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STUDIE A KRÁTKÉ ČLÁNKY
CASE STUDIES AND SHORT ARTICLES
STUDIEN UND KURZE ARTIKEL

Recenzovaná část

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SOME REMARKS ON THE TRANSITIONAL PHASE BETWEEN EARLY ROMAN AND LATE ROMAN PERIODS IN THE REGION NORTH OF THE MIDDLE DANUBE

POZNÁMKY K PŘECHODNÉ FÁZI MEZI STARŠÍ A MLADŠÍ DOBOU ŘÍMSKOU V OBLASTI SEVERNĚ OD STŘEDNÍHO DUNAJE

JAROSLAV TEJRAL

Abstract

This paper deals with the so-called transitional phase B2/C1, the nature of which is still being debated in the archaeological literature. The heart of the discussion is in its archaeological relevance, the dating, and its cultural, ethnic and social background. The general consensus is that it dates to the time of Marcomannic wars. On the basis of new archaeological evidence and an analysis of some diagnostic forms found on the datable sites north of the Danube, it is suggested that the Late Roman phase C1a overlaps to a large extent with the so-called transitional B2/C1 phase, which began shortly before AD 180. A question arises of how to define the subsequent phase C1a and whether both phases in question can be seen as separate stages with separate chronological sequences. Controversy surrounds the proposed detailed division of the transitional phase between Early and Late Roman Periods into two phases and therewith also a sharp chronological differentiation of the archaeological material from the late 2nd century and approximately the first third of the 3rd century. The emergence of a specific archaeological milieu relating to the transitional phase probably has an ethnic and socio-cultural background. It shows strong influences from the Roman provinces. Its characteristic features may be considered as a reflection of wars and their aftermath.

Keywords

Early and Late Roman Period – transitional phase – Marcomannic Wars and their aftermath – ethnical and social background of the B2/C1 phase

Between the Early and the Late Roman Period subsequently the transitional phase B2/C1 as a starting point of the Late Roman Period was introduced, which in many regions is still characterised by mixture of artifacts stylistically related to both periods. According to majority of present literature it covers the time-span from the Marcomannic Wars (160 – 180 AD) to the beginning of the 3rd century (Bursche 1992, 144; Godłowski 1994b, 115sq., 118; Olędzki 2008, 11sq., 14 etc.). In addition to this, the term “Middle Roman Period” is still discussed (Kolník 1994, 235sq.; Schuster 2004, 10; Kokowski 1999, 41; Olędzki 2008, 11sq., 13sq. etc.).

The archaeological picture of the B2/C1 transitional phase shows more common features, which owing to noticeable affinities enable a wide synchronisation in vast areas. Within the territory of the Wielbark Culture it is characterised by the emergence of specific brooches and other items that are innovative as regards their morphological features. With these types we mean especially the massive *fibulae* with a broad squat bow in the so-called “baroque style”, the advanced examples of brooches belonging to Almgren type II 41, of I group, X and Z variety according to Schuster (Schuster 2005, 131ff., 135f.; 2006; Mączyńska 2011, 35–38, Abb. 12–15), and espe-

cially the brooches of Almgren types V 95/96 (Hauptmann 1998; Mączyńska 2011, 59f.) and V 125-130 (Machajewski 1998, 187f., V group, 8 series, 4, 5a, 6, 7a, 9a forms). Although splendid pieces of silver or even gold have been found in the region of the Wielbark Culture, the majority of these dress accessories were cast in copper alloy or bronze, some of them ornamented with silver-plated foils with pressed decoration, in other cases



*Location of the study area on a map of Europe.
Poloha studovaného regiónu na mapě Evropy.*

with genuine filigree. Snake headed bracelets of Blume II type (Blume 1912–1915) or III A and III B according to Wójcik (1978), wave shaped bracelets, bracelets with straight terminals, semi-circular buckles with chape and axle of D 17–20 type after Madyda-Legutko (1987), small S-shaped clasps, biconical or pear-shaped pendants (Stanek 1999), strap ends of J II 3–4 and J IV 1 types according to Raddatz (1957) and other characteristic items feature in the grave assemblages of Wielbark Culture, but also outside their usual distribution (Wołagiewicz 1981a, 167ff., fig. 57; pl. XXIII: 62–99; 1974; Grabarczyk 1983; Ołędzki 2004b, 246ff., pl. II, IV etc.). Whilst part of authors tend to believe the transitional phase to identify general outline with the C1a phase (Ołędzki 2004a, 286, fig. 4; 2004b, 248f; 2008, 15f., fig. 1: 8; Skorpka 2005, 249, pl. XVII), the differentiation of the latter seems to be more reasonable for some others because in this subphase the formal Early Roman types of B2/C1 phase occur together with Late Roman specimens, such as Almgren groups VII and VI brooches, three layer combs of Thomas I type and other items (Thomas 1960, Kleemann 2007, 53ff., 69–70, group 5). It is noteworthy that also the bronze spurs of I, II or III groups after Godłowski (1970, fig. 2: 1b) or subgroup E after Ginalski (1991) belong to this phase according to Kleemann.

Within the Przeworsk Culture the phase B2/C1 is newly seen as late Roman and overlapping more or less with the C1a phase (Godłowski 1994b; Ołędzki 2008, 14). In comparison with the iron material used to make the brooches and majority of other items in the preceding late B2 phase, the most distinctive phenomenon is the occurrence of squat broad *fibulae* also made of bronze, but mostly of somewhat different types. Predominantly they are represented by brooches of Almgren type V 129 with crested head and openwork bow (Godłowski 1986, 115ff., fig. 8; Machajewski 1998, 189, fig. 2: 39–41; Mączyńska 2011, 58, fig. 25), the regional variant of Almgren type 41 brooches (Schuster 2006, 133f., variety Y, fig. 42; Mączyńska 2011, 39, fig. 14) and the specific form of Almgren type 43 (Rajtár 2002; Mączyńska 2011, 39f., fig. 16), occasionally also massive brooches of group V, series 8 and 1 (Machajewski 1998, 189, esp. 6–7 forms; Mączyńska 2011, 56–57, 59–63, fig. 23–25).

The burial contexts in which Almgren groups II and V bronze brooches like those of “baroque style” in the Wielbark Culture occur within the main areas occupied by the Przeworsk and also in the regions of western expansion of both cultures between the Oder and Elbe, generally tend towards a later date (Schuster 1996; 2005; Domański 1981; Ołędzki 2008, 54ff., 91ff. etc.). Their transitional chronological position there and the fact that they were used for a longer time, until the early phases of the Late Roman Period, are eloquently confirmed by the fact that in the same grave context they were accompanied by Late Roman *fibulae* of Almgren groups VI and VII in more cases (s. below). Likewise, the horizontal stratigraphic situation in a number of cemeteries indicates that the fo-

cal point for the occurrence of specific group II and V massive bronze brooches lies predominantly within the area of the Late Roman types. This is the case in Chorula in Silesia, amongst others. The discussed type of bronze brooches are concentrated in zones 2 and 3, whilst iron brooches are exceptional here. There are no graves with weapons of the 4th group according to Godłowski and the material is mostly from phase C1 (Godłowski 1970, 15f., fig. 4; Kenk 1977, 313sq, note 523, fig. 4). The situation is similar in Młodzikowo, Wymysłowo (Godłowski 1970, 16, fig. 7; Dymaczewski 1957–1958; Jasnosz 1952) and even in Opatów (Godłowski 1970, 15ff., fig. 5–6). In addition to this, some facts from the cremation cemeteries of the Przeworsk Culture that begin with the horizon of B2/C1 bronze brooches, such as from Opatów or Mokra (Madyda-Legutko, Rodzińska-Nowak, Zagorska-Telega 2002, 333, note 3; 2010, 451, 452, fig. 2), show that this is a phenomenon contemporaneous with Godłowski’s 5th group of graves with weapons (Godłowski 1994a, 169f., fig. 5). The chronology of these perfectly equipped warrior burials is also proven by the fact that they are often associated with other characteristic items of the Late Roman Period, among others with brooches with an inverted foot.

Since the bronze artefacts were very scarce in the grave contexts of the Przeworsk Culture within the preceding B2 late sub-phase, it seems very probably that the fashion for the broad, massive iron *fibulae* distinguishing the latest phase of B2 did not cease abruptly and that their decline may have been gradual and regionally differentiated. The persistence of some brooches peculiar to the iron style, however, probably formed under the influence of the later bronze brooches of the B2/C1 phase, may be recorded from the western area of the Przeworsk Culture covering the part of Poland between the Oder and the Warta, Lesser Poland and Silesia. The archaeological evidence thus indicates that the beginning of the new fashion for the bronze *fibulae* of the “baroque style” (Almgren 95/96, Almgren 41, Almgren 128/130, Almgren 43 and Almgren 129) briefly overlapped, though marginally, the time-span when the latest series of iron brooches belonging to Almgren IV and V groups were still occasionally used (Kostrzewski 1947, fig. 26; Jasnosz 1952, 180, fig. 270: 11–12; Dymaczewski 1957–1958, 368sq., fig. 396: 14–15; Kaczmarek 1962, 227, Pl. 2: 2, esp. forms 7b and 9b according Machajewski 1998; Tejral 1999). This would be supported by the fact that some morphologically most developed iron *fibulae* were found in some cases within the grave assemblages accompanied by brooches of the Late Roman style (see e. g. Makiewicz 1970, 186, 206, Pl. XV: 3, 6–7). The phenomenon of perfectly equipped warrior graves with typical features especially from the 5th group of graves with weapons according to Godłowski occurring in significant numbers during the transitional phase B2/C1 and C1a phase represents most impressive evidence in terms of the Przeworsk Culture (Godłowski 1970; 1994a, 169ff., fig. 1, 5).

In the region north to the Middle Danube, in Moravia, northern Austria, Slovakia or in Bohemia the main types representing the new fashion of phase B2/C1 include not only bronze brooches of the so called “baroque style” having close parallels in the Wielbark Culture as the spring – cover *fibulae* of type Almgren 41 var I, and X according to J. Schuster (2005; 2006), broad bronze *fibulae* of Almgren V group serie 1 and 8, types 95/96, 125-130, respectively 4, 5a, 6 and 9a forms according to Machajewski (Machajewski 1998, 192, fig. 2; Tejral 1999, 157f., fig. 14: 6–14; 16; 17: 6–10, 18; Mączyńska 2011, 36–41, 53–57, 59–62, fig. 13, 24, 26 etc.), but also the concurrent bronze specimens origin of which tends to be found in the area of Przeworsk Culture. In the foreground are some variants of spring-cover brooches of Almgren group II, type 41 variety Y and 43 (Tejral 1999, 157f., fig. 17: 1–5; 11–13; Rajtár 2002; Mączyńska 2011, 39, fig. 14) and first of all the massive brooches of type Almgren V. 129 (Tejral 1999, 157, fig. 14: 1–5; 15; 19: 7, 14; 23: 1–2; 2015, 440f., fig. 9; 10: 5–7; Mączyńska 2011, 58, fig. 25). The Wielbark Culture influence is otherwise considered by snake-headed and waved shaped bracelets, S-shaped clasps of type B according to Kmiecinski, some of them of noble metals etc. (Beninger 1932, 115ff., fig. 1–9; Kolník 1980, 115, pl. CVII: b; Droberjar 2005; 2014; Droberjar, Waldhauser 2012 etc). The artefacts of the new barbarian style mentioned above include both female dress accessories and attributes that belonged strictly to male equipment, namely the bronze bow spurs, especially of the group E, especially of subgroups E 1 and E 5 – E 6 according to the classification system used by J. Ginalska (1991; Tejral 1999, 162f., fig. 20–22; 23: 4–7; 2006, 146f., fig. 19).

It must be clear that the picture of distribution presented here was set nearly 10 years ago and it does not reflect current state of research. The volume of artefacts diagnostic for B2/C1 phase has increased to an unprecedented extent by metal detecting especially in the past few years and fresh attempts to record and to examine these finds are prepared to be published soon (Droberjar, Komoróczy 2015; etc.).

Since the iron artefacts, in opposition to the preceding B2 late sub-phase, are comparatively scarce within the B2/C1 contexts, the surviving of some brooches and other items peculiar to the local iron style, but formed under the strong influence of the later bronze artefacts of the so-called “baroque style” seems very probably in the region north to the Middle Danube as well. This would be supported by the fact that some morphologically most developed iron *fibulae* and spurs were found in some cases within the grave assemblages accompanied by bronze vessels from the B2/C1 phase (Motyková-Šneidrová 1967, Pl. XI; Droberjar in print; Beljak, Kolník 2006, 73, fig. 10).

The majority of the aforementioned bronze artefacts, predominantly brooches and spurs, were found in several

local Germanic settlement areas to the north of the Danube by metal detector as stray finds and in most cases they cannot be analysed or explained due to the lack of reliable information about the find contexts. From the spatial distribution of the typical objects representing the heterogeneous fashion of the phase B2/C1 it may be clear that they often appear in places which indicate a certain association with Roman military sites and areas which were apparently connected with the events of the Marcomannic Wars, as well as in the zone alongside the main communication routes running to the north at this time. This connection is partially confirmed by the repeated stray finds of Roman late Antonine military equipment in the same points (Tejral 1999, 194f., fig. 41–42).

The items which may be described as being of the B2/C1 style of the Wielbark and Przeworsk Cultures, were here and there presented also in more or less richly equipped graves, predominantly cremations, which occasionally came to light in the whole region to the north of the Middle Danube. Their inventory frequently combines splendid items of barbarian origin with examples of Roman industrial products, suggesting the high social status of the individuals buried there.

Considering its geographical position there is no doubt that the Norican and Pannonian forefront of the Roman frontier could play an important role in shaping the common features of the transitional phase B2/C1. Even though its beginning is usually described as chronologically concurrent with the Marcomannic Wars, the question arises of how to define the subsequent chronological phase C1a and whether both phases can be seen as time-spans with their own separate chronological validity, especially when in certain chronological systems both are merged together.

Of especial importance for the chronology there are, however comparable finds from the Roman sites at “Burgstall” Mušov and Iža which help us not only to understand the archaeology and history of the Roman expansion, but also, considering the brief time-span of the Roman occupation, they could provide important information for dating archaeological artefacts. By means of Germanic diagnostic types found there, it is possible to synchronise individual phases of Roman and barbarian chronology; coherence of this archaeological record make it possible also to determine the absolute chronology of the non-Roman archaeological types and contexts. The Barbarian finds uncovered in the area of Mušov-Burgstall include characteristic forms such as brooches, belt fittings, pendants, etc., although combs, pottery and other items occur there as well. More details and analysis results of the foreign, barbarian artefacts at Burgstall will be published in a forthcoming monograph. In this study, only three attractive types of chronological significance will be discussed (fig. 1).



Fig. 1. Bronze brooches of B2/C1 (C1a) phase from the Roman fort at Mušov-Burgstall.

Obr. 1. Bronzové spony z fáze B2/C1 (C1a) objevené na ploše římské pevnosti Mušov-Burgstall.

Brooches with a semi-round head and cut-out bow of Almgren V 129 type

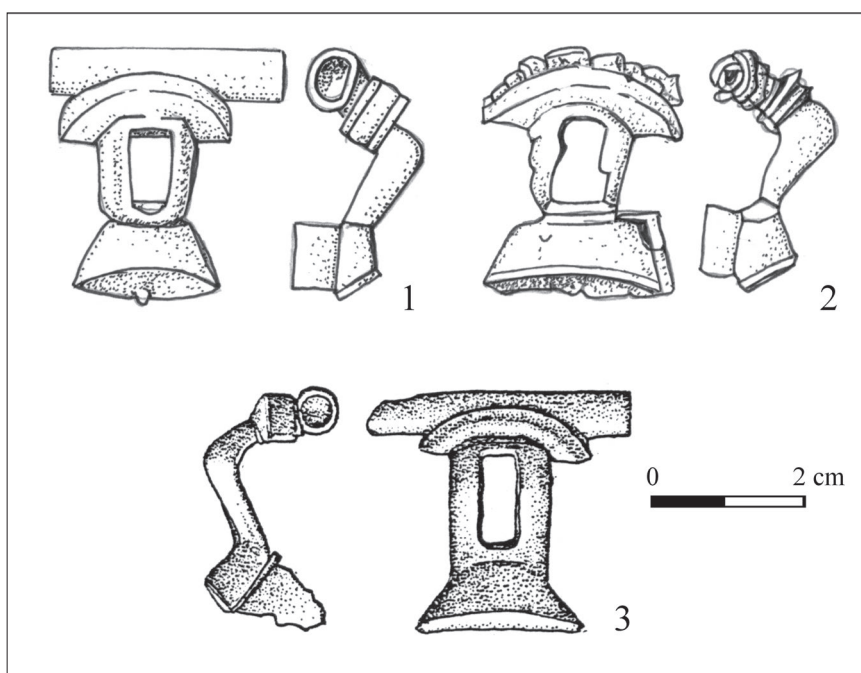
Characteristic types of barbarian *fibulae* from the Roman site at Mušov are represented by two brooches of Almgren Group type V 129 (fig. 1: 6; 2: 1–2). Based on the metal analyses performed by L. Karmazín (unpublished report of the Institute of Archaeology of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Brno), the first specimen (Inv. No. 10040//144/96) was made of brass. The outside surface of the brooch was covered in “white metal”, a bronze alloy with a high tin content. In some places it was apparently plated with decorated, silver-gilded foil; however, the brooch was badly damaged in a fire that occurred at building No. 2 which was part of the workshop complex on the southeastern slope of “Burgstall”. An iron case that protected the spring is usually found associated with an object of this kind, but in this case it was not recovered. The second brooch (Inv. No. 10040/14-25/05) was found on the surface of a destroyed Roman clay-rampart in the western part of the site where Germanic huts were subsequently discovered. It is very similar to the first brooch, but the protective cylindrical iron spring case on the semi-round head remained undamaged. The next dated specimen of this type (fig. 2: 3) is known from the Ro-

man earth-timber fort at Iža (Hüssen, Rajtár 1994, 218f., fig. 2: 1).

The Almgren V 129 brooches were described by O. Almgren (1897, 60–61; 1923, 60, 172ff., pl. VI: 129) and their spatial distribution was first recorded in the nineteen eighties and nineties by K. Godłowski (1986, 116, 126, note 2, fig. 8; 1993, 74, fig. 4). They are considered to be characteristic particularly for the Przeworsk Culture (Oleđzki 1997, 72, 73, fig. 6; Machajewski 1998, 192, Abb. 2: 39–41; Mączyńska 2011, 58, 288–289, Abb. 25) and the cartographic evidence currently shows that they were widespread in two main areas (fig. 3). They have a notable presence in the central areas of the Przeworsk Culture between Prosna and Vistula, especially between the Prosna and Upper Warta rivers with a protrusion to the West, into the central Oder region. They are absent in the area of Wielbark Culture, the only exception is the hoard of bronze artefacts from Łubiana (Mączyńska 2011, 58, Pl. 10: F29, F21, FB85). Some pieces are known from the Western Baltic Cultures including the so called Bogaczewo Culture; an isolated artefact was even found at a Wielbark Culture settlement in Lepesovka, Ukraine (Godłowski 1986, 126, note 2, nos. 11–14; Nowakowski 1996, 100, pl. 50: 1; Bertašius 2007, 253, fig. 6; Tich-

Fig. 2. Brooches of Almgren V 129 type from the Roman forts. 1-2 Mušov-Burgstall; 3 Iža (according to Hüssen, Rajtár 1994).

Obr. 2. Spony Almgrenova typu V 129. 1-2 Mušov-Burgstall; 3 Iža (podle Hüssen, Rajtár 1994).



anova 1971, fig. 18: 26). Some isolated finds occur also in the Roman provinces of Pannonia and Raetia (fig. 5: 1) and even in Sarmatian Culture of the Great Hungarian Plain (Kovrig 1937, 64, 121, pl. 10: 107; Patek 1942, 134ff., 243, pl. 22: 17; Istvánovits 1990, 85, pl. 2: 1; Hüflein 2000, 148, fig. 77: 7 etc.). A single fibula was found in the Roman fort at Porolissum situated on the northern frontier of Dacia Porolissensis (Gudea 1989, pl. 188: 13; Cociş 2004, 132, 210, pl. CXIII: 1589).

More than 15 sites known from the heartland of the Przeworsk Culture, particularly from large burial grounds, which have yielded nearly 25 finds, imply that

they were very popular here (Mączyńska 2011, 58). It is interesting to note that the second, no less important centre of their clustering is to be found within the area north to the Middle Danube, where they exist, as mentioned above, in a certain connection, however poorly defined, with the Roman cultural and military environment. In addition to finds from „Burgstall“ at Mušov and from the Roman earth-and-timber fort at Iža the finds are concentrated in zones where other indicators lead us to justifiably assume that they were under direct Roman occupation or, at the very least, at sites of intensive Roman military activities (Tejral 1999, 157, fig. 14: 1-5; 2006, 150, fig. 22: 4-10). This also includes the approximately

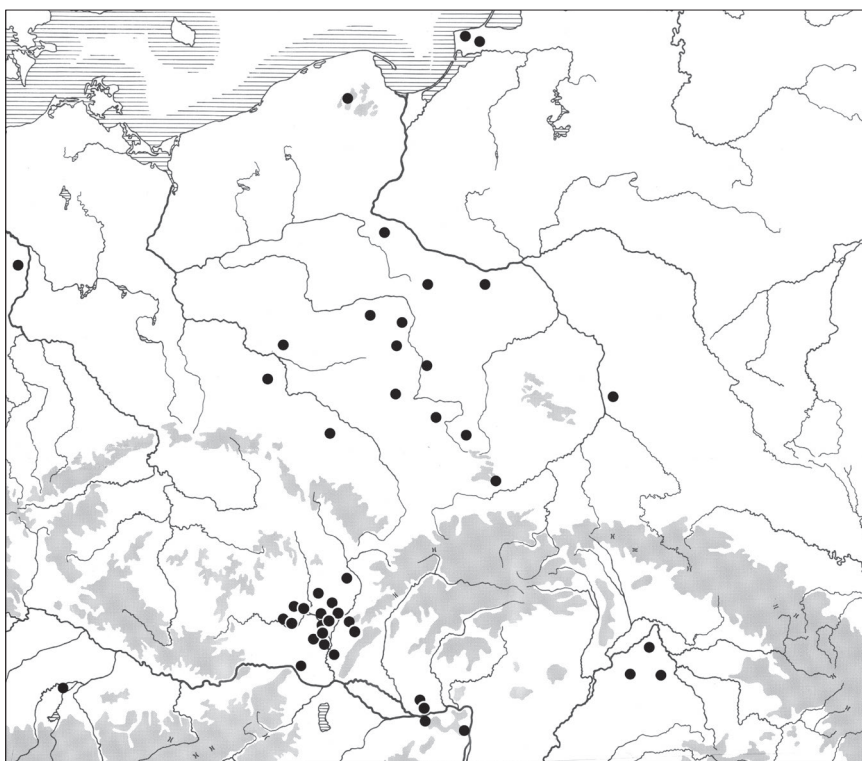


Fig. 3. Distribution of brooches of Almgren V 129 type in the area between Baltic and Middle Danube region (state in the year 2011).

Obr. 3. Rozšíření spon Almgrenova typu V 129 v oblasti mezi Baltickým mořem a Dunajem (stav k roku 2011).

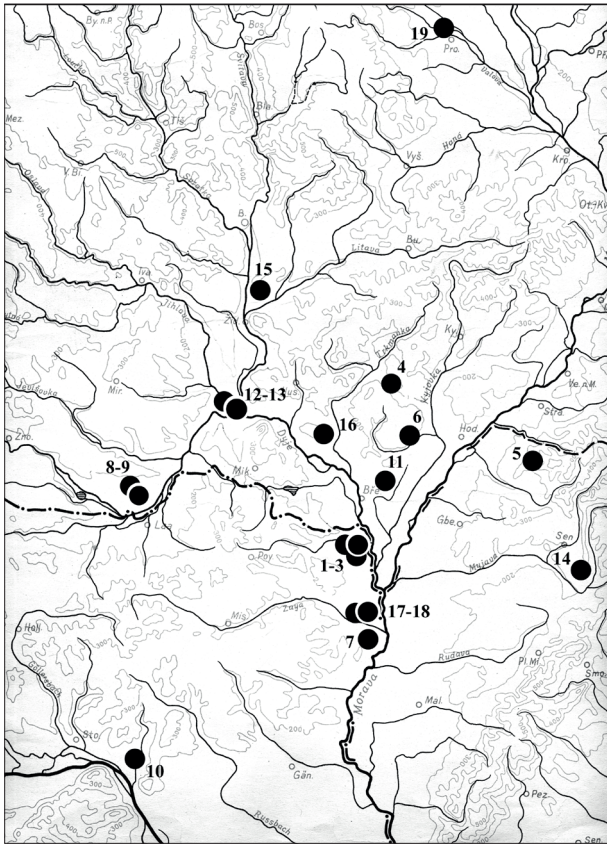


Fig. 4. Distribution of brooches Almgren V 129 type north of Carnuntum. 1-3 Bernhardstal (A); 4 Čejč (CZ); 5 Dojč (SK); 6 Dolní Bojanovice (CZ); 7 Drösing (A); 8-9 Dyjákovice (CZ); 10 Enzersdorf (A); 11 Hrušky (CZ); 12-13 Mušov-Burgstall (CZ); 14 Radimov (SK); 15 Rajhradice (CZ); 16 Rakvice (CZ); 17-18 Ringelsdorf (A); 19 Smržice (CZ).

Obr. 4. Rozšíření spon Almgrenova typu V 129 v oblasti severně od Carnunta. 1-3 Bernhardstal (A); 4 Čejč (CZ); 5 Dojč (SK); 6 Dolní Bojanovice (CZ); 7 Drösing (A); 8-9 Dyjákovice (CZ); 10 Enzersdorf (A); 11 Hrušky (CZ); 12-13 Mušov-Burgstall (CZ); 14 Radimov (SK); 15 Rajhradice (CZ); 16 Rakvice (CZ); 17-18 Ringelsdorf (A); 19 Smržice (CZ).

7km-wide strip on the left bank of the Danube, which was ceded to the Romans through peace treaties during the seventies of the 2nd century AD (fig. 4). It was here that these brooches were found at Enzersfeld, in the district of Korneuburg, Austria (Karl, A., Karl V. 1999, 779, fig. 620) and at Hurbanovo, not far from the camp at Iža in Slovakia (Rajtár 2013, 142, fig. 6: b). The presence of many brooches along the lower reaches of the River Morava, the main communication to the north at this time, supports this hypothesis. Three Almgren V 129 brooches were found in Bernhardsthal “Aulüssen”, in the district of Mistelbach, very close to the Moravian border (Adler, Nebehay 1990, 217, fig. 796; Adler 1992, 279, fig. 586; Allerbauer, Jedlicka 2001d, 641, fig. 609). Two more were found in Ringelsdorf-“Kuse”, in Gänserndorf dis-

trict (Stuppner 1986, 301, fig. 609; 1992a, 306, fig. 1026) and one in Drösing, also in Gänserndorf district (Nebehay 1983, 283, fig. 798). Despite the fact that no more details are known about the circumstances in which these artefacts were found in, their concentration at sites which have also yielded other Germanic brooches characteristic for the B2/C1 phase, and numerous examples of Roman military equipment dated to the time of the Marcomannic Wars may not be coincidental. On the other hand, such brooches have been found with unprecedentedly increasing frequency by metal detector prospecting during the last few years on numerous further sites across southern Moravia (fig. 5: 2 – 9) and south-west Slovakia (Rajtár 2013, 142f.), but equally unfortunately out of their original context. The total number of finds are definitely more as 20 specimens up to present.

In the Przeworsk Culture region, the Almgren V 129 brooches are seen as a characteristic phenomenon of the B2/C1 phase. This observation is corroborated by the fact that they occur together with other types that are characteristic for this transitional period. For example, in grave No. 601 in Opatów, an Almgren 129 brooch was discovered with a semi-round head bronze brooch and a broad bow that is similar to the Almgren type V 127/128 (fig. 6: 1–2). Its origin in the Przeworsk Culture is indicated by an iron spring with an iron protective case. In grave No. 2 at site 3 in Kutno, a heavily deformed example of this type (fig. 7: 2) was found with a bronze brooch similar to the Almgren type 125/130, with weapons, including Ginalski spurs of subgroup E 4 (fig. 7: 3-4). These finds can be assigned to Godłowski’s chronological group 5 of graves with weapons, which again date to the B2/C1 transitional phase (Godłowski 1994a, 174, fig. 1 group 5). An assemblage from grave No. 13 from Lachmirovice (Zielonka 1953, fig. 10: 6) is consistent with this scenario in which an Almgren 129 brooch was found with a relatively late spur of subgroup E 5a (fig. 8: 13, 17) according to J. Ginalski’s classification (Ginalski 1991, 62ff.). Whether this was a male or a female grave is a question that remains unanswered. An Almgren 129 brooch was located in grave no. 723 at Opatów (Madyda-Legutko et al. 2011, 180ff., 180f., pl. CCLXVII) accompanied by square-like and other iron pendants (fig. 6: 3–13) which are a characteristic feature of female graves (Godłowski, Szadkowska 1972, 116, pl. II: 3 etc.). Although similar bronze or iron pendants (bag-shaped pendants) are known particularly from Przeworsk female graves, some typical examples were recovered with other types of pendants also from a rich grave at Čáčov in western Slovakia (Pieta 2002, 344, 346, fig. 1: 3–5). Its inventory exemplifies how the characteristic Przeworsk female dress was transferred to the Middle Danube region. The contents of grave no. 147 from Opatów (Madyda-Legutko et al. 2011, Taf. LIII: 2–5) can also be interpreted as the inventory of a female grave; a fragment of an Almgren 129 brooch was found with a large fragment of iron mail-armour of Roman provenance, clearly used as part of a symbolic pendant (fig. 10: 1–6).

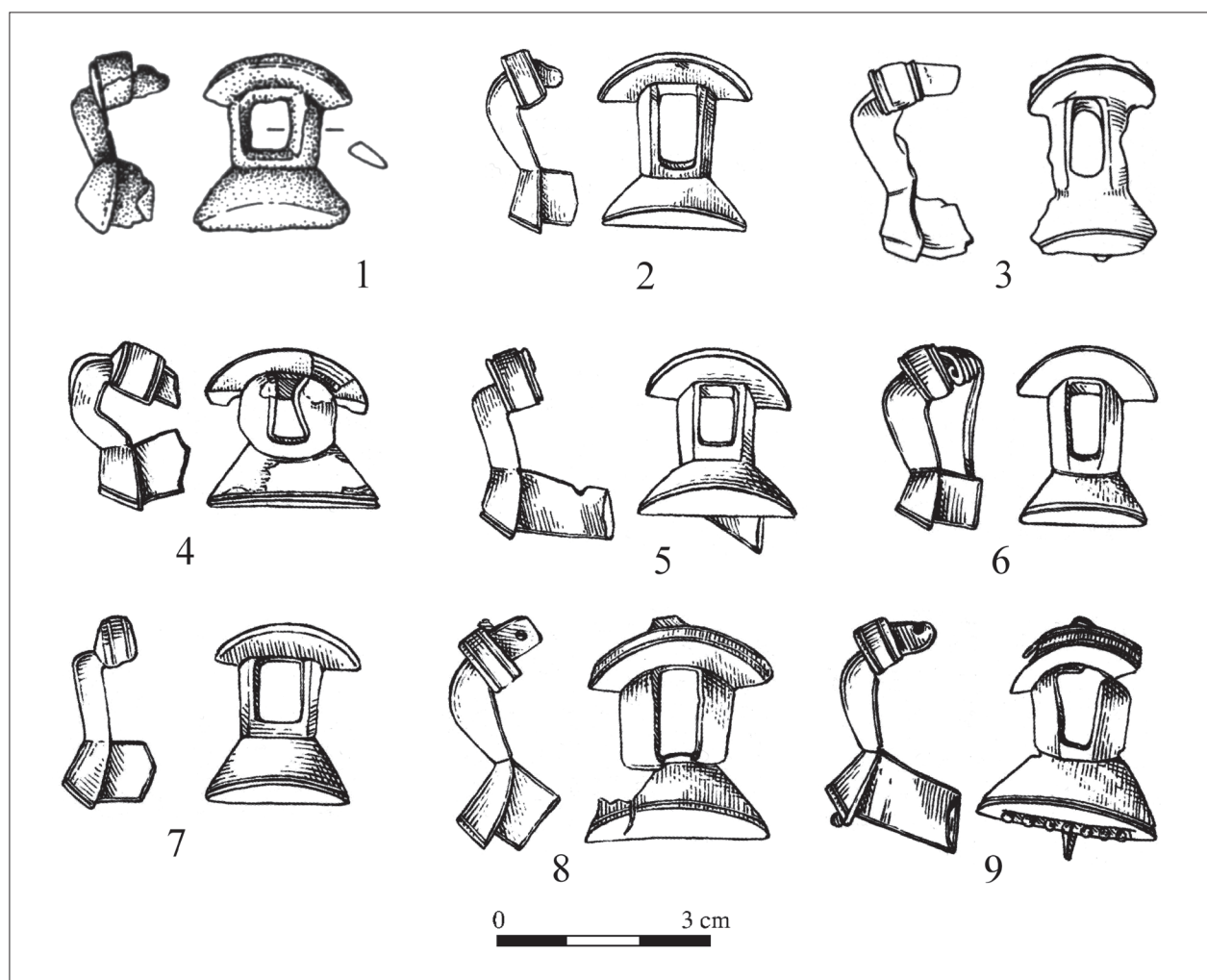


Fig. 5. Some new finds of brooches of Almgren V 129 type from the Middle Danube Region. 1 Tüßling (D); 2 Dolní Bojanovice (CZ); 3 Smržice (CZ); 4 Hrušky (CZ); 5 Rakvice (CZ); 6, 9 Dyjákovice (CZ); 7 Rajhradice (CZ); 8 Čejč (CZ); 1 according to Hüfflein 2000; 3 according to Fojtík, Popelka 2010; 2, 4-9 according to Čižmář et al. 2009.

