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NOUVELLE SÉRIE

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INSTITUT D'ARCHÉOLOGIE « VASILE PÂRVAN »

D A C I A

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ET D'HISTOIRE ANCIENNE

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ROMAN NOSTALGIAS IN NEAR BARBARICUM

FLORIN CURTA*, ANDREI GÂNDILĂ**

Lui Radu Harhoiu, cu aleasă prețuire

Keywords: Barbaricum, nostalgia, chronotope, Jordanes, Procopius, coins, fibulae, funerary archaeology

Abstract: This paper is a contribution to the understanding of the perception of time in the early Middle Ages (6th-7th centuries) through the analysis of an archaeological phenomenon: the “recycling” of artefacts of Roman origin, mainly coins and fibulae. Authors’ analysis shifts the emphasis away from artefacts as simply markers of time to an understanding of artefact symbolism that takes into account the social and cultural context in which their meaning is attached to various notions of temporality. In the 6th century, interest in the Roman past was prevalent among intellectuals like Jordanes and John the Lydian who glorified the Roman golden age, the republican past and the achievements of the “good” emperors. Although Byzantine scholars disagreed on the interpretation of past events, their choices reflected both the concerns of their time as well as their own profound sense of history as a meaningful tool for understanding the present. Outside the circle of the educated elites in Constantinople, no signs of nostalgia may be detected in the archaeological record of the Byzantine Balkans. However, the situation in the western and north-western parts of the Balkan Peninsula that were outside the Empire in the 6th century, as well as in the Middle Danube region, was completely different. The archaeological evidence in Near Barbaricum leaves no doubt that the glory of Rome was worth commemorating. A Roman chronotope is likely to have been present in those communities, perhaps embedded in stories or myths associated with the Roman objects. There is a remarkable correspondence between the choices made by the authors writing in the 6th century and those “barbarians” who buried their dead with Roman coins. The same emperors seem to have captured people’s imagination, although perhaps for different reasons. Coins deposited in graves were clearly selected and historical memory was an important criterion. Since most of these ancient objects were found inside or in the proximity of old Roman settlements, it is likely that the Roman objects deposited in early medieval graves were procured locally, through accidental or intentional digging in Roman ruins. As far as coins are concerned, in most cases the main object of attention was the imperial portrait, either the selection of a particular emperor or the idea of empire in general. Some of the coins were kept in monetary form, while others were turned into pieces of jewellery, usually pendants. They served as public reminders of the Roman past just as fibulae were a reminder of old Roman fashion. The authors conclude that

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people in Near Barbaricum looked back nostalgically upon the Roman past as the great age of the Empire and wanted to associate themselves symbolically with that time.

Cuvinte-cheie: Barbaricum, nostalgie, cronotop, Iordanes, Procopius, monede, fibule, arheologie funerară

Rezumat: Această lucrare își propune să contribuie la o mai bună cunoaștere a concepției de timp în evul mediu timpuriu (sec. VI-VII), prin intermediul analizei unui fenomen arheologic: „reciclarea” artefactelor de origine romană, cu precădere monede și fibule. Analiza autorilor merge mai departe de simpla evidențiere a obiectelor ca jaloane temporale, cu intenția de a reliefa simbolismul artefactelor, precum și al contextului social și cultural care a permis asocierea lor cu diferite noțiuni de temporalitate. În secolul al VI-lea, studiul trecutului roman a devenit o preocupare de căpătâi în rândurile intelectualilor bizantini, precum Iordanes sau Ioannes Lydos, care au glorificat epoca de aur a Romei antice, trecutul republican și realizările marilor împărați romani. Deși autorii bizantini oferă uneori interpretări contradictorii ale evenimentelor din trecutul îndepărtat, alegerile lor reflectă atât condițiile societății în care trăiau, precum și o înțelegere profundă a istoriei ca unealtă pentru evaluarea prezentului. În afara cercului de învățați din Constantinopol, mărturiile arheologice din provinciile balcanice ale Imperiului Bizantin nu par să indice niciun semn de nostalgie a Romei antice. Cu toate acestea, în regiunile de dincolo de frontiera imperiului, în zona vest și nord-vest balcanică, precum și în regiunea Dunării Mijlocii, situația apare complet diferită. Descoperirile arheologice din „Barbaricum Apropiat” indică fără echivoc faptul că gloria Romei antice constituia un subiect de comemorare. Un „cronotop” roman pare să se fi dezvoltat în aceste comunități, probabil susținut de povești și mituri orale legate de cultura materială a Romei antice. Analiza autorilor relevă o serie de asocieri remarcabile între preocupările intelectualilor bizantini și cele ale barbarilor, care își îngropau morții împreună cu fibule și monede romane. În ambele cazuri pare să existe o afinitate pentru aceeași împărați romani. Monedele depuse în morminte făcuseră obiectul unei selecții prealabile, un criteriu important fiind memoria istorică. De vreme ce majoritatea obiectelor au fost descoperite fie în interiorul, fie în proximitatea unor foste așezări romane, putem sugera că au fost procurate local, prin intermediul unor descoperiri accidentale sau prin căutări deliberate printre ruinele romane. În ceea ce privește monedele, în majoritatea cazurilor criteriul principal pare să fi fost fie portretul imperial, fie asocierea cu un împărat anume sau cu Roma imperială, la modul generic. Uneori monedele au fost păstrate sub forma originală, în vreme ce în alte cazuri au fost alterate pentru a servi pe post de pendentiv și obiect de podoabă. Ele constituiau un exercițiu deliberat de memorie, așa cum fibulele reprezentau o comemorare a modei curente în epoca romană. În concluzie, studiul demonstrează că populațiile din „Barbaricum Apropiat” au dezvoltat o atitudine nostalgică față de trecutul roman, pe care îl priveau ca pe o epocă de aur a imperiului, dorind în același timp să se asocieze în mod simbolic cu un astfel de trecut glorios.

At first glance, any attempt to describe Roman nostalgia in the barbarian world may seem like a double contradiction in terms. How could barbarians remember Rome? And how could someone have a longing memory of something that did not happen within one's own lifetime? However, as Pierre Nora put it with smart jocosity, what was once daily life and lived memory is on its way to becoming a historical object. *Lieux de mémoire* “exist because there are no longer any *milieux de mémoire*, settings in which memory is a real part of everyday experience”¹. *Romanitas* was definitely not an everyday experience in the early Middle Ages. But as Celia Chazelle has noted, the “romanizing traditions” of the early Middle Ages were less about quasi-linear, continuous transmission of text, objects, and ideas from Antiquity, and more about “disparate *imaginings* of

¹ Nora 1997, p. 6-7.

Rome”². “Rome in the mind”, to employ Mayke de Jong’s *bon mot*, has not yet drawn the attention of archaeologists working on early medieval Europe, who, like contemporary historians, are more preoccupied with questions of continuity³.

Although history is deeply implicated with temporality, most historians and archaeologists attempt to reduce time to an external calibration of events and processes. In such views, time is an attribute of nature, despite the growing awareness that different communities around the world or in the distant past have different understandings of time. The separation between past and present is the most problematic for understanding the cultural construction of time⁴. In this respect, this paper is a contribution to the understanding of the “subjective” perception of time in the past through the analysis of an archaeological phenomenon – the “recycling” of artefacts of Roman origin – that raises questions about how time depth was perceived and represented in the early Middle Ages⁵. From a practical point of view, our paper shifts the emphasis away from artefacts as simply markers of time to an understanding of artefact symbolism that takes into account the social and cultural context in which their meaning is attached to various notions of temporality⁶.

Archaeologists dealing with the early Middle Ages have so far rarely accounted for the phenomenon of hoarding “old” objects. Even fewer are the attempts to explain such behaviour, and to link it to aspects of “time contraction” known from contemporary written sources. From a broader, theoretical point of view, the key contribution intended for this paper is related to the recent debate surrounding the concept of “time perspectivism” and its relevance for a discussion of how social life is constructed through material means⁷. Material objects in the (ancient) past, continued to exist into the (medieval) present, and may thus have been used to call the past to mind. The memory of past events conveyed by “old” artefacts of Roman origin, however interpreted, is a subfield almost completely neglected by recent studies of medieval memory. To the extent that they served for commemoration and formal re-enactment, the Roman memorabilia of the early Middle Ages are an important aspect of social memory.

Commemoration involves *commemorabilia*, objects which index or bring to the present past objects, persons, or events to be remembered⁸. Materiality is central to remembering (and forgetting), because it evokes experience. The recycling and reincorporation of past objects into the present “have the ability to materialize time as co-existence rather than succession and linearity, in other words as multi-temporality”⁹. When dealing with the use of “the past in the past” archaeologists have commonly treated old objects as heirlooms, when not explaining them as residual and “background noise” for archaeological chronologies¹⁰. Heirlooms are thus

² Chazelle 2007, p. 83 (original emphasis).

³ de Jong 2001, p. 138. For the preoccupation with continuity as the driving force behind the only systematic study of Roman objects in Anglo-Saxon graves, see Eckardt, Williams 2003, p. 147 and 155-156.

⁴ Thomas 1996; Olivier 2008.

⁵ For the notion of “recycling” Roman artefacts in early medieval contexts, see Pion 2009-2010; Gândilă 2018, p. 278.

⁶ Murray 1999.

⁷ Appadurai 1981; Bailey 1983. For an update and a brief intellectual history of the concept, see Bailey 2008.

⁸ Jones 2007, p. 45.

⁹ Hamilakis 2010, p. 189 and 193. Yannis Hamilakis insists that the material fragments of another time enact the past as immanent in relation to the present, not something separate from it.

¹⁰ Van Dyke, Alcock 2003, p. 1.

defined as objects curated for multiple generations before entering the archaeological record¹¹. To explain why “people keep antiques”, processual archaeologists developed the so-called “heirloom hypothesis”¹². More recent approaches have drawn inspiration from the theoretical framework of object biographies that was introduced by Arjun Appadurai and Igor Kopytoff¹³. Because they are inherited by kin for a number of generations, either before or after the death of the original owner, heirlooms are neither destroyed nor taken out of circulation (*i.e.* buried). And because they are meant to work as mnemonics to remind the living of their link(s) to a distant, ancestral past, heirlooms have become a key concept for archaeologists interested in the political manipulation of the past, especially in chiefdoms¹⁴. Using Marcel Mauss’s notion of the “spirit of the gift”, Annette Weiner approached the topic in the context of exchange. As inalienable goods, heirlooms are “kept-while-given” and therefore have the power to define who one is in a historical sense: heirlooms serve a mnemonic function, as they bring past time into the present¹⁵.

While some artefacts develop mnemonic significance because of their antiquity in relation to one’s identity, or because of the exotic and prestigious associations of the far-away places from which they have been brought, this could hardly apply to Roman objects. The object biography approach cannot explain the deposition of Roman objects, particularly coins in (early) medieval burials¹⁶. Why then were Roman objects deposited in graves during the 6th and 7th centuries? Some believe that it was precisely the lack of a known and remembered history that made those objects perfect memorabilia¹⁷. If so, then objects of pre-Roman (prehistoric) age should benefit from the same degree of attention. In fact, quite the opposite is true. About three quarters of all “old” objects found in Merovingian cemeteries dated between 500/525 and ca. 625 are Roman, and only a few may be dated to the Neolithic or Iron Age¹⁸. The selection of Roman objects requires an explanation, whether or not one accepts the idea that, once selected, those objects became amulets

¹¹ Lillios 1999, p. 239.

¹² Hurst Thomas 1976, p. 128; Gilchrist 2013, p. 170.

¹³ Appadurai 1986; Kopytoff 1986.

¹⁴ Lillios 1999, p. 236 notes that because not all the living have equal access to that ancestral past, “the possession, display, and transmission of heirlooms also differentiates the living and help reify inherited social differences”.

¹⁵ Weiner 1985, p. 210; Weiner 1992. Williams 2006, p. 41 notes that when deposited in graves objects may invoke a social identity that was never achieved in lifetime, but it is still attributed to the deceased, as in the case of weapons deposited in graves of infants and children, who could not have possibly wielded them during lifetime.

¹⁶ Ćirić 2013, p. 107-119. For Roman coins in early medieval hoards see Bogucki, Dymowski, Śnieżko 2017, p. 276-281. Equally problematic is the use of the object biography approach for the deposition of Roman pottery in Avar-age graves; see Kreković 2012, p. 90. For a special case of deposition of a fragment of a votive altar in a 6th-century grave in Slovakia, see Mathédesz 2018, esp. p. 17. For the interpretation of ancient objects found in Avar-age burials, see also Rustoiu 2015; Rapan Papeša 2020.

¹⁷ In that respect, according to Williams 2006, p. 40, Roman objects from early medieval graves were discovered, not curated. According to Eckardt, Williams 2003, p. 149 and 159, Roman coins were found either through accidental or through intentional digging (within and around still visible Roman ruins). The latter often resulted in the finding of individual specimens, as well as hoards.

¹⁸ Mehling 1999, p. 24. The proportions are in an even starker contrast when one examines individual categories of artefacts. For example, out of 87 fibulae found in Merovingian graves, only ten are of an Iron-Age date. Only two pendants are prehistoric, as opposed to 12 that are Roman. There are eight Celtic, but 451 Roman coins (Mehling 1999, p. 25-26). As Kurasiński, Skóra 2020, p. 306 and 312, have recently noted, those observations are equally true for early medieval burial and settlement finds of “archaica” from East Central Europe.

or played some other kind of apotropaic function¹⁹. Moreover, that only certain types of Roman fibulae and only Roman coins of a certain age were selected, while others do not appear at all, despite their relative availability, raises very interesting questions about how was Roman history perceived in much later centuries²⁰. Time contraction has been, if often indirectly, the main theme of archaeological studies of heirlooms, especially those adopting the object biography approach. Archaeologists have so far paid less attention to time (if not historical) consciousness in the past. Temporal perceptions of near and distant time are not related to strict chronology but are in fact cultural constructs and may indeed be part of a deeper understanding of social memory²¹. While much has been written recently on Roman identity in Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages, only a few studies have focused on the perception of Rome and of Roman history in Byzantium, particularly during the early period²². They provide, at least, a glimpse into the mechanisms responsible for the Roman chronotope in the 6th century²³. Such an interest dissipated after ca. 600, and is certainly not as visible in the 5th century. While the reasons for the emergence of the Roman chronotope during the century of Justinian are still unclear, there has been no attempt to link that phenomenon to the equally puzzling interest in things Roman on the other side of the frontier, in Barbaricum. The coincidence in time of those two phenomena has never been explored, much less explained. In this paper, we offer the results of a reconnaissance mission through that foreign territory, in an attempt to suggest the existence of a deep-rooted nostalgia for the Roman past which characterizes the world of Late Antiquity, particularly the 6th century. We will first explore the learned construction of Roman history in the works of four authors (Jordanes, Procopius of Caesarea, John the Lydian, and John Malalas), in an attempt to identify patterns of interpreting the Roman chronotope. We will then turn to the analysis of two categories of Roman artefacts present in burial assemblages in “Near Barbaricum”, the territories in East Central and Eastern Europe, which were in the immediate vicinity of the Empire during the 6th century²⁴. There are two main reasons for selecting coins and fibulae for this analysis, despite the much larger variety of Roman goods available to people outside the Empire²⁵. First, those are the Roman artefacts most

¹⁹ White 1991, p. 140. For Roman rock-crystal finger-rings “recycled” as amulet-pendants, see Quast 2017, p. 7-9. Judging from the evidence discussed in this paper, we cannot accept the argument of Gilchrist 2012, p. 247, according to which “antique items placed in medieval graves were not valued for their temporal and biographical associations, but rather for their connection to the natural world”.

²⁰ This neatly corresponds to Almut Mehling’s third group of “archaica” collected and deposited with an awareness of their old origin (Mehling 1999, p. 87). The choice of Roman artefacts of a certain age contradicts the idea that knowledge of the actual history of “archaica” did not “reach beyond the circumstances of their acquisition” (Bogucki, Dymowski, Śnieżko 2017, p. 344).

²¹ Lucas 2005, p. 51.

²² Kaldellis 2007. For Roman identity in Byzantium, see Stouraitis 2014. For Roman identity in the 6th century, see Greatrex 2000; Moore 2018. For Roman identity in the following centuries, see Whalin 2020.

²³ A term of literary theory introduced in the 1930s by Mikhail Bakhtin (1895-1975), chronotopes may be defined as social constructions of time. As such, the term “chronotope” has typically been used by historians of ancient literature. *E.g.* Banta 2007; Beaton 2008; Seaford 2012. Historians and archaeologists not influenced (at least directly) by Bakhtin’s idea have favoured the term “chronotype”, but with the same meaning. See the studies collected in Bender, Wellbery 1991; Lucas 2005, p. 55. There are recent signs that some archaeologists may eventually adopt the term “chronotope”. *E.g.* Roddick 2018.

²⁴ Sarantis 2016.

²⁵ For Roman goods in Barbaricum, see Teodor 2000; Quast 2001; Droberjar 2012; Gândilă 2018, p. 33-100; Quast 2019. All those studies take a functionalist approach to the problem, with little, if any consideration for the significance of those objects in the Roman culture and its adaptation and transformation in the new environment.

frequently found not only on burial, but also on settlement sites²⁶. Second, their intrinsic qualities associated with stylistic changes taking place at relatively short intervals make coins and fibulae the artefacts with the greatest chronological resolution. It is much easier therefore to look for patterns: did people collect more coins of, say, Emperor Trajan than of Emperor Aurelian? Were 1st-century Roman fibulae preferred to those of the 3rd century, and if so, why? Before raising the issue of how such artefacts were obtained in the 6th and 7th centuries, a matter of archaeological context, if not landscape palimpsest, the artefacts themselves can reveal a great deal of information. Patterns of collection strongly suggest that such artefacts were curated, and not simply “discovered” during accidental digging in the area. We will discuss the results of the analysis of coins and fibulae in terms of their deposition in burials, their relations to gender and age categories, the position in relation to the body and, finally, the associated grave goods. Bringing all those separate strings together, the conclusion will then make the case of material culture being used for the construction of nostalgic projections in the past in a manner strikingly similar to the selective use of Roman history by the main authors writing in the 6th century.

EARLY ROMAN HISTORY IN 6TH-CENTURY WRITTEN SOURCES

There was a great deal of interest in Roman history and the Roman past among the members of the educated elite in 6th-century Constantinople²⁷. Both Jordanes and Peter the Patrician wrote works entitled *Roman History*. Little is known about Peter’s work, only fragments of which survive in the 10th-century Constantinian *Excerpta*²⁸. However, judging from that evidence, the history of Rome that Peter wrote in the form of annals began with the Second Triumvirate and ended with the reign of Constantius II²⁹.

Jordanes started with the seven kings and ended with Justinian. His was a breviary with all the trappings of a chronicle, even though the narrative is based on a succession of emperors, and not on a year-by-year chronology. Jordanes had a remarkable sense of the depth of history, for he knew, for example, that there were 458 years between Tarquinius Superbus and Octavian Augustus³⁰. Although not marking the traditional division between the Republican and the imperial phases of Roman history, Jordanes nonetheless saw Augustus, “after whom the later princes were called

²⁶ For an (early) Roman fibula from a 6th- to 7th-century settlement site, see Horedt 1979, p. 98. For a bronze coin struck for Nerva and found on a 6th-century settlement site, see Roman, Ferche 1978, p. 80. For another bronze coin struck for Trajan and found on a 6th- to 7th-century settlement site, see Ciupercă, Măgureanu 2010, p. 155-156. For a pierced *antonianus* struck for Hadrian and found in the filling of a 6th- to 7th-century sunken-floored building, see Vakulenko, Prihodnjuk 1984, p. 81. For an unidentified bronze coin, possibly of a 4th-century date, found on a late 5th- and the 6th-century settlement, see Gaiu 2002, p. 115. There is even a rare find of a Getic silver coin from a 6th-century settlement site, for which see Vintilă, Gavrilă, Ignat 2014, p. 106.

²⁷ Cameron 2009, p. 28.

²⁸ The fragments of Peter’s history have been published by Banchich 2015.

²⁹ Antonopoulos 1990, p. 161-195; See also Martolini 2010a; Mecella 2018. For Peter’s coverage of Aurelian’s reign, see Martolini 2010b.

³⁰ Jordanes, *Romana*, 112 (transl. van Nuffelen, van Hoof 2020, p. 133), where the number of consuls for the Republican phase of Roman history is given as well (916). Even though Jordanes was wrong in calculating the number of years for the Republican phase of Roman history, his awareness of time depth is worth noting. John Lydus, *On Powers*, I, 2 (ed. and transl. Bandy 1983, p. 11) advances a slightly different number of years for the Republican phase of Roman history – 465 – and indicates the error of others who claim that there were only 66.

Augustus”, as the first emperor³¹. Moreover, he set in contrast the history of the Empire and that of the Republic – no emperor could surpass the valour on display in the Republican times. The Republic operates in fact as a period of glory and expansion bracketed by two eras of combined reforms and decline – the kings before, and the emperors after the Republic³². The kings are often raised to power through personal merits – Numa Pompilius “because of the fame of the man in religious matters”, Tarquinius Priscus “because of his diligence and refinement”, and Numa Pompilius “out of respect for his virtue”³³. Each king is responsible for some crucial reform or organization of the Roman people and state. Numa brought religion, Servius Tullius the military organization³⁴. Conversely, despite being kings, Ancius Marcius was “a man of perverse character”, while Tarquinius was “given the surname Superbus (‘the Proud’) because of his behaviour”³⁵. Each virtue serves Roman history: Romulus “was needed to claim kingship”, Numa “to soften a fierce people with fear of the gods”, and Tullius to sharpen “their valour with organization”. Even the “disgraceful domination” of Tarquinius Superbus had a purpose, namely to stir in the Roman people a desire for freedom³⁶.

Aware that “noting down the names and deeds of all consuls” would be “long-winded” to the reader, Jordanes offers a summary of Republican history, the essence of which is that “knowing that they were elevated above the people” for only one year, the consuls “behaved towards the others in the same way as they desired that these would later behave towards them”³⁷. There is no transition to the Empire, as Jordanes simply notes that Augustus, who “was surpassed by no emperor in military success or moderation in times of peace”, was “most citizen-like in all things”, thus approaching the ideal behaviour of the consuls presented at the beginning of the Republican section of the Roman history³⁸. Trajan was “more ably than almost all emperors”³⁹. Philip the Arab is “the first of all emperors to become Christian”, while Julian the Apostate, although converting “to the cult of the idols”, was nonetheless “excellent and necessary for the Republic”⁴⁰. Similarly, Theodosius is described as “an exceptional defender of the state... gifted with divine help”⁴¹. By contrast, Domitian was the “first of all emperors to order that he be called lord” and to make silver and gold statues of himself⁴². Justinian is not characterized, but anyone desiring to know about his reign (and Jordanes’s own lifetime) “will find that the state in our times offers a sad spectacle”⁴³.

³¹ Jordanes, *Romana*, 85, p. 124-125.

³² To Jordanes, the era of the seven kings was “the first age of the Roman people, its infancy as it were” (*Romana*, 108, p. 132).

³³ Jordanes, *Romana*, 95, 96 and 99, p. 128 and 129.

³⁴ Jordanes, *Romana*, 109, p. 132.

³⁵ Jordanes, *Romana*, 103, p. 131.

³⁶ Jordanes, *Romana*, 109-110, p. 132. This passage is based on Florus’s *Epitome of Livy*, a breviary written in the 2nd century.

³⁷ Jordanes, *Romana*, 111 and 114, p. 133.

³⁸ Jordanes, *Romana*, 255, p. 176.

³⁹ Jordanes, *Romana*, 267, p. 179.

⁴⁰ Jordanes, *Romana*, 283 and 304, p. 184 and 188-189. “Excellent” was also Valentinian, who is the only emperor that Jordanes compares with another (Aurelian); see *Romana*, 307, p. 189.

⁴¹ Jordanes, *Romana*, 315 and 317, p. 192.

⁴² Jordanes, *Romana*, 265, p. 178.

⁴³ Jordanes, *Romana*, 388, p. 219.

It may seem that Jordanes was overcome with acute nostalgia for the Republican times, the golden age of the Roman state. He was not alone in that respect. His contemporary John the Lydian seems to have been interested only in Republican history⁴⁴. He knew the names of several consuls (Junius Brutus, Gaius Julius, Regulus and Julius, Lucius Genucius and Quintus Servilius, Publius Valerius Publicola), tribunes (Gaius Licinius, Lucius Albinus), censors (Appius Claudius), and dictators (Aulus Sempronius, Gaius Mamercus, Marcus Aemilius, Publius Cornelius Cossus, Titus Quintius, Titus Marcius)⁴⁵. In fact, there are more names of officials, generals and statesmen of the Republic than of kings and emperors combined. To John the Lydian, Romulus was not the first king, but a tyrant⁴⁶. In a stance remarkably similar to that of Jordanes, John believed that it was contrary to “Roman freedom” to call rulers “despots” rather than kings, since “despot” is how a slave calls his master⁴⁷. It has been noted that the word “freedom” appears in John the Lydian’s work “more often and more emphatically than [with] any other writer of his age”⁴⁸. In every single case the word is employed in reference to the Republic⁴⁹. Like Jordanes, John knew of Caesar and Pompey, as well as of Octavian and Mark Antony⁵⁰. He refused to mention anything about Domitian and Caracalla, because things that have been done “by those who have reigned badly should be despised”⁵¹. In *On Powers*, most other names of emperors are employed as chronological markers (e.g. “from the time of Zeno’s reign”), with no description either of the man or of the rule. Since he laments the passing of “sage antiquity,” John’s Roman chronotope may therefore be seen as nostalgia, much like in Jordanes’s case⁵².

⁴⁴ John Lydus, *On Powers*, I, 2, p. 16-17, where mention is made of Sulla and Marius, but also of Augustus and Tiberius. Marius appears again at I, 48, p. 77. In spite of its title, Maas 1992 has nothing to say about John the Lydian’s knowledge and use of Roman history.

⁴⁵ Junius Brutus: John Lydus, *On Powers*, I, 31, p. 47; I, 32, p. 51; II, 8, p. 95. Gaius Julius: John Lydus, *On Powers*, I, 38, p. 59. Regulus and Julius: John Lydus, *On Powers*, I, 27, p. 43. Lucius Genucius and Quintus Servilius: John Lydus, *On Powers*, I, 46, p. 69. Publius Valerius Publicola: John Lydus, *On Powers*, I, 22, p. 37; I, 33, p. 51. Gaius Licinius and Lucius Albinus: John Lydus, *On Powers*, I, 44, p. 67. Appius Claudius: John Lydus, *On Powers*, I, 43, p. 67. Aulus Sempronius, Gaius Mamercus, Marcus Aemilius, Publius Cornelius Cossus and Titus Quintius: John Lydus, *On Powers*, I, 38, p. 59. Titus Marcius: John Lydus, *On Powers*, I, 37, p. 55; I, 38, p. 57.

⁴⁶ John Lydus, *On Powers*, I, 3, p. 11. John Lydus, *On Powers*, II, 8, p. 95 calls Tarquinius Superbus a tyrant as well; at I, 4, p. 15 all kings are tyrants. For John the Lydian’s favourable view of another Roman king, see Dmitriev 2019. Kaldellis 2012, p. 208, claims that John the Lydian regarded all Roman kings and emperors as tyrants, but that is simply an exaggeration. To be sure, Domitian is called tyrant, in addition to “vainglorious” (*On Powers*, II, 19, p. 113). Kaldellis 2005, p. 15 with note 19, notes that Domitian is also branded a tyrant in John’s other work, *On the Months*. To John the Lydian, Severus Alexander was only a “commander of the Romans” (*On Powers*, III, 70, p. 245) and Justin I, an “inactive man,” who “had no knowledge at all except experience in warfare” (*On Powers*, II, 51, p. 211 and 213). However, none of them is either compared to the kings or called a tyrant. There may be some ambiguity in Justinian being called “the most vigilant of all emperors” (*On Powers*, III, p. 219). But John describes positively both Hadrian and Anastasius as “upright” (*On Powers*, I, 2, p. 11; II, 21, p. 115; III, 53, p. 215). In addition to being “prudent in all matters” (*On Powers*, II, 27, p. 125), Anastasius was “the most clement of all emperors” (*On Powers*, III, 26, p. 173). Trajan is “celebrated” (*On Powers*, II, 28, p. 127). For the image of Trajan in *On Powers*, see González del Campo 2009, p. 61-65.

