ARRC – Acculturation, Romanisation, Roman Culture: Processes of Integration Across the Roman Empire

Edited by László Borhy, Kata Dévai, Linda Dobosi, and Csilla Sáró

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ARRC – Acculturation, Romanisation, Roman Culture: Processes of Integration Across the Roman Empire

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Edited by
László Borhy – Kata Dévai – Linda Dobosi – Csilla Sáró

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Integration? Romanisation?

Tomb of an auxiliary soldier of Celtic origin

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Abstract: The article examines the largest burial mound (tumulus) of the Celtic cemetery at Nagytétény, which contained the burial of a discharged auxiliary cavalryman from the late 1st century AD. The veteran's wealth is reflected in the size of the mound, an imported bronze vessel added to his grave, and the commissioning of gravestones—a practice introduced by the Romans in Pannonia. However, these rustic monuments—and the cemetery itself—exhibit distinct local features. The burial reflects both the adoption of Roman funerary customs and the persistence of indigenous Celtic traditions. It highlights the role of Roman military veterans in transmitting new burial practices to local communities.

Keywords: Pannonia, Roman cemetery, urn grave, burial mound *(tumulus)*, local traditions, Romanisation, integration, tombstones

Integration? Romanisation?

In archaeological research, the term 'Romanisation' was long used to describe the process by which the local cultures of indigenous populations in Roman provinces gradually became assimilated into the Roman Empire.[1] However, since the 1970s, this term has faced increasing criticism.[2] The critique is well-founded, as there is no evidence of a violent imposition of Roman culture, state-enforced assimilation, or the forced spread of the Latin language. On the contrary, some local traditions persisted, sometimes remaining distinct, other times merging with various cultural influences of the Roman Empire. The highly complex interactions between cultures in the Roman Empire exhibited significant variation across regions, provinces, and historical periods.[3]

Historical records indicate not only continuity but also the emergence of new local identities. For instance, Tacitus's account from AD 70 describes the Batavian uprising led by Civilis, noting that the citizens of Cologne—comprising both Germanic Ubii and Roman settlers—did not identify themselves strictly as German or Roman, but as *Agrippinenses*.[4]

1 The term 'Romanising' was introduced by Theodor Mommsen to describe the cultural changes that took place in any area after it came under Roman rule (see the case of Gaul in Mommsen 1861, 45). See also Haverfield 1923, 11.

2 Goudineau 1979; Webster 2001 (with extensive further bibliography).

3 For a detailed analysis of local Syrian cultural identity during the Hellenistic and subsequent Roman periods, see Andrade 2013.

4 Tac. *Hist.*, 4.28.1

✉ Corresponding author

Therefore, the term 'Romanisation' does not accurately describe the complex, multi-directional, and regionally diverse cultural, economic, and social processes that took place in the provinces. 'Integration' is more appropriate instead, as it refers to the incorporation of a region into a larger economic, cultural, and political unit without implying a one-directional process.[5] Naturally, the method of integration varied across regions and provinces.



Fig. 1. The location of Nagytétény in Pannonia (after Trajan's province division).

The cemetery at Budapest-Nagytétény (M6 Motorway)

Examining the province of Pannonia, established during the reign of Emperor Claudius, one can see that the process of integration was largely characterised by the introduction of Roman administration, the founding of cities, the presence of the Roman army, and the involvement of indigenous elites in local power.

In the following, I present a case study, a grave from a cremation cemetery excavated in 2005–2006 in Nagytétény on the southern outskirts of Budapest (Figs 1–2). This burial illustrates a possible form of integration and the coexistence of various cultural influences in Pannonia during the early imperial period.[6]

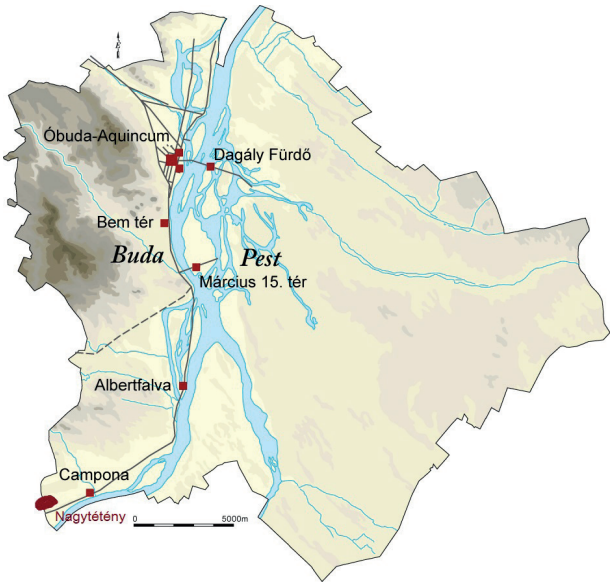


Fig. 2. The location of the Nagytétény cemetery on the present territory of Budapest (with the Roman settlements and military camps).

