

Glass vessels in graves from the 5th century in the Middle Danube region

Skleněné nádoby v hrobech z 5. století ve středním Podunají

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KEYWORDS

Glass vessels – 5th century – Middle Danube region – grave context

ABSTRACT

This article is devoted to glass vessels placed in graves dated to the 5th century AD in the territory of the Middle Danube region. The subject of typological analyses were 100 vessels, in a complete or fragmentary state of preservation, originating from 74 graves located in the territory of today's southwest Slovakia, south Moravia, Lower Austria and the northern part of Hungary. The goal was to find out what forms dominated the grave inventory of the Migration Period, the function they served, and their provenance. As was demonstrated, they were mainly dominated by vessels associated with so-called drinking services and included various glasses, cups, jugs and bottles. At the same time, glass products in the 5th century lost their function as an indicator of the social status and wealth of the buried individual, which was assumed by other accompanying grave goods such as precious metal jewellery and weapons. The question of the import and domestic production of glass containers remains unanswered. However, we can observe certain areas in which specific types of vessels were concentrated.

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1. Introduction

Starting at the end of the 4th century, the following two hundred years meant for Europe, and to a no lesser extent also for the Middle Danube region, a fundamental civilisational, cultural, and ethnic change, which in a broader historical sense represents the end of antiquity and the beginning of the Middle Ages. However, ancient traditions are still evident in some regions of the Pannonian and Alpine areas. The short but dramatic period is characterised by the migration of small and large groups of the most diverse Germanic and Asian tribes. The migrating ethnic groups inhabiting the territory of the Northern Danube region established small inhumation burial grounds. General fashion trends in clothing and new technological procedures in craft production began to be more intensively applied.

New trends also influenced the production of glass vessels, and compared to the previous period, they differ in the shape, decoration, and colour of the glass. The original Roman tradition receded into the background and vessels based on models characteristic of the ethnic groups of Eastern Europe and the Black Sea region entered the Middle Danube region. They were often placed in graves as offerings. It is precisely such vessels that formed part of the inventory in graves from the 5th century in the Middle Danube region that are the subject of this article. A collection of 100 vessels from 74 graves, from sites located in southwest Slovakia, south Moravia, Lower Austria, and the northern part of Hungary, were analysed. These vessels come from necropolises as well as from isolated graves. This article aims to determine their typological classification, which depends on the production technique and decoration method. We will also outline the issue of the importance of glass vessels in grave goods, their provenance, and trade ties.

2. Methodology

Glass vessels in Late Antiquity and the Migration Period represent a complex topic that can be approached from multiple angles and still provide remarkable insights. Their occurrence in the Middle Danube region, in this case as part of the grave inventory, is tangible evidence of the existence of a dining culture, even if it perhaps did not correspond to Roman standards (Jiřík, Vávra 2015, 187).

The aim of the paper was primarily to determine the diversity of the spectrum of glass vessels that were found in the burial pit, their function and location. To monitor form preferences, a group of 74 graves from the region of the Middle Danube was selected; these graves provided a total of 100 artefacts (Tab. 1, Fig. 1). We worked with a selected group of glass vessels, the chronological definition of which begins with the horizon of graves from the turn of Late Antiquity (approximately 284–378 AD,

Varsik 2020, 14) and the beginning of the Migration Period (in Pannonia, burial sites such as Brigetio, Csákvár, etc., Tab. 1), continues through the period of Hunnic rule until the end of the 5th century, with the latest finds dating from the end of the 5th to the beginning of the 6th century (Zohor, Kraskovská 1963, 693–700). Another group of finds is represented by individual graves and small burial grounds (e.g. Untersiebenbrunn, Bratislava Podunajské-Biskupice, Tab. 1), where burials were only made in the 5th century. Only necropolises where burials began in the late 4th and early 5th century were included in the selection, not those where burials were made throughout the entire 4th century and ended at the turn of the century (e.g. Gerulata, Kraskovská 1974; Pichlerová 1981).

When determining the forms of vessels, we primarily relied on the typology of L. Barkóczi (1988), as it provides a broad and sophisticated overview of the occurrence of glass vessels in

Pannonia over the course of several centuries, and part of this province also fell into the territory of the Middle Danube region. The typology of C. Isings (1957) was used for some finds. These were glass objects that L. Barkóczi did not take into account in his typology.

The role that these vessels played in the grave inventory is also important. Their function is analysed primarily from a typological point of view since the shape of the vessel itself has informative value. Of course, for some types, their function is debatable. Unfortunately, in the vast majority of cases, these vessels are from older research, during which analyses of their contents to clarify their purpose were not carried out. Other accompanying inventory can also serve to interpret the meaning of these vessels in the grave context, but we outline this issue only marginally, especially in connection with the question of whether the glass was placed only in richly furnished graves or not.

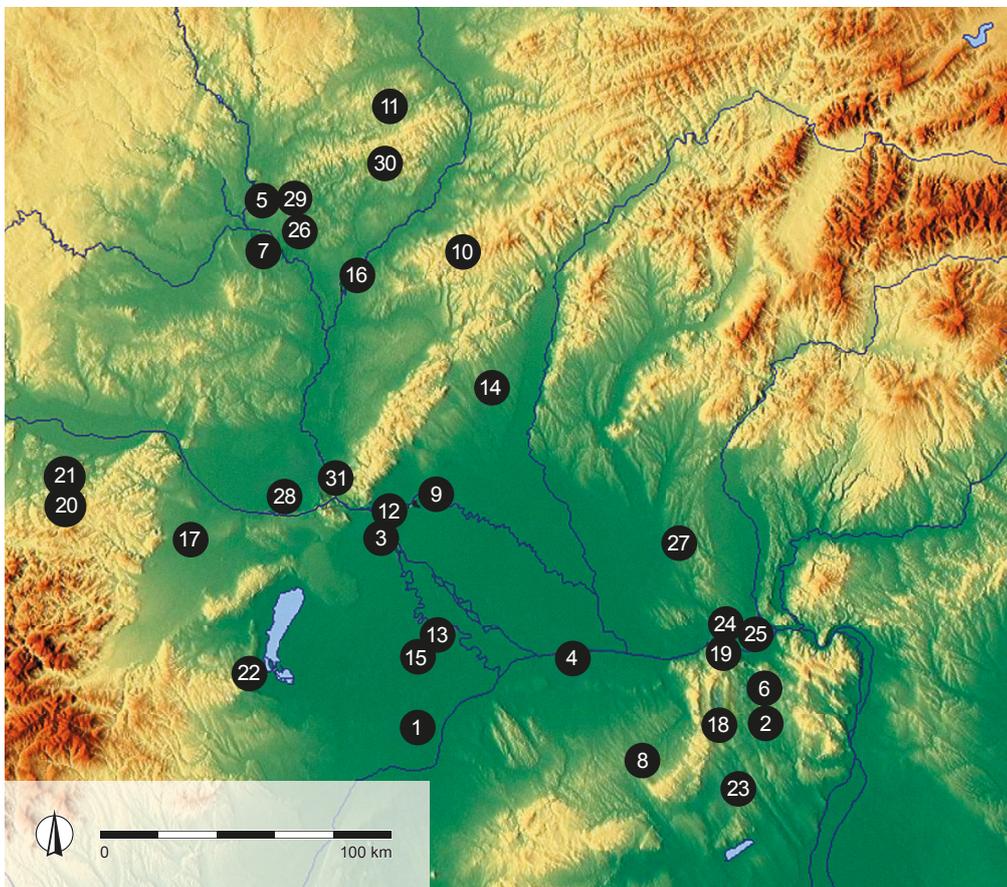


Fig. 1. Map of Middle Danube region with locations where graves with glass vessels were found. 1 – Árpás-Szérűskert (Hungary); 2 – Budapest – Bécsi út 42 (Hungary); 3 – Bratislava Podunajské-Biskupice (Slovakia); 4 – Brigetio (Hungary); 5 – Brno-Černá Pole (Moravia); 6 – Budakalász (Hungary); 7 – Cezavy u Blučiny (Moravia); 8 – Csákvár (Hungary); 9 – Čataj (Slovakia); 10 – Drslavice (Moravia); 11 – Charváty (Moravia); 12 – Ivanka pri Dunaji (Slovakia); 13 – Jánosházapuszta (Hungary); 14 – Krakovany-Stráže (Slovakia); 15 – Lébény-Magaspart (Hungary); 16 – Mistřín (Moravia); 17 – Mödling-Lerchengasse (Austria); 18 – Páty (Hungary); 19 – Pilismarót (Hungary); 20 – Pottenbrunn (Austria); 21 – Sankt Pölten (Austria); 22 – Sopron-Gräberfeld am Május 1st (Hungary); 23 – Százhalombatta (Hungary); 24 – Szob (Hungary); 25 – Szob-Kálváriadomb (Hungary); 26 – Šarátice (Moravia); 27 – Šarovec (Slovakia); 28 – Untersiebenbrunn (Austria); 29 – Velatice (Moravia); 30 – Vrchoslavice (Moravia); 31 – Zohor – Bratislava countryside (Slovakia). Author B. Vymazalová.

Obr. 1. Mapa středního Podunají s lokalitami, kde se našly hroby se skleněnými nádobami. 1 – Árpás-Szérűskert (Maďarsko); 2 – Budapešť – Bécsi út 42 (Maďarsko); 3 – Bratislava Podunajské-Biskupice (Slovensko); 4 – Brigetio (Maďarsko); 5 – Brno-Černá Pole (Morava); 6 – Budakalász (Maďarsko); 7 – Cezavy u Blučiny (Morava); 8 – Csákvár (Maďarsko); 9 – Čataj (Slovensko); 10 – Drslavice (Morava); 11 – Charváty (Morava); 12 – Ivanka pri Dunaji (Slovensko); 13 – Jánosházapuszta (Maďarsko); 14 – Krakovany-Stráže (Slovensko); 15 – Lébény-Magaspart (Maďarsko); 16 – Mistřín (Morava); 17 – Mödling-Lerchengasse (Rakúsko); 18 – Páty (Maďarsko); 19 – Pilismarót (Maďarsko); 20 – Pottenbrunn (Rakúsko); 21 – Sankt Pölten (Rakúsko); 22 – Sopron-Gräberfeld am Május 1. (Maďarsko); 23 – Százhalombatta (Maďarsko); 24 – Szob (Maďarsko); 25 – Szob-Kálváriadomb (Maďarsko); 26 – Šarátice (Morava); 27 – Šarovec (Slovensko); 28 – Untersiebenbrunn (Rakúsko); 29 – Velatice (Morava); 30 – Vrchoslavice (Morava); 31 – Zohor – Bratislava vidiek (Slovensko). Autor B. Vymazalová.

Site	Grave number	Placement in the grave pit	Type of vessel	Dating	References
Árpás-Szérűskert, Hungary	Grave 1	Head area	Barkóczi 37b	2nd third of the 5th century AD	Tomka 2001, 161–176
Budapest – Bécsi út 42, Hungary	Grave 2	Foot area	Barkóczi 42; 67	Half of the 4th – 5 AD	Nagy 2005, 419–427
Bratislava Podunajské-Biskupice, Slovakia	Grave 1	Stemmed glass found in a clay jar on a step in the northern part of the grave	Isings 111	Migration Period	Unpublished
Brigetio, Hungary	Brick grave	–	Barkóczi 62	Last third of the 4th – beginning of the 5th century AD	Barkóczi 1988, 93
Brigetio, Hungary	Brick Grave 2	In the lower right corner of the grave	Barkóczi 67b	End of the 4th – beginning of the 5th century AD	Barkóczi 1988, 99
Brigetio, Hungary	Grave 1	–	Barkóczi 118	End of the 4th – beginning of the 5th century AD	Barkóczi 1961, 102–103
Brigetio, Hungary	Grave 3, Graveyard 1	–	Barkóczi 47c; 117	End of the 4th – beginning of the 5th century AD	Barkóczi 1961, 97–99; 1988, 137
Brigetio, Hungary	Grave 4	–	Barkóczi 118	End of the 4th – beginning of the 5th century AD	Barkóczi 1961, 103
Brigetio, Hungary	Grave 6, Graveyard 4	–	Barkóczi 90; unspecified bottle	Last third of the 4th – beginning of the 5th century AD	Barkóczi 1961, 106
Brigetio, Hungary	Grave 7	–	Barkóczi 118	End of the 4th – beginning of the 5th century AD	Barkóczi 1961, 106; 1988, 139
Brno-Černá Pole, Moravia	Inhumation grave II	South wall of grave	Isings 111	2nd half of the 5th century AD	Hochmanová 1952, 335–345; Tejral 1982, 199; Vaculíková 2015, 127
Budakalász, Hungary	Grave 1017	Head area	Barkóczi 126	5th century AD	Ottományi 2008, 229–254
Cezavy u Blučiny, Moravia	Inhumation grave	Foot area	2× Isings 105; Barkóczi 118	450–480 AD	Vaculíková 2015, 107, 129; Sedláčková 2016, 105–107
Csákvár, Hungary	Grave 1	Foot area	Barkóczi 118	End of the 4th – beginning of the 5th century AD	Salamon, Barkóczi 1970, 39
Csákvár, Hungary	Grave 7	–	Barkóczi 37b	End of the 4th – beginning of the 5th century AD	Salamon, Barkóczi 1970, 40
Csákvár, Hungary	Grave 9	Foot area	Barkóczi 37b; 126	End of the 4th – beginning of the 5th century AD	Salamon, Barkóczi 1970, 40
Csákvár, Hungary	Grave 11	Foot area	Barkóczi 37b; 118	End of the 4th – beginning of the 5th century AD	Salamon, Barkóczi 1970, 40
Csákvár, Hungary	Grave 19	–	Barkóczi 67b	End of the 4th – beginning of the 5th century AD	Salamon, Barkóczi 1970, 41; Barkóczi 1988, 100
Csákvár, Hungary	Grave 23	Foot area	Barkóczi 17; 120	End of the 4th – beginning of the 5th century AD	Salamon, Barkóczi 1970, 41
Csákvár, Hungary	Grave 26	(B 65c) pelvic area, (B 118) foot area	Barkóczi 65c; 118	End of the 4th – beginning of the 5th century AD	Salamon, Barkóczi 1970, 41; Barkóczi 1988, 95–96
Csákvár, Hungary	Grave 29	Foot area	Barkóczi 13a	End of the 4th – beginning of the 5th century AD	Salamon, Barkóczi 1970, 51
Csákvár, Hungary	Grave 41	(B 37b, 38) knees area, (B 126) head area	Barkóczi 37b; 38; 126	End of the 4th – beginning of the 5th century AD	Salamon, Barkóczi 1970, 54
Csákvár, Hungary	Grave 49	–	Barkóczi 37b; 126	End of the 4th – beginning of the 5th century AD	Salamon, Barkóczi 1970, 54
Csákvár, Hungary	Grave 51	On the left knee	Barkóczi 37b	End of the 4th – beginning of the 5th century AD	Salamon, Barkóczi 1970, 54
Csákvár, Hungary	Grave 53	To the left of the head	Barkóczi 37b	End of the 4th – beginning of the 5th century AD	Salamon, Barkóczi 1970, 54