⁴⁷ John Lydus, *On Powers*, I, 6, p. 17. Early emperors were disgusted at flatterers calling them “despots”.

⁴⁸ Kaldellis 2005, p. 9.

⁴⁹ E.g. John Lydus, *On Powers*, II, 29, p. 45.

⁵⁰ John Lydus, *On Powers*, I, 38, p. 60-61; II, 3, p. 84-87. Caesar is also mentioned at I, 5,1, p. 80-81 and II, 1-2, p. 82-85. For John Lydus’s image of Augustus, see Barry 1995, p. 517-526.

⁵¹ John Lydus, *On Powers*, I, 49, p. 79.

⁵² John Lydus, *On Powers*, III, 11, p. 149.

Others had different opinions on the matter. After defeating the Vandals in 534, Belisarius returned to Constantinople with Gelimer and other high-ranking Vandal prisoners of war. He “was deemed worthy to receive the honours that in former times were assigned to those generals of the Romans who had won the greatest and most noteworthy victories”⁵³. Commenting upon the triumphal entry that Belisarius was given in the Capital, Procopius of Caesarea, the main source that historians have for those events, was aware that nothing like that had happened in six centuries or so, and no triumph was celebrated by anyone “except Titus and Trajan, and other emperors who had led armies against some barbarian nation and had been victorious”⁵⁴. The point of the remark is that the triumph held for Belisarius was very unusual, since non-imperial triumphs were a thing of the past. However, even more remarkable is that, like Jordanes, Procopius accurately assessed the distance in time separating his lifetime from early Roman history⁵⁵. The last non-imperial triumphs before Belisarius were all celebrated by Roman consuls like Lucius Cornelius Balbus, but there is no mention of anything Republican in Procopius’s work⁵⁶. Marius, Sulla and Julius Caesar are conspicuously absent. Augustus appears as friend of Abgar of Edessa, who persuades him to build a hippodrome in that city⁵⁷. Nero is only an example of madness, while Domitian “so impressed the Romans who suffered under him that even after they had chopped his whole body into pieces they felt that they had not satisfied their rage against him”⁵⁸. By contrast, Trajan, who is specifically mentioned in relation to the celebration of imperial triumphs, was an emperor with impetuous character and active temperament who “seemed to be filled with resentment that his realm was not unlimited but was bounded by the Ister River”. As a consequence, he ordered the building of a bridge to go against the barbarians on the other side⁵⁹. To Procopius, Trajan is closely associated with the lands by the river Ister, for elsewhere he is said to have built Turris, “which lies to the north of the river Danube”⁶⁰. Hadrian is noted only because his tomb was outside the Aurelia Gate in Rome, a detail that was important in Procopius’s account of the siege of the city⁶¹. Very few of the later emperors are mentioned at all, but Diocletian gets the greatest coverage. While Trajan is associated with the (Lower) Danube region, Diocletian is mentioned in relation to Egypt. Trajan fights barbarians, Diocletian bribes them. Mentioned specifically as “emperor of the Romans”, he persuades the local barbarians (the Nobatai) to settle along the Nile, promising them cities and land that was “both extensive and incomparably better than that which they had

⁵³ Procopius of Caesarea, *Wars*, IV, 9, 1 (transl. Dewing, rev. Kaldellis 2014, p. 208).

⁵⁴ Procopius of Caesarea, *Wars*, IV, 9, 2, p. 208.

⁵⁵ For historicism as “awareness of long-term and deep historical change”, see Kaldellis 2007, p. 1.

⁵⁶ King Numa gets a mention only in relation to the 12-month Roman calendar (Procopius of Caesarea, *Wars*, V, 24, 31, p. 307).

⁵⁷ Procopius of Caesarea, *Wars*, II, 12, 8-19, p. 98-99. Augustus is also credited with the building of a bridge over the river Nera in Umbria and the settlement of the Thuringians in Gaul (*Wars*, V, 12, 10 and 17, 11, p. 280 and 292).

⁵⁸ Procopius of Caesarea, *Secret History*, I, 9 and VIII, 13-21 (transl. Dewing 1935, p. 6-7 and 94-97). Driven by presentist concerns and wishful thinking about Justinian’s posterity, Procopius adds that Domitian’s name was removed from all inscriptions, and no statue of him was left around, except the one that his wife had made of him being killed.

⁵⁹ Procopius of Caesarea, *Buildings*, IV, 6, 11-14 (transl. Dewing, Downey 1940, p. 270-273). Trajan also built the two forts on either side of the Danube, Pontes in Dacia and Theodora on the opposite bank. For Trajan’s image in the work of Procopius of Caesarea, see González del Campo 2009, p. 58-61.

⁶⁰ Procopius, *Wars*, VII, 14, 32, p. 409. In Lesser Armenia, he elevated the city of Melitene to the rank of provincial metropolis (*Buildings*, III, 4, 17, p. 198-99).

⁶¹ Procopius of Caesarea, *Wars*, V, 22, 12, p. 302.

previously occupied”. He orders the payment of stipends in gold to the Nobatai and the Blemyes, in order to curb their attacks on the Romans, a decision very similar to what Procopius has otherwise to say about Justinian’s dealing with barbarians. In addition, Diocletian decrees that “a huge amount of grain be given by the Treasury every year to the needy among the Alexandrians”⁶². Instead of eventually getting the Empire under a single rule (again), Procopius remembers Constantine the Great and his sons for dividing the Roman state, because “he transferred the seat of the empire to Byzantium, making the city larger and much more renowned and allowing it to be named after him”⁶³. He was buried in the church that one of his sons, Constantius II, built “in honour of the Apostles”, decreeing that “tombs for himself and for all future emperors should be placed there”⁶⁴.

Trajan, Diocletian, and Constantine: those are the main characters of Procopius’s version of Roman history, the Republican segment of which is completely ignored. A similar concept inspired John Malalas in writing his chronicle. To him, “Romus” (Romulus) was an emperor, who used to decree in his name and that of his deceased brother, Remus. “The emperors’ custom of saying, ‘We have ordered and we have decreed’, has continued from that time till the present”⁶⁵. Much like in Procopius, there is no mention of any figure of the Republic, a period in Roman history, which Malalas may have regarded as a lull between two imperial phases⁶⁶. According to him “after the consuls had administered the state for many years, Octavian Augustus was the first to reign *again* as emperor” (emphasis added)⁶⁷. Augustus is “most sacred” and reigned “for 56 years in all. In appearance he was short, slender, with straight hair, good eyes and good nose”⁶⁸. This is one of several imperial vignettes in Malalas’s chronicle, each being a combination of physical and moral traits. Not everyone gets a vignette, but before Augustus such portraits are very rare or otherwise different in content. For example, before Augustus, Julius Caesar has been a dictator, “that is monarch”, who “controlled everything arrogantly and as a usurper for 18 years”⁶⁹. Malalas mentions all emperors of the Julian-Claudian and Flavian dynasties, from Tiberius to Domitian. Claudius was “of a most calm disposition” and Nero “well-disciplined”⁷⁰. By contrast, both Caligula and

⁶² Procopius of Caesarea, *Secret History*, XXVI, 41, p. 316-17.

⁶³ Procopius of Caesarea, *Wars*, III, 1, 2, p. 144. In addition to naming the city after himself, Constantine “dug a hole in the forum that bears his name and set the Palladion there” (*Wars*, V, 15, 14, p. 289). A city builder *par excellence*, Constantine is also said to have turned his mother’s home village into a city named after her – Helenopolis (*Buildings*, V, 2, 1, p. 320-321). On the Danube, Constantine “once built with no small care a fort, Daphne by name” (*Buildings*, IV, 7, 7, p. 280-281).

⁶⁴ Procopius of Caesarea, *Buildings*, I, 4, 19, p. 52-53.

⁶⁵ John Malalas, *Chronicle*, VII, 172 (transl. Jeffreys, Jeffreys, Scott 1986, p. 90). For Malalas’s portrait of Romulus, see Briquel 2018. Hodgkinson 1997 claims that John Malalas’s view of Romulus is negative and, as such, based on the hostile tradition reflected in the history of C. Licinius Macer.

⁶⁶ Jeffreys 1979, p. 228 notes that Malalas ignored the history of Republican Rome, even though he most certainly had sources about it at his disposal. To Scott 1990, p. 157, that neglect of the Republic is “deliberate rather than from ignorance”.

⁶⁷ John Malalas, *Chronicle*, VII, 13, p. 99. Like Jordanes and Procopius, Malalas has a remarkable sense of time depth. He knew that the consuls administered the state for 464 years, “until Julius Caesar” (*Chronicle*, VII, 14, p. 99; see also IX, 1, p. 113). He knew about Scipio and Hannibal, as well as the first triumvirate (*Chronicle*, VIII, 29, p. 110; IX, 2, p. 113).

⁶⁸ John Malalas, *Chronicle*, IX, 22, p. 119. According to Caire 2016, Malalas’s portrait of Augustus is based on oracular literature, as well as Christian themes concerning the arrival of the Savior.

⁶⁹ John Malalas, *Chronicle*, IX, 3, p. 114.

⁷⁰ John Malalas, *Chronicle*, X, 22 and 29, p. 130 and 133. This is in sharp contrast to traditional views of Nero as a typical tyrant. See Banchich 2015, p. 55.

Vespasian were “irascible”, and Galba “deranged”⁷¹. Tiberius was “an avid builder”, Domitian “a consummate philosopher”⁷². Emperors of the Antoninian and some of the Severian dynasty are also covered, from Nerva to Geta. Nerva was “a good man”, Hadrian “peaceable, eloquent and priestly”, and Commodus “an avid builder and a religious man”⁷³. Antoninus Pius “was always smiling”⁷⁴. By contrast, Septimius Severus was “prone to anger” and Verus “a great womanizer”⁷⁵. Some emperors are treated with much more hostility, others much more favourably than one would have expected on the basis of traditional, senatorial views⁷⁶. Marcus Aurelius is “the philosopher”, Probus “very learned”⁷⁷. By contrast, Valerian was “timorous and mean”⁷⁸. Malalas’s coverage of Constantine, who was “peaceable and dear to God” is driven by the desire to show that his reign was a part of the divine plan for the history of the world⁷⁹. In order to make Constantine the first Christian emperor, Malalas does not hesitate to attribute his baptism to Pope Sylvester⁸⁰. After “the most sacred Constantine”, emperors are typically characterized in religious terms⁸¹. For example, Constantius II was an “Exakionite, that is, an Arian” and Jovian a “devout Christian”⁸². Although ruthless, “the most sacred” emperors Valentinian and Valens were also Christian, even though the latter “thoroughly maltreated the Christians during his reign”⁸³. Justinian was Christian as well⁸⁴. In addition to being Christian, Theodosius was also “a sensible, pious and energetic man”⁸⁵. By contrast, Julian the Apostate, “an eloquent man”, renounced “the Christian faith, and became a Hellene”⁸⁶.

Conspicuously absent from both Procopius of Caesarea and John Malalas’s works is the nostalgic longing for the golden age. Equally absent is any interest in the Republican phase of Roman history. What concerns both authors are the deeds of past emperors, whose performance is gauged by criteria that are often not those of the traditional senatorial views. Procopius disregards the military merits of Augustus and blames Constantine the Great for the division of the Empire.

⁷¹ John Malalas, *Chronicle*, X, 17, 41 and 44, p. 129 and 137.

⁷² John Malalas, *Chronicle*, X, 7 and 48, p. 124 and 139.

⁷³ John Malalas, *Chronicle*, X, 53, XI, 13, and XII, 1, p. 141, 147 and 151.

⁷⁴ John Malalas, *Chronicle*, XI, 21, p. 148.

⁷⁵ John Malalas, *Chronicle*, XI, 32 and XII, 18, p. 150 and 155.

⁷⁶ Particularly interesting in that respect is the coverage of Trajan (John Malalas, *Chronicle*, XI, 1-12, p. 143-146) and Commodus (John Malalas, *Chronicle*, XII, 1-13, p. 151-154). For Malalas’s negative attitude towards Nero and Trajan in relation to their persecutions of Christians, see Meier 2010. For John Malalas’s praise for Commodus, in sharp contrast to his condemnation by the senatorial tradition, see Marasco 1996.

⁷⁷ John Malalas, *Chronicle*, XI, 28 and XII, 33, p. 149 and 165.

⁷⁸ John Malalas, *Chronicle*, XII, 26, p. 162.

⁷⁹ John Malalas, *Chronicle*, XIII, 1, p. 172; Scott 1994, p. 59-62.

⁸⁰ John Malalas, *Chronicle*, XIII, 2, p. 172.

⁸¹ John Malalas, *Chronicle*, XIII, 9, p. 175.

⁸² John Malalas, *Chronicle*, XIII, 17 and 26, p. 177 and 182.

⁸³ John Malalas, *Chronicle*, XIII, 28, 31 and 34, p. 183, 184 and 185-186. Valentinian is twice called “most sacred” (see also *Chronicle*, XIII, 32, p. 185), much like Leo (*Chronicle*, XIV, 35 and 39, p. 202 and 204) and Anastasius (*Chronicle*, XVI, 3 and 10, p. 221 and 224). Other emperors called “most sacred” are Zeno (*Chronicle*, XV, 5, p. 210) and Justin I (*Chronicle*, XVII, 23, p. 23).

⁸⁴ John Malalas, *Chronicle*, XVIII, 1, p. 245.

⁸⁵ John Malalas, *Chronicle*, XIII, 37, p. 187.

⁸⁶ John Malalas, *Chronicle*, XIII, 18, p. 177-178. Theodosius is the other “eloquent” emperor (*Chronicle*, XIV, 9, p. 195).

Malalas dislikes Trajan, largely because of the persecution of Christians, but likes Commodus. By contrast, both Jordanes and John the Lydian hold Trajan in high esteem and ignore Commodus. In some respects, Jordanes looks at the history of the Roman Empire with similar eyes. Like Malalas, Jordanes admires Julian the Apostate, albeit with reservation. Some of his emperors also get vignettes similar to those of John Malalas. Both John the Lydian and John Malalas see similarities between kings and emperors in the history of Rome, albeit for distinctly different reasons. Such correspondences and contrasts strongly suggest that Roman history was a topic of great significance for the diverse audiences of all those texts, and that in the mid-6th century the interpretation of the past was a matter of public debate⁸⁷. That nostalgia was paired with appreciation of Republican history and cannot be reduced either to a symptom of republicanism or to a subversive discourse directed against Justinian⁸⁸. Exactly why Roman history became such a hot issue in the mid-6th century remains unclear, but it is beyond any doubt that this was not mere antiquarianism.

All four authors favour certain episodes and dislike other chapters of Roman history, and none of those choices is devoid of meaning. However, irrespective of what that meaning was, at least three conclusions may be drawn on the basis of this analysis of the four authors. First, the Roman chronotope in each case is firmly anchored in a profound sense of history as considerable time depth. John Malalas, for example, notes at the end of Book XV of his chronicle that “from Adam to the death of the emperor Zeno there were 5983 years”⁸⁹. Second, in spite of being aware of the chronological distance separating them from the events narrated, all four authors use “time contraction”, often in the form of hardly veiled historicism: current practices, customs, or rituals result from such-and-such innovation introduced by this or that king or emperor. Third, when particular kings or emperors are deemed important for history, in general, or for the narrative goals of a particular author, they receive vignettes, which are meant to serve both as summary of the longer “entry” for each reign and as an aide-mémoire for readers interested, like the authors, in playing favourites.

ROMAN IMPERIAL HISTORY AND THE BALKANS

Portraits of emperors on coin obverses with their accompanying legends constitute the closest parallel to vignettes such as known from Jordanes’s *Romana* or the chronicle of John Malalas. To be sure, a great number of ancient coins were reintroduced in circulation in the 6th century, largely on the basis of their weight, with little, if any regard to iconography. Fourth-century coins, for example, appear in coin hoards dated between 500 and 620 in the Balkans, as well as in Egypt⁹⁰. However, no Republican or early imperial coins have so far been found in any hoard known from the Balkans⁹¹.

Generic imperial portraits appear on 6th-century lamps, such as those produced with five moulds found in the southwestern tower of the early Byzantine fortification in Kranevo, near

⁸⁷ It is possible that the fate of the Goths was a subsidiary topic of the same debate. See now Kasperski 2018.

⁸⁸ For such interpretations, see Kaldellis 2005 and Kruse 2014.

⁸⁹ John Malalas, *Chronicle*, XV, 16, p. 219.

⁹⁰ Curta, Gândilă 2011-2012, p. 60.

⁹¹ Curta, Gândilă 2011-2012, p. 59-60. By contrast, ancient Greek coins appear in hoards from Greece.

Varna (Bulgaria)⁹². Steelyard weights, such as found in Capidava (Romania) or in Černomorec (Bulgaria), were cast in the form of the bust of an empress, variously identified as Aelia Eudocia Augusta, Licinia Eudoxia, Galla Placidia or Aelia Pulcheria⁹³. In reality, those are most likely generic portraits. Similarly, lamps with imperial portraits have recently been interpreted as a manifestation of the imperial cult or propaganda. Imperial portraits appear in other media as well. A monumental, bronze statue of an emperor, most likely Justinian, stood in the middle of the plaza of the Upper Town at Caričin Grad (near Lebane, in Serbia), a site believed to be Iustiniana Prima⁹⁴. Disc-shaped fibulae such as found in Carthage as well as in Italy and Slovenia are decorated with haloed, *en-face* portraits of an emperor imitating imperial portraits on 5th- and early 6th-century coins⁹⁵. In the northern region of the Balkan Peninsula, some cast fibulae with bent stem have bows decorated with haloed human faces, often in groups of three⁹⁶. Those were most likely imperial portraits as well. However, none of them may be associated with a possible Roman chronotope, since their generic character is most likely linked to current concerns of imperial propaganda, and not with historic projections, whether nostalgic or not. With one exception, no artefacts dated to the Republican or early imperial times have so far been found in any 6th- or 7th-century assemblages in the Balkans. The exception is a hoard discovered accidentally in 1907 in Stara Zagora (Bulgaria) within the urban area of the late antique city of Beroe. Besides bells (one of which has the monogram of Emperor Justin II), cauldrons, candle-holders, processional crosses, tripods, and water pipeline segments – all made of bronze – the hoard includes four early Roman “self-boilers” (*authepsae*), one of which is made of an old bronze amphora⁹⁷. However, none of the old artefacts in that collection seems to have been curated or otherwise kept for its historical value. Instead, the assemblage is most likely to be interpreted in utilitarian terms, as a heap of scrap metal, accompanied by such tools as two mattocks and a hammer⁹⁸.

There is therefore no evidence that outside the circle of the educated elites in Constantinople, the Roman past mattered at all to anyone in the 6th-century Balkans. No signs of nostalgia may be detected in the archaeological record of the region.

ROMAN COINS IN NEAR BARBARICUM (FIG. 1)

The situation in the western and north-western parts of the Balkan Peninsula that were outside the Empire in the 6th century, as well as in the Middle Danube region, was completely different. In the lands outside the Empire, in general, the interest in old, Roman things seems to have been a recent phenomenon. Scholars have long noted that the deposition of Roman artefacts in

⁹² Tončeva 1952, p. 82-83, pl. IV/108, pl. V/110, 111, pl. IX/126, 127. For a list of finds, see Curta 2016, p. 92-93 and p. 94, fig. 60 (distribution map).

⁹³ Covacef, Potârniche 2010; Hristov 2020.

⁹⁴ Špehar 2014. For another, marble statue of an empress, see Rakocija 2022.

⁹⁵ Eger 2001.

⁹⁶ Kharalambieva 1998, p. 368; Curta, Gândilă 2011, p. 59-60.

⁹⁷ Cholakov, Ilieva 2005, p. 57, pl. I/1-4, p. 63, figs. 2-4, p. 65, figs. 5-7.

⁹⁸ Ilieva, Cholakov 2005.

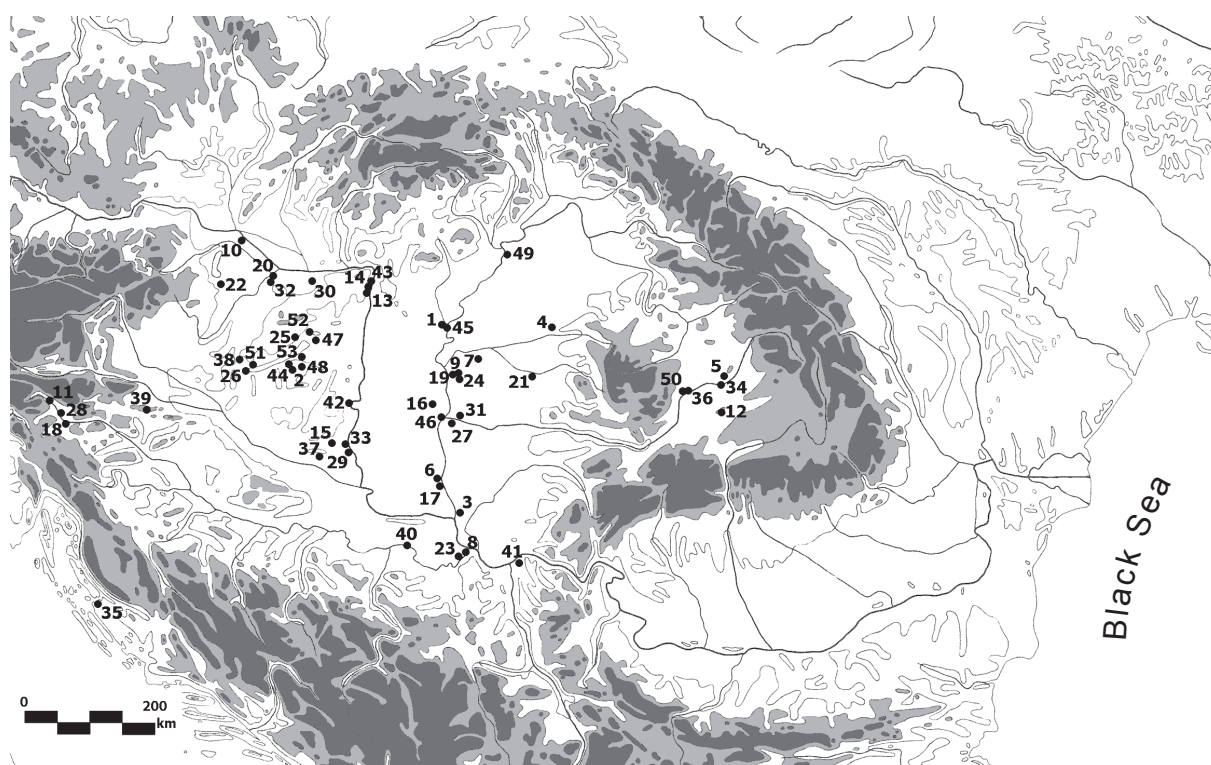


Fig. 1. Main sites with Roman coins mentioned in the text and in Appendix 1: 1. Abony; 2. Andocs; 3. Aradac; 4. Ártánd; 5. Band; 6. Bečej; 7. Békésszentandrás; 8. Belgrade; 9. Berekhát; 10. Bezenye; 11. Bled; 12. Bratei; 13. Budapest; 14. Budakalász; 15. Cikó; 16. Csengele; 17. Čurug; 18. Dravlje; 19. Felgyő; 20. Győr; 21. Gyula; 22. Hegykő; 23. Jakovo; 24. Jaksor; 25. Jutas; 26. Keszthely; 27. Kiszombor; 28. Kranj; 29. Kölked; 30. Környe; 31. Magyarcsanak; 32. Ménfőcsanak; 33. Mohács; 34. Morești; 35. Nin; 36. Noșlac; 37. Pécs; 38. Pókaszepetk; 39. Rifnik; 40. Sremska Mitrovica; 41. Stari Kostolac; 42. Székszárd; 43. Szentendre; 44. Szőlád; 45. Szolnok; 46. Szőreg; 47. Tác; 48. Tamási; 49. Tiszafüred; 50. Unirea; 51. Vállus; 52. Várpalota; 53. Zamárdi.

Merovingian graves is a phenomenon that appears ca. 500⁹⁹. The same is true for the Carpathian Basin, the easternmost area of the so-called “row grave culture” of the Merovingian age¹⁰⁰. Unlike Western and Central Europe, however, in the Carpathian Basin, the practice of depositing in graves Roman artefacts, particularly coins and fibulae, continued well into the 8th century¹⁰¹. In this paper, we will focus only on the first 150 years (500-650) of this phenomenon, the comprehensive study of which awaits its researcher.

No less than 238 coins have so far been published from cemeteries excavated in Hungary, Romania, Serbia, Croatia, and Slovenia. This number represents more than half of all coins known from Merovingian graves in Central and Western Europe (see appendix 1)¹⁰². Slightly less than

⁹⁹ Mehling 1999, p. 36. However, according to Pion 2011, p. 175, old (early imperial) coins first appear in 5th-century burial assemblages. For example, Childeric’s tomb in Tournai, which is dated to 481, contained 39 coins of Roman emperors from Nero to Septimius Severus, in addition to a Republican coin and a coin struck for Caracalla. Such coins appear also in graves dated to the second half of the 5th century, at the earliest, in the lands to the east of the river Rhine. See Martin 2004, p. 241-242 and 247.

¹⁰⁰ Dobos 2019. For examples of 5th-century graves with (ancient) Roman coins *inside* the Empire, see Ćirić 2019, p. 116-117 and 119-123.

¹⁰¹ Garam 1995, p. 378. See also Mitrea 1988; Dragotă, Rustoiu 2011; Militký 2020, p. 222-229.

¹⁰² In the 1990s, Mehling 1999, p. 36, knew of 451 Roman coins found in Merovingian graves.

a half of all coins known from East Central and South-eastern Europe have been found in a poor state of preservation, which prevented classification, or have been published either without identification or without illustration. Nonetheless, the remaining 122 coins constitute a solid corpus for statistical analysis. The largest number, by far, is that of coins struck for 4th-century emperors, from Constantius Chlorus to Valens (74 coins, which represent 60 percent of all coins that have been identified)¹⁰³. All of them are bronze coins, with four classified on the basis of size as AE2 (between 21 and 25 mm), 11 as AE3 (between 17 and 21 mm), and another four as AE4 (under 17 mm)¹⁰⁴. Only one bronze has been classified as of the largest size, AE1 (over 25 mm) – a coin struck for Maximin Daia in Nicomedia between 308 and 310¹⁰⁵. It is important to note that about 15 percent of all 4th-century coins are AE3, and one of them is a commemorative coin struck for Constantine the Great in 330/1¹⁰⁶. Most other AE3 specimens are later coins of Valentinian, Valens and Gratian¹⁰⁷. Equally relevant is the fact that when found in pairs within one and the same burial assemblage, most 4th-century coins tend to be of one and the same emperor, namely Constantius II¹⁰⁸. This is the case not only of grave 2 in Belgrade (with two coins), but also of graves 13 (with three coins) and 266 (with two AE3) of the Early Avar-age cemeteries excavated in Cikó (Tolna County, Hungary) and Kölked (Baranya County, Hungary), respectively¹⁰⁹. This could hardly be a coincidence, as out of all 4th-century coins, those struck for Constantius II are the most numerous (14 specimens, almost 19 percent). By contrast, coins struck for Valens, almost as numerous as those of Constantius II, appear only singly. They are also of smaller size (*e.g. nummus* in grave 6 from Belgrade), typically worn (the coins from graves 3 in Keszthely and 316 in Kölked)

¹⁰³ The number of 4th-century coins is even larger if one adds 15 specimens from those without more precise identification (see below, note 104). Some of those coins are *nummia* struck in the 4th century. See Ivanišević, Kazanski 2002, p. 163.

¹⁰⁴ For eight coins of this group, the state of preservation does not allow for a classification other than “AE of the Constantinian dynasty”. For another AE4, see Bóna, Horváth 2009, p. 140, p. 296, pl. 61a-b, p. 409, pl. 174/2. For unidentified, 4th-century coins, see Fettich 1943, p. 40; Bóna 1956, p. 187 and pl. XXVIII/10; Csallány 1961, p. 35 and pl. XVI/5; Erdélyi, Németh 1969, p. 169, 179 and 194; Müller 2010, p. 54; Pejović, Lučić 2011, p. 405-406.

¹⁰⁵ Kiss 1996, p. 130.

¹⁰⁶ Nagy 1998, p. 28.

¹⁰⁷ Kiss 1996, p. 76, 78, 82 and 90; Bóna, Horváth 2009, p. 140.

