, a rescue excavation was carried out on the opposite – eastern – bank of the Gidra stream, at Záhumenice site, in association with relocation of oil pipeline (*Cheben/Ruttkay 1995*). Several settlement features with important finds mainly from the La Tène period (*Cheben/Ruttkay/Ruttkayová 2012*), Roman period (*Cheben/Ruttkay 2010*) or the Great Migration period (Fig. 1: 3; *Cheben/Ruttkay 1997*) were uncovered there during the excavation. Traces of two temporary Roman field camps were

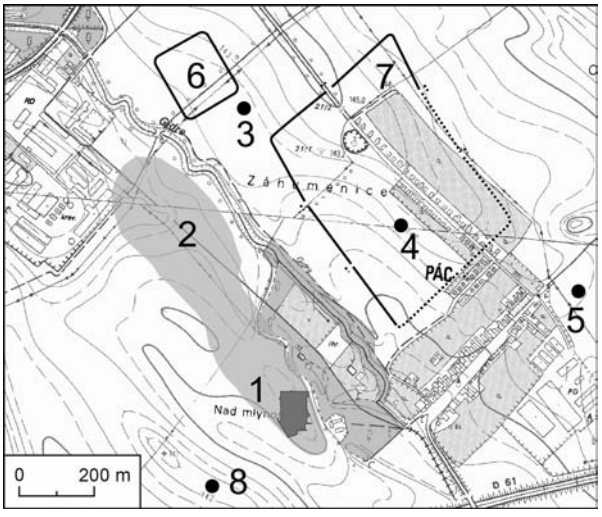


Fig. 1. Cífer, ward of Pác, Trnava distr. Map with indicated sites. 1 – excavated area in 1969–1980; 2 – extension of the settlement on the right bank of the Gidra stream; 3 – location of feature 8/1993; 4 – localization of the collected finds from the Great Migration period; 5 – burial ground from the Great Migration period; 6, 7 – Roman field camps; 8 – burial ground from the Avar Khaganate period.

[1] The article was written as part of VEGA 2/0115/18 and 2/0088/20 projects.

[2] The burial ground was discovered under remarkable circumstances. Titus Kolník had been considering how important it would be to discover a cemetery for the studied Germanic elite's residence. Vilam Kráľovič detected an indistinct elevation in the surrounding flat landscape, where – according to his long experience from walks and field surveys or intuition – a cemetery might be situated. T. Kolník was sceptical, but had a trench excavated there. To his great surprise, a cemetery was discovered there indeed. However, it came from the Avar Khaganate period.

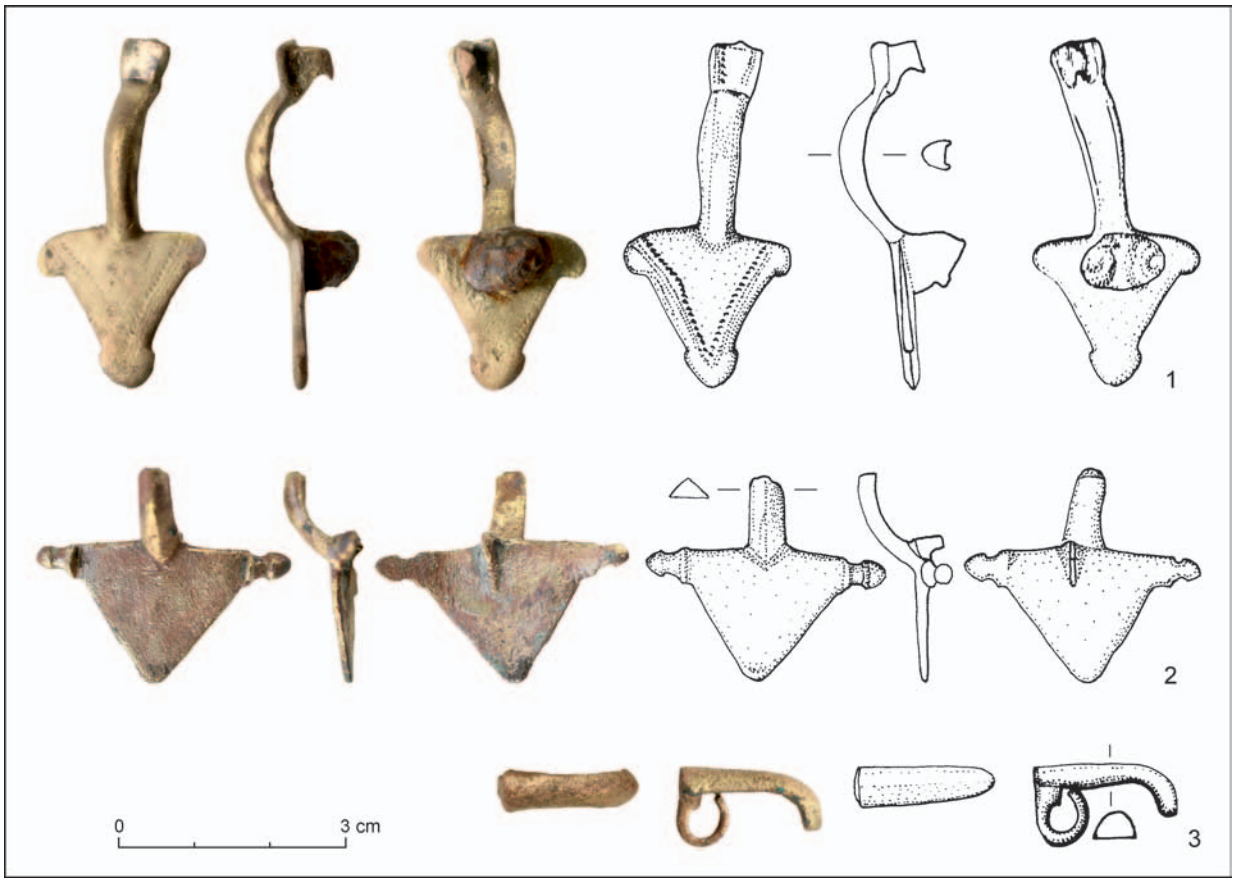


Fig. 2. Cífer, ward of Pác, Trnava distr. Collected finds from the Great Migration period (photo by J. Rajtár, reto drawings by J. Marettová).

identified in the area by means of aerial photos in 2008 (Fig. 1: 6, 7) and based on investigation and also previous finds, they were classified in the period of Marcomannic wars (*Rajtár 2013*). To verify their dating, an extensive systematic areal surface collection with metal detectors was carried out at accessible sites in 2017 over an area of almost 40 ha. Together with numerous finds from the Roman period which reliably confirm dating of these field camps to the Marcomannic wars period (*Komoróczy et al. 2020*, 197, 198, fig. 28–30), several remarkable artefacts from the Bronze Age (*Mitáš/Rajtár/Tirpák 2020*) and the La Tène period (*Kolníková/Rajtár 2020*) were discovered as well as numerous finds from other periods, primarily from the Middle Ages and the Postmedieval period. In the course of collection near the village's gardens (Fig. 1: 4), a small but remarkable group of three artefacts from the Great Migration period was found with the artefacts close to each other. We are dealing with this group in the presented article.

Description of the finds

1. Fragment of a fibula made from copper alloy with a flat triangular headplate bearing annular oval projections, low bow arc with D-shaped cross-section, a shallow longitudinal groove on the bottom and a short part of a broken foot. The headplate is decorated with miniature angular dimples and dots arranged in lines parallelly with the sides in the V shape oriented towards the tip. Similar traces of decoration are slightly visible on the broken foot as well. On the bottom of the head, there are remains of a strongly corroded iron spring, and there is a short trapezoidal catchplate on the broken foot. Surface of the headplate is considerably worn. The preserved length is 45 mm; width and length of the head is 22 mm; width of the bow is 4–5 mm. Place of deposit: Institute of Archaeology of SAS, Nitra, acc. no. 23/2017 (Fig. 2: 1).
2. Fragment of a fibula made of copper alloy with a flat triangular headplate with two preserved semi plastic profiled side knobs and a part of a broken-off low arc of a bow with triangular cross-section. On the flat bottom part of the head, near the bow stem, there are remains of a broken catchplate of the spring. The central knob, which was probably placed on the head's tip, is probably broken off as well. The preserved length is 28 mm; width

of the head is 32 mm; the preserved length of the head is 18 mm; width of the bow is 5 mm. Place of deposit: Institute of Archaeology of SAS, Nitra, acc. no. 107/2017 (Fig. 2: 2).

3. Prong of a buckle made of copper alloy with a beaked tip, slightly widened, straightly cut rear, with D-shaped cross-section and annularly bent strip catch ring. Length 19 mm, width 5 mm, height with ring 9 mm. Place of deposit: Institute of Archaeology of SAS, Nitra, acc. no. 30/2017 (Fig. 2: 3).

CHEMICAL COMPOSITION OF ARTEFACTS AND COMMENTS ON THE METHOD OF THEIR PRODUCTION

The chemical composition of all three artefacts was studied by X-ray fluorescence spectrometry (ED-XRF) after they had been carefully cleaned. NITON XL 3t GOLDD X-ray fluorescence spectrometer[3] was used for the analyses. It measured the fibula on the surface of the flat heads and the buckle prong on the upper, relatively straight, side. Measuring was limited only to the surface of the artefacts, however, it showed noteworthy results.

The analysis of the first fibula (Fig. 2: 1) documented that it was made of alloy of non-ferrous metals with the prevalent share of copper (Cu 79.79%), significant share of zinc (Zn 15.42%) and considerable admixture of lead (Pb 3.82%). Therefore, it was made of brass with admixture of lead or lead brass. The body of the fibula with the projections on the head with a catchplate for the spring axle with remarkably short catcher on the foot was probably cast in a bipartite mould. In the middle of the longitudinal groove on the bottom side of the bow, there are weak traces of blows, thus, its arc was obviously mechanically finished. Irregular annular or rounded projections on the head are considerably worn, but they probably had no decoration. The punched decoration on the head in form of lines of densely arranged small diamond-shaped dimples was punched with a tool with an identically shaped tip. These lines were lined by two dense lines of dots or scratches on the outside (due to the worn surface it is hard to recognize them). They were probably made with a burin with a sharp tip. Weakly visible traces of similar decoration on the preserved torso of the foot suggest that it had identical punched decoration on its sides. The catchplate on the bottom of the head is covered with corroded remains of an iron spring. Therefore, it is obvious that after the axle hole was drilled, a spiral with a pin made from iron wire was attached in it.

Measuring on the surface of the other fibula's head (Fig. 2: 1, 2) showed a partly different composition of the alloy. Its main component with a slightly lower share was copper (Cu 71.79%), the proportion of zinc was lower, too (Zn 13.93%), but the proportion of lead was considerably higher (Pb 7.27%) and a high proportion of tin was added (Sn 6.69%). Nevertheless, the fibula's surface bears visible traces of a grey metallic layer, so it is probable that the fibula's body cast from lead brass in a bipartite mould was additionally tinned on the surface. Apart from the semi-plastical profiled side knobs, a similar cast knob might have been placed also on the head tip; however, it is broken off. The material of the spring and pin is unknown. The preserved fragment does not show traces of any other decoration, but the tinned and polished surface might have made it look like a more luxurious silver brooch.

Identically, results of the analysis of the third artefact – the buckle prong (Fig. 2: 3) – confirmed that it was made of brass. Copper (Cu 82.09%) was the main component of the alloy which also contained a high proportion of zinc (Zn 16.37%) and a low admixture of lead (Pb 1.26%) and a trace amount of nickel (Ni 0.214%). The prong was probably cast in a bipartite mould already with its bent tip but with straight strip projection on the other end which was reinforced at its base. This projection was bent and wound around the axle into a circular ring and attached the prong movably to the buckle.

The analyses showed that all three artefacts were made of brass with a considerably high proportion of zinc (about 15%) and lower or higher proportion of lead (1.26%/3.82%/7.27%). Such composition of brass with a high proportion of zinc adds good plasticity at casting – even in comparison with bronze – and allows easy shaping and further finish of the cast artefact. The admixture of lead considerably reduces the temperature of melting, although it influences the process of casting and solidification if it is not homogeneously mixed with copper (*Hammer 1998*, 179, 184). Brass with high content of zinc suddenly occurred in the production of Roman metal artefacts and became widely used in the Augustinian period. Nevertheless, from the end of the 1st c., the proportion of zinc was gradually reduced and it was replaced by alloys of copper with cheaper lead and tin. The tumultuous times of great power-political changes, such as the turbulent Great Migration period, influenced the availability and supplies of raw material sources and, thus, the composition of metal artefacts. However, there are too few analyses of metal artefacts from this period

[3] V. Mezey executed the analyses in the IA SAS laboratories.

to make any general conclusions (*Riederer 1998*, 202, 203). Results of the analyses of the three artefacts from Cífer-Pác documented their surprisingly similar chemical composition and almost standard alloying of the copper alloy with zinc, with a lower and variable proportion of lead. It has been commonly stated about such artefacts, according to their visual evaluation, that they were made of bronze. Their further serial analyses might bring important new information.

TYPOLOGICAL AND CHRONOLOGICAL CLASSIFICATION OF THE FINDS

Both fibulae belong to the group of so-called metal plate bow-shaped fibulae with triangular headplates. The first fibula (Fig. 2: 1) can be – according to the shape of its head and other preserved features – classified in the Bratei type, which was distinguished by *V. Bierbrauer* (*1989*) together with similar fibulae of the Vyškov type. He named them after finds from grave 3/1968 at a burial ground in Romania (*Bârzu 1986*, 100–102, fig. 6: 2, 3) and a find from Moravia (*Tejral 1974*, 15, 16, fig. 5: 1a, b). Previously collected exemplars of cast 'bronze' fibulae of the Bratei type were characterized by typical triangular headplates with three circular projections on their tips and longitudinal rhomboidal feet widest in their middle, usually also with two side and one end projection. Decorated exemplars had single zigzag lines engraved along their head edges and feet, some had single or double punched lines, some also had punched loops on the circular projections, but there were undecorated fibulae as well. Their sizes were approximately identical and their lengths varied between 7.2 and 9.8 cm (*Bierbrauer 1989*, 141–143, fig. 1: 1–8). Some of them showed features formally identical with the related Vyškov type, such as two circular projections on the head tips or decorated rivets on the same spots or two additional identical projections on the foot (*Bierbrauer 1989*, fig. 1: 3, 8, 12). For the distinguished Vyškov type, a shorter edge of the base and slightly arcuately cut sides of the triangular headplate ended with three circular or lobular projections on the tip were considered typical. It differed from the Bratei type with five projections, four side and one end, on the pentangular longitudinal foot (*Bierbrauer 1989*, 149, fig. 2: 1–5, 9). He considered the Bratei type fibulae derivatives or cheap and affordable 'bronze' cast imitations of luxurious silver fibulae with triangular headplates, like those discovered in Untersiebenbrunn and Tápé-Lebő as well as their models from the Black Sea territory (*Bierbrauer 1989*, 143–147, fig. 1: 9–12, 16). He saw models for the Vyškov type fibulae in the luxurious fibulae which were discovered in pairs in the richly equipped burial in Regöly from the same chronological horizon 'Untersiebenbrunn/Laa a. d. Thaya' and in the exemplars from the Black Sea region dated to the first quarter of the 5th c. (*Bierbrauer 1989*, 150, 151, fig. 2: 6, 9, 11). In his opinion, the origin of both these related fibula types can be probably searched in the northern Pontic regions, where such fasteners occurred in the first quarter of the 5th c. From there, they arrived in the Danube territory as a result of extensive migration processes and moves of the eastern Germanic population groups. Not numerous grave finds point to the fact that such fibulae were part of female garment. In central and south-eastern Europe, they occurred mainly at burial grounds with small numbers of graves usually with poor grave goods. It suggests that they were used in a rather short period around the middle or in the second third of the 5th c. and their owners ranked among socially lower 'popular' groups of inhabitants (*Bierbrauer 1989*, 152–157).

Many researchers have paid attention to these fibulae – either in association with some finds or within selected geographical regions in the Great Migration Period (*Charalambieva 1991*, 35, 36; *Haralambieva 1990*, 80; *Harhoiu 1997*, 100; *Kiss 1981*, 192–200; *Tejral 1974*, 15, 16). I. O. Gavrituchin dealt with them in a wider geographical context and renamed them as the Bratei-Brigetio and Vyškov-Chersones types. He also distinguished several series and variants within these two main types (*Gavrituchin 2000*, 281–290, 309–311).

The last one to deal with the fibulae was J. Tejral in his study focused on the topic of production of miniature metal industry in the territory of the Middle Danube in the 5th c. (*Tejral 2015*, 297–307). He followed mainly from the assumed hoard with a collection of tools and other metal artefacts from Buschberg-Steinmandl in Burgenland, Austria, which also contained three unfinished cast bronze fibulae of the Bratei type (*Szameit 1997*, 236, 240, pl. 5: 1–3). He also collected more newer finds of fibulae of both related Bratei and Vyškov types represented by multiple alternations, variants and transitional forms especially in the territory of the Middle and Lower Danube, the Balkans and the Black Sea region. After their stylistical analysis, he came to a conclusion that mediation of such forms from the Pontic region was not necessarily the direct evolution line of these small Middle Danube fibulae; their origin in the Middle Danube region was probably allowed by specific development tendencies and influences. Similarly to V. Bierbrauer, when explaining the origin of the Bratei type fibulae in the Danube region, J. Tejral attributed special importance to the silver fibula with a triangular

headplate from a female burial in Untersiebenbrunn, which was decorated by triplets of globular rivets on the head and a rhomboidal foot and dated to the early Great Migration period. He assumes that these decorative rivets, which occurred also on some other exemplars as well as on fibulae with semi-annular plates, were later replaced by circular or lobular projections on fibulae of the Bratei and Vyškov types (*Tejral 2015*, 302–304, fig. 8: 4–6). He considered the pair of small gilded fibulae discovered in a grave from Vranja near Hrtkovci in Serbia an interlink in this development. Both cast fibulae from this female burial have three miniature knob-shaped projections placed on triangular heads' tips and three identical projections are on the angles and ends of their rhomboidal feet. The fibulae were also decorated with lines of incisions on the edges of their heads and feet (*Dautova-Ruševljan 1980–1981*, 146, 147, fig. 3; pl. I: 1, 2). J. Tejral dates them to the late first half of the 5th c. or stage D2/D3 (*Tejral 2015*, 304). He supposes that luxurious silver fibulae with triangular headplates were soon imitated and produced in the Middle Danube region in cheaper bronze forms, as suggested by three exemplars in the hoard from Buschberg-Steinmandl. There are only very few reliable find assemblages for dating of the Bratei or similar Vyškov type fibulae. Based on their analysis, he dates their occurrences – identically with V. Bierbrauer – to the period around the middle/third fourth of the 5th c. (*Tejral 2015*, 307).

The fibula from the collection in Cífer-Pác can be classified in the same period. The closest parallels to it among the previous finds are represented mainly by exemplars from Brigetio (Komárom-Szőny; *Bierbrauer 1989*, 147, fig. 1: 6; *Kiss 1981*, 194, fig. 1: 5; *Tejral 2015*, fig. 4: 4) and from Carnuntum (Bad-Deutsch Altenburg; *Beninger 1930*, 37, fig. 17: 1; *Bierbrauer 1989*, 149, fig. 1: 4; *Tejral 2015*, fig. 5: 2) which have identically shaped heads and similar punched decoration; the fibula from Carnuntum has annular loops on the projections.

Classification of the second fibula is more complicated. Only a triangular head with two lateral semi-plastic profiled knobs and a fragment of the bow with triangular cross-section have been preserved from this fibula (Fig. 2: 2). The silver fibula from a collection at Marhát hill in the cadastral area of the village of Moravany nad Váhom, resp. Hubina, has identically shaped head with one tip and two lateral knobs.

According to M. Jakubčinová, it is probably a fibula of the Bratei type, but features typical of this type are absent for such classification. She compares it with older finds of similar fibulae from Nové Zámky and Slovenské Pravno as well as the more recent find from Bojná (*Jakubčinová 2008*, 58, fig. 1: 17). The bronze fibulae from Nové Zámky and Slovenské Pravno have – according to the illustrations published by *K. Pieta* (*1987*, fig. 6) – similar triangular heads, but with circular, not plastic profiled knobs. Unlike the undecorated flat foot of the fibula from Marhát, there are four lateral circular projections on their elongated feet terminated with semi-circular bases. According to I. O. Gavrituchin, they would belong to the variant of the Middle Danube series of the Bratei-Brigetio type (*Gavrituchin 2000*, 284, fig. 6: 29). The bronze fibula from the collections in Bojná has a semi-circular headplate with two flat lateral and one tip projections, a short and low arc of the bow and a long undecorated pentangular foot with a central ridge and slightly inwards cut edges (*Pieta 2008*, 468, fig. 6: 2). K. Pieta classifies it to the Bratei type fibulae as well (*Pieta 2007*, 175–179, fig. 3: 2); however, this exemplar lacks elements typical of this type of fibulae, too. Some variants have similar semi-circular heads, e.g. from the sites of Roman and Nichiteni in Romania, but their other features are typical of the Bratei type (*Gavrituchin 2000*, 310, fig. 6: 53, 61; *Harhoiu 1997*, pl. LXXVI: A6, B1). In our opinion, the fibula from Bojná is an imitation of metal-plate fibulae with semi-circular headplates, which is suggested not only by the shape of its head but also the form of its foot. Luxurious exemplars, such as the silver fibula with a triangular head from a grave in Untersiebenbrunne might have been a model of the silver fibula from Marhát too, but the shape of its foot resembles also the metal-plate fibula with semi-circular head from the same hoard (*Tejral 2011*, 189, 190, fig. 146: 3, 4). Therefore, in our opinion, it is probably a specific simplified hybrid variant.

The fibula from Veres-Patak in Hungary, which was published by *J. Bemmann* (*2008*, 147, 148, fig. 3: 2), has a triangular head with three profiled knobs almost identical with the finds from Cífer-Pác. However, this fibula has a completely different straight foot decorated with twelve transverse grooves. Therefore, J. Bemman compares it mainly with exemplars with similarly shaped, although partly differently decorated, feet, like the ones known from the sites of Krefeld-Gelep (*Reichmann 1999*, 137, fig. 6), Drösing (*Stuppner 1989*, fig. 1410) and from Belgrade (*Kovačević 1960*, pl. VI: 23, upper left; *1962*, 117, fig. 3). He identified this considerably heterogeneous group as Drösing/Beograd and dated it to stage D2. The fibula from Drösing and the pair of fibulae with similarly grooved feet, but different heads, from Erdő-Kevesd were classified by J. Tejtral in the Niederflorstadt type and dated them together with the fibula from Belgrade to the transitional stage D2/D3, i.e. shortly before the middle and third quarter of the 5th c. (*Tejral 2007*, 92,

fig. 21: 2, 3, 16). The latest find of such fibula with a triangular head with three plastic buttons and a straight transversally grooved foot comes from the collections in Jevíčko in the region of Malá Haná (*Droberjar/Knápek/Jarůšková 2019*, 123, fig. 14: 1; *Jílek/Vích 2019*, 109, 110, fig. 2: 3).

Part of the bow with the foot is absent from the fibula from Cífer-Pác and only a fragment of its damaged head has been preserved. Thus, it is difficult to say whether it could have had the design of the Marhát fibula or the shape identical with the Veres-Patak fibula. Nevertheless, it can be obviously dated to the third quarter of the 5th c., similarly to the first Bratei type fibula.

The last find from the group, the buckle prong with beaked tip and straightly cut rear has a typical shape which could classify it clearly to the Great Migration period, however, its simple design does not allow its more exact dating. It probably belongs to the same period as the fragments of both fibulae.

OTHER EVIDENCE OF SETTLEMENT IN CÍFER-PÁC FROM THE GREAT MIGRATION PERIOD

In the studied area with a Germanic residence, two settlement features from the period after its extinction were uncovered at the site of Nad mlynom on the right bank of the Gidra stream (Fig. 1: 1). One of them was a sunken hut interrupting furrow foundation of one of the longitudinal structures of the residence as well as stakeholes of the palisade enclosing its area. The second one is a storage pit. According to fragments of pottery vessels from their backfills, they can be dated to the initial Great Migration period-the end of the 4th and first third of the 5th c., when the farmstead was abandoned and its structures were in ruins (*Varsik/Kolník 2009*; *2013*, 87–89, fig. 13–15).

During rescue excavations on the eastern bank of the Gidra stream, Záhumenice site, mentioned in the introduction, another settlement feature from the Great Migration period was uncovered (Fig. 1: 3). It was a deep storage pit whose backfill contained fragments of wheel-made and hand-made ceramic vessels and Roman bricks, a double-sided three-layer bone comb and a gilded silver fibula with three plastic knobs on a semicircular head and a rhomboidal foot terminated with a base shaped like a stylized animal head; the fibula was decorated with carved notches (*Cheben/Ruttkay 1995*, 68, fig. 43: 1–4; *1997*). Together with a pair of similar fibulae from a grave in Sikenica-Veľký Pesek, it belongs to the first fibulae of this type in the Danubian territory which are dated around the middle 5th c. (*Pieta 2002*, 240, fig. 1: 3, 4; *Tejral 1997*, 350, fig. 28: 8, 9, 12; *2008*, 258, fig. 5: 1, 2) and the uncovered settlement feature probably comes from the same period.

In 2020, a rescue excavation was carried out in Cífer-Pác, in the area of the south-eastern edge of the village, where part of an inhumation burial ground from the Great Migration period (Fig. 1: 5) was uncovered. Ten rather poorly equipped graves, which were mainly disturbed by contemporary robberies,[4] have been studied so far. In one of the graves, a bronze fibula with a triangular head and a rhomboidal foot decorated with simple deep carved notches of the Prša-Levice type was discovered. These fibulae are also dated to the period around the middle or the second third of the 5th c. (*Tejral 1997*, 349, fig. 29: 22; *2002*, 318, fig. 2: 8, 9; *2008*, 258, fig. 5: 9, 6), so this burial ground probably belongs to the settlement from the same period which has been only documented by the above mentioned sporadical finds so far.

CONCLUSION

The analysis of the group of collected finds – two fragments of fibulae with triangular heads and a buckle prong – complements the previous very rare evidence of continuous settlement in the area of the Gidra stream basin in the territory of today's village of Cífer-Pác also in the Great Migration period. In comparison with the previous very intense Germanic settlement in the Late and Final Roman period, when there was the local elite's residence with important commercial area built, a significant decline, drain and pauperization of the population occurred in the first stages of the Great Migration period. The population's remains might have used the suitable conditions in the area of the previously deforested and cultivated landscape until the second third of the 5th c. Together with the nearby small burial ground in Čataj probably from the same or a little younger period (*Zábojník 1997*) and several collected finds from Bohdanovce nad Trnavou (*Kolník/Mitáš 2012*, 53, fig. 5: 9, 12), they complement the mosaic of settlement in this region of the Trnavská tabuľa plate in the Great Migration period.

[4] We wish to express our gratitude to our colleague Mgr. Bohuslav Šebesta from Archeologická Agentúra, s.r.o. company, which carries out rescue excavations.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bârzu 1986 – L. Bârzu: Monumente germanice descoperite la Bratei, jud. Sibiu. *Studii şi Cercetări de Istorie Veche şi Arheologie* 37, 1986, 89–111.

Bemmann 2008 – J. Bemmann: Mitteldeutschland im 5. Jahrhundert – Eine Zwischenstation auf dem Weg der Langobarden in den mittleren Donauraum? In: J. Bemmann/M. Schmauder (Hrsg.): *Kulturwandel in Mitteleuropa. Langobarden, Awaren, Slaven. Akten der Internationalen Tagung in Bonn vom 25. bis 28. Februar 2008*. Kolloquien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte 11. Bonn 2008, 145–228.

Beninger 1930 – E. Beninger: *Prähistorische, germanische und mittelalterliche Funde von Carnuntum und Umgebung*. Materialien zur Urgeschichte Österreichs 4. Wien 1930.

Bierbrauer 1989 – V. Bierbrauer: Bronzene Bügelfibeln des 5. Jahrhunderts aus Südosteuropa. *Jahresschrift für Mitteldeutsche Vorgeschichte* 72, 1989, 141–160. DOI: https://doi.org/10.11588/jsmv.1989.0.50542

Charalambieva 1991 – A. Charalambieva: Fibuli ot V v. ot Severoistočna Balgarija. *Archeologia* 42/1, 1991, 33–38.

Cheben/Ruttkay 1995 – I. Cheben/M. Ruttkay: Záchranné výskumy v Číferi-Páci a v Čataji. *AVANS 1993*, 1995, 67–69.

Cheben/Ruttkay 1997 – I. Cheben/M. Ruttkay: Objekt aus der Völkerwanderungszeit in Cífer-Pác. In: *Tejral/Friesinger/Kazanski 1997*, 89–98.

Cheben/Ruttkay 2010 – I. Cheben/M. Ruttkay: Römische Militärausrüstungsgegenstände aus dem germanischen Grubenhaus in Cífer. *Slovenská archeológia* 58, 2010, 309–336.

Cheben/Ruttkay/Ruttkayová 2012 – I. Cheben/M. Ruttkay/J. Ruttkayová: Zahĺbené chaty z doby laténskej v Číferi. In: G. Březinová/V. Varsik (eds.): *Archeológia na prahu histórie. K životnému jubileu Karola Pietu*. Archaeologica Slovaca Monographiae. Communicationes 15. Nitra 2012, 289–298.

Dautova-Ruševljan 1980–1981 – V. Dautova-Ruševljan: Ein germanisches Grab auf dem Fundort Vranja bei Hrtkovci in Syrmien. *Archaeologia Iugoslavica* 20–21, 1980–1981, 146–153.

Droberjar/Knápek/Jarůšková 2019 – E. Droberjar/R. Knápek/Z. Jarůšková: The importance of finds from the Migration Period in Malá Haná (Moravia). *Přehled výzkumů* 60/1, 2019, 109–141.

Fusek 2006 – G. Fusek: Výklenkové hroby na včasnostredovekom pohrebisku v Číferi, časti Pác. *Študijné zvesti AÚ SAV* 39, 2006, 27–54.

Gavrituchin 2000 – I. O. Gavrituchin: Final tradicij kul'tur rimskogo vremeni v Vostočnom Prikarpaťe. In: M. Mączyńska/T. Grabarczyk (Hrsg.): *Die spätrömische Kaiserzeit und die frühe Völkerwanderugszeit in Mittel- und Osteuropa. Berichte der Internationalen Tagung veranstaltet vom Archäologischen Institut der Universität Łódź 9.–11. November 1996*. Łódź 2000, 261–324.

Hammer 1998 – P. Hammer: Verfahrenstechnische Untersuchungen. In: H.-U. Voß/P. Hammer/J. Lutz: Römische und germanische Bunt- und Edelmetallfunde im Vergleich. Archäometallurgische Untersuchungen ausgehend von elbgermanischen Körpergräbern. *Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission* 79, 1998, 179–199.

Haralambieva 1990 – A. Haralambieva: Archäologische Spuren der Goten südlich der unteren Donau aus dem 5. Jh. n. Chr. *Archaeologia Austriaca* 74, 1990, 79–84.

Harhoiu 1997 – R. Harhoiu: *Die frühe Völkerwanderungszeit in Rumänien*. Archaeologia Romanica 1. Bukarest 1997.

Jakubčinová 2008 – M. Jakubčinová: Ojedinelé nálezy z vrchu Marhát. *Študijné Zvesti AÚ SAV* 44, 2008, 51–63.

Jílek/Vích 2019 – J. Jílek/D. Vích: The Migration Period in the Region of Malá Haná Augmented. In: J. Melnerová Šuteková/M. Bača/P. Pavúk (eds.): *Salve, Edvarde! A toast to the Jubilee of Professor E. Krekovič*. Studia Archaeologica et Mediaevalia XII. Bratislava 2019, 107–115.

Kiss 1981 – A. Kiss: Funde aus dem 5.–6. Jh. im Gebiet von Brigetio. *Folia Archaeologica* 32, 1981, 191–210.

Kolník 1991 – T. Kolník: Cífer v praveku a v ranej dejinnej dobe. In: L. Bernadič (zost.): *Cífer. Vlastivedná monografia*. Bratislava 1991, 12–28.

Kolník/Mitáš 2012 – T. Kolník/V. Mitáš: Archeologické nálezy k osídleniu Bohdanoviec nad Trnavou a niekoľko poznámok k činnosti detektoristov. *Študijné Zvesti AÚ SAV* 51, 2012, 35–74.

Kolníková/Rajtár 2020 – E. Kolníková/J. Rajtár: Mince Vindelikov z Cífera-Pácu a z ďalších laténskych lokalít na Slovensku. In: I. Čižmář/H. Čižmářová/A. Humpolová (eds.): *Jantarová stezka v proměnách času*. Brno 2020, 579–588.

Komoróczy et al. 2020 – B. Komoróczy/J. Rajtár/M. Vlach/C.-M. Hüssen: A companion to the archaeological sources of Roman military interventions into the Germanic territory north of the Danube during the Marcomannic Wars. In: M. Erdrich/B. Komoróczy/P. Madejski/M. Vlach (eds.): *Marcomannic Wars and Antonine Plague. Selected essays on two disasters that shook the Roman Worl – Die Markomannenkriege und die Antoninische Pest. Ausgewählte Essays zu zwei Desastern, die das Römische Reich erschütterten*. Spisy Archeologického ústavu AV ČR Brno 61 – Lubelskie materiały archeologiczne 17. Brno – Lublin 2020, 173–254.

Kovačević 1960 – J. Kovačević: *Arheologija i istorija varvarske kolonizacije južnoslovenskih oblasti od IV do početka VII veka*. Novi Sad 1960.

Kovačević 1962 – J. Kovačević: Srpsko Podunavlje. In: D. Dimitrijević/J. Kovačević/Z. Vinski: *Seoba naroda – arheološki nalazi jugoslovenskog Podunavlja*. Zemun 1962.

Mitáš/Rajtár/Tirpák 2020 – V. Mitáš/J. Rajtár/J. Tirpák: Nález bronzovej dýky z Cífera-Pácu, okres Trnava. In: A. Kozubová/E. Makarová/M. Neumann (eds.): *Ultra velum temporis. Venované Jozefovi Bátorovi k 70. narodeninám*. Slovenská archeológia – Supplementum 1. Nitra 2020, 409–415. DOI: https://doi.org/10.31577/slovarch.2020.suppl.1.34

Pieta 1987 – K. Pieta: Die Slowakei im 5. Jahrhundert. In: W. Menghin/T. Springer/E.Wamers (Hrsg.): *Germanen, Hunnen und Awaren. Schätze der Völkerwanderungszeit. Ausstellungskatalog*. Nürnberg 1987, 385–417.

Pieta 2002 – K. Pieta: Neue Erkenntnisse zum Grab von Sikenica-Veľký Pesek. In: J. Tejral (Hrsg.): *Probleme der frühen Merowingerzeit im Mitteldonauraum*. Spisy Archeologického ústavu AV ČR Brno 19. Brno 2002, 237–245.

Pieta 2007 – K. Pieta: Hradiská Bojná II a Bojná III. Významné sídlo z doby sťahovania národov a opevnenia z 9. storočia. In: K. Pieta/A. Ruttkay/M. Ruttkay (eds.): *Bojná. Hospodárske a politické centrum Nitrianskeho kniežatstva*. Archaeologica Slovaca Monographiae. Studia 9. Nitra 2007, 173–190.

Pieta 2008 – K. Pieta: Höhensiedlungen der Völkerwanderungszeit im nördlichen Karpatenbecken. In: V. Bierbrauer/H. Steuer (Hrsg.): *Höhensiedlungen zwischen Antike und Mittelalter von den Ardennen bis zur Adria*. Ergänzugsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde 58. Berlin – New York 2008, 457–480.

Rajtár 2013 – J. Rajtár: Rímske poľné tábory v Číferi. *AVANS 2009*, 2013, 166–170.

Reichmann 1999 – Ch. Reichmann: Germanen im spätantiken Gelduba (Krefeld-Gelep). In: Th. Fischer/G. Precht/J. Tejral (Hrsg.): *Germannen beiderseits des spätantiken Limes*. Spisy Archeologického ústavu AV ČR Brno 14. Köln – Brno 1999, 129–144.

Riederer 1998 – J. Riederer: Ergebnisse der Atomabsorptionsspektralanalyse zur Materialauswahl in der Antike. In: H.-U. Voß/P. Hammer/J. Lutz: Römische und germanische Bunt- und Edelmetallfunde im Vergleich. Archäometallurgische Untersuchungen ausgehend von elbgermanischen Körpergräbern. *Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission* 79, 1998, 200–203.

Stuppner 1989 – A. Stuppner: KG Drösing, VB Gänserndorf. *Fundberichte aus Österreich* 28, 1989, 259.

Szameit 1997 – E. Szameit: Ein Völkerwanderungszeitliches Werkzeugdepot mit Kleinfunden aus Niederösterreich. Ein Vorbericht. In: *Tejral/Friesinger/Kazanski 1997*, 233–248.

Tejral 1974 – J. Tejral: *Völkerwanderungszeitliches Gräberfeld bei Vyškov (Mähren)*. Studie Archeologického ústavu ČSAV v Brně II/2. Praha 1974.

Tejral 1997 – J. Tejral: Neue Aspekte der frühvölkerwanderungszeitlichen Chronologie im Mitteldonauraum. In: *Tejral/Friesinger/Kazanski 1997*, 321–392.

Tejral 2007 – J. Tejral: Das Hunnenreich und die Identitätsfragen der barbarischen"gentes" im Mitteldonauraum aus der Sicht der Archäologie. In: J. Tejral (ed.): *Barbaren im Wandel. Beiträge zur Kultur- und Identitätsbildung in der Völkerwanderungszeit*. Spisy Archeologického ústavu AV ČR Brno 26. Brno 2007, 55–119.

Tejral 2008 – J. Tejral: Ein Abriss der frühmerowingerzeitlichen Entwicklung im mittleren Donauraum bis zum Anfang des 6. Jahrhunderts. In: J. Bemmann/M. Schmauder (Hrsg.): *Kulturwandel in Mitteleuropa. Langobarden – Awaren – Slaven. Akten der Internationalen Tagung in Bonn vom 25. bis 28. Februar 2008*. Kolloquien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte 11. Bonn 2008, 249–283.

Tejral 2011 – J. Tejral: *Einheimische und Fremde. Das norddanubische Gebiet zur Zeit der Völkerwanderung*. Spisy Archeologického ústavu AV ČR Brno 33. Brno 2011.

Tejral 2015 – J. Tejral: Zum Problem der Feinschmiedeproduktion im Mitteldonauraum während des 5. Jahrhunderts nach Chr. *Památky archeologické* 106, 2015, 291–362.

Tejral/Friesinger/Kazanski 1997 – J. Tejral/H. Friesinger/M. Kazanski (Hrsg.): *Neue Beiträge zur Erforschung der Spätantike im mittleren Donauraum*. Spisy Archeologického ústavu AV ČR Brno 8. Brno 1997.

Varsik 2019 – V. Varsik: Fragment rímskeho skladacieho stolíka z Cífera-Pácu. In: J. Melnerová Šuteková/M. Bača/P. Pavúk (eds.): *Salve, Edvarde! A toast to the Jubilee of Professor E. Krekovič*. Studia Archaeologica et Medievalia. Tomus XII. Bratislava 2019, 223–228.

Varsik/Kolník 2009 – V. Varsik/T. Kolník: Objekty zo začiatočnej fázy doby sťahovania národov v Číferi-Páci. *Zborník SNM* 103. *Archeológia* 19, 2009, 257–270.

Varsik/Kolník 2013 – V. Varsik/T. Kolník: Neue Erkenntnisse zur spätantiken quadischen Elitenresidenz. In: M. Hardt/O. Heinrich-Tamáska (Hrsg.): *Macht des Goldes, Gold der Macht. Herrschafts- und Jenseitspräsentation zwischen Antike und Frühmittelalter im mittleren Donauraum. Forschungen zu Spätantike und Mittelalter Band 2. Akten des 23. Internationalen Symposiums der Grundproblemeder frühgeschichtlichen Entwicklung im mittleren Donauraum. Tengelic, 16.–19. 11. 2011.* Weinstadt 2013, 71–90.

Zábojník 1997 – J. Zábojník: Das völkerwanderungszeitliche Gräberfeld von Čataj. In: *Tejral/Friesinger/Kazanski 1997*, 77–85.

Zábojník 2008 – J. Zábojník: K problematike priestorového vzťahu medzi pohrebiskom a sídliskovým areálom v období avarského kaganátu na južnom Slovensku. *Slovenská archeológia* 56, 2008, 269–292.

Manuscript accepted 3. 6. 2021

Translated by Viera Tejbusová

PhDr. Ján Rajtár, CSc.
Archeologický ústav SAV
Akademická 2
SK – 949 21 Nitra
jan.rajtar@savba.sk

doc. PhDr. Jozef Zábojník, CSc.
Archeologický ústav SAV
Akademická 2
SK – 949 21 Nitra
jozef.zabojnik@savba.sk

SLOVENSKÁ ARCHEOLÓGIA – SUPPLEMENTUM 2
Z. Robak/M. Ruttkay (eds.): Celts – Germans – Slavs.
A Tribute Anthology to Karol Pieta. Nitra 2021, 379–388.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.31577/slovarch.2021.suppl.2.36

GOLD-PLATED PINS OF THE GREAT MIGRATION PERIOD IN BOHEMIA

VIKTORIA ČISŤAKOVA – ZDENĚK BENEŠ

The gold-plated iron pins from the Great Migration Period belong to the rare finds, not only in Bohemia. The loose find from Tehov, distr. Prague-East, was therefore a surprise. Together with examples from Praha-Dejvice, Mochov and Chotěšice it belongs to the Thuringian-Bohemian group of pins, which can be dated to the turn of 5th/6th c. until the 2nd third of 6th c. Nevertheless, all of the datable Bohemian finds belong to the phase E1 of the Danubian periodisation. It reflects the specific relationship of Thuringia and Bohemia in this period, along with a number of fibulas and other artefacts. Gilded pins from Bohemia are good example of gold plating technique. The results of X-ray fluorescence proved that the gold used for gilding is of very high purity (89–93.2%). This is characteristic for jewellery made in *Barbaricum* during the Roman and the Great Migration Periods. The sources of that gold are usually sought in imports from Roman or Byzantine Empires, especially in the solidi coinage. The gold-plated iron pins are mostly not preserved in their whole length, because the iron part (roughly a half) has deteriorated. It is proved that tapered, corded end is in fact the head part of the pin, not the lower end. The function of these pins as a hair decoration is supported by the gold plating, because the item is too fragile to use for ordinary cloth fastening. Solitary hair pins were used exclusively by women in Frankish, Baiuvaric, Alemannic, Thuringian and Langobardic areas. The gold or gilded examples belong to rare finds and in the majority of them was found in elite graves.

Keywords: Bohemia, Thuringia, Great Migration Period, gold-plated pins.

INTRODUCTION

In the recent years there is an increasing number of archaeological items found by metal detectorists. Some of them belong to unique or rare types. This is the case of the presented object which was found by a young metal detectorist on 11. 6. 2020 in the woodland area southeast from Prague in the cadastral unit of Tehov u Říčan, distr. Prague-East.[1]

The iron pin plated with thin golden sheet and decorated with transverse ribs and faceted squares had been found 25 cm deep in the forest soil next to a pathway. During the subsequent surface metal detector prospection, no other prehistorical artefacts were found. Since the region corresponds to an upland woodland area with scarce archaeological sites, we consider the pin to be a loose find. The artefact is remarkably well preserved (probably due to the deposition in the forest soil, not in the ploughland) and it has been consequently professionally conserved.

BOHEMIAN FINDS

This accidental find from Tehov u Říčan does not represent a unique appearance of a gold-plated pin in Bohemia, however it is one of the few exemplars of this type (see below the Finds Catalogue; Fig. 1). The first of them had been recovered in 1893 by the famous amateur archaeologist J. A. Jíra in burial no. XIV at the Mailbeck´s brickwork in Praha-Dejvice (Fig. 2: 3; 3: 3). The rich female burial contained,

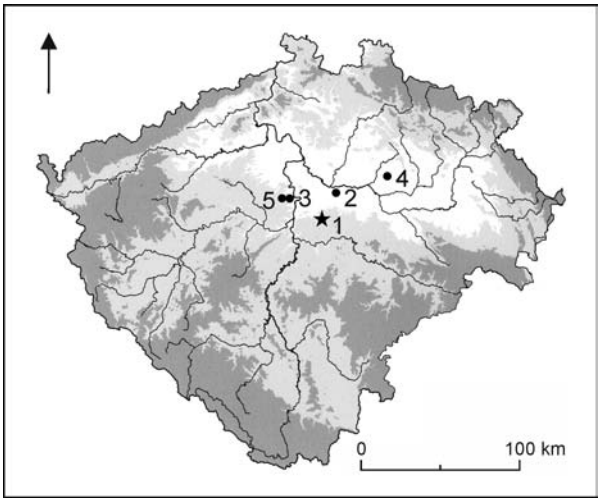


Fig. 1. Map of the gold-plated pins of the Great Migration Period in Bohemia. 1 – Tehov; 2 – Mochov; 3 – Praha-Dejvice; 4 – Chotěšice; 5 – Praha-Ruzyně.

[1] We thank our colleagues and friends, David Daněček and Juraj Hríb, who ensured the contact information and find circumstances. Most of all, we sincerely thank the finder, Tomáš Štefka, for his exemplary approach to our archaeological heritage. This work was financially supported by Ministry of Culture of the Czech Republic (DKRVO 2019–2023/17.III.a, National Museum, 00023272).

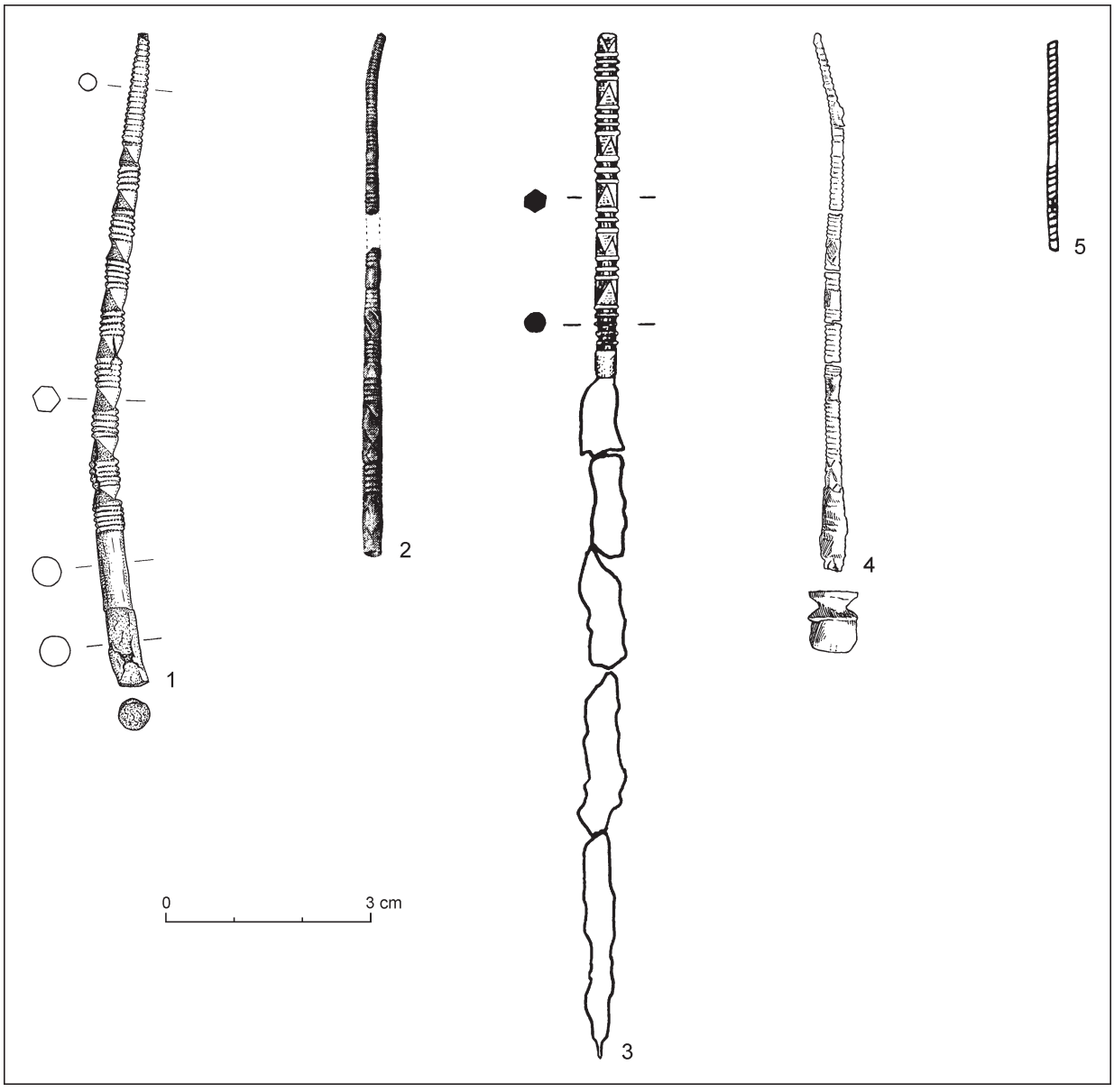


Fig. 2. Gold-plated iron pins in Bohemia. 1 – Tehov (drawing by I. Vajglová); 2 – Mochov (*Zeman 1958*, fig. 14: 7); 3 – Praha-Dejvice (*Urbanová/Kostka/Korený 2010*, fig. 4: 6); 4 – Chotěšice (*Hellich 1919*, fig. 9: 1); 5 – Praha-Ruzyně (*Kuchařík et al. 2008*, fig. 10: 7).

apart from the gold-plated iron pin, a large amount of other grave goods, such as the forcipated (*Zangenfibel*) fibula of the Straß type (look at thorough analysis in *Urbanová/Kostka/Korený 2010*, or *Losert 2003*, 113–115, distribution map 9). On the basis of the preserved finds, grave no. XIV can be dated to the turn of 5th/6th and the 1st third of 6th c. Due to the fibula and iron shaft of a folding chair, the deceased noble woman of burial no. XIV might have been connected with the Franco-Alemannic area. If we focus more on the gold-plated iron pin from this grave, we must admit that the comparison to the find from Tehov is possible only in some features: the presence of thin golden plating which is ornamented (embossed) in the same manner. On the other hand the Praha-Dejvice piece does not have the slightly tapered termination ornamented by the transversal ribs and the most of the original length of the pin, if we can rely on the original documentation, was not gilded, but made of bare iron (*Hlava 2010*, fig. 6; *Urbanová/Kostka/Korený 2010*, fig. 2; 4: 6).

The gold-plated pin from burial no. 12 at Mochov is a quite accurate analogy for the find from Tehov. It is almost identical regarding the size and the ornamentation. However, the difference lies in differently formed lower part of the pin which has a plain

Fig. 3. Gold-plated iron pins in Bohemia. 1 – Tehov (photo by R. Kozáková); 2 – Mochov (photo by R. Kozáková); 3 – Praha-Dejvice (*Hlava 2010*, fig. 6); 4 – Chotěšice (photo by Z. Beneš).

section and is ornamented by diamond-oriented grooves (Fig. 2: 2; 3: 2). Although the grave no. 12 was robbed a S-shaped fibula with bird heads was found (*Zeman 1958*, 436, 437, fig. 14; 21: 2; 22: 5) along with the gold-plated pin and other grave goods. This fibula belongs to the so-called Naumburg-Mochov type, which includes pieces with clockwise oriented body and closed beak (*Tejral 2002*, 335, 336). Alternatively, it responds to the Stößen type (*Losert 2003*, 174–177) in different works. Whether we use this or that name, the chronology and distribution is certain – they are quite early types of S-shaped fibulas, occurring mostly in Thuringia, Alemannia and Bohemia at the end of the 5th c. The closest analogous find in Bohemia can be found in Plzeň-Doudlevce (*Losert 2003*, 175, 176, distribution map 21; *Svoboda 1965*, 159, 257, pl. LXVI: 3, 4).

Another close analogy to the find from Tehov comes from the burial no. 1 from Chotěšice.[2] It is an old find from a grave that was disturbed by construction of a road in 1912. The pin has similar features as the pins described above, although it differs in few details (Fig. 2: 4; 3: 4). In the original publication, J. Hellich records that the pin was preserved with a '*massive bronze gilded head*' (*Hellich 1919*, 34). The traces of gilding are no more visible by the naked eye today. It is quite striking that the massive heads like this were not found during excavations of the previous graves in Praha-Dejvice and Mochov. Another point is that the pinhead from Chotěšice resembles the decorative buttons known from fibulas dated to the late phase of the Great Migration Period (Phase E1 and E2 according to e.g. *Droberjar 2008*, tab. 1) both in size and shape. It is not exceptional for the contemporary cemeteries in Central Europe that during the grave robbing, some pieces of jewellery fell off and were lost by the robbers, especially if this condemnable deed had been done during the night. As an example, we can mention the burial no. 1 from Mochov cemetery, where such knob of a fibula had been found (*Zeman 1958*, 428, fig. 5: 3). Therefore, it seems probable that the reconstruction of the pin in the published works is incorrect.[3] We must however admit, that similar pinheads can rarely appear – as is shown by an example of a pin from Alemannic necropolis at Basel-Gotterbarmweg (*Martin 2002*, fig. 6: 33) – but hardly could be made of a different metal.

The last gold-plated iron pin comes, in contrast to the previous examples, from a settlement situation. During the rescue excavations in Prague-Ruzyně, this find has been recovered from the circular ditch dated to Late Bronze Age (feature 320; *Kuchařík et al. 2008*, 206, 224, fig. 10: 7). This short and equally narrow fragment is ornamented by transversal (or a bit oblique) ribs only. It does not fit very well with the above-mentioned examples and it is quite probable that it represents a different type of pin. An uncertain find of another gilded pin may have come from Patokryje (Most district) in northern Bohemia, but the circumstances of its recovery are nebulous. There is a possibility that the Merowingian (female) grave had been dug into the Corded Ware culture mound (*Korený 2008*).

TECHNOLOGY OF PRODUCTION

In the context of *Barbaricum* during the first millennium CE, gilding technique was frequently used by goldsmith workshops for decoration of variety of items. One of the basic techniques is gold plating, when the gold foil is fixed mechanically to the

[2] The authors would like to thank Mgr. A. Lamprecht, archaeologist and curator of archaeological collection in Polabí Museum in Poděbrady, for allowing us to study the pin from Chotěšice personally.

[3] This pin is currently displayed in Polabí Museum in Poděbrady with the head glued on the pin.

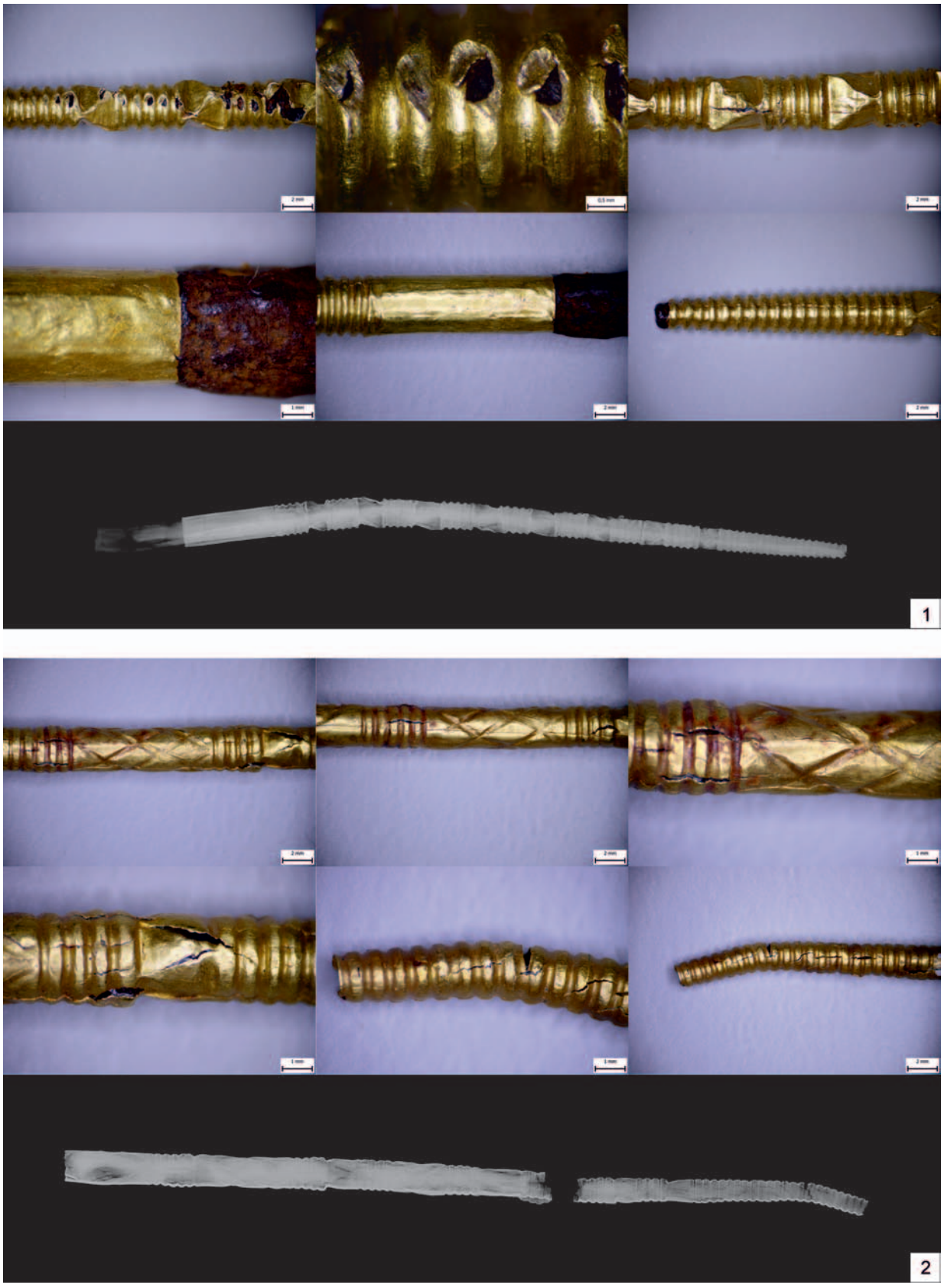


Fig. 4. Technological details of the gold-plated iron pins – macro photos and X-ray pictures. 1 – Tehov; 2 – Mochov (photos and RTG by R. Kozáková and J. Krejčí).

substructure. For plating it is necessary to use a thicker gold foil. The main disadvantage of this technique are the visible joints that cause a weaker connection between the components and afterwards corrosion of the base material (*Aufderhaar 2009*, 244). The gilded pins from Bohemia are good example of gold plating technique. On macro photos of the pins from Tehov and Mochov, the original seams are clearly visible. On Mochov pin there is a geometric chasing ornament that could have been made by a stylus or a puncher (Fig. 4: 2). As we can observe on X-ray photo, the iron core is deeply corroded and, in some parts, only the gold foil is preserved.

