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FEMALE GENDER MARKERS IN GRAVES OF MEN IN THE AVAR PERIOD OF THE MIDDLE TISZA REGION

Ádám Máté Horváth*

The study analyses the roles of object types characteristic to burials of women and girls, recovered from graves of males in the Middle Tisza Region during the Avar Period. The related analysis includes 140 suitable burials of men and boys from eighteen sites. Its goals were to classify the findings in focus and reveal their possible social roles. The related artefact types include earrings, necklaces, finger rings, bronze discs, spindle discs and whorls, needle cases, and eggs. The objects may have had different meanings for the owner and the society, giving another focal point to the current research. Most graves were dated to the second half of the Avar Period, and most belonged to possible members of the one-time local political elite.

A tanulmány a női nemhez köthető tárgyak közép-Tisza-vidéki férfisírokban való előfordulásáról alkot képet. 18 lelőhelyről 140 férfisírt találtunk hasonló mellékletekkel. A kutatás célja, hogy meghatározza a leleteket és felderítse ezek lehetséges társadalmi szerepeit. A vizsgált ékszerek és mellékletek a fülbevalók, nyakláncok, gyűrűk, bronzkorongok, orsógombok és -karikák, tűtartók és a tojások voltak. A tárgyaknak különböző jelentősége lehetett a tulajdonos és a közösség számára, amelyet szintén fontos elemezni. A legtöbb sír az avar kor második felére keltezhető, és többségük az egykori lokális politikai vezetőréteg tagjaihoz tartozhatott.

Keywords: *Early Middle Ages, Avar period, social archaeology, gender archaeology, Middle Tisza Region*

Kulcsszavak: *kora középkor, avar kor, társadalomrégészet, társadalmi nemek régészete, Közép-Tisza-vidék*

Introduction

My Ph.D. dissertation has been devoted to the Avar Period of the Middle Tisza Region. I analysed the cemeteries of the area using a complex GIS-based statistical method to learn about the connections and possible hierarchy of the related communities and the factors necessary for establishing and maintaining a settlement, considering social, landscape, and environmental archaeological aspects (Horváth 2022).

The present paper delves into a topic already prompted by the dissertation: do the previously outlined groups (Horváth 2022) have a detectable difference in the ways of expressing gender? It aims to draw attention to the expression of gender in cases where the possibility of coexistence of social groups with different cultural backgrounds arises (on the importance of cross-examining different social identities see, e.g., Gilchrist 1999, 3, 42–43, 76–77; McKay 1982). The topic may be tackled by analysing artefacts recovered from graves of men and boys, belonging to types usually attributed to the female gender – especially as the anthropological material of most burials has not yet been examined, save for 51 graves (*Table 1*). The use of anthropological data, however, is an important aspect of gender research (e.g., Distelberger 2004).

The find material

The study area is well-defined in both geographical and archaeological terms (Dövényi 2010). With 3433 graves in total, the eighteen sites involved in the analysis (*Fig. 1, 1*) are among the largest.[1] Artefacts attributed to the female gender were found in 15% of burials of males (*Figs 1–2*). Most sites are situated by the Tisza, which may indicate the river's importance

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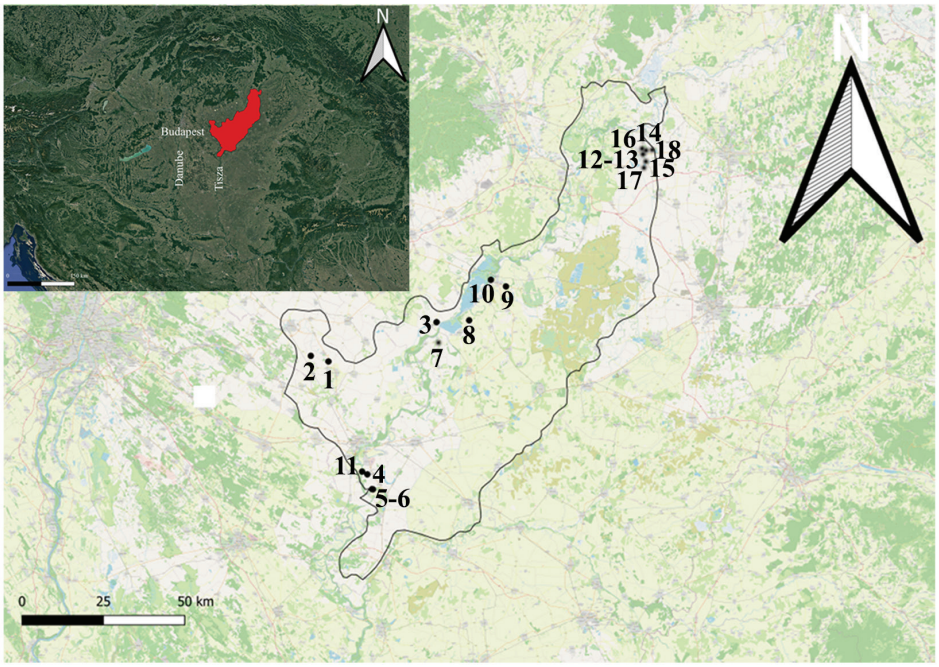

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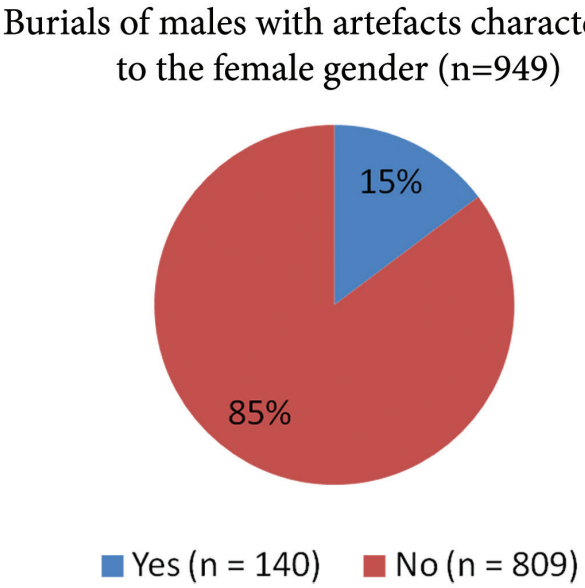

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Fig. 1 1: The 18 analysed cemeteries on a map of the Middle Tisza Region (1: Alattyán-Tulát; 2: Jánoshida-Tótkérpuszta; 3: Kisköre-Halastó; 4: Rákóczifalva-Kastélydomb; 5: Rákóczifalva-Bagi-föld 8; 6: Rákóczifalva-Bagi-föld 8A; 7: Tiszabura-Bónishát; 8: Tiszaderzs-Szentimrei út; 9: Tiszafüred-Majoroshalom; 10: Tiszafüred-Morotvapart; 11: Tiszavárkony-Hugyinpart; 12: Tiszavasvári-Béke TSz telepe, Városföldje; 13: Tiszavasvári-Eszenyi Miklós telke; 14: Tiszavasvári-Kashalom-dűlő; 15: Tiszavasvári-Koldusdomb; 16: Tiszavasvári-Petőfi utca 49.; 17: Tiszavasvári-Utasér-part-dűlő; 18: Tiszavasvári-Zöld Mező TSz. telepe); 2: Pie chart showing the proportion of burials of males containing items related to the female gender in the analysed record

1. kép 1: A 18 vizsgált temető a Közép-Tisza-vidék térképén (1: Alattyán-Tulát; 2: Jánoshida-Tótkérpuszta; 3: Kisköre-Halastó; 4: Rákóczifalva-Kastélydomb; 5: Rákóczifalva-Bagi-föld 8; 6: Rákóczifalva-Bagi-föld 8A; 7: Tiszabura-Bónishát; 8: Tiszaderzs-Szentimrei út; 9: Tiszafüred-Majoroshalom; 10: Tiszafüred-Morotvapart; 11: Tiszavárkony-Hugyinpart; 12: Tiszavasvári-Béke TSz. telepe, Városföldje; 13: Tiszavasvári-Eszenyi Miklós telke; 14: Tiszavasvári-Kashalom-dűlő; 15: Tiszavasvári-Koldusdomb; 16: Tiszavasvári-Petőfi utca 49.; 17: Tiszavasvári-Utasér-part-dűlő; 18: Tiszavasvári-Zöld Mező TSz telepe); 2: A női nemhez köthető ékszereket és mellékleteket tartalmazó temetkezések aránya kördiagramon ábrázolva a vizsgált leletanyagban

Table 1 Age groups of the deceased in each cemetery
1. táblázat Az elhunytak korcsoportjai az egyes temetőkben

Site name	*No. of burials with SATA*	*Adult*	*Mature*	*Senile*	*(Not determined)*	*References*
Alattyán-Tulát	61	22	12		*27*	Kovrig 1963
Jánoshida-Tótkérpuszta	4	1	2	1	*0*	Erdélyi 1958
Kisköre-Halastó	10	3	3		*4*	Garam 1979
Tiszabura-Bónishát	8	2			*6*	Tiszabura 2009
Tiszavasvári-Kashalom-dűlő	1	1			*0*	Lőrinczy, Rácz 2014
Tiszavasvári-Koldusdomb	1		1		*0*	Gulyás, Lőrinczy 2018a
Tiszavasvári-Petőfi utca 49.	2	1			*1*	Fancsalszky 1999
Tiszavasvári-Utasér-part-dűlő	2		2		*0*	Istvánovits, Lőrinczy 2017

in the lives of the people inhabiting the land (e.g., Szalontai 2014, 63–64; Szalontai, Sümegi 2015, 199–200). However, evaluating the inhabitation pattern of Avar communities in the area would require a detailed landscape and environmental archaeological analysis that exceeds the framework of the current study.

From an archaeological point of view, the region was a contact zone between two cultural units (Horváth 2022, 201). The communities of the Trans-Tisza group can mainly be distinguished by their distinct burial customs (e.g., niche graves), while the material culture also showing differences compared to the other group of the Zamárdi type circle (the term "Trans-Tisza group" is used here following my earlier definition). Ten of the analysed sites belong to this group (*Fig. 1, 1, 4–6, 12–18*; Selmeczi, Madaras 1980; Fancsalszky 1999; Mácsai 2012; Lőrinczy, Rácz 2014; Schmid 2015; Istvánovits, Lőrinczy 2017; Gulyás, Lőrinczy 2018a; Gulyás, Lőrinczy 2018b).

In the present paper, the definition of the term "Zamárdi type" (Bálint 2019; Horváth 2022, 201, footnote 3) was refined and renamed "Zamárdi-type circle". The circle comprises two groups: one with artefact and ornament types and technological solutions characteristic of the original Zamárdi type (e.g., bronze discs: Garam 1995, 306–328), and another, the Tiszafüred group, featuring distinct artefact types, chronological position, and funerary customs (e.g., individual horse burials: Garam 1995, 171–172). Four sites of the Tiszafüred group were included in the current analysis (*Fig. 1, 1, 7–10*; Kovrig 1975; Madaras 1991a; Garam 1995; Takács 2021), and two more of the first group (*Fig. 1, 1, 3*; Kovrig 1963; Garam 1979). The communities of the Tiszafüred group are referred to here in a broader sense compared to Horváth 2022, 201 and footnote 3, as the re-defined unit also comprises cemeteries that only feature elements of the material culture typical to the group but not the mortuary practice. Both groups may be distinguished based on diverse burial customs and certain artefact types.[2]

Besides the communities listed above, two more sites were included in the analysis (*Fig. 1, 1–2, 11*; Erdélyi 1958; Madaras 2019). However, by the characteristics of their archaeological record, these do not fit into any pre-defined unit.

The analysis focused on three questions: What object types, likely characteristic of the female gender, occur in burials of males? What could have been their role in that context? What is the chronological position of these burials? Answering these is of key importance in examining the social, economic, and historical background of the phenomenon (female gender markers in males' burials). A comprehensive evaluation requires the precise dating of all related features and a macro-level comparative analysis also involving similar burials in Transdanubia, the Danube-Tisza Interfluve, and the wider area.