¹⁰⁸ In grave 259 in Kölked, there were two different coins, but struck for the co-emperors Valentinian and Gratian. For other pairs of unidentified, bronze coins, see Salamon, Erdélyi 1971, p. 21, p. 89, fig. 11/21, 23, p. 126, pl. IX/11, 14; Somogyi 1984, p. 43; Rosner 1999, p. 41, 77, 85 and 91, p. 185, pl. 19.289/1, 2, p. 205, pl. 39.603/6, 7, p. 211, pl. 45.677/3, 4, p. 214, pl. 48/730/17, 18; Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, p. 206 and 207, pl. 34/T 1193.3, 4; Bárdos, Garam 2009, p. 65, 176 and 188, p. 356, pl. 153.1348/13, 14, p. 366, pl. 163.1430/5, 6; Vaday 2015, p. 168, 170, and 172; Bárdos, Garam 2014, p. 84 and p. 203, pl. 218.2072/3, 4. However, if found in more than two specimens, the coins tend to be of different emperors. For example, grave 266 in Kölked had six coins, four AE3 (one of Gallus struck in Aquileia between 352 and 354, two of Constantius II struck in Siscia between 355 and 361, and another of Valens struck in Siscia between 367 and 375), as well as an AE4 of Constans struck in Siscia between 337 and 341. In addition, there was another coin of the Constantinian dynasty. The cremation grave 360 in Pókaszeptek had several coins, of which one was struck for Constantine the Great (306-337), and two for Valens (364-378). The three coins from the pouch in grave 211 of the Avar-age cemetery excavated in Győr have not been classified (Fettich 1943, p. 22). For other sets of three coins, see Bárdos, Garam 2009, p. 104 and 129, p. 294, pl. 92.741/3-5, p. 314, pl. 112.977/11-13. There are two cases of sets of six coins each in the Zamárdi cemetery. See Bárdos, Garam 2009, p. 157 and p. 339, pl. 136.1208/22-27; Bárdos, Garam 2014, p. 84 and p. 194, pl. 211.1999/19.

¹⁰⁹ Somogyi 1984, p. 42 and p. 205, pl. 3.13/2; Kiss 1996, p. 78 and p. 473, pl. 59.A266/3; Ivanišević, Kazanski 2002, p. 127 and p. 149, pl. I/2.4, 5. In addition to the coins of Constantius II, the pouch from grave 13 in Cikó contained a coin struck for Constantine the Great, and another of the Constantinian dynasty.

or fragmentary (the coin from grave 11 in Budapest – *Szőlő köz*)¹¹⁰. Moreover, all four coins of Valens found in graves of the cemetery excavated in Kölked have been struck within one and the same mint – Siscia¹¹¹. By contrast, some of the coins struck for Constantius II come from the mint in Thessalonica, others from Heraclea, besides Siscia; none of them is either worn or fragmentary. The same number of coins is known for Constantine the Great as for his son, Constantine II (8). One of the latter groups is a fragmentary coin (grave 18 in Aradac, near Zrenjanin, in Vojvodina, Serbia), and two others are worn (grave 73 in Pókaszepetk, Zala County, Hungary; grave 469 in Kölked). By contrast, there is no mention of fragmentary or worn specimens within the group of coins struck for Constantine the Great¹¹². The same is true for the coins struck for Constans and Valentinian I, which were found in slightly smaller numbers (6 and 7, respectively).

Where skeletons have been sexed by means of anthropological analysis, 4th-century coins appear mostly in graves of men¹¹³. Only the coin of Valens from grave 73 in Belgrade was found with the skeleton of a woman¹¹⁴. Where the exact position has been recorded, 4th-century coins appear mostly in the waist area¹¹⁵. When accompanied by such artefacts as rings (grave 279 in Kölked), belt mounts or flint stones (grave 266 in Kölked), the coins found in the waist area probably belonged to pouches attached to the belt or hung from the waist. In some cases, the coins were found in the company of flint stones next to the knees, which may be an indication of a pouch hanging from the waist or thrown on the body laid down inside the pit (as part of the burial ceremony). At any rate, that coins were found in pouches shows that their presence in the grave had to do with the careful selection probably made by those organizing the burial ceremony¹¹⁶. Associated with rituals performed during the burial ceremony may have also been the coin struck for Constans in Siscia between 341 and 346 and found in the filling of the pit of grave 23 in Keszthely¹¹⁷. By contrast, coins found by the head were most likely part of the dress accessories deposited together with the body laid down in the pit. For example, the coin struck for Licinius in Siscia between 320 and 331, which was found in grave 4 of the same cemetery in Keszthely, was pierced and part of a necklace, along with glass beads and two other unidentified coins, which were

¹¹⁰ For another fragment of a 3rd- or 4th-century coin, see Bárdos, Garam 2009, p. 129 and p. 314, pl. 112.977/11-13. One of the two unidentified, silver coins from grave 110 in Andocs (Somogy County, Hungary) is fragmentary, but the poor state of preservation prevents an exact classification. This may well be a 3rd-century coin. See Garam 1972, p. 156 and p. 159, fig. 21/3.

¹¹¹ This is also true for the coins from grave 3 in Keszthely and grave V in Jaksor. Struck in the same mint were also the coins of Constantine the Great from grave 279 in Kölked, of Licinius from grave 4 in Keszthely and grave 385 in Kölked, of Constans from graves 266 and 500 in Kölked, as well as grave 23 in Keszthely, and that of the Constantinian dynasty from grave 5 in Budapest – *Szőlő köz*. The large number of 4th-century coins struck in Siscia and found in Kölked, a site in south-eastern part of the formerly Roman province of Valeria, strongly suggests the local origin of those coins. The distance between Sisak (ancient Siscia, in the neighboring province of Savia) and Kölked is less than 110 miles, as the crow flies.

¹¹² There are two coins in grave 13 of the cemetery excavated in Szólád (Somogy County, Hungary). One was struck for Constantine the Great. The other was so badly preserved as to be illegible, and therefore impossible to classify.

¹¹³ Bolta 1981, p. 34 (25-30 and 45 years of age, respectively); von Freeden, Vida 2005, p. 370-372 (30 to 50 years of age); Mikić 2007 (20 years of age).

¹¹⁴ Ivanišević, Kazanski 2002, p. 135-136 (30-40 years of age).

¹¹⁵ Csallány 1961, p. 187; Somogyi 1984, p. 42; Kiss 1996, p. 76, 78, 90 and 130; Bóna 2000, p. 130; Cseh *et alii* 2005, p. 98; Bóna, Horváth 2009, p. 148 and 162.

¹¹⁶ For more examples of coins from pouches, see Müller 2010, p. 77-78.

¹¹⁷ Müller 2010, p. 91. The coin was thrown (symbolically) into the pit during backfilling.

also pierced¹¹⁸. When not found by the skull, pierced coins may represent pendants broken from necklaces and thrown ritually on the body after it was lowered inside the grave pit. For example, the AE4 struck for Constans in Siscia between 337 and 341 was found by the feet of the skeleton in grave 500 of the cemetery excavated in Kölked¹¹⁹. A similar explanation may also be advanced for pierced coins found in assemblages for which no details exist about the exact position of the finds in relation to the body (Čurug, grave V in Jaksor, grave 57 in Cikó, graves 359 in Kölked). At any rate, the number of pierced coins struck in the 4th century is more than double the number of pierced coins from all previous centuries combined¹²⁰.

In the Early Avar-age grave 56 from Csengele (Csongrád County, Hungary), two coins struck for Maximian between 286 and 305 were pierced and most likely placed as pendants around the neck¹²¹. Whether the presence of two coins struck for the same emperor in the same necklace is accidental or not, pierced coins of 3rd-century emperors occasionally appear in other Early Avar-age graves, always as part of necklaces or otherwise worn singly as pendants¹²². There is even a case of coins turned into disc-shaped fibulae, carefully deposited next to the left arm of the skeleton in grave 2 (fig. 2) of the 6th-century cemetery excavated in Mohács (Baranya County, Hungary)¹²³. Unlike 4th-century coins, pierced specimens struck in the 3rd century are occasionally found in pouches. The pendant from grave 354 in Kölked was made of a coin struck for Trebonianus Gallus in Viminacium in 252/3 and was found together with another coin struck for Justinian almost 300 years later, four flint stones, a glass fragment and the fragment of a bronze object – all indications of a pouch (fig. 3)¹²⁴. Another pierced coin struck for Philip the Arab in Viminacium in 246 was also found by the left knee of the skeleton in grave 523 of the same cemetery, together with a strap end, an earring, fragments of a bronze tube, and a bead. The presence of a purse mount confirms that that was the content of yet another pouch¹²⁵. It is likely that in such cases, the pierced coins have been worn for a while as pendants, before being deposited in pouches usually placed on the left side of the body. There are also examples of pouches containing 3rd-century coins that are not pierced. There was a worn, bronze coin struck for Gordian between 238 and 244 in grave 1999/13 of the cemetery on the *Pusztaszentegyháza dűlő* site to the south from Keszthely. The coin was found

¹¹⁸ Müller 2010, p. 111.

¹¹⁹ Kiss 1996, p. 134. The coin struck for Constantius II and found in grave 276 in Kiszombor may have been thrown into the pit *before* the body of the child was lowered inside the pit, since it was found underneath the pelvic bone. For a similar case of two unidentified, 4th-century coins underneath the skeleton in a grave of the cemetery excavated in Menfőcsanak (Győr-Moson-Sopron County, Hungary), see Vaday 2015, p. 168.

¹²⁰ To the total number of pierced coins struck in the 4th century, one should also add unidentified specimens, such as those from graves 65 in Jaksor (in Szentes, Hungary) and 533 in Kölked. See Csallány 1961, p. 34-35 and pl. III/18; Kiss 1996, p. 141 and p. 506, pl. 92.A533/4. The pierced coins from graves 44 in Dravlje, 112 in Környe (Komárom-Esztergom County, Hungary), 137 and 342 in Zamárdi (Zala County, Hungary), 321 in Tiszafüred (Jász-Nagykún-Szolnok County, Hungary), as well as 713 in Székszárd (Tolna County, Hungary) may all have been struck in the 4th century. See Salamon, Erdélyi 1971, p. 25 and p. 97, pl. 19/69; Slabe 1975, p. 103 and pl. 19/4; Garam 1995, p. 44 and pl. 83.321/7; Rosner 1999, p. 89 and p. 213, pl. 47.713.3; Bárdos, Garam 2009, p. 31 and p. 54, p. 238, pl. 38.342.3.

¹²¹ Török 1995, p. 215.

¹²² Sós, Salamon 1995, p. 149; Kiss 1996, p. 142.

¹²³ Kiss, Nemeskéri 1964, p. 106 and p. 112, fig. 8/1-3. One of the two disc-shaped fibulae was made out of a silver coin struck for Gallienus, the other out an unidentified bronze coin. Together with the two fibulae was also a very worn, hammered, polished and embossed, unidentified coin.

¹²⁴ Kiss 1996, p. 98.

¹²⁵ Kiss 1996, p. 138.

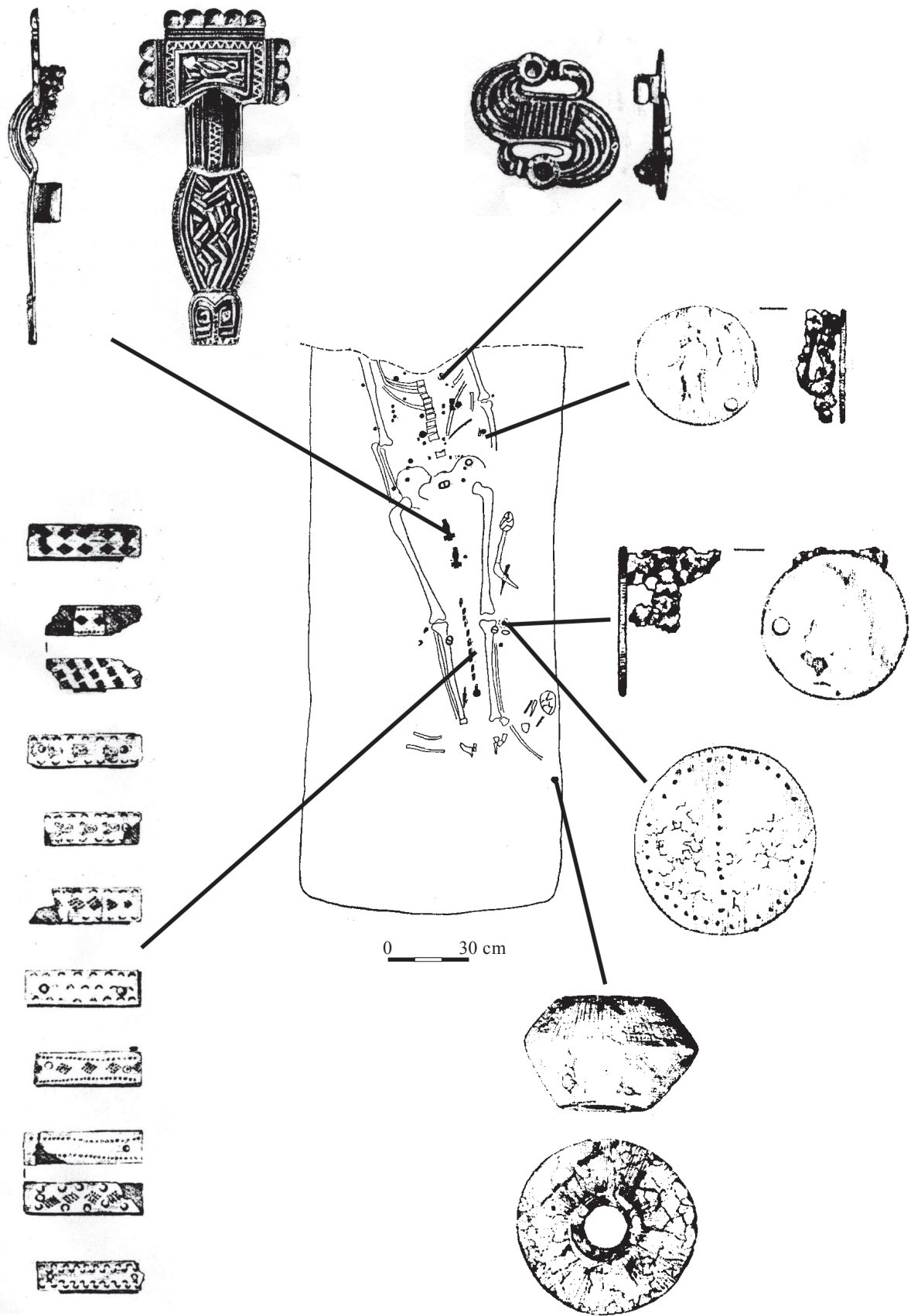


Fig. 2. Mohács, grave 2, with selected artefacts (square-headed and S-shaped fibulae, silver strap mounts, and spindle whorl) and coins turned into disc-shaped fibulae. Various scales for artefacts (after Kiss, Nemeskéri 1964, p. 103, fig. 5, p. 106, fig. 6, p. 112, fig. 8).

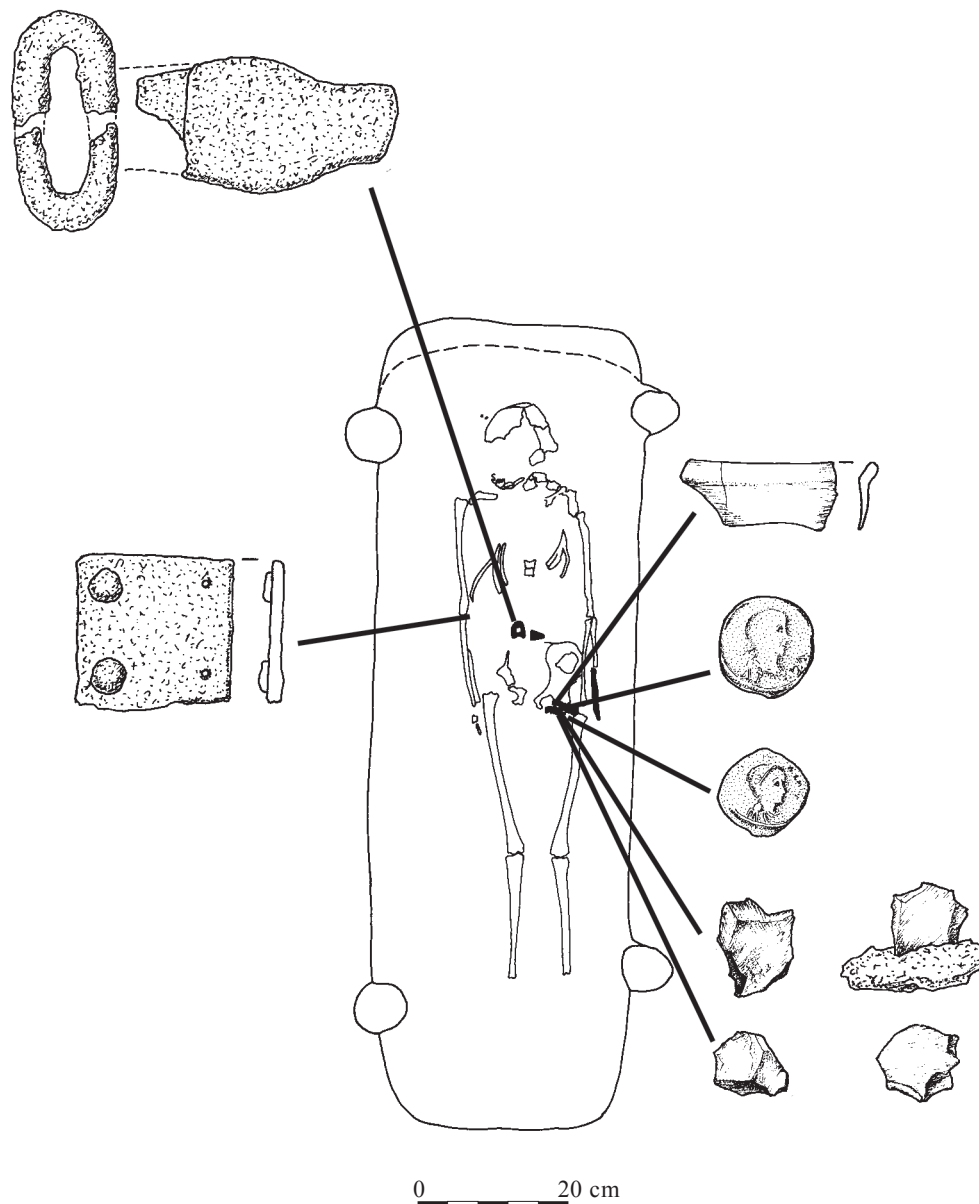


Fig. 3. Kőlked, grave 354, with selected artefacts (iron buckle, glass fragment, flint stones) and Roman coins. Various scales (after Kiss 1996, p. 99, fig. 15 and p. 485, pl. 71).

on the ilium of a male skeleton (23 years of age) next to a flint stone and another iron artefact, all indications of a pouch¹²⁶. Similarly, a *follis* struck for Galerius in Rome in 299 or 300 was found next to the left hip of the skeleton in grave 386 of the cemetery excavated in Kőlked, together with a flint steel and the fragment of a glass bracelet¹²⁷.

Besides bronze, ancient silver was also deposited in 6th- to early 7th-century graves. A silver coin struck for Severus Alexander between 222 and 235 was found under the ilium of an old male

¹²⁶ Müller 2014, p. 40.

¹²⁷ Kiss 1996, p. 106.

(62 to 71 years of age) in grave 125 of the cemetery in *Pusztaszentegyháza dűlő*. Next to it were two iron artefacts, a fragment of a double-sided comb, three flint stones, and another unidentified coin¹²⁸. Like 4th-century coins, those struck in the 3rd century typically appear in the waist area of the skeleton, often in an archaeological context indicating a pouch. However, unlike the later group, 3rd-century coins have also been found in the region of the head (not as pendants) and between the legs¹²⁹. In such cases, the coin may have been deposited after the body had been laid down inside the grave pit, perhaps as part of the burial ceremony. The significance of such ritual gestures may be somewhat clearer if it could be established which side of the coin was up. If the obverse (with the imperial portrait) was visible to the archaeologist digging up the assemblage, then the meaning of the coin in question might have been very different from that of a coin found in a pouch. Unfortunately, no publication mentions the exact position of the coin, particularly which of its sides was up.

The question of symbolism may be approached in the case of 3rd-century coins from an altogether different angle – a direct association with weapons. For example, two *antoniniani* struck for Gallienus (between 258 and 268) and Aurelian (between 270 and 275) were found directly under the sword deposited on the left side of the male skeleton from grave 253 in Kölked¹³⁰. The interpretation of this association is difficult, but judging from a strictly stratigraphic point of view, it looks like that the coins were first deposited on the left side of the skeleton, possibly inside a pouch, before the sword was placed on top.

A little over 20 percent of all coins considered in this paper have been struck in the 3rd century (25 specimens). All have been classified with a great deal of precision, except the coin found in grave 1 of the cemetery excavated in Dravlje (a suburb of Ljubljana, in Slovenia), which is dated to the time of the first Tetrarchy¹³¹. Particularly interesting is a counterfeit from a grave in Noşlac (Alba County, Romania). This was a fourré coin imitating an *antoninianus* of Gordian such as those struck between 241 and 243¹³². Was the selection of this particular coin for deposition in the grave a mere accident? In our opinion, the answer to that question must be negative, because two other counterfeits are known from the same site. Both are fourrés imitating 2nd-century *denarii*, one of Hadrian (117-138), the other of Marcus Aurelius (161-180)¹³³. Why were counterfeits selected for deposition in those three graves of the cemetery excavated in Noşlac? While it is unlikely that those coins were selected *because* they were counterfeits, the obverses should provide some clues¹³⁴. For instance, the obverse of the fourré imitating a *denarius* struck for Hadrian shows the bust of Sabina from the right, diademed and wearing the double stephane with hair in queue. While the average diameter for the original series is less than 15 mm, the diameter of the coin found in grave

¹²⁸ Müller 2010, p. 66. Another *denarius* struck for Probus between 276 and 282 was found in a grave from Rifnik (near Šentjur, Slovenia). See Bolta 1981, p. 32.

¹²⁹ Rhé, Fettich 1931, p. 25; Stare 1980, p. 110; Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, p. 188. For a rare case of a 4th-century coin found by the right shinbone, see Ivanišević, Kazanski 2002, p. 163.

¹³⁰ A more recent coin struck for Tiberius II (578-582) was also found next to both coins (Kiss 1996, p. 74).

¹³¹ Slabe 1975, p. 101. For an unidentified, bronze coin struck in the 3rd century, see Bóna, Horváth 2009, p. 115-116, p. 282, pl. 47/3.

¹³² Găzdac, Cosma 2013b, p. 108.

¹³³ Găzdac, Cosma 2013a, p. 108. For the fourré imitating a coin struck for Marcus Aurelius, see also Găzdac, Cosma 2013a, p. 239-246.

¹³⁴ For a leaden imitation of a (probably) 2nd-century, bronze coin, see Csallány 1961, p. 80.

29 of the Noşlac cemetery is 18.3 mm. This may be a way to compensate for the weight (1.7 g, as opposed to 3.22 g on average for *denarii* of the RIC II, 407 series struck between 130 and 133), but the final result was an enlarged portrait of Vibia Sabina¹³⁵. The same is true for the fourré copying a *denarius* of Marcus Aurelius, which was found in grave 102 (fig. 4)¹³⁶. Although there is not much of a difference between the average size of the RIC III, 411 series struck in Rome between 179 and 180 and the fourré found in Noşlac, the portrait of the emperor in right profile, laureate and cuirassed, is visibly larger, especially the eye. Whoever selected this fourré for deposition in the grave must have focused on the portrait, because two other coins from the same grave, a *denarius* of Nero and another of Vitellius, have prominent portraits in profile to the right (Nero's head is laureate, Vitellius' is bare). Unlike the fourré, the imperial portraits on the 1st-century *denarii* bear the marks (cuts) of a later metal control. The visual effect is striking, with the imperial portraits highlighted on the respective coins even more by means of the applied mark¹³⁷. It is unlikely that the two *denarii* with control marks were deposited by accident within one and the same grave.

The imperial portrait was apparently a key criterion in selecting coins for deposition in the grave. That much results also from the deposition in a grave of the cemetery excavated in Band (Mureş County, Romania) of a bronze medallion of Commodus, apparently struck with the same dies as those used for his *sestertii* struck in Rome between 184 and 185 (RIC III, 449)¹³⁸. On those coins, the head of the emperor, in profile from the right appears as laureate and occupies a large part of the obverse. It is important to note that the coin was presumably in a pouch, together with two Roman fibulae – a 1st-century strongly profiled fibula of Riha's type 2.9.4 and a complex enameled plate fibula of her type 7.16, dated to the 2nd century¹³⁹. The chronological overlap between coin and fibula(e) is striking and can hardly be an accident.

Most coins struck in the 2nd century are of bronze, with only five *denarii*¹⁴⁰. Two of them have been struck for Trajan; one of them was deposited by the left upper arm of the skeleton in the grave accidentally found in Gyula (Hungary)¹⁴¹. Similarly, a *denarius* struck for Septimius Severus in 197/8 was found next to the left shoulder of the skeleton in grave 127 of the cemetery excavated in Bratei (Sibiu County, Romania)¹⁴². However, in grave 32 of the cemetery excavated in Kiszombor (Csongrád County, Hungary), the *denarius* struck for Lucius Verus between 161 and 169 was found on the chest¹⁴³. No 2nd-century coins have been found either by the head or by the feet. Those for which the exact position in relation to the body has been recorded have typically been deposited alone (*i.e.* without any associated artefacts) in the waist area¹⁴⁴. Where the associated artefacts point to the contents of a pouch, the coin is by the knees¹⁴⁵. No pendants were made out of 2nd-century

¹³⁵ Găzdac, Cosma 2014, p. 187, fig. 3/1.

¹³⁶ Găzdac, Cosma 2014, p. 190, fig. 6/7.

¹³⁷ Găzdac, Cosma 2014, p. 190, fig. 6/5-6.

¹³⁸ Kovács 1913, p. 408.

¹³⁹ Kovács 1913, p. 407-408, p. 314, fig. 34/7, 8. For Riha's classification used in this paper, see Riha 1994.

¹⁴⁰ For an additional, 2nd-century silver coin, quite worn, see Roska 1934, p. 125 and p. 126, fig. 3 B, 1.

¹⁴¹ Bóna, Nagy 2002, p. 29.

¹⁴² Bârză 2010, p. 206.

¹⁴³ Csallány 1961, p. 174.

¹⁴⁴ Horedt 1979, p. 192; Bóna, Nagy 2002, p. 26; Bóna, Horváth 2009, p. 162.

¹⁴⁵ Kiss 1996, p. 82. Given that grave 33 in Band was robbed in the early Middle Ages, the exact position of the artefacts most certainly deposited in a pouch will forever remain unknown.