Items decorated with silver and gold foils were produced in *Barbaricum* since the Roman Period. Development of the goldsmith production occurred at the end of Early Roman Period and the beginning of Late Roman Period, when sophisticated decorative techniques started to be applied (filigree, granulation and decorative foils; *Natuniewicz-Sekuła 2017*, 201). Gold and silver foils were applied mainly on bronze and iron fibulas, however other personal objects as belt fittings or spurs and weapons could also be decorated in this technique (*von Carnap-Bornheim 1994*, 100). The gold foil could be additionally decorated and shaped. Gold or silver foils could be pressed on special matrix and decorated with punches. Another way was to put smooth foils on a layer of wax or lead and then manually chase or press the final pattern with a thin stylus or punch (*Natuniewicz-Sekuła 2017*, 209; *2019*, 303). For example, both smooth and stamped foils were widely used during Late Roman Period on silver, iron and copper alloy base; however, the diffusion bonding method, which was used for gilding silver sheets, became more popular. During the Great Migration Period, predominantly the fire gilding technique was used, since it allowed to decorate items with deeply profiled surfaces (*Aufderhaar 2009*, 246–248). However, the old-fashioned plating with impressed gold foil was still in use, e.g. for personal decorations as our pins, or it could be find, on other luxurious items, such as the silver strainer from a rich Langobardic female grave from Vörs (*Menghin/Springer/Wamers 1987*, 582, pl. 92).

The results of X-ray fluorescence method (Tab. 1) show the use of metal of very high purity.[4] The average content of Au was for Tehov pin 89% and for Mochov pin 93,2%. Gold of a high fines (between 90–98%) is well known from the jewellery made in *Barbaricum* during the Roman and the Great Migration Periods (*Natuniewicz-Sekuła 2017*, 189; *2019*, 299).[5] The sources of gold could be found on the territory of *Barbaricum*, but imports from the Roman Empire and later from the Byzantine Empire are considered to be the prevalent source of gold for Germanic area (*Quast 2013*). The most credible is the theory of transporting gold and silver coins as a raw material for goldsmith needs (*Aufderhaar 2009*, 249). For the Great Migration Period, the main source of high purity gold for Germanic tribes were solidus coins (*nomisma*). As is known, the late Roman authorities bought loyalty of barbarian elites with great amount of gold items and coins. It is logical that surplus of golden coins had been used to produce jewellery or other elite insignias (*Droberjar 2001*, 522; *2013*, 286). Silver and copper are the most common added elements in gold alloys and their addition was most probably intentional, in order to improve the technical properties of the alloy (*Natuniewicz-Sekuła 2017*, 190).

Tab. 1. Results of XRF analysis of the gold-plated iron pins from Tehov and Mochov (analysed by R. Kozáková, National Museum, Prague).

	Tehov (1)	Tehov (2)	Tehov (3)	Tehov (4)	Average	Mochov (1)	Mochov (2)	Mochov (3)	Average
Au	88.4	89.6	88.9	82.7	89.0	95.4	92.8	91.5	93.2
Ag	7.7	7.6	7.2	6.9	7.5	3.7	4.1	4.4	4.1
Cu	1.1	1.2	1.1	1.6	1.1	0.4	2.3	2.8	1.8
Fe	2.8	1.6	2.1	8.9	2.2	1.5	1.1	1.1	1.2

THE CENTRAL EUROPEAN CONTEXT

While looking for analogous finds all around Bohemia, one fact is quite striking – there is no example of this kind of gold-plated iron pin in Moravia (e.g. *Tejral/Peters/Loskotová 2011*). The habit of wearing hair pins was not unknown to the wealthy Langobard women in Pannonia (*Tomka 2005*, 251, fig. 6: 3, note 29; *Werner 1962*, 82, 157, 158), but it concerns bronze or silver specimens, not gilded ones. As we move along the Danube river to the west into Bavaria, we find more examples of hair pins. In the graves of the late 6th and 7th c. at Altenerding there are different types of pins – most of them are made of bronze and are of later date. Yet, their ornamentation resembles that of the Bohemian finds from the turn of the 5th/6th c.

[4] Analyses were made with XRF analyser Delta Professional by Romana Kozáková, 2. 8. 2021, National Museum, Prague. For detection of metal elements measurement for 30 seconds, for heavier elements and 90 seconds for lighter elements was applied. The measurements were taken on four and three places in order to prevent distortions.

[5] For example, the golden pin from Erfurt-Gispersleben has Au concentration near 95% (*Timpel 1980*, 205).

(*Losert 2003*, 49, 50). Quite similar, even in technological point of view, is the silver-plated iron pin from burial no. 753 (*Losert 2003*, fig. 1: 1). Those specimens were dated by R. Christlein to the 2nd and 3rd third of 6th c. and – which is more interesting in relation to the Bohemian finds – he regarded them as followers of iron gilded pins, which had spread from Thuringia (according to *Losert 2003*, 49).[6] We should therefore turn ourselves in this direction.

The graves of early Thuringians offer us relatively rich source of material culture to compare. Since the first Elbe-Germanic wave at the beginning of the Roman Period, Thuringia and Bohemia became closely connected regions (*Schmidt 1961*, 173; *Svoboda 1965*, 29–34, 224). We will concentrate on the phase E1 of the Danubian periodisation (e.g. *Droberjar 2008*, tab. 1) which can be synchronized with the Central German phase IIb (*Schmidt 1961*). That is also the datation of the burials from Praha-Dejvice, burial no. XIV, and Mochov, burial no. 12. B. Schmidt knew several hair pins types – from plain bronze, gold plated silver, gold plated iron and golden pins. All of them are decorated by transverse ribs and facetted cubes, which correspond in striking accuracy to the Bohemian finds and are dated to his phases IIb and III (*Schmidt 1961*, 139). To the Schmidt's phase IIb we can name just a few examples, e.g. silver gilded pin from Elstertrebnitz, burial 9, which is 18.5 cm long (*Schmidt 1976*, 163, pl. 202).[7] The exquisite chariot burial from grave no. 41 at Erfurt-Gispersleben cemetery can be probably dated to the same period. This female burial contained a golden pin of the same ornamentation which is known from Bohemia (*Timpel 1980*, 205, 206, 227, 228, fig. 17: 17). Other examples fall into the next phase III – e.g. the gold-plated iron pin from burial no. 1 at Beuchte (*Schmidt 1961*, fig. 10: i), the gold-plated iron pin from burial no. 2 at Weimar-Nordfriedhof (*Schmidt 1961*, pl. 45: f; *1970*, 75, pl. 73: 2c) or silver-plated iron pin from grave no. 2 at Oberwerschen (*Schmidt 1961*, pl. 77: g).

A similar, yet still a bit different (e.g. in the manner of ornamentation, different metal use, and later chronology) pins are known from Baiuvaric burials at München-Aubing, Upper Bavaria (*Dannheimer 1998*, 109, pl. 24: F5) and Straubing-Bajuwarenstraße, Lower Bavaria (*Geisler 1998*, 69, 70, pl. 65). We know them from Alemannic cemeteries, as Schwabmünchen, Swabia (*Babucke 1997*, fig. 264), or from the Frankish Rhineland, like Rübenach (*Neuffer-Müller/Ament 1973*, 80, 81, 162, pl. 2: 30: 10b) and Junkersdorf (*La Baume 1967*, 105, 106, 246, pl. 32: 514: 1). It must be pointed out, however, that these examples are usually made from plain bronze or silver, and only exceptionally from gold-plated iron. Their ornamentation differs and can be dated to Schmidt's phases III and IV (advanced 6th and 7th c.; e.g. *Dannheimer 1962*, 58–60).[8]

HAIR-PINS IN A LATE GERMANIC COSTUME

Solitary hair pins are known from Alemannic and Frankish environment, where they became popular during the 4th c. For the Great Migration Period, solitary hair pins are exclusively female jewellery that was used in Frankish, Alemannic, Thuringian and Langobardic areas (*Martin 1991*, 50; *Tomka 2005*, 251). There are longer pins (15–20 cm long), in most cases located next to the head with spike headed outwards (*Timpel 1980*, 227, 228). For the solitary hair pins, the position on the right side of the head is predominate. Another position of the pin is under the head or in the upper part of it. Based on the position of the pins, *J. Möller* (*1982*, 19–26) suggested the possible appearance of the female hair style. The theoretical inspiration in Roman provincial hair style is disputable. Moreover, the use of a hair pin is known in the Germanic tradition since the Early Roman Period (*Beckmann 1966*). Bronze and iron hair pins could be found in ordinary equipped female graves, on the other hand, gold or gilded pins are characteristic only for the elite graves. In that case, the golden (gold-plated) pin could be an indicator of a high social position of its owner (*Timpel 1980*, 228). Despite the fact that the hair pins are mainly found in the adult female graves, there are several exceptional finds from Langobardic area where pins were found also in the children burials (*Möller 1962*, 34).

In the western Germanic area, the longer solitary pins became a popular hair decoration and were in use until the 7th c. (*Merkel 2004*, 113, 114). Most of these pins are bronze, several silver examples are known from richer burials, and usually have a very simple decoration (*Rupp 2005*). At the beginning of the 7th c., richly decorated pins started to be used for fastening the upper cloth (*Martin 1995*, 50–52). The cloak pins could be found either on the breasts, belt area or in the lower part of the body. These pins sometimes appeared together with fibula and could possibly fix the upper garment – cloak or overcoat. The majority of cloak pins was found in adult female

[6] Original publication of R. Christlein was not available to the authors of this contribution.

[7] Dated by, among others, S-shaped fibula of Naumburg-Mochov-Stößen type.

[8] There are in fact another pin types and even some that could be predecessors of Thuringian-Bohemian gold-plated exemplars, as e.g. type Fécamp (*Böhme 1974*, 35, fig, 12: 1, list of finds 9).

burials however the pins could sometimes be a part of grave goods in the juveniles and older infant burials (*Gutsmiedl-Schümann 2014*).

At the end of the 6th and the beginning of the 7th c. in the area of the western Germanic tribes the combination of two small hair pins (usually with a larger head) got into fashion (*Martin 1995*, 52).[9] The custom to cover head with a longer veil probably came to barbarian environment from the Mediterranean area (*Möller 1982*, 16). Shorter pins usually with polyhedric head are known from the Late Roman graves and were in use during the Migration Period. Based on the location next to the head, the pins were used to fix the veil.[10] This popular fashion element is well attested in the Late Antique/Early Christian iconographic sources. The court ladies on the mosaic from basilica of San Vitale (Ravenna) are covered with large veils or cloaks, similar veils are worn by the holy martyrs depicted on mosaic from San Apollinare (Ravenna). Another example of this style are the veiled female figures on mosaics from the Late Roman *villa rustica* in Noheda (Spain). The perfect illustration of a female fashion from the 6th/7th c. are drawings from Ashburnham Pentateuch (*Codex Turonensis*). Interesting examples of a female headdress can be found on the luxury gilded glass bowls dated to the 4th c. from Dunaszekcsó and Intercisa in Pannonia. The depicted ladies wear a special bonnet (headgear) or a specially arranged veil (*Urbanová 2015*, 218). In the Early Medieval Period veil became an essential part of the female costume. In the Stuttgart Psalter is a depiction of a female figure with a coat pulled over her head and tightly fastened with a large brooch (*Martin 1991*, 630). A similar fashion is seen on female saints from the Lombard Temple in Cividale del Friuli. The habit of wearing a veil is reflected also in written sources, according *Lex Salica* the forcible removal of a female head covering used to be punished by law. In *Lex Baiuvariorum* were mentioned hair pins that were used by married women to fix their veils (*Möller 1982*, 15, 34).

The combination of two smaller hair pins could be accompanied by one bigger pin that was used for cloth fastening (*Martin 1995*, 52). The bigger pin could fasten either the cloak or a part of the spacious veil as it is presented on the queen Arnegunda's cloth reconstruction (*Martin 1991*, 647, fig. 12; *Möller 1982*, 18). Other two smaller pins with large spherical heads were found next to Arnegunda's head and originally were used to fasten the veil. The presence of veils is also documented on textile finds. Fragments of samite found in the grave of Arnegunda and two other female burials (42 and 47) had probably been part of a richly decorated and special veil (*Rast-Eicher 2010*, 209; *Desrosiers/Rast-Eicher 2012*, 4).

CONCLUSION

The gold-plated pins do not belong to frequent finds and based on older finds it is possible to gather 5 examples from Bohemia. It is obvious that the gold-plated pins from Bohemia correspond noticeably with the Thuringian exemplars and not with the examples from other regions. The datable finds from Bohemia, such as Praha-Dejvice, burial no. XIV, and Mochov, burial no. 2, provide a chronological support for the statement that these pins appeared at the turn of 5th and 6th c., i.e. phase E1 or Schmidt's phase IIb, which in Czech archaeological nomenclature wields the epithet 'Thuringian phase' (*Droberjar 2008; Schmidt 1961*, 173; *Svoboda 1965*, 224–227). Moreover, it is apparent, that the gold-plated iron pins are mostly not preserved in their original length, because the iron part deteriorated. The average length of the Bohemian finds is 7.55 cm, whereas the bronze, silver or golden pins are usually 14–15 cm long. A good example of that is the golden pin from burial no. 41 at Erfurt-Gispersleben, which is 15.9 cm long. It is obvious that tapered, corded end is in fact the head part of the pin and not the lower end. In that conception, the not-preserved iron part of pin from Praha-Dejvice, pictured in older photographs (*Urbanová/Kostka/Korený 2010*, fig. 2) makes sense and the reconstruction of the pin from Chotěšice with a knob-like head is incorrect.

The pin finds represent an important archaeological source for understanding the female costume development during the Great Migration Period. The function of these pins as a hair decoration is supported by applying the gold plating technique, so the item is too fragile to use for ordinary cloth fastening. Similar pins were found next to the head of the deceased, so the original function as hair decoration can be logically derived. Solitary hair pins were used exclusively by women and were used in Frankish, Baiuvaric, Alemannic, Thuringian and Langobardic area. The gold or gilded examples belong to rare finds and in the majority of cases were found in elite graves. During the 7th c., the function of longer pins had changed and examples where longer pins were used for cloth fastening are known.

[9] The combination of two hair pins is well known from Langobardic graves to the end of the 6th c. and consequently this fashion habit appeared in the Frankish/Alemannic area (*Möller 1982*, 18).

[10] In the 5th c. there are examples where a pair of short pins was found in the chest or shoulder area used as replacement for fibulas. Their distribution spreads from the Carpathian Basin and Pannonia through the south-west Germany to North Africa and can be dated to the 2nd third of the 5th c. (*Quast 2005*, 262–269; *Rácz 2016*, 315, 316).

FINDS CATALOGUE

1. **Tehov u Říčan, Prague-East distr.**
   Discovery background: a metal detector find of Tomáš Štefka in the 'Jedlice' wood, 11. 6. 2020, loose find at GPS 49.9750228 N, 14.7176167 E (WGS-84).
   Lenght: 96 mm.
   Inventory no.: H1-471975, National Museum, Prague.

2. **Mochov, Prague-East distr.**
   Discovery background: rescue excavations 1955–1958 at the site 'U starého Dvora', ransacked female grave no. 12.
   Other grave finds: a silver gilded S-shaped fibula with bird heads, a clay deep bowl, two groove-ornamented ceramic sherds, a fragment of an iron knife, parts of two three-layered bone/antler combs, a bronze ring.
   Lenght: 77 mm.
   Literature: *Svoboda 1965*, 188, fig. 45: 7, pl. LXXI: 8; *Zeman 1958*, 436, 437, 462, fig. 14; 25: 4.
   Inventory no.: H1-117165, National Museum, Prague.

3. **Praha-Dejvice, distr. Capital City of Prague**
   Discovery background: female grave no. XIV excavated by J. A. Jíra 22. 12. 1893 in brickworks of V. Mailbeck, partially robbed.
   Other grave finds: a clay dished pot, a chicken egg, a silver gilded fibula of Straß type, two bronze rings, a bronze ring with 7 knobs, a glass ring, Cypraea shell, three iron sticks (with textile imprints), rounded iron object with rivets, an iron axis of folding chair, an iron weaver sword, an iron cotter pin with a loop, a white stone bead, a silver terminal mounting from a knife sheath, a clay spindle whorl.
   Lenght: 50 mm.
   Literature: *Hlava 2010*, 462, 463, fig. 6; *Preidel 1930*, 298, 299, fig. 333b; *Svoboda 1965*, 188, pl. XLII: 9; *Urbanová/Kostka/Korený 2010*, 371, 372, fig. 4: 6.
   Inventory no.: P 352 (A 591), Prague City Museum.

4. **Chotěšice, Nymburk distr.**
   Discovery background: belongings of partially destroyed grave no. 1 rescued by J. Hellich during construction of a road between villages Chotěšice and Malá Strana in 1912.
   Other grave finds: a clay jug with a polished and engraved ornamentation, covered with a small clay cup, two bigger and three small clay beads.
   Lenght: 79 mm (88 mm with a cap).
   Literature: *Hellich 1919*, fig. 9: 1, 2; *Preidel 1930*, 298, 299, fig. 333: a; *Svoboda 1965*, 188, 241, 242, fig. 34.
   Inventory no.: MK 3851 (old nr. 1284), Polabí Museum in Poděbrady.

5. **Prague-Ruzyně, distr. Capital City of Prague**
   Discovery background: rescue excavations performed by Prague City Museum and Labrys, o.p.s. in 2003, 2006 and 2007–2008 in the area of Karlovarská Business Park (building D and E), site at the northern shore bench of Litovice stream, a pin found in a circular ditch dated to the Late Bronze Age.
   Other finds: isolated sherds of Early Migration Period
   Lenght: 31 mm
   Literature: *Kuchařík et al. 2008*, 206, 224, fig. 10: 7.
   Inventory no.: unknown.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aufderhaar 2009 – I. Aufderhaar: From the goldsmith's point of view: gilding on metals during the first millennium AD – techniques and their development in the Germanic area. *ArchaeoSciences, revue d'Archéométrie* 33, 2009, 243–253.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.4000/archeosciences.2269

Babucke 1997 – V. Babucke: Nach Osten bis an den Lech. Zur alamannischen Besiedlung der westlichen Raetia secunda. In: K. Fuchs/M. Kempa/R. Redies/B. Theune-Großkopf/A. Wais (Hrsg.): *Die Alamannen*. Stuttgart 1997, 249–260.

Beckmann 1966 – B. Beckmann: Studien über die Metallnadeln der römischen Kaiserzeit im freien Germanien. *Saalburg-Jahrbuch* 23, 1966, 5–100.

Böhme 1974 – H. W. Böhme: *Germanische Grabfunde des 4. bis 5. Jahrhunderts zwischen unterer Elbe und Loire. Studien zur Chronologie und Bevölkerungsgeschichte.* Münchner Beiträge zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte 19. München 1974.

von Carnap-Bornheim 1994 – C. von Carnap-Bornheim: Zur Entwicklung des germanischen Gold- und Silberschmiedehandwerks vor und nach den Markomannenkriegen – Vergoldung, Filigran und Pressblech. In: H. Friesinger/J. Tejral/A. Stuppner (Hrsg.): *Markomannenkriege. Ursachen und Wirkungen*. Spisy Archeologického ústavu AV ČR Brno 1. Brno 1994, 99–107.

Dannheimer 1962 – H. Dannheimer: *Die germanischen Funde der späten Kaiserzeit und des frühen Mittelalters in Mittelfranken*. Germanische Denkmäler der Völkerwanderungszeit. Serie A 6. Berlin 1962.

Dannheimer 1998 – H. Dannheimer: *Das baiuwarische Reihengräberfeld von Aubing, Stadt München.* Monographien der Prähistorischen Staatssammlung München 1. Stuttgart 1998.

Desrosiers/Rast-Eicher 2012 – S. Desrosieres/A. Rast-Eicher: Luxurious Merovingian Textiles Excavated from Burials in the Saint Denis Basilica, France in the 6th –7th Century. In: *Textiles and Politics: Textile Society of America 13th Biennial Symposium Proceedings* 675. Washington, DC 2012, 1–8.

Droberjar 2001 – E. Droberjar: Zlatý náramek typu Tournai-Blučina ze středních Čech. *Archeologie ve středních Čechách* 5, 2001, 517–527.

Droberjar 2008 – E. Droberjar: Thüringische und langobardische Funde und Befunde in Böhmen. Zum Problem der späten Phasen der Völkerwanderungszeit. In: J. Bemmann/M. Schmauder (Hrsg.): *Kulturwandel in Mitteleuropa. Langobarden – Awaren – Slawen.* Akten der Internationalen Tagung in Bonn vom 25. bis 28. Februar 2008. Kolloquien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte 11. Bonn 2008, 229–248.

Droberjar 2013 – E. Droberjar: Gold und Elite des 5. Jahrhunderts in Böhmen. In: M. Hardt/O. Heinrich-Tamáska (Hrsg.): *Macht des Goldes, Gold der Macht*. Forschungen zu Spätantike und Mittelalter 2. Weinstadt 2013, 281–294.

Geisler 1998 – H. Geisler: *Das frühbairische Gräberfeld Straubing-Bajuwarenstraße I. Katalog der archäologischen Befunde und Funde. Tafelband*. Internationale Archäologie 30. Rahden/Westf. 1998.

Gutsmiedl-Schümann 2014 – D. Gutsmiedl-Schümann: Vom kleinen Mädchen zur jungen Frau. Rekonstruktionen von Lebensabschnitten weiblicher subadulter Individuen auf Grund von archäologischen Funden aus merowingerzeitlichen Gräbern der Münchner Schotterebene. In: S. Moraw/A. Kieburg (Hrsg.): *Mädchen im Altertum/Girls in Antiquity.* Frauen – Forschung – Archäologie 11. Münster 2014, 417–430.

Hellich 1919 – J. Hellich: Merovejské hroby z Chotěšic. *Památky archeologické* 31, 1919, 32–35.

Hlava 2010 – M. Hlava: Zlato v Jírově sbírce. *Archaeologica Pragensia 20*, 2010, 458–477.

Korený 2008 – R. Korený: Merowingerzeitliche Hügelbestattungen in Böhmen. *Fines Transire* 17, 2008, 107–126.

Kuchařík et al. 2008 – M. Kuchařík/M. Bureš/I. Pleinerová/J. Jiřík: Nové poznatky k osídlení západního okraje Prahy v 5. století. In: E. Droberjar/B. Komoróczy/D. Vachůtová (eds.): *Barbarská sídliště. Chronologické, ekonomické a historické aspekty jejich vývoje ve světle nových archeologických výzkumů (Archeologie barbarů 2007).* Spisy Archeologického ústavu AV ČR Brno 37. Brno 2008, 201–232.

La Baume 1967 – P. La Baume: *Das fränkische Gräberfeld von Junkersdorf bei Köln*. Die fränkische Altertümer des Rheinlandes 3. Berlin 1967.

Losert 2003 – H. Losert: Teil I. Das frühmittelalterliche Gräberfeld von Altenerding in Oberbayern und die »Ethnogenese« der Bajuwaren. In: H. Losert/A. Pleterski: *Altenerding in Oberbayern. Struktur des frühmittelalterlichen Gräberfeldes und »Ethnogenese« der Bajuwaren.* Berlin – Bamberg – Ljubljana 2003, 5–499.

Martin 1991 – M. Martin: Tradition und Wandel der fibelgeschmückten frühmittelalterlichen Frauenkleidung. *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz* 38, 1991, 629–680.

Martin 1995 – M. Martin: Schmuck und Tracht des frühen Mittelalters. In: M. Martin/J. Prammer (Hrsg.): *Frühe Baiern im Straubinger Land.* Straubing 1995, 40–71.

Martin 2002 – M. Martin. „Mixti Alamannis Suevi"? Der Beitrag der alamannischen Gräberfelder am Basler Rheinknie. In: J. Tejral (Hrsg.): *Probleme der frühen Merowingerzeit im Mitteldonauraum*. Spisy Archeologického ústavu AV ČR Brno 19. Brno 2002, 195–223.

Menghin/Springer/Wamers 1987 – W. Menghin/T. Springer/E. Wamers (Hrsg.): *Germanen, Hunnen und Awaren. Schätze der Völkerwanderungszeit. Ausstellungskatalog.* Nürnberg 1987.

Merkel 2004 – M. Merkel: *Das frühmittelalterliche Gräberfeld von Altheim, Stadt Blieskastel, Saar-Pfalz-Kreis.* Dissertation zur Erlangung des Doktorgrades der Mathematisch-Naturwissenschaftlichen Fakultät der Christian-Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel. Kiel 2004.

Möller 1982 – J. Möller: Zur Funktion der Nadel in der fränkisch-alamannischen Frauentracht. *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz* 23–24, 1982, 14–53.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.11588/jrgzm.1976.0.47373

Natuniewicz-Sekuła 2017 – M. Natuniewicz-Sekuła: The Craft of the Goldsmith in Wielbark Culture in the Light of the Finds from the Cemetery at Weklice, Elbląg Commune and Other Necropolis of Roman Period from Elbląg Heights. Technological Studies of Selected Aspects. *Sprawozdania Archeologiczne* 69, 2017, 185–233. DOI: https://doi.org/10.23858/SA69.2017.008

Natuniewicz-Sekuła 2019 – M. Natuniewicz-Sekuła: The Craft of the Goldsmith in the Society of the Wielbark Culture from the Roman Period – case study of the cemetery at Weklice. In: A. Cieśliński/B. Kontny (eds.): *Interacting Barbarians. Contacts, Exchange and Migrations in the First Millennium AD.* Neue Studien zur Sachsenforschung 9. Warszawa – Braunschweig – Schleswig 2019, 297–308.

Neuffer-Müller/Ament 1973 – Ch. Neuffer-Müller/H. Ament: *Das fränkische Gräberfeld von Rübenach.* Die fränkische Altertümer des Rheinlandes 7. Berlin 1973.

Preidel 1930 – H. Preidel: *Die germanischen Kulturen in Böhmen und ihre Träger, Erster Band: Die Kulturen*. Kassel – Wilhelmshöhe 1930.

Quast 2005 – D. Quast: Völkerwanderungszeitliche Frauengräber aus *Hippo Regius* (Annaba/Bône) in Algerien. *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz* 52, 2005, 237–315.

Quast 2013 – D. Quast: Ein kleiner Goldhort der jüngeren römischen Kaiserzeit aus Černivci (ehem. Czernowitz/Cernăuţi) in der westlichen Ukraine nebst einigen Anmerkungen zu goldenen Kolbenarmringen. In: M. Hardt/O. Heinrich-Tamáska (Hrsg.): *Macht des Goldes, Gold der Macht. Herrschafts- und Jenseitspräsentation zwischen Antike und Frühmittelalter im mittleren Donauraum. Forschungen zu Spätantike und Mittelalter Band 2. Akten des 23. Internationalen Symposiums der Grundproblemeder frühgeschichtlichen Entwicklung im mittleren Donauraum. Tengelic, 16.–19. 11. 2011.* Weinstadt 2013, 171–186.

Rácz 2016 – Z. Rácz: Zwischen Hunnen- und Gepidenzeit. Frauengräber aus dem 5. Jahrhundert im Karpatenbecken. *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 67, 2016, 301–359.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.1556/072.2016.67.2.6

Rast-Eicher 2010 – A. Rast-Eicher: Garments for a queen – first results of the new investigation on the merowingian grave of Queen Arnegundis. In: E. Andersson Strand/M. Gleba/U. Mannering/Ch. Munkholt/M. Ringgaard (eds): *North European Symposium for Archaeological Textiles X, Symposium in May 2008 in Copenhagen.* Oxford 2010, 208–210.

Rupp 2005 – C. Rupp: *Das langobardische Gräberfeld von Nocera Umbra: 1. Katalog und Tafeln.* Richerche di Archeologia Altomedievale e Medievale 31. All'Insegna del Giglio 2005.

Schmidt 1961 – B. Schmidt: *Die späte Völkerwanderungszeit in Mitteldeutschland.* Veröffentlichungen des Landesmuseums für Vorgeschichte in Halle 18. Halle (Saale) 1961.

Schmidt 1970 – B. Schmidt: *Die späte Völkerwanderungszeit in Mitteldeutschland. Katalog (Südteil).* Veröffentlichungen des Landesmuseums für Vorgeschichte in Halle 25. Berlin 1970.

Schmidt 1976 – B. Schmidt: *Die späte Völkerwanderungszeit in Mitteldeutschland. Katalog (Nord- und Ostteil).* Veröffentlichungen des Landesmuseums für Vorgeschichte in Halle 29. Berlin 1976.

Svoboda 1965 – B. Svoboda: *Čechy v době stěhování národů.* Monumenta Archaeologica Tomus XIII. Praha 1965.

Tejral 2002 – J. Tejral: Beiträge zur Chronologie des langobardischen Fundstoffes nördlich der mittleren Donau. In: J. Tejral (Hrsg.): *Probleme der frühen Merowingerzeit im Mitteldonauraum.* Spisy Archeologického ústavu AV ČR Brno 19. Brno 2002, 313–358.

Tejral/Peters/Loskotová 2011 – J. Tejral/D. Peters/Z. Loskotová (Hrsg.): *Langobardische Gräberfelder in Mähren I.* Spisy archeologického ústavu AV ČR v Brně 39. Brno 2011.

Timpel 1980 – W. Timpel: Das altthüringische Wagengrab von Erfurt-Gispersleben. *Alt-Thüringen* 17, 1980, 181–238.

Tomka 2005 – P. Tomka: Langobardenforschung in Nordwestungarn. In: W. Pohl/P. Erhart (Hrsg.): *Die Langobarden. Herrschaft und Identität*. Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 9. Wien 2005, 247–264.

Urbanová 2015 – K. Urbanová: Nové národy na obzoru – nová móda. Hroby barbarů v Praze Zličíně. In: J. Jiřík/J. Vávra/M. Šmolíková/M. Kuchařík a kol.: *Hroby barbarů v Praze Zličíně. Svět živých a mrtvých doby stěhování národů.* Praha 2015, 207–219.

Urbanová/Kostka/Korený 2010 – K. Urbanová/M. Kostka/R. Korený: Neznámý známý hrob z Prahy-Dejvic – Podbaby. *Archaeologica Pragensia* 20, 2010, 361–392.

Werner 1962 – J. Werner: *Die Langobarden in Pannonien. Beiträge zur Kenntnis der langobardischen Bodenfunde vor 568*. Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Abhandlungen. Neue Folge 55 A. München 1962.

Zeman 1958 – J. Zeman: Pohřebiště z doby stěhování národů v Mochově. *Památky archeologické* 49, 1958, 423–471.

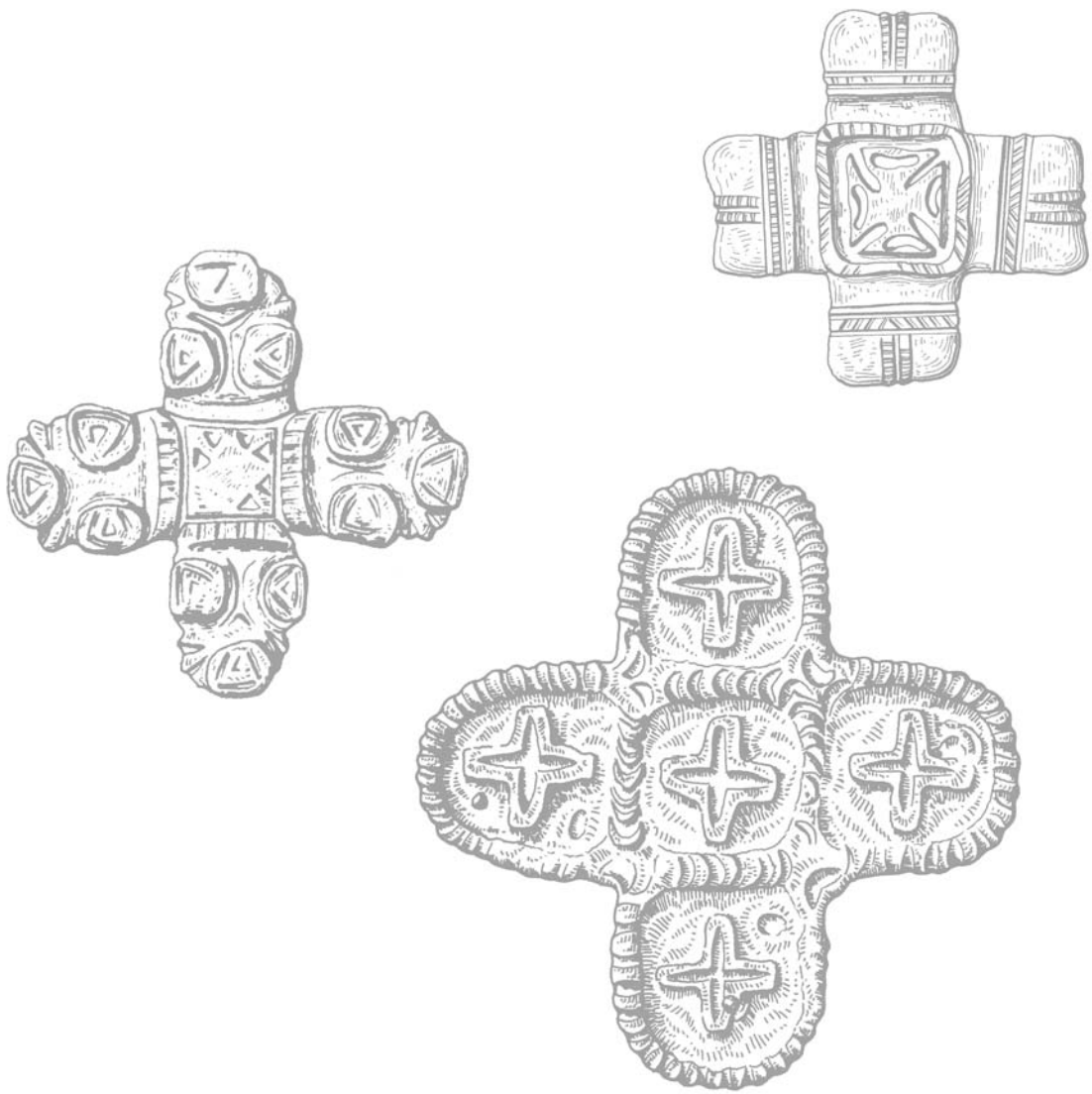
Manuscript accepted 13. 7. 2021

Translated by Viktoria Čisťakova, Zdeněk Beneš, Josef Souček

Mgr. Viktoria Čisťakova
Oddělení pravěku a antického starověku
Historické muzeum, Národní muzeum
Václavské náměstí 68
CZ – 115 79 Praha 1
viktoria.cistakova@nm.cz

Mgr. Zdeněk Beneš
Ústav archeologické památkové péče středních Čech
Nad Olšinami 448/3
CZ – 100 00 Praha 10
zdenek.benes@uappsc.cz

The Slavs



SLOVENSKÁ ARCHEOLÓGIA – SUPPLEMENTUM 2
Z. Robak/M. Ruttkay (eds.): Celts – Germans – Slavs.
A Tribute Anthology to Karol Pieta. Nitra 2021, 391–396.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.31577/slovarch.2021.suppl.2.37

THE EARLY SLAVIC SUNKEN HOUSE FROM SENICA

ZDENĚK FARKAŠ – IGOR CHOMA – PAVOL JELÍNEK

A rescue archaeological research in Senica, part Párovce was performed in a polyculture settlement and a part of a skeletal burial ground attributed to the Únětice culture from the Early Bronze Age. The present paper discusses finds from the early Slavic period. A sunken house with remains of a stone-soil furnace and an oval pit belongs to the settlement phase. Based on the Prague-type pottery, the features are both dated back to the 6th c. The settlement, thus, could be considered to be the oldest evidence of the Slavic presence in western Záhorie, in the Myjava and Teplica basins.

Keywords: Western Slovakia, Prague culture, Early Slavic Period, sunken house.

Between 2015 and 2017, the Slovak National Museum, Archaeological Museum in Bratislava performed rescue archaeological researches in Senica, part Párovce (Senica distr.). The excavations were motivated by the construction of accommodation and restaurant facilities and revealed a polyculture settlement site ranging from the Neolithic period to the High Middle Ages and a skeletal burial ground from the Early Bronze Age. Párovce hills are located in the south-eastern part of the Chvojnice Uplands, on a tip of a Pleistocene terrace forming a loess promontory over the confluence of the Rovenský creek and the Teplica river (Fig. 1). The archaeological site is located about 205 m a.s.l., about 4–5 m above the neighbouring river valleys. The promontory, thus, offers a wide view over the area, up to the Little Carpathians, towards the Zámčisko massive or the Myjava Upland. Geologically, the upland consists of the Quaternary sediments dated back to the Middle Pleistocene, fluvial sediments covered with loess, diluvial clays and flushings with modal and cultural brown earth on the top of it. Archaeological research, often limited to surface surveys, started there at the turn of first and second decades of the current century due to the construction of commercial facilities (*Daňo 2011*, 81; *Hoššo/Piatničková/Šuteková 2011*; *Vávra/Bača 2016*, 55 ff., 119).

Fig. 1. Senica, part Párovce. A – site revealed during the archaeological research; B – location of feature no. 32, a sunken house from the early Slavic period. Background map: ZBGIS.

The site that aroused the interest of the Slovak National Museum, Archaeological Museum in Bratislava was located to the east of the site where a Kaufland supermarket had been planned (Fig. 1: A). Traces of the early Slavic settlement were discovered in the south-eastern part of the site, shielded – from the East and South – by slopes of the upland over the confluence of the Rovenský creek and the Teplica river (Fig. 1: B).

FEATURE 32

The sunken house was rectangular or slightly trapezoid with a flat bottom and sloping sidewalls. The backfill consisted of a compact un-layered black-brown soil consistent with the local topsoil. The fact that the walls were slightly sloping could be attributed to destruction processes after the feature ceased to be used in its primary function.

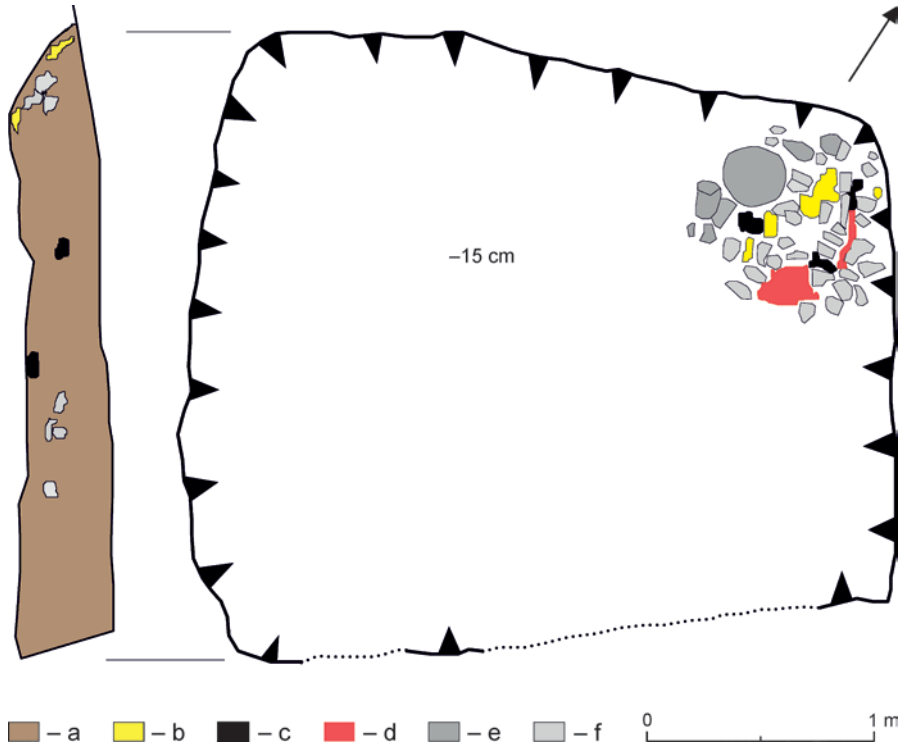


Fig. 2. Senica, part Párovce. Feature 32, a sunken house from the early Slavic period. Legend: a – dark brown clay-like soil; b – loess-clay soil; c – a charcoal fragment or an ash layer; d – burnt soil; e – stones from the furnace body, on-site; f – stones from the furnace destruction.

In its north-eastern corner, remains of a heating device – a furnace – were found. The furnace was built from crushed stone (granite and fragments of sandstone), in both primary and secondary positions, burnt clay, daub and remains of burnt wood. Judging by the preserved pieces of wood covered with daub, wood could be part of wattle furnishings of a clay dome shelled with stones. The hearth was placed on the floor level and consisted of yellow loess soil coloured grey. Stones forming foundations of the construction – in the primary position found only in the northern part of the dwelling, by the wall – were sunken in the soil. Special attention was focused on a circular stone slab (0.28 cm in diam.) located in line with the perimeter wall (Fig. 2). After removing destructed elements, we cannot exclude that, originally, the furnace was built in the shape of an isosceles trapezoid. Presumably, its foundations were wider along the north-eastern wall. The narrower side of the furnace – along the south-western wall – had an opening oriented to the interior of the dwelling. External dimensions of the furnace walls were about 0.8 and 0.5 m and were placed at a distance of 0.8 m from each other. The stone foundation wall was only slightly thicker than 0.1 m.

We were unable to capture any postholes – indicating the presence of some above-ground construction – either in the flat bottom of the feature, slightly raised in the centre (about 0.04 m) with slightly lifted rectangular, or around it. A darker stain in the north-western corner of the dwelling is a fragment of a younger burrow. The south-eastern wall of the dwelling, except for the corners, was considerably damaged by an earth-moving machine used during preliminary preparations of an access route to the Párovce upland. An unreinforced floor was placed at a depth of 0.3–0.34 m from the upper layer of the light soil. To this, we need to add a layer of black-brown topsoil and subsoil. In this area, the thickness of those layers could range between 0.6 and 0.8 m. However, we need to take into account that the original terrain was considerably altered by various agricultural activities performed there throughout the centuries, mostly by horticulture and greenhouses. Generally, the feature was 3.1 m long and 2.1–2.72 m wide (Fig. 2).

134 pottery shreds were extracted from the backfill of feature 32. Most of them were fragments of early Slavic vessels. Using the shreds, it was possible to reconstruct three vessels.

1. A smaller mug-like pot (a cup). The item was hand-made from a granular material without a potter's wheel. The pot has a flat bottom, a barrel-shaped body and a low, cylindrical mouth. The widest part of the pot is slightly

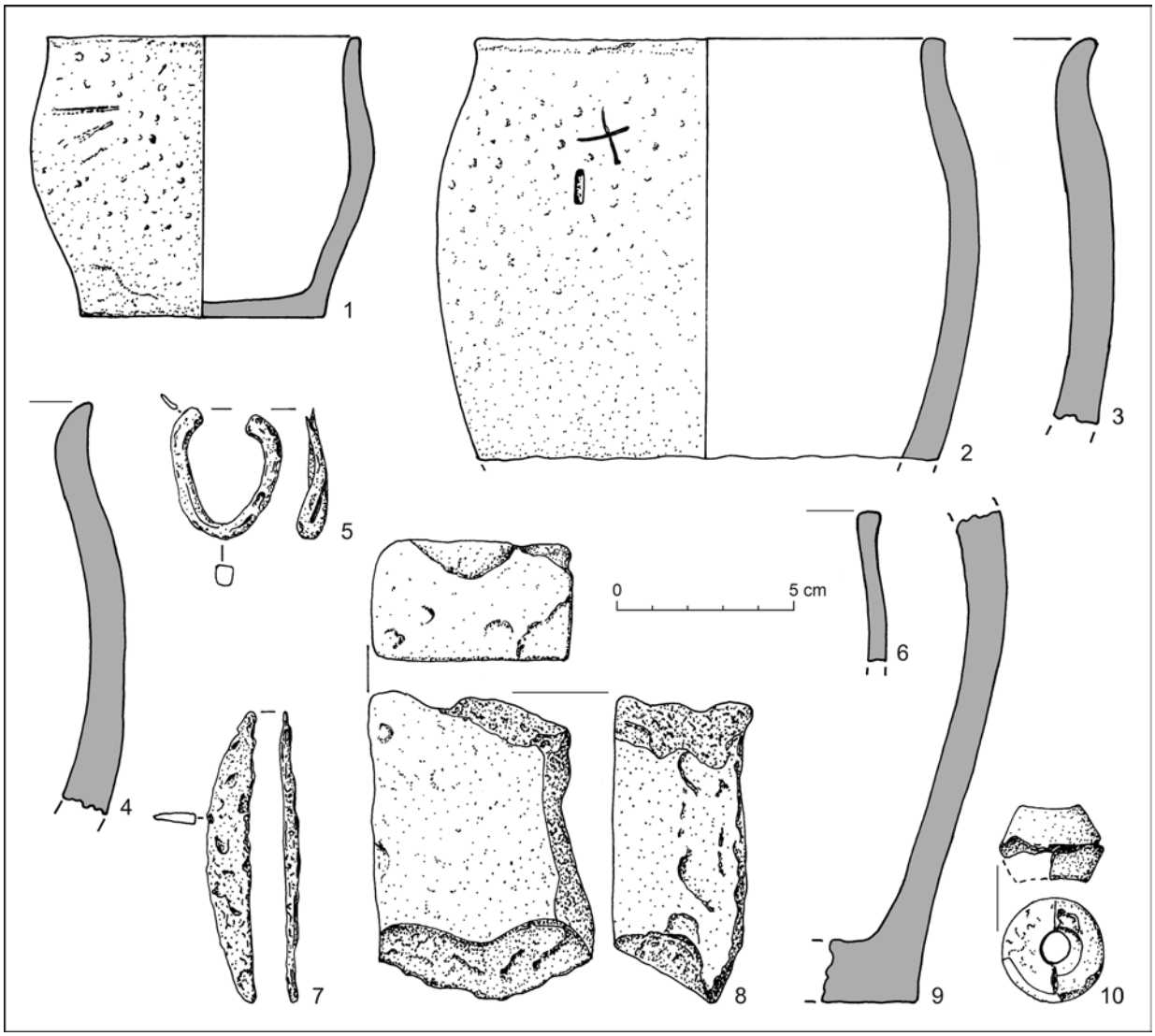


Fig. 3. Senica, part Párovce, feature 32. 1–4, 6, 9 – pottery; 5 – an eyelet made from an iron wire; 7 – an iron knife with a convex blade; 8 – sandstone whetstone; 10 – ceramic spindle whorl.

above half of the item height. The item's light-dark brown surface is undecorated, but rough due to the presence of sand grains. It is clear, however, that a considerable effort was put to smooth the grains out. This effort is evidenced by horizontal and oblique stripes – smudges made with fingertips with traces of blurred papillary lines. Inside, the pot is ochre and brown-black. Dimensions: height 7.9 cm, bottom diam. 7 cm, widest diam. 9.8 cm, mouth diam. 8.5 cm (Fig. 3: 1).

2. A pot-like vessel (about 30% of the lower part with the bottom is missing). It was hand-made from a granular material without a potter's wheel. The vessel is widest in its upper third and has a low, cylindrical, straight-cut irregular mouth. The item's brown-dark brown surface is undecorated, but rough due to the presence of sand grains. A considerable effort was put to smooth the grains out. This effort is evidenced by horizontal and oblique stripes – smudges made with fingertips with traces of blurred papillary lines. On the back, in still-wet clay, a delicate isosceles cross with bent arms – slightly tilted to the left – was engraved. Below, there is a rectangular cavity – a trace of burnt organic material. Inside, the vessel is ochre. Preserved dimensions: height 12 cm, mouth diam. 13.4 cm, widest diam. 15.8 cm, diam. of the preserved bottom part 13.3 cm, mouth thickness 0.6 cm, bottom thickness 0.9 cm, cross dimensions 1.6 × 1.5 cm, cross thickness 0.05–0.1 cm (Fig. 3: 2).
3. A bottom and a fragment of the body of a hand-made vessel. The vessel was made from a granular material with its widest part in the upper third of the body and has a flat bottom. There are sand grains on its brown-black surface and traces of smoothing the surface out. The fracture is black. Dimensions: 12 × 11.4 cm, wall thickness 1–1.2 cm, bottom thickness 2 cm (Fig. 3: 9).

4.–5. Edges of pot-like vessels with widest parts in the upper third of the body and slightly outwardly curved mouth. The vessels were hand-made from a sandy material. The vessels' surfaces are red-brown–light-brown

and slightly rough with smudged papillary lines. The fracture is rusty and black. Dimensions: 11.4 × 8.4 cm and 10.3 × 8.6 cm (Fig. 3: 3, 4).

6. An edge of a pot-like vessel resembling item no. 1 with a low bold cylindrical and horizontally cut mouth. The vessel was made from clay with a small number of fine stones. Its surface is brown with a black spot. The fracture is brick-red. Dimensions: 4.2 × 3.3 cm, thickness 0.6 cm (Fig. 3: 6).

Intrusions of an older cultural layer comprised single shreds dated roughly back to prehistoric times, the Late La Tène period and the High Middle Ages. Apparently, the latter was moved to the older layer through burrows of various animals. Most shreds of early medieval pottery concentrated around the furnace.

Except for the furnace destruction, there were only five small pieces of daub in the backfill. Together with a wider context of the find, this could indicate that the feature decayed naturally. Organic material – mainly in the northern part of the backfill – contained 60 relatively small fragments of animal bones and a snail shell (*Capaea vindobonensis*).

The so-called small finds included a transversely cracked spindle whorl, an eyelet made from an iron wire, an iron knife(?), and fragments of a whetstone.

1. A ceramic, bi-conical spindle whorl with a sharp body and flat top and bottom. Its surface is brown, smooth and the fracture is brick-red-grey. The find consists of two parts and about a quarter of the item is missing. Dimensions: diam. 2.9 cm, height 2.2 cm, diam. of the top and the bottom 1.6 and 1.9 cm, opening diam. 0.8 cm (Fig. 3: 10).
2. An open eyelet made from an iron, rectangular wire with hammered tips. A chain-link(?). Dimensions: length 3.9 cm, width 3.2 cm, wire thickness 0.6 cm, weight 10.68 g (Fig. 3: 5).
3. A pointed iron strap with one convex and one concave side, without a blade. Judging by a broken tang the knife had a convex blade. Dimensions: length 8.2 cm, max. height 1.4 cm, thickness 0.4 cm, weight 9.68 g (Fig. 3: 7).
4. A whetstone made from a rusty sandstone with a slightly convex upper side and untreated slate base. Its sides are vertically ground. Shorter sides are broken. Dimensions: length 8.5 cm, width 6.8 cm, thickness 4.4 cm, weight 248.14 g (Fig. 3: 8).

The dating of feature 32 from Senica, Párovce, relies mainly on the pottery, particularly the reconstructed or partially reconstructed vessels. All the vessels were hand-made, without a potter's wheel, from clay containing fine-grained silica sand and in some cases also organic material. Except for a small, isosceles – the so-called Greek – cross engraved on the back of a slim, tall pot-like vessel (Fig. 3: 2), there were no traces of decoration on the shreds.

Simple engraved crosses, whether upright, inclined or resembling a swastika are relatively common decorations of the early Slavic pottery from Romanian Moldova, Muntenia and Oltenia, through Upper Odra and Elbe regions up to Central Bohemia (*Parczewski 2001*, fig. 1; *Teodor/Stanciu 2009*, 129). A separate collection of finds comes from the Czech Pomoravia (surroundigs of river Morava; *Jelínková 1990*, 262, fig. 3: 7; 7: 5; *Parczewski 2001*, fig. 1) and the find from Senica could be – at least geographically – attributed to it. From Slovakia, possibly a vessel from Galanta, part Matúškovo, could be linked with those finds. The vessel is decorated by five punctures on the belly arranged into a cross motif (*Fusek 1994*, 61, pl. XIII: 1).

The cross on the vessel from Senica is rather a 'sign' or a symbol than an ornament (*Jelínková 1990*, 262) without any direct reference to its later Christian meaning. Although, for instance, in Romania, in the 6th and 7th c. such symbolic meaning of the cross motif could not be ruled out. Particularly Wallachia was at that time strongly influenced by the Byzantine culture. However, in Bohemia, Moravia and northwestern Slovakia such application of a cross is rather unlikely (*Parczewski 2001*, 20; *Stanciu 2018*, 307–324). The cross motif was known already in prehistoric art and, in addition to decorative function, it had also a deeply symbolic and magic meaning (e.g. *Matoušek/Štajnochr 2001*, 177) that lasted during the Christian times (*Karbusický 1963*, 298) although often had loose relations to the official Christian teaching.

The vessels surface is rough – a consequence of the clay used for its manufacturing. However, there are clear traces – manufacturer's smudged papillary lines – of a considerable effort to smooth the surface out, mainly by hand. Burnt vessels have various shades of brown with black spots here and there. Slim vessels with the low, slightly outwardly curved mouth are consistent with early Slavic pottery (*Bialeková 1962*, 97 ff.), the Prague-type, group I pottery – Borkovský type – i.e. slim vase-like vessels (*Pleinerová/Zeman 1970*, 724). At the same time, they are closely related to the 1st settlement phase of Prague-type pottery finds in Moravia (*Jelínková 1990*, 258 ff.) or the I horizon of the early Slavic, undecorated pottery from Bajč (*Ruttkay 2002*, 269). According to the classification by *G. Fusek* (*1994*, 34–38, 52, 53), the partially reconstructed vessel and two larger shreds of upper parts of pots (Fig. 3: 2–4) could be attributed to the group of slim handcrafted, unrounded pots with cylindrical or slightly outwardly curved mouths. The small mug-like pot and also a fragment of another, similar item belong to a group of miniature vessels lower than

[1] We consider the term Prague culture as imprecise from the linguistic, terminological as well as historic as archaeological perspective. Instead, we would prefer a more descriptive term – the culture of tribes with Prague-type pottery.

8 cm (*Fusek 1994*, 77). The scarce ceramic material, thus, allows linking feature 32 from Senica to the I phase of early Slavic settlement in Slovakia (*Ruttkay 2002*, 250), most likely to the period corresponding to the Ia stage (*Fusek 1994*, 73, 74, 101), i.e. to the 6th c.

In terms of typology and material, pottery from the Parovce upland resembles also finds from Suchohrad – attributed by *G. Fusek* and *J. Zábojník* (*2010*, 163), with utmost probability, to the oldest phase (Ia) of the Prague culture.[1] Thus, it is possible that the settlement in Senica, part Párovce, had emerged already before the Avars came to the Carpathian Basin and the Lombards went to north Italy (*Fusek 1994*, 103). The material from Senica, however, does not confirm mutual contacts between those two culturally and linguistically different ethnic groups. If, however, the site in Senica was dated back to the times before 568 CE, the lack of documented contacts between the groups could be related, among others, to the relatively large distance between the Chvojnice Upland and lower reaches of the Moravia, close to the place where Moravia flows into the Danube (*Kraskovská 1963*, 693 ff.; *1968*, 209 ff.; *Turčan 2012*), where settlement dated back to the final phase of the Migration Period is well-documented. Hopefully, the chronology of the site will be refined by further research and radiocarbon dating of organic material.

Other finds – a bi-conical spindle whorl typical for the period (*Fusek 1994*, 80; *Ruttkay 2002*, 278), an iron knife with a convex blade, an eyelet and possibly also chain links as well as a whetstone (rather than a touchstone; *Ježek 2012*, 26–49) made from local sandstone (Fig. 3: 5, 7, 8, 10) provide little chronological information. Together with numerous fragments of animal bones, the finds simply support the view that the settlement was used for a longer time with an economy based on agriculture, domestic animals breeding and local craft production.

Sunken houses – mostly rectangular with a furnace in a corner – were characteristic dwellings in the early Slavic period (*Bialeková 1962*, 122; *Šalkovský 1998*, 10). With time, the dimensions of the sunken houses increased and in phases Ia and Ib the inner surface could be as large as 9.05–9.54 m^2 (*Fusek 1994*, 128, 129). In Bajč, the most common were the type I dwellings, a square or rectangular pit without postholes and dimensions ranging from 4.8 to 18.4 m^2 – most frequently between 6.5 and 12 m^2 (*Ruttkay 2002*, 251). The sunken house from Senica – with a surface of 7.7 m^2 – could be attributed to this category. It is believed that underground parts of the dwellings were mostly wooden (*Ruttkay 2002*, 256) made from beams using the log or quasi-log technique (*Šalkovský 1998*, 16).

The only exceptional characteristic of the feature is the trapezoidal furnace – or rather its remains – with a flat round stone hearth at the firebox opening that could have been used as a 'hot plate'.

CONCLUSIONS

The rescue archaeological research in Senica, in the Párovce upland, revealed a fragment of an early Slavic settlement dated back to the 6th c., probably before 568 CE. So far, during the excavations, we have discovered a sunken house with a furnace (feature 32; Fig. 2) and a nearby unspecified, pit-like settlement feature (feature; Fig. 4).

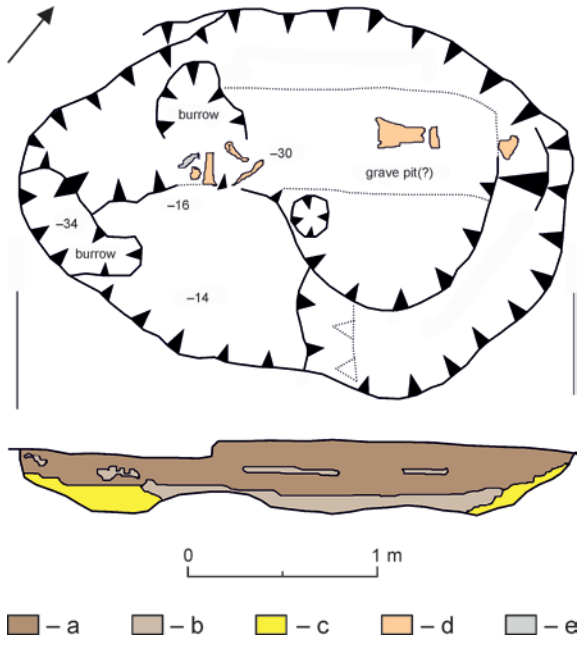


Fig. 4. Senica, part Párovce. Feature 39, a settlement pit from the early Slavic period. Legend: a – dark brown clay-like soil; b – light brown clay-like soil; c – yellow loess; d – bones; e – a stone.