During the excavation, carried out in connection with the construction of the M6 Motorway, we uncovered nearly 60 cremation graves of an indigenous (Celtic) cemetery dating to the 1st and 2nd centuries AD (Figs 3–5). The cemetery extended for about 200 metres along the limes road that followed the Danube and ran approximately 2.5 kilometres southwest of the auxiliary fort at *Campona* (Nagytétény). However, the cemetery did not belong to this fort, but most likely to a Celtic settlement—to be found—in the valley of the Sulák Stream some 800 metres to the north.[7]

Among the finds from the excavated graves, the overwhelming majority of the grave goods are vessels representing the La Tène D pottery tradition (Figs 6–8); the so-called provincial 'Roman' products (e.g., Samian ware imitations) are represented in much lower proportions, and imported

5 For discussions of the concept of integration, see Muniz Grijalvo – Moreno Soldevila 2023.

6 For the excavation, see Beszédes – Szilas 2006; Beszédes – Szilas 2007.

7 On the question of the settlement, see Beszédes – Szilas 2007, 246.

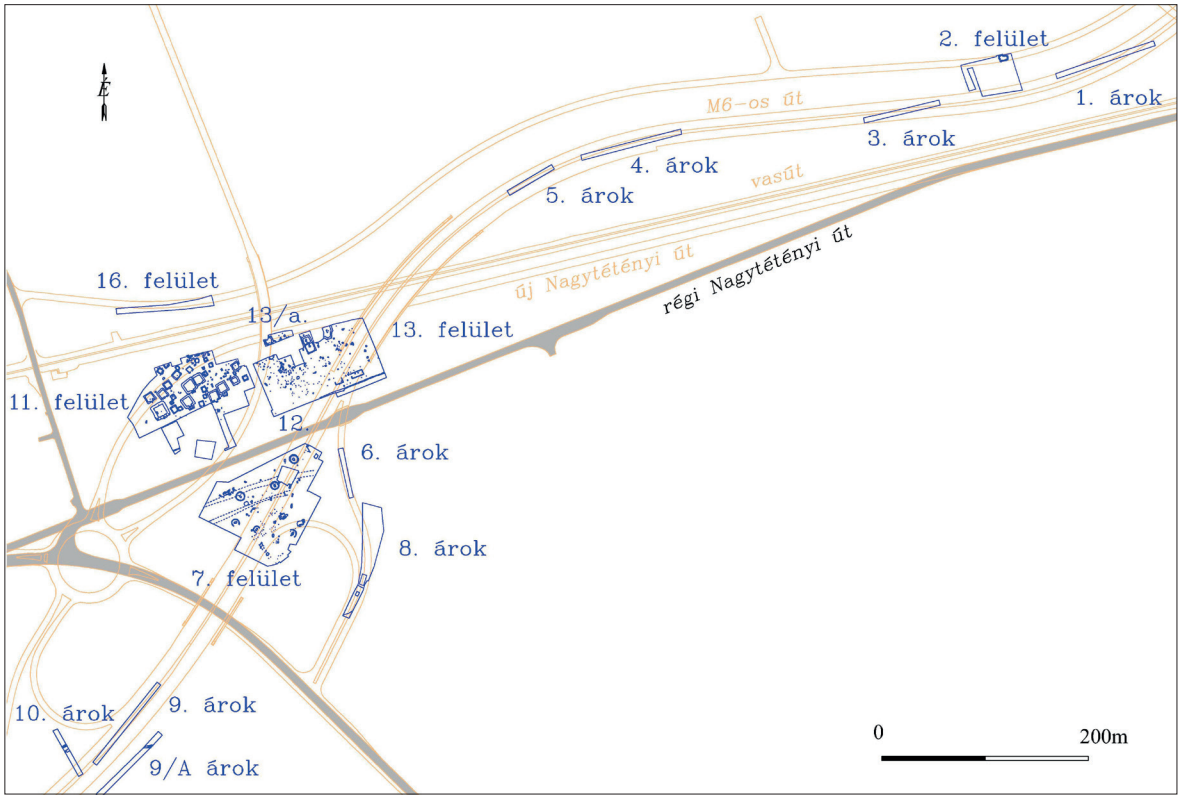


Fig. 3. The general map of the Nagytétény cemetery with the excavated area in 2005–2006.



Fig. 4. The central part of the Nagytétény cemetery with the barrow-ditches.



Fig. 5. Aerial view of the cemetery (photo: G. Rákóczi).

wares occur only sporadically. Only a single item, a Consp. 34 dish with applied ornaments, represents the Samian ware. The total absence of oil lamps indicates the ethnic and socio-economic status of the population that used the cemetery.

Metal finds include primarily brooches (especially strongly profiled fibulae with one knob and winged brooches) characteristic of the Celtic population of the Norico-Pannonian region. In some cases, weapons (swords, shields, spears) were also placed in the graves. Other metal objects, like a bronze ladle, coins, iron knives occur only sporadically in the urns. Some of the metal artefacts, including the weapons, were deliberately damaged as part of the burial ritual (Fig. 9).



Fig. 6. Local handmade urn from Grave 252.



Fig. 7. Local handmade urn with plastic decoration from Grave 610.



Fig. 8. Local handmade urn from Grave 668.









Fig. 9. Deliberately deformed bronze brooch (Noric-Pannonian winged brooch) from the cemetery.

The combined analysis of all grave finds from the Nagytétény cemetery indicates a Celtic burial ground dating to the second half of the 1st and the first half of the 2nd century AD. The abundance of La Tène D pottery, the deliberate destruction of metal objects, and the absence of imported goods and oil lamps all point in this direction.

Many urn graves were framed by mostly rectangular ditches, which likely engirded burial mounds *(tumuli)* (Fig. 5).[8] Graves of the indigenous Celtic population before the Roman occupation were enclosed by rectangular ditch structures,[9] while those in the 1st and 2nd centuries AD, following the establishment of the province, feature both circular and rectangular structures.

In earlier Hungarian literature, ditch-framed graves were often interpreted as graveyards.[10] However, the depth of the ditches and the considerable amount of removed soil contradict this theory. Although Hungarian research remains divided on the issue, I believe that both circular and rectangular ditches were associated with burial mounds *(tumuli)* instead.