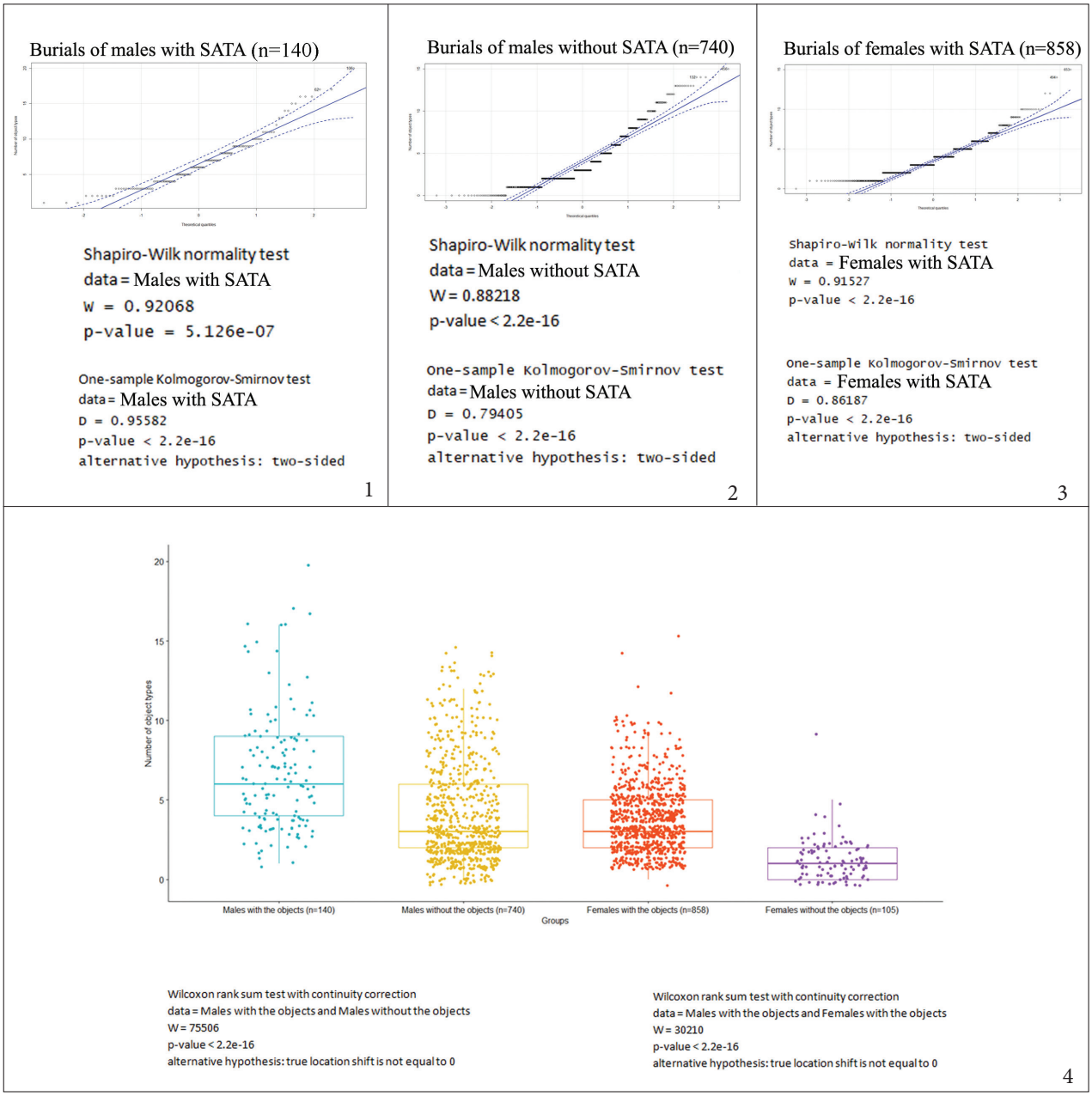


Fig. 2 1: Results of the normality tests and the Q–Q plot in the series burials of males with SATA; 2: Results of the normality tests and the Q–Q plot in the series burials of males without SATA; 3: Results of the normality tests and the Q–Q plot in the series burials of females with SATA; 4: Box plots of all burials, in separate series (males/females with/without SATA) with the results of the Wilcoxon tests

2. kép 1: A normalitásvizsgálatok eredményei és a Q–Q kép a vizsgált ékszereket és mellékleteket tartalmazó férfisírok esetében; 2: A normalitásvizsgálatok eredményei és a Q–Q kép a vizsgált ékszereket és mellékleteket nem tartalmazó férfisírok esetében; 3: A normalitásvizsgálatok eredményei és a Q–Q kép a vizsgált ékszereket és mellékleteket tartalmazó női sírok esetében; 4: Minden temetkezés dobozdiagramja külön csoportokban (férfiak és nők a vizsgált ékszereket és mellékleteket tartalmazó és nem tartalmazó temetkezései) a Wilcoxon tesztek eredményeivel

Methods

To examine the occurrence of female gender-related artefacts in burials of males, first simple bar charts were created using XLSTAT and R (Fox et al. 2022). The data were presented in a 2×2 contingency table, so they could be easily analysed by applying the χ^2 (Chi-square) and Fisher's exact tests (Drennan 1996, 187–201; VanPool, Leonard 2011, 238–253; Carlson 2017, 190–198; Siegmund 2020, 195–218). Hypothesis tests are for drawing statistical inferences and determining the probability of a phenomenon

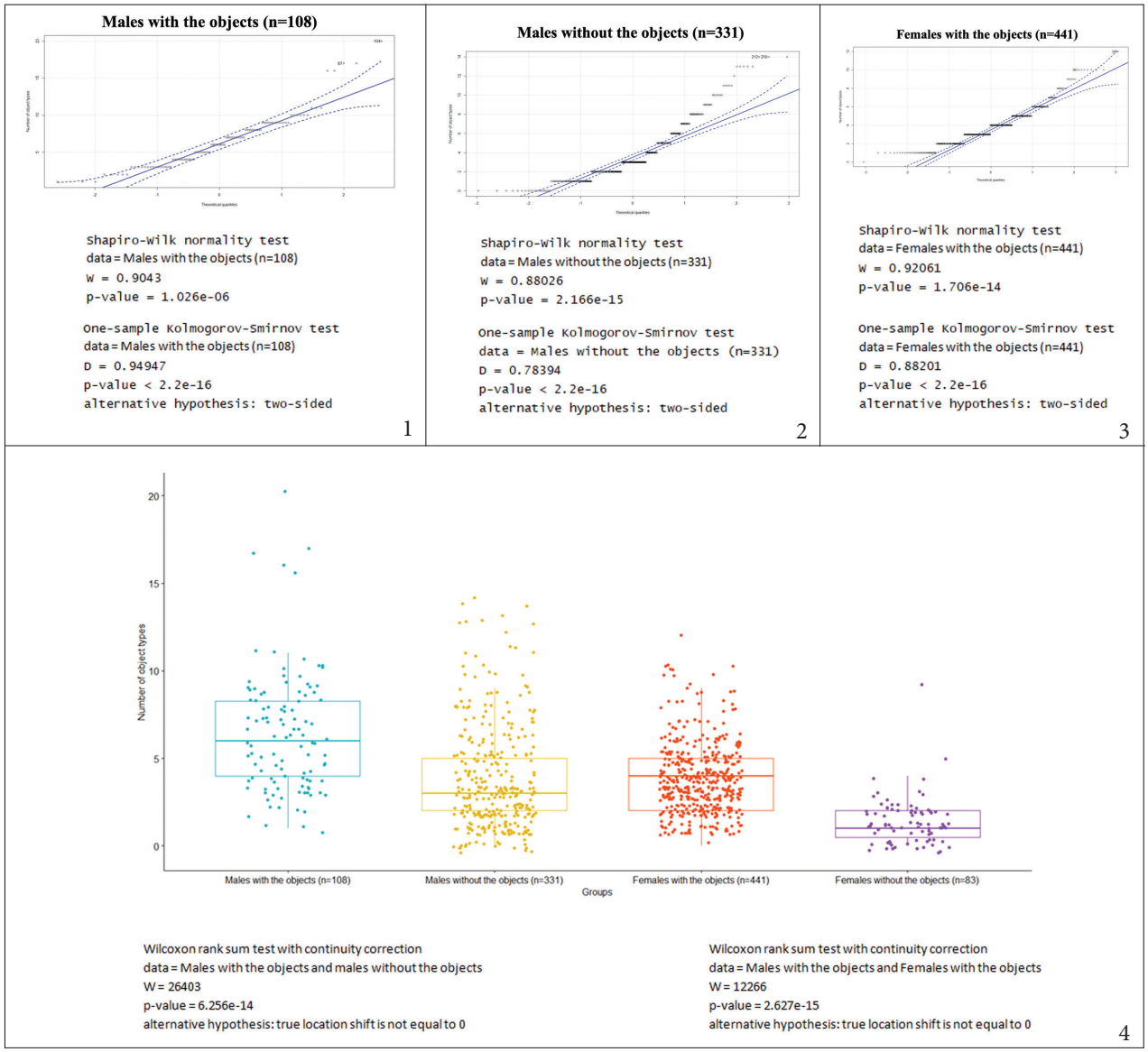


Fig. 3 1: Results of the normality tests and the Q–Q plot in the series burials of males with SATA; 2: Results of the normality tests and the Q–Q plot in the series burials of males without SATA; 3: Results of the normality tests and the Q–Q plot in the series burials of females with SATA; 4: Box plots of the burials with a determined biological sex of the deceased, in separate series (males/females with/without SATA) and the results of the Wilcoxon tests

3. kép 1: A normalitásvizsgálatok eredményei és a Q–Q kép a vizsgált ékszereket és mellékleteket tartalmazó férfisírok esetében; 2: A normalitásvizsgálatok eredményei és a Q–Q kép a vizsgált ékszereket és mellékleteket nem tartalmazó férfisírok esetében; 3: A normalitásvizsgálatok eredményei és a Q–Q kép a vizsgált ékszereket és mellékleteket tartalmazó női sírok esetében; 4: A meghatározott biológiai nemmel rendelkező temetkezések dobozdiagramjai külön csoportokban (férfiak és nők a vizsgált ékszereket és mellékleteket tartalmazó és nem tartalmazó temetkezései) a Wilcoxon tesztek eredményeivel

and the particular hypothesis examined. With the so-called P-value approach, a null hypothesis and alternative hypotheses must be specified first. If the P-value (probability value) is lower than α (set threshold value of probability), the null hypothesis must be rejected and an alternative one accepted (in the current analysis, the α-value was set to 0.05 in all tests). Besides, the Chi-square test was used to determine statistically significant difference from expectations; however, this method is unreliable with low case numbers (when the number of data points per category is lower than 5, see Chi-Square Test n.d.), yielding potentially false results. Therefore, in such cases, it was important to cross-check the results by applying Fisher's exact test (Sootewey 2020) and Yates' correction. The variables were binary; there-

fore, the strength of association was analysed using the φ (Phi) coefficient (Glen n. d.).

Another series of analyses focused on the occurrence of female gender-related artefact types in burials of males and the phenomenon's relation to social position by focusing on a single characteristic: the number of interred items per burial. The analysis was created based on the assumption that there is a positive correlation between the number of object types per grave and the social "significance" of the deceased at the time of their death (e.g., Schulting 1995, 27–29). Naturally, this was only one aspect to be examined; besides, grave size, object types found in the graves, and the materials used and techniques applied in their making must also have been focused on. Potential differences between burials of males containing female gender-related artefacts and the rest were visualized on box plots (Carlson 2017, 103), examining all burials as thoroughly as the ones where anthropological evaluation provided data on biological sex and/or age at death. Burials in the interquartile range were considered average, the ones in the upper quartile rich and those in the lower quartile poor (each quartile represents 25% of the data). The box plot analysis aimed to reveal whether the average number of interred items in burials of males containing potentially female gender-related objects differs from those without. That and the difference between the average number of interred items in burials of males and females containing female gender-related objects may reflect the importance of the deceased in their respective communities. In the current case (as in many cases when dealing with sets built of archaeological data), the presence of data points (here, burials) reflecting a statistically significant difference was expected, as the mortuary community of the analysed cemeteries represents the whole society rather than comprising the burials of people belonging to a particular social stratum. Unpaired t-test (T-test n. d.) could not be used to check whether the observed difference was statistically significant, as the results of both the Shapiro-Wilk and Kolmogorov-Smirnov tests and the Q-Q graph (Schneider 2019, 106) suggested significant deviance from the normal distribution in the data set (*Fig. 2, 1–3, Fig. 3, 1–3, Fig 4, 1–3*). Therefore, the unpaired Wilcoxon test was employed instead (Wilcoxon test n.d.), as it does not require normal distribution in the data set. Evaluation was carried out in diverse groupings, including the series of all burials, the series of burials where the biological sex of the deceased has been determined, and the series of burials where the biological sex and age at death of the deceased were determined were analysed to examine possible differences between gender and biological sex.

The role of female-gender-related items in males' burials was examined based on available literature. Determining the exact chronological position of the burials under study required a comprehensive chronological framework; of the available ones, Eric Breuer's system (Breuer 2005) seemed the most applicable, not least because that included several of the analysed sites.

Results

Occurrence and role of objects characteristic to the female gender in graves of males

The number of items in burials of males and females containing *specimens of the artefact types analysed* (herefrom referred to as *SATA*) shows a great variety in all examined cases. In the all-burials series (*Fig. 2, 4*), both the medians and the interquartile ranges are close to zero, indicating that burials usually contain only a few interred items. The averages are closest in the series of men's burials not containing and women's burials containing SATA (only the upper-intermediate quartile range of men's burials being longer), suggesting a more balanced gender-based differentiation (as expressed by the number of interred items). In contrast, both the absolute number and variety of rich burials are higher with males than females. Burials of men with SATA usually contain more items than those without; however, the upper and lower interquartile ranges overlap. Furthermore, these show the greatest variability amongst the analysed series. Rich burials of men with SATA contain the largest number and widest selection of interred items among all. The number of interred items in less affluent men's burials with SATA is in the lower-average spectrum, matching the range of men without and women with SATA. The interquartile range of the series of burials of females without SATA (representing the average) shows the least dispersion, its upper end barely reaching that of females' burials with SATA. This result, combined with the observation that only relatively rich burials without SATA contain a similar number of interred items as the average burials of females with SATA, shows that the relatively low number and a small variety of interred items are characteristic of both series.

