

GRAVES OF AUXILIARY SOLDIERS AND VETERANS FROM THE FIRST CENTURY AD IN THE NORTHERN PART OF PANNONIA

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In contrast to the south Pannonian region annexed by Augustus, the territory north of the River Drava, the Austrian and Hungarian part of the later province of Pannonia, was only occupied by the Roman army peacefully in late Tiberio-Claudian period with the help of *viae militares*.¹ A considerable amount is known about the mostly cavalry troops garrisoned in North Pannonia in the first century and their troops based on early imported goods,² inscriptions³ and military finds deriving from direct military and non-military contexts (*Fig. 1*).⁴ Significantly less is known about the active or former soldier burials from this period.⁵ That is to say, their existence was indicated only by epigraphic documents with secondary provenance until recently, but in this material soldiers and particularly veterans are fairly under-represented in the first century AD.⁶ This is why it is important that the scant knowledge about first-century 'military' graves in the researched region was expanded, incorporating a new category of archaeological evidence: burials consisting of early weapons and military gear.

¹ SAŠEL 1977, 235-244; GABLER 1997; UBL 2008a; UBL 2008c; ISTENIĆ 2009a; MRÁV in press

² Terra sigillata: GABLER 1979; MÁRTON 2005, 90-91; amphorae: BEZECZKY 1987 (along the Amber Road); BEZECZKY 1994, 156-161; MÁRTON 2005, 90.

³ MÓCSY 1959, 36-53; BURGER 1956, 191-197; LÖRINCZ 2001, 57-71.

⁴ MRÁV 2008, 279-294; MRÁV 2010, 139-161; MRÁV 2011a, 529-552; MRÁV in press.

⁵ MÁRTON 2002, 133-144; MRÁV 2006, 49-65; MRÁV in press.

⁶ MÓCSY 1959, 36-37, 43-45, 64-65; BURGER 1956, 191-197.

A. Márton attempted to collect weapon graves from the entire Pannonian territory in 2002,⁷ but his list remained incomplete with regard to first-century graves. Recently an increasing number of cemeteries have become known which yielded early weapon graves. Most of them may be certainly linked to soldiers and veterans. The primary aim of my contribution is to preliminarily present these graves and their contexts in relation to the early history of Roman Pannonia. These new and in recent years identified old grave finds are concentrated in three main regions: 1. in North-east Pannonia, in the native *civitas* of the Celtic Eraviscans, 2. in the surroundings of Lake Balaton, the Roman *lacus Pelso*, and 3. around the northern section of the Amber Road and its wider geographical area, mainly in the municipal territory of the Flavian city of Scarbantia (*Fig. 1*). The description and discussion of the graves shall follow this geographical order.

I omitted graves from the research period which contained only one or more spearhead because this category of weapon can also be interpreted as a hunting implement commonly used by civilians as well.⁸

⁷ MÁRTON 2002, 133-144.

⁸ MÁRTON 2002, 134. First-century graves contained one or more spearheads and no other weapons from North Pannonia: Cserszegtomaj (Zala County, H) graves 12 and 24: see below; Halimba (Veszprém County, H) grave 1 (end of 1st/early 2nd cent.); BÓNIS 1960, 92 graves 1/3-4 and 5, Taf. XVIII 1-2 and 3; Sárbogárd-Virággrész (Fejér County, H) grave 3: BÁNKI 1998, 65, 67 Abb. 2 grave 3/6; Alsópáhok (Zala County, H), grave 81: HORVÁTH-TOKAI in press.

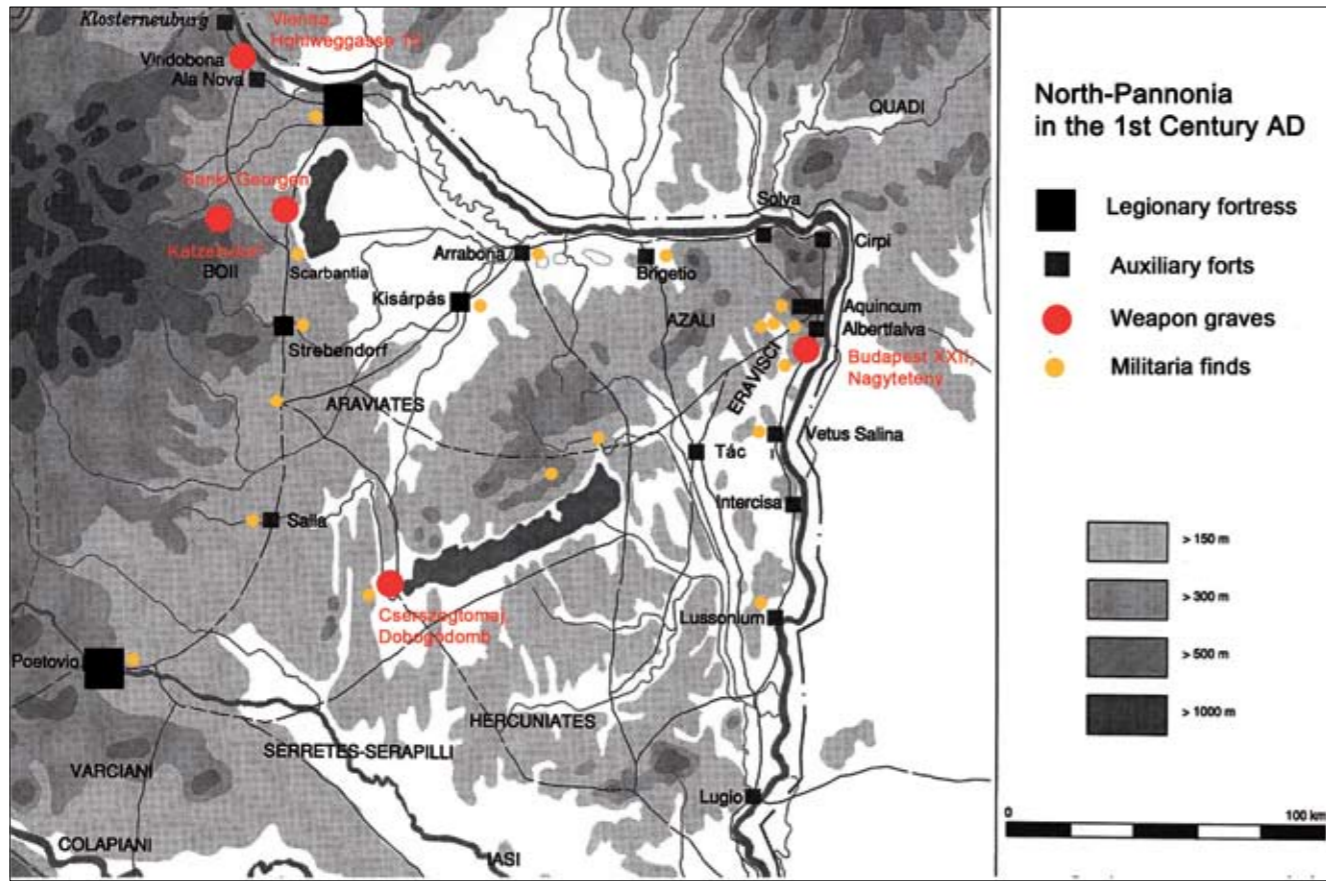


Fig. 1. The Roman army in North Pannonia in the first century AD. Military stations, militaria finds and graves of active and former soldiers (Map Zs. Mráv)

THE NORTH-EASTERN AREA OF THE *CIVITAS ERAVISCORUM*

In Northeast-Pannonia, the territory of the Celtic Eraviscans – which had already become dependent upon and most likely allied with Rome during the reign of Augustus – was annexed to the Empire by the Roman army almost unnoticed during the fourth and fifth decades of the first century.⁹ After Roman conquest and development of the military zone along the Danube from the Claudian period onward, the Eraviscans became a frontier community that was gradually militarized. Large scale recruitment of local Eraviscan youths to regular auxiliary units and mainly for fleets commenced rather late, only in the Claudian period.¹⁰ Martial and tribal warrior traditions were not very strong among the Eraviscans in the pre-Roman and early Roman times, demonstrated not only by their inactivity during the Pannonian-Dalmatian uprisings, but also the absence of weapons deposited in their first-

century graves. This situation changed radically at the end of the first century, when a permanent legionary fortress was built in Aquincum (89 AD) and when the settlement became the governor's seat for the province of Pannonia Inferior (103-106 AD).¹¹ Thereafter the tribe became increasingly important. Service in the Roman army's auxiliary cavalry units became attractive for the newly created Eraviscan aristocracy to present itself as a military elite around the end of first century and in the first half of the second century. The numerous rich graves with cavalry weapons of the period can be linked to this militarized tribal elite (Fig. 2).¹² This elite's strong connection with the army in the late second/early third century is also demonstrated by two wagon graves containing so-called beneficiarius insignia attached to the vehicles (Zsámbék, Pest County and Sárszentmiklós, Fejér County, H).¹³

⁹ GABLER 1997, 86-90.

¹⁰ MÓCSY 1959, 64-65; MÓCSY 1968, 310; MRÁV 2006, 63.

¹¹ ALFÖLDY 1959-1960, 10.

¹² MRÁV 2006.

¹³ MRÁV 2009, 84; MRÁV 2011, 21-61.

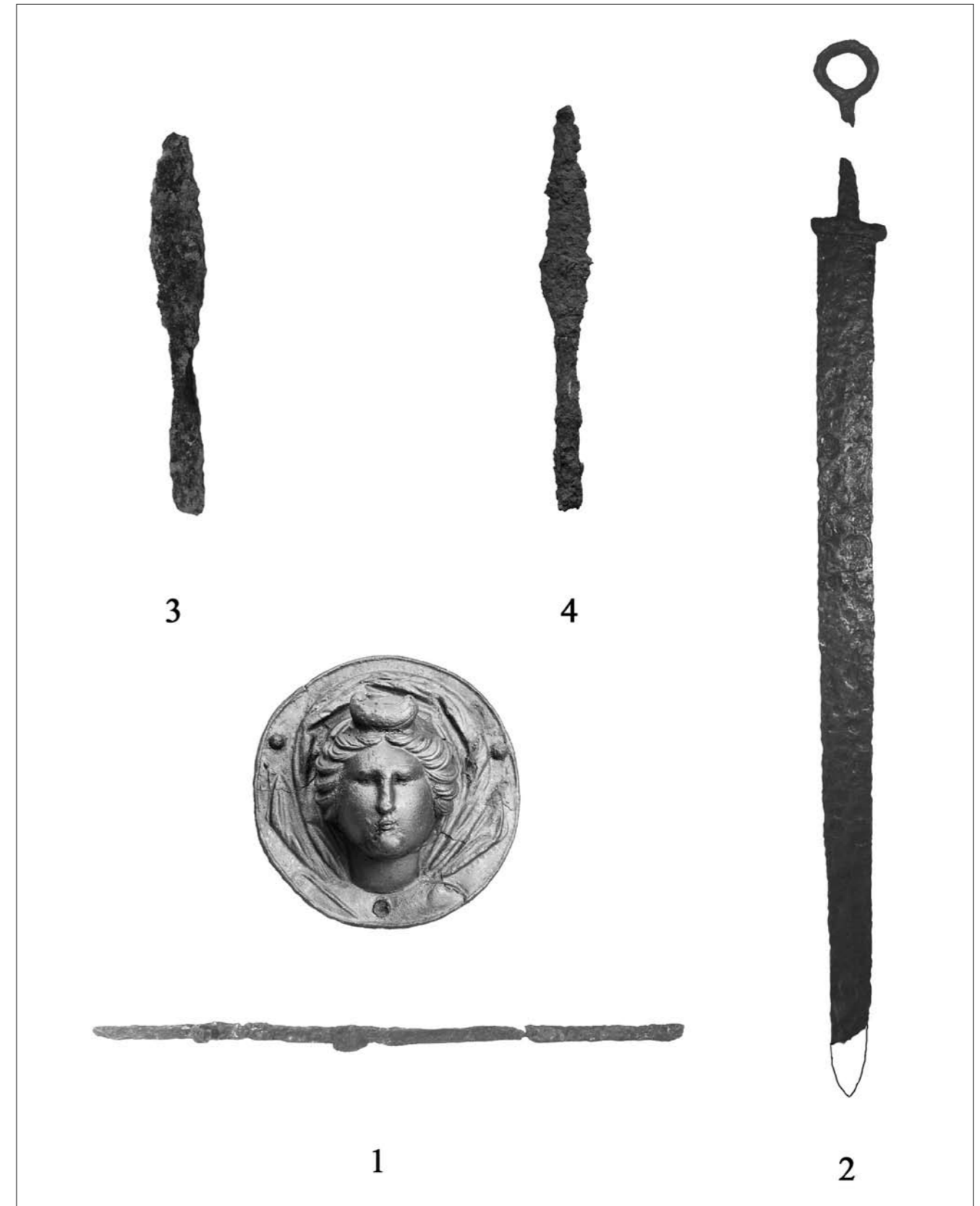


Fig. 2. Budaörs-Kamaraerdei dűlő (Pest County, H), the cemetery of the vicus, cart grave no. 126. Weaponry of a discharged auxiliary cavalryman born to a local elite family, middle third of the second century AD (after MRÁV 2006, 36 Abb. 3)

