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ROMAN BURIAL WITH A WEAPON FROM THE BÉCSI ROAD CEMETERY (AQUINCUM–BUDAPEST)

In this paper, I shall present some of the results derived from the rescue excavation carried out at 62 Bécsi road (Fig. 1a; 1b.1)¹. A circular graveyard was excavated at the site. It was bordered by a circular wall and enclosed two cremation burials oriented north–south. The wall of the graveyard had been demolished and we could only detect the traces of its foundation (Fig. 2).

Grave "A" (Fig. 3,4)

The grave is situated in the eastern part of the graveyard. This cremation grave was covered by flat stone slabs and tegulae. The narrow ditch was bordered by a stone slab on the south. The sides are made with plaster–linking, burnt to a pinkish colour. Thus, we can assume that the ashes were almost completely cooled when they were pulled into the ditch. The anthropological analyses, carried out by Mr Balázs Mende, demonstrated that two persons had been buried in the grave. The first one is an adult female, the second is represented by a symbolic amount of calcined bones. Analyses of the grave goods suggest that these bones belong to a male of unknown age. Supposedly his mortal remains and some of the grave

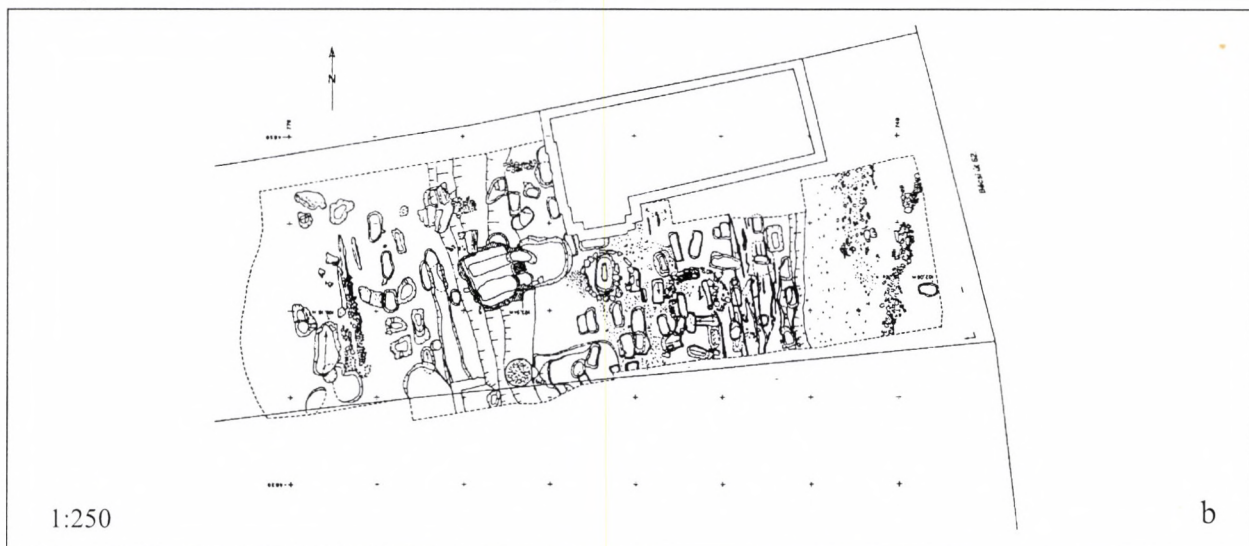
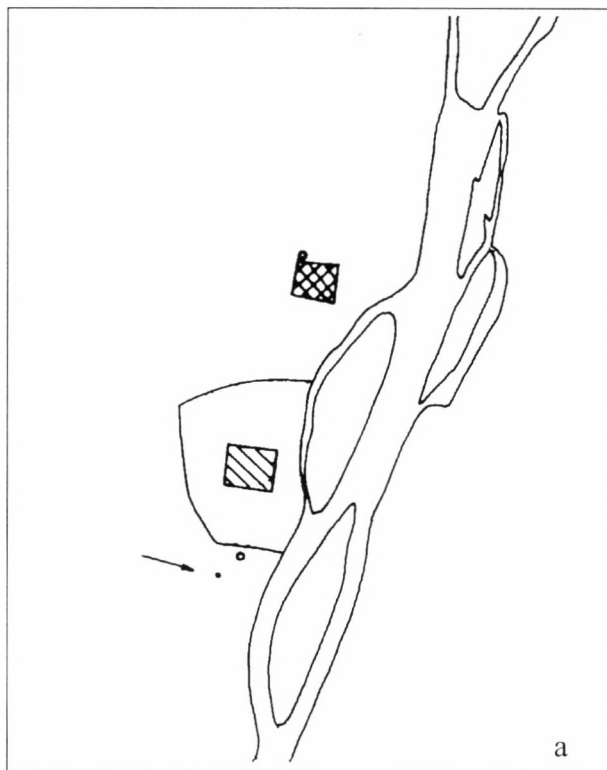


Fig. 1 a–b: Location of the cemetery in Aquincum (A. Márton); Plan of the excavation (T. Hable)

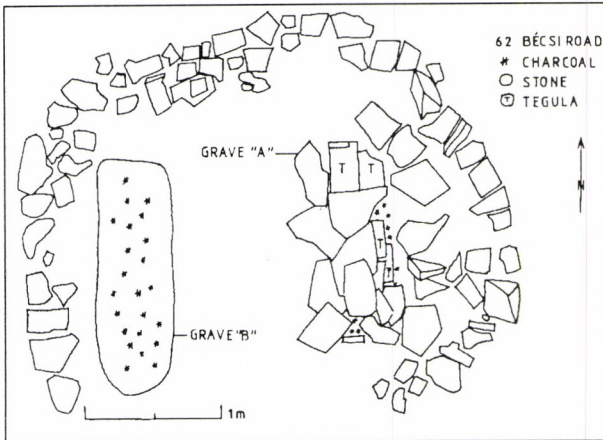


Fig. 2 Plan of the Roman graveyard (A. Márton)

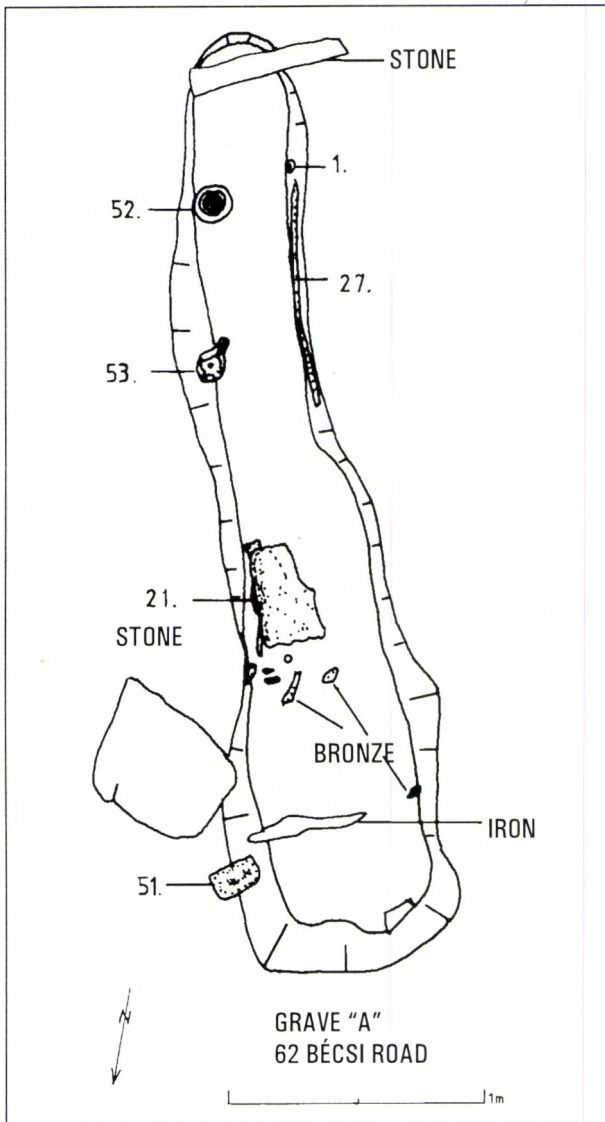


Fig. 3 Grave "A" (Redrawn from the original made by T. Hable)

goods were removed when the woman was buried. Some of the grave goods were burnt on the pyre as the melted bronze and glass show it clearly. Among the finds there was a fragment of sheep's or goat's ribs with traces of cutting. It probably belongs to the remains of the funerary meal.

The finds from grave "A"

1. *Golden ring (Annulus aureus)* (Fig. 5.1, 5.2, 16)

Width: 21 mm. Height: 19 mm. Inner width: 18 mm. Inner height: 13 mm. The length of the gem: 9 mm. The width of the gem: 7 mm.

Well known 2nd c. form (HENKEL 1913, N. 411, 96, Tafel. XXII/411; KRUG 1980, N. 14, 120, Abb. 3.14; RIECKHOFF 1990, 294–297, N. 5., 294, Tafel. 15.2, 16.1; RIECKHOFF 1991, N. 5., 205, Abb. 5; PARLAMA–STAMPOLIDIS 2000, N. 195, B. 220, 225).

The gem is made of deep blue glass, its edges and surface are whitish and cracked due to the heat of the pyre. The sheet of the ring's head is bent backwards near the gem showing clearly that the stone was replaced at least once. The iconography is a very simple representation of *Mercurius* (Fig. 5.2), a popular subject of rings during the 1st–3rd c. (PLATZ–HORSTER 1984, N. 45; CASAL GARCIA, N. 212–223, 125–128 in Vol. II. 212–223., 39–40 57, Tafel. 12.45; TEPOSU–LAKÓ 1973, N. 17, 6, T. 17, 26; GESZTELYI 2000, 14–15, N. 94–106, 54–56, N. Fig. 94–106., 130–131 and also LIMC VI, N. 121–122, 511–512, in Vol VI.2, 281).

2. *Silver brooch of Jobst 5. D type* (Fig. 5.3)

Length: 32 mm. Width of the spring: 32 mm. It is made of 12 spirals of lower schema. This type appeared in the 2nd c. and continued into the 3rd c. It was supposed to be a special brooch type in northern *Pannonia*. Recently it has been reported from several southern Pannonian sites (KOVRIK 1937, VIII. Tafel. VII. 62, 118; JOBST 1975, N. 5. D, 37, 41; BEREZ 1991, 163, Pict. 8. 181 – See here the typological concordances).

3. *Bronze coin of Domitianus*

Domitianus sestertius, burnt (Roma, 88–89; RIC II 378).

4. *Bronze belt-buckle* (Fig. 6.1, 17.6)

Width: 2.8 cm. Length: 2.8 cm. The loop is broken, the plate is rectangular. It was fixed on the belt by two rivets. This type was common in the first half of the 2nd c, but can also be found in the second half of that century (OLDENSTEIN 1976, 213–214, Tafel. 75. 994).

5. *Bronze baldric fitting* (Fig. 5.5)

Burnt and broken. The thickness of the plate: 1 mm. Largest diameter: 61 mm. This fitting belongs to a simple type, the best parallel comes from Zugmantel (OLDENSTEIN 1976, N. 1119, Tafel 85. 1119). These simple baldric fittings were used in the second half of the 2nd c. and also continued into the first half of the 3rd c. (OLDENSTEIN 1976, 230, 234; Tafel. 85, 1116, 1117, 1118).

6. *Bronze drop-shaped pendant* (Fig. 6.12)

Length: 35 mm. Maximal width: 16 mm. Its shape and measurement are different from the bronze attachments to the bronze vessel so it could not have belonged to it. The heart shaped pendants may have adorned armour (LUIK 1991, 44. 6, 203, Tafel. 44. 6) or could have been placed on



Fig. 4 Photo of Grave "A" (T. Hable)

the military belt. The bigger ones were placed on equine equipment (BISHOP 1988, Fig. 43–47, 142–152). Since we have not found any traces of armour or equine equipment this pendant may have belonged to the belt. 2nd c. (OLDENSTEIN 1976, Tafel. 30. 202.; DAWSON 1990, Fig. 7.24; LUIK 1991, 47. 6, 204, Tafel. 47. 6 – with further parallels). 7–8. *Belt fittings* (Fig. 6.3–4)

Unknown function (OLDENSTEIN 1976, 142–147).

9. *Drop-shaped bronze ferrule* (Fig. 5.9)

Maximum width: 22 mm. Maximum length: 22 mm. The diameter of the wire: 3 mm. The heart-shaped pendant (No-6) might have hung from it (DEINEL 1987, 83. 16, 316, Tafel. 83. 16).

10–11. *Bronze belt fittings* (Fig. 5.8 a–b)

Diameter of the head: 14 mm. Height: 9 mm. It was placed on a 5 mm thick belt. Very burnt. Both were decorated with enamelled technique. It was used to link the ends of the belt. 1st–2nd c. (SELLYE 1939, 64–65, Pl. V. 26–27; OLDENSTEIN 1976, 165–166, Tafel. 46. 489; ROMANIZACIÓN 2000, N. 404, 276).

12–13. *Elliptical, bronze belt fittings* (Fig. 6.5–6, 17.1)

Burnt and broken. Length: 31 mm. Width: 16 mm. Both were originally decorated with enamel inlay. Only one of them is complete. Two rivets fixed the fitting onto the belt. The elliptical belt fittings adorned military belts (LUIK 1991, 48.17, 205, Tafel. 48. 17). This type appeared sometime about 130–150 and also continued into the early 3rd c. (SELLYE 1939, 68, Pl. VII 12 a–b; OLDENSTEIN 1976, 188–190; LUIK 1991, 48.17, 205, Tafel. 48.17; LUIK

1996, Tafel. 50/11–12, 50/11–12, 206). Enamel decoration first appeared at the time of the so-called Antonine revolution (BISHOP–COULSTON 1993, 119).

14–18. *Four pelta-shaped belt fittings with openwork design* (Fig. 5.6, 5.10, 6.7, 6.8, 6.9, 17.2–4)

Height: 30 mm. Width: 25 mm. Two are complete, the others are broken. All of them are heavily burnt. The fitting was fixed by three rivets and was plated with a bronze sheet under the belt. The closest parallels were reported from *Sarmizagethusa* and *Porolissum* (DAWSON 1989, 346–349, Fig. 2. 17, 343; DAWSON 1990, Fig. 2.26, 9). They may be dated to the 2nd–3rd third of the 2nd c. (OLDENSTEIN 1976, 178–184; DAWSON 1989, 346–349; DAWSON 1990, 9; BISHOP–COULSTON 1993, 119). The openwork design continued well into the early 3rd c. (OLDENSTEIN 1976, N. 643, 182, Tafel. 54. 643).

19. *Hanging strap end* (Fig. 6.2)

Broken. Maximum length: 25 mm. This type is characteristic of the 2nd half of the 2nd c. (OLDENSTEIN 1976, 142–147; DAWSON 1990, Fig. 7.24; BISHOP–COULSTON 1993, 119, Fig. 80, 120).

20. *Fragment of a bronze pendant* (Fig. 5.7)

Burnt and broken. The type of the pendant cannot be specified, but this piece surely belonged to a military belt (HÜBENER 1973, Tafel. 14. 57, Tafel. 30. 13).

