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THE ROMAN ARMY ALONG THE AMBER ROAD BETWEEN POETOVIO AND CARNUNTUM IN THE 1ST CENTURY A.D. – ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

A preliminary research report

The purpose of my study is to shed light on the 1st Century Roman occupation of NW-Pannonia by discussing the military sites along the 270 km long section of the Amber Road between two legionary fortresses, the Augustan Poetovio and the late Tiberio-Claudian Carnuntum. I will also examine the Roman occupation system of its two main branch roads, the Savaria-Brigetio and Scarbantia-Vindobona roads. Besides literary sources, my analysis based on the archaeologically investigated and proved military buildings and fortifications of the period, the early import goods and inscriptions and, above all, the military equipment and horse gear finds which have long been regarded as characteristics of sites of a military nature. The early history of the Amber Road region is much more nuanced than scholars have hitherto realized, since the recently accumulated and tallied sources, primarily militaria finds, throw new light on the characteristic features of the Roman occupation system of this region.

Key words: Roman military equipment, horse gear, Amber Road, Pannonia, *viae militares*

New light was shed very recently on the period of Roman military occupation of north Pannonia when the 1st Century military strong points located along the Amber Road at *Salla* (Zalaötvő, H) (REDŐ et al. 1981, 282-286; REDŐ 2003b, 5-12; REDŐ 2005, 133-144), Strebendorf (Burgenland, A) (GROH 2009) or Bratislava-Devín/Pozsony-Dévény (SK) (KOLNÍK 1991, 80-81; PIETA-PLACHÁ 1999, 179-205; GABLER 2006, 82-84) were investigated. Relatively lot is known about the military sites of the SW, Slovenian section of the Amber and the Sava valley military roads due to the luckily discovered and excavated military fortifications, for instance the Augustan fort at Obrežje (MASON 2008, 187-198) and at Sredno polje near Čatež (GUŠTIN 2002, 69-75) along the river Sava, or the recently published camps under the inner city of Emona (GASPARI 2010,

113-125) and at Ljubljana-Tribuna (HVALEC et al. 2009). This region is extremely rich in late Republican – early Imperial military equipment and weapon finds¹, which come to light not only from military contexts but from workshops supplied the army (Ljubljana-Grajski grič, Gornji trg 3: VIČIČ 2002, 204 Taf. 12-13) and weapon graves² as well as from rivers (ISTENIČ 2000, 171-182; ISTENIČ 2003, 281-298; ISTENIČ 2009a, 855-856; ISTENIČ 2009b, 86-91, 292-307).

Significantly less data are known from this period about the soldiers and military troops stationed along the 183 Roman miles (it's about 270 km) long northern section of the Amber Road (Fig. 1)³, between the two early imperial legionary fortresses, the Augustan Poetovio (Fig. 2)⁴ and the late Tiberio-Claudian Carnuntum.⁵

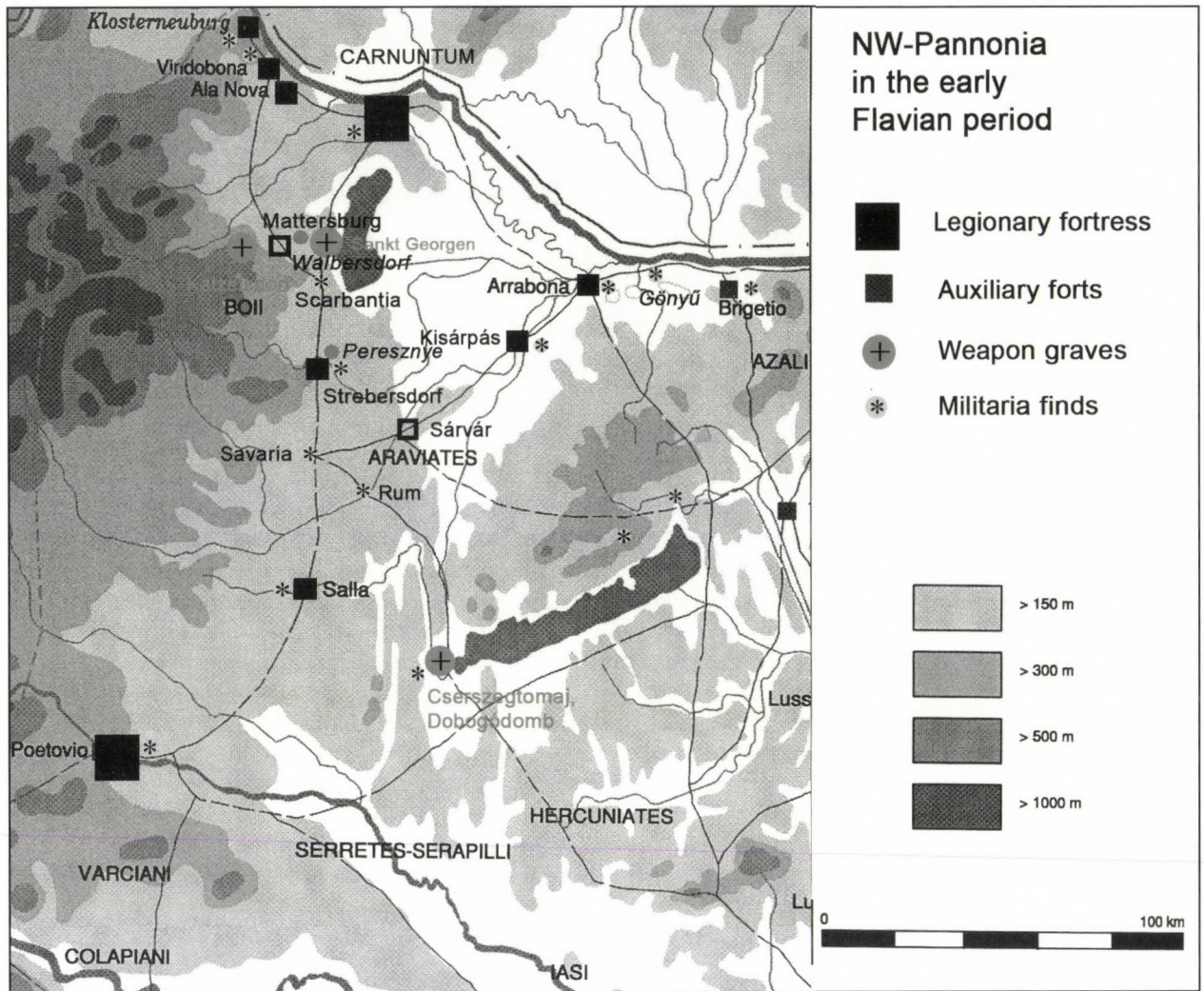


Fig. 1 The Roman army along the Poetovio-Carnuntum section of the Amber Road and its branch roads in the 1st Century A. D.(map Zs. Mráv)

I. Soldiers and Veterans along the viae militares of NW-Pannonia, the sources

The Itinerarium Antonini compiled at the end of 3rd Century describes the main roads of the actual Pannonian provinces on a route by route basis, among others the long distance Amber Road (It. Ant. 262,3) (TÓTH-CSERMÉNYI 1982, 283-290; HEILING 1989, 98-116; TÓTH 2006, 27-29, 54-56) and its main branch-roads as well, for instance the Savaria-Brigetio (It. Ant. 262,9) (TÓTH 1977, 65-75; PALÁGYI 1992, 27-34) and the Scarbantia-Vindobona roads (It. Ant 261,4-6; 266,5-7). Surprisingly

the early occupation system of NW-Pannonia based on the *viae militares* are perfectly reflected by this road network of the Itinerary (TÓTH 2008, 666). It is indicated by the number of data, for instance 1st Century auxiliary forts, military stations and, of course, veteran settlements located along or in the direct region of these roads. The aim of my study is to present the archaeological traces of the Roman army along the *viae militares* concerned in the 1st Century A.D. (ŠAŠEL 1977, 235-244) and summarise the new results of the research on this topic in relation to the early military history of Roman NW-Pannonia.

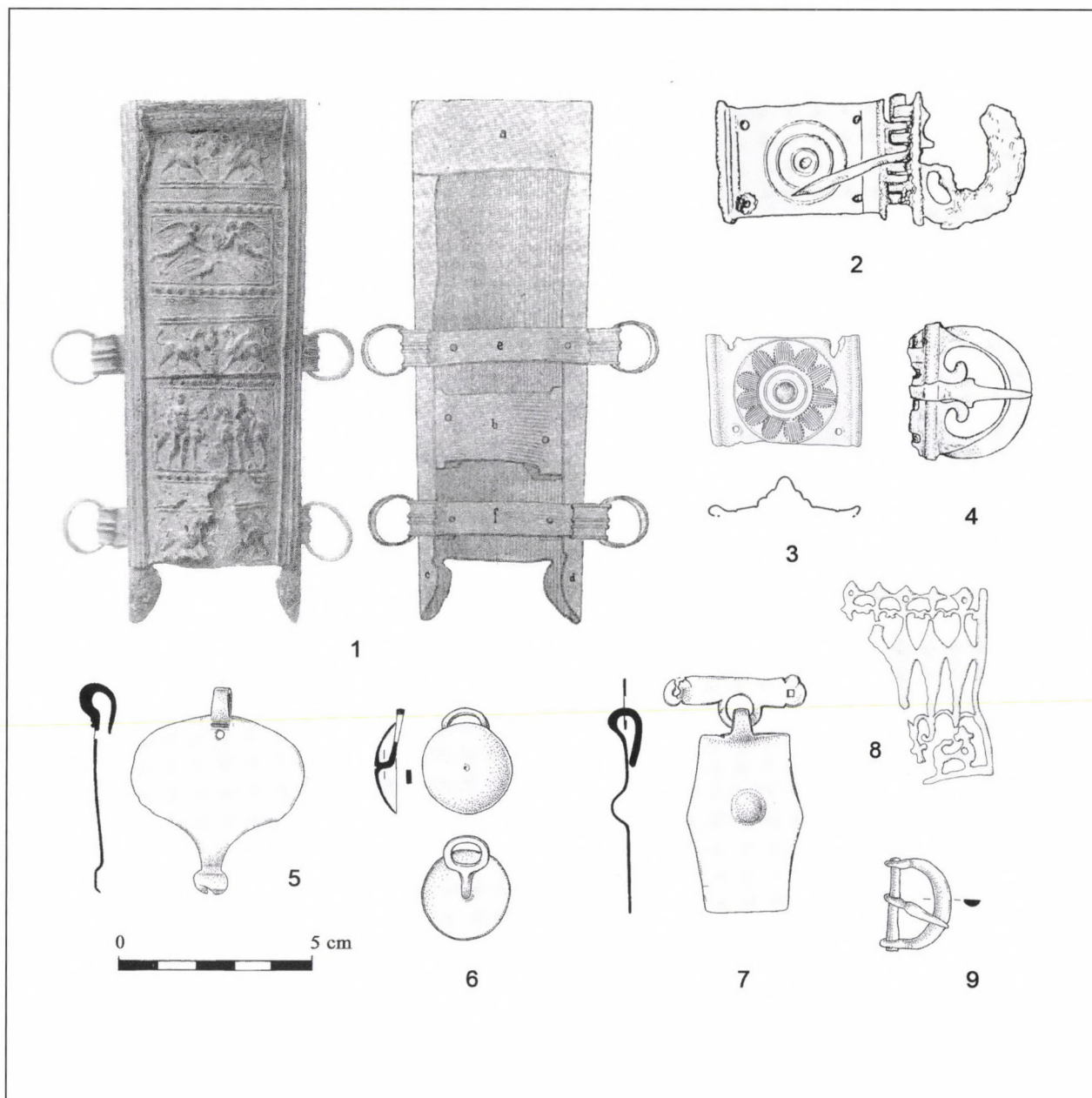


Fig. 2 Poetovio (Ptuj, SLO). 1st Century Roman military equipment and weapon finds (after ISTENIČ 1999-2000 and VOMER GOJKOVIČ 2005)

Besides literary sources⁶, my analysis is based on, above all, the archaeologically investigated and proved military buildings and fortifications of the period, the early import goods⁷ and inscriptions (MÓCSY 1959, 36-53; LÖRINCZ 2001, 57-71; MOSSER 2003). For this reason it is important that the sparse knowledge about the 1st Century occupation system in NW-Pannonia

was extended incorporating the new group of sources: the early military equipment found in direct military or non-military contexts.⁸ With exception of the militaria from *Salla* (Zalalövö) published by F. Redő (REDŐ 2003; REDŐ 2005, 140-141) and a spherical terminal of a Mainz type *gladius* scabbard is kept in the collection of Burgenlandisches Landesmuseum, Eisen-



Fig. 3 A spherical-shaped scabbard terminal of a Mainz type gladius from the collection of Burgenlandisches Landesmuseum, Eisenstadt (after UBL 2008a, 149 Abb. 2.)

stadt published recently by H. J. Ubl (UBL 2008a, 146, 149 Abb. 2) (Fig. 3), there has been no focus on this category of early finds. The present study seeks to fill this gap by examining the weaponry and military horse gear from the geographical area of the northern section of the Amber Road.

II. Along the Amber Road

1. The Augustan military actions

According to our present knowledge, the first military stations along the Amber Road north of Poetovio were not constructed in relation of the occupation of Regnum Noricum in 15 B.C. or L. Domitius Ahenobarbus' expedition to *Germania* around 1 A.D.⁹, but during Tiberius' campaign against Maroboduus in 6 A.D. Augustan finds discovered along the

March and Thaya Rivers in Bohemia, possibly at Stare Hradisko (KOLNIK 1991, 71-84; GABLER 2006, 85-86; GABLER 2009, 559-560) (but not in Mušov-Neurissen – cf. KOMORÓCZY 2008, 124-128; KOMORÓCZY 2009, 544-546) may indicate the advance of the Roman expeditionary army during the pincer movement from Carnuntum and from Mogontiacum/Mainz via Marktbreit (WAMSER 1991, 109-127; GABLER 2006, 86). The strategic crossing point of the Amber Road on the Danube, near Bratislava at Devin was controlled by the Roman army at that time. It has shown the excavated barracks and a watch-tower dated to the Augustan period by Arretinian terra sigillata, coins and military equipment (Fig. 4) (PIETA-PLACHÁ 1999, 179-205; GABLER 2006, 82-84).

Besides Poetovio and Carnuntum the first find on the northern section of the Amber Road can be related to Tiberius' campaign against the Marcomanni was published recently. As it was pointed out by D. Gabler the Augustan stamped terra sigillata of form Consp. 26/27 was found in *Salla/Zalalövö* in a pit under the levels of the late Tiberio-Claudian auxiliary fort produced by the figlina of M. Gratidus (GABLER 2005, 135-140, 146-151, 136 Abb. 3; GABLER 2006, 89-90; GABLER 2006b, 368). A fragment of a 'Sarius Tasse' is also known from *Salla* (GABLER 2006b, 376 Fig. 10; GABLER 2010, 141, 151 Fig. 7a). On the basis of that fragmentary terra sigillata and 'Sarius Tasse' we may suppose the existence of an early temporary military station near the ford of the river Zala which was abandoned when the unexpected Pannonian-Dalmatian uprising broke out (GABLER 2005, 146-151; GABLER 2006a, 89-90).

Some decades after the withdrawal of the expeditionary forces the Roman army appeared in the territory North of River Drava again along the Amber Road and at key-points constructed longer-lived military posts existed until the late Domitianic-early Trajanic period and permanent bases mainly at the end-points of these roads along the Danube (Arrabona, Brige-

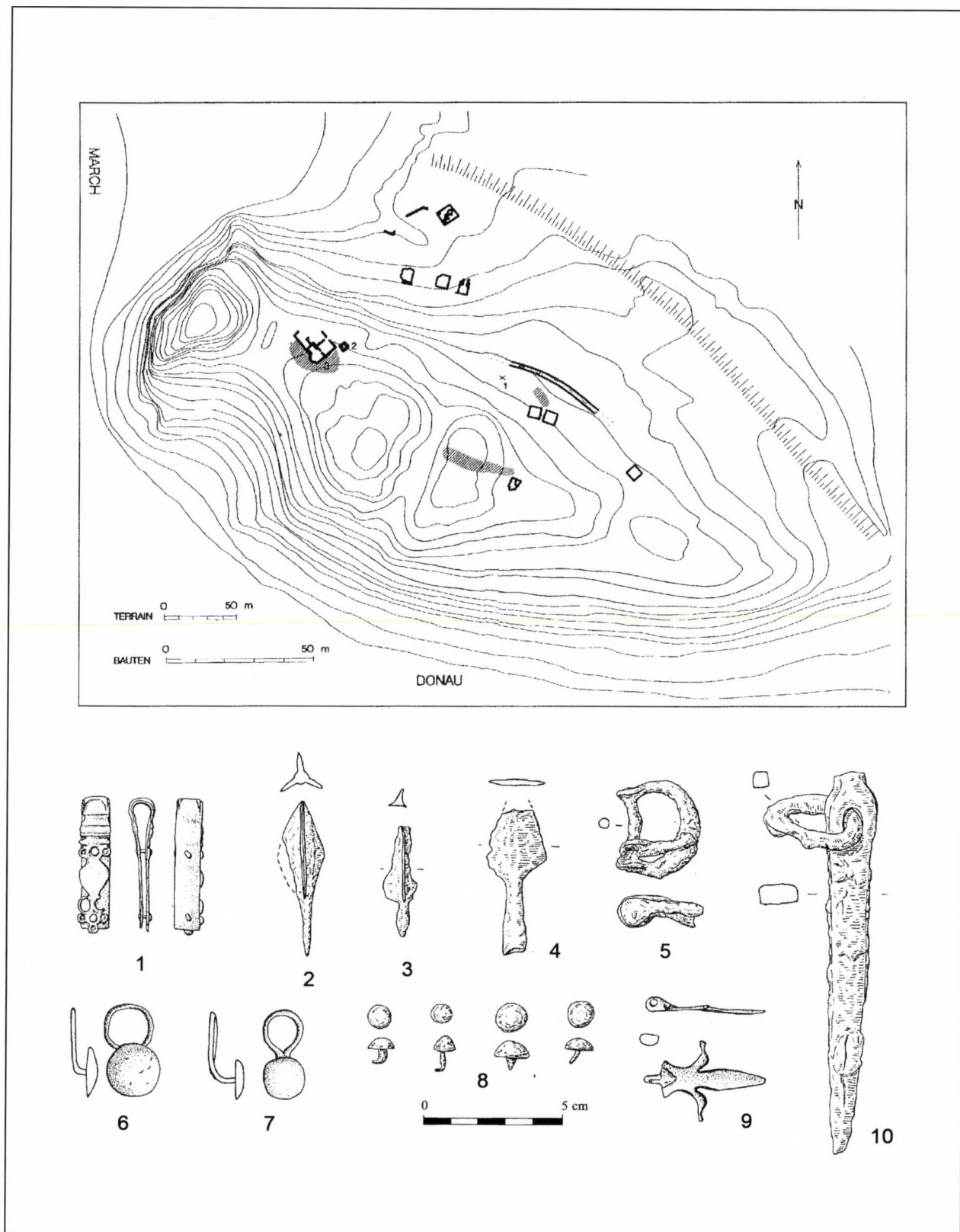


Fig. 4 Bratislava-Devin (SK), Augustan militaria from the territory of the abandoned late Celtic oppidum (after PIETA-PLACHÁ 1999)

tio, Solva, Budapest-Víziváros) (GABLER 2006, 100). In this period the road was used not only for a military road leads towards the Germanic kingdoms of *Suebi* and *Marcomanni* (GABLER 1997, 87; MÁRTON 2005, 92) but for logistic purposes and supplying the Carnuntum legion and its neighbouring auxiliary forts (GABLER 1979, 207-210; EGRI 2008, 45-56).

2. *Salla* (Zalalövő, County Zala/H), two phases auxiliary fort

The fort of *Salla* was built on the northern bank of the river *Salla/Zala* at a strategically important crossing point of the Amber Road around the distance of 90 km northwards from the legionary fortress Poetovio (Ptuj, SLO).