Site	Grave number	Placement in the grave pit	Type of vessel	Dating	References
Csákvár, Hungary	Grave 56	Knee area	Barkóczi 118	End of the 4th – beginning of the 5th century AD	Salamon, Barkóczi 1970, 55
Csákvár, Hungary	Grave 61	Foot area	Barkóczi 37b; 118	End of the 4th – beginning of the 5th century AD	Salamon, Barkóczi 1970, 55
Csákvár, Hungary	Grave 63	Next to the left foot	Barkóczi 118	End of the 4th – beginning of the 5th century AD	Salamon, Barkóczi 1970, 55; Barkóczi 1988, 139
Csákvár, Hungary	Grave 64	Next to the left foot	Barkóczi 37b	End of the 4th – beginning of the 5th century AD	Salamon, Barkóczi 1970, 55
Čataj, Slovakia	Grave 21	In Murga type jug head area	Isings 111	2nd half of the 5th century AD	Zábojník 2009, 189–191
Drslavice, Moravia	Inhumation Grave	–	Barkóczi 37b	Half of the 5th century AD	Tejral 2010, 81–122
Charváty, Moravia	Inhumation grave	–	Barkóczi 37b	1st half of the 5th century AD	Tejral 1982, 201; 2010, 104–122
Ivanka pri Dunaji, Slovakia	Inhumation grave	–	Barkóczi 37b	Migration Period	Točík 1962, 193; Tejral 2011, 407
Jánosházapuszta, Hungary	Grave 122	–	Barkóczi 179b	End of the 4th – 1st half of the 5th century AD	Barkóczi 1988, 201
Krakovany-Stráže Slovakia	–	–	Barkóczi 37b	Migration Period	Krupa, Klčo 2015, 83
Lébény – Magaspart, Hungary	Inhumation grave	Head area	Barkóczi 47c	End of the 4th – 1st half of the 5th century AD	Pusztai 1966, 98–116
Místřín, Moravia	Inhumation grave	–	Unidentified fragment of the bottom of the vessel	2nd half of the 5th century AD	Křížek 1933, 75–77
Mödling-Lerchengasse, Austria	Grave 1	–	Glass cup	1st half of the 5th century AD	Kiss 2017, 115
Mödling-Lerchengasse, Austria	Grave 2	–	Barkóczi 37b; 118	1st half of the 5th century AD	Tejral 2011, 235; Kiss 2017, 115–116
Páty, Hungary	Grave 554	Next to the legs near the knees	Isings 105	5th century AD	Ottományi 2001, 37
Páty, Hungary	Grave 558	(B 37b) head area, (B 126) in the upper left corner	Barkóczi 37b; 126	5th century AD	Ottományi 2001, 37–38
Pilismarót, Hungary	Grave 1	Head area	Barkóczi 37b; 177	End of the 4th – 1st half of the 5th century AD	Barkóczi 1960, 112–113; 1988, 198
Pilismarót, Hungary	Grave 4	Next to the left foot	Barkóczi 37b; 126	End of the 4th – 1st half of the 5th century AD	Barkóczi 1960, 113
Pilismarót, Hungary	Grave 5	Next to the left foot	Barkóczi 37b	End of the 4th – 1st half of the 5th century AD	Barkóczi 1960, 114
Pilismarót, Hungary	Grave 17	Foot area	Barkóczi 37b; 126	End of the 4th – 1st half of the 5th century AD	Barkóczi 1960, 117; 1988, 148
Pilismarót, Hungary	Grave 27	Next to the feet in a pottery jug	Barkóczi 67b	5th century AD	Barkóczi 1960, 119–120; 1972, 84, 93
Pottenbrunn, Austria	Grave 162	Head area	Barkóczi 13a	2nd half of the 4th – 5th century AD	Hölbling 2008, 50
Pottenbrunn, Austria	Grave 168	Head area	Barkóczi 13a	2nd half of the 4th – early 5th century AD	Hölbling 2008, 54–55
Pottenbrunn, Austria	Grave 169	Head area	Barkóczi 67b	End of the 4th – 1st half of the 5th century AD	Hölbling 2008, 56
Pottenbrunn, Austria	Grave 170	(B 47c) on the left side of the skull, (B 118) foot area	Barkóczi 47c; 118	2nd half of the 4th – 5th century AD	Hölbling 2008, 57–58
Pottenbrunn, Austria	Grave 172	Above the skull on the left side	Barkóczi 90	2nd half of the 4th – 5th century AD	Hölbling 2008, 59–60
Pottenbrunn, Austria	Grave 176	To the left of the skull	Barkóczi 118	2nd half of the 4th – early 5th century AD	Hölbling 2008, 64–65
Pottenbrunn, Austria	Grave 184	Head area	Barkóczi 47; small container with a narrow neck	2nd half of the 4th – early 5th century AD	Hölbling 2008, 68–69
Pottenbrunn, Austria	Grave 185	Head area	Barkóczi 47a	2nd half of the 4th – early 5th century AD	Hölbling 2008, 69–70

Site	Grave number	Placement in the grave pit	Type of vessel	Dating	References
Pottenbrunn, Austria	Grave 186	To the left of the skull	Barkóczy 97	2nd half of the 4th – 5th century AD	Hölbling 2008, 71–73
Pottenbrunn, Austria	Grave 190 – double-grave	(B 47c) to the left of the skull, (B 90) pelvic area	Barkóczy 47c; 90	2nd half of the 4th – early 5th century AD	Hölbling 2008, 74–77
Pottenbrunn, Austria	Grave 192	Head area	Barkóczy 13a	Half of the 4th – 5th century AD	Hölbling 2008, 77–79
Pottenbrunn, Austria	Grave 197	(B 90) foot area, (B 47c) head area	Barkóczy 47c; 90	End of the 4th – beginning of the 5th century AD	Hölbling 2008, 81–87
Pottenbrunn, Austria	Grave 199	Head area	Barkóczy 47a	2nd half of the 4th – early 5th century AD	Hölbling 2008, 88–89
Pottenbrunn, Austria	Grave 741	To the left of the skull	Barkóczy 47d	Half of the 4th – early 5th century AD	Hölbling 2008, 130–131
Pottenbrunn, Austria	Grave 742	Head area	Barkóczy 47c; 118; 121	Turn of the 5th century	Hölbling 2008, 131–132
Sankt Pölten, Austria	Grave 3173	Head area	Barkóczy 47a	Half of the 4th – early 5th century AD	Risy 2019, 117
Sopron-Gräberfeld am Május 1, Hungary	Grave 19	–	Barkóczy 67b	End of the 4th – 1st half of the 5th century AD	Barkóczy 1988, 100; Tejral 2011, 236
Százhalombatta, Hungary	Inhumation grave	Knees area	Barkóczy 65c	430–450 AD	Kovács 2004, 123–150
Szob, Hungary	Grave	–	Barkóczy 65b	5th century AD	Barkóczy 1971, 72, 76–77
Szob-Kálvária-domb, Hungary	Grave 1	Foot area	Barkóczy 37b	1st half of the 5th century AD	Kovrig 1959, 209
Szob-Kálvária-domb, Hungary	Grave 2	To the right of the skull	Barkóczy 62	1st half of the 5th century AD	Kovrig 1959, 209; Barkóczy, Salamon 1968, 31; Kiss 2017, 139
Šarátice, Moravia	Inhumation grave 1/55	–	Barkóczy 118	5th century AD	Staňa 1956, 26–32; Tejral 1982, 218
Šarovec, Slovakia	Grave 12/1955	Grave niche	Barkóczy 37b	4th – 5th century AD	Novotný 1976, 169–170
Untersiebenbrunn (Gänserndorf), Austria	Grave 1	–	Barkóczy 37 b; 177	1st half of the 5th century AD	Barkóczy, Salamon 1968, 31–32; Nothnagel 2008, 18–33; Kiss 2017, 150–151
Untersiebenbrunn (Gänserndorf), Austria	Grave 2	Chest area	Barkóczy 67b; 177	1st half of the 5th century AD	Barkóczy, Salamon 1968, 31–32; Nothnagel 2008, 33–35; Kiss 2017, 150–151
Velátice, Moravia	Inhumation grave 10/36	–	Barkóczy 47b	2nd half of the 5th century AD	Tejral 1982, 220; Vaculíková 2015, 134
Vrchoslavice, Moravia	Grave 12	–	Snartemo II	5th century AD	Tejral 2013, 386, 391
Zohor (Bratislava-vidiek), Slovakia	Inhumation grave	On the left side of the grave pit under clay cup	Rüsselbecher	Vessel: half of the 5th century AD; Grave: 1st half of the 6th century AD	Kraskovská 1963, 693–700

Tab. 1. List of analysed glass vessels.

Tab. 1. Přehled analyzovaných skleněných nádob.

3. The situation in the 5th century in the Middle Danube region

The 5th century is characterised by political instability and significant population migrations in the Eurasian region and is referred to as the Migration Period. New cultural phenomena appear. This period dates to 375–568 AD (Droberjar 2008, 170–171). The beginning of the Migration Period in the Middle Danube region is reflected on the one hand in a small number of settlement finds, but on the other hand in rich finds in grave contexts. This is because the density of the autochthonous population decreases due to its departure, changes in the economic and social character, and overall barbarisation (Tejral 1985, 323). Significant geopolitical changes also had an impact on the production of glass vessels, the number of which is decreasing (Skleňář 1992, 258). The second half of the 5th century in particular saw a significant turning point in the distribution of glass in the Central European area (Jiřík 2019, 146). To some extent, ties

with provincial workshops are broken, which results in an influx of forms whose origins are sought in the Black Sea region and Eastern Europe (Tejral 2011a, 33–34).

During the Migration Period, the inhumation rite is characteristic of the Middle Danube region, although we also occasionally encounter cremation graves. Some graves may contain the remains of two or more individuals (Tejral 1982, 51; Droberjar 2008, 189). Graves with horses are also not uncommon (Droberjar 2008, 179; e.g. Šarovec grave 3/1955, 12/1955 and 15/1955, Novotný 1976, 169), or burials of individuals with a deformed skull (e.g. grave 1, Bratislava Podunajské-Biskupice; grave 1/1954, Šarovec, Novotný 1976, 169; inhumation grave II, Brno-Černá Pole, Vaculíková 2015, 127). The custom of deforming skulls is primarily associated with the Huns. However, this custom was also adopted by some Germanic tribes. Therefore, the discovery of such a skull without other finds and Hun inventory is not sufficient to determine its affiliation with their tribe (Štefanovičová 1989, 14).

An important component of the funeral rite was the deposition of grave goods in burials. These included various types of artefacts such as jewellery, fibulae, weapons, parts of horse harnesses, and vessels (glass and ceramic), which were the personal belongings of the deceased or were specially made for funerary purposes (Droberjar 2008, 189). The grave furnishings could be modest, but also very lavish, as in the case of the rich graves of the Untersiebenbrunn group (Nothnagel 2008, 42–44). Grave goods also attracted the attention of grave robbers, which is undoubtedly related to the fact that most graves from this period were robbed (Doležal, Vávra 2015, 139–140). Although the reopening of graves is a phenomenon typical of the Migration Period, it is not limited by geographical area, as we can observe it across Europe from present-day Romania (Dobos 2014) through Hungary (Bóna, Horváth 2009), Austria (Aspöck 2005; Lauermaun, Adler 2008), Slovakia (Schmidtová et al. 2009), the Czech Republic (Tejral 2011b), Germany (Codreanu-Windauer 1997), the Netherlands and Belgium (van Haperen 2015), France (Noterman 2015) to southern England (Klevnäs 2013). Despite the considerable prevalence of this phenomenon, the extent of the disturbance of individual burial grounds is not the same everywhere. While in Western Europe the rate of grave disturbances at burial grounds does not exceed 50%, the situation is different in Central and partly Eastern Europe, where the percentage of robbed graves is significantly higher than in the West (England, northern France, the Netherlands; Loskotová 2023, 307). The activity in question was practiced during the time of active use of the necropolis or shortly after its abandonment. To a lesser extent, reopening occurred shortly after burial (maximum within five years), as evidenced by the dislocation of parts of the skeletons in the period before the decomposition of connective tissues, e.g. pulling out an entire limb to a higher level of the grave (Loskotová 2023, 284). For many years, it was assumed that the main motivation for reopening graves in cemeteries during the Migration Period was to obtain rare and valuable objects with which the deceased were furnished for their final journey. This activity was classified by most scholars as ‘illegal grave robbing’ (Bóna 1964; Adler 1970; Roth 1978). However, the motivation of the ‘thieves’ could have been much more complicated and diverse. One reason could have been to obtain an object of symbolic value (Loskotová 2023, 285). Paolus Diaconus describes how Prince Giselpert of Verona reopened King Alboin’s tomb to retrieve his sword and thus his strength and abilities (Paolus Diaconus 1878, 89). In women’s graves, objects of symbolic value were probably fibulae and jewellery made of precious metals (Loskotová 2023, 285). There was evidently a preference for certain objects taken from the graves, because

iron artefacts (e.g. spearheads and knives) and glass beads, which represented perhaps the most common alms, were often left behind (Loskotová 2023, 285). The intentional acquisition of artefacts of symbolic value and theft for profit are naturally two different activities (Noterman 2015, 153). Manipulation of human remains due to fear of their return is also considered (Aspöck 2011, 318–319).

Understanding the reasons for the secondary opening of graves is difficult. It is necessary to take into account the possible combination of several motives: the acquisition of material wealth in the form of objects made of precious metals, the retrieval of artefacts of symbolic significance that could be passed on to new bearers of tradition (swords, fibulae), or the manipulation of skeletal remains to reduce the supernatural power of the dead and thereby strengthen the position of the survivors. Another argument may also be purely practical reasons, because it is necessary to consider the possibility that after the decision was made to leave the inhabited territory, the grave pits were deliberately and legally opened, and valuable artefacts were retrieved by the departing community to facilitate their transfer to new settlements and the subsequent process of acculturation (Loskotová 2023, 307).

4. Typology of glass vessel forms in fifth-century graves in the Middle Danube region

Glass production offered a diverse range of forms and decorative ornament for glass vessels. However, in the funerary context of the Migration Period in the Middle Danube region, most of these refer to the connection with so-called drinking services (Tejral 2011a, 232), i.e. primarily cups, glasses, bowls, jugs, and bottles of various shapes and decoration (Fig. 2). Nevertheless, balsamaria are also present in the grave goods, though not in such abundance as in earlier periods (Fig. 2; Dévai 2016, 257). The presence of glass vessels among grave goods reflects not only funerary traditions but also glass production – domestic and foreign – and the export of individual products from various areas of the world at that time.

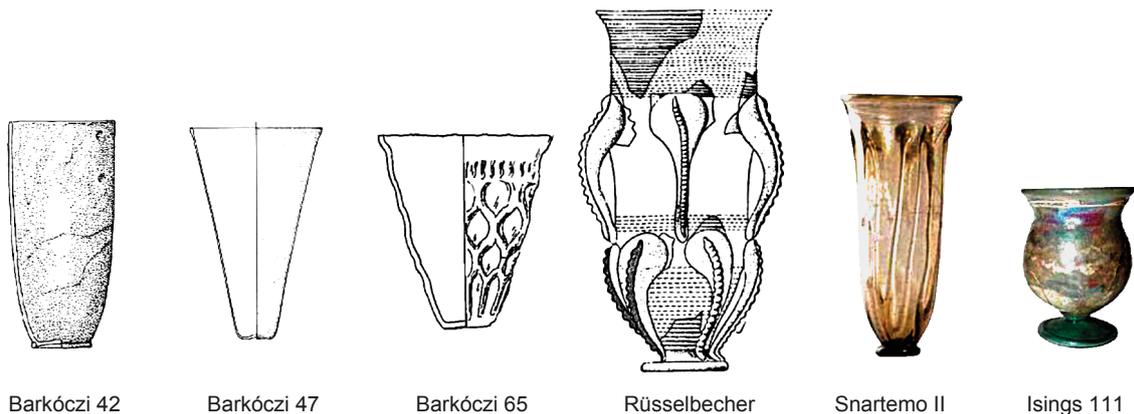
In the following part of the paper, the individual types of glass vessels that formed part of the grave inventory of the examined graves are presented along with information on their characteristics, dating, distribution, and possibly production. In the analysis, we primarily drew on the publication of L. Barkóczy (1988). Even though this is a local work, it is indispensable given that we are in the Middle Danube region. For forms that Barkóczy did not mention in his book, we turned to the work of C. Isings (1957). For easier orientation, a table with a basic overview of the occurring forms was created (Tab. 2; Fig. 2). The recognised

Beakers	Conical beakers	Barkóczy 47a–d
	Beakers with relief decoration	Barkóczy 42; 65
	Stemmed glasses	Isings 111; Rüsselbecher
Cups	Hemispherical cups	Barkóczy 13a
	Egg-shaped cups	Barkóczy 37b
	Egg-shaped cups with blue dots	Barkóczy 67b
	Cups with relief decoration in the form of an arcade	Barkóczy 62
Bottles	Cylindrical bottles with a groove	Barkóczy 126
	Low cylindrical bottles	Barkóczy 117
	Bottles with a flask-shaped body, a wide rim, and a long cylindrical neck and their variations	Barkóczy 118; 120; 121
Pitchers	Oval pitchers with fluted bodies	Barkóczy 177
	Pitcher with cut decoration	Barkóczy 179
Bowls	Bowls with pressed walls	Barkóczy 17
Perfume bottles and balsamaria		Barkóczy 90; 97; Isings 105

Tab. 2. Basic overview of vessel typology. According to Isings 1957; Barkóczy 1988.

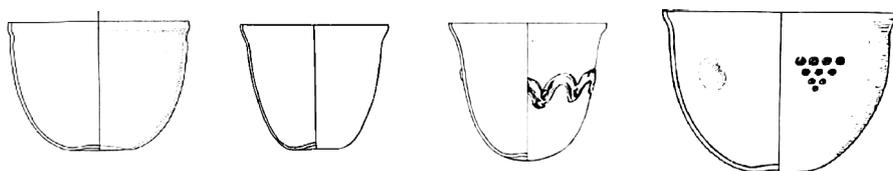
Tab. 2. Přehled typologie nádob. Podle Isings 1957; Barkóczy 1988.