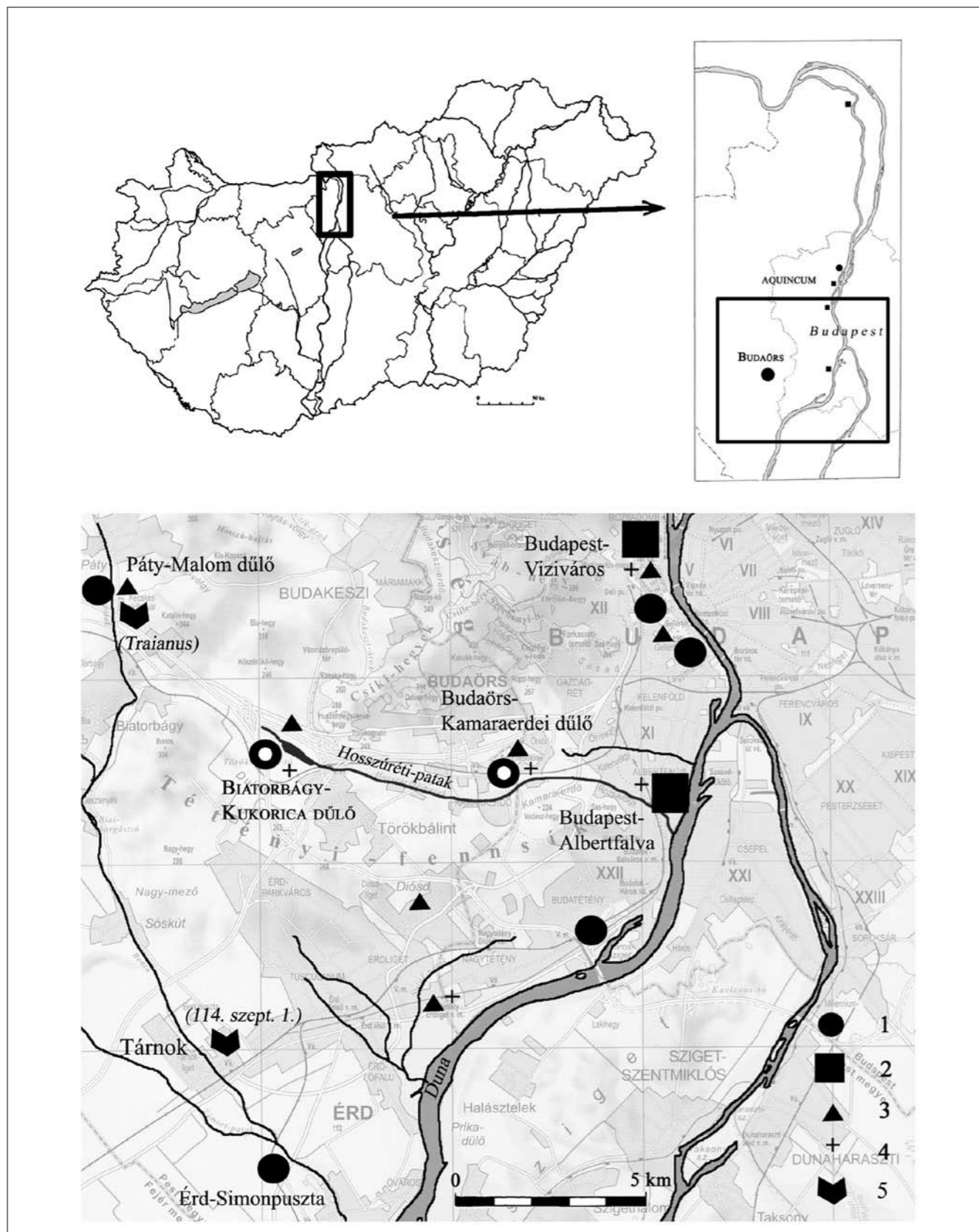


Fig. 3. Location of the Roman-era vici at Budaörs and Biatorbágy (Pest County, H). South Buda and its surroundings in the first century AD. Legend: - 1. village, - 2. auxiliary fort, - 3. site of early Roman cemeteries and funerary monuments, - 4. early militaria find, - 5. Find site of military diplomas

The tribal centre of the Eraviscans, inside the territory of the *civitas Eraviscorum*, a micro-region situated directly south-west of Aquincum, merits particular attention (Fig. 3). The auxiliary fort of Víziváros (Budapest, District I), as the region's first garrison, was built in the late Tiberio-Claudian period.¹⁴ The first phase of the Albertfalva castellum located south of it (Budapest, District XI), however, can be dated to the early Flavian period.¹⁵ The excavations of rural settlements from the direct hinterland of the Danube limes has generated a substantial number of finds of first-century military equipment and riding gear, which may be explained by their so-called social use by veterans.¹⁶ The rural villages at Budaörs-Kamaraerdei dűlő (Fig. 4)¹⁷ and at Biatorbágy-Tópark (Fig. 5)¹⁸ represent the most characteristic examples of these settlements.

TWO 'MILITARY' GRAVES IN THE NATIVE CEMETERY AT Nagytétény (DISTRICT XXII, BUDAPEST)

In the indigenous cemetery close to the southern periphery of Nagytétény (District XXII, Budapest), J. Beszédes excavated two funerary enclosures in 2005-2006, which can be identified with great certainty as graves of former auxiliary soldiers.¹⁹ One of them, a cremation grave (feature no. 666) consisted of a dented shield boss with handgrip and a ritually bent sword (Fig. 6).²⁰ Besides the weapons, a Nero coin, a fibula and an iron knife were buried in this grave. The second one was found in the largest grave yard of the cemetery enclosed by a square ditch (feature no. 661).²¹ Here a horse grave and a funeral pit containing fairly rich intact grave goods – among them a Nero coin, a bronze ladle (*simpulum*), a wooden bucket with bronze fittings and handle – were unearthed. Five relief-adorned stelae were found in the ditch by its entrance which had fallen down or had been pushed into it. Three of them are especially noteworthy (Fig. 7): the main relief on one stela features an eagle in its tympanum and a nude

heroic warrior holding a gladius and lance,²² another features an oval shield, while the last has a triumphant cavalry soldier in action bearing a similar oval shield. Although no weapons were found among the grave goods, these stelae suggest that a quondam auxiliary cavalryman was buried here during the Flavian period at the latest.²³ The preliminary reports also mentioned scabbard fittings with open-work decoration (belonging to a Mainz-type gladius?) found in the cemetery.²⁴

BALATON REGION

Besides inscriptions and the five known military diplomas,²⁵ numerous early militaria from non-military contexts indicate the importance of the Balaton region, with Mediterranean-like climate, among the auxiliary and legionary veterans (Fig. 8).²⁶ They began to settle here as early as the latter half of first century AD. This tendency is clearly shown by an early-Flavian niello inlaid belt plate and an apron fitting from the territory of a villa settlement at Nemesvámos-Balácapuszta (Veszprém County, H) (Fig. 9).²⁷ The cingulum with apron can be directly or indirectly connected to the semi-subterranean houses under the first villa building, no. XIII.²⁸ These dwellings of local type can be dated to the last decades of the first or, at the latest, the beginning of the second century by several fragments of tardo Padana terra sigillata vessels of form Consp. 39/43 collected from their fill.²⁹ With the help of the fittings belonging to a military belt and the semi-subterranean dwellings, we can reconstruct the beginning of the later villa, which developed from a veteran settlement. The same process took place in the case of the villa estate at Gyulafirátót-Pogánytelek (Veszprém County, H), where not only Po Valley and South Gaulish terra sigillata fragments but also a military belt buckle of Flavian type, prove the existence of a veteran settlement in the pre-villa phase³⁰ in the late first century (Fig. 10).³¹

²² BESZÉDES-SZILAS 2007, 243 Fig. 11.

²³ I would like to convey my special thanks to József Beszédes (Aquincum Museum, Budapest), who allowed me to briefly mention some results of his unpublished excavation at Nagytétény (XXII. District, Budapest).

²⁴ BESZÉDES-SZILAS 2007, 245.

²⁵ MRÁV-VIDA 2008-2010, 156-158

²⁶ MÓCSY 1959, 40-41; GABLER 1993-1994, 149-151; GABLER 1994, 394; MRÁV 2008, 289.

²⁷ MRÁV 2008, 279-294.

²⁸ CSIRKE 2005, 25-51, MRÁV 2008, 288-289.

²⁹ CSIRKE 2005, 26-32.

³⁰ GABLER 1979, 211-212; CSIRKE-GABLER-PALÁGYI 2006, 176 cat. no. 17.24.

³¹ RHÉ 1905 19 Abb. 13; MRÁV 2008, 289.

¹⁴ GABLER 1997, 86.

¹⁵ GABLER 1997, 88; GABLER 1999, 76-77, 81.

¹⁶ NICOLAY 2002, 57 Fig. 6, 62-63; NICOLAY 2007, 173-176.

¹⁷ MRÁV 2010, 139-140, 150-154; 161 Fig. 7; MRÁV 2011a, 529-552.

¹⁸ MRÁV 2010, 139-161.

¹⁹ BESZÉDES-SZILAS 2006, 155-157; BESZÉDES-SZILAS 2007; ZSIDI 2009, 111 cat. no. 294-298; BESZÉDES in press.

²⁰ ZSIDI 2009, 111 cat. no. 294-298.

²¹ BESZÉDES in press.

THE WEAPON GRAVE FROM CSERSZEGTOMAJ-DOBOGÓHILL (ZALA COUNTY, H)

My contribution shall focus on an as-yet published and interpreted assemblage from the Balaton region.³² In 1942, the Hungarian National Museum purchased from a private individual, Gyula Vincze, a funerary assemblage which besides fragments of a glass urn, numerous imported pottery, mainly terra sigillata vessels, consists of the almost complete armament of an auxiliary cavalryman. The find site of the grave goods is Dobogóhill, which currently administratively belongs to neighbouring Keszthely and Cserszegtomaj (both in Zala County, H) located close to the western shore of Lake Balaton, the Roman *lacus Pelso* (Fig. 11).³³ Geographically it is also important that the Sopiana-Savaria main road runs through the Keszthely region as well.³⁴

Due to the Second World War years, the further history of the find became tragic and some chapters of it remain obscure. The official annual report on the activity of the Archaeological Department from 1942 mentioned the entire assemblage among the current new acquisitions of the National Museum. Despite only data on a fragmentary glass urn in the Roman Collection's inventory, the pottery and two spearheads were taken down (Fig. 12).³⁵ The other metal finds, for instance the sword and the shield boss disappeared entirely and never listed in the inventory, but luckily a photograph in the archives serves as a record of these weapons (Fig. 13). The description and classification of the lost weaponry are based solely on this photograph.

Although the exact circumstances of the discovery are unknown, one can assume that the finds from this assemblage are from a grave. Some years before the donation, early Roman graves were partially destroyed by gravel extraction operations on Dobogóhill, and in 1938 a rich urn grave of a 15 year-old adolescent with a spearhead was unearthed here.³⁶ Between 1946 and 1948, four more first-century graves were excavated by I. Szántó which clearly show the early Romanization of the area.³⁷ Two of them – among other grave goods

which included imported pottery – consisted of weapons as well. One cannot exclude the possibility that the finds from these two graves belonged to auxiliary soldiers or veterans. Besides a late La Tène-type particularly elongated lance-head, the deceased in grave 12 was also buried with a fibula with integral spring and an Aucissa type fibula (Fig. 14).³⁸ The preceding fibula is a common item and not worthy of much comment. The inventory of weapon grave 2 under the Katzelsdorf tumulus II also contains this type of fibula (Fig. 24). The latter is generally associated with the Roman army in provincial context.³⁹ The two North Italian thin-walled drinking cups date the grave to the middle or latter half of the first century. Grave 24 also contained a spearhead, now lost, and a kantharos of late La Tène type with the burnished inscription *da bibir* written in vulgar Latin (= *da bibere*) (Fig. 15).⁴⁰ In the wider geographical area of Dobogóhill, the Keszthely region also yielded early Roman graves and cemeteries (for instance in Keszthely-Újmajör,⁴¹ Alsópáhok,⁴² Zalavár⁴³). In these cemeteries the graves with weapons, mainly spearheads, were not exceptional.⁴⁴ All this confirms that the finds of the 1942 donation would have really come to light from a grave in the early Roman cemetery situated on Dobogóhill, most probably as a result of gravel extraction. Despite the absence of a clear archaeological context, the grave can be defined as a cremation burial with a glass urn and intact, secondary grave goods. The assemblage consists of 11 terra sigillata pieces (Fig. 16 and 17) including one from the South-Gaulish workshop, La-Graufesenque from Drag. 29⁴⁵ and ten from the tardo Padana workshops.⁴⁶ Four of them can be classified as *catilli* of form Consp. 20 with L. M. V. stamps⁴⁷ and six of form Consp. 34 with C. T. SVC⁴⁸ and FES. CT *planta pedis*-shaped stamps.⁴⁹ A gray thin-walled double-handled beaker of form 5 with gray-brown slip is decorated with rouletting and

³⁸ SZÁNTÓ 1953, 55 grave no. 12.

³⁹ RIHA 1979, 114; ETLINGER 1973, 94; METZLER 1995, 235 - cf. MÁRTON 2002, 135.

⁴⁰ SZÁNTÓ 1953, 56 grave no. 24.

⁴¹ KUZSINSZKY 1920, 74-87.

⁴² HORVÁTH - TOKAI in press.

⁴³ MRT 1 site 59/1.

⁴⁴ Cserszegtomaj-Dobogóhill grave 12, 24: SZÁNTÓ 1953, 55-56; SZÁNTÓ 1977, 29-31; MRT 1 10/4; Alsópáhok: HORVÁTH-TOKAI in press; Keszthely-Újmajör: KUZSINSZKY 1920, 87.

⁴⁵ Unpublished.

⁴⁶ VÁGÓ 1977, 98-99, Taf. I/2, 4-6, Taf. II/1, 5-6, 8-9, 11.

⁴⁷ CVARR 268, no 1085; GABLER 2003, 81-100 (approx. date 40-120 AD).

⁴⁸ CVARR 416 no. 2028; GABLER 2000, 90-94 (approx. date 30/40-80/85 AD).

⁴⁹ CVARR 416 no. 2023 (approx. date 30-80 AD).

³² The funerary assemblage from Dobogóhill will be published in detail by the author soon.

³³ MRT 1 10/4; MÜLLER 1996, 85-86.