Although we know almost nothing so far about the size and shape of the fortifications of this castellum, F. Redő has found a rectangular system of timber constructions in two different orientations (REDŐ et al. 1981, 282-286; REDŐ 2003b, 5-12; REDŐ 2005, 133-144). During the course of his excavations at the site F a 4 meter broad and 1,5 meter deep *fossa* of a V-shaped cross section was found and NW of this ditch a 26 m long barrack as well (REDŐ et al. 1981, 282-286; REDŐ 2003b, 5-9; REDŐ 2005, 135-136). North of it three parallel timber traces strengthened by a row of postholes were unearthed, which arranged in the same direction. It can be interpreted as a trace of a defence work.

At the Y/1 site situated on the bank of the river come to light an at least 16 meter long building with timber foundation and row of rooms. Three other rectangular timber constructions with the same orientation were built by this long building (Fig. 5) (REDŐ 2003b, 11-12; REDŐ 2005, 136, 138-139, Fig. 7-11).

These archaeological phenomena may be associated with the internal buildings, mainly barracks and *horrea* of the military fort. After their different orientation and stratigraphic position F. Redő divided them into two phases (REDŐ 2003b, 16-17; REDŐ 2005, 140). The

early phase dated on the Tiberio-Claudian period by a bulk of Arretinian and Po Valley terra sigillata, coins and amphora finds¹⁰, contains the barracks in site F and the early building in site Y/1. The later, mainly Flavian constructions are the *fossa* (REDŐ et al. 1981, 284-285) and the timber building SE of it, the *horrea* moreover the later buildings of site Y/1.

The numerous early militaria from the sites also show the presence of a still unknown mounted auxiliary units, because most of the finds can be classified as military horse gear fittings, for example tinned copper alloy pendant of Bishop type 7b (Fig. 6.1) (BISHOP 1988, 149, 151) a niello inlaid *phalera* (Fig. 6.4) (SZABÓ 1978, 414 Kat. Nr. 40, Abb. 72.5)¹¹ and two iron spurs (Fig. 6.5-6) (REDŐ 2003a, 14 Fig. 16; REDŐ 2005, 140 Fig. 12.3). (In contrast with the classification of F. Redő the copper alloy object with an acorn ending [PÉTERFI-ZSÁKOVICS-SZABÓ 1981, 330 Kat. Nr. 40, 331 Fig. 43.40; REDŐ 2003a, 14 Fig. 15; REDŐ 2005, 140 Fig. 12.4] is not a „stirrup” but a yoke fitting.) A small buckle originally belonged to a *lorica segmentata* (Fig. 6.7) (PÉTERFI-ZSÁKOVICS-SZABÓ 1981, 330, Kat. Nr. 33, 331, Fig. 42.33). The shoulder plates of this type of armour were attached to the mail armour (so called Arlon-type of cuirass) worn by cavalry soldiers too (BISHOP 2002, 73-74).

3. *Cserszegtomaj-Dobogódomb* (county Zala, H), cemetery of a veteran settlement

As an excursion it is worth mentioning here an important weapon grave. In the year 1942 the Hungarian National Museum has brought from a private individual a funerary assemblage which consists fragments of a glass urn, numerous imported potteries, mainly terra sigillata vessels together with an almost complete armament of an auxiliary cavalryman.¹² The findspot of the grave goods is the Dobogóhill which nowadays administratively belongs to the neighbouring Keszthely and Cserszegtomaj located close to the western shore of Lake Bala-

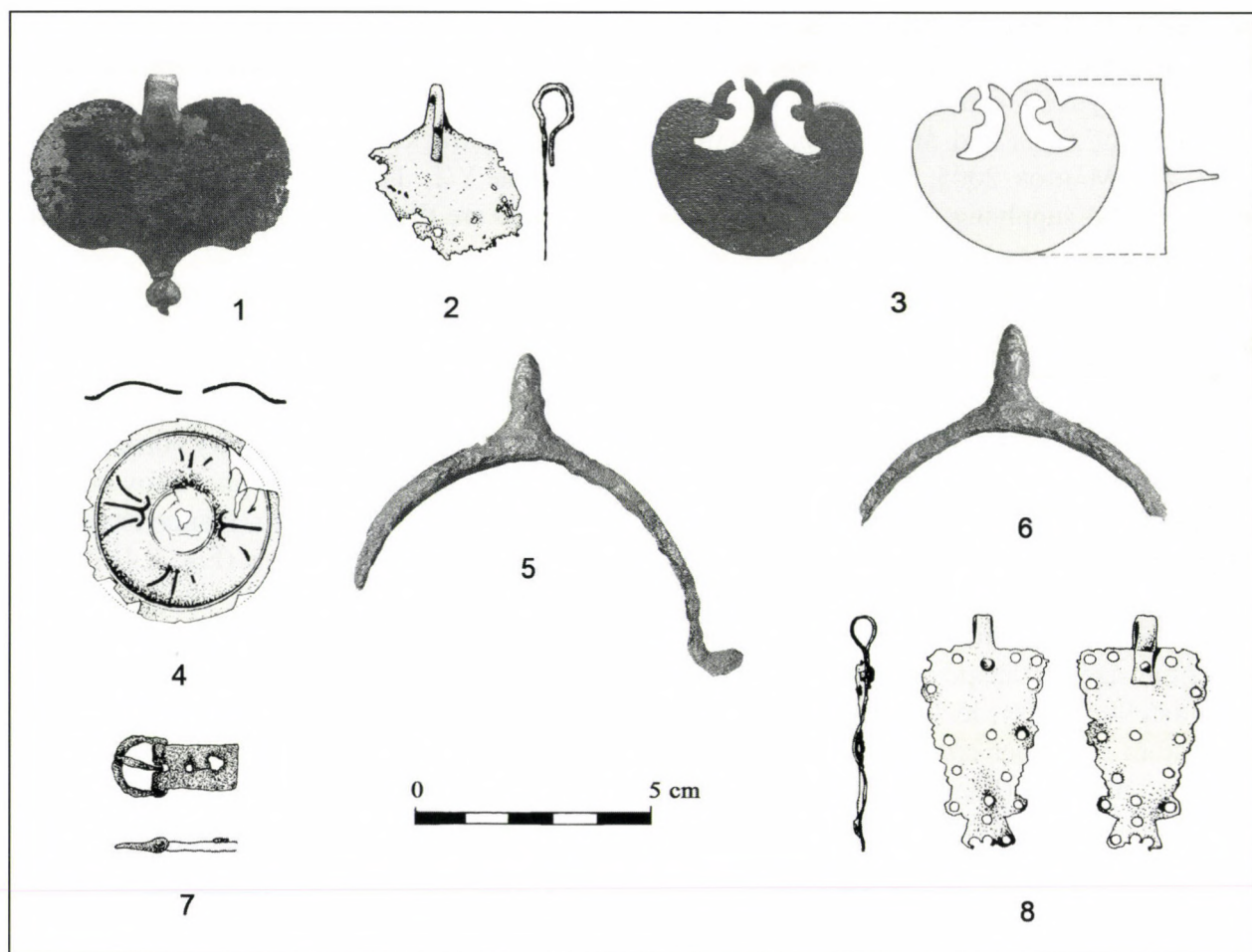


Fig. 6 Salla (Zalalövő, H). Roman military equipment from the territory of the 1st Century auxiliary fort (after REDŐ 2003b and REDŐ 2005)

ton, the Roman *lacus Pelso* (Fig. 7) (MRT 1 10/4; MÜLLER 1996, 85-86). Geographically it is also important, that the main Sopianae-Savaria road run through the Keszthely region (MÜLLER 1996, 85).

Thanks to the years of World War II the further history of the find was tragic and some of its chapters remained obscure. The official annual report on activity of the Archaeological Department from the year 1942 mentioned the whole assemblage among the actual new acquisitions of the National Museum. Despite in the inventory of the Roman Collection only the data of a fragmentary glass urn, the potteries and two spearheads were taken down (Fig. 8). The other metal finds, for instance the sword

and the shield boss were totally disappeared and never listed in the inventory, but luckily a photo from the archives represents these weapons.¹³ The description and classification of the lost weaponry is based on only this photo.

Although the exact circumstances of the discovery are unknown, one can assume that the finds from this assemblage are from a grave. Some years before the gift, early Roman graves were partly destroyed by a gravel quarry on the Dobogódomb and in 1938 a rich urn grave of a 15 years old youth with a spearhead was unearthed here (BÓNIS 1942, 262). Between 1946 and 1948 further four 1st Century graves were excavated by I. Szántó which clearly show the early Romanization of the area (SZÁNTÓ

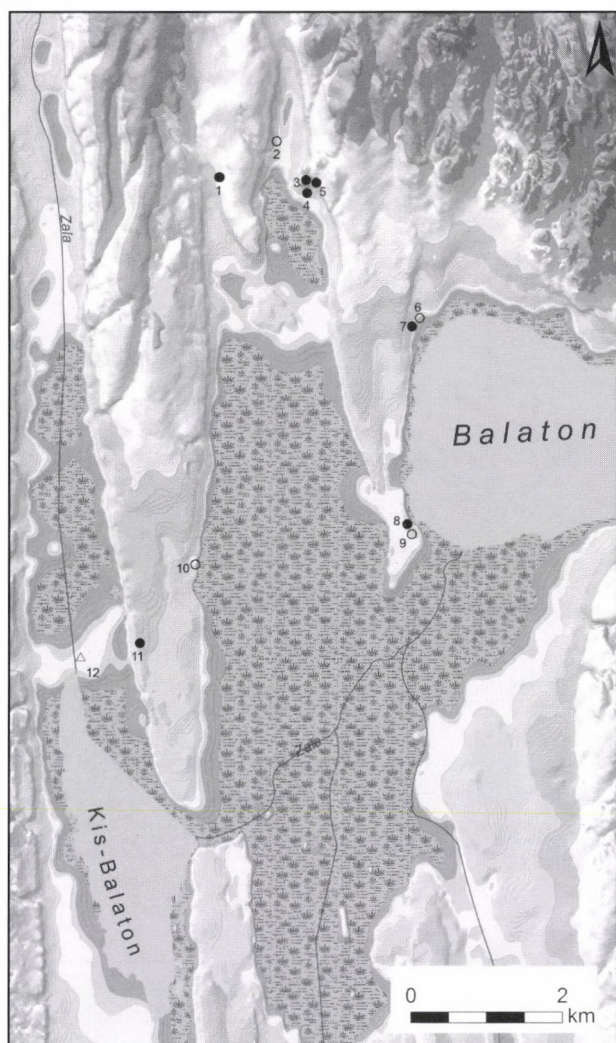


Fig. 7 The west Balaton region with the mouth area of River Sala/Zala, H. Early Roman sites and the location of the cemetery at Cserszegtomaj-Dobogódomb (Keszthely, Balaton Múzeum)

1953, 55-56; SZÁNTÓ 1977, 29-31; MRT 1 10/4; EGRI 2012, 513-514). Two of them – among other grave goods included imported potteries – consisted weapons as well. One cannot exclude the possibility that the finds from these two graves belonged to auxiliary soldiers or veterans. The defunct of the grave 12 besides a La-Tène type elongated especially long lance head were buried with a strong profiled and an Aucissa type brooch too (Fig. 9) (SZÁNTÓ 1953, 55). The latter one is generally connected to the

Roman army in provincial context (RIHA 1979, 114; ETTLINGER 1973, 94). The two N-Italic thin walled drinking cups date the grave to the second half of the 1st Century. The grave 24 also contained a spearhead, now lost, and a kantharos of late La-Tène type with the burnished convivial motto *da bibir* written in vulgar Latin (= *da bibere*) (Fig. 10) (SZÁNTÓ 1953, 56).

All this confirms that the finds of the 1942 gift would have really come to light from a grave in territory of the early Roman cemetery situated on the Dobogódomb, most probably in gravel working. Despite the absence of a clear archaeological context, the grave can be defined as a cremation burial with intact, secondary grave goods. The assemblage consists of eleven terra sigillata included one from the South-Gaulish workshop, La-Graufesenque of form Drag. 29¹⁴ and ten from the Padana workshops (VÁGÓ 1977, 98-99, Taf. I/2, 4-6, Taf. II/1, 5-6, 8-9, 11). Four of them can be classified as *catilli* of form Consp. 20 with L. M. V. stamps (CVARR 268, no 1085; GABLER 2003, 81-100 [approx. date 40-120 A.D.]) and six of form Consp. 34 with C. T. SVC (CVARR 416 no. 2028; GABLER 2000b, 90-94 [approx. date 30/40-80/85 A.D.]) and FES. CT *planta pedis*-shaped stamps (CVARR 416 no. 2023 [approx. date 30-80 A.D.]). A gray thin walled double-handled beaker of form 5 with gray brown slip is decorated with rouletting and dated probably to the Flavian period (Fig. 8.2). A good parallel of it is known from the Flavian grave 422 of the western cemetery in Poetovio (ISTENIČ 1999, 108-109).

The defunct was accompanied by his almost full weaponry, but without the richly decorated more expensive helmet and horse gear, which were the main symbol of the cavalry arm (NICOLAY 2002, 61-62; NICOLAY 2007, 171-173). His sword is atypical because it can be defined as some kind of a combination of a Roman *gladius* and an early *spatha* of variant Newstead of Straubing-Nyda type (Fig. 8.14) (MIKS 2007, 117-123). A similar atypical sword was pub-

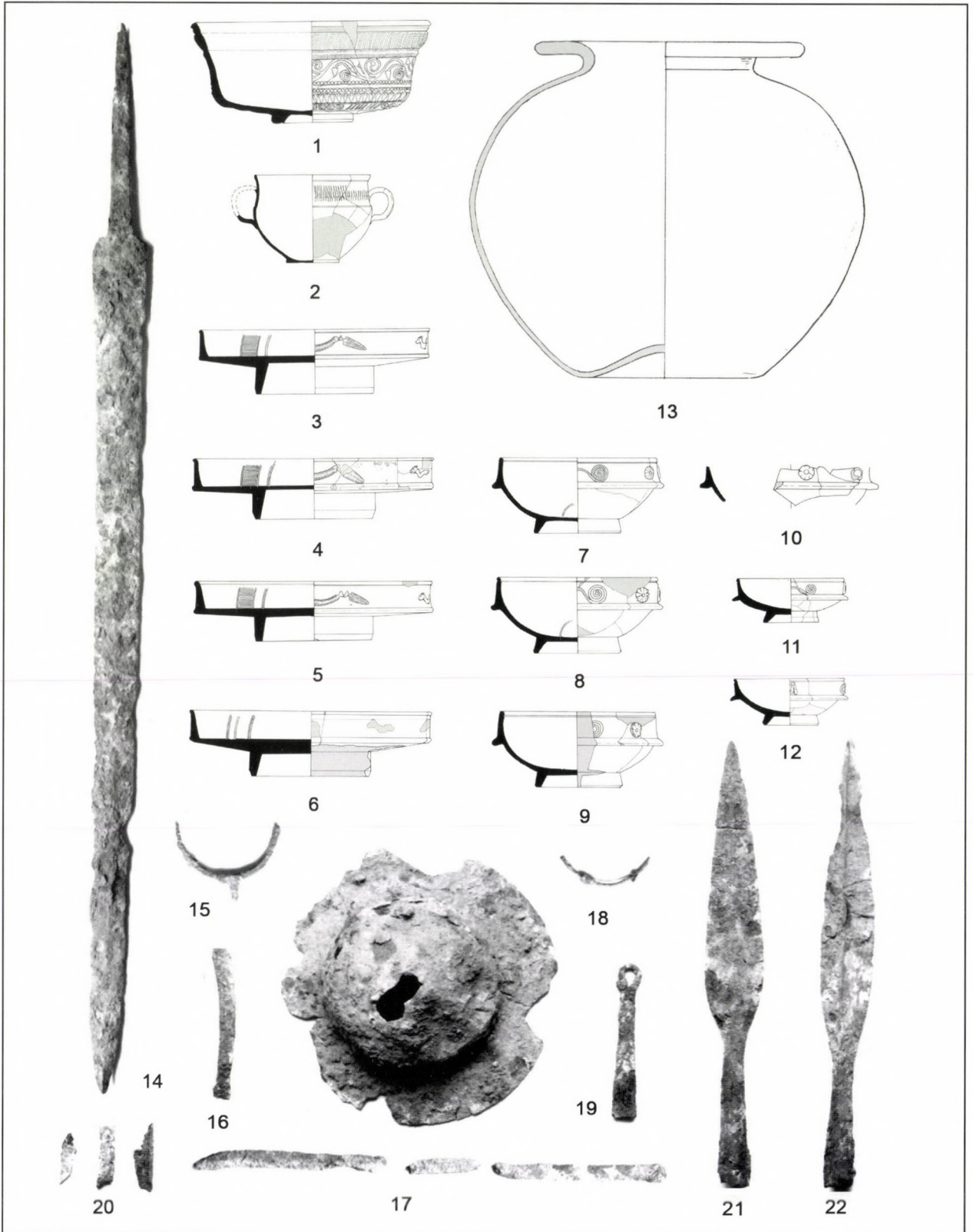


Fig. 8 Cserszegtömaj-Dobogódomb (County Zala, H). The grave goods of the weapon grave of an active or more probable a discharged auxiliary cavalryman, 3rd quarter of the 1st Century A.D. (drawing Zs. Mráv)

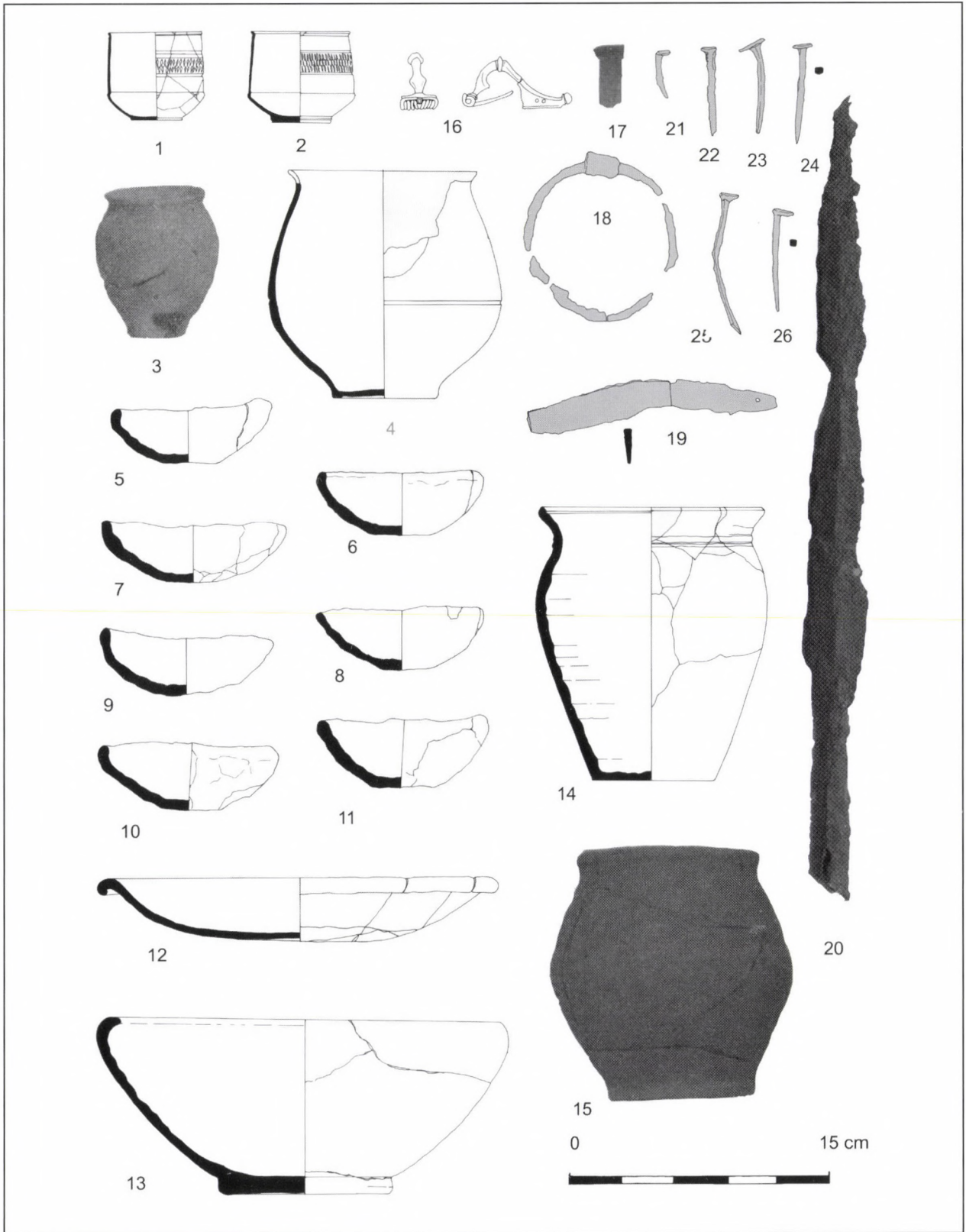


Fig. 9 Cserszegtömaj-Dobogódomb (County Zala, H), early Roman cemetery. Grave no. 12 (after SZÁNTÓ 1953, drawn by Zs. Mráv)