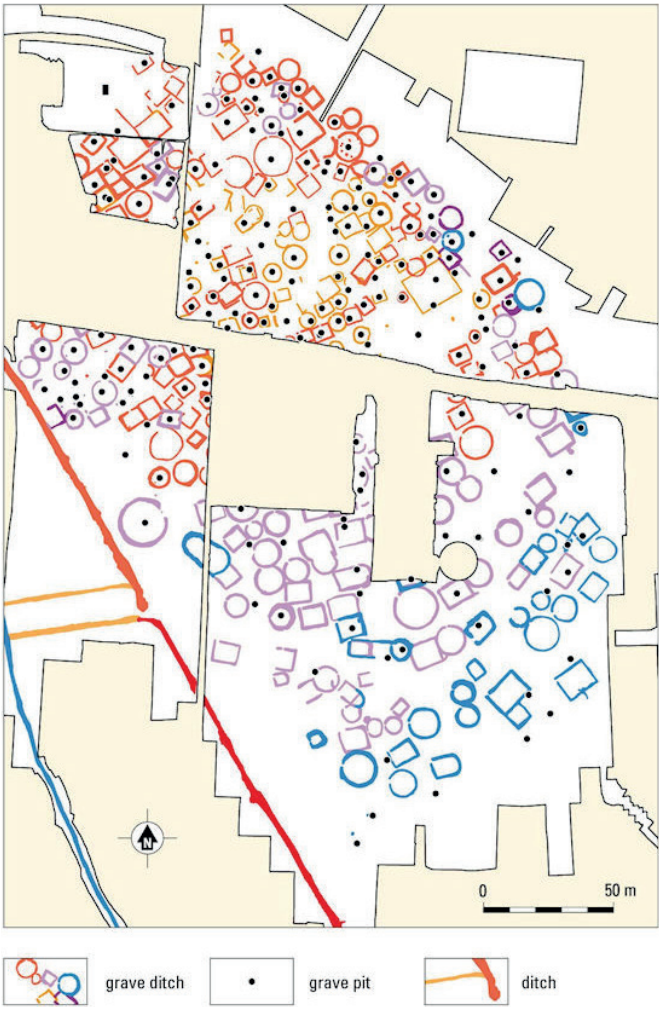


Fig. 10. The central cemetery in Tiel-Passewaaij, The Netherlands (after Aarts – Heeren 2007).

In several 1st- and 2nd-century AD cemeteries in Pannonia—such as those at Hegyeshalom,[11] Halimba,[12] Páty[13] and Budaörs[14]—circular and rectangular ditches have been found side by side. Although neither form can be attributed conclusively to a specific ethnic group, it appears that Celts had a slight preference for the rectangular type.[15]

Similar burial features have also been excavated in the Rhineland, where rectangular and circular grave ditches were found next to each other in numerous Roman cemeteries dating to the 1st–3rd centuries AD.[16] One of the most illustrative examples is a cemetery at Tiel-Passewaaij in the Neth-

8 Beszédes 2024.

9 Ottományi 2019, 42, Footnote 118.

10 The same interpretations were presented in earlier publications, including Beszédes – Szilas 2007, 239–241; Beszédes 2012.

11 Bíró – Figler 2006.

12 B. Bónis 1960.

13 Ottományi 2019, 42.

14 Ottományi 2016, 167–171.

15 Ottományi 2019, 42, Footnote 118.

16 Interpreted as burial mounds in Amand 1960; Wigg 1993; Hornung 2017. For the Celto-Roman ▸

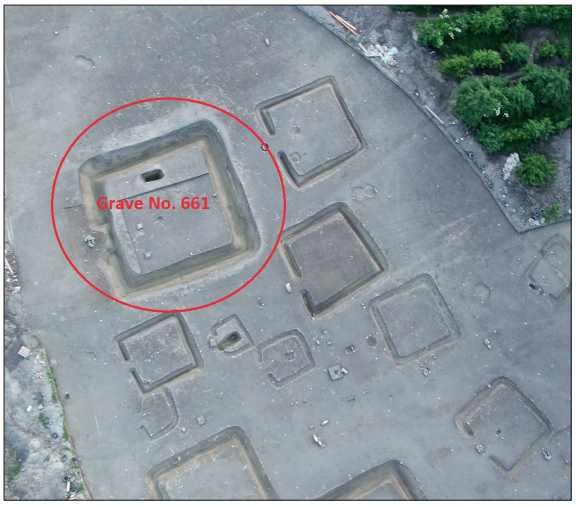


Fig. 11. Southern edge of the Nagytétény cemetery with Grave Complex 661 (photo: G. Rákóczi).

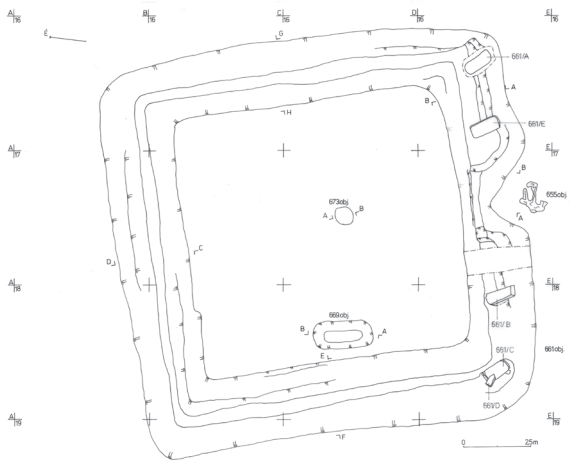


Fig. 13. Drawing of the Grave Complex 661 (with the cremation Grave 673 and Horse Burial 669) (drawing: R. Beszédes).