³⁴ MÜLLER 1996, 85.

³⁵ Hungarian National Museum inv. no. RR 1.1942.1-7.

³⁶ BÓNIS 1942, 262.

³⁷ SZÁNTÓ 1953, 55-56; SZÁNTÓ 1977, 29-31; MRT 1 10/4 – on the cemetery: SÁGI 1981.



Fig. 5. Biatorbágy-Kukorica dülő (Pest County, H). Copper inlaid phalera pendant, Flavian period (after MRÁV 2010, 154 fig. 3)

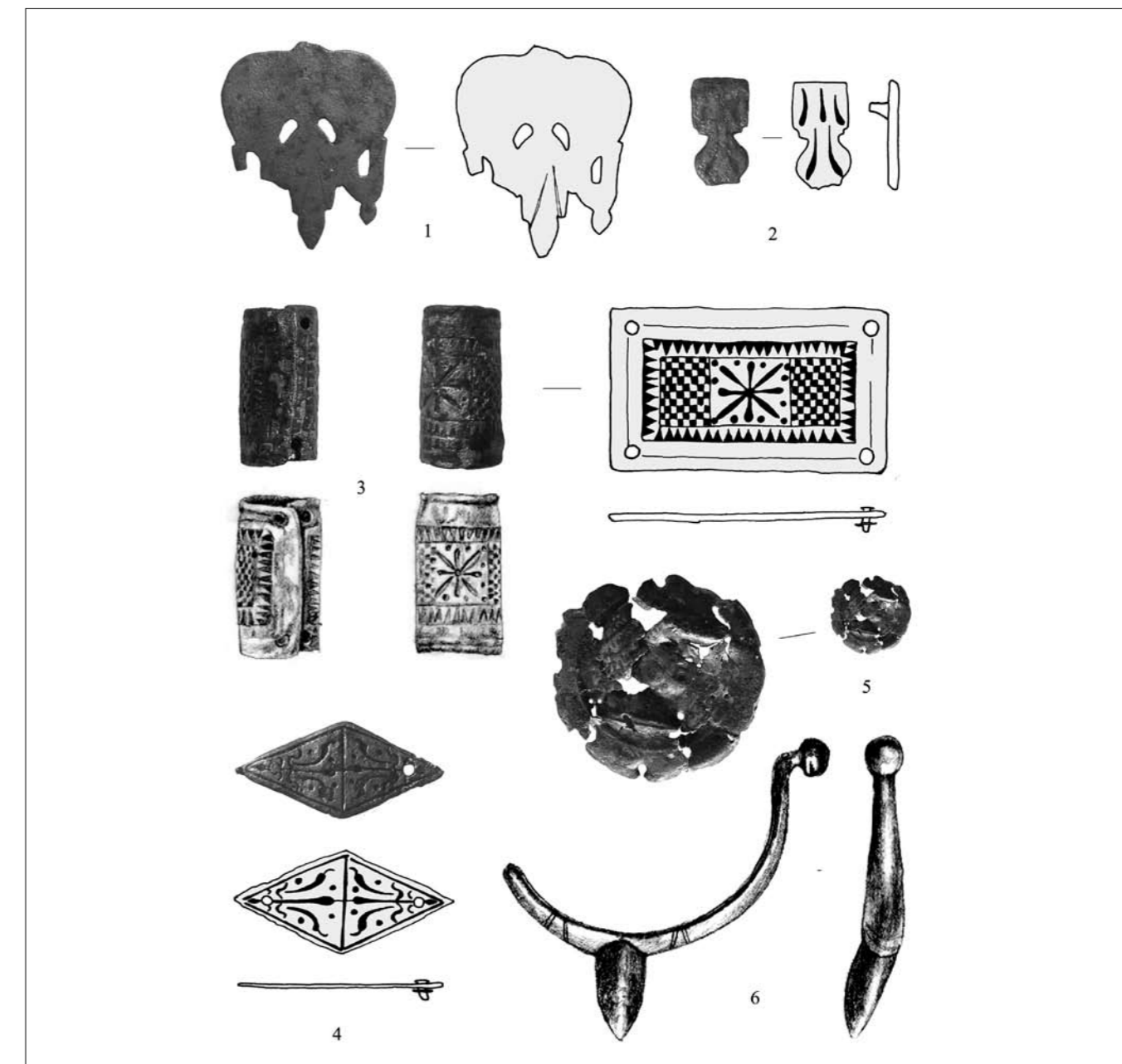


Fig. 4. Budaörs-Kamaraerdei dülő (Pest County, H), early militaria from the vicus. 1. phalera pendant (Bishop 1988, type 1), - 2. fragment of a junction loop with niello inlay, - 3. military belt plate with niello inlaid decoration, - 4. copper alloy rhomboid sheet with niello inlay; - 5. stamped bronze disc with the bust of a man, - 6. bronze spur



Fig. 6. Budapest, District XXII - Nagytétény. Early Roman native cemetery (aerial photo) and the weapons from a grave (feature no. 666) (after: ZSIDI [ed.] 2009, 111 cat. 294-298)

probably dates to the Flavian period (*Fig. 17/2*). A good parallel of it is known from Flavian grave 422 in the western cemetery in Poetovio⁵⁰ and from a well in Vin-dobona.⁵¹ Iron object no. 19 on *Fig. 17* can be identified as an ignition implement, which occur in Roman and Germanic contexts as well.⁵²

Turning to typochronology in greater detail, the weaponry and gear from this grave deserve special attention. The deceased was accompanied by almost his entire set of weaponry, but without his richly decorated more expensive helmet and riding gear, which were the main symbols of the cavalry.⁵³

The substantially complete sword from Cserszegtomaj is atypical because it can be defined as some kind of a combination of a Roman gladius and an early spatha of the Newstead variant of Straubing-Nyda

type (*Fig. 18*).⁵⁴ Moreover, it also displays some non-Roman influences. Thanks to these characteristics, the Cserszegtomaj sword could be typologically interpreted as a new type of semi-spatha. Its straight blade is quite long and narrow with rhombic cross-section that gradually narrows toward the tip. The transition from tang to blade is not slanted as on a typical late La Tène sword but rather perpendicular. Another feature of the sword is the long pointed, only slightly defined triangular tip of the blade. The rhomboid sectioned strong tip can be recognised on the photograph, derived from Roman gladii and optimised as it was for inflicting puncture wounds. Its total length is unknown, but – thanks to the remaining photograph – the dimensions can be roughly calculated based on the proportions of the shield boss and spear heads from the same assemblage. According to this calculation, the sword is equal in length to the cavalry swords with medium long blades. Based on its form, dimensions and typological characteristics – in spite of its gladius-like tip – the sword from Cserszegtomaj corresponds more to an equestrian than an infantry sword. This conclusion and the identification of its last owner as a cavalry-

⁵⁴ MIKS 2007. A similar atypical sword from Vinkovci, Croatia was published in DIZDAR/RADMAN-LIVAJA 2004, 48-49.



Fig. 7. Budapest, District XXII - Nagytétény, early Roman native cemetery. Cremation grave of an auxiliary cavalryman. - 1. stela in a ditch, - 2. secondary grave goods in situ, - 3. the stela representing a heroic warrior, - 4. the servant-girl in native costume from a stela (all of them after BESZÉDES-SZILAS 2007, 239-243, Fig. 7-11)

⁵⁰ ISTENIČ 1999, 108-109.

⁵¹ DONAT-PICHLER-SEDLMAYER 2002, 92-93 Taf. 3/3.

⁵² For instance from Günzburg: CZYSZ 2007, grave no. 860 Abb. 249/8; Zauschwitz: COBLENZ 1960, 91 Abb. 39.3; Keszthely-Do-bogóhill (Zala County, H): SÁGI 1981, 11 Abb. 2/5, 19 Abb. 6/7-8; Aquincum, Bécsi road cemetery grave no. 56: TOPÁL 1993, Pl. 41 grave 56/7.

⁵³ NICOLAY 2002, 61-62; NICOLAY 2007, 171-173.

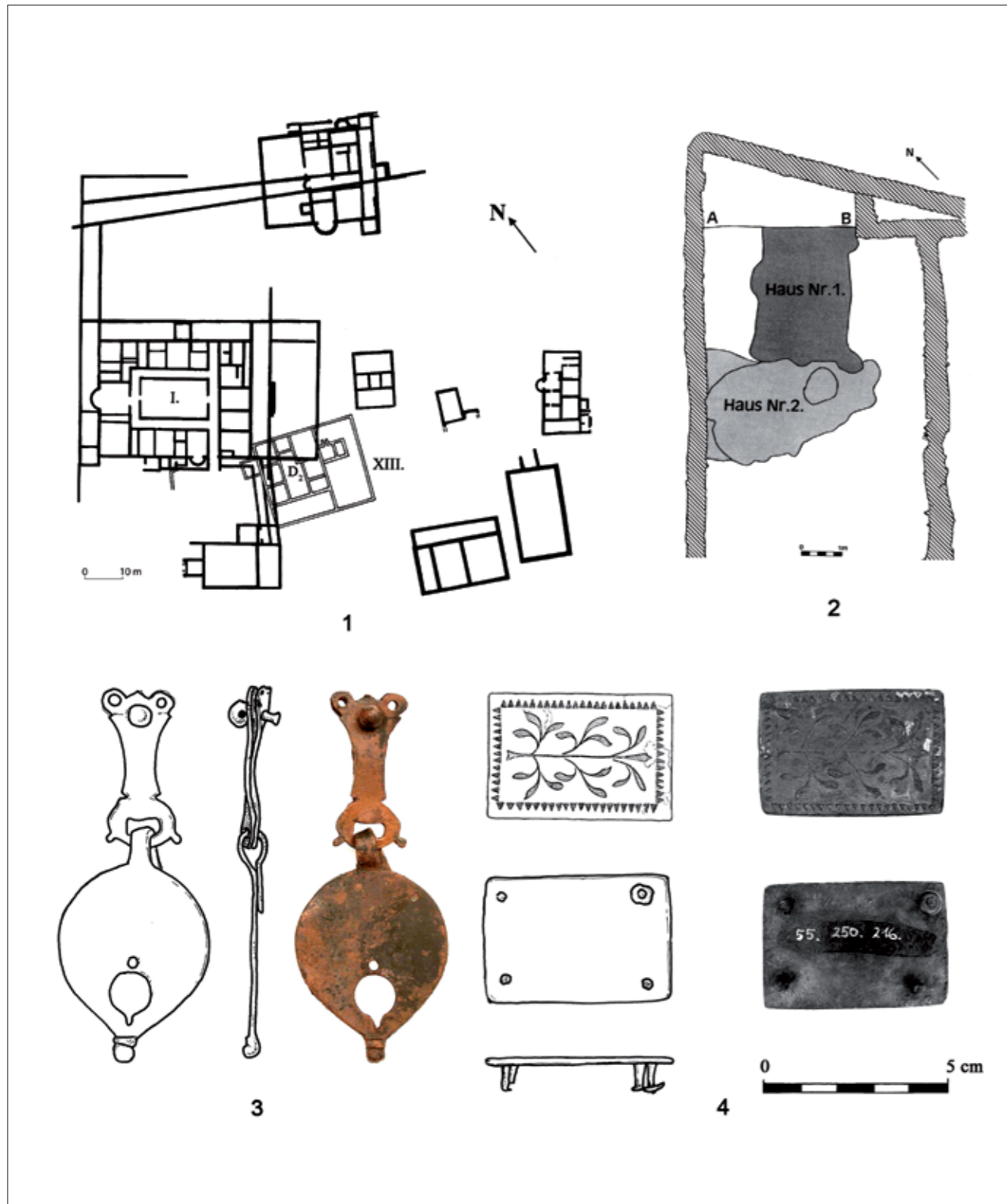


Fig. 9. Nemesvámos-Balácapuszta (Veszprém County, H), 1-2: Semi-subterranean houses of a Flavian veteran settlement under the first villa building no. XIII (after CSIRKE 2005). 3-4: An apron terminal and a niello inlaid belt-plate (after MRÁV 2008)