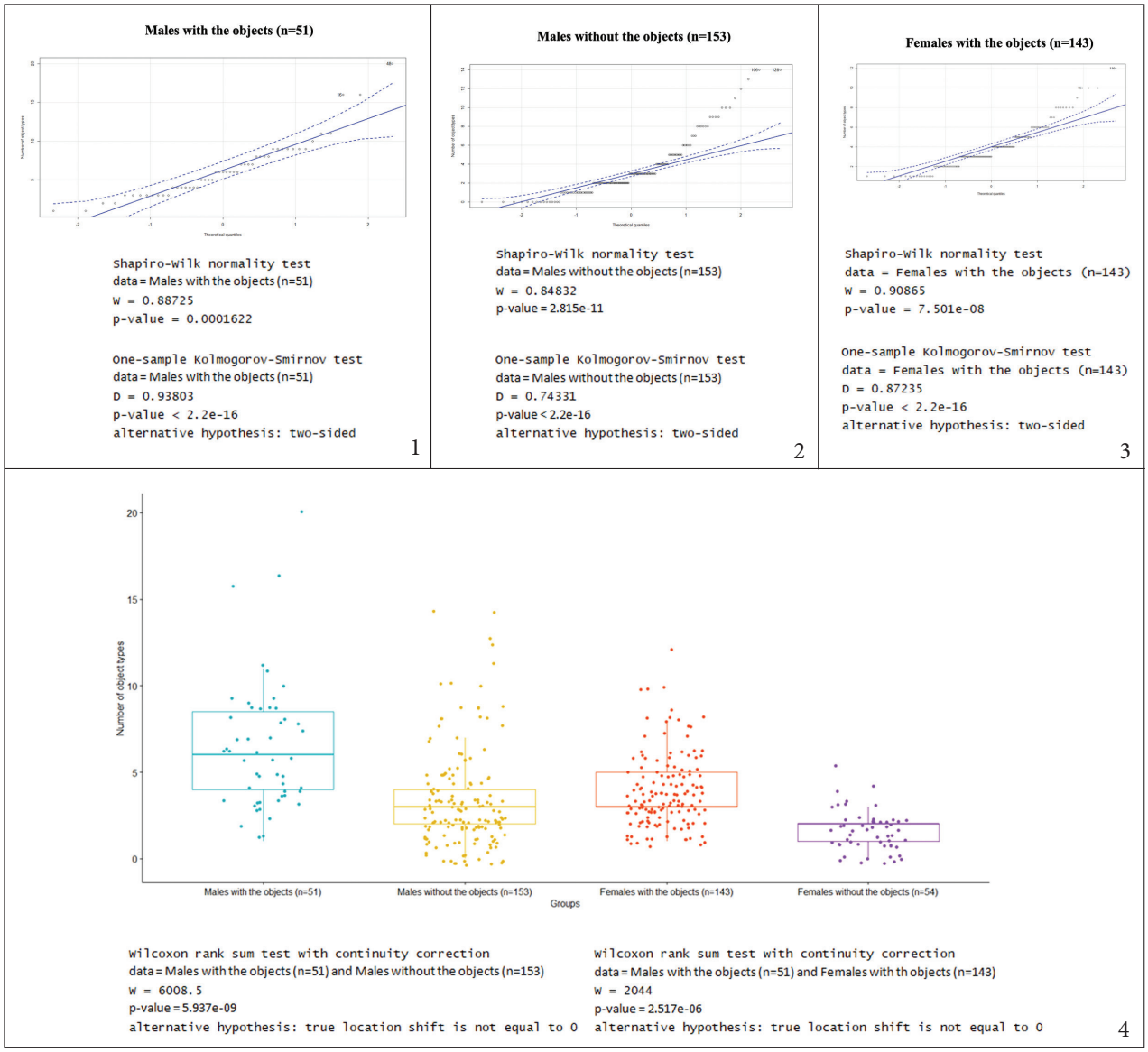


Fig. 4 1: Results of the normality tests and the Q–Q plot in the series burials of males with SATA; 2: Results of the normality tests and the Q–Q plot in the series burials of males without SATA; 3: Results of the normality tests and the Q–Q plot in the series burials of females with SATA; 4: Box plots of the burials with a determined biological sex and age at death of the deceased, in separate series (males/females with/without SATA) and the results of the Wilcoxon tests
4. kép 1: A normalitásvizsgálatok eredményei és a Q–Q kép a vizsgált ékszereket és mellékleteket tartalmazó férfisírok esetében; 2: A normalitásvizsgálatok eredményei és a Q–Q kép a vizsgált ékszereket és mellékleteket nem tartalmazó férfisírok esetében; 3: A normalitásvizsgálatok eredményei és a Q–Q kép a vizsgált ékszereket és mellékleteket tartalmazó női sírok esetében; 4: A meghatározott biológiai nemmel és életkorral rendelkező temetkezések dobozdiagramjai külön csoportokban (férfiak és nők a vizsgált ékszereket és mellékleteket tartalmazó és nem tartalmazó temetkezései) a Wilcoxon tesztek eredményeivel

The Wilcoxon tests revealed a statistically significant difference between the average burials of males with and without SATA as well as between those of males and females with SATA, confirming the picture outlined by the box plots.

The analysis restricted to the burials where the biological sex of the deceased had been determined by anthropological evaluation (*Fig. 3, 4*) has revealed the average burials of males without and females with SATA containing items in similar quantities; however, the median is higher with females, suggesting more burials in the upper-interquartile range (i.e., burials of females seem to be richer than those of males). Both series display similar variability: both the rich, average, and poor ranges match in the two series. A closer look at the box plots re-

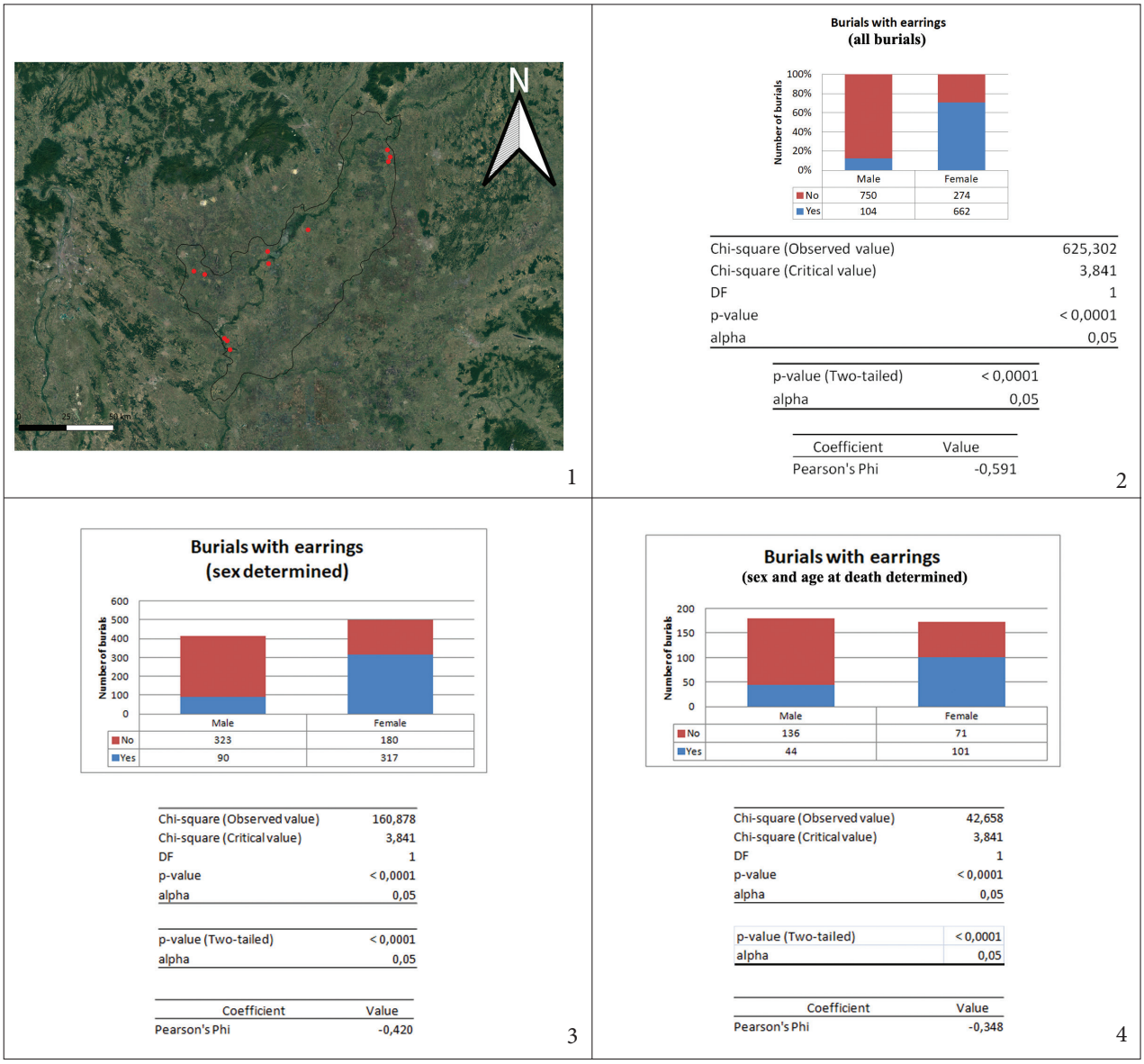
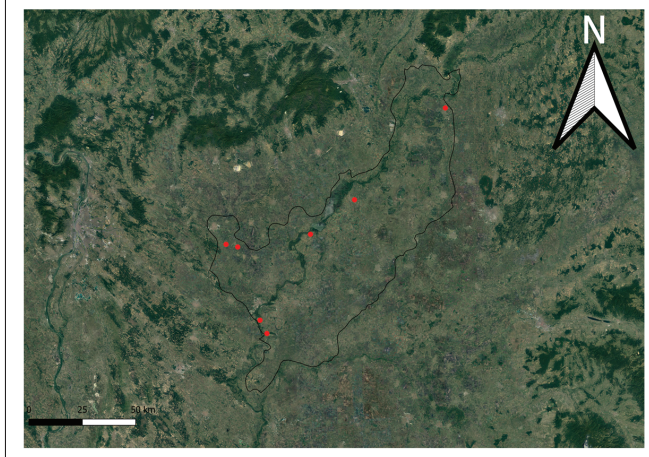


Fig. 5 1: Distribution of earrings; 2–4: Bar charts of earrings' distribution and significance test results (2: All burials; 3: Sex determined; 4: Sex and age at death determined)

5. kép 1: A fülbevalók elterjedése; 2–4: A fülbevalók megoszlását ábrázoló oszlopdiagramok és a szignifikanciatesztek eredményei (2: Minden temetkezés; 3: Meghatározott biológiai nem; 4: Meghatározott biológiai nem és életkor)

veals that lower-average burials of males with SATA contain somewhat more items than upper-average burials of males without SATA. Also, rich burials show relatively low variety compared to a series of burials of males without and females with SATA, despite containing more items. Burials of females without SATA display the lowest variability amongst all series. Poor and average burials of females without SATA are similar to poor burials of males without and of females with SATA, also having the lowest median of them all. These observations and the fact that the uppermost quartile of the series (i.e., rich burials of females without SATA) overlaps with only lower-average burials of females with SATA suggest this group being the poorest. Again, the Wilcoxon test has revealed a statistically significant difference between average burials of males with and without SATA as well as of males and females with SATA, confirming the picture outlined by the box plots.