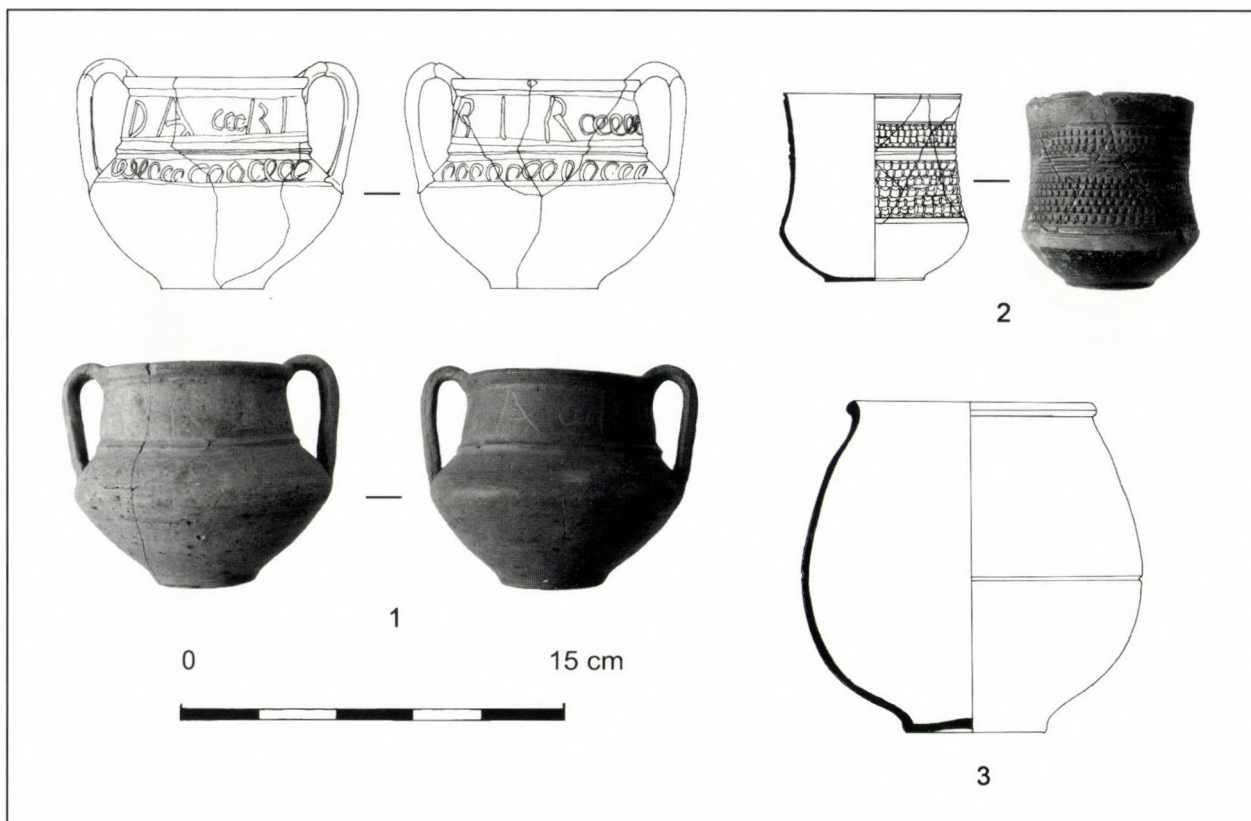


Fig. 10 Cserszegtomaj-Dobogódomb (County Zala, H) early Roman cemetery. Grave 24 (after SZÁNTÓ 1953, drawn by Zs. Mráv)

lished by M. DIZDAR and I. RADMAN-LIVAJA from Vinkovci (HR) (DIZDAR–RADMAN-LIVAJA 2004, 48-49).¹⁵ Moreover, it also display some non Roman influences. Thanks to these characteristics the Cserszegtomaj sword could be typologically defined as a semispatha of a new type. Based on its form, dimensions and typological characteristics – in spite of its *gladius*-like tip – the sword from Cserszegtomaj corresponds more to an equestrian than an infantry sword. This conclusion and the identification of its last owner as a cavalryman is confirmed by the presence of a spur among the buried equipment (two spurs of same type come from *Salla* (Fig. 6.5-6): REDŐ 2003, 14 Fig. 16; REDŐ 2005, 140 Fig. 12.3; and one from *Siscia*: RADMAN-LIVAJA 2004, 104 no. 391). The conical shield boss can be associated with the 1st–2nd century auxiliary (Fig. 8.17) (OESTERWIND 1989, 110-111; NABBEFELD 2008, 45-46). Several bosses of compara-

ble type are known from 1st century contexts, for instance weapon graves of auxiliary soldiers and veterans of mainly Celtic origin from the middle Rhine area, south-eastern Alps and middle Danube region. Besides the semispatha and a shield boss two iron lance heads were also among the weapons in the grave at Cserszegtomaj (Fig. 8.21-22). One of them is a narrow elongated leaf-shaped iron lance head widest in the middle with slightly pronounced midrib. Lance heads with midrib, going back directly to late La-Tène examples, occurred during the 1st Century A.D. The other same long lance head representing the Roman standard type had a somewhat longer closed socket and its shorter but a little bit wider blade was widest around its lower third.

The 1st Century weapon graves in N-Pannonia, including the Cserszegtomaj grave, are among the richest of the area. The Italic, mainly

tardo Padana terra sigillata are common and most characteristic grave goods of these early imperial weapon graves (MÁRTON 2008, 138). It is generally accepted that in the 1st Century besides the immigrants and the local elite families only the soldiers and veterans were the solvent customers for the expensive import ceramics (GABLER 1979, 199-200; MRÁV 2008, 289; MÁRTON 2008, 138). The Cserszegtomaj defunct was buried in an indigenous cemetery, suggesting that the deceased was a discharged soldier interred with his taken home weaponry, which had a symbolic significance. We must open the question concerning his ethnicity, because in the Balaton region auxiliary veterans of different origin - for instance *Treveri*, *Azali*, *Ituraei* - settled in the 1st-2nd Century A. D., as proved by military diplomas (MRÁV 2008, 287; MRÁV-VIDA 2008-2010, 156-158).

All this leads us to conclude that the buried owner of the weapons could be interpreted as a soldier or more probably a veteran from the auxiliary, who settled in the immediate western vicinity of Lake Balaton. Besides inscriptions and the five known military diplomas, numerous early militaria from non-military contexts also indicate the importance of this region with Mediterranean-like climate conditions among the auxiliary and legionary veterans (Fig. 11.1) (MRÁV 2008, 289). They began to settle here as early as the second half of 1st Century A.D. This tendency is clearly shown by an early-Flavian niello inlaid belt plate and an apron terminal¹⁶ from the territory of a villa settlement at Nemesvámos-Balácapuszta (MRÁV 2008, 279-294). The *cingulum* with apron can be directly or indirectly connected with the semisubterranean houses under the first villa building (CSIRKE 2005, 25-51, MRÁV 2008, 288-289). These dwellings of local type can be dated to the last decades of the 1st or latest beginning of the 2nd Century by several fragments of tardo Padana terra sigillata of form Consp. 39/43 collected from their infill (CSIRKE 2005, 26-32). With the help of the fittings belonged to a mili-

tary belt and the semisubterranean dwellings we can reconstruct the beginning of the later villa, which developed from a veteran settlement. The same process took place in the case of the villa estate at Gyulafirátót-Pogánytelek (County Veszprém, H), where not only Po Valley and South-Gaulish terra sigillata fragments prove the existence of a veteran settlement in the pre-villa phase¹⁷, in the late 1st Century, but also a military belt buckle of Flavian type (Fig. 11.2).

Keszthely and its surroundings situated not far from the Amber Road served as a military road up to the reign of Trajan. The 1st Century earth-and-timber auxiliary fort of *Salla* was not only the closest fort, but the *Salla/Zala* River linked it directly with the Keszthely region as the shortest natural route (Fig. 1). Maybe the defunct of the Cserszegtomaj grave served in a fort built along the Amber Road, most probably in *Salla*.

After this excursion in the wider geographical region of the Amber Road, we come to the point, the occupation system of the Road itself.

4. Rum (Vas-County, H), a possible military station

In 1983 a road station was excavated North of the village Rum (E. TÓTH, RégFüz. I/37, 1984, 54, No. 85), at the western bank of the river Rába/Raab, the ancient *Arrabo* where not the Amber Road but in the vicinity of it, the *Savaria-Sopianae* road cross the river. At this crossing point a permanent bridge was built during the 180s (TÓTH 1998, 23; TÓTH 2008, 670). The small scale excavation unearthed not only the foundation of 2-3rd Century stone buildings, but also a 1st Century apron fitting (Fig. 12), which presumes the existence of a military station or post at this crossing point.

According to the view of M. Feugère the small copper alloy rivets with male portrait are generally classified as apron fittings manufactured in a central workshop at Besançon and elsewhere (FEUGÈRE 1985, 123-125; RADMAN-

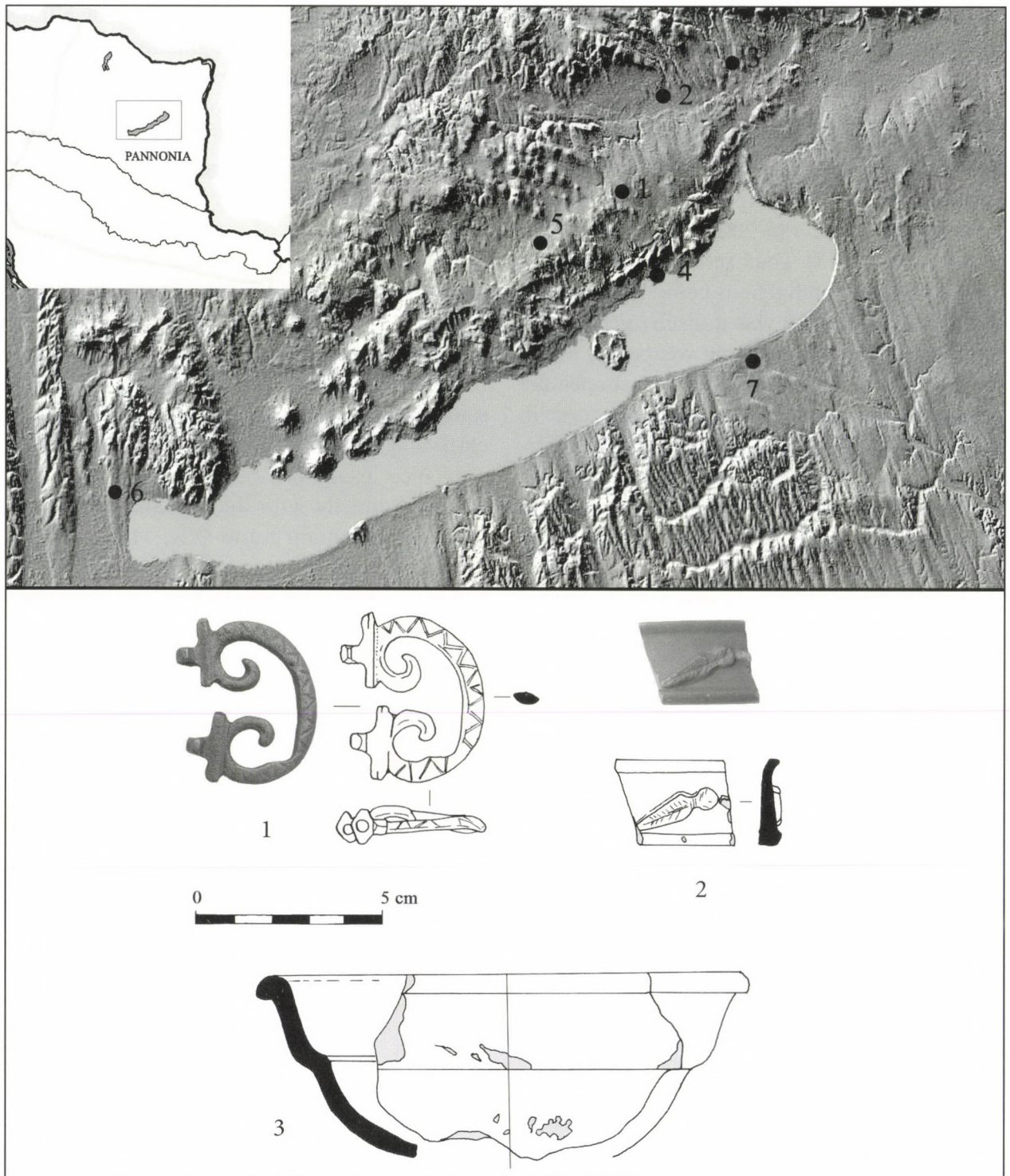


Fig. 11.1 Map shows the find-sites connected with veterans from the Balaton region. 1. Nemesvámos-Balácapusza, 2. Gyulafirátót-Pogánytelek, 3. Öskü, 4. Csopak, 5. Tótvázsony, 6. Dobogódomb which nowadays administratively belongs to the neighbouring Keszthely and Csesztomaj, 7. Siófok (drawing Zs. Mráv)

Fig. 11.2 Gyulafirátót-Pogánytelek (County Veszprém, H). Peltate belt buckle of a cingulum and 1st Century terra sigillata finds from the territory of the later villa-settlement (drawing Zs. Mráv)

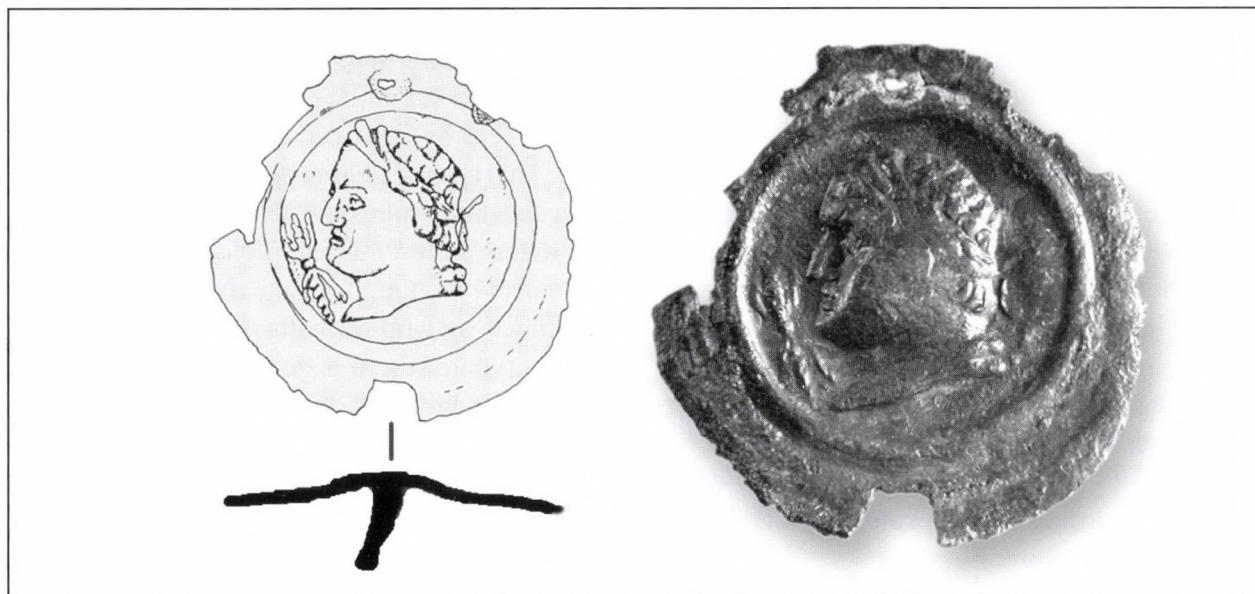


Fig. 12 Rum (Vas-County, H). Drawing and photo of the copper-alloy apron fitting (?)

LIVAJA 2004, 89-91). The generalizing of this interpretation is not without problem, because the carriages from the wagon graves at Káloz and Budaörs in Pannonia inferior (MRÁV 2006, 59; MRÁV 2011, 15-16), furthermore at Brezovo (БОТУШАРОВА 1948, 117 Abb. 32) and Karanovo (КЪНЧЕВ—КЪНЧЕВА-РУСЕВА 1996, 65 Tab. XXV/4a-b; IGNATOV et al. 2011, Pl. 7.1, 5-6) in Thracia are decorated with such fittings. It is not excluded that in these 2nd Century contexts the fittings concerned were transformed with attaching a butt and secondary reused.

5. Savaria (Szombathely, Vas-County, H), Claudian veteran colony

The Roman town of Savaria was a Claudian colony, which was founded by the deduction of veterans discharged from the *XV Apollinaris* legion (ALFÖLDI JUN. 1943, 80-86; MÓCSY 1959, 36-37; TÓTH 1998, 17; TÓTH 2008, 665-666). Although some scholars formerly hypothesized that Savaria may have been an important military base (namely the fortress of the 15th legion) before its foundation (TÓTH 1977, 96-97; TÓTH 1980, 254-265; TÓTH 1998, 16; TÓTH 2008, 667-668) but the large surface

investigations so far have not unearthed finds, terra sigillata vessels or traces of military fortifications surely dated to the pre-Claudian period. Until now the early militaria were not to be found and published from the territory of the Roman city either. But in course of the intensive excavations recently carried out in the southern suburbium of the town, mainly inside of the *temenos* of the famous Isis sanctuary and its surroundings by O. Sosztarits yielded an extremely rich material of 1st Century military equipment and horse gear¹⁸. From the earliest stratas come to light mainly infantry equipment, namely hinged buckles (Fig. 13.1-2) and tie loops belonged to the articulated plate armours of the Corbridge type (Fig. 13.3) (BISHOP 2002, 31-45), button-and-loop fasteners (Fig. 13.9-13), one of them niello inlaid. The bone button fastener with trapezoidal loop belongs to the Wild's type X (Fig. 13.8). Its separately made bone button is missing. It was used for hanging weapons or it was served for packing cargo (DESCHLER-ERB 1991, 36; BOUBE-PICCOT 1994, 90-92; DESCHLER-ERB 1999, 68; for a specimen from Siscia, see: RADMAN-LIVAJA 2004, 92). The most important find origin from a lower layer of

the Amber Road run in front of the Iseum¹⁹ is a scabbard fitting in the shape of a palmetto (Fig. 13.4). These fittings decorated the scabbard, immediately above the scabbard chapes of the Pompeii type *gladii* dated generally from Claudian to Flavian period (ULBERT 1969, 111-115; MIKS 2007, 232). The Savaria specimen represents the later, simpler variant of the type, like the published fitting of same type from the auxiliary fort at Carnuntum (HUMER [Hrsg.] 2006, 169 Kat. Nr. 579, 156, Abb. 217). The two circular rivet with a male bust in the right profile (Fig. 13.5-6) were originally attached to decorative belt stripes, i.e. apron strips (FEUGÈRE 1985 – and see above).