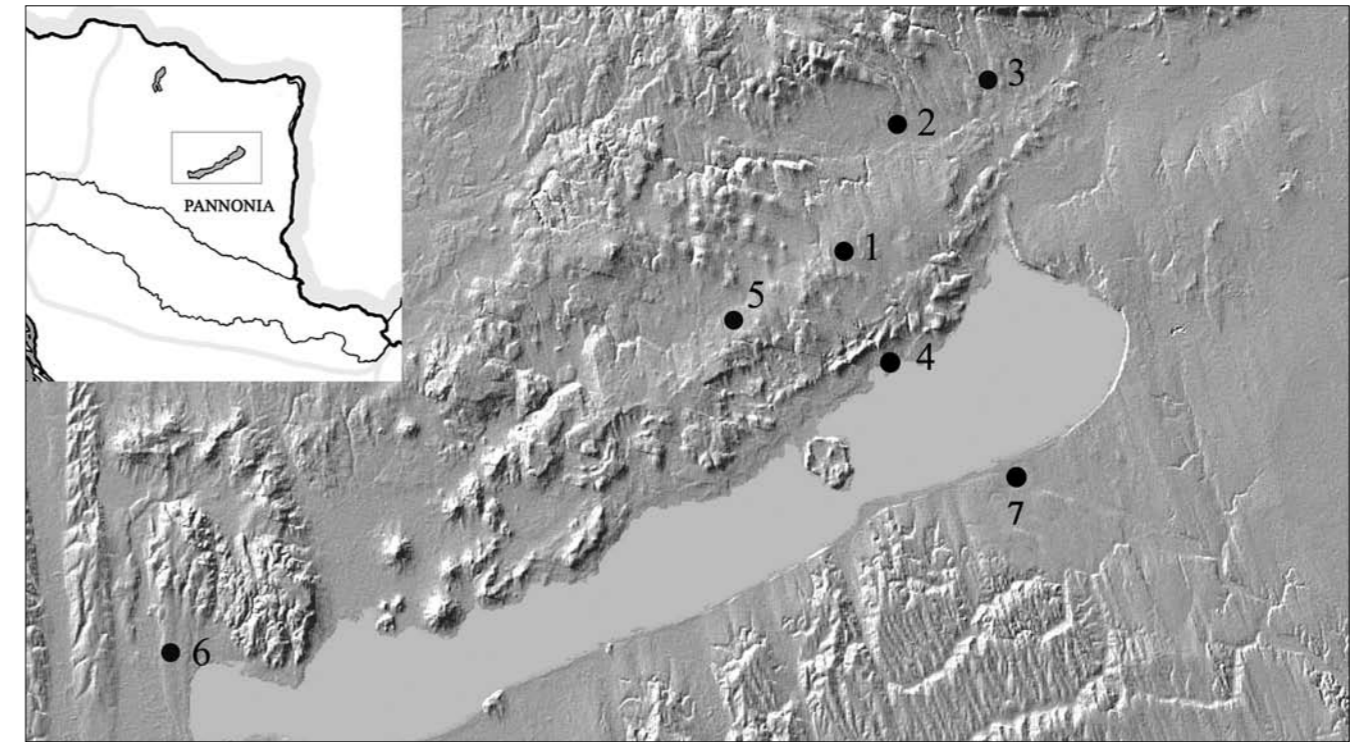


Fig. 8. Map shows the find-sites connected with veterans from the Balaton region. - 1. Nemesvámos-Balácapuszta, - 2. Gyulafirátót-Pogánytelek, - 3. Óskü, - 4. Csopak, - 5. Tótvázsony, - 6. Dobogóhill which now administratively belongs to neighbouring Keszthely and Cserszegtomaj, - 7. Siófok (drawing Zs. Mráv)

man is confirmed by the presence of a spur among the buried gear.⁵⁵ The non-Roman influenced native imitations and combination of different types of Roman swords are not an unusual feature among the early imperial auxiliary swords. A good example is known from an early first-century grave at Vinkovci, Vrtna street, South-east Pannonia. The short sword published by I. Radman-Livaja and M. Dizdar exhibits the same kind of strange combination of a late Republic or early imperial gladius and a late La Tène sword (Fig. 19/5). The tip of it has a muted triangular form like the gladii of Pompeii type. The exact analogy of its combined form and gladius-like tip cannot be found among known cavalry swords. The Cserszegtomaj sword's total dimensions and appearance make it very similar to the semi-spathae from *Aquae Helveticae* (Baden, CH)⁵⁶ and Alem (Prov. Geldevland, NL)⁵⁷ (Fig. 19/1 and 2), but it cannot be stated with certainty whether or not they had a rhomboid tip. The Baden sword as the closest analogy can be dated to the middle or latter half of the first century,⁵⁸ which is roughly identical to the date of the Cserszegtomaj grave.

⁵⁵ Two spurs of the same type come from *Salla* (Fig. 20): REDŐ 2003, 14 Fig. 16; REDŐ 2005, 140 Fig. 12.3; and one from *Siscia*: RADMAN-LIVAJA 2004, 104 no. 391.

⁵⁶ MIKS 2007, 539 Cat. no. A33 Taf. 56.

⁵⁷ MIKS 2007, 533 Cat. no. 17 Taf. 58.

⁵⁸ MIKS 2007, 539 - cf. the swords from *Kostolna pri Dunaj* (Galanta, SK): MIKS 2007, 638 Cat. no. A377 Taf. 55 and *Wymysłowo* (Woj. Wielkopolskie, PL): MIKS 2007, 764 Cat. no. A799 Taf. 55.

The photograph of the assemblage shows only the middle, arched section of a spur, identifiable based on its prong (Fig. 17/15). Because of its fragmentary condition it cannot be determined whether it had an U-shaped or semi-circular shank. The method of its fastening remains unknown as well, because it is uncertain as to whether it terminated in rectangular loops or in out-turned knobs. In any case the straight, short and most likely round sectioned prong date the spur to the first century. It most likely constitutes the type of two iron spurs from *Salla* (Zalalövő, Zala County, H), which came from the layers of the auxiliary fort in the first century AD (Fig. 20).

The dome of the round iron boss presumably had a raised cone (Fig. 13 and 17/17). The early Roman standard auxiliary conical shield bosses – in contrast to La Tène examples – are characterised by a sharp angle between the conical part and the straight sides. This feature is also clearly visible in the remaining photograph taken of the boss from Cserszegtomaj. The fragments of a narrow, straight and semi-circular sectioned iron shaft with rounded, dull ends surely belonged to the

handgrip of the same shield. The conical shield boss may be associated with the first/second century auxiliary.⁵⁹ Several bosses of comparable type are known from first-century contexts, for instance weapon graves of auxiliary soldiers and veterans of mainly Celtic origin from the middle Rhine area, south-eastern Alps and middle Danube region⁶⁰.

Besides the semi-spatha and a shield boss, two iron lance heads were also among the weapons in the grave at Cserszegtomaj (Fig. 13 and 17/21-22). One of them is a narrow elongated leaf-shaped iron lance head widest in the middle with a slightly pronounced mid-rib. Lance heads with mid-ribs, going back directly to late La Tène examples, appeared during the first century AD. The other identical long lance head representing the Roman standard type had a somewhat longer closed socket and its shorter but slightly wider blade was widest around its lower third, giving it a very different appearance.

The first century weapon graves in Northern Pannonia, including the Cserszegtomaj grave, are among the richest of the area. The North Italian terra sigillata vessels are common and most characteristic grave goods of these early imperial weapon graves.⁶¹ It is generally accepted that in the first century, besides immigrants and the local elite families, only soldiers and veterans were solvent enough to afford expensive imported ceramics.⁶² It is interesting to note that the geographical closest analogy to the Cserszegtomaj grave is from tumulus II at Katzelsdorf, north-east Austria, which also yielded at least five Po Valley terra sigillata vessels mainly from the workshop of L. Gellius (Fig. 24). This cremation burial of an auxiliary cavalryman dated to the middle decades of the first century were accompanied by a bent cavalry sword and a shield boss with conical dome (see below).

The Cserszegtomaj grave is situated in a native cemetery, suggesting that the deceased was a discharged soldier interred with his take-home weaponry, which had symbolic significance. The question of his ethnicity must be broached, because in the Balaton region auxiliary veterans of different origin – for instance *Treveri*, *Azali*, *Ituraei* – were settled, as proven by mili-

tary diplomas.⁶³ All this leads to the conclusion that the buried owner of the weapons could be interpreted as a soldier or more probably a veteran from the auxiliary who settled in the immediate western vicinity of Lake Balaton. Here it is worth mentioning an unpublished, rather rich weapon grave from Csopak-Kökoporsódomb (Veszprém County, H), which lies along the north-eastern shore of Lake Balaton. The grave, found in 1896, yielded four tardo Padana terra sigillata cups of form Consp. 39/43, a jug, four glass vessels which date the burial to the first decades of the second century. The bronze shield boss is characterised by its mid-rib on the dome, belonging to a rare first/second century auxiliary shield boss type, known from the border provinces from Germany to Thrace. The most interesting item from this grave is a silver inlaid bronze belt buckle made in Germania Libera in the Elbe region and worn primarily by the Germanic warrior elite. This richly ornamented belt buckle inspired by the Roman military belt probably served for its owner as a cingulum-buckle (Fig. 21).

Keszthely and its surroundings were situated not far from the Amber road, which served as a military road up to the reign of Trajan. Besides the late Tiberio-Claudian legionary fortress of Carnuntum, smaller military stations and auxiliary forts were built along this road at Salla, based on numerous early military finds and at Strebersdorf as well, where three military camps of different size from the Augustan period onward were discovered by a geophysical survey.⁶⁴ The first-century, two-phase earth-and-timber auxiliary fort of Salla, today Zalalövö (Zala County, H)⁶⁵ was not only the closest fortification, but the River Salla linked it to the Keszthely region as the shortest natural route. Perhaps the decedent in the Cserszegtomaj grave served in a fort built along the Amber road, most probably in Salla.

⁶³ MRÁV 2008, 287; MRÁV-VIDA 2008-2010, 156-158.

⁶⁴ GROH 2009, 175-187.

⁶⁵ REDŐ et al. 1981, 282-286; REDŐ 2003, 5-12; REDŐ 2005, 133-144.

⁵⁹ OESTERWIND 1989, 110-111; NABBefeld 2008, 45-46.

⁶⁰ OESTERWIND 1989, 110-111; H. Sedlmayer in DONAT-PICHLER-SEDLMAYER 2002, 85-86; NABBefeld 2008, 45-46. Some typical examples from weapon graves: Verdun near Stopičah (SLO), grave no. 1, 41, 84, 112: BREŠČAK 1989, 13; Wederath: WAURICK 1994, 16-20.

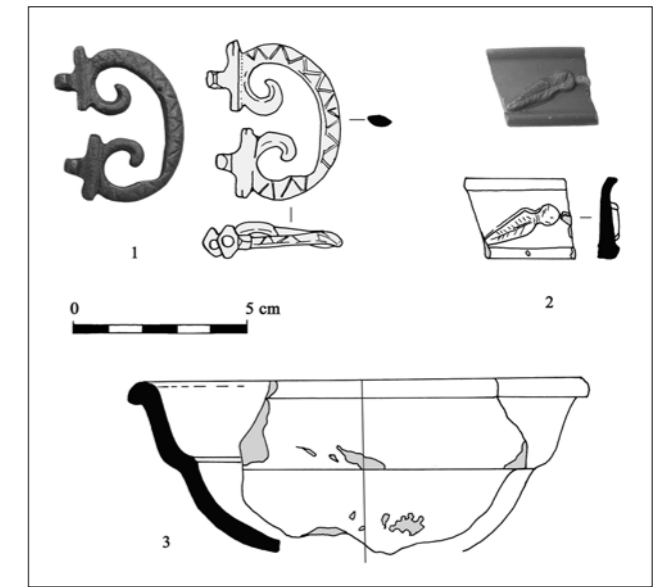
⁶¹ MÁRTON 2008, 138.

⁶² GABLER 1979, 199-200; MRÁV 2008, 289; MÁRTON 2008, 138.

Fig. 10. Gyulafirátót-Pogánytelek (Veszprém County, H). Peltate belt buckle of a cingulum and first-century terra sigillata finds from the territory of the later villa-settlement (drawing Zs. Mráv)



Fig. 11. The west Balaton region with the mouth of the River Salla/Zala, H. Early Roman sites and the location of the cemetery at Cserszegtomaj-Dobogóhill (Keszthely, Balaton Múzeum). - 1. Alsópáhok, - 2. Hévíz-Egereg, - 3. Keszthely-Dobogó I., - 4. Keszthely-Dobogó II., - 5. Cserszegtomaj, - 6. Keszthely-Belterület, - 7. Keszthely-Újmajor, - 8. Keszthely-Fenekpuszta I., - 9. Keszthely-Fenekpuszta II., - 10. Sármellék-Égenföld, - 11. Zalavár-Temető, - 12. Zalavár-Bükkössziget. Legends: ● = cemetery; ○ = settlement; ▲ = stray find.



THE NORTHERN SECTION OF THE AMBER ROAD AND ITS BRANCHES

The northern section of the Amber Road between the legionary fortresses of Poetovio and Carnuntum and its branch roads were operational *viae militares* which led towards the central Danube Basin and the neighbouring Germanic kingdoms in the first century (Fig. 1). The strategic importance of these roads is clearly illustrated by the strong presence of the Roman army along them.⁶⁶ These roads as march and supply routes were controlled by smaller military stations and auxiliary forts generally located at regular intervals, a single day's distance from one another. On the basis of the few available documents, the garrisons of these posts were mainly cavalry units. Not only epigraphic evidence but also components and fittings belonging to early military riding gear from the sites of the military stations testify to this.⁶⁷ The road surveillance system was reinforced by numerous legionary and auxiliary veterans settled in rural settlements and urban centres along the roads concerned in first century AD. Besides epigraphic evidence, mainly tomb inscriptions, and finds of military gear, weapon graves are the best indicators of their presence. The three known and, in this context, never analysed weapon graves of discharged auxiliaries from the Northern Amber Road zone (Sankt Georgen, Katzelsdorf and probably Vienna, Hohlweggasse) are also important to a better understanding the occupation system in this particular part of the empire.

⁶⁶ UBL 2008a; UBL 2008c, 127-135; MRÁV in press.

⁶⁷ MRÁV in press.

SANKT GEORGEN/LAJTASZENTGYÖRGY (BURGENLAND, A), EARLY IMPERIAL WEAPON GRAVES (?) OF AUXILIARY SOLDIERS OR VETERANS

In Sankt Georgen, roughly 18 km north of the Roman city of Scarbantia (Fig. 1), what were most likely more graves of an early Roman cemetery were found very close to the Amber road and destroyed during the digging of a cellar in 1918 or 1919. Due to the accidental find circumstances, the precise archaeological context is not known. A part of the collected metal finds were lost during the final phase of World War II in 1945, while another part made its way into the collection of the Burgenlandisches Landesmuseum in Eisenstadt in 1949. The lost objects included a long sword with narrow blade and more spearheads mentioned by their last owner. H. Mitscha-Märheim published the remaining finds in 1952 as a late Roman funerary assemblage and dated them to the end of the fourth and early fifth centuries.⁶⁸ More recent analysis proved this dating erroneous. For besides a Roman bronze jug, iron nails and two knives, the remaining material consists of two elongated spearheads and a Mainz-type *gladius* (Fig. 22).⁶⁹ The closest analogies to the two spearheads are known from grave 1 at the Halimba cemetery (Veszprém County, H). The decedent in this grave died around the end of first or beginning of the second century was most likely a former soldier, because a polygonal socketed catapult bolt or light javelin head with pyramidal ending was part the burial inventory (Fig. 23).⁷⁰ The Sankt Georgen *gladius* has close associations with the Roman army. The mysterious fragmentary object no. 7 on Fig. 22 is particularly noteworthy. It was misinterpreted as a scabbard chape of unique type not only by the first to publish it, H. Mitscha-Märheim,⁷¹ but recently by Ch. Miks as well.⁷² In spite of their view, it may be attributed with certainty to the Germanic belt buckles of Madyda-Legutko A/8 type. According to R. Madyda-Legutko's typochronology, belt buckles of this type were produced in Germania Libera in the B1b period.⁷³ It is conspicuous that this date corresponds to the Mainz-type *gladius*, because

⁶⁸ MITSCHA-MÄRHEIM 1952, 49-54.