Glass goblets



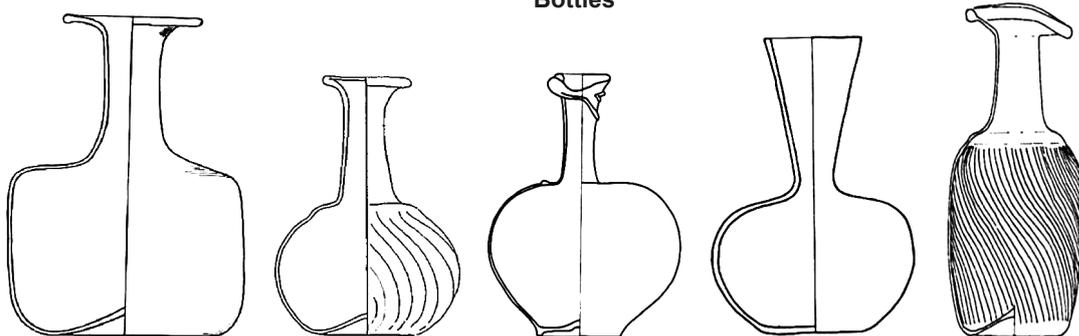
Barkóczi 42 Barkóczi 47 Barkóczi 65 Rüsselbecher Snartemo II Isings 111

Cups



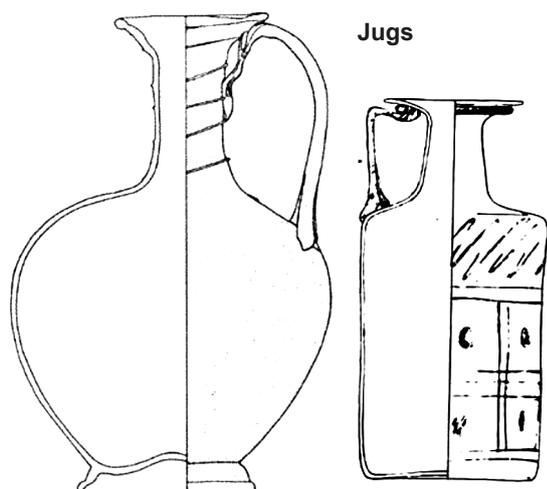
Barkóczi 13a Barkóczi 37b Barkóczi 62 Barkóczi 67

Bottles



Barkóczi 117 Barkóczi 118 Barkóczi 120 Barkóczi 121 Barkóczi 126

Jugs



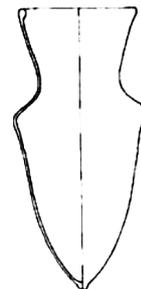
Barkóczi 177 Barkóczi 179

Bowls



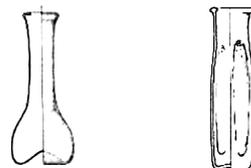
Barkóczi 17

Balsamaria



Isings 105

Perfume bottles



Barkóczi 90 Barkóczi 97



Fig. 2. Overview of the shapes of glass vessels. Author B. Vymazalová.
Obr. 2. Přehled tvarů skleněných nádob. Autor B. Vymazalová.

types of vessels are divided into basic vessel categories (beakers, cups, bottles, jugs, bowls, perfume bottles, and balsamaria), which are subsequently divided according to the specific characteristics of individual vessels. More detailed information about the vessels found in specific graves is given in Table 1, on which this contribution is based.

4.1 Beakers: conical beakers

Glass beakers were one of the most common grave goods in the Late Roman Period. They maintained this status even during the Migration Period. They were of high quality and made mostly of colourless or naturally coloured glass until the last third of the 4th century. In the late 4th and 5th centuries, moss-green and strong yellow-green tones became the dominant colours. The quality of the raw materials deteriorated, leading to vessels whose glass is full of air bubbles (Dévai 2016, 260).

During the entire 4th century and at the beginning of the 5th century, conical-shaped glasses were popular. The popularity of this form probably prompted the development of several variations, which were also found among grave goods. It could have been a variant with rounded walls and a ring base (Barkóczi 1988, Taf. VIII:92–97), with straight walls and a wide (Barkóczi 1988, Taf. IX:98, 99) or a small rounded base (Barkóczi 1988, Taf. IX:100–104), or a form with polished bands on a foot pressed into the base (Barkóczi 1988, Taf. X:105–107). Conical cups also exist in the variant Barkóczi 47e (with a round bottom, Barkóczi 1988, 84, Taf. X:109) and 47f (thick-walled with polished bands around the circumference, Barkóczi 1988, 85, Taf. X:110), but they were not present in the examined collections. Conical drinking vessels occur mainly at the end of the reign of Emperor Constantine (306–337 AD), often in the second half of the 4th century, but in some places their presence may persist until the beginning of the 5th century (Isings 1957, 130). In the western provinces, this shape occurs sporadically. However, its presence is largely attested throughout Pannonia, in the provinces southeast of Pannonia and the Orient. The occurrence of conical cups in present-day Hungary may also be related to the local glass trade. In addition to the pieces that were produced in local workshops, there is also the so-called Western group of glasses, which can be considered imported goods (Barkóczi 1988, 80). Type 47c has its origin in workshops in the Black Sea region (Barkóczi 1988, 80–81). It was originally assumed that type 47d beakers were blown into a mould, but the presence of bubbles in the glass refutes this theory. W. Haberey assumes that they were probably blown through a special closed ring. The same procedure was used for Frankish ribbed glasses (Haberey 1942, 253). The grinding of the walls is therefore not only a type of decoration but is directly related to a unique production process that was known in the earlier phase of the Late Roman Period (Fremersdorf 1961, 63–64). It is still unclear whether certain forms or variants of these cups are characteristic of a particular region. All types of conical cups are present, for example, in the Late Roman cemetery of Ságvár. After 380 AD, their use and production decreased significantly due to a new form – the egg-shaped cup (Barkóczi 1988, 80–81).

There is a debate about whether conical cups were drinking vessels or were used as lamps (especially the Barkóczi 47e form, which corresponds to the Isings 106d form, Isings 1957, 130; Barkóczi 1988, 84). Clásina Isings argues that their base was too small and therefore they could not stand on a table (Isings 1957, 130). Indeed, undecorated conical cups of the so-called polycandelon type (Vroom 2007, 347) in the Roman Empire were often components of chandeliers (polycandelons)

in churches (Jiřík, Vávra 2015, 182), but they also occurred in residential contexts (Vroom 2007, 347). Some of them still contained oil residues (Swift 2017, 104). However, can it be automatically assumed that these vessels were used in the Barbaricum the same way as in the provinces? Conical beakers were popular grave goods, especially in the Eastern European region of the fading Chernyakhov culture in the 4th century and the first half of the 5th century (Jiřík, Vávra 2015, 182). It can therefore not be ruled out that after they left Roman territory the function of the vessels changed in the hands of the barbarians from lamps to cups. The find from the Karanis site, where four game dice were found in a conical beaker, is also telling, and its use (probably secondary) thus took on a completely different dimension (Swift 2017, 105). In the case of beakers with a ring-shaped (Barkóczi 47a) or a wide base (Barkóczi 47b), they were likely used for drinking, as they were able to stand on their own. The interpretation is more problematic with the Barkóczi 47c and d types. Their narrow and rounded base did not provide sufficient stability. However, in the grave context, variant 47c was almost always found with another vessel, either made of glass (see Brigetio grave 3 – burial 1, Barkóczi 1988, Taf. XXIII:258, Barkóczi 1961, 98, Fig. 25; Pottenbrunn, grave 170, Hölbling 2008, Taf. 28, 29; Pottenbrunn, grave 197, Hölbling 2008, Taf. 40; Pottenbrunn, grave 742, Hölbling 2008, Taf. 66, 67) or clay (see Lébény – Magaspart, inhumation grave Pusztai 1966, 102, Fig. 2). An exception is double grave 190 from the Pottenbrunn site, where, in addition to the conical beaker, there was another vessel, but it belonged to the remains of the second individual (Hölbling 2008, Taf. 36). In type 47d (Pottenbrunn, grave 741), there was no other vessel in the accompanying inventory with which it could form a service. When assessing the function of the conical cups, it is necessary to take into account the accompanying inventory, which can indicate the function it fulfilled. If accompanied by a bottle or jug, there is a possibility of a drinking service. The presence of perfume bottles or the absence of other vessels may, in turn, testify in favour of the theory of the function of lamps. Satisfactory answers could be provided by analyses of the contents of the cups, which is not always possible, especially with finds from earlier excavations. Therefore, the function of the conical beakers in barbarian graves is still a subject of speculation.

4.2 Beakers with relief decoration

4.2.1 Cylindrical and conical beakers with relief honeycomb decoration

Beakers decorated with relief decoration in the shape of ‘honeycombs’ (Barkóczi 65) are found in Pannonia as well as in neighbouring provinces. A conical shape is more common than cylindrical and can be divided into three variants: Barkóczi 65a–c (Barkóczi 1988, 95, Taf. XIII:140, 141, 142). In the Middle Danube area, glasses with this decoration appeared only from the middle of the 4th century to the first third of the 5th century (Stuppner 1997, 220–221). Analogies to them were found in the Middle East and the Black Sea region (Barkóczi 1988, 95). In the context of the Migration Period, we have only the Barkóczi 65c variant represented in the territory of the Middle Danube region. Its production is attributed to a local glass workshop (Barkóczi 1988, 95). This conical shape, documented from the sites of Csákvár (Barkóczi 1988, 95–96) and Százhalombatta (Kovács 2004, 126), occurs somewhat more frequently. At both sites, there were graves containing beakers, dated to the last third of the 4th – early 5th century. A fragment with very similar decoration also comes from a grave connected to a watchtower

from the Szob site (Barkóczi 1971, 72, 76–77). Other fragments of cups decorated with the honeycomb motif come from the castle in Iža, where they are dated to the 4th and early 5th centuries (Kučeráková 2013, 101–104, tab. 20:406). A fragment of bluish glass was also found during a surface collection at the Cífer-Pác site (Varsik, Kolník 2021, Fig. 181:23, 182:18).

4.2.2 Narrow cylindrical beakers with a circular base

Beakers of the Barkóczi 42 type are rare in the Middle Danube region (Barkóczi 1988, Taf. VIII:84, 85). In addition to the find from the Budapest – Bécsi út 42 site (Nagy 2005, 428, Abb. 17:7), which is the only one dated to the mid-4th – 5th century based on the accompanying inventory, there are three additional pieces from a grave context dated to the end of the 3rd and beginning of the 4th century from Brigetio (Barkóczi 1988, Taf. VIII:84, 85)

and one from Aquincus (Barkóczi 1988, 78). László Barkóczi believed that all four cups were the product of the same workshop. He also points out their connection with southern Pannonia, as they also occur at the Sirmium site (Barkóczi 1988, 78).

4.3 Stemmed cups

4.3.1 Stemmed glasses

Some cups could have featured a base. Relatively rare stemmed chalices begin to appear as early as the 3rd century (Isings 86; Isings 1957, 103; Barkóczi 1988, Taf. XVI:172–181). A fragment of a corroded stemmed cup from Bratislava-Podunajské Biskupice (Hornák, Hrnčiarik in print) discovered in an inhumation grave from the Migration Period should, however, be compared to later stemmed chalices (Isings 111, Fig. 2). Clásina Isings

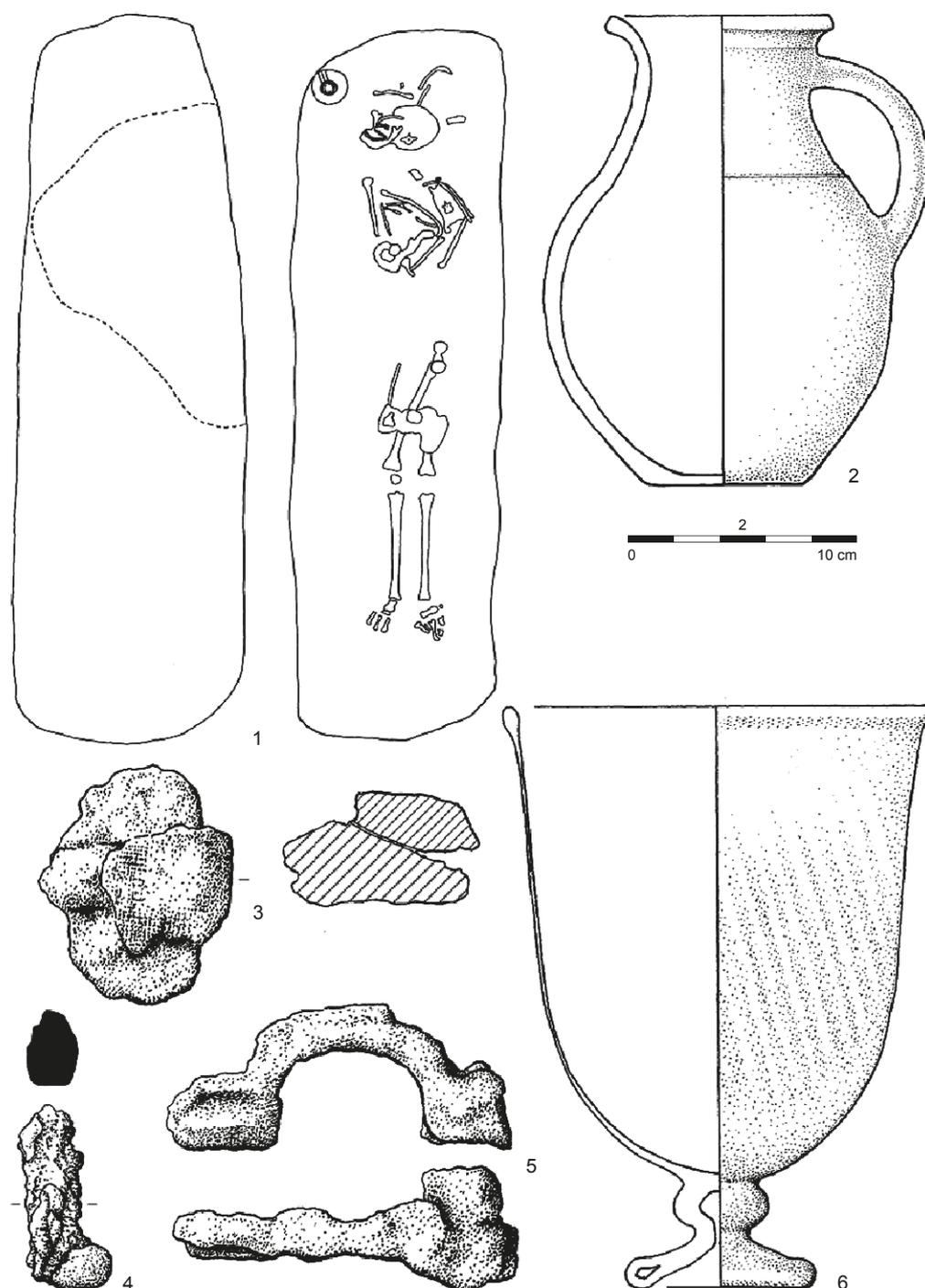


Fig. 3. Čataj. Grave 21. 1 – Plan of the grave; 2–5 – grave inventory; 6 – glass cup on a hollow stem. After Zábajník 2009, 190, obr. 2.

Obr. 3. Čataj. Hrob 21. 1 – Plán hrobu; 2–5 – hrobový inventář; 6 – skleněný pohár na duté nožce. Podle Zábajník 2009, 190, obr. 2.

considers them to be a Mediterranean type of vessel and cites several examples from the 4th century from the territory of Italy – including Rome (Isings 1957, 139–140). However, the main development of this form occurs only from the mid-5th century and is popular during the 6th and 7th centuries until the Middle Ages (Modrijan, Milavec 2011, 101–105). In the Adriatic-Mediterranean region, the chalice became a liturgical vessel or simply a glass for drinking wine (Modrijan, Milavec 2011, 103). In the context of the Migration Period, three specimens of this type of glass vessel are known from the Middle Danube region so far, namely from the locations Bratislava Podunajské-Biskupice, Brno-Černá Pole (Vaculíková 2015, 127, Fig. XXIII:2) and Čataj (Fig. 3; Zábajník 2009, 189–191). The fragment from Podunajské Biskupice was significantly damaged by corrosion, which turned the glass brown. Heavily corroded glass is a sign of low quality, reflecting the fact that late antique glass workshops in declining provinces were dependent on the increasingly frequent recycling of raw materials (Varsik in print).

4.3.2 Stemmed goblets

A significant decline in the distribution of glass from Eastern Europe and the provinces, which began in the second half of the 5th century, provided space for an influx of forms of Western provenance. Among the most significant form is a goblet on a ring-shaped stem, which is decorated below the rim with glass threads and, above all, with tall vertical wavy lines of the Snartemo type (Jiřík 2019, 147). The Snartemo type resembles tall conical goblets of the Kempston type, even though both types were distributed in different geographical areas (Jiřík 2019, 146). A cup of this type (Snartemo II, Fig. 2) comes from unspecified grave 12 from Vrchoslavice in Moravia (Tejral 2013, 391), which belongs to the eastern group of cups related to the Snartemo type, which is part of the grave inventory in the Hunnic Period in the Carpathian Basin in the D2–D3 stage (420–560 AD; Tejral 2007, 102). This type of cup appears in the Rhineland, in the Danube region, but their concentration is mainly in the Scandinavian and Baltic regions. It appears in grave contexts but also settlements (Tejral 2011a, 232). The Snartemo type exists in three different variants (I, II, III; Jiřík 2019, 146). Type II, to which the find from Vrchoslavice also belongs, differs from type I in the absence of decoration with glass thread below the rim. Two analogies come from Slovakia, namely from Kapušany (Kolník 1979, 72) and from Prša (Točík 1962, 200) and another from grave 1 in Ghenci – Akasztódomb in Romania (Németi 1967, 506). In the case of the find from Kapušany, T. Kolník considers a Black Sea origin (Kolník 1979, 108).