21. *Shallow bowl with cast-in flutings* (Fig. 7. a–b)

Burnt and broken. Petrovsky Typ XVII,2 (PETROVSZKY 1993, 126–128, Tafel 33, 444). It was part of a serving set (PETROVSZKY 1993, 126; KARASOVÁ 1998, 24). This

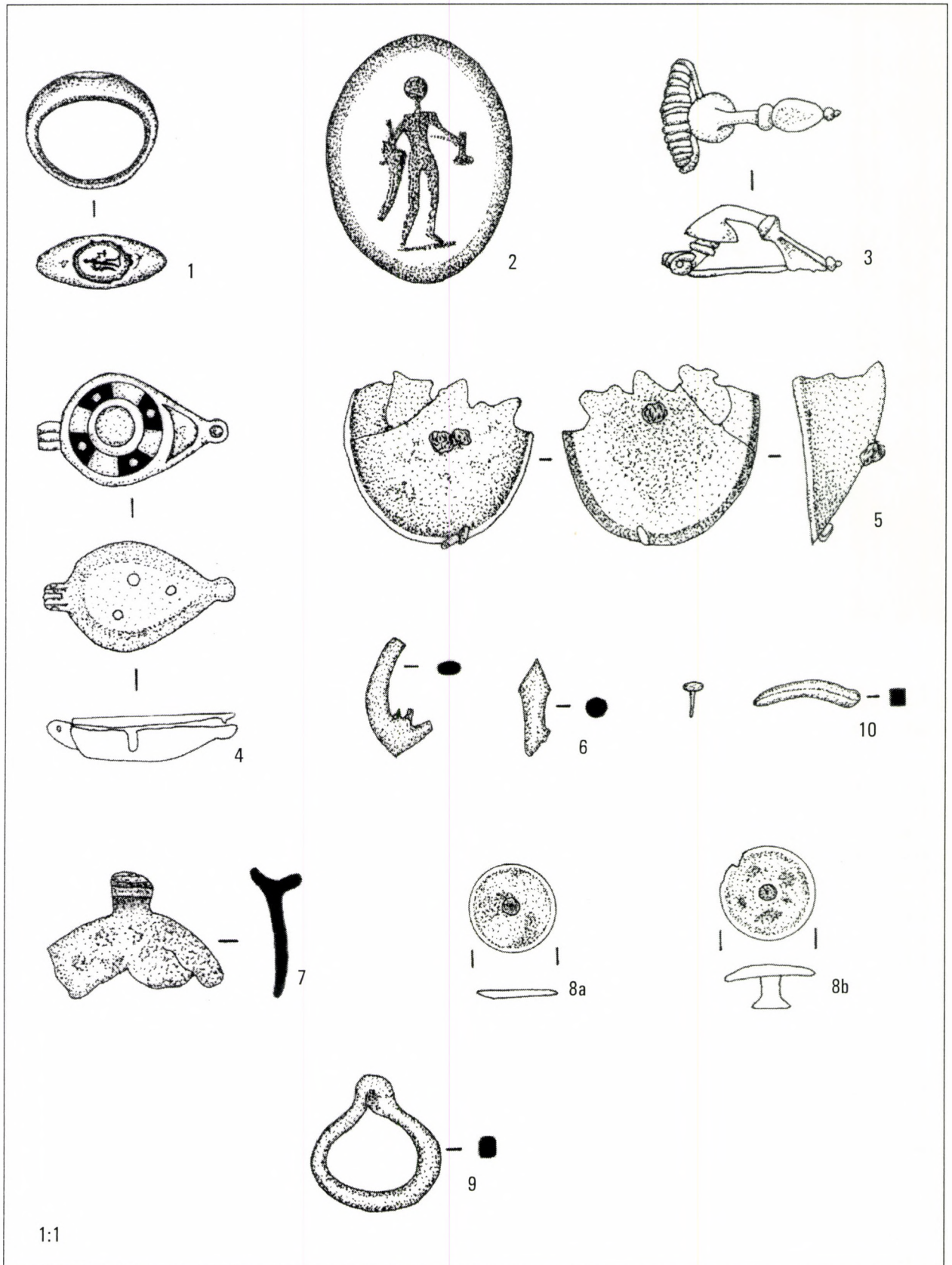


Fig. 5 Finds from Grave "A" – Aquincum (Sz. Komiszár)

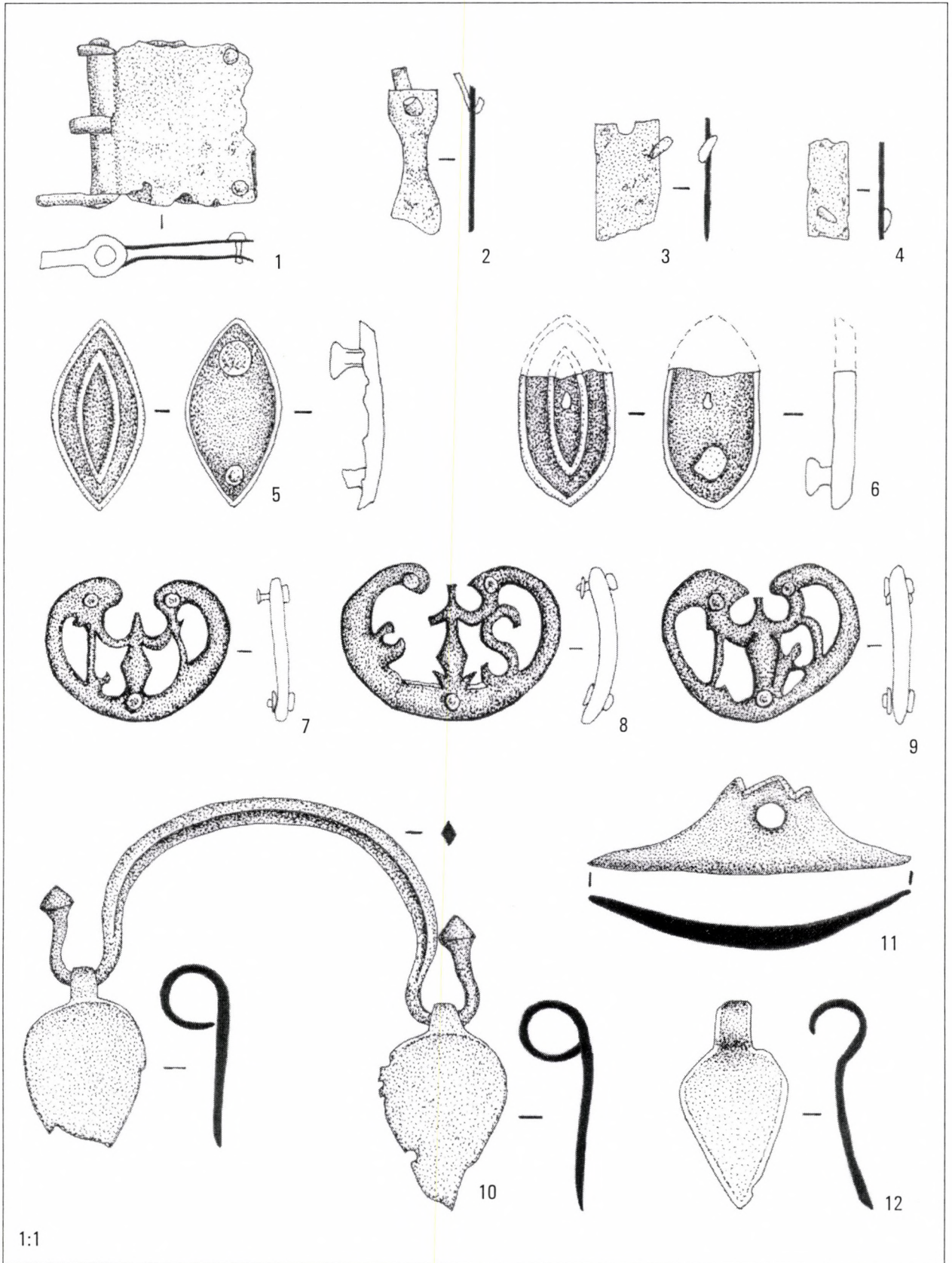


Fig. 6 Finds from Grave "A" – Aquincum (Sz. Komiszár)

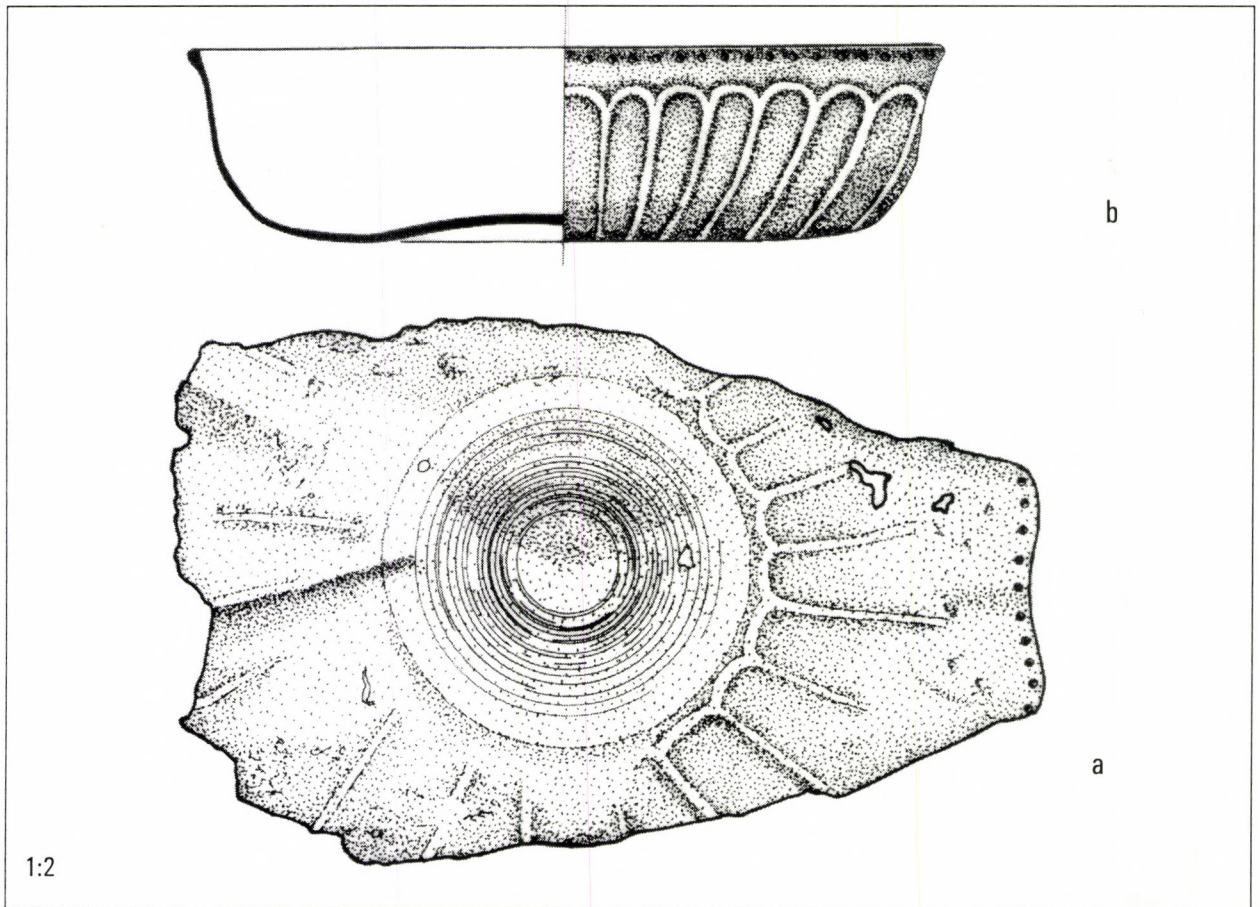


Fig. 7. a: Bronze vessel from Grave "A"; b: Reconstruction of the bronze vessel found in Grave "A" – Aquincum (Sz. Komiszár)

type appeared first about 140/150 and was produced until 200/220. The time of its greatest popularity was before the Markomannic war. The imported pieces in the Barbaricum started to appear in the Eggers B2/C1 phase and the latest were deposited in the graves in the Lund Hansen phase C1b (EGGERS 1951, 167, Beil. 30; WILSON 1969, 231; Pl. XVI.3; TASSINARI 1973, N. 83, 48; Pl. XXVII.83; MIGLBAUER 1988, N. 4., 289; Taf. 40,4; PETROVSZKY 1993, 126–127; MIGLBAUER 1994, Abb. 8, 288; KARASOVÁ 1998, 24). Its production centres were in the Rhine area and in *Gallia Belgica* (KUNOW 1985, 259; 1993, KARASOVÁ 1998, 24).

22. *Omega-shape handle with heart-shaped attachments* (Fig. 6.10)

The handle may belong to a bronze vessel (PETROVSZKY 1993, 126). This type of handle belongs to the Eggers 1955, N. 13 type (EGGERS 1955, N. 13, 46, Taf. 1. 13). Similar handles were found in Roman military contexts. Thus it might have been used as a handle for some military (OLDENSTEIN 1990, *Helmet 2.*, 32–35, Fig. 6–7, 34–35; BISHOP–COULSTON 1993, Fig. 58.7, 95).

23. *Bronze attachment* (Fig. 6.11)

Length: 54 mm. This piece belonged to a bronze vessel (EGGERS 1955, N. 10, 46, Taf. 1, 10). This type appeared in the Eggers B2 phase (EGGERS 1955, 47).

24. *Enamel decorated seal box of leaf-shape type* (Fig. 5.4, 17.5)

Length: 31 mm. Width: 19 mm. Contrary to the reverse view, seal boxes covered wax seals. (SELLYE 1939, 37; HATTAT 1989, 461) These objects were believed to be characteristic of Roman military sites (AUTUN 1985, N. 202, 127; HATTAT 1989, 461; KOSCEVIC 1995, 18 – states that seal boxes do not occur in graves –; DERKS 1995, 118–121 – to sum up the previous beliefs –; ROMANIZACIÓN, 2000, N. 321, 259). Although no complete paper has been published on the seal boxes from the western empire some observations can be made. The seal boxes were used to protect seals on legal documents, marriage contracts, private and official letters, military commands and vows. Thus, the distributions corresponds well with the use of the objects. We can find them in large numbers in military sites, in some sanctuaries, in villas, cities and also in graves (KOLLING 1974, 478–479; DERKS 1995, 119/121 Fig. 3 and Fig. 2, 118 on how it was fixed on the cord). This leaf-shaped type is an early form typical for the 1st–2nd c. and distributed over all the western Roman empire. Almost identical enamel decorated seal boxes were found in *Siscia* (SELLYE 1939, XV. Tábla 19, 37; KOSCEVIC 1995, 18, Plate 34). Date: first–second third of the 2nd c.

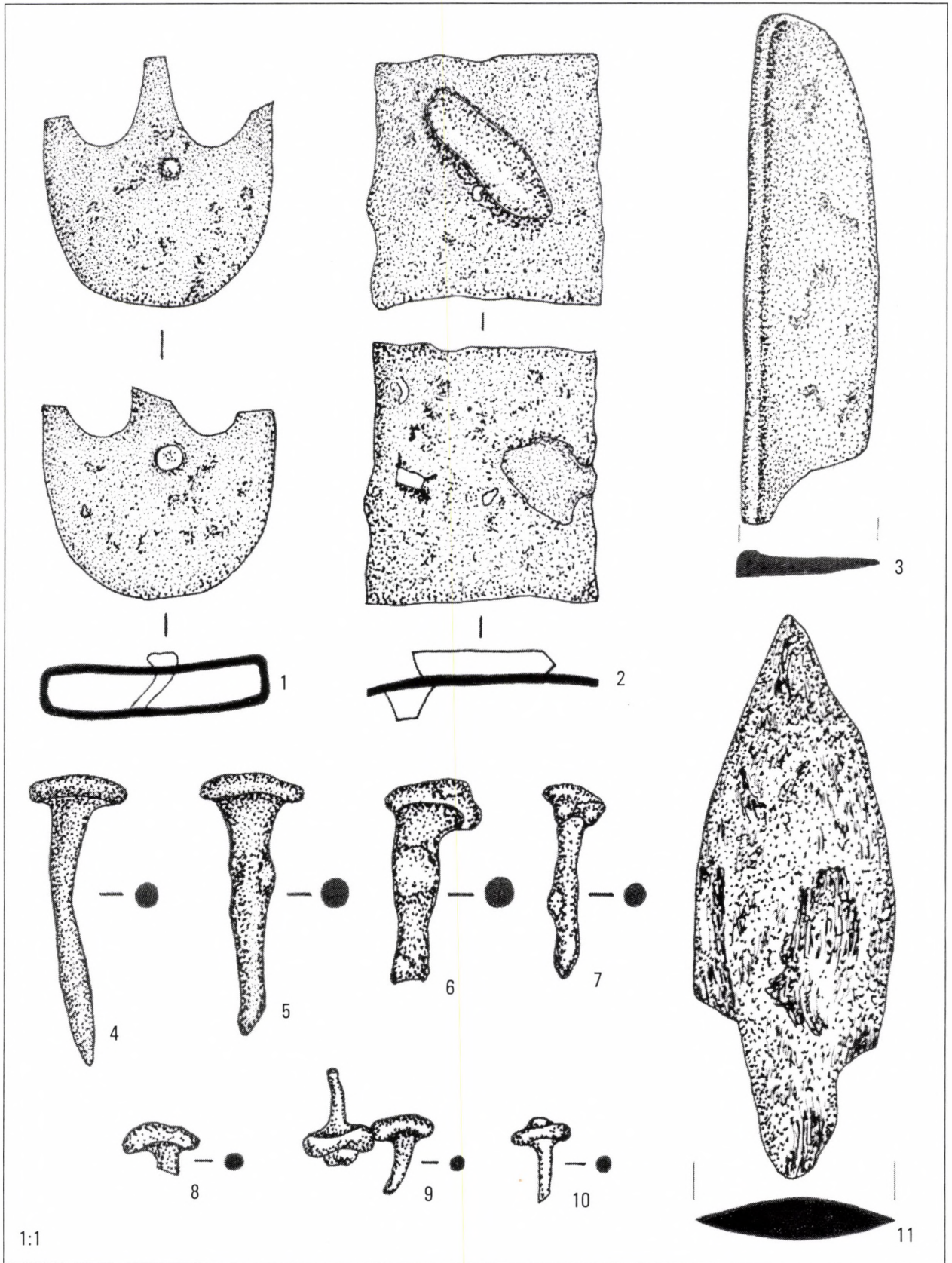


Fig. 8 Finds from Graves "A" and "B" – Aquincum (Sz. Komiszár)

25. *Iron knife* (Fig. 8.11)

The length of the blade: 60 mm.