⁶⁹ ULBERT 1969, 128 Cat. no. 18; MIKS 2007, 733 Cat. no. A 694 Taf. 24.

⁷⁰ BÓNIS 1960, 92 grave 1/3-4, Taf. XVIII/2-3. A similar spearhead is known from Vindonissa (Brugg, CH): UNZ-DESCHLER-ERB 1997, 20-21 Cat. no. 247, Taf. 16/247 with further occurrences of the spearhead type.

⁷¹ MITSCHA-MÄRHEIM 1952, 50.

⁷² MIKS 2007, 733 Cat. no. A 694 Taf. 24.

⁷³ MADYDA-LEGUTKO 1986, 5-6.

both of them can be dated to the first half of first century AD. Based on their similar dating, it cannot be excluded that the belt with Germanic belt buckle served as a military belt for that auxiliary soldier who owned the sword itself. The Roman-Germanic mixed auxiliary equipment and weaponry were not exceptional among the soldiers stationed in Pannonia and elsewhere.⁷⁴ Like the Sankt Georgen assemblage, this mixed equipment often contained Germanic belt components (Csopak-Kökoporsódomb [Veszprém County, H] [Fig. 21],⁷⁵ Inota tumulus 1 [Veszprém County, H]⁷⁶). Additionally, the surface of every iron object was covered by so-called iron scale caused by intensive burning (consisting essentially of the magnetic oxide of iron),⁷⁷ which means that the finds came from a burial, possibly a cremation rather than inhumation.⁷⁸ Of course, without any context the number of graves destroyed cannot be ascertained. It also remains uncertain as to which graves the known objects belonged. The only thing which can be said is that among the graves concerned there was at least one weapon grave of an active or discharged auxiliary infantry soldier and this grave contained the Mainz-type *gladius* that be dated to the period not later than the second quarter of the first century. The lost long sword of unknown type may have come from yet another burial.

⁷⁴ MRÁV 2006, 55-59.

⁷⁵ The funerary assemblage of Csopak-Kökoporsódomb will be published by this author in the near future. The grave was mentioned by KUZSINSZKY 1920, 174-175.

⁷⁶ PALÁGYI 1981, 36 Cat. no. 1.3.15 Taf. IV. 9 – cf. PETCULESCU 1995, 106-107.

⁷⁷ MITSCHA-MÄRHEIM 1952, 50.

⁷⁸ MITSCHA-MÄRHEIM 1952, 50, 54.

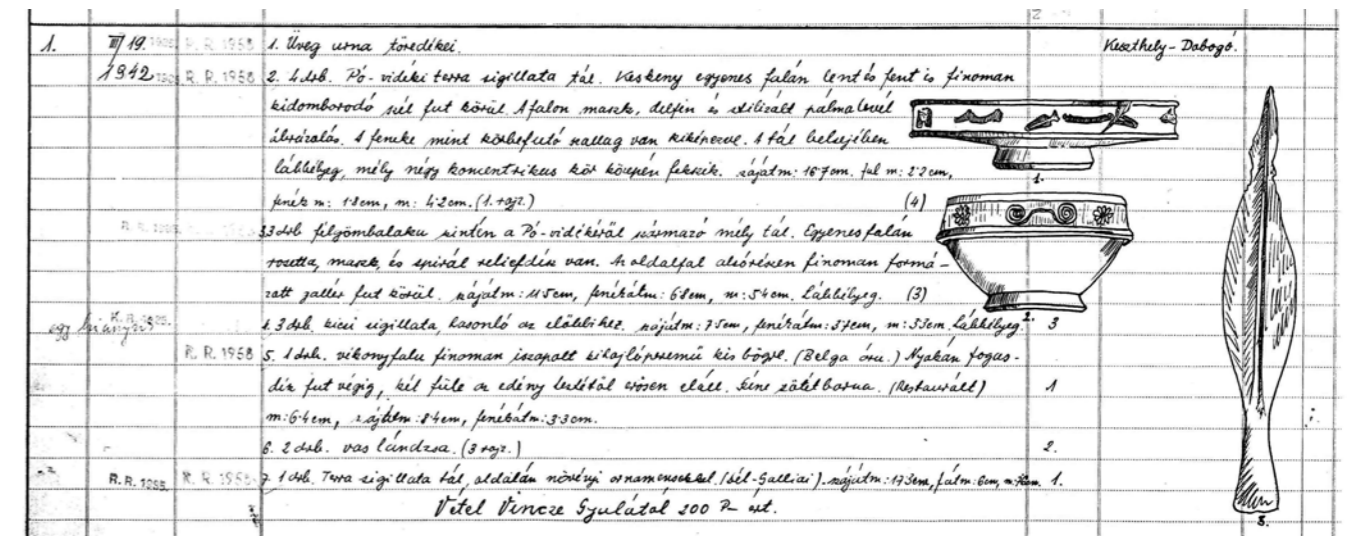


Fig. 12. Cserszegtomaj-Dobogóhills (Zala County, H), grave of a discharged auxiliary cavalryman. Finds in the inventory of the Hungarian National Museum.

KATZELSDORF (A), TUMULUS OF A DISCHARGED CAVALRY SOLDIER

A weapon grave that illustrates well the military importance of the Scarbantia-Vindobona military road is noteworthy. This is the second tumulus at Katzelsdorf,⁷⁹ approximately 10 km north-west of Mattersburg (Fig. 1) which was a possible military station along this road. (This site is the find site of a funerary stele of an active cavalry soldier, Tiberius Claudius Vanamius, who died as a *missicius* of the *ala Hispanorum prima* around the middle of the first century AD.)⁸⁰ The inventory of the burial contains at least five Italian terra sigillata vessels produced in the workshop of L. Gellius⁸¹ and Romanus (2),⁸² which cannot be dated later than the Claudian period. This cremation burial was accompanied by a bent cavalry sword and a shield boss with conical dome (Fig. 24). The triple-looped copper alloy fittings must have been junction loops belonging to a riding harness.⁸³ These grave goods pointed to the conclusion that the decedent in the Katzelsdorf tumulus II was a mounted auxiliary soldier⁸⁴ who served in a fortification located along the inner military roads, most likely in Mattersburg, and settled in the proximity of his former garrison. Because of the long sword and the numerous Italian terra sigillata vessels, this grave is the closest analogy to the Cserszegtomaj auxiliary soldier's grave.

⁷⁹ URBAN 1984, 81-85 Abb. 10-15.

⁸⁰ CIL III 4244; CSIR Österreich Bd. I/5, 12 Nr. 6; LÖRINCZ 1996, 74; LÖRINCZ 2001, 195 Nr. 123.

⁸¹ CVARR 234-237 no. 879 - cf. GABLER 1979, 207-210; ZABEHLICKY-SCHEFFENEGGER 1982, 105-115.

⁸² CVARR 368 no. 1714 (1 - 20+ A.D.).

⁸³ URBAN 1984, 84 cat. no. 21-23, Abb 15/21-23.

⁸⁴ MÁRTON 2002, 135; MRÁV 2006, 52-53 Abb. 16.

VIENNA, THIRD DISTRICT, HOHLWEGGASSE 15

Having recognized the strategic importance of the Vienna Basin and the Danube section west of Carnuntum, the Romans built an auxiliary fort at Vindobona (Vienna, A) at the terminal point of the western branch road of the Amber route (Fig. 1). This occurred fairly late, in the case of Vindobona only in the early Flavian⁸⁵ or the Domitian period at the latest,⁸⁶ in order to secure the western wing of the legion stationed at Carnuntum. According to the early tombstone of C. Atius from Vienna,⁸⁷ it is not entirely excluded that the *legio XV Apollinaris* or its detachment was already garrisoned in Vindobona in the Tiberian period, as suggested by M. Mosser.⁸⁸ Some pre-Flavian finds from the inner city of Vienna demonstrate the existence of a settlement or a possible military outpost in the occupation period.⁸⁹ The mid-first century presence of auxiliaries in Vienna is also demonstrated by a weapon grave discovered in the Third District, 15 Hohlweggasse, in 1902. The assemblage was first noted in brief reports by J. Nowalski de Lilia and F. von Kenner, and it was republished by H. Sedlmayer in 2002. During the 1902 earthworks, two spearheads and a shield-boss of Zielsing type H1

⁸⁵ LÖRINCZ 2001, 62.

⁸⁶ MOSSER 2005, 143-151.

⁸⁷ CIL III 4570 - cf. MOSSER 2002, 102-126; MOSSER 2003, 248-249 Nr. 159.

⁸⁸ MOSSER 2002, 102-126; MOSSER 2003, 44-45; MOSSER 2005, 142-143.

⁸⁹ KRONBERGER 2006, 87.

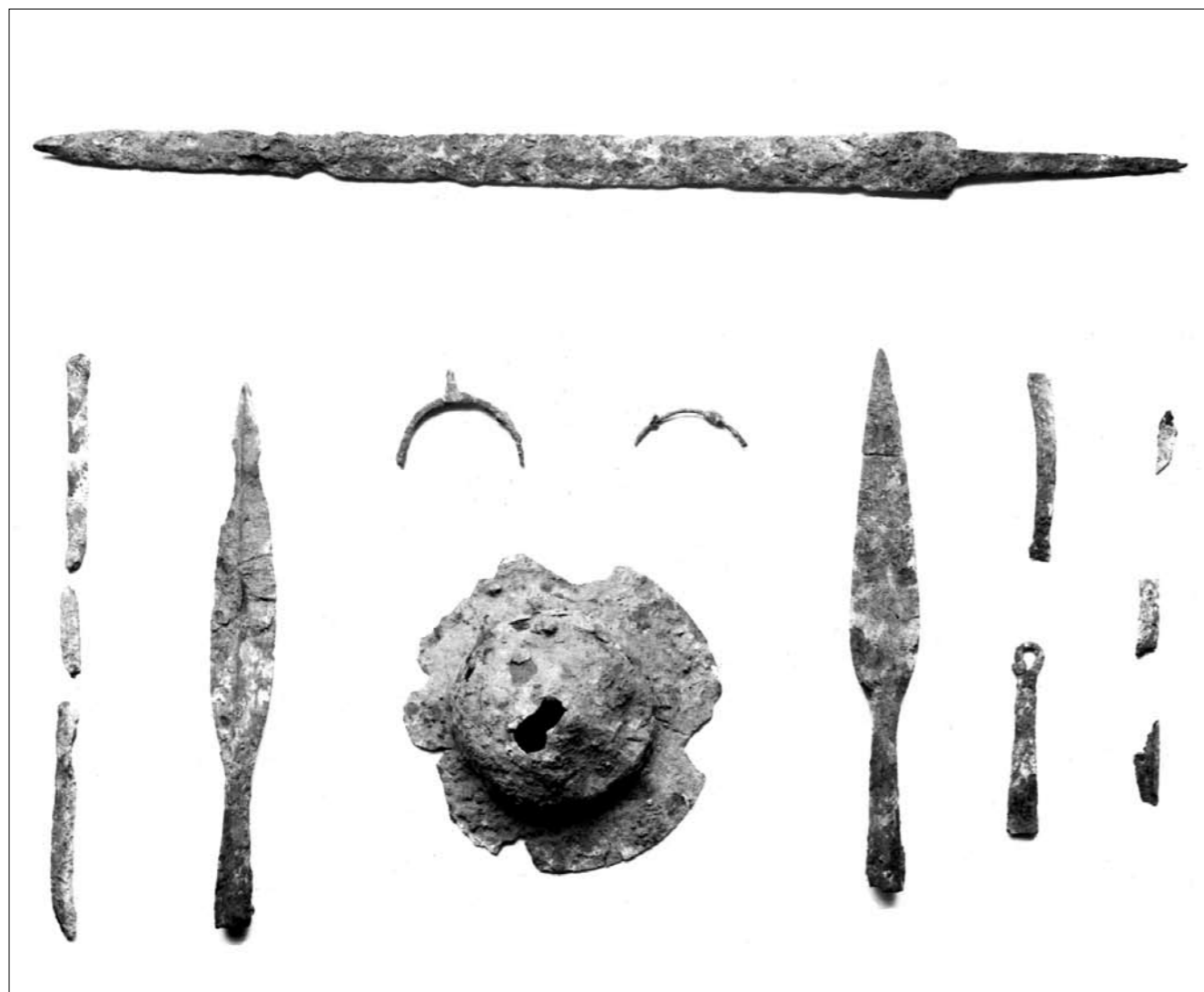


Fig. 13. Cserszegtomaj-Dobogóhill (Zala County, H). Weaponry from the grave of a discharged auxiliary cavalryman. Photo from the Archaeological Archives of the Hungarian National Museum

were found (Fig. 25) together with human and horse (?) skeletons in a pit under a barrow. The spearhead with upstanding mid-rib and long closed socket attached to a thin blade represents a late La Tène type. It strongly resembles one of the spearheads from the Cserszegtomaj grave (Fig. 13 and 17/22). The other, fragmentary spearhead may have been an example of the Roman type. Although the conical domed shield-boss is non-Roman in character, it was presumably used not only by natives and free Germans but auxiliaries as well.⁹⁰ Indeed, the date and the composition

of the weaponry from the Vienna grave by itself might suggest that the deceased was a warrior of Germanic or (local?) Celtic origin who served as an auxiliary. The grave was dated to the first half or middle of the first century AD by H. Sedlmayer. This weapon grave and the gravestone of C. Atius serve as the basis for the assumption of the early military control of the Vienna Basin.⁹¹

⁹⁰ H. Sedlmayer in DONAT-PICHLER-SEDLMAYER 2002, 83-86 Abb. 5-7; KRONBERGER 2006, 86-87.

