

Eszter Istvánovits · Valéria Kulcsár

Sarmatians – History and Archaeology of a Forgotten People

Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum
Leibniz-Forschungsinstitut für Archäologie

R G Z M

Eszter Istvánovits · Valéria Kulcsár

Sarmatians
History and Archaeology of a Forgotten People

MONOGRAPHIEN

des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums

Band 123

Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum
Leibniz-Forschungsinstitut für Archäologie

R G Z M

Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum
Leibniz-Forschungsinstitut für Archäologie

Eszter Istvánovits · Valéria Kulcsár

SARMATIANS

HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY OF A FORGOTTEN PEOPLE

Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz 2017

English translation: Magdaléna Seleanu
Redaktion: Leo Ruickbie, Staudernheim;
Claudia Nickel, Marie Röder (RGZM)
Satz: Michael Braun (RGZM)
Umschlaggestaltung: Reinhard Köster (RGZM)

**Bibliografische Information
der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek**

Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet über **http://dnb.d-nb.de** abrufbar.

**ISBN 978-3-88467-237-2
ISSN 0171-1474**

© 2017 Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums

Das Werk ist urheberrechtlich geschützt. Die dadurch begründeten Rechte, insbesondere die der Übersetzung, des Nachdrucks, der Entnahme von Abbildungen, der Funk- und Fernsehsendung, der Wiedergabe auf fotomechanischem (Fotokopie, Mikrokopie) oder ähnlichem Wege und der Speicherung in Datenverarbeitungsanlagen, Ton- und Bildträgern bleiben, auch bei nur auszugsweiser Verwertung, vorbehalten. Die Vergütungsansprüche des § 54, Abs. 2, UrhG. werden durch die Verwertungsgesellschaft Wort wahrgenommen.

Druck: betz-druck GmbH, Darmstadt
Printed in Germany.

CONTENTS

Falko Daim
Preface IX

Introduction 1

The Geography of the Region 3
Inner Asia 3
Central Asia 5
Temperate Steppe Zone 10
The Caucasus 11
The Crimean Peninsula 12
The Carpathian Basin 13
Sarmatians on the Steppe 15
Origins and Language of the Sarmatians 15
Cimmerian-Scythian Prelude 15
Scythian-Sarmatian Relations: The Sarmatian Ethnogenesis 24
Sauromatian or Sarmatian? 30
A Few Words on Chronology 30
The Earliest Sauromatian/Sarmatian Finds (6th to Mid-3rd Century BC) 31
The So-Called Sauromatian/Sarmatian Animal Style 44
Were the Sauromatians Actually Sarmatians? 48
The Beginning of the Sarmatian Expansion 53
Early Sarmatian Find Assemblages (4th? to Mid-2nd Century BC) 53
On the Boundary of the Old and New Worlds 56
Written Sources on the Appearance of the Sarmatians in Europe in the First Half of the 4th Century BC 60
In the Shadow of the Bosporan Kingdom 63
The Siracian Migration: Maeotians and Greeks in the Kuban Region 64
The Sarmatian Conquest West of the Don 71
An Overview of the Steppe 78
The Sarmatians of the Pontic in the 2nd and 1st Centuries BC 81
In the Sweep of Pontic Politics 81
Finds from the First Half of the Sarmatian Age (Mid-2nd Century - Mid-1st Century BC) 84
The Sarmatian Tribes 86
The Mithridates Dynasty. Some Words on the Pontic-Bosporan Kingdom and the Scythians of the Crimea 94
Archaeology of the Roxolani 98
Politics of the European Steppe in the Second Half of the 1st Century BC to the 1st Century AD . . . 101
The Lower Danube in Burebista's Time 101
The Sarmatian expansion in the Second Half of the 1st Century BC and the 1st Century AD: Dacian-Getan-Sarmatian Relations in the Lower Danube Region 102

»The Mighty Kings of Aorsia«: The Sarmatian Tribes in Pliny's Time 106
The First Appearance of the Alans in the Written Sources: The Trans-Caucasian Campaigns 109
The Sarmatians as Actors on the Political Scene Between the Second Half of the 1st Century BC and the 1st Century AD 114
Finds From the Second Half of the Middle Sarmatian Age (Mid-1st Century to Mid-2nd Century AD) 122
The Alans: The Migration of a New Eastern Population 139
Origins of the Alans 139
The Origins of the Alans in the Light of the Archaeological Sources 146
The Lords of the Steppe: The Alans in the 2nd-4th Centuries AD 152
The Late Sarmatian Age on the Steppe (2nd-4th Centuries) 158
Archaeology of the Late Sarmatian Age 158
Population Movements on the Steppe in the 3rd-4th Centuries AD 168
The Gothic Migration: The Marosszentanna/Sântana de Mureş-Černjahov Culture 171

Sarmatians in the Carpathian Basin 183
The First Sarmatians on the Hungarian Plain: Routes, Territories, Chronology and the Earliest Find Assemblages 183
The Written Sources 183
The Archaeological Evidence 191
The Contradiction Between the Written Sources and the Archaeological Record 214
The Neighbouring Barbarian Peoples: Dacians, Celts and Germans 215
The Period of the Dacian Wars 216
History of the Sarmatians of the Carpathian Basin until the Creation of the Province of Dacia . . . 216
The Archaeological Finds 234
A New Wave of Immigrants? The Problem of the Tamgas 237
The Inhabitants of the Hungarian Plain Before the Sarmatians' Arrival: Contact Between the Sarmatians and their Neighbours 246
From the Dacian Wars to the Marcomannic-Sarmatian Wars 254
Prelude to the Marcomannic-Sarmatian Wars 254
The Great Marcomannic-Sarmatian Wars 258
The Archaeological Finds 273
From the Marcomannic Wars to the Evacuation of Dacia 289
After the Marcomannic Wars 289
The Evacuation of Dacia 293
The Archaeological Finds 297
From the Tetrarchy to the Hun Period 307
The Tetrarchy 310
The Age of the Constantine Dynasty 315
The Sarmatian Civil War and Subsequent Events 318
New Forms of Interaction Between Romans and Barbarians 338
The So-Called Alföld Ramparts 343
The Archaeological Record 361
The Dawn of a New Age: The Hunnic Invasion 367
The Sarmatians of the Hungarian Plain During Valentinian's Reign 367

Wars in the Last Third of the 4th Century AD 376
The Rule of the Huns on the Hungarian Plain 379

Sarmatians After the Sarmatian Period 399
Alans on the Eurasian Steppe 399
Alans in the Crimea 399
Alans in the Northern Pontic 400
Alans in the Caucasus 403
Alans in Western Europe 408
Sarmatians in Britain 412
Sarmatians in the Arthurian Legends? 414
The Sarmatian/Alanic Influence on European Culture: Polish Sarmatism 414
Iranian Elements in the Hungarian Conquest Period: The Role of Sarmatian Studies in Conquest Period Research 417
Sarmatian Survivals: The Jas in the Carpathian Basin 418

Afterword 431

Bibliography 433
Sources 433
References 435

Abbreviations 459

Indexes 461
Index of Places 461
Index of Names 473
Index of Subjects 480

PREFACE

The Sarmatians are known from the written sources for a period of around 1000 years. From the mid-1st millennium BC to the mid-1st millennium AD they settled between the steppe region of Southern Russia and Ukraine and the Great Hungarian Plain. Antique authors identified different subgroups of the Sarmatians, such as the Roxolani, the Iazyges and the Alani. In the West, they are known because of their involvement in the Marcomannic wars and other additional conflicts with the Roman Empire. Although the Western Sarmatians lived near various Germanic *gentes*, they still are viewed as a bit »exotic«, not least because of linguistic difficulties. The last overview in a western language was published in 1970 by Tadeusz Sulimirski.

In recent decades some Sarmatian princely graves from Southern Russia and the Ukraine caused a stir in major international exhibitions in France, Germany, Italy and Russia. Among the most prominent examples are the »Sokolova Mogila« in Kovalevka (obl. Mikolayiv/UA), the two graves from Porogi (obl. Vinnitsa/UA), the female burial from Kosika (obl. Astrakhan/RUS), the fantastic horse equipment found in the grave in Datchi, in the southeastern border of the city of Asov (obl. Rostov/RUS), and the long-known female grave from Khokhlach in the outskirts of Novocherkassk (obl. Rostov/RUS). Those burials from the 1st century AD were not only very richly furnished with jewellery, dress accessories and horse equipment but additionally demonstrate – as did the previous, numerous exhibitions on »The Gold of the Scythians« – the complex interactions between the classical world and the nomadic peoples. But those princely graves only represent the elite of the steppe nomadic societies. There are many more archaeological settlements and burials that offer detailed information about the life, cosmological ideas, interactions and beliefs of those people whom antique writers categorised as Sarmatians.

Valéria Kulcsár and Eszter Istvánovits are both internationally recognised specialists in the archaeology and history of the Sarmatians. With this book, a good part of which is based on their own extensive excavations in Hungary, the authors provide good access to and a brilliant overview of the current state of research. For the first time since 1970, the fascinating and rich legacy of the Sarmatians from the second half of the 1st millennium BC to the first half of the 1st millennium AD is made accessible in a western language.

Finally, I want to thank the authors for their great work. The manuscript was forwarded to the RGZM by Claus von Carnap-Bornheim, to whom I also extend my gratitude. And, last but not least, I want to thank the colleagues from the the editorial division of the RGZM – Claudia Nickel, Reinhard Köster and Marie Röder – as well as those from the graphic department – Michael Ober and Monika Weber – for their excellent and professional work.

Mainz, Spring 2017

Falko Daim
General Director

INTRODUCTION

For millennia, the Eurasian Steppe was ruled by Iranian-speaking peoples. Later, Central Asia and a part of Inner Asia also came under Iranian control. Arriving from the steppe, the Iranians blended into the civilisations of these regions and became one of the most formidable adversaries of the Greeks and Romans. From the Late Copper Age and Early Bronze Age to the Mongolian invasion in the 13th century, successive waves of steppean groups reached the Danube Valley as well (**fig. 1**).

The Sarmatians, the most important barbarian population of the Roman Age in the Carpathian Basin, were of Iranian stock. The Sarmatians settled on the Great Hungarian Plain, occupying parts of modern Hungary, Serbia and Romania for over four hundred years. They inhabited the territory unusually densely and frequently tormented their mighty neighbour, the Roman Empire. At the close of the 2nd century AD, the philosopher emperor, Marcus Aurelius, made bold plans to exterminate and get rid of them, once and for all. His plan failed, and the Sarmatian population of the Carpathian Basin remained one of the region's key actors.

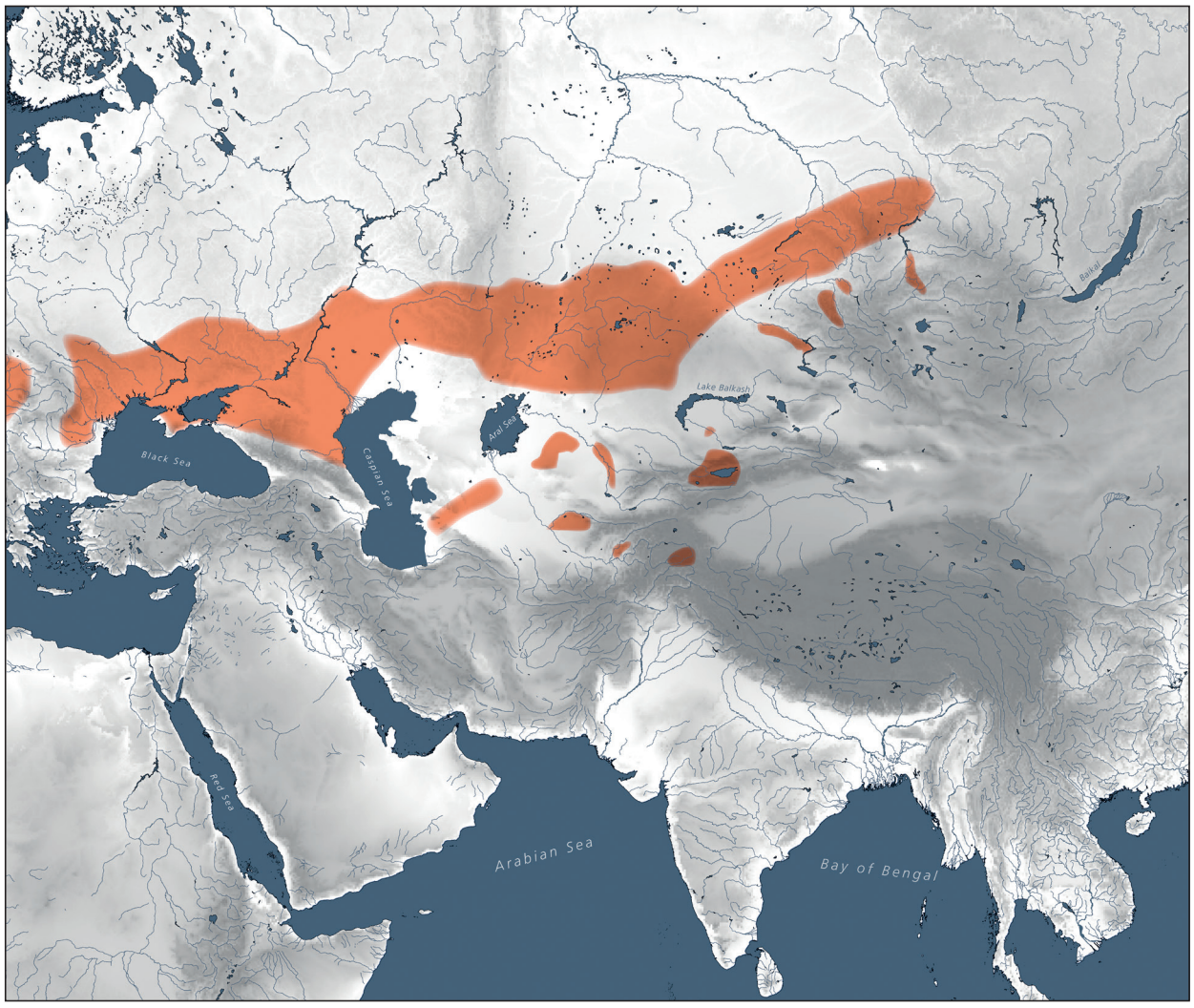


Fig. 1 Distribution of Iranian nomadic cultures on the Eurasian steppe during the Scythian/Sarmatian period. – (Map M. Ober, RGZM).

The decline of the Roman Empire and the region's conquest by the Huns could hardly lead to the disappearance of a population as large as the Sarmatians. This issue calls for detailed study because little is known about the Sarmatians of the 5th century and later. A few scattered references and a handful of archaeological finds from more recent excavations are the only telltale signs that a search for the »surviving« Sarmatians in the archaeological heritage of later peoples – Gepids, Langobards, Avars and ancient Hungarians – might not be an entirely futile exercise. Recent studies would suggest that the Iranian peoples, to which the Sarmatians also belonged, had a substantial cultural impact on the beliefs and arts, etc., of the ancient Hungarians. Set in a broader, European context, there is also increasing evidence that the Sarmatians played a major role in the emergence of medieval chivalry.

Despite their prominent role, the Sarmatians have remained a little-known people in both Hungary and Europe, not only among the educated public, but also in the scholarly community. One case in point is that even a comprehensive book such as *Magyarország története* (History of Hungary) published in 1984 is silent about the Sarmatians[1]. We may therefore rightly assert that research on the Sarmatians has been neglected unfairly in Hungary. The situation is not much better in international archaeological research. In 1899, one of the then most outstanding scholars of Sarmatian/Alan studies remarked bitterly that German research took scant notice of these peoples[2]. This situation has not changed during the past century. European archaeological and historical studies, by and large, tend to ignore the Sarmatians, the only exceptions being Russian and Ukrainian scholars. Sulimirski's book[3] continues to be quoted as a seminal study, despite the fact that this book, an excellent overview in its own time, has become outdated during the past forty years. While several new overviews have been written[4], these are not well-known. Alföldi's critical appraisal of the written sources on the Sarmatians of the Carpathian Basin remains an indispensable textbook[5], but it cannot compensate for the lack of studies on the Sarmatians' history on the steppe and later, and even less stand as a substitute for a broad canvas incorporating the voluminous archaeological evidence.

It seems to us that the time is ripe for presenting a more detailed overview of the several millennia long history of the Iranian peoples of the steppe. The first chapter of this overview has already been written by Makkay[6]. The present volume covers another small chapter of this long history, namely the Sarmatians and Sarmatia. It is our sincere hope that similar overviews will appear of the periods and peoples not covered here. The history of the Sarmatians reaches back into the distant past (the 9th century BC) and to a faraway region (the Eurasian Steppe, extending to the Chinese border). The main emphasis will obviously be on the historical events taking place in the Carpathian Basin and on the archaeological finds from this region.

1 Magyarország 1984.
2 Kulakovskij 2000, 44.
3 Sulimirski 1970.
4 Lebedynsky 2002. – Kouznetsov/Lebedynsky 2005.
5 Alföldi 1942a.
6 Makkay 1998a, a revised and enlarged version of an earlier study.

THE GEOGRAPHY OF THE REGION

The deficiencies of the land
explain the scarcity of the population
and the necessity of nomadism[7]

We must begin with a necessary clarification of several geographic terms whose usage is not consistent either in Hungarian or in international studies. The labels Central and Inner Asia are often used interchangeably and inconsistently, both in Hungarian and English-language research, and, more recently in Russian and Ukrainian research as well (Средняя and Центральная Азия), without an exact explanation of which region is meant by the label. The German terms *Zentralasien* and *Mittelasien* more or less correspond to the regions discussed here. The French *Asie Centrale* is used to denote both Central and Inner Asia. In the American usage, Inner Asia is a far broader geographic region, incorporating Central Asia and Siberia. Regarding the peoples of present-day Inner Asia, they have by and large adopted the modern European and, principally, Russian usage[8].

The main reason for this terminological confusion can be found in the fact that the peoples, and the political and historical events of Central and Inner Asia are bound by many strands[9], while the differences between the two regions can be found in the diversity of their physical geography (**fig. 2**).

It seems to us that an overview of the main features of the regions discussed here will not be a useless exercise, in part owing to the terminological confusion described in the above, and in part owing to the geographic misconceptions encountered even in the archaeological literature. The easternmost region discussed here is Inner Asia, while Central Asia lies to its west. The European grassy steppe (**fig. 3**) will also be described briefly, similarly to the Caucasus and its broader region, as well as the Crimean Peninsula.

INNER ASIA

Inner Asia (**fig. 4**) extends over some 8 million km² across modern China and Mongolia. Its northern and western boundaries coincide roughly with the border between these countries and Russia; in the south, it is bounded by the Upper Indus and the Tsangpo (Brahmaputra), while in the east by the southern foothills of the Hingan Mountains and the large Ordos bend of the Huang He (Yellow River). Inner Asia is a huge, undrained basin. Although the headwaters of several major rivers flow along its margins, the rivers either empty into undrained lakes or lose themselves in the desert.

Inner Asia can be divided into three major regions: Hsin-chiang (Xinjiang/Sinkiang) (**fig. 2**, F1), the region of primary interest here; Tibet (**fig. 2**, F2), a peripheral region in terms of this study; and Outer and Inner Mongolia (**fig. 2**, F3). Hsin-chiang, known also as eastern or Chinese Turkestan, extends over a vast territory of some 1.5 million km². The Tien Shan Mountains divide the region into two large basins: the roughly triangular Dzungarian Basin in the north; and the Tarim Basin in the south, which stretches for some 1,400 km and covers 530,000 km². The Dzungarian Basin is bounded by the Mongolian Altaj Mountains in the northeast, the Tien Shan Mountains in the south, and the Dzungarian Alatau and the Tarbagatay ranges in the

7 Balbi 1897, 134.

8 www.indiana.edu/~rifias/RIFIAS_and_Inner_Asian_Studies.htm (1.1.2012).

9 It must be emphasised that we are speaking of similar, but not identical traits. The history of the two regions is far from identical.



Fig. 2 Regions of Asia. **1** boundary of region groups. – **2** boundary of region. A: South-West Asia; A1: Asia Minor; A2: Caucasus; A3: Syrian Ditch; A4: Arabian tableland; A5: Iranian Basin; B: Central Asia; C: Northern Asia; C1: Urals; C2: Western Siberian Plain; C3: Central Siberian Plateau; C4: Eastern Siberia; C5: Altaids-Baikalids; C6: Far East; D: Southern Asia; D1: Dekkan; D2a: Indus Plain; D2b: Hindustan Plain; D3: Himalayas; E: South-East Asia; E1: Indochinese Peninsula; E2: Malaysian Islands; E2a: Greater Sunda Islands; E2b: Lesser Sunda Islands; E2c: Maluku Islands; E2d: Philippine Islands; F: Inner Asia; F1: Hsin-chiang; F2: Tibet; F3: Outer and Inner Mongolia; G: Eastern Asia; G1: the »inner and middle step«; G2: the »outer step«. – (After Horváth 1998, fig. 5).

north-west. Wide passes lead through the latter two towards Central Asia; the most famous among them being the Dzungarian Gate, the major thoroughfare followed by nomadic peoples.

The Dzungarian Basin lies in the temperate steppe and the desert zone. Winters are harsh, summers are hot, and the region receives no more than 200-300 mm of precipitation. The Black or Kara Irtyš flows through its northern part, but otherwise the basin is undrained. The principal body of water is Lake Ebi Nor covering 1,040 km² at the foot of the Borohoro Mountains, branching off from the Tien Shan Mountains. In the south, the basin is bounded by one of the Earth's largest ranges, the Tien Shan Mountains, whose length from the Kyzylkum to the Gobi Desert is 3,000 km.

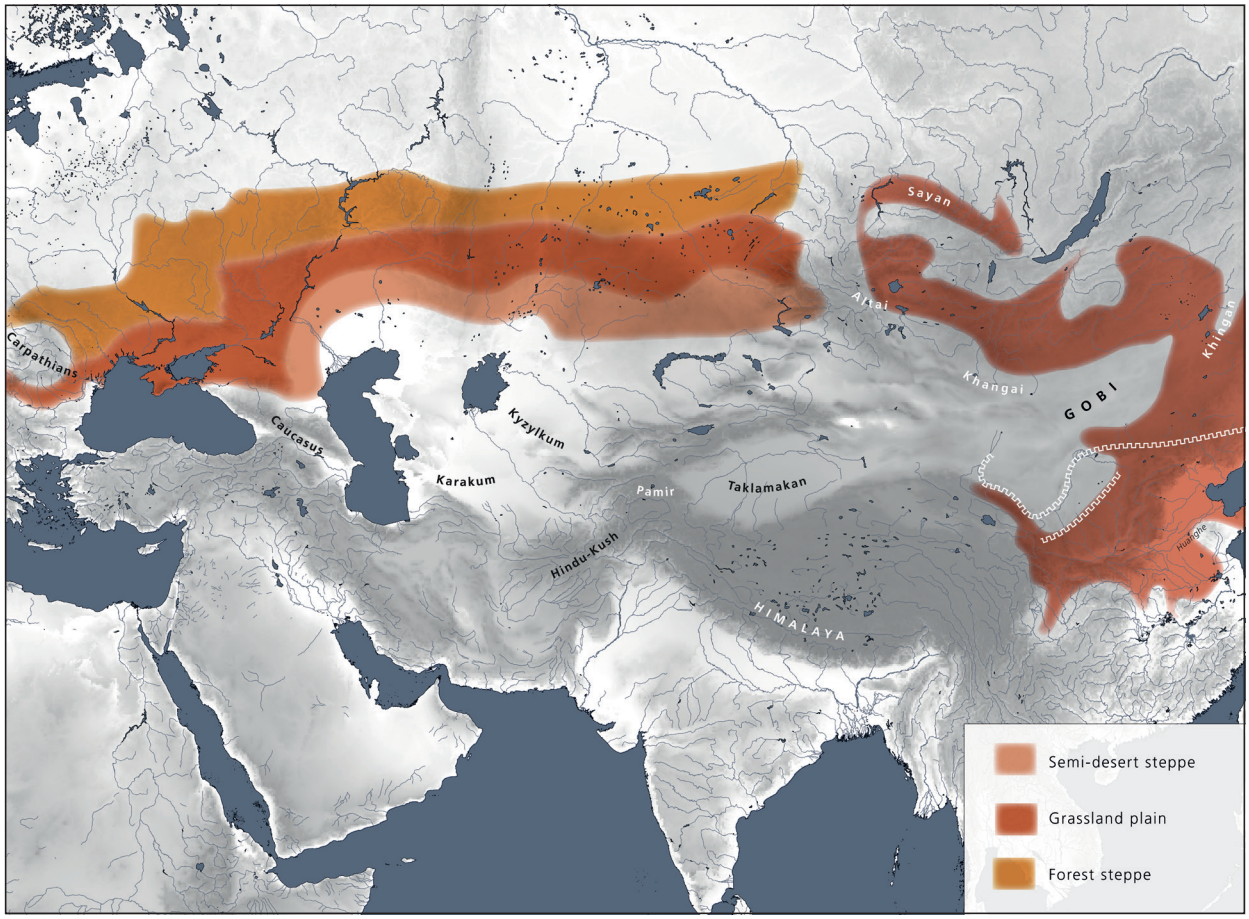


Fig. 3 The Eurasian steppe belt. – (After Lebedynsky 2003, map on p. 7; map M. Ober, RGZM).

Lying south of the Tien Shan is the Tarim Basin, ringed by mountains whose highest peaks rise to over 5,000 m (the Kunlun Mountains and the Altyn Tagh in the south, and the Pamir Range in the west). In the east, the Pei Mountains, a lower range, separate the basin from the Gobi Desert. Lying in its interior is the immense Takla Makan Desert and the smaller, 260 km long Lop Desert of salt and clay, to its east, with the Lop Nor, a »wandering« lake formerly occupying roughly 20,000 km², lying at an altitude of 780 m. The lake was originally fed by the Tarim and the Konche Darya rivers, often modifying their beds. The Tarim Basin is a temperate desert zone, with cold winters and hot summers, often with absolute annual temperature fluctuations of over 70 °C. Annual precipitation remains below 100 mm. A ring of oases developed on the fringes of the basin. Major trade routes passed through the oases and along the shores of Lake Lop Nor. The Silk Road, one of the vital arteries of the ancient world, reached the Great Wall of China some 350 km east of the lake, the swiftest route to China (**fig. 5**)[10].

CENTRAL ASIA

The term Central Asia, occupying a key position in Sarmatian studies, is here used for the undrained basin extending across Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, central and southern Kazakhstan, and

10 The geographic description of Inner Asia is based on Balbi 1897, 195-201, and Horváth 1998.

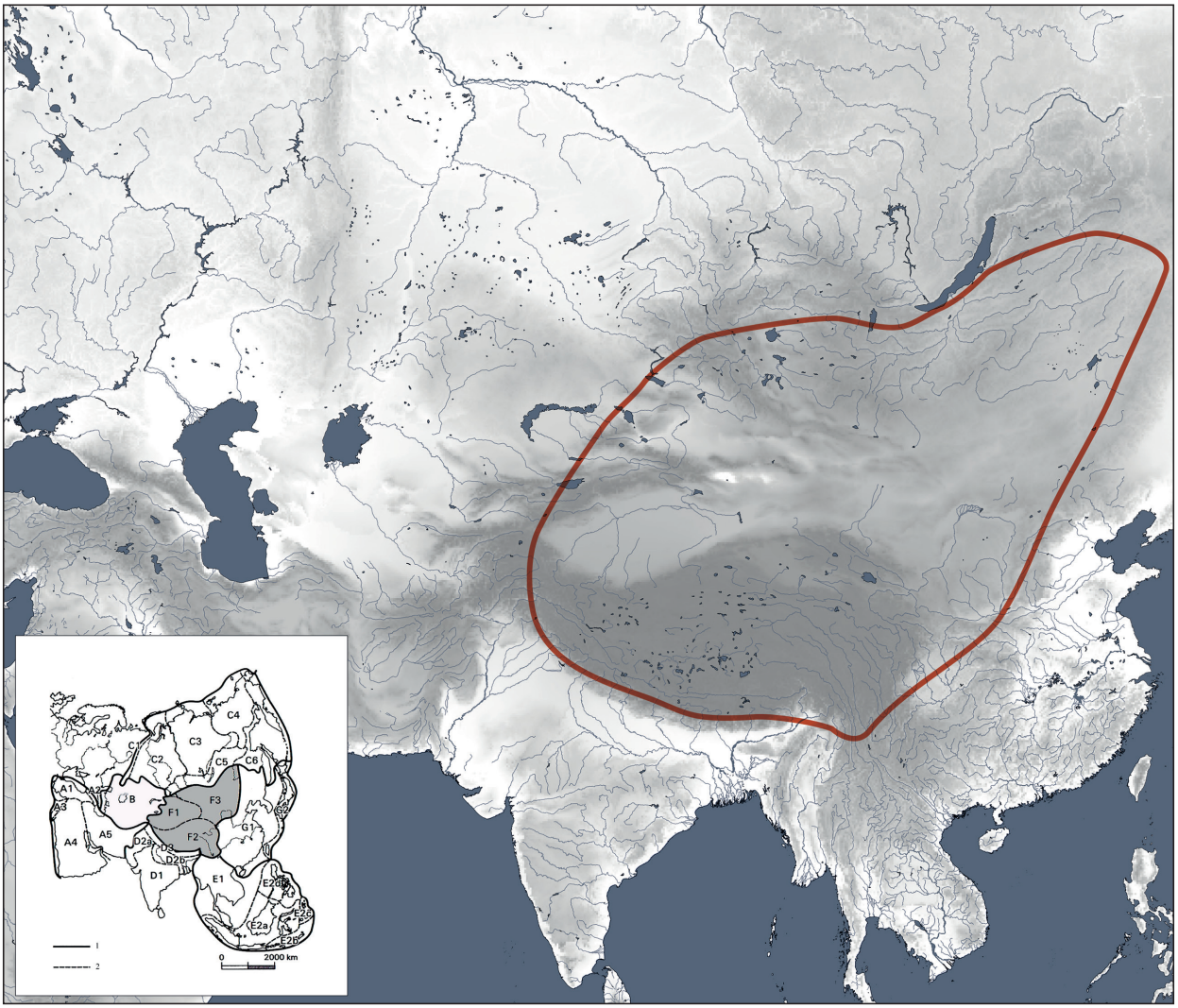


Fig. 4 Inner Asia. – (Map M. Ober, RGZM).

northern Iran and northern Afghanistan (**fig. 6**). Its geographic features have much in common with those of Inner Asia.

The labels Central and Inner Asia might seem arbitrary, especially in view of the fact that the two regions were not defined according to clear-cut geographic criteria and because the boundaries of the »adjacent areas« often shifted during the course of history. This is the main reason for the confusion in the use of the term in archaeological and historical studies, as previously mentioned.

> A very small portion of the area [of Central Asia] is habitable, and thus the deficiencies of the land explain the scarcity of its population and the necessity of nomadism. Nomadism is bound to the desert. Civilisation, on the other hand, clings to river waters, humidity of the air, accessibility, moderate elevations of the soil, a vegetation cover and the distribution of warmth – exactly the opposite is encountered in the heartland of Asia. Oases are essential to travel and accessiblity. No more than the fringes of Eran, Arabia and Asia Minor are cultivated and the cramming of the population can here be seen to an even greater extent. The tribes pressed

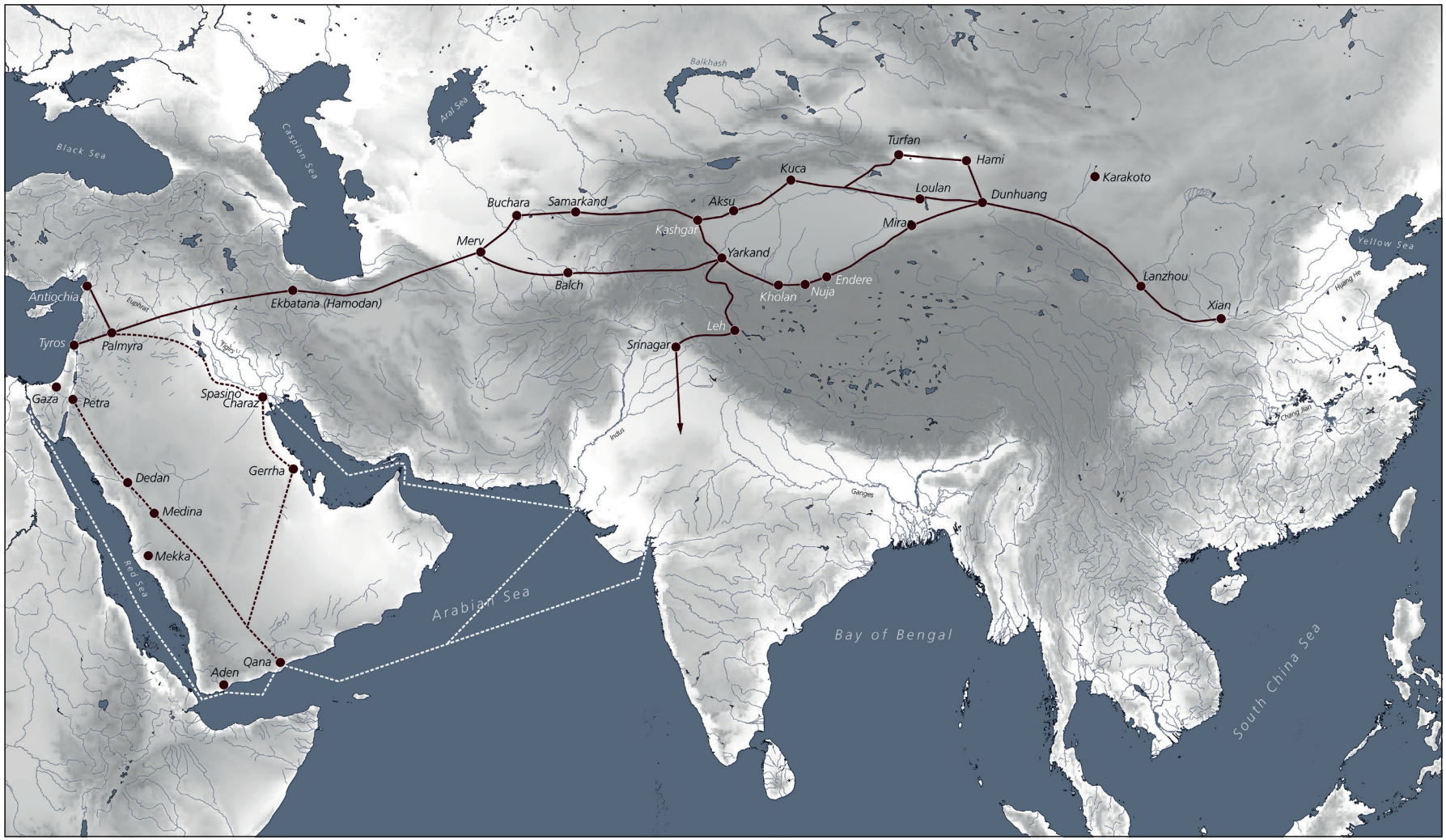


Fig. 5 The Silk Road. – (After Weihrauch 1996, fig. 1; map M. Ober, RGZM).



Fig. 6 Central Asia. – (Map M. Ober, RGZM).

> forward from here, on occasion toward the north, and on occasion toward the south, and because they encountered dense populations and immense obstacles to the south, the waves of population migrations flowed toward the west and east[11].

No better or more concise description of the region can be given, and thus we shall here merely complement Balbi's words with some concrete data. The region is bounded by the Kopet-Dag Range, the Hindu Kush Mountains and the Pamir Range in the south, by the Tien Shan Mountains in the east, the northern margin of the Kazakh Uplands and the Ural Range in the north and by the Ural River and the Caspian Sea in the west. Central Asia covers an area of *c.* 3 million km², about one-third of which is a barren desert today. Extending between the Amu Darya and the Caspian Sea is the Kara-Kum (sand) Desert, some 300,000 km² in area, while the smaller Kyzylkum Desert lies between the Amu Darya and the Syr Darya Rivers. It must be borne in mind, however, that the region is strongly varied, not least owing to the creation of artificial irrigation canals[12]. The climate is characterised by extreme temperature fluctuations. Summers are long and very hot, and annual precipitation is below 200 mm. Lacking a continuous vegetation cover, the region is dotted with oases. The Ustyurt Plateau is a dry steppe lying between the Aral Sea and Caspian Sea.

11 Balbi 1897, 134.

12 This is similar to the Great Hungarian Plain, where the landscape was also greatly transformed by the river regulations.

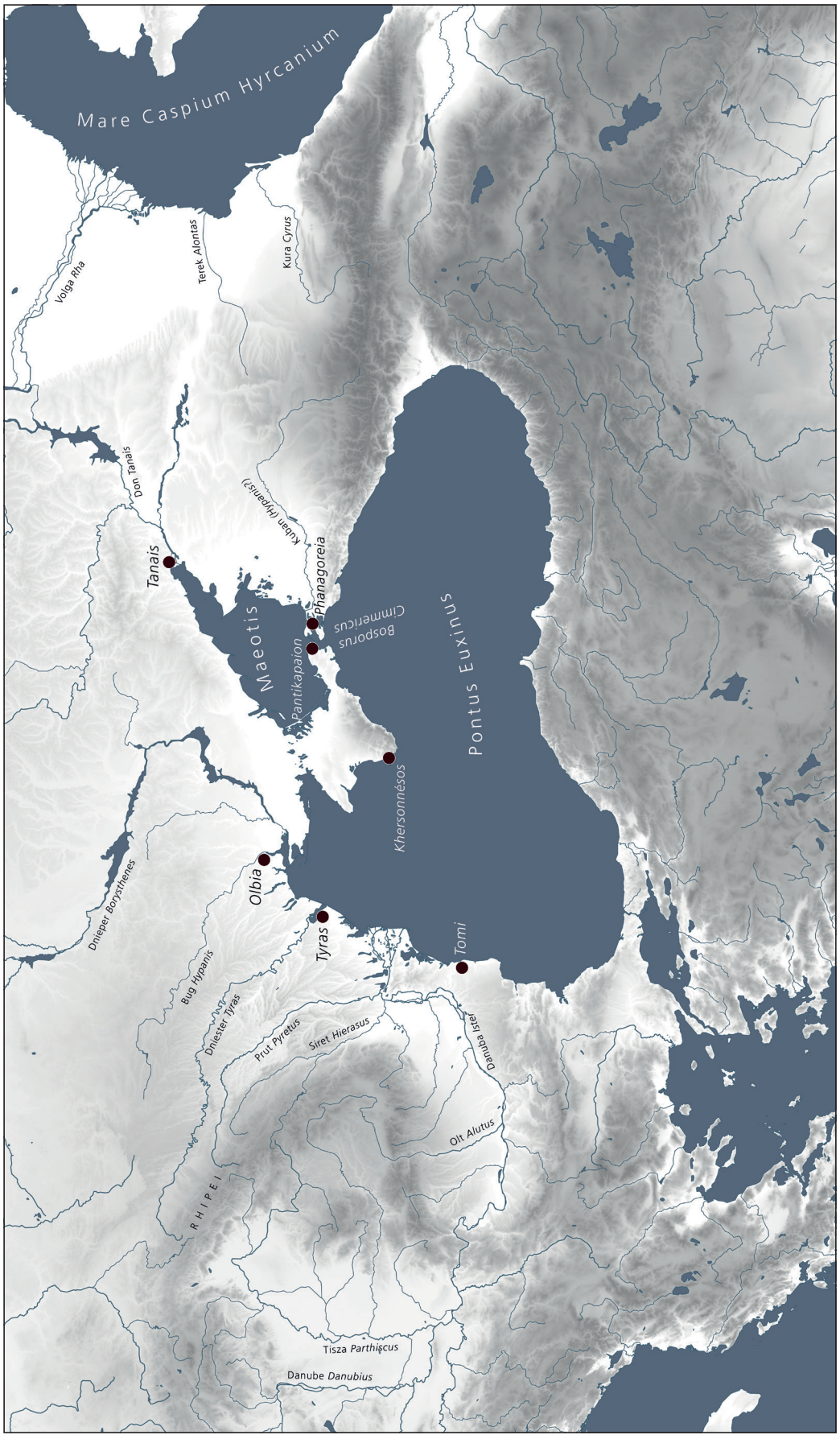


Fig. 7 The temperate steppe zone with the most important geographic names used in Antiquity. – (Map M. Ober, RGZM).

The heartland of Central Asia is the Turan Plain, traversed by the Syr Darya (Jaxartes) and the Amu Darya (Oxus), both of which empty into the Aral Sea. The latter rises in the Pamir Range; its length is 2,620 km and it drains a 465,000 km² large area. The Amu Darya once flowed into the Caspian Sea. The Syr Darya, the longer of the two rivers with a length of 2,660 km, rises in the Tien Shan and drains an area of 462,000 km². The two rivers often shift their course owing to their high bed-load.
Any description of Central Asia remains incomplete without mention of the two relict lakes, the Caspian Sea and the Aral Sea. The Caspian Sea, the world's largest inland body of water, covers an area of 371,000 km². Its greatest depth is 980 m and its surface lies 28 m below sea level. Its water level dropped dramatically during the 20th century. While the lake's northern part freezes completely in winter, its waters are warm in summer. The lake abounds in fish species. The Aral Sea extends over an area of 64,000 km² and its surface lies 53 m below sea level. Its northern part is similarly covered with ice in winter. The lake's water-level fluctuations are considerable.
The third large lake of Central Asia is Lake Balkhaš, whose area reaches approximately 21,000 km². The lake has a length of 607 km and its greatest depth is 41 m. Its broader area is rich in copper ore deposits. The fertile Zhetysu/Semireč'e (»Seven Rivers«) lies south-east of the lake[13].

TEMPERATE STEPPE ZONE

The temperate steppe zone is the region bounding the desert and semi-desert areas of Central Asia in the north, extending from the northern Pontic through the Caspian Depression, a flat lowland, the northern part of the Kazakh Uplands to the western slopes of the Tien Shan and Altaj Mountains (**figs 2. 7**). Its climate is characterised by cold winters, hot summers, and a short spring and autumn. Precipitation is low, ranging between 200 and 400 mm, and its distribution is uneven, with most of it falling in early summer. Precipitation and its evaporation are roughly proportionate to each other, so the decaying vegetation stimulates intensive humus formation, meaning that the region's larger part is covered with fertile chernozem whose distribution and quality, however, are uneven. A tall-grass steppe developed in the north and a stipa steppe on the richer chernozem in the south.
The region's hydrology played an important role. The rivers emptying into the Black Sea are of the continental type, meaning that the spring snowmelt generates heavy floods. Most flow into shallow bays, so-called limans sealed by shoals. The principal waterways from west to east are the 950 km long Prut, the 1,370 km long Dniester, draining an area of 72,000 km², the 792 km long South Bug, the 2,285 km long Dnieper draining a 503,000 km² large area, the 1,970 km long Don, the main river of the Sea of Azov, draining an area of 440,000 km², the Kuban, also emptying into the Sea of Azov, and the Rioni which, like the Kuban, rises in the Caucasus. The largest and most abundant river of the steppe and of Europe, the Volga, discharges into the Caspian Sea. The river has a length of 3,690 km and drains an area of 1.4 million km². At the time of its great flood between April and late June, the river carries 70 per cent of its discharge. The Volga freezes in winter; at the river's mouth, the winter freeze makes the river crossable for some three months. The other important river of the Caspian Sea is the Ural, whose length is 2,530 km, but only drains an area of 220,000 km². Its discharge is not particularly great, even though there are major fluctuations in its water-level[14].

13 The description of Central Asia is based on Balbi 1897, 195-201, and Futó 1969, 49. 72-74.

14 The description of the temperate steppe zone is based on Futó 1969, 49. 59-60. 72.

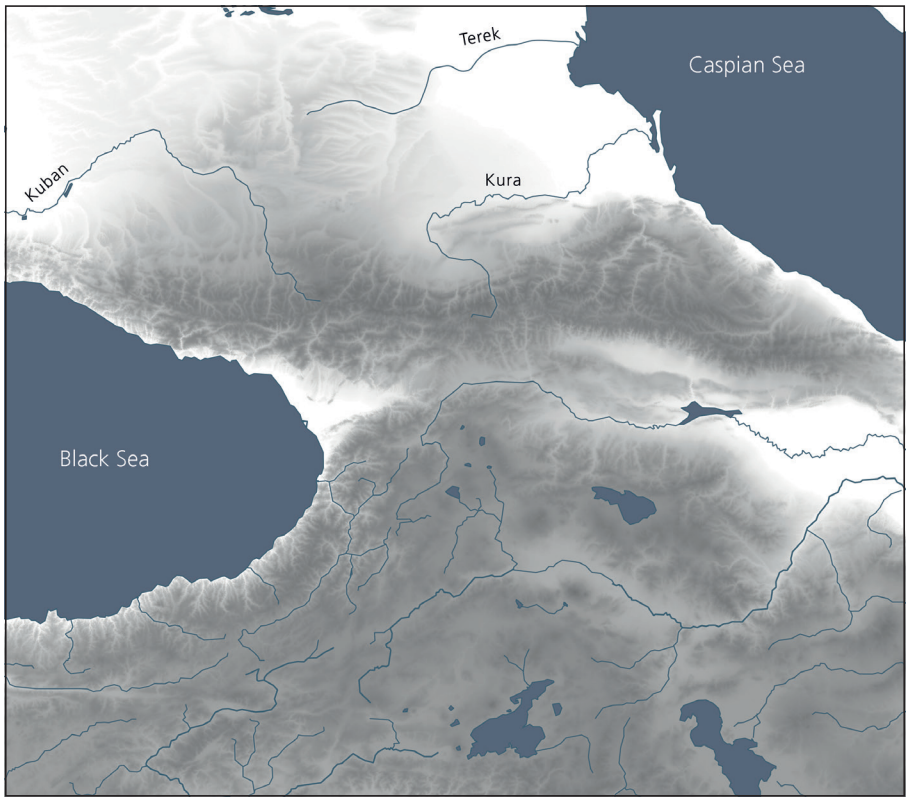


Fig. 8 The Caucasus. – (Map M. Ober, RGZM).

Proceeding west to east, two major regions (and several smaller sub-regions) can be distinguished on the basis of the changes in the vegetation cover. 1) The western half of the steppe lies along the Pontic coast and across Kazakhstan, extending from the Lower Danube to the Altaj and Saur Mountains. Smaller sub-regions are formed by the East European forest steppe, the Western Siberian forest steppe, the Pontic steppe and the Kazakhstan steppe. 2) The eastern half of the steppe stretches into Inner Asia. Three sub-regions can be distinguished: the Khangai-Daurian forest steppe, the Manchurian forest steppe and the Mongolian steppe.

The Silk Road has already been briefly mentioned in the above. The course shown in **figure 5** was its main artery, which had several branches toward the Pontic, the most important in this context being the route skirting the Caspian Sea by the lower reaches of the Volga and reaching the Black Sea at the Don Delta. It could be concluded from this fact that this was the road taken by the Golden Horde[15].

THE CAUCASUS

The Fore-Caucasus or Cis-Caucasus played an important role in the history of the Sarmatians (**fig. 8**). Extending along the northern flank of the Greater Caucasus Mountains, the region is divided in two by the »protruding« Stavropol Upland, lying at an altitude of 600-800 m. In the west, the Kuban Plain stretches to the eastern shore of the Sea of Azov. With its fertile chernozem and relatively abundant precipitation,

15 Ascherson 1995, 17-18.

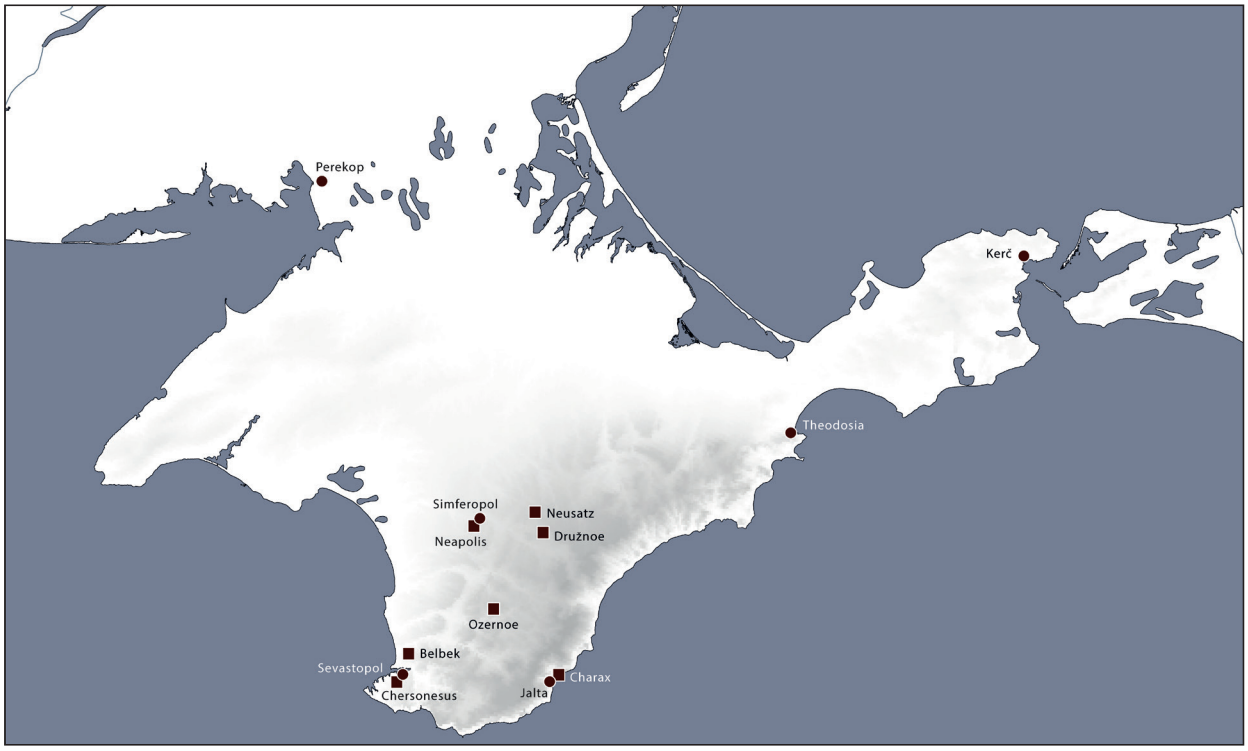


Fig. 9 The Crimea. – (Map M. Ober, RGZM).

the region is well suited to farming. The Caspian Depression, the plain of the Kuma and Terek rivers with a saline, alkaline soil and low precipitation, lies east of the Stavropol Uplands[16].

Two main passes lead from north to south through the high mountains of the Caucasus, and have been used for many millennia. One leads along the foot of Mount Kazbek, where the so-called Georgian Military Road runs. The Darial (or Kazbek) Pass pierces the range at an altitude of 2,382 m. The other route, more popular in the Antiquity, leads through the Derbent Pass, the narrow ledge of rock between the Caspian Sea and the high mountains[17].

THE CRIMEAN PENINSULA

The northern part of the peninsula, ringed by the Pontic and the Sea of Azov (**fig. 9**), is a level plain whose climate resembles that of the steppe. The plateau of the Kerč Peninsula, rich in iron ore deposits, extends in the east. In the south, the peninsula is punctured by the 50 km wide Crimean Mountains, stretching for 150 km along the coast. The narrow coastal plain has a Mediterranean climate and lush vegetation. Jutting into the Black Sea, the Crimean Peninsula was the ideal location for controlling the entire region, this being the reason why the ancient Greeks established the major centre of their colonies here. In the north-west, the peninsula is linked to the mainland by the narrow Perekop Isthmus. The mainland could be reached by ship through the Sivaš, the salty lagoons to the east[18].

16 Futó 1969, 89.
17 Balbi 1897, 118-122.
18 Futó 1969, 86-87. – Ascherson 1995, 17-22.

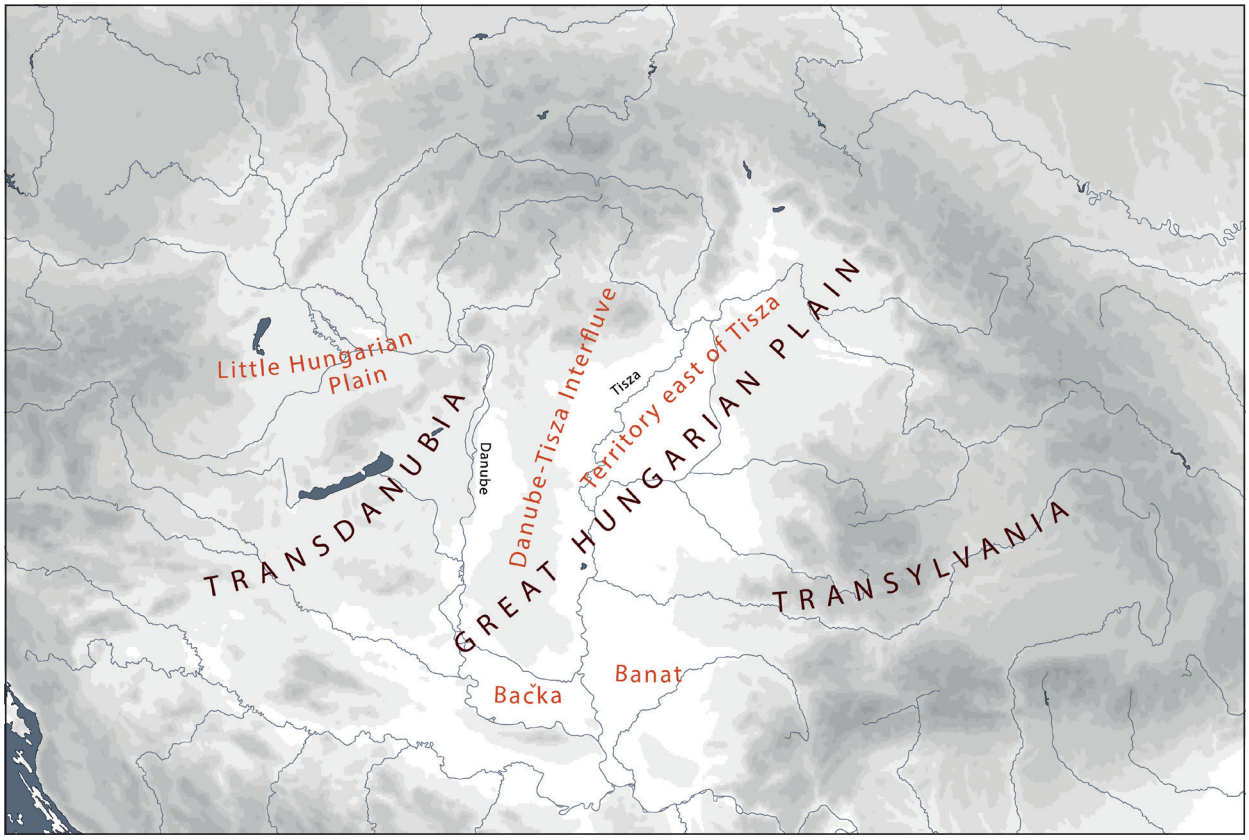


Fig. 10 The Carpathian Basin. – (Map M. Ober, RGZM).

THE CARPATHIAN BASIN

Covering an area of 330,000 km², the Carpathian Basin is Europe's largest inland basin group, enclosed by the Carpathians, the Eastern Alps and the Dinarian Range (**fig. 10**). Modern Hungary (93,000 km²) and Slovakia both lie in the Carpathian Basin, as do parts of the Czech Republic, Austria, Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Romania and the Ukraine. Smaller basins divided by lower ranges are the Graz Basin, the Little Hungarian Plain, the Great Hungarian Plain and the Transylvanian Basin. The two principal axes of the basin's river system are the Danube and the Tisza.

Rising in the Black Forest and discharging into the Black Sea, the Danube is Europe's second longest river (2,850 km). It drains an area of 817,000 km². The river's main bed in the Carpathian Basin evolved during the Pleistocene Epoch.

The headwaters of the Tisza are two springs, the Black Tisza and the White Tisza, in the Maramureş Mountains. The river drains an area of 157,186 km². The current main bed was formed in the Early Holocene Epoch. It flows into the Danube in Serbia. Its principal tributary is the Maros, coursing for 754 km and draining an area of 30,332 km². The Maros carries an immense bed-load and has a steep fall. Its largest tributary, the Száraz Stream branches from the river north of Arad. The level plainland basins were covered by extensive floodplains alternating with higher, flood-free terrain covered with closed forests and gallery woods until the river regulations of the 19th century. Droughts are frequent in the Great Hungarian Plain, while harsh winters characterise the Transylvanian Basin.

The geographic terms – often appearing erroneously in the archaeological literature – used in this study are the following:

Transdanubia (*Dunántúl*): western Hungary between the Danube and the country's borders.

Little Hungarian Plain (*Kisalföld*): a region covering an area of 9,000 km² in the north-eastern part of the Carpathian Basin. A plainland extending between the north-western Carpathians, the Transdanubian Range and the western Hungarian borderland, connected to the Great Hungarian Plain through the Visegrád Pass in the east. Its average elevation above sea level is 115-140 m. The Danube divides the region into two parts.

Great Hungarian Plain (*Alföld*): a loess and sand covered plain extending over an area of roughly 100,000 km², often described as the western projection of the Eurasian Steppe. Its elevation above sea level ranges between 78 and 186 m. Its temperature is extreme, the differences between monthly means are often as much as 24 °C, with summer temperatures often over 40 °C and winter temperature below -30 °C. Precipitation is usually below 600 mm, with some areas receiving less than 500 mm. The rivers slow down after reaching the plain, and floods are often multi-peaked, resulting in extensive inundations. The region is rich in subterranean water. The plain was once covered by forest steppe.

Danube-Tisza interfluve (*Duna-Tisza köze*): the region between the Danube and the Tisza in Hungary and Serbia (Vojvodina), the western part of the Great Hungarian Plain.

Territory east of the Tisza River (*Tiszántúl*): the eastern part of the Great Hungarian Plain extending from the left bank of Tisza River to the Transylvanian Range in the east and Maros River in the south.

SARMATIANS ON THE STEPPE

ORIGINS AND LANGUAGE OF THE SARMATIANS

The language of the Sauromatae is Scythian,
but not spoken in its ancient purity [...][19]

Cimmerian-Scythian Prelude

The first peoples known by name, the Cimmerians and the Scythians, appeared on the south Russian steppe in the 9th-8th centuries BC. The language of the Scythians was first proven to be an Iranian tongue by Zeuss in 1837; an attribution confirmed by Müllenhoff in his study published in 1866[20]. Although the validity of this linguistic attribution was seriously debated at the time[21], the classification of the so-called Scythian-Sarmatian-Alanian language as Iranian is no longer challenged by any serious scholar. In addition to the linguistic corpus made up of geographic, tribal and personal names, the language of the Caucasian Ossets, the still living descendants of the Sarmatians/Alans, serves as an excellent starting point for linguistic studies[22]. The cumulative evidence indicates that the Scythian-Sarmatian tongue can be assigned to the northern Iranian languages. The tongue spoken by the Scythians and by the related Sauromatae/Sarmatians and Alans had no doubt undergone significant changes during their long sojourn on the steppe. It yet remains to be determined whether the differences between Scythian and Sarmatian is merely one of chronology or whether they were dialects of the same language[23]. Neither can there be any doubt today that the Cimmerians were close relatives of the Scythians, perhaps a group of the same people[24].

An Iranian presence can be demonstrated on the steppe well before the appearance of the first peoples known by name and this Iranian hegemony remained unbroken until the Hun conquest. As this is not a specialist work on linguistic studies or steppe prehistory, the earliest history of the Eurasian Steppe shall be covered but briefly here in order to set the ethnogenesis of the Sarmatians and earlier kindred peoples in

19 Herodotus IV.117.

20 Zeuss 1837, *non vidi*, cited by Makkay 1998a, 493. – Müllenhoff 1866.

21 e.g. Nagy 1909.

22 Academic research on this issue began in the late 19th century, following in the footsteps of Miller, the father of Ossetian studies (Miller 1881/1882/1887). There is an ongoing debate among linguists whether Ossetian is a direct descendant of the Scythian-Sarmatian-Alanian branch, see Harmatta 1951, 311-312, with the earlier literature, for example. However, there can be no doubt that they were cognate languages or dialects of cognate languages.

23 Harmatta 1951, 312. – Abaev 1971, 11. – Zgusta 1955, 245-266. Zgusta assembled a compendium of the personal names known from the Greek towns on the northern Pontic. Based on his analysis of the material, he distinguished an earlier and a later Iranian dialect. The more archaic names, appearing in the inscriptions from Olbia and Chersonesus, could be linked to the Scythians, while the later one represents the linguistic heritage of the Sarmatians. The latter principally occurred in the inscriptions of the eastern towns on the northern Pontic (Panticapaion and Tanais, as well as Phanagoreia and Gorgippia on the Taman Peninsula).

24 See Makkay 1998a, 261, for an overview. Even though the ethnic kinship between the Cimmerians and the Scythians is beyond doubt, some scholars maintain that the Cimmerians spoke a Thracian-Phrygian tongue, despite the linguistic and archaeological evidence to the contrary (e.g. Vásáry 2003, 30). The Thracian-Phrygian hypothesis was most likely »inspired« by three remarks made by Strabo: »The Kimmerians, or a separate tribe of them, called the Treres«, and »The Kimmerians and Treres frequently made similar incursions« (I.3.22). Strabo also remarked that the »Treres, who were also Thracians« (XIII.1.8), explaining why the identification seemed logical. It must in all fairness be added that only a handful of Cimmerian names are known. Abaev mentions three royal names, Tugdamme/Lygdamis, his son Sandakhshatru, and Teuspa, whose Iranian etymology can be convincingly demonstrated. At the same time, Abaev does not mention or discuss the origins of the name Cobus, also recorded by Strabo (Abaev 1965, 126). The Cimmerian-Scythian ethnic kinship is unanimously borne out by the location of Cimmerian toponyms, the etymology of their names, the period's Assyrian inscriptions, the classical sources and the archaeological record. See Ivančik 1999, with further literature.



Fig. 11 Cimmerian(?) hunters on an Etruscan vase from the 6th century BC. – (After Gold 1991, 57).

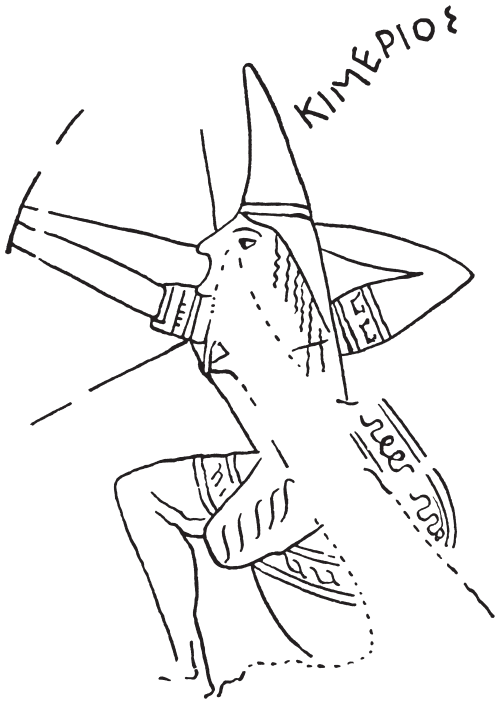


Fig. 12 Cimmerian warrior on a Greek vase from the 6th century BC. – (After Grakov 1977, fig. 71).

context. A detailed discussion is, in any case, unnecessary since the publication of Makkay's excellent analysis in 1998, which also has an exhaustive bibliography on the subject[25].

There are a number of ancient sources describing the Cimmerians (**figs 11-13**). Although the Cimmerians appear in Homer's epic[26], these references are based on a separate strand of tradition dating from after the disappearance of the Cimmerians[27]. In contrast, the Akkadian inscriptions, some of which can be dated to within a year, were contemporaneous reports. The Cimmerians appear as *gimirrāja* in the Assyrian sources, which mention the battles they fought south of the Caucasus (**fig. 14**). The intelligence reports sent to the Assyrian king Sargon II (722-704 BC) claimed that King Rusa I of Urartu made an unsuccessful attempt to subjugate a people called *Gamir* or *Gamirra*, but suffered a crushing defeat in 714 BC[28]. During Sennach-

25 Makkay 1998a. His model seems acceptable to us and thus we have drawn exhaustively from his studies, especially regarding the period preceding the appearance of the Cimmerians/Scythians: »Most prehistorians are aware of the fact [...] that between 1000/500 BC and 500 AD, the western steppe (through the Timber Grave-Cimmerian-Scythian-Sauromatian-Sarmatian-Alanian sequence) was characterised by a stubborn adherence to its traditions, perhaps to an even greater extent than would be expected, instead of rapid, haphazard cultural shifts« (Makkay 2004, 95, with the literature published since 1998).

26 The journey to the Underworld in Homer's *Odyssey* is generally associated with the Cimmerians' land: »[…] where is the land and city of the Cimmerians, wrapped in mist and cloud. Never does the bright sun look down on them with his rays either when he mounts the starry heaven or when he turns again to earth from heaven, but baneful night is spread over wretched mortals« (Homer 11.14-19). However, we have to be cautious about this information. Makkay 2010, 51-55, convincingly argued that the place mentioned by Homer can be identified with Greek Hemierion (Latin Chimerinus), probably a Greek site. Recent research has shown that much of the information contained in the works of classical authors was often little more than an elaborate narrative woven from a medley of traditions. The two main sources were the Greek traditions of the Bosporus and the Tyras area, to which additional colours were added by Scythian folklore. One typical element of the latter, for example, was the suicide of the Cimmerian leaders (Ivančik 1999, 86-87), to which an excellent parallel can be quoted from the Nart epic, which similarly concludes with the suicide of the heroes.

27 The current state of Cimmerian research is best reflected by Ivančik's work (e. g. Ivančik 1996; 1999), who beside offering an interpretation of the written sources, has also discussed the archaeological record and the lack of linguistic data. In his view, there is virtually no difference between the material culture of the early Scythians and the Cimmerians.

28 D'jakonov 1951, 340-341.



Fig. 13 Cimmerian (?) warriors on a relief from Nimrud. – (After Davnja 1994, 91).

erib's reign (703-681 BC), the Cimmerians turned west and toppled the Phrygian Kingdom (696 BC?). In 679 BC, the army of the Assyrian king Esarhaddon (681-669 BC) defeated Teuspa, the Cimmerian ruler. The Cimmerians soon found themselves facing Gyges (687-652 BC), the Lydian king, whom they defeated and even the king himself fell in battle. The Cimmerians are last heard of in Anatolia when the Scythians led by Madyes (see below) defeated the warriors led by Cobus[29].

The Cimmerians appear in the Bible as Gomer, a name originating from *Gimmirai(a)*. The Bible claims a father-son relationship between Gomer and another people, the Ashkenaz[30], the latter being identical with the *Askuzai/Iskuzai/Iskuza*, i.e. the Scythians living by Lake Urmia appearing in the cuneiform inscriptions of Sargon II[31]. It is hardly mere chance that light cavalry troops composed principally of archers were organised in the Assyrian, Urartian and Median army during the late 8th and 7th centuries BC[32]: the appearance of the Cimmerians and the Scythians can be suspected as the main reason for the army's reform.

Led by Bartatua (675-645?), who can probably be identified with Herodotus' Protothyes[33], father of the Scythian Madyes (645-615?), the Scythians appear in Sakasene in the south-western corner of the Caspian Sea, from where they set off westward.

In the light of the above, it is unsurprising that the Cimmerians and the Scythians are often regarded as kindred peoples[34] or even one and the same people[35]. This is similar to the perceived relationship between the Scythians and the Sarmatians, as will be shown below.

29 Strabo I.3.21.

30 »The sons of Japheth; Gomer, and Magog, and Madai, and Javan, and Tubal, and Meshech, and Tiras. And the sons of Gomer; Ashkenaz, and Riphath, and Togarmah.« (Genesis 10: 2-3); »[…] call together against her the kingdoms of Ararat, Minni, and Ashchenaz.« (Jeremiah 51:27).

31 Ghirshman 1954, 96-97.

32 Hazanov 1971, 64.

33 Herodotus I.103.

34 e.g. Harmatta 1946/1948, 131.

35 e.g. Abaev 1965, 125-127.

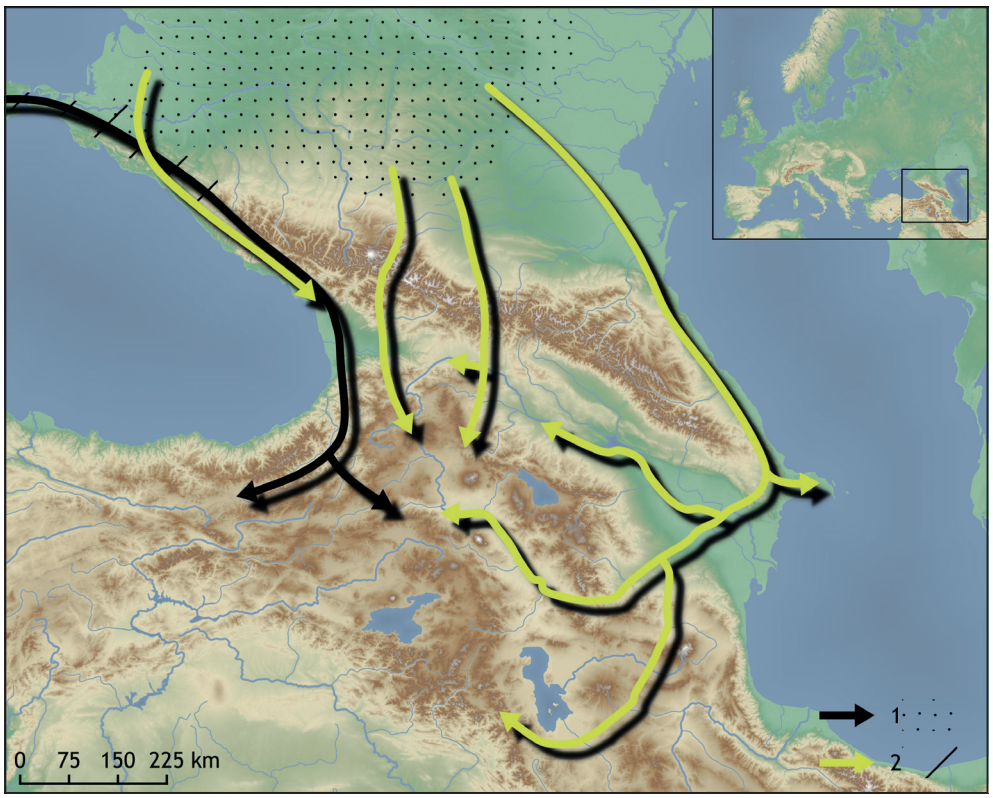


Fig. 14 Reconstruction of the Transcaucasian campaigns of the Cimmerians and Scythians based on E. I. Krupnov's studies. – **1** the Cimmerians' route. – **2** the Scythians' route. – (After Grakov 1977, fig. 72).

In the mid-7th century BC, the Greeks colonised the northern coast of the Black Sea[36], no doubt motivated by the abundance of cereals and fish for which there was great demand on the Greek mainland owing to the exhaustion of the cultivable fields. The Greeks founded several towns in quick succession (the first ones being Istria, Olbia and Pantikapaion – **fig. 72**). Most of these colonies were founded by Miletus. From this time onward, the Scythians maintained direct contact with the Greek colonies of the northern Pontic. The Greeks' interest turned towards their barbarian neighbours, first the Scythians and, later, the Sarmatians, explaining the wealth of information on these peoples in the classical sources. The first among these is Book IV of Herodotus' *Histories*[37].

The history of the Sarmatians is inextricably intertwined with that of the Cimmerians and Scythians, in part as chronological antecedents and in part because the latter were the Sarmatians' linguistic-ethnic forebears (see also the next chapter). The first question to answer is where the ethnogenesis of these peoples took place, that is, to identify the region where these peoples first appeared. We may only speak of ethnogenesis if a particular people assert an ethnic identity, or if their environment regards them as an

36 The Greeks first called the Black Sea Ἄξεινος, »inhospitable«, a name derived from the sea's Iranian name (*Axšaina*, »blue«, »dark grey«), which was adopted by the Greeks owing to its similar sound. The new name, Εὔξεινος (»hospitable«) soon supplanted the earlier one. Vasmer has shown that the change can be explained by the Greeks' naming taboo: the Greek sailors believed that the old name boded ill and they therefore tried to tame the waters with the new name (Abaev 1979, 282-283 n. 3, quoting also Vasmer's study. Cf. Strabo VII.3.7).

37 The most comprehensive overview of the Greek colonisation is still Gajdukevič 1949, which has since been supplemented with the new findings in this field: Antičnye 1984. A still useful overview of the sources referring to the Barbarian peoples of the Pontic is to be found in Rostovcev's works, the best among these being Rostovtzeff 1922, 64-65. One new assessment of the interaction between the Greeks and the Barbarians is Greki 2005, and Ascherson 1995, although written for a broader public, also contains much useful information.

ethnic group or a closed group[38]. Herodotus' description of the Scythians is relevant in this sense because in his eyes, the »Scythians« embodied not only a political, but also an ethnographic, linguistic and cultural unit[39]. The linguistic and cultural unity of a particular group must by all means be considered in terms of ethnic identity. A search for the location where the Cimmerian/Scythian ethnogenesis occurred should, obviously, take stock of the linguistic evidence and collate it with the archaeological record in order to provide an answer.

The so-called Scythian-European isoglosses – phonetic, lexical, grammatical and morphological, i.e. the linguistic features that can be correlated with each other – clearly indicate that the ancestors of the Scythians/Sarmatians separated from the communities speaking an Indo-European tongue (principally the Slavs, the Germanic peoples and the Latins) at a much later date than the Indo-Aryans and other Iranian peoples[40]. The presence of northern Iranian tribes in the European steppe zone can be documented not later than the second half of the 2nd millennium BC; Scythian-Latin linguistic contact cannot be dated to a later time than this period when the Latins migrated to Italy[41]. According to Abaev, this chronology more or less corresponds to the date suggested by the north Pontic Scythian myth of origin as recorded by Herodotus, recounting that Targitaos, the Scythians' forefather, son of Zeus and the river Borysthenes (Dnieper), lived a thousand years before Darius' campaign against them, i.e. in the mid-2nd millennium BC[42]. Even though chronological accuracy can hardly be expected from a myth, the rough date more or less coincides with the one suggested by the linguistic record.

The archaeological finds go back to an even earlier period. The earliest finds of the so-called Kurgan cultures have been brought to light in the area between the Volga and Dnieper. The Kurgan groups advanced westward in the 3rd millennium BC, and the subsequent cultural development of this population, believed to speak an Iranian tongue, took place in this region, as testified by the Pit Grave (Jamnaja), Catacomb (Katakombnaja), Timber Grave (Srubnaja) culture sequence, and the unbroken continuity until the archaeological horizon of the 8th-7th centuries BC that can be identified with the Scythians. There can be no doubt that the emergence of the Cimmerians and the Scythians should be sought in this region[43], meaning that theories involving the migration of the Scythians/Sarmatians to the European steppe from Central Asia are untenable. The ancestral homeland of the Scythians – and of their descendants, the Sarmatians – can thus be sought in the northern Pontic[44]. The evidence outlined in the above – the isoglosses, the continuity reflected by the archaeological record, and the testimony of one Scythian myth of origin (see below) – can only be accommodated within this model. Moreover, only this model offers a plausible explanation for why Ossetian, the modern descendant of the Scythian/Alanian language, has preserved a number of archaic Iranian elements that are either lacking from the other Iranian languages (those which broke away from the ancestral homeland at an earlier date and migrated farther) or appear in a distorted form. The isoglosses can be demonstrated, not only in linguistics, but also in the Scythian/Ossetian-Latin mythology, and furnish

38 The concept of *ethnos* as a social unit made up of communities forming an ethnic unit has been discussed by Makkay 1998a, 46-47. Typically enough, Herodotus (II.158) recorded that the Egyptians regarded all peoples speaking a tongue other than Egyptian as barbarians, distinguishing themselves from the other peoples.

39 Herodotus' Book IV is analysed from this perspective by Harmatta 1941, 31-32.

40 Abaev 1965, which is devoted to the Scythian-European isoglosses; see p. 3 for an explanation of the concept of isoglosses in general.

41 Abaev 1971, 10-11.

42 Abaev 1965, 122.

43 Makkay 1998a, 260-276, with a detailed discussion. In addition to a comprehensive overview, Makkay also reviews earlier studies, especially the ones by D'jakonov, who had argued that the Cimmerians, who bore Iranian names, and the Scythians, their direct descendants, both originated from the Srubnaja (Timber Grave) culture.

44 Alekseev 2003, 38-72, with an overview of the different hypotheses and an exhaustive bibliography. It must in all fairness be noted that Alekseev himself favours an Asian origin. At the same time, researchers starting from a linguistic analysis, e.g. Pogrebova 2006, give arguments in support of the European origins of the Scythians.

conclusive proof that it was not the Scythians who arrived from Asia, but the other Iranian tribes who migrated from southern Russia to India, Persia and Central Asia[45].
Let us take a closer look at the Scythian myths of origin. Most scholars are still puzzled by the fact that Herodotus recorded not one, but three variants of this myth. The first one is recounted as follows:

> The Scythians say that their nation is the youngest in the world, and that it came into being in this way. A man whose name was Targitaüs appeared in this country, which was then desolate. They say that his parents were Zeus and a daughter of the Borysthenes river (I do not believe the story, but it is told). Such was Targitaüs' lineage; and he had three sons: Lipoxaïs, Arpoxaïs, and Colaxaïs, youngest of the three. In the time of their rule (the story goes) certain implements – namely, a plough, a yoke, a sword, and a flask, all of gold – fell down from the sky into Scythia. The eldest of them, seeing these, approached them meaning to take them; but the gold began to burn as he neared, and he stopped. Then the second approached, and the gold did as before. When these two had been driven back by the burning gold, the youngest brother approached and the burning stopped, and he took the gold to his own house. In view of this, the elder brothers agreed to give all the royal power to the youngest[46].

The reference to the Borysthenes (Dnieper) locates this variant to the northern Pontic.
Herodotus also recounts another myth that likewise speaks of an origin in the Pontic:

> This is what the Scythians say about themselves and the country north of them. But the story told by the Greeks who live in Pontus is as follows. Heracles, driving the cattle of Geryones, came to this land, which was then desolate, but is now inhabited by the Scythians. Geryones lived west of the Pontus, settled in the island called by the Greeks Erythea, on the shore of Ocean near Gadira, outside the pillars of Heracles. As for Ocean, the Greeks say that it flows around the whole world from where the sun rises, but they cannot prove that this is so. Heracles came from there to the country now called Scythia, where, encountering wintry and frosty weather, he drew his lion's skin over him and fell asleep, and while he slept his mares, which were grazing yoked to the chariot, were spirited away by divine fortune. When Heracles awoke, he searched for them, visiting every part of the country, until at last he came to the land called the Woodland, and there he found in a cave a creature of double form that was half maiden and half serpent; above the buttocks she was a woman, below them a snake [**fig. 15**]. When he saw her he was astonished, and asked her if she had seen his mares straying; she said that she had them, and would not return them to him before he had intercourse with her; Heracles did, in hope of this reward. But though he was anxious to take the horses and go, she delayed returning them, so that she might have Heracles with her for as long as possible; at last she gave them back, telling him, »These mares came, and I kept them safe here for you, and you have paid me for keeping them, for I have three sons by you. Now tell me what I am to do when they are grown up: shall I keep them here (since I am queen of this country), or shall I send them away to you?« Thus she inquired, and then (it is said) Heracles answered: »When you see the boys are grown up, do as follows and you will do rightly: whichever of them you see bending this bow and wearing this belt so,

45 Abaev 1965, 122-123.

46 Herodotus IV.5. We shall not discuss the various implements falling from the sky and the interpretation of this narrative; the countless studies on this theme would fill a small library.

make him an inhabitant of this land; but whoever falls short of these accomplishments that I require, send him away out of the country. Do so and you shall yourself have comfort, and my will shall be done«. So he drew one of his bows (for until then Heracles always carried two), and showed her the belt, and gave her the bow and the belt, that had a golden vessel on the end of its clasp; and, having given them, he departed. But when the sons born to her were grown men, she gave them names, calling one of them Agathyrsus and the next Gelonus and the youngest Scythes; furthermore, remembering the instructions, she did as she was told. Two of her sons, Agathyrsus and Gelonus, were cast out by their mother and left the country, unable to fulfil the requirements set; but Scythes, the youngest, fulfilled them and so stayed in the land. From Scythes son of Heracles comes the whole line of the kings of Scythia; and it is because of the vessel that the Scythians carry vessels on their belts to this day[47].

That the two myths were indeed known to the Scythians and the Greeks is amply proven by the depictions in which these characters and events are portrayed (**fig. 16**). It must nonetheless be noted that Herodotus also presents a third myth, according to which the Scythians had migrated to their present lands from Asia:

> There is yet another story, to which account I myself especially incline. It is to this effect. The nomadic Scythians inhabiting Asia, when hard pressed in war by the Massagetae, fled across the Araxes river[48] to the Cimmerian country (for the country which the Scythians



Fig. 15 Depiction of the snake-limbed goddess on a gold mount from the Bolšaja Cimbalka kurgan. – (After Skythische Kunst 1986, 144).

47 Herodotus IV.8-10.



Fig. 16 Detail of the cup from the Kul-Oba kurgan (after Skythische Kunst 1986, figs 185-187). Raevskij (1985, 17-20) correlated the scenes with Herodotus' account of the Scythian myth of origin. The two older brothers are unable to string the bow (one has injured his mouth, the other his foot), and the youngest is awarded kingship.

> now inhabit is said to have belonged to the Cimmerians before), and the Cimmerians, at the advance of the Scythians, deliberated as men threatened by a great force should. Opinions were divided; both were strongly held, but that of the princes was the more honourable; for the people believed that their part was to withdraw and that there was no need to risk their lives for the dust of the earth; but the princes were for fighting to defend their country against the attackers. Neither side could persuade the other, neither the people the princes nor the princes the people; the one party planned to depart without fighting and leave the country to their enemies, but the princes were determined to lie dead in their own country and not to flee with the people, for they considered how happy their situation had been and what ills were likely to come upon them if they fled from their native land. Having made up their minds, the princes separated into two equal bands and fought with each other until they were all killed by each other's hands; then the Cimmerian people buried them by the Tyras river, where their tombs are still to be seen, and having buried them left the land; and the Scythians came and took possession of the country left empty[49].

Scholars favouring an ancestral homeland in Asia generally refer to this account, also quoting various archaeological finds to bolster their theory. The debate has by now reached the point where the chronology of various artefacts and find assemblages is pushed back in time both by the advocates of a European ancestry and the adherents of an Asian one, the idea being that the earlier a particular find from the region claimed to be the homeland is, the more it confirms their hypothesis. As a matter of fact, archaeology is by itself unable to settle the issue of origins without a consideration of the linguistic evidence. This remains the case despite the fact that most of the innovations introduced by the Scythians are of a demonstrably Asian origin because the latter can be interpreted as a consequence of the Transcaucasian campaigns (**fig. 14**)[50]. As we have mentioned above, the archaeological record preceding the Scythian period reflects an unbroken continuity from the Pit Grave culture through the Catacomb and the Timber Grave cultures to the 8th-7th centuries BC, which is the archaeological horizon correlated with the Scythians. An ethnogenesis in the European steppe zone is also supported by the reports of classical authors, according to whom, the Iranian tribes that separated from the Iranian block (the »Scythians« who remained in their homeland) originated from Scythia[51].

Physical anthropological evidence provides further clues for resolving the question of origins. The Scythian skulls examined so far do not differ from the anthropological material of the preceding Timber Grave (Srubnaja) culture of the Bronze Age. The anthropological record indicates a uniform anthropological type across the entire territory in the Bronze Age later occupied by the Scythians (including the Lower Volga region and the Saka lands in Kazakhstan, Chorezm and the Altai region). This situation changed in the Scythian period when Mongoloid traits first make an appearance in the eastern regions, principally in Tuva and, to a lesser extent, in the Altai region and in Kazakhstan, and to a minimal extent in the Lower Volga region[52].

No major changes can be noted in the species of the domestic animals raised in the northern Pontic. The appearance of two new species, domestic ass and domestic cat, can undoubtedly be explained by the cultural influence of Greek colonisation[53].

48 According to Herodotus, Araxes empties into the Caspian Sea.

49 Herodotus IV.11.

50 It is beyond the scope of this present study to discuss these campaigns more than in passing. See Alekseev 2003, 97-129, with a detailed overview of the relevant literature.

51 e. g. »*Parthi Scythia profecti*« (»where the Parthians seceding from Scythia«; Curtius Rufus IV.12.11), »*Scythae, qui Parthos condidere*« (»the Scythians, founders of the land of the Parthians«; Curtius Rufus VI.2.14), »*Parthi – Scytharum exules fuere*« (»the Parthians were originally exiles from Scythia«; Iustinus XLI.I.I), »*Persae, qui sunt originitus Scythae*« (»the Persians, who are originally of Scythian extraction«; Ammian XXXI.2.20), after Abaev 1965, 124.

52 The latter in a Sauromatian context – Debec 1971, 8-9.

53 Calkin 1971.

The above scientific data indicate that the ancestors of the Saka[54]/Scythian peoples dispersed from their earlier homeland during the Bronze Age. Inhabiting the Kazakh steppe, the Pamir Mountains and the Tien Shan region, the Saka were an Asian steppe people related to the Scythians. The references to the Saka clearly show that this name was a generic term for denoting population groups (tribes?) with often differing life-styles. The same holds true for the Massagetae living on the eastern shores of the Caspian Sea and the Amu Darya region. Like the Scythians and the Saka, the Massagetae included both nomadic and agrarian groups[55].

The linguistic record of the Saka (or Khotanese-Saka) from the 7th-10th centuries AD offers additional evidence for the date of the dispersal. On the testimony of the inscriptions, the dispersal had most certainly taken place before the 4th century BC, because by this time the language spoken by the Saka was a separate dialect, meaning that the tongues spoken by the European Scythians and the Asian Saka had separated much earlier and developed independently[56], which in turn implies that a part of the population had broken away during the Bronze Age at the latest[57]. There can be no doubt that these groups migrated eastward, as shown by the distribution of Iranian hydronyms, and especially the river names formed from the word *dan* (»river«) such as Don, Dnieper (Danapr), Dniester (Danastr) and Danube (Danuvi) which abound on the northern Pontic littoral, but are entirely lacking in Central Asia[58].

The linguistic evidence harmonises with the archaeological record. Only one single major migration can be noted on the Eurasian Steppe during this period that can be associated with the Scythians and the Saka (as well as other Asian Iranian nomads) in the light of the archaeological finds.

In sum, we may say that the European steppe was ruled by Iranian-speaking peoples from the Bronze Age onward (Kurgan cultures). The eastern branch of this large linguistic unit (the Andronovo culture) advanced as far as Central Asia before the close of the Bronze Age at the latest. A linguistic separation can be noted between the Cimmerian/Scythian population emerging during the 9th-8th centuries BC at the western »end« of this unit and of the eastern groups, principally the Saka. The Sauromatian/Sarmatian ethnogenesis took place somewhere in the borderland between these two worlds, although closer to the Scythians.

Scythian-Sarmatian Relations: The Sarmatian Ethnogenesis

> About the Sauromatae, the story is as follows. When the Greeks were at war with the Amazons (whom the Scythians call Oiorpata, a name signifying in our tongue killers of men, for in Scythian a man is »oior« and to kill is »pata«), the story runs that after their victory on the Thermodon they sailed away carrying in three ships as many Amazons as they had been able to take alive; and out at sea the Amazons attacked the crews and killed them. But they knew

54 According to Herodotus (VII.64), the Persians called all Scythian tribes by the name Saka.

55 Jablonskij 1996 is a good compendium of the references to the Saka. Stepnaja polosa 1992 gives an important overview of the research on the Saka and the Massagetae, and for a discussion of the various hypotheses on the relation between the Andronovo culture (the eastern branch of the Kurgan complex) and the ethnogenesis of the Saka, as well as an exhaustive bibliography, see Vajnberg/Gorbunova/Moškova 1992, 25-26.

56 The 8th-10th century inscriptions from East Turkestan suggest that linguistic changes resembling the ones occurring in the Scythian language at a fairly early date did not take place in the Saka (or Khotanese-Saka) language. One of these was the so-called Aryan rhotacism, the transformation of an »r« before i(y) into »l«. This letter is lacking from the *Avesta* and can only be observed in the case of non-Persian names in the Persian inscriptions. At the same time, the phenomenon can be documented in the names recorded by Herodotus, e. g. *Ripaxsaya* → Λιποξαις. – See Abaev 1965, 12-13, and Abaev 1971, 12.

57 According to Abaev 1972, 36-37, the Iranian languages split into two major groups at the turn of the 2nd and 1st millennia BC: one encompassing the Scythian-Cimmerian, Proto-Sogdian and Proto-Bactrian; the other Proto-Mede and Persian. The peoples speaking the latter migrated south through the Caucasus and occupied the Iranian Plateau. The Proto-Saka split from the Scythians in the first half of the 1st millennium BC and advanced eastward to the Chinese border. It seems likely that the Bactrians, Sogdians and a few other Iranian groups arrived in Central Asia at roughly the same time.

58 Abaev 1971, 11; 1979, 355-356.

nothing about ships, or how to use rudder or sail or oar; and with the men dead, they were at the mercy of waves and winds, until they came to the Cliffs by the Maeotian lake; this place is in the country of the free Scythians. The Amazons landed there, and set out on their journey to the inhabited country, and seizing the first troop of horses they met, they mounted them and raided the Scythian lands.

The Scythians could not understand the business; for they did not recognize the women's speech or their dress or their nation, but wondered where they had come from, and imagined them to be men all of the same age; and they met the Amazons in battle. The result of the fight was that the Scythians got possession of the dead, and so came to learn that their foes were women. Therefore, after deliberation they resolved by no means to slay them as before, but to send their youngest men to them, of a number corresponding (as they guessed) to the number of the women. They directed these youths to camp near the Amazons and to imitate all that they did; if the women pursued them, not to fight, but to flee; and when the pursuit stopped, to return and camp near them. This was the plan of the Scythians, for they desired that children be born of the women. The young men who were sent did as they were directed.

When the Amazons perceived that the youths meant them no harm, they let them be; but every day the two camps drew nearer to each other. Now the young men, like the Amazons, had nothing but their arms and their horses, and lived as did the women, by hunting and plunder.

At midday the Amazons would scatter and go apart from each other singly or in pairs, roaming apart for greater comfort. The Scythians noticed this and did likewise; and as the women wandered alone, a young man laid hold of one of them, and the woman did not resist but let him do his will; and since they did not understand each other's speech and she could not speak to him, she signed with her hand that he should come the next day to the same place and bring another youth with him (showing by signs that there should be two), and she would bring another woman with her. The youth went away and told his comrades; and the next day he came himself with another to the place, where he found the Amazon and another with her awaiting them. When the rest of the young men learned of this, they had intercourse with the rest of the Amazons.

Presently they joined their camps and lived together, each man having for his wife the woman with whom he had had intercourse at first. Now the men could not learn the women's language, but the women mastered the speech of the men; and when they understood each other, the men said to the Amazons, »We have parents and possessions; therefore, let us no longer live as we do, but return to our people and be with them; and we will still have you, and no others, for our wives.« To this the women replied: »We could not live with your women; for we and they do not have the same customs. We shoot the bow and throw the javelin and ride, but have never learned women's work; and your women do none of the things of which we speak, but stay in their wagons and do women's work, and do not go out hunting or anywhere else. So we could never agree with them. If you want to keep us for wives and to have the name of fair men, go to your parents and let them give you the allotted share of their possessions, and after that let us go and live by ourselves.« The young men agreed and did this.

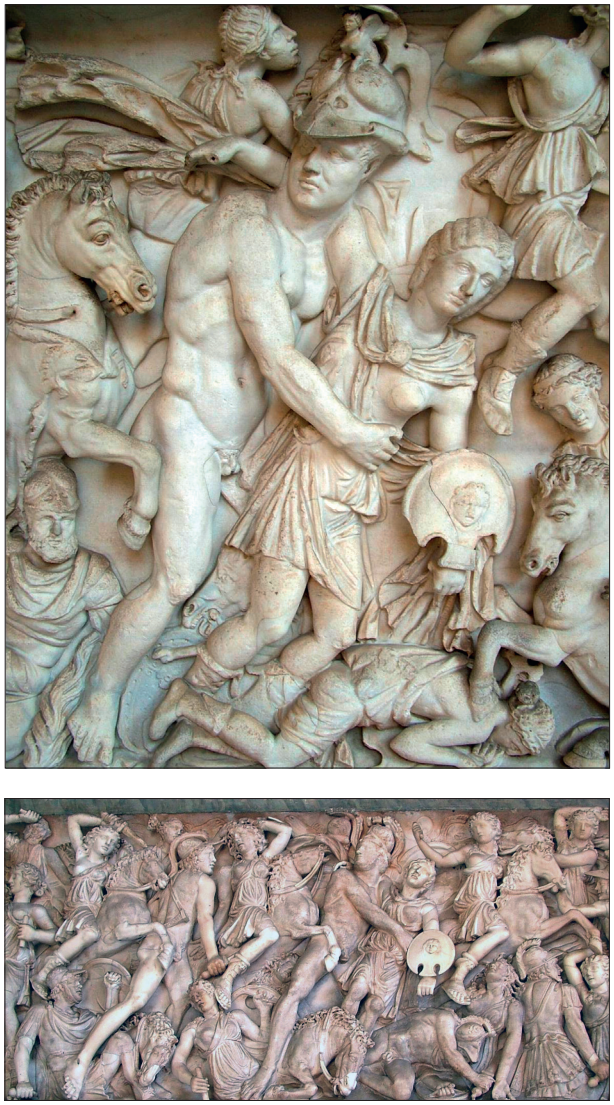


Fig. 17 Amazons in battle on a 3rd century sarcophagus (Vatican Museum, inv. no. 933). – (Photo E. Istvánovits / V. Kulcsár).

So when they had been given the allotted share of possessions that fell to them, and returned to the Amazons, the women said to them: »We are worried and frightened how we are to live in this country after depriving you of your fathers and doing a lot of harm to your land. Since you propose to have us for wives, do this with us: come, let us leave this country and live across the Tanaïs river.« To this too the youths agreed; and crossing the Tanaïs, they went a three days' journey east from the river, and a three days' journey north from lake Maeotis; and when they came to the region in which they now live, they settled there. Ever since then the women of the Sauromatae have followed their ancient ways; they ride out hunting, with their men or without them; they go to war, and dress the same as the men.

The language of the Sauromatae is Scythian but not spoken in its ancient purity, since the Amazons never learned it correctly. In regard to marriage, it is the custom that no maiden weds until she has killed a man of the enemy; and some of them grow old and die unmarried, because they cannot fulfil the law[59].

It would be tempting to immediately follow Herodotus to the land of the Amazons (**fig. 17**), but we must delay doing so for the moment. What concerns us here is the relationship between the Scythians and the Sarmatians. The conclusion suggested by the quotation above is that classical authors regarded the Sarmatians as descendants of the Scythians. In other words, the relationships between the Scythians and the Sauromatians/Sarmatians cannot be reduced to the wars between them or to a peaceful co-existence. One case in point is that the earliest historical reference to the Sarmatians (or, more precisely, to the Sauromatae) is made in the context of Scythian history.

In his account of the Persian campaign led by Darius I against the Scythians, Herodotus mentions that the Scythians' eastern neighbours, the Sauromatae, also participated in this war. The Sauromatae appear in several passages:

59 Herodotus IV.110-117, italics added for emphasis.



Fig. 18 Location of various peoples during the Sauromatian Age. According to Herodotus' report, the Scythians ruled over the lands on the right bank of the Don. During his campaign, Darius passed through the lands of the Sauromatians and reached the wooden town of the Budini. The land beyond the Budini was a great desert. – (E. Istvánovits / V. Kulcsár; map M. Ober, RGZM).

> Across the Tanaïs it is no longer Scythia; the first of the districts belongs to the *Sauromatae*, whose country begins at the inner end of the Maeotian lake and stretches fifteen days' journey north, and is quite bare of both wild and cultivated trees. […] The eighth is the Tanaïs river; in its upper course, this begins by flowing out of a great lake, and enters a yet greater lake called the Maeotian, which divides the Royal Scythians from the Sauromatae[60].

Herodotus thus locates the population he calls the Sauromatae to the left bank of the Tanais (Don). He notes that the Sauromatae had lived there at the time of Darius' campaign against the Scythians:

> Convinced that they alone were not able to repel Darius' army in open warfare, the Scythians sent messengers to their neighbours, whose kings had already gathered and were deliberating on the presumption that a great army was marching against them. The assembled kings were those of the Tauri, Agathyrsi, Neuri, Maneaters, Black-cloaks, Geloni, Budini, and *Sauromatae*[61]. (**fig. 18**)

The Asian Scythians warred with Cyrus in 529 BC and, later, with Darius in 519 BC. Cyrus' expedition to the Amu Darya (Oxus) region is narrated by Herodotus and Strabo, both of whom probably drew from Hecataeus. The reason for Darius' campaign was perhaps to avenge Cyrus who had been slain in battle against the Massagetae. In connection with Darius' campaign of 519 BC, Polyaenus recounts that three Saka kings, Sacesphares (Sausafar), Amorges and Thamyris, had forged an alliance against the Persians (**figs 19-20**)[62].

60 Herodotus IV.21 and IV.57, italics added for emphasis.
61 Herodotus IV.102, italics added for emphasis.
62 Herodotus I.201-214. – Strabo XI.8.6. – Pol. *Strat.* VII.12.

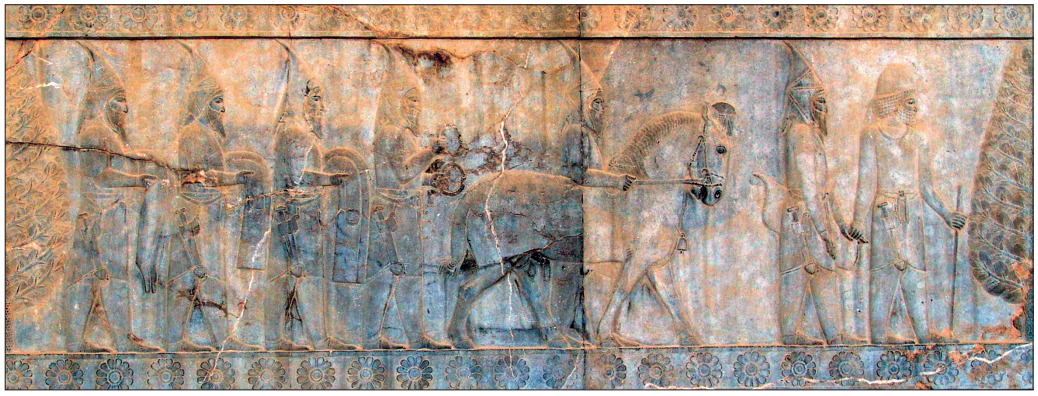


Fig. 19 The Persian campaign against the Asian Scythians/Saka is commemorated on reliefs portraying the nomads wearing their typical costume. One of these reliefs is the Tribute Procession on the eastern stairway of the *apadana*, the audience hall of Persepolis. The Saka Tigraxauda appear as the eleventh delegation. – (Photo E. Istvánovits / V. Kulcsár).

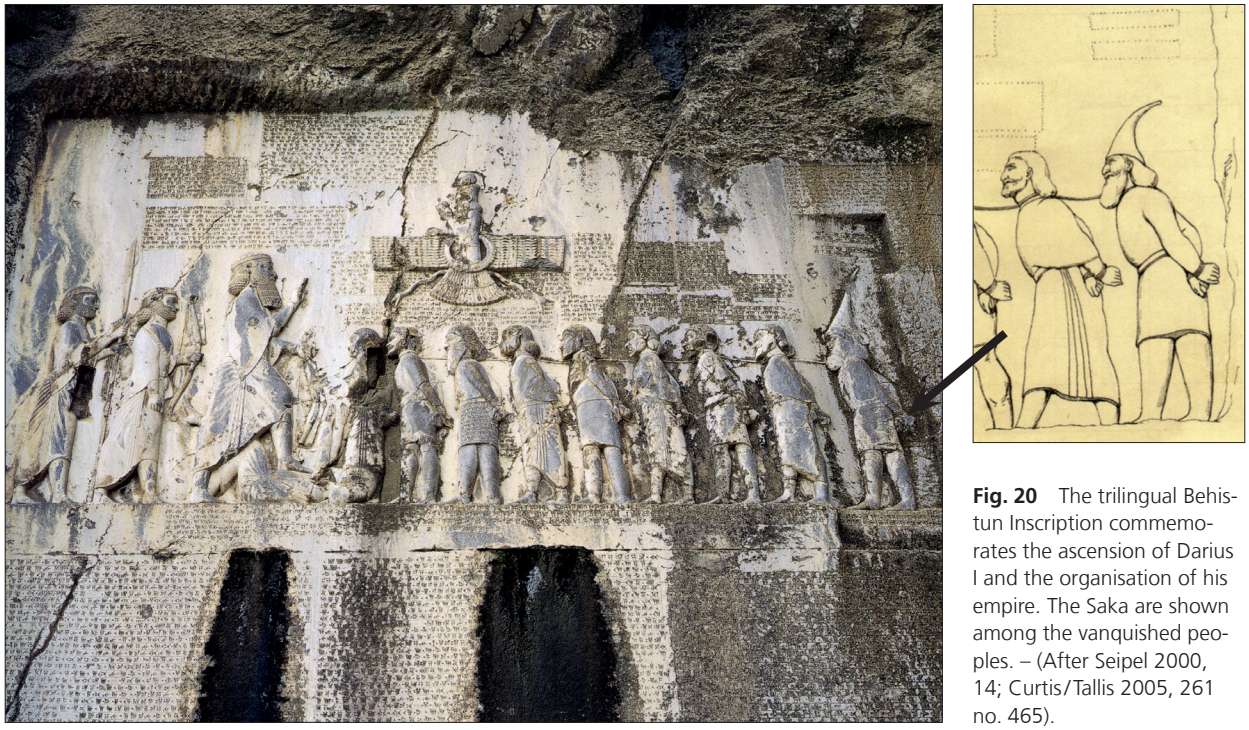


Fig. 20 The trilingual Behistun Inscription commemorates the ascension of Darius I and the organisation of his empire. The Saka are shown among the vanquished peoples. – (After Seipel 2000, 14; Curtis/Tallis 2005, 261 no. 465).

Adopting a new strategy, the third campaign led by Darius (Hystaspes) against the European Scythians in 512 BC may in part have been prompted by the Persians' failure to pacify the nomads. The main goal was the Persian king's effort to cut off the Greeks from the cereal-growing and cattle-breeding regions, as well as the sources of fish. In this sense, the expedition was part of the preparations for the great campaign against the Greeks. The Persians were well informed about Scythia and were fully aware that there would be severe food shortages in the Greek city-states of the Balkans and Asia Minor if exports from the Pontic were to cease[63]. Darius marched across the eastern half of the Balkan Peninsula, crossed the Lower Danube and entered the steppe.

63 Tolstov 1948a, 106-109.

Herodotus provides a detailed account of the expedition in Book IV of his *Histories*, based on information gathered a few decades later. The Persian troops marched deeper and deeper into the steppe, but the Scythians refused to give battle, resorting instead to the classical nomadic tactic of retreating, removing all food, filling up the wells and destroying the pastures. The Persians were eventually forced to withdraw. Herodotus informs us that after the Scythians had turned to other peoples for help:

> […] the kings who had come from the nations deliberated, and their opinions were divided. The kings of the Geloni and the Budini and the Sauromatae were of one mind and promised to help the Scythians; but the kings of the Agathyrsi and Neuri and Maneaters and Black-cloaks and Tauri [refused to come to their assistance].

The Sauromatae were not simply allies, but fought side-by-side with the Scythians in the same army, as recorded in two passages in Herodotus' narrative. The Scythians divided their forces into two bodies. After joining the body commanded by Scopias, the Sauromatae were given the following orders:

> […] if the Persian marched that way, this group was to retire before him and fall back toward the Tanaïs river, by the Maeotian lake, and if the Persian turned to go back, then they were to pursue and attack him.

The Scythian-Sauromatian alliance resorted to the scorched earth stratagem, the classical tactic of nomadic warfare:

> […] the advance guard of the Scythians found the Persians about a three days' march distant from the Ister; and having found them they camped a day's march ahead of the enemy and set about scorching the earth of all living things. When the Persians saw the Scythian cavalry appear, they marched on its track, the horsemen always withdrawing before them; and then, making for the one Scythian division, the Persians held on in pursuit toward the east and the Tanaïs river; when the horsemen crossed this, the Persians crossed also, and pursued until they had marched through the land of the Sauromatae to the land of the Budini. As long as the Persians were traversing the Scythian and Sauromatic territory there was nothing for them to harm, as the land was dry and barren[64].

Herodotus' detailed account is by all means accurate and reliable, and it is therefore quite certain that the Sauromatian lands of the late 6th century BC can be sought on the left bank of the Don, on the shores of the Sea of Azov. It is not mere chance that from his reading of the classical texts, Rostovcev concluded that the Sauromatian ethnogenesis had taken place in the region of the Sea of Azov. K. F. Smirnov accepted this model of autochthonous Sauromatian ethnogenesis[65]. At the same time, a wholly uniform archaeological material can be demonstrated on the steppe extending between the Don and the Volga, whose appearance can be dated to the close of the 7th century and the early 6th century BC. This horizon has been convincingly identified as the heritage of the Sauromatians (see the next chapter). The single question remaining is whether the uniform archaeological find material justifies the extension of the lands inhabited by the Sauromatians to include the vast steppe between the Don and the Volga (stretching to the Ural), despite the

64 Herodotus IV.119-123.

65 Rostovcev 1918, 29. 33-35. – Smirnov 1984, 10-11.

fact they are mentioned only at the western fringes of this territory without any reference to areas farther to the east.

It seems to us that there is no serious obstacle to this. Suffice it here to recall the evidence on the Scythians, the Saka and the Massagetae. The same holds true for the Sauromatians/Sarmatians: the name was both the name of a specific tribe (?) and, at the same time, a generic term for a tribal alliance (?) of several tribes (?); and has been used in this sense by classical authors and modern scholars alike. (The other tribes in this alliance and their society shall be discussed elsewhere. We do not wish to overwhelm our readers with a discussion of these issues here and in any case, the name occurring in the earliest sources is definitely Sauromatian/Sarmatian/Sirmatian.)

It is quite obvious from the above that the history of the Sauromatians/Sarmatians is inextricably bound up with that of the Scythians, from whom they were directly descended[66].

The Sarmatian linguistic record is rather meagre and not one single longer text has survived. Even so, there can be no doubt that the Sarmatians had indeed spoken a »Scythian tongue«, belonging to the northern branch of the Middle Iranian languages.

The etymology of the ethnonym Sarmatian and Sauromatian has still not been clarified reassuringly[67]. Several explanations have been proposed. According to one, the name can be derived from *saora* (»sword«, »blade«), a word known from the *Avesta*, and it means »sword-bearer« or »sword-bringer«. Another explanation derives the name from *sau-rom* (»black-haired«[68]) or from *sau-roma* (»black-fleeced«[69]). Yet another etymology is *sarah* (»head«, »master«) and it has also been suggested the name Sauromatae was in fact the Avestan translation (*sairima*) of Herodotus' »Royal Scythians«. Tolstov believed that the name of the Sarmatians could be derived from *sawr* or *swar* from the *sawr – swar* – Sanskrit *svarga* (»sky«) and Iranian *khwar* (»Sun«), and meant »people of the Sun«, suggesting that Chorezm could be derived from the same word and meant »Land of the Sun«[70].

In sum, the Sauromatae/Sarmatians were the direct descendants of the Scythians whose language was part of the northern branch of the Middle Iranian languages. Their ethnogenesis took place on the steppe extending between the Don, the Volga and the Ural rivers.

SAUROMATIAN OR SARMATIAN?

A Few Words on Chronology

Before turning to the earliest period of Sarmatian history, we shall briefly review the periodisation and chronology of the entire Sarmatian period; a bone of contention for over a century now in archaeological studies. The periodisation of the entire Sarmatian steppe period is not an easy task because of the »smaller« regions making up this vast territory. These regions, both separated and linked by waterways, are often the

66 In the light of the above, it is hardly surprising that the possibility that the Sarmatians were semi-nomads from Central Asia has also been raised (Harmatta 1994, 566). However, not one single shred of reliable evidence has yet been produced in support of this theory.

67 For the various etymologies, see, e. g. Müllenhoff 1892, 101-125 esp. 120, and Vasmer 1923, 51. See also Vernadsky 1951, 342-343, and Zgusta 1955, 264-265, for good overviews of the theories proposed so far.

68 Seeing that Ammianus Marcellinus described them as blond-haired (31.2.21), the expression should rather be translated as »wearing black headgear«.

69 Dumézil 1978, 7, has noted that the name *Sau-dara-tai* in the Protogenes Decree from Olbia (Latyschev 1916, no. 32, 54-55) would support this interpretation, in which case the name would have the same meaning as *melankhlainos* (»black robed«; cf. Herodotus IV.20.100-102.107.119.125).

70 Tolstov 1948a, 80.

size of half the European continent or even larger. Several groups (tribes?) lived across this immense region. One cardinal question is how the securely dated find assemblages, principally the products made in workshops of the high civilisations of Antiquity, reached the regions lying closer or farther away from these centres and from the main trade routes. Another is the identification of the products traded for these articles by the barbarian groups (gold, honey, furs, hides, animals, cereals, fish, slaves, etc.), and the importance of these products for the trade partners.

The two and, in some cases, three legitimate dates of some artefacts on which chronological schemes are based must also be borne in mind. These are: the date when a particular artefact of precious metal was actually crafted in one of the Greek cities; the time that had elapsed before it reached the barbarians; and the date of its deposition in a burial, sometimes one or more generations later.

A brief overview of the currently accepted periodisation seems in order at this point, together with a discussion of how this periodisation evolved. For a long time, Soviet and post-Soviet research employed a very precise (although not always consistent) terminology for the Sarmatian cultures that also marked successive chronological phases. (A few of these categories were adopted in Hungarian Sarmatian studies, although usually in a grossly misunderstood form.) The labels given to a particular culture or period did not always refer to one and the same cultural unit or time-range, depending on the region or period in which they were used. As a result of the occasionally slow and at times unusually rapid east to west migration of the Sarmatian tribes, one period may have »ended« in the Don-Volga interfluve before it had even »begun« in the Dnieper Valley (one case in point being the 3rd century BC, to be discussed at greater length below) (**tab. 1**).

The chronological framework used in this study is one of the generally accepted periodisations (in the chart referred to as Grakov/Smirnov/Moškova). Although widely accepted, this periodisation can only broadly be regarded as a »generally accepted« framework. Even a cursory glance at more recent studies reveals that Russian and Ukrainian scholars have proposed a number of modifications or entirely new frameworks, often at great variance from the »classical« one[71]. (Being outsiders, we shall not comment on this debate.)

Finally, it must also be borne in mind that the history and the archaeological heritage of the Sarmatians of the Carpathian Basin have also been divided into various chronological horizons. These periodisations are absolutely independent from the steppe system described above. The Sarmatians arrived in Hungary during the steppe Middle Sarmatian Age and remained in the Danube Basin until well after the end of the Late Sarmatian Age on the steppe.

The Earliest Sauromatian / Sarmatian Finds (6th to Mid-3rd Century BC)

If we begin the presentation of the archaeological material with the cultural precursors, we must go back to two points: 1) the late Srubnaja (Timber Grave) period (12th-9th/8th centuries BC) and the southern distribution of this culture in the Don-Volga interfluve (the Lower Volga region), and in the North Pontic region (**fig. 21**); and 2) the Ural group of the Andronovo culture distributed over an extensive territory. These two Bronze Age cultures played a decisive role in the emergence of Sauromatian culture and the ethnogenesis of the Sauromatian/Sarmatian people. The boundary between the Srubnaja and the Andronovo populations is blurred and cannot be precisely determined (**fig. 22**). Many Andronovo traits can be demonstrated in the Srubnaja culture and vice versa: strong cultural influences from the Srubnaja culture are apparent in the contact zone material of the neighbouring Andronovo culture. The relatively poor state of research

71 Good examples for the »new chronology« can be quoted from Sarmatskie kultury 2004, which contains the papers read at a relatively recent conference on Sarmatian research. The last three columns of the chart reflect the overall confusion in this field.

Age	Rykov 1925	Rau 1927-29	Grakov / Smirnov / Moškova	Skripkin	Berlizov	Zuev	Ščukin	Age
4th c. AD	Susly kurgans C	Stage B	Šipovo culture = Alan culture Late Sarmatian		E	Alan Late Sarmatian period	Late Sarmatian culture	4th c. AD
3rd c. AD	Susly kurgans B	Sarmatians			D			3rd c. AD
2nd c. AD	Susly kurgans D	Stage A			C3			2nd c. AD
1st c. AD					C2			1st c. AD
1st c. BC	Susly kurgans A		Middle Sarmatian = Susly culture		C1	Susly Middle Sarmatian period	Susly culture	1st c. BC
2nd c. BC					70 B2b / 40 B2a		Period of Prohorovka cups	2nd c. BC
3rd c. BC	Prohorovka kurgans (Rostovcev)				B1			3rd c. BC
4th c. BC					A3	Prohorovka period	Prohorovka culture	4th c. BC
5th c. BC	Blumenfeld Kurgan A12 (Grakov)	Sauromatians ?	Early Sarmatian = Prohorovka culture		A2			5th c. BC
6th c. BC			heyday		A1	Break of cultural tradition (hiatus)		6th c. BC
			stabilisation					
			transitional			Filippovka period	Blumenfeld culture	
			Sauromatian = Blumenfeld culture			Blumenfeld period		

Tab. 1 The chronological table illustrates the diversity of the different periodisation schemes. – (Based on Ščukin 2004, fig. 2).



Fig. 21 The most important sites of the Srubnaja (Timber Grave) culture during the pre-Scythian period; distribution of the Srubnaja culture and of the Andronovo culture. – (After Grakov 1977, fig. 74; map M. Ober, RGZM).

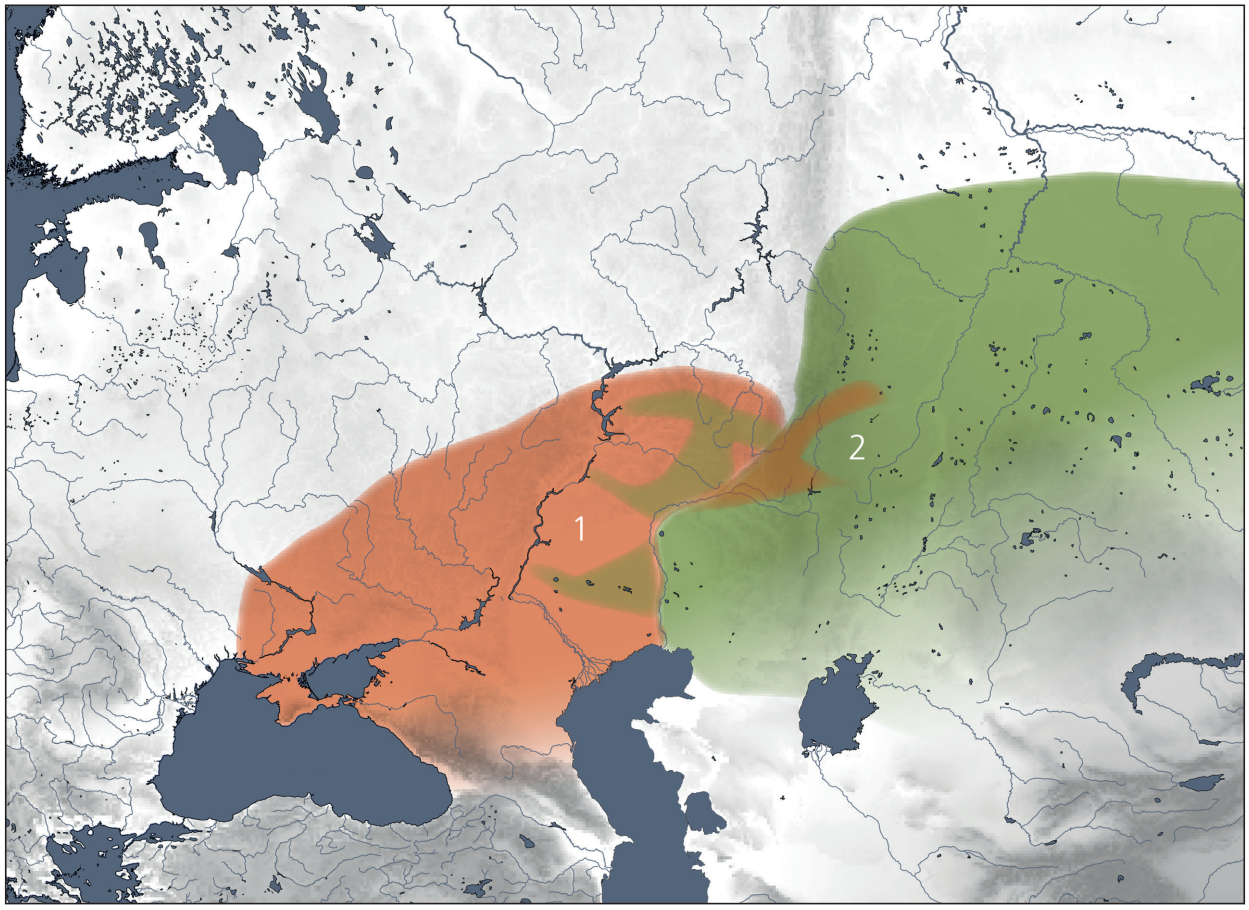


Fig. 22 The contact zone and cultural interaction between the Srubnaja (**1**) and the Andronovo culture (**2**) can be sought along the lower reaches of the Ural and in the Lower Volga region. – (After Smirnov 1964, fig. 76; map M. Ober, RGZM).

in the Lower Volga and the South Ural region[72] poses additional problems when attempting to define the boundary between the two. The current evidence would suggest that the boundary lay west of the lower reaches of the Ural River and in the north, along the western slopes of the Ural Mountains, roughly along the border between Uralsk and Bashkiria (Bashkortostan). The two Bronze Age populations both emerged on the same cultural substratum, an earlier period of the Kurgan cultures. Both pursued a nomadic life-style, coloured by the agrarian villages of sedentary groups.

The material of the Srubnaja culture underwent a gradual transformation along the Volga and the Dnieper in the 8th-7th centuries BC, the turn of the Bronze and the Iron Age. The burials from this period can be labelled as reflecting the »transition«[73] to the Sauromatian burials (**fig. 23**). The west to east orientation of the burials, which later became the norm among the Sauromatians, began to spread during this period under cultural influence from the Andronovo culture. The archaeological record is rather patchy: the evidence indicates the »disappearance« of settlements[74] and, at the same time, the continuity of vessel forms and pottery ornamentation, as well as of artefact types, from the Srubnaja period onward[75].

72 The South Ural region is here used to denote the southern reaches of the Ural River and not the Ural Mountains.

73 The transitional period is variously called Cimmerian period (e. g. Dvorničenko/Korenjako 1989) and Late Srubnaja period (e. g. Mamontov 1980).

74 In all fairness, it must be noted that very few settlement sites are known from the other periods. The lack of settlements in this region is generally attributed to the nomadic life-style.

75 For the research of the transitional period (8th-7th centuries), see Smirnov 1964, 174-188; 1957, 10-12.

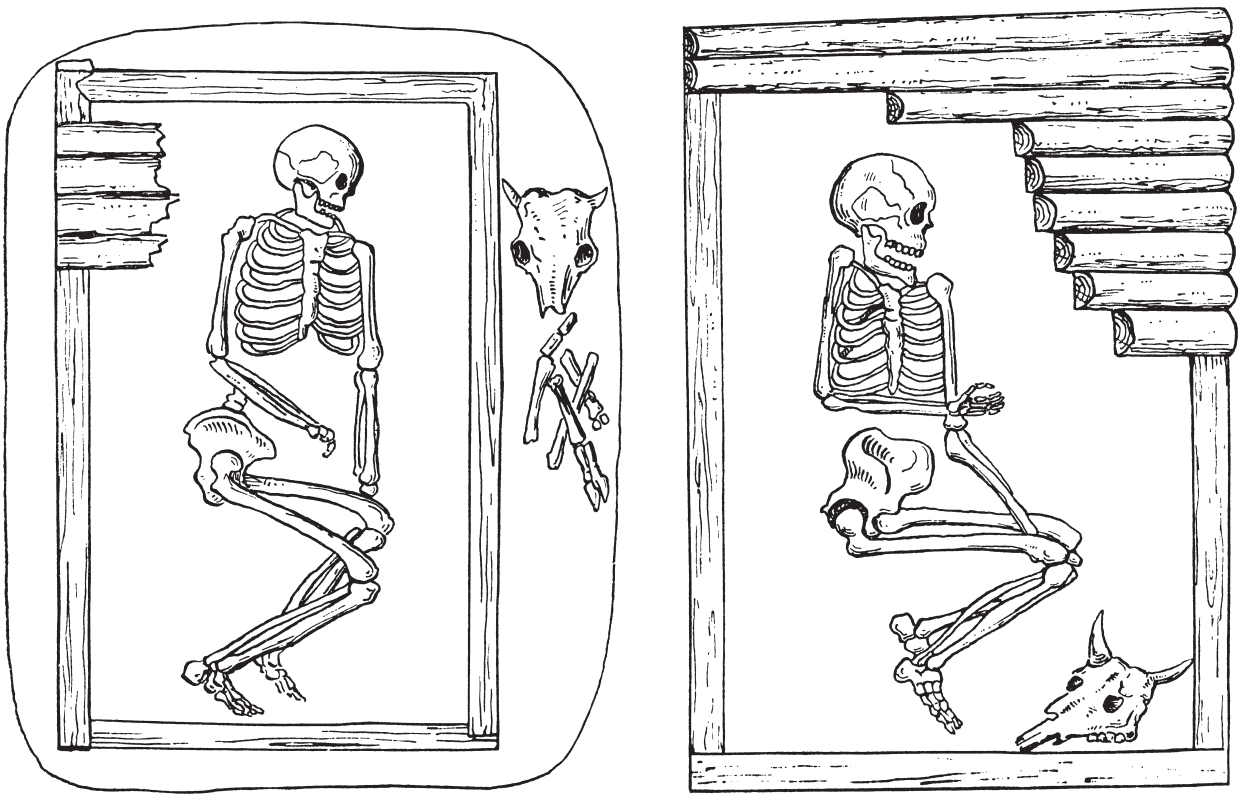


Fig. 23 The population of the Srubnaja culture buried its dead in timber burial chambers. Two burials from the northern Donets region. – (After Grakov 1977, fig. 84).

The references to the conditions in the 6th century BC in the works of Herodotus and Hecataeus would suggest that the left bank of the Lower Don was definitely occupied by the Sauromatians, meaning that the finds from this period can be linked to this people. It is also clear that this material culture was not restricted to the Lower Don region, but distributed over a much wider territory, including mainly the Lower Volga region. The finds from the South Ural region also share countless similarities with this material culture. The origins of the find assemblages can be traced back to the 7th century BC.

Archaeological research identified the archaeological heritage of the Sauromatians – sharing many similarities with that of the Scythians – at a fairly early date. The burials that could be plausibly associated with the Sauromatians in the Lower Volga region were first singled out by Rau who made the ethnic attribution to the Sauromatians based on Herodotus' descriptions quoted in the above[76]. Grakov first labelled these assemblages the Blumenfeld culture and linked the finds to the Scythians, but later he accepted the view that they represented the heritage of the Sauromatians[77]. The current consensus is that the 7th-6th century archaeological finds from the steppe between the Volga and the Don, the Lower Volga and the foreland of the South Ural region can be associated unambiguously with the Sauromatians.

An important question is the relation between the Sauromatians and the population of the preceding period. Several elements of the Srubnaja culture can be noted in the Sauromatian burials, such as traces of a fire cult, large grave pits with funerary timber structures and log walls ringing some of the graves under the

76 Rau 1929.

77 Grakov 1947, with the earlier literature.

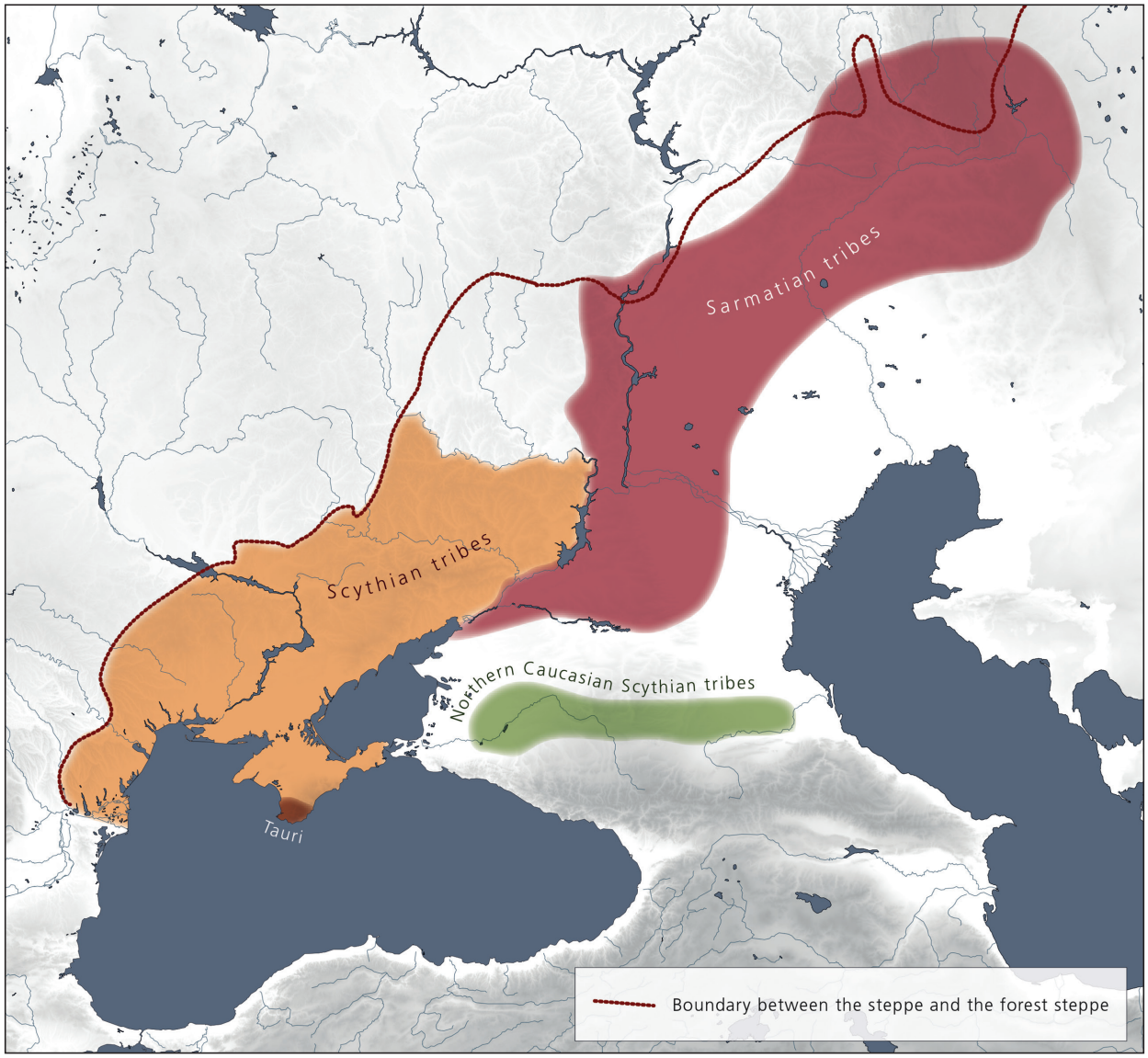


Fig. 24 Distribution of Scythian and Sauromatian/Sarmatian finds in the 7th-3rd centuries BC. – (After Meljukova/Moškova 1989, map 1; map M. Ober, RGZM).

kurgans. At the same time, considerably more Andronovo traits can be noted in the material culture of the Uralian Sauromatians than among the groups settling along the lower reaches of the Volga[78].

Any overview of Sauromatian culture (**figs 24-25**) must take note of the fact that, in common with the transitional period between the early 8th and the 7th centuries, there are no permanent settlements in the Sauromatian territory during the entire span of the Sauromatian Age. Only the pottery sherds collected at Ahtube suggest a possible temporary campsite[79]. Herodotus' remark that »as long as the Persians were traversing the Scythian and Sauromatian territory there was nothing for them to harm, as the land was dry and barren«[80] explains how the region's inhabitants could easily deplete and evacuate the land when necessary.

78 Smirnov 1957, 10-12.
79 Smirnov 1989, 168.
80 Herodotus IV.123.

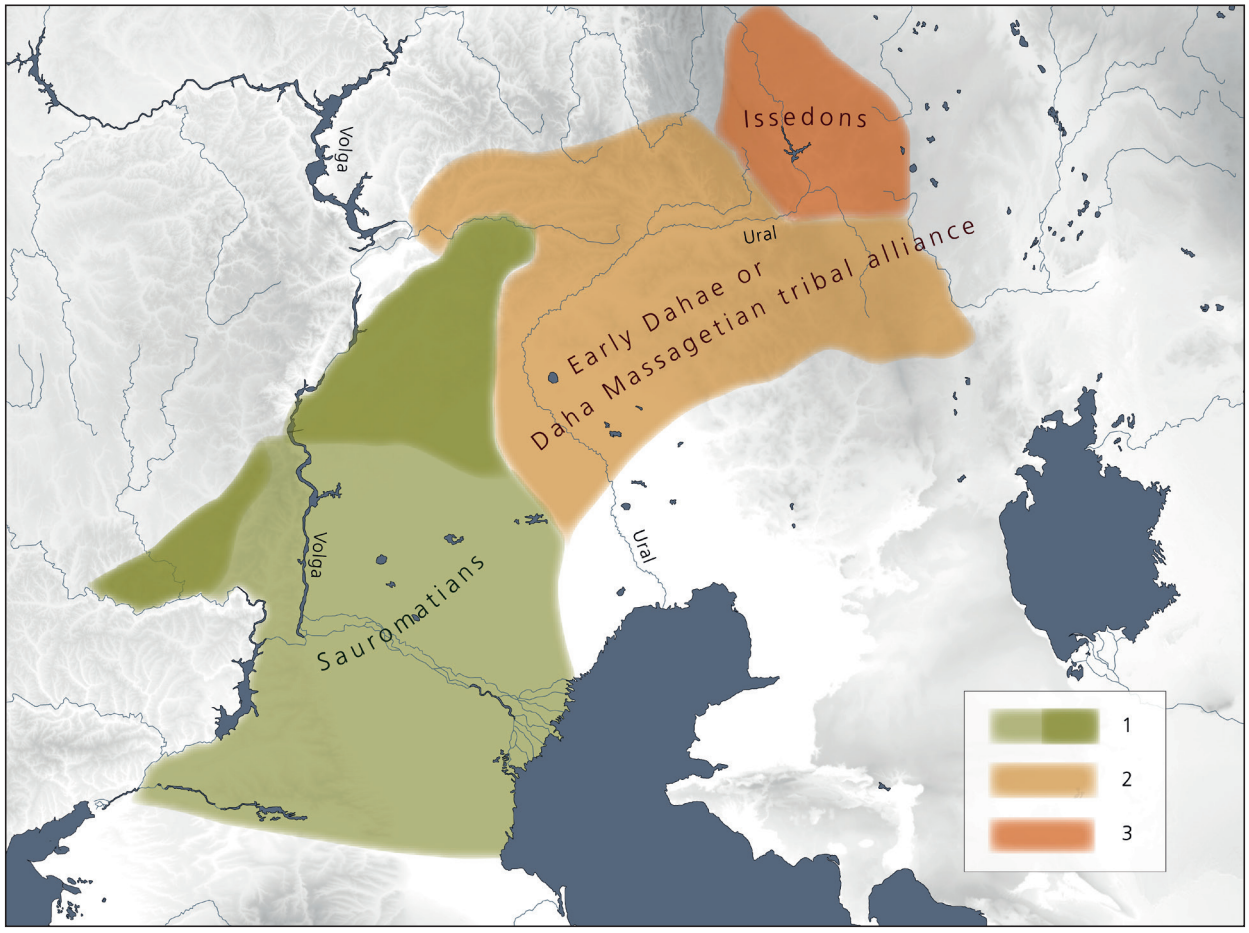


Fig. 25 The distribution of the earliest Sauromatian/Sarmatian finds: **1** finds of the Volga-Don group. – **2** distribution of the Samara-Uralian type finds. – **3** finds of the eastern Uralian group. – (After Smirnov 1984, fig. 1; map Z. Toldi).

The burials are all kurgan graves, without exception (**figs 26-27**)[81]. Two main variants can be distinguished: some burials (secondary graves termed *vpusknoe pogrebenie* in Russian) were dug into an earlier barrow, while others were kurgans raised by the Sauromatian population for their dead (primary graves – *osnovnoe pogrebenie*). The grave pit is generally rectangular or, more rarely, oval. The former include a few extremely wide grave pits. Most were west to east orientated, although the occasional east to west orientation has also been documented. The graves were covered with timber. The grave chamber sometimes resembled a tent.

Although a horse was sometimes deposited in the grave, the deceased were most often buried only with the horse harness (the bit) (**fig. 27**). Cauldrons and stone altars, as well as censers (*kuril'nica*) occurred regularly among the grave goods (**figs 28-29**). The latter were often placed in the grave of women buried with a rich array of grave goods, such as mirrors, bone spoons, shells with mineral pigment, and the like.

In addition to traces of burning on the altars and censers, evidence of fire cult practices is furnished by the remains of a fire kindled above the grave, the charcoal pieces and ashes thrown into the grave and the ochre

81 The description of the burial rites and the finds is based on Smirnov 1989, 165 pl. 5, 63-70, complemented with the findings of more recent research.

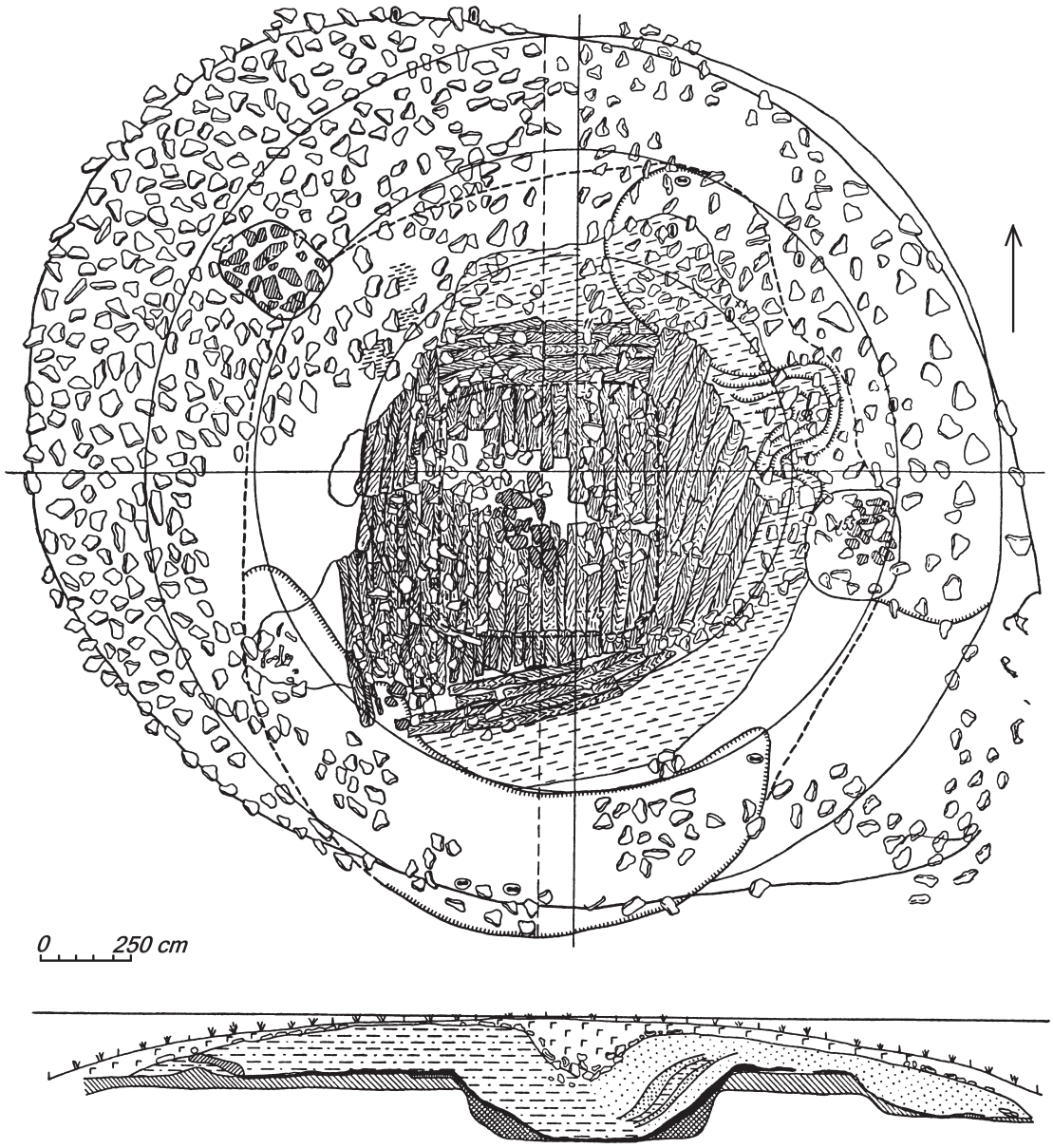


Fig. 26 Burial chamber of Sauromatian Age under a stone-packed kurgan in the South Ural region. – (After Smirnov 1964, fig. 31).

lumps found beside the deceased. Horses were one of the main sacrificial animals among the Sauromatians of the Ural region: the horse bones found in the grave or in the earth of the burial mound were the remains of the funeral feast.

Weapons were also frequently placed in burials. Quivers filled with arrows, swords and daggers were believed to be wielded by warriors in the netherworld (**fig. 30**), while spears, mail and helmets were rarely accorded to the deceased.

Interestingly enough, weapons were also placed in female burials, not only male ones. Roughly 20 per cent of the female burials contained weapons, mostly arrowheads and the occasional sword or dagger[82]. This

82 Smirnov 1975b, 155.

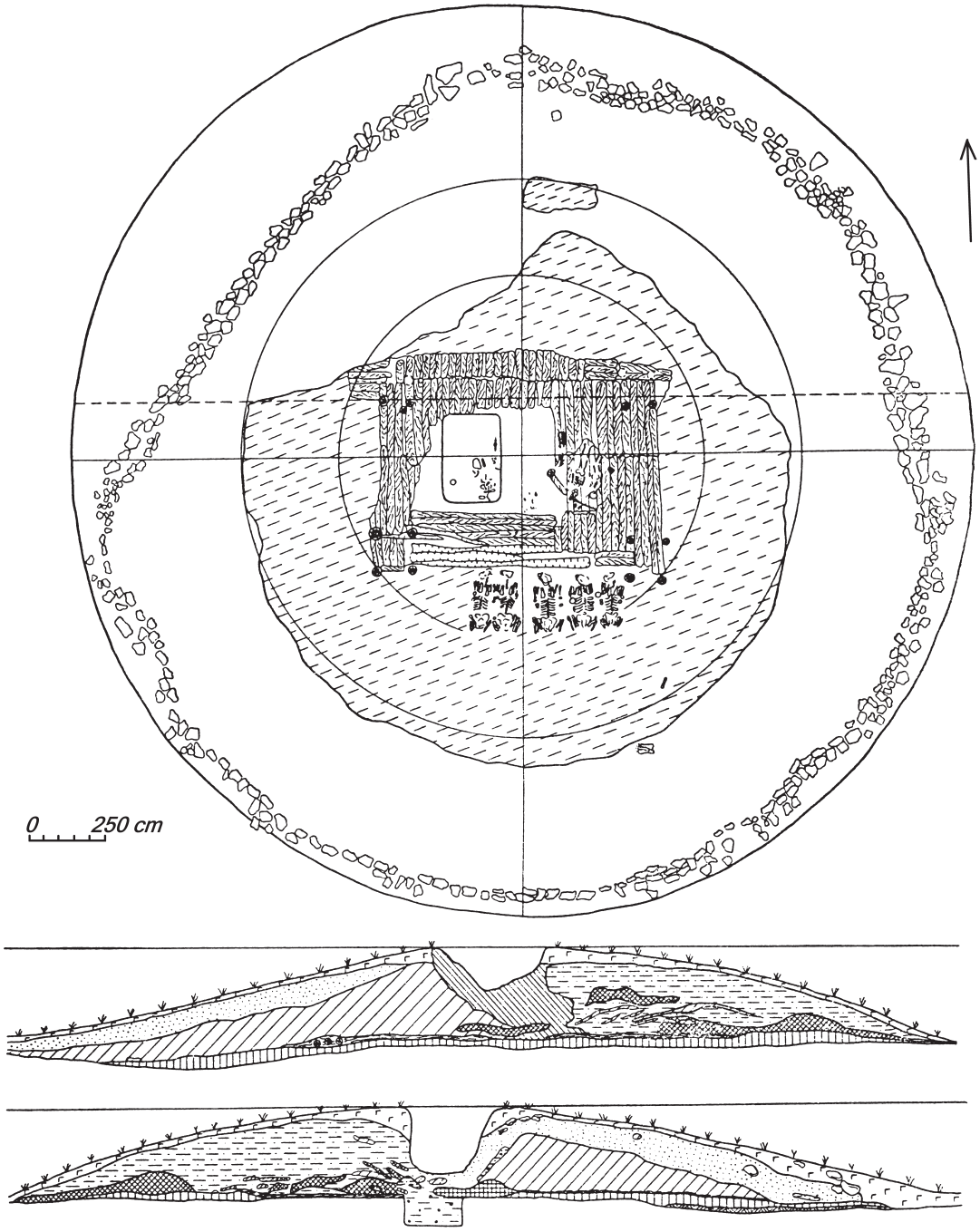


Fig. 27 Sauromatian kurgan burial ringed with stones in the South Ural region. Horses were also deposited in the grave. – (After Smirnov 1964, fig. 25).

circumstance, beside the concentration of ritual artefacts in female burials, and the recurrent topos of the Amazons in the writings of the classical authors led some scholars to assume the leading role of women in Sauromatian society. This widely accepted view, rarely challenged, was founded on Grakov's article on the matriarchate[83]. It must here be noted that the phenomena suggesting a »matriarchate« declined visibly

83 Grakov 1947.



Fig. 28 Typical Sauromatian finds. – (After Smirnov 1964, figs 70a, 5; 74, 3. 7-8. 10; 75, 4; 78, 1-2. 6; 80, 2. 4. 12. 18).



Fig. 29 Stone altar from Staročerkasskaja stanica dating from the 6th century BC. – (After L'Or 2001, 81 no. 5).

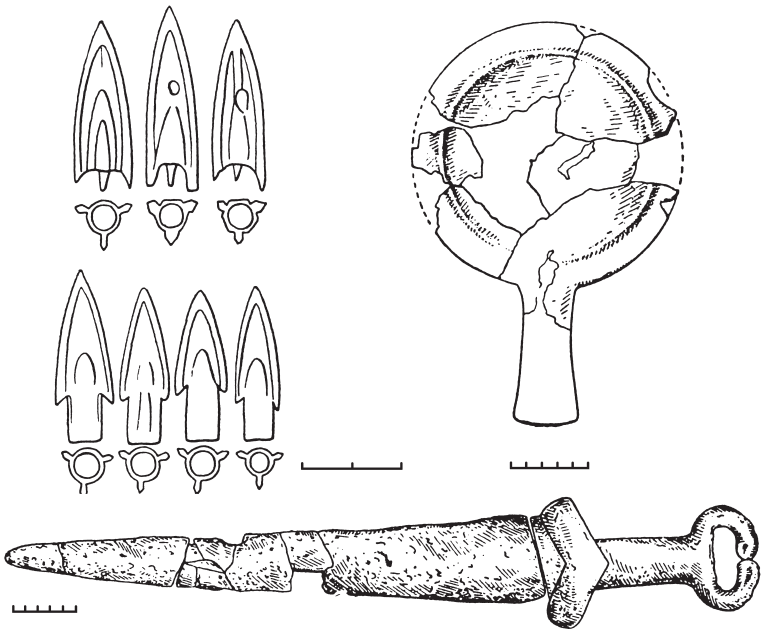


Fig. 30 Typical Sauromatian finds. – (After Smirnov 1964, fig. 15, 2. 4-5).

after the Sauromatian Age, but re-surfaced again during the Middle Sarmatian Age around the turn of the millennium.

The find assemblages designated as Sauromatian leave little doubt that the Sauromatians emerged from the same ethnic and cultural substratum as the Scythians, roughly simultaneously with the latter (see the previous chapter). The two cultures hark back to the same ancestry; they are both direct descendants of



Fig. 31 Half a metre tall wooden statue of a stag covered with gold foil from Filippovka. – (After Zolotye 2001, 68 no. 2).



Fig. 32 Selection of finds from Filippovka: gold bracelet, wooden cup with gold mount, openwork gold mount portraying a stag from the rim of wooden cup, dagger and gold torc. – (After Zolotye 2001, 71. 85 nos 7. 31; Sokrovišča 2008a, 84. 86. 88 nos 7-8. 14).

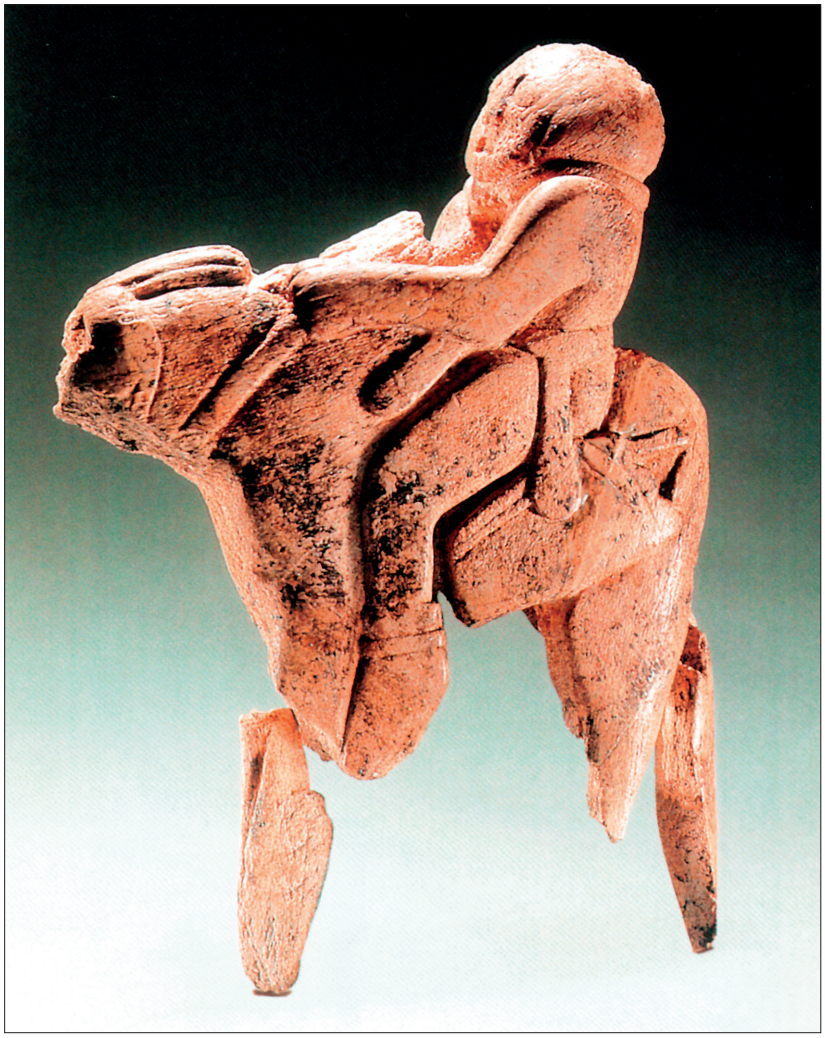


Fig. 33 Bone figurine portraying a mounted warrior from Grave 1 of Kurgan 3 at Filippovka. – (After Zolotye 2001, 147 no. 123).

the Kurgan cultures of the steppe. The relation between the two peoples is so strong that, were it not for Herodotus' distinction between the two, their archaeological heritage could easily be classified as the legacy of a single population.