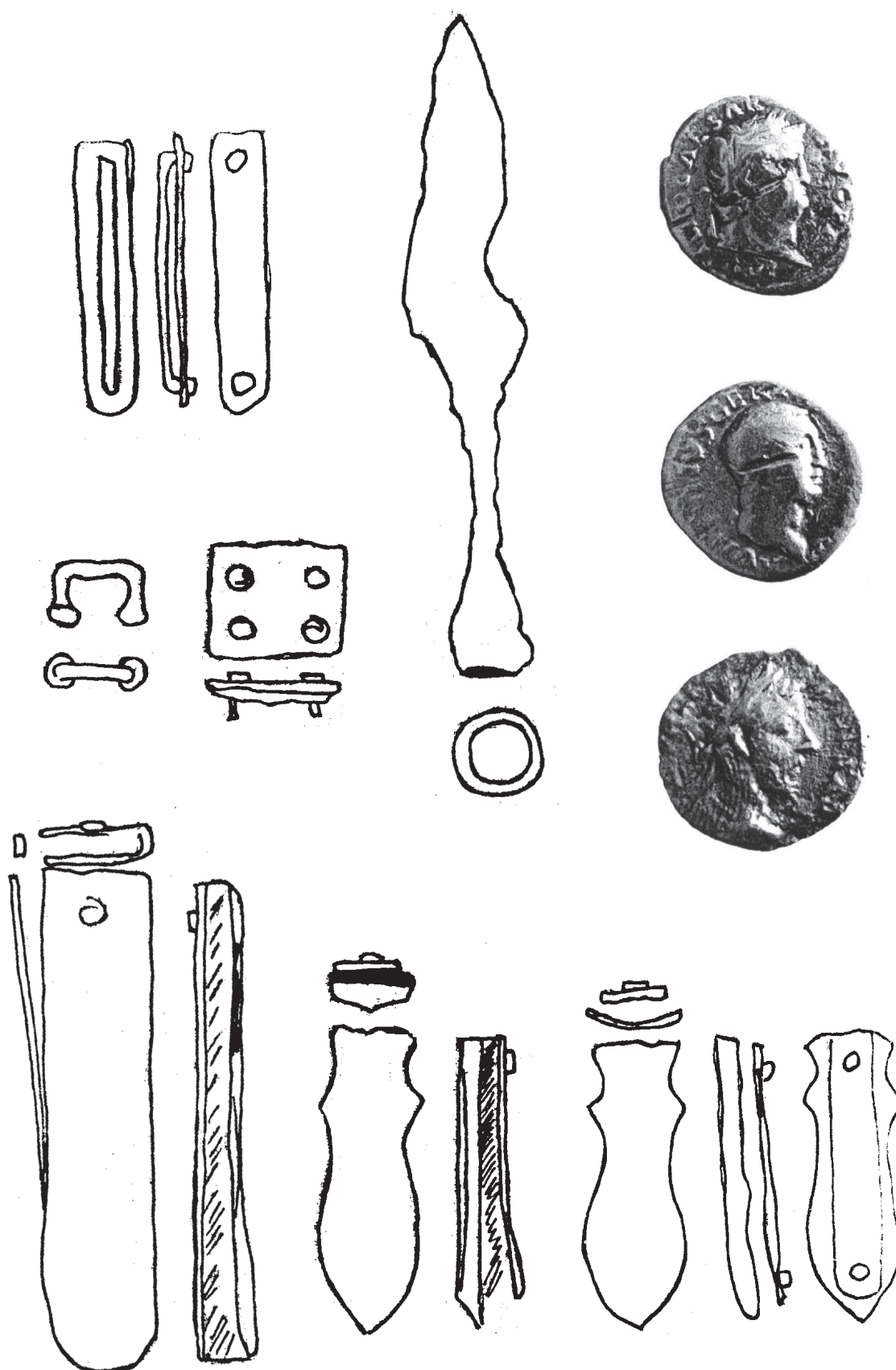


Fig. 4. Noșlac, grave 102, with selected artefacts (belt mounts and strap ends, as well as a spear head) and coins (obverses of denars struck for Nero, Vitellius and Marcus Aurelius). Various scales (after Rusu 1965, pl. I; Găzdac 2013b, p. 116, fig. 7).

coins, either of bronze or of silver, and only one specimen is said to be “heavily worn”¹⁴⁶. Worn is also the coin struck for Augustus and found within another pouch deposited in grave 377 of the cemetery excavated in Kölked¹⁴⁷. That is the oldest Roman coin found in any early medieval burial assemblage of East Central or South-eastern Europe.

A number of partial conclusions are already apparent. Much like elsewhere in the Merovingian and Anglo-Saxon world, the majority of the Roman coins deposited in 6th- to early 7th-century graves are of a 4th-century date (table 1)¹⁴⁸. All of them are bronze coins, especially AE3. Coins found in pairs tend to be of one and the same emperor, particularly Constantius II (337-361). Even when of different emperors, pairs or multiple sets of coins are of co-rulers, either Gallus and Constantius II or Valentinian and Gratian. Half of all coins with known mint attribution (40 specimens) have been struck in the mint of Siscia (modern Sisak, in Croatia), but the other coins are from a variety of mints, some closer (Viminacium, near modern Kostolac, in Serbia; Sirmium, now Sremska Mitrovica, in Serbia; Thessalonica), others at a considerable distance (Rome, Aquileia, Cyzicus, Heraclea, and Nicomedia). Moreover, coins from Siscia were found not only on sites located on the territory of the formerly Roman provinces of Pannonia I (Pókazepetk, Keszthely, and Vállus), Valeria (Budapest, Kölked, and Tamási), and Moesia Superior (Belgrade), but also in barbarian territory (Jaksor). Coins struck in Thessalonica have also been found in that territory (Aradac), while those of the mint of Rome appear as far from the Danube frontier of the Empire as Transylvania (Noşlac). This is in sharp contrast to the situation in the Merovingian world, where most ancient coins deposited in 6th- to 7th-century graves are of local origin, having been struck in the neighbouring regions of the Empire¹⁴⁹.

For 91 cases of Roman coins from 6th- to 7th-century burial assemblages in East Central and South-eastern Europe, the precise position was recorded in relation to the body. Unlike the Merovingian world, there are no cases of coins deposited in the skull (the mouth), supposedly as Charon’s obol¹⁵⁰. Instead, more than half of all coins with known position (52.75 percent) were found in the waist area. Most such coins are of a 4th-century date. Many of them appear in archaeological contexts that suggest the existence of pouches, typically deposited in male burials, often on the left side of the skeleton¹⁵¹. Unlike Merovingian and Anglo-Saxon graves of the same age, pierced coins appear not only as pendants in necklaces together with beads, but in pouches as well¹⁵². Among 3rd-century coins, the *antoniniani* predominate, much like in contemporary Anglo-Saxon graves. However, there is no parallel either in England or on the Continent for the deposition either

¹⁴⁶ Sós, Salamon 1995, p. 143.

¹⁴⁷ Kiss 1996, p. 104. The pouch was placed by the left hip of the skeleton.

¹⁴⁸ As in the Merovingian world, 4th-century coins found in the region of the skull are often pierced. See Krause 2002, p. 290-291. However, the bulk of the 4th-century coinage known from Anglo-Saxon graves was associated with female, not male skeletons (White 1991, p. 139). When found in males graves, Roman coins are interpreted as weights, because their surface is filed or trimmed. See also White 1988, p. 99-100.

¹⁴⁹ Pion 2011, p. 176.

¹⁵⁰ Pion 2011, p. 170. Most 1st- to 2nd-century *denarii* found in the lands to the east from the river Rhine were placed in the mouth. The practice of depositing *denarii* in the mouth started in the 5th century in northern Germany and reached the south only in the 6th century (Martin 2004, p. 247-248).

¹⁵¹ For pouches and male burials with weapons, see Curta, Lierse 2022, p. 9-10 and 27-29.

¹⁵² White 1991, p. 139; Krause 2002, p. 290. Out of 23 cases of pierced coins from East Central and Southeastern Europe, only in five were they associated with beads. In that respect, the situation in the 6th and 7th centuries is radically different from 4th-century burial assemblages of the Sântana de Mureş – Chernyakhov culture, in which Roman coins appear exclusively as pendants (pierced coins).

<i>Emperor</i>	<i>AE</i>	<i>AR</i>	<i>Sex</i>	<i>position</i>	<i>observations</i>	<i>ID</i>
Augustus	1		M	left hip	worn	BMC 4687
Nero		1				RIC I ² , 411
Vitellius		1				RIC I ² , 67
Domitian	1					RIC 314
Nerva	1		M			
Trajan	2	2	M	near left upper arm, on the ilium		
Hadrian	3	1		by the left knee, next to the right ilium	AR counterfeit; one AE heavily worn	RIC II, 407 RIC 1172
Antoninus Pius	1	1				RIC III, 1024
Lucius Verus		1		chest		
Faustina iun.	1					
Marcus Aurelius	3	1	M	abdomen	AR counterfeit	RPC Temp. no. 8834 RIC 1070 RIC III, 411
Commodus	1				medallion	RIC 449
Septimius Severus		1		next to left shoulder		
Elagabal	1?					
Severus Alexander	1	1	M, M	next to skull, under the ilium		
Gordian	2		M	on the ilium	one AE counterfeit, the other worn	RIC IV.3, 84
Philip the Arab	2			on the left ilium, by the left knee	one AE pierced	Pick 103
Decius	1				worn	
Trebonianus Gallus	1			by the left hip		Pick 163
Valerian	1			on the chest	pierced	
Gallienus	2	1	M	left side	AR turned into fibula	RIC 160K
Claudius II	1					
Aurelian	5		M, F, M, F	left side, between shinbones, by the cervical vertebrae	one AE pierced	RIC 102; RIC 368
Probus		1				
Diocletian	1		F	between legs		
Maximian	2			by the cervical vertebrae	pierced	
Galerius	1		M	by the left hip		RIC 99b

<i>Emperor</i>	<i>AE</i>	<i>AR</i>	<i>Sex</i>	<i>position</i>	<i>observations</i>	<i>ID</i>
Constantius Chlorus	1			between shinbones		
Constantine the Great	8		M, M, M	on the left ilium, in the left hand, by the left knee	one AE pierced	RIC 19 RIC 222c
Maximin Daia	1			on the ilium		RIC 55
Licinius	3			right side of the abdomen, chest	one AE pierced	RIC 231a
Constantine II	8		M, M, M	by the left knee	one AE fragmentary; another 2 worn	LRBC 591 LRBC 1666
Constantius II	14		M, C, M	under pelvic bone, on the left ilium, on the left side of the abdomen, on the ilium	one AE pierced	LRBC 1236 LRBC 1900
Constans	6			by the left knee, by the feet	one AE pierced	LRBC 778 LRBC 781
Vetranio	1				pierced	
Gallus	1		M	by the left knee		LRBC 931
Julian	1					
Valentinian I	7		M, M, M, M, M	by the left hip, on the abdomen (× 2), near left forearm		RIC 8/2, RIC IX, 7a
Valens	13		M, F, C	by the right hand (× 2), by the left shinbone, by the left knee (× 2), by the left hip, next to right shinbone	one AE pierced, another 2 worn one fragmentary	RIC 5b RIC 15b (× 2)
Gratian	2			by the left hip		

Table 1. Roman coins in 6th- to 7th-century burials in East Central Europe: AE – bronze; AR – silver; M – male; F – female; C – child. Shaded areas show the 1st- and 3rd-century coins, respectively.

of fourré coins, such as attested in Noşlac, or of medallions, such as that from grave 33 in Band. Unlike Anglo-Saxon England, none of the 2nd-century coins seems to have been used as a weight before deposition in the grave¹⁵³. No pendants were made out of any 2nd-century coins, and most of them are not particularly worn, in sharp contrast to the specimens from Anglo-Saxon burials¹⁵⁴. On the other hand, coins were turned into more elaborate dress accessories. The two disc-shaped fibulae from grave 2 in Mohács stand out among all burial assemblages of the same age, both West and East. They may well have been locally produced replicas of contemporary disc-shaped fibulae with haloed, *en-face* portraits of an emperor. If so, whoever made the disc-shaped fibulae from Mohács must have been aware of the fact that the fibulae with *en-face* portraits of an emperor were themselves imitations of imperial portraits on contemporary (not ancient) coins.

¹⁵³ White 1988, p. 75 (with an example of a *sestertius* of Trajan).

¹⁵⁴ White 1988, p. 81-82 (with examples of coins of Claudius).

ROMAN FIBULAE IN NEAR BARBARICUM (FIG. 5)

Far fewer Roman fibulae have been found in 6th- to 7th-century burial assemblages in Eastern Europe than coins. Like coins, fibulae appear especially on sites located on the territory of formerly frontier provinces along the Danube, such as Pannonia I, Valeria, Dacia Malvensis, Moesia Superior, as well as at a distance from the frontier, in “inner” provinces, such as Dacia Apulensis, Dacia Porolissensis, Venetia and Istria, Savia, Dalmatia, and Epirus Nova. They have also been found on the other side of the Danube frontier on sites in Near Barbaricum, such as Felgyő, Hódmezővásárhely, Szentes, Szőreg (Csongrád County, Hungary), Szolnok and Tiszafüred (Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok County, Hungary), or Gátér and Kecel (Bács-Kiskun County, Hungary). Unlike coins, Roman fibulae have been discovered much farther away from the frontier of the Empire, in Moravia (Lužice), northeastern Poland (Leleszki), and even western Russia (Mokva). It may not be an accident that all those specimens are among the earliest (1st to 2nd centuries AD). The majority (87.7 percent) of the 122 Roman fibulae recorded in 6th- to 7th-century burial assemblages in East Central, Eastern and Southeastern Europe have been identified or, at least, published in sufficient detail (including illustrations) to permit classification (see appendix 2)¹⁵⁵. Most of them (46 out of 107 specimens) belong to types dated to the first two centuries AD, with about a third from the 2nd to the 3rd centuries, and a quarter to the 4th century. In some cases, the skeletons with which those fibulae were associated have been anthropologically sexed. In half of all such cases (27 out of 54 sexed skeletons), those were graves of women, and less than a third of men. Women outnumber men with two of the chronological groups (1st- to 2nd-century, and 2nd- to 3rd-century fibulae, respectively), but there are slightly more graves of men (7) than of women (6) with 4th-century fibulae. While some sites have all three chronological groups represented, on others only one group appears, often in several graves. For example, all fibulae from the cemetery excavated in the early 20th century in Band (Mureș County, Romania) are of a 1st- or 2nd-century date¹⁵⁶. Moreover, in grave 33 of that cemetery, two bronze fibulae – one of the first, the other of the 2nd century – have been found together with a bronze medallion struck for Emperor Commodus (176-192)¹⁵⁷. It is likely that the two fibulae and the coin were part of a pouch deposited in the grave. In fact, in graves of both men and women, 1st- to 2nd-century fibulae appear together with a variety of objects – tools (such as knives), rings, chain and chain mail fragments, pendants with open-work decoration, fragments of glass, and indistinct remains of iron or bronze objects – indicating pouches¹⁵⁸. First- to 2nd-century fibulae appear in nine out of 23 cases of pouches with Roman fibulae. When the position of the pouch is recorded, the fibula is typically on the left side of the body¹⁵⁹. In two

¹⁵⁵ The following works have been used for the classification of the Roman fibulae in Appendix 2: Almgren 1923; Meyer 1960; Keller 1971; Jobst 1975; Feugère 1985; Pröttel 1988; Sellye 1990; Riha 1994; Cociș 2004; Genčeva 2004; Petković 2010.

¹⁵⁶ Kovács 1913, p. 407-408, 413 and 415. Two of them are fragments of strongly profiled fibulae of Riha's type 2.9.4. In grave 17 of the Avar-age cemetery excavated in Rácalmás (Fejér County, Hungary), a similar fibula was paired with another of her type 3.12.4 dated to the first half of the 3rd century. See Garam 2003, p. 118.

¹⁵⁷ Another strongly profiled fibula (of Riha's type 3.1.2) was found together with an unidentified Roman coin in grave 1978 of the Avar-age cemetery in Zamárdi (Bárdos, Garam 2014, p. 83).

¹⁵⁸ Rosner 1999, p. 72; Bóna, Horváth 2009, p. 160; Bárdos, Garam 2009, p. 21. There are traces of leather and fabric on the pendants with which the horse fibula from grave 82 in Zamárdi was associated – likely remains of the pouch.

¹⁵⁹ Mithay 1995, p. 174; Kiss 1996, p. 48; Rosner 1999, p. 40 and 72; Cseh *et alii* 2005, p. 25; Bárdos, Garam 2009, p. 21; Bárdos, Garam 2014, p. 113. For a rare case of deposition on the right side of the body, see Kiss 1996, p. 82.

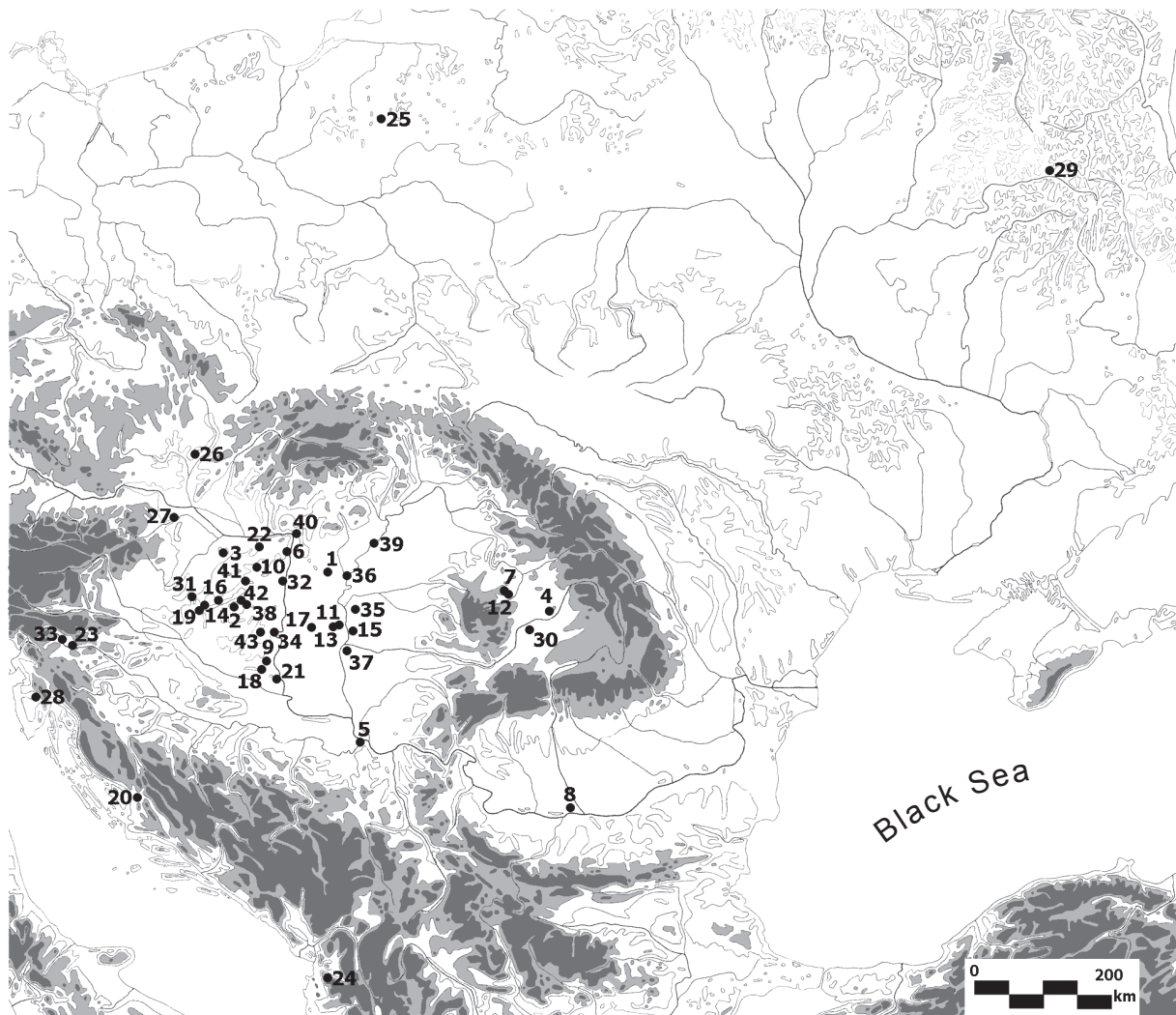


Fig. 5. Main sites with Roman fibulae mentioned in the text and in Appendix 2: 1. Alattyán; 2. Andocs; 3. Bakonytamási; 4. Band; 5. Belgrade; 6. Budapest; 7. Căpușu Mare; 8. Celei; 9. Cikó; 10. Csákerény; 11. Felgyő; 12. Florești; 13. Gátér; 14. Gyenesdiás; 15. Hódmezővásárhely; 16. Káptalantóti; 17. Kecel; 18. Kékesd; 19. Keszthely; 20. Knin; 21. Kölked; 22. Környe; 23. Kranj; 24. Kruje; 25. Leleszki; 26. Lužice; 27. Mannersdorf am Leithagebirge; 28. Mejica; 29. Mokva; 30. Noșlac; 31. Pókaszepetk; 32. Rácalmás; 33. Rifnik; 34. Szekszárd; 35. Szentés; 36. Szolnok; 37. Szőreg; 38. Tamási; 39. Tiszafüred; 40. Vác; 41. Várpalota; 42. Zamárdi; 43. Zavód.

graves of children, the fibula was deposited between the legs or at the feet, clearly as part of the burial ritual, after or before the body was lowered inside the pit¹⁶⁰. Of a ritual significance is also the deposition of the fibula in the filling of the pit, an indication that it was thrown there while the pit was backfilled¹⁶¹. First- to 2nd-century fibulae occasionally appear outside the grave pit as well¹⁶². Most remarkable is the absence of such fibulae from the region of the head or of the chest,

¹⁶⁰ Kiss 1996, p. 51; Müller 2008, p. 285. An enamelled geometrical brooch of Feugère's type 25b (dated between the second half of the first and the first half of the second century) was placed between the legs of the child in grave 139 of the Kölked cemetery (Kiss 1996, p. 51)

¹⁶¹ Madaras 1999, p. 318.

¹⁶² *** 1952, p. 219.

where they could be associated with beads. Despite the fact that the strongly profiled fibula of Riha's type 2.9.4 from grave 283 in Kölked had an attached ring for suspension (most likely to be worn as a pendant), it was found by the right hip of the skeleton together with artefacts indicating a pouch¹⁶³. It is likely that the fibula was indeed worn for some time as a pendant, before being deposited in the grave as part of the pouch "kit". However, its significance at the moment of the deposition had radically changed. It was not meant to signal a dress accessory, but, at most, the memory of a dress accessory¹⁶⁴. Similarly, none of the 1st- to 2nd-century fibulae found in 6th- to 7th-century burial assemblage was in a position relative to the body that could be interpreted as an indication that those fibulae were still dress accessories.

The most numerous among the 1st- and 2nd-century, or even among all Roman fibulae, are the strongly profiled fibulae of Riha's type 2.9.4. Out of 17 specimens, three were found within one and the same cemetery, at Band. Most other cemeteries produced one or two specimens¹⁶⁵. Strongly profiled fibulae occasionally appear together with other Roman fibulae, either enamelled plate fibulae (Riha's type 7.16), as in grave 33 at Band, or, as in grave 17 at Rácalmás, 3rd-century knee brooches with semicircular plate (Riha's type 3.12.4)¹⁶⁶. The latter constitute the second largest group of Roman fibulae in 6th- to 7th-century burial assemblages. Out of 13 known specimens, two were found together in grave 6 in Noşlac, a situation mirrored in grave 28 of the Avar-age cemetery in Tiszafüred with a pair of fibulae with bent stem of Cociş's type 37a5a2 (fig. 6)¹⁶⁷. Another knee brooch was paired with a 4th-century cruciform fibula (Keller's type I A) for the burial of a child¹⁶⁸. The choice of those pairs of fibulae seems therefore to be highly symbolic¹⁶⁹. At any rate, that the two knee brooches from Noşlac are of the same type is a very strong argument in favour of the idea that such artefacts were carefully selected before deposition in the grave.

Knee brooches have been found in graves of men, women, and children, but only in one case is the exact position of the fibula mentioned. The knee brooch from grave 304 of the Avar-age cemetery excavated in Szekszárd (Tolna County, Hungary) was found on the ilium of the child buried there¹⁷⁰. In this particular case, at least, it seems that the fibula did not operate as a fastener and was deposited on the body after it was lowered inside the grave pit. Similarly, a fibula with spring sheath, a variant of the knee brooch known as Jobst's type 12b, was found in grave 172 of the cemetery excavated in Knin (Croatia) on the abdomen of the female buried there¹⁷¹. However,

¹⁶³ Kiss 1996, p. 82.

¹⁶⁴ That may be also the explanation for the deposition of fragmentary fibulae in pouches, as in grave 9 of the cemetery excavated in Bakonytamási (Mithay 1995, p. 174). First- to 2nd-century fibulae are more likely than any others to appear in a fragmentary state in 6th- to 7th-century assemblages (5 cases, as opposed to 4 for 4th-century fibulae, and none for 2nd- to 3rd-century fibulae).

¹⁶⁵ Only one such fibula is known from the cemetery excavated in Zamárdi, with over 2,500 graves, the largest Avar-age graveyard excavated so far. See Balogh 2021. By contrast, the same cemetery produced all four, known specimens of another variant of the strongly profiled fibula (Riha's type 3.1.2), which is dated to the 2nd century. The selection is obvious.

¹⁶⁶ Kovács 1913, p. 407-408; Garam 2003, p. 118.

¹⁶⁷ Rusu 1962, p. 269-270; Garam 1995, p. 11.

¹⁶⁸ Bárdos, Garam 2009, p. 32. Similarly, two cruciform fibulae of Pröttel's type 3 were associated with (the fragment of) a trumpet-shaped fibula of Jobst's type 6A and a Noric-Pannonian fibula of his type 4b-c in graves 1361 and 1366 of the same cemetery, respectively (Bárdos, Garam 2009, p. 179; Bárdos, Garam 2014, p. 179).

¹⁶⁹ It is worth noting in this context that there are no fragments of 2nd- to 3rd-century fibulae.

¹⁷⁰ Rosner 1999, p. 43.

¹⁷¹ Vinski 1989, p. 30-31.

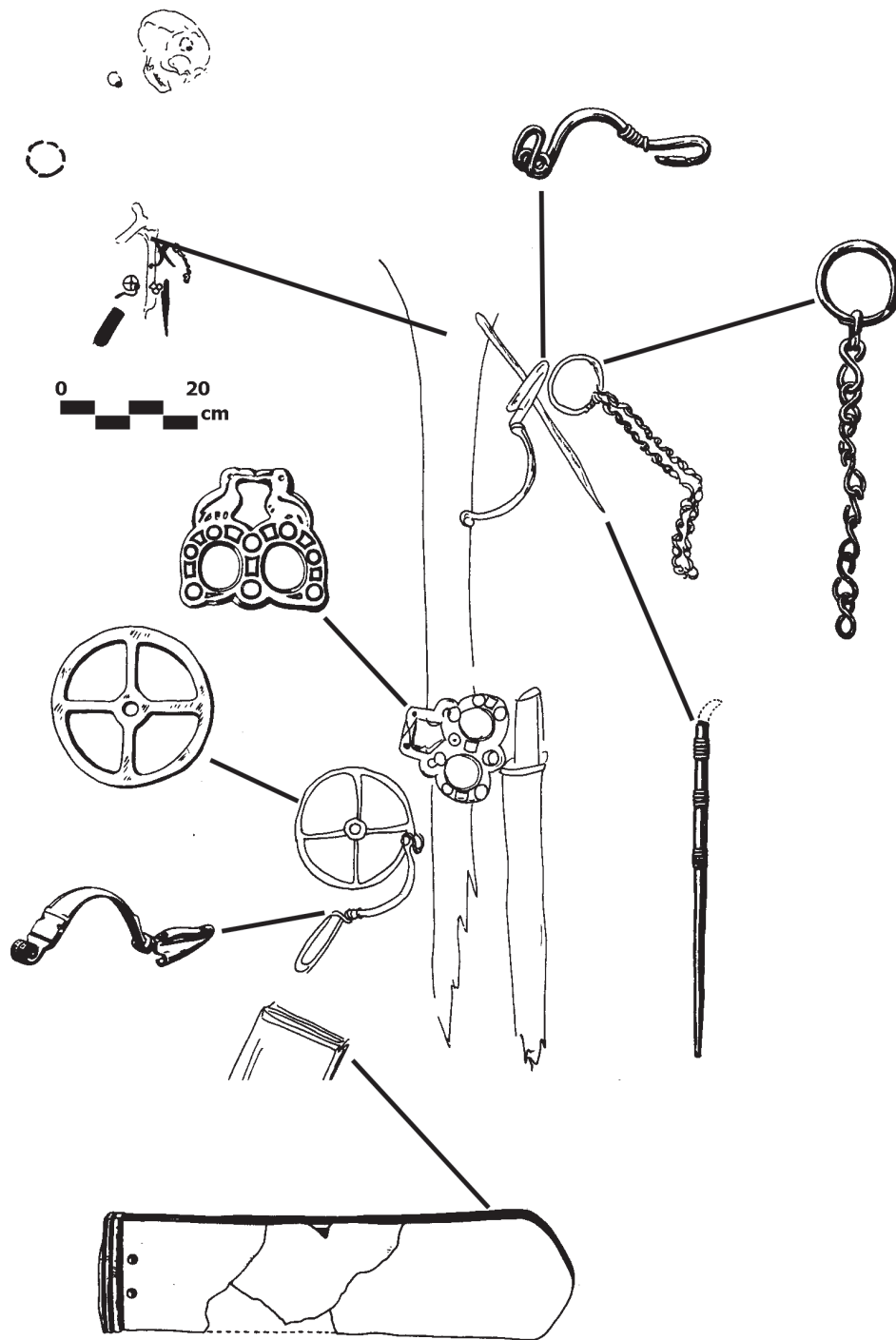


Fig. 6. Tiszafüred, grave 28, with selected artefacts (a bronze model, a bronze pendant with open-work ornament, a bronze ring with chain, a strap end, and a stylus-shaped pin), including a pair of fibulae with bent stem (after Garam 1995, p. 12, fig. 3, pl. 60).

in that case, the non-functional character of the fibula is enhanced by its association with other artefacts pointing to the contents of a pouch¹⁷². There are slightly more cases of pouches with

¹⁷² Even when found on the chest, as in grave 106 of the cemetery in Kölked, the 3rd-century fibula with bent stem is not functional, since it was in a pile of artefacts indicating a pouch (Kiss 1996, p. 40).

fibulae dated to 2nd and 3rd centuries than with 1st- to 2nd-century fibulae (10 and 9, respectively). However, besides the usual deposition on the left side of the body (male or female), pouches with 2nd- to 3rd-century fibulae were occasionally deposited under the skull, as in grave 160 of the cemetery excavated in Kranj (Slovenia)¹⁷³. This suggests that the pouch was first placed on the bottom of the pit, before the body was lowered inside it.