26. *Iron scabbard chape of half round type* (Fig. 8.1)

Width: 4 cm. The scabbard chape can be classified as Waurick 1. type (WAURICK 1989, 46, Fig. 5/5; OLDENSTEIN 1976, Nr. 105, 130, 131, 137; VOß 1988, Plöwen, KR Pasewalh, III-07-12/13, Eggers B2/C1, 114; Laser 1994, Gnewikow, KR Neuruppin, IV-09-2/1.2, Tafl. 13/14, Eggers B2/C1, 47; Kemnitz, KR Potsdam, Grab 818: IV-12-5/2.24, Tafl. 13/12b, end of the 2nd, beginning of the 3rd c.-first half of the 3rd c, from the same provenance: IV-12-5/2.22, Tafl. 13/8, 55). The scabbard chape of half round type first appeared in a representation of a building inscription found at Bridgeness, dating from AD 142. Its usage starts in the Antonine period (WAURICK 1989, 53, Fig 10; BISHOP-COULSTON 1993, 119, Fig. 80, 120; TEJRAL 1994, 54). The same kind of scabbard chape was found in the fort of Newstead abandoned in AD 200 (WAURICK 1989, 51) and the most of them dates to the 3rd c. (OLDENSTEIN 1976, 110, 115, 120–124, note 328; WAURICK 1989, 51, Fig. 12, 57).

27. *Iron sword* (Fig. 10.a)

Corroded and broken. Maximal length, incl. hilt: 610 mm. None of the characteristic features can be exactly defined. Probably belongs to Biborski Type 2 (Fig. 10.b) and can be dated to the Eggers B2 phase (BIBORSKI 1993, 97–98, Abb. 10, 113).

28–32. *Iron nails* (Fig. 8.4–8)

Heavily corroded.

33–36. *Iron hobnails* (Fig. 8.9–10)

Burnt and corroded. Maximal lengths: 14–17 mm.

37. *Iron razor* (Fig. 8.3)

The length of the narrow blade: 78 mm.

38. *Dice (alea, tali, tesserae)* (Fig. 9.1)

Broken. Only one side can be measured: 12 by 11 mm. Roman dice can be found in great numbers. Small, compass-drawn circles were cut into the surface. (ALICU 1994, 65; BÍRÓ 1994, 61). Dices were often found in funerary contexts (*Aquincum*, 79 Bécsi road, N.12., TOPÁL 1993, 37–38; *Emona*, Titostrasse Grave 21., PETRU 1972, 21. 1–2., 151, T. XIII. 1–2; *Sirmium*, Fosse sépulcrale 4, POPOVIC 1980, 7; PL IV.3).

39–40. *Fragments of a bone unguentaria or a dice box* (Fig. 11.9)

The original diameter: 70 mm. It was most likely a dice box – *pyrgus, turricula, phirius, fritillus* – (ALICU 1994, 65; BÍRÓ 1994, 61–62, Plate LXXVII. 637–638).

41. *Bone pin* (Fig. 11.1)

Broken at the end. Length: 108 mm. This type cannot be found in the *Pannonian* material (BÍRÓ 1994, 126–127). It was modelled after bronze pins. (RUPRECHTSBERGER 1978, N. 377, 147–148).

42–43. *Fragments of a bone hinge* (Fig. 11.2–3)

Outer diameter: 9 mm. Maximal length: 15 mm. (AUTUN 1985, N. 187, 118; BÍRÓ 1994, 56–57).

44. *Carved bone of unknown use* (Fig. 11.8)

Broken. Maximal length: 50 mm. Width: 9 mm. Inner diameter: 4 mm.

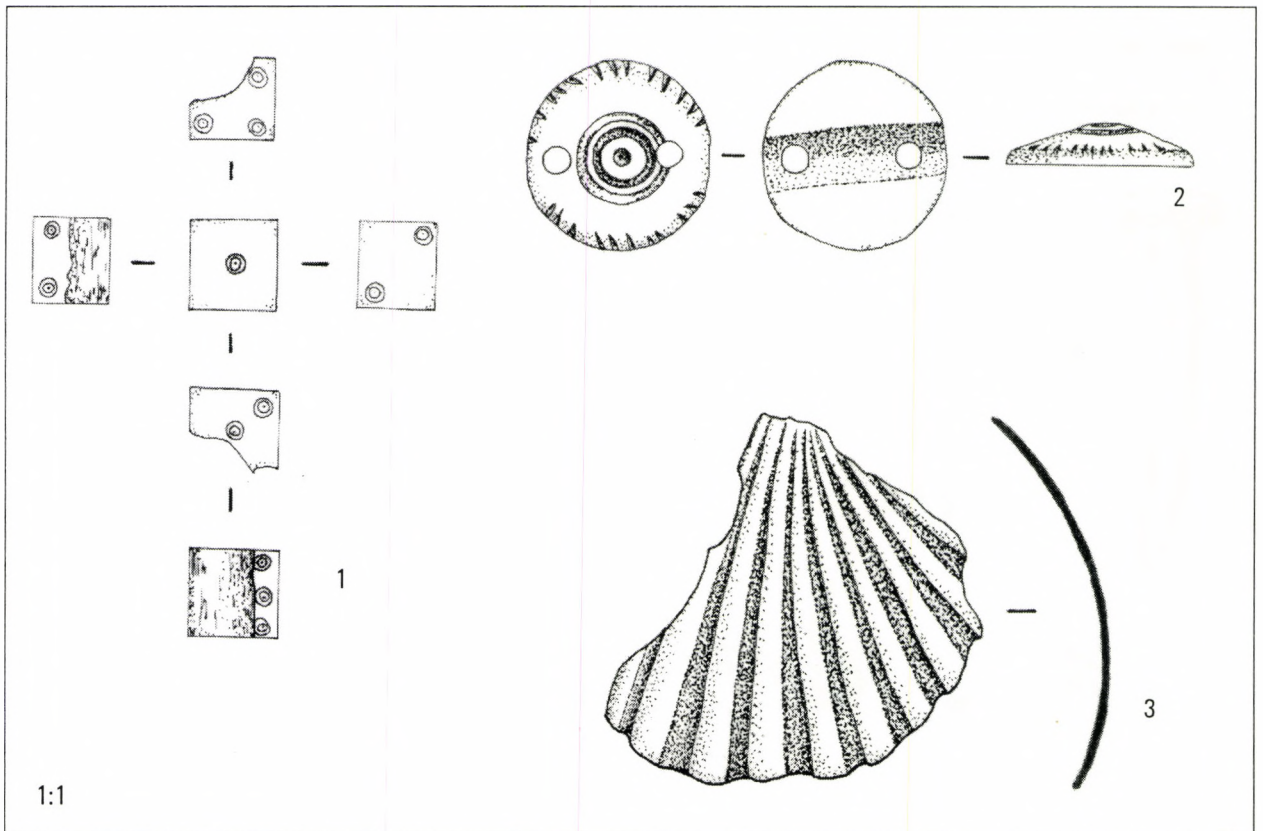


Fig. 9. Finds from Grave "A" – Aquincum (Sz. Komiszár)

45. Bone disc (Fig. 9.2)

Diameter: 24 mm. Thickness: 6 mm. It probably belonged to the belt. (Similar pieces in metal: OLDENSTEIN 1976, N. 597–603, 176, Tafel 51. 597–603; GAÁL 1977–78, 22. kép 2., 55) Second half of the 2nd c. (OLDENSTEIN 1976, 176).

46. Cosmetic knife (*Cultellus tonsorius*) (Fig. 14.1–4, 19. a–d)

Length: 58 mm. Bone knife clasp with human representation. He wears a tunic and broad waist-belt. This is a unique representation among the bone carvings and the bronze-plastic art. Cosmetic knives were used by both men and women (GARBSCH 1975, 68–88; BOON 1991, 21–23; BÍRÓ 1994, 45–47). The features of his face and his long hair or wig resembles archaic Near-Eastern prototypes and was very likely produced in a Near-Eastern workshop.

47. Fragments of a bone rod (Fig. 11.5)

Length: 75 and 14 mm. Probably a haft of a spoon (BÍRÓ 1994, 44–45, N. 475–478, 99, N. 475–478, 192–193).

48. Lathed bone cylinder of unknown use (Fig. 11.4)

Broken on one side. Length: 56 mm. The complete end is circular. Diameter: 15 mm.

49. Tip of a broken bone pin (Fig. 11.7)

Burnt. Length: 60 mm. Probably belongs to a hair pin.

50. Bone haft of a mirror? (Fig. 11.6)

Length: 8.5 cm.

51. Grinding palette (Fig. 12.4, 18.4)

Length: 95 mm. Width: 65 mm. The small palette is part of the cosmetic set. Such palettes were often placed in graves and can be found in military contexts (for other findspots see: GRÜNEWALD 1981, Tafel. 25/13). As a cosmetic instrument, the palettes are found in women's graves (*Aquincum*, Bécsi road cemetery Grave 8., TOPÁL 1993, 8., 8–10, Pl. 3.8, 119.7/ 8–12 a; also from *Aquincum*, KUZSINSZKY 1923, 8. Kép, 72; Keszthely–Dobogó, Zala county, Grave 130. 1, SÁGI 1981, 130.1, 85, Abb. 66.10; Majs, Baranya county, Grave 10., SZ. BURGER 1974, 10. 13, 67, 25. Fig. 10.13 and n. 5. see also Grave 40., 73–75; *Emona*, Titostrasse Grave 863. 6, PETRU 1972, N. 663, 161, T. LXI.6; *Intercisa*, Grave XIII, PAULOVICS 1927, 52–53; in sexually non identifiable burials: *Emona*, Titostrasse Grave 937., PETRU 1972, N. 937, 163, T. LXXI. 11). Fine example: BAKLER 1985, 191–192, Tafel. XI). Its distribution shows that these cosmetic sets were distributed through the North-Italian commerce. The number of the palettes decreased after the prosperous Severan times.

52. Mug (*olla*) (Fig. 12.5, 18.1)

Height: 121 mm. Coarse, grey, hard to the touch. Well known form from the 2nd c. (BÓNIS 1942, Tafel. V.4, 37; PÓCZY 1956, Abb. 8.9, 111; PETZNEK 1998, 211, Tafel. 2, Typ 7.4), produced by the so-called Gasworks pottery workshop in its second period, it dates from the first-second third of the 2nd c. (PÓCZY 1956, 118).

53. Lamp (*lucerna*) of Loeschcke type X, *Iványi XVIII* (Fig. 12.2, 18.2)

Length: 100 mm. Width: 69 mm. Height 30 mm. Very fine fabric, reddish in colour. The base stamped with *Cerialis*. Local product of the second third of the 2nd c., very close to production from North-Italian centres (ALRAM STERN 1989, 40–44, agreement in note 156, 40; DERINGER 1965,

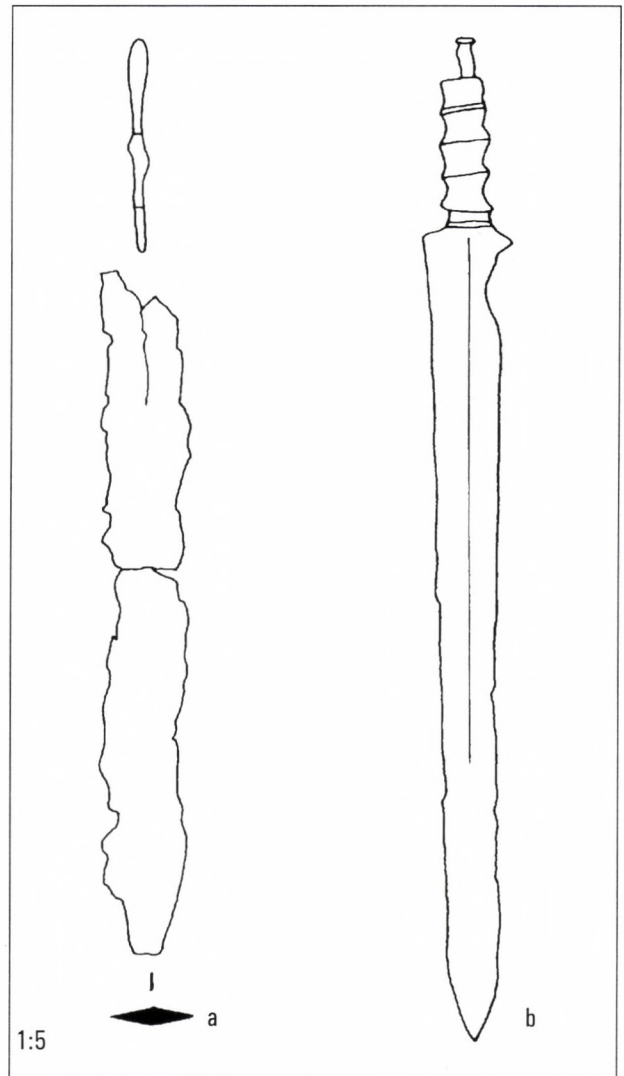


Fig. 10. a: Sword from Grave "A" – Aquincum (Sz. Komiszár); b: Same type (?) sword from the River Maas near Alem (after Biborski 1993, Abb. 10.1, 113)

22, Abb. 3, 28; LOESCHCKE 1919, 296; TOPÁL 1993, 95, Grave 62. 3, 31, 42.3, 148, Plate 142/3, 248).

54. Glazed lamp (*lucerna*) of Loeschcke type X (Fig. 12.3, 18.3)

Burnt and broken. Local product from the first half of the 2nd c. (Glazed pottery of early Roman type were produced in *Aquincum* at the so-called Gasworks workshop and somewhere else in present day Óbuda, B. BÓNIS 1990, 24–26).

55. Marine shell (Fig. 9.3)

No reliable analyses has been published on the marine shell found in Roman archaeological contexts in *Pannonia*. Some scholars have argued that the shells were used to grind colouring materials and functioned similarly to the palettes (SÁGI 1954, n. 66–67, 53). The Pannonian finds do not support this idea. Marine shells may be found in funerary contexts in women's or children's burials (*Intercisa*, Grave

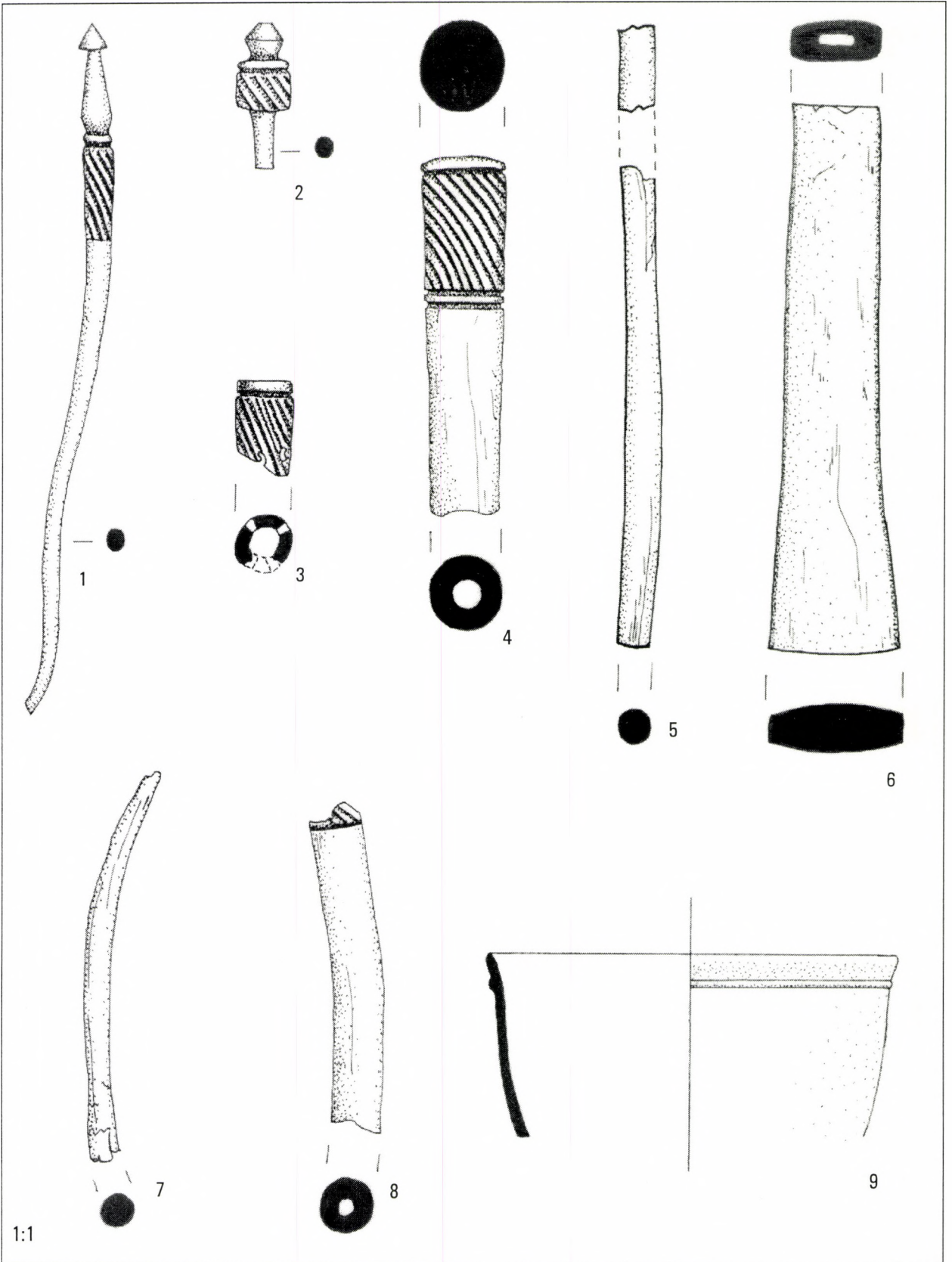


Fig. 11 Finds from Graves "A" and "B" – Aquincum (Sz. Komiszár)