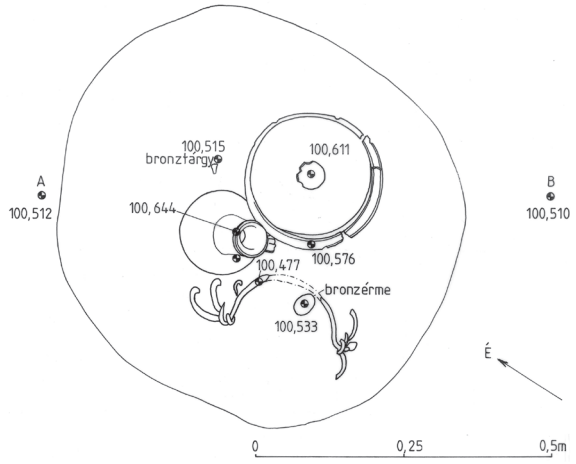


Fig. 15. Drawing of the Grave 673 (Grave Complex 661) (drawing: R. Beszédes).



Fig. 12. Nagytétény cemetery, Grave Complex 661 with the five tombstones in the filling of the ditch.



Fig. 14. Cremation Grave 673 within the Grave Complex 661.



Fig. 16. Orange-coated jug from Grave 673.

erlands, used between AD 60 and 270 (Fig. 10).[17] Out of the 280 ditches surrounding the graves, both circular and rectangular ones were found in close proximity, forming an extensive tumulus field.

Grave Complex 661 in the cemetery at Budapest-Nagytétény (M6 Motorway)

The richest burial in the Nagytétény cemetery was Grave Complex (tumulus) 661, consisting of an urn grave (Feature 673), a grave pit containing a complete horse skeleton (Feature 669), and the largest ditch found in the cemetery enclosing them (Figs 11–13).[18]



Fig. 17. Grey bowl with horizontal rim *(Knickwandschüssel)* and lid.



Fig. 18. Obverse and reverse of Nero's *sestertius* from Grave 673.

The urn grave containing human ashes was found at the centre of the encircled enclosure (Figs 14–15). An orange-coated single-handled jug, a grey bowl with a horizontal rim and lid, and a *sestertius* of Emperor Nero, minted in AD 65, were placed in the shallow grave pit (Figs 16–18).[19] They were covered with fragments of different pottery bowls. A bronze handle with two attachments, most likely from a wooden bucket, was also found in the grave (Fig. 19). Beneath the bronze handle, a partially burnt bronze ladle *(simpulum)* was uncovered (Fig. 20). The calcined human bones found beneath the bucket handle suggest that the cremains were collected in a wooden bucket after cremation.[20]

The grave pit containing the complete skeleton of a two-year-old horse killed there and buried in a standing position lay 3.5 metres west of the urn grave (Fig. 21). A horse-bit was found between the front legs of the animal, and additional harness elements were discovered next to its head (Fig. 22).[21]

A total of five stone stelae, all of which had been toppled or deliberately knocked over during the centuries since the funeral, were recovered from the fill of the southern section of the perimeter ditch, closest to the *limes* road (Fig. 12, Fig. 23).

▸ cemetery in Oberlöstern (Germany) with reconstructed *tumuli*, see Lang – Schröer-Spang 2014; Glansdorp – Glansdorp 2020.

17 Aarts – Heeren 2007, 137.

18 The enclosed area measured 14.6 × 15.2 m. The width of the ditch varied between 2.5 and 2.8 m, and its depth reached 1.4 m. On the southern side, facing the limes road, its line was interrupted; the metre-wide break formed an entrance to the enclosed burial place *(tumulus)*, allowing for its maintenance and horticultural upkeep.

19 For a detailed description of the finds from the urn grave, see Beszédes 2012, 331–341.

20 Wooden buckets, made of material that is easy to decay, are only rarely found in Pannonia. For the wooden bucket found in a Late Roman grave at Szárászpuszta, see Burger 1977, 189, 201–202, Fig. 4, Figs 7–9.