⁹⁰ FEUGÈRE 1993, 94-95; WAURICK 1994, 4-5

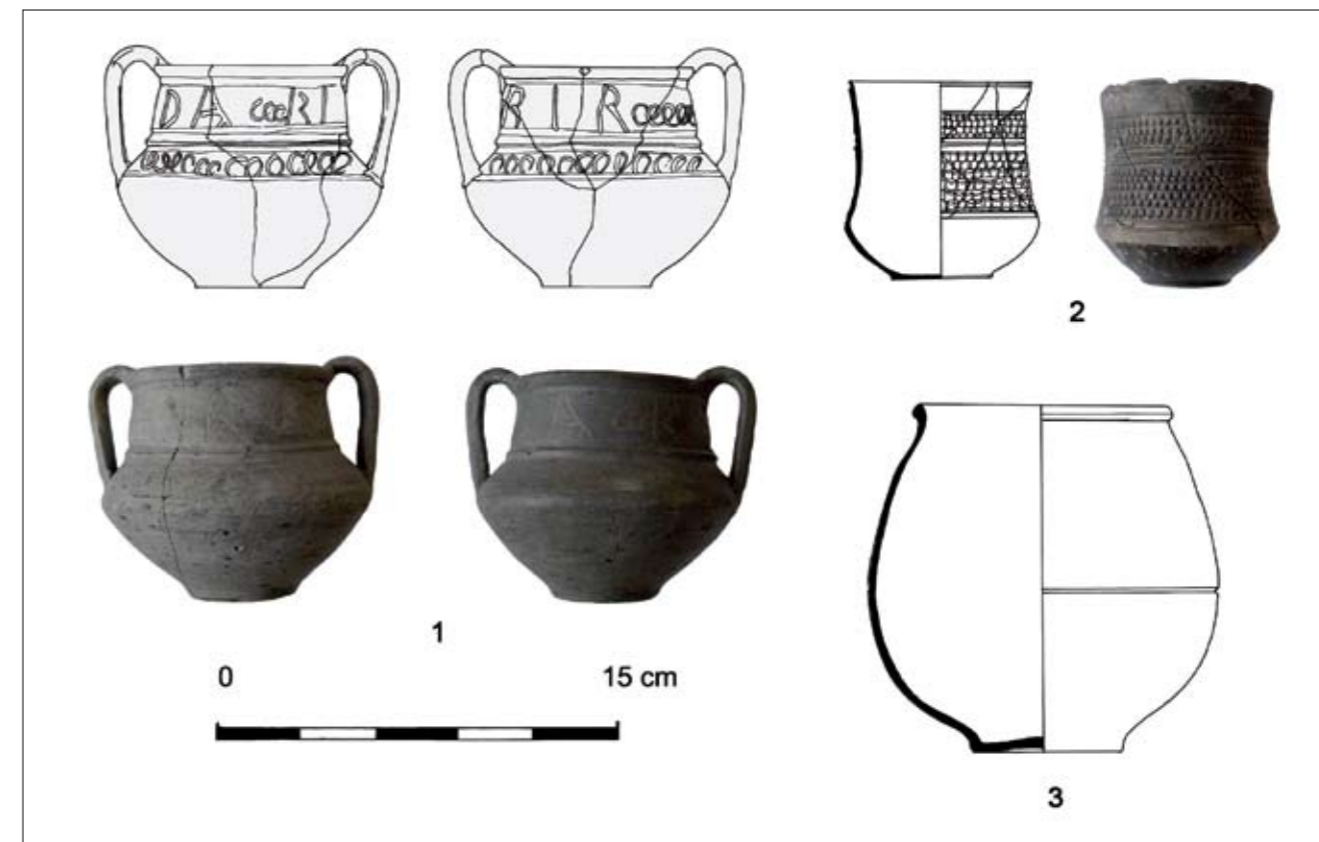


Fig. 14. Cserszegtomaj-Dobogóhill (Zala County, H), early Roman cemetery. Grave no. 12 (after SZÁNTÓ 1953, drawn by Zs. Mráv)

ON THE PROBLEM OF EARLY MILITARIA FROM LATER GRAVES

Although some graves contained early military equipment and riding gear fittings, these finds definitely cannot be interpreted as the grave goods from first-century 'military' graves due to chronological problems. For instance, a fragmentary open-work saddle plate of Bishop 1988 type 6 was found in 1907 in grave no. VII/11 at Intercisa (Dunaújváros, Fejér County, H)⁹² which can undoubtedly be dated to the third century AD.⁹³ The saddle plate fragment probably ended up in the grave fill accidentally, or it was buried as a mysterious or reused object. The appearance of a first-century junction loop of Bishop 1988 type 2a in a late Roman grave (no. 1357) made from tiles, also at the Intercisa southern cemetery,⁹⁴ can be explained similarly (Fig. 26).⁹⁵

⁹² RADNÓTI 1957, 230, 234 Taf. 47/20 - cf. CSEH-PROHÁSZKA 2007, 542.

⁹³ SÁGI 1957, 572.

⁹⁴ VÁGÓ - BÓNA 1976, 119 grave no. 1357, Taf. 28/1357.

⁹⁵ A trifold pendant from Lauriacum (Lorch/Enns, A) was also found in a late Roman grave: KLOIBER 1957, 88; Taf. 53, 7a-b.

The interpretation of the niello inlaid and silver plated small phalera of Bishop 1988 type 1 from a funerary assemblage in Brigetio (Komárom-Szöny, Komárom-Esztergom County, H)⁹⁶ is not so clear (Fig. 27). The grave can be dated by an intact terra sigillata vessel from Drag. 31, bearing the stamp SEDATI · M, to the period not earlier than the fourth/fifth decades of the second century.⁹⁷ The phalera was buried without its pendant, which was broken down previously. That is why it cannot be used to decide whether the fragmentary phalera was the interred *memorabilia* of a deceased veteran discharged at the beginning of the second century at the latest, or only an object (a thing found?) without any meaning.

⁹⁶ Kuny Domokos Museum, Tata (Komárom-Esztergom County, H), Kállay Collection, inv. no. K621/a-d.

⁹⁷ The terra sigillata vessels of Sedatus were produced at around 130-150 AD: GABLER - MÁRTON 2009, 277.

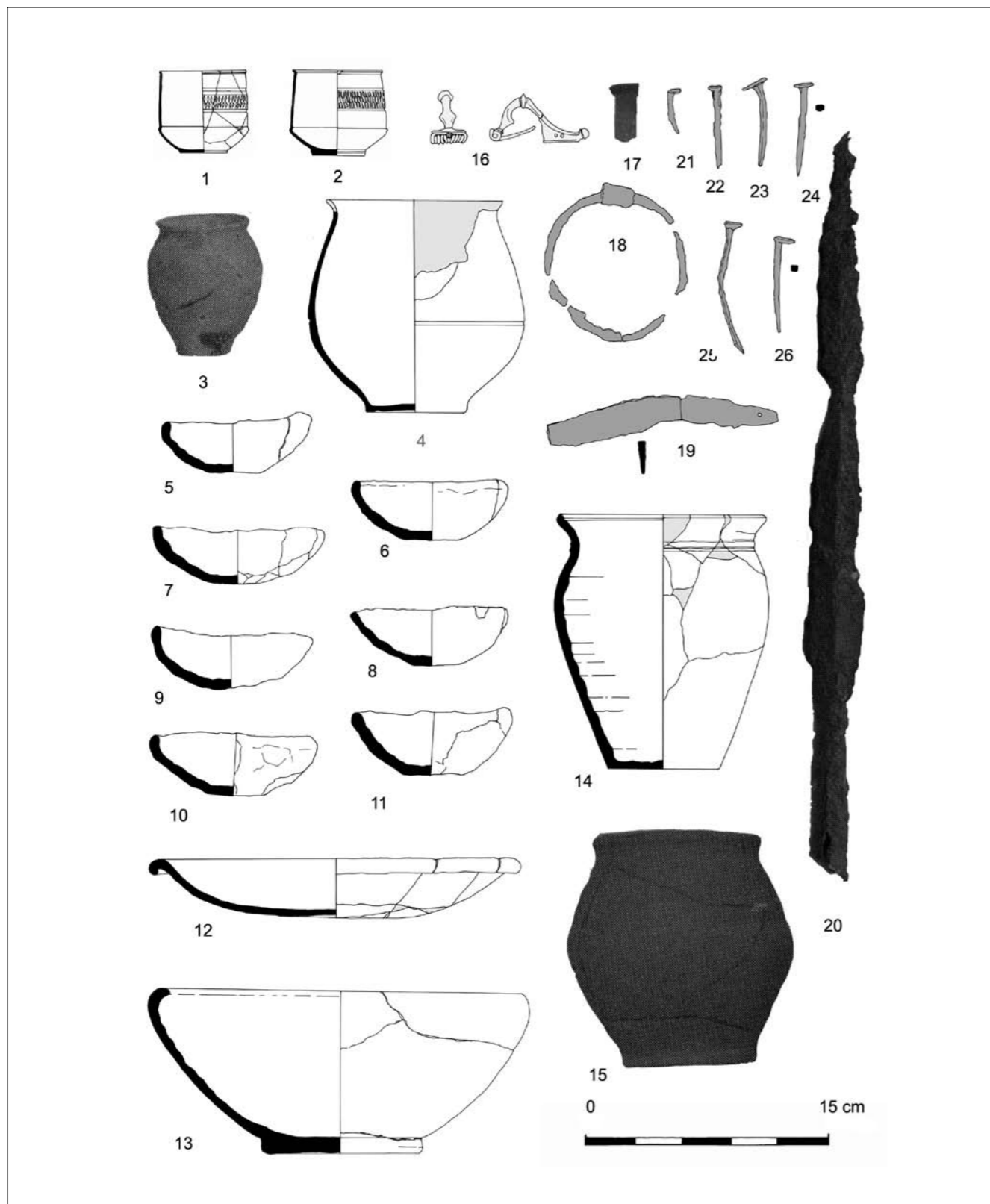


Fig. 15. Cserszegtomaj-Dobogódomb (Zala County, H) early Roman cemetery. Grave 24 (after SZÁNTÓ 1953, drawn by Zs. Mráv)



Fig. 16. Cserszegtomaj-Dobogóhill (Zala County, H). A thin-walled North Italian drinking cup and terra sigillata vessels produced in Po Valley and South Gaulish workshops from an auxiliary soldier's grave (photo J. Kardos)

CONCLUSIONS

Briefly summing up the preliminary results of my contribution, it is obviously clear that the first-century weapon graves of auxiliary soldiers and veterans are relatively rare in North Pannonia. Their small number shows how few early weapon graves from this region were found. The six known grave finds are concentrated in three main regions. No such funerary assemblage has yet been documented from the other part of Northern Pannonia. I have to underline the fact that none of the known finds come from direct military context, i.e. from military cemetery of a castellum or a military station. The weapon graves concerned can be linked to cemeteries in rural settlements in each case. These settlements were often situated in the narrower or wider vicinity of a garrison or in a region of military importance, for instance in the geographical area of the Amber Road. (This is true with regard to the south Pannonian early weapon graves as well.) Although the native cemetery at the periphery of Nagytétény (District XXII, Budapest) lies very close to the auxiliary fort of Campona, located in the centre of Nagytétény,⁹⁸

⁹⁸ For the most recent discussion of the auxiliary fort at Campona with further literature: KOCSIS 2003, 106-108.

a direct connection between the two graves of auxiliaries could not be made because there was a chronological distinction between them.⁹⁹ The graves can be dated at the latest to the early Flavian period, while the Campona auxiliary fort was built 2.5 km farther north of the cemetery around the end of first or beginning of the second century.¹⁰⁰ All this leads us to conclude that the deceased buried with their own weaponry were returning veterans or former soldiers of foreign origin settled in North Pannonia after completing their term of service.

A chronological analysis of the graves in the research region and period indicated that all of them can be dated after the arrival of the Roman army to the area north of the River Drava, i.e., after the fourth/fifth decade of the first century AD. The weapon graves of Sankt Georgen and Katzelsdorf, both from the territory of Scarbantia, are certainly pre-Flavian, like the gravestones of auxiliary soldiers and veterans from the same area (Mattersburg, Walbersdorf, Peresznye).¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ BESZÉDES-SZILAS 2007, 247.

¹⁰⁰ On the date of the first castellum at Campona, see: LŐRINCZ 2001, 26, 68 - cf. GABLER 1997, 90.

¹⁰¹ The tombstones of active and former soldiers from Mattersburg: CIL III 4244; CSIR Österreich Bd. 1/5, 12 Nr. 6; LŐRINCZ 1996, 74; LŐRINCZ 2001, 195 Nr. 123; Peresznye: RIU 215-217 and Walbersdorf: BELLA 1901, 68; CSIR Österreich Bd. 1/5, 13-14 Nr. 9; BELLA 1905, 418; CSIR Österreich Bd. 1/5, 15-16 Nr. 13.