Obr. 5. Některé nové nálezy spon Almgrenova typu V 129 z oblasti středního Podunají. 1 Tüßling (D); 2 Dolní Bojanovice (CZ); 3 Smržice (CZ); 4 Hrušky (CZ); 5 Rakvice (CZ); 6, 9 Dyjákovice (CZ); 7 Rajhradice (CZ); 8 Čejč (CZ); 1 podle Hüfflein 2000; 3 podle Fojtík, Popelka 2010; 2, 4-9 podle Čižmář et al. 2009.

When attempting to set a chronological date for the Almgren V 129 *fibulae* within the circumstances of the Przeworsk Culture more detailed information is provided particularly by the goods from grave No. 12 in Lachmirowice (Zielonka 1953, 161, fig. 9: 2). A deformed and fragmentary brooch of this type (fig. 8: 1) was found there with a fragment of a Drag. 37 *sigillata* bowl from the workshop of potter Casurius, who worked in Lezoux in the latter half of the 2nd century (fig. 8: 5). It was found with a bronze Eggers type 77 riffled bowl (fig. 8: 3). Although both of these products are of Roman origin and their manufacture may even have originated within the period before the Wars broke out, they seem to be appearing in predominantly later contexts first during the period after Commodus' peace treaty (see below). The fact that the Almgren V 129 brooches are distinctive for the transi-

tional phase between the Early and Late Roman Period in this region is indicated here by their occurrence together with earlier forms of Almgren group VII brooches, with a high catch plate (fig. 9), e. g. in grave no. 32 in Spicymierz or in grave no. 802 from Zadowice (Kietlińska, Dąbrowska 1963, 188, 217, pl. V: 2-3; Kaszewska 1985, 45f., pl. V) and C1 a brooches (Maćzyńska 2011, 58).

Late brooch with semi-round head of Almgren type V 125/130

Another fibula of Germanic origin from "Burgstall" near Mušov was found with a metal detector near spot elevation 222, but there is a lack of more precise information relating to the stratigraphy of this find (fig. 1: 5; 11: 2). What is important, however, is the like the first

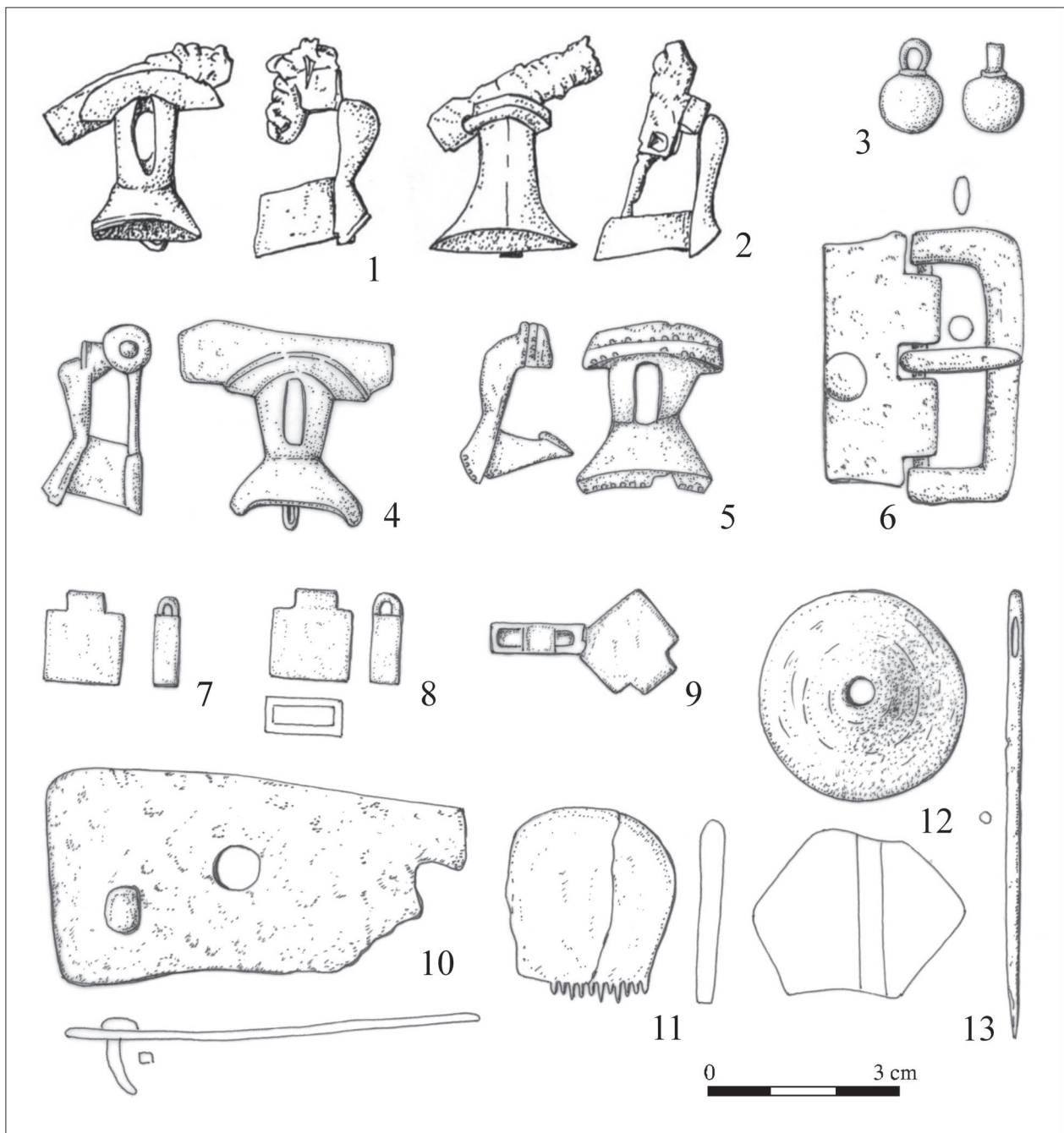


Fig. 6. Opatów (PL). 1-2 bronze brooches from grave no 601; 3-13 grave no. 723; examples of grave goods including two brooches of Almgren V, 129 type. According to Godłowski 1969 and Gedl, Ginter, Godłowski 1971.

Obr. 6. Opatów (PL). 1-2 bronzové spony z obsahu hrobu č. 601; 3-13 hrob č. 723; část inventáře se dvěma sponami typu Almgren V, 129. Podle Godłowski 1969 a Gedl, Ginter, Godłowski 1971.

Almgren type V 129 brooch which was found in hut No. 2, the find shows evidence of fire damage. This means that it could date to the time when building structures on Burgstall hill were affected by fire.

Unlike the two Almgren type V 129 brooches, this piece seems to be more formally related to the brooches which are often found as dress accessories in the Wielbark Culture. It was cast in bronze, a material used most often to make dress-ornaments by this culture. It is

characterized by a heavy, faceted bow topped off with a semi-round head and a distinctive foot protruding at the bottom. It is badly deformed, and despite the fact that it shows traces of fire damage on the head and the bow, fragments of silver foil are visible, probably gilded and resmelted. These remains could indicate that this item was luxuriously decorated. If we consider the shape of the brooch, with its faceted bow comprising three lengthwise facets, as well as the heavy semi-round head and the bilateral prominent foot, this fibula has generally distinc-

tive features of the so called “baroque style” (to use the terminology of the Polish authors), which became established within the minor bronze industry of the Wielbark Culture, particularly during the transitional phase B2/C1. A more detailed comparison allows us to identify it with Almgren types V 125 or V 130. The first type has a narrower bow, the second type has a broader one. In both types the spring has a protective cylindrical spring case (there are some exceptions), which was clearly not preserved on the specimen from Mušov. Unlike the wide range of Wielbark bronze forms with semi-round heads whose bow can be rounded (but also double faceted or with multiple edges), brooches with a three-faceted bow constitute a smaller group, most recently classified by H. Machajewski as forms 4 or 9a (Machajewski 1998, 192, fig. 2–22, 43). These conspicuous items were particularly widespread in the Wielbark Culture, where some broader and fancy pieces tend to be found in rich inhumation and cremation graves. The surfaces of these items are usually plated with silver or gold foil and adorned with filigree and granulation. Such decorated, more or less related varieties of these brooches include some of the most spectacular specimens, such as those from grave no. 40 in Kamienica Szlachecka (Tuszyńska 1998, 115, fig. 5: 1), from grave no. 1934 in Malbork-Wielbark (Andrzejowski, Martens 1996, 28, pl. 28) from grave nos. 112, 484 and 2 from burial-mound no. 4 in Odry (Kmieciński 1968, pl. XI: 112, H; XIX: K, 4–2; F-F3), from grave no. 2 in Połowite (Eggers 1966, 158, pl. 8: 4), from the disturbed inhumation grave No. 204 in Pruszcz-Gdański (Pietrzak 1997, pl. LXVIII: 1/204), from grave no. 165 in Kowalewko (Skorupka 2005, pl. 13: 3) etc. Numerous specimens of this type or its variants are known from other sites of Wielbark Culture and within its reach (s. Mączyńska, Rudnicka 2004, 426, list. no. 2). In the region of Western Baltic Culture, such ostentatious brooches appear only sporadically (Nowakowski 1996, l. 35: 1).

A truly spectacular assemblage in which a similar brooch was found, includes that from the originally very rich, but later plundered skeleton grave No. 430 from Czarnówko (district Lębork) in the Polish coastal region. The brooch of Almgren type 125/130, which was accompanied by two silver *fibulae* similar to Almgren type 126, was made of bronze, although the bow, still articulated in three longitudinal sections, was luxuriously decorated with gold filigree in the central band. The foot, head, and spring case were also covered with gold filigree and silver granulation (Rudnicka, Mączyńska 2002, 11ff., fig. 7: 9; Mączyńska, Rudnicka 2004, 397ff., 414, fig. 14: 16). Even though the grave was plundered, it also yielded remarkable grave goods, indicating that the buried personality possessed a high social status. In addition to the examples of bronze vessels such as fluted kettle of Eggers type 44, a bronze *situla* of Eggers type 28, a bronze ladle of Eggers type 161 etc., the grave also contained a fragment of a silver beaker of Eggers type 168/170, sherds of a glass beaker and a bronze kettle of the Westland type with three attachments shaped like the heads of bearded

Germans with Suebian knots. The kettle itself is so far the only parallel with the vessel from the king’s grave at Mušov, which clearly had four attachments in the form of Suebian busts (Krierer 2002, 397ff.). There is another peculiarity, the silver chair-shaped spur, which was also found in the grave and has some parallels with the decorated spurs of this type that were also found in the grave at Mušov (Tejral 2002, 143ff., fig. 18: 4–6). The association of the spur with the brooches is somewhat surprising as such precious *fibulae* (based on the content of most other grave assemblages), generally formed part of a ceremonial female dress. In our case we cannot of course rule out the possibility that the brooches could have been prestigious funerary gifts and a marker of high status of a prominent individual.

It is hard to say whether analogous bronze brooches of Almgren type 125/130, some of them were merely silver plated or coated with “white metal” or just bronze, and only in exceptional cases with a protective spring case, would even be considered to be such prestigious items. Although the Almgren V 125/130 brooches are regarded as typical markers of the B2/C1 phase, a number of them coexisted with clear Late Roman features in the same grave assemblages. There are not only the early brooches of Almgren VII 1 and VI 1 groups, but also buckles of D17 and D24 types according to Madyda-Legutko (1986), strap-ends of J-II group according to Raddatz, bronze spurs of Ginalski type E, combs Thomas I group worthy of mention (Thomas 1960). Such a composition of artefacts is, however, characteristic for the Kleemann combination group 5 which could be understood as C1a Phase (Kleemann 2007, 71; Mączyńska, Rudnicka 2004, 426, list. no. 2, 4, 5, 10; Hahula 1991–1992, 148, Pl. IV: 10–15; Pietrzak 1997, 36,37, Pl. LXXIII; LXXVI: graves no. 211/217; Natuniewicz-Sekula, Okulicz-Kozaryn 2008, 266).

The simple variety of bronze brooches of Almgren 125/130 type are predominantly widespread, in the territory of Wielbark Culture, in the region north of the Danube they occur only very sporadically (fig. 11). Some isolated specimens in the area of the Przeworsk Culture are worthy of attention considering the circumstances in which they occur. Within the cemetery of a mixed character with the predominance of Przeworsk Culture elements, but also with graves from the Wielbark Culture at Krupice in northeastern Poland, a pair of characteristic Almgren type 125/130 bronze brooches was found in female grave No. 208, where (amongst other items) additional fragments of mail-armour were present (fig. 10: 7–18), the symbolic burial gift characteristic of numerous female graves typical for the B2/C1 phase in the area of Przeworsk Culture (Jaskanis 2005, 53f., 89, 100, Pl. LX: 208, 1–2).

On the other hand, the bronze modifications of late brooches with a cylindrical head (similar to the specimens mentioned above) have appeared in two contexts, in

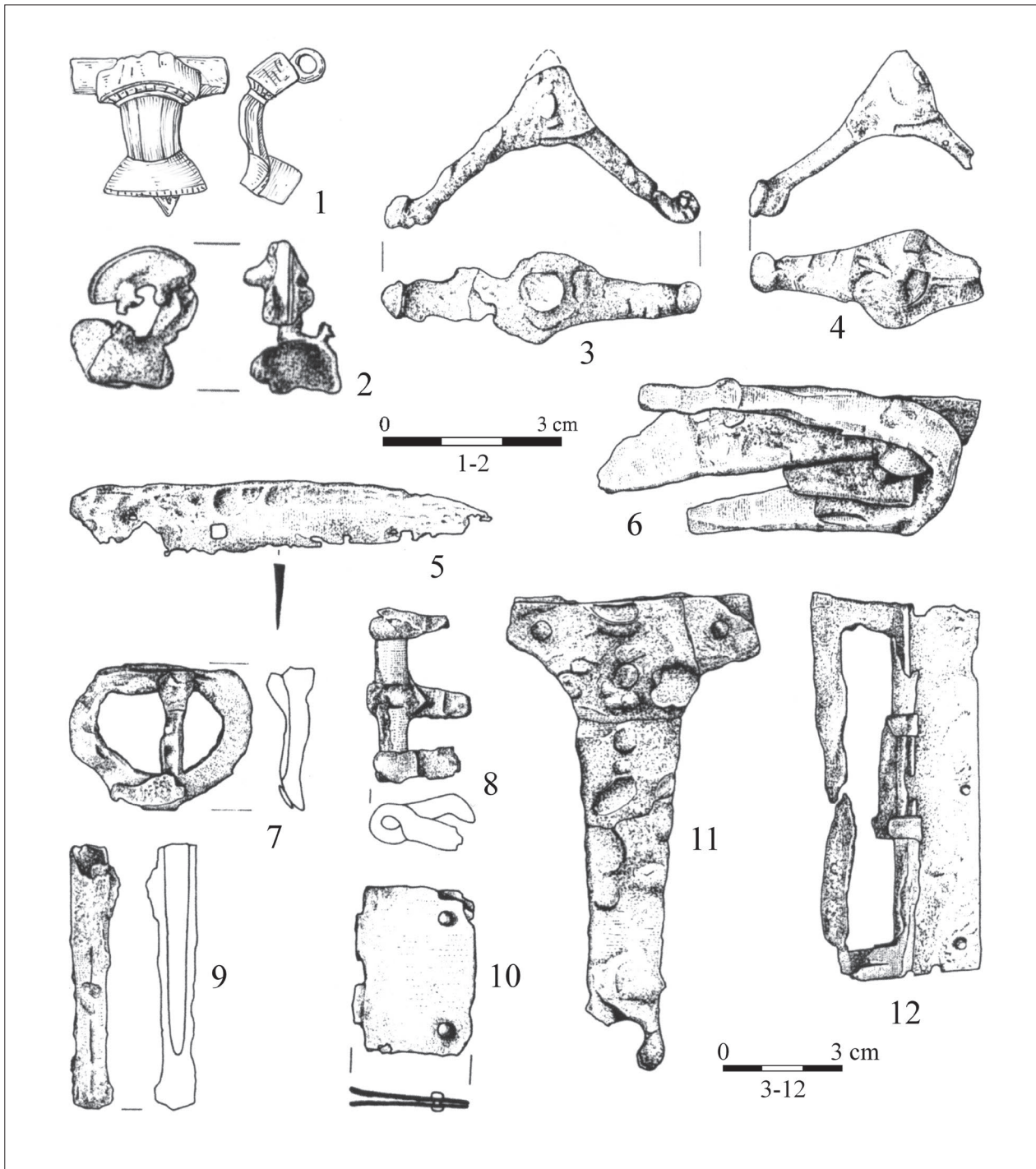


Fig. 7. Kutno (PL). Examples of grave goods of the warrior grave no. 2 from site 3. According to Kaszewska 1975 and Moszczyński 1994.

Obr. 7. Kutno (PL). Ukázky inventáře bojovnického hrobu č. 2 z polohy 3. Podle Kaszewska 1975 a Moczyński 1994.

the cremation graves of Przeworsk Culture and were probably burials of important males given the fact that they contained weapons and warrior equipment. In cremation grave No. 2 from site 3 in Kutno, mentioned above, an analogous brooch with a three-side faceted bow (fig. 7: 1) was found in association with another completely deformed fibula of Almgren type V 129 as part of a rich male burial furnished by the typical attributes of a warrior

grave (Kaszewska 1975, pl. 9: 4; Moszczyński 1994, pl. VIII: 1, here inaccurate illustration). In addition to a damaged *spatha* of Lauriacum-Hromówka type according to Chr. Miks or Lachmirowice-Apa, sub-type 1 according to M. Biborski (Miks 2007, 647ff.; Biborski, Ilkjær 2006, 186f., taf. 11, no 10) two iron bow spurs of the Ginalski E 2 subgroup, and characteristic metal belt fittings were also found here, including a buckle with a H-shaped

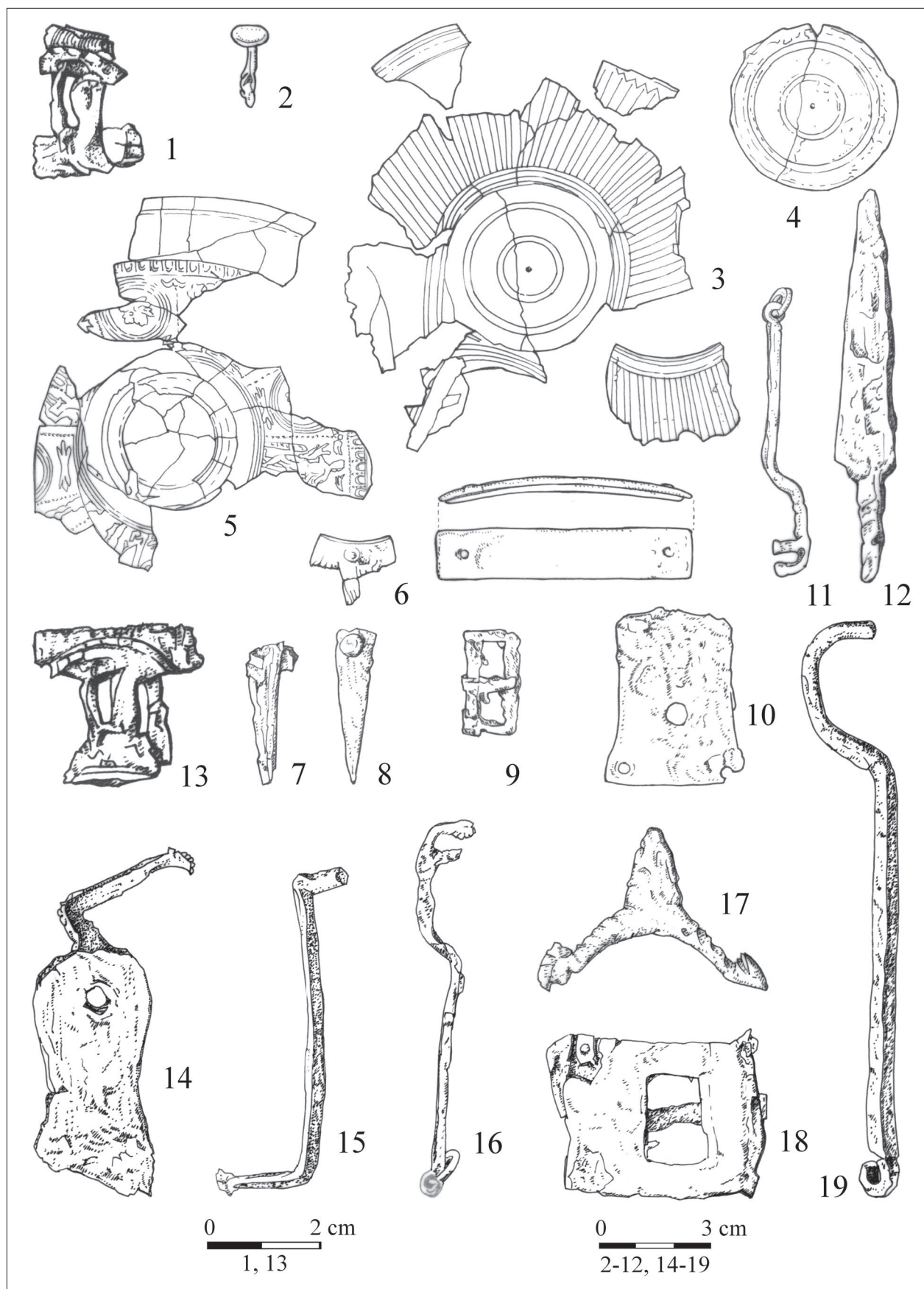


Fig. 8. Lachmirowice (PL). Graves containing brooches of Almgren V 129 type and other examples of goods. 1-12 grave no. XII; 13-19 grave no. XIII. According to Zielonka 1953.

Obr. 8. Lachmirowice (PL). Hroby obsahující spony Almgrenova typu V, 129 a ukázky jejich inventáře. 1-12 hrob č. XII; 13-19 hrob č. XIII. Podle Zielonka 1953.

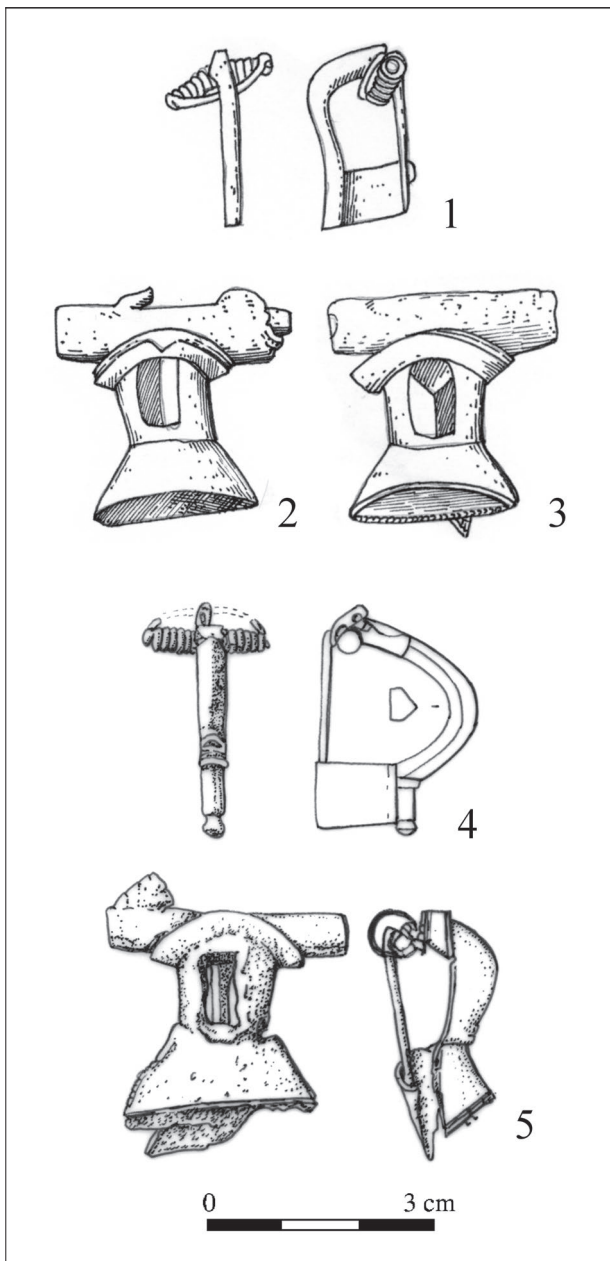


Fig. 9. 1-3 Zadowice (PL), grave no. 757; 4-5 Lachmirowice (PL), grave no. 32. According to Kaszewska 1985 and Kietlińska, Dabrowska 1963.

Obr. 9. 1-3 Zadowice (PL), hrob č. 757; 4-5 Lachmirowice (PL), hrob č. 32. Podle Kaszewska 1985 a Kietlińska, Dabrowska 1963.

tongue (Madyda-Legutko 1986, 54, pl. 17: 42, group G, type 42), and other items (fig. 7) which certainly do not cast any doubt on this collection being datable to phase B2/C1.

A similar type of grave assemblage, although containing only one brooch (fig. 12: 1), is presented with the grave goods in grave No. 13 in Kompina (Tyszler 1998, 110–114). It contained not only a sword and a lance and

spear heads, but also a metal shield and belt fittings, including a rectangular buckle with a double tongue of type Madyda-Legutko G 36/37 (Madyda-Legutko 1986, 52f., pl. 16), pottery, etc. According to L. Tyszler, these finds correspond to the 4th chronological group of graves with weapons by K. Godłowski, however the presence of certain more recent features allows us to date this complex to the B2/C1 phase as well (fig. 12). The late elements eventually also include a separate bronze fibula with an iron spring case, which is a classic, massive bronze brooch of the so called “baroque style”, namely of group V, series 8, type 125/130, according to Almgren (fig. 12: 1).

As mentioned earlier, predominantly bronze brooches with a semi-round crested head readily identifiable through their size and characteristic form as later types are found in the regions of the Wielbark Culture in numerous female graves. Although there are also cases, such as in the aforementioned grave No. 430 in Czarnówko, where they were probably part of a male grave inventory, the bronze brooches are mostly seen as female dress accessories. In connection with the aforementioned Przeworsk Culture burials, it is worthwhile considering whether the wearing of the impressive bronze *fibulae*, outside the local environment of the Wielbark Culture might not be re-defined as a prestigious feature. This assumption would be supported in some similar male burials from elsewhere, for instance by the Sarmatian inhumation grave at Hévizgyörk in Hungary (fig. 39), which is one of the few burial contexts in which a bronze brooch of Almgren type V 125/130 (nearly identical to the specimen from Burgstall) was found in situ, in circumstances that have been verified (Dinnyés 1991, 145f., 167, pl. 12: 1). It was discovered on the left shoulder of a buried man where it fastened the cloak. In addition to this bronze brooch with a semi-round head which was decorated with silver, gilded foil and filigree, the grave also yielded fragments of a horse harness, as well as iron spear-heads, a double edged sword with the remains of its scabbard, and characteristic Sarmatian buckles, etc. There was also a large iron buckle with a double tongue, a type very frequent in the grave equipment of a Germanic warrior from the B2/C1 phase (fig. 39: 12). In the Sarmatian context these are not the only items of Germanic origin, a fact which could indicate that similar artefacts were not just restricted to Germanic graves, but were more widespread across the region which was a scene of conflict during the Marcomannic Wars. Besides the finds from Hévizgyörk, a bronze brooch from Kiszombor can be clearly identified as Almgren type 130 (Beninger 1934, 101–102, fig. 30).

The presence of this foreign material in the Sarmatian *milieu* is not necessarily related to the Germanic ethnic element and is generally interpreted as the result of Sarmatian-Germanic contacts which were becoming more intensive at the critical time of the war events and especially in the years that followed (Hadházy-Vaday 1980; Istvánovits 1990, 83ff., 89, pl. II: 1; Istvánovits, Kulcsár 2003). We obviously cannot rule out the possibility that it

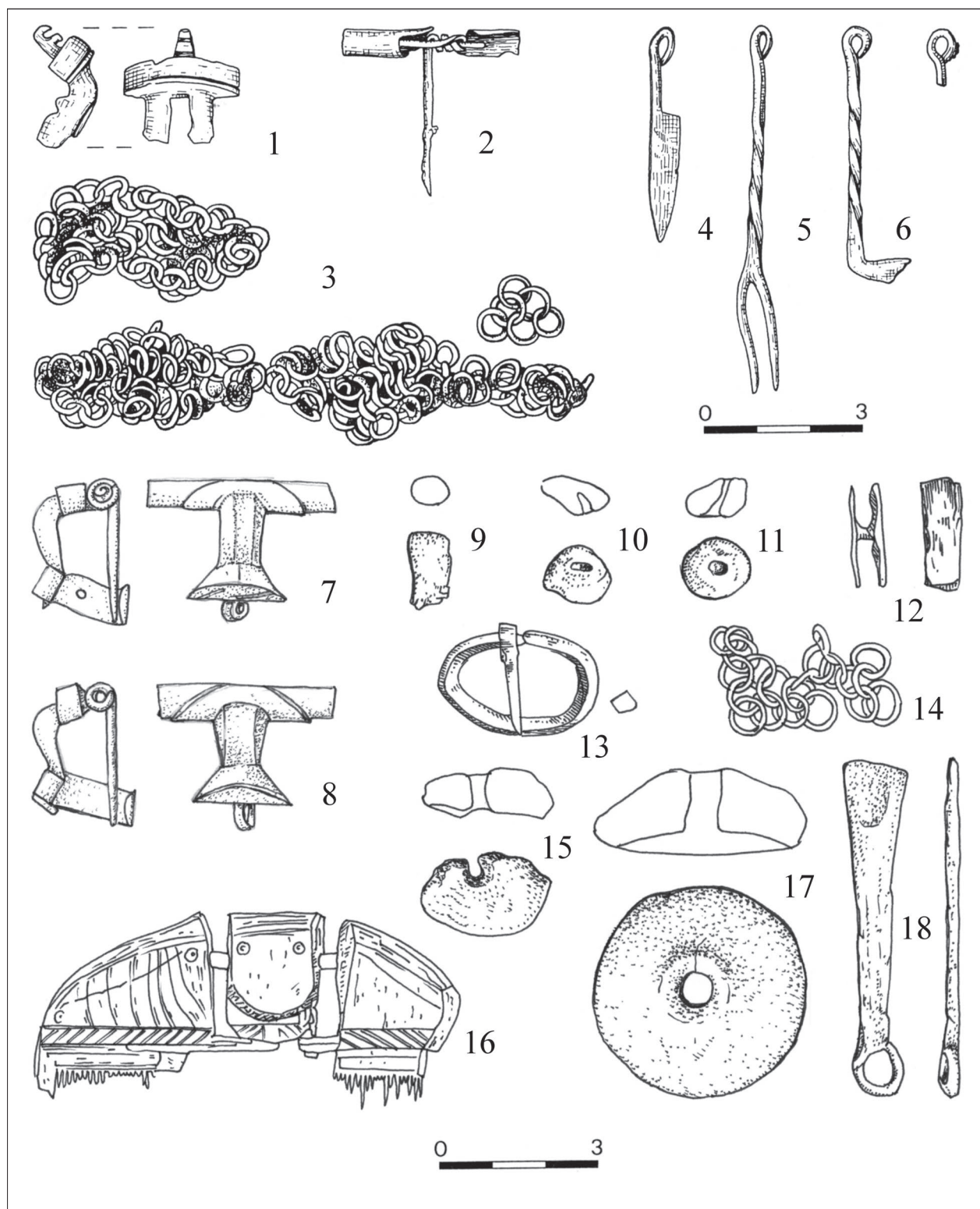


Fig. 10. 1-6 Opatów (PL), grave no. 147; 7-18 Krupice (PL), grave no. 208; examples of grave goods including fragments of mail armour. According to Abramovicz et al. 1960 and Jaskanis 2005.

Obr. 10. 1-6 Opatów (PL), hrob č. 147; 7-18 Krupice (PL), hrob č. 208; ukázky hrobového inventáře s fragmenty kroužkových pancířů. Podle Abramovicz et al. 1960 a Jaskanis 2005.

was a more common phenomenon linked with prestigious fashion as a status marker of a Barbarian warrior, a style which predominated in the wider region of central and

eastern Europe and which can also be found in the Baltic-Sambian Culture (Nowakowski 1996, 29, pl. 50: 1-2).

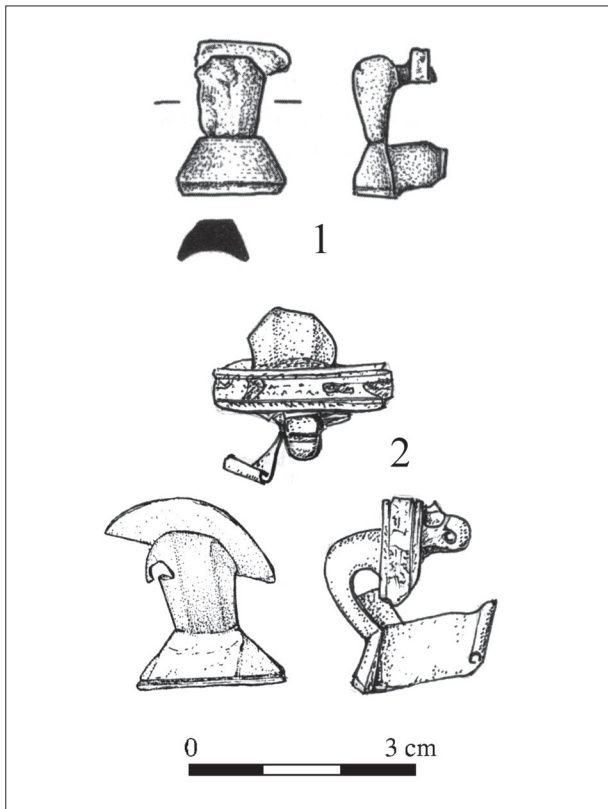


Fig. 11. Brooches of Algren V 125/130 type from Moravia. 1 Jevíčko-Předměstí (CZ), disturbed cemetery; 2 Mušov-Burgstall. 1 according to Droberjar, Vích 20.