21 For a detailed description of the finds from the horse grave, see Beszédes 2012, 340–341.

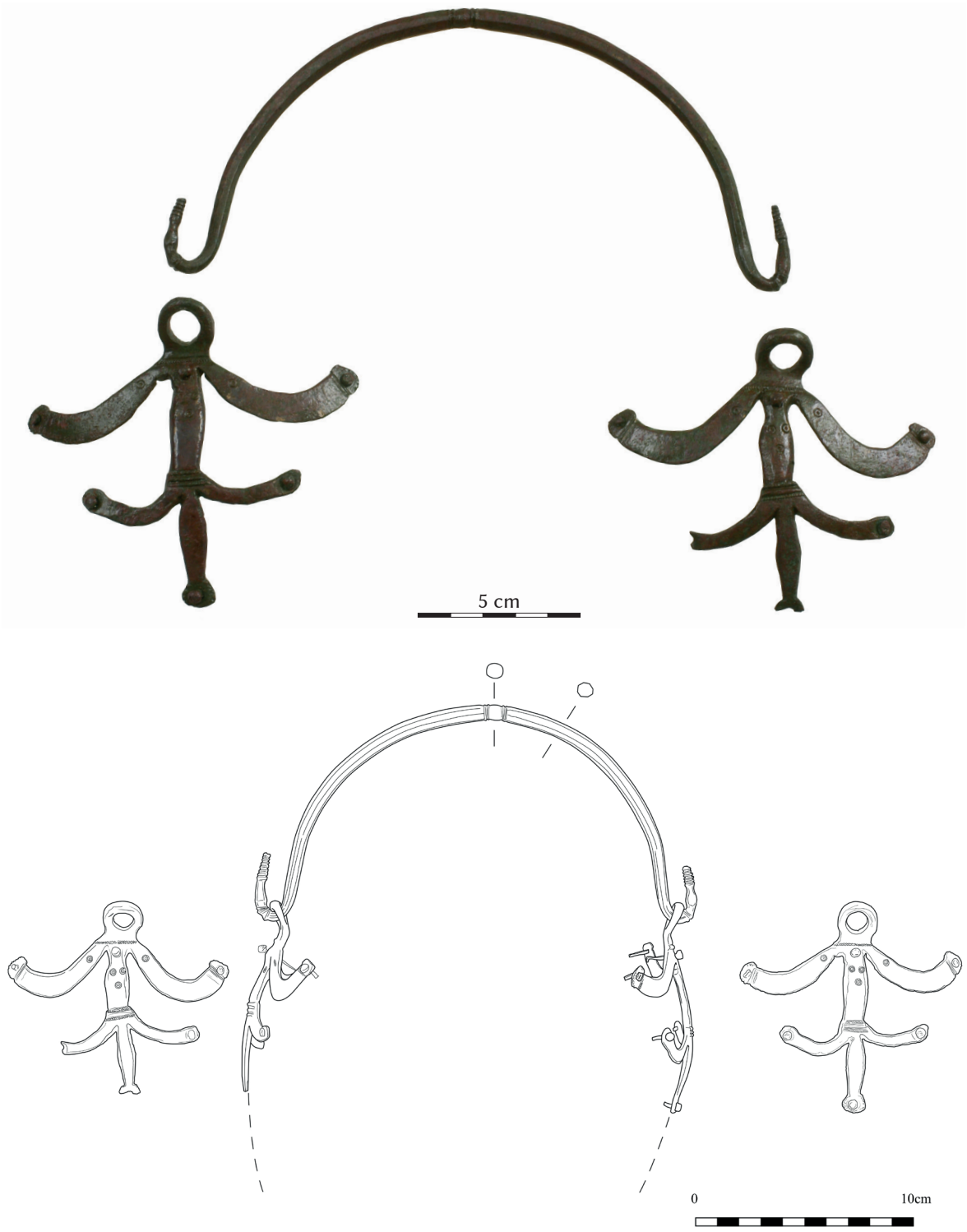


Fig. 19. Bronze handle and fittings of a wooden bucket from Grave 673 (drawing: L. Illés).

Four of these gravestones were made of the same material, limestone, had a similar shape (with a rounded top), and were decorated with rustic reliefs: two depicted maidservants *(camillae)* in Celtic costumes, the third a mounted figure carrying a shield, and the fourth an oval shield with an *umbo* (Figs 24–27).[22]

22 For the description of the gravestones see Beszédes 2012, 335–340.

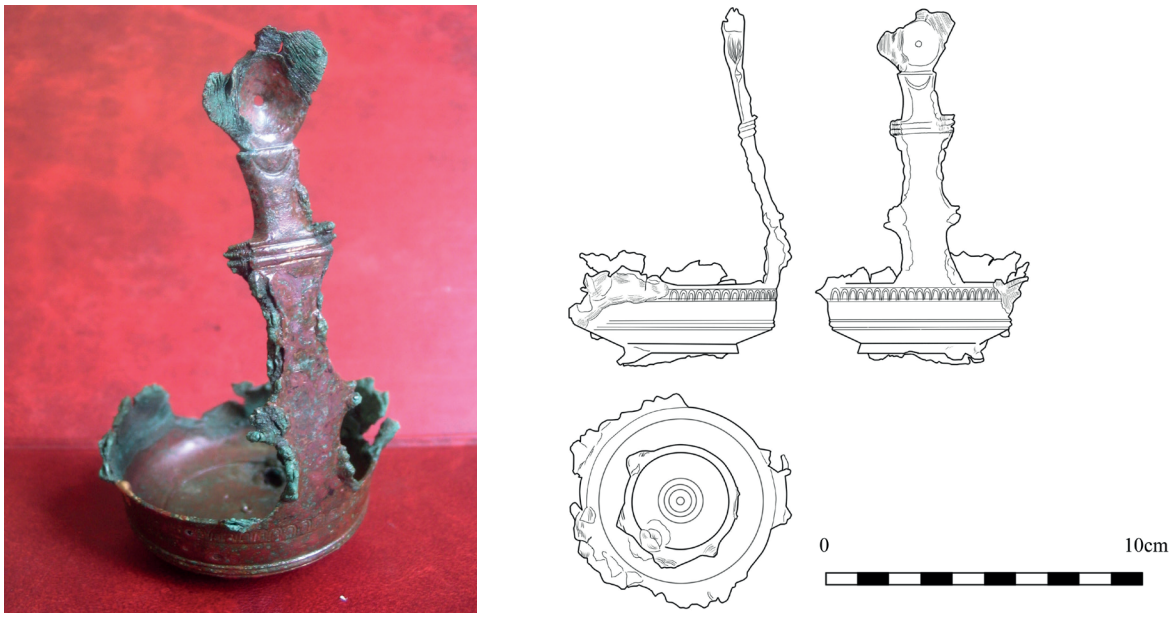


Fig. 20. Bronze ladle *(simpulum)* from Grave 673 (photo: Á. Vecsey; drawing: L. Illés).