Any discussion of the archaeology of the Sauromatian Age must include the royal burials. The two lavish kurgan burials best known for their golden stag figurines (**fig. 31**) uncovered at Filippovka near Orenburg in the South Ural region, without doubt, contained the most richly furnished graves of the period (the transition between the Sauromatian and Early Sarmatian Age) that have been discovered to date. Even though the »royal« kurgan (Kurgan 4) had been plundered, the graves dug into the mound had been spared. The latter were excavated by Jablonskij, who found exquisite gold jewellery adorned in the animal style, dress ornaments and weapons (long spear, quiver and scale armour), as well as a remarkable double cup of silver decorated with rams' heads (**figs 32-35**) and an Achaemenid silver jug (**fig. 36**)[84].

84 Yablonsky 2007. See also Firsov 2007 and 2009 for good overviews of the graves of the Sauromatian elite in the catalogue to the Scythian exhibition that toured Germany and Hungary. The remarkable finds from Bis-Oba and Ilek reflect the far-flung contacts of the people inhabiting this bustling region of the steppe, the gate of the thoroughfare between east and west: Phoenician glass, an Indian mirror, a Persian neckring, a northern Pontic horse bit, etc.

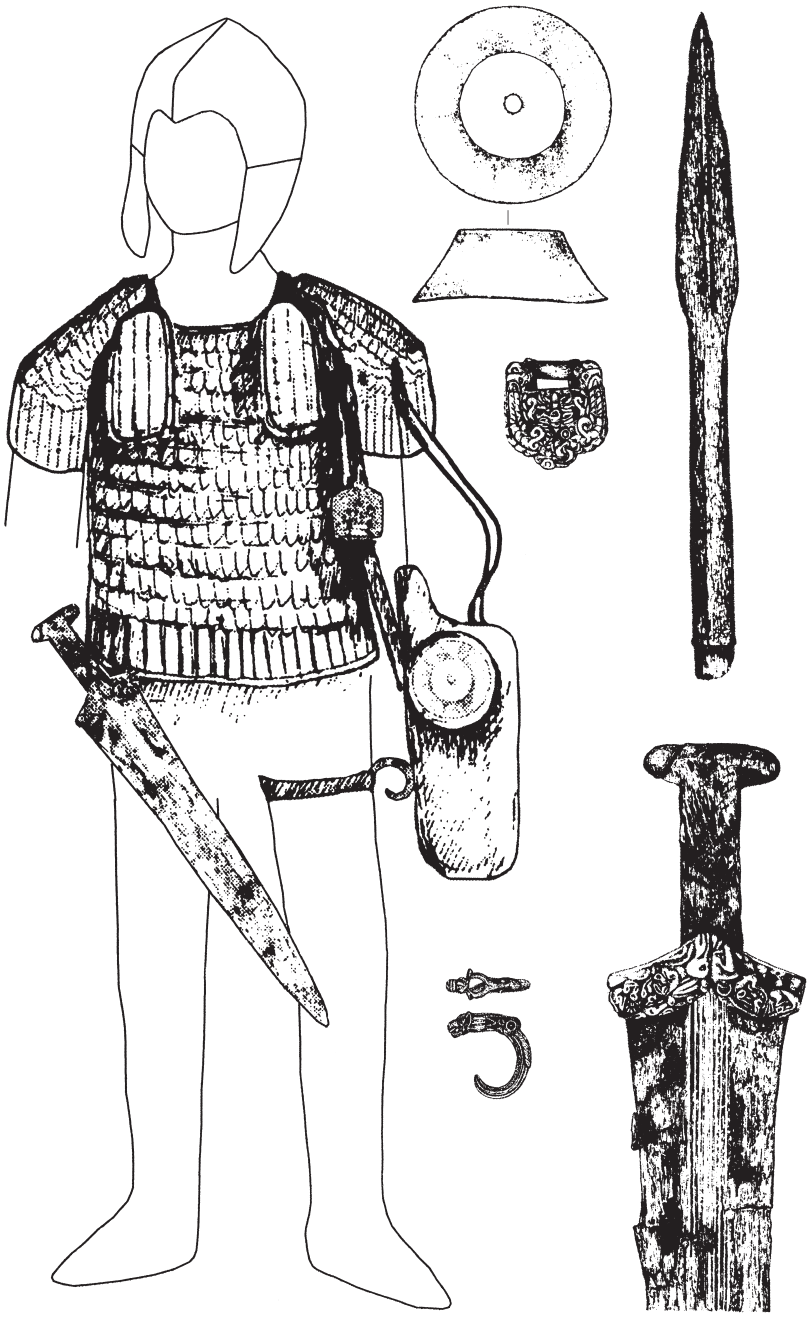


Fig. 34 Reconstruction of the armament of the Filippovka warrior. – (After Jablonskij/Rukavišnikova 2007, fig. 9).

The So-Called Sauromatian/Sarmatian Animal Style

The most distinctive trait of the material discussed here is the so-called Sauromatian animal style, bearing many resemblances to the Scythian one. The Sauromatian animal style, a distinctive variant of the Scythian-Siberian animal style, was not merely a set of decorative designs used for adornment, but an expression of the beliefs shared by both craftsmen and their customers, a visual vocabulary well understood by the entire community. The occurrence of artefacts decorated in this style is virtually restricted to the burials of high-ranking warriors and wealthy priestesses.



Fig. 35 Sacrificial assemblage with a double cup of silver decorated with ram heads from Grave 5 of Kurgan 4 at Filippovka. – (After Sokrovišča 2008a, 53 fig. 24).

The animal style emerged and flourished without any Bronze Age precedents in the regions discussed here. Its origins are still hotly debated. We shall not enter into the particulars of this debate, which has generated enough articles to fill a small library, but shall describe briefly the principal views. The phenomenon dubbed the Scythian-Siberian animal style was distributed over a vast territory extending from the north-western frontier of China to the Carpathian Basin. (The widespread distribution of this style is in itself an indication that this huge Eurasian territory was controlled by related peoples during this period.) Emerging in the 9th or 8th century BC, the animal style blended the most diverse cultural elements, explaining why it has been variously derived from Ionia, the Near East and Iran, and why it has been likened to the Ordos bronzes of north-western China. The most frequent motifs are »flying« deer, curled felines and birds with outspread wings[85].

In the course of its development, several regional variants of the animal style emerged, one of which is represented by Sauromatian art appearing in the 6th century BC (**figs 28-29. 31-32. 35. 37**). Animal depictions adorn gold dress ornaments, quiver suspension mounts, harness ornaments and bits, weapons and stone altars, as well as wooden and clay vessels and a variety of other artefacts. The Sauromatian craftsmen skilfully depicted all manner of creatures, ranging from predators (wolves, panthers, bears) and predatory birds (eagles and mythological creatures, such as griffins) to hoofed animals (horses, sheep, camels, deer, moose, ibex and wild boar). The distinctive traits of various animals were often blended into fanciful creatures. One characteristic element of the Scythian-Siberian animal style is the tendency to fill the void areas of the animal, such as the limbs, with decorative elements, often with the outlines of another creature (for example a bird head), which also served to highlight these parts. The bodily parts of predatory and herbivorous animals were often combined into imaginary creatures, which is an expressly Sauromatian trait not encountered in Scythian art. Another specific trait is that the animal combat scenes are static, in contrast to the Siberian and later Sarmatian pieces characterised by dynamism and vitality. Smirnov believed that Sauromatian animal art, incorporating both western (Pontic) and eastern (Siberian) elements, had developed under external cultural influences.

85 Perevodčikova 1994, 58-73, with further literature.

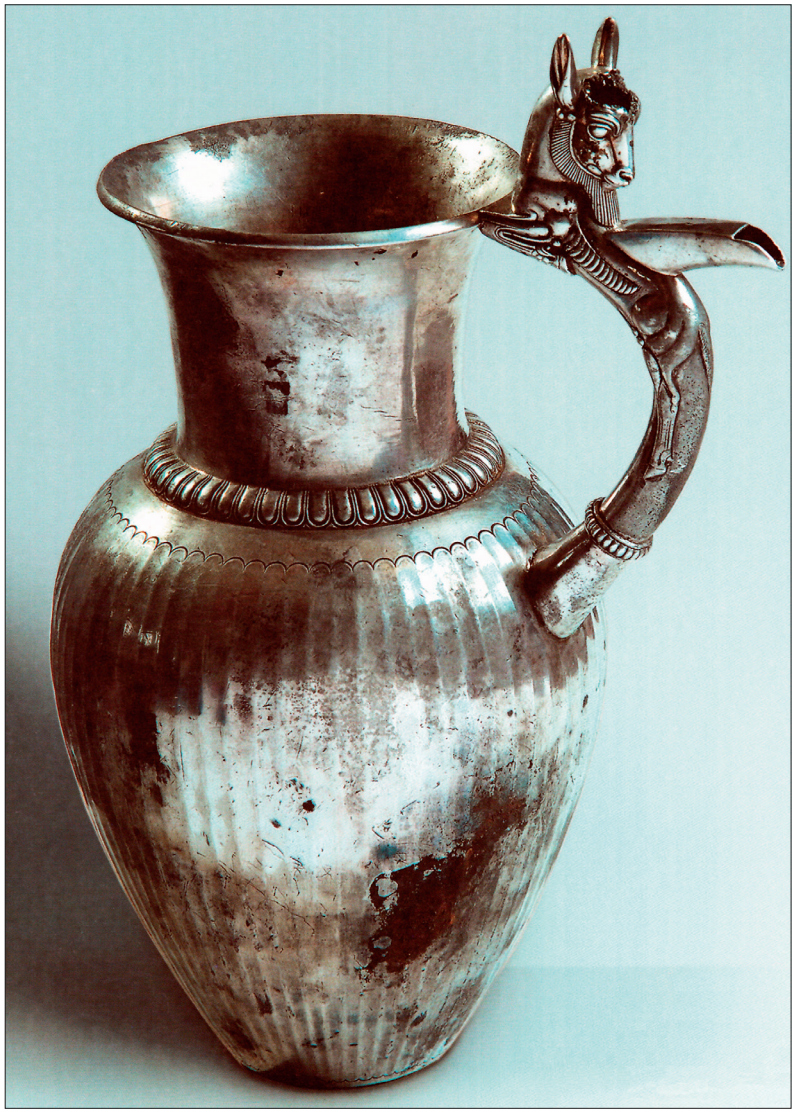






Fig. 36 Achaemenid silver jug from Grave 4 of Kurgan 4 at Filippovka. One handle broke off before the deposition in the grave (after Sokrovišča 2008a, 90 no. 15). The Lydian envoy on the relief at Persepolis bears similar articles (cf. Balahvancev/Jablonskij 2008; the photo of the reliefs at Persepolis is by E. Istvánovits/V. Kulcsár).

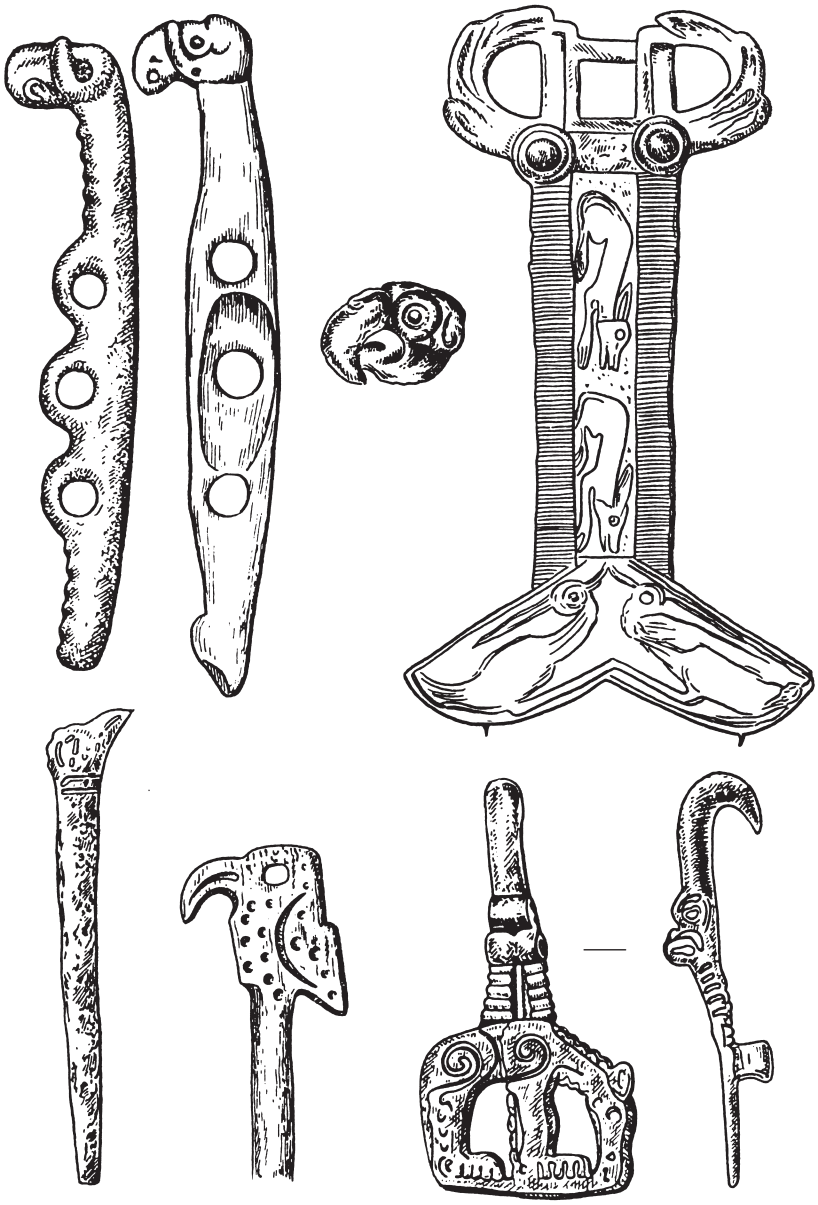


Fig. 37 Artefacts made in the typical Sauromatian animal style. – (After Smirnov 1964, figs 50, 1; 77, 1-3. 17-18. 23).

Several regional variants can be distinguished[86], the major variants being the animal depictions of the Lower Volga and the South Ural region (**fig. 38**). The craftsmen working in these regions preferred to portray different animals and their styles also diverge from each other in many respects. Bone carvings were more popular in the Volga region, while bronze was the preferred medium for animal depictions in the Ural region. The two styles also differ regarding their cultural affinities. The artefacts from the Lower Volga region can be likened to the art of Scythia and the northern Caucasus, while the pieces from the South Ural region tend to resemble the pieces from Siberia, Central Asia and the Kama region[87]. Interestingly enough, a few artefacts made in the Sauromatian animal style have also been found in the Carpathian Basin. One good example is a bone carving portraying a predator, perhaps a wolf, discovered in a refuse pit of the Scythian

86 Smirnov 1964, 216-246. – Čežina 1983.

87 Čežina 1983.

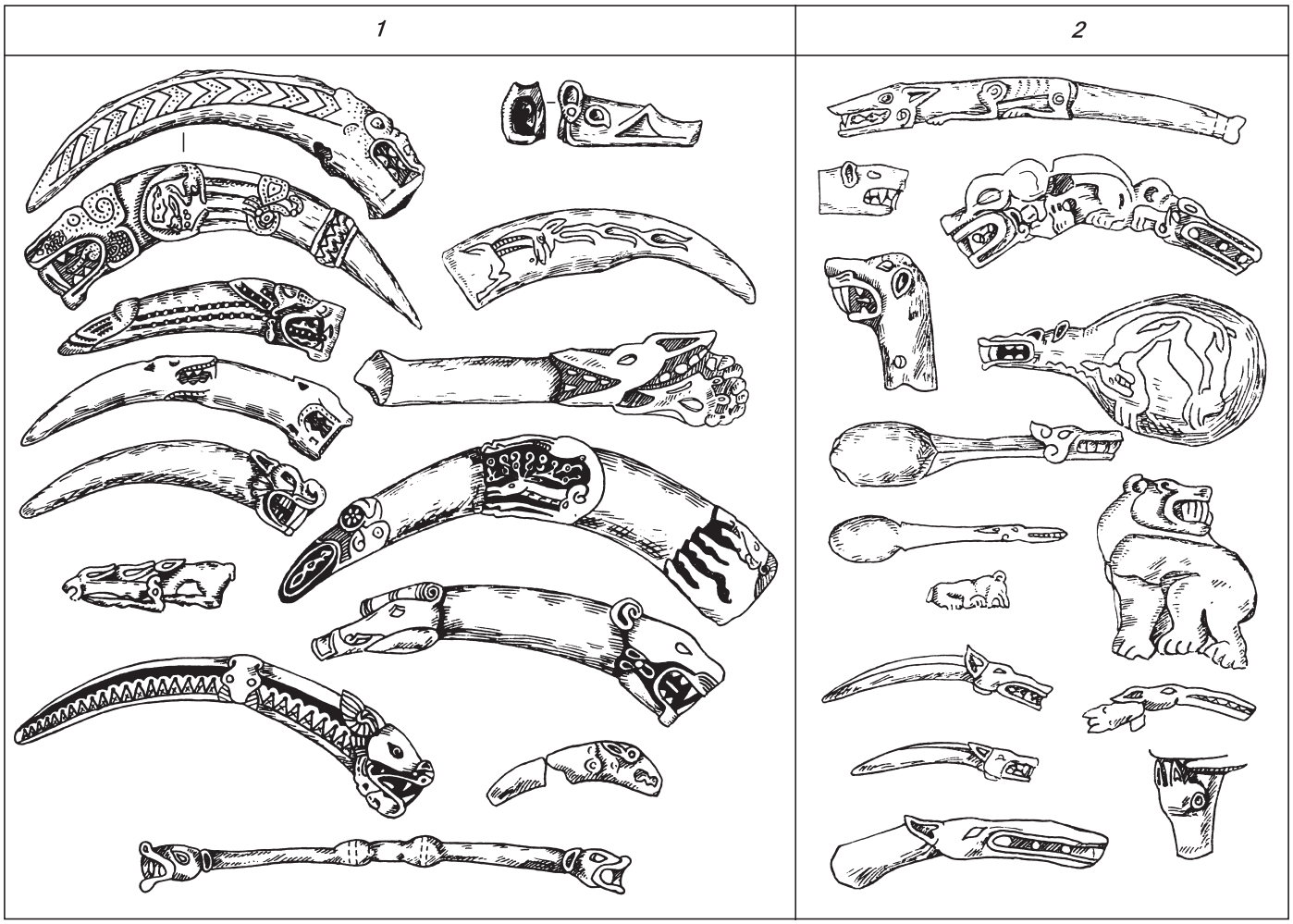


Fig. 38 Regional groups of the Sauromatian animal style: **1** Lower Volga region. – **2** South Ural region. – (After Čežina 1983, pl. 1).

period at Lajosmizse, Site 26, one of the sites excavated along the M5 Motorway. Kemenczei identified the carving as Sauromatian in nature (fig. 39)[88].

Were the Sauromatians Actually Sarmatians?

The Sauromatian archaeological material is distributed in the Don-Volga interfluve, the Lower Volga and the South Ural region. The distance between the south-western (the Don Delta) and the north-eastern corner (the upper reaches of the Ural River) of this vast distribution is some 1,600 km, its breadth is roughly 320 km, while its circumference is approximately 3,700 km (figs 24-25). As a comparison, the circumference of modern France is about 3,100 km. Despite the many similarities, two major groups can be distinguished in the archaeological material of the eastern and western part of the Sauromatian distribution, as we have

88 Kemenczei 2009, 64. – Istvánovits/Kulcsár 2011, 80-81.



Fig. 39 The Sauromatian animal style in the Carpathian Basin: bone carving portraying a wolf from Lajosmizse, Site 26. – (After Istvánovits/Kulcsár 2011, fig. 6).

rite	Volga-Don group	Samara-Uralian group
kurgan burial	widespread	widespread
secondary burial in kurgan	widespread	widespread
grave niche	not found	rare
catacomb	not found	rare
rectangular grave pit	widespread	widespread
wide grave pit	widespread	widespread
W-E orientation	dominant	dominant
E-W orientation	infrequent	infrequent
S-N orientation	not found	from the 6th-5th centuries
timber cover	widespread	widespread
elaborate timber constructions	not found	widespread
stone packing	not found	occasionally
evidence of a fire cult	widespread	widespread
primary cremation	not found	occasionally
double and multiple burials	rare	rare

Tab. 2 The main features of the burial rite practised by the two Sauromatian groups.

seen, for example, in the case of animal art. One of these is the Volga-Don group, the other is the Samara-Uralian.

The main differences can be summarised as follows: catacombs and niche graves made their appearance in the Samara-Uralian group alongside south to north orientated burials (the latter documented from the 6th-5th centuries BC onward). In addition to the general practice of covering the grave with timbers, remains of more elaborate timber structures have also been uncovered in this region and stone played a more important role than in the westerly regions. Cremation burials have been found exclusively in the eastern distribution[89]. The main features of the burial rite practised by the two Sauromatian groups are summarised in table 2.

Scholars are divided regarding the interpretation of the divergences between the Volga-Don and the Samara-Uralian group. Smirnov believed that the Samara-Uralian group had evolved under stronger in-

89 Smirnov 1989, 165.

fluence from the Andronovo culture, providing a part of the explanation for the divergences, while the other dissimilar traits could be attributed to contact with the east (Chorezm and Achaemenid Persia). In contrast, the Sauromatians of the Volga region inherited and preserved several features of the Srubnaja culture, reflected in both the burial rites and the material culture, best exemplified by the graves of the »transitional« period in the 8th-7th centuries BC[90]. Smirnov noted that the similarities (especially regarding burial rite)[91] outweighed the dissimilarities by far, and he therefore asserted that the two groups were identical[92].

More recently, however, Russian and Ukrainian scholars have begun to emphasise the distinctness of the Volga-Don and the Samara-Uralian group, as well as their separate origins. It has been claimed that the new archaeological assemblages only appeared in the second half of the 6th century to the beginning of the 5th century BC in the South Ural region and that this material could be associated with an immigrant population of mounted nomads from the east that had no affinity whatsoever with the region's preceding Bronze Age culture[93]. This line of reasoning was first put forward by Rostovcev, who conjectured that the ethnogenesis of the Sauromatians occurred by the Sea of Azov through the mingling of the Scythians with the local Maeotian aborigine population, which had adopted the Scythian culture and language. Being a mounted nomadic people from Central Asia, the Sarmatians cannot be identified with this population[94]. In other words, Rostovcev claimed that the Sauromatians and the Sarmatians were two different peoples with nothing in common, save for the fact of being neighbours. Consequently, the two peoples had two diverse, well-definable material cultures. In this model, the Sauromatian distribution is restricted to the Don-Volga interfluve and the Lower Volga region, while the Sarmatians, coming from Central Asia, represented an entirely different nomadic population that had arrived in the South Ural region from the east.

The question of whether or not the two populations were related is crucial because it has a bearing on the ethnogenesis of the Sauromatians and the Sarmatians: of whether the two peoples share a common ancestry or whether they should be regarded as separate peoples originating from different regions.

Returning to the archaeological finds, this issue raises two questions. The first is whether the Volga-Don and the Samara-Uralian group are two separate cultural entities, whether they represent two cultures or whether they are regional groups of the same culture. Assuming that the two groups are in fact separate cultures, the other question is whether they represent two kindred peoples or populations of different ancestry.

In the absence of detailed comparative studies, there is no conclusive answer to the first question. For lack of anything better, the entire find horizon is still treated as the heritage of the Sauromatians.

It is therefore undecided for the time being whether the two groups were part of the same cultural complex. Despite these uncertainties, several theories have been put forward regarding the second question. Many researchers believe that a territory as vast as the one in question could hardly have been ruled by a single tribe. Herodotus' oft-quoted passage recorded that the Sauromatians' land lay at a distance of fifteen days' journey from the Sea of Azov:

> When one crosses the Tanaïs, one is no longer in Scythia; the first region on crossing is that of the Sauromatae, who, beginning at the upper end of the Palus Maeotis, stretch northward a distance of fifteen days' journey[95].

90 Smirnov 1957, 10-12.

91 The burial rite must be taken into account because it is one of the elements whose study can contribute much to identifying a particular ethnic group.

92 Smirnov 1984, 10-11; 1989, 165.

93 Železčikov/Pšeničnjuk 1994, 6.

94 Rostovcev 1918, 33-35. – Rostovtzeff 1922, 113-114.

95 Herodotus IV.21.

Herodotus could hardly have been referring to the regions east of the Volga or the South Ural region[96]. It has been suggested that the South Uralian material can perhaps be associated with the Issedons, the Proto-Aorsi, the Roxolani, the Dahae or the Daha-Massagetes[97].

The fiercest debate raged around Rostovcev's model, mentioned briefly in the above[98]. Rostovcev argued that the matriarchal traits of Sauromatian society, emphasised by the classical Greek authors, suggested a society contrasting markedly with that of the Sarmatians', the latter having more in common with Scythian society, and that the two peoples, the Sauromatians and the Sarmatians, could hardly have been identical. In his view, »the Sauromatians were probably conquered by the Sarmatians«[99]. He cited the radically different portrayals of the Sauromatians and the Sarmatians by classical authors (Herodotus and Hippocrates) as additional proof against the possible equivalence of the two peoples. Rostovcev argued that later authors peppered earlier descriptions of the Sauromatians with their own observations on the Sarmatians.

In his influential monograph, Smirnov challenged Rostovcev's views and emphasised that the Sauromatians and the Sarmatians were one and the same people, although he did not reject the separateness of the Uralian and the Volga group. The contrasting models proposed by the two doyens of steppe-Sarmatian research led to a proliferation of studies in this field.

Skripkin accepted Rostovcev's idea that the Sauromatians and the Sarmatians were two separate peoples and strove to substantiate his hypothesis with archaeological data[100]. In his view, the differences between the two main material types identified as Sauromatian and the arguments presented in the above indicated that the Lower Volga region had been inhabited by Sauromatians, while the find material from the South Ural region – for which he suggested the label Prohorovka culture – could be associated with the Sarmatians. Skripkin argued that the Prohorovka type finds reached the Lower Volga region and the northern Pontic as a consequence of military campaigns. True enough, the Prohorovka culture, corresponding to the Early Sarmatian Age, had appeared at an earlier date in the Uralian region, perhaps as early as the 4th century BC, than along the Volga. The westward migration of the Sarmatians, in the course of which they became masters over most of the European steppe, began from this territory. A genuine mass migration took place from the South Ural to the Volga region[101]. The question is whether this implies two peoples of differing ancestry or the growing power of the eastern branch of the same tribal alliance.

There is no ready answer to the question of whether the Sauromatians and the Sarmatians were one and the same people or not, owing to the contradictory passages in the literary sources. Partly contradicting himself, Rostovcev argued that »Sarmatian« and »Sirmatian« were perhaps variants of Sauromatian. Classical authors tended to use the earlier name when quoting earlier works, while the later one was used for denoting the new conquerors in the 3rd century BC. Pliny, for example, called them *Sarmatae* when quoting a legend of the Roman or Late Hellenistic Age, and referred to them as *Sauromatae* when writing of events

96 This point has been noted by several scholars, e. g. Očir-Gorjaeva 1993, and Jablonskij 2007, 6 n. 7, with an excellent overview of the different opinions on this issue.

97 In his seminal 1964 monograph, Smirnov did not take a definite stand on the ethnic association of the southern Uralian assemblages. In another study written ten years later, he argued that the left bank of the Ural was settled by the Daha-Massagetes, while the river's right bank by the Issedons (Smirnov 1975a, 153).

98 In Hungary, the problems of the Sauromatian-Sarmatian identification were discussed by Harmatta, who believed that compared to the Sauromatians, the Sarmatians originated farther to the east, although he did not present convincing arguments to support this view. See Harmatta 1949, 131; 1970, 8-9.

99 In other words, the nomadic Sarmatians arriving from the east vanquished the Sauromatians, who had emerged from the Maeotians under Scythian influence (Rostovtzeff 1922, 113-114).

100 Skripkin 1988, esp. 28, with the earlier literature. Many scholars, including Moškova, Abramova, Zaseckaja and others, accepted Smirnov's views on an autochthonous population (Smirnov 1989, 170-171), while the younger generation of scholars tends to second Rostovcev's migrationist hypothesis, which has become the general view in post-Soviet studies. The latter has been discussed in detail by Skripkin.

101 Skripkin 1988, 28-29. – Moškova 1994, 19.

preceding the Hellenistic Age. A similar tendency can be noted in the works of Pomponius Mela, who was rather inconsistent in his usage of the ethnonyms Sauromatian and Sarmatian[102]. Scholars accepting Rostovcev's theory usually note that Ovid drew a sharp distinction between the two ethnonyms.

The question is far from simple. Although Ovid described the population in the Lower Danube region as *Sauromatae*, he used the adjective *sarmaticus* or *sarmatis* in every case[103]. It seems likely that Ovid adopted the old name (Sauromatians) from the Pontic Greeks. In Book 1 of the *Tristes*, he uses the term *Sarmatis* and, when inflecting it, the more archaic Greek form *Sauromates* instead of the more appropriate *Sauromata*[104]. It has been argued that Sauromatian and Sarmatian were synonyms in Ovid's usage, who employed both the Latin and the Greek form. His public (Roman readers) were apparently familiar with both forms. A similar usage can be noted in the works of Statius, Martial and Juvenal among the poets and in the works of Strabo and Pliny among the historians[105]. The use of both forms can be explained by the fact that the Greeks preferred the form Sauromatian, while the Romans tended to use Sarmatian. Pliny regarded the two as one and the same people[106].

While the relevant sources could be listed *ad infinitum*, it would not bring us any closer to settling this issue. It is obvious that the use of the two ethnonyms was not consistent. In some cases, a personal preference for the Greek or Latin form undoubtedly played a role, as did the use of earlier literary works. The similarity between the two names was a source of constant confusion, but this can hardly be used as an argument either for the equation or the separation of the two peoples.

The comparison of the anthropological material is at least as important as that of the archaeological material. Very few anthropological samples from the 9th-7th centuries BC are available for study and their assessment is still in its infancy. The study of a few small series indicates that the anthropological make-up of the burials from the South Ural region and from the Don-Volga interfluve differs, with the latter containing more Mongoloid elements. At the same, it is also clear that even at the initial stage of anthropological studies the so-called Cimmerian type of the 9th-7th centuries BC survived until the spread of the Sarmatian find material and that the Cimmerian type can be documented as far as the Danube. The Cimmerian type can be characterised as Europid, brachycranial individuals with low-vaulted cranium, slight horizontal profile of the face and well-pronounced nasal bones[107].

It seems to us that the arguments claiming the separateness of the archaeological material and the interpretation of the sources to this effect are not wholly convincing, and neither is the slightly controversial evaluation of the anthropological samples. The linguistic evidence expressly suggests the contrary. No persuasive explanation has been given for the resemblance of the two ethnonyms, especially considering the fact that the ethnonym Sarmatian – no matter what its meaning (see the previous chapter) – was a self-denomination, indicated not only by the Iranian origin, but also by the fact that some Bosporan kings were called Sauromates (Sauromates I, 93-123 AD; Sauromates II, 173/4-210/11 AD). If the name *Sauromata* had only been used by the Greeks and the Romans to denote the Sarmatians (similar to the generic term »Scythian« applied to the successive nomadic peoples of the steppe from the Sarmatians to the ancient Hungarian tribes[108] and, on occasion, to Germanic peoples, too), and the Sarmatians had denoted themselves by an entirely differ-

102 Pomp. Mela I.2 and I.19 (*Sauromatae*), III.4 (*Sarmatia*), II.1 (*Sauromatae*), I.3, III.6 (*Sarmatae*). See also Rostovcev 1925, 111 n. 3.

103 Podosinov 1976, 29-30. To complicate things further, he claimed that the name »Sarmatian« had been transferred to a new tribal alliance emerging by the Pontic in the 2nd century BC.

104 Interestingly enough, this argument was voiced by the very same scholar (Podosinov 1976, 30-31), who cast his vote in favour for the separateness of the two peoples and quoted Ovid to support this view.

105 Kuklina 1999.

106 Plin. *NH* IV.XII.80: »the Sarmatians, called by the Greeks Sauromatians«. Cf. Harmatta 1941, 11.

107 Jablonskij 2010, 83-102. – Balabanova 1988, 4.

108 Plin. *NH* IV.XII.80. – Anon. *Gesta Hungarorum* 1. Scythia.

ent name, it is most unlikely that a king would have borne a name entirely alien to his ancestry (despite his being an immigrant in a Greek colony).
Any advances in this field can only be made through a sober comparison of the Volga and the Uralian group. It seems to us that despite its distribution over a vast territory, the material in question is the legacy of the same, or closely related peoples. As far as the equivalence of the Sauromatians and the Sarmatians is concerned, it seems inconceivable to us that one had been forged into a people by the Sea of Azov, while the other in Central Asia, or that the two peoples would be entirely unrelated. In our view, the two names denote variants of one and the same people.

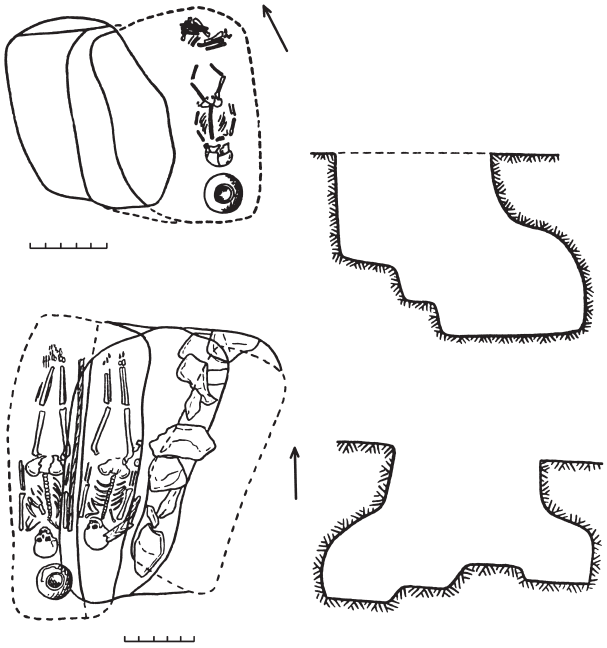


Fig. 40 Early Sarmatian (Prohorovka) niche graves. Mečetsaj, Kurgan 7, Graves 12 and 14 (South Ural region). – (After Smirnov 1975a, figs 48-49).

THE BEGINNING OF THE SARMATIAN EXPANSION

Early Sarmatian Find Assemblages (4th? to Mid-2nd Century BC)

For a long time, up to the 6th-5th centuries BC, the Scythians maintained good relations with the Sauromatians[109]. By this time, a new archaeological phenomenon known as the Prohorovka culture had formed or had been in the process of forming in the Ural region, which is generally correlated with the Early Sarmatian Age, the next major epoch after the Sauromatian Age[110].
In contrast to the Sauromatian cemeteries, the Early Sarmatian burial grounds are characterised by an astonishing diversity of funerary rites. However, a few constant, shared elements can be distinguished in the rite, one of these being the south to north orientation of the deceased, adopted after cultural influences from other regions, perhaps from the east[111], the creation of side-niches in the grave pit (**fig. 40**) and the deposition of sheep front legs as food offerings. There were few deviations from the standard orientation: one instance can be noted in the family kurgans, when the relatives were laid around the head of the family or the kindred (**fig. 41**)[112]. Several burial grounds used by a particular kindred have been investigated, both smaller and larger ones, in which family and many individual graves both occur, some of which were dug into earlier Bronze Age kurgans. Narrow, rectangular grave pits and grave pits with a ledge or a side-niche are the most common grave forms.

109 In the following, we shall draw a distinction between the Scythians and the Sauromatians/Sarmatians. The latter are regarded as a people or tribe (or even as peoples or a tribal alliance) breaking away from the former tribal alliance who lived an independent life.

110 For a good overview of the period's finds, see Smirnov 1989, 169-177. The Siracian finds from the Kuban region have been reviewed by Marčenko 1996. For the modern publication of Prohorovka, the eponymic site, see Jablonskij 2010.

111 Smirnov 1984, 44. It has recently been suggested that some of the new elements in the burial rite such as the south to north orientation and the appearance of side-niches can perhaps be explained by the arrival of a population from northern and north-western China. See Tairov 2006, with a summary of the relevant literature.

112 Smirnov 1989, 171. – Vlaskin 2000, 15, with further literature.

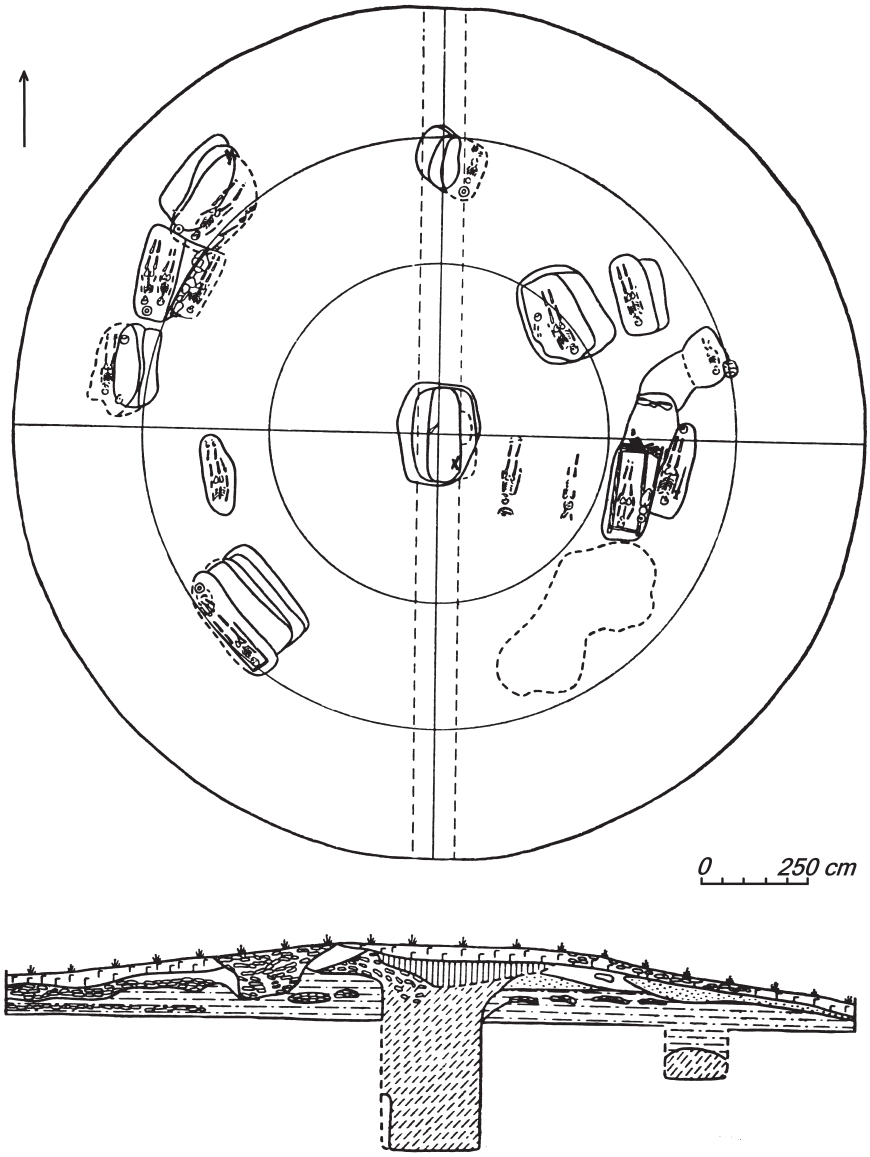


Fig. 41 Family grave group. Mečetsaj, Kurgan 7 (South Ural region). – (After Smirnov 1975a, fig. 40).

Warrior graves are quite common. These burials generally yielded both a long and a short sword, quivers containing arrows (at first tipped with bronze, then later with iron), spears, helmets and coats of mail (**fig. 42, 1-5**). Horse harnesses continued to be deposited in the graves, occasionally with ornate *phalerae* (**fig. 42, 11-13. 16**). Mirrors (**fig. 42, 16**), various toiletry articles and spoons with zoomorphic handles were often part of the grave goods (although the earlier animal style virtually disappeared from the decoration). The cult of fire continued to be practised. Stone altars disappeared, to be replaced by small clay incense burners (*kuril'nica*) (**fig. 42, 8-9**). New contacts were forged (**fig. 43**), reflected by imports from the Greek towns on the north Pontic and a few vessel types arriving from the Maeotians[113]. In the Kuban region, dynamic trade between the nomads of the north-western Caucasus and the Bosporus are indicated by the high number of *balsamarium*s (small perfume bottles), amongst others[114]. Greek and Maeotian influences

113 See section »The Siracian Migration: Maeotians and Greeks in the Kuban Region« for a detailed discussion of the Maeotians.

114 Zaharov 2000, 30.

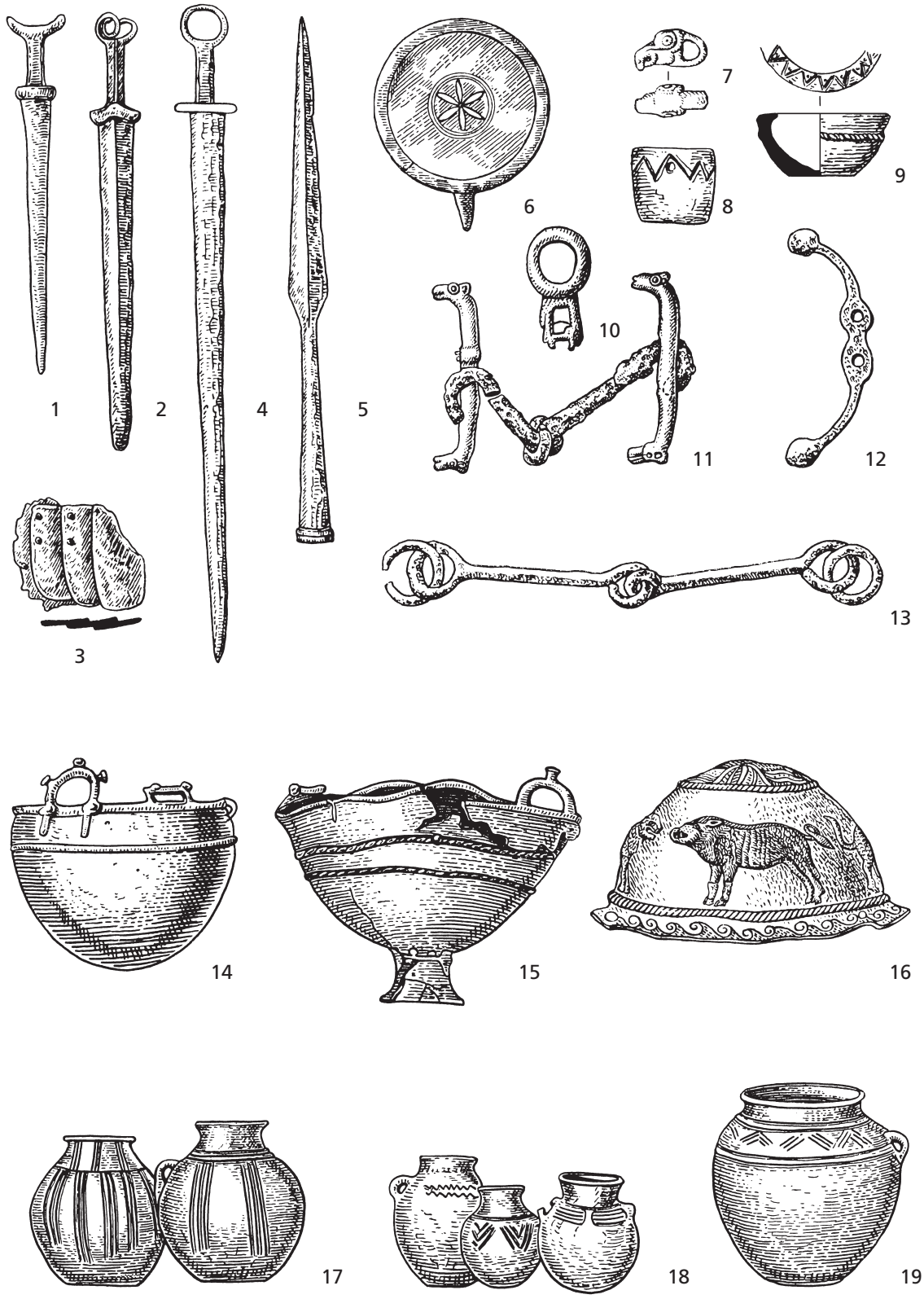


Fig. 42 Typical finds of the Early Sarmatian (Prohorovka) period. – (After Stepi 1989, pls 65. 67-69. 72).



Fig. 43 The silver gilt cup from Grave 3 of Kurgan B at Prohorovka. The cup's provenance is controversial. – (After Jablonskij 2010, 70. 301 fig. 1243).

were remarkably strong in the culture of the Siraci of the Kuban region, often to the extent that an ethnic attribution is almost impossible.

On the Boundary of the Old and New Worlds

A gradual migration to the west and south-west can be noted in the South Ural, the Lower Volga and the Lower Don regions, the foreland of the northern Caucasus during the 4th-3rd centuries BC. This was probably set in motion by the westward outflow of the nomads of the Ural region (**fig. 44**)[115].

A closer look at the burials in the Sauromatian lands reveals that some kind of change occurred, reflected principally by the demographic data. The number of burials increased, suggesting a population growth. In his study on the period's demography, Železčikov discussed the changes in the population of the South Ural region and the regions beyond the Volga. While roughly 2,000 burials were known from the 6th-4th centuries BC by the early 1980s, this figure was about 5,000 for the period between the 4th and 2nd centuries BC, dropping to about 1,000 by the 1st century BC - 1st century AD. Although the number of burials known from all three periods has obviously increased since then, the proportions have remained more or less the same. Železčikov based his demographic study on these figures, concluding that the population of the region in question numbered about 10,000 at one time during the earliest period. This population swelled to about 20,000 by the start of the Sauromatian/Sarmatian migration, and then declined sharply, dropping to roughly between 5,000 and 7,000 by the turn of the millennium (**fig. 45**)[116].

115 Klepikov/Skripkin 1997, 33.

116 The figures cited here correspond to the carrying capacity of c. 60 per cent of the 1 million km² area (c. 3.7 million hectares). A vast territory of this size is suitable for pasturing flocks of 4 million sheep, or herds of 300,000 horses or 240,000 cattle. Knowing that one individual consumes roughly 25 sheep during the year, a stock of 100 animals can be counted per individual for sustenance and for ensuring the necessary reproduction of the animal stock. However, this figure must be doubled in view of the need to acquire various commodities through trade, meaning that one should calculate with 200 animals per individual. An area of at least 180-190 hectares is necessary for pasturing a flock of this size. The above data confirm the correctness of the population estimates based on the number of excavated burials (Železčikov 1984).



Fig. 44 The beginning of the Sarmatian migration in the 4th-3rd centuries BC. Green: Bosporan Kingdom. – (After Maslennikov 1981, fig. 12; Abramova 1992, fig. 1; map M. Ober, RGZM).

The expansion was apparently triggered, or perhaps downright necessitated, by the population growth during the 4th-3rd centuries BC. The region's carrying capacity was limited and the increasing population was forced to search for new pastures. The exact date of the expansion is one of the most keenly debated and controversial issues of Sarmatian research. The demographic calculations quoted above are in themselves insufficient for proving that the Sarmatians crossed the Tanais (Don), the river marking the boundary between Asia and Europe (in the sense used by the historians of Antiquity), at a fairly early date in the 5th-4th centuries BC and conquered the earlier Scythian lands, establishing what became known as European Sarmatia. Let us take a closer look at the evidence for the Sarmatian migration.

Comparable data sets are lacking for the Volga and the Ural region, even though this would be crucial for determining whether there were any changes (and if so, to what extent) in the demography of the two regions. Be that as it may, several traits of the material culture and of the burial rites specific to the population living in the Ural region make their appearance along the Volga from the 4th century onward. The interpretation of this phenomenon, i. e. whether this should be conceptualised as a local development under influence from neighbouring peoples or as the outcome of mass immigration, is the subject of vigorous debate referred to in the previous chapter. Insofar as these phenomena are regarded as a local development, we may speak of the unbroken survival of the Sauromatian/Sarmatian population. If, however, the changes are ascribed to the conquest of the Volga population by the Uralians, who then continued their expansion to the west, this also means the acceptance of the theory that the nomadic Sarmatians of the east subjugated

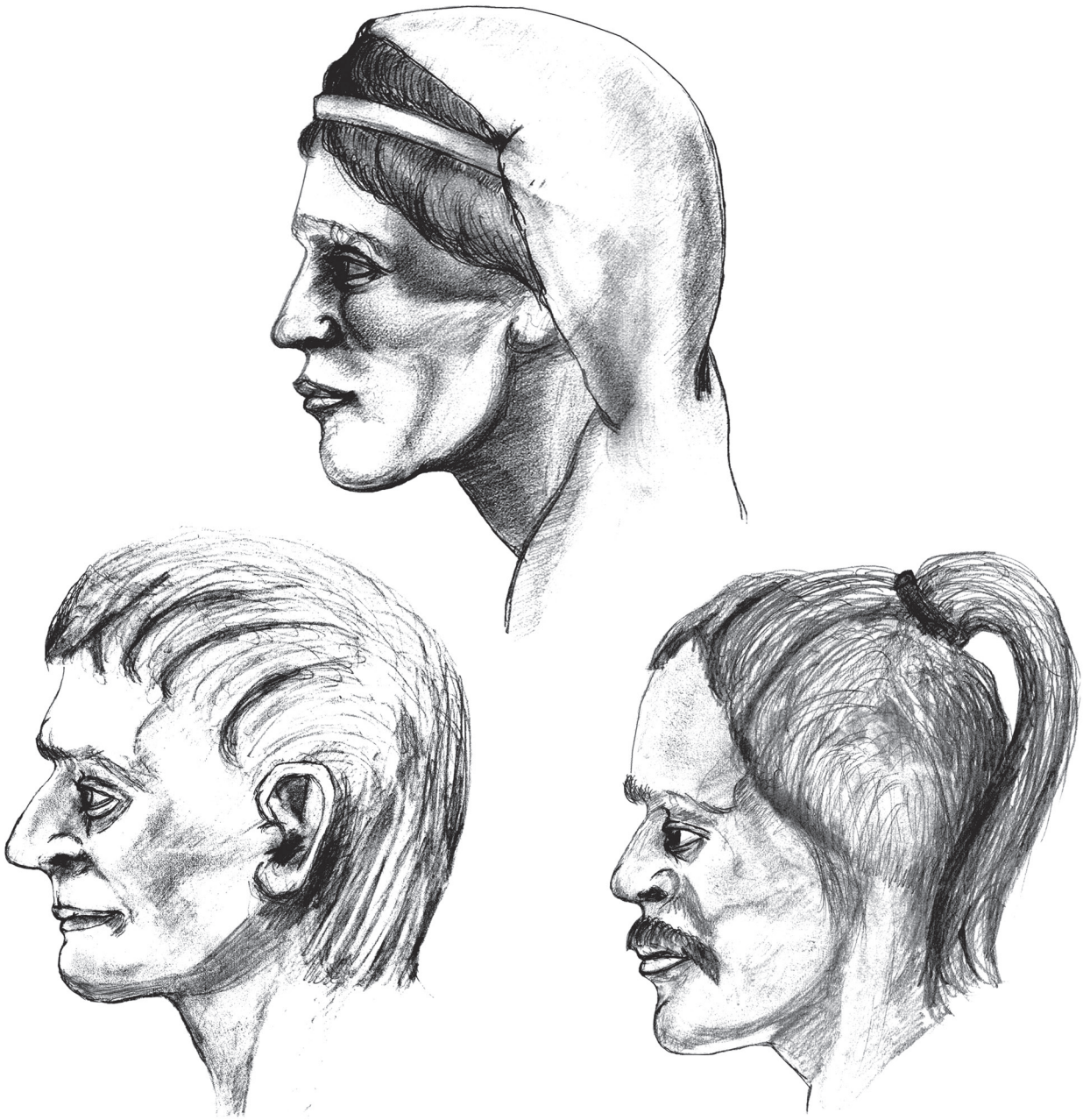


Fig. 45 Facial reconstruction of some skulls from the Prohorovka cemetery. – (After Jablonskij 2010, 178-180 figs 82-84).

the Sauromatians who had evolved from the Maeotians under Scythian influence and were thus a people unrelated to the Sarmatians.

These, then, are the two main, irreconcilable theories. However, there is also a third possibility, namely that the expansion and conquest can be seen as a rivalry between two tribes or groups of the same population, which seems to us to have been the case.

The innovations and/or migrations starting from the Ural region did not halt at the Don. Early Sarmatian material is distributed over a much larger territory than the archaeological finds of the Sauromatians. The Sarmatians crossed the Don and advanced as far as the Dnieper in the west and the northern Caucasus in the south (**fig. 46**). It has been repeatedly suggested that the Dahae (Dahaeans) of Central Asia also have

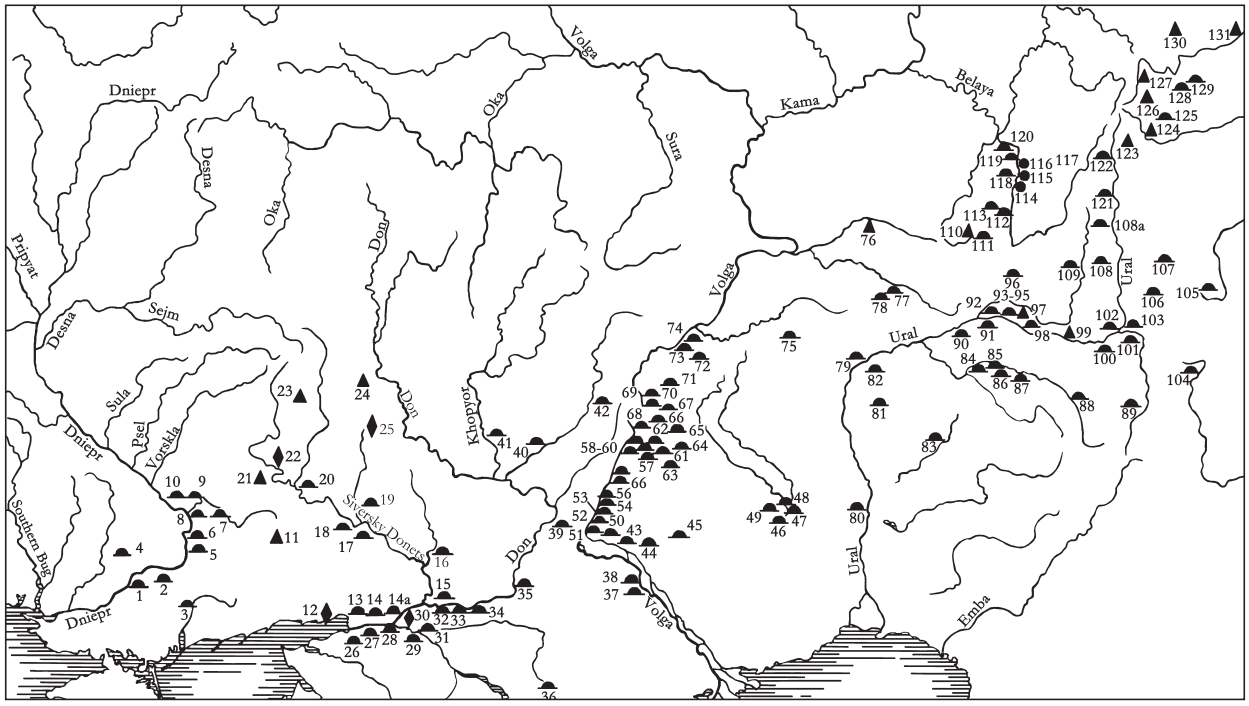


Fig. 46 Distribution of the finds of the Early Sarmatian (Prohorovka) period. – (After Stepi 1989, map 13).

an Uralian Sarmatian ancestry, indicated by the Prohorovka elements in their burial rite and a few artefact types. It is therefore possible that a part of the southern Uralian population migrated to the region south of Aral Sea during the 4th century BC[117]. The Parthian Empire was founded by the Parni tribe, who had seceded from the Dahaean tribal alliance (**fig. 47**), which explains the nomadic elements in Parthian warfare, many of which survived into the Sassanian period as well[118].

The westward and south-westward migration was not without precedence. In the 6th-4th centuries BC, there is ample evidence for the interaction between the indigenous population of the northern Caucasus (the Koban and Kajakent-Horočoj cultures) and the Sauromatians/Sarmatians. The anthropological material would suggest that in addition to the appearance of certain artefacts and various elements of the burial rite, the sporadic presence of Sauromatians may also be assumed. Vinogradov has aptly noted that the north-eastern Caucasus was not a *terra incognita* to the Sarmatians at the time when they began their westward migration[119]. Evidence for the contacts between the two populations is furnished by Koban type bracelets, a Caucasian helmet, a horse-bit and some beads in the Volga region (**fig. 48**), and by the presence of vessels of the Volga region type in the Caucasus[120].

It seems unlikely that the situation had differed much on the right bank of the Don. However, the close relationship between the Sauromatians/Sarmatians and the Scythians, and the resemblances between their material culture make studies in this field rather difficult. It must be borne in mind that these two peoples were virtually identical and that regional differences can be explained by the different cultural influences in various areas of their vast settlement territory.

117 Balahvancev 2005, 66, with the earlier literature.
118 Nikonorov 2005, 141-142.
119 Vinogradov 1963, 13-35, esp. 33-35 with a survey of the grave goods and burial rites, as well as the earlier literature.
120 Smirnov 1964, 269.



Fig. 47 Parthian bronze statue from Shami (Khuzistan, south-western Iran) in the Iranian National Museum in Tehran, believed to portray Surena, the hero of the Battle of Carrhae (1st century BC-1st century AD; after Seipel 2000, 230).

What can be stated with certainty is that the earlier material culture changed profoundly by the time the migration began. As we have pointed out earlier, the new find assemblages were classified as the Prohorovka culture. Earlier traits, more typical for Scythian culture, gradually faded. The »simpler« and more »lavish« grave assemblages indicate a social differentiation: the burials of a mounted aristocracy can be easily distinguished (**fig. 49**), as can the burials of sacral persons (both men and women).

In the following, we shall examine the date of the appearance of the Sarmatians in Europe (here used in the Antique sense, meaning west of the Don), the period's political situation and the role played by the Sarmatians in the events of the 4th and 3rd centuries. The material culture of the Sarmatians during this period will be depicted with broad strokes.

Written Sources on the Appearance of the Sarmatians in Europe in the First Half of the 4th Century BC

We must be aware that the information contained in the written sources on the Sauromatian/Sarmatian expansion is extremely fragmentary, often confusing and rarely accurate in detail. The geographers and historians of Antiquity generally acquired their information on the barbarians second-hand or used the accounts of their predecessors, which was sometimes reiterated in a distorted form. One notable exception is Herodotus, who gathered his data first-hand; one of the main reasons that his writings are so crucial. The patchiness and unreliability of the available sources is the main reason for the fierce debates over their interpretation and for the widely differing conclusions drawn from them. One of the major problems is posed by the inconsistent usage of the Sauromatian/Sarmatian ethnonym, tangled beyond any hope of unravelling the strands (see above). The data on the western expansion of the Sauromatians/Sarmatians have been interpreted variously by different scholars, whose views are briefly reviewed here.

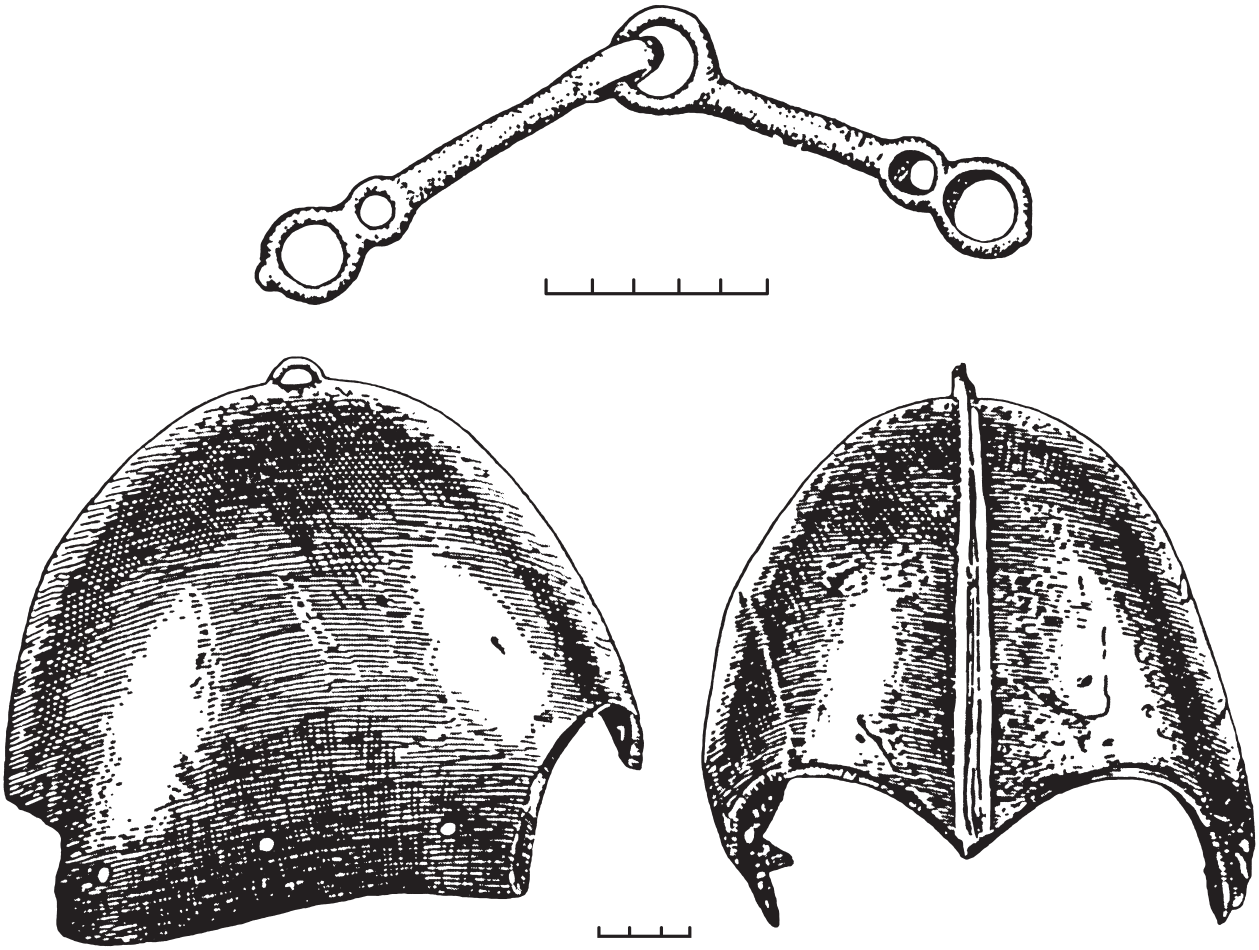


Fig. 48 Caucasian artefacts from burials of the Volga region: horse-bit from Blagodarovka, bronze helmet from Starye Pečeury. – (After Smirnov 1961, figs 42, 4; 43, 5).

Let us first look at the passages suggesting that the Sauromatians/Sarmatians had crossed the Tanais (Don) as early as the turn of the 5th-4th centuries BC. Hippocrates, a contemporary of Herodotus, who recorded information not available in other works, claimed that »In Europe there is a Scythian race, called Sauromatae, which inhabits the confines of the Palus Maeotis, and is different from all other races«[121]. This corresponds to Herodotus' narrative on the origins of the Sauromatae, who, so we are told, were descended from the union between the Scythians and the Amazons. In this account, Herodotus locates the Sauromatians' ethnogenesis to the region west of the Don and north of the Sea of Azov[122].

However, Hippocrates' information cannot be accepted as conclusive proof. It has been said of him that while his ethnographic observations were indeed excellent, he knew little about the eastern basin of the Black Sea and his information on that region was questionable. According to another view, he was more interested in the natural resources of the region and was less concerned with ethnic conditions[123]. There is a general consensus that his references to the Sauromatians should be treated with caution.

According to Pseudo-Scylax, a geographer probably living in the first half of the 4th century BC[124]:

121 Hippocrates 17.

122 Herodotus IV.110-117.

123 Rostovcev 1925, 22-23. – Zgusta 1955, 27-28.

124 Rostovcev 1925, 25. It must be noted that this source is uncertain and Pseudo-Scylax may have lived in the 4th or 3rd century BC.



Fig. 49 Nomad warriors of the steppe in the 4th century BC. – (After Zolotye 2001, 43 fig. 21; E. F. Korol'kova's reconstruction).

> In the Maiotis lake, as one sails straight in [i. e. from the Pontic], are on the left Scythians [...] [And after the Scythians], the Syrmatae nation and the river Tanaïs which bounds Asia and Europe[125].

The Syrmatae are thus described as living in Europe, on this side of the Tanais, while the Sauromatians are placed beyond the Tanais[126]. This scrap of information is again uncertain, in part because there is no linguistic confirmation of whether or not the Sirmatians can be identified with the Sauromatians or the Sarmatians. Scholars are strongly divided on this issue, with some casting their vote in favour of the identity of

125 Pseudo-Scylax 68.

126 »And from Tanaïs river begins Asia, and the first nation of it is in the Pontos, the Sauromatai. And among the Sauromatians is a nation ruled by women« (Pseudo-Scylax 70).

the two, some against it[127]. The Sirmatians are presented as living by the Tanais by Eudoxos[128], writing at roughly the same time as Pseudo-Scylax. The identity of the author of another *periplus* (»sailing-around«, i. e. a sailing manual for circumnavigating seas) is debated (he is sometime quoted under the name Pseudo-Scymnus). In the chapter covering Asia, he claims that the Sarmatians (and the Iazamatai, a tribe that can perhaps be identified with the Sarmatians) lived by the Tanais, although he does not specify on which bank of the river. Specialists of classical philology generally regard his account as a compilation of data from the 4th-2nd centuries BC, with the description of the eastern territories drawn from the early 4th century works of Ephorus and the account of the western region adopted from the writings of Demetrius of Callatis:

> At the Tanais, which is the boundary of Asia and divides the continent in two, there are first the Sarmatians inhabiting two thousand stades of land. Next, according to Demetrius, comes a Maeotian tribe known by the name Yazamatae, whom Ephoros calls the tribe of the Sauromatians. It is said that the Amazons, who arrived here after the Battle of Thermodon, coupled with these Sauromatians; and it is from them that they received the name »ruled by women« [Γυναικοκρατούμενοι][129].

Another early source on Sarmatia is Heraclitus Ponticus (390-310 BC). Although his original writings did not survive, we know from writers quoting him that he mentioned a lake in Sarmatia, never flown over by birds; any bird approaching it was killed by the stench emanating from the lake. The »Putrid Lake« can be identified with Lake Sivaš, a system of lagoons known for its stench even today[130].
In other words, there are no reliable sources that the Sarmatians had crossed the Don in the first half of the 4th century BC. In contrast, their expansion toward the south and the south-west is amply documented both in the literary sources and in the archaeological record.

In the Shadow of the Bosporan Kingdom

Before turning to the history of the Sarmatians west of the Don, a brief review of the history of the Bosporan Kingdom is necessary. This state had a profound influence on the history and culture of the Iranian tribes, the Scythians and, later, the Sarmatians and a host of other less easily identifiable barbarian peoples living in its neighbourhood, partly in symbiosis.
The Greek colonisation of the northern Pontic began in the 7th century BC. By the 6th-5th centuries the entire coast was colonised, from modern Bilhorod Dnistrovs'kyj (Belgorod Dniestrovskij) to Novorossijsk (**fig. 7**). The city of Pantikapaion/Panticapaeum (modern Kerč), which eventually subdued the neighbouring settlements, was established on the shore of the Kerč Strait (Cimmerian Bosporus), the tongue of land

127 Rostovtzeff 1922, 114. Zgusta 1955, 26, noted that the Sirmatians can perhaps be identified with the Scythians.

128 Rostovcev 1925, 25, argued that the author was Eudoxos of Cnidus, a contemporary of Pseudo-Scylax. Conversely, Latyšev 1947/1952-1992/1993, 187 (273) agreed with other scholars that this piece of information, originating from Eudoxos of Rhodes, active in the mid-3rd century, was preserved in the work of Stephanos Byzantinos (Steph.Byz. I. frag.). Yet a third suggestion was made by Pecz 1902/1904, vol. I, 703, namely, that the *periplus* of the geographer Eudoxos, written around 280 BC, had already been falsely attributed to Eudoxos of Cnidus in Antiquity, the astronomer and mathematician living a century earlier. It is quite obvious from the above that the uncertain data recorded in works whose authorship is similarly uncertain can hardly be decisive in settling the crucial question of when the Sauromatians/Sarmatians extended their sway to the region west of the Don.

129 Scymn. 874-885, translated from the Russian. For a detailed discussion, see Harmatta 1941, 16-18.

130 Latyšev 1947/1952-1992/1993, 189 (275). – Mačinskij 1971, 45.

extending from the eastern end of the Crimean Peninsula. The city extended its sway across the straits to Asian Bosporus and founded the Bosporan Kingdom (**fig. 44**). The rise of the Bosporan Kingdom can first and foremost be attributed to the wheat demand of Athens and various other Greek towns from which the colonists arrived. The wheat grown on the fertile southern Russian territory, vegetable oil and the abundance of Pontic fish provided a secure economic foundation for the prosperity of the Bosporan Kingdom and the neighbouring city-states. The region's prosperity and its politics were determined by the actual situation of wheat exports; alongside other peoples, the cereal producers included Herodotus' Scythian farmers of the steppe. Modelled on Hellenic-Persian kingdoms, the northern Pontic state existing by the 480s BC was first ruled by the Archaeanactid and, later, by the Spartocid Dynasty. One trait peculiar to this political entity was that it represented a mixed, Greek-barbarian (Iranian) culture from its very birth. A part of the Scythian elite from the neighbouring areas settled in Pantikapaion and the kingdom's other cities; they were eventually succeeded by the Sarmatian elite. Both groups buried some of their dead according to the mixed Iranian-Hellenic rite. The syncretic culture created from the blend of ancient Greek and Scythian-Sarmatian traditions, a phenomenon first described and discussed by Rostovcev and, later, by successive generations of scholars, gave rise to the region's singular styles of warfare, fashion and metalwork – the latter, for example, had a profound impact on the jewellery of the Migration period[131].

The Siracian Migration: Maeotians and Greeks in the Kuban Region

On the concordant testimony of the literary sources and the archaeological evidence, the migration from the Don region swept southward and south-westward (**fig. 44**). The relevant written sources and the archaeological material provide important clues on when and how this migration took place.

The first, presumably reliable source on the changes in the region is Demosthenes' speech against a certain Phormio from the 320s BC, from which we learn that the merchant travelled to the Bosporus on business. His journey was unsuccessful because the Bosporan king and the Scythians were at war, and he was thus unable to sell his goods. It is in itself unusual that the Scythians, who generally appear as allies of the Bosporan Kingdom, are in this case mentioned as foes. The complications in trade perhaps foreshadowed the cataclysms that soon came to pass[132].

Led probably by King Aripharnes, the Sarmatian (perhaps Siracian?) migration reached the Kuban region, a region adjacent to the Bosporan Kingdom, in the second half of the 4th century BC. According to Diodorus of Sicily, whose informant participated in the events, the Sarmatians somehow became involved in the Bosporan civil war[133].

Following the death of Paerisades I, the Bosporan king, in 310-309 BC, his sons, Satyrus, Eumelus and Prytanis, vied for the throne[134], which had been inherited by Satyrus II. His younger brother Eumelus set his sights on the throne:

> […] Eumelus, after concluding a treaty of friendship with some of the barbarians who lived near by and collecting a strong army, set up a rival claim to the throne[135].

131 Conferences are regularly organised every one or two years in St. Petersburg for discussing the cultural situation widely described as the »Bosporan phenomenon« (боспорский феномен). The series »Bosporskij phenomen«, published since 1998, is devoted to new research on the Antique towns and the neighbouring Barbarian peoples. Gajdukevič 1949 remains one of the best studies written on the Bosporan Kingdom; a fresh overview of briefer period has been published by Saprykin 2002, with the earlier literature.

132 Demosth. *Formio* 34.8. – Vinogradov 2005, 276-277.

133 Diod. XX.22-24.

134 Desjatčikov 1977, 45-46.

135 Diod. XX.22.

Fighting on Eumelus' side was Aripharnes, who commanded a sizeable army of 20,000 horsemen and 22,000 foot soldiers, according to Diodorus' report, while Satyrus had enlisted 4,000 Greeks and Thracians, 20,000 Scythian foot soldiers and no less than 10,000 horsemen[136]. Although facing a formidable force, Satyrus defeated Aripharnes' army and chased the king and the rebel Eumelus into the fortress by the Thates (a river known also as Psathis, a northern tributary of the Kuban)[137]. However, Satyrus was wounded while besieging the fortress and died shortly afterward. Eumelus thus ascended to the throne and murdered his entire family, including Prytanis, his other brother, to ensure his power. Satyrus' son, Paerisades, was the only survivor. Six years later, the usurper Eumelus was crushed to death by his own chariot.

It is unclear who exactly Aripharnes and his »barbarians« were and whether or not they were Siraci. Diodorus' account specifies Αριφάρνης ὁ τῶν Θρακῶν βασιλεύς, but the exact meaning of Θρακῶν is unclear. Most philologists agree that this is a slip of the pen. The real question is whether it is a misspelling of Θατεών (the Maeotian tribe mentioned by Pomponius Mela, named after the mentioned River Thates) or Σιρακών. It seems quite certain that this population was independent of the Bosporan Kingdom and not one of its subjects[138]. During the battle with Satyrus, Aripharnes commanded the troops in the middle of the army, as was the Iranian custom, while Eumelus fought »only« on the left wing, indicating that his role was secondary. The pretender to the Bosporan throne is not even mentioned in the account of the siege of Aripharnes' fortress. The name Aripharnes is Iranian (meaning carrier of the Aryans' [warriors'] *farn*), but not Scythian, and thus the passage in question most likely refers to the presence of the Sarmatians (Siraci)[139].

The Scythians were the main allies of Satyrus and Prytanis. The conflict described in the above was probably not simply a struggle for the Bosporan throne, but a major episode of the war between the Scythians and the Sarmatians, who had begun their westward expansion. Other sources, although far more uncertain than the above, are the indirect references by Lucian and a 2nd century AD writer suggesting that this conflict marked a turning point in the orientation of the foreign policy of the Bosporan Kingdom, with the Sarmatians replacing the Scythians as their main allies[140].

136 Diod. XX.22. It is uncertain to what extent these figures are reliable; it seems more likely that they illustrate the order of magnitude. See Makkay 1998b, 37-82, for a discussion of the round figures. His arguments are confirmed by the following passages in the written sources. Lucian (*Tox*. 48) mentions a man by the name of Arsacomas, who gathered an army and is said to have »raised something like 5,000 cavalry and 20,000 heavy and light armed«. Strabo XI.5.8 mentions that the Siracian king Abeacus commanded a cavalry of 20,000. The consistency of these figures is by all means striking, even though they probably merely indicate an order of magnitude, which in this context means that a sizeable army had been assembled. The figures probably also reflect the proportions between the armies: Aripharnes apparently had a larger army than the one the Scythians could muster and his cavalry was twice as large (Desjatčikov 1977). – Lucian of Samosata also described the Bosporan army (*Tox*. 54). He recorded that Eubiotus was the »head of a miscellaneous army of Greeks, together with 20,000 each of his Alanian and Sarmatian allies«. The united forces of Eubiotus and Adyrmachus, chief of Machlyene, who had been tricked by the Scythians, numbered »an army of 90,000 men, one third of whom were mounted bowmen«. At the same time one of the Scythians laid down an oxhide and »raised something like of 5,000 cavalry and 20,000 heavy and light armed« (Luc. *Tox*. 48). »We Scythians (I [i. e. Toxaris] say *we*, because I myself took part in this enterprise and was maintaining a hundred horse on the hide) – we Scythians, then, numbering in all not much less than 30,000 men, including cavalry« (Luc. *Tox*. 54). Lucian also recorded the military strength of the Sarmatians: 10,000 Sarmatian mounted warriors and »infantry being estimated at three times that number« rushed upon the Scythians stationed on the two banks of the Tanais (Luc. *Tox*. 39). According to Strabo (VII.3.17), the Roxolani sent 50,000 men to assist Palacus against Diophantus. Pompeius Trogus records that after Philip defeated the Scythians, »twenty thousand young men and women were taken, and a vast number of cattle« (Iustinus IX.2.15). While countless similar passages could be quoted, the above clearly illustrate that the figures generally indicate the order of magnitude.

137 Zubarev 2005, 444 fig. 7.

138 Desjatčikov 1977, 46.

139 Marčenko 1996, 113-114, for a detailed discussion of the text and the identity of the population in question. See also Jacobs 1987 for *farn* (called also χv*ar**nah*).

140 For a good recent overview, with a discussion of earlier views and an exhaustive bibliography, see Vinogradov 2005, 278-282.

If Aripharnes, with his Iranian name, was indeed a Siracian – which seems to be the case – then the Siraci can be regarded as the first Sarmatian people known by name, whose migration can be reconstructed with some accuracy[141].

The setting of the above events, the Kuban Valley and its broader area, was later settled by the Siracian tribe of the Sarmatians. It is therefore quite likely that from the very moment of the Sarmatian conquest, the region was populated by the Siraci. Writing about the Kuban region and the shores of the Sea of Azov, Strabo noted that:

> Of the portions thus divided, the first is inhabited, in the region toward the north and the ocean, by Scythian nomads and wagon-dwellers, and south of these, by Sarmatians, these too being Scythians, and by Aorsi and Siraci, who extend towards the south as far as the Caucasian Mountains, some being nomads and others tent-dwellers and farmers […] As one descends into the foothills [of the Caucasus], the country inclines more towards the north, but its climate is milder, for there it borders on the plains of the Siraces[142].

The expansion of the Sarmatians into the Kuban region is indicated principally by the archaeological finds, closer examination of which suggests that, as mentioned above, the Sauromatians/Sarmatians had established contact with the indigenous population of the north-eastern Caucasus in the 6th-4th centuries BC[143]. However, we can hardly speak of a migration during this early period, seeing that the finds in question are few and far between.

Clearly, Sarmatian assemblages first appear in the Caucasian foreland, specifically in the Kuban region, from the second half of the 4th century BC. The dating of these assemblages is unquestionably secure in the light of the Greek imports such as amphorae and other pottery wares deposited in the graves[144]. On the testimony of these finds, the arrival of the Sarmatians had really begun in the second half of the 4th century BC, although the low number of burials indicates that this should be conceptualised as an infiltration at first[145]. A significant increase in the number of burials, reflecting a mass immigration, can be noted from the 3rd to 2nd centuries BC, east of the Sea of Azov. At the beginning, the grave goods and burial rites show a blend of Sauromatian and Prohorovka traits. Intermixing with the local population was soon underway and as a result of the cultural interaction, the material gradually began to differ from the contemporary find assemblages of the northern Pontic.

The graves dating from the 3rd-1st centuries BC dug into the earlier kurgans in the central part of the Caucasian foreland (north of the Upper Kuban-Malka-Terek Valleys) reflect another route of the Sarmatian migration to the east of the Kuban. Here, the newcomers co-mingled with the local nomadic population of the Scythian period. The separation of the finds is virtually impossible, the best ethnic indicator is the catacomb grave rite. The finds reflecting a Sarmatian presence are more scarce than in the Lower Kuban region[146].

Let us return to the Lower Kuban region, which was unquestionably under Sarmatian control. Here, the neighbours of the Bosporan Kingdom are specified as the Maeotians. Little is known about the origins of the Maeotians, despite the fact that they played a significant role in the history of the eastern Pontic. The Maeotians lived in the Kuban Valley and to its south, as well as on the Taman' Peninsula.

141 We have not come across a linguistic study on the possible relevance of the similarity between *Sir*matian and *Sira*cian, despite the fact that it might be instructive to examine this resemblance in the light of the above. Cf. the similarity between *laz*amata and *laz*ygian discussed in section »The Iazyges«.

142 Strabo XI.2.1, XI.5.7.

143 Vinogradov 1963, 13-35 esp. 33-35.

144 Marčenko 1996, 84-85.

145 Marčenko 1988, 69.

146 Abramova 1992, 23; 1993, 99-102.

However, there are several opposing theories concerning the origins of the Maeotians. Some argue that »Maeotian« is an essentially geographic term and denotes all the tribes living along the Maeotis (the Sea of Azov). Most scholars agree that it was a generic term for linguistically related tribes. It has also been suggested that the Maeotians were the ancestors of the Adyghe, a modern Caucasian people, although this theory has not been convincingly substantiated. It has also been hypothesised that the Maeotians spoke an Iranian tongue. According to yet another theory, the Maeotians were the remnants of Indo-Iranians who had remained in the region[147].



Fig. 50 Maeotian hillfort at Starokorsunskaja in 1997. – (Photo E. Istvánovits / V. Kulcsár).

Returning to the appearance of the Siraci in the Kuban region, the indirect evidence must also be considered in addition to the testimony of the written sources and the Sarmatian find assemblages. Although research into the fortifications of Maeotian settlements is still in its infancy, the investigations of Hillfort 2 near the Lenin Farmstead and Hillfort 2 near Starokorsunskaja reveal that the fortifications at both sites were constructed in the later part of the 4th century BC, or towards its end (**fig. 50**)[148]. The construction of the hillforts was no doubt necessitated by some external danger and it seems logical to assume that this threat was the Sarmatian migration. The success of the Sarmatians' expansion is indicated by the fact that the ditch and rampart system was destroyed shortly after its construction and a part of the ditch was backfilled. The destruction of Gruševskoe gorodišče (hillfort) in the Stavropol area in the early 3rd century BC, dating also from the Scythian period, and the burial of the Kazinka hoard can in all likelihood also be linked to the dynamic Sarmatian expansion[149]. The militarisation of Maeotian society in the wake of these external threats is best reflected by the fact that some 70 per cent of the 4th century BC graves contained arms[150], while only 30.9 per cent of the immigrants' burials can be interpreted as warrior graves[151]. How, then, should the question of Siracian immigration be conceptualised out of the chaos of the available data? Two major hypotheses have been proposed in this respect.

1. Abramova believes that the emergence of the Siracian tribal alliance was a fairly long process that took place along the Kuban River, the implication being that the presence of Siraci can hardly be assumed in the Volga and in the Southern Ural region because the people designated as Siraci in the texts were forged from an intermingling with the local population[152]. Knowing that the local population was made up of Maeo-

147 Kameneckij 1989, esp. 225, for a survey of the different views and the population groups, accompanied by a series of excellent maps. As we have already pointed out, it has been suggested that the Maeotians played a vital role in Sauromatian ethnogenesis insofar as the Sauromatians had indeed emerged from the mixing between the Scythians and the Maeotians.

148 The section on the Sarmatians of the Kuban region is essentially based on Marčenko 1996, esp. 6-7. 84-85. 113-138.

149 Abramova 1992, 23.

150 Marčenko 1996, 116-117.

151 The latter refers to the finds from the period between the 3rd century BC and the 1st century AD. Ždanovskij 1985; 1988.

152 Abramova 1992, 24.

tians, the Maeotians of the Kuban region were thus members of the Siracian tribal alliance[153]. Counter to Abramova's hypothesis, this does not exclude the identification of Aripharnes' people as Siraci. Abramova argued that in view of the long ethnogenesis, Aripharnes' people could hardly have been the Siraci at the turn of the 4th-3rd centuries BC because the population of the Volga region had not arrived in the Caucasian foreland before the 4th century BC[154]. In our opinion, if, however, there was contact between the two regions from the 6th-5th centuries BC and if the onset of the migration can indeed be dated to the 4th century, King Aripharnes, an Iranian name, may have been ruler of the Siraci.

2. In his study on the state of Sarmatian and Maeotian research in the Kuban region based on recent archaeological investigations, Marčenko accepted the identification of the Sauromatians with the Siraci. He argued that the Sarmatian population was a mixed one from the very moment it appeared in the region. The Siraci probably represented the elite of the region's population. There are two major concentrations of Sarmatian finds in the Kuban region: the first in the Middle Kuban region (extending from Nevinnomyssk in the Laba-Kuban interfluve to the Laba mouth); the second in the steppe along the river's right bank in the Lower Kuban region. Conditions in these regions differ markedly from those of the »genuine« steppe north of the Don and the Manyč: the climate is milder and the land is more suited to arable farming.

Favourable geographic conditions most likely stimulated the relatively rapid blend of the earlier Maeotian population with the newly arrived Siraci in this region. The region's history in this period was determined by the proximity of its powerful neighbour, the Bosporan Kingdom. The interaction left its imprint on both cultures. Parallel to the cultural influence from the Bosporans, a certain degree of »Sarmatisation« can also be noted in the kingdom, as can the appearance of Maeotian elements. Barbarian finds occur among the grave furnishings in the cemeteries of the Greek towns on the Taman' Peninsula (Hermonassa, Tyrambe, Phanagoreia, Kepoi, etc.), as do certain elements of the burial rite of the steppe nomads. Some of these burials have been dated to the 4th century BC, confirming the lower chronological boundary of the Sarmatian expansion in the Kuban region[155]. The coin finds would suggest that the boundary between the Siracian settlement territory and the Bosporan Kingdom in the late 4th to early 3rd centuries BC ran along the western end of the Taman' Peninsula, roughly along the Staronižnesteblievskaja-Krymsk-Novorossijsk line (**fig. 44**)[156].

The fortunes of the Bosporan Kingdom changed profoundly in the mid-3rd century BC when grain exports to Athens diminished, perhaps owing to Egyptian trade in the same commodity[157]. Following prosperity under the reign of Paerisades I, the kingdom faced a series of difficulties and was forced to expand eastwards, encroaching on the lands of the Maeotians. As a result, the Maeotians and Siraci forged a closer alliance, reflected by the visibly strong mutual influences apparent in the Sarmatian and Maeotian burials of the Kuban region, testifying to the intensive interaction between the indigenous Maeotians and the Sarmatians. The two peoples eventually joined forces against the Bosporan Kingdom, with the Siraci heading the tribal alliance. This reconstruction of the events is accepted by most scholars despite the lack of any written sources.

153 Smirnov 1964, 290.

154 Abramova 1992, 24.

155 Desjatčikov 1973, 69-76.

156 Aptekarev 1987.

157 In his oration against Leptinus, Demosthenes mentioned that one-half of the grain consumed in Athens – 400,000 *medimni* of grain corresponding to 16,380 tons – arrived from the Bosporus (Demosth. *Lept*. 20.32). This figure was valid for the reign of King Leuco (387-347). Shipments of grain to Athens were duty-free during this period. Strabo noted that »in still earlier times the Greeks imported their supplies of grain from here, just as they imported their supplies of salt-fish from the lake. Leuco, it is said, once sent from Theodosia to Athens two million one hundred thousand medimni« (VII.4.6). This figure of 2.1 million *medimni* equals 86,000 tons. That Demosthenes often wrote about the Bosporus is hardly mere chance because his mother was probably a Scythian woman; for details see Skržinskaja 1977, 35; 1998, 174-176. According Blavatskij 1964, 54, in the 3rd century BC, Egypt exported a total of 10.5 million *medimni* of grain during a single year, about 28 times the amount exported by the Bosporans to Athens. The Bosporan grain was eventually replaced by the enormous quantities of Egyptian produce arriving from a much closer region.

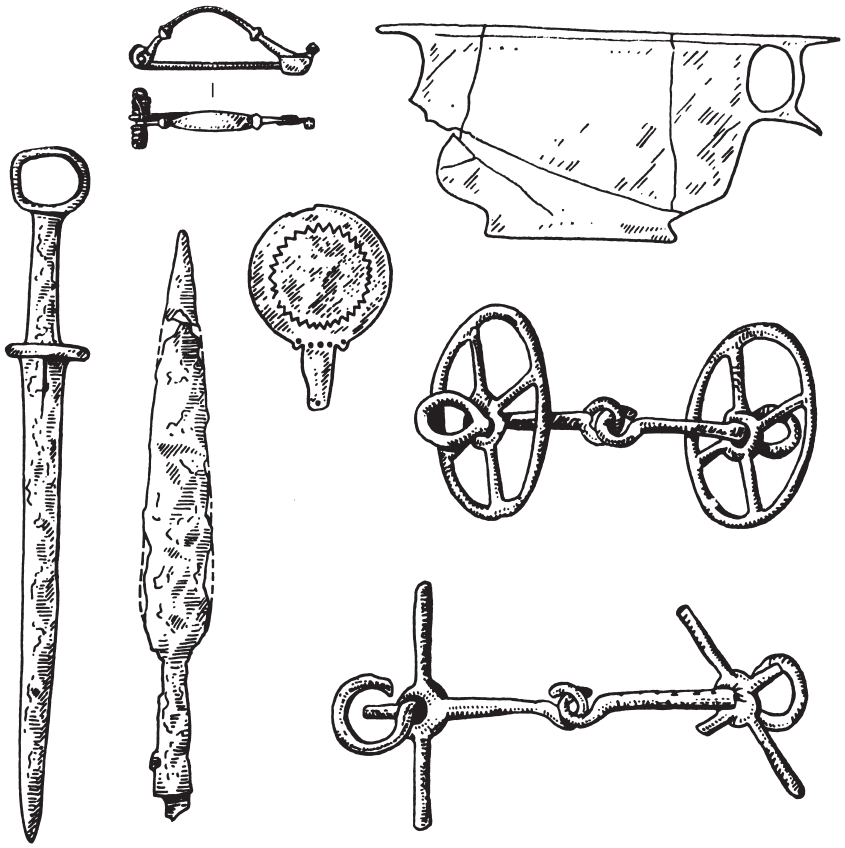


Fig. 51 The cohabitation of Maeotians and Siracians is reflected by the typical artefacts of the nomadic Sarmatians in the find material of the sedentary Maeotians. Selection of finds from Maeotian sites. – (After Stepi 1989, pl. 93).

One indication of the leading role of the Sarmatian Siraci is that Iranian toponyms abound, not only east of the Laba (the original settlement territory of the Siraci), but also well beyond the Lower Kuban region, down to the Pontic coast, i. e. in the Maeotian lands, as well. The linguistic evidence would suggest that these toponyms reflect a linguistic stage preceding the arrival of the Alans[158].

The Maeotians and the Siraci clashed with the Bosporan Kingdom, and, as a result of the hostilities, a part of the cereals produced by the Maeotians formerly traded with the Bosporan Kingdom now reached the nomads who appeared in growing numbers in the Kuban region[159]. The grave goods from Maeotian burials attest undeniably to increasing Sarmatisation. Parallel with this, the gradual settlement of the Sarmatians under Maeotian influence can likewise be demonstrated (**figs 51-54**)[160].

Strabo's passages on the Albanians[161] contain relevant information regarding the foreign contacts of the Siraci, especially with the Caucasus:

> *Against outsiders the nomads join with the Albanians in war,* just as they do with the Iberians, and for the same reasons; and besides, they often attack the people, and consequently prevent them from farming[162].

158 Vinogradov 1965, 117, with further literature. However, it must here be noted that, as already pointed out, the language spoken by the Maeotians has not been identified yet and that the possibility that they were an Iranian people cannot be rejected out of hand. In this case, however, the Iranian names gain an entirely different perspective.

159 Marčenko 1996, 120.

160 Ždanovskij 1988.

161 In this context, the term Albanians denotes the inhabitants of the south-eastern Caucasus.

162 Strabo XI.4.5, italics added for emphasis.



Fig. 52 The Siracians of the Kuban region used the distinctive wheel-turned grey wares produced by the Maeotians. – **1** Maeotian vessels (after Stepi 1989, pl. 96). – **2** pottery from the hillfort at Starokorsunskaja (photo E. Istvánovits / V. Kulcsár).

We know from the *Kartlis Chovreba*[163] that in the mid-3rd century BC (a date surmised from the fact that the events recounted take place after Alexander the Great's campaigns), Farnavaz, the first Iberian king[164], employed Siracian mercenaries (the Ovses mentioned in the original text are generally identified with the Sarmatians) and that his sister married the tribe's leader. Relations between the two families are illustrated by the fact that many of the Farnavaz Dynasty's early rulers bore western Iranian names, such as Saurmag, Hsefarnug, Radamist, etc[165]. Another proof for Iberian-Siracian relations is the story recounted in Georgian chronicles, according to which Saurmag was deposed by a conspiracy shortly after he had ascended the Iberian throne (sometime in the late 3rd - early 2nd century BC). The fallen king fled to the mountain tribes of

163 History of Kartli (Georgia), a collection of Georgian chronicles recording the history of the Georgians from the beginnings to the 14th century. The first part, »Lives of the kings of Kartli«, ends with the 5th century. This section is attributed to Leonti Mroveli, active in the 11th century (Mroveli 1979, 29-30, see also the notes on pp. 61-64).

164 Iberia was an ancient state lying beyond the Caucasus, neighbouring Albania. The country was inhabited by the ancestors of the Georgians.

165 Abaev 1949, 86, has argued that the name of King Saurmag (late 3rd - early 2nd century BC) was a variant of the ethnonym Sauromatian.

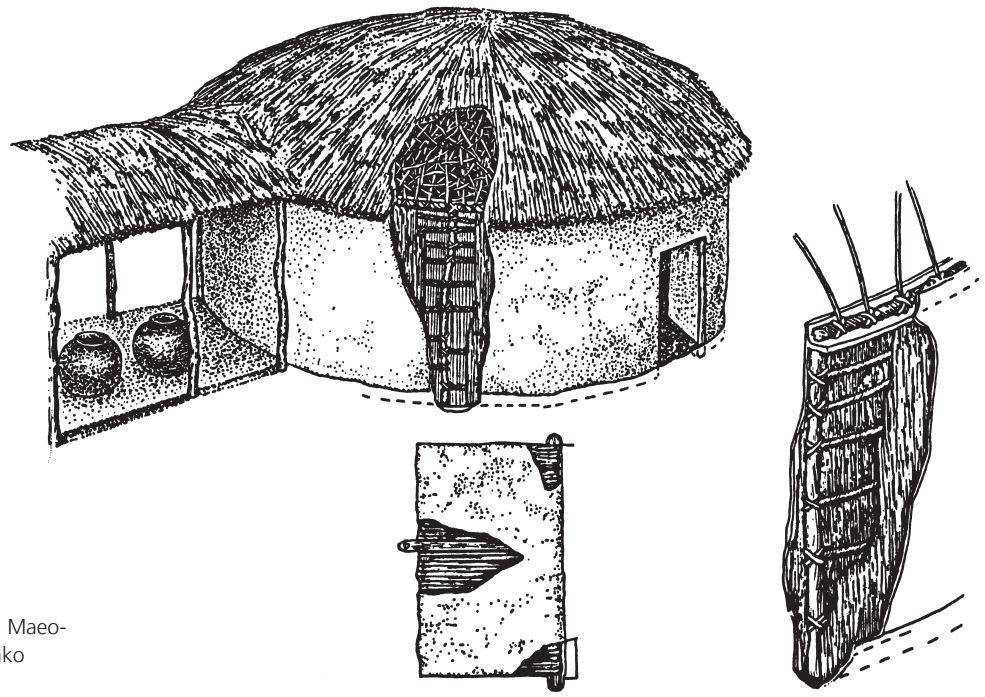


Fig. 53 Reconstruction of a Maeotian building. – (After Ševčenko 1995, fig. 2).

the Caucasus and pleaded for help from his cousin, the king of the Ovses (possibly the Siraci), who readily granted his wish[166]. The events recounted in the Georgian chronicles harmonise with Strabo's account that:

> […] the plain of the Iberians is inhabited by people who are rather inclined to farming and to peace, and they dress after both the Armenian and the Median fashion; but the major, or warlike, portion occupy the mountainous territory, living like the Scythians and the Sarmatians, *of whom they are both neighbours and kinsmen* […] [167].

The Sarmatian Conquest West of the Don

The history of the European steppe in the 3rd century BC is one of the weak points of Sarmatian studies. The most important issue is the date of the conquest of the northern Pontic, however, this runs into serious difficulties owing to the lack of finds.

The mid-4th century BC saw the flourishing of the Scythian state in the northern Pontic. King Ateas (**fig. 55**) controlled the region from the Don to the Danube: »It appears that Ateas, who waged war with Philip the son of Amyntas, ruled over most of the barbarians in this part of the world«[168]. The king fell in the lost battle fought against Philip. The greater part of the Scythians fled to the Lower Dnieper region[169] and the

166 For the interpretation of the data contained in the *Kartlis Chovreba*, see Vinogradov 1963, 140-141.

167 Strabo XI.3.3, italics added for emphasis.

168 Strabo VII.3.18. In 339, the Scythian king Ateas fought against Philip II, father of the Alexander the Great. – Alekseev 1992, 163.

169 The hillforts by the Lower Dnieper which on the testimony of the archaeological record were destroyed in the late 1st to early 2nd centuries AD were constructed at this time.

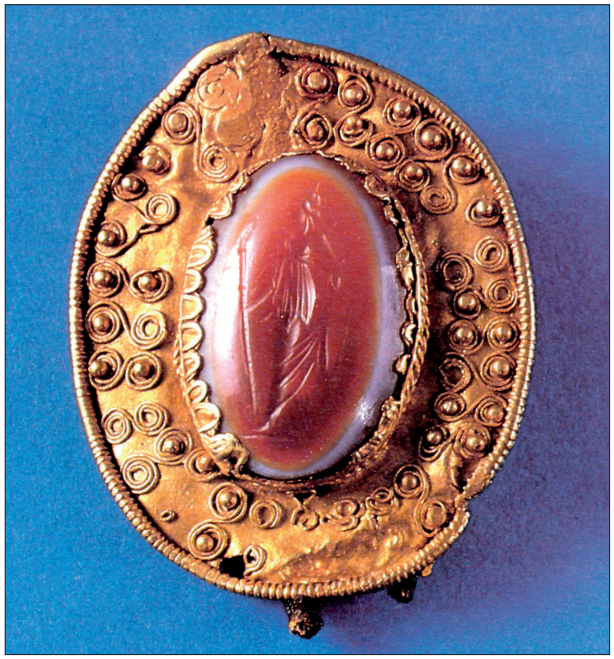


Fig. 54 Brooch of the so-called Maeotian-Sarmatian type dating from the 3rd-2nd century BC from the kurgan by stanica Brjuhovec-kaja. – (After Šedevry 1987, 49 no. 144).



Fig. 55 Coin minted by King Ateas. – (After Murzin/Rolle 2000, fig. 1).

Crimean steppe, while smaller groups retreated to the Dobrudja region, south of the Danube. In the 3rd century BC, the Scythian state declined unexpectedly.

These events are reflected by the sudden »disappearance« of lavish Scythian kurgans in the archaeological record, as well as by the absence of Scythian material culture in the northern Pontic. The archaeological assemblages from the region decrease perceptibly.

Some scholars regard the defensive rampart-ditch system constructed at Perekop near the town of Taphrai as an indication of the Scythians' retreat to the Crimea[170]. The centre of the Crimean Scythian lands (Scythia Minor) was the fortified settlement at Kermenčik in modern Simferopol (**fig. 56**), suggested by a stone stele bearing a depiction of a mounted nomadic warrior and an inscription proclaiming the name of Scilurus, the Scythian king. The Scythian mausoleum containing the royal burials and other evidence strongly suggests that the site can be identified with Scythian Neapolis (*Neapolis Scythica*), the Scythian capital described by Strabo, which is also mentioned in the Diophantus Inscription (see the next chapter)[171]. It would appear that the centre of the Scythian political entity was relocated to the Crimea[172], where the Scythians came into close contact with the Tauri, the peninsula's earlier inhabitants, with whom they joined forces when raiding the Greek cities. It is therefore hardly surprising that classical writers soon coined a new name for them, the Tauroscythae[173].

170 The meaning of Greek τάφρος is »ditch« (Gajdukevič 1949, 531 n. 2).

171 Cf. Gajdukevič 1949, 531-534 n. 2-3.

172 Zin'ko 1991.

173 According to Pliny (*NH* IV.XII.85), there were altogether 30 tribes in the Crimea, 23 of which inhabited the peninsula's interior. The Scythotauri were among the latter. Pliny probably obtained this information from Agrippa, although he did not specifically mention this. Ovid (*Ep*. III.2.45-47) also mentioned a Scythian elder, who begins his narrative: »There's a place in Scythia, our ancestors called Tauris, | that's not so far away from the Getic lands. | I was born in that land«. Identified with the Kizil-Koba culture, the Tauri were a tribe living in the southern Crimea and the Crimean Mountains, whose heritage includes graves containing funerary chests of stone slabs. Although their origins are obscure, they were probably descended from the Srubnaja culture, also making them Iranians. Following the peninsula's occupation by the Scythians, the Tauri were probably assimilated by the newcomers, with the name Tauroscythae perhaps reflecting one phase of this process. The ethnic blend began sometime in the 2nd century BC. See Hrapunov 1995, 9-28, with ample literature.



Fig. 56 The Late Scythian capital (Neapolis Scythica) in modern Simferopol. – (Photo E. Istvánovits / V. Kulcsár).

Another Scythian kingdom was established in the 3rd-2nd centuries BC slightly farther to the west, which also incorporated the Greek city of Tomi, according to Pliny[174]. The Scythian lands in the Lower Danube region were known as Scythia Minor in the Greek sources at roughly this time:

> But on account of the large number of people who left Little Scythia [the Crimea] and crossed both the Tyras[175] and the Ister and took up their abode in the land beyond, no small portion of Thrace as well came to be called Little Scythia; the Thracians giving way to them partly as the result of force and partly because of the bad quality of the land, for the greater part of the country is marshy[176].

174 Pliny (*NH* IV.XI.44) noted that all the lands of Thracia from the mouth of the Istros to the Pontic and the towns of Histropolis, Tomi, Callatis and Dionysopolis had formerly belonged to the Scythians: »The whole of this region was occupied by the Scythian tribe called the Ploughmen [Aroteres]«.

175 The name of the Dniester in Antiquity.

176 Strabo VII.4.5.

The Danube (Istros) traditionally marked the boundary between the Thracian and the Iranian world. It was still described as the south-western border of Scythia long after the Scythians had disappeared from the region[177]. At the same time, the agricultural areas (*chora*) surrounding the Greek cities of the northern Pontic became depopulated in the second quarter - mid-3rd century BC, with habitation continuing only in the fortified settlements. The area of the cities expanded, no doubt in consequence of the rural population's flight to these cities. The town walls were reinforced in several settlements, suggesting a fear of some external threat, although it is unclear whether the population dreaded an onslaught of the Sarmatians from the east or whether it was prompted by the enmity of the Crimean Scythian kingdom towards the Greek cities[178].

Whilst several explanations have been proposed, many questions remain unanswered. Was the chain of events precipitated by the Sarmatians' westward drive? Were the Scythians harassed by the Sarmatians, explaining why they turned into formidable enemies? Or should we rather assume the internal crisis of Scythian society as the main cause of the decline, coupled with Ateas' aborted campaign along the Danube? Did this precipitate the rapid Sarmatisation of the northern Pontic and the occupation of the steppe territories between the Danube and the Dniester by the Thracians? How did the early 3rd century expansion of the Celts (Galatians) affect the Scythians and the subsequent history of the northern Pontic[179]?

The following models have been proposed to explain the crisis in the northern Pontic in the 3rd century BC[180]: 1) living conditions deteriorated owing to a major desiccation; 2) the significance of the Pontic declined owing to the grain imports from Egypt, leading to an economic crisis[181]; 3) the Galatian conquest brought an end to the Scythian rule; 4) the crisis was caused by the Sarmatians' advance, encroaching on Scythian territories. The first model can be immediately rejected on several grounds[182]. In the last decades it has been suggested that there was a major climatic change on the steppe causing the desiccation, which in turn displaced the Scythians from their former lands[183]. The main argument put forward by the proponents of this hypothesis is that both Scythian and Sarmatian finds are lacking from the region between the Don and the Dnieper in the 3rd century BC. The earliest Sarmatian burials west of the Don, identified at 62 sites, date from the 2nd-1st centuries BC[184]. It must also be recalled that recent palaeoclimatic studies have demonstrated exactly the opposite, namely that the climate turned cooler and wetter from the mid-1st millennium BC[185]. However, irrespective of whether there was indeed a desiccation or whether the climate became sub-Atlantic, it seems most unlikely that there were periods when regions such as the European grassy steppe or the Carpathian Basin were wholly uninhabited. Another argument against the desiccation theory is that palaeoclimatic studies have shown that a change of this type rarely has an immediate impact, but occurs over several years. At the same time, the archaeological evidence suggests that the decline and depopulation on the steppe was the outcome of a rapid event or chain of events. The other main case against a possible desiccation caused by climatic change is the economic prosperity of the Greek cities and the neighbouring barbarian settlements during the first third of the 3rd century[186], on the »eve« of the assumed desiccation, reflected also by the region's population growth (see above).

177 Podosinov 1976, 21. 25.

178 Vinogradov 2005, 283-290.

179 Polin 1992, 5.

180 A conference exploring this issue was organised in Rostov-on-Don in 1997. The papers read at the conference were published in Azov in the volume *Donskie drevnosti* 1997. For a discussion of the four main theories, see Brujako 1999.

181 Vinogradov 1997, 107, has convincingly challenged this argument, which has hardened into a commonplace in studies on the Greek towns. He also rejects the possibilities described under (1) and (3).

182 e.g. by Brujako 1999, 87-88, who has taken up a middle ground, noting that the three other explanations do not exclude each other, since all these conditions could have existed simultaneously.

183 Ievlev 1989. – Polin 1992, 122. – Polin/Simonenko 1997, 87.

184 Polin/Simonenko 1997, 95.

185 Matolcsi 1983, 296, with further literature.

186 Vinogradov 1997, 106-107, with further literature.

According to the second model, the economic importance of the Pontic declined following the growth of grain exports from Egypt, leading to a catastrophic recession. The economic crisis of the Greek towns on the Pontic may have spread to the lands inhabited by the barbarian peoples. However, it seems unlikely that this would have led to the sudden and total collapse indicated by the current evidence.
Concerning the third model, there are few signs of the Galatians' eastward migration in the archaeological record. However, the Protogenes Inscription (**fig. 57**) is a clear indication that they advanced as far as Olbia by the mid-3rd century BC:

> Deserters were reporting that the Galatians [Celts] and the Sciri had formed an alliance, that a large force had been collected and would be coming during the winter/and in addition that Thissamatae, Scythians and Saudaratae were anxious to seize the fort, as they themselves were equally terrified of the cruelty of the Galatians[187].

The approximate date of the decline in the north-western Pontic and the Dniester region roughly coincides with the probable date of the event recorded in the inscription. Erected in the 220s or 210s BC, the decree commemorated the deeds of Protogenes, suggesting that the Galatian attack occurred in the middle of the century. What must be noted in this respect, without going into details, is that the epigraphic evidence suggests that the Celtic advance thrust forward from the Danube, Seret and Prut regions. While their number is not particularly high, La Tène finds have been reported from the outer side of the Carpathian Mountains. The Celtic presence is also confirmed by the toponyms in the Lower Danube region[188].
Finally, let us examine the perhaps most intriguing proposition, namely the Sarmatians' westward expansion (**fig. 46**). One of the literary sources concerning the Sauromatians claims that:

> Many years later this people became powerful and ravaged a large part of Scythia, and destroying utterly all whom they subdued they turned most of the land into a desert[189].

The credibility of this passage is dubious at best and it is also uncertain as to what period it refers. Diodorus of Sicily lived in the late 1st century BC. It is unclear, however, what his quoted statement was based on. The passage has been touted as proof for dating the Sarmatian immigration to the late 4th- early 3rd century BC and for attributing the decline of the Scythian rule to this event[190]. Other scholars have taken this passage to refer to Scilurus' Scythian kingdom, i.e. to the 3rd-2nd centuries BC[191].
While Diodorus' quoted passage is uncertain to say the least, a long-known and securely dated epigraphic text is considerably more convincing. The inscription in question is a decree from Chersonesus whose missing portions were reconstructed by Vinogradov, who also offered an entirely new interpretation of the text. In his view, there was a Sarmatian raid around 280 BC (one purpose of which was to sell the captives as slaves), and thus this inscription can be regarded as the first written testimonial of Scythia's destruction by the Sarmatians[192].

187 Latyschev 1916, no. 32, 54-55 (English translation: Austin 1981, 172). The Protogenes Inscription (or Decree) is discussed at greater length in the next chapter.
188 For details, see Brujako 1999, 85-87, with an overview of the literature.
189 Diod. II.43.7.
190 Mačinskij 1971, 52-54.
191 Scilurus was the ruler of the greatly diminished Scythian kingdom in the Crimea (Scythia Minor), who also minted coins in Olbia in the early 2nd century BC. Gajdukevič 1949, *passim* esp. 300-301.
192 Vinogradov 1997.

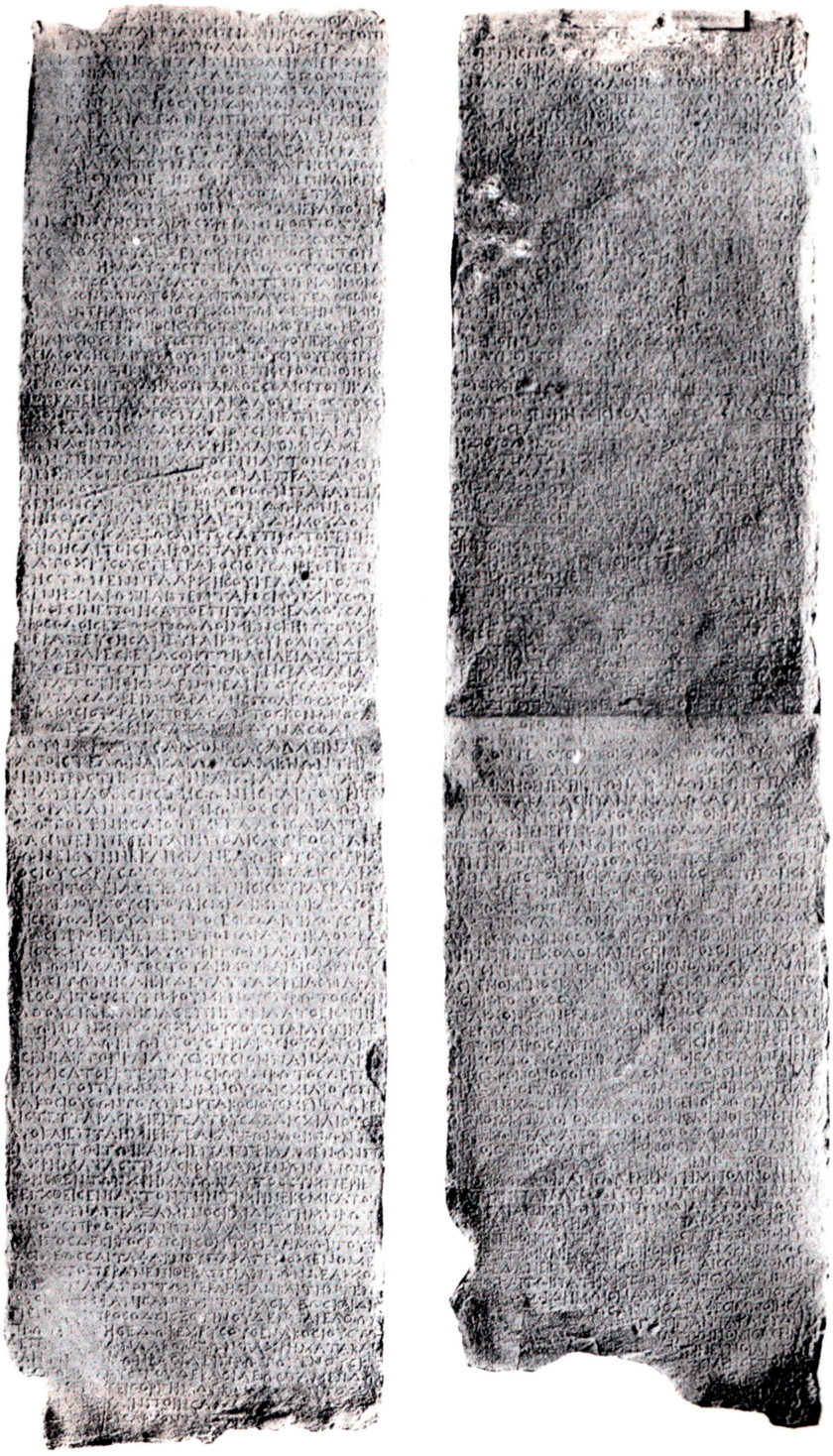


Fig. 57 The Protogenes Inscription from Olbia. – (After Latyschev 1916, pl. II).

Let us consider additional evidence on this issue. The participation of the Sarmatians in the Bosporan war of succession between Eumelus and Satyrus in the late 4th century BC[193] would imply that the newly-arrived Sarmatians had already conquered the Scythian lands at the Don delta or at least brought them under some degree of control. The destruction of the Scythian fortified settlement (*gorodišče*) at Elizavetovka (including

193 See the section on »The Siracian Migration« above.



Fig. 58 The ruins of Tanais (modern Nedvigovka near Rostov): the southern part of the governor's palace. – (After Fornasier/Böttger 2002, 77 fig. 13).

the Greek trading quarter) lying by the Don delta can be dated to roughly the same period, the early 3rd century BC[194]. The settlement played an important role in Greek trade. According to Diodorus, the Bosporan ruler Eumelus founded a colony with settlers from Callatis after the Scythians abandoned the settlement[195]. The new trading colony proved to be short-lived because it soon fell prey to a nomadic assault from the east. The survivors perhaps fled to the newly-founded Greek colony of Tanais (**fig. 58**)[196]. The rapid destruction of the Greek town founded on the site of the former Scythian settlement at Elizavetovka and the growth of Tanais is an eloquent reflection of the new ethnopolitical situation in the Lower Don region. The Sarmatians ousted the Scythians, the region's earlier inhabitants, who, as it has been already mentioned, established their new political centres in two regions: the Crimea and Dobrudja.

The shift of Scythian power can be attributed to the Sarmatian advance, as can the disappearance of Scythian finds from the greater part of the northern Pontic steppe. The differing situation at the mouth of the Dnieper, where a few settlements and cemeteries were only abandoned later, in the late 1st-early 2nd century AD, suggest that the Scythians maintained their rule over this region for a longer time and that the Sarmatians could occupy only the neighbouring regions[197].

At the same time, the lack of Sarmatian finds on the steppe west of the Don, where the earliest finds date from the 2nd century BC, is somewhat enigmatic. It seems to us that the situation is in a way similar to the case of the first Sarmatian wave appearing in the Carpathian Basin. It would appear that the arrival of the

194 Marčenko 1990. For an identification of the occupants of the fortified settlement, see Brašinskij/Marčenko 1984.

195 Diod. XX.22.

196 Fedoseev 1996, 99-100. Lying by the mouth of the Don, Tanais (Nedvigovka near modern Rostov-on-Don) played a vital role in the trade between the Greeks, the Bosporus and the barbarian peoples up to the Migration Period.

197 Ščukin 1970.

nomads from the east, their incursions and the raids against the settlements of the local population, did not mean the area's simultaneous occupation (compare, e.g. the Mongolian invasion of Eastern and Central Europe – including Hungary – in the 13th century)[198].
Returning to the four possible reasons for the fall of the Scythian empire, in our opinion, the most likely seems to be the Sarmatians' dynamic westward advance in the 3rd century BC, in all probability starting around the beginning of the century. It may have been caused by the shifts in the region's economic conditions and the fact that the Scythians were engaged in a war on two fronts (against the Sarmatians in the east and the Celts in the west) which undoubtedly divided their forces.

An Overview of the Steppe

Several suggestions that the Sarmatians had originated from Central Asia[199] seem untenable to us. There can be no doubt that the region discussed here – the South Ural region and the territories to its west – had maintained contact with Central Asia and even with the Near East from the earliest Sauromatian period onward[200]. At the same time, it is practically impossible to gain a systematic overview of the extremely diverse find assemblages coloured by regional traits and the relevant sources, and it is therefore difficult to combine the many scraps of information coming from a vast territory into a coherent pattern. Seeing that the events taking place more or less simultaneously were probably influenced by each other, a brief overview of a few events of the 3rd century which perhaps had a bearing on the history of the steppe seems in order.
The downfall of the Seleucid state in 247 BC, roughly a century after it emerged on the ruins of the Achaemenid Persian Empire in the wake of the conquests of Alexander the Great, was caused by the Parthians (**fig. 47**), a people related to the Scythians[201]. The rise of the Parthian Kingdom followed the crippling economic crisis of its predecessor after two peripheral provinces of the Seleucid kingdom broke away. One of these became the Graeco-Bactrian Kingdom, while the other was occupied by the Parni nomadic tribal alliance led by Arsaces. Supported by the nomadic aristocracy, the founder of the dynasty conquered Hyrcania (the southern, south-eastern shore of the Caspian Sea), thereby firmly establishing the economic and military might of the new empire (**fig. 59**). The new regional power emerging under the Arsacids grew into one of the most powerful states of the ancient world and the most formidable adversaries of the Roman Empire[202].
At roughly the same time, the Great Wall of China (**fig. 60**) was built under the Qin Dynasty, an event directly related to the growing strength of the northern nomads. Despite the many Chinese troops stationed on the border to ward off the attacks of their powerful enemies, a huge empire was forged from the alliance of the economically prospering and strong Hsiung-nu tribes by the close of the 3rd century[202a]. Ousted from their territory by the Hsiung-nu, the Yüeh-chih marched from their former lands in Gansu province to Bactria through Dzungaria. The Wusun settled by Lake Balkhaš in the wake of the Yüeh-chih (**fig. 61**). It would appear that the Yüeh-chih tribe was the driving force of the nomadic peoples which toppled the Graeco-Bactrian Kingdom between 140 and 130 BC[203].

198 Mačinskij 1971, 53.
199 Rostovcev 1918, 33-35. – Rostovtzeff 1922, 113-114. – Harmatta 1994, 566.
200 Smirnov 1989, 169. – Skripkin 1988, 26. E.g. an Achaemenid seal found in the South Ural region can be quoted as an exotic illustration of these contacts (Smirnov 1989, pl. 71).
201 e.g. Strabo XI.9.2.
202 Koshelenko/Pilipko 1996, 131-132, with further literature.
202a Ishjamts 1996, 153, with further literature.
203 More details are given in the chapter on the Alans below.

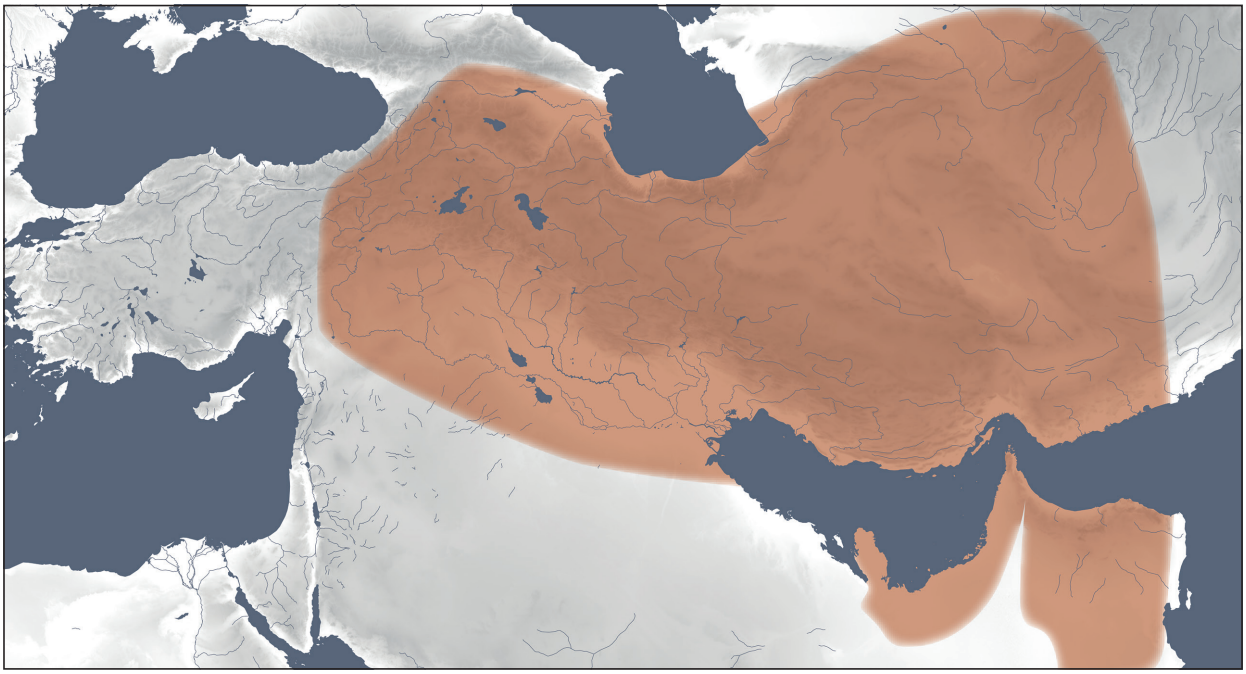


Fig. 59 The Parthian Empire at its greatest extension. – (After Central Asia 1996, map 3; map M. Ober, RGZM).

The migration of the European Sarmatians to the region between the Don and the Dnieper more or less coincided with the movements of the Asian nomads and the rise of the Parthian Empire. Without suggesting a direct link between the cataclysms on the northern Pontic steppe in the 3rd century BC and the rise of the Parthian and the Hsiung-nu Empires, it is nonetheless noteworthy that there was a general restlessness across the entire Eurasian Steppe zone at roughly the same time, whose reverberations could be felt in regions lying many thousands of kilometres away in consequence of the domino effect so often noted in nomadic societies.

It seems instructive to recall some data on the population of the South Ural region and of the Ural-Volga interfluve (**tab. 3**).

Tab. 3 Data on the population of the South Ural region and of the Ural-Volga interfluve.

6th-4th centuries BC	4th-2nd centuries BC	1st century BC-1st century AD
2,000 burials	5,000 burials	1,000 burials

The data at our disposal is insufficient for placing the events in a broader context. It is possible that the growth of animal herds following a prosperous period gave rise to a population growth, which in turn stimulated a dispersal. It is also possible that there was some external influence, namely the arrival of a new population. What we do know for certain is that the thrust towards the west originated from this region. While little is known about the relationships between the southern Uralian population and their eastern and south-eastern neighbours, one outcome of the interaction was the break in the Scythians' life on the Pontic and the occupation of Seleucid Parthia.

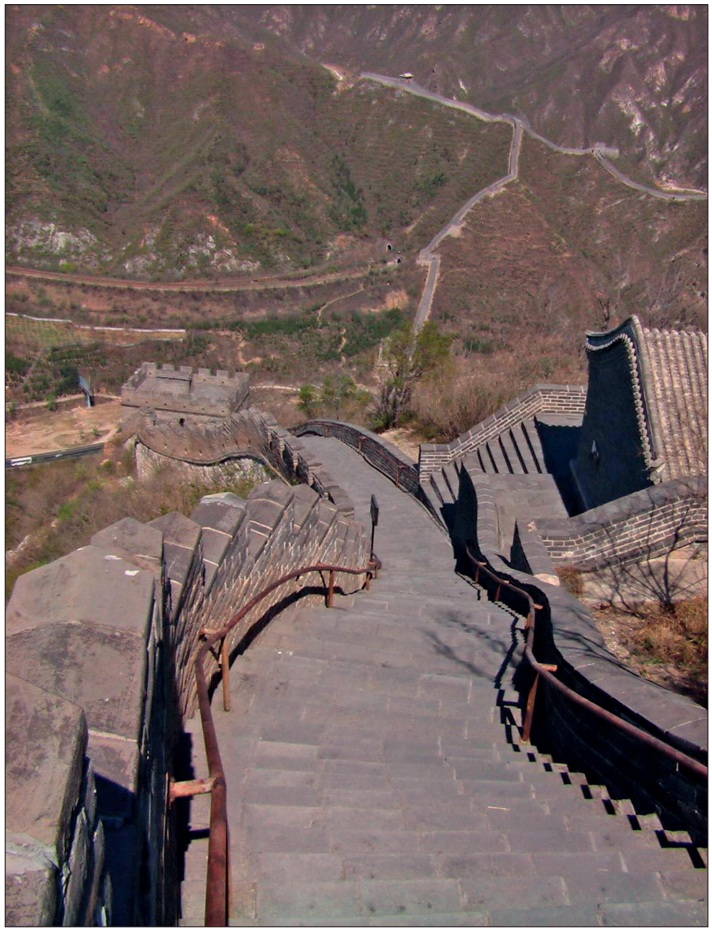




Fig. 60 The Great Wall of China. – (Photos V. Istvánovics).

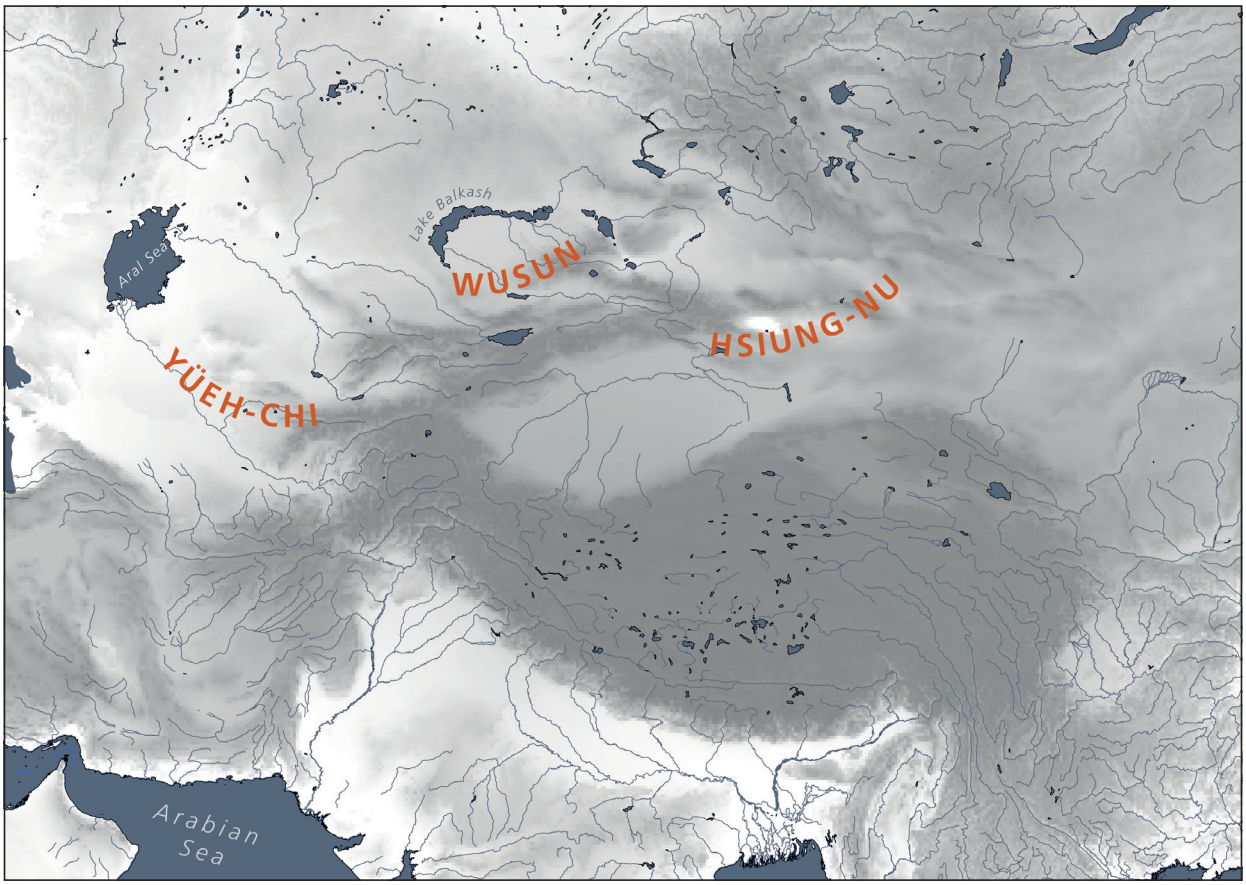


Fig. 61 The locations of the Hsiung-nu, the Wusun and the Yüeh-chi after the migration in the 3rd century BC. – (After Central Asia 1996, map 4; map M. Ober, RGZM).

THE SARMATIANS OF THE PONTIC IN THE 2ND AND 1ST CENTURIES BC

In the Sweep of Pontic Politics

From the 3rd-2nd centuries BC onward, the Sarmatians were significant actors in the politics of the northern Pontic and even of Asia Minor. Although not accurately datable, one early indication of the Sarmatian presence in the region, is an anecdote recounted by Polyaenus, a rhetorician living in the 2nd century AD:

> Amage[204], the wife of Medosaccus king of the Sarmatians, who inhabit the maritime parts of Pontica, observing her husband to be totally given up to luxury, took the reins of government into her own hands. She determined causes, stationed her garrisons, repulsed the invasions of enemies; and directed every thing with so great ability, that her fame extended through all Scythia. The Chersonesites, who inhabit Taurica, and had been much harassed by a king of the adjacent Scythians, had heard of Amage's fame; and requested an alliance with her. In consequence of a treaty formed between the two nations, she wrote to the Scythian prince, not to repeat his ravages in the Chersonese: who treated her prohibition with contempt. When with a hundred and twenty men of tried courage, and extraordinary strength, each of them provided

204 The name Amage can be derived from Old Iranian *amākā*, meaning »strong«, »mighty« (Nefëdkin 2002, 560 n. 240).

> with three horses, in one night and day she stretched a march of twelve hundred furlongs; and unexpectedly arriving at the palace, slew all the guard. And while the Scythians, confounded as in a moment of imminent danger, conceived her force to be much greater than it really was, Amage rushing into the palace, where she had made her first attack, slew the Scythian, his friends, and relations; and put the Chersonesites in free possession of their country. To the son of the Scythian prince she gave his hereditary dominions: cautioning him to take warning by his father's death; and not intrench upon the territories of his neighbours[205].

The text was analysed by Rostovcev, perhaps one of the most outstanding scholars of classical Antiquity; his conclusions, as in many other fields of historical studies, are still influential in current Sarmatian studies. The Sarmatian tribe appearing in the anecdote lived under the rule of King Medosaccus in a region bordering on the Pontic coast. Rostovcev believed that the area in question could be identified with the coast between the Dnieper and the Moločnaja rivers, west of the Sea of Azov. The seat of King Medosaccus' kingdom lay somewhere near the Perekop Isthmus. The 1,200 stadia referred to correspond to roughly 220 km, from which the location of the Sarmatian centre can be determined, especially in light of the archaeological record that indicates that the Scythian capital, Neapolis Scythica, lay in the area of modern Simferopol (**fig. 56**).
Rostovcev noted that even though the events cannot be dated securely, they can be placed in a plausible historical context known from other sources. He dated the events to the second half of the 3rd- early 2nd centuries BC[206]. In contrast, Harmatta believed that the affair described in the Amage legend took place in the mid-2nd century BC[207]. In his study on the history of the north-western Crimea, Ščeglov challenged Harmatta's dating and, quoting the findings of archaeological research, especially the date of the destruction level of various settlements, dated the events even earlier than Rostovcev[208]. Saprykin has argued convincingly that the events must have taken place before 179 BC, when an agreement was reached that the protection of the estates of the townspeople living in Chersonesus would be guaranteed by Pharnaces I, ruler of Pontus (see below). This undoubtedly meant more reliable support than that of the »perfidious« barbarians, who regularly switched alliances[209]. However, the above conjectures are no more than speculation and only so much can be stated with certainty that the anecdote recorded by Polyaenus reflects a situation sometime in the 3rd-2nd centuries BC. The narrative is fascinating because it illuminates the period's political climate in which the earlier alliance between the Greeks and the Scythians, based on trade and mutual military support, soured and the new dominant power, the Sarmatians, were called upon to protect the Greek cities, while the Scythians appeared as aggressors.
The so-called Protogenes Inscription, a section of which has already been cited in the previous chapter in connection with the Galatians, probably reflected a similar situation. The stone inscription (**fig. 57**) was erected by the grateful citizens in honour of Protogenes, a wealthy Olbian, to commemorate his magnanimous help given in a time of crisis. The inscription has been variously dated to the early 2nd century[210] and the second half of the 3rd - early 2nd century BC[211]. Protogenes came to the community's aid:

> First when King *Saitaphernes* came to Cancytus and asked for the gifts due for his passage, and the public treasury was exhausted, he was called upon by the people and gave 400 gold pieces […] And in the same priesthood when *the Saii came along to collect the gifts*, and the people was unable to give them, and asked Protogenes to help in this crisis, he came forward

205 Pol. *Strat.* VIII.56.
206 Rostovcev 1914.
207 Harmatta 1970, 19.
208 Ščeglov 1978, 128-129.
209 Saprykin 1997, 250-252.
210 Harmatta 1949, 131-133; 1970, 10-11.
211 Šelov 1984, 12, with further literature.

and promised 400 gold pieces. When he was elected one of the Nine he made an advance of not less than 1,500 gold pieces to be repaid from future revenues, from which *many chieftains were conciliated in good time and not a few presents were provided for the king* [Saitaphernes] *advantageously.* When the equipment destined for the *king's* [Saitaphernes] palace was auctioned […] Protogenes […] gave the 300 gold pieces […] When *king Saitaphernes* came along to the other side of the river to receive favours, and the magistrates called an assembly and reported on the presence of the king and on the fact that the [city's] revenues were exhausted Protogenes came forward and gave 900 gold pieces, and when the ambassadors, Protogenes and Aristocrates, took the money and *met the king, and the king took the presents but flew into a rage and broke up* [his] *quarters* and [treated?] the magistrates [unworthily? and so] the people met together and [were] terrified […] Deserters were reporting that the *Galatians* [Celts] *and the Sciri had formed an alliance, that a large force had been collected* and would be coming during the winter and in addition that *Thissamatae, Scythians and Saudaratae were anxious to seize the fort, as they themselves were equally terrified of the cruelty of the Galatians* […] [212].

What emerges clearly from the fragmentary inscription is that the once flourishing Greek colony was harassed by several barbarian peoples during this period. The Saii, the Thissamatae and Saudaratae are not mentioned elsewhere, either before or after the events recorded in the inscription. The tribal names suggest that they were Iranian peoples. Linguists have proposed several explanations for the meaning of the name Saitapharnes, the king residing somewhere near Olbia, on the basis of the context; both elements are undoubtedly of Iranian origin (*sai*, *Xšay*, »to shine«, »to rule«; *farnah*, »luck«)[213]. Harmatta interpreted the tribal name Saii, also of Iranian origin, as meaning »colourful«, arguing that the colour of the horse species was often one of the elements in the name of horse-breeding nomads[214]. Not being linguists, we cannot take a stand on this issue, however, Tomaschek's view (cited by Harmatta) is more tempting from a historical perspective. Tomaschek associated the name of this tribe with Avestan *xšaya* (»ruler«, »prince«, »king«), which is comparable to the etymology given for the name Saitapharnes. Accepting this interpretation can perhaps bring us closer to solving the riddle of the Royal Sarmatians mentioned by Strabo (see below). Yet another hypothesis proposed by Harmatta, was that the name Saii referred to several tribes rather than one tribe, at least judging from the mention of several chieftains (literally, »sceptre-bearers«)[215].

One indication of the relocation of the Sarmatian centre on the right bank of the Don can be found in a passage of Polybius, according to which the Sarmatian king Gatalos appears as a European king among the members of an international treaty concluded in 179 BC[216]. (The treaty itself brought an end to the conflict between Pontus and its adversaries, Bithynia, Pergamum and Cappadocia.) Even this seemingly reliable piece of information has been challenged more recently because the boundary of Europe was drawn at different rivers in various periods. Beginning with Strabo, the border between Asia and Europe has been identified with the Tanais/Don. There is no consensus on whether Polybius accepted the Tanaic border or whether he followed the Ionian geographic tradition, identifying Europe with the region north of the River Phasis[217]. An-

212 Latyschev 1916, no. 32, 54-55, italics added for emphasis. – Austin 1981, 171-172.

213 Abaev 1979, 309. 314.

214 Harmatta 1970, 10-12, with further literature; see also 1949, 131-132.

215 Cf. Tacit. *Annal*. VI.33, who also calls the leaders »sceptre-bearers«.

216 Polybius 25.2,13. This brief passage has served as the starting point for the reconstruction of elaborate alliances, most of which are speculative at best. These shall not be discussed here.

217 Polin 1992, 93-94. The identification of the boundary between Europe and Asia changed from time to time. One case in point is the comparison of the above with Annaeus Seneca's remark that »here are the Danube and | the Rhine separating with their streams the peaceful | from the hostile, the former checking attacks from | the Sarmatians and forming the boundary between | Europe and Asia, the latter keeping back the | Germans, a nation ever keen for war […]« (Sen. *Nat.Quest.* VI.7).

other problem in this respect is that the River Phasis is variously identified with the River Rioni in the Caucasus, with the River Arax and with the River Kuban[218]. To further complicate the intricacies of the names used in Antiquity, it must be recalled that Polybius' Tanais is sometimes believed to be identical with the Kuban[219]. In this case, regardless of whether the Kuban can be identified with Polybius' Phasis or Tanais, the Siraci living in the foreground of the Caucasus seem the most likely candidates; and Gatalos ruled over this people. Marčenko made an attempt to support this possibility with archaeological evidence, arguing that there are no (or, better said, very few) Sarmatian sites west of the Don, meaning that a royal centre could hardly have been located in this region. At the same time, the find assemblages attributed to the Siraci make their appearance in the Kuban region from the second half of the 4th century BC. The period's Siracian graves contain numerous artefacts from Asia Minor, suggesting that the Siraci had participated in the war concluded by the peace treaty which Gatalos had attended (**figs 62-63**). The Siraci were employed as mercenaries in other regions as well, for example in the Caucasus (see the above-quoted passage from the *Kartlis Chovreba*)[220].

Finds from the First Half of the Sarmatian Age (Mid-2nd Century - Mid-1st Century BC)

Following the 3rd century hiatus, find assemblages attributable to the Sarmatians make their appearance in the northern Pontic up to the lower reaches of the Dnieper, in the 2nd century BC, or, as has been more recently suggested, from mid-century[221]. Over 4,000 burials are known west of the Don, enabling the assessment of the finds, as well as – in theory – their chronological periodisation. At the same time, there are numerous marked differences between the different regions, especially between the material from the Don-Dnieper interfluve, and the assemblages east of the Don.

In the east, i. e. in the region between the Don, the Volga and the Ural, there is a perceptible increase in the number of »primary« graves above which a kurgan was erected (although regional differences can be noted). The grave pits are wide, in many cases almost square shaped and the deceased were often laid to rest in a diagonal position in the grave. Catacombs, the typical grave constructions of the preceding period, disappear (though not in the Kuban region and the northern Caucasus), and the number of niche graves significantly declines. Burials were predominantly orientated south to north. East of the Don the typical elements of Sauromatian culture, lacking in the early Sarmatian Age, make a comeback. These include the diagonal deposition of the dead, the custom of placing intact, rather than broken mirrors in the grave, the re-appearance of a particular class of handmade pottery and the popularity of various articles decorated in the animal style. A number of remarkably richly furnished female burials evoke the »matriarchate« of the Sauromatian period[222].

At the same time in the Dnieper region, secondary burials dug into earlier kurgans dominate, while niche graves and catacombs are rare (although their number increases with time), and there are no diagonal burials. Family kurgans, a customary burial mode in the east, are also lacking. Grave goods were usually placed by the head in the Dnieper Valley. The grave assemblages include Middle La Tène brooches and Late Hellenistic import pottery. The most typical weapons accompanying the deceased are sickle-hilted daggers and swords, and iron arrowheads of the socketed and tanged variety (**fig. 64**). The deceased are generally

218 Pecz 1902/1904, vol. II, 461.

219 Polybius' mistakes were criticised already by Strabo (II.4.1-5), e. g.: »it is false that the river Don flows from the summer rising. For all who are acquainted with these localities inform us that this river flows from the north into the Mæotis« (II.4.5).

220 Marčenko 1996, 124-126.

221 Simonenko/Lobaj 1991, 83. The exact date of these assemblages has been debated by different generations and schools of scholars; it is yet impossible to refine the general broad date of the 2nd century BC.

222 Skripkin 1990, 215-216.

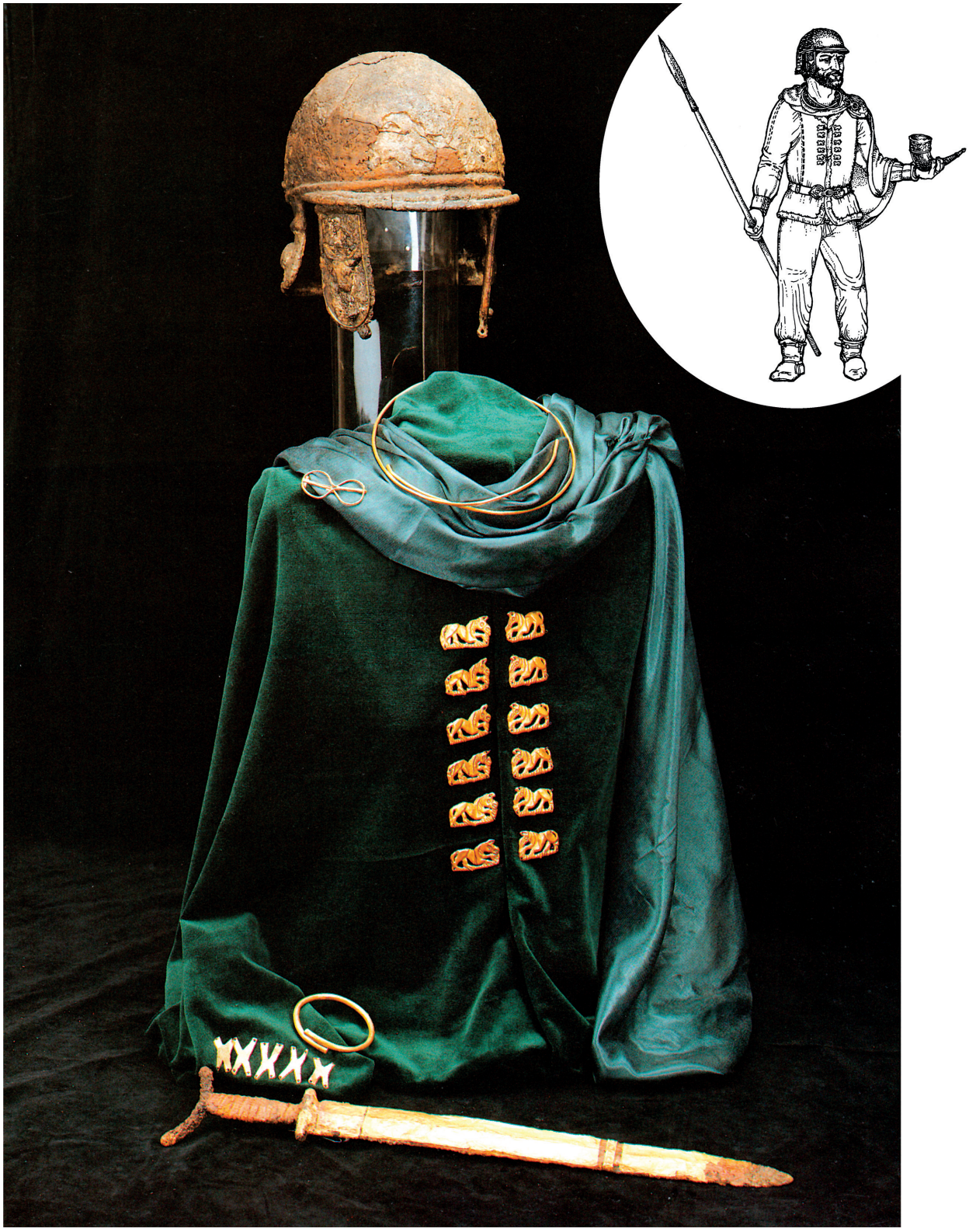


Fig. 62 Reconstruction of the costume of the warrior buried in Grave 3 of the Bojko-Ponura kurgan dating from the first half of the 2nd century BC. The warrior was probably a high-ranking contemporary of Gatalos. – (After L'Or 2001, 158-159).



Fig. 63 Celtic helmet of the first half of the 2nd century BC from the burial of a Siracian warrior: Grave 3 of the Bojko-Ponura kurgan. The helmet reflects the contacts between the Siracians and the Celtic Galatians of Asia Minor. Gatalos' warriors probably participated in Pharnaces I' campaigns on the Anatolian coast. – (After L'Or 2001, 160 no. 158).

orientated north to south. Several typical Prohorovka types, such as hand-built vessels, are lacking. Some scholars associate these burials with the Iazyges and Roxolani[223].

A new, distinctive ornamental style, the Sarmatian polychrome animal style, became popular during this period. The style survived until the first half of the 2nd century AD with its greatest popularity occurring in the 1st century AD. Its appearance is usually linked to the arrival of a new population[224].

The Sarmatian Tribes

The history of the northern Pontic during this period was essentially determined by the conflict between the kingdom of Mithridates VI Eupator (»the Great«) and the Roman Empire. The life of the barbarian tribes was also affected and it also had a bearing on the information gathered about these tribes. In contrast to the often vague and jumbled pieces of information from earlier periods, the works by different classical authors now contain increasingly more references to the Sarmatian tribes. The historic and geographic record is complemented by the epigraphic evidence.

One obvious question is what other Sarmatian tribes are known aside from the Siraci? Writing a few hundred years after Herodotus, Strabo provided a systematic description of the tribes living on the northern Pontic coast:

> [...] the whole country that lies above the said seaboard between the Borysthenes and the Ister consists, first, of the desert of the Getae, then the country of the Tyregetans, and after it the

223 Simonenko 1994, 15-16.

224 The finds of this group were recently reviewed by Mordvinceva 2003, who noted that some artefacts are known from Early Sarmatian contexts, while others from Middle Sarmatian ones. In her view, this group of finds appeared at the close of the 2nd century BC. The implication of the new dating is that the distribution of these finds can be linked to the arrival of a new population. In this case, however, this population had to arrive before the 1st century. For a critique, see Zaseckaja 2006.