According to the older literature, early Slavic settlement in Záhorie concentrated mainly in the vicinity of the Moravia (*Bialeková 1962*, fig. 52; *Fusek 1994*, Map 1; *Fusek/Zábojník 2010*, 155 ff.). However, more recent findings confirmed settlements related to the phase Ia of the Prague culture in Záhorie in Suchohrad (*Fusek/Zábojník 2010*, 155 ff.) and on sandy clays of Búry in Lakšárska Nová Ves (*Tomčíková 1991*, 69 ff.). The newest research points to another site in Senice in the Chvojnická upland in the Myjava and Teplica (its right-bank tributary) valleys.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bialeková 1962 – D. Bialeková: Nové včasnoslovanské nálezy z juhozápadného Slovenska. *Slovenská archeológia* 10, 1962, 97–148.

Daňo 2011 – R. Daňo: Archeologický výskum na stavbe OC KAUFLAND v Senici. *AVANS 2008*, 2011, 81.

Fusek 1994 – G. Fusek: *Slovensko vo včasnoslovanskom období*. Archaeologica Slovaca Monographiae. Studia 3. Nitra 1994.

Fusek/Zábojník 2010 – J. Fusek/J. Zábojník: Frühslawisches Siedlungsobjekt aus Suchohrad. In: J. Beljak/G. Březinová/V. Varsik (eds.): *Archeológia Barbarov 2009. Hospodárstvo Germánov.* Archaeologica Slovaca Monographiae. Communicationes 10. Nitra 2010, 155–180.

Hoššo/Piatničková/Šuteková 2011 – J. Hoššo/K. Piatničková/J. Šuteková: Záchranný výskum na stavbe Obchodná zóna v Senici. *AVANS 2008*, 2011, 108, 109.

Jelínková 1990 – D. Jelínková: K chronologii sídlištních nálezů s keramikou pražského typu na Moravě. In: *Pravěké a slovanské osídlení Moravy. Sborník k 80. narozeninám Josefa Poulíka*. Brno 1990, 251–281.

Ježek 2012 – M. Ježek: Prubířský kámen raně středověké společnosti. *Archeologické rozhledy* 64, 2012, 26–58.

Karbusický 1963 – V. Karbusický: Žánrová podstata a datování lucké války v Kosmově kronice. *Český lid* 50, 1963, 292–304.

Kraskovská 1963 – Ľ. Kraskovská: Nálezy z doby sťahovania národov na západnom Slovensku. *Archeologické rozhledy* 15, 1963, 693–700.

Kraskovská 1968 – Ľ. Kraskovská: Hroby z doby sťahovania národov pri Devínskom Jazere. *Archeologické rozhledy* 20, 1968, 209–212.

Matoušek/Štajnochr 2001 – V. Matoušek/V. Štajnochr: Pozdně eneolitická pohřební keramika v Čechách. *Archeologie ve středních Čechách* 5, 2001, 153–200.

Parczewski 2001 – M. Parczewski: Ornament czy symbol kultu? Znak krzyża na naczyniach wczesnosłowiańskich. In: J. Gancarski (red.): *Dzieje Podkarpacia. Tom V. Początki chrześcijaństwa w Małopolsce*. Krosno 2001, 15–21.

Pleinerová/Zeman 1970 – I. Pleinerová/J. Zeman: Návrh klasifikace časně slovanské keramiky v Čechách. *Archeologické rozhledy 22*, 1970, 721–732.

Ruttkay 2002 – M. Ruttkay: Mittelalterliche Siedlung und Gräberfeld in Bajč-Medzi kanálmi (Vorbericht). *Slovenská archeológia* 50, 2002, 245–322.

Šalkovský 1998 – P. Šalkovský: Dedinský dom a sídlo vo včasnom stredoveku. In: *Ľudová architektúra a urbanizmus vidieckych sídiel na Slovensku*. Bratislava 1998, 9–36.

Stanciu 2018 – I. Stanciu: Cross-shaped signs on 6th and 7th centuries pottery. In: D. Aparaschivei/G. Bilavschi (eds.): *Studia Romana ed mediaevalia Europaensia. Miscellanea in honorem annos LXXXV peragentis Professoris emeritiu Dan Gh. Teodor oblata*. Honoria 13. Bucureşti – Brăila 2018, 307–354.

Teodor/Stanciu 2009 – E. S. Teodor/I. Stanciu: About Crosses on Wet Clay as a Cultural Marker. *Ephemeris Napocensis* 19, 2009, 129–155.

Tomčíková 1991 – K. Tomčíková: Včasnoslovanské sídliskové nálezy v Lakšárskej Novej Vsi. *Zborník SNM* 85. *Archeológia* 1, 1991, 69–84.

Turčan 2012 – V. Turčan: Sťahovanie národov v naddunajskej časti Bratislavy. In: J. Šedivý/T. Štefanovičová (zost.): *Dejiny Bratislavy 1. Od počiatkov do prelomu 12. a 13. storočia. Brezalauspurc na križovatke dejín*. Bratislava 2012, 285, 286.

Vávra/Bača 2016 – R. Vávra/M. Bača: Osídlenie z neskorej doby bronzovej v Senici, poloha Sedlička. *Musaica Archaeologica* 2, 2016, 55–126.

Manuscript accepted 3. 7. 2021

Translated by Magdalena Adamus

PhDr. Zdeněk Farkaš, PhD.
SNM – Archeologické múzeum
Žižkova 12
P. O. Box 13
SK – 810 06 Bratislava
zdenek.farkas@snm.sk

Mgr. Igor Choma
SNM – Archeologické múzeum
Žižkova 12
P. O. Box 13
SK – 810 06 Bratislava
igor.choma@gmail.com

Mgr. Pavol Jelínek, PhD.
SNM – Archeologické múzeum
Žižkova 12
P. O. Box 13
SK – 810 06 Bratislava
pavol.jelinek@gmail.com

SLOVENSKÁ ARCHEOLÓGIA – SUPPLEMENTUM 2
Z. Robak/M. Ruttkay (eds.): Celts – Germans – Slavs.
A Tribute Anthology to Karol Pieta. Nitra 2021, 397–399.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.31577/slovarch.2021.suppl.2.38

OHRRINGE MIT PENDILIEN AUS CÍFER-PÁC[1]

GABRIEL FUSEK

Earrings with Pendilia from Cífer-Pác. In one of the graves at the Avar Kaghanate Period graveyard, two earrings with pendilia characteristic of the Pre-Köttlach Horizon were found. Along with them was in the grave a necklace composed of typical Avar beads. The find dates back to the second half of the 8th century, with an emphasis on its last quarter.

Keywords: Southwestern Slovakia, Early Middle Ages, earrings, beads.

Während der Ausgrabungen auf umfangreichem frühmittelalterlichem Gräberfeld in Cífer, Ortsteil Pác, Flur Nad mlynom I wurde ein Grab mit einem Paar von Ohrringen, die in unserem geographischen Milieu einzigartig sind, freigelegt. Die Fundstelle befindet sich im Niederungsteil der westlichen Slowakei (Abb. 1), im geomorphologischen Gebiet Trnavská tabuľa. Auf dem Gräberfeld aus dem 8.–9. Jh. wurden in Jahren 1971, 1972, 1975, 1979 und 1983 zusammen 119 Gräber untersucht, doch bisher ist es nicht vollständig freigelegt und auch nicht veröffentlicht (*Fusek 2006*, 27).

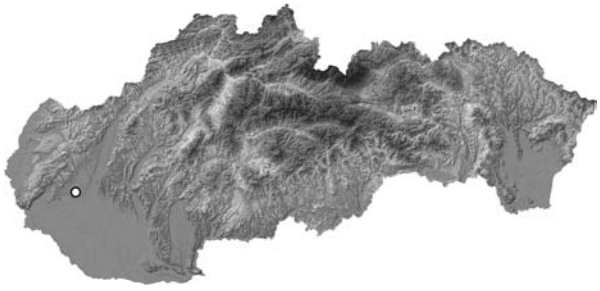


Abb. 1. Lage von Cífer-Pác auf der Karte der Slowakei.

Grab 89 (Abb. 2)

Die Grabgrube, ungefähr in Richtung W – O orientiert, wurde im Lössuntergrund in Tiefe 60 cm erkannt. Sie hatte einen rechteckigen Grundriss mit gerundeten Ecken, maximale Länge 123 cm, Breite 54 cm. Die Nordwand war vertikal, die anderen hatten sich mäßig schräg zum Boden in Tiefe 77–78 cm verengt. Längst der Nordwand befand sich in der unteren Hälfte ein niedriges, 10 cm breites flaches Treppchen. Im Boden der Grabgrube befanden sich gleichlaufend mit ihren engeren Wänden sehr flache enge Aushöhlungen. Am Boden in Lage auf dem Rücken lag ein Skelett eines Kindes im Alter Infans I.[2] Dicht links und rechts neben dem Schädel lagen zwei Ohrringe (1, 2), am Hals eine Reihe von Perlen aus einer Halskette (3) und in der nordwestlichen Ecke einige Tierknochen.

1. Beschädigter Ringohrring mit zwei Pendilien, die aus Pseudokettchen und Blechplättchen zusammengesetzt sind. Dm. 13 × 15 mm, Drahtdicke 0,8 mm, erhaltene L. eines Pseudokettchens 17 mm, des zweiten 11 mm, L. der Plättchen 5 und 6 mm (Abb. 3: 1).
2. Beschädigter Ringohrring mit zwei Pendilien, die aus Pseudokettchen und Blechplättchen zusammengesetzt sind. Dm. 14 mm, Drahtdicke 0,8 mm, erhaltene L. der zwei Fragmente eines Pseudokettchens 9 und 6 mm, des zweiten 15 mm, L. der Plättchen 4 und 5 mm (Abb. 3: 2).
3. Halskette, zusammengesetzt aus sieben Glasperlen:
   a) Schwarze Melonenkernperle mit Metallröhrchen in Öffnung, L. 15 mm (Abb. 3: 3a).
   b) Beschädigte schwarze Melonenkernperle mit Metallröhrchen in Öffnung, L. 13 mm (Abb. 3: 3b).
   c) Bruchstück einer schwarzen Melonenkernperle mit Metallröhrchen in Öffnung, L. 11 mm (Abb. 3: 3c).
   d) Opake, mild türkisfarbige Melonenkernperle mit Metallröhrchen in Öffnung, L. 16 mm (Abb. 3: 3d).
   e) Beschädigte opake, mild türkisfarbige Melonenkernperle mit Metallröhrchen in Öffnung, L. 16 mm (Abb. 3: 3e).
   f) Opake, mild türkisfarbige fünffachgegliederte Perle mit Metallröhrchen in Öffnung, L. 12 mm (Abb. 3: 3f).
   g) Opake, mild türkisfarbige vierfachgegliederte Perle mit Metallröhrchen in Öffnung, L. 10 mm (Abb. 3: 3g).

Mit Rücksicht darauf, dass die Funde sehr korrodiert und zerbrechlich waren, entspricht ihr gegenwärtiger Stand nicht dem aus der Zeit ihrer

[1] Der Beitrag entstand im Rahmen des Projektes VEGA 2/0088/20.

[2] Bestimmung nach *Baldovič 2003*.

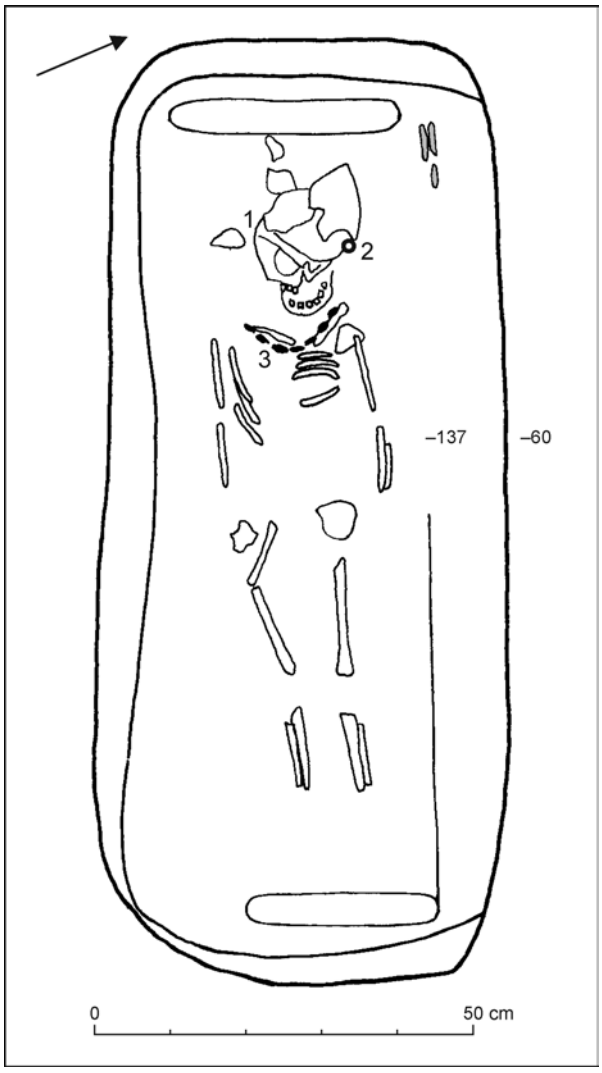


Abb. 2. Cífer-Pác. Zeichnung des Grabes 89. 1, 2 – Ohrringe; 3 – Halskette; grau – Tierknochen.

Herausnahme aus dem Grab. Die Ohrringe wurden nach der Konservierung auf Glasplatten angeklebt, die Perlen im Verlauf von fast vierzig Jahren wurden teilweise verfallen. Deshalb befinden sich auf der Abbildung die Funde nicht nur im gegenwärtigen Stand, sondern auch im Zustand als ich sie gleich nach der Herausnahme in den Fundbericht gezeichnet habe. Um den Sicherheitswillen, die feinen Drähte der Anhänger aus den Ohrringen nicht zu beschädigen, habe ich mich nicht bemüht sie zusammenzulegen, deshalb habe ich sie damals nicht alle gezeichnet. Das Metall der Ohrringe wurde bisher mit einem Spektrometer nicht festgestellt, es kann sich um Silber oder Bronze handeln.

Das Gräberfeld in Cífer-Pác befindet sich am nördlichen Rand der awarischen Ökumene im Flussgebiet von Waag (*Zábojník 1999*, Karte 1). Es ist bisher bei uns die einzige bekannte Nekropole, die in der Zeit des Awarischen Kaganats gegründet wurde und Bestattungen in ihr kontinuierlich auch im 9. Jh. fortgesetzt wurden (*Fusek 2006*, 43–45). Das Ohrringpaar mit Pendilien ist jedoch in unserem Milieu ein fremdartiges Element in der materiellen Kultur aus den awarischen Gräberfeldern und auch aus der (vor)großmährischen Zeit. Mit ihm gefundene Melonenkernperlen sind charakteristischer Frauenschmuck der Awarenzeit (*Čilinská 1975*, 87), typisch sind sie vor allem für ihre späte Stufe (*Zábojník 2009*, 60). Zusammen mit ihnen gefundene mehrfach gegliederte Perlen sind mit derselben Technologie des Glasaufwindens auf ein Metallröhrchen hergestellt, und sind aus gleichem opakem Glas gemacht. Zweifellos sind sie Bestandteil eines nicht ergänzten Colliers, deshalb kann man die Perlen zur Datierung benutzen. Die mehrfach gegliederten Perlen kommen in Gräbern der Abschlussetappen der Zeit des Awarischen Kaganats vor (Stufen SS III–IV; *Zábojník 2009*, 60). Z. B. die in Obid festgestellte Situation, wo die Bestattung in der Stufe SS III endete, kann andeuten, dass die Blütezeit ihres Tragens erst die Stufe SS IV ist, weil auf dem Gräberfeld nur eine einzige solche Perle gefunden wurde (*Zábojník 2019*, 91). Ähnliche Fundumstände mit der Datierung der mehrfach gegliederten Perlen in den jüngsten Zeitabschnitt der Bestattung sind auch aus weiteren Gräberfeldern bekannt (*Čilinská 1966*, 160, 161). Aus dem Gesichtspunkt der absoluten Datierung kann man Grab 89 anhand der Perlen in die Zeitspanne der Jahre 750–800 (825) datieren (absolute Datierung nach *Zábojník 1991*, 248). Eine Präzisierung in den letzten Viertel des 8. Jh. mit Übergriff in den Anfang des nächsten Jahrhunderts ist auch nicht ausgeschlossen.

Mit ähnlichen Ohrringen mit Pendilien hat sich vor einiger Zeit *Š. Ungerman* (*2006*, 356; *2016*, 210, 211; *2018*, 28–30) gründlich beschäftigt, deshalb werde ich die einzelnen analoge Funde nicht aufführen. Die Ohrringe aus Cífer-Pác unterscheiden sich von den bisher bekannten Exemplaren dadurch, dass der Ringbogen nicht von einer Öse abgeschlossen wird und der untere Ringbogen mit einem feinen Draht nicht umgewickelt ist. Das Pseudokettchen wurde auf den Bogen mit einer Schleife, gemacht durch seine Drähte, angebracht. Ähnlich ist auch ihr unterer Abschluss, der der Befestigung der Blechzierden diente. Ihre ursprüngliche Form konnte wegen der Korrosion nicht festgestellt werden. Variante Konstruktionsdetails haben keinen Einfluss auf die chronologische Position der Funde. Die Ohrringe von diesem Typ sind charakteristischer Frauenschmuck des Vor-Köttlach-Horizontes auf den Gebieten südlich der mittleren Donau und im Ostalpenraum.

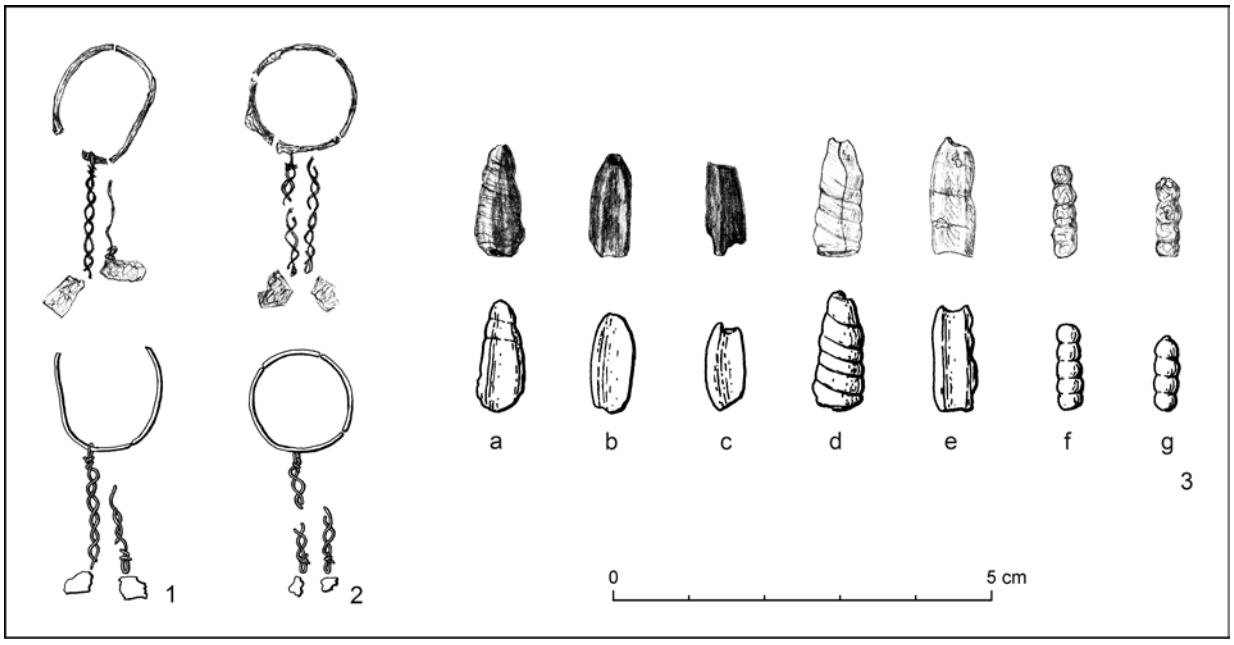


Abb. 3. Cífer-Pác. Funde aus Grab 89. Zeichnungen aus dem Jahr 1983 und gegenwärtiger Stand.

Der Fund der Ohrringe mit Pendilien in einem Grab, zusammen mit charakteristischen awarischen Perlen, bestätigt die Berechtigung von Ungerman's Datierung dieser Art des Schmucks in die zweite Hälfte des 8. Jh. mit möglichem Akzent auf seinen letzten Viertel.

LITERATUR

Baldovič 2003 – M. Baldovič: *Antropologický rozbor kostrového pohrebiska Cífer-Pác (okr. Trnava) z 8.–9. storočia n. l.* Diplomová práca. Prírodovedecká fakulta Univerzity Komenského. Katedra antropológie. Bratislava 2003. Unpubliziert.

Čilinská 1966 – Z. Čilinská: *Slawisch-awarisches Gräberfeld in Nové Zámky*. Archaeologica Slovaca. Fontes VII. Bratislava 1966.

Čilinská 1975 – Z. Čilinská: Frauenschmuck aus dem 7.–8. Jahrhundert im Karpatenbecken. *Slovenská archeológia* 23, 1975, 63–96.

Fusek 2006 – G. Fusek: Výklenkové hroby na včasnostredovekom pohrebisku v Cíferi, časti Pác. *Študijné zvesti AÚ SAV* 39, 2006, 27–54.

Ungerman 2006 – Š. Ungerman: Tzv. předköttlašský horizont a počátky velkomoravského kostrového pohřbívání. *Archaeologia historica* 31, 2006, 351–369.

Ungerman 2016 – Š. Ungerman: Tzv. karantánské náušnice ve středním Podunají. *Památky archeologické* 107, 2016, 181–236.

Ungerman 2018 – Š. Ungerman: Frühmittelalterliche Schlaufenohringe mit Drahtanhängern oder Kettchen. In: F. Daim/D. Heher/C. Rapp (Hrsg.): *Menschen, Bilder, Sprache, Dinge. Wege der Kommunikation zwischen Byzanz und dem Westen 1: Bilder und Dinge*. Studien zur Ausstellung „Byzanz & der Westen. 1000 vergessene Jahre". Mainz 2018, 9–43.

Zábojník 1991 – J. Zábojník: Seriation von Gürtelbeschlaggarnituren aus dem Gebiet der Slowakei und Österreichs (Beitrag zur Chronologie der Zeit des Awarischen Kagantas). In: Z. Čilinská (red.): *K problematike osídlenia stredodunajskej oblasti vo včasnom stredoveku*. Nitra 1991, 219–321.

Zábojník 1999 – J. Zábojník: Das Awarische Kaganat und die Slawen an seiner nördlichen Peripherie. *Slovenská archeológia* 47, 1999, 153–173.

Zábojník 2009 – J. Zábojník: *Slovensko a avarský kaganát*. Druhé prepracované a doplnené vydanie. Studia Archaeologica et Medievalia IX. Bratislava 2009.

Zábojník 2019 – J. Zábojník: *Pohrebisko z obdobia avarského kaganátu v Obide*. Archaeologica Slavaca Monographiae. Fontes XXVI. Bratislava – Nitra 2019.

Manuskript angenommen am 31. 5. 2021

Übersetzt von Ľubomír Novotný
Abstract translated by Michal Holeščák

PhDr. Gabriel Fusek, CSc.
Archeologický ústav SAV
Akademická 2
SK – 949 21 Nitra
gabriel.fusek@savba.sk

SLOVENSKÁ ARCHEOLÓGIA – SUPPLEMENTUM 2
Z. Robak/M. Ruttkay (eds.): Celts – Germans – Slavs.
A Tribute Anthology to Karol Pieta. Nitra 2021, 401–408.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.31577/slovarch.2021.suppl.2.39

AVAR-AGE HORSE HARNESS FITTING IN SHAPE OF BOAR HEAD FROM BALATONALMÁDI-FELSŐHEGY

New Parallels and Notes in Connection with Preliminary Research of the Avar-age Burial Ground

ANDRÁS CSUTHY – ZSOMBOR GYŐRFFY-VILLÁM – ATTILA PAPP

The aim of the paper is to draw attention to a newly discovered locality Balatonalmádi-Felsőhegy, where in winter 2019 was found some Late Avar finds. One of them was a fitting in shape of boar head, which with other new finds of this type from Hungary is analysed and put in our earlier published typology. The 'boar' on horse harness had its meaning in Late Avar society or in military hierarchy, but its precise content is uncertain.

Keywords: Carpathian Basin, Early Middle Ages, Late Avar Period, horse harness.

In 2017, the Laczkó Dezső Museum launched a community archaeology program, which includes volunteer researchers contracted with the museum to participate in metal detector field surveys together with museum professionals. As a result, between 2017 and 2021, we were able to identify several new sites. In many cases, previously known sites were found to be much larger and, often, covering more historic eras than previously thought. Metal detectorists with the appropriate knowledge and experience also have the opportunity to conduct independent research within the program with special permission.

In possession of such a permit, in the winter of 2019, one of the most active members of our team, Zsolt Kaszás, discovered Avar finds on the outskirts of Balatonalmádi-Felsőhegy (Fig. 1). Based on the first few pieces, the archaeological assemblage of a cemetery was suspected, which led to field surveys with the volunteers under the direction of archaeologists Zsombor Győrffy-Villám and Tamás Péterváry. With the work of more than thirty civilians and five archaeologists, the four days of field research provided more than three hundred objects that have been added to the museum's collection. Summarizing the finds, we can state that a significant group of artefacts from the destroyed part of the Avar period cemetery was collected from the surface from a depth of 5–30 cm. Based on the metal finds, we may say that the cemetery was associate with a community living there for a longer period, who used it from the end of the Early Avar Age to the very end of the Late Avar Age. The area contained also a small number of artefacts from the Roman period and modern metal material. The evaluation of the finds will be carried out by Ágota Perémi and will be published in full after verifying excavations.

The object that we would like to present in this short contribution is a fitting shaped like a wild boar's head (Fig. 2: 1).[1] Together with several other finds, this can also be considered a parallel to the Komárno-Lodenica (Komárom-Hajógyár) circle, since its dating and style link it with this broad group of finds. Due to the environmental effects, a large specimen that used to be a part of a horse harness was in significantly worse condition than other objects. The condition of the bronze is critical, so the restoration will provide only an approximate picture. What we know, however, is that the fitting was gilded – remains of gold could still be discovered in the hollows of its patterned surface. Although its plastic details can only be partially examined, corroded remains of plant fibres can be observed on it, which are presumably remnants of the bark or bast layer lining the inner side of the strap.[2]

[1] We intentionally do not use the phrase 'phalera' from a terminological point of view, because we use it only to distinguish big round ornaments on horse harnesses.

[2] The photo of the finding does not show its final state after the restoration. The main reason for that is that unlike other findings from the locality this one was in a bad condition and the restoration also requires other interventions. Moreover, it is questionable what will be saved from the traces on the fitting (gilding and mentioned plant fibres).

Fig. 1. Balatonalmádi-Felsőhegy. Archaeological site during field survey.

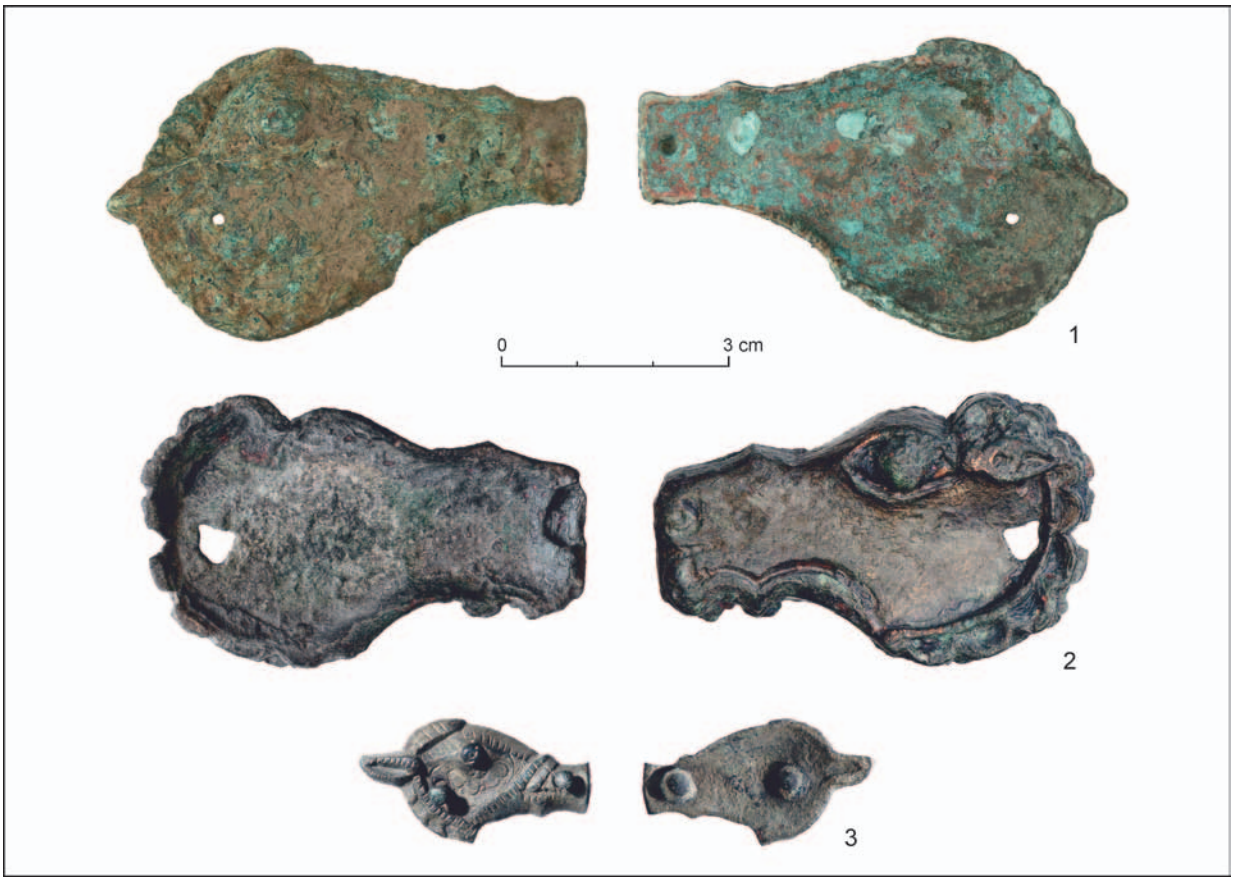


Fig. 2. Boar head fittings. 1 – Balatonalmádi-Felsőhegy; 2 – Kunpeszér-Túzoktelek; 3 – Orgovány-Ürögi-tanya.

The big horse harness fitting resembling a boar head (67 × 39 mm) that got recovered in Balatonalmádi as a stray find, despite the limits of analysability, most likely belongs to A type big fittings, without spherical ornaments on the mouth. This stray find is the only one among type A fittings showing marks of gilding (Fig. 3; for the description of the types, summary and analysis see *Csuthy 2019*).

The boar head fitting from Balatonalmádi is not the only recently found horse harness fitting of this type (depicting the head of an animal). At the end of April 2020 in Vinkovci-Groblje (Croatia) excavations recovered three slightly different sized boar head fittings in one line on each side of the horse skull (altogether six pieces, approx. 30–32 × 18–20 mm, and 38–40 × 24–25 mm) in a rider's grave. The assemblage contained middle-sized and small fittings and all of them are precise parallels of the exemplars from Radvaň nad Dunajom-Žitava and Museum in Komárno, based on which this can be categorized as types a) and I. Importantly, it indicates that the fittings were well-documented in situ, which – based on the literature – is quite exceptional. There have been plate phaleras with cast rosettes and additional hemispherical ornaments on the horse skull. The findings are under restoration.[3] This finding asserts the presumption that boar head fittings may have important connotations on horse harnesses of the social group of Late Avar horsemen warriors, but its precise meaning remains unknown.

Earlier Croatian parallels, only partially known, were also published in an exhibition catalogue. One gilded bronze fitting stray find from Sotin is not very large (24 × 14 mm) but can be categorized as middle-sized a) type (cf. *Csuthy 2018*, 8; *Dugonjić/Rapan Papeša 2019*, 90),[4] and another bronze fitting (57 × 30 mm) has been recovered near Sisak from the Kupa river (*Filipec 2003*). Its elongated form makes it similar to middle-sized fittings. However, based on its size, it can be categorized as a big fitting, specifically as type A, comparable to fittings without round ornaments on the mouth.[5]

Another big fitting has been recovered in 2019 in Kunpeszér-Túzoktelek as a stray find (Fig. 2: 2). This fitting shows the closest resemblance to big type D fittings (59 × 35 mm), which do not show a boar head, since the depiction of tusks is also missing. This type is often characterized as horsehead. Because of that, it has no place among boar head fittings. However, because of the resemblance of animal head shaped fittings, it still deserves mentioning here. The other two known parallels of this find are richly decorated with plant motifs on a punched background, which is missing on the piece from Kunpeszér. A middle-sized fitting with plant motifs has been also recovered in 2020 in Orgovány-Ürögi-tanya (Fig. 2: 3). It is comparable to type a), but because we do not know decorated specimens of this type, maybe this one is akin to the single representatives of type b), the Komárno-Lodenica finds. The cuttings also indicate this, though it slightly differs in design and no traces of gilding has been found. It is special in the detailed shaping of the eye, which distinguishes it among the boar head fittings.[6]

Since our last summary Naďa Profantová published new boar head finds from the Czech Republic, including another small-sized fitting from Podbořany-Dolánky (Rubín) and two different (probably) small fittings from Senohraby. Most likely, they belong to type I, but one of them is missing the depiction of a tusk. The typological division of small fittings might need further refining. Profantová in her analysis proposes that these small fittings might have been also produced locally (*Profantová 2020*, 30, 31). Additionally, an image of a small fitting from Břeclav-Lány (type II) has been also published, which draws attention to the tiny differences between the small fittings (position of the ear, the number of spheres imitating the upper mane etc.). The authors characterized it on the spot as *Altmetall* intended to be recycled, but the details of the finding are not known (*Eichert/Macháček/Brundtke 2020*, 55, fig. 2; see also *Macháček et al. 2021*, 40, fig. 9: 7, 8; 33; 48).[7]

However, in most cases, it is impossible to determine even the relative chronology of the finds. Consequently, we do not attempt to define the dating frontiers or differences between the subtypes of boar head fittings of horse harnesses. We just repeat that based on the datable finds, the group

[3] We are grateful for the information provided by the courtesy of Anita Rapan Papeša.

[4] Thanks to the generous assistance of Anita Rapan Papeša these were already known, although were not included in the last summary (2019).

[5] The find from Sisak is in the collection of the Sisak City Museum.

[6] Kecskeméti Katona József Múzeum, inv. no. 2021.8.1. (Kunpeszér), 2021.3.1. (Orgovány). This way we truthfully thank to director Szabolcs Rosta and to Bernadett Kovacsóczy and István Pánya for bringing this to our attention, for giving us information about them and for agreeing to publicize the unpublicised finds.

[7] The second published find is not included in this analyse. Also, we have new information about small boar head fitting from Vrbová nad Váhom (Slovakia).

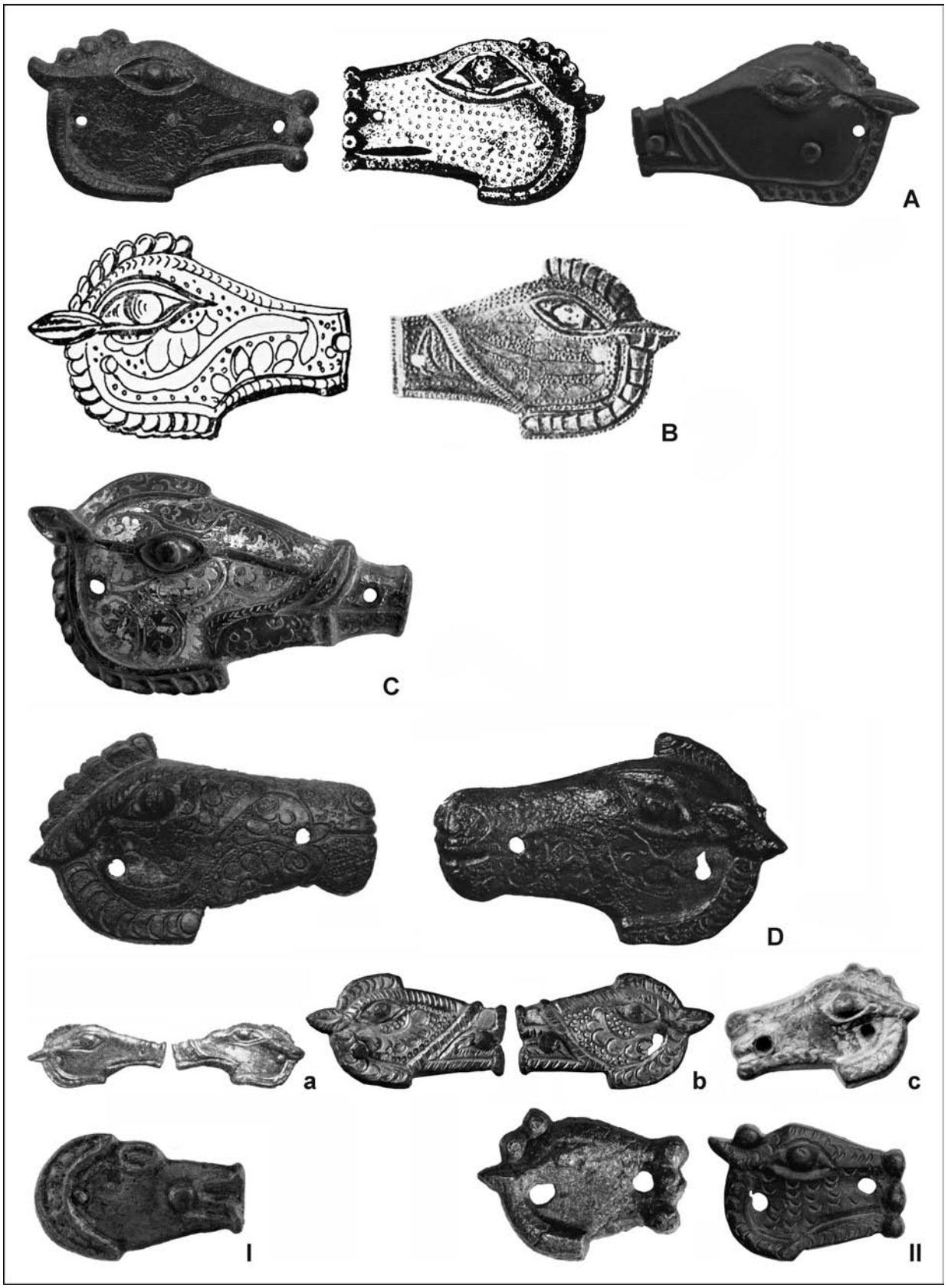


Fig. 3. Typological table of the head fittings. A–D – large fittings; a–c – middle size fittings; I, II – small fittings. A – Mezőhegyes, Kaposvár, Baja; B – Čelarevo; C – Vysoká Pec-Podhůří; D – Bőcs, Mikulčice; a – Békés; b – Komárno IX; c – Nepřevázka; I – Komárno museum; II – Břeclav, Solt. Without scale. Credits: see catalogue.

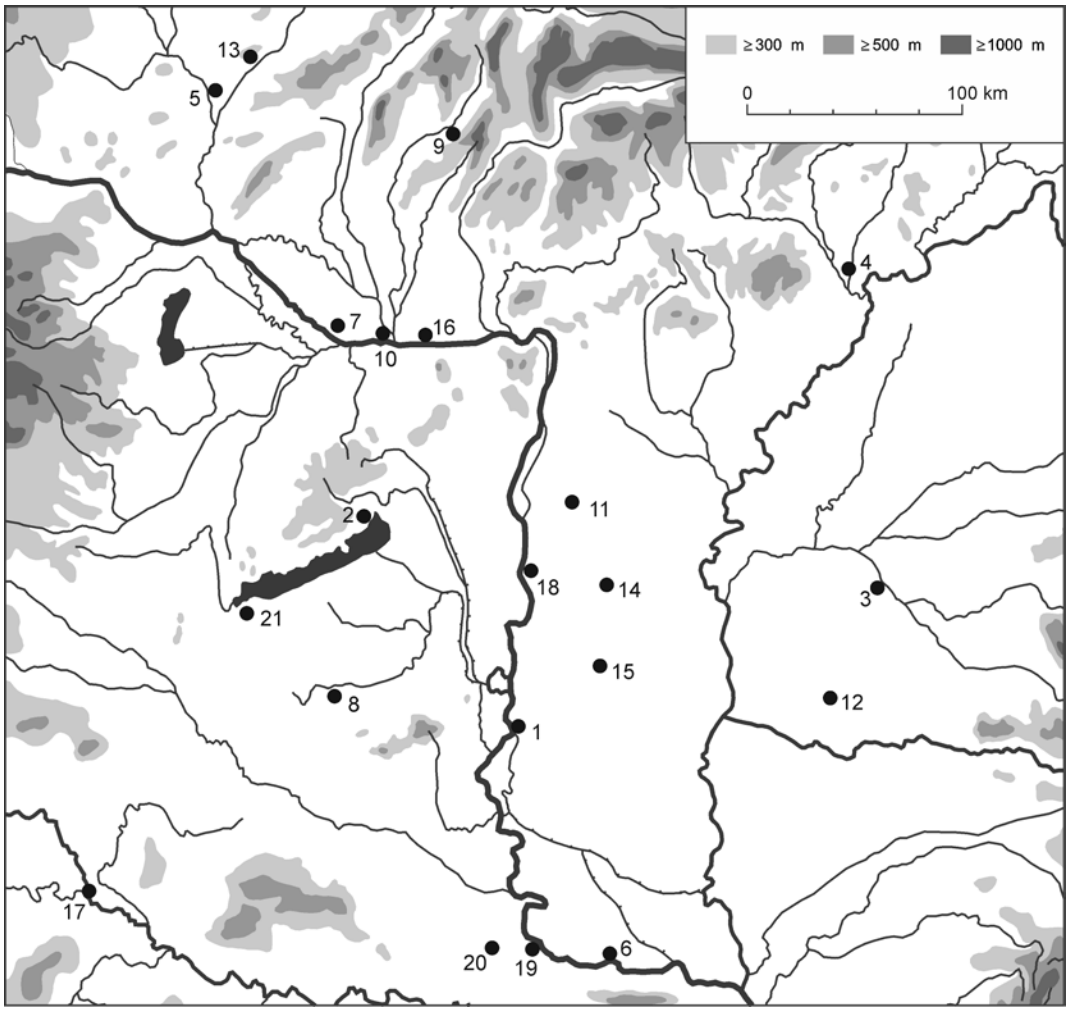


Fig. 4. Map of sites with boar head fittings from horse harness: 1 – Baja-Lőkerti szőlők; 2 – Balatonalmádi-Felsőhegy; 3 – Békés-Vizesbánom; 4 – Bőcs-Sárgaföldes part; 5 – Břeclav-Lány; 6 – Čelarevo-Čipska suma, ciglana; 7 – Holiare-Halomdomb; 8 – Kaposvár-Toponár; 9 – Klátova Nová Ves; 10 – Komárno-IX Lodenica; 11 – Kunpeszér-Túzoktelek; 12 – Mezőhegyes, site 5; 13 – Mikulčice; 14 – Orgovány-Ürögi-tanya; 15 – Pirtó (Kiskunhalas); 16 – Radvaň nad Dunajom-Žitava; 17 – Sisak-Kupa; 18 – Solt-Révbér; 19 – Sotin; 20 – Vinkovci-Groblje; 21 – Vörs-Papkert B.

of boar head (and horse head) fittings of horse harnesses can be dated to the second half of the 8th c. and the beginning of the 9th c. It can be put in phase SPA III–IV in Jozef Zábojník's relative chronological system (*Zábojník 1991*, 248). Recently, however, the upper frontier of the Avar Khaganate is being shifted upwards by authors in related fields (cf. *Szentpéteri 2020*, 565; also see *Chorvátová 2018*; *Robak 2017*). Consequently, relative chronological dating might have a comparative advantage over its absolute counterpart.

The spread based on the new finds is more intense between the Danube-Tisza, on the NE shore of Balaton and the lower section of the Danube, mainly the Vuka influx (Fig. 4; cf. *Csuthy 2019*, 337). The last one, if also correlates in dating, may be connected to the late Avar elite group of Čelarevo-Bačka Palanka-Donji Petrovci (cf. *Szenthe/Gáll 2021*, 13, fig. 10; The authors concepts of the elites also do not exclude that; cf. *Szentpéteri 2020*, 565, tab. 12). The find from Sisak recovered at an undisputable strategic point (confluence of Sava and Kulpa) cannot be interpreted as confirming the Avar presence. However, as we previously mentioned, numerous Bohemian and some Moravian finds, resp. the fragmentary piece from Klátova Nová Ves is striking. If we were to interpret the phenomena with historical constructions, we could say this could refer to their time of depositing or creating, but probably it was intended to be used as raw material or for recycling (cf. *Pieta/Robak 2019*, 448; *Profantová 2020*, 31; *Profantová et al. 2020*, 230 see the dating of

the piece from Tismice; *Robak/Pieta 2016*, 132, 133). In some Bohemian localities, Profantová assumes local copies, for example, the horse harness fitting from Senohraby, respectively based on the horse harness fittings she assumes also the presence of mounted warriors (riders; *Profantová 2020*, 31; *Profantová et al. 2020*, 229, 230).[8] The number of the localities even with new finds (including finds from unknown locations) is split equally within the Carpathian basin and outside of it (cf. *Csuthy 2019*, 337; *Profantová et al. 2020*, 230). There is also a new find from the eastern Balkan, which is not included in this analysis (cf. *Türk et al. 2021*, 132, 133, pl. 60: 5; inv. no. Б-1516; 2.9 × 1.5 cm).

Considering the iconography, though figural depiction probably was on the yellow-painted ceramics from the Carpathian Basin, we cannot state yet with certainty that boar heads were portrayed (cf. *Bognár 2016*, 23, 26, note 9; *Csuthy 2019*, 333–335; another objection with other parallels of silks depicting boar heads: *Overlaet 2018*, 146, 147, fig. 7) in the medallions.[9] The presumed mediator materials are also not known to us (cf. *Szenthe 2020*, note 386). The background content of the depictions on ceramics was though questioned (*Csuthy 2016*, 182; *Szenthe 2020*, 71), the application on horse harness refers certainly to some relevant meaning. The question of what the boar represented in the late Avar community or military hierarchy is unanswered because we cannot lean on written sources about the mythology of the Avar society. Although we know numerous domains of interpretation from different times outside of the Carpathian basin from Scandinavian mythology (cf. *Kovárová 2011*; *Oxley 2019*) to depictions of boars of some empires of the steppe, respectively far east (afterlife; *Dastan/Kazemi 2016* with other iconographical parallels). However, these parallels cannot be yet more than comparable base points for some theoretical concepts (*Csuthy 2019*, note 22; *Szenthe 2020*, 71).

Last but not least, we want to say special thanks to Ágota Perémi, József Szentpéteri and all those who drew our attention to the new finds and shared the information with us.

CATALOGUE

(site, literature; amount × type)

1. Baja-Lőkerti szőlők (HU), unpublished; 1 × A; 1 × a.
2. Balatonalmádi-Felsőhegy (HU), unpublished (Fig. 1: 1); 1 × A.
3. Beroun-Hostim (CZ), *Profantová 2015b*; *2020*; 1 × II.
4. Békés-Vizesbánom (HU), *Garam 1981*; 2 × A; 7 × a.
5. Bőcs-Sárgaföldes part (HU), *Garam 1981*; 1 × D.
6. Břeclav-Lány (CZ), *Eichert/Macháček/Brundtke 2020*; 1 × II.
7. Čelarevo-Čipska suma, ciglana (RS), *Bunardžić 1985*; 2 × B (gr. 5) + 2 × B (gr. 247).
8. Holiare-Halomdomb (SK), *Čilinská 1961*; *Točík 1968*; 1 × C; 3 × II (gr. 778).
9. Kaposvar-Toponár (HU), *Bárdos 1978*; 1 × A; 5 × II (gr. B–14).
10. Klátova Nová Ves (SK), *Robak/Pieta 2016*; 1 × A.
11. Komárno-IX Lodenica (SK), *Trugly 1987*; *2008*; 4 × b (gr. 33).
12. Komárno, múzeum (SK), *Trugly 1987*; *2008*; 2 × I.
13. Kunpeszér-Túzoktelek (HU), unpublished (Fig. 2: 2); 1 × D.
14. Mezőhegyes 5. lh. (HU), *Csuthy 2018; Hergott 2021*; 1 × A; 1 × II.
15. Mikulčice (CZ), *Profantová 1992*; unpublished; 1 × D (gr. 821) + 1 × a + 1 × II.
16. Nepřevázka-Chloumek-Hrádek (CZ), *Profantová/Krásný 2016*; 1 × c.
17. Nová Ves I (CZ), *Profantová 2015b*; *2020*; 1 × a + 1 × II.
18. Orgovány-Ürögi-tanya (HU), unpublished (Fig. 2: 3); 1 × b(?).
19. Pirtó, 'Kiskunhalas' (HU), *Hampel 1905*; 1 × a.
20. Podbořany-Dolánky-Kaštice, Rubín (CZ), *Profantová 1992*; *2020*; 1 × a + 1 × I.
21. Praha-Šárka (CZ), unpublished; (?).
22. Radvaň nad Dunajom-Žitava (SK), *Budinský-Krička 1956*; 1 × I (gr. XLIII).
23. Semčice (CZ), unpublished; 1 × I/II(?).
24. Senohraby (CZ), *Profantová 2020*; 1 × I + 1 × I.
25. Sisak-Kupa (HR), *Filipec 2003*; 1 × A.
26. Solt-Révbér (HU), unpublished (*Csuthy 2019*); 1 × II.
27. Sotin (HR), *Dugonjić/ Rapan Papeša 2019*; 1 × a.
28. Tismice (CZ), *Profantová 2015b*; *2019*; 1 × I(?).
29. Vinkovci-Groblje (HR), unpublished; 2 × a; 4 × I(?).
30. Vitice-Lipany (CZ), *Profantová/Krásný 2016*; 1 × C.
31. Vörs-Papkert B (HU), *Szentpéteri 2016*; 1 × II (gr. 371).
32. Vysoká Pec-Podhůří (CZ), *Profantová 2015a*; *2020*; 1 × C.
33. Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, *Garam 1981*; 1 × a.
34. Dobrič (BG), *Fiedler 2008*; 1 × II; 1 × I/II.
35. Vraca (BG), *Fiedler 2008*; 1 × I.
36. Coll. Deutschland (Hermann-Historica), unpublished (*Csuthy 2019*); 1 × a.
37. Coll. Stara Bulgaria, *Türk et al. 2021*; 1 × c(?).

[8] Noteworthy, N. Profantová is using her own typology for fittings in the shape of an animal head, including the gryphon head fittings and intends to publish it in near future.

[9] For using 'medallions' on metal dishes in the Carpathian basin two parallels can be mentioned: the Nagyszentmiklós treasure and the fragment from Bratislava castle (die for pressing), which can have also an artistic connection to plate no. 20 from Nagyszentmiklós. Of course, the designs of these medallions are different and the depictions are much more complex than known paintings on ceramics.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bárdos 1978 – E. Bárdos: Avar temető Kaposvár határában. *Somogyi Múzeumok Közleményei* 3, 1978, 13–65.

Bognár 2016 – K. B. Bognár: A special ceramic type: the late avar yellow pottery. *Hungarian Archaeology. E-journal*, Winter 2016, 22–28. Online available on: http://www.hungarianarchaeology.hu/?page_id=279#post-6846

Budinský-Krička 1956 – V. Budinský-Krička: Pohrebisko z neskorej doby avarskej v Žitavskej Tôni na Slovensku. *Slovenská archeológia* 4, 1956, 5–131.

Bunardžić 1985 – R. Bunardžić: *Čelarevo. Risultati delle ricerche nelle necropoli dell' alto medioevo*. Novi Sad 1985.

Chorvátová 2018 – H. Chorvátová: Následný alebo paralelný vývoj avarských a tzv. veľkomoravských pohrebísk? *Iuxta Danubium* 16, 2018, 144–151.

Čilinská 1961 – Z. Čilinská: Nové nálezy falér zo slovansko-avarských pohrebísk na Slovensku. *Slovenská archeológia* 9, 1961, 325–346.

Csuthy 2016 – A. Csuthy: Ikonográfiai ábrázolások és rekonstrukciós lehetőségek az avar kori lószerszámzatra vonatkozóan. In: Á. Perémi (szerk.): *Hadak útján. Népvándorlás Kor Fiatal Kutatóinak XXIII. konferenciakötete*. Veszprém 2016, 178–192.

Csuthy 2018 – A. Csuthy: Avar kori vadkanfejes veretek Mezőhegyes határából. In: Gy. Bíró/A. Katona-Kiss/Z. Rózsa (szerk.): *Fémek a földből I*. Mozaikok Orosháza és vidéke múltjából 19. Orosháza 2018, 54–56.

Csuthy 2019 – A. Csuthy: Kiegészítés az állatfej alakú lószerszámveretek témaköréhez. In: Cs. Balogh/J. Szentpéteri/E. Wicker (szerk.): *Hatalmi központok az Avar Kaganátusban*. Kecskemét 2019, 333–348.

Dastan/Kazemi 2016 – Z. Dastan/N. Kazemi: Investigating the Role of Boar in Iranian & Chinese Art. *Theoretical Principles of Visual Arts* 1, 2016, 55–68.

Dugonjić/Rapan Papeša 2019 – A. Dugonjić/A. Rapan Papeša (eds.): *Avari i Slaveni – Avars and Slavs*. Zagreb 2019.

Eichert/Macháček/Brundke 2020 – S. Eichert/J. Macháček/N. Brundke: Grenze – Kontaktzone – Niemandsland. Die March-Thaya-Region während des frühen Mittelalters. *Beiträge zur Mittelalterarchäologie in Österreich* 36, 2020, 52–67.

Fiedler 2008 – U. Fiedler: Die Donaubulgaren und die Mittelawarenzeit – ein Antagonismus. *Antaeus* 29–30, 2008, 127–141.

Filipec 2003 – K. Filipec: Kasnoavarski ukrasni okov (falera) u obliku veprove glave iz Siska. *Godišnjak Gradskog muzeja Sisak* 3–4, 2003, 117–143.

Garam 1981 – É. Garam: A bőcsi késő avarkori lelet és köre. *Archaeologiai Értesítő 108*, 1981, 34–51.

Hampel 1905 – J. Hampel: *Alterthümer des frühen Mittelalters in Ungarn I–III*. Braunschweig 1905.

Hergott 2021 – K. Hergott: Késő avar leletek Mezőhegyes határából. *Mozaikok Online. A Nagy Gyula Területi Múzeum tudományos, muzeológiai és kulturális online folyóirata* 1, 2021, 41–61. Online available at: http://mozaik.ngytm.hu/wp-content/uploads/2021/12/Mozaikok-Online1_2021.pdf

Kovárová 2011 – L. Kovárová: The Swine in Old Nordic Religion and Worldview. MA Thesis. Félags- og mannvísindadeild. Félagsvísindasvið Háskóla Íslands. Reykjavík 2011. Online available on: https://skemman.is/bitstream/1946/10143/1/Lenka%20Kovarova%20MA.pdf

Macháček et al. 2021 – J. Macháček/S. Eichert/A. Balcárková/P. Dresler/R. Měchura/P. Milo/M. Mehofer: Lány – ein Produktionsort gegossenener Bronzen der Spätawarenzeit in der awarisch-slawischen Kontaktzone des unteren Thayatals. *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 72, 2021, 365–416. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1556/072.2021.00014

Overlaet 2018 – B. Overlaet: Sāsānian, Central Asian and Byzantine Iconography – Patterned Silks and Cross-cultural Exchange. In: B. Bühler/V. Freiberger (Hrsg.): *Der Goldschatz von Sânnicolau Mare*. Regensburg 2018, 139–151.

Oxley 2019 – C. E. Oxley: *Að hitta skrímslið í skóginum. Animal Shape-shifting. Identity, and Exile in Old Norse Religion and World-view*. MA Thesis. Félags- og mannvísindadeild. Félagsvísindasvið Háskóla Íslands. Reykjavík 2019. Online available on: https://skemman.is/handle/1946/34376

Pieta/Robak 2019 – K. Pieta/Z. Robak: The Military Finds from Bojná III and Klátova Nová Ves near Topoľčany, Slovakia. In: L. Poláček/P. Kouřil (Hrsg.): *Bewaffnung und Reiterausrüstung des 8. bis 10. Jahrhunderts in Mitteleuropa. Waffenform und Waffenbeigaben bei den mährischen Slawen und in den Nachbarländern*. Internationale Tagungen in Mikulčice IX. Spisy Archeologického ústavu AV ČR 50. Brno 2019, 441–451.

Profantová 1992 – N. Profantová: Awarische Funde aus den Gebieten nördlich der awarischen Siedlungsgrenzen. In: F. Daim (Hrsg.): *Awarenforschungen. Band 2*. Studien zur Archäologie der Awaren 4. Archaeologia Austriaca Monographien 1. Wien 1992, 605–778.

Profantová 2015a – N. Profantová: Analógie na západe – Nyugati párhuzamok. In: A. Csuthy (zost. – összeáll.): *Avari a Slovania na sever od Dunaja. Katalóg výstavy – Avarok és szlávok a Dunától északra. Kiállításvezető*. Komárno – Komárom 2015, 44, 45, 82, 83.

Profantová 2015b – N. Profantová: The horse harness, spurs and stirrups in Bohemia in 8th and 9th century. In: C. Cosma (ed.): *Warriors, weapons, and harness from the 5th–10th centuries in the Carpathian Basin*. Cluj-Napoca 2015, 281–297.