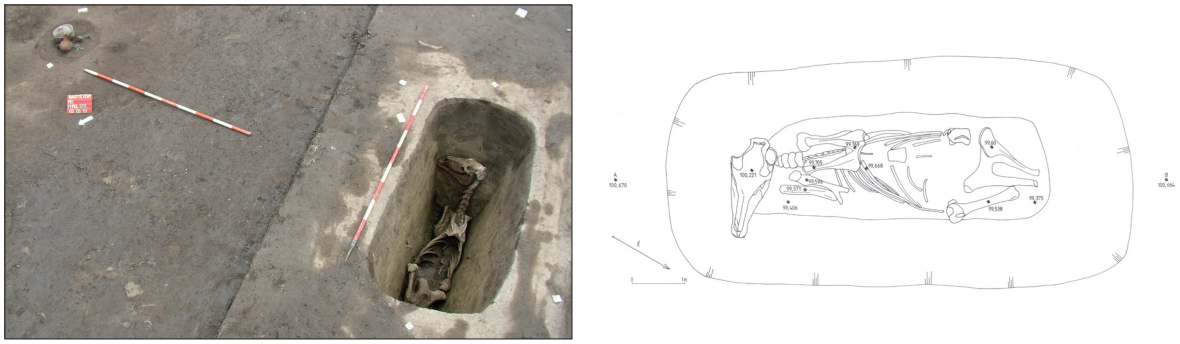


Fig. 21. Horse burial (Grave 669) with the cremation Grave 673 (drawing: F. Somogyi and K. Dittera).

Originally, these four stelae were placed at equal distances next to the two sides of the *tumulus*, facing the limes road. The two bearing *camillae* related to the funeral ceremony stood on the left side of the entrance, while the others, featuring reliefs connected with the deceased, were erected on the right side (Fig. 28). The military-themed representations indicate that the deceased had served as an auxiliary cavalryman.[23]

The fifth gravestone recovered from the ditch was made of a different material, and its design also differed from that of the previous four (Figs 29–31). It was smaller and had originally been set into a pedestal.[24] An eagle with outstretched wings is



Fig. 22. Bronze and iron elements of the harness from the horse burial (Grave 669).

23 For Pannonian tombstones with auxiliary cavalryman representations from the 1st century AD, see Burger 1956. For further examples on Pannonian tombstones, see Beszédes 2012, 336, Footnotes 69–76.

24 Dimensions: height: 53 cm (without the fitting tenon: 50 cm), width: 25 cm, thickness: 9.5 cm.

depicted on its pediment, and beneath it a standing male figure with his legs crossed, holding a spear and a sword, can be seen. This figure may represent the deceased or the *virtus* of the deceased, while the eagle can be interpreted either as a military symbol or as an apotheosis scene. Although it certainly belonged to the grave, the small size and pedestal suggest that it did not stand next to the four stelae mentioned above, but was likely placed at the top of the mound, akin to a comparable piece in a *tumulus* reconstruction from Oberlöstern, Germany (Fig. 32).[25]

The military-themed relief on the fifth gravestone further reinforces the assumption that the Grave Complex *(tumulus)*, dated to the last third of the 1st century AD, was the tomb of a veteran auxiliary cavalryman.

Analysis of Grave Complex 661

Based on their relative positions within the same grave complex, the urn grave (Feature 673) and the horse burial (Feature 669) must have belonged together.[26] Their connection is further confirmed by the orientation of the horse's head, which was turned toward the urn grave (Fig. 24).

In Pannonia, only the wealthy members of society could obtain imported bronze vessels in the



Fig. 23. Southern part of the Grave Complex 661 with five tombstones from the ditch.



Fig. 24. Tombstone representing a female servant figure *(camilla)* from the Grave Complex 661.



Fig. 25. Tombstone representing a female servant figure *(camilla)* standing on a pedestal from the Grave Complex 661.



Fig. 26. Tombstone representing a cavalryman from Grave Complex 661.



Fig. 27. Tombstone depicting an oval shield with umbo from Grave Complex 661.

25 See Footnote 16.

26 There was no evidence of a chronological gap between the two graves.

1st and 2nd centuries AD.[27] Within these affluent groups, the deposition of metal vessels (predominantly bronze) as grave goods was particularly characteristic of two social strata: the local Celtic tribal aristocracy and the likewise indigenous auxiliary soldiers who, upon discharge, returned to their original homeland.[28] Graves of the members of the local Celtic elite include exceptionally rich and sumptuous chariot graves with extensive assemblages of metal vessels.[29] The graves of discharged auxiliary soldiers are more modest, though the inclusion of metal items consistently remains a feature of the funerary practice.[30]



Fig. 28. Reconstruction of the Grave Complex 661 as a barrow *(tumulus)* with the four tombstones standing at the front.

The cast *simpulum* from the grave at Nagytétény (Fig. 20) was most likely manufactured in northern Italy and reached its owner either as an imported item or through personal acquisition. This type of ladle (Type Radnóti 43), belonging to the group of *simpula* with short, vertical handles, became common in Pannonia by the mid-1st century AD.[31] The closest parallel is known from Emona, where the shaping of the handle corresponds exactly to our specimen.[32]

The grey ceramic bowl with a horizontal rim (Fig. 17), represents a type that first appeared in Pannonia during the Flavian period and survived into the 4th century AD.[33] Such vessels are frequent in settlements and cemeteries in the northern provinces, particularly in the hinterland of Aquincum—especially in the indigenous cemetery at Solymár,[34] while also appearing in *tumulus* burials in eastern Pannonia.[35]

27 Alföldy 1960, 9.

28 These two social strata evidently overlapped to a certain degree: in northern Pannonia, young men of the native aristocracy often entered the Roman army as auxiliary cavalrymen in the late 1st and the first half of the 2nd century AD (Mráv 2007, 245–254).

29 For more on chariot burials, see Mráv 2007.

30 For early Pannonian graves of auxiliary soldiers, see Márton 2002; Mráv 2007, 245–248.

31 Radnóti 1938, 85. The closest parallels are known from Emona, Poetovio, Neviodunum, and Savaria, as well as from Burnum and Salona in Dalmatia; see Breščak 1982, 51–52. For more on the production centre, see Radnóti 1938, 87.