Obr. 11. Spony Almgrenova typu V 125/130 z Moravy. 1 Jevíčko-Předměstí (CZ), rozrušené pohřebiště; 2 Mušov-Burgstall. 1 podle Droberjar, Vích 2011.

Local variety of bronze knee type brooches

Some of the more remarkable finds from the group of Barbarian *fibulae* include the three bronze knee type brooches found on the eastern slope of “Burgstall”, apparently not far from the workshop complex. Two of them were semi-finished products, although only one can be considered to be an unfinished cast. This piece is important because it provides convincing proof that similar brooches were made directly at the site, perhaps in the workshop area itself (fig. 1: 1–3).

All three samples from Mušov (apart from the straight bow sharply bent in its upper part) have a rudimentary small, almost quasi semi-round or crested head, upper spring and a rather rectangular prolonged catch-plate (fig. 13: 1 – 10). In the broader Barbarian context, several types mostly made from bronze can be distinguished, which differ to a greater or lesser extent in design of the details (Droberjar 2012, 237 f., fig. 3: 1–11; Tejral 2015, 238 f., fig. 7). Besides artefacts with small ordwarfed semiround, triangular or crested head (fig. 13: 1 – 10; 14: 2, 4) there is also a series of closely related knee type brooches, on

which the head is not present in some cases, or its upper part is only widened or shaped in some other way, the feet are often faceted (fig. 14: 1, 3, 5–8). Scarcely appear a small globula on the foot as well (fig. 14: 9–11).

All of them, however, belong to the same specific type which, considering its spatial dispersion and the noticeable fact that the most parallels were found in the Roman-barbarian contact zone, is worthy of special attention. Based on their characteristic morphological markers and their geographical spread with the main concentration in the area north of the Middle Danube they can be considered to be a specific variation whose origins must be sought in the local background. Certain evidence for local production of the discussed knee type brooches can be exemplified not only by the unfinished products from Burgstall, but also by a similar bronze brooch with a rudimentary head from the Germanic settlement at Cífer-Pác (fig. 15: 1). The context in which it was found also produced numerous fragments of Roman military equipment (armour, fittings etc.), which was clearly intended to be recycled and reused, as well as a sherd of late samian ware from Lezoux with a potter’s stamp CRVCVRO (fig. 15). It can certainly be dated to no earlier than the time of the Marcomannic Wars, although more likely immediately afterwards (Hüssen, Rajtár 1994, 220, fig. 9: 1; Cheben, Ruttkay 2010).

A number of examples have been recently found by metal detecting in numerous sites of southern Moravia, as well as Lower Austria, Slovakia and in Bohemia (Droberjar 2012), with designs similar to the brooches from Burgstall and Cífer-Pác, most of them are not published until now. Analogous specimen of the bronze knee type brooch came also from grave no. 2/61 at Gbelce (Beljak, Kolník 2006, 73f., fig. 10, esp. 10: 6) in Slovakia (fig. 21: 6). In addition to the bronze knee type brooch, this assemblage also produced other finds suggesting that the burial belongs to the transitional phase B2/C1. This includes the fragmentary remnants of a fluted kettle of Eggers 44 type and two iron bow spurs of a transitional form assigned to the sub-group Ginalski E1, which broaden at the base of the spike (fig. 21: 1–2). An similar spur, in this case made from bronze, and a fluted kettle that is clearly Eggers type 47 were found together with other items in a disturbed cremation grave in Baumgarten a. d. March (fig. 20: 1) whose inventory is characteristic of the transitional phase in the region north to the Danube as well (Adler 1976, 5f., fig. 8). Spurs of the same type, predominantly even made from bronze which were found also in graves of the Wielbark Culture or in the Mazovian variant of the Przeworsk Culture (Jahn 1921, 64f., 66, 117, fig. 69; Godłowski 1970, 8ff., fig. 2: c, group II; Ginalski 1991, 59f., fig. 11: 1–2, subgroup E, type 1) have recently been repeatedly recorded not only in southern Moravia and Lower Austria, but also in Pannonia (unpubl. find from Prosiměřice and other finds: Stuppner 1988, 288; Farka, Nowak 1988, 276. fig. 505). They even seem to be a typical manifestation of the intercultural connections

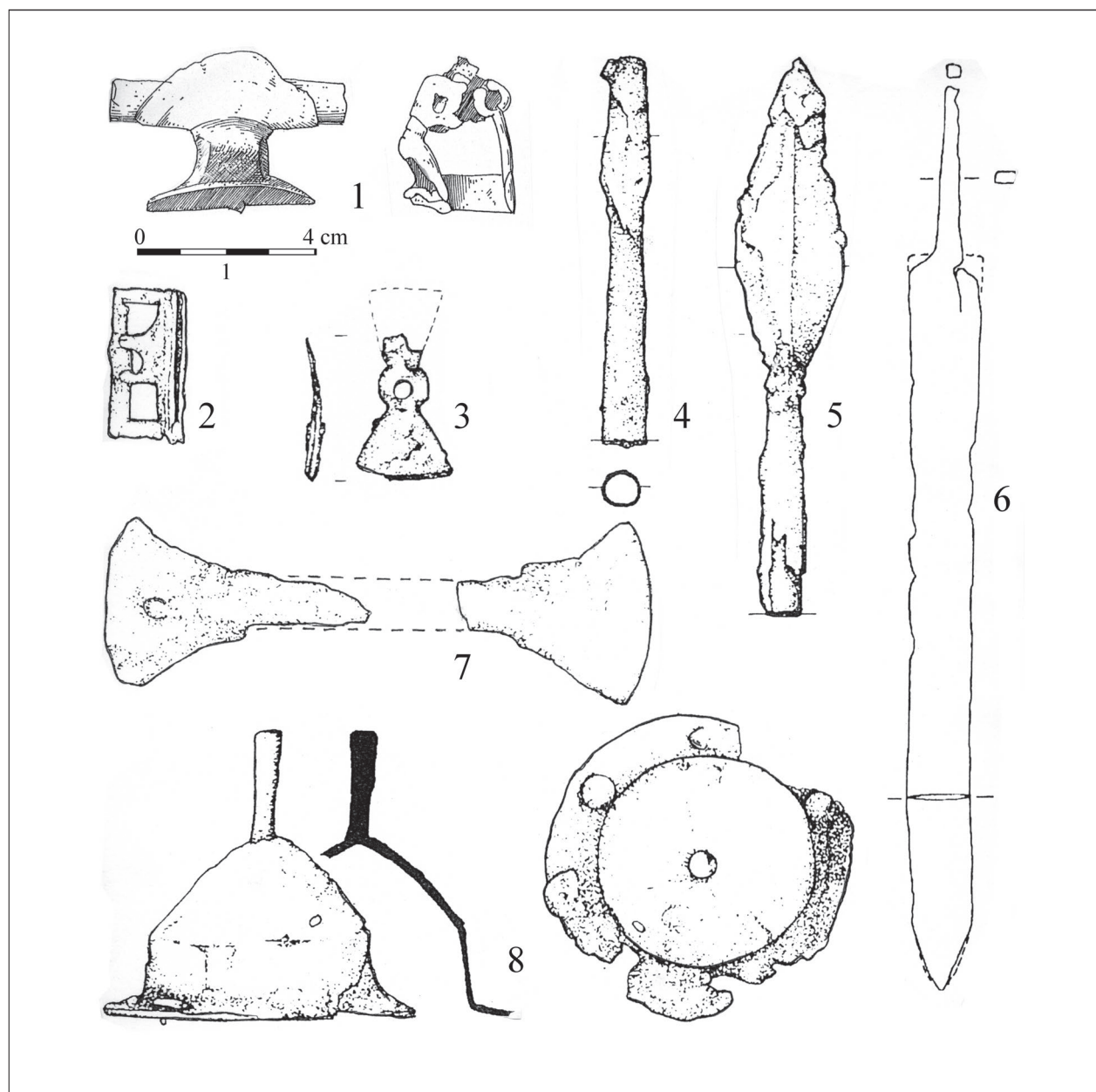


Fig. 12. Kompiňa (PL). Warrior grave including massive bronze brooch of Almgren V 125/130 type. According to Tyszler 1998. 2-8 without scale.

Obr. 12. Kompiňa (PL). Hrob bojovníka, obsahující masivní bronzovou sponu typu Almgren V 125/130. Podle Tyszler 1998. 2-8 bez měřítka.

at the time of the Marcomannic Wars and especially after this period.

A similar date can also be assigned to the simple knee type brooches without rudimentary heads (fig. 14: 5–7). In terms of their shape, these brooches show a certain similarity with Elbe-Germanic knee type brooches (Almgren 1923, group V, ser. 9, fig. 138–147; Gupte 1998, 203f.), which they are sometimes mistaken for; however they differ in terms of the rigid rectangular shape of their bow, faceted foot, often with knob and their eastern spatial distribution. A pair of bronze brooches with faceted feet, similar to those in Gbelce, was recovered from a grave at

Řepov in Bohemia (fig. 14: 5). They were a part of female accessories, which also featured a set of mostly amber beads and a silver S – shaped clasp, artefacts of north-eastern fashion, dated in the Middle Danube region to the period of the turn of the 2nd and 3rd centuries (Svoboda 1948, 78, fig. 8: 4).

One specific variant of these knee type brooches is a group with a knob on the head or on both the head and the foot (fig. 14: 10–11). These are found not only in the Middle Danube region (Allerbauer, Jedlicka 2001d, fig. 613), but also further out in the area of the Przeworsk Culture. They are known for example from grave no. 19

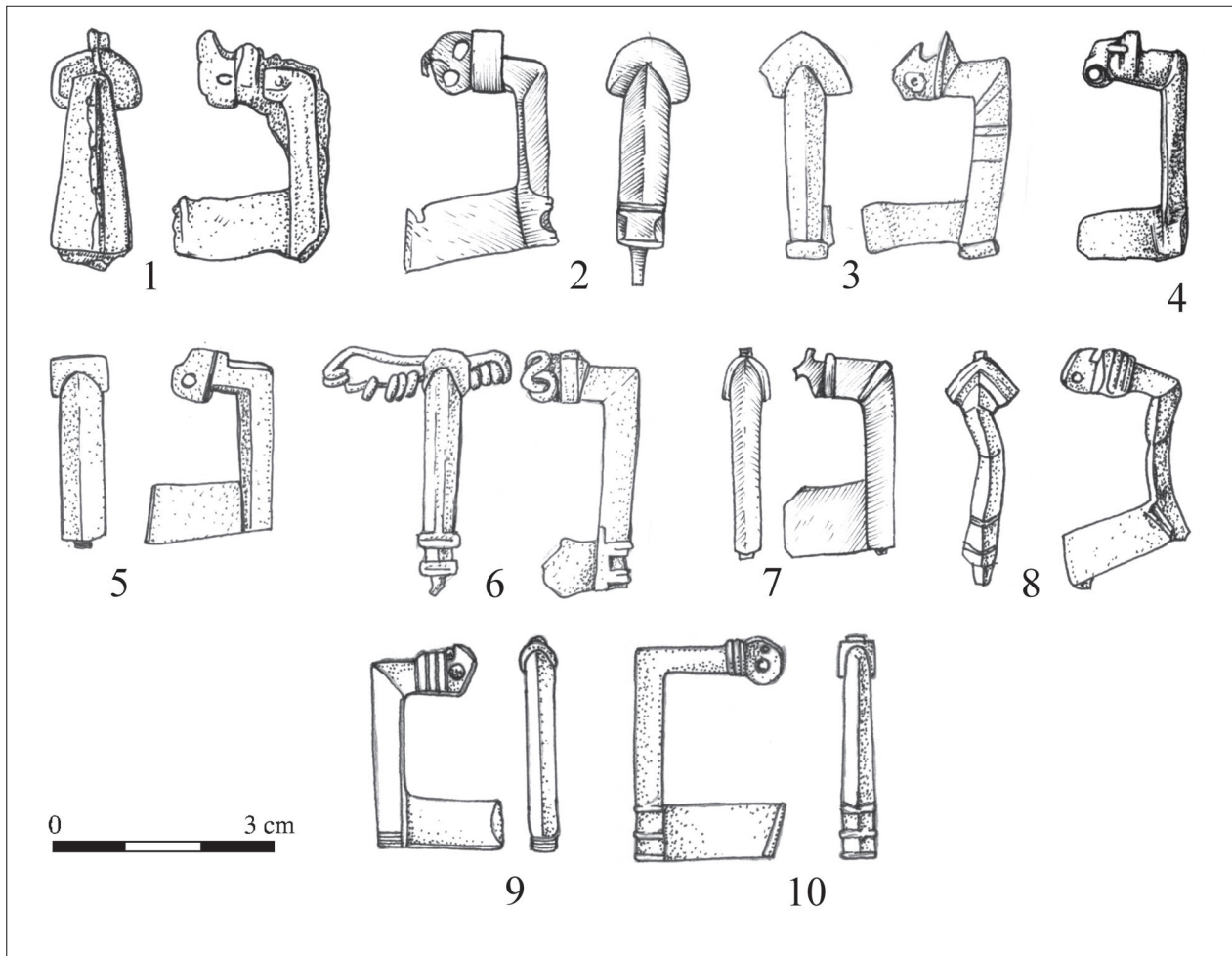


Fig. 13. Random sample of bronze knee brooches of Mušov type from the region north of the Middle Danube. 1, 4, 8 Mušov-Burgstall (CZ); 2 Ringelsdorf (A); 3, 6 Bernhardstal (A); 5 Jedenspeigen (A); 7 Drösing (A); 9 Medlovice (CZ); 10 Slatinice (CZ). 3-7 according to Adler, Nebehay 1990; Allerbauer, Jedlicka 2001a–2001d; 2001f; Mauer 2001; Čížmář et al. 2009; Loskotová 2009.

Obr. 13. Výběr příkladů bronzových kolinkovitých spon mušovského typu z oblasti severně od středního Dunaje. 1, 4, 8 Mušov-Burgstall (CZ); 2 Ringelsdorf (A); 3, 6 Bernhardstal (A); 5 Jedenspeigen (A); 7 Drösing (A); 9 Medlovice (CZ); 10 Slatinice (CZ). 3-7 Podle Adler, Nebehay 1990; Allerbauer, Jedlicka 2001a–2001d; 2001f; Mauer 2001; Čížmář et al. 2009; Loskotová 2009.

at Chorula, grave no. 61 (Szydłowski 1964, 31 f., fig. 18: 2; here fig. 14: 12) at Opatów and grave no. 1376 at Kietrz and other sites of Przeworsk Culture (Maćzyńska 2011, 45f., 271, fig. 18, list no. 8). The grave from Kietrz is especially important for chronology, where a knee type brooch with a knob on the head was found together with a *sigillata* from Rheinzabern made by the potter Cerialis IV (Gedl 1988, 145ff., fig. 24, esp. 24: a).

A completely unique find came from grave no. 24 at a burial site belonging to the Przeworsk Culture from Prusiek in the foothills of the Polish Carpathians, where the caster who manufactured brooches of that type was buried (Madyda-Legutko, Rodzińska-Nowak 2012, 75ff.). Amongst other items, this grave also contained special tools for making the decorations, as well as two bronze moulds, which were perhaps used to shape the wax models.

When attempting to determine the decisive factor in the development of the type that appeared in the material from “Burgstall”, the bronze alloy knee type brooches with an iron upper spring and a rudimentary or dwarfed head seem to suggest both the barbarian sphere and the provinces. On the one hand they are related typologically to the bent bow *fibulae*, with semi-round head and often with a round flat foot of Almgren type V 132, which are widespread both in the territory of the Przeworsk Culture and in the regions where this culture extended to the south-east, but also in the Suebian domain to the north of the Middle Danube region. They are, however mostly made of iron within these areas and their date roughly corresponds to the chronological phase B2 or its final stage (Godłowski 1977, 20f.; 1984, 336f., fig 4: 4; 1992, fig. 12: 7; Maćzyńska 2011, 51; Kolník 1961, 246). Whether some examples of iron knee brooches (also bowed sharply at a right angle), that relatively often have been in Poland

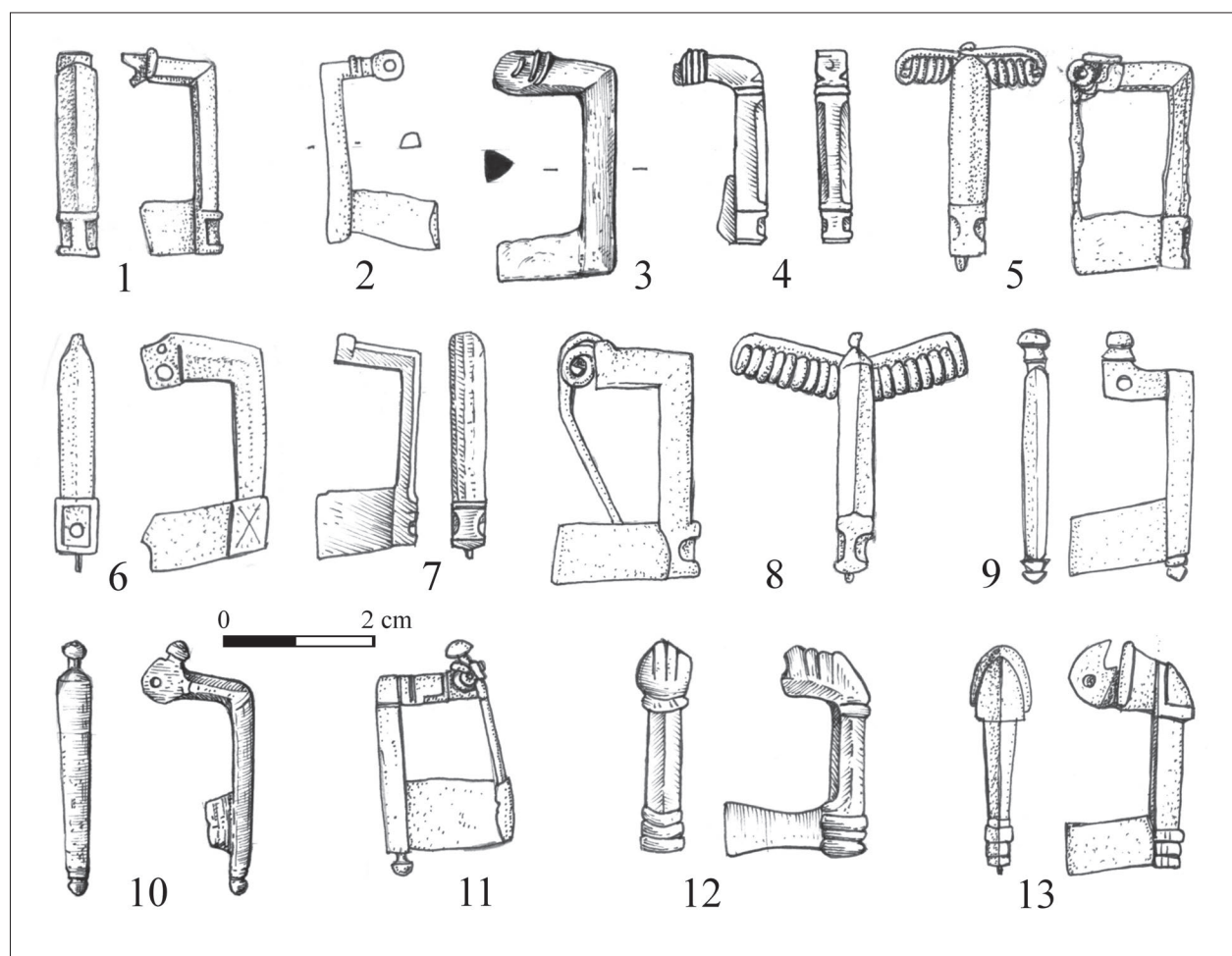


Fig. 14. Random sample of bronze knee brooches related to the fibulae from Mušov-Burgstall. 1 Paltendorf (A); 2 Dyjákovice (CZ); 3, 10 Borotice (CZ); 4, 6, 7 Drösing (A); 5 Řepov (CZ); 8, 9 Bernhardstal (A); 11 Chorula gr. 19 (PL); 12 Prutzendorf (A); 13 Ringelsdorf (A). According to Adler; Schuppler 1991; Čížmář et al. 2009; Jílek, Klaničková 2009; Nebehay 1983; Svoboda 1948; Allerbauer, Jedlička 2001a; 2001c; Stuppner 1984; Adler, Nebehay 1990; Szydlowski 1964; Mauer 2001.

Obr. 14. Výběr bronzových kolínkovitých spon, příbuzných sponám z Mušova z oblasti severně od středního Dunaje. 1 Paltendorf (A); 2, 3, 10 Borotice (CZ); 4, 6, 7 Drösing (A); 5 Řepov (CZ); 8, 9 Bernhardstal (A); 11 Chorula gr. 19 (PL); 12 Prutzendorf (A); 13 Ringelsdorf (A). Podle Adler, Schuppler 1991; Čížmář et al. 2009; Jílek, Klaničková 2009; Nebehay 1983; Svoboda 1948; Allerbauer, Jedlička 2001a; 2001c; Stuppner 1984; Adler, Nebehay 1990; Szydlowski 1964; Mauer 2001.

(Dąbrowska 1997, 83, pl. X: 18.2; Niewęglowski 1991, 52, fig. 36: a), could have been derived from this type it cannot be determined definitively, although at the very least some of them, such as the specimen from grave no. 21 in Krupice with a rudimentary head, could be a transitional variation of the relatively common Almgren V 132 figures (Jaskanis 2005, 90, pl. X: 21.1).

More likely, as patterns for the bronze knee type brooches from Mušov might have been also considered the rarely occurring provincial types of knee brooches, where the bow is bent at a right angle in its upper part (for example Jobst 1975, 59ff., pl. 15: 109; 16: 107–112; 17: 120 etc.; Peškař 1972, 95, pl. 17: 11; Droberjar 2012, 239f., fig. 5). The mentioned brooches seem nev-

ertheless, to have stronger affinities with another type of bronze knee fibula whose bow is usually bent in the upper-knee part which is thickened (appearing swollen) and occasionally decorated (fig. 14: 13–14). They have been found in the Sarmatian zone of the Great Hungarian Plain (Vaday 1988–1989, 283, fig. 13: 6–17, pl. 131:2; Maćzyńska 2001, 77 ff., fig. 1: 3–4; 2011, 46ff., fig. 20) and they also occur sporadically beyond the northern Danube frontier (the most typical Mauer 2001, fig. 764; Allerbauer, Jedlička 2001c, fig. 807; Maćzyńska 2001, 272, list no. 9); even as far as Silesia (Pescehek 1939, 326, pl. I: 137). Another noticeable concentration of finds have been found in northern Poland, in the region of the Wielbark Culture where the brooch from the B2/C1 dated cremation burial No. 43 in the cemetery at Lešno (fig. 16: 4)

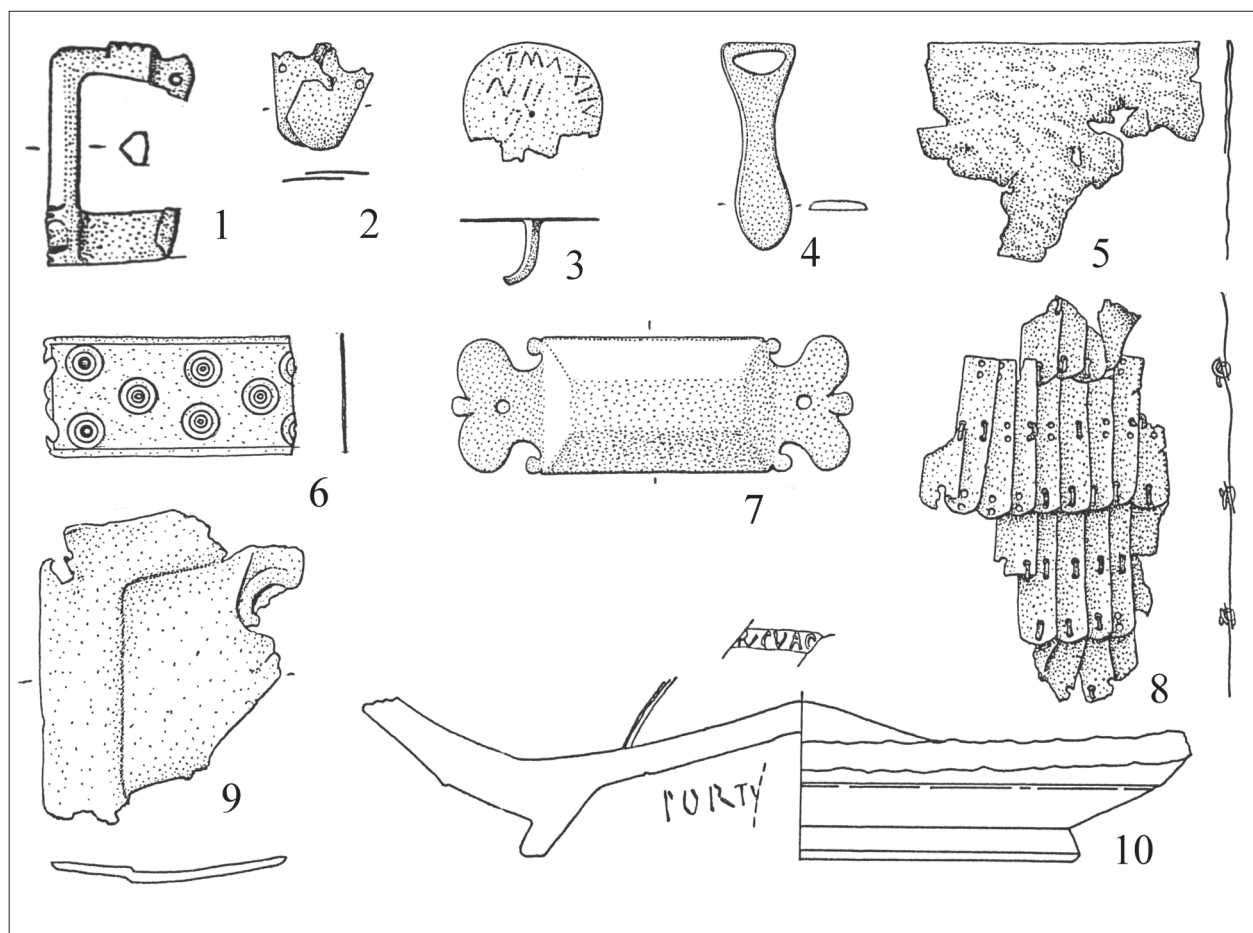


Fig. 15. Collection of artefacts from the sunken floored barbarian dwelling at Cífer-Pác, including samian ware, bronze knee brooch and fragmentary Roman military equipment. According to Cheben, Ruttkay 2010. Without scale.

Obr. 15. Soubor nálezů ze zahloubeného barbarského obydlí v Cíferu-Páci. Podle Cheben, Ruttkay 2010. Bez měřítka.

represents a characteristic specimen (Walenta 2009, 60, pl. LXXX: 4).

Relatively often occur analogous brooches in the Baltic Dolkeim-Kowrowo Culture, where some of them have a round, flat foot (Nowakowski 1996, 41ff., pl. 100: 1, map. 5; Mączyńska 2001, 79, fig. 1: 6–12; Mączyńska 2011, 46f., fig. 19–20). Essentially they correspond to Almgren type A V 136–137. While some Polish authors consider that the making of similar brooches, especially the types with a round, flat foot was inspired by the Przeworsk iron brooches of type A V 132 (Andrzejowski 1992, 172; Andrzejowski, Cieślinski 2007, 287ff., fig. 1979), M. Mączyńska (2003) believes that *fibulae* similar to Almgren type V 137 are of Pannonian origin probably originating with the knee *fibulae* 104/104a (according to Kovrig), which were found in certain numbers particularly in the Roman forts along the Pannonian frontier, also among the brooches from the fort Iža dated to the Marcomannic Wars and in several sites to the north of Carnuntum (Kovrig 1937, 64, pl. 10: 104/104a; Patek 1942, pl. 22: 16; Lamiová-Schmiedlová 1961, pl. 7: 7, 11–12; Nebehay 1983, 284, fig. 825; Allerbauer, Jedlicka

2001a, 659; 2001c, 662, fig. 764, 807 etc.). They are also known from the Dacian frontier zone (Cociş 2004, 102f., pl. LXXX: 1219–1221).

A number of related brooches, sometimes of specific forms, were found at sites along the Dacian frontier line (e. g. Prolissum, Buciumi, Iliusa, etc.). It seems that these samples, are a local, perhaps derived type, which in these parts was used particularly at the end of the 2nd and beginning of the 3rd centuries. Some of them have a knob on the foot and small semi-round head (Cociş 2005, 90f., pl. LXII–LXIII: 932–935). Further similar brooches in the Dacian frontier zone show a knob both on the head and on the foot (Cociş 2005, 134, 32b1a and 32b1b types, pl. CXIV: 1618–1623). M. Mączyńska compares this group with similar types from the area of the Przeworsk Culture already mentioned previously (Mączyńska 2003, 320, pl. 10: 6–9; 2011, 45–46). The provenance of these pieces is not completely clear (“Sarmatian type”). In this respect, an important observation was made by M. Mączyńska (2003, 320), who stated that the distribution area of these brooches virtually overlaps with that of the Sarmatian variety of the early Almgren group VII brooch-

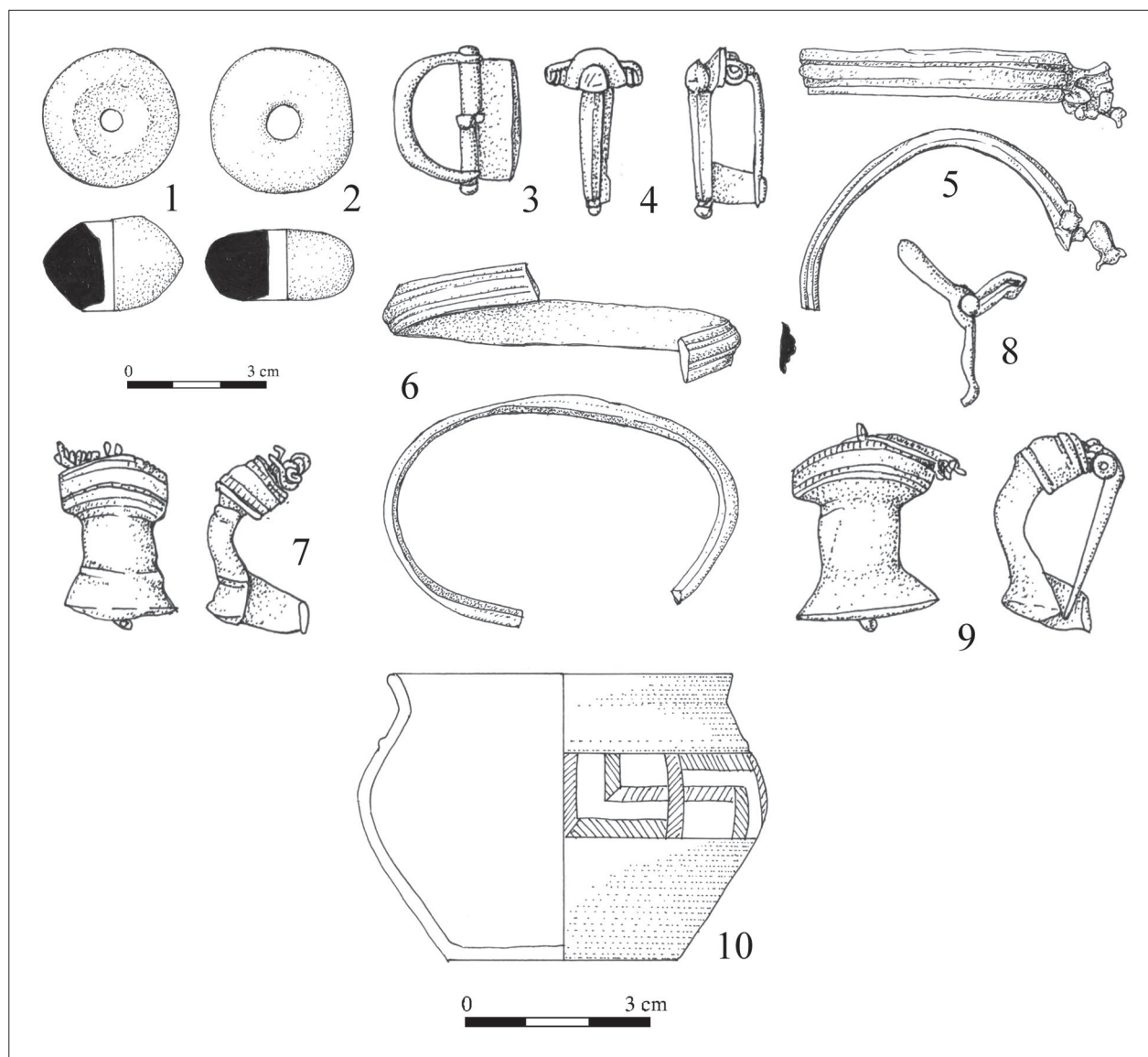


Fig. 16. Grave goods from the cremation burial no. 43 at Lešno. According to Walenta 2009.