Profantová 2019 – N. Profantová: Poznání hradiště kombinovaným detektorovým, povrchovým průzkumem, geofyzikou a malou sondáží – Příklad Tismice, okr. Kolín (8.–9. století). In: K. Chrzana/S. Moździoch/S. Rodak (red.): *Współczesne metody badań wczesnośredniowiecznych grodów Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej*. Wrocław 2019, 235–254.

Profantová 2020 – N. Profantová: Ozdoby koňského postroje doby avarské ze severozápadních Čech v souvislosti s nálezem ze Žerotína, okr. Louny. In: K. Tomková/N. Venclová (eds.): *Krajinou archeologie, krajinou skla. Studie věnované PhDr. Evě Černé*. Praha – Most 2020, 23–36.

Profantová et al. 2020 – N. Profantová/R. Křivánek/M. Fikrle/J. Zavřel: Tismice jako produkční a nadregionální centrum Čech 8. a 9. století. *Památky archeologické* 111, 2020, 193–271. DOI: https://doi.org/10.35686/PA2020.5

Profantová/Krásný 2016 – N. Profantová/F. Krásný: Bronzové ozdoby z doby avarské z Nepřevázky, okr. Mladá Boleslav. *Archeologie ve středních Čechách* 20, 2016, 869–873.

Robak 2017 – Z. Robak: The Origins and the Collapse of the Blatnica-Mikulčice Paradigm. *Slovenská archeológia* 65, 2017, 99–162.

Robak/Pieta 2016 – Z. Robak/K. Pieta: The New Finds from Klátova Nová Ves. In: Á. Perémi (szerk.): *Hadak útján. Népvándorlás Kor Fiatal Kutatóinak XXIII. konferenciakötete*. Veszprém 2016, 131–144.

Szenthe 2020 – G. Szenthe: *Növényi ornamentika a késő avar kori díszítőművészetben (Kr. u. 8. század–9. század eleje)*. Budapest 2020.

Szenthe/Gáll 2021 – G. Szenthe/E. Gáll: A (Needle) Case in Point: Transformations in the Carpathian Basin During the Early Middle Ages (Late Avar Period, 8th–9th century AD). *European Journal of Archaeology* 24, 2021, 345–366. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1017/eaa.2021.3

Szentpéteri 2016 – J. Szentpéteri: László Gyula és a kettős honfoglalás. In: B. Sudár/Zs. Petkes (szerk.): *Honfoglalás és megtelepedés*. Magyar őstörténet 4. Budapest 2016, 154, 155.

Szentpéteri 2020 – J. Szentpéteri: Az avar kor lovagjai – Tausírozott vasfalerás lovas temetkezések a Kárpát-medencében. In: G. Nemes (főszerk.): *Tomka 80. Ünnepi tanulmányok Tomka Péter köszöntésére*. Győr 2020, 563–592.

Točík 1968 – A. Točík: *Slawisch-awarisches Gräberfeld in Holiare*. Bratislava 1968.

Trugly 1987 – A. Trugly: Gräberfeld aus der Zeit des awarischen Reiches bei der Schiffswerft in Komárno. *Slovenská archeológia* 35, 1987, 251–344.

Trugly 2008 – S. Trugly: *A Komárom-hajógyári avar temető és telep*. Budapest 2008.

Türk et al. 2021 – A. Türk/Cs. Balogh/O. Pelevina/B. Totev/P. Langó: *The Old Bulgaria Collection*. Budapest 2021.

Zábojník 1991 – J. Zábojník: Seriation von Gürtelbeschlaggarnituren aus dem Gebiet der Slowakei und Österreichs (Beitrag zur Chronologie der Zeit des awarischen Kaganats). In: Z. Čilinská (red.): *K problematike osídlenia stredodunajskej oblasti vo včasnom stredoveku*. Nitra 1991, 219–321.

Manuscript accepted 28. 5. 2021

Translated by Barbara Szij and Ferenc Csuthy

Mgr. András Csuthy, PhD.
Podunajské múzeum v Komárne
Palatinova 13
SK – 945 05 Komárno
andraskn@gmail.com

Zsombor Győrffy-Villám
PPKE BTK
4. Templom tér
H – 8297 Tapolca-Diszel
gy.villam@gmail.com

Attila Papp
Budapest History Museum
Szent György tér 2
H – 1014 Budapest
pappatesz@gmail.com

SLOVENSKÁ ARCHEOLÓGIA – SUPPLEMENTUM 2
Z. Robak/M. Ruttkay (eds.): Celts – Germans – Slavs.
A Tribute Anthology to Karol Pieta. Nitra 2021, 409–416.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.31577/slovarch.2021.suppl.2.40

UNIQUE SILVER PENDANT FROM TATCE, KOLÍN DISTRICT, IN THE CONTEXT OF THE OLDEST EVIDENCE OF THE CHRISTIANISATION OF BOHEMIA[1]

NAĎA PROFANTOVÁ

The unique round silver pendant with the motif of either an angel, an orant or a saint most probably comes from the polycultural settlement in the cadastre of Tatce, Kolín distr., in the fertile Elbe River region in central Bohemia. It was found in 2012. The pendant can be unequivocally interpreted as a Christian protective amulet. The find broadens the range of items connected to the earliest Christianity in Bohemia during the 2nd half of 9th–11th c.

Keywords: Bohemia, Early Middle Ages, Christianity, silver pendant, jewellery.

INTRODUCTION

The village of Tatce is located to the east of Prague in the Český Brod district in the fertile Elbe River region. A few years ago, an amateur archaeologist found an interesting pendant in Tatce (the pendant was found in 2012; Fig. 1). While the precise location of the find is not known,[2] it can be localised to the southern part of the cadastre to the south and the west of the Milčický Stream and southeast of the 'Kouřimská' road running to Tatce, i.e. southeast of the site in 'V Dolních Čtverých'. It is likely a new site with finds from the Roman Period and the Early Middle Ages (Fig. 1). We know other metal finds of Merovingian (bronze belt fitting with a loop) and Early Carolingian types (bronze strap-slide, probably from a spur set) and even Late Avar period types from the Tatce cadastre, specifically from this new site. We cannot rule out that all these finds could originate from the same settlement. All finds were found with the help of a metal detector.

The cadastre of the municipality lies 2–3 km northeast of the Radim Hillfort (it is from 9th c., also with late Avar Period decorations) at about 190–200 m a.s.l. The Milčický Stream runs through the area and is fed by the Jezírkový Stream. So far, we only know two sites from the area. The first one is a multicultural and repeatedly settled locality to the south of the village on the small 'Ve Čtverých' hill, where the National Museum and the Poděbrady Regional Museum conducted excavations (J. Hartl, M. Slabina, J. Justová) related to the construction of an oil pipeline (*Justová 1965*). They documented features from different periods in the west-east direction in a section one kilometre in length. A sunken feature was found in this strip of land with pottery of the Prague type (*Zeman 1976*, 161), which could be dated to the end of 6th c. and the 7th c. However, its exact position in the framework of the whole line is not certain. The second site lies within the built-up area. It was discovered during small-scale excavations headed by Z. Beneš in 2017, which were conducted due to the reconstruction of the first school and kindergarten in Ke hřišti Street (*Beneš/Chlup 2018*; oral communication). Early medieval features were found but unfortunately weren't fully excavated, only sampled.

Description of the pendant

The silver pendant is round and decorated on both sides. It had an eyelet, but that has broken off. The reverse side is decorated with a border consisting of dense relief ribbing (or by short incised lines) and divided by a thin raised cross into four fields. One raised globular relief is found in every field. The obverse is decorated by the relief of a schematic figure with a disproportionately large head with a nose suggested in relief, short incised lines for eyes and

[1] This paper was written with the support of project no. 218-00477S GA ČR, Between Avar and Carolingian Empire. Nodes of the distant contacts in Bohemia of the 8th and the 9th c.

[2] The finds were properly located, but, unfortunately, the data were not handed over in time and were lost with the destruction of finder's PC. E. Droberjar also has a not very precise localisation (University of Hradec Králové; I thank him for this information). Despite this, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to the finder for the opportunity to publish these finds.

Fig. 1. Tatce, Kolín distr. Early medieval sites, no. 1 is the area in which the pendant was found; purple: Excavations with EM features (graphic by K. Levá).

a horizontal incised line in place of a mouth. The body is made up of a simple triangle without a top. From the upper part of the body run two 'stylised twigs' which seem to symbolise arms or wings: the right one has five points, two of them are paired, whereas the left side has only four tips that all radiate from one point. However, five points wouldn't fit into the designated area (this was probably caused by the inexperience of the craftsman – it needn't have been intentional). The border consists of hallmarked triangles, and the resulting impression is a bit more delicate than that of the reverse. The diameter is 19.2 mm without the eyelet (Fig. 2: 1). The find is dated from the second half of the 9th c. to the 11th c.

ANALYSIS AND DATING

The interpretation of the motif on the obverse of the pendant is very important for its categorisation. It could either be an angel – if we read the 'stylised twigs' as wings – or, not very likely, an orant (but held a bit lower than is typical) if we see them as hands; this would be supported by the five tips, fingers, on the right hand. Both variants indicate the probability of an already Christian motif, even if not yet fully rendered. Therefore, we will first try to categorise the pendant as a whole. Although we do not have a precise analogy, there are a few finds similar to the reverse. We can see them in two Romanian pendants from Obîrşia/Obarşia that are dated by O. Toropu and O. Stoica to the 8th c. and by D. Teodor also to the beginning of the 9th c. (*Teodor 1981*, 68, fig. 20: 5, 6; *Toropu/Stoica 1972*). Both pendants have similar borders and one of them is divided by a cross into four fields; the second also has a cross but is interrupted in the middle by a half-globular relief and has another four such reliefs in positions similar to the globular decorations on our pendant. According to D. Teodor, the pendants from Romania are most likely of Byzantine origin or type (more probably) and, as far as craftsmanship is concerned, they are less demanding than ours. In the literature, analogies to them are mentioned from two other sites in Romania (Bacan: *Zaharia 1967*, without depiction; Păcuiul lui Soare: *Atanasov 2019*, 91, fig. 18; in this case from the first half of the 10th c.).[3] A lead circular pendant from grave 31 at the burial grounds of Aporka-Ürböpuszta is a bit older (mid-7th c., Avar Khaganate period) and Byzantine or more likely made according to a Byzantine model. The decorative field itself is bordered by ring relief and divided by a cross into four fields. Every field has

[3] Is it a late Roman-Byzantine fortress, a castellum? In the case of Păcuiul lui Soare.

Fig. 2. 1 – silver pendant from Tatce, Czech Republic; 2 – pendant from Obîrşia, Romania (1 – photo and drawing by L. Raslová, ARÚP AV ČR, v. v. i.; 2 – after *Teodor 1981*).

a half-globular protrusion (*Garam 2001*, pl. 14: 2). There are also other protrusions on the outside like a decorative border. The pendant was found in a grave context with blue beads and a vessel.[4] The circular reverse of the medallion from Aporka could have its forerunner unequivocally connected with Christianity – one of the variants of circular fibulae with a 'cross motif' (*Müller-Wille 2005*, 457, fig. 28: 13, 17; 28: 14; two pieces of this type of fibula were found relatively close to the Elbe River and thus to the German-Bohemian border).[5]

Fig. 3. Olšovice, Prachatice distr. Denarius of Louis the Pious (814–840) found in the wood near the forest road west of the village, probably Paris mint. Diam. 19.4 mm (unpublished; photo by N. Profantová).

How about the figure motif? The triangular body reminds us of the stylised garment of an orant on the reverse of the strap-end from Mikulčice, grave 390 from the three-aisled basilica (*Poulík 1975*, pl. 48; colour photo 3: lower middle). The obverse of this fitting is decorated with filigree and folded ribbon; its crownpiece consists of glass inlay and engraved gem/intaglio. If we interpret the shapes next to the body of the figure from Tatce as wings (which is the more probable variant), we have to mention the stylisations of angels on the gilded circular plaques from the Bojná hoard in western Slovakia dated to the 9th c. and published by our celebrant (Fig. 4; *Pieta/Ruttkay 2006*, F22–F24; F28). The plaques together constituted one symbolic whole, yet not all of them withstood the test of time. They could have been made under the influence of the Langobards as early as in the last third of the 8th c. or the turn of the 9th c. (*Štefanovičová 2011*; *Turčan 2011*, fig. 1; 2: 1), after which they remained in circulation for a long time as important valuables. The wings from Bojná are in some cases stylised as relief lines radiating from a thicker line or as trefoils coming out of the arms. Either way, they are evidence of the use of figures with Christian motifs and even inscriptions in the Great Moravia period (the latest references to the plaques from Bojná and their iconography: *Csütörtöky 2015*). Archangel Raphael from plaque number 5 from Bojná is depicted only with wings (without arms) and it would be easy to further simplify them to the form known to us from the Tatce medallion (*Csütörtöky 2015*, pl. I: 5). Pre-Romanesque relief comes from Venice, where there is also only a simple triangular body with an indicated belt – a stone relief but the same stylisation, which was apparently widespread *(Milošević 2013*, fig. 38).

On a small silver target from München-Giesing, grave 164, the figure has disproportionately elongated fingers, which is the second option for explaining these shapes (cf. depiction in *Furtmayr 2017*, 99, pl. 26: 4; 41; *Poulík 1975*, pl. 48: 1). Arms and wings could

[4] On the contrary, I have not registered any similar pendants from Croatia.

[5] The division into a cross with four points also appears on later Regensburg denarii with a Czech origin from the end of the 10th c. (cf. *Petráň 1998*, fig. p. 62), however it does appear earlier in the West on coins of Louis the Pious, e.g. on the revers of a chapel-type denarius from Olšovice in south Bohemia (Prachatice distr.) – these coin therefore start appearing as early as in the first half of 9th c., specifically after the year 822/23 (Fig. 3). If these old coins influenced the appearance of the decoration of the pendant, it could mean it is Bavarian in origin. This type, probably from a Paris mint, was not found in the hoard from Jedomělice, Kladno distr. In Bohemia, it is known only from the Olšovice find (*Profantová/Videman/Štěpančík*, *in press*).

Fig. 4. 1, 2 – gilded plaque with the depiction of an angel from Bojná, Slovakia; 3 – orant from Dörflkirche in Austria with a similarly disproportionately large head (*Csütörtöky 2015,* pl. II).

have merged for the craftsman into one structure. The grave is dated to the 7th and the beginning of the 8th c. (earring with one sheet globe).

The stone stele from Leutesdorf in the Rhineland from the 7th c. features the head of a simple stylised person – again with two carved lines for eyes and other carved lines for the nose and mouth, with a triangle as a body and also legs *(Roth 1986*, pl. 79: b). A simple half-figure with round head and hands with stressed-out fingers is also depicted on the upper part of a reliquary from the end of the 7th c. from Ennabeuren (*Quast 2012*; *Scholkmann 1998*). From Merovingian art, we should recall another simple portrayal on metal – the reliquary of St. Mummolin of Saint Benoît-sur-Loire from the 7th c. (cf. *Dąbrowska 2003*, fig. 5; *Lantier 1969*, 107, fig. 190; *Quast 2012*, fig. 23: 4). The middle part has a line of figures with distinctively disproportionate heads and schematic bodies in robes without legs – in only a slightly more exacting rendition than the triangular schematisation on our pendant. The eyes look like two short lines and the mouth is one line. Also, a very important element is the artistic elongation of the linking of schematic figures and a geometric ornament (*Lantier 1969*, 102–109).[6] Unartful figurines of Christ and an angel(?) in a long tunic that goes all the way down to the ankles, with wings and arms in the gesture of adoration and with nails in his hands(?) are depicted on a reliquary or portable altar from Werden (Essen-Werden) from the 8th c. (*Schulze-Dörrlamm 2002*). The depiction clearly shows how the Christian and Pagan ideas mixed in the use of stylistic uniformity (animals near Christ's feet and on one whole side of the reliquary and so on; there exist various interpretations of theses syncretic ideas: cf. *Milošević 2013*, 165, 166). From the depictions from the 8th c., an important role is played by one of the two angels surrounding the cross found on a silver brooch from female grave 208 from Kirchheim/Ries. The Angels have stylised arms/wings as five slanting lines (Fig. 5; *Schulze-Dörrlamm 2002*, fig. 38*).* Knowledge of similar images made it possible for our unartful wing stylisation to come into being. It is clear that the likeness of the pendant from Tatce could have been influenced by south-eastern as well as western artwork/originals. These artworks had been absorbed in Moravia during the 9th c. and also in Bohemia in this time and in the first half of the 10th c.

We know another relief head (of better quality) from a Byzantine pectoral cross (Encolpion) from Kouřim (*Profantová/Stolz 2007*, fig. 2) from the second half of the 10th or 11th c., which we also consider a Byzantine product. The relationship

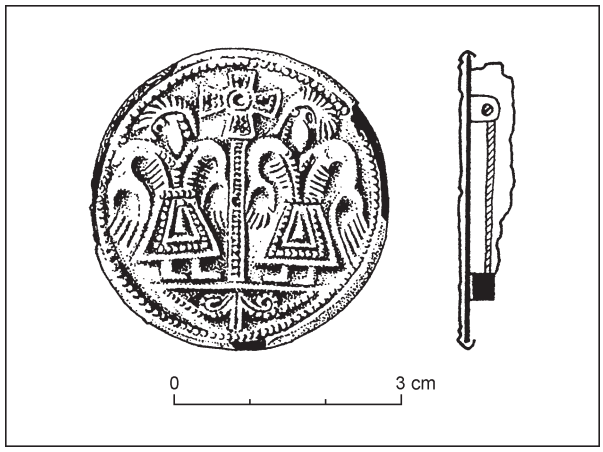


Fig 5. Kirchheim/Ries. Silver brooch from grave 238, first third of the 8th c. (*Schulze-Dörrlamm 2003*, fig. 38).

to Byzantium in this case is also supported by an inscription in Greek. As is evident, the image is too simple for an unequivocal localisation of its production location. We look for the roots of this motif in the barbarised Byzantine milieu or more likely in places where the Byzantine and Western conceptions were intermixing. This does not disprove the origin of the pendant at the main Moravian centres and its movement further into central Bohemia. We cannot rule out the possibility of its production in Bohemia according to a foreign model if it is from the 10th c. or later. We have new evidence of the production of silver from ore in a few locations in Prague from the 10th c. (crucibles and sherds with traces of metal; *Zavřel/Čiháková 2019*).

CONCLUSION AND HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The unique silver pendant with the figure of angel or saint(?), but without a nimbus, from Tatce is a slightly barbarised Byzantine 'provincial' product or its imitation. It could have originated in the Balkans, northern Italy or at a Moravian centre. We cannot fully disprove the south Bavarian possibility. We can unequivocally interpret it as a Christian protective amulet.

The most difficult task is the dating of the pendant. Similar pendants appear from the middle of the 7th c. to at least the end of the 10th and possibly also in the 11th c. It all depends on the context of the find and the region in which it was made.

In this situation, we will help ourselves with the historical context. The baptism of fourteen

[6] Similar simple figures also appear in Irish-Scottish art.

Czech dukes in January of the year 845 is mentioned in the *Annales Fuldenses* (845 AD), though its influence on the baptised members of the elite is unclear.[7]

To date, we could not link baptism with the building of churches. Only two unique finds of decorations with the Christian cross can be tied to it – a gilded fitting with a central motif of a carved cross in the style of Tassilo chalice from Černovice Hillfort in northwest Bohemia (*Profantová 2021*, 45, 46, with fig.) and a simple bronze equilateral cross decorated with stamped circles from Levý Hradec and its vicinity, which most likely comes from Bavaria and was made in the second half of the 8th or the 9th c. (*Profantová 2014*). Bohemian Duke Bořivoj [*Borzivogius*, in some cases written in Latin as Gorziwei († 889)], the first historically documented Přemyslid, accepted baptism again and not fully willingly at the Moravian court of Duke Svatopluk between years the 882 and 884. At that time, he safely built at least two churches after his return – in Levý Hradec and later at Prague castle (*Legenda Christiani*, end of 10th c.: *Ludvíkovský 1978*, 18–21; the small Church of the Virgin Mary was archaeologically excavated by I. Borkovský: e.g. *Frolík 2018*).[8]

Christianisation did not go smoothly, not even back then, as Strojmír's uprising mentioned in *Legenda Christiani* demonstrates (*Ludvíkovský 1978*). Still, the situation after 884 AD was more favourable to the spreading of Christian symbols, at least among the members of the elite. The symbols of crosses as main and side motifs as well as *Dextera Domini* and the less unequivocally Christian birds – in some cases probably peacocks,[9] also appear on spherical buttons (*gombíky*) of Bohemian provenance (Prague-Lumbe Garden and the Royal Gardens, less unequivocally Kouřim: cf. *Frolík/Smetánka 2014*; *Šolle 1966*), decorative panelling from antler from the end of the 9th c. and the beginning of the 10th c. (Budeč: cf. *Boháčová/Profantová 2014*), and now we even know of them from an imported Carolingian fitting with a motif of birds (peacocks) facing each other from the end of the 9th c. and the beginning of the 10th c. (unpublished).

The aforementioned historical connections narrow down the long interval of the possible appearance of the pendant in Bohemia, specifically Tatce. It most likely appeared in Bohemia in the period from the last third of the 9th c. to the end of the 11th c.; however, the 10th c. appears most likely.[10] It could have reached us with Great Moravian ornaments (even if we have no knowledge thus far of exact analogies) as well as separately. If it did come from the latter part of the interval, it could also have been made in Bohemia, since Prague ran a jewellery workshop of high quality (*Frolíková-Kaliszová 2020*; *Profantová 2013*; *Profantová a kol. 2015*, 85;), the oldest crucibles and pottery shards with traces of silver come from the Prague-Malá Strana suburb in addition to other sources from the excavations of J. Čiháková in the area of the stone Rotunda of St. Wenceslaus. These come from the first third of the 10th c. and it has also been proven by microanalyses that it was not just working with 'silver scraps' but the production of silver directly from ore (*Zavřel/Čiháková 2019*; *Zavřel/Čiháková/Ježek 2019*).

The context of the still largely unknown settlement does not really help us make a more accurate dating of the pendant; the other find of an Early Carolingian strap-slide indicates long-distance connections at the latest at the turn of the 8th/9th c.

[7] It could have been primarily a political move. Christ could have been added to the altars of Pagan gods within the framework of the syncretic ideas of some nobles without anyone having an issue with it. This happened in northern Europe, for example in Szczecin, where a pagan altar was added to the Christian altar (*Sommer 2020*). The duke buried in the middle of the 9th c. in Kolín could have belonged among the baptised (*Košta/Lutovský 2014*; *Profantová 2011*; *2021*).

[8] For an in-depth summary of written sources and archaeology in the 10th c. in English, see *Profantová 2009*.

[9] We can recognise a 'peacock tuft'/'fan-like crest' on a bird's head in the case of grave 99 in Prague-Lumbe Garden.

[10] At this time, Prague was an important trade centre (in the E–W direction) and, at the same time, Christianisation intensified through central sites.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Atanasov 2019 – G. Atanasov: On the Initial Date of the Medieval Lower Danube Fortress of Păcuiul lui Soare and Its Harbour. *Archaeologia Bulgarica* 23/1, 2019, 77–106.

Beneš/Chlup 2018 – Z. Beneš/T. Chlup: Tatce, okr. Kolín. In: *Lutovský a kol. 2018*, 770.

Boháčová/Profantová 2014 – I. Boháčová/N. Profantová: Bohemia and Great Moravia: archaeological evidence. In: P. Kouřil (ed.): *Great Moravia and the beginnings of Christianity.* Brno 2014, 143–154.

Csütörtöky 2015 – J. Csütörtöky: Nové poznatky k ikonografii a ikonológii pozlátených medených plakiet z Bojnej a hypotetická rekonštrukcia ich aplikácie. In: K. Pieta/Z. Robak (eds.): *Bojná 2. Nové výsledky výskumov včasnostredovekých hradísk*. Archaeologica Slovaca Monographiae. Fontes 20. Nitra 2015, 115–138.

Dąbrowska 2003 – E. Dąbrowska: Zagadkowy grób Pielgrzyma z Grzebska kolo Mławy – głos w dyskusji. In: M. Dulinicz (red.): *Słowiane i ich sąsiedzi we wczesnym średniowieczu*. Lublin –Warszawa 2003, 281–287.

Frolík 2018 – J. Frolík: Pohřebiště u kostela P. Marie. In: I. Štefan/M. Wihoda (eds.): *Kostel Panny Marie na Pražském hradě. Dialog nad počátky křesťanství v Čechách*. Prameny české historie 3. Praha 2018, 64–99.

Frolík/Smetánka 2014 – J. Frolík/Z. Smetánka: *Castrum Pragense. Pohřebiště v Lumbeho zahradě na Pražském hradě*. Castrum Pragense 12, díl I. Katalog. Praha 2014.

Frolíková-Kaliszová 2020 – D. Frolíková-Kaliszová: Nový příspěvek ke šperkařské produkci pražské dílny. *Archaeologia historica* 45, 2020, 45–65. DOI: https://doi.org/10.5817/AH2020-1-2

Furtmayr 2017 – H. Furtmayr: *München Giesing. Ein frühmittelalterliches Gräberfeld vor der Stadt*. Abhandlungen und Bestandskataloge der Archäologischen Staatssammlung digital. Band 1. München 2017. Online available at: https://langzeitarchivierung.bib-bvb.de/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?dps_pid=IE7724192&change_lng=

Garam 2001 – É. Garam: *Funde byzantinischen Herkunft in der Awarenzeit vom Ende des 6. bis zum Ende des 7. Jahrhunderts*. Budapest 2001.

Justová 1965 – J. Justová: Štítarské sídliště u Tatců, o. Nymburk. *Archeologické rozhledy* 17, 1965, 38–42.

Košta/Lutovský 2014 – J. Košta/M. Lutovský: *Raně středověký knížecí hrob z Kolína*. Fontes Archaeologici Pragenses 41/1. Praha 2014.

Lantier 1969 – R. Lantier: Vpády barbarů a raný středověk. In: R. Huyghe (ed.) *Encyklopedie umění středověku*. Světové dějiny 34. Umění a lidstvo. Praha 1969, 102–109.

Ludvíkovský 1978 – J. Ludvíkovský: *Kristiánova legenda: Život a umučení sv. Václava a sv. Ludmily, báby jeho.* Praha 1978.

Lutovský a kol. 2018 – M. Lutovský a kol.: Terénní výzkumy Ústavu archeologické památkové péče středních Čech v r. 2017. *Archeologie ve středních Čechách* 22, 2018, 745–774.

Milošević 2013 – A. Milošević: *Tragovi starih vjerovanja u kršćanstvu ranog srednjeg vijeka*. Studia mediterranea archaeologica 6. Dubrovnik – Split 2013.

Müller-Wille 2005 – M. Müller-Wille: The Cross Goes North. Carolingian Times between Rhine and Elbe. In: M. Carver (ed.): *The Cross Goes North. Processes of conversion in Northern Europe. AD 300–1300*. Woodbridge – Rochester 2005, 443–462.

Petráň 1998 – Z. Petráň: *První české mince*. Praha 1998.

Pieta/Ruttkay 2007 – K. Pieta/A. Ruttkay: Bojná. Mocenské a christianizačné centrum Nitranského kniežatstva. In: K. Pieta/A. Ruttkay/M. Ruttkay (eds.): *Bojná. Hospodárské a politické centrum Nitranského kniežatstva*. Archaeologica Slovaca Monographiae. Studia 9. Nitra 2007, 21–69.

Poulík 1975 – J. Poulík: *Mikulčice. Sídlo a pevnost knížat velkomoravských*. Praha 1975.

Profantová 2009 – N. Profantová: Archeology and written sources on eighth- to tenth-century Bohemia. *Early Medieval Europe* 17, 2009, 286–310.

Profantová 2011 – N. Profantová: Karolinské importy a jejich napodobování v Čechách, případně na Moravě (konec. 8.–10. století). In: *Turčan zost. 2011*, 71–104.

Profantová 2013 – N. Profantová: Ke změnám ve vývoji hmotné kultury 10. století. *Archaelogia historica* 38, 2013, 27–44.

Profantová 2014 – N. Profantová: I. 8. Bronzový litý křížek, In: D. Foltýn/J. Klípa/P. Mašková/P. Sommer/V. Vlnas (eds.): *Otevři zahradu rajskou. Benediktini v srdci Evropy 800–1300*. Praha 2014, 27.

Profantová a kol. 2015 – N. Profantová a kolektiv: *Klecany. Raně středověká pohřebiště I*. Praha 2015.

Profantová 2021 – N. Profantová: Čechy v době narození kněžny Ludmily. In: J. Izdný (red.): *Ludmila. Kněžna a světice*. Praha 2021, 29–58.

Profantová/Stolz 2007 – N. Profantová/D. Stolz: Nový nález relikviářového křížku z Kouřimi. In: E. Doležalová/R. Šimůnek (eds.): *Od knížat ke králům. Sborník u příležitosti 60. narozenin J. Žemličky*. Praha 2007, 124–130, 604.

Profantová/Videman/Štěpančík, in press – N. Profantová/J. Videman/Z. Štěpančík: Dálkové kontakty Netolicka v raném středověku: svědectví mincí a ozdob. *Numismatické listy*, in press.

Quast 2012 – D. Quast: *Das merowingerzeitliche Reliquienkästchen aus Ennabeuren. Eine Studie zu den frühmittelalterlichen Reisereliquiaren und Chrismalia.* Kataloge vor- und frühgeschichtlicher Altertümer. Band 43. Mainz 2012.

Roth 1986 – H. Roth: *Kunst und Handwerk im frühen Mittelalter.* Stuttgart 1986.

Scholkmann 1998 – B. Scholkmann: Die frühen Kirchen. In: S. Lorenz/B. Scholkmann: *Die Alemannen und das Christentum. Zeugnisse eines kulturellen Umbruchs*. Schriften zur südwestdeutschen Landeskunde 48. Stuttgart 1998, 455–464.

Schulze-Dörrlamm 2002 – M. Schulze-Dörrlamm: Der rekonstruierte Beinkasten von Essen-Werden. Reliquiar und Mutmasslicher Tragaltar des Hl. Liudger aus dem späten 8. Jahrhundert. *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseum Mainz* 49, 2002, 281–361. DOI: https://doi.org/10.11588/jrgzm.2002.0.23285

Šolle 1966 – M. Šolle: *Stará Kouřim a projevy velkomoravské hmotné kultury v Čechách*. Monumenta archaeologica 15. Praha 1966.

Sommer 2020 – P. Sommer: Christianizace, pokřesťanění, christianisovati, obraceti na křesťanství. In: I. Boháčová/P. Sommer (eds.): *Raný český stát 10. století.* Colloquia mediaevalia Pragensia 21. Praha 2020, 227–246.

Štefanovičová 2011 – T. Štefanovičová: Iroškótská misia a Slovensko. In: *Turčan zost. 2011*, 117–122.

Teodor 1981 – D. Gh. Teodor: *Romanitatea Carpato-Dunăreană și Bizanțul in veacurile V–XI e. n*. Iași 1981.

Toropu/Stoica 1972 – O. Toropu/O. Stoica: La nécropole préféodale d´Obîrşia-Olt (note préliminaire). *Dacia n. s.* 16, 1972, 163–188.

Turčan 2011 – V. Turčan: Severný Jadran – jeden z možných inšpiračných zdrojov umeleckého remesla stredodunajských Slovanov. In: *Turčan zost. 2011*, 123–127.

Turčan zost. 2011 – V. Turčan (zost.): *Karolínska kultúra a Slovensko. Štúdie*. Zborník SNM. Archeológia. Supplementum 4. Bratislava 2011.

Zaharia 1967 – E. Zaharia: *Săpăturile de la Dridu. Contribuţie la arheologia şi istoria perioadei de formare a poporului român*. Biblioteca de arheologie 12. Bucureşti 1967.

Zavřel/Čiháková 2019 – J. Zavřel/J. Čiháková: Praha stříbrná. Výsledky analýz raně středověkých archeometalurgických nálezů z Malé Strany. *Archeologické rozhledy* 71, 2019, 475–528.

Zavřel/Čiháková/Ježek 2019 – J. Zavřel/J. Čiháková/M. Ježek: Domestic pottery sherds used in non-ferrous metalworking: a study from early medieval Prague. *Archaeological and Anthropological Sciences* 11, 2019, 5339–5358. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1007/s12520-019-00865-w

Zeman 1976 – J. Zeman: Nejstarší slovanské osídlení Čech. *Památky archeologické* 67, 1976, 115–235.

Manuscript accepted 31. 5. 2021

Translated by Daniela Profantová

PhDr. Naďa Profantová, CSc.
Archeologický ústav AV ČR Praha, v. v. i.
Letenská 4
CZ – 118 01 Praha 1
profantova@arup.cas.cz

SLOVENSKÁ ARCHEOLÓGIA – SUPPLEMENTUM 2
Z. Robak/M. Ruttkay (eds.): Celts – Germans – Slavs.
A Tribute Anthology to Karol Pieta. Nitra 2021, 417–430.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.31577/slovarch.2021.suppl.2.41

GRAVE 1/94 AND NEW DATA REFINING THE CHRONOLOGY OF EARLY MEDIEVAL CASTLE HILL IN NITRA[1]

ZBIGNIEW ROBAK – PETER BEDNÁR

Based on a detailed analysis of the equipment and stratigraphy of grave 1/94 on Nitra Castle, the present paper presents most recent information about the chronology of the settlement on the Castle Hill. Burying the dead on the hill started with the early medieval settlement in the area (8th/9th c.) and continued until the destruction of the wooden-soil chamber rampart in the second half of the 11th c. Grave 1/94 itself should be dated back to the second half of the 9th c. The density of equipped graves in the north-east part of the hill shows that the area was used primarily for funeral purposes. Graves were found in the area of the Plague Column and in the casemates of the south-eastern bastion. Probably, the area had served as a burial ground before the wooden-soil fortifications around the castle (rampart I) were built in the second half of the 9th c. Funerary customs only changed at the end of the 11th c. when the area by the St. Emmeram's Church was transformed into a cemetery.

Keywords: Slovakia, Early Middle Ages, Great Moravia, burials, warrior's equipment.

INTRODUCTION

Nitra Castle not only architectonically dominates the region but also significantly contributes to our understanding of the beginnings of Slovak and Hungarian history. From the beginning of the 20th c., the castle origins have been – and still are – the subject of numerous debates of archaeologists, historians and art historians (*Červinka 1928*; *Hodál 1930*; *1933*; *Píč 1904–1905*; *Škultéty 1924*; *Zavadil 1912*). The debates allowed the formation of two main hypotheses defended by two groups of researchers. Based on unverified assumptions, the first group believes that the castle should be dated back to the first half of the 9th c. (*Hodál 1931*; *1933*; *Stránsky/Cserenyey 1933*). The second group, in turn, relies on findings of research performed between 1930 and 1931 and points that there is no evidence of the castle existence in the 9th c. Instead, those researchers claim that the castle was built after Nitra was incorporated into the Kingdom of Hungary (*Böhm/Mencl 1931*, 65 ff.; *Chropovský 1991*, 159 ff.; *1997*; *Mencl 1933*). More detailed information about the castle history, however, was provided by the research started in 1988. The results corroborate the view that castle history reaches back to the 9th c. In the earliest phase, there had only been a wooden palisade strengthened later with a rampart made from wood and soil and shelled with stones. Already in the earliest phase, there was a masonry building at the top of the hill. The existence of such construction was confirmed by

Fig. 1. Nitra-Castle. Excerpt from the cadastral map of Nitra with marking of the investigated area at the Plague Column. Source of the underlying map https://zbgis.skgeodesy.sk/mkzbgis/sk/kataster (author P. Bednár).

[1] Study produced with the support of the projects: VEGA 02/0143/18 Medieval village and its backland, VEGA 2/0124/20 Economy of the Middle Ages (6th–13th centuries), APVV-19-0563 Centres of the power and their backland in 8th–11th centuries and APVV-16-0449 Medieval Nitra in material sources.

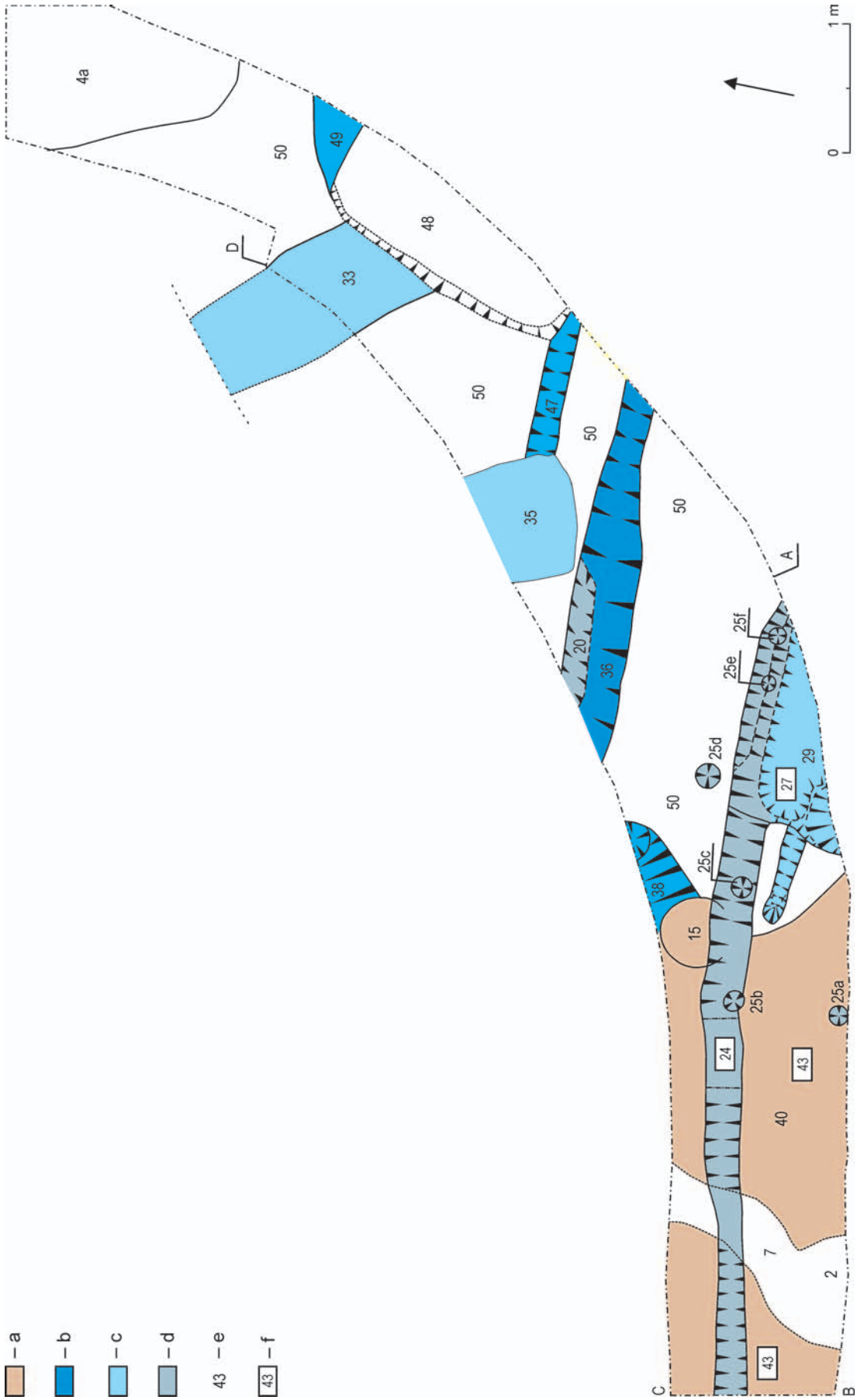


Fig. 2. Nitra-Castle. Archaeological contexts and features in the groove for the retaining wall at Plague Column. Legend: a – La Tène Period; b – Early Middle Ages phase I; c – Early Middle Ages phase II; d – Early Middle Ages phase III; e – archaeological contexts; f – archaeological features. Unfilled areas: subsoil, undated layers and stratigraphic units from the High Middle Ages and the Modern Age. Note: the phases of early medieval stratigraphic units are relative and are based on the stratigraphic position of the units (drawn by P. Bednár).

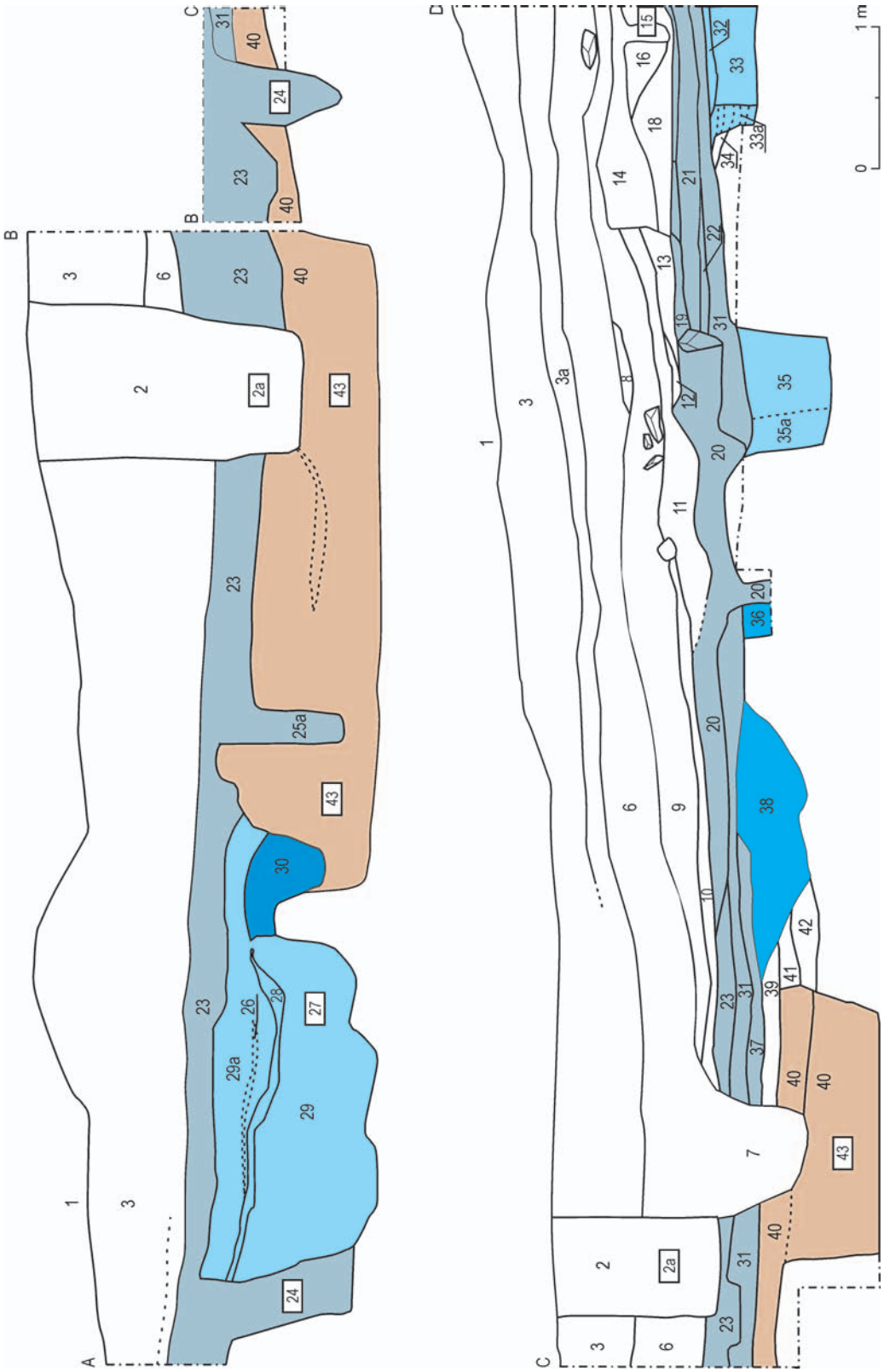


Fig. 3. Nitra-Castle. A–B – southern profile of the groove; B–C – western profile; C–D – northern groove profile. Legend see Fig. 2 (drawn by P. Bednár).

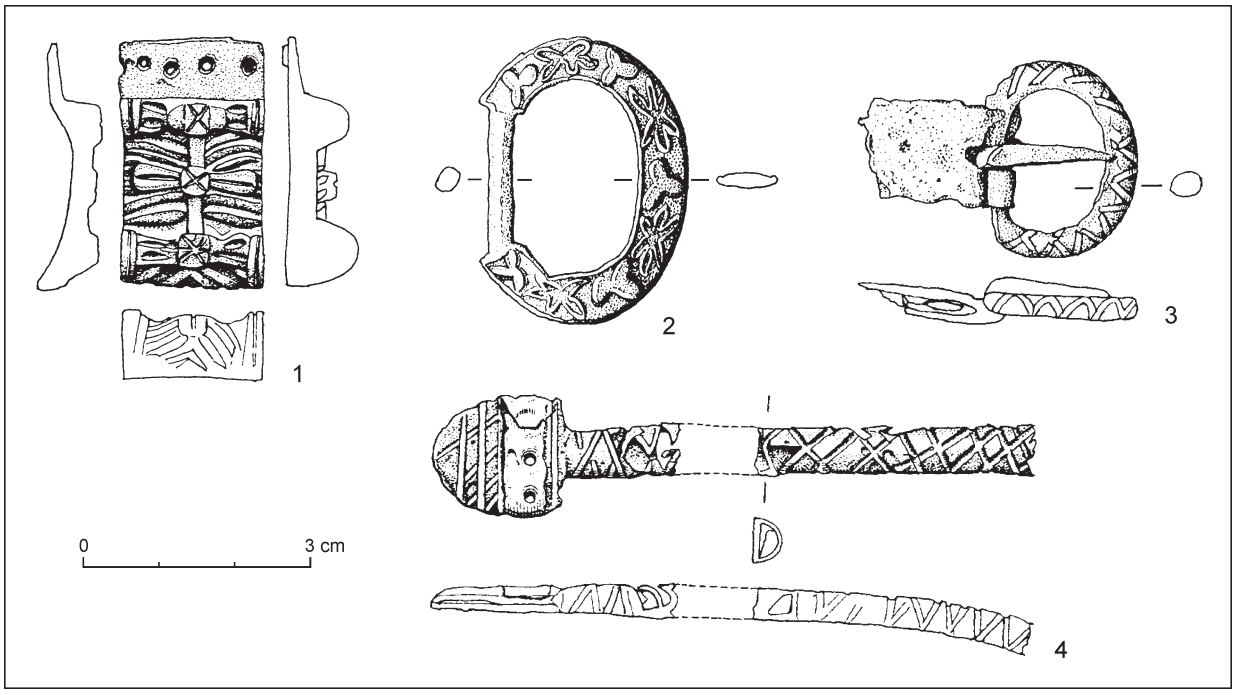


Fig. 4. Nitra-Castle. Finds from the grave 1/94 (drawn by M. Novotná).

finds of places where the mortar was mixed, mortar itself and secondarily used debris. The mere existence of a masonry construction – related to the earliest early medieval archaeological contexts – indicates that the place had a unique status at the time (*Bednár 1996*; *1998*; *2011*; *Bednár/Ruttkay 2018*, 233; *Bednár/Samuel 2001; Bednár/Staník 1993*).

The castle hill served as a place for burying the dead already in the early phases of the early medieval settlement, i.e. at the turn of the 8th and 9th c. (*Bednár 2001*, 31; *Bednár/Ruttkay 2018*, 234). Unfortunately, most of the graves were unequipped and, thus, it is possible to date the graves only based on stratigraphic contexts. The only exception is a group of graves from the casemates under the SE bastion – where earrings were found (*Bednár 1998*) – and two graves on the John Paul II Square, close to the Plague Column (*Bednár 1996*).

Archaeological research in this part of the hill started already between 1930 and 1931 (*Točík 1983*) and continued in 1958–1959 (*Točík/Rejholec 1993*) and 1990 (*Bednár/Březinová/Fusek 1992*, 23). Apart from mixed pottery in apparently younger medieval and modern-age contexts, the research, however, revealed no traces of cultural layers or features attributable to the Early Middle Ages. It was only the rescue research in 1994 preparing the ground for foundations of a new retaining wall of the Plague Column in the John Paul II Square (Fig. 1) that revealed well-stratified and dated early medieval layers and features (*Bednár 1996*). The finds include one of the most interesting early medieval graves discovered on the castle hill in Nitra so far – grave no. 1/94. Although the grave is poorly preserved, the discovery together with the analysis of the find contributes to our understanding of the chronology of the early medieval settlement on the hill.

STRATIGRAPHIC SITUATION
(Fig. 2; 3)

The oldest archaeological context documented in the trench (context 44, not on the profile) could be related to the Maďarovce Culture. Two contexts, 41 and 42, impossible to be precisely dated, were violated by a Late La Tène sunken house (feature 43) which backfill slightly slipped over the sunken house outline. Context 34, 39 and 46 could not be dated or stratigraphically linked with other contexts.

The oldest early medieval horizon, most likely, is represented by contexts 47 and 49. The context 47 comprises remains of a palisade ditch running along the E–W line. The backfill contained no artefacts. Attributing the feature to the Early Middle Ages relies only on the backfill structure, similar to other early medieval features and the fact that it is oriented in line with features 36 and 24 – both dated back to the Early Middle Ages based on pottery finds and stratigraphy.

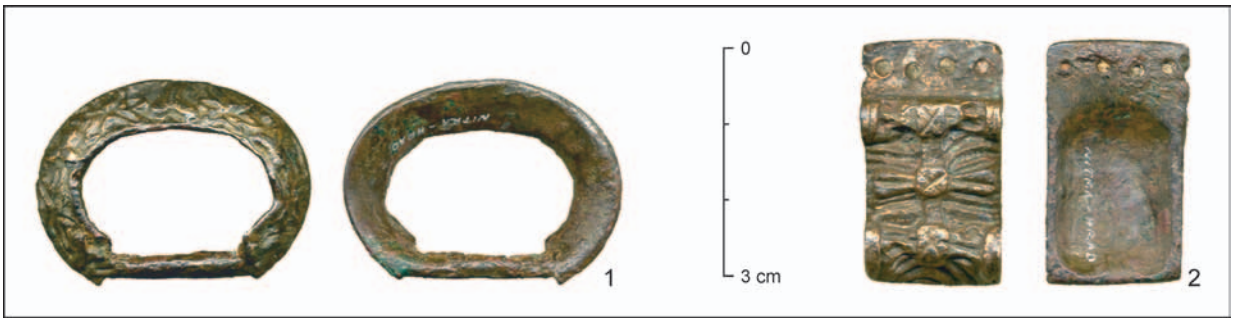


Fig. 5. Nitra-Castle. Belt set from the grave 1/94 (photo A. Arpáš).

Fig. 6. Nitra-Castle. 3D image of the belt set from the grave 1/94 (photo A. Arpáš).

Grave 3/94 – labelled as context 49 – is dated back to the Early Middle Ages based solely on the backfill characteristics and its stratigraphic position. The grave was nearly destroyed by a modern-age dig no. 48. Only the skull and parts of the sternum and left forearm remained from an adult's skeleton placed on the right side along the NNE–SSW axis. Apart from the bones, the grave contained no finds.

Grave 1/94 was discovered in the vicinity of grave 3/94 and was marked as context 33. This grave was also partially damaged by a modern-age dig no. 48. In the grave, there was an adult's skeleton. Generally, bones were arranged in anatomical order. However, both the grave and the skeleton were considerably disturbed. The grave contained a bronze buckle, a bronze strap-end and fragments of an iron spur with a buckle (Fig. 4–8). Those finds allowed to date the grave back to the Great Moravian times. Unfortunately, careless construction works damaged the grave.

Near grave 1/94, there was another grave (2/94) labelled as context 35. The burial pit damaged a fragment of the palisade ditch no. 47. An adult was buried in the grave. The skeleton lay on the backside with arms arranged along the body. By the left side, two iron knives with remains of wooden scabbards were found.

Both graves – 1/94 and 2/94 – were aligned along the NNW–SSE axis and, thus, could be attributed to one horizon. Also, the middle palisade ditch (context 36) should be linked with those two graves. Backfills of all those features were covered with the same layer (context 31). We believe that grave 3/94 was older than 1/94. Both graves had similar depth and both were considerably damaged by modern-age digs. However, reconstruction of walls, arrangement of skeleton and dimensions of burial pits indicate that originally the graves overlapped. Unfortunately, this is exactly the spot destroyed by the modern-age dig no. 48.

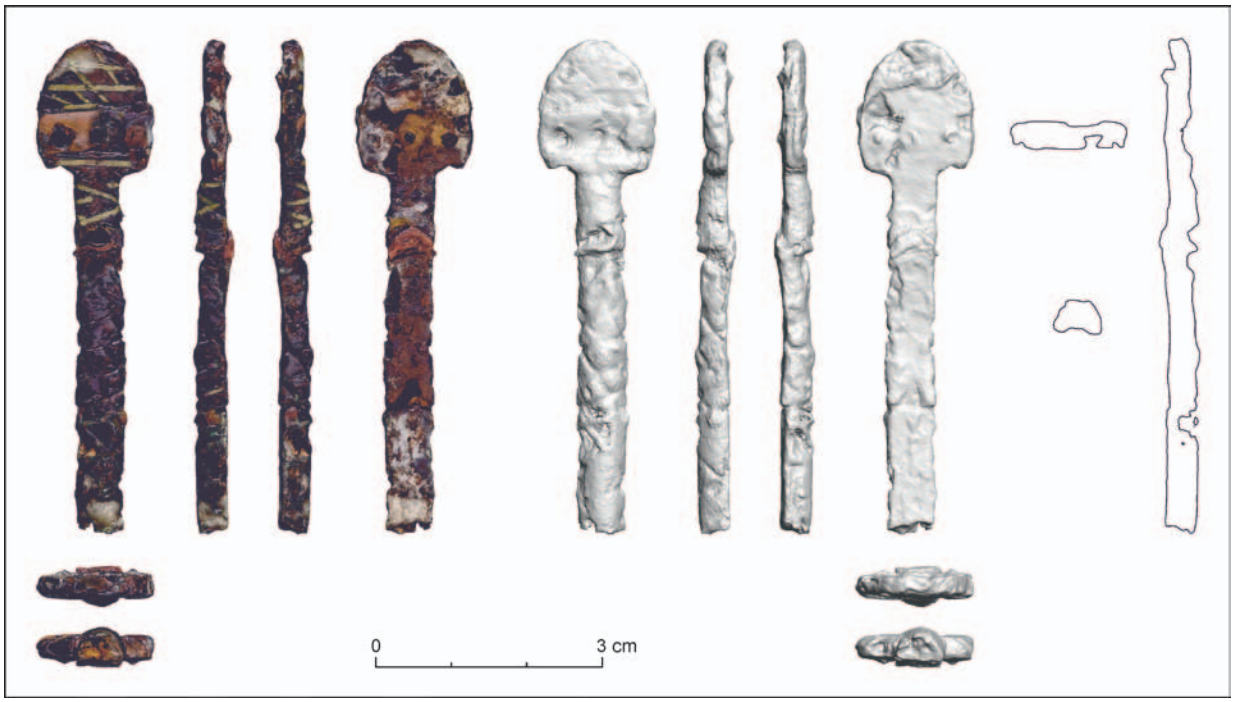


Fig. 7. Nitra-Castle. 3D image of the spur from the grave 1/94 (photo A. Arpáš).

Fig. 8. Nitra-Castle. 3D image of the spur buckle from the grave 1/94 (photo A. Arpáš).

Tab. 1. Elemental composition of the belt set from grave 1/94 from Nitra-Castle. Sampled by AI SAS Nitra.

	Sample no.	Cu [%]	Fe [%]	Zn [%]	Pb [%]	Sn [%]	Au [%]	Ag [%]	Other [%]
Buckle	230	75.34	0.44	0.82	9.19	12.91	0.15	0.58	<0.57
	236	79.69	0.57	0.78	6.86	10.01	0.13	0.73	<1.23**
	231	71.52	10.95*	0.64	7.98	8.46	0.12	0.27	<0.06
	232	83.64	2.29	0.59	8.63	4.66	<0.05	<0.05	<0.18
Belt-end	233	77.40	2.08	1.15	8.40	10.01	0.25	0.42	<0.29
	234	80.17	0.98	0.90	6.40	10.37	0.19	0.45	<0.54
	237	81.93	1.01	0.82	5.57	9.43	0.25	0.55	<0.44
	235	83.54	0.64	0.46	8.72	5.93	0.09	0.38	<0.24

* High content of the iron has been measured in the point, where the prong was placed.
** Incl. 0.71% of Iridium.

The research failed to discover walls of grave 3/94 inside grave 1/94. Thus, it seems likely that grave 1/94 partially destroyed the SW part of grave 3/94. This hypothesis is based on observations made during the grave's excavations. However, the hypothesis cannot be fully verified due to damages inflicted by the modern-age dig and then damages caused by careless construction works before the documentation.

Graves 1/94 and 2/94 were covered by a layer (context 31) containing ceramics typical of pottery workshops identified on the nearby site of Nitra-Lupka. Products of the workshops are characteristic finds in archaeological contexts linked with early medieval Nitra settlement agglomeration. The pottery could be roughly dated back to the second half of the 9th–10th c. (*Bednár/Fottová 2003*; *Fottová 2019*).

The youngest early medieval settlement horizon in the area of the Plague Column comprises a series of settlement features. The walls of the features partially violated the backfill of the palisade ditch (context 24). There are large pits (context 29) but also features with post-holes (contexts 25 a–f). Pottery allows dating the features back to the 10th–11th c. Outlines of the features were fully covered with a layer containing pottery dated back to the beginning of the 13th c. Based on the stratigraphic information, the palisade ditch (context 24) should be placed between the graves horizon (possibly its end) and the settlement horizon.

EQUIPMENT OF GRAVE 1/94

Set of fittings decorating the main belt included a rectangular strap-end and a D-shaped buckle without a prong has been found in the grave 1/94 (Fig. 4: 1, 2; 5). The fitting was cast in a form using an alloy containing copper, tin and lead (ca. 8 : 1 : 1; see Tab. 1). Consequently, the backside of the fitting is concave. A convex relief covers the entire surface of the fitting and its lower edge. The fitting was fastened to a strap with four, slightly irregularly arranged, rivets.