Cruciform fibulae of Keller's type IV A dated between 330 and 410 are the third largest group. They appear in pouches, as in a female grave of the Bakonytamási cemetery, where the fibula was on the left side of the body¹⁷⁴. The pouch found in grave 73 of the cemetery excavated in Pókaszeptk (Zala County, Hungary) contained a cruciform fibula of Keller's type IV, as well as two fibulae of the earlier chronological group – a 2nd-century horse fibula of Cociş's type 22a2 and 3rd-century T-shaped fibula of his type 394c1¹⁷⁵.

However, unlike fibulae from the other two chronological groups, 4th-century *Zwiebelknopffibeln* appear also on the chest or at the shoulders, in a position suggesting a still functional use as fastener¹⁷⁶. The same is true for other types of cruciform fibulae, such as the *Zwiebelknopffibel* of Keller's type I B from grave 1 in Keszthely (Zala County, Hungary)¹⁷⁷. By contrast, even though it was found on the chest of the female skeleton in grave 56 of the cemetery excavated in Alattyán (Szolnok County, Hungary), the *Bügelknopffibel* of Jobst's type 17 was fragmentary and could not have possibly been functional (fig. 7)¹⁷⁸. In this case, the deposition seems to have a symbolic value, much like the inclusion of a fragment of another *Bügelknopffibel* (of Petković's type 32B) in a pouch placed on the left ilium of a male skeleton in grave 170 discovered in 2000 at the *Pusztaszentegyháza dűlő* cemetery site to the south from Keszthely¹⁷⁹.

A number of partial conclusions remarkably match those drawn on the basis of the coin evidence (table 2). Those who buried their dead in 6th- to 7th-century cemeteries regarded 4th-century fibulae as different from those of earlier times, much like they had a greater interest in 4th-century coins than in those struck in earlier centuries. Cruciform (*Zwiebelknopffibeln*) and crossbow brooches (*Bügelknopffibeln*) were still treated as fasteners, except when in a fragmentary state. By contrast, if any fibula found in Anglo-Saxon graves is still functional, it tends to be a 1st- to 2nd-century specimen¹⁸⁰. Much like pierced coins, fragments of 4th-century fibulae from East Central and Southeastern Europe appear in pouches. Much like pairs of coins struck for one and the same emperor, Roman fibulae, particularly those of the 3rd century, appear in pairs

¹⁷³ Stare 1980, p. 111.

¹⁷⁴ Mithay 1995, p. 173.

¹⁷⁵ Sós, Salamon 1995, p. 143.

¹⁷⁶ Stare 1980, p. 118; Ivanišević, Kazanski 2002, p. 136; Müller 2014, p. 126.

¹⁷⁷ Straub 2000, p. 206.

¹⁷⁸ Kovrig 1963, p. 14. Similarly, the fragment of a cruciform fibula of Keller's type IV A from grave 69 in Keszthely, although found under the jaw, was fragmentary, and could not have possibly been still used as a fastener (Müller 2010, p. 126). This may also be true for the fragment of a similar fibula from grave 149 in Rácalmás (Garam 2003, p. 118).

¹⁷⁹ Müller 2014, p. 84.

¹⁸⁰ White 1988, p. 36 (with examples of strongly profiled fibulae from 6th- to 7th-century graves in Broughton Lodge and Filkins). For Broughton Lodge, see Kinsley 1993, p. 35 and p. 123, fig. 52/7. By contrast, the majority of the 42 fibulae found in Merovingian burial assemblages and dated between the 1st and the 4th century are non-functional (broken). If found in male burials, they typically appear in pouches, while in female burials they are attached to belt straps or chains, as pendants. See Pion 2011, p. 176-177.



Fig. 7. Alattyán, grave 56, with selected artefacts (pair of earrings, glass bead necklace, two finger-rings, iron buckle, and spindle whorl), including a *Bügelknopffibel* (after Kovrig 1963, pl. IV).

of specimens of the same type, as in grave 6 in Noşlac or in grave 28 in Tiszafüred. Even more significant in that respect is the association of two fibulae of the early imperial age with a bronze medallion struck for Commodus in grave 33 of the cemetery excavated in Band. A remarkable parallel to that is the assemblage in a female burial (grave 47) of the 5th- to 7th-century cemetery excavated in Worthy Park, Kingsworthy. There was a pouch in that burial, which included an Aucissa fibula and a *tutulus*-type Roman brooch, in addition to two Roman coins, both pierced, and other objects¹⁸¹. Much like in Anglo-Saxon England, Roman fibulae appear more often in East Central and Southeastern Europe in graves of women than of men. However, unlike contemporary graves in England, they are typically found in pouches placed on the left side of the body, and never worn as pendants attached to necklaces, belt straps or chains. Much like 4th-century coins, 1st-century fibulae are sometimes thrown into the pit during its backfilling, most likely in a symbolic gesture that was part of the burial ritual. Equally symbolic is the deposition of both coins and fibulae underneath the skeleton, whether singly or in pouch “kits”¹⁸².

¹⁸¹ Chadwick Hawkes, Grainger 2003, p. 53-54 and 56, p. 55, fig. 2.10, p. 101, fig. 2.30. The two coins are a *follis* struck for Galerius between 293 and 305, and an AE3 struck for Magnentius between 350 and 353. See also White 1988, p. 36.

¹⁸² Banner 1933, p. 377; Stare 1980, p. 111.

<i>Class</i>	<i>Number of specimens</i>	<i>Sex</i>	<i>Position</i>	<i>Observations</i>	<i>ID</i>	<i>Date (century)</i>
Plate	1				Riha 7.20	1
Strongly profiled	2	2M	by the left hand, abdomen		Riha 2.9.2	1
Strongly profiled	17	2F, C	under the feet, by the left hip, by the right hip, filling	one fragment; attached ring for suspension	Riha 2.9.4	1
Wing	1				Riha 2.11	1
Gaulic	1	C			Riha 2.2.1	1-2
Hinge	1	M			Riha 5.13.2	1-2
Noric-Pannonian	1	F		fragment	Jobst 4b-c	1-2
Plate	1	C	between the legs		Feugère 25b	1-2
Plate	2	C			Riha 5.17.5	1-2
Tall catch-pin	1			fragment	Certosa?	1-2
Thistle	1				Riha 4.7.2	1-2
Trumpet	2	F			Jobst 6A	1-2
<i>Tutulus</i>	1				Riha 7.11.4	1-2
Hinged	1	F		fragment	Riha 6.4.4	1-3
Animal	3	2F, C	left femur		Genčeva 296	2
<i>Kniefibel</i>	2	F	by the left hip	one fragment	Cociş 19a1b1b	2
<i>Kniefibel</i>	1	F	by the left hip		Petković 18F	2
Noric-Pannonian	1				Riha 3.3	2
Plate	1				Riha 7.16	2
Skeuomorphic	1	C			Cociş 23e	2
Strongly profiled	4	M, 2F			Riha 3.1.2	2
Anchor	1				Genčeva 11b	2-3
Disc	1	F			Riha 3.16	2-3
<i>Kniefibel</i>	4	F, C	abdomen		Jobst 12b	2-3
Letter	1	F			Jobst 33	2-3
Swastika	2	F, C	by the left hip		Cociş 33a2	2-3
Crossbow	1		under the skull		Riha 3.8	2-3
Strongly profiled	2	C	by the right hip		Genčeva 126	2-3
Disc	2	M, F	by the left hip		Jobst C	2-4
Bent stem	2				Cociş 37a5a2	3
Bent stem	1		on chest		Cociş 37b2b	3
Disc	1	F	by the left hip		Riha 3.17	3
Hinge	1	F			Riha 6.4.3	3

<i>Class</i>	<i>Number of specimens</i>	<i>Sex</i>	<i>Position</i>	<i>Observations</i>	<i>ID</i>	<i>Date (century)</i>
<i>Kniefibel</i>	13	3M, 2F, 2C	ilium		Riha 3.12.4	3
T-shaped	1				Cociş 39b4c1	3
<i>Kniefibel</i>	1	F			Cociş 19a1b1a	3-4
Penannular	2			one of iron, another of bronze	Sellye I	3-4
<i>Zwiebelknopffibel</i>	1	F			Keller II	3-4
<i>Bügelknopffibel</i>	1	F	chest	fragment	Jobst 17	4
<i>Zwiebelknopffibel</i>	2	F, C			Keller I A	4
<i>Zwiebelknopffibel</i>	3	M, F	chest, right ilium		Keller I B	300-340
<i>Bügelknopffibel</i>	1	M	filling		Almgren VI 2	4-5
<i>Bügelknopffibel</i>	1	M	left ilium	fragment	Petković 32B	4-5
<i>Zwiebelknopffibel</i>	3	2M, F			Pröttel 3	330-400
<i>Zwiebelknopffibel</i>	1				Keller III	364-380
<i>Zwiebelknopffibel</i>	12	2M, F	by the left forearm, right shoulder, under the jaw, right ilium, chest	2 fragments	Keller IV A	370-410

Table 2. Roman fibulae in 6th- to 7th-century burials in East Central Europe: ID – identification (according to various catalogues); M – male; F – female; C – child. Shaded area shows the 1st- to 2nd-century, as well as the 4th-century fibulae, respectively.

COINS AND FIBULAE AS *MEMORABILIA*

Both the written and the archaeological sources from the Merovingian period indicate a strong tendency for people to connect themselves with ideas and material remains from the Roman past. This has commonly been interpreted as means by which claims to power were substantiated and the contemporary social order was legitimized through representing it as a continuation of what had come before¹⁸³. Just how that worked in practice remains unknown. However, the examination of coins and fibulae from East Central and Southeastern Europe offers some points of reference. The comparatively large number of coins struck in the 4th century is undoubtedly linked to the conventional representation of the emperor. Most portraits on 3rd century coins have been described as of excellent quality and “emotive descriptions”¹⁸⁴. However, after the reform of 294, coins struck for different emperors could be distinguished only on the basis of the legend. There is a clear move

¹⁸³ van Haperen 2010, p. 28.

¹⁸⁴ Reece 2005, p. 126.

away from individuality and towards a standard portrait good for any and all emperors¹⁸⁵. The standardization of the imperial portrait may explain the selection of 4th-century coins for grave deposition. Such coins indexed a generic, imperial past of Rome. What mattered obviously was just the portrait of the emperor, *any* emperor, as if the image on the 4th-century bronze coins was meant to bring to mind the idea of empire, in general. That was the image that was then displayed on the body, not only in death, but very likely in lifetime as well. Fourth-century coins were pierced to be worn as pendants, sometimes together with beads. Some of those coins were later removed from necklaces and selected for deposition in pouches. This strongly suggests that they were selected as pendants, not as coins, even though the imperial portrait may have been the main reason behind selection in the first place. This is true even for 3rd-century coins, which appear in pouches together with much later, unpierced coins. For example, the pouch in grave 354 of the Avar-age cemetery in Kölked contained a pendant made of a bronze coin of Trebonianus Gallus as well as a coin struck for Justinian almost three centuries later. A concern with the imperial portrait may also be the explanation for the transformation of a silver coin struck for Gallienus between 253 and 268 into a disc-fibula. Whatever type of *antoninianus* minted for that emperor this coin may have been, what seems to have caused its selection for a jewel was the radiate and cuirassed bust of Gallienus, with that name written in the legend around the head, as if it were a second crown.

Instead of relying on legends for distinguishing between coins struck for different 4th-century emperors, those who buried their dead in 6th- to 7th-century preferred medium to relatively large sizes (AE1, AE2 or AE3). However, the presence of pairs of coins of one and the same emperor or of co-emperors strongly suggests that coins were distinguished on the basis of elements other than the size of the coin. Even though coins of Constantius II and Valens seem to have been selected in almost the same numbers, the quality of the coins of the former is far better than that of the coins of the latter emperor. Even more surprising is that the coins of Constantius II have been struck in a variety of mints, while those of Valens are primarily from Siscia. Fourth-century coins appear mostly in graves of men, usually on the left side of the body, in the region of the waist. They are often accompanied by other artefacts indicating the contents of a pouch¹⁸⁶.

Pouches contain 3rd-century coins as well, including pierced specimens. The most remarkable parallel between 3rd- and 4th-century coins is the deposition of multiple specimens struck for the same emperor in one and the same grave. Two coins minted for Maximian between 286 and 305 were on a necklace in an Early Avar-age grave from Csengele. Two other coins struck for Constantius II within one and the same year (348/9) have been found in grave 2 of the cemetery excavated in Belgrade, with two AE3 of the same emperor from another Early Avar-age grave from Kölked. Three coins minted for Constantius II are also known from an Early Avar-age grave from Cikó. In both Kölked and Cikó, the coins were most likely inside pouches. However, those coins were procured, their selection of coins similar to each other strongly suggests a symbolic meaning or, at least, a message that needed reinforcement. It almost looks like the memory attached to the

¹⁸⁵ Reece 2005, p. 131 sees this change coinciding with the shift from individual to collegiate rule. It is important to note that, although Constantine the Great broke out of that trend, his family returned to it (with the notable exception of Julian, who sported a beard). The reverse, after 294, shows only one common type, which relates not to the emperor, but to the people as a whole (Reece 2005, p. 132).

¹⁸⁶ For the reconstruction of the pouch, see Vida 1996, p. 76, fig. 7. In the western part of the Carpathian Basin, the deposition of pouches in graves begins already in the mid-5th century, as demonstrated by Straub 2001. For pouches in the Early Avar age, see Tóth 1980; Tóth 1981, p. 28-29; Lakatos 2001. Tóbiás 2011, p. 277, wrongly concludes that Roman fibulae as part of pouches appear only in female burials.

imperial portrait of Maximian or of Constantius II could not be sufficiently supported by just one image. Those were therefore not generic portraits anymore, although it is hard, if not impossible to explain why Maximian and Constantius II were commemorated in such a manner, but no other emperors. No other coins of Maximian are known from any other burial assemblage besides that in Csengele. By contrast, coins of Constantius II were the commonest of all 4th-century coins deposited in graves. One of them was pierced and found probably in a grave in Čurug (near Žabalj, Serbia). Much more important for the interpretation of the pairs or triplets of coins struck for Constantius II is the presence of one such coin underneath the skeleton of a child in Kiszombor. That such a position is not the result of some accident or taphonomic incident results from the parallel situation in grave 125 of the cemetery excavated just outside Keszthely, at *Pusztaszentegyháza dűlő*. In that grave, a pouch with a silver coin struck for Severus Alexander was placed under the skeleton of a male who died in his 60s. In both cases, the coin was placed in the pit before the body was lowered inside it. The gesture may have been a symbolic invocation of “history”, whatever the value attached to the portrait of the emperor on the coin. That the coin entered the tomb before the body implies that it was perceived as “older” and therefore significant for establishing a historical connection to the burial ceremony¹⁸⁷. The association between the deceased child and (the coin of) Constantius II will remain forever unknown. However, throwing a coin on the bottom of the grave pit does not seem to have been different from selecting two or three coins of the same emperor to be placed in a pouch next to the body. At any rate, there seems to be a clear understanding of the chronologically specific significance of the coinage of Emperor Constantius II.

We have begun with a question about preference shown for some emperors over others. There are indeed slightly more coins of Aurelian than of Trajan. However, two of the coins struck for the latter are of silver, and not worn. Moreover, unlike 3rd- and 4th-century coins, those struck for 2nd-century emperors and deposited in early medieval graves of the Carpathian Basin are never pierced. Those imperial portraits, again, were all that mattered results from the extraordinary presence in the cemetery excavated in Nošlac of several fourrés imitating *denarii* struck for Hadrian, Marcus Aurelius and Gordian. In at least two of those cases, the imitation seems to have resulted in an enlarged or otherwise more conspicuous portrait on the obverse. The fourré copying a *denarius* of Marcus Aurelius was found together with two other, earlier *denarii* struck for Nero and Vitellius. Both have marks of metal control applied directly on the imperial portrait, a feature that curiously enhances the visibility of those images. Not much can be said about what the portrait of any particular emperor meant to those who buried their dead in the 6th- to 7th-century cemeteries of the Carpathian Basin, northern or northwestern Balkans. However, the interpretation of those images may not have been essentially different from that of later centuries. In the Late Middle Ages, Roman *denarii* were known as “St. John’s pennies” or “St. John’s heads” because the imperial portrait was interpreted as the head of St. John the Baptist on a platter¹⁸⁸. Whatever the interpretation of the imperial portrait, its significance is substantiated by the fact that even

¹⁸⁷ A symbolically similar association may explain the deposition of the coins struck for Gallienus and Aurelian under the sword found with a male skeleton in grave 253 of the Kölked cemetery.

¹⁸⁸ Bogucki, Dymowski, Śnieżko 2017, p. 277. However, no parallel can be established with another explanation provided for the late medieval attitude towards Roman coins. In the 11th century, Roman *denarii* were deposited in some graves as a way to substitute real coins in order to avoid losses to one’s budget (Bogucki, Dymowski, Śnieżko 2017, p. 281). Such an explanation cannot work with the 6th- and 7th-century cases, because of the absence of both “real coins” and a monetary economy in those societies. Given the intrinsic value of the silver Roman coins found in 6th- to 7th-century graves, their deposition may in fact have been a loss to one’s “budget.”

with contemporary (6th- and early 7th-century coins) coins modified to be displayed as pendants, the hole is typically above the head of the emperor on the obverse¹⁸⁹.

The portrait must also have been the reason for the selection and later deposition of a medallion struck for Commodus in a grave of the Band cemetery in Transylvania. The pouch which contained that medallion also included two Roman fibulae, one of which is dated to the same time as the coin (2nd century). Much like in the case of the pairs of coins, this matching of contemporary coins and fibulae strongly suggests an awareness of the fact that both categories of artefacts belonged to the same, more or less imagined past. To be sure, fibulae dated to the first two centuries were preferred over later types for deposition in graves, together with other objects indicating the contents of pouches. However, the pairing of fibulae of the same kind (either Riha's type 3.12.4 or Cociş's type 37a5a2) in two burial assemblages of two different cemeteries (Noşlac and Tiszafüred) is a mirror of the pairing of coins of one and the same emperor. If 4th-century coins served as reminder of the generic portrait of the Roman emperor, 4th-century fibulae, especially cruciform brooches of the *Zwiebelknopffibel* type, were definitely a reminder of (old) Roman fashion, since a good number of them were not only functional, but also used as fasteners for the burial dress (or for the shroud).

CONCLUSION

As "evocative objects", Roman coins and fibulae conjured an era that must have been perceived as long gone¹⁹⁰. It is impossible to tell how exactly the Roman past was perceived or imagined in Near Barbaricum during the 6th or the 7th century, but there is no doubt that it was worth commemorating. For the deposition in multiple graves of similar objects is a clear sign of remembering as an act of keeping alive the memory of someone or something through ritual reiteration. That coins and, occasionally, fibulae could be transformed into jewels suggests that their role as memorabilia turned them into "charismatic objects" as well¹⁹¹. In that respect, pierced Roman coins became "acting forces" in history, in that they played an amuletic role, whether related to social status or not¹⁹². In the Merovingian world, all those buried with Roman silver coins were of high social status. Inside the formerly Roman provinces in the West, those coins came with the people, and must therefore have been curated for multiple generations as heirlooms¹⁹³. The special character of those coins called for their own collection; they were "numinous objects"¹⁹⁴. The argument applies only partially to the Near Barbaricum in East Central and Southeastern Europe. To be sure, there are no Roman coins anywhere else in Eastern Europe in the early Middle Ages¹⁹⁵. Roman fibulae are also rare in that part of the Continent, as well as in the northern regions of East Central Europe during the early Middle Ages. Closer to the frontier of the Empire, Roman fibulae appear in some parts of Near Barbaricum (the lands

¹⁸⁹ Gândilă 2018, p. 274 and 276, fig. 40.

¹⁹⁰ For "evocative objects", see Turkle 2007.

¹⁹¹ For "charismatic objects", see Vedeler *et alii* 2018. For "charismatic objects" as extraordinary and socially effective in religious communication, see Radermacher 2019, p. 184-185.

¹⁹² White 1991, p. 140; Vedeler 2018, p. 13. See also the remarks of Gândilă 2018, p. 255.

¹⁹³ Martin 2004, p. 250 and 257.

¹⁹⁴ Maines, Gylinn 1993.

¹⁹⁵ Myzgin 2020, p. 116 and 137.

between the Danube and the Tisza rivers), but not in others (the lands north of the Lower Danube now in southern and southeastern Romania). On the territory of the Roman provinces evacuated at the earliest (Dacia Apulensis), Roman coins have been found on sites located next to Roman-age settlements or cemeteries¹⁹⁶. With a few exceptions, 6th- to 7th-century sites in Hungary, which produced coins and fibulae, are typically located next to Roman sites, some of them quite large (Arrabona in Győr, Sopiana in Pécs, and Gorsium in TÁC)¹⁹⁷. It is therefore likely that the Roman objects deposited in the early medieval graves were procured locally, through accidental or intentional digging in Roman ruins¹⁹⁸. It is also possible that sometimes such excavations produced hoards of Roman coins, for that could explain easily the deposition of pairs or triplets of coins struck for the same emperor, as well as the good state of preservation of the older, 2nd- to 3rd-century coins. However, after being discovered by whatever means and in whatever form (single or hoard finds), the Roman objects were collected, if not curated, and not immediately deposited in graves. The careful choice of both coins and fibulae implies an intermediary phase between discovery and deposition, in which the selected coin or the artefact was invested with a special significance that turned into an “evocative object”.

The practice of depositing ancient coins in graves is first documented in burial assemblages dated to the mid-5th century and discovered in the Roman cities in southern Pannonia¹⁹⁹. One of the graves discovered in 2006 in the cemetery IV located immediately to the west from the medieval fortress of Kalemegdan in Belgrade (ancient Singidunum) produced weapons, most of them broken and deposited on the left side of a male skeleton. The buckle associated with that skeleton has good analogies in burial assemblages from Hungary and has therefore been dated between 420/430 and 450. No less than five Roman coins were found in the assemblage. Two of them are *denarii*, one struck for Antoninus Pius, the other for Marcus Aurelius. Two of the other three coins are bronzes minted for Valens and Honorius. There is also an unidentified, 4th-century coin²⁰⁰. A silver coin struck for Hadrian is known from a grave of the cemetery to the south from the ancient city of Viminacium (Kostolac), at Burdelj²⁰¹. The coin was found on the right side of the ilium of the skeleton in the grave, which was dated between 430 and 480 on the basis of the associated buckles²⁰². A damaged grave on *Puškinova Street* in Sremska Mitrovica (the site of ancient Sirmium) stands out among the rather poor graves in 5th-century Sirmium, particularly through its pair of fibulae of the Reggio Emilia type, which allows for a dating of the assemblage between ca. 450 and ca. 480. Two bronze coins were found in the grave, one struck for Claudius II

¹⁹⁶ Both Noşlac and Unirea are located next to Ocna Mureş (Alba County, Romania), the site of ancient Salinae. There are two Roman sites in Moreşti (Mureş County), one at *Podei*, the other at *Citfalău*. Two Roman sites have been identified in Band (Mureş County) as well, one at *Măgura*, the other at *Valea Lechinţei*. A hoard of 3rd-century coins is known from Band – *Cetate*. Data from <http://ran.cimec.ro> (accessed on October 15, 2022).

¹⁹⁷ The exceptions are Cikó, Jutas, Menfőcsanak and Szőreg. Data from <http://archaeodatabase.hmn.hu> (accessed on October 15, 2022).

¹⁹⁸ Mehling 1999, p. 72-82; Eckardt, Williams 2003, p. 149 and 159.

¹⁹⁹ The only assemblage with Roman coins that can be dated earlier than that was found outside Pannonia, on the right bank of the Danube, to the east of the Iron Gates Gorge. Two pierced coins, one of which was struck for Gratian (367-375), have been found on the neck of the teenager in grave 18 of the cemetery excavated in Vajuga (near Kladovo, Serbia). On the basis of the associated fibulae of Vyškov type, the grave was dated to the first half of the 5th century. See Špehar 2012, p. 42 and 43, fig. 11/I, J, according to whom one of the two coins was found in the mouth.

²⁰⁰ Ivanišević, Kazanski 2007, p. 117; Ivanišević, Bugarski 2017-2018, p. 98; Ćirić 2019, p. 120-121.

²⁰¹ Zotović 1980, p. 110.

²⁰² Ćirić 2019, p. 122.

(268-270), the other for Valens (364-378)²⁰³. Finally, two bronzes, a *sestertius* of Severus Alexander (222-235) and a coin struck for Julia Mamaea in 228, were found next to the left arm of the skeleton in grave 1193 at *Više Grobalja*, near Viminacium, which was dated between 430/40 and 500/10²⁰⁴. All those assemblages, the earliest to produce ancient Roman coins, have been dated to the half-a-century between 430 and 480.

This was a period of great transformation in southern Pannonia, especially after the demise of the power of the Huns, following Attila's death²⁰⁵. Four groups – Sciri, Ostrogoths, Gepids, and Herules – were disputing each other's claim to territory in the region, with three of them offering their services as federates of the Empire. While, shortly after eliminating the Scirian presence in the region, the Ostrogoths took over southern Pannonia (between the Lower Drava and the Lower Sava) with Sirmium, the Gepids and the Herules controlled the Danube region around Singidunum²⁰⁶. Although the frontier of the Roman Empire was theoretically still on the Sava and the Danube, the borderlands in the northwestern Balkans were ruled indirectly through the federates. In such a politically volatile situation, the sense of belonging to the Roman world must have been seriously challenged for those who lived in formerly Roman towns. All early burials with ancient Roman coins are of high-status individuals, at least judging from the grave goods, some of which are either exceptional (weapons) or quite unique (the fibulae of the Reggio Emilia type). The possession, display, and transmission of old Roman coins must have been a way to signal an exclusive access to the remote past. The selection of coins struck for 2nd- (Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius), 3rd- (Severus Alexander, Claudius II), and 4th-century emperors (Valens, Honorius) suggests a certain perception of the time depth associated with that (Roman) past. It is unlikely that those who deposited the coins in the graves could recognize precisely the emperors for whom those coins were minted. However, it may not be an accident that the male buried with weapons in Singidunum received a *denarius* of Marcus Aurelius, while one of the two coins deposited on the right side of the (probably female) skeleton in grave 1193 from *Više Grobalja* is struck for Julia Mamaea. The bearded head (bare or laureate) of the emperor and the draped bust of the Augusta wearing stephane were undoubtedly sufficiently clear details for drawing distinctions.

Whatever the reasons for invoking the Roman imperial past, the practice of depositing coins and fibulae in graves spread after AD 500 to the lands north of the frontier re-established shortly after that on the Danube and the Sava rivers. At exactly the same time as a great deal of interest in Roman history is manifested among the learned elites in Constantinople, the Roman past is invoked in communities outside the Empire, in the western and northwestern Balkans, as well as in the Carpathian Basin. A Roman chronotope is likely to have been present in those communities, perhaps embedded in stories or myths associated with the Roman objects. There is in fact a remarkable correspondence between the choices made by the authors writing in the 6th century

²⁰³ Ercegović-Pavlović 1982; Ivanišević, Bugarski 2017-2018, p. 95; Ćirić, 2019, p. 116-117. For other 5th-century graves from Sirmium, see Popović 2017.