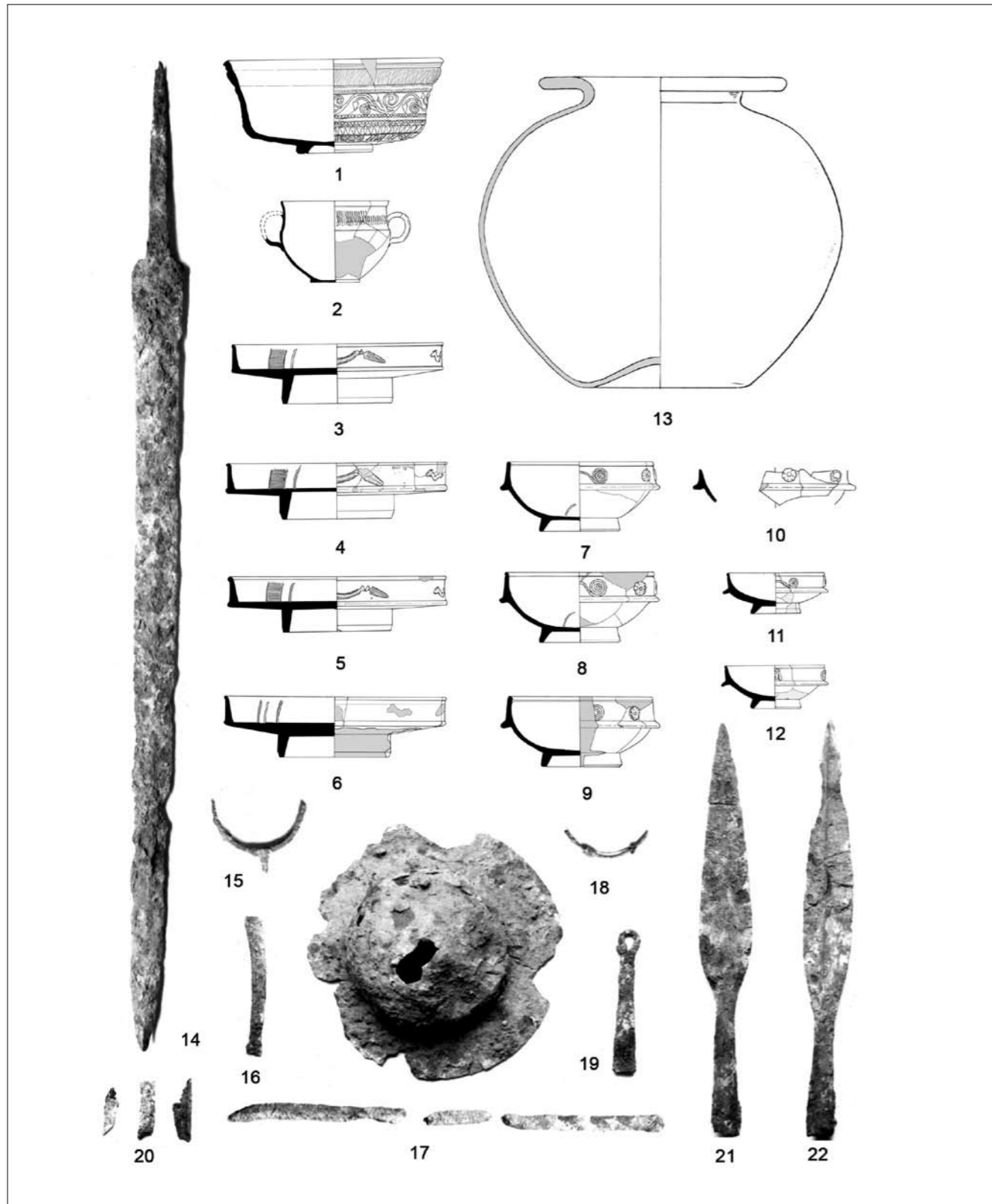


Fig. 17. Cserszegtomaj-Dobogóhill (Zala County, H). Grave goods from the weapon grave of an active or more likely discharged auxiliary cavalryman, third quarter of first century AD (drawing Zs. Mráv)

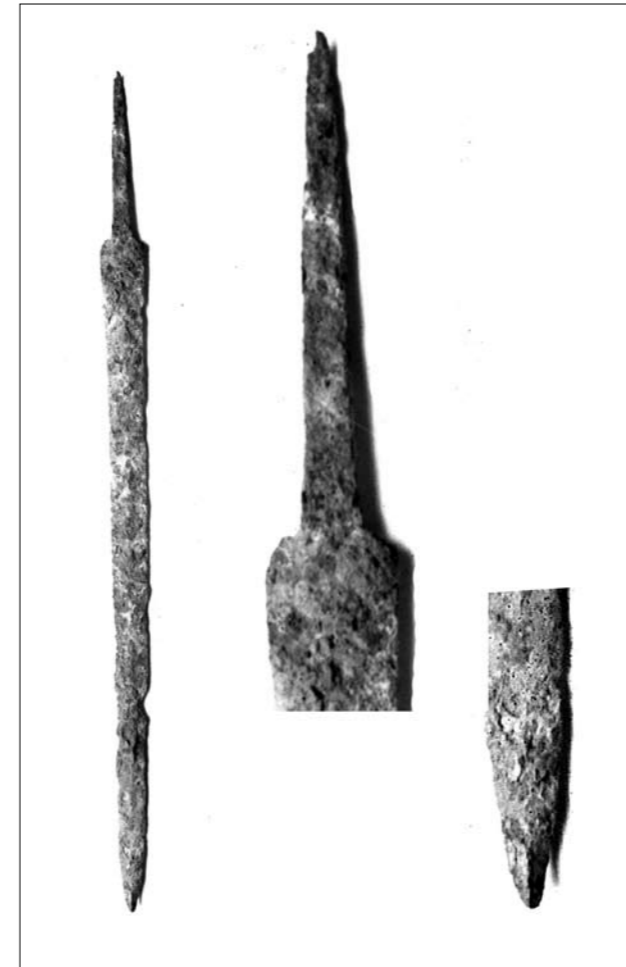


Fig. 18. Semi-spatha from the Cserszegtomaj-Dobogóhill (Zala County, H) grave of an active or more likely discharged auxiliary cavalryman

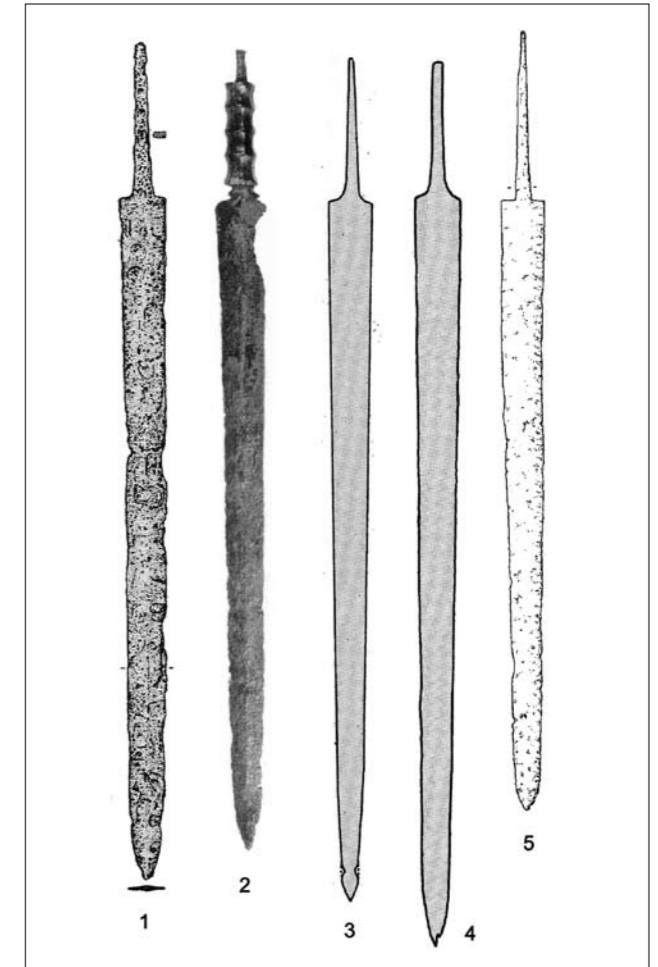


Fig. 19. Analogies to the semi-spatha from the Cserszegtomaj-Dobogóhill (Zala County, H) grave. - 1. *Aquae Helveticae* (Baden, CH), - 2. Alem (Prov. Gelderland, NL), - 3. Kostolna pri Dunaj (Galanta, SK), - 4. Wymysłowo (Woj. Wielkopolskie, PL), - 5. Vinkovci, Vrtna street (Croatia)

The former grave with a Mainz-type *gladius*, possibly together with a Germanic belt buckle from the B1b period (Fig. 22), and the latter with terra sigillata vessels from the workshops of L. Gellius and Romanus, both date to the mid-first century or somewhat earlier (Fig. 24). Moreover, it is likely that the deceased warrior in the Vienna grave was buried in the same period, but in my opinion the weaponry itself allows for a later dating as well. The last burial during the research period would have been the Cserszegtomaj-Dobogóhill grave containing mainly early Flavian imported pottery, among them not only a Po Valley terra sigillata vessel set but a *panna* of form Drag. 29 manufactured in La-Graufesenque. On the basis of this imported material, the grave can be dated to the third quarter of the first century AD.

In contrast to several South Pannonian and Posočje region graves dated mainly to the Augustan period (for instance Idrija pri Bači grave no. 17,¹⁰² Verdun near Stopičah grave no. 1 and 41),¹⁰³ none of the known funerary assemblages north of the River Drava yielded a helmet, which was the most expensive gear component. Among the deposited weapons, two graves (Katzelsdorf, tumulus II and Cserszegtomaj) contained long swords, which obviously means that their owners were cavalry soldiers. The single spur of the Cserszegtomaj grave also supports this view. The gladii were found in Nagytétény (Budapest, District XXII) and Sankt Georgen (Burgenland, A) clearly show that former auxiliary infantry soldiers were buried in these graves. The interred weaponry characteristically consists of native

¹⁰² GUŠTIN 1991, 16, 117-119 Taf. 15-17.

¹⁰³ BREŠČAK 1989, 1, 10; BREŠČAK 1990, 102; BREŠČAK 1995, 18; MRÁV 2006, 51.

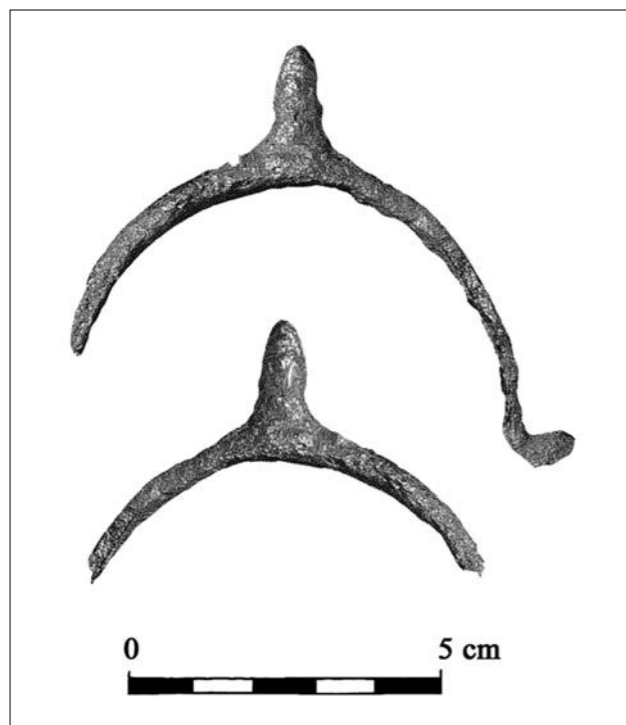


Fig. 20. Two spurs from the first century earth-and-timber auxiliary fort (after Redó 2003, 14 Fig. 16)

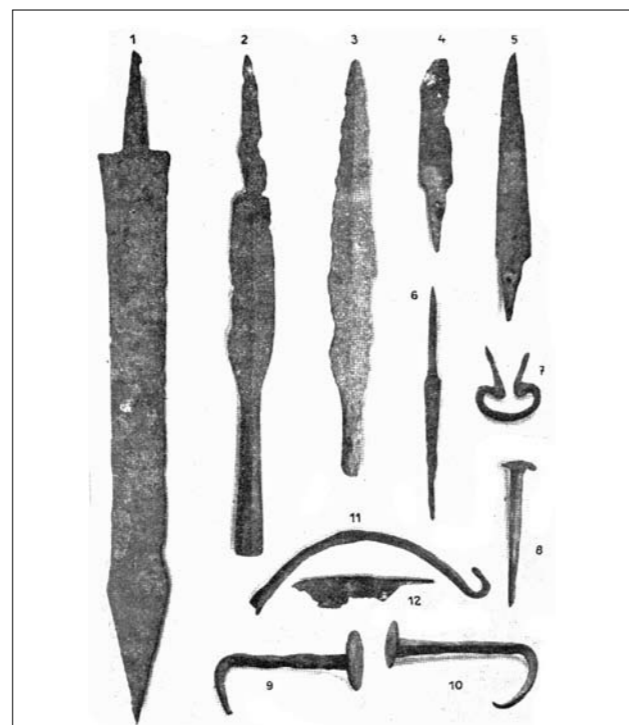


Fig. 22. Sankt Georgen/Lajtaszentgyörgy (Burgenland, A), finds from early imperial weapon graves with a Mainz-type *gladius* (after MITSCHA-MÄRHEIM 1952, 52 Abb. 2)



Fig. 23. Halimba (Veszprém County, H), weapon grave, end of first/beginning of second century AD (after BÓNIS 1960, Taf. XVIII)



Fig. 21. Csopak-Kökoporsódomb (Veszprém County, H), weapon grave, first decades of the second century AD (after MRÁV in press)

weapons or imitations of Roman examples. The only exception is the Mainz-type sword from the Sankt Georgen assemblage which can be identified as a Roman *gladius*. The most interesting item is the atypical Cserszegtomaj sword representing a semi-spatha of new type. This medium long sword is a combination of a *gladius* and an early *spatha* of Staubing-Nyda type. Three graves yielded shield-bosses that can be classified as a native conical domed type. In a few instances it is apparent that the two buried spear(head)s formed a set which was a combination of a Roman and a native spear (Cserszegtomaj-Dobogóhill; Vienna, Hohlweggasse).