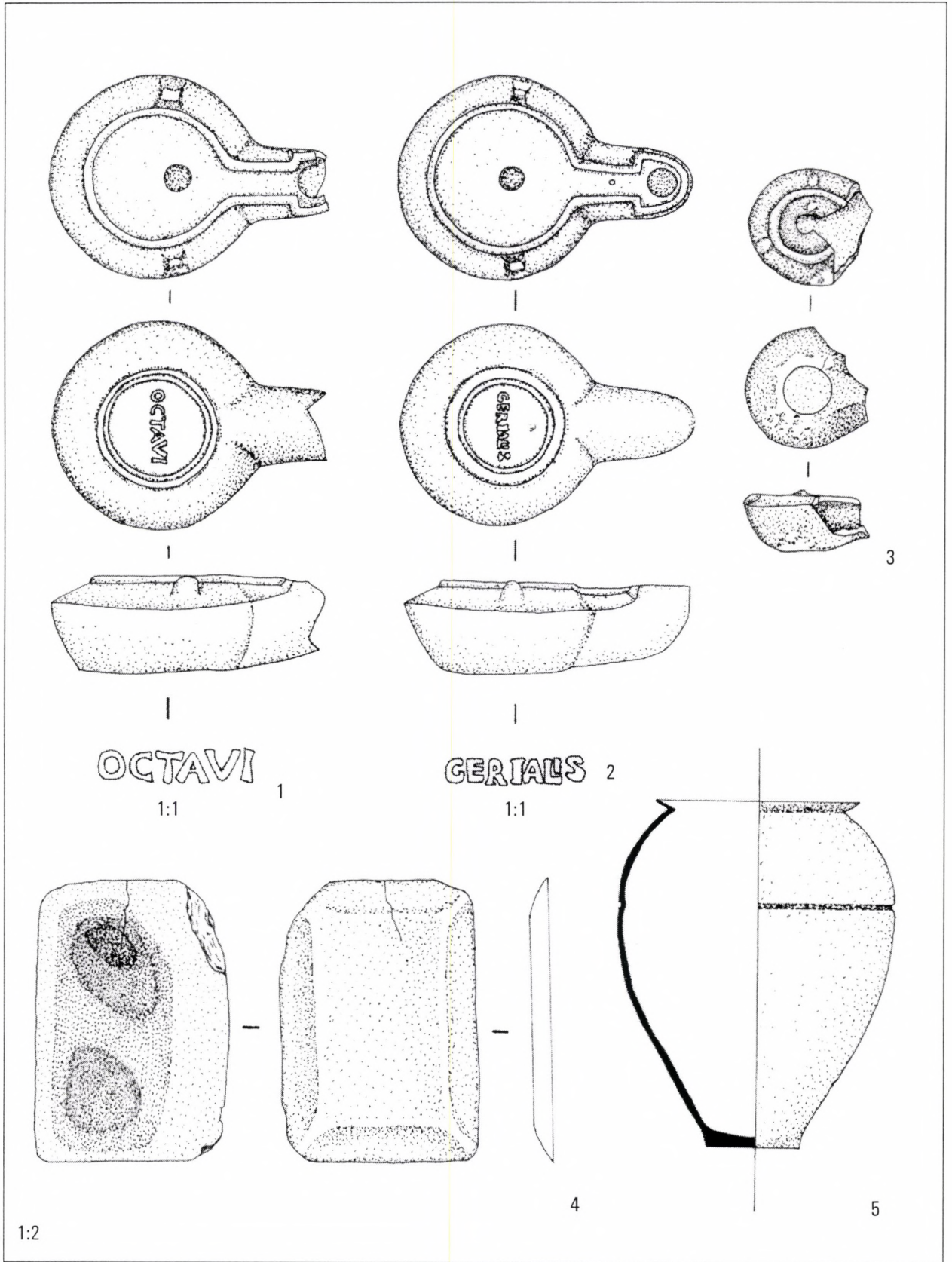


Fig. 12 Finds from Graves "A" and "B" – Aquincum (Sz. Komizár)

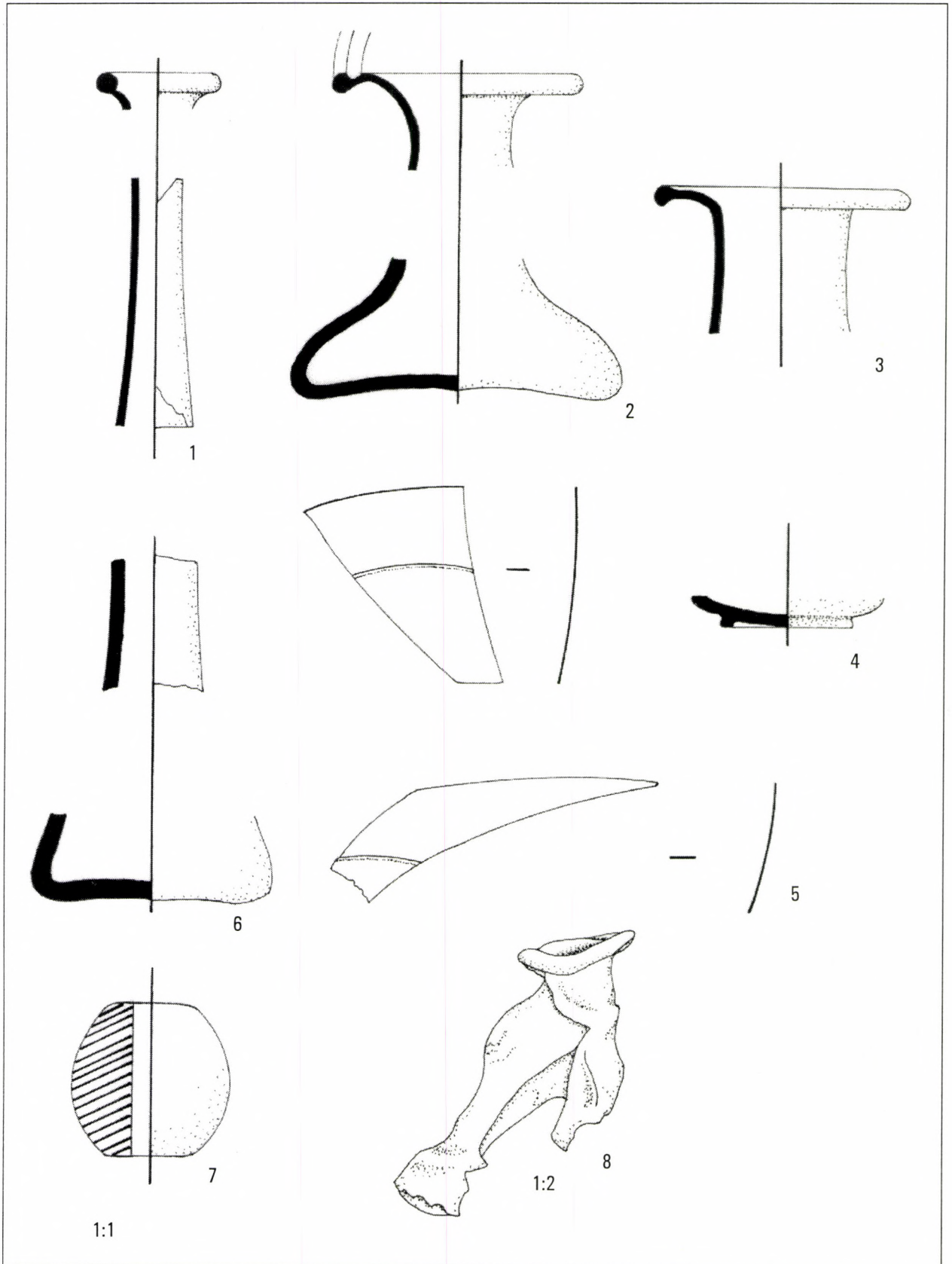


Fig. 13 Finds from Graves "A" and "B" – Aquincum (Sz. Komiszár)

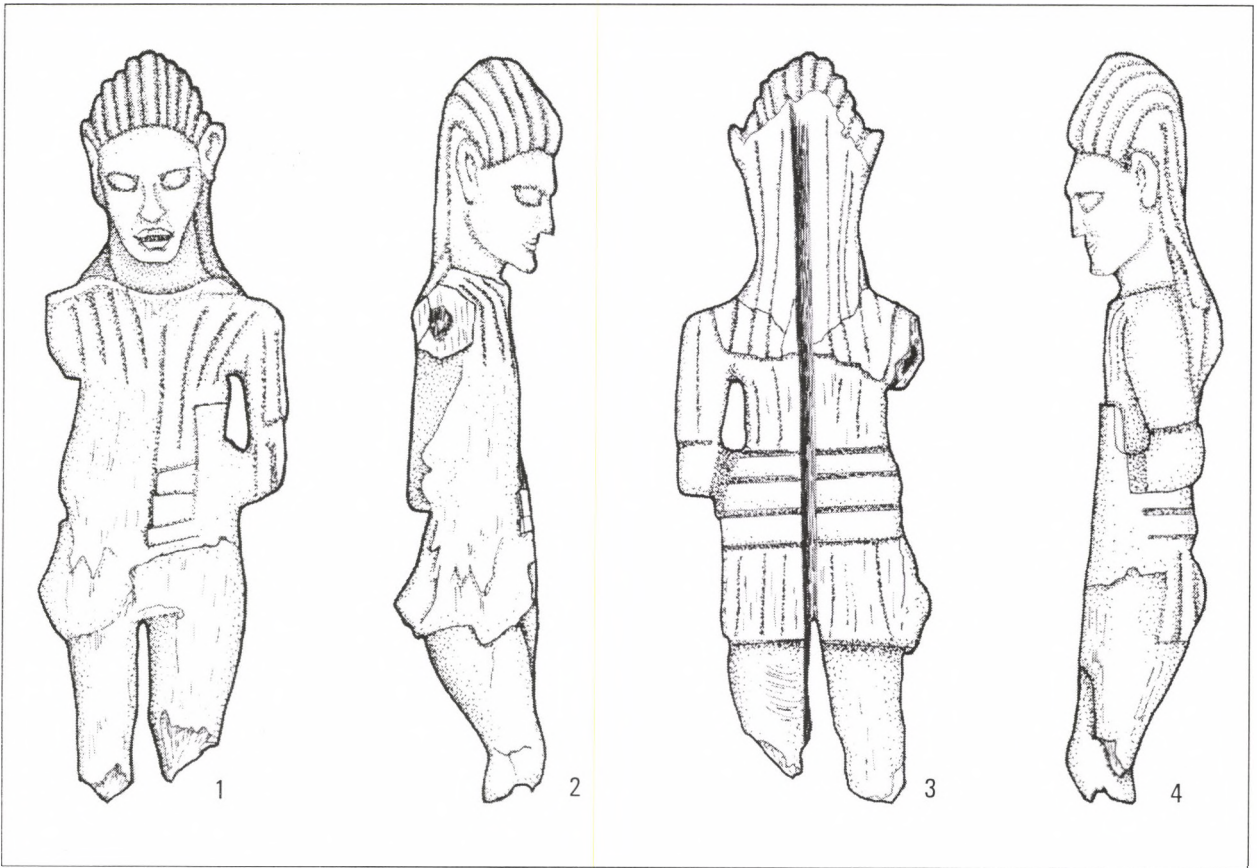


Fig. 14 Find from Grave "A" – Aquincum (Sz. Komiszár)

20, SÁGI, 20. 8–10, 53, Fig. XX. 4–7; Majs, Baranya county, Grave 10. disturbed grave of an adult of unidentifiable sex, SZ. BURGER 1972, 10. 15, 67, 25, Fig. 10.5 and see also note 5. to the Grave 40. 73–75); *Emona*, Titostrasse Grave 239., from a woman's burial, PETRU 1972, 239.27, 154, T. XXIV.27). For similar case when the marine shell was used as an amulet or a kind of jewellery (Kékesd, Garave 30., SZ. BURGER 1966, 30, 262, 4, Fig. 30, 258).

56. *Pierced glass ball* (Fig. 13.7)

Width: 30 mm. Height: 26 mm. Diameter of the hole 6 mm. Probably spindle whorl.

57. *Blue glass unguentarium (fragrance flask or bottle)* (Fig. 13.1)

Very fragmented. Diameter of the mouth: 23 mm. Probably of Barkóczy type N. 87/205 (BARKÓCZI 1988, 114–116, Taf. XVII/ 205).

58. *White glass unguentarium (fragrance flask or bottle)* (Fig. 13.6)

Very fragmented, cannot be identified typologically.

59. *White glass unguentarium (fragrance flask or bottle)* (Fig. 13.2)

Diameter of the mouth: 45 mm. It recalls the Barkóczy type 104/ 261 (BARKÓCZI 1988, N. 261, 130, Taf. XX/ 261).

60. *Blue glass unguentarium (fragrance flask or bottle)* (Fig. 13.8)

Burnt. It might have been of Barkóczy type 86/206 (BARKÓCZI 1988, N. 206, 116, Taf. XVII/ 206).

61. *White glass vessels* (Fig. 13.4–5)

Very fragmented. The shapes cannot be exactly determined. It has a very thin wall and is decorated with a glass thread. Diameter of the bottom: 20 mm.

62. *Drilled polished stone*

Probably an amulet. A similar piece has been found in a woman's grave in *Intercisa* (SÁGI 1954, Grave 41.11, 64–65, XXII, Fig. 29).

Finds from Grave "B"

Length: 150 cm. Width: 45 cm. Depth: 16 cm. Burnt dark-red plaster-lining. Two persons were buried in the grave: an adult male and a young boy. (Fig. 15)

1. *Bronze coin of Domitianus*

Heavily burnt. Unidentifiable *sestertius* of *Domitianus*.

2. *Lamp (lucerna) of Loescheke type X (Iványi XVIII)* (Fig. 12.1)

Broken. Fine fabric reddish in colour. Maximal length: 94 mm. Width: 70 mm. Height: 30 mm. The base stamped with *Octavi*. Second third of the 2nd c. (AL-RAM STERN 1989, 40–44, agreement in note 156, 40; DERINGER 1965, 22, Abb. 3, 28; LOESCHCKE 1919, 296).

3. *Blue glass unguentarium (fragrance flask or bottle)* (Fig. 13.3)

Broken. The type is not determinable.