Obr. 16. Inventář žárového hrobu č. 43 z Lešna. Podle Walenta 2009.

es with an upper spring and a knob on the head, which occur both in the Przeworsk Culture and in the area of modern day northwestern Romania, as well as in the Suebian enclave to the north of the Middle Danube. In this area, archaeological finds have shown that they were popular here, and they were like the *fibulae* of group VII after Almgren with a high catch-plate an upper chord manufactured in the local workshops during the period after the Marcomannic Wars (Tejral 2006; 2015). The pieces from “Burgstall” could represent the beginning of the developing tendency towards a regional variety of knee brooches that first appeared at the end of the Roman-barbarian wars in the late 2nd century. Their dating predominantly in the years after these events is confirmed by the occurrence of analogous *fibulae* in grave 2/61 at Gbelce-Tehelňa, from a post-Roman occupation context at the site of Cifer-Pác (Varsik, Kolník 2013, 74 f., fig. 2–3) and in the late settlement stratum at Mušov-Neurissen (see hereafter). Sum-

ming up, the stimulus for this design came not only from the Germanic contexts, but also, predominantly, from the provinces.

The stratigraphical evidence from Roman sites

For the chronology of the aforementioned B2/C1 and C1a types of brooches from the more easily datable Roman military sites, due to their contexts and stratigraphy are of crucial importance. But the value for the absolute dating of this finds varies slightly from case to case. There are no problems with the dating of the brooch of A V 129 type from the Roman earth-timber fort at Iža, which was lying on the floor of a room in the western part of building B 9. Conclusive chronological markers such as samian ware and coins allow us to date this relatively precisely to the late 170s (Hüssen, Rajtár 1994, esp. 218,

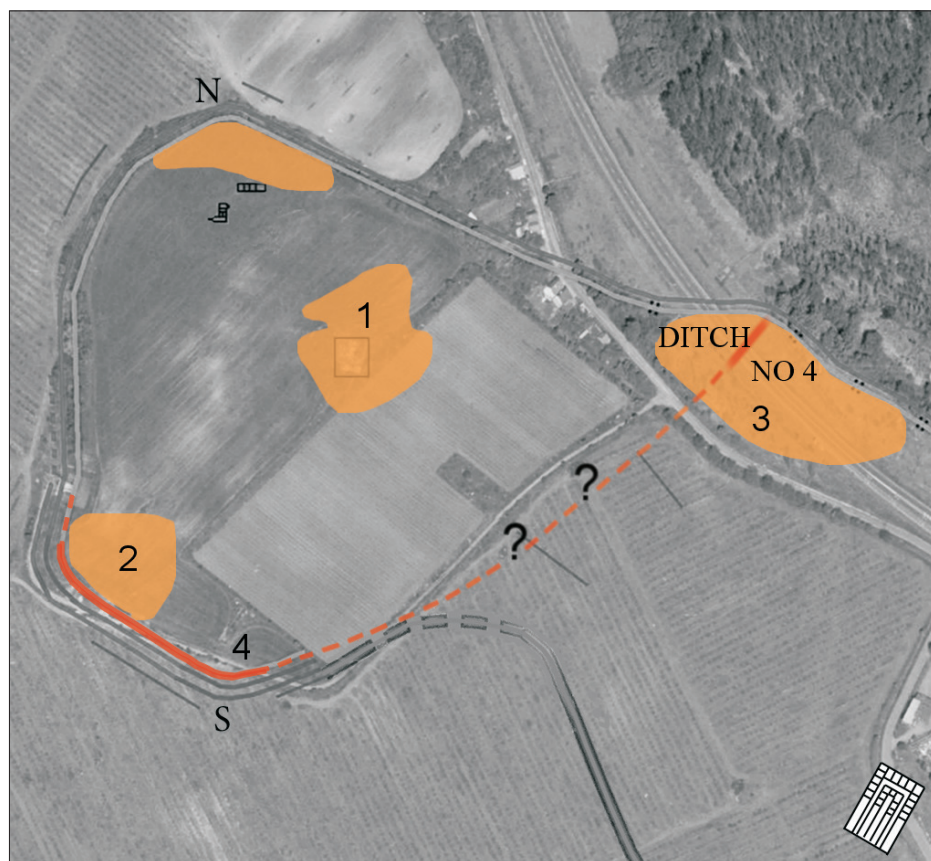


Fig. 17. Mušov „Burgstall“. A rough extent of barbarian settlement traces. 1 settlement area of the so called workshop district; 2 post-Roman settlement on the south-western part of „Burgstall“; 3 post-Roman settlement and the ditch no. IV (red line) in the location „Neurissen“; 4 post-Roman, secondary ditch is the south-western part of „Burgstall“ (red line).

Obr. 17. Mušov „Burgstall“. Přibližný rozsah stop po barbarském osídlení. 1 sídlištní areál tzv. dílenského okrsku; 2 zbytky pořímského osídlení v jihozápadní části „Hradiska“; 3 pořímské osídlení a příkop č. IV v trati „Neurissen“; 4 sekundární, pořímský příkop v jihozápadní části „Hradiska“ (červená linie).

fig. 2: 1; Rajtár 2009). While in Iža the late chronology of this diagnostic type can be convincingly confirmed, the precise dating of comparable artefacts from “Burgstall” near Mušov is, in view of the local stratigraphy, a more complicated matter. The new archaeological record from “Burgstall” at Mušov have provided further informations which could help to determine when the brooches in question first appeared in the Danube region.

The most important evidence is provided by the burnt-down remnants of the timber and daub structures in the so-called workshop district, on the eastern slope of “Burgstall” (settlement area no. 1, fig. 17: 1). There were some barbarian metal items discovered in the context of sunken floored huts. The dating of these objects and other items from the nearby vicinity of the location, which bear signs of fire, depends very likely on the date of the great conflagration which destroyed the workshop and other structures in this area. The fire also evidently damaged the originally richly ornamented Almgren type 125/130 bronze fibula discovered with a metal detector nearby. The views of authors on the dating of this fire, nevertheless, differ. On the basis of coins and late samian ware from Lezoux, but also early specimens from Rheinzabern, M. Stoilova (2006) dated the fire disaster to a time not long after 176 AD. B. Komoróczy nevertheless pushes most likely the dating of this fire forward into the years when the site had definitely been abandoned by the Roman army, probably in 180 AD (Komoróczy 2008a, 414).

On the other hand some circumstances do not rule out a more varied course of events and more confused stratigraphical situation. Noticeably there are single pieces of barbarian equipment which could be dated to a later period of time. The bronze strap-end (inv. no. 10040/14-6/96) was found within the context of a sunken floored house no. 2 in the workshop area (fig. 18: 1) together with the brooch of Almgren V 129 type and samian ware from Lezoux (Stoilova 2006, 16). The piece falls into the group 1 of strap-ends, variant 6 according to Madyda-Legutko (2011, 135, pl. 11: 2–5, map 8) whose terminal features a thicker cylindrical stud at the bottom. It corresponds to the types O 8-9, 14 with an evenly cut upper part, which K. Raddatz described amongst the finds from the war booty sacrifice at Thorsberg in northern Germany (Raddatz 1957, 85–88, fig. 1, pl. 12–10). A large number of similar belt-endings and fittings, diverse variations of Raddatz group O, have been found not only in Thorsberg, but also in other war booty sacrifices, e. g. from Vimose and Illerup in Denmark. In particular, a complete series of smaller silver examples were used in Illerup predominantly as decoration and for use on horse harnesses (Ilkjaer 1993, 176 f., fig. 34: 15; 60). There are sets of bronze belt-endings, particularly types O 4, O 12, O 19, but also O 14, etc., which also were used to adorn sword straps (Ilkjaer 1993, 176 f., fig. 34; pl. 102–107). Only a few types of these strap-ends are closely related to the example from Burgstall, especially the items belonging to belt-sets AAKH (Ilkjaer 1993, 192, fig. 54–55; 62). Although we cannot rule out the fact that the origins of this type of strap-end, especially the spiked variants with a more

articulated bottom part belong to the B2/C1 phase or the C1a phase, the bulk of the finds from booty sacrifices at Illerup originate in the later phase of C1 (Ilkjaer 1993, 204 ff.).

Similar items are nevertheless recorded even from the territory of the Roman provinces. One of the few grave contexts which may be conclusive for the absolute chron-

ological dating of similar, but not exactly the same belt-endings is the burial of a Roman soldier at Lyon (Ulbert 1974, 211–215, fig. 4). Besides the unique military equipment, including a Roman *spatha*, a set of bronze belt fittings, characteristic Roman knee type brooch etc., the grave also contained thirteen coins with the earliest being minted during the time of emperor Septimius Severus in 194 AD, indicating a *terminus post quem*. From this find

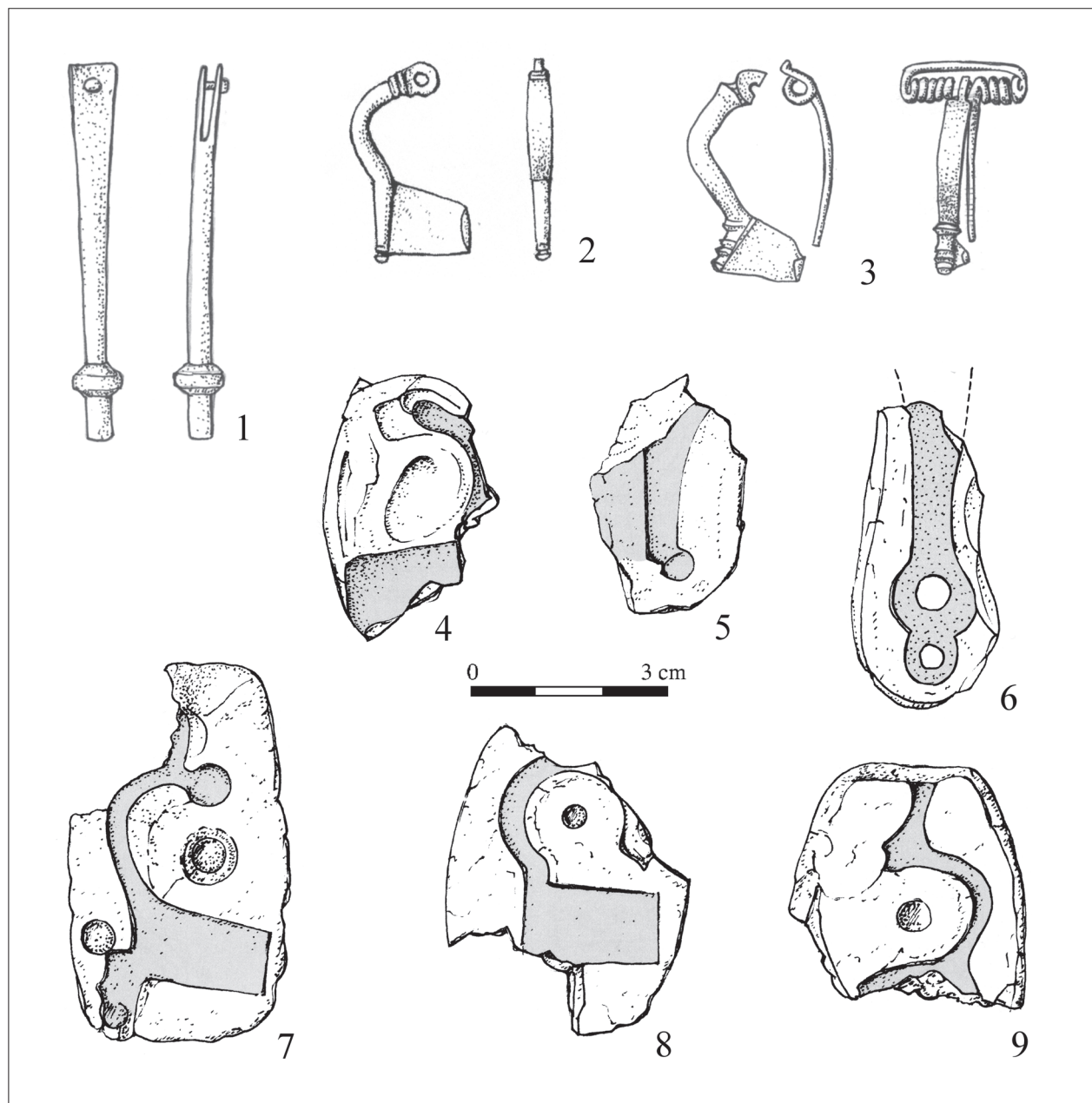


Fig. 18. Distinctive artefacts from the B2/C1 (C1a) settlement features and other structures at Mušov „Burgstall“ and its surrounding. 1 Mušov „Burgstall“, bronze strap-end from the workshop district, sunken floored house no. 2; 2 bronze brooch of Almgren VII group (sarmatian variety) from recessed barbarian feature in the settlement area 2 (south-western part of „Burgstall“); 3 bronze brooch of Almgren VII group (sarmatian variety) from the ditch no. IV at the location „Neurissen“; 4-8 clay moulds from the workshop in Pasohlávky-Vodárna.

Obr. 18. Charakteristické nálezy ze sídlištních objektů datovaných do fáze B2/C1 (C1a) z Mušova „Burgstallu“ a z jeho okolí. 1 Mušov „Burgstall“, bronzové nákončí, dílenský okrsek, zahloubené obydlí č. 2; 2 bronzová spona Almgrenovy VII skupiny (sarmatská varianta) ze zahloubeného sídlištního objektu v sídlištním areálu č. 2 (jihozápadní část Burgstallu); 3 bronzová spona Almgrenovy VII skupiny (sarmatská varianta) z příkopu č. IV v trati „Neurissen“. 4-8 hliněné formy z dílenského objektu na sídlišti Pasohlávky-Vodárna.

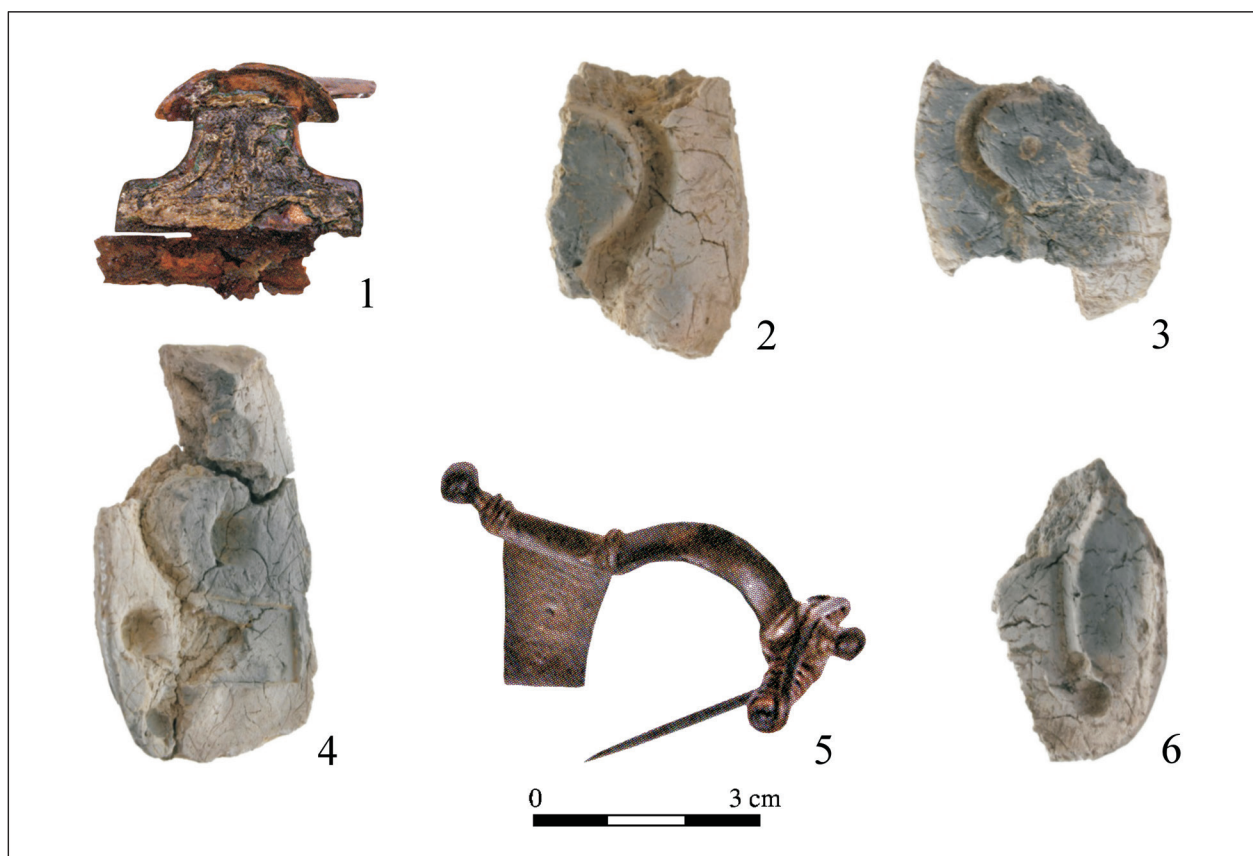


Fig. 19. B2/C1 (C1a) brooches and clay moulds from the settlement at Pasohlávky-Vodárna. 1, 5 according to Komoróczy et al. 2001.

Obr. 19. Spony a hliněné formy z fáze B2/C1 (C1a) na sídlišti v Pasohlávkách-Vodárna. 1, 5 podle Komoróczy et al. 2010.

it tends to be assumed that the buried individual was a soldier who died in the conclusive battle between Clodius Albinus and Septimius Severus in 197. The relatively late date would otherwise be based on the presence of one strap-terminal of the Raddatz O type, amongst the material from the limes fort at Osterburken (Oldenstein 1976, 146, pl. 36: 319). There are even three specimens, one of them very close to the strap-end found in Burgstall, from the inventory of the princely inhumation grave II at Stráže whose overall character does not preclude its classification into the phase of C1b (Ondrouch 1957, pl. 46: 8; 48: 1–2).

A complete set of belt-endings of a similar type (5 pieces), although with slightly profiled studs and a wedge-shaped fastening part, (group I, type 2, var. 5 after Madyda-Legutko 2011), were also found in the well-known cremation grave from Przywóz, in the territory of the Przeworsk culture (fig. 33: 2–4). A fragment of samian ware from the workshop in Rheinzabern with the stamp of potter Mammilianus who was active during the Severian period dates this context without doubt to the first half of the 3rd century (Kowalczyk 1968; Madyda-Legutko 2011, 135, pl. VIII: 7–9). The strap-ends which correspond to Raddatz type O in graves of the Wielbark

Culture are of a later date as well (Godłowski 1974, 41, pl. II: 15; Madyda-Legutko 2011, 135; Natuniewicz-Sekula, Okulicz-Kozaryn 2011, 131, 132, Weblice, Type 011, stadium IIIB, IVA). One of them, very similar to the specimen from Burgstall but of a smaller size, comes from grave No. 5 in Kamienica Szlachecka (Tuszyńska 1998, 114, fig. II: 7). In addition to the typical Late Roman brooches, D-shaped buckles of D17 type (Madyda-Legutko 1986) and other items, the grave also contained bronze and silver-plated fittings from “*balteus*” which, amongst other features, shares parallels with the war booty sacrifice at Illerup (Tuszyńska 1998, 114, fig. II: 1). The context can probably be dated to phase C1b. Apart from one singular specimen are all the other belt endings of var. 5 and 6, of group I, type 2 from the area beyond the Roman frontier characteristic for the late Roman phase C1 (Madyda-Legutko 2011, 37; Ilkjær 1993, 204ff.). The strap-end from Burgstall, whose closest parallels may be assigned to the Late Roman phase C1, as well, could also be seen as a chronological marker which further narrows the length of time the place on the southwestern slope of Burgstall was settled.

Later dating provides also an iron scabbard chape which was found in the gravel layer on the southeast slope

of “Burgstall”. It may be associated with the Roman form Carleon-Lyon as classified by Miks (2007, 1, 330ff.), or rather a simpler imitation of this form with the upper part cut straight (Tejral 1999, fig. 10: 5). Apart from the inaccurately dated find from the Roman fort at Niederbieber, this specimen only has one corresponding parallel, from cremation grave 13 A in Inowrocław (Bednarczyk 1994, Taf. 401). In the assemblage it was associated with a scabbard slide of type IIIb according to von Carnap-Bornheim (1991, 30f.), later spurs and other items which can be assigned to the 6th group of graves with weapons according to Godłowski (1994b), in other words with artefacts belonging to the phase following phase B/C1 and may be dated rather to the early stage of the Late Roman period.

Despite certain ambiguities associated with the dating of the fire disaster and the stratigraphy of the site which

have not yet been fully explained, the above evidence suggests in any case a later date for the primary appearance of the diagnostic types corresponding to stage B2/C1, such as Almgren type 125/130 and 129 brooches or knee *fibulae* discussed above. If the production of barbarian brooches at this site was concentrated in the workshop complex or in its nearly vicinity on the eastern slope of “Burgstall” remains, of course, questionable, but by all appearances they were cast for some time during a later period. It is also not out of the question that the site was abandoned at this time by the Roman military and that the continued production of the brooches was carried out by the Barbarians in the years following the Roman military occupation. The absence of the Roman coins and samian ware dated after 180 AD, supply of which has been stopped up to a certain time after Roman departure, does not exclude some subsequent activities here. Such a pos-

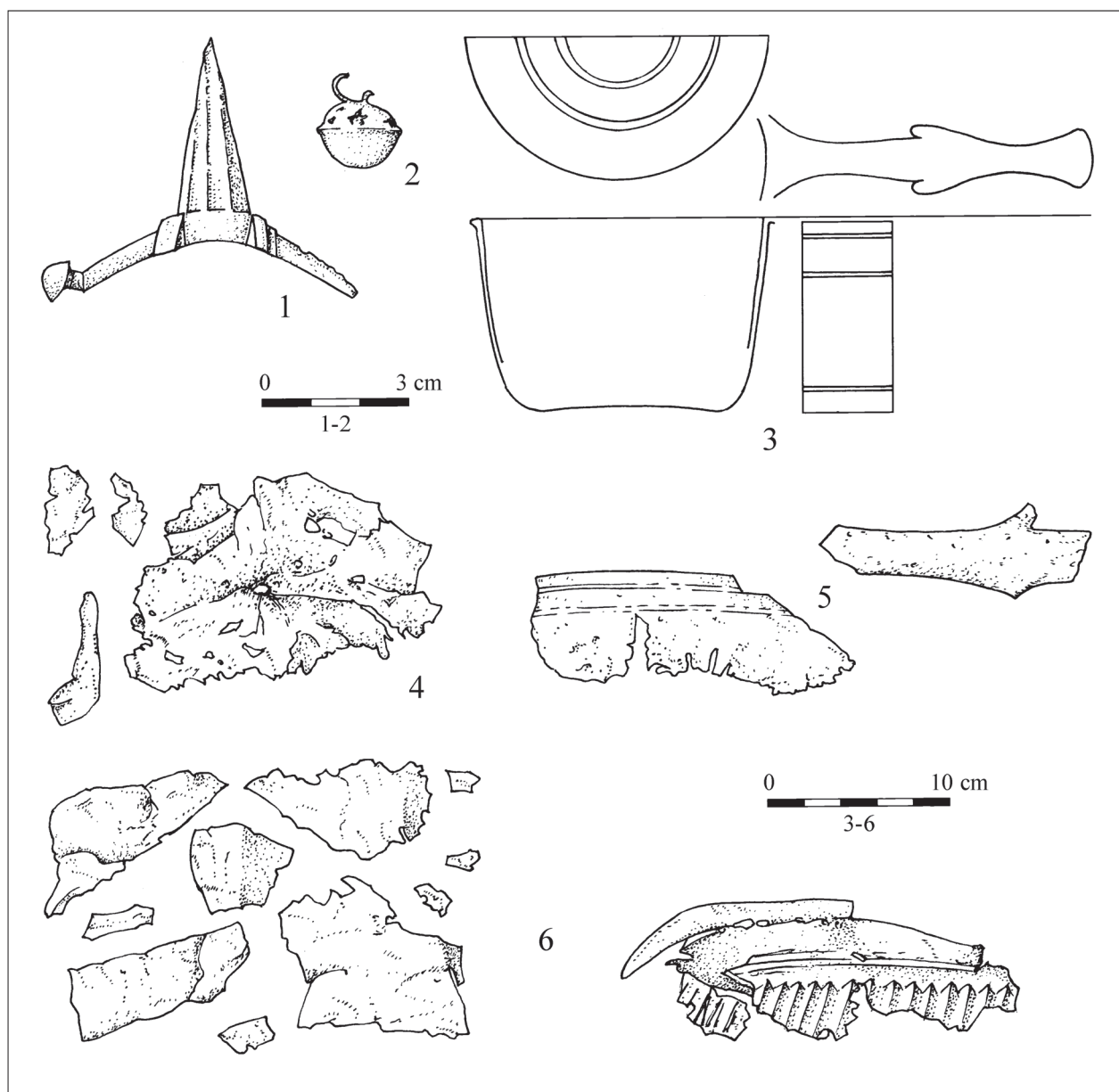


Fig. 20. Grave goods from the cremation burial at Baumgarten a. d. March. According to Adler 1976.

Obr. 20. Inventář žárového hrobu z Baumgartenu a. d. March. Podle Adler 1976.

sibility can be exemplified by the stratigraphical situation here and there on other places of Burgstall location (Tejral 2011).

It may be implied consequently that a part of the burnt down settlement on the eastern slope of Burgstall might have been the site of later barbarian occupation as well, comparable to those ascertained, especially in the southwestern part of the hillfort. There traces of the subsequent Germanic settlement in the aftermath of the Wars have been discovered. No Roman pottery and coins dated after 180 have been found. Germanic settlement features have been observed here which disturbed the preceding Roman structures and clearly date to a later period than the Roman occupation of the location. A clearer picture did not appear until the excavations carried out during the research project in 2004 – 2007 (Tejral, Komoróczy 2008, 114–123) to the south of the recent water reservoir (settlement area II on the map). The digging succeeded in uncovering several simple, sunken floored Germanic buildings of mostly irregular shape which were evidently built over the Roman installations or had encroached on it. In addition to this a secondary barbarian defence ditch surrounding partially western and southwestern periphery of the “Burgstall” hill was discovered, which was dug deeper into the semi-disintegrated, partly washed-away Roman rampart, producing clear evidence that it was not established until after the destruction of the Roman defences from the time of Marcomannic Wars (fig. 17:2,4). Besides the dislocated parts of Roman equipment, fragments of Roman bricks and sherds of Roman pottery, including fragments of *terra sigillata*, there are so far some artefacts within this settlement stratum that can provide us with an actual date of the post-occupation level.

One important indicator for dating the secondary sunken barbarian ditch, besides its contents, which were mostly made up of animal bones, either isolated pieces or larger parts of animals that were partially still anatomically linked together, was its stratigraphy. Everything indicates that the Germanic ditch and temporary settlement came into being not until the site had been abandoned by the Roman army (Komoróczy 2008b, pl. 26–29).

Apart from the second Almgren type V 129 brooch found on the destroyed Roman clay rampart, which could later have been moved, other *fibulae* have come to light, representing types that were typical for the Late Roman Period (C1a). These, however, such as an early form of an Almgren group VII bronze brooch (fig. 18: 2; the variant with an upper spring), an iron brooch with inverted foot roughly of Almgren VI 162 type and an amber bead clearly indicate that both the recessed barbarian features and the ditch date to the early phase of the Late Roman period.

The brooches of the VII group with high catch-plate occur in the zone beyond the Roman frontier in two

main variants. The first is distinguishable by the crossbow construction (Almgren 1923, 91f.; Schulte 1998; Kaczmarek 1998, 306f., ser. 1). The second one, called Sarmatian variant (Kolník 1965, 196f.) with upper chord and often a knob on the head or on the foot (Mączyńska 2003; 2011, 67ff.). Whilst the main distribution pattern of the first variant with crossbow are the regions of Lower Elbe, Brandenburg, Mecklenburg and Ostholstein (Schulte 1998, 290f., fig. 3) the finds of the second variant are dispersed rather in eastern parts of the Central Europe with a strong concentration in the Middle Danube region (Tejral 2006; Mączyńska 2011, fig. 28). Both variants are presented in the area of Wielbark and Przeworsk Cultures as well, even though the first variant with crossbow construction was in the Wielbark Culture rather popular. The same may be said about the brooches of the VI group with inverted foot made from bronze and iron, the first basic type of which is represented by unipartite *fibulae* with upper chord and short spring of type Almgren VI 158, the second one by bipartite brooches with crossbow construction of type roughly Almgren VI 162.

The impressive picture comes from the adjacent location of Neurissen (settlement area III) which was excavated by O. Šedo (2015). Aside from the isolated, as yet unpublished settlement features, including the characteristic, sunken floored huts which can be dated on the basis of bronze brooches with inverted foot of Almgren type 162 and other small items, to the years following the Marcomannic Wars, we should also mention the contents of ditch No. IV, discovered in the western part of the Neurissen terrace. The barbarian ditch here was larger than that at “Burgstall”, but its much richer contents showed a great many features they had in common. The fosse, 7.4 m wide and reaching a depth of about 3.9 m, lying on the northwest part of the route, was oriented crosswise to the edge of the route in a NNE – SSW direction, and definitely cannot be linked with the fortification system that dates from the Marcomannic Wars, but probably with the barbarian one in the southern part of “Burgstall” (fig. 17: 3–4). In addition to the numerous animal bones comprising, like in the ditch at “Burgstall”, the remains of cattle, often older, badly worn pieces, as well as further horse skeletons, one skeleton of a donkey and one of a mule, the remains of human skeletons belonging to 34 individuals (6 children, 20 women, 6 men, 2 indeterminable skeleton) were also discovered. The anthropological material showed traces of deliberate wounds; signs of cutting, stabbing, and chopping were visible, especially on the skulls. In addition to silver S-shaped clasps, individual glass and amber beads etc., items that do greatly help in dating this feature include the hemispherical Zielsing (1989) type M iron shield-boss, iron keys of Kokowski A 1 type (Kokowski 1997), and especially an Almgren group VII bronze brooch with, a high catch plate and with an upper spring (fig. 18: 3), in other words a form that is sometimes referred to as the “Sarmatian type”.

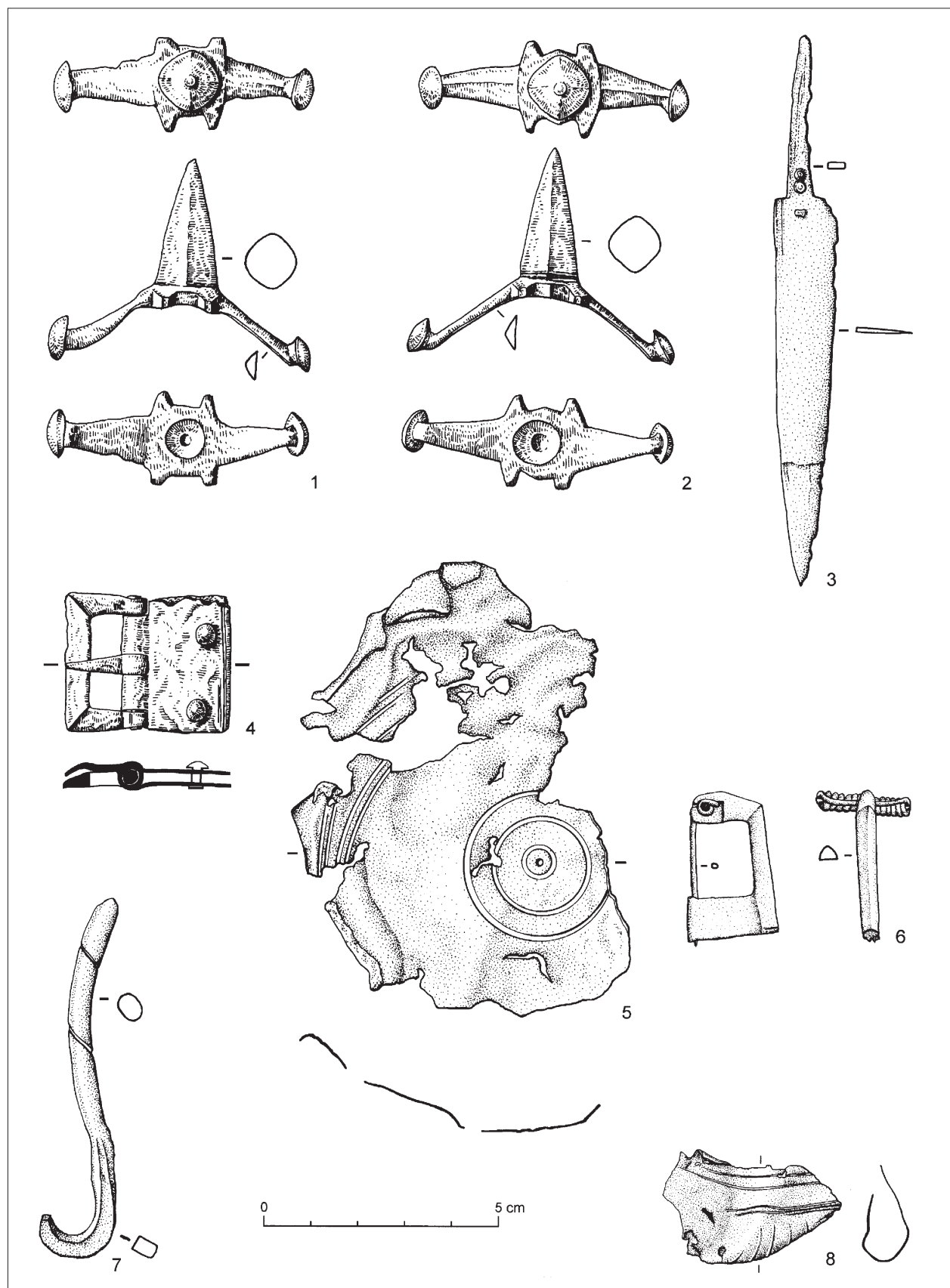


Fig. 21. Grave assemblage from the burial no. 2/61 at Gbelce. According to Beljak, Kolník 2006.
 Obr. 21. Výbava hrobu č. 2/61 z Gbelců. Podle Beljak, Kolník 2006.