The horse harness fittings contain a silver plated and niello inlaid strap terminal (Fig. 14.2), a strap mount (Fig. 14.3) and a junction loop (Fig. 14.1), as well as a pendant of Bishop type 7b (Fig. 14.7) (BISHOP 1988, 149, 151). The hook of the latter was broken down. The peltate pendant of Bishop 3c in Fig. 14.9 was originally decorated by a relief, done by applying a lead and tin alloy. The pendant was attached by a hook to a disc shaped fasteners with a single hoop. It was also decorated by a relief decoration of bright metal blend. The other but significantly larger peltate pendant of thin sheet bronze can be attributed to the Bishop's subtype 9p (Fig. 14.11). A similar but intact piece is known from Carnuntum (JOBST [Hrsg.] 1992, 198 Nr. 159). The amber phallos-amulet pendant is from outside of the temenos, from the lowest layer right above the subsoil (Fig. 15.1.1-3).

The archaeological excavation carried out at Rákóczi Ferenc street 3 (Bartók hall) by P. Kiss and P. Skriba in 2006 (RKM 2007, 288) also resulted some early military finds.²⁰ The site is located in the southern suburbium, very close to the Iseum, right on the opposite side of the Amber Road. The most characteristic find of the excavation is a belt buckle (Fig. 15.2.3) belonging to the second variant of the 1st Century peltate buckles ('Form B' of E. Deschler-Erb). The ends of the pelta of this variant are scrolled and

the narrow widening terminates in two volutes (DESCHLER-ERB 1999, 41; see also GREW-GRIFFITS 1991, 75; a similar specimen was published from Siscia by RADMAN LIVAJA 2004, Cat. no. 205). This type of peltate belt buckles was in use from the late Augustan period and was fallen into disuse in the Flavian period. The two long and narrow rectangular plate fixed by two rivets are tinned and inlaid with niello (Fig. 15.2.1-2). The type of them is generally reckoned as a scabbard ledge of *gladii* (DESCHLER-ERB 1997, 15), however, Ch. Miks has recently not classified them among the scabbard fittings. The heart-shaped or more accurately peltate fitting with kidney shaped perforations (Fig. 15.2.4) can be attributed to horse equipment and can generally be dated from the second half of the 1st Century until the middle of the 2nd Century (DESCHLER-ERB 1999, 70; RADMAN-LIVAJA 2004, 109).

Additionally I have found in the Bitnitz collection got into the Hungarian National Museum a most probably Flavian lunulate apron terminal of Savarian provenance (Fig. 13.7) (HNM inv. no. RR 132.1872.III.16. unpublished – for the type, see comprehensively BISHOP 1992, 81-104; AURRECOECHA FERNÁNDEZ 1998, 37-41). Similar apron terminals are also known from Lussonium (Paks-Dunakömlöd) (FAZEKAS 2009, 46-48, 64 Taf. 2.1) and Carnuntum-Pfaffenberg (JOBST et al. 1986, 78, Abb. 9.52/85). The bone 'amulet' with phallus motif were cut from the base of a red-deer antler (Fig. 15.1.4). It was probably attached to horse harness in the 1st and 2nd centuries and worn on the horse's chest (DESCHLER-ERB 1997, Taf. 60 n. 1663-1668).²¹ The item of Savarian provenance also belongs to the Bitnitz collection (HNM inv. no. RR 132.1872.VIII.3).

Anyway, I must emphasize that all of the mentioned militaria come from contexts dated after the foundation of the colony (MRÁV in press). In spite of the presence of numerous military equipment finds in the case of Savaria neither inscriptions nor terra sigillata finds pro-

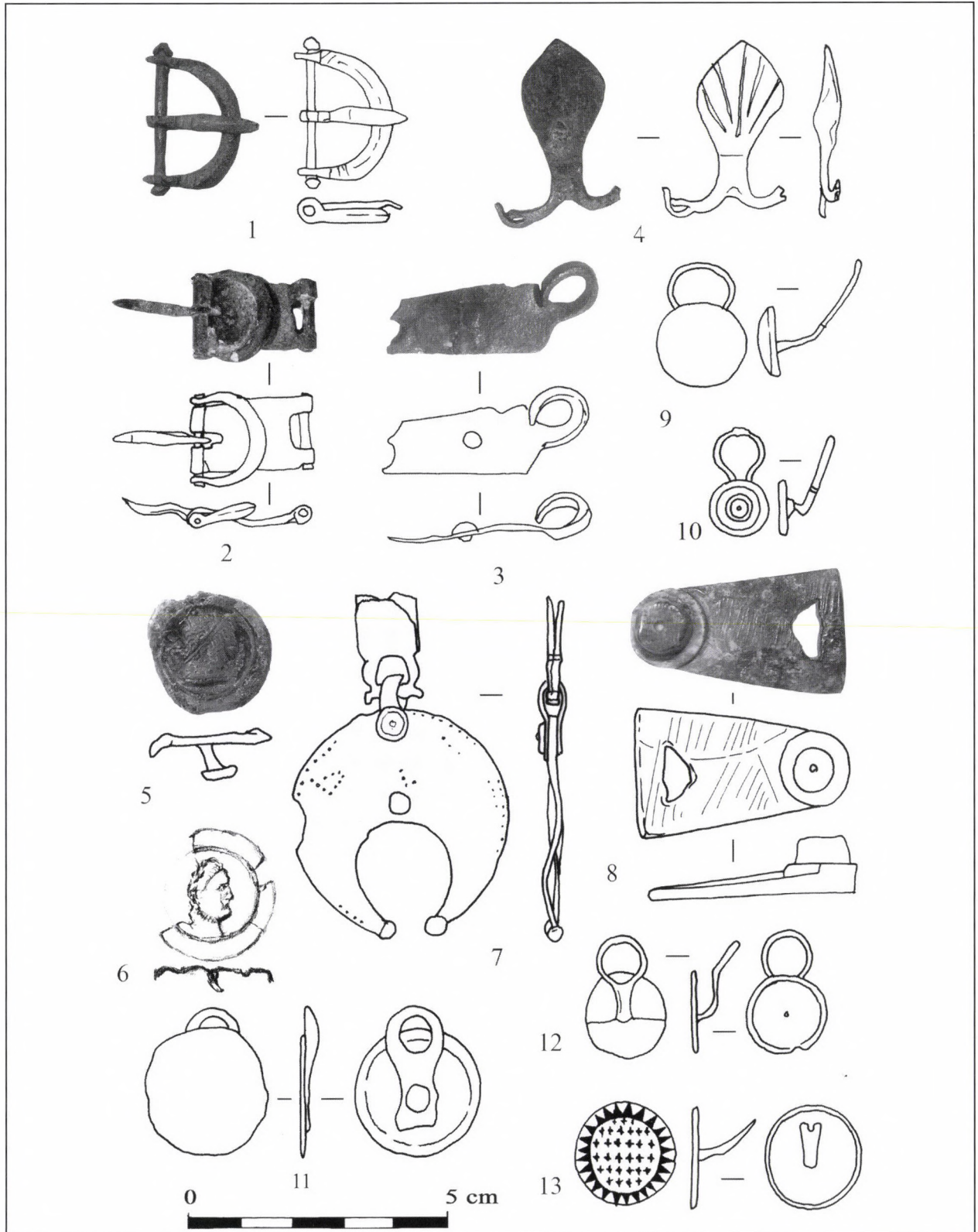


Fig. 13 Savaria (Szombathely, Vas-County, H). 1st Century military equipment from the city and its southern suburbium. Infantry equipment. (photo and drawing Zs. Mráv)

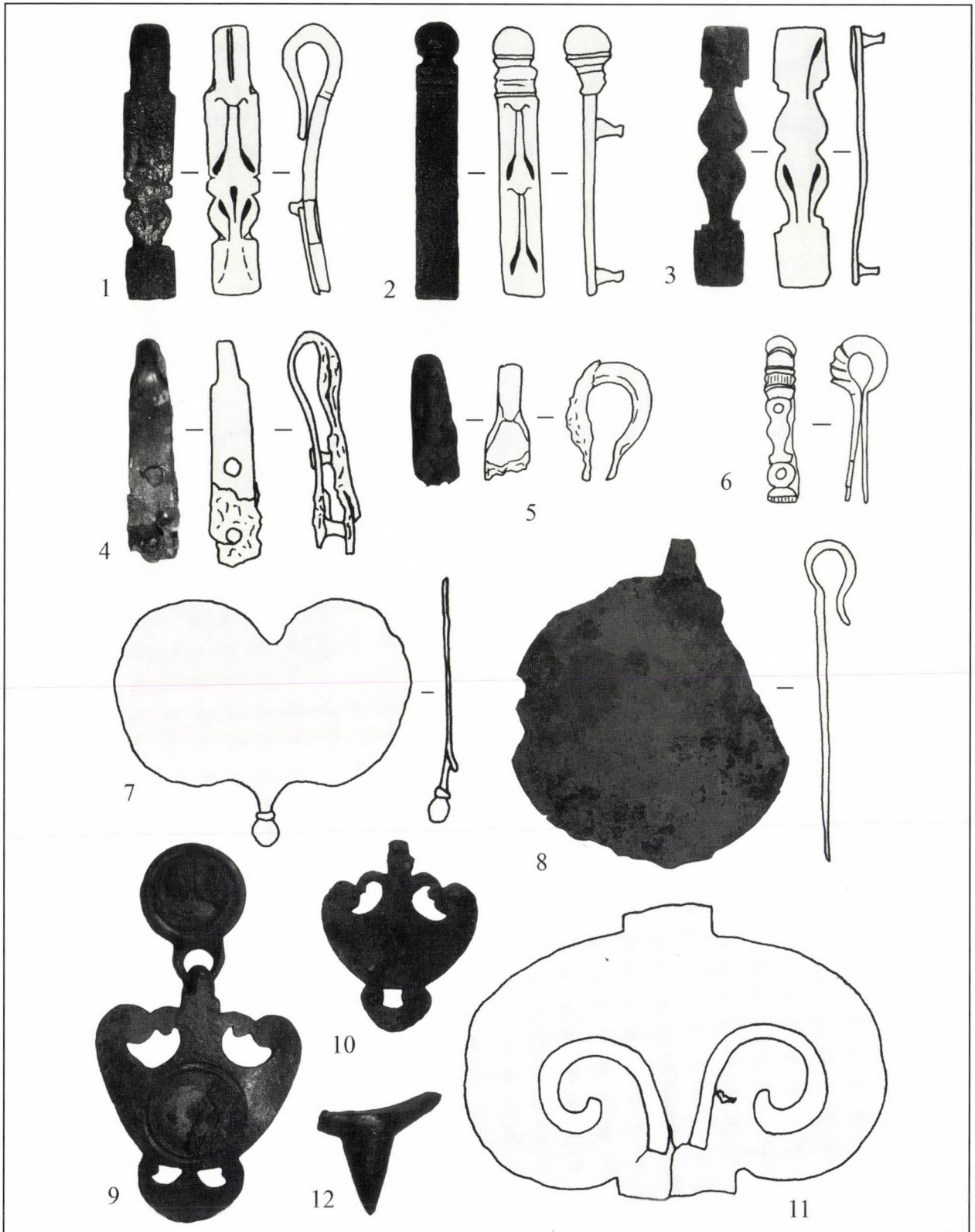


Fig. 14 Savaria (Szombathely, Vas-County, H). 1st Century military equipment from the city and its southern suburbium. Cavalry equipment I. (photo and drawing Zs. Mráv)

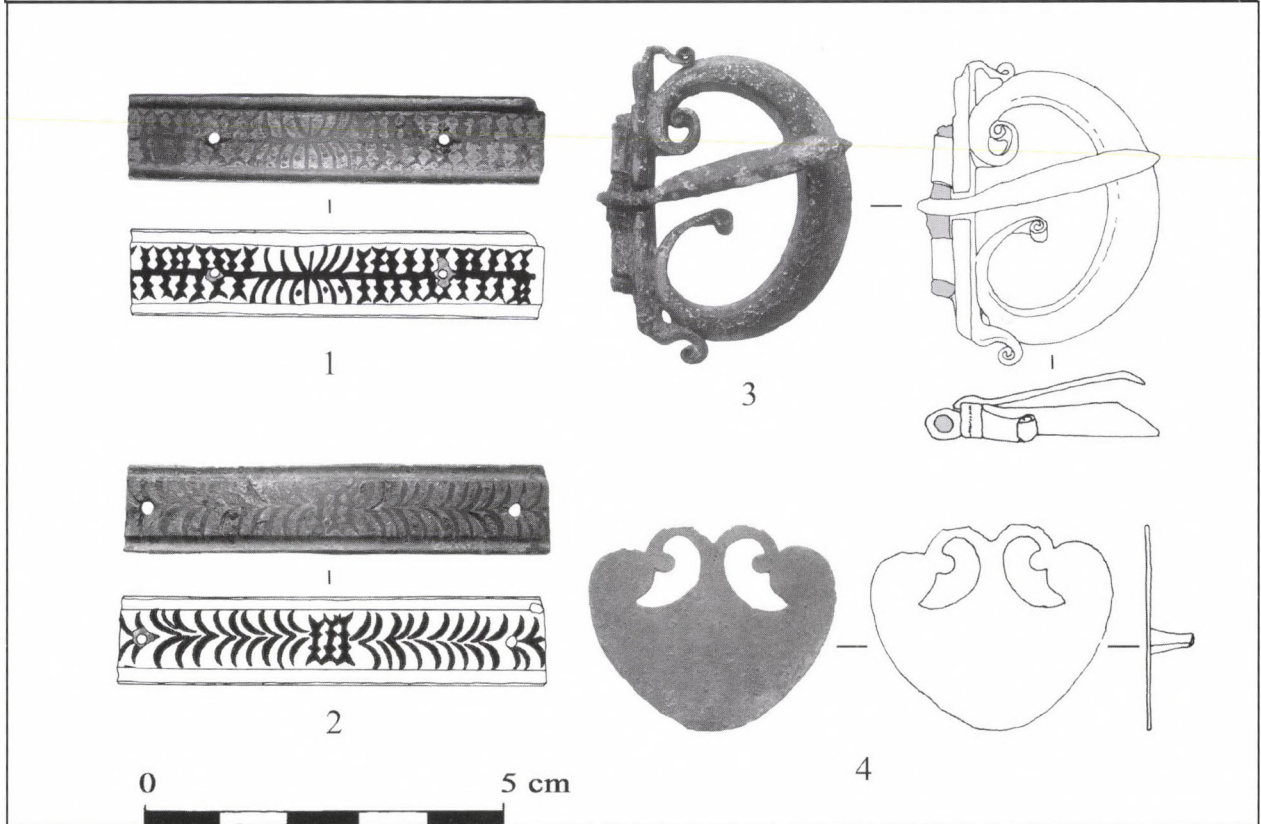
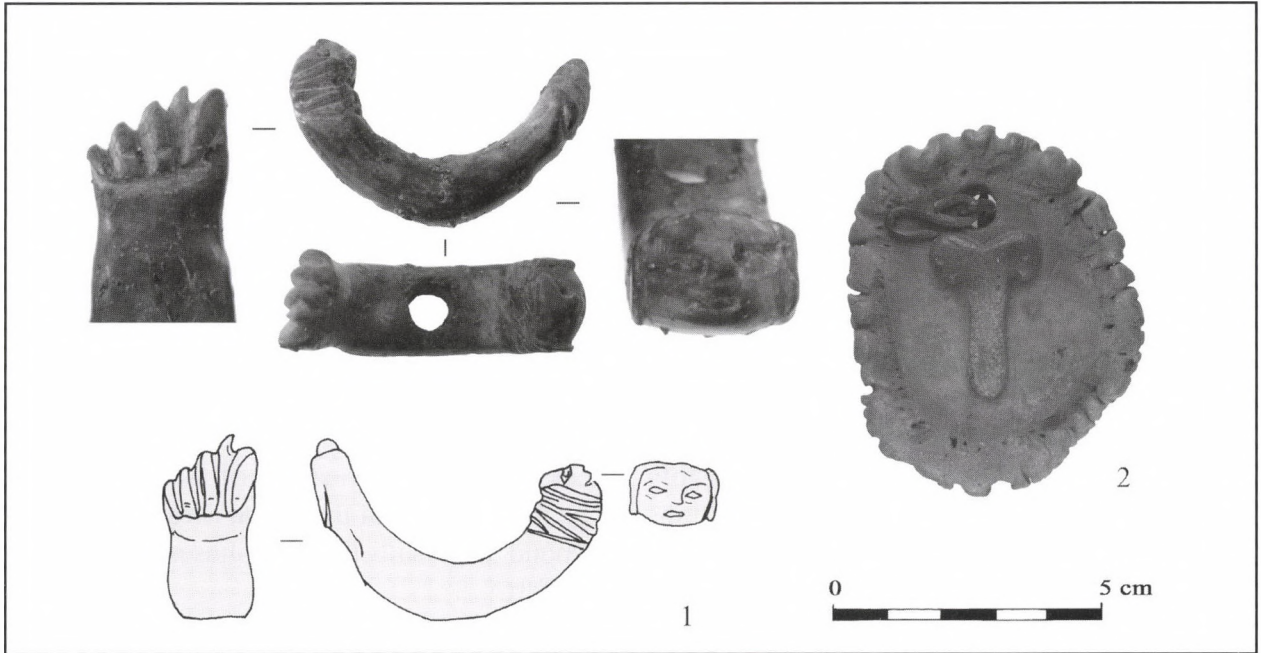


Fig. 15.1 Savaria (Szombathely, Vas-County, H). 1st Century military equipment from the city and its southern suburbium. Cavalry equipment II. (photo and drawing Zs. Mráv)

Fig. 15.2 Savaria (Szombathely, Vas-County, H), southern suburbium (Rákóczi Ferenc street 3 – Bartók Hall). 1-2: tinned and niello inlaid bronze fittings; 3: peltate belt buckle; 4: heart shaped or peltate fitting (photo and drawing Zs. Mráv)

vide evidence of a pre-Claudian longer-lived military fort or especially a legionary fortress. Of course, this does not preclude the possibility of the existence of a temporary military camp before the foundation period, like in Emona where A. Gaspari brought to light such a short-lived camp without any find material under the first level of the late Augustan-early Tiberian city (GASPARI 2010, 113-125). The early layers in Emona revealed fairly numerous militaria but only from contexts dated after the foundation of the city²². These militaria show the strong presence of Roman soldiers (who most probably carried out larger scale public constructions and engineering projects – for instance forum, city walls, road network or water conduit: HORSTER 2001, 168-187) and veterans (ALFÖLDI JUN. 1943, 80-86; MÓCSY 1959, 36-37; TÓTH 2008, 666-668) in the early period of the 1st Century cities along the Amber Road, not only in Savaria but also in Emona (GASPARI 2010, 88-99) and Scarbantia (for the explanation of militaria in urban context, see: NICOLAY 2007, 189-193).

6. *Strebersdorf/Répcemcske (Burgenland/A), three phases auxiliary fort*

Along the section of the Amber Road in Middle-Burgenland, Austria between Strebersdorf and Frankenau in 2007 a *vicus* and three military camps of different size were discovered by geophysical survey (Fig. 16) (GROH 2009, 175-187). The site situated around 25 km far in the middle between two urban centres, the Claudian colony of Savaria and the Flavian municipality of Scarbantia and west from the confluence of Raiding and Stoober streams, which flow into the Rabnitz/Répcse River in the vicinity. The first, almost square-shaped fort was the biggest among the three with its 145 to 150 m (around 2,2 hectare) measure. It was defended by a single *fossa* (GROH 2009, 181 Abb. 4) with rounded corners and 3 m wide palisaded *agger*. In 2009 a junction loop of type Bishop 2a (Fig. 22.2)²³ was unearthed from its *fossa* which – together with an Augustan cup –

dates the construction of the camp latest to the reign of Tiberius'. The garrison of the fort must have been the *ala Pannoniorum*, because active soldiers of this troop were buried at that time at Peresznye which lies only 4 km far from the site (Fig. 17) (RIU 215-217).

The second fort was built inside of the first fort in the second half of the 1st Century and its size reduced to 105 x 150 m. The second fort adapted to the axis of symmetry of the first one. Its NE and SW fossa-sections and probably also the gates in the middle of these sides were identical with the constructions of the earliest fort. The three phases of the fort at Strebersdorf correspond well with the two phases *Salla auxiliari* fort.