4. *Iron fitting of a casket ?* (Fig. 8.2)

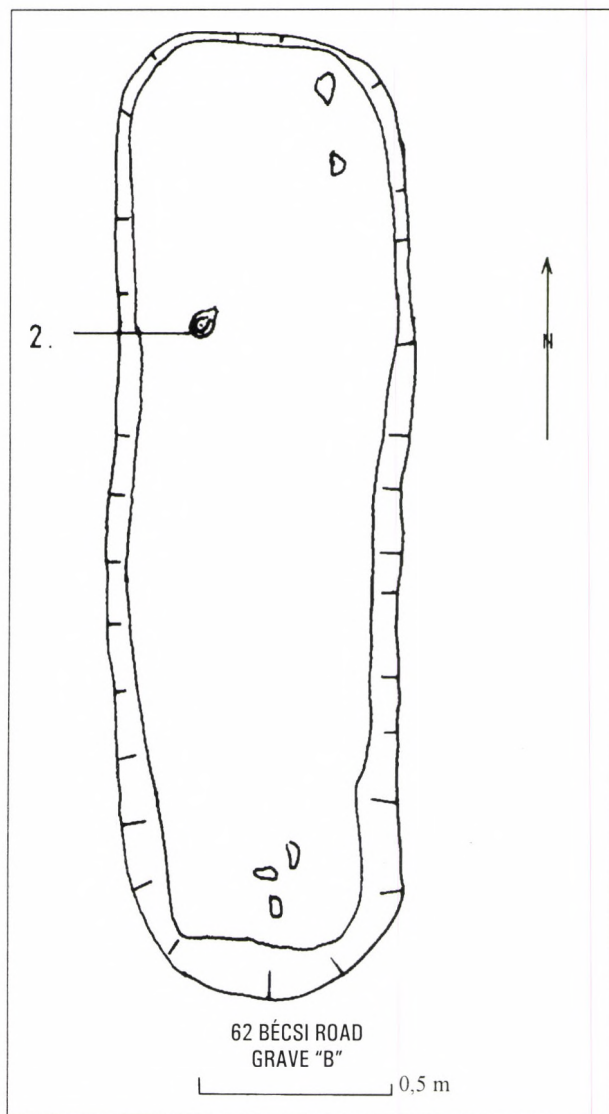


Fig. 15 Grave "B" – Aquincum
(Redrawn from the original made by T. Hable)



Fig. 16 Golden ring from Grave "A" – Aquincum
(P. Komjáti)

The date of the graves and the use of the graveyard

The military equipment from grave "A" reflects the types of the so-called Antonine revolution thus these must have been produced after the late Hadrian era. Among the bronze vessels, the later ones appeared in Eggers phase B2/C1, approx. AD 150 (KARASOVÁ 1998, 57–59, Tabelle 5). Unfortunately, both the military equipment and the bronze vessels are common types in the second half of the 2nd c. and can be found in destruction layers from the first half of the 3rd c. The early type of lamps dates the burial in the third quarter of the 2nd c. The two funerals had to have taken place within in a very short time of each other.

The finds from Grave "B" are of no help in dating the use of the graveyard more precisely. The date of the grave cannot be dated more exactly than the second half of the 2nd c.

The dates of the graves are confirmed by the relative position of the funerals in the graveyard. The graveyard was built on a child's burial situated under the north-eastern part of the wall. This inhumation grave cannot be dated more precisely in the first half of the 2nd c. After the graveyard had been abandoned, the circular wall was demolished and a new burial was established which cut through the line of the wall. This grave may be dated by a coin of *Septimius Severus* struck in a colonial mint. It also contained a terracotta figurine similar to the so-called *Aquincum* smiling youth (SÁGI 1954, 67, Fig. XXIII 12–14; PÓCZY 1956, 118; HABLE-MÁRTON 2001, 27). Based on this the child's burial can be dated to the first third of the 3rd c.

Analyses of the gravegoods

Looking through the material it is obvious that a man and a woman were buried in Grave "A". The analyses of the anthropological material shows that the most of the remains of the man were removed from the grave, very likely with some of his belongings. Based on this, it can be suggested, that the glass vessels belonged to him and that the missing parts were removed with his ashes.

The hair pin and probably the other bone objects, except the *cultellus tonsorius* (cosmetic knife) and the dice, by all means belonged to the woman. These objects form an integral whole in style that suggests they were produced, very likely, in the same workshop. Her grave goods included a golden ring as well, not only because in size it fits a woman's finger, but also because higher ranking army officers were given the right to wear golden ring (*ius annulorum*) only during the reign of *Septimius Severus* (Herod. 3.8.5; ERGÖN 1999, 714–715). The *annulus aureus* was common as an *insignia femina*. The ring and the gem could be of



Fig. 17 Finds from Grave "A" – Aquincum (P. Komjáti)

any type and kind, mainly depending on the giver of the ring (ERGÖN 1999, 724–725). In this region of the empire, the custom of placing marine shells in the graves was related exclusively to women and children, thus we can attribute it to the woman.

Besides other finds, the sword and the scabbard chape belonged to the man. His property included belt fittings as well. The fittings were placed on a military belt, called *balteus*. The term *cingulum* to designate

Roman military waist-belt hardly ever found before the 3rd c. (BISHOP-COULSTON 1993, 96). Since none of the fittings were found in its original position no reliable reconstruction is possible. A hypothetical reconstruction is that the pelta-shaped fittings were placed facing each other, the elliptical fittings were placed on the belt facing the buckle, while the leaf-shaped pendants hung down from leather strips (DESCHLER-ERB 1991, Abb. 4, 17). The sword

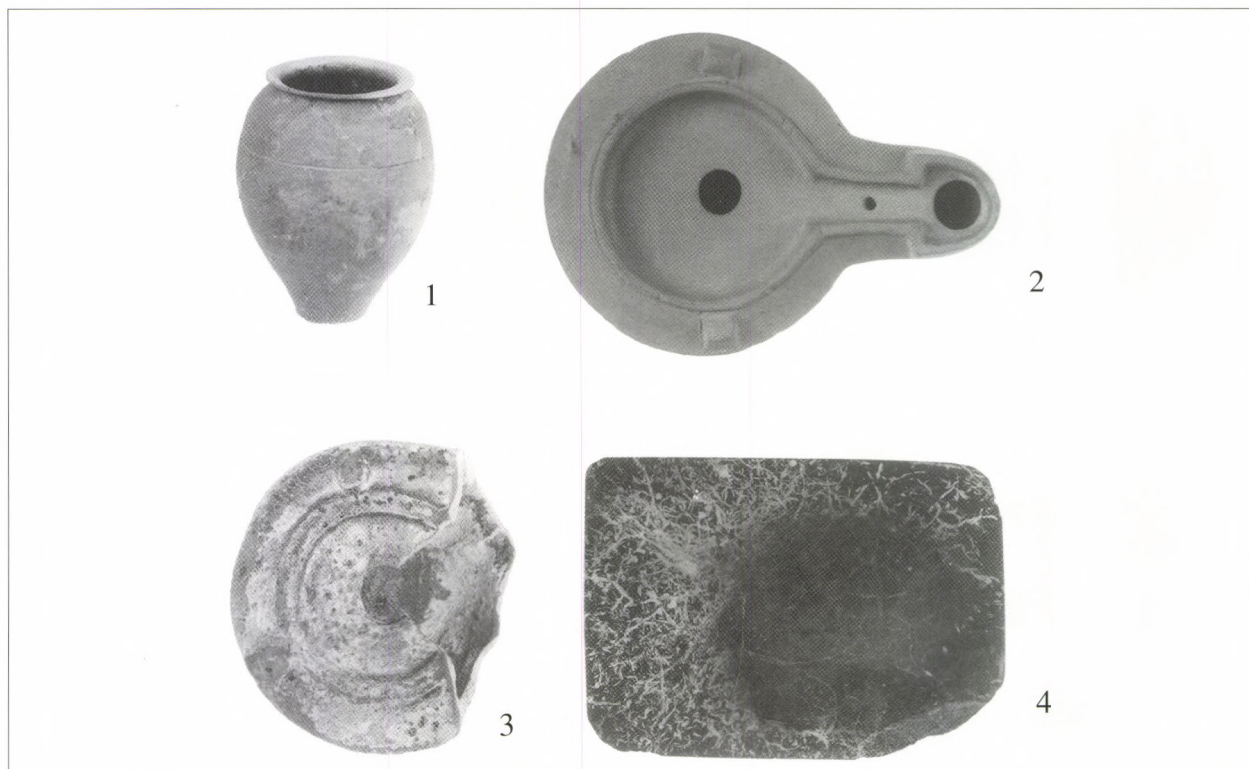


Fig. 18 Finds from Grave "A" – Aquincum (P. Komjáti)

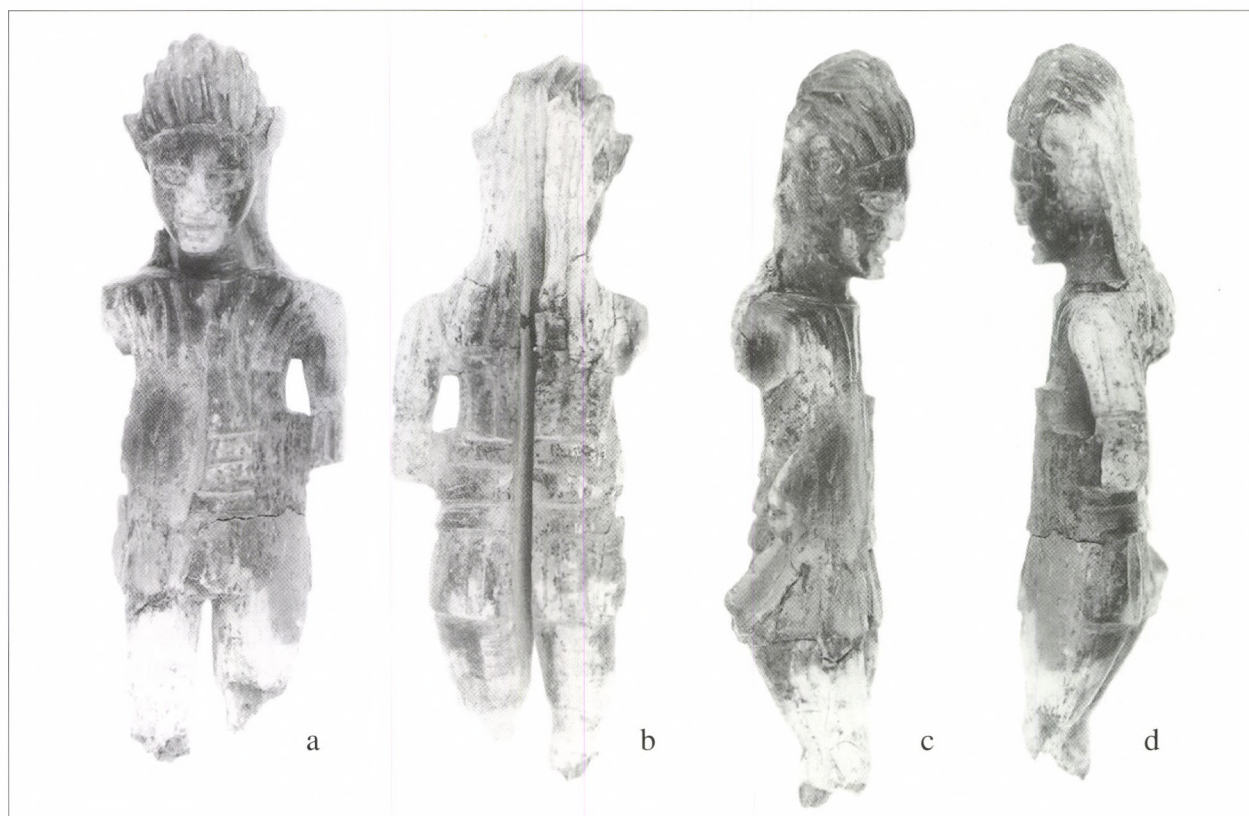


Fig. 19 Cultellus tonsorius – Aquincum (P. Komjáti)

normally hung from waist–belt (*balteus*) or *balteus* worn around the chest at that time. Unfortunately, no evidence survived on how it was really fixed (WAURICK 1989, 45). The half round scabbard chape with pelta-shaped end and the openwork design of the belt fittings reflect the period of the so-called Antonine revolution and very likely were produced during the reign of *Antoninus Pius* (BISHOP–COULSTON 1993, 109–121).

Social implications

Some social implications can be derived from these graves. Since the graveyard was very likely used by one family, it is notable that Grave “A” was very rich but Grave “B” was simple. We observe that most of the finds are common types from the 2nd c. The only exception is the bone figurine of the knife clasp haft and the enamel decorated belt. Although the artistic quality of this figurine is remarkable, it is not made of ivory. Thus, we can say that the economic prosperity of the family was related to the military service of the man buried in Grave “A”.

Interpretation of the weapon and military equipment found in the grave

Since the grave is situated in the cemetery of the Military Town of *Aquincum*, the Roman military equipment deposited with the man in the grave suggests that he was most likely a Roman soldier.

Burials with weapons – international research

Research suggests that placing weapons in graves was not a Roman practice, more precisely, Italian burial practice (VAN DOORSELAER 1967, 188; ISTENIĆ 1987, 119). It is often stated that the weapons were owned and distributed by the *fiscus* (treasury) and therefore no Roman military equipment could be deposited in graves (SÁGI 1954, 91; HÜBENER 1963, 25; BÓNIS 1966, 109). Research begun by Mr Hans Schönberger’s paper in 1953 (SCHÖNBERGER 1953; VAN DOORSELAER 1963; VAN DOORSELAER 1967; NIERHAUS 1969; VAN DOORSELAER 1971; FEUGÈRE 1993; POUX 1999) radically altered this view. It was demonstrated that burials with weapons restarted after Roman occupation and occurs in great numbers in the 2nd c. Their numbers were reduced in the 3rd c. However, enough are found to suppose a continuous tradition. The scholars concluded that the native population continued its indigenous tradition of being buried with their weapons. There is no reason to suspect barbarian influences in this regard (VAN DOORSELAER 1967, 61; VAN DOORSELAER 1972, 29; BREEZE ET AL. 1976, 77–81, 87). The first period of the Roman burials with weapons is

connected with the natives serving in the Roman auxiliaries (SCHÖNBERGER 1953, 53; VAN DOORSELAER 1967, 61, 188; FAIRON–MORCAU–MARÉCHAL 1983, 563–564; HAFFNER 1989, 271–274; KOSTER 1993, 296; WAURICK 1994, 1–6, as opposed to civilian and auxiliary soldiers NIERHAUS 1969, 259). The later group is connected with the native villa elite. This social class abandoned the custom of burying military equipment in their graves and started to bury their dead with hunting equipment as a sign of their social success (VAN DOORSELAER 1972, 29). This fact is verified by the research of Mr Van Doorselaer who was able to detect centres of burials with weapons along the Rhein and in the area of the *Treveri*. This area corresponds well with the distribution of the Roman villas and Roman tumuli (VAN DOORSELAER 1967, 188–191). In this area, the production of manpower for the Roman army was considerably higher than in other areas and the martial ideology of these groups is visible in the continuous deposition of military weapons in the graves, regardless of whether they are of German or Celtic origin (ROYMANS 1995, 58–62). In this area, the rank of the villa elite and the “warrior status” of the auxiliary soldiers are connected and the warrior is valued by his own native traditions (ROYMANS 1995, 58–61). Thus, in *Pannonia*, there is no reason to suppose German influence on the occurrence of burials with weapons. The Germanic horizon of Mr O–H. Urban (URBAN 1984a, 95–101; NAGY 1997, 52) cannot be maintained on chronological grounds. Most of the burials of his horizon cannot be dated to the 1st c. or cannot be dated based on what has been published or because of a lack of proper find circumstances (on this problem see also PALÁGYI–NAGY 2000, 103).

Several papers were published on the interpretation of the weapons buried in graves. Some of the scholars state that the weapons in the early graves are for military use (VAN DOORSELAER, 1967, 61; WAURICK 1994). The others, following the interpretation of Mr J. Aymard (based on CIL XIII 5708), say that all the weapons were used as hunting equipment (AYMARD 1951, 201–205; NIERHAUS 1969, 260; ISTENIĆ 1987, 119; CIL XIII 5708 see also: FEUGÈRE 1993, 34). Although the inscription of CIL XIII 5708 does not exclude that the swords were carried, not for use in hunting, but for the shake of representation.

Research carried out on the ownership of military weapons in the principate concluded that the weapons were not owned and distributed by the *fiscus*, but that soldiers, except for members of the praetorian guard, had to buy their own weapons. His equipment was given back to his unit if he died or retired. The return

of weapons therefore was automatic, but not compulsory. Thus, it depended on the cultural heritage of the individual soldier whether he deposited the equipment in his grave or whether his heir or heirs decided to convert into cash this valuable asset (MACMULLEN 1960, 23–26; BREEZE ET AL. 1976, 93–95; BISHOP 1985, 9; SCOTT 1985, n. 1, 181; BISHOP–COULSTON 1993, 198–199; CAMPBELL 1994, 26). There are several sources which prove that in the late antiquity the soldiers might kept their weapons (WOODS 1993, 55, 63). There was nothing to prevent soldiers from being buried with their weapons. Beside the state supply of arms, *fabricae* of the units, there were freelance traders, private and native blacksmiths who provided and distributed arms and weapons (CIL XIII 6677; CIL VI 1952 (?); CIL IX 3962=5657; CIL XIII 11514; CIL VI 9043; CIL X 3971; ULBERT 1971, 48–49; GARBSCH 1978, 17–18; OLDENSTEIN 1985a, 9; OLDENSTEIN 1985, 83, 89; FREL 1987, 57–58; BISHOP–COULSTON 1993, 183–184; WAURICK 1994, 14–15). The state monopolised production of weapons and the prohibition on carrying them was only instituted in the 4th–6th c. as a result of a gradual process (VÁRADY 1961, 106–108; SOUTHERN–DIXON 1996, 76–77, 89).