The person buried in the grave containing a bent sword and a dented shield boss at Nagytétény (Budapest, District XXII) (feature no. 666 - Fig. 6) must have been

a soldier of foreign origin, because the deposition of weapons and the damaged grave goods were unusual among the local Eraviscan burials in the first century and later. The possibility that he was a soldier of west or south Pannonian origin cannot be discounted either, as the ritual destruction of weapons was widespread there. Bent and broken items among the interred weapons were also common in the Rhine region. Evidently, the decedent in the funerary enclosure with stelae in the same cemetery (Fig. 7) was most likely an auxiliary of local origin because the horse burial, the lack of any deposited weapons, the intact, secondary grave goods¹⁰⁴ as well as the relief stele representing a servant-girl in local native costume¹⁰⁵ are characteristic of the Eraviscans. The deceased in grave 2 under the Katzelsdorf tumulus II would have been a soldier

¹⁰⁴ ALFÖLDY 1959-1960, 6-7.

¹⁰⁵ BESZÉDES-SZILAS 2007, 242 Fig. 10.

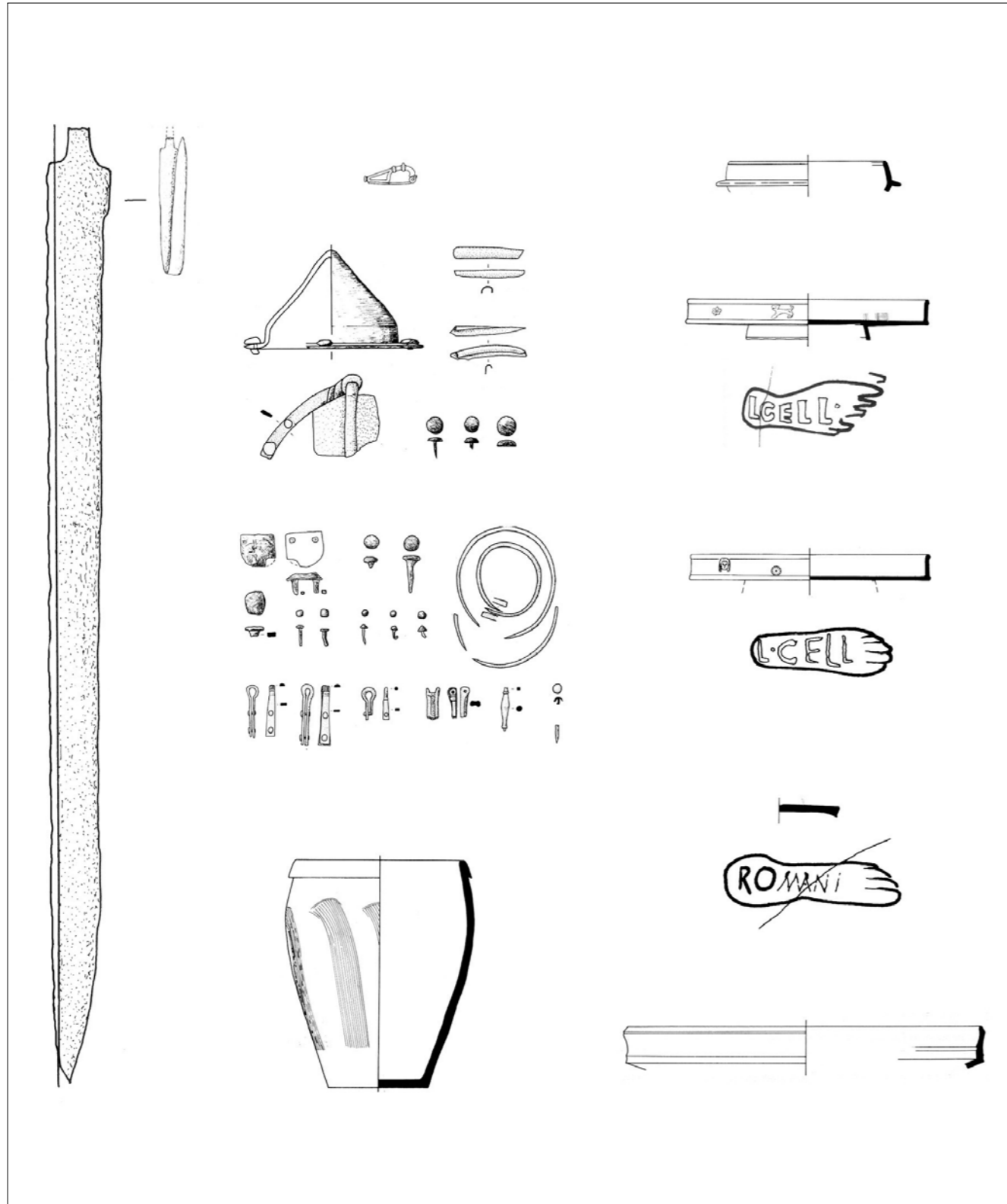


Fig. 24. Katzelsdorf (Niederösterreich, A). Weapon grave of an auxiliary cavalryman, second quarter of the first century AD (after URBAN 1984 and MRÁV 2006, 52 Fig. 16)

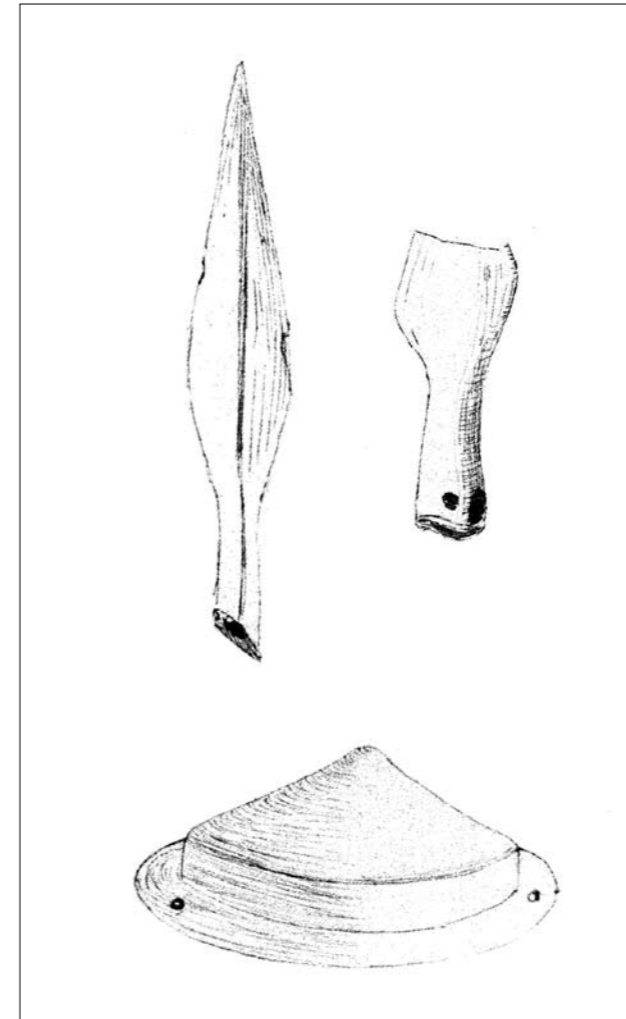


Fig. 25. Vindobona (Vienna, Third District, Hohlweggasse 15). Weapons from a tumulus grave of an auxiliary veteran, which contained a human and horse skeleton as well (after DONAT-PICHLER-SEDL-MAYER 2002, 86 Fig. 7)

or most likely a returning veteran of local Boian origin, who was buried according to their own native traditions under a barrow.

Discharged soldiers who settled in the border provinces as Roman citizens became loyal supporters of Roman rule and the most important mediators of Roman culture. They formed the wealthy middle class of the local society and they emerged from their native communities not only as Roman citizens, but also by means of their veteran privileges. The most spectacular symbols of their distinguished status were their own former weaponry and military equipment retained as memorabilia. In the case of some active and former soldiers, these were deposited in their graves.

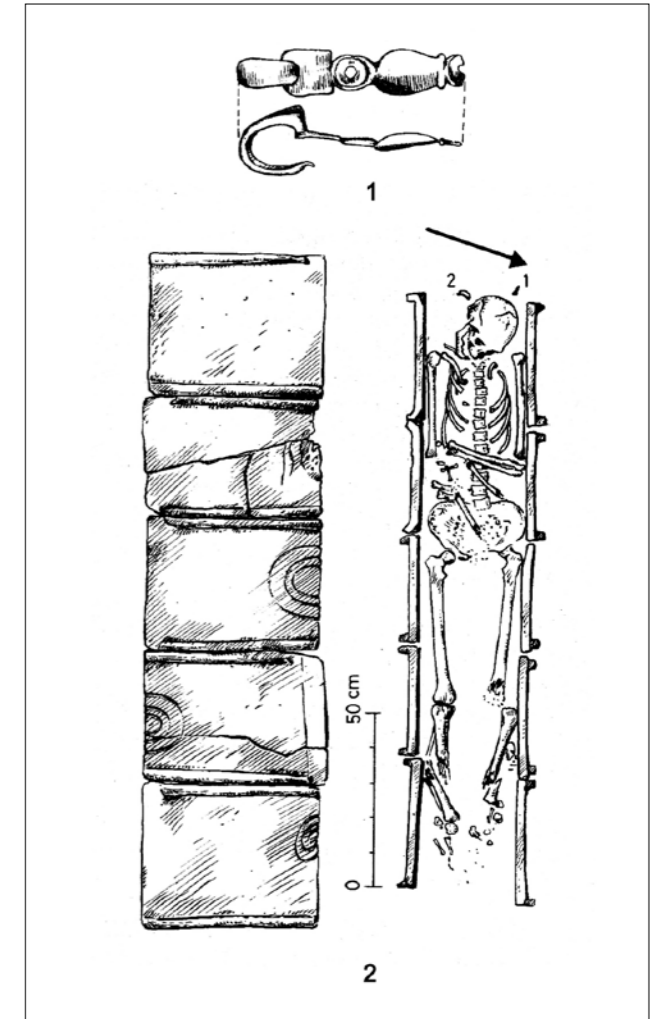


Fig. 26. Intercisa (Dunaújváros, Fejér County, H). First-century junction loop from a late Roman grave, no. 1357 (after VÁGÓ-BÓNA 1976, 119 Abb. 153 and Taf. 28/1357)

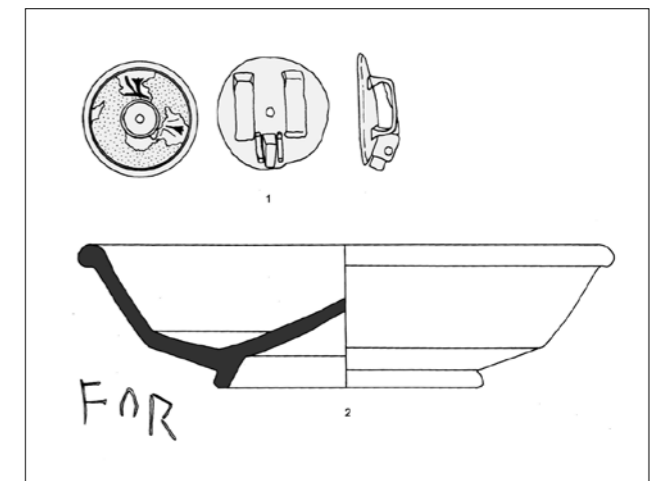


Fig. 27. Brigetio (Komárom-Szöny, Komárom-Esztergom County, H). Inventory of a cremation grave with a niello inlaid phalera, middle decades of the second century AD (Kuny Domokos Museum, Tata, drawing by Zs. Mráv)

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SOLDIER BURIALS WITH WEAPONS AT VIMINACIUM CEMETERY

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INTRODUCTION

Viminacium, a city which later became the capital of Moesia Superior, and the legionary camp of *legio* VII *Claudia* near the city existed for over 400 years in continuity. Systematic research into Viminacium's cemeteries has revealed more than 14,000 graves and facilitated comprehensive analysis of burial customs during Roman period (Fig. 1). Until now not a single part of the entire cemetery could be identified and interpreted as legionary in character, although large areas around the urban zone have been excavated. There was a long-standing burial tradition which included weapons as grave goods. The pre-Roman population consisted of the Celtic Scordisci tribe, whose weapons-related customs were confirmed in a number of graves discovered at the Pećine site. During the Migration Period, Germanic tribes brought rites which included placing weapons in graves.

Archaeologists generally agree that placing weapons in graves was not a common practice although some exceptions exist throughout the imperial period (Bishop-Coulston 2006, 33-34). These examples are found both in Roman and Romanized contexts, and can also be found in regions under Roman influence.

Legionary soldiers (predominantly members of *legio* VII *Claudia* and *legio* IV *Flavia*) left numerous traces in all segments of life as a part of the active population. The practice of burials without weapons was generally respected, except in several cases which could be interpreted as soldiers' graves with weapons as burial inventory. Among the thousands of excavated graves this small number is almost insignificant.

Generally, most of the graves interpreted as being those of soldiers have belts as their inventory.¹ Some are interpreted as soldiers based on fibulae or certain other finds. Therefore, we can accept that weapons were not placed in graves as a common burial custom.

WEAPONS INVENTORY IN GRAVES

Daggers, spears and arrowheads account for the highest number of weapon finds. Knife and dagger finds are discussed in the paper by M. Korać and S. Golubović (in this same volume). Overall, arrowheads are the most common weapon finds in graves at Viminacium. Some graves with arrowheads, when observed in their full context with other finds, were excluded, especially if they were women's graves. The reason for this