Besides the Bishop 2a type junction loop (Fig. 16.2), a scabbard terminal of a Mainz type *gladius* (Fig. 16.3) and a hinged strap fitting belonged to articulated plate armour were also found on the site.²⁴

7. *Scarbantia (Sopron, County Győr-Moson-Sopron, H), municipium*

Scarbantia was the earliest Roman civil settlement along the Amber Road North of Poetovio (GÖMÖRI 1994, 251-261; GÖMÖRI 2003, 82-83). According to its *oppidum Iulium Scarbantiensium* name mentioned by Pliny the Elder it was a Tiberian settlement founded simultaneously with the first permanent legionary fortress of Carnuntum (GABLER 1994, 384). It might have been a *municipium* which was refounded by Domitian (PAVAN 1955, 421; KOVÁCS 2002, 147-175; KOVÁCS in FPA I, 216-222). Until now only tombstones of veterans from the *XV Apollinaris* legion were known from the early period, which proved that several legionary veterans have already settled in the city itself or its territory in the Tiberian period (RIU 182-183, 185, 192, 194, 197, 199?). H. J. Ubl recently published a handle of a bronze casserole with dot punched inscription *Cl(audius) Tr(- - -) pr(inceps) le(gionis) XV [Apol(linaris)]* (UBL 2008a, 146; AE 2008, 1077). The findspot of

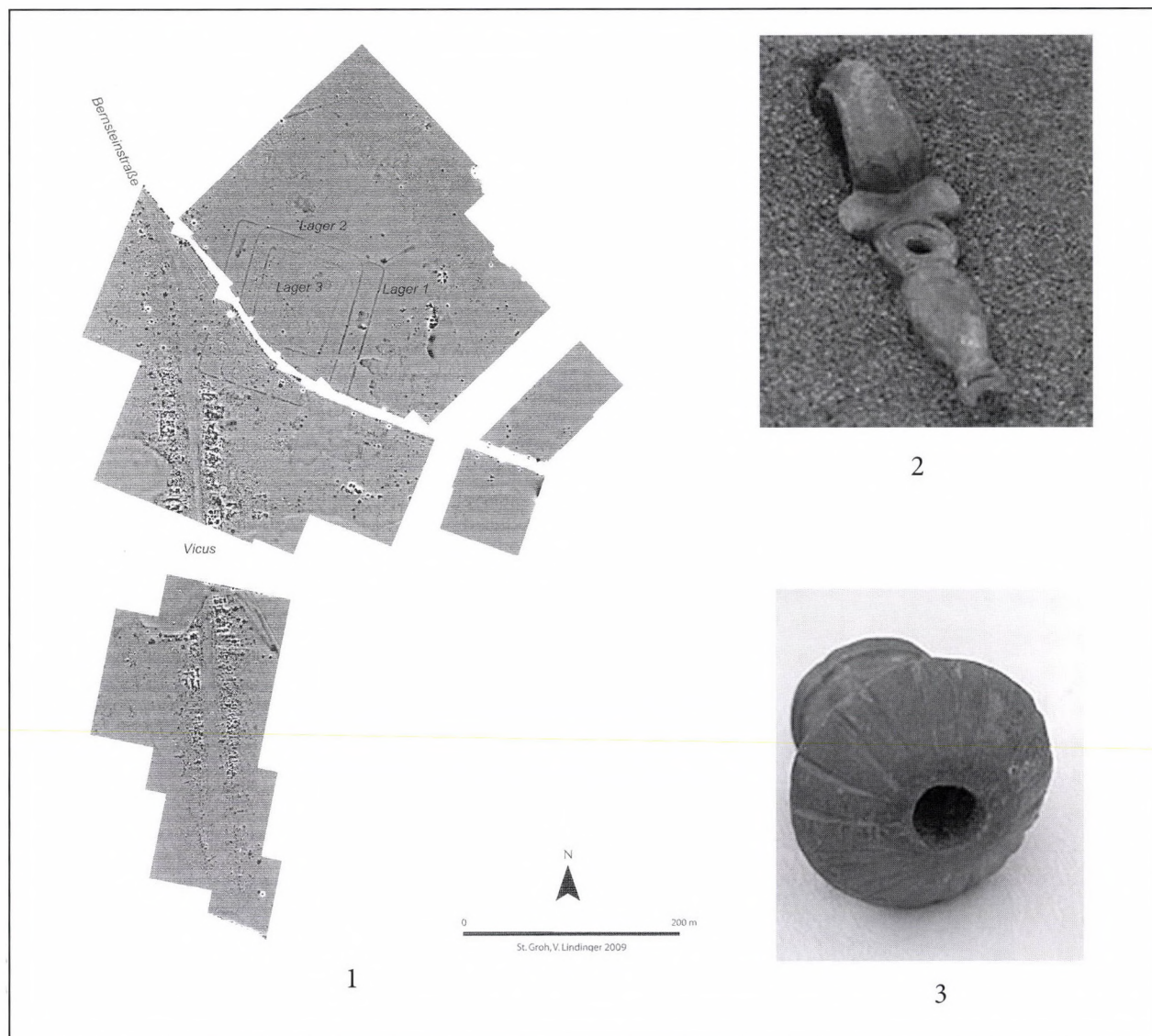
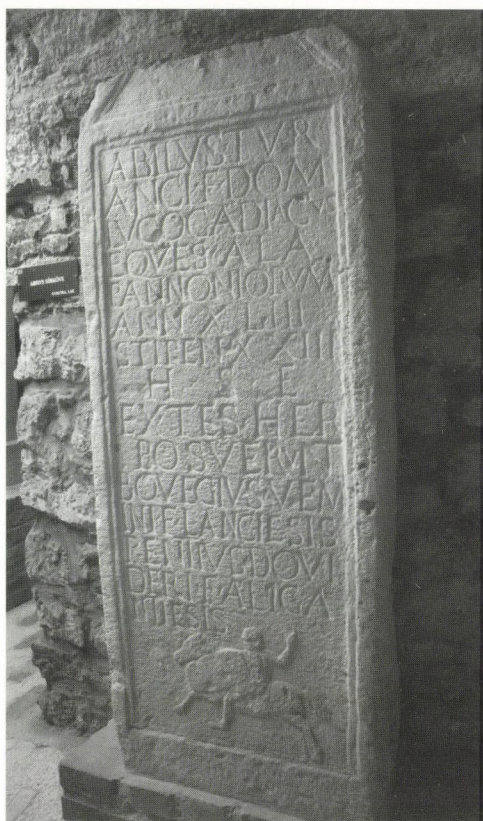


Fig. 16 Strebersdorf/Répcemicske (Burgenland, A), three phases auxiliary fort after the geophysical survey and some militaria from the territory of the forts (after GROH 2009 and <http://burgenland.orf.at/stories/390500>)

the inscribed handle is Müllendorf (Burgenland, A) situated on the municipal territory of Scarbantia, so the quondam owner of this vessel was a legionary veteran. The provenance of a 1st Century copper alloy *cingulum* buckle decorated with geometrical niello inlays in the collection of Sopron Museum is also Scarbantia, a cremation grave excavated in 1895 in Csengery street, in the Southern cemetery of the Roman city (Fig. 18.3) (BELLA 1895, 399-400

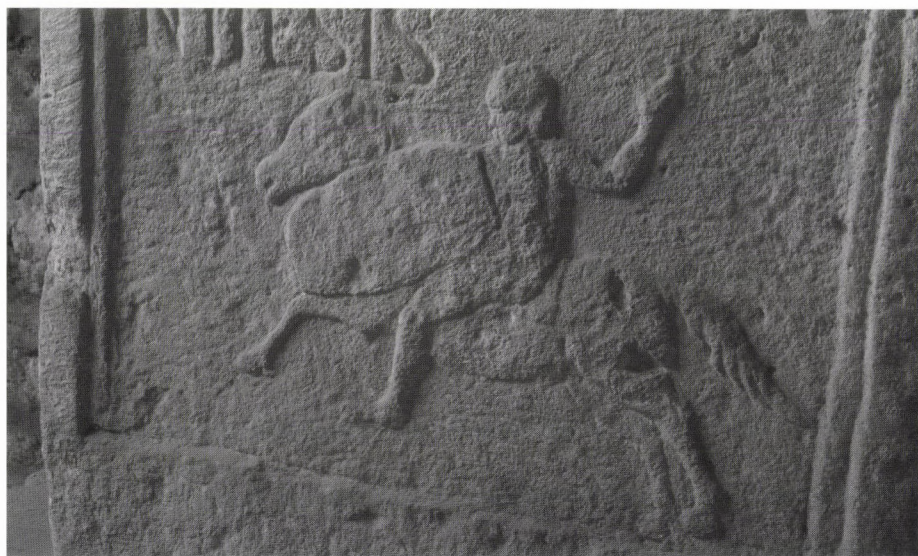
Fig. 25a-b). The defunct of this grave was most probably a legionary veteran. These discharged soldiers, or some of them may have taken part of their equipment with them and as military symbols they kept them in their new homes. Close to the forum in the city centre, under the Városház street an early imperial socketed pilum and the upper third of an early 1st Century *gladius* of Mainz type come to light from unknown context (Fig. 18.1). The shape of the



1



2



3

Fig. 17 Peresznye (Vas-County, H). Stelae of active auxiliary cavalry soldiers of the *ala Pannoniorum*, middle decades of 1st Century A.D. (photo: O. Harl)

gladius is almost identical with the fragmented sword from the „Hoard of Vrhnika” dated to the Augustan period (ISTENIČ 2003, 284-286 Fig. 1). The fragment of an unpublished scabbard guttering with U-shaped cross section together with the scabbard chape of a Pompeii type *gladius* is kept in the Zettl-Langer private collection in Sopron, which must have been a local find (Fig. 18.2). The peltate pendant of Bishop’s subtype 3c from the collection of Sopron Museum was attached to the horse harness by a hook at the back (Fig. 18.4). It can be dated to the middle of the 1st Century until the first decades of the 2nd Century (BISHOP 1988, 96; DESCHLER-ERB 1999, 56-57; RADMAN-LIVAJA 2004, 110-111).

8. Sankt Georgen/Lajtaszentgyörgy (Burgenland, A), early imperial weapon graves (?) of auxiliary soldiers or veterans

In Sankt Georgen lies in Burgenland around the distance of 18 km northwards from the Roman city of Scarbantia (Fig. 1), very close to the Amber Road during the digging of a cellar most probably more graves of an early Roman cemetery were found and destroyed in 1918 or 1919. Due to the accidental finding circumstances the precise archaeological context is not known. The collected metal finds were partly lost during the final period of the II World War in 1945, partly got into the collection of Burgenlandisches Landesmuseum, Eisenstadt in 1949. Among the lost objects a long sword with narrow blade and more spearheads were announced by the last owner of the assemblage. H. Mitscha-Märheim published the remained finds in 1952 as a late Roman funerary assemblage and dated them to the end of the 4th - beginning of the 5th Century (MITSCHA-MÄRHEIM 1952, 49-54). In the light of the new analysis, this date proved to be erroneous. Namely besides a bronze jug²⁵, iron nails as well as two knives the remaining material consists of two elongated spearheads and a *gladius* of Mainz type (Fig. 19.1) (ULBERT 1969,

128 Kat. Nr. 18; MIKS 2007, 733 Kat. Nr. A 694 Taf. 24). The mysterious object no. 7 on Fig. 19 deserves special attention. It was misinterpreted as a scabbard chape of unique type not only by its first publisher, H. Mitscha-Märheim (MITSCHA-MÄRHEIM 1952, 50) but also recently by Ch. Miks (MIKS 2007, 733 Kat. Nr. A 694 Taf. 24). In spite of their view it can be attributed with certainty to a fragmentary Germanic belt buckle of typ Madyda-Legutko A/8 (Fig. 19.7). According to R. Madyda-Legutko’s typochronology the belt buckle of type A/8 was produced in free Germany in the period of B1b (MADYDA-LEGUTKO 1986, 5-6). It is conspicuous that this date is in accordance with the Mainz type *gladius*, because both of them can be dated to the first half of 1st Century A.D. Based on their similar date it is not excluded that the belt with Germanic belt buckle served as a military belt for that auxiliary soldier who owned the sword itself. The Roman-Germanic mixed auxiliary equipment and weaponry is not exceptional among the soldiers stationed in Pannonia and elsewhere (MRÁV 2006, 55-59). Like the Sankt Georgen assemblage these mixed equipments often contained Germanic belt components (Csopak-Kökoporsódomb [County Veszprém, H]²⁶, Inota tumulus 1 [County Veszprém, H]: PALÁGYI 1981, 36 Kat. Nr. 1.3.15 Taf. IV. 9). In addition the surface of every iron object was covered by so called iron scale (consists essentially of the magnetic oxide of iron) (MITSCHA-MÄRHEIM 1952, 50), which means that the finds come from cremation graves (MITSCHA-MÄRHEIM 1952, 50, 54). Of course, without any context it cannot be decided whether the objects belonged to one or more destroyed graves. The only thing we can say is that among the graves concerned there was at least one weapon grave of an active or discharged auxiliary infantry soldier and this grave contained the Mainz type *gladius* can be dated to the period not later than the second quarter of the 1st Century.

If we look at the map showing the early geographical situation of the region, gaps can be easily recognized in the chain of the military sta-

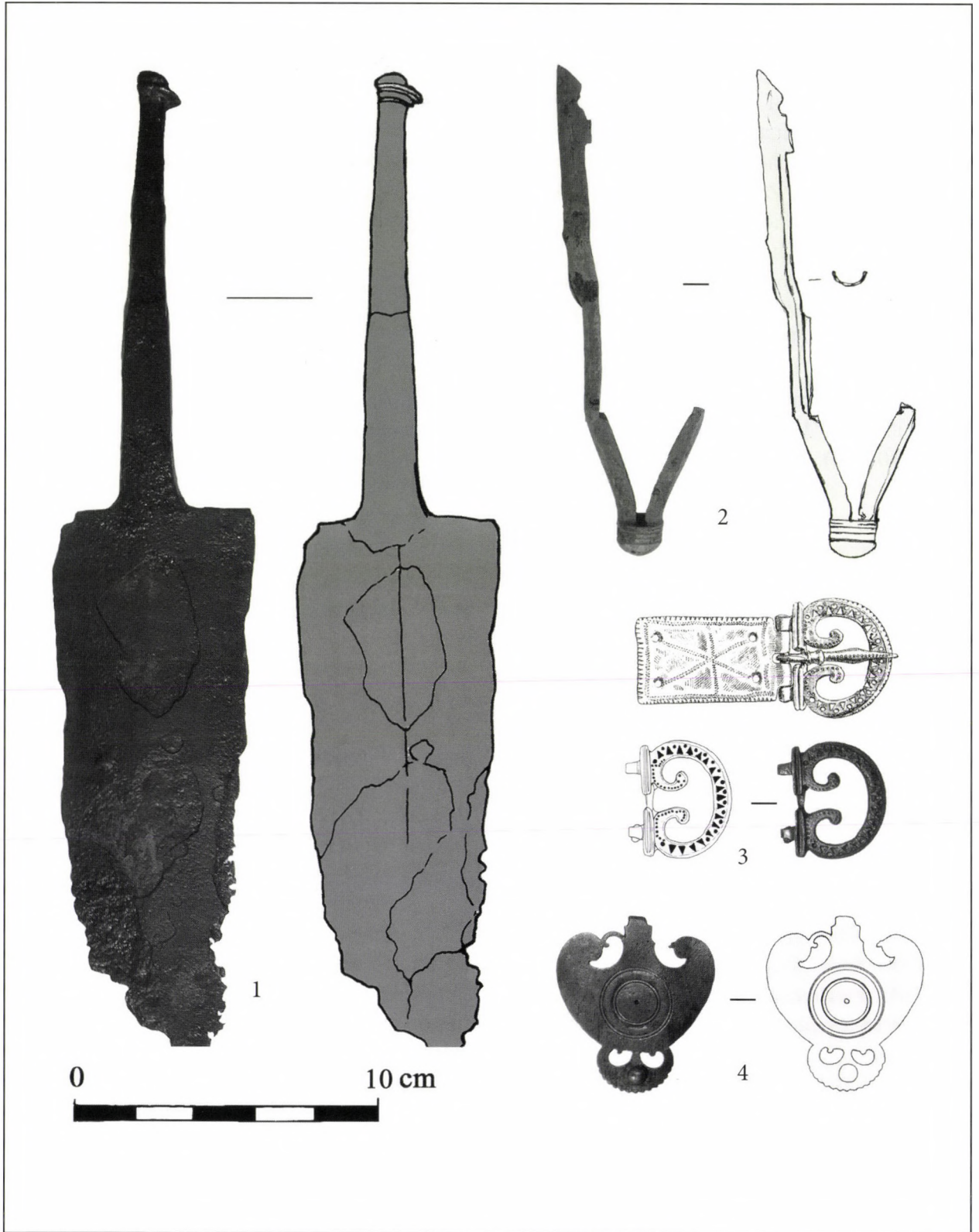


Fig. 18 Scarbantia (Sopron, Győr-Moson-Sopron County, H). 1st Century military equipment and weapons from the territory of the Roman city (photo and drawing Zs. Mráv)

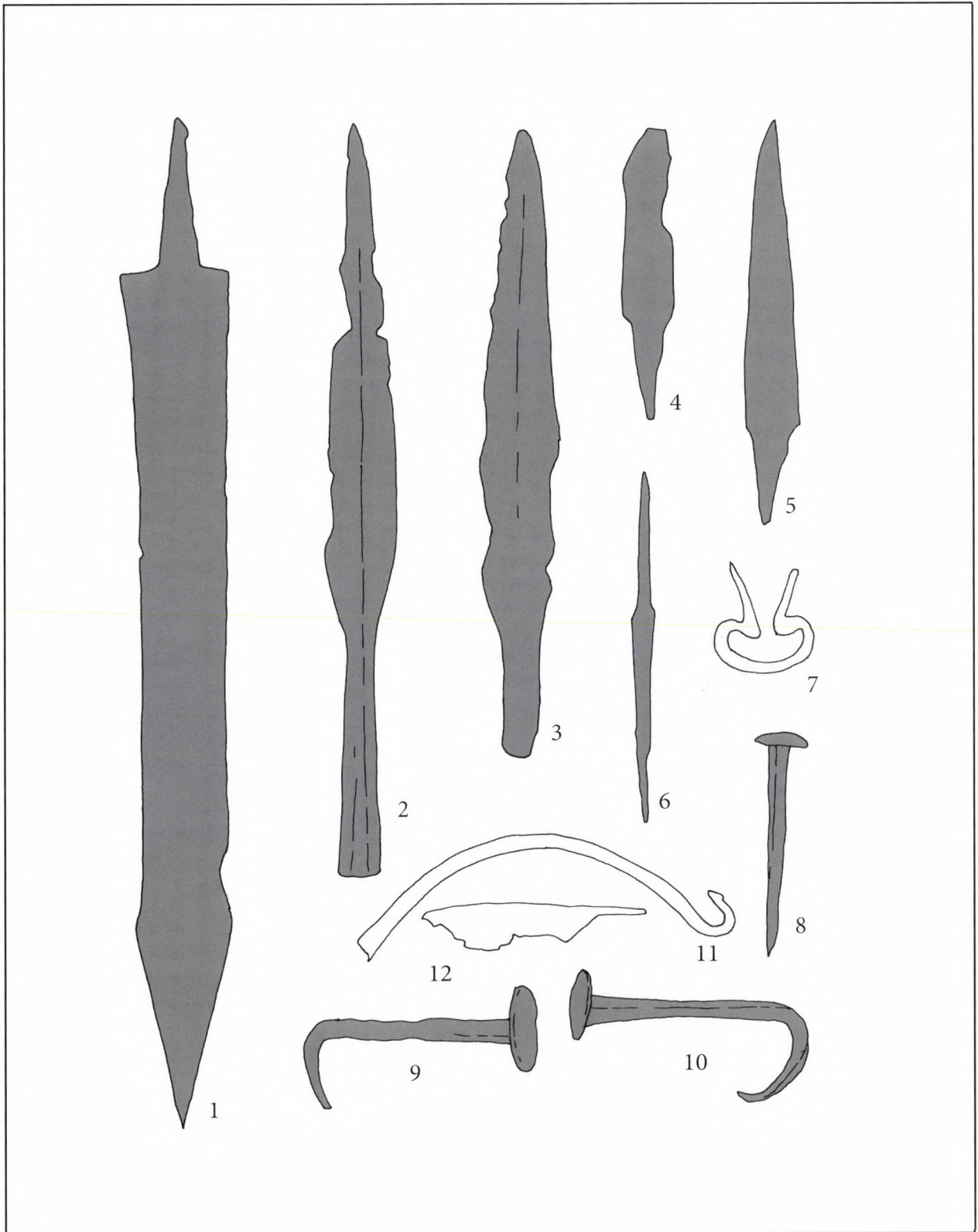


Fig. 19 Sankt Georgen/Lajtaszentgyörgy (Burgenland, A), finds from early imperial graves with a gladius of Mainz-type (after MITSCHA-MÄRHEIM 1952)