In conclusion, we can say, after Mr Götz Waurick, that the weapons found in Roman graves can be divided into four groups. In the first group we find weapons that can be used very likely for hunting: spears, arrow heads. The function of these spears and arrow heads and ethnical relationship of the owners cannot be established even if we find them in the cemetery of a Roman fort (WAURICK 1994, 4–5). The second group contains full equipment: swords, spears, shields. Where these are not common in Roman military contexts or found in cemeteries that do not belong to a Roman fort we can say that these weapons belonged to the native aristocracy and were used as hunting kits and for representation (considering the weight of the shield boss, KOSTER 1993, 295–296). In the third group, we find graves which contain weapons that cannot be used as hunting equipment. The last group most likely consists of the graves of Roman soldiers of native origin (WAURICK 1994, 1–4). I have to underline the fact that in the early principate those who served in Roman auxiliaries were allowed to carry their native style equipment (BREEZE ET AL. 1976, 81–92; FAIRON–MORCEAU–MARECHAL 1983, 560–564; WAURICK 1988, 352–353; BISHOP–COULSTON 1993, 74; WAURICK 1994, 1; POUX 1999, 123–126). In the fourth group we find burials with finds of German character. When these graves are found in cemeteries belonging to a Roman fort, we can say that these are

burials of soldiers who served in the Roman army (WAURICK 1994, 4).

Roman burials with weapons in Pannonia

A fundamental distinction was attempted between hunting gear and military equipment in these graves. The basic criteria used in this differentiation were as follows: 1. Type of the weapon. Is the weapon a Roman military type or not? 2. Panoply of the deceased. Whether the weapons could have been used for hunting or not? 3. Does the grave belong to a Roman military cemetery?

The spear heads cannot be ethnically identified and there is no proper way to classify them. In this respect, I cannot comment further on them. Both the long leaf-shape type (i.e. Halimba type) and the heavy, broad types occur in Roman military and native contexts (BISHOP–COULSTON 1993, 69, Fig. 35; KATZANOWSKY 1993, 140; WAURICK 1994, 5;). At Káloz (Cat.Nr.:15) and Inota II (Cat.Nr.:14) spear heads were used to stab the horses buried there. The iron spear head from the Vínár–Cseralja Grave 8 (Cat.Nr.: 35) is not a provincial type and might have been imported. It is very difficult to make a distinction between spearheads used as a hunting gear equipment and those which were used as a military equipment. In this respect, on the sole condition of spearheads present in the grave I may not decide in favour of military equipment so I classified most of them as a hunting kit. The so called “*beneficiarius*” standard from Sárszentmiklós (Cat.Nr.: 26) was probably an *insignia* belonging to a magistrate of the local municipal government (MÓCSY 1962, 35–39; PALÁGYI–NAGY 2000, 102), but more likely these special types of spears were presumably carried by soldiers as a rank insignia whilst engaged in special administrative or supply duties (BISHOP–COULSTON 1993, 126; FEUGÈRE 1993, 60–61).

The catapult bolt found at *Emona* (Cat.Nr.: 75) is a unique piece and may be interpreted as souvenir from the army.

The *sica* at Káloz (Cat.Nr.: 15) is a well known native type weapon (NAGY 1997, 51) although we can find it in Roman military camps where it may have been used by soldiers of native origin (VON SCHNURBEIN 1974; PALÁGYI–NAGY 2000, 100, 103).

The oval shaped *umbo* is a characteristic Roman weapon. So the Grave 2 at Inota (Cat.Nr.: 14) can be associated with the Roman army (WAURICK 1994, 1–2; PALÁGYI–NAGY 2000, 100).

The same can be said about the *pillum* (WAURICK 1994, 2). Unfortunately the grave at Tengőd–Csehipusztá (Cat.Nr.: 101) lacks proper information on the find circumstances while the identification of the *pil-*

lum found in Solymár, Grave 15 (Cat.Nr.: 29) is doubtful.

Only the special belt fittings from Grave 2 at Káloz (Cat.Nr.: 15) have close associations with the Roman army. We can say that one of the men buried there served in the army (FEUGÈRE 1985, 123–125).

The round-shaped shield bosses are familiar in the final period of the Celtic Late Iron Age, LT D, *Germania Libera* (RAPIN 1988, 61–66; ZIELING 1989, 28–235, 988–996) and not exclusively used by natives, sometimes we can find them in Roman military sites, presumably used by auxiliary soldiers (BISHOP–COULSTON 1993, 82; PETCULESCU 1994, 67, No. 4, 73, Pl. 2. 2/ 4, 76; FEUGÈRE 1993, 94–95; WAURICK 1994, 4–5; SCHLAETER 1999, 136, Fig 5.7, 138)².

A few swords can be identified as Roman military types, these are the swords found at Bobovk, Verdun-Grave 1, *Matrica, Poetovio* (Cat.Nr.: 1, 7, 20, 25).

By the Tiberio-Claudian period, daggers had become a complementary side-arm weapon in the Roman army and were used in the 2nd c. as well. The scabbards of the later daggers are mainly undecorated. Daggers were used both by auxiliary and legionary units as well as by cavalry troops (BISHOP–COULSTON 1993, 74–76, 79). We find Roman military daggers at *Emona*-Grave 930, *Poetovio-Grave* 276 (Cat.Nr.: 11, 24).

After the Roman occupation the natives were forced to end their custom of depositing weapons in their graves and they were disarmed. This process is obvious in the continuously used cemetery of Novo Mesto (Beletov vrt) where there are several warrior's graves in the pre-Roman period, but where no burials contained weapons after the occupation (KNEZ 1992, 91–92).

Burials with weapons reoccur after the occupation. These graves as those found at Verdun and Bobovk-Grave 1 (Cat.Nr.: 1, 7–8) can be attributed to Roman auxiliary soldiers. Of these graves the Cserszegtomaj-Grave 12 (Cat.Nr.: 2) contains a brooch of *Aucissa* type. This kind of brooch spread with the army (LERAT 1979, 43; METZLER 1995, 235). Katzelsdorf, Grave II.2 (Cat.Nr.: 5) contains a sword that by itself cannot be termed a hunting weapon, the grave should be interpreted as the grave of soldiers of native origin.

The 2nd c. is golden age for the burials with weapons in *Pannonia*. As we have yet to describe the belt fittings found in the Grave 3 at Káloz (Cat.Nr.: 15) were produced in a central workshop in Besançon exclusively for supplying the Roman army. This type was a special *dona militaria* (FEUGÈRE 1985,

123–125). The men of the aristocracy were buried with full panoply, as at Káloz, Grave 2 (Cat.Nr.:15). The deceased may have been a member of the local aristocracy buried with a hunting gear equipment (PALÁGYI 1990, 11) or an auxiliary soldier. As we have seen, the natives may have used their own weapons in the Roman army. In the west, the local elite was closely related to the auxiliary units. The same process took place in *Pannonia* as it is attested by the gravestone of *Asper Lucundi principis Azaliorum filius* (LÖRINCZ–KELEMEN 1997, N. 2, 180–181; LÖRINCZ 2001, 133, Cat.Nr.: 139, 200). I have to underline the fact that Asper served in a cavalry unit (*ala*) and all the aristocratic/soldier burials contained cavalry equipment. On this ground this is very likely that the member of the local aristocracy served as a cavalry soldier. Inota I, Grave 1; Inota II, Grave 1; and Kemelesszentpéter-Pagony, Grave I (Cat.Nr.: 4, 14, 16) all fall within this group of graves.

Naturally, not all military equipment found in graves associated the deceased buried there with the army, especially not the less valuable items (as shown obviously by the baldric fitting found in a young woman's grave in the Bécsi Road cemetery, Grave 112, TOPÁL 1993, Grave 112. 14, 49, Plate 69, 112. 14, 175, Plate 159, 112/14, 265; an identical example comes from Weissenburg: OLDENSTEIN 1976, 1160, 234–239, Tafel. 90. 1160).

The cemetery excavated near Vinár-Cseralja and the grave at Mannersdorf are non-Roman in character (Cat.Nr.:19, 31–38).

Since all the certainly datable 2nd c. graves can be dated before the Markomannic war it is very likely that the changes in the population of *Pannonia* caused by the Marcomannic war brought to an end, the native custom of depositing weapons in graves. No graves have been dated to the 3rd c., except for three. Aquincum-Bécsi road, Grave 12, Bad-Deutch-Altenburg-Grave 20 (Cat.Nr.: 40, 41) contains hunting equipment, but the *Intercisa*-Grave IV.8. (Cat.Nr.: 42) should be interpreted as a soldier's burial.

Burials with weapons reoccur in the 4th c. in great numbers. In contrast to the western provinces, this phenomenon is not related to the previous tradition. In my opinion, this custom was effected by the late Roman army. This process corresponds well with trends in the western Roman Empire (NIERHAUS 1969, 260; BREEZE ET AL. 1976, 81).

At last we should mention those graves that contain weapons for ritual reasons. In *Matrica*, Grave 93 (Cat.Nr.: 82), a sword blade was placed under the head of the child buried there, while a sheep's skull was placed on an axe in Majs, Grave 26 (Cat.Nr.: 55).

Summing up the evidences from early Roman graves with weapons can be sorted as follows (some of the graves cannot be sorted):

1. The following graves should be excluded from the further research, since they are not surely grave finds or without proper find circumstances or/and are lost: Cat.Nr.: 69, 70, 71, 72, 74, 79, 91, 92, 94, 95, 98, 100, 101, 102, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112.
2. The following graves most likely contain hunting equipment: Cat.Nr.: 3, 6, 9, 12, 22, 23, 27, 30, 31, 41, 76, 77, 85, 91, 96.
3. The following graves most likely contain working tools: Cat.Nr.: 17, 18, 78, 86, 87.
4. The following graves should be interpreted as soldier's burials: Cat.Nr.: 1, 5, 7, 8, 10, 14, 20, 24, 25, 28, 42, 68.
5. The following graves may be interpreted as soldier's burials: Cat.Nr.: 2, 11, 13, 15, 21, 26, 29, 39, 40, 75, 89?.
6. The following graves should be interpreted as aristocratic or soldier's burials: Cat.Nr.: 4, 14, 16.
7. The following graves are non-roman in character: Cat.Nr.: 19, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38.

The late Roman graves can be sorted as follows:

1. The following graves most likely contain working tools: Cat.Nr.: 46?, 55, 63, 81.
2. The following graves most likely contain hunting equipment: Cat.Nr.: 43, 44, 45, 48, 49, 50, 51, 54, 57, 59, 64?, 65, 66, 90.
3. The following graves may be interpreted as soldier's burials: Cat.Nr.: 47? 52, 53, 56, 58, 60, 61, 62, 67?.

Catalogue of Roman burials with weapons in Pannonia

Knives have been excluded, axes are included however since they may also be working tools. Due to the gradual process of the occupation of the Pannonian territory and the several changes occurred in the administration the catalogue does not follow the administrative border of the Pannonian provinces at any given time³.

1st c. graves (Fig. 19)

1. Bobovk, Kranj, Slovenia, Grave 1.: 3 knives, *gladius* – Type Pompei ?; BIBORSKI 1993, 95–96 – (PETRU 1958–1959, 134–135, T. I–III).
2. Cserszegtomaj, Veszprém county, Grave 12: iron spear head (GUDEA 1994, Type Abb. 2 LAI2, 81), brooch of *Aucissa* type (SZÁNTÓ 1953, N. 12.16, 53, XVI. T. 23, MRT 1, 48).
3. Halimba, Somogy county, Grave 1, 2: iron spear heads – TEJRAL 1994, Abb. 3.8; GUDEA 1994, Type Abb. 2 LAI2, 81 –, iron lance head – SCHLAETER 1999, 138, Fig. 59, 138 – (BÓNIS 1966, N. 1. 2–4, 91, Tafel. XVIII 1,3, Abb. 24/7,4; KACZANOWSKY 1993, 140)
4. Inota, Veszprém county, tumulus? I, pitgrave 1: iron shield boss – ZIELING 1989, Typ. G2.3, Tafel. 1022; GODLOWSKY 1994, Abb. 1. 5 –, iron shield holder – GODLOWSKY 1994, Abb. 2. 2 –, iron dagger, iron arrow head, iron? butt (PALÁGYI 1986; PALÁGYI 1981; KACZA-

NOWSKY 1993, 137; PALÁGYI-NAGY 2000, 50–61, 99–102, with more bibliography).

5. Katzelsdorf, KG Katzelsdorf – Niederösterreich, Grave II.2: iron *umbo* – ZIELING 1989, Type II, 988, Tafel. 12, 1024, Tabelle 1, 1049 –, iron sword (MAG 1904, 32–33; KERCHLER 1967, 26, 178; WINDL 1981, 12; Abb. 3, 19; URBAN 1984., 152, N 22., 215 – with more bibliography; ZIELING 1989, 31–32, 40–44, 988; GABLER 1990, 152).
6. Sárbogárd, Fejér county, Grave 3: iron spear head – GUDEA 1994, Type Abb. 2 LAI9, 81 –, iron arrow head /lost/ (BÁNKI 1998, 65, 93; Abb. 2.3).
7. Verdun, near Novo Mesto, Slovenia, Grab 1: iron helmet of Weisenau type, dated to the Claudian period; *gladius*, shield boss – ZIELING 1989, Typ. H1 früh –, Tafel. 11, 1023 –, ansa and belt fittings of a balteus – BISHOP-COULSTON 1993, 96–98; Type Fig. 59.9, 97 – (WERKSTÄTTEN 1986, 879, Abb. 63–64, 883; WAURICK 1988, Nr. 5, 337, 355, Abb. 3, 3, Tab Nr. 11; ZIELING 1989, 991; BIBORSKI 1993, 95).
8. Verdun, near Novo Mesto, Slovenia, Grab 41: iron helmet of Weisenau type, dated to the Augustan period (WAURICK 1988, Nr. 4, 337, 355).

2nd c. graves (Fig. 20)

9. Alsószentivány, Fejér county, tumulus 5: iron spear head (NAGY 1893, 28–37; PALÁGYI-NAGY 2000, 9–11, 101 – with more bibliography).
10. Aquincum, Budapest, Bécsi road 62, iron sword and scabbard chape.
11. Emona, Ljubljana – Slovenia, Titostrasse, Grave 930: iron dagger (since it has only one edge it is more likely a longer knife), bronze scabbard, several other military equipment – OLDENSTEIN 1976, N. 868, 200–201, Tafel. 66, 868 – (PETRU 1972, N. 930, 163, T. LXIX.. 30–34).
12. Gleisdorf, Oststeiermark, Grave XXXIII: iron spear head – GUDEA 1994, Type Abb.2 LAI2, 81 – (ARTNER 1988/1989, N.XXXIII, 41, 93; Tafel. 46, XXXIII. 6).
13. Győr – Nádorváros, Győr–Moson–Sopron county, Grave10: fragments of iron sword's blade /not illustrated/, 2nd c? (BÍRÓ 1961, 241, 247).
14. Inota, Veszprém county, tumulus II., pitgrave 1: iron sword; pit 2: iron spear head – GUDEA 1994, Abb. Type LAI 5, 81 –, bronze *umbo* coated with tin – ZIELING 1989, Typ. H1.2, Tafel. 11, 1023; GODLOWSKY 1994, Abb. 1. 25 – (RÉGFÜZ I. 28, 1975, 56; KACZANOWSKY 1993, 136; PALÁGYI-NAGY 2000, 52, 99–102 – with more bibliography).
15. Káloz, Fejér county, Grave 2: one bronze – ZIELING 1989, Typ. F2, 995, Tafel. 9, 1021 –, one iron shield boss – ZIELING 1989, Typ. G1, 995, Tafel. 1022 –, fragments of bronze ansa, bronze shield handle – ZIELING 1989, Typ. G2, 995, Tafel. 23, 1035 – iron sword, iron sica – VON SCHNURBEIN 1979, 129–134 –, iron spear head, iron axe, bronze spur; Grave 3: 2 iron spear heads, gilded fittings of a roman military belt – FEUGERE 1985, Type 9, 123–125, 128 – (Published: BÓNA 1955; BÓNA 1963; BÓNA 1978 (revised) and see also FITZ 1960, 63; BÖHME 1977, 179–182; SZABÓ 1976; BÓNIS 1981; GODLOWSKY 1984, 340; ZIELING 1989, 995; KACZANOWSKY 1993,