4.3.2 Claw beaker (Rüsselbecher)

Among the truly unique finds is a Rüsselbecher (Kraskovská 1963, 695, Fig. 228) from the inhumation grave from Zohor. These decorated cups are characterised by a pair of rows of hollow protrusions placed one above the other. These are curved downwards, where they connect again with the wall of the vessel. The aforementioned protrusions gave the name to the type of cup itself. Either the term Rüsselbecher ('cup with trunks') or claw beaker ('cup with claws') can be used. The cup from Zohor was placed near the southern wall of the grave, covered with a clay cup. Although it was preserved in a very fragmentary form, it was possible to reconstruct its appearance. So far, only finds from Germany are known. Ludmila Kraskovská dates the entire grave to the first half of the 6th century, although the vessel itself dates from the mid-5th century (Kraskovská 1963, 693–700). R. Stampfuss divides cups of this type into two types. The one from Zohor corresponds to an older, richly decorated

form from the mid-5th century. Rudolf Stampfuss describes the Rüsselbecher type as Frankish glass and locates its production centres in the northern Gallic region, where glass workshops were transferred from the Rhineland. The closest analogy to the cup from Zohor is the find from the Stößen grave (Thuringia; Stampfuss 1940, 240). According to the above analogies, it is concluded that the cup from Zohor is a product of glass workshops either in the Rhineland or in the area of northern France (Kraskovská 1963, 693–700). Joachim Werner believes that the Rüsselbecher type is a product of a glass workshop in what is now Belgium and is found in the Franconian region, especially on the Rhine and Maas rivers, where they are abundantly represented. Occasionally this type of glass product reached Thuringia and southern Germany (Werner 1962, 93). Christiane Neuffer-Müller, however, thinks that cups of this type date from the 6th century and were the product of Frankish glassmakers on the Lower Rhine or in Belgium, from where they were exported to large parts of Europe. They were mainly placed in graves for men and were reserved for the wealthier population (Neuffer-Müller 1976, 89–94). However, another Rüsselbecher with an identical shape very similar to the one from Zohor is also dated to the 5th century (Evison 2008, 53–54, Fig. 58). The problem of dating the specimen from Zohor is thus more complex.

4.4 Cups

4.4.1 Hemispherical cups

Another relatively popular group of glass vessels was cups, which existed in several types. The first of these are hemispherical cups, which occur in thin-walled (Barkóczi 13a, Barkóczi 1988, 57, Taf. II:18–21) and thick-walled variants (Barkóczi 13b, Fig. 2). Their rim is slightly curved outwards. Type 13a spread throughout the Roman Empire in the 3rd, but especially in the 4th century. This form is commonly found in present-day Hungary. According to current knowledge, it is particularly characteristic of the northeastern part of the province of Pannonia, but it is also found in its southern part. The height of the cups is in the range of 4.5–6.8 cm, more often 5.5–6.4 cm. They are therefore smaller than ovoid cups (Barkóczi 1988, 58). The oldest cup so far is from the Halimba site (Burger 1968, 91, Fig. 46) from the reign of Licinius, and the latest comes from grave 29 in the Csákvár cemetery from the early 5th century (Salamon, Barkóczi 1970, 51). These vessels were distributed north of the River Dráva as well as south of Pannonia (Calvi 1968, pl. C. 4,6). The cups are associated with local glassworks and exports from provinces in the southeast (Barkóczi 1988, 57). This shape was most popular in the second half of the 4th century (Vessberg 1952, 114–115). A narrower variant resembling a cup shape was popular west of Pannonia (Barkóczi 1988, 57). One of the specimens from the Ságvár (Barkóczi 1988, Taf. II:17) and Brigetio sites had circular cut bands, which are typical for cups of oriental origin (Barkóczi 1988, 57). The colour scale of these thin-walled cups ranges from white to light green to green (e.g. grave 162, Pottenbrun, Hölbling 2008, 50; grave 168, Pottenbrun, Hölbling 2008, 54–55; grave 192, Pottenbrun, Hölbling 2008, 77–79). Based on the analysis, it is assumed that these vessels were not the subject of long-distance trade but were produced directly on-site, as is suggested by their fragility (Barkóczi 1988, 57).

4.4.2 Egg-shaped cups

Perhaps the most popular and widespread form in the Middle Danube region is represented by egg-shaped cups (Barkóczi 37). They exist in two variants, which are chronologically distant

from each other. The earlier variant is thick-walled and the later one is thin-walled. An example of the thick-walled variant (Barkóczi 37a) is attested in the Late Roman cemetery of Ságvár (Barkóczi 1988, Taf. VII:75) and dates to the second half of the 4th century. The closest analogies come from southern Pannonia (the area between the Sava and Dráva rivers).

The thin-walled variant (Barkóczi 37b, Fig. 2) is the most numerous among the glass vessel forms. Its shape is based on its thick-walled predecessor (Barkóczi 37a), which was a product of Late Roman glassworks. Its appearance was significantly influenced by three older variants – Barkóczi 76–78 (Barkóczi 1988, Taf. XV:167, 168, Taf. XVI:169, 170). The cups could be supplemented with relief decorations of the same colour, as well as blue dots (Barkóczi 67b) (Barkóczi 1988, 75). They usually formed a service with cylindrical bottles or oval jugs decorated with a glass thread around the neck (Barkóczi 177, Barkóczi 1988, 197, Taf. LV:493–496). In the grave inventory, they often occur together with onion button crossbow fibulae, pottery jugs, and various types of jewellery. The cups are in most cases made of dark or light green glass. Bluish-green glass occurs only rarely. Considering the context of the finds, L. Barkóczi dates the occurrence of this type from approximately 375/380 AD, when it appeared for the first time, to the first half of the 5th century. Archaeological finds document their presence throughout Pannonia and in the western provinces (Barkóczi 1988, 75). An example is the finds from the Migration Period at necropolises such as Csákvár (Salamon, Barkóczi 1970, 40, 54–55) and Pilismarót (Barkóczi 1960, 113–114, 117; Barkóczi 1988, 198). Ovoid cups also occur in significant isolated graves or smaller burials of the 5th century. These include Árpás (Tomka 2001, 166), Charváty (Tejral 2010, 104), Drslavice (Tejral 2010, 103), Ivanka pri Dunaji (Tejral 2011a, 407), Krakovany Stráže (Krupa, Klčo 2015, 83), Mödling (Tejral 2011a, 235), Páty (Ottományi 2001, 37–38), Szob-Kalvária-domb (Kovrig 1959, 209), Šarovce (Novotný 1976, 169–170) and Untersiebenbrunn (Nothnagel 2008, 31). These are cups made of moss-green to yellowish glass. However, it is not ruled out that the yellow colour was caused by corrosion of the glass and their original colour was different. The find from Šarovce differs from other cups by its specific surface treatment in the form of grooves and fine flutes. An analogy to the Šarovce cup comes from the Prague-Zličín necropolis from grave 76 (Jiřík 2019, 172). Analogies from the burial grounds in Brigetio, Aquincum, and Arrabona are dated somewhat later. The mentioned shape occurs throughout the Danube region, but most often along the limes. Although the dimensions of the cups are almost identical, L. Barkóczi assumes that there was no central workshop, but that they had to be produced at several locations (Barkóczi 1988, 75). According to J. Jiřík, this form of cup appears in graves associated with the Goths, Alans, and Huns of Alathus and Safrak (Jiřík 2019, 141). However, these graves were not necessarily associated only with Alathus and Safrak. Jaroslav Tejral considers several groups of ‘eastern barbarians’ (Tejral 2007, 57–60).

4.4.3 Egg-shaped cups with blue dots

The egg-shaped cups decorated with blue dots (Barkóczi 67; Fig. 2) are based on the Barkóczi 37b form and are enriched with surface decorations. They appear in two variants, which differ from each other in colour, material, glass surface treatment, and also chronological classification.

The first group (Barkóczi 67a) is characterised by an ovoid shape and thick greenish-white to light green glass. Their decoration consists of one or more bands and a row of two, three, or six small blue glass dots. They appear in several designs and are

the product of several glass workshops. The type first appeared around 340 AD and its use can be traced back to 375–380 AD. They occur in large and small forms (Barkóczi 1973, 69–94). Examples of small-form cups include the specimen from the Ságvár burial ground (Barkóczi 1988, Taf. XIII:147) and a find from an unknown site held at the Hungarian National Museum (Barkóczi 1988, Taf. XIII:146). The glass of both is coloured greenish-white and decorated with one large and several smaller dots. This type also includes the cup from Intercisa dated to the Valentinian period (Barkóczi 1988, Taf. XIV:148) as well as the find from Kisberény (Barkóczi 1973, 72). They are made of green, slightly translucent glass. It is assumed that they come from the later second half of the 4th century and may be a product of local production (Barkóczi 1988, 97). The cups of the large form have thick walls, a continuous band of blue dots, and a pair of cut lines around the circumference, as evidenced by a find in the Hungarian National Museum (Barkóczi 1988, Taf. XIV:149). Other examples are known from Carnuntum and Gorsium, where a significant number of such fragments were found. Local production is considered for the large forms. Several similar cups have also been discovered in the western provinces (Barkóczi 1988, 96–97). Among the finds of this type, the cup from the Budapest – Bécsi út 42 site stands out, the surface of which is decorated with engraving in the form of nine circles and a series of vertical lines imitating flutes (Nagy 2005, 428, Abb. 17:6). The engraved circles are perhaps intended to imitate the decoration with blue glass dots (Nagy 2005, 427).

Among the cups belonging to the second, later group (Barkóczi 67b), a small and a larger form are also distinguished. Their decoration is identical. They are characterised by thin glass, which is no longer exclusively light green. Usually, fused dark green and light green glass are combined in production. The decoration consists of a single row of blue dots around the circumference or a combination of one larger and several smaller dots. Horizontal grooves continue to occur below the rim (Barkóczi 1961, 104). The cup from the child’s grave in Untersiebenbrunn was decorated with a group of four larger, evenly spaced dots (Nothnagel 2008, 34; Fig. 4). On the cup from Brigetio, which comes from one of the latest burials near the camp. It dates back to the turn of the 5th century (Barkóczi 1988, 99). A similar find also comes from the Sopron site. In its case, the cup is decorated with one large dot and ten smaller ones, which are arranged in a shape resembling a bunch of grapes (Tejral 2011a, 236). A cup from the Pottenbrunn necropolis (Hölbling 2008, 179) and a fragment from the Pilismarót site (Barkóczi 1960, 119) also had similar decoration in the form of a grape bunch. An analogy in the form of a cup from the grave of a woman from Regöly, thanks to the accompanying inventory, indicates an origin in the Black Sea region (Tejral 2011a, 237). A cup with similar decoration was also found in the Csákvár burial ground (Barkóczi 1988, 100). Artefacts such as earrings with polyhedral decoration and jugs with polished decoration were found in the necropolis, which indicate an origin from the Black Sea region. Burials began at this burial site at the end of the 4th century and continued into the first half of the 5th century (Barkóczi 1988, 98–99). As already indicated, cups of this type were very popular, especially among the barbarians who settled in the northern Black Sea region. A globular cup with blue dots from the Spanish site of L’Hostalot is important for tracing the various routes by which these specimens were imported. The vessel comes from a female grave furnished with a pair of ‘East Germanic’ pins with polyhedral decoration (Jiřík 2019, 80). In Bohemia, such a cup is known only from a rich grave in Měcholupy (Svoboda 1965, 110, tab. 28:6).

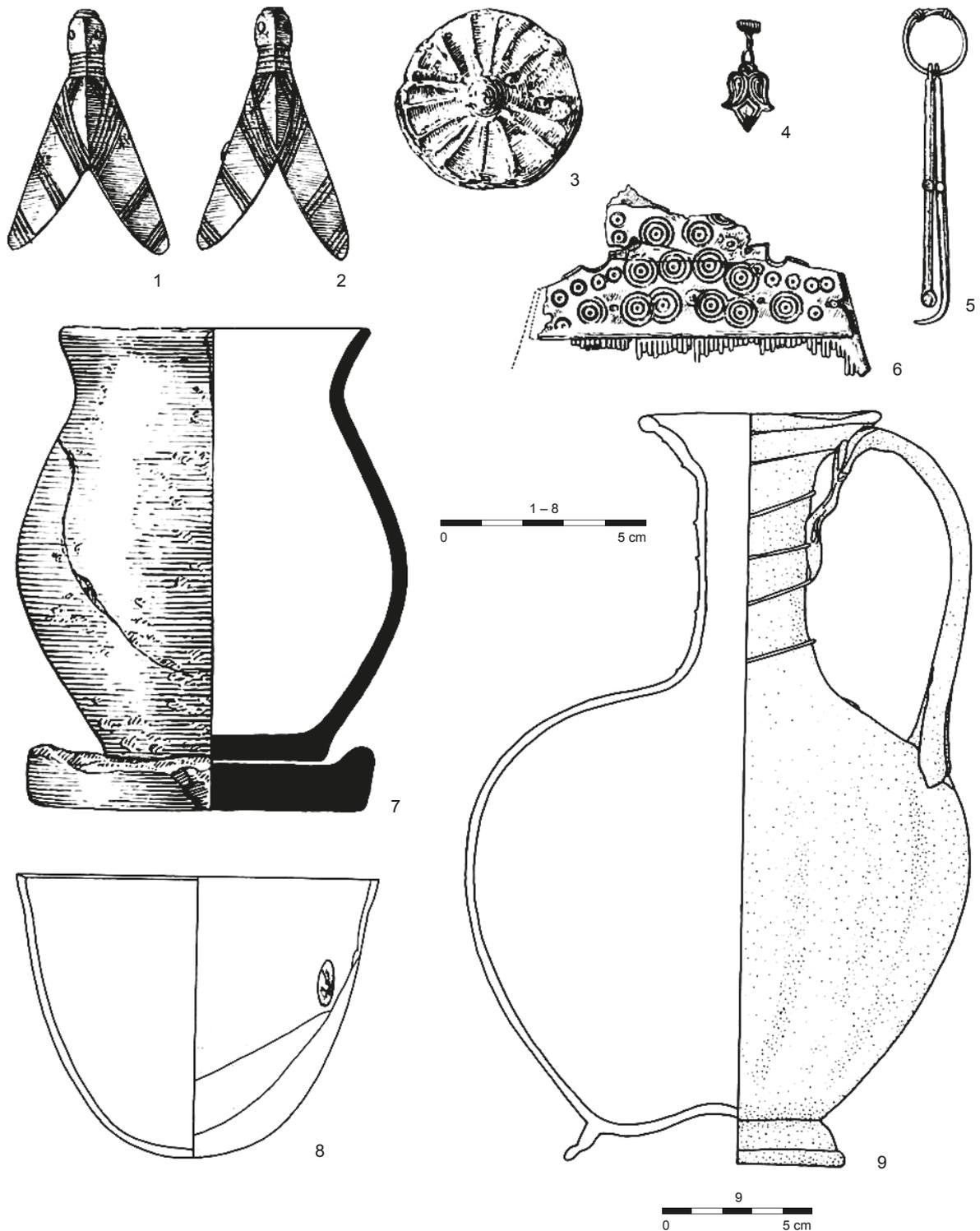


Fig. 4. Unteresiebenbrunn, children's grave. 1, 2 – Cicada-shaped clasp; 3 – mirror; 4 – gold pendant; 5 – toiletries; 6 – three-layer comb; 7 – clay pot; 8 – egg-shaped cup with blue knobs (Barkóczy 67b); 9 – jug (Barkóczy 177). After Tejral 2011a, 129, Abb. 86.

Obr. 4. Unteresiebenbrunn, dětský hrob. 1, 2 – Cikádovitá spona; 3 – zrcadlo; 4 – zlatý přívěšek; 5 – toaletní potřeby; 6 – trojvrstvý hřeben; 7 – hliněný hrnec; 8 – vejcovitý šálek s modrými nopami (Barkóczy 67b); 9 – džbán (Barkóczy 177). Podle Tejral 2011a, 129, Abb. 86.

Thin-walled cups with blue knobs are found throughout Pannonia. They occur in northern Italy, as well as in the lower Danube Limes section and in large quantities also in the Black Sea region, where their production can be assumed (Sorokina 1967, 79). They occur in the Pannonian region after 380 and thanks to finds in the grave context, this type can be traced back to the first half of the 5th century. The vessels were produced at several unidentified sites. László Barkóczy searches for these production centres north of the River Dráva (Barkóczy 1988, 98–99).