Of paramount importance is in this respect was the settlement at Pasohlávky in the south-western vicinity of the Roman fort at Burgstall (Komoróczy et al. 2010, 4, 11f., 33f.; Klanicová 2010, 603 ff., fig. 1). The assemblage of archaeological material found here closes the remarkable chain of chronological events linked to the subsequent barbarian settlement both at “Burgstall” near Mušov as well as in its environs, particularly around Neurissen. Unexpected help in this matter came with the discovery of a workshop containing evidence of bronze-working during the rescue excavations of B. Komoróczy and M. Lukáš at the Pasohlávky site. From the impressions pressed into the flat faces of the moulds, we can assume that two types of artefacts were made here: bronze brooches and strap-ends for a variety of purposes, such as for belts, for fastening swords, horses’ harnesses, etc. (fig. 18: 4–9; 19: 2–4,6). According to the characteristic shapes, brooches cast in these workshops were early forms of series 1 of Almgren group VII (1a according to Kaczmarek) or the so-called “Sarmatian” variant of the brooches of the VII group (Tejral 2006). The aforementioned brooches of the same type from “Burgstall” and from the ditch at Neurissen correspond in morphological terms to the impressions in the moulds from Pasohlávky to such an extent that both specimens might be considered to have been products made in this casting workshop. It makes very probably that the brooches of the same type from settlement context Mušov-Neurissen and Mušov Burgstall mentioned above might have been produced in manufacture at Pasohlávky as well.

The settlement in Pasohlávky is important not just because of the evidence of the casting workshop, such as clay moulds, fragment of crucibles etc., that was found there, used to produce distinctive types of artefacts, but also for another significant reason, this being that it provided a precious and as yet unique example of a barbarian settlement inhabited by people who made the most of the situation when the Roman army had left the nearby base at Burgstall and literally exploited the remnants of the Roman military material. This consisted of numerous scraps of Roman iron and bronze equipment which the barbarians had found in abundance here and possibly in other places in the vicinity and which they were later able to use for their own purposes. Here we come across larger fragments of scale armour, cut-off breastplate closures adorned with relief work, and other bronze pieces both large and small, used as raw material for recycling not only in casting workshops similar to the one described above, but also iron artefacts and evidence of ironworking that was uncovered at the site as well. This unprecedented find, which is being prepared for publication by B. Komoróczy, is worthy of special note from the point of view of archaeological chronology. The discovery of numerous fragments of Roman military bricks in both the workshop and in other settlement features or in the strata of the settlement, as well as military items brought there from “Burgstall”, show that the main activity at the site must have begun after the withdrawal of the Roman

troops from the nearby military base at “Burgstall” and after the Roman buildings there had been demolished. On the base of samian-ware with clear predominance of products from Rheinzabern and in part from Westerndorf it is evidently when the Germanic settlement came to life (Klanicová 2010). All the available information indicates that the site was newly established around the final phase of Marcomannic Wars at the earliest. Full development of the settlement structures at Pasohlávky may not be assumed, of course, earlier than after the Roman army had left the area, at the end of the 2nd century and in the first third of the following century, concurrently with the period of highest influx of Roman samian ware from the manufactories at Rheinzabern and Westerndorf.

Obviously, if we take this as a premise, it could also have an impact on the dating of at least some of the types of the phase B2/C1 metal industry which were found in the area of the settlement. This applies to the brooches of Almgren A II 43 and A V types or of A VII, 1 group (Komoróczy et al. 2010). Although we can assume the “baroque style” *fibulae* began back in the final stage of the Wars, they could have become more densely widespread later, presumably after the Wars had ended at the same time when *fibulae* of Almgren VII 1 group have been fully developed (fig. 19: 1, 5).

Fresh light was shed on the chronological questions concerning the time following the Marcomannic Wars, also by the latest rescue excavations in the broader surroundings of “Burgstall”. They have uncovered other sites which were not established until the years after the events of the Wars. From the information and reports we have so far regarding the excavations in Klentnice, it may be clear that the little settlement there was also founded in the aftermath of the Marcomannic Wars as well. It lies about 7.5 km southwest of “Burgstall” protected by the hilly terrain of the Pálava Hills. Its date, as evidenced by the relatively numerous finds of samian ware produced in the workshops in Rheinzabern, Westerndorf and even Pfaffenhofen, falls into the time span from the end of the 2nd century to the subsequent Severan period. This chronology is also confirmed by some other items, primarily a bronze deformed Almgren group VII brooch with a high catch plate, with the knob on the bow and an upper spring which may be classed as the so-called “Sarmatian” type, as well as a three-layer comb of the Thomas I type, Var. 1 (Klanicová, Komoróczy 2008).

Taking into account the archaeological record which has been presented in the stratigraphically datable post-Roman settlement contexts from “Burgstall” and its surroundings, inclusive of the finds from the Neurissen, Pasohlávky etc., we can sum up that the chronology of the collection of artefacts and pottery from these sites corresponds to the items which predominantly belong to the transitional phase B2/C1, or C1a and the early phase of the Late Roman Period C1b (Tejral 2011). It must repeatedly be emphasised that the aforementioned

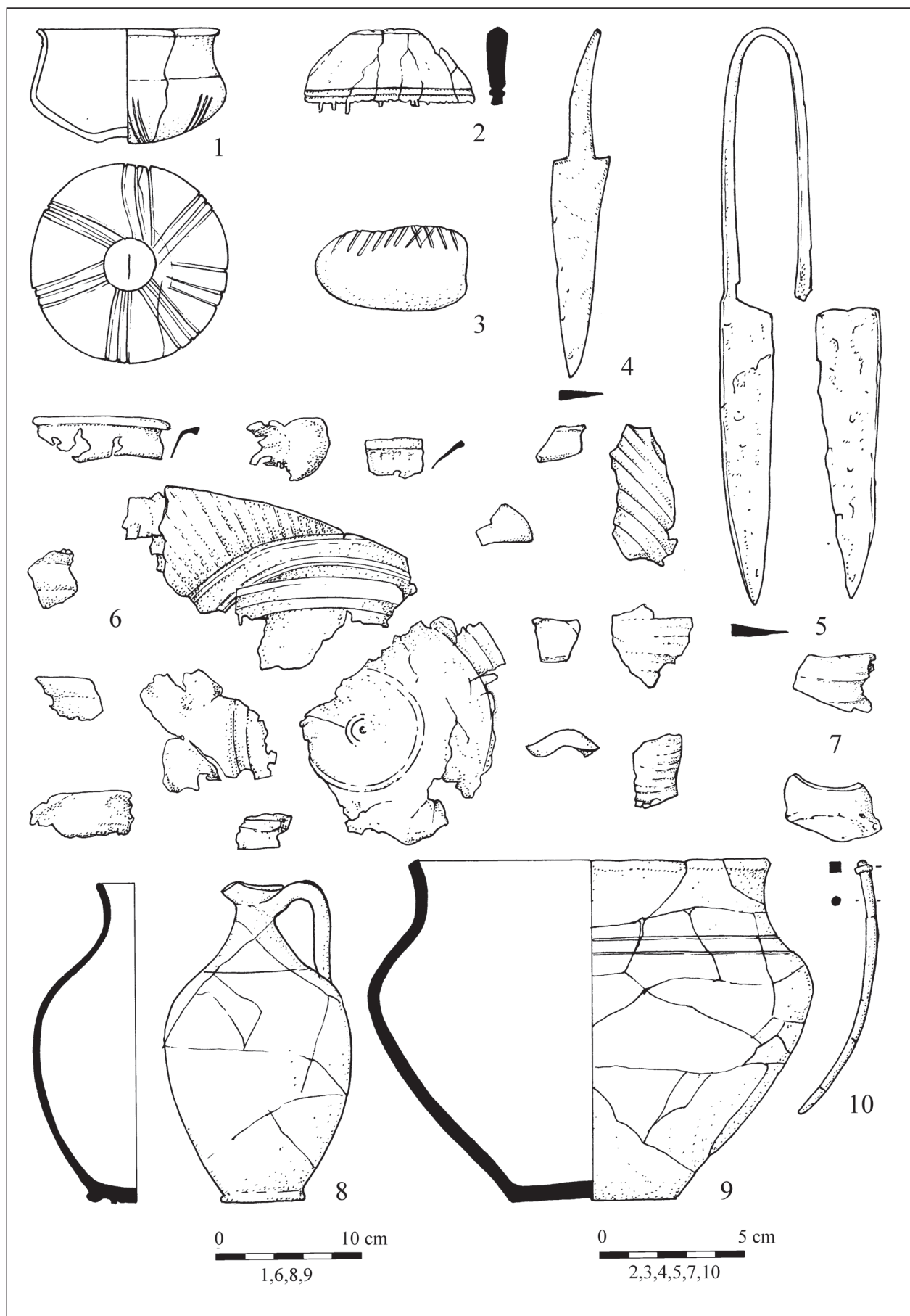


Fig. 22. Grave goods of the cremation grave no. 6 at Šitbořice. According to Droberjar, Kazdová 1993.
 Obr. 22. Inventář žárového hrobu č. 6 ze Šitbořic. Podle Droberjar, Kazdová 1993.

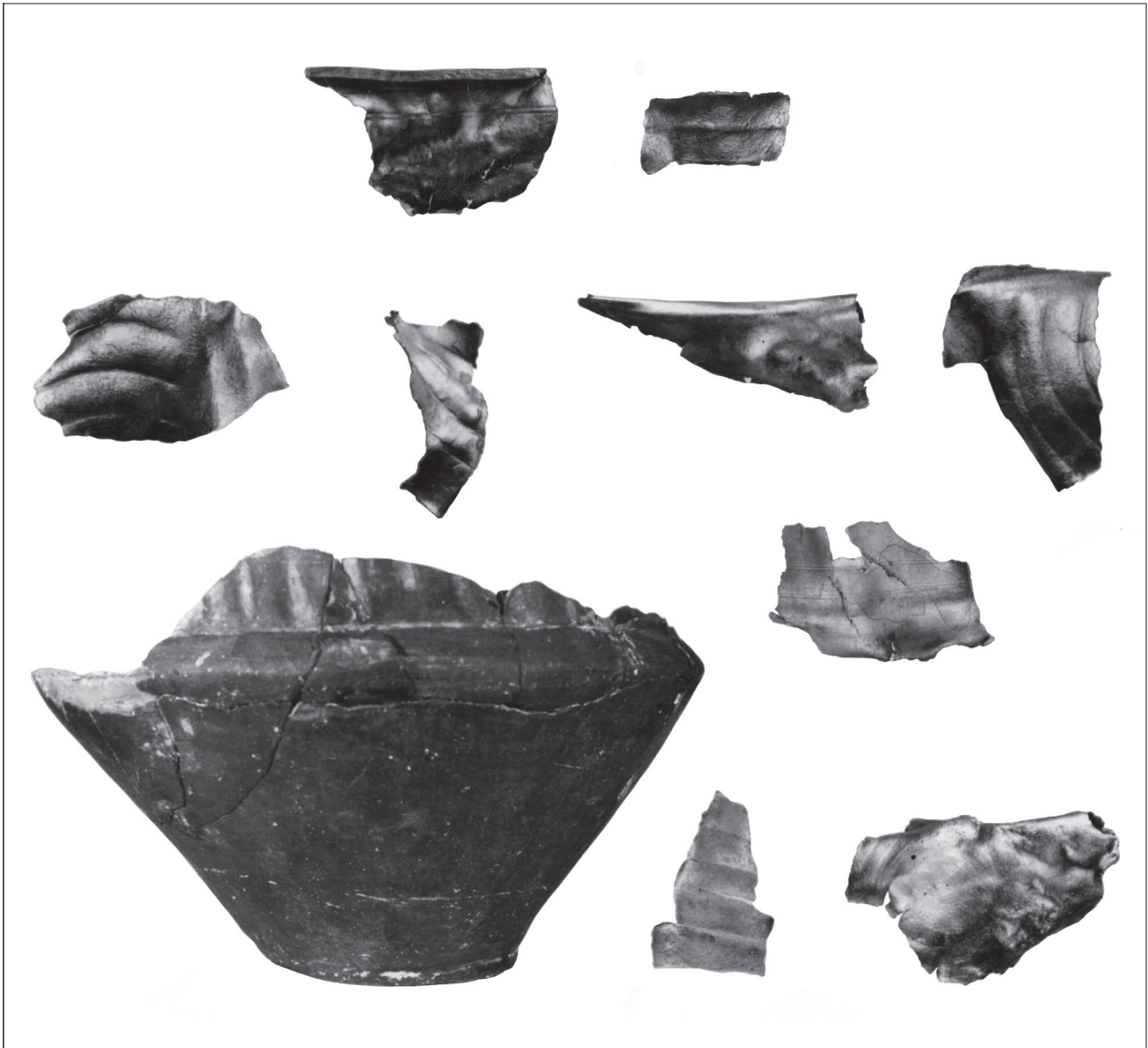


Fig. 23. Cremation burial from Bučovice including rests of fluted kettle.

Obr. 23. Žárový hrob z Bučovic, obsahující zbytky žlábkovaného vědra.

early brooches with a high catch plate of the Almgren VII group, the early brooches with an inverted foot of Almgren VI 158 type which could be classified as Late Roman, were found there in association with representatives of the Wielbark and Przeworsk “baroque style”, such as late, bronze brooches of Almgren V 129 and II 43 types (fig. 19), in strata which evidently did not emerge until the final phase of the Marcomannic Wars, most likely first after these events.

In connection with this, especially numerous data from the more northerly situated regions of Przeworsk Culture in Mazovia and of Wielbark Culture are worth mentioning. They show that Late Roman types of *fibulae*, such as brooches with inverted foot of Almgren 158 or Almgren 162 types, early specimens of Almgren group VIII, series 1 of both variants, and some other items considered as Late Roman appear here mostly as an in-

tegral part of the transitional phase, and often in grave contexts in association with the still surviving representatives of the B2/C1 style artefacts of the so-called “baroque style” (Oleǳki 2004a, 286f., fig. 4; 2008, 11ff., fig. 1–2; Skorupka 2005, 239f., pl. 17; Schuster 2006, 114f.; Natuniewicz-Sekula, Okulicz-Kozaryn 2008, 266f. etc.). In the area of the Wielbark Culture J. Kleemann (2007, 69f.) by means of seriation and cluster analyses distinguished an earlier group of relics comparable with B2/C1 stage (combination group 4) and a later group (combination group 5) in which bronze products of Wielbark “baroque style” sporadically occur in funerary assemblages together with Late Roman spectrum, represented by Almgren VII 1, Kaczmarek var. 4 decorative brooches and Almgren VI 162 type with short spring. A similar division within the Przeworsk Culture is somewhat difficult and less conclusive until now. It is therefore highly likely that the typical B2/C1 phase items, characterised

by massive bronze brooches of groups II and V, could have had the focal point of their distribution first after AD 180 in the northern periphery of non-Roman Germania and have survived, along with typical Late Roman phenomena, as VI and VII groups brooches, bronze subgroup E spurs etc. in particular within the more far-flung cultural regions in the Barbaricum until around the year 200 and to the early 3rd century (Godłowski 1974, 26–35; Wołagiewicz 1981b, 82; Olędzki 2004a; 2004b; 2008, 11ff. etc.).

Even though the beginning of the transitional phase between the Early and Late Roman Periods (B2/C1) can therefore be considered to cover the final stage of the Marcomannic Wars at the earliest and the years that immediately followed, the question arises of how to define the subsequent chronological stage C1a and whether it can be seen as a phase with its own separate chronological validity, especially when in certain chronological systems it merges with the B2/C1 phase. The latest state of affairs in the region north of the Middle Danube makes it possible to claim that the authentic Late Roman phase C1a overlaps to a large extent with the B2/C1 phase, which did not begin earlier than shortly before AD 180. Although we shift the dating of the primary formation of the basic types of B2/C1 phase forward from the established date about 160 AD (Godłowski 1994b, 118; Olędzki 2008, 28; Tejral 1999, 187ff. etc.) to a later time when they were becoming to be used in the living culture, i. e., most probably to the very end of the Marcomannic Wars at the earliest, the focus of their spread falls in the years which followed and in the early 3rd century.

The occurrence of other phenomena belonging in all probability to the aftermath of wars, together with the artefacts of “baroque style”, support the picture obtained on the basis of the secondary settlement activities on the Roman military sites north of the Middle Danube. In the Przeworsk Culture area, the very frequent funerary custom of symbolic gifts of fragmentary Roman mail armours predominantly in contexts of female burials (Kaczanowski 1992, 57f., list 12–13; Tejral 1999, 171, 196; Jaskanis 2005, 100) or other diverse Roman military items which occurred in some B2/C1 graves, produce instructive evidence of their post-war dating as well (s. below).

The evidence of Roman imported goods

An important indication, accompanying the B2/C1 or C1a phases in the area of the Wielbark and Przeworsk Cultures, must be taken into account when considering the chronology of the transitional period – the influx of Roman imported goods. The intensification of long-distance trade and opening up of new routes may have been the result of the activities of not only Roman traders but probably also local distributors. These trading activities brought an unprecedented influx of E 44–48 bronze fluted kettles, including the E 77 type fluted bowls with movable omega-shaped handles, late E 27–28 type bronze *situla*

with mask attachments, E 160/161 type ladle-and-strainer sets, and sporadic casseroles of the Eggers 142 type of Gaulish provenance (Kunow 1983, 20f., 60, 71f.; Lund Hansen 1987, 61f., map. 45; Godłowski 1985, 346ff., fig. 1; Tejral 1970, 389ff.; 1999, 175f.; 2004, 342ff.; Randsborg 1986; Petrovsky 1993, 123ff., 126). On the territory of the Przeworsk and Wielbark Cultures and north of the Middle Danube, mainly in rich find contexts, these imported vessels occur in close association with the other small finds, brooches, belt fittings, various ornaments etc., which exhibit typical attributes of the transitional phase B2/C1, or C1a respectively (Maćzyńska 2004, 407f.; Tejral 2004, 342; Natuniewicz-Sekula, Okulicz-Kozaryn 2008 etc.). Therefore it is entirely justified to classify these goods as import of the transitional phase B2/C1 (Gorecki 2011, 178ff.).

In the area to the north of the Danube, numerous bronze vessels of the B2/C1 horizon in Germanic burial or settlement contexts must be mentioned as well. The most typical forms of them are repeatedly represented by Eggers type 44 and 47 fluted kettles, Eggers 160/161 ladle-and-strainer sets, some attachments from late *situla* of Eggers 27/28 type and other items. Apart from the remains of fluted kettles and other fragments of bronze vessels in burials from Baumgarten an der March (fig. 20) and Očkov grave no. 117 (fig. 28: 9; Kolník 1965, 183), there is a series of other finds which are of considerable interest in this context. Fragments of a kettle, clearly of Eggers 44 type, were found in warrior grave no. 2/61 at Gbelce (fig. 21: 5, 7–8; Beljak, Kolník 2006, 85f., fig. 10). We can cite here a fluted kettle of Eggers 44 type from cremation grave No. 6 at Šitbořice (fig. 22: 6), accompanied by a Roman provincial pottery jug together with items of local provenance (Droberjar, Kazdová 1993, 107, 146, pl. 2: 6, 9). The heavily damaged Eggers 47 type fluted kettle from the cremation grave of Bučovice (fig. 23; Tejral 1967, 92f., fig. 3: 1–10). Especially the Eggers 44 type kettle found together with an other bronze vessels and glass goblets of the same chronological stage in a rich burial from Dvory upon Žitava (fig. 24: 5–7; Ruttkay 2004, 155f., fig. 120: 4) and from grave in a newly discovered cemetery at Sekule in western Slovakia (Elschek 2014, 124) also are worthy of note. Remnants of another fluted kettles come from disturbed burials in Jevíčko, a site situated in North Moravia, on an important communication route leading to Bohemia (fig. 26; Droberjar, Vích 2011). There is further evidence for the relatively high frequency of fluted kettles from the disturbed grave in Abrahám, where unmistakable attachments were recovered (fig. 24: 4; Kolník 1980, 80, pl. LXVII: 5). Other unpublished specimens of the same items were found in the areas of the local settlements at Prosiměřice and Borotice in South Moravia (fig. 24: 1, 3). A large number of Roman bronze vessels which correspond to this horizon, mainly fragments of ladles and strainers of Eggers 160/161 types, the mask attachment of a late bronze *situla* of Eggers 27 type etc., have been ascertained in other relatively numerous finds from this

region (Tejral 1970, 404 f., fig. 2; 1999, 175ff.; 2004, 342f.; Jilek 2012, 93f.).

In the light of the current state of research we can sum up that the fresh rise in imports of Roman bronze and other metal vessels was more intensive and more widely distributed than during the preceding final phase of the

B2 (B2c) stage. In connection with this, a fact of cardinal importance is worth mentioning, namely that an unusually strong representation of bronze vessels from the B2/C1 or C1a horizon in the area north of the Danube, mainly in Moravia and Slovakia, was evidently parallel to the most intensive inflow of samian ware which occurs there in a striking quantity. Beyond all possible doubt, this massive

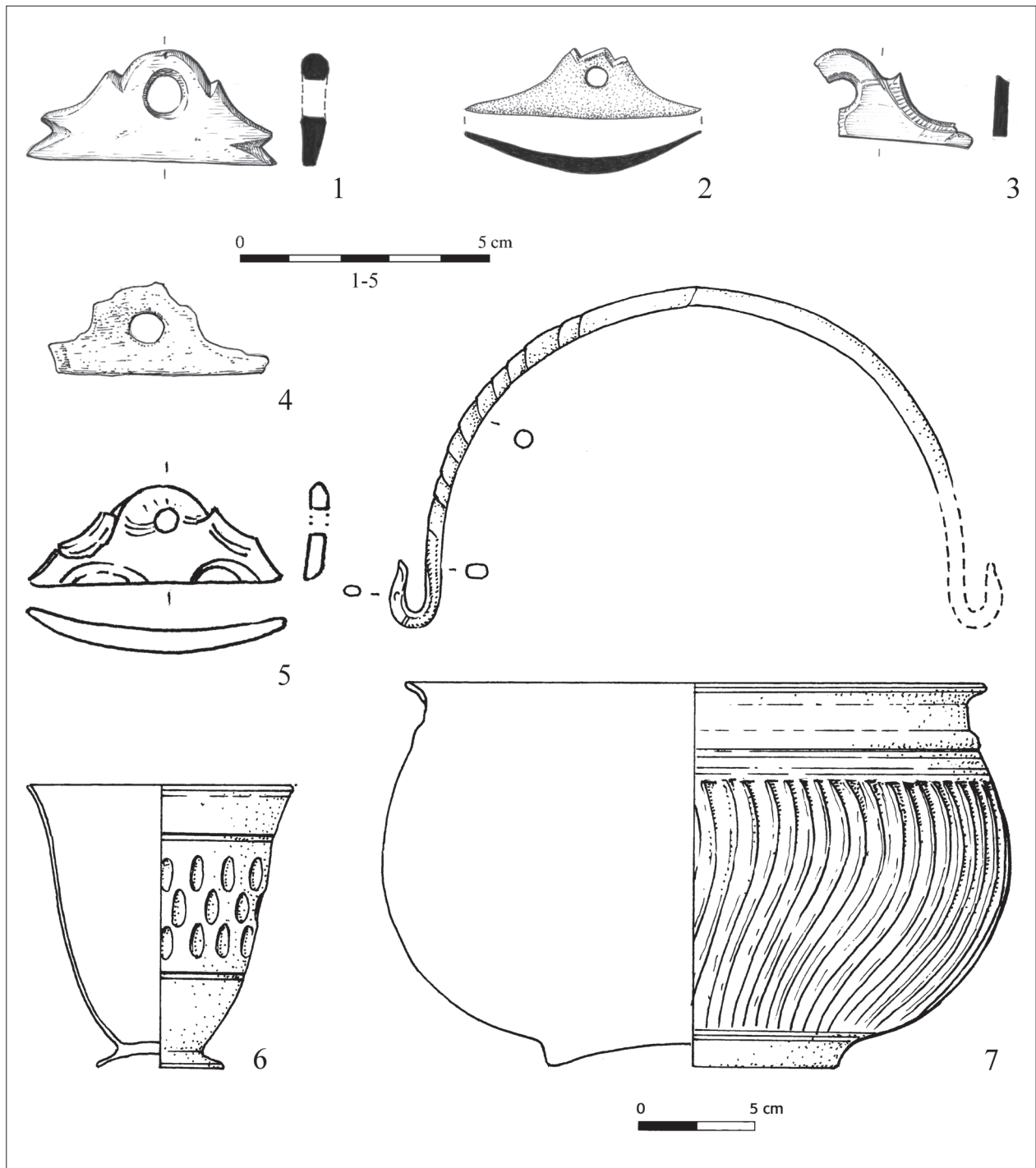


Fig. 24. Samples of attachments (handle supports) of fluted kettles. 1 Prosiměřice (CZ); 2 grave from Aquincum-Budapest, Bécsi Street (H); 3 Borotice (CZ); 4 Abrahám (SK); 5-7 part of the grave goods from Dvory upon Žitava (SK). 2 according to Márton 2002; 4 according to Kolník 1980; 5-7 according to Ruttkay 2004.

Obr. 24. Příklady opěrek držadel žlábkovaných věder. 1 Prosiměřice (CZ); hrob z Aquinca-Budapesti, Bécsi utca (H); 3 Borotice (CZ); 4 Očkov, hrob 117 (SK); 5-7 část výbavy hrobu z Dvorů nad Žitavou (SK). 2 podle Márton 2002; 4 podle Kolník 1965; 5-7 podle Ruttkay 2004.

concentration of imported goods can be connected with the contiguity of Roman provinces.

At the same time, the conspicuous increase in imported bronze vessels and *sigillata* from the workshops of Central Gaul in Lezoux and especially from Rheinzabern, Westerndorf etc. also was targeted at both the Przeworsk and the Wielbark Culture (Bursche 1992, 141 sq. esp. 146; Tyszler 1999, 85 sq., 97 sq.; Przychodni 2009; Kaczanowski, Przychodni 2014). But also glazed *cantaroi*, produced in Central Italy, which appear singularly in some abundantly furnished grave contexts of the Wielbark and Przeworsk Cultures (Domžalski 2003; Natuniewicz-Sekula, Okulicz-Kozaryn 2008, 247 sq.), have been swept along by this wave of imported Roman goods.

Comparing the typological range of both bronze vessels and samian ware that are known from the more northerly situated regions of non-Roman Europe with that one from the territory north of the Middle Danube, we can see a notable similarity within the structure of the most characteristic forms (Bursche 1992, 146). In addition to this, the massive concentration of imported goods of B2/C1 phase in barbarian lands on the left bank of Danube indicates that the bulk of these goods were distributed directly from Danubian provinces. Consequently, even though it is well possible that some of the imports of this horizon which were found on the territory of North Europe may have reached this area through the so-called western marine route, new finds from the territory north of the Middle Danube clearly show that the main flow of discussed Roman products towards the regions of Przeworsk and Wielbark Cultures came directly out from the exit gates of the province Pannonia Prima – Carnuntum and Brigetio. Such a suggestion is convincingly con-

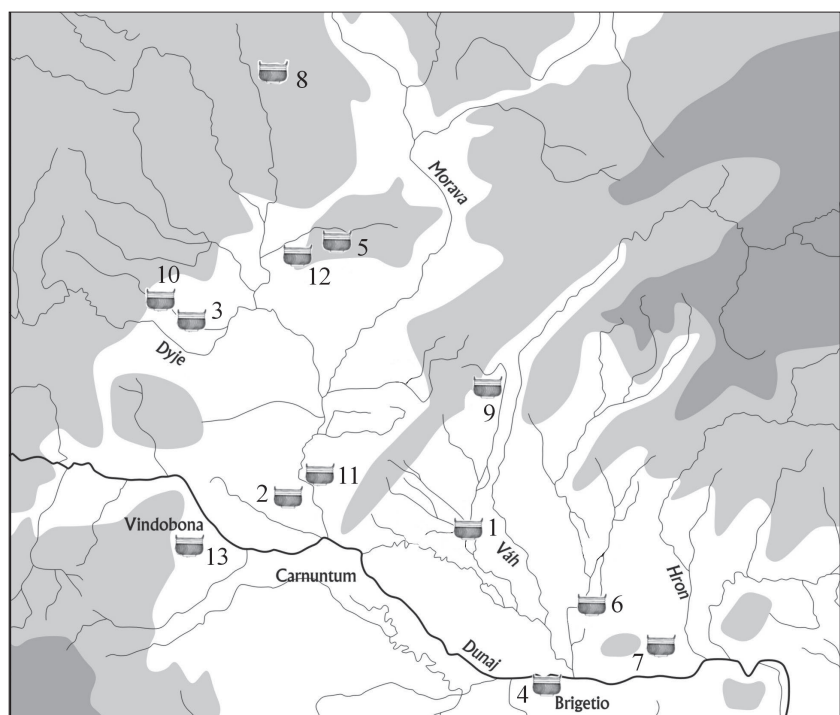
firmed by archaeological finds recovered in the Danubian provinces themselves (fig. 25; 27).

The most debatable problem concerning the supply of Roman products found in barbarian funerary and settlement contexts of the B2/C1a phase regards their repeatedly discussed relevance for the chronology of local native forms and manufacture. Although the question of when these objects and people that used them came to be buried in the barbarian graves can never be determined in specific instances, the dates of their production and distribution can approximately be suggested.

The majority of bronze vessels of the B2/C1 horizon R. Petrovsky classes with his IIIrd generation of imported bronze vessels. Including the fluted kettles and fluted bowls of Eggers 77 type, they represent a sort of novelty compared to previous variety of forms (Petrovsky 1993, 123f.). Even though the models and prototypes of fluted vessels have been sought in preceding period and references to Hellenistic traditions also are present, their distinctive and relatively unified form came to the fore only later. Their dating on the territory of northern provinces of the Roman Empire is associated with some difficulties. Even though their occurrence is evidenced by provincial finds from Britannia to as far as the Lower Danube, all of these finds are for the most part massive attachments (handle supports of typical shape), recovered from hardly datable layers and settlement assemblages. From the nearest vicinity of Pannonia Prima they were stated for example in Vienna and Brigetio (Sedlmayer 1999, 104–105, pl. 46: 6). They are also present in the layers of Roman forts on the Upper Germanic/Raetian Limes which, however, allow only a general chronological classification as well (Gorecki 2011, 180, note 1046; Sedlmayer 1999, 105, note 680). It was only recently that the

Fig. 25. Distribution of fluted kettles or their components in the region of Middle Danube. 1 Abrahám (SK); 2 Baumgarten a. d. March (A); 3 Borotice (CZ); 4 Brigetio (H); 5 Bučovice (CZ); 6 Dvory upon Žitava (SK); 7 Gbelce, grave no. 2/61 (SK); 8 Jevičko (CZ); 9 Očkov, grave no. 117 (SK); 10 Prosiměřice (CZ); 11 Sekule (SK); 12 Šitbořice grave no. 6 (CZ); 13 Vindobona-Wien (A).

Obr. 25. Rozšíření žlábkovaných věder nebo jejich součástí v oblasti středního Dunaje. 1 Abrahám (SK); 2 Baumgarten a. d. March (A); 3 Borotice (CZ); 4 Brigetio (H); 5 Bučovice (CZ); 6 Dvory nad Žitavou (SK); 7 Gbelce, hrob č. 2/61 (SK); 8 Jevičko (CZ); 9 Očkov, hrob č. 117 (SK); 10 Prosiměřice (CZ); 11 Sekule (SK); 12 Šitbořice, hrob č. 6 (CZ); 13 Vindobona-Videň (A).