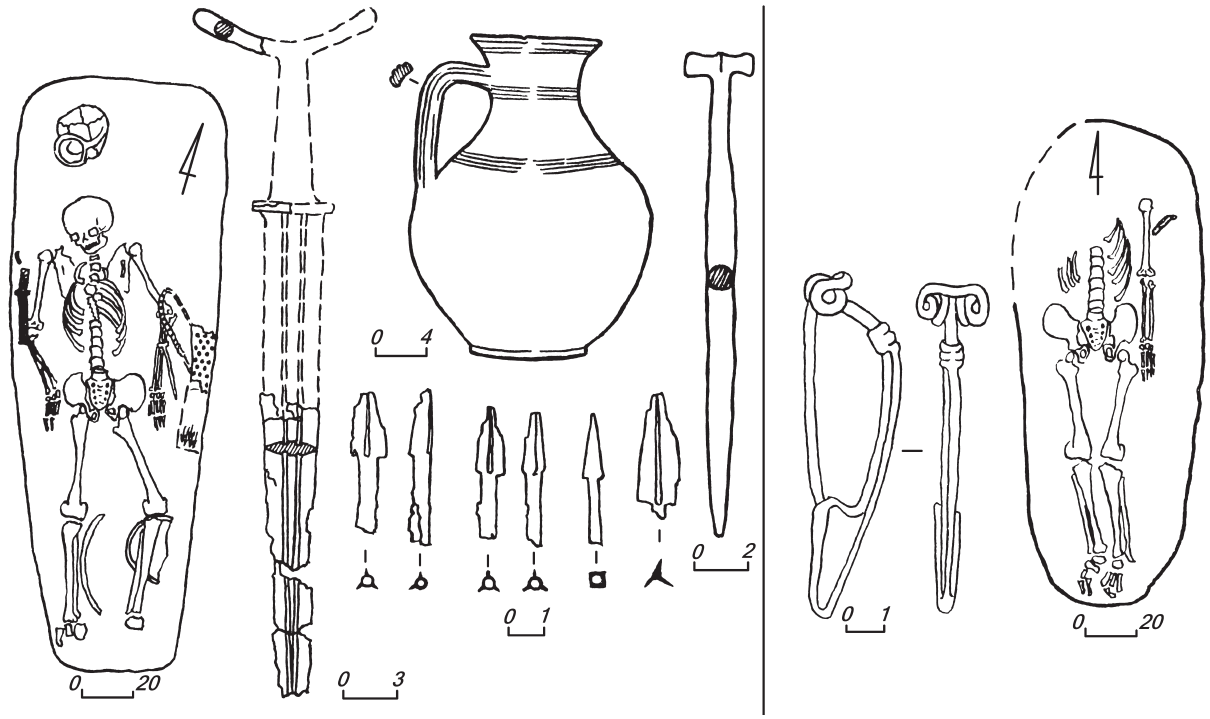


Fig. 64 Burials with grave goods typical for the first half of the Middle Sarmatian Age (mid-2nd century BC-mid-1st century AD) from Vinogradnoe and Volodimirovka. – (After Simonenko 1991, figs 1, 2; 2, 1).

> country of the Iazygian Sarmatians and that of the people called the Basileans (»royals«) and that of the Urgi, who in general are nomads, though a few are interested also in farming. […] In the interior dwell, first, those Bastarnians whose country borders on that of the Tyregetans and Germans – they also being, one might say, of Germanic stock; and they are divided up into several tribes, for a part of them are called Atmoni and Sidoni, while those who took possession of Peuce, the island in the Ister, are called »Peucini,« whereas the »Roxolani« (the most northerly of them all) roam the plains between the Tanaïs and the Borysthenes. […] but whether any people dwell beyond the Roxolani we do not know[225]. (**fig. 65**)

Strabo mentioned four Sarmatian groups, whose location was traditionally conceptualised as follows: 1) the Roxolani in the region between the Don and the Dnieper; 2) the Urgi, west of the Dnieper; followed by, 3) the Royal Sarmatians; and, 4) the Iazyges. Recently, John Hind has suggested that the Sauromatians, the Iurkae, the Thyssagetae and the Royal Scythians mentioned by Herodotus east of the Don, had migrated westward and later appeared as Strabo's Iazyges, Urgi, Tyragetae and Royal Sarmatians (Basileioi) living west of the Don and, shortly afterwards, north of the Lower Danube. This would also explain how the Siraci, Aorsi and Alans (the former Massagetes) fleeing the Hun onslaught, occupied the areas left vacant east of the Don[226].
The events of the Mithridatic Wars, in which the Roxolani were also involved, were mentioned in the so-called Diophantus Inscription (see below). In view of the latter and the fact that Strabo drew his geographic data from Artemidoros, his description of the tribal territories reflected conditions in the 2nd-1st centuries BC[227].

225 Strabo VII.3.17.
226 Hind 2007.
227 Rostovtzeff 1922, 115. – Rostovcev 1925, 38-42. – Harmatta 1950, 3-4; 1970, 14-15. Although there are two different views concerning Strabo's sources, this does not affect the chronology outlined here.



Fig. 65 Germania, Getica, Sarmatia, Illyria and Thracia in Strabo's *Geography*. – (After Strabo, appendix).

Contrary to the above chronology, the recent archaeological record indicates that the finds which can be associated with these peoples first appeared on the right bank of the Dnieper around the turn of the millennium, spreading slowly to the Danube and the Carpathian foreland[228]. The fortifications built by the Scythians in the Dnieper region indicate that this advance was far from peaceful. These fortified settlements were abandoned in the late 1st-early 2nd centuries AD[229], by which time a new Sarmatian wave reached the region from the Don, around the mid and second half of the 1st century AD[230].

Despite the testimony of the archaeological record, the unanimous descriptions contained in the written sources, and the general reliability and credibility of Strabo's information, it would appear that at least three Sarmatian peoples – the Urgi, the Iazyges and the Royal Sarmatians – had settled west of the Dnieper by the early 1st century BC at the latest (but most probably even earlier).

Polin and Simonenko proposed one possible explanation for resolving the contradiction. In their view, the three Sarmatian tribes were actually the one and the same people, and the Urgi and the Royal Sarmatians mentioned by Strabo were two groups of the Sarmatians. The reconstruction of Vipsanius Agrippa's map indicates that the boundary between Sarmatia and Dacia was marked by the Dnieper until the turn of the millennium[231]. According to this, Sarmatians may have crossed the Dnieper not until after the death of Burebista and the dissolution of his state. This corresponds to the suggestion that Strabo's passage claiming that the Sarmatians lived west of the Dnieper had been inserted toward the end of the author's life[232].

228 Simonenko/Lobaj 1991, 83.
229 Hrapunov 1991, 23-26.
230 Simonenko/Lobaj 1991, 83.
231 Podosinov 2002, 55.
232 Polin 1992, 95-96. – Simonenko 1999, both with further literature. We are grateful to Simonenko for permitting us to read and quote from his unpublished doctoral dissertation.

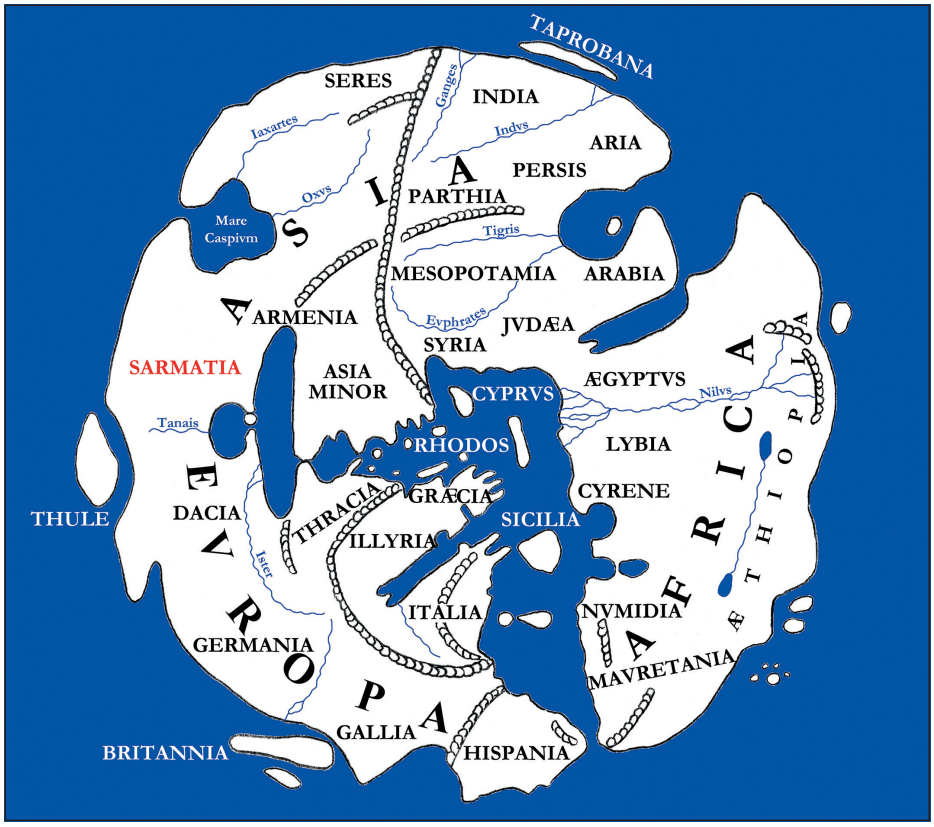


Fig. 66 Reconstruction of Vipsanius Agrippa's map, 20 BC. – (After lazarus.elte.hu/hun/dolgozo/jesus/tt/romaiot.htm [5.5.2012]).

Only so much is certain from Strabo's description, that the Sarmatians and the Geto-Dacians[233] were neighbours during this period. His description was, as you will recall: »desert of the Getae, then the country of the Tyregetans, and after it the country of the Iazygian Sarmatians«[234].

Regarding Vipsanius Agrippa's map, it must be borne in mind that it is not a genuine map, but a reconstructed cartographic work – another reconstruction has the Tanais as the frontier river between Sarmatia and Dacia (**fig. 66**). It is therefore instructive to examine the Geto-Dacian archaeological assemblages. Visiting Olbia in 95 AD, Dion Chrysostom could still see traces of the devastation wreaked by the Getae[235], probably in 55 BC, when Burebista's kingdom reached its greatest extent: Romanian scholars claim that the eastern boundary was marked by the Hypanis (Bug). This would imply that they did not expand beyond Olbia and had only occupied the coastal area.

233 The term Getae is an ethnonym principally used in the Greek sources, while Latin sources preferred the ethnonym Dacian (Plin. *NH* IV.XII.80: »*Daci Romanis dicti*«). In Ovid's case, the Getae are identical with the Dacians. However, the two ethnonyms did not always refer to the same people. For example, Strabo drew a sharp distinction between the two. His Dacians were the western branch of the northern Thracian tribes, occupying the territory north-east of Scythia Minor in the Dobrudja (Strabo VII.3.12). The Getae are described as inhabiting the northern Pontic along the lower reaches of the Danube. Insofar as the two peoples are not identical, they were closely related. The equation of the two ethnonyms began sometime around the turn of the millennium, when these peoples coalesced into major tribal alliances first led by the Getae and, later, by the Dacians (Skržinskaja 1977, 40-44).

234 Müller 2003, 436-437, has recently suggested that a nomadic Sarmatian influence can be demonstrated among the Bastarnae. The date of the relevant passages could provide additional confirmation for the relatively early Sarmatian expansion west of the Dnieper, but this theory based on indirect data of the written sources requires further examination.

235 Dio Chrysost. XXXVI.4, XXVI.6.

After Burebista's death around 40 BC, there is a marked increase in the written sources and epigraphic material indicating a Sarmatian presence in the foreland of the Lower Danube. The Sarmatians' activity was undoubtedly a direct consequence of the collapse of the Geto-Dacian kingdom.
Little more can be said in this respect, not least because of the lack of Sarmatian finds west of the Dnieper and, also, because neither are there Geto-Dacian assemblages. Insofar as the dating of the known finds is correct, the archaeological record is insufficient for determining either the ethnic affiliation of the population living there, or their political situation.
While Strabo's quoted passage has been analysed from many angles, far less attention has been accorded to another list of peoples by Appian for the period between 98 and 90 BC, when various tribes of the Pontic steppe were Mithridates' allies. Even though Appian does not specify their exact location, he is clearly writing about the western regions of the southern Russian steppe. The peoples listed by him include the Bastarnae and the Sauromatians, among whom he distinguished Royal Sarmatians (Basilidae), Iazyges and Coralli[236].
In the absence of more recent comprehensive and convincing classical philological studies, the accuracy of the newly proposed theories can hardly be decided. Thus, the broad canvas initially painted by Rostovcev seems acceptable. A Sarmatian expansion can be assumed from the 3rd century BC, even if these were little more than raids at first. The *status quo* with the Sarmatian presence west of the Dnieper, described by Strabo, emerged in the 2nd century[236a]. The situation described above then changed after Burebista's death around 40 BC.
Tracing the location of the Sarmatian peoples toward the east, the Roxolani are followed by the Aorsi on the left bank of the Don and on the shores of the Sea of Azov, while the Siraci continued to reside in the Kuban Valley. Moving northward, we can confidently assert that the Sarmatian lands – and the earlier Scythian territories – did not, with a few minor exceptions, extend into the forested steppe zone. At first, there was hardly any contact between the two regions: a situation which changed during later periods.

The Siraci

Abaev derived the tribal name of the Siraci from Iranian *sir-* (»to dance«, »to trot«) and compared it to Ossetian *sirag* (»to dance lightly, walking«). The name Siracos crops up in the epigraphic material from Olbia[237]. One interesting piece of information is that Darius' troops were lured into a waterless desert by a Saka horse-keeper by the name of Sirakos (»deceitful leader«)[238].
We have already mentioned the Siraci above (**figs 62-63**). This tribe was the single Sarmatian group that did not, apparently, participate in the westward migration, at least judging from the extant sources. These all locate their lands to the Sea of Azov, the Caspian Sea or the foreland of the Caucasus, save for a single vague passage in Pliny's work, according to which the Siraci lived in the western part of the northern Pontic coast[239].
As we saw, the Siraci were one of the important political actors on the scene. Around the turn of the millennium, however, their position on the right bank of the Kuban became unstable owing to the new Sarmatian (Aorsian/Alan) advance. The Siraci of the Kuban region withdrew to their fortified settlements and their

236 »The Sarmatian and Bastarnian wars restrained Mithridates« (Plutarch *De fort Roman* 11). »From Europe he [Mithridat] drew of the Sarmatian tribes, both the Basilidae and the Jazyges, the Coralli, and those Thracians who dwelt along the Danube and on the Rhodope and Haemus mountains, and besides these the Bastarnae, the bravest nation of all« (Appian. *Mithr*. X.69). These references were first discussed by Kulakovskij 2000, 51.

236a Otherwise we would have to assume an incredibly swift migration. The Middle Danube region, the territory ringed by the Carpathians, lies at least 1000 km from the Dnieper even as the crow flies (and practically the double of this distance on land) across territories strongly dissected by rivers. In the model proposed by Polin and Simonenko, Iazygians would have crossed this vast territory *en masse* within 20-25 years, with an average of 40 km covered per year.

237 Abaev 1979, 303.

238 Pol. *Strat*. VII.12.

239 Plin. *NH* IV.XII.83. – Skržinskaja 1977.

burials along the river's right bank disappeared gradually. The route of their withdrawal was determined by the earlier Bosporan alliance: they retreated to the Taman' Peninsula[240]. At roughly the same time, local groups can be distinguished in the formerly uniform archaeological material[241]. The Aorsi encircled the Siraci from the north and the east, seeing that the greater part of the Caspian region was under their control[242], including the Derbent Pass, the second most important Caucasian pass. The Siraci, and especially the groups living in the middle part of the northern Caucasus, and in the Terek and Sunža basin, found themselves encircled on the steppe of the Caucasian foreland.
Even though relations between the two tribal alliances soured, there is evidence for cases of intermarriage between the Siraci and the Aorsi. One of these comes from Grave 20 of the Krestovyj kurgan near Alitub in the Don region. This is the burial site of a high-ranking woman from the 1st century BC, laid to rest according to the funerary rite practised in the Kuban region. Certain elements of the funerary rite are alien to the Don region, as are some of the grave goods, suggesting that the grave contained the burial of a Siracian woman[243].

The Aorsi

The name of the Aorsi is generally derived from the Iranian word meaning »white« (Avestan *auruša*, Ossetian *ors*)[244]. Regarding the location of the Aorsi, let us again turn to Strabo's passages on the northern Pontic tribes, which have in part already been quoted in the case of Siraci:

> Of the portions thus divided, the first is inhabited, in the region toward the north and the ocean, by Scythian nomads and wagon-dwellers, and south of these, by Sarmatians, these too being Scythians, and by Aorsi and Siraci, who extend towards the south as far as the Caucasian Mountains, some being nomads and others tent-dwellers and farmers. About Lake Maeotis live the Maeotae.
> The next peoples to which one comes between Lake Maeotis and the Caspian Sea are nomads, the Nabiani and the Panxani, and then next the tribes of the Siraces and the Aorsi. The Aorsi and the Siraces are thought to be fugitives from the upper tribes of those names and the Aorsi are more to the north than the Siraces. Now Abeacus, king of the Siraces, sent forth twenty thousand horsemen at the time when Pharnaces held the Bosporus; and Spadines, king of the Aorsi, two hundred thousand; but the upper Aorsi sent a still larger number, for they held dominion over more land, and, one may almost say, ruled over most of the Caspian coast; and consequently they could import on camels the Indian and Babylonian merchandise, receiving it in their turn from the Armenians and the Medes, and also, owing to their wealth, could wear golden ornaments. Now the Aorsi live along the Tanaïs, but the Siraces live along the Achardeüs, which flows from the Caucasus and empties into Lake Maeotis[245].

The numbers, as already mentioned above, are obviously grossly exaggerated, but they do indicate that the military forces recruited were quite large. The demonstration of power was part of the build-up to the war with Rome in 50-49 BC, when Pharnaces, Mithridates Eupator's treacherous son, who first made a deal with the Romans, later attempted to restore his father's kingdom.

240 Marčenko 1988, 80.
241 Zaharov 2000, 39.
242 Strabo XI.5.8.
243 Zaharov 2000, 39.
244 Cf. the ethnonym Alanorsi, »white Alan«, and the name of the Roxolani, also containing the root »white«. – Abaev 1979, 282. – Alemany 2000, 8-9.
245 Strabo XI.2.1, XI.5.8. According to Rostovtzeff 1922, 116, this piece of information was taken from Theophanes of Mytilene.

The Aorsi are here described as the eastern neighbours of the Roxolani and the northern neighbours of the Siraci. The boundary with the latter was probably the River Manyč, which can in all likelihood be identified with the Achardeus[246].
Strabo claimed that trade with India and Babylon was controlled by the Upper Aorsi. Interestingly enough, Roman imports are lacking from the Lower Volga region where the Upper Aorsi were established during the 3rd-1st centuries BC, whereas they are more frequent among the Aorsi localised to the Lower Don region[247].

Urgi and Royal Sarmatians

Perhaps the most controversial (possibly) Sarmatian tribes mentioned by Strabo are the Urgi and the Royal Sarmatians. The Urgi only appear in Strabo's writings. Abaev derived *urgos* from the Iranian word meaning »wolf« (cf. *varka*, appearing in both the *Avesta* and in Ossetian). He noted that it was a totem name, similar to the etymology of *saka* (»deer«)[248].
It has been suggested that the Urgi were not a Sarmatian people, but a sedentary Scythian tribe that survived into the Sarmatian period in their hillforts along the Dnieper. They are usually linked to Herodotus' γεωργοι, the Scythian farmers. It would appear that a distorted form of their name was preserved by Strabo[249]. However, Hind has recently suggested that the Urgi should rather be associated with the Iurkai, the neighbours of the Sauromatians in the Don region in Herodotus' time, who appear as Tyrcae in later sources[250].
Quoting a passage from Appian, Smirnov sought to equate the Iazyges with the Royal Sarmatians. Smirnov's concept is based on a misunderstanding because in the passage in question, Appian describes the Royal Sarmatians (Sauromatians) and the Iazyges as related peoples, both the allies of Mithridates[251]. Smirnov's mistaken interpretation was adopted by Simonenko, who compared Appian's list of tribes with the data contained in Strabo's above-quoted passages. Basing his arguments on the lack of punctuation in Strabo's work, he interpreted the passage as meaning »Iazygians, [i. e.] the so-called Royals and the Urgi«[252]. It seems to us that this issue can only be resolved by a new, more thorough classical philological re-assessment of the texts in question, uninfluenced by the findings of archaeological research.
Harmatta has pointed out that the Royal Sarmatians' land was ringed by the other tribes (Iazyges, Urgi, Roxolani). He drew a parallel with the name of the Royal Scythians and the known model of nomadic tribal alliances in which the power of a central tribe was the cohesive force of the alliance[253]. Without delving deeper into this problem (seeing that there are no additional sources for resolving it), let us again refer to the possibility that the Saii and the Royal Sarmatians represent the same people – a possibility also raised by Smirnov[254].

The Iazyges

Holzer derived the name of the Iazyges from Iranian **yazyu-ka-* (»priest presenting a sacrifice«; Old Iranian *yájyu-*, »respected«, »pious«, *Adhvaryu-*, »priestly«, Avestan *yazaite,* »sacrificed«), arguing that *k* is transformed into *g* in the Sarmatian language and *-ka* is a frequent suffix in Aryan. However, he does not entirely discard Vasmer's interpretation that the name can be derived from Iranian *yazu-*, Old Iranian *yahu-* (»in-

246 Vinogradov 1966.
247 Sergackov 1996, 113.
248 Abaev 1979, 308. – Hind 2007, n. 8, quotes Abaev 1949, 185, according to whom the word can be derived from **ugra*, »strong«.
249 Smirnov 1984, 120, with further literature.
250 Hind 2007, 242-243. – Herodotus IV.21-22 (Iurkai → Iurgoi → Ourgoi).
251 Appian. *Mithr*. XII.69.293-294.
252 Simonenko 1993b, 59-60.
253 Harmatta 1970, 12-14.
254 Smirnov 1984, 119.

defatigable«, »restless«), and also takes into consideration Müllenhoff's derivation from Avestan *yazata-*, »worthy of reverence«, and *yazu-*, »great«, »outstanding«[255].

Following Müllenhof, who first suggested an etymology for the name of the Iazyges, Minns, who can be credited with writing one of the first thorough studies on Scythian-Sarmatian history, assumed that the tribal name cropped up in the most diverse variants, a view seconded by Rostovcev and Sulimirski. Accordingly, the Ixomatae, the Ixibatae, the Iazamatae, the Iazabatae (and, in our view, perhaps the Iami mentioned by Hecataeus[256]) were different names for the same people who were always described as the westernmost Sarmatian tribe from their first very appearance in recorded history. This tribe was the westernmost one mentioned in the reports of classical authors. Its ancestry was shrouded in darkness, but in any case they coalesced into a tribe proper far east of the Danube[257].

Beside the Roxolani, most scholars regard the Iazyges as the period's other major tribal alliance. The latter are often identified with the Royal Sarmatians, a hypothesis which, as we have seen, is based on the misinterpretation of one passage and a philologically doubtful reading of the sources.

The identification of the Iazyges' archaeological heritage in the regions east of the Carpathian Mountains is principally based on the distinctive orientation of the graves. One population group living on the Budžak steppe (Odessa and the Lower Danube region) and in Moldova is characterised by graves in which the deceased were laid to rest with the head toward the south (in contrast to the north to south orientation typical for the Dnieper region). These graves are generally dated to the early and mid-1st century AD, a date which is »later« compared to Strabo's description of the region's tribes reflecting conditions in the 1st century BC at the latest. The identification of the northern Pontic find assemblages with the Iazyges is supported by the fact that the Iazyges migrating to the Carpathian Basin also buried their dead with a south to north orientation. The disappearance of burials orientated to the south from the Pontic coast in the mid-1st century is generally explained by the migration of the Iazyges[258].

The Roxolani

Their name can be interpreted as *roxs-alan*, with *roxs* coming from Old Iranian *rauxšna* (»light«), and *alan* (*ālān*) from *aryana* (»Aryan«), meaning »light [white?] Alans«[259]. Strabo's description suggests that the Roxolani lived in the Don-Dnieper interfluve. They are located in the Crimea in one of the period's most important epigraphic sources dated to the early 2nd century BC, the decree honouring Diophantus, a general of Mithridates VI, King of Pontus (**fig. 67**). The same event is also mentioned by Strabo, a rare instance in the case of sources of different types. In order to understand what had led up to this situation, we must make a brief detour back into the 4th century BC.

255 Holzer 1989, 201. 207, with further literature. Holzer embraced Dumézil's (e.g. 1978, 171-203) and Benveniste's hypothesis of the »three-fold ideology« of the Indo-Europeans and therefore tried to fit his etymologies into this tripartite social framework. He argued that, whichever etymology is accepted, all three indicate that the tripartite social system also existed among the Sarmatians and that the Iazyges could be linked to the sacral sphere.

256 Latyšev 1947/1952-1992/1993, 300.

257 See Smirnov 1984, 119-120, summarising the above mentioned views.

258 Simonenko 1993b, 61-62, with further literature.

259 Miller 1887, 86. – Abaev 1979, 277. 280-281. – Alemany 2000, 8-9.



Fig. 67 Tetradrachm of Mithridates VI Eupator (120-63 BC) from 95 BC. – (After L'Or 2001, 133 no. 118).

The Mithridates Dynasty. Some Words on the Pontic-Bosporan Kingdom and the Scythians of the Crimea

The kingdom of the Mithridatidae was founded in the late 4th century BC. The founder, Mithridates I (302-266), traced his ancestry to the Achaemenids. Initially incorporating Cappadocia and Paphlagonia (the southern Pontic coast), the Pontic Kingdom expanded continuously and eventually conquered Bithynia and Sinope. The kingdom's rise began in the first quarter of the 2nd century BC, under the reign of Pharnaces I, reaching its greatest glory under the reign of Mithridates VI Eupator (»the Great«), followed by an irrevocable decline. Cherishing visions of world dominion, Mithridates VI successfully enlarged his kingdom, annexing the Bosporan Kingdom and conquering Colchis, thereby ensuring his control over the Pontic (**fig. 68**). He engineered a coalition against Rome, with the participation of Armenia and Parthia. His relations spread as far as Syria. Egypt also joined the coalition. On the northern littoral of the Black Sea he rallied Olbia, Chersonesus and the northern Pontic barbarian peoples to his side, among others. The necessary financial resources were ensured by the conquest of the Bosporan Kingdom. Mithridates first turned against Rome in 89 BC, making the most of the fact that the republic, fast growing into a major empire, was then riven by civil war[260].

In 111 or 100 BC, Mithridates sent an army commanded by Diophantus to assist the Chersonesians after the Scythians, led by King Palacus, had occupied the city (we have seen from the legend of Amage that this flourishing Crimean city was regularly raided by the Scythians). The Scythians gained a foothold in the peninsula's interior: the Scythian fort of Palakion in the land of the Tauri was built at this time (in the Simferopol area). Strabo mentions three fortified settlements (Palakion, Neapolis and Chabon) built by King Scilurus and his sons (**fig. 69**)[261]. Diophantus defeated the Scythians. The Scythians turned to the Roxolani for assistance during this war. According to the panegyric inscription (**fig. 70**), when Palacus »thought the occasion was to his advantage and was collecting all his own forces, dragging along also the tribe of the Reuxinalians«. Diophantus crushed them: »[of the enemy's] infantry scarcely a one [was saved], and of the cavalry not many escaped«[262]. The decree's text echoes Strabo's information – probably drawn from Poseidonius[263] – who noted that:

260 For the most recent comprehensive monograph on the Pontic Kingdom, see Saprykin 1996.

261 Strabo VII.4.7. A fourth hillfort (*gorodišče*) is known from an epigraphic source. Four major Late Scythian fortified settlements are known, however, only in one case could the settlement site be identified with one of the forts mentioned in the written sources: Neapolis, identical with modern Kermenčik [Simferopol] (Hrapunov 1995, 51).

262 Bagnall/Derrow 2004, 102-103.

263 Harmatta 1950, 6-7.



Fig. 68 The Pontic Kingdom at the time of Mithridates VI Eupator. – (After Molev 1995, map 1; map M. Ober, RGZM).



Fig. 69 Scilurus and his son, Palacus. – (After Bunjatjan et al. 1998, fig. 76).



Fig. 70 The so-called Diophantus Inscription. – (After Latyschev 1916, pl. IV).

> [...] The Roxolani, under the leadership of Tasius, carried on war even with the generals of Mithridates Eupator; they came for the purpose of assisting Palacus, the son of Scilurus, as his allies, and they had the reputation of being warlike; yet all barbarian races and light-armed peoples are weak when matched against a well-ordered and well-armed phalanx. At any rate, those people, about fifty thousand strong, could not hold out against the six thousand men arrayed with Diophantus, the general of Mithridates, and most of them were destroyed. They use helmets and corselets made of raw ox-hides, carry wicker shields, and have for weapons spears, bow, and sword; and most of the other barbarians are armed in this way[264].

Strabo's Roxolani can be identified with the Reuxinals appearing in the Diophantus Inscription, who appear as allies of the Scythian king Palacus in the battle against Chersonesus (**fig. 71**)[265]. Their defeat can be dated to between 110 and 106 BC[266].

During the reign of Scilurus and his son Palacus (**fig. 69**), Olbia was subjugated by the Scythians and even minted coins bearing Scilurus' name. Neapolis Scythica (**fig. 56**) was firmly established as the Scythians' capital under their reign in the second half of the 2nd century BC, although ties with the population of the Lower Dnieper region were not severed, despite the Sarmatian conquest. Relations with Chersonesus and the Bosporus soured owing to the growth of marine trade because the Greeks sought to control the bays suitable for harbours in the western Crimea. At the same time, the epigraphic record indicates that there

264 Strabo VII.3.17.
265 Skržinskaja 1977, 43.
266 Harmatta 1950, 6, with further literature.



Fig. 71 The ruins of Chersonesus (modern Sevastopol). – (Photo E. Istvánovits / V. Kulcsár).



Fig. 72 V. P. Tolstikov's reconstruction of the acropolis of Pantikapaion. – (After Davnja 1994, 233).

were Scythians living among the Greeks of the Bosporus. We know that King Scilurus' daughter married a Greek aristocrat of Pantikapaion. The Bosporan queen Komosarye's second husband bore an Iranian name and it is possible that he came from the Scythian royal dynasty. The Diophantus Inscription mentions that a Scythian called Saumacus instigated a rebellion in Bosporus. The rebels killed Paerisades, King of Bosporus, and even managed to occupy Pantikapaion (**fig. 72**) and Theodosia for some time[267].

Returning to the events of the Mithridatic Wars, Diophantus seized Neapolis and Chabon, the Scythian royal military headquarters[268]. Despite the alliance with the Roxolani against the Bosporans, the Scythians were increasingly threatened by the growth of Sarmatian power.

Sarmatian influence can be seen in the Crimean finds from the 2nd century BC onward (until the mid-3rd century AD)[269]. It must be emphasised, however, that »genuine« Sarmatian burials are rare and in most cases one can only speak of cultural influences. These include certain elements of the burial rite (such as niche graves), types of weapons, hand-built censers and tamgas appearing on house walls and on grave steles (**fig. 73**)[270]. The so-called Late Scythian finds (**fig. 74**) represent the heritage of a people abandoning

267 Hrapunov 1995, 53, with further literature.
268 Skržinskaja 1977, 72-74. – Symonovič 1983, 112.
269 Symonovič 1983, 101. The Sarmatians obviously reached the Crimea from Don-Dnieper interfluve.
270 Hrapunov 1995, 68-69.



Fig. 73 »Encyclopaedia« of Sarmatian signs at the entrance to the Carskij (Royal) kurgan in Kerč. – (Photo E. Istvánovits / V. Kulcsár).

nomadism for sedentism and in this respect, the finds have much in common with the Sarmatian assemblages from the Carpathian Basin[271].

Archaeology of the Roxolani

Returning to the Roxolani, there have been many attempts to identify the traits specific to this people in the archaeological material and to distinguish the main divergences from the other Sarmatian finds. Smirnov had earlier claimed that the so-called diagonal burials were one of the hallmarks of the Roxolani and that this burial rite was only practised by this people. The most typical element of this funerary rite was the diagonal placement of the deceased in a large, wide and approximately square grave pit (**fig. 75**). It is but one indication of Smirnov's integrity, one of the most outstanding scholars of Sarmatian studies, that ten years after publishing his study, he was the first to reject this hypothesis, which had by then become widely accepted[272]. The most recent study on the identification of the Roxolanian territory was written by Simonenko, who based the cultural attribution of the early Sarmatian finds on the left bank of the Dnieper to the Roxolani on Strabo's report. In contrast to the south to north orientation of the Sarmatian burials in the Don, Volga and Ural regions, the deceased were laid to rest with the head aligned toward the north in the graves he dated to the 2nd-1st centuries BC. A similar phenomenon can only be noted in a roughly contemporaneous group of the Lower Don region, whose funerary rites and finds share numerous similarities with the material from the Dnieper region. The typical finds include, e.g. Middle La Tène brooches and Prohorovka-type daggers and swords (**fig. 76**)[273].

271 See chapter »Sarmatians in the Carpathian Basin« for more on the migration of the Iazyges.

272 Smirnov 1984, 121-122, with the earlier literature.

273 Simonenko 1991.

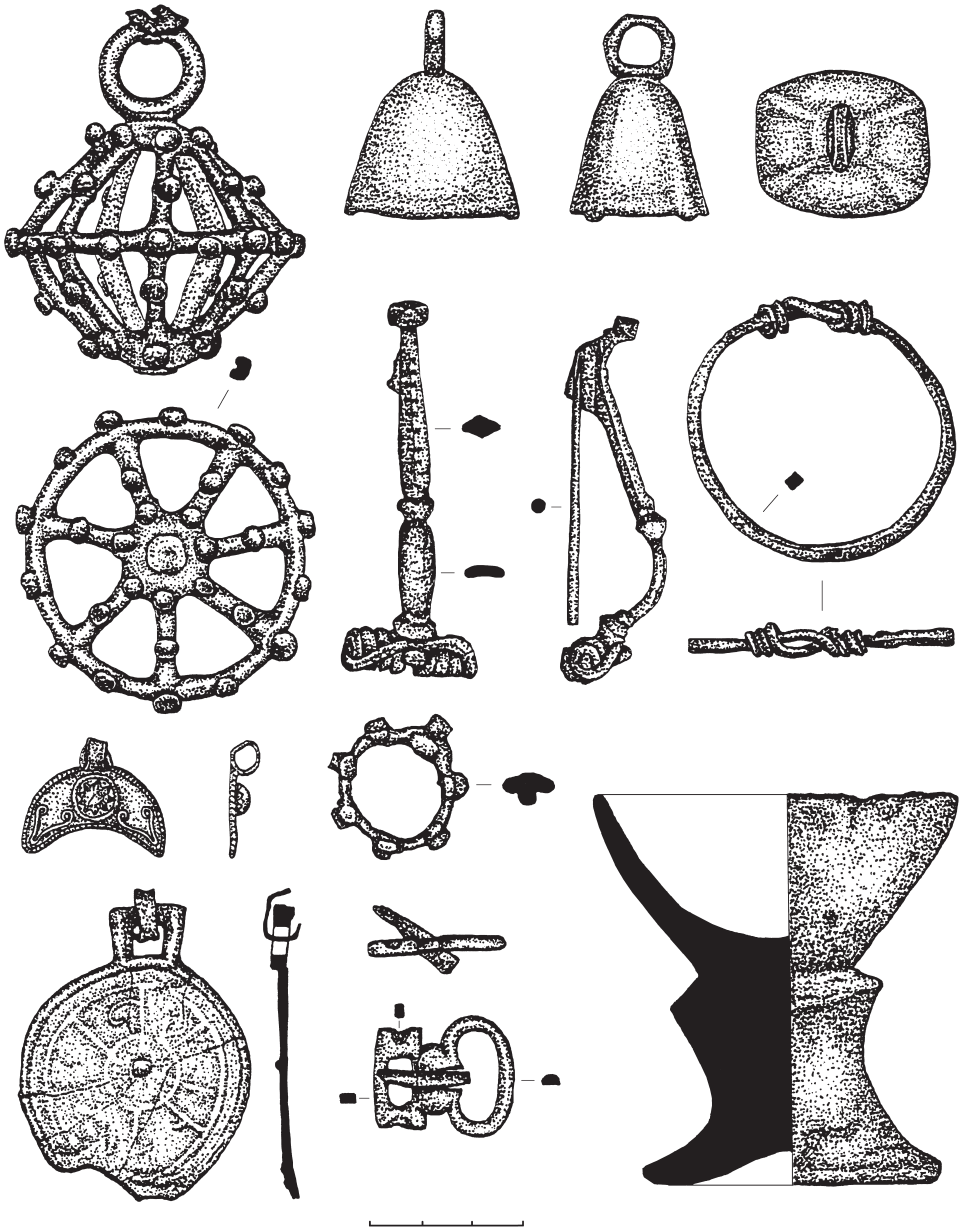


Fig. 74 Typical Late Scythian finds from Zavetnoe. – (After Guščina/Žuravlëv/Firsov 2001, figs 5-7).

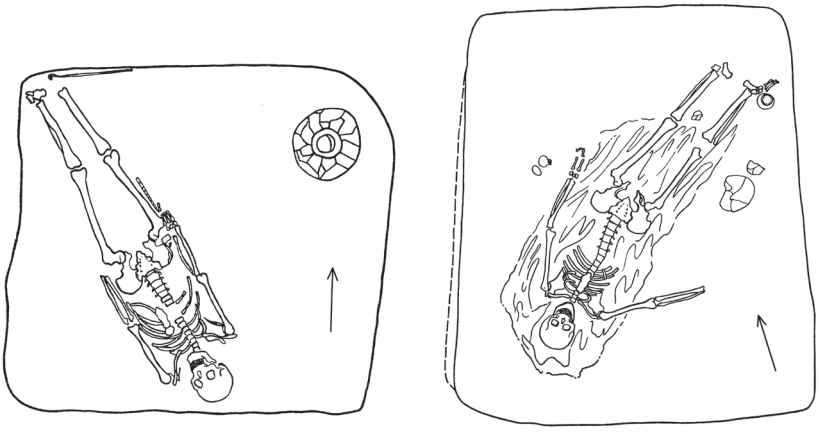


Fig. 75 Diagonal burials: Baranovka (Lower Volga region), Kurgan 28, Grave 1 and Kurgan 13, Grave 1. – (After Dvorničenko/Fëdorov-Davydov 1989, figs 18a; 36b).

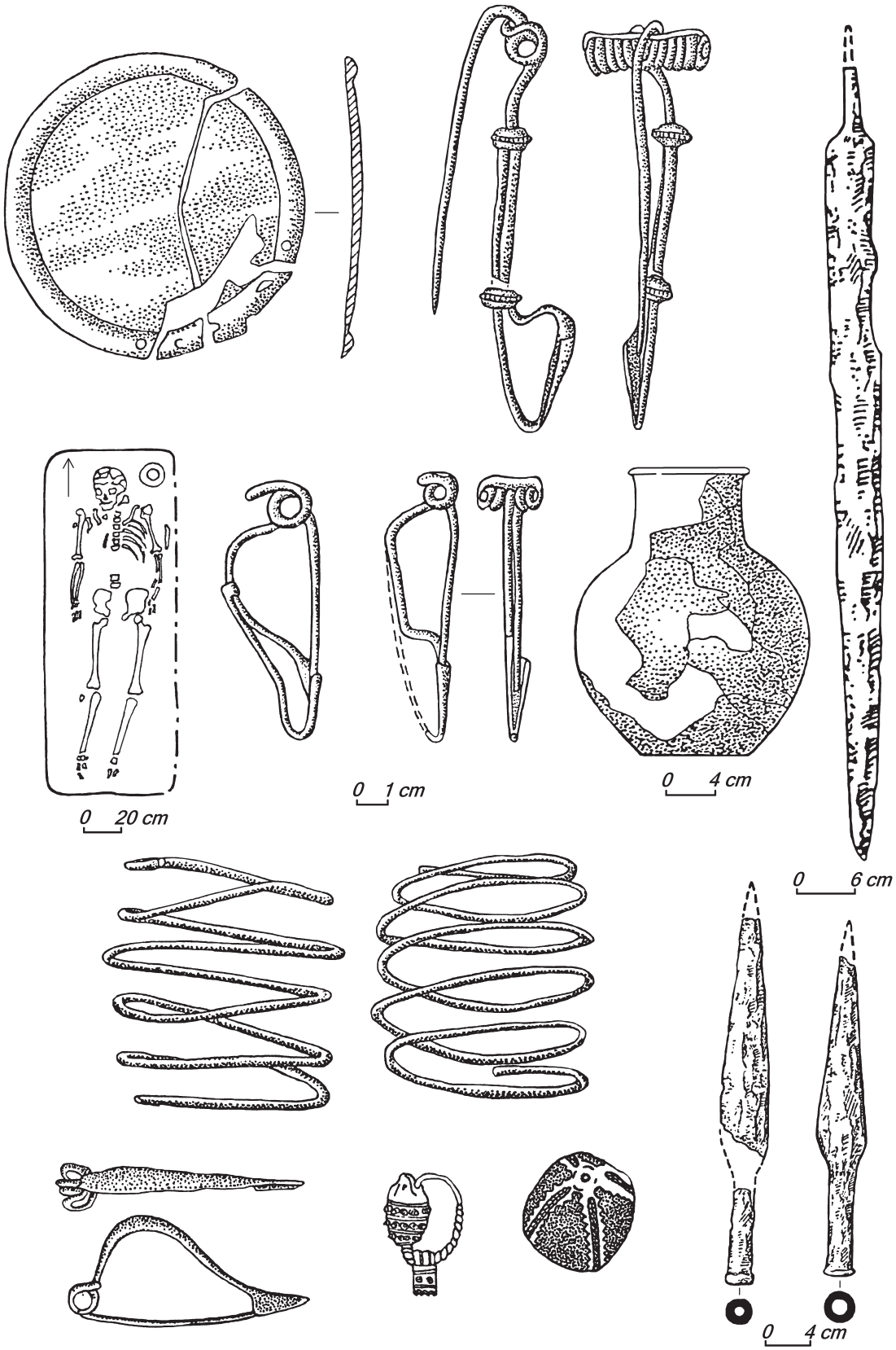


Fig. 76 Finds of the 2nd-1st centuries BC from the Don-Dnieper interfluve. – (After Simonenko 1993a, figs 4-6).

POLITICS OF THE EUROPEAN STEPPE IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 1ST CENTURY BC TO THE 1ST CENTURY AD

The Lower Danube in Burebista's Time

As we have seen in the above, the first systematic description of the northern Pontic tribes by Strabo was written several hundred years after Herodotus. Strabo's report provides an ethnographic map of the area between the Danube and the Dnieper at the turn of the 2nd and 1st centuries BC (**fig. 65**)[274]. The northern Pontic was the setting of major changes during the second half of the 1st century BC and the earlier picture painted by the literary sources and the archaeological finds also changed accordingly.

In the previous chapter we have already met Mithridates VI Eupator (**fig. 67**), the outstanding Pontic ruler, who waged several wars with Rome as part of an ambitious bid to build a major empire and who succeeded in enlisting the barbarians of the Pontic littoral as his allies. Mithridates' bold plans are perhaps best illustrated by the fact that he seriously considered launching an attack into Italy. Following a string of successes, his military luck eventually deserted him in the 60s BC. The disasters struck one after the other: his allies turned their back on him and in 63 BC, the Bosporan Kingdom was devastated by an earthquake. The Romans had laid siege to Pantikapaion (**fig. 72**) and he was betrayed by his own son Pharnaces. To escape the humiliation accompanying the defeat, the king ordered his bodyguard to slay him. The Romans rewarded his son with the Bosporan Kingdom, but the Pontic Kingdom was never again united with the Bosporan Kingdom[275].

Let us move to the north-western coast of the Pontic, specifically to the Lower Danube region. While there is an ongoing debate as to when exactly Burebista (also Boirebistas, Boerebistas and other variations) ascended the throne (in the 60s or 50s), we know that the Dacian ruler extended his sway far to the east in the later 50s and in the early 40s (perhaps between 55 and 48). He advanced as far as the Greek colony of Olbia by the mouth of the South Bug, and conquered the town together with several other Greek towns of the western Pontic coast down to Apollonia[276]. The short-lived Geta-Dacian kingdom soon collapsed:

> [...] Certain men rose up against Boerebistas and he was deposed before the Romans sent an expedition against him; and those who succeeded him divided the empire into several parts. In fact, only recently, when Augustus Caesar sent an expedition against them, the number of parts into which the empire had been divided was five, though at the time of the insurrection it had been four. Such divisions, to be sure, are only temporary and vary with the times[277].

274 It must, in all fairness, be noted that this picture is hardly as clear-cut as it appears to be. We should bear in mind that terms, such as tribe, people, etc., had an entirely different meaning in that age than today, and that our knowledge comes from the reports and description of Greek and Roman writers who were often unfamiliar with both the ethnic composition of the steppe (and the Great Hungarian Plain) and the peoples themselves. For a more detailed discussion, see Dobesch 1995, and Hind 2007 for the peoples of the Lower Danube region.

275 Saprykin 1996, 186-205.

276 While opinions are divided regarding the date of Burebista's accession, most scholars tend to agree on the date of the conquest of the Greek towns. See Crişan 1978, 43-54. 81-86. 122-130. – Alföldi 1943a, 10. The cessation of coin minting for roughly a century is generally linked to this event; coins again began to be issued from the mid-1st century AD when the town acknowledged the authority of Pharzoios (see below) (Karyškovskij 1988, 108).

277 Strabo VII.3.11. He also reported that the Dacian army, once 200,000 strong, had been reduced to 40,000 (VII.3.13). Even if the figures are not altogether reliable, they do reflect the weakening of Dacian power, see Kulakovskij 2000, 55.



Fig. 77 Coin minted by Cotiso or Coson. – (After www.acsearch.info/record.html?id=461861 [5.4.2012]).

Irrespective of whether or not the Dacian monarch was murdered, as has been sometimes assumed, or whether his kingdom disintegrated before or after Caesar's death, what is certain is that the earlier status quo changed from the 40s BC or slightly later[278].

The events can be reconstructed tentatively at best from the scattered and vague references in the written sources; too many pieces of the puzzle are still missing. Even so, it is quite clear that control over the Lower Danube region passed gradually from the weakened Dacians[279] to the Bastarnae, who were eventually ousted by the Sarmatians. The Romans extended their sway over the lands south of the Danube step by step, culminating in the creation of Roman provinces in Illyria and in the neighbouring territories (Pannonia, Moesia, Thracia and, finally, Dacia). Burebista's successors, Dicomes, Cotiso (or Coson) and Scorilo, remained dangerous foes of the Roman Empire. They managed to retain their eastern territories for some time. Cotiso (Coson) even minted gold coins (**fig. 77**), imitating Brutus' *denarii* in Olbia[280]. However, they were eventually forced to retreat. In 29 BC, M. Licinius Crassus, governor of Macedonia, acted as commander of the Roman army sent against the Dacians. Some years or even a decade later (the exact date of the campaign is not known), Cornelius Lentulus drove the Dacians from what later became Moesia and probably from the Danubian foreland as well. In 10 BC, the Dacians crossed the frozen river and raided the province[281]. In 13 BC, a Roman senator (probably Marcus Vinicius) defeated the Dacians and the Bastarnae in battle[282]. The repeated Dacian incursions were most likely precipitated by the Iazyges' westward migration (to be discussed in the section on the occupation of the Carpathian Basin).

The Sarmatian Expansion in the Second Half of the 1st Century BC and the 1st Century AD: Dacian-Getan-Sarmatian Relations in the Lower Danube Region

These events, and especially the Roman campaigns against the Dacians, wrought major changes among the barbarians living west of the Dnieper. Although these territories were for some time still controlled by the Dacians and, later, by the Bastarnae, the Sarmatians had apparently crossed the Dnieper *en masse* by this

278 Alföldi 1942a, 145. For a good overview of the problems surrounding Burebista's decline and death, see Crişan 1978, 241-249, with the earlier literature.
279 Strabo VII.3.1.
280 Alföldi 1943b, 17.
281 Dio LIV.36.2.
282 Alföldi 1942a, 146. – Mócsy 1974, 23-27. – Mócsy/Fitz 1990, 32-33, all with a detailed discussion and ample literature. See also Vékony 1989, 75-79, for a Dacian perspective.

time, and soon reached the Lower Danube region during their westward expansion[283]. Both the Sarmatians and the Bastarnae mixed with the population of the neighbouring territories:

> [...] the wagon-dwelling Scythians and Sarmatians. For at the present time these tribes, as well as the Bastarnian tribes, are mingled with the Thracians (more indeed with those outside the Ister, but also with those inside). And mingled with them are also the Celtic tribes – the Boii, the Scordisci, and the Taurisci[284].

As Tacitus remarked »by the intermarriages, [the Bastarnae] are becoming in some degree debased into a resemblance to the Sarmatae«[285]. The Poieneşti-Lukaševka culture (**fig. 78, 4**) distributed along the middle reaches of the Dniester, the Prut and the Siret is generally identified with the mixed Thracian-Bastarnian population. The finds of this culture can be traced up to the late 1st century BC, i.e. until the Sarmatian expansion reached the Lower Danube[286].

The Sarmatian expansion is well-documented in the period's archaeological record by the massive increase of Sarmatian find assemblages in the region between the Dnieper and the Danube in the mid-1st century AD[287]. Parallel with this process, we observe the appearance of the Zubovskij-Vozdviženskaja group on the southern bank of the Kuban and the beginning of the Zolotoe kladbišče (Golden Cemetery)-type burials on the northern bank of the Kuban[288].

From the late 1st century BC, the Sarmatians posed a serious threat to the groups of the Zarubincy culture (**fig. 78, 1**) living in the Middle Dnieper region[289], despite the fact that relations between the two populations had earlier been peaceful and that they were probably allies. However, at this time destruction levels appeared in the fortified settlements of the area. The Zarubincy groups retreated to the marshlands or withdrew to the forested regions in the north. The identity of the invaders assaulting the hillforts of the Zarubincy culture is indicated by finds of Sarmatian arrowheads[290]. The crisis of the classical Zarubincy culture in mid-1st century AD and the abandonment of the culture's cemeteries are linked to the Sarmatians' westward expansion[291]; the arrival of the Iazyges on the Hungarian Plain occurred roughly simultaneously (see below). At the same time, Sarmatian artefacts crop up regularly in the find assemblages of the 1st and early 2nd century AD from the forested steppe along the middle reaches of the Dnieper, suggesting that the nomads intermarried with the subjugated sedentary Zarubincy population[292].

The growing number of reports on the Sarmatians record that in 16 BC they swooped down on the right bank of the Danube (Ister), but were driven back across the river by Lucius Tarius Rufus, the Macedonian governor[293]. According to Lucius Annaeus Florus around the turn of the millennium (perhaps around 1-4 AD) »the Sarmatians range on horseback over wide-spreading plains. Them too it was deemed sufficient to debar from access to the Danube, and Lentulus was entrusted with this task«[294]. The Sarmatians again raided the province in 6 AD. Caecina Severus, commander of the Moesian army, was forced to return

283 Harmatta argued that the Sarmatians had appeared south of the Danube by the late 2nd century BC, indicated by the appearance of silver *phalerae* in north-western Bulgaria and Transylvania (Harmatta 1970, 26-29. 37-38). This view is not supported by more recent research findings.

284 Strabo VII.3.2.

285 Tacit. *Germ*. 46.

286 Kasparova/Maksimov 1993, 92-95.

287 Grosu 1990. – Bichir 1993.

288 Ščukin 2000, 223.

289 The ethnic affiliation of the culture runs into serious difficulties. The culture has been variously identified with the Bastarnae and the Slavs. From our perspective, the Zarubincy culture is only relevant in terms of the Sarmatians' north-western expansion. For a fresh overview, with abundant literature, see Maksimov 1993.

290 Ščukin 1994, 196, with further literature.

291 Ščukin 1994, 232.

292 Sinica 2008, 18-19.

293 Dio LIV.20.3. The events described below are also discussed by Alföldi 1942a, 180-181, with the relevant sources and literature.

294 Florus *Epit*. IV.12.

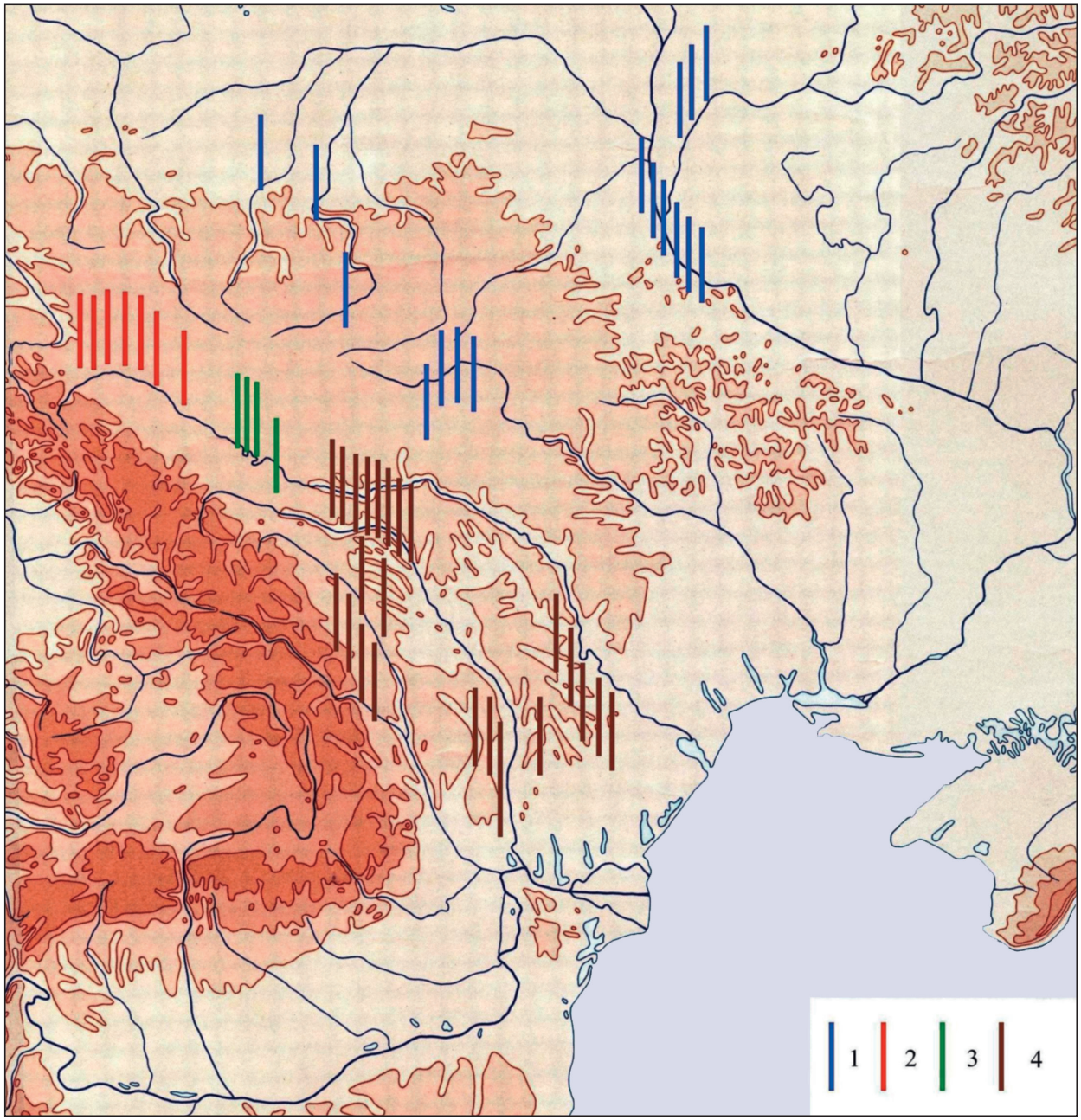


Fig. 78 The Sarmatians' neighbours in the Lower Danube region in the 1st-2nd centuries AD. – **1** Zarubincy culture. – **2** Przeworsk culture. – **3** Lipica culture. – **4** Poieneşti-Lukaševka culture. – (After Arheologia 1986, map 1).

to his base at the time of the Pannonian insurrection because the Dacians and »Sauromatians« »were ravaging the land« (Moesia, before the actual creation of the province)[295]. Augustus commemorated the region's barbarian peoples, among them, the Sarmatians, in his inscription:

> Our friendship was sought, through ambassadors, by the Bastarnae and Scythians, and by the kings of the Sarmatians who live on either side of the river Tanais [...][296].

295 Dio LV.30.4.

296 *Mon.Anc.* 31.

The Sarmatian presence in the Lower Danube region is confirmed also by Pomponius Mela. Writing around 44 AD, he described Sarmatia as extending to the Istros and populated by Sarmatians[297]. Similarly writing in the 40s, Quintus Curtius Rufus called the Scythians living north-east of Thrace a part of the Sarmatians, polemicising with others who did not regard them as belonging to the Sarmatian people:

> The Scythian people located close to Thrace extend in a north-easterly direction, and are a member-tribe of the Sarmatians and not, as some have believed, neighbours of them. The Scythians also inhabit another area directly beyond the Ister and they touch the furthest reaches of Asia and Bactria[298].

Seneca noted that »[...] the Danube must form the boundary between Sarmatian and Roman [land] [...]«[299], while Pliny located the Sarmatians south of the Danube, expressly [300].

As already mentioned, the other important people in the Lower Danube region were the Getae or the Dacians. Our most important source for this period is Ovid, the Roman poet banished to Tomi (modern Constanța) between 8 and 17 AD. He mentioned three barbarian peoples in his works: the Scythians, the Sarmatians and the Getae. The term Scythian is more of a geographic label. The Getae constituted the region's principal barbarian population, although the Sarmatians also had a strong presence in the foreland of the Lower Danube: »[...] since I've learnt how to speak Getic and Sarmatian«, boasted Ovid[301]. The Sarmatians were mentioned 31 times in his poems. According to Ovid, the Getae lived on the right bank of the Danube, the Sarmatians on the left bank, at least judging from the fact that he mentioned that the Sarmatians crossed the frozen river near Tomi. The Getae never appear as inhabiting the far bank of the Istros, suggesting that they were confined to Dobrudja in the Lower Danube region, while the river's left bank was inhabited by the neighbouring Iazyges and the Bastarnae. The Iazyges are the single Sarmatian tribe mentioned by name[302].

Judging from Ovid's accounts, the Sarmatians played the leading role in the life of the towns of Scythia Minor. The various peoples living in the region were governed by petty kings in the last third of the 1st century BC after Burebista's demise. Southern Dobrudja was ruled by Roles, the central areas by Dapyx, while the Danube Delta in the north by Zyraxes. The latter two participated in the campaigns against Marcus Licinius Crassus, who in 29-27 BC marched against the Getan tribes of Lower Moesia, while Roles sided with the Romans, and was rewarded with rulership over the Getae of Dobrudja for a few decades. Shortly afterwards, Scythia Minor fell to the Odrysians, a people allied to the Romans, with whom the Getae had clashed several times. One of the battles was fought by the town of Aigisos (modern Tulcea) in the Danube Delta, which was later reconquered in 12 AD by Cotys, the Thracian king[303]. Owing to the Getae's repeated attacks, even the Roman fleet commanded by Vitellius had to be mobilised[304]. Fierce battles were fought between the Romans and the Getae for the town of Troesmis[305]. The province of Thracia was created from this region in 46 AD[306].

Obviously, Rome still had to deal with the threat posed by the Dacians, who remained their main adversaries in the Carpathian Basin and its foreland. It is not mere chance that the Sarmatian restlessness in the

297 Pomp. Mela *De chor* III.28.

298 Curtius Rufus VII.7.3.

299 Sen. *Nat.Quest.*, Prologus 9 and VI.7.1: »here are the Danube and the Rhine separating with their streams the peaceful from the hostile, the former checking attacks from the Sarmatians and forming the boundary between Europe and Asia«.

300 Plin. *NH* IV.XI.41: next to the Scythians on the right bank of the Danube are »the Sarmatian Arraei called Areatae«.

301 Ovid *Ep*. III.2.40.

302 Ovid *Tr*. II.191 (misspelt as Ciziges). – Ovid *Ep*. I.2.77, IV.7.9. – Ovid *Ibis*. 135. Ovid's references to the three peoples – the Scythians, the Getae and the Sarmatians – are discussed in detail by Podosinov 1976. – Gostar 1961. – Podosinov 1976. – Hind 2007, 242.

303 Ovid *Ep*. I.8.15.

304 Ovid *Ep*. IV.7.19.

305 Ovid *Ep*. IV.9.75-81.

306 Dio LI.24-26. – Podosinov 1976, 33-34.

Lower Danube region was often linked to the Dacians' upheavals. Finding a solution to the Dacian question was one of Rome's main priorities until Trajan's rule, who finally settled the question. Until then, there are reports on several failed attempts to this effect. In the Lower Danube region, for example, the barbarians were probably pacified when, under Augustus' reign, »Aelius Catus transplanted from the country on the far side of the Ister into Thrace fifty thousand persons from among the Getae«[307].
Tiberius Plautius Silvanus, governor of Moesia, experimented with a similar measure towards the end of Nero's rule. Enumerating his outstanding deeds, the *elogium* from Tibur recorded that:

> He brought [into Moesia] over more than a hundred thousand of the peoples from across the Danube [from the northern bank] to pay tribute, along with their wives, children and chieftains or kings [...][308].

It has been suggested that the tribes in question were fleeing a new Sarmatian advance from the east[309]. Even though Rome succeeded in advancing her borders to the Danube after a series of lengthy diplomatic negotiations and military manoeuvres, the problem was far from resolved[310]. We know that towards the end of Tiberius' reign (14-37), »Moesia was laid waste by the Dacians and Sarmatians«[311].
The Getae of Scythia Minor and the Sarmatians maintained good relations and were allies. As we saw above, the Getae had probably settled in Dobrudja, while the Sarmatians inhabited the steppe extending along the left bank of the Danube[312]. Ovid mentions that the latter often crossed the frozen river with their livestock and wagons[313]; Harmatta's assumption that the reason for the frequent crossings was perhaps that some of their winter camps lay in Dobrudja, on the right bank was based on this remark in the *Tristia*[314].
From his analysis of the 1st-2nd century AD tamga-like signs in Romania (35 symbols found at 16 sites), Corneliu Beldiman called attention to one important aspect of Getan/Dacian-Sarmatian relations, namely that a smaller portion of these signs occurs on artefacts of Pontic origin, while the majority are found on locally made artefacts of the indigenous population (**fig. 79**), indicating close ties between the Sarmatians and the Geto-Dacians[315].

»The Mighty Kings of Aorsia«: The Sarmatian Tribes in Pliny's Time

Compared to the situation known to Strabo, the lands occupied by the Sarmatian tribes had changed radically by the 1st century AD. Pliny offers a good description of the peoples living north of the Danube:

> From this point all the races in general are Scythian, though various sections have occupied the lands adjacent to the coast, in one place the Getae, called by the Romans Dacians, at another the Sarmatae, called by the Greeks Sauromatae, and the section of them called Waggon-dwellers or Aorsi, at another the base-born Scythians, decended from slaves, or else the Cave-

307 Strabo VII.3.10.
308 CIL XIV.3608. – Levick 1985, 31.
309 The date of this event is debated because it is not known when Plautius Silvanus was appointed governor of Moesia. The events mentioned here occurred between 57 and 60 AD. For the events and their dating, see Vinogradov 1994, 164-165, with further literature; Mócsy 1974, 66.
310 Mócsy 1974, 33.
311 Sueton. *Tib*. 41. – Alföldi 1942a, 181. – Vinogradov 1994, 151-152.
312 Podosinov 1976, 38-39.
313 Ovid *Tr*. III.10.33.
314 Harmatta 1970, 25. However, his arguments are not convincing and archaeological material does not refer to an enduring Sarmatian presence on the right bank of the Danube, either.
315 Beldiman 1990.

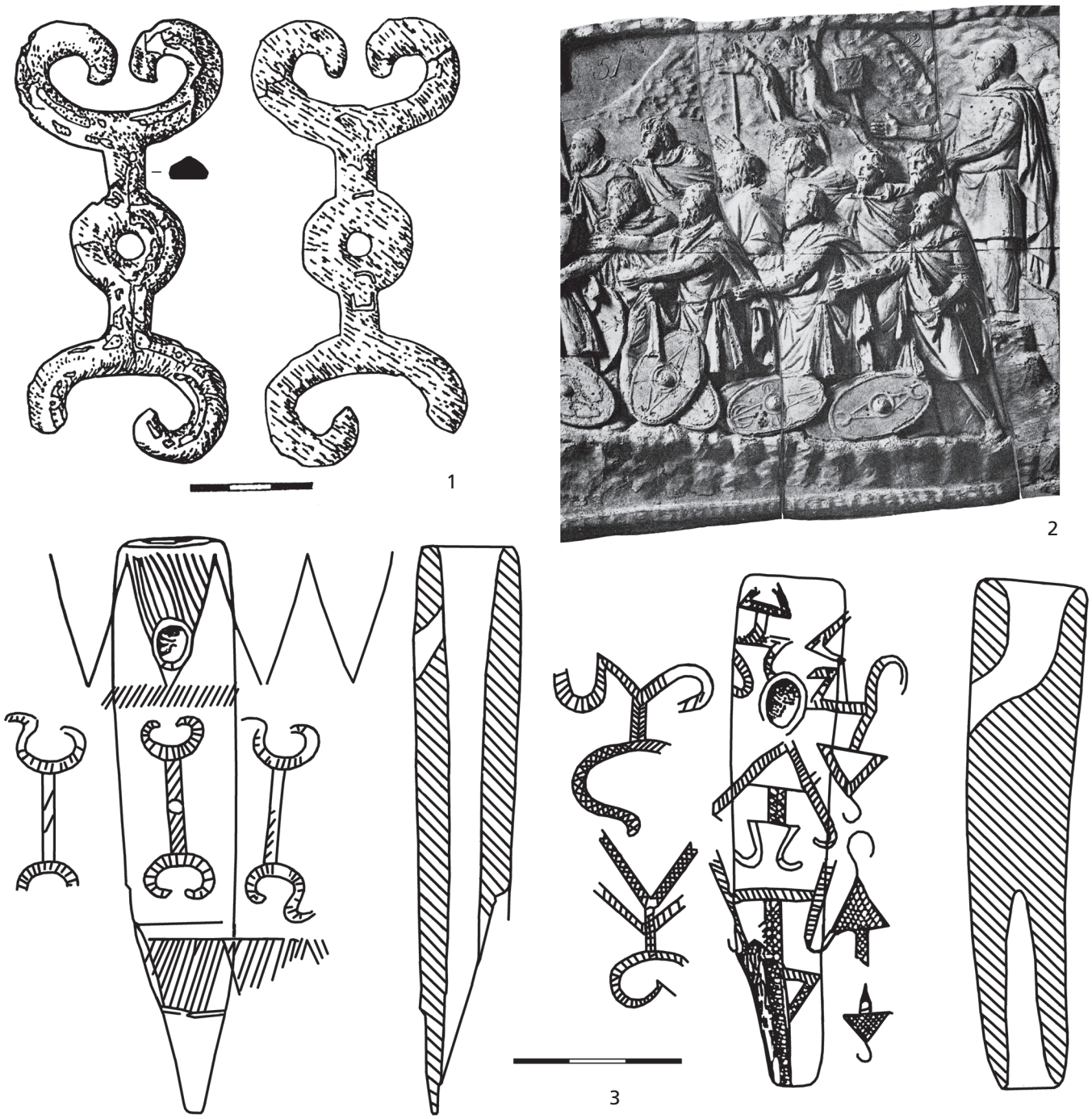


Fig. 79 Artefacts reflecting Sarmatian influence were found in Dacian context, especially on the *davae*. – **1** Tamga shaped gilt iron artefact, perhaps the side-bar of a bit, from Ocnița (after Babeş 1999, fig. 1). – **2** Dacians marching under a dragon banner on Trajan's Column (after Cichorius 1896/1900, pl. 55 fig. LXXV). – **3** horn with incised tamga signs from Poiana (after Babeş 1999, fig. 2).

dwellers, and then the Alani and Rhoxolani. The higher parts between the Danube and the Hercyninan Forest as far as the winter quarters of Pannonia at Carnuntum and the plains and level country of the German frontiers there are occupied by the Sarmatian Iazyges, while the Dacians whom they have driven out hold the mountains and forests as far as the river Theiss.

> From the river Maros, or else the Dora if it is that which separates them from the Suebi and the Kingdom of Vannius, the opposite side of the country is occupied by the Basternae and then other German tribes[316].

So, Pliny located the Iazyges in the Carpathian Basin, the Aorsi-Hamaxobii, Roxolani and Alans in the region between the Dnieper and the Danube, while in a later passage he mentioned that the Siraci dwelt on the left bank of the Lower Dnieper[317]. What remains to be established is the period to which Pliny referred. What is certain, is that this situation pre-dates 79 AD because we know that Pliny died that year, during the renowned eruption of Vesuvius. The date is crucial for the arrival and settlement of the Iazyges in the Carpathian Basin (discussed at greater length below).

One good anchor for establishing the date is the fact that Pliny had personally met Mithridates VIII (III), the former king of Bosporus, whose struggle for the throne is discussed in more detail below. Pliny undoubtedly gained his information on the Maeotians and Sarmatians (or a least some of it, especially the data that do not occur elsewhere) from the captive king hauled off to Rome in 49 AD, who was fully familiar with the extent of the Aorsian and Siracian lands[318].

The important geopolitical role played by the Aorsi in the events of the north-western Pontic in the mid-1st century AD is confirmed by a recently published document, the Mangup Decree. Originating probably from Olbia, the inscription was found in a secondary position, incorporated into an early medieval basilica. The excavator dated the inscription to 50 AD based on a comparison with the epigraphic, numismatic and historical evidence[319]. The fragmentary text honours an unknown citizen of Olbia who, in addition to his other merits, asked for an audience with the governors of Moesia in order to mitigate the hardships following a bad harvest. He sent gifts to the barbarian kings. He also initiated a peace embassy to the »mighty kings of Aorsia«, who apparently resided somewhere in the broader area of Olbia: one of the kings was called Umabios, the other's name was not preserved owing to the mutilation of the inscription. In his reconstruction of the inscription, Vinogradov has convincingly argued that one of the Moesian governors can be identified with Tiberius Plautius Silvanus Aelianus, in which case the war recorded in the Mangup Decree took place in 62 AD, when, according to the Tibur *elogium*, the governor »put down an incipient movement of the Sarmatians, although he had sent a considerable portion of his army to take part in the invasion of Armenia« (the latter historical event provides a firm chronological anchor). What needs to be established is which Sarmatian tribe was affected.

The *elogium* also recorded that »kings hitherto unknown or hostile to the Roman people he brought over [the southern] river bank under his protection to pay homage to the Roman standards. […]«. Another important piece of information was that:

> To the kings of Bastarnae and Roxolani he [Plautius Silvanus] returned their sons, to the king of the Dacians his brothers, captured or carried off by the enemy; from some of them he received hostages; by which achievements he both assured the peaceful condition of the province and advanced it[320].

316 Plin. *NH* IV.XII.80.

317 Plin. *NH* IV.XII.83.

318 According to Pliny, the Sauromatians north of the Caucasus were the tribe with which »Mithridates took refuge in the principate of Claudius, and from him we learn that there is a neighbouring tribe, the Thali«. Plin. *NH* VI.V.16-17. – Cf. Skržinskaja 1977, 9.

319 Sidorenko 1996, who disregarded or was unaware of an earlier study written two years earlier, which proposed that the events in question can be dated to 62 AD (Vinogradov 1994, 166-168).

320 CIL XIV.3608. – Levick 1985, 31.

Vinogradov concluded (mistakenly, in our view) that the Sarmatians who had been causing trouble for the Moesian governor could hardly have been the Roxolani, seeing that he was able to return the sons of the kings because they had been Roman captives. Even more important is the implication – made on the basis of logical arguments – that the other ruler of Aorsia, beside Umabios, was Pharzoios, whose son's or successor's grave can probably be identified with royal burial uncovered at Porogi[321]. The authors of Antiquity make no mention of Pharzoios, and neither does his name occur in the epigraphic material; for the time being, his name is known only from coins (**fig. 80**). The numismatic evidence suggests that he reigned between 64 and 81 AD. His *aureus* was modelled on Roman coins and it is also possible that he introduced a new chronology, as was customary among the Hellenised rulers of the Pontic. Pharzoios was for a long time believed to have been a Scythian king who extended his sway over the Greek town. This is a not unreasonable conjecture given that the Crimean Scythian Scilurus had already reigned here between 140 and 110 BC and minted coins. However, the tamga sign appearing on his coins would rather suggest that he was a Sarmatian ruler. Supporting this suggestion is the fact that aside from Olbia, the coins minted by Pharzoios occur in the steppe areas of the north-western Pontic rather than in the Crimea, the region controlled by the Scythians[322]. Conclusive evidence that Pharzoios was of Sarmatian stock was provided by the grave uncovered in Porogi on the left bank of the Dniester. The tamga appearing on the finds of the royal burial, identical with the sign appearing on Pharzoios' coins minted in Olbia, enabled the identification of the deceased as the issuer of the coins (**fig. 81**)[323]. It has since become generally accepted that Olbia was under Sarmatian rule, or at least protection, during the second half of the 1st century AD. It is still subject to debate which Sarmatian tribe Pharzoios and Inismeios, his successor (perhaps his son), had belonged to: the Alans or the Aorsi. In Vinogradov's view, he was one of the »mighty kings« of Aorsia. In a manner similar to the coins minted by his predecessor, the silver coins of Inismeios/Inensimeios, Pharzoios' successor, whose coins bear a developed version of his father's tamga, reflect the transition from Greek coins to a uniform Roman coinage in Olbia during the reign of Titus or Domitian[324].



Fig. 80 Coins of King Pharzoios. – (After Rozanova 1956, pls 1, 5; 2, 2).

The First Appearance of the Alans in the Written Sources: The Trans-Caucasian Campaigns

In his list of peoples, Pliny mentioned the Alans, who had assumed an important role by this time[325]. Earlier reports of this people occur principally in poetic or literary works which cannot be accurately dated or

321 Vinogradov 1994, 165-169, with further literature.

322 Karyškovskij 1982; 1988, 114-116. Recent finds of Pharzoios' coins also fit into the known distribution, see Alekseev 2000.

323 Simonenko/Lobaj 1991, 62-72.

324 Karyškovskij 1988, 119.

325 The relation between the Aorsi and the Alans (as well as the Roxolani) must be briefly touched here (although it will be discussed at greater length below). The question is whether the Aorsi, the Alans and the Roxolani were identical.

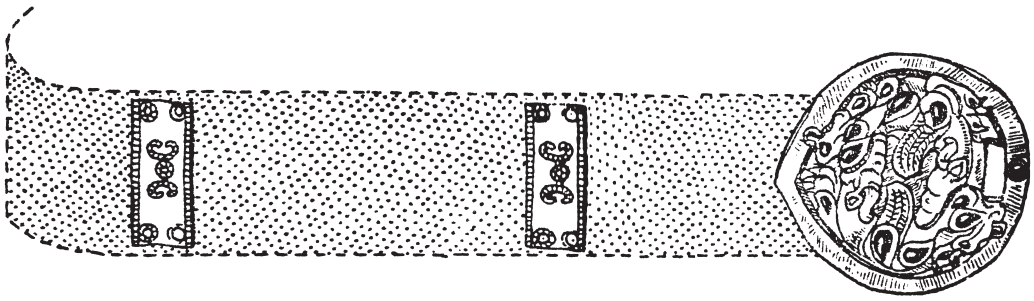


Fig. 81 Detail of the reconstructed belt with tamga mounts from the royal burial found at Porogi. – (After Simonenko/Lobaj 1991, fig. 27, 1).

localised to a particular region, or can only be contextualised with difficulty[326]. One noteworthy piece of information can be found in Lucan's *Bellum Civile*. In the passages covering Caucasian geography, he wrote of Pompey's campaign against Mithridates VI. Pompey reportedly claimed that he had marched towards the Caspian Gates and pursued the »hardy Alans«. Although the events of the year 65 BC were also recorded by Plutarch, the latter made no mention of the Alans, and thus classical philologists believe that Lucan probably mistook the Albans for the Alans[326a]. The matter would end there, had not Ammianus Marcellinus, a much later Antique writer, also recounted the same events and specified the Alans as Pompey's enemy. Ammianus narrated that Emperor Julian addressed his soldiers, evoking the victories of the Romans against the Persians and the Parthians.

> For, to say nothing of Lucullus or of Pompey, who, having forced his way through the Albani and Massagetae, whom we call Alani, penetrated through this nation [the Persians] also so as to reach the Caspian lake[327].

The first reference, pre-dating Pliny's description, can be dated to 35 AD, when Emperor Tiberius:

> [...] persuaded both the king of Iberia and the king of Albania to make no delay, but to fight against Artabanus [the Parthian king, the emperor's adversary]; and although they would not do it themselves, yet did they give the Scythians a passage through their country, and opened the Caspian gates to them, and brought them upon Artabanus. So Armenia was again taken from the Parthians, and the country of Parthis was filled with war, and the principal of their men were slain, and all things were in disorder among them: the king's son also himself fell in these wars, together with many ten thousands of his army[328].

This passage has given rise to a fierce debate. The Latin translation (and also the quoted English one) has Scythians instead of Alans, but the original Greek text[329] correctly names the Alans, and thus there can be

326 e. g. in the writings of Seneca, Lucan, Martial, Valerius Flaccus and Lucian. For a good overview, see Gabuev 1999, 7-19. – Bachrach 1973, 3-8.

326a Alemany 2000, 13-14. For the unreliable nature of Lucan's information, see also Gabuev 1999, 7-9. – Bachrach 1973, 4-5.

327 Ammian XXIII.5.16.

328 Jos.Flav. *Ant Iud*. XVIII.4.4. To which we may add, just for the record, that Artabanus »afterwards raised a great army out of the Dahae and Sacae [i. e. also from the Iranian tribes], and fought with his enemies, and retained his principality«. *Ibidem*.

329 e. g. in the widely used critical edition by Benedikt Niese (1995). For the debate, see Gaglojti 1995, with further literature. The issue was eventually clarified by Perevalov 1998, 96-97. – Alemany 2000, 90-93. As we have pointed out, the Alans are mentioned in the 1st century by Valerius Flaccus (Argon. VI.42) and Sen. *Thyest*. 630, but these are poetic works in nature and cannot be securely dated (Kulakovskij 1899, 9).

no doubt that the Alans had appeared on the scene by this time[330]. It seems likely that the threat posed by the Alans prompted Emperor Vespasian to garrison two legions in the towns of Melitene and Satala in Galatia-Cappadocia, the province he had restored[331].
A few decades after the affair in 35 AD, the Alans next appear in 72 AD, on the north-eastern Pontic littoral, in the Don Delta and the region of the Sea of Azov, from where they set out on their Trans-Caucasian campaign:

> Now there was a nation of the Alans, which we have formerly mentioned some where as being Scythians and inhabiting at the lake Meotis. This nation about this time laid a design of falling upon Media, and the parts beyond it, in order to plunder them; with which intention they treated with the king of Hyrcania; for he was master of that passage which king Alexander [the Great] shut up with iron gates [**fig. 82**][332]. This king gave them leave to come through them; so they came in great multitudes, and fell upon the Medes unexpectedly, and plundered their country, which they found full of people, and replenished with abundance of cattle, while nobody durst make any resistance against them; for Paeorus, the king of the country, had fled away for fear into places where they could not easily come at him, and had yielded up every thing he had to them, and had only saved his wife and his concubines from them, and that with difficulty also, after they had been made captives, by giving them a hundred talents for their ransom. These Alans therefore plundered the country without opposition, and with great ease, and proceeded as far as Armenia, laying all waste before them. Now Tiridates[333] was king of that country, who met them, and fought them, but had like to have been taken alive in the battle; for a certain man threw a net over him from a great distance, and had soon drawn him to him, unless he had immediately cut the cord with his sword, and ran away, and prevented it. So the Alans, being still more provoked by this sight, laid waste the country, and drove a great multitude of the men, and a great quantity of the other prey they had gotten out of both kingdoms, along with them, and then retreated back to their own country[334].

This is the first report of the Alans that is generally regarded as being wholly reliable despite the fact that its interpretation is not without its problems. (**fig. 83**) The Iberian king allowed the Alans to pass through the Darial, no doubt with the intention of exploiting the situation to his own advantage[335]. In this case, the assault against Media and Armenia could only have been possible if the Alans had swooped down through the Kura Valley, attacked the region between the River Arax, Lake Sevan and the Caspian Sea (Media At-

330 Rostovtzeff 1922, 116-117. – Czeglédy 1955, 128, with a complicated reference. Czeglédy associated this event with the preparations for Nero's Caucasian campaign, which in his view was not directed against the Albans, but the Alans: »As he brought into the city his Spanish legion, while that which Nero had levied from the fleet still remained, Rome was full of strange troops. There were also many detachments from Germany, Britain, and Illyria, selected by Nero, and sent on by him to the Caspian passes, for service in the expedition which he was preparing against the Albani, but afterwards recalled to crush the insurrection of Vindex« (Tacit. *Hist*. I.6). This interpretation was first suggested by Mommsen; the passage has been debated ever since. For an overview of the debates, see Sherk 1980, 992-994 n. 107, who argued that the creation of the province of Galatia-Cappadocia was in part inspired by the exaggerated reports of the Alan danger.

331 Sherk 1980, 995.

332 The pass in question is the Darial Pass, the famed gorge of the Caucasus, which many writers of Antiquity mistakenly called *Caspia via*, *Caspiae portae*, etc., despite the fact that these should refer to the Derbent Pass by the Caspian Sea. Its correct ancient name was *Caucasiae portae* and *Dar-i-Alanan* (»Gate of the Alans«, Darial) (Vinogradov 1994, 159 n. 51, with further literature). Armenian sources also generally designate the pass as »Gate of the Alans« (*drownk' Alanac'*) (Alemany 2000, 278).

333 With the ascension of Tiridates, the Parthian Arsacid Dynasty ruled Armenia from 66 (Tiracjan 1985, 69).

334 Jos.Flav. *Bell.Iud*. VII.7.4.

335 Košelenko 1985, 111.

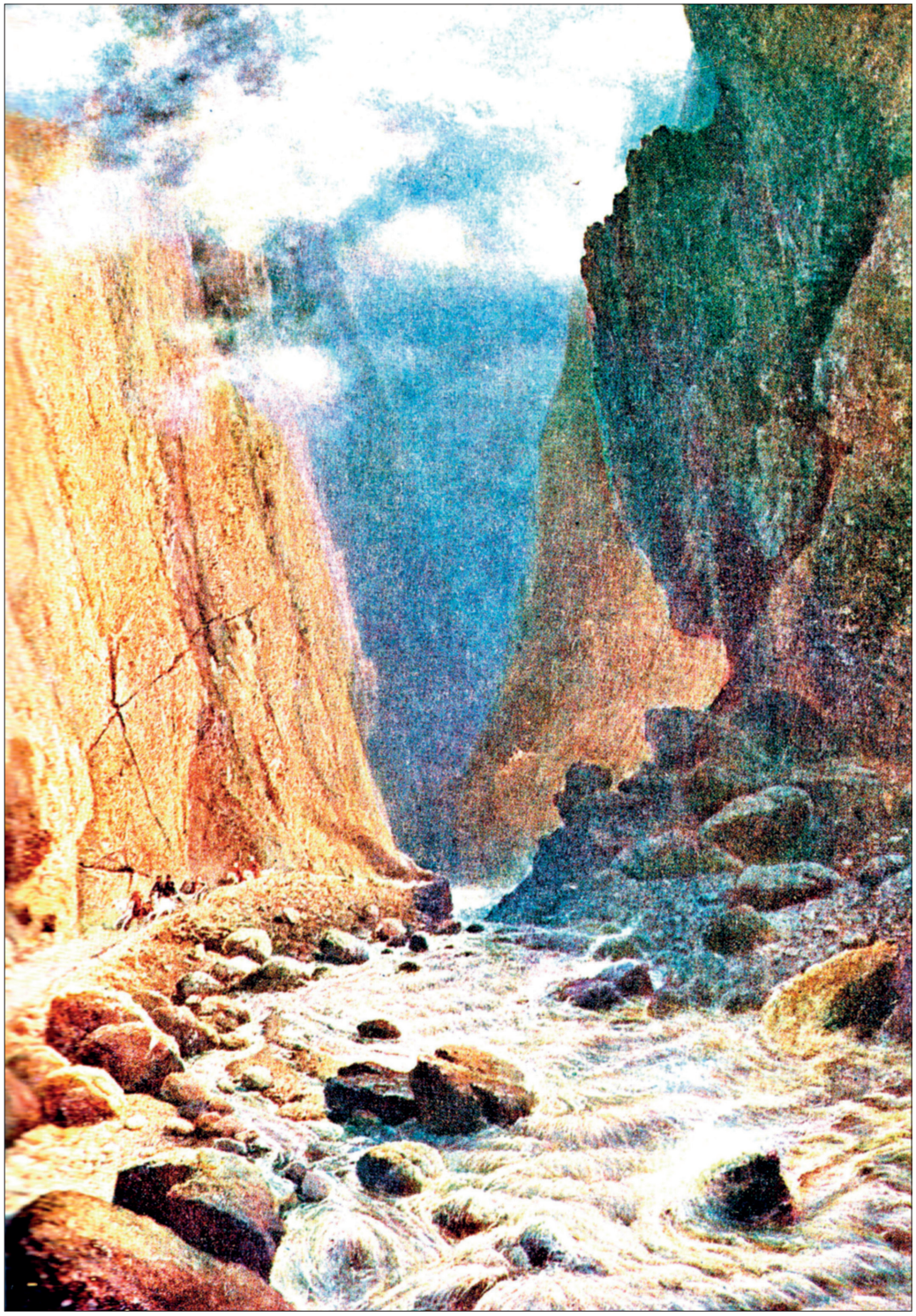


Fig. 82 The Darjal Pass, painting by R. G. Sudkovskij. – (After BSE 1953, 250).

ropatena) and then turned back north-westward to reach Armenia, lying in the region of Lake Sevan and Lake Van. Considering the upheaval caused by the Alans' incursions in the life of the peoples beyond the Caucasus, it is hardly surprising that the events recorded by Josephus were also commemorated in the Georgian and Armenian chronicles. Moses of Chorene, an Armenian historian writing in the 5th century AD, blended real-life historical persons and events with folk legends:



Fig. 83 Political map of the Caucasus in the 1st century BC-1st century AD. – (Map M. Ober, RGZM).

At that time the Alans, having united with all the mountain peoples and having brought over to their side also half the land of Georgia, spread out over our land in a great host. King Artashēs also gathered a mass of his troops and there was war between these two valiant nations skilled in archery. The nation of the Alans […] encamped on the northern bank of the river [Kura]. Artashēs came up and encamped to the south, and the river divided them. But because the Armenian army had captured the son of the Alan king and had brought him to Artashēs, the king of the Alans requested peace, offering to give Artashēs whatever he might ask. He promised to make a sworn and lasting treaty that the young men of the Alans would come no more on raids for plunder into Armenia. And when Artashēs refused to give back the youth, the prince's sister [Satinik] came to the bank of the river onto a large hillock and through interpreters called to the camp of Artashēs: »I say to you, valiant Artashēs, that you have conquered the brave nation of the Alans. Come, consent to the request of the starry-eyed Alan princess to give up the youth. For it not right for heroes to take the lives of the progeny of other heroes for the sake of vengeance, or by subjecting them to keep them in the rank of slaves and perpetuate eternal enmity between two brave nations.« When Artashēs heard such wise words, he went to the bank of the river, and seeing the beautiful maiden and hearing words of wisdom from her, he desired the maiden. He summoned his tutor Simbat and revealed to him the wishes of his heart – to marry the Alan princess, make a treaty and pact with that valiant nation, and to free that youth for the sake of peace. This pleased Simbat and he sent word to the king of the Alans that he should give the princess of the Alans, Sat'inik, in marriage to Artashēs. The king of the Alans said: »And whence will the brave Artashēs give a

thousand thousands and a myriad myriads in return for the noble-born princess of the Alans?« This episode the story-tellers rehearse, as they sing their fables, in the following way:

Noble King Artashēs mounted a beautiful black horse,
and taking a strap of red leather with golden rings
and crossing the river like a swift-winged eagle
and throwing the strap of red leather with golden rings
he cast it around the waist of the Alan princess,
greatly paining the tender maiden's waist;
and he quickly brought her to his camp.

The truth of this is as follows. Because red leather is greatly prized among the Alans, he gave her much red leather and gold as dowry and received the maiden Sat'inik – this is the strap of red leather with golden rings. Similarly, they also sing in their fables about the wedding:

A shower of gold rained down at the marriage of Artashēs,
it rained pearls at the wedding of Sat'inik.

For our kings had the custom of going to the door of the palace at a marriage and scattering gold coins like the Roman consuls. So too the queens scattered pearls in the bridal chamber. This is the truth of the story[336].

The Georgian chronicle adopted the Armenian variant and indirectly supports the controversial assumption that the event in question was the Alan campaign of 72 AD[337].
The intensive Sarmatian movements of the 1st century BC and the 1st century AD were influenced by two major events, independent of each other: the pressure of the Alans' advance from the east and the weakening of Getan-Dacian-Bastarnian control west of the Dnieper[338]. The Sarmatians took advantage of the momentary power vacuum in much the same way as the Iazyges of the Great Hungarian Plain. The broad tableau painted by the written sources is supported at several points by the archaeological evidence. The distribution of Early Sarmatian finds indicates that few sites lay beyond the Dnieper, while the distribution maps showing the situation a century later have sites dotting the river's right bank (**fig. 84**)[339].

The Sarmatians as Actors on the Political Scene Between the Second Half of the 1st Century BC and the 1st Century AD

The events of the Sarmatian lands in this period were greatly influenced by the conflict between Rome and Parthia. Founded in the 3rd century BC, the Parthian Kingdom had grown into a major power by the 2nd century BC, with its borders extending to the east as far as the Indus at one time (**fig. 59**). In the late 2nd century, the empire stretched to the Euphrates in the west. There were permanent clashes between the two rival empires, Rome and Parthia. One of the sore points was control over Armenia.

336 Khorenats'i 1980, 191-193. – Alemany 2000, 285-291.
337 Mroveli 1979, 69-71.
338 Glebov 2001, 198.
339 Simonenko 1999, fig. 11. This author of several comprehensive studies on the Sarmatians of the northern Pontic (the Ukraine) does not follow the conventional periodisation of the Sarmatian period. He assigned the finds from the 2nd- mid-1st centuries BC to the »Early Sarmatian« Age.

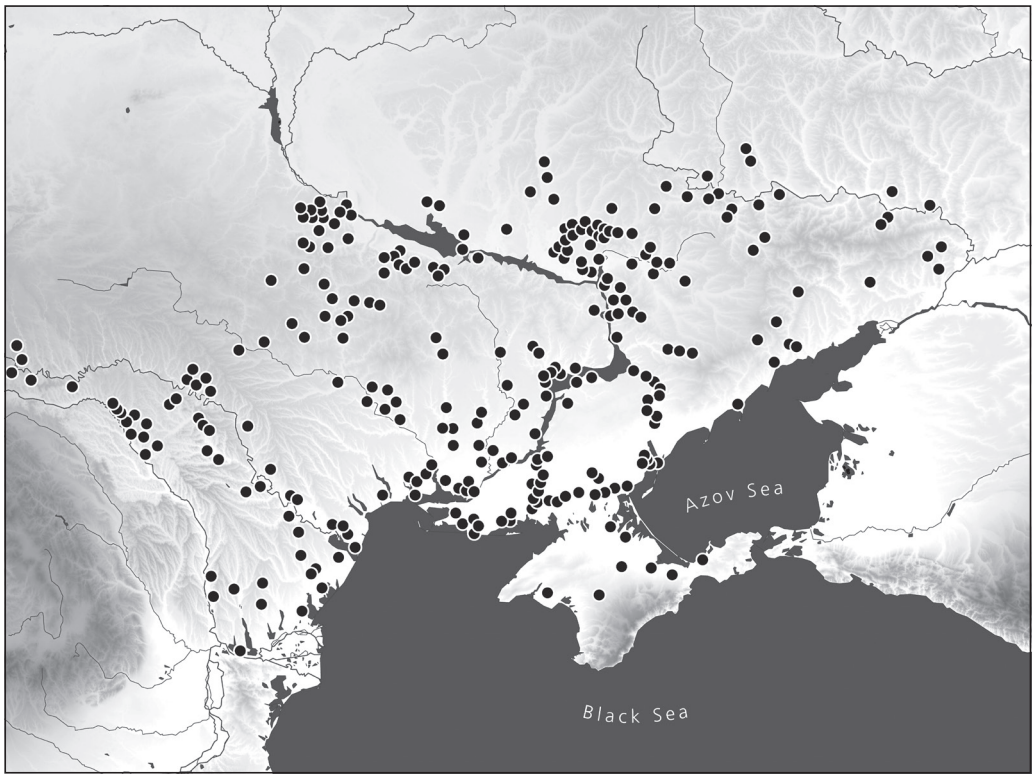


Fig. 84 Distribution of Sarmatian finds on the northern Pontic littoral in the 1st and the first half of the 2nd centuries AD. – (After Simonenko 1999, fig. 11; map M. Ober, RGZM).

The southern and northern Pontic coast became a focus of interest for the two rival states. The region was high on the military agenda under Caesar and Augustus, and even more so under Claudius and, after him, under Nero, Vespasian and Titus. It is not mere chance that the first Roman coins (issued under Nero) appeared among the finds of the Sarmatians of the Lower Danube at exactly this time[340].

Given the location of the Sarmatian tribes, it is hardly surprising that they played a significant role in contemporary politics. Virtually all the neighbouring states seized the opportunity to enlist the mobile, battle-hardened Sarmatians as military allies; for their part, the Sarmatians had no scruples about fishing in troubled waters and were willing to send mercenaries to the »superpowers« warring with each other. It would appear that individual Sarmatian tribes were not particularly bothered by the fact that they sometimes found themselves facing their own brethren on the battlefield. For example, in 35 AD, the Sarmatians' southern neighbours, the Iberians and the Parthians were vying for the throne of Armenia. The Siraci were fighting for Iberia, the Aorsi for Parthia and Armenia. The events were narrated by Tacitus, who contemptuously remarked of Sarmatians that their »highest chiefs [*sceptuchi*, »sceptre-bearers«][341], took bribes from both sides, after the fashion of their countrymen, and engaged themselves in conflicting interests«[342].

The masters of manipulating the barbarians were undoubtedly the Romans. The Bosporan Kingdom, Thracia and the Pontic Kingdom were the major players on the Pontic coast. As both neighbours and the potential hinterland of the Roman Empire's eastern border constantly harangued by the Parthians, the region assumed a growing importance for Rome. Thracia and the Pontic Kingdom traditionally pursued a policy of

340 Barkóczi 1957, 501.

341 For the »sceptre-bearers«, see the discussion of the Protogenes Inscription in the previous chapter.

342 Tacit. *Annal.* VI.33. The identification of the tribes with the Siraci and the Aorsi was based on the fact that they launched their campaign from the northern Caucasus, where these peoples lived according to Strabo's report (XI.5.8). Cf. Vinogradov 1994, 159-160. Josephus Flavius' above quoted passage (*Bell. Jud.* VII.7.4.) perhaps also referred to this event, in which the Alans appeared as mercenaries in the conflict between the states of the southern Caucasus. It is unclear whether our sources described the same event or two directly related ones.



Fig. 85 M. I. Rostovcev claimed that the bronze bust found at Širokaja Balka near Novorossijsk (now in the collection of the Hermitage) portrays Queen Dynamis. This identification has been repeatedly challenged (cf. Parlasca 2009). – (After Fornasier/Böttger 2002, 32 fig. 14).

friendship with Rome. Beginning with Caesar, Rome sought to pacify the region and to bind the region's peoples, as well as the allied states of Thrace and the Pontus to Rome with dynastic ties. The ultimate goal was the creation of a Roman province. One of the great success stories was the marriage engineered between Aspurgos, the Bosporan ruler, and a Thracian princess in 14 AD[343].

Following Rostovcev, most scholars agree that Aspurgos was probably of Sarmatian stock because his name was Iranian (*aspa-urga*, »strong as a horse«) and because his coins bore a tamga beside his name. His forebears included Sarmatians: it seems likely that his mother was Queen Dynamis (**fig. 85**), grand-daughter of Mithridates VI, who played an important role in Pontic politics. Mithridates had taken pains to ensure that his sons married the daughters of the neighbouring Scythian and Sarmatian kings[344]. Aspurgos enlisted the tribe of the Aspurgiani in his political struggles. In Strabo's report:

> Among the Maeotae are the Sindi themselves […] and several others. Among these belong also *the Aspurgiani, who live between Phanagoreia and Gorgipia*, within a stretch of five hundred stadia[345].

343 Saprykin 2000.
344 Rostovtzeff 1919.
345 Strabo XI.II.11, italics added for emphasis.

Aspurgos gave his sons a Thracian (Cotys) and an originally Persian name (Mithridates), the latter a popular name in the Pontic; the two names reflected the traditional double loyalties of the Bosporan Kingdom. Aspurgos defeated the Crimean Scythians and made them his vassals. He probably relied on the Sarmatians in the campaigns (hardly a coincidence) and made Ompsalakos, a Sarmatian, King of the Scythians as a token of his gratitude[346]. One sure sign that the Crimean Scythians had grown strong was that they had again begun minting their own money and, true to their earlier practice, they had again begun to threaten the Greek towns. Chersonesus turned to Emperor Nero for help. The task of subduing the Scythians fell to the Moesian governor Plautius Silvanus, who in the 50s and 60s AD »removed the king of the Scyths from his siege of Chersonesus beyond the Dnieper«[347]. The town was given an independent garrison and came under the authority of the governor. Plautius Silvanus' campaign highlighted the Alan danger to the Romans, who made every effort to cut off the Sarmatians of the Danube region from their brethren in the Caucasus. Nero's death and the civil war in its wake brought an end to the Romans' endeavours to this end against the Sarmatians/Alans and these plans were never revived in the same form[348].

The Romans sought to secure alliance with the Bosporan kings. Aspurgos' son, Mithridates VIII (III), a late descendant of Mithridates Eupator, ascended the throne in 39 AD. At first, it seemed that Roman aspirations would be crowned with success. The new ruler first acted as a friend to Rome, but later turned against her. Sent to Rome to reassure Emperor Claudius, his brother Cotys disclosed his intentions. By 44-45 AD, armed open confrontation became the single course open to Mithridates. The Romans supported the treacherous Cotys, who was installed on the Bosporan throne by the cohorts led by Didius Gallus and Julius Aquila. This was the first time Roman soldiers had set foot on the Crimean Peninsula.

The second clash between the Siraci and the Aorsi known from the literary sources occurred at this time, in 49 AD[349], as a consequence of joining two different alliances. Mithridates fled to the Siraci on the Asiatic Bosporus (the Taman' Peninsula on the eastern side of the Kerč Strait), while the Romans forged an alliance with Eunones, King of the Aorsi:

> Mithridates of Bosporus, meanwhile, who had lost his power and was a mere outcast, on learning that the Roman general, Didius, and the main strength of his army had retired, and that Cotys, a young prince without experience, was left in his new kingdom with a few cohorts under Julius Aquila, a Roman knight, disdaining both, roused the neighbouring tribes, and drew deserters to his standard. At last he collected an army, drove out the king of the Dandaridæ[350], and possessed himself of his dominions. When this was known, and the invasion of Bosporus was every moment expected, Aquila and Cotys, seeing that hostilities had been also resumed by Zorsines, king of the Siraci, distrusted their own strength, and themselves too sought the friendship of the foreigner by sending envoys to Eunones, who was then chief of the Aorsi. There was no difficulty about alliance, when they pointed to the power of Rome in contrast with the rebel Mithridates. It was accordingly stipulated that Eunones should engage the enemy with his cavalry, and the Romans undertake the siege of towns.

346 Vinogradov 1994, 153-154.

347 CIL XIV.3608. – Levick 1985, 31.

348 Rostovtzeff 1922, 117.

349 This is assuming that the first clash can be identified with the Trans-Caucasian undertaking in 35 AD, in which the participation of the Siraci and the Aorsi is mere conjecture. However, this conjecture is based on the analogous situation in 49 AD, when the two tribes faced each other on the battlefield because they served as mercenaries in opposing armies.

350 A Maeotian tribe living east of the Bosporus between the Don and the Caucasus.

While the Aorsian cavalry harassed the army of the Zorsines, the Siracian king, the combined forces of Cotys and the Romans besieged the Siracian towns with enormous success. Disregarding the fortress of Aripharnes[351], which is of uncertain ethnic attribution, and Ptolemy's account of the Sarmatian towns in the Great Hungarian Plain, this is the first and last time that Sarmatian towns are mentioned. Tacitus recorded that the town of Uspe stood on high ground and was protected by walls and ditches. The walls were constructed from hurdles and wicker-work with earth packed in-between[352]:

> Then the army advanced in regular formation, the Aorsi in the van and the rear, while the centre was strengthened by the cohorts, and native troops of Bosporus with Roman arms. Thus the enemy was defeated, and they reached Soza, a town in Dandarica, which Mithridates had abandoned, where it was thought expedient to leave a garrison, as the temper of the people was uncertain. Next they marched on the Siraci, and after crossing the river Panda besieged the city of Uspe, which stood on high ground, and had the defence of walls and fosses; only the walls, not being of stone, but of hurdles and wicker-work with earth between, were too weak to resist an assault. Towers were raised to a greater height as a means of annoying the besieged with brands and darts. Had not night stopped the conflict, the siege would have been begun and finished within one day.

The Siraci were finally subdued by the Romans:

> Next day they sent an embassy asking mercy for the freeborn, and offering ten thousand slaves. As it would have been inhuman to slay the prisoners, and very difficult to keep them under guard, the conquerors rejected the offers preferring that they should perish by the just doom of war. The signal for massacre was therefore given to the soldiers, who had mounted the walls by scaling ladders. The destruction of Uspe struck terror into the rest of the people, who thought safety impossible when they saw how armies and ramparts, heights and difficult positions, rivers and cities, alike yielded to their foe. And so Zorsines, having long considered whether he should still have regard to the fallen fortunes of Mithridates or to the kingdom of his fathers, and having at last preferred his country's interests, gave hostages and prostrated himself before the emperor's image, to the great glory of the Roman army, which all men knew to have come after a bloodless victory within three days' march of the river Tanais. In their return however fortune was not equally favourable; some of their vessels, as they were sailing back, were driven on the shores of the Tauri and cut off by the barbarians, who slew the commander of a cohort and several centurions.

In his dire situation, Mithridates turned to the Aorsi fighting on the Roman side for help. King Eunones intervened on Mithridates' behalf: he asked the Romans to treat the fallen Bosporan king leniently, and, after an exchange of letters, he was taken to Rome[353]:

351 Second half of the 4th century BC. See the earlier section on »The Siracian Migration«.

352 The description suggests a wall construction resembling Maeotian buildings (**fig. 53**).

353 Mithridates lived in Rome until 68 AD, when he was executed on Galba's orders for participating in a conspiracy (Plut. *Galba*, 15. 15). As pointed out above, it seems likely that Pliny probably met him while he was a captive in Rome and obtained from him information on the Pontic that does not appear in the writing of other authors.

> Meanwhile Mithridates, finding arms an unavailing resource, considered on whose mercy he was to throw himself. He feared his brother Cotys, who had once been a traitor, then become his open enemy. No Roman was on the spot of authority sufficient to make his promises highly valued. So he turned to Eunones, who had no personal animosity against him, and had been lately strengthened by his alliance with us. Adapting his dress and expression of countenance as much as possible to his present condition, he entered the palace, and throwing himself at the feet of Eunones he exclaimed, »Mithridates, whom the Romans have sought so many years by land and sea, stands before you by his own choice. Deal as you please with the descendant of the great Achæmenes, the only glory of which enemies have not robbed me.« The great name of Mithridates, his reverse, his prayer, full of dignity, deeply affected Eunones. He raised the suppliant, and commended him for having chosen the nation of the Aorsi and his own good faith in suing for mercy. He sent at the same time envoys to Cæsar with a letter to this effect, that friendship between emperors of Rome and sovereigns of powerful peoples was primarily based on a similarity of fortune, and that between himself and Claudius there was the tie of a common victory. Wars had glorious endings, whenever matters were settled by an amnesty. The conquered Zorsines had on this principle been deprived of nothing. For Mithridates, as he deserved heavier punishment, he asked neither power nor dominions, only that he might not be led in triumph, and pay the penalty of death. Claudius, though merciful to foreign princes, was yet in doubt whether it were better to receive the captive with a promise of safety or to claim his surrender by the sword. To this last he was urged by resentment at his wrongs, and by thirst for vengeance. On the other hand it was argued that it would be undertaking a war in a country without roads, on a harbourless sea, against warlike kings and wandering tribes, on a barren soil; that a weary disgust would come of tardy movements, and perils of precipitancy; that the glory of victory would be small, while much disgrace would ensue on defeat. Why should not the emperor seize the offer and spare the exile, whose punishment would be the greater, the longer he lived in poverty? Moved by these considerations, Claudius wrote to Eunones that Mithridates had certainly merited an extreme and exemplary penalty, which he was not wanting in power to inflict, but it had been the principle of his ancestors to show as much forbearance to a suppliant as they showed persistence against a foe. As for triumphs, they were won over nations and kings hitherto unconquered. After this, Mithridates was given up and brought to Rome by Junius Cilo, the procurator of Pontus. There in the emperor's presence he was said to have spoken too proudly for his position, and words uttered by him to the following effect became the popular talk: »I have not been sent, but have come back to you; if you do not believe me, let me go and pursue me.« He stood too with fearless countenance when he was exposed to the people's gaze near the Rostra, under military guard. To Cilo and Aquila were voted, respectively, the consular and prætorian decorations[354].

Without doubt, the war affected a fairly large territory and several other peoples. Excavations at the Scythian settlements on the western Crimean coast have brought to light extensive destruction layers dating to the second quarter of the 1st century AD. The »Late Scythian« rulers (who were descended from the Sarma-

354 Tacit. *Annal*. XII.15-21.

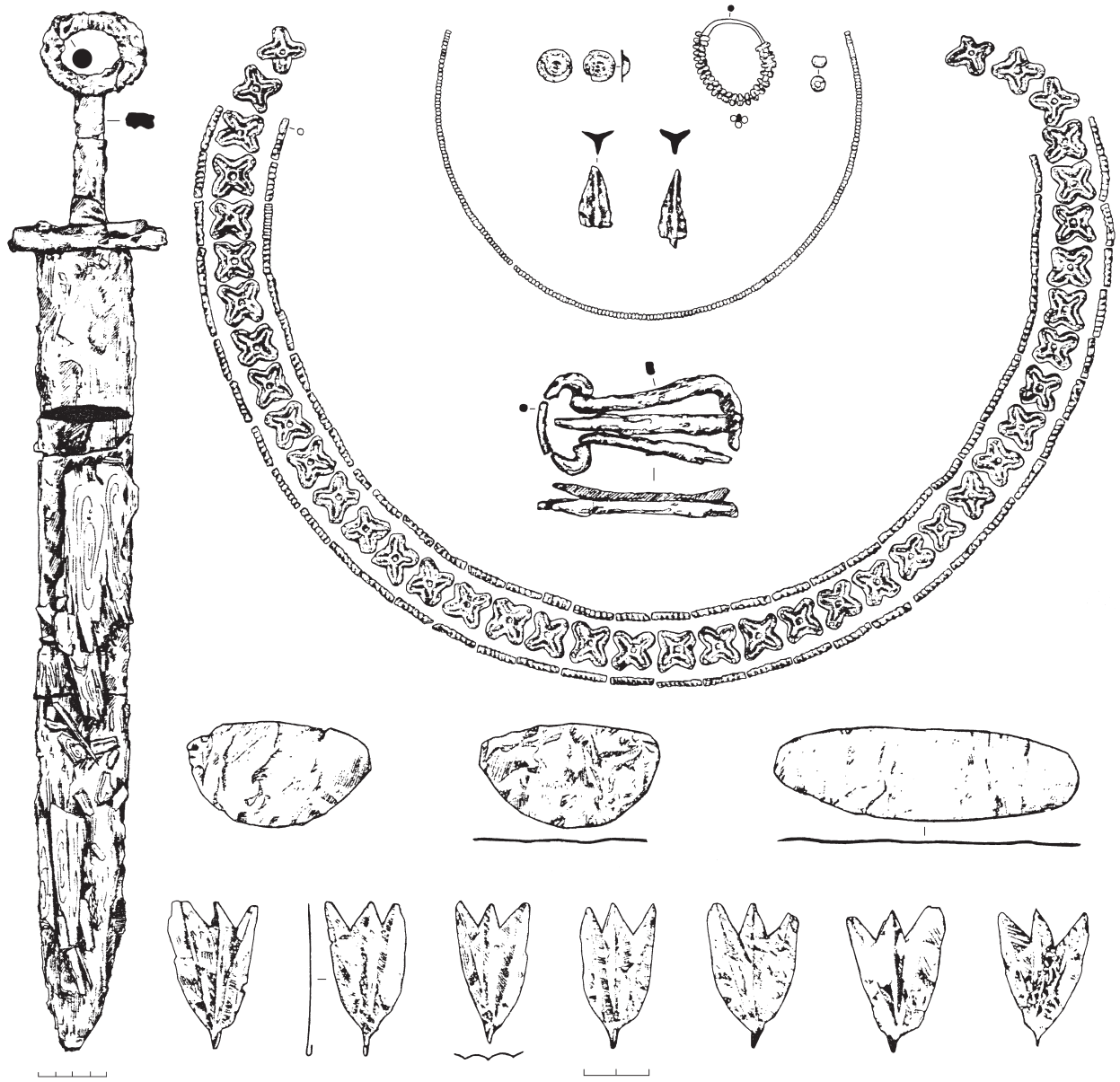


Fig. 86 Catacomb 612 at Ust'-Alma, dating from the 1st century AD. – (After Loboda/Puzdrovskij/Zajcev 2002, figs 8-9).

tians living in Asian Bosporus)[355], known for their anti-Roman sentiments, probably supported Mithridates and thus found themselves facing the Aorsi[356].

Aside from the Alans and the Siraci, the Roxolani were also a source of regular nuisance to the Roman Empire. Their restlessness along the Lower Danubian frontier is reported, e. g. in 69 AD, when four emperors succeeded each other within a year during the turmoil following Nero's death.

355 As mentioned above, Aspurgos appointed a Sarmatian to rule over them.

356 Puzdrovskij 2001a, 214-215. It is striking that the burials of the elite in Scythian Crimea from the 1st century AD share numerous similarities with the graves of the Sarmatian aristocracy. The burials of the recently excavated and only partially published Late Scythian cemetery at Ust'-Alma (**fig. 86**) can, on the strength of the analogous finds, be assigned to the same horizon as Sokolova Mogila, Porogi, Cvetna and Ves'njanoe in the Ukraine, Hohlač, Migulinskaja, Vysočino, Kobjakovo and Kosika in the Don-Volga interfluve, and the Golden Cemetery in the northern Caucasus.

> Men's minds were so intent on the civil war, that foreign affairs were disregarded. This emboldened the Roxolani, a Sarmatian tribe, who had destroyed two cohorts in the previous winter, to invade Mœsia with great hopes of success. They had 9,000 cavalry, flushed with victory and intent on plunder rather than on fighting. They were dispersed and off their guard, when the third legion together with some auxiliaries attacked them[357].



Fig. 87 The *aureus* bearing the legend VICTORIA OTHONIS issued by Otho probably commemorate the victory of the *Legio III Gallica* over the Sarmatians (RIC I.15; BMC 23). – (After http://davy.potdevin.free.fr/2%20Roman%20coins%20I%20Augustus%20to%20Vitellius/9-otho/ric15_50000chf.jpg [5.4.2012]).

Intent on gaining booty, the Roxolani wreaked havoc:

> [...] those Scythians who are called Sarmatians, being a very numerous people, transported themselves over the Danube into Mysia, without being perceived; after which, by their violence, and entirely unexpected assault, they slew a great many of the Romans that guarded the frontiers; and as the consular legate Fonteius Agrippa came to meet them, and fought courageously against them, he was slain by them. They then overran all the region that had been subject to him, tearing and rending every thing that fell in their way. But when Vespasian was informed of what had happened, and how Mysia was laid waste, he sent away Rubrius Gallus to punish these Sarmatians; by whose means many of them perished in the battles he fought against them, and that part which escaped fled with fear to their own country. So when this general had put an end to the war, he provided for the future security of the country also; for he placed more and more numerous garrisons in the place, till he made it altogether impossible for the barbarians to pass over the river any more. And thus had this war in Mysia a sudden conclusion[358].

The *Legio III Gallica* defeated the Roxolani and drove the 9,000 strong heavy cavalry across the Danube[359]. The *aurei* and *denarii* bearing the legend VICTORIA ORHONIS issued by Otho can probably be linked to this Roman victory (**fig. 87**)[360]. Tettius Julianius, the hero of the campaign against the Dacians in 88, was awarded the *Ornamenta consularia*[361]. The presence of the Roxolani and mainly the renewed Dacian threat – Diurpaneus, Decebal's predecessor, had united the Dacians in a new state and had founded Sarmizegetusa as its centre, not far from the Danube – forced the Romans to erect a massive defence system. The borders of Moesia were reinforced. The construction of camps along the Danube began under the reign of Vespasian, then supervised by the governor Rubrius Gallius, and was continued by later Roman emperors[362]. This line of defence was further strengthened with another one, a parallel chain of forts slightly to the east. Three legions and numerous auxiliary troops were stationed in the south along the Danube, from the Olt to the delta. The most important crossing points were guarded by counter-forts (**fig. 88**)[363]. A passage in Jordanes' *Getica* would suggest that the boundary between the Roxolani and

357 Tacit. *Hist*. I.79.
358 Jos.Flav. *Bell.Iud*. VII.4.3.
359 Alföldi 1939a, 534.
360 López Sánchez 2007, 89 fig. 1; in print.
361 Strobel 1989, 70.
362 Mócsy 1974, 80.
363 Alföldi 1940a, 43.

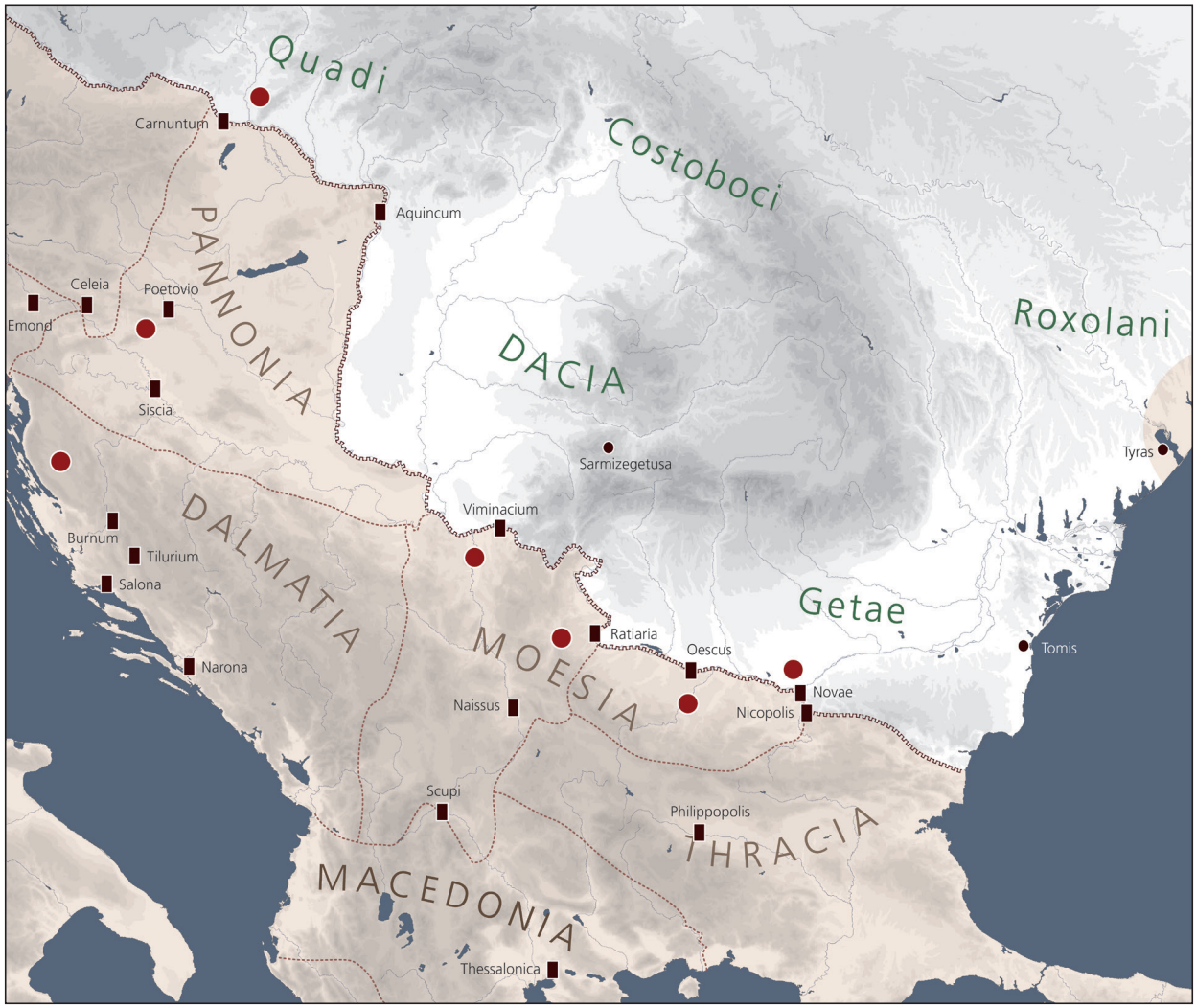


Fig. 88 The Lower Danubian *limes* under Vespasian, around 80 AD, with the location of the legions. – (After http://2.bp.blogspot.com/_umhSvWEgx2c/TSRaS_aDj3I/AAAAAAAAHQ4/83Sr7lqm8QE/s1600/legioni_dislocazione.gif [5.6.2012]; map M. Ober, RGZM).

the Iazyges lay in the Olt Valley at this time, assuming of course that the Iazyges had already arrived in the Carpathian Basin by this time[364].

Finds From the Second Half of the Middle Sarmatian Age (Mid-1st Century to Mid-2nd Century AD)

Alongside the survival of the earlier artefact types and assemblages, a set of new articles made their appearance on the northern Pontic coast during this period. While the earlier find types and burial rites dominated the region's greater part, ring-pommel swords, early Roman brooches, polychrome jewellery and northern Caucasian wheel-thrown grey wares, etc. appear (**fig. 89**). An important change was the appearance of double censers and bells. In striking contrast to the earlier practice of digging the graves

364 Alföldi 1940a, 45. – Jordan XII.74. See the next chapter »Sarmatians in the Carpathian Basin« for more on the migration of the Iazyges.

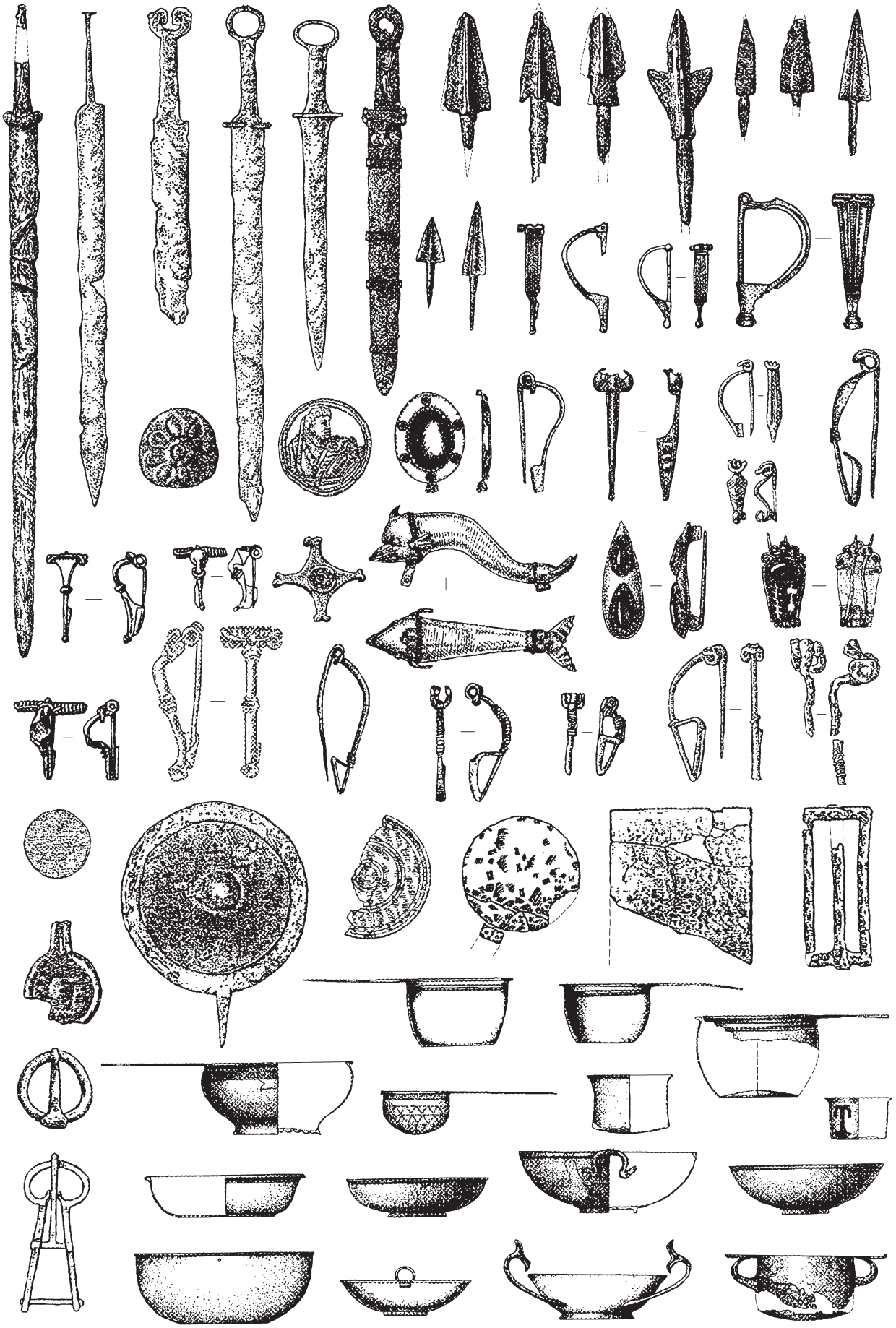


Fig. 89 Finds of the Middle Sarmatian Age (1st-mid-2nd centuries AD) from the northern Pontic. – (After Simonenko 2004, fig. 7).



Fig. 90 Bronze cauldron with handles modelled in the shape of animal figures from the 1st-2nd century AD displayed in the permanent archaeological exhibition of the Hermitage. – (Photo E. Istvánovits/V. Kulcsár).

into earlier burial mounds, the region's inhabitants started to erect kurgans. The new artefactual »culture« predominated on the left bank of the Dnieper, in the Orel-Samara interfluve, i.e. the easterly part of the Roxolanian territory, where the greatest concentration of new types from the east can be noted. These include cauldrons (**fig. 90**) and gold-turquoise artefacts decorated in the animal style (**fig. 91**), which are all types that occur only sporadically in the west. Diagonal burials become widespread and the deceased were laid to rest with a south to north orientation, resembling the custom in the Don-Volga interfluve (**fig. 75**) and the Sarmatian lands to its east. This evidence shows that the Roxolani (to whom the earlier assemblages can be linked) apparently moved westward under pressure from the Aorsi and the Alans by the mid-1st century to early 2nd century AD[365].

The late phase of the Middle Sarmatian culture is characterised by princely and royal graves (**fig. 92**) containing the burials of high-ranking individuals. These are concentrated in the Lower Don region, such as the ones found at Hohlač (Novočerkassk) (**fig. 93**), Sadovyj (**fig. 94**) and Kobjakovo (Rostov area) (**fig. 95**), Vysočino (**fig. 96**) and Dači (**figs 97-100**) (Azov area) and other sites[366]. Comparable burials are also known from the southern Ukraine (Sokolova Mogila – **fig. 101**; Porogi – **figs 81. 102**; Nogajči – **figs 103-105**) and from the Upper Don (Lipeck-Lenino – **fig. 106**).

The »royal« burials are characterised by square or wide rectangular grave pits over 3 m long, 1-3 m high burial mounds, the unusual arrangement of the subsoil dug out during the creation of the grave pit around the pit, the deposition of various prestige articles and various precious articles of eastern origin. Bronze cauldrons, imported metal vessels, amphorae, ritual artefacts (**fig. 107**), gold decorated weapons and harness sets, and insignia of rank are all counted among prestige articles. Articles of eastern provenance include Chinese mirrors of the Han period (**fig. 108**), typical Bactrian ornaments in the gold-turquoise style and Parthian bone-carvings, etc. Several dozen assemblages of this type are known from the Sarmatian burials of the Don delta. The source of these artefacts is uncertain. They have been regarded as both booty from the Bactrian palaces and treasuries looted by the nomads, and as pieces made by Bactrian craftsmen for their nomadic patrons, much in the same way as the Greek goldsmiths of the Pontic catered to the needs of the Scythian elite[367].

A distinctive brooch (**fig. 109**) was found in one of the Porogi burials. It bears a resemblance to finds from the Dacian *dava*s (hillforts) from the period preceding Trajan's conquest. Brooches of this type are now believed to have been made in Dacian workshops or produced by Bosporan craftsmen and here demonstrates contact with the west[368].

365 Simonenko 1993a, 112-115; 1994, 16-17.

366 Moškova 1989a, 177-180. – Glebov/Parusimov 2000, 70-71.

367 Guguev 1992, 126-129.

368 Simonenko/Lobaj 1991, 53 figs 14, 2; 20, 3. – Opreanu/Cociş 2002, 229. – Puzdrovskij 2007, 188 fig. 203. This type of brooch also appears in the material of the Hungarian Plain (Örvény, Szeged-Felsőpusztaszer).



Fig. 91 *Phalera* from Peter the Great's Siberian collection in the Hermitage. Artefacts decorated in the so-called turquoise and gold animal style were popular in the 1st century BC-2nd century AD. – (After L'Or 1995, 51 no. 58).

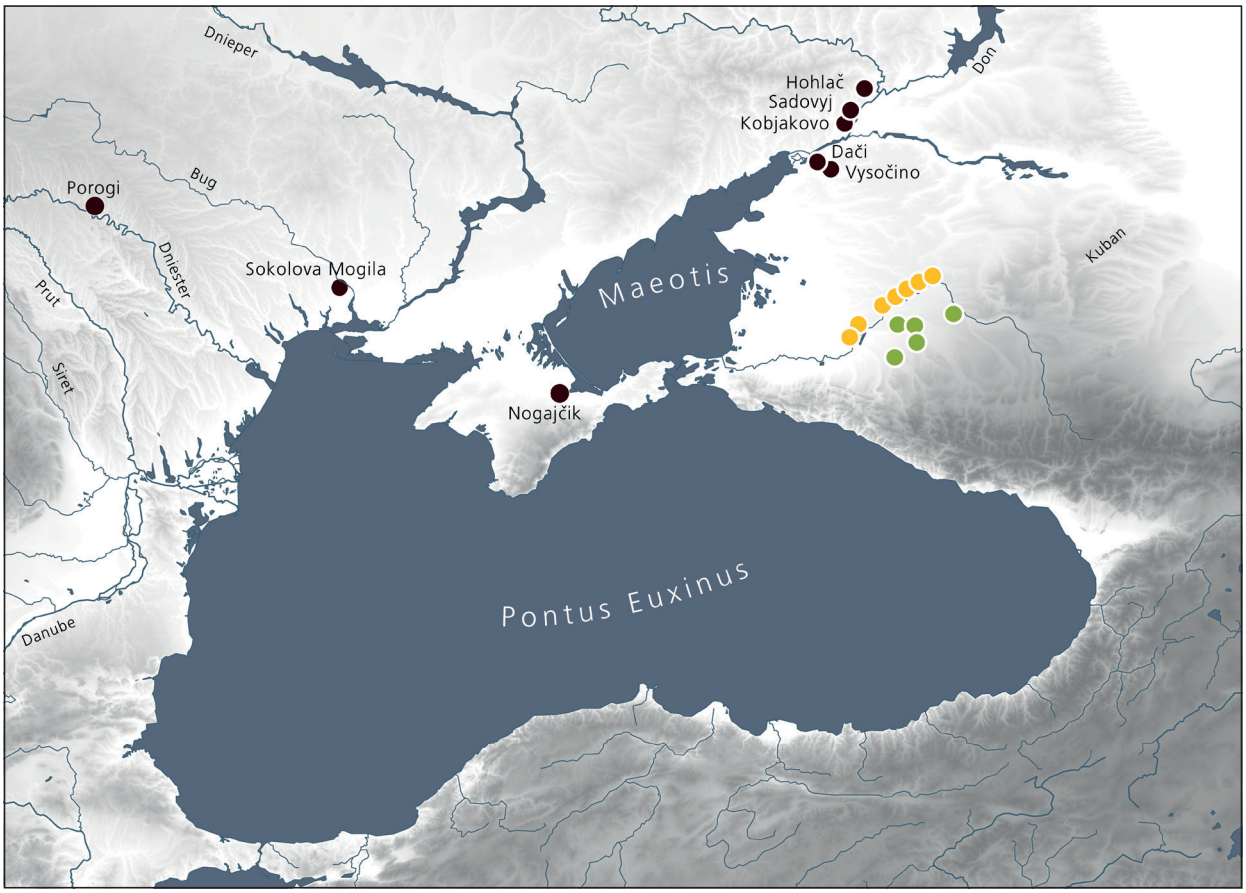


Fig. 92 Elite burials from the 1st century AD. The sites of the Zubovskij-Vozdviženskaja group are marked with green, the sites of the Zolotoe kladbišče (»Golden Cemetery«) group with yellow. – (Map M. Ober, RGZM).



Fig. 93 Gold torc from the Hohlač burial. – (After L'Or 1995, 60 no. 83).



Fig. 94 Imported bowls of precious metal from the Sadovyj kurgan. – (After L'Or 2001, 195).



Fig. 95 Gold torc from the Kobjakovo burial. – (After Steppengold 2004, 146 no. 110).



Fig. 96 Vysočino, Kurgan VII.28. – (After Sokrovišča 2008b, fig. 9).

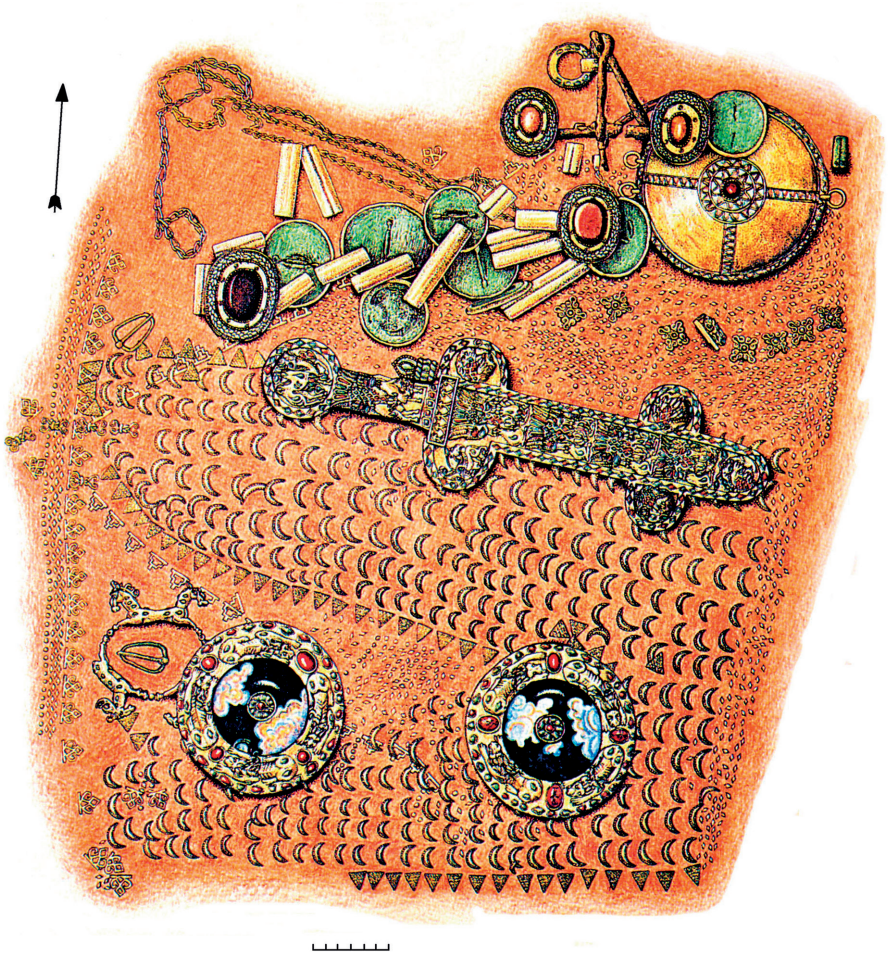


Fig. 97 Gold mounts, perhaps the adornments of a horse blanket, horse harness and a ceremonial dagger from the *tajnik* 1 (secret chamber) of Kurgan 1 at Dači. – (After L'Or 2001, 203).

The assemblages described above bear witness to the rebirth of the Sarmatian animal style. One hallmark of the gold-turquoise and polychrome ornamental style was the use of turquoise to accentuate certain details of the creatures portrayed (**fig. 91**)[369]. In addition to the Siberian-Altaic and Central Asian animals, the repertoire also included human figures and fantastic, half-animal, half-human creatures, such as the ones appearing on the torc from Kobjakovo (**fig. 95**). Accepting the possibility that these ornaments had been made in Bactrian workshops would provide an explanation for the relative uniformity of the style.

Cultural influences and imports from the east were not restricted to ornamental prestige items. Kurgan 51 at Susly by the Volga and the royal burial at Porogi by the Dniester yielded typical Hiung-nu arrowheads and bone stiffening-plaques for bows, probably of eastern origin, were also brought to light. Long swords with a lozenge-sectioned bronze cross-guard also made an appearance in the 1st century AD. The best analogies for these swords can be quoted from Central Asia and Taxila in northern Pakistan (**fig. 110**)[370]. Short swords kept in ornate sheaths decorated with gold and semi-precious stones and fitted with wide suspension loops

369 Zaseckaja, the renowned expert on the Sarmatian animal style, pointed out that the label »turquoise« is imprecise because very few articles are actually inset with this stone, most being decorated with turquoise-coloured glass paste. We would here like to thank her for her kind oral communication.

370 We are indebted to Savin and Semënov for their permission to publish the drawing.



Fig. 98 Horse harness from Kurgan 1 at Dači. – (After L'Or 1995, 69 no. 98).

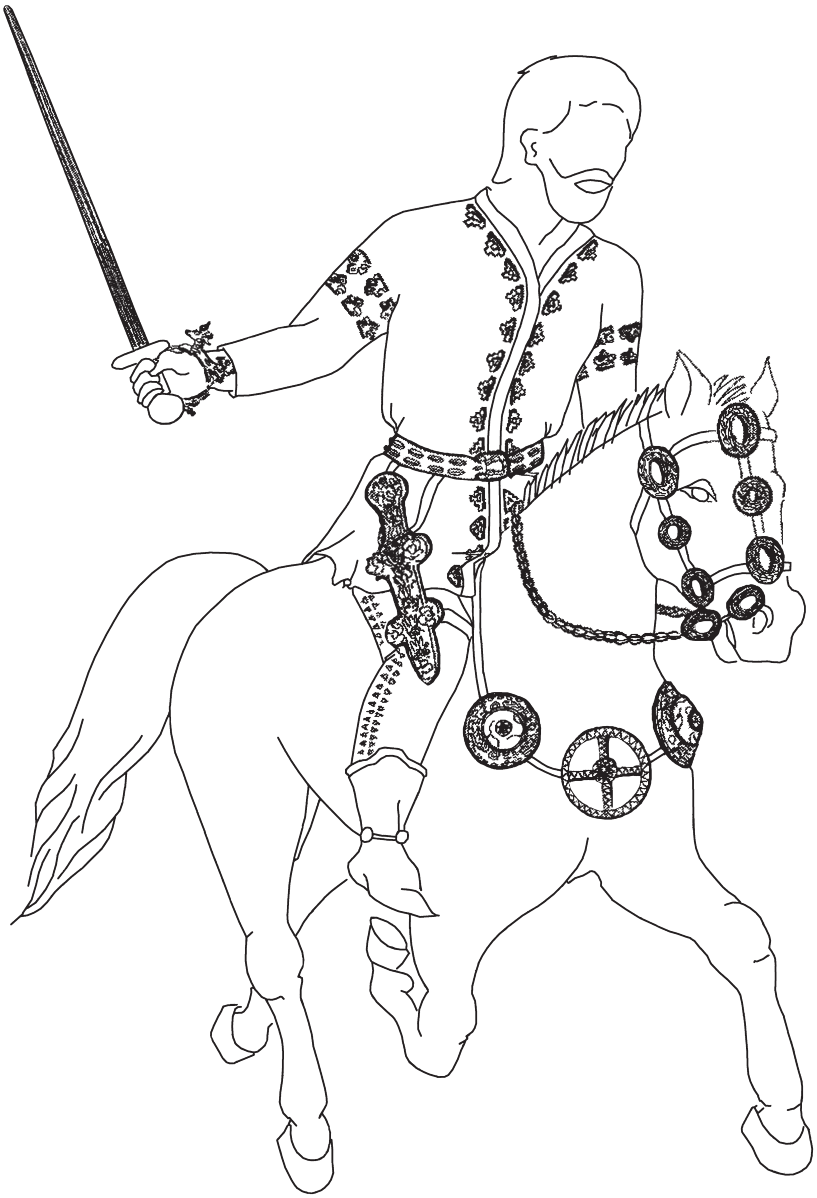


Fig. 99 The warrior of the royal burial at Dači. – (After L'Or 1995, 71 no. 103, 2).

(**fig. 100**) were another innovation from the east. Good examples can be quoted from Kosika (Lower Volga region), Dači (Lower Don region) and Porogi (Dniester region), whose counterparts are known from the royal burials at Tillia Tepe in northern Afghanistan (**fig. 111**). The use of tamgas (**figs 73. 79. 81**) became widely fashionable. Their distribution can be traced from Mongolia through Central Asia to the northern Pontic (and the Carpathian Basin)[371].

There is an ongoing debate among Russian and Ukrainian scholars as to whether the »royal« horizon should be associated with the Alans or the Aorsi. The Aorsi seem to be the more likely candidates in the light of the report by Strabo (quoted above) that this people controlled the east-west caravan trade – the Silk Road (**fig. 5**) – on which they probably levied heavy tolls. The eastern artefacts could have been acquired from

371 Skripkin 1997, 23-24, with further literature.



Fig. 100 Short sword in a gold scabbard encrusted with semi-precious stones from Dači. – (After L'Or 1995, 75 no. 104).



Fig. 101 Reconstruction of the costume worn by the woman buried at Sokolova Mogila and detail of the embroidered hemline of her dress. – (After Kovpanenko 1986, figs 133. 124).



Fig. 102 The warrior of the royal burial at Porogi. – (After Kočyvniki 1996, 73).

this traffic. Alternatively, the assemblages from the Lower Don region have been interpreted as reflecting a new Alan centre.

At roughly the same time as the »princely« burials of the Lower Don region there appeared the Zolotoe Kladbišče (Golden Cemetery)[372], a chain of kurgans extending over 110 km on the right bank of the Kuban

372 So named by Veselovskij after the countless gold finds brought to light during the excavations in the early 20th century.



Fig. 103 Torc from the Nogajči kurgan, the single »royal« burial of the Crimea dating from the 1st-2nd century AD. – (After Gold 1991, 406 no. 145).



Fig. 104 Brooch from the Nogajči kurgan. – (After Gold 1991, 405 no. 146).

– although a few graves occur south of the river, too (**fig. 92**). The burial mounds form clusters, with each cluster featuring a few outstanding burials[373]. The Golden Cemetery was used from the 1st to the 3rd century AD, although most intensively during the second half of the 1st and 2nd centuries AD. The deceased were laid to rest in catacombs, wearing a costume embroidered with gold plaques. Deposited with them were their weapons, harness sets, and lavish Italian and provincial imports (**figs 112-114**). Most graves contained male burials, principally of heavily armoured warriors (*cataphractarii*), who occupied a prominent position in the social hierarchy.



Fig. 105 Finger-ring from the Nogajči kurgan. – (After Gold 1991, 405 no. 147).

The catacomb rite and the graves of the Golden Cemetery are often linked to the Alans; the debate over the attribution of the burials continues. In view of the high number of south Italian imports, Guščina and Zaseckaja, who published the material of the cemetery, suggested that the Sarmatian warriors of the Kuban region had perhaps acted as Rome's advance guard in the Caucasian foreland[374]. In contrast, Marčenko argued that the newly formed Alanic-Siracian alliance entrusted the defence of the southern border to the group that had buried its dead scattered throughout the river valley[375].

The burials of the Golden Cemetery are partly pre-dated by and partly contemporaneous with the so-called Zubovskij-Vozdviženskaja group distributed on the left bank of the Kuban, dated to the 1st century BC - 1st century AD (**fig. 92**). The catacomb rite was not practised in this region: the grave pits are wide and west to east orientated. The grave assemblages, comprising weapons, mails, harness sets, numerous imports and golden dress ornaments, again indicate that the graves contained the burials of the military elite. The group was initially associated with the Siracian elite[376]; later, an attribution to the earliest Alans was also proposed[377], based on the occurrence of Inner Asian artefacts that were supposed to reflect Hiung-nu, Yueh-chi and Saka traditions. Citing the controversial references in the classical texts discussed in the above, the advocates of this hypothesis suggested that the Alans had participated in the war between Pompey and Mithridates Eupator in 65 BC. However, in our opinion, there is no conclusive evidence to support this.

One point that emerges clearly is that the warriors laid to rest in these two rich burial grounds – the Golden Cemetery and the Zubovskij-Vozdviženskaja group – were buried according to different rites (reflected by the use of catacombs in the former and their lack in the latter), suggesting two different ethnic groups. At the same time, the composition of the grave goods and their richness imply that the deceased occupied a roughly similar position in the social hierarchy.

373 A somewhat similar pattern was noted in the burial ground at Hortobágy-Poroshát on the Hungarian Plain. The 220 kurgans formed eleven clusters over an extensive area. Each cluster included more richly furnished kurgans of the elite. Another similar feature was the high number of weapons (Zoltai 1941).

374 Guščina/Zaseckaja 1994, 5-8. 36-40. This would in part support the above mentioned hypothesis that Nero had seriously considered plans for assuming control over the northern Caucasus. However, if the burials of the Golden Cemetery are associated with the Alans, then Nero could hardly have planned a campaign for subduing the Alans.

375 Marčenko 1995, 309-311.

376 Guščina/Zaseckaja 1989, with further literature.

377 Raev/Jacenko 1993.

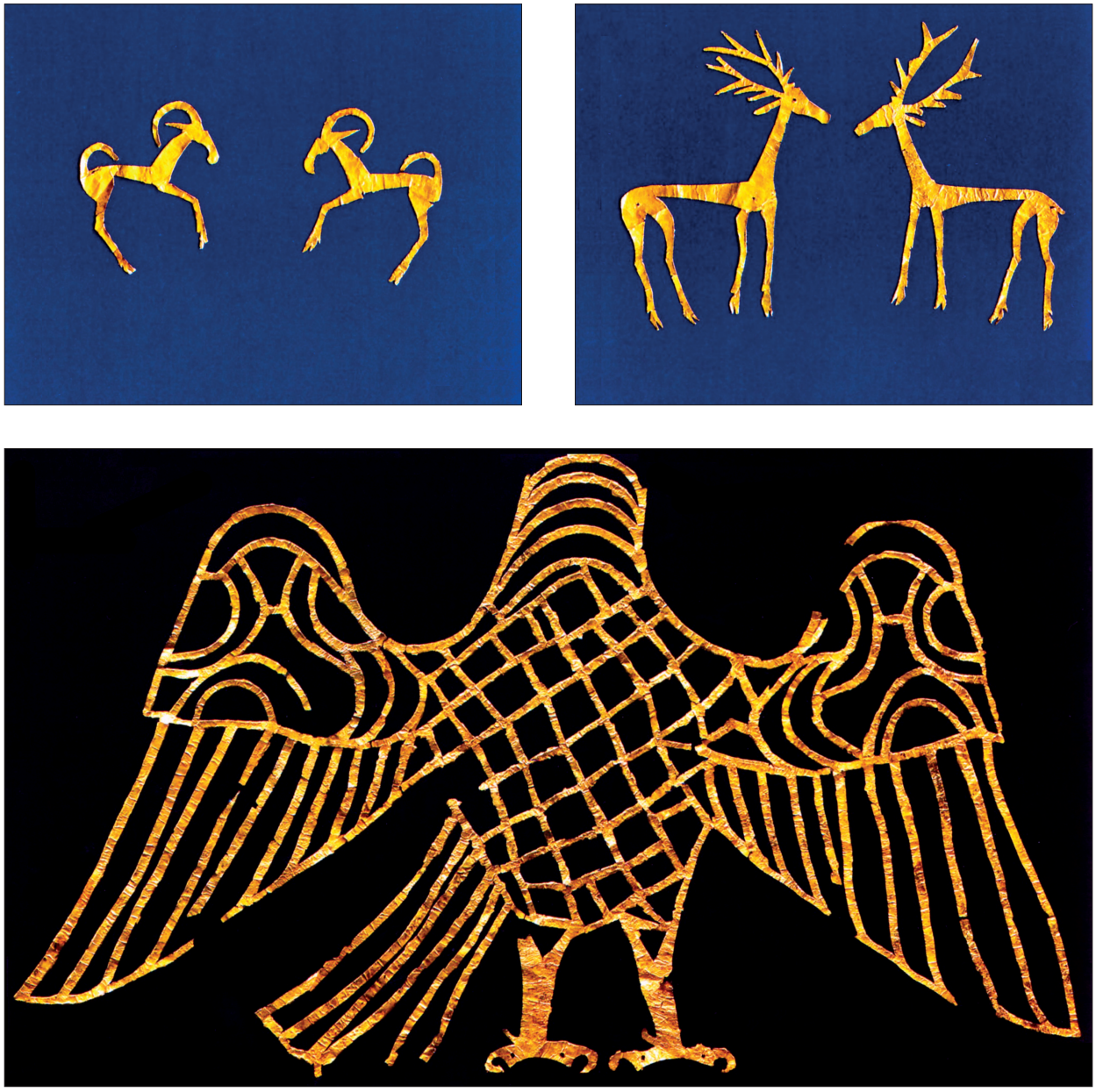


Fig. 106 Gold adornment of a canopy from the Lipeck-Lenino burial. – (After Medvedev/Safonov/Matveev 2008, colour supplement 4).

Mention must be made of the fact that Sarmatian finds have also been discovered in regions where they were previously unknown. Their distribution suggests that the nomads penetrated the forested steppe zone of the Don region during this period[378].

In sum, the ever-growing territory of the European Sarmatians, extending from the Ural to the Lower Danube and, later, to the middle reaches of the Danube following the arrival of the Iazyges in the Carpathian Basin, came under substantial cultural influence from the east – from Inner and Central Asia – during the

[378] Medvedev 2008. Nearly 200 Sarmatian burials were uncovered in this region during the past decades. These graves can perhaps be associated with Ptolemy's *Hippophagoi* (»horse-eating«) Sarmatians (Ptolem V.8).



Fig. 107 Sceptre or poletop in the form of the Tree of Life, a symbol of power or a ritual device from Pesčanyj in the Kuban region. – (After L'Or 2001, 175 no. 193).



Fig. 108 Chinese mirror of the Han period in the Taganrog museum. – (After L'Or 2001, 231 no. 248).