4.4.4 Cups with relief decoration in the form of an arcade

Cups with relief decoration (Barkóczy 62; Barkóczy 1988, Taf. XII:134, 135) are a variant of moss-green egg-shaped cups with smooth walls (Barkóczy 37b, Barkóczy 1988, Taf. VII:76–78). Their decoration consists of thinner or thicker wavy lines, or of several glass threads. They are found in Brigetio (Barkóczy, Salamon 1968, 33, Fig. 5) and at the sites of Várdomb (Barkóczy 1988, Taf. XII:135) and Sopron, mostly in a fragmentary state. In addition to the territory of Pannonia, one specimen was also

found at the Szob site (Kovrig 1959, 209). Cups of this type date back to the last third of the 4th century – the first decades of the 5th century. According to L. Barkóczy, they were produced in the same workshops as ovoid cups, cylindrical and fluted bottles, and jugs decorated with a glass thread around the neck (Barkóczy 1988, 93).

4.5 Bottles

4.5.1 Low cylindrical bottles

Beakers and cups were not the only types of glass vessels produced and deposited in graves during the Migration Period. Bottles of various shapes, sizes, and decoration were also popular.

A low cylindrical bottle (Barkóczy 117; Fig. 2) is represented only in one specimen from the grave complex from Brigetio, which dates back to the late 4th – early 5th century (Barkóczy 1961, 98). The same shape, but supplemented with a handle, can be found in Intercisa (Barkóczy 1988, Taf. XLIV:457) and at the Kisárpás site (Barkóczy 1988, Taf. XLV:458), where, however, the body had a square shape. Analogies from other areas are not yet known. It is probably a product of local glassworks in the territory of present-day Hungary. Their model was probably the low, prismatic, and cylindrical jugs known from the eastern Mediterranean (Barkóczy 1988, 137).

4.5.2 Bottles with a flask-shaped body, a wide rim, and a long cylindrical neck

Larger bottles with a long cylindrical neck and a flask-shaped body (Barkóczy 118; Fig. 5) begin to appear regularly from the Constantinian period. In the 1st century, they did not appear at all in find contexts, and even in the 2nd century this form occurs only occasionally. The same applies to the first half of the 3rd century. However, during the reign of Constantine, they became a very popular and frequent addition to Roman graves between 340 and 380 AD. Glass workshops, e.g. at the sites of Ságvár and Intercisa, produced these bottles mainly in the second half of the 4th century, but they also appeared at the end of the 4th and beginning of the 5th century. Alfried Wiczorek

and Bernd Päffgen found that this shape also occurred in graves at the beginning of the 6th century (Wiczorek 1987, 39:7; Päffgen 1992, 356:6.; Pöppelmann 2010, 85). In the case of grave finds from Brigetio, the presence of a local glass workshop is assumed to have produced them (Barkóczy 1961, 102–103). The bottles are characterised by a moss-green colour. They were also produced, for example, at the Csákvár site. The products of this workshop are directly documented in a grave context (Salamon, Barkóczy 1970, 39–41, 55) and at various places near the limes (Barkóczy 1988, 137). Bottles of this type are also known from Lower Austria from a rich child grave discovered at the Mödling site (Tejral 2011a, 235) and four graves from the Pottenbrunn necropolis (Hölbling 2008, 113).

Analogies come from grave 70 from the Prague-Zličín site (Jiřík 2019, tab. 14:18) and from Prague-Podbaba-Dejvice (Svoboda 1965, 111, tab. 28:10). However, the find from the second location is decorated with an oblique groove, and its analogies are sought in the Pannonia area at the turn of the 5th century. (Barkóczy 1988, Taf. XXIII:287–289, XXIV:290–297, XXV:298–302). This form of bottle with an oblique groove is very popular in the north of Greece in Thessaloniki (Jiřík 2019, 144), where 59 specimens have been discovered to date. Nearly identical pieces are also known from the western part of the empire, as evidenced by the find of sarcophagus No. 1 at the Bad Kreuznach site in the Rhineland (Bernhard 1982, 99–101, Fig. 38–39; Jiřík 2019, 145).

4.5.3 Oval and flask-shaped bottles decorated with a glass thread on the neck and shoulders

For the first time, bottles with this type of decoration (Barkóczy 120; Fig. 2) appeared in Brigetio in the 2nd century, during the reign of Emperor Antoninus Pius (Barkóczy 1988, Taf. XXV:303). However, their production stops for a while and reappears only in the 4th century, in an oval and globular shape. Most finds of this type come from the Intercisa site (Barkóczy 1988, Taf. XXV:304) and date to the second half of the 4th century. The bottle from the Csákvár burial ground (Salamon, Barkóczy 1970, 41) originating from a grave context



Fig. 5. Pottenbrunn, glass bottles. 1, 2 – Barkóczy 118 type; 3 – Barkóczy 121. After Hölbling 2008, 114, Abb. 24.

Obr. 5. Pottenbrunn, skleněné lahve. 1, 2 – Typ Barkóczy 118; 3 – Barkóczy 121. Podle Hölbling 2008, 114, Abb. 24.

is dated to the end of the 4th – beginning of the 5th century. The most beautiful and largest bottle comes from southern Hungary from the Majs site (Barkóczy 1988, Taf. XXV:305) and is dated to the second half of the 4th century. In the case of the Csákvár site, it is assumed that the vessel is the product of a local workshop. The form is also found north of the Dráva in Poetovia and Carnuntum, and south of Pannonia in Dalmatia. It belongs to the range of Pannonian-Dalmatian products (Barkóczy 1988, 141).

4.5.4 Bottles with a globular body

The appearance of flasks with a globular body (Barkóczy 121; Fig. 2; Barkóczy 1988, Taf. XXVI:306, 308–310) can be divided into an early and a late phase. In the early phase, these bottles are only available in Savaria and a relatively small form. One artefact comes from a burial site dating to the end of the 1st – beginning of the 2nd century (Barkóczy 1988, Taf. XXVI:306). The specimens of the later group date to the last third of the 3rd or the first decades of the 4th century. They are characterised by their large dimensions. They come mainly from burial sites from the turn of the 4th century such as Brigetio, Aquincum, Intercisa, and Carnuntum. They partly reached the Pannonian region through trade with areas located south of Pannonia. However, the activity of glassmakers from the Black Sea region is also not excluded (Barkóczy 1988, 142).

The find from the Pottenbrunn necropolis is unique because the bottle is found in a grave dated to the turn of the 5th century. It has a globular body, compressed shoulders, a wide neck, and an even wider mouth. The bottle is thin-walled, currently transparent, but originally had a green colour (Hölbling 2008, 131–132).

4.5.5 Cylindrical bottles with a groove

Bottles with grooved bodies (Barkóczy 126; Fig. 2; Barkóczy 1988, Taf. XXIX:324–327) exist in several variants, so it is possible to distinguish between three main types. The first type is characterised by an elongated body, grooved walls, and prominent shoulders. This form is known to date in four specimens, three of which were found in graves from the Csákvár burial ground (grave 9, Salamon, Barkóczy 1970, 40; grave 41, Salamon, Barkóczy 1970, 54; grave 49, Salamon, Barkóczy 1970, 54) and one comes from the site in Intercisa. These are products of the Late Roman workshop at the Csákvár site. Bottles with smooth walls can also be included among the products of this workshop (Barkóczy 1988, 147). The second type is characterised by obliquely rounded shoulders, and a wider, cylindrical, raised body with smooth or fluted walls. They occur along the limes, for example at sites such as Intercisa, Aquincum, Pilismarót, Budakalász, Páty, Brigetio, and Carnuntum (Ottományi 2001, 47). The third variant includes finds discovered on the Amber Road and at the sites of Sopron and Poetovio (Barkóczy 1988, 147).

The production centre of the second and third variants has not yet been located. The workshop at the Csákvár site is mentioned in connection with the production of the first variant. It is still unknown whether these finds come from a central workshop or whether they are products of several different workshops. In Pannonia, this form occurs mainly in the area north of the Danube and does not appear in the neighbouring provinces. Similar bottles later occur in Germania and Gaul (Barkóczy 1988, 147).

Bottles of this form and decoration appear in the context of finds after 380 AD and survive until the first half of the 5th century. They occur in burials and in grave complexes accompanied by ovoid cups, earrings with polyhedral decoration, and fibulae with a tied foot, which point to the first half of the 5th century (Barkóczy 1988, 147).

4.6 Pitchers

4.6.1 Oval pitchers with fluted bodies

Another, albeit less numerous, group of forms is represented by pitchers. Oval jugs decorated with flutes (Barkóczy 177; Fig. 2; Barkóczy 1988, Taf. LV:492–496) are characteristic products of glass workshops that began their production around 380 and were still active in the first half of the 5th century (Nothnagel 2008, 177). The defining characteristics of this type of jug are its oval fluted body, a ring under the rim, and decoration using glass threads around the neck. They occur in a relatively closed area in the northern territory of the limes and its catchment area (Carnuntum – Intercisa). At the same time, they are products of different workshops. Such a jug from the Pilismarót burial ground dates from the Migration Period (Barkóczy 1988, 198). However, its appearance differs from the analogies (outside the grave context) from the sites of Sopron, Kisárpás, and Brigetio, which have certain common features (Barkóczy 1988, Taf. LV). Two similar jugs also come from graves at the site of Untersiebenbrunn (Barkóczy, Salamon 1968, 31–32; Nothnagel 2008, 31–32, 34–35). Researchers have not yet been able to determine the origin of the shape of this type of jug. It may therefore be a form typical of the Middle Danube region (Barkóczy 1988, 197).

4.6.2 Pitcher with cut decoration

Single-handled pitchers with cut decoration (Barkóczy 179; Fig. 2; Barkóczy 1988, Taf. LVII:501) have an exceptional character in the group of glass products. In terms of shape and decoration, they occur in two variants, which are typical for different chronological periods. The earlier variant (Barkóczy 179a) was thick-walled and was produced in Cologne-Braunsfeld in the first half of the 4th century. The later variant (Barkóczy 179b) is documented thus far in only one vessel from a Late Roman grave at the Jánosházapuszta site. It is a single-handled, thin-walled pitcher with cut decoration. It is moss green, but the handle and ring are blue, which is characteristic of oriental products. It dates to the end of the 4th – beginning of the 5th century. Vessels of a similar shape can be found in the Orient, Egypt, Syria, and the Black Sea region (Barkóczy 1988, 200–201).

4.7 Bowls

4.7.1 Bowls with a pressed wall

Glass bowls were apparently not very popular in the Middle Danube region in the 5th century, as only one artefact was found. It was a bowl with pressed walls (Barkóczy 17; Fig. 2; Barkóczy 1988, Taf. III:29, 30), which is common for the Late Roman Period (Isings 1957, 14). It exists in two different variations, thin-walled and thick-walled. The thin-walled variant was popular mainly at the end of the 4th century. It was also used in the Rhineland in the second half of the 4th century. The finds from Hungary and the Rhine region differ slightly from each other in terms of shape. László Barkóczy believes that these are products from southern Pannonia from northern Italy or northern Dalmatia. The thick-walled variant has a wide rim and is made of dark green glass of poor quality. One such specimen comes from the Csákvár burial ground from the end of the 4th – first half of the 5th century (Salamon, Barkóczy 1970, 41). It is probably a product of local glass workshops after the year 380 and represents an imitation of the thin-walled form (Barkóczy 1988, 60). Few analogies to the thick-walled variant are known. László Barkóczy reports one similar find, though the place of discovery and the remaining connections are unfortunately unknown (Barkóczy 1988, Taf. III:29). Analogies to the thin-walled variant

on which it is based are known from the sites of Furfooz, Andernach, Cologne and Von Werthstrasse (Isings 1957, 147–148).

4.8 Perfume bottles and balsamaria

4.8.1 Perfume bottles from the second half of the 4th and first half of the 5th centuries

The perfume bottles that appeared in the first decades of the 4th century (Barkóczi 90; Fig. 2; Barkóczi 1988, Taf. XVIII:215, 220, 221) differed considerably from the forms of the previous centuries. In connection with the new glass products that appeared in the 330s and 340s, they lost their original significance. Their number in find contexts decreased significantly, the quality of the product deteriorated, and it seems that they appear only as a by-product alongside larger and better-quality glass products. The shape is not nearly as uniform as in the previous decades. Smaller pear-shaped or conical shapes are more common (Barkóczi 1988, 118). A bottle with a pear-shaped body was found in one case in the burial ground at Brigetio (Barkóczi 1961, 106) and in three cases in the Pottenbrunn necropolis (Hölbling 2008, 115–116) and they are dated to the turn of the 5th century. In addition to the pear-shaped and spherical variants, conical forms are also rarely found (Barkóczi 1961, 106). One such comes from the Ságvár site. Their counterparts occur in Intercis and also appear in the first half of the 5th century (Barkóczi 1988, 119).

4.8.2 Perfume bottles with extruded walls

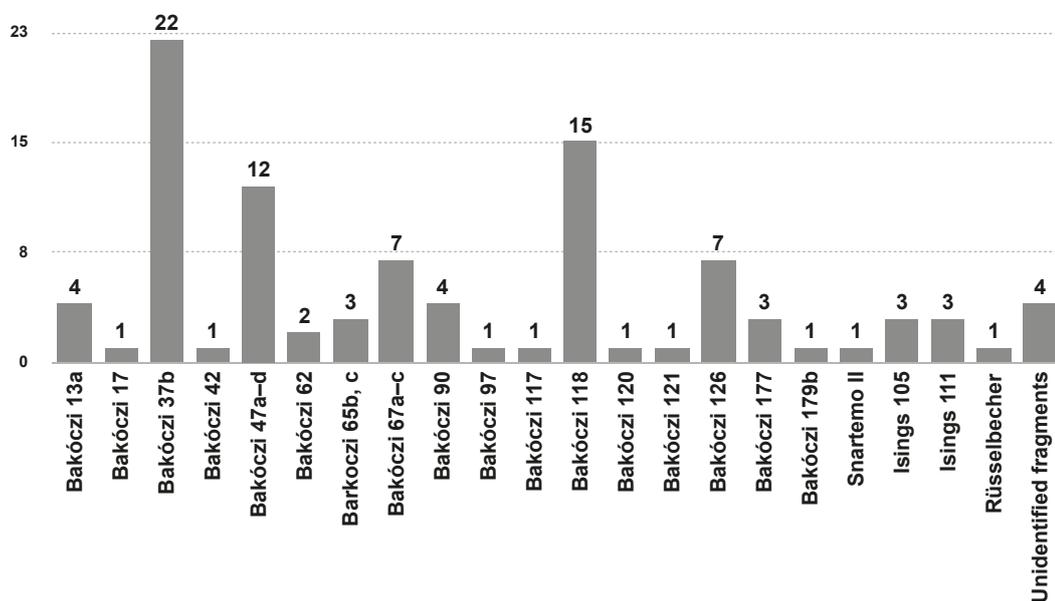
The type of perfume bottle with extruded walls (Barkóczi 97; Fig. 2; Barkóczi 1988, Taf. XVIII:236) is dated to the end of the 3rd – beginning of the 4th century based on finds from the Intercisa site (Barkóczi 1988, Taf. XIX:237). It is considered a local product. A similar form is known from southern Pannonia from Baranya county (Barkóczi 1988, 123). However, the find from grave 186 at the Pottenbrunn site, which is dated to the second half of the 4th–5th century, points to the possible survival of this form in a later period. The perfume bottle has a widened mouth and extruded walls. It is made of greenish glass containing small air bubbles (Hölbling 2008, 116).

4.8.3 Balsamaria

Balsamaria (Isings 105; Fig. 2) are a type of glass vessel that appears rarely in finds from the Migration Period. They were used mainly until the end of the 4th century (Dévai 2016, 257). Two specimens are supposed to come from a rich grave in Moravia – Cezavy u Blučiny (Vaculíková 2015, 74; Sedláčková 2016, 105–106), but their purpose is not entirely clear (Tihelka 1963, 483). The narrow shape rules out the possibility that they were cups, but it is possible that they were used as containers for writing utensils (Sedláčková 2016, 106). Both vessels were also subjected to chemical analyses, indicating that the glass raw material from which they were made was produced in the Levant in the 4th century (Sedláčková 2016, 106). A *balsamarium* was also found in inhumation grave 554 at the Páty site. It is shaped like an amphora with a wide neck and mouth and a pointed bottom ending with a knob. The glass contains a large number of air bubbles, which are a sign of glass production at the turn of the 5th century (Ottományi 2001, 37). An analogy, albeit in the form of a cup, but also with a knob-like ending, comes from grave 93 from the Prague-Zličín necropolis. Jaroslav Jiřík considers the connection of this shape with Mediterranean workshops. This particular vessel end may indicate their function as lamps. In the case of the find from Páty, its dimensions would have allowed for this use (Jiřík 2019, 147). Lamps with knob-shaped ends are known from southern France, specifically from the sites of L'oppidum de Saint-Blaise, Gardanne, and Marseille, which date back to the turn of the 6th century. They also appear in Italy (Jiřík 2019, 147 with further literature).