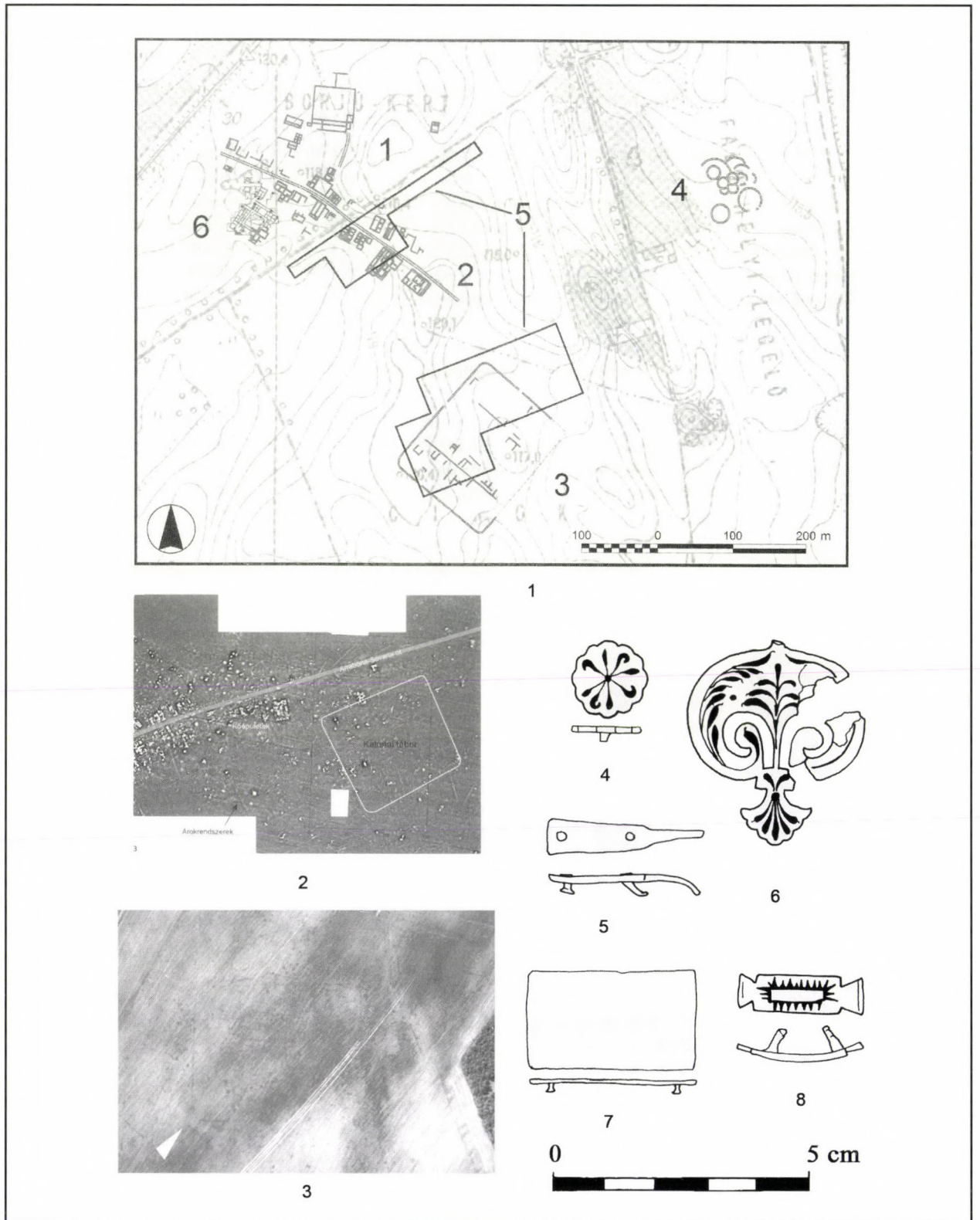


Fig. 20 Mursella (Árpás-Dombföld, Győr-Moson-Sopron County, H). The early Roman auxiliary fort (after SZABÓ 2007) and military equipment collected by metal detection from the site (drawing Zs. Mráv)

tions along the road section of Poetovio – Salla and Scarbantia – Carnuntum (Fig. 1). These gaps may have been filled by two still not identified military posts.

III. The Savaria-Brigetio military road

The Antoninian Itinerary mentioned an other important military road which left the Amber Road at Savaria, cross the river *Arrabo* at Sárvár and turn north-eastwards to Arrabona (Győr), the most important auxiliary fort in Pannonia superior at the Danube garrisoned an *ala milliaria* (TÓTH 1977, 65-75; PALÁGYI 1992, 27-34; SZÖNYI 1997, 137-150; KISS 2005, 276-277; SZÖNYI 2005, 65-70).

1. Sárvár-Sitkei forest (Vas County, H), a possible military station

At the vicinity of an important road junction and river crossing point, on the right side of the river Raab/Rába in Sárvár-Sitkei forest at 'Sarolta major' T. Buócz discovered a possible Roman stronghold (Fig. 1) (BUÓCZ 1978, 68; GABLER 2000, 34). Its *fossa* and *vallum* could clearly seen on the surface during the 1970s. The close vicinity of the late Celtic hillfort at Ostffyasszonyfa (KÁROLYI 1985, 391-418) directs attention to the strategic importance of the site. In lack of any datable finds the construction date of the fortification till the beginning of its archaeological investigation remains uncertain. But seeing the map we can clearly recognised that the Sárvár-Sitkei forest possible military station perfectly fill the gap in the road controlling system between Savaria and the 1st Century auxiliary fort at Mursella.

Sitke (County Vas, H) is the findspot of an inscription announced by Verantius, now lost, which deserves special attention. The lettering of the inscription is IMP · CAESAR · TI. | AVG. | SACRVM (CIL III 10918 = RIU 160 – cf. GABLER 1994, 410 Anm. 32; KOVÁCS 2005, 235). The honoured emperor can be identified only with Tiberius, because very similar, but

obviously erroneous nomenclator of him also appears on other inscribed monuments from the same period.²⁷ On the basis of its provenance it would be alluring to connect this honorary inscription with the never excavated military post of Sárvár (GABLER 1994, 410 Anm. 32; KOVÁCS 2005, 235).

2. Mursella (Árpás-Dombföld/ County Győr-Moson-Sopron/H), auxiliary fort

The site of Árpás-Dombföld lies on a hill between the river Raab and river Marcal. South of the densely built zone belonged to the Hadrianic *municipium* and the main road a quadrangular *fossa* with rounded corners of an auxiliary fort can be seen on aerial photos taken in 2002 and later by O. Braasch (Fig. 27.3) (SZABÓ 2007, 71 – cf. SZÖNYI 2005, 70-74; BÍRÓ-MOLNÁR-SALAT-TEICHNER 2007, 70, 78 Fig. 6). The photos provided information on the dimensions of the ditch belonged to an earth-and-timber fort: it was 180 x 150 m in size which was supported by a geophysical survey too (Fig. 20.2) (BÍRÓ-MOLNÁR-SALAT-TEICHNER 2007, 70, 78 Fig. 6). Between 1975 and 1980 E. Szőnyi carried out archaeological investigation around 320 m distance from the fort, and found pottery kilns dated to the middle and second half of the 1st Century (SZÖNYI 1981a, 93-104; SZÖNYI 2004, 88-92). The excavated area yielded numerous imported material, Arretinian and Padanian terra sigillata vessels, thin walled pottery, amphorae and coins minted during the reign of Julio-Claudian and Flavian dynasty (SZÖNYI 1981a, 109, 111), furthermore a niello inlaid copper alloy *phalera* pendant belonged to a 1st Century military horse harness (Fig. 20.6). As a result of systematic metal detection survey during the 1990s several early militaria were collected from the surface of the area, among them some 1st Century niello inlaid horse gear fittings, an undecorated copper alloy *cingulum* plate (for analogous belt plates see UNZ-DESCHLER-ERB 1997, 35-36 Kat. Nr. 1081-1137) and a tie loop of a *lorica segmentata* are

worth mentioning (Fig. 20.5). These finds could be tied to the presence of auxiliary soldiers and veterans not only in the fort but also in its settlement.

3. Arrabona (Győr, County Győr-Moson-Sopron/H), auxiliary fort

The auxiliary fort of Arrabona was built at the strategically important point where the Savaria-Arrabona military road reached the Danube, joint the limes-road and the river *Arrabo* (Rába) flow into the Danube. The foundations of the earliest known earth-and-timber fort were already dug into a Roman layer that can be dated by Tiberian terra sigillata finds (SZÖNYI 1986, 667-674; SZÖNYI 1986, 12-13). The defences of the timber fort have not yet been found, we know only some traces of the internal timber constructions and roads from its *retentura* (Fig. 21) (SZÖNYI 1981b, 135-136; SZÖNYI 1992, 9-14; SZÖNYI 2006, 160-161). The excavations of E. Szőnyi brought to light an Aucissa-brooch and some copper alloy fittings belonged without exception to horse harness which can be attributed with a high level of certainty to the Roman military horse gear: a trifold pendant from copper alloy sheet dated to the Flavian period (Fig. 28.3) (on the Pannonian specimens of the type MRÁV 2012, 529-533), two junction loops of Bishop 1j type (Fig. 21.4.6) and a silver plated and nielloed small *phalera* (Fig. 21.8) (SZÖNYI 1992, 12-14 Fig. 17). According to the tombstones of active soldiers (Fig. 22) the first garrison of the fort might have been the *ala Pannoniorum* between 25/30 – 69 (LÖRINCZ 2001, 21-22, 59, 62, 65) and in the Flavian period a mounted archer troop: the *ala I Augusta Ituraeorum sagittaria*.

Early militaria are known not only from the territory of the 1st Century auxiliary fort, but also from its settlement. Namely on area of the quondam Frigyes-barracks situated on the periphery of the military *vicus* of Arrabona Attila Molnár has found during his 2009 excavation two junction loops of early type and a

trifold *phalera* pendant from 1st Century contexts (infill of two pits) (for the excavation see provisionally: A. MOLNÁR in RKM 2009, 214-215). The two junction loops (Fig. 23.1-2) of the same horse gear are typical examples of Bishop's subtype 3c and dated to the 1st Century, most likely in its second half (XJM inv. no. 2010.144.2-3). This date is supported by their context. Besides the junction loops the infill of the 1,5 m deep pit (KE 131) yielded numerous 1st Century finds, for instance north Italic terra sigillata fragments and thin walled cups, lamps etc. The silver plated and niello inlaid copper alloy trifold *phalera* pendant (XJM inv. no. 2010.144.1) (Fig. 23.3) is a Bishop's subtype 1c. The pendants of this subtype rank among the more frequent finds of that type, and are mostly dated to the Flavian period, although their use continues also in the Trajanic period (MRÁV 2012, 529-533).²⁸

The fragment of a semi-manufactured bronze fitting (SELLYE 1969, 533 Pl. CXC.2; SELLYE 1970, 78 Fig. 2 on p. 73) together with large quantity of slag (GABLER 1971, 49) from the inner city of Győr suggests the presence of private and/or military workshop(s) in the *vicus* of Arrabona which supplied the local cavalry units with productions of equipment and horse gear (for production of arms, see: BISHOP-COULSTON 1993, 183-188; NICOLAY 2007, 129-137; HERZ 2010, 111-132; FISCHER 2012, 77-79). The semi-finished bronze openwork fitting itself, now lost, can obviously be classified as a pendant of Bishop's type 3 with heart-shaped body and a peltate lower extension with two kidney shaped perforations. The fragment of the central circular field is far less preserved, but still clearly recognizable. The item can be dated to the second half of 1st Century or the first decades of 2nd Century at the latest (BISHOP 1988, 148; DESCHLER-ERB 1999, 56-57; RADMAN-LIVAJA 2004, 111). The pendant indicates the production of militaria in Arrabona during this period (see also a 1st Century semi-manufactured 'female' strap

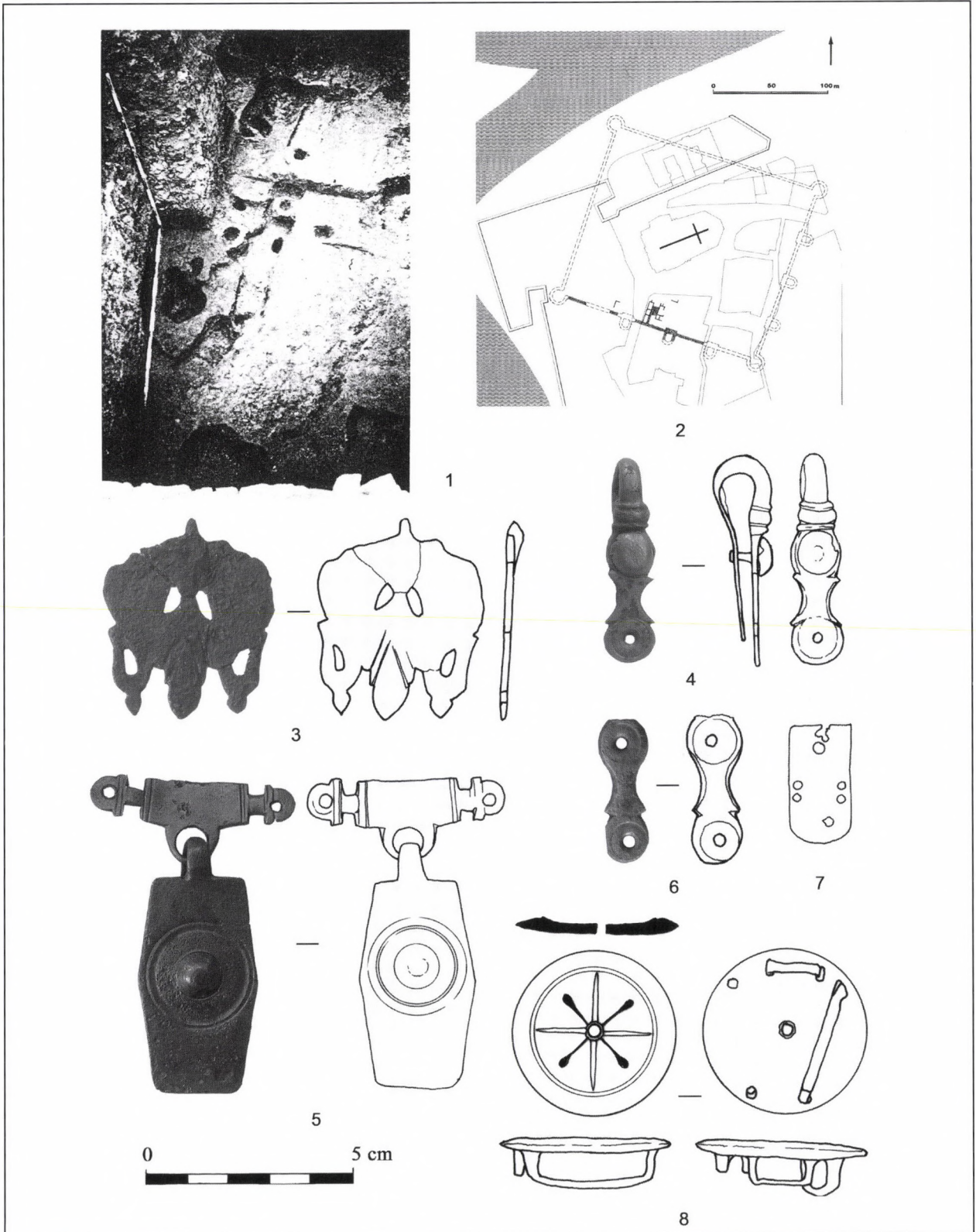


Fig. 21 Arrabona (Győr, Győr-Moson-Sopron County, H). The excavated part of the 1st Century earth-and-timber auxiliary fort (after SZÖNYI 1981b) and military equipment from the excavation (drawing Zs. Mráv)

fastener from TÁC: SELLYE 1969, 534 Pl. CXC.3 and MRÁV 2013 in press).

The rescue excavations of the large native rural settlement located at the direct background of the auxiliary fort of Arrabona, at Győr-Ménfőcsanak also resulted sizeable number of military equipment, now unpublished. It seems quite certain that numerous auxiliary veterans settled here, like in Pér situated only 10 km far from Arrabona where a Trajanic military diploma was found recently during illegal metal detector survey (MRÁV–VIDA in press).