The series only comprising burials where the biological sex and age at death of the deceased has been determined by anthropological evaluation (*Fig 4, 4*) shows more variability in the average range compared to the all-burials and determined-sex series (*Fig. 2, 4, Fig. 3, 4*). The median and lower end of the interquartile range match in the series of buri-



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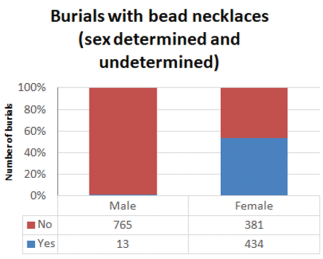
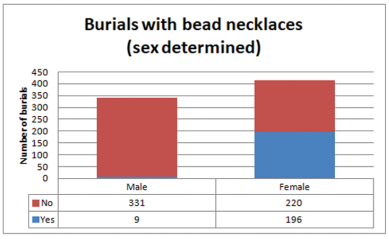


Chi-square (Observed value)	524,606
Chi-square (Critical value)	3,841
DF	1
p-value	< 0,0001
alpha	0,05

p-value (Two-tailed)	< 0,0001
alpha	0,05

Coefficient	Value
Pearson's Phi	-0,574

2

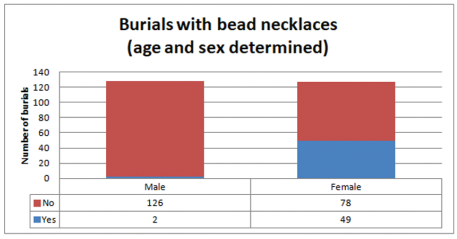


Chi-square (Observed value)	187,193
Chi-square (Critical value)	3,841
DF	1
p-value	< 0,0001
alpha	0,05

p-value (Two-tailed)	< 0,0001
alpha	0,05

Coefficient	Value
Pearson's Phi	-0,498

3



Chi-square (Observed value)	54,605
Chi-square (Critical value)	3,841
DF	1
p-value	< 0,0001
alpha	0,05

p-value (Two-tailed)	< 0,0001
alpha	0,05

Coefficient	Value
Pearson's Phi	-0,463

4

Fig. 6 1: Distribution of bead necklaces; 2–4: Bar charts of bead necklaces' distribution and significance test results (2: All burials; 3: Sex determined; 4: Sex and age at death determined)
6. kép 1: A gyöngy nyakláncok elterjedése; 2–4: A gyöngy nyakláncok megoszlását ábrázoló oszlopdiagramok és a szignifikanciatesztek eredményei (2: Minden temetkezés; 3: Meghatározott biológiai nem; 4: Meghatározott biológiai nem és életkor)

als of females with SATA, indicating a tendency with these burials to contain less interred items. Even if the median of this series (burials of females with SATA) matches that of the burials of males without SATA, the burial of an average female has more interred items compared to similar burials of males as only the upper-average range overlaps the average range of the series of females. The poors of this series are a bit richer than respective males, and the rich have more interred items. Burials of males with SATA feature the largest variability and contain the most items. Average burials of males with SATA display a wider variety of object types compared to the respective range of other series and contain more items. Rich burials of men with SATA display a lower variety than rich burials of females with SATA but contain more interred items. The poor range (lowermost quartile) also displays high variability, overlapping the average range of the series of burials of males without SATA. Burials of females without SATA show the smallest variability, and they seem to be the poorest of all, the upper end and median only reaching the lower end of average burials of males without SATA. The Wilcoxon tests revealed a statistically significant difference between the average burials of males with and without SATA as well

Table 2 Object types by archaeological sites
2. táblázat A tárgytípusok lelőhelyenként

Site name	*No. of burials of males with the analysed artefact types*	*References*
Earrings		
Alattyán-Tulát	54	Kovrig 1963
Jánoshida-Tótkérpuszta	9	Erdélyi 1958
Kisköre-Halastó	10	Garam 1979
Rákóczifalva-Kastélydomb	1	Selmeczi, Madaras 1950
Rákóczifalva-Bagi-föld 8A	4	Mácsai 2012
Tiszabura-Bónishát	5	Tiszabura 2009
Tiszafüred-Majoroshalom	10	Garam 1995
Tiszavárkony-Hugyinpart	7	Madaras 2019
Tiszavasvári-Kashalom-dűlő	1	Lőrinczy, Rácz 2014
Tiszavasvári-Koldusdomb	1	Gulyás, Lőrinczy 2018a
Tiszavasvári-Utasér-part-dűlő	2	Istvánovits, Lőrinczy 2017
Bead necklaces		
Alattyán-Tulát	2	Kovrig 1963
Jánoshida-Tótkérpuszta	2	Erdélyi 1958
Rákóczifalva-Bagi-föld 8A	2	Mácsai 2012
Tiszabura-Bónishát	1	Tiszabura 2009
Tiszafüred-Majoroshalom	2	Garam 1995
Tiszavárkony-Hugyinpart	1	Madaras 2019
Tiszavasvári-Koldusdomb	1	Gulyás, Lőrinczy 2018a
Tiszavasvári-Petőfi utca 49.	2	Fancsalszky 1999
Finger rings		
Alattyán-Tulát	1	Kovrig 1963
Jánoshida-Tótkérpuszta	1	Erdélyi 1958
Needle cases		
Jánoshida-Tótkérpuszta	1	Erdélyi 1958
Rákóczifalva-Bagi-föld 8A	3	Mácsai 2012
Spindle discs and whorls		
Rákóczifalva-Bagi-föld 8A	3	Mácsai 2012
Tiszafüred-Majoroshalom	1	Garam 1995
Mezzaluna knife		
Tiszafüred-Majoroshalom	1	Garam 1995
Bronze discs		
Tiszabura-Bónishát	3	Tiszabura 2009
Tiszafüred-Majoroshalom	10	Garam 1995
Eggs		
Alattyán-Tulát	8	Kovrig 1963
Jánoshida-Tótkérpuszta	1	Erdélyi 1958
Rákóczifalva-Kastélydomb	1	Selmeczi, Madaras 1980

as of males and females with SATA, confirming the picture outlined by the box plots.

Most objects characteristic of graves of females but also found in burials of males belong to different jewellery types. Among these, earrings should be mentioned first (for these and other object types, see *Table 2, Fig. 5*). In the case of many Avar sites, earrings have not been considered gender-specific (Distelberger 2004, 29). Earrings are, however, significantly less frequent additions to burials of men than women in some regions, including Austria (Distelberger 2004, 29, 58), the Danube–Tisza Interfluve (Balogh 2016, 149), the Körös–Tisza–Maros Region (Bende 2017, 291), and the Middle Tisza Region. The origins of the custom (men wearing earrings) may originate in Asia (Bóna 1980, 39).

Earrings were found in the burials of men in 11 sites (*Fig. 5, 1*; 61.11% of the 18 sites included); the burials were distributed equally between the two groups (1:1 ratio). The occurrence of earrings seems to have a strong negative correlation with males in both the all-burials series and the series only comprising individuals with determined biological sex (*Fig. 5, 1–2*); in the series of individuals with determined biological sex and age at death, the correlation is moderately negative. Conclusively, this object type may be interpreted as a female gender marker. The frequency and position of earrings in graves indicate that they had actually been worn by men but mostly as single items instead of pairs (in 72.73% of the 11 sites). The custom was also present in the Körös–Tisza–Maros region (Bende 2017, 291). Ethnographic analogies also raise the vague possibility of the presence of an apotropaic function (Horváth 1979).

Specimens of the artefact types analysed usually appear in low numbers. Necklaces – like earrings – have not, in several cases, been interpreted as gender markers in Avar Period cemeteries (Distelberger 2004, 29, 58; Bende 2017, 293). Necklaces from seven sites were included in our analysis (*Fig. 6, 1*). Such finds are present in the record of both pre-defined style groups but are more characteristic of the Zamárdi-type circle (42.86% of the seven sites). There is a strong negative correlation between necklaces and burials of males, indicating the type to be a female gender marker in all examined cases (*Fig. 6, 2–4*).

Men's burials contain either complete necklaces similar to women's or a few beads added for apotropaic purposes (Balogh 2016, 167). Such "partial" necklaces, comprising only two to four beads, were recorded in five sites (n=9; Jánoshida, Rákóczifalva-Bagi-föld 8A, Tiszabura, Tiszafüred-Majoroshalom, Tiszavárkony, and Tiszavasvári-Petőfi utca 49.). It must be noted, however, that as it is easy to miss a bead or two when excavating a grave, the initial number of beads may have been higher. "Partial" necklaces appear in Early Avar period burials of men, often in rich graves of armed warriors (Kovrig 1957, 122–123), where they were probably added for apotropaic purposes during the funeral instead of having been part of the everyday attire of the one-time owner (Bóna 1979, 27–28, 30). The custom also appears in certain burials in the Danube–Tisza Interfluve (Balogh 2016, 167). Complete necklaces have been recovered from the graves of men in two sites (n=3, Alattyán, Rákóczifalva-Bagi-föld 8A), but those were possibly also worn for an assumed apotropaic capacity.

Finger rings are rare finds in the burials of the period; they also served as jewellery items. All recorded specimens in our analysis came from the Jászság area, from cemeteries in the first group of the Zamárdi-type circle and a site not belonging to either pre-defined unit (*Fig. 7, 1*). In the series comprising only burials where the sex of the deceased has been determined by anthropological evaluation, there is a negligible negative correlation between finger rings and burials of males, indicating the type to be a possible female gender marker (*Fig. 7, 2*). While finger rings were characteristic of burials of females during the Avar period in the north-western part of the Carpathian Basin (Distelberger 2004, 30), the Early Avar period in the Danube–Tisza Interfluve (Balogh 2016, 181), and the second half of the Avar Period in the Körös–Tisza–Maros region (Bende 2017, 294) in the first place, they sometimes also occurred in graves of men.

Needle cases, spindle discs and whorls, and mezzaluna knives are also typical to burials of women and girls. Spindle rings and whorls, the tools of spinning (Balogh 2016, 267), were (in Anton Distelberger's words) almost stereo-"typically female" symbols (Distelberger 2004, 30). Needle cases are also strongly related to the female gender because, just like spindle discs and whorls, they are symbols of activities related to women. By find context, needle cases could not be examined because of their low number in our dataset (*Fig. 8, 2–4*). In Early Avar assemblages in the Danube–Tisza Interfluve, a needle case appears in a man's burial from Péterréve; besides, specimens of the type are known mainly

from burials of women and girls (Balogh 2016, 264). In addition, Csilla Balogh observed that such finds were usually added to less rich burials. Men's graves in rural cemeteries in the Körös–Tisza–Maros region did not contain needle cases but only a few iron needles (in 1.3% of the burials of men and boys; Bende 2017, 290; Szenthe, Gáll 2021, 7, Fig. 4). In our dataset, they appear in only two sites (*Fig. 8, 1*). In Rákóczifalva-Bagi-föld 8A, a site of the Trans-Tisza group, needles were usually placed to the right side of the skull or the left leg, perhaps by female members of the mourning community, or were resting on the right pelvic bone. In the latter case, one might assume that they were actually used as tools, probably stored in a purse or small sack made from organic materials and hung from the belt. By its position in the grave, the single needle from a burial at Jánoshida was also a tool, stored either in a pouch or stitched into the clothing.

Spindle discs and whorls appear in both groups (*Fig. 9, 1*). There is a weak negative correlation between spindle discs and whorls and burials of men, suggesting the type to be a possible female gender marker (*Fig. 9, 2*). Only a few specimens occur in the graves of the Tiszafüred cemetery (Garam 1995, 337). In the Körös–Tisza–Maros region, spindle whorls are usually added to burials of females, save for nine specimens recovered from graves of men (the biological sex of most was determined by a physical anthropological analysis; Bende 2017, 295). Spindle discs and whorls in the burials of Tiszafüred and Rákóczifalva-Bagi-föld 8A may served an apotropaic role or were keepsakes or gifts by women, given to their one-time owner during his life. On the latter site, the spindle rings were placed by the left leg of the deceased; this relative position may indicate them having been a gift.

The most likely function of mezzaluna knives may be related to meal-making. Éva Garam suggested earlier that these objects may be linked to a particular way of preparing food (Garam 2011, 64). The appearance of mezzaluna knives cannot be examined statistically because of their low number (*Fig. 9, 4*). They occur only in burials of the Tiszafüred group (*Fig. 9, 3*), which is presumably due to the type's cultural background, linking it to Zamárdi-type cemeteries (Garam 2018, 348, Tab. 3). Mezzaluna knives were usually resting in the middle of the pelvic bone, next to the belt's iron buckle, possibly placed there by the mourners or hanging from the clothing.

Bronze discs have usually been part of women's belts, hanging from the main strap. There is a moderate negative correlation between men's burials and bronze discs, indicating the type to be a female gender marker. These results are similar in the all-burials series and the one only comprising the burials of individuals with their sex determined (*Fig. 10, 2–3*). Such artefacts were common additions to the graves of males in the Danube–Tisza Interfluve during the Early Avar Period (Balogh 2016, 225). The type, with Merovingian connections (Garam 2011, 65; Balogh 2016, 226), was used to hang various items. Bronze discs are characteristic of Zamárdi-type cemeteries (according to Éva Garam's terminology; Garam 2018, 348), comprising the sites of the Tiszafüred group. In our dataset, bronze discs only occur in cemeteries of the Tiszafüred group (*Fig. 10, 1*), especially in Tiszabura, where 23.08% of men's burials with female gender markers contained one.