32 Breščak 1982, 51, Nr. 93, Tab. 10.

33 Ottományi 2012, 239–240; B. Bónis 1942, 23; Grünewald 1979, 57; Petznek 1998, 233–239.

34 V. Kocztur 1991.

35 K. Palágyi – Nagy 2000, 115–116, Tab. 10.19,23,25.



Fig. 29. Tombstone representing a man holding a spear and a sword, with an eagle in the pediment from the Grave Complex 661.



Fig. 30. Detail of the tombstone representing a man holding a spear and a sword from the Grave Complex 661.



Fig. 31. Detail of the tombstone representing a man holding a spear and a sword, with an eagle in the pediment from the Grave Complex 661.

Pale brick-coloured pottery jugs with orange slip coating, a globular body, a long neck, and a single handle are frequent in 1st–2nd-century AD cemeteries in Pannonia. A close parallel to the Nagytétény jug was found in a grave at the Solymár-Dinnyehegy cemetery, dated to the first half of the 2nd century AD.[36]

Although the conceptual background of coin deposition is not always clear, the well-preserved *sestertius* of Emperor Nero, struck at Lugdunum in AD 65,[37] was most likely deposited in the grave as an *obolus* (Fig. 18).[38] In any case, the practice of placing coins in graves appears to have been more of a 'Roman' custom than a Celtic one.

The most intriguing aspect concerns the representations on the five gravestones belonging to the *tumulus* (Figs 24–31). The figures of servants (*camillae* or/and *camilli*) assisting at the funerary ceremony in eastern Pannonia were generally carved in the band between the main image field and inscription of the gravestones. In the most widespread composition, they stand beside a table laden with sacrificial food, holding ritual implements in their hands. Such depictions often occur together with chariot scenes, particularly on gravestones of indigenous people in north-eastern Pannonia.[39]

36 V. Kocztur 1991, 288, 8.31.5 and 328, 47.11.

37 RIC I, 438.

38 For the interpretations, see Stevens 1991; Oettel 2000.

39 Erdélyi 1974, 29–31.

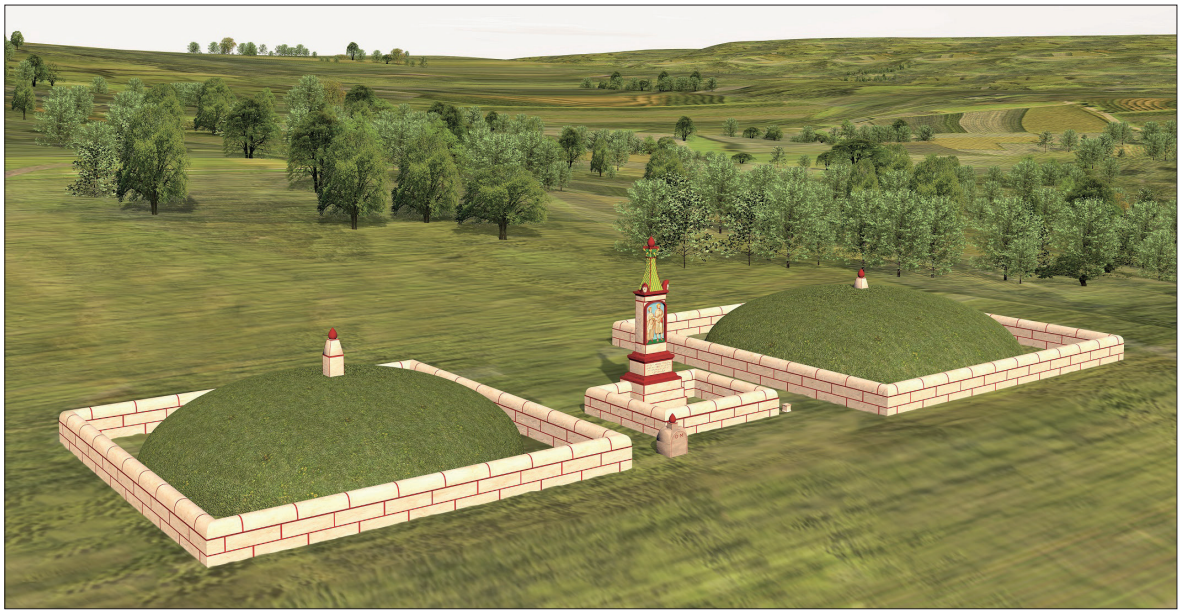


Fig. 32. Reconstructed barrows *(tumuli)* from Oberlöstern, Germany.

Although the reliefs depicting servants on both gravestones from Nagytétény are in very poor condition, it can nevertheless be established that they wore the characteristic double skirt and turban-like headdress typical of local Celtic attire[40] while holding sacrificial objects in their hands. Earlier scholarship regarded this image type as a simplified representation of the funerary banquet motif originating from the Balkan peninsula;[41] however, it is much more likely a genuine depiction of a funerary rite conducted according to local traditions.

Gravestones depicting mounted horsemen, usually carrying an oval shield and a spear, frequently appear in Pannonia, primarily in the vicinity of cavalry camps and along military roads. Such representations are known from several sites along the so-called Amber Road, including Peresznye,[42] Walbersdorf,[43] and Poetovio,[44] while from the frontier zone they are attested mainly at Arrabona,[45] Brigetio,[46] Aquincum,[47] Vetus Salina,[48] and Intercisa.[49] Every surviving inscription confirms that the related gravestone was erected for a cavalryman, most often an auxiliary soldier. Accordingly, it is reasonable to assume that the Nagytétény gravestone depicting a mounted figure also belonged to the grave of an auxiliary cavalryman.

40 On Celtic costume in Pannonia and Noricum, see Garbsch 1965. For critical remarks on Garbsch's datings, see Hainzmann-Pochmarski 1994, 279–280.