4. Gönyű, Nagy-Sáros (Győr, County Győr-Moson-Sopron/H), a road station with military importance

A *mansio* enclosed by a ditch, which has been excavated most fully by Szilvia Bíró in 2007, was built along the so-called Limes Road at Gönyű three-quarters way between the auxiliary forts of Arrabona and Ad Statuas (Ács-Vaspuszta) (BÍRÓ 2008, 101-104; BÍRÓ 2009, 7-65, BÍRÓ 2010, 134-158). The building has more construction phases. The earliest building of the site was a quite large parallelogram-shaped timber building roofed with tiles (Fig. 24.1). It can be dated by imported pottery finds (among them hemispherical *tardo padana terra sigillata* cups with drooping rim of form Consp. 39/43, N-Italic thin-walled drinking beakers and cups: BÍRÓ 2009, 42) and the stratigraphy of its remains (mainly post holes) to the end of the 1st or beginning of the 2nd Century at the latest (BÍRÓ 2009, 16-17, 44; BÍRÓ 2010, 137). Some early military equipment finds from the topsoil were also found in the site in 1996 by systematic metal detector survey. These militaria can be attributed directly or indirectly to the first building phase, because of chronological reason. One of them is a fragment of a cast copper alloy trifold *phalera* pendant seems to be an example of subtype 1c or 1r of M. C. Bishop (Fig. 24.4) (BISHOP 1988, 142-144, in Pannonia: MRÁV 2012, 529-533). The hinged *cingulum* buckle has plain knobbed inner frames and



Fig. 22 Arrabona (Győr, Győr-Moson-Sopron County, H). 1st Century funerary monument of an auxiliary cavalry soldier, Acrabanis Ababunis f., the *equus* of the *ala I Augusta Ituraeorum* (photo: O. Harl)

a broad, semicircular hoop which curls up to terminate in inward-turning scrolls (Fig. 24.3). Its surface appears to have been tinned (similar

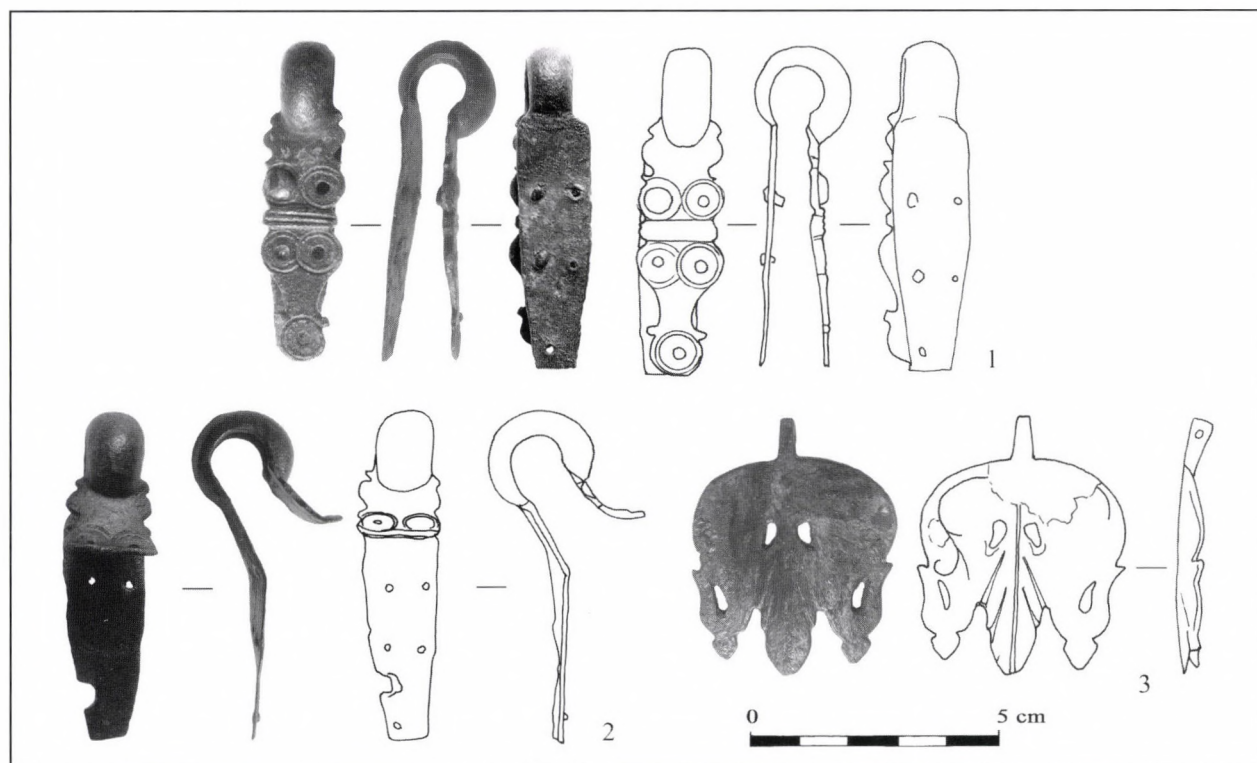


Fig. 23 Arrabona (Győr, Győr-Moson-Sopron County, H), Frigyes barracks. 1st Century military equipment from the periphery of the military vicus (photo and drawing Zs. Mráv)

buckles in Pannonia from 1st Century military contexts: Carnuntum: KLEISER 2007, 86 Kat. Nr. 13; Poetovio: SAGADIN 1979, 323 Nr. 158, Taf. 9.15. here Fig. 2.4). The belt mount is a simple rectangular plate decorated with engraved lines which was attached to the leather by four rivets (Fig. 24.2) (cf. UNZ-DESCHLER-ERB 1997, 35-36 Kat. Nr. 1081-1137). The belt buckle and the mount probably formed a set of matching fittings dated to the Flavian-early Trajanic period.²⁹

The road station was built in the frontier zone of the province along a military road most probably by the army itself, so no wonder that military equipment finds come from its area. The strong connection between the *mansio* and the army is clearly testified by the 90 military bricks which were stamped by the *I Adiutrix* legion stationed at Brigetio (88 pieces) and the *XIV Gemina* legion (2 pieces) (BÍRÓ 2009, 38-40; BÍRÓ 2010, 145-146).

5. Brigetio (Komárom-Ószőny, County Komárom-Esztergom/H), auxiliary fort

According to the Antoninian Itinerary the *caput viae* of the Amber Road's eastern branch road was Brigetio (Fig. 1) which was also a site of an auxiliary fort till the reign of Nerva, when the legionary fortress started to build (MRÁV-HARL 2008, 51-52 with earlier literature). It seems certain that the first auxiliary fort can be dated to the late-Tiberian-Claudian period not only by early finds but also by an epigraphic document, the lost Iuppiter altar of the *praefectus* C. Nymphidius Sabinus (PIR, N 200) who became later the last *praefectus praetorio* of emperor Nero (CIL III 4269 = RIU 416). The fort, which has not been located and excavated, was surely built for a mounted unit. Although there are many uncertainties about the garrisoning troops during the early history of Brigetio, i.e. the Claudian and mainly Flavian periods, most scholars agree that a partly

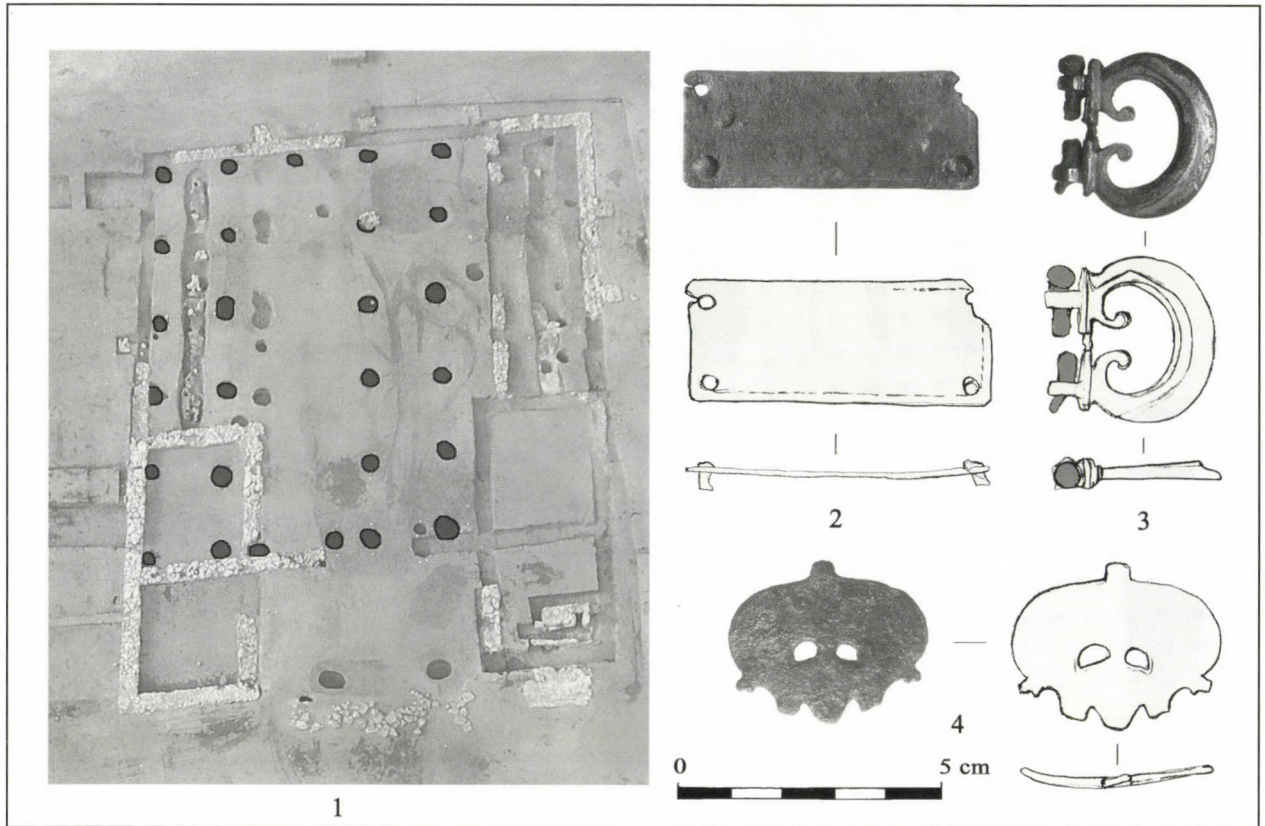


Fig. 24 Gönyü (Győr, Győr-Moson-Sopron County, H), road station. 1: the post holes belonged to the first timber building of the site. 2: copper alloy belt mount. 3: *Cingulum* buckle of early type. 4: cast trifold *phalera* pendant (photo and drawing Zs. Mráv)

mounted cohort, the *cohors I Noricorum equitata* was stationed in Brigetio during the Flavians till 85 A.D. (CIL IX 5363 = ILS 2737 – cf. LÖRINCZ 2001, 62, 65). Numerous 1st Century Roman military equipment finds have been discovered on the site of Brigetio. These militaria can be associated with this early fort are mostly single finds from private collections with no archaeological context and can be defined as components of horse gear. Most of them are saddle plates of different types. P. Prohászka and J. Cseh have already published a 1st Century very well preserved open-work saddle plate corresponding to Bishop's 6 type (Fig. 25.1) (CSEH – PROHÁSZKA 2007, 539-548). The Tussla Collection in Hungarian National Museum contains a fragmentary saddle plate from Brigetio not only of the same type, but one should not exclude the pos-

sibility that it might originally had belonged to the same horse gear (Fig. 25.2) (HNM inv. no. 63.22.200). A saddle plate from the Milch Collection kept also in Hungarian National Museum could be determined as Bishop type 2 (Fig. 25.5). This plate still bears traces of niello. Besides these early types of saddle plates a niello inlaid fitting is akin to Bishop's functional type of strap fasteners (male) (Fig. 25.3) (Podunajske Museum, Komarno inv. no. II 4796), and a small *phalera* (Fig. 25.4)³⁰ as well as a phallic pendant are known from Brigetio (Fig. 25.6). The pendant is one of the many variants of the very common type of Bishop 10. Although the subtype cannot be determined, its shape is remindful of type 10b and 10f (BISHOP 1988, 154-156). All of these specimens can be dated to the 1st Century.

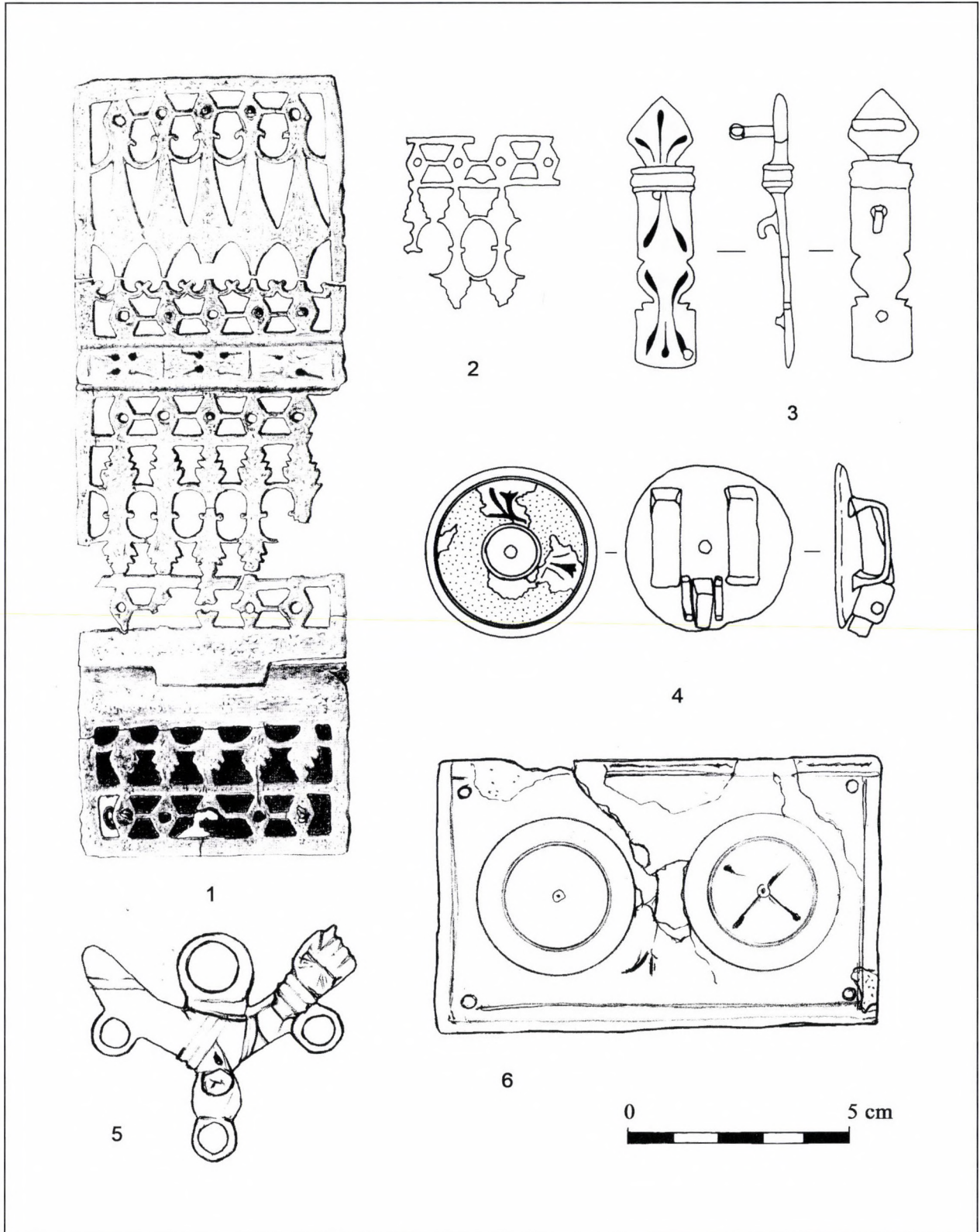


Fig. 25 Brigetio (Komárom-Ószőny, Komárom-Esztergom County, H).
Components of early Roman military horse gear
(after CSEH – PROHÁSZKA 2007 [1] and drawings of Zs. Mráv)



Fig. 26 Mattersburg/Nagymarton (Burgenland, A), a possible auxiliary fort. Tombstone of Ti. Claudius Vanamius, *equus* of the *ala Hispanorum I* (photo: Zs. Mráv)

IV. The Scarbantia-Vindobona military road

We have significantly less data and only indirect information on the other road lead from Scarbantia to the western wing strongholds of the legionary fortress Carnuntum, the early legionary base and Flavian auxiliary fort of Vindobona (or Klosterneuburg) (Fig.1).

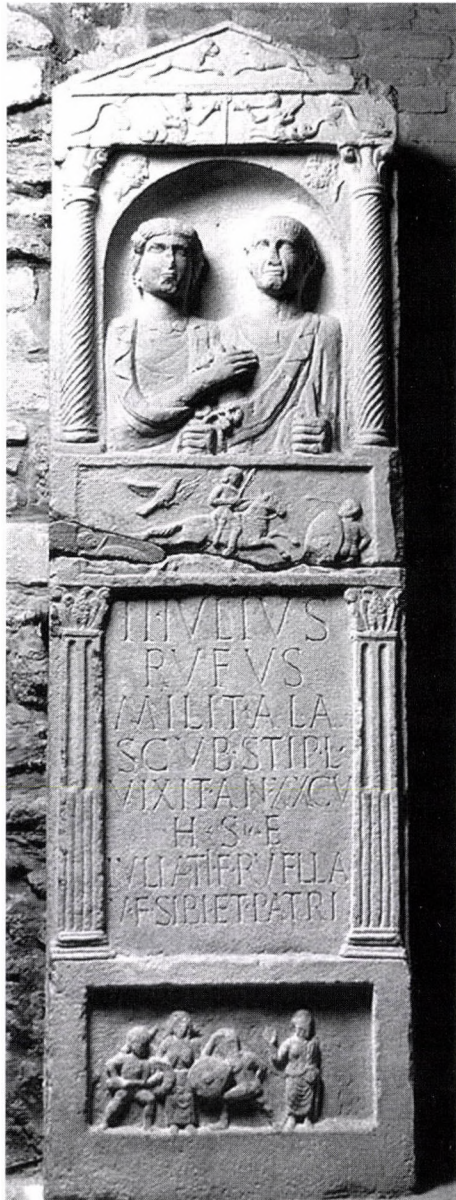
1. Mattersburg/Nagymarton (Burgenland, A), a possible auxiliary fort

The first supposed military station along the Scarbantia-Vindobona military road located 17 km northwest from Scarbantia, at Mattersburg (Fig. 1). This site is the findspot of a funerary stele of an active cavalry soldier, Tiberius Claudius Vanamius who died as a *missicius* of the *ala Hispanorum prima* around the middle of the 1st Century A.D. (Fig. 26) (CIL III 4244;

CSIR Österreich Bd. I/5, 12 Nr. 6; LÖRINCZ 1996, 74; LÖRINCZ 2001, 195 Nr. 123). His heir was also an active *equus* of the troop, the Dalmatian Aplo. According to B. Lőrincz „Ti. Claudius Vanamiu[s] ist während der Versetzung aus Burnum nach Aquincum gestorben” (LÖRINCZ 1996, 74; LÖRINCZ 2001, 20). However, this assumption is far from being certain because the finding place of the fragmentary stele, Mattersburg lies not directly on the Amber Road, as the map published by B. Lőrincz shows but at least 15 km west from it along the Scarbantia-Vindobona road (Fig. 1). In my opinion the garrison of the military station at Mattersburg might have been the *ala Hispanorum prima* short before 50. Vanamius most probably died and was buried during the temporary stationing of this unit at or around Mattersburg, right before it was transferred to the auxiliary fort of Budapest-Víziváros (LÖRINCZ 2001, 20).

2. Walbersdorf/Borbolya (Burgenland, A), a veteran settlement

Of course, only this data is still not enough to prove the existence of a military station at Mattersburg but it was also supported by two tombstones were found in 1900 and 1905 by the neighbouring village at Walbersdorf (BH Mattersburg, Burgenland). Both of them were set up for auxiliary veterans in the middle decades of the 1st Century. Tiberius Iulius Rufus died in his age of 85 was discharged from the *ala Scubulorum* during the reign of Tiberius (BELLA 1901, 68; CSIR Österreich Bd. I/5, 13-14 Nr. 9). The cavalry troop had been garrisoned in Moesia in the time of his service and discharge, so the inscription does not allow us to suppose the Pannonian presence of the *ala Scubulorum* before 46/49 (GEROV 1967, 99-100; LÖRINCZ 2001, 23). The middle scene of Rufus' marble stele representing him as a triumphant cavalryman in a battle performing a heroic feats (Fig. 27.1) which was probably a real event of his military career (MRÁV in preparation). The another stele was set up for *C. Petronius*



1

2

Fig. 27 Walbersdorf/Borbolya (Burgenland, A). Stelae of auxiliary veterans, middle decades of 1st Century A. D. (photo: Zs. Mráv)