4.9 Evaluation

The range of forms of glass vessels during the Migration Period was diverse, despite the aforementioned complications with production and distribution. If we exclude four unidentifiable fragments, we have 21 different basic types of vessels represented in the studied sample. These can be divided into two groups: forms based on an older tradition, such as some *balsamaria*, and hemispherical or egg-shaped cups. However, completely new forms also appear, such as the so-called Rüsselbecher. We also noted types where older forms were combined



Graph 1. Quantitative representation of individual types of glass vessels in selected graves in the Middle Danube region.

Graf 1. Kvantitativní zastoupení jednotlivých typů skleněných nádob ve vybraných hrobech ve středním Podunají.

with new decorative elements, such as ovoid cups with blue dots (Barkóczi 67, Tab. 1). As we can see in Graph 1, the most popular were cups of the Barkóczi 37b type (22 times), conical beakers of the Barkóczi 47a–d type (12 times) and flask-shaped bottles of the Barkóczi 118 type (15 times). Given the limited number of graves examined, we are aware that we clearly did not manage to collect all types of vessels that could have been part of the grave inventory during the 5th century and that there are therefore forms that could expand this list in the future.

5. Glass vessels as grave goods – their role and significance

Glass vessels were present as part of the grave inventory throughout the Roman and Late Antiquity periods. In the Roman Period, they were mostly *unguentaria* and *balsamaria*. Goblets were rarely found (Dévai 2016, 255–258). However, in the 5th century, when the migration of various ethnic groups occurred, these typically Roman forms receded into the background and various vessels came to the fore, with their shapes indicating a connection with the consumption of beverages. Their analogies can be found in the Black Sea region and Scandinavia. Most glass vessels, by their shape, do indeed indicate a connection with the so-called drinking services. Usually, these are cups, conical beakers (alternative lamps), and bottles of various shapes and decorations. Jaroslav Tejral considers this deposition of drinking services in grave pits to be a kind of surviving custom of the Roman provincial burial method (Tejral 2011a, 232). However, it is questionable to what extent the ceremony, which included placing glass and ceramic vessels in graves, is necessarily connected with the prevailing idea that glass vessels were used to serve alcoholic beverages (mead, beer, wine, koumiss) (for discussion, see: Jiřík 2019, 33).

In graves from the Migration Period, both south and north of the Middle Danube, combinations of a glass cup and a glass or clay jug repeatedly appear. It was once assumed that the combination of a jug/pitcher with a cup/beaker was an indicator of the Christian faith of the buried individual. However, this theory has now been superseded, as the combination of such services also occurs in pagan graves (Kiss 2016, 165). The combination of glass and ceramic vessels mainly refers to the connection with drinking services, as has been mentioned several times (Tóth et al. 2016, 53). In some cases, the combination of a cup with a perfume bottle could be related to a cosmetic service, which was related to posthumous embalming (Jiřík 2019, 47). Also worth mentioning is the find from grave 1 at the Árpás – Szérvaskert site. In addition to a glass and clay cup and a greyish jug, it also contained a bronze bucket. This combination is reminiscent of older services from Germanic graves from the 1st–2nd century (Hrnčiarik 2013, 40). However, the bucket was placed at the feet of the buried person, near animal bones, a position that suggests that some food was stored in the bucket.

On the question of whether glass in the Germanic environment is a sign of luxury and wealth, a long-held opinion published by, e.g. E. Droberjar suggests that glass objects and especially containers are luxury goods that are a sign of wealth and high social status (Droberjar 2002, 295). This theory is supported, for example, by finds of fragments of glass vessels from the Žuráň mound (Moravia), which bore traces of repair and thus prove that they were valued goods (Sedláčková 2016, 107, 113). However, finds from Pannonia indicate that access to glass products was relatively easy already in the 4th century and they were considered objects of daily use (Dévai 2016, 256). During the Migration Period, its spread in the Barbaricum may have been influenced not only by the intensification of trade contacts

or the migration of barbarians to Roman territory but also by the service of various Germanic, Sarmatian, Alanian, and Hunnic corps in the Roman army. This led not only to the adoption of specific artefacts but also to behavioural patterns associated with their use (Jiřík, Vávra 2015, 182).

Even in the case of the funerary context, there is not much evidence to support the theory that glass vessels were luxury goods in the Middle Danube region during this period. Could the presence of two or three glass vessels indicate the financial capabilities or social status of the buried individual? However, this interpretation is problematic, because apart from the finds from the sites of Untersiebenbrunn, Budapest – Bécsi út 42 and Cezavy u Blučiny, the other graves did not show signs of significant social differentiation (presence of weapons, gold and silver jewellery, riding harness). A more likely model seems to be that glass cups were a relatively accessible commodity, which was more expensive than ceramics, but they were not such rare and expensive objects that only the upper social class could afford. They were probably owned by wealthier individuals within the given community, who, however, did not belong to the highest social classes (Vaculíková 2015, 106). We also find support for this argument outside the Middle Danube region, in the lower Polabian region of today's northern Germany. A detailed analysis of the contents of the graves of several large cremation burials from the 4th to 5th century has shown that fragments or ingots originally from glass vessels also occur in otherwise relatively poor graves (Jiřík, Vávra 2015, 186). For example, at the bi-ritual burial site in Issendorf (Stade district; Janssen 1968, 158, 162), glass fragments and ingots weighing less than 15 grams were found in 54 cremation graves, and in 40 graves even less than 10 grams. However, there were also examples of burials where the weight of the glass ingots reached more than 50 grams, which corresponds to the weight of the entire vessel (Jiřík, Vávra 2015, 186). Anthropological analysis has shown that glass fragments occur in both female and male graves, regardless of the age of the individuals (Jiřík, Vávra 2015, 187). Inhumation graves from the area between the Elbe and Weser rivers, e.g. the Wiepenkathen site (Stade district), also contain glass vessels (Böhme 1974, 132, 142–143), but the other offerings are nowhere near the level of noble burials (Jiřík, Vávra 2015, 187). This difference is also visible in the case of the extensive burial site in Liebenau (Nienburg district; Cosack 1975, 187, Abb. 5) on the River Weser. Fragments or casts of glass vessels come only from cremation burials, while rich inhumation graves are furnished with weapons and jewellery often made of silver, but never contain glass vessels (Cosack 1975, 188–198). A similar situation is also found at the Prague-Zličín cemetery, where glass vessels are of high aesthetic quality, but the graves from which they come probably do not represent the richest layer, which includes graves furnished with jewellery made of gold and gilded silver (especially graves 41, 42, 61, and 135), from which we do not know such vessels (Jiřík 2019, 192, Fig. 60; Jiřík, Vávra 2015, 188). However, the situation may be distorted by the phenomenon of grave robbery, which was recorded at this burial site (Jiřík 2019, 58, 189). However, the situation from grave 143 shows that robbers did discover a niche with a glass container while digging the shaft, but it did not attract their attention and was found fallen at the bottom of the grave (Jiřík 2019, 60). However, it is not ruled out that this 'lack of interest' in the container was caused by its fall from the niche, which damaged it and made it worthless to the robbers (Jiřík 2019, tab. 28:30).

The presence of glass vessels in the grave inventory is not directly related to the social status of the buried. However, regional peculiarities must be taken into account. During the

Migration Period, in the territory of the Middle Danube region, this function was fulfilled by jewellery, fibulae, belt and shoe buckles, parts of clothing such as gold patches from the Lébény-Magaspart inhumation grave, (Pusztai 1966, 105, Abb. 3:5) and in some cases also weapons (Budapest – Bécsi út 42, Nagy 2005, 426, Abb. 16; Cezavy u Blučiny, Vaculíková 2015, 127; Lébény Magaspart, Pusztai 1966, 106, Abb. 4). Therefore, if we want to answer the question of which social class the buried individuals belonged to, our attention must be focused on the entire grave inventory, not just glass vessels.

5.1 Placement of vessels in the grave pit

In addition to the typological classification of individual vessels, we also monitored their possible concentration in certain areas of the grave pit, which could indicate where they were most often placed. And whether there was a preference for any positions. The analysis of the grave complexes showed that when depositing glass grave goods, two positions were preferred, namely the head area (29 times) and the feet (27 times). Occasionally, vessels were also placed on the chest (twice), pelvis (twice), or knees (5 times) of the buried person. They could also be placed against the southern wall of the grave pit (twice), in the upper left corner of the grave pit (once), in the lower right corner of the grave pit (once) and in the grave niche (once). Unfortunately, this definition is very problematic, because in 30 cases it was not possible to determine the primary position of the glass grave goods, so it is necessary to take this statistic with a certain reserve. Despite this, it is clear that in general glass vessels were placed either at the head or at the feet (Fig. 6).

Barkóczi 47 conical beakers (10 pieces) were most often placed in the head area, followed by hemispherical cups of type Barkóczi 13a (4 pieces) and ovoid cups Barkóczi 37b (3 pieces). The last more numerous types were cylindrical bottles with grooves of the Barkóczi 126 type (3 pieces) and bottles with

a globular body called Barkóczi 118 (2 pieces). In the burial ground on Jakobstraße in Cologne, U. Friedhoff determined that containers that could be identified as unguentaria were often located near the head, and therefore he interpreted the small bottles found in this position as *balsamaria* (Friedhoff 1991, 154; Pöppelmann 2010, 63). It is therefore not ruled out that in the case of the two specimens of the Barkóczi 118 type, which were found in the head area, they were *balsamaria*. The other glass vessels (Barkóczi 62, 67b, 90, 97, 177; Isings 111 and an unspecified fragment) were present in the head area of the buried person only in one case (see Tab. 1). Similar to the head area, a larger group of glass grave goods was concentrated in the area of the feet. Here, ovoid Barkóczi 37b cups (7 pieces) dominated, while conical beakers were completely absent. In contrast to the previous position, flask-shaped bottles were present in greater numbers near the feet (6 pieces). However, when we compare the situation with the Rhineland burial at the Jülich site, this type of bottle was concentrated exclusively in the head area (Pöppelmann 2010, 85, graves 10, Taf. 4, 10/4; 37/54, Taf. 13, 37/54/4; 140, Taf. 47, 140/15; 146, Taf. 54, 146/2–3; 200, Taf. 78, 200/2, 3). On the other hand, cylindrical bottles with a groove of the Barkóczi 126 type were also represented here in the same number (3 pieces) as in the previous category. Ovoid-shaped cups (Barkóczi 67b) as well as *balsamaria* (Isings 105) occurred twice in the grave inventory. The presence of other forms (Barkóczi 13a, 17, 42, 90, 120) was documented only once in each case (see Tab. 1).

For the remaining places where the vessels were deposited in the grave pit, it is impossible to conclude the correlation between the area of deposition and the typological classification of the object. This is primarily because all specimens in this category are represented by only one piece. This also applies to the cup with blue dots (Barkóczi type 67b) and the oval jug with an arcade around the neck (Barkóczi type 177) from child

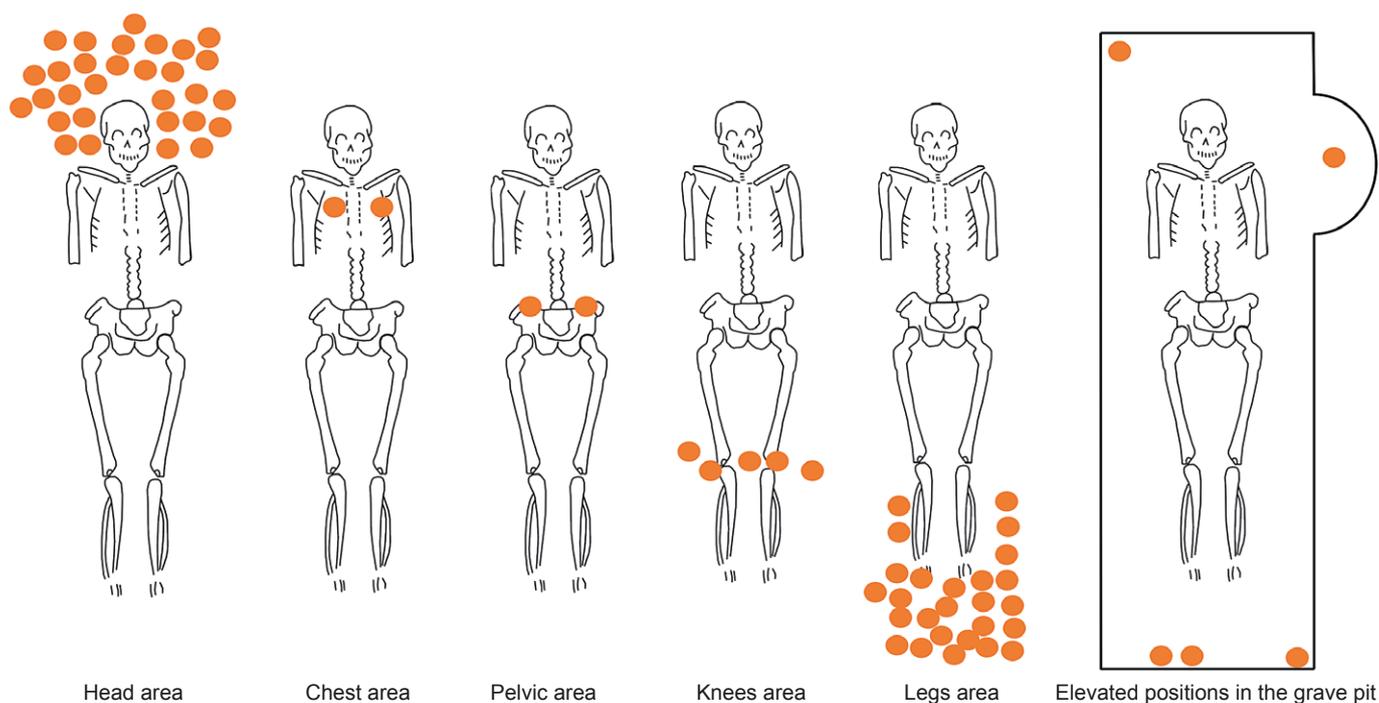


Fig. 6. Schematic representation of the positions of the glass vessels in the grave pit. Author B. Vymazalová.

Obr. 6. Schematické znázornění umístění skleněných nádob v hrobě. Autor B. Vymazalová.

grave 2 at the Untersiebenbrunn site. Both were found placed on the child's chest and together with other accessories (Nothnagel 2008, 33–35; Fig. 4). However, the location of the grave goods is only known from the drawing of director T. Eberl, so it should be viewed with caution (Nothnagel 2008, 8, Abb. 2) – first, because the grave was uncovered by amateurs and, secondly, because of the terrain in which it was excavated. The soil was composed mainly of gravel and sand, which was constantly poured into the grave pit during the excavation. Therefore, individual alms offerings could have been shifted. The original position of the vessels therefore did not have to correspond to the one in which they were drawn (Kubitschek 1911, 63). The presence of glass vessels in the pelvic area was also documented in two cases. However, each of the finds came from a different grave. These were a Barkóczi 90 type balsarium and a conical cup with honeycomb decoration (Barkóczi 65c; see Tab. 1). From the waist down, near the knees, vessels were found in five cases. These were an egg-shaped cup with a slightly bevelled edge (Barkóczi type 38), a typical egg-shaped cup (Barkóczi 37b), a conical cup with a honeycomb motif (Barkóczi 65c), a flask-shaped bottle (Barkóczi 118) and probably an amphora-like perfume bottle (Isings 105; see Tab. 1). Glass vessels could also have been placed in less frequented parts of the grave pit. This is evidenced by the discovery of a cup with blue knobs (Barkóczi 67b) from brick grave 2 in Brigetio, which was placed in its lower right corner (Barkóczi 1988, 99). On the other hand, a cylindrical bottle with a groove (Barkóczi 126) from grave 558 at the Páty site was situated in the upper left corner of the grave pit. We cannot link this particular position with the head area category, because another cup (Barkóczi 37b) from the grave was placed right next to the head of the buried individual. The bottle was placed exactly in the corner of the pit (Ottományi 2001, 39, Fig. 4). The southern wall of the grave pit was used as a place of storage twice. This was the case with the stemmed cup (Isings 111) from inhumation grave II discovered at the Brno-Černá Pole site (Vaculíková 2015, 127), as well as the Rüsselbecher from the inhumation grave from Zohor (Kraszková 1963, 693–695).

A rarer placement of a glass vessel or other accompanying grave good is deposition in a grave niche. In the Middle Danube region, this type of grave pit modification, in connection with the placement of a glass cup, is known thus far only from grave 12/1955 in Šarovce. However, the occurrence of a grave niche at this burial ground was not unique. It was also recorded in graves 3/1955 and 15/1955, where horse bones were found in the niches. The entire burial ground bears signs of the Hunnic period, therefore it is possible to assume a Middle Danube or East European origin of the tradition of grave niches at the burial ground in Šarovce (Novotný 1976, 169).