Most strap fittings set from Great Moravian sites could be attributed to Carolingian-type finds – i.e. fittings used in the Carolingian Empire in the 9th and at the beginning of the 10th c. The analysis shows that the stylistics of Great Moravian fittings is consistent with their Western European counterparts. Many Great Moravian finds are simply imports or direct copies or imitations of Carolingian products. Even if some groups of finds show local features, they still follow general European (Carolingian) trends in terms of forms and decorations. Consequently, it is possible to analyse Great Moravian fittings in the context of an extensive collection of Carolingian-type finds from all over Europe. This, in turn, makes the dating of such finds a considerably easier task. Particularly, since equipped Carolingian burials are scarce in Western Europe (*Robak 2013*; *2014*).

Rectangular (or similar) strap-ends belong to a specific class of Carolingian-type fittings (class C: *Robak 2013*, 69–76, pl. C; CI; CV). In the entire Carolingian period (ca. 750–950), it seems, rectangular fittings were slightly less popular than U-shaped fittings. Most likely, the latter was more convenient. The rectangular shape is more common among strap decorations (applications, dividers), large slides or large fittings of main belts (including sword sets) rather than among small spur fittings.

The collection of rectangular Carolingian-type strap fittings could be divided into several stylistic groups including fittings with cylindrically bolded shorter edges of the plate or its decorated part. The best-known examples of such fittings include sword

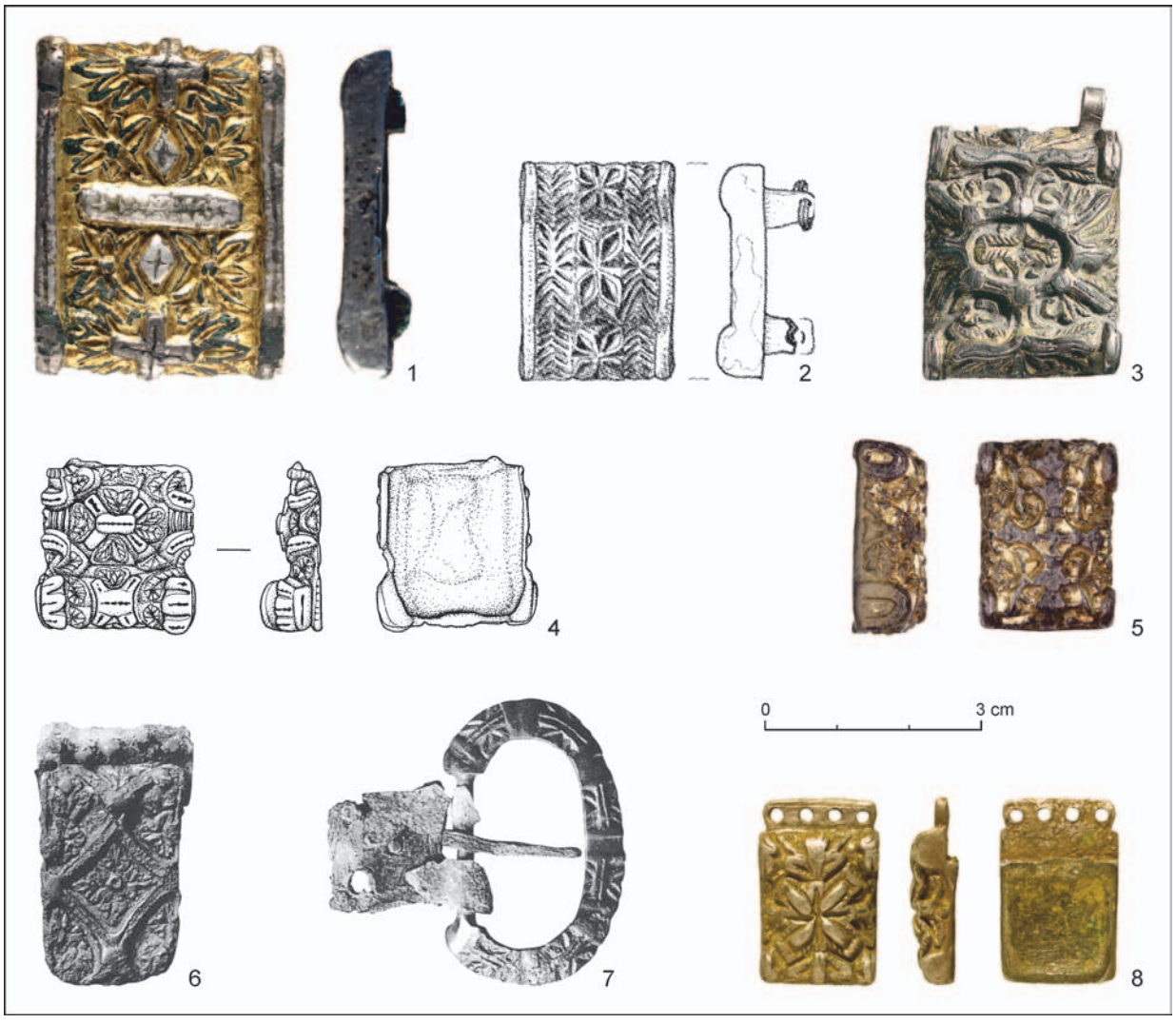


Fig. 9. Carolingian rectangular belt mounts. 1 – Hanmer, UK (after Birmingham Museums Trust, PAS: HESH-26E9D1); 2 – Ljubična nad Zbelovsko Goro, Slovenia (after *Knific 2007*); 3 – Duesminde, Denmark (after *Wamers/Brandt 2005*); 4 – Lindsey, UK (Suffolk County Council Archaeology Service, PAS: SF-E2FFD6); 5 – Hoath, UK (Kent County Council, PAS: KENT-A87012); 6, 7 – Birka, gr. 750, Sweden (after *Arbman 1937*); 8 – Aynho, UK (The Portable Antiquities Scheme, PAS: NARC-10F5B2. The British Museum database Portable Antiquities Scheme available at: www.finds.org.uk. The Portable Antiquities Scheme/The Trustees of the British Museum). Author Z. Robak.

sets from Marsum and Loon, lavishly decorated with plant and plant-animal ornaments (*Robak 2014*, pl. LXXXVI; *Ungerman 2017*, 269–274), sets of horse harness fittings from Gradišče nad Bašljem (*Knific 2007*, fig. 2: 1–3) and fittings from baron Révay's collection known also as the Blatnica collection (*Robak 2017*, fig. 4: 1–9).

This group could be divided into several further variations (*Robak 2017*, fig. 21). The most numerous are fittings decorated with a complex plant ornament covering the entire front part of the fittings along with the edges – without a separated ornamentation field. The fitting found in grave 1/94 in Nitra represents exactly this variation. Similar strap-fittings come from Hanmer (Fig. 9: 1), Aynho (Fig. 9: 8) and a hoard from Duesminde (Fig. 9: 3). Additionally, similar slides were found in Lindsey (Fig. 9: 4) and Hoat (Fig. 9: 5) and there is also a strap fitting from Ljubična (Fig. 9: 2). However, the quality of all those finds is considerably higher.

A characteristic feature of this variation of Carolingian rectangular fittings is also the casting technique used for manufacturing the fitting from Nitra. A consequence of using the technique is a concave, rough backside masked by edges (Fig. 6). This allowed to 'spare' some of the material that could be used to form an embossed, often very sophisticated, ornament.

The fitting is decorated with a motif that could be described as a schematic, slightly simplified

plant motif. The motif resembles a bunch tied with a tape but could be interpreted also a glowing Greek cross – which, most likely, was a manufacturer's original intention. Three additional small 'x' symbols were arranged along the axis of symmetry. Symmetrical plant ornament arranged around a centrally placed cross motif – along with additional '+' or 'x' symbols (Fig. 9: 1, 5) – is one of the primary features of the late Carolingian style (*Robak 2019*). Thus, classifying the ornament as typical for late Carolingian art does not raise any doubts. Similar motifs can be seen on a U-shaped belt fitting found in grave 50/VI in Mikulčice (Fig. 10: 4, 5). The grave from Mikulčice – dug not earlier than the mid-9th c., most likely in its second half (*Galuška/Poláček 2006*, 135; *Košta 2008*, 288; *Profantová/Kavánová 2003*, 61) – provides a very good chronological frame from the grave from Nitra.

Rectangular strap-ends had become popular in Western Europe about the mid-9th c. and in the second half of the 9th c. – particularly in the last third – rectangular strap-ends were as popular as U-shaped forms (*Robak 2013*, 69–76). At the same time, this new fashion reached Central Europe. In the second half of the 9th c. and at the beginning of the 10th c., rectangular forms dominated in the Carolingian and Great Moravian sword sets. Cylindrically bolded edges, on the contrary, were typical for the second half of the 9th c. and gradually disappeared till the turn of the 9th and 10th c. The style could be seen not only on strap fittings but also on some plate spurs with rectangular plates and bolded tips (e.g. *Bialeková 1977*, fig. 8: 8–10). Consequently, based on the typology and the ornament, the fitting from Nitra could be dated back to the period between the mid-9th c. and the end of the 9th c.

Apart from the fitting, grave 1/94 contained also a D-shaped buckle without a prong (Fig. 4: 2; 5: 1). An iron prong did not preserve but its remains – rust smudges on the frame – had been visible before the item was renovated. Traces of iron were detected also by the spectrometer (Tab. 1: sample 231). The buckle was made of the same copper alloy as the fitting and its frame was decorated with plant motifs – schematic three- and six-petal flowers or leaves. Similar cast and decorated buckles – D-shaped or more oval with oblique frame – are characteristic mainly for late Carolingian items, dated back from the second third of the 9th c. (*Robak 2013*, 88, 89; *2017*, fig. 28). D-shaped buckles, of course, were known also in Early Carolingian times but differed in shapes and ornaments from their younger counterparts. When the Carolingian plant style dominated (2nd–3rd third of the 9th c.), D-shaped (and more oval) buckles were the basic type used in strap sets and were used also in combination with rectangular fittings (*Robak 2014*, pl. CIII). Buckles with an oblique frame decorated with a segmented plant ornament or cross motifs (crosses, rhomboids, four-pointed stars) were standard and are now found throughout Europe (*Robak 2017*, fig. 24). A most similar ornament to the one from Nitra can be found on an item from grave 750 in Birka – also accompanied by a rectangular, although slightly different, fitting (Fig. 9: 6, 7) – and a buckle from grave 433/II in Mikulčice (*Klanica et al. 2019*, fig. 79: 5a).

The fitting from Nitra – along with the buckle – could be imported from the West. However, it is equally probable that it was manufactured in a local, Great Moravian workshop making the decoration for the local nobility in line with the general European fashion. Possibly also copying western products they saw. After all, the production of items meeting the aesthetic Western European criteria did not exceed the technological capacities of Great Moravian workshops. Also, it cannot be excluded that local noblemen 'imported' craftsmen from abroad (*Brather 2001*, 300). As a consequence, we are often unable to distinguish imports from items manufactured in local workshops (see *Robak 2016*; *Ungerman 2020*).

Tab. 2. Elemental composition of the spur set decoration from grave 1/94 from Nitra-Castle. Sampled by AI SAS Nitra.

	Sample no.	Cu [%]	Fe* [%]	Zn [%]	Pb [%]	Other [%]
Plate decoration	226	61.78	26.02	11.07	1.03	<0.1
Rivet washer	225	91.7	6.22	1.22	0.67	<0.19
Buckle decoration	227	41.19	48.79	9.39	0.5	<0.15

* High content of the iron is caused by the fact that the spectrometer measuring area is larger than diameter of the sampled wire.

Apart from the belt set, grave 1/94 contained two fragments of an iron plate-rivet spur and an iron buckle used to fasten the spur (Fig. 7; 8). A preserved fragment of a yoke and the plate are decorated with diagonal cuts arranged into an irregular, deformed mesh. Originally, the cuts were filled with an inlaid brass wire (see Tab. 2). The upper surface of the buckle frame was decorated with a similar inlaid ornament. There, however, the cuts do not cross and the ornament resembles rather an irregular zigzag.

The spur from Nitra represents plate-rivet spurs with three rows of rivets on a small, U-shaped plate. It was one of the most popular – probably the most popular – type of spurs used in the Great Moravian times. Usually, such spurs were fastened with D-shaped or slightly oval buckles – other

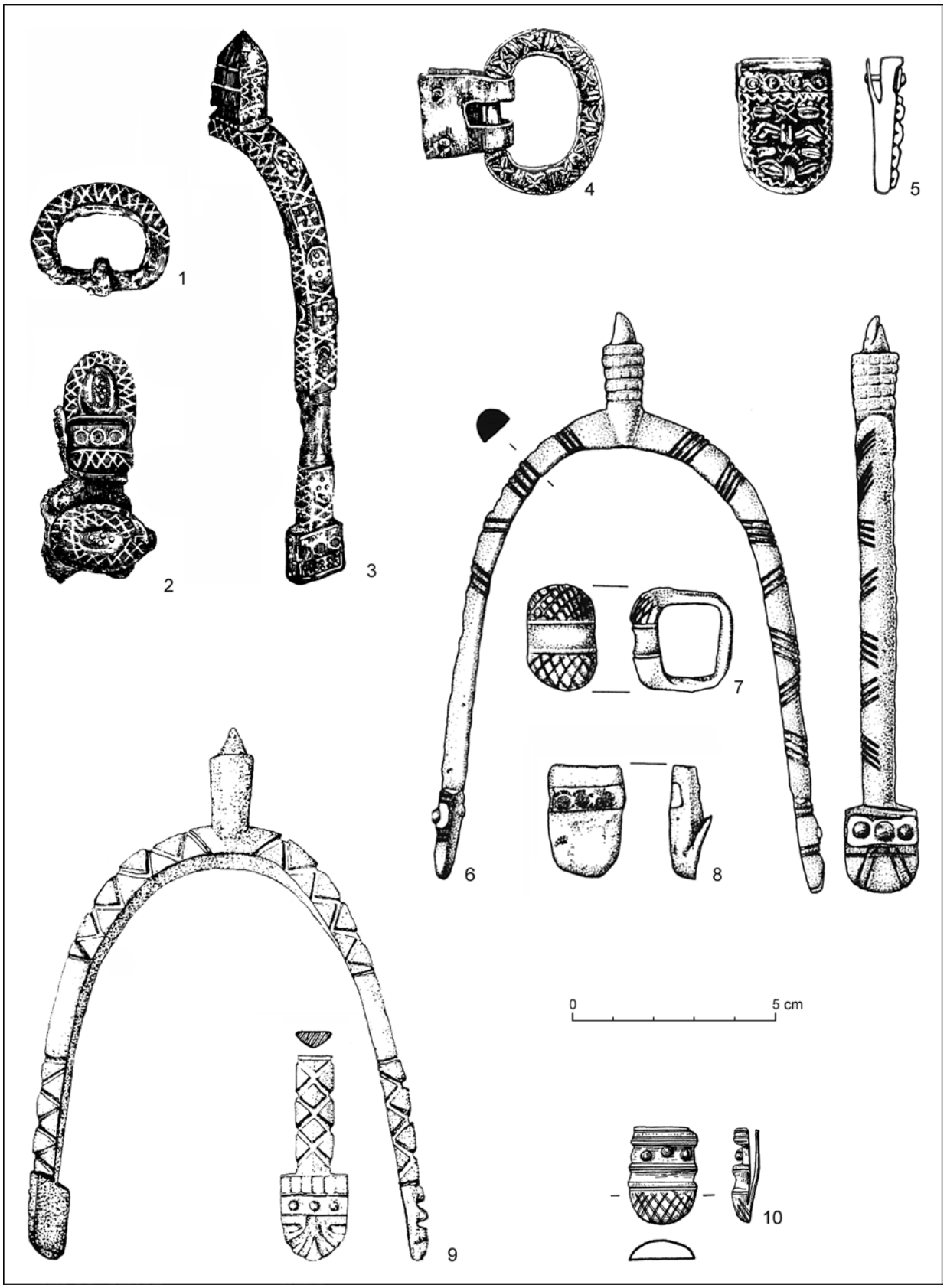


Fig. 10. Carolingian-type items with cross and mesh decoration. 1–3 – Mikulčice, gr. 232/II (after *Poulík 1957*); 4–5 – Mikulčice, gr. 50/VI (after *Profantová/Kavánová 2003*); 6–8 – Zalavár-Városziget, unknown grave (after *Szőke 2020)*; 9. Břeclav-Pohansko, gr. 277 (after *Kalousek 1971*); 10 – Bojná-Valy (after *Robak 2014*). Author Z. Robak.

shapes are virtually absent (*Robak 2013*, 87–89). Plate spurs became widely used in Europe around the mid-9th c. (*Košta 2008*, 287; *Kouřil 2020*, 263; *Robak 2013*, 34, 35) and dominated throughout the late Carolingian Period[2] and later also in the Carolingian-Ottonian and Ottonian periods (10th–beginning of the 11th c.) in the Carolingian Empire and neighbouring lands. Of course, with time, fasteners, number of rivets, pricks lengths and yokes evolved (see *Macháček/Dresler/Přichystalová 2018*, fig. 113). The small, U-shaped plate with three rivets together with a copper washer indicates that the fitting from Nitra is an item characteristic for the second half of the 9th c.[3] Most similar spurs come from Moravia and Western Slovakia. In this region, this is a consequence of specific burial rites requiring warriors' graves to be equipped with weapons and attire – in Western Europe, this custom disappeared gradually in the 9th c. – and a large number of well-studied cemeteries. Additional pieces of information are provided by iron hoards that often-included spurs. As a result, such spurs belong to the most characteristic elements of the Great Moravian material culture. However, are neither found only in Great Moravia nor were invented there. Such spurs were used throughout European regions under the Carolingian influence – they are known from German, Slovenian and Italian sites, although usually as loose finds (*Robak 2013*, 34).

Inlayed decorations on the spur and buckle were made of a brass wire (Tab. 2). Generally, these types of decorations were made of silver, copper or brass (*Heinrich-Tamáska 2005*, 135; *Riederer 1994*).[4] In Central Europe, decorating of spurs (but also buckles, slides and spur strap fittings) with a motif of a rhomboid mesh was not rare in the Carolingian Period (see *Kind 2007*, fig. 2: 5).[5] Although the origins of the motif are older and reach back to the Merovingian Period (*Gußmann 1994*, 148, pl. 22: 3d) when inlaid decorations were most popular in Europe (*Menghin 1994a*). Under the influence of the Merovingian and Byzantine cultures, inlaid decorations were also widely used by the Avars mainly in the Early Avar Period but also later, although less often (*Heinrich-Tamáska 2005*, 22–30, 135–137). Inlaid decorations were, thus, widely-available for the Great Moravian craftsmen (*Bialeková 1981*, 72; *Galuška 1998*; *Kouřil 2020*; *Robak 2013*, 136). Also, the access to western (and eastern) patterns was easy as confirmed by numerous finds of inlaid items on Great Moravian strongholds (e.g. *Klanica et. al. 2019*, fig. 79: 10; *Kouřil 2014*, Cat. no. 109; 114; 166; 170; 171; 173; 198; *Robak 2014*, pl. LIV: 4; XLVI: 8; XLVII: 3; XLVIII: 8; XLIX: 9). Plate spurs decorated similarly as the one from Nitra are known from graves in Mikulčice (Fig. 10: 1–3; gr. 232/II; *Kouřil 2020*, fig. 164)[6] and Břeclav-Pohansko (Fig. 10: 9; gr. 277; *Kalousek 1971*, fig. 277) and some loose finds (Pobedim: *Bialeková 1977*, fig. 8: 8). The mesh motif can be found also on a slide from Zalavár (Fig. 10: 7; *Szőke 2020*, fig. 106: 6) and a spur fitting from Bojná-Valy (Fig. 10: 10; *Robak 2014*, pl. XLIX: 9), and also as an additional decoration of belt-ends (*Robak 2014*, pl. XLIX: 13; L: 1).

The upper part of the yoke and the prick did not preserve. Consequently, a more detailed typological analysis – that could provide more detailed information about the find – is impossible. The spurs decoration itself is not very helpful. However, we should notice that similar items come nearly always from central parts of Great Moravia or nearby Zalavár which in the second half of the 9th c. was a seat of the Carolingian Duchy of Pannonia (Fig. 10: 6; *Szőke 2020*). The decorations are consistent with the general fashion of using geometric ornaments seen on Great Moravian finds dated back to the second half of the 9th c. and the beginning of the 10th c. (*Robak 2013*, 171–179, 190). The similarity of the decorative pattern to the spurs from graves 232/II in Mikulčice and 277 in Břeclav-Pohansko is striking (Fig. 10: 1–3, 9). It seems possible, thus, that the spur and the buckle were manufactured somewhere in Great Moravia. The lack of Western European analogies is caused by the lack of material suitable for comparison. Generally, in Western Europe, there are very few spurs dated back to the 2nd and 3rd third of the 9th c. and decorated examples are unique.

Considering the finds in the context of Carolingian-type artefacts from all over Europe, we see that the grave from Nitra was equipped with elegant middle-class products. The finds were not the most common iron spurs and fittings – used by low-rank

[2] In Slovakia and Moravia, the late Carolingian Period is roughly consistent with the Great Moravian Period.

[3] Originally, most likely, a prick was short or medium (max. ca. 40 mm). Usually, plate spurs with long prick and U-shaped plates had only two rivets.

[4] This was substantiated by more recent analyses of 'gold' inlaid strap and spur fittings from Bojná that turned out to be brass.

[5] In supreme versions, the pattern was made using the technique of plating with miniature copper and silver plates (see *Kouřil 2014*, Cat. no. 63; *Robak 2014*, pl. XLI: 10).

[6] *P. Kouřil* (*2020*, 266) believes that such spurs are, most likely, one of the early variations of Carolingian plate-rivet spurs with a transverse row of rivets. The spurs, thus, could be western products used as models for the production of local copies in Moravia.

warriors – but also, they were not high-quality Carolingian or Great Moravian products. The finds are consistent with the general picture of Great Moravian finds in Slovakia, where – apart from the grave in Ducové – there are no truly noble burials and elite elements of attire that would resemble those from Staré Město and Mikulčice. Of course, this does not mean that such elite items were never present in Slovakia. However, unlike Staré Město, Břeclav or Mikulčice, Great Moravian centres in Slovakia (including Nitra and Bratislava) had not disappeared. Instead, they underwent architectonic transformations, were refurbished into stone and later also brick castles and their representative functions were maintained to this day (similarly to castles in Prague and Cracow). 1,200 years of continuous settlement and construction activities, thus, must have left traces in archaeological material. Destruction of grave 1/94 from Nitra provides yet another confirmation of this process. There are only a couple of Great Moravian graves found on the Nitra Castle but, certainly, around the bishop's church, there must have been many more of them (*Bednár/Ruttkay 2018*, 234).

The chronology of items found in grave 1/94 is relatively coherent and generally limited to the second half of the 9th c. The two sets are consistent and, thus, there is little risk that one of the items could be archaic. Depending on how long the items were used, thus, we could assume that the artefacts were deposited in the grave between the mid-9th c. and the end of the 9th c.

SUMMARY

The stratigraphic situation around the Plague Column together with comparative research to the east of the Column corroborate the view that the north-eastern part of the Nitra Castle – on the site of the present Castellum café – was intensely exploited in the Early Middle Ages (*Bednár et al. 2019*, 22). The density of equipped graves on a relatively small area indicates that those were not random graves – as in many other Castle areas (*Bednár 2001*, 31, 34) – but a site used primarily as a burial ground. The cemetery could be linked with the existence of a hillfort fortified with the rampart I built in the second half of the 9th c. (*Bednár/Ruttkay 2018*, 231). There are no other settlement features contemporary to the graves or distinct early medieval settlement layers there. Settlement features (apart from prehistoric) started to appear thereafter the site had ceased to be used as a burial ground and the entire area had been reorganised (removal of internal palisades). Most likely in the 10th and 11th c.

Dating grave 1/94 back to the second half of the 9th c. provides a benchmark for other early medieval burials and some other significant features in the area. The oldest phase of the burials (8th/9th – first half of the 9th c.) should be linked with a group of graves found under the rampart I and, thus, older than the rampart. Possibly also grave 3/94 belongs to the group. Contrary to previous assumptions (*Bednár 2001*, 31), grave 1/94 belongs to the next phase, related to the existence of wooden-soil fortifications.

The stratigraphic situation of the site, along with the information acquired during the research, confirms the previous hypothesis that Castle Hill served as a burial ground throughout all phases of the early medieval settlement in the area. The hypothesis is additionally corroborated by graves found under the construction of the oldest rampart (I) on both eastern and western slopes of the hill, by rampart I and in the destruction of rampart III (*Bednár 1998*; *2001*, 31). In other words, the dead were buried on Castle Hill from the beginnings of early medieval settlement (8th/9th c.) until the destruction of the wooden-soil chamber rampart (III) in the second half of the 11th c. A radical change in burial customs took place at the end of the 11th c. when the area around St. Emmeram's Church was transformed into a cemetery. Graves related to the younger phase were dug into the construction and destruction of rampart III from the end of the 11th c. until the 15th c. (*Bednár 2001*, 35, 36).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Arbman 1937 – H. Arbman: *Schweden und das karolingische Reich. Studien zu den Handelsverbindungen des 9. Jahrhunderts*. Stockholm 1937.

Bednár 1996 – P. Bednár: Siedma sezóna výskumu Nitrianskeho hradu. *AVANS 1994*, 1996, 29–31.

Bednár 1998 – P. Bednár: Die Entwicklung der Befestigung der Nitraer Burg im 9.–12. Jahrhundert. In: J. Henning/A. T. Ruttkay (Hrsg.): *Frühmittelalterlicher Burgenbau in Mittel- und Osteuropa. Tagung, Nitra vom 7. bis 10. Oktober 1996*. Bonn 1998, 371–382.

Bednár 2001– P. Bednár: Sídlisková štruktúra Nitry v 9. storočí. In: L. Galuška/P. Kouřil/Z. Měřinský (eds.): *Velká Morava mezi východem a západem. Sborník příspěvků z mezinárodní vědecké konference. Uherské Hradiště, Staré Město, 28. 9.–1. 10. 1999*. Spisy Archeologického ústavu AV ČR Brno 17. Brno 2001, 20–39.

Bednár 2011 – P. Bednár: Počiatky Nitrianskeho hradu. In: V. Judák/P. Bednár/J. Medvecký (zost.): *Kolíska kresťanstva na Slovensku. Nitriansky hrad a Katedrála sv. Emeráma v premenách času*. Nitra 2011, 114–121.

Bednár/Březinová/Fusek 1992 – P. Bednár/G. Brezinová/G. Fusek: Výskumy a prieskumy v Nitre v časti Staré mesto. *AVANS 1990*, 1992, 23–25.

Bednár et al. 2019 – P. Bednár/K. Daňová/Z. Poláková/M. Ruttkay/P. Smetanová/O. Žaár: Pokračovanie výskumu Nitrianskeho hradu. *AVANS 2014*, 2019, 19–24.

Bednár/Fottová 2003 – P. Bednár/E. Fottová: Nitra-tržnica – príspevok k poznaniu stredovekého mesta. *Archaeologia historica* 28, 2003, 303–315.

Bednár/Ruttkay 2018 – P. Bednár/M. Ruttkay: Nitra and the Principality of Nitra after the Fall of Great Moravia. In: P. Kouřil/R. Procházka et al.: *Moravian and Silesian Strongholds of the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries in the Context of Central Europe*. Spisy Archeologického ústavu AV ČR Brno 57. Brno 2018, 229–244.

Bednár/Samuel 2001 – P. Bednár/M. Samuel: Entwicklung der Befestigung der Nitraer Burg im 11. Jahrhundert. *Slovenská archeológia* 49, 2001, 301–345.

Bednár/Staník 1993 – P. Bednár/I. Staník: Archeologický výskum Nitrianskeho hradu v rokoch 1988–1991. In: K. Pieta (ed.): *Nitra. Príspevky k najstarším dejinám mesta*. Nitra 1993, 127–141.

Bialeková 1977 – D. Bialeková: Sporen von slawischen Fundplätzen in Pobedim (Typologie und Datierung). *Slovenská archeológia* 25, 1977, 103–160.

Bialeková 1981 – D. Bialeková: *Dávne slovanské kováčstvo*. Dávnoveké umenie Slovenska 11. Bratislava 1981.

Böhm/Mencl 1931 – J. Böhm/V. Mencl: Výskum na hradě nitranském 1930–1931. *Památky archeologické* 37, 1931, 64–79.

Červinka 1928 – I. L. Červinka: *Slované na Moravě a Říše velkomoravská*. Brno 1928.

Chropovský 1991 – B. Chropovský: Nitra. In: H. Brachmann/J. Herrmann (Hrsg.): *Frühgeschichte der europäischen Stadt. Grundlagen und Voraussetzungen*. Schriften zur Ur- und Frühgeschichte 44. Berlin 1991, 159–165.

Chropovský 1997 – B. Chropovský: K problematike sídla Svätopluka I. In: R. Marsina/A. Ruttkay (eds.): *Svätopluk 894–1994*. Nitra 1997, 71–77.

Fottová 2019 – E. Fottová: *Typologicko-chronologický vývoj keramickej produkcie v 8.–12. storočí v oblasti Nitry*. Dizertačná práca. Archeologický ústav Slovenskej akadémie vied. Nitra 2019. Unpublished.

Galuška 1998 – L. Galuška: Souprava velmože z hrobu 266/49 ze Starého Města. (K poznání neobvyklé technologie výzdoby raněstředověkých předmětů.) In: P. Kouřil/R. Nekuda/J. Unger (eds.): *Ve službách archeologie. Sborník k 60. narozeninám RNDr. Vladimíra Haška, DrSc. Příspěvky z konference Přírodovědecké metody v archeologii, Kravsko, 5.–6. března 1998*. Spisy Archeologického ústavu AV ČR Brno 10. Brno 1998, 95–107.

Galuška/Poláček 2006 – L. Galuška/L. Poláček: Církevní architektura v centrální oblasti velkomoravského státu. In: P. Sommer (ed.): *České země v raném středověku*. Praha 2006, 92–153.

Gußmann 1994 – S. Gußmann: Herstellunstechnisch-typologische Untersuchungen an tauschierten Metallarbeiten. In: *Menghin 1994b*, 105–158.

Heinrich-Tamáska 2005 – O. Heinrich-Tamáska: *Studien zu den awarenzeitlichen Tauschierarbeiten*. Monographien zu Frühgeschichte und Mittelalterarchaologie 11. Innsbruck 2005.

Hodál 1930 – J. Hodál: *Kostol kniežaťa Privinu v Nitre. 830–1930*. Nitra 1930.

Hodál 1933 – J. Hodál: *Kostol Pribinov v Nitre v pravom svetle*. Nitra 1933.

Kalousek 1971 – F. Kalousek: *Břeclav-Pohansko I. Velkomoravské pohřebiště u kostela. Archeologické prameny z pohřebiště*. Spisy University J. E. Purkyně v Brně. Filosofická fakulta 169. Brno 1971.

Kind 2007 – T. Kind: Westliche Einflüsse auf der östlichen Balkanhalbinsel im Spiegel der früh- und hochmittelalterlichen Reitausrüstung. In: J. Henning (ed.): *Post-Roman Towns. Trade and Settlement in Europe and Byzantium. Vol. 2. Byzantium, Pliska, and the Balkans*. Millennium-Studien zu Kultur und Geschichte des ersten Jahrtausends n. Chr. 5/2. Berlin – New York 2007, 543–612.

Klanica et al. 2019 – Z. Klanica/B. Kavánová/P. Kouřil/Š. Ungerman: *Mikulčice. Die Nekropole an der dreischiffigen Basilika*. Studien zum Burgwall Mikulčice 12. Spisy Archeologického ústavu AV ČR Brno 58. Brno 2019.

Knific 2007 – T. Knific: Zgodnjesrednjeveški pozlačeni predmeti z Gradišča nad Bašljem (Slovenija). *Prilozi Instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu* 24, 2007, 317–326.

Košta 2008 – J. Košta: Několik poznámek k chronologii pohřebiště u VI. kostela v Mikulčicích. *Studia Mediaevalia Pragensia* 8, 2008, 277–296.

Kouřil 2014 – P. Kouřil (ed.): *Velká Morava a počátky křesťanství*. Brno 2014.

Kouřil 2020 – P. Kouřil: Ostentatious Spurs from Mikulčice. In: L. Poláček et al.: *Great Moravian Elites from Mikulčice*. Brno 2020, 255–267.

Macháček/Dresler/Přichystalová 2018 – J. Macháček/P. Dresler/R. Přichystalová: Das Ende Großmährens – Überlegungen zur relativen und absoluten Chronologie des ostmitteleuropäischen Frühmittelalters. *Praehistorische Zeitschrift* 93, 2018, 307–348.

Menghin 1994a – W. Menghin: Ferro splendeo opus argento. Der Silberglanz der Merowingerzeit. In: *Menghin 1994b*, 9–32.

Menghin 1994b – W. Menghin (Hrsg.): *Tauschierarbeiten der Merowingerzeit. Bestandskataloge. Band 2*. Berlin 1994.

Mencl 1933 – V. Mencl: Stredoveká architektúra na Nitrianskom hrade. In: J. Hofman a kol.: *Nitra. Dejiny a umenie nitrianskeho zámku*. Trnava 1933, 61–99.

Píč 1904-1905 – J. Píč: Stopa Svatoplukovy Nitry. *Památky archeologické* 21, 1904–1905, 316–320.

Poulík 1957 – J. Poulík: Výsledky výzkumu na velkomoravském hradišti „Valy" u Mikulčic. Zpráva za rok 1954–1956. *Památky archeologické* 48, 1957, 241–388.

Profantová/Kavánová 2003 – N. Profantová/B. Kavánová: *Mikulčice – pohřebiště u 6. a 12. kostela*. Spisy Archeologického ústavu AV ČR Brno 22. Brno 2003.

Riederer 1994 – J. Riederer. Metallanalysen von Silber- und Messingeinlagen aus merowingerzeitlichen tauschierten Eisenfunden. In: *Menghin 1994b*, 159–162.

Robak 2013 – Z. Robak: *Studia nad okuciami rzemieni w typie karolińskim. VIII–X wiek. Część I*. Archaeologica Slovaca Monographiae. Studia 18. Nitra 2013.

Robak 2014 – Z. Robak: *Studia nad okuciami rzemieni w typie karolińskim. VIII–X wiek. Część II*. Archaeologica Slovaca Monographiae. Studia 19. Nitra 2014.

Robak 2016 – Z. Robak: A comparative analysis of three fittings decorated with the Carolingian plant style coming from Mikulčice, Bojná and Zalavár. In: T. Csécs/M. Takács (szerk.): *Beatus homo qui invenit sapientiam. Ünnepi kötet Tomka Péter 75. születésnapjára*. Győr 2016, 617–623.

Robak 2017 – Z. Robak: The Origins and the Collapse of the Blatnica-Mikulčice Paradigm. *Slovenská archeológia* 65, 2017, 99–162.

Robak 2019 – Z. Robak: The Age of Migrating Ideas. A Short Contribution on Cruciform Decorations on Great Moravian Strap Fitting in the 9th Century. In: L. Poláček/P. Kouřil (Hrsg.): *Bewaffnung und Reiterausrüstung des 8. bis 10. Jahrhunderts in Mitteleuropa. Waffenform und Waffenbeigaben bei den mährischen Slawen und in den Nachbarländern*. Internationale Tagungen in Mikulčice IX. Spisy Archeologického ústavu AV ČR 50. Brno 2019, 453–477.

Škultéty 1924 – J. Škultéty: Starobylá Nitra. *Slovenské pohľady* 40, 1924, 65–87.

Stránsky/Cserenyey 1933 – A. Stránsky/Š. Cserenyey: *Dejiny biskupstva nitrianskeho*. Trnava 1933.

Szőke 2020 – B. M. Szőke: *Pannonien in der Karolingerzeit*. Monographien des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums 145. Mainz 2020.

Točík 1983 – A. Točík: Predbežná správa o výskume hradného kopca v Nitre v roku 1930–1931. *AVANS 1982*, 1983, 244–247.

Točík/Rejholec 1993 – A. Točík/E. Rejholec: Zisťovací výskum na hradnom kopci v rokoch 1958–1959. *Študijné zvesti AÚ SAV* 29, 1993, 5–46.

Ungerman 2017 – Š. Ungerman: Mečové pásy z 9.–10. století v západní a střední Evropě (typologie, chronologie, provenience a symbolika). In: K. Pieta/Z. Robak (eds.): *Bojná 2. Nové výsledky výskumov včasnostredovekých hradísk*. 2. rozšírené vydanie. Archaeologica Slovaca Monographiae. Fontes 22. Nitra 2017, 253–280.

Ungerman 2020 – Š. Ungerman: Carolingian Imports in Great Moravia. In: L. Poláček et al.: *Great Moravian Elites from Mikulčice*. Brno 2020, 51–57.

Wamers/Brandt 2005 – E. Wamers/M. Brandt (Hrsg.): *Die Macht des Silbers. Karolingische Schätze im Norden*. Regensburg 2005.

Zavadil 1912 –J. Zavadil: *Velehrady Děvín a Nitra*. Kroměříž 1912.

Manuscript accepted 28. 9. 2021

Translated by Magdalena Adamus

Mgr. Zbigniew Robak, PhD.
Archeologický ústav SAV
Akademická 2
SK – 949 21 Nitra
zbigniew.robak@savba.sk

PhDr. Peter Bednár, CSc.
Archeologický ústav SAV
Akademická 2
SK – 949 21 Nitra
nraubedn@savba.sk

SLOVENSKÁ ARCHEOLÓGIA – SUPPLEMENTUM 2
Z. Robak/M. Ruttkay (eds.): Celts – Germans – Slavs.
A Tribute Anthology to Karol Pieta. Nitra 2021, 431–439.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.31577/slovarch.2021.suppl.2.42

KLÁŠŤOV HILL – AN EXCEPTIONAL CASE OF RELIGIOUS CUSTOMS AND NOTIONS IN THE SLAVIC WORLD (EASTERN MORAVIA, CZECH REPUBLIC)

PAVEL KOUŘIL

The paper offers relevant information concerning Klášťov, the dominant summit of the Vizovice Hills in eastern Moravia, where Moravia's highest-positioned stronghold was built in the period of the Lusatian Urnfield culture. Later, in the 9th and 10th c., it was used by the domestic population above all for cult purposes; traces of a more permanent occupation have not been detected there yet. Text also presents an exceptional local find of a brass inlaid trefoil iron sword set fitting, probably a local imitation of Carolingian models (?). It represents a high-quality, professionally made art and craft product whose popularity culminated in the second and third quarters of the 9th c. in the West; it might have occurred also later in the Moravian milieu.

Keywords: Moravia, Early Middle Ages, Great Moravian Period, cult site, sword fitting.

The Staré Město – Uherské Hradiště agglomeration, part of the fertile lower Morava River valley, is wedged between the Chřiby Mountains in the west and the Vizovice Hills and White Carpathians in the east. The beginnings of a Slavic occupation there might date as far back as the first half of the 6th c. (*Galuška 2017*, 20), presented by sporadic settlements with Prague type pottery such as Kvačice, Ostrožská Nová Ves, Polešovice, Staré Město or Zlechov. In the course of the 7th, 8th and especially 9th c., the settlement network densified to such an extent that some researchers even speak about overpopulation; almost 70 settlements have been detected in a radius of ca. 10 km from Uherské Hradiště (*Hrubý 1982*, 131). The occupation was gradually shifting to the east and south-east, including the area of the Vizovice Hills. It is their highest summit, Klášťov (753 m a.s.l.), part of the so-called Klášťov Ridge, that is the subject of our interest (Fig. 1). The trend is documented above all by numerous cremation (Lipová, Nevšová, Slavičín, perhaps also Haluzice or Uherský Brod), biritual (Bojkovice, Hluk, Rudimov) and especially inhumation barrow cemeteries, often with rich grave goods testifying to a clear social stratification of the burying community (Částkov, Horní Němčí, Nedachlebice(?), Přečkovice(?), Rudimov: *Kohoutek 1995a*, 131–146; *Kouřil/Tymonová 2013*, 154, 155); with the exception of these barrow cemeteries, however, other evidence of Middle or Late Hillfort period occupation is not very distinctive.

Fig. 1. Klášťov. The site marked on the Czech Republic map (graphics M. Vlach).

The Vizovice Hills themselves, comprising the north-western part of the Moravian-Slovakian Carpathians, are rather rugged, built predominantly of flysch rocks. We can encounter outcrops of lower-quality iron ore including clay ironstone or clay siderite and limonite; they have been mined virtually continuously up to the Modern Era (e.g. Bojkovice, Březolupy, Mařatice, Rudice, Rudimov with remnants of excavation works, or Chrastěšov where features of a production character, apparently related to iron ore processing, are considered). We can, therefore, realistically presume that this was so also at the time of the emergence and especially of the subsequent rapid expansion of the Mojmirid domain culminating in the second half or the last third of the 9th c. and that this area participated considerably in supplying (not only) the main Great Moravian centres with this important strategic raw material. The excellency of Great Moravian craft, based on earlier home production and conditioned

among other things by purposeful exploitation of the raw material base, a good communications system and the possibilities of the production and sales in agglomerations of an 'urban' type, was reflected above all in smithery, girdlery and jewellery. It is assumed that Moravian smiths, already focused on specialised activities, were capable of forging about one hundred iron products including highly functional tools. This figure seems to be fully confirmed and, in many cases, even increased precisely by the finds from Klášťov (Vysoké Pole cadastral territory, Zlín distr.).

The highest-located stronghold in Moravia was built on its summit sloping southwards at the time of the Lusatian Urnfield culture (HB–C), with a triangular layout and an area of ca. 2 hectares, delimited by a rampart with a wood-and-stone internal structure that is still 3 metres high today (*Červinka 1928*, 91; *Čižmář M. 2004*, 265, 266, with further literature; *Kohoutek 2006a*). Although a sporadic presence of pottery fragments and, exceptionally, also parts of querns of the Hillfort period have been detected in the not very extensive earlier and later excavation works (*Kohoutek 2006a*), it was not and, in fact, is not yet quite clear whether the Slavs really occupied the area on a more permanent basis and whether they might have made use of an earlier fortification system. A recent limited area excavation has not detected any demonstrable feature from this period, as a cultural layer is evidently missing and the evidence available has the form of not very numerous and predominantly very small pottery fragments (*Frolíková-Kaliszová 2015*; *Kohoutek 2007a*; *Kohoutek/Pavlíčková 2008*), which might possibly indicate intentional fragmentation(?).

Nevertheless, the situation changed diametrically with the rapid and massive onset of metal detectors in the early third millennium, as the site became a subject of systematic illegal looting using this technology. Only these activities, bringing information – considerably delayed – to the professional community of an incredible quantity and variety of early medieval artefacts found at the site, moved the authorised institutions to commence their own programme of the rescue of the remaining metallic items. This task was assumed by the Institute for Archaeological Heritage Brno (ÚAPP). Under the guidance of J. Kohoutek, 8 hoards were excavated; 2 were gained from the metal detector users (*Geisler/Kohoutek 2014*); besides that, hundreds of solitarily deposited individual finds were gathered and documented. The activity was continued by other employees of the ÚAPP and of the Zlín Museum (*Čižmář I. 2010*; *Čižmář I./Kohoutek 2015*, 187–190; *Langová 2010*). Based on an agreement between the ÚAPP, the Institute of Archaeology, Czech Academy of Sciences, Brno (ARÚB) and the municipal authority of Vysoké Pole, on whose cadastral territories the stronghold is situated, the archaeological field activities on Klášťov Hill and its immediate vicinity was taken over by the Academy's Brno-based institute as of 2011. Its engagement (lasting until 2016), based on systematic research of purposefully chosen districts including ones outside the stronghold's area, brought about the excavation of two more hoards (no. 12 and 13) and more than 400 separately deposited artefacts;[1] one more hoard (no. 11) was provided for detailed processing by an amateur detector (*Profantová 2014*). Although we do not know yet the precise number of the items found (whole and in fragments) held by the named institutions including the municipality of Vysoké Pole, our realistic estimate based on already published and personally communicated information is around 2,100;[2] the contents of hoards comprise less than one-seventh of this number(!). According to information that is difficult to verify, about one-third, possibly up to one-half, of this number is also in the private hands. This is an absolutely unique and unexpected quantity for a single site. Moreover, we should keep in mind that the complex has not been completely surveyed and 'extracted' yet. Regrettably, as illegal activities continue unabatedly, the leak of information is enormous. The exceptional character of Klášťov stands out if we consider that a work from the second half of the 1980s discussing Slavic iron hoards from the territory of former Czechoslovakia lists over 1,700 items from 37 (predominantly Moravian) sites, more than a half of them consisting of axe-shaped bars and partially also of slag (*Bartošková 1986*). This remains true even after taking into account numerous hoards newly gained in the Czech lands and the latest list of early medieval iron hoards from Slovakia that includes 74 of them. Only two sites from this Slovak list, of a somewhat different character than Klášťov, namely the Bojná hillfort (where systematic research has been conducted for many years by dear jubilant K. Pieta) and Pobedim (with its close vicinity), have an increased number of iron hoards, but their composition is mostly considerably different, with axe-shaped bars predominant (*Müllerová 2020*).

[1] The survey was carried out by a group led by Ondrej Šedo. The artefacts gathered, about 500 of them, are undergoing the preservation process; after it is completed, they will be documented and professionally assessed.

[2] The number is several times higher than the number of pottery fragments gathered so far (*Frolíková-Kaliszová 2015*, 202).

Fig. 2. Klášťov. Contour-line plan of the stronghold with the positions of the individual finds marked (graphics by J. Fritsch).

The outlined situation leads to numerous questions; the answers, of course, depend on the publication of relevant data on the discoveries made so far and of at least an enumerative list of the artefacts gained, especially those that were not part of hoards and that, in our opinion, cannot be regarded as lost or temporarily deposited items. The basic questions are probably the following: *Where – what and in what manner – by whom and why – when and how long was deposited?* The answer to the first, relatively least complicated question, *where* the deposition took place, is seemingly simple: it was the highest point of the whole mountain range, the Klášťov Hill itself; but was it really only there? We know today that hoards and solitary finds alike can be found not only within the fortified complex but also on its slopes, near access roads and saddles as well as close to springs, sometimes at a considerable distance from the dominant hill. After all, water always played an important role with the Slavs (and other Indo-Europeans) in connection with the notions of a permanently reviving cosmos and the regeneration of nature (here, we can point out also traces of completely disintegrated iron items in the so-called cistern sunken within the fortified area). Only selected districts of the fortified area were used for this purpose (two considerable cumulations have been recorded), far from the whole area protected by the rampart (Fig. 2).

What and in what manner was deposited? Iron items were deposited above all, including miniaturised specimens; non-ferrous metal artefacts comprise a tiny percentage. They usually lay in rather shallow positions below the surface.[3] For the

[3] Some partly reached the surface and were well visible. It is characteristic of the site that even later, for the whole subsequent centuries, these artefacts were apparently not sought and collected by the local population as material for further use. Their position and purpose were respected; the tradition of the place must have been intensively perceived.

time being, however, we do not know whether their locations were part of some system and order and whether the activity was organised and controlled by someone who was permanently present there or whether they were deposited haphazardly – the latter seems to be more likely. As we have stated, two areas were evidently preferred: the neighbourhood of the highest isolated rock block (Čertův kámen [Devil's Rock]; geologically, it is a so-called tor) and an artificially adapted terrace with a water source. As for the hoards, it is also not clear whether the individual items were put one onto another according to their belonging to the individual functional categories or in some other order given in advance, or without any order. It is rather evident that they were mostly deposited quite loosely or only slightly bound; others might have been placed in a textile wrapping (the remnants of textiles have indeed been detected on some fragments) or a leather sack. Package material in the form of a metal kettle, a ceramic vessel or a bucket has not been recorded; in one case, a hoard was overlaid by a quern stone (*Kohoutek 2006b*). Products related to agriculture and crafts (especially woodworking) predominate quite clearly, followed by items related to horse and rider equipment, lockable systems, etc. As we have stated, weapons are minimally represented, except for axes and partially also arrowheads. Jewellery is missing altogether, so are belt fittings, with a single exception, etc. The metal artefacts gathered so far can be divided into three groups in terms of the state of preservation: undisturbed functional products that may be a) either brand new, or b) used (we are unable to distinguish between these two categories without special observations, if it ever will be possible; the non-numerous items that bear traces of repairs belong here as well), and defective artefacts, which are present in the hoards as well as outside them. It is not yet quite clear whether these items were devalued by long use or damaged intentionally, although the former possibility seems more realistic.

Who deposited them and *why*? We will hopefully not be very far from the truth if we link hoards, especially more extensive ones, to smiths (forge tongs and blades, massive wedges, punches) and possibly also to the direct producers of iron; here, we have in mind especially semi-finished products – bun-shaped iron blooms, lead ingots but also slag (*Čižmář I. 2010*). We should not lose sight of other categories of the population either, however, especially more affluent ones. In view of the great variety and high quality of the items contained in the individual hoards and outside them, we are inclined, at the present stage of knowledge of the site, to the opinion that they were at least partly produced by specialists at sites of a central type; in this case, they worked in the radius of the Staré Město – Uherské Hradiště agglomeration, ca. 50–70 km distant from Klášťov. In contrast to that, solitarily deposited mostly simpler products might have (not necessarily) been linked to the activity of more ordinary, less affluent people from the nearer and further vicinity; we must admit we do not know how large the territorial radius of these 'contributors' was.

We are reaching the key issue – the reason that led the Slavic population to use precisely the area of the highest summit of the Vizovice Hills and its nearest hinterland so massively for the intentional storage of iron products, highly valuable and valued at that time. We believe that their deliberate deposition to or under the ground was not motivated by fear of a war danger at a time of unrest, as presumed for most hoards from sites with long-term and dense occupation (cf. *Bartošková 1986*, 109), whose depositors believed that they would be collected again later, after the danger had passed (bearing in mind, of course, that any unambiguous interpretation of the reason for deposition is rather tricky). On the contrary, we are of the opinion that these are hoards and individual items of a votive character, deposited as offerings, as was suggested earlier, with a question mark, by *J. Kohoutek* and *P. Pavlíčková* (*2008*). Among other things, the area fulfils the so-called triad of conditions for Slavic sacrificial sites – a spring, a sacred grove (tree) and a central stone, here represented by the dominant so-called Devil's Stone with an artificially adapted platform covered with a cinereous layer (*Kajkowski/Kuczkowski 2009*; *Kohoutek 2007b*, 32; *Profantová/Profant 2004*, 160; to Perun in detail and comprehensively: *Téra 2017*). It, therefore, seems acceptable to presume under the current state of knowledge that Perun might have been, with a certain probability, venerated above all there as the supreme god of the Slavonic pantheon, the lord of thunder, lightning and storms, linked in Slavonic folklore to the person of a mythical smith and to smithery in general (e.g. *Gieysztor 2006*, 65).[4] As his profiling attribute was an axe (*Váňa 1990*, 71, 72), the relatively higher number of axes found at the site so far, although mostly inaccessible at present, situated in a private collection, may also testify to the veneration of this deity. As we have mentioned, sacrifices were made also to springs, lakes, stones, trees, celestial bodies of day or night,

[4] It should be mentioned that we know even from the present that this hill attracts the most lightning strikes and related thunder during summer storms.

mountains, hills, etc. It is, of course, possible that Klášťov fulfilled more functions (e.g. refugial, cf. *Kajkowski 2019*, esp. 107–121), but its function as a sacral place (for this issue, see e.g. *Szczepanik 2020*, 258–261) seems to be primary at this moment (similarly *Profantová 2014*, 338).

When and how long did the deposition take place? As we have emphasised above, with the exception of items held by the ARÚB and the published hoards, we have only approximate information about the other, prevailing finds, above all from the published data and partially also from autopsy. Based on this knowledge, we are inclined to a tentative and conditioned conclusion that the prevailing majority of the finds can be acceptably linked above all to the advanced Great Moravian horizon, rather than the previous developmental phase or even the 8th c. (stated in their latest work also by *Geisler/Kohoutek 2014*, 106). This opinion is corroborated by the unusually varied and qualitatively and quantitatively convincing assortment of finds signalling the production of specialised, advanced crafts. The presence of artefacts such as massive, up to 50 cm long, coulters found in the company of both symmetrical and asymmetrical ploughshares, short scythes for grass mowing, the type of ring-like, so-called shepherd shears, axe-shaped bars of various weight categories, turning keys related to metal closing systems, spurs exclusively with discs (so far never in a pair and without the related sets), advanced bridle-bits with segmented cheek-pieces (on the contrary, S-shaped cheek-pieces are absent altogether), fittings with a neck, stirrups that can be categorised to the entire 9th c., hackles, etc. do not contradict this notion; after all, pottery material is also treated in the same way (*Frolíková-Kaliszová 2015*, 209). Some items that might theoretically indicate an earlier start of the area, such as bowls of the Silesian type, have a wide range of occurrence (from the 7th to the 11th c., with a core in the 8th and 9th c.); on the other hand, we find rather robust rhombic arrowheads or spurs with a long prick that could easily be dated to the final phases of the existence of Mojmirid Moravia. Therefore, we judge that Klášťov was used (worshipped) above all during the 9th c., most of all probably at the time of the expansion and bloom of Great Moravia and possibly also after its fall, and that the deposition of the hoards or individual items was gradual. If this premise is correct, it also tells much about the level of Christianisation of the Moravian society, about its apparently shallow conversion and lack of anchoring in the new faith, with areas more distant from the main centres not considerably (or not at all) affected by the evangelisation process (*Kouřil 2014*). The very deposition of the items most probably took place predominantly in the spring and summer months, as it would be difficult in the snow-covered and hard to access terrain in the autumn and especially in the winter; likewise, we can only speculate about the days or part of the day such an act was carried out.

Allow us to end this passage with two observations. First, according to interesting local tradition, as recently as the early 20th c., if modern medical procedures failed, women – mothers (but also fathers) used to go to Klášťov's springs and hang out parts of children's clothing, especially baby shirts, on tree branches there; similar practises are also mentioned, for example, in the milieu of the southern Slavs – in Serbia (*Téra 2017*, 216). Second, according to some researchers, the nearby castle of Engelsberg (Angels' Mountain), also known as Sehradice in Czech (*Kohoutek 1995b*, 27–44; *Plaček 2001*, 205, 206), founded around the middle of the 13th c. by Helembert de Turri, a liege of Bishop of Olomouc Bruno of Schauenburg who colonised the Slavičín region (*Bárta 2020*, 206–210), was supposed to be an antipole to pagan Klášťov; hence its name.[5]

We consider the text above, a brief introduction of a sort to the issues concerning Klášťov and a possible springboard for further research and professional discourse, necessary to present the most magnificent known artefact gained from the site so far. It is a trefoil fitting, a three-way strap divider belonging to a sword-belt set used to divide the main belt from the auxiliary one (Fig. 3). Without hesitation, it can be described as an art and craft product of unusual quality. It was excavated from the area of the spring basin (examined area X, 2016) in the saddle used to access the hill's summit (Bratřejov cadastral territory). Paradoxically, it was found in an earlier pit made by detector users, who missed this item situated at the very bottom of the pit. We can only theorise on what other finds might have accompanied it; possibly, other parts of a sword-belt set. Let us point out in this context that two parts of a sword itself are available from hoard no. 9, a crossguard and probably also a base of a pommel.

The very well-preserved fitting made of iron sheet, with one leaf visibly longer than the other two, has a maximum size of 9 cm. Two approximately isosceles triangles are plastically rendered in a low relief in its centre. Six transverse brass inlays, flat on the basis and rounded on the top, were inserted in previously cut grooves in each leaf with a maximum width of 3.0–3.1 cm; the rounded part was finished by filing into the form of minute hemispheres in an imitation of beaded wire. The

[5] For Klášťov and the nearby region from the perspective of folklore archaeology, see most recently *M. Hlavica* (*2009*; *2011*).

Fig. 3. Klášťov. Trefoil sword set fitting (drawing by J. Grieblerová, photo by J. Foltýn).

inlays were fastened by so-called caulking along the grooves, as is still well visible in some places. This means that rather than hammering the inlay itself, which is the usual procedure, its immediate vicinity was hammered (otherwise, the hammer strokes would have destroyed the surface finish of the brass inlays). This is not a common procedure; it is much more demanding than a usual inlay, testifying to skilful and advanced craftsmanship. The divider was attached to the belt with 16 iron rivets wrapped in copper wire; another rivet was situated near the rounded part of the longer leaf;[6] it seems that the 4 rivets with half-round heads on each of the sides of the triangle were equipped with a now hardly discernible, very thick brass washer. An XRF analysis has proved that besides predominant copper (ca. 75%), the alloy of the transverse brass inlays contained 15–20% of zinc; the wires around the rivets were made of unalloyed copper.

As of 2013/2014, 25 three-way (complete or fragmentary) artefacts have been discovered from the European continent as solitary finds, while 12 of these fittings were part of sword-belt sets. The territory of former Czechoslovakia yielded 7 dividers of this form as an integral part of more or less complete sword-belt sets (Kolín, Stará Kouřim, Jarohněvice, 2× Mikulčice, Prušánky, Turčianská Blatnica) and three separate finds (Uherské Hradiště, Bojná, Dolný Kubín-Velký Bysterec); this is quite a decent representation (*Robak 2013*; with the description of the individual finds and the relevant literature). The Klášťov find has now been added to them.

Sword-belt sets including the above-mentioned trefoil fittings, clearly associated with the Carolingian cultural sphere (despite their rather sparse occurrence there), have been paid increased attention on the domestic professional scene (leaving aside foreign authors), especially in the past decade. The works have systematically concentrated above all on issues concerning their typology (with an emphasis on the structural design of the individual parts and the whole sets and the method of their attachment), ornamentation and its rendition, development, provenance, chronology, function, iconography, symbolism, material analyses, etc. Based on these observations and conclusions, we can categorise the trefoil artefact from Klášťov, belonging to the most widespread group of sword-belt set dividers, very probably to Variant A, less likely to Variant B of the categorisation of this group according to *Š. Ungerman* (*2011*, 578–584; *2017*, 256–265) or to set type I–Ia or possibly II of the classification by *Z. Robak* (*2013*, 140–146; *2018a*, 155, 156). These products are characterised by predominant advanced vegetal decoration, occurring in the Western milieu and Scandinavia mostly during the second third of the 9th c. (with the beginnings in the late 8th or early 9th c., e.g. *Lennartsson 1997–1998*; *Wamers 2008*, 48, 49); especially in the so-called late Carolingian horizon (c. 840/850–910), it can be encountered also in the milieu of the Moravian Slavs (*Robak 2018b*, 332–334). Most trefoil dividers, evidently highly popular and fashionable in the Carolingian milieu, can be dated to this time range as well, occurring there roughly from the second quarter of the 9th c. and culminating in the 840s–870s (*Robak 2018a*, 155; *Wamers/Brandt 2005*, 54, 55).