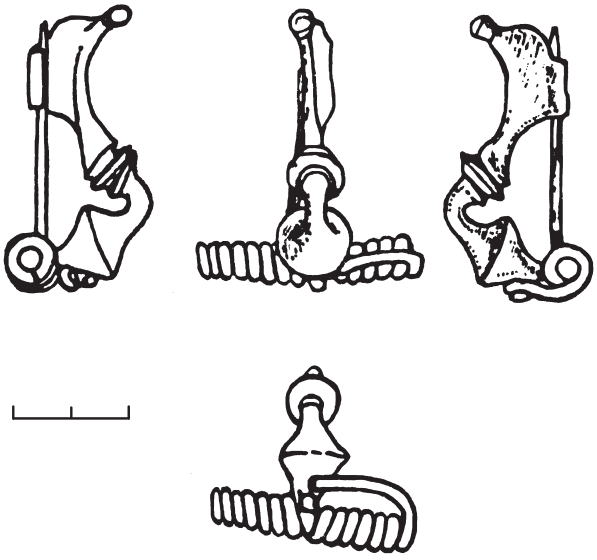


Fig. 109 Brooch reflecting contacts with the west from Grave 1 at Porogi. – (After Simonenko/Lobaj 1991, fig. 14, 2).

1st century AD, a phenomenon which was also noted earlier[379]. The information contained in the written sources increases, and many events can be precisely dated to the year. Even so, it is impossible to establish unequivocally whether the eastern influence should be interpreted as the expansion of a new population from Central Asia, and if so, whether this population can be identified with the Alans. The possible answers to this question will be covered in the next chapters.

379 Skripkin 2000, has shown that Chinese influences can be demonstrated in the Sarmatian material from the late horizon of the Prohorovka burials, i.e. from the 2nd century BC. This is principally reflected by ring-pommel swords and swords with lozenge-sectioned cross-guards, whose prototypes are known from the Late Bronze Age in China. Chinese elements can be distinguished in the openwork buckles with animal depictions and various other artefacts.



Fig. 110 Long swords with lozenge shaped cross-guard depicted at a bone plaque from Orlat near Samarkand (detail). – (Courtesy of A. M. Savin / A. S. Semënov; drawing A. M. Savin).

THE ALANS: THE MIGRATION OF A NEW EASTERN POPULATION

Origins of the Alans

As we have seen, a new population appeared in the northern Pontic in the 1st century AD: the Alans. Let us state, by way of introduction, that the identity and history of the Alans are two of the most oft-discussed topics in research into this period. However, one is easily lost in the bewildering maze of varying and controversial interpretations, and thus, ironically, the Alans are one of the least-known people as far as their early history is concerned. At the same time, they are the single Scythian-Sarmatian people whose descendants, the Ossets, are still extant in North Ossetia (in the northern Caucasus, Russia) and in South Ossetia (in Southern Caucasus). One group of this population, the Jász (Jassones), settled in the Jászság region (Jazygia) of Hungary during the Middle Ages.

The ethnonym »Alan« was derived initially from the Manchurian and Mongolian word for »mountain«. Other etymologies postulated an origin from various Indo-European roots, such as »foreign, distant« and »deer«.



Fig. 111 Short sword in a golden scabbard and wide suspension loops encrusted with semi-precious stones from Tillia Tepe. – (After Sokrovišča 2008a, fig. 12).

Today, most linguists agree that the name can be derived from Old Iranian **arya-* meaning »Aryan«[380].

As we have seen in the previous chapter, the people known as the Alans lived in the foreground of the Caucasus from 72 AD at the latest, or perhaps even earlier, from the first third of the century. Accepting the identification of the people buried under the »royal« kurgans with the Alans and that the burial uncovered at Porogi (**fig. 102**) was the grave of Inismeios, King of the Alans, the implication is that the Alans had advanced as far as the Dniester Valley within a few decades, arriving there by the second part of the 1st century AD. In this case, Lucan's report (confirmed by Ammianus' passage quoted above) that Pompey had clashed with the Alans in the foreground of the Caucasus in 65 BC is not as unbelievable nor as ridiculous as some scholars would have us think.

Although the Alans appear more often in the works of the authors of Antiquity from the 1st century AD than in the epigraphic material, there are few securely datable references to this people.

The etymology of the ethnonym raises the first problem. The name of the Roxolani is inseparable from that of the Alans, seeing that they were designated as the »white Alans«. The adjective »white« recalls the distinction between »white« and »black« Ugrians, and brings to mind the »white« Huns (the Hephtalites). Regardless of whether the adjectives »white« and »black« denoted a difference in status or in the cardinal directions, most scholars agree that the adjectives refer to two groups of the same population[381]. The usage of the ethnonym is even more complicated in the case of the Alans. Neither should we forget about the Aorsi in this respect, whose name means also »white«. The Alans, the Roxolani and the Aorsi were related tribes in view of their name. It is not mere chance that Ptolemy mentions the Alanorsi (Αλανορσοί) twice[382], perhaps indicating a mixed population of Alans and Aorsi.

380 For a good overview of the earlier literature on etymology, see Alemany 2000, 1-6 – a pioneering work in Alan research, containing the most systematic compilation of the sources pertaining to the history of the Alans.

381 Alemany 2000, 8-9 n. 40.

382 Ptolem VI.14.

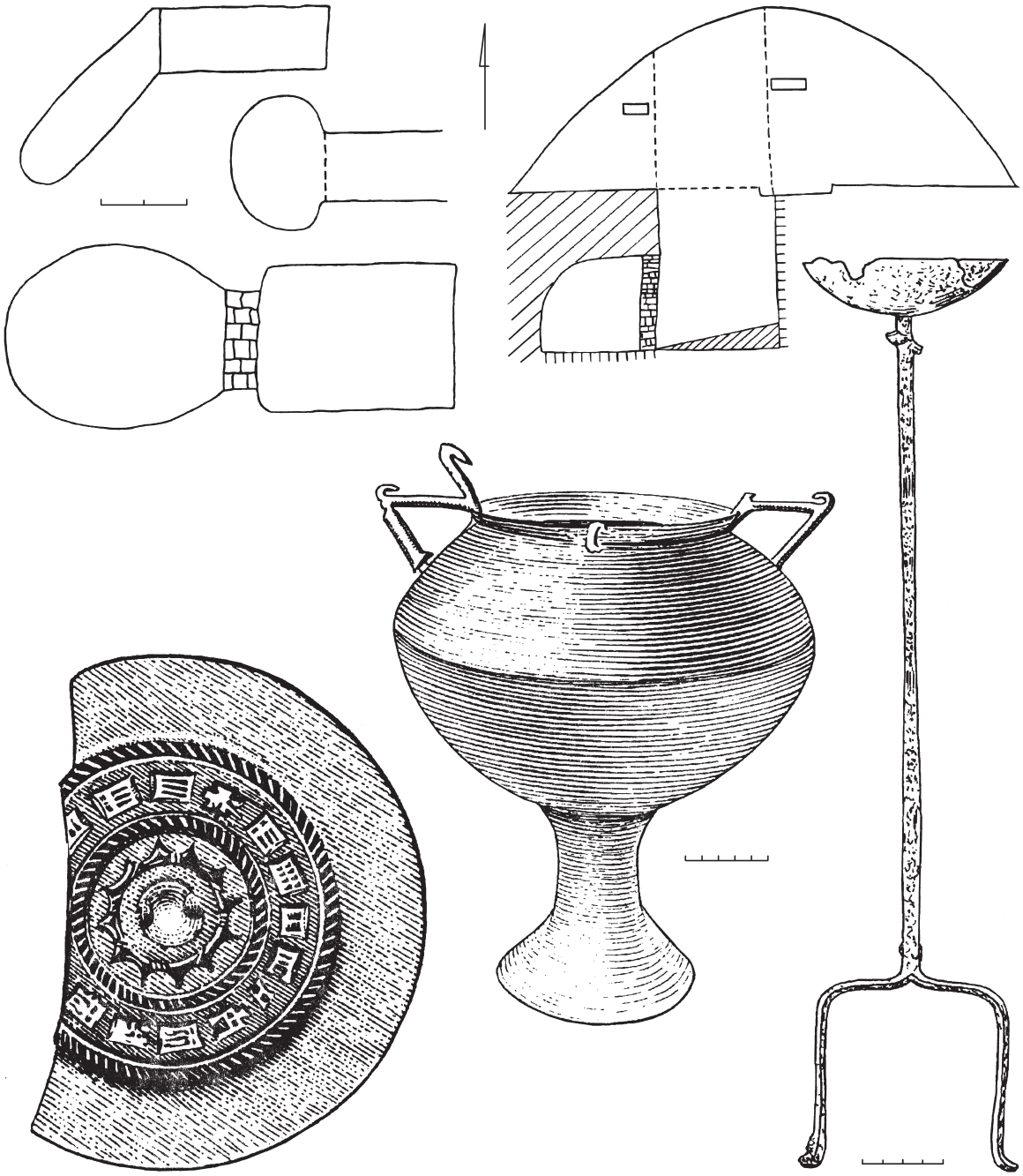


Fig. 112 Catacomb types and typical finds from the Zolotoe kladbišče (Golden Cemetery). – (After Guščina/Zaseckaja 1994, fig. 2 pls 4, 34. 40; 12, 117).

Interestingly enough, a possible equation between the Alans and the Roxolani has been neglected to some extent in Sarmatian research[383], while the possible identity of the Alans with the Aorsi has been proposed repeatedly. This issue takes us far, in both space and time, to the 2nd century BC and the Chinese border; and it is strongly intertwined with the question of Alan ethnogenesis[384].

383 One exception being Gaglojti 1995, 50. 56, according to whom the ethnonym of the Roxolani and the Iazyges are a variant of Alan.

384 For a good overview, see Alemany 2000, 396-412, with ample literature and an objective, sensible approach and assessment.

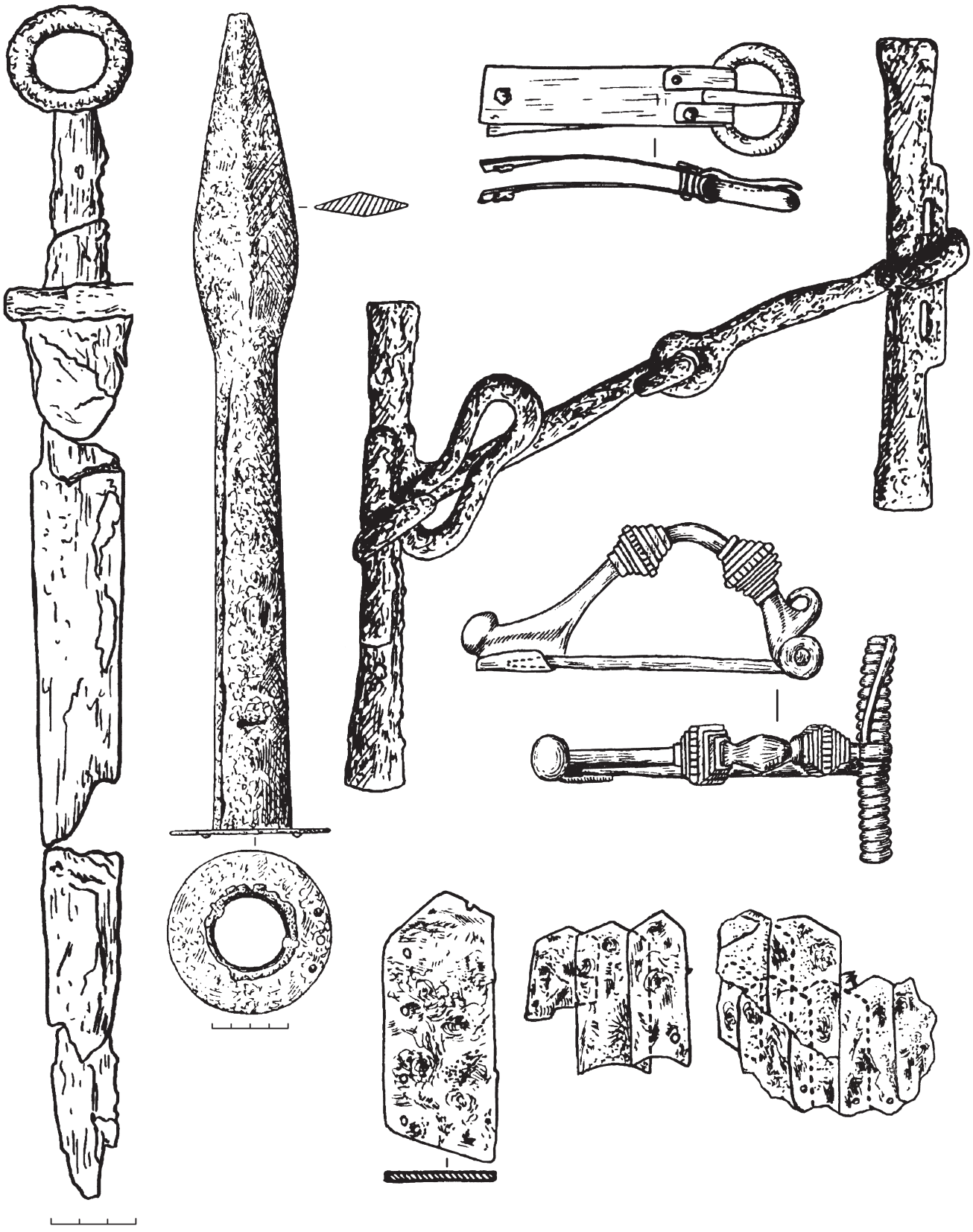


Fig. 113 Typical finds from the Zolotoe kladbišče (Golden Cemetery). – (After Guščina/Zaseckaja 1994, pls 7, 77; 10, 93; 21, 202; 44, 391; 53, 528; 56, 555).

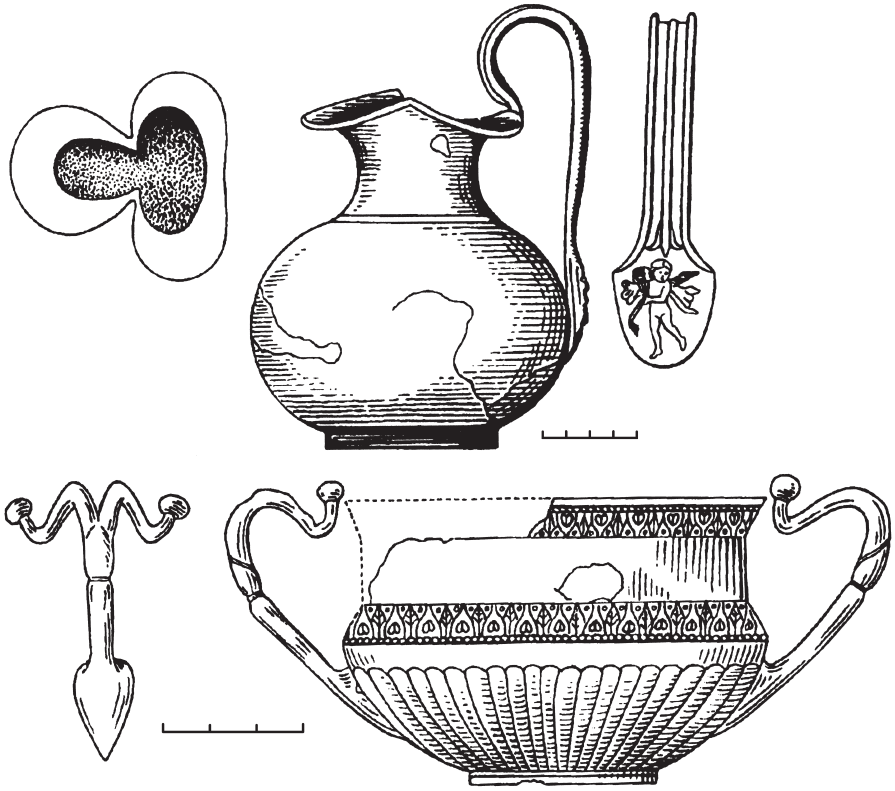


Fig. 114 Typical finds from the Zolotoe kladbišče (Golden Cemetery). – (After Guščina/Zaseckaja 1994, pl. 28, 270. 272).

Countless elaborate and complicated hypotheses have been proposed for the origins of the Alans. Two main theories must be considered: according to one, the Alans emerged as a people in Central or Inner Asia, whence they started their westward migration; while according to the other, the Alans represented a continuation of the earlier Sarmatian culture. The debate between the proponents of these two theories is far from over and therefore both shall be discussed here.

Earlier, most archaeologists believed that the finds of the Middle Sarmatian Age – of the Susly culture as it was at first called – had developed organically without a break from the preceding period and without any influence from other regions. The Alans were thus regarded as having separated from the Aorsian tribal alliance. More recently, however, Russian and Ukrainian researchers have proposed a new explanation, perhaps due to a growing awareness of the long-standing assertions made by classical philologists, linguists and historians. Most archaeologists now subscribe to the migrationist theory according to which the Alans had arrived in Europe from a distant, Inner Asian region and that their migration was triggered by the events on the Chinese border. Parallels from Central Asia are often quoted in explanation for the radical transformation of the artefactual material and the burial rite[385].

Proponents of an Asian origin for the Alans hinge their theory on one of Strabo's passages:

> [...] the best known of the nomads are those who took away Bactriana from the Greeks, I mean the Asii, Pasiani, Tochari, and Sacarauli, who originally came from the country on the other side of the Iaxartes River that adjoins that of the Sacae and the Sogdiani and was occupied by the Sacae[386].

385 Skripkin 1997, 99; 2001, with an overview of recent arguments.

386 Strabo XI.8.2.

This event, the toppling of the Graeco-Bactrian Kingdom, can be dated to 130 BC[387]. Pompeius Trogus made a short reference to the attack of nomads from the north: »Scythian affairs are added on: the Asiani kings of the Tochari and the destruction of the Saraucae«[388]. Some scholars believe that the Asii/Asiani appearing in the quoted passages can be identified with the Aorsi.

The Chinese sources also described the same event, reporting that the so-called Great Yüeh-chih conquered Bactria (**fig. 61**), probably referring to the toppling of the Graeco-Bactrian Kingdom[389]. We are fortunate that two separate sources, obviously independent of each other (Strabo and the Chinese yearbooks), recount the same event, according to their own knowledge. Like Strabo, the Chinese sources also mention four names: Wusun, Kangju, Yancai and Yüeh-chih. There have been repeated attempts to reconcile the western and eastern record and to somehow identify and correlate the Asii, the Pasiani, the Tochari and the Sacarauli with Wusun, Kangju, Yancai and Yüeh-chih.

What concerns us here is the identification of the Asii and the Tochari. The former are generally equated with the Yancai and by some researchers with the Wusun. The latter are identified with the Yüeh-chih. Let us take a closer look at these identifications.

Deriving the name of the Asii given in the classical sources from the **ās-* root and considering that the same designation (*as*) crops up as the name of one tribe of the Caucasian Alans, the Yancai of the Chinese sources are often identified with the Alans[390]. The name of the As and Ias people, appearing in medieval Russian sources, who are known to have been Alans or their descendants, are derived from the same root. The same holds true for the Ovs mentioned in Georgian chronicles.

We know that the Kushan Empire was founded by the Yüeh-chih and it is therefore generally accepted that they spoke an Indo-European and, more specifically, an Iranian or Tocharian tongue. Accordingly, they would be identical with the Tocharians of Strabo and Pompeius Trogus[391]. The Chinese sources contain a wealth of information on the history of the Yüeh-chih, whose early history can be traced from the 2nd century BC onward. During the Han period, China was constantly warring with the neighbouring nomads, the Hsiung-nu (Xiongnu). In 177 BC, the Hsiung-nu finally drove their neighbours, the Yüeh-chih from Gansu and seized control over the greater part of the Tarim Basin. The Chinese sought an alliance with the expelled Yüeh-chih and sent an envoy to them, as a result of which a great deal of information reached the imperial court concerning the westerly territories. Obviously, the number and, also, the credibility of the reports on regions lying far from the great civilisations are limited, and there is often no way of checking them.

The other people mentioned by the Chinese sources who figure prominently in the origins of the Alans are the Wusun, who reportedly lived 800 km north-east of Fergana, in the valley of the River Ili, i.e. south of Lake Balkhaš. They were also nomads. They lived together with the Yüeh-chih in the mountains, but were eventually also driven away by the Hsiung-nu. They managed to shake off the yoke of subjugation at roughly the same time as the Yüeh-chih migrated northward. The Wusun proved to be strong this time: they subdued both the Saii (Saka) and the Yüeh-chih. The similarity between the name of the Wusun and that of the Asii/Asiani mentioned by Strabo and Pompeius Trogus has led to the identification of the Wusun, rather than the Yancai, with the Alans. The 7th century Chinese documents mentioned that the Wusun were a blue-eyed, light-bearded people, a description that was treated as evidence for the identification[392].

387 For the antecedents, see the earlier section »An Overview of the Steppe«.

388 Iustinus *Prolog*. 42. Quoted after Alemany 2000, 17.

389 It has been suggested that by the time the Yüeh-chih had arrived, the Graeco-Bactrian Kingdom had already fallen and been carved up. This would contradict the identification of the Yüeh-chih with the Tocharians (Enoki/Koshelenko/Haidary 1996, 173).

390 Harmatta 1986. – Zadneprovskiy 1996, 465-468.

391 Without going into the details of this linguistic problem, suffice it here to note that, judging from the known texts, Tocharian is quite distant from the Scythian-Sarmatian language and that its origins are still debated (Makkay 1998a, 407-408).

392 Cf. Ammianus Marcellinus' remark (XXXI.2) that the Alans had blond hair.

However, these correlations are based on rather flimsy evidence: the similarity between the names and the description of the Wusun as blond and blue-eyed.

The single acceptable point of these identifications was widely discussed. According to the Chinese sources, the Yancai resided some 800 km north-west of Sogdiana, on the shores of an immense lake, which was identified, either with the northern coast of the Caspian Sea, or that of the Aral Sea[393]. The yearbooks of the older Han Dynasty recorded that the Yancai took up the name, variously, Alan, Alanliao or Alanna, between 25 and 55 AD[394]. According to a Chinese passage referring to events in 225-239 AD, the Yancai neighboured on the Roman Empire in the west. To their south-east lay the Kangju[395], who had earlier subjugated the Yancai. The Kangju territory was also inhabited by the nomadic stockbreeding Asi, who are also prime candidates for identification with the Alans and the Aorsi[396]. The Yancai territory is sometimes equated with the Aorsian lands, which Strabo located beside the Caspian Sea. The essential point of these theories is that the Aorsi and the Alans are identical, and that they represent a population that had migrated to the Caspian region and thence farther west from Inner Asia.

Regarding these theories, we may wholly agree with Alemany's sensible opinion that it would be a gross mistake to correlate the ethnonyms from different periods surviving in the language of the most diverse cultures merely because they sound similar[397]. Still, this is what most theories are actually based on. The pronunciation of Archaic and Old Chinese is in itself a matter of controversy. The meaning of the different ethnonyms is unclear, both in the Chinese and in the Greek and Roman sources. Most identifications are based on genuine (or assumed) similarities of pronunciation. The single exception is the report that the name Yancai was changed to Alanja, which should be considered more seriously. In this case, however, we should bear in mind that this event took place, either by the Caspian Sea, or the Aral Sea. Ethnonyms do not denote closed tribal societies among the nomads. The rise of a particular tribe, the emergence or collapse of an extensive »empire« occurred rapidly on the steppe. Frequently, the appearance or, conversely, the disappearance of a charismatic leader from the stage of history was all that led to an event of this type. Viewed from this perspective, it would be hardly surprising if the Alans, who had already set off on their Trans-Caucasian expedition around 35 AD (and had reached the shores of the Caspian Sea), had subjugated the Yancai and all its peoples. The role of the Alans in this coalition or, better said, the actual participation of the Alans as an ethnic group in this coalition remains controversial. When the sources mention Alans or when they are referred to in connection with various historical events, we must be aware that we can never be quite certain whether the term Alan is an umbrella term for the peoples in the Alan

393 Similar to the identification of all the other places mentioned in the text, this one is also debated. For an overview of the different opinions, see Skripkin 2001, 29.

394 Bičurin 1950, 229: »Владение Яньцай переименовалось Аланья; состоит в зависимости от Кангюя […] Обыкновения и одеяние народа сходны с кангюйскими.« (»The land of Yancai has changed its name to A-lan-ja, and is a dependency of Kangju. […] Their ways of life and dress are the same as those of Kangju.«) (Translated from the Russian: Istvanovits/Kulcsár/Seleanu).

395 The name Kangju appears in the *Avesta* and also in Ptolemy's work (around 100 AD). There have been attempts to identify Kangju with Chorezm. Kangju can most likely be located in the area between the Karatau Mountains and the Ču and Talas Rivers (Tolstov 1948b, 244). The name Kangju is sometimes derived from the Khotanese-Saka language, with the meaning »leather clad men« or »men clad in leather armour«. The linguistic and archaeological evidence would suggest that early Kangju (the Kaunči I archaeological culture) can be identified with the middle reaches of the Syr Darya and that the late Saka were the main ethnic component of its population. At the time of its greatest expansion, Kangju extended to the Aral region and the interfluve of Syr Darya and Amu Darya. Although late Kangju (the Kaunči II archaeological culture) had lost ground politically, it preserved its ethnic composition and culture (Litvinskij 1968, 22-23).

396 Alemany 2000, 398-399. It has been suggested that the Asi, appearing as As by the Caspian Sea, were part of the Aorsian tribal alliance from the 3rd century BC to 30 AD. The Alans rose to become the leading tribe after the disintegration of the Aorsian tribal alliance. Larger groups of the Asi had perhaps moved from Kangju westward at this time, where they mixed with the Alans, their western brethren (Vásáry 2003, 41). Other theories assume that Asi and Alans are two names given to the same population and that the people described as the inhabitants of Kangju are not identical with Asi appearing in the later sources from the 7th century (Fejős 2001).

397 Alemany 2000, 401-412.

tribal alliance or whether it denotes the »genuine« Alans after whom the coalition was named. (The same holds true for every nomadic people, such as the Scythians, the Saka, the Massagetae, the Sarmatians, the Huns, the Turks, etc.)

The Origins of the Alans in the Light of the Archaeological Sources

In the light of the above, it is hardly surprising that Sarmatian studies focused on Bactria and the Altaj as the possible homeland of the new archaeological material appearing in the Middle Sarmatian Age which, in view of the parallels, could be associated with the Alans.
In order to illustrate the confusion in this field of research, suffice it here to mention that Jacenko listed seven different hypotheses on the origins of the Alans: 1) the Scythian version; 2) the Aorsian version; 3) the Massagetae version; 4) the Altaj version; 5) the Yüeh-chih-Tocharian version; 6) the Wusun version; and 7) the nomadic warrior elite version (i. e. an elite transcending ethnic groups). He proposed an eighth version, a combination of the above. In his view, three phases can be distinguished in the Alan ethnogenesis and suggested a Wusun-proto-Alanic-Kangju sequence[398].
The finds from the renowned Pazyryk kurgans in the Altaj (**fig. 115**) dated to the 5th-3rd centuries BC were identified as the archaeological heritage of the Yüeh-chih[399]. Certain elements of the burial rite are regularly quoted as parallels to the funerary practices of the Middle Sarmatian Age. Another major find assemblage has also been associated with both Pazyryk and the Middle Sarmatian Age: the assemblage from Tillia Tepe in Bactria (**figs 116-117**), dating from the turn of the millennium or slightly later[400]. In fact, the similarities are largely superficial and can only be noted in the most widespread elements of the burial rite. Although »Sarmatoid« elements can be distinguished in the finds of the Bactrian burials, these are insufficient for a reliable ethnic attribution[401].
Returning to the Greek and Latin sources, their most striking trait is the uncertainty concerning the origins of the Alans:

> [...] along the entire coast of Maeotis are the Iazyges and the Rhoxolani; more toward the interior from these are the Amaxobi and the Scythian Alani[402].

Irrespective of how Ptolemy's report is dated, the important point is that he described the Alans as Scythians. Much later, Ammianus Marcellinus compared them to the Massagetae: »[...] Alani, who were formerly called the Massagetae«[403]. It would appear that it is not mere chance that the writers of Antiquity associated the Alans with the Scythians and the Massagetae. Considering the linguistic evidence, according to which a direct genealogical link can be established between the Scythians, the Sauromatae, the Sarmatians, the Alans and the Ossets, we must again recall the scenario outlined in the previous chapters that the similarities or the kinship between these languages reflect a common ancestry and the different temporal forms of a northern Iranian cultural unit.
It has been shown in the above that an Alan presence can be assumed in the northern Pontic from the 1st century AD. It is possible that alongside the Siraci and the Aorsi, the Alans had also participated in the war between the Romans and the Parthians for the throne of Armenia. Their appearance in Europe can be

398 Jacenko 1993a.
399 Rudenko 1960, 176.
400 See **fig. 61** for the location of Tillia Tepe.
401 Glebov/Parusimov 2000, 71-73.
402 Ptolem III.5.
403 Ammian XXXI.2.12.



Fig. 115 Detail of the felt carpet from Kurgan 5 at Pazyryk. – (After Zolotye 2001, fig. 20).

linked to their Caucasian presence. The richly furnished kurgans of the Golden Cemetery and the Zubovskij-Vozdviženskaja group (**fig. 92**) indicate that they had gained control of the Kuban region (or at least a part of it), perhaps when the Aorsi and the Siraci were preoccupied with their fight against each other in the war waged by Mithridates VIII.

We have seen that, according to the most widely accepted views[404], the Alans' central territory lay in the Lower Don region, which was an area having cultural contacts with the Carpathian Basin during the 2nd century[405]. The lavish burials mentioned above were uncovered in this region. The best parallels to the new finds can be quoted from Central Asia and northern Afghanistan. Skripkin, the expert on the Sarmatians of the Volga region and a renowned scholar of contemporary Sarmatian studies, attempted the identification of the archaeological heritage of the Alan commoners[406]. Like other archaeologists, he believed that the Middle Sarmatian culture could be linked to the Alans (or the tribal alliance led by the Alans). From

404 First proposed by Raev 1986, 58-70.
405 Kulcsár 2000.
406 Skripkin 1990.

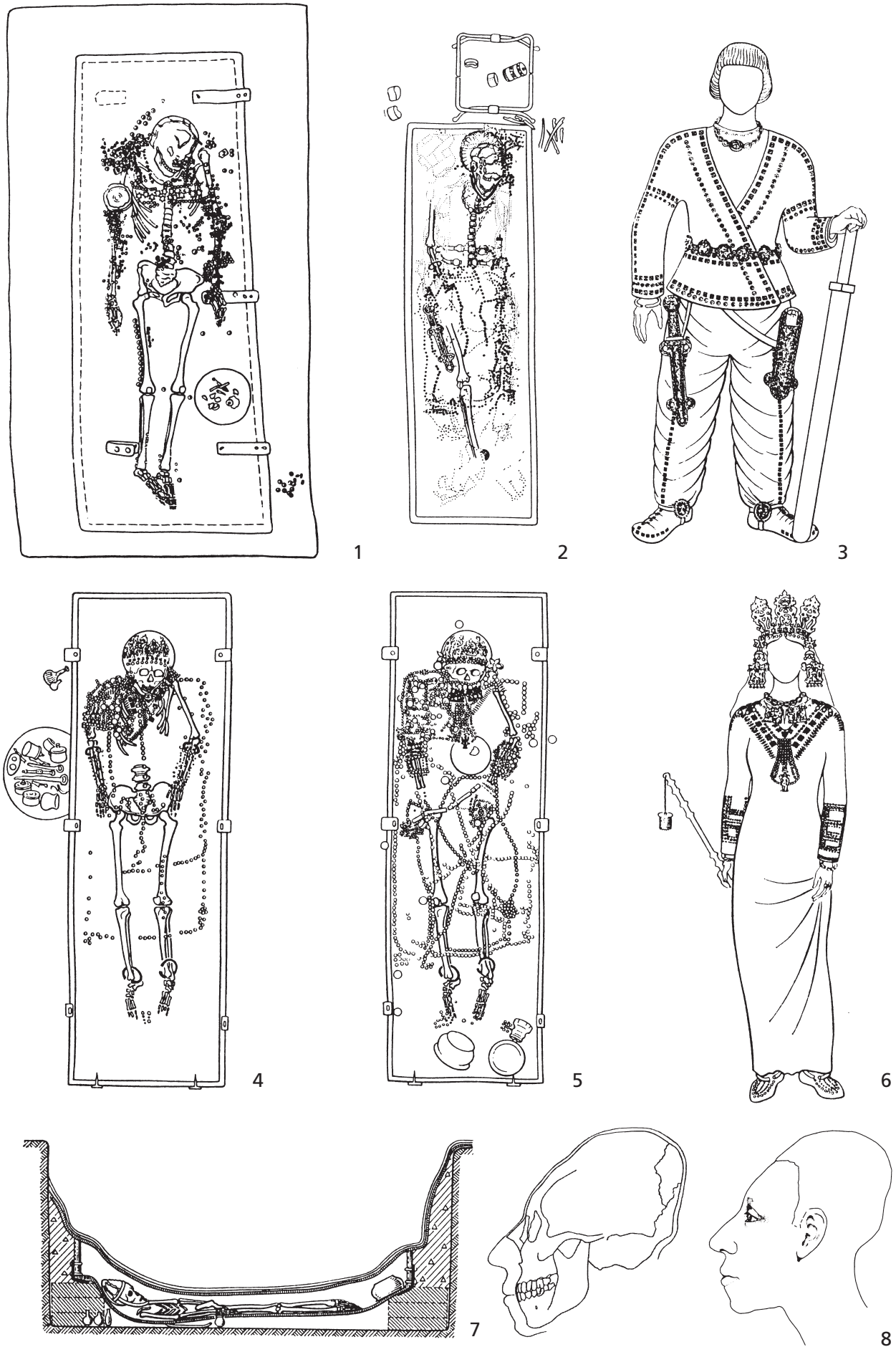


Fig. 116 Tillia Tepe. – **1** Grave 1. – **2-3** Grave 4. – **4-8** Grave 6. – (After Sarianidi 1989, figs 13. 30. 32. 40-41. 46).



Fig. 117 Gold finds from Tillia Tepe. – (After Afghanistan 2006, figs 61. 108. 115. 140).

his examination of the Sarmatian finds east of the Don dating from between the 3rd century BC and the 2nd century AD, he concluded that the major changes in the artefactual material and the burial rite marking the emergence of the Middle Sarmatian culture occurred around the turn of the millennium. Seeing that the Alans gained a foothold on the European steppe roughly simultaneously with the spread of Middle Sarmatian culture, a connection can be assumed between the two[407].

One cornerstone of this theory is the resemblance between the Middle Sarmatian elite graves and the royal burials uncovered at Pazyryk (**fig. 115**)[408]. However, as mentioned above, the burial rites differ and only have a few elements in common, and even these elements are distributed widely, meaning that no particular significance can be attached to them. While the grave assemblages from Tillia Tepe, dating from the turn of the millennium and the early 1st century AD, share several similarities with both the Pazyryk burials and the graves of the Middle Sarmatian period, the ethnic attribution of the finds runs into several difficulties. There is a remarkable resemblance between the Tillia Tepe burials and the funerary rites of the sedentary Hsiung-nu. The deceased were laid to rest in wooden coffins draped with textiles and placed in rectangular grave pits without a kurgan erected over them. The burials are usually north to south orientated, with a few aligned east to west. The grave finds reflect the wide currency of the animal style. Several traits of the Tillia Tepe burials have their counterparts in the Deristuj group of the Hsiung-nu of the 2nd-1st centuries BC living beyond Lake Bajkal (Ivolga, Deristuj). The secretly conducted funeral characterising the Tillia Tepe burials was alien to the Scythian-Sarmatian world. At the same time, the royal burials of northern Afghanistan cannot be linked to the Hsiung-nu because the deceased buried in the former were Europids, even if the Transbajkalian Hsiung-nu elements were stronger than the Central Asian nomadic features. What must be noted is that Tillia Tepe and its finds were alien to the region's cultural milieu (**figs 116-117**). In this connection mainly the luxury items and the polychrome animal style must be mentioned: these were not characteristic of Bactria during the Kushan period.

Following the fall of the Graeco-Bactrian Kingdom (140-130 BC, and the appearance of the nomads on its borders in 145 BC), kurgan cemeteries with several hundred burials appear in certain regions of Central Asia. Many of these burials have well-expressed nomadic, among them »Sarmatoid«, features, such as niche graves, catacombs, the meridional orientation of the deceased, while the grave goods comprise Early Sarmatian weapon types, a few mirrors, buckles and the like[409]. This material has nothing in common with the Pazyryk burials or the Middle Sarmatian culture. It would appear that the nomads overrunning the Graeco-Bactrian Kingdom formed a colourful conglomerate, which included both the eastern Saka and the Yüeh-chih (mixed with the Hsiung-nu), and northern nomads of Sarmatian type[410]. It is hardly surprising, then, that Skripkin assumed a dynamic Sarmatian thrust both westward and eastward. He pointed out that the number of Sarmatian burials in the South Ural region and north-western Kazakhstan declined perceptibly, while assemblages exhibiting strong ties with the Sarmatian finds of the Volga-Ural steppe appear in the east, up to the Bukhara area (e.g. the Kuyu Mazar and the Ljavandak cemeteries)[411].

Dealing with the later half of the Middle Sarmatian Age, we have already pointed out that the most distinctive element of the burial rite, the diagonal deposition of the body in the grave (**fig. 75**), was already practised by the Sauromatians in the Prohorovka period, meaning that the population of the European steppe in the 1st-2nd centuries AD did not bring this custom from the Altaj (Pazyryk) or Central Asia, as has been repeatedly suggested. Most burials of this type are concentrated in the South Ural region in the 5th-3rd cen-

407 Skripkin 2001, 19.

408 Raev 1989.

409 The Orlat cemetery near Samarkand, whose finds indicate a cultural tradition arriving with the nomadic waves of the 2nd century, can also be assigned here. The intriguing bone plaques bearing various battle scenes will also be referred to in the following chapters (Pugačenkova 1989, 122-154).

410 Skripkin 2000. – Glebov/Parusimov 2000, 72.

411 Skripkin 1997, 21-22.

turies BC, whence this practice spread to neighbouring territories. It is unclear whether the widespread distribution of the rite should be attributed to migration or to shared elements of the beliefs current in western Siberia, the Aral region and the Lower Don region. We know that a major Sarmatian expansion, that of the Early Sarmatians, proceeded from the South Ural region. The archaeological record would suggest that a similar phenomenon can be assumed in the case of the Alans.

Interestingly enough, several traits of Middle Sarmatian culture can be traced to Sauromatian culture, rather than the Early Sarmatian one. The »resurfacing« elements include diagonal burials, the *dromos* (passage) leading to the burial chamber, the sacrificial objects deposited by the edge of the grave, intact mirrors instead of broken ones and the appearance of archaic artefacts, such as cauldrons, sometimes deposited in pairs (**fig. 90**). Among these phenomena, »gynecocracy« (rich female burials) and the rebirth of the animal style (**fig. 91**), etc., are to be noted. These elements could still be documented at the onset of the Early Sarmatian Age, but gradually disappeared and then re-appeared again during the Middle Sarmatian Age. One possible explanation is that a group living on the eastern fringes of the Sauromatian-Early Sarmatian cultural region preserved these ancient traditions and then disseminated them at the turn of the millennium. At the same time, the suggestion that this group occupied the most favourable location for migrating eastward and had expanded toward Bactria, where they had easy access to various commodities (be it Chinese mirrors or new weapon types) is no more than speculation.

It is uncertain whether the Alans ultimately migrated from Central Asia or whether they evolved locally. Raev noted that there was no genetic connection between the 1st and 2nd century royal burials of the Lower Don region and the earlier Early Sarmatians[412], while the same cannot be said of the commoners' graves of the Middle Sarmatian Age, suggesting that the population of the preceding period had not moved away and had become part of the new Alan tribal alliance (Alanorsi).

Several examples can be cited from medieval nomadic history that after a family group or tribe had been subdued by another, the vanquished »vassal« tribe nomadised with the new lords. Its members performed various tasks, they raised troops and were incorporated into the kindred/tribal organisation of their conquerors. A new ethnic group generally emerged after the assimilation, one good example being the Golden Horde[413]. A similar process is assumed in the Middle Sarmatian Age, namely that the newly-arrived tribe (or tribal alliance) overpowered the region's local population.

In this connection it is suffice to also mention Nagler's and Čipirova's hypothesis, according to which the Alans should not be considered as an identifiable ethnic group and ethnonym, but as a supra-tribal social layer characteristic for nomads: a mounted military elite. If we accept this theory, it would explain the lack of clear distinction between Sarmatians and Alans in the literary sources[414]. This idea would explain a lot of unanswered questions and would be able to determine the direction of further research.

The sources record the destabilisation of the Sarmatian world in the early 1st century AD. The South Ural and Volga region, the Lower Don region and a part of the northern Pontic came under Middle Sarmatian (Alan) rule. We know from Strabo's description quoted above that the Early Sarmatians moved westward: the Iazyges settled by the Danube; the Roxolani, the Aorsi and some Alan groups migrated to the Danube-Dnieper interfluve. At the same time, the Siraci appeared on the left bank of the Lower Dnieper, if Pliny's information is reliable. In the Kuban region, the Sarmatians disappeared from the steppe extending along the right bank in the mid-1st century AD and began to bury their dead in the Golden Cemetery (**figs 112-114**) by the river's middle reaches. No matter which tribe the burials in the cemetery are associated with, the grave goods display strong affinities with Central Asia. These events, occurring more or less simultaneously,

412 Raev 1985, 128-129.

413 See, e. g. Mongol.

414 Nagler/Čipirova 1985.

reflect a chain of events brought in motion by the dynamic power shifts among the nomads of the regions east of the Volga up to the Chinese border[415].

In sum, there was considerable restlessness among the Sarmatians of the Middle Sarmatian Age. Power relations changed and the Alans gradually assumed control over the tribal alliance. It seems quite certain that they appeared in the regions east of the Caspian Sea. The very fact that the earlier Yancai began to be called after the Alans suggests that a powerful new group, the Alans, appeared in the region, extending up to northern Afghanistan. The foreignness of Tillia Tepe in its milieu can perhaps be explained by the rise of intrusive rulers with whom the Alans possibly had some contact. The lack of Mongoloid elements also suggests that the Alans did not arrive in the Sarmatian lands from the east, but had rather gradually assumed a leading role within the Sarmatian tribal alliance. An origin in Central Asia can hardly be reconciled with the designation of the Roxolani as »white Alans«, reflecting their strong ties with the Alans[416]. It seems to be more probable that the westward and eastward expansion began at roughly the same time, and probably issued from the South Ural region.

The Lords of the Steppe: The Alans in the 2nd-4th Centuries AD

Assuming that the Alans seized the leadership of the Sarmatian tribal alliance during the 1st century AD, we find that the nomadic empire extended its power to the immense territory between the Volga and the Danube, up to the South Bug and the Lower Danube, and perhaps even as far as the Hungarian Plain[417]. The Alans' sway extended to the region between the Syr Darya and the Amu Darya, the border of Kangju territory in the east. The geographers of Antiquity told a similar story. Ptolemy recorded that the Alans lived in both Asia and Europe, that is, on both sides of the Don. He designated them as Scythian Alans in both territories. Dionysius Periegetes, a rough contemporary of Ptolemy, located the Alans' land from the Danube to the Pontic, somewhere west of the Dnieper (**fig. 118**)[418]. At the same time, several other peoples were also mentioned in these regions, and the lists of these peoples suggests that there was a larger zone in the territory called Asiatic Sarmatia (between the Volga and the Don) where there were no Alans, only a people called Asaei (Ασαίοι) of controversial origin[419].

The distribution of royal burials would imply a polycentric power (**fig. 92**) whose main centre lay in the Don delta (Hohlač: **fig. 93**; Sadovyj: **fig. 94**; Kobjakovo Kurgan 10: **fig. 95**; Vysočino Kurgan VII.28: **fig. 96**; Dači: **figs 97-100**), with local (ethnic?) centres in the Lower Volga region (Žutovo Kurgan 28.1, Kosika) and the southern Ukraine (Sokolova Mogila, Zaporožskij Kurgan, Porogi: **figs 81. 102**; Nogajči: **figs 103-105**, the latter the single representative of this burial type in the Crimea)[420].

The Alans played an important role in the history of the Caucasus from the moment of their arrival. From the first uncertain reference dating from 65 BC, there is an almost constant stream of information about this people in the historical texts of the Trans-Caucasian lands, namely Georgia (Iberia, called Hyrcania in some sources) and Armenia. The passages describing the Alan incursion in the 1st century AD

415 Glebov/Parusimov 2000, 70-78, with further literature.

416 The role of the Aorsi seems even more unlikely because they were major political actors by the 1st century BC and thus their identification with the Alans raises serious problems.

417 The aspect of the Carpathian Basin shall be discussed at greater length in the section »The First Sarmatians on the Great Hungarian Plain« focusing on the earliest finds from the Great Hungarian Plain and the golden plaque bearing a tamga sign from Dunaharaszti (**fig. 190**).

418 Alemany 2000, 86-87. The map presented in **fig. 118** has the Alans on the left bank of the Dnieper. Periegetes' text suggests that he was told that the Alans lived on the right bank. A systematic re-assessment of the data contained in the works of ancient geographers is long overdue.

419 Ptolem V. 8. – Bachrach 1973, 10-12. – Alemany 2000, 97-101.

420 Glebov/Parusimov 2000, 77.

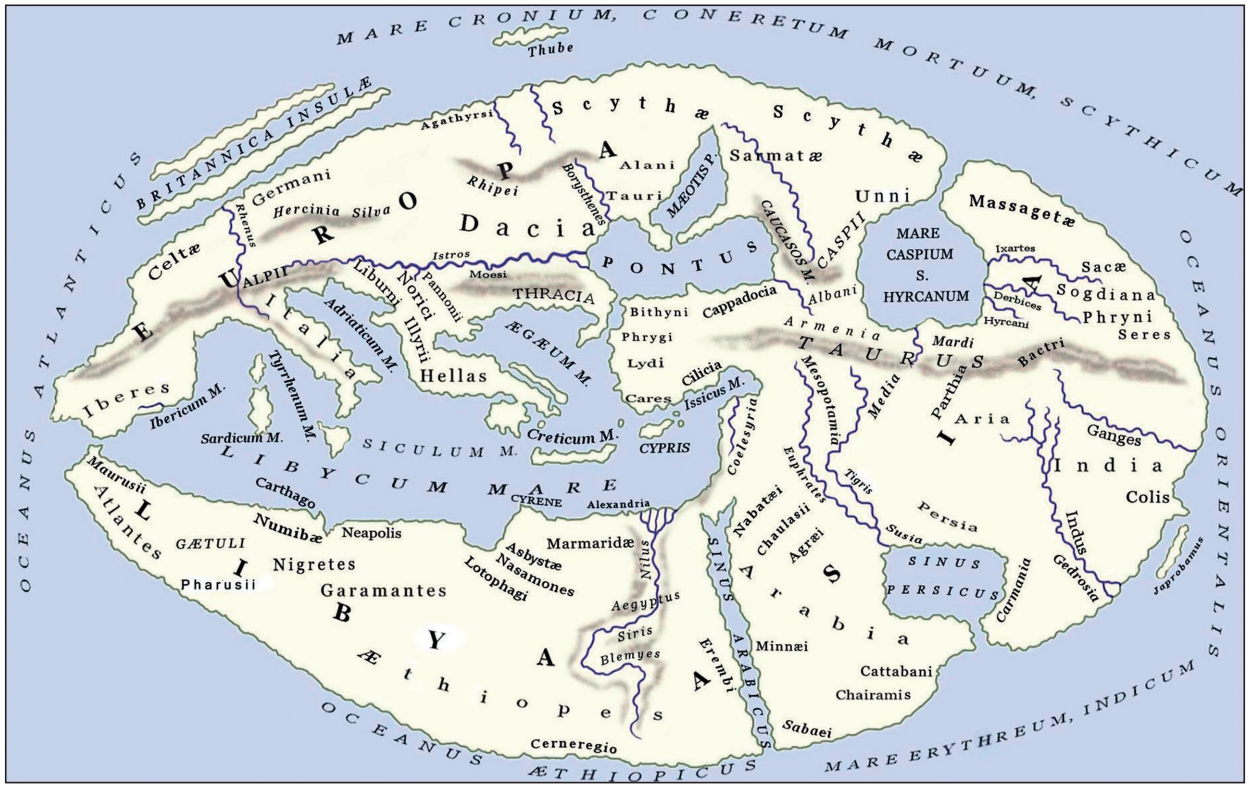


Fig. 118 Reconstruction of Dionysius Periegetes' map. – (After www.henry-davis.com/MAPS/Ancient Web Pages/117.html [5.4.2012]).

have already been quoted in the preceding chapter. At the time when Trajan succeeded in strengthening the Caucasian border, the Alans (»Sauromatians«) are mentioned, together with the Iberians and Albans, among the subjugated peoples[421]. Following their traces, we must evoke the events of 135 AD when, during the conflict apparently provoked by the Iberian king Pharasmenes II, they threatened Armenia and Cappadocia after having overrun Albania and Media[422]. The attack was probably conducted on two fronts. On the southern front, the Parthian (?) king Vologaesus ameliorated the Alans' aggression by offering them gifts; while on the northern front, the Alans found themselves facing Arrian's army (perhaps on the Erzurum Plain)[423]. In his *Ectaxis* (»Order of Battle Against the Alans«), the propraetor Arrian recommended sending two legions, four alae and at least twelve cohorts against them, as well as the deployment of artillery and allied troops and catapults. We do not know whether the Alans and Arrian's army ever met in battle: it is possible that the whole affair was no more than the Romans' show of strength on the Empire's borders[424].

The Alans meant trouble and not only on the Roman's eastern front. The sources from after the 1st century AD indicate that this tribe was frequently one of the belligerents in the clashes between the Romans and the barbarian peoples in the European wars as well.

Antoninus Pius (138-161) was said to have »many a time sharply checked the Alani in their raiding«[425]. This report either referred to a military event west of the Dnieper, or an Iberian victory between 140 and 145

421 Bosworth 1977, with the relevant sources.
422 Dio LXIX.15.1-2.
423 Mitford 1980, 1202.
424 Alemany 2000, 79-85. For a discussion of the historical background and a critical review of the sources, see Bosworth 1977.
425 SHA Ant. V.5.

(Caucasian Iberia was at this time under the protectorate of Rome)[426]. The Alans also crop up among the peoples participating in the Marcomannic Wars[427].
One curious aspect of Roman-Alan relations is that Emperor Maximinus (235-238) was of Alanic stock on his mother's side:

> He was born in a village in Thrace bordering on the barbarians, indeed of a barbarian father and mother, the one, men say, being of the Goths, the other of the Alani. At any rate, they say that his father's name was Micca, his mother's Ababa. And in his early days Maximinus himself freely disclosed these names [...][428].

Around 217-218, after his discharge from the Roman army but well before he ascended the imperial throne, Maximinus purchased land in Thracia and traded with the Goths. In Thracia, »the Alani, or at least those of them who came to the river-bank [of the Danube] continually exchanged gifts with him and hailed him as friend«[429].
In 242, Emperor Gordian III »had been beaten by the Alani in a disorderly battle on the plains of Philippi [in Macedonia] and forced to retreat«[430]. We know that Emperor Aurelian also fought against the Alans because he paraded Alan captives as part of his triumph[431].
Leonti Mroveli, the Georgian chronicler, recounts a roughly contemporaneous event. King Amazasp II (Arsacids dynasty) of Georgia, a contemporary of the Sassanid ruler Shapur I (242-272), had clashed with an immense Ovs (Alan) army, which had set out to destroy Mcheta, the capital of Georgia. The Georgian king defeated the enemy and even killed the Alan king. The next year he allied himself with the Armenians and overran the lands of the Ovs (Alans). Moses of Chorene records that Askhen, the wife of King Trdat III the Great (*c.* 293), was the daughter of Askhadar, King of the Alans[432].
The Armenian chronicler, Pavstos Buzand (also known as Faustus of Byzantium) recounted that during the reign of King Khosrov Kotak II (330-338), the king of the Mazkuts (who can probably be identified with the Massagetae and thus the Alans) attacked Armenia with a large army assembled from many peoples and plundered the kingdom for a whole year. The Armenian general, who had been in Greece, finally returned with his companions and »defeated and annihilated the armies of the Alans, the Mazk'owt'k, the Huns and other peoples«[433].
Another chapter of the chronicle recounts the war between Arsaces II and the Sassanid ruler Shapur II (359-367/8). At one point in the war, which ended with the conquest of Armenia by the Persians, the Armenian general »called the Huns and the Alans to his assistance and arrived in aid of the King of Armenia against the Persians«[434]. The Georgian chronicle also related this event, describing how the attack of the Caucasian peoples was organised by the Georgians (King Aspagur), who were experienced in these affairs. However,

426 Alemany 2000, 20, with further literature.
427 SHA Marc.Ant. XXII.1. A vague passage of Cassius Dio (LXXII.2) complements this information by reporting that Commodus granted peace to the peoples he had defeated in battle, to the Buri and others (ἄλλων), received hostages from them and compelled them to take an oath that they would not approach the borders of Dacia for a strip of five miles. It has been suggested that the expression »others« (ἄλλων) is a slip of the pen and should be substituted with »Alan« (Αλανών). So this information cannot be considered to be absolutely authentic (Balla 1965, 144; Mócsy 1974, 102; Alemany 2000, 86).
428 Alemany 2000, 20-21, who can be credited with assembling the most complete collection of texts pertaining to the Alans, has many reservations concerning the authors of the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*. He considers several references to be dubious, such as the Alans' participation in the Marcomannic Wars, Maximinus' Alan ancestry, the defeat of Gordian by the Alans and the list of captive peoples in Aurelian's triumphal procession.
429 SHA Maxim. I.5-6, IV.4.
430 SHA Gord. XXXIV.3-4.
431 SHA Aur. XXXIII.4.
432 Mroveli 1979, 35-36. 72-73. The same event is dated some sixty years earlier by Alemany 2000, 7.5, 362.
433 Alemany 2000, 292.
434 Alemany 2000, 293.

the Persians defeated them once the Georgians and Armenians were left without allies. The Georgians were compelled to send an embassy to the Ovs to ask for their help, but the envoys were unsuccessful[435].

In the light of these events, it is hardly surprising that some scholars believe that the prototypes of cloisonné jewellery were disseminated by the Sarmatians, at first among the goldsmiths of the Bosporus and, later, among the jewellers of the Huns. The origins of this technique can be sought in Persia or nearby Iberia (fig. 119), i. e. in the Trans-Caucasia, a possibility also confirmed by the fact that the earliest known pieces were discovered in the graves of Iberian nobles[436].



Fig. 119 Detail of a gold necklace set with amethyst, garnet and glass paste from Armaziskhevi in Georgia from the 2nd-3rd century AD. – (After Treasures 2009, 44 fig. 1).

In the 4th century, several sources mentioned the Alans, especially in geographic descriptions. However, these passages add little to our earlier knowledge of this people[437].

The most informative source for the Alans is Ammianus Marcellinus, who shall be quoted at greater length, because he recorded, not only various events in the history of the Alans, but also made a wealth of ethnographic observations:

> The Danube, which is greatly increased by other rivers falling into it, passes through the territory of the Sauromatae, which extends as far as the river Don, the boundary between Asia and Europe[438]. On the other side of this river the Alani inhabit the enormous deserts of Scythia, deriving their own name from the mountains around; and they, like the Persians, having gradually subdued all the bordering nations by repeated victories, have united them to themselves, and comprehended them under their own name. […] And in this way the whole of that region to the north-east, till you come to the Chinese, is uninhabited. On the other side the Alani again extend to the east, near the territories of the Amazons, and are scattered among many populous and wealthy nations, stretching to the parts of Asia which, as I am told, extend up to the Ganges, a river which passes through the country of the Indians, and falls into the Southern Ocean.
>
> Then the Alani, being thus divided among the two quarters of the globe (the various tribes which make up the whole nation it is not worth while to enumerate), although widely separated, wander, like the Nomades, over enormous districts. But in the progress of time all these tribes came to be united under one generic appellation, and are called Alani. They have no cottages, and never use the plough, but live solely on meat and plenty of milk, mounted on their waggons, which they cover with a curved awning made of the bark of trees, and then drive

435 Mroveli 1979, 37. 73-74.

436 Ščukin/Bažan 1994. At the same time we have to keep in mind that this theory is debated, and Hellenistic traditions are emphasised (Treister 2004, 192-195. 208).

437 Pseudo-Callysthenes, Julius Valerius, Hegesippus, Festus Rufus Avienus and the *Tabula Peutingeriana*. For an overview, see Bachrach 1973, 16-17.

438 The Alans are located in distant regions in other passages, probably because Ammianus drew his information from many different sources, such as the works of Herodotus, Ptolemy and Pompeius Trogus. He described the Alans as appearing over an extensive area, from the northern Pontic steppe to the region north-west of the Caspian Sea (Alemany 2000, 34-35).



Fig. 120 »Carrying [...] their cities with them in their wagons« (Ammian XXXI.2.18). Clay wagon model from Kerč from the 1st-2nd century AD in the Hermitage. – (After Sokrovišča 2008b, no. 76).

them through their boundless deserts. And when they come to any pasture-land, they pitch their waggons in a circle, and live like a herd of beasts, eating up all the forage carrying, as it were, their cities with them in their waggons. In them the husbands sleep with their wives, in them their children are born and brought up; these waggons, in short, are their perpetual habitation, and wherever they fix them, that place they look upon as their home [**fig. 120**]. They drive before them their flocks and herds to their pasturage; and, above all other cattle, they are especially careful of their horses. The fields in that country are always green, and are interspersed with patches of fruit trees, so that, wherever they go, there is no dearth either of food for themselves or fodder for their cattle. And this is caused by the moisture of the soil, and the number of the rivers which flow through these districts. All their old people, and especially all the weaker sex, keep close to the waggons, and occupy themselves in the lighter employments. But the young men, who from their earliest childhood are trained to the use of horses, think it beneath them to walk. They are also all trained by careful discipline of various sorts to



Fig. 121 »They boast with more pride of having killed a man; they esteem the scalps which they have torn from the heads of those whom they have slain, which they put as trappings and ornaments on their war horses« (Ammian XXXI.2.22). Detail of one of the bone plaques from Orlat near Samarkand. – (Courtesy of A. M. Savin / A. S. Semënov; drawing A. M. Savin).

become skilful warriors. And this is the reason why the Persians, who are originally of Scythian extraction, are very skilful in war.

Nearly all the Alani are men of great stature and beauty; their hair is somewhat yellow, their eyes are terribly fierce; the lightness of their armour renders them rapid in their movements; and they are in every respect equal to the Huns, only more civilized in their food and their manner of life. They plunder and hunt as far as the Sea of Azov and the Cimmerian Bosporus, ravaging also Armenia and Media.

And as ease is a delightful thing to men of a quiet and placid disposition, so danger and war are a pleasure to the Alani, and among them that man is called happy who has lost his life in battle. For those who grow old, or who go out of the world from accidental sicknesses, they pursue with bitter reproaches as degenerate and cowardly. Nor is there anything of which they boast with more pride than of having killed a man: and the most glorious spoils they esteem the scalps which they have torn from the heads of those whom they have slain, which they put as trappings and ornaments on their war-horses [**fig. 121**]. Nor is there any temple or shrine seen in their country, nor even any cabin thatched with straw, their only idea of religion being to plunge a naked sword into the ground with barbaric ceremonies, and then they worship that with great respect, as Mars, the presiding deity of the regions over which they wander.

> They presage the future in a most remarkable manner; for they collect a number of straight twigs of osier, then with certain secret incantations they separate them from one another on particular days; and from them they learn clearly what is about to happen.
> They have no idea of slavery, inasmuch as they themselves are all born of noble families; and those whom even now they appoint to be judges are always men of proved experience and skill in war[439].

Ammianus is also our most reliable source on how the Huns defeated the Alans and made them their allies, opening a new chapter in their history[440].
The Alans thus maintained a continuous presence in the written sources from their appearance, first in the east (in the Caucasus), and then, from the 2nd century onward, in the west (in the northern Pontic and the Danubian provinces of the Roman Empire), either as mercenaries or the members of a barbarian coalition. There are many references to their infiltration into the population of various states and provinces through marriage or by other means – suffice it here to recall the Georgian-Ovs kinship, the Princess Sat'inik, Aspagur, the ruler of Georgia with an Iranian name, and Emperor Maximinus of half-Alanic stock. Their presence is amply illustrated by a Bosporan inscription from around 208 mentioning the main Alan interpreter[441].

THE LATE SARMATIAN AGE ON THE STEPPE (2ND-4TH CENTURIES)

Archaeology of the Late Sarmatian Age

In the preceding chapter we surveyed the impact of the Alans on the known historical events up to the onset of the Hun period as narrated in the written sources. Let us now see what we know about the period's archaeology on the steppe. Although Sarmatian culture underwent an immense transformation across its entire distribution, regional differences persisted despite the changes. The bulk of the population was still concentrated in the Don and Volga Valleys, while the find assemblages had already become scarcer in the South Ural region during the preceding period, probably in consequence of large-scale population outflows. The number of finds did not increase in the Late Sarmatian Age, either[442]. The Sarmatian population of the Pontic appears to have declined during this period[443]. These changes did not affect all regions to the same extent. A sudden change occurred in the Ural region characterised by a relatively small population in the mid-2nd century in both the burial rites and the material culture, accompanied by the disappearance of earlier traditions. In the more westerly regions this was not so: old and new co-existed for a longer time[444]. Elements of the Late Sarmatian culture appeared in the Don-Volga interfluve later than east of the Volga. The survival of regional differences is indicated by the fact that in the east, in the Lower Volga and the South Ural region, primary burials with their own kurgan account for 95 per cent of the burials, but for only 50 per cent in the Don-Volga interfluve, while an exactly opposite tendency can be noted in the Pontic, reflected by the dominance of secondary burials dug into already existing kurgans and the visible decline of graves with a freshly-raised burial mound[445].

439 Ammian XXXI.2.13-25.
440 The history of the Alans during the Hun period is discussed in the next chapter.
441 Minns 1913, 614 n. 2.
442 Pšeničnjuk 1983, 131.
443 Moškova 1989b, 191.
444 Moškova 1994, 22.
445 Moškova 1989b, 191. For an excellent overview, see Krivošeev/Skripkin 2006.

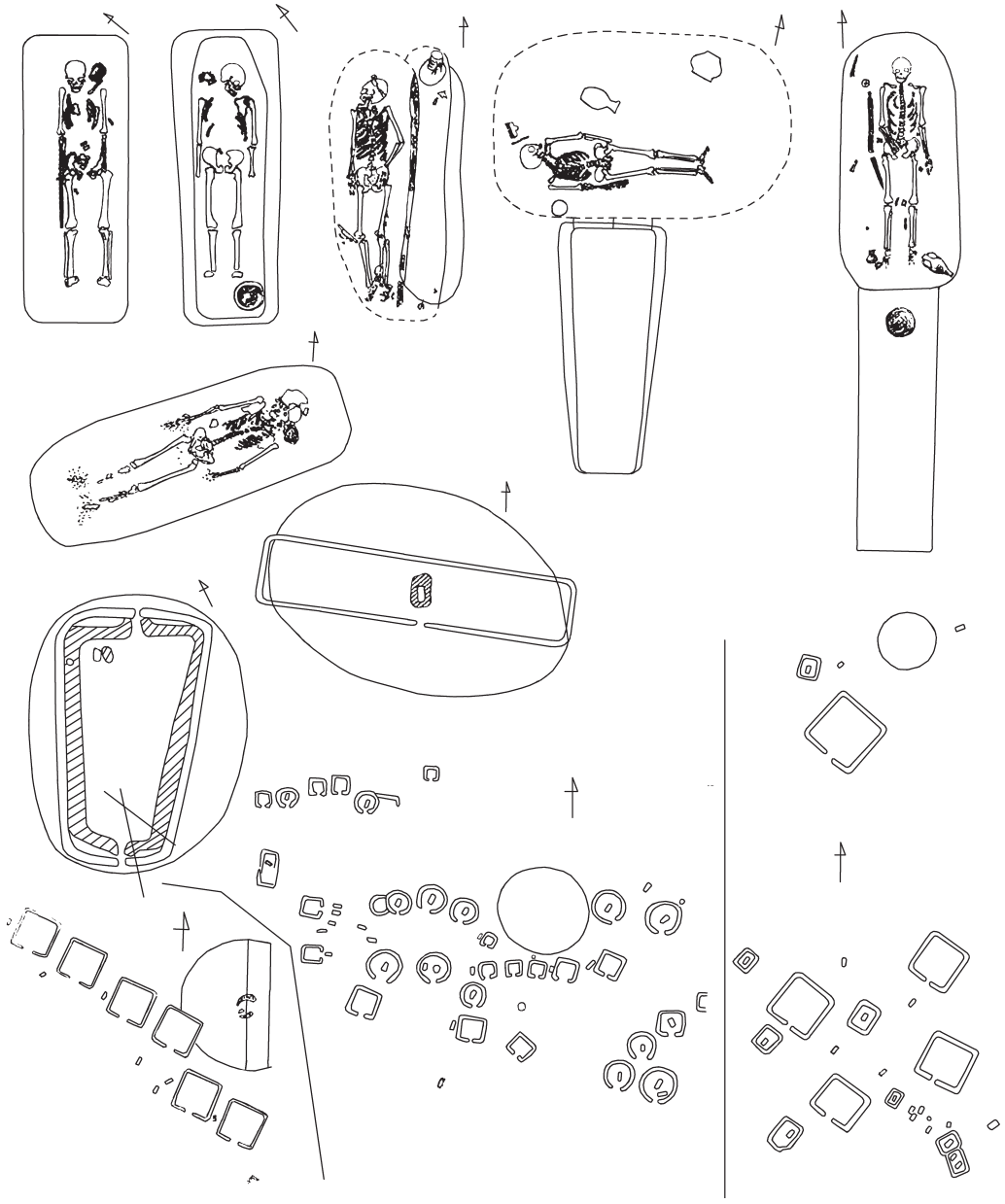


Fig. 122 Typical burials of the Late Sarmatian Age in the Ukraine. – (After Simonenko 2004, fig. 9).

Several smaller regional units have been distinguished within a larger region; thus, for example, four smaller groups in the Don-Volga interfluve. Obviously, the earlier population of certain smaller regions did not mix with the newcomers to the same extent[446].

Appearing in the mid-2nd century, the new culture in the Don region established itself by the close of the century. It was characterised by the north to south orientation of the deceased, who were laid to rest in narrow, rectangular niche graves. The niche graves of the Early and Middle Sarmatian Age differ markedly: in contrast to the wide shafts of the former, the latter had cramped, narrow entrance pits, reflecting a break in continuity in this respect too. The practice of skull deformation was widespread. Graves enclosed by ditches[447], one of the hallmarks of the Sarmatians' burial rite in the Carpathian Basin, made their appearance in the 3rd-4th centuries.

446 Krivošeev/Skripkin 2006.

447 Bezuglov/Zaharov 1988.



Fig. 123 Sites of the period between the second half of the 2nd century and the first half of the 3rd century in the northern Pontic. – (After Simonenko 1999, fig. 37; map M. Ober, RGZM).

The appearance of Late Sarmatian culture west of the Don can be similarly noted from the mid-2nd century onward, with its spread falling into the century's later half. Cemeteries without kurgans appeared along the north-western Pontic coast at roughly the same time[448]. Narrow rectangular and oval grave pits predominated on the left bank of the Dnieper and in the region between the Dniester and the Danube. Catacombs and niche graves became the norm from the second half of the 3rd century until the mid-4th century. The custom of ringing the grave with a ditch, which in this region was restricted to the Prut-Dniester interfluve, is also known from two cemeteries dated to the second half of the 1st century and first half of the 2nd century, although it only became widespread from the second half of the 2nd century. This practice can be documented up to the 4th century. Several cemeteries also contained rectangular ditches without a grave, whose single analogy can be quoted from the Middle Don region (**fig. 122**)[449].

One striking phenomenon is that the Late Sarmatian burials are concentrated in two well-definable regions in the Ukraine: along the Danube and the Dniester in the west; and on the left bank of the Dnieper and in the Azov region in the east (**fig. 123**). The finds from the western region share many similarities with the assemblages from Hungary, while the material from the east is related to the finds from the Don and Volga region. This duality had become more pronounced by the end of the Late Sarmatian Age, from the second

448 This is generally explained by the Sarmatians' gradual abandonment of their nomadic lifestyle and their adoption of a sedentary one. Simonenko 1999, rejects this explanation, claiming that the burials in question were ploughed-up kurgan burials poorly observed in the field, indicated by the soil marks of differing colour above the grave.

449 Simonenko 1999, with further literature. Recently, we have also obtained data for the same phenomenon from the Hungarian Plain (Nyíregyháza-Felsősima, excavation of Istvánovits, unpublished).



Fig. 124 Sites of the period between the second half of the 3rd century and the 4th century in the northern Pontic. – (After Simonenko 1999, fig. 38; map M. Ober, RGZM).

half of the 3rd century to the mid-4th century (**fig. 124**), when the central regions of the Ukraine were virtually depopulated[450], an event usually linked to the Gothic Wars, despite the fact that the tendency can be noted from an earlier period[451] and cannot thus be solely ascribed to the Goths.

Several eastern elements can be distinguished in the material culture: these include stone (mainly semi-precious, e. g. chalcedony) pommels on the hilt of longswords (**fig. 125, 4. 9. 11. 17. 20-21**) and nephrite scabbard slides (**figs 125, 24; 126**)[452]. The military leaders buried with these weapons, and with a distinctive harness set in addition, often had deformed skulls. Their graves are remarkably uniform and their burials form clearly definable regional clusters, one of which could be identified in the South Ural region, the other by the Lower Don[453]. Surprisingly enough, the westernmost occurrence of these burials has been reported from the Carpathian Basin (Vizesdpuszta/Vizejdia, Hévizgyörk – **fig. 127**)[454]. Bezuglov, who first identified the Late Sarmatian aristocratic group, noted that in contrast to earlier the elite of the Don region who were buried with heavy gold jewellery and an elaborate costume trimmed with gold, the leaders of the period between the mid-2nd and the mid-3rd century apparently had an entirely different set of values, being less concerned with personal luxury and more with their horse harness and the craftsmanship (and reliability) of their weapons, as shown, for example, by the finds from the cemetery of Valovyj 1, Kurgan 25, Grave 1

450 Simonenko 1994, 16-17.

451 Simonenko 1999, figs 11. 37-38. The maps showing the distribution of Middle Sarmatian finds between the Dniester and the Dnieper reflect a dense occupation (**fig. 84**), while the distribution map for the second half of the 2nd century and the first half of the 3rd century has very few Sarmatian sites in the same territory (**fig. 123**). Sarmatian sites are lacking from the second half of the 3rd century (**fig. 124**).

452 The prototypes of the swords were identified in Bactria, in the Kushan lands and in Sogdia (Bezuglov 2000, 178-180).

453 Bezuglov 1997; 2000, 179.

454 Kulcsár 2000.

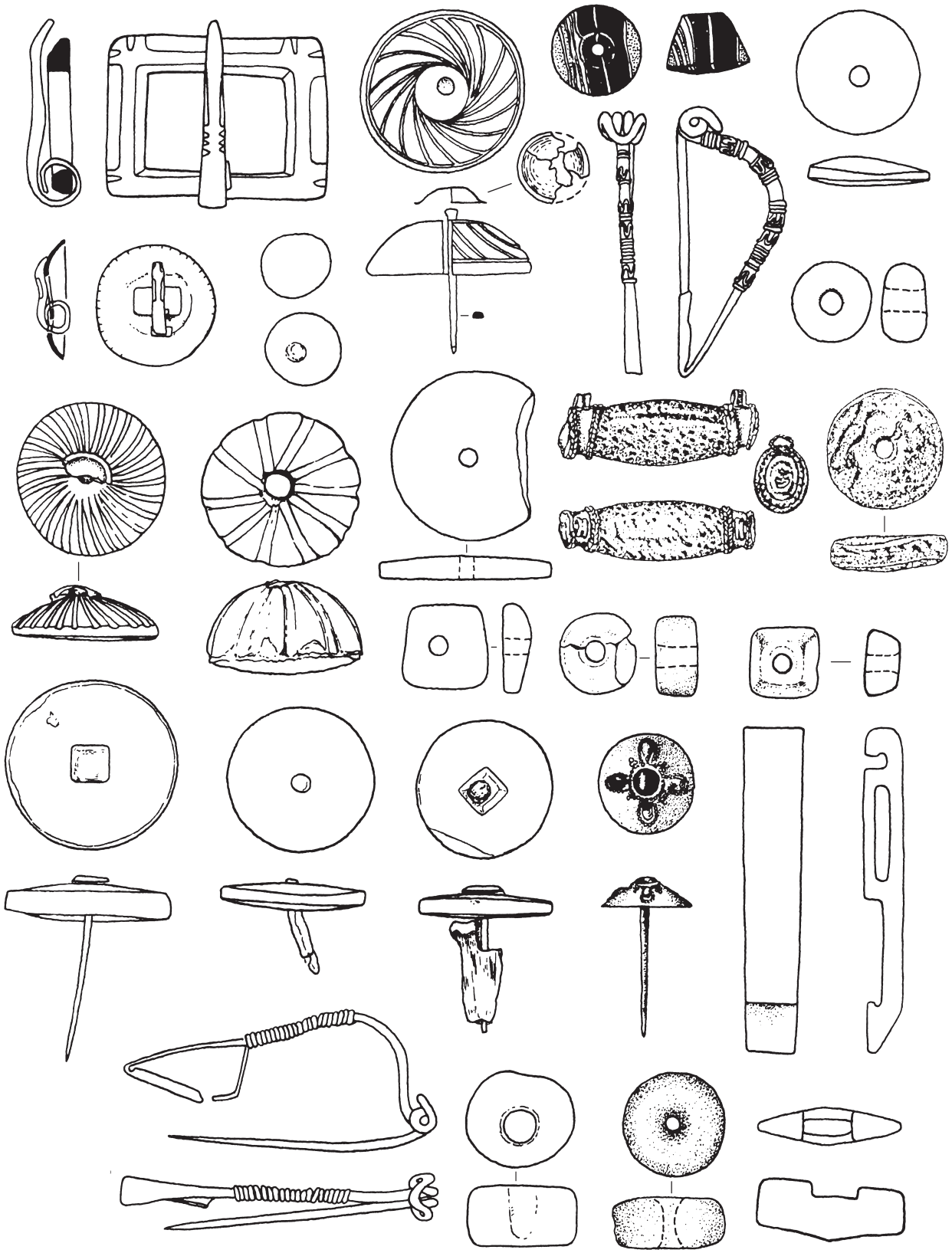


Fig. 125 Late Sarmatian sword accessories and the articles found with them from the Don region. – (After Bezuglov 2000, fig. 5).

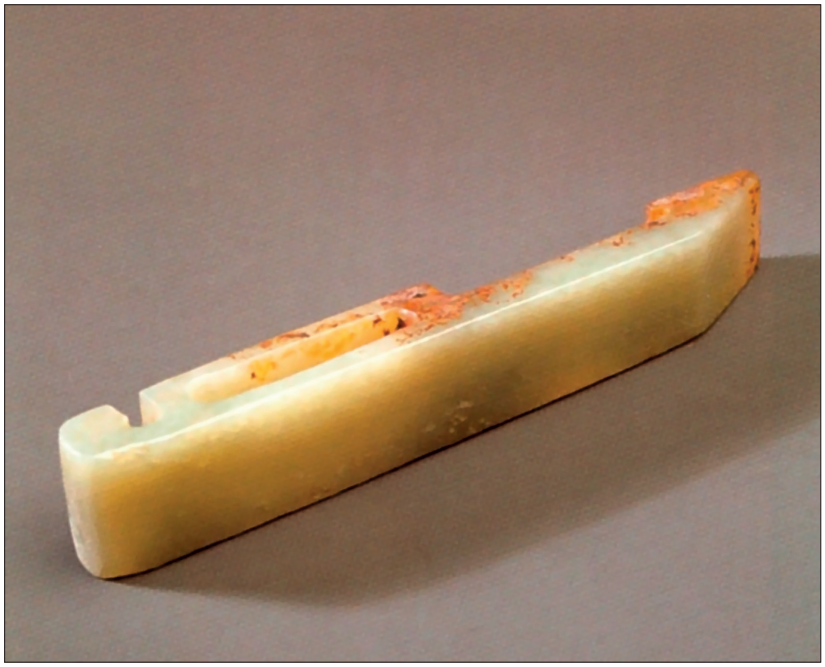


Fig. 126 Sword suspension loop of nephrite from Grave 1 of Kurgan 19 at Sladkovskij Cemetery dating from the 2nd-3rd century AD. – (After L'Or 2001, 246 no. 282).

(**fig. 128**). The uniformity of the weaponry reflects a sophisticated military hierarchy. A strict organisation of this type is perhaps an indication that they warred with a formidable adversary, such as the Roman Empire at the time of the Marcomannic Wars[455]. The appearance of new warriors affected the town of Tanais, too, as shown by the presence of north to south orientated graves containing the burials of individuals with deformed skull and the widespread appearance of a class of previously unencountered names of Iranian origin in the onomastic material[456]. The burials of the group disappear in the mid-3rd century and the nomadic graves in the Don region share many resemblances with the middle and north-eastern areas of the Caucasian foreland[457]. The 4th century find assemblages from the Lower Don region may have been affiliated with the Tanaitae Alans, a possibility suggested by Ammianus' remark that the Huns raided »the territories of the Alani, and especially of that tribe of them who border on the Gruthungi, and who are called Tanaitae«[458] because (a) the burials are located by the Tanais, (b) they neighbour on the territory of the Černjahov culture, associated with the Goths, and (c) they can be dated to the 4th century. Members of the group were buried with cloisonné and polychrome pressed goldwork in catacombs (**fig. 129**). Various Černjahov-type artefacts, which were infrequent in the 3rd century, can be found in the 4th century more often among the grave goods of the Tanaitae (**fig. 130**)[459].

The other novel finds of the Late Sarmatian Age include bone stiffening-plaques for large bows and arrowheads of eastern origin (**fig. 131**). Daggers and the structure of the harness ornaments (**fig. 128**) have their best counterparts in Central Asia, Iran and Gandhara (northern India, in the Kushan Empire)[460]. Their antecedents crop up earlier, already during the Middle Sarmatian Age. A few pottery wares of Central Asian

455 Bezuglov 1997, 138.
456 Krivošeev/Skripkin 2006, 132.
457 Bezuglov 1997, 138.
458 Ammian XXXI.3.1.
459 Bezuglov 1990; 2003. In connection with the Gothic-Alanic border, Harmatta 1975, 257, using the written sources (Ammian XXXI.3.1. and Iordan 126), also came to the conclusion that the Huns, alongside different Turkic tribes, found Alans between the Don and Dnieper – the Goths did not spread their power into this territory.
460 Bezuglov 2000, 180-181.

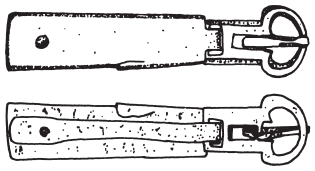
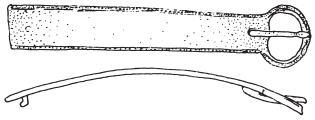
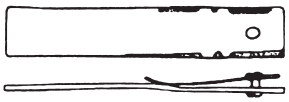
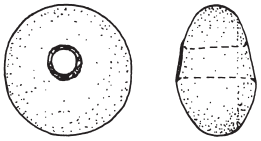
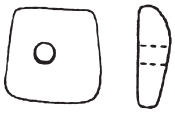
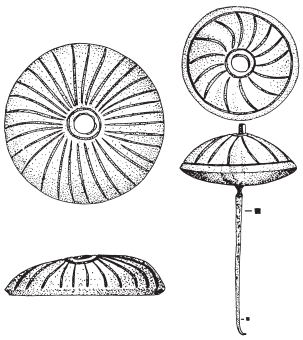
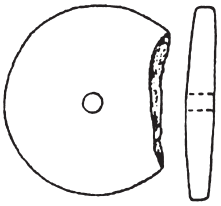
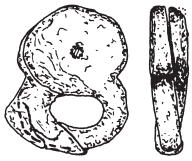
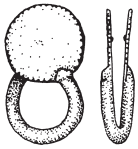
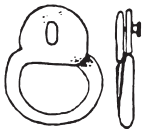
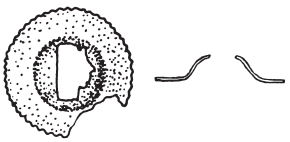
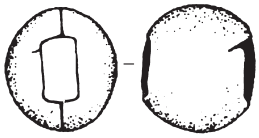
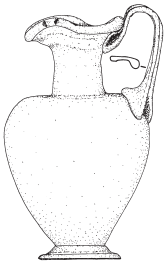
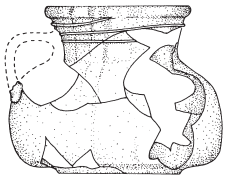
	Hévízgyörk	*Vizesdpuszta*	*Azov*
			
"magic" sword pendant			
sword handle decoration			
sword	*length: 87,2 cm*		*length: 89 cm*
harness buckle without spike			
beads decorating harness			
glass vessel			

Fig. 127 Several artefact types associated with the Late Sarmatian warrior elite in the Lower Don region can be found in the Sarmatian assemblages from the Hungarian Plain. – (Hévízgyörk: after Dinnyés 1991, figs 3, 15; 13, 3-4. 10; 14, 18; Vizesdpuszta: after Vaday 1986, figs 1, 12. 15; 2, 9; 3, 1-3; Azov: after Bezuglov 1997, fig. 2).



Fig. 128 Lavishly decorated horse harness of the 2nd-3rd century AD from Grave 1 of Kurgan 25 of Valovyj 1 Cemetery. – (After Sokrovišča 2008b, 146-151 nos 66-71).



Fig. 129 The polychrome horse harness from Kurgan 2 at Azov-Aerodrom I, attributed to the Tanaitae Alans by S. Bezuglov. – (After Sokrovišča 2008b, 156 no. 79).

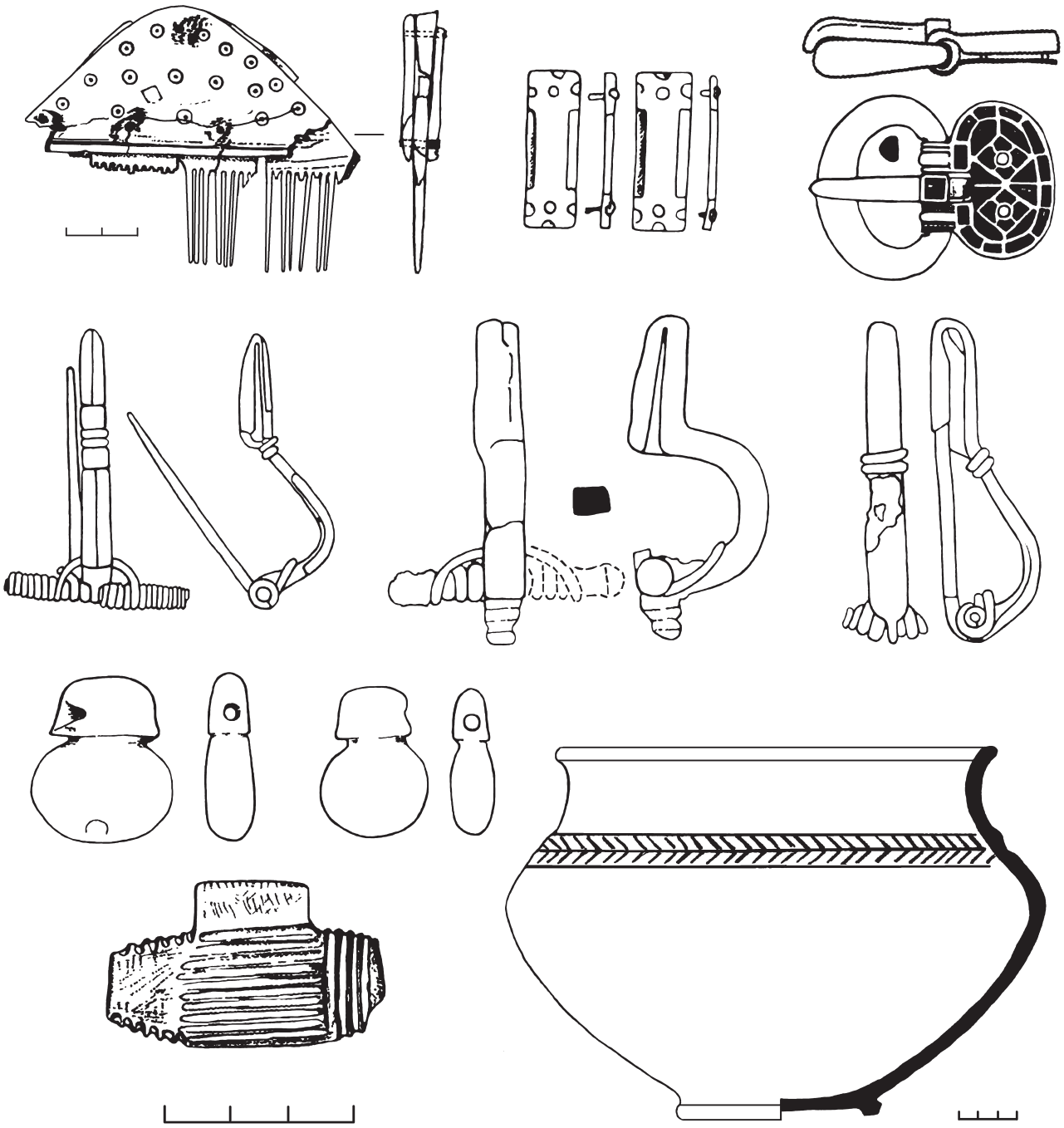


Fig. 130 Western artefacts from the Tanaitae Alanic burials of the Don region. – (After Bezuglov 2003, fig. 6).

origin also appear in the Late Sarmatian Age. The custom of skull deformation can likewise be traced to Central Asia (fig. 132) and the increase of Mongoloid elements in the anthropological material can most certainly be associated with a population arriving from the east[461]. The appearance of many new eastern elements is hardly unusual in the history of Sarmatian cultures, seeing that a similar phenomenon can be noted at the onset of almost every new period.

461 Skripkin 1990, 220-222.

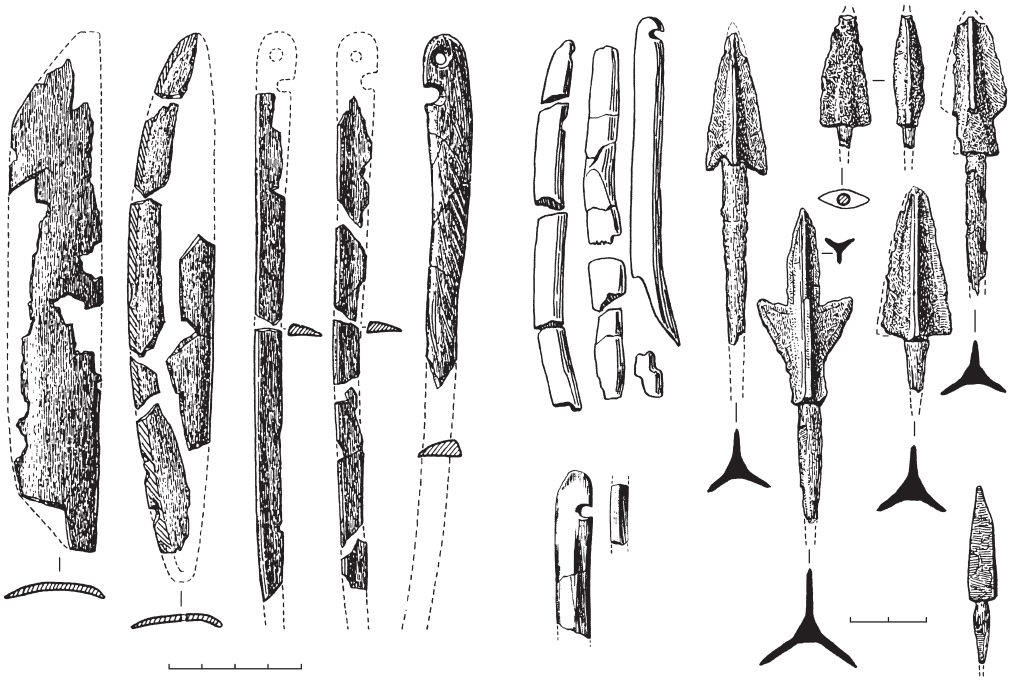


Fig. 131 Bone stiffening plaques of bows of the so-called Hunnic type (Porogi, Ust'-Labinskaja, Grave 1, Kurgan 29 and Susly, Grave 1, Kurgan 51) and the associated arrowheads (Porogi) appear already during the Middle Sarmatian Age, but only became truly widespread during the Late Sarmatian Age. – (After Simonenko 2010, figs 65-66. 68).



Fig. 132 Originating from Central Asia, the practice of skull deformation became widely fashionable on the steppe during the Late Sarmatian Age. Coin of Kushan king Vima Kadphises (165-232) with deformed skull. – (After Weihrauch 1996, fig. 115).

Most scholars associate the Late Sarmatian Age and its culture with the Alans, even though the archaeological traits differ significantly from those observed in the cemeteries of the 1st century AD, having wide grave pits in which the deceased were laid to rest diagonally. While the literary texts undoubtedly support this attribution, the significant changes in the burial rite and the material culture call for an explanation. It must again be emphasised that we are dealing with the Alanic tribal alliance and, as with earlier periods, the most diverse groups with differing burial rites and material culture can be distinguished within the archaeological finds. However, it is impossible to attach an ethnic identity to these groups based on the archaeological finds.

Population Movements on the Steppe in the 3rd-4th Centuries AD

The entire expanse of the Eurasian Steppe, Central Asia and the Iranian Basin became the setting of a series of remarkable events in the 3rd century. The Far East also had its share of singular events. Let us, therefore, start our overview in the East.

The Hsiung-nu gradually faded from the sight of the Chinese and, simultaneously, the European peoples began to have frequent dealings with the Huns[462]. The first mention of a Hunnic group can be found in

462 We shall refrain from a discussion of the intricacies of the Hsiung-nu-Hun identification and the voluminous literature on this issue. See, e. g. Maenchen-Helfen 1973, 367-375. – Thompson 2002, 1. 26.



Fig. 133 Ptolemy's eighth map page of Europe. – (After Ptolem. *Octaua europe tabula*).

Ptolemy's writings in the 2nd century. In his description of European Sarmatia, he noted that »between the Basternae and the Roxolani are the Chuni« (**fig. 133**)[463]. In the late 3rd century, the Greek geographer Dionysios Periegetes mentioned a people called Unni on the plain north of the Caspian Sea (**fig. 118**). An Armenian source reported that in the 330s the Huns were the allies of the Massagetae and of the Alans in an Armenian war[464], suggesting that the Hun territory could not have lain very far from the southern slopes of the Caucasus. Quoting these passages, Zaseckaja suggested that, as already mentioned, the obviously non-local weapons (**fig. 134**) from Kurgan 51 of Susly in the Lower Volga region can perhaps be taken as an indication that the young man buried in the grave was of Hunnic stock and that this would be the earliest archaeological evidence for the appearance of the Huns on the European steppe, dating from before the early 2nd century. This is not the single imprint of early relations between the Huns, the Alans and the Sarmatians from the late 1st and early 2nd centuries. A Hunnic origin has been also suggested for the arrowheads from Ust'-Labinskaja in the Kuban region, Bitak near Simferopol in the Crimea and Porogi on the left bank of the Dniester (**fig. 131**)[465].

Despite the more and more intensive westward migration of the Huns, the Late Sarmatian finds only disappear from the Don-Volga interfluve at the close of the 4th century.

463 Ptolem III.5.

464 Alemany 2000, 292-294. See also the preceding chapter.

465 Zaseckaja 1982, 63-64. – Puzdrovskij 2001b, 133 fig. 7, 5v. – Simonenko/Lobaj 1991, 44-46. The belt worn by the Porogi man (**fig. 81**) also reflects his Far Eastern contacts. Obviously, it is open to debate whether the articles are indeed markers of the presence of an ethnic group or merely signs of contact between the Sarmatians/Alans and the Huns.

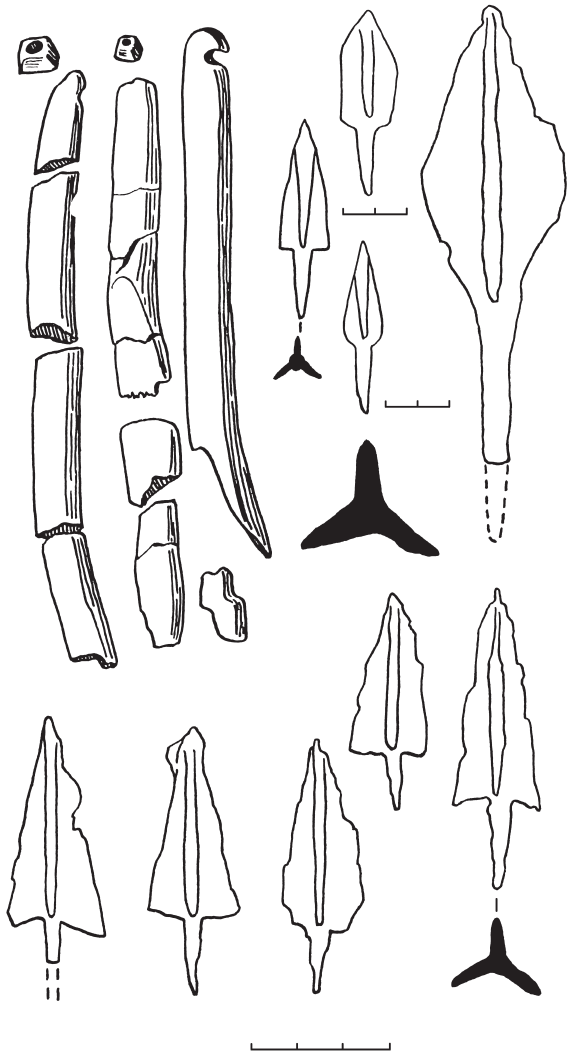


Fig. 134 The non-local weapons deposited in the grave of the young man buried under Kurgan 51 at Susly are an indication of his Hunnic origin. – (After Hazanov 1971, pls XVII, 7; XXI, 17. 19. 22-28).

Another large-scale migration, that of the Germanic peoples, took place at roughly the same time. The eastern Germanic tribes advancing from the Baltic area in the early 3rd century reached the northern Pontic by the 230s. Their pressure precipitated the repeated attacks by the Carpi, a population related to the Dacians, against the province of Dacia and against the Roxolani of the Lower Danube from their lands on the eastern fringes of the Carpathians[466]. The chain of events that took place in European and Asian Sarmatia are still unclear for the greater part. Sarmatian finds virtually disappeared from the Dnieper-Dniester interfluve from the late 2nd century, while the Sarmatian assemblages and the finds indicating Sarmatian influence ceased in the Upper Don region from the mid-3rd century. The question is whether these changes can be linked to the Gothic advance (equated with the expansion of the Černjahov culture), the explanation favoured by most scholars[467].

Viewed from an alternative perspective, the Goths may have advanced into the region exactly because it had become depopulated at this time, at least judging from the available evidence. If this supposition is borne out by future research, we must by all means consider the possibility that there was a direct correlation between the depopulation of the Dnieper-Dniester interfluve after the Marcomannic-Sarmatian War and the Sarmatian population boom on the Hungarian Plain. It seems inconceivable that the events on the steppe were triggered solely by the Gothic migration because the Germanic peoples who set off on their migration from the forest zone were unmounted warriors and it seems most unlikely that they would have vanquished the Sarmatians, the lords of the steppe, boasting a sophisticated mounted nomadic tradition in their own homeland. It was not by mere chance that Wolfram seriously considered the importance of Iranian elements in the formation of the new Germanic steppe power and its ethnic composition[468].

The profound changes in the cemeteries of the Sarmatian lands east of the Volga in the mid-3rd century can hardly be explained by the appearance of the Goths. Several arguments have been put forward that the new population wave bringing formerly unencountered artefact types and customs had arrived from the north-eastern Caucasus. The anthropological record supports these claims. At the same time, the new-

466 Alföldi 1940a, 48.

467 The data are quoted from Simonenko's unpublished DSc thesis (Simonenko 1999). See also Medvedev 2004, 92.

468 Wolfram 2001, 19-20.

comers from the northern Caucasus, who can perhaps be identified with the Alans, apparently cut off the region from its former contacts: trade with the Lower Don region ceased, as did the inflow of Bosporan imports[469].

It has already been noted that in the same period a strong cultural influence from the northern Caucasus can be felt among the Sarmatians of the Lower Don region. In the following, we shall see that the Late Scythian population of the Crimea was supplanted by Alans from the northern Caucasus. A striking correspondence can be noted between these events. It would appear that the possibly Alan migration from the northern Caucasus was very extensive, flowed in several directions and strongly affected the Sarmatians east of the Don.

As we have seen, there is some scant evidence for a Hunnic influence or perhaps even a Hunnic presence among the Sarmatians. The obvious question arises whether the Huns' advance can be assumed to have taken place behind the visible shifts in power (and ethnic) relations. At present, this is no more than speculation. A fresh look at the Marosszentanna-Černjahov culture, which occupies a key position in the archaeology of the Carpathian Basin, would be essential in order to better understand this period[470]. The events of the 3rd century in Central Asia and the Iranian Basin must be considered in any review of the situation because the region's political map changed considerably. The Parthian Kingdom was supplanted by Sassanian rule, a change that affected the entire region, including perhaps the Caucasus, which is especially important from our point of view.

In András Alföldi's words, a crisis swept through the entire »known world« of the 3rd century, affecting the Roman Empire at least as much as the barbarian lands, including Persia[471]. The global crisis (*Weltkrise*) of the 3rd century coincided with the Hunnic, Gothic and Sassanian expansion. Each of these somehow affected the lives of the peoples discussed here. The clarification of whether these events were related and if so, to what extent, remains a task for future research. What must be noted is that the early 3rd century was a relatively peaceful time for Rome, although, as it later turned out, this was a deceptive calm in the eye of the storm. The events described above tied down the Empire's enemies, after which they stormed the frontiers with a vengeance both in the east and in the Danube region.

The Gothic Migration: The Marosszentanna / Sântana de Mureş-Černjahov Culture

The formation and spread of the Marosszentanna/Sântana de Mureş-Černjahov culture[472] has an exceptional bearing on Sarmatian history. A detailed analysis would take us far and we shall therefore only offer a brief overview here.

There has been an ongoing debate for the past one hundred years over which people should be equated with the extremely heterogeneous Černjahov culture, which has been variously interpreted as Slavic, Germanic or multi-ethnic, depending on the political fashion of the day. Currently, the most widely accepted

469 Krivošeev 2004, 121-123, with further literature.

470 The basic problem, as we see it, is that most scholars lump together groups with widely differing burial rites and material cultures, and tend to emphasise the similar traits between them, rather than the dissimilarities. This approach to the study of the material can also be felt in Ukrainian archaeology of the past decades.

471 Alföldi 1967.

472 The culture was named after a cemetery in Transylvania, which was excavated by István Kovács in the early 20th century, and a site in the former Kiev Governorate investigated by Hvojka more or less simultaneously. The two names reflect the two regional variants of this heterogeneous culture in Transylvania and the Dnieper Valley. For an excellent overview of the culture's research history and its archaeology, see Magomedov 2001. For the freshly published recent finds of the Transylvanian branch of the culture, see Körösfői 2011. For the history of the Goths, see e. g. Wolfram 2001, with further literature.

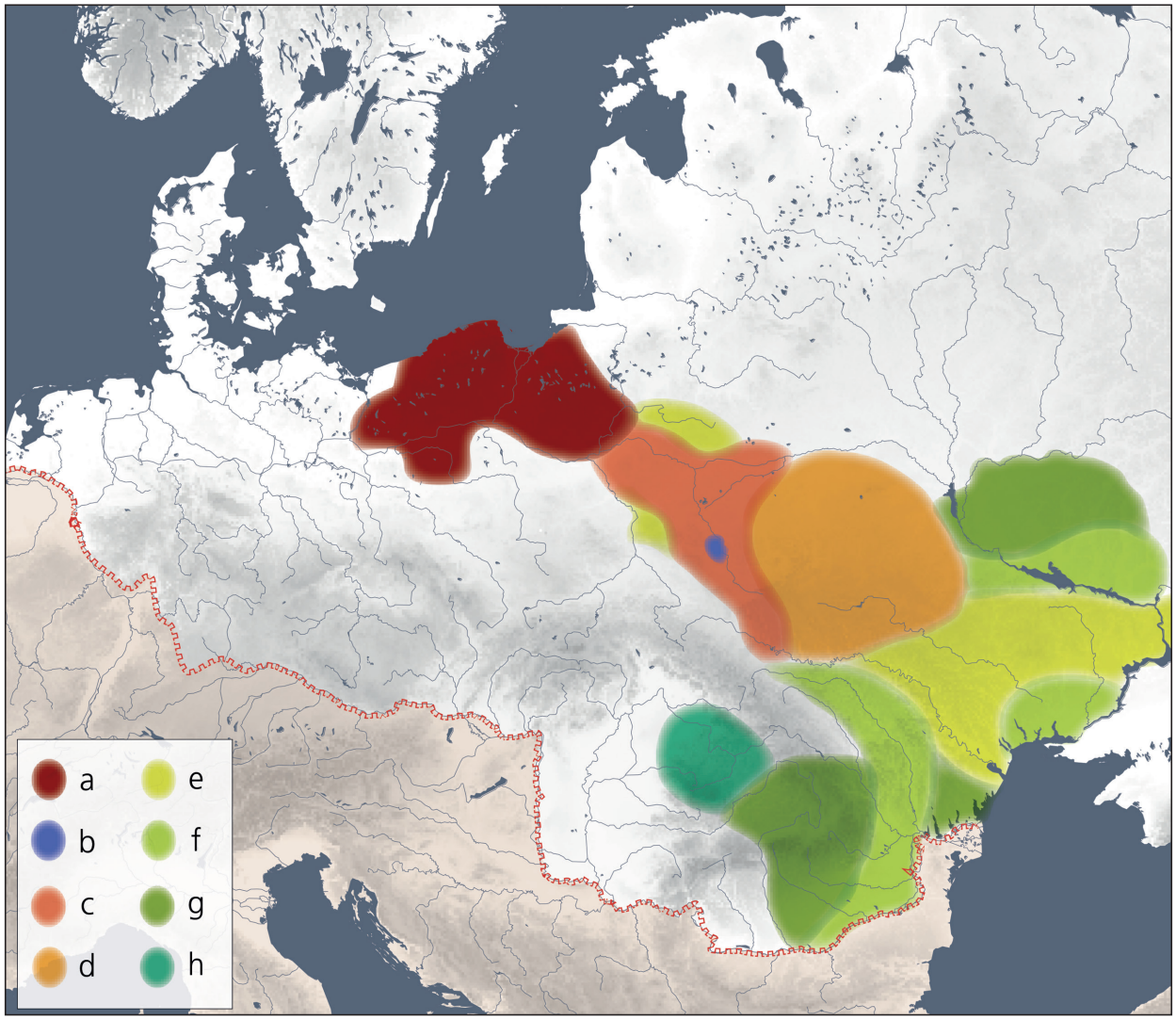


Fig. 135 The route of the Gothic migration: **a** Gothic territory, before the Marcomannic Wars to 180, stage B2. – **b** extension of the migration until 200, stage B2/C1. – **c** extension of the migration until 230, stage C1a. – **d** extension of the migration until 255, stage C1b. – **e** extension of the migration until 280, stage C2a. – **f** Gothic territory until the end of the 3rd century, stage C2b. – **g** extension of the migration until the mid-4th century, stage C3/D1. – **h** territory occupied before the Hunnic invasion in 375, stage D1. – (After Kokowski 1999, fig. 59; map M. Ober, RGZM).

view sees the culture as essentially Gothic, reflecting strong Greek and Roman influences, and having several smaller groups, each with its own distinct traits.

The archaeological record indicates that in eastern Poland and Volhynia (western Ukraine), the Przeworsk culture was succeeded by the Wielbark culture at the close of the 2nd century AD[473]. The formation of the Černjahov culture can be put at the time of the so-called Scythian[474] (or Gothic) Wars, between 238 and 270 AD. The archaeological data harmonises neatly with the Gothic migrating starting around the turn of the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD, described in detail by Jordanes in the 6th century, who based his account on

473 These two archaeological cultures are generally associated with the Vandals and the Goths/Gepids. Both were formed in Poland.

474 The Greek and Roman writers turned to the traditional name of the steppe peoples when describing the Goths, the newcomers in the northern Pontic, hence the name of the wars.

earlier sources and sagas (**fig. 135**). Led by King Filimer, the Goths »in search of suitable homes and pleasant places […] came to the land of Scythia, called Oium in that tongue.« Moving farther, they entered into battle with a people called Spalus and »won the victory. Thence the victors hastened to the farthest part of Scythia, which is near the sea of Pontus«[475]. The Gothic campaigns in the Lower Danube region, the northern Pontic and Asia Minor devastated former strongholds of Antique culture such as Athens, Miletus and Corinth. The wars had grave consequences for the Roman provinces and the population of the Barbaricum, and are discussed at great length by both Roman sources and Jordanes alike. Allied with the Goths were several other Germanic tribes (Vandals and Taifals) and Dacian tribes (Carpi), as well as Roman deserters, if some accounts are to be believed. One outcome of the »Scythian« Wars was the evacuation of the province of Dacia in the 270s. The Romans eventually gained the upper hand, if only temporarily. Earning the *cognomen* Goticus, Claudius boasted that:

> We have destroyed three hundred and twenty thousand Goths, we have sunk two thousand ships. The rivers are covered over with their shields, all the banks are buried under their swords and their spears. The fields are hidden beneath their bones, no road is clear, their mighty waggon-train has been abandoned [...][476].

The archaeological evidence indeed reflects widespread destruction during this period. The opulent trading city of Tanais in the Don Delta was ravaged during the wars in 251-254. Earlier research ascribed this to the Borani and the Heruls (and probably the Goths)[477]. It has more recently been suggested that the destruction of this flourishing town was brought about by the Iranian (Alanic?) expansion from the northern Caucasus described in the above[478]. Pantikapaion was consumed by fire. Olbia and Tyras were perhaps occupied by the Goths, who dealt a grave blow to the Bosporan Kingdom, and devastated several towns and villages of the Kerč and Taman' Peninsula. From this time onward, the Goths launched their naval attacks against various areas of the Pontic from the coast. Groups of Goths, Borani and Heruls settled by the Maeotis (**fig. 136**)[479].

A peculiar situation evolved in Crimean Scythia. The so-called Late Scythian archaeological culture gradually disappeared from the peninsula[480]. The situation in the steppe areas of the Crimea was already unstable in the 1st-2nd centuries AD. It would seem that the Sarmatians made regular appearances in this area, even if in small numbers, and that the fortified Scythian settlements and Bosporan towns were the main attractions. We do not know when the Scythian state ceased to exist. The last reference to it is contained in an inscription from 193 AD, in which Rhescuporis III, King of Bosporus, is titled »ruler of entire Bosporus and the Tauroscythians«. Be that as it may, the Scythian settlements in the mountains survived into the mid-3rd century, after which both their settlements and cemeteries ceased. The period's newly-opened cemeteries had nothing in common with the earlier Scythian burial grounds. Perhaps the Scythian population of the Crimea – at least partly – fell victim to the Germanic expansion. However, none of the literary sources claim that the Goths and their allies settled in the Crimea. At the same time, a few cemeteries of the Wielbark and Przeworsk type containing cremation graves – a rite alien to the Scythians – indicate a Germanic presence (**fig. 137**). Various new elements appearing among the grave goods of the Late Sarmatian/Alanic burials, such as combs, shield bosses, mushroom-shaped amber beads and Cypraea strung on wire hoops,

475 Jordan IV.27-28.
476 SHA Claud. VIII.4-6.
477 Magomedov 2001, 133-139.
478 Krivošeev/Skripkin 2006, 132, with further literature.
479 Magomedov 2001, 133-139. For an overview of the finds indicating a strong Germanic influence in the Don Delta, see Bezuglov 2003.
480 For the final period of Crimean Scythian culture, see Hrapunov 1995, 71-72.

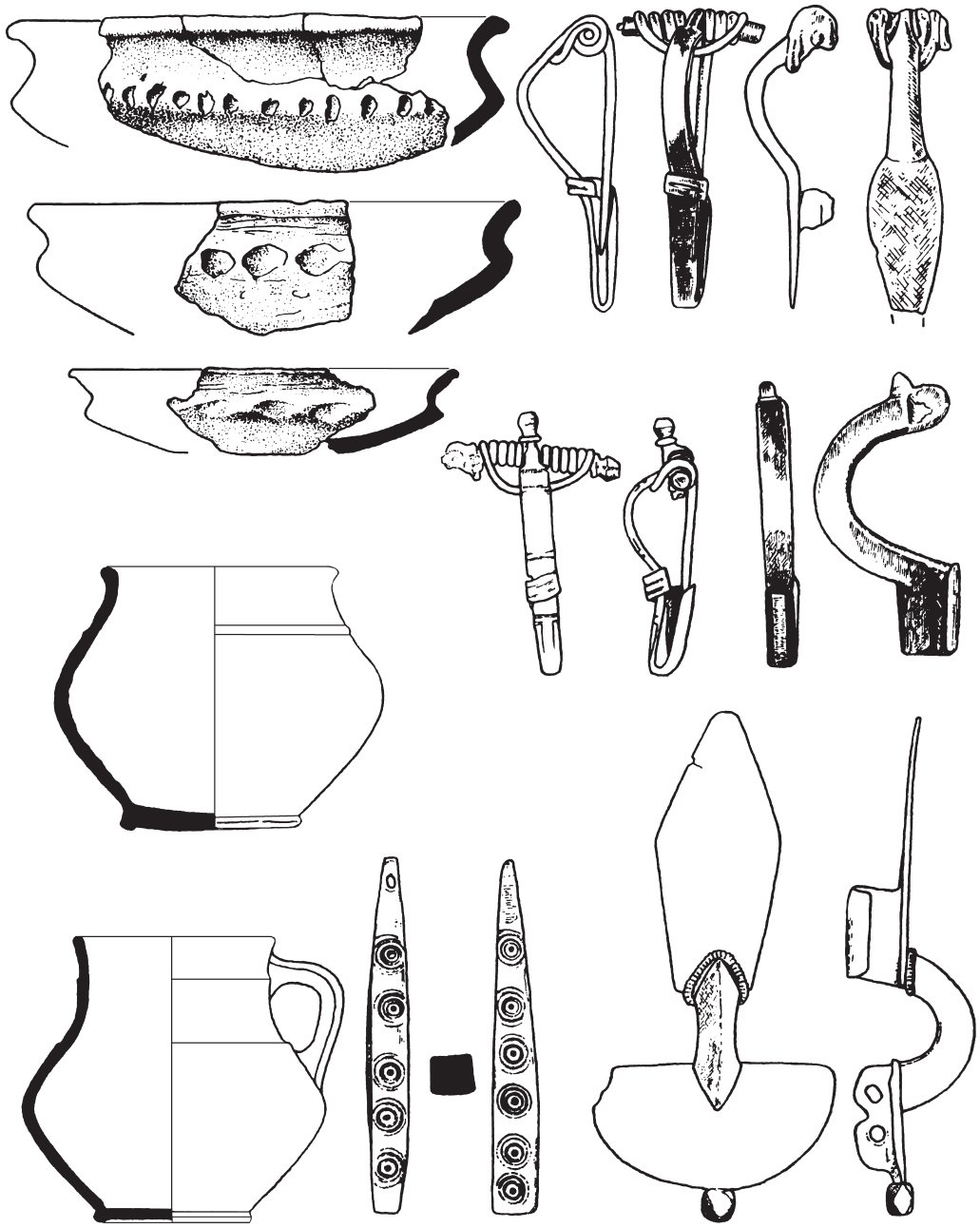


Fig. 136 Černjahov type finds from Tanais. – (After Bezuglov 2003, fig. 3).

can best be associated with Germanic culture. Later sources explicitly mention a Crimean Gothia[481]. The Alans arrived in the peninsula at roughly the same time as the Germanic groups. Their typical graves were burial chambers or vaults (*sklep*) containing several burials (**fig. 138**). A short corridor (*dromos*) led to the rectangular or trapezoidal chamber from the deep entrance shaft. Similar graves are known from the northern Caucasus, from the area occupied by the Alans in the Middle Ages, this being the primary reason that these graves are linked to the Alans. The grave pottery with a distinctly northern Caucasian flavour found in the Crimean burials also confirms this association. The other elements of the burial rite exhibit general

481 For a good overview of the relevant sources and archaeological finds, see Ajbabin 2003. – Khrapunov 2005.

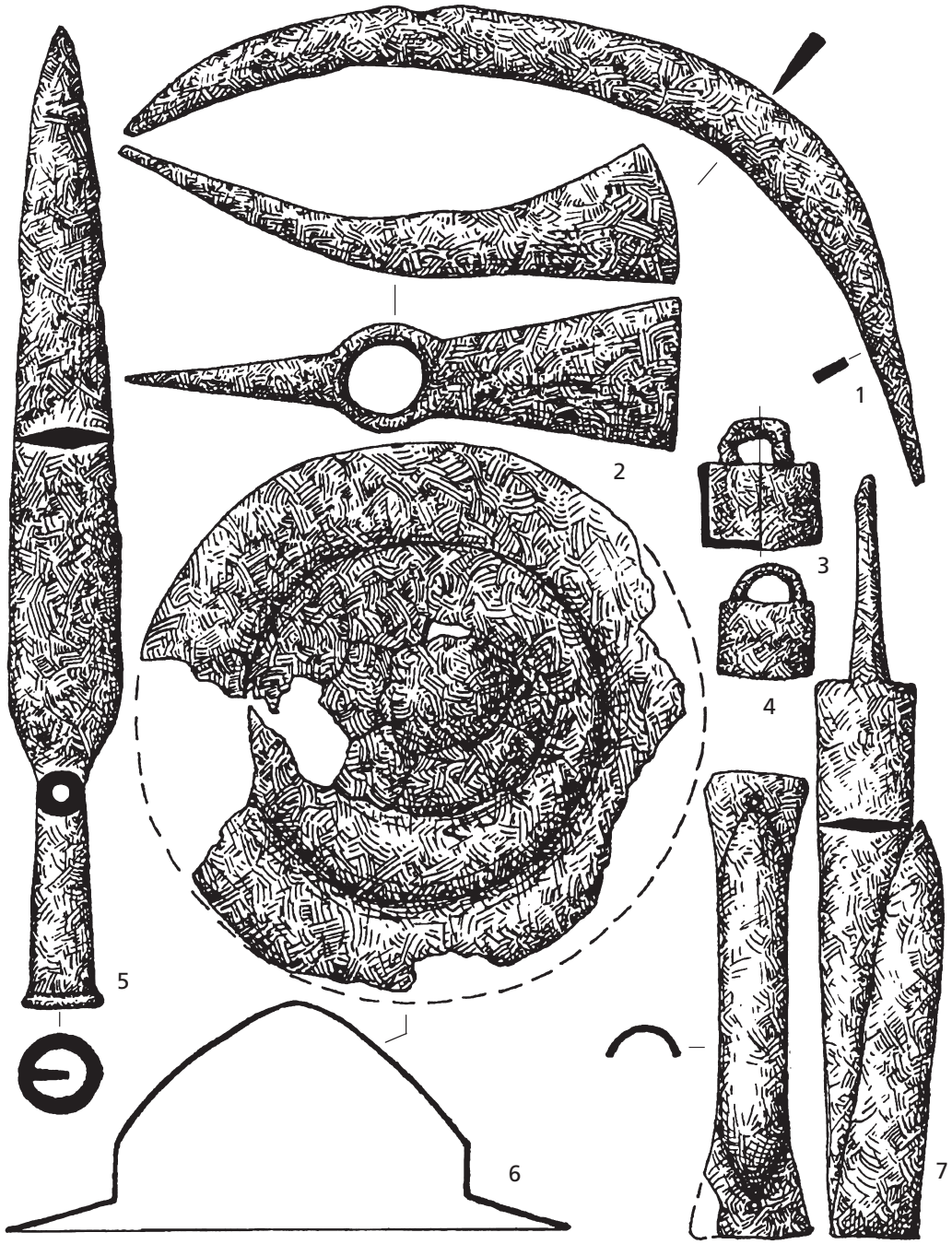


Fig. 137 Grave goods from Germanic cremation burials uncovered at Čatyr-Dag and Charax in the Crimea. – (After Ajbabin 2003, fig. 5).

Sarmatian traits: niche graves, horse burials and harness sets, etc. Part of the finds reflect contact with the Germanic and the Graeco-Roman world (**fig. 139**). Hrapunov, excavator of several 3rd-4th century Sarmatian cemeteries in the Crimea and author of major studies on the period, suggests that the Alans poured into the Crimea more or less in the same time as the Goths through the Straits of Kerč. The Goths invaded the southern coast of the peninsula, while the Alans advanced westward along the northern foothills, and it seems likely that they can be also held responsible for the destruction of the Late Scythian settlements[482].

482 Hrapunov 1995, 71-76.

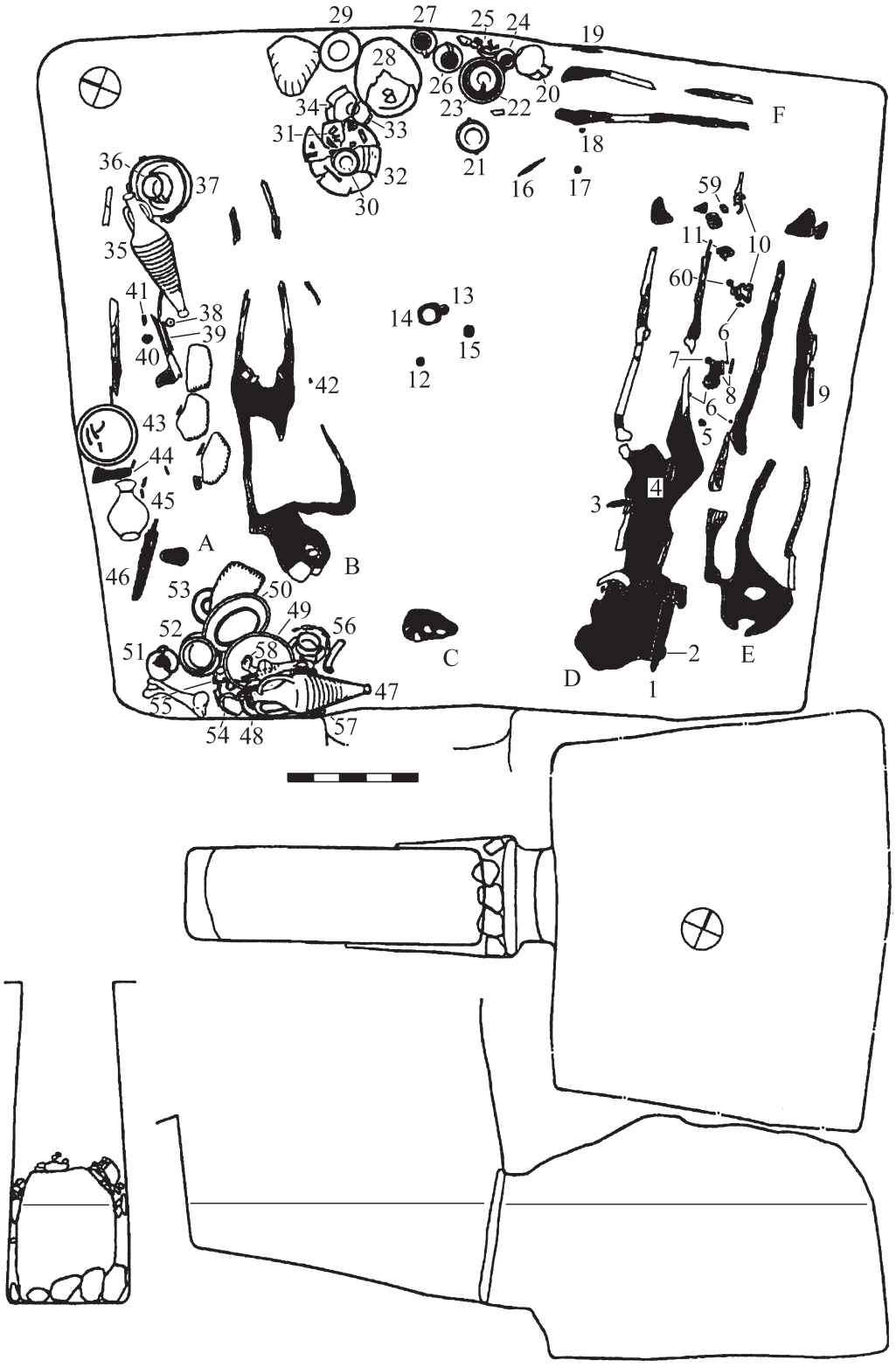


Fig. 138 Grave 3 of Družnoje in the Crimea: a burial chamber (*sklep*) containing a group of Sarmatian/Alanic burials, perhaps of a family. – (After Hrapunov 2002, fig. 4).









Fig. 139 Finds from Sarmatian/Alanic burials at Družnoje and Nejzatz in the Crimea reflecting contacts with the Caucasus, the Germanic peoples and the Graeco-Roman world. – (After Unbekannte Krim 1999, 116. 118 figs 114-115; Mer Noire 1997, 60; photo of the vessel by E. Istvánovits / V. Kulcsár).

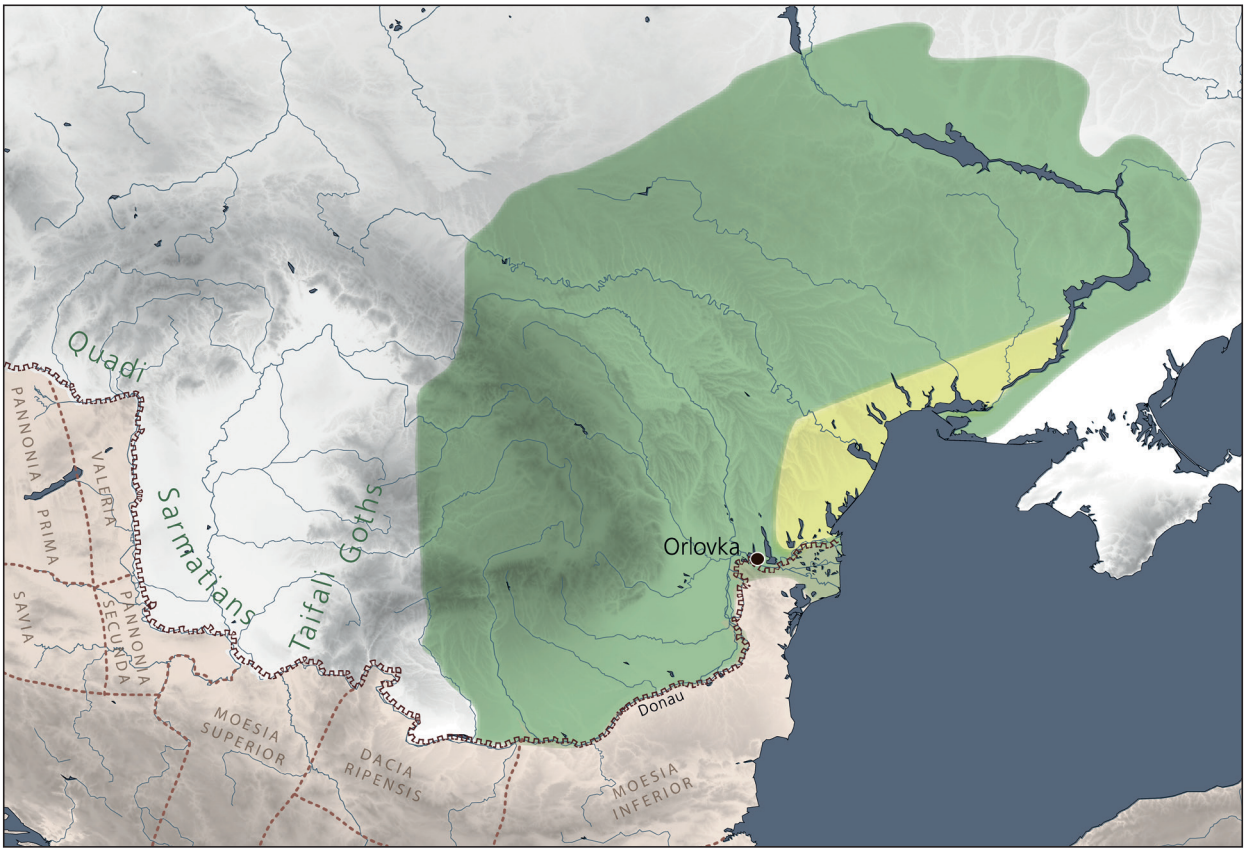


Fig. 140 Distribution of the Marosszentanna/Sântana de Mureș-Černjahov culture (green); the northern Pontic group (yellow), in part identified with the Alans by B. Magomedov (2001, fig. 1); location of Orlovka, the ancient fording place over the Danube. – (Map M. Ober, RGZM).

One linguistic confirmation that the lands of the Alans and the Goths lay adjacent to each other comes from the »p« to »f« change in the Scythian-Sarmatian-Alan-Ossetic tongue. The epigraphic record indicates that this change was most notable in the Don region and by the Sea of Azov[483].

Initially distributed in western and central Ukraine and Moldavia, and later in Transylvania, the Černjahov culture did not extend to the Crimea. Judging from Ammianus Marcellinus' remark that the boundary between the tribes was marked by the Dniester[484], the Tervingi (Visigoths) settled in Moldavia and Transylvania, while the Greuthungi (Ostrogoths) in western Ukraine and by the South Bug. The Černjahov population later expanded southward along the Dnieper, also gaining a foothold on the Pontic coast (**fig. 140**). The culture flourished in the mid-4th century, during the reign of the Ostrogothic king Hermanarich. A longer period of peace ensued after the war in 332 (see below) when the Goths were no longer enemies, but allies (*foederati*) of the Roman Empire, reflected also by the mass of Roman imports flooding Černjahov settlements. At this time, a new religion, the Arian branch of Christianity, was born and began to spread.

The Hunnic advance brought an end to this period of prosperity and the Marosszentanna-Černjahov culture in general. In 375, new conquerors appeared in south-east Europe:

483 Abaev 1965, 33-34. According to Vernadsky 1951, 376, possible Germanic-Alanic relations are reflected by the name of Ardarich, the Gepidic king, one of Attila's most trusted men, with *rich* meaning »king« and *Arda,* a frequent element in Iranian names (Ardagdakos, Ardarakos, Ardariskos, Ardaros) corresponding to Ossetian *ard*, »oath«. The meaning of the name would thus be »loyal through an oath« and would in fact denote an office. In the opinion of Harmatta 1975, 257, the Gothic word *gawi* »region, land« can be originated from the Alan **gavi* »settlement, region«.

484 Ammian XXXI.3.5.

> [...] after having traversed the territories of the Alani, and especially of that tribe of them who border on the Gruthungi, and who are called Tanaitae, and having slain many of them and acquired much plunder, they made a treaty of friendship and alliance with those who remained. And when they had united them to themselves, with increased boldness they made a sudden incursion into the extensive and fertile districts of Ermenrichus, a very warlike prince, and one whom his numerous gallant actions of every kind had rendered formidable to all the neighbouring nations[485].



Fig. 141 Late Sarmatian (Alanic) finds from the Lower Danube region. Artefacts in the so-called carnelian style of the first half of the 4th century AD from Čauš. – (After Skarby 2006, 138-141 no. 30).

The Ostrogothic king died, his kingdom disintegrated into three parts and a part of the tribe moved away. The Visigoths, similarly defeated by the Huns, sought refuge in the Roman Empire[486]. Gothic rule gradually collapsed and the Černjahov culture associated with this people disappeared from the archaeological canvas of the eastern European steppe during the 5th century. The time lag between the collapse of Gothic power and the disappearance of the Černjahov culture can be explained by the nature of the Hunnic conquest, which did not mean the extermination of the vanquished population. The same can be noted later on the Hungarian Plain.

The Černjahov culture was not a uniform archaeological complex. As already pointed out, several attempts have been made to distinguish ethnic and regional groups. Magomedov, for example, identified three major groups, each with significantly differing traits:

(1) The Kosanovo group: a population principally made up of Goths and other Germanic tribes (Vandals, Heruls, Taifals, etc.) sporadically mixing with local groups (Late Scythians, Sarmatians, Slavs, Thracians).

(2) The Upper Dniester group: early Slavs (Venedi), ancestors of the later Prague culture, with slight Thracian traits, characterised by settlements made up of semi-subterranean houses and buildings completely sunken into the earth, and hand-built pottery. Wheel-turned wares were either imported or manufactured by potters settled in the area from other regions. The funerary rite probably involved the scattering of the ashes over the ground, a conclusion suggested by the fact that no burials of this group are known.

(3) The Northern Pontic group: a strongly Hellenised mixed-population, living in stone houses and using fine, grey, smoothed, wheel-turned pottery. The inhumation burials were often placed in catacombs or in a side niche[487]. The population of this group is in part identified with the Goths, although the dominant ethnic element was made up of Scythians and Alans. The different components sometimes blended into mixed communities, but separate Alan cemeteries have also been found[488].

485 Ammian XXXI.3.1.

486 These events shall be discussed at greater length in the following chapter »The Dawn of a New Age: The Hunnic Invasion«, under the section »Wars in the Last Third of the 4th century AD«.

487 Magomedov 2001, 40. 58. 151.

488 *Ibidem*.



Fig. 142 Late Sarmatian (Alanic) finds from the Lower Danube region. Horse harness of the late 4th century AD with cloisonné decoration from Cazaclia. – (After Bunjatjan et al. 1998, fig. 68; photos: courtesy of A. V. Simonenko).

The latter group, equated partly with the Alans, only comprises a few sites. No more than thirty-eight burials are known, which are concentrated in a relatively small area, namely the Budžak steppe and specifically in the Lower Danube region (the broader Odessa area: Gradeška, Kurči, Kubej/Červonoarmejskoe, Frikacej/Limanskoe, Čauš, Vladičen' and Cazaclia, the latter lying in Moldavia) (**fig. 140, 1**). Opened in the mid-3rd century and perhaps used up to the last quarter of the 4th century, the cemeteries usually contain catacomb graves, while the grave goods comprise jewellery in the cloisonné style and a few Černjahov artefacts, such as shields and combs. The harnesses and jewellery often include pieces in the so-called carnelian

style (**figs 141-142**). The late use of some cemeteries is indicated by typical objects of the Hun period[489]. This and the fact that a major concentration of these burials lies by the modern village of Orlovka, the single good ford along this section of the Danube Delta, suggests that the location of the sites was motivated by strategic considerations. Several scholars have linked these assemblages to the Tanaitae Alans of the Lower Don region. The clarification of how an independent Sarmatian/Alan warrior group could have thriven in Hermanarich's Gothic kingdom remains a task for future research. Their expansion was fairly rapid. Following the expansion of Hunnic power, the Alan lands shifted from the Barbaricum to the former Roman provinces.

Occurring at the same time as the gradual disappearance of the Germanic peoples in the wake of the Hunnic storm, all traces of an Iranian presence also begin to fade. Part of the eastern Sarmatian population beyond the Volga was probably swept along with the Huns. There is little information on the Iranian peoples of the steppe in this period. However, in the light of what we know of the later Saltovo culture of the early Middle Ages and of the groups arriving in the Carpathian Basin through successive population waves – Huns, Avars and ancient Hungarians – it seems unlikely that the disappearance of the Iranian element was a rapid process. What seems certain is that the Turks eventually established themselves on the steppe, while the Slavs gained dominance over the forested steppe. A part of the Alans migrated westward, another part remained in the northern Caucasus and lived to see the Khazar dominion and, later, the conquests of the Golden Horde. The present-day Ossetians are their direct descendants (a subject discussed in later chapters).

489 Bezuglov 1990. – Simonenko 2001. – Bezuglov 2003. – Dzigovskij 2003, 176-199.

SARMATIANS IN THE CARPATHIAN BASIN

THE FIRST SARMATIANS ON THE HUNGARIAN PLAIN: ROUTES, TERRITORIES, CHRONOLOGY AND THE EARLIEST FIND ASSEMBLAGES[490]

The issue [...] can be settled […] once the counterparts of the earliest assemblages are found in the lands previously occupied by the Iazygians [...][491]

One of the perhaps most debated issues in Sarmatian studies of the Carpathian Basin is the question of the Sarmatians' arrival, and the date and route of successive population waves. The initial period of Sarmatian research marked by Párducz's work was briefly reviewed by Kőhegyi, who was the first to offer a survey of the early Sarmatian (Iazygian) finds from the Hungarian Plain. Kőhegyi noted that »there are relatively few secure anchors regarding chronology and earlier settlement territories.« Although countless studies have been devoted to these problems since then, a convincing answer is still lacking, even for the most important questions. A brief overview of previous research in this field has recently been published by Vaday and Szekeres[492]. Although Kőhegyi's expectation that »this issue [...] can be settled […] once the counterparts of the earliest assemblages are found in the lands previously occupied by the Iazygians«[493] has still not been fulfilled, the more recent findings of Russian, Ukrainian and Romanian researchers have opened new perspectives for contextualising the relevant find assemblages. The question of the earliest Sarmatian group(s) arriving in and settling the Carpathian Basin will be discussed in the light of these findings.
It must be borne in mind that the Sarmatians did not arrive in the Carpathian Basin as the result of a single migration[494]. This section will focus on the events of the 1st century or, to be more precise, of the period preceding Trajan's war against the Dacians.

The Written Sources

The relevant written sources referring to the Sarmatians of the Carpathian Basin were gathered together and analysed by Patsch and Alföldi in their groundbreaking, masterly works. A new bilingual collection of the source material relevant to Pannonia edited by Fehér and Kovács appeared a few years ago and is an indispensable textbook for Sarmatian research in Hungary[495].
Two passages are usually cited when attempting to determine the arrival of the Sarmatians in the Carpathian Basin. The first was a report by Tacitus:

> At this same time, Vannius, whom Drusus Caesar had made king of the Suevi, was driven from his kingdom. […] Vannius's own native force was infantry, and his cavalry was from the

490 This chapter is a revised version of Istvánovits/Kulcsár 2006a.
491 Kőhegyi 1982, 268.
492 Párducz 1935. – Kőhegyi 1982, 267-268. – Vaday/Szekeres 2000, 231. For the latest evaluation of the early Sarmatian finds, see Istvánovits/Kulcsár 2006a.
493 Kőhegyi 1982, 268.
494 There have been several attempts to separate the Sarmatian finds according to tribes(?) or, at least, according to the migration waves: Párducz 1950a, 120-121. – Harmatta 1970, 41-57. – Simonenko 1993b. – Istvánovits/Kulcsár 1993b. However, most of these attempts are not particularly convincing.
495 Patsch 1928; 1929; 1937. – Alföldi 1942a. – Fehér/Kovács 2005a; 2005b.– Kovács 2006; 2007; 2008.

> *Iazyges of Sarmatia*; an army which was no match for his numerous enemy. Consequently, he determined to maintain himself in fortified positions, and protract the war. But the Iazyges, who could not endure a siege, dispersed themselves throughout the surrounding country and rendered an engagement inevitable, as the Ligii and Hermunduri had there rushed to the attack[496].

The second was written by Pliny:

> The higher parts between the Danube and the Hercynian Forest as far as the winter quarters of Pannonia at Carnuntum and the plains and level country of the German frontiers there are occupied by the Sarmatian Iazyges, while the Dacians whom they have driven out hold the mountains and forests as far as the river Theiss. From the river Maros, or else the Dora if it is that which separates them [the Sarmatians] from the Suebi and the Kingdom of Vannius, the opposite side of the country is occupied by the Basternae and then other German tribes[497].

Both passages clearly indicate that the Iazyges were in the Carpathian Basin before the collapse of Vannius' rule in 50. The question is whether the exact date of their arrival can be established more precisely.
The *argumentum ex silentio* for the earliest possible date is provided by the time of the campaign probably led by Marcus Vinicius. Mócsy argued that the Roman troops crossed the Danube and advanced as far as the northern fringes of the Hungarian Plain in order to avenge the Dacian raid of 10 BC. Knowing that the Romans did not encounter any Sarmatians during their campaign, we may assume that the latter had not arrived in the Carpathian Basin at this time[498]. Obviously, this argument only holds true if it is assumed that the Sarmatians arrived along a southern route leading through the Danube Valley. Accepting this scenario, the Sarmatians' migration can be dated between 10 BC and 50 AD.
Kovács narrowed this time-range further by re-examining Pliny's information:

> Here we face no doubt the most problematic passage in Pliny made even more difficult by later interpolations. The text can be split up in several ways, therefore there are various possibilities of interpretation. A. Mócsy could reconstruct the original text, that was followed by several later interpolations: 1. the definition concerning the Dacians: *ad Pathissum amnem*, 2. the definition *a Maro*, 3. the phrase starting with *sive* and mentioning *regnum Vannianum* and its eastern extension. A further difficulty is the personal pronoun *eos* (it could refer to the Sarmatians or the Dacians [or the Bastarnas] and the belonging of the adverb *Maro* (whether it belongs to *confinium*, to the Dacians together with the mention of Tisza of maybe to the last part of sentence). The description of the original border between the Germans and Sarmatians might be at an earlier point in time because of its neighbourhood to the Sarmatians (before the formation of the *regnum Vannianum*) therefore the wandering of Sarmatians to the Carpathian basin can be placed to before 20 AD. Identifying the location of the *regnum Vannianum* on the basis of river names is also problematic. Only the identification of Marus-

496 Tacit. *Annal*. XII.29-30, italics added for emphasis.

497 Plin. *NH* IV.XII.80-81: »Superiora autem inter Danuvium et H[e]rcynium saltum usque ad Pannonica hiberna Carnunti Germanorumque ibi confinium, campos et plana Iazyges Sarmatae, montes vero et saltus pulsi ab iis Daci ad Pathissum amnem a Maro«; Plin. *NH* IV.XII.81: »sive Duria est a Suebis regnoque Vanniano dirimens eos, aversa Bastarnae tenent aliique Germani.« Cf. Fehér/Kovács 2005a, 50-53. 207-209.

498 Alföldi 1943a, 12. – Mócsy 1974, 36-37. – Fehér/Kovács 2005a, 208-209.

> Morava is certain and the territory of the kingdom of Vannius was thought to be to the east or west of it[499].

The location of Vannius' kingdom was also described by Tacitus:

> The barbarians who followed the two kings [the deposed Marcomannic kings Maraboduus and Catualda], lest they might disturb the peace of the provinces by mingling with the population, were settled beyond the Danube between the rivers Marus and Cusus, under a king, Vannius, of the nation of the Quadi[500].

There is a contradiction between Pliny's location and that of Tacitus. Pliny asserted that Vannius' kingdom lay between the Marus and the Duria, while Tacitus located it between the Marus and the Cusus. This has been resolved by the reliable identification of the rivers in question. We now know that the Illyrian name Cusus (»foaming river«) was later translated as Duria by the Celts[501]. What remains to be established is which river was known by this name in Antiquity, and whether the Iazyges had indeed advanced as far as the River Morava, where they established contact with Vannius, or whether Germanic groups had occupied any areas east of this line in the region north of the Danube. Both theories had their followers among classical philologists, archaeologists and historians. Archaeologists specialising in the archaeology of the Barbaricum also contributed to the debate. Slovakian research has identified the find assemblages dating to the mid-1st century at the latest that can be regarded as the heritage of the Quadi, whose distribution can be demonstrated up to the Váh Valley. However, Fitz's argument that Vannius' kingdom and the boundary of the Quadic lands did not necessarily coincide cannot be lightly discarded. In his view, the real threat to Rome was Maraboduus, against whom Vannius' kingdom was established. He suggested that the River Morava, a more significant waterway, would more likely have been chosen for marking the border in this strategic situation (**fig. 143**)[502].

When trying to identify the Sarmatians' settlement territory, it must be recalled that the Roman *ripa Sarmatica* denoted that part of the Danube between Kostolac and Esztergom[503]. However, this implies no more than that there was a period when the border between the Sarmatians and the Germanic peoples lay in the Esztergom area. Whether this situation evolved at the time of the Sarmatians' arrival cannot be established. Pliny's report would suggest that this was not the case; future archaeological research will no doubt provide an answer to this question.

The Sarmatians definitely established themselves in their new homeland before the end of Vannius' reign because we know that the cavalry of the Quadian king was comprised of Sarmatians. Let us examine more closely the period before Vannius' reign. Pliny's passage concerning the Sarmatians' advance as far as Carnuntum probably refers to the period of their arrival. If this is true, than the early Germanic finds identified by Slovakian research[504] provide the *terminus ante quem* for the first appearance of the Sarmatians because the Germanic burials can perhaps date only from the period after the Germanic tribes advancing from the west had driven the Sarmatians to the east. Of course, this idea is convincing only if the Iazyges appeared in the vicinity of Carnuntum as other than mercenaries. In this case-scenario, the Sarmatians had to make an

499 Fehér/Kovács 2005a, 40-43, with further literature.

500 Tacit. *Annal*. II.63.

501 See Graf 1936, 34-35, with further literature.

502 Fitz 1961/1962. The number of finds is still low (Sládkovičovo, Abrahám, Kostolná pri Dunaji, all in the Galanta area: Kolník 1977; Dunajska Streda close to Galanta: Varsik/Prohászka 2009, 193-202), although it must also be noted that Sarmatian finds have not been discovered in the region, i. e. on the Little Hungarian Plain up to Carnuntum (Bad Deutsch-Altenburg).

503 Patsch 1937, 133.

504 B1a-B1b, corresponding to the late Augustan and early Tiberian and the late Tiberian-Claudian Age.

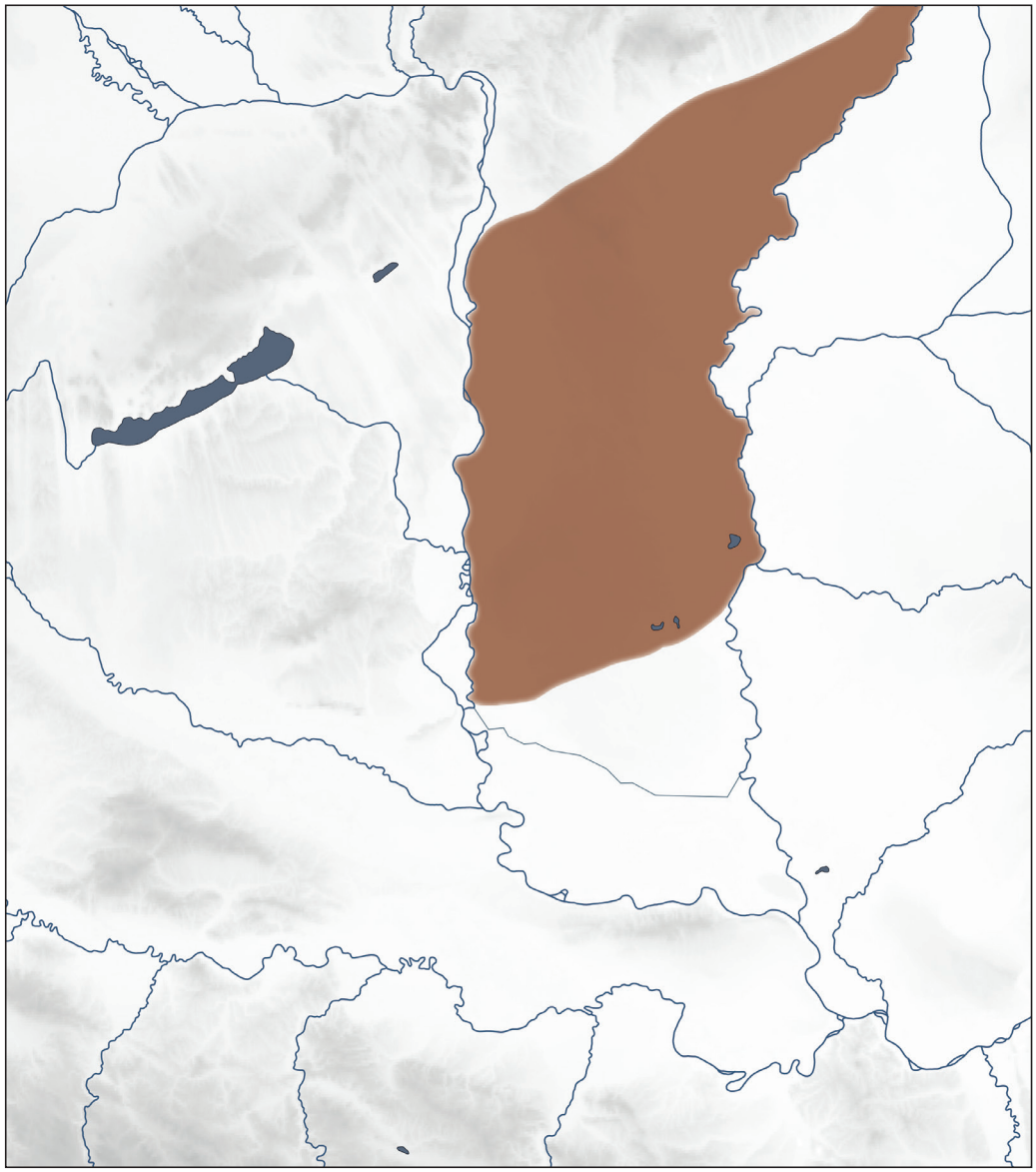


Fig. 143 The possible boundaries of the earliest Sarmatian settlement territory in the Carpathian Basin. – (After Kőhegyi 1982, figs 18-19; map M. Ober, RGZM).

appearance in the Carnuntum area before the creation of Vannius' kingdom and they were forced to retreat behind the River Váh by the new Germanic power.

In 9 BC, the Marcomanni were defeated by Drusus and were dislodged from their former lands. The related Quadi probably moved to Moravia, where they came under the rule of Maraboduus, the Marcomannic king. However, Maraboduus was soon vanquished by Ariminius, leader of the Cherusci. His power declined; he was toppled by his discontented subjects, as was his successor Catualda. Rome created a vassal state on the frontier by settling the followers of the two vanquished leaders on the left bank of the Danube. In 20 AD, the Romans appointed the Quadic Vannius to head the new state[505]. Taking advantage of the political situation and the unrest on the Empire's frontier, the Sarmatians moved into the areas north of the Danube during Maraboduus' time or during Catualda's brief reign. This is all the more possible because there is good reason to believe that the Sarmatians were often invited to fight as mercenaries in distant lands[506] – offers

505 Alföldi 1939a, 532.

506 Vaday 1982/1983, 179.

they gladly accepted in the hope of plentiful booty. One case in point is the conduct of the Aorsi and the Siraci in the events of 49 AD (see above); another is Tacitus' remark for the year 69 AD:

> These chiefs also offered the service of their people, and its force of cavalry, their only effective troops [i. e. for the Romans]; but the offer was declined, lest in the midst of civil strife they should attempt some hostile enterprise, or, influenced by higher offers from other quarters, should cast off all sense of right and duty[507].

It is therefore possible that the Sarmatian horsemen serving in Vannius' army were mercenaries. Another noteworthy aspect of Tacitus' quoted passage is his claim that »the princes of the Sarmatian Iazyges […] were enrolled in the army«, i. e. the Roman army, to prevent them from raiding the province. In 69 AD, the Romans thus had precise and reliable information on the Sarmatians, suggesting that they could hardly have been fresh arrivals on the Hungarian Plain.

Returning to Kovács's well-grounded assessment of the literary evidence, he seconded Mócsy's view, according to which Pliny's passage implied that the arrival of the Iazyges can be dated well before Vannius' reign, i. e. before 20 AD[508]. Kovács supported Mócsy's hypothesis with one more argument: the province enjoyed a spell of peace during the Tiberian period and Roman rule was firm, indicated also by the fact that L. Munatius Plancus acted as the governor of Pannonia for seventeen years without a break and that the sources were silent about the province for some thirty years[509].