Besides jewellery, some grave goods might also be interpreted as gender-related. Eggs, for example, have mainly been found in the graves of women and children. In the analysed record, eggs appear in three sites (*Fig.11, 1*): one of the Zamárdi-type circle, another of the Trans-Tisza group, and a third not belonging to either pre-defined unit. Despite their low occurrence, there is a negligible negative correlation between men's burials and eggs, indicating the type to be a slightly possible female gender marker in all cases. In the Körös–Tisza–Maros region, eggs are typical to burials of women, while only about 20 percent of all cases appeared in men's and only a few specimens in children's graves. Not counting children, there is no difference in age-related distribution of egg offerings between the two sexes: they are equally typical to adults and matures, only the number of older people is low (Bende 2017, 321–322). There was only one cemetery in the Danube–Tisza Interfluve (Szeged-Fehértó B), where eggs have been recovered from burials of men (with weapons and belt sets), while in other cemeteries they were added exclusively to burials of women and especially children (Balogh 2016, 138).

Eggs in burials are present both as food and for protective symbolic purposes (W. Dörfler 1895, 205; Solymossy 1923; Balogh 2016, 138; Bende 2017, 322). They may be interpreted as a sign of fertility, youth, health, and the indivisible gift of food (Pócs 1982; Gazda 2006, 167; Hesz 2009, 136), as indicated by their position (usually in the pelvic area) and the gender and age at death of the deceased (Madaras 1991b, 40). The symbolic meaning is sometimes emphasized by painting or carving (Madaras 1991b, 40;

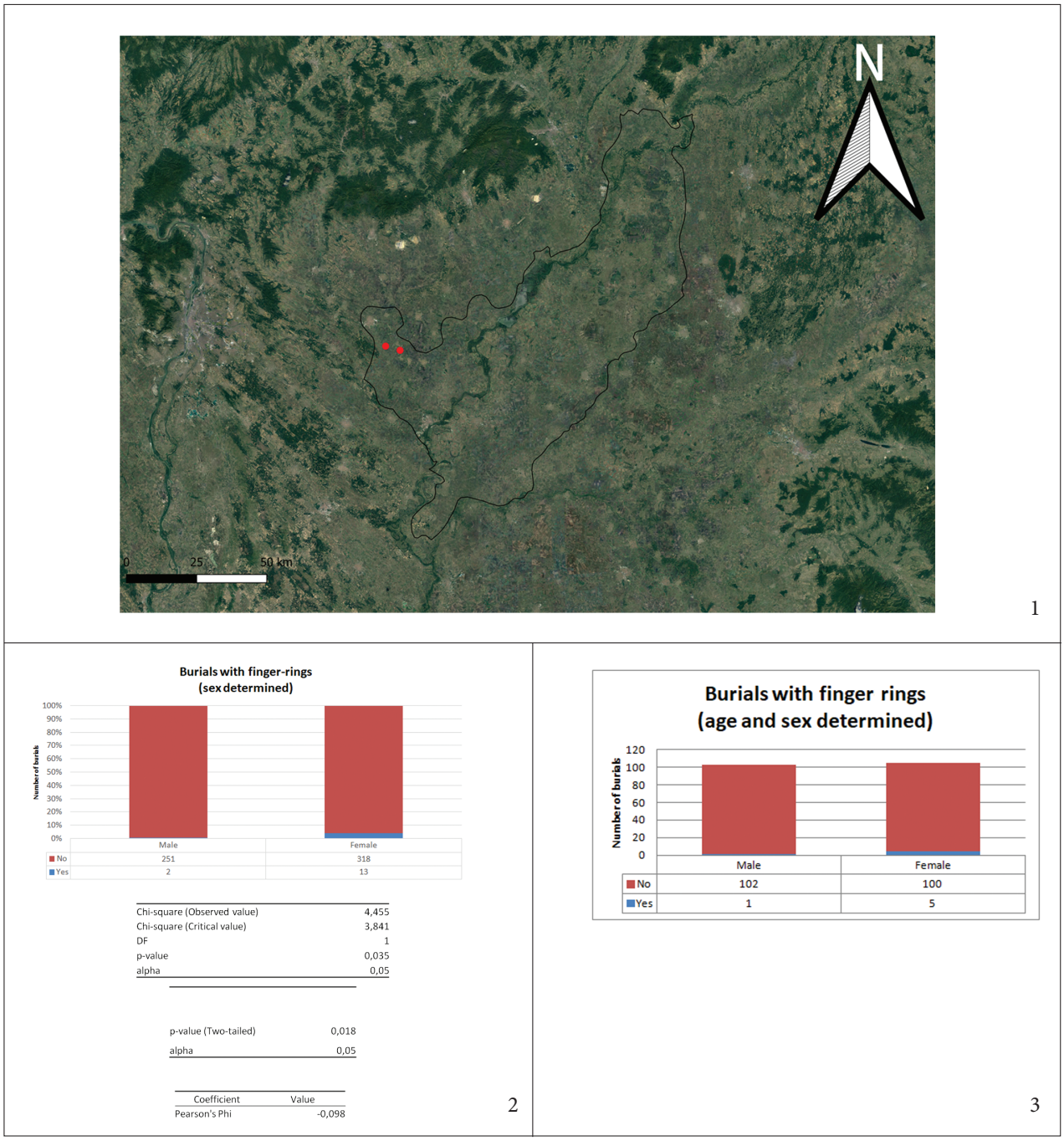


Fig. 7 1: Distribution of finger rings; 2–4: Bar charts of finger rings' distribution and significance test results (2: All burials; 3: Sex determined; 4: Sex and age at death determined)
7. kép 1: A gyűrűk elterjedése; 2–4: A gyűrűk megoszlását ábrázoló oszlopdiagramok és a szignifikanciatesztek eredményei (2: Minden temetkezés; 3: Meghatározott biológiai nem; 4: Meghatározott biológiai nem és életkor)

Balogh 2016, 138; Bende 2017, 322). In cases when eggs are the only food remains or are placed away from obvious food offerings, an apotropaic function may be attributed to them (the analysed set contains three such burials from Alattyán and Rákóczifalva-Kastélydomb). If found next to artefacts related to food and beverage offerings, eggs may also be interpreted as food (Bende 2017, 322); the analysed record comprised seven such burials (Alattyán, Jánoshida).

In summary, some objects (bronze discs, perhaps necklaces) show connections with either pre-defined style group, while others (earrings, spindle discs, and whorls) appear in both. Some can be connected to a specific area (Jászság: finger rings, eggs; Tiszafüred: mezzaluna knives), while others not (needle cases).

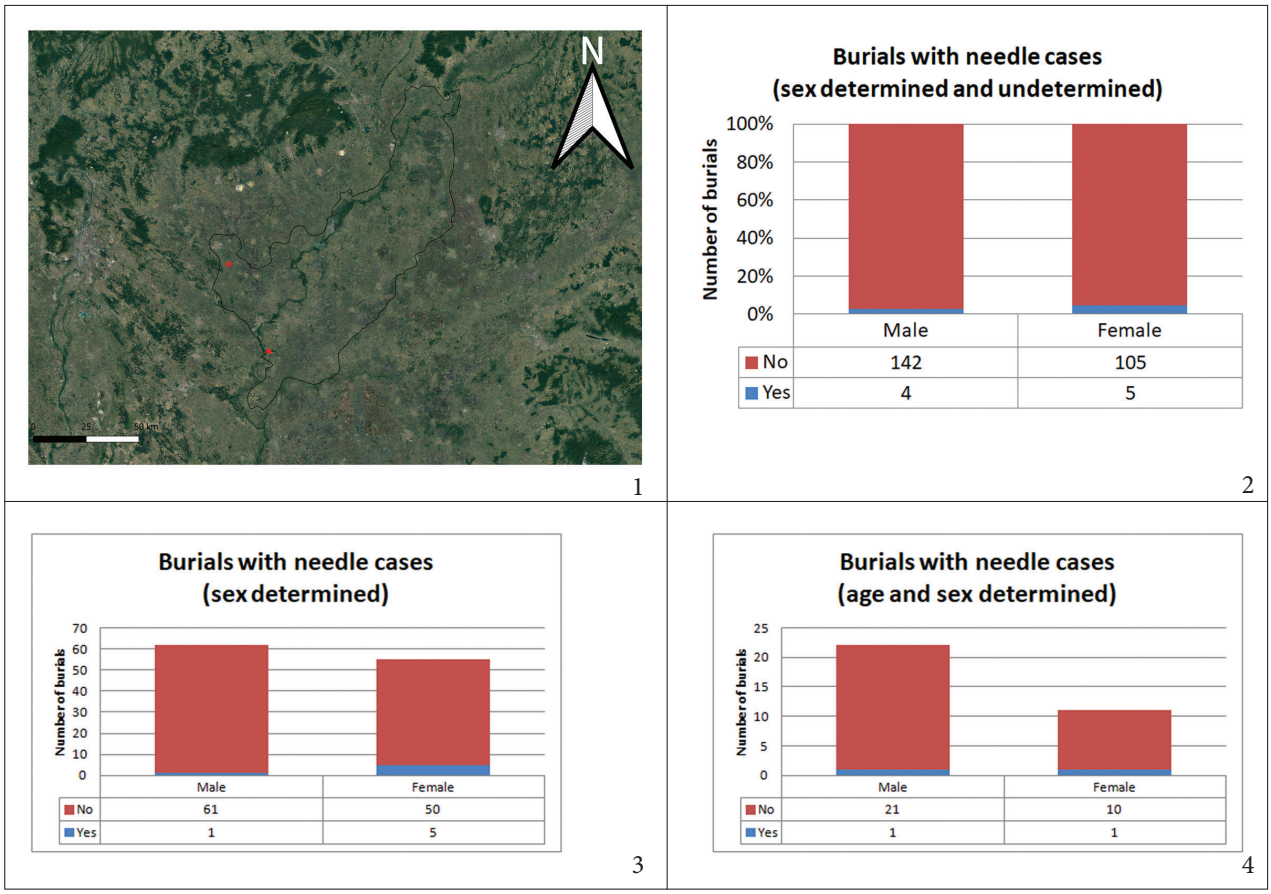


Fig. 8 1: Distribution of needle cases; 2–4: Bar charts of needle cases' distribution and significance test results (2: All burials; 3: Sex determined; 4: Sex and age at death determined)
8. kép 1: A tűtartók elterjedése; 2–4: A tűtartók megoszlását ábrázoló oszlopdiagramok és a szignifikanciatesztek eredményei (2: Minden temetkezés; 3: Meghatározott biológiai nem; 4: Meghatározott biológiai nem és életkor)

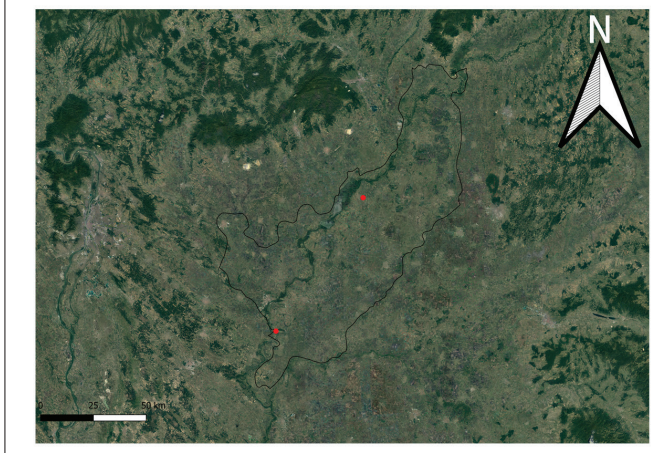
Some were more likely to be used in life (earrings, finger rings, complete bead necklaces, bronze discs, needle cases), while others (partial bead necklaces, some needle cases, and spindle discs or whorls) may have been deposited as offerings into the graves by the mourners. Most of them may have had an apotropaic or other kind of symbolic function. Most eggs were probably given as food. The object types listed above belonged to the more affluent of the society, as they are more likely to occur in graves containing more items and a larger variability of artefact types compared to males without SATA and females with similar object types.

Chronological position of burials of males in the analysed record

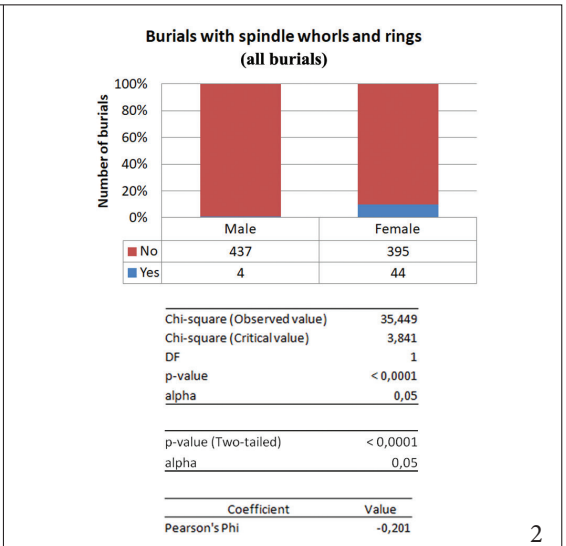
The Avar Period has been divided into three phases (Kovrig 1963; Böhme 1965; Daim 1987; Zábojník 1991; Garam 1995; Breuer 2005; Faragó et al. 2022, 13). Altogether 27 burials in our data set belong to the Early (Breuer's FA phase) and early Middle Avar Periods (Breuer's MA1 phase; Breuer 2005, 40–49 and 50–55, respectively).[3]

Of those, thirteen were dated to the Early Avar Period, coming from sites both in the two pre-defined style units and ones not classified into either of them (see *Table 3*). Two graves were disturbed (Alattyán, Tiszavasvári-Utasér-part-dűlő). One grave contained a pair of earrings (Alattyán), four single earrings (Alattyán, Tiszavárkony), two necklaces (Jánoshida), one an egg (Alattyán), and another one a mezzaluna knife (Tiszafüred). One individual wore both a single earring and a necklace (Alattyán), while another a pair of earrings and a necklace (Tiszavasvári-Koldusdomb).