41 Barkóczi 1982.

42 *Abilus Turanci f. eques alae Pannoniorum*: Farkas – Gabler 1994, 51, Nr. 58; Lőrincz 2001, 203, Nr. 151; lupa 3365.

43 *Caius Petronius missus alae Gemellianae*: Krüger 1974, 15, Nr. 13; Lőrincz 2001, 195, Nr. 122; lupa 427. *Tiberius Iulius Rufus miles alae Scubulorum*: Krüger 1974, 13, Nr. 9; Lőrincz 2001, 207, Nr. 165; lupa 423.

44 *Caius Rufius miles legionis XIII geminae*: Pochmarski 1998, 46, Abb. 4; Ragolič 2023, Nr. 17; lupa 3096.

45 *Acrabanis Ababunis f. alae Augustae Ituraeorum*: Farkas – Gabler 1994, 76, Nr. 83; Lőrincz 2001, 200, Nr. 140; lupa 3367.

46 *Caius Iulius Respectus eques legionis I adiutricis*: RIU 2, 561; Borhy 2006, Nr. 40; lupa 3461.

47 *Tiberius Claudius eques alae Hispanorum I (?)*: Németh 1999, 17, Nr. 23; Lőrincz 2001, 196, Nr. 128; Tituli Aquincenses, Vol. II, 82, 594; lupa 2705.

48 *Elviacus (?)*: RIU 6, 1455; Tituli Aquincenses, Vol. IV, 1917; lupa 4052.

49 *Cusides Disalae f. eques alae Frontonianae*: RIU 5, 1220; Lőrincz 2001, 223, Nr. 217; Tituli Aquincenses, Vol. V, 2166; lupa 3560.

The shield depiction on the fourth tombstone can likewise be interpreted within this context, since the elongated oval shield was characteristic of the auxiliary cavalry.[50] Although the material, design, and execution of the fifth gravestone differ from the other four stelae, the circumstances of discovery point to that they all belonged to the same *tumulus*. The tenon at the bottom of the gravestone indicates that it was set into a small base. Given its smaller size and the base, it can be assumed that the stone was placed atop the *tumulus* in a manner similar to the reconstructed burial mounds at Oberlöstern.[51]

The eagle with outstretched wings, carved into the surface of the pediment, appears on both civilian and military gravestones and cannot be attributed to any specific social or ethnic group. It is most frequent in south-eastern Noricum, especially the territory of Flavia Solva, and along the Amber Road.[52] The sepulchral meaning of this motif can be understood as the *psychopompos* of the soul, guiding it to the afterlife.[53] This is perhaps also the most plausible interpretation in the case of the Nagytétény gravestone, too. The finest sculptural expressions of this concept are *apotheosis* reliefs depicting members of the imperial family in Rome.

The interpretation of the figure of the youth with crossed legs and holding weapons is problematic. The rendering of the figure is clumsy, and its execution rudimentary. The neck is disproportionately long and thick, while the hair is schematic. The right ear of the figure has 'slipped' down to the lower part of the face. The proportions of the hands and feet are exaggerated, and the body and limbs were carved in a simplified manner, disregarding anatomical features. No figure with an identical posture and the same weapons is known from any tombstone found in Pannonia and Noricum. Naked male figures holding weapons frequently appear on corner blocks of sepulchral monuments in south-eastern Noricum and south-western Pannonia.[54] These, however, are high-quality reliefs, whose composition reflects the classical principles of *contrapposto*. According to the most widely accepted interpretation, such representations are heroising depictions of the deceased's former martial skill and *virtus*.[55] Although the Nagytétény gravestone, owing to its more rustic and less refined execution, cannot be classified among the Norican youth depictions, it is perhaps not far-fetched to assume that in its case, too, the image was intended to represent the martial *virtus* of the deceased—especially because the figure holds a weapons in either hand.

Conclusions

In summary, the largest burial mound *(tumulus)* of the Celtic cemetery at Nagytétény contained the grave of a discharged auxiliary cavalryman, who had returned to his place of origin and was buried there in the last third of the 1st century AD. This veteran or his family possessed sufficient wealth to acquire bronze vessels (most probably from Italy) and to commission the erection of gravestones in front of the *tumulus*.

The custom of erecting gravestones was introduced in Pannonia by the Romans; prior to the Roman occupation, the indigenous Celtic population living north of the river Drava did not practice it. However, the rustic gravestones mentioned above are not mere imitations of Roman monuments; rather, they bear local features, such as the absence of an inscription field and the servant figures depicted in Celtic attire, wearing double skirts.

50 Le Bohec 2001, 123.

51 See Footnote 16.

52 For an overview of examples, see Beszédes 2012, 338, Footnotes 82–87.

53 Cumont 1922, 102 and 157–159.

54 On the representations, see Walde 2005. For the distribution map, see Beszédes 1996, 138.

55 Hainzmann – Pochmarski 1994, 88. For further interpretations, see Praschniker 1946, 22; Diez 1959, 9; Walde 1988.

The auxiliary soldier buried at Nagytétény was thus closely familiar with the material culture of the more developed regions of the Roman Empire and played an important role in disseminating new 'imperial' customs within his community. At the same time, local Celtic traditions are evident in the burial rite, the dress of the maidservants, and the overall character of the cemetery.

This is not surprising, since the 1st century AD was characterised by intense interaction between local cultures and Roman imperial influences. This burial underscores the significance of the Roman military in introducing new funerary customs to indigenous communities.

In response to the question posed in the title of our study, one may conclude that the complex phenomena of the burial under discussion are more appropriately described in terms of integration rather than as a one-directional process of Romanisation.

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