The arrival of the Sarmatians – or, more precisely, of the Iazyges – in the Carpathian Basin before 20 AD, probably sometime between 10 and 20 AD, and their settlement in the areas adjacent to the Quadian lands is supported by other data too. A little after 50 AD, the Pannonian-Iazygian neighbourship is described as a familiar, long-existent situation[510], as we read in Lucan, for example: »Thank the high gods no eastern hosts are here | To wreak their fury; nor Sarmatian horde | With northern tribes conjoined [...]« .

Mócsy suggested that the Dacian-Sarmatian incursion into Moesia in 6 AD could perhaps be linked to the Iazygian migration, the implication being that the movement of the Sarmatians toward the west had already begun. Seeing that the Roman forces were tied down by the Pannonian-Dalmatian revolt and that Moesian troops had also been deployed, they had no means of taking any action on the left bank of the Danube[512]. The weakening of the Dacian state enabled migrations to the west during this period.

As we saw above, the appearance of the Sarmatians at the Lower Danube led to major changes in the life of the Dacian state. Although little is known about the relations between the Dacians and the neighbouring Iranian (Scythian/Sarmatian) peoples, there is evidence, no matter how slight, that strong contacts were forged between them, as shown by the Sarmatian artefacts found on Dacian sites (including pieces with tamga marks), the alliance between the two peoples at the time of Trajan's campaign and the use of typical, undeniably ethno-specific Sarmatian artefacts, such as dragon banners, etc[513]. Several coin-dated find assemblages from the mid-1st century discovered in Dacian territory contain fragments of armour plates, indicating that the Dacians had adopted the military tactics of the Sarmatian *cataphracti*, who had appeared as enemies in the region. The use of arrows tipped with massive arrowheads made for the large

507 Tacit. *Hist*. III.5.

508 Mócsy 1977, 439. – Mócsy/Fitz 1990, 33. – Fehér/Kovács 2005a, 42. 208-209.

509 Fehér/Kovács 2005a, 208-209.

510 Alföldi 1940a, 13. – Mócsy/Fitz 1990, 33.

511 Lucan. *b. civ.* (Phars.) III, 93-95: »*Di melius, quod non Latias Eous in oras / nunc furor incubuit nec iuncto Sarmata velox/ Pannonio Dacisque Getes admixtus*«. This passage was first quoted in this context by Alföldi 1939a, 532. See also Fehér/Kovács 2005a, 174, with further literature.

512 Mócsy 1974, 39.

513 Alföldi 1943a, 4, with reference to geographic names and religious beliefs.

Sarmatian bows also reflects Sarmatian influence[514]. The Dacian attacks on the Empire at several locations in 11-12 AD, eventually repelled by Sextus Aelius Catus and Cn. Cornelius Lentulus, can also be attributed to pressure from the Sarmatians[515].

Accepting this early date for the arrival of the Sarmatians, it must also be borne in mind that the organisation of the province of Pannonia and the creation of the *limes* can roughly be dated to the same period. In this case, the two events must be examined together.

In addition, we have a Late Roman author Aurelius Victor, who mentioned Sarmatian incursions into Pannonia in connection with the events from the time of Tiberius [516]. If we consider this information as authentic[517], then the early arrival of the Sarmatians gains a further argument.

A brief review of Alföldi's views on the arrival of the Iazyges seems in order at this point[518]. He noted that soon after their conquest of Transdanubia, the Romans began the organisation of an effective defence system on the Danubian frontier against the Dacians, who at the time also controlled the Hungarian Plain. Alföldi believed that Augustus' original vision was an imperial frontier along the Carpathians. His plans were shattered by the Pannonian rebellion in 6 AD and by the annihilation of Quintilius Varus' legion at Teutoburg in 9 AD. His sensible plans were discarded by his successors, who instead followed the »patriarch's« unwise retreat, with the single exception of Marcus Aurelius. Instead of exploiting the natural protection offered by the Carpathian range, Augustus' successors elected to create a long, barely defensible frontier[519]. The Dacian threat increased during Tiberius' reign:

> The Romans attempted to make the largely ineffective, angular Transdanubian frontier inaccessible by other means, by allowing the Sarmatian Iazyges to settle in the Danube-Tisza interfluve (probably under Tiberius) [...][520].

A Suebian buffer state was established to hold off the Quadi and the Marcomanni simultaneously:

> Tiberius' idea was to create buffer states in order to isolate the Dacians from the Germanic peoples (specifically from the Suebians, with whom they had a common border along the River Morava), as well as from the Danubian frontier. Cutting off the Dacians by settling a population which was wholly alien to both the Dacians and the Germanic peoples seemed a viable solution. This is why the Sarmatians from the Danube Delta region were settled in their new lands by Drusus, son of Tiberius[521].

Alföldi does not cite any hard evidence to support his claim, he merely mentions that Vannius' kingdom was a similar vassal state.

Alföldi, no doubt, had Marcus Vinicius' campaign in mind when he wrote of the Dacians being pushed back in the wake of military operations. This event would have provided the opportunity to settle the Iazyges after a passage through Dacian lands[522] because it seems most unlikely that the Dacians would have willingly allowed a part of their territory to be settled by another people, even if they were on good terms, at least judging from the sources. Vinicius' campaign in 13 BC can be seen as one of the stages in organising

514 Beldiman 1989. – Prohnenko 2001.
515 Vékony 1989, 77-79. – Nemeth 2005, 123-124, for a more recent overview with the earlier literature.
516 Aurelius Victor II.9.
517 Fehér/Kovács 2005a, 165.
518 Alföldi 1936, 15; 1943a, 14.
519 Alföldi 1943a, 13.
520 Alföldi 1936, 15.
521 Alföldi 1940a, 13.
522 See the section »The Neighbouring Barbarian Peoples: Dacians, Celts and Germans« below.

the re-settlement. In Alföldi's opinion, Vinicius crossed the Danube following the Dacian incursion and annihilated a Dacian army and their Bastarnian allies in Wallachia, then moved on to defeat the north-western Dacian tribes and to curb smaller Illyrian and Celtic groups between the Upper Tisza region and the Danube Bend[523]. This was the single campaign affecting the region that can be interpreted as clearing the way for the settlement of a new people.

Alföldi thus argued that the Romans had planned to install a »buffer state« against the Dacians for political reasons and that they had engineered, or allowed, the settlement of the Sarmatians from the Lower Danube on the Hungarian Plain. In this scenario, their settlement territory extended from the Olt through the Banat and the Danube-Tisza interfluve to the Little Hungarian Plain as far as Carnuntum. Encouraged by the Romans, the Roxolani joined the Iazyges up to the Olt. In this way, the Dacians would have been isolated from the Danube. However, the archaeological record does not support this theory, as shall be shown below. Considerably more Roman imports have been found in the Quadic lands than among the Sarmatians, which in itself calls for caution.

Alföldi's buffer state theory gained wide currency. Mócsy, who accepted this hypothesis, had earlier linked the Iazyges' arrival to Drusus' operations in Illyricum between 17 and 20 AD, suggesting that the Iazyges had settled in the Carpathian Basin following his activities and acted as the buffer state between the Dacians and the Roman Empire envisioned by Alföldi, thereby shortening the Roman-Dacian frontier. Mócsy regarded the construction of the stone camp at Aquincum, dated to this period, as proof of the re-settlement. However, it has since been conclusively established that the cornerstone of this hypothesis, the so-called Drusus Inscription, should in fact be associated with Vespasian[524].

Accepting the early arrival of the Sarmatians in the Carpathian Basin in itself challenges any theories of a Roman buffer state or zone because the organisation of the province took place at this time[525]. The low number of Roman artefacts in the early Sarmatian assemblages also belies this assumption[526].

Vaday challenged this model of intentional Roman settlement. She brought up four arguments against it[527]:

(1) The Iazyges arrived on the Hungarian Plain at the very time when centralised Dacian power disintegrated, the implication being that the Romans hardly had any serious need for a buffer state. This argument is weak because we know that the Dacian question was one of the unresolved issues on the Roman political agenda since Augustus. The fact that the Dacian state was weaker or stronger during one or another period was hardly a criterion in Roman foreign policy.

(2) The re-settlement was not mentioned in the written sources and it seems unlikely that such a large-scale event would have escaped the notice of all writers. The problem with this *argumentum ex silentio* is that the Sarmatians' arrival and settlement is barely reported in the sources at all despite the fact that it had a major impact on the region's history. As a matter of fact, the repulsion of the Dacians, one of Rome's most powerful enemies, is only mentioned by Pliny. One might say that while the event should have been mentioned, the lack of any reports can hardly be regarded as conclusive evidence.

(3) On Ptolemy's map, the Iazyges of the Hungarian Plain are given a curious adjective: *metanastae* (»transplanted«) (**fig. 144**). In Vaday's opinion, this referred not to a re-settlement by the Romans, but to the distinction between the Iazyges who had remained in the Lower Danube region and their kinsmen who had occupied the Hungarian Plain[528]. It must here be recalled that Alföldi had never claimed that the entire population had been re-settled, he merely noted that the Iazyges (or a part of them) had been

523 Alföldi 1943a, 12.
524 Mócsy 1977, 439. – Tóth/Vékony 1970a; 1970b.
525 Mócsy/Fitz 1990, 31-35.
526 See also Vaday 1990/1991, 75.
527 Vaday 1990/1991, 75.
528 This possibility was first suggested by Mommsen 1917, 197, and has since become widely accepted. According to Hind 2007, 243-244, the word *metanastes* simply meant »nomadic«, corresponding to the Latin *turba* (»troop«, »band«), and thus simply denoted a »wandering band«.



Fig. 144 Detail of Ptolemy's ninth map page of Europe. – (After Ptolem. *Nona europe tabula*).

re-settled. This was a reasonable assumption because the Romans are known to have re-settled various population groups, even if this re-settlement generally meant a relocation to the Empire rather than from one place to another in the Barbaricum. Not to speak of the fact that Alföldi drew the boundary of the Iazygian lands at the Olt, where they neighboured on the Roxolani, again implying that the immigrants did not represent the entire Iazygian tribe.

(4) Reports of the events of 68-69 AD state that the Quadi were ruled by kings, while the Iazyges only had »chiefs«[529], which in Vaday's view meant that the Iazygian king and his court still resided in the east. However, only a minute examination of the usage of the terms »king«, »chiefs«, »leading men« and the like in the period's sources can establish whether this reasoning can be accepted as a convincing

529 Tacit. *Hist*. III.5. The events in question and the sources will be discussed in the next chapter.

argument. A detailed analysis of Sarmatian society is likewise sorely needed; suffice it here to recall the sceptre-bearers described as the leaders of Sarmatian society in the Protogenes Decree and Tacitus' report on the Caucasian campaign in 35 AD. In other words, the expressions used for denoting leaders were either not consistent or changed with time. In truth, we know very little about Sarmatian social hierarchy, and neither do we know to what extent the Romans restructured the social fabric of a people transplanted from beyond the Empire's borders. On the other hand, the argument that only a part of the people migrated is not relevant with regard to re-settlement.

In sum, we may say that Alföldi did not present convincing arguments for supporting the buffer state theory. Although this theory seems less credible to us, it cannot be conclusively rejected for the time being.

While the exact date of the Sarmatians' arrival cannot be unequivocally determined from the literary sources, a date around 20 AD seems to be the most likely. It must be borne in mind, however, that the theories reviewed above all assume a migration from the south as the single possible route. The early Sarmatian finds show a coherent distribution in the Danube-Tisza interfluve, from the Eger area to the Bácska/Bačka region, with a definite concentration in the north. In the light of the large-scale excavations across Hungary during the past few decades, this can hardly be regarded as mere chance or as resulting from the imbalances of research. This distribution is by all means noteworthy.

Following Daicoviciu, Romanian researchers favour a migration from the north, the main argument being that, with the exception of the Gyulavarsánd (Vărşand) site, none of the find assemblages from western Romania can be dated before the 2nd century AD. The distribution of cremation burials indicates that this territory was under Dacian control in the 1st century AD[530]. A recently published Sarmatian find attributed to the first Iazygian wave, found in Sânnicolau Mare, is new evidence against the northern migration theory[531].

The rare parallels to the early Sarmatian material from the Hungarian Plain, and especially to the golden dress ornaments, come from the Lower Danube Valley and the Dniester-Prut interfluve. The distribution of the finds in the foreland of the Carpathian Basin suggests that the migration could have taken both a northern and southern route[532].

The Archaeological Evidence

Es scheint zweckmässig, vorerst das archäologische Bild des Gebietes zu zeichnen, d.h. die verschiedenen und absolute Chronologie derselben festzustellen. Erst auf Grund dieser Vorarbeiten können die Mitteilungen der gleichzeitigen Schriftsteller herangezogen werden[533].

Several attempts have been made to identify and map the earliest Sarmatian finds in the Carpathian Basin. Párducz, the father of Sarmatian studies in Hungary, was the first to distinguish the Sarmatian elements of the so-called first Pontic-Germanic assemblages as defined by Beninger[534]. While Párducz correctly perceived that this could only be accomplished through a systematic comparative analysis of the steppe find material, he examined the find assemblages of the territories east of the Carpathian Basin without setting any regional or chronological restrictions. He examined the metalwork of the Scythians-Sarmatians

530 For a good summary, see Dörner 1971, 688-690.

531 Bejan/Măruia/Tănase 2011.

532 From his analysis of the literary evidence, Harmatta 1949, 134, also argued for a migration from the Lower Danube region. One problem in this respect is that the Roman sources understandably focused on events in the Lower Danube region and are silent on the more remote northern territories.

533 Párducz 1941a, 44.

534 Párducz 1935.

and the Greek towns of the northern Pontic from an almost purely art historical perspective. The lack of a finer chronology left its mark on the classification of the material from the Carpathian Basin: for example, finds ranging from the Tiszatarján assemblage[535] to the Herpály shield boss dating from the 3rd century AD and the helmet from Budapest, Eskü Square assigned to the late Roman period, were lumped together and discussed. The assemblage from Szentes-Nagyhegy, which has since been shown to date from the 4th century AD[536], was also classified as part of this group of finds. Párducz discussed 15 assemblages in his study, which he assigned to the same category, the so-called Pontic Sarmatian finds, principally on stylistic grounds, and dated most of them into the first half of the 3rd century. He did not initially attempt a finer chronological distinction between the finds[537].

The first volume of Párducz's survey of Sarmatian artefacts published in 1941 did not offer more precise chronological distinctions. Párducz treated the assemblages from the arrival of the Sarmatians to the early 3rd century as part of a single find horizon[538].

The first attempt to chronologically fine-tune the artefactual material spanning two centuries was published in 1956, when Párducz distinguished the so-called Szentes-Nagyhegy group, which he defined as the heritage of the new population arriving at the time of the Marcomannic Wars. He separated this group from the assemblages of the earliest horizon[539].

Returning to the earliest finds, Párducz's pioneering work was continued by Kőhegyi, who also reviewed the period's known find assemblages. It is unclear from his early studies in this field[540] how many successive waves of Sarmatian immigration he had assumed: it would appear that he distinguished three waves. He can be credited with systematically collecting the grave inventories containing gold artefacts (ten sites in all) as part of his publication of the Kelebia assemblage. Kőhegyi noted that the earliest Sarmatian settlement territory lay in the Danube-Tisza interfluve and that this territory was smaller than the one reconstructed by Párducz[541]. At the same time, he accepted Párducz's idea that the gold finds had been manufactured in one or more Pontic workshops.

Kőhegyi chose this »gold horizon« as the subject of his doctoral thesis, whose main findings were published in 1985[542], together with a list of the sites and finds of the early archaeological horizon, which he divided into two groups, an earlier and a later one. The former lasted until the close of the 1st century AD, the latter from the turn of the century to the Marcomannic Wars. He only assigned six of the 15 sites listed by Párducz in 1935 to the early horizon, which comprised 31 assemblages, while the late one was made up of eleven assemblages.

Although Kőhegyi separated the sites of his two groups, the rationale of his categorisation remained unclear. What can be gleaned from his scattered remarks is that gold earrings, lunulas, beads, dress ornaments (flitters of golden foil) and carnelian beads occur in both groups. At the same time, torcs and mirrors are lacking from the earlier group, while the later group is hallmarked by the disappearance of Celtic finds. The boundary between the two groups is blurred and thus the classification of smaller assemblages is open to question, their chronology is uncertain, the latter being especially true of stray finds which still account for the greater part of the material. One major merit of Kőhegyi's study is a detailed discussion of the steppe and Pontic analogies.

Vaday likewise attempted to distinguish two groups in her study discussing the burials uncovered at Mezőcsát-Hörcsögös[543]. In her view, the jewellery sets brought from the Pontic were gradually »diluted«, a process which can be accurately dated because the earliest find assemblages contain »pure« jewellery

535 In our view, this assemblage should rather be attributed to the Scythians.
536 Istvánovits/Kulcsár 1998, 197-198.
537 Párducz 1935, 112-113.
538 Párducz 1941a.
539 Párducz 1956.
540 Kőhegyi 1973; 1974-1975.
541 Párducz 1956, fig. 3.
542 Kőhegyi 1982.
543 Vaday 1982/1983.



Fig. 145 Selection of the typical finds of the »golden horizon« representing the heritage of the earliest Sarmatian groups in the Hungarian Plain: torc and carnelian beads from Nyíregyháza-Felsősima (JAM, E. Istvánovits's excavation, unpublished), earring, gold beads, dress ornaments from Füzesabony-Kastély-dűlő and lunula from Tenk-Homokbánya. – (Photos E. Istvánovits / V. Kulcsár).

sets, while the later ones become gradually »diluted«[544]. However, this classification is subjective, to say the least, and can hardly be applied in the case of the stray finds.

Luckily for research, a fairly large grave group of seven burials was uncovered relatively recently on the outskirts of Füzesabony, whose grave assemblages were published with exemplary speed by the excavator[545].

Following the above brief overview of previous research, let us now see what we know about the earliest Sarmatian (Iazygian) finds of the Carpathian Basin (**fig. 145**). Undoubtedly, the most characteristic pieces of this horizon are gold jewellery: earrings, pendants, beads and dress ornaments adorned with granulation or pseudo-granulation, and cabochons with blue or blackish-blue glass inlay. Párducz's assertion that these gold finds originated from the Pontic has become widely accepted[546]. Vaday claimed that these items did not reach Hungary through trade, but were brought here by the first immigrants because otherwise there would have been a continuous supply of this jewellery type to replace the buried, lost or damaged pieces[547].

544 Vaday 1982/1983, 168. 180; 1989b, 56.
545 Farkas 2000b.
546 Párducz 1935.
547 Vaday 1982/1983, 174.

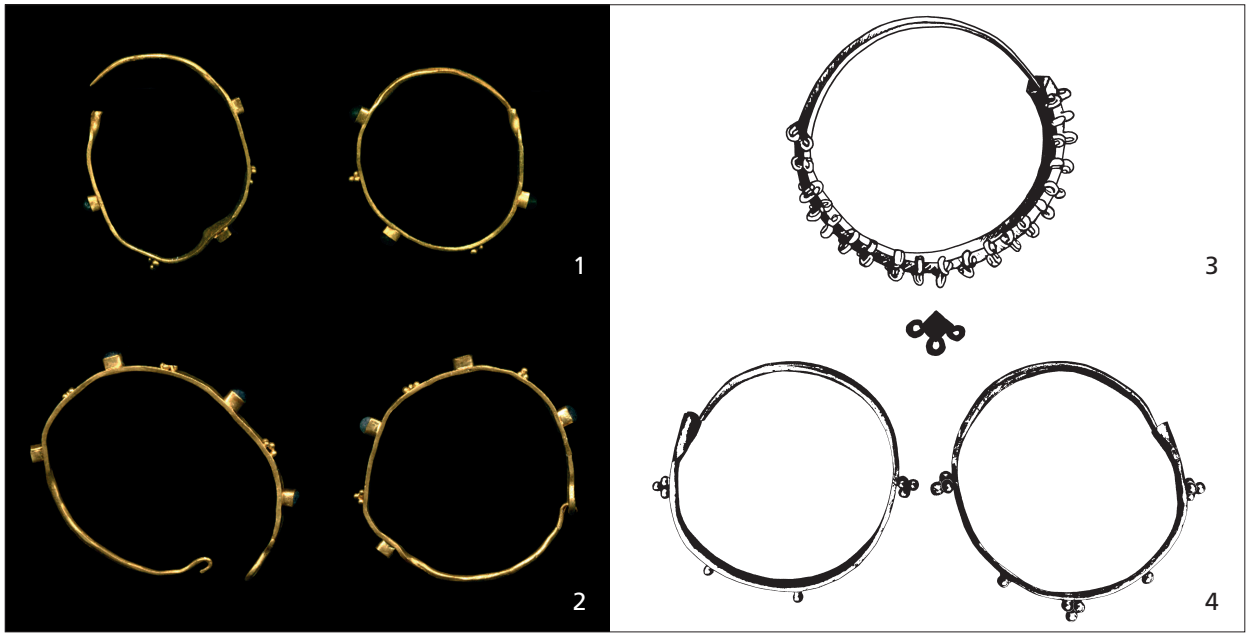


Fig. 146 Early gold earrings: **1-2** earrings decorated with granulation and cabochon inlay from Füzesabony-Kastély-dűlő, Graves 60 and 150 (photo E. Istvánovits / V. Kulcsár). – **3** earrings with wire decoration from the Eger region (after Kőhegyi 1982, pl. II, 2-3). – **4** earrings with granulation from Kelebia-Vermesjárás (after Wicker 2011, 94).

Interestingly enough, it has proved virtually impossible to identify a single territory and a specific period for the antecedents of the finds from the Carpathian Basin. Let us first examine the different jewellery types and their origins.

Earrings

Large gold earrings can be regarded as one of the type finds of the early find horizon (**figs 146-147**). Their most typical trait is their fastening mechanism: one end of the hoop is pointed and can be slipped into the other trumpet-shaped hollow end (**fig. 146, 1. 3-4**). Another fastening mechanism of the hook-and-eye type was also employed: one end was hammered flat and perforated, the other end was fashioned into a hook for insertion. One pair of earrings from Békéscsaba and Füzesabony-Kastély-dűlő (**fig. 146, 2**) can be assigned to this type[548].

Regarding ornamentation, three types can be distinguished: 1) wire decoration; 2) granulation; and, 3) granulation and cabochon glass inlay. Kőhegyi believed that there was no chronological difference between the three types of ornamentation[549]. The cabochon pieces were, without exception, inlaid with blue or black (or bluish-black) glass.

These earrings can be found across the entire Danube-Tisza interfluve, from Eger to the northern Bácska. Comparable pieces are known from Békéscsaba and Öcsöd, east of the Tisza[550]. Earrings decorated with granulation or a combination of granulation and cabochons have no counterparts, either in the eastern Sarmatian lands, or in the northern Pontic towns. The single comparable piece decorated with granulation

548 Kőhegyi 1982, 268. – Farkas 2000b, 15 figs. 10, 1-2.
549 Kőhegyi 1982, 330.
550 Vaday 1989b, 45. 260-261 cat. no. 225, added the Öcsöd site to Kőhegyi's list.

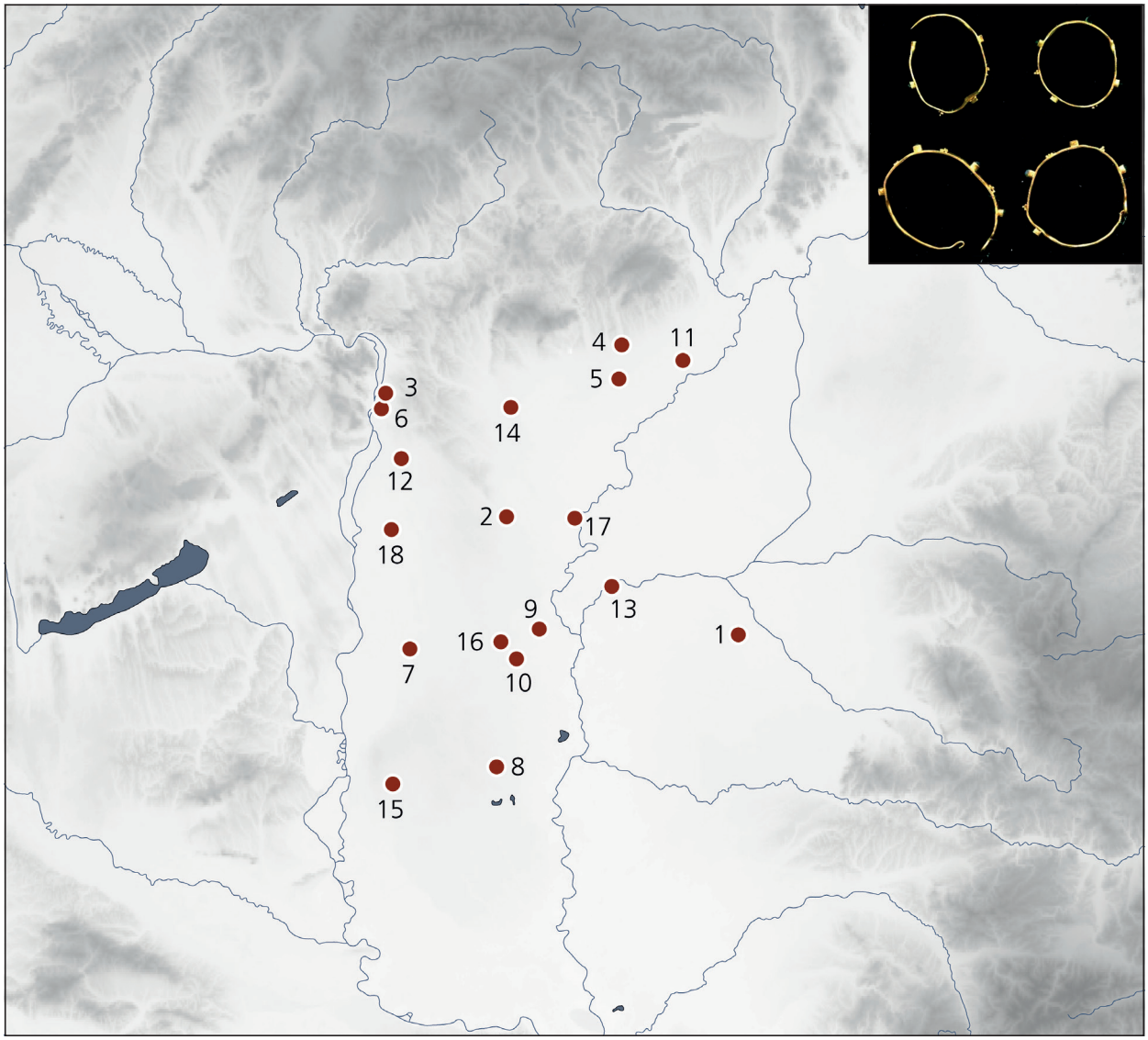


Fig. 147 Distribution of the early gold earrings of the Sarmatians in the Carpathian Basin: **1** Békéscsaba-Ószőlők (after Kőhegyi 1982, 268 pl. I, 13-14). – **2** Cegléd area (after Kőhegyi 1982, 270 pl. I, 15). – **3** Dunakeszi-Székes-dűlő (after Korom/Reményi 2004, 209). – **4** Eger area (after Kőhegyi 1982, 271 pl. II, 2-3). – **5** Füzesabony-Kastély dűlő, Graves 60 and 150 (after Farkas 2000b, 15. 17 figs 10, 1-2; 12, 1-2). – **6** Káposztásmegyer (Budapest) (after Kőhegyi 1982, 307 pl. IX, 1-2). – **7** Kecel-Csukástó (after Kőhegyi 1982, 278 pl. III, 8-9). – **8** Kelebia-Vermesjárás (after Kőhegyi 1982, 279. 281 pl. IV, 1-4, two assemblages). – **9** Kiskunfélegyháza-Kecskeméti út (after Kőhegyi 1982, 286-288 pl. VI, 11). – **10** Kiskunmajsa-Kuklás Jenő földje (after Kőhegyi 1982, 290 pl. VI, 18). – **11** Mezőcsát-Kintelen szőlők (after Kőhegyi 1982, 292 pl. VI, 20-21). – **12** Monor area (after Kőhegyi 1982, 294 pl. VII, 1-2). – **13** Öcsöd-Bábocka (after Vaday 1989b, 45. 260-261 pl. 87, 11). – **14** Pusztamonostor-Útépítés (after Kőhegyi 1982, 297). – **15** Regőcze-Idina (Riđica) (after Kőhegyi 1982, 299). – **16** Szank-Móricgát (after Kőhegyi 1982, 326 pl. XIV, 1-2). – **17** Szolnok-Szőlősi halom (after Kőhegyi 1982, 300 pl. VII, 20; Vaday 1989b, 45. 271 pl. 4, 2). – **18** Tatárszentgyörgy (after Kőhegyi 1982, 301 pl. VII, 26).

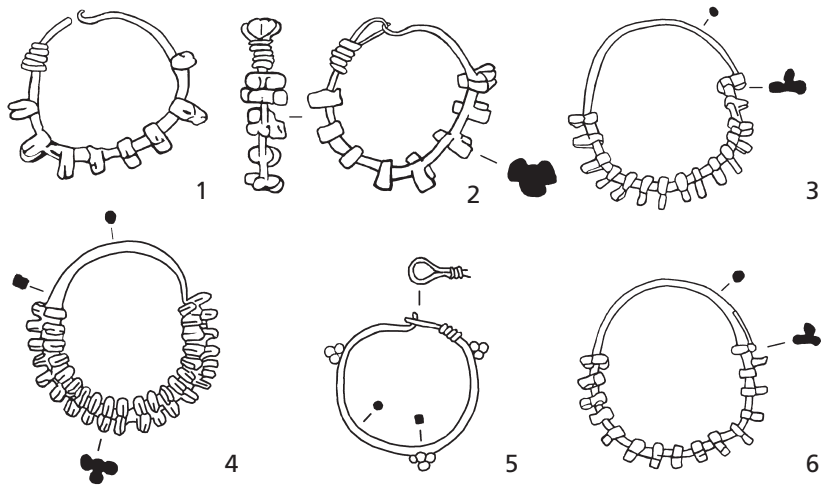


Fig. 148 Earrings with granulation and wire decoration of the 1st-3rd centuries from Late Scythian assemblages of the Crimea. – (After Puzdrovskij 2007, fig. 126, 13-16).

is known from Zavetnoe in the Crimea (**fig. 148, 5**), recovered from a burial dated to the 1st or 2nd century AD[551]. At the same time, these earrings were one of the most popular jewellery items among the early Sarmatians of the Hungarian Plain.

The variant with wire decoration is much rarer among the early gold earrings (Eger area, Káposztásmegyer, Kecel-Csukástó and a few unprovenanced pieces). This variant has a few parallels in the east, most of which come from 1st-2nd century Late Scythian cemeteries in the Crimea: Zavetnoe (**fig. 148**)[552]; Bel'bek IV[553]; Ust'-Alma (**fig. 86**)[554]; also from Sarmatian sites, such as Vinogradnyj (region of Rostov) (**fig. 149**)[555]; and from the richly furnished Mihajlovka grave near Odessa (**fig. 150**)[556].

Lunulas

Horseshoe or crescent-shaped pendants (lunulas) represent another typical jewellery type of this period (**figs 151-152**). These pieces show an astonishing variety regarding their form and decoration, most being singular items. Most are decorated with cabochon inlay. Similar to the earrings, the cabochon is generally described as blue, bluish-black and, in a few cases, as black in colour, and usually defined as glass, although none have been archaeometrically examined. The blue and blackish cabochon glass and the granulation suggest that the earrings and these pendants can be derived from the same territory, meaning that we should search for an area where both earrings and lunulas resembling the pieces from the Carpathian Basin are known. This is no easy task: analogies to the earrings can barely be cited.

Countless parallels can be quoted for crescent pendants in general[557]. This form was widely popular in Hellenistic jewellery, although comparable pieces were worn in earlier and later periods, too. However, finds resembling the typical Hungarian pieces with a cabochon stone or glass inlay are few and far between. Kőhegyi knew of a single, similar piece from Rimnicelu in Wallachia, noting that this piece was dated on the strength of the similar pendants from Hungary[558].

551 Bogdanova 1989, 40-41 pl. XII, 3.
552 Bogdanova 1989, 41 fig. 12, 4.
553 Guščina 1982, 23.
554 Loboda/Puzdrovskij/Zajcev 2002, fig. 9, 8. – Puzdrovskij 2007, colour tables 1, 8; 5, 1 figs 114, 8; 119, 6; 126, 13-15.
555 L'Or 2001, 144-145 no. 135.
556 Dzigovskij 1993, 74-75 fig. 43, 6.
557 See Vaday 1982/1983, 173-174.
558 Kőhegyi 1982, 332.



Fig. 149 Find assemblage dated to the 1st century BC-1st century AD from Vinogradnyj in the Rostov area. – (After L'Or 2001, 144-145 no. 135).



Fig. 150 Selection of finds, amongst them a gold earring with wire decoration, from the 1st century lavish burial found at Mihajlovka near Odessa. – (After Dzigovskij 1993, fig. 43; Skarby 2006, nos 17. 19-20. 22-23).



Fig. 151 Early Sarmatian gold lunulas from the Carpathian Basin: **1** Tenk-Homokbánya. – **2** Füzesabony-Kastély-dűlő, Grave 150. – **3** Sânnicolau Mare, Grave 7/2005. – **4** Nyíregyháza-Felsősima, Grave 71 (JAM, E. Istvánovits's excavation, unpublished). – (1-2. 4 photos E. Istvánovits / V. Kulcsár; 3 after Bejan/Măruia/Tănase 2011, pl. III, 1).

Additional analogies are scarce, and the few known pieces are scattered over an extensive area. Comparable pendants dating from the 1st century BC to the 1st century AD have been published from the Don-Volga interfluve, the Lower Volga region and the Kuban region[559]. Typically enough, the Hungarian pieces are quoted as parallels in one case[560].

559 Sergackov 1998, with further literature.

560 Sergackov 1998, 156.

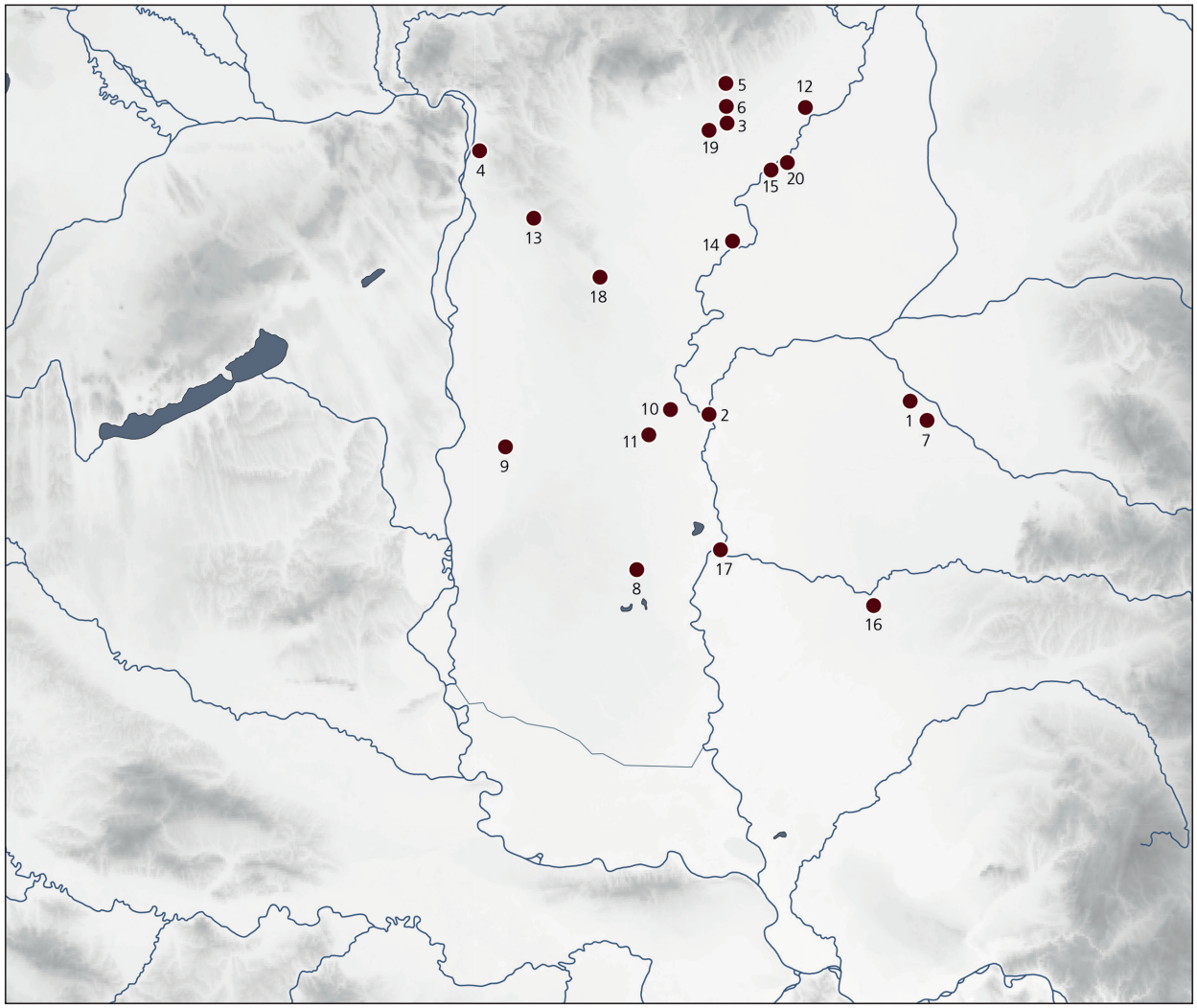


Fig. 152 Distribution of early Sarmatian gold lunulas in the Carpathian Basin: **1** Békéscsaba area (after Párducz 1941a, 59 pl. X, 9). – **2** Csongrád and Szentes area (after Kőhegyi 1982, 271 pl. I, 18). – **3** Dormánd-Zsidó temető (Jewish cemetery) (exhibited at temporary exhibition »The rescued heritage – Treasures from the heart of Europe«, Budapest, Parliament, 2012). – **4** Dunakeszi-Székes-dűlő (after Korom/Reményi 2004, 209). – **5** Eger area (after Kőhegyi 1982, 271 pl. II, 1). – **6** Füzesabony-Kastély dűlő, Grave 150 (after Farkas 2000b, 17 fig. 13, 3). – **7** Gyulavarsánd (Vărşand)-Laposhalom (after Kőhegyi 1982, 274 pl. II, 49). – **8** Kelebia-Vermesjárás, two pieces (after Kőhegyi 1982, 279. 284 pl. IV, 11-13). – **9** Kiskőrös-Vágóhidi-dűlő-Seregélyes, Graves 7 and 17 (after Kőhegyi 1982, 314 pl. X, 5. 11). – **10** Kiskunfélegyháza-Kecskeméti út, two pieces (after Kőhegyi 1982, 286 pl. VI, 1-2). – **11** Kiskunmajsa-Kuklás Jenő földje (after Kőhegyi 1982, 290 pl. VI, 19). – **12** Mezőcsát-Hörcsögös, Grave 56 (after Vaday 1982/1983, 169 pls 3, 2; 4, 1; 5, 1). – **13** Monor area (after Kőhegyi 1982, 294 pl. VII, 3). – **14** Nagykörű-Marsó tanya (after Kőhegyi 1982, 295). – **15** Örvény-Seres szőlő (after Kőhegyi 1982, 296 pl. VII, 18). – **16** Sânnicolau Mare, Grave 7/2005 (after Bejan/Măruia/Tănase 2011, 166 pl. III, 1). – **17** Szeged-Csongrádi út, Grave 24 (after Kőhegyi 1982, 321 pl. XII, 5). – **18** Tápiószele-Szumrák (after Kőhegyi 1982, 301). – **19** Tenk-Homokbánya (after Kőhegyi 1982, 303 pl. VIII, 1). – **20** Tiszafüred (after Vaday 1989b, 274 no. 330). – (Map M. Ober, RGZM).

A recent find must also be mentioned. This pendant was brought to light at Nyíregyháza-Felsősima (Site 161, Grave 71) in 2005 during the salvage excavations necessitated by the construction of the M3 Motorway. The ribbed suspension loop and the granulation of the pendant compare well with the pieces described above, however, a polyhedral carnelian bead was slipped over the touching ends (**fig. 151, 3**). The other finds from the cemetery suggest a date in the early horizon[561].

561 Unpublished finds in the Jósa András Museum, Nyíregyháza. Istvánovits's excavation.

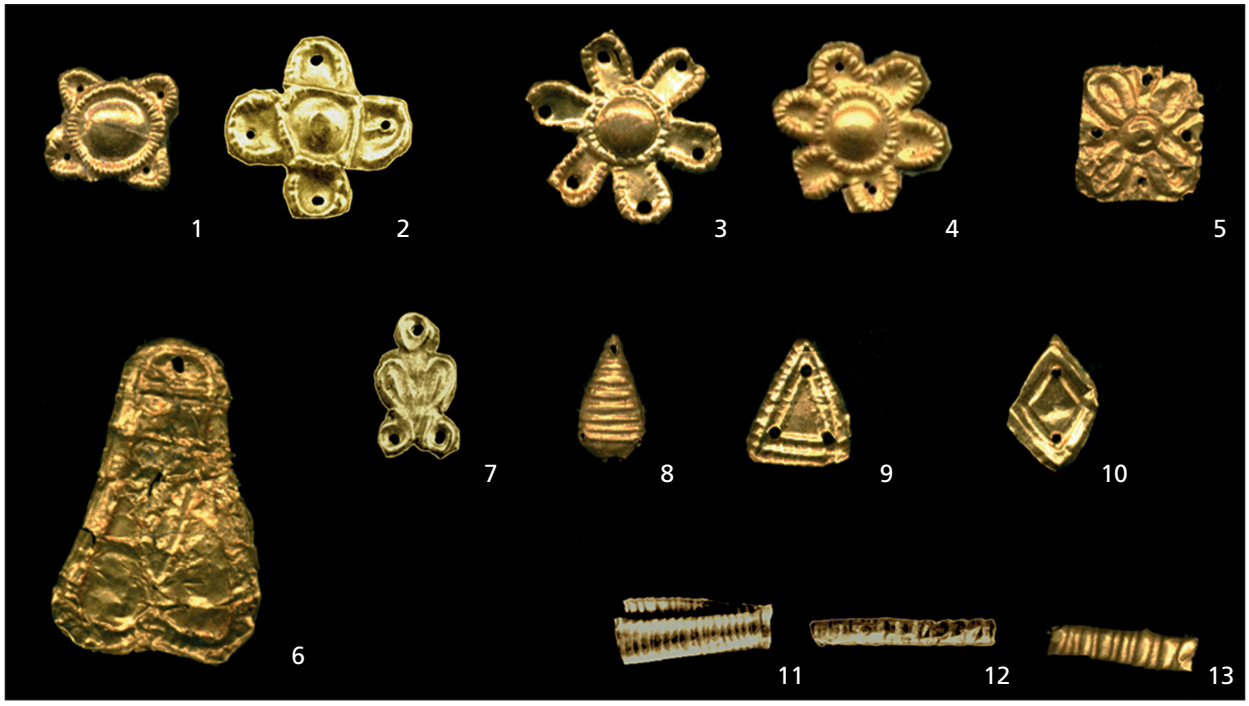


Fig. 153 Gold dress ornament types of the early Sarmatian period in the Carpathian Basin. – **1. 3-4. 8-11** Füzesabony-Kastély-dűlő, Grave 60. – **2. 7. 12** Kelebia. – **5** Tenk-Homokbánya. – **6** Átány. – **13** Tarnaméra-Urak dűlője. – (2. 7. 12 after Wicker 2011, 94; 1. 3-6. 8-11. 13 photos E. Istvánovits / V. Kulcsár).

Dress Ornaments (Flitters)

Golden dress ornaments of sheet gold can be regarded as one of the typical finds of the early Sarmatian burials with gold jewellery of the Carpathian Basin. Dress ornaments come in many shapes, most being triangular and four or six petalled rosettes (**fig. 153**).

Ever since Párducz's study it has been a commonplace of Sarmatian studies that the dress ornaments and the associated gold jewellery had arrived in the Carpathian Basin from the Pontic. As we have already mentioned, Vaday emphasised that these items had been brought here by the first immigrant groups[562].

The distribution of assemblages containing gold dress-ornaments from the territories neighbouring on the Carpathian Basin was mapped by the Romanian scholar Babeş[563]. A few new sites such as Beljaevka and Turlaki[564], both yielding early assemblages from the beginning of the 1st century (**fig. 154**), can now be added to his list of sites. However, Babeş's distribution map does not answer the question of whether the earliest Sarmatian groups arrived from the south via the Danube Valley, or from the north via the Carpathian passes. The distribution map indicates that burials with gold dress-ornaments roughly contemporaneous with the graves in the Hungarian Plain have been brought to light both in the Lower Danube region and in the eastern Carpathian region. The distribution of one of the most typical artefact types of the early horizon thus indicates that both potential migration routes can be considered.

In Sarmatian contexts, golden dress-ornaments (principally lozenge shaped pieces) sewn onto clothing made their appearance in the Prohorovka culture, i. e. in the 4th-2nd centuries BC, although their most widespread use was around the turn of the 1st millennium. Unlike earrings and crescent pendants, which have

562 Párducz 1935. – Vaday 1982/1983, 174. All researchers obviously had the northern Pontic in mind.

563 Babeş 1999, fig. 12.

564 Grosu 1990, 38-42.

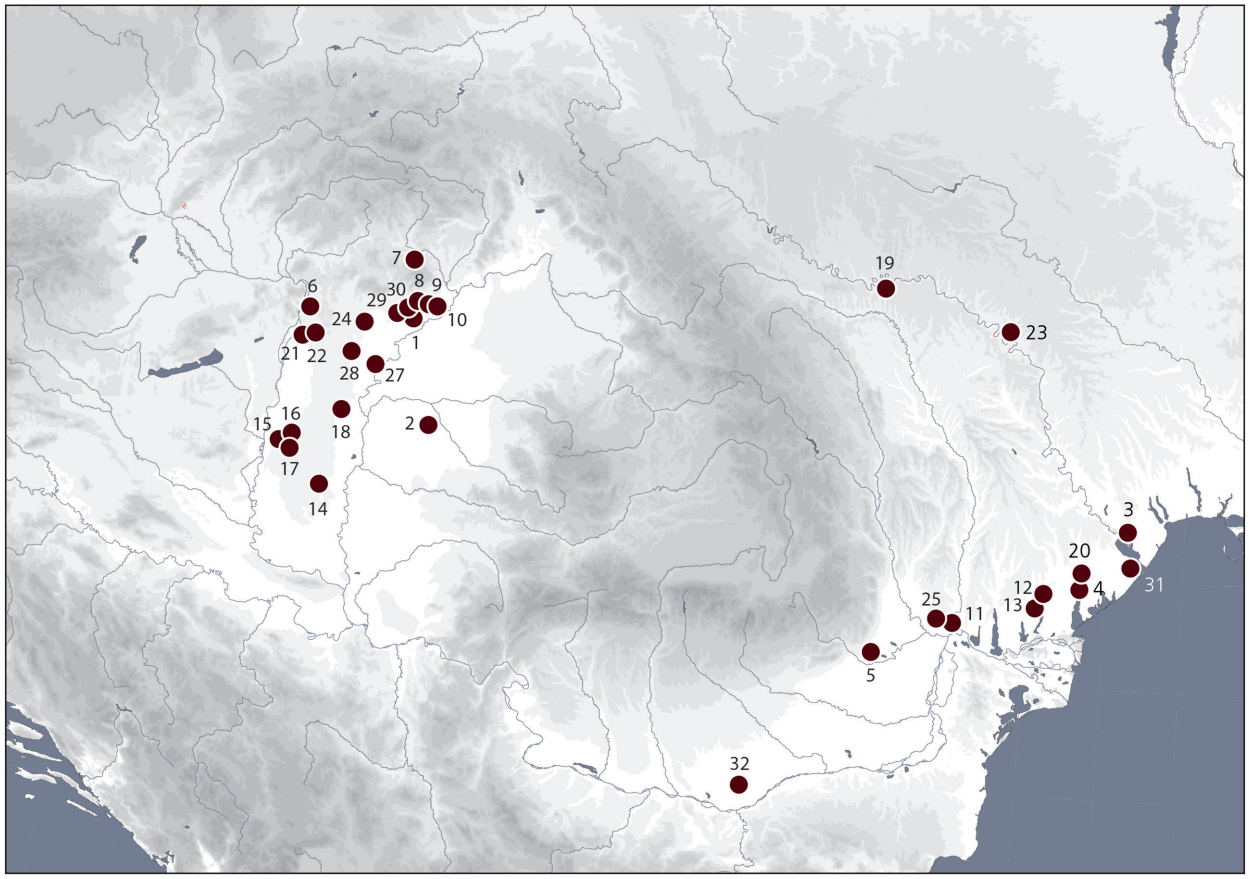


Fig. 154 Find assemblages with gold dress ornaments of the 1st century in the Carpathian Basin and neighbouring regions (Sites 4-5. 11. 19-20. 23. 25. 32: after Babeş 1999, fig. 12): **1** Átány (after Párducz 1941a, 56 pl. XXIX, 54-55. 57-59). – **2** Békéscsaba-Ószőlők (after Kőhegyi 1982, 270 pl. I, 6-10). – **3** Beljajevka (after Grosu 1990, 38-42). – **4** Beloles'e. – **5** Buzău area. – **6** Dunakeszi-Székes-dűlő (after Korom/Reményi 2004, 209). – **7** Eger area (after Kőhegyi 1982, 271 pl. II, 4-14. 20-47). – **8** Füzesabony-Kastély dűlő, Grave 60 (after Farkas 2000b, 15-16 fig. 10, 3-4). – **9** Füzesabony-Kettőshalom, Grave 1 (after Kőhegyi 1982, 305 pl. VIII, 9-14). – **10** Füzesabony-Kettőshalom, Grave 3 (after Kőhegyi 1982, 305 pl. VIII, 16-17). – **11** Galați. – **12** Holmskoe, Grave 22 (after Grosu 1990, 38-42). – **13** Holmskoe, Grave 24 (after Grosu 1990, 38-42). – **14** Kelebia-Vermesjárás (after Kőhegyi 1982, 279. 284 pl. IV, 13-23). – **15** Kiskőrös-Vágóhídi dűlő-Seregélyes, Grave 3 (after Kőhegyi 1982, 312 pl. X, 1-4). – **16** Kiskőrös-Vágóhídi dűlő-Seregélyes, Grave 16 (after Kőhegyi 1982, 314 pl. X, 9). – **17** Kiskőrös-Vágóhídi dűlő-Seregélyes, Grave 18 (after Kőhegyi 1982, 314 pl. X, 12-14. 16-18. 20. 23). – **18** Kiskunfélegyháza-Kecskeméti út (after Kőhegyi 1982, 286 pl. VI, 3-6). – **19** Lenkovcy. – **20** Mihajlovka. – **21** Monor-Csévpuszta (after Kőhegyi 1982, 316 pl. X, 24-25). – **22** Monor area (after Kőhegyi 1982, 294 pl. VII, 4-17). – **23** Porogi (after Simonenko/Lobaj 1991, fig. 19). – **24** Pusztamonostor (after Kőhegyi 1982, 297 pl. VII, 19). – **25** Şendreni. – **26** Sokolova Mogila (after Kovpanenko 1986, passim). – **27** Szolnok-Szőlősi halom (after Kőhegyi 1982, 301 pl. VII, 24-25). – **28** Tápiószele-Szumrák (after Kőhegyi 1982, 303 pl. VII, 27). – **29** Tarnaméra-Urak dűlő, Grave 4 (after Kőhegyi 1982, 324. 326 pl. XII, 8-23). – **30** Tenk-Homokbánya (after Kőhegyi 1985, 303 pl. VIII, 2-3). – **31** Turlaki (after Grosu 1990, 38-42). – **32** Vităneşti. – (Map M. Ober, RGZM).

few Pontic counterparts, dress ornaments have good analogies in the northern Pontic that can be regionally and chronologically linked to the Hungarian pieces[565]. Suffice it here to mention the find assemblages of the Golden Cemetery type[566], containing geometric, vegetal and zoomorphic plaques used as dress adornments. The ornament types found here include pieces resembling the ones found in Hungary: the four and six petalled rosettes, the tubular variants (that is to say, beads) and the lozenge-shaped ornaments with an upper and lower frame. They were highly popular among the Sarmatians of the Lower Volga region, along the Don and the Kuban, and on the Pontic steppe in the 1st to 2nd centuries AD. Some were modelled on

565 Most recently Marčenko 1996, 230 fig. 11.

566 The aristocratic Sarmatian burials of the Kuban region from the 1st century BC - 1st century AD are so labelled.

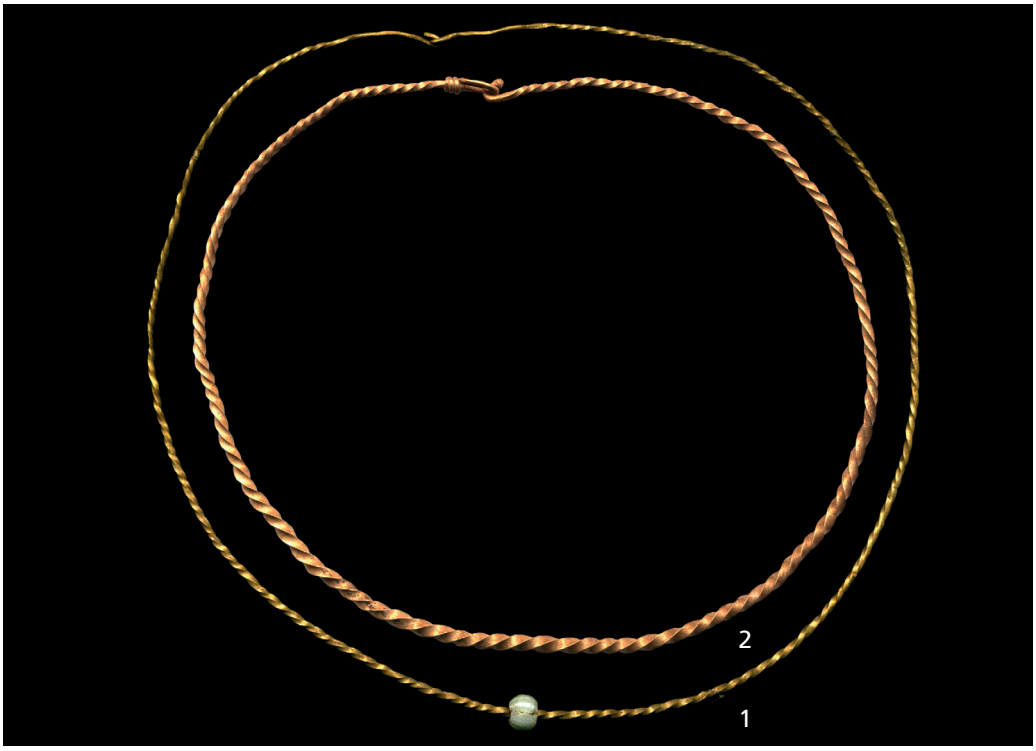


Fig. 155 Gold torcs: **1** Újszilvás-Gólyajárás. – **2** Nyíregyháza-Felsősima, Grave 140/2 (JAM, E. Istvánovits's excavation, unpublished). – (Photos E. Istvánovits / V. Kulcsár).

similar antique ornaments, others – particularly the zoomorphic types – can be derived from the Scythian-Sarmatian animal style[567]. The same forms appear alongside other varieties in Marčenko's book discussing the Siracian finds from the Kuban region. According to his chronological chart, some of the types of interest to us, such as the six petalled rosette, were typical for the 1st century BC, although most of these ornaments can be assigned to the 1st-2nd centuries AD[568].

Gold Beads

Small tubes rolled from plain or ribbed sheet-gold (**fig. 153, 11-13**) were often used together with gold dress-adornments. Their number is not particularly high in the burials of the Hungarian Plain: most graves contained one to seven pieces, with five or six being usual.

Gold beads of this type were fashionable in the Pontic from the Hellenistic period onward. They were widely used during the Late Hellenistic period and the Early Roman Imperial period. They are often found together with four-petalled rosettes as at Novočerkassk-Hohlač, Sokolova Mogila, Ust'-Alma (Grave 612; **fig. 86**) and Buzău, or they were used in combination with geometric and figural dress-ornaments of sheet metal as at Porogi (Grave 2) and Ust'-Alma[569].

Torcs

The finds of the early gold horizon include several gold torcs (**figs 145. 155-156. 159**). Neck rings were very popular among the Sarmatians. Gold variants of this jewellery item are rarely found, no doubt because

567 Zaseckaja 1979, 111-112. – Guščina/Zaseckaja 1994, pl. 15. – Kovpanenko 1986, 40-41.

568 Marčenko 1996, 230 fig. 11.

569 Kovpanenko 1986, 43, with further literature. – Harhoiu 1993, fig. 1, 13-15. – Simonenko/Lobaj 1991, fig. 19, 3-4. – Puzdrovskij 2007, figs 110-111. 113. 115. 118-119.

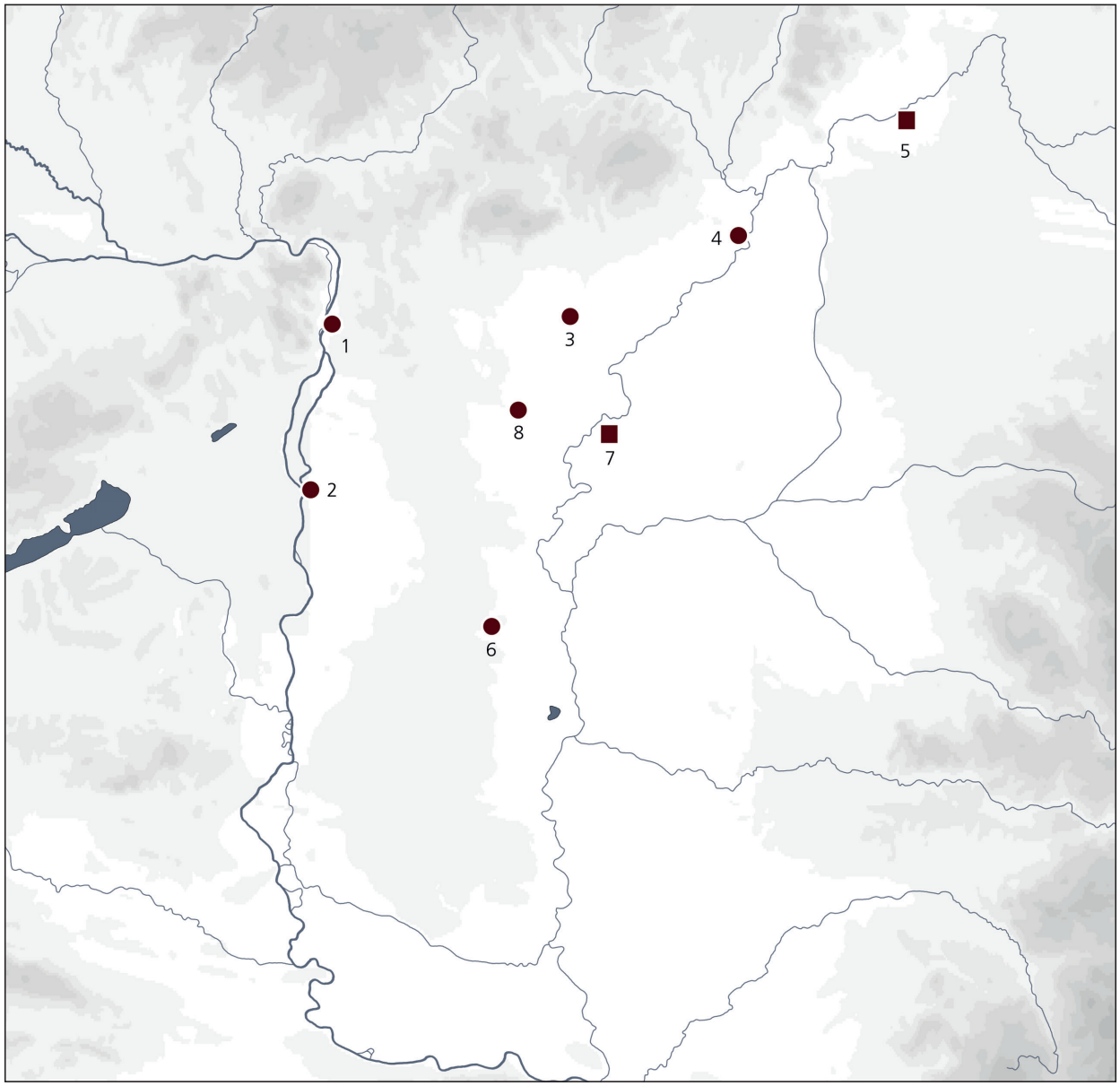


Fig. 156 Distribution of gold torcs in the Hungarian Plain: **1** Budapest-Káposztásmegyer (after Kőhegyi 1982, 307 pl. IX, 3). – **2** Dunavecse (after Párducz 1931, 125). – **3** Füzesabony-Kettőshalom, Grave 1 (after Kőhegyi 1982, 305 pl. VIII, 15). – **4** Mezőcsát-Hörcsögös, Grave 63 (after Vaday 1982/1983, 170 pls 4, 2; 6, 5). – **5** Nyíregyháza-Felsősima, Grave 140/2 (JAM, E. Istvánovits's excavation, unpublished). – **6** Szank-Móricgát (after Kőhegyi 1982, 326 pl. XIV, 3). – **7** Törökszentmiklós-Surján-Újtelep, Grave 54 (after Vaday 1989b, 286 cat. 415 pl. 141, 3) – **8** Újszilvás-Gólyajárás, Grave 1 (after Tari 1994, 259 fig. 2, 1). – (Map M. Ober, RGZM).

many of the graves were looted in antiquity[570]. Golden torcs have been brought to light from both male and female burials, and they were recovered mostly from graves of the early horizon. They are absent after the 2nd century and appear again in the graves of the Hunnic aristocracy. The torcs all have a rectangular section and both ends are bent into a hook, the single exception being the torc from Törökszentmiklós-Surján-Újtelep Grave 54 which has loop terminals. The latter torc cannot be dated earlier than the close of

570 Babolcsi 2004, 115, assembled a list of the known torcs (157 torcs from 96 sites) and found that no more than 4.5 per cent had been crafted from gold.



Fig. 157 Necklaces strung of carnelian beads: **1** Füzesabony-Kastély-dűlő, Grave 60. – **2** Nyíregyháza-Felsősima, Grave 140/2 (JAM, E. Istvánovits's excavation, unpublished). – (1 photo Gy. Lónyai, courtesy of Cs. Farkas; 2 photo E. Istvánovits / V. Kulcsár).

the 2nd century in view of the brooches found in the grave[571]. The gold torc with a hook and a loop closing recovered from Grave 140 of the Nyíregyháza-Felsősima cemetery, yielding also a crescent pendant, can be assigned to the early pieces in view of its craftsmanship (**fig. 155, 2**). The other finds from the burial included a necklace strung with round carnelian beads (**fig. 157**).

The dating of the gold torcs is a crucial issue because torcs also appear in the royal burials of the neighbouring Germanic peoples, among whom these jewellery items functioned as insignia of rank. It has been

571 Vaday 1985a, 367-368; 1989b, 286 cat. no. 415 pl. 141, 3.



Fig. 158 Bucket pendant from Nyíregyháza-Felsősima, Grave 39. – (JAM, E. Istvánovits's excavation, unpublished).

suggested that these objects were gifts from the Romans and that they had an ultimately Celtic origin[573]. Another explanation for their origins is that torcs were adapted from the Sarmatians in the Germanic world, where they spread as far Denmark[574]. Gold torcs appeared on the steppe from the 5th to 4th centuries BC onward, and can be found both in the heritage of the ancient Greeks and in the Sarmatian assemblages. Most finds of this type came to light in the northern Caucasus and the northern Pontic in the territories once occupied by the Sarmatians[575].

The Gold Finds of Early Sarmatian Burials in General

Surprisingly, the highest number of finds analogous to the Hungarian gold horizon are found in the Late Scythian burial grounds of the Crimea. The cemetery investigated at Ust'-Alma must certainly be mentioned in this respect, seeing that it yielded countless analogies to the pieces from the Hungarian Plain, such as wire-decorated earrings, ribbed gold tubes, gold bucket-pendants, dress ornaments of sheet gold (including four-petalled flower shaped ornaments) and round carnelian beads. Crescent-shaped gold pendants were also brought to light, although in smaller number; some of these resemble the lunulas from the Carpathian Basin, but lack cabochon inlays[576]. Most of the published graves contained leaf-shaped gold plaques, originally part of a funerary wreath, which can be likened to the gold plaques from Kiskőrös-Vágohíd regarding their function (clarified by Kőhegyi[577]) even if sharing few similarities regarding their form. The best analogy to the snake-shaped finger-ring from Jászberény-Csegelapos also comes from Ust'-Alma[578], a Late Scythian site dated to the middle and the third quarter of the 1st century AD. The burial rite and the finds (weapons, harness sets, Roman imports, belts, earrings) of the Ust'-Alma cemetery have much in common with the burials of this period (**fig. 86**)[579].
The eastern connections of the gold artefacts from the earliest Sarmatian find assemblages of the Carpathian Basin thus lead far and wide. Some elements such as dress ornaments in the shape of four and six petalled rosettes, the small gold tubes, the lozenge and triangle shaped (ribbed) plaques and the bucket pendants (**fig. 158**), which can be derived from an Antique tradition flourishing since the Hellenistic period, have excellent parallels in the eastern Sarmatian lands, abounding among the finds recovered from the rich, 1st century AD burials of the northern Pontic and the Crimea. At the same time, jewellery of this type is conspicuously rare in the Lower Danube region (in the Republic of Moldova and the Odessa region, i. e. the Budžak steppe). This is all the more surprising because the first Iazygian groups are assumed to have migrated to the Carpathian Basin from this region.

573 Prohászka 2004, 51-52.
574 von Carnap-Bornheim/Ilkjær 1996, 364.
575 Guščina/Zaseckaja 1994, 16.
576 Loboda/Puzdrovskij/Zajcev 2002. – Puzdrovskij 2007.
577 Kőhegyi 1982, 329-330.
578 Vaday 1989b, 236 cat. no. 34 pl. 21, 1. – Puzdrovskij 2007, fig. 111, 9.
579 The site was named after the river on whose bank it lies. The cemetery lies west of Pesčanoe in the Bahčisaraj District. Loboda/Puzdrovskij/Zajcev 2002.



Fig. 159 Carnelian beads and gold torc from Nyíregyháza-Felsősima, Grave 140/2. – (JAM, E. Istvánovits's excavation, unpublished).

Several elements of the gold horizon have few or no analogies among the steppe assemblages. These include horseshoe-shaped pendants and earrings decorated with cabochons and granulation, which have no counterparts in the Antique towns of the northern Pontic or in the eastern Sarmatian material. Neither are there any prototypes in Hellenistic goldwork. A clarification of the origins of these jewellery items is crucial for the early history of the Sarmatians of the Carpathian Basin, however, this issue remains unresolved for the time being due to the lack of analogous finds.

Carnelian Beads

In addition to gold jewellery, round carnelian beads are also typical articles in the early Sarmatian material of the Carpathian Basin (**figs 157. 159**). Most burials contain a roughly similar number of beads, usually between 36 and 38, the reason for this perhaps being that they were sold and purchased in strands strung with a specific number of beads.

Beads polished from carnelian represent the most widespread type among the Antique semi-precious beads of the northern Pontic. Alekseeva distinguished 29 types among the 2,167 pieces known to her. The parallels to the small round beads with a narrow perforation occurring in the early Sarmatian assemblages from the Carpathian Basin can be found among the pieces of her Type 2a, a widely distributed variant worn chiefly in the 1st-2nd centuries AD[580].

Carnelian beads have been found in greater number in the Late Scythian cemeteries of the northern Pontic, for example at Bel'bek IV (Sevastopol). It must here be noted that one possible source of carnelian may have been the Crimea[581].

What must be borne in mind is that while carnelian beads appear in the assemblages of the so-called gold horizon, they remained in use until the turn of the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD, as shown by the find assem-

580 Alekseeva 1982, 15.

581 Stoljarova 2001, 205.

blages from Kiskőrös-Csukástó, Rácz-kút Grave 7[582] and Szolnok-Szandaszőlős-Airfield[583], where they were found together with enamelled brooches.

Roman Artefacts (Brooches and Vessels) and Questions of Dating

The obvious question is how the jewellery items discussed above can be dated, seeing that the analogies from the northern Pontic do not provide a more precise date. Párducz initially asserted no more than that the first Pontic-Germanic assemblages as defined by him should be dated before the mid-3rd century[584]. He never really refined this chronology: he assigned the finds from between 50 AD and the close of the 2nd century to his Group 1 of the Sarmatian period – the main consideration being that these finds could in part be dated by brooches and in part by coins[585].

While Párducz based his dating scheme on brooches, Mócsy proposed that dating should rather rest on the lack of brooches. His basic idea was that brooches were alien to the Sarmatian costume, a nomadic attire, and that the first Sarmatian groups arriving in the Carpathian Basin could hardly have acquired Roman articles because, unlike their dealings with the Quadi, the Romans only established trade contacts with the Sarmatians at a later date. Scholarship uncritically accepted this hypothesis without taking the trouble to take even a cursory glance at the situation in the east[586]. However, in truth, a rich variety of brooches, representing variants differing from the ones of the Carpathian Basin (**figs 64. 76. 89**), can be found in the eastern assemblages of the 1st century BC to the 1st century AD, alongside an assortment of various other Roman artefacts[587]. It must also be noted that the Sarmatians sometimes reworked the brooches, using them as »badges« rather than as clasps for fastening their garment, as shown by the gold brooch from the rich female burial at Sokolova Mogila by the South Bug[588].

There is a curious contradiction between Mócsy's hypothesis and his other claim, discussed above, that the Iazyges were relocated by the Romans to the Danube-Tisza interfluve. If the Iazyges had indeed been resettled by the Romans to create a buffer state between the Empire and the Dacians, it is inconceivable that Rome's new allies would not have received a single gift, or that the Romans would have refused to trade with them. One of the two claims is untenable for this reason alone. Thus, the discovery of Roman articles in the earliest Sarmatian assemblages cannot be ruled out on theoretical grounds. Let us now look at the archaeological record.

Brooches

Few brooches are known from the assemblages of the early gold horizon. The known pieces come from Füzesabony-Kastélydűlő Grave 140[589], Mezőcsát-Hörcsögös Grave 63[590], Nagykörü-Marsó tanya[591], Örvény-Seres szőlő[592], Regőce (today Riđica-Idina in Serbia)[593] and Újszilvás-Gólyajárás[594] (**fig. 160**).

582 Párducz 1941a, 57.
583 Vaday 1989b, 270 cat. no. 296.
584 Párducz 1935, 112.
585 Párducz 1941a, 75. Párducz accordingly dated Group 2 (Szentes-Nagyhegy) after 180 (Párducz 1956, 166).
586 Mócsy 1954, 115, is repeated by Vaday 1989b, 75: »Zu der nomadischen Tracht, wo die Kleidung einen Ärmel hatte, gehörte nämlich keine Fibel«.
587 Discussed in detail by Kulcsár 1998a, 52.
588 Kovpanenko 1986, 39. A similar find can be quoted from Hungary: a thread was drawn through the coils of one of the brooches from Tiszadob, dated to the late 4th century (Istvánovits 1993b, 114).
589 Farkas 2000b, 17 fig. 12, 5.
590 Vaday 1982/1983, 177 pl. 6. 7.
591 Kőhegyi 1982, 295.
592 Kőhegyi 1982, 296.
593 Kőhegyi 1982, 299.
594 Tari 1994, 259 fig. 2, 2.

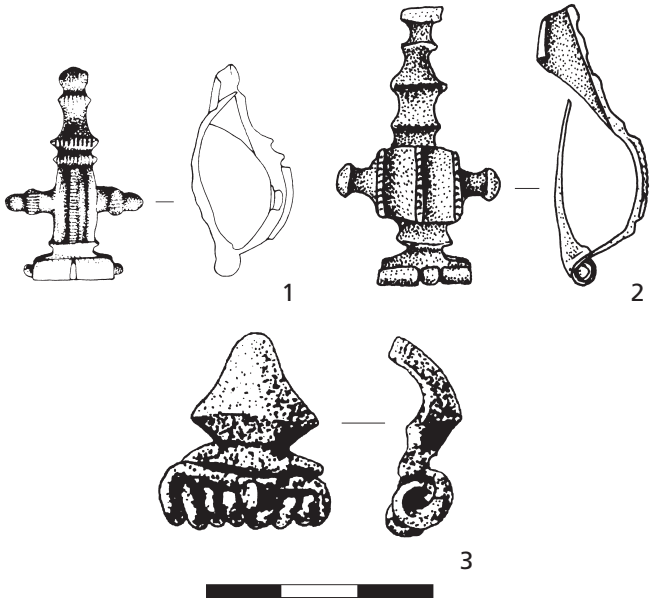


Fig. 160 Brooches from early Sarmatian assemblages of the Carpathian Basin: **1** Újszilvás-Gólyajárás (after Tari 1994, 259 fig. 2, 2). – **2** Mezőcsát-Hörcsögös, Grave 63 (after Vaday 1982/1983, 177 pl. 6, 7). – **3** Füzesabony-Kastély-dűlő, Grave 140 (after Farkas 2000b, 17 fig. 12, 5).

The pieces from Mezőcsát and Újszilvás can be assigned to the so-called hinge-pin brooches (*Scharnierflügelfibeln*). In her discussion of the brooch from Mezőcsát, Vaday argued that the brooch had reached the Sarmatians through trade or war booty, and that it most likely originated from Quadian territory. This seemed to be confirmed by the fact that the type is known from Pannonia and from Slovakia, where they appear among the early imports. The majority of the hinge-pin brooches, however, are known from the eastern provinces and they were especially popular during the Flavian period, i. e. the second half of the 1st century AD[595], the main reason that Vaday dated the specimen from Mezőcsát to her early group (the first half of the 1st century). This chronological attribution is crucial because the brooch provided the key for Vaday's separation of the gold horizon into two chronological groups[596].

Another brooch of this type came to light at Újszilvás from a grave that, in addition to the hinge-pin brooch, also contained a ring-pommel short sword. The early date of the brooch implied that this sword type had appeared in the Carpathian Basin at an earlier date than previously assumed or, more likely, that the assemblage dates from the late 1st or early 2nd century. The contemporaneity of the two sites can hardly be challenged in view of the great resemblance between the brooches from Mezőcsát and Újszilvás, meaning that both burials probably date from the time of Trajan's war against the Dacians. This is confirmed by the brooch fragment from Füzesabony, as will be shown below.

The origins of hinge-pin brooches are uncertain. They are rare in Pannonia and Slovakia[597]. In 1966, Ambroz listed five pieces from the European territory of the Soviet Union, among them the closest analogy from Chersonesus. This list can now be supplemented with the half dozen hinge-pin brooches from the Ust'-Alma cemetery in the Crimea, of which the piece from Grave 613 is the most exact counterpart of the two specimens from the Hungarian Plain[598]. These two Crimean pieces are particularly striking, raising the

595 Vaday 1982/1983, 177. 180. The pieces from Mezőcsát and Újszilvás belong to a special group of hinge-pin brooches (Riha 1979, type 7.5). This type was exported to Pannonia from the western provinces (Riha 1979, 127).

596 Vaday 1982/1983, 180 n. 172.

597 Contrary to the pieces found on the Hungarian Plain, Pannonian analogies (cf. Patek 1942, 118. 203) cited by Vaday 1982/1983, 177. 180, are enamelled. From the territory of Slovakia eight hinge-pin brooches were collected, but no versions similar to ours had been found there (Krekovič 2001, 95).

598 Ambroz 1966, 27 pl. 14, 6. – Puzdrovskij 2007, 181 fig. 204, 6.

question of whether these Roman brooches had perhaps been brought from this region by the immigrants in the Carpathian Basin.

The brooch from Füzesabony is broken and only its head has survived[599]. The fragment suggests that it was a strongly profiled (*kräftig profilierte*) brooch of the type used from the Claudian period onward. Brooches of this type also appeared in the Barbaricum, where they were fairly widespread in the middle quarter of the 1st century AD[600]. Ambroz dated the earliest pieces to the reign of Tiberius and demonstrated that they were principally found in eastern Ukraine, in the distribution of the Lipica and Przeworsk cultures. Brooches of this type have been reported from the Crimea as well[601].

The brooch from Örvény represents the strongly profiled brooches of the Pontic type[602]. Párducz quoted an exact counterpart of this variant from Grave 20 of the Szeged-Felsőpusztaszer cemetery, correctly noting that the grave goods from this burial can be assigned to the next find horizon despite the occurrence of a gold lunula and carnelian beads[603]. A similar piece was found at Fülöpkei Jakabszállás[604]. Vaday cited analogies from the 1st and 2nd centuries AD to the Örvény brooch from both pre-Roman Dacia and a Roman province (Singidunum). It must here be noted that this brooch type had a wide distribution as far as the Lower Volga region, including the north-western Pontic (Porogi) and the Crimea (e.g. Ust'-Alma, the site most often quoted in connection with the early find horizon). These pieces are generally dated to the 1st-2nd centuries AD (phase B2a, the reign of Domitian and Trajan), and the smaller pieces resembling the ones from Örvény and Szeged-Felsőpusztaszer are usually considered to represent an earlier variant. According to the most recent views, the brooches were produced in Dacian or Bosporan workshops, although a few specimens originating from the Danubian provinces have been discovered in the east. What is important for us here is that the strongly profiled brooches so widespread in the west definitely had a northern Pontic variant[605].

In the light of the above, the suggestion that the lack of Roman artefacts – with the exception of expressly Pannonian products – should be treated as a chronological indicator can be definitely rejected. Additionally, the possibility must also be considered that the Roman artefacts found in Sarmatian assemblages of the late 1st and early 2nd centuries reached the Hungarian Plain, not from the west, but from the east, and were brought here by the first immigrant groups.

The find assemblage from Nagykörű contained a La Tène brooch. Kőhegyi had suggested that this piece was not contemporaneous with the other finds, but had somehow become mixed up with the finds[606]. Virtually nothing is known about the piece from Regőce and it must therefore be omitted from our analysis.

Pottery

Burials of the gold horizon often contain pottery (**fig. 161**), which was predominantly hand-built. The ceramic finds also include a few typical Roman vessels such as the pieces from Füzesabony-Kastély-dűlő Grave

599 A broken artefact found in an unlooted grave in itself calls for caution as regards dating. For the problems of the time-lag between the manufacture, the use and the deposition of a particular artefact, see Vaday 1982/1983, 168.

600 Peškař 1972, 77-78.

601 Ambroz 1966, 36 pl. 7, 1-4. We must again quote the Ust'-Alma cemetery: Puzdrovskij 2007, 176-177 fig. 197, 5-6.

602 Cociş 2004, 42-44 Type 6.

603 Párducz 1941b.

604 Párducz 1941a, 45-46 pl. II, 9a-b.

605 Párducz 1941a, 68; 1941b. – Vaday 1989b, 77. – Puzdrovskij 2007, 188 fig. 203. – Cociş 2004, 42-44, demonstrated that this brooch type attained its greatest popularity in the second half of the 1st century and the first half of the 2nd centuries AD. Its use has been documented in Moesia Superior, Pannonia, the northern Pontic and among the Sarmatians living east of the Carpathians, as well as in Slovakia and Dacia.

606 Kőhegyi 1982, 295-296.

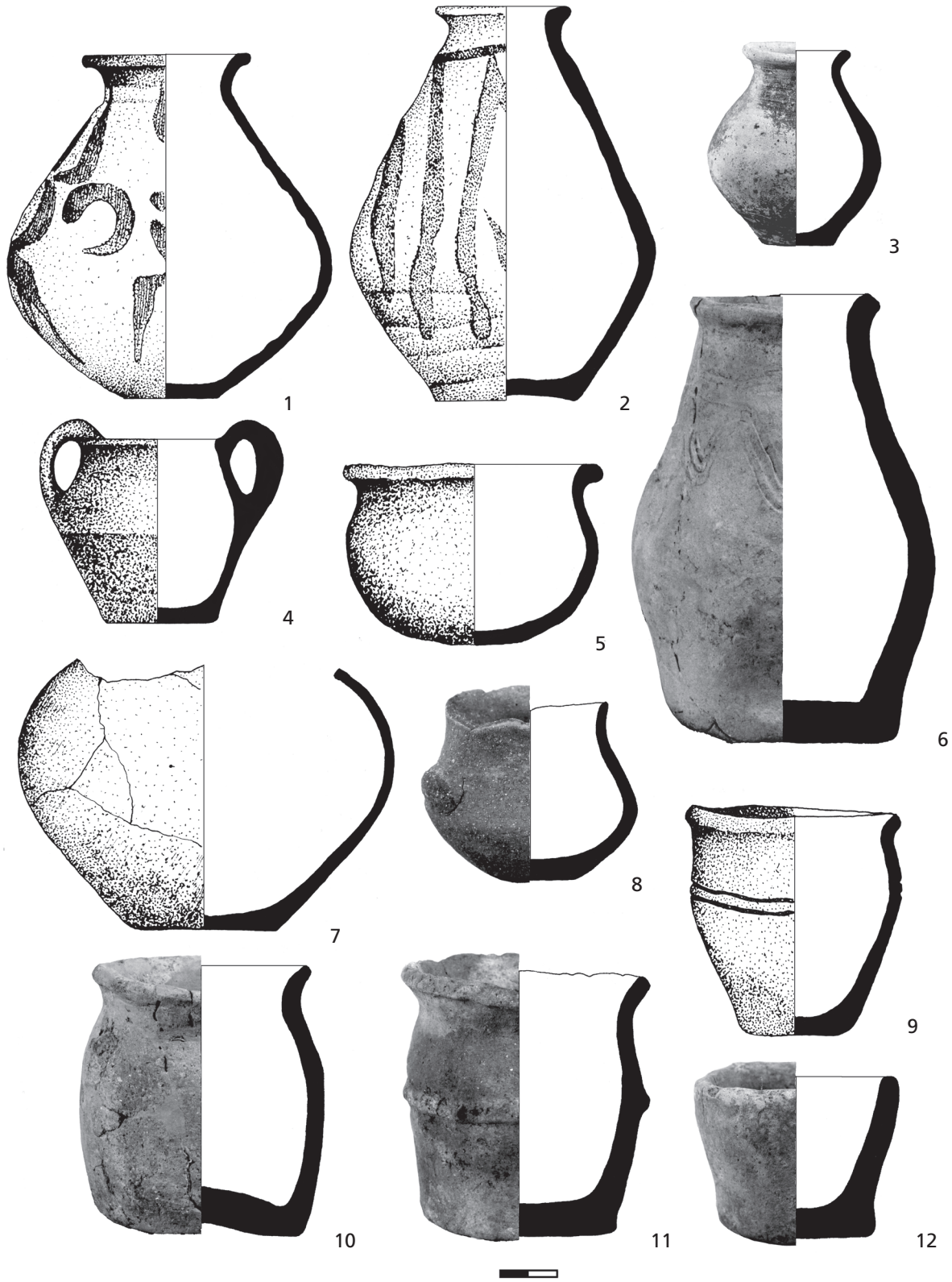


Fig. 161 Vessels from early Sarmatian assemblages of the Carpathian Basin: **1. 4-5. 7. 9** Mezőcsát-Hörcsögös (after Vaday 1982/1983). – **2** Tápiószele-Szumrák (after Vaday 1982/1983, pl. 5, 6). – **3. 6. 8. 10-12** Füzesabony-Kastély-dűlő (after Farkas 2000b).

125 and Mezőcsát-Hörcsögös, Grave 56[607]. In her description of the ceramic inventory from the Mezőcsát cemetery, Vaday noted that Germanic vessels, specifically Quadian wares, made an appearance in the earliest Sarmatian graves (**fig. 161, 5. 9**)[608].

It is clear from the above that the Iazyges settling in the Carpathian Basin had begun using various Roman artefacts from an early date, even if in fairly low numbers. The pieces in question can be dated to the close of the 1st century or the beginning of the 2nd century AD. We have also seen that assemblages lacking Roman articles cannot be precisely dated and that no more than an educated guess can be made regarding their chronological position. While it would be tempting to assume that there was an earlier horizon predating the late 1st century AD, the current evidence does not support this. The number of finds is minimal and most of them are stray finds. Vaday's otherwise compelling theory on the »dilution« of the assemblages from the northern Pontic would only be acceptable if we were to discover a larger grave group whose burials contained the jewellery sets in a »pure« form. Obviously, these burials would merely form a smaller group in the cemetery because there is no reason to assume that the earliest burial grounds were abandoned after a generation. According to Vaday's model, the cemetery would contain the burials reflecting the »dilution« of the northern Pontic types. However, none of the currently known sites conform to this model.
None of the Roman articles in the currently known assemblages allow a date preceding the 1st century AD. It must again be emphasised that the current corpus of finds does not include a single closed, professionally excavated grave assemblage dating from an earlier period.

Burial Rites

Little is known about burial rites because the bulk of the material assigned to the early horizon reached the museums as stray finds (**fig. 162**). Our information comes from a few sites, such as the cemetery investigated at Füzesabony-Kastély-dűlő[609]. The burials brought to light at Kelebia-Vermesjárás[610], Mezőcsát-Hörcsögös[611], Tápiószele-Szumrák-dűlő[612] and Újszilvás-Gólyajárás[613] also provided new information.
The currently available evidence indicates that the burials were south to north orientated or diverged only slightly from this alignment. Most graves contained female burials; the lack of male burials is quite typical. In the case of well-recorded graves, log coffins were observed. The graves were rarely looted; one exception is Grave 62 of the Mezőcsát-Hörcsögös cemetery. On the testimony of Grave 150 from Füzesabony, the appearance of beaded costumes – beaded belts and the custom of embroidering dress or trouser hems and shoes with beads, suggested by the high number of beads in the region of the feet – can be dated to the period when gold earrings, gold beads and gold lunulas were part of jewellery sets and occurred together. The other finds in the graves containing gold articles do not differ from the inventory of later burials: spindles, pyxides (bronze containers hanging on a ring), bracelets, mirrors and clay vessels.
The burial customs of the early group survived in an almost unchanged form among the Sarmatians of later periods on the Hungarian Plain, although coloured with some new features. Later, the proportion of male and female burials changed and grave looting became widespread. It must be noted that one explanation for the lavish gold articles in the early burials is the lack of grave looting and it is quite possible that the gold finds of the early horizon »disappeared« abruptly because later burials were systematically robbed. (In order

607 Farkas 2000b, 26 fig. 11, 9. – Vaday 1982/1983, 169 pl. 5, 5.
608 Vaday 1982/1983, 171.
609 Farkas 2000b.
610 Kőhegyi 1982, 279-284.
611 Vaday 1982/1983.
612 Párducz 1950b; 1956, 179.
613 Tari 1994.

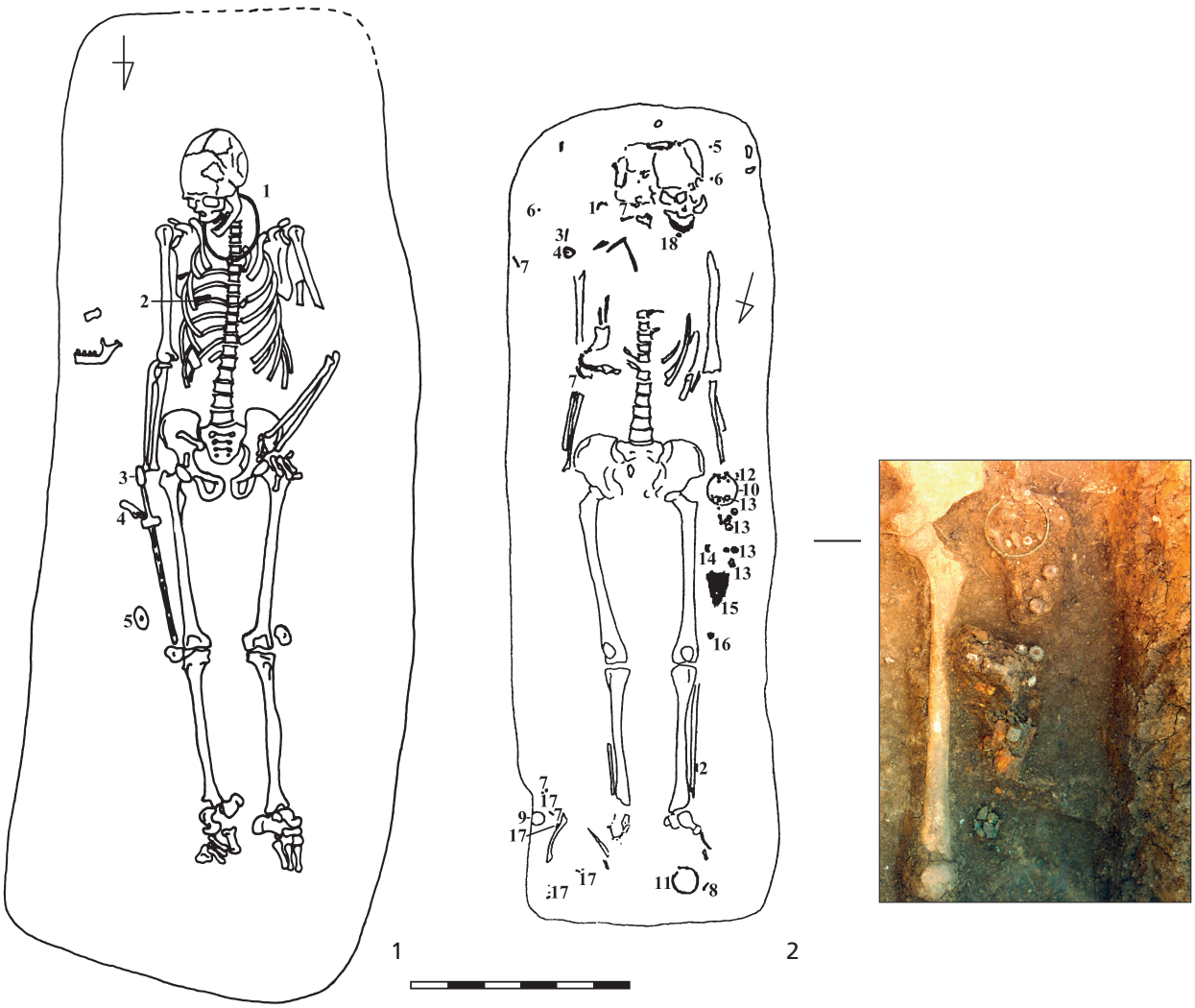


Fig. 162 Early Sarmatian burials: **1** Újszilvás-Gólyajárás (after Tari 1994, fig. 2, 1). – **2** Füzesabony-Kastély-dűlő, Grave 150 (after Farkas 2000b, fig. 8; photo Cs. Farkas).

to make conclusions about the richness of the Sarmatian society in the Carpathian Basin, we have collected all known burials containing golden objects in a recent study[614]. As a result we have 96 graves from 71 sites, with around 237 or more pure golden objects or sets of objects, e. g. golden plaques decorating the dress. These data show that rich grave-goods were relatively frequent in Sarmatian cemeteries, and this is the most probable reason for their heavy looting.) The lack of later burials is striking in the Füzesabony and Mezőcsát cemeteries, both of which contained burials richly furnished with gold.

Considering the chronological framework outlined above, we are faced with a far from negligible problem, namely, that several cemeteries that were already in use during the second half of the 1st century AD (the very period before which the gold horizon cannot be dated) did not yield any of the finds discussed in the above, only single ones, e. g. the scarce carnelian beads. The early date of these burial grounds is based on the occurrence of Roman brooches. These cemeteries include the early burials at Szeged-Felsőpusztaszer, used over several generations as indicated by finds of the so-called Sarmatian buckle, coins of Antoninus Pius, etc[615]. The simultaneous use of two types of burial grounds, one with gold finds, the other lacking ar-

614 Istvánovits/Kulcsár 2013.

615 Párducz 1941a, 74-75.

ticles of gold, calls for an explanation. While it seems unlikely that they were used by different social groups, which might explain the divergences between them, it is possible that the differences can be attributed to their use by different ethnic groups. In this case, it is especially striking that most graves of the gold horizon were female burials and that these cemeteries were used for no more than one or two generations.
The virtual lack of male burials in the cemeteries of the gold horizon resembles an earlier situation. The overwhelming majority of pre-Scythian assemblages (8th to 7th centuries BC) were found in roughly the same area as the early Sarmatian finds discussed here. The burial grounds of the pre-Scythian period are also characterised by a similar lack of male burials[616]. The question arises whether there might be a similar explanation for this phenomenon in both periods.

The Contradiction Between the Written Sources and the Archaeological Record

The above shed light on the contradiction between the picture emerging from the written sources and the one outlined by the archaeological finds. The arrival of the Iazyges can be dated to the first quarter of the 1st century AD, if the reports of the classical authors are to be believed, while the archaeological assemblages cannot be dated before the close of the 1st century AD.
One possible explanation for the time-gap might be sought in the Sarmatians' mobile life-style, as suggested by Pekáry on the basis of the literary data, who noted that the Danube-Tisza interfluve is not particularly suited to permanent settlement, and that later sources also emphasised the *vagus* (»wandering«) nature of the Sarmatians. The nomadism of the Sarmatians settling the Hungarian Plain has been a recurrent theme in Sarmatian studies[617]. However, the geographic conditions in the Carpathian Basin are unsuited to nomadism.
In our view, the most obvious reason for the time-gap is that the earliest groups, such as Vannius' Iazygian cavalry, were made up of mercenaries. The sources probably reported on the raids of Sarmatians of the Lower Danube region, and thus the lack of finds is hardly surprising.
It must also be noted that while the eastern steppe find assemblages are undoubtedly richer than the burials in the Carpathian Basin, the finest and most outstanding pieces were either gifts or imports. Disregarding these articles, the overall picture is much humbler. This relative poorness is coloured by local elements in the archaeological material, reflecting regional traits from interaction with the local population, leading to both the adoption and the transmission of cultural goods, resulting in a colourful patchwork of regional groups. This is the reason for the differences between the Sarmatian material from the Lower Don region, the Kuban, the Central Caucasus, the northern Pontic and, for that matter, from the Carpathian Basin[618]. This cultural interaction explains why the identification of the archaeological heritage of a particular tribe is difficult, as is the determination of the migration route taken by different groups or tribes.
Positing an early date for the Sarmatians' arrival, we must assume a rapid migration and/or a low number of migrants. On the testimony of the archaeological finds, the Sarmatian occupation of the Budžak steppe, i. e. the Lower Danube region, only began in the 1st century AD. A more massive Sarmatian presence in the Prut-Dniester interfluve can likewise be demonstrated only from the turn of the 1st century BC and the 1st century AD[619].

616 Éry 1989/1990, 121.
617 Pekáry 1955, 99. See also e. g. Bartosiewicz 1999, 326-327. – Vaday/Szekeres 2001, 232-233.
618 Abramova 1994, 9.
619 Gudkova/Fokeev 1984, 87-88.

The Neighbouring Barbarian Peoples: Dacians, Celts and Germans

The neighbourship of Germanic peoples, the Marcomanni and the Quadi, has been discussed in connection with the arrival and settlement of the first Sarmatian groups. According to Pliny:

> [...] the plains and level country […] are occupied by the Sarmatian Iazyges, while the Dacians whom they have driven out hold the mountains and forests as far as the river Theiss[620].

Before the arrival of the Sarmatians, the greater part of the Hungarian Plain was ruled by the Dacians, who represented a military power acknowledged by Roman foreign policy since Caesar and who, not least, controlled the gold mines in Transylvania. Pliny noted that the Dacians were driven away from a part of their earlier lands in the Carpathian Basin by the Sarmatians. This passage is at variance with the archaeological record because barely any Dacian finds are known from the Hungarian Plain from the period preceding the Sarmatians' arrival[621]. The earliest Sarmatian settlement territory, or a part of it, lay in the north-western quarter of the Dacian kingdom, in the areas occupied by the subjugated Osi and Cotini (two peoples of probably Celtic stock). Augustus' punitive campaign against the Dacians led by Marcus Vinicius in retaliation for the incursions of 11-10 BC was directed against this territory[622]. The weakening of the Dacians after the campaign eased the Iazyges' settlement. That the Iazyges' arrival affected the Osi and Cotini is amply documented by a passage in Tacitus:

> Behind them the Marsigni, Gotini, Osi, and Buri, close in the rear of the Marcomanni and Quadi. […] The Gotini and Osi are proved by their respective Gallic and Pannonian tongues, as well as by the fact of their enduring tribute, not to be Germans. Tribute is imposed on them as aliens, partly by the Sarmatæ, partly by the Quadi. The Gotini, to complete their degradation, actually work iron mines. All these nations occupy but little of the plain country, dwelling in forests and on mountain-tops[623].

Tacitus thus reports that the Iazyges were neighbours of the Osi and the Cotini. One tribe lived among the hills facing Aquincum: this people can be identified with the Osi because the Cotini are known to have resided along the Hron and to its east[624]. Conforming to the literary evidence, a destruction horizon can be demonstrated in the distribution of the Púchov culture in western Slovakia in the early 1st century AD, which has generally been interpreted as caused by the attack of a non-local population. The Púchov culture is conventionally identified with the Cotini, on the testimony of the written sources[625]. The situation is less clear in the more easterly areas from where very few 1st century find assemblages are known.
The scarcity of Celtic and Dacian finds from the period directly preceding the Sarmatians' arrival is a source of serious headache in Sarmatian studies. It has been suggested that the Iazyges arrived in an uninhabited or sparsely populated land. This question needs further research. Evaluation of the huge find material from the Late Iron Age and Early Roman Age found in the course of large-scale preventive excavations will probably give some clue. At the same time, we can assume that there are some scarce Celtic and Dacian finds (or at least objects of such influence) and several Roman pieces from the period before the mid-2nd century[626].

620 Plin. *NH* IV.XII.80-81.
621 Vaday 1990/1991. – Visy 1995, with the earlier literature.
622 Alföldi 1942b, 36-37. The exact location of the Osi and the Cotini is subject to controversy, see Pleiner 1964, 51-53.
623 Tacit. *Germ*. 43.
624 Mócsy 1954, 118.
625 Pieta 1982, 215-217. For the possible Dacian stock of the Cotini, see Visy 1995, 103-104, with an overview of the earlier literature.
626 Cf. Párducz 1941a, 60-67.

Dacian power was severely shaken after Burebista's death and in the wake of Vinicius' punitive campaign mentioned above. From a Sarmatian perspective, the situation was equally favourable on the Germanic front as it was on the Dacian one. However, this situation did not last for long. The new Germanic power increased under Vannius and the Iazyges were driven out from the Carnuntum area and forced to retreat beyond the Váh. Not much later, Vannius himself and his Iazygian allies suffered a crushing defeat.
It seems unlikely that the Iazyges would have relinquished their former lands following their settlement in the Carpathian Basin. Alföldi's assertion that the Iazygian settlement territory extended from the Olt through the Banat and the Danube-Tisza interfluve to the Little Hungarian Plain and Carnuntum[627] has already been quoted when discussing his model of a buffer state. The boundary between the Iazyges and the Roxolani lay along the River Olt. There is one important piece of evidence confirming that the Sarmatians of the Hungarian Plain represented a group that had broken away from the Iazyges and that a part of the Iazyges (or perhaps the majority) remained in the Lower Danube region. The Iazyges are marked as *laziges Metanastae* on Ptolemy's map of European Sarmatia (**fig. 144**), while another Iazygian group is located on the shore of the Maeotis. The adjective *metanastae* was designed to distinguish the migrant population group. Hungarian research has overlooked Kulakovskij's careful reading of Ptolemy's work. He was the first to point out that when the first Sarmatians appeared in the Carpathian Basin, the Iazyges could hardly have lived on the shore of the Maeotis because that territory was by then occupied by the Roxolani. He also noted that the adjective *metanastae* does not appear in any other source[628]. The history of the Roxolani in the Carpathian Basin will be covered in the next chapters.

THE PERIOD OF THE DACIAN WARS

History of the Sarmatians of the Carpathian Basin until the Creation of the Province of Dacia

The migration and settlement of the Sarmatians in the Carpathian Basin was still underway in the second half of the 1st century AD, determining the course of events in the region and also its political history. Roman efforts were consistently aimed at keeping the barbarians at bay, the Sarmatians amongst them. In 69 AD, the Year of the Four Emperors, the Roxolani devastated the Lower Danube region[629]. Apparently, the unrest among the newly-arrived Iazyges in the foreground of Pannonia during the turmoil of the civil war in Rome did not pose a serious threat because the involvement of the Moesian and Pannonian troops in the Roman civil war, i. e. the withdrawal of the greater part of the soldiers stationed there, did not have any serious consequences. Peace was perhaps maintained by the existing system of alliances or perhaps by the lower number of Iazyges in their newly-occupied territory. Aponius Saturninus, the Moesian legate, marched to Rome with his army:

> That the provinces might not be exposed without defence to the barbarian tribes, the princes of the Sarmatae Iazyges, who had in their hands the government of that nation, were enrolled in the army. These chiefs also offered the service of their people, and its force of cavalry, their

627 The fact that the first coins made their appearance among the Sarmatians of the Hungarian Plain and the Lower Danube region at roughly the same time, during Nero's reign, is usually quoted in support of this assumption (Barkóczi 1957, 501, with further literature.).

628 Kulakovskij 2000, 262. – Mócsy 1954, 119. As mentioned, the use of this adjective was one of the counter-arguments against the buffer state theory (Vaday 1990/1991, 75).

629 Also discussed in the previous chapter.

> only effective troops; but the offer was declined, lest in the midst of civil strife they should attempt some hostile enterprise, or, influenced by higher offers from other quarters, should cast off all sense of right and duty[630].

Tacitus' report has already been quoted as proof for the existence of Sarmatian mercenaries; here, we shall examine this passage from another perspective.
Mócsy noted that Tampius Flavianus, the Pannonian governor, detained the Iazyges' chiefs as hostages:

> That these measures were based on sound judgement is indicated by the peaceful conditions which prevailed in Pannonia during the period of the crisis in contrast with those of Moesia. […] For his diplomatic successes Tampius Flavianus received the triumphal insignia from Vespasian[631].

In other words, the »alliance« mentioned by Tacitus was secured through the hostages picked by Rome. It seems to us that the mention of »higher offers« and the conclusion of an alliance rather imply that the Romans subsidised the Sarmatians in exchange for peace. It is not mere chance, then, that Roman coins of the 1st century appear among the finds of the Sarmatians living in the Hungarian Plain, even if their number is not particularly high[632]. The earliest coin in the Abony hoard is one minted under Vespasian[633]. It remains to be established whether this Roman policy was effective. According to Tacitus »a report was rife that our winter camps in Moesia and Pannonia were hemmed in by the Sarmatians and Dacians«[634]. This is the single indication that the situation was far from calm in the Pannonian area. It is possible, although it cannot be proven, that Tampius Flavianus transplanted a large mass of barbarian peoples from northern or eastern Hungary to the province in order to quell the unrest[635]. Is it possible that the Sarmatians did not find the Romans generous enough?
After the turmoil of the civil war subsided, Vespasian adopted a new frontier policy. As has been mentioned in the discussion of the events on the Lower Danube, the construction of forts was principally begun in Moesia after the imminent barbarian threat had subsided and the Roman civil war came to an end (**fig. 88**). The growing Sarmatian danger is reflected by Vespasian's decision to devise a new, all-encompassing military strategy. The stone camp at Aquincum, for example, was constructed as part of this plan[636].
Incursions were quite frequent because the »rife reports«, as was usually the case, were not wholly unfounded. The Romans also had to deal with Sarmatian incursions. The situation turned from bad to worse in the Middle Danube Valley under Domitian[637]. The concentration of troops in Pannonia and the increase of military power are eloquent proof that mischief was brewing among the neighbouring barbarian peoples[638]. In 73 AD at the latest, cavalry, which could efficiently combat Sarmatian military tactics, had been stationed in Aquincum[639].

630 Tacit. *Hist*. III.5.
631 Mócsy 1974, 42.
632 Few coins are known from the period between Augustus and Domitian, although it must also be borne in mind that prior to Vespasian's reign, coin circulation was relatively irregular in Pannonia as well, and that the province's circulation only began to resemble the main pattern of the Empire's coin minting from Vespasian's reign (Fitz 1973/1974. – Lányi 1979; 1990, 212).
633 Kőhegyi 1972, 103. We know that the Roxolani received a subsidy from the Romans from SHA Hadr. VI: »the king of the Roxolani complained of the diminution of his subsidy, he [Hadrian] investigated his case and made peace with him«.
634 Tacit. *Hist*. IV.54.
635 Alföldi 1939b, 103-104.
636 Alföldi 1942a, 186. – Tóth/Vékony 1970a; 1970b. – Tóth 1978.
637 Statius *Silv*. III.3.168-171. – Pekáry 1955, 98-99. – Fehér/Kovács 2005b, 57.
638 For the military re-organisation, see Alföldi 1942a, 184, with further literature, and Mócsy 1974, 99-100.
639 Kérdő/Németh 1993, 48. The unit in question was the *ala I Tungrorum Frontoniana*.

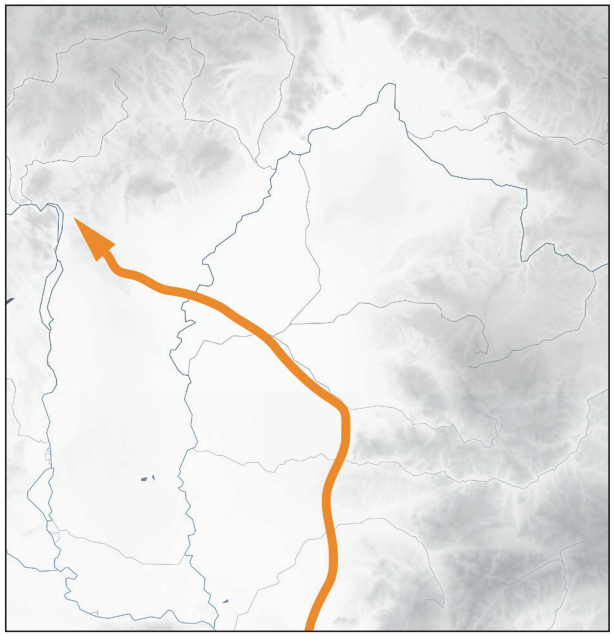


Fig. 163 Reconstruction of the route of Velius Rufus' campaign. – (Map E. Istvánovits / V. Kulcsár, based on Strobel 1989, 87. 96-98; map M. Ober, RGZM).

In the winter of 85/86 AD, the Dacians swept into Moesia and annihilated the Roman troops. G. Oppius Sabinus, the province's governor, and Cornelius Fuscus, commander of the praetorian guard, both lost their lives in battle, and an entire legion, the *Legio V Alaudae*, perished. Only in 88 AD did Tettius Julianus succeed in vanquishing the Dacians at the gates of Transylvania, somewhere north-east of Caransebeş. Despite Roman requests, the Quadi and the Marcomanni refused to provide military aid against the Dacians. Domitian »entered Pannonia with the intention of making war upon them; and he put to death the second group of envoys which had been sent by the enemy to propose terms of peace«[640]. The war against the Quadi and the Marcomanni had one grave consequence: the Sarmatians also became involved and thus the Roman front stretched from Noricum to the Pontic[641]. Domitian was forced to reach an agreement with the Dacians owing to his battles against the Quadic-Marcomannic-Sarmatian forces and, also, because he led his armies against them through »the kingdom of Decebal, king of the Dacians«[642]. The probable date of the *expeditio Marcomannica* was 89. A formidable Roman army of eight legions led by C. Velius Rufus was dispatched. According to Strobel, the troops marched from Viminacium along the northern fringes of the Banat and through western Transylvania toward the White Körös, then turned north and advanced as far as the Tisza, reaching the Iazyges in the northern part of the Danube-Tisza interfluve (**fig. 163**)[643].

Even though the Romans had temporarily concluded the war and re-installed a part of their troops at their permanent base, several *vexillationes* remained along the Danube. The peace was short-lived. Cassius Dio reported that in 92 AD, hostilities broke out between two Germanic tribes, the Suebi and the Lugi living to their north. The Lugi turned to Diocletian, who sent troops, a hundred-strong cavalry. However, »the Suebi, indignant at his giving help, attached to themselves some Iazyges and were making their preparations to cross the Ister with them«[644]. This marked the start of the *Expeditio Suebica et Sarmatica* (sometimes designated as *Expeditio in Sarmatas*), which, as Suetonius notes, was »of necessity«, while »the one against the Sarmatians was justified by the destruction of a legion with its commander«[645]. The legion in question was the *Legio XXI Rapax*, stationed in Brigetio, providing a clue to where these events took place[646]. Domitian's last, 22nd imperatorial acclamation reflected the victory over the Iazyges. Suetonius and Eutropius remarked that the emperor only held an *ovatio* at the end of the war and that he »suffered many disasters, however, in these wars, for in Sarmatia one of his legions was cut off together with its captain«[647]. The *ovatio* held

640 Dio LXVII.7.1.
641 Strobel 1989, 78.
642 ILS 9200. Cf. Nemeth 2005, 128-130 n. 42. For the events during Domitian's reign, see Alföldi 1940a, 137-138; 1942a, 184. – Nagy 1973, 89-94. – Mócsy 1974, 82-83, and esp. Patsch 1937, and Strobel 1989.
643 Tacit. *Hist*. I.2.1. – ILS 9200. – Strobel 1989, 87. 96-98.
644 Dio LXVII.5.
645 Sueton. *Dom*. 6. – Eutrop. VII.23. – Tacit. *Agr*. 41. – Nagy 1986, 377. – Strobel 1989, 99-100.
646 Strobel 1989, 99-104. – Mócsy/Fitz 1990, 36, with a discussion of the events and ample literature.
647 Eutrop. VII.23. – Sueton. *Dom*. 6. A coin was struck to commemorate the victory over the Sarmatians (Strobel 1989, 102).

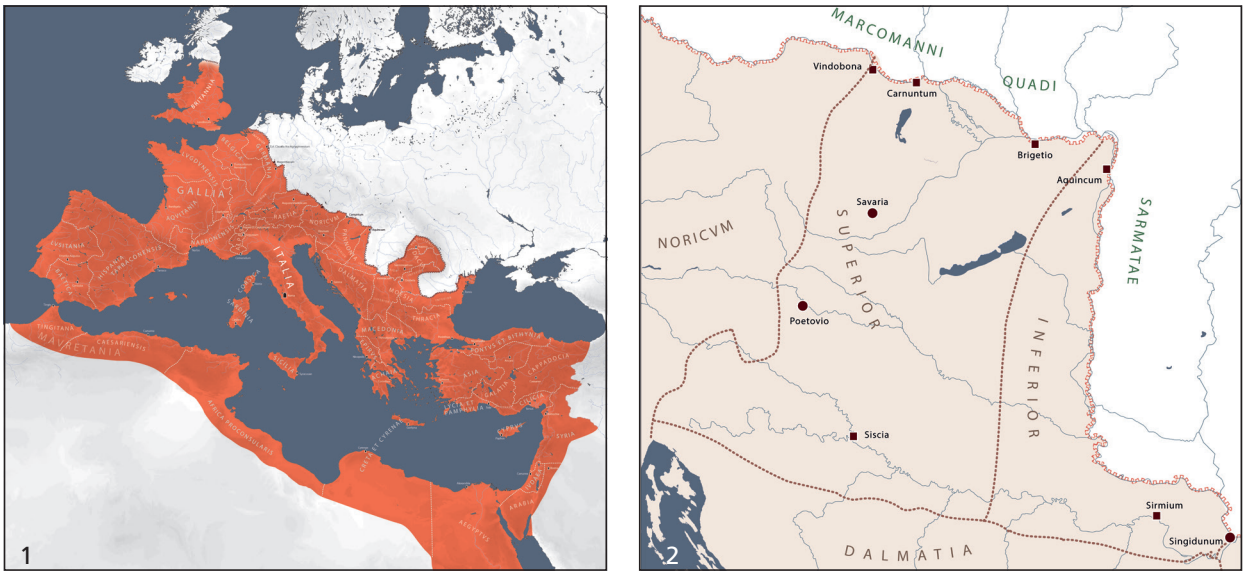


Fig. 164 **1** the Roman Empire in the time of Hadrian with the two Pannonian provinces (after http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Moesia [29.4.2012]). – **2** the division of Pannonia under Trajan with the four Roman legions stationed in the two Pannonian provinces (after Mócsy 1974, fig. 16). – (Maps M. Ober, RGZM)

instead of a *triumphus* is perhaps a reflection of the fact that Rome did not regard the matter as resolved. The defences along the Pannonian frontier were reinforced and the province was divided into two parts, entailing the separation of the legions stationed on the Suebian and Sarmatian frontier (**fig. 164**)[648]. The lazyges were apparently pacified because there is no record of their participation in the Quadic incursion of 97 AD, when hostilities broke out again[649]. A glance at Roman coin finds is again instructive: a regular coin circulation began in the Barbaricum from Domitian's reign onward[650].

The period of the Dacian Wars marked a turning-point in the history of the Sarmatians in the Carpathian Basin. In order to understand why, we should first take a closer look at the Dacians. Although this issue has been briefly touched upon above, we shall again review the most important points in order to better understand events in the Carpathian Basin during the late 1st century AD.

It must be borne in mind that this is an under-researched field of study. Research on the Dacians has been greatly encumbered by the theory of Daco-Romanian continuity, which pushed Dacian studies from the groves of academe into the realm of politics[651].

The Dacians were long-standing enemies of the Roman Empire when the Sarmatians first appeared in the region. They had shaken off the Celtic yoke in the 2nd century BC, and from the end of the century, the Romans were repeatedly forced to deal with the Dacian raids into Macedonia. In 48 BC, when Caesar and Pompey battled in the Balkans, it seemed that Burebista, the Dacian king, would side with Pompey. He apparently seized the opportunity to take advantage of the general turmoil, vanquished the Boii and conquered their lands. Strabo dated this event to the reign of »Caesar«, and described their land as *Deserta Boiorum* after the defeat of the Boii. Knowing that the last Boian coin imitates a Roman *denarius* type struck in 43 BC and that Caesar had died the year before, the »Caesar« mentioned by Strabo can only be Octa-

648 See Nagy 1973, 89-94, citing further sources. For the division of the province, see Nagy 1986, 380, according to whom this division was maintained until Nerva's reign, when the original situation was restored. The province was again divided into two parts during Trajan's reign in 106.

649 Alföldi 1942a, 188.

650 Fülöp 1976, 253.

651 For an excellent summary on the birth, reception and political background of the theory of Daco-Romanian continuity, see Alföldi 1941; 1999. – Schramm 1997.

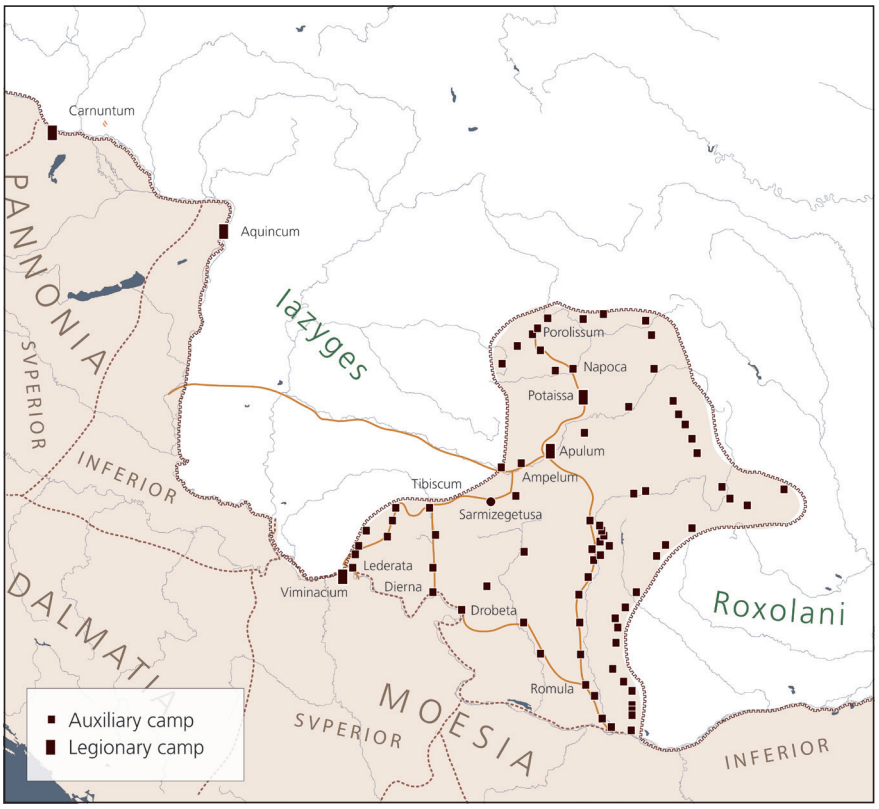


Fig. 165 Dacia between 106 and 217 AD: **1** imperial border. – **2** provincial border. – **3** road. – **4** auxiliary camp. – **5** legionary camp. – **6** the so-called limes Transalutanus. – (After Tóth 1986, map 9; map M. Ober, RGZM).

vian. Dacian power had become a serious threat to Rome. Caesar's planned counter-attack came to nothing after his assassination in 44 BC. However, Burebista's kingdom soon fell apart without the need for Roman interference. He was murdered, the earlier vanquished peoples seceded, and four separate Dacian principalities emerged. Rome nonetheless felt threatened and strove to prevent a possible union between them. In 35 BC, Augustus gained a foothold in Siscia (modern Sisak in Croatia), a good springboard for future operations. The clash with Anthony, however, prevented him from conducting a war against the Dacians[652]. The consolidation of the Dacian situation was a recurring priority in Roman foreign policy ever since Caesar. The showdown with the Dacians was repeatedly delayed until it was finally accomplished by Trajan.

Following the *expeditio Sarmatica*, the Iazyges, who had retreated after 92 AD, eagerly seized the opportunity offered by Trajan's Dacian Wars. The Iazyges' enmity toward Rome faded under Trajan. It is possible that there had existed a corridor – perhaps along the Lower Danube – through which the Sarmatians of the Carpathian Basin maintained contact with their brethren, principally with the Roxolani of the Lower Danube region and, at least as importantly, with the Pontic towns[653]. Decebal's conquests around 103-104 AD involved the annexation of »a portion of the territory of the Jazyges (which Trajan later would not give back to them when they asked for it)«.[654] The Dacian ruler apparently sealed the corridor so vital to the Iazyges, in part owing to the virtual lack of raw materials in their new homeland on the Hungarian Plain (**fig. 165**).

652 Alföldi 1943a, 9. 11; 1943b, 16.

653 A late source, Jordanes' already quoted passage, refers to the existence of this corridor. According to the Gothic chronicler (XII.74), the border between the Iazyges and the Sarmatians was marked by the Aluta (Olt). Alföldi 1942a, 188, argued that this can only have referred to the period between Burebista and Decebal's reign. – Mócsy 1977, 441.

654 Dio LXVIII.10.3. The annexation of the region was cited as the main reason for the gradual decline of the earliest Sarmatian »gold horizon« at the close of the 1st century because it was assumed that the typical gold artefacts originated from the northern Pontic towns (Vaday 1982/1983). As we have seen, however, the Pontic origin of the articles in question is not beyond doubt; even more importantly, all the securely datable burials can be assigned to the close of the 1st century.

Forced to abandon their earlier lifestyle and gradually adopt sedentism, shifting to an economy based on crop cultivation, the Sarmatians of the Carpathian Basin found themselves in a difficult situation after the loss of their lands along the Danube. For the Sarmatians, Trajan's decision to destroy the threat posed by the growing power of the Dacian kingdom and seize Decebal's enormous riches proffered the hope of a radical change in their fortunes.

Consequently, as Cassius Dio reported, »The senate again declared him an enemy, and Trajan once more conducted the war against him in person«[655]. Trajan could now count on the Iazyges as allies, who, as a people, were hostile to the Dacians; they were at this time particularly incensed and were intent on reclaiming their lands. In contrast, the Roxolani in the Lower Danube region were more sensitive to the Roman show of power against the Dacians and thus allied themselves with the Dacians[656].



Fig. 166 Iazyges on Trajan's Column in Scene CVIII. – (After Cichorius 1896/1900, no. 289, pl. LXXX).

One well-attested imprint of the Roman-Iazygian alliance in the archaeological record was the first major upswing in the circulation of Roman coins across the entire Sarmatian Barbaricum of the Great Plain (including the territories beyond the Tisza), which can be clearly linked to Trajan's Dacian Wars[657]. It seems likely that the Sarmatians already living in the Carpathian Basin and the groups planning to settle there received, amongst other things, money from their Roman allies. When the Iazyges occupied eastern Hungary after the Dacian Wars, they obviously took these coins with them.

The events of the Dacian Wars are depicted on Trajan's column in Rome. Portrayals of the Iazyges (**figs 166-170**) and the Roxolani (**fig. 171**) both appear among the reliefs.

Following a long and difficult campaign, the Roman army finally vanquished the Dacians (**fig. 172**). The campaigns against the Dacians ended in late summer 106. A diploma from Porolissum issued on 11 August marks the conclusion of the second Dacian campaign. The head of Decebal, the Dacian king, was displayed on the Gemonia Stairs in Rome, elaborate festivities were held and a series of coins with the legend DACIA CAPTA was issued (**fig. 173**). The Empire also acquired a part of the fabulous treasures amassed by the Dacian kings (**fig. 174**)[658].

Trajan began the organisation of the new province of Dacia. Examining the creation of the new province from a barbarian perspective, two questions have to be addressed: firstly, the status of the Banat (the region ringed by the Maros, the Tisza, the Danube and mountains); and secondly, the fate of the Iazygian territory, a portion of which had earlier been annexed by Decebal.

655 Dio LXVIII.10.3.
656 Alföldi 1940a, 138.
657 Fülöp 1976, 253.
658 CIL XVI.160. Cf. Balla 1965, 142. – Tóth 2001, 61. – RIC II 96-97.



Fig. 168 Iazyges on Trajan's Column in Scene LXX no. 177-178. – (After Cichorius 1896/1900, pl. L).



Fig. 167 Iazyges on Trajan's Column in Scene CVIII no. 289. – (After Cichorius 1896/1900, pl. LXXXI).



Fig. 169 Iazygian nobles in Scene C no. 262 of Trajan's Column. – (After Cichorius 1896/1900, pl. LXXXIII).

The Romans built two defence lines – two chains of forts – in the Banat (**fig. 165**). The first, the western outer defence line, ran from the pontoon bridge at Lederata (Bačka Palanka, Serbia) to Tibiscum (Jupa, Romania). The other, the interior line, lay somewhat eastward and began at Dierna (Orşova, Romania). This road joined the former one at Tibiscum[659]. The archaeological record indicates a dense Sarmatian settlement network west of the outer defence line, with a growing intensity from the south-eastern Banat toward the Maros-Tisza angle and the Tisza. The assemblages from the Bačka region (the southern part of the Danube-

659 Tóth 2001, 69-70 map 9.



Fig. 170 The earliest reconstructions of the Sarmatian attire of the Carpathian Basin were made by G. Nagy (1900, pl. I, B.1-5). His drawings were based on the depictions of the Trajan's Column and also on the data of the written sources (Tacitus).



Fig. 171 Roxolani in Scene XXXVII no. 93-94 of Trajan's Column. – (After Cichorius 1896/1900, pl. XXVIII).

Tisza interfluve, whose greater part today lies in Serbia) and the Banat were first surveyed and discussed by Milleker and, after him, by Párducz. Their research has proven conclusively that the region was densely settled by the Sarmatians (**fig. 175**)[660]. Recent Romanian research has identified 26 Sarmatian sites in the Arad Basin alone: these all lie west of Arad, while the sites to their east have exclusively yielded Dacian material

660 Milleker 1897; 1899; 1906. – Párducz 1942. – Tóth 2001, 69.



Fig. 172 Adamclissi, *Tropaeum Traiani*. Defeated Dacian warrior protects himself with a characteristic curved knife. – (After Bobu Florescu 1965, metope XVII).



Fig. 173 Coin with the legend DAC[IA] CAP[TA] (RIC II 99).



Fig. 174 From Decebal's treasure triumphators conveyed to the emperor's treasury in Rome 1650 tons of gold and 3300 tons of silver (Makkay 1994, 157-158). Scene CXXXVIII no. 367 of Trajan's Column. – (After Cichorius 1896/1900).

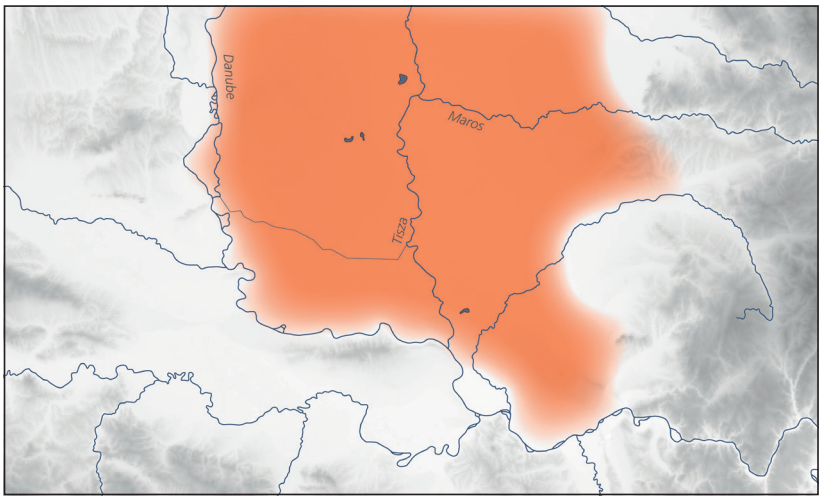


Fig. 175 Distribution of Sarmatian sites in the Bačka/Bácska and Banat region. – (The Bačka part was drawn on the basis of Dautova-Ruševljan 1990; the Banat part: Grumeza 2014, pl. 103; map M. Ober, RGZM).

and cremation burials. The Sarmatian presence can be confirmed from the 2nd century onward, suggesting that the boundary between the two peoples, the Dacians and the Sarmatians, lay to the front of the *limes*. The relations between them are best illustrated by the Dacian vessels found in Sarmatian burials, a far from infrequent phenomenon. The joint occurrence of both Dacian and Sarmatian pottery vessels on various sites, e. g. at Şeitin in Romania, indicates that the region was indeed a contact zone[661]. Moving westward, it is apparent that the Sarmatian settlement of the Bačka was at least as dense. Over 200 sites are known in the Bačka and in Serbian Banat; of these, 60 settlement sites and 44 burial grounds can be found on the left bank of the Tisza[662]. The date of these sites is mostly uncertain due to the lack of systematic research, although there is a general consensus that the Sarmatians' presence can be taken for granted by the early 2nd century. It must in all fairness be added that few sites are known from the Hungarian Plain dating from the period of the creation of the province of Dacia and the Marcomannic Wars (**fig. 176**).

Despite the dense distribution of Sarmatian (and Dacian) finds, mainstream Romanian research tends to draw the south-western *limes* of Dacia along the Maros-Tisza-Danube line, assuming a *ripa* in the region[663]. One of the main arguments is that a high number of Roman finds, including military ones, are known from the Maros Valley. Several Western European historical atlases have adopted the maps published by Romanian scholars[664].

However, it has been long-since proven that the western Banat was occupied by the Sarmatians and that the fertile plain between the Olt, the Danube, the Siret and the Carpathians had never been part of the province of Dacia. Numerous Roman finds from the westerly areas of the Maros Valley are not an indication that the area was part of the Empire, but that the road connecting Dacia with Pannonia Inferior led through this region. Several control stations were built along the road as shown by bricks bearing the stamp of the *Legio XIII Gemina* found, for example, at Bulci, Cladova, Sânnicolau Mare and Cenad in Romania. The road branched off from the Tibiscum-Apulum road at the mouth of the Strei and reached the Barbaricum at Micia (Vețel). It has been suggested that the 50 km long section of a 5-6 m wide embankment in the Danube-Tisza

661 Hügel/Barbu 1997.
662 Dautova-Ruševljan 1990.
663 Benea 1999a. – Gudea 2001, 27 fig. 5. In reality Roman military constructions clearly outline the western border of Dacia Apulensis, e. g. on Gudea's map at fig. 1. For a detailed discussion with extensive literature, see Nemeth 2003, 171-187; 2005.
664 Benea 1986, 451.

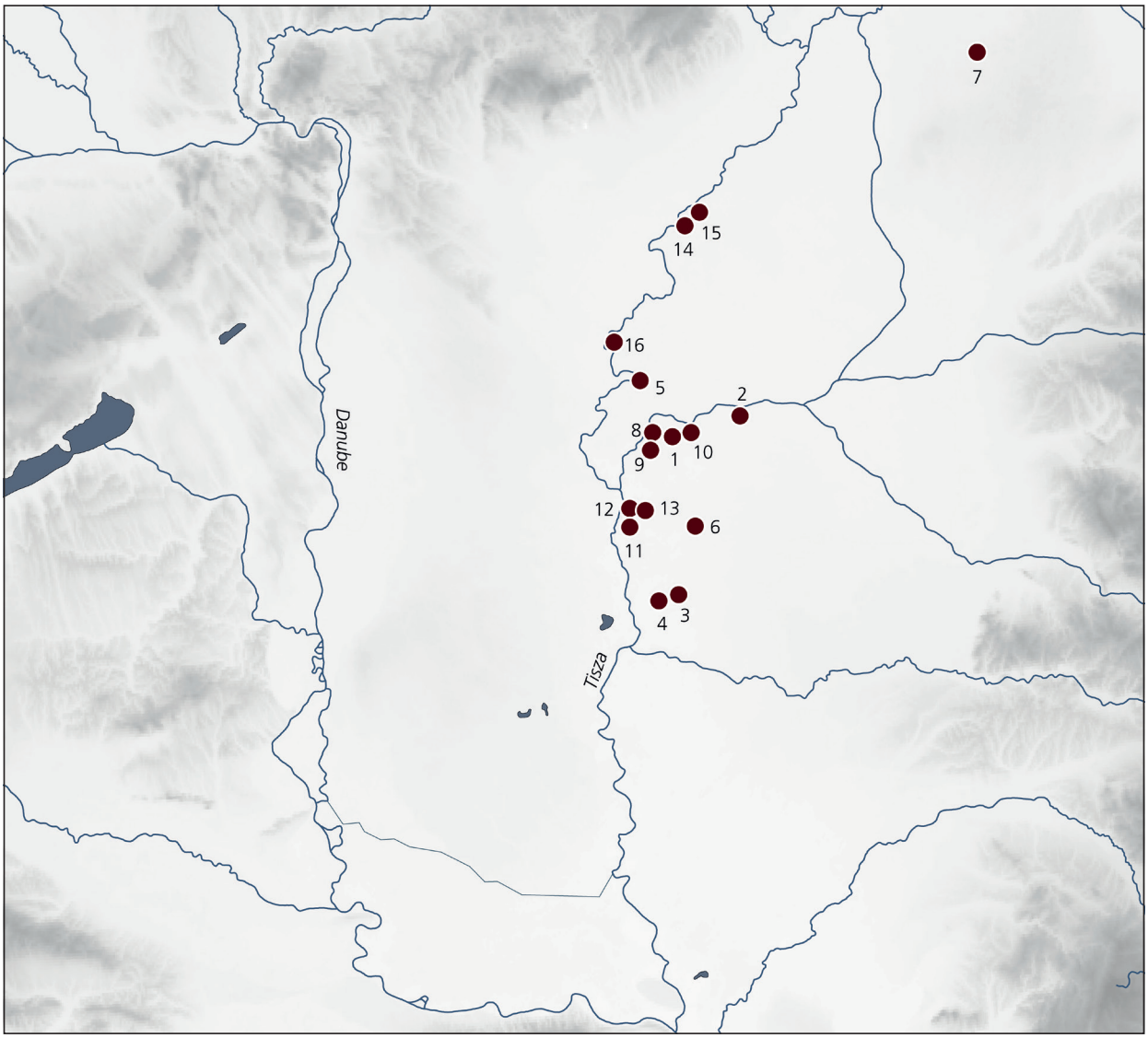


Fig. 176 Finds from the period preceding the Marcomannic Wars east of the Tisza: **1** Békésszentandrás (after Párducz 1944, 54). – **2** Endrőd-Szujókereszt, Graves 45, 83, 89 (after Vaday/Szőke 1983). – **3** Hódmezővásárhely-Fehértó, Graves 13, 15 (after Párducz 1946/1948, 285). – **4** Hódmezővásárhely-Kakasszék (after Gazdapusztai 1960, 47). – **5** Martfű-Zsófia major (after Vaday 1989b, 256-257). – **6** Nagyszénás-Árpád-halom (after Párducz 1944, 54). – **7** Nyíregyháza-Felsősima (JAM, E. Istvánovits's excavation, unpublished). – **8** Öcsöd-Bábocka (after Vaday 1989b, 260). – **9** Öcsöd-Mogyoróshalom, Grave 6 (after Párducz 1931, pl. XIV, 11). – **10** Szarvas, Site 23, Grave 9 (after Havassy 1998, 150). – **11** Szegvár-Oromdűlő (after Istvánovits/Lőrinczy/Pintye 2006). – **12** Szentes-Donát (after Párducz 1941a, 59-60). – **13** Szentes-Kistőke, Graves 104, 127, 142, 145, 147 (after Párducz 1944, 46-47. 50. 52-53). – **14** Tiszaderzs (after Párducz 1944, 54). – **15** Tiszafüred (Vaday 1989b, 274). – **16** Törökszentmiklós (Vaday 1989b, 284). – (Map M. Ober, RGZM).

interfluve represents the remains of this road. If this is indeed the case, the Roman road in question ran from Baja to the Maros mouth (**fig. 165**)[665].

The eastern defences of Dacia were similarly made up of two main lines. The inner chain of forts extended along the Olt to the Carpathians. The *limes Alutanus* stretching from the Carpathians to the Lower Danube

665 Alföldi 1939a; 1940a, 164. – Tóth 2001, 74-75 map 2. For the borders of Dacia and the status of the Banat, see Alföldi 1943a, 64 n. 3, with ample literature; for more recent studies, also Nemeth 1999/2000; 2005. – Visy 2009. For the road across the Danube-Tisza interfluve, see Patay/Soproni 1979. – Patay 1980; 2005.

was some 250-260 km long. This line was reinforced with a parallel chain of forts slightly to the east. Known as the *limes Transalutanus*, it was designed to repel the Roxolani. The major crossing places were controlled by counter-forts. The Romans were forced to create a major defence system owing to the presence of the Roxolani in Wallachia. The Moesian frontier was also reinforced as shown by the constructions at Drobeta under Hadrian (**fig. 165**)[666].

Returning to the Banat, the region's importance did not only lie in its strategic position in terms of Roman-Sarmatian relations. More recent research has uncovered evidence for large-scale iron-working along the frontier outlined by the Roman military buildings[667]. This is all the more important for Sarmatian studies because we do not know from where the Sarmatians of the Hungarian Plain acquired their metal artefacts or the raw material for their metalwork. We know that Dacian iron exports were severely limited because iron mining had a long tradition in nearby Moesia Superior and Noricum. One common feature shared by Dacia and the Sarmatian lands of the Hungarian Plain is the virtual lack of any identifiable traded commodities[668], suggesting that the exports from these regions had either perished or cannot be recognised using archaeological methods. It might be instructive to examine whether the Sarmatians had perhaps exported grain to Dacia (**figs 177-178**), a region suffering from a scarcity of cereals, for which they received iron in exchange, a commodity that they were deprived of[669]. That the Banat played a major role as an exporter to the Sarmatians is amply reflected by the bead workshop in Tibiscum producing the colourful glass beads so popular among this people (**fig. 179**)[670].

The Romans apparently doubted the stability of the situation in the newly-established province because an impressive army of some 30,000 infantry and cavalry was stationed in the province to ensure peace. The presence of such a large army can only be partially justified by the tasks relating to the organisation of the province; the Iazygian menace, which principally threatened Dacia[671], played an equally important role as shown by the re-organisation of the army. As already mentioned, in 106 AD, Pannonia was divided in two: the two provinces received four legions, only one of which was stationed in Aquincum to defend the frontier with the Sarmatians. Aquincum's geographic location suggests that the troops stationed here were entrusted with monitoring any restlessness among both the Quadi and the Sarmatians. While the army in Pannonia was less concerned with the Hungarian Plain, the Dacian army also concentrated on that region. Two legions were transferred as reserves to Singidunum and Viminacium in Moesia Superior, which could be deployed against the Sarmatians if the need arose (**fig. 164, 2**)[672].

As mentioned above, Trajan did not return the lands seized by Decebal from the Iazyges. This annexed territory is traditionally located in the eastern Banat. Another possibility has been recently suggested, namely, that Trajan had set his sights on the entire territory once under the authority of the vanquished Dacian king. To bolster his theory, Opreanu quoted archaeological data, principally the distribution of gold coins and strongly profiled fantail brooches (*kräftig profilierte Fibeln mit trapezförmigen Fuss*) also produced in the territory of Cluj (**fig. 180, 3**), and concluded that the borders of Dacia in Trajan's time lay north of the Körös rivers[673] and that this was the territory later evacuated by Hadrian.

666 Alföldi 1940a, 43. – Balla 1968, 126. – Tóth 2001, 68-71 map 2. – Nemeth 2003.

667 Ţeicu 1999/2000. – Benea 2002.

668 Tóth 2001, 80.

669 In contrast to the common depiction of the Sarmatians of the Carpathian Basin as nomads, settlement phenomena and archaeological finds demonstrate significant agricultural activity on the Hungarian Plain during the Roman Age.

670 Benea 1997. Some of the finds are displayed in the Museum of Banat, Timişoara. We are indebted to Prof. Benea for graciously sharing her knowledge with us. For the publication of the workshop, see Benea 2004.

671 Balla 1968, 113; 1969.

672 Mócsy 1974, 92-94. – Visy 1994, 90.

673 Opreanu 1997.



Fig. 177 The beehive shaped pits and large storage vessels found on settlements from the 2nd century onward testify to the Sarmatians' intensive agricultural production: **1. 4** beehive shaped storage pits at Nyíregyháza-Oros (E. Istvánovits's excavation, unpublished). – **2-3** storage vessels in the collection of the JAM (photo G. Boros).

There is some rationale in assuming that Trajan, blessed with an excellent strategic sense, had set eyes on all his defeated enemy's lands: Decebal's country whose western border lay along the Tisza. Hadrian may have relinquished a part of this territory, namely a portion or all of the region east of Tisza to the barbarians as part of a compromise. This hypothesis certainly calls for further research. While there is ample evidence that Sarmatian finds gradually spread from the Danube-Tisza interfluve to the territories east of the Tisza,



Fig. 178 Implements found at settlements testify to Sarmatians' intensive agricultural production: **1** sickles from a pit, Ecser, Site 7, Feature 7242 (D. Mérai's excavation, unpublished). – **2** millstones in a pit, Üllő, Site 9, Feature 308 (V. Kulcsár's excavation, unpublished).

starting from the early 2nd century (**fig. 176**), there is no way of telling whether this occurred under Trajan or Hadrian. Neither can it be ascertained whether this was the consequence of a momentary power vacuum or whether the Romans had intentionally handed over the region east of the Tisza to the Sarmatians. Whichever scenario we accept, there can be no doubt that the eastern Banat was not surrendered to the Iazyges by the emperor because this would have meant a wedge of barbarians between Moesia and Dacia, and would have made supplies to the new province uncertain. Even so, Dacia's situation remained precarious. Its only territorial link to the Empire's other Danubian provinces was Oltenia. The »corridor« between the Banat and the Olt connected Dacia with Moesia; at the same time, the new province was separated



1



2



Fig. 179 The archaeometric provenance studies and the typological traits of the Sarmatian beads indicated that some had been produced in the bead workshop in Tibiscum (modern Jupa, Romania): **1** characteristic Sarmatian glass beads from the Sződliget-Csörög cemetery (TIM, V. Kulcsár's excavation, unpublished; photo L. Szászvári). – **2** beads from the glass workshop of Tibiscum (Museum of Banat, Timişoara; courtesy of D. Benea / D. Tănase; photo M. Şepeţan).

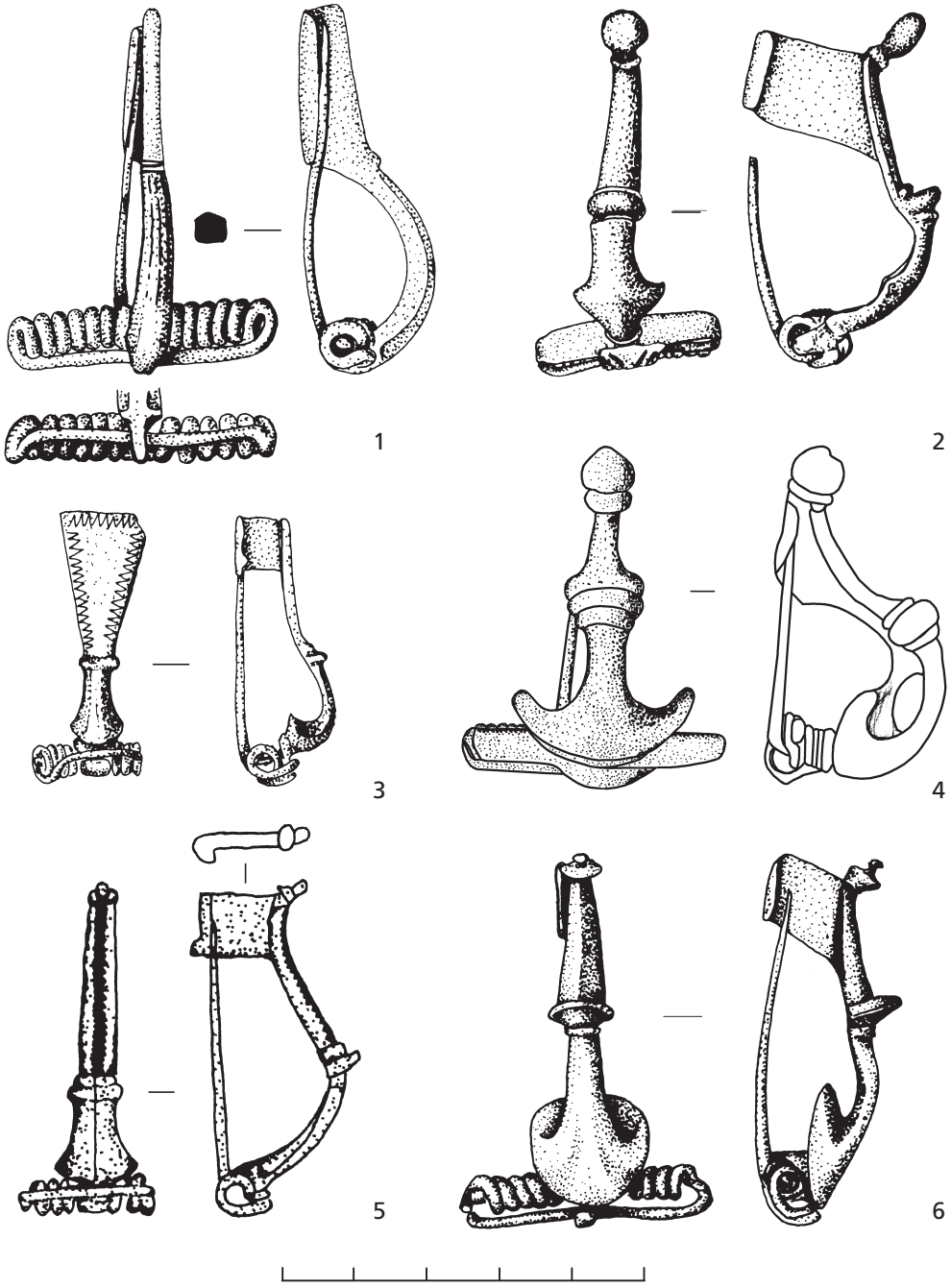


Fig. 180 Brooch types found in Sarmatian assemblages of the 2nd century in the Carpathian Basin: **1** Endrőd-Szujókereszt, Grave 133 (after Vaday/Szőke 1983, fig. 15, 10). – **2** Endrőd-Szujókereszt, Grave 45 (after Vaday/Szőke 1983, fig. 6, 1). – **3** Endrőd-Szujókereszt, Grave 83 (after Vaday/Szőke 1983, fig. 7, 6). – **4** Bag (HNM, Archives, inv. no. 44B1). – **5** Orosháza tanyák, MÁV homokbánya, Grave 5 (after Nagy 2005, fig. 5, 1). – **6** Endrőd-Szujókereszt, Grave 89 (after Vaday/Szőke 1983, fig. 10, 12).

from Pannonia by the Iazyges and from Moesia Inferior by the Roxolani. A new wave of immigrants could easily break through the narrow corridor despite the Roman forts defending it[674].

The Sarmatians launched their first attack in 107-108 AD. Although the sources recorded that Trajan sent Hadrian, the future emperor, »as a praetorian legate to Lower Pannonia, where he held the Sarmatians in check«[675], more recent research assumes that the raids probably did not affect Pannonia Inferior inasmuch as they were directed against the western and northern borders of Dacia, at least judging from the troop movements of the Roman army. This attack was repelled fairly easily. Soldiers from Pannonia Inferior also

674 Patsch 1937, 129-130. – Alföldi 1939a, 534; 1941; 1999, 18. 675 SHA Hadr. III.9.

participated in the counter-attack. By 110 AD, the situation in Dacia had probably become stable, reflected by the many *missiones* (the document received by soldiers when discharged from the army) and the gradual withdrawal of a part of the auxiliary troops between 110 and 117 AD[676].

Following Trajan's death in 117 AD, the Iazyges of the Carpathian Basin and the Roxolani of the Lower Danube region began a series of concerted attacks against Pannonia, Dacia and Moesia. Although it was said that Hadrian »never voluntarily entered upon a war«[677], he found himself in a grave situation at the very beginning of his reign – he even contemplated the evacuation of the newly-acquired province of Dacia[678]. The province's newly transplanted population was fully aware of the threat posed by the Iazyges and Roxolani. The province was a hydracephalous extension of the Empire, to quote Alföldi's apt expression, connected by no more than a slender neck to the other provinces from where it could expect supplies. The military situation of Dacia was rather unstable. The panic gave rise to riots among the province's population[679]. Hadrian's every move reflected the magnitude of the threat: »Then, on hearing of the incursions of the Sarmatians and Roxolani, he sent the troops ahead and set out for Moesia«[680]. Dio also noted that:

> Hadrian […] was afraid that [the new bridge at Drobeta] might also make it easy for the barbarians, once they had overpowered the guard at the bridge, to cross into Moesia, and so he removed the superstructure[681].

After the Dacian governor, C. Julius Quadratus Bassus, died in the campaign, the emperor appointed Marcius Turbo »to the temporary command of Pannonia and Dacia«[682]. He thoroughly re-organised the defences of Dacia. Similar to the separation of the Quadian and Sarmatian *limes* section in Pannonia[683], around 118-119 AD there was an effort to create a separate Roxolanian (Dacia Inferior) and Iazygian (Dacia Superior) frontier under Marcius Turbo's direction; drawing the necessary conclusions from the war (based on the movements of the Dacians and the Costoboci), a separate province was organised by the name of Dacia Porolissensis (**fig. 181**). At the beginning of Hadrian's rule the military strength of Dacia Superior is estimated at some 25,000 men. An army of roughly 11,000 was quartered in Dacia Porolissensis; the troops included the *ala I Bosporanorum*[684], transferred at that time from Pannonia, who no doubt had an excellent knowledge of the Sarmatians' battle tactics. The entire Dacian army is estimated at 40,000-50,000 men, while the number of forts was no less than 80. Compared to Trajan's time, the composition of the army changed, with auxiliary troops, such as Palmyrian archers[685], playing a more important role.