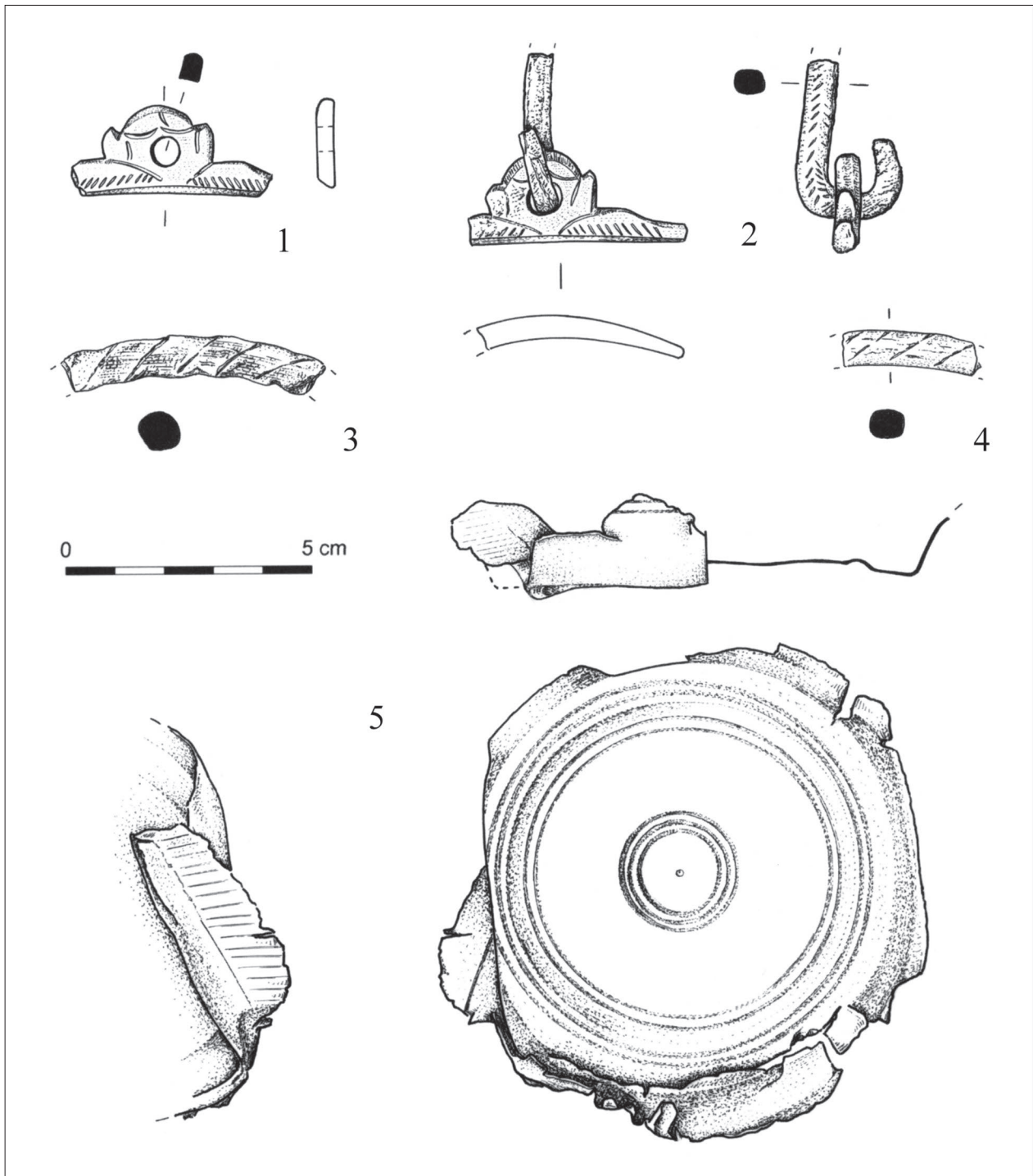


Fig. 26. Rests of fluted kettle from the disturbed graves in Jevíčko-Předměstí. According to Droberjar, Vích 2011.

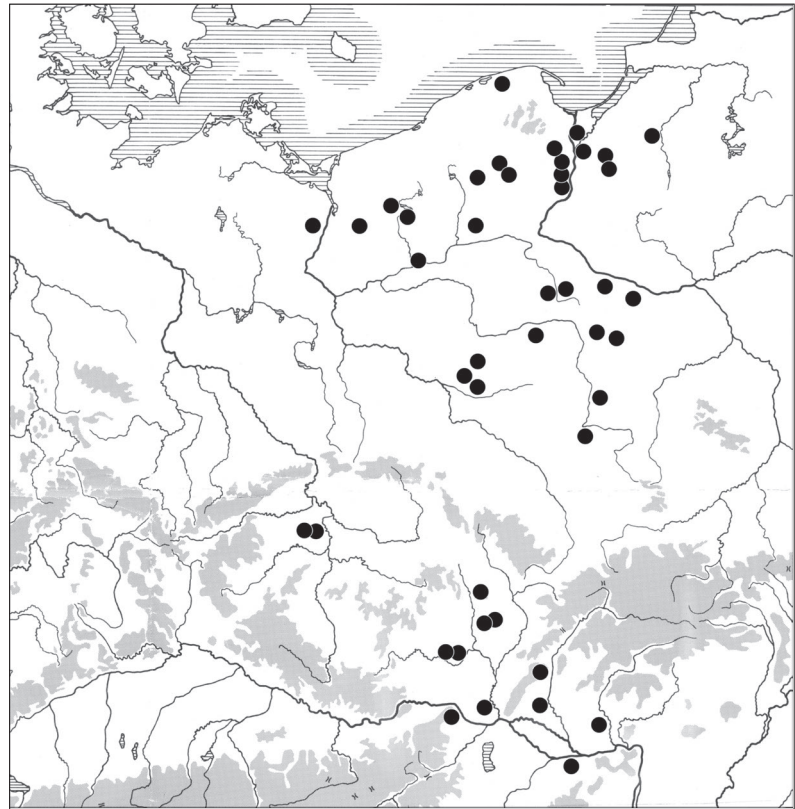
Obr. 26. Zbytky žlábkovaného vědra z rozrušených hrobů v Jevíčku. Podle Droberjar, Vích 2011.

manufacture of fluted kettles or buckets and bowls was dated steadily to between 140/150 – 200/220 AD (Petrovszky 1993, 126ff.; Gorecki 2011, 180). A later dating of these forms is evidenced not only by find contexts including characteristic material, but recently also by some discreet assemblages of finds from Pannonian provinces. Among these finds were so far mainly the fluted bowls of Eggers 77 type from a grave at Halbturn (Radnóti 1966,

199ff, 206ff, Taf. 3: 2–3; 5–6, 8) and from a treasure from Wels-Ovilava (Miglbauer 1988); both of these assemblages were buried in the ground in the first half or first third of the 3rd century. Recently an important grave find from Budapest – Bécsi Street came in addition. Besides a sword, bronze baldric and belt fittings, among them pelta-shaped pieces with openwork, a strap end, an iron scabbard chape, a golden ring with gem, an enamel-dec-

Fig. 27. Distribution of bronze fluted kettles in the area between Baltic and Middle Danube.

Obr. 27. Rozšíření žlábkovaných věder v oblasti mezi Baltickým mořem a středním Dunajem.



orated seal box etc., all of them being artefacts diagnostic of the Late Antonine Period, there also were numerous other items, among them a fragmentary fluted bowl of probably the Eggers 77 type and a handle attachment from a fluted kettle (fig. 24:2). The grave, which also contained examples of female inventory, is dated to about the second half of the 2nd century, but later dating is possible, too (Márton 2002, 117ff, esp. 130, fig. 6: 11; 7). The dates obtained from Pannonian graves confirm the above-mentioned dating of metal vessels from the horizon of fluted kettles. Even though the production of the above bronze tereutics may have begun immediately before the Marcomannic Wars or in their course, everything suggests that their manufacture continued later as well, and that they have not been distributed to the regions north of the Danube until after these war events. As a shift into the north-eastern areas of ancient Germania, the import of bronze vessels of the B2/C1 horizon therefore did not necessarily arrive there only by sea, across the isles of Denmark, but, more likely, at the same time with unprecedented strong wave of *sigillata* inflow, through the main south-north communication route, the so-called Amber Road (fig. 27).

As far as it concerns the chronological evidence of imported pottery is concerned, the centre of attention is above all on samian ware. In recent years, new data have brought not only the progress made in the research into the production centers in the provinces themselves, but also by numerous excavations on the territory of non – Roman Middle Europe consequently the problem has received certain reappraisal by several authors (Kaczanowski, Przychodni 2014). Under the current state of research

it can be concluded that the inflow of samian ware into the area in question began to increase in the second half of the 2nd century, most probably in connection with supply to Roman expedition troops during the Marcomannic Wars. After a short stagnation during about the piece of Commodus in AD 180, the main flow of *sigillata* import reached the regions north of the Danube and the northern parts of ancient Germania in the subsequent period after the end of the Wars, especially after AD 200, at the time of the Severan boom. We can mainly record an almost massive inflow of the ware from workshops at Rheinzaubern and those at Westerndorf and Pfaffenhofen (Kuzmová, Roth 1988, 145, 151 f., pl. 10; Kuzmová 1997; Bursche 1992; Gabler 2002, 119 ff., esp. 127 sq. etc.).

In spite of all achievements, the questions of primary importance, namely when the inflow of Roman products into the northerly situated barbarian lands really took place, under which conditions, and whether these artefacts could be significant for the dating of local manufactures, remain the subject of discussion. On the basis of the hitherto published diagrams and lists (Godłowski 1994b, fig. 6; Bursche 1992, fig. 2–3; Kaczanowski, Przychodni 2014, 138 ff., fig. 2–3), it seems that there is a relatively limited number of assemblages furnished with diagnostic types of artefacts, both the products of local provenance and imported bronze vessels distinguishing the B2/C1 or C1a phase, which are in final contexts accompanied by a varied spectrum of *sigillata*. They can roughly be divided into several groups. With the exception of one isolated case from Gronowo (Wielbark Culture), the first group of B2/C1 grave contexts combines within the outfits the

products of potters from Lezoux or the early ware from Rheinzabern.

GRONOWO, woj. gr. 1/1926

COOCUS, PETRULLUS, Blickweiler

Bronze jug of Eggers 125 type; 2 bronze spurs of Gołdowski V group or Ginalski E3 variety; bronze buckle of D type; fragmentary bronze strap-end of Raddatz J II 3 type; freezers, pottery etc.

(Wolągiewicz 1973, 136–137, fig. 6–7; Tyszler 1999, II, 31; Andrzejowski, Przychodni 2008, 172)

WEKLICE, gr. 208 (fig. 29)

CINNAMUS, Lezoux

2 silver brooches of the Almgren 41 type; silver cross-bow brooch of Almgren VII group (A VII 201); 2 silver

snake headed bracelets of Wójcik III B type; 2 silver wave-shaped bracelets; gold S-shaped clasp; 2 gold beads; bronze needle; silver gilded shield brooch with the impressed portraits of the emperors Marc Aurelius and Lucius Verus; bronze buckel and strap end probably of Raddatz J II 3 type; fluted bronze kettle of Eggers 48 type; glazed cantharos of Central Italian manufacture.

(Natuniewicz-Sekula, Okulicz-Kozaryn 2008, 234; Tyszler 1999, II, 94)

KIETRZ, gr. 1563 (fig. 30)

CINNAMUS, Lezoux

Fragment bronze strainer of Eggers 160 type; another bronze vessel; silver snake headed bracelet of Wójcik IV C type; small golden trip; fragments of Roman mail armour; iron key and iron bolt of casket lock etc.

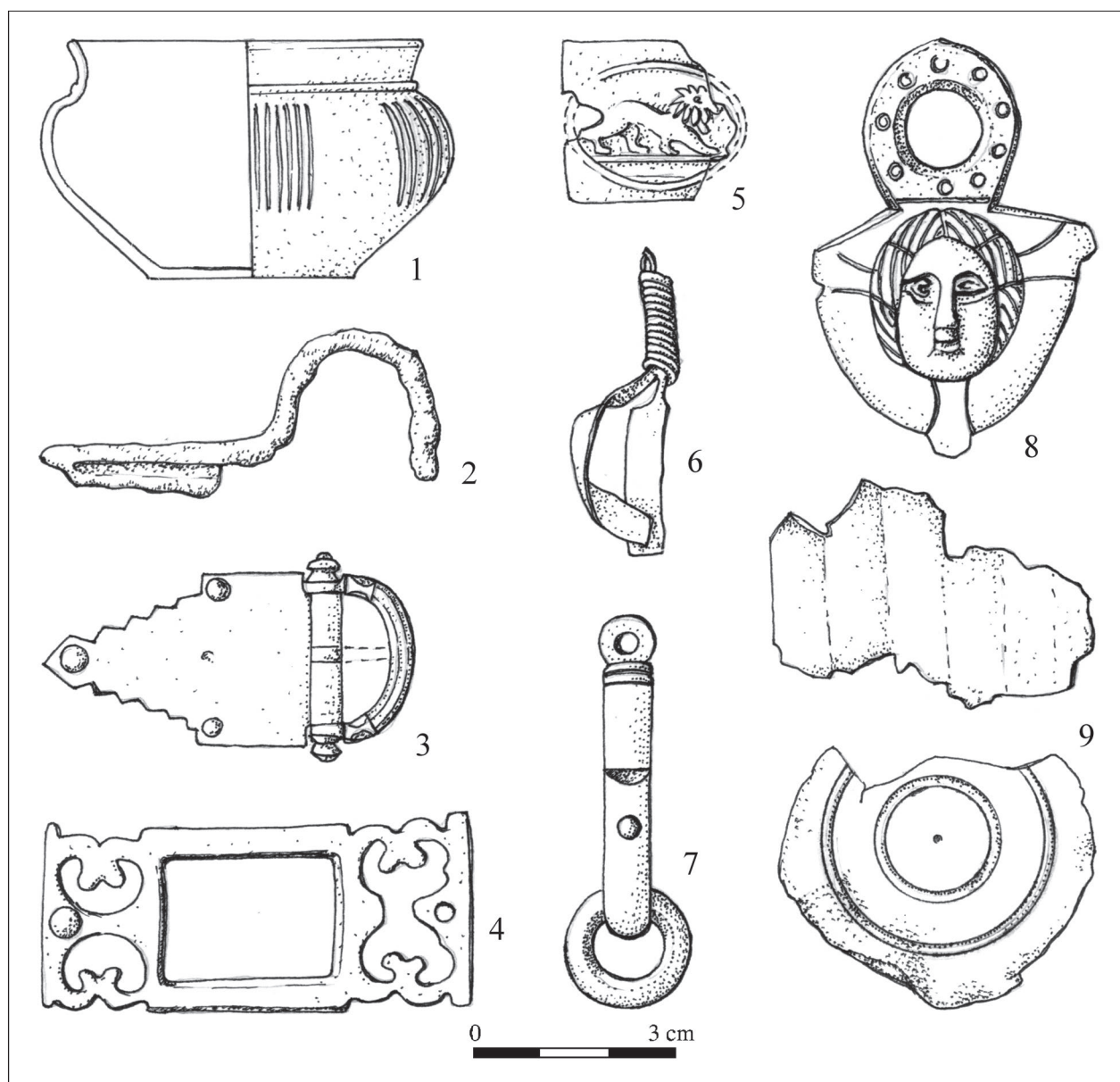


Fig. 28. Grave goods from cremation burial no. 117 from Očkov including Roman military fittings, fragments of B2/C1 (C1a) bronze vessels and other items. According to Kolník 1965.

Obr. 28. Inventář žárového hrobu č. 117 z Očkova, obsahujícího římská kování opasku, zbytky bronzových nádob fáze B2/C1 (C1a) a další předměty. Podle Kolník 1965.

(Gedl 1988, 152–157, fig. 30–32; Tyszler 1999, II, 94)

WITASZEWICE (fig. 31)

CINNAMUS, Lezoux

Rest of Roman bronze vessel; glazed cantharos of Central Italian manufacture; bronze buckel of Madyda-Legutko

AG 39 type and rectangular belt fitting, both with openwork of Thorsberg-Ilkerup style; bronze spur of Ginalski E 7 variety; large fragment of Roman mail armour; fragmentary ladle of Eggers 161 type; antiquated fragmentary bronze vessels of Eggers 25 and 102 type etc.

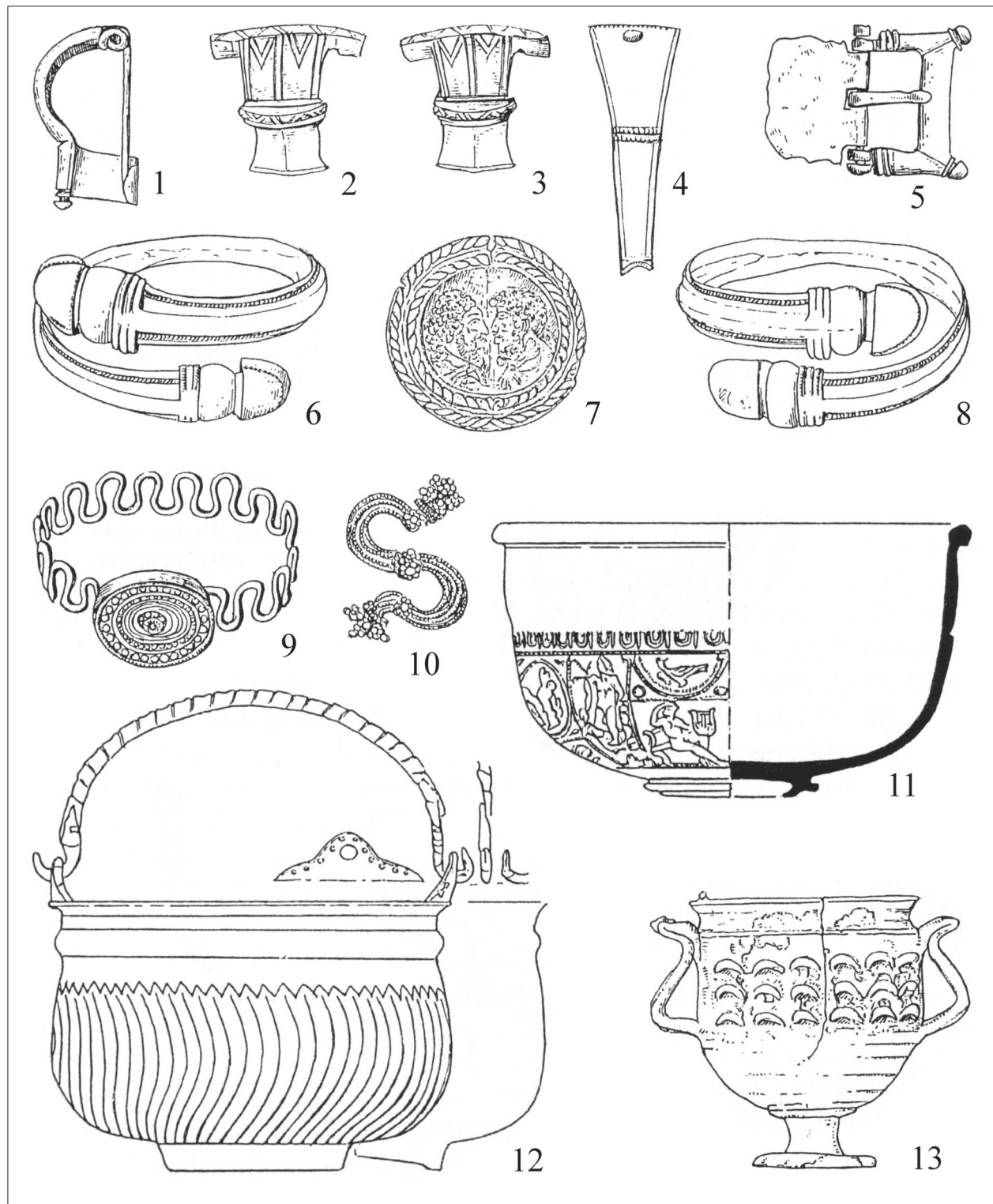


Fig. 29. Diagnostic types of B2/C1 (C1a) items accompanied by samian ware. Sample of grave goods from the lavish furnished burial no. 208 at Wekllice, Wielbark Culture. According to Natuniewicz-Sekula, Okulicz-Kozaryn 2008.

Obr. 29. Určující typy artefaktů fáze B2/C1 (C1a). Příklady hrobového inventáře z bohatého hrobu wielbarské kultury ve Weklících. Podle Natuniewicz-Sekula, Okulicz-Kozaryn 2008.

(Kaszewska, Rajewski, Ząbkiewicz-Koszańska 1971, pl. 167, 1–4; Tyszler 1999, 95)

(Jasnusz 1952; 117–121, fig. 156–159; Tyszler 1999, 99)

WYMYSŁOWO, gr. 176 (fig. 32)

ALBUCIUS, Lezoux

Attachement of bucket Eggers 27/28 type; fragment of bronze vessel; bronze buckel of Madyda-Legutko AG 16 type; bronze strap end of Madyda-Legutko 5 type, variety 1; bronze spur of Ginalski E3 variety; bone comb; local pottery etc.

CIEMNIEWKO

REGINUS I, Rheinzabern

2 brooches of Almgren II 38/41 type.

(Bursche 1992, 141, note 14; Andrzejowski, Przychodni 2008, 172, note 58; Tyszler 1999, II, 13)

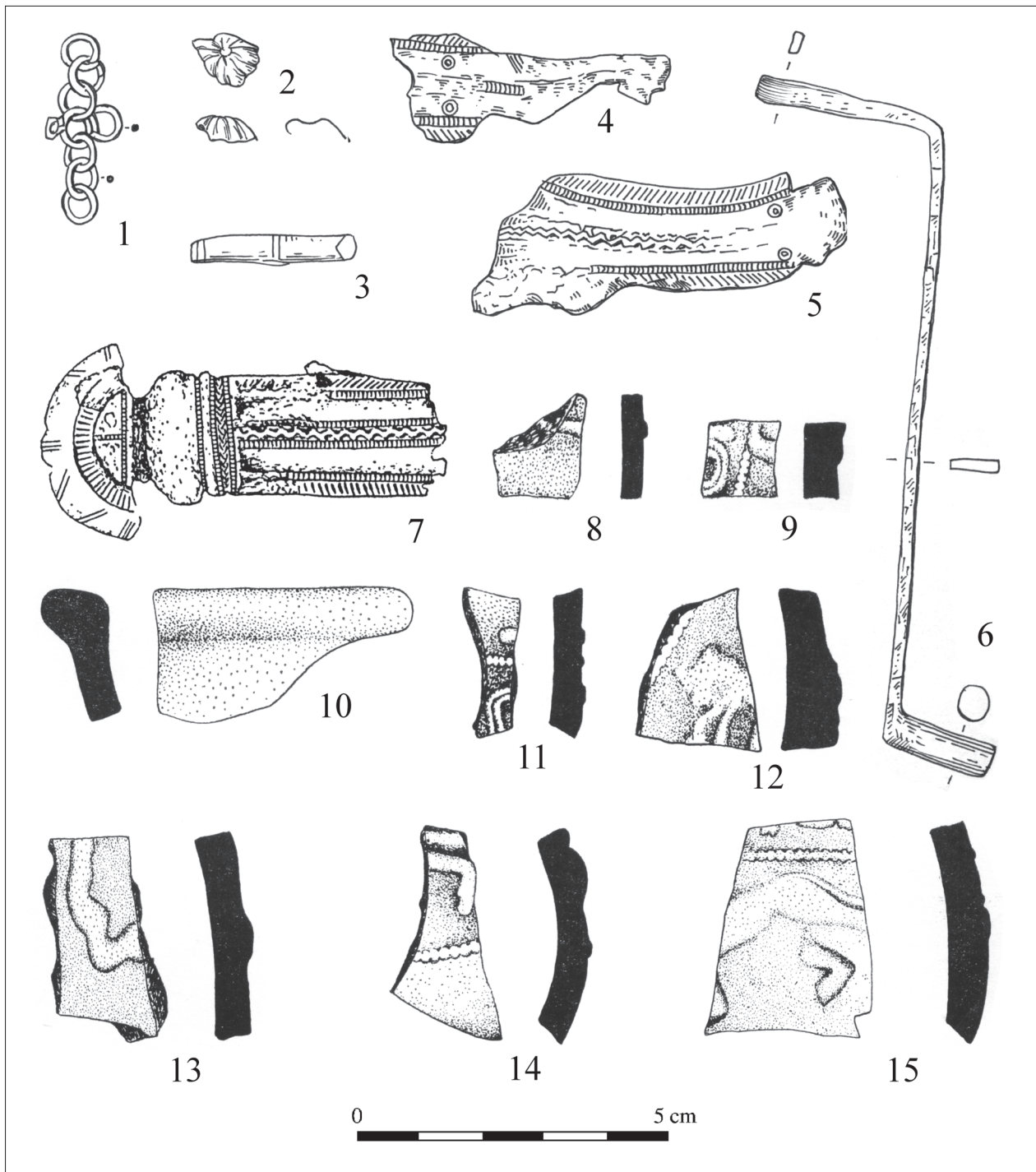


Fig. 30. Diagnostic types of B2/C1 (C1a) phase items from the grave no. 1563 at Kietrz Przeworsk Culture. According to Gedl 1988.

Obr. 30. Určující typy předmětů pro fázi B2/C1 (C1a) z hrobu przeworské kultury č. 1563 v Kietrz. Podle Gedl 1988.

The chronological relevance of samian ware within the assemblages mentioned above calls, however, for some caution and reappraisal. First and foremost we cannot overlook that the structure of the samian ware presented here is practically the same as that which appears in the area of the most intensive war events north of the Middle Danube. The greatest deal of samian ware from the workshops of Lezoux originated there from Roman military sites. Almost as 80 % of all pieces which were found in Moravia (Klanicová 2007; 2008, 439f.), are coming namely from the Roman fort at „Burgstall“ near

Mušov. Especially from here the number of ware, represented by the goods of potters Cinnamus (10 pieces), Albucius, Casurius etc., is really high. Nearly at the same time there occur some products from the early manufactories of Rheinzabern (Reginus I, Cerialis II, III and IV) as well (Stoilova 2006; Klanicová 2008, 443). Similar structure of *sigillata* supply from the time of war events, can be evidenced in Slovakia (Kuzmová 1997, 87f.), however with higher proportion of early Rheinzabern products, especially in Roman earth-timber fort at Iža, the beginning of which dates after AD 175 (Kuzmová 2005, 981; Hüs-

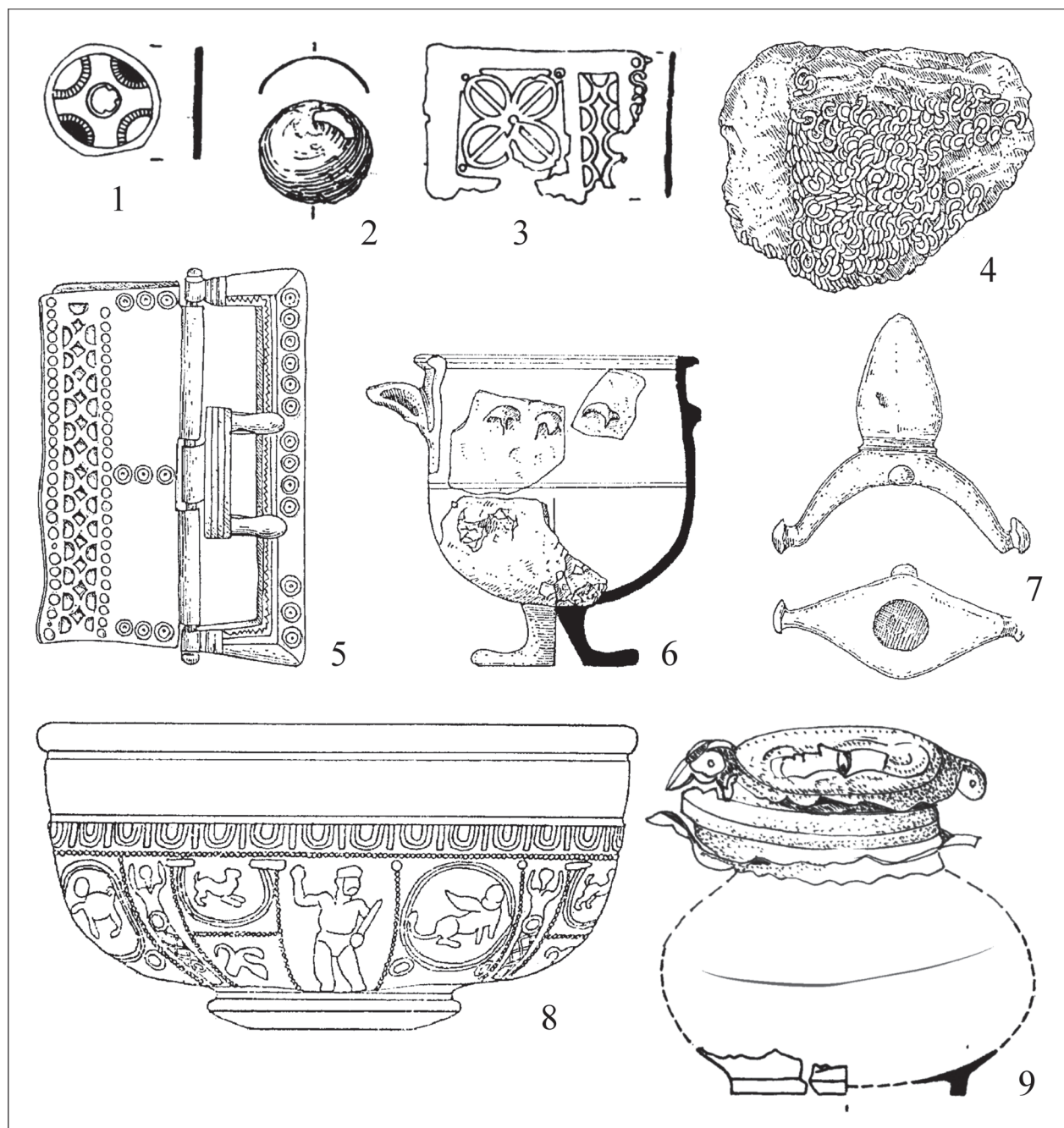


Fig. 31. Diagnostic types of B2/C1 (C1a) phase items accompanied by samian ware. Examples of grave goods from lavish furnished burial at Witaszewice, Przeworsk Culture. According to Kaszewska, Rajewski, Zabkiewicz-Koszczańska 1971.

Obr. 31. Určující typy artefaktů fáze B2/C1 (C1a). Příklady inventáře z bohatého hrobu przeworské kultury ve Witaszewicích. Podle Kaszewska, Rajewski, Zabkiewicz-Koszczańska 1971.

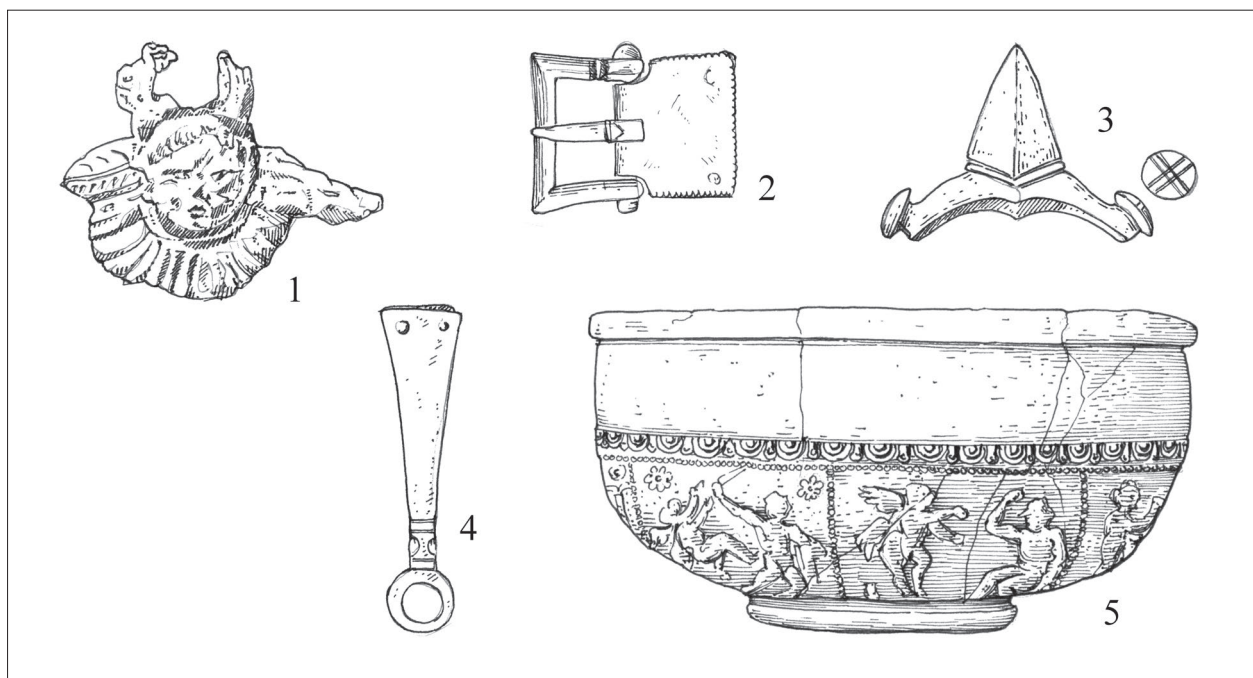


Fig. 32. Diagnostic types of B2/C1 (C1a) items accompanied by samian ware. Samples of metal items from grave no. 176 at Wymysłowo. According to Jasnosz 1951.

Obr. 32. Určující typy artefaktů fáze B2/C1 (C1a). Část nálezů z hrobu č. 176 ve Witaszewicích. Podle Jasnosz 1951.

sen, Rajtár 1994). From this it must be clear that the substantive increase in these goods in the region north of the Danube and consequently also in the northerly situated region of Przeworsk Culture can mainly be assumed after the arrival of Roman army into the lands north of Carnuntum and its supply at the time of the Marcomanics Wars in the seventies.

Even though in these cases it might be concluded that several ceramics from Lezoux and the early products from Rheinzabern have penetrated to the North at the time of war events already, the import of the majority of this pottery seems to have followed only a little later for more reasons (Bursche 1992, 146). It is hard namely to find out whether this ware reached the regions of Przeworsk and Wielbark Cultures only by long-distance trade which seems rather controversial at the time of war events, or otherwise. Especially in the case of lavishly furnished graves of elites, the gift exchange is worth considering, the idea which could be supported by the relative scarcity of products from Lezoux and of early potters from Rheinzabern in the northerly situated areas and not least by the representation of well preserved pieces especially in some rich grave assemblages (fig. 29; 31-32). But even looting the Roman forts north of the Danube after their abandonment or Roman sites in the provinces respectively, is not out of the question.