The remaining fourteen burials can be dated to the transition between the FA and MA I periods. Again, the related sites belong to either of the two pre-defined style units or neither. Eight graves contained pairs of earrings (Alattyán, Jánoshida, Tiszavárkony, Rákóczifalva-Kastélydomb), three other single earrings (Alattyán and Rákóczifalva), one a



1



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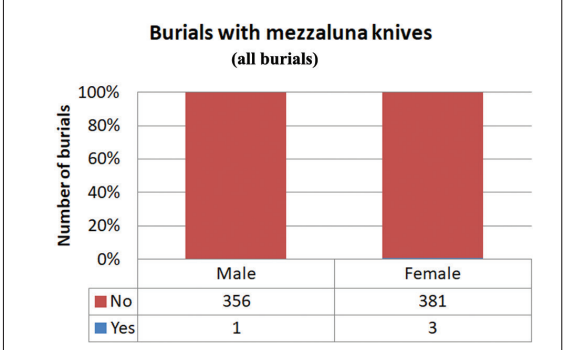


4

Fig. 9 1: Distribution of spindle whorls and discs; 2: Bar charts of spindle whorls and discs' distribution among all burials and significance test results; 3: Distribution of mezzaluna knives; 4: Bar charts of mezzaluna knives' distribution among all burials and significance test results

9. kép 1: Az orsógombok és -karikák elterjedése; 2: Az orsógombok és -karikák megoszlását ábrázoló oszlopdiagramok minden temetkezés esetében és a szignifikanciatesztek eredményei; 3: A bárdkések elterjedése; 4: A bárdkések megoszlását ábrázoló oszlopdiagramok minden temetkezés esetében és a szignifikanciatesztek eredményei

pair of earrings and a needle case (Rákóczifalva), one a pair of earrings and a necklace (Rákóczifalva) and one a man wearing a necklace (Alattyán).

The Middle Avar Period can be divided into two phases, MA I (see above) and II (Breuer 2005, 56–61). Altogether 34 burials in our dataset were dated to this period, and only one of those, grave no. 115 in Rákóczifalva-Bagi-föld 8A (Mácsai 2012, 1, 93), a site of the Trans-Tisza group, to the MA I phase. The grave contained both an earring and a needle case.

Another sixteen graves, from sites of the Zamárdi-type circle and ones not belonging to either predefined unit, were dated to the transition between the MA I and II phases. Only one grave in Alattyán was disturbed. Ten burials (Alattyán, Jánoshida, and Kisköre) contained pairs of earrings, four single earrings (Alattyán, Kisköre, Tiszafüred), and one a necklace (Tiszavárkony).

Our dataset comprised eleven burials from the Middle Avar Period from sites of the two pre-defined style units or ones not belonging to either. Only the grave in Tiszavasvári was disturbed. One individual wore a pair of earrings (Alattyán), four others single earrings (Alattyán, Rákóczifalva, and Tiszavárkony), one had a spindle whorl (Tiszafüred), and three others bronze discs (Tiszafüred), while one individual (Rákóczifalva) had a needle case placed next to him.

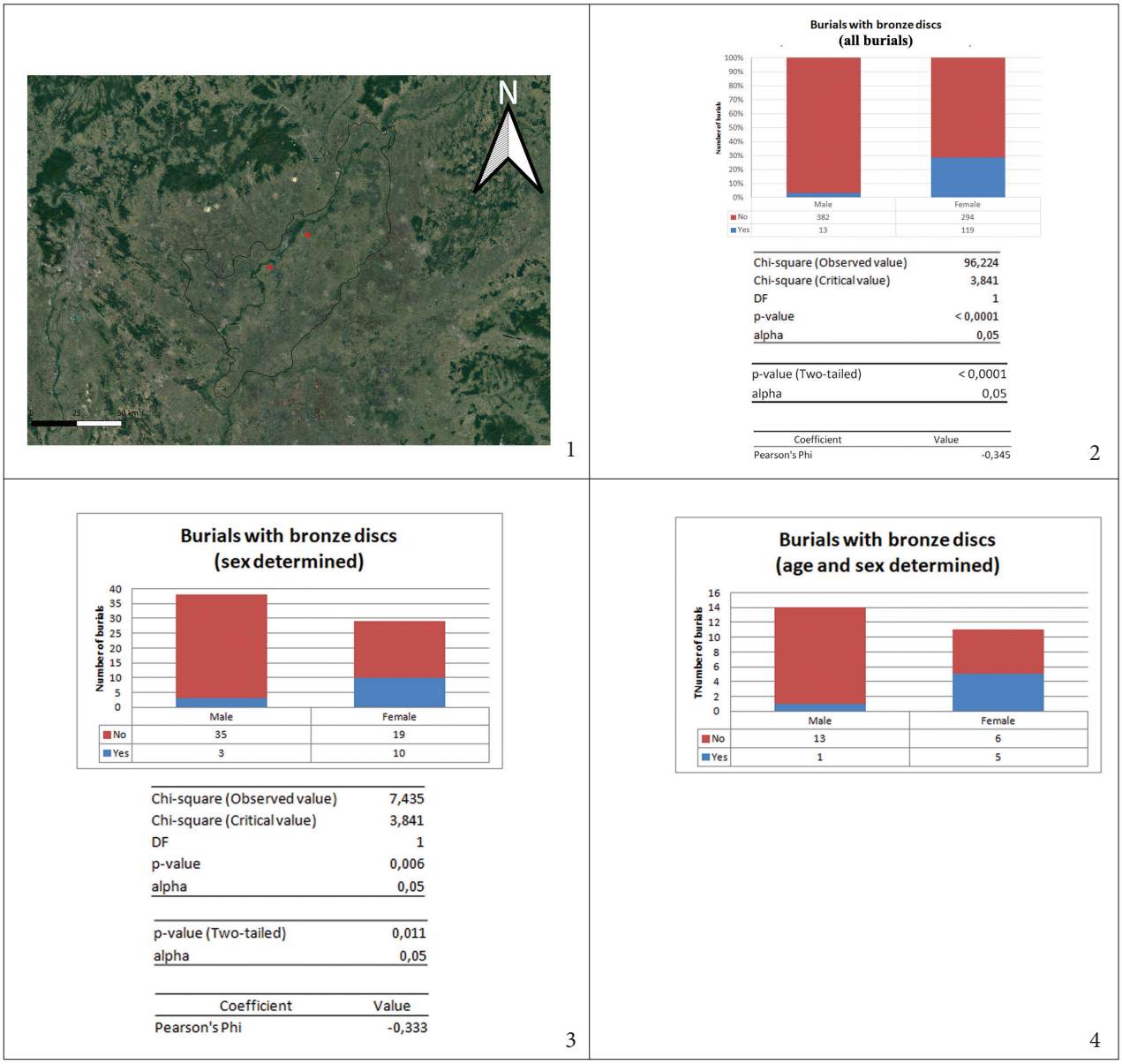


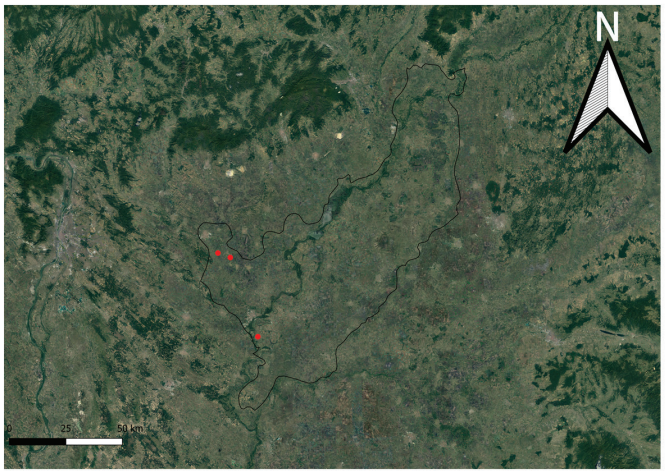
Fig. 10 1: Distribution of bronze discs; 2–4: Bar charts of bronze discs' distribution and significance test results (2: All burials; 3: Sex determined; 4: Sex and age at death determined)
10. kép 1: A bronzkorongok elterjedése; 2–4: A bronzkorongok megoszlását ábrázoló oszlopdiagramok és a szignifikanciatesztek eredményei (2: Minden temetkezés; 3: Meghatározott biológiai nem; 4: Meghatározott biológiai nem és életkor)

Six graves could be dated to the transition phase between the Middle (MA II) and Late Avar Periods (SPA I; for the latter, see Breuer 2005, 62–67). Most burials came from sites of the Zamárdi-type circle. Four graves (Alattyán and Kisköre) contained pairs of earrings, one a necklace (Rákóczifalva), and another one a finger ring (Alattyán).

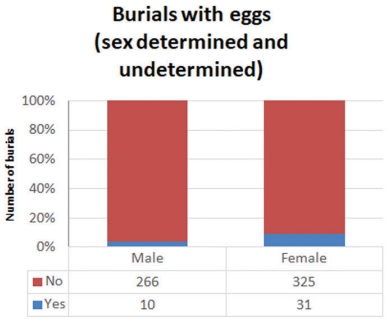
The dataset comprised 37 Late Avar Period burials altogether. The Late Avar Period can be divided into four phases (Daim 1987, Abb. 28; Breuer 2005, 62–105; Szenthe 2020, 113–116). The examined burials were distributed unevenly among the four phases: 31 graves were dated to the SPA I and II phases, while only a few to the later ones.

Three burials were dated to the first phase of the Late Avar Period (SPA I), all from sites of the Zamárdi-type circle. All burials only contained single earrings.

Eight graves can be dated to the transition of the SPA I and SPA II periods, mostly from sites of the Zamárdi-type circle, and only one from a cemetery not classified into either pre-defined unit. Only one grave (in Tiszabura) was disturbed. Two burials con-



1

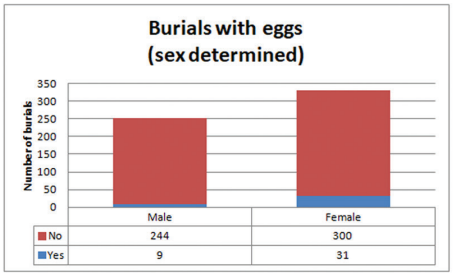


Chi-square (Observed value)	6,626
Chi-square (Critical value)	3,841
DF	1
p-value	0,010
alpha	0,05

p-value (Two-tailed)	0,014
alpha	0,05

Coefficient	Value
Pearson's Phi	-0,102

2

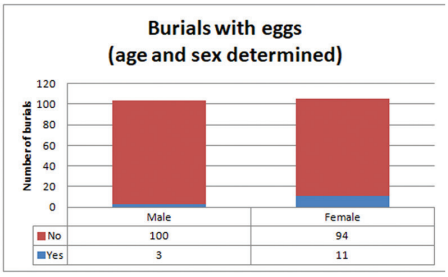


Chi-square (Observed value)	7,582
Chi-square (Critical value)	3,841
DF	1
p-value	0,006
alpha	0,05

p-value (Two-tailed)	0,007
alpha	0,05

Coefficient	Value
Pearson's Phi	-0,114

3



Chi-square (Observed value)	3,610
Chi-square (Critical value)	3,841
DF	1
p-value	0,057
alpha	0,05

p-value (Two-tailed)	0,049
alpha	0,05

Coefficient	Value
Pearson's Phi	-0,151

4

Fig. 11 1: Distribution of eggs; 2–4: Bar charts eggs' distribution and significance test results (2: All burials; 3: Sex determined; 4: Sex and age at death determined)

11. kép 1: A tojások elterjedése; 2–4: A tojások megoszlását ábrázoló oszlopdiagramok és a szignifikanciatesztek eredményei (2: Minden temetkezés; 3: Meghatározott biológiai nem; 4: Meghatározott biológiai nem és életkor)

tained pairs of earrings (Alattyán), two single earrings (Alattyán and Tiszavárkony), and another only a bronze disc (Tiszabura). Two graves in Alattyán contained a combination of a pair of earrings and eggs.

A total of eighteen burials in our dataset were dated to the second phase of the Late Avar Period (SPA II). Most came from sites of the Zamárdi-type circle, with only one cemetery not classified into either pre-defined unit. Only one grave was disturbed (Tiszabura). Four burials contained pairs of earrings (Alattyán, Jánoshida, and Kisköre) and six single earrings (Alattyán, Kisköre, Tiszafüred, Tiszavárkony, and Tiszabura). Seven graves contained bronze discs (Tiszafüred and Tiszabura).