The series of coin hoards distributed from Slovenské Nové Mesto (latest coin: Trajan) through Prešov (latest coin: Hadrian) to Csenger-Halomdomb (latest coin: perhaps Trajan) can perhaps be linked to these events, i. e. the population movements between 117 and 119 AD, which also affected Dacia[686]. If this was indeed the case, the attack was directed against Dacia's north-western border. Simultaneously, the destruction levels from this period identified at Aquincum (Budapest), Campona (Budapest-Nagytétény), Vetus Salina (Adony) and Intercisa (Dunaújváros) reflect the Pannonian incursions of the Iazyges[687].

676 Balla 1968, 113. 115. – Angyal/Balla 1972, 149-151, with the relevant sources and literature.
677 Paus. 1.5.5.
678 Alföldi 1942a, 189. In his analysis of Eutrop. VIII.6.2, Alföldi summarised the debate over this issue.
679 Balla 1981, 123.
680 SHA Hadr. VI.7.
681 Dio LXVIII.13. – Alföldi 1942a, 189-190. – Mócsy 1974, 100. – Balla 1981, 123. – Tóth 2001, 64-65.
682 SHA Hadr. VI.7.
683 Cf. Mócsy 1974, 92-94.
684 Lőrincz 2003, 27.
685 Balla 1965, 143; 1968, 115-117. 121. 125, with further literature. – Tóth 2001, 72.
686 Istvánovits 2002.
687 Barkóczi 1957, 504. – Mócsy 1974, 101, both with further literature. The reconstruction of the events is supported by the coin hoard from Óbuda-Laktanya Street (Budapest) whose closing date is marked by a coin of Hadrian (Jónás 1937).



Fig. 181 The province of Dacia after its division into three parts in the 2nd century. – (Map M. Ober, RGZM).

The obvious question is how the Sarmatians claiming the territory were pacified. The rebuilding of the military camps in stone, the reinforcement and the re-organisation of the province[688] was accompanied by a rise in the gold subsidy (at least the one paid to the Roxolani)[689]. The re-settlement of the Roxolani to southern Istria may also have been part of the pacification. Two inscriptions from Pola recording that Rasparaganus, King of the Roxolani, had been granted citizenship by Hadrian may be regarded as evidence for this[690].
It seems likely that the first Roxolanian groups moved to the Hungarian Plain by skilfully taking advantage of the turmoil of war and forcing their passage along the Lower Danube[691]. A report from the late 2nd century

688 Barkóczi 1957, 504-505.
689 SHA Hadr. VI.8.
690 CIL V.32, 33 = ILS 852, 853. – Mócsy 1974, 100 n. 74. – Vaday 1977. Although admitting that there was a lack of conclusive evidence, Alföldi 1940a, 45, believed that the Roxolani had appeared in the Carpathian Basin after the Iazyges, already in Nero's time.
691 Istvánovits/Kulcsár 1997, 162-163. According to Vaday 1989b, 207, the appearance of the Roxolani can be dated after the evacuation of Dacia.

contained a curious fact supporting this hypothesis: after the Sarmatian-Marcomannic war, the Sarmatians were permitted to pass through Dacia under the supervision of the Dacian governor[692]. It is possible that this was a restoration of the earlier *status quo*.
All the Sarmatian groups living in the Danube region were eventually pacified. Their situation hardly changed until the Sarmatian-Marcomannic War, although it must be noted that the region's history from the Dacian Wars to the age of the Tetrarchy was essentially determined by relations between the Romans and the Sarmatians. After the defeat of the Dacians, the Sarmatians became Rome's greatest enemies in the region.

The Archaeological Finds

Few sites from the first half of the 2nd century dating from before the Marcomannic Wars are known from the territory east of Tisza (**fig. 176**). One of the reasons for this is that there are few assemblages that can be confidently dated to this period; and their potential number is greatly limited exactly because the early settlements lacking *terra sigillata* wares and other imports cannot be precisely dated. Thus, paradoxically, any outline of the settlement history of eastern Hungary must by necessity be based on grave finds.
As has been mentioned in the previous chapter, the earliest securely dated Sarmatian find assemblages from the Carpathian Basin are no earlier than the close of the 1st century AD. The literary sources reported that the Sarmatians' occupation of the left bank of the Tisza was well underway by that time. Several interrelated issues have to be addressed in this respect.

Sarmatian Occupation of the Territory East of Tisza

Following Trajan's wars, eastern Hungary gradually came under Sarmatian control. Even if this was the outcome of Hadrian's compromise, the situation remains the same and the archaeological finds do not permit a finer chronological distinction. As demonstrated in the previous chapter, the earliest Sarmatian finds, the burials of the so-called gold horizon, are known from the Danube-Tisza interfluve. The Sarmatians' expansion cannot have been particularly rapid. The number of finds dating from the first half of the 2nd century known from the left bank of the Tisza, mostly grave assemblages, is fairly low and they are restricted to the river valley (**fig. 176**). Among the few well-dated objects, mainly some variants of strongly profiled brooches – e. g. the fantail ones – can be taken into consideration. These are the finds that mark the left bank expansion of the Sarmatians (**figs 180. 182**)[693].
The period's burials outline the following broad picture. While the burial rite changed little compared to the burials of the »gold horizon«, gold articles are scarcely found in the graves. It is unclear whether gold artefacts had not been deposited in the burials, or whether their lack is due to grave looting because the greater part of the period's graves were systematically robbed. One recurrent question in Sarmatian studies is whether the graves were looted immediately after the funeral, or whether they were plundered by another population at a later date (**fig. 183**)[694].
As to the funerary rite, virtually all the elements practised by the Sarmatians during the ensuing three-and-a-half centuries have been identified in the cemeteries of the period. These include the south to north orientation of the deceased, the presence of ditched graves (**fig. 184**), the typical grave-goods (mirrors, spindles,

692 Alföldi 1939a, 534-535. – Dio LXXII.19.1-2.
693 Cociş 2004, 58-60. – Vaday 1989b, 76-77.
694 Kőhegyi 1980; 1994. – Gallina 1999b.



Fig. 182 Anchor brooch (*Ankerfibel*) from Makó-Igási járandó I. – (After Balogh 2009, figs 81-82. 84).

pottery) and their placement in the grave (e. g. vessels were usually deposited by the feet), the occurrence of inverse orientation, the use of coffins (**fig. 185**), etc[695].

Brooches were widely worn and beads were popular, too, as shown by the high number of beads found in the region of the neck, arms, waist (**fig. 186**) and feet (**fig. 187**). Obviously, it is very difficult, often downright impossible, to determine whether the beads were used for embroidering the costume and the shoes, or were strung into necklaces and bracelets. It seems likely that a textile band embroidered with beads was worn around the waist. Several reconstructions of the costume worn by the Sarmatian women of the Hungarian Plain have been proposed, which are exclusively based on the archaeological finds. Barbarian women are portrayed extremely schematically in Roman iconography, making these depictions unsuitable for any conclusions regarding either ethnic identity or costume[696].

Much more is known about men's costume from contemporary depictions, especially from some of the scenes on Trajan's Column in Rome. A comparison of the military events recorded in the sources and the monument's film-like reliefs has enabled the identification of both the Roxolani and the Iazyges (**figs 166-171**)[697]. Male burials usually contain fewer finds than female ones. The grave assemblages are made up of a strike-a-light, a piece of flint and various implements, as well as the occasional coin kept in a pouch, a brooch and a buckle. Weapons were rarely deposited in the graves. The period's typical weapon was the ring-pommel sword. A single arrowhead (of the three-winged socketed variety) came to light in Grave 133 of the Endrőd-Szujókereszt cemetery[698] (**fig. 188**). Vessels were frequently placed in men's, women's and children's burials.

There are but few settlements which may have been occupied before the mid-2nd century. As a matter of fact, this holds true for all the settlements of the Sarmatian Barbaricum in the Carpathian Basin[699]. The sites

695 Kulcsár 1998a.
696 Istvánovits/Kulcsár 2001, with further literature.
697 Istvánovits/Kulcsár 2001, with further literature.
698 Vaday/Szőke 1983, fig. 15, 9.
699 Vaday/Szekeres 2001, 234: »Despite the testimony of the written sources, not one single Sarmatian settlement is known from the period before the mid-2nd century.«



Fig. 183 The overwhelming majority of the Sarmatian graves in the Carpathian Basin were looted. Graves plundered in different ways at Nyíregyháza-Felsősima (E. Istvánovits's excavation, unpublished): **1-2** longitudinal section of Grave 104, showing the robber's pit; only a handful of bones remained. – **3** the feet survived *in situ* in Grave 1, while the bones of the upper body were jumbled. – **4** Grave 105 was completely plundered.

at Ártánd-Kisfarkas-domb and Nagyfarkas-domb, as well as the settlement at Szegvár-Oromdűlő have been assigned by the publishers to the early 2nd century (**fig. 189**)[700]. Handmade vessels accounted for a much greater proportion of pottery wares than on later settlements, and the ceramic assemblage also included finds of Dacian and Celtic character.

700 Nepper 1982, 235. – Istvánovits/Lőrinczy/Pintye 2006.



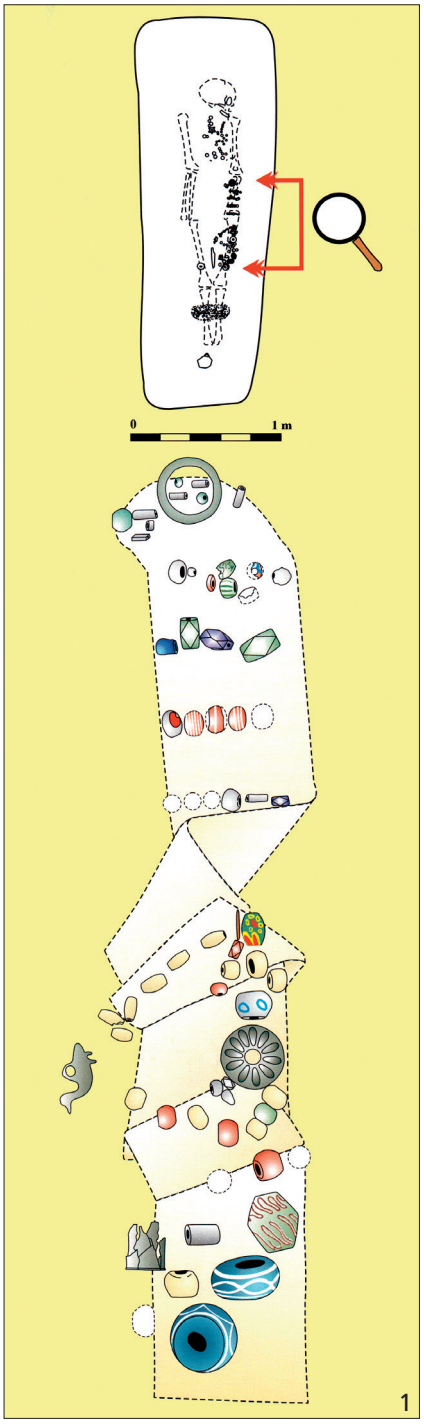
Fig. 184 Nyíregyháza-Felsősima: **1-2** Grave 130, a burial surrounded with a circular ditch. – **3** Grave 31, a burial with a rectangular ditch. – (E. Istvánovits's excavation, unpublished).

A New Wave of Immigrants? The Problem of the Tamgas

The occupation of the territory east of the Tisza, the increasing number of finds and the profound changes in the archaeological material suggest the arrival of new groups during this period. The burials in the newly-opened cemeteries contain the occasional articles of the preceding period such as gold torcs, carnelian beads and dress ornaments of sheet gold, reflecting a blend between the earlier group and the newcomers. One singular and unique find must be discussed at somewhat greater length in this respect, for it can provide evidence for possible new arrivals. The find in question is the gold plaque from Dunaharaszti (**fig. 190**)



Fig. 185 Coffin remains in the graves excavated at Nyíregyháza-Felsősima: **1-2** Grave 140. – **3** Grave 29. – **4** Grave 252. – (E. Istvánovits's excavation, unpublished).





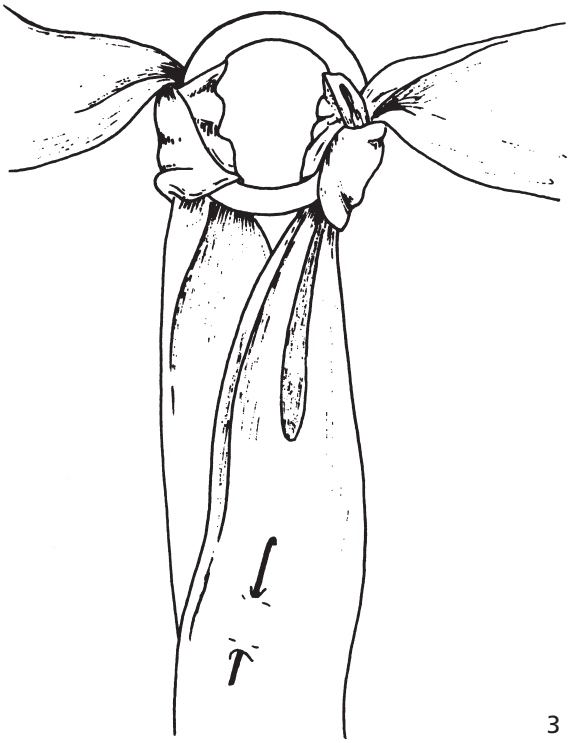


Fig. 186 Beaded belts: **1. 3** Endrőd-Szujókereszt, Grave 27 (after Istvánovits/Kulcsár 2003c, fig. 12; Vaday/Szőke 1983, fig. 22). – **2** detail of the belt in Grave 140/2 at Nyíregyháza-Felsősima (E. Istvánovits's excavation, unpublished).



Fig. 187 The most characteristic feature of the Sarmatian female costume is the embroidering of the lower hemlines of the trousers and/or of the skirt with beads, in some cases also the shoes. Nyíregyháza-Felsősima, Grave 311. – (E. Istvánovits's excavation, unpublished).

whose uniqueness lies in the tamga sign it bears. The symbol provides a firm basis for determining the date of manufacture and also its origin, as has been convincingly shown by Vaday[701]. A brief digress on tamgas seems in order at this point.

Tamga signs were widely used by Iranian peoples, the Sarmatians amongst them[702]. While the function of these signs remains a controversial and hotly debated issue, it has been hypothesised that tamgas were adopted from the Iranian peoples by other ethnic groups, too. The tradition of tamgas survived for a con-

701 Vaday 1989a, 134-136.

702 There is a vast literature on the Sarmatian tamga signs of the steppe. A corpus of the tamga signs was first assembled by Solomonik and Dračuk (Solomonik 1959; Dračuk 1975). In a more recent study, Jacenko 2001 reviewed the current state of studies on this group of finds and proposed a new classification system and chronological framework. On tamgas in general, see Lebedynsky 2011. For a discussion of the Sarmatian tamgas from the Hungarian Plain, see Istvánovits/Kulcsár 2006b.

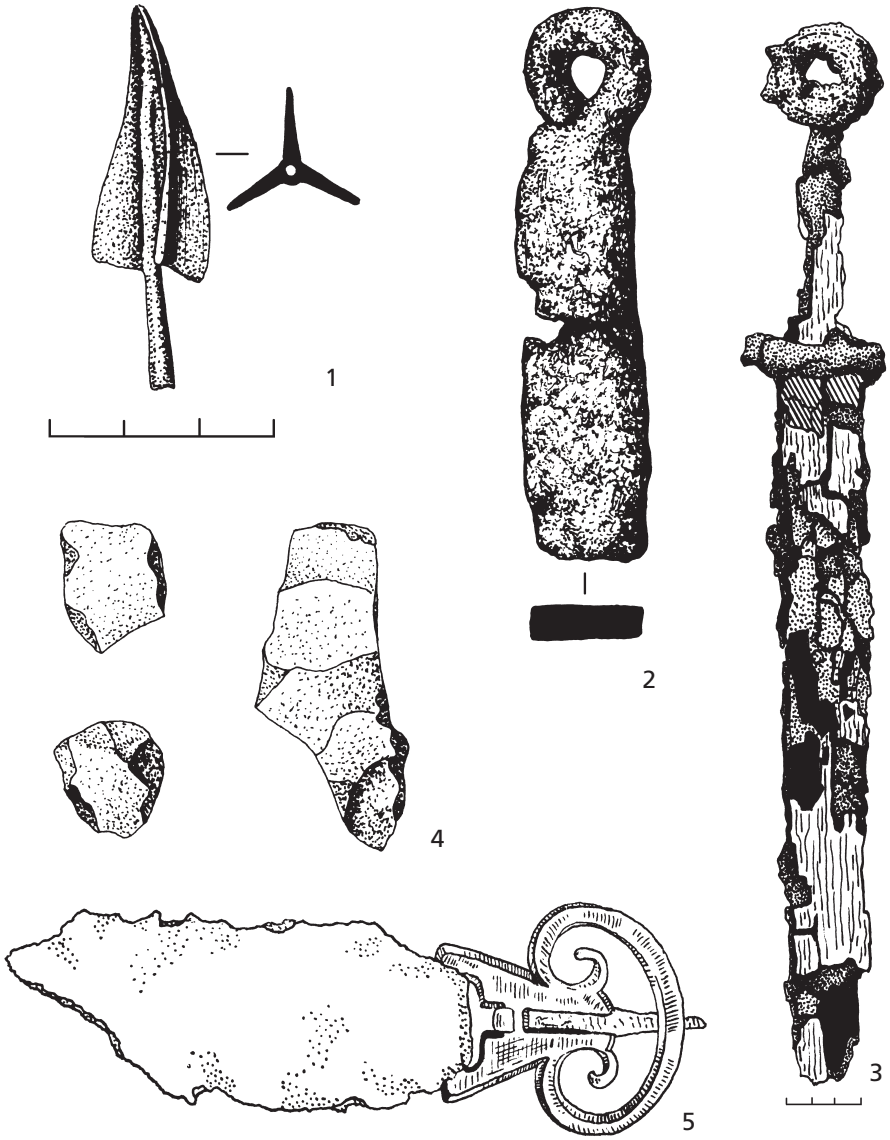


Fig. 188 Finds of male burials from the period preceding the Marcomannic Wars: **1** arrowhead from Endrőd-Szujókereszt, Grave 133 (after Vaday/Szőke 1983, fig. 15, 9). – **2** strike-a-light from Endrőd-Szujókereszt, Grave 89 (after Vaday/Szőke 1983, fig. 10, 11). – **3** ring pommel sword from Újszilvás-Gólyajárás (after Tari 1994, fig. 2, 2). – **4** flints from Endrőd-Szujókereszt, Grave 129 (after Vaday/Szőke 1983, fig. 15, 2-4). – **5** buckle from Csongrád-Endre király utca, Grave 1 (after Párducz 1941a, pl. III, 2).

siderable time[703]. The number of tamgas appearing in the Sarmatian material from the Carpathian Basin is low (fig. 191). The study of these signs is particularly important because they can contribute to the reconstruction of the route taken by the Sarmatians (or at least by one wave of immigrants) and the precise date of their migration, and that the tribal affiliation of the Sarmatians of the Carpathian Basin can be identified based on the steppe distribution of similar signs.

As already mentioned, the use of tamgas remains a debated issue and we shall not review the voluminous literature on this theme. According to the most generally accepted view, tamgas were clan or royal signs, or property marks. Their use in the Pontic was adopted far from the east – from Inner or Central Asia, or from even as far as India through Bactrian mediation[704] – perhaps, as has been argued by some scholars, following the arrival of one or more Alanian tribes[705]. In our opinion, the Alans did not begin their migration from these distant regions, and thus the crucial question is where and how they adopted tamga signs.

703 Jänichen 1956. – Lebedynsky 1998; 2011.
704 Nickel 1973, 167.
705 Jacenko 1993a, 85-86. – Simonenko/Lobaj 1991, 71.

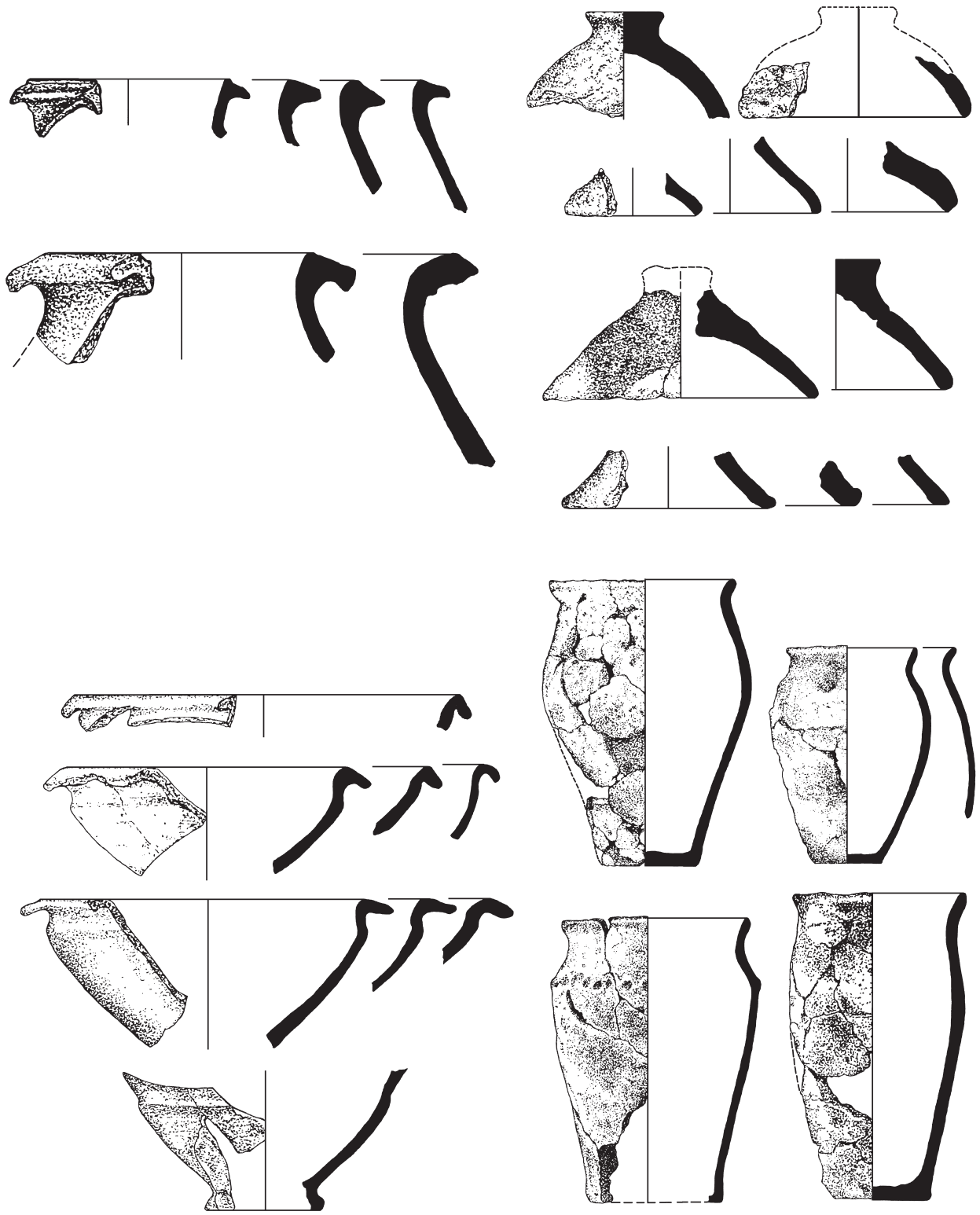


Fig. 189 Pottery from one of the earliest Sarmatian settlements. Selection of vessel types from Szegvár-Oromdűlő. – (After Istvánovits/Lőrinczy/Pintye 2006, fig. 31).

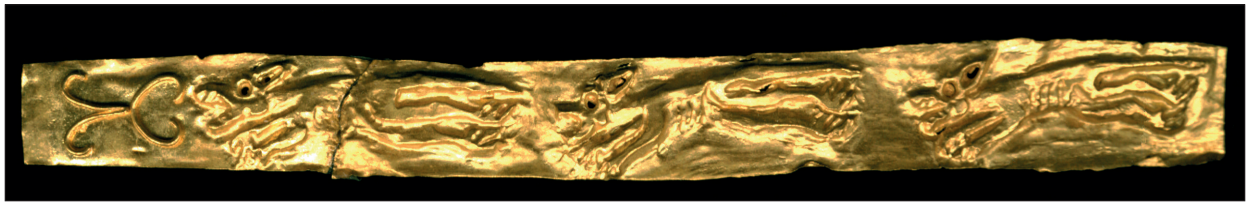


Fig. 190 Gold plaque with tamga sign from Dunaharaszti (Photo E. Istvánovits / V. Kulcsár).

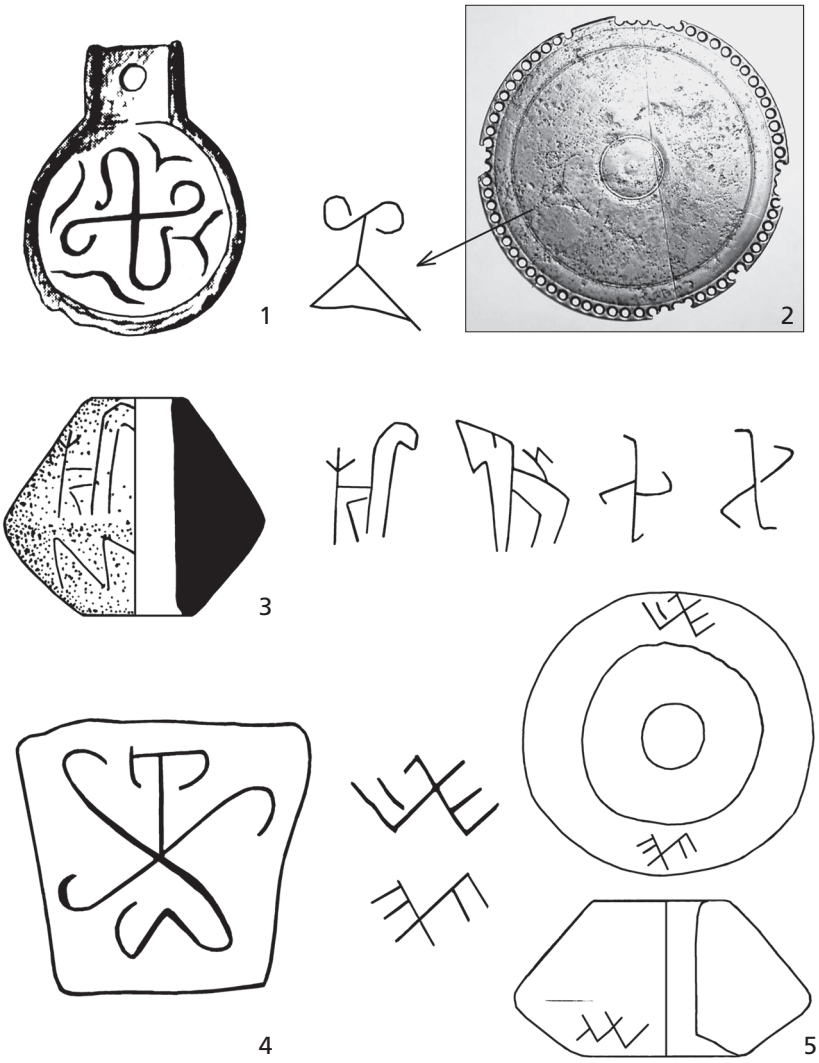


Fig. 191 Various artefacts bearing tamga signs from the Hungarian Plain: **1** Dunaújváros (after Istvánovits/Kulcsár 2003a). – **2** unprovenanced mirror in the Viski Károly Museum, Kalocsa (Photo E. Istvánovits / V. Kulcsár). – **3** Csongrád-Határút, Grave 11 (after Vaday/Medgyesi 1993, fig. 15, 1). – **4** Gyula-Szeregyháza (after Vaday/Medgyesi 1993, fig. 4, 4). – **5** Nagyszénás-Vaskapu (after Nagy 2003, fig. 3, 5).

The few artefacts inscribed with tamga signs in the Sarmatian material of the Carpathian Basin (**fig. 192, 1-2**) are clearly of eastern origin. The following sites yielded artefacts with tamga signs or with signs interpreted as possibly being tamgas: 1) Csongrád-Határút, Grave 11: spindle whorl (**fig. 191, 3**)[706]; 2) Dunaharaszti: gold plaque (**fig. 190**)[707]; 3) Dunaújváros/Dunapentele: mirror pendant (**fig. 191, 1**)[708]; 4) Gyoma-Ailer

706 Párducz 1944, 56 pl. XXXII, 1a-c. – Vaday/Medgyesi 1993, 63 fig. 15, 1a-e.

707 Vaday 1989a, 134-136.

708 Istvánovits/Kulcsár 2003a.

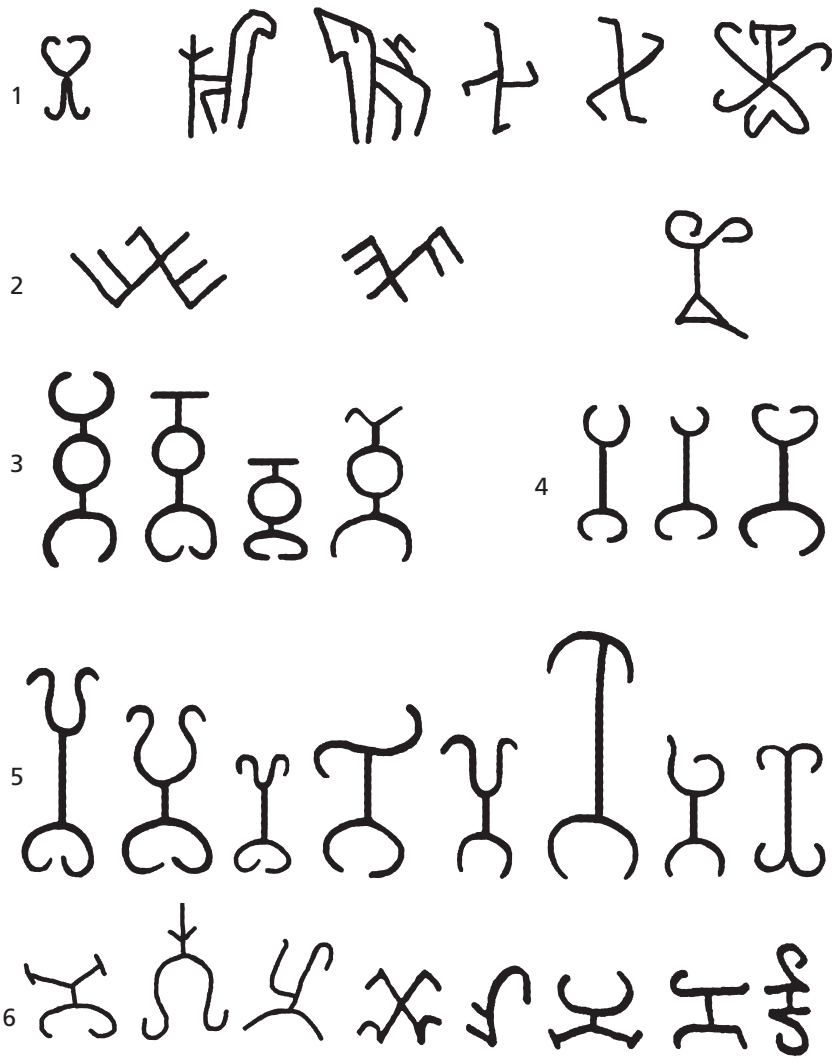


Fig. 192 Tamga signs: **1-2** sites in the Hungarian Plain. – **3** tamga signs of Inismeios. – **4** tamga signs of Pharzoios. – **5-6** parallels to the tamga signs of the Hungarian Plain). – (After Dračuk 1975; (3-4 after Simonenko/Lobaj 1991, figs 32-33).

téglagyár (Site 133), Pit 23: astragalos[709]; 5) Gyula-Szeregyháza: small rectangular vessel (**fig. 191, 4**)[710]; 6) Kovačica: rectangular vessel[711]; 7) Nagyszénás-Vaskapu: spindle whorl (**fig. 191, 5**)[712]; 8) Sarkad-Körös-hát: triangular vessel[713]; 9) Timişoara-Freidorf (Romania): small vessel (**fig. 193**)[714]; 10) Unprovenanced mirror (**fig. 191, 2**)[715].

The most typical tamga sign from Hungary is the one on the Dunaharaszti plaque. Its outstanding counterpart can be quoted from Porogi, which is usually identified with the sign of the Alanian or Aorsian King Pharzoios (**figs 81; 192, 4**)[716].

709 Vaday 1996, 158-159, citing fig. 191, which is missing from the publication. The piece was published by Choyke 1996, 310 fig. 5.

710 Vaday/Medgyesi 1993, 88 fig. 4, 4 – Jazigok 1998, 164 cat. no. 122.

711 As a matter of fact, the vessel bears series of depictions and not a tamga sign (Vaday/Medgyesi 1993, 87 fig. 15, 2a-c).

712 Jazigok 1998, 162 cat. no. 108.

713 The vessel bears a series of depictions and not a tamga sign (Vaday/Medgyesi 1993, 87 fig. 4, 1-3).

714 The vessel bears a series of depictions and not a tamga sign (Benea 1999b, 216 fig. 15, 3).

715 Istvánovits/Kulcsár 2006a, 176-177 fig. 2, 1.

716 Istvánovits/Kulcsár 1998, 161 figs 14, 1; 15, 2. 4 (the Porogi tamga). – Simonenko/Lobaj 1991, 62-66.

Similar signs appear on the coins of the Kushan sovereigns (**fig. 132**)[717]. Another comparable sign occurs on the horse harness of the Kobjakovo elite grave which yielded a diadem. The latter burial is noteworthy because the period's lavishly furnished burials in the Lower Don region outline the region's tribal centre, according to the publishers of a grave from the late 1st to early 2nd century (**fig. 92**). The Sarmatian tribe occupying the region at the time can only be identified with the Alans[718]. This argument seems acceptable to us. The distribution of artefacts bearing tamgas in addition to the burials with a diadem and the custom of the skull deformation in Central Asia (Tillia Tepe, Kushans), in the Lower Don region (Kobjakovo, Hohlač), in the northern Pontic (Porogi) and in the Carpathian Basin (Dunaharaszti) reflect the settlement territory and cultural contacts of the Alans[719].



Fig. 193 A vessel with series of depictions from Timişoara-Freidorf (permanent exhibition of the Museum of Banat, Timişoara, 2003). – (Photo E. Istvánovits / V. Kulcsár).

As mentioned, the sign on the Dunaharaszti plaque can be identified with the tamga of the Alanian/Aorsian Pharzoios. This king ruled between 64 and 81 AD and is known to have issued coins in Olbia (**fig. 80**)[720]. The manufacturing date of the Dunaharaszti plaque can thus be accurately determined. What remains to be established is when it reached the Carpathian Basin. Beside the coins, tamgas of Pharzoios occur on only a few finds, namely, the first and second marble lions from Olbia, the so-called Encyclopaedia limestone slab (**fig. 73**), the stone column from Zadrost' near Ternopol', a bronze mirror in the National Museum of the History of Ukraine and the *phalera* (?) from Hruşca/Gruška in Moldova[721]. In addition, one could hardly attempt to answer this question if the tamgas of King Inismeios, his successor reigning *c.* 80 AD, were not known in greater number[722].

Several Sarmatian artefacts have been brought to light on Dacian *dava*s, especially from sites in the Siret Valley (**fig. 79**). Aside from the tamga-shaped iron bit covered with gold from Ocnița and the antler handle bearing a tamga sign from Poiana, the finds in this category include a vessel from Răcătău and the object from Brad, as well as the cauldron from Piatra Şoimului. The origins of other artefacts, such as mirrors, arrowheads and bronze bells, cannot always be established, although it seems reasonable to assume that some were Sarmatian products. The inhumation graves containing finds of this type were most likely early Sarmatian burials because the Dacians cremated their dead during this period[723].

717 Tolstov 1948a, 149 fig. 35. For a good overview of Kushan coinage with excellent illustrations, see Alram 1996. The Kushan sovereigns were portrayed with significantly deformed skulls on their coins, a trait that can be made out on the high quality photographs of the catalogue. This is an important point because the new Sarmatian/Alanian population of the Eurasian Steppe was also familiar with the practice of skull deformation. This is all the more interesting, especially in view of the distribution of tamga signs, because it has recently been suggested that the practice of skull deformation can also be noted among the Sarmatians of the Carpathian Basin, even though the skeletal material from the known cemeteries survived in an extremely poor condition (Marcsik 2011, 425-426).

718 Prohorova/Guguev 1992, 160.

719 Istvánovits/Kulcsár 1998.

720 Karyškovskij 1982; 1988.

721 Grosu 1992, 142-143; 1996.

722 The distribution of his tamga sign was recently mapped by Babeş 1999, fig. 12, who listed Baštečki, Čatalka, Kerč, Snake Island, Ocnița, Poiana, Porogi and the Tanais-Carskij kurgan among the main sites.

723 Harhoiu 1993. – Babeş 1999, 225. 230.

The distribution of artefacts bearing tamga signs reflects an intensive Sarmatian expansion during this period. It is unclear whether this should be interpreted as an extension of political authority or as a genuine migration. Whatever the case, it does not seem too unreasonable to presume that the gold plaque bearing the tamga sign reached Dunaharaszti before the close of the 1st century AD. In this case, we may assume an Aorsian (or perhaps Alanian) political or ethnic presence in the Carpathian Basin. The tamga sign suggests a royal person. It must be noted that the literary sources make no mention of Aorsi in the Carpathian Basin, neither are there any references to Alans during this early period. In view of the reports contained in the sources, one possible explanation is that the Iazyges were part of the Aorsian or Alanian tribal alliance.

Considering the date of Pharzoios's reign, it is also quite certain that the plaque found at Dunaharaszti, as well as the other artefacts bearing a tamga, were not brought to the region by the earliest Sarmatian migrants because they, or at least part of them, had already settled on the Hungarian Plain by 50 AD, at the latest. This apparent contradiction can be resolved by assuming that the mass arrival of the Sarmatians was still underway at the close of the 1st century AD (or had perhaps occurred at that time).

Another possibility suggested by the artefacts with tamga signs found on Dacian sites, is that the Dunaharaszti plaque or its owner reached the Carpathian Basin in the context of the Dacian Wars or before their outbreak[724]. There can be no doubt about the contacts between the Dacians and the Roxolani in the light of Trajan's campaigns. Material evidence for the alliance is provided by the Sarmatian artefacts recovered from Dacian *dava*s and the tamga finds from the Hungarian Plain. The interpretation of the name »Roxolani« would provide one of the missing links if we assume that the Rox-Alans (»white Alans«) can be seen as a reflection of the possible (Alanian) tribal affiliations of Pharzoios and Inismeios.

The Inhabitants of the Hungarian Plain Before the Sarmatians' Arrival: Contact Between the Sarmatians and their Neighbours

One of the most debated issues regarding the history of the Sarmatians in the Carpathian Basin concerns the ethnic affiliation and the archaeological heritage of the local »aborigine« population found in the region. Alföldi claimed that »the overwhelming majority of the Sarmatian material from Hungary contains artefacts partly evolving from local types, suggesting that the population conquered by the Sarmatians outnumbered their conquerors«[725]. Harmatta argued that the Sarmatians depended on the metalworking and pottery skills of the Celts and Dacians[726]. However, the archaeological record is far from unequivocal in this respect.

According to the generally accepted chronological schemes, the Hungarian Plain, judging from the archaeological evidence, was virtually uninhabited from the La Tène D period (1st century BC) to the arrival of the Sarmatians. To all appearances, the territory occupied by the Celts had become depopulated by the La Tène D period, with no more than a few smaller settlements and a handful of graves representing the period. This bleak picture can, in part, be attributed to the lack of systematic research, but it can also reflect chronological problems[727]. Be that as it may, at present it would seem that large tracts of the Hungarian Plain remained without a substantial population for a considerable time, which in turn raises the question of why the Iazyges, arriving in the early 1st century AD, only occupied the Danube-Tisza interfluve.

724 That is, the period between the major Roxolanian incursion in 69 AD on the Lower Danube and the Dacian Wars.
725 Alföldi 1942a, 175.
726 Harmatta 1970, 45.
727 Almássy 2009.



Fig. 194 **1** kantharos reminding Celtic traditions from Nyíregyháza-Felsősima, Feature 39 (photo G. Boros). – **2** vessel decorated with appliqué decoration considered to be of Dacian character (both JAM, E. Istvánovits's excavation, unpublished).

Interestingly enough, there are several instances of Celtic-type finds recovered from Sarmatian contexts[728]. However, the appearance of a single artefact does not necessarily imply the survival of Celtic groups. Celtic influence on Sarmatian crafts should be considered, even if we find ourselves treading on thin ice because the cultural influence from Pannonia can often be derived from Celtic traditions.

Pottery manufacture is one case in point. There is a consensus that the grey wheel-turned wares enjoying great popularity among the Sarmatians can be derived from Celtic and/or Dacian traditions, either directly, or indirectly through Roman mediation[729]. One problem with this theory is that, with a few notable exceptions, such as the kantharos from Orgovány and similar pieces (**fig. 194**)[730], the majority of Sarmatian ceramic wares have no counterparts in either Celtic or Dacian or Roman pottery. At the same time, the best analogies to the ceramics of the Sarmatians of the Hungarian Plain, regarding both vessel forms and their manufacturing technique, can be found in the Maeotian territory (**fig. 52**). It is possible that the pottery wheel reached the barbarians of the Danube region from the Greek towns on the Pontic, as it did in the case of the Scythians a few hundred years earlier[731]. Considering the fact that the Sarmatians arrived in the

728 Párducz 1941a, 66-67; 1952, 39. – Mócsy 1954, 118-119. – Nepper 1982, 236.

729 Párducz 1941a, 75. – Vaday 1989a, 131-133.

730 Orgovány: Szabó 1939, 105-106 pl. II, 6 fig. 2, 3; Kiskőrös-Csukástó-Rácz-kút, stray find: Párducz 1941a, pl. VIII, 23; Nyíregyháza-Felsősima, Feature 39: Istvánovits's excavation, unpublished.

731 Kemenczei 2009, 105.

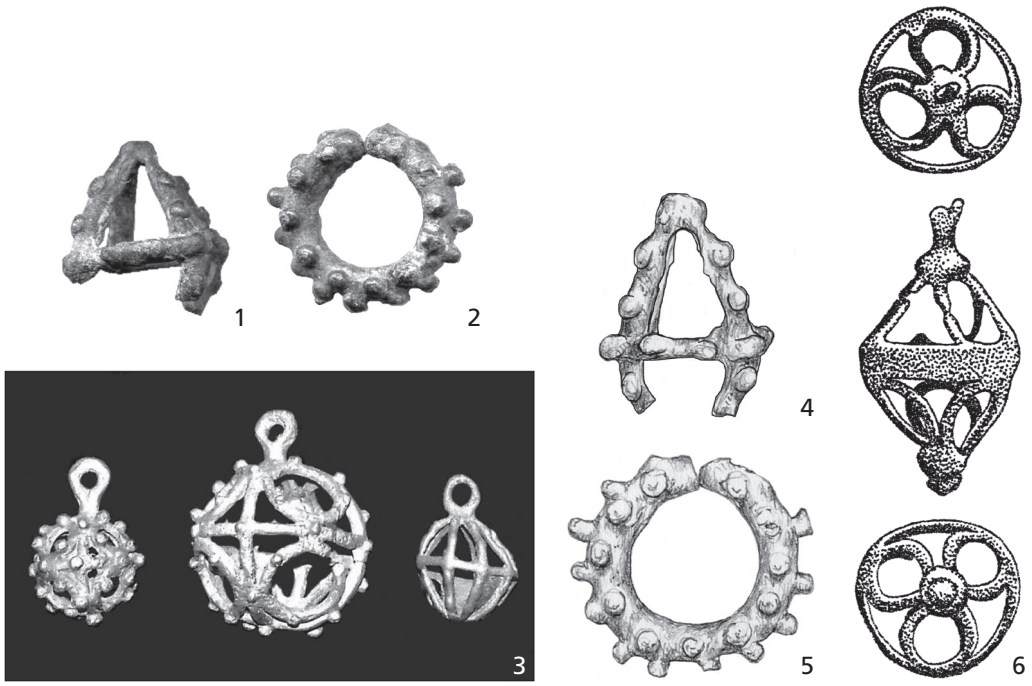


Fig. 195 Knobbed rings and so-called pocket-microcosm pendants are known from both the Carpathian Basin and the Crimea: **1-2. 4-5** Debrecen-Lovászzúg (photo and drawing E. Istvánovits/ V. Kulcsár). – **3** Crimea (temporary exhibition in the Bahčiseraj Museum, 2010; photo E. Istvánovits/ V. Kulcsár). – **6** find assemblage from Madaras-Halmok, Grave 473. – (After Kőhegyi/Vörös 2011, fig. 133, 4).

Carpathian Basin in several successive waves, this possibility is not contradicted by the gradual dominance of wheel-turned wares over the handmade ones. We should not forget that wheel-turned vessels were frequent in contemporaneous Sarmatian burials in the steppe.

As with his research on pottery that demonstrated Celtic and Dacian influence (**fig 194**), Párducz was the first to examine the Sarmatians' metalwork from this perspective[732]. He studied the development of certain brooch types, in particular. A more detailed examination of this issue would merit a separate volume, especially in view of the finds brought to light during the past fifty years. In addition to brooches, the possible Celtic ancestry of torcs has also been suggested. The La Tène counterparts of the so-called knobbed rings (*Ösenanhänger*) (**fig. 195**) and certain knife types also fall into this category. The lack of systematic research in the case of the former objects must again be mentioned: similar finger-rings, knobbed bracelets and so-called pocket-microcosms (pendants adorned with knobs) are well-represented in the Late Scythian assemblages from the Crimea[733], the very cultural province with which the Sarmatian assemblages of Hungary have demonstrable links[734]. It thus seems more realistic to derive this artefact type from that region and to enlarge the range of artefact types brought by the Sarmatians from the steppe than to assume a Celtic origin.

Even a cursory glance at the archaeological finds dating from the time of the Dacian Wars and the previous period brought to light on the Hungarian Plain reveals the paradoxical situation that there are no 1st century AD finds that can be assigned securely to the Dacians. The earliest finds of this type appear after the wars, during the period in which the Dacians lost control over this region. Grave 31, a female burial of the Mezőkövesd-Patakra járó-dűlő Sarmatian cemetery, contained a jewellery set made up of a Dacian torc,

732 Párducz 1944, 70-72.
733 Puzdrovskij 2007, 162 figs 114, 27; 144, 29-30.
734 Istvánovits/Kulcsár 2011.

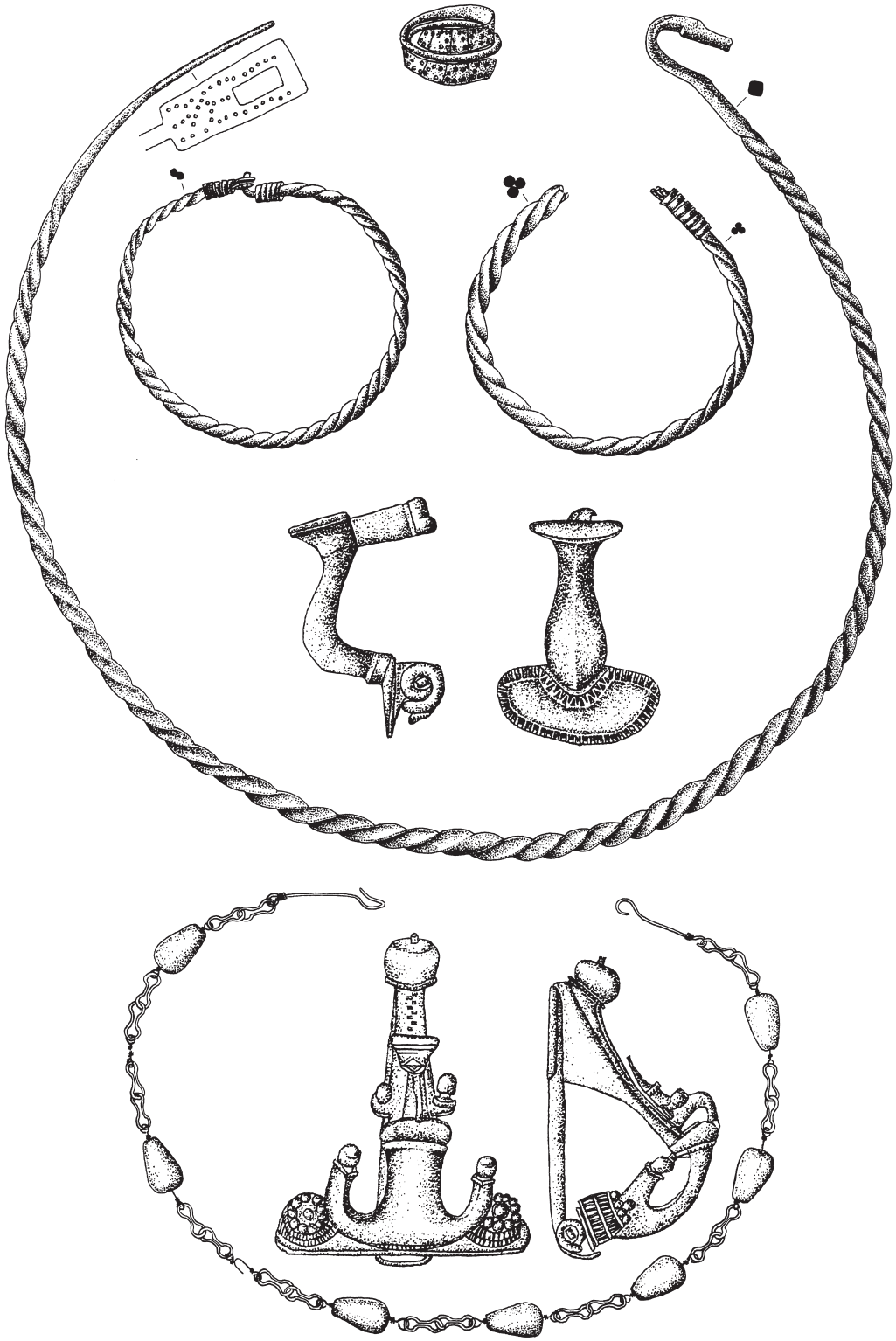


Fig. 196 Mezőkövesd-Patakra járó-dűlő, Grave 31. – (After Patay 2003, figs 1-2).

a bracelet and a finger-ring (**fig. 196**). The woman buried in the grave uncovered at Veresegyháza also wore pieces of Dacian jewellery (**fig. 197**). These items can be securely dated to the turn of the 1st and 2nd centuries and the early 2nd century by their analogies and the brooches found with them. The burial rite indicates that both graves contained the burial of a high-ranking woman. The other finds – a Roman

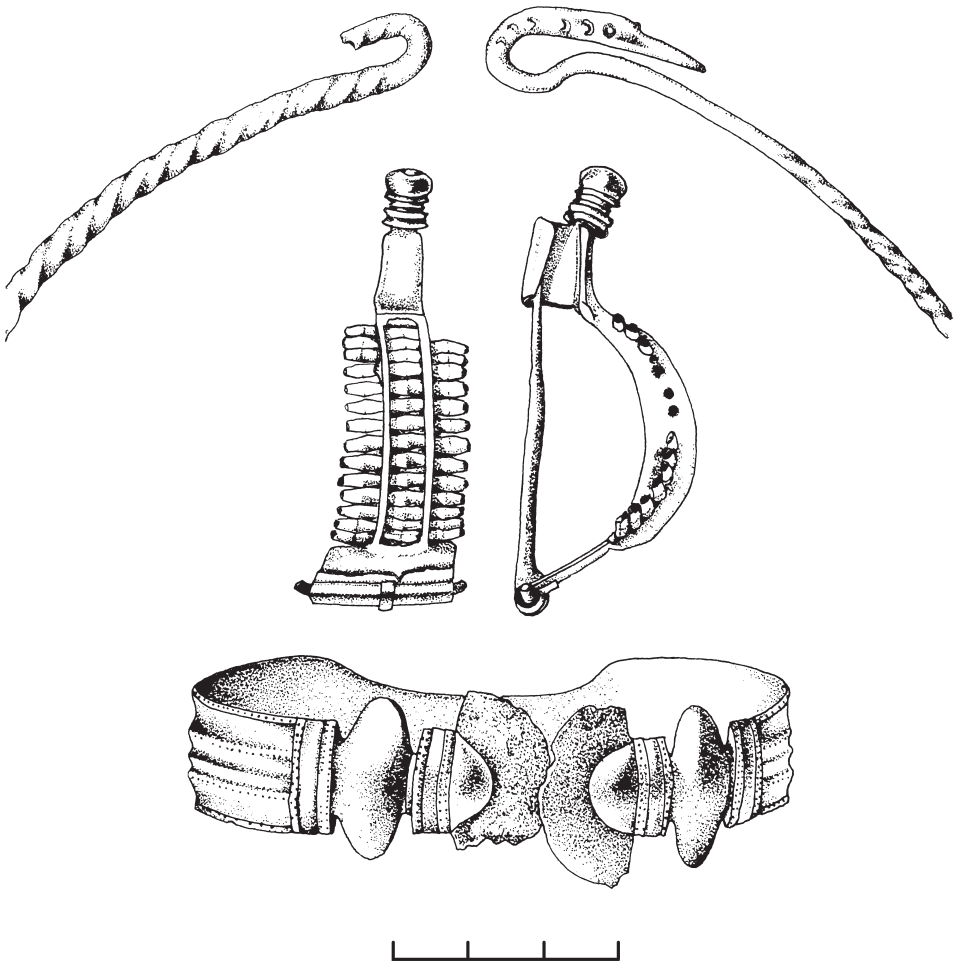


Fig. 197 The Roman brooch, Dacian torc and Germanic bracelet of the woman buried according to the Sarmatian rite at Veresegyháza. – (After Mesterházy 1986, figs 2-4).

necklace and brooch, a bracelet from the Vistula region and a Dalmatian brooch – reflect contact with distant regions[735].

Returning to the finds with a Dacian flavour, the pieces mentioned above were without doubt recovered from Sarmatian graves. Not one single Dacian grave – which, in view of the period's Transylvanian cemetery sites, should be a cremation burial – has yet been found in the Hungarian Plain. Vaday explained the lack of »pure« Dacian finds by assuming that the Dacians had not actually occupied the region and that Decebal merely extended his political authority to the Tisza[736]. It is possible that the Dacian control did not involve the settlement of Dacian groups, but even in this case we would be justified in assuming the presence of military troops, otherwise the political control over the Celts could hardly have been maintained. However, no traces of a military occupation have yet been identified.

Other than the researches of Párducz and Visy, there has been no systematic study of the Dacian finds of the Sarmatian period, even though the occasional pottery fragment associable with Dacians has come to light from Sarmatian settlements of the Roman period. The main reason for the lack of research in this field is that it is difficult to identify clearly a distinct category of ceramic wares in the material comprising handmade,

735 Mesterházy 1986. – Patay 2003. The fragment of a torc resembling the pieces from Mezőkövesd and Veresegyháza came to light on the outskirts of Orgovány, see Szabó 1939, pl. III, 9.

736 Vaday 1990/1991.

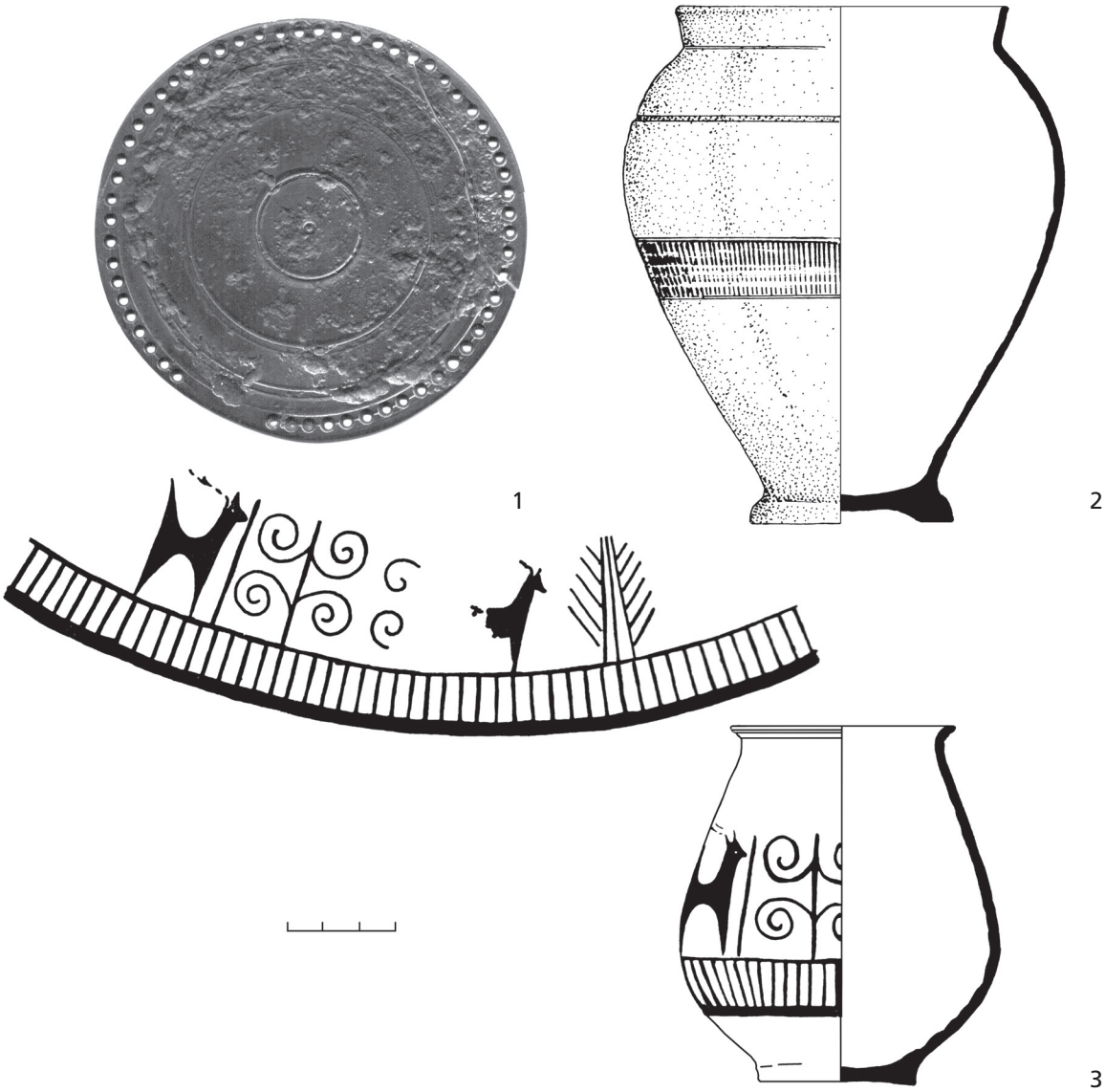


Fig. 198 Mirrors with perforated edge and Roman vessels, most dating from the 2nd century: **1** Orosháza tanyák, MÁV homokbánya, Grave 17 (photo E. Istvánovits / V. Kulcsár). – **2** Endrőd-Szujókereszt, Grave 88 (after Vaday/Szőke 1983, fig. 9, 7). – **3** Debrecen-Hortobágyhíd (after Maróti/Vaday 1980, pl. I, 2).

coarse pottery. It has been suggested that a part of this pottery can be linked to the Dacians. In contrast, a possible Dacian origin is rarely proposed for wheel-turned wares[737].

The period's find assemblages contain various Roman artefacts, most of which were imported through incipient trading: figural painted vessels[738]; Pompeii-red-painted bowls; amphorae; and, predominantly, brooches generally recovered from burials. As mentioned above, strongly profiled brooches, especially the anchor (*Ankerfibel*) and fantail varieties, can be assigned to this category. The assemblages in question

737 Párducz 1941a, 63-66. – Visy 1970. The greater part of the material at their disposal was unsuitable for a finer analysis, while the enormous number of Sarmatian find assemblages recovered during more recent excavations has not been analysed from this perspective.

738 Maróti/Vaday 1980. The distribution of red painted figural vessels in the Barbaricum reflects the gradual early expansion. In addition to the pieces from Szolnok and Szeged, the third vessel from Debrecen marks the site of an advance post.



Fig. 199 Bronze statue of Victory from Akasztó-Döbrögecpuszta. – (Courtesy of the HNM; photo E. Istvánovits / V. Kulcsár).

can be dated by these imports[739]. Other imported articles include Roman mirrors with perforated edges[740] (**figs 180. 182. 198**).

Some of the Roman articles found in the Barbaricum were not acquired through trade. The most remarkable among these finds is a bronze statue portraying Victory, found together with Sarmatian and Roman sherds at Akasztó-Döbrögecpuszta, which probably reached the area during Domitian's campaigns (**fig. 199**)[741]. Similarly, the fragment of Roman ceremonial armour from the late 1st- early 2nd century AD discovered at Orgovány and the *patera* handle from Jászszentlászló from the same period were hardly commercial items (**fig. 200**)[742].

In sum, we may say that the archaeological evidence reflects the gradual expansion of the Sarmatian settlement territory to the left bank of the Tisza after Trajan's Dacian Wars. The number of finds increased, even if not dramatically, suggesting the arrival of new population groups from the steppe, some of which can per-

739 Vaday 1989b, 76-78.
740 Istvánovits/Kulcsár 1993a, 14.
741 Thomas 1972.
742 Thomas 1976a; 1976b.



Fig. 200 **1** patera handle from Jászszentlászló (after Thomas 1976b, fig. 1). – **2** fragment of a Roman ceremonial armour from Orgovány (after Thomas 1976a, fig. 2).

haps be identified with the Roxolani in view of the tamga signs. The material culture of the new immigrants shows close ties with the so-called Late Scythian culture of the Crimea. Due to the lack of archaeological finds little can be said about the local Dacian and Celtic population of the freshly occupied territories; at the same time, there is ample evidence for trade with the neighbouring Roman provinces from the close of the 1st century AD onward.

FROM THE DACIAN WARS TO THE MARCOMANNIC-SARMATIAN WARS

Prelude to the Marcomannic-Sarmatian Wars

The 120s AD marked a period of peace in the Barbaricum. Although there were a few minor Sarmatian forays into the provinces between 129 and 137 AD, these did not have a major effect. Little is known about these local skirmishes: a few coins and a destruction level in Aquincum[743] are all that indicate these events. The hoard of 563 coins from Óbuda must be mentioned – the latest coins date from the reign of Hadrian (123-128/129 AD)[744].

The relative peacefulness is reflected by the fact that some military units were withdrawn from the Danubian provinces at the time of the Bar Kochba Revolt in 132-136 AD and dispatched to the Near East. Had the Romans perceived any unrest, they would hardly have sent these troops to a distant province. There is also some indirect evidence for the respite: L. Aelius Caesar served as the joint governor of both Pannonian provinces. The administration of a province was usually concentrated in one hand if the Romans were preparing for or feared a concerted attack. Following the governor's death in 138 AD, this precaution was no longer deemed necessary and the administration of Pannonia Inferior and Superior was again separated[745].

A new wave of Quadic incursions began at the end of Hadrian's reign (137-138 AD). The Iazyges joined the offensive at the frontier of Pannonia Inferior. It is possible that Rome's barbarian neighbours simply seized a tempting situation after learning of the troops' withdrawal or the governor's death. The hoard discovered at Nagyrév reflects the instability in the Sarmatian hinterland[746]. The unrest spread along the borders of Dacia Inferior and Moesia Inferior, too. At the same time, in 137 AD, the south-eastern areas of Dacia were threatened by the Roxolani. The Iazygian envoys travelling to Rome »to confirm the peace« perhaps marked the end of these skirmishes, around the end of Hadrian's reign or after Antoninus Pius' ascension[747].

It is uncertain whether the military diplomas issued around 140 AD and the *sestertii* bearing the legend REX QUADIS DATUS (**fig. 201**) issued by Antoninus Pius[748], reflecting the Quadic acceptance of Roman authority (i. e. the rule of a king appointed by the Empire), should be seen as the protraction of these incursions or the end of new hostilities after a brief peace. The finds from Dacia suggest that the next raids took place in 143, when an attack was launched by the Costoboci. The new incursions were launched from this region

743 Barkóczi 1957, 506.

744 Barkóczi 1957, 504. 506. – Jónás 1937. Coins are not always a reliable means of dating because they often remained in circulation for a long period of time. This circumstance must always be taken into account in the case of hoards, esp. in the Barbaricum.

745 Balla 1965, 144. – Mócsy 1974, 102-103.

746 Barkóczi 1957, 506. – Jónás 1924/1925. The hoard was concealed after 133 AD.

747 Dio LXIX.15.2. See also Mócsy/Fitz 1990, 37. A Sarmatian delegation to Rome was hardly an unusual event, at least judging from the letters of Pliny the Younger (*Ep*. X.23-25), which mention that on their way to Rome, the Sarmatian envoys passed through Bithynia of which he acted as the legate. The Sarmatians mentioned in these passages were obviously not from the Carpathian Basin.

748 RIC III. 20.



Fig. 201 Sestertius bearing the legend REX QUADIS DATUS issued by Antoninus Pius (RIC III 620).

and reached the borders of Dacia Inferior by 144/145. Sarmatians of the Hungarian Plain and Quadi joined the Costoboci. In sum, the period between 137 and 144/146 was marked by intermittent hostilities and renewed conflict across the entire Barbaricum in the Danube region, followed by a brief, roughly ten-year period of peace that lasted until the mid-150s[749].

The relative peace in the area between Pannonia Superior and Dacia during the 150s AD was a period of deceptive calm before the next large tempest. Tension increased from year to year, perhaps fuelled by the arrival of the peoples dislodged by the Goths in the north-eastern corner of the Carpathian Basin. Armed conflict first broke out along the northern and eastern borders of Dacia, in the Upper Tisza region and in the territory of the Costoboci, the free Dacians living east of the Carpathians. The first battles were probably fought in 154. The situation worsened by 156, with the free Dacians repeatedly attacking Dacia and making deep forays into the province between 156 and 158, during the governorship of Statius Priscus. Balla set up the following sequence for the incursions: Dacia Superior, 13 December 157; Dacia Superior, 8 July 158; Dacia Porolissensis, 27 September 158; Moesia Inferior, 157 or 158; Moesia Superior, 159-160; Pannonia Inferior, 27 December 159-160[750]. Their route is marked by the coin hoards along the river Someşul Mic, and in the Târnava Mică and Târnava Mare Valleys. The defences of Dacia Superior had to be reinforced yet again[751].

The situation in the Upper Tisza region – and, at the same time, in the Barbaricum of the Carpathian Basin – had undergone a major change during this period. The earliest finds of the Przeworsk culture in the Carpathian Ukraine can be dated to the 1st century AD (stage B1), indicating that contact between the Germanic peoples and the region's probably Dacian population had been established at a relatively early date[752]. However, the overwhelming majority of the Przeworsk assemblages from the Upper Tisza region can be dated to stage C1, the time of the Marcomannic Wars (**fig. 202**), i.e. to the very period when the written sources reported the arrival of various Vandal tribes, namely the Victovali, the Hasdingi and the Lacringi, along Dacia's north-western periphery[753].

A new find horizon can thus be distinguished in the Upper Tisza region in the late 2nd century, partly comprised of the second wave of the Przeworsk culture (sites Kékcse, Tiszakanyár, Vásárosnamény-Hajnal Street), and partly of the heritage of the Sarmatians, who occupied this region in great numbers at this

749 Alföldi 1942a, 190. – Noll 1954, 50-52. – Balla 1965, 144. – Mócsy 1974, 103.

750 Balla 1965, 146.

751 Balla 1965, 145. – Mócsy 1974, 103.

752 Kobály 1997-1998.

753 Dio LXXI.12. – SHA Marc.Ant. XXII. The relevant passages and its problems, with the earlier literature, are discussed by Alföldi 1942a, n. 216. – Schmidt 1942, 6-8. – Bóna 1986, 61-63. – Godłowski 1993. – Istvánovits/Kulcsár 1993b. – Kobály 1997-1998.



Fig. 202 Typical grave assemblage of the Przeworsk culture from Kékcse (Upper Tisza region). – (JAM; photo G. Boros).

time, according to the current evidence (**fig. 203**)[754]. The Sarmatians advanced north-eastwards in the Upper Tisza region and towards the River Ier in the south, reaching the Carei area[755]. It seems likely that the Carpathian Barrows Culture, identified with the free Dacians, also made its appearance in the Carpathian Ukraine during this period (**fig. 204**)[756].

The number of Sarmatian assemblages of the first half of the 2nd century on the Hungarian Plain is relatively low. The striking increase in the number of settlements and burial grounds during the second half of the 2nd century cannot be explained by a natural demographic growth. This in itself indicates that the new immigrants arriving in the Carpathian Basin in successive waves also included a new, relatively large Sarmatian population. The fresh elements in the material culture certainly confirm this[757].

Considering the allowances that must be made for the time-lag between the production, use and deposition of various artefacts, the question arises whether the new find horizon should be linked to the military events, or the events of the preceding period, or those of the ensuing period.

Returning to the state of affairs in the 150s, the coin hoards concealed in Pannonia and the neighbouring territories – Bonyhád, Szemely, Bara Osatina, Zalahosszúfalu, Poetovio, Trögern (**fig. 205**) – reflect a dimin-

754 In connection with the gold torc (**fig. 155, 2**) found in the vicinity of Nyíregyháza we have already suggested that this date may be modified in the light of the new finds.

755 Németi/Gindele 1997. The Sarmatian buckle from Carei (Párducz 1947, 50 pl. 3, 12) provides a good anchor for the date of their arrival (Vaday/Kulcsár 1984, 240 fig. 4, 7). We are indebted to Gindele and Németi of the County Museum of Satu Mare for generously sharing their knowledge of the period's finds with us.

756 Rusanova 1993, 172 map 30.

757 We return to the problem at the end of the chapter when discussing the archaeological finds.

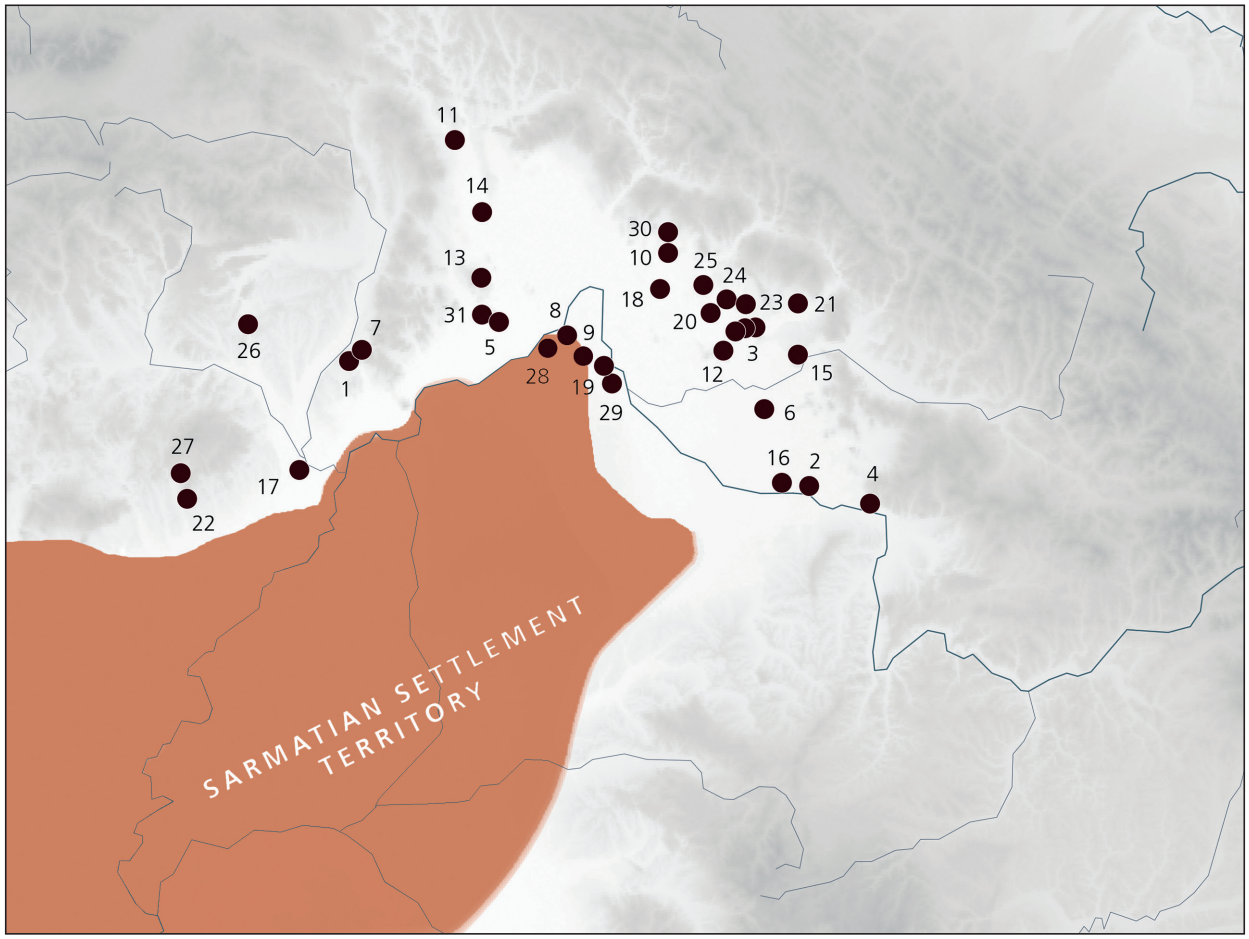


Fig. 203 Distribution of the Przeworsk culture in the Upper Tisza region until the turn of the 2nd-3rd centuries. Orange: Sarmatian settlement territory. – Sites of the Przeworsk culture: **1** Abaújszántó. – **2** Apa. – **3** Ardánháza/Ardanovo. – **4** Béla/Boineşti. – **5** Bodrog. – **6** Bratovo. – **7** Gibárt. – **8** Kékcse. – **9** Kisvárda. – **10** Klenovec/Novej Klenovec. – **11** Kvakovce. – **12** Kvasovo. – **13** Lastovce. – **14** Lesné. – **15** Malaja Kopanja. – **16** Medieşu Aurit. – **17** Muhi. – **18** Mukačeve. – **19** Nagyvarsány. – **20** Novoselica. – **21** Osoj. – **22** Sirok. – **23** Smoglovica. – **24** Stanovo. – **25** Svaljava. – **26** Szendrőlád. – **27** Terpes. – **28** Tiszakanyár. – **29** Vásárosnamény. – **30** Verhnja Viznica. – **31** Zemplín. – (After Godłowski 1993, fig. 2; Istvánovits/Kulcsár 1994a, fig. 1; Kobály 1997-1998, fig. 1). – (Map M. Ober, RGZM).

ishing sense of security among the province's population[758]. The Sarmatians in Banat, along the Maros, in Moesia Superior and along the *limes* of Pannonia Inferior were pacified by the combined operations of the Moesian and Pannonian armies in 159-160. Although the heavy fighting was followed by a period of peace, this respite was short-lived. Various population groups, »other tribes, who had been driven on by the more distant barbarians [Goths] and had retreated before them« towards the Empire, »were ready to attack Italy if not peaceably received«[759]. Obviously, the great number of peoples threatening the Danubian provinces could hardly have all been admitted into the Empire. Following a Marcomannic (and perhaps Quadian and Iazygian) incursion in 162[760], hostilities broke out in earnest in the late 160s. In 166 a host of barbarian peoples unknown to the Romans, such as the Langobards and the Obii, over-ran Pannonia Superior. Dacia

758 Noll 1954, 52-56 map. – Barkóczi 1957, 506-507. – Mócsy/Fitz 1990, 37. It has been suggested that the Abony hoard was also concealed at this time (Barkóczi 1957, 506-507).

759 SHA Marc.Ant. XIV.

760 SHA Marc.Ant. XII: »While the Parthian war was still in progress, the Marcomannic war broke out«. For a discussion of this passage, see Alföldi 1942a, 191.



Fig. 204 The westernmost site of the Carpathian Barrows culture lies at Csengersima, where typical Germanic vessels accompanied a scattered cremation burial under a kurgan investigated in 2009. – (JAM, A. Jakab's excavation, unpublished; photos G. Boros; drawings G. Beleznai).

enjoyed a few months' long, illusory peace, to be attacked simultaneously from the north and west in late May-June 167.

The Great Marcomannic-Sarmatian Wars

One of the fiercest wars in the history of the Roman Empire took place during Marcus Aurelius' reign and had a long-term bearing on the *imperium*'s subsequent fate (**figs 206-208**). The Roman losses are best il-

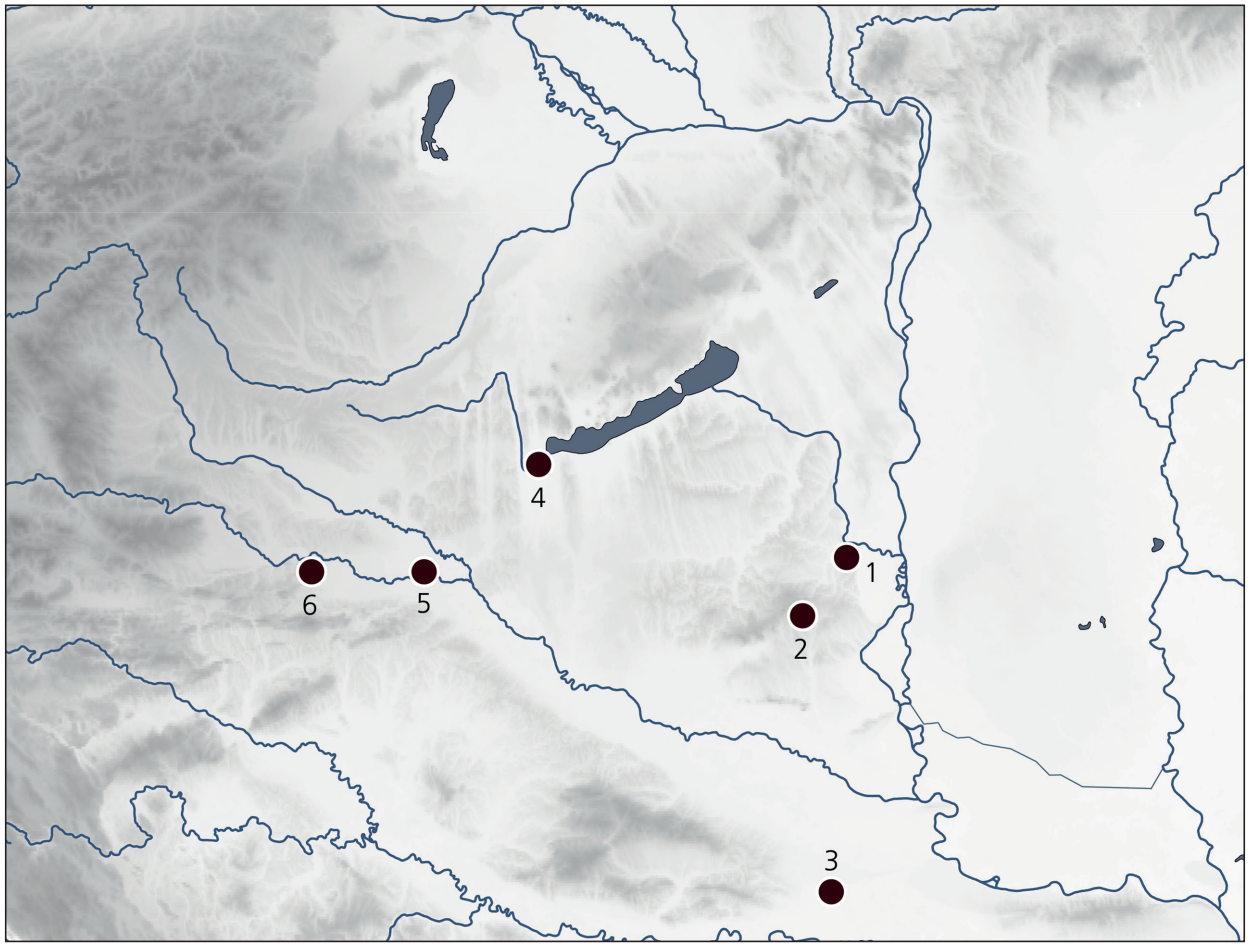


Fig. 205 Pannonian coin hoards concealed in the 150s: **1** Bonyhád. – **2** Szemely. – **3** Bara Osatina. – **4** Zalahosszúfalu. – **5** Ptuj (Poetovio). – **6** Trögern. – (Map M. Ober, RGZM).

lustrated by the fact that the Quadi and Iazyges alone returned over 150,000 prisoners after the conclusion of the peace treaty ending the war[761].

> From the borders of Illyricum even into Gaul, all the nations banded together against us – the Marcomanni, Varistae, Hermunduri and Quadi, the Suebians, Sarmatians, Lacringes and Buri, these and certain others together with the Victuali, namely, Osi, Bessi, Cobotes, Roxolani, Bastarnae, Alani, Peucini, and finally, the Costoboci. Furthermore, war threatened in Parthia and Britain. Thereupon, by immense labour on his own part, while his soldiers reflected his energy, and both legates and prefects of the guard led the host, he conquered these exceedingly fierce peoples [...][762].

While there is a voluminous literature on the causes, course and consequences of the war, far less is known about this period than one would expect in view of its importance. Several, often contradictory hypotheses

761 Alföldi 1936, 161.

762 SHA Marc.Ant. XII. The Victovali and the Lacringi first appear in the sources at this time. See Alföldi 1942a, n. 216, for a discussion of this passage and its problem, together with the earlier literature.

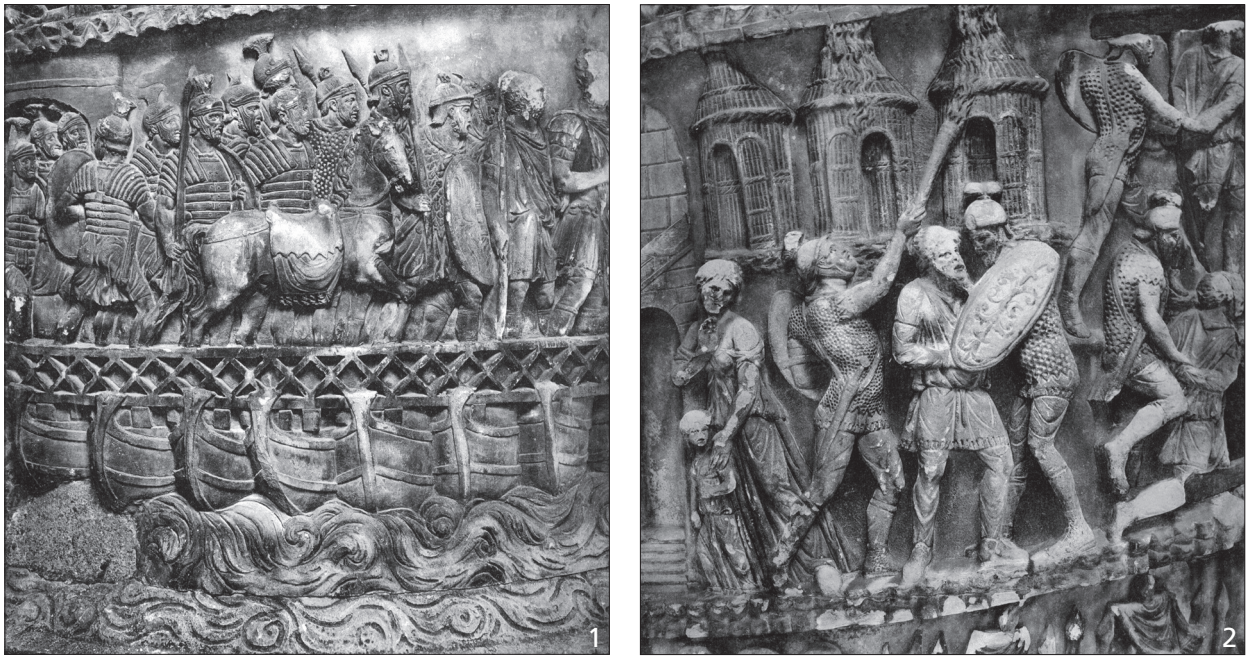


Fig. 206 Scenes from the Marcus Column: **1** Roman army crosses over the Danube on a bridge of boats. – **2** Romans defeated barbarians in a cruel struggle. – (After Petersen/Domaszewski/Calderini 1896, pls X, a; CX, b).



Fig. 207 Scene of battle with Sarmatians. – (After Petersen/Domaszewski/Calderini 1896, pl. CIa).



Fig. 208 Detail of Marcus Aurelius' equestrian statue in Capitoline Hill, Rome. – (Photo E. Istvánovits / V. Kulcsár).

have been proposed for the chronology and even the sequence of events, and the emperor's plans. It is not our intention to review or even summarise the extensive literature on this subject; instead, we shall concentrate on the impact of the war on the Sarmatians, a people at least as affected as the Romans, seeing that they were extremely active participants, especially in the last phase of the war. (**fig. 209**)

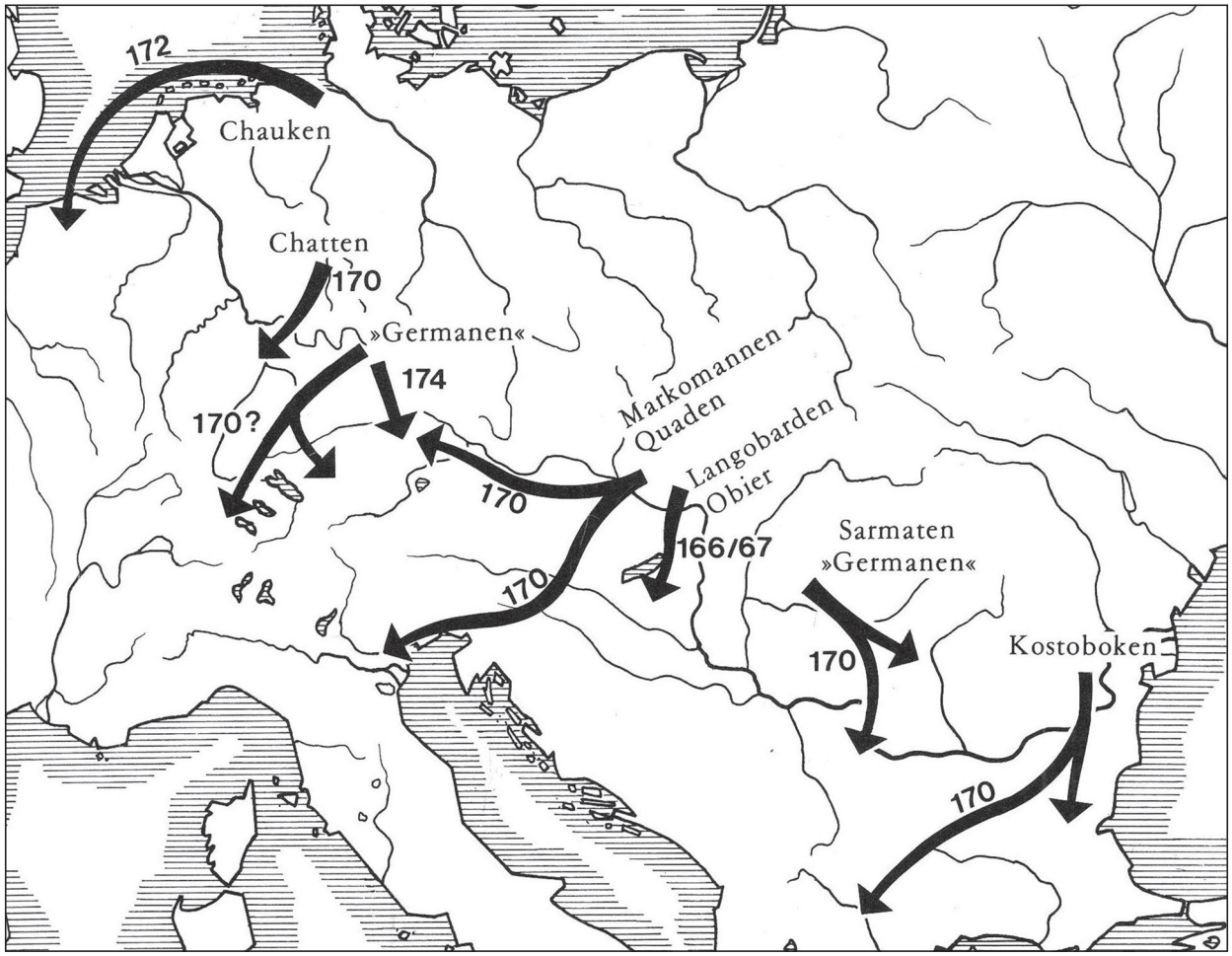


Fig. 209 Map of the campaigns of the Marcomannic Wars. – (After Böhme 1975, fig. 3).

The onslaught against the province was begun by the Germanic peoples. Most scholars traditionally date the raid of 6,000 Langobards and Obii against Pannonia Superior to 166 AD, the beginning of the war, and link this event to a peace delegation of eleven peoples who had negotiated with Iallius Bassus, the province's governor:

> Six thousand Langobardi and Obii crossed the Ister, but the cavalry under Vindex issued forth and the infantry commanded by Candidus arrived, so that the barbarians were completely routed. Then, thrown into consternation by such an outcome to their very first undertaking, the barbarians sent envoys to Iallius Bassus, the governor of Pannonia, choosing for the purpose Ballomarius, king of the Marcomanni, and ten others, one for each nation. These envoys made peace, which they ratified with oaths, and then returned home[763].

It is uncertain whether the Sarmatian envoy had been present at the negotiations. It seems likely that they had been absent. The reason for this is that the Pannonian archaeological evidence offers a good idea of

763 Dio LXXI.3.1. For a critical assessment, see Alföldi 1942a, 192 n. 223.

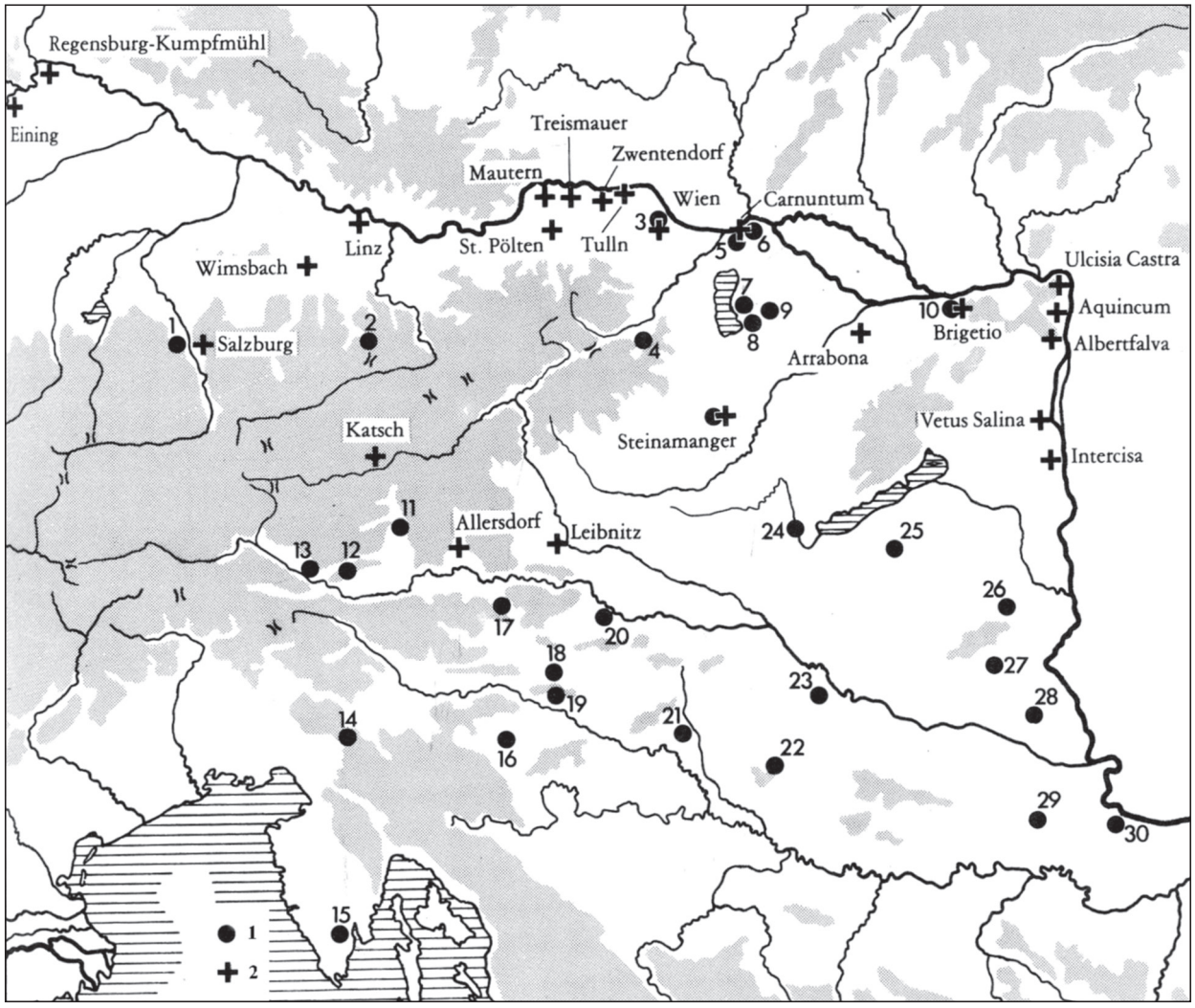


Fig. 210 Coin hoards and destruction levels dated to the period of Marcomannic Wars in Pannonia, Noricum and Raetia: **1** coin hoards. – **2** destruction levels. – (After Böhme 1975, fig. 7).

the devastation wrought by the Marcomannic-Sarmatian Wars. Firstly, the destruction levels dated by coins and burnt *terra sigillata* wares[764], and, secondly, the coin hoards (**fig. 210**) provide ample evidence that the first major barbarian invasions – the offensives led by the Langobards and the Obii in 166-167 and the *expeditio Germanica* of around 170-171 after a relative respite – affected Pannonia from the north. In the course of the latter, the barbarians penetrated the province along the Amber Road and ravaged the province's western regions, advancing as far as Aquileia and Opitergium (Oderzo). A lack of *terra sigillata* wares in the eastern half of Transdanubia, i. e. in Pannonia Inferior, can only be noted from 178-179, reflecting a (temporary) decline in trade with the western provinces[765]. Future research will no doubt shed light on the role of the Sarmatians along the Pannonian front during the first phase of the war.

764 For the destruction layers dated by *sigillata* wares, see Gabler 2006, 126-128.

765 For an excellent overview, see Gabler 2006, esp. 126-131. In addition to the archaeological evidence, we must also bear in mind that only the governor of Pannonia Superior took any measures, again confirming the assumption that the first major strike was against the westerly areas of Transdanubia (Alföldi 1942a, 222 n. 225). For the events and the battle fronts, see also Mócsy/Fitz 1990, 37-38. Another piece of indirect evidence is that the amount of amber declined perceptibly after the war (Prohászka 2005/2006, 88, with the relevant literature).

Although the barbarians in the Danube region could be kept at bay through negotiations until the end of the Parthian War, the war continued on two fronts in the Carpathian Basin after the conclusion of the eastern war. Dacia found itself in an extremely threatened position. There was a major barbarian incursion around 167, reflected by an assemblage of wax tablets found at Roşia Montană (Alburnus Maior), one of which records that only 17 of the 54 members of a burial society could attend a meeting held in 167. It would appear that the tablets had been buried owing to an attack launched in 167 and that this attack was soon followed by another one because none of the society's members had returned for the tablets (**fig. 211**)[766].

The Empire had to deal with a sweeping, concerted attack of the barbarians of the Danube region. The situation was further aggravated by the plague that broke out in 168 or 169 and decimated the population; as a consequence »the dead were removed in carts and waggons«[767]. Faced with a truly catastrophic situation, the Romans drew up an aligned defence strategy in which Dacia was to play a key role as one of the springboards of the planned counter-attacks[768]. The Dacian army was commanded by M. Claudius Fronto, one of the period's most brilliant military leaders. In 169/170, full-scale hostilities erupted along the border of Dacia and Moesia Inferior. Fronto, commander of the two provinces' united army, fell in battle[769]. The barbarians invaded Dacia in 170, advancing as far as Sarmizegetusa, the province's capital. Marcus Aurelius personally led an expedition to Dacia and it seems likely that Sextus Cornelius Clemens, *consularis et dux trium Daciarum* (the joint commander of the three Dacias), entered office at this time. In 171 or 172, the governor of Tres Daciae concluded an alliance with the Hasding Vandals:

> The Astingi, led by their chieftains Raüs and Raptus, came into Dacia with their entire households, hoping to secure both money and land in return for their alliance. But failing of their purpose, they left their wives and children under the protection of Clemens, until they should acquire the land of the Costoboci by their arms [...][770].

In exchange for receiving land, the eastern Germanic Hasdingi defeated the Costoboci of the free Dacians – probably somewhere along the Lower Danube – who swept into Greece through Dobrudja from their territories in the north-eastern foreland of the Carpathians[771]. Something happened upon their return because the Vandals attacked the province again. This time, the Romans sought out the Lacringi, a people related to the Vandals, as their allies:

> [...] upon conquering that people, they proceeded to injure Dacia no less than before. The Lacringi, fearing that Clemens in his dread of them might lead these newcomers into the land which they themselves were inhabiting, attacked them while off their guard and won a decisive victory. As a result, the Astingi committed no further acts of hostility against the Romans,

766 Alföldi 1936, 162; 1942a, 192. In his discussion of the finds from Alburnus Maior, Visy 2005, pointed out that an economic crisis had broken out in the wake of the war. This is reflected by, amongst other things, the fact that in 169, Marcus Aurelius auctioned his private property to fund his military expenses. The austerity measures, such as the production of military diplomas from wood instead of the usual bronze for eleven years, are another indication of the economic crisis.

767 SHA Marc.Ant. XIII.

768 For the role of Dacia, see Angyal/Balla 1972, 154-155.

769 Alföldi 1942a, 194, with the relevant epigraphic material and earlier literature.

770 Dio LXXI.12.1. This event can perhaps be traced in the archaeological material of the early Roman Age from the Szatmár-Bereg Plain brought to light as part of intensive research during recent years. The assemblages uncovered during the excavations at Csengersima (Gindele/Istvánovits 2009), Beregsurány (Istvánovits 2004) and recently on settlements in County Satu Mare in Romania (Németi/Gindele 1997) reflect a strong mix of Dacian and Germanic artefact types.

771 For the incursion, see Alföldi 1942a, 194. The archaeological heritage of the Costoboci is usually identified with the Lipica Culture distributed in the Upper Dniester region (Bidzilja/Rusanova 1993, 103, with further literature).

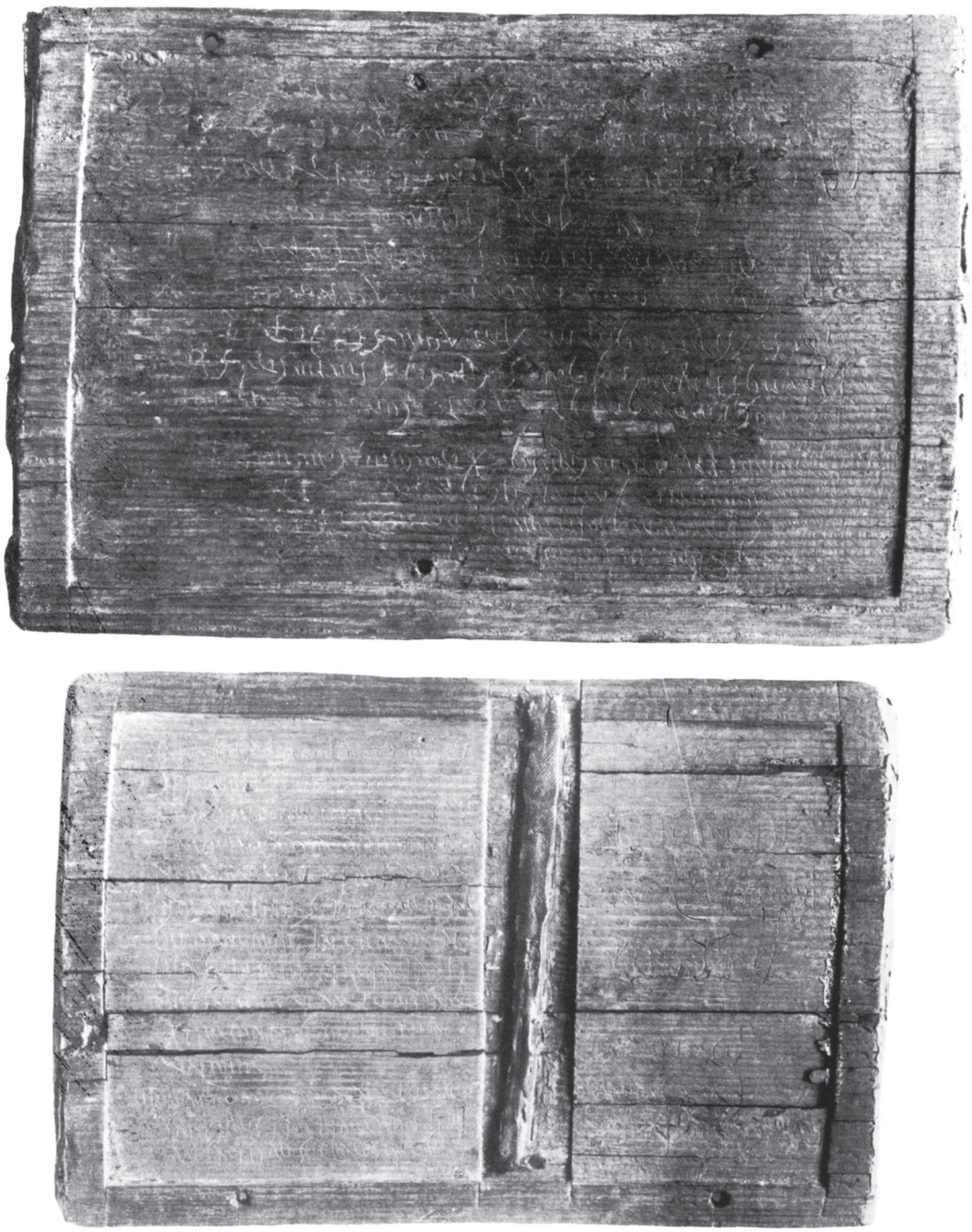


Fig. 211 Wax tablet from Roşia Montană (Alburnus Maior). – (After Tóth 2001, fig. 18).

> but in response to urgent supplications addressed to Marcus they received from him both money and the privilege of asking for land in case they should inflict some injury upon those who were then fighting against him[772].

The Romans thus succeeded in pacifying the two Vandal tribes in the foreland of Dacia. It is therefore hardly surprising that finds, such as the typical male burials containing weapons of the Przeworsk culture (**fig. 202**)

772 Dio LXXI.12.1.

and culturally attributed to the Vandals, especially the Victovali, appeared in the region in the late 2nd century (stage B2/C1)[773].

Returning to the events in Dacia, it is inconceivable that an attack against the province could have been launched without the active participation of the Sarmatians. It is most unlikely that the Costoboci could have approached the Lower Danube region without the Roxolani learning about their movements (and probably consenting to it). At the same time, the period's Sarmatian assemblages indicate that the Sarmatian population of the Carpathian Basin did not decline, as might be expected in the wake of the war and the epidemic, but had actually grown dynamically. This is best reflected by the high number of newly-opened cemeteries from the late 2nd century[774]. The most likely date for any mass immigration from areas beyond the Carpathians would be the early 170s when the defences of Dacia (and, probably, of Moesia Inferior) were shattered. This date is also confirmed by the fact that Marcus Aurelius spent the better part of the early 170s conducting systematic campaigns against various Germanic tribes. The Iazyges remained beyond his field of vision until the winter of 173-174 when they crossed the frozen Danube and devastated Pannonia[775]. The Romans scored a decisive victory in 175, when Marcus Aurelius took the title »*Sarmaticus*«[776]. Cassius Dio described the peace negotiations:

> The Iazyges were defeated and came to terms, Zanticus himself appearing as a suppliant before Antoninus. Previously they [the Iazyges] had imprisoned Banadaspus, their second king, for making overtures to him; but now all the chief men came with Zanticus and made the same compact as that to which the Quadi and the Marcomani had agreed, except that they were required to dwell twice as far away from the Ister as those tribes[777]. Indeed, the emperor had wished to exterminate them utterly. For that they were still strong at this time and had done the Romans great harm was evident from the fact that they returned a hundred thousand captives that were still in their hands even after the many who had been sold, had died, or had escaped, and that they promptly furnished as their contribution to the alliance eight thousand cavalry, fifty-five hundred of whom he sent to Britain[778].

Dio recorded two negotiations: very little is known about the first agreement, concluded with the envoys led by Banadaspus; the second one, whose conditions are described in detail, was reached with Zanticus and the Sarmatian leaders. These events can be dated to 175[779].

773 In Hungary, the finds from the Upper Tisza region were first reviewed by Bóna, who identified these Germanic assemblages as the heritage of the Victovali (Bóna 1986, 61-65). The chronology and typology of the type finds (shields, spurs, swords, etc.) brought to light from the cremation burials of the Przeworsk culture have been reliably established by Polish research. Godłowski's excellent overview of the archaeological evidence and the literary sources, also affecting the finds from Hungary is especially important for us (Godłowski 1993, 69-78).

774 Due to the lack of site gazetteers and a precise chronology, the growth in the number of cemeteries is difficult to prove. Despite the paucity of data, an increase in burial sites from the 1st century BC to the early 5th century AD can be seen in the catalogue of Kulcsár 1998a. This increase in the number of burial sites cannot be explained by natural population growth alone. Despite the uncertainties in chronology, the main tendency is amply illustrated by the fact that the number of cemeteries dated to the 2nd to 3rd centuries, most of which were opened after the Marcomannic Wars, doubled compared to the preceding period. This is obvious even without going into the details of how many burials a particular cemetery contained; we counted only the sites. The cemeteries excavated after the publication of Kulcsár's study conform with this tendency.

775 Mócsy 1974, 190.

776 Sulimirski 1970, 175 pl. 45. Coins inscribed with the legend DE SARMATIIS were issued at this time (**fig. 212**) (López Sánchez 2007, 90).

777 In the case of the Sarmatians, this meant a 15 km wide zone, see Graf 1936, 130.

778 Dio LXXI.16. It is unclear who exactly captured Banadaspus and little is known about the relation between Banadaspus and Zanticus. We are indebted to Everett Wheeler for his generous help in interpreting the text. Zanticus' name means »son of the tribe«, while Banadaspus' name translates as »leader of the horses« (Abaev 1979, 307. 310). The mention of the two kings sheds light on the Sarmatians' social organisation and suggests the possible institution of a dual kingship.

779 Alföldi 1942a, 198. – Mócsy 1974, 190. – Vaday 2001, 177. 179.

Few studies mention that this peace treaty was dictated by necessity:

> The revolt of Cassius and Syria forced Marcus Antoninus to make terms with the Iazyges very much against his will; indeed, he was so alarmed by the news that he did not even communicate to the senate the conditions of the peace made with them, as he was wont to do in other cases[780].

This passage would imply that the emperor hardly considered the war to be over. Knowing that the Sarmatians occupied a key position between the two military fronts, it is hardly surprising that they became one of the most important actors in the war.
One might rightly assume that the conditions of the peace treaty, especially the clause prohibiting settlement in a zone directly along the Danube, would be reflected in the archaeological finds. That this is not so is quite understandable. Subsequent events leave no doubt that the Romans failed to resolve the situation to their liking. The remains of a burnt house at Gorsium dated to 178 by *sigillata* wares and the destruction of Pacatus' pottery workshop at the Budapest-Gázgyár (Gasworks) site at about the same time suggest a new Sarmatian incursion[781]. In 179, as Dio reported:

> The Iazyges sent an embassy and asked to be released from certain of the agreements they had made; and some concessions were granted them, to prevent their becoming entirely alienated. Yet neither they nor the Buri were willing to join the Romans as allies until they had received pledges from Marcus that he would without fail prosecute the war to the uttermost; for they were afraid he might make a treaty with the Quadi, as before, and leave enemies dwelling at their doors[782].

A new agreement was reached at the Iazyges' request:

> And when the Iazyges proved most useful to them, he released them from many of the restrictions that had been imposed upon them, – in fact, from all save those affecting their assembling and trading together and the requirements that they should not use boats of their own and should keep away from the islands in the Ister. And he permitted them to pass through Dacia in order to have dealings with the Rhoxolani, as often as the governor of Dacia should give them permission[783].

It is unclear what the passage between the Roxolani and the Iazyges meant. The passage is traditionally considered to have passed through the valley of the Lower Danube in Wallachia, and it is assumed that this route had been used well before the outbreak of the hostilities, otherwise it would hardly have occurred to anyone to pacify the restless barbarians in this manner. The fact that the demand for the passage was raised would suggest that the route had either existed continuously or that its memory was still very much alive among the Sarmatians, to whom it was important for political and economic reasons[783a]. The information contained in Dio's report is inconclusive and raises several questions. Why did the emperor agree to this

780 Dio LXXI.17.
781 Bónis/Gabler 1990, 181. – Gabler 2006, 64. 101. Kuzsinszky 1932, 14, who had initially published the Roman industrial centre at the Óbuda-Gázgyár site, believed that the pottery workshop had remained active after 178.
782 Dio LXXI.18.
783 Dio LXXI.19.1-2.
783a Alföldi 1942, 200. Later research accepted this argument.

unusual and – in view of the above hypothesis – rather dangerous condition? Had the Sarmatians grown so strong? Or, conversely, had they become so weak? When and how did this route evolve? Can this clause of the peace treaty be linked to the immigration of new Sarmatian groups, amongst them the Roxolani? Was this the route used by the new Sarmatian immigrants entering the Carpathian Basin at the time of the Marcomannic Wars? These questions still need to be addressed by Sarmatian research.

It seems quite unlikely for us that the passage of various population groups through the Empire would have been permitted. Even though there is nothing to confirm this in the archaeological record, the interpretation of the passage as a form of controlled trade between different tribes seems more plausible. We may also assume that trade in this form had existed since the creation of the province of Dacia and perhaps ever since the Iazyges' migration through Dacian territory[784].

The peace did not last long after Marcus Aurelius' death. Commodus led a campaign against the peoples living in the Dacian borderland, principally the Buri. The conclusion of this campaign was a peace settlement according to which no-one was permitted to dwell within a forty-stades-wide zone along the Dacian border[785]. Unlike the course followed by Marcus Aurelius, Commodus also resorted to the traditional methods used by Rome, such as subsidies and re-settlements, etc., in addition to the agreement.

The smaller Iazygian incursions in 185 and 188 can be regarded as minor quakes in the aftermath of the Marcomannic-Sarmatian Wars that shook the Empire[786]. Commodus eventually discarded Marcus Aurelius' plans for creating new provinces and decided instead to reinforce the *limes*. In Alföldi's view, this was a grave mistake despite the fact that the losses of the Marcomanni, the Quadi and the Iazyges were so great that they »no longer threatened the very existence of the Empire« and their incursions remained no more than local skirmishes[787]. The later raids were at least as devastating, but they no longer threatened the Empire as a whole.

In order to fully understand the Sarmatians' role in the Marcomannic-Sarmatian Wars, we must address an issue that has been long since researched in Sarmatian studies and which can probably be resolved through the minute analysis of the archaeological finds. Two passages seem to suggest that Marcus Aurelius intended to create two new provinces:

> He wished to make a province of Marcomannia and likewise of Sarmatia, and he would have done so had not Avidius Cassius just then raised a rebellion in the East. For three years thereafter he waged war with the Marcomanni, the Hermunduri, the Sarmatians, and the Quadi, and had he lived a year longer he would have made these regions provinces[788].

To what extent can the emperor's intention recorded here be verified, what was the rationale behind his plan and – assuming that the philosopher-emperor had indeed decided to create the new provinces – how much progress had been made in the organisation of the planned provinces (**fig. 213**)?

The fact itself can hardly be doubted because Cassius Dio even revealed that:

> [...] with regard to the Quadi and the Marcomani, who sent envoys [to Marcus Aurelius], the twenty thousand soldiers that were stationed in forts among each of these tribes would not allow them to pasture their flocks or till the soil or do anything else in security, but kept receiving many deserters from the enemy's ranks and captives of their own; yet the soldiers themselves

784 It is uncertain what the traded commodities were and we can only speculate as to what they may have been.
785 Dio LXXII.3.
786 Alföldi 1942a, 203. – Mócsy/Fitz 1990, 41.
787 Alföldi 1942a, 202-203.
788 SHA Marc.Ant. XXIV.5, XXVII.9.



Fig. 212 Marcus Aurelius' coin with the legend DE SARMATIIS. This is the first unquestionable mentioning of Sarmatians on a Roman coin, referring also to the concept of provincialisation. – (After López Sánchez 2007, fig. 90, 2).



Fig. 213 Inscription commemorating the Roman victory over Germans in 178-179 in the Váh Valley refers to the existence of a field camp in Trenčín. – (After www.travelwriter.at/108/005/trencin-roman-inscription.shtml [10.10.2012]).

> were enduring no great hardships, inasmuch as they had baths and all the necessaries of life in abundance. The Quadi, accordingly, being unwilling to endure the forts built to keep watch over them, attempted to migrate in a body to the land of the Semnones[789].

Research on the planned province of Marcomannia is far ahead of that on Sarmatia. It therefore seems reasonable to take as our starting point what we know about the former. Architectural remains that can be interpreted as temporary forts are known from 21 locations and assumed at another eight in Moravia, Lower Austria and Slovakia (**fig. 214**). Ranging in size from 1 to 50 hectares, these forts can be dated to the close of the 2nd century. The remains of a systematically built Roman centre are currently being excavated at Mušov (**fig. 215**). The finds brought to light at the site indicate the presence of the Roman army. The archaeological assemblages reflect major changes in settlement patterns during the stage B2/C1, exactly at the time of the Marcomannic-Sarmatian Wars. The burials of the elite indicate close contacts with Rome, recalling the system of the client states during the Republican period. The evidence thus strongly points towards the initial steps of the region's provincialisation[790].

What do we know about Sarmatia? Which territories had been designated for the province? Most scholars assume that the quoted passages refer to the Hungarian Plain, although it has more recently been suggested that the creation of a province in the Wallachian Plain had also been planned[791]. Dio's passage only mentions the Marcomanni and the Quadi, but not Sarmatians regarding the stationing of Roman troops in barbarian lands. It is possible that the emperor's plans for Sarmatia had differed from the very beginning. The presence of 2nd century Roman buildings on the Hungarian Plain still remains to be confirmed. Due to the absence of systematic research, the nature and exact date of the sites that might be considered is

789 Dio LXXI.20.1-2. – Alföldi 1942a, 200.

790 Coins inscribed with the legend SARMATIA DEVICTA (**fig. 212**) issued by Marcus Aurelius are another proof that the emperor intended to create a new province (López Sánchez 2007, 90-92). For the data on the planned province of Marcomannia, see Komoróczy 2003, for a comprehensive overview of the literature on this issue and a review of earlier hypotheses. He argued that the evidence definitely supports the intended provincialisation. See also Komoróczy 2009, for an examination of the military installations.

791 Alföldi 1940a, 47.

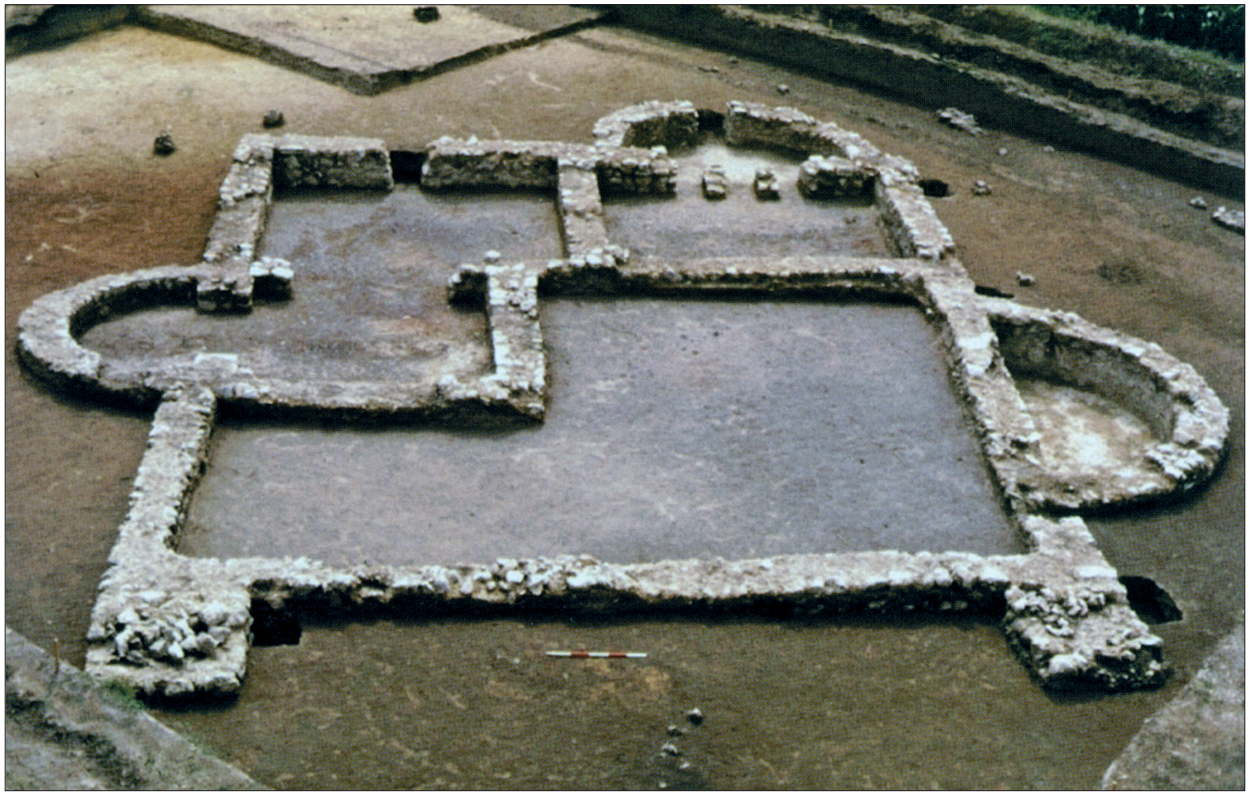


Fig. 214 Building in the Roman style in the Barbaricum: remains of the stone building at Bratislava-Dúbravka in Slovakia, beyond the Roman territory. – (After Breeze/Jilek/Thiel 2005, fig. 17).

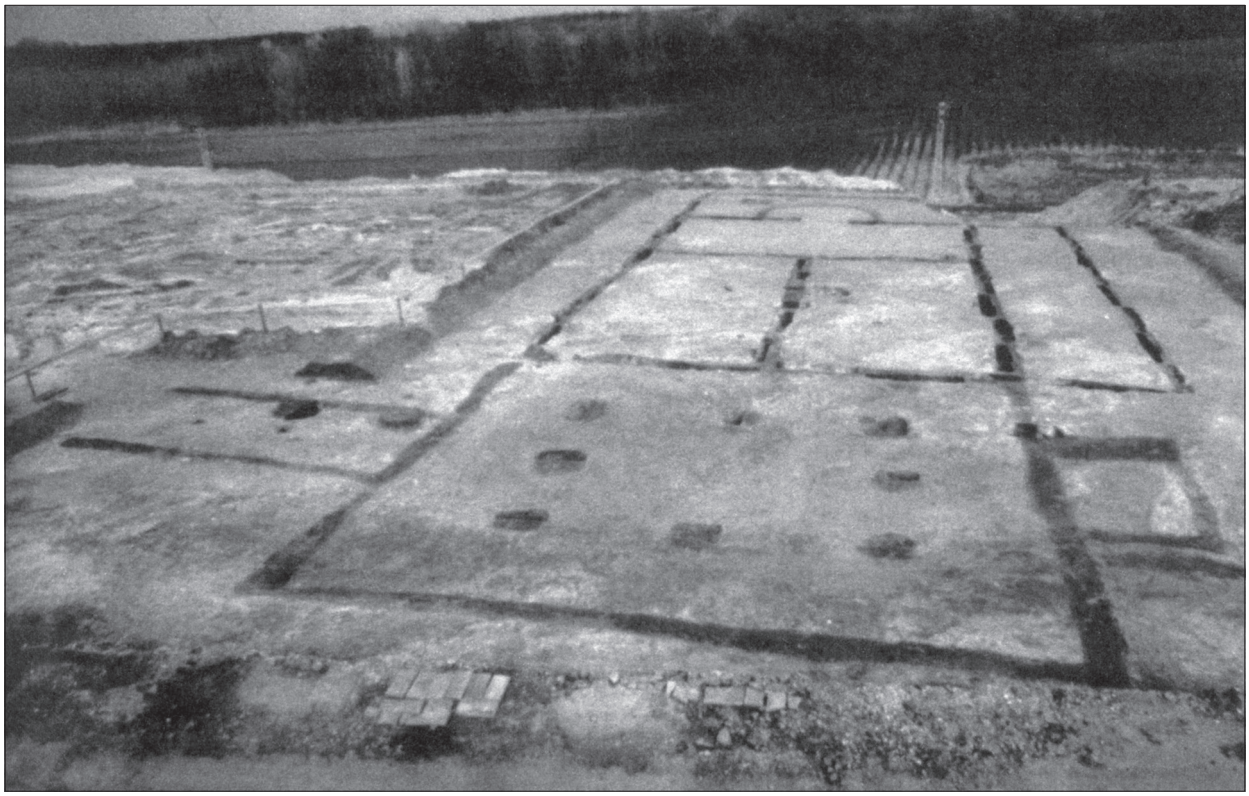


Fig. 215 *Mansio* of a high-ranking person: an apsidal building in Mušov-Neurissen, South Moravia. – (After Komoróczy 2006, fig. 9).

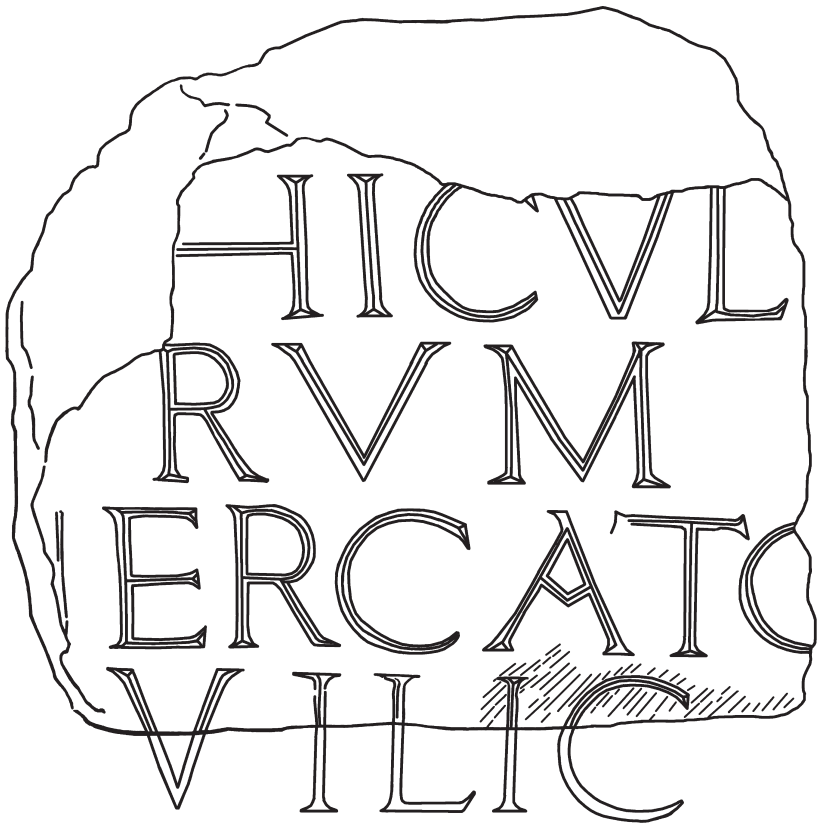


Fig. 216 Inscription from the Roman post station in Parthiscum (Szeged). – (After Mócsy 1974, 101 fig. 17).

unclear. Several smaller way stations controlled the road section between Pannonia and Dacia in the Maros Valley[792], the most important among them lying in Szeged, where a post station had been constructed under Antoninus Pius or earlier (**fig. 216**). The Roman military remains uncovered at Mezőzombor have been dated to the period of the Marcomannic Wars, but little else is known about them[793]. The other architectural remains from the Hungarian Plain are either later or their date is uncertain[794].

The construction of forts on the left bank of the Danube also began at this time. The best known among them is the fort at Iža-Leányvár (Castella Celamantia) opposite the legionary fort of Brigetio. Similar forts are known from areas other than the Quadic border, one being Transaquincum (Budapest-Rákos Stream mouth), more or less contemporary with Iža, opposite the legionary fort of Aquincum, probably built under Commodus' reign; and the fort of Contra Aquincum (Budapest Eskü/Március 15 Square) (**fig. 217**), constructed sometime later[795].

An interesting hypothesis must certainly be mentioned in connection with the Roman buildings found in barbarian territory. Vaday noted that four branches of the Csörsz Dyke can be identified in some areas of the Hungarian Plain. In her view, the structure of the fourth line differs from the others, suggesting that it may

792 Benea 1986, 457. – Vaday 2003a, 10, enlarged our current knowledge. However, the lack of bibliographic references makes the evaluation of Vaday's data virtually impossible. For the westward continuation of the road in the Maros Valley, see Patay 2005.

793 Mentioned by Vaday 2001, 179. The original publication merely states that »the function of the three features dating from the Roman Imperial period is not known. Their regular size, as well as their location would support an interpretation as buildings, even though there is nothing to support this. What is certain is that the three rectangular features were related« (Simán 1982, 103).

794 Cf. Vaday 2003a, 10-11. She mentions an alleged *burgus* on the left bank of the Zagyva (unfortunately, without any bibliographic references) which she dates to this period and hypothesises a *limes* road in the Zagyva Valley starting from Aquincum through the planned province (Vaday 2003b, 206).

795 Bertók 1997, 167. – Visy 2003, 61-62, both with further literature.

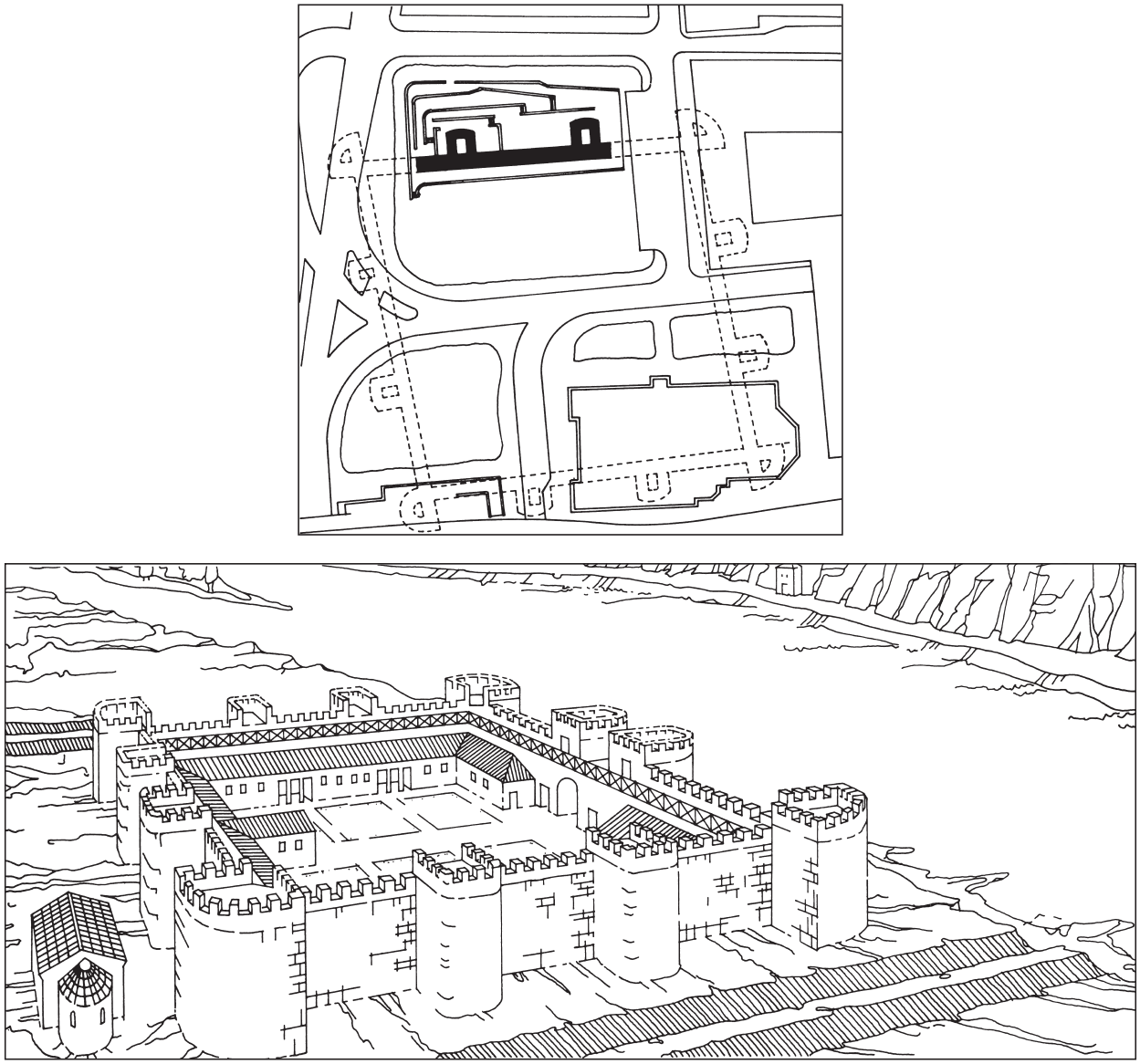


Fig. 217 Reconstruction of the Contra Aquincum fort in the Late Roman period (Budapest-Eskü/Március 15 Square). – (After Hajnóczy 1987, figs 181-184).

have marked the border of Marcus Aurelius' planned province. Without further research, this suggestion is no more than speculation[795a].

Roman finds testify to lively contact between the Quadic and Marcomannic lands and the Empire in the period preceding the Marcomannic Wars. In contrast, trade relations with the Sarmatian lands became more intensive from the late 2nd century onward (**fig. 218**). In this case, the creation of the planned province was not preceded by merchant activity, one of the usual procedures.

Cassius Dio's obvious differentiation between the Germanic peoples and the Sarmatians, as well as the differences in the archaeological material, suggest that the plans for Sarmatia diverged considerably from those concerning Marcomannia. The reason can probably be sought in the diverse nature of the contacts established with the two barbarian peoples.

795a Vaday 2003b, 206. For the Csörsz Dyke, see chapter »The Csörsz or Devil's Dyke«.



Fig. 218 The Roman finds from Hungarian Plain testify to the increasingly intensive contacts between the Sarmatians and the Romans from the late 2nd century: **1** Kistelek-Gerafölde, Feature 216 (after Balogh et al. 2005, fig. 4, 12). – **2** Nyíregyháza-Felsősima, stray find (JAM, E. Istvánovits's excavation and photo, unpublished). – **3** Hévízgyörk, Grave 14 (courtesy of the Petőfi Museum, Aszód). – **4** Nagyhalász-Tétke, stray find (JAM, inv. no. 64.1113.1; photo Z. Toldi). – **5** Szada-Mélykerektói-dűlő (courtesy of the HNM; photo E. Istvánovits / V. Kulcsár). – **6** Nyíregyháza-Felsősima, Grave 71 (JAM, E. Istvánovits's excavation and photo, unpublished). – **7** Nyíregyháza-Felsősima, Grave 181 (JAM, E. Istvánovits's excavation and photo, unpublished). – **8** Tiszavasvári (JAM, inv. no. 54.8.1).

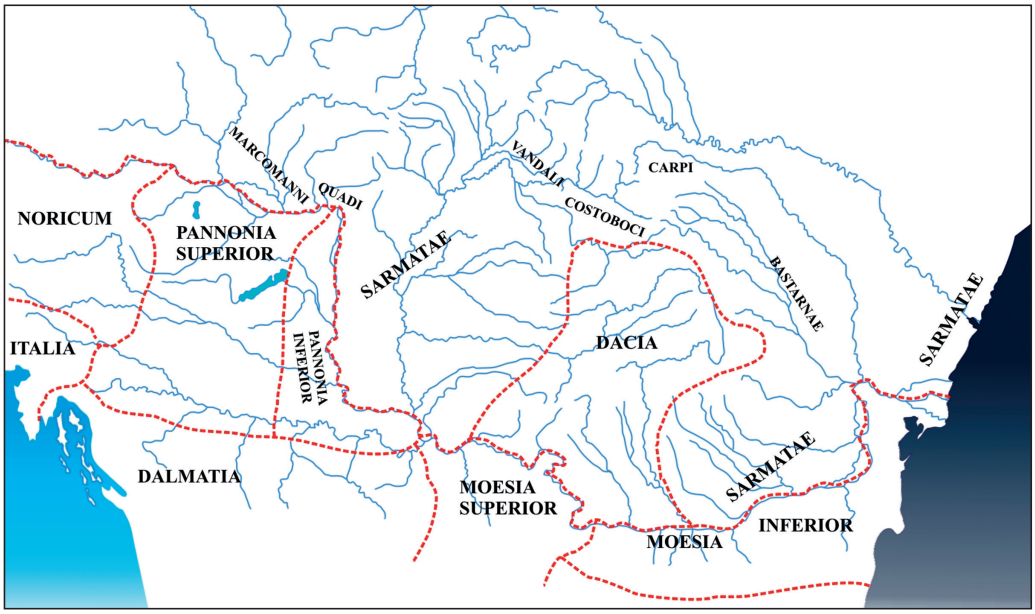


Fig. 219 Location of the barbarian peoples of the Carpathian Basin in the late 2nd-early 3rd century. – (Map E. Istvánovits).

One question that needs to be addressed in the light of the above is whether the barbarians along the Danube came under pressure from their more distant neighbours, leading them to request their annexation to the Empire (as has been generally assumed in the case of the Sarmatians), or, conversely, whether Marcus Aurelius' vision of the new province was modelled on the creation of Dacia, with the intention to totally annihilate the Iazyges and settle new colonists on the Hungarian Plain. The latter possibility is given weight by Cassius Dio's remarks[796].

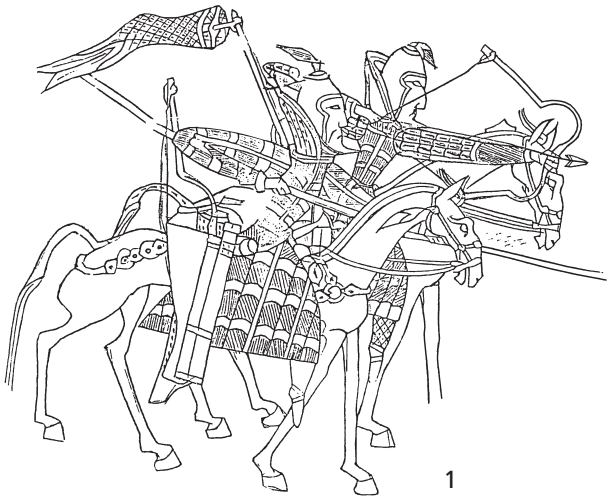
It would appear that Marcus Aurelius was determined to occupy the entire Carpathian Basin, a strategically sound plan. He apparently devised two different procedures for creating provinces in the Germanic and Sarmatian lands, perhaps in the light of the relations established earlier with the two neighbouring barbarian peoples. In the case of the Germanic peoples, provincialisation of their lands seemed the more sensible option, and in view of the preceding events, the Romans began to carry out their plan at a more dynamic pace (by imposing a military presence). In the case of the Sarmatians, however, they seem to have had more of a brutal revenge in mind. Marcus Aurelius died before he could carry out his plans and his son abandoned the project. The entire territory of the Carpathian Basin never came under Roman rule (**fig. 219**) which, in our opinion, determined its history to this very day as a region poised on the boundary between east and west[797].

The Archaeological Finds

From the mid and late 2nd century AD, a major change in the Sarmatian material can be noted in comparison to the situation after the Dacian Wars. The appearance of new artefact types can be associated with the Marcomannic-Sarmatian Wars and the arrival of new Sarmatian groups, conventionally labelled the Szentes-

796 Dio LXXI.13.1, LXXI.16.2. – Alföldi 1940a, 47.

797 It has also been suggested that the creation of the new provinces was discontinued not because of Marcus Aurelius' death, but for economic reasons: a protectorate, into which the two barbarian territories would be incorporated, would have been far more advantageous (López Sánchez 2007, 91-92, with further literature).



1



2



3



4

Fig. 220 **1** dragon standard on a bone plaque with carved scenes from Orlat near Samarkand (detail; courtesy of A. S. Semënov / A. M. Savin; drawing A. M. Savin). – **2** the Romans adopted the dragon banner from the Sarmatians: bronze dragon head from the Niederbieber camp in Germany (after Kemkes/Scheuerbrandt 1997, fig. 56). – **3** depiction of a probably Alanic soldier holding a dragon banner on a gravestone from Chester in Britain (after Wright/Richmond 1955, pl. XXXIV). – **4** arch of Galerius was erected to celebrate the victory over Persians in 297-298; the south-eastern side of the north-western pillar depicts the scene of *adlocutio* with two distinct dragon standards (after Laubschner 1975, pl. 32, 1).

Nagyhegy, or the so-called Sarmatian buckle group[798]. There is a striking increase in the number of sites, providing incontestable proof for the arrival of new population groups in the Carpathian Basin. However, due to the lack of conclusive evidence it remains unclear where the former homeland of this new population had been and which Sarmatian group they represented. Although written sources contain little information in this respect, the newcomers probably included Alanian groups. Proof of this is principally provided by the Sarmatian contingent transferred to Britain, reflected in the links between the military dragon standard (**figs 79, 2; 220**) and the legends of King Arthur and the Nart Epic)[799].

798 In fact, the label Szentes-Nagyhegy group is inaccurate because the eponymous assemblage should be dated later (Kulcsár/Istvánovits 1997, 155).

799 The gold plaque from Dunaharaszti (**fig. 190**) furnishes evidence for a possible Alanic presence. Cf. section »A New Wave of Immigrants. The Problem of the Tamgas« for the uncertainties on the presence of the Alans. The gold plaque from Dunaharaszti (**fig. 190**) (discussed in detail above) furnishes evidence for a possible Alanic presence. For the link between the Sarmatians transferred to Britain and the Arthurian legends, see section »Sarmatians in the Arthurian Legends?«



Fig. 221 So-called Sarmatian buckles were in fashion in the Great Hungarian Plain in the late 2nd-early 3rd century: **1** reconstruction drawing (after Vaday/Kulcsár 1984, fig. 8). – **2** reconstruction in the permanent archaeological exhibition »Between East and West« of the HNM, based on the authors' concept (after Óvári et al. n.y., 151). – **3-5. 7** Sarmatian buckles and strap ends from Sződliget-Csörög, Graves 16 and 30 (TIM, V. Kulcsár's excavation, unpublished; photo L. Szászvári). – **6** Sarmatian buckle from Nyíregyháza-Felsősima, Grave 172 (JAM, E. Istvánovits's excavation, unpublished; photo G. Boros).

A closer look at the so-called Sarmatian buckles, the period's distinctive find, provides important clues as to the previous homeland of the immigrants. These buckles were first distinguished by Párducz and continued by Vaday and Kulcsár with a survey and evaluation of the known pieces[800]. Most buckles are generally part of a set made up of a large belt-buckle and strap end, and the smaller buckles and strap ends of the footwear. The set occasionally contains a small spur whose straps are divided by »Y«-shaped spacers. The buckle plates and the strap ends are both of the narrow, elongated type (**figs 221-222**).

Good parallels to these finds can be found among both Roman and eastern Sarmatian costumes (**fig. 127**)[801]. The main problem is that none of the known analogies include exact counterparts to the buckles, and the general resemblance between them is restricted to their structure and decorative technique (faceting). Nonetheless, it is striking that the appearance of the so-called Sarmatian buckles in the costume coincides with the arrival of new groups from the east.

At the moment, we are not able to give a reliable answer to the question of the newcomers' provenance. A mapping of the eastern connections of the new artefact types will no doubt contribute to a clearer picture of the Sarmatian migrations. Parallels to the so-called knobbed rings, probably a kind of amulet, appearing after the Marcomannic Wars (**fig. 195, 2. 5**)[802], are rare in the Don region, but more frequently encountered

800 Párducz 1956. – Vaday/Kulcsár 1984. A number of similar sets have been brought to light during more recent excavations as well, calling for a fresh look at these artefacts.

801 Vaday/Kulcsár 1984.

802 Istvánovits 1984/1986, 102 fig. 7, showing the distribution of these objects over the Hungarian Plain.



Fig. 222 Nyíregyháza-Felsősima, Grave 26: Sarmatian burial with buckles. – (E. Istvánovits's excavation, unpublished).

in the Kuban region and the Caucasus, as well as in the Crimea. Moulds for these objects are known from Olbia and Chersonesus[803]. These analogous finds are all the more noteworthy because amulets can be assigned to the artefacts closely associated with religious beliefs. The systematic mapping and the search for possible steppe parallels remain tasks for future research.

Several finds from the Hungarian Plain suggest that the Sarmatian population (or a part of it), perhaps the group wearing Sarmatian buckles, arriving at the time of the Marcomannic Wars or immediately afterwards,

803 Zaharov 2000, 36.

originated from the Lower Don region, at least judging from the Azov-Hévízgyörk-Vizesdpuszta group identified by Kulcsár[804]. The graves of this group contained the burials of warriors equipped with similar weapons and horse harness (featuring a specific type of buckle and semi-spherical silver beads) and a sword pommel of semi-precious stone. Imported glass vessels are typical for the burials of this group (**fig. 127**). Bezuglov linked these burials to the period's elaborately and uniformly equipped warrior aristocracy. The graves show a concentration in two regions during the second half of the 2nd and first half of the 3rd centuries: in the South Ural and the Don Delta region[805]. A set with a Sarmatian buckle came to light at Hévízgyörk and Vizesdpuszta (today Vizejdia, Romania), while the assemblage from the vicinity of Azov contained a faceted strap end, resembling the pieces in the Sarmatian buckle sets[806]. Several other late 2nd and early 3rd century graves are known from the Hungarian Plain whose burial rite (a north to south orientation differing from the customary direction and the mound raised over the grave) and grave goods, including weapons and harness sets, suggest that they can be assigned to the same group of burials. It would seem that these graves represent the heritage of immigrants from the Lower Don region. The sites of the Hévízgyörk-Vizesdpuszta group mostly lie along the northern boundary of the Sarmatian territory on the Hungarian Plain (along the line of the later Csörsz Dyke), perhaps an indication that this group had been entrusted with guarding the border (**fig. 223**). The mounted troops were equipped with heavy double-edged swords and lances. The 8,000 mounted Sarmatian warriors delivered to Marcus Aurelius after the conclusion of the peace treaty in 175 probably had similar equipment[807]. In addition to the new artefacts brought from the east, the grave of the warrior laid to rest at Hévízgyörk yielded several Germanic objects such as a buckle with a double prong (*Doppeldornschnalle*), an Almgren 129 type brooch (*Einsprossenfibel*) typical for the Przeworsk culture and also Przeworsk-type spearheads, perhaps indicating that their last owner had fought alongside Germanic warriors during the war (**fig. 224**)[808].

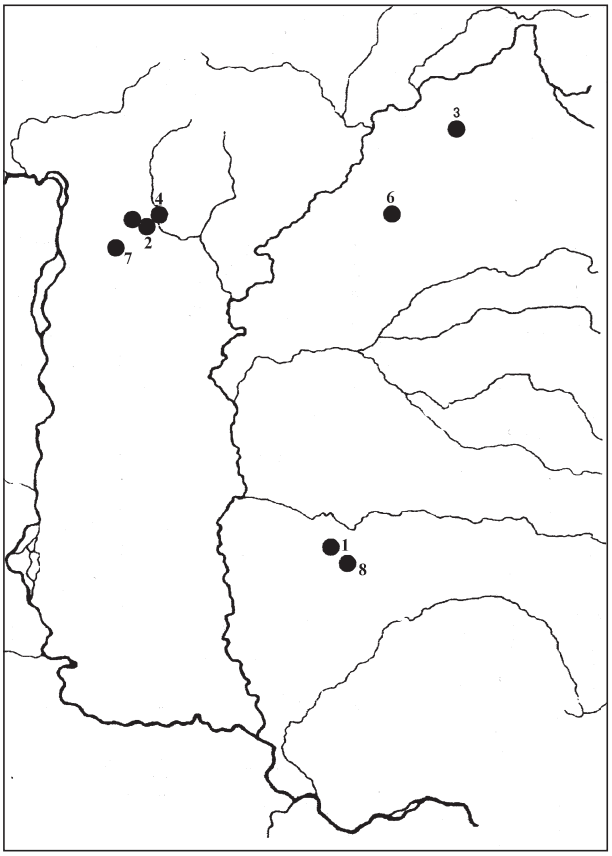


Fig. 223 Sites of the Hévízgyörk-Vizesdpuszta group: **1** Óbesenyő/Dudeşti Vechi. – **2** Galgahévíz, Grave 2. – **3** Geszteréd, Grave A. – **4** Hatvan. – **5** Hévízgyörk, Grave 28. – **6** Hortobágy-Poroshát, Grave II. 10. – **7** Isaszeg. – **8** Vizesdpuszta/Vizejdia, Graves 1, 2, 4. – (After Kulcsár 1998b, 77-78 fig. 5).

Several new elements appear in the burial rite and in the material culture after the great wars. After earlier precedents, the custom of enclosing graves with a ditch (**figs 184. 225**) and the related practice of erecting a mound over burials (**fig. 226**) became widespread at this time. Graves with an east to west and north to south orientation, differing from the customary south to north alignment, can be found among the burials.

804 Kulcsár 1998b. – Istvánovits/Kulcsár 2003b, 232-237.

805 Bezuglov 1997, 137-138.

806 Bezuglov 1997, fig. 2, 16-17.

807 The conscription of these mounted warriors is probably also a reflection of Marcus Aurelius' intention to annihilate the Sarmatians and to create the new province of Sarmatia on the Hungarian Plain by settling new groups (Alföldi 1942a, 198).