On the other hand, a large portion of grave assemblages of the second group which contains diagnostic markers of B2/C1a phase as well, were furnished with

samian ware which was produced within the time span of the Wars, but predominantly after the Wars (160 – 210 AD) or pottery which generally cannot be dated earlier than in the late seventies and in the years after the Wars (170 – 210/220).

LACHMIROWICE, gr. 12 (fig. 8, 1–12)

CASURIUS – Lubié / Lezoux (160 – 195 AD)

Fragmentary Almgren V 129 type brooch; fragmentary footed bowl of Eggers 77 type; iron buckel; iron knife; rests of iron casket lock; local pottery.

(Zielonka 1953, 361f., fig. 9; Tyszler 1999, 57–58)

KIETRZ, gr. 1376

CERIALIS, B, Rheinzabern Ib (160 – 210 AD)

Bronze knee brooch of Sarmatian type according to Maćzyńska (2011); small ring of bronze; pottery etc.

(Gedl 1988, 145–147, fig. 24; Tyszler 1999, II, 38)

OPATÓW, gr. 21a

COMITALIS SECUNDIN. AVI, Rheinzabern IIa (160 – 210 AD)

Rest of so called baroque style brooches, a spring case and a fibula-spring.

(Madyda-Legutko, Rodzinska-Nowak, Zagorska-Telega 2011, 34, pl X: 17–18; Kaczanowski, Przychodni 2014, 140, note 53)

MORAWIANKY

COMITALIS, Rheinzabern Ib (160 – 210 AD)

unpubl. Grave

Brooch of Almgren V 8 group.
(Kaczanowski, Przychodni 2014, 140, note 54)

CZARNÓWKO, gr. 373

REGINUS II, Rheinzabern (170 – 220 AD)
Fluted kettle of Eggers 44 type; golden snake headed
bracelets; golden pear shaped pendant and other items of
gold; silver and glas.

(Mączyńska, Rudnicka 2004, 421f.; Andrzejowski, Przychodni 2008, 171, note 45)

KRAKÓW – MOGIŁA, settl. feature

B: F. ATTONI, Rheinzabern IIa (175 – 210/220 AD)

Brooch of Almgren II 43 type.

(Woźniak 1962, 322, fig. 2; Tyszlner 1999, II, 52)

PRZYWÓZ (fig. 33)

MAMMILIANUS, Rheinzabern IIa (175 – 210 AD)

Bronze brooch of Almgren 96 typ with gilded silver
foil; 5 strap-end of Raddatz O – type or Madyda-Legutko
group 1, type 2, variant 6 (Kowalczyk 1968; Tyszlner
1999, II, 83–84).

WYMYSŁOWO, grave 293

VERUCUNDUS I, Rheinzabern IIb (170 – 220 AD)

Caracalla, Alexander Severus

Handle support of fluted kettle of Eggers 44 type.

(Jasnosz 1952; 196f., fig. 299; Tyszlner 1999, II, 100)

ODRY

BELSUS II, Rheinzabern IIa, end of the 2nd and the begin-
ning of the 3rd centuries (175 – 210 AD)

bronze brooch with inverted foot Almgren VI, 162 type;
bronze buckle Madyda-Legutko group D; bronze belt-
end of J II 3 type after Raddatz 1957; bronze spurs of F;
subgroup after Ginalski 1991; bronze tweezers etc.

(Grabarczyk, Kmiecziński et al. 1979; Tyszlner 1999, II, 66)

Although the evidence mentioned above is not so clear-cut, it seems to confirm that the phase defined by B2/C1 or C1a style of local production and by B2/C1 horizon of imported Roman bronze vessels coincides with the period with the main volume of *sigillata* import including the Central Gaulish pottery, later products of Rheinzabern (Group IIa, III) and even Westerndorf. This makes it possible to set the focal point of the B2/C1(C1a) phase predominantly into the years after the Marcomanic Wars (about 180 – 220/230 AD).

The overwhelming majority of remaining grave assemblages which comprise the later group of samian ware dated to the end of the 2nd and of the early 3rd century are defined by a modest number of chronologically distinctive metal and bone objects and consequently cannot contribute to the distinction of individual phases within the earlier stage of the Roman Period (Kaczanowski, Przychodni 2014, 138 f., fig. 2–3). The issue is also confused by the fact that certain types of artefacts, such

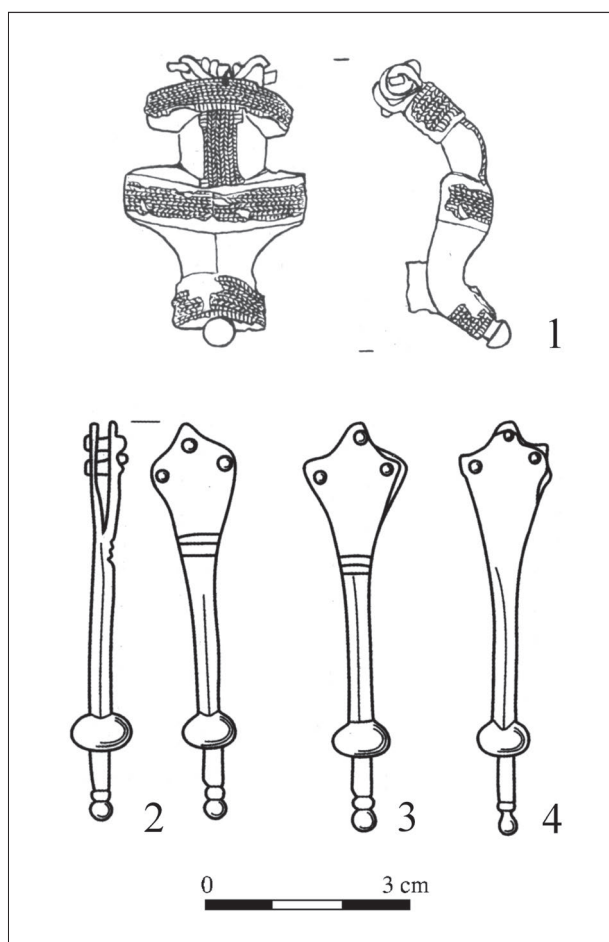


Fig. 33. Diagnostic types of B2/C1 (C1a) phase accompanied by samian ware. Brooch and some strap-ends from grave at Przywóz, Przeworsk Culture. According to Kowalczyk 1968.

Obř. 33. Určující typy fáze B2/C1 (C1a). Spona a nákončiči z hrobu przeworské kultury v Przywózu. Podle Kowalczyk 1968.

as brooches with inverted foot of Almgren VI, 158, 162 types, a portion of *fibulae* of the Almgren VII group, three-layer combs of the Thomas I type (Thomas 1960), some variants of buckles and strap ends, with exception of samples of Raddatz II 3 type from the male graves of the Przeworsk-Culture (Madyda-Legutko 2011, 57), and other items, might have been used during a longer span of time in both the C1a and the C1b phase. In spite of all it can be stated that some more progressive elements, such as later form of brooches with inverted foot and their derivatives with closed catch-plates, advanced crossbow brooches of the Almgren VII group, sometimes with filigree rings, asymmetric spurs with a hook at their base of Ginalski (1991) subgroup G; some types of hemispheric shield bosses etc., mostly accompanied by the latest *sigillata* products from Westerndorf and Pfaffenhofen, define the main feature of the C1b phase. Also the relatively scanty later products of samian ware dated to the second quarter of the third century which characterize a period when the volume of Roman imports decreased, occurred

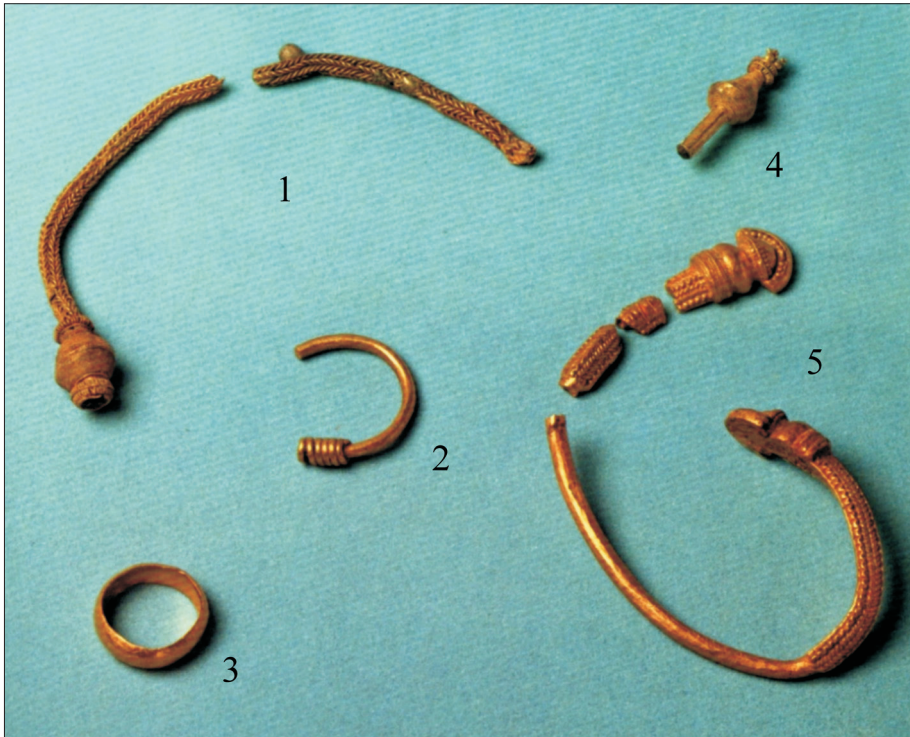


Fig. 34. Golden items from in B2/C1 (C1a) phase dated rich grave at Wulzeshofen. According to Bernard-Walcher 1988.

Obr. 34. Zlaté předměty z bohatého hrobu datovaného do fáze B2/C1 (C1a) ve Wulzeshofenu. Podle Bernard-Walcher 1988.

together with local production which could be identified as determinants of the following C1b phase (Kaczanowski, Przychodni 2014, 140 f., note 57–59, 61–63; Andrzejowski, Przychodni 2008, 173).

The ethnic or social background?

It also is worth mentioning that the rise in the number of Roman artefacts, not just bronze vessels and pottery, but also other objects and utensils particularly in the graves of the Przeworsk and first of all the Wielbark Culture, was in the B2/C1 phase accompanied by increasing numbers of lavishly, even princely, furnished male and female graves.

Besides the rich burials from Czarnówko, mentioned above (Mączyńska, Rudnicka 2004), other burials of wealthy upper class elites also are known, for example those from Lešno (Kanwiszerowa, Walenta 1982; Walenta 2009), Msciszewice (La Baume 1934, 130, 132, fig. 63 ff.), Dorotówo and Piličky (Kropotkin 1973), Sapólno (Sprockhoff 1927), Gronowo (Wołagiewicz 1973, 154f., fig. 23, 27–30), etc. Several graves of local elites are known from Wekllice (Natuniewicz-Sekula, Okulicz-Kozaryn 2008) and from further burial grounds in the Baltic area (Mączyńska, Rudnicka 2004, 427, list 4, fig. 18: 1). In the area of the Przeworsk Culture, rich burials of the B2/C1 phase were also observed, e. g. from Witaszewice (Kaszewska, Rajewski, Ząbkiewicz-Koszańska 1971), in several cases from Wymysłowo (Jasznosz 1952, 117 sq., 197, fig. 157, 299), Lachmirowice (Zielonka 1953), Kietrz (Gedl 1988, 147 sq., 152 sq., 164 sq.) etc.

Considering the geographical position of the region situated in the Norican and Pannonian forefront of the

Roman frontier, the description of the available contexts in which the main archaeological markers of phases B2/C1 or C1a were found is of fundamental importance. One of the most noteworthy examples of these exceptional graves in the region north of the Danube was discovered at Wulzeshofen in Lower Austria, not far from the Czech – Austrian border (Beninger 1932; 1934, 56; Pollak 1980, 177). It contains a gold pin of Beckmann group VII 108 type (Beckmann 1966, 34f., pl. 23) and other gold items, including a golden snake-headed bracelet of type IIIa according to Wójcik (1978, 53f.) and two iron brooches which can probably be classed as late variants of Almgren group V (fig. 34).

The same applies with another extraordinary inhumation grave from that time found at Čáčov in West Slovakia. The series of bronze and iron capsule-, bucket- and bag-shaped pendants, a Cypraea pendant, amber and glass beads, and an Almgren II 43 brooch with silver gilded foil decoration closely corresponds to the assemblages from sumptuous female graves in the area occupied by the Przeworsk Culture. An iron ring with a gem of a type very similar to the items which also occurred among the material from the Roman military site at Burgstall represents the Roman component. The same is also true of the large piece of mail armour and other items that imply that a double grave might have been dug there (Ondrouch 1957, 53ff., pl. 13–16; Pieta 2002).

Cultural links to the Wielbark Culture are implied by the assemblage from the cremation grave in Baumgarten an der March (fig. 20) with the remains of an Eggers type 47 bronze grooved kettle, a bronze ladle-and-strainer set of Eggers 161 type, a bronze spherical pendant and a characteristic bronze spur of Ginalski subgroup E 1 (Adler

1976; Ginalski 1991). Made of iron, identical spurs were found in B2/C1 dated burial No. 2/61 at Gbelce (fig. 21). Among others, the grave was furnished with remains of a fluted kettle, an iron rectangular buckle of Madyda-Legutko type G 16 and a bronze knee brooch of the Danubian variant (Beljak, Kolník 2006, 85f., fig. 10). Similar, but even more compelling evidence is provided by the funerary assemblage from Dvory upon Žitava in South Slovakia (fig. 24: 5–7). In addition to the late Eggers type 142 saucepan, which was probably made in Gaul, and other items, it also comprised a grooved kettle of type Eggers 44 (Gile type) and two Eggers type 187 glass goblets (Ruttkay 2004, 155, fig. 120).

Grave assemblages better outfitted with Roman products and typical B2/C1 and C1 objects as brooches, jewellery, spurs or other phenomena relating to the Wielbark and partly Przeworsk Cultures occasionally appear, also within the large cremation cemeteries mostly associated with the local population. The cremation burial 117 at Očkov (fig. 28) originally contained a relatively voluminous assemblage of bronze vessels (Kolník 1965, 183f., fig. 8: 1–10), from which remained a bronze mask handle attachment (fig. 27: 8) belonging to a bronze bucket of probably the Göldenitz type (Eggers 1951, 115, no 930, pl. 4: 29; type 29; Kersten 1941–1942, 92f., fig. 1) and a fragment of bronze fluted kettle (fig. 28: 9). Some graves from the time after the Marcomannic Wars are characterised by the presence of reused Roman military equipment. In the burial in question there are two military belt fittings (fig. 28: 4–5). The first oblong mount was characterised by pelta-shaped openwork on both ends (Oldenstein 1976, 194, fig. 788–789; close parallels s. Istvánovits, Kulcsár 1994, fig. 5: 3–5), the second one was decorated with the motif of a running lion in a low relief within the central medaillon (Oldenstein 1976, 133f., fig. 1: b; Boube-Piccot 1994, 82f., Pl. 11: 104–105; Bishop, Coulston 1993, fig. 80: 11). Both pieces are typical examples of Roman military equipment which began to be used from the late Antonine Period onwards. Besides a bipartite semi-circular bronze belt buckle of type D 21 according to Madyda-Legutko, the remnants of a plate-banded, so-called “bandage” pendant which may indicate some links to the Wielbark or Przeworsk Cultures (Stanek 1999, 333f., 352, no. 105; Quast 2000; Vaday 2003, 21f.) was found in the grave as well. The iron brooch with strongly arched bow and pointed foot implies close chronological affinities of the assemblage mentioned above with the C1b phase (fig. 28: 2).

In this context, attention must again focus on the question of the isolated occurrence of extraneous forms from the barbarian zones north of the Danube (Tejral 1999) and how these for the most part stray finds can be interpreted. Despite the fact that many of these artefacts are dispersed across regional boundaries and occur on sites linked with local populations, we obviously cannot deny the fact that a good deal of these new fashion trends were initiated by groups who most probably arrived in the territory to the

north of the Middle Danube from the northerly situated Wielbark and Przeworsk Cultures. The picture we get of the spatial distribution of these metal objects is to a certain extent similar to that seen on the northwest border province of Dacia; the fact that this region was penetrated by foreign, eastern, Germanic populations from the north is backed up by literary sources (Godłowski 1984, 327ff.; Ołędzki 1997, 83, fig. 1; 1999; 2001; 2004, 249, pl. 1, etc.).

Also in the sphere on the Middle Danube the occurrence of heterogeneous and uncommon artefact types, especially dress accessories, or funerary customs unusual with the local cultural substratum, mostly are considered as a consequence of immigration and archaeological proof of an inflow of foreign people. Recently an extensive discussion has been held about whether archaeology is capable of identifying the ethnical essence of particular archaeological phenomena, and consequently also what are the limits of the evidential ability of archaeological relics with regard to recognising foreign ethnical components and also migrations. The archaeological evidence needs not to be fully unequivocal in this regard, and the transformation of cultural image does not always correspond with ethnical but rather with acculturation changes, accomplished whether through accepting new fashion elements or by virtue of impulses penetrating together with the bearers of a foreign material culture from outside. The “foreigner” types in the local *milieu*, moreover, can also be explained in diverse ways (trade, exogamy, social communication etc., see Quast 2009) and the opportunities to verify the migrations are rather limited. It has been claimed that a good deal of ethnic attribution connected with extraneous archaeological forms, especially when occurring in zones which are quite distant from their home area, might have been dubious. On the other hand some of the above-mentioned grave assemblages from the Middle Danube region exhibit indisputable affinity with sumptuous graves of the Przeworsk or Wielbark Cultures, as far as the structure of finds and often also the burial rites are concerned. This, for example, regards the find from Čáčov, probably a twin grave, whose female component, mainly the brooch and the set of pendants, finds exact parallels in graves of the Przeworsk Culture. The assemblage, however, also contains other elements indicative of further cultural influences from North Europe. Among such distinct examples in Bohemia is the recently published Grave No. 718 from Třebusice (Droberjar 2005) and a cremation grave from Semčice (Droberjar, Waldhauser 2012, 893ff., esp. 898f., fig. 5, pl. 19: B) whose clear affinity with female graves of the Wielbark Culture allows to speculate about a possible group of immigrants or at least about an evidence of exogamy (Droberjar, Waldhauser 2012). Also the funerary equipment of the grave at Dvory upon Žitava with an assortment of imported Roman bronze and analogical glass vessels which form a classical wine set implies that its structure has further parallels in the non-Roman sphere, above all in some burial contexts within the area of the Wielbark Culture,

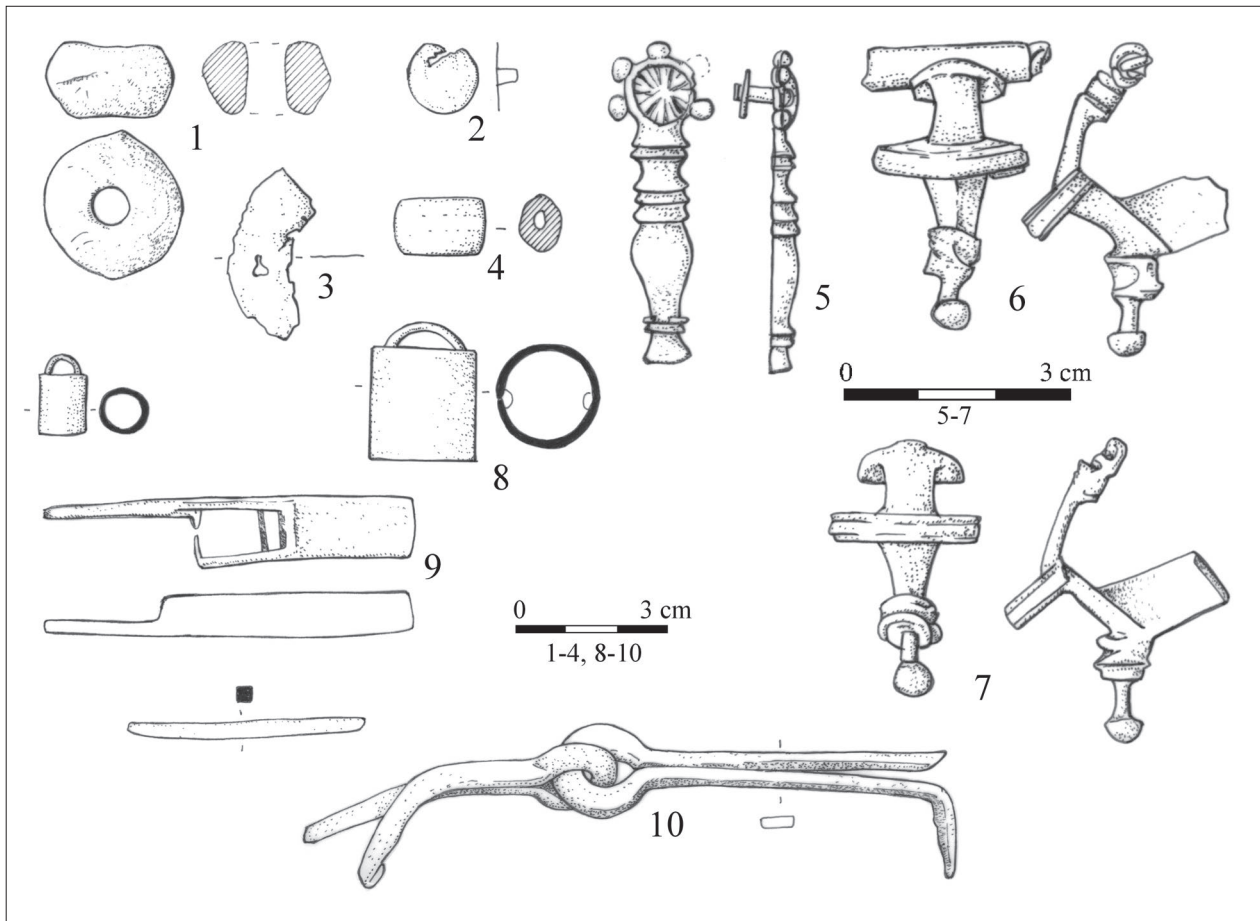


Fig. 35. Velký Cetín, burial no. 78. Examples of grave goods including B2/C1 (C1a) brooches, Roman military fittings and other items. According to Ruttkayová 2014.

Obr. 35. Velký Cetín, hrob č. 78. Výběr předmětů stupně B2/C1 (C1a) včetně spon, římských vojenských kování, aj. Podle Ruttkayová 2014.

e. g. in Lešno, Linowiec, Wękllice Gr. 425 goblets of Eggers 187 and 188 type (Eggers 1951, 98, 178, no. 476).

If in a similar way might also be assessed the grave from Baumgarten an der March remains, however, questionable. The same is true of some graves discovered within the cemetery at Velký Cetín in Slovakia. Worthy of attention are graves nos. 17 and 78, which contained fashionable basket-shaped pendants typical of the transitional stage B2/C1 (Ruttkayová 2014, 149ff., fig. 1; 3). Grave 78 (fig. 35) particular yielded characteristic variants of late strongly profiled bronze brooches (Ruttkayová 2014, fig. 3: 6–7), which are to the certain extent related to the early variant of Almgren V 96 *fibulae* (Hauptmann 1998). Exactly analogous, are for example, to several pieces found in South Poland, especially in the key settlement area of the Przeworsk Culture in the surroundings of Kraków, where the range of *fibulae* typical of the B2/C1 phase is represented in a most exemplary manner (Godłowski 1995, fig. 9: 4–5; 10: 6–8; 12: 6). In addition to this, the remains of a damaged bronze “bandage” pendant, originally with a *Cypraea* shell and other typical items, were found in Grave No. 17 (Ruttkayová

2014, fig. 1: 3, 11; Stanek 1999, 352, no. 106; Quast 2000). An example of reused Roman military equipment, the elongated, profiled fitting from Grave No. 78 (Ruttkayová 2014, fig. 3: 17; Oldenstein 1976, 201f., pl. 66–67, nos. 870–878), which repeatedly represents a distinctive feature of some burial assemblages from the period following the Marcomannic Wars (fig. 37: 5–7,14), was found in the mentioned grave, too (fig. 35: 5).

This also applies to grave I at Abrahám in Slovakia (fig. 36: 2–6) furnished by a brooch of A 41 type, variety Y after Schuster (2006), a *cyprea* pendant and a D-shaped buckel of type 20 according to Madyda-Legutko (1986) which gives the grave a relatively late position within the phase C1a (Kolník 1980, 20, pl. LXIV: b-d). A similar dating might be ascribed to the grave 59 at Očkov with an A II type fibula, variety X after Schuster (Kolník 1965, 183f., fig. 1: 3–4) and two isolated brooches of A 43 type from disturbed graves at Očkov (Kolník 1965, 184, fig. 1: 1) and at Šitbořice in Moravia.

The new B2/C1 style of jewellery is represented also by pear shaped gold pendants or their fragments which

were unearthed in grave 69 at Očkov, graves 208 and 210 at Abrahám, in grave 8/2005 at Zohor and as stray finds on some other sites in Slovakia (Kolník 1980, 73, 74, pl. LVIII: 208. b-c; LIX: 210. h; Rajtár 2013, 140ff., fig. 5; Elschek 2013, 109f., fig. 13: 2). There are sporadic snake headed bracelets of silver as representants of the latest fashion. The fragmentary piece from burial no. 8/2005 at Zohor (Elschek 2013, 109, fig. 13: 3) suggests relatively early penetration of new elements in the cultural background of the local population, may be as far back as in the late B2 phase, roughly in the second half of the 2. century (s. also Droberjar 2014, 135f., fig. 2: 10; 6: 7). On the other hand the silver snake headed bracelet of III a type after Wojcik (1978) from the grave 47 at Kostolná (Kolník 1980, 114ff., pl. CVII: 47b) accompanied probably by a Thomas I type three layer comb belongs to the early 3rd century most likely.

Whatever different answers may be proposed regarding the distribution of foreign artefacts, we cannot rule out the assumption that some of them are vestiges of break away groups of foreigners, indeed. The beginning of alien types infiltration can be observed in the B2 late phase already, i. e. during the Marcomannic Wars. Today, of course, it is hard to decide whether these foreigners were allies of Rome, contingents of whom have served in the Roman auxiliary units, or persons that were resettled in a new territory by order of the Romans, or groups of invaders from the North. The first possibility seems likely, and is to a certain extent supported by literary sources (Script. Hist. Aug., Marcus 21, 7), as well as by the depictions on the Column of Marcus Aurelius,

for example in scenes XLIX or LVII. If these really were members of barbarian auxiliary units, it is understandable that the Romans hired these troops from ethnic groupings that were not overfriendly towards the local Marcomanni and Quadi, a fact which would be corroborated by the extraneous archaeological material found especially within the late strata of Roman military installations, both north the Middle Danube and on the northern frontier of Dacia (Gudea 1989, pl. 185: 25; 188: 13–15; Cociş 2004, 131f., pl. CXIII: 1588–1591).

On the other hand, there are several further possible solutions of the B2/C1 or C1a problem. The first step is given by the chronology of richly furnished grave contexts with representative markers of the transitional phase which appear widespread from the Baltic area to the Middle Danube and in some cases in Denmark as well (Rasmussen 1995). On the basis of imported goods, bronze vessels of the B2/C1 horizon, glass beakers of Eggers 187-188 type and especially of samian ware, predominantly products from Rheinzabern, Westerndorf and Pfaffenhofen, the arrival of which in the regions beyond the Roman frontier falls within the time after AD 180 in particular, it can be assumed that these finds reflected post-war establishment of barbarian elites on the wide territory of non-Roman Europe. The lavish equipped burials of local elites exhibit certain links to each other, often with lesser regard to their regional context. The inventory which, besides spectacular examples of Roman imports, has also yielded elements that represent prestigious artefacts, such as silver, gilded and even gold objects, allows us to assume that the conditions established during this

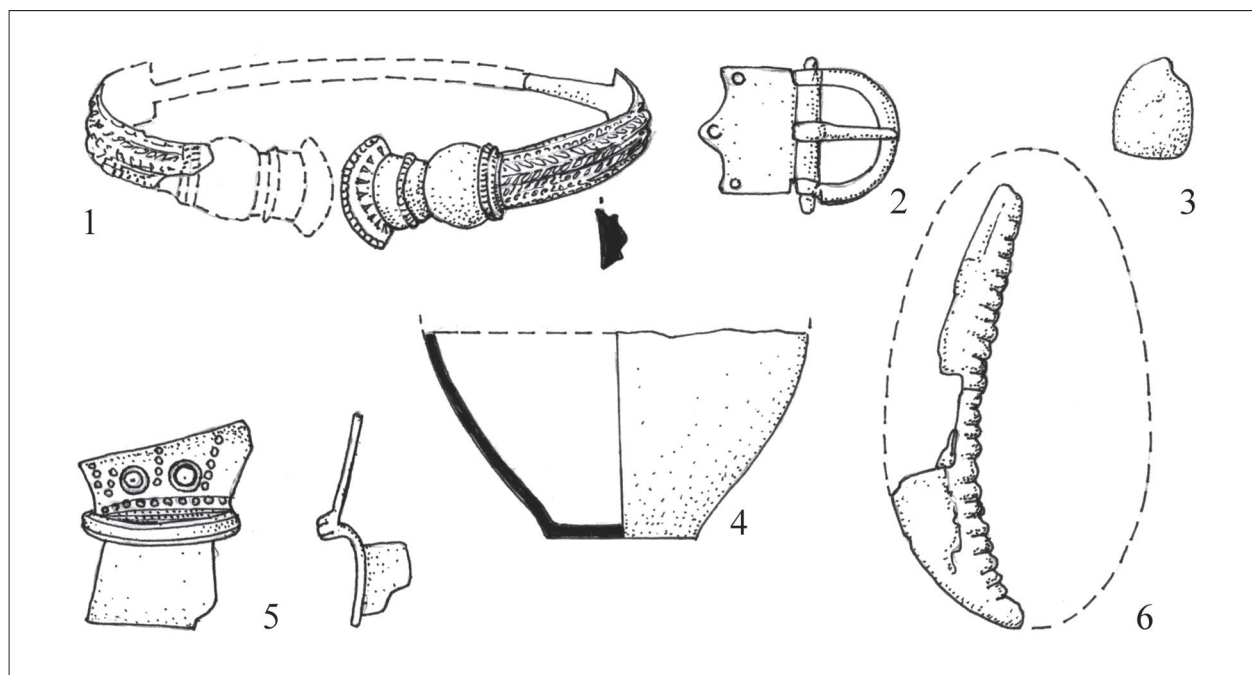


Fig. 36. 1 Fragmentary silver snake-headed bracelet from grave no. 47 at Kostolná; 2-6 grave goods from burial no. 1 at Abrahám. According to Kolník 1980.

Obr. 36. 1 Fragmentární stříbrný náramek se zakončením hadích hlaviček z hrobu č. 47 v Kostolné; 2-6 inventář hrobu č. 1 v Abrahámu. Podle Kolník 1980.

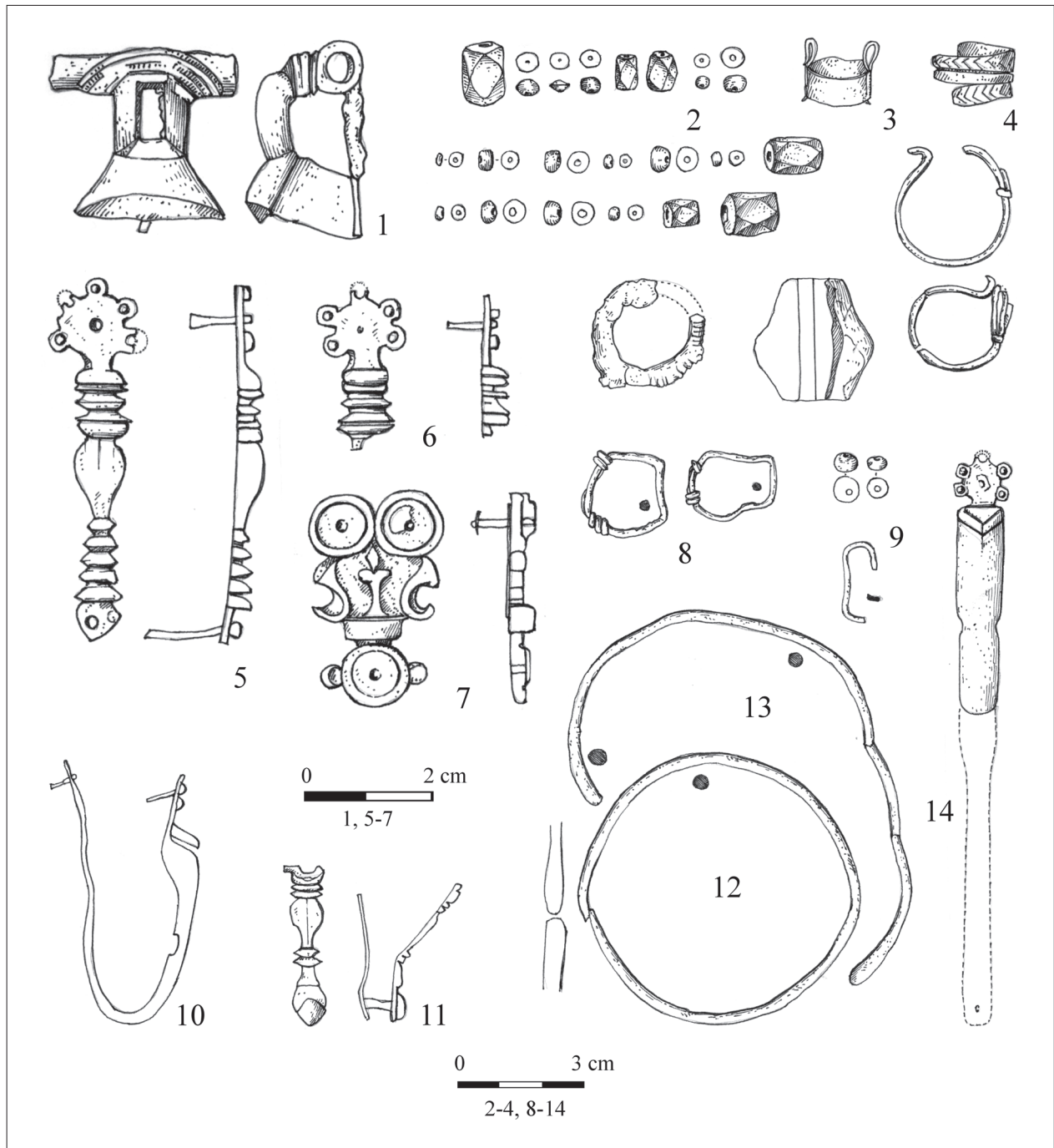


Fig. 37. Femal grave assemblage including the bronze brooch of Almgren V 129 type from Tiszavári, Városföldje. According to Istvánovits 1990.