Unlike most known specimens with predominant vegetal ornamentation, our fitting is decorated with transverse lines in a demanding inlaid rendition. This is not a decorative technique used very often in the period in question, even though it has been registered, albeit sporadically, in other examples of this type of divider, also in context with a geometric motif.[7] Let us mention finds from Hildesheim or Balhorn or, from the 'domestic' milieu, the fittings from Dolný Kubín and Staré Město,[8] which are considered Carolingian imports and dated sometime before the middle of the 9th c. Of course, we must also take into account a unique inlaid piece from Bojná which is, however, decorated with an acanthus stalk (*Pieta/Ruttkay 2007*, 32; *Robak 2013*, 105–113, 162, 163, with numerous other examples of inlaid decoration of metallic artefacts including sword parts). For instance, none of the known identically formed bronze (exceptionally even silver) brooches of the Viking period (imitating the Carolingian three-way strap dividers), used mainly in Scandinavia, was decorated in such a way (*Maixner 2005*).

The more robust parameters of the Klášťov artefact indicate that it is more likely a later product, even though the decoration and the method of its application might date it somewhere to the first half of the 9th c. (*Robak 2013*, 162). The rendition in iron and the inlay from a base metal signal that

[6] The longer leaf, which was fixed by another rivet, might have been situated on the auxiliary, more strained belt directed towards the fastening of the lower part of the scabbard. The divide between the underside of the fitting and the hammered head implies that the belt (made of leather or another organic material) was 2–2.5 mm thick. Certain asymmetry of three-way fittings has been ascertained also for some other specimens (e.g. Mikulčice: *Robak 2013*, 108, 109; Balhorn: *Eggenstein 2008*, 129 and others).

[7] Geometric decoration was not very popular in the Carolingian sphere, and we cannot find many items decorated in such a manner in the Great Moravian milieu either (cf. e.g. *Klanica et al. 2019*).

[8] With this find, however, it is not certain at all that the inlay technique was used (*Galuška 1997*, 79).

it was not one of the most prestigious top products of its kind, yet it represents a high-quality, professionally made item. It was undoubtedly used as part of a sword-belt set by a man in a respected elite position, although certainly not the highest on the social ladder. It is difficult to decide whether the fitting should be considered a Western import or a domestic product; some less exclusive iron dividers of this form are ascribed local origin with a certain level of probability (e.g. Jarohněvice, Prušánky, Mikulčice: *Košta/Lutovský 2014*, 67; on the imitation of Carolingian imports: cf. *Profantová 2011*). It seems that the fitting was not deposited in the ground as an unused, newly made artefact. This is suggested by the embedded rivets and, above all, by the markedly hammered end part of the rivet on the longer arm, evidently testifying to the attachment to a belt. Theoretically, the complete set including the belts might have been buried; regrettably, we are unable to find this out today. Therefore, it remains unclear who brought the fitting to Klášťov. Was it a warrior, the user of the sword (or might it have been part of his war booty?), or a craftsman, possibly its maker? We do not know, although the latter possibility seems to be somewhat more acceptable. It was not by no means an ordinary item, but it could have been made by Moravian master craftsmen who worked in specialised workshops of the central sites, especially Mikulčice and the nearby Staré Město – Uherské Hradiště (cf. *Kouřil 2020*, 265–267). Like the predominant mass of the finds from the Klášťov Hill, it was most probably deposited in the advanced Great Moravian horizon.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bárta 2020 – S. Bárta: Tři Brunovi muži aneb pozůstatky disertace, která nikdy nevznikla. In: B. Chocholáč/J. Malíř/L. Reitinger/M. Wihoda (eds.): *Pro pana profesora Libora Jana k životnímu jubileu.* Brno 2020, 205–218.

Bartošková 1986 – A. Bartošková: *Slovanské depoty železných předmětů v Československu.* Studie Archeologického ústavu ČSAV v Brně 13. Praha 1986.

Červinka 1928 – I. L. Červinka: *Slované na Moravě a říše Velkomoravská.* Brno 1928.

Čižmář I. 2010 – I. Čižmář: Vysoké Pole (okr. Zlín). *Přehled výzkumů* 51, 2010, 484.

Čižmář I./Kohoutek 2015 – I. Čižmář/J. Kohoutek: Hradisko Klášťov u Vysokého Pole (okr. Zlín). In: K. Pieta/Z. Robak (eds.): *Bojná 2. Nové výsledky výskumov včasnostredovekých hradísk.* Archaeologica Slovaca Monographiae. Fontes 20. Nitra 2015, 183–193.

Čižmář M. 2004 – M. Čižmář: *Encyklopedie hradišť na Moravě a ve Slezsku.* Praha 2004.

Eggenstein 2008 – G. Eggenstein: Balhorn in der Merowinger- und Karolingerzeit – Fränkische Mode, Schwertträger, Reiterkrieger. In: G. Eggenstein/N. Börste/H. Zöller/E. Zahn-Biemüller (Hrsg.): *Eine Welt in Bewegung. Unterwegs zu Zentren des frühen Mittelalters.* München – Berlin 2008, 126–144.

Frolíková-Kaliszová 2014 – D. Frolíková-Kaliszová: K významu Klášťova v době Velké Moravy – místo kultu nebo útočiště? *Pravěk. Nová řada* 23, 2014, 195–215.

Galuška 1997 – L. Galuška: K problematice předvelkomoravského opevnění Starého Města. In: P. Michna/R. Nekuda/J. Unger (eds.): *Z pravěku do středověku. Sborník k 70. narozeninám Vladimíra Nekudy.* Brno 1997, 73–83.

Galuška 2017 – L. Galuška: *Slované – stopy předků. O Moravě v 6.–10. století.* Brno 2017.

Geisler/Kohoutek 2014 – M. Geisler/J. Kohoutek: *Vysoké Pole-Klášťov. Inventář hromadných nálezů železných předmětů a shrnutí terénních výzkumných sezon 2005–2007.* Pravěk. Supplementum 28. Brno 2014.

Gieysztor 2006 – A. Giesztor: *Mitologia Słowian.* Communicare – historia i kultura. Warszawa 2006.

Hlavica 2009 – M. Hlavica: *Raně středověké kultovní aktivity na vrchu Klášťov a jejich odraz v archeologických pramenech a ústní lidové slovesnosti.* Bakalářská diplomová práce. Masarykova univerzita. Filozofická fakulta. Ústav archeologie a muzeologie. Brno 2009. Online available at: https://is.muni.cz/th/edk8j/

Hlavica 2011 – M. Hlavica: *Folklórní archeologie a její prameny na Zlínsku.* Bakalářská diplomová práce. Masarykova univerzita. Filozofická fakulta. Ústav evropské etnologie. Brno 2011. Online available at: https://is.muni.cz/th/ni6nk/Text.pdf

Kajkowski 2019 – K. Kajkowski: *Obrzędowość religijna Pomorzan we wczesnym średniowieczu. Studium archeologiczne.* Wrocław 2019.

Kajkowski/Kuczkowski 2009 – K. Kajkowski/A. Kuczkowski: Słowiańskie święte gaje na Pomorzu we wczesnym średniowieczu. *Nasze Pomorze* 11, 2009, 25–38.

Klanica et al. 2019 – Z. Klanica/B. Kavánová/P. Kouřil/Š. Ungerman: *Mikulčice. Die Nekropole an der dreischiffigen Basilika.* Studien zum Burgwall von Mikulčice 12. Spisy Archeologického ústavu AV ČR Brno 58. Brno 2019.

Kohoutek 1995a – J. Kohoutek: Slovanské a středověké osídlení. In: V. Nekuda (red.): *Vlastivěda moravská. Zlínsko.* Brno – Zlín 1995.

Kohoutek 1995b – J. Kohoutek: *Hrady jihovýchodní Moravy.* Zlín 1995.

Kohoutek 2006a – J. Kohoutek: Vysoké Pole (okr. Zlín). *Přehled výzkumů* 47, 2006, 288, 289.

Kohoutek 2006b – J. Kohoutek: Vysoké Pole (okr. Zlín), Klášťov – zjišťovací výzkum hradiska, *Výroční zpráva ÚAPP Brno 2005.* Brno 2006, 32.

Kohoutek 2007a – J. Kohoutek: Vysoké Pole (okr. Zlín). *Přehled výzkumů* 48, 2007, 520, 521.

Kohoutek 2007b – J. Kohoutek: Vysoké Pole (okr. Zlín), Klášťov – zjišťovací výzkum hradiska, *Výroční zpráva ÚAPP Brno 2006.* Brno 2007, 31, 32.

Kohoutek/Pavlíčková 2008 – J. Kohoutek/P. Pavlíčková: Vysoké Pole (okr. Zlín). *Přehled výzkumů* 49, 2008, 456, 457.

Košta/Lutovský 2014 – J. Košta /M. Lutovský: *Raně středověký knížecí hrob z Kolína*. Fontes Archaeologici Pragenses 41. Praha 2014.

Kouřil 2014 – P. Kouřil: Archaeological evidence of Christianity in relics of material culture of the 9th and 10th centuries in Moravia with focus on crosses. In: P. Kouřil et al.: *The Cyril and Methodius Mission and Europe – 1150 Years Since the Arrival of the Thessaloniki Brothers in Great Moravia.* Brno 2014, 102–113.

Kouřil 2020 – P. Kouřil: Ostentatious Spurs from Mikulčice. In: L. Poláček et al.: *Great Moravian Elites from Mikulčice.* Brno 2020, 255–267.

Kouřil/Tymonová 2013 – P. Kouřil/M. Tymonová: *Slovanský kostrový mohylník ve Stěbořicích.* Spisy Archeologického ústavu AV ČR Brno 34. Brno 2013.

Langová 2010 – J. Langová: Vysoké Pole (okr. Zlín). *Přehled výzkumů* 51, 2010, 484.

Lennartsson 1997–1998 – M. Lennartsson: Karolingische Metallarbeiten mit Pflanzenornamentik. *Offa* 54–55, 1997–1998, 431–619.

Maixner 2005 – B. Maixner: *Die gegossenen kleeblattförmigen Fibeln der Wikingerzeit aus Skandinavien.* Universitätsforschungen zur prähistorischen Archäologie. Band 116. Bonn 2005.

Müllerová 2020 – M. Müllerová: New Synthesis of Early Medieval Iron Hoards from Slovakia. *Archaeologia Austriaca* 104, 2020, 283–301. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1553/archaeologia104s283

Pieta/Ruttkay 2007 – K. Pieta/A. Ruttkay: Bojná. Mocenské a christianizačné centrum Nitrianskeho kniežatstva. In: K. Pieta/A. Ruttkay/M. Ruttkay (eds.): *Bojná. Hospodárske a politické centrum Nitrianskeho kniežatstva*. Archaeologica Slovaca Monographiae. Studia 9. Nitra 2007, 21–70.

Plaček 2001 – M. Plaček: *Ilustrovaná encyklopedie moravských hradů, hrádků a tvrzí.* Praha 2001.

Profantová 2011 – N. Profantová: Karolinské importy a jejich napodobování v Čechách, případně na Moravě (konec 8.–10. století). In: V. Turčan (zost.): *Karolínska kultúra a Slovensko. Štúdie*. Zborník SNM. Archeológia. Supplementum 4. Bratislava 2011, 71–104.

Profantová 2014 – N. Profantová: Raně středověký depot č. 11 z vrchu Klášťov, kat. Vysoké Pole, okr. Zlín. *Pravěk. Nová řada* 22, 2014, 327–343.

Profantová/Profant 2004 – N. Profantová/M. Profant: *Encyklopedie slovanských bohů a mýtů.* Praha 2004.

Robak 2013 – Z. Robak: *Studia nad okuciami rzemieni w typie karolińskim VIII–X wiek. I. część.* Archaeologica Slovaca Monographiae. Studia 18. Nitra 2013.

Robak 2014 – Z. Robak: *Studia nad okuciami rzemieni w typie karolińskim VIII–X wiek. II. część.* Archaeologica Slovaca Monographiae. Studia 19. Nitra 2014.

Robak 2018a – Z. Robak: The Sword and Sword-Belt in Carolingian times. The Warrior Burial 23 from Závada Reconsidered. *Študijné zvesti AÚ SAV* 64, 2018, 149–177.

Robak 2018b – Z. Robak: Chronology and periodisation of imports of Carolingian military equipment in the Carpathian Basin between the eight and tenth centuries. *Antaeus* 35–36, 2018, 327–344.

Szczepanik 2020 – P. Szczepanik: *Rzeczywistość mityczna Słowian północno-zachodnich i jej materialne wyobrażenia.* Toruń 2020.

Téra 2017 – M. Téra: *Perun bůh hromovládce. Sonda do slovanského archaického náboženství.* Červený Kostelec 2017.

Ungerman 2011 – Š. Ungerman: Schwertgurte des 9. bis 10. Jahrhunderts in West- und Mitteleuropa. In: J. Macháček/Š. Ungerman (Hrsg.): *Frühgeschichtliche Zentralorte in Mitteleuropa.* Studien zur Archäologie Europas 14. Bonn 2011, 575–608.

Ungerman 2017 – Š. Ungerman: Mečové pásy z 9.–10. století v západní a střední Evropě (typologie, chronologie, provenience a symbolika). In: K. Pieta/Z. Robak (eds.): *Bojná 2. Nové výsledky výskumov včasnostredovekých hradísk.* Archaeologica Slovaca Monographiae. Fontes 22. Nitra 2017, 253–280.

Váňa 1990 – Z. Váňa: *Svět slovanských bohů a démonů.* Praha 1990.

Wamers 2008 – E. Wamers: Glaubensboten. „Aristokratische" Kunststile des 8. bis 10. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. In: G. Eggenstein/N. Börste/H. Zöller/E. Zahn-Biemüller (Hrsg.): *Eine Welt in Bewegung. Unterwegs zu Zentren des frühen Mittelalters.* München – Berlin 2008, 37–50.

Wamers/Brandt 2005 – E. Wamers/M. Brandt (Hrsg.): *Die Macht des Silbers. Karolingische Schätze im Norden.* Regensburg 2005.

Manuscript accepted 22. 6. 2021

Translated by Milan Rydvan

doc. PhDr. Pavel Kouřil, CSc.
Archeologický ústav AV ČR Brno
Čechyňská 19
CZ – 602 00 Brno
kouril@arub.cz

SLOVENSKÁ ARCHEOLÓGIA – SUPPLEMENTUM 2
Z. Robak/M. Ruttkay (eds.): Celts – Germans – Slavs.
A Tribute Anthology to Karol Pieta. Nitra 2021, 441–447.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.31577/slovarch.2021.suppl.2.43

TWO EARLY MEDIEVAL KNIVES WITH BONE HANDLES FROM NITRA*

MILAN HANULIAK – ZUZANA POLÁKOVÁ

The aim of the study is to enlighten the circumstances of occurrence of knives with bone handle at the territory of Nitra in the 9th c. and to draw the attention to the insufficiency of them at the remaining regions of Slovakia. Results of some of the analysis suggested that these specimens belong to the more luxurious artefacts, which could have been used to show higher rank of individuals with considerable property. Real causes for restricted occurrence of such artefacts are not known. The cause of this may have been that other possibilities were also used for this purpose.

Keywords: Slovakia, Great Moravian Period, knife with bone handle, bone processing, social problem.

INTRODUCTION

The items which are preferentially evaluated in this article come from two graves dug at burial sites used in the Great Moravian period in the territory of historical Nitra. Besides their specifically designed handles, they differ from other knives also found in the environment of contemporary necropoli with other details and components incorporated in the relevant elements of the burial rite. Although no significant differences occur in the recorded find contexts, the circumstances of their existence and association with the social sphere and other bone and antler artefacts should not be ignored.

BASIC INFORMATION

In order to express important information, both exemplars of knives will be described in detail in this part. The first knife was discovered in 1976 in grave 6 excavated on the periphery of a large burial ground located in the part of the town called Dolné Krškany. It was a rescue excavation, since this area was endangered by the construction of the Mier factory, or Nábytkáreň, a furniture making factory (Fig. 1: 1; *Hanuliak/Chropovský 2019*).

Thanks to the favourable find context, a numerous range of less frequent expressions was discovered in the above mentioned grave. Attention is called mainly by the knife itself, with its bone handle covered in engraved decoration. The part of the knife in question is not a monolithic cylinder. It consists of two strip slabs, 1.6 cm wide. These slabs with arcuate profiles are attached to the knife's end part with an offset tang with three iron rivets. Their polished surface is decorated with at least six pairs of shallowly engraved concentric circles with diameter of 0.6 cm arranged in two parallel rows (Fig. 2: 1). The fragmentary state of the handle makes its detailed description difficult. The unknown circumstances leading to the break of the discussed part of the knife made of a firm iron tang covered with slabs are worth mentioning.

A higher social status of the buried middle-aged man (M mat; identified by *M. Vondráková 1982*) can be deduced from the excessively deep grave pit – up to 200 cm – and its calculated volume of 3.8 m^3 (*Hanuliak/Chropovský 2019*, 289). The suggested social status corresponds not only with the completed shape of the large knife extended to 23.6 cm in total, but a wooden bucket with arcuate handle and three rings attached with cross-shaped fittings (Fig. 2: 2) is also important. Representatives with the above described components belong to reliable indicators of a higher social status of male individuals in the Great Moravian environment (*Hanuliak 2019a*, 45, 46).

Significant information should also include the location of grave 6 within the burial ground of group II, in which graves with valuable accompanying parameters are accumulated. Thus, the location of the knife in question placed in the middle of the body's chest by the survivors might also have its meaning. This unignorable position can be – with an acceptable portion of tolerance – indicated as

* The article is supported by project APVV-16-0449 called Medieval Nitra in material sources and project 2/0124/20 VEGA called Economy of the Middle Ages (6th–13th centuries).

a demonstrative expression of his importance in the local community. The lack of other graves with identical composition of determinative expressions confirms that it is a purely local custom not used by members of other communities. Considerations of unspecified impulses with ritual meaning (*Profantová 2003*, 85) are little persuasive in this case.

The suggested circumstance is only secondary. More attention should be focused on search for association between the processed collection of knives and the social status of individuals buried at other necropoli. Unfortunately, there are very few such cases. In Slovakia, their occurrence is limited to a single site formed also in the Early Medieval agglomeration of Nitra. Its area was documented in the cadastral area of Staré Mesto in 2018 (Fig. 1: 2). It occurred in the inner area of the Polygón polyfunctional complex, which was previously used as a market place complemented with small shops.

Results of the rescue excavation were influenced by the limited excavation potential reduced to the base parts of the structure's pillars' feet. We can only deduce from them that a knife was found in one of the six graves at a small burial ground. It is grave 2, where this artefact was deposited next to the right side of an adult individual's pelvis; the individual's sex has not been specified. The artefact's blade is terminated with a flat tang narrowed at the bottom. It reaches almost to the middle of the handle. The knife's length was thus extended to 24 cm. Width of the bone slabs made from the tibia of an unidentified animal widened from 2.2 cm to 2.8 cm at the end of the handle. Their shape thus became trapezoidal and they were joined with three iron rivets. Their pale-yellow polished surface is covered in irregularly distributed engraved circles. Some of them are scattered, some make up clusters of two or three, exceptionally touching each other. The functional part of the blade, which is 10.8 cm long, is 2.2 cm wide (Fig. 2: 3). According to these dimensions, the described exemplar can be classified into tools which were able to cause severe wounds and were, thus, appreciated in fights. This circumstance together with its luxurious design makes this knife different from other knives from Great Moravian graves.

With regard to the complicated stratigraphic conditions and the limited extent of the rescue works, some complementary information on the grave pit and other artefacts from the grave goods was impossible to document. The effort to specify the social status of the buried individual encounters some problems. Structure of the burial ground used around the younger Great Moravian horizon cannot be outlined under such circumstances either. It is confirmed by two earrings with wire knots and

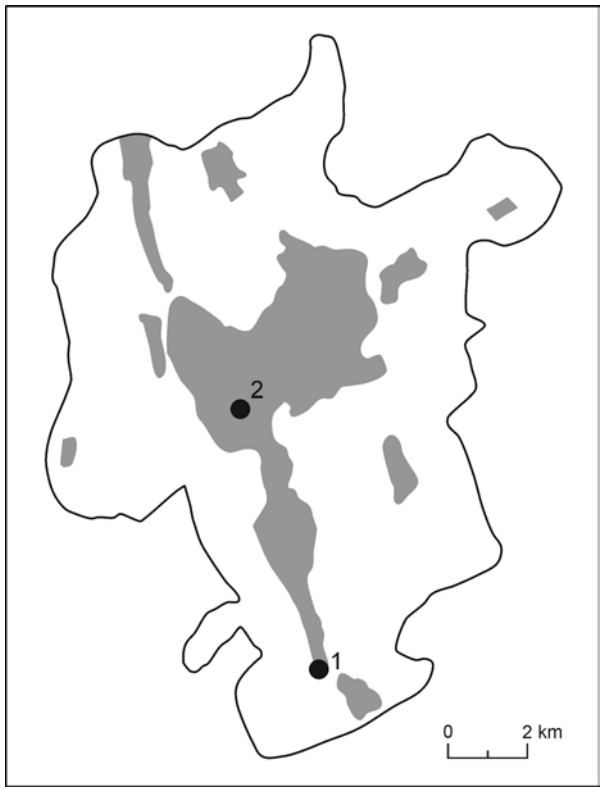


Fig. 1. The territory of historical Nitra in Great Moravian period. 1 – Dolné Krškany-Závod Mier; 2 – Staré Mesto-Polygón.

conical spiral pendant from bronze wire discovered near another disturbed skeleton. They allow us to attribute the local community an average social status at most (*Hanuliak 2004*, 160, 161). Location of its life territory in the more exposed part of Nitra's settlement agglomeration also sounds inspiring. This is also suggested by the short distance of the site in question from an important long-distance route. Its line leading from Constantinople crossed the historical area of Nitra and led to the Prague Basin across Moravia (*Lukačka 2010*, 283). Populations from the wider surroundings of the studied site could have also contributed to passive protection of the central part of the agglomeration (Fig. 1: 2). A small burial ground is also located there; it was studied in 2000 and 2001, on the courtyard of the nearby town marketplace (*Bednár/Fottová 2003*, 306, 307) formed in the early 10th c. The relatedness of both sites is indicated also by contemporary settlement features documented at each one. The southernmost enclave of the agglomeration with a large burial ground in Dolné Krškany is represented by the above-mentioned knife with bone handle slabs from grave 6 classified in the older Great Moravian horizon and it also gains its relevance (Fig. 1: 1; *Hanuliak 2019b*, 84).

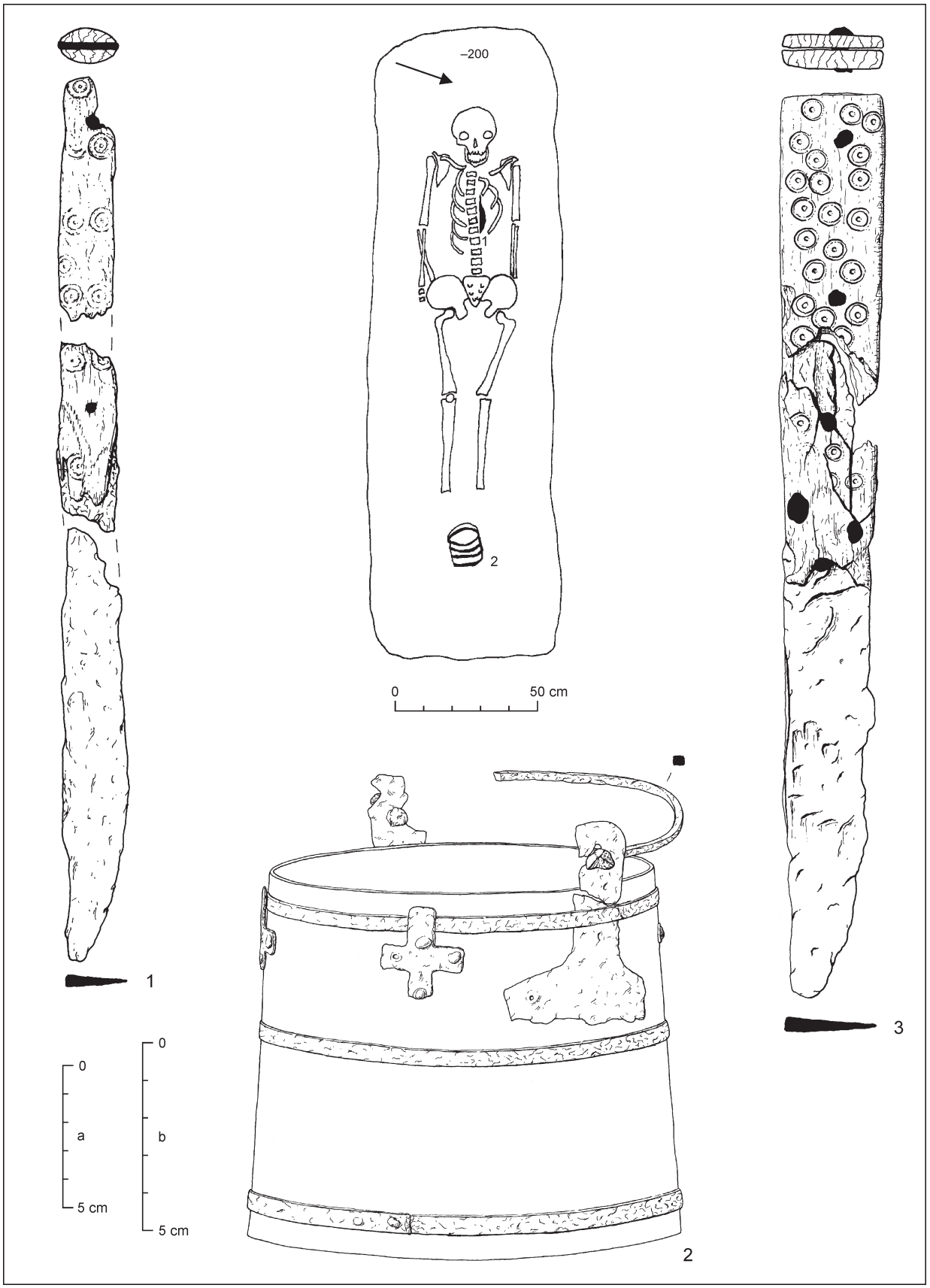


Fig. 2. 1, 2 – Dolné Krškany-Závod Mier, plan and finds in grave 6; 3 – Staré Mesto-Polygón, find in grave 2. Scale: a – 2; b – 1, 3.

INFORMATION ANALYSIS

The currently evaluated pair of knives is interesting mainly with their handles with bone slabs with polished surfaces. The important fact is that it is not the most easily available wooden matter resistant to many negative influences from the surrounding environment but an undetermined bone material. Products made from it were not unknown in the Early Medieval central European environment (*Hrubý 1957*; *Kaván 1958*), although – compared to wooden artefacts – they were much less frequent. Despite this, the logically presumed versatility of use of wood cannot be confirmed more exactly, since it was totally decomposed in many find contexts. Here, we come across remains of wood petrified with corrosion on knife blades more often than on tangs in handles tooled from this material. As an illustration, we can mention the burial ground in Čakajovce with the highest number of knives, where handles made of maple, ash and apple tree wood were recorded in eight cases, while information on sheaths from maple wood comes from 16 graves (*Rejholcová 1995*, 45, 46).

Design of the handle slabs is another interesting aspect of this find. The fanciful design is multiplied with decorative motifs composed of transverse bands of engraved circles. The combination of these elements did not occur accidentally, without effort to intensify the aesthetic impression, which makes both representatives stand out in the numerous group of items of everyday use. Their transformation into luxurious products must have involved a verified process used in primary treatment of suitable bones, practical skills in production of semi-finished products, further modification and decoration of their surface and attaching the slabs to the end parts of knives.

Undoubtedly, successful application of working procedures was reflected in the increased economic value of such products which were available to the richer individuals from important central sites and their catchment areas. That is also why we do not come across adequate representatives in other regions in the eastern part of the Great Moravian territory – with the exception of historical Nitra. From this point of view, we should be finding such exemplars at the sites of the Moravian territory. The exemplars concentrated in the comparison collection, however, do not support the logically justified assumptions. Their absence in the most important hillfort of the Mikulčice centre from the site of Valy is, thus, surprising. More complex parts of deer antler slabs at this site come exclusively from features and the surrounding settlement layers. Undecorated as well as decorated exemplars often covered in concentric circles come from their collection (*Kavánová 1995*, 287, 288, pl. XL: 1–8, 10, 11). The last representative from feature 731 is almost identical with the handle of the knife discovered in grave 6 at the necropolis in Dolné Krškany with its size and applied decorative motifs (Fig. 2: 1). Other decorated handle slabs from grave 17, feature 703 and 1223 (*Kavánová 1995*, 287, 288, pl. XL: 2, 4, 7) loosely resemble finds from Polygón with their overall decoration (Fig. 2: 3). Unlike the previous examples, grave 174 from the church cemetery of a magnate's farmstead in Břeclav-Pohansko has accompanying information of expected quality. An adult man was buried in an extra-large-grave pit, together with a long knife, a sword and spurs. With two razors, a key and a strike-a-light, there was a knife among his personal items. Its handle is decorated with three bands of concentric circles with the central points covering the whole surface (*Kalousek 1971*, 111–113).

Grave 180/AZ from the central necropolis at the site of Na valách belonging to the agglomeration in the vicinity of Staré Město is also very interesting. It is associated with a man of a very old age from the deep grave pit with almost absent grave goods. The only exception is a knife with precisely applied decorative motifs composed of transverse grooves, shaded bands, twists and circles (*Hrubý 1955*, 385, 386, fig. 12: 1a, b; pl. 35: 7). In other three graves, adult women were placed, averagely sunken, without any added goods. Among knives, an exemplar with total length of 24.7 cm from grave JP/156 at the Southern Bailey of Břeclav-Pohansko stands out. The slabs' surface is covered with two parallel bands of circles (*Přichystalová/Kalová/Boberová 2019*, 319, 395, pl. XLIV). Knives with undecorated bone slabs deposited next to left elbows and – in one case – across the left pelvic bone come from graves 204, 232 and 534 in Rajhrad (*Staňa 2006*, 64, 66, 89, fig. 18; 20; 44). With regard to insufficient information on the hierarchic grading of indicators of the then system of values, it is not correct to consider the above mentioned feature an expression of a lower social status of those people, although according to *S. Hendrychová* (*2014*, 156–163), poorer people living in the catchment area of the Great Moravian hillfort were buried at the necropolis of Rajhrad.

We come across similar problems when trying to specify the social importance of knives with tubular bone handles. Their economic value could have been lowered by less sophisticated design of the relevant bone which was limited to transverse separation of end parts. The comparative collection from seven graves from the territory of today's Moravia did not obtain less valuable parameters which would be considerably different from the

environment with occurrence of knives with bone slabs. Nevertheless, most of them come from graves of adult women located at church cemeteries (*Hochmanová-Vávrová 1962*, 238, pl. XXI: 3; *Hrubý 1955*, pl. XXII: 2, 3; *Kalousek 1971*, 32, fig. 12; *Macháček et al. 2016*, 248, pl. 7; 64: 2; 85; *Marešová 1983*, 81; *Profantová 2003*, 85, fig. 51: 3).

In the territory of Slovakia, we find bone knife handles mainly at burial grounds scattered in rural environment. Mainly adult men with max. average value parameters of find contexts were deposited in such graves (*Chropovský 1957*, 181, 182, pl. VIII: 8; *Liptáková 1963*, 228, fig. 10: 12; *Točík 1971*, 191, pl. LI: 9, 10; *1992*, 134, fig. 81: 6, 8). Among the recorded finds, probably only the knife from grave 3 from Michal nad Žitavou calls more attention. A tubular part with circular cross-section originally probably used as a needle case was attached to its tang. Besides its corresponding size, it is suggested also by engraved motifs applied also on needle cases discovered in graves 40 and 119 in Veľký Grob (*Chropovský 1957*, 178, 187, 195, pl. VI: 20; XII: 13).

Judging by the exterior design, we can assume that simple production processes were applied in making other tubular knife handles, such as cutting and chipping. These were commonly used in the rural environment to make more general-purpose tools (*Slivka 1984*, 379). According to *B. Kavánová* (*1995*, 127–171) and *R. Švecová* (*2000*, 62–66), several shapes of awls, perforators, bone flatteners and needles were predominant.

In most previous cases, various motifs of engraved decoration occurred on the knives' bone handles. In the collection, simple and concentric patterns with a central point engraved with a compass engraver are predominant. They are most often concentrated in two or three parallel bands parallel with the knife's longer axis, covering the whole surface of bone slabs. On the other hand, they are sometimes only complementary decoration to another – more dominant – element. Many representatives belong to the universally applied motifs documented in the wider central European environment. In the territory of Slovakia, we can see it on bone and antler artefacts of different use from the Bronze Age and it was also very popular in the Late Iron Age, Roman period as well as the Great Migration period. Later, it occurs more or less frequently in the whole period of the Middle Ages and it was not forgotten in the Postmedieval period either. There are the youngest bone finds roughly dated to the Middle Ages and the Early Postmedieval period from the territory of Nitra. The bone handle of a knife from the excavations at Mostná ulica street with circles with central points applied on the head is an example (*Březinová/Samuel 2007*, fig. 74: d). Besides this knife, a bone needle with concentric circles comes from this site (*Březinová/Samuel 2007*, fig. 73: c).

In the Early Middle Ages, we observe use of simple or concentric circles also in a different cultural environment. It is e.g. the Frankish environment represented by artefacts made of bones, ivory and antlers (*Capelle 1968*, 240). Related exemplars of handles also appear during the Carolingian period in the territory of the Upper and Lower Austria. *B. Szőke* (*2019*, 144, 145, pl. 20: 16; 21: 18; 32) monitors the occurrence of such artefacts in female burials from the end of the 8th and the first half of the 9th c. The studied circles are either the only decorative element or they can be combined with other motifs. Grave goods from the Hungarian burial ground in Sopronkőhida are another example. Slabs of long handles from graves 25, 59, 62 and 103 were decorated with one or more lines of circles (*Török 1973*, 13, pl. 8: 1, 18; 13: 5, 19; 14: 12, 25; 22: 10). Iron knives with short narrow blades often documented in female burials indicate – according to *B. Szőke* (*2014*, 37, 41, fig. 26) – their use in a specialized activity carried out by the members of this gender.

A more concentrated occurrence of similar finds was recorded again in the 10th–11th c. in the agglomeration of Libice (*Kaván 1958*, 273, 274, pl. X: 5; *Mařík 2009*, 105, 123, 174, 262, pl. 78: 1). The studied motif remains popular in decoration of knives also in the High and Late Middle Ages. The knife handle decorated with concentric circles discovered in the late medieval settlement feature from Chľaba is not exceptional either (*Zábojník 1980*, 253, 254, fig. 149: 1) as well as the one from Wroclaw (*Wieczorek-Kańczura/Szajt 2018*, 310, 311, 386, fig. 201, inv. no. 235/11; 258c). Numerous examples of knives decorated with the motif of simple or concentric circles from the 11th–16th c. are brought by a publication dealing with medieval and early postmedieval knives from the selected coastal areas of the North and Baltic seas (*Holtmann 1993*, 395, 396, fig. 130; 164).

The presented examples fully correspond with the above described opinions pointing to a wider territorial span and chronological frame of occurrence of the decorative element in question. It cannot be ignored that the obtained information is not considerably associated with the topic preferably solved in this article. In most cases, it is confirmed by the absent social stratification of finds as well as more accurate specification of frequency of relevant exemplars' occurrence in the relevant geographical time and space. Even from the territory of Slovakia, we cannot compare the limited number of known early medieval examples with their more massive presence during the Late Middle Ages and the Early Postmedieval period.

FINAL REFLECTIONS

Knife handles consisting of two slabs complemented with decorative motifs discovered at two burial grounds in historical Nitra extended the extremely sporadic group of more luxurious exemplars made of bones and antlers recorded in the territory of Slovakia. The collection also includes a conical clarinet-type shawm made from a deer antler and discovered in grave 26 in Pobedim-Na laze (*Vendtová 1969*, 181, fig. 52: 11). Tubular cases used for storing loose or viscous substances and other miniature items were made of identical raw material (*Kavánová 1995*, 85, 86; *Vignatiová 1992*, 79). They also include e.g. the exemplars with octagonal cross-section from grave 128 in Smolenice (*Dušek 1979*, 369, 370, fig. 6: 8), from grave 28 at the municipality burial ground in Mužla-Čenkov-Vilmakert (*Hanuliak/Kuzma 2015*, 153, pl. LXI: 2) and from a residential pithouse 448 studied at the same site (*Hanuliak/Kuzma/Šalkovský 1993*, 32, pl. 149: 16).

The previously suggested circumstances do not provide persuasive arguments explaining the limited occurrence of more luxurious products made from bones and antlers. We cannot exclude the possibility that the reasons for this lie in the abundance of other ways to emphasise the above-average status of some individuals used in the Great Moravian period. This may also be the reason why there was no urgent need of more intense development of bone production. Therefore, domestic production was focused on easy modification of bones into working tools and more luxurious representatives were imported from continuously operating workshops. Even without a more detailed evaluation of the above mentioned representatives' provenance, it is sure that the artefacts from this collection would not have been made without a verified working procedure, a wide range of used tools, routine skills and softening of the material by cooking it in suitably concentrated solutions. Many of these components were summarized in a study by *J. Kaván* (*1980*), who re-evaluated and experimentally verified other scientists' opinions. In their point of view, it was – in the well-known cases – a specialized production activity primarily done by members of certain families (*Kavánová 1995*, 250, 251; *Švecová 2000*, 84–88). Publication of the find contexts obtained from the so-called bone manufacture mentioned by *B. Chropovský* (*1970*, 164; *1975*, 6, fig. 8) and studied at the site of Martinský vrch-Kasárne pod Zoborom would definitely help us confirm such production in the territory of historical Nitra. With regard to the chronological gap between both evaluated graves with the studied form of knives which is estimated to four–five decades, they are probably not products from the same workshop.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bednár/Fottová 2003 – P. Bednár/E. Fottová: Nitra-tržnica – príspevok k poznaniu zázemia stredovekého mesta. *Archaeologia historica* 28, 2003, 303–315.

Březinová/Samuel 2007 – G. Březinová/M. Samuel a kolektív: *„Tak čo, našli ste niečo?" Svedectvo archeológie o minulosti Mostnej ulice v Nitre*. Nitra 2007.

Capelle 1968 – T. Capelle: Karolingischer Schmuck in der Tschechoslowakei. *Slovenská archeológia* 16, 1968, 229–244.

Chropovský 1957 – B. Chropovský: Slovanské pohrebisko z 9. stor. vo Veľkom Grobe. *Slovenská archeológia* 5, 1957, 174–239.

Chropovský 1970 – B. Chropovský: *Slovensko na úsvite dejín*. Bratislava 1970.

Chropovský 1975 – B. Chropovský: *Nitra. Archeologický výskum slovanských lokalít*. III. medzinárodný kongres slovanskej archeológie, Bratislava 7.–14. september 1975. Bratislava 1975.

Dušek 1979 – S. Dušek: Veľkomoravské pohrebisko v Smoleniciach. *Slovenská archeológia* 27, 1979, 365–373.

Hanuliak 2004 – M. Hanuliak: *Veľkomoravské pohrebiská. Pochovávanie v 9.–10. storočí na území Slovenska*. Archaeologica Slovaca Monographiae. Studia 8. Nitra 2004.

Hanuliak 2019a – M. Hanuliak: Waffen und Kriegerausrüstung in großmährischen Gräbern auf dem Gebiet der Slowakei. In: L. Poláček/P. Kouřil (Hrsg.): *Bewaffnung und Reiterausrüstung des 8. bis 10. Jahrhunderts in Mitteleuropa. Waffenform und Waffenbeigaben bei den mährischen Slawen und in den Nachbarländern*. Internationale Tagungen in Mikulčice. Band 9. Brno 2019, 37–50.

Hanuliak 2019b – M. Hanuliak: Štruktúra veľkomoravského hradského mesta Nitrava na základe pochovávania. In: P. Jenčík/Z. Staneková (zost.): *Hradiská – svedkovia dávnych čias II*. Dolná Mariková 2019, 75–89.

Hanuliak/Chropovský 2019 – M. Hanuliak/B. Chropovský: Pohrebisko z 9. storočia v Nitre-Dolných Krškanoch. *Slovenská archeológia* 67, 2019, 287–365. DOI: https://doi.org/10.31577/slovarch.2019.67.9

Hanuliak/Kuzma 2015 – M. Hanuliak/I. Kuzma: *Mužla-Čenkov II. Osídlenie z 9.–13. storočia*. Archaeologica Slovaca Monographiae. Studia 25. Nitra 2015.

Hanuliak/Kuzma/Šalkovský 1993 – M. Hanuliak/I. Kuzma/P. Šalkovský: *Mužľa-Čenkov I. Osídlenie z 9.–12. storočia*. Materialia Archaeologica Slovaca 10. Nitra 1993.

Hendrychová 2014 – S. Hendrychová: *Velkomoravská pohřebiště v Rajhradě a Rajhradicích*. Rigorózní práce. Univerzita Karlova v Praze. Filozofická fakulta. Ústav pro archeologii. Praha 2014. Online available at: https://www.academia.edu/40353527/Velkomoravsk%C3%A1_poh%C5%99ebi%C5%A1t%C4%9B_v_Rajhrad%C4%9B_a_Rajhradic%C3%ADch

Hochmanová-Vávrová 1962 – V. Hochmanová-Vávrová: Velkomoravské pohřebiště ve Starém Městě „Na valách". Výzkum v letech 1957–1959. *Časopis Moravského muzea* 47, 1962, 201–256.

Holtmann 1993 – G. F. W. Holtmann: *Untersuchung zu mittelalterlichen und frühneuzeitlichen Messern*. Göttingen 1993.

Hrubý 1955 – V. Hrubý: *Staré Město. Velkomoravské pohřebiště „Na valách"*. Monumenta Archaeologica III. Praha 1955.

Hrubý 1957 – V. Hrubý: Slovanské kostěné předměty a jejich výroba na Moravě. *Památky archeologické* 48, 1957, 118–212.

Kalousek 1971 – F. Kalousek: *Břeclav – Pohansko I. Velkomoravské pohřebiště u kostela*. Brno 1971.

Kaván 1958 – J. Kaván: O zpracování a výzdobě kosti u západních Slovanů v době hradištní. *Vznik a počátky Slovanů* 2, 1958, 253–285.

Kaván 1980 – J. Kaván: Technologie zpracování parohové a kostěné suroviny. *Archeologické rozhledy* 32, 1980, 280–304.

Kavánová 1995 – B. Kavánová: Knochen- und Geweihindustrie in Mikulčice. In: F. Daim/L. Poláček (Hrsg.): *Studien zum Burgwall von Mikulčice I*. Brno 1995, 113–378.

Liptáková 1963 – Z. Liptáková: Slovanské pohrebisko z X.–XI. storočia v Úľanoch nad Žitavou. *Slovenská archeológia* 11, 1963, 223–236.

Lukačka 2010 – J. Lukačka: Nitra. In: M. Štefánik/J. Lukačka (zost.): *Lexikon stredovekých miest na Slovensku*. Bratislava 2010, 283–291.

Macháček et al. 2016 – J. Macháček/P. Dresler/R. Přichystalová/V. Sládek: *Břeclav –Pohansko VII. Kostelní pohřebiště na Severovýchodním předhradí*. Brno 2016.

Marešová 1983 – K. Marešová: *Uherské Hradiště-Sady. Staroslovanské pohřebiště na Horních Kotvicích*. Brno 1983.

Mařík 2009 – J. Mařík: *Libická sídelní aglomerace a její zázemí v raném středověku*. Dissertationes archaeologicae Brunenses/Pragensesque 7. Praha 2009.

Přichystalová/Kalová/Boberová 2019 – R. Přichystalová/K. Kalová/K. Boberová: *Břeclav – Pohansko IX. Pohřební areály z Jižního předhradí (archeologicko-antropologická studie)*. Brno 2019.

Profantová 2003 – N. Profantová: Mikulčice – pohřebiště u 6. kostela: Pokus o chronologické a sociální zhodnocení. In: N. Profantová/B. Kavánová: *Mikulčice – pohřebiště u 6. a 12. kostela*. Spisy Archeologického ústavu AV ČR Brno 22. Brno 2003.

Rejholcová 1995 – M. Rejholcová: *Pohrebisko v Čakajovciach (9.–12. storočie). Analýza*. Archaeologica Slovaca Monographiae. Fontes 15. Nitra 1995.

Slivka 1984 – M. Slivka: Parohová a kostená produkcia na Slovensku v období feudalizmu. *Slovenská archeológia* 32, 1984, 377–429.

Staňa 2006 – Č. Staňa: *Velkomoravská pohřebiště v Rajhradě a Rajhradicích. Katalog*. Spisy Archeologického ústavu AV ČR Brno 29. Brno 2006.

Švecová 2000 – R. Švecová: Nálezy kostenej a parohovej industrie z predveľkomoravských a veľkomoravských sídlisk na Pohansku pri Břeclavi do roku 1995. *Sborník prací FF UK Brno*, M5, 2000, 61–95.

Szőke 2014 – B. M. Szőke: *The Carolingian age in the Carpathian Basin. Permanent exhibition of the Hungarian National Museum*. Budapest 2014.

Szőke 2019 – B. M. Szőke: *A Karoling-kor Pannóniában*. Mosaburg Zalavár 1. Budapest 2019.

Točík 1971 – A. Točík: Flachgräberfelder aus dem IX. und X. Jahrhundert in der Südwestslowakei. *Slovenská archeológia* 19, 1971, 135–276.

Točík 1992 – A. Točík: Materiály k dejinám južného Slovenska v 7.–14. storočí. *Študijné zvesti AÚ SAV* 28, 1992, 5–248.

Török 1973 – G. Török: *Sopronkőhida IX. századi temetője*. Fontes Archaeologici Hungariae. Budapest 1973.

Vendtová 1969 – V. Vendtová: Slovanské osídlenie Pobedima a okolia. *Slovenská archeológia* 17, 1969, 119–224.

Vignatiová 1992 – J. Vignatiová: *Břeclav – Pohansko II. Slovanské osídlení jižního předhradí*. Spisy Masarykovy univerzity, Filozofická fakulta 291. Brno 1992.

Vondráková 1982 – M. Vondráková: *Nitra-Dolné Krškany. Antropologický posudok slovanského pohrebiska*. Dokumentácia AÚ SAV Nitra 9970/82. Nitra 1982. Unpublished.

Wieczorek-Kańczura/Szajt 2018 – K. Wieczorek-Kańczura/J. Szajt: Noże, pochewki i okucia pochewek na noże. In: J. Piekalski/K. Wachowski (red.): *Rytm rozwoju miasta na kulturowym pograniczu. Studium strefy placu Nowy Targ we Wrocławiu*. Wratislavia Antiqua 23. Wroclaw 2018, 296–322.

Zábojník 1980 – J. Zábojník: Tretia sezóna výskumu v Chľabe. *AVANS 1979*, 1980, 253–255.

Manuscript accepted 29. 6. 2021

Text translated by Viera Tejbusová
Abstract translated by Lucia Nezvalová

PhDr. Milan Hanuliak, DrSc.
Archeologický ústav SAV
Akademická 2
SK – 949 21 Nitra
milan.hanuliak@savba.sk

Mgr. Zuzana Poláková, PhD.
Archeologický ústav SAV
Akademická 2
SK – 949 21 Nitra
zuzana.polakova@savba.sk

SLOVENSKÁ ARCHEOLÓGIA – SUPPLEMENTUM 2
Z. Robak/M. Ruttkay (eds.): Celts – Germans – Slavs.
A Tribute Anthology to Karol Pieta. Nitra 2021, 449–466.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.31577/slovarch.2021.suppl.2.44

EARLY MEDIEVAL HILLFORTS

Comments on the Construction and Lifespan of Fortifications Based on Modern Reconstructions in Modrá near Velehrad[1]

LUDĚK GALUŠKA

For a long time, the issue of early medieval hillforts attracts the great attention of both researchers and the lay public. The paper discusses questions related to the determination of the lifespan and functionality of wood-soil fortifications of early medieval hillforts. The paper builds on our experiences gained during nearly twenty years of observations at the archaeological open-air museum in Modrá near Velehrad in Moravia, Czech Republic. We compare our findings with other archaeological open-air museums and research concerning fortifications. The paper presents older as well as the most recent reconstructions of fortifications built in Modrá between the years 2020 and 2021. Those constructions are then compared with similar fortifications recently reconstructed on the Bojná-Valy hillfort near Topoľčany in Western Slovakia. Finally, we briefly discuss several questions concerning hillforts and their fortifications in the Great Moravian times (9th c.).

Keywords: Great Moravia, ringwall, fortification, rampart, reconstruction.

For a long time, early medieval strongholds in Central attract the great attention. Very early – for example, at St. Kliment near Osvětimany in Moravia already in the 17th c. – the fortification ramparts were considered a 'treasure'. Unfortunately, this kind of 'treasure hunt' is still popular today. Only the methods have changed. We can only hope that it is motivated by an honest interest in the strongholds, fortifications and by the fact that many of the sites still hide some of their secrets. In the cadastre of the village of Bojná, the phenomenon is certified by the presence of several hillforts where research and discovery are permanently and unmistakably linked with Karol Pieta. Only in recent decades, hillforts and their fortifications were discussed in so many monographs, scientific papers and chapters in books that it would take too much time and space to mention them all here (e.g. *Dresler 2011*; *Galuška 2017*, 85–92, 133–155; *Henning/Ruttkay 1998*; *Hulínek 2008*; *Jenčík/Struhár 2015*; *Kouřil/Procházka et al. 2018*; *Lutovský 2006*; *Mazuch 2014*; *Procházka 2009*; *Šalkovský 2015*). Among other things, the publications show how our cognitions – for example concerning the hillforts chronology – have evolved compared to what we knew in the 1980 s (*Poulík 1988*; *Šolle 1984*; cf. *Henning et al. 2017*; *Lutovský 2009*; etc.). In the paper, we will try to answer several questions concerning the construction and lifespan of fortifications in the 9th c. as well as the feasibility and durability of modern hypothetical reconstructions of fortifications. The present considerations are based primarily on our experiences with 1) the construction and almost twenty years of use of reconstructed wooden fortifications in the archaeological open-air museum in Modrá near Velehrad and the comparison between the fortifications on other sites in Moravia and Slovakia and 2) the reconstruction of fortifications from Uherské Hradiště-Rybárny and Staré Město recently performed in Modrá and their comparison with contexts and reconstructions on the Bojná I hillfort.

HYPOTHETIC RECONSTRUCTIONS OF FORTIFICATIONS AT THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL OPEN-AIR MUSEUM IN MODRÁ NEAR VELEHRAD BETWEEN 2003 AND 2011

The beginnings of the archaeological open-air museum in Modrá near Velehrad (Fig. 1), close to Uherské Hradiště, reach back to 2003 and 2004

[1] The study was financed by the Ministry of Culture of the Czech Republic as a part of the long-term strategy to support the conceptual development of the research organisation at the Moravian Museum (DKRVO, MK000094862). The paper has been prepared in cooperation with Miroslav Kovářík, mayor of Modrá, and Lubomír Sláma, head of the archaeological open-air museum in Modrá.

Fig. 1. Modrá. View of the archaeological open-air museum. In the background, on the left the Velehrad monastery and the Chřiby mountain range.

(*Galuška 2005*). The village of Modrá built the museum near a historic monument – the foundations of the early medieval St. John's church, a site known as 'Díly u Božího syna' and its hypothetical reconstruction from 2000 – on a southern slope oriented towards a route leading to Staré Město-Velehrad. Before the reconstruction, the site has been investigated by archaeologists who discovered settlement features and graves from the Great Moravian times. Some of the features, for example, underground storage pits, were reconstructed and made available to the visitors. Consequently, it is not true that the open-air museum in Modrá has been established 'in the middle of nowhere' (*Makýš 2014*, 166). Most of the constructions, however, are hypothetical interpretations of well-preserved archaeological finds from Staré Město, Uherské Hradište and Ostrožská Nová Ves, 'imported' to Modrá. Based on the knowledge about the urban structure of the Great Moravian Staré Město, the reconstructions were purposefully group in thematic quarters representing, among others, manufacturing, settlement and farming, and sacral or power-related facilities. The archaeological open-air museum presents a 'Great Moravian fortified settlement' – i.e. a stronghold. The first significant development of the museum took place in 2011 and included the construction of a stone-mortar baptistery, watchtower and a long wooden palace-like building. Most recently, ten years after the first development, we added fortifications with a front stone wall and an adjoining tower and gate (see below).

In the beginning, in 2003, the archaeological open-air museum included three fortifications. All of them were built of undried debarked oak poles. The construction process included both traditional and modern methods and, thus, is not an example of experimental archaeology (e.g. *Malina 1980*; *Popelka 2000*). No chemical or physical measures were used to protect the wood (*Makýš 2003*, 208; *2014*, 36–44). The first fortification built was a wooden wall made of poles – a palisade. It is an old-time fortification type. Together with a moat, it was used, for example, as an element of defensive structures around a settlement dating back to the first half of the 9th c. in Staré Město 'Na Valách' (*Galuška 1997*). The second fortification was a shell structure built of wood and clay reconstructed based on a description of the first type of external fortifications around Staré Město – the so-called Christin's rampart from about mid-9th c. (*Galuška 1998*, 345; *2017*, 137–139; *Hrubý 1965*, 217–219, fig. 68). The third and the most complex fortification was a wooden double gate with two towers at the sides (Fig. 2). It was modelled on findings of archaeological research of the second type of external fortifications in a place where the Salaška stream flowed into the premises of Staré Město.

Technologically, the wooden palisade wall was the simplest construction. It was built of round poles (diam. of 15–20 cm, height of 250 cm) – sharpened

Fig. 2. Modrá. The wooden double gate with two towers.

in the upper part and flat at the bottom. The bottom part was gently charred up to 50–60 cm and then placed in a ditch filled with fresh concrete. Afterwards, the poles were fixed with smaller stones. The entire construction resembled 'concrete shoes'. Tips of the poles were all 220 cm above the surrounding terrain covered with flat stones mixed with mortar. The palisade was about 17 m long and ended at the northern tower of the gate.

Wood-soil shell fortifications consist of two combined, parallel palisade walls spaced about 100 cm apart. The outer – or front – wall was higher and consisted of a single row of round poles (palisade) – 270 cm high and 20–25 cm wide. Poles were embedded using the same method as in the case of the simple wooden palisade wall. The only difference was that on the inside of the wall, there were larger stones that served as additional support of the poles. All poles were 220 cm high. The inner, rear retaining wall was shorter and consisted of poles of 10–15 cm in diameter and 150 cm in height. The upper ends of the poles that remained above ground – 100 cm high – were cut flat. Lower ends were sharpened and dug into the ground up to 50 cm. On the back, the rear wall was supported with additional transverse poles. The space between the walls was filled with soil. The soil surface was covered with finer stones. The shell fortifications were about 20 m long and ended at the southern tower of the gate.

Until 2021, the wooden double gate with two towers (Fig. 2) was technologically the most complex construction in the archaeological open-air museum in Modrá. Square towers – with 300 cm long sides – are supported by four oak poles and four further poles placed in-between that are 600 cm high and

Fig. 3. Modrá. Oak poles of the entry tower embedded in concrete twenty years after construction with legible traces of rain water effects.

Fig. 4. Modrá. Oak poles of the palisade embedded in crushed stones.

Fig. 5. Modrá. Oak poles of the palisade: on the left well charred, on the right improperly charred.

about 40–45 cm wide. Uncharred lower parts of the poles were fixed in concrete beds up to 70 cm. Up to 250 cm above the surrounding terrain – just below the first level – the towers are covered with vertical 20–30 cm wide half logs. In the upper part, up to 100 cm above the floor level (i.e. about the level of an adult person's belly), the shell is formed of tightly fixed spheres. On the front and from the sides, the shell is additionally strengthened by vertical planks with openings for archers. The towers are covered with four-sided roofs made of chipped shingles. Both towers are combined with a thatch-covered corridor stretching over the gate. The original purpose of the construction was to strengthen a weak point in the fortifications – there was a stream flowing between the towers, i.e. through the gate. In Modrá, the gate serves as an entrance for visitors and provides a view of the countryside.

It is well known that wooden elements such as those used in the above-mentioned constructions are gradually damaged by weather conditions, therefore it is not possible to preserve them indefinitely. Some of the damages are caused by climatic changes throughout the year other by biological factors. Those adverse effects became visible in Modrá after four–six years. After two further years, the scope of the damage was so extensive that the fortifications could not function properly any more. Consequently, in the first quarter of 2011, we were forced to dismantle the constructions. Apparently, the greatest error we have made was to embed the oak poles in soft concrete (Fig. 3) or a ditch filled subsequently with concrete or fixing the poles with stones (Fig. 4). When the stones were hard rocks, the wood was better preserved than when the stones were soft and absorbed more humidity. In general, we can conclude that wood fixed in impermeable concrete absorbed more water. Consequently, external layers (sapwood) of the oak poles – 20–25 cm – started to decay already during the first 4–6 years after the construction. The same process could be also observed just above the soil level. This, in turn, caused that decayed and narrower poles became shaky, less stable and pose a considerable threat to the visitors. We are aware that our findings are inconsistent with experiences gained in Slovakia. For example, according to O. Makýš, the lifespan of poles fixed with concrete was doubled when compared to poles embedded only in soil – about 20–30 years compared to only 10–15 years, respectively (*Makýš 2014*, 27). Furthermore, researchers from the University of Žilina found that

Fig. 6. Modrá. Charring lower parts of oak beams.

after 12–13 years, poles fixed in concrete on the peak of Havránok above Liptovská Mara still contained at least 70–80% of healthy matter (*Makýš 2018*, 128). It seems that the inconsistencies could be caused by different natural conditions and the type of wood used. While in Modrá we have used deciduous oaks, on Havránok the researchers used larch (*Larix decidua*) or, more generally, conifer trees (Fig. 5).