²⁰⁴ See Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastikova 2006, p. 206, p. 207, pl. 34/T 1193.3, 4. For the identification of the coins, see Ćirić 2019, p. 122-123.

²⁰⁵ Sarantis 2016, p. 62, fig. 4 calls this period one of "frontier chaos (post-Attila)".

²⁰⁶ Gračanin 2007, p. 8-15; Gračanin 2011; Gračanin, Škrulja 2014, p. 167-178; Škrulja, Gračanin 2014, p. 12-14; Steinacher 2017; Blochmann, Meier 2019, p. 378-382. For a tentative location of those groups, see Christie 1992, p. 329, fig. 3.

and those “barbarians” who buried their dead with Roman coins. Constantius II, the emperor with whom Peter the Patrician’s *Roman History* ended seems to be the best represented in the coin material. A sense of time depth comparable to that of John Malalas or Jordanes results from the association of a medallion of Commodus with a contemporary fibula. Commodus was also praised by John Malalas. Unlike John the Lydian’s nostalgic preoccupation with the pre-imperial past of Rome, there is absolutely no interest in Near Barbaricum in the history of the Republic, although coins struck before 27 BC were certainly available in the region²⁰⁷. The pairing of coins of one and the same emperor or of fibulae of one and the same type may also be compared with the overall goals of the vignettes employed by John Malalas or Jordanes. Procopius wrote mostly about Constantine and Trajan, two emperors that figure prominently in the list of coins from 6th- to 7th-century burial assemblages. He seems to have disliked Diocletian, who is represented by only one coin in the material discussed in this paper²⁰⁸.

Barbarians remembered Rome, and their “disparate imaginings of Rome”, while different from those of the *lettrés* in Constantinople, were nonetheless based on multi-temporality and time-contraction. The collection and selection of Roman coins and fibulae was a yearning projection in the past metaphorically linked to ritual gestures of the burial ceremony. Whether or not they agreed with Jordanes about the sad spectacle of the Roman state in their own times, people in Near Barbaricum looked back nostalgically upon the Roman past as the great age of the Empire.

²⁰⁷ For Republican coins in Near Barbaricum, see Toropu, Stoica 1970, p. 491; Baltag 2000, p. 112 and 127; Radu *et alii* 2012, p. 44, 61, 71, 73, 97, 119, 127, 128, 137 and 141. As Tudor 1974, p. 22 and 24 noted, Republican coins entered the lands north of the Danube a couple of centuries before the Roman armies. For Republican coins in the western Balkans, see Petrinc, Šeparović, Vrdoljak 1999, p. 39 and 95-105; Nađ 2012, p. 398-399; Šeparović 2020, p. 15, 16, 19, 22, 35, 41, 46, 48, 49, 51, 93, 95, 99, 106, 112, 113, 117, 136, 138, 139, 158, 174-176, 181, 189, 198-200.

²⁰⁸ However, only one coin is also known for Augustus and Julian, respectively.

APPENDIX 1. Roman coins in 6th- to 7th-century burial assemblages

1. [5 BC, Rome, worn] AE As Augustus [BMC 4687]: Kölked, grave 377 (by the left hip, probably in a pouch together with a flint steel, a bone plate, an awl, a fragment of an iron ring); Kiss 1996, p. 104 and 488, pl. 74.A377/7.
2. [67-68] AR Nero: Noşlac, grave 102 [RIC I², 411]; Găzdac, Cosma 2013b, p. 108 and 116, fig. 7/5.
3. [69] AR Vitellius: Noşlac, grave 102 [RIC I², 67]; Găzdac, Cosma 2013b, p. 108 and 116, fig. 7.
4. [81-96] AE Domitian [RIC 314]: Pókaszepetk, grave 360 (cremation, next to a scale and a glass weight); Sós, Salamon 1995, p. 171 and pl. XXII.360/18, pl. LXXXVIII/5.
5. [96-98] AE Nerva: Győr, grave 494; Fettich 1943, p. 31 and pl. XI/9.
6. [98-117] AE Trajan; Békésszentandrás, grave 6 (on the ilium); Bóna, Nagy 2002, p. 26 and 277, pl. 3/6.5.
7. [98-117, probably 106-117] AE Trajan: Hegykő, grave 34; Bóna, Horváth 2009, p. 42 and 245, pl. 10.34/4.
8. [98-117] AR Trajan: Gyula (next to left upper arm); Bóna, Nagy 2002, p. 29, p. 276, pl. 2/3, p. 339, pl. 65/1a-b.
9. [98-117] AR Trajan: Jaksor, grave 29; Csallány 1961, p. 27-28.
10. [117-138] AE As Hadrian: Kölked, grave 280 (by the left knee, probably in a pouch together with a flint steel and a flint stone); Kiss 1996, p. 82 and 476, pl. 62.A280/2.
11. [117-138, heavily worn] AE Hadrian: Pókaszepetk, grave 73 (in a pouch); Sós, Salamon 1995, p. 143 and pl. VIII.73/27.
12. [119] AE Hadrian [RIC 1172]: Moreşti, grave 22 (next to the right ilium); Horedt 1979, p. 186, p. 191-192 and p. 161, fig. 76/13.
13. [130-138] AR subaerat *denarius* Hadrian [RIC II, 407]: Noşlac, grave 29; Rusu 1962, p. 269-270, 271, and 273; Găzdac, Cosma 2013b, p. 108 and 112, pl. 3.
14. [138-161] AR Antoninus Pius: Berekhát, grave 146; Csallány 1961, p. 85, pl. LXXVIII/4.
15. [158/9, Rome] AE As Antoninus Pius [RIC III, 1024]: Noşlac, grave 41; Rusu 1962, p. 269-270 and 277; Găzdac, Cosma 2013b, p. 108 and 113, pl. 4.
16. [161-169] AR Lucius Verus: Kiszombor, grave 32 (on the chest); Csallány 1961, p. 173-174 and pl. CXI/23-23a.
17. [161-175] AE Faustina iunior: Pókaszepetk, grave 73 (in a pouch); Sós, Salamon 1995, p. 143 and pl. VIII.73/28.
18. [161-180, Pautalia] AE Marcus Aurelius: Noşlac, grave 93 [RPC Temp no. 8834]; Găzdac, Cosma 2013b, p. 108 and 115, pl. 6.
19. [161-180] AE Marcus Aurelius [RIC 1070]: Pókaszepetk, grave 73 (in a pouch); Sós, Salamon 1995, p. 143 and pl. VIII.73/29.
20. [164-180] AE Marcus Aurelius: Tamási, grave 42 (on the abdomen, probably inside a pouch); Bóna, Horváth 2009, p. 162, p. 310, pl. 75.42/11, p. 409, pl. 174/5.
21. [after 180] AR subaerat *denarius* Marcus Aurelius [RIC III, 411]: Noşlac, grave 102; Găzdac, Cosma 2013b, p. 108 and 116, fig. 7.
22. [189] Bronze medallion, Commodus [RIC 449]: Band, grave 33 (in a leather pouch, together with two Roman fibulae); Kovács 1913, p. 408.
23. [197/8] AR Septimius Severus: Bratei, grave 127 (next to the left shoulder); Bârză 2010, p. 206.
24. [218-222] Coin struck for Elagabal: Noşlac, grave 44; Rusu 1962, p. 269-270 and 274.
25. [222-235] AE Severus Alexander: Stari Kostolac, grave 141 (next to the skull); Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, p. 186, 188, 189, pl. 25/1.

26. [222-235] AR Severus Alexander: Keszthely, grave 2000/125 (under the ilium of the male skeleton, probably in a pouch, together with two iron artefacts, a fragmentary double-sided comb, three flint stones, and another bronze coin); Müller 2014, p. 66.
27. [238-244] AE Gordian, worn: Keszthely, grave 1999/13 (on the ilium of the male skeleton, probably in a pouch, together with a flint stone and another iron artefact); Müller 2014, p. 40 and 181, pl. 8/19.
28. [241-243] AE subaerat *antoninianus* Gordian [RIC IV.3, 84]: Nošlac, grave 58; Rusu 1962, p. 269-270 and 285; Găzduc, Cosma 2013b, p. 108 and 114, pl. 5.
29. [244-249] AE Philip the Arab: Jakovo, grave 7 (on the left ilium); Dimitrijević 1960, p. 13.
30. [246, Viminacium, pierced] AE Philip the Arab [Pick 103]: Kölked, grave 523 (by the left knee, probably in a pouch together with a strap end, an earring, fragments of a bronze tube, a bead, and a purse mount); Kiss 1996, p. 138 and 505, pl. 91.A523/5.
31. [251, worn] AE Decius: Cikó, grave 1; Somogyi 1984, p. 40 and 205, pl. 3.1/1.
32. [252-253, Viminacium, pierced] AE Trebonian Gallus [Pick 163] Kölked, grave 354 (by the left hip of the skeleton, probably in a pouch together with another coin struck for Justinian, four flint stones, a glass fragment, and the fragment of a bronze object); Kiss 1996, p. 98 and 485, pl. 71.A316/3.
33. [253-260, pierced] AE *antoninianus* Valerian: Kölked, grave 539 (on the chest): Kiss 1996, p. 142 and 508, pl. 94.A539/7.
34. [253-268] AR Gallienus (turned into a disc-shaped fibula): Mohács, grave 2 (next to the left forearm); Kiss, Nemeskéri 1964, p. 98-107 and 112, fig. 8/3.
35. [258-268, Rome] AE *antoninianus* Gallienus [RIC 160K]: Kölked, grave 253 (on the left side of the male skeleton, under the sword, together with another coin struck for Tiberius II); Kiss 1996, p. 74 and 469, pl. 55.A253/8.
36. [260-268, Siscia] AE *antonianus* Gallienus: Belgrade, grave 43; Ivanišević, Kazanski 2002, p. 132.
37. [268-270] AE *antoninianus* Claudius II: Belgrade, grave 71; Ivanišević, Kazanski 2002, p. 135 and 166.
38. [270-275, Cyzicus] AE *antoninianus* Aurelian [RIC 368]: Kölked, grave 253 (on the left side of the male skeleton, under the sword, together with another coin struck for Tiberius II); Kiss 1996, p. 74 and 469, pl. 55.A253/9.
39. [270-275, Rome] AE *antoninianus* Aurelian [RIC 102]: Rifnik, grave 64; Bolta 1981, p. 34.
40. [270-275] AE *antoninianus* Aurelian: Szolnok, grave 83; Bóna, Nagy 2002, p. 213 and 313, pl. 39/83.5.
41. [270-275] AE Aurelian: Kranj, grave 108 (between the shinbones); Stare 1980, p. 110.
42. [270-275, Siscia or Rome: pierced] AE Aurelian: Pókaszepetk, grave 122 (by the cervical vertebrae, together with beads); Sós, Salamon 1995, p. 149 and pl. XII.122/6.
43. [276-282] AR Probus: Rifnik, grave 39; Bolta 1981, p. 32.
44. [284-305] AE Diocletian: Jutas, grave 116 (between the legs); Rhé, Fettich 1931, p. 25 and pl. III/15.
45. [286-305, pierced] two AE Maximian: Csengele, grave 56 (by the cervical vertebrae); Török 1995, p. 215 and 233, pl. 4/56.2.
46. [293-305] AE, first Tetrarchy; Dravlje, grave 1 (on the left shoulder); Slabe 1975, p. 101, pl. 1/4, 19/1.
47. [299-300, Rome] AE *foliis* Galerius [RIC 99b]; Kölked, grave 386 (by the left hip, probably in a pouch together with a flint steel and the fragment of a glass bracelet); Kiss 1996, p. 106 and 489, pl. 75.A386/5.
48. [305-306] AE Constantius Chlorus: Kranj, grave 108 (between the shinbones); Stare 1980, p. 110.
49. [306-337] AE Constantine the Great: Cikó, grave 13 (on the left ilium, probably in a pouch); Somogyi 1984, p. 42 and 205, pl. 3.13/1.
50. [306-337] AE Constantine the Great; Győr, grave 837; Fettich 1943, p. 42.
51. [306-337] AE Constantine the Great: Magyarcsanak, grave A (in the left hand); two specimens; Cseh *et alii* 2005, p. 98 and 114.

52. [306-337] AE Constantine the Great; Pókaszepetk, grave 360 (cremation), under a buckle with opposing animals; pierced coin; Sós, Salamon 1995, p. 171 and pl. XXII.360/5, LXXXVIII/14.
53. [306-337] AE Constantine the Great; Szólád, grave 13 (robbed), together with another, illegible and unidentified coin; von Freeden, Vida, Winger 2019, p. 106, fig. 7.
54. [308-310, Nicomedia] AE (AE1) Maximin Daia [RIC 55]: Kölked, grave 481 (on the ilium); Kiss 1996, p. 130 and 502, pl. 88.A481/4.
55. [311, Siscia] AE (AE2) Constantine the Great [RIC 222c]: Kölked, grave 279 (by the left knee, probably in a pouch together with a silver ring); Kiss 1996, p. 82 and 475, pl. 61.A279/8.
56. [313, Siscia] AE (AE2) Licinius [RIC 231a]: Kölked, grave 385 (on the right side of the abdomen); Kiss 1996, p. 106 and 488, pl. 74.A385/1.
57. [314, Rome] AE follis Constantine the Great [RIC 19]; Rifnik, grave 59; Bolta 1981, p. 34.
58. [317-337] AE Constantine Caesar: Rifnik, grave 67; Bolta 1981, p. 35.
59. [320-331, Siscia] AE Licinius, pierced: Keszthely, grave 4, pendant in a necklace along with two other, non-identified, pierced coins, as well as glass beads; Müller 2010, p. 110-111 and 329, pl. 82/6-8.
60. [323-361] AE of the Constantinian dynasty, Siscia; Budapest – *Szőlő köz*, grave 5; Nagy 1998, p. 47 and 49, pl. 41/5.2.
61. [323-361] AE of the Constantinian dynasty: Budapest – *Vöröskereszt utca*, grave 16; Nagy 1998, p. 196 and 142, pl. 134/16.7.
62. [323-361] AE of the Constantinian dynasty: Cikó, grave 13; Somogyi 1984, p. 42 and 205, pl. 3.13/3-5.
63. [323-361, pierced] AE of the Constantinian dynasty: Cikó, grave 57; Somogyi 1984, p. 43 and 207, pl. 5.57/1.
64. [323-361] AE of the Constantinian dynasty: Kölked, grave 266 (on the upper end of the left femur, probably in a pouch, together with two belt mounts, three flint stones, a knife and an arrowhead); Kiss 1996, p. 78 and 473, pl. 59.A266/7.
65. [323-361] AE of the Constantinian dynasty; Pécs, grave 8 (by the left knee); Nagy 1994, p. 87 and 91, fig. 1/8.1.
66. [324-337] AE Constantius Caesar; Felgyő, grave 136; Balogh 2010, p. 207 and 329, fig. 55/6.
67. [330-340] AE of the Constantinian dynasty: Tác, grave 7; Fülöp 1987, p. 243-244 and 244, fig. 3/1, 3.
68. [330-331] AE3 Constantine the Great (commemorative coin, VRBS ROMANA): Budapest – *Pusztodombi utca*, grave 9 (next to the skull); Nagy 1998, p. 28 and 147, pl. 139/5a-b.
69. [335-341, worn, pierced] AE (AE4) of the Constantinian dynasty: Kölked, grave 359 (by the skull); Kiss 1996, p. 100 and 486, pl. 72.A359/3.
70. [337-341, Siscia] AE (AE4) Constans [LRBC 781]: Kölked, grave 266 (by the left knee, probably in a pouch, together with 13 flint stones); Kiss 1996, p. 78 and 473, pl. 59.A266/2.
71. [337-341, Siscia, pierced] AE (AE4) Constans [LRBC 778]; Kölked, grave 500 (by the feet); Kiss 1996, p. 134 and 504, pl. 90.A500/5.
72. [337-340] AE Constantine II, fragment: Aradac, grave 18 (under the left hand of the male skeleton); Nađ 1959, p. 57.
73. [337-340] AE Constantine II: Aradac, grave 31 (under the left thighbone of the male skeleton); Nađ 1959, p. 58.
74. [337-340, Thessalonica] AE Constantine II: Aradac, grave 42 (in the right hand of the male skeleton, together with a flint steel, a fragment of bronze sheet, a flint stone, an awl, a fragment of glass, and a bulk of corroded metal); Nađ 1959, p. 59.
75. [337-340, Heraclea, *nummus*] AE Constantine II: Belgrade, grave 89; Ivanišević, Kazanski 2002, p. 138.
76. [337-340, worn] AE Constantine II; Pókaszepetk, grave 73 (in a pouch); Sós, Salamon 1995, p. 143 and pl. VIII.73/30.
77. [337-361] AE Constantius II: Keszthely, grave 94; Müller 2010, p. 60 and 288, fig. 41/2.

78. [337-361, pierced] AE Constantius II: Kiszombor, grave 276 (underneath the pelvic bone of the child skeleton); Csallány 1961, p. 186-187, pl. CXXXVI/4.
79. [337-361] AE Constantius II: Cikó, grave 1; Somogyi 1984, p. 40 and 205, pl. 3.1/3.
80. [337-361] Three AE Constantius II: Cikó, grave 13 (on the left ilium, probably in a pouch); Somogyi 1984, p. 42 and 205, pl. 3.13/2.
81. [337-361] AE Constantius II: Tamási, grave 21 (on the left side of the abdomen); Bóna, Horváth 2009, p. 148 and 301, pl. 66/5, 409, pl. 174/3.
82. [341-346, Siscia] AE Constans: Keszthely, grave 23, in the filling; Müller 2010, p. 91.
83. [341-346] Two AE Constans: Ártánd, stray finds from the cemetery site; Cseh *et alii* 2005, p. 54, fig. 1 and 235, pl. 5/4-5.
84. [341-346, Rome] AE (AE4) Constantine II (LRBC 591): Keszthely, grave 6; Müller 2010, p. 89.
85. [347/8, Thessalonica and Siscia] Two AE Constantius II: Belgrade, grave 2; Ivanišević, Kazanski 2002, p. 127 and 149, pl. I/2.4-5.
86. [347/8, Siscia] AE Constans: Belgrade, grave 55; Ivanišević, Kazanski 2002, p. 133.
87. [347-361, pierced] AE Constantius II: Čurug, found in a grave (?); Trifunović, Pašić 2003, p. 279.
88. [350, Thessalonica, worn] AE (AE2) Constantine II [LRBC 1666]: Kölked, grave 469 (by the left knee); Kiss 1996, p. 126 and 496, pl. 82.A469/4.
89. [350, Siscia, pierced] AE Vetrano: Belgrade, grave 10; Ivanišević, Kazanski 2002, p. 129 and 163.
90. [351-354, Heraclea] AE (AE2) Constantius II [LRBC 1900]: Kölked, grave 481 (on the ilium); Kiss 1996, p. 130 and 502, pl. 88.A481/5.
91. [352-354, Aquileia] AE (AE3) Gallus [LRBC 931]: Kölked, grave 266 (by the left knee, probably in a pouch, together with 13 flint stones); Kiss 1996, p. 78 and 473, pl. 59.A266/5.
92. [355-361, Siscia] Two AE (AE3) Constantius II [LRBC 1236]: Kölked, grave 266 (by the left knee, probably in a pouch, together with 13 flint stones); Kiss 1996, p. 78 and 473, pl. 59.A266/3, 4.
93. [361-363] AE Julian the Apostate: Cikó, grave 1; Somogyi 1984, p. 40 and 205, pl. 3.1/2.
94. [364, Sirmium] AE *centenionalis* Valentinian I [RIC 8/2]: Rifnik, grave 49; Bolta 1981, p. 34.
95. [364-367, Siscia] AE Valens [RIC 5b]: Pókaszeptek, grave 360 (cremation), near the scale; Sós, Salamon 1995, p. 172 and pl. XXII.360/19, LXXXVIII/7.
96. [364-368] AE (AE3) Valentinian or Valens: Kölked, grave 316 (by the right hand); Kiss 1996, p. 90 and 481, pl. 67.A316/3.
97. [364-375] AE Valentinian: Jaksor, grave 29; Csallány 1961, p. 27-28.
98. [364-375] AE (AE 3) Valentinian: Kölked, grave 259 (on the upper end of the left femur, probably in a pouch, together with two belt mounts, three flint stones, a knife and an arrow head); Kiss 1996, p. 76 and 471, pl. 57.A259/12.
99. [364-375] AE Valentinian: Kranj, grave 97; Stare 1980, p. 109.
100. [364-375] AE Valentinian: Tamási, grave 42 (on the abdomen, perhaps in a pouch); Bóna, Horváth 2009, p. 162, p. 310, pl. 75.42/12, p. 409, pl. 174/4.
101. [364-375] AE Valentinian: Várpalota, grave 12 (on the abdomen, perhaps in a pouch); Bóna 2000, p. 129-130 and p. 139, pl. III/3.
102. [364-375, Siscia] AE3 Valentinian [RIC IX, 7a, type ii a or 15a, type xi b]: Tamási, grave 8 (near the left forearm, probably in a pouch); Bóna, Horváth 2009, p. 140, p. 296, pl. 61c-d, p. 409, pl. 174/1.
103. [364-378, Thessalonica, *nummus*] AE Valens: Belgrade, grave 6 (next to the right shinbone); Ivanišević, Kazanski 2002, p. 128 and 163.
104. [364-378] AE Valens; Bečej, grave 33; Mikić-Antonić 2012, p. 19, p. 42, fig. 62, p. 59, pl. XIII.33/1-2.
105. [364-378] AE Valens: Belgrade, grave 73; Ivanišević, Kazanski 2002, p. 135-136 and 166.
106. [364-378] AE Valens: Budapest – *Szőlő köz*, grave 11, fragment; Nagy 1998, p. 48 and 50, pl. 42.13.7.
107. [364-378] AE Valens: Keszthely, grave 31; Barkóczi 1968, p. 286.

108. [364-378, pierced] AE Valens: Pókaszeptk, grave 360 (cremation), under a buckle with opposing animals; Sós, Salamon 1995, p. 171 and pl. XXII.360/6, pl. LXXXVIII/15.
109. [364-378, Siscia] AE Valens, pierced: Jaksor, grave V; Csallány 1961, p. 26 and pl. I/8.
110. [364-378, Siscia, worn] AE Valens: Keszthely, grave 3; Sági 1961, p. 418.
111. [364-378, Siscia, worn] AE (AE3) Valens; Kölked, grave 316 (by the right hand); Kiss 1996, p. 90 and 481, pl. 67.A316/4.
112. [367-375, Siscia] AE (AE 3) Valens [RIC 15b]: Kölked, grave 266 (by the left knee, probably in a pouch, together with 13 flint stones); Kiss 1996, p. 78 and 473, pl. 59.A266/6.
113. [367-375, Siscia] AE (AE3) Valens [RIC 15b]: Kölked, grave 279 (by the left knee, probably in a pouch together with a silver ring); Kiss 1996, p. 82 and 475, pl. 61.A279/10.
114. [367-375, Siscia] AE (AE3) Gratian: Kölked, grave 259 (on the upper end of the left femur, probably in a pouch, together with two belt mounts, three flint stones, a knife and an arrow head); Kiss 1996, p. 76 and 471, pl. 57.A259/15.
115. [367-383, Siscia] AE Gratian: Nin, grave 41; Bertelli *et alii* 2001, p. 284-285.
116. [366-378, Siscia] AE Valens; Vállus, grave 19 (by the right forearm); Heinrich-Tamácska 2002, p. 324-325.

Unidentifiable coins

117. Abony, grave 30: bronze; Éber 1902, p. 245.
118. Andocs, stray find from the cemetery site; silver; Garam 1972, p. 132-133 and 166.
119. Andocs, grave 2; silver; Garam 1972, p. 136 and 141, fig. 7/5.
120. Andocs, grave 110: two silver coins, one of which is cut; Garam 1972, p. 156 and 159, M9, fig. 21/2-3.
121. Andocs, grave 111; silver; Garam 1972, p. 156.
122. Belgrade, grave 6 (next to the right shinbone): bronze (4th-century *nummus*); Ivanišević, Kazanski 2002, p. 128 and 163.
123. Belgrade, grave 10: bronze (4th-century *nummus*); Ivanišević, Kazanski 2002, p. 129 and 163.
124. Berekhát, grave 90: leaden imitation of a bronze coin (2nd-century?); Csallány 1961, p. 80 and pl. LXXI/7.
125. Bezenye, grave 72 (near the left femur): bronze, fragment; Bóna 2001, p. 192 and 207, fig. 2/3.
126. Bled, grave 281-286 (next to the non-sexed skeleton): bronze; Kastelić 1960, pl. X/18.
127. Bratei, grave 218: bronze; Bârză 2010, p. 240.
128. Budapest – *Szőlő köz*, grave 11: silver; Nagy 1998, p. 48 and 50, pl. 42.13.6.
129. Budapest – *Vörökereszt utca*, grave 8: bronze; Nagy 1998, p. 193 and p. 139, pl. 131/8.11.
130. Budakalász, grave 19: bronze; Erdélyi 1977, p. 48.
131. Cikó, grave 51: (in the left hand) two bronze coins; Somogyi 1984, p. 43.
132. Dravlje, grave 5: bronze, fragment; Slabe 1975, p. 101.
133. Dravlje, grave 6 (probably in a pouch): bronze; Slabe 1975, p. 101, pl. 19/3.
134. Dravlje, grave 44 (on the upper end of the left femur): bronze, pierced; Slabe 1975, p. 103, pl. 19/4.
135. Győr, grave 211; (probably in a pouch with iron mounts) three bronze coins; Fettich 1943, p. 22.
136. Győr, grave 792; bronze, 4th century; Fettich 1943, p. 40.
137. Hegykő, grave 14; bronze, fragment; Bóna, Horváth 2009, p. 37 and 241, pl. 6.14/7.
138. Jaksor, grave 65 (at the neck, in a necklace, together with 20 glass beads): bronze, 4th century, pierced; Csallány 1961, p. 34-35 and pl. III/18.
139. Jaksor, grave 67 (next to the spine): bronze, 4th century; Csallány 1961, p. 35 and pl. XVI/5.
140. Keszthely, grave 34 (between the shinbones): bronze, 4th century; Müller 2010, p. 54.
141. Keszthely, grave 1999/14: bronze; Müller 2014, p. 41.

142. Keszthely, grave 2000/25 (under the ilium of the male skeleton, probably in a pouch, together with two iron artefacts, a fragmentary double-sided comb, three flint stones, and another silver coin); bronze; Müller 2014, p. 66.
143. Kiszombor, grave 44: bronze; Csallány 1961, p. 174 and pl. CXV/26.
144. Kiszombor, grave 69: bronze; Csallány 1961, p. 176-77 and pl. CXXI/9.
145. Kölked, grave 533 (on the chest): bronze, 4th century, pierced; Kiss 1996, p. 141 and 506, pl. 92. A533/4.
146. Kölked, grave 80 (by the left hip, probably in a pouch): bronze, worn; Kiss 2001, vol. 1, p. 26 and vol. 2, p. 38, pl. 24/44.
147. Környe, grave 77; two bronze coins; Salamon, Erdélyi 1971, p. 21, p. 89, fig. 11/21, p. 23, p. 126, pl. IX/11, 14.
148. Környe, grave 106 (on the ilium); bronze; Salamon, Erdélyi 1971, p. 24, p. 97, pl. 19/5, p. 124, pl. VII/8.
149. Környe, grave 112; bronze, pierced; Salamon, Erdélyi 1971, p. 25 and 97, fig. 19/69.
150. Környe, grave 125 (by the left hip); bronze, fragment; Salamon, Erdélyi 1971, p. 26 and 99, pl. 21/7.
151. Környe, grave 128 (next to the right leg of the teenager skeleton); bronze; Salamon, Erdélyi 1971, p. 26 and 99, pl. 21/17.
152. Ménfőcsanak, grave 227 (underneath the skeleton, probably in a pouch): two bronze coins, 4th century; Vaday 2015, p. 168, 170, and 172.
153. Mohács, grave 2 (by the left knee, next to the fibula below): bronze, very worn, hammered and polished, then embossed; Kiss, Nemeskéri 1964, p. 98-107 and 112, fig. 8/2.
154. Mohács, grave 2 (by the left knee): disc-shaped fibula made out of a bronze coin; Kiss, Nemeskéri 1964, p. 98-107 and 112, fig. 8/1.
155. Rifnik, grave 59: bronze; Bolta 1981, p. 34.
156. Sremska Mitrovica, grave 4 (near the right hand of the child skeleton on the southern side of the grave): bronze, 4th century; Pejović, Lučić 2011, p. 405-406.
157. Stari Kostolac, grave 1292 (in the abdomen region): bronze; Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, p. 208 and 207, pl. 35/T 1292.1.
158. Stari Kostolac, grave 1311 (on the right shoulder): bronze, fragment; Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, p. 208 and 207, pl. 35/T 1311.2.
159. Székszárd, grave 225 (by the left knee); bronze; Rosner 1999, p. 35 and 182, pl. 16.225/2.
160. Székszárd, grave 289 (on the ilium); two bronze coins; Rosner 1999, p. 41 and 185, pl. 19.289/1, 2.
161. Székszárd, grave 603 (by the left hip, in a pouch); two bronze coins; Rosner 1999, p. 77 and 205, pl. 39.603/6, 7.
162. Székszárd, grave 616 (on the ilium, together with the fragment of Roman glass); bronze; Rosner 1999, p. 78 and 206, pl. 40.616/4.
163. Székszárd, grave 618 (by the left thighbone); bronze; Rosner 1999, p. 79 and 206, pl. 40.618/7.
164. Székszárd, grave 677 (by the left knee); two bronze coins; Rosner 1999, p. 85 and 211, pl. 45.677/3-4.
165. Székszárd, grave 713 (by the left shinbone, together with an amber bead); bronze, pierced; Rosner 1999, p. 89 and 213, pl. 47.713/3.
166. Székszárd, grave 730 (by the left hip); two bronze coins; Rosner 1999, p. 91 and 214, pl. 48.730/17-18.
167. Székszárd, grave 777 (under the left thighbone, probably in a pouch); bronze; Rosner 1999, p. 98 and 218, pl. 52.777/8.
168. Szentendre, grave 46 (on the left side of the skull); bronze, 3rd century; Bóna, Horváth 2009, p. 115-116 and 282, pl. 47/3.
169. Szentendre, grave 83 (in the abdomen region): bronze; Bóna, Horváth 2009, p. 133 and 290, pl. 55/9.
170. Szolnok, grave 30 (on the edge of the right ilium); bronze; Bóna, Nagy 2002, p. 206, p. 307, pl. 33/6, p. 370, pl. 96/8.