At the Prague-Zličín cemetery, the presence of grave niches was documented in almost thirty cases, which fundamentally changed the spread of the aforementioned phenomenon in Central Europe. Grave 28 in Lužice nad Vltavou was probably also equipped with a niche (Korený, Kytlicová 2007, 425, Fig. 24), and grave 3 in Mochov, which even had two of them (Jiřík 2019, 28).

The issue of the occurrence of grave niches from the Migration Period was addressed, for example, by S. Codreanu-Windauer (1997) in a unique case of this phenomenon at the Pliening burial ground in Bavaria. On the one hand, she accepts the fact that this element already appears in the Late Roman Period, but on the other hand, she is more inclined to Middle Danube and Eastern European analogies. The Kenkol burial ground on the River Talas in Kazakhstan is mentioned as the easternmost occurrence, followed by Chutor Schulz in the Volga region (Codreanu-Windauer 1997, 25–28). She assumes that niches were also present in the graves

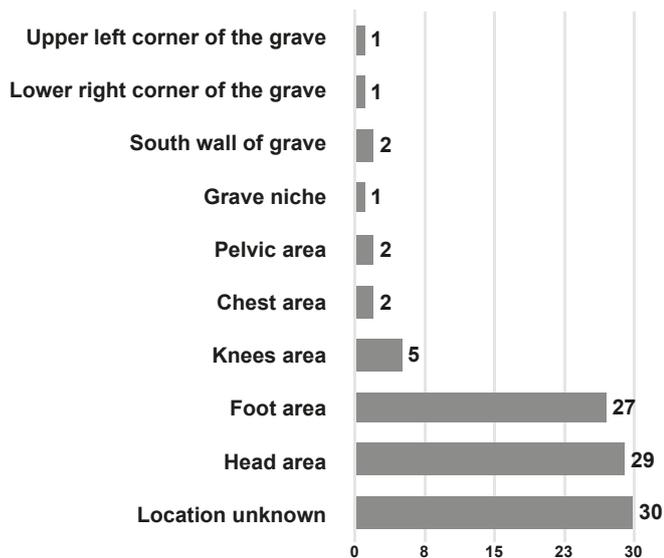
in Csövar, Kom. Pést, Lengyeltóti, Lébény, and Kapolcsi, i.e. in important grave complexes associated with the foederati culture. She further argues that at the aforementioned south German sites where grave niches occurred, graves with artificially deformed skulls were also present. In the author's opinion, we can therefore connect the occurrence of niches with migrating nomads and their influenced populations (Codreanu-Windauer 1997, 25–28). This view is disputed by D. Beilharzová (2011), who processed the burial ground in Horb-Altheim, where 17 graves with niches were documented. She supports an older theory about the influence of the Late Roman Period in the Rhineland. But she also accepts the fact that in the case of south German and Swiss graves (Horb-Altheim, Barbing-Irlmuth, Fridingen, Hemmingen, Renningen, Flaach, Schletheim), the occurrence of grave niches is indeed linked to the eastern, or rather the Middle Danube inventory (Beilharz 2011, 30–35).

In the case of the West, we can therefore look for the geographical origin of this grave element at Late Roman necropolises. However, the same applies to the Middle Danube region. Moreover, if S. Codreanu-Windauer is right that niches were originally also in the graves from Lébény or Lengyeltóti, then this tradition is already connected with the early phase of the foederati culture, which was significantly influenced by provincial ideas. However, this statement is also largely true for the Chernyakhov culture. In the case of Prague-Zličín, it is the influence of the Late Roman Period, which is confirmed by the presence of terra sigillata in some of the graves (Jiřík 2019, 29).

In a way, however, the search for a geographical or cultural origin of this phenomenon distracts attention from the key question, which is the significance of the presence of tomb niches with vessels. The custom of placing glass and ceramic vessels in tomb niches is illustrated by a fresco from early Christian burial chamber No. II (the 'Chamber with Pitcher') in Sopianae/Pecs in Pannonia, dated to the 4th century. On the northern wall, a glass pitcher and a cup are painted in a niche. The remaining part of the tomb is decorated with motifs symbolising the Garden of Eden (Magyar 2007, 51; Jiřík 2019, 34).

According to some researchers, this phenomenon has a religious significance. They associate it with baptism for the dead, a ritual performed by a living person on behalf of the deceased. The origin of this ritual is generally sought in Paul's First Letter to the Corinthians: 'Otherwise, what will they gain who are baptized for the dead? If the dead are not raised at all, why are they baptized for them?' (Bible 2022, 1 Cor 15:29), which in Late Antiquity was often interpreted as baptism for the dead (Jiřík 2019, 42). The essence of this act was the posthumous baptism of members of a religious community who had not received this sacrament during their lifetime. Although baptism for the dead was practiced by a significant group of Orthodox communities in the 4th century, two synods at the end of the century forbade this practice and deemed it heretical. The prohibition appears in the fourth canon of the Synod of Hippo Regius in 393 and four years later we encounter it again in the sixth canon of the Third Council of Carthage (Schaff, Wallace 2007, 645). The popularity and frequency of this ritual is illustrated by another prohibition of the Council of Carthage in 419 (Schaff, Wallace 2007, 719; Doležal, Vávra 2015, 131; Jiřík 2019, 45). Baptism for the dead is one of the possible interpretations that explain the presence of tomb niches. Nevertheless, there is no clear answer that would clarify their function or meaning.

It is not possible to draw any major conclusions from our statistics, not only because of the missing data in the case of thirty vessels but also because of the relatively low quantitative representation of individual types in the case of specific locations



Graph 2. Placement of glass vessels in a grave pit in the studied area.

Graf 2. Umístění skleněných nádob v hrobě ve zkoumané oblasti.

(Graph 2). It would be interesting to follow the distribution of glass vessels in relation to the sex and age of the buried individual. In the case of our group of 74 graves, however, this is not possible, as the resulting statistics would be distorted. Especially in earlier research, the age and sex of the individual were not always determined based on skeletal remains. Sometimes this information cannot be determined even from the grave inventory, which was either very modest or the grave was robbed and there were no objects left in it that would allow (at least approximately) a determination of the sex. Such statistics could be gathered at more recently investigated burial grounds such as Prague-Zličín, or, if possible, a revision of earlier research could be performed and the data added.

5.2 Production of glass vessels and the question of import

The oldest route along which the glass trade between the Roman Empire and the barbarians was conducted connected the northern coast of the Adriatic Sea with the territory of the Middle Danube region with Scandinavia. This route copies the well-known Amber Road. According to G. Ekholm, the second route copied the Dnieper, Bug, and Vistula rivers and formed a connection between the coasts of the Baltic and Black Seas. An important position in mediation was occupied by the Chernyakhov culture, the so-called 'East Germanic complex' (Ekholm 1963, 29–32). K. Dévai also studied the distribution of glass in the province of Pannonia in the Late Roman Period. She managed to trace specific circuits where certain forms of glass vessels were concentrated (see Dévai 2016). However, at the turn of the 5th century, the distribution of glass and the interconnection of regions along the Amber Road were interrupted. During this period, the importance of the area around the Danube increased, as it represented an important river route along which goods were transported from the eastern part of the empire. In the subsequent period, products of eastern Roman glass workshops, as well as cups decorated with blue dots, reached Central Europe along the Danube. The distribution of such fragile products was not necessarily related only to trade (local or long-distance). Glass vessels could also have reached barbarian territory through foederati serving in the Roman army, who brought them with them as 'souvenirs', or by migrating barbarian groups (Jiřík 2019, 199; Jiřík, Vávra 2015, 182).

If we want to try to clarify the origin of glass vessels in the Middle Danube region, it is necessary to look into the territory of their primary and secondary production (Jiřík 2019, 140). In the Levant, there is evidence of the existence of primary glassworks that produced glass raw material. One of them was also located at the Bet She'arim site. For the entire area of Syria, Galilee, and Israel, the occurrence of several production centres is assumed, for example, Jerash, Decapolis, Hagoshrim, and Beit She'an (Dussart 1998, 189–194; Jiřík 2019, 196). However, the presence of secondary glassworks that produced finished forms is also documented in the Levant. Andrei Sazanov believes that conical glasses were produced at the Jalame site in Israel. The mentioned workshop was dated to the second half of the 4th century based on coins, but the assemblages also contained forms dated from the 5th to the beginning of the 6th century. The production of cups decorated with blue dots is also attributed mainly to a Syrian-Palestinian workshop. The author describes some other forms as 'east Roman' and, according to him, they come from a glass factory at the Chersonesos site in the second half of the 5th century (Sazanov 1995, 333). The globular-shaped cups decorated with blue dots, which are known from the area of the Middle Danube region (Brigetio, Csákvár, Pilismarót, Pottenbrunn, Sopron, Untersiebenbrunn) from the late 4th to the beginning of the 5th century have precisely this 'east Roman' origin (Barkóczi 1988, 24). A certain part of the production in the Rhineland area in the 4th century was also inspired by the Levant, Egypt, and Asia Minor. E. Stern notes that it must have been more than merely a transfer of technology, that this know-how was transported along with the glassmakers themselves (Stern 2001, 132). The so-called 'eastern' forms include some types of glasses, jugs with a narrow neck, a flask-shaped body, and a foot. Cups decorated with blue studs and mould-blown glasses decorated with a honeycomb motif also fall into this category (Jiřík 2019, 197).

Glass kilns have also been discovered in the Rhineland Ham-bach Forest. It was initially assumed that glass raw material was directly produced at the site, but recent analyses have refuted this claim. The consistency of the composition of the work waste and material from the kilns compared to glass finds from surrounding graves and settlements indicates that the undoubtedly significant local glass industry was exclusively focused on the (secondary) production of glass vessels. They had access to glass raw material imported from the eastern Mediterranean, but they also relied on the recycling of collected fragments (Rehren, Brüggler, 2020, 1, 12).

5.2.1 Local production

The Late Antique glass production known from Pannonia can be divided into two main stages based on form. The earlier phase, dated to the period 340–380, is characterised by the occurrence of a variety of shapes, among them jugs with trefoil mouths, glass cups decorated with blue knobs, diatret glass, and other examples based on the oriental tradition. The development of these forms was dependent on the presence of specialised manufacturers from Syria, Anatolia and the Balkan provinces in Pannonia. A similar situation is also known from the Rhineland in the same period. The second phase of the development of glass products in Pannonia dates back to the period between the 380s and the first half of the 5th century. This period is characterised by significant cultural divides. The shape repertoire is strongly reduced compared to the previous period. Egg-shaped cups (Barkóczi 1988, 44–47 appear) in the graves of the foederates, generally associated with the Goths, Alans, and Huns. In the area of the Middle Danube region,

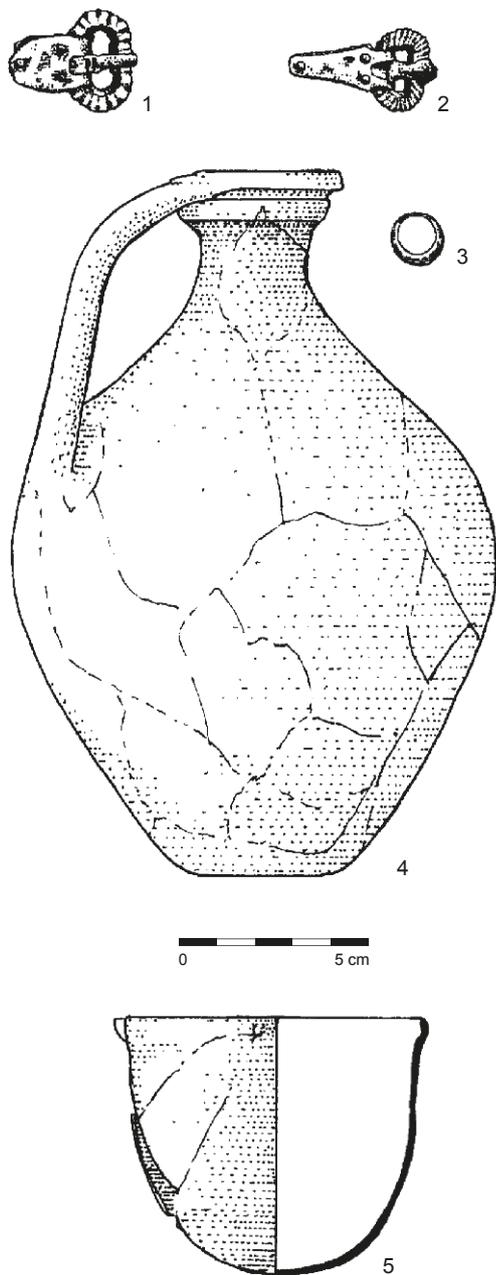


Fig. 7. Drslavice, grave inventory. 1, 2 – Iron gilded brooches; 3 – gold ring earring; 4 – Roman-provincial jug; 5 – glass cup. According to Tejral 2010, 103, Abb. 13.

Obr. 7. Drslavice, hrobový inventář. 1, 2 – železné pozlacené spony; 3 – zlatá kruhová náušnice; 4 – římsko-provinciální džbán; 5 – skleněný šálek. Podle Tejral 2010, 103, Abb. 13.

egg-shaped cups occur in graves accompanied by grave goods of a nomadic character. In south Moravia, these are the sites of Drslavice (Fig. 7) and Charváty (Fig. 8), in northern Hungary the site of Árpás – Szérúskert, where even a bronze bucket was present (Tejral 2010, 100–105). An extraordinary find is the female and child grave from the Lower Austrian site of Untertiebenbrunn furnished with grave goods of east Germanic provenance. In both cases, the cups were found in combination with glass jugs (Nothnagel 2008, 177–181). L. Barkóczi is not entirely sure whether these cups were a product of domestic Middle Danube production or imported shapes. He suggests the possibility that this abrupt change was associated with the arrival of a new barbarian population, the ranks of which also

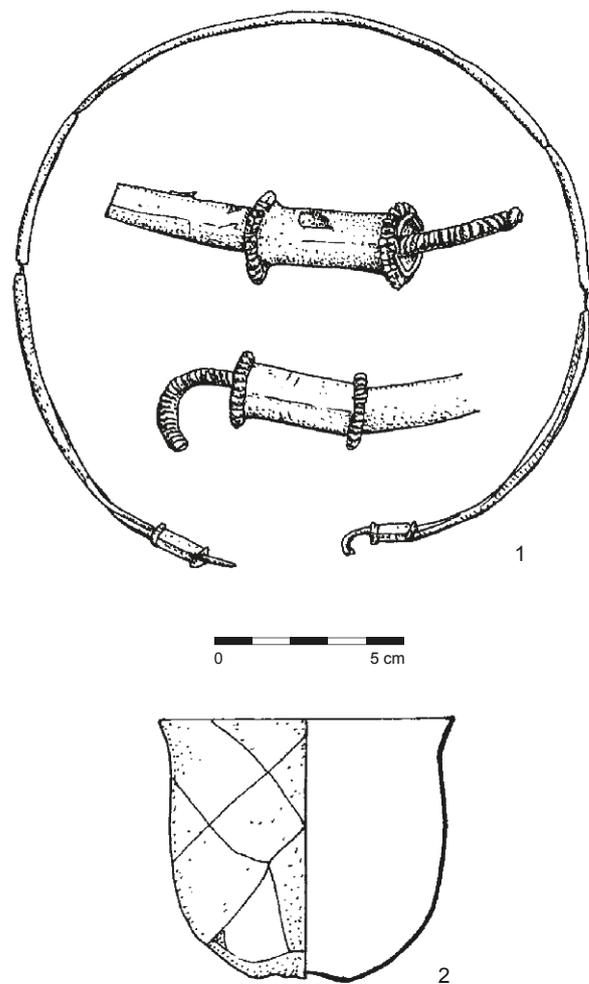


Fig. 8. Charváty, grave inventory. 1 – Glass cup; 2 – gold necklace. According to Tejral 2010, 104, obr. 14.

Obr. 8. Charváty, hrobový inventář. 1 – Skleněný šálek; 2 – zlatý náhrdelník. Podle Tejral 2010, 104, obr. 14.

included glassmakers. In his opinion, the workshop in which these migrating glassmakers settled should be located at the Csákvár site (Barkóczi 1988, 44–47). This reasoning is based on older research on itinerant craftsmen (Childe 1930, 4–11; 1958, 169–173), which is currently criticised (Ježek 2015, 121–122, 134–135). The remains of a glass workshop were discovered in Vindobon – the Judenplatz location, where, among other things, fragments of moss-green and yellow-green glass, typical of the late 4th century and 5th century, were found (Tarcsey 2010, 542–543). The presence of local glassworks is also assumed at the sites of Aquincum, Brigetio, Arrabona, and Intercisa. They were dependent not only on glass raw materials but also on external inspiration and influence, which was supposed to come from Italy, the Rhineland, and the Orient (Barkóczi 1988, 27–38). Doreen Götzen believes that no specialised workshops focused on certain forms of glass vessels were established (Götzen 1999, 41). This is in contradiction with the findings that assume that the area of distribution of these products coincides with the place of their production (Tarcsey 2010, 509). K. Tarcsey's claim is more likely because, in the Middle Danube region, some vessel shapes are indeed concentrated in certain areas, while they are absent in others (Fig. 9).