Another interesting finding from Modrá is that undried, debarked oak poles with fully charred sapwood – 20–25 cm diam. – that were embedded between large stones can be used for 15 years or even longer. When similar undried and uncharred or only slightly charred poles with sapwood were embedded between (or fixed with) stones, their lifespan shortened to only eight–ten years. Dried poles with similar characteristics were considerably damaged after only six years and required replacement in the next two years. We should also add that in many cases, the poles were subjected to adverse weather conditions. Generally, our data are consistent with other experimentally obtained data (*Makýš 2014*, 201; also, *Dresler 2011*, tab. 7). However, our view concerning the efficiency of charring as a wood preservation technique is inconsistent with previous findings. In the past, the technique has been used so that 'the charred layer together with the layer of resin on the surface protected the wood from decomposing' – with the reservation that the technique is not very efficient (*Makýš 2014*, 34). In Modrá, we found that if the wood was charred only on the surface, the technique, indeed, was not very efficient in preserving it. Sapwood is often infected by wood-destroying insects or fungi. Therefore, we decided to experiment with charring the poles more intensely and remove also sapwood or burning it deep to heartwood (Fig. 6; 7). First, we light a fire on a flat surface of about 200 × 70 cm. The fire was maintained until we obtained a layer of red-hot charcoals. Subsequently, we placed tips of poles in layers (up to 3) on the charcoals and added fuel to maintain sufficient and constant heat around the poles (neither too high nor too low). The poles were charred 8–12 minutes on one side and then max. 10 minutes on the other side. Generally, the process did not exceed 20 minutes (see *Dragoun/Protiva/Zelenka 2014*, 25)[2]. It is worth mentioning here also another of our experience with charring. It concerns the question of water that drips down the poles and significantly reduces the poles lifespan. It is believed that wooden gutters can be a solution although they do not extent the wood lifespan (*Makýš*

[2] In the open-air museum in Villa Nova Uhřínov, however, the procedure was different: four planks were placed vertically in a ditch for 8 minutes with the fire burning in the centre.

Fig. 7. Modrá. Well charred lower parts of an oak pole.

2014, fig. 2: 1: 5). Preparing wood in Modrá, we used experiences of the old masters. During frosts, we took larch that rested one month on a slope, trunk up and branches down the slope. Then bark and branches were removed and grooves carved using chisels and axes (Fig. 8). At this point, however, we decided to modify the traditional process and use a gas burner. Burning a three-meter long groove took about one hour (100 cm/20 minutes). Using hooks and branches we have placed the gutter below the roof (Fig. 9), where it is functioning very well already for 5 years without any repairs. Based on all these, we can conclude that in Modrá, deep charring proved to be an efficient technique of preserving poles.

In 2011, all palisade walls, as well as the wooden-soil shell construction (Fig. 10; 11), were replaced. All concrete elements were removed because they proved to be useless. Instead, we dug ditches (60 cm deep) filled with a 10 cm thick layer of stones. Subsequently, we put deeply charred poles (250 cm high/20–25 cm diam.) on the stones and covered them with the next layer of stones. The construction of the front wall of the new shell fortification was similar. The only difference was that it consisted of a double row of poles. The solution allowed strengthening the wall in terms of statics and defensive characteristics. The poles used were 20–30 cm in diam. all. Half of the poles were 270 cm high. The other half was higher – 350 cm. Consequently, in the upper part, the wall is 'corrugated': about 70 cm wide higher sections alternate similarly wide shorter sections, consisted of 7–9 poles each. All poles are pointed at the top. However, although sharpened shorter poles are not fully consistent with the contemporary military tactic (*Unger 2008*, 178), sharpening extends the poles lifespan. During the reconstruction, we have also repaired the rear wall of the shell fortification. Now, it consists of 5–10 cm thick poles placed horizontally one on top of another. On the outer side, the poles are supported by vertical, 100 cm high poles spaced about 60–80 cm apart. Along the inner sides of the walls, there is a layer of fine stones that facilitate water drainage. Additionally, the stones separate the wood from soil that fills the space between the front and rear wall of the fortification. The surface of the embankment remained untreated and is now overgrown with grass. The embankment is a natural feature that significantly prevents water erosion caused primarily by rains (*Makýš 2018*, 128). In 2012, this construction was used during the filming of battle scenes for the television movie '*Cyril a Metoděj – apoštolové Slovanů*' (directed by P. Nikolaev). In 2016, it became a stage for a three-part docu-drama '*Slyšte, Slované*' (directed by M. Petřík). It remains a part of the archaeological open-air museum even though numerous vertical poles of the rear wall and

Fig. 8. Modrá. Details of a charred wooden gutter.

Fig. 9. Modrá. A wooden gutter and its attachment to the lower part of the roof.

Fig. 10. Modrá. A palisade wall surrounding the archaeological open-air museum with well charred oak poles embedded in crushed stones.

Fig. 11. Modrá. The palisade back sides of the shell fortifications, reconstruction of the so-called Christin's wall.

Fig. 12. Modrá. The watchtower with stone foundations and wooden constructions made of red spruce.

some poles of the front wall show traces of activities of wood-damaging factors. Interestingly, the same type of shell construction – built in line with the original reconstruction design from Staré Město – is planned to be erected as part of the reconstruction of the Great Moravian manor in Ducvé-Kostolec near Piešťany in Western Slovakia (*Grznár/Gregorová 2018*, 144–146).

So far, the towers, as well as the entrance gate to the archaeological open-air museum in Modrá, have not required any repairs. The entire construction is still sufficiently stable. Rainwater, however, harms its lower parts. After dripping from the roof onto the surrounding mortar-stone floor, the rainwater sprays poles and the shell that soaks up to 60 cm over the ground. At the floor level, thus, sapwood had already decayed – only the heartwood remained. Finally, due to various chemical processes, the wood changed colour into grey and, thus, looks old (*Žák/Reinprecht 1998*). Nevertheless, after nearly twenty years, the towers are still stable and solid.

In 2011, another construction was built in Modrá: a 1,300 cm high, square, three-storey watchtower (Fig. 12). The tower rests on four massive corner poles (50 cm diam. in the lower part) and four further poles placed in-between. Generally, the tower is supported by eight 1,100 cm high timber stakes made of larch. All poles are combined with iron belts. Additionally, the tower walls are strengthened with mortared stones between the poles on the ground floor. The construction is covered with a four-sided (hipped) roof made of spruce shingles. The cladding consists of four vertical half logs with openings for archers. The top floor lacks cladding and thus offers a nice view of the surrounding countryside. Such high and heavy constructions pose a great stability challenge to prevent the building from collapsing or sliding. At present, the tower is stabilised by massive iron pins fastened in the centre of each supporting pole and fixed in a concrete bed. Foundations of the poles are not put directly in the soil; thus, the negative effects of wood-damaging factors are limited. However, the disadvantage of this solution is that the spot requires 'a cover', for example, lined with stones. The tower stands on the highest spot in the archaeological open-air museum and serves primarily as a viewpoint.

HYPOTHETICAL RECONSTRUCTIONS OF FORTIFICATIONS AT THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL OPEN-AIR MUSEUM IN MODRÁ NEAR VELEHRAD IN 2020 AND 2021

The most distinctive fortification construction in Modrá is the rampart with stone front wall, wooden-soil construction and rear retaining wall. The fortification was built in 2020 and the first half of 2021 (Fig. 13; 14). It is a hypothetical reconstruction of fortifications discovered during research in Uherské Hradiště-Rybárny (*Galuška 2006*; cf. *Procházka 2009*, 219–221). The original construction was part of the outer fortification system of the Staré Město – Uherské Hradiště agglomeration (Veligrad) and was built at the end of the 9th c. in the final phase of the existence of the Great Moravian state (*Galuška 1998*; *2017*, 135–139). The front dry-stone wall was 200 cm wide at the wall foot. The rampart – marked with a palisade stretching along the inner wall and the retaining wall at the rear of the fortification – was 630 cm wide with 700 cm retaining poles. The total width of the construction was, thus, 900 cm. In the space between those two walls, there were found remains of transverse beams aimed transversely towards the fortification. There were also traces of beams laid parallel to the fortification. Therefore, it seems likely that either 1) the fortification core consisted of wooden chambers filled with soil or 2) there were only transverse tie beams that linked the rear wall made of poles with the front wall or

Fig. 13. Modrá. The archaeological open-air museum and its new landmark – fortifications with a stone wall (photo by M. Kovářík).

Fig. 14. Modrá. The gate, defensive tower and fortifications with front stone wall, front view.

with the front stone wall or 3) the construction combined both of those solutions – i.e. chambers and transverse tie beams (*Procházka 1990*, 293, 296). The pits discovered on site had flat bottoms. The poles were put inside the pits and fixed with stones. In some cases, the stones were arranged in a form of a wreath around a beam. It has been also mentioned that inside the fortification – in one of the filled chambers – there were traces of a dwelling identified as a hidden guardhouse (*Marešová 1980*, 241; *Snášil 1981*, 491). However, the excavation documentation we reviewed contained no such information. Finally, let us add that the entire fortification was 370 m long and protected the entrance to the settlement agglomeration of Staré Město – Uherské Hradiště.

The fortification with the front stone wall and wooden-soil rampart built in Modrá near Velehrad is a hypothetical reconstruction. Its primary aim is to provide lay visitors – mainly children – with an impression of Great Moravian fortifications (professionals may be satisfied with digital visualisations: *Makýš 2018*, 137, 138). So, it is not an example of experimental archaeology. The fortification core, therefore, does not consist of wooden chambers or tie beams and the rear retaining wall is not 200 cm wide. On the contrary, the wall is only 70 cm wide and rests on a concrete base – due to current safety precautions the construction would not be approved otherwise. However, the construction was built without heave machines – only by the hands of craftsmen, mainly stonemasons, masons and carpenters. The fortification dimensions are consistent with values measured during field research or extrapolated from the data – e.g. this applies to the construction height. Sandstone from the Bzova quarry in the White Carpathians proved to be a suitable stone material. A cubic meter of the material weighs about 2,651 kg. In total, we have used 16 m^3 of crushed sandstone, i.e. 33.5 tons. Stones were dry-laid, wedged and fitted only on the outer side (see e.g. *Dresler 2011*, 107, fig. 132–140). Larger, massive stones were used mainly in lower parts of the construction. In the upper parts, there are rather smaller, flat, slate-like stones arranged in irregular rows. As already mentioned, the inner wall rests on concrete. At the top, the wall is 30–40 cm wide. The maximum height – at the point where the wall connects to the tower (see below) – is 400 cm. Down the slope, where the wall links with the oak palisade, it lowers to 270 cm. The raw material used for the construction was undried, debarked oak. Oak poles and split logs were used in three structures of the construction. First, the material was used for the construction of a palisade wall that stretches towards the rear

Fig. 15. Modrá. A red spruce pole from the well, embedded in gravel pebbles.

side of the front stone wall. The wall consists of eighty poles (250–270 cm high) and about an equal number of smaller poles (150 cm high) – all about 10–25 cm in diam. Lower parts of the poles were deeply charred and dug – up to 50–60 cm – into stone grit (Fig. 15). Higher poles reach 190–200 cm over the walking level – i.e. above the gallery – and have pointed tips. Poles, tightly grouped by four or five, form 70–90 cm long wall sections. Those higher sections are linked with about 50–70 cm long lower sections consisted of poles reaching the height of 90 cm, i.e. just above the top of the front stone wall. Tips of lower poles are cut flat and slightly inclined to the inside (see *Makýš 2014*, 23, 24). Higher pole sections provide sufficient cover for at least one warrior in case the fortification is attacked by archers or javelin throwers. Gaps in the wall where lower poles are grouped provide sufficient space for defence, e.g. direct repelling attacks with hand weapons and archery (e.g. *Unger 2007*, 180; *Vignatiová 1971*). According to J. Unger, however, higher poles should be grouped in 120 cm long sections that would provide cover for two warriors, while the lower sections for defenders should be 60 cm wide and reach 90 cm above the gallery (*Makýš 2014*, 22–24; *Šalkovský 2006*, 251;

Fig. 16. Modrá. The stepped body of the wooden-soil construction of the fortifications and the defensive tower, back view.

Unger 2007, fig. 10). Our construction of the front wooden wall of the fortifications is very similar to the proposal by J. Unger. The only difference is the length of sections consisted of higher poles. Second, wooden elements were used for the construction of the rear wall of the rampart chambers. The wall stretches parallel to the front palisade wall about 330–350 cm apart. The wall is 80–120 cm high and consists of vertical poles tightly arranged in a line. After about 300 cm, the wall turns into a set of pole tips placed one above another oriented towards the fortification interior. The combination of vertical poles and pole tips is repeated four times along the fortification line. Consequently, the fortification looks as if consisted of chambers. Third, the 60–100 cm high rear wooden wall of the fortification is also built of those elements. Again, the wall consists of a tight row of poles with sharpened tips. The lower ends of the poles are deeply charred and fixed in stone grit. Along the upper edge, there is a horizontal line of half logs fixed with transverse poles, spaced about 90–120 cm apart. The description indicates that the fortification core has two levels. The first level consists of an about 350 cm wide gallery (footpath). The gallery is just behind the front stone wall and the palisade and is paved with larger, flat stones. The large paved area allows the potential defenders to run smoothly and safely during a battle. Similar paved footpaths on early medieval hillforts are only rarely preserved. When the fortifications were destroyed, most construction elements slipped to front moats or the ramparts back. Such stones can be found only if no one had removed and reused them in other constructions. However, in Bojná the situation was different – in the western part, '*the rampart was densely paved with large stones, nearly certainly remains of a gallery*' (*Pieta 2017*, 20, fig. 7). This finding unambiguously documented that galleries – or footpaths – of fortifications were paved (see *Bialeková 1978*, 166; *Dostál 1979*, 75; *Procházka 2009*, 263; *Unger 2008*, 180, 181). In Modrá, the paving on the gallery is slightly sloped and thus improves water drainage protecting the soil embankment from eroding. The second level of the fortification is separated by the rear wall of wooden chambers and is placed about 80–120 cm lower. One can easily imagine that warriors waiting to replace their fallen fellows – partially covered by the wall of the chamber – were kneeling here while waiting. Only a few steps up a short ladder and they were on the gallery. Moreover, visitors of the open-air museum, including those with motor impairment – can reach the gallery from its northern, lowest end.

The defensive tower (Fig. 16) – to the right of the gate – links with the southern end of the fortifications. The tower is not a reconstruction of any

Fig. 17. Modrá. Details of the lower part of a red spruce pole from the gate construction on a lead pad.

known archaeological feature but provides access to the open-air museum for heavy equipment such as fire engines (similarly as large internal dimensions of the gate itself, the author's comment). The tower rests on square foundations – each side 300 cm long – marked with eight, 700 cm high larch poles (30–35 cm in diam.). On the side and front, the space between the poles – up to 450 cm – is filled with an identical wall as in the case of the fortifications. On the back, there is an entrance to the tower ground floor. The tower gallery is on the same level as the fortifications footpath (gallery). Both galleries are connected and allow access from one structure to another. The upper part of the tower is covered with half logs with openings for archers. The hipped roof of the tower rests on the upper tips of the poles and is made of spruce shingles. The total height of the construction is 850 cm. By the outer corner pole, there is another massive pole supporting the right wing of the gate. On the other side of the gate, there are three further massive larch poles bonded with iron belts into one block. The block supports the left wing of the gate. In the future, the block will serve for the construction of another fortification connecting the gate with the entrance of heavy equipment through the northern tower of the main museum entrance. The main supporting poles of the tower and the gate are fixed with iron pins to the concrete foundations – similarly as in the case of the watchtower. However, we have introduced some improvements. Between wood and concrete, iron pins are coated with a lead insert – about 2 cm thick and 8–12 cm in diam. (Fig. 17). It turns out that lead (as well as copper and zinc) is very efficient in preserving wood against fungi and wood damaging insects. Twenty-one years ago, the method was used to preserve the foundations of a wooden cross at a hypothetical reconstruction of the early medieval St. John's church in Modrá. To this day, the cross stands on the spot unaffected by weather or wood damaging factors. It is worth mentioning that the total length of the fortifications and the tower is 17 m. Together with the gate, the construction is 20 m long. So far, no similar reconstruction endeavour with fortifications including a front stone wall has ever been undertaken in any other archaeological open-air museum.

To some extent, the constructions from Modrá near Velehrad can be compared with recent reconstructions on site of the upland Bojná-Valy hillfort (Fig. 18) in Western Slovakia (*Pieta 2007*; *2012*; *2017*; *Pieta/Ruttkay 2018*, 15–21). The reconstruction, in the true sense of the word, answers to the issue of protection and presentation of those fortifications that were negatively affected by human activities in the past and are now a subject of archaeological research. This applies mainly to the entrances-gates which, for decades, served as passages for heavy equipment of lumberjacks and places where the ramparts have been intersected to investigate their internal structure. The main assumption of the reconstructions on site of the trenches is to apply the knowledge gained during research to restore wooden and stone construction elements in a position consistent with that in the core of the original fortifications. Consequently, the reconstructions cannot be considered hypothetical (*Pieta 2017*, 20–27). The current condition of wooden elements protruding from the front and rear parts of those reconstructions indicates traces of activities of wood damaging factors and weathering. The situation seems better where wood directly touches stones, whether the stones are hardcore or stone walls. Interestingly, the reconstruction uses also wattle fences on vertical poles or woven walls supported by pillars. When it comes to strength and statics, however, such elements are not considered very durable (*Procházka 2009*, 255). The Bojná I hillfort is visually dominated by the eastern gate reconstruction built in 2018 on-site of the original entrance. Its appearance is based

Fig. 18. Bojná. The reconstructed eastern gate, back view.

on the results of archaeological research and an architectural project by a team of professionals (*Makýš 2018*). The construction was carried by the village of Bojná and supported by the Ministry of Culture SR with the supervision of professional committees. It is a large rectangular construction with a two-storey tower over the gate. The facade is covered with half log siding with openings for archers. The hipped roof is covered with boards. The tower rests on two square log constructions made of horizontal poles and strengthened with additional poles in the upper part. Between those two constructions, there is an entrance to the hillfort. At both sides of the log construction, there are partially reconstructed fortifications with front foundations made of stones and a palisade wall on the top. The footpath on both sides allows access to the tower. Generally, the reconstruction is impressive, perhaps somehow oversized, particularly when it comes to the tower dimensions. Certainly, it will be reasonable to observe how the known negative factors will affect the reconstruction in the future since already after two years from its construction (2020), the woven wall on the right side of the gate broke. This, however, does not challenge the fact that the Bojná I hillfort – not only due to remarkable finds but also its three-dimensional reconstructions – deservedly attracts both professional as well as lay interest.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

One of the main factors that cause wood degradation is aggressive and extremely resistant fungi *Serpula lacrymans* (Slovak d*revokaz slzivý*; Czech *dřevomorka domácí*). In early medieval graves deeper than 90 cm, the fungi are believed to change wooden structures – including coffins and cladding of burial pits – into brown-grey or even black dust (e.g. *Mazuch et al. 2017*, 27–31; *Staššíková-Štukovská 1993*). Other authors, however, speculate that *Serpula lacrymans* is not local and was only imported to our region in the 19th c. According to this hypothesis, the fungi comes from Southeast Asia and was brought to Europe on wooden vessels about 130 years ago. Once in Europe, the fungi invaded primarily 'dead' wood of already processed coniferous trees (*Makýš 2014*, 28, 30). The question, thus, is: could the fungi be responsible for the so-called red decay of wooden fortifications and graves already in the Middle Ages? An answer could affect our views on the lifespan of the fortifications protecting Great Moravian strongholds.

Currently, due to wood damaging factors and weathering, the lifespan of poles in palisades and single walls of light shell fortifications does not exceed 10–12 years (Fig. 19). This, however, is inconsistent with conclusions of B. Dostál, who estimated

Fig. 19. Modrá. The archaeological open-air museum, view from the south.

the lifespan of palisades of the Great Moravian manor in Pohansko near Břeclav at *'a quarter, no more than half a century'* (*Dostál 1975*, 36) – i.e. more than two to four times longer. Almost certainly, however, that was not the case.

The impregnation of lower parts of poles with charring is believed to be the only method of extending the lifespan of wooden fortifications available in the early Middle Ages. However, it is commonly believed that the archaeological material provides little arguments for corroborating the hypothesis that the method was used (*Dresler 2011*, 133). It is certainly true in the case of poles placed in palisades which mostly completely decayed or preserved only in a form of dusty residues. In the case of constructions found deep inside ramparts, though, wooden elements can be found occasionally. Such elements look as 'faded, hardly legible smudges', 'charred' or 'burnt wood', the condition is usually associated with a fire that destroyed the fortification or at least its fragments (*Dresler 2011*, 102–106). Could, thus, the 'charred or burnt wood' be evidence of the wood being preserved with deep charring rather than of the fortifications being burnt? Especially, when the charred or even burnt sapwood only cracked and formed a tight net around the hardwood core. After all, according to some studies, the lifespan of raw wooden constructions buried in the fortification core was very short – only 8–15 years. After 3–5–8 years, wooden chambers inside fortifications would rotten and ceased to be functional. It seems, thus, that their only function would be to secure freshly heaped soil from sliding (*Makýš 2014*, 20; cf. *Procházka 2009*, 274, 275). Charring, however, would extend their lifespan.

If the Great Moravian fortified manors, strongholds and hillforts existed for at least 50 years, as it is believed in many cases, the palisades and front walls made of poles had to be repeatedly repaired and even replaced. If only some poles were damaged, they could be replaced whenever it was needed (pole by pole) and thus current archaeological research would be unable to detect the changes. If, however, a larger section of the fortifications was damaged, extensive repairs could leave noticeable or identifiable traces in the soil. This could be confirmed by the palisade gutter on the NE side of the manor in Pohansko near Břeclav. A 15 m long section of the palisade foundations widened up to 90 cm, particularly in places where 'lobular protrusions' were found (*Dostál 1975*, 30). The protrusions were nearly certainly traces of newly embedded or replaced poles. Those findings seem to corroborate the hypothesis that the manor existed for over fifty years, had two constructional phases and was repeatedly repaired.

There is a controversy concerning 4 m high wooden retaining walls – known from fortifications with a front stone wall – consisted of horizontal poles placed one on top of another held in certain intervals by vertical poles and, sometimes, strengthened by transverse beams. We can see such a wall in the reconstruction of unpreserved aboveground fragments of some fortifications, for example in Mikulčice and Pohansko near Břeclav (*Unger 2007*). The wood of such walls must have suffered severe damages due to weather conditions, mainly during rainfalls. Water could not drip off the horizontal poles and reduced the wood lifespan while remaining on them. Additionally, soil filling the fortifications was exerting pressure on the poles and wood damaging factors operated where the wood touched soil (modern reconstructions use dimple boards inserted between wood and soil to prevent this, e.g. in Bojná and Modrá near Velehrad). The destructive impacts were even stronger in the case of vertical retaining poles. If a wall was 400 cm high, the poles had to be dug up to at least 100 cm into soil, so the poles were at least 500 cm long. We assume that it was very difficult to replace such long poles when they were heavily damaged, particularly in lower parts. At the same time, damages to the rear wall could have fatal consequences for the entire construction. Is, thus, the idea that the entire fortification had a uniform height correct? Of course, archaeological contexts associated with the foundations of the fortification seem to confirm this assumption. But is the 'as below, so above' hypothesis the only possible one? Numerous reconstructions of wider fortifications indicate that the core height could change in two or three steps (e.g. Staré Město, Uherské Hradiště-Rybárny, Levý Hradec, Fyrkat: see *Procházka 2009*). Some researchers consider this hypothesis as disputable because the different height would make it more difficult for the defenders to move along the fortifications (*Unger 2007*, 179). In our view, if a fortification gallery was sufficiently wide – 200 and 330 cm as in Uherské Hradiště-Rybárny and Staré Město – moving around would be smooth enough. On the other hand, a stepped profile divided the pressure on the rear side of the fortifications into two or three lower wooden walls. Consequently, the pressure would be lower than on one high wall. Also, as we have already indicated, walls protecting each step could provide additional protection for 'substitutes' against arrows fired from the aggressors' bows. The main argument, however, in favour of this solution is that shorter poles of such walls would be replaced easier and faster than massive poles of single-level walls. This finding should not be overlooked in any considerations concerning the lifespan and durability of fortifications protecting early medieval hillforts.

Recently, more researchers conclude that fortifications of the Great Moravian or early medieval hillforts that contained stone front walls and foundations started to appear after the mid-9th c. or even in the last two decades of the 9th c. (*Dresler et al. 2010*, 123, 124, 136; *Galuška 2017*, 135–147; *Henning et al. 2017*; *Lutovský 2009*, 7, 8; *Mazuch 2013*; *Poláček 2016*, 8, 70). This late dating raises numerous questions often related to the interpretation of well-known written sources concerning fortified sites. For example, how should we interpret the information about 'massive fortifications' behind which the Moravian prince Rostislav covered in 855 that inclined Louis II, king of the East Franks to 'leave him temporarily in peace'? How did the 'unspeakable and unlike any old fortifications' Rostislav's fortress – which the Franks and the Alemanni did not manage do conquer in 869 but at least 'destroyed all fortifications in the area by fire' – actually look like (*MMFH 1966*, 93, 103)? Currently, it seems unlikely that some of the Moravian power centres such as Mikulčice, Staré Město – Uherské Hradiště or Nitra had solid fortifications with stone walls already at that time. Archaeological research relatively well confirms only the presence of wooden and soil constructions (*Galuška 2017*, 143, 144). Such fortifications, however, should not pose an insurmountable obstacle for the best warriors of that times even if protected by elite Rostislav's troops. Did the authors of the Annales Fuldenses overestimate the fortifications deliberately to justify the defeat in Moravia or were at least some of the Moravian hillforts protected by stone fortifications already in 869? Both alternatives seem likely. Hopefully, the controversy will be solved by future analyses and archaeological research.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bialeková 1978 – D. Bialeková: Výskum a rekonštrukcia fortifikácie na slovanskom hradisku v Pobedime. *Slovenská archeológia* 26, 1978, 149–172.

Dostál 1975 – B. Dostál: *Břeclav-Pohansko IV. Velkomoravský velmožský dvorec*. Spisy University J. E. Purkyně v Brně. Filosofická fakulta 208. Brno 1975.

Dostál 1979 – B. Dostál: K opevnění Břeclavi-Pohanska. *Sborník prací Filozofické fakulty brněnské univerzity. Řada archeologicko-klasická* E24, 1979, 73–93.

Dragoun/Protiva/Zelenka 2014 – B. Dragoun/O. Protiva/T. Zelenka: Oprava domu z Mariánské louky v Archeologickém muzeu v přírodě Villa Nova Uhřínov. In: T. Zelenka (sest.): *Rekonstrukce a prezentace archeologických objektů* 3. Uhřínov 2014, 22–26.

Dresler 2011 – P. Dresler: *Opevnění Pohanska u Břeclavi*. Dissertationes archaeologicae Brunenses 11. Brno 2011.

Dresler et al. 2010 – P. Dresler/B. Humlová/J. Macháček/M. Rybníček/J. Škojec/J. Vrbová-Dvorská: Dendrochronologické datování raně středověké aglomerace na Pohansku u Břeclavi. In: Š. Ungerman/R. Přichystalová (uspoř.): *Zaměřeno na středověk. Zdeňkovi Měřínskému k 60. narozeninám*. Brno 2010, 112–138.

Galuška 1997 – L. Galuška: K problematice předvelkomoravského opevnění Starého Města. In: P. Michna/R. Nekuda/J. Unger (uspoř.): *Z pravěku do středověku. Sborník k 70. narozeninám doc. PhDr. Vladimíra Nekudy, DrSc.* Brno 1997, 73–83.

Galuška 1998 – L. Galuška: Die großmährische Siedlungsagglomeration Staré Město – Uherské Hradiště und ihre Befestigungen. In: *Henning/Ruttkay 1998*, 341–348.

Galuška 2005 – L. Galuška: Archeologický skanzen v Modré u Velehradu – velkomoravské opevněné sídliště středního Pomoraví. *Archaeologia historica* 30, 2005, 9–22.

Galuška 2006 – L. Galuška: Velkomoravská hradba v Uherském Hradišti-Rybárnách. *Archeologické rozhledy* 58, 2006, 486–510.

Galuška 2017 – L. Galuška: *Slované – stopy předků. O Moravě v 6.–10. století*. Brno 2017.

Grznár/Gregorová 2018 – P. Grznár/J. Gregorová: Návrh prezentácie veľmožského dvorca Kostolec-Ducové. (Prezentácia včasnostredovekej fortifikácie.) *Monumentorum tutela. Ochrana pamiatok* 29, 2018, 139–150.

Henning/Ruttkay 1998 – J. Henning/A. T. Ruttkay (Hrsg.): *Frühmittelalterlicher Burgenbau in Mittel- und Osteuropa. Tagung, Nitra vom 7. bis 10. Oktober 1996*. Bonn 1998.

Henning et al. 2017 – J. Henning/M. Ruttkay/K. Pieta/K.-U. Heussner: Bojná a datovanie hradísk Nitrianskeho kniežatstva. Prínos prírodovedných metód k archeologickému výskumu. In: K. Pieta/Z. Robak (eds.): *Bojná 2. Nové výsledky výskumov včasnostredovekých hradísk*. Archaeologica Slovaca Monographiae. Fontes 22. Nitra 2017, 335–345.

Hrubý 1965 – V. Hrubý: *Staré Město. Velkomoravský Velehrad*. Praha 1965.

Hulínek 2008 – D. Hulínek: Funkčné členenie veľkomoravských opevnených sídlisk na základe ich spoločenského významu a kontinuita ich pretrvávania v 10. storočí (Morava a západné a stredné Slovensko). In: T. Štefanovičová/D. Hulínek (zost.): *Bitka pri Bratislave v roku 907 a jej význam pre vývoj stredného Podunajska*. Bratislava 2008, 195–252.

Jenčík/Struhár 2015 – P. Jenčík/V. Struhár (zost.): *Hradiská – svedkovia dávnych čias. Zborník odborných príspevkov o hradiskách a ich obyvateľoch*. Dolná Mariková 2015.

Kouřil/Procházka et al. 2018 – P. Kouřil/R. Procházka et al.: *Moravian and Silesian Strongholds of the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries in the Context of Central Europe*. Spisy Archeologického ústavu AV ČR Brno 57. Brno 2018.

Lutovský 2006 – M. Lutovský: Od palisády ke zdi: Raně středověká hradiště v Čechách ve světle archeologického bádání posledních dvou desetiletí. *Archaeologia historica* 31, 2006, 21–44.

Lutovský 2009 – M. Lutovský: Doba hradištní bez hradišť? Úvaha nad strukturou, chronologií a terminologií raně středověkých fortifikací v Čechách. In: P. Dresler/Z. Měřínský (eds.): *Archeologie doby hradištní v České a Slovenské republice. Sborník příspěvků přednesených na pracovním setkání Archeologie doby hradištní ve dnech 24.–26. 4. 2006*. Archaeologia mediaevalis Moravica et Silesiana. Suplementum 2. Brno 2009, 5–9.

Makýš 2003 – O. Makýš: Realizácia experimentálnych rekonštrukcií stavieb – poznámky. *Živá archeologie. (Re) konstrukce a experiment v acheologii* 4, 2003, 201–210.

Makýš 2014 – O. Makýš: *Včasnohistorické a rannostredoveké drevené a drevozemné pamiatky. Hypotetické rekonštrukcie a konzervácia*. Bratislava 2014.

Makýš 2018 – O. Makýš: Návrh makety brány a opevnenia rannostredovekého slovanského hradiská Bojná. *Monumentorum tutela. Ochrana pamiatok* 29, 2018, 127–138.

Malina 1980 – J. Malina: *Metody experimentu v archeologii*. Studie Archeologického ústavu ČSAV v Brně 8. Praha 1980.

Marešová 1980 – K. Marešová: Archeologický výzkum velkomoravského Starého Města v r. 1979. *Časopis Moravského muzea. Vědy společenské* 45, 1980, 240–242.

Mazuch 2013 – M. Mazuch: Předběžné výsledky záchranného výzkumu SZ úseku opevnění akropole raně středověkého mocenského centra Mikulčice-Valy. *Přehled výzkumů* 54/2, 2013, 25–44.

Mazuch 2014 – M. Mazuch: Findings about the early medieval fortification of the Mikulčice-Valy acropolis. *Slavia Antiqua* 55, 2014, 7–66.

Mazuch et al. 2017 – M. Mazuch/M. Hladík/R. Skopal: *Úpravy hrobových jam a dřevěné konstrukce v hrobech na pohřebištích Velké Moravy (sociální, duchovní a chronologický fenomén)*. Spisy Archeologického ústavu AV ČR Brno 56. Brno 2017.

MMFH 1966 – *Magnae Moraviae Fontes Historici. Annales et Chronicae*. Brno 1966.

Pieta 2007 – K. Pieta: *Bojná. Nové nálezy k počiatkom slovenských dejín*. Bojná 2007.

Pieta 2012 – K. Pieta: Tri hradiská. Bojná. In: D. Kollár (zost.): *Veľkomoravské hradiská*. Kultúrne krásy Slovenska. Bratislava 2012, 16–21.

Pieta 2017 – K. Pieta: Včasnostredoveké mocenské centrum Bojná – výskumy v rokoch 2007–2013. In: K. Pieta/Z. Robak (eds.): *Bojná 2. Nové výsledky výskumov včasnostredovekých hradísk*. Archaeologica Slovaca Monographiae. Fontes 22. Nitra 2017, 11–45.

Pieta/Ruttkay 2018 – K. Pieta/M Ruttkay: Centrá Veľkej Moravy a ich prezentácia. Nitra a Bojná. *Monumentorum tutela. Ochrana pamiatok* 29, 2018, 15–34.

Poláček 2016 – L. Poláček: *Hradiště Mikulčice-Valy a Velká Morava. Mikulčice-průvodce. Svazek II.* Brno 2016.

Popelka 2000 – M. Popelka: Několik poznámek k experimentální archeologii. *Živá archeologie. (Re)konstrukce a experiment v acheologii* 1, 2000, 207–211.

Poulík 1988 – J. Poulík: K otázce vzniku předvelkomoravských hradišť. *Slovenská archeológia* 36, 1988, 189–216.

Procházka 1990 – R. Procházka: Charakteristika opevňovacích konstrukcí předvelkomoravských a velkomoravských hradišť na Moravě. In: V. Nekuda/J. Unger/M. Čižmář (uspoř.): *Pravěké a slovanské osídlení Moravy. Sborník příspěvků k osmdesátým narozeninám akademika Josefa Poulíka*. Brno 1990, 288–306.

Procházka 2009 – R. Procházka: *Vývoj opevňovací techniky na Moravě a v českém Slezsku v raném středověku*. Spisy Archeologického ústavu AV ČR Brno 38. Brno 2009.

Šalkovský 2006 – P. Šalkovský: Výskum a rekonštrukcia fortifikácie západného areálu včasnostredovekého hradiska v Spišských Tomašovciach. *Slovenská archeológia* 54, 2006, 239–257.

Šalkovský 2015 – P. Šalkovský: *Hrady dávných Slovanov.* Archaeologica Slovaca Monographiae. Fontes 19. Nitra 2015.

Snášil 1981 – R. Snášil: Nové archeologické výzkumy. In: M. Zemek/A. Verbík a kolektiv: *Uherské Hradiště. Dějiny města*. Brno 1981, 488–498.

Staššíková-Štukovská 1993 – D. Staššíková-Štukovská: Neue Erkenntnisse zur Dekomposition menschlicher Skelette am Beispiel des frühmittelalterlichen Gräberfeldes von Borovce, Slowakei. *Praehistorische Zeitschrift* 68, 1993, 242–263.

Unger 2008 – J. Unger: Problematika hájitelnosti předvelkomoravských a velkomoravských hradeb. In: T. Štefanovičová/D. Hulínek (zost.): *Bitka pri Bratislave v roku 907 a jej význam pre vývoj stredného Podunajska*. Bratislava 2008, 177–182.

Vignatiová 1971 – J. Vignatiová: K otázkám obrany a údržby velkomoravských valů. *Sborník prací Filozofické fakulty brněnské univerzity. Řada archeologicko-klasická* E16, 1971, 199–204.

Žák/Reinprecht 1998 – J. Žák/L. Reinprecht: *Ochrana dřeva ve stavbě*. Praha 1998.

Manuscript accepted 1. 10. 2021

Translated by Magdalena Adamus

doc. PhDr. Luděk Galuška, CSc.
Moravské zemské muzeum
Centrum slovanské archeologie
Zelný trh 6
CZ – 659 37 Brno
lgaluska@mzm.cz

SLOVENSKÁ ARCHEOLÓGIA – SUPPLEMENTUM 2
Z. Robak/M. Ruttkay (eds.): Celts – Germans – Slavs.
A Tribute Anthology to Karol Pieta. Nitra 2021, 467–470.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.31577/slovarch.2021.suppl.2.45

EARLY MEDIEVAL RIVETED AXE-SHAPED BARS FROM TRNOVEC NAD VÁHOM

VLADIMÍR TURČAN

Two early medieval iron axe-shaped currency bars are published in this article for the first time. One of them was formed by two riveted pieces. This was a rather uncommon technological adjustment for this period.

Keywords: Slovakia, Early Middle Ages, axe-shaped bar.

Iron axe-shaped bars were an intrinsic element of the Great Moravian material culture. Although often the bars are found damaged or broken, measurements indicate that the weights and dimensions of the bars were standardised (*Bialeková/Tirpáková 1989*; *Tirpáková/Bialeková/Vlkolinská 1989*, 427–443). In the literature, the bars are dated back to the period between the end of the 8th c. and the beginning of the 10th c. (*Hájnik 2019*, 119, 120). Most of the bars come from depots and are virtually absent in graves – although there are single finds from graves.

The Slovak National Museum – Archaeological Museum in Bratislava has in its collection a pair of overlooked bars described as coming from Trnovec nad Váhom, Šaľa district, without any further annotation. The village of Trnovec nad Váhom is located in the eastern part of the Danube Basin, on the left bank of the river Váh. The early medieval settlement in the village is confirmed by the presence of a settlement feature dated back to the 7th–8th c. (*Bielich 2007*) and an extensive cemetery with inhumation graves used in the 9th and 10th c. (*Hanuliak 2004*, 277; *Točík 1971*, 137–184).

If the description placed on the bag is correct, the bars can be considered as consistent with abundant finds from the low and middle sections of the Váh and Nitra rivers. A great density of the bars finds is also recorded in southern Moravia (Fig. 1).

DESCRIPTION

1. An iron axe-shaped bar with a pointed, grooved and bent back, a cut-through square punch, longitudinal lobes along the edges with a longitudinal leaf and a rounded blade. Dimensions of the item: Length 32.6 cm, maximum width 4.7 cm, the leaf thickness 0.4 cm. The opening is 0.9 × 0.6 cm. The bar weighs 186.731 g[1] (Fig. 2: 1) and is deposited in the Slovak National Museum – Archaeological Museum in Bratislava (no. AP 68 407).
2. An iron axe-shaped bar with a rounded back, a cut-through square punch longitudinal lobes along the edges with a longitudinal leaf and a rounded blade. The leaf consists of two parts roughly joint with a rivet. Dimensions of the item: Length 31.4 cm, maximum width 4.4 cm, the leaf thickness 0.4 cm. The opening is 1.2 × 0.8 cm. The leaf length 16.5 cm, the rear length 16.4 cm, the rivet dimensions 1.3 × 0.9 cm. The overlap length 2.1 cm. The bar weighs 183.97 g (Fig. 2: 2–5) and is deposited in the Slovak National Museum – Archaeological Museum in Bratislava (no. AP 68 408).

According to the classification by R. Pleiner and D. Bialeková, the bars from Trnovec nad Váhom could be attributed to the II. class (*Bialeková/Turčan 2007*, fig. 9; *Pleiner 1961*, 426) and belong to the longest and heaviest specimens of this class.

One of the finds consists of parts of two different bars joint roughly in the middle with a rivet (Fig. 2: 2–5). The riveting method has been known already in the Bronze Age (*Felcan/Stegmann-Rajtár/Tirpák 2019*, 146) and remained in use also in the Middle Ages as confirmed, for instance, by riveting of iron cauldrons (*Dostál 1975*, 228, 229). Occasionally, the method was also used to fix damaged items such as scythes (*Borzová/Pieta/Jakubčinová 2020*, 38, pl. XX: 5; XXIV: 1, 5). It is a rather unusual method of fixing bars. However, a similar riveting could have been used to fix a bar from Bojná (*Pieta/Ruttkay 2007*, fig. 9: 10). The drawing and the preliminary analysis of the item, however, do not allow drawing more exact conclusions.

Spectral surface Roentgen analysis of the bars from Trnavec showed that the rivet contains

[1] Weight after basic cleaning and before conservation.

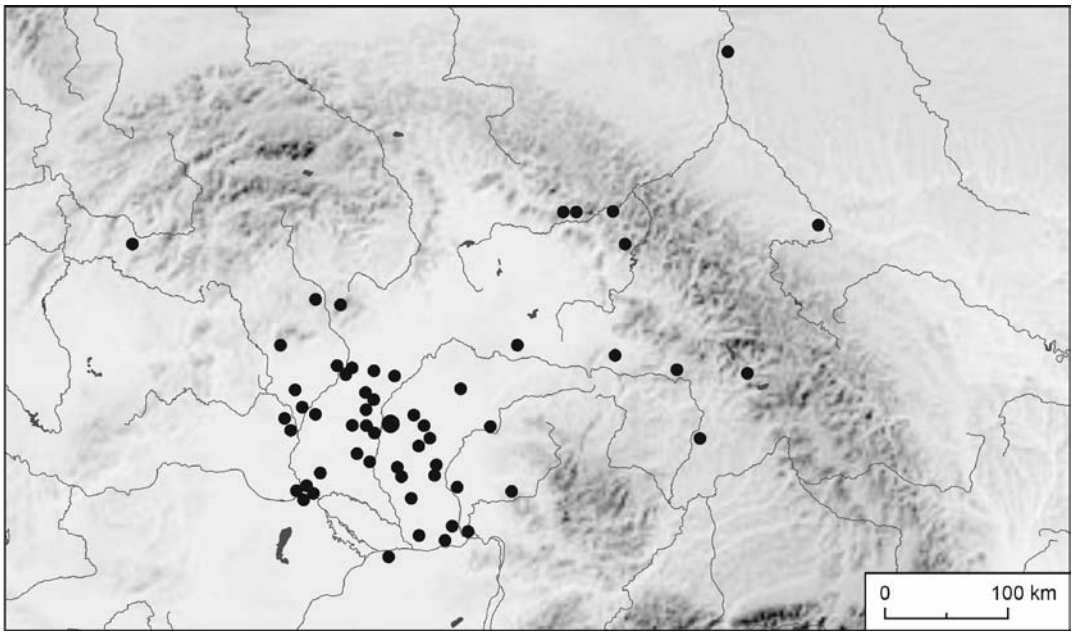


Fig. 1. Distribution of early medieval axe-shaped bars. The larger circle: Trnovec nad Váhom (based on *Bialeková 2000,* 201).

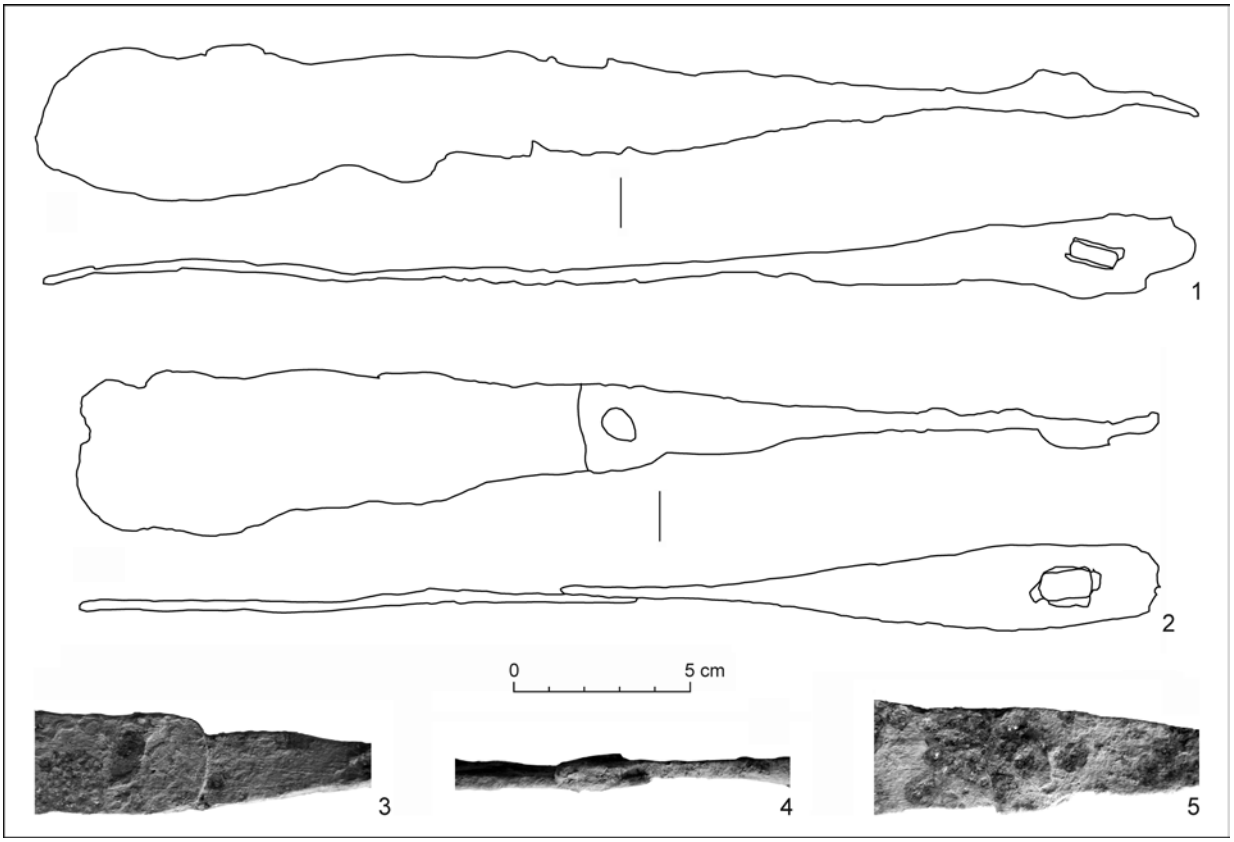


Fig. 2. Trnovec nad Váhom. 1, 2 – iron bars; 3–5 details of bar no. 2.

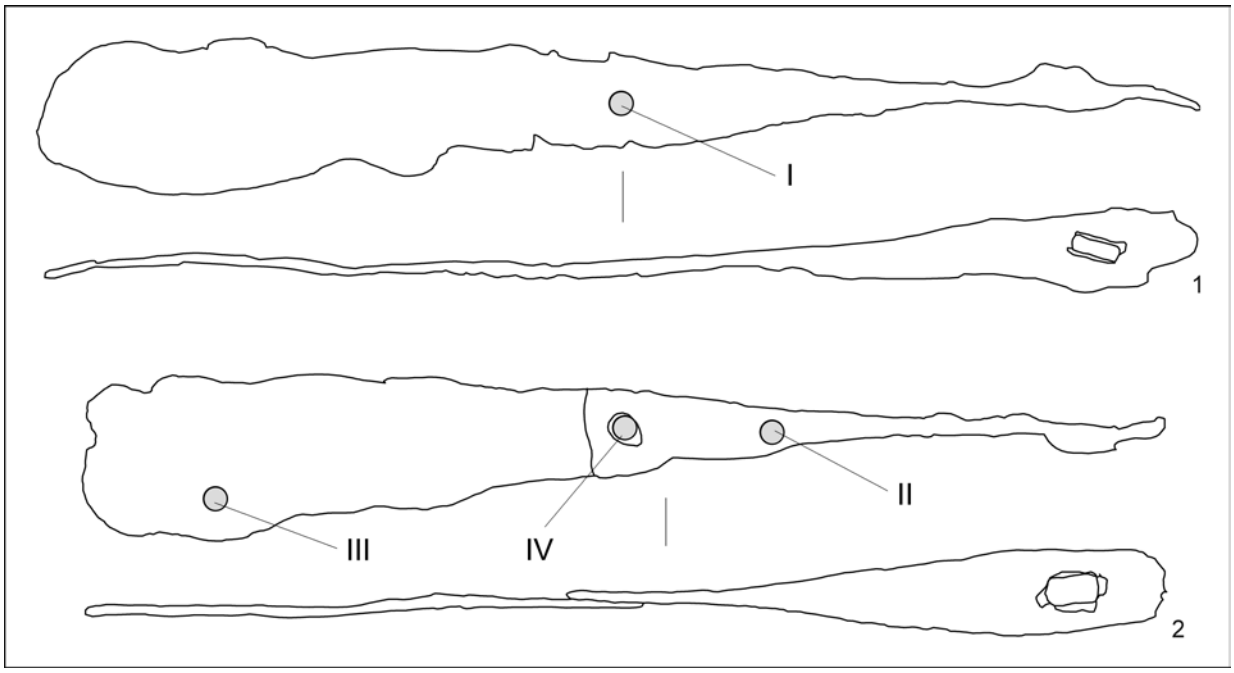


Fig. 3. Trnovec nad Váhom. Point measurements by spectral surface analysis.

Tab. 1. Trnovec nad Váhom. Results of point measurements by spectral surface analysis. The numbers are in accordance with Fig. 3.

Iron bars	Fe	Co	Pb	Mo	Cu	Ni	Zr
Bar 1, point I	99.72	–	–	0.023	0.055	–	–
Bar 2, point II	99.60	–	–	–	0.039	0.218	–
Bar 2, point III	99.69	–	–	–	0.124	–	–
Bar 2, point IV (rivet)	99.33	0.304	0.016	0.041	–	0.192	0.010

Spectral surface Roentgen analysis was made using the XRF NITON XL3t unit. Manufacturer: Thermo Fisher Scientific, NITON, USA (the analysis was performed by R. Čambal, The Slovak National Museum – Archaeological Museum in Bratislava).

a different proportion of impurities than the bars (Fig. 3; Tab. 1).[2] This indicates that the rivet comes from a different source as the bars – either in terms of the raw material it was made of or was made in a different workshop.

In the literature, there are two competing interpretations concerning the iron axe-shaped bars. Some of the researchers believe that bars were equivalent to money or a pre-monetary currency (*Bialeková1990*, 99; *Galuška 2017*, 198; *Hájnik 2019*, 141; *Pleiner1961*, 442; *Pošvář 1963*, 137; *Žigo 2017*, 26, 27). Others question this hypothesis (*Curta 2011*, 318; *Harvát 2019*, 16–19; *Macháček 2012*, 781; *Štefan 2011*, 343).

The reason, however, why two damaged bars were combined into one could be sought only in the bars having a standardised market function that required specific weight and shape. It would be difficult to find another reason to repair the bar. Therefore, we can say that the bar from Trnovec nad Váhom contributed considerable weight to the debate about the function of these specific early medieval finds.

[2] I would like to thank R. Čambal for the analysis.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bialeková 1990 – D. Bialeková: Sekerovité hrivny a ich väzba na ekonomické a sociálne prostredie Slovanov. In: L. Galuška (zost.): *Staroměstská výročí. Sborník příspěvků ze slavnostního zasedání u příležitosti 40 let archeologických výzkumů Moravského muzea ve Starém Městě a výročí objevu první velkomoravské zděné stavby ve Starém Městě Na valách, Uherské Hradiště, 7.–8. září 1988*. Brno 1990, 99–119.

Bialeková 2000 – D. Bialeková: Eisenbarren. In: A. Wieczorek/H.-M. Hinz (Hrsg.): *Europas mitte um 1000. Beiträge zur Geschichte, Kunst und Archäologie. Band 1*. Stuttgart 2000, 201, 202.

Bialeková/Tirpáková 1989 – D. Bialeková/A. Tirpáková: K otázke funkčnosti sekerovitých hrivien z Pobedima z hľadiska ich metrologických hodnôt. *Slovenská numizmatika* 10, 1989, 89–96.

Bialeková/Turčan 2007 – D. Bialeková/V. Turčan: Nový typ slovanských sekerovitých hrivien a ich metalografická analýza. In: V. Hašek/R. Nekuda/M. Ruttkay (eds.): *Ve službách archeologie* 2. Brno 2007, 151–158.

Bielich 2007 – M. Bielich: Včasnoslovanské nálezy z Trnovca nad Váhom. *AVANS 2005*, 2007, 54.

Borzová/Pieta/Jakubčinová 2020 – Z. Borzová/K. Pieta/M. Jakubčinová: *Bojná 3. Poľnohospodárske náradie z hradiska Valy a jeho zázemia*. Archaeologica Slovaca Monographiae. Fontes 29. Nitra 2020.

Curta 2011 – F. Curta: New Remarks on Early Medieval Hoards of Iron Implements and Weapons. In: J. Macháček/Š. Ungerman (Hrsg.): *Frühgeschichtliche Zentralorte in Mitteleuropa*. Studien zur Archäologie Europas. Band 14. Bonn 2011, 309–332.

Dostál 1975 – B. Dostál: *Břeclav-Pohansko IV. Velkomoravský velmožský dvorec*. Spisy University J. E. Purkyně v Brně, Filosofická fakulta. Brno 1975.

Felcan/Stegmann-Rajtár/Tirpák 2019 – M. Felcan/S. Stegmann-Rajtár/J. Tirpák: Nové poznatky ku konštrukciám a technológiám výroby šperku z doby halštatskej zo Smoleníc-Molpíra. In: L. Benediková/G. Březinová/E. Horváthová/S. Stegmann-Rajtár (eds.): *Fragmenty času. Venované Elene Miroššayovej k 70. narodeninám*. Študijné zvesti AÚ SAV – Supplementum 1. Nitra 2019, 139–155. DOI: https://doi.org/10.31577/szausav.2019.suppl.1.8.

Galuška 2017 – L. Galuška: *Slované – stopy předků. O Moravě v 6.–10. století*. Brno 2017.

Hájnik 2019 – J. Hájnik: Včasnostredoveké sekerovité hrivny z územia strednej Európy. *Musaica archaeologica* 4/2, 2019, 111–172.

Hanuliak 2004 – M. Hanuliak: *Veľkomoravské pohrebiská. Pochovávanie v 9.–10. storočí na území Slovenska*. Archaeologica Slovaca Monographiae. Studia 8. Nitra 2004.

Harvát 2019 – M. Harvát: *„... iactitant se magnitudine pecuniae"*. Otázka platobných prostriedkov na mojmírovskej Morave. *Acta historica Neosoliensia* 22/1, 2019, 4–28.

Macháček 2012 – J. Macháček: „Velkomoravský stát" – kontraverze středoevropské medievalistiky. *Archeologické rozhledy* 64, 2012, 775–787.

Pieta/Ruttkay 2007 – K. Pieta/M. Ruttkay: Bojná – mocenské a christianizačné centrum Nitrianskeho kniežatstva. Predbežná správa. In: K. Pieta/A. Ruttkay/M. Ruttkay (eds.): *Bojná. Hospodárske a politické centrum Nitrianskeho kniežatstva*. Archaeologica Slovaca Monographiae. Studia 9. Nitra 2007, 21–70.

Pleiner 1961 – R. Pleiner: Slovanské sekerovité hřivny. *Slovenská archeológia* 9, 1961, 405–450.

Pošvář 1963 – J. Pošvář: Velkomoravské železné hrivny jako platidlo. *Numismatické listy* 18/5, 1963, 134–144.

Štefan 2011 – I. Štefan: Great Moravia. Statehood and Archaeology. In: J. Macháček/Š. Ungerman (Hrsg.): *Frühgeschichtliche Zentralorte in Mitteleuropa*. Studien zur Archäologie Europas. Band 14. Bonn 2011, 333–354.

Tirpáková/Bialeková/Vlkolinská 1989 – A. Tirpáková/D. Bialeková/I. Vlkolinská: The Application of Some Mathematic-statistical Methods in Solving the Possibility of Exploitation of Roman Measures in Manufacturing of Slavic Axe-Shaped Currency Bars and Pottery. *Slovenská archeológia* 37, 1989, 427–450.

Točík 1971 – A. Točík: Flachgräberfelder aus dem IX. und X. Jahrhundert in der Südwestslowakei. *Slovenská archeológia* 19, 1971, 135–276.

Žigo 2017 – P. Žigo: Hrivna – motivácia jej pomenovania, významy a ekvivalenty v staroslovienskych textoch. *Musaica archaelogica* 2/2, 2017, 23–36.

Manuscript accepted 17. 7. 2021

Translated by Magdalena Adamus

PhDr. Vladimír Turčan
SNM – Archeologické múzeum
Žižkova 12
SK – 810 06 Bratislava
vladimir.turcan@snm.sk

SLOVENSKÁ ARCHEOLÓGIA – SUPPLEMENTUM 2
Z. Robak/M. Ruttkay (eds.): Celts – Germans – Slavs.
A Tribute Anthology to Karol Pieta. Nitra 2021, 479–477.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.31577/slovarch.2021.suppl.2.46

THE UNIQUE FIND OF A GILDED SPUR FROM LIPOVNÍK (TOPOĽČANY DISTRICT)[1]

MIRIAM JAKUBČINOVÁ

In the Považský Inovec hills, which hide several interesting sites from various historical periods, a gilded spur with slightly curved arms was discovered. It is an exceptional artefact, since we did not know about any such spurs from our territory before. Although it is an accidental find which might have been lost during a hunt or while crossing the mountains, it can point to importance of certain families settled in our territory in the more stable Kingdom of Hungary.

Keywords: Slovakia, High Middle Ages, gilded spur.

INTRODUCTION

The Považský Inovec mountain range hides several unique sites in their forests. From the side of Nitra, we can mention for instance the early medieval hillfort of Valy near the village of Bojná or the hillfort on the hill of Marhát settled as early as the Bronze Age and the Rotunda of Saint George nearby, in Nitrianska Baltnica. The village of Lipovník is located near the above mentioned sites which can be dated – based on the discovered finds – to various chronological periods. At the territory of Lipovník in particular, settlement form the Eneolithic and Hallstatt or Early Post-medieval periods has been detected so far (*Pieta 1982*); however, settlement from the Early and Late Middle Ages is absent. Despite this, the village or a small settlement existed in the area then, which is suggested by the first written document from 1283 (*VSOS 1977*, 164). It belonged to the property of the Branč-Lipovnický family as early as the 12th c., together with the villages of Blesovce, Vozokany, Hajná Nová Ves and partly also Krtovce and Lužany in the nearest vicinity of Lipovník (*Lukačka 1994*, 105; *2015*, 139). Can the discovery of this gilded spur be associated with this family prospering mainly in the 12th and 13th c. or is it an accidentally occurring unique artefact lost for instance during a hunt or while crossing the Považský Inovec hills?