171. Szolnok, grave 209 (next to the left illum); bronze and silver (two coins); Bóna, Nagy 2002, p. 231.
172. Szőreg, grave 68: bronze, fragment; Cseh *et alii* 2005, p. 131 and 289, pl. 59/6.
173. Tamási, grave 8 (near the left forearm, probably in a pouch): AE4, 4th to early 5th century; Bóna, Horváth 2009, p. 140, p. 296, pl. 61a-b, p. 409, pl. 174/2.
174. Tiszafüred, grave 321 (on the neck, probably in a bead necklace; pierced): bronze; Garam 1995, p. 44 and pl. 83.321/7.
175. Unirea, grave 9 (next to the feet): silver, 2nd century, worn; Roska 1934, p. 125 and 126, fig. 3 B, 1.
176. Várpalota, grave 5 (in the left hand): bronze, 4th to early 5th century; Bóna 1956, p. 187 and pl. XXVIII/10.
177. Várpalota, grave 17; bronze, 4th century; Erdélyi, Németh 1969, p. 169.
178. Várpalota, grave 21 (between the knees): bronze, fragment; Bóna 1956, p. 190 and pl. XXXIII/10.
179. Várpalota, grave 30 (next to the left knee): bronze, 2nd to 4th century; Bóna 1956, p. 191.
180. Várpalota, grave 128; bronze, 4th century; Erdélyi, Németh 1969, p. 179 and pl. III/2.
181. Várpalota, grave 235; bronze, 4th century; Erdélyi, Németh 1969, p. 194 and pl. XXV/9.
182. Zamárdi, grave 65; unidentified bronze (4th-century?) coin; Bárdos, Garam 2009, p. 19.
183. Zamárdi, grave 137; bronze, pierced; Bárdos, Garam 2009, p. 31.
184. Zamárdi, grave 250; bronze; Bárdos, Garam 2009, p. 44.
185. Zamárdi, grave 342; bronze, pierced; Bárdos, Garam 2009, p. 54 and 238, pl. 38.342/3.
186. Zamárdi, grave 403 bronze; Bárdos, Garam 2009, p. 62.
187. Zamárdi, grave 440; two bronze coins; Bárdos, Garam 2009, p. 65.
188. Zamárdi, grave 701; bronze; Bárdos, Garam 2009, p. 100 and 291, pl. 89.701/17.
189. Zamárdi, grave 741; three bronze coins; Bárdos, Garam 2009, p. 104 and 294, pl. 92.741/3-5.
190. Zamárdi, grave 847; bronze; Bárdos, Garam 2009, p. 116 and 303, pl. 101.847/3.
191. Zamárdi, grave 932; bronze; Bárdos, Garam 2009, p. 125 and 311, pl. 109.932/2.
192. Zamárdi, grave 977; three bronze coins, 3rd to 4th century, one of them is a fragment; Bárdos, Garam 2009, p. 129 and 314, pl. 112.977/11-13.
193. Zamárdi, grave 1034; bronze; Bárdos, Garam 2009, p. 134 and 319, pl. 117.1034/4.
194. Zamárdi, grave 1085; bronze; Bárdos, Garam 2009, p. 141.
195. Zamárdi, grave 1208; six bronze coins; Bárdos, Garam 2009, p. 157 and 339, pl. 136.1208/22-27.
196. Zamárdi, grave 1348; two bronze coins, 4th century; Bárdos, Garam 2009, p. 176 and 356, pl. 153.1348/13-14.
197. Zamárdi, grave 1392 (together with a *solidus* struck between 616 and 625 for Heraclius and Heraclius Constantine in Constantinople); bronze; Bárdos, Garam 2009, p. 182 and 363, pl. 160.1392/9.
198. Zamárdi, grave 1430; two bronze coins, 4th to early 5th century; Bárdos, Garam 2009, p. 188 and 366, pl. 163.1430/5-6.
199. Zamárdi, grave 1458; bronze; Bárdos, Garam 2009, p. 192 and 367, pl. 164.1458/1.
200. Zamárdi, grave 1477; bronze; Bárdos, Garam 2009, p. 194 and 368, pl. 165.1477/1.
201. Zamárdi, grave 1978; bronze; Bárdos, Garam 2014, p. 83 and 193, pl. 210.1978/15.
202. Zamárdi, grave 1999; six bronze coins; Bárdos, Garam 2014, p. 84 and 194, pl. 211.1999/19.
203. Zamárdi, grave 2072; two bronze coins; Bárdos, Garam 2014, p. 94 and 203, pl. 218.2072/3-4.

APPENDIX 2. Roman fibulae in 6th- to 7th-century burial assemblages

1. Alattyán (Szolnok County, Hungary), grave 56; found on the chest of a female skeleton; bronze fibula (*Bügelknopffibel*, Jobst's type 17 = Meyer's IV.3 variant; 4th century), fragment; Kovrig 1963, p. 14 and pl. IV/18.
2. Andocs (Somogy County, Hungary), grave 15; iron penannular fibula (Sellye's type I; 3rd to 4th century); Garam 1972, p. 134 and 135, fig. 4/37.
3. Bakonytamási (Veszprém County, Hungary), grave 5; found next to the left forearm of a male skeleton, next to a knife, a gilded bronze mount of Roman age, a silver-plated bronze ring, a bronze chain and several, indistinct iron objects (most likely in a pouch); bronze fibula (*Zwiebelknopffibel*, Keller's type IV A; Pröttel 3/4 C, ca. 330-410); Mithay 1995, p. 173 and 178, pl. III/24.
4. Bakonytamási (Veszprém County, Hungary), grave 9; found next to the upper end of the left femur of the female skeleton, together with a knife and an iron artefact (most likely in a pouch); fragment of a bronze fibula (strongly profiled; Almgren's group IV.70 = Cociş's type 8a8b2b; first half of the 2nd century); Mithay 1995, p. 174 and 181, pl. VI/2.
- 5-6. Band (Mureş district, Romania), grave 33; two bronze fibulae (1. strongly profiled; Riha's type 2.9.4; 1st century; 2. complex enameled plate fibula, Riha's type 7.16; 2nd century) found together with a bronze medallion of Commodus (most likely in a pouch); Kovács 1913, p. 407-408 and 314, fig. 34/7-8.
7. Band (Mureş district, Romania), grave 73; bronze fibula (strongly profiled; Genčeva's type 9B = Riha's type 2.9.4; 1st century), fragment; Kovács 1913, p. 413 and 314, fig. 53/3.
8. Band (Mureş district, Romania), grave 103; bronze fibula (strongly profiled, Riha's type 2.9.4; 1st century), fragment; Kovács 1913, p. 415 and 340, fig. 60/2.
9. Belgrade (Serbia), grave 78; found on the right shoulder; bronze fibula (*Zwiebelknopffibel*, Keller's type IV A; Pröttel 3/4 C, ca. 330-410); Ivanišević, Kazanski 2002, p. 136 and 154, pl. VI/78.1.
10. Budapest (Hungary), grave 69; bronze fibula (*Zwiebelknopffibel*, Keller's type IV A; Pröttel 3/4 C, ca. 330-410); Nagy 1998, p. 168, p. 121, pl. 113.69/5, p. 186, pl. 178/20.
11. Căpuşu Mare (Cluj district, Romania), grave 16; found next to the grave pit; bronze fibula (Hod Hill type = Riha's type 5.17.5, late 1st to late 2nd century); *** 1952, p. 312, fig. 1/7; Dobos 2009, p. 219 and 224, fig. 2/1.
12. Celei, in Corabia (Olt County, Romania), grave 9; found in the filling of the grave pit; bronze fibula (*Zwiebelknopffibel*, unknown type); Toropu 1981, p. 74-75.
13. Cikó (Tolna County, Hungary), grave 115-116; found with one of the two skeletons; fragment of a bronze fibula (*Kniefibel*, Cociş's type 19a1b1b; 2nd century); Somogyi 1984, p. 46 and 210, pl. 8.115-116/2.
14. Cikó (Tolna County, Hungary), grave 342; bronze fibula (*Zwiebelknopffibel*, Keller's type I A; 4th century); Somogyi 1984, p. 55 and 225, pl. 23.342/1.
15. Csákberény (Fejér County, Hungary), grave 284; bronze fibula (strongly profiled; Almgren's group IV, Riha's type 2.9.4; 1st century); Rustoiu 2015, p. 253, fig. 6/3.
16. Csákberény (Fejér County, Hungary), grave 364; bronze fibula (*Zwiebelknopffibel*, Keller's type IV A, 4th century); Garam 2003, p. 118 and 98, fig. 2/7; Szücsi 2020, p. 3, fig. 2/4.
17. Felgyő (Csongrád County, Hungary), grave 40; found with a female skeleton; bronze fibula (*Kniefibel* with triangular plate Petković's type 18A = Cociş type 19a1b1a; second half of the 3rd to the early 4th century); Balogh 2010, p. 191 and 293, fig. 19/9.
18. Floreşti (Cluj County, Romania), grave dug into a prehistoric mound; bronze fibula (*Bügelknopffibel*, Almgren VI 2, fig. 185-186; 4th to early 5th century) found in the filling of the grave pit, along with a gilded silver buckle decorated with cabochons; the grave contained the skeleton of a male (20 to 40 years of age); Opreanu, Voişian, Bota 2007, p. 510-511 and 518, pl. 3.

19. Gátér (Bács-Kiskún County, Hungary), grave 86; bronze fibula (*Kniefibel* with semicircular headplate, Riha's type 3.12.4 = Petković's type 18A; first half of the 3rd century); Kada 1905, p. 404 and fig. 86/2.

20. Gyenesdiás (Zala County, Hungary), grave 136; found in the region of the feet of the child skeleton, together with a glass fragment, two fragments of belt buckles, indistinct iron artefacts and iron rings (most likely in a pouch); bronze fibula (horse fibula, Jobst's type 29b = Genčeva's type 296, 2nd century); Müller 2008, p. 285 and 295, pl. 7.136/2.

21. Hódmezővásárhely (Csongrád County, Hungary), grave 11; found under the feet of the female skeleton; bronze fibula (strongly profiled, Riha's type 2.9.4; 1st century); Banner 1933, p. 377 and pl. I/25.

22. Káptalanóti (Veszprém County, Hungary), grave 23; bronze fibula (*Kniefibel* with semicircular headplate, Riha's type 3.12.4 = Petković's type 18A; first half of the 3rd century); Bakay 1973, p. 24 and 56, pl. XXXVII/7.

23. Kecel (Bács-Kiskún County, Hungary), destroyed grave; bronze fibula (wing fibula (*norisch-pannonische Flügelfibel*), Riha's type 2.11 = Genčeva's type 96; 1st century); Balogh 2004, p. 242 and 275, fig. 1/1.

24. Kékesd (Baranya County, Hungary), grave 43; bronze fibula (strongly profiled, Riha's type 2.9.4; 1st century); Kiss 1977, p. 51 and pl. XIII.43/1.

25. Keszthely (Zala County, Hungary), grave 11; found on the chest of the male skeleton; bronze fibula (*Zwiebelknopffibel*, Keller's type I B; Pröttel's type 2B, ca. 300 – ca. 340); Straub 2000, p. 206 and 224, fig. 5/4.

26. Keszthely (Zala County, Hungary), grave 69; found under the jaw of the female skeleton (35 to 39 years of age); bronze fibula (*Zwiebelknopffibel*, Keller's type IV A), fragment; Müller 2010, p. 126 and 335, pl. 88/24.

27. Keszthely (Zala County, Hungary), grave B, next to the left hip of a male skeleton, together with a knife, flint stones, and iron artefacts (most likely in a pouch); brass fibula (disc fibula in the form of an inscribed swastika, Jobst's type C = Petković's type 23B; late 2nd to mid-4th century); Müller 2014, p. 31 and 177, pl. 4/8.

28. Keszthely (Zala County, Hungary), grave 1948/29; bronze fibula (*Zwiebelknopffibel*, Keller's type III, Pröttel's type 4, ca. 364-380); Müller 2014, p. 26 and 174, pl. 1/16.

29. Keszthely (Zala County, Hungary), grave 1999/10; found on the upper chest of the female skeleton, together with glass and rock crystal beads; bronze fibula (three-trumpet-shaped fibula, Jobst's type 31G = Petković's type 22D, late 3rd to 4th century); Müller 2014, p. 39 and 180, pl. 7/10.

30. Keszthely (Zala County, Hungary), grave 2000/100, between the left femur and the left hand of the female skeleton; bronze fibula (disc fibula in the form of an inscribed swastika, Jobst's type C = Petković's type 23B; late 2nd to mid-4th century); Müller 2014, p. 58 with fig. 15.

31. Keszthely (Zala County, Hungary), grave 2000/170; found on the left ilium of the male skeleton, together with 11 flint stone, a pitch fragment, an awl, and the fragment of a belt buckle (most likely in a pouch); fragment of bronze fibula (*Bügelknopffibel*, Petković's type 32B, late 4th to early 5th century); Müller 2014, p. 84 and 205, pl. 32/3.

32. Knin (Croatia), grave 172; found on the abdomen of the female skeleton, together with bronze rings and a fragment of silver sheet with fabric remains (most likely in a pouch); bronze fibula (*Kniefibel* with spring sheath, Jobst's type 12b = Genčeva's type 176; 2nd century to the early 3rd century); Vinski 1989, p. 30-31 and 69, pl. XX/13.

33. Kölked (Baranya County, Hungary), grave A 106, on the chest of the skeleton; bronze fibula (with bent stem, Cociș's type 37b2b; 3rd century); Kiss 1996, p. 40 and 447, pl. 33.A106.

34. Kölked (Baranya County, Hungary), grave A 127, by the left hip of the skeleton, together with a bronze needle, two flint stones and a knife (most likely in a pouch); bronze fibula (strongly profiled, Riha's type 2.9.4; 1st century); Kiss 1996, p. 48 and 452, pl. 38.A127/9.

35. Kölked (Baranya County, Hungary), grave A 139, between the legs of child skeleton (infans II); bronze fibula (enameled geometrical brooch, Feugère's type 25b = Cociş's type 24a1d; second half of the 1st to the first half of the 2nd century); Kiss 1996, p. 51 and 454, pl. 40.A139/2.

36. Kölked (Baranya County, Hungary), grave A 283, by the right hip of the skeleton, together with bronze and iron chains, a bronze strap end, a fragment of an earring, and fragments of bronze sheet (most likely in a pouch); bronze fibula (strongly profiled, Riha's type 2.9.4; 1st century), with an attached ring for suspension; Kiss 1996, p. 82 and 476, pl. 62.A283/3.

37. Kölked (Baranya County, Hungary), grave A 384, by the right hip of a child skeleton; bronze fibula (strongly profiled, Genčeva's type 126; late 2nd to early 3rd century); Kiss 1996, p. 105 and 488, pl. 74.A384/2.

38. Kölked (Baranya County, Hungary), grave A 539, by the left hip of the skeleton, together with an iron ring, a bronze chain, and fragments of bronze and iron artefacts (most likely in a pouch); bronze fibula (strongly profiled, Genčeva's type 126; late 2nd to early 3rd century); Kiss 1996, p. 143 and 508, pl. 94.A539/24.

39. Kölked (Baranya County, Hungary), grave B 457; found next to the left hand of a male skeleton; bronze fibula (strongly profiled, Riha's type 2.9.2; 1st century); Kiss 2001, vol. 1, p. 147 and vol. 2, p. 98, pl. 84.457/1.

40. Környe (Komárom-Esztergom County, Hungary), grave 147; found on the right side of the ilium of the male skeleton (40 to 50 years of age), together with a bone awl (most likely in a pouch); bronze fibula (*Zwiebelknopffibel*, Keller's type IV A; Pröttel's type 3/4 C, ca. 330-410; Petković's type 34D2, ca. 364-380); Salamon, Erdélyi 1971, p. 28 and 103, pl. 25/3.

41. Kranj (Slovenia), grave 217; bronze penannular fibula (Sellye's type I; 3rd to 4th century); Stare 1980, p. 114, pl. 68/4.

42. Kranj (Slovenia), grave 160; found underneath the skull, together with a flint steel, two knives, a fragment of scissors, an awl, six bronze rivets, a fragment of a bone comb, and a fragment of a belt buckle (most likely in a pouch); bronze fibula (crossbow fibula with tall catch-pin, Riha's type 3.8; 2nd to 3rd century); Stare 1980, p. 111 and pl. 53/4.

43. Kranj (Slovenia), grave 166; bronze fibula (Noric-Pannonian fibula with double knob, Riha's type 3.3; 2nd century); Stare 1980, p. 112 and pl. 55/6.

44. Kranj (Slovenia), grave 170; bronze fibula (with tall catch-pin, probably of the Certosa type; 1st to 2nd century), fragment; Stare 1980, p. 112 and pl. 56/13.

45. Kranj (Slovenia), grave 192; bronze fibula (complex enameled plate fibula, Riha's type 7.20; 1st century); Stare 1980, p. 113 and pl. 63/3.

46. Kranj (Slovenia), grave 327; found on the left side of the chest; bronze fibula (*Zwiebelknopffibel*, Keller's type IV A; Pröttel 3/4 C, ca. 330-410); Vida 1980, p. 118 and pl. 95/7.

47. Kranj (Slovenia), grave 350; bronze fibula (strongly profiled, Riha's type 2.9.4; 1st century); Stare 1980, p. 119 and pl. 106/11.

48. Kruje (Durrës district, Albania), grave 6; bronze fibula (*Zwiebelknopffibel*, Keller's type IV A; Pröttel 3/4 C, ca. 330-410); Anamali, Spahiu 1963, p. 36 and 34, fig. 13.

49. Leleszki (Szczotyń district, Poland), grave 44 (cremation); bronze fibula (*tutulus* type, Riha's type 7.11.4; mid-1st to late 2nd century); Rudnicki, Skvortsov, Szymański 2015, p. 590 and 599, fig. 3/1.

50. Lužice (near Hodonín, Czech Republic), grave 51; found with a child skeleton; bronze fibula (Hod Hill type, Riha's type 5.17.5, late 1st to late 2nd century); Tejral *et alii* 2011, p. 255-256 and 383, pl. 50.51/12.

51. Mannersdorf am Leithagebirge (Bruck an der Leitha district, Austria), grave 12; silver fibula (*Kniefibel* with spring sheath, Jobst's type 12b = Genčeva's type 176; 2nd century to the early 3rd century); Mitscha-Mährheim 1952, p. 48 and 49, fig. 2/3.

52. Mejica (Buzet district, Croatia), grave 136; bronze fibula (thistle fibula, Riha's type 4.7.2, 1st to first half of the 2nd century); Torcellan 1986, p. 75 and pl. 30/9.

53. Mokva (Kursk region, Russia); grave accidentally found in 1922; bronze fibula (strongly profiled, Riha's type 2.9.4; 1st century), fragment; Korzuhina 1996, p. 405 and 649, pl. 59/13.

54-55. Noşlac (Alba County, Romania), grave 6; 2 bronze fibulae (*Kniefibel* with semicircular headplate, Riha's type 3.12.4 = Petković's type 18A; first half of the 3rd century); Rusu 1962, p. 269-271 and 274, 272, fig. 2/23.

56-58. Pókaszepetk (Zala County, Hungary), grave 73; three bronze fibulae, in a pouch: 1. *Zwiebelknopffibel*, Keller's type IV A; Pröttel 3/4 C, ca. 330-410; 2. T-shaped fibula (Cociş's type 39b4c1; 3rd century); 3. horse-shaped fibula, Cociş's type 22a2; 2nd century; Sós, Salamon 1995, p. 143 and pl. VIII.73/24-26.

59-60. Rácalmás (Fejér County, Hungary), grave 17; 2 bronze fibulae: 1. strongly profiled, Riha's type 2.9.4; 1st century; 2. *Kniefibel* with semicircular headplate, Riha's type 3.12.4 = Petković's type 18A; first half of the 3rd century; Garam 2003, p. 118 and 97, fig. 1/4, 15.

61. Rácalmás (Fejér County, Hungary), grave 70; bronze fibula (*Zwiebelknopffibel*, Keller's type IV A; Pröttel 3/4 C, ca. 330-410); Garam 2003, p. 118 and 98, fig. 2/3.

62. Rácalmás (Fejér County, Hungary), grave 74; bronze fibula (strongly profiled, Riha's type 2.9.4; 1st century); Garam 2003, p. 118 and 97, fig. 1/3.

63. Rácalmás (Fejér County, Hungary), grave 79; bronze fibula (*Zwiebelknopffibel*, Keller's type IV A; Pröttel 3/4 C, ca. 330-410); Garam 2003, p. 118 and 98, fig. 2/4.

64. Rácalmás (Fejér County, Hungary), grave 149; bronze fibula (*Zwiebelknopffibel*, Keller's type IV A; Pröttel 5, ca. 370 – ca. 400), fragment; Garam 2003, p. 118 and 98, fig. 2/16.

65. Rifnik (near Šentjur pri Celje, Slovenia), grave 77; found with a male skeleton; bronze fibula (hinge fibula with roof-shaped bow, Riha's type 5.13.2. 1st and 2nd century); Bolta 1981, p. 35 and pl. 12/9.

66. Rifnik (near Šentjur pri Celje, Slovenia), grave 78; found with a male skeleton; bronze fibula (*Kniefibel* with semicircular headplate, Riha's type 3.12.4 = Petković's type 18A; first half of the 3rd century); Bolta 1981, p. 35 and pl. 13/2.

67. Szekszárd (Tolna County, Hungary), by the left hip of the female skeleton in grave 285; bronze fibula (*Kniefibel*, Petrović's type 18F; 2nd century); Rosner 1999, p. 40 and 185, pl. 19.285/3.

68. Szekszárd (Tolna County, Hungary), with the female skeleton in grave 295; bronze fibula (*Zwiebelknopffibel*, Keller's type I; Pröttel 1B, ca. 290 – ca. 320); Rosner 1999, p. 42 and 185, pl. 19.295/4.

69. Szekszárd (Tolna County, Hungary), on the ilium of the child skeleton in grave 304; bronze fibula (*Kniefibel* with semicircular headplate, Riha's type 3.12.4 = Petković's type 18A; first half of the 3rd century); Rosner 1999, p. 43 and 187, pl. 21.304/1.

70. Szekszárd (Tolna County, Hungary), by the left hip of the female skeleton in grave 491, together with a knife, a bronze pin and an iron ring (most likely in a pouch); bronze fibula (*Kniefibel*, Cociş's type 19a1b1b, 2nd century); Rosner 1999, p. 72 and 203, pl. 37.546/4.

71. Szekszárd (Tolna County, Hungary), with the child skeleton in grave 546; bronze fibula (skeuomorphic fibula, Cociş's type 23e; 2nd century); Rosner 1999, p. 66 and 200, pl. 34.546/13.

72. Szekszárd (Tolna County, Hungary), by the right hip of the child skeleton in grave 757; bronze fibula (*Zwiebelknopffibel*); Rosner 1999, p. 96 and 216, pl. 50.757/4.

73. Szentes (Csongrád County, Hungary); destroyed grave; bronze fibula (strongly profiled, Riha's type 2.9.4; 1st century); Csallány 1961, p. 103-104, pl. CX/6.

74. Szentes (Csongrád County, Hungary), grave 8; found in the filling of the grave pit; the grave contained the skeleton of a child (8 years of age); bronze fibula (strongly profiled, Riha's type 2.9.4; 1st century); Madaras 1999, p. 318 and 329, fig. 3.8/11.

75. Szolnok (Hungary), grave 21; next to the upper end of the left femur of a female skeleton; bronze fibula (strongly profiled, Riha's type 2.9.4; 1st century), fragment; Cseh *et alii* 2005, p. 25 and 270, pl. 40.21/1.

76. Szőreg (Csongrád County, Hungary), grave 39; found on the right ilium of a female skeleton, next to a bone comb (most likely in a pouch); bronze fibula (*Zwiebelknopffibel*, Keller's type I B; Pröttel 3/4 A, ca. 330 – ca. 400); Cseh *et alii* 2005, p. 128 and 283, pl. 53/2.

77. Tamási (Tolna County, Hungary), grave 41; found on the abdomen of the male skeleton, together with a flint steel, a knife, a spike, and iron artefacts (most likely in a pouch); bronze fibula (strongly profiled, Riha's type 2.9.2; 1st to 2nd century); Bóna, Horváth 2009, p. 160, 310, pl. 75.41/10, and 409, pl. 174/14.

78. Tiszafüred (Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok County, Hungary), grave 28, found with a female skeleton; two bronze fibulae with bent stem (Cociş's type 37a5a2, 3rd century); Garam 1995, p. 11 and pl. 60.28/7, 8.

79. Tiszafüred (Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok County, Hungary), grave 720; found by the left hip of a female skeleton, together with a knife, beads, and a bronze strap end (most likely in a pouch); bronze fibula (round fibula with glass medallion and punched ornament, Riha's type 3.17; 3rd century); Garam 1995, p. 91 and pl. 115.720/5.

80. Tiszafüred (Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok County, Hungary), grave 792; found by the left hip of a child skeleton, together with an iron chain, an awl, glass beads, an iron ring, and a bronze mount (most likely in a pouch); bronze fibula (swastika fibula [*Hakenkreuzfibula*], Cociş's type 33a2, late 2nd to the third quarter of the 3rd century); Garam 1995, p. 97 and pl. 122.792/12.

81. Vác (Pest County, Hungary), grave 464; found with a female skeleton; bronze fibula (*Bügelknopffibel*, 4th century); Tettamanti 2000, p. 102 with fig. 26 and pl. 26.

82. Várpalota (Veszprém County, Hungary), grave 20; found with a female skeleton; bronze fibula (hinged crossbow fibula, Riha's type 6.4.4, 1st to 3rd century), fragment; Bóna 2000, p. 132 and 148, pl. V/8.

83. Várpalota (Veszprém County, Hungary), grave 143; bronze fibula (*Kniefibel* with spring sheath, Jobst's type 12b = Genčeva's type 176; 2nd century to the early 3rd century); Erdélyi, Németh 1969, p. 181 and 185, pl. VI/4.

84. Várpalota (Veszprém County, Hungary), grave 209; bronze fibula (anchor fibula, Genčeva's type 11b; 2nd to 3rd century); Erdélyi, Németh 1969, p. 190 with pl. XVI/11.