5.2.2 Import

The way in which some vessels could have reached the territory of the Middle Danube region and subsequently become part of grave inventories also includes the possibility of import. This alternative is considered in particular in the case of the transparent stemmed cup from Vrchoslavice in Moravia (Tejral 2013, 391). Fragments of a stemmed cup also decorated with vertical ribs come from the Prša burial ground in central Slovakia (Točík 1962, 200). A cup of the same shape may also be from the Kapušany site in eastern Slovakia and is dated to the 5th century. Its origin is sought in the Black Sea region (Kolník 1979, 156). However, conical cups with similar decoration in the form of applied vertical lines are also documented in Scandinavia, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Germany. Most of them were found in Scandinavia, where their production centre or largest outlet is assumed (Hunter, Sanderson 1982, 25). Unfortunately, in the case of finds from Slovakia and Moravia, chemical analyses that would provide a clear answer have not yet been carried out. The question therefore remains whether the cup from Vrchoslavice and examples from Slovak products are from a Scandinavian or Black Sea workshops and reached south

Moravia as an object of trade. Vessels of this type occur locally in the territory of the Middle Danube region, occurring in spatial ranges; analogy suggests their relationship to the area around the Black Sea. Finally, due to their small representation in the grave context of the Middle Danube region, we assume that they were the subject of long-distance trade and were not produced in a local workshop.

The question of the import and domestic production of glass vessels is a complex problem that undoubtedly deserves an in-depth analysis. However, the aim of the paper was not to solve this puzzle but rather to outline the state of research. The future lies in chemical analyses of glass from vessels such as those from Vrchoslavice or Kapušany, which would determine the origin of the glass raw material and thus resolve the question of their origin. Without cooperation with the natural sciences, we continue to move only at the level of constantly recurring long-known statements that do not advance research further. Although we do not have such analyses available in our article, we can also follow the distribution of individual vessel shapes in different parts of the Middle Danube region based on shape analysis. Ovoid-shaped cups (Barkóczi 37b) are present throughout the

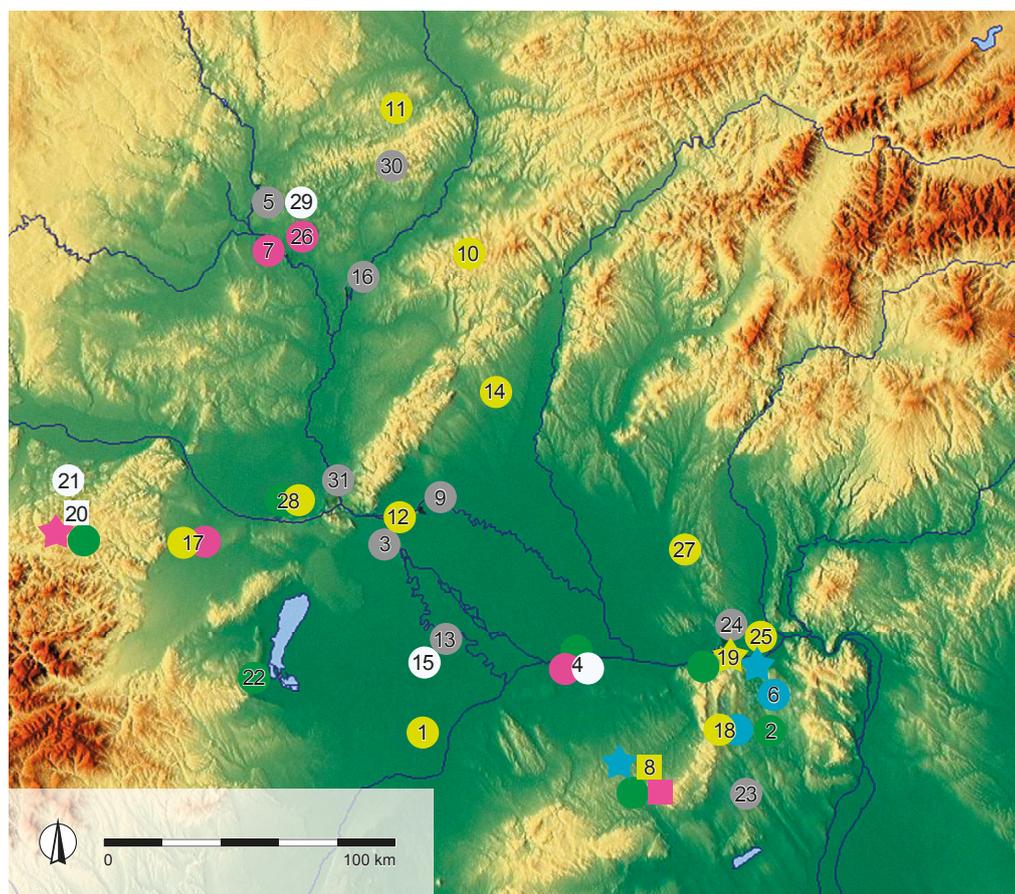


Fig. 9. Distribution of the five most numerous vessel types in the studied region. Circle – 1 piece; star – 2–4 pieces; square – 6–9 pieces. Yellow – Barkóczi 37b type; white – Barkóczi 47a–d type; green – Barkóczi 67b type; pink – Barkóczi 118 type, turquoise – Barkóczi 126 type; grey – sites where the observed vessel types did not occur. 1 – Árpás-Szérűskert; 2 – Budapest – Bécsi út 42; 3 – Bratislava Podunajské-Biskupice; 4 – Brigetio; 5 – Brno-Černá Pole; 6 – Budakalász; 7 – Cezavy u Blučiny; 8 – Csákvár; 9 – Čataj; 10 – Drslavice; 11 – Charváty; 12 – Ivanka pri Dunaji; 13 – Jánosházapuszta; 14 – Krakovany-Stráže; 15 – Lébény – Magaspart; 16 – Mistrín; 17 – Mödling-Lerchengasse; 18 – Páty; 19 – Pilismarót; 20 – Pottenbrunn; 21 – Sankt Pölten; 22 – Sopron-Gräberfeld am Május 1st; 23 – Százhalombatta; 24 – Szob; 25 – Szob-Kálváriadomb; 26 – Šaratica; 27 – Šarovce; 28 – Untersiebenbrunn; 29 – Velatice; 30 – Vrchoslavice; 31 – Zohor – Bratislava countryside. Author B. Vymazalová.

Obr. 9. Rozmístění nejpočetnějších typů píčích nádob ve zkoumané oblasti. Kruh – 1 kus; hvězdička – 2–4 kusy; čtverec – 6–9 kusů. Žlutá – typ Barkóczi 37b; bílá – typ Barkóczi 47a–d; zelená – typ Barkóczi 67b; ružová – typ Barkóczi 118; tyrkysová – typ Barkóczi 126; šedá – lokality, kde se nevykytly sledované typy nádob. 1 – Árpás-Szérűskert; 2 – Budapešť – Bécsi út 42; 3 – Bratislava Podunajské-Biskupice; 4 – Brigetio; 5 – Brno-Černá Pole; 6 – Budakalász; 7 – Cezavy u Blučiny; 8 – Csákvár; 9 – Čataj; 10 – Drslavice; 11 – Charváty; 12 – Ivanka pri Dunaji; 13 – Jánosházapuszta; 14 – Krakovany-Stráže; 15 – LébényMagaspart; 16 – Mistrín; 17 – Mödling-Lerchengasse; 18 – Páty; 19 – Pilismarót; 20 – Pottenbrunn; 21 – Sankt Pölten; 22 – Sopron-Gräberfeld am Május 1st; 23 – Százhalombatta; 24 – Szob; 25 – Szob-Kálváriadomb; 26 – Šaratica; 27 – Šarovce; 28 – Untersiebenbrunn; 29 – Velatice; 30 – Vrchoslavice; 31 – Zohor – Bratislava vidiek. Autor B. Vymazalová.

entire territory of the studied region. While cups with blue dots (Barkóczi 67b) are found mainly in northern Hungary and a few specimens also come from Lower Austria. In south Moravia and southwest Slovakia, this vessel was not represented in all in the examined graves. Similarly, bottles decorated with flutes (Barkóczi 126) are so far only known in the Middle Danube region from the territory of present-day Hungary. The concentration in this area may indicate that their production centre existed nearby. Conical beakers (Barkóczi 47a–d) are found mainly in Lower Austria, while only a few specimens are known from south Moravia and Hungary. Again, they are not represented in the territory of southwest Slovakia (see Fig. 9; Tab. 1). Therefore, there must have been some kind of trade or production corridor through which glass vessels reached this territory. The variety of shapes is great, but certain vessels are typical for certain territorial areas. The preference for certain types in specific areas is also indicated by the fact that at the end of the 4th and in the first half of the 5th century, imported Pannonian goods were more common in Lower Austria, while in the Rhineland and Upper Austria, respectively, northern Italian forms dominate (Tarcsay 2010, 511).

6. Conclusion

The influx of glass vessels did not stop even during the turbulent Migration Period in the 5th and 6th centuries. From this period come finds from the graves of the old settled population, but also of the Huns, Longobards, and other Germanic and nomadic tribes that moved into the territory of the Middle Danube region. The presence of glass vessels in the grave inventory is tangible evidence of the existence of a dining culture among the barbarians. This is evidenced primarily by the shape repertoire dominated by egg-shaped cups, conical beakers, bottles, and pitchers. Perfume bottles and *balsamaria*, common in Roman Period, are now found only sporadically (however, it is not ruled out that their function was taken over by other forms, e.g. bottles of the Barkóczi 118 type). Changes also affected the decorative techniques, which were limited to engraving, flutes, and fused glass threads of the same or different colour. The glass is predominantly green, sometimes supplemented with blue appliqué. However, whitish and yellow vessels also appear, though only rarely. Given the limited number of graves examined, we are aware that we certainly did not manage to collect all the types that could have been part of the grave inventory during the 5th century and that there are forms that could expand this list in the future.

The fact that glass vessels were found in a grave pit, however, does not necessarily indicate social differentiation between the buried individuals. The vessels had a certain status significance, especially in areas north of the Danube. However, they are not strictly associated with the societal elite of the time. From the 4th century onwards, access to glass products was relatively easy and they were considered everyday items. Even in the case of a funerary context, there is not much evidence to support the theory that glass vessels were luxury goods. A more likely model is that glass cups were a relatively accessible commodity, which was more expensive than pottery, but they were not such rare and expensive objects that only the upper social class could afford them. They were probably owned by wealthier individuals within a given community, albeit those who did not belong to the highest social classes. This argument is also supported by finds outside the Middle Danube region from the burial grounds in Issendorf, Wiepenkathen, and Prague-Zličín. During the Migration Period, this function was fulfilled by jewellery, fibulae, belt and shoe buckles, parts of clothing, and in some cases even weapons. Therefore, if we want to answer the question of what

social class the buried individuals belonged to, our attention must be focused on the entire grave inventory, not just on glass vessels. Above all, we must observe the differences between graves that contained such vessels and those that did not.

Parts of glass services were most often placed near the head or feet of the buried person. They are rarely found in the chest, pelvic, or knee areas or even placed in the grave niche. Some researchers associate this special form of grave pit modification with ‘baptism for the dead’, but this hypothesis must be subjected to more thorough examination, especially directly in the field. The preference for placing grave goods in the grave pit remains a subject of speculation because, in the case of 30 graves, it was not possible to determine the original location of the glass vessels. Therefore, this assessment must be taken with some reserve.

Glass vessels represent one of the most interesting types of imported goods. During the Migration Period, the Roman glass-making tradition lives on in the background and is pushed to the side by production from Eastern Europe. In addition to domestic vessels, the origin of some forms is derived from glass products in the Black Sea region. The provenance of others is sought in Scandinavia. In the case of finds from northern Hungary, specifically from the Csákvár site, a local glass workshop is even considered. However, this has not yet been archaeologically documented. On the other hand, the remains of a glass workshop were discovered in Vindobona at the Judenplatz site. A reliable answer to these questions could be provided by chemical analyses that would determine the origin of the glass raw material. Despite the lack of analyses, the shapes of the vessels themselves indicate the relationships between the individual areas of the Middle Danube region. Ovoid cups are present throughout the studied region, while their variant decorated with blue dots is concentrated mainly in northern Hungary and a few specimens also come from Lower Austria. Similarly, bottles decorated with grooves are so far only known in the Middle Danube area from the territory of today’s Hungary. Conical beakers are characteristic of Lower Austria. In the past, therefore, there must have been a trade route between the individual areas, along which these products reached the given territory. This typological preference of some forms can serve to trace the mutual links between the individual areas.

The issue of glass vessels in graves from the Middle Danube region during the Migration Period is far from being exhausted. There are still many unanswered questions that would be worth investigating. For example, it could be traced where graves with glass vessels were located within the burial ground. Alternatively, the concept of antiques or family heirlooms can be considered in the case of some older types of glasses deposited in later graves (e.g. Žuráň, Sedláčková 2016). It would also be worth considering tracking use-wear traces on the vessels and using this to determine whether they were placed in the grave as a new product or were deposited after a certain period of use. However, this idea has several pitfalls. The first is the state of preservation of the vessels, as several were found in a fragmentary state. Second is the poorer quality of the glass during the Migration Period. In addition, glass corrodes in the soil and loses its specific properties, such as translucency or colour, which greatly complicates the possibilities of accurate determination. Last but not least, newer finds could be subjected to chemical analysis, but finds from earlier research would also merit a review.

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Resumé

Článek se zabývá skleněnými nádobami umístěnými v hrobech datovaných do 5. století v oblasti středního Podunají. Předmětem typologických analýz bylo 100 nádob, které se nacházely v kompletním nebo fragmentárním stavu v celkem 74 hrobech, umístěných na území dnešního jihozápadního Slovenska, jižní Moravy, Dolního Rakouska a severní části Maďarska (obr. 1; tab. 1). Cílem bylo zjistit, jaké tvary dominovaly v pohřebním inventáři období stěhování národů, jejich funkci a původ. Ukázalo se, že převažovaly nádoby určené uchovávaní a konzumaci nápojů, jako různé sklenice, poháry, džbány a lahve. Tvary související s kosmetickými procedurami se vyskytovaly jen zřídka (obr. 2; tab. 2).

Tradice skleněných nádob na nápoje přišla do středního Podunají společně s migrujícími etnickými skupinami a nahradila zvyk pohřbívání s balsamarii a unguentarii charakteristickými pro římské období. Současně skleněné výrobky v 5. století ztrácejí svou funkci jako druh indikátoru sociálního statusu a majetnosti pohřbené osoby. V tomto období se stávají relativně dostupným zbožím, které bylo stále dražší než keramika, ale nebyly to tak vzácné předměty, které by si mohla dovolit pouze nejvyšší elita. Role sociálního indikátoru přebírají jiné doprovodné předměty, jako jsou drahocenné kovové šperky a zbraně (Dévai 2016, 256; Jiřík, Vávra 2015, 186; Jiřík 2019, 192).

Analýza pohřebních celků ukázala, že při umístění skleněných nádob do hrobu byly preferovány dvě oblasti, a to partie hlavy a nohou. Občas byly nádoby umístěny v blízkosti hrudníku, pánve, kolen nebo v hrobové nische (obr. 6). Bohužel, toto určení je velmi problematické, protože ve 30 případech ze 100 nebylo možné zjistit primární situování skleněných nádob, takže je třeba brát tuto statistiku s rezervou (graf 2).

Otázka dovozu a domácí výroby skleněných nádob zůstává předmětem výzkumu. Druhá polovina 5. století přinesla významný obrát v distribuci skla ve střední Evropě. Předchozí vazby na východní Evropu i východní provincie byly do jisté míry přerušeny (Jiřík 2019, 146). Repertoár tvarů je silně zredukován ve srovnání s předchozími obdobími a objevují se nové formy západního původu. Nicméně lze sledovat určitá území, kde byly koncentrovány specifické typy nádob. Vejcovité poháry jsou přítomny po celém území studované oblasti, zatímco poháry s modrými nopy se nacházejí převážně v severním Maďarsku a několik exemplářů pochází také z Dolního Rakouska. Na jižní Moravě a jihozápadním Slovensku nebyl tento tvar v prozkoumaných hrobech zastoupen vůbec. Podobně láhve zdobené žebry jsou ve středním Podunají dosud známy pouze z území dnešního Maďarska. Kuželovité poháry se nacházejí převážně v Dolním Rakousku, zatímco jen několik exemplářů je známo z jižní Moravy a Maďarska. Opět nejsou zastoupeny na území jihozápadního Slovenska (obr. 9).

Typologická preference některých tvarů může být použita k sledování vazeb mezi jednotlivými oblastmi. V minulosti musela mezi jednotlivými oblastmi patrně vést obchodní cesta, po které se tyto produkty na dané území dostávaly. Případně se v blízkosti okruhu, odkud se výrobky distribuovaly, nacházela specializovaná dílna.

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