Description of the find

An iron spur with slightly curved arms (Fig. 1; 2).[2] The arms' terminals are damaged, but they were probably ended with plates with two holes (on one arm in particular, a central spoke has been preserved). The spike is shaped as a double pyramid, bent down and located on a short neck. The upper part of the spike has convexly curved edges with an elongated point. On the arms and the spike, the spur was gilded, however, only on the visible upper side. In the lower part of the spike, a triangle copying the spike's edges was indicated. The spur is damaged at several spots, the terminal plates are not preserved and some parts of the spike are also seriously damaged. The gilding has not been evenly preserved either; it is visibly reduced towards the arms' ends.

The total preserved length is 107 mm, arms' distance is 82 mm, the spike is 32 mm long, its maximum thickness is 12 × 11 mm, arms' width is 0.4 mm, their thickness is 0.4 mm and their weight is 29.5 g.

THE TYPOLOGICAL-CHRONOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF THE SPUR FROM LIPOVNÍK

In the territory of Slovakia, we come across spurs with slightly curved arms from the mid-11th c., although spurs with straight arms still prevail in this period (*Koóšová 2004*, 527). They are more frequent in the 12th c. and their arms are ended mainly with vertical transverse loops, less frequently with simple round loops or a pair of loops. Later, other variations of arms' terminals are added, however, double loops start to prevail

[1] The article is written as part of grant projects 2/0001/18 and 2/0159/21 of VEGA agency.

[2] Thanks to PhDr. Karol Pieta, DrSc., for providing the finding for publication.

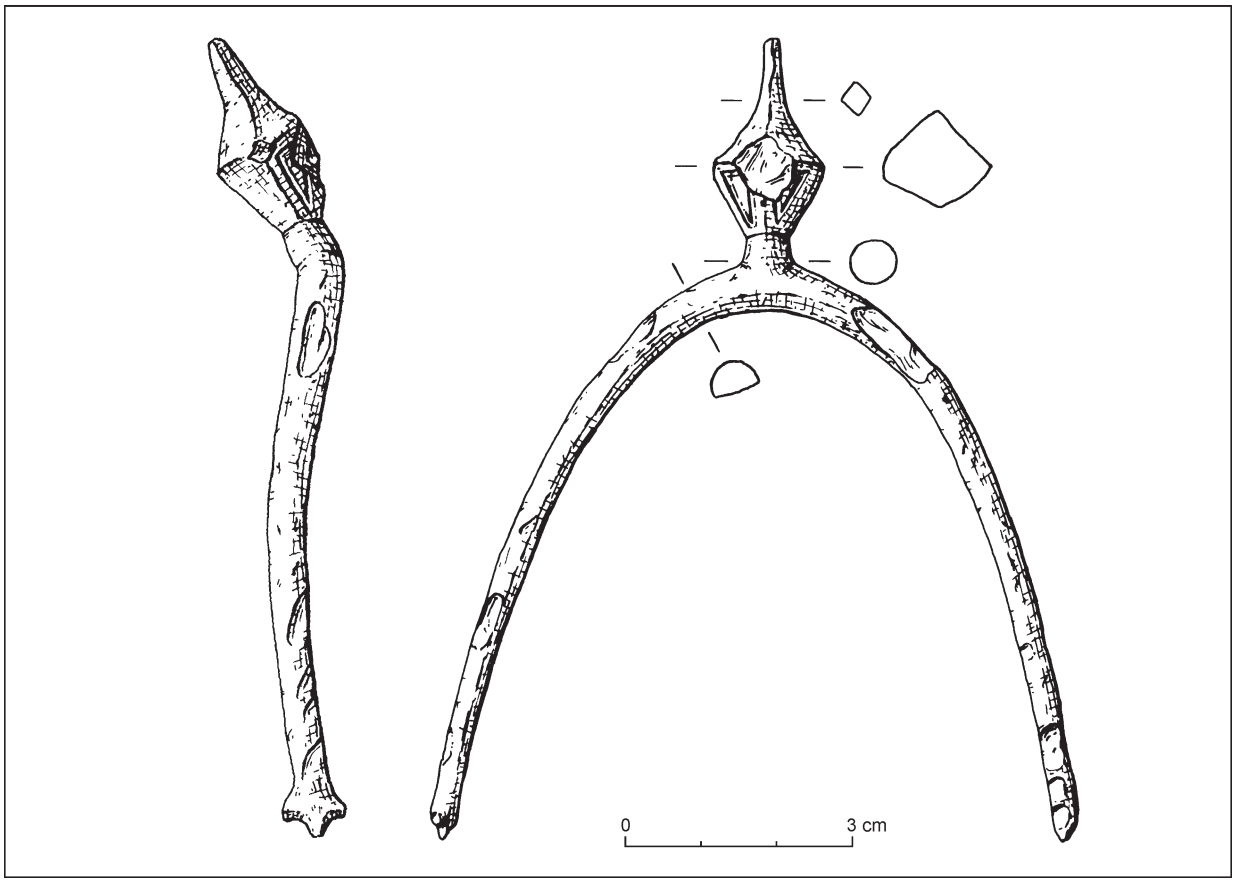


Fig. 1. Lipovník. The gilded spur (sketch by Ž. Nagyová).

(*Koóšová 2004*, 530, pl. 1; 3; *Ruttkay 1976*, 348). The spur from Lipovník has the arms' terminals considerably damaged, but on one arm, the central spoke between two loops has been preserved. It is obvious that the arms were terminated with one of the variations of double loops, although it is not clear what shape is present. According to the classification by *Z. Hilczerówna* (*1956*, 35–39), the exemplar from Lipovník can be classified in her type II, variant 3. This type includes spurs with short spikes, arms of the heel band are slightly curved and terminated mainly with plates with two holes (sometimes shaped as a 'horizontal figure eight'). The author dates them from the mid-11th c. to the 12th c., although they might have survived in the beginning of the 13th c. (*Hilczerówna* 1956, 52, 53). When processing spurs from the territory of Germany, *N. Gossler* (*1998*, 503–510, 551) also states that the curve of the heel band appears in general in the 11th c., its middle at the latest, and in the course of the century, the arms become more curved or rounded (spurs with slightly or weakly curved bands and short spikes are classified into his group E). He classifies termination of arms with double (horizontal, quadratic) loops – based on finds – as exemplars with straight arms, although he does not exclude its use on slightly rounded arms either. They prevail mainly in the eastern part of the studied area and are more significantly represented in southern and eastern parts of central Europe (*Gossler 1998*, 579). This type of spurs occurs with various shapes of spikes. Spikes usually have short necks with a point on their ends. The point is chiefly shaped as a pyramid or cone. Some spikes have quadratic plates or small balls (*Koóšová 2004*, 527, 530, pl. 1). *A. Ruttkay* (*1976*, 348, 349) classifies a similar type of spurs into type B – the spike is terminated with a conical or pyramidal point (variant 2) or decorated with a thin (quadratic or round) plate (variant 3) or a massive small ball (variant 4). Spurs with spikes in shape of double pyramids have not been mentioned from the territory of Slovakia so far (*Koóšová 2004*, diagram 1; *Ruttkay 1976*, 348). Their occurrence has been documented in the territory of Poland, Germany or Bohemia (*Błoński 2000*, fig. 3: b; 5: e; *Dresler/Macháček/Měchura 2015*, 249, fig. 265; *Gossler 1998*, 586; *Hilczerówna 1956*, pl. V; *Novotný 1979*, pl. 5: 4, 5; *Wachowski 1984*, fig. 28: a–f; *Zápotocký 2018*, fig. 51: 16; 65: 3). *Z. Hilczerówna* (*1956*, 18, 35–39, fig. 6)

Fig. 2. Lipovník. The gilded spur with indication of measurement locations (photo by P. Červeň).

divided individual spikes into five shapes. Type d represents shapes of double pyramids occurring in several variants of type II. More precise classification was elaborated by *K. Wachowski* (*1984*, 33, 34, 45, fig. 18) for finds from the site of Opole. He classified similar shapes of spikes into his type II1, type IIc1 in particular (spikes with inverted edges, out curved points). This type of spurs was found in Opole in layers dated from the beginning of the 12th c. to the first half of the 13th c. (*Wachowski 1984*, 44). It occurs together with pyramidal spikes in the period between the 11th and the 13th c. They are frequent also on exemplars with straight arms, however, they are most frequently used on spurs with curved arms (*Gossler 1998*, 586, fig. 14).

As for the territory of Slovakia, we have only a minimum number of decorated exemplars from this period. Iron (simple) spurs are clearly prevalent. Decoration is rather rare, for instance copper tausia, plastic decoration or bronze spike; silvering or gilding has been recorded from later periods (*Koóšová 2004*, 527, 530, 533, 536, diagram 1; 4; 7; 10; *2007*, 266). The fragmentary state of the assemblage can be one of the reasons. Similar situation is observed in other countries. Iron spurs are clearly prevalent, they are often simple, undecorated; decorated exemplars are less frequent and they are usually made of other metals, mainly bronze (*Gossler 1998*, 594, 595, tab. 12; 13; *Hilczerówna 1956*, 109).

SYMBOLISM OF GOLD, SYMBOLISM OF SPURS

Gold has always been particularly important. Since the oldest times until now, it has represented wealth, power and status. Jewels and artefacts made of gold or decorated with it have brought joy and happiness to many people, but it was often 'only' a sign of prominence, power and – in a way – great possessions. In Slovakia, we find traces of occurrence of gold more or less in each historical period since the earliest times. It culminates mainly in the Middle Bronze Age and the Late Iron Age and the later increase is associated with the expanding exploitation of gold in the Middle Ages (*Kolník 2005*, 87, 102). Processing of gold in the Middle Ages as well as its exploitation in Slovakia are definitely associated with minting of coins in the more stable conditions of the Kingdom of

Hungary. First attempts to obtain gold, however, are associated with panning in water streams (*Ruttkay 1979*, 17, 18). After the fall of Great Moravia, the territory of Slovakia slowly gains its position and with more intense onset of Christianity, fewer grave goods were put in burials. Generally lower numbers of weapons as well as golden or gilded artefacts are recorded from this period (*Kolník 2004*, 102; *Ruttkay 1978*, 16, 62).

The spur from Lipovník was made of iron, but part of it was strongly gilded (Fig. 2). Gilding is present only on the top part which was visible and presented to the public. It is not unusual. A similar method of decoration (although it was plastic decoration) was also common in the 9th c. For instance, we know several spurs from the hillfort of Valy which bore decoration located only on a half of the spur, i.e. probably the part visible to other people (*Jakubčinová 2018*, 67). As it was already mentioned before, spurs were not often ornamented with gold or other type of decoration in described period in our territory or in surrounding countries, so they are rather unique finding. Analogous spurs (to our artefact) were discovered at the hillfort of Berlin-Spandau near the eastern bridge.[3] They are two gilded spurs discovered in situ on leather boots, fastened by buckles, together with a gilded shield boss (see *von Müller 2000*, fig. 201). A similar spur with the spike containing a point in shape of a double pyramid with partly preserved gilding comes from the hillfort of Kalisz-Zawodzie. It is a damaged exemplar missing termination of both arms, similarly to the exemplars from the hillfort of Spandau (*Błoński 2000*, 67, fig. 5: e). A complete artefact was found in Wrocław-Ostrów Tumski,[4] with arms terminated with two round loops, the so-called figure eight shape (*Kaźmierczyk/Kramarek/Lasota 1974*, 265, fig. 10: c). A fragment of a spur was also discovered near the site of Břeclav-Lanžhot. Only the upper part of the heel band with the spike bearing traces of decoration has been preserved (*Dresler/Macháček/Měchura 2015*, 60, fig. 30). They are definitely exceptional finds. Nevertheless, decorated spikes were not found on any of them – unlike the spur from Lipovník. However, not only iron spurs were gilded. Bonze artefacts (rarely also silver ones) were often decorated like this, sometimes in combination with plastic decoration. The group includes exemplars with curved as well as straight arms (*Gossler 1998*, 594, 595; *Koch 1982*, 75, 76, 80; *Schulze-Dörrlamm 1995*, 53–55; *Zschille/Forrer 1891*, 23, pl. V: 2, 9). Richly decorated spurs are also found among grave goods of rulers. They include for instance a pair of beautiful gilded spurs from the grave of (probably) Henrich III (ruling in 1039–1056), which have been, unfortunately, lost (*Schulze-Dörrlamm* 1995, 55, fig. 24), silver gilded spurs from the grave of Béla III (ruled in 1173–1196) found together with other royal insignia (*Kovács 1969*, 7, fig. 4) or bronze gilded and richly plastically decorated spurs from the grave of King Sancho IV of Castile (ruled in 1284–1295; *Oakeshott 1960*, fig. 10: b). Naturally, the number of gilded exemplars increases in later periods and most of the exemplars are spurs made of another metal (*Žákovský/Vích 2019*, more literature there).

Tab. 1. Lipovník. Chemical composition of the spur.

Sample	Fe	Au	Ag
Measuring 1	42.16	27.78	26.09
Measuring 2	90.36	4.52	3.72
Measuring 3	77.61	3.11	16.61
Measuring 4	72.42	11.99	11.39

Such decorated spurs had a high material and symbolic value, therefore presentation of social status was certainly a priority of the spurs' owner. One of other positives (although secondary ones) was that use of another metal (including gold or silver) was also better prevention of corrosion (*Szymczak 1997*, 277). The described spur bears almost identical trace amount of gold and silver. First, the spur was silvered and then gilded. On some spots – on the arms' terminals – the amount of gold is smaller compared to silver (Tab. 1).[5] It is probable that the triangles on the spike were created additionally after gold had been applied (*Filip 1997*, 76). Decoration (Au – 46.64%, Ag – 36.97%) was partly preserved on the spur from the hillfort of Kalisz-Zawodzie. The author assumes that the proportion of silver made the 'coating' brighter (*Hensel 2000*, 96, 97, tab. 3).

In the Early and often also High Middle Ages, a warrior was usually a member of a group gathered around some eminent nobleman accompanying him or protecting his seat (*Cardini 1999*, 71). The basic elements of optimum equipment of

[3] The last reconstruction of the bridges at the hillfort based on dendrochronological dating is set in the period around 1162 (*von Müller 2000*, 281).

[4] The spur was found in the layer dated to the 13th c.

[5] Chemical composition of spur was determined on several places of spur by spectrometer Thermo Scientific at the Archaeological Institute SAS in Nitra. I wish to thank Mgr. V. Mezey for measuring and interpretation of results.

a medieval knight included not only horse-riding gear but mainly a sword, a spear and a shield, metal armour and a helmet. Individual parts of the defensive as well as offensive armament were variously changed in time because of different methods of fighting. This can be observed also on the shapes of spurs which were accustomed to an armoured rider and his new way of riding (*Ruttkay 1978*, 15, 58). Since the equipment of a rider or a knight was expensive and the costs increased in time, not everybody was able to become a warrior or a knight. Because of the expenses, knighthood was maintained mainly in various elite groups, princely or royal company. The initiation ritual became a certain kind of entry of young noblemen in the world of power and politics (*Cardini 1999*, 71, 84, 94).

Spurs, together with a belt, became symbols of warriors (knights) as early as the Early Middle Ages. They represented a certain privilege, favour of the king or prince, they were symbols of vassals (*Szymczak 1997*, 280). Luxurious spurs played an important role in coronation ceremonies as well as various ceremonial rituals, for instance knights' accolade. This ritual consisted of several acts and one of them was girding the knight with a belt with a suspended sword and fastening of spurs (*Slivka 2013*, 160–162). The whole accolade process was a remarkable act indeed, and although the fastening of a belt and spurs was not the most important point in this ceremony, it definitely belonged to the essential and visually attractive moments (*Graus 2010*, 5). Those who wore golden spurs (*eques auratus*, as such knights were called), but mainly knights, gradually became members of various knightly societies or orders (*Slivka 2013*, 162). A knight was declared by the emperor, Pope and even some princes had such privilege. The right to wear golden spurs was probably associated with the accolade as well. Being given such spurs or acceptance is such society was not easy and sometimes it took a very long time (*Szymczak 1997*, 280, 284). Many researches in Slovakia as well as abroad have been dealing with the symbolism of spurs and accolade. Nevertheless, it is obvious that luxurious spurs, mainly gilded exemplars, were used at this ritual (e.g. *Graus 2010*; *Koóšová 2005*; *Slivka 2013*, 154–165; *Szymczak 1997*; *Žákovský/Vích* 2019, 91–95). As we have stated above, gilded spurs are not very numerous at the territory of Slovakia. Preserved exemplars are known rather from the younger periods (*Koóšová 2007*, 273–275), so the finding from Lipovník is an exceptional artefact. Similar situation is in the surrounding countries, where gilded spurs with mildly bent arms also represent rare findings (*Gossler 1998*, 594, 595, tab. 12; 13; *Hilczerówna 1956*, 109).

FINAL REFLECTIONS

After the fall of Great Moravia, the territory of Slovakia was found in a kind of military turmoil. It was gradually incorporated in the newly established Kingdom of Hungary, but the neighbouring powerful states also made claims to it. Western and southwestern Slovakia in particular often turned into a battlefield in the 11th and 12th c. Not only power struggles inside Hungary took place there, it was also attacked by the neighbouring rulers (*Marsina 1993*, 119–121). The nobility being formed in our territory often helped the ruling class in the Kingdom of Hungary and its basic duty was to support the king militarily and show their political loyalty to him. For these services, the kings of Hungary generously rewarded the most active knights – financially, with properties, land or other rights (*Uličný 2013*, 440, 510). Despite the new situation in our territory and in the new Kingdom of Hungary, we can speak of several strong dynasties in Slovakia as early as the 11th c., in Nitra County in particular (*Lukačka 1994*, 102). The Hont-Poznan family was one of the oldest. They owned numerous territories and properties or villages as well as the upper Radošina river basin with the centre in the area around Nitrianska Blatnica. The Brančí-Lipovnícky family also ranks among the oldest ones. They owned today's Lipovník (*Lukačka 1994*, 102, 105). We do not know the exact location of the spur and the current cadastral areas of villages are not necessarily identical with the areas of the then properties. However, it is sure that gilding of the spurs was associated with the social status of their owners and were a symbol of a certain class (*Koch 1980*, 80–82). Who was so exceptional to deserve something like this? Where was he from and how did he deserve the spur? Could he get it (or them, if we assume, he owned a pair) himself or did he get it (them) as a unique gift? To answer these questions, we could create several hypotheses and it is not easy to identify this artefact with a historical event or figure. The sources mention the fact that the noblemen from the Hont-Poznan family helped Stephen I a lot in the beginning of his reign, which earned them his gratitude and favour later shown by his successors (*Lukačka 1994*, 102). Nitrianska Blatnica is known mainly thanks to the Church of St. George situated in the forest, near which a cemetery and two farmsteads were studied. The building of the church itself attracts our attention and points to a certain significance of the sites. The oldest phase of the cemetery is clearly documented (9th c. is assumed), however, burials were carried out there in the 11th c. as well, with overlap in the 13th–14th c. Men were buried in more graves (55%; *Ruttkay 2010*,

15–20). Nobleman Stojslav, son of Čanád, the oldest ancestor of the Poznan family, is associated with this village. When he returned from a military campaing of Béla III in 1185, he bequeathed his property in Blatnica (Sarfew) to his mother and after her death, to the Benedictine monastery of St. Hippolyte on Zobor (*Lukačka 2010*, 29). Spurs from the 12th c. occur mainly in towns, castles or hillforts, less frequently in the village environment, near churches or monasteries, while in the 13th c., the number of spurs increased at castles as well as in villages, but their numbers in towns decreased (*Koóšová 2004*, 530, 533, diagram 3; 6). The spur from Lipovník does not fit clearly in any of the above mentioned categories. It was probably accidentally lost due to torn straps or damaged garniture fastening the spurs. Was it lost by a nobleman or a knight during a hunt or when he was crossing the Považský Inovec mountain range? Hunts were a kind of social entertainment at that time, events attended mainly by higher noble classes. Even entertainment like this might have brought adventure in everyday life, involving hunts for large game or other wild animals living in our forests (*Cardini 1999*, 86; *Uličný 2013*, 162). It is also one of the possible occasions when the spur might have been lost. Despite the numerous questions brought by the above described spur, it certainly belongs to the remarkable artefacts which enriched our collection of artefacts from the period of the High Middle Ages in the territory of Slovakia.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Błoński 2000 – M. Błoński: Średniowieczne ostrogi z grodziska na Zawodziu w Kaliszu. *Archeologia Polski* 45, 2000, 53–91.

Cardini 1999 – F. Cardini: Válečník a rytíř. In: J. le Goff (ed.): *Středověký člověk a jeho svět*. Praha 1999, 69–99.

Dresler/Macháček/Měchura 2015 – P. Dresler/J. Macháček/R.Měchura: Entwicklung der Besiedlung und der Kulturlandschaft im unteren Dyjetal im Frühmittelalter. In: F. Biermann/J. Macháček/F. Schopper (Hrsg.): *An Thaya und Notte im Mittelalter. Vergleichende archäologische Untersuchungen zu Sozial- und Siedlungsstrukturen im westslawischen Raum (6. bis 13. Jahrhundert)*. Studien zur Archäologie Europas 25. Bonn 2015, 41–64.

Filip 1997 – J. Filip: *Umělecké řemeslo v pravěku*. Brno 1997.

Gossler 1998 – N. Gossler: Untersuchungen zur Formenkunde und Chronologie mittelalterlicher Stachelsporen in Deutschland (10.–14. Jahrhundert). *Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission* 79, 1998, 479–664.

Graus 2010 – I. Graus: Rytierske pasovanie ako predpoklad prepožičania insígnií niektorých panovníckych (dynastických) a záslužných rádov. *Vojenská história* 3, 2010, 3–26.

Hensel 2000 – Z. Hensel: Badania materiałoznawcze ostróg średniowiecznych z Kalisza. *Archeologia Polski* 45, 2000, 93–97.

Hilczerówna 1956 – Z. Hilczerówna: *Ostrogi polskie z X–XIII wieku*. Prace Komisji Archeologicznej (Poznańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk. Komisja Archeologiczna) 2. Poznań 1956.

Jakubčinová 2018 – M. Jakubčinová: *Výstroj jazdca a koňa v 9. storočí na území Slovenska s prihliadnutím na nálezy v Bojnej*. Dizertačná práca. Univerzita Komenského v Bratislave. Filozofická fakulta. Archeologický ústav SAV v Nitre. Nitra 2018. Unpublished.

Kaźmierczyk/Kramarek/Lasota 1974 – J. Kaźmierczyk/J. Kramarek/C. Lasota: Badania na Ostrowie Tumskim we Wrocławiu w 1972 roku. *Silesia Antiqua* 16, 1974, 241–277.

Koch 1982 – R. Koch: Stachelsporen des frühen and hohen Mittelalters. *Zeitschrift für Archäologie des Mittelalters* 10, 1982, 63–83.

Kolník 2004 – T. Kolník: Praveké a včasnohistorické zlato v archeologických nálezoch zo Slovenska. *Historický zborník* 14, 2004, 87–135.

Koóšová 2004 – P. Koóšová: Ku klasifikácii vrcholnostredovekých ostrôh z územia Slovenska (12.–15. storočie). *Archaeologia historica* 29, 2004, 523–547.

Koóšová 2005 – P. Koóšová: Ceremoniál pasovania na rytiera. In: J. Meliš (zost.): *Rytierstvo, element v živote stredovekého človeka. Zborník príspevkov z rovnomenného sympózia. Trnava, 5.–7. novembra 2004*. Trnava 2005, 23–41.

Koóšová 2007 – P. Koóšová: Ku klasifikácii neskorostredovekých a včasnonovovekých ostrôh z územia Slovenska. *Musaica* 25, 2007, 257–276.

Kovács 1969 – É. Kovács: Die Grabinsignien König Bélas III. und Annas von Antiochien. *Acta Historiae Artium Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 15, 1969, 3–24.

Lukačka 1994 – J. Lukačka: Najstaršie nitrianske šľachtické rody. In: K. Štulrajterová (zost.): *Najstaršie rody na Slovensku*. Martin 1994, 102–110.

Lukačka 2010 – J. Lukačka: Nitrianska Blatnica v stredoveku. In: D. Trsťan (ed.): *Nitrianska Blatnica 1185–2010*. Nitrianska Blatnica 2010, 28–35.

Lukačka 2015 – J. Lukačka: Bojná vo vrcholnom a neskorom stredoveku. In: K. Pieta/Z. Robak (eds.): *Bojná 2. Nové výsledky výskumov včasnostredovekých hradísk*. Archaeologica Slovaca Monographiae. Fontes 20. Nitra 2015, 139–144.

Marsina 1993 – R. Marsina: Vojenstvo na Slovensku v rokoch 1200–1400. In: B. Klein/A. Ruttkay/R. Marsina: *Vojenské dejiny Slovenska I. diel. Stručný náčrt do roku 1526*. Bratislava 1993, 122–150.

von Müller 2000 – A. von Müller: Der Burgwall von Berlin Spandau. In: A. Wieczorek/H.-M. Hinz (Hrsg.): *Europas Mitte um 1000. Beiträge zur Geschichte, Kunst und Archäologie. Band 1*. Stuttgart 2000, 278–281.

Novotný 1979 – B. Novotný: Význam podkov, ostruh a udidel z hradiska Vysoká Zahrada – castrum Strachotín u Dolních Věstonic na Moravě. *Archaeologia historica* 4, 1979, 287–294.

Oakeshott 1960 – R. E. Oakeshott: *The archaeology of weapons. Arms and Armour from Prehistory to the Age of Chivalry*. London 1960.

Pieta 1982 – K. Pieta: *Lipovník*. Nitra 1982. Výskumná správa 10109/82. Dokumentácia AÚ SAV Nitra. Unpublished.

Ruttkay 1976 – A. Ruttkay: Waffen und Reiterausrüstung des 9. bis zur ersten des 14. Jahrhunderts in der Slowakei (II). *Slovenská archeológia* 24, 1976, 245–396.

Ruttkay 1978 – A. Ruttkay: *Umenie kované v zbraniach*. Dávnoveké umenie Slovenska 3. Bratislava 1978.

Ruttkay 1979 – A. Ruttkay: *Stredoveké umelecké remeslo*. Dávnoveké umenie Slovenska 7. Bratislava 1979.

Ruttkay 2010 – A. Ruttkay: Najstaršie dejiny Nitrianskej Blatnice a blízkeho okolia podľa svedectva hmotných prameňov. In: D. Trsťan (ed.): *Nitrianska Blatnica 1185–2010*. Nitrianska Blatnica 2010, 12–27.

Schulze-Dörrlamm 1995 – M. Schulze-Dörrlamm: *Das Reichsschwert. Ein Herrschaftszeichen des Saliers Hainrich IV. und des Welfen Otto IV. mit dem Exkurs Der verschollene Gürtel Kaiser Ottos IV*. Sigmaringen 1995.

Slivka 2013 – M. Slivka: *Pohľady do stredovekých dejín Slovenska*. Martin 2013.

Szymczak 1997 – J. Szymczak: Ostrogi żelazne i pozłociste. In: M. Głosek (red.): *Archeologia i starożytnicy. Studia dedykowane Profesorowi Andrzejowi Abramowiczowi w 70 rocznicę urodzin*. Łódź 1997, 275–284.

Uličný 2013 – F. Uličný: *Dejiny Slovenska v 11. až 13. storočí*. Bratislava 2013.

VSOS 1977 – *Vlastivedný slovník obcí na Slovensku II*. Bratislava 1977.

Wachowski 1984 – K. Wachowski: Militaria z grodu na Ostrówku w Opolu. In: B. Gediga (red.): *Studia nad kulturą wczesnopolskiego Opola. Militaria – wyroby bursztynowe*. Prace Komisji Archeologicznej PAN. Oddział we Wrocławiu 2. Wrocław – Warszawa – Kraków – Gdańsk – Łodź 1984, 11–112.

Zápotocký 2018 – M. Zápotocký: Materiály k ranému středověku severočeského Polabí. *Archeologie ve středních Čechách* 22, 2018, 275–439.

Zschille/Forrer 1891 – R. Zschille/R. Forrer: *Der Sporn in seiner Formen-Entwicklung. Ein Versuch zur Charakterisierung und Datierung der Sporen unserer Kulturvölker*. Berlin 1891.

Žákovský/Vích 2019 – P. Žákovský/D. Vích: Pár zlacených ostruh od hradu Zítkova u Chocně ve východních Čechách. *Archeologické rozhledy* 71, 2019, 82–104.

Manuscript accepted 11. 6. 2021

Translated by Viera Tejbusová

Mgr. Miriam Jakubčinová, PhD.
Archeologický ústav SAV Nitra
Akademická 2
SK – 949 21 Nitra
miriam.jakubcinova@savba.sk

SLOVENSKÁ ARCHEOLÓGIA – SUPPLEMENTUM 2
Z. Robak/M. Ruttkay (eds.): Celts – Germans – Slavs.
A Tribute Anthology to Karol Pieta. Nitra 2021, 479–485.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.31577/slovarch.2021.suppl.2.47

THE CELTS – THE GERMANS – THE SLAVS

On the Topic of Ethnicity of Archaeological Sources of Protohistorical Tribes[1]

PETER ŠALKOVSKÝ

The article deals with the capabilities of archaeology and its cooperative scientific disciplines in the study of expressions of protohistorical collective identities' ethnicity which are rather limited.
The Celts. Nowadays, we have considerable problems with ethnicity of a large group of tribes, the main bearers of the LaTène culture, although considerably numerous historical, linguistic, epigraphic, palaeographic, iconographic and other sources are also available here. Despite this fact, we know that the Celtic tribes were aware of their related identity. Historical linguistics – absolutely independently from archaeological testimonies – proved close relatedness of languages of ancient continental as well as medieval insular Celts. Although not all LaTène culture bearers were necessarily Celts, most of them were; at the same time, not all Celtic tribes maintained this culture after being included into the Antique world.
The Germans. We know that also tribes called Germanic were aware of their related identity. It is documented by the facts that they all spoke mutually understandable languages originating from Proto-German and shared very close mythology. Material culture of individual Germanic tribes is rather significant and, in many cases, typical of a tribe; however, in contact with the Roman Empire and the Huns, mainly their elites gave up their tribal and ethnic identity.
The tribes with stable and flexible organizational forms able to adopt progressive innovations succeeded in complex ethnogenetic processes. Besides the Franks, the Anglosaxons, Germans (Deutche), Danes and Swedes were able to develop into independent medieval nations. The Goths, Vandals, Gepids, Suebi, Heruli and other Germanic tribes, however, did not manage to adapt to more developed environments and survive as original cultural-ethnical entities. They disintegrated and gave up to external military attacks when they became organizationally, militarily, economically and ideologically weakened in attempts to create their own 'states'.
The Slavs. A large group of tribes was called Sclavini, Anti, Veneti by antique authors of the 6th c. and documented under their own names – *Slovene, slovenski narod, slovensko plemja* since the 9th c., although they simultaneously used numerous tribal or regional names. Archaeologically, these oldest Slavs are represented by three related cultures – Prague, Penkovka and Koločin, which are interpreted as historically known Sclaveni, Antes and Veneti, from which individual branches of the Slavs developed.
The common Slavic linguistic and cultural identity gradually developed through tribal identities into identities of individual Slavic nations after extensive migrations mainly to the territories of Byzantium, former Roman provinces and their northern peripheries. As for this process among the western Slavs, the tribes which were able to found their own early 'states' – the Bohemian and Polish kingdoms – were first to achieve their own ethnic identity. Some of the tribes, like most of the north-western – Polabian and Pomeranian – tribes were assimilated by the East Frank Empire or later by the Kingdom of Germany and became extinct.

Keywords: protohistorical tribes, ethnicity, etatization, archaeology.

As far as studying of ethnogeneses of nations in general or identification of ethnic expressions of various collective identities (tribes, early states and empires) is concerned, the capabilities of archaeology were considered very limited in the past, since archaeology works with fragments of preserved material culture; non-material components of culture are usually totally absent. Undoubtedly, material culture is able to reflect ethnicity to some extent, however, its origin and changes are mostly associated with changes in economy, social and political sphere, or they can be interpreted as reactions to altered natural and living conditions. Even those elements of material culture which can be basically the bearers of information on ethnicity can be – and often are – interpreted differently, e.g. as war spoils, goods for trade or exchange or a gift, or they suggest possible interactions and mutual contacts of various kinds between individual tribes, cultures, or changes in the economy and social sphere initiated by these interactions or imported ideas and technologies (*Brather 2004*; *Müller 2009*; *Pohl 2010*).

Despite the above mentioned and currently prevailing sceptical opinion on possible contribution of material culture to the study of ethnicity,

[1] The article is supported by grant project 2/0088/20 VEGA SAV Ethnic and Cultural Changes of Medieval Society (6th–13th centuries) in Archaeological Sources.

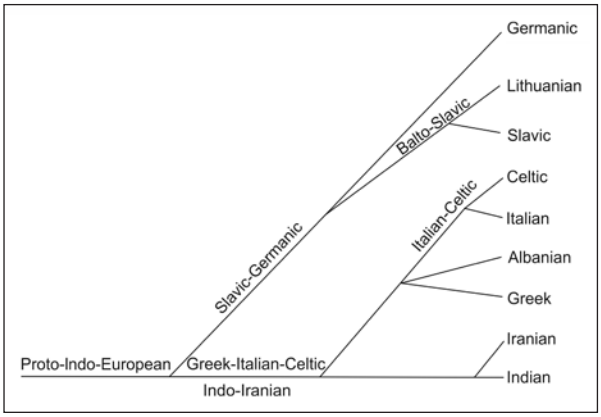


Fig. 1. Celtic, Germanic and Slavic languages within the genealogy of Indo-European languages (after *Blažek 2005*, fig. 0.1; 0.2; adapted).

experiments dealing with this topic cannot be definitely and explicitly excluded. Nevertheless, cooperation with mainly linguistics is essential for archaeology. Language certificates in particular and qualified linguistic studies can be extremely important for formulation of statements on historical ethnic communities (*Sims-Williams 2006*).

It can be reasonably expected that in prehistory nor protohistory no original or evolved large and uniform ethic groups, nations or pre-nations existed. Thus, no Illyrian, Celtic, Germanic, Baltic or Slavic ethnicity existed in Europe, although all these large ethnic and language groups in general had related origin and protolanguage. They were basal lingual-cultural branches of a large language family – Proto-Indo-European in this case – and they could be called proto-ethnicities (Fig. 1; *Blažek 2005*; *Strzelczyk 1978*).

Briefly and within objectively limited space, we will attempt to outline the current state of research in this area in three large groups of tribes included under the names of the Celts, Germans and Slavs.

THE CELTS

The name Celts (*Keltoi, Celtae, Galoi*) was used by antique Greek and Roman authors to name the large group of tribes originally occupying Central and Western Europe north of the Alps, when they expanded to the south and southeast of Europe and interacted with the Greeks and Romans. In the course of a few centuries, however, these communities merged with the Hellenistic and provincial Roman cultures. The Celtic culture and language only survived at the edge of the empire in Bretagne, Britain and beyond its borders in Ireland. The situation is – although too much smaller extent – the same today (*Kokaisl et al. 2016*).

Awareness of the Celtic past ceased to exist in the Middle Ages. This was changed as late as the period of Humanism with return to the antique literature. Later, in the 18th c., what is still known as the modern concept of the Celts was born and intense archaeological, historical and linguistic research of the Celts started, producing numerous Celtology literature (see e.g. *Drda/Rybová 1998*; *Filip 1995*; *Waldhauser 2012*). Based on this literature, the classical paradigm of the Celts, their society and culture were completed in the previous century and its popularization led to the co-called Celtomania.

A transfer from Celtomania to Celtoskepticism has been taking place in the last decades (*Sims-Williams 1998*; *2012*). We even have serious problems today with the Celts' ethnicity, resp. ethnicity of a large group of tribes, main bearers of the La Tène culture, although we can work with rather numerous historical, linguistic, epigraphic, palaeographic, iconographic and other sources.

According to the new paradigm, the Celts as an ethnic group did not actually exist, since only individual tribes have been documented under their own names and they did not have common ethnic identity (i.e. they did not call themselves Celts). Only external observers called them – due to certain similar features and primary core occurrence in 'one' macroregion – with the common name.

The La Tène culture, which meant considerable cultural unification of a large part of Europe north of the Alps and was considered a typical archaeological expression of the Celts, has been recently interpreted as a polycultural civilization expression. Individual 'Celtic' tribes participated in the culture's formation only partially, although their share was probably principal and profiling. Undoubtedly, not each artefact of the La Tène culture – especially at the edges, outside its main expansion area – can be automatically considered a trace of Celts. Settlement and colonization of new territories did not mean complete substitution of the local population by the Celts either. In the relatively uniform habit of the La Tène culture, we definitely come across production of the local population; however, we often cannot recognize it. On the other hand, we have archaeologically and historically documented cases when Celtic tribes in foreign environment (such as the Galatians in Asia Minor) – with some exceptions (fibulae, bracelets and rings) – gave up La Tène artefacts and adopted the culture of the surrounding antique base.

We know that Celtic tribes were aware of the related identity. It is documented by the fact that they all spoke mutually understandable dialects, resp. languages, following from the common protolanguage and shared identical or very similar mythology. Ancient Celtic literary monuments followed from it (*Vlčková 2002*).

The oldest documents of the Celtic language dated to the 6th c. are known from the territory of the Golasecca culture. Other larger concentrations of early inscriptions in some of the Celtic languages have been recorded at the Gallo-Hellenic territory near Marseille, with the Celtiberians from the Iberian Peninsula, in Dacia and Lesser Scythia, later on the British Isles and mainly younger inscriptions were found on lithic stellas and coins in various parts of the Celtic world including the territory of Slovakia (*Maier 2015*; *Stifter 2008; 2019*).

Historical linguistics proved close relation of prehistoric continental as well as medieval insular Celts' languages independently from archaeological testimonies by purely formal means. Thus, denying the above-mentioned people and languages the right to belong to the Celtic ones is nonsense.

Mutual relatedness of the Celts is clearly documented also by the fact that large territories settled by several Celtic tribes gradually included in the Roman Empire were given ethnic names – the large Roman province of Gallia, Galia Narbonensis, Galia Lugdunensis, Galia Transalpina or Cisalpina and – in Asia Minor – the 'state' of Galatians, Galatia (consisting of three tribes) and existing for approx. two and a half centuries (278 BC–24 AC).

As far as e.g. Galatia in Central Asia Minor is concerned, historical identity and ethnic tradition of the Galatian/Celtic tribes/nations were defined not only by the Galatians; they were attributed to them also by other ethnic groups and remained alive and stable after their autonomous political organization had terminated. In the territorial-organizational structure of Galatia, the tradition of three independent Galatian tribes of Trocmii, Tectosages and Tolistobogii was preserved and identity of the Galatians' ethnic-historical group survived in the Roman times as well. The Galatian aristocracy was integrated in the new political and social structures after Galatia had been included in the Roman Empire and became a representative of loyalty to Roman emperors, which was not difficult for them. Members of Galatian aristocratic families were even given Roman citizenship; however, despite their formal affiliation to the Roman Empire and Hellenistic world, they preserved certain awareness and pride in relation to their Galatian origin. Nevertheless, it is interesting that the La Tène culture was not created in Asia Minor in association with the presence of Celtic tribes and a local branch of the culture with signs of any process was not formed either. Presence and activities of the Celtic tribes can be partly observed e.g. on finds of Middle La Tène brooches, bracelets and rings; other kinds of finds, e.g. coins, do not represent relics of the European La Tène material culture in the Hellenistic environment of Asia Minor. On the contrary, they are documents of advanced Hellenization of the Celts in Asia Minor (*Strobel 2006*, 90; *Trefný 2007*, 75–105).

Finally, the Galatians surrounded by much more numerous non-Celtic ethnic groups of Asia Minor and under pressure of the antique Roman civilization succumbed to assimilation. And that was the fate of most other tribes which – surrounded by much more numerous non-Celtic Roman, Hispanic or Asia Minor's ethnics – succumbed to assimilation under pressure from the antique Roman civilization and later Germanic tribes.

As far as the Celtic ethnicity is concerned, we can agree with prominent researchers in Celtic studies, such as *P. Sims-Williams* (*1998*; *2006*; *2012*) or *A. Falileyev* (*2013*; *2014*), J. T. Koch, A. Minard or M. Raybould (*Koch/Minard 2012*; *Raybould/Sims-Williams 2007*), that occurrence of Celtic linguistic relics from the central Celtic territory as far as the peripheral areas is authoritative. Presence of the La Tène culture's relics is undoubtedly accumulated in the areas with relatively dense occurrence of Celtic names of people and places, which increases the cumulative value of evidence in favour of Celtic presence. However, we definitely cannot make similar conclusions in the opposite sense, on the basis of absence of such evidence. The correlation between the linguistic residues of a Celtic idiom and the physical imprint of its users (on the periphery of the Celtic world in particular) remains the subject of further studies. Use of the term of 'Celtic' in linguistic studies is exactly and clearly defined and it can probably be the same in archaeology, although these two definitions are not necessarily identical.

In combination with the above stated, importance of research of mitochondrial DNA, Y chromosome, studies of expansion of individual mutations of specific genes and molecular biological data of potential Celtic populations from La Tène cemeteries in sufficiently representative amount, with support of accompanying interdisciplinary researches of biochemistry, geochemistry and molecular medicine will rise on the expense of classical anthropological investigations of genetic populations.

THE GERMANS

The populations which were given the name German did not use this name to call themselves and the Romans used it also only occasionally. It denoted several related groups with their own 'tribal' names which originally occupied the territories of southern Norway and Sweden, the Jutland Peninsula and north-western Germany. From there, they expanded further and in the centuries around the turn of eras, they lived in the large territory of so-called Magna Germania bounded by the Danube in the south, the Rhine in the west, the Vistula in the east and the North and Baltic seas in the north, including the southern part of the Scandinavian Peninsula. In that period, the Germanic tribes were divided into three large groups according to Tacitus – western, northern and eastern tribes (*Bierbrauer 1994*; *Heather 2002*; *Wolfram 2002* etc.).

We know that these tribes were aware of their common or related identity. This is documented by the facts that they all spoke mutually understandable dialects following from Proto-Germanic language and shared the same or very similar mythology from which the ancient Germanic literary monuments follow (*Vlčková 1999*).

Although culture of the Germanic tribes was very typical and sometimes with elements specific for individual tribes (e.g. some types of brooches or fittings, examples of several graves with typical Ostrogoths and Longobards fashion in Italy etc.). Germanic elites in particular adopted many artefacts (weapons, fashionable jewels and other luxurious goods, especially in Untersiebenbrunn horizon) from other environments, mainly Roman and Hunnic. Adoptions of powerful foreign collective identities was also common if it was beneficial for individuals, as documented by contemporary written sources.

Despite frequent migrations, changes in settlement, organization, language, religion (Pagan-Arian-Catholic) and material culture, all Germanic tribes were aware of their collective identities (certainly considerably metamorphic due to internal as well as external factors). The kingdoms of the Ostrogoths, Visigoths, Gepids, Vandals belonged to approx. twenty European late antique – early medieval 'states' with various levels of organization and length of existence. Only the empires of Visigoths, Langobards and Franks survived for more than two centuries. These barbaric kingdoms in the 4th–8th c. preserved several elements originating in their tribal organization for a long time (*Bednaříková 2016*; *Collins 2004*). Only the Franks managed to build a permanent kingdom and state, although they lost their Germanic language in the process. That language was substituted – thanks to the demographically strong Romanized foundations – for French, a Romance language.

Three early ethnics with stable but flexible organization adaptable to the environment, able to adopt progressive innovations and make these changes and adaptations trustworthy with support of traditions and rituals succeeded. Besides the Franks, the Anglo-Saxons, Germans (Deutche), Danes and Swedes achieved the same. Later, independent medieval and modern nations evolved from them. The Ostrogoths, Visigoths, Vandals, Gepids, Heruli and other Germans did not manage to effectively adopt and survive as cultural-ethnic entities in mainly civilizationaly, economically and organizationally more developed environments. In attempts to establish their own 'states', they became disintegrated organizationally, militarily, economically and ideologically weakened by internal conflicts and were defeated by external military attacks.

The late medieval nations and their cultural characteristics were final products of this complicated ethnogenetic process, moving, mixing, assimilation and sometimes also genocide of ethnics and, thus, they cannot be simply and directly identified with 'gens-ethnics' of the Antiquity and Early Middle Ages. Modern investigation comes to a conclusion that ethnicity of the early historic Germanic tribes and ethnicity in general cannot be characterized as a permanent quality obtained at birth in a certain linguistically, culturally and territorially related environment but as an 'ethnic practice' reproducing the bonds which keep the group in question together in the whole complex of areas (*Pohl 1991*, 42). The area of political acts and life strategies can be partly reconstructed from written historical sources. The cultural area, i.e. the rich variety of customs, traditions, fashion used to express ethnical identity, can be partly and under certain conditions traced by means of a combination of historical and archaeological research.

THE SLAVS

As we know from domestic and foreign written medieval sources, the feeling of a certain unity between groups of Slavic nations, the feeling of their difference from the group of Mediterranean, Roman and Germanic nations existed long ago and was not limited only on the people who could read and write. This belonging was based on today easily understandable (and originally common) language, resp. there were only tiny differences

between individual Slavic languages in the course of the Middle Ages and, actually, until now. And although the projection of the 'Slavic idea' as understood in the 19th c. is an anachronism; it has been clearly documented that the concept of relatedness of Slavic regions was present as early as medieval written sources (*Leśniwska 2012*). If the Germanic tribes of the Great Migration Period were considered nationes – nations by their contemporaries and they were aware of their affiliation to their whole, there is no reason why we should not use this name for the historic Slavs and their main tribes or tribal groups. The origin and genesis of the cultural-ethnical identity of the Slavs remains a subject of discussion for a wide range of researchers – archaeologists, historians, linguists, historical demographers, anthropologists and recently also geneticists.

The large group of tribes was called Sclavini, Anti, Veneti by antique authors of the 6th c. and since the 9th c., they have been documented under their own names – *Slovene, slovenski narod, slovensko plemja,* although they simultaneously used a number of tribal or regional names. There were around 50 names in the 9th c. in the territory of the Western Slavs alone, as stated in the source known as the Bavarian Geographer (e.g. Obotrites, Veleti, Ukrani, Linonen, Havolans, Serbs, Silesians, Lusatians, Opolans, Czechs, Moravians, Vistulans etc.). Etymology of these tribal names has been subject of frequent linguistic and historical debates for more than a century. We have numerous data on the history of the Slavic tribes also from the 10th–12th c., especially on the north-western (Polabian – Pomeranian) and east Slavic tribes (*Nalepa 2003*; *Sedov 1982*).

From several concepts of the Slavs' origin which have been created in the last few centuries, most European researchers consider the model of eastern (allochthonous) concept of the Slavs' origin and their further migrations to central, western, southern and eastern Europe most probable. According to this model, crystallization of the Slavs took place in the territory delimited approx. by the Upper Vistula and the Carpathians in the west and the middle Dneper stream in the east. The latest investigations increase the number of archaeological complexes including the oldest well datable Slavic components from the 5th c. sometimes together with elements of previous cultures, mainly the Kyiv and Chernyakhov cultures. Archaeologically, these oldest Slavs are represented by three related cultures – Prague, Penkovka and Kolochin, which are interpreted as the historically known Sclaveni, Antes and Veneti; after migrations, individual Slavic branches evolved from them (*Kaczanowski/ Parczewski 2005*).

The above described concept is supported also by linguistic analyses of the oldest Slavic local names in the Greek, Latin, Baltic and Finnish language environment which prove that the beginnings of division of dialects, i.e. disintegration of the Pra-Slavic language, can be searched for between the 2nd and the 6th c., in the migration period of Germanic tribes from the north to the south. Then, first division of the Slavic tribes occurred and it continued in the migration periods in the 6th–7th c. (*Rusek/Boryś 2004*). According to the preserved written sources, the Slavs did not have great differences in their dialects in the time of their first contacts with the non-Slavic European nations (*Stieber 1969–1973*). The fact that the process of disintegration of the Pra-Slavic language into the main dialects was slow is documented by recent historical sources which mention only one Slavic language in the Early Middle Ages – *sclavina lingua, sclavorum lingua, slověnskij jazyk*. Adam of Bremen, a chronicler and geographer of the second half of the 11th c., says that '*the inhabitants of Bohemia and Polans have identical clothes as well as language…*' (*Brémský 2009*).

Thus, the latest linguistic research tends to agree with the opinion that genesis and crystallization of the Slavic language were such late phenomena – still uncompleted as late as the 6th c. – that it makes it irrelevant to search for an older localization of the primary homeland (*Popowska-Taborska 1990*).

The Slavic migrations from the end of the 5th c. to the territories of Byzantium, former Roman provinces and their northern peripheries are historically undisputable. Processes of fragmentation of the original tribes and their new formation in new territories by joining various tribal groups were diversiform. In the processes, remains of the original population in old Germanic territories must have participated as well as the Avar communities in the Middle and Lower Danube, Bulgarians and Romanised – originally partly Dacian, Thracian – populations of extinct Roman provinces. Only some of them can be traced by the linguistic research of toponyms and hydronyms and other remains of the old Slavic language fund – such as personal names, ethnic tribal names in individual regions or large settlement areas. The situation is complicated by the difficult Avar-Slavic as well as Bulgarian-Slavic relations in the 7th –8th c., when acculturation, assimilation and adoption of ethnical or 'state' identity of victorious communities superior socially and in power took place.

In combination with the above stated, importance of correlation of mitochondrial DNA and Y chromosome of DNA (interpretation, explanation of controversial conclusions) will increase – on

the expense of classical anthropological research of genetic populations. The study of expansion of individual mutations of specific genes and molecular biological data of potential Slavic populations from the early medieval burial grounds in sufficiently representative numbers with support of accompanying interdisciplinary researches in biochemistry, geochemistry and molecular medicine are also important.

After the tribal communities in individual regions had been consolidated in vast territories of central-eastern Europe, the 'common' Slavic linguistic and cultural identity gradually started to develop through old and newly established tribal identities into identities of individual Slavic nations. As for the western Slavs, the tribes which managed to create their own 'states' – the kingdoms of Bohemia and Poland – were the first to arrive to their own ethnic identity in this process. For south and eastern Slavs, this is true of the Bulgarian Empire and Kievan Rus. Others were created in the Middle Ages and the last ones completed the processes of their ethnogenesis and statehood and took their shapes as late as the previous century. Some of them, such as most north-western – Polabian and Pomeranian tribes, i.e. in the territories west of the Oder and Nisa rivers (the Serbs, Veleti-Lutici, Obotrites, Hevelli-Stodorane tribes, partly also Lusatians, etc.) on the other hand, were assimilated by the East Frank Empire or later by the Kingdom of Germany and became extinct.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bednaříková 2016 – J. Bednaříková: Charakteristika „barbarských" států. Příspěvek k metodologii dějin. *Studia Historica Nitriensia* 20, 2016, 3–16. DOI: https://doi.org/10.17846/SHN.2016.20.1.3-16

Bierbrauer 1994 – V. Bierbrauer: Archäologie und Geschichte der Goten vom 1.–7. Jahrhundert. Versuch einer Bilanz. *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 28, 1994, 51–171.

Blažek 2005 – V. Blažek: *On the internal classification of Indo-European languages: survey*. Online available at: https://www.phil.muni.cz/linguistica/art/blazek/bla-003.pdf

Brather 2004 – S. Brather: *Ethnische Interpretationen in der frühgeschichtlichen Archäologie. Geschichte, Grundlagen und Alternativen*. Ergänzugsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde 42. Berlin – New York 2004.

Brémsky 2009 – A. Brémský: *Činy biskupů hamburského kostela. Velká kronika evropského severu*. Memoria medii aevi. Praha 2009.

Collins 2004 – R. Collins: *Visigothic Spain. 409–711*. History of Spain. Oxford 2004.

Drda/Rybová 1998 – P. Drda/A. Rybová: *Keltové a Čechy*. Praha 1998.

Falileyev 2013 – A. I. Falileyev: *The Celtic Balkans*. Aberystwyth 2013.

Falileyev 2014 – A. I. Falileyev: *In search of the Eastern Celts. Studies in geographical names, their distribution and morphology*. Archaeolingua Series Minor. Budapest 2014.

Filip 1995 – J. Filip: *Keltská civilizace a její dědictví*. Praha 1995.

Heather 2002 – P. Heather: *Gótové*. Praha 2002.

Kaczanowski/Parczewski 2005 – P. Kaczanowski/M. Parczewski (red.): *Archeologia o początkach Słowian. Materiały z konferencji, Kraków, 19–21 listopada 2001*. Kraków 2005.

Koch/Minard 2012 – J. T. Koch/A. Minard: *The Celts. History, Life, and Culture*. Santa Barbara 2012.

Kokaisl et al. 2016 – P. Kokaisl/A. Štolfová/P. Fajfrlíková/I. Cejpová/J. Zychová/J. Benátska/J. Brejchová/J. Čimera/I. Dillinger/M. Ekl/M. Elicarová/K. Hassmanová/F. Ivanov/E. Jirešová/L. Javůrková/L. Kanciánová/L. Kolářová/J. Kratochvíl/A. Macalová/L. Rybka/V. Václavík/H. Vávrová/V. Volfová: *Po stopách keltojazyčných obyvatel Evropy: Irsko, Skotsko, Wales, Cornwall, ostrov Man a Bretaň*. Praha 2016.

Leśniwska 2012 – D. Leśniwska: Kým byli Slované pro naše předky? Kořeny „slovanské myšlenky" v české a polské historiografii před polovinou 18. století. *Studia mediaevalia Pragensia* 11, 2012, 178–226.

Maier 2015 – B. Maier: *Die Kelten. Geschichte, Kultur und Sprache*. Ein Studienbuch. Tübingen 2015.

Müller 2009 – J. Müller: Materielle Kultur, Territorialität und Bedeutungsinhalte von Identitäten: die Wirkung verdichteter Kommunikationsräume. In: D. Krauße/O.Nakoinz (Hrsg.): *Kulturraum und Territorialität. Archäologische Theorien, Methoden und Fallbeispiele. Kolloquium des DFG–Schwerpunktprogramms 1171, Esslingen 17.–18. Januar 2007*. Internationale Archäologie – Arbeitsgemeinschaft, Symposium, Tagung, Kongress 13. Rahden/Westf. 2009, 95–106.

Nalepa 2003 – J. Nalepa: O nowszym ujęciu problematyki plemion słowiańskich u „Geografa Bawarskiego". Uwagi krytyczne. *Slavia Occidentalis* 60, 2003, 9–63.

Pohl 1991 – W. Pohl: Conceptions of ethnicity in Early Medieval studies. *Archaeologia Polona* 29, 1991, 39–49.

Pohl 2010 – W. Pohl (Hrsg.): *Ethnische Identitäten im Europa des Frühmittelalters. Wittgenstein-Projekt 2005–2010*. Wien 2010.

Popowska-Taborska 1990 –H. Popowska-Taborska: Khronologiia obshchesloviankikh foneticheskikh izmenenii v kontekste rannei istorii slavian. *Sovetskoe slavianovedenie* 1, 1990, 70–73.

Raybould/Sims-Williams 2007 – M. Raybould/P. Sims-Williams: *A Corpus of Latin Inscriptions of the Roman Empire containing Celtic personal names*. Aberystwyth 2007.

Rusek/Boryś 1998 – J. Rusek/W. Boryś (red): *Prasłowiańszczyzna i jej rozpad*. Warszawa 1998.

Sedov 1982 – V. V. Sedov: *Vostochnye slaviane v VI– XIII vv.* Arkheologiia SSSR. Moskva 1982.

Sims-Williams 1998 – P. Sims-Williams: Celtomania and Celtoscepticism. *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* 36, 1998, 1–36.

Sims-Williams 2006 – P. Sims-Williams: *Ancient Celtic Place – Names in Europe and Asia Minor*. Publications of the Philological Society 39. Oxford 2006.
Sims-Williams 2012 – P. Sims-Williams: Celtic Civilization: Continuity or Coincidence? *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* 64, 2012, 1–45.
Stieber 1969–1973 – Z. Stieber: *Zarys gramatyki porównawczej języków słowiańskich*. Warsawa 1969–1973.
Stifter 2008 – D. Stifter: *Old Celtic Languages. IV. Gaulish*. Online available at: http://eprints.maynoothuniversity.ie/3740/1/DS_Gaulish.pdf
Stifter 2019 – D. Stifter: Ancient Celtic Epigraphy and its Interface with Classical Epigraphy. In: P. Amann/T. Corsten/F. Mitthof /H, Taeuber (Hrsg.): *Sprachen – Schriftkulturen – Identitäten der Antike. Beiträge des XV. Internationalen Kongresses für Griechische und Lateinische Epigraphik. Fest- und Plenarvorträge*. Wien 2019.
Strelczyk 2005 – J. Strzelczyk: Etnogeneza Słowian w świetle źródeł pisanych. In: *Kaczanowski/Parczewski 2005*, 19– 30.
Strobel 2006 – K. Strobel: Galatien, die Galater und Poleis der Galater. Historische Identität und ethnische Tradition. *Eirene. Studia Graeca et Latina* 42, 2006, 89–123.
Trefný 2007 – M. Trefný: *Keltské kmeny v Malé Asii*. Disertační práce. Univerzita Karlova v Praze. Filozofická fakulta. Ústav pro klasickou archeologii. Praha 2007. Online available at: https://dspace.cuni.cz/bitstream/handle/20.500.11956/12114/140007337.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y
Vlčková 1999 – J. Vlčková: *Encyklopedie mytologie germánských a severských národů*. Praha 1999.
Vlčková 2002 – J. Vlčková: *Encyklopedie keltské mytologie*. Praha 2002.
Waldhauser 2012 – J. Waldhauser: *Keltské Čechy*. Praha 2012.
Wolfram 2002 – H. Wolfram: *Die Germanen*. München 2002.

Manuscript accepted 12. 9. 2021

Translated by Viera Tejbusová

PhDr. Peter Šalkovský, DrSc.
Archeologický ústav SAV
Akademická 2
SK – 949 21 Nitra
peter.salkovsky@savba.sk