85. Várpalota (Veszprém County, Hungary), grave 212; bronze fibula (*Zwiebelknopffibel*, Keller's type I B = Pröttel 3/4 C, ca. 330 – ca. 400); Erdélyi, Németh 1969, p. 191 and 193 with pl. XXII/6.

86. Várpalota (Veszprém County, Hungary), grave 214; bronze fibula (strongly profiled, Riha's type 2.9.4; 1st century); Erdélyi, Németh 1969, p. 191 and 193, pl. XXI/16.

87. Zamárdi (Somogy County, Hungary), grave 82; found on the left femur of the female skeleton, together with four open-work pendants, with traces of leather and fabric, two keys, a needle case, and a fragment of chain mail (most likely in a pouch); bronze fibula (horse fibula, Genčeva's type 296; 2nd century); Bárdos, Garam 2009, p. 21, p. 208, pl. 9.82/8, p. 378, pl. 174/4.

88.-89. Zamárdi (Somogy County, Hungary), grave 153; found with a child skeleton; two bronze fibulae: 1. *Kniefibel*, Riha's type 3.12.4 = Petković's type 18A (first half of the 3rd century); 2. *Zwiebelknopffibel* (Keller's type I A, 290-320); Bárdos, Garam 2009, p. 32 and 218, pl. 18.153/6-7.

88. Zamárdi (Somogy County, Hungary), grave 159; found with a female skeleton; bronze (hinged crossbow fibula, Riha's type 6.4.3; first half of the 3rd century); Bárdos, Garam 2009, p. 34 and 218, pl. 18.159/3.

89. Zamárdi (Somogy County, Hungary), grave 161; found with a female skeleton; bronze penannular fibula (3rd to 4th century); Bárdos, Garam 2009, p. 34 and 218, pl. 18.161/2.

90. Zamárdi (Somogy County, Hungary), grave 162; found with a female skeleton; bronze fibula (swastika fibula [*Hakenkreuzfibula*], Riha's type 3.19.1, late 2nd to the first half of the 3rd century); Bárdos, Garam 2009, p. 34, p. 219, pl. 19.162/6, p. 378, pl. 174/5.

91. Zamárdi (Somogy County, Hungary), grave 222; found with the skeleton of a child; fragment of a bronze *Zwiebelknopffibel* (4th century); Bárdos, Garam 2009, p. 41 and 227, pl. 27.222/4.

92. Zamárdi (Somogy County, Hungary), grave 236; found with the skeleton of a child; fragment of a bronze *Zwiebelknopffibel* (4th century); Bárdos, Garam 2009, p. 42 and 228, pl. 28.236/4.

93. Zamárdi (Somogy County, Hungary), grave 263; found with the skeleton of a child; bronze fibula (*Kniefibel* with spring sheath, Jobst's type 12b = Genčeva's type 176; 2nd century to the early 3rd century); Bárdos, Garam 2009, p. 45 and 232, pl. 32.263/6.

94. Zamárdi (Somogy County, Hungary), grave 297; found with a male skeleton; bronze, penannular fibula (3rd to 4th century); Bárdos, Garam 2009, p. 49 and 235, pl. 35.297/12.

95. Zamárdi (Somogy County, Hungary), grave 329; found with the skeleton of a teenager; bronze fibula (Gaulic fibula [*einfache gallische Fibel*], Riha's type 2.2.1; 1st to first half of the 2nd century); Bárdos, Garam 2009, p. 54 and 237, pl. 37.329/2.

96. Zamárdi (Somogy County, Hungary), grave 402; found with a female skeleton; bronze, penannular fibula (3rd to 4th century); Bárdos, Garam 2009, p. 62 and 246, pl. 46.402/5.

97. Zamárdi (Somogy County, Hungary), grave 424; fragment of a bronze *Zwiebelknopffibel* (4th century); Bárdos, Garam 2009, p. 64 and 248, pl. 48.424/3.

98. Zamárdi (Somogy County, Hungary), grave 476; found with the skeleton of a child; fragment of a bronze *Zwiebelknopffibel* (4th century); Bárdos, Garam 2009, p. 71 and 260, pl. 60.476/6.

99. Zamárdi (Somogy County, Hungary), grave 487; bronze fibula (strongly profiled fibula, Riha's type 3.1.2; first half of the 2nd to early 3rd century); Bárdos, Garam 2009, p. 73 and 262, pl. 63.487/5.

100. Zamárdi (Somogy County, Hungary), grave 517, under the upper end of the left thighbone of the female skeleton, together with a needle case, two needles, a glass bead, a glass fragment and a silver sheet cross (most likely in a pouch); bronze penannular fibula (3rd to 4th century); Bárdos, Garam 2009, p. 76, p. 268, pl. 67.517/2, p. 387, pl. 183/1.

101. Zamárdi (Somogy County, Hungary), grave 518; found with a male skeleton; bronze fibula (*Kniefibel* with semicircular headplate, Riha's type 3.12.4 = Genčeva's type 166 = Petković's type 18A; first half of the 3rd century); Bárdos, Garam 2009, p. 79 and 269, pl. 68.518/16.

102. Zamárdi (Somogy County, Hungary), grave 558; found with a female skeleton; bronze fibula (letter fibula [*Buchstabenfibel*], Jobst's type 33, late 2nd to early 3rd century); Bárdos, Garam 2009, p. 82 and 274, pl. 73.558/1.

103. Zamárdi (Somogy County, Hungary), grave 628; bronze fibula (*Kniefibel* with semicircular headplate, Riha's type 3.12.4 = Genčeva's type 166 = Petković's type 18A; first half of the 3rd century); Bárdos, Garam 2009, p. 90 and 282, pl. 80.628/2.

104. Zamárdi (Somogy County, Hungary), grave 671; found with a female skeleton; bronze fibula (swastika fibula, Riha's type 3.19.2 = Cociș's type 33a = Genčeva's type 32a, late 2nd to first half of the 3rd century); Bárdos, Garam 2009, p. 96 and 282, pl. 84.671/5.

105. Zamárdi (Somogy County, Hungary), grave 681; found with a female skeleton; bronze, cross-shaped fibula (*Zwiebelknopffibel*, Keller's type II; Pröttel's type 2, late 3rd to first half of the 4th century); Bárdos, Garam 2009, p. 98 and 289, pl. 87.681/5.

106. Zamárdi (Somogy County, Hungary), grave 691; found with a female skeleton; bronze fibula (horse fibula, Cociș's type 22 = Genčeva's type 296 = Petković's type 25A; 2nd century); Bárdos, Garam 2009, p. 98 and 289, pl. 87.691/7.

107. Zamárdi (Somogy County, Hungary), grave 730; found with a child skeleton; bronze fibula (*Kniefibel* with semicircular headplate, Riha's type 3.12.4 = Genčeva's type 166 = Petković's type 18A; first half of the 3rd century); Bárdos, Garam 2009, p. 102 and 293, pl. 91.730/2.

108. Zamárdi (Somogy County, Hungary), grave 983; found with a female skeleton; bronze fibula (*Kniefibel* with semicircular headplate, Riha's type 3.12.4 = Genčeva's type 166 = Petković's type 18A; first half of the 3rd century); Bárdos, Garam 2009, p. 129 and 315, pl. 113.983/1.

109. Zamárdi (Somogy County, Hungary), grave 1137; found with a female skeleton; bronze fibula (strongly profiled, Riha's type 2.9.4; 1st century); Bárdos, Garam 2009, p. 148 and 332, pl. 129.1137/11.

110. Zamárdi (Somogy County, Hungary), grave 1344; found with a female skeleton; bronze fibula (*Kniefibel* with semicircular headplate, Riha's type 3.12.4 = Genčeva's type 33 = Petković's type 18A; first half of the 3rd century); Bárdos, Garam 2009, p. 175 and 355, pl. 151.1344/6.

111. Zamárdi (Somogy County, Hungary), grave 1348; found with a female skeleton; bronze fibula (round fibula with glass medallion and enameled ornament, Riha's type 3.16 = Genčeva's type 33 = Cociş's type 24a6; 2nd to early 3rd century); Bárdos, Garam 2009, p. 176 and 356, pl. 153.1348/8.

112-113. Zamárdi (Somogy County, Hungary), grave 1361; found with a female skeleton; two bronze fibulae: 1. trumpet-shaped fibula, Jobst's type 6A = Cociş's type 21b1a; late 1st to the first half of the 2nd century; 2. *Zwiebelknopffibel* (Pröttel's type 3 = Petković's type 34D2); fragments; Bárdos, Garam 2009, p. 179 and 358, pl. 155.1361/1, 2.

114-115. Zamárdi (Somogy County, Hungary), grave 1366; found with a female skeleton; two bronze fibulae: 1. *Zwiebelknopffibel*, Pröttel's type 3 = Petković's type 34D2, ca. 330-400); 2. Noric-Pannonian (Jobst's type 4b-c, 1st to 2nd century), fragment, Bárdos, Garam 2009, p. 179 and 358, pl. 155.1366/1, 2.

116-117. Zamárdi (Somogy County, Hungary), grave 1393; found with a male skeleton; two bronze fibulae (*Zwiebelknopffibel*, Pröttel's type 3 = Petković's type 34D2, ca. 330-400); Bárdos, Garam 2009, p. 184 and 364, pl. 161.1393/8.

118. Zamárdi (Somogy County, Hungary), grave 1837; found with a female skeleton, together with a spindle whorl, a bronze ring, and two pendants with open-work ornament (most likely in a pouch); bronze fibula (strongly profiled, Riha's type 3.1.2 = Cociş's type 8b2b2; 2nd century); Bárdos, Garam 2014, p. 58 and 177, pl. 194.1837/12.

119. Zamárdi (Somogy County, Hungary), grave 1978; found with a male skeleton, together with an unidentified Roman coin; bronze fibula (strongly profiled, Riha's type 3.1.2 = Cociş's type 8b2b2; 2nd century); Bárdos, Garam 2014, p. 83 and 193, pl. 210.1978/17.

120. Zamárdi (Somogy County, Hungary), grave 2195; found next to the left hip of the child skeleton, together with a needle case made of bone, having an iron needle inside (most likely a pouch); bronze fibula (*Bügelknopffibel*, 4th century); Bárdos, Garam 2014, p. 113 and 214, pl. 229.2195/7.

121. Zamárdi (Somogy County, Hungary), grave 2243; found with a female skeleton; bronze fibula (strongly profiled, Riha's type 3.1.2 = Cociş's type 8b2b2; 2nd century); Bárdos, Garam 2014, p. 119 and 217, pl. 232.2243/3.

122. Zavód (Tolna County, Hungary), grave 24; bronze fibula (*Bügelknopffibel*, 4th century); Kiss 1984, p. 165 and 289, pl. 87/24.2.

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ABRÉVIATIONS

- Academica – *Academica*. Revistă editată de Academia Română
- ActaAntHung – *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, Budapest
- ActaArchCarp – *Acta Archaeologica Carpathica*. Polish Academy of Sciences – Cracow Branch, Kraków
- ActaArchHung – *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, Budapest
- ActaMM – *Acta Moldaviae Meridionalis*, Vaslui
- ActaMN – *Acta Musei Napocensis*. Muzeul Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei, Cluj-Napoca
- ActaMP – *Acta Musei Porolissensis*. Muzeul Județean de Istorie și Artă, Zalău
- ActaMT – *Acta Musei Tutovens*. Istorie Veche și Arheologie. Muzeul „Vasile Pârvan”, Bârlad
- ActaPraehArch – *Acta Praehistorica et Archaeologica*, Berlin
- ActaTS – *Acta Terrae Septemcastrens*. Institutul pentru Cercetarea Patrimoniului Cultural Transilvănean în Context European, Sibiu
- Adalya – *Adalya*. Koç University Suna & İnan Kiraç Research Center for Mediterranean Civilizations (AKMED)
- Alba Regia – *Alba Regia*. *Annales Musei Stephani regis*, Székesfehérvár
- Alt Schaessburg – *Alt Schaessburg*. Seria Istorie. Patrimoniu, Muzeul de Istorie Sighișoara
- Anatolian Studies – *Anatolian Studies*. British Institute at Ankara, Ankara
- AnB (S.N.) – *Analele Banatului* (Serie Nouă). Muzeul Banatului, Timișoara
- Antaeus – *Antaeus*. *Communicationes ex Instituto Archaeologico Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, Budapest
- Antiquité Tardive – *Antiquité Tardive*. *Revue Internationale d'Histoire et d'Archéologie* (IVe-VIIe siècle), Brepols Publisher
- AnUCraiova – *Analele Universității din Craiova*
- AO – *Arhivele Olteniei*. Institutul de Cercetări Socio-Umane „C. S. Nicolăescu-Plopșor”, Craiova
- AOR – *Arheologičeski otkritija i razkopki*
- Apulum – *Acta Musei Apulensis*. Muzeul Național al Unirii, Alba Iulia
- ARAnthr – *Annual Review of Anthropology*
- Archaeologia Austriaca – *Archaeologia Austriaca*. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut, Wien
- Archaeology and Science – *Archaeology and Science*. Center for New Technology, Institute of Archaeology, Belgrade
- Archaica – *Archaica*. Journal of the Department of Archaeology, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade
- ArchBulg – *Archaeologia Bulgarica*, Sofia
- ArchÉrt – *Archeológiai Értesítő*. A Magyar Régészeti és Művészettörténeti Társulat Tudományos Folyóirata, Budapest
- ArchHung – *Archaeologia Hungarica*. *Acta Archaeologica Musei Nationalis Hungarici*, Budapest
- ArchKorr – *Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt*. Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Mainz
- ArchKözl – *Archaeologiai Közlemények*, Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, Budapest
- ArchRozhledy – *Archeologické Rozhledy*, Archeologický ústav AV ČR, Praha

- ArchWarszawa – Archeologia. Rocznik Instytutu Historii Kultury Materialnej Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Warszawa
- Arhivele Olteniei – Arhivele Olteniei. Institutul de Cercetări Socio-Umane „C.S. Nicolăescu-Plopșor”, Academia Română, Craiova
- ArhMold – Archeologia Moldovei. Academia Română, Institutul de Arheologie, Iași
- ArhSofia – Archeologija. Organ na Arheologičeskija Institut i Muzej, Sofia
- ArhVestLjubljana – Arheološki vestnik. Inštitut za arheologijo ZRC SAZU, Ljubljana
- ArheologijaKiev – Archeologija. Nacional’na Akademiya Nauk Ukraini, Institut Arheologij NAN Ukraini, Kijv
- Arrabona – Arrabona. Győr-Moson-Sopron Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei
- Banatica – Banatica. Muzeul Banatului Montan, Reșița
- BARBrSer – British Archaeological Reports, British Series, Oxford
- BARIntSer – British Archaeological Reports, International Series, Oxford
- BayVgBl – Bayerische Vorgeschichtsblätter. Kommission für bayerische Landesgeschichte bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Verbindung mit dem Bayerischen Landesamt für Denkmalpflege und der Archäologische Staatssammlung, München
- BBA – Berliner Beiträge zur Archäometrie. Rathgen-Forschungslabor, Berlin
- BeJA – Bulgarian e-Journal of Archaeology, Association of Bulgarian Archaeologists, Sofia
- Belleten – Belleten. Türk Tarih Kurumu, Ankara
- BerRGK – Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Frankfurt am Main
- Berytus – Berytus. Archaeological Studies. Faculty of Arts and Sciences, American University of Beirut
- BiblArchMold – Bibliotheca Archaeologica Moldaviae, Iași
- BiblMemAnt – Bibliotheca Memoriae Antiquitatis, Piatra-Neamț
- BiblTyr – Bibliotheca Tyragnetia, Chișinău
- BiblThrac – Bibliotheca Thracologica, București
- BIFAO – Bulletin de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale, Cairo
- BMC – H. Mattingly, *Coins of Roman Empire in the British Museum*, 6 volumes, London, 1923-1962
- BMI – Buletinul Monumentelor Istorice, București
- BMJT – Buletinul Muzeului Județean Teleorman, Alexandria
- BMTAGiurgiu – Buletinul Muzeului „Teohari Antonescu”, Giurgiu
- București.MIM – București. Materiale de Istorie și Muzeografie. Muzeul Municipiului București
- Byzantion – Byzantion. Revue Internationale des Études Byzantines, Peeters online journals
- ByzZ – Byzantinische Zeitschrift, München
- CA – Cercetări Arheologice. Muzeul Național de Istorie a României, București
- CAB – Cercetări Arheologice în București. Muzeul Municipiului București, București
- CCA, campania – Cronica Cercetărilor Arheologice din România
- CCDJ – Cultură și Civilizație la Dunărea de Jos. Muzeul Dunării de Jos, Călărași
- CercIst – Cercetări Istorice. Complexul Național Muzeal „Moldova”, Iași, Muzeul de Istorie a Moldovei, Iași
- Chronica Valachica – Chronica Valachica – Studii și cercetări de istorie și istorie a culturii, Târgoviște
- CIG – *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, 4 volumes, Berlin, 1828-1877
- ComArchHung – Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungariae. Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Budapest
- Corviniana – Corviniana. Acta Musei Corvinensis. Muzeul „Castelul Corvinilor”, Hunedoara

- CRAI – Comptes Rendus des Séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Paris
- Crisia – Crisia. Muzeului Țării Crișurilor, Oradea
- Dacia – Dacia. Fouilles et recherches archéologiques en Roumanie, București
- Dacia N.S. – Dacia (Nouvelle Série). Revue d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne. Académie Roumaine, Institut d'Archéologie « Vasile Pârvan », București
- Danubius – Danubius, Revista Muzeului de Istorie Galați
- DolgCluj – Dolgozatok az Erdélyi Múzeum Érem- és Régiségtárából
- Drobeta – Drobeta. Muzeul Regiunii Porților de Fier, Drobeta-Turnu Severin
- Dumbarton Oaks Papers – Dumbarton Oaks Papers, Harvard University
- EAIVR – Enciclopedia Arheologiei și Istoriei Vechi a României (ed. C. Preda), București, 1994 (I, A-C), 1996 (II, D-L), 2000 (III, M-Q)
- Emerita – Emerita. Revista de Lingvistica y Filologia Clasica, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas
- EphemNap – Ephemeris Napocensis. Academia Română, Institutul de Arheologie și Istoria Artei, Cluj-Napoca
- ERAUL – Études et Recherches archéologiques de l'Université de Liège
- Études celtiques – Études celtiques, CNRS, Paris
- Fasti Archaeologici – Fasti Archaeologici. Annual Bulletin of Classical Archaeology, Firenze
- FolArch – Folia Archaeologica. A Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum Évkönyve / Annales Musei Nationalis Hungarici, Budapest
- Germania – Germania. Anzeiger der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Frankfurt am Main
- GlasnikSarajevo – Glasnik Zemaljskog Muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine, Sarajevo
- GodišnikSofia – Godišnik na Sofijskija universitet, Istoriko-filologički fakultet, Sofia
- Hierasus – Hierasus. Muzeul Județean Botoșani
- Hiperboreea – Hiperboreea. Journal of the Balkan History Association, Penn State University Press
- Histos – HISTOS. The On-line Journal of Ancient Historiography, University of Oxford, University of Alberta
- Ialomița – Ialomița. Studii și comunicări de istorie, arheologie, etnografie, Slobozia
- Instrumentum – Instrumentum. Bulletin du Groupe de travail européen sur l'artisanat et les productions manufacturées dans l'Antiquité, Chauvigny
- IOlbia – T.N. Knipovič, E.I. Levi, *Inscriptiones Olbiae (1917-1965) / Nadpisi Ol'vii (1917-1965)*, Leningrad (St. Petersburg), 1968
- Istros – Istros. Muzeul Brăilei „Carol I”, Brăila
- Izkustvo – Izkustvo. Săjz na hudožnicite v Bălgarija
- IzvestijaBurgas – Izvestija na Regionalen Istoričeski Muzej Burgas. Regionalen Istoričeski Muzej – Burgas
- IzvestijaKolarovgrad – Izvestija na Narodnija Muzej Kolarovgrad
- IzvestijaNIM – Izvestija na Nacionalnija istoričeski muzej, Sofia
- IzvestijaSofia – Izvestija na Nacionalnija arheologički Institut, Sofia
- JAHA – Journal of Ancient History and Archaeology. Academia Română, Institutul de Arheologie și Istoria Artei Cluj-Napoca, Universitatea Tehnică Cluj-Napoca
- JAMT – Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory. Springer Science + Business Media, New York

- JAN – The Journal of Archaeological Numismatics. Centre Européen d'Études Numismatiques, Bruxelles
- JHS – The Journal of Hellenic Studies. Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies, Cambridge University Press
- Journal of California Anthropology – The Journal of California Anthropology. Malki Museum
- JPMÉ – A Janus Pannonius Múzeum Évkönyve, Pécs
- JRA – Journal of Roman Archaeology, Cambridge University Press
- JRGZM – Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz, Mainz
- JRMES – Journal of Roman Military Equipment Studies. The Association for Roman Military Equipment Studies
- JRS – Journal of Roman Studies, London
- Litua – Litua. Studii și cercetări. Muzeul Județean Gorj „Alexandru Ștefulescu”, Târgu Jiu
- LRBC – *Late Roman Bronze Coinage A.D. 324-498*; part I. *The Bronze Coinage of the House of Constantine A.D. 324-346* (P.V. Hill, J.P.C. Kent); part II. *Bronze Roman Imperial Coinage of the Later Empire A.D. 346-498* (R.A.G. Carson, J.P.C. Kent), London, 1965.
- MAGW – Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien
- MAInstUngAk – Mitteilungen des Archäologischen Instituts der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Budapest
- MAN – MAN. Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, London
- Medical History – Medical History. An International Journal for the History of Medicine and Related Sciences, Cambridge University Press
- Mediterraneo Antico – Mediterraneo Antico. Economie, Società, Culture, Napoli
- MIF – Mitologija, istorija, folklor, Sofia
- MCA – Materiale și Cercetări Arheologice. Academia Română, Institutul de Arheologie „Vasile Pârvan”, București
- MMM – Medieval and Modern Matters. Archaeology and Material Culture in the Low Countries, Brepols Publisher
- Medioevo greco – Medioevo greco. Rivista di storia e filologia bizantina, Università degli Studi di Torino, Dipartimento di Studi Umanistici, Torino
- MemAnt – Memoria Antiquitatis. Acta Musei Petrodavensis. Complexul Muzeal Național Neamț, Piatra-Neamț
- MFME-MA – A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve – Monumenta Archaeologica. Móra Ferenc Múzeum, Szeged
- MFME-SA – A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve – Studia Archaeologica. Móra Ferenc Múzeum, Szeged
- MN – Muzeul Național. Muzeul Național de Istorie a României, București
- Mousaios – Mousaios. Buletin Științific al Muzeului Județean Buzău
- NAV – Nižnevolžskij arheologičeskij vestnik. Volgogradskij gosudarstvennyj universitet, Volgograd
- OBO – Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis, Fribourg
- OJA – Oxford Journal of Archaeology. School of Archaeology, University of Oxford
- Oltenia – Oltenia. Studii și comunicări. Arheologie-Istorie, Muzeul Olteniei, Craiova
- Peuce – Peuce. Studii și note de istorie veche și arheologie. Muzeul Delta Dunării / Institutul de Cercetări Eco-Muzeale, Tulcea
- Peuce S.N. – Peuce, serie nouă. Studii și cercetări de istorie și arheologie. Institutul de Cercetări Eco-Muzeale „Gavrilă Simion”, Tulcea

- Pick – B. Pick, *Die Antiken Münzen Nord-Griechenlands*, vol. I.1. *Die Antiken Münzen von Dacien und Moesien*, Berlin, 1898
- PIFK – Problemy istorii, filologii, kul'tury. Magnitogorskij Gosudarstvennyj Tehničeskij Universitet im. „G.I. Nosova”, Institut Arheologii RAN, Moskva – Magnitogorsk – Novosibirsk
- Pontica – Pontica. Muzeul de Istorie Națională și Arheologie, Constanța
- Préhistoire européenne – Préhistoire européenne. Service de Préhistoire, Université de Liège
- Prilozi Zagreb – Prilozi. Instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu, Zagreb
- Public Historian – The Public Historian, University of California Press on behalf of the National Council on Public History
- PV – Přehled Výzkumů, Brno
- PZ – Praehistorische Zeitschrift. Institut für Prähistorische Archäologie, Berlin
- RAASI – Revista de Arheologie, Antropologie și Studii Interdisciplinare. Institutul de Cercetări Bioarheologice și Etnoculturale Chișinău
- RCAN – Revista de cercetări arheologice și numismatice. Muzeul Municipiului București
- RCRFAcA – Rei Cretariae Romanae Fautorum Acta
- RÉSEE – Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes. Academia Română, Institutul de Studii Sud-Est Europeene, București
- Revista Arheologică – Revista Arheologică. Academia de Științe a Moldovei, Institutul Patrimoniului Cultural, Chișinău
- Revista de istorie – Revista de istorie. Academia de Științe Sociale și Politice a RSR, București
- RevBistr – Revista Bistriței. Complexul Muzeal Bistrița-Năsăud, Bistrița
- RevMuz – Revista Muzeelor, București
- RIC – *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, 13 volumes, London, 1923-
- RMM-MIA – Revista muzeelor și monumentelor – Monumente istorice și de artă, București
- RPC – *Roman Provincial Coinage*, 10 volumes, Oxford, 1992-
- RSP – Rivista di Scienze Preistoriche. Istituto Italiano di Preistoria e Protostoria, Firenze
- RVM – Rad Vojvodjanskih Muzeja, Novi Sad
- Sargetia – Sargetia. Acta Musei Devensis. Muzeul Civilizației Dacice și Romane, Deva
- Savaria – Savaria. A Vas Megyei Múzeumok értesítője, Szombathely
- SCIV(A) – Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Veche (și Arheologie). Academia Română, Institutul de Arheologie „Vasile Pârvan”, București
- Scienze dell'Antichità – Scienze dell'Antichità. Dipartimento di Scienze Storiche Archeologiche e Antropologiche dell'Antichità di Sapienza – Università di Roma
- SCN – Studii și Cercetări de Numismatică. Academia Română, Institutul de Arheologie „Vasile Pârvan”, București
- Scrinia Slavonica – Scrinia Slavonica. Hrvatski institut za povijest, Podružnica za povijest Slavonije, Srijema i Baranje, Slavonski Brod
- SP – Studii de Preistorie, Asociația Română de Arheologie, București
- Starinar – Starinar. Naučni časopis Arheološkog instituta u Beogradu, Beograd
- StComSibiu – Studii și Comunicări. Muzeul Brukenthal, Sibiu
- Stratum plus – Stratum plus. Arheologija i kulturnaja antropologija. Vysšaja Antropologičeskaja Škola, St. Peterburg-Chișinău-Odessa-București
- Studia Academica Šumenensia – Studia Academica Šumenensia. History and Archaeology of the Balkans and South Eastern Europe. „Episkop Konstantin Preslavski” University of Šumen

- Studia Celto-Slavica – Studia Celto-Slavica. Journal of the Learned Association Societas Celto-Slavica, Université de Bretagne Occidentale, Brest
- Suceava – Suceava. Anuarul Muzeului Național al Bucovinei, Suceava
- Talanta – Talanta. Proceedings of the Dutch Archaeological and Historical Society, Amsterdam
- Talia dixit – Talia dixit. Revista Interdisciplinar de Retórica e Historiografía, Universidad de Extremadura
- Thracia – Thracia. Institut za balkanistika s Centăr po trakologija – Bălgarska akademija na naukite
- Thracio-Dacica – Thracio-Dacica. Academia Română, Institutul de Arheologie „Vasile Pârvan”, București
- Tibiscus – Tibiscus. Arheologie-Istorie. Muzeul Banatului, Timișoara
- Tyraetia – Tyraetia. Anuarul Muzeului Național de Istorie a Moldovei, Chișinău
- UPA – Universitätsforschungen zur prähistorischen Archäologie, Bonn
- VAHD – Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku. Arheološki muzej Split
- VAMZ – Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu, Zagreb
- Vekove – Vekove. Bălgarsko istoričesko društvo, Sofia
- Viator – Viator. Medieval and Renaissance Studies, Brepols Publisher
- YES – Yale Egyptological Studies, Yale University
- Zbornik Narodnog muzeja – Zbornik Narodnog muzeja – Arheologija, Narodni muzej, Beograd
- ZfA – Zeitschrift für Archäologie, Berlin
- Ziridava – Ziridava. Studia Archaeologica. Complexul Muzeal Arad
- ZSAK – Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte. Schweizerisches Nationalmuseum, Zürich