Two Zamárdi-type graves can be dated to the transition of the SPA II and SPA III phases from

Alattyán and Tiszafüred. The grave in Tiszafüred was disturbed and contained a bronze disc, while the one in Alattyán had a pair of earrings.

Only six graves in our dataset belong to the second half of the Late Avar Period, all from sites belonging to the Zamárdi-type circle. Grave no. 1142 in Tiszafüred was dated to the SPA III or IV phases (Garam 1995, 280; Breuer 2005, Taf. 8, 9), while five burials to the SPA IV phase. All burials only contained single earrings, and two were disturbed (Alattyán, Kisköre).

In summary, the selection of object types shows a decrease throughout the Avar Period, with only earrings being present in the youngest burials. Similarly, the number of sites also decreases; however, the plundering of graves remained in custom throughout the whole period – perhaps the looters thought these burials to be especially important for some reason.

As for the chronological position of the analysed burials, most can be dated to the second half of the Avar Period. The significant decrease in their number in the SPA II and III phases cannot be explained by demographic factors only. As appeared in jewellery fashion and types, the difference between men and women became more expressed in the middle third of the 8th century, which may be explained by the gradual emergence of a more gender-specific appearance. Whether that is due to a change in the division of tasks attributed to either gender, caused by a shift to a subsistence strategy more dependent on agriculture than before (Szabó 1980; Hesz 2009, 39), is yet to be decided by future research.

Summary and future tasks

The results of our current research may be summarized in the followings:

1) Several burials contained artefacts, the occurrence of which is related to biological sex or gender;
2) some object types can be connected to pre-defined cultural units and geographical locations;
3) some objects had been worn by their owners during their life, while others were only deposited in the grave by the mourners;
4) the graves were often disturbed and often contained a large number of artefacts, as an expression, perhaps, of the central social role and appreciation of the deceased. There is a decrease in the number of sites and selection of object types with burials of males containing items that may be female gender markers throughout the Avar Period;
5) most datable graves in the dataset come from the second half of the Avar Period.

The last statement can be contrasted with the Körös–Tisza–Maros region, where most burials of men with earrings came from the Middle Avar Period, some dated as early as the first half of the 8th century AD (Bende 2017, 292).

Why are such burials more frequent in the second half of the 7th and the first half of the 8th centuries? If the presence of belt sets and weapons (except for arrowheads) indicates a prominent social position of the owner, most examined burials were of relatively high-status people as contained such markers (n=101 or 72,14% of the 140 graves). In the Late Avar Period, the custom of wearing belt sets or weapons is considered to be connected with having to be more involved in the political leadership of the related community (Szenthe 2021, 94).

Conclusively, these graves may be connected with politically active people, perhaps leaders of a settlement's community, a social stratum emerging in the Middle and Late Avar Period, an age of large-scale social, lifestyle, and economic changes (Vida 2003, 302; Szenthe 2021, 91). Their occurrence in the Early Avar Period may be in line with the tendency of communities in the second half of the Avar Period using inherited symbols in their representation (Szenthe 2021, 93–94). Their abrupt disappearance may be due to cultural changes triggered by economic ones.

Men wear elements of women's attire in certain (ethnic) groups as part of the local fashion; that is, not compromising gender-related aspects of their appearance (Lang 1998, 62). The analysed phenomena may not be interpreted as occurrences of non-binary identities in the period but rather as manifestations of either a local or regional canon of social and cultural representation or a funerary ideology involving apotropaic elements.

Further research on the topic shall tackle the problem of the seeming increase in the number of such burials in the Middle Avar Period. Does that represent a real increase relative to the male population? To answer that, first, one needs to create a demographic model of the changes in population size in the Middle Tisza Region throughout the Avar Period. Jewellery and representation of prestige became gradually more important by the Late Avar Period, which must be kept in mind when evaluating and in-

terpreting items associated with the female gender in males' graves (Szenthe 2021, 98). It may be connected to the emergence of more strict attire expressing gender – a hypothesis to be tested by future research.

Certain object types became more gendered for shorter or longer periods due to a change in fashion (for example, iron buckles in the Late Avar and Carolingian periods; Müller 2004, 14; Distelberger 2004, 39). Therefore, it is advised to revise the topic in the future when more anthropological and archaeogenetic data are available and repeat the current analysis involving more object types.

Anthropological data may also be important in revealing correlations. In the case of the recent analysis, for example, a lack of sufficient data prevented us from learning whether the trend in focus is connected to an increase in age at death in the latest phases of the Avar Period, which might suggest the related custom's gradual fading. Also, we could not reveal connections between distinct object types and age groups. A combined analysis with anthropological results might also contribute to a proper evaluation of the related phenomena: without anthropological data, it cannot be determined whether the occurrence of the artefact types in focus correlates with a higher age at death in the Late Avar Period (marking a fading custom), or with a specific age group. The presence of adult men's burials with items related to the female gender may indicate a persistence of the custom's socio-cultural or economic background in the Late Avar Period; specifying that, however, is a task for future research.

It would also be worth creating a more detailed classification of the object types concerned, as the current academic discourse suggests that typology has the potential to serve as a basis for a comparative analysis of cultural groups and their ways of expressing gender. Men's graves in cemeteries of Avars in Austria usually contain simpler and less varied earrings or in smaller numbers than burials of women and girls (Distelberger 2004, 29, 58). In the Danube–Tisza Interfluve, simple finger rings, mostly band rings mainly worn as single items or in pairs, occur almost exclusively in graves of women and girls (Balogh 2016, 181). As a contrast, men in the same area in the Early Avar Period wore only more ornate finger ring types; the burials of men containing such items may be connected with the Bócsa-Kunbábony circle (e.g., H. Tóth, Horváth 1992).

The presented results will hopefully be part of a broader research on the region in the future, one that may also confirm our current hypotheses and raise new questions and directions for a further evaluation of the related archaeological record.[4]

Table 3 Datable graves presented in the article with chronological phases and references used for dating
3. táblázat A tanulmányban található keltezhető sírok időrendi fázisok és a keltezéshez használt szakirodalom alapján

Site no.	*Site name*	*Chronological phase*	*References*
1	Alattyán-Tulát 1	FA	Breuer 2005, 44, Abb. 25, 118, Abb. 79
2	Alattyán-Tulát 50	FA	Breuer 2005, 47, Abb. 26
3	Alattyán-Tulát 77	FA	Breuer 2005, 45, footnote 45, 46, footnote 101, 49, Abb. 29, 1, 2
4	Alattyán-Tulát 109a	FA	Breuer 2005, Taf. 13
5	Alattyán-Tulát 115	FA	Breuer 2005, 47, Abb. 26
6	Jánoshida-Tótkérpuszta 26	FA	Breuer 2005, 44, Abb. 25, 46, footnote 96, Taf. I., 1
7	Jánoshida-Tótkérpuszta 179	FA	Breuer 2005, 44, Abb. 25, 49, Abb. 28, 2
8	Tiszafüred-Majoroshalom 685	FA	Garam 1995, Abb. 237; Breuer 2005, 44, Abb. 25
9	Tiszavasvári-Koldusdomb 1	FA	Gulyás, Lőrinczy 2018a, 549, 551
10	Tiszavasvári-Utasér-part-dűlő 27	FA	Istvánovits, Lőrinczy 2017, 67
11	Tiszavárkony-Hugyinpart 47	FA	Madaras 2019, 42; Breuer 2005, Taf. 1, 6

Site no.	*Site name*	*Chronological phase*	*References*
12	Tiszavárkony-Hugyinpart 54	FA	Madaras 2019, 54; Breuer 2005, Taf. 1
13	Tiszavárkony-Hugyinpart 55	FA	Madaras 2019, 53; also Breuer 2005, Taf. 1, 3, 5
14	Alattyán-Tulát 98	FA–MA I	Breuer 2005, Taf. 2, 2
15	Alattyán-Tulát 112	FA–MA I	Breuer 2005, 50, Abb. 30, 53, footnote 125, Taf. 2, 5
16	Alattyán-Tulát 457	FA–MA I	Breuer 2005, 50, Abb. 30, 53, footnote 125, Taf. 2, 4
17	Alattyán-Tulát 458	FA–MA I	Breuer 2005, Taf. 2, 6
18	Alattyán-Tulát 506	FA–MA I	Breuer 2005, Taf. 2, 2
19	Alattyán-Tulát 560	FA–MA I	Breuer 2005, Taf. 2, 3, 6
20	Alattyán-Tulát 570	FA–MA I	Breuer 2005, Taf. 2, 2
21	Alattyán-Tulát 604	FA–MA I	Breuer 2005, 50, Abb. 30, 52, Abb. 32, 2, 53, footnote 125, 58, footnote 154, Taf. 2, 4
22	Jánoshida-Tótkérpuszta 180	FA–MA I	Breuer 2005, Taf. 1–2, 14
23	Rákóczifalva-Bagi-föld 8A site 68	FA–MA I	Mácsai 2012, 1, 93
24	Rákóczifalva-Bagi-föld 8A site 115	FA–MA I	Mácsai 2012, 1, 93
25	Rákóczifalva-Bagi-föld 8A site 215	FA–MA I	Mácsai 2012, 1, 55–56; Breuer 2005, Taf. 1–2
26	Rákóczifalva-Kastélydomb 23	FA–MA I	Breuer 2005, Taf. 1–2, 13–14
27	Tiszavárkony-Hugyinpart 84	FA–MA I	Madaras 2019, 47, 59; Breuer 2005, Taf. 2, 2
28	Rákóczifalva-Bagi-föld 8A site 115	MA I	Mácsai, 2012 1, 93
29	Alattyán-Tulát 102	MA I–II	Breuer 2005, 120, Abb. 80, Taf. 14, 8, Taf. 15, 1
30	Alattyán-Tulát 148	MA I–II	Breuer 2005, Taf. 2, 2, Taf. 3, 1
31	Alattyán-Tulát 185	MA I–II	Breuer 2005, 56, Abb. 35, 57, footnote 151, 59, Abb. 36, 1, Taf. 3, 5
32	Alattyán-Tulát 207	MA I–II	Breuer 2005, 58, footnote 161
33	Alattyán-Tulát 222	MA I–II	Breuer 2005, 58, footnote 161
34	Alattyán-Tulát 284	MA I–II	Breuer 2005, 50, Abb. 30, 57, footnote 151, Taf 3, 1
35	Alattyán-Tulát 413	MA I–II	Breuer 2005, 58, footnote 161
36	Alattyán-Tulát 472	MA I–II	Breuer 2005, 52, Abb. 32, 3
37	Alattyán-Tulát 617	MA I–II	Breuer 2005, Taf. 3, 6
38	Alattyán-Tulát 671	MA I–II	Breuer 2005, Taf. 2, 4
39	Jánoshida-Tótkérpuszta 210	MA I–II	Erdélyi 1958, 36, Breuer 2005, 120, Abb. 80
40	Kisköre-Halastó 21	MA I–II	Breuer 2005, 118, Abb. 79
41	Kisköre-Halastó 32	MA I–II	Breuer 2005, Taf. 3, 2–5
42	Kisköre-Halastó 109	MA I–II	Breuer 2005, 118, Abb. 79, Taf. 3, 6
43	Tiszafüred-Majoroshalom 694	MA I–II	Garam 1995, 400; Breuer 2005, Taf. 3, 1, 6