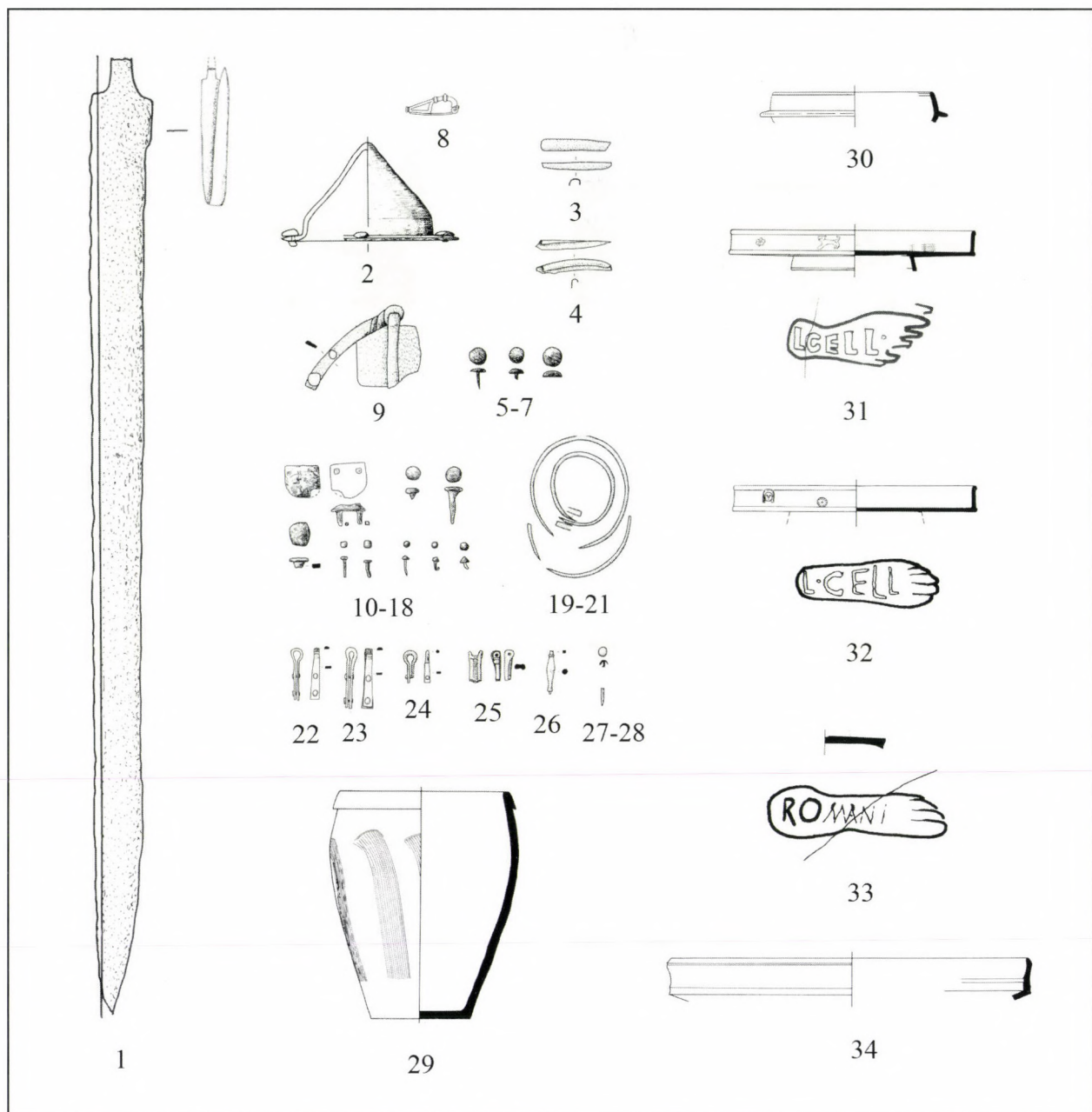


Fig. 28 Katzelsdorf (Niederösterreich, A). Weapon grave of an auxiliary cavalryman, second quarter of the 1st Century A.D. (after URBAN 1984 and MRÁV 2006)

Cai filius who deceased as a 73 years old veteran of the *ala Gemelliana*, not later than the mid 1st Century A. D. (Fig. 27.2) (BELLA 1905, 418; CSIR Österreich Bd. I/5, 15-16 Nr. 13). It is evident that the Roman period settlement at Walbersdorf inhabited at least by two veteran families strongly connected to the nearby military station of Mattersburg, like the settlement at

Peresznye to the auxiliary fort of Strebersdorf. 3. Katzelsdorf (Niederösterreich, A), tumulus of a veteran

It is important to note a weapon grave which illustrates well the military importance of the Scarbantia-Vindobona military road and its possible station near Mattersburg. Furthermore, this grave is the closest known analogy of the

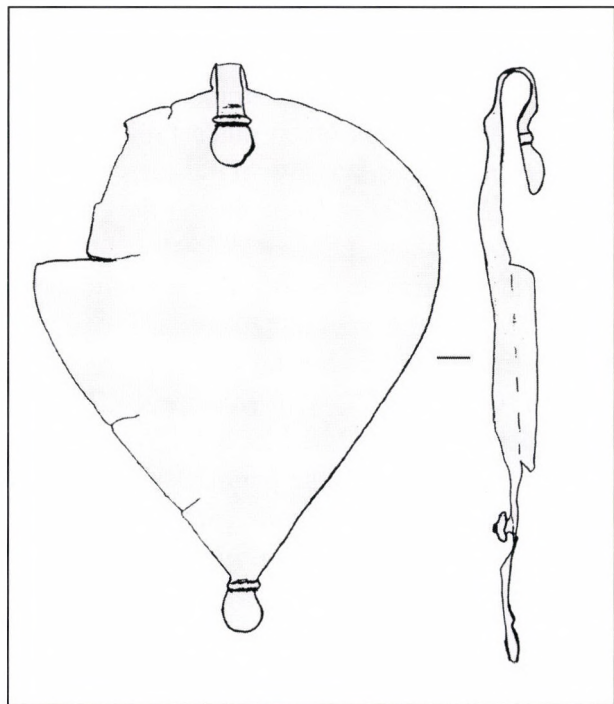


Fig. 29 Vienna-Leopoldsberg (A). Early Roman pendant of Bishop 5e type belonged to a 1st Century military horse gear (after URBAN 1999, Abb. 103)

Cserszegtomaj auxiliary soldier's grave. This is the second tumulus at Katzelsdorf (URBAN 1984, 81-85 Abb. 10-15; MRÁV 2006, 52-53 Abb. 16), about 10 km far north-westwards from Mattersburg (Fig. 1) yielded at least five Italic terra sigillata vessels produced in the workshop of L. Gellius (CVARR 234-237 no. 879 – cf. GABLER 1977, 207-210; ZABEHLICKY-SCHEFFENEGGER 1982, 105-115) and Romanus (2) (CVARR 368 no. 1714 [1 – 20+ A.D.]). These specimens cannot be dated to later than the Claudian period. This cremation burial of an auxiliary cavalryman dated to the middle decades of the 1st Century were accompanied by a bent cavalry sword and a shield boss with conical dome (Fig. 28). He must have been an auxiliary soldier served in a fort located along the inner military roads, most probably in Mattersburg and settled in the proximity of his former garrison. It was a general tendency all over the Empire that the veterans either returned to their mother-land or

preferred to settle down directly at their last station or such rural settlements, mainly villages that were situated close to the location of their formal service (BIRLEY 1982-1983, 265-276; ROXAN 2000, 307-326; NICOLAY 2002, 58-59; WESCH-KLEIN 2007, 446).

The discharged soldiers, who settled in the border provinces as Roman citizens, became the loyal supporters of the Roman rule and the most important bearers of Roman culture. They formed the wealthy middle class of the local society and they emerged from the native communities not only as Roman citizens but also by means of their veteran privileges. The most spectacular symbols of their distinguished status were their former own weaponry kept often as *memorabilia* (NICOLAY 2002, 60-61; NICOLAY 2007, 173-176). In the case of some ex-soldiers these were deposited as grave goods in their graves (NICOLAY 2002, 62-64; NICOLAY 2007, 199-206. In Pannonia: MÁRTON 2002, 133-144; MRÁV 2006, 49-65; MRÁV in press).

4. Vienna-Leopoldsberg (A), a temporary military station?

Leopoldsberg was one of the La Tène C2 fortified hilltop settlement of the Vienna Basin (URBAN 1996, 379-380; URBAN 1999). The hill is situated on the right bank of the Danube between the two later established auxiliary forts of Klosterneuburg and Vienna. Like every hilltop settlements of the region Leopoldsberg was also abandoned before the Roman conquest, latest in the early Augustan period. Some early Roman finds have also been documented from the area of the quondam late La-Tène hill fort, including a copper alloy teardrop-shaped pendant with bottom-like ending of Bishop 5e type (Fig. 29) (URBAN 1996, 379 Abb. 7; URBAN 1999, 139 Abb. 103, for the type see BISHOP 1988, 147, 150). It can be classified as a 1st Century Roman military horse gear component. This find clearly shows not only the strategic importance of the hill, but also its temporary control by the army in the occupation period. At

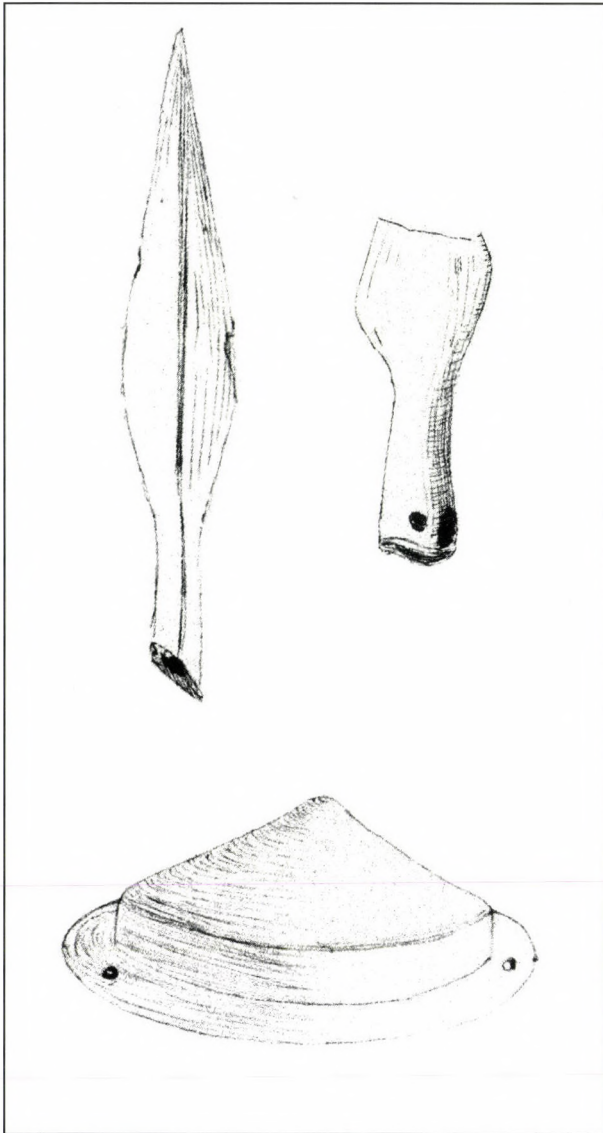


Fig. 30 Vienna 3rd district, Hohlweggasse 15.
Weapons from a grave of an auxiliary soldier

present, for lack of any archaeological data, it can hardly be decided whether it means a short-lived military station or only periodical presence of Roman cavalry soldiers.

5. Vindobona (Vienna, A) and Klosterneuburg (Niederösterreich, A), two late Flavian auxiliary forts

Having recognized the strategic importance of the Vienna-Basin and the Danube section

west of Carnuntum, the Romans built auxiliary forts at Vindobona and at Klosterneuburg at the end-points of the western branch road of the Amber route. It was taken place fairly late, in the case of Vindobona only in the early Flavian (LÓRINCZ 2001, 62) or latest during the Domitianic period (WEBER-HIDEN 1996; MOSSER 2005, 143-151) in order to secure the western wing of the legion stationed at Carnuntum. According to the early tombstone of C. Atius from Vienna (CIL III 4570 – cf. MOSSER 2002, 102-126; MOSSER 2003, 248-249 Nr. 159) it is not entirely excluded that the *legio XV Appollinaris* or its detachment had already garrisoned at Vindobona in the Tiberian period, as has been suggested by M. Mosser (MOSSER 2002, 102-126; MOSSER 2003, 44-45; MOSSER 2005, 142-143). Some pre-Flavian finds from the inner city of Vienna show the existence of a settlement or a possible military post in the occupation period (KRONBERGER 2006, 87). The 1st Century finds in Vienna concentrated in the 3rd district of the city, where not only ceramic and metal finds dated to the middle or second half of the Century (SEDLMAYER ET AL. 2002, 86-88) but also Flavian and Trajanic military horse gear components, including pendants typologically belonged to the type of Bishop 3a, 3c, 5a from sites Rennweg 12, 14 and 44 (SEDLMAYER ET AL. 2002, 88-90). On the basis of a weapon grave with a horse (?) and two spearheads as well as a shield boss of Zielsing type H1 belonged to an auxiliary cavalry soldier of Germanic or (local?) Celtic origin can also be presumed the early military control of the Vienna-Basin (Fig. 30) (SEDLMAYER et al. 2002, 83-86, Abb. 5-7; KRONBERGER 2006, 86-87). The grave was dated to the first half or the middle of 1st Century A. D. by H. Sedlmayer.

V. Some preliminary results

Shortly summing up the results of the contribution, it is obviously clear that the northern section of the Amber Road and its branch roads

were operational *viae militares* led towards the Central-Danube Basin and the neighbouring Germanic kingdoms in the 1st Century. The strategic importance of these roads is clearly illustrated by the strong presence of the Roman army along them. These roads as marching and supply routes were controlled by smaller military stations and auxiliary forts located generally regular, one day distance from each other. On the basis of the few available documents the garrisons of these posts were mainly cavalry units. This picture can be attested by not only epigraphic evidence but components and fittings belonged to the early military horse gear come from the sites of the military stations. The main field of the activity of these mounted units must have included the control of river crossing points and secure the supply of the Carnuntum legion and some auxiliary garrisons stationed at the Danube. The road controlling system was reinforced by numerous legionary and auxiliary veterans settled in 1st Century in rural settlements and urban centres of the roads concerned. Besides the funeral inscriptions the weapon graves and the military equipment finds frequently turn up in military stations

and rural settlements are the best indicators of their presence. Surprisingly numerous militaria come from the earliest stratas of the 1st Century cities established along the Amber Road, from Emona, Savaria and Scarbantia. These military equipment and weapon finds can be connected with the settled legionary veterans and active soldiers who might have been executed public constructions and engineering projects after the foundation of the cities. The strong presence of active and ex-soldiers integrated into local society in urban centres may have significantly influenced city patterns in this early period. The three known and in this context never analysed weapon graves of discharged auxiliaries from the Northern Amber Road region (Cserszegtomaj-Dobogóhill, St. Georgen, Katzelsdorf and probably Vienna, Hohlweggasse) are also important for better understanding the occupation system in this particular part of the empire. It has become increasingly clear from new historical and archaeological research that the army stationed along the Amber Road and its branch roads occupied a fundamental place within the annexation and Romanization of NW-Pannonia.

Notes

- 1 Republican weapon finds from Slovenia: Grad near Šmihel: HORVAT 2002, 117-192; the finds from Grad near Reka are from the period of Octavian's Illyrian wars: ISTENIČ 2005, 77-87.
- 2 For instance in the Posočje region: GUŠTIN 1991, 15-18, 26; in the territory of the *Latobici*: MIHOVO: WINDL 1976, 888-889; Verdun near Stopičah: BREŠČAK 1985, 120-121; BREŠČAK 1989, 1-14; BREŠČAK 1990, 99-102; BREŠČAK 1995, 18 - cf. MÁRTON 2002, 136; MRÁV 2006, 49-53; PERNET 2010, 143-148.
- 3 For the present state and problems of early Roman army research of this Northern section of the Amber Road, see: UBL 2008a; UBL 2008c, 127-135.
- 4 HORVAT et al. 2003, 155-156; 173; for early Roman militaria from Poetovio see: MIKL-CURK 1980, 431-437; ISTENIČ 1999, 66-68; VOMER GOJKOVIČ 2005, 49-64.
- 5 For the problems concerning the date of construction period of the first permanent legionary fortress at Carnuntum see: GABLER 1981, 2-32; 1st Century militaria from Carnuntum: GROLLER 1901, 86-131; JOBST (Hrsg.) 1992, 247-266; HUMER (Hrsg.) 2006, 96-118; KLEISER 2007, 77-90.
- 6 Analyses of the literary sources concerning the early occupation of the geographical area of the Amber Road: ŠAŠEL KOS 1997, 21-42; FPA I and FPA II; UBL 2008a; UBL 2008c.
- 7 Terra sigillata: GABLER 1973; GABLER 1979; MÁRTON 2005, 90-91; amphorae: BEZECZKY 1987; BEZECZKY 1994, 156-161; MÁRTON 2005, 90.
- 8 This method was adopted successfully in order to demonstrate the role of 1st Century veterans in NE-Pannonia: MRÁV 2010, 139-161; MRÁV 2011, 5-29 and in the Balaton region: MRÁV 2008, 279-294; MRÁV-VIDA 2008-2010, 153-162; MRÁV in progress. The early militaria finds from Noricum and the annexation of the Norican territory: UBL 1999.
- 9 Dio LV 10a,2 - cf. P. KOVÁCS in FPA I, 202. The army

- of L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, proconsul of Illyricum between 5 B.C.– 2 A.D. was the first operational force which would have used the Amber Road at least till the Danube to reach the Marcomannic territory and the River Elbe, where the legate erected an inscribed monument, an altar dedicated to Augustus.
- 10 The literature on early terra sigillata finds from *Salla*: GABLER 2005, 90 note no. 48; amphorae: BEZECZKY 1987, 50, 57-62; 68-70, 74-77; coins: REDŐ 2003a, 213-133.
 - 11 It was identified as a copper alloy vessel fragment by mistake. For the right classification see UNZ-ESCHLER-ERB 1997, 49 – cf. Kat. Nr. 1907
 - 12 The funerary assemblage is only partly published. Hungarian National Museum inv. no. 1.1942.1-7 – cf. MRÁV in press.
 - 13 Archaeological Archives of Hungarian National Museum, Photo Collection.
 - 14 Unpublished
 - 15 The short sword published by I. Radman-Livaja and M. Dizdar shows a kind of strange bastard of a late Republic or early imperial *gladius* and a late La-Tène sword. Its tip has a muted triangular form like the *gladii* of Pompeji type. The exact analogy of its combined form and *gladius*-like tip cannot be found among the known cavalry swords. The Cserszegtomaj sword's total dimensions and appearance make it very similar to the semispathae from *Aquae Helveticae* (Baden, CH) (MIKS 2007, 539 Kat. Nr. A33, Taf. 56) and Alem (Prov. Geldevlant, NL) (MIKS 2007, 533, Kat. Nr. 17, Taf. 58), but we cannot claim with certainty that they had a rhomboid tip or not. The Baden sword as closest analogy can be dated to the middle or the second half of the 1st century, which is roughly identical with the date of the Cserszegtomaj grave (MIKS 2007, 539 – cf. the swords from Kostolna pri Dunaj (Galanta, SK): MIKS 2007, 638 Kat. Nr. A377, Taf. 55, and Wymysłowo (Woj. Wielkopolskie, PL): MIKS 2007, 764 Kat. Nr. A799, Taf. 55)
 - 16 An analogous apron terminal was published from Abusina (Eining/D): GSCHWIND 2004, 310 Kat. Nr. C60, Taf. 27,C60.
 - 17 GABLER 1979, 211-212; CSIRKE-GABLER-PALÁGYI 2006, 176 cat. no. 17.24.
 - 18 I'm deeply grateful to Otto Sosztarits for allowing me to publish the militaria from his excavations. For the detailed publication of these militaria, see: MRÁV in press.
 - 19 The results of the excavation of the Amber Road in the vicinity of the Isis sanctuary: MLADONICZKI-OSZTARITS 2009, 325-356.
 - 20 I express my special thanks to Péter Kiss (Savaria Museum, Szombathely) for allowing me to publish these militaria.
 - 21 GREEP 1994, 79-97.
 - 22 These weapons and components of military equipment are from the forum area and the so called NUK II as well as Šumi sites inside the city: GASPARI 2010, 88-99.
 - 23 <http://burgenland.orf.at/stories/390500>; for the type of the junction loop, see: BISHOP 1988, 157-159.
 - 24 <http://burgenland.orf.at/stories/390500>.
 - 25 The bronze jug (MITSCHA-MÄRHEIM 1952, 51, Abb.1) representing an early Hellenistic so called „Macedonian” type which can be dated to the 4th-3rd Centuries BC („Bauchknickkanne”): GORECKI 2006, 377-390.
 - 26 The funerary assemblage of Csopak-Kökoporsódomb will be published by the author in the close future. The grave was mentioned by KUZSINSZKY 1920, 174-175.
 - 27 CIL VIII, 26518 = ILAfr 519 = AnEp 1969-70, 651 (Thugga): *Imp. Ti. Caesari A[ugusto sacr]um*; CIL VIII 685 = ILS 162 (Mograwa, Africa): *Romae et Imp. Ti. Caesari Augusto sacrum*. – On Tiberius nomenclature KIENAST 1996², 77.
 - 28 My grateful thanks to Attila Molnár who kindly allowed me to refer not only the militaria finds from Győr-Frigyes barracks, but the results of his excavation as well.
 - 29 Many thanks to Szilvia Bíró (Xantus János Múzeum, Győr) for allowing me to publish these early militaria from Gönyű.
 - 30 The *phalera* was buried in an early 2nd Century grave. Kállay Collection, Kuny Domokos Museum, Tata inv. no. 621/d.

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