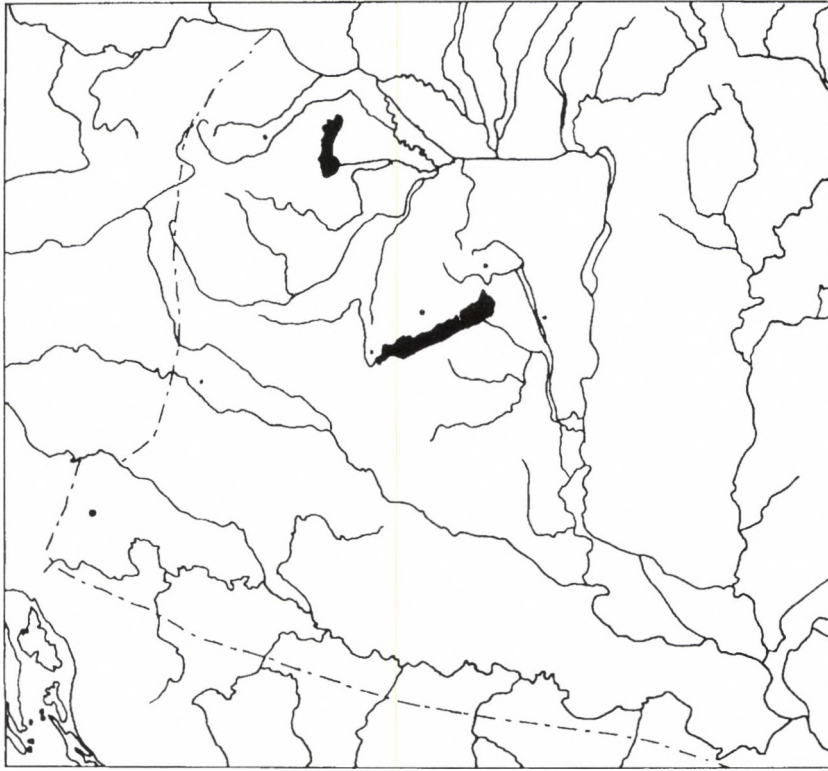


Fig. 20 Distribution of the 1st c. burials with weapons in Pannonia (A. Márton)

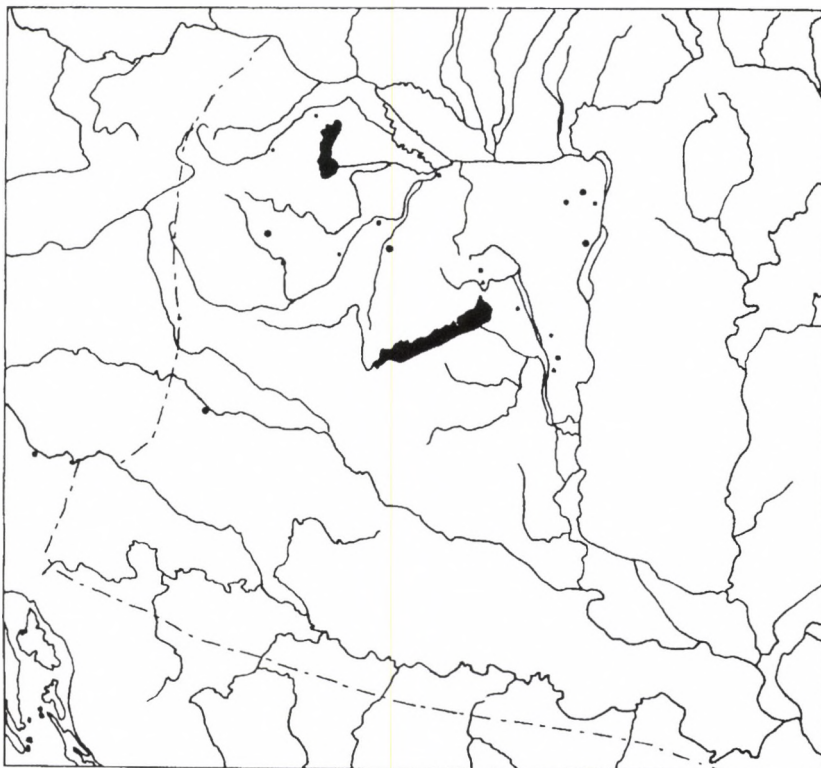


Fig. 21 Distribution of the 2nd c. burials with weapons in Pannonia (A. Márton)

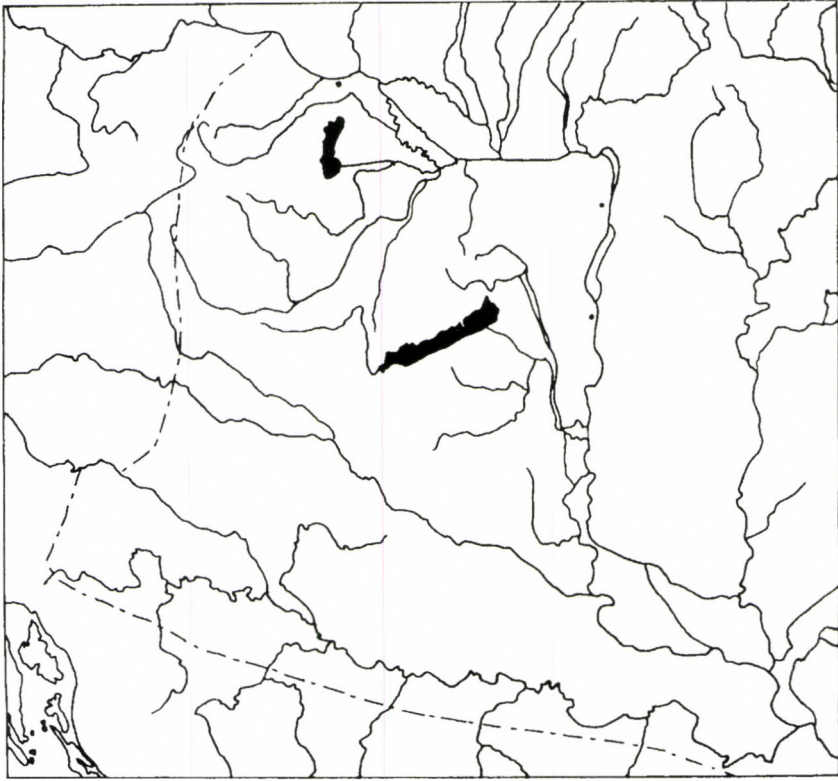


Fig. 22 Distribution of the 3rd c. burials with weapons in Pannonia (A. Márton)

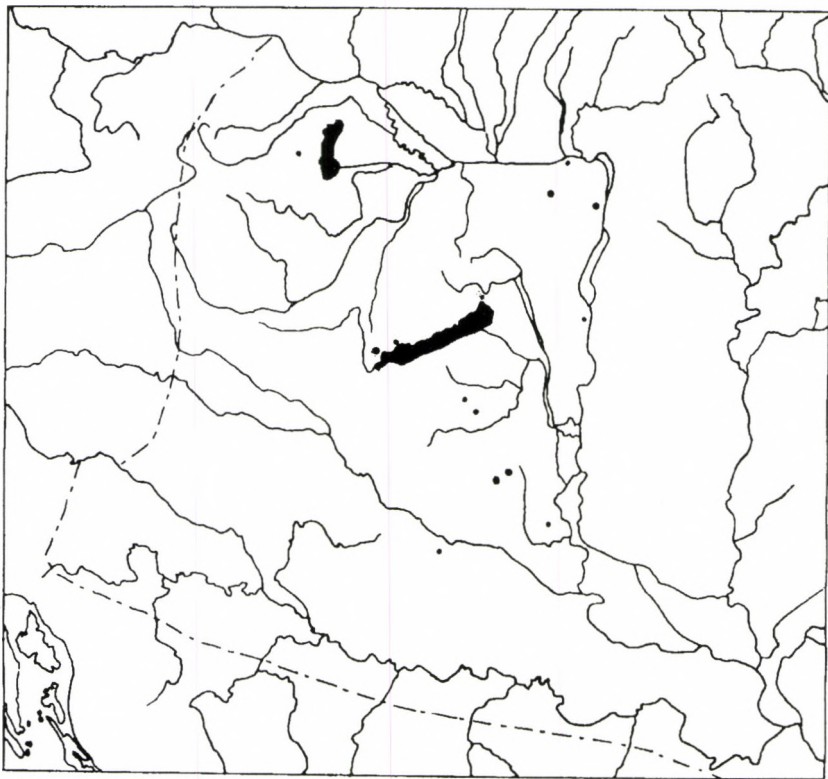


Fig. 23 Distribution of the 4th c. burials with weapons in Pannonia (A. Márton)

- 133, 135–140, Abb. 4; PALÁGYI–NAGY 2000, 16–17, 101, 104, Fig. V., 188–189 – with more bibliography).
16. Kemenesszentpéter, Veszprém county, Pagony I: iron shield boss of round type coated with bronze /unidentifiable/, fragments of ansa made of bronze, silver shield fittings, bronze shield handle – ZIELING 1989, Typ. P, 2003 –, iron sword with a half round scabbard chape – Waurick type 1 ?, WAURICK 1989, 46, Fig. 5/5 –, 2 iron spear heads – GUDEA 1994, Type Abb. 4, SUBIV3, 84 –, 2 iron axes, iron dagger, 2 iron spurs (PALÁGYI 1988, ZIELING 1989, 2003; PALÁGYI 1990, 10–11; PALÁGYI–NAGY 2000, 17 –with more bibliography).
17. Kleinwarasdorf, Burgenland, Brandgrab: iron axe (BARB 1950, 186, 189, Abb. 62 – with more bibliography).
18. Kleinwarasdorf, Burgenland, Aschenkistengrab: two iron axes (DERNDARSKY 1998, Tafel. II. 18–19).
19. Mannersdorf, Niederösterreich, Brandgrab 13: iron shield boss – ZIELING 1989, 988, Typ. II, Tafel. 12, 1024 –, bronze shield holder – ZIELING 1989, 988, Typ. F3, Tafel. 22, 1034 – (SERAC SIN–ZEHENTHOFER 1916, 86, Tafel. VIII. 800–803; BÓNA 1963, 255; KERCHLER 1967, 26, 214–218; Tafel. LXXII; ZIELING 1989, 989).
20. Matrica, Százhalombatta – Dunafüred, Pest county, Grave 14: broken *gladius* – Ringknaufschwert – Typ II; BIBORSKI 1994, 102; Abb. 19.4 – (RÉG.FÜZ. I. 25, 1972, 48; TOPÁL 1981, 79, 93; Pl. VI. 14.5).
21. Matrica, Százhalombatta – Dunafüred, Pest county, Grave 76, iron dagger /unidentifiable/ (TOPÁL 1981, 93, Pl. XXVI. 76.3).
22. Neudörfl, Burgenland, Brandgrab 3: iron spear head – GUDEA 1994, Type Abb. 2, LA3.7, 81 – (URBAN 1985, 103–104; Abb. 7.9, 102).
23. Peremarton, Veszprém county: iron spear head from an incineration burial (MRT 2, N. 14.25, 71–72).
24. Poetovio, Ptuj, Slovenia, Grave 276: bronze dagger – BISHOP–COULSTON 1993, Type Fig. 39. 6, 75? – (KAJUNŽIĆ, N. 276. 21, 74, T. 21/ 276. 21).
25. Poetovio, Ptuj, Slovenia, Grave 600: sword – BIBORSKI 1993, type IV, 102, Abb. 20.2, 123 –, scabbard (ISTENIĆ 1999, N. 600, 66–67, Fig. 53, 66, Pl. 129.6).
26. Sárszentmiklós, Fejér county: “*beneficiarius*” standard (MÓCSY 1962, 35–39; PALÁGYI 1990a, 33–35, 37; PALÁGYI–NAGY 2000, 40–41, 102, Fig. VI., 12, 190–191 – with more bibliography).
27. Sárvár, Vas county: iron spear head (PALÁGYI–NAGY 2000, 41 –with more bibliography).
28. Savaria, Szombathely, Vas county, Grave 44: iron dagger and other bronze scabbard fittings and a hanging strap end – OLDENSTEIN 1976, N. 293 – (MÓCSY 1954, N. 44.6, 170, 189, 9. Fig. 44.6, 179).
29. Solymár, Pest county, Grave 15: iron spear head – TEJRAL 1994, Abb. 1. Type 5, 30; 33; GUDEA 1994, Type Abb. 2, LAI.3, 81 –, fragment of an iron *pillum* ??? (V. KOCZTUR 1991, N. 15. 1–2, 176, IV. t. 1–2, 284).
30. Solymár, Pest county, Grave 148: iron spear head – GODŁOWSKY 1994, Abb. 1. Type 35? – (V. KOCZTUR 1991, N. 148.8., 203, XXXVI. T. 12, 316).
31. Vajta, Fejér county, Grave I: iron spear head – GUDEA 1994, Type Abb. 3. SUAIV 1, 83 – (PALÁGYI–NAGY 2000, 50, 6. Fig. 51 –with more bibliography).
32. Vinár–Cseralja, Veszprém county, Grave 1: spur, 3 iron spear heads – GUDEA 1994, Types Abb. 2. LAI2, LAIII6, LAI9? –, iron spear, iron sword, iron shield boss /burnt and broken/, shield handle – ZIELING 1989, 996, Type F3, Tafel. 22, 1034 – (MRT 4, N. 80.4, 261–262; MITHAY 1989, N. 1, 67–68, 13. Fig. 12, 13, 14, 19–21, 14. Fig. 1.4, 3.5; ZIELING 1989, 996; KACZANOWSKY 1993, 137).
33. Vinár–Cseralja, Veszprém county, Grave 2: iron spear head – GODŁOWSKY 1994, Abb. 1. Type 35 –, iron sword (MRT 4, N. 80.4, 261–262; MITHAY 1989, 2., 68, 14. Fig. 2.1–2; KACZANOWSKY 1993, 137).
34. Vinár–Cseralja, Veszprém county, Grave 7: iron sword (MRT 4, N. 80.4, 261–262; MITHAY 1989, 7. 1.3, 52, 7. Fig. 7.1,3; KACZANOWSKY 1993, 137).
35. Vinár–Cseralja, Veszprém county, Grave 8: iron sword, iron spear head (MRT 4, N. 80.4, 261–262; MITHAY 1989, 8.2,3, 53, 7. Fig. 8.2,3; KACZANOWSKY 1993, 137).
36. Vinár–Cseralja, Veszprém county, Grave 9: 2 iron spear heads – GUDEA 1994, Abb. 2 Type LAI2, 81 – (MRT 4, N. 80.4, 261–262; MITHAY 1989, 9.12, 53, 9. Fig. 9.12; KACZANOWSKY 1993, 137).
37. Vinár–Cseralja, Veszprém county, Grave 12: spur, iron spear head – GUDEA 1994, Abb. 2 Type LAI2, 81 –, iron sword (MRT 4, N. 80.4, 261–262; MITHAY 1989, 12.3,6,7, 53–54, 11. Fig. 11.3,6,7,8; KACZANOWSKY 1993, 137).
38. Vinár–Cseralja, Veszprém county, Grave 14: spur, iron spear head, sword (MRT 4, N. 80.4, 261–262; MITHAY 1989, 14.5–7,9,16, 55, 9. Fig. 14.5–7,9,16; KACZANOWSKY 1993, 137).
39. Zsámbék – Alsó szőlő, Pest county: iron arrow heads and a 32 cm long dagger with a ring end – BIBORSKI 1993, Typ. IV.2, 102, Abb. 20.2, 123 ?? – are reported from a 2nd c. burial (MRT 7, N. 80.4, 356).

3rd c. graves (Fig. 21)

40. Aquincum, Budapest, Bécsi road, Grave 12: bronze arrow head and “Ringschnalenzingulum” (TOPÁL 1993, 12–13; Plate 9. 12.7–9).
41. Bad–Deutsch–Altemburg, Burgenland, Grave 20: Mr H. Schönberger’s shield boss is not a shield boss in fact!, iron arrow head (HOLLITZER 1902, N. 20, 10–11, Tafel. II. 24, 25; SCHÖNBERGER 1953, N. 20, 55).
42. Intercisa–Dunaújváros, Fejér county, Grave IV.8, bronze scabbard chape – OLDENSTEIN 1976, 111–119, Tafel. 19 – (SALAMON 1977, 102–103, Tafel. 43. IV/8, 207 – with more bibliography).

4th c. graves (Fig. 22)

43. Aquincum, Budapest, Bogdáni street, Grave 20: iron arrow head (PARRAGI 1963, Fig. 13, 317).
44. Aquincum, Budapest, Bécsi road, Grave 138: iron dagger (TOPÁL 1993, 138, 56, Pl. 78, 108, 164).
45. Aquincum, Budapest, Bécsi road, Grave 7: iron spear head (TOPÁL 1993, N. 7., 71–72, Pl. 92, 93, 113, 114, 173).
46. Aquincum–Pasarét, Budapest, “A” Grave: axe beside the grave, perhaps belongs to it (SZ. BURGER 1994, A.9., 65–70, 4, Fig. 17).
47. Esztergom–Bánomi–dűlő, Komárom–Esztergom county, Grave 2./1925: sword’s hilt? (MRT 5, N. 8.66, 203–205).