808 Kulcsár 1998b, 75. – Istvánovits/Kulcsár 2003b, 232-234.

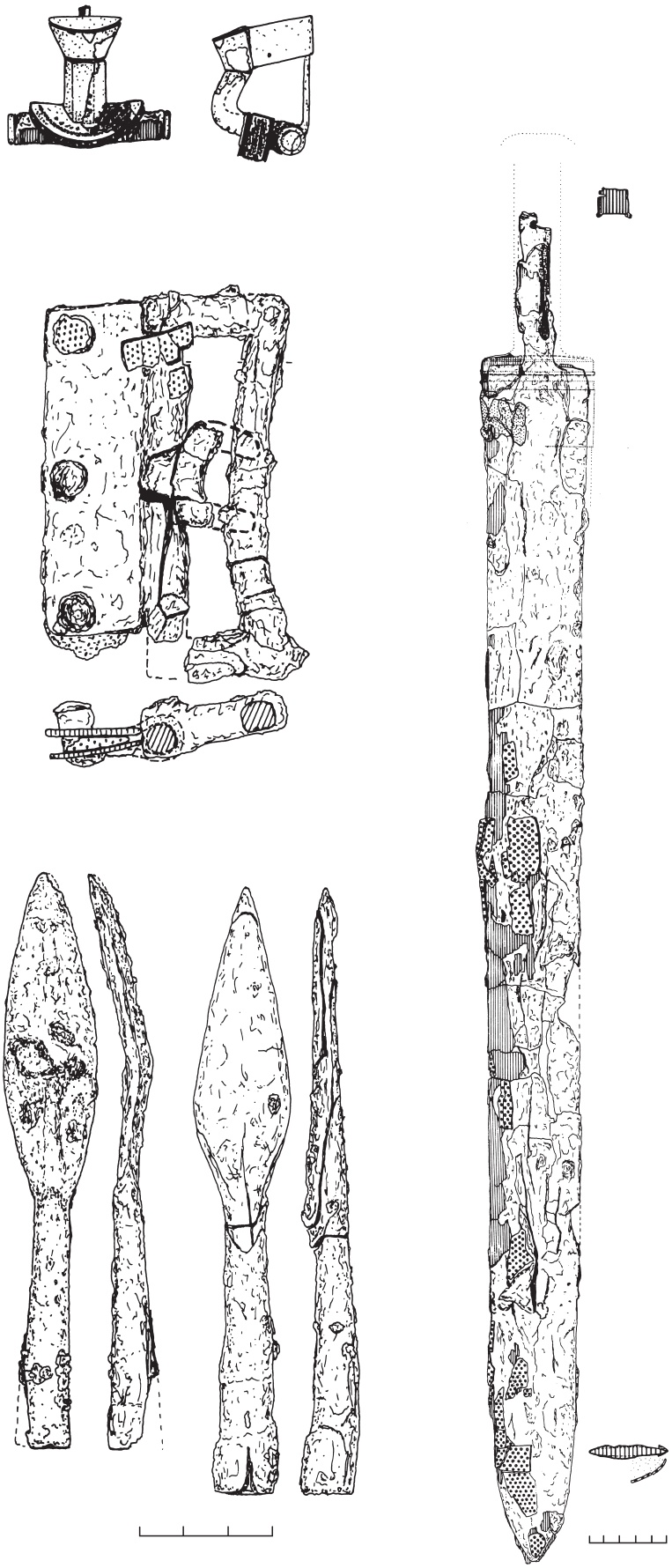


Fig. 224 The sword and Germanic finds of the warrior buried at Hévízgyörk: a buckle with a double prong, a so-called *Einsprossenfibel*, spearheads. – (After Dinnyés 1991, figs 12, 1; 13, 2; 14, 15-16; 16, 9).



Fig. 225 Ditched graves in the Sarmatian cemetery at Nyíregyháza-Nagy-lapos. – (Photo A. Balázs).

Following an earlier and already attested fashion, the custom of embroidering lower hemlines or shoes with beading also became widely popular (**figs 227-229**). A similar costume decoration can be noted in the graves of the Budžak Steppe in the Lower Danube region[809]. Interestingly, the beads were not made in the Barbaricum, but in Tibiscum in Dacia, where a bead workshop began its activity in the first half of the 2nd century. The workshop's production grew perceptibly after the Marcomannic Wars (**fig. 179**)[810].

One group of male burials could be distinguished in which the vessels were not deposited by the feet as was customary among the Sarmatians of the Carpathian Basin, but beside the head. Many graves in this group contained weapons. The orientation of the graves often differed from the usual one: a concentra-

809 e. g. at Holmskoe, Graves 22 and 24 (Gudkova/Fokeev 1984, 17-19. 21. 29).

810 Benea 1995; 1997; 2004.



Fig. 226 Sarmatian burial mounds: **1** Isaszeg (photo D. Jankovich-Bésán). – **2** Galgahévíz (photo E. Istvánovits / V. Kulcsár).

tion of west to east orientated burials could be noted in the Szeged area, while a concentration of south to north and north to south orientated burials in the Upper Tisza region. The best parallels of the latter can be found in the north-western Pontic. Simonenko equated the population burying its dead with the head aligned toward the north with the Roxolani. The grave pottery in these burials was usually deposited beside the head or the hips[811].

The new steppe groups arriving at the time of the Marcomannic Wars, or immediately afterwards, did not set out from a single region and it seems more likely that we are witnessing the migration or infiltration of several smaller groups. They included members of the mounted warrior elite of the Don Delta, as well as the earlier inhabitants of the Crimea and the north-western Pontic (Budžak Steppe), whose appearance in the Carpathian Basin may have been related to the events leading up to the war.

811 Kulcsár 1998a, 68. – Simonenko 1991.



Fig. 227 The costume worn by Sarmatian men and women in the late 2nd-early 3rd century, in the permanent archaeological exhibition »Between East and West« of the HNM, based on the authors' concept. – (After Hendzsel et al. 2008, figs 3, 3; 5).

Roman imports, such as brooches, *terra sigillatas*, mirrors and other articles, appeared *en masse* in Sarmatian territory from the late 2nd century onward, alongside the inflow of immense amounts of silver *denarii*. The most popular brooches were the crossbow brooches of the Sarmatian (or Alföld) type and the enamelled pieces (**figs 218, 1-2. 6; 230-231**). Colourful glass beads also arrived in great numbers. Taken together, these articles enable the dating of the period's Sarmatian assemblages, the only exceptions being coins, perhaps the largest category of Roman finds from the Barbaricum. Good quality silver coins of the Antonine period still crop up in burials of the 5th century. Curiously enough, most hoards from Sarmatia were not hidden during the war, but much later, in the earlier 190s on the testimony of the latest pieces – a fact calling for extreme caution in dating.



Fig. 228 A Sarmatian woman's footwear in the late 2nd-early 3rd century, in the permanent archaeological exhibition »Between East and West« of the HNM, based on the authors' concept. – (After Óvári et al. n. y., 143).



Fig. 229 Sarmatian female costume was embroidered by a great number of beads. Colourful glass and polyhedral carnelian beads from Nyíregyháza-Felsősima, Grave 94. – (JAM, E. Istvánovits's excavation, unpublished).



Fig. 230 Enamelled brooch in Grave 71 at Nyíregyháza-Felsősima. – (JAM, E. Istvánovits's excavation, unpublished).



Fig. 231 So-called crossbow brooches of Sarmatian type, Üllő, Site 5, Feature 1363 and 6100 and a clay mould from Ecser, Site 7, Feature 4180. – (KM, A. Nagy's excavation, unpublished; photo L. Szászvári).

One contentious point in research on Roman-Sarmatian trade is the role of Dacia. Most scholars focus on contacts with Pannonia, even though the mass import of Dacian beads and the possible shipments of iron from that region (see the previous chapter) indicate an important, but hitherto neglected field of research.



Fig. 232 Auxiliary belt set from Tiszavasvári-Városföldje, Jegyző tag. Roman belt fittings found between beads decorated a female belt. – (JAM; photo G. Boros).

Obviously, Roman artefacts also reached the Sarmatians by means other than trade. An auxiliary belt set from a grave uncovered at Tiszavasvári was no doubt acquired as war booty (**fig. 232**). This grave find offers a rare view into the intimate private life of a Sarmatian warrior, who apparently presented the set as a gift to his sweetheart – the mounts, applied onto a belt, came to light from a female burial[812]. The dating of

812 Istvánovits 1984/1986, 85 fig. 4 tab. V.



Fig. 233 Germanic (Quadic) pottery from Vác-Csörögi rét. – (TIM, V. Kulcsár's excavation, unpublished; photo L. Szászvári).

articles obtained as war booty is slightly more problematic. It is unclear when the above mentioned Victoria statuette from Akasztó (**fig. 199**), the patera handle from Jászszentlászló and the ceremonial armour fragment from Orgovány (**fig. 200**) were acquired by their barbarian owners[813].

The population living along the northern border of Sarmatia between Pannonia and Dacia was made up of Germanic peoples: the Quadi in the north-west; and groups of the Przeworsk culture, usually identified with the Vandals, up to the border of Dacia (**fig. 219**). The mixing between the Germanic peoples and the Sarmatians can be documented from earlier periods in the Quadian-Sarmatian border zone[814], and it is also borne out by Roman accounts: »the Sarmatians and the Quadi, two tribes contiguous to each other, and similar in manners and mode of warfare«[815]. The close contact between the two peoples is reflected in the archaeological finds from the 2nd-3rd centuries as well. Their settlements have a mosaic patterning in the northern part of the Danube-Tisza interfluve near the Danube Bend, and the border between the two territories is blurred. The composition of the Germanic and Sarmatian type pottery finds suggests that the Quadi may have advanced as far as the northern outskirts of modern Budapest (**fig. 233**)[816].

As mentioned, the Sarmatians acquired new neighbours in the north-east after mid-2nd century: the Vandal groups of the Przeworsk culture (**fig. 202**). Germanic articles, and especially finds of the Przeworsk culture, appear in the Sarmatian burials: brooches, buckles, vessels from various sites, an »S«-shaped necklace clasp from Jászberény-Csegelapos and a pair of bracelets with shield-shaped terminals (*Schildkopfarmringe*) from

813 Thomas 1972; 1976a; 1976b.

814 Kulcsár 1997a. López Sánchez 2007, 102-103, recently suggested that the inter-mingling of the two populations was so intensive that the »foreign rulers«, who, according to Tacitus (*Germ*. 42), followed after the dynasty of Tudrus (the ancestral dynasty of the Quadi), may have come from among the Sarmatians and that the REX QUADIS DATUS coins issued in 140 portray a Suebian-Sarmatian king (**fig. 201**).

815 Ammian XVII.12.1.

816 Kulcsár 1997a; 1997b.

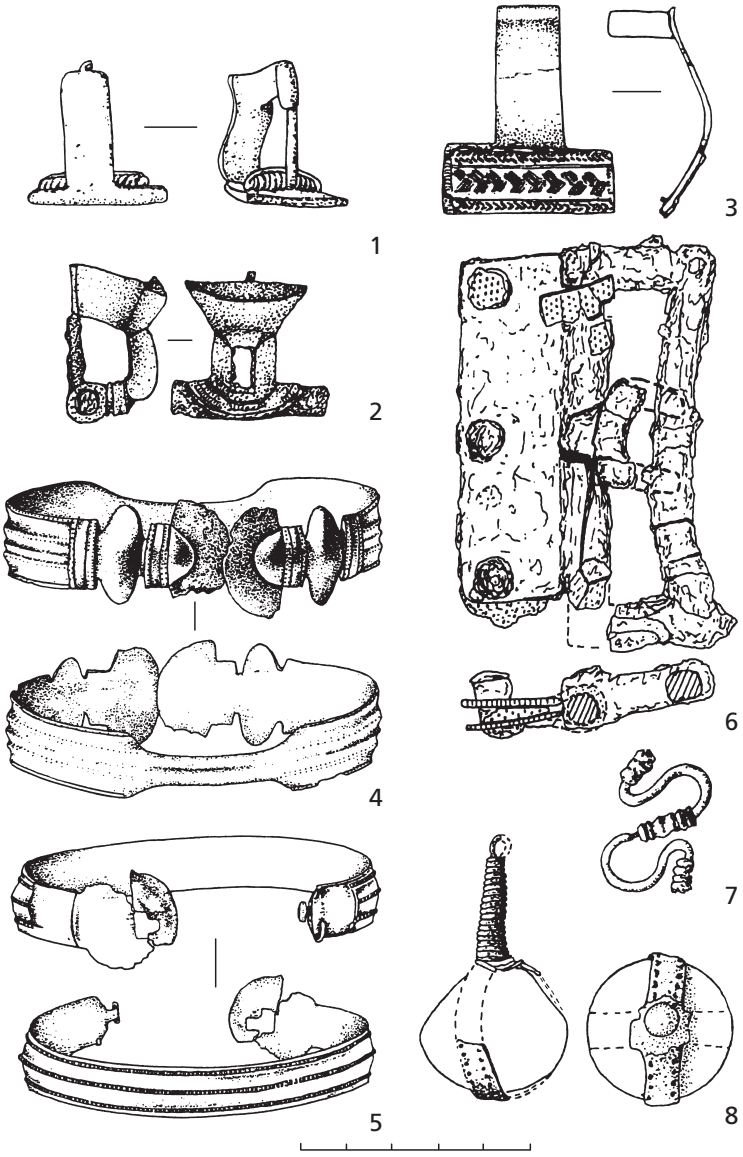


Fig. 234 2nd-3rd century Germanic finds from Sarmatian burials: **1** T shaped brooch of Almgren's Type 151 from Kenderes (after Vaday 1989b, pl. 43, 3). – **2** T shaped brooch of Almgren's Type 151 from Szolnok-Szanda (after Vaday 1989b, pl. 101, 1). – **3** so-called *Einsprossenfibel* of Almgren's Type 129 from Tiszavasvári (after Istvánovits 1984/1986, pl. 2, 1). – **4-5** snake-terminalled bracelets from Veresegyház (after Mesterházy 1986, fig. 4). – **6** buckles with double prongs from Hévizgyörk (after Dinnyés 1991, fig. 13, 2). – **7** S shaped necklace hook from Jászberény-Csegelapos (after Vaday 1989b, pl. 34, 3). – **8** spherical, framed pendants from Törökszentmiklós (after Vaday 1989b, pl. 131, 6).

Gelénes, reflecting both trade contacts and the co-mingling of the two peoples[817]. It is hardly surprising that finds of this type occur in greater number in the contact zone between them (**figs 234-236**).

The presence of Germanic artefacts on the Hungarian Plain fits in with the tendency outlined by the written sources during the great war, namely, that the Sarmatians often burst into the Empire in league with their Germanic neighbours. One of the priorities in Marcus Aurelius' military policy was to separate the different barbarian peoples – principally the Marcomanni, the Quadi and the Sarmatians – and so vanquish and pacify them separately. This is one of the reasons that the terms of the peace treaties differ[818]. It yet remains to be established whether, in addition to other factors, the differences in the Roman imports reaching the Germanic and Sarmatian lands – diverse *sigillata* types, the number of bronze and silver vessels – were a reflection of this differential treatment.

817 Vaday 1980; 1987; 1989b, 236 cat. no. 34. – Istvánovits / Kulcsár 1994a; 2000; 2003b.

818 For a discussion of Dio's report, see Alföldi 1942a, 200.



Fig. 235 Objects of Germanic character found in Sarmatian context: **1** Tiszavasvári-Városföldje, Jegyző-tag, Grave 7 (JAM). – **2** Nyíregyháza-Császárszállás, Halomi-dűlő, Grave 23 (JAM, E. Istvánovits's excavation, unpublished). – **3** Tiszavasvári-Városföldje, Jegyző-tag, Grave 37 (JAM). – **4** Monor-Berek. – (After Kulcsár 2001, fig. 3, 2).

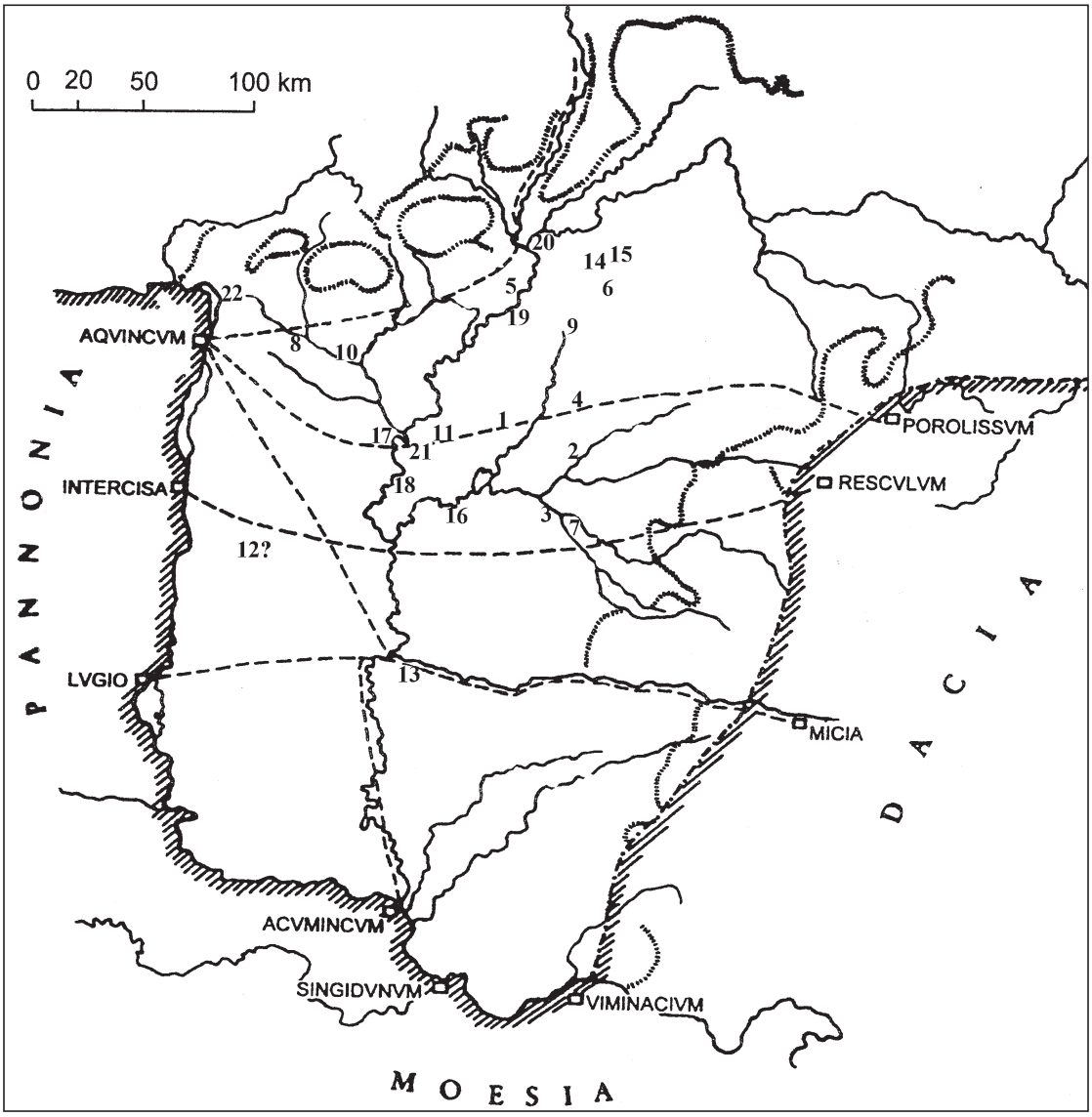


Fig. 236 Distribution of Przeworsk objects found on Sarmatian territory: **1** Báránd. – **2** Berettyóújfalu-Herpály. – **3** Békés-Vizesbánom. – **4** Derecske. – **5** Gelej. – **6** Geszteréd. – **7** Gyulavári. – **8** Hévízgyörk. – **9** Hortobágy. – **10** Jászberény-Csegelapos. – **11** Kenderes. – **12** Kiskőrös. – **13** Kiszombor. – **14** Nyíregyháza-Felsősima. – **15** Nyíregyháza-Oros, Auchan. – **16** Szarvas-Lómer halom. – **17** Szolnok-Szanda. – **18** Tiszaföldvár. – **19** Tiszafüred. – **20** Tiszavasvári. – **21** Törökszentmiklós. – **22** Veresegyház. – (After Istvánovits/Kulcsár 2000, fig. 1 supplemented by no. 4: kind information of L. Szolnoki, nos 14-15: unpublished excavation of E. Istvanovits and team).

While artefacts of the neighbouring Przeworsk culture occur regularly in the Sarmatian grave assemblages, surprisingly few are known from the Sarmatian settlements and no more than a handful of Sarmatian articles crop up across the entire Vandal settlement territory. The Sarmatians appear to have remained unaffected by the mixed Dacian-Germanic assemblages of the Upper Tisza region, principally represented by the typical finds from the early levels of the sites Csengersima/Petea and Beregsurány[819]. No contact whatsoever is apparent with more distant neighbours, such as the Carpathian Barrows culture – whose ethnic make-up is strongly controversial, although the Dacians seem to be the most likely candidates – despite the

819 Istvánovits 1993b; 1997; 2004. – Gindele/Istvánovits 2009, 45-66.

fact that the extent of their settlement territory can be farther extended to the west in the light of a burial of this cultural complex discovered recently near Csengersima (**fig. 204**)[820].
Whilst the Quadian neighbourship is reflected in the settlement finds, the vicinity of the Przeworsk culture is indicated by grave assemblages, both of which offer some insight into the nature of the contacts. Relations were obviously stronger in the contact zone than in the heartland of the respective settlement territories. However, it is still uncertain where the exact boundaries of the Sarmatian lands lay, if one can speak of a clearly defined border at all. A Sarmatian buckle has been reported from Carei in the north-east. A single stray find might be regarded as a random occurrence, were it not for the fact that an increasing number of Sarmatian settlement finds have been brought to light by Romanian research.
The great war brought a radical change in the ethnic make-up of the Barbaricum in the Carpathian Basin, which in turn also affected relations between the Romans and the barbarian peoples. The advance of the Germanic peoples and the »barbarisation« of the Roman army foreshadowed the decline of the Empire. Marcus Aurelius was the last Roman emperor who had a clear vision of the long-term military and political settlement of the Danubian provinces. The subsequent fate of the Sarmatians on the Hungarian Plain was determined, to at least the same extent, by their Germanic neighbours as it was by the Romans.

FROM THE MARCOMANNIC WARS TO THE EVACUATION OF DACIA

After the Marcomannic Wars

Relatively little is known about the events of the late 2nd and early 3rd centuries AD. There are many difficulties in establishing what had actually happened, the main reasons being the problems encountered in the dating of the archaeological material (which is especially true regarding 3rd century assemblages) and the absence of written sources. The latter is hardly surprising given the »global crisis« of the 3rd century, amply reflected by seventy emperors ruling during the fifty years between 235 and 284[821]. Roman writers were far more preoccupied with what went on in Rome than with foreign policy.
The end of the Marcomannic Wars brought a period of relative peace to the Carpathian Basin, not least owing to successful peace negotiations (and perhaps the mass settlement of various groups in the province) and no doubt owing to the military re-organisations along the *limes* sections facing the Sarmatians.
However, the calm was relative. That it was far from complete is best illustrated by the many coin hoards hidden in the Barbaricum during this period. The latest coin in the Mende hoard was struck in 195, the latest coins in the Elek and Miskolc hoards in 193, while the latest coin in hoard II from Kecel was minted sometime between 193 and 195[822]. The hoard discovered at Tiszaföldvár-Ókincsemhegy[823], the two hoards from Ghirişa (County Satu Mare in Romania) whose latest coins were minted in 193 and 201 respectively, and the hoard found at Teceu Mic (County Maramureş, Romania)[824] can also be assigned to this period.
Consolidation came around spring 197 when, following the civil war and the defeat of Clodius, Ti. Claudius Claudianus was appointed governor of Pannonia Inferior. The Severan period brought prosperity to Pannonia and, undoubtedly, the domestic political stability also meant peace along the province's borders. Several

820 Rusanova 1993, 179-181. We are greatly indebted to A. Jakab (Nyíregyháza) for the data on the unpublished finds from the excavations at Csengersima in 2009. The finds from this site provide additional evidence for dynamic contacts between the Germanic peoples and the Romans.

821 Alföldi 1967. – Demandt 2007, esp. 37.

822 Barkóczi 1957, 516, with further literature. – Fitz 1958, 165.

823 Mócsy/Fitz 1990, 42.

824 Matei/Stanciu 2000, 48. 82.



Fig. 237 Bone plaques of the bows used by Syrian archers and the bone suspension loop of a sword used by mounted soldiers from the Roman auxiliary camp at Ulcisia Castra (Szentendre). – (After Maróti 2008, figs 6. 9).

construction projects were begun along the *limes* and it is possible that the *limes* along the Olt was established at this time[825]. A new archery unit, the *cohors I milliaria nova Severiana Surorum sagittaria equitata* (**figs 237-238**) was transferred from the east to the Danubian border: the 1,000 strong troop of Syrians garrisoned in Ulcisia Castra could efficiently combat the Sarmatians. This unit probably played a similar role along the northern section of the Sarmatian *limes* as the *cohors I Aurelia Antonina milliaria Hemesenorum sagittaria equitata* stationed in Intercisa in the south[826].

Barkóczi has suggested that Septimius Severus' visit to Pannonia in 202 may have been prompted by the protracted unrest among the barbarians east of the Danube, caused by the Goths' eastward migration, and that the route of this north to south Germanic trek is outlined by the roughly contemporaneous coin hoards from Moldavia and the Dniester-Dnieper interfluve. Dislodged from their lands, the Carpi are also assumed to have contributed to the commotion in the Carpathian Basin[827]. It must, in all fairness, be noted that there is little in the archaeological record to support this suggestion and neither can it be confirmed by the written sources. Nonetheless, it is certain that the Gothic migration had affected the western areas of the steppe Sarmatian lands during this period. However, there is nothing to indicate a direct impact of the Germanic population movement on the Sarmatians of the Hungarian Plain, mostly because there is not much evidence concerning the relation between the Sarmatians of the Carpathian Basin and the steppe. The Germanic elements/influences in the archaeological material (**figs 234-236. 239**) are more a reflection of contact with the neighbouring Marcomannic, Quadic and Vandalic groups[828].

The instability following Septimius Severus' death was reflected along the Empire's frontier. The barbarians probably raided the province in 212-213. However, the sources only report Caracalla's punitive expedition

825 Alföldi 1942a, 671. – Fitz 1958, 166.

826 Alföldi 1942a, 671. – Maróti 2003, 5. – Lőrincz 2003, 29-30. Cf. Herodian VI.7.8: »Alexander had brought with him many Moroccan javelin men and a huge force of archers from the East and from the Osroenian country, together with Parthian deserters and mercenaries who had offered their help; with these he prepared to battle the Germans.« Herodian noted that troops mounting an attack from a distance were more effective against the Germans, who were equal to the Romans in close combat.

827 Barkóczi 1957, 516-517.

828 Istvánovits/Kulcsár 1994a; 2000; 2003b.



Fig. 238 3rd century wall painting depicting a mounted archer from the military camp of Aquincum. – (After Aquincum n. y., fig. 29).

against the Germans[829], making it unclear whether the Sarmatians also participated in the incursion. The reorganisation of the defences along the Pannonian *limes* continued, as seen by road reparations and military constructions along the entire frontier between Vindobona and Burgenae, which were only interrupted in 218. The northern Dacian *limes* was likewise reinforced during this period[830].

The reconstruction of 3rd century events is essentially based on circumstantial evidence because the reports in the written sources become increasingly irregular[831]. For the span of about one generation, we do not hear of major Sarmatian incursions in the Danube region, although this should not necessarily be interpreted as absolute peace. Probable evidence of repeated Sarmatian raids may be found in the coin hoards from Börgönd (near Székesfehérvár) and from Ercsi, whose latest coins were issued in 228 and 231, respectively. Herodian reported that »the provinces of Illyricum bordering on and close to Italy were in danger«,

829 Mócsy/Fitz 1990, 42-43.
830 Barkóczi 1957, 518-519. – Mócsy/Fitz 1990, 43.
831 The single and admittedly rather unreliable source for the period between 229 and 238 is Herodian (Kovács 2007, 37).



Fig. 239 Pottery of Germanic character found in Sarmatian contexts: **1** Ecser, Site 7, Feature 5081. – **2** Üllő, Site 5, Feature 7095. – (KM, V. Kulcsár's excavation, unpublished; photo L. Szászvári).

suggesting a joint action by the Quadi and Sarmatians[832]. The coin hoard discovered at Kisdém-puszta in 1810 (whose existence was forgotten and has only now been re-published) raises the possibility that the unrest among the barbarians had begun earlier, around 223[833].

The epithet *Sarmaticus maximus* taken by Maximinus Thrax in 237 is perhaps an indication of renewed upheavals. The emperor stayed in Sirmium between 236 and 238, where, as we are told, »he went […] with the intention of waging war against the Sarmatians«[834]. This passage in the *Historia Augusta* was quoted from Herodian; however, according to Kovács, he condensed the events to the extent that »the chronology of the Sarmatian-Dacian war became wholly muddled«[835]. It is generally assumed that Maximinus Thrax deployed Pannonian troops against the Sarmatians and the free Dacians around 236 somewhere in Dacia. It seems more likely, but cannot be firmly supported, that the Sarmatians in questions were the Iazyges from the Hungarian Plain because there is evidence for clashes in the Lower Danube region as well. It is possible that both regions were affected by barbarian raids[836]. In 238, the emperor perhaps planned another campaign against the Sarmatians, but nothing came of it[837]. The upheavals can be ascribed to the Gothic advance: according to Herodian, in 237-238, Maximinus Thrax »threatened […] to defeat and subjugate the German nations as far as the ocean«. Petrus Patricius (frag. 8) reported that the Goths had received annual *stipendia* from 238[838]. The location of the events mentioned in connection with the Sarmatians is vague from this period onward. It is sometimes difficult to determine whether an incursion or raid had oc-

832 Herodian VI.7.2. – Barkóczi 1957, 522-523.

833 Prohászka 2005, 72. Seven of the 53 coins mentioned in the original report cannot be determined. It is possible that the hoard also included later pieces, meaning that it had been concealed in the late 220s or early 230s.

834 SHA Maxim. XIII.3.

835 Kovács 2008, 9. 34.

836 Mócsy/Fitz 1990, 44, with the earlier literature; Barkóczi 1957, 523-524, argued that the raids against the province were mounted from eastern Hungary because of the fact that the troops received the epithet from the emperor following major campaigns and that troops with the epithet *Maximina* show a concentration along the Sarmatian frontier. However, we know that the Gothic thrust to the Pontic caused disturbances in the Lower Danube region, too. The hoards whose latest coins are represented by pieces struck under Gordian hidden in southern Dacia are regarded as evidence for incursions along the Oltenian *limes*.

837 Alföldi 1942a, 671. – Mócsy/Fitz 1990, 44.

838 Herodian VII.2.9. – Alföldi 1967, 315.

curred east or west of Dacia. In some cases, the place of the events reported in the sources is obvious, as in the case of the intrusion on the Lower Danube in 242. While making preparations for a massive Persian campaign, Gordian III was forced to remain in the Danube region because the Sarmatians, the Goths and the Alans had swarmed across the Danube and advanced as far as Philippopolis, retreating only after they found themselves facing formidable imperial forces. The Persian expedition could only be launched after these peoples had been expelled[839].

The Evacuation of Dacia

By the 3rd century AD, during their southward migration from the north, the Germanic peoples (principally the Goths) eventually reached the northern Pontic, precipitating the westward and eastward movement of Sarmatian groups. Here we shall focus on the westward migration that obviously affected the Carpathian Basin's history. Pressed by the Goths, the Carpi (a tribe related to the Dacians) on the left Danube bank fell upon their neighbours, among them the Roxolani[840]. The westernmost steppe tribes again attempted to enter the Carpathian Basin. The date of the Carpic attacks is indicated by the virtual halt of monetary circulation in Dacia in Philip the Arab's time. A similar process can be noted in Dacia as in Pannonia after Valentinian I's death 130 years later[841].

Dexippus' report that the Marcomanni had again devastated western Pannonia (probably not for the first time), during Valerian's ascent and concurrent with the Balkan campaign, has been preserved by Zosimus. The Marcomanni advanced as far as Ravenna along the road from Pannonia to Italy[842]. The sources made no mention of the Sarmatians, suggesting that they had perhaps kept their distance this time. In the 250s, however, the Romans were constantly engaged in repelling successive Sarmatian incursions. Between 253 and 260, Valerian and Gallienus, the two co-emperors, were forced to deploy the army simultaneously on the Persian front, against the Anatolian pirates, and to protect Gaul, which had been ravaged by the Franks, thus weakening the frontiers of the Danubian provinces. The Sarmatians seized the opportunity to raid the province for booty. Sensing the danger, the army proclaimed Ingenuus emperor in 258 or 260. The author of the *Historia Augusta* opined that »in the face of an inroad of the Sarmatians, they chose as their emperor one who by his valour could bring a remedy to the exhausted state«[843]. Usurpers arose in every corner of the Empire: »It was the public destiny that in the time of Gallienus whosoever could, sprang up to seize the imperial power«[844]. Ingenuus' revolt in the Danube region was followed by the rise of another usurper to the throne: Regalianus. His brief career was described in the *Historia Augusta*:

> [Regalianus] performed many brave deeds against the Sarmatians, but nevertheless, at the instigation of the Roxolani […] and with the consent of the soldiers and the provincials, who feared that Gallienus might, on a second occasion, act even more cruelly, he [Regalianus] was put to death[845].

Most Hungarian scholars interpret this passage as implying that the usurper Regalianus and his army were annihilated by a large-scale Roxolanian attack in 260 somewhere near Sirmium. The Roxolani, who had

839 Kulakovskij 2003, 150.
840 Alföldi 1940a, 48-51.
841 Alföldi 1943b, 18. – Bóna 2001, 141. Coin circulation did not cease altogether; this only came to pass during Aurelian's reign.
842 Zosimus I.29.2. – Alföldi 1929, 162-163. 176. 180.
843 SHA Trig.Tyr. IX.1. For the debate concerning Ingenuus' ascension, see Kovács 2008, 39, with the relevant literature.
844 SHA Trig.Tyr. X.1.
845 SHA Trig.Tyr. X.2.

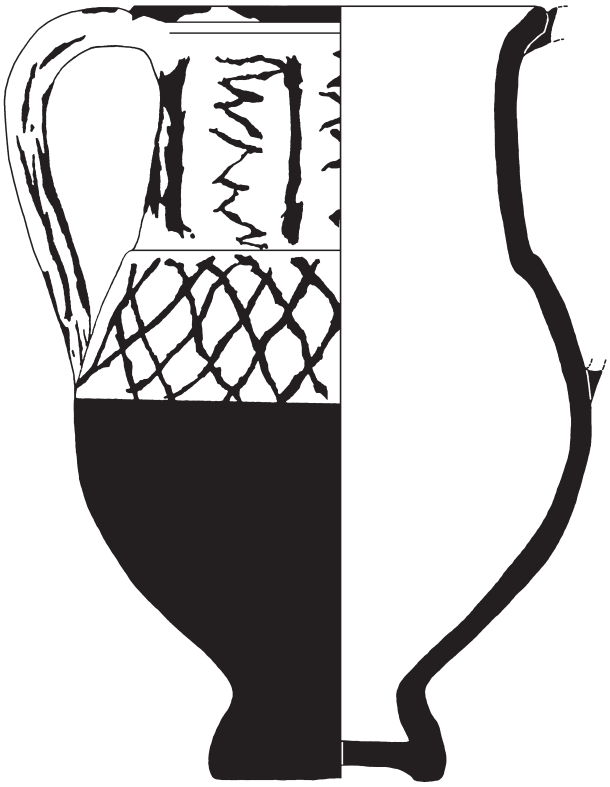


Fig. 240 Vessel with smoothed decoration containing the coin hoard concealed at Baláca in 259-260. – (After Bíróné/Palágyi 1983, fig. 5).

supposedly just settled in the Hungarian Plain, are believed to have participated in the events[846]. However, the interpretation of Regalianus' victory against the Sarmatians as proof for the migration of the Roxolani to the Hungarian Plain can be rejected because the passage in question is rather ambiguous. It has also been suggested that the battle did not take place in Pannonia, but in Moesia (Scupi). Another counter-argument is that nowhere else does the *Historia Augusta* refer to the presence of the Roxolani on the Hungarian Plain[847].

At the same time, the archaeological record supports the arrival of new Sarmatian groups, even though the exact date of their migration remains unknown. It must also be borne in mind that while the appearance of the Roxolani on the Hungarian Plain can theoretically be dated to a much earlier period, all the other sources relating to the Carpathian Basin similarly lack any references to the Roxolani. Until the appearance of the Huns, the sources only mention the Iazyges or Sarmatians. In other words, a critical re-assessment of a long-standing cliché of Hungarian research, namely that the arrival of the Roxolani should be expressly linked to the events of 259-260, is long overdue. The location of the events to Moesia is similarly doubtful because the quoted passage of the *Historia Augusta* could equally well be associated with Pannonia – in other words, this reasoning can likewise be rejected.

Returning to the events of 259-260, one point that emerges clearly is that Pannonia found itself in an extremely grave situation, in part owing to the barbarian raids and in part to the civil war. This is demonstrated by approximately 30 hoards concealed at this time, of which the one found at Szalacska is the largest. The earlier known coin hoards are complemented by the one from Baláca, comprising 86 coins of which the latest was minted in 259, deposited in a vessel with smoothed decoration (**fig. 240**). Two other coin hoards, each placed in a vessel, were discovered at Biatorbágy during the more recent excavation of a villa destroyed by fire. The *antoniniani* of Gallienus struck in 260 were the latest coins in one hoard. The southward route of the barbarians ravaging the province is marked by the destroyed settlements, such as Intercisa and Gorsium, and by the concealed hoards down to the river Mura[848]. The catastrophe befalling the province is reflected by destruction layers along the *limes* and in the province's interior (the settlement

846 Alföldi 1954, 73. – Barkóczi 1957, 527-531; 1959, suggested that the Britannic *vexillatio* mentioned in the Drava-Sava interfluve in an inscription from Sirmium (CIL III.3228) was deployed owing to the re-settlement of the Roxolani. See also Harmatta 1970, 55. The sequence of the events, less relevant to Sarmatian history, was re-evaluated by Fitz 1966, quoting all the relevant sources.

847 Kovács 2008, 41, with the relevant literature.

848 Alföldi 1954, 72-73. – Radnóti 1954, 496. – Fitz 1966, 49. – Mócsy 1974, 264. – Mócsy/Fitz 1990, 45, with further literature. See also Albeker/Bíróné 1969/1970. – Bíróné/Palágyi 1983. For the Biatorbágy hoard, see Miklósity Szőke 2008. The attack was not directed solely against Pannonia; it seems likely that some forays had been made into Dacia from the Hungarian Plain, as well, as indicated by a coin hoard found at Diosig (County Bihor, Romania), whose latest coin was minted in 258-259 (Ignat/Bulzan 1997, 488. 497).



Fig. 241 *Antoninianus* with the legend DACIA FELIX issued by Aurelian in 270 (RIC V 108).

at Tác, the camp and *vicus* at Albertfalva, and a series of other sites). The damage was far more extensive and far more devastating than that during the Marcomannic-Sarmatian Wars. Many years elapsed before the province fully recovered[849].

Unlike Pannonia, the situation in Dacia had become truly precarious during the second half of the 3rd century owing to constant pressure from the east. One hardship followed another. There was a constant Germanic onslaught against the barely defensible province until the situation became critical[850]. Examination of the coins enables the reconstruction of how the province was evacuated. In 270, Aurelian issued a series of coins with the legend DACIA FELIX (**fig. 241**), reflecting his intention of defending the province from the barbarian incursions. Even though he defeated the Visigoths in Transylvania in 271, he still decided to evacuate the province after his successful campaign, the main reason for this being that Palmyra had occupied Egypt, the Empire's breadbasket. No matter that Aurelian had evicted the Goths from Moesia and Thrace, no matter that he had marched to Dacia and won a decisive battle in which Cannabaudes, the Gothic leader had lost his life, he was unable to follow up this victory in Dacia. He had no choice but to despatch the Danubian army to Egypt against Zenobia, the Palmyrian queen, otherwise Rome's wheat supply would have been severely threatened[851]. The emperor evacuated Dacia, abandoning the region to its fate.

These events obviously brought a radical change in the life of the Sarmatians in the Carpathian Basin. They faced new neighbours in the east: the Tervingi, the »forest dwelling« Goths, who had penetrated Transylvania. It must also be borne in mind that Tyras and Olbia, the two Pontic towns through which much of the Sarmatians' trade was conducted, was also occupied by the Goths[852].

The *Historia Augusta* informs us that »Aurelian, too, during that same time, fought with the greatest vigour against the Suebi and the Sarmatians and won a most splendid victory«, and that »he was […] called […] Sarmaticus«[853]. The emperor had indeed received this title as demonstrated by an inscription in which he appears as *Sarmaticus*[854], indicating that Aurelian had defeated the Sarmatians in battle. It is unclear where the battle actually took place: in Pannonia, in the province's foreland; or somewhere in the Lower Danube region. A clash in Pannonia seems more likely, considering that the Sarmatians are mentioned together with

849 Barkóczi 1957, 527. – Fitz 1982, 61. – Mócsy/Fitz 1990, 44-45.

850 Bóna 2001, 140-141.

851 Alföldi 1929, 163; 1940a, 52-53; 1943a, 75-76; 1943b, 20.

852 Harmatta 1950, 11. – Bóna 2001, 140-141.

853 SHA Aur. XXXIII.2, XXX.5. The passage on Claudius Goticus in the SHA (Claud. XVIII.1) presumably refers to the same event (Alföldy 1966a, 5-6). In his commentary to a recent Hungarian translation of the *Historia Augusta*, Takács 2003, 623 n. 25, raised the possibility that the Suebi in question can be identified with the Juthungi living along the upper reaches of the Danube. This interpretation was accepted by Kovács 2008, 47, who also cited Aurelian's triumphal procession (SHA Aur. XXXIII.4), in which the Suebi and the Vandals are mentioned separately.

854 CIL III.12333.

the Suebi. However, this piece of information must be treated with caution because Dexippus' vivid account suggests that Aurelian had in fact battled with the Vandals. Similarly, Zosimus' Scythians can probably be identified with the Vandals[855]:

> Aurelianus, having regulated the empire, went from Rome to Aquileia, and from thence into Pannonia, which he was informed the Scythians were preparing to invade. For this reason he sent orders to the inhabitants of that country to carry into the towns all their corn and cattle, and every thing that could be of use to the enemy, in order to distress them with famine, with which they were already afflicted. The Barbarians having crossed the river into Pannonia had an engagement, the result of which was nearly equal. But the same night, the Barbarians re-crossed the river, and as soon as day appeared, sent ambassadors to treat for peace[856].

In his assessment of the sources on Pannonia, Kovács suggested that mention of the Sarmatians might be justified on the grounds that the Sarmatians could also join forces with the Vandals[857]. The description of the triumphal procession in the *Historia Augusta* is of little help in clarifying the confusion because Goths, Alans, Roxolani, Sarmatians, Franks, Suebi, Vandals and Germans all appear among the prisoners[858].
We know that soon after his ascension to the throne, Aurelian travelled to Pannonia, where he made the necessary preparations for repelling the barbarian attack. It is open to debate whether there had indeed been an attack by the Vandals who had been ousted from their former lands by the Gepids in the summer of 270 as posited in the reconstruction of the events by the period's eminent scholars (Schmidt, Alföldi, Mócsy)[859]. According to this hypothesis, the Sarmatians (and perhaps the Suebi) joined forces with the Vandals. Following Aurelian's arrival in the theatre of war and his decisive victory, the barbarians handed over 2,000 soldiers and hostages in accordance with the terms of the peace treaty. The emperor took the title *Sarmaticus* at this time[860]. Curiously enough, the emperor's titles (Gothicus, Sarmaticus, Armenicus, Parthicus, Adiabenicus[861]) do not include Germanicus, which should be the case had the unrest indeed begun among the Vandals.
Another moot point is whether the Gepids settled in the Upper Tisza region and occupied the earlier Vandal territory after the evacuation of Dacia. This assumption is based on a single passage[862] that is not borne out by the archaeological evidence[863].
Some barbarian attacks are suggested by the archaeological material. One of these is a destruction level in Aquincum dated to 275[864]. The *Historia Augusta* mentioned Sarmatian forays in the year 279[865]. Sometime after Probus' death, probably in 282, Carus successfully concluded the campaign against the Sarmatians, »who were so emboldened by Probus' death that they threatened to invade not only Illyricum but Thrace and Italy as well«[866]. Judging from a hoard of 4,000 coins in Sirmium, the fighting affected Pannonia Inferior. Carus, who was more concerned with the ongoing Persian campaign, dispatched a formidable army

855 Alföldy 1966a, 5-6. – Kovács 2008, 45-46. 59.
856 Zosimus I.48.1-2.
857 Kovács 2008, 45.
858 SHA Aur. XXXIII.4.
859 Alföldi 1940b, 172; 1942a, 672. – Schmidt 1941, 223. 530. – Mócsy 1974, 209-211. In their view, the Gepids' movements also had repercussions in the Sarmatian territory. In Alföldi's view these should be dated later, when the Vandals shifted toward the Maros-Körös region.
860 Mócsy/Fitz 1990, 45.
861 SHA Aur. XXX.5.
862 Jordan XVII.98. – Kiss 2002, 135-137 n. 114.
863 For the theory, see e.g. Bóna 2001, 173-175; for its refusal, see e.g. Istvánovits 1998; 2000. – Istvánovits/Kulcsár 1999. For a detailed discussion of this issue, see Bierbrauer 2006, with the earlier literature.
864 Mócsy/Fitz 1990, 45.
865 SHA Prob. XVI.2.
866 SHA Car. VIII.1, IX.4. Carus' victory over the Sarmatians is mentioned by Eutrop. IX.18.1. – Zon. 12,30. – Sync. 386d. – Jordan Rom. 294.

against the Sarmatians to ensure a speedy victory. The Sarmatians do not appear to have been particularly intimidated because a few years later Diocletian led a series of punitive expeditions against them and the *limes* also had to be reinforced[867].
From the Roman perspective, the Sarmatians had become extremely dangerous neighbours after the evacuation of Dacia. This is reflected by the growing number of barbarian incursions and the growing range of their forays into the province.

The Archaeological Finds

From the beginning, one distinctive feature of Sarmatian research in Hungary has been that any definition of the boundaries between successive chronological horizons was based on a correlation with the events recorded in the written sources. However, it is obvious that period boundaries such as the Marcomannic-Sarmatian Wars and the evacuation of Dacia did not necessarily result in an immediate and profound change in the material culture. We do not think that a revision of the approach hallmarked by Párducz and Harmatta, during the roughly one hundred years of research on the Sarmatians, is a priority because the »historical milestones« identified by them also marked a change in the population density and, probably, the ethnic composition of the population on the Hungarian Plain. These changes along with the military events, as well as the alternation of the neighbouring peoples (especially of the Germanic tribes), led to the emergence of new forms of interaction. At the same time, only the main tendencies of these changes can be outlined. Boundaries are not sharp and we can hardly speak of a radical transformation in material culture (**figs 242-243**). There can be no doubt about the continuity of the population living on the Hungarian Plain, in which the heritage and customs of the new immigrant groups from the east can be barely distinguished.
One palpable change is the gradual decrease of Roman imports in the Barbaricum's heartland from the mid-3rd century onward, after the Marcomannic Wars. Vaday explained this decline by suggesting that the Empire had lost control over the Sarmatian Barbaricum[868]. It is dubious, however, whether control of this type had ever existed. This seems most unlikely given the events of the Marcomannic-Sarmatian Wars and their aftermath. What, then, is the reason for the decline of Roman imports in the Barbaricum? The emphasis should not be placed on the decreasing number of imports across the Hungarian Plain, but rather on the fact that trade between the Romans and the Sarmatians had reverted to the level preceding the Marcomannic-Sarmatian Wars. The striking amount of imports in the late 2nd and early 3rd centuries can be obviously linked to Marcus Aurelius' intention of creating the province of Sarmatia and the Hungarian Plain naturally found itself in the focus of interest. According to Alföldi, Commodus »reverted to the time-honoured, but thoroughly misguided techniques of the Roman frontier policy«[869] after the conclusion of the peace. As a result, the contacts established with the Sarmatians lost their attraction for the Romans, meaning that merchants, who had also acted as diplomats and spies, travelled less frequently to the Sarmatian lands.
The evacuation of Dacia meant that the Hungarian Plain no longer acted as a passage between the two provinces. The Sarmatian Barbaricum was subsequently supplied with products specifically targeted for the region. Another reason for the decline of imports was the destruction of the major centres of *sigillata* production in the Rhine region in the 270s, which had traditionally played a central role in supplying the Sarmatians with luxury wares (**fig. 244**).

867 See also Alföldi 1942a, 672-673. For a detailed discussion of the campaign, see Alföldy 1966a; 1966b, with the relevant literature.
868 Vaday 1989b, 207.
869 Alföldi 1942a, 202.



Fig. 242 Most of the pottery shapes lived unchanged or hardly altered for centuries in the Sarmatian culture of the Carpathian Basin. Selection of finds from Üllő, Site 5. – (KM, V. Kulcsár's, A. Nagy's and T. Rácz's excavation, unpublished; photos L. Szászvári).



Fig. 243 Selection of finds from Üllő, Site 5. – (KM, excavation of V. Kulcsár and team, unpublished; photos L. Szászvári).



Fig. 244 The major terra sigillata workshops in the Rhine region were destroyed in the 270s. Tiszalök-Rázom, Drag. 31 type terra sigillata bowl from the late 2nd-first half of the 3rd century. – (Courtesy of the HNM; photo E. Istvánovits / V. Kulcsár).

The export of Roman jewellery and various utilitarian articles to the Hungarian Plain declined. Lányi has aptly noted that the economic boom in Pannonia is not reflected in the region's coin circulation. The coin circulation in the Barbaricum during the second half of the 3rd century differs markedly from that of Pannonia. The number of coins in circulation increased in the province, while their value decreased. In contrast, barely any coins reached the Barbaricum[870]. At the same time, the outflow of *aurei* can be noted, principally to the Germanic lands, while no more than a handful are known from the Sarmatian territory[871]. Considering the high ratio of heavily looted Sarmatian burials, it is unclear whether the lack of gold coins reflects a genuine one-off situation or whether the lack is merely illusory. Owing to the plundered graves, little is known about the period's Sarmatian elite or about the prestige items used by the aristocracy.

The few currently known prestige articles, such as Roman and Germanic weapons and luxury items, show a concentration in the north-eastern part of the Hungarian Plain around 300. The relations between the grave inventories (weapons, horse equipment) and burial rite (barrows) of the outstandingly high-ranking warriors (**figs 244-247**) found at Geszteréd, Tiszalök and Herpály would suggest that the elite was descended from the group hallmarked by the Azov-Hévízgyörk-Vizesdpuszta assemblages (**fig. 127**) and represents the second and third generation of that group[872]. Insofar as this assumption is correct, we may assume that one of the power centres shifted to the east-north-east.

The known prestige articles reflect a wide range of cultural contacts. The Roman pieces are represented by the weapons (sword, shield, spurs and perhaps a spear) from Geszteréd (**fig. 245**) and the Roman candelabrum from Tiszalök (**fig. 246**). The shield boss from Herpály (**fig. 247**), crafted in a Germanic workshop, is best paralleled by a piece from Lilla Harg in Sweden. One intriguing find is the shield boss with an antenna-shaped spike found in Grave II/11 of the barrow cemetery excavated at Hortobágy-Poroshát (**fig. 248**), in

870 Lányi 1990, 212-213. – Istvánovits 2002, 280.

871 Alföldi 1943b, 19, noted that the outflow of gold coins was one of the main causes behind the collapse of the western Roman economy. For the gold coins of the Barbaricum, see Prohászka 2009.

872 Kulcsár 1998b, 77-78. – Istvánovits/Kulcsár 2003b, 232-237.

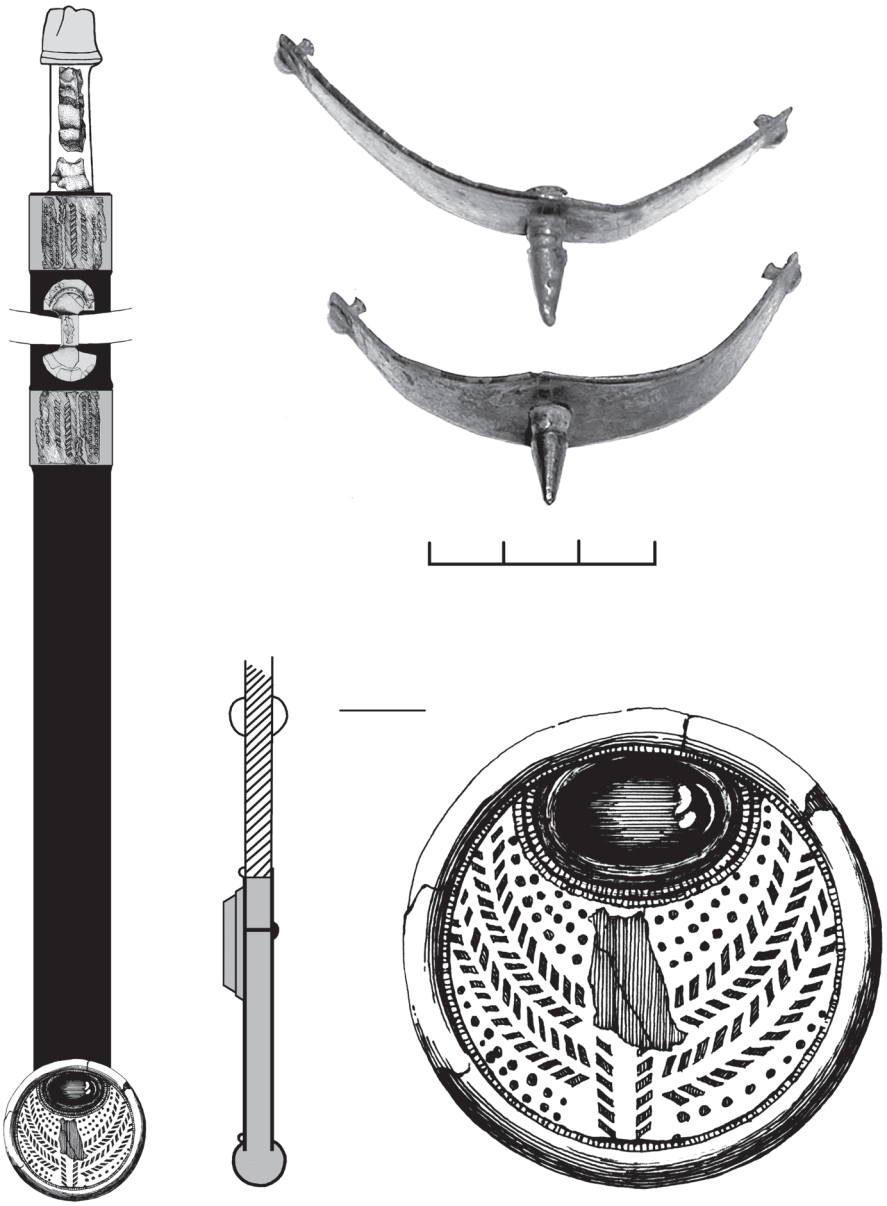


Fig. 245 The Roman weapons of the high-ranking warrior buried at Geszteréd. – (Reconstruction and photo E. Istvánovits / V. Kulcsár).

the burial of a warrior who appears to have been a distinguished military leader, at least judging from the grave goods and the size of the barrow erected over his grave. Shields are lacking from the period's Sarmatian burials and it is therefore possible that this piece buried with this military leader was a prestige item received from one of the Germanic peoples as part of a military agreement. The extensive contacts are demonstrated by the Scandinavian scabbard chape of the high-ranking warrior buried at Geszteréd (**fig. 245**) and the Scandinavian buckle of the high-ranking man interred at Tiszalök (**fig. 246**)[873].

Viewing these artefacts on a more personal level, they can perhaps best be interpreted as the relics of a warrior camaraderie (**fig. 249**). It is not mere chance that one recurring motif of the Ossetian Nart epic is the

873 Geszteréd: von Carnap-Bornheim 2001, with the earlier literature; Tiszalök: Istvánovits/Kulcsár/von Carnap-Bornheim 2006; Herpály and Lilla Harg: Fettich 1930; Hortobágy-Poroshát: Zoltai 1941, 274-275 pl. III. For an overview, see Istvánovits/Kulcsár 1994a, 416.

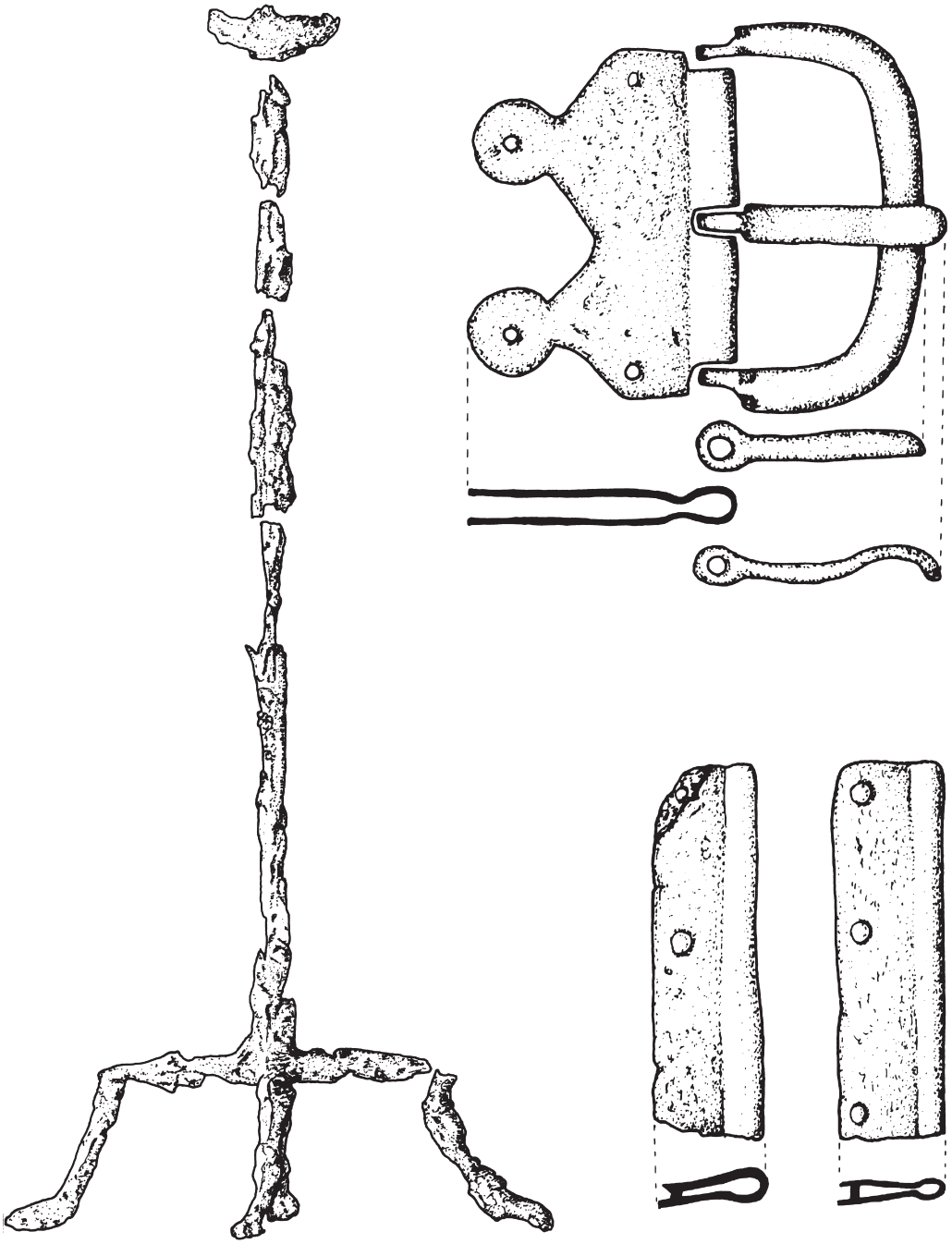


Fig. 246 Roman iron candelabrum and Scandinavian buckle deposited in the grave of the high-ranking warrior buried at Tiszalök-Rázompuszta. – (After Istvánovits/Kulcsár/von Carnap-Bornheim 2006, figs 3, 1; 6, 1-2).

mutual exchange of gifts among the heroes, whereby the heroes become adopted brothers, meaning that they can rely on the other in any quest, battle or courtship. »Nart man, chose yourself a gift! What is your pleasure? Behold my sword, my horse, my bow!« – even the type of gift is specified[874]. Other gifts took the form of various weapons and herds; regarding the latter, the examination of animal bone assemblages to identify possible non-local species could prove to be a fruitful line of inquiry in future studies.

874 Nart 1981, 95.

Research into contact between the Sarmatians and the Germanic peoples is still in its infancy. One intriguing question is why the cremation burials of the Przeworsk culture containing weapons attesting to a Vandal presence that had appeared at the time of the Marcomannic-Sarmatian Wars in the Upper Tisza region disappeared around the late 3rd century (**fig. 202**)[875].

Several new settlements were established on the Hungarian Plain in the second half of the 3rd century[876], reflecting a population growth. These include the largest recently investigated settlements at Üllő Sites 5 and 9, covering 40 hectares, where over 9,000 features were uncovered, and the Ecser Site 7, where some 7,000 features were excavated over an 8.7 hectare area (**fig. 250**). The dating of the settlements to before the 270s is principally based on *sigillata* imports from the Rhine region. Although, as we repeatedly emphasise, the period's chronology is far from satisfactory, it would appear that gritty wares appeared in the ceramic inventory of the settlements from the close of the 3rd century (**fig. 251**)[877]. Several new cemeteries were opened, again an indication of population growth[878]. The above data support the picture broadly outlined in the above that a new wave of Roxolanian groups settled on the Hungarian Plain within one or two decades after the mid-3rd century.



Fig. 247 The Germanic bronze shield boss covered with guilt silver plate found at Herpály was probably a prestige gift received by a Sarmatian noble. – (After Kocsis 2002, figs 5-6).

The changes are more striking in the archaeological material of the Upper Tisza region than that of the central Sarmatian territory in the period following the evacuation of Dacia. As mentioned, Germanic cremation burials disappear. The preceding settlement pottery characterised by hand-built wares of partly Przeworsk and partly Dacian types are succeeded by the so-called Bereg culture. The two main sites of the culture at Beregsurány and Csengersima have yielded an immense amount of wheel-turned, strongly profiled, grey vessels bearing stamped decoration (**figs 252-254**). It would appear that these wares were produced by Roman potters from Porolissum, who had fled the Gothic advance and continued their trade in the barbarian lands[879].

Mention must be made of the theory that the arrival and settlement of the Gepids was the reason for the changes in the Upper Tisza region after the evacuation of Dacia. This assumption is still debated. In his critical

875 This is generally explained by the appearance of the Gepids; an issue discussed at greater length below.

876 e. g. RKM 2006, 21-25. 42-49. The dating of settlement sites remains a serious problem in most cases and thus the assumed demographic boom of the 3rd century based on the find material is hypothetical at best.

877 The Roman variant of this ware made on a fast wheel and the barbarian variety, the latter often indistinguishable from the former, are both known. Recent archaeometric studies indicate that the latter were made with the coil technique and finished on a turning wheel meaning that they were not manufactured on a fast wheel (Kulcsár/Mérai 2011, 66-67).

878 Kulcsár 1998a, Catalogue.

879 Istvánovits 1997; 2004. Several dates have been proposed for the appearance of the Bereg culture, the most generally accepted being that the culture had become widespread by the period after the Marcomannic Wars (Lamiová-Schmiedlová 1997, 751; Matei 1997, 375).

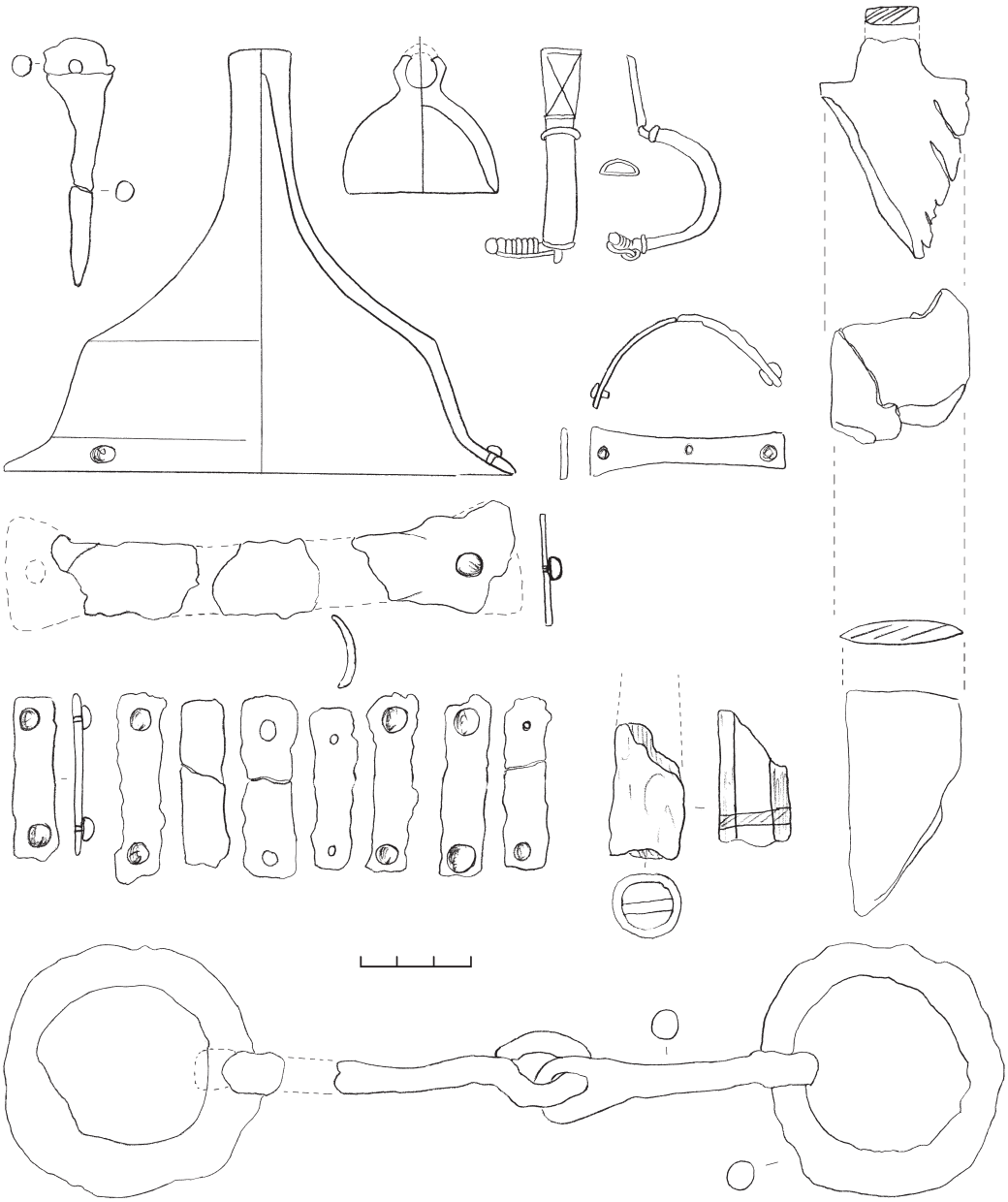


Fig. 248 The Germanic shield from Grave II. 11 of the Hortobágy-Poroshát II cemetery indicates that the man buried in the grave had been the community's high-ranking military leader who had received the shield as a prestige gift. Selection from the find assemblage. – (Déri Museum, Debrecen; drawings E. Istvánovits).

review of earlier studies in this field, Bierbrauer rejected this theory. The find assemblages brought to light during more recent excavations in the Upper Tisza region do not support it, either[880].

Various new types of jewellery and utilitarian artefacts soon became popular and widespread, although it is impossible to draw sharp chronological boundaries. Earlier pieces were gradually replaced by new ones, such as brooches with an inverted or side-turned foot (*Fibel mit umgeschlagenem Fuß, Fibel mit geschlossenem Nadelhalter / mit seitwärts geschlagenem Fuß*), plate-brooches (*Scheibenfibeln*) with glass or stone inlay, polyhedral beads and new vessel types (**figs 255-256**)[881]. A frank assessment of the chronological scheme currently in use calls for the admittance that the archaeological assemblages of the period before

880 Bóna et al. 1993, 52-53. – Bierbrauer 2006.

881 Párducz 1944, 76. – Vaday 1989b, 89-94. 144.



Fig. 249 Depiction of the Scythian ritual of blood-brotherhood on a plaque from Kul-Oba. A similar ritual described in the Nart Epic involved the exchange of gifts such as weapons and horses. This traditional ritual was probably widespread among the steppe peoples. – (After Skythische Kunst 1986, no. 196).



Fig. 250 Aerial photo of Ecser, Site 7 (Motorway M0) (V. Kulcsár's and team's excavation, unpublished). – (Photo Zs. Miklós).



Fig. 251 Gritty ware, the typical products of the potters' settlement at Üllő. – (KM, V. Kulcsár's and team's excavation, unpublished; photo L. Szászvári).



Fig. 252 Several pottery kilns were found at the main sites of the Bereg culture. Csengersima, Feature 704. – (After Istvánovits/Kulcsár/Mérai 2011, fig. 2).



Fig. 253 The vessel stamps found on the large potters' settlement at Beregsurány were perhaps used by Roman potters fleeing the Gothic advance after the evacuation of Dacia. – (JAM; photo G. Boros).

and after the evacuation of Dacia can be defined as the culture of a transitional period compared to the well datable assemblages of the second half of the 2nd- early 3rd centuries and the relatively well-definable finds appearing from the later 4th century. In the absence of serialisations, various artefact types – and especially pottery wares – are dated subjectively at best and are in obvious need of further research.

FROM THE TETRARCHY TO THE HUN PERIOD

The abandonment of Dacia created an entirely new situation for the Sarmatians of the Carpathian Basin. The Visigoths (Tervingi) occupying Transylvania became their new eastern neighbours. At the same time, the



Fig. 254 Typical stamped pottery of the Bereg culture. – (JAM; photo G. Boros).

majority of their steppe brethren submitted to the Ostrogoths (Greuthingi). The Dniester marked the boundary between the two kindred Gothic peoples. The eastern border of the Sarmatian territory on the Hungarian Plain came under increased pressure. It is hardly surprising, then, that even though the relationship between Sarmatians and Romans also underwent a major change, it continued to shape decisively the region's history:



Fig. 255 Brooches with inverted and side-turned foot from Üllő, Site 5. – (KM, excavation of V. Kulcsár and team, unpublished; photo L. Szászvári).

Seven major imperial expeditions were sent against the Sarmatians during the Tetrarchy […] but even these major campaigns failed to completely break them. It remains a fact that no other adversary called for such immense military exertions. It is also quite evident that recent research on the Sarmatians has failed to acknowledge the strength of the Iazygians[882].

882 Alföldi 1942a, 675.



Fig. 256 Plate brooches with glass or stone inlay: **1** Üllő, Site 5, Feature 5983 (KM, V. Kulcsár's excavation, unpublished; photo L. Szászvári). – **2** Szihalom-Budaszög (after Fodor 1997, 121 no. 122). – **3** Óföldeák-Ürmös, Site 1, Feature 158 (after Sóskuti 2009, fig. 37).

The Romans apparently regarded the Sarmatians as worthy adversaries during their clashes with them, at least if the accounts are to be believed that Sarmatians, as able warriors, were admitted into the praetorian guard of Galerius and Maximinus Daia[883]. It is hardly surprising that Galerius sent the young Constantine to fight against the Sarmatians in order to win his spurs[884].

The Sarmatians thus remained a force to be reckoned with despite the increasingly visible presence of the Germanic peoples, who from Constantine's reign onward, on the eve of the Great Migrations, were gradually cast into the role of the Empire's principal enemy in Roman eyes. In addition to the clashes with the Romans and their new foes, the Germanic peoples, the Sarmatians' weakening and decline was also caused by a civil war that broke out in 332, after the Gothic attack, and which finally ended a generation later, in 358/359.

The Tetrarchy

Relations between the Romans and the Sarmatians during the Tetrarchy[885] are rather controversial. On the one hand, the literary sources mentioned successive Sarmatian incursions, while on the other, the construction of the Csörsz Dyke (also known as the Devil's Dyke) – one of the most intriguing and impressive archaeological monuments of the Hungarian Plain – is dated to this period by many scholars, who rarely fail to note that this defencework was erected with Roman aid and on Roman orders. The most frequent explanation given for this apparent contradiction is that the recurring Sarmatian upheavals were not genuine campaigns conducted for booty, but desperate manoeuvres to secure their admission into the Empire because they came under increasing pressure from their new eastern neighbours[886]. This goal was sometimes achieved, while in other cases, the Sarmatians received military aid from the Romans. In this scenario, the construction

883 Lactant. *de Mort* XXXVIII: »For hardly was there any person in the lifeguard [of Maximinus Daia] except of those people, who, having been driven from their habitations by the Goths in the twentieth year of Diocletian, yielded themselves to Galerius and entered into his service.« – Kiss 2008, 4. – de Ste. Croix 1981, 513: the people evicted from their homeland by the Goths can most likely be identified with the Sarmatians.

884 *Excerpta Valesiana* II.3: »For when Constantine, then a young man, was serving in the cavalry against the Sarmatians, he seized by the hair and carried off a fierce savage, and threw him at the feet of the emperor Galerius. Then sent by Galerius through a swamp, he entered it on his horse and made a way for the rest to the Sarmatians, of whom he slew many and won the victory for Galerius.«

885 In 285, Diocletian conferred the purple on a fellow-emperor to rule with him and two caesars were appointed in 293. The Empire was divided in four and ruled through a re-organised administration. The creation of the Tetrarchy also involved military reforms. However, the new system proved to be rather unstable. The Empire became an arena of civil war from 306 onward, and the Tetrarchy eventually fell apart in 313. The ensuing dual emperor system with Licinius and Constantine as co-emperors was similarly short-lived. The two emperors matched their forces and – as will be discussed at greater length below – the clash between them ended with Constantine's victory in 324, after which he became sole ruler of the Empire.

886 Ammianus' (XVII.13.3) remark that the Limigantes (see later) »were prepared to refuse if they were ordered to emigrate« is noteworthy.

of the ramparts was part of the military alliance. The barbarisation of the Roman army certainly confirms the increasing mass admission (*receptio*) of various peoples. In addition to the testimony of the written sources, certain elements in the archaeological record also confirm this. The nearly 300-year-long intermittent animosity between Romans and Sarmatians faded when the need arose to act against their new mutual enemy, the Goths. These issues will be discussed at greater length below.



Fig. 257 **1** coin issued by Maximian commemorating the victory over the Sarmatians in 294 (RIC VI 33b). – **2** Diocletian's coin with the legend VICTORIA SARMAT minted in 300-301 (RIC VI 119a).

First, let us consider the finer details of the relationship between the Romans and the Sarmatians. As mentioned previously, seven major Roman campaigns were launched against the Sarmatians[887]. The Romans scored major victories in the winter of 289/290, 292, 294, 299 and on a further three occasions between 299 and 305/308. One indication of the tension is that between 289 and 294, Diocletian spent the better part of his time in Sirmium, the town that later became one of the Tetrarchy's four imperial seats. It would appear that the emperor personally led the war against the Sarmatians in 294. Following the victory indicated by the designs on coins issued at the time (**fig. 257, 2**)[888], Galerius marched to the Lower Danube, where he clashed with the Carpi and the Bastarnae[889]. The opening of the new front after 294 indicates that the situation in the Middle Danube Valley had been normalised to some extent[890], a conjecture also supported by the fact that some troops were transferred to the army fighting in the Persian campaign of 297[891].

The peace did not last for long. The barbarians became restless again in 299. All four emperors again received the epithet *Sarmaticus*[892]. Coins inscribed with VICTORIA SARMAT on their reverse were minted again in 300-301 (**fig. 257, 1**), reflecting the temporary settlement of the conflict erupting around 299[893]. Galerius also had his share of trouble from the Sarmatians. We may assume three campaigns around this time, one of which was definitely conducted in 305, while the date of the other two, usually given as 302-303 and 308, is uncertain. Alföldi has aptly noted:

> If the emperors deemed it necessary to retaliate against the enemy seven times during these twenty years, we can imagine how much more often the Sarmatians burst into Pannonia, and how many smaller marauding raids burdened their conscience beside the large-scale campaigns, to incur this backlash[894].

887 Alföldi 1942a, 675.

888 e. g. RIC VI, 5a. VI, 119a.

889 Alföldi 1942a, 675. – Nagy 1954, 513. »Subsequently, they conducted several wars both in conjunction and separately, subduing the Carpi and Bastarnae, and defeating the Sarmatians, from which nations he settled a great number of captives in the Roman territories« (Eutrop. IX.25.1-2). This passage is generally taken to refer to the resettlement of the Carpi. See Alföldi 1942a, 674. – Tóth 2005b, 370, with further literature.

890 Mócsy 1972, 86, claimed that »Aus dem Jahrzent nach 294 berichten unsere Quellen über keinen anderen Krieg«, with the exception of »unbedeutender Grenzzwischenfall« in 299 and 305.

891 Alföldi 1942a, 675.

892 Alföldi 1942a, 675 n. 40.

893 RIC VI, 119a.

894 Alföldi 1942a, 675 n. 43.

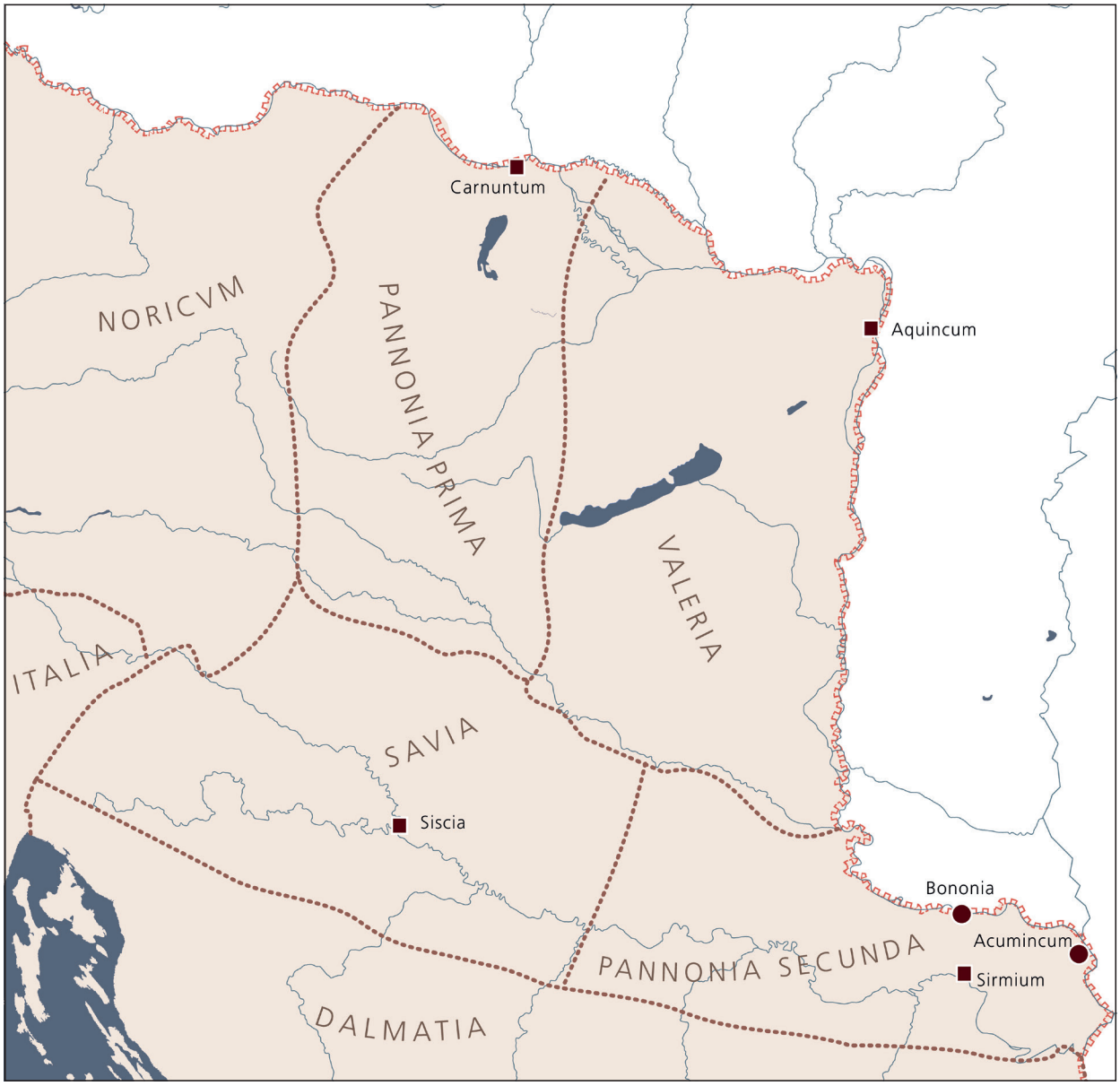


Fig. 258 The division of Pannonia into four provinces. – (Map M. Ober, RGZM).

Succeeding the reign of the soldier-emperors, the Tetrarchy called for the creation of a new administrative system and the re-organisation of the army. These changes naturally affected the Middle Danube region, the area most vulnerable to the frequent and severe attacks of the barbarians. The number of provinces was raised to one hundred; the provinces were ordered into four prefectures, each with twelve dioceses. The two Pannonian provinces were re-organised into four smaller ones at the very end of the 3rd century as part of the administrative reform: Pannonia Prima; Pannonia Secunda; Pannonia Valeria; and Pannonia Savia (**fig. 258**). This also meant changes in the defence system. The earlier two legions each remained stationed in Valeria and Pannonia Prima, and two more legions were sent to Pannonia Secunda[895]. Accepting Alföldi's views, Mócsy assumed the start of an intensive construction of forts during the relatively peaceful period after 294 as part of the new defence policy[896]. He believed that the greater part of the chain of counter-

895 Alföldi 1942a, 674. – Mócsy 1974, 273.

896 Alföldi 1942a, 673-674. – Mócsy 1972, 84-85. – Kovács 2001.

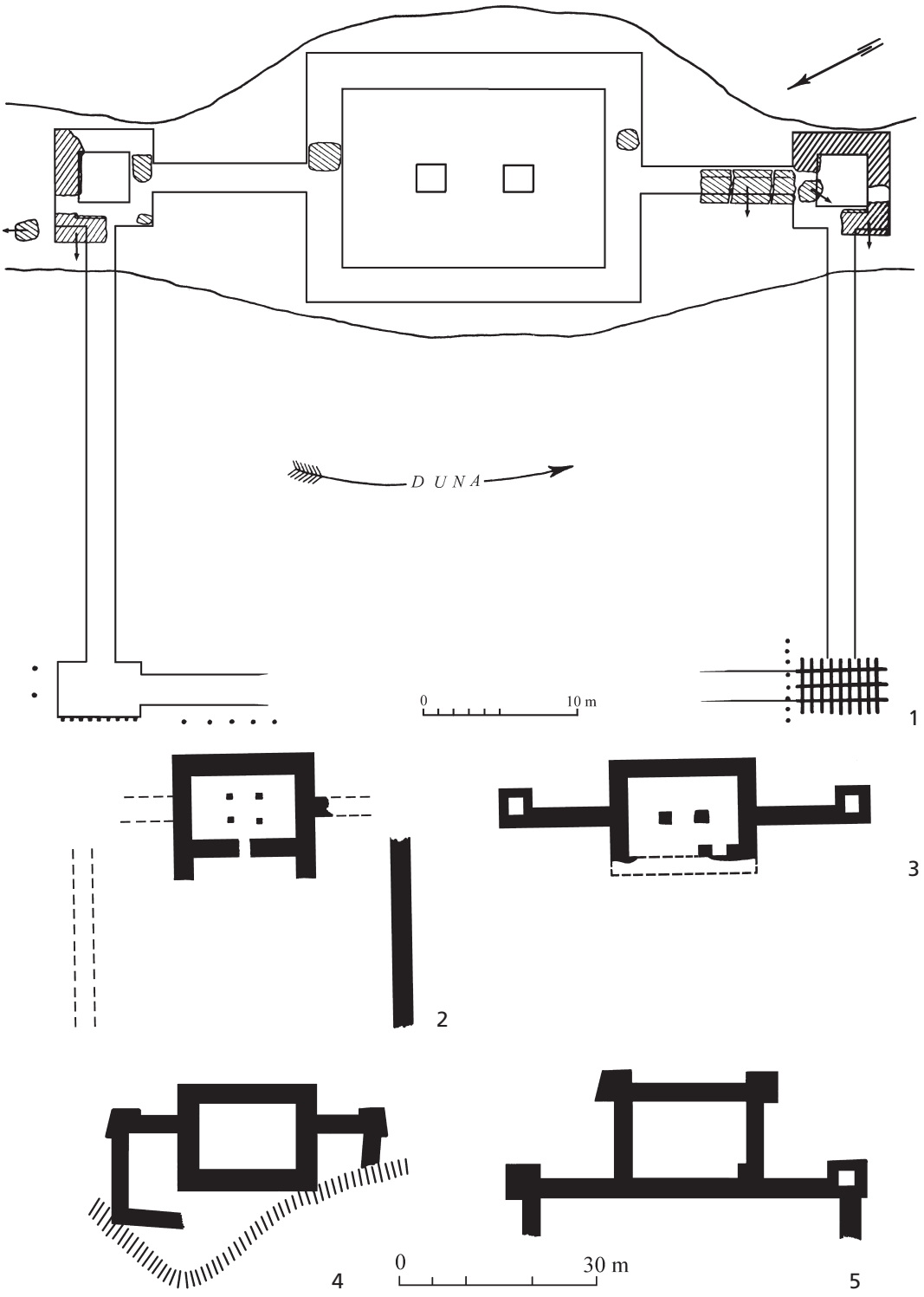


Fig. 259 Groundplan of the so-called Nógrádverőce type counter-forts: **1** Contra Florentiam/Dunafalva. – **2** Engers. – **3** Nógrádverőce. – **4** Neckarau. – **5** Horányi csárda. – (After Mócsy 1958, figs 12-13).

forts on the left bank of the Danube (**figs 259-260**) and the Csörsz Dyke had been built at this time, in line with Diocletian's defensive strategy. It later became clear that Mócsy's assertions concerning the forts were mistaken in the light of more recent archaeological evidence. Lőrincz's study of the stamped bricks from the bridgeheads on the left bank have proven conclusively that the earliest forts were erected after the

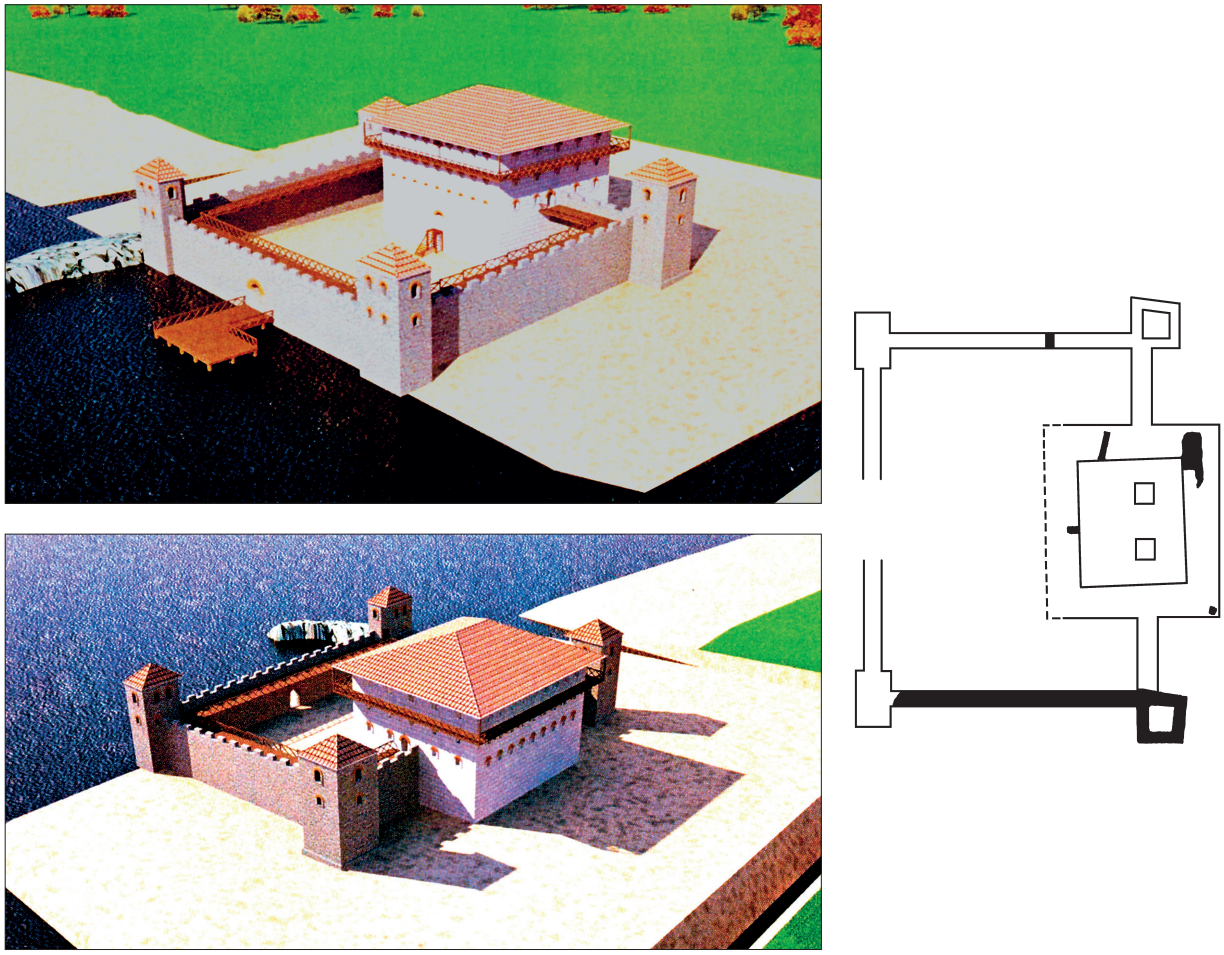


Fig. 260 Reconstruction of the Roman counter-fort at Dunakeszi. – (After Mráv 2011, figs 38-39).

mid-350s, during Constantius II's reign, and that the overwhelming majority were built in the 370s, under Valentinian[897]. The problem of the Csörsz Dyke will be addressed at greater length below.

Nonetheless, the depictions and legends on coin reverses[898] and a brief report indicate that the transformation of the defence system was continued to some extent. The report in question mentioned that in 294 forts were built opposite Acumincum or Aquincum and Bononia on Sarmatian territory (*in barbarico*) (**fig. 258**)[899]. The clarification of the relations between the Romans and the neighbouring barbarian lands remains a task for future research. It is virtually impossible to gauge to what extent the Empire's neighbours wanted to or

897 Lőrincz 1999. The latter includes, e. g. the counter-fort at Dunakeszi, which has now been systematically explored (**fig. 260**) (Mráv 2002).

898 Gudea 2002, 120.

899 According to the reference for 294 in the *Consularia Constantinopolitana*, »his coss. castra facta in Sarmatia contra Acinco et Bononia« (MGH AA Chronica minora I. 230). For a discussion, see Soproni 1978, 128-130. – Tóth 1982. – Mráv 1992/1995, 13-15. – Bertók 1997, 167, and, more recently, Kovács 2001. – Soproni 2003, 67-68, with the earlier literature. Soproni believed that the two *castra* lay immediately by the frontier on the left Danube bank and identified contra Bononia with the Roman building at Begeč; in contrast, Kovács elaborated on Mócsy's conjecture that construction work had not been undertaken in the barbarian lands immediately opposite Bononia (Banoštor), but in the more interior areas of the Sarmatian territory. The location of »Acincum« has proven to be more difficult, with an ongoing debate as to whether the settlement in question should be identified with Acumincum or Aquincum. The two forts in the Barbaricum are listed in the late 4th century section of the *Notitia Dignitatum*: Bononia as part of the military organisation of Pannonia; Acimincum as part of Valeria's (*Auxilia Augustensia, contra Bononiam in barbarico in castello Onagrino*, Not.Dign. Occ. XXXII. 41; *Auxilia vigilum, contra Acinco in barbarico*, Not.Dign. Occ. XXXIII. 48).

were able to preserve their sovereignty[900], and to what extent the Romans were able to meddle in the affairs of the barbarians.

The Age of the Constantine Dynasty

In 305, the two *augusti*, Diocletian and Maximian, abdicated. The years after the death of Maximian's successor, Chlorus (d. 306), were marked by the emperors' struggles against each other. Although the internal strife brought two decades of instability, Rome's security from enemy attacks was ensured by the peace along the Persian front during the reign of Narseh and Hormizd II (302-309), and after the ascension of Shapur II, who had been crowned while still a child[901]. The main episode in the struggle between the contenders for the Roman Empire was the conflict between Constantine and Licinius, the former ruling the western and the latter the eastern provinces after 313. We do not hear of any Sarmatian incursions during the early years of the civil war, although it is far from obvious whether the silence of our sources is an indication that the barbarians kept their distance from the *limes*, or that contemporary chroniclers were more concerned by domestic events and took little notice of the barbarian raids to which they had become accustomed. In hindsight, the latter seems more likely, given the subsequent events (we shall return to the final showdown between the two emperors later).

In his campaigns against Maximinus Daia in 313 and, later, against Constantine, Licinius withdrew significant force from the army units stationed in the Balkans and the Lower Danube[902]. The region's barbarians, among them the Goths, the Carpi and, most likely, the Sarmatians, made every effort to exploit the weakness of the frontier garrisons[903]. In 314, both Constantine and Licinius were awarded the title *Sarmaticus*, reflecting one or more major clashes. Although the details of these clashes remain unknown, the very fact that the title was taken indicates Roman military victories[904]. Based on the text of a papyrus, Barnes suggested renewed incursions by the barbarians in 318[905].

The Sarmatians are next heard of in the early 320s, when Optatianus Porphyrius recorded the Sarmatian siege of Campona (Nagytétény)[906]. The siege and the emperor's assumed whereabouts suggest that the attack against Valeria was launched during the summer of 322[907]. Constantine drove back the attackers and pursued them. Starting from Campona, the emperor marched to the Danube-Tisza interfluve and chased the enemy into the south-western Banat after crossing the Tisza. He entered Roman territory at Margum in Moesia, whence he proceeded to Bononia (Banoštor), where the booty was divided (**fig. 261**). Coins dating from 323-324 with the inscription SARMATIA DEVICTA on their reverse mark the announcement of Constantine's victory (**fig. 262**)[908]. Alföldi suggested that a passage in Zosimus' *History* reflected these events:

> Constantine hearing that the Sauromatae, who dwelt near the Palus Maeotis, had passed the Ister in boats, and pillaged his territories, led his army against them, and was met by the barbar-

900 Kiss 2008, 6-7.

901 Blockley 1998, 418-419.

902 *Excerpta Valesiana* V.21 mentioned »neglected frontiers« by the Lower Danube.

903 Patsch 1928, 13. – Alföldi 1942a, 676.

904 Alföldi 1942a, 676.

905 Barnes 1982, 82. 234-236.

906 Opt. Porfyr. *Carm*. 6.14-17. »Showing skill to be conquered [i. e. requiring skill to be conquered], rocky (Campona?) offers, Greatest/Highest One [i. e. Constantine] Sarmatian slaughters, and all the vows (I pray that you are fortunate), concealed under a certain perspective, have been accomplished. Already so many times, Augustus, the prophet knowing the facts must speak of matters so great. Campona, steeped in enemy blood after the battle, most confined with bodies scattered on all its soil, as victor she marvels at the crowds (of corpses) submerged in a river filled to overflowing and the fierce battle.« We are greatly indebted to E. L. Wheeler for an English translation of this poem.

907 Constantine was still in Sirmium on June 12, but had arrived in Bononia by July 6 (Patsch 1928, 17).

908 Patsch 1928, 16-17. – RIC VII. 48, 222, 289, 429, 435.

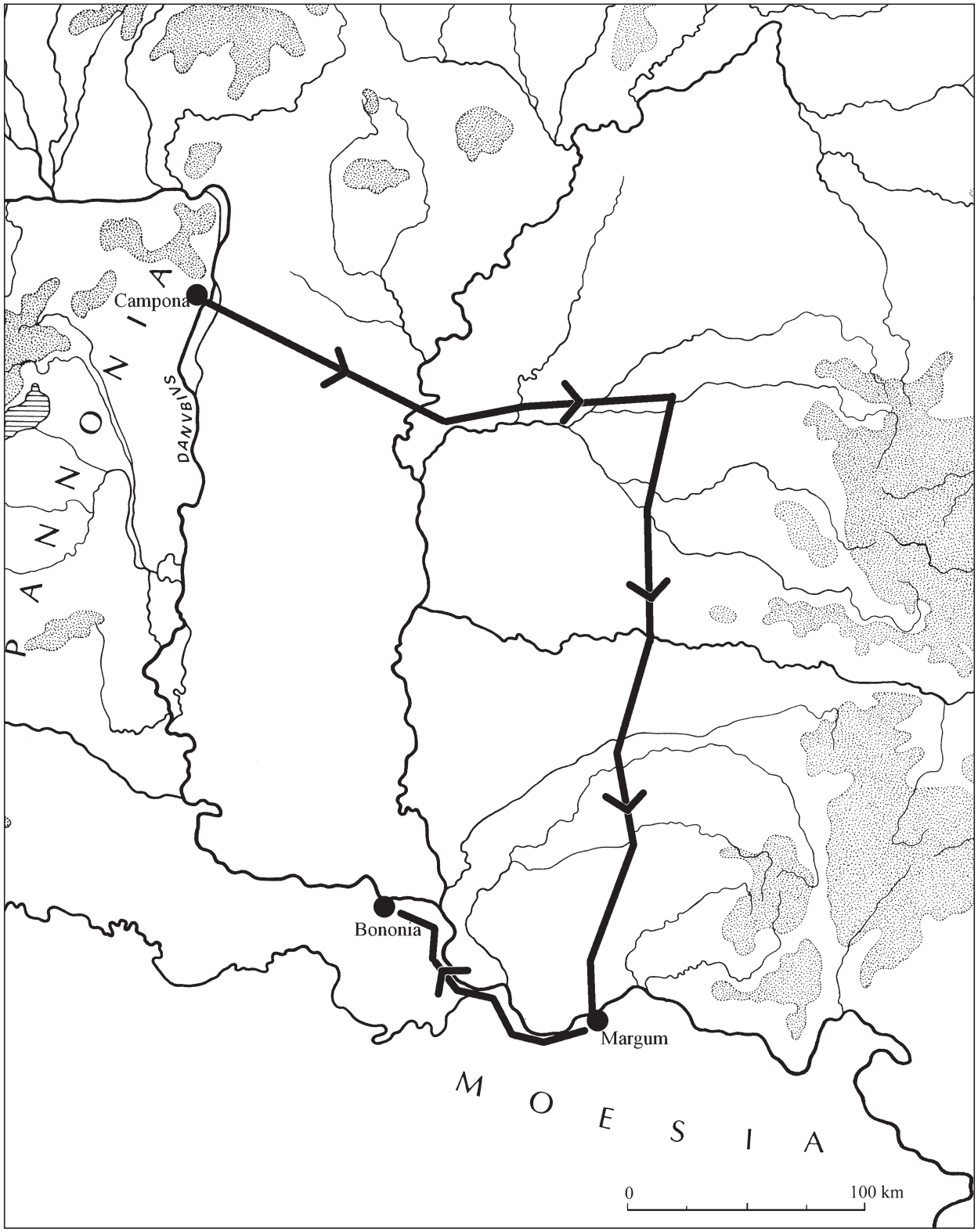


Fig. 261 Probable route of Constantine's campaign into the Barbaricum in 322. – (Reconstruction E. Istvánovits / V. Kulcsár).

ians, under their king Rausimodus. The Sauromatae attacked a town which was sufficiently garrisoned, but its wall was built in the lower part of stone, and in the upper part of wood. They therefore thought that they might easily take the town by burning all the wooden part of the wall; and with that view set it on fire, and in the mean time shot at those who stood on the walls. The defenders threw down darts and stones upon the barbarians, and killed many of them; and Constantine then coming up and falling on them from a higher ground, slew a great number, took more alive, and put the rest to flight. Rausimodus, having lost the greater part of his army, took shipping and crossed the Ister, with an intention of once more plundering the Roman dominions. Constantine, hearing of his design, followed them over the Ister, and attacked them in a thick wood upon a hill, to which they had fled, where he killed many of them, amongst whom was Rausimodus. He also took many of them prisoners, giving quarter to those that would submit; and returned to his head-quarters with an immense number of captives. These he distributed into the different cities, and then came to Thessalonica [...][909].



Fig. 262 Coin bearing the legend SARMATIA DEVICTA minted by Constantine in 324-325 (RIC VII 48).

Zosimus' quoted passage paints a rather confusing picture and several interpretations have been proposed. Several scholars, principally Patsch[910], believe that independently of events at Campona, the Goths crossed the frozen Danube early the next year (in 323) and ravaged Moesia Inferior and Thrace. Zosimus' Sauromatae would thus refer to the marauding Goths. Beside the topographical data, this interpretation is supported by Rausimodus' Germanic name.

The possibility that the Goths were designated as Sauromatae cannot be rejected out of hand because 4th century settlements of the Černjahov culture, associated with the Goths, have been uncovered in the Don Delta[911]. The settlement of the Goths in the region is thus confirmed by the archaeological record (**fig. 136**). Irrespective of whether the assault was launched by Goths or Sarmatians, the campaign, obviously, did not start from the Sea of Azov. Only this much is certain, that the marauders had earlier or at the time »dwelt near the Palus Maeotis«. The other uncertainty is posed by the location of the »hill« to which Rausimodus and his army retreated. Assuming that these events took place in the Lower Danube region, the »thick wood« and the »hill« probably lay somewhere in Oltenia or Muntenia.

Alföldi rejected the arguments that Rausimodus had been a Goth because of his Germanic name, claiming that Zosimus' report actually described the attack against Campona and the subsequent events[912]. Hungarian scholars tend to agree with Alföldi, contending that Zosimus jumbled the events of 322 in Pannonia

909 Zosimus II.21.

910 Patsch 1928, 16-17. – Alföldi 1942a, 676 n. 48.

911 For the Černjahov culture, see section »Marosszentanna /Sântana de Mureş-Černjahov culture« and Bezuglov 2003.

912 Alföldi 1942a, 676. In Alföldi's view, Paulovics's excavations at Nagytétény support the above interpretation because the camp's walls were erected from stone, while the superstructure was constructed from timber. More recent excavations at the site have not furnished contradictory evidence as far as the camp's architecture is concerned, see Kocsis/Koós 2003, 157-158. Regarding Rausimodus' Germanic name, we should here recall one of Jordanes' passages: »Let no one say that this name is quite foreign to the Gothic tongue, and let no one who is ignorant cavil at the fact that the tribes of men make use of many names, even as the Romans borrow from the Macedonians, the Greeks from the Romans, the Sarmatians from the Germans, and the Goths frequently from the Huns« (Jordan IX.58). That this was indeed the case and that names in themselves are uncertain sources for ethnic attribution is illustrated by excellent examples from the 5th and 6th centuries quoted by Maenchen-Helfen (1973, 383). It seems most unlikely that this practice was wholly unprecedented and that a Sarmatian could not have been named Marcus, Alarich or Rausimodus for that matter.

and the Gothic incursion into Moesia in 323[913]. In our opinion, the question of whether Zosimus' passage referred to the Goths or the Sarmatians remains open, as does the Sarmatians' role in the conflict between Licinius and Constantine, between whom the final showdown was played out on 3 July 324 at Adrianople. Licinius was supported by the Goths led by Alica[914]; it is unclear whether the Sarmatians also rallied to his side against Constantine[915]. It is possible that the *casus belli* between the two emperors was Constantine's already mentioned campaign on the Hungarian Plain and the relentless chase he gave the barbarians, during which he crossed the Danube and entered Licinius' territory. This was an unprecedented move, a gross interference in the affairs of his fellow-emperor[916].

Constantine defeated Licinius at the battle of Adrianople, bringing an end to the civil war. The ensuing years marked the onset of a more peaceful period in the Middle Danube Basin. The Sarmatians did not launch any campaigns during the years that followed[917]. However, it is by no means clear whether the decade-long respite was the outcome of their immense losses or a new treaty of alliance.

After defeating Licinius, Constantine undertook a major construction project along the Danubian *limes*. Two new Danubian bridges were built at Oescus (Gigen, Bulgaria) and Transmaurisca (Tutrakan, Bulgaria)[918] as part of the Daphne Plan, as the emperor's ambitious project has been dubbed by research, alongside the construction of a series of forts in strategically vital locations. One of these was the fort of Constantiana Daphne on the left of the Danube in the Lower Danube region, still unlocated to date, after which the »project« has been named. It has been suggested that the Csörsz Dyke and the Brazda lui Novac Dyke in advance of the *limes* were constructed as part of the same project[919].

The Sarmatian Civil War and Subsequent Events

The peace lasted less than a decade (324-332). There is an unusual wealth of information on the conflicts erupting from the year 332 and the events of the ensuing war[920]. The events are narrated with the following words:

> In the [...] twenty-sixth year of Constantine's rule, the Goths attacked the land of Sarmatians and overwhelmed the Romans with very large forces, in their impetuous strength destroying everything with their slaughter and plundering. Constantine himself prepared an army against them, and defeating them with difficulty in a great battle, drove them beyond the Danube[921].

913 Mócsy/Fitz 1990, 47 n. 10.

914 *Excerpta Valesiana* V.27.

915 Alföldi 1942a, 677, quoting Hieron. *Chron*. a. 2337. However, we did not find any references to the Sarmatians in the quoted passage.

916 See *Excerpta Valesiana* V.21. – M. Kiss 1999, 86-87. The border between the eastern and western halves of the Empire and, in particular, the administrative affiliation of Illyricum has given rise to virtually endless debates. The creation of a uniform defence for the Pannonian and Thracian Danube section would doubtless have been more sensible from a strategic point of view, but political considerations such as the balance between the eastern and western half of the Empire, their roughly equal size and power, thwarted any practical considerations and turned Illyricum into a bone of contention (Kiss 2004, 16-17).

917 Alföldi 1942a, 676-677.

918 Aurelius Victor 41.13. »He was, to be sure, too desirous of praise, as is able to be ascertained. On account of the legends inscribed on many structures, he was accustomed to call Trajan ›Wall Plant.‹ He built a bridge over the Danube.« For a discussion of the two bridges see Patsch 1928, 20-21. For the archaeological investigation of the bridge erected at Oescus in 328, see Gherghe/Amon 2007, with further literature.

919 Gabler/Lőrincz 1990, 100-101. – Soproni 1978, 116.

920 The importance of the civil war among the Sarmatians is indicated by the very fact that the Roman sources reported extensively on its events. For a discussion, see Patsch 1928, 28-32. – Alföldi 1942a, 679-683. – Mócsy/Fitz 1990, 47-48.

921 Is.Hisp. 5.

Another report mentioned that:

> Then he [Constantine] began war against the Goths, rendering aid also to the Sarmatians, who had appealed to him for help. The result was that almost a hundred thousand of the Goths were destroyed by hunger and cold through Constantinus Caesar. Then he also received hostages, among whom was Ariaricus, the king's son. When peace with the Goths had thus been secured, Constantine turned against the Sarmatians, who were showing themselves to be of doubtful loyalty. But the slaves of the Sarmatians rebelled against all their masters and drove them from the country. These Constantine willingly received, and distributed more than three hundred thousand people of different ages and both sexes through Thrace, Scythia, Macedonia, and Italy[922].

Eusebius' account of the same events reads as follows:

> With respect to the Sarmatians, God himself brought them beneath the rule of Constantine, and subdued a nation swelling with barbaric pride in the following manner. Being attacked by the Scythians[923], they had entrusted their slaves with arms, in order to repel the enemy. These slaves first overcame the invaders and then, turning their weapons against their masters, drove them all from their native land. The expelled Sarmatians found that their only hope of safety was in Constantine's protection: and he, whose familiar habit it was to save men's lives, received them all within the confines of the Roman empire. Those who were capable of serving he incorporated with his own troops: to the rest he allotted lands to cultivate for their own support so that they themselves acknowledged that their past misfortune had produced a happy result in that they now enjoyed Roman liberty in place of savage barbarism. In this manner God added to his dominions many and various barbaric tribes[924].

Ammianus also included an account of the events in his work:

> There were formerly many natives of this kingdom, of high birth and great power, but a secret conspiracy armed their slaves against them; and as among barbarians all right consists in might, they, as they were equal to their masters in ferocity, and superior in number, completely overcame them. And these native chiefs, losing all their wisdom in their fear, fled to the Victohali, whose settlements were at a great distance, thinking it better in the choice of evils to become subject to their protectors than slaves to their own slaves[925].

What emerges from these reports is that in early 332, the western Goths, the new occupants of the former province of Dacia after its abandonment, had attacked the Sarmatians of the Hungarian Plain, who then turned to Constantine for help. The Romans provided military assistance to the Sarmatians; both of them were plagued by the Goths. The emperor entrusted his son, Constantine II to resolve the situation. On 20 April 332, he attacked the Goths from the rear, on Sarmatian territory, and inflicted a crushing de-

922 *Excerpta Valesiana* VI.31. See also section »New Forms of Interaction Between Romans and Barbarians« for a discuccion of this passage in connection with the problem of *foederati*.

923 In this case, the label »Scythians« denoted Goths.

924 Euseb. *vita Const*. IV.6.

925 Ammian XVII.12.18-19.

feat upon them. The emperor erected a triumphal column in Constantinople to commemorate the victory (**fig. 263**)[926].

The war would have ended there and then (especially because the Sarmatians had probably killed the Gothic leader Vidigoia in battle[927]), had not a rebellion broken out among the inhabitants of the Hungarian Plain. The Arcaragantes, known as the »free« Sarmatians (*sarmatae liberi*), had armed the Limigantes, described as their servants (*sarmatae servi*), a much more populous group. Very little is known about Sarmatian society and the interpretation of these two social groups or tribes is still controversial. A civil war ensued between the two groups after the defeat of the Goths. The sources contradicted each other on this matter. It is unclear whether the Limigantes simply exploited the upheaval to their own advantage and rebelled, as the *Excerpta Valesiana* reported, or whether, as Eusebius claimed, »they had entrusted their slaves with arms in order to repel the enemy«, implying that by arming their »slaves« against the Goths, the Arcaragantes had effectively provided the weapons that their servants turned against their former masters. What was the »secret conspiracy« mentioned by Ammianus? We shall probably never know. Neither should we lose sight of the fact that each of these reports was written from a Roman perspective.

One point that emerges clearly is that the victory on 20 April 332 did not bring peace to the Hungarian Plain. A hoard of over 10,000 barely worn coins found at Nagytétény, whose latest pieces put the date of its concealment at 333, suggests that the conflict in the southern regions of the Hungarian Plain had spread to the north[928]. The crisis continued.

Peace was restored in 334, but only temporarily. The emperor undoubtedly played a role in the settlement. He transplanted a significant mass of Arcaragantes (men, women and children) in the Empire, and in order to ensure that the relocation of this multitude proceeded in an orderly fashion, Constantine spent the greater part of the summer in the area[929]. The others »in their fear, fled to the Victohali, whose settlements were at a great distance«[930].

A brief detour must be made at this point. While the identification of the new lands of the expelled Sarmatians seems to be an easy exercise, the determination of the territory occupied by the Vandal Victovali during this period poses several difficulties. The Victovali were among the newcomers settling in the Upper Tisza region, the foreland of Dacia, at the time of the Marcomannic-Sarmatian Wars[931]. Judging from the later events, principally from their joint forays with the Quadi, the Arcaragantes probably searched for new lands for themselves in the northern part of the Hungarian Plain. It must also be noted that some scholars believe that the Upper Tisza region had been occupied by the Gepids around 270, while the Vandals should be sought in the Maros Valley. The cornerstone of this, in our opinion, barely tenable view, is that the Van-

926 Patsch 1928, 29-30. – Alföldi 1942a, 677. – Mócsy/Fitz 1990, 47. – Hieron. *Chron*. 2340 c: »The Romans defeated the Goths in the land of the Sarmatians«; *Excerpta Valesiana* VI.35: »Afterwards he destroyed the bravest and most populous of the Gothic tribes in the very heart of the barbarian territory, that is, in the lands of the Sarmatians.« Most scholars agree that the Romans meddled heavily in the affairs of the Barbaricum, especially in the light of later events. It has recently been suggested that the Romans only intervened in the clashes between the Goths and the Sarmatians, and that they refrained from a military intervention during the ensuing Sarmatian internal crisis despite the fact that Constantine was nearby at the time (Singidunum, Viminacium and Naissus). See Wheeler 1998, 84, with further literature.

927 Jordan (XXXIV.178) mentioned that the delegation led by Priscus passed by the place, not far from Attila's later wooden palace, »where long ago Vidigoia, bravest of the Goths, perished by the guile of the Sarmatians«. For a discussion of this passage, see Kiss 2008, n. 5. 20. If this passage indeed refers to the events around 332, the clash between the Goths and the Sarmatians took place somewhere in the southern part of the Danube-Tisza interfluve because Priscus and his companions had already crossed the Tisza and were nearing Attila's palace when they saw the burial of the Gothic leader.

928 Alföldi 1942a, 677 n. 56.

929 »The Limigantes Sarmatians, having gathered a force, expelled their masters, who are now called the Argaragantes, onto Roman soil« (Hieron. *Chron*. 2350 f). The 300,000 mentioned in the sources seems to be greatly exaggerated, even considering the ubiquitous Sarmatian sites and their finds. However, it must also be borne in mind that the late 4th century was still characterised by a high population density.

930 Ammian XVII.12.19.

931 Dio LXXI.12. – SHA Marc.Ant. XXII. See Alföldi 1942a, n. 216. – Schmidt 1942, 6-8. – Bóna 1986, 61-63. – Godłowski 1993. – Istvánovits/Kulcsár 1993b. – Kobály 1997-1998.



Fig. 263 Details from Constantine's triumphal column in Istanbul. – (Photo E. Istvánovits / V. Kulcsár).

dals (including the Victovali) launched an attack against Pannonia in 269[932]. This attack was explained by the pressure from the Gepidic migration, as a result of which the Vandals sought to enter the Empire in the Aquincum area. This theory remained unchallenged for some time because no 4th century finds that could be securely linked to the Vandals were known from the Upper Tisza region. As a matter of fact, no Gepidic finds were known either. Let us take a closer look at the Gepidic migrations.

The Gepids are first mentioned in 269, during Claudius II's (Gothicus) reign, when an assortment of various, mostly Germanic peoples staged an attack against the Empire. Gepidic and Vandal *deductiones* took place under Probus[933]. These scattered bits of information are insufficient to locate the lands of these peoples. Claudius Mamertinus' panegyric glorifying Emperor Maximianus mentioned a Germanic civil war involving the Gepids and their allies, the Vandals, and was composed after 291[934]. Jordanes described the same event, occurring before 290, at greater length. In his narrative, Fastida, King of the Gepids, demanded land from Ostrogotha, who ruled over both the Ostrogoths and the Visigoths. The Gepids and the Goths clashed in Dacia, the province evacuated by the Romans and subsequently occupied by the Goths. Following their defeat, Fastida and his people returned to their own land »hemmed in by rugged mountains and dense forests«[935]. It is extremely doubtful whether this description can be exclusively identified with an area lying beyond the Csörsz Dyke, but on the inner side of the eastern Carpathians, especially in view of the fact that there is not one shred of archaeological evidence to support this claim. Neither can Bóna's assertion be confirmed that »in the lack of other options«, the Gepids migrated southward along the northern and north-eastern outer side of the Csörsz Dyke[936]. In Bóna's scenario, the Gepids assimilated the Victovali by the mid-4th century and had occupied the areas of the Upper Tisza region extending beyond the Csörsz Dyke by the middle third of the 4th century, whence they advanced southward to Maros after crossing the Körös rivers[937].

The idea that the middle areas of the Hungarian Plain came under Germanic rule was no doubt inspired by a passage in Jordanes' work that was taken to refer to the mid-330s[938]. Jordanes recounted that the Vandals led by Visumar, after having been earlier driven by the Gepids to the area between the Maros and Körös rivers, were defeated by the Ostrogoths advancing from Dacia under their king, Geberich. The battle is assumed to have been fought in the Maros Valley. Accepting the credibility of this information, Ammianus' remark that the »Free Sarmatians« submitted to the Vandal Victovali was taken to refer to the area between the Maros and Körös rivers. True enough, hundreds of 4th century Sarmatian sites are known from this area, but traces hinting at a Germanic presence are entirely lacking[939], implying that neither a Vandal, nor a Gepidic presence can be assumed for this period. If the Gepids had indeed assimilated the Vandals in the 4th century as assumed by Bóna, the latter's presence can be discarded both in the south and in the north because this meant the end of their life as an independent ethnic group. Bóna's opinion that Jordanes had no idea of the 4th century history of the Vandals and that he had pieced together this part of his narrative from various earlier – and often misunderstood – works is wholly justified[940]. Bóna's opinion was seconded

932 Schmidt 1941, 105-106. – Alföldi 1942a, 673. For the sources on the incursion, see Kovács 2008, 45-46. 59.

933 SHA Claud. VI. – SHA Prob. XVIII.2.

934 Mamertinus III [XI] 17,1 in: Lakatos 1973, 51.

935 Jordan XVII.97-100.

936 It seems to be contradictory in itself that, according Bóna's hypothesis, the Gepids' arrival in 269 would have led to the westward shift of the Vandals, while the events of 290 to a southward migration.

937 Bóna 2001, 142-143. – Bóna et al. 1993, 52-53. Contrary to Bóna, Horedt 1971, believed that the Gepids' initial settlement territory should be sought by the River Prut; Schmidt 1941, 223. 530, located them by the River Olt and Wolfram 2001, 68. 72, to the Maros region. The latter did not regard the issue as closed owing to the lack of sources. For a recent overview of the arguments, counter-arguments and the relevant literature, see Bierbrauer 2006.

938 Jordan XXII.113.

939 Párducz was no doubt influenced by this passage when trying to identify Germanic/Gepidic elements in his Tápé-Malajdok group, which he dated to the mid-4th century (Párducz/Korek 1946/1948, 312; Párducz 1950a, 258-259). Párducz's theory has been challenged on several counts, see Margit Nagy 1997, 49 n. 29.

940 Mócsy/Bóna 1965, 127-128, with the earlier literature.

by M. Kiss, editor of a recent Hungarian translation of Jordanes' *Getica*. In her view, the passage claiming that »at the time when the Vandals were dwelling in this region, war was begun against them by Geberich, king of the Goths, on the shore of the river Marisia«, the Vandals were defeated and that the Romans resettled the few survivors does not refer to the Vandals, but to the Sarmatians. Jordanes, who actively disliked the Vandals, apparently commemorated a distorted version of the events of 334 because there is no record of Vandals settling in the Empire at this time[941].

Archaeology alone can clarify the question of the Gepidic migration and the Vandals' movements. Find material will no doubt resolve whether the Vandals had settled in the Upper Tisza region (which seems more plausible to us), or in the area between the Maros and Körös rivers. At present, only so much can be stated that the vicinities of the Verecke Pass and the Maros Valley both occupied key positions in the Sarmatian Barbaricum. In the absence of burials and any reliable references in the written sources, the ethnic attribution of the 4th century population in the region's section extending to the Csörsz Dyke is virtually impossible. Both areas were characterised by a remarkably colourful ethnic patchwork throughout the Roman Age. The earliest assemblage from the Körös region and the Banat reflecting a Sarmatian presence comes from Vărşand and Sânnicolau Mare (**fig. 151, 3**)[941a]. At present, we have only these two assemblages predating the Marcomannic-Sarmatian Wars. The other approximately fifty currently known sites suggest that the contact zone between the Sarmatians and their eastern neighbours (who, at least before the surrender of Dacia, can most probably be identified with a Romanised Dacian or a Dacian-Roman group) lay along the Vărşand-Arad line (**fig. 175**)[942].

The continuation of this line can be extended to Tărian-Carei in the north. While there is no break in the material culture of the areas up to the Csörsz Dyke in the Upper Tisza region, the area beyond the rampart is more complicated. Sarmatian finds occur in a single block up to the Nagykálló-Oros line until the close of the 4th century. The greater part of the Nyír Plateau was probably part of the Sarmatian lands. The Szatmár-Bereg Plain was occupied by groups of the Bereg culture, characterised by stamped grey pottery (**figs 253-254. 264**). The find assemblages from contemporary settlements lying near each other to the east and north of the Sarmatian block show an interesting variety at the turn of the 3rd and 4th centuries: some are dominated by Przeworsk pottery (**fig. 265**); some by wheel-turned grey wares more typical for the Sarmatians (**fig. 266**). At the same time, there have been few advances in identifying the finds of the 4th century (stage C3), especially as regards the grave goods from burials, even though this would lead us closer to clarifying ethnic issues. Some influence of the Marosszentanna-Černjahov culture can also be demonstrated (Berveni-Halmos, Lazuri-Râtul lui Bela), which is hardly surprising given the proximity of Transylvania (**fig. 267**)[943].

The distribution of Sarmatian finds in north-western Romania can be traced as far as Carei-Pir in the Ier Valley (**fig. 268**). The northern boundary can be drawn at Pişcolt until the second half of the 4th century. Dörner assigned the grave assemblages uncovered at Dorobanți, Şeitin and Oradea-Szalkadomb to this horizon, based on the brooches from the first site, the brooch and the glass beaker from the second (in fact, the beaker represented the Kowalk type and should thus be dated later), and the glass beaker from the third. However, the chronological position of these assemblages is still uncertain[944]. Moving farther to the west, the later 4th century coin of the Empress Julia found in Grave 1 of the four Sarmatian burials unearthed at Kisvárda-Nagyboldogasszony Street suggests that the Sarmatians had not been ousted from this area during this period. Recent findings of Sarmatian graves dated to the early 5th century support this

941 Jordan XXII.113-115. – Kiss 2002, 143 n. 134.

941a Kőhegyi 1985, 273-274. – Bejan/Măruia/Tănase 2011.

942 Dörner 1971, 687. – Hügel/Barbu 1997, esp. 545.

943 We are greatly indebted to R. Gindele and J. Németi for sharing their expertise on the finds from this region. See also Gindele 2010, 148. 167-168. – Németi 1999, 156-157.

944 Németi/Gindele 1997, 605-606; 1998/1999, 80-81. 84-85.

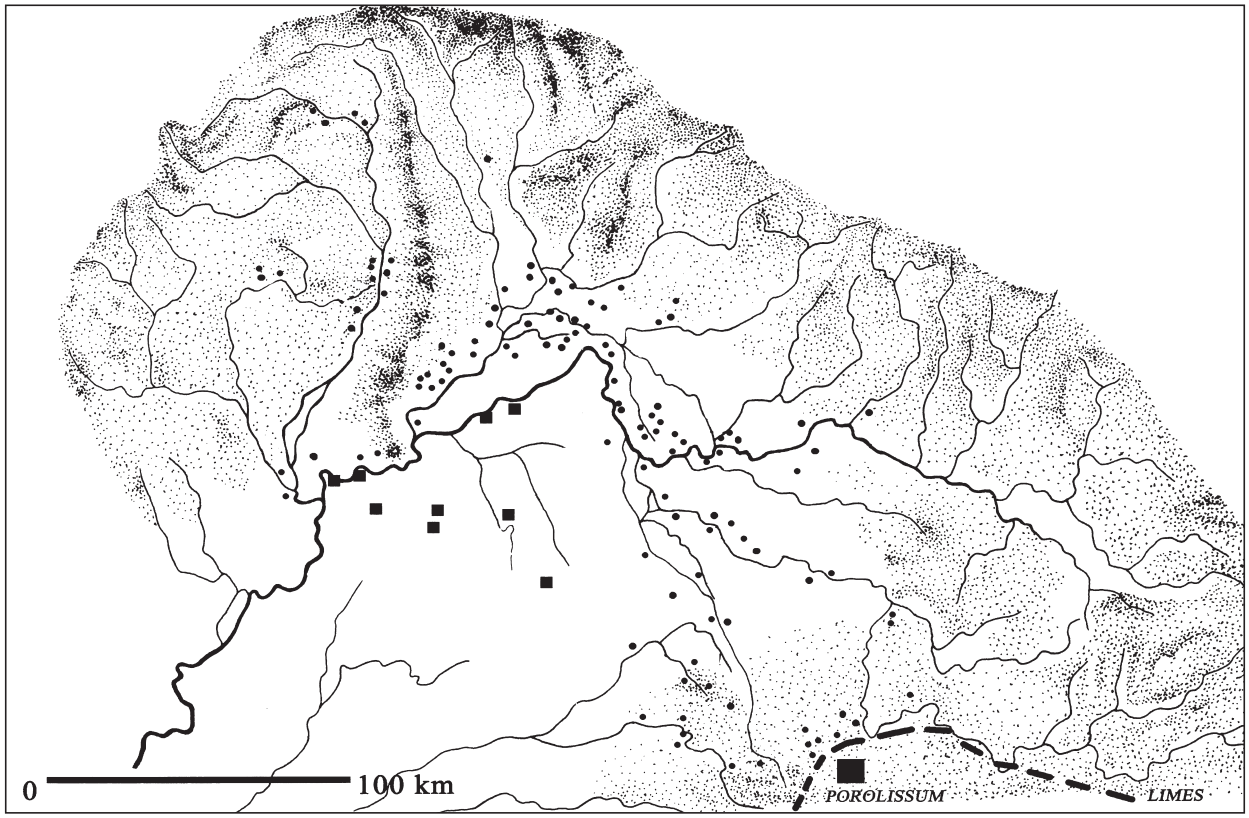


Fig. 264 Distribution of the stamped pottery wares of the Bereg culture (black square finds from Sarmatian context). – (After Gindele/Istvánovits 2011, map 2).



Fig. 265 Przeworsk type pottery of the 3rd-4th centuries from Lazuri-Râtul lui Bela, north-western Romania. – (After Gindele 2010, pl. 118, 3. 5-7).

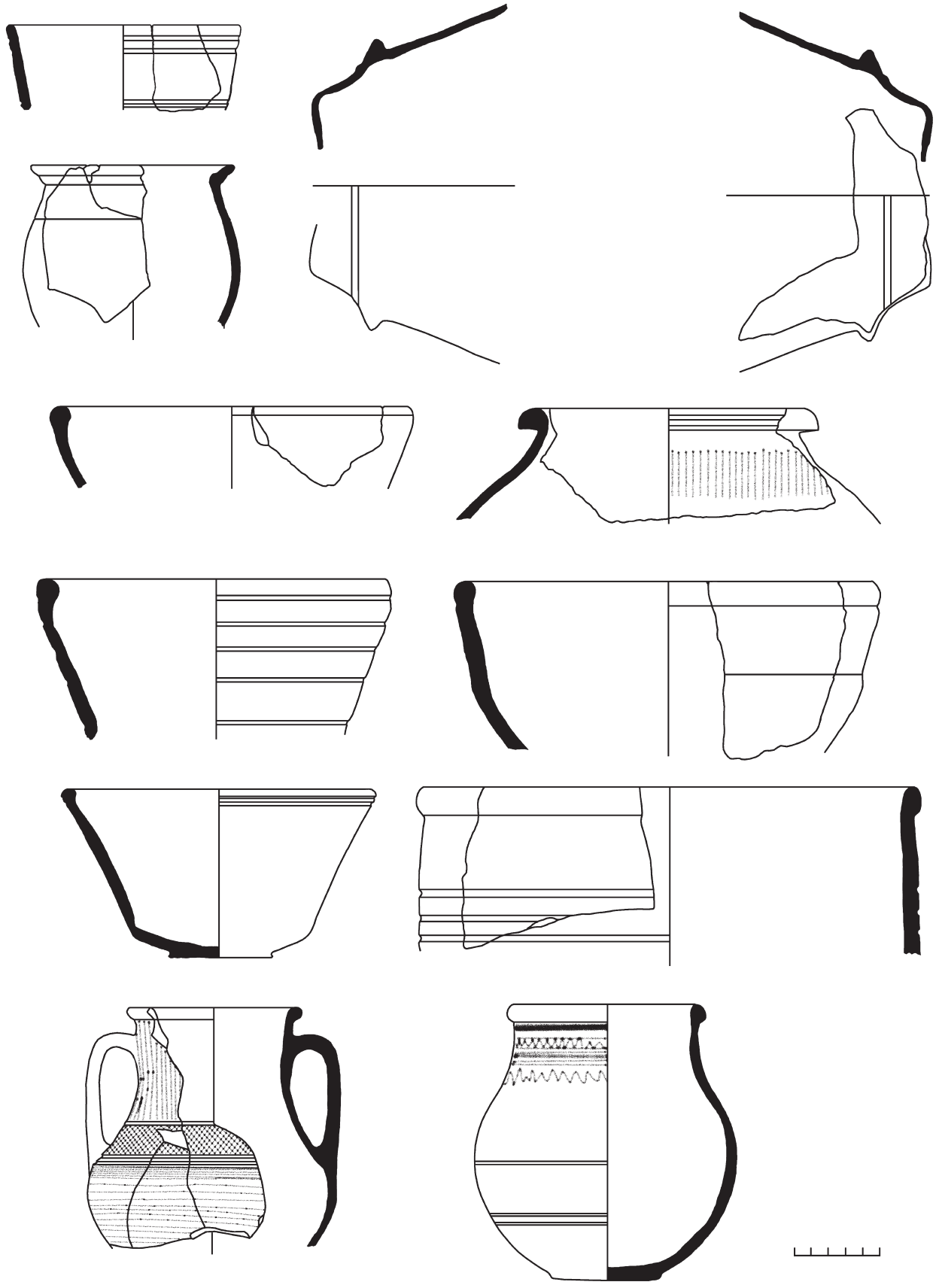


Fig. 266 Sarmatian type pottery of the 3rd-4th centuries from Pişcolt-Lutărie, north-western Romania. – (After Gindele 2010, figs 54, 3. 5. 7-13; 55, 5. 10).

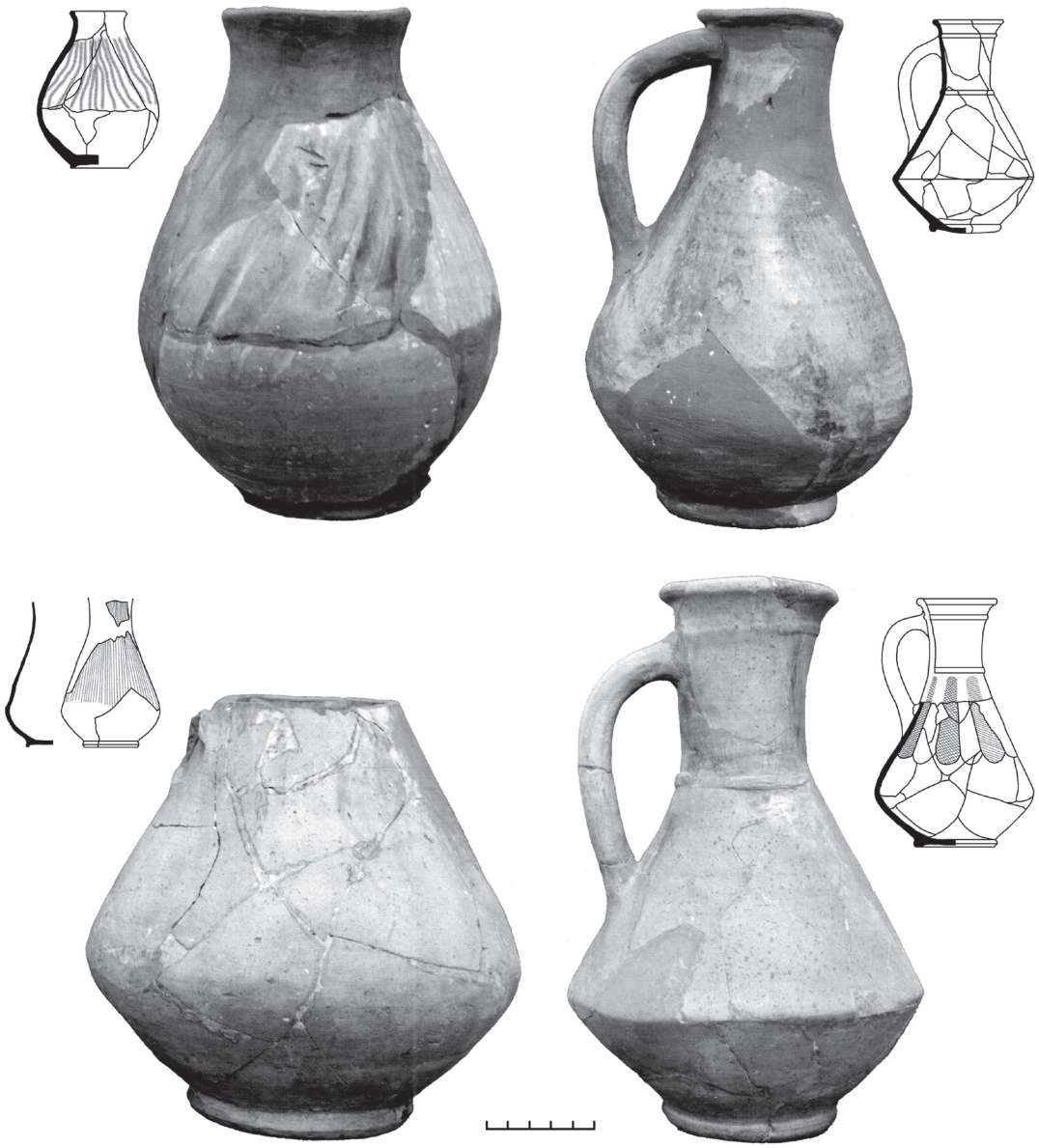


Fig. 267 Pottery reflecting the influence of the Marosszentanna-Černjahov culture from Lazuri-Râtul lui Bela, north-western Romania. – (After Gindele 2010, pl. 116).

suggestion (fig. 269). Profound changes in the material from the eastern part of the Upper Tisza region can be noted after the evacuation of Dacia when wheel-turned pottery became dominant and the use of stamped pottery decoration more widespread. At the same time, any reconstruction of region's ethnic attribution is virtually impossible owing to the lack of burials.

Returning to the events of the Sarmatian civil war, the fate of the Arcaragantes is relatively well-known from the sources: some were settled in the Empire; others fled to the Victovali. The subsequent history of the Limigantes is less clear. Later reports would suggest that they occupied the abandoned Banatian lands of the Arcaragantes.

After 334 (between 334 and the late 350s), a generation-long period of relative peace ensued along the Empire's frontier with the Sarmatians. The Sarmatians did not even react to the domestic crisis caused by the bids for the throne in 350-352 with the usual incursions. The only exception is a minor skirmish in the winter of 338/339, perhaps the reason that the young Emperor Constans was awarded the title *Sar-*

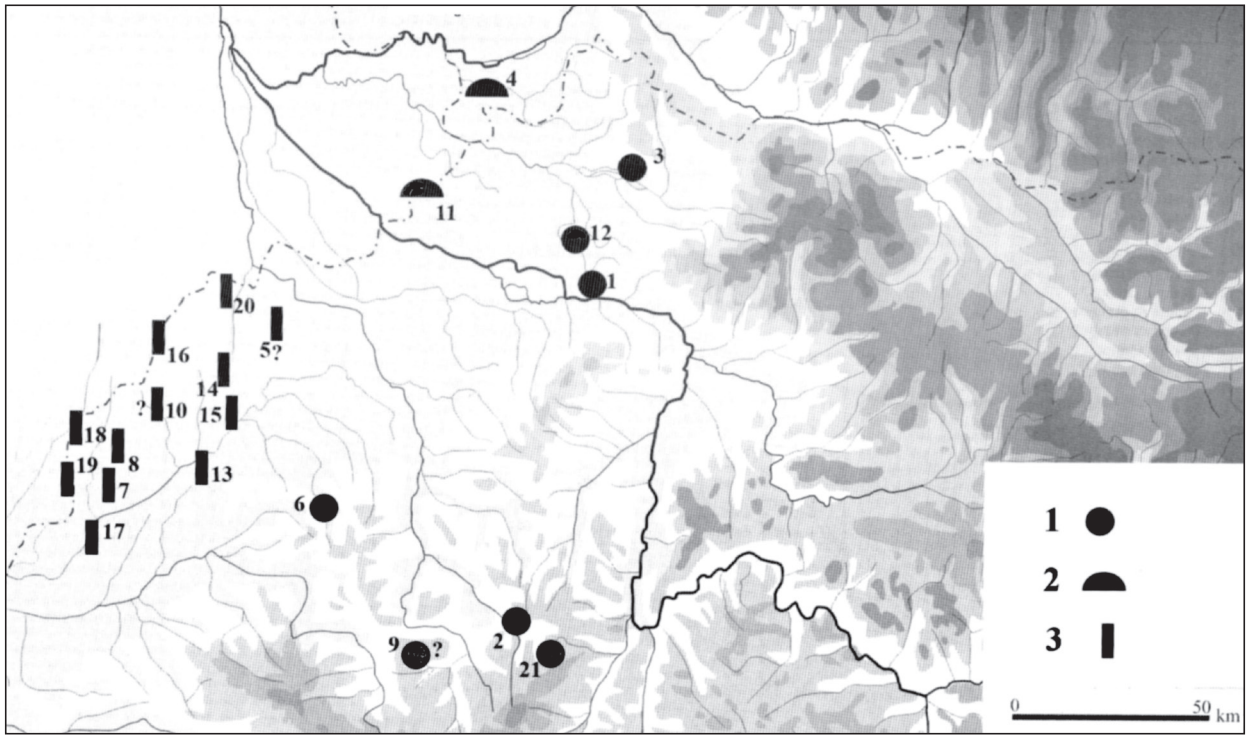


Fig. 268 Grave finds from north-western Romania and neighbouring territories of Hungary and Ukraine: **1** cremation graves. – **2** cremation graves with barrows. – **3** inhumation graves. – (After Gindele 2010-2011, map 2).

maticus[945]. The obvious reason for this calm could be that the clashes with the Goths, their own civil war and resettlement in the Empire had seriously depleted the Sarmatian population.

The peace was shattered again in the mid-350s. Zosimus mentioned that in 355 the Sarmatians and the Quadi ravaged Pannonia and Moesia Superior without encountering any opposition[946]. The coin hoards found in northern and north-eastern Valeria are generally linked to this incursion. The hoard from the fort at Ács-Vaspuszta must be highlighted in this respect: the latest coin in this hoard was issued in 354, which in Gabler's view indicated that the barbarian raids began in 355[947]. In contrast, Mócsy argued that Ammianus had been mistaken in dating the onslaught against Pannonia Secunda and Moesia Prima by the Quadi and the Sarmatians to 356 because the imperial itinerary clearly indicates that



Fig. 269 Buckle dated to the early 5th century from Sarmatian context, Nagykálló-Ipari park (Industrial Park), Grave 153. – (JAM, G.Pintye's excavation and courtesy, unpublished; photo E. Istvánovits / V. Kulcsár).

945 Mócsy 1972, 88-89. – Mócsy/Fitz 1990, 47. Alföldi 1942a, 678 n. 62, suggested that the title *Sarmaticus* actually refers to earlier events and that these years should be regarded as a period of peace as well.

946 Zosimus III.1.1.

947 Gabler 1972. – Dittrich 1984, 54 n. 3.

Constantius II arrived in Pannonia in the summer of 357, meaning that the events in question can hardly have taken place much earlier. The emperor launched a punitive campaign in spring next year in retaliation for the barbarians' incursions during the winter of 357/358[948]. Mócsy's dating does not exclude a possible barbarian raid in 355 because Ammianus also noted that the emperor »received *frequent* and trustworthy intelligence that the Sarmatians and the Quadi […] were […] overrunning Pannonia and the second province of Moesia [...]«[949]. Let us turn to the historian for an account of the events of the year 358:

> In the mean time, while the emperor was passing the winter quietly at Sirmium, he received frequent and trustworthy intelligence that the Sarmatians and the Quadi, two tribes contiguous to each other, and similar in manners and mode of warfare, were conjointly overrunning Pannonia and the second province of Moesia, in straggling detachments. […] Therefore, after the venial equinox was past, the emperor, having collected a strong body of soldiers, marched forth under the guidance of propitious fortune. Having arrived at a suitable place, he crossed the Danube, which was now flooded from the melting of the snow, by a bridge of boats, and descended on the lands of the barbarians, which he began to lay waste. They, being taken by surprise through the rapidity of his march, and seeing that the battalions of his warlike army were at their throats, when they had not supposed it possible that such a force could be collected for a year, had no courage to make a stand, but, as the only means of escaping unexpected destruction, took to flight. When many had been slain, fear fettering their steps, those whose speed had saved them from death hid themselves among the secret defiles of the mountains, and from thence beheld their country destroyed by the sword, which they might have delivered if they had resisted with as much vigour as they fled. These events took place in that part of Sarmatia which looks towards the second Pannonia. Another military expedition, conducted with equal courage, routed the troops of the barbarians in Valeria, who were plundering and destroying everything within their reach. Terrified at the greatness of this disaster, the Sarmatians, under pretext of imploring peace, planned to divide their force into three bodies, and to attack our army while in a state of fancied security; so that they should neither be able to prepare their weapons, nor avoid wounds, nor (which is the last resource in a desperate case) take to flight. There were with the Sarmatians likewise on this occasion, as partners in their danger, the Quadi, who had often before taken part in the injuries inflicted on us; but their prompt boldness did not help them on this occasion, rushing as they did into open danger. For many of them were slain, and the survivors escaped among the hills, with which they were familiar. And as this event raised the spirits and courage of our army, they united in solid columns, and marched with speed into the territories of the Quadi; who, having learnt by the past to dread the evils which impended over them, came boldly into the emperor's presence to implore peace as suppliants, since he was inclined to be merciful in such cases. On the day appointed for settling the conditions, one of their princes named Zizais, a young man of great stature, marshalled the ranks of the Sarmatians to offer their entreaties of peace in the fashion of an army; and as soon as they came within sight, he threw away his arms, and fell like one dead, prostrating himself on his breast before the emperor; his very voice from fear refusing its office, when he ought to have uttered his entreaties, he awakened the more pity, making many attempts, and being scarcely able from the violence of his sobs to give utterance to his wishes.

948 Mócsy 1972, 89. For a detailed discussion of Ammianus Marcellinus' references to these events and their assessment, see Dittrich 1984, 53-85.

949 Ammian XVII.12.1, italics added for emphasis.

At last, having recovered himself, and being bidden to rise up, he knelt, and having regained the use of his tongue, he implored pardon for his offences. His followers also, whose mouths had been closed by fear while the fate of their leader was still doubtful, were admitted to offer the same petition, and when he, being commanded to rise, gave them the signal which they had been long expecting, to present their petition, they all threw away their javelins and their shields, and held out their hands in an attitude of supplication, striving to surpass their prince in the humility of their entreaties[950]. Among the other Sarmatians the prince had brought with him three chiefs of tribes, Rumo, Zinafer, and Fragiledus[951], and many nobles who came to offer the same petition with earnest hope of success. And they, being elated at the promise of safety, undertook to make amends for their former deeds of hostility by performing the conditions now imposed on them; giving up willingly into the power of the Romans themselves, their wives and children, and all their possessions. The kindness of the emperor, united with justice, subdued them; and he bidding them be of good cheer and return to their homes, they restored our prisoners. They also brought the hostages who were demanded of them, and promised prompt obedience to all the emperor's commands. Then, encouraged by this example of our clemency, other chieftains came with all their tribe, by name Araharius and Usafer, men of distinction among the nobles, and at the head of a great force of their countrymen; one of them being chief of a portion of the Quadi who dwelt beyond the mountains, and the other of a division of the Sarmatians: the two being united by the proximity of their territories, and their natural ferocity. But the emperor, fearing the number of their followers, lest, while pretending to make a treaty, they should suddenly rise up in arms, separated them; ordering those who were acting for the Sarmatians to retire for a while, while he was examining into the affairs of Araharius and the Quadi. And when they presented themselves before him, bowing according to their national custom, as they were not able to clear themselves of heavy charges, so, fearing extreme punishment, they gave the hostages which were demanded, though they had never before been compelled to give pledges for their fidelity. These matters being thus equitably and successfully settled, Usafer was admitted to offer his petition, though Araharius loudly protested against this, and maintained that the peace ratified with him ought to comprehend Usafer also, as an ally of his though of inferior rank, and subject to his command. But when the question was discussed, the Sarmatians were pronounced independent of any other power, as having been always vassals of the Roman empire; and they willingly embraced the proposal of giving hostages as a pledge of the maintenance of tranquillity. After this there came a vast number of nations and princes, flocking in crowds, when they heard that Araharius had been allowed to depart in safety, imploring us to withdraw the sword which was at their throats; and they also obtained the peace which they requested on similar terms, and without any delay gave as hostages the sons of their nobles whom they brought from the interior of the country; and they also surrendered, as we insisted, all their prisoners, from whom they parted as unwill-

950 Kiss 2008, 1-2. Ammianus' quoted passage is set as an example of *deditio (*submission), followed by the ceremony of *adoratio* (adoration), a spectacular visual display of a population surrendering to the Romans.

951 Curiously enough, a third name, that of Batherus, also appears in the *Annalum Boiorum*, a chronicle written by the medieval Bavarian humanist Aventinus: »Constantius in the spring time laid a pontoon bridge on the Danube and crossed with his army into the part of Germania and Sarmatia, which faced Pannonia Secunda and Valeria. The inhabitants escaped through the hills. The Roman army, after everything had been destroyed, advanced toward the neighbouring region of the Quadi. It levelled and scattered whatever was in the way. The kings and »little kings« [*reguli*] of the Quadi and Sarmatians, Ziza, Fraegiledus, Rumarus, and Batherus came as suppliants to Constantius and gave captives. They begged for pardon of past things [i. e. offences] and obtained it. They gave hostages« (Aventinus 113-114), with thanks to Wheeler for the English translation.

> ingly as from their own relations. When these arrangements were completed, the emperor's anxiety was transferred to the Sarmatians, who were objects of pity rather than of anger [...] There were formerly many natives of this kingdom, of high birth and great power, but a secret conspiracy armed their slaves against them; and as among barbarians all right consists in might, they, as they were equal to their masters in ferocity, and superior in number, completely overcame them. And these native chiefs [Arcaragantes], losing all their wisdom in their fear, fled to the Victohali, whose settlements were at a great distance, thinking it better in the choice of evils to become subject to their protectors than slaves to their own slaves. But afterwards, when they had obtained pardon from us, and had been received as faithful allies, they deplored their hard fate, and invoked our direct protection. Moved by the undeserved hardship of their lot, the emperor, when they were assembled before him, addressed them with kind words in the presence of his army, and commanded them for the future to own no master but himself and the Roman generals. And that the restoration of their liberty might carry with it additional dignity, he made Zizais their king, a man, as the event proved, deserving the rewards of eminent fortune, and faithful. After these glorious transactions, none of the Sarmatians were allowed to depart till all our prisoners had returned, as we had before insisted[952].

The date of the clashes is noteworthy. The emperor marched off from Sirmium after 21 March and crossed the swollen river. That the barbarians were taken by surprise is quite understandable, for it was hardly a customary practice to cross a river in times of flood and the roads were no doubt muddy from the spring thaw. The provisioning of the army must have posed a formidable task in the season when supplies were running short after winter[953].

In view of the topographic description, the events in the foreland of Pannonia Secunda can be located to the eastern fringes of the Banat, where the mountains level out into the plain. One part of the Roman army defeated the Sarmatians somewhere in this area[954]. Other Roman troops massacred the Sarmatians and Quadi in the Barbaricum bordering on Valeria. Usafer, who took part in the fighting was a vassal of the Quadi, and his people probably dwelt in the area where there is the strongest mix of Sarmatian and Quadic material (**fig. 270**). The Quadi occupied the region facing the Danube Bend and the areas to the west on the left bank of the Danube. Their southernmost finds are known from the northern part of Budapest. The Quadic finds are strongly interspersed with Sarmatian material in the area south of the Börzsöny Mountains along the Danube (**fig. 271**)[955], suggesting a separate local group with its own »prince« that can probably be identified with Usafer and his people in this period.