Obr. 37. Ženský hrob vybavený sponou Almgrenova typu V 129 z Tiszavári, Városföldje. Podle Istvánovits 1990.

period also resulted in changes in the social structure of barbarian society.

Even though the situation about and after the end of the Marcomannic Wars is not very clear due to an absence of reliable literary sources (Kehne, Tejral 2001), a piece of knowledge available yet provides some clues to get an idea. It indicates that the increase in wealth of several

population groups on the barbarian side of the Danube, which in the find-bearing horizon B2/C1 is reflected in funerary equipment with Roman imports, items from precious metals or artefacts decorated with techniques using gold and silver, can also be explained by mainly the aftermath of the above-mentioned war conflict. This increase in wealth could originate not only from the long-distance trade with the Baltic amber but also from war contribu-

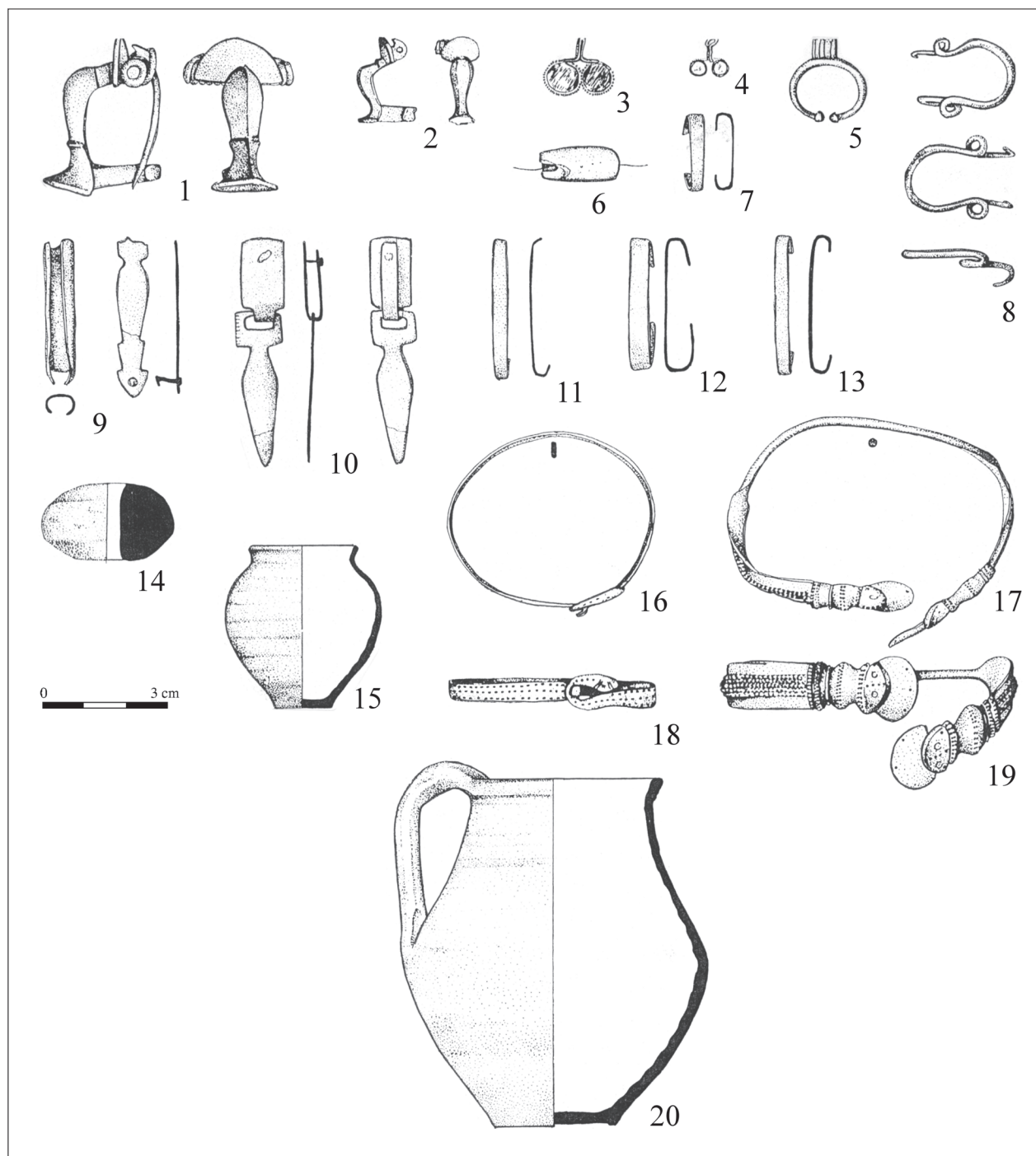


Fig. 38. Female grave from Gelej. According to Hadrházy-Vaday 1980.

Obr. 38. Ženský hrob z Gelej. Podle Hadrházy-Vaday 1980.

tions, tributes and predominantly, from subsidies and booty obtained after the Wars.

The written reports indeed indicate that Commodus tried to secure peace on the Danube border, as Herodian recounts (Herodian 1, 6, 8–9) by huge sums and subsidies which were paid to the barbarians who helped to maintain it. The Emperor was allegedly supposed to provide them

with everything they asked for: the situation that reigned in the Middle Danube region after the Marcomannic Wars is eloquently illustrated by the account of Cassius Dio, which comes from the time immediately after the assassination of Commodus in 192. At the time of Commodus' successor Pertinax, the barbarians, returning home with a great cargo of gold, were detained by the Roman fleet.

The Romans requested that they return the subsidia and tersely ordered: „Tell your compatriots that Pertinax is the ruler now“ (Cass. Dio S-Xiph. Exc. 74, 6, 1, according to Dietz 1994, 11). The efforts by Pertinax, a famed and feared general from the time of the Marcomannic Wars, to bring about change naturally did not last long and by Severan emperors political bribery was again commonplace.

Be that as it may, it can be supposed that the archaeological picture of the B2/C1 or C1a phase, which to a certain extent exhibits a universal character from the North of continental Europe to as far as the Danube region, is a reflection of historical and cultural changes induced by the Marcomannic Wars. Wide-ranging and diverse contacts and influences between individual cultural traditions of barbarian and antique origin led in the end to the emergence of a specific cultural environment, which is the main content of the so-called B2/C1 or C1a phase.

The direct affiliation of some other B2/C1 types or archaeological assemblages to those of the Przeworsk and Wielbark Cultures requires, however, a thorough reassessment. From an archaeological point of view, the Marcomannic Wars and the period that followed give us a picture of how a variety of extraneous elements merged, having entered barbarian material culture as a result of far-reaching movements, contacts and changes in the course of the Wars and in their aftermath especially. In this case it also is very possible that some elements of the original Wielbark or Przeworsk Cultures might have been adopted by other ethnic and cultural groupings and changed in a sort of manifestation of an exceptional social status. It concerns e. g. the snake-headed bracelets of bronze or silver (Andrzejowski 1994) which were found in relatively richly outfitted burials No. 1563 at Kietrz (fig. 32: 4–5, 7; Gedl 1988, 152 sq., rec. 29–32) and at Dobra (Pescheck 1939, 317f., fig. 35) on the territory of the Przeworsk Culture or in grave No. 47 at Kostolná (fig. 36: 1) and, of course, the golden specimen in a grave at Wulzeshofen in the area north of the Danube (fig. 34: 4). Unlike the aforementioned graves from Třebusice and from Semčice in Bohemia, which comprehensively have reflected the Wielbark jewellery and apparel fashion, the bracelets appear here in local cultural context.

The same may be said about the Sarmatian female grave at Gelej (fig. 38) and about other Wielbark- and Przeworsk-style items, predominantly, however, stray finds, from the Great Hungarian Plain (Hadházy-Vaday 1980, 91ff., 94ff., Karte I, Taf. V–III). The most interesting contexts are represented by both female and male inhumations at Hévízgyörk (Dinnyés 1991, 145 sq.; Istvánovits, Kulcsár 2003, 232 sq.) The female grave contained apart from a Roman glass jug, a Roman bronze knee fibula and another items as well an isolated example of a tendril brooch with widened foot, obviously a type of the early phase of the Late Roman Period. The second grave contained funerary equipment of a Sarmatian

warrior (fig. 39). Besides a sword and two lances, there also were a set of belt fittings made in a characteristic Sarmatian traditional style, and components of horse harness which even have close analogies in Sarmatian graves on the Lower Don and in the Urals (Istvánovits, Kulcsár 2003, 232f.). Contrary to this, the bronze and gilded silver brooch of Almgren V 125/130 type and iron double-tongue buckle belong to the typical B2/C1 phase inventory of the Wielbark and Przeworsk Cultures. Something similar is true of the bronze Almgren V 129 fibula in female burial No. 7 from Tiszavasvári-Városföldje (fig. 37), which apart from other items has been accompanied by secondarily reused Roman military fittings indicating that we are dealing here with the time after the Marcomannic Wars as well (Istvánovits 1990, 83 sq., 89, Abb. 5, Taf. II: 1).

The emergence of a specific archaeological *milieu* may thus probably have also a social subtext in the regions outside the homeland of these finds. This, however, may also imply that the lavish equipment of the graves in question including foreign elements would be interpreted as a social rather than ethno-cultural attribute. So it is that some sumptuous graves of the Przeworsk Culture or even Sarmatian graves from the Great Hungarian Plain contain silver or bronze bracelets, which are usually derived from Wielbark traditions, in association with other, sometimes rich, grave goods. The same, however, may also concern precious brooches or even simple bronze products such as, for example, Almgren V 129 or V 130 brooches. The last mentioned type is also found in male graves. This most probably also applies to bronze spurs of advanced types Ginalski E2 and E5 or E6, which occurred in the Wielbark Culture as well as in the Przeworsk Culture, in the Danube region and in Roman frontier fortresses (fig. 40). The fact that they became a source of the numerous and varied groups of Eastern European spurs widely spread among the pre-Chernyachov population in the Dnieper area is the most eloquent (Radyush 2013).

Besides the aforementioned “northern” influences, further important factors have to be emphasised which shaped the individual features of the transitional phase and its cultural, social and political realities throughout the greater part of the barbarian sphere, especially to the north of the Middle Danube and along the main communication routes leading to the north, to the Baltic. Most conspicuous is the clear cultural impact of Ancient Rome and its provinces.

In this respect it is certainly worth pointing out that many of types of brooches of the transitional stage are clearly akin to certain *fibulae* from the Roman provinces. The entire range of transitional types even shows that the formation of the characteristic design of some of them could have involved adopting provincial stimuli under the favourable conditions created by the intensive contact between the Romans and the barbarians during or soon after the Marcomannic Wars. Worthy of note in

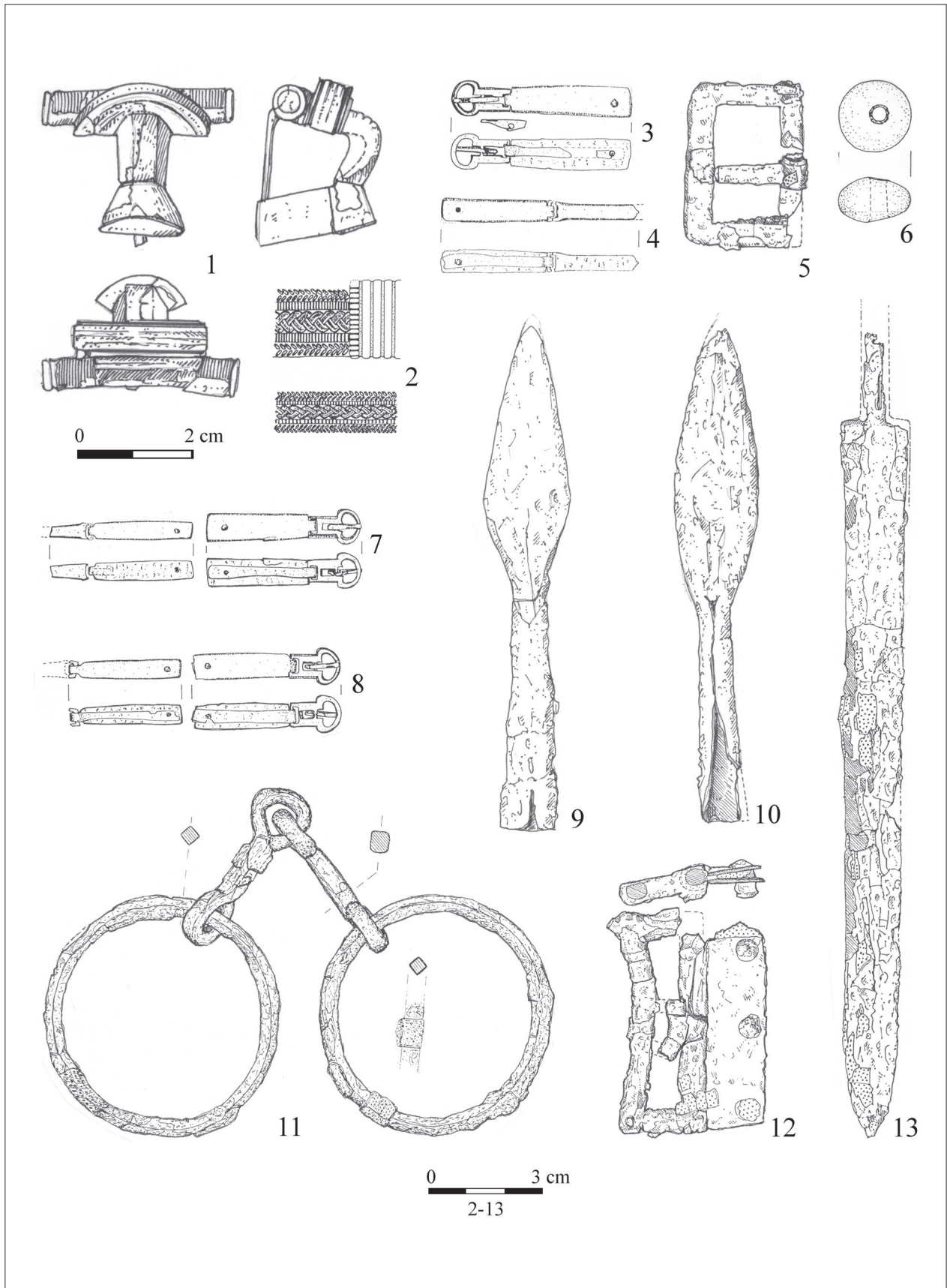


Fig. 39. Warrior grave from Hévizgyörk including massive bronze brooch of Almgren V 129 type. According to Dinnyés 1991.

Obr. 39. Hrob bojovníka z Hévizgyörk, vybavený masivní bronzovou sponou typu Almgren V 129. Podle Dinnyés 1991.

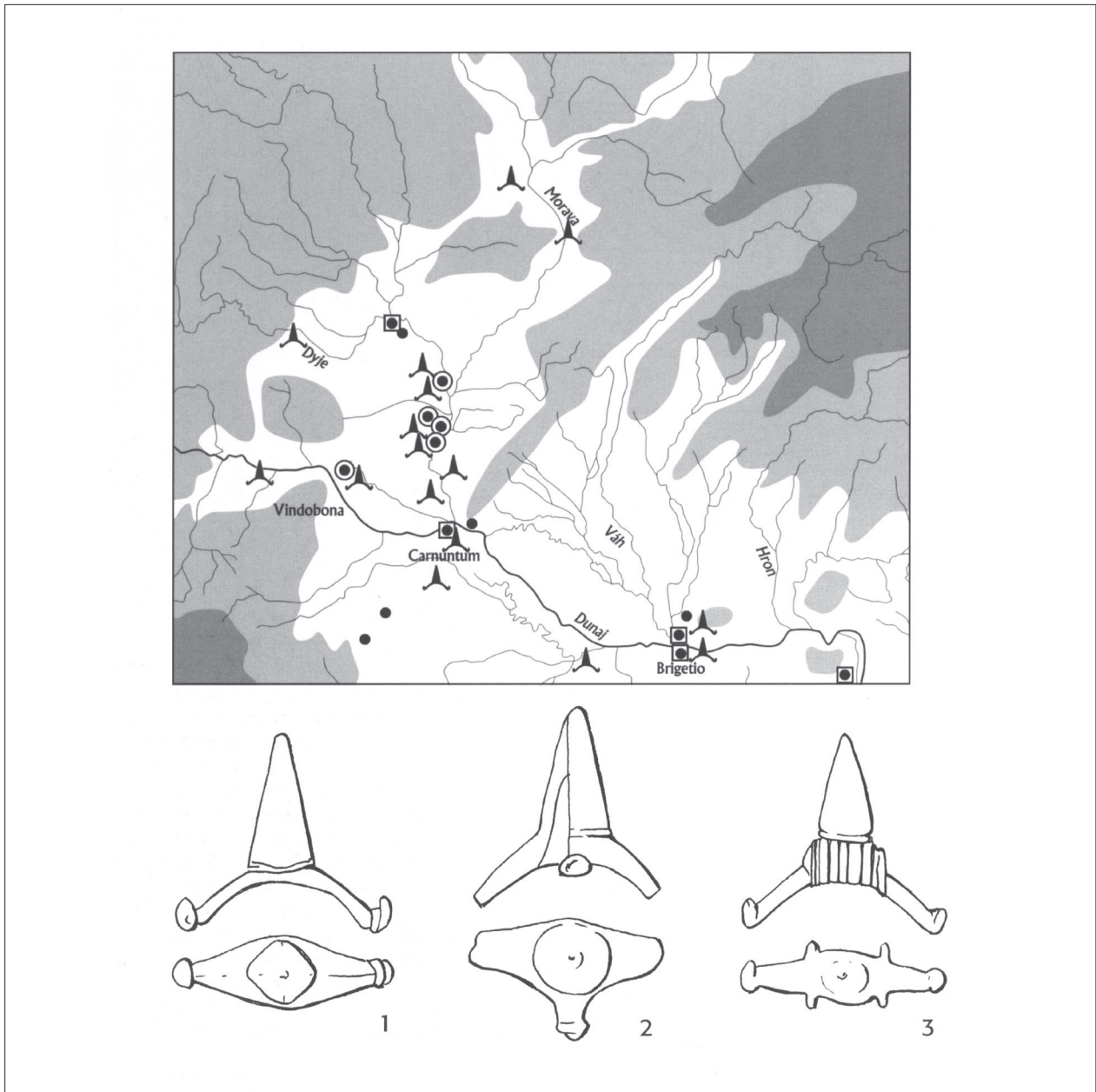


Fig. 40. Distribution of bronze spurs of B2/C1 (C1a) fashion north to the Middle Danube. 1 Bernhardstal (A); 2 Edelstal (A); 3 Enzersfeld (A). According to Tejral 2006.

Obr. 40. Rozšíření bronzových ostruh fáze B2/C1 (C1a) severně od Dunaje. 1 Bernhardstal (A); 2 Edelstal (A); 3 Enzersfeld (A). Podle Tejral 2006.

this respect are the Almgren type V 129 brooches, the archetypes of which can be seen in the provincial knee brooches with a double bow (Tejral 2006, 150, fig. 22: 1–3; 2015, fig. 10: 1–4), the barbarian variations of knee brooches with a rudimentary head, or the whole range of other mixed types, a representative selection of which comes, for example, from the Przeworsk settlement in Jakuszowice (Tejral 2006, 149f., fig. 21).

Based on the latest archaeological data we can rightly assume that the workshops in the barbarian territory to the north of the Middle Danube might have been in-

involved in their production. In addition to the evidence of metalworking in the area on the eastern slope of “Burgstall”, described in previous chapters, in this respect we must also take account of the evidence from the casting workshops at the Germanic settlement in Pasohlávky, only 1.5 km away from “Burgstall”, and the deposit of coloured scrap metal at Cifer-Pác in Slovakia, also not far from the Roman encampment dated to the time of Marcomannic Wars (Cheben, Ruttkay 2010; Tejral 2015).

Even though in individual regions of the non-Roman Europe this horizon exhibits some specific traits, on the

territory from Scandinavia over the Wielbark and Przeworsk Cultures to as far as the Danube region it has many uniform elements, which were generated by the Marcomannic Wars and which are part of the archaeological picture since the last two decades of the 2nd century until at least the first third of the 3rd century. However, a too detailed division of this time span in the B2/C2 and C1a phases and therewith also a too sharp chronological differentiation of the material found, however, is controversial.

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Resumé

Přechodné období mezi starší a mladší dobou římskou je již delší dobu předmětem diskusí, které se týkají především jeho archeologického obsahu, datování, jeho celkového charakteru i trvání. Obecně je pokládáno za časový úsek, který je zejména v oblasti drobné kovové industrie určován jak formami, jež ještě uchovávají tradice starší doby římské, tak některými inovacemi, příznačnými již pro mladší dobu římskou. V archeologické chronologii se pro toto období vžilo označení B2/C1, které se v absolutně chronologických datech podle dosavadních představ kryje přibližně s léty markomanských válek (160 – 170 n. l.). I když se zejména v poslední době připouští přesah této tranzitní fáze až do let po těchto událostech a její překrývání s již mladořímskou fází C1a, otázka jejího chronologického postavení vyžaduje ve světle nových nálezů a výzkumů dalšího upřesnění.

Vydeme-li ze situace v rámci dvou kulturních okruhů, které ve středoevropském prostoru zaujímají v daném období dominantní postavení, totiž kultury wielbarské na severu Polska a kultury przerworské, je zdejší archeologic-

ký materiál jak mezi místní drobnou kovovou industrií, tak cizími artefakty zpravidla římsko-provinciální proveniencie, charakterizované některými nápadnými jevy, které mohou naznačovat nejen zvýšené migrační pohyby barbarských populací, ale i sociální proměny v rámci tehdejší společnosti. Dalším znakem je konečně i zintenzívnění a částečné přesměrování dosavadních proudů římského importu. Některé z předmětů, připisovaných fázi B2/C1, dosahují širšího geografického rozšíření a tak zvyšují možnost dalekosáhlé synchronizace při hodnocení jednotlivých kulturních fenoménů.

V okruhu wielbarské kultury se ukázky nového barbarského stylu, příznačného pro fázi B2/C1, prosazují nejvýrazněji v kovových součástech ženského kroje a ozdob. Jde především o některé typy spon, vyrobených převážně z bronzu nebo příbuzných slitin. Charakterizuje je snaha po rozšiřování jednotlivých tvarových článků a strohé profilaci kontur. Mnohé jsou opatřeny stříbrnou pozlacenou fólií, zdobenou tlačeným ornamentem. Kromě spon s tzv. válcovitou hlavicí typu A V 125-130 a spon typu A V 95/96, patří k nejoblíbenějším formám, široká spínadla typu A 41, varianty X a Z podle třídění J. Schustera. Vzhledem k jejich tvarové a výzdobné bohatosti jsou polskými badateli často označovány jako spony tzv. „barokního stylu“. Vzestup bohatství tamních populací dokumentují v relativně početných hrobech charakteristické soubory ozdob a šperků vyhotovených často ze stříbra nebo dokonce zlata. Mezi ně patří např. náramky s tzv. hadími hlavičkami nebo štítovými konci, vlnovité zprohýbané náramky, esovité záponky, hruškovité nebo kulovité závěsky a další ozdoby, jejichž rozšíření zasahuje především wielbarskou kulturu, avšak objevují se, zpravidla v bohatých hrobech, i mimo tuto zónu. Obdobné jsou poměry v oblasti przeworské kultury, v jejímž inventáři jsou pro přechodnou fázi typické také některé nové typy, zejména mezi spínadly. Nejnápadnější jsou mezi nimi nové formy bronzových spon, neboť proti předchozímu období, kdy zde byla, zejména v západních částech przeworské sídelní oblasti, při výrobě drobných součástí oděvu dávana přednost železu, představují nesporné novum a svědčí o náhlé změně módy. Typické pro tuto oblast jsou místní varianty bronzových spon II Almgrenovy skupiny (II 41, II 43) a především spony A V 129 s příznačnou podélnou štěrbinou ve střední části lučíku. Některé další formy se rovněž od wielbarských spon odlišují, i když obecně zachovávají tendence k robustnímu ztvárnění a rozšiřování tvarových článků. Nové prvky přináší i výbava mužských hrobů, zvláště hrobů se zbraněmi. Jejich nejnápadnější komponentu reprezentují nové formy dlouhých, pádných mečů, tzv. spath, které jsou v průběhu následujících období zaváděny prvotně do výzbroje římské armády. S touto inovací souvisí v przeworském prostředí i formování nových typů pásových kování k řemení mečů, nákončí, atd. Spolu s masívními, především železnými knoflíkovitými ostruhami skupiny E podle J. Ginalskeho, definují tyto předměty 5. skupinu bojovníckých hrobů v pojetí K. Godłovského.

Nápadným jevem pojednávané fáze je zjištění, že některé typy drobné bronzové industrie, tak charakteristické pro wielbarskou i przeworskou kulturu, se nyní relativně často vynořují v oblastech mimo sféru těchto kultur, zejména v oblastech, které s oběma kulturními okruhy sousedí. Na západě jde o končiny mezi Odrou a Labem, na jihu je to pásmo severně od středního Dunaje a nechybějí dokonce v příhraničních pásmech podunajských provincií. Objevují se nejen příklady spon tzv. „barokního stylu“, které mají přesné obdoby v oblasti wielbarské kultury, avšak také typy, jejichž náleзовé těžiště se nachází v okruhu przeworské kultury. Působení wielbarské módy je patrné v pronikání některých typů ozdob, náramků, esovitých záponek, závěsků, apod. Na území severně od dunajského toku jsou kromě toho poměrně časté nálezy bronzových knoflíkovitých ostruh, které vykazují rovněž jisté afinity k nálezům wielbarské kultury.

Počet příkladů drobné bronzové industrie podobného druhu, zejména spínadel, vzrostl nebývalou měrou zejména v poslední době. Většina těchto nálezů však pochází z náhodných amatérských objevů, učiněných pomocí detektoru kovů, které postrádají náležitou náleзовou souvislost. Vyhodnocení těchto artefaktů a datování nového stylu se opírá o méně početné soubory z hrobových nebo sídlištních náleзовých kontextů. Nový pohled na datování a interpretaci fenoménů, typických pro fázi B2/C1, poskytly však rovněž poznatky, získané výzkumem římského vojenského záboru na území Moravy a jižního Slovenska v letech markomanských válek, především římské vojenské pevnosti na „Hradisku“ u bývalé obce Mušova a dalších lokalit v jejím okolí. Předkládaná stať se zaměřuje na několik ukázek bronzových spínadel, které mají nesporné paralely ve wielbarské a v przeworské kultuře, jejichž analýza a stratigrafické situace, v nichž se nacházely v širším kontextu mušovského regionu, přináší nové možnosti pro jejich datování.

Předběžné výsledky naznačují poměrně pozdní datování zkoumaných spon typu A V 125/130, A V 129, případně místních variant bronzových spon kolínkovitých i některých dalších tohoto horizontu. I když lze počítat s jejich počátky již v konečné fázi markomanských válek, vzhledem k částečnému výskytu některých z nich v mladších sídlištních kontextech a ve vrstvách, které spadají až do období po letech římské vojenské okupace, tedy do časového úseku po Commodově míru, je třeba časové těžiště přechodné fáze posunout až do pozdního 2. a do první třetiny 3. století.

Tomuto zjištění odpovídá i několik skutečností, s nimiž se setkáváme v celé barbarské oblasti. Především je to fakt, že typy, které jsou určující pro fázi B2/C1 se jak v okruhu kultury przeworské, tak zejména wielbarské kultury, nacházejí ve více případech v náleзовých souvislostech s mladořímskými formami, zpravidla s časnými variantami Almgrenovy VI a VII skupiny, pokládány běžně za typy, které definují fázi C1a. Toto svědectví poskytuje důvod k domněnce, že se fáze B2/C1 a C1a

do značné míry překrývají a jejich strohé členění je jen pomyslné.

Důležitou výpověď pro chápání přechodného období mezi starší a mladší dobou římskou přináší i přehodnocení podstaty a datace vzedmutého proudu římského dovozu právě ve fázi B2/C1, C1a. Nápadným jevem je příliv bronzových nádob tzv. horizontu žlábkovaných věder, který zasahuje jak oblasti kultury wielbarské a przeworské, tak nečekaně silně i pásmo severně od středního Dunaje. Především se to však týká římské keramiky, mezi níž zcela převažuje sigillatové zboží. Jisté zesílení jeho přílivu, přinášejícího výrobky ze středogalských dílen (Lezoux, Lubié) a časné produkty z dílen v Rheinzabernu, zřejmě bezprostředně souviselo se zásobováním římské okupační armády v době markomanských válek. I když se tak na území severně od Dunaje mohlo objevit již ve druhé polovině 2. století, zejména od sedmdesátých let tohoto věku, do barbarských hrobů, zejména v severnějších částech neřímské Germanie, se dostávalo podle všeho až v pozdním 2. století. Hlavní proud sigillatového zboží, po krátké přestávce v době Commodova míru, následoval až později. Zejména keramika, produkovaná v pozdních dílnách v Rheinzabern, v manufakturách z Westerndorfu případně Pfaffenhofenu, byla v barbarském prostředí užívána a ukládána do hrobů až v době po markomanských válkách. Z hlediska archeologické chronologie tak dovoz terro sigillaty zaplňuje jak fázi B2/C1 a C1a, tak částečně i mladořímskou fázi C1b.

Kromě dálkového obchodu, který se poznovu počíná intenzivněji rozvíjet zřejmě až s určitým odstupem po markomanských válkách, na přelomu 2. a 3. století, je pravděpodobné, že zejména značná část časnějšího zboží, keramiky, bronzových nádob i dalších industriálních produktů římské proveniencí, mohla na půdu barbarika přicházet jako kořist v době poválečných vpádů na římské území a v důsledku vylupování římských objektů jak v provinciích, tak severně od Dunaje. Nelze ovšem pominout ani římské dary nebo úplatky a subsidia, jež měly zajistit mír na římské hranici. V období severovského boju na konci 2. a v první třetině 3. století, souběžně se vzrůstajícím bohatstvím barbarských elit, které je patrné v celé řadě hrobů fáze B2/C1, C1a v široké oblasti mezi středním Dunajem a Baltem, dochází zřejmě i k zintenzívnění dálkového obchodu a dálkové výměně zboží. To do značné míry pojednávávané fázi propůjčuje mnohé společné rysy.

Vrátíme-li se k problému zvýšeného výskytu cizorodých forem v kontextu místního severodunajského

kulturního prostředí, je tento jev nejčastěji spojován se zvýšenou mobilitou barbarských kmenů v období markomanských válek. Jakkoliv lze stěží popřít, že některé artefakty a ukázky nové módy, které mají původ v severnějších sférách neřímské střední Evropy, případně i cizí formy pohřebního ritu, do země pronikaly s migrujícími společenstvy ze severu Evropy, zejména z území dnešního Polska, naskýtají se pro vysvětlení oblíbenosti některých z nich další možnosti. Zejména výskyt drobných ozdob cizího nezvyklého druhu z drahých kovů (jako náramků, závěsků atd., avšak také bronzových masivních ostruh) v kontextu pohřebišť místní populace mohlo mít i svůj sociální podtext. Podobně jako některé typy masivních spon tzv. „barokního stylu“, mohly vyjadřovat vyšší společenské postavení zemřelého a nikoliv pouze jeho etnickou příslušnost. Kromě toho, jak bylo naznačeno v předkládaném příspěvku i na jiných místech, některé ze širokých spon, zejména spony A V 129 a konečně i místní varianty bronzových kolínkovitých spon, byly očividně ovlivněny provinciálními předlohami. Snad podobnou symboliku, jejíž skutečná podstata však uniká, může nést i ukládání římských militarií především v ženských hrobech.

Závěrem lze konstatovat, že archeologická náplň přechodného období mezi starší a mladší dobou římskou B2/C1, C1a je výsledkem zvláštních poměrů, které se vyvinuly v průběhu markomanských válek a především po jejich ukončení. Její specifický ráz, implikující jak prvky ze vzdálenějších kultur wielbarské a przeworské, tak z domácího prostředí a v nemalé míře i silné římsko-provinciální podněty, propůjčuje této fázi do jisté míry nadregionální charakter. Její jevová stránka odráží historické, sociopolitické a etnokulturní procesy, které probíhaly v důsledku válečných událostí. Její chronologické těžiště leží v časovém úseku od konce markomanských válek až do severovského období (cca 175/180 – 220/230). Příliš rigidní členění přechodné fáze mezi starší a mladší dobou římskou na další, kratší časové úseky (B2/C1, C1a) není za současného stavu bádání příliš přesvědčivé.

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