48. Gölle, Somogy county: iron spear head (RÉGFÜZ I. 15, 1961, 30).
49. Igal, Somogy county: iron spear head from a 4th c. burial (RÉGFÜZ I. 14, 1960, 33).
50. Intercisa, Dunaújváros, Fejér county, cist grave XXII: spear head (PAULOVICS 1927, 117–118; SCHÖNBERGER 1953, N. 22, 55).
51. Grosshöflein, Burgenland, Grave 3: iron spear head (URBAN 1984a, 93–99, j. 156).
52. Intercisa, Dunaújváros, Fejér county, Grave 27: iron dagger, 3 arrow heads (SÁGI 1954, N. 27., 85).
53. Intercisa, Dunaújváros, Fejér county, Grave 26: bone scabbard slide (SÁGI 1954, 53–54, Tafel XX.3; BÍRÓ 1994, 17–18, Pl. IV. 18, 142).
54. Keszthely–Dobogó, Zala county, Grave 27: iron arrow head (SÁGI 1981, N. 27.1, 18, Abb. 5.9).
55. Keszthely–Dobogó, Zala county, Grave 52: iron axe (SÁGI 1981, N. 52, 25–26).
56. Majs, Baranya county, Grave 37: iron axe, 2 arrow heads, shield handle (SZ. BURGER 1972, N. 37, 73, 76; Fig. 31, 37/ 8, 12 a–b, 13).
57. Papkeszi, Veszprém county, Grave 2: iron spear head (MRT 2, 171).
58. Sladojevci, Croatia, Sladojevci – Ziegelei, Grave 6: iron dagger (SPAJIC 1967, G. 6, 112–113; T VI. 5).
59. Somodorpuszta, Komárom county, Grave 23: iron spear head (SZ. BURGER 1974, N. 23, 95).
60. Somodorpuszta, Komárom county, Grave 36: shield boss, spear head, sword (SZ. BURGER 1974, N. 36, 95).
61. Sophianae, Pécs, Baranya county, R/252 Grave 1: iron dagger (FÜLEP 1963, R/252.1, 46 Pl. 42.1).
62. Sophianae, Pécs, Baranya county, R/268 Grave: iron dagger (FÜLEP 1963, R/268, 48–49).
63. Sophianae, Pécs, Baranya county, R/291–292 Grave 12.: iron axe (FÜLEP 1963, R/291–292. 12, 52–53).
64. Sophianae, Pécs, Baranya county, Grave R/308: bronze! spear head (FÜLEP 1977, R/308.4, 55 Pl. 39).
65. Szigliget, Veszprém county, Grave 2: iron arrow head (MRT 1, N. 56.12, 15).
66. Zengővárkony II, Baranya county, Grave 4: iron spear head (DOBAY 1957, N. 4. 8, 195, Fig. 12, 197, VII. t. 1., 196; BARKÓCZI 1994, 78–82)
67. Zengővárkony II, Baranya county, Grave 10: iron dagger (DOBAY 1957, N. 10, 195, Fig. 15).

Graves that cannot be precisely dated (Fig. 23)

68. Adony, Fejér megye, Incineration burial 1: sword, shield boss, 1st or 2nd c. (RÉGFÜZ I. 20, 1967, 29).
69. Au am Leithagebirge, Burgenland, finds from two graves reported as “Grabe 60”: iron spear head (GARBSCH 1965, Nr. 402.3, 194; KERCHLER 1967, 198–199; URBAN 1984, n. 157, 110 -with more bibliography).
70. Balatonalmádi-Lokhegy, Veszprém county, incineration burial including a bronze sword hilt ? (LACZKÓ 1912, 7; KUZSINSZKY 1920, 181; MRT 2, N. 4.6, 32).
71. Brezje, Slovenia: 8 spear head, 20 bronze arrow head and a helmet from Roman? tumuli (MCC 1895, 40–41).
72. Budaörs-Metro market, Pest county: helmet and dagger from a cart burial, now lost (RÉGFÜZ I. 48, 1997, 43).
73. Budapest, 2 Szőlő köz – II: 4th or 5th c. graves with daggers are reported (RÉGFÜZ I 24, 1971, 28).

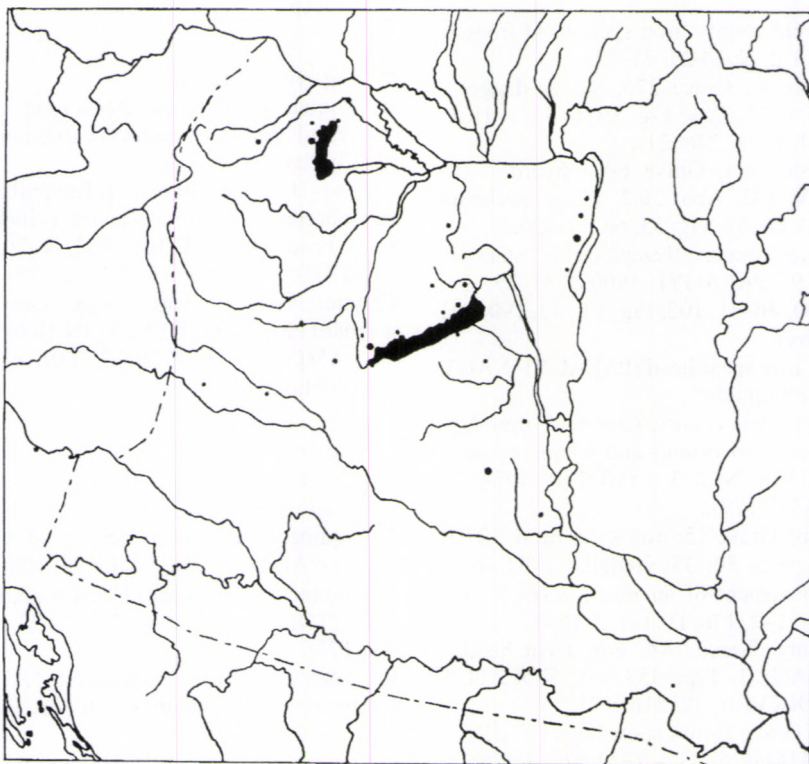


Fig. 24 Distribution of the undated burials with weapons in Pannonia (A. Márton)

74. Csovak or Balatonkövesd, Veszprém county: bronze shield boss (LACZKÓ 1912, 8 and a spear !; DORNYAY 1917 255–256; KUZSINSZKY 1920, 174–175).
75. Emona, Ljubljana, Slovenia, Tito cesta–Lenarčič wiese, Grave 34: iron catapult bott – BISHOP–COULSTON 1993, Fig. 4. 3.a–f, 80 –, probably 2nd c. (PETRU 1972, N. 34, 164, T. LXXXI. 30).
76. Kádárta, Veszprém county: iron spear head from an incineration burial, 1st or 2nd c. (RÉGFÜZ I. 33, 1980, 40–41).
77. Katzelsdorf, Niederösterreich, Tumulus III. 3: two iron daggers (MAG 1904, 33, Abb. 25, 33; URBAN 1984, N 22.b, 215).
78. Keszthely, Zala county: small iron axe from an incineration burial (KUZSINSZKY 1920, 95).
79. Keszthely–Újmajor, Zala county: iron shield boss, 4–5 spear heads from the cemetery (KUZSINSZKY 1920, 74).
80. Kisapáti, Veszprém county: bronze spear head, 4th c. ? (MRT 1, N. 23.4, 100)
81. Majs, Baranya county, Grave 26: iron axe (SZ. BURGER 1972, 26. 1., 71, Fig. 28, 26.1, Fig. 42. 6).
82. Matrica, Százhalombatta–Dunafüred, Pest county, Grave 93: fragments of a sword of unidentifiable type (TOPÁL 1981, Pl. XXXII. 93.1, 93).
83. Nak, Somogy county: Roman grave with a bronze! spear head (KOCZTUR 1964, 52).
84. Papkeszi-Rostás dűlő, Veszprém county: iron spear head from a cist grave (RÉGFÜZ I. 9, 1958, 25).
85. Potzneusiedl, Burgenland: LH8300–8301 iron spear heads, perhaps end of the 1st – early 2nd c. (BARB 1938, 196–197; RADNÓTI 1938, 102; URBAN 1984a, 93–99, j. 156).
86. Sikátor-Sand pit, Veszprém county: weapons are reported from an early Roman cemetery (RÉGFÜZ I. 41, 1988, 37–38).
87. Sirmium, Fosse sépulcrale 4: iron axe, second half of the 2nd or first half of the 3rd c. (POPOVIC 1980, 7, 34–36; PL V.2).
88. Sommerein, Niederösterreich, Grave 181: iron spear head (MELZER 1977, 435; SOMMEREIN 1984, 158).
89. Somogyiszil, Somogy county: sword (Ringknaufschwert?), belt fittings (KOCZTUR 1964, 135).
90. Sophianae, Pécs, Baranya county, Grave R/251: iron arrow head. Very likely 4th c. (FÜLEP 1977, R/251, 46, Pl. 42.2).
91. Söjtör, Zala county, Grave 13: iron spear head? (PALÁGYI–NAGY 2000, 45, 101, 104 – with more bibliography).
92. Stenjevec Donji, Croatia, arrow head, axe (Klemenc, J., *Archaeologische Karte Jugoslawien*, Blatt Zagreb, 1938 /non vidi/; SCHÖNBERGER 1953, N. 23, 55).
93. Százhalombatta, Pest county: iron spear head from incineration burial (RÉGFÜZ I. 25, 1972, 40).
94. Szentgál-Füzilap, Veszprém county: iron spear head from disturbed graves (LACZKÓ 1912, 16).
95. Szentgyörgy, Zala county: bronze! spear head from a disturbed burial (KUZSINSZKY 1920, 127).
96. Szigliget, Veszprém county: iron arrow head from a cist grave, probably 4th c. (KUZSINSZKY 1920, 124).
97. Szomod–Gravel-mine, Komárom county: early Roman graves of the indigenous population with weapons are reported (RÉGFÜZ I. 18, 1965, 35).
98. Oggau, Burgenland, Finds from early roman burials: SW 70, iron spear head, SW71 iron sword hilt, SW72 iron spear head, SW146 iron spear head, SW1879 iron spear head and a fragment of an iron weapon?, SW1880 iron spear head. 1st–2nd c. (BARB 1938, 190–192).
99. Szentlőrinc, Baranya county: iron shield boss from a disturbed burial (RÉGFÜZ I. 13, 1960, 50).
100. Tótvázsony, Veszprém county, Grave 2: two iron sticks – perhaps long nails – (LACZKÓ 1912, 17–18; KUZSINSZKY 1920, 163).
101. Tengőd-Csehi puszta, Tolna county: *pillae* ???, iron spur? (WOSINSZKY 1986, 764; SÁGI 1943, 121;

Cat. Nr.	Place of find	Sword/scabbard	Dagger/scabbard	Shield	Spear head	Catapult bott	Arrow head	Sica	Axe	Helmet	Pillum
1	Bobovk	1/-	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2	Cserszegtomaj	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–
3	Halimba	–	–	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	–
4	Inota-Tumulus I	–	1	1	?	–	1	–	–	–	–
5	Katzelsdorf	1/-	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
6	Sárbogárd	–	–	–	1	–	1	–	–	–	–
7	Verdun	1/-	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	1	–
8	Verdun	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–
9	Alsószentivány	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–
10	Aquincum	1/x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
11	Emona	–	1/x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
12	Gleisdorf	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–
13	Győr	1/-	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
14	Inota-Tumulus II	1/-	–	1	2	–	–	–	–	–	–

Cat. Nr.	Place of find	Sword/ scab- bard	Dagger /scab- bard	Shield	Spear head	Cata- pult bott	Arrow head	Sica	Axe	Hel- met	Pillum
15	Káloz	1/-	–	1	1	–	–	1	–	–	–
16	Kemenesszentpéter	1/1	1	1	2	–	–	–	2	–	–
17	Kleinwarasdorf	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–
18	Kleinwarasdorf	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	–
19	Mannersdorf	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
20	Matrica	1/-	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
21	Matrica	–	1/-	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
22	Neudörfel	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–
23	Peremarton	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–
24	Poetovio	–	1/-	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
25	Poetovio	1/1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
26	Sárszentmiklós	–	–	–	Benefi- ciarius standard	–	–	–	–	–	–
27	Sárvár	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–
28	Savaria	–	1/1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
29	Solymár	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	?
30	Solymár	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–
31	Vajta	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–
32	Vinár-Cseralja	1/-	–	–	3	–	–	–	–	–	–
33	Vinár-Cseralja	1/-	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–
34	Vinár-Cseralja	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
35	Vinár-Cseralja	1/-	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–
36	Vinár-Cseralja	–	–	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	–
37	Vinár-Cseralja	1/-	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–
38	Vinár-Cseralja	1/-	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–
39	Zsámbék	?	–	–	–	–	x	–	–	–	–
40	Aquincum	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–
41	Carnuntum	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–
42	Intercisa	-/x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
43	Aquincum	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–
44	Aquincum	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
45	Aquincum	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–
46	Aquincum	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1?	–	–
47	Esztergom	?	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
48	Gölle	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–
49	Igal	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–
50	Intercisa	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–
51	Grosshöflein	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–
52	Intercisa	–	1/-	–	–	–	3	–	–	–	–
53	Intercisa	-/1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
54	Keszthely-Dobogó	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–
55	Keszthely-Dobogó	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–

Cat. Nr.	Place of find	Sword/scabbard	Dagger/scabbard	Shield	Spear head	Catapult bott	Arrow head	Sica	Axe	Helmet	Pillum
98	Oggau	1/-	—	—	5	—	—	—	—	—	—
99	Szentlőrinc	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
100	Tótvázsony	—	—	—	??	—	—	—	—	—	—
101	Tengőd	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	??
102	Tevel	—	—	??	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
103	Visegrád	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
104	Winden am See	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
105	Zalaszántó	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
106	Zamárdi	—	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

CSIZMADIA–NÉMETH 1997, 43., 46; PALÁGYI–NAGY 2000, 49, 101, 104 -with more bibliography).

102. Tevel-Csurgó puszta, Tolna county, Tumulus II: bronze shield boss??? /lost/ (WOSINSZKY 1896, 713–714, 764–766, PALÁGYI–NAGY 2000, 49, 104 -with more bibliography).

103. Visegrád-Lepence, Pest county: fragments of weapons are reported from a cemetery dated to 2nd and 3rd c. (RÉGFÜZ I. 36, 1983, 53).

104. Winden am See, Burgenland: spear head (PASCHER 1949, N. 2, 178; SCHÖNBERGER 1953, N. 21, 55).

105. Zalaszántó, Zala county: iron spear head, probably 4th c. (KUZSINSZKY 1920, 112).

106. Zamárdi–Szántód-Kapoly pusztai elágazás, Somogy county: dagger-like knife from an inhumation burial, probably 4th c. (RÉGFÜZ I. 24, 1971, 62).

Finds without proper circumstances and often cited as graves

107. Aquincum, Budapest: Mr Lajos Nagy reported weapons from the so called “Aranyhegyi árok menti” cemetery (Nagy 1942, 467).

108. Eisenstadt, Burgenland: iron spear head (POSTA 1899, 74–79; BÓNA 1963, N. 5, 244).

109. Intercisa, Dunaujváros, Fejér county: bronze shield boss – ZIELING 1989, Type I1, Tafel. 12, 1024, Tabelle 1, 1049 – (BÓNA 1963, N. 26, 248, T. LI. 1.; KACZANOWSKY 1993, 136)

110. Sommerein, Niederösterreich: iron spear head (MELCHART 1981, 519).

111. Rust, Burgenland: iron spear head (PASCHER 1949, 124).

112. Várpalota-Réti erdő, Veszprém county: iron spear head from a grave? (MRT 2, N. 49.42, 219–220).

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² The graves found at Szekszárd-Bakta hill, Tolna county (WOSINSZKY 1986, 517; TACKENBERG 1928, 65), and Zemun-Gardos more likely belong to the LT D (ERCEGOVIC 1961; GUSTIN 1982, 192; ZIELING 1989, 992; SZABÓ-F. PETRES 1992, 36, 51, N. 142, 117–118; PL. 125. 3, 243) than to the Roman period (KATZANOWSKI 1993, 134).

³ I have tried to give the most complete catalogue of the grave finds, but it could not have been complete. These catalogue reflects the present state of research carried out on Roman burials with weapons in Pannonia.

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