Site no.	*Site name*	*Chronological phase*	*References*
44	Tiszavárkony-Hugyinpart 44	MA I–II	Breuer 2005, Taf. 3, 2, 6
45	Alattyán-Tulát 37	MA II	Breuer 2005, 61, Abb. 38
46	Alattyán-Tulát 268	MA II	Breuer 2005, Taf. 3, 4, 5
47	Alattyán-Tulát 581	MA II	Breuer 2005, Taf. 3, 4–5
48	Rákóczifalva-Bagi-föld 8A site 61	MA II	Mácsai 2012, 1, 94
49	Rákóczifalva-Bagi-föld 8A site 72	MA II	Mácsai 2012, 1, 93
50	Tiszavasvári-Utasér-part-dűlő 4	MA II	Istvánovits, Lőrinczy 2017, 65
51	Tiszafüred-Majoroshalom 577	MA II	Garam 1995, Abb. 241; Breuer 2005, Taf. 3, 5
52	Tiszafüred-Majoroshalom 605	MA II	Garam 1995, Abb. 241; Breuer 2005, Taf. 3, 3–5
53	Tiszafüred-Majoroshalom 937	MA II	Garam 1995, Abb. 241; Breuer 2005, Taf. 3
54	Tiszafüred-Majoroshalom 1144	MA II	Garam 1995, Abb. 241; Breuer 2005, Taf. 3, 2, 5
55	Tiszavárkony-Hugyinpart 83	MA II	Breuer 2005, 61, Abb. 38
56	Alattyán-Tulát 40	MA II–SPA I	Breuer 2005, Taf. 2, 5–6, Taf. 5, 1
57	Alattyán-Tulát 246	MA II–SPA I	Breuer 2005, Taf. 4, 4
58	Alattyán-Tulát 380	MA II–SPA I	Breuer 2005, Taf. 4, 5, Taf. 5, 3
59	Alattyán-Tulát 453	MA II–SPA I	Breuer 2005, Taf. 5, 4
60	Kisköre-Halastó 36	MA II–SPA I	Breuer 2005, 118, Abb. 79
61	Rákóczifalva-Bagi-föld 8A site 113	MA II–SPA I	Garam 1995, 304
62	Kisköre-Halastó 210	SPA I	Breuer 2005, 64–65, 65, footnote 185
63	Tiszafüred-Majoroshalom 1151a	SPA I	Garam 1995, Abb. 245; Breuer 2005, 65–66, 66, footnote 200
64	Tiszabura-Bónishát 277_402	SPA I	Takács 2021, 46
65	Alattyán-Tulát 181	SPA I–II	Breuer 2005, 120, Abb. 80
66	Alattyán-Tulát 249	SPA I–II	Breuer 2005, 62, Abb. 39, Taf. 5, 1
67	Alattyán-Tulát 442	SPA I–II	Breuer 2005, 120, Abb. 80
68	Alattyán-Tulát 572	SPA I–II	Breuer 2005, Taf. 16, 5
69	Alattyán-Tulát 573	SPA I–II	Breuer 2005, Taf. 16
70	Tiszabura-Bónishát 200_270	SPA I–II	Takács 2021, 46
71	Tiszabura-Bónishát 201_271	SPA I–II	Takács 2021, 46
72	Tiszavárkony-Hugyinpart 75	SPA I–II	Breuer 2005, 118, Abb. 79, 120, Abb. 80, Taf. 5
73	Alattyán-Tulát 7	SPA II	Breuer 2005, Taf. 7
74	Alattyán-Tulát 146	SPA II	Breuer 2005, Taf. 6–7
75	Alattyán-Tulát 267	SPA II	Breuer 2005, Taf. 6–7
76	Alattyán-Tulát 659	SPA II	Breuer 2005, 68, Abb. 45, Taf. 6, 3
77	Kisköre-Halastó 41	SPA II	Breuer 2005, Taf. 7, 2, 3
78	Kisköre-Halastó 54	SPA II	Breuer 2005, Taf. 7, 2, 3
79	Kisköre-Halastó 134	SPA II	Breuer 2005, 68, Abb. 45, Taf. 7, 5

Site no.	*Site name*	*Chronological phase*	*References*
80	Tiszafüred-Majoroshalom 46	SPA II	Garam 1995, Abb. 245; Breuer 2005, Taf. 7–8
81	Tiszafüred-Majoroshalom 330	SPA II	Garam 1995, Abb. 245; Breuer 2005, Taf. 6–7
82	Tiszafüred-Majoroshalom 496	SPA II	Garam 1995, Abb. 245; Breuer 2005, Taf. 6–7
83	Tiszafüred-Majoroshalom 537	SPA II	Garam 1995, 328; Breuer 2005, 69–70, 70, footnote 215
84	Tiszafüred-Majoroshalom 1064	SPA II	Garam 1995, 328, Abb. 245; Breuer 2005, Taf. 6–7, 87, footnote 273
85	Tiszafüred-Majoroshalom 1075	SPA II	Garam 1995, Abb. 245; Breuer 2005, 69–70, 70, footnote 215
86	Tiszafüred-Majoroshalom 1264	SPA II	Garam 1995, Abb 247; Breuer 2005, Taf. 7
87	Tiszavárkony-Hugyinpart 69	SPA II	Breuer 2005, 118, Abb. 79, 120, Abb. 80
88	Tiszabura-Bónishát 49_66	SPA II	Takács 2021, 29–30
89	Tiszabura-Bónishát 161_231	SPA II	Takács 2021, 46
90	Tiszabura-Bónishát 176_246	SPA II	Takács 2021, 32–33
91	Alattyán-Tulát 542	SPA II–III	Breuer 2005, 68, Abb. 45, Taf. 8, 5
92	Tiszafüred-Majoroshalom 325	SPA II–III	Garam 1995, Abb. 245; Breuer 2005, Taf. 8. 2
93	Tiszafüred-Majoroshalom 1142	SPA III–IV	Garam 1995, 280; Breuer 2005, Taf. 8, 9
94	Alattyán-Tulát 269	SPA IV	Breuer 2005, 19
95	Alattyán-Tulát 660	SPA IV	Breuer 2005, 120, Abb. 80
96	Kisköre-Halastó 146	SPA IV	Breuer 2005, 82, Abb. 55, Taf. 12, 2
97	Tiszafüred-Majoroshalom 913	SPA IV	Breuer 2005, 118, Abb. 79, Taf. 11, 6
98	Tiszafüred-Majoroshalom 1089	SPA IV	Garam 1995, 284; Garam 1995, Abb. 253

Notes

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2 I am planning to evaluate the two groups in another study.

3 FA: 568–620/65; MA I: 620/65–650/75, MA II: 650/75–670/700; SPA I: 670/700–720/75; SPA II: 720/30–750/75; SPA III: 750/75–765/9th century; SPA IV: 765/80–9th century (Breuer 2005, 10, Abb. 3, 108–117; Faragó et al. 2022, 3, Fig. 2).

4 Some cemeteries are also analysed within the frame of the „HistoGenes" ERC project. The related bioarchaeological data set, currently under processing, will make it possible to examine new questions on sex and gender. New results may also be obtained by comparing the data in the author's Ph.D. dissertation and the results presented here.

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NŐI NEMHEZ KÖTHETŐ TÁRGYAK FÉRFISÍROKBAN AZ AVAR KORI KÖZÉP-TISZA-VIDÉKEN

Összefoglalás

A tanulmány – elsősorban a szakirodalom alapján – az inkább női sírokra jellemző tárgyak férfisírokban való előfordulását vizsgálja az avar kori Közép-Tisza-vidéken. A jelen írás alapjául szolgáló elemzést a szerző doktori disszertációjának részét képező társadalomrégészeti kutatás kapcsán végezte el. A vizsgált temetkezésekben fülbevalók, gyöngyökből álló nyakláncok, gyűrűk, rézötvözetből készült tarsolykorongok, orsógombok, bárdkések, tűtartók és tojások kerültek elő. A tanulmány fő célja annak a vizsgálata, hogy a szakirodalom alapján felállítható két, egymástól régészetileg jól elkülöníthető csoport a társadalmi nemek esetében is elkülönül-e egymástól. Az egyes tárgytípusok különböző jelentőséggel bírhattak az elhunyt egyén és közössége számára; ennek vizsgálata szintén szükséges a kép megismeréséhez. Annyi mindenesetre elmondható, hogy a tárgyak többsége ékszer volt.

A vizsgált régió az említett két csoport kontaktzónája volt: a Zamárdi típusú köré, amelyre többek között az önálló lótemetkezések a jellemzőek, és a Tiszántúl-csoporté, melynek lelőhelyei főleg Tiszavasvári és Rákóczifalva környékén találhatóak. A Tiszántúl-csoportot elsősorban különleges temetkezési szokásai, tájolása, sírtípusai és állattemetkezései különböztetik meg a Zamárdi típusú körtől.

A kutatás három kérdésre kereste a választ: (1) Milyen tárgyak fordulnak elő férfisírokban, amelyek inkább a női temetkezések mellékletei? (2) Mi lehetett a szerepük? (3) Mikorra keltezhetőek ezek a temetkezések? Az első kérdés megválaszolásához oszlopdiagramokon vizsgáltuk az egyes tárgytípusok férfi- és női sírokban történő megjelenésében mutatkozó esetleges különbségeket. A tárgyak szerepének értékelése elsősorban a régészeti és kultúrantropológiai szakirodalom alapján történt. Az elemzés kiemel egy lehetséges szociális hátterű vonatkozást, a melléklettípusok gyakoriságát. A női és férfisírokban előforduló tárgytípusok eloszlását szórtdiagramokon és dobozdiagramokon ábrázolva láthatóvá váltak az egyes csoportok közötti esetleges mellékletszámbeli különbségek. A vizsgált temetkezések korának meghatározása Eric Breuer munkáján alapuló, egységes kronológiai rendszerben történt. Breuer rendszere ideális választást jelentett, hiszen számos, jelen vizsgálatban szereplő temetőt is magába foglalt.

A fülbevalók gyakorisága és az, hogy gyakran viseleti helyzetben találhatóak, arra enged következtetni, hogy ezeket a tárgyakat valóban viselték az elhunytak. Ezek az egyének sokszor magas szociális státuszra vagy legalábbis a politikailag aktív rétegre jellemző övgarnitúrákat viseltek. A fülbevaló-viselet hasonlóan gyakori a két csoportban, illetve a férfiak sokszor csak egyetlen fülbevalót viseltek.

A gyöngyláncok minden esetben viseleti helyzetben kerülnek elő, de két szokás különböztethető meg. Egyrészt a nőkéhez hasonló, sok gyöngyszemből álló nyakláncokat viselhettek a férfiak. Máskor csak néhány szem került a sírba, amelyet vagy utólagosan helyeztek el a halotton, vagy valóban a nyakban viselték. Mindkét esetben apotropaikus szerepe lehetett ennek a szokásnak. A gyöngy nyaklánc viseletének szokása hasonlóan gyakori a két csoport temetkezéseiben.

Hasonlóan az előzőekhez, a tarsolykorongok is viseleti helyzetben kerülnek elő, valószínűleg valóban az övről lecsüngő tárgyakat helyeztek rájuk, így az övgarnitúra részei voltak. Ezek kizárólag a Tiszafüred-csoport sírjaiban találhatóak meg. Hasonlóképpen viseleti helyzetben kerül elő a gyűrű is, mégpedig kizárólag a jászsági temetőben. A tűtartók, orsógombok és bárdkések megjelenhetnek viselt tárgyakként, illetve temetési ajándékként. Apotropaikus, életben kapott emlék/ajándék funkciója lehetett a viselt tárgyaknak, mint a tiszafüredi és Rákóczifalva 8A temetőkben az orsógombok és orsókarikák. Talán a halott lábánál lehetett elhelyezve a Rákóczifalva 8A lelőhelyen a bal sípcsontnál talált orsókarika. A tűtartók a Rákóczifalva 8A temetőben a koponya

jobb oldalán, a bal sípcsontnál és a jobb csípőnél voltak. Az előbbi két esetben talán a gyászoló csoport részeként megjelenő nőktől kapott ajándékról lehet szó, de az utóbbi esetben a ruháról függhetett le a tűtartó. A ruháról függhetett vagy tarsolyban lehetett a jánoshidai temetőben, ahol a tarsoly mellett, a derék bal oldalán volt a tűtartó. A bárdkés a medence közepén volt a vascsat mellett a tiszafüredi sírban, amelyet utólagosan rakhattak a halottra, bár nem lehetett kizárni azt sem, hogy a ruháról lógott le.

A szintén gyakrabban nőkre és gyermekekre jellemző tojásmelléklet is előfordult a jászsági régióban és a kastélydombi temetőben. Ezeknek több szerepe lehetett: vannak olyan temetkezések, ahol az étel- és italmellékletek mellett találták őket, ami arra utalhat, hogy ezek is ételmellékletként kerültek a temetkezésbe. Más esetben a tojás az egyetlen ételmellékletként értelmezhető melléklet, vagy az étel- és italmellékletek tőle távol találhatóak. Ebben az esetben valószínűbb lehet az, hogy a tojás szimbólumként jelenik meg a temetkezésben. A tojásnak ez a szerepe egyaránt ismert a régészeti és a néprajzi szakirodalomban is.

A legtöbb, időrendileg is vizsgálható temetkezés az avar kor második felére keltezhető, és csak kevés olyan egyén található közöttük, akit a késő avar kori III és IV fázisban temettek el. Ezek alapján úgy tűnik, hogy a késő avar kori II fázis végén hirtelen visszaszorul ezeknek az inkább női sírokra jellemző tárgytípusoknak az előfordulása a férfiak temetkezéseiben. Ez a vizsgált régió esetében arra utalhat, hogy a férfi és női szerep erősen szétválik ebben az időszakban, ami társadalmi és gazdasági változásokon alapulhat.

De akkor mivel magyarázható, hogy ezek a tárgyak a 7. század második felében és a 8. század első felében több esetben is előkerülnek? Ezekben a sírokban sok esetben övgarnitúra elemei vagy fegyverek találhatóak, ami alátámasztani látszik azt a feltételezést, hogy a korszakban felemelkedő, politikailag aktív réteg (talán falusi vezetők) sírjairól lehet szó. Néprajzi adatokból tudható, hogy a női öltözetnek férfiak által való használata nem mindig jelent azonosulást, és valószínűleg itt sem nem-bináris nemi identitásról lehet szó.