The description and number of the embassies appearing at the peace negotiations suggest that the ethnic tapestry of the Hungarian Plain during the Roman Age was far more colourful than earlier believed[956].

The final settlement of the problems posed by the Limigantes was addressed next:

> [...] the public interests required that the army should at once march against the Limigantes, the revolted slaves of the Sarmatians, who had perpetrated many atrocities with impunity. For, as soon as the countrymen of free blood had attacked us, they also, forgetful of their former con-

952 Ammian XVII.12.1-20.

953 See Ammianus (XIX.11.2) for the difficulties encountered during the organisation of the army's supply.

954 This would also imply that the area in question was inhabited by Sarmatians who were not grouped among the Limigantes because Ammianus explicitly states that the Romans began their march against the »servant Sarmatians« afterwards (see below).

955 Kulcsár 1997a, 708.

956 The detailed analysis of the immense corpus of archaeological finds dated to the Late Empire will eventually enable the identification of individual groups based on the relatively well-definable distribution of certain artefact types, such as disc brooches decorated with human faces.

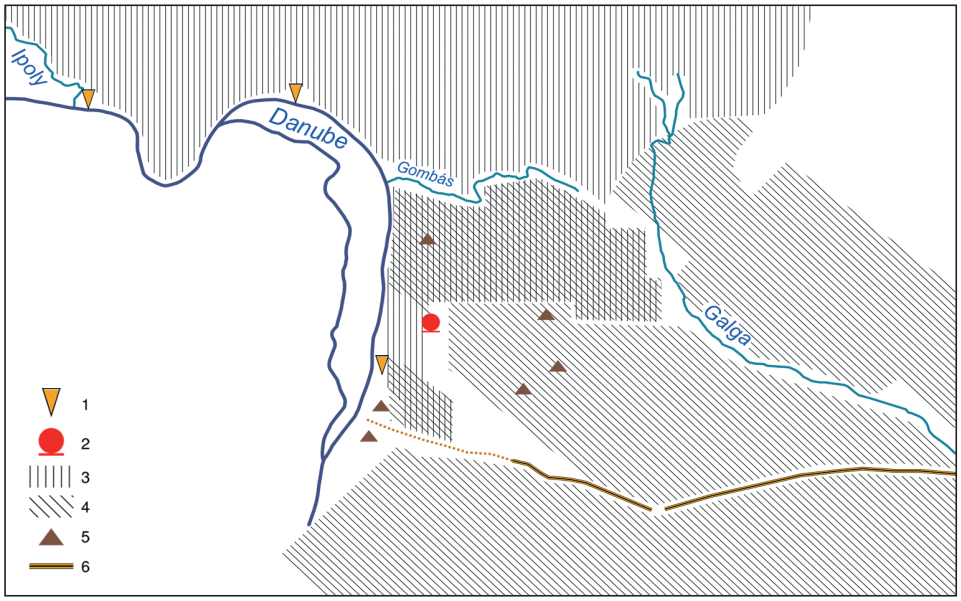


Fig. 270 The boundary between the Quadic and the Sarmatian lands in the Danube Bend. **1** Roman ports. – **2** Roman camp. – **3** Quadi. – **4** Sarmatians. – **5** 1st-3rd century Sarmatian burials. – **6** Csörsz Dyke. – (After Dinnyés 2011, figs 1-2, map L. Veszprémi).

dition, thinking to take advantage of a favourable opportunity, burst through the Roman frontier, in this wickedness alone agreeing with their masters and enemies. But on deliberation we determined that their offence also should be punished with more moderation than its greatness deserved; and that vengeance should limit itself to removing them to a distance where they could no longer harass our territories[957]. The consciousness of a long series of crimes made them fearful of danger. And therefore, suspecting that the weight of war was about to fall upon them, they were prepared, as exigency might require, to resort to stratagem, arms, or entreaties. But at the first sight of our army they became as it were panic-stricken; and being reduced to despair, they begged their lives, offering a yearly tribute, and a body of their chosen youths for our army, and promising perpetual obedience. But they were prepared to refuse if they were ordered to emigrate (as they showed by their gestures and countenances), trusting to the strength of the place where, after they had expelled their masters, they had fixed their abode. For the Parthiscus waters this land, proceeding with oblique windings till it falls into the Danube. But while it flows unmixed, it passes through a vast extent of country, which, near its junction with the Danube, it narrows into a very small corner, so that over on the side of the Danube those who live in that district are protected from the attack of the Romans, and on the side of the Parthiscus they are secured from any irruptions of the barbarians. Since along its course the greater part of the ground is frequently under water from the floods, and always swampy and full of osiers, so as to be quite impassable to strangers; and besides the mainland there is an island close to the mouth of the river, which the stream itself seems to have separated into its present state. Accordingly, at the desire of the emperor, they came with native arrogance to our bank of the river, not, as the result showed, with the intention of obeying his commands, but that they might not seem alarmed at the presence of his soldiers. And there they stood, stubbornly showing that they had come bent on resistance. And as the emperor had foreseen that

957 This can be interpreted as meaning, either that the Empire needed reinforcements and tried to recruit them from among the Limigantes, or that the victory was not guaranteed.

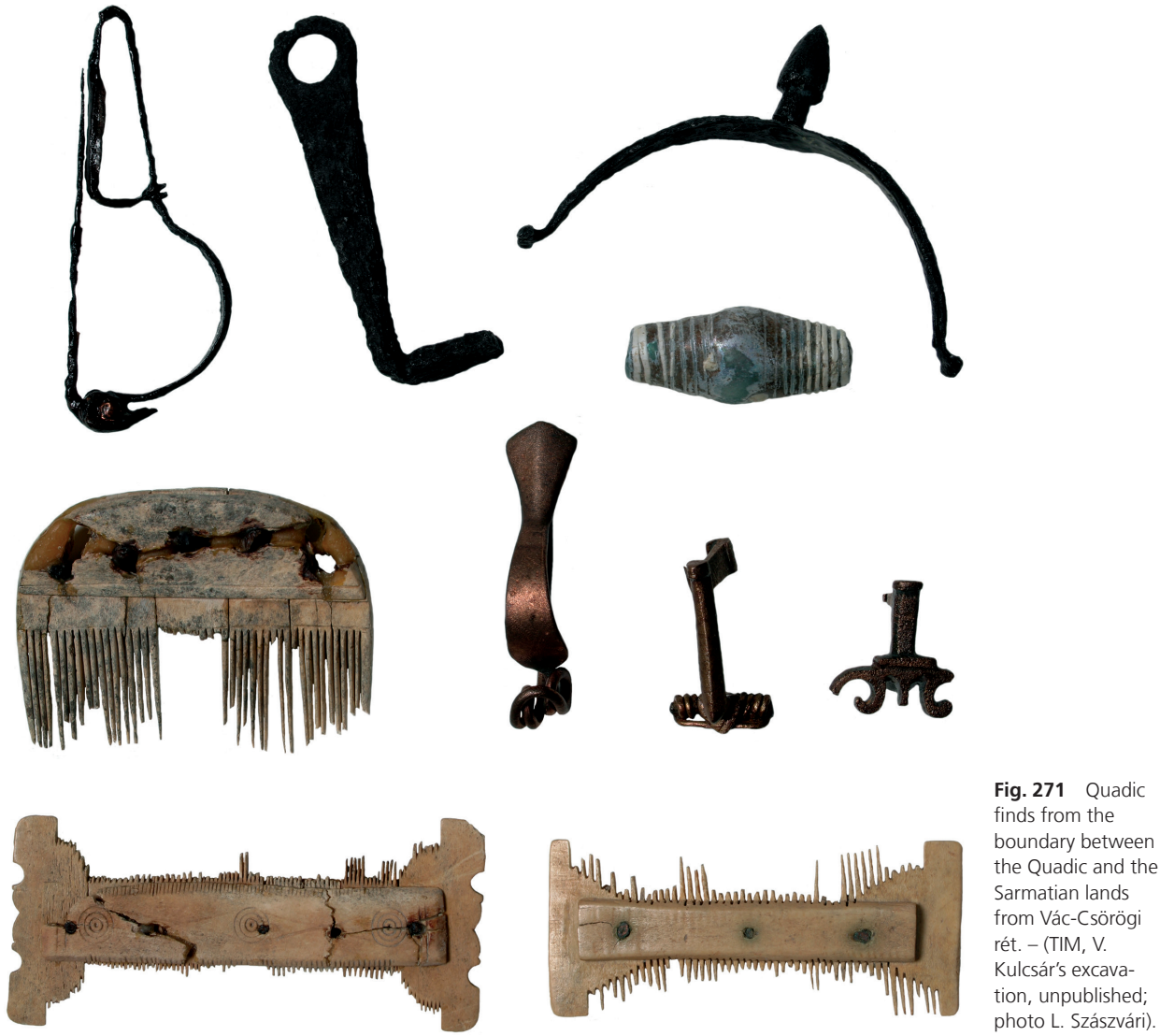


Fig. 271 Quadic finds from the boundary between the Quadic and the Sarmatian lands from Vác-Csörögi rét. – (TIM, V. Kulcsár's excavation, unpublished; photo L. Szászvári).

this might happen, he secretly divided his army into several squadrons, and by the rapidity of their movements hemmed in the barbarians between his own lines. And then, standing on a mound, with a few of his officers and a small body-guard, he gently admonished them not to give way to ferocity. But they, wavering and in doubt, were agitated by various feelings, and mingling craft with their fury, they had recourse to arms and to prayers at the same time. And meditating to make a sudden attack on those of our men who were nearest, they threw their shields some distance before them, with the intent that while they made some steps forward to recover them, they might thus steal a little ground without giving any indication of their purpose. And as it was now nearly evening, and the departing light warned us to avoid further delay, our soldiers raised their standards and fell upon them with a fiery onset. And they, in close order, directed all their force against the mound on which (as has been already said) the emperor himself was standing, fixing their eyes on him, and uttering fierce outcries against him. Our army was indignant at such insane audacity, and forming into a triangle, to which military simplicity has given the name of »the boar's head,« with a violent charge they scattered the barbarians now pressing vigorously upon the emperor; on the right our infantry slew their infantry, and on the left our cavalry dashed among their squadrons of light horsemen. The prae-

torian cohort, carefully guarding the emperor, spared neither the breasts of those who attacked nor the backs of those who fled, and the barbarians, yielding in their stubbornness to death alone, showed by their horrid cries that they grieved not so much at their own death as at the triumph of our army. And, beside the dead, many lay with their legs cut off, and so deprived of the resource of flight, others had lost their hands; some who had received no wound were crushed by the weight of those who fell upon them, and bore their torments in profound silence. Nor, amid all their sufferings, did any one of them ask for mercy, or throw away his sword, or implore a speedy death, but clinging resolutely to their arms, wounded as they were, they thought it a lesser evil to be subdued by the strength of another than by their own consciences, and at times they were heard to grumble that what had happened was the work of fortune, not of their deserts. And so this whole battle was brought to an end in half an hour, in which such numbers of barbarians fell that nothing but the fact of our victory proved that there had been any battle at all. Those in arms had scarcely been routed when the relations of the dead, of every age and sex, were brought forward in crowds, having been dragged from their humble dwellings. And all their former pride being now gone, they descended to the lowest depths of servile obedience, and after a very short time nothing but barrows of the dead and bands of captives were beheld. So, the heat of strife and the excitement of victory stimulating our men, they rose up to destroy all who had escaped the battle, or who were lying hidden in their dwellings. And when, eager for the blood of the barbarians, our soldiers had reached the spot, they tore to pieces the slight straw-thatched huts; nor could even the strongest-built cottages, or the stoutest beams save any one from death. At last, when everything was set on fire, and when no one could be concealed any longer, since every protection for their lives was destroyed, they either perished obstinately in the flames, or else, if they avoided the fire and sallied out, they only escaped that destruction to fall beneath the sword of their enemies. Some, however, did escape from the weapons of the enemy and from the spreading flames, and committed themselves to the stream, trusting to their skill in swimming to enable them to reach the further bank; but many of them were drowned, and others were transfixed by our javelins, so that the winding stream of the vast river was discoloured with blood, and thus, by the agency of both elements, did the indignation and valour of the conquerors destroy the Sarmatians. After these events it was determined to leave the barbarians no hope nor comfort of life; and after burning their houses and carrying off their families, an order was given to collect boats in order to hunt out those who, being on the opposite bank of the river, had escaped the attack of our men. And immediately, that the alacrity of our warriors might have no time to cool, some light-armed troops were embarked in boats, and led by secret paths to occupy the retreats of the Sarmatians. The barbarians at first were deceived by seeing only the boats of their own country, and crews with whom they were acquainted. But when the weapons glittered in the distance, and they perceived that what they feared was upon them, they sought refuge in their accustomed marshes. And our soldiers pursuing them with great animosity, slew numbers of them, and gained a victory in a place where it had not been supposed that any soldier could find a footing, much less do any bold action. After the Anicenses [Amicenses] had thus been routed and almost destroyed, we proceeded at once to attack the Ticenses [Picenses], who are so called from the regions which they inhabit, which border on one another; and these tribes had fancied themselves the more secure from the disasters of their allies, which they had heard of by frequent rumours. To crush them (for it was an arduous task for those who did not know the country to follow men scattered in many directions as they were) the aid of Taifali and of the free-born

Sarmatians was sought. And as the nature of the ground separated the auxiliary battalions from each other, our own troops took the ground nearest Moesia, the Taifali that nearest to their own settlements, while the Free Sarmatians occupied that in front of their original position. The Limigantes, alarmed at the still fresh examples of nations subdued and crushed by us, for a long time hesitated and wavered whether they should attack us or ask for peace, having arguments of no small weight for either line of conduct. But at last, through the influence of the council of the elders, the idea of surrender prevailed; and the submission also of those who had dared to attack their free-born masters was added to our numerous victories; and the rest of them, who had previously despised their masters, thinking them unwarlike and easily subdued, now finding them stronger than themselves, submitted to them. Accordingly, having received pledges of their safety, and having quitted the defence of their mountains, the greater portion of them came with speed to the Roman camp, and they spread over a vast extent of ground, bringing with them their parents, their children, their wives, and all the movable treasures which their rapid motions had allowed them to carry off. And those who it had been supposed would rather lose their lives than quit their country, while they mistook their mad licentiousness for liberty, now submitted to obey our orders, and to take up another abode in peace and good faith, so as to be undisturbed for the future by wars or seditions. And having been thus accepted as subjects, in accordance with their own wish as it was believed, they remained quiet for a time; but afterwards they broke out in destructive wickedness, as shall be related at the proper time. While our affairs were thus prospering, Illyricum was put in a state of twofold security, since the emperor, in endeavouring by two means to accomplish this object, succeeded in both. He brought back and established in their ancient homes the people who had been banished, whom, although they were objects of suspicion from their natural fickleness, he believed would go on more moderately than of old. And to crown this kindness, he set over them as a king, not one of low birth, but the very man whom they themselves had formerly chosen, as eminent for all the virtues of mind and body. After such a wise action, Constantius, being now raised above all fear, and having received from the unanimous consent of his soldiers the title of *Sarmaticus*, from the name of the nation which he had subdued; and being now about to leave the army, summoned all his cohorts and centuries and maniples, and mounting the tribune, surrounded by the standards and eagles, and by a great number of soldiers of all ranks, he addressed the troops in these words, choosing his topics as usual so as to gain the favour of all. ›[...] we have marched into Pannonia, in order [...] to strengthen our tottering interests in that country. And after everything was prepared, we set forth [...] at the end of the spring, and undertook a great enterprise; first of all taking care that the countless darts of the enemy should not prevent us from making a bridge. And when, with no great trouble, this had been accomplished, after we had set our foot upon the enemy's territories, we defeated, with very little loss to ourselves, the Sarmatians, who with obstinate courage set themselves to resist us to the death. And we also crushed the Quadi, who were bringing reinforcements to the Sarmatians, and who with similar courage attacked our noble legions. These tribes, after heavy losses sustained in their attacks, and their stubborn and toilsome resistance, have at length learnt the power of our valour, and throwing away their arms, have allowed their hands, prepared for fighting, to be bound behind their backs; and seeing that their only hope of safety is in prayer, have fallen at the feet of your merciful emperor, whose wars they found are usually successful. Having got rid of these enemies, we with equal courage defeated the Limigantes, and after we had put numbers of them to the sword, the rest found their only means of escaping danger lay

in fleeing to their hiding-places in the marshes. And when these things were successfully terminated, it seemed to be a seasonable opportunity for mercy. So we compelled the Limigantes to remove to very distant lands, that they might not be able any more to move to our injury; and we spared the greatest part of them. And we made Zizais king over the free-born portion of them, sure that he would be faithful to us, and thinking it more honour to create a king for the barbarians than to take one from them, the dignity being increased by this honourable consideration, that the ruler whom we thus gave them had before been elected and accepted by them. So we and the republic have in one campaign obtained a fourfold reward: first, vengeance on our guilty assailants; next, abundance of captive slaves from the enemy, for valour is entitled to those rewards. [...] Lastly, I myself have the well-won spoil of a surname derived from the enemy the title of *Sarmaticus* [...]‹«[958].

Ammianus reported that the Limigantes attacked Moesia at the same time as the Arcaragantes' onslaught against Pannonia. The Roman troops swiftly retaliated. Ammianus spoke of two Limigantes groups. It is generally accepted that the pacification of the Limigantes in 334 involved their settlement in two groups in the southern part of the Hungarian Plain. It has been suggested that the two Limigantes groups mentioned by Ammianus – the Amicenses and Picenses – were named after Acumincum (Slankamen) and Pincum (Veliko Gradište) (**fig. 258**) because they had been placed under the supervision of the troops garrisoned in the two *limes* forts on the Danube. In this case, they had apparently been settled around the Tisza mouth, in the Banat and perhaps in the southern part of the Danube-Tisza interfluve[959].

The Roman troops first marched against the Amicenses, who in our opinion lived by the Tisza mouth, occupying both banks of the river. The imperial army massacred them all; very few managed to escape to the surrounding marshland. The Romans next turned against the Picenses, the other Limigantes group, who lived east of the Amicenses dispersed over a larger area. The Romans attacked from Moesia, i. e. from the south, while their Taifal allies swooped down on their neighbours, the Limigantes Sarmatians, from the east. The Arcaragantes led by Zizais also participated in the battle. They are described as arriving from the north, which is hardly surprising given that they are said to have fled to the Victovali in 334.

The Romans did not simply expel the intruders from the Empire's territory, but also from their own lands. The question again arises as to where exactly they moved. Patsch believed that the Limigantes retreated to the Szamos-Tisza angle[960] and that their lands were again occupied by the Arcaragantes.

The eviction of the Limigantes and the re-settlement of the Arcaragantes in their earlier territory did not provide a lasting solution[961]. A year later, in early spring 359 sometime between 25 March and 22 May[962]:

958 Ammian XVII.13.

959 Patsch 1925, 183-189, was the first to derive the name of the Amicenses and the Picenses from Acumincum and Pincum. Mócsy 1972, 88, apparently followed this conjecture when he suggested that the military commanders of the two *limes* forts exercised authority over the two groups. Alföldi 1942a, n. 31, rejected the etymology for the Amicenses, but agreed with Patsch regarding Pincum because in contrast to the Banat, ethnonyms created from toponyms were common in Moesia. According to Vulić 1929/1930, their settlement territory lay in the Bačka. He also suggested that while the Amicenses were a group of Sarmatians, the Picenses living at both sides of the Danube close to the River Pincus were not of Sarmatian stock. However, this idea was not taken up by later research. His estimate of 600,000 can be clearly rejected (Vulić based this number on the *Excerpta Valesiana*, according to which Constantine had transplanted 300,000 Free Sarmatians, and on Ammianus' claim that the servant Sarmatians outnumbered their masters, meaning that taken together, they numbered over 600,000). Dittrich 1984, 67, located the Amicenses by the mouth of the Tisza and the Picenses to their east.

960 Patsch 1925, 191; 1928, 38. The region's archaeological finds have been described at greater length in the above. Soproni 1978, 117, accepted Patsch's arguments, while Mócsy 1972, 91, claimed that the Limigantes' new settlement territory lay in the northern part of the Danube-Tisza interfluve. We may concur with Dittrich 1984, 74-75, that Ammianus' report indicates that the area in question lay relatively far from the Empire's border and well to the north of their earlier lands. The Upper Tisza region suggested by Patsch conforms to these criteria.

961 Alföldi 1942a, 678-679 n. 63.

962 Barceló 1992, 427.

[...] intelligence full of importance and danger reached Constantius who was reposing in winter quarters at Sirmium, informing him (as he had already greatly feared) that the Sarmatian Limigantes, who […] had expelled their masters from their hereditary homes, had learnt to despise the lands which had been generously allotted to them in the preceding year, in order to prevent so fickle a class from undertaking any mischievous enterprise, and had seized on the districts over the border; that they were straggling, according to their national custom, with great licence over the whole country, and would throw everything into disorder if they were not put down. The emperor, judging that any delay would increase their insolence, collected from all quarters a strong force of veteran soldiers, and before the spring was much advanced, set forth on an expedition against them, being urged to greater activity by two considerations; first, because the army, having acquired great booty during the last summer, was likely to be encouraged to successful exertion in the hope of similar reward; and secondly, because, as Anatolius was at that time prefect of Illyricum, everything necessary for such an expedition could be readily provided without recourse to any stringent measures. […] The emperor set out […] with a splendid staff, and reached Valeria […] And having encamped his army on the banks of the Danube, he watched the movements of the barbarians, who, before his arrival, had been proposing, under friendly pretences, to enter Pannonia, meaning to lay it waste during the severity of the winter season, before the snow had been melted by the warmth of spring and the river had become passable, and while our people were unable from the cold to bear bivouacking in the open air. He at once therefore sent two tribunes, each accompanied by an interpreter, to the Limigantes, to inquire mildly why they had quitted the homes which at their own request had been assigned to them after the conclusion of the treaty of peace, and why they were now straggling in various directions, and passing their boundaries in contempt of his prohibitions. They made vain and frivolous excuses, fear compelling them to have recourse to lies, and implored the emperor's pardon, beseeching him to discard his displeasure, and to allow them to cross the river and come to him to explain the hardships under which they were labouring; alleging their willingness, if required, to retire to remoter lands, only within the Roman frontier, where, enjoying lasting peace and worshipping tranquillity as their tutelary deity, they would submit to the name and discharge the duties of tributary subjects. When the tribunes returned and related this, the emperor, exulting that an affair which appeared full of inextricable difficulties was likely to be brought to a conclusion without any trouble, and being eager to add to his acquisitions, admitted them all to his presence. His eagerness for acquiring territory was fanned by a swarm of flatterers, who were incessantly saying that when all distant districts were at peace, and when tranquillity was established everywhere, he would gain many subjects, and would be able to enlist powerful bodies of recruits, thereby relieving the provinces, which would often rather give money than personal service (though this expectation has more than once proved very mischievous to the state). Presently he pitched his camp near Acimincum, where a lofty mound was raised to serve for a tribune; and some boats, loaded with soldiers of the legions, without their baggage, under command of Innocentius, an engineer who had suggested the measure, were sent to watch the channel of the river, keeping close under the bank; so that, if they perceived the barbarians in disorder, they might come upon them and surprise their rear, while their attention was directed elsewhere. The Limigantes became aware of the measures thus promptly taken, but still employed no other means of defence than humility and entreaty; though secretly they cherished designs very different from those indicated by their words and gestures. But when they saw the emperor on his high mound preparing a mild harangue, and about to address them as men who would prove obedient in future, one of

them, seized with a sudden fury, hurled his shoe at the tribune, and cried out, »Marha, Marha!« which in their language is a signal of war; and a disorderly mob following him, suddenly raised their barbaric standard, and with fierce howls rushed upon the emperor himself. And when he, looking down from his high position, saw the whole place filled with thousands of men running to and fro, and their drawn swords and rapiers threatening him with immediate destruction, he descended, and mingling both with the barbarians and his own men, without any one perceiving him or knowing whether he was an officer or a common soldier; and since there was no time for delay or inaction, he mounted a speedy horse, and galloped away, and so escaped. But his few guards, while endeavouring to keep back the mutineers, who rushed on with the fierceness of fire, were all killed, either by wounds, or by being crushed beneath the weight of others who fell upon them; and the royal throne, with its golden cushion, was torn to pieces without any one making an effort to save it. But presently, when it became known that the emperor, after having been in the most imminent danger of his life, was still in peril, the army, feeling it to be the most important of all objects to assist him, for they did not yet think him safe, and confiding in their prowess, though from the suddenness of the attack they were only half formed, threw themselves, with loud and warlike cries upon the bands of the barbarians, fearlessly braving death. And because in their fiery valour our men were resolved to wipe out disgrace by glory, and were full of anger at the treachery of the foe, they slew every one whom they met without mercy, trampling all under foot, living, wounded, and dead alike; so that heaps of dead were piled up before their hands were weary of the slaughter. For the rebels were completely overwhelmed, some being slain, and others fleeing in fear, many of whom implored their lives with various entreaties, but were slaughtered with repeated wounds. And when, after they were all destroyed, the trumpets sounded a retreat, it was found that only a very few of our men were killed, and these had either been trampled down at first, or had perished from the insufficiency of their armour to resist the violence of the enemy. But the most glorious death was that of Cella, the tribune of the Scutarii, who at the beginning of the uproar set the example of plunging first into the middle of the Sarmatian host. After these blood-stained transactions, Constantius took what precautions prudence suggested for the security of his frontiers, and then returned to Sirmium, having avenged himself on the perfidity of his enemies […][963].

The identification of the Limigantes' territory again depends on whether Ammianus' *Acimincum* is equated with Aquincum or Acumincum[964]. Ammianus' narrative has the emperor launching his campaign from the foreland of Valeria, suggesting that the land of the »servant Sarmatians« should be sought in the northerly part of the Hungarian Plain and that the events described by him took place somewhere in the Aquincum area. Another argument against an identification with Acumincum is that Constantius II had earlier evicted the vanquished Limigantes groups from this area and that the territory had been occupied by the Arcaragantes. Locating the Limigantes in the northern part of the Hungarian Plain is also supported by the Victoval neighbourship, mentioned above. In this case, the western part of the Carpathian Basin's northern zone was occupied by the Quadi, whose eastern neighbours were the Limigantes and the Victovali.

From a Sarmatian perspective, Valentinian's reign (364-375) was marked by the reinforcement of the defence system. This was the very last decade when Rome still played a leading role in the life of the barbarian peoples living on the Hungarian Plain. As we shall see below, power relations and their dynamics underwent a radical transformation after Valentinian's death and the appearance of the Huns in Europe.

963 Ammian XIX.11.

964 For an overview, see Barceló 1992.

New Forms of Interaction Between Romans and Barbarians

Owing to the bias of our sources, it is virtually impossible to see the Barbarians through their own lenses, to have recourse to the »Barbarian« interpretation and perspective on historical events. Only in rare, exceptional cases are we afforded, though indirectly, a slightly more detailed and somewhat reliable knowledge of the Barbarian point of view[965].

Relations between the Romans and the barbarians were gradually, but fundamentally transformed by the time of the Late Empire. Two main reasons can be cited: firstly, changes in the barbarian lands; and secondly, problems arising within the Roman Empire.

Viewing the issue from a barbarian perspective, the most important change was undoubtedly the situation arising after the evacuation of Dacia, which had especially grave repercussions across the entire Carpathian Basin. The Gothic migration and, later, the onslaught of the Huns, forced several barbarian peoples westward. For some time, the Romans were able to check them along their frontiers, although with increasing difficulty. This process is illustrated by a glance at the immense number of sites dating from the second half of the 4th and early 5th centuries on the Hungarian Plain. Not unlike a whirlpool, the Carpathian Basin sucked in the fugitives searching for new lands for whom there was no alternative but to launch ever more aggressive attacks against the *limes* and to negotiate their admittance into the Empire if they did not wish to become subjects of the dreaded Huns.

Viewed from the Empire's perspective, one of Rome's greatest difficulties was ensuring new recruits to the army. In other regions, especially in the Western Roman Empire, a solution had to be found for replenishing the population capable of farming the extensive, uncultivated fields.

One of the obvious reasons for the fall of the Roman Empire was its barbarisation. The Empire was, from the very beginning, open to admitting various peoples. The economical and political situation at the close of the 3rd century called for a thaw along the *limes* by forging alliances with the peoples living on the frontier's other side and allowing them to enter the Empire, which also ensured fresh recruits for the army and cheap labour for the estates[966].

In fact, the admittance of the Sarmatians into the provinces of the Empire had begun much earlier. Hadrian had ordered the settlement of Rasparaganus, King (*rex*) of the Roxolani, and his people or a group of his people in the southern part of Istria[967]. Less than a century later, the Sarmatians »promptly furnished as their contribution to the alliance eight thousand cavalry, fifty-five hundred of whom he [Marcus] sent to Britain« (**fig. 220, 3**)[968], in accordance with the terms of the peace treaty drawn up after the conclusion of the Marcomannic-Sarmatian wars.

However, settlement on a mass scale began later. There is a general consensus that *receptio* into Pannonia began around the 270s[969]. Even though the written sources did not expressly mention Sarmatians among the peoples permitted to settle in Pannonia, it has been suggested that some Sarmatians were also granted a new home in the province. During Diocletian's reign:

> They conducted several wars […] subduing the Carpi and Bastarnae, and defeating the Sarmatians, from which nations he settled a great number of captives in the Roman territories[970].

965 Várady 1961, 121.

966 There is a voluminous literature on the settling of various peoples, e. g. Várady 1969. – Kiss 1993. See Kiss 2008, for a detailed overview with the relevant literature. The 4th century settlings have been discussed in detail by Mirković 1993.

967 Alföldi 1940a, 45. – Mócsy 1974, 100 n. 74. – Vaday 1977.

968 Dio LXXI.16.

969 Mócsy 1990.

970 Eutrop. IX.25.1. On the same event, see Orosius *Adv.Pag*. VII.25.11-13. Cf. Nagy 1954, 512-516. – Kiss 2008, 4.

In this case, the problem is where the frontier section in question, with its »great number« of Sarmatians, should be sought. The archaeological record does not reflect a mass settlement of Sarmatians on Roman soil. Elaborating on Harmatta's idea that Constantine and Maximian transplanted the Sarmatians to areas near *limes* forts, M. Kiss called attention to the expression »disperse« (*dispersere*) in Orosius' report, which in her view indicated that the Sarmatians had not been settled as one group, but had been broken up into smaller ones and settled near the forts, and were only allowed to perform military service after they had given evidence of their reliability. It is hardly mere chance that they are described as captives (*captivi*) in the text. However, the argument for this theory, namely, that the Sarmatian finds known from »Transdanubia have principally been recovered from the area of *limes* installations«, is not borne out by the archaeological record[971].

The barbarians of the Hungarian Plain were rarely settled in Pannonia; they were usually directed farther west[972]. We know about a Sarmatian presence in Moesia after 333 from a »guidebook« known as the *Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum*, where it was recorded that there was a Sarmatian way station for changing horses (*mutatio Sarmatae*) that, on the basis of the itinerary's precise specifications, was located in Paraćin in the Morava Valley (about half-way between Belgrade and Niš). This group was apparently settled there as a homogenous unit under Constantine[973]. In 334, during Constantine's reign, there was a mass settlement of peoples on Roman soil: »[…] Constantine […] distributed more than three hundred thousand people of different ages and both sexes through Thrace, Scythia, Macedonia, and Italy«[974]. While the numbers are probably exaggerated, they do indicate that a large multitude of people was involved[975]. The sources suggest that huge masses remained in the Danube Valley despite the large-scale re-settlements[976], and the number of finds also culminates in the second half of the 4th and early 5th century.

The fact that a major Sarmatian contingent was transplanted to Roman territory can be gleaned from the lists in the *Notitia Dignitatum*, an official listing of Roman civil and military posts drawn up in the late 4th or early 5th century, which mentions fifteen prefects of the *Sarmatae gentiles* in Italy and six in Gaul, suggesting the settlement of a huge mass of barbarians, probably as a homogenous group judging from their location in the Empire. Some were undoubtedly transferred to their new homeland together with their families in 334[977]. The fragmentary *Notitia Dignitatum* lists settlements of the *sarmatae gentiles* in the Po region, southern Italy, Gallia Lugdunensis and in the Belgica I-II *civitas*[978]. Ausonius reported a Sarmatian settlement near Treviri[979]. The fact that the data contained in the *Notitia* and Ausonius' passage do not overlap but complement each other suggests that further Sarmatian settlements had been founded in other distant provinces as well[980].

971 Harmatta 1971, 265. – M. Kiss 1994, 253-254; 2008, 4. – Orosius *Adv.Pag.* VII.25.11-13: »postea per eosdem duces strenue adversus Carpos Basternasque pugnatum est. Sarmatas deinde vicerunt: quorum copiosissimam captivam multitudinem per Romanorum finium dispersere praesidia« (»Later these same generals fought vigorously against the Carpi and the Basternae. They then conquered the Sarmatians and distributed a great number of captives from this people among the garrisons of the Roman frontiers«).

972 Alföldi 1942a, 683. – Barkóczi 1959. – Mócsy 1962, 573. 576.

973 Itinerarium Burdigalense 565. The text was first published by Parthey/Pinder 1848, 423, who were also the first to identify the location.

974 *Excerpta Valesiana* VI.32. »The Limigantes Sarmatians, having gathered a force, expelled their masters, who are now called the Argaragantes, onto Roman soil« (Hieron. *Chron*. ad.a. 334). »The expelled Sarmatians found that their only hope of safety was in Constantine's protection: and he […] received them all within the confines of the Roman empire« (Euseb. *vita Const*. IV.6).

975 Some scholars, such as Nagy 1954, 515, accepted the figure of 300,000 at face value, while others quite correctly noted that only a fraction of this number is plausible, noting that the number of re-settled Sarmatians (including their families) could hardly have exceeded 100,000. It has also been suggested that a part of this population was re-settled in the Danube Valley by the Romans in the second half of the 4th century where they lived under a Roman protectorate (Barkóczi 1959, 444; Várady 1961, 37).

976 Ammianus Marcellinus' description of the Sarmatian civil war in 358/359 (Ammian XVII.12-13) suggests a sizable population.

977 Alföldi 1924/1926, vol. II, 5-7. – Barkóczi 1959. – Várady 1961, 37.

978 Not.Dign. Occ. XLII.

979 Auson. *Mosella* 9.

980 Barkóczi 1959, 446.



Fig. 272 Researchers tended to connect early group of the pottery with smoothed decoration to immigrating Barbarians (recently to the Carpi). A stray vessel dated to the mid-3rd century found in Aquincum probably can be included into this group. – (After Tóth 2011, 300 pl. 4, 2).

The situation on the Lower Danube turned critical with the advance of the Huns. One consequence of their onslaught was that a mixed group of Goths, Alans and Huns led by Alatheus and Saphrac was settled on Roman soil around 380[981].

In addition to mass settlement, there was also some infiltration in the frontier areas. This is reflected by the occasional barbarian finds such as pottery with smoothed decoration, bone combs, and the like, appearing in the provincial material (**fig. 272**). However, none of the finds in question can be expressly linked to the Sarmatians, nor has a closer scrutiny of the burial rites practised in Pannonia yielded a positive result. Although the appearance of niche graves has been associated with the presence of barbarians (Sarmatians), more recent studies have shown that despite their uncommonness in the province, these graves, documented from the 2nd-3rd centuries onward, did not contain any grave goods diverging from the usual provincial assemblages. These graves are usually west to east orientated, and thus differ from the south to north alignment of Sarmatian burials. Moreover, niches were not recessed into the graves of the Hungarian Plain during the Roman period and the closest Sarmatian group among whom this practice can be documented at this time lived in the Pontic[982].

Aside from the issue of the re-settled and infiltrating Sarmatians, we should also examine whether some Sarmatian groups on the Hungarian Plain had contributed warriors to the Roman military as auxiliaries, who returned to their homeland after deployment in battle, a practice often followed by the Goths[983]. Although there is no direct evidence to support this, the Sarmatians probably acted in the same manner in light of their earlier history.

The new dimensions of relations between Rome and the barbarians are reflected by 4th century coin circulation. As mentioned above, in Transylvania, for example, coin circulation declined under Philipp the Arab following the Carpic incursions and only commenced again in the 4th century. Roman small change made an

981 Várady 1969, 22-24. – Mócsy 1974, 340-345. – Kovács 2004, 131-139, for a critical review of the sources.

982 Prohászka 2005/2006, 96-101. The reason for the appearance of the few niche graves, especially in the Intercisa and Keszthely area, calls for further research.

983 Várady 1961, 39-40. – Maenchen-Helfen 1973, 45 n. 134, with further literature.

appearance among the barbarians of eastern Hungary from the reign of Constantine onward (e. g. Valentinian's coins found at Öcsöd)[984]. The massive outflow of Roman coins suggests a new type of relation, namely, the recruitment of soldiers from among the barbarians. In Alföldi's opinion:

> There began a natural mingling which would have unnoticeably eliminated the differences between the lifeways of Rome and her old neighbours had not the Hunnic onslaught shattered this development[985].

At this point, we should address the question of the legal status of the Sarmatians re-settling or already re-settled in the Empire. After Mommsen, several scholars have dealt with the legal status of the *foederati*, the *laeti* and of the *gentiles*. Detailed discussion of the problem could not be encompassed within the present work, so we will concentrate on the specific situation of the Sarmatians.

At the beginning, the Romans considered the migrants to be *peregrini deditici*, that is to say, they did not receive Roman citizenship immediately. They rarely swelled the ranks of town dwellers, but generally replaced the declining rural population as *coloni* on estates. They were taxed from the very beginning and they were also registered as new recruits[986]. The Sarmatians of the Carpathian Basin were excellent candidates because they had been engaged in active farming for several hundred years on the Hungarian Plain.

In the 4th century, the Sarmatians were generally described as *gentiles* within the semi-feudal military *laetus* status[987]. One of Valentinian's edicts, strictly forbidding marriage between the *gentiles* and the provincial population[988], is a good reflection of their status. The prohibition against marriage probably served a dual purpose: it was designed to isolate the barbarians from the Christian population and it also ensured a continuous stream of recruits to the army by drawing from the traditional corps in a particular community[989]. This was especially important in the case of specialist units, such as the *cataphractarii* (**figs 110. 121. 171. 220**). The equipment used by these heavily armoured cavalrymen and their horses called for an endurance beyond that of the average soldier, not to speak of the tactics employed by these troops that similarly called for special training. Irrespective of whether or not the prohibition achieved its goal, the very fact that the decree was issued indicates an existing and widespread practice[990]. The demand on the *laeti* to provide troops resembled the obligations of the other soldier families; they differed from the other Roman troops solely regarding their ethnic background and weaponry[991].

Although there can be no doubt that the *sarmatae gentiles* were mounted soldiers, the *Notitia Dignitatum* suggests that they were subordinate to the *Praepositura Magistri Peditum*, the prefecture of the supreme commanders of infantry troops from the turn of the century[992].

An old problem bedevilling provincial archaeology is whether the artefactual finds and/or the burial rite enable the identification of groups who had been settled on Roman soil[993]. The most recent and convincing studies in this respect were conducted by Tóth, who identified a group of Carpi transplanted to the province based on the presence of late 3rd century cremation burials and the parallels to the grave goods, as well as

984 For 4th century coin circulation, see Lányi 1990, 213-214. For the Öcsöd hoard, see Jónás 1929/1930.

985 Alföldi 1943b, 18.

986 The settlement in rural areas was mentioned by Radnóti 1954, 497. For a more detailed discussion, see Kiss 2008, 2, with further literature.

987 Várady 1961, 36-37; 1969, 175-176. – Harmatta 1971, 265.

988 »Nulli provincialium, cuiuscumque ordinis aut loci fuerit, cum barbara sit uxore coniugium, nec ulli gentilium provincialis femina copuletur. Quod si quae inter provinciales atque gentiles adfinitates ex huiusmodi nuptiis exstiterint, quod in his suspectum vel noxium detegitur, capitaliter expietur« (CTh. 3.14.1).

989 Várady 1961, 37-38.

990 Demandt 1989, 76-78.

991 Várady 1961, 36.

992 Not.Dign. Occ. XLII.

993 For an overview of the many problems involved, see Kiss 2008, 3.



Fig. 273 Finds believed to reflect a Sarmatian presence in Pannonia: **1-6** vessels from Intercisa (after Póczy 1957, figs 49. 119 pl. XX, 3. 6-7. 12. 17). – **7-9** Egyptian statuettes from the Szekszárd area (after Lakatos 1960, figs 5. 7-8).

the topographic location of the sites in south-eastern Transdanubia and the scattered references in various literary works[994].

It has not proven possible to securely identify any provincial group with the Sarmatians, despite the many attempts to demonstrate their presence in the western half of the Carpathian Basin through 4th century find assemblages (**fig. 273**)[995]. Nagy believed that the cemeteries of the so-called Zengővárkony group had been used by barbarians from the Hungarian Plain whom he identified with a Vandalian-Alanian population that had been re-settled from the Körös-Tisza-Maros region by Constantine the Great in the wake of the Gothic attack[996]. On the strength of the analogies to the pottery with smoothed decoration from Lussonium, and especially the parallels to a top-handled vessel (**fig. 274**), Kiss suggested the possible presence of Sarmatians from the Hungarian Plain in the fort's area, arriving before 375[997].

Tóth noted the formal and technical similarities between the box brooches (*Dosenfibel*), a popular and widespread type among the Sarmatians probably crafted by their own goldsmiths, and the disc brooches of the Keszthely culture that flourished in the 6th century (**fig. 275**). However, it has not yet been possible to bridge the chronological gap between the Sarmatians of the 4th century and the Keszthely culture, or the geographic distance between the distribution of the two. In other words, even if there is some meaningful relation between the two brooch types, the link between them is currently missing because we have no idea where the craftsmen producing brooches of this type worked during the 5th century[998].

The first architectural period of the so-called inner forts and construction of town walls at Scarbantia, Gorsium and Sopianae are usually dated to the military reforms introduced by Diocletian and Constantine, namely the creation of border (*limitanei*) and mobile troops and their garrisoning in the Empire's provinces. Kiss assumed that the settled Sarmatians had also been employed in the construction of these forts, claiming that »it is not mere chance that the archaeological finds of these barbarians are found in the border forts and in the inner forts in question«[999]. It must therefore be emphasised that there is no reliable archaeological evidence for the settlement of Sarmatians in Pannonia and that the association of various artefacts with the Sarmatians is not convincing on the whole.

The So-Called Alföld Ramparts (fig. 276)

The assessment of the Csörsz or Devil's Dyke is perhaps one of the most controversial issues among researchers of the Barbaricum of the Roman Age. The interpretation of its function is pivotal to any discussion of relations between the Romans and the Sarmatians, especially regarding the events of the early 4th century.

994 Tóth 2005b; 2009, 100-106. While Tóth's ethnic attribution of the cremation burials is wholly convincing, the ethnic attribution of the finds (such as Dacian cups, mirrors described as nomadic – properly, mirror pendants, see Istvánovits/Kulcsár 2003a – and vessels with smoothed decoration) to the Carpi is uncertain and unconvincing.

995 Kiss 2008, 20 n. 45. The presence of Sarmatian groups has been assumed at Fenékpuszta, in the Szekszárd area, at Somogyszil, in the cemeteries at Brigetio and Szentendre, and at Dunaújváros. Mráv 2006, 43. 48, has since demonstrated that the Somogyszil grave contained the burial of a Roman auxiliary soldier whose ring-pommel sword was not a Sarmatian weapon. The Egyptian statuettes from the Szekszárd area, linked to the Sarmatians by Lakatos 1960, can indeed reflect a possible Sarmatian presence. Various articles, such as the enamel brooch with a chequerboard pattern and costume adornments such as the large bead decorating a belt end from the 4th century cemetery at Szentendre-Castra Constantia, can perhaps be taken as an indication of the Sarmatians (Topál 1997, 539). A group of vessels from Intercisa identified as wares of Sarmatian character by Póczy 1957, 77-85, does indeed recall ceramic types from the Hungarian Plain, although it still remains to be established whether their occurrence reflects the actual presence of barbarians. At the same time, the mirror pendant with tamga signs from Intercisa can be regarded as a new eastern element (**fig. 191, 1**) (Istvánovits/Kulcsár 2003a).

996 Nagy 1993, 183-184; Mihály Nagy 1997, 156.

997 Kiss 1993; M. Kiss 1994, 253-254.

998 Tóth 2005a, 188-189 fig. 8, 10.

999 Kiss 2008, 9.

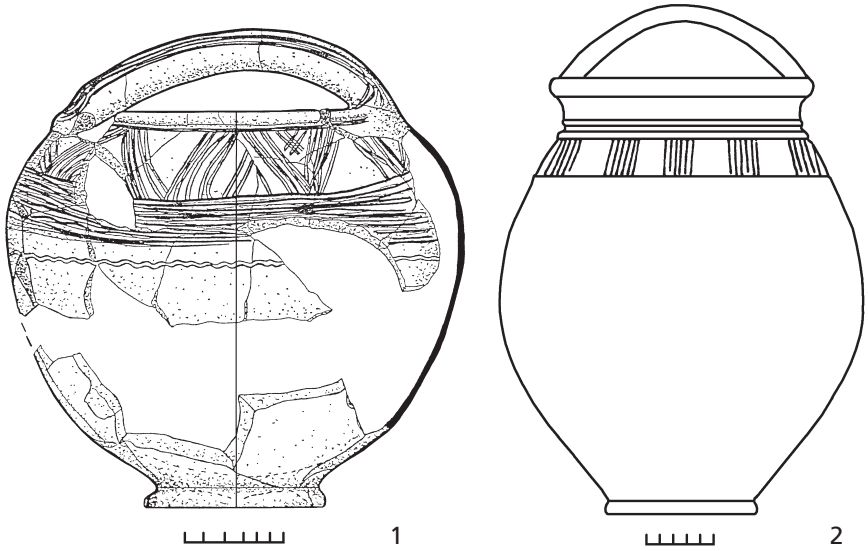


Fig. 274 **1** top handled vessel with smoothed decoration from Lussonium (after Kiss 1992, pl. II). – **2** a remotely similar Sarmatian analogy from Tiszaföldvár-Téglagyár (Brick factory) (after Vaday 1994, pl. III, 35).

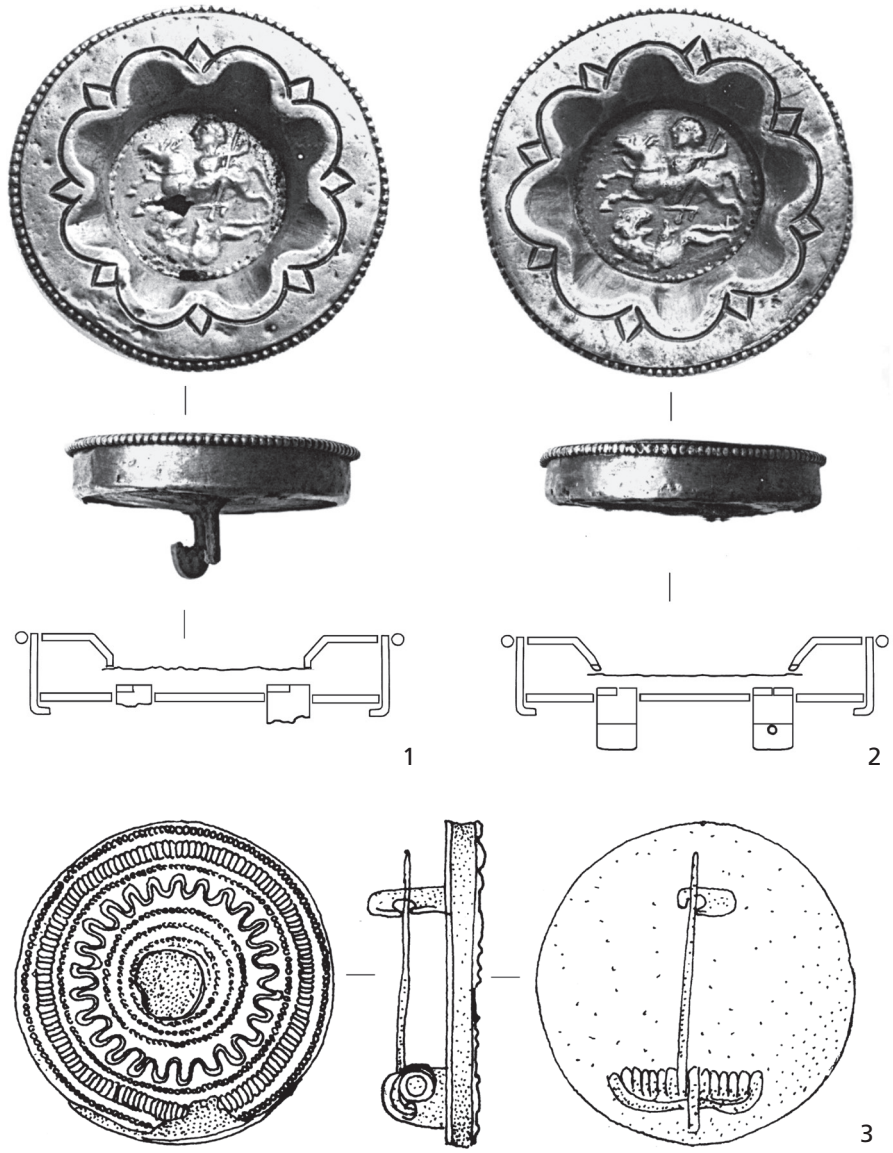


Fig. 275 **1-2** disc brooches of the Keszthely culture from the 6th century (after Tóth 2005a, figs 1-3). – **3** Sarmatian box brooch (*Dosenfibel*) from Törökszentmiklós-Surján-Újtelep (after Vaday 1985a, fig. 8, 2).

A more detailed discussion of this monument therefore seems in order. We shall first describe the different ramparts and then turn to the problems of interpretation.

Although the systematic investigation of the ramparts only began in the 1960s, this monumental earthen structure had piqued the interest of archaeologists from the 19th century onward, beginning notably with Rómer, Frölich and Pulszky[1000]. The crucial role of the interpretation of the dyke's function in Roman studies is amply illustrated by the proliferation of articles devoted to the Csörsz Dyke and the fact that a compendium of studies on the dyke, originally published in 1983, was republished on the occasion of the 19th International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies held in Pécs in 2003[1001].

The sources on the Csörsz or Devil's Dyke were first collected and published by Rómer (**fig. 277**)[1002]. The earliest reference can be found in a charter issued by King Béla IV in 1267, confirming the 1067 foundation charter of the Százd monastery. The text mentioned an »immense ditch«, which has justifiably been identified with the Csörsz Dyke. The monument is described in Székely's *Magyar krónika* [Hungarian chronicle] from 1558 where it appears as *Csersz árokja* [Csersz Dyke] in the passage relating the events of 718:

> Seita was the king of Pannonia. He fought over the Csersz Dyke, which had been named Csersz Dyke not because King Csersz had brought a wife for himself on it, but because the dyke had been constructed by him for the realm's protection well before the age of Attila, when many nations inhabited the land. The dyke was deep, like now the moats around the towns, and blooming trees were planted atop it, whose roots moored the rampart to prevent its collapse. It had gates and sentries. When the enemy attacked the country, they all hastened to the dyke and defended the land. There is not merely one in those parts, but many more, all between the Tisza and the Danube, which can be seen up to this very day, but have since long been infilled, for they were used not by the Hungarians, but by the nations before them[1003].

The Csörsz Dyke is an elaborate earthwork system made up of a double or triple ditch (at some place quadruple) and rampart. The roughly 60,000 km² large area enclosed by the dyke is bounded by the Danube in the west and south. The earthwork starts at Dunakeszi above Budapest and extends eastward to Ároktő, turning sharply south after crossing the Tisza before Újfehértó and running south to rejoin the Danube at Viminacium (Kostolac, Serbia). Its full length is about 520-550 km. Several lines, often as many as four, can be noted in some areas. The multiple rampart sections add up to some 1260 km, based on the data gathered during the systematic field surveys begun in the 1960s. The ramparts face the Hungarian Plain and were evidently designed to protect the population behind the ramparts from attacks coming from the east and north. The 2-4 m deep and 5-9 m wide ditches run north or east of the ramparts. The calculated sizes are the following: the 7-10 m wide ramparts were raised to a height of 2.5-3.5 m. An estimated 10-15 million m³ of earth was moved during the construction of the earthwork, involving the labour of 83,300 people for a whole year, assuming five days of construction work per week (**figs 278-279**)[1004].

In addition to the main, so-called longitudinal line of the earthworks, there was a series of inner ramparts[1005], which can now be found in the Bačka region, the southerly part of the Danube-Tisza interfluve in Serbia. Little research has been done on these earthworks and it is unclear whether there was any relation between the Csörsz Dyke and these inner earthworks known as the »Roman« ramparts. One line of these

1000 Rómer 1878, 39-77. – Frölich 1887. – Pulszky 1891.
1001 Garam/Patay/Soproni 1983; 2003.
1002 Rómer 1878, 39-77 map between pp. 42 and 43. – Balás 1961, 331.
1003 Székely 1854, VII. 6.
1004 Patay 1969, 111. – Garam/Patay/Soproni 1983, 13-17.
1005 Rómer 1878, map between pp. 42 and 43. – Frölich 1887, 21. – Gubitza n.y., 11-13.

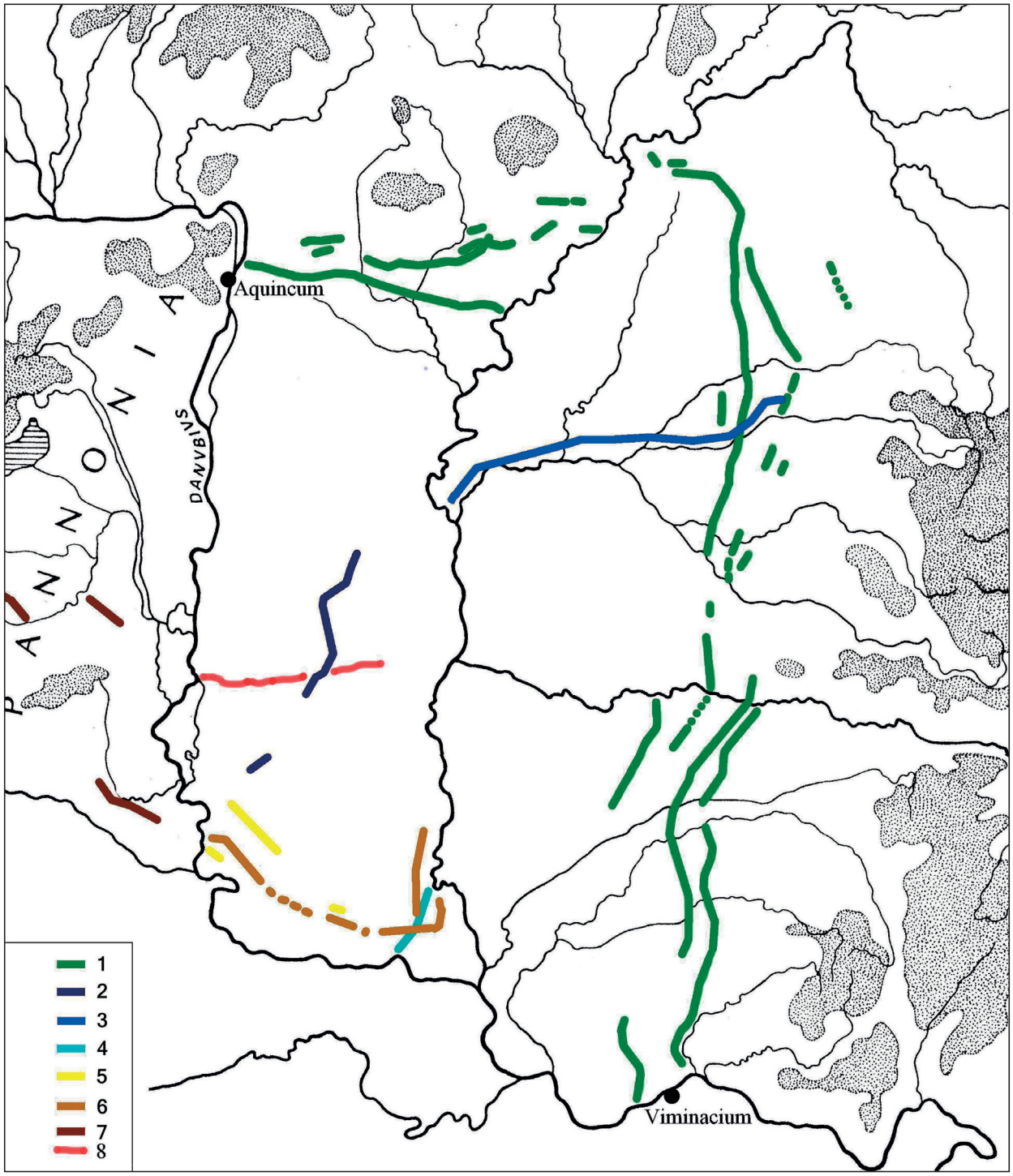


Fig. 276 The so-called Alföld ramparts: **1** Csörsz or Devil's Dyke. – **2** Kiskunság rampart. – **3** ramparts along the Körös. – **4** the so-called Greater Roman Rampart. – **5** ramparts in the area of the Lesser Roman Rampart. – **6** the so-called Lesser Roman Rampart. – **7** ramparts in Transdanubia, on Roman territory. – **8** the assumed Roman road in the northern Bácska region. – (Map E. Istvánovits/V. Kulcsár).

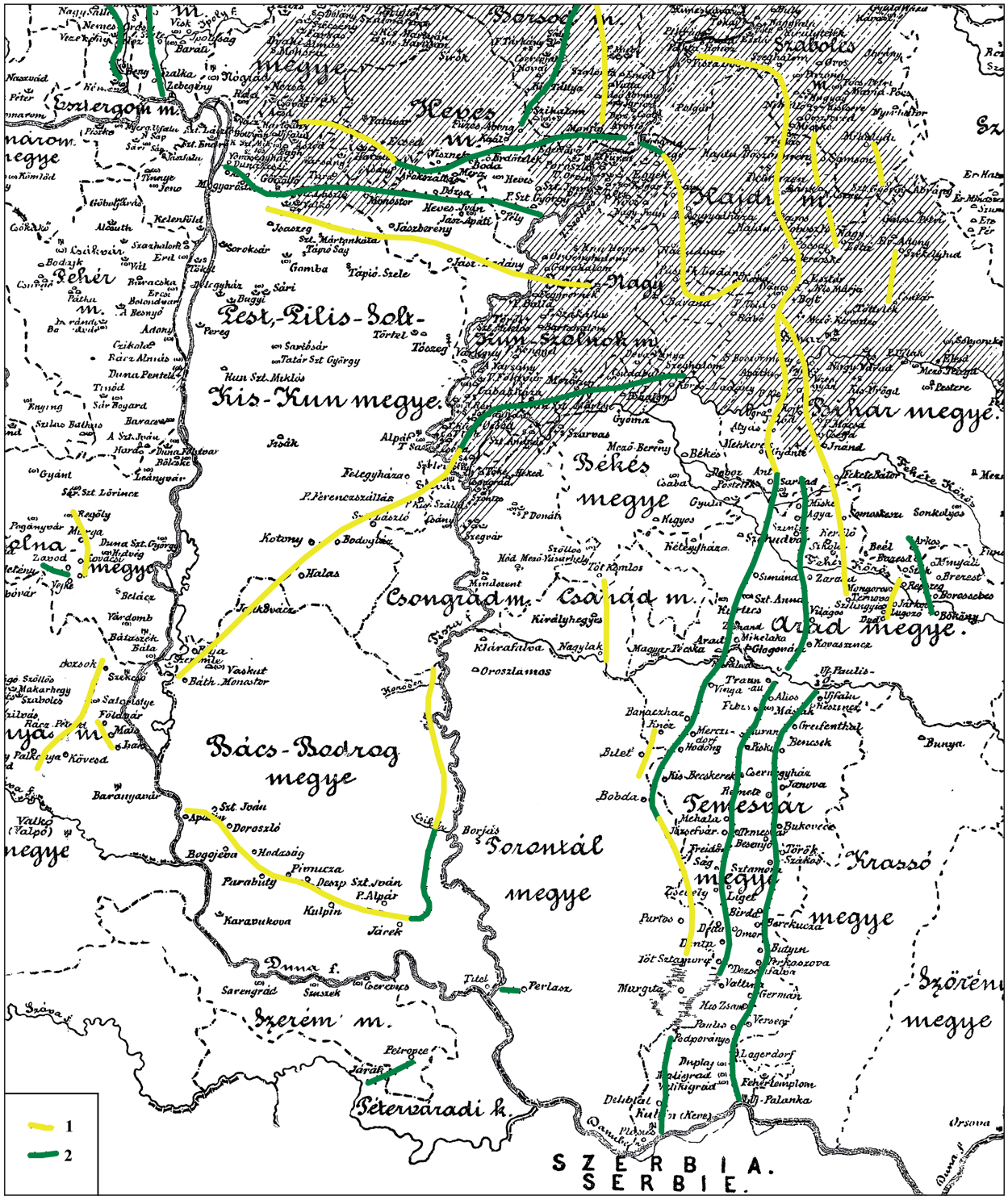


Fig. 277 Flóris Rómer's map of the ramparts: **1** suggested ramparts. – **2** recorded ramparts. – (After Rómer 1878, map between pp. 42 and 43).

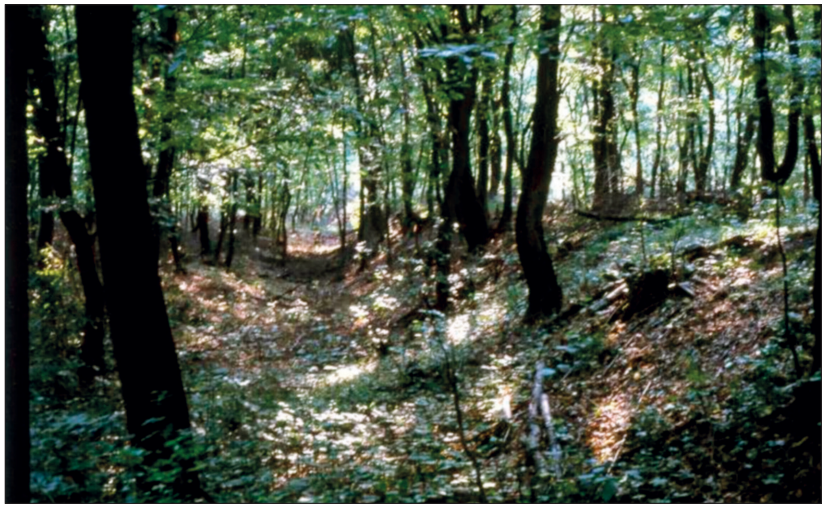


Fig. 278 Section of the Csörsz Dyke at Valkó (County Pest). – (Photo E. Istvánovits / V. Kulcsár).

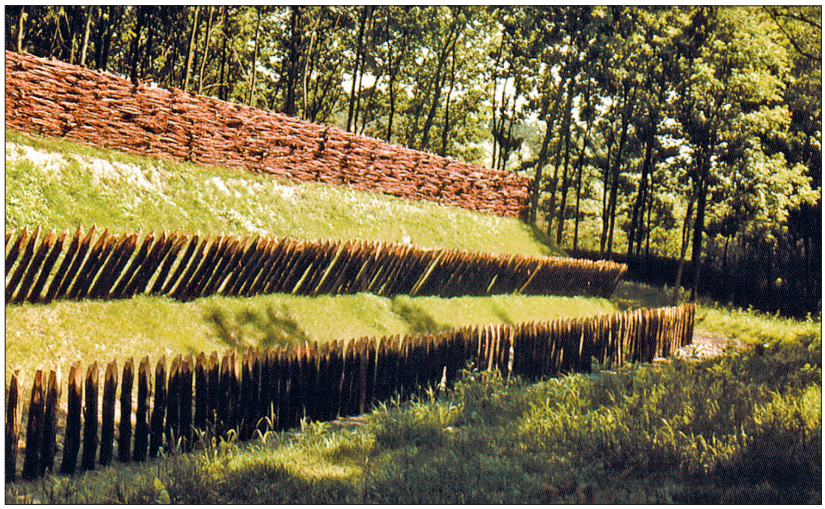


Fig. 279 Reconstruction of the Csörsz Dyke at Debrecen-Fancsika designed by P. Patay. – (Photo E. Istvánovits / V. Kulcsár).

inner ramparts is marked as the »Lesser Roman Rampart« on the Military Survey Maps drawn up under Emperor Joseph II in the 18th century; another line appears as the »Greater Roman Rampart« (**fig. 276, 5-6**)[1006].

The so-called Lesser Roman Rampart ran east-south-eastward from Apatin toward Gospođinci where it turned north and continued to Čurug, running parallel to the Tisza. To its west, another rampart extended parallel to it, stretching from Gospođinci to the Tisza. Its height still ranged between 3 and 10 m in the late 19th century, its width varied between 16 and 20 m at the base and between 4 and 8 m at the top. The ditch(es) flanking the rampart could also be identified. The ditch ran by the rampart's northern side along the Apatin section. Another section had two ditches flanking the rampart, while at Kisač, the ditch extended along the rampart's southern side. The base of the earthwork was 20-25 m wide together with the ditch. The first section could be traced for a length of 65 km on maps and in the field, although its original length must have been around 100 km, considering the missing, probably destroyed sections. The rampart's north-

1006 Dudás 1885, used the adjectives »greater« and »lesser« in exactly the opposite way. The reason for this was probably that the longer rampart was lower, while the shorter one was higher and wider.



Fig. 280 Section of the Kiskunság ramparts in the 1960-1970s, east of the farmstead at Kiskunhalas-Alsószállás-dűlő. – (After Patay 2006, fig. 10).

ern, independent section had a similar structure. Its length amounted to 29 km and its ditch faced eastward. At some places there were breaks in the continuity of the earthwork. Its line was not straight, but meandering[1006a]. According to Kálmán Gubitza's description, several sections of other ramparts survived in various areas of the Bačka region: a shorter part on the outskirts of Ravno Selo, another between Apatin and Sonta, and a third running from Svetozar Miletić through Čonoplja and Kljajićevo to Crvenka. The structure of these ramparts resembled that of the »Lesser Roman Rampart«[1007].

The so-called Greater Roman Rampart ran north-north-eastward from Novi Sad and crossed the »Lesser Roman Rampart« north of Gospođinci, whence it continued to the Tisza where it ended. A ditch flanks the western side along its entire length. Frölich measured the rampart at two locations, recording that the eastern descent was 5.3-9.5 m long, while the western one was 9-13 m. The ditch was 8.6-10.3 m wide, the width of the rampart on its top was 1.3-5 m[1008].

Additional rampart sections have been identified in the Danube-Tisza interfluve north of the Bačka ramparts. Field surveys and the data contained in old maps both confirm the existence of an earthwork running north-east to south-west in the Kiskunhalas area (**figs 276, 2; 280**). The ditch extends in front of the rampart and faces the south-east, while the rampart faces the north-west, suggesting that – if they served as a defence system – hostile attacks were expected from the south. The ditch of Kiskunság (Cumania Minor) – an historical region in the middle part of the Danube-Tisza interfluve – was considerably smaller than the ones in the Bačka region or the ditch of the Csörsz Dyke. The north-eastern end of this rampart lay some 30-35 km from the mouth of the Körös rivers, where another similar earthwork ran towards the east along the Triple Körös and the northern bank of the Sebes (Rapid) Körös to Transylvania, crossing the inner line of the Csörsz Dyke at Körösszegapáti (**fig. 276, 3**). However, its chronology relative to the Csörsz Dyke remains unclear. The surveys in the 1970s reported that the ditch running parallel to the Körös was as wide as 5.5 m and as deep as 2.65 m in some areas[1009].

1006a For the dimensions and the structure of the ramparts, see Frölich 1887, 22-24. 28-29. 210. 307.

1007 Gubitza n. y., 11-13, essentially based on Cziráky's research.

1008 For the dimensions and the structure of the ramparts, see Frölich 1887, 133. 138.

1009 Römer 1878, map between pp. 42 and 43. – Soproni 2003, 59 n. 119. For more recent surveys of the Kiskunság rampart, see Gallina 1999a. – Patay 2005; 2006, all with the earlier literature.

At the end of the 1970s, the research group led by Patay that investigated the Csörsz Dyke, mapped the remains of an earthwork running in the direction of Baja area (**fig. 276, 8**). This rampart was assumed to extend west to east toward Szeged, and thus had no apparent association with the one along the Körös. Flanked by a ditch on either side, the rampart recalled the structure of the »Lesser Roman Rampart« in the Bačka region. Although the rampart was cut through, its age could not be determined. It was interpreted as a Roman Age road despite the chronological uncertainties[1010].

Several other ramparts have been identified in various locations across the Carpathian Basin. Among them we should mention the one recently investigated by Matei and Gindele, who cut through a rampart and ditch at several points, near Supuru de Sus, some 50 km from the Porolissum *limes*. In Matei's view, the ditches running across the valleys of the Kraszna and Zalau rivers were constructed by the Romans. Although heavily disturbed by agricultural work, the ditches survived to a depth of 2-2.5 m and a width of 3-4.5 m[1011].

It is has been suggested that the »Lesser Roman Rampart« (**fig. 276, 6**) had a continuation in Transdanubia (**fig. 276, 7**). This conclusion was reached on the basis of similar rampart remains found, for example, in the counties of Tolna, Vas and Somogy[1012].

Comparable earthworks have also been reported from southern Slovakia and Transylvania[1013]. There are several ramparts in the wider region: the one extending for some 300 km in the Lower Danube region, known as Brazda lui Novac, or the Devil's Dyke[1014], in the Dniester-Prut interfluve, as well as in the region between the Pontic and the Marica, where the Erkesija rampart lies. The combined length of the latter and the rampart in Bessarabia is roughly 140 km[1015].

The current evidence does not support the claim that these ramparts, including the so-called longitudinal ramparts, were built according to a uniform concept or that they were roughly contemporaneous. One feature shared by all is that they delimit plainland areas. At the same time, one must obviously examine each earthwork separately to determine its date and function. Three explanations are usually proposed for the purpose of these earthworks: 1) an embankment for flood protection; 2) a road; or, 3) a structure for marking and/or defending a border.

When addressing the question of the ramparts' chronology, we must obviously consider the archaeological evidence, the structure of the earthwork, the area it traverses or encompasses and the written sources on the period. From our point of view, the key issue is whether any of ramparts were constructed during the Roman Age. The ramparts are traditionally dated to the Roman Age by most scholars. Insofar as this dating is correct, the next question is whether the earthworks were planned and built by the Romans or the barbarians. It must immediately be noted that one major counter-argument for Roman technical involvement in the construction of the ramparts is that not one single fortification of the type customarily found along the *limes* has been identified along these ramparts[1016].

1010 Patay 2005.

1011 Matei/Gindele 2004; 2009. In their view, this *limes* section can be associated with the rampart in the Körös Valley, whose ditch lay north of the rampart (in contrast to Gallina 1999a, 74, who wrote about a south-eastern ditch), meaning that it protected the area from the north. In their view, it marked the boundary of Decebal's kingdom and after his victory Trajan established the earliest *limes* (which was later abandoned) in this location. This is contradicted by the fact that the section cut through the earthwork at the junction of the Körös Valley rampart and the Csörsz Dyke (which cannot be dated before the 3rd century) revealed that the Csörsz Dyke was the earlier of the two (Soproni 1978, 118).

1012 Rómer 1878, map between pp. 42 and 43. – Frölich 1887, 22. – Gallina 1999a, 69.

1013 Dénes 2001/2007. – Beljak/Pažinová 2012.

1014 This rampart extends from Ploieşti to the River Ialomița and can be traced further towards the Siret.

1015 For an excellent overview of these ramparts, see Fiedler 1986, with further literature.

1016 Early descriptions of the ramparts in the Bačka region note that these earthworks appear to have connected earthen forts. However, this possibility has not been systematically researched since Cziráky's studies. Cziráky dated the earthen forts in question to the Late Migration period (Gubitza n.y., 12-13).

The Csörsz or Devil's Dyke (**figs 276, 1; 278-279**)

There is a general consensus that the Csörsz Dyke can be dated to the Roman Age. In fact, this is the most widely accepted date for all the ramparts described above because most scholars believe that only the Romans were capable of organising construction work on such a scale in the region[1017]. However, the lack of watchtowers and camps is a serious caveat.

Of all the earthworks (the so-called longitudinal ramparts) of the Hungarian Plain, the Csörsz Dyke is the one that has been investigated most thoroughly and systematically. Using the data from maps and historical sources compiled by Balás, the research group led by Patay conducted a systematic survey of the ramparts beginning in 1962 and bisecting the earthwork in several locations[1018]. The main evidence for dating the earthwork came from the excavations. The *terminus post quem* of the *vallum* and *fossa* system was provided by the *terra sigillata*, painted Roman pottery sherds and brooches recovered from the fill of various archaeological features, which suggested a construction date after the mid-3rd century[1019].

The *ante quem* is the 11th century: the investigations at Oszlár brought to light graves dated by the coins of Hungarian King Salamon which had been dug into the *vallum*[1020]. This date is also confirmed by a written source, the already cited foundation charter of the Százd monastery, in which the Csörsz Dyke is mentioned[1021].

Two sections of the rampart in the Maros/Mureş region in Romania were cut through near Sîmbăteni and Covăsniț in 1966. Although a rather eroded section of the earthwork was excavated in both locations, the remains of five ditches could nonetheless be registered at the latter site. The layer of pottery sherds dating from the 1st century AD found under the widest rampart (marked D) can be regarded as a *terminus post quem* for this section of the Csörsz Dyke[1022].

One intriguing question in the light of the archaeological evidence is whether the earthwork system can be regarded as a uniformly conceived structure. There can be no doubt that the main line of the ditch and rampart system known as the Csörsz Dyke was constructed according to a uniform concept. However, the chronological position of the double and, in some areas, triple lines relative to each other is highly controversial. The possible chronological gaps between the rampart sections crossing each other still remain to be clarified. Another difficulty is posed by the fact that, at present, only some sections of the ramparts can be surveyed and mapped. In many places, the line of the rampart can at the most be reconstructed from old maps, aerial photos and excavations[1023]. In the Nyírség region, for example, an outer line could be reconstructed from the toponyms and the data recorded in old maps[1024].

Returning to the chronological issues, the main consideration in dating the earthworks was theoretical and principally based on the identification of an ethnic and/or cultural group living in the region between the 3rd and the 11th centuries AD whose settlement territory was bounded by the Csörsz Dyke. There are three archaeological cultures on the Hungarian Plain whose distribution more or less coincided with the area in question: the Sarmatians, the Gepids and the Early Avars. The most accepted dating of the earthwork is to the Roman Age and there is also a general consensus that the construction of the dyke would hardly have made sense from strategic point of view before the evacuation of Dacia, regardless of whether it had been

1017 Fiedler 1986, 458, with further literature.
1018 Balás 1961; 1963. – Garam/Patay/Soproni 1983; 2003.
1019 Garam/Patay/Soproni 2003, 49-56.
1020 Soproni 1978, 113 n. 9. – Garam/Patay/Soproni 1983, 52; 2003, 53.
1021 Balás 1961, 331.
1022 For a detailed description and discussion, see Horedt 1968.
1023 One case in point is a section of the Csörsz Dyke, no longer visible to the naked eye, identified on the outskirts of Dunakeszi during the salvage excavations preceding the construction of Road 2/A (Istvánovits/Kulcsár 2002).
1024 Istvánovits/Kulcsár 2000, 248.

raised by the Romans or the Sarmatians. Conversely, a defence work on this scale would have served the interest of both the Empire and the population of the Hungarian Plain following the Goths' occupation of Transylvania[1025]. Assuming a Roman contribution to the construction work, the question arises to what extent the lands of the barbarians bordering on the *limes* were autonomous, at least in Roman eyes[1026]. Several theories have been advanced regarding the period after 271, with scholarly opinion mostly divided between two major interpretations[1027].

The first was proposed by Mócsy, according to whom the Csörsz Dyke was raised as part of the military construction work under Galerius and Diocletian in 294[1028]. The weak point of this assertion is that the earthwork could hardly have been constructed without the Sarmatians' consent and their active participation. However, the Sarmatians repeatedly raided the Empire exactly during Diocletian's reign.

The second was put forward by Soproni, who argued that the construction of the Csörsz Dyke was related to the 332 campaign in the Hungarian Plain. This claim has found wider acceptance, and many scholars tend to agree that the period between 324 and 332 was the most suitable for the erection of the earthwork[1029]. Construction work was hardly possible after 332, a period marked by long internal conflict among the Sarmatians, while the political situation in the second half of the 4th century would have called for a different course for the earthwork and would have been senseless in the form of its current line.

Both Mócsy and Soproni associated the Csörsz Dyke with the large-scale construction work in the foreground of the Danubian *ripa* on barbarian soil, regarding the earthwork as part of an elaborate defence system[1030]. Subsequent research, especially the studies by Lőrincz, convincingly proved that the brick stamps from the bridgeheads and counter-forts[1031] (**figs 259-260**) on the Danube's left bank indicated a date after the mid-350s (Constantius II) for the earliest installations, with the majority dating from the 370s, indicating that they can be linked to the construction projects under Valentinian (**fig. 281**)[1032]. It thus became clear that the construction of the counter-forts does not support either Mócsy's, or Soproni's theory. In his critique of Soproni's theory, Fitz concluded that Soproni's dating was far too early and suggested a construction date during the reign of Constantius II and Valentinian I[1033].

Irrespective of the proposed construction dates, most scholars agree that the Csörsz Dyke was an advance defence line to protect the Empire from the German threat and that the earthwork was built on Roman initiative and under Roman supervision in the Sarmatians' land. Mócsy correctly noted that the earthwork »must have been in use for a long time since its course was altered a number of times«[1034]. Its abandonment is usually dated to Valentinian's reign[1035] or after the defeat at Adrianople in 378[1036], meaning a useful life of no more than two or two-and-a-half generations at the most, even in case of an early construction date.

1025 Soproni 1978, 115.

1026 Mráv 1999, 92-93. – Kiss 2008, 6-7.

1027 Mócsy/Fitz 1990, 47. – Soproni 1978, 113-137. – Garam/Patay/Soproni 2003, 57-70. – Mócsy 1974, 268-272. For a discussion of the chronological schemes, see Tóth 1982, 68-69, with the relevant literature.

1028 Mócsy 1972, 85-86. Two camps opposite Bononia and Aquincum(?) were constructed in the Barbaricum at exactly this time. Mócsy linked these camps to the construction of the Csörsz Dyke. For an overview of the earlier literature, see Tóth 1982, 69 n. 5-6. 11-12.

1029 Soproni 1978, 113-137. For an overview of the earlier literature, see Tóth 1982, 69 n. 7-10.

1030 Soproni 1978, 117.

1031 Their exact function is debated. It was suggested that these structures were designed to hold the Sarmatians at bay and also functioned as a visual display of power (Bertók 1997). In contrast, Nagy 1999, 121-122, argued that they functioned as storage facilities.

1032 Lőrincz 1999. The latter include the counter-fort at Dunakeszi, which has now been systematically investigated (Mráv 2002).

1033 Fitz 1979, 412-413.

1034 Mócsy 1974, 272.

1035 Mesterházy 1986/1988, 62-63; 1994, 283-284.

1036 Visy 1989, 23.

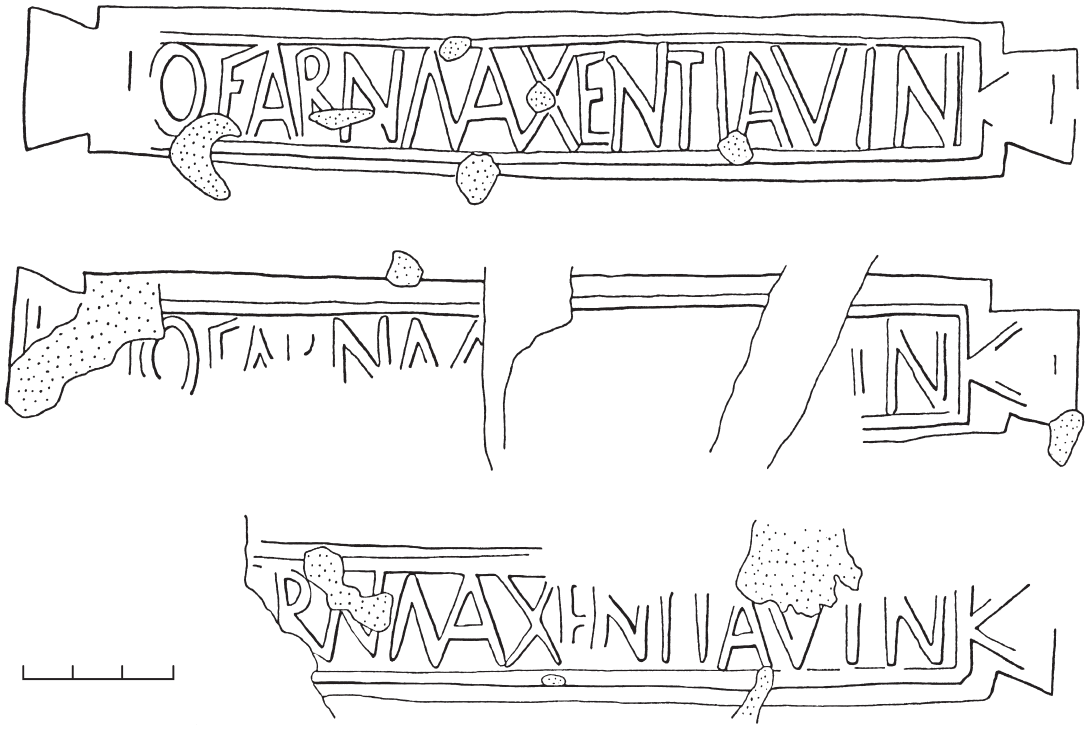


Fig. 281 Stamped brick with the text OFARN dating from Valentinian's reign, found at Göd-Bócsaújtelep. – (After Mráv 2005, fig. 17, 2).

The Csörsz Dyke was cut through in several locations as part of the salvage excavations preceding major construction works during the past few years. Although most of these investigations are still unpublished, we know that they have produced little new evidence concerning the Roman Age. One section was investigated at Mezőszemere-Kismari-fenék, for example, together with a section of a nearby cemetery which was assumed to have been used by Sarmatians allied to the Roman Empire who defended the earthwork[1037], an interpretation based on the earthwork's proximity to the cemetery whose burials contained a relatively high number of Roman finds, including weapons. This interpretation is in sharp contradiction with the dating of the Csörsz Dyke proposed by Mócsy and Soproni because the burial ground cannot be dated earlier than in the second part of the 4th century (**fig. 282**). Vaday resolved this contradiction by suggesting that the earthwork had been built after 358[1038], and made a case for Fitz's dating quoted above. Seeing that in the period proposed by Mócsy and Soproni we have no knowledge of any serious clashes between the barbarians of the Hungarian Plain and the Romans, and that large-scale construction work was performed in the Danube region under Valentinian[1039], this proposed dating must certainly be taken seriously. After the events following Valentinian's death (the new Quadic-Sarmatian incursion), the Sarmatians lost their former importance and the Hungarian Plain soon came under the control of the Huns.

1037 Vaday/Domboróczki 2001, esp. 111. 116-122. 204-206. – Vaday 2002; 2003c. Cf. Prohászka 2003, 84.

1038 Vaday 2003c, 212.

1039 In addition to the counter-forts mentioned above, the fort at Hatvan-Gombospuszta can also be assigned here (Mráv 2003a).

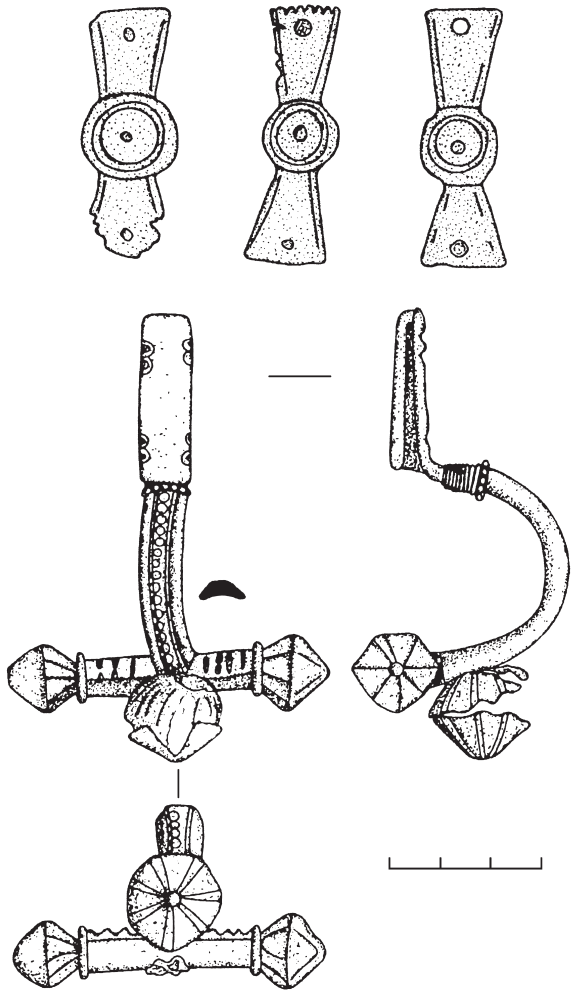


Fig. 282 Roman finds from Mezőszemere-Kismarifenék. – (After Vaday/Domboróczki 2001, figs 13, 1-3; 53, 2).

Mráv based his argument on the archaeological evidence from the unfinished Roman camp at Göd (**fig. 283**), as well as the topography and chronology of the Quadic settlements between the ramparts of the Csörsz Dyke. He suggested that:

> The innermost line of the earthwork […] approximately ran along the Quadic-Sarmatian border and was built under Constantine I at the earliest and under Constantius II at the latest[1040] (**fig. 270**).

In this case, the Csörsz Dyke, ultimately built for the protection of the Sarmatians, would have had two additional outer ramparts running across Quadic territory. According to Mráv, a chronological difference can be assumed between the ramparts that marked the boundary of the Sarmatian lands. In his interpretation, the line of the earthwork was shifted by the Romans during Valentinian's reign. This scenario seems most unlikely to us. The creation of a fixed earthwork boundary between the Sarmatians and the Quadi makes little sense because for several centuries they had acted in concert and the sources repeatedly emphasised the alliance and military camaraderie between the two peoples. We know that they got on well with each other owing to their neighbourship, their similar customs and weaponry[1041]. A peace treaty concluded under Constantius II clearly reflected the leading role of the Quadi in the region under Araharius, gained at the expense of the Sarmatians under Usafer[1042]. In the light of the above, it is barely credible that the Quadi would have peacefully acquiesced to a shift in the line of the earthwork to their territory when even the mere plan of a fort incited them to war. The other question is the possible rationale behind the construction of a *vallum* and *fossa* system that could be hardly supported by any barbarian people. This remains a legitimate question even if the area in the foreground of Aquincum had come under Roman administration by 365, the latest date by which the *Notitia Dignitatum* mentioning the *Praefectus legionis Transiacinco* could have been compiled[1043].

Another problem concerning Mráv's hypothesis is whether the outer two or three ramparts along certain sections of the Csörsz Dyke also date from Valentinian's reign and whether they reflect the increase of the entire Sarmatian territory. This seems most unlikely in view of mounting Germanic pressure.

1040 Mráv 1999, 97, see also 2003b; 2005.

1041 Tacit. *Annal*. XII.30. – Dio LXVII.5. – Zosimus I.48. – Ammian XVII.12.1, XVII.12.12. These references were covered by Mráv 1999, 95-96, who also noted that both the archaeological finds and sites are mixed (**fig. 270**) in this area to the extent that the boundary between the two peoples can hardly be determined.

1042 Ammian XVII.12.

1043 Not.Dign. Occ. XXXIII.65. – Mráv 1999, 99-100.



Fig. 283 Setout of the Roman camp at Göd, whose construction in the Barbaricum remained unfinished. – (After Mráv 2011, fig. 17).

The wall remains uncovered at Hatvan-Gombospuszta (**fig. 284**) not far from the Göd camp were usually associated with the earthwork system. This site is dated to Valentinian's reign[1044].

The construction of the fort at Visegrád-Gizella-major (**fig. 285**) was likewise associated with the creation of the Csörsz Dyke. The fort's construction date is put around 325-330 and the fort itself has been interpreted as the starting point of the earthwork system named *limes Sarmatiae* by modern historians. This supposition is all the more noteworthy because the building at Visegrád remained in use until the first third of the 5th century[1045].

The main rationale for dating the Csörsz Dyke to the Roman Age is that the creation of an earthwork on this scale called for a well-organised power for which the Roman Empire was the single candidate between the 3rd and 11th centuries. A glance at the other dates within the 3rd century to 11th century range proposed with the aim of providing a more accurate date, indicates that these suggestions can be either rejected or are no more than speculative guesses[1046]. It must also be borne in mind that the territory occupied by the Sarmatians in the 4th century extended beyond the Csörsz Dyke in several areas, for example, in the Ier Val-

1044 Mócsy 1972, 91-92.
1045 Gróh 1994.
1046 For the difficulties of dating and the uncertainties involved, see Fiedler 1986, 459-460.

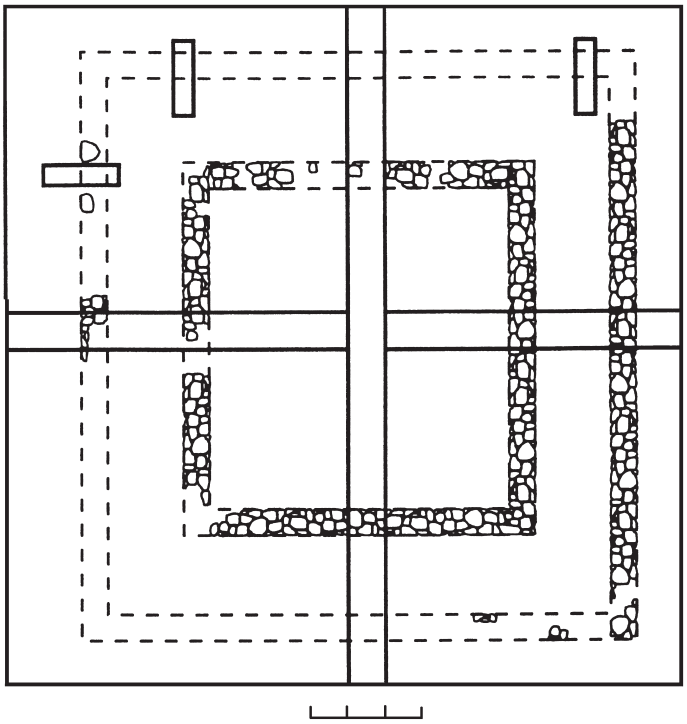


Fig. 284 Groundplan of the *burgus* at Hatvan-Gombospuszta, associated with the construction of the Csörsz Dyke, but built under Valentinian's reign. – (After Demény-Dittel n. y., 9).

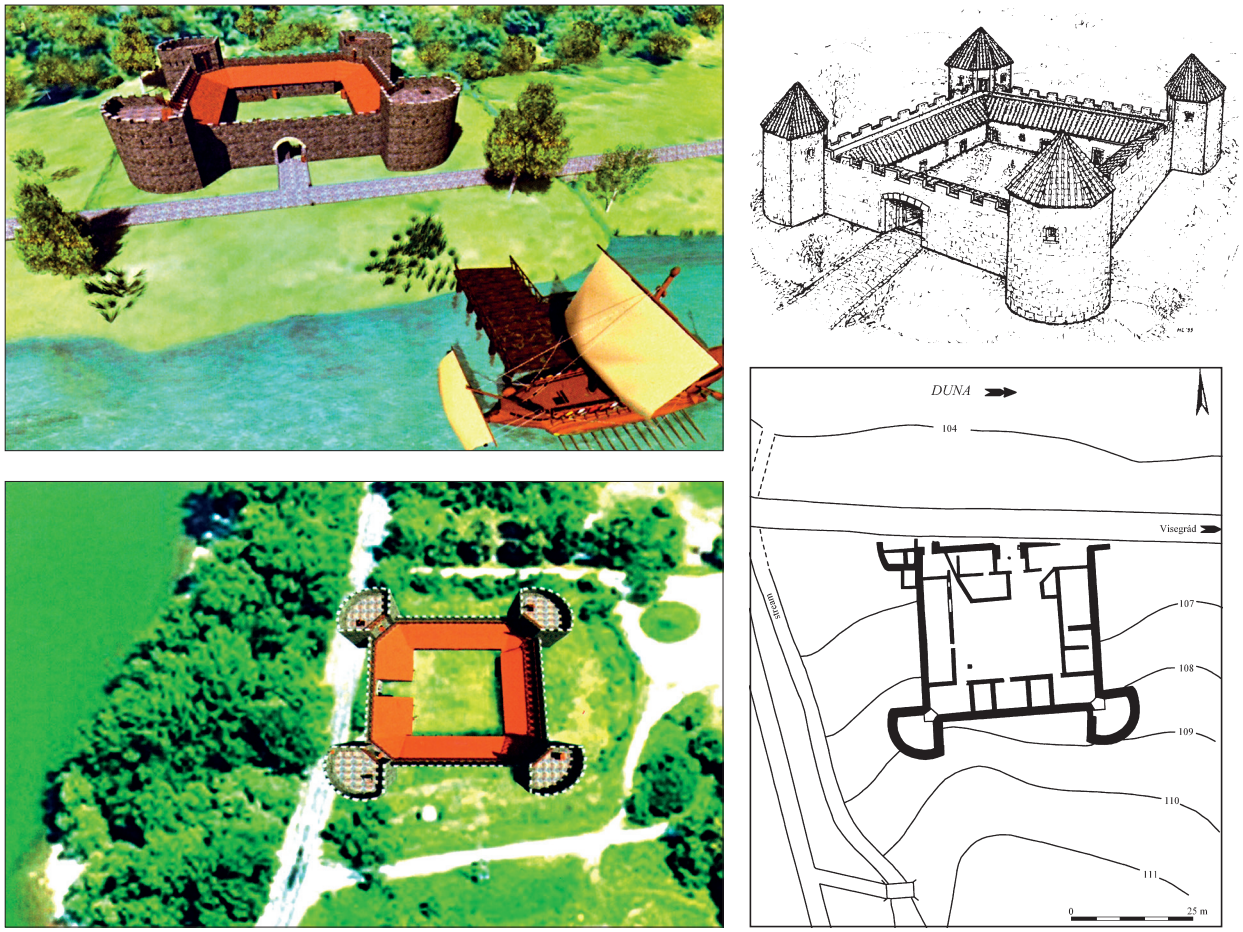


Fig. 285 The quadrangular, 50 m × 50 m fort with fan shaped angle-towers built in the 340s at Visegrád-Gizella-major, associated with the Csörsz Dyke. – (After Gróf/Gróh 2004, 54. 56; 2011, front and back board).

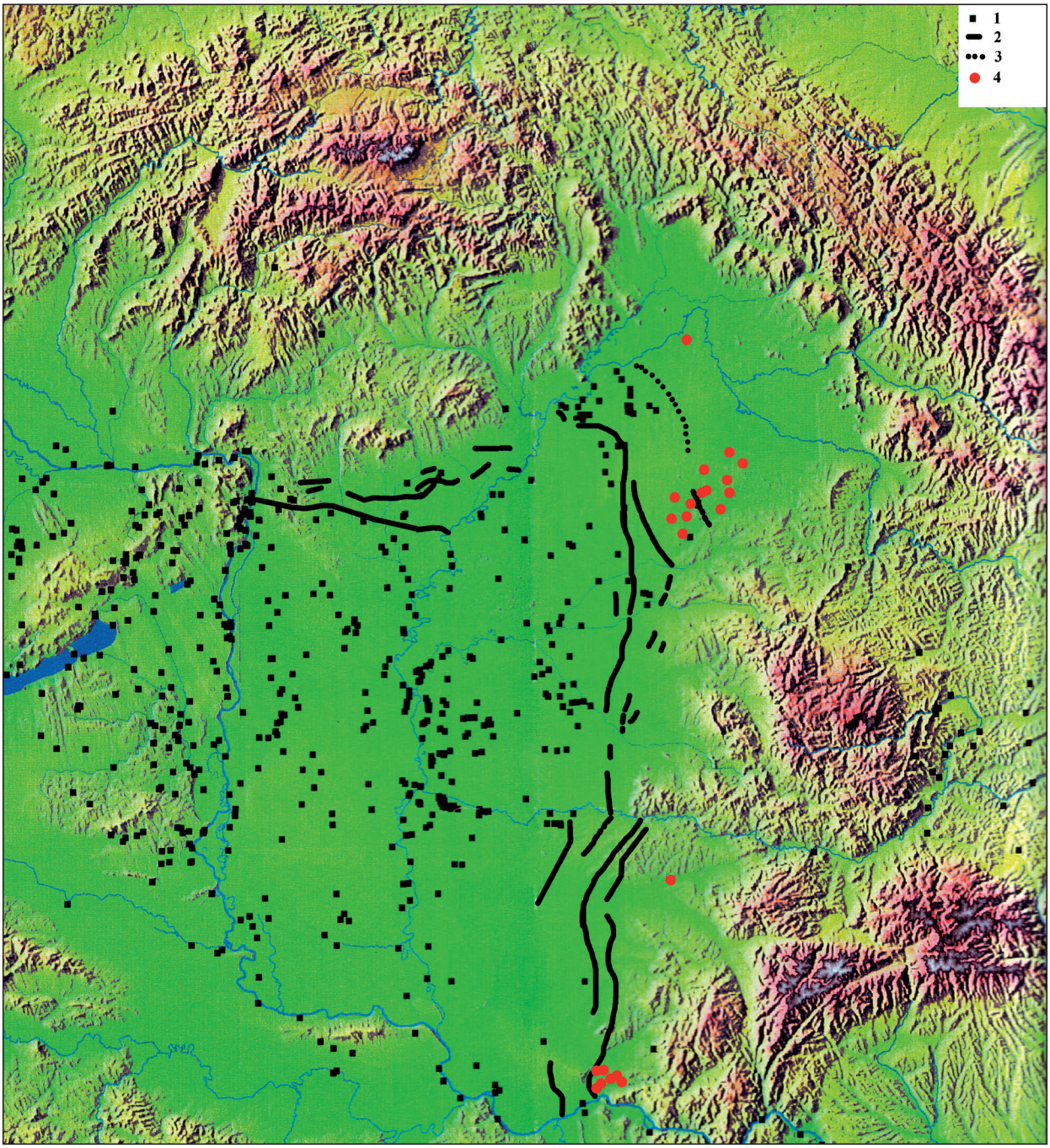


Fig. 286 The Sarmatian and Early Avar settlement territory and the line of the Csörsz Dyke: **1** Early Avar site (after ADAM, map 3). – **2** line of the Csörsz Dyke (after Garam/Patay/Soproni 2003, map A). – **3** suggested outer rampart in the Upper Tisza region. – **4** sites outside the Csörsz Dyke (after **figs 175. 268**).

ley, where Sarmatian sites can be found up to Carei. In contrast, the boundary of the Early Avar territory on the Hungarian Plain more or less conforms to the line of the Csörsz Dyke (**fig. 286**)[1047]. It is therefore not mere chance that Western European scholars have begun to challenge the earthwork's conventional date and regard the date in the Roman Age as no more than hypothetical or downright incorrect[1048].

1047 ADAM, map 3.

1048 Dittrich 1987, 25-27.

It has been suggested that the Csörsz Dyke and the Brazda lui Novac ramparts were part of the same system created in advance of the *limes*[1049]. Accepting that the ramparts of the two regions were raised according to a uniform concept, the date of the earthworks is influenced by two main considerations. The first of these is that the rampart extends across Dacia, the implication being that it could hardly have been constructed between 106 and 271, which also harmonises with the evidence from the investigation of the Csörsz Dyke. The other is that the Gothic advance affected the Lower Danube region earlier than the Hungarian Plain. The cemeteries of the Marosszentanna-Černjahov culture, reflecting a Gothic presence, made their appearance in the region between the Brazda lui Novac and the Lower Danube in the first half of the 4th century[1050]. In other words, the Germanic peoples had occupied the areas on both sides of the rampart, meaning that there was little rationale for its construction. It must here be noted that 4th century pottery and coin finds were brought to light during the investigation of the southern ditch section in Bessarabia[1051]. Several scholars believe that a later date seems more likely for the ramparts in the wider region of the Lower Danube and suggested that the ramparts marked the boundary of the 9th century Bulgarian state[1052].
Regarding the function of the Csörsz Dyke, Nagy recently argued that the ramparts had perhaps functioned as roads used by both the Romans and the barbarians because all the currently known and reconstructed roads had a west to east course (**fig. 287**) and only the ramparts of the earthwork were suitable for acting as a north to south military deployment route[1053]. This suggestion is complemented by Patay's two recent studies on the northern Bácska/Bačka and Kiskunság ramparts, in which he also argued for their interpretation as Roman roads (**figs 276, 2. 8; 280**). In view of the fact that not one single strategic auxiliary structure, such as a watchtower or a camp, has yet been discovered along the earthwork, an interpretation as a road seems quite feasible. The route of Constantine's 332 campaign can be cited in support of this interpretation. He set off from Nagytétény (Campona), crossed the Danube into the Barbaricum and traversed the Hungarian Plain, entering the Empire again at Margum, a route that roughly corresponds to the line of the Csörsz Dyke (**fig. 261**). The case may be the same with the campaign of Velius Rufus in 89 (**fig. 163**).
It seems to us that the issues concerning the construction date and the possible function of the Csörsz Dyke can only be firmly resolved after the assessment of recent investigations along the dyke and additional excavations of the earthwork.

The So-Called Roman Ramparts in the Bačka/Bácska Region (**fig. 276, 4-6**)

The dating of the Bačka earthworks to the Roman Age is based essentially on Marsigli's description and maps of the late 17th-early 18th centuries. He marked a *castellum* on the eastern side of the rampart in four locations. However, Frölich's survey revealed that the buildings in question were not *castella*, but structures with some other function, indicated by their elongated form (the earthen banks ran parallel to the rampart for 240 m, their width, perpendicular to the rampart, was less than 50 m). They were open towards the rampart and the ditch was dug on their inner side[1054].
Although Frölich noted that Marsigli's date lacked any solid evidence, he nonetheless accepted the Roman Age dating and discussed the earthwork's possible function within this framework. He rejected the

1049 Horedt 1968, 48. – Soproni 1978, 116.
1050 This problem has been already discussed by Horedt 1968, 50, who suggested a date in the 1st century for the Brazda lui Novac.
1051 Fiedler 1986, 460, with the relevant literature.
1052 For a detailed discussion, see Fiedler 1986, 460-461, with the relevant literature.
1053 Mihály Nagy 1997, 156.
1054 Frölich 1887, 208-209.

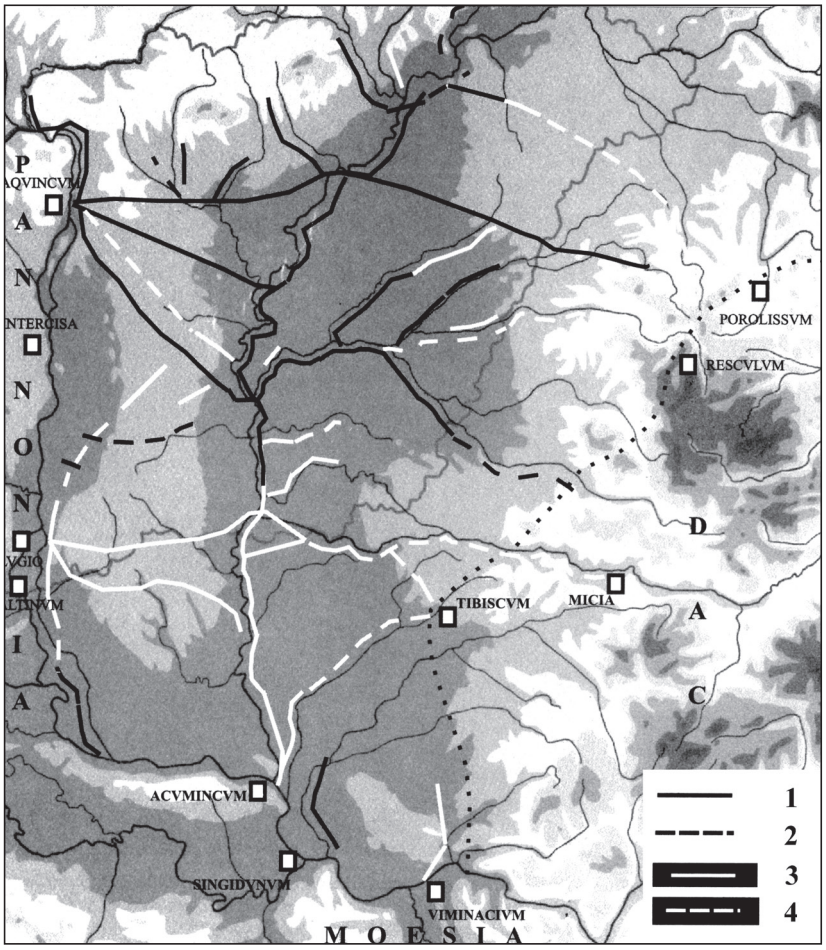


Fig. 287 Reconstructed trade routes leading through the Sarmatian lands in the Carpathian Basin based on the distribution of Roman imports: **1** section of road determined on the basis of terra sigillata and enamelled brooch finds. – **2** section determined only on the basis of terra sigillata finds. – **3** section determined only on the basis of enamelled brooch finds – **4** section suggested on the basis of the distribution of enamelled brooches. – After Vaday 2003a, fig. 2). – Recent excavations have shown that concentrations of Roman finds do not necessarily reflect a former trade route.

possibility of the earthwork being a flood embankment owing to the lack of levelling. Neither did a role as a road seem likely in view of the earthwork's meandering line, the fact that it did not lead across deep, waterlogged areas and because the width of its crown was uneven. Neither was its course topographically justified in several areas[1055].

In our opinion, Frölich's arguments are not convincing on every count. The presence of ditches flanking both sides of the rampart seems to favour an interpretation as a road. The deeper-lying sections, where the ramparts are interrupted, may have been linked with bridges. A glance at the topography of the »Lesser Rampart« reveals that Apatin, one of the earthwork's terminals, occupies a strategically key position on the Danube, in an defensible location controlling the marshland opposite the Drava mouth. This line of the earthwork extended from Apatin to Čurug, another strategic location on the testimony of the maps: the waterlogged marshland of the Tisza floodplain narrowed at this point, offering an excellent crossing to the territory east of Tisza. The north to south line of the »Lesser Rampart« ends at Bačko Petrovo Selo in the north, lying in an area with a similar topography. The »Greater Rampart« ran along a course avoiding the marshland around the Tisza mouth, connecting the two waterways. It ended at Čurug, in a topographically excellent location and Novi Sad also occupied a key position throughout its history.

Dating remains a problem. Gallina has pointed out that if the rampart had a continuation in Transdanubia, then the dating to the Roman Age is not tenable[1056]. However, a date in the Roman Age should only be

1055 Frölich 1887, 306-307.

1056 Gallina 1999a, 70.

rejected if the earthwork is interpreted as a defensive structure marking a territorial border. If it functioned as a road, then it may well have extended to the right bank of the Danube.
If the ramparts were indeed intended to be used as roads and had indeed been built during the Roman Age, then they provided an excellent route for the Roman troops marching repeatedly through the Sarmatian lands. However, this interpretation is no more than speculation, similar to Frölich's imaginative claim that the earthwork was built by the Romans when they intervened in the conflict between the Arcaragantes and the Limigantes. In his view, the »Greater Roman Rampart« can be identified with the immense Roman rampart constructed by Constantius,

> […] who *placed a rampart* near Acimincum and erected a high mound in the manner of a tribunal, ships carrying some light-armed legionaries were ordered to patrol the channel of the river near the banks, with one Innocentius, a field-measurer, who had recommended the plan, in order that, if they should see the savages beginning disorder, they might attack them in the rear, when their attention was turned elsewhere[1057].

In this case, the passage belies the credibility of the interpretation based on it because, according to Ammianus, it was the barbarians who pleaded with the emperor to »allow them to cross the river and come to him.« If they arrived at the location where the emperor had raised the earthwork by crossing the river, this would imply that Ammianus located their lands on the right bank of the Danube, which is hardly feasible.
Another hypothesis must also be mentioned. Fiedler suggested that the »Lesser Roman Rampart« can perhaps be linked to the ramparts in the Lower Danube region, the implication being that they were erected considerably later, at the time of the Bulgarians' clashes with the Avars[1058].
We may therefore conclude that, like the debate over the Csörsz Dyke, the controversies concerning the rampart, and especially the issue of dating, can only be resolved by future fieldwork and excavations.

The Ramparts in the Kiskunság (Cumania Minor) Area and along the Körös (**figs 276, 2-3; 280**)

The uncertainties in the dating of the ditch and rampart flanking the Körös are even greater than in the case of the Csörsz Dyke. Soproni initially associated the ditch with the Gepids and dated its creation to around 358, based on the historical data [1059]. Later, he rejected this date and argued for a construction after the 4th century[1060].
In a recent overview of the investigation of the Kiskunság rampart, Gallina accepted a dating to the Roman Age because he concurred with the view that its line could be linked to the Csörsz Dyke enclosing the Hungarian Plain and that it was therefore built between 271 and 378 in the period between the evacuation of Dacia and the Battle of Adrianople. At the same time, he also linked the construction work to the protection of the Lugio (Dunaszekcső)-Csongrád road, one of the major trade routes between the 2nd and 4th centuries (**fig. 287**)[1061]. It is difficult to fit this conjecture into an historical context because it is unclear against whom the northern part of the Hungarian Plain had to be defended in the 3rd-4th centuries and who the potential attackers from the south were, seeing that the area between the rampart and the Roman province was

1057 Ammian XIX.11. – Frölich 1887, 309-310. Italics added for emphasis.
1058 Fiedler 1986, 461-463.
1059 Soproni 1978, 118.
1060 Garam/Patay/Soproni 2003, 61.
1061 Gallina 1999a, 69. 74. 78-80. It must be borne in mind that this is a hypothetical Roman road which, cutting across the Danube-Tisza interfluve, is assumed to have linked Pannonia and the Tisza section with the Körös confluence.

settled by Sarmatians, as was the area north of the rampart on the testimony of the archaeological finds. The region was still settled by the Sarmatians in the late 4th century, as evinced by Ammianus. He recorded that in 374/5: »Theodosius the younger, Duke of Moesia […] in many encounters defeated and vanquished the Free Sarmatians […] who had invaded our frontier on the other side«[1062]. This passage tallies with the archaeological record showing that the territory bordering on Moesia was controlled by the Sarmatians (judging from the passage, specifically by the Arcaragantes). The various Sarmatian groups were unlikely to have built the rampart, regardless of the civil war between them at the time. But if the Sarmatians are to be credited with the construction, the earthwork could hardly have been part of the same defensive system as the Csörsz Dyke, as assumed by Gallina.

In sum, we may say that the dating of the earthworks identified in the Sarmatian occupied regions of the Carpathian Basin, as well as the determination of their function remains a task for future research. Although these monuments are continuously eroded by agricultural cultivation, new research techniques, such as aerial archaeological photography, the study of satellite images and geophysical prospection, will enable a mapping of the earthwork's precise course, while future excavations will no doubt contribute to a more accurate dating, one of the main prerequisites for their interpretation.

The Archaeological Record

The period's archaeological heritage was first classified by Párducz, who distinguished three major groups: 1) the Bajmok-Mórahalom group; 2a) the Kiszombor-Ernőháza group; 2b) the Tápé-Malajdok group; and, 3) the mound cemeteries and burials. In Párducz's scheme, the Bajmok-Mórahalom group is dated between 350 and 450. The group's funerary rite was characterised by a west to east orientation and by burying the dead in a sitting position. The group was distributed in the southern part of the Hungarian Plain, south of the Maros and the Szeged-Baja line. After 350, the Sarmatians absorbed and assimilated the earlier local population[1063].

Dated between 270 and 350, the Kiszombor-Ernőháza group represented a continuation of the earlier Sarmatian culture on the Hungarian Plain, with the Tápé-Malajdok group embodying the late phase of this group (350-430) coloured by new immigrant elements. They buried their dead in coffins held together by iron clamps and orientated the graves in a south to north direction. The group's sites are distributed across the entire Hungarian Plain[1064].

Párducz believed that the population interring its dead under mounds reached the Hungarian Plain in two waves. The communities raising the northern kurgans occupied the area in the last third of the 3rd century, while the mounds in the south, lying south of the Szeged-Baja line, concealed the burials of an immigrant population arriving later, sometime around the mid-4th century. Párducz suggested that the latter could be identified with the Roxolani in view of a few burials determined by him as »diagonal«[1065].

Later research has proven that Párducz's classification was erroneous[1066]. This is hardly surprising, given that the archaeological record available 60-70 years ago was very patchy, made up of poorly observed and documented grave assemblages from looted burials and stray finds. Párducz's efforts to classify the material must nonetheless be appreciated because his methodological treatment of the material – the construction of a

1062 Ammian XXIX.6.

1063 Párducz 1950a, esp. 241-242 fig. 2.

1064 Párducz 1950a, esp. 246-247. 250 fig. 3, 5.

1065 Párducz 1950a, 252-254 fig. 6. Diagonal burials (**fig. 75**) with the deceased laid roughly diagonally in an almost square grave pit were linked to the Roxolani by earlier Soviet research. It has since become clear that this identification was erroneous.

1066 Vaday 1989b, 36-38.

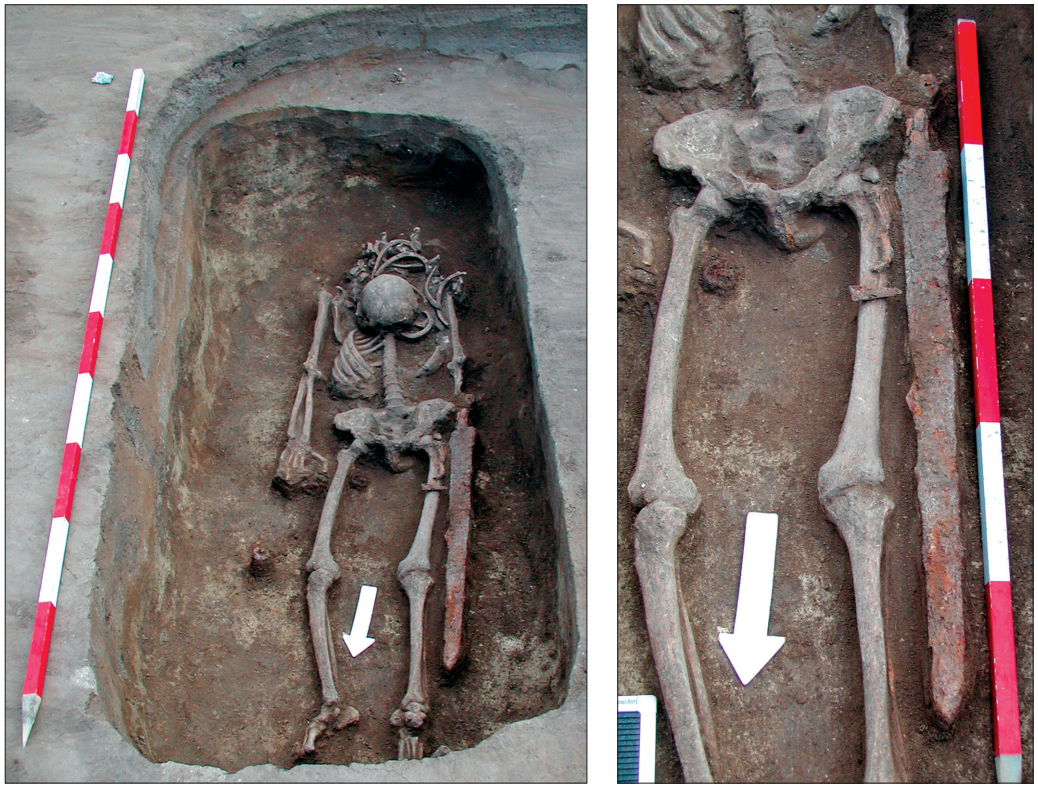


Fig. 288 The majority of weapon graves dates from the Late Roman period: Ecser, Site 7, Feature 250. – (KM V. Kulcsár's excavation, unpublished).

chronological framework and an ethnic attribution based on burial rites and grave goods – has withstood the test of time. His studies were useful for subsequent research[1067].

Despite the immense number of new, well-documented finds unearthed during the forty years that have elapsed since Párducz's work, there has been no major breakthrough in Sarmatian research. No substantial change can be demonstrated in the archaeological record of the Hungarian Plain during the late 3rd-first half of the 4th centuries. The cessation of *sigillata* imports poses serious difficulties in accurately dating the known finds. Basically, the find assemblages dated to the second half of the 3rd-first half of the 4th centuries, whether from settlements or burials, are assigned to that period because they lack both the typical artefacts of the late 2nd-first half of the 3rd centuries and the find types appearing in the second half of the 4th-early 5th centuries. In many cases, the assemblages in question are assigned to even broader time brackets, and simply dated to the 3rd-4th centuries. Dating is all the more problematic because most elements of the burial rite remained unchanged during successive centuries (**fig. 288**).

We attempted to identify the 4th century find material based on coin-dated burials (**fig. 289**). Obviously, much care needs to be exercised using this approach, too, seeing that the coins only provide a *terminus post quem* and that a particular artefact type may have been in use earlier as well. While brooches with inverted or side-turned feet provide a good chronological anchor, the majority can be dated to within a fairly broad time frame (**fig. 255**). The one and two-piece variants of these brooches were both popular throughout the 4th century. Large pieces were quite common. Buckles and brooches were predominantly made from iron. Buckles are usually oval in form and have a thickened frame, but in contrast to the later, 5th-century pieces, the prong does not cope over the frame. Lunulas again became popular (**figs 289-290**).

1067 Párducz/Korek 1946/1948. – Párducz 1973; 1974.

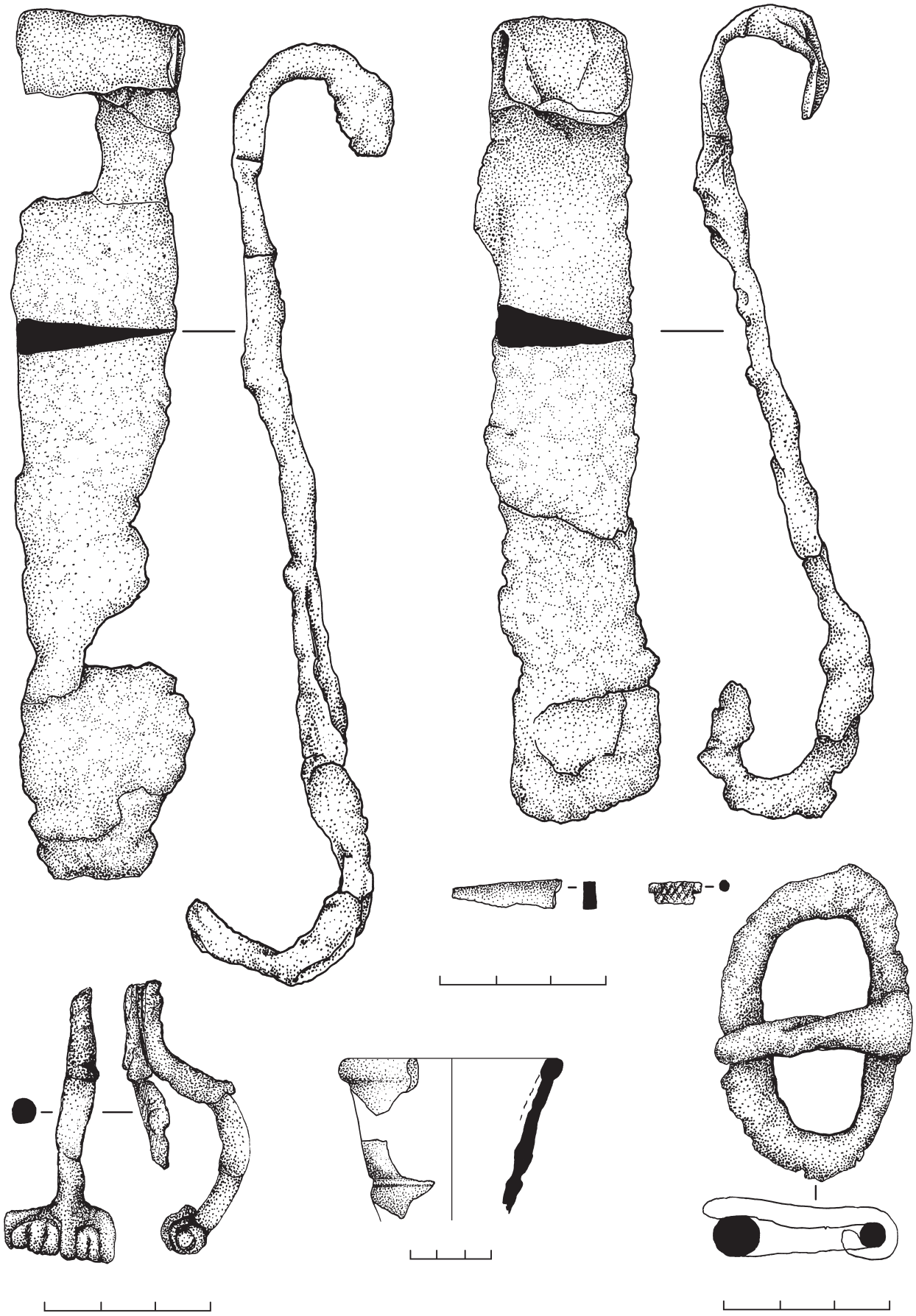


Fig. 289 Madaras-Halmok, Grave 187 probably dated between 250 and 350. – (After Istvánovits/Kulcsár 1994b, 71-72 fig. 7).



Fig. 290 Characteristic 4th century Sarmatian female costume from Kiskundorozsma-Subasa, Grave 121. – (After Bozsik 2003, figs 8. 10).

Despite the many efforts in this field, the dating of vessels remains one of the problems bedevilling Sarmatian archaeology in the Carpathian Basin. The most common vessel shapes were used for some three hundred years (**fig. 242**). No more than a few distinctive types and decorations can be regarded as exceptions. Bowls with curved sides can also be assigned to this period[1068]. One puzzling phenomenon is that while there is a general consensus that Roman imports declined by the second half of the 3rd century, gritty wares tempered with sand and pebbles (**fig. 251**), most often pots, made their appearance in the Barbaricum at this time. It was unclear for a long time whether these products were provincial in origin or whether they

1068 Vaday 1980/1981, 128; 1989b, 149-150.

were copies of Roman models produced outwith the Empire's borders. The large-scale excavations (around 40 hectares) at Üllő in the early years of the 21st century brought the discovery of a Sarmatian pottery workshop specialising in the production of gritty ware (**fig. 291**). The preliminary assessment of the finds suggests that the manufacture of this ceramic type began in the late 3rd century and continued until at least the close of the 4th century[1069].

The number of coins in the Barbaricum increased at the beginning of the 4th century. The number of coins issued during the Tetrarchy is relatively high, while the coins of Constantine I and Constantius II are scarcer than in the province. Very few coins of Valentinian have been reported from the Hungarian Plain[1070]. A comparison with the Upper Tisza region indicates that considerably fewer coins are known here from this period. No more than ten coins representing the entire Constantine Dynasty have been found in County Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg. Two of these are *solidi* from Porcsalma and Nyírtét, one is a counterfeit from Petneháza. The coin finds are scattered across the area, and there is no evidence that the Csörsz Dyke marks the boundary of their distribution[1071].

The relatively detailed accounts of the Sarmatian civil war in the written sources have tempted several scholars to link certain archaeological phenomena to these events. Many of these suggestions are wholly unfounded. For example, Bóna claimed that the Sarmatian settlements in the area between the Maros and the Körös were abandoned after the Gothic raids of 332. In fact, the mass presence of Sarmatian sites in the area can be hardly denied[1072].

More recently, Vaday and Domboróczki identified the re-settled Arcaragantes with the population using the cemetery at Mezőszemere-Kismari-fenék in the northern part of the Hungarian Plain. They suggested that, as allies of the Romans in the 370s–380s, Zizais' people were entrusted with the defence of the Csörsz Dyke's section constructed after 358. The evidence for the alliance with Rome was provided by two onion-headed brooches and propeller belt-fittings (**fig. 282**)[1073]. However, a few onion-headed brooches have been reported from other Sarmatian sites, too[1074]. Moreover, one of the pieces from Mezőszemere came to light in a female burial. These finds belie the possibility that the occurrence of these artefacts indicates a group of barbarians in Roman service. The hypothesis is even less acceptable historically because we know that the Limigantes launched a massive attack against the Romans in the Aquincum area in the late 350s. While Ammianus obviously concluded his report with a major Roman victory, it must be recalled that the emperor's life had been seriously endangered and that his tribune of the *scutarii* (shield-bearers) was killed. The punitive expedition was called off owing to the events on the eastern front. The Arcaragantes, allies of Rome, were re-settled in the same territory that they occupied in the early 4th century, and they can thus be located in the region of the mouth of the Tisza after the defeat of the Limigantes and not to the northern part of the Hungarian Plain. Zizais and his people can therefore hardly be sought in the Mezőszemere area following the events of 350. Their settlement territory lay in the southern part of the Hungarian Plain in the

1069 Istvánovits/Kulcsár/Mérai 2011.

1070 Lányi 1990, 214.

1071 Istvánovits 2002, 281. – Fülöp 1976, 258-259. – Vaday 1970, 137. Lányi 1990, 213-214, observed that Roman coins are much scarcer from Constantine I to Valentinian I in the Barbaricum bordering on Pannonia in the east than in the province, and that this phenomenon is valid for the area enclosed by the ramparts, which served as further confirmation for the dating of the Csörsz Dyke; an argument that must be re-examined in the light of the new excavations and their finds.

1072 Mócsy/Bóna 1965, 115. According to Bóna around 340, the Gepids would have began their migration from the Upper Tisza region to the Maros-Tisza-Körös angle, and by 358, this relocation would have become a mass phenomenon (see also the data mentioned above). A glance at the list of sites in the volume on the archaeological survey of County Békés (e. g. MRT 1989) clearly refutes this claim.

1073 Vaday/Domboróczki 2001, esp. 111. 116-122. 204-206. – Vaday 2002; 2003c.

1074 Vaday/Domboróczki 2001, 74-75. Two brooches of this type have been reported from Madaras-Halmok (Kőhegyi/Vörös 2011, pls 41, 5; 101, 6). Cf. Quast 2015.



Fig. 291 Pottery kiln from Üllő, Site 5 (V. Kulcsár's excavation, unpublished) and detail of a house with fragments of locally made pots, from Üllő, Site 9 (R. Patay's excavation, unpublished). The production of gritty ware began in the in the Sarmatian Barbaricum in the late 3rd century. Potters who dwelt at the settlement, 40 hectare large surface of which was uncovered in Üllő were producing this type of vessels until the close of the 4th century.

second half of the 4th century. In 374, »the Free Sarmatians (so called to distinguish them from their rebellious slaves)« were raiding Moesia (see the next chapter)[1075].
In sum, we may say that in contrast to the unexpected richness of the documentary evidence, and the unusually detailed reports on the period's events, the classification, accurate dating and interpretation of the period's archaeological finds remains a task for future research.

THE DAWN OF A NEW AGE: THE HUNNIC INVASION

And when these walls, with sad regrets, shall fall to raise a bath,
Then shall the Huns in multitude break forth with might and wrath.
By force of arms the barrier-stream of Ister they shall cross,
O'er Scythic ground and Moesian lands spreading dismay and loss[1076].

The year of Valentinian's death, 375, marked the onset of a new period. The Huns crossed the borders of Europe. In Váczy's words, »the Huns' western advance was an event of immense historical significance because it broke the hegemony of the Iranian nomads on the steppe […] and precipitated the gradual Turkisation of the western steppe«[1077].
With the appearance of the Huns in Europe, the roughly one-and-a-half-thousand kilometres long frontier extending from the Danube Bend to the Pontic suddenly became a single continuous military frontline. While the Sarmatians' earlier history in the Carpathian Basin was shaped by their relations with the neighbouring Roman provinces, the events were from now on influenced by what happened on the steppe, principally the Huns' advance and the flow of peoples dislodged by the Huns. The events discussed in this chapter are set against this background.

The Sarmatians of the Hungarian Plain During Valentinian's Reign

The sources on the history of the Sarmatians in the Hungarian Plain gradually fall silent and very often all we have are a few scattered references here and a few random words there. For example:

> At this time [in 365] the trumpet […] gave signal for war throughout the whole Roman world; and the barbarian tribes on our frontier were moved to make incursion on those territories which lay nearest to them […] the Sarmatians and Quadi ravaged Pannonia[1078].

One of the known events is a war that broke out over the construction activities under Valentinian. As military tension grew, fortifying the Empire's borders became a pressing priority and Valentinian spared no effort to strengthen the defences. Ammianus Marcellinus recorded that Valentinian »from the beginning of his reign had been full of a resolution to fortify his frontier«[1079]. The earlier military installations were renovated and reinforced, especially in the Danube region. It would appear that several new Roman counter-forts were

1075 Ammian XXIX.6.15.
1076 Ammian XXXI.1.
1077 Váczy 1986, 63.
1078 Ammian XXVI.4.5 (cf. Alföldi 1942a, 683).
1079 Ammian XXIX.6.2. – CTh. 15.1.13.

erected on the Danube's left bank in the Sarmatian lands and the earlier ones, the so-called Nógrádverőce-type forts (previously dated to Diocletian's reign), were also renewed (**figs 259-260**). The FRIGIDERIUS DUX stamps from the Danubian *limes* indicate that this activity can be dated to the early 370s[1080]. Most of these were fortified ports, perhaps with storage facilities, built at strategically important crossing points. The buildings erected opposite each other on the river's two banks secured the fording place. These forts formed a dense chain along the border of Valeria: Szob, Verőce, Dunakeszi (**fig. 260**), Harta-Kali-major, Bátmonostor and Bač on the left bank, and Kisoroszi-Pásztorkert, Tahitótfalu-Balhavár, Szentendre-Dera patak, Horány, Szigetújfalu, Bölcske and Dunaszekcső on the islets and the right bank (**fig. 292**)[1081].

The clashes were sparked by the construction work on the border with the Quadi and the Sarmatians. We have seen that Roman military building activities had been conducted in the Sarmatian Barbaricum and thus Mráv understandably concluded that in this case, the planned programme of defensive building was on a larger scale than »usual«[1082]. The Quadi protested that the Romans treated the »south side of the river Danube, in the very territories of the Quadi« as their own land, and that the erection of the fortification was begun without their knowledge and consent. Mócsy noted that it could hardly have been mere chance that the foundations of the building were laid on the border with the Sarmatians: the plan was aimed against the Sarmatians and not against the Quadi, reflected also by the choice of location in an area whose possession by the Quadi or the Sarmatians could be contested[1083]. Instead of remedying the conflict, the Romans simply murdered Gabinius, King of the Quadi who came to complain. The Roman commander Marcellianus, *dux Valeriae*, invited the unsuspecting ruler to a feast and had him assassinated.

These events occurred in the summer of 374[1084]. Quoting Patsch, Alföldi noted that this was the very last instance that a Roman emperor entered barbarian land bordering on this province[1085]. The events were recounted by Ammianus Marcellinus:

> […] the nation of the Quadi was roused to make a sudden movement. It was a nation now not very formidable, but one which had formerly enjoyed vast renown for its warlike genius and power. […] And indeed they had, for barbarians, just ground of complaint. For Valentinian, who from the beginning of his reign had been full of a resolution to fortify his frontier, which was a glorious decision, but one carried too far in this case, ordered a fortress capable of containing a strong garrison to be constructed on the south side of the river Danube, in the very territories of the Quadi as if they were subject to the Roman authority. The natives, being very indignant at this, and anxious for their own rights and safety, at first contented themselves with trying to avert the evil by an embassy and expostulations. But Maximin, always eager for any wickedness, and unable to bridle his natural arrogance, which was now increased by

1080 Frigeridus received the title *comes et magister utriusque militiae* from Terentius at this time. For Frigeridus, see Alföldi 1924/1926, 82-86. – Lőrincz 1976, 104-105. – Mócsy/Fitz 1990, 85. – Lőrincz 1999, 54. – Nagy 1999. Recent research has shown that Frigeridus can be identified with the individual mentioned by Ammianus who was relieved of his duties owing to the scheming of his adversaries. Misgovernment by Marcellianus, his successor, led to the outbreak of a new war (for the relevant literature, see Mráv 1999, n. 48). In this case, all the buildings attributed to him were erected before the war, i. e. before 374, the most likely date being between 371 and 373.

1081 Visy 2003, 125-129, with the relevant literature; Bernát 2006, 183-184 n. 5, with a fairly detailed map.

1082 Mráv 1999, 93-94. This was hardly an isolated case. Valentinian had already attempted to proceed with military construction in the land of the Alamanns, an endeavour with an equally ill-fated outcome (Ammian XXVIII.2.2).

1083 Mócsy 1974, 293-294. – Cf. Mráv 1999, 94-95. His assertion seems realistic because it is clear from Ammian's report on the peace treaty concluding the events of 357-358 that Usafer, one of the Sarmatians' chieftains(?), was a subordinate of the Quadi.

1084 For arguments in support of the date of 374, see Alföldi 1963, 94 n. 56. A smaller Sarmatian raid against the Banat occurred in 372 or 373, which was successfully repelled by the Romans (Alföldi 1942a, 684, based on Egger's research).

1085 Patsch 1929. – Alföldi 1942a, 685.

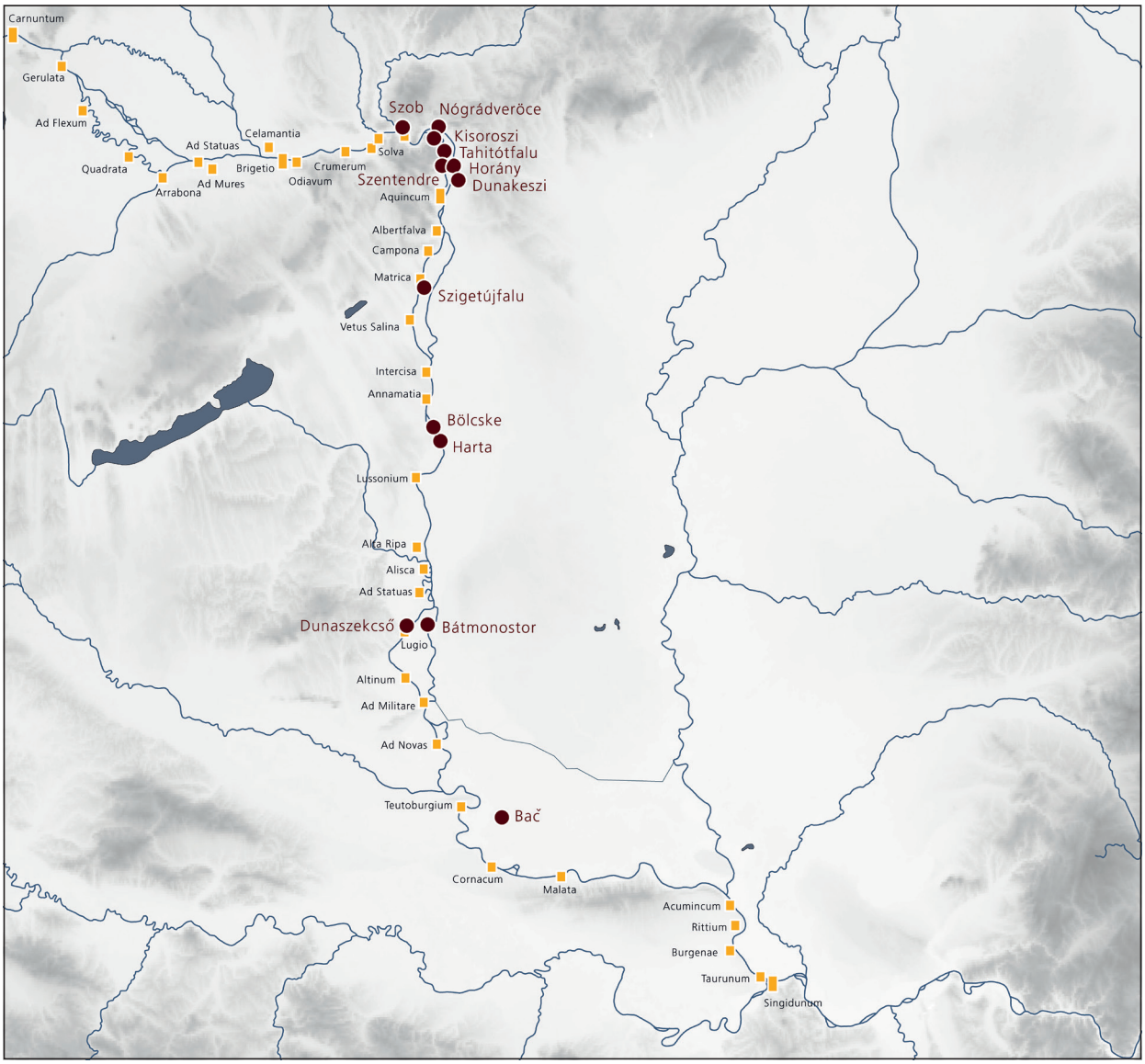


Fig. 292 Paired forts (brown dots) in the Middle Danube Valley in the 4th century. – (After Bernát 2006; map M. Ober, RGZM).

the pride which he felt in his rank as prefect, reproached Equitius, who at that time was the commander of the forces in Illyricum, as careless and inactive, because the work, which it was ordered should be carried on with all speed, was not yet finished. And he added, as a man guided only by zeal for the common good, that if the rank of Duke of Valeria were only conferred on his own little son, Marcellianus, the fortification would be soon completed without any more pretexts for delay. Both his wishes were presently granted. Marcellianus received the promotion thus suggested, and set out to take possession of his government; and when he reached it, being full of untimely arrogance, as might be expected from the son of such a father, without attempting to conciliate those whom false dreams of gain had caused to quit their native land, he applied himself to the work which had been recently begun, and had only been suspended to afford an opportunity for the inhabitants to present petitions against it. Lastly, when their king Gabinius requested, in a most moderate tone, that no innovations

> might be made, he as if intending to assent to his petition, with feigned courtesy invited him and some other persons to a banquet: and then as he was departing after the entertainment, unsuspicious of treachery, he caused him, in infamous violation of the sacred rights of hospitality, to be murdered[1086].

Valentinian seemed reluctant to remedy the situation:

> […] it was expected that, as a man of active and impetuous feelings, he [Valentinian] would speedily command the judges to be condemned through whose perfidy or desertion the empire had been left undefended on the side of the Pannonians, yet when he did arrive he was so lukewarm in the business that he neither inquired into the death of the king Gabinius, nor did he make any accurate investigation into the calamities which the republic had sustained, with a view to learning through whose misconduct or negligence these events had taken place[1087].

Earlier, Mócsy had assumed that Gabinius' death could be linked to the construction of the *burgus* at Hatvan-Gombospuszta (**fig. 284**)[1088]. However, more recent research would suggest that the fort (*munimentum*) mentioned by Ammianus can be identified with the unusually large fort measuring 400 m × 290 m investigated at Göd-Bócsaújtelep in the early 21st century (**fig. 283**). The construction of this fort remained unfinished. The brick stamps indicate that the architectural remains at Göd can be dated to Valentinian's reign (**fig. 281**). Mráv, who excavated the fort and published his findings, suggested that the building activity was abandoned owing to the events recorded by Ammianus Marcellinus[1089], and he also raised the possibility that the Roman buildings at Hatvan-Gombospuszta, which could similarly be linked to the *legio II adiutrix* on the testimony of the bricks bearing the stamp of FRIGERIDUS DUX, had likewise remained unfinished[1090].

The other report on the incursion was written by Zosimus, who also recorded that Valentinian had weakened the defences of the Middle Danubian provinces by transferring troops from Pannonia and Upper Moesia to fight against the pretender Firmus in northern Africa. Learning about the weakness of the army, the barbarians set out on their raids with a vengeance[1091]:

> […] the Africans […] gave the purple robe to Firmus, and proclaimed him emperor […] Valentinian […] immediately commanded some legions from the stations in Pannonia and Moesia, to embark for Africa. On this the Sarmatians and the Quadi, who had long entertained a hatred for Celestius, the governor of those countries, availing themselves, of the opportunity afforded by the departure of the legions for Africa, invaded the Pannonians and Moesians. Celestius had infringed an oath, and had not only treacherously deceived, but had murdered their chief at a banquet. The barbarians therefore revenged themselves by plundering all the country along the

1086 Ammian XXIX.6.1-5.
1087 Ammian XXX.5.3.
1088 Mócsy 1972, 101.
1089 Mráv 1999; 2003b; 2005, with further literature. Mráv weaves a fascinating story around the building, creating the impression that its entire history is known. The problem, however, is that his reconstruction is based on a chain of hypotheses, such as the dating of the Csörsz Dyke, the exact line of the dyke and its role as a border, as well as the existence of Sarmatian auxiliary troops, etc. Ammianus' report paints a picture of devastation and decay. Most towns lay in ruins, the walls of Sirmium, Carnuntum and Savaria had fallen. It is therefore difficult to conceptualise the creation of a defence system as envisioned by Mráv. The single acceptable element in his historic reconstruction is that the construction of the building was begun under Valentinian and that its erection can be linked to the events described by Ammianus.
1090 Mráv 2003a, 209.
1091 Várady 1961, 22.

> Ister, carrying off all that they found in the towns. The Pannonians were by these means exposed to the cruelty of the barbarians, while the soldiers were extremely negligent in the defence of their towns, and committed as much mischief as the barbarians themselves in all places on this side of the river. But Moesia was free from harm, because Theodosius, who commanded the forces there, courageously resisted the barbarians, and routed them when they attacked him[1092].

What is quite certain is that these events occurred at a particularly unfortunate moment from a Roman perspective. Pannonia suffered from the rule of corrupt and despotic officials. Life in the towns took a turn for the worse and the army also played its share in the oppression.
Let us see what happened, as narrated by Ammianus:

> The report of so atrocious an act was speedily spread abroad, and roused the indignation of the Quadi and other surrounding tribes, who, bewailing the death of the king, collected together and sent, forth predatory bands, which crossed the Danube; and when no hostilities were looked for, attacked the people who were occupied in the fields about the harvest; and having slain the greater portion of them, carried off all the survivors to their own country with a great booty of different kinds of cattle[1093].

The Quadi turned to their Sarmatian neighbours for help and together they devastated Pannonia. It is uncertain whether the incursions were launched jointly by the two allied barbarian peoples or whether the raids were conducted separately, but as part of a concerted action[1094]. Ammianus merely noted that the assaults affected the state-run estate of Prista lying between Sirmium and Cibalae, about twenty-six miles (approx. 40 km) east of Sirmium[1095]. This means that the Sarmatians had participated in the incursions from the very beginning because the invasion had repercussions in regions lying quite far away, at least 350-400 km, from the Quadic lands that the Romans believed to be secure from the barbarians, at least judging from Ammianus' words. For example, we know from Ammianus that Constantius' daughter, and Gratian's bride, happened to be in the area and barely evaded capture by the barbarians.
The location of the counter-forts/ports dated to Valentinian's reign indicates that the *ripa* adjacent to Pannonia Secunda was fortified to a lesser extent than the Valeria section. It is therefore hardly mere chance that the first major raid was launched against Pannonia Secunda (**fig. 292**)[1096]:

> After this the Quadi in conjunction with the Sarmatians, extended their ravages further (since both these tribes were addicted beyond measure to plunder and robbery), carrying off, men, women, and cattle, and exulting in the ashes of burnt villas, and in the misery of the murdered inhabitants, whom they fell upon unexpectedly and slaughtered without mercy. […] Probus, the prefect of the praetorium, who was at that time at Sirmium […] cleared out the fosses which were choked up with ruins; he repaired the greater portion of the walls which, through the security engendered by a long peace, had been neglected, and had fallen into decay, and raised them again to the height of lofty towers […] summoning a cohort of archer cavalry from the nearest station, that it might be at hand to resist a siege should any take place[1097].

1092 Zosimus IV.16. The main sequence of events corresponds to Ammian's report, although the protagonists differ (Marcellianus in one version, and Celestius in the other).
1093 Ammian XXIX.6.6.
1094 Alföldi 1963, 93-94 no. 54.
1095 Ammian XXIX.6.6.
1096 Alföldi 1942a, 685; 1963, 96.
1097 Ammian XXIX.6.8-11.

The measures taken by the prefect testify to the barbarians' intent to lay siege to Sirmium:

> […] the barbarians were forced to abandon their design of besieging the city, since they were not skilful in contests of this kind, and were also hampered by the burden of their booty[1098].

The barbarian army blocked the road from Sirmium to Cibalae. A small hoard hidden near Lupoglav (Istrian Peninsula, west of Savia) in the summer of 374 demonstrates how far they penetrated into the province. From here they turned north, at least judging from the coin hoards found at Szőkedencs in the Little Balaton region and at Jabing in the southern part of the Burgenland, and the finds brought to light at Pécs, Pécsvárad, Kazsok, Döbrönte and Szőny (**fig. 293**)[1099]. Tóth believes that the Ságvár fort was destroyed by Sarmatians. The *horreum* was torched and the corpses of the dead lay unburied for many months[1100]. It has recently been suggested that the concealment of the Seuso Treasure can perhaps be linked to the incursions of 374[1101]. Coin hoards have been discovered along the northern *limes* road at Wien-Krottenbach and Öregcsém, suggesting that the Quadi had at some point also crossed the *limes* between Vindobona and Brigetio[1102]. Seeing that their Roman adversaries were reluctant to combine their forces despite the relentless onslaughts, the barbarians did not hesitate to take advantage of the bickering between the Romans:

> […] as they were hastening onwards with impetuous and vengeful speed, they were met by two legions, the Pannonian and the Moesian, both of approved valour, who, if they had acted in harmony, must unquestionably have come off victorious. But while they were hastening onward to attack the barbarians separately, a quarrel arose between them on the subject of their honour and dignity, which impeded all their operations. And when intelligence of this dissension reached the Sarmatians, who are a most sagacious people, they, without waiting for any regular signal of battle, attacked the Moesians first; and while the soldiers, being surprised and in disorder, were slowly making ready their arms, many of them were killed; on which the barbarians with increased confidence attacked the Pannonians, and broke their line also; and when the line of battle was once disordered, they redoubled their efforts, and would have destroyed almost all of them, if some had not saved themselves from the danger of death by a precipitate flight. Amid these calamitous inflictions of adverse fortune, Theodosius the younger, Duke of Moesia […] in many encounters defeated and vanquished the Free Sarmatians (so called to distinguish them from their rebellious slaves), who had invaded our frontier on the other side, till he exhausted them by his repeated victories; and with such vigour did he crush the assembled crowds combined to resist his arms, that he glutted the very birds and beasts with the blood of the vast numbers justly slain. Those who remained having lost all their pride and spirit, fearing lest a general of such evident promptitude and courage should rout or destroy these invading battalions on the very edge of his frontier, or lay ambuscades for them in the recesses of the woods, made from time to time many vain attempts to escape, and at last, discarding all confidence in battle, they begged indulgence and pardon for their

1098 Ammian XXIX.6.12.
1099 Alföldi 1963, 96. – Bíróné 1978.
1100 Tóth 2009, 67.
1101 Tóth 2002.
1102 Alföldi 1963, 92. 96. – Radnóti 1942, 15. Considering the chaotic situation painted by the sources, one might reasonably speculate that the concealment of coin hoards should not be exclusively associated with the barbarian incursions. It seems equally likely that some had been hidden owing to the abuses by the Roman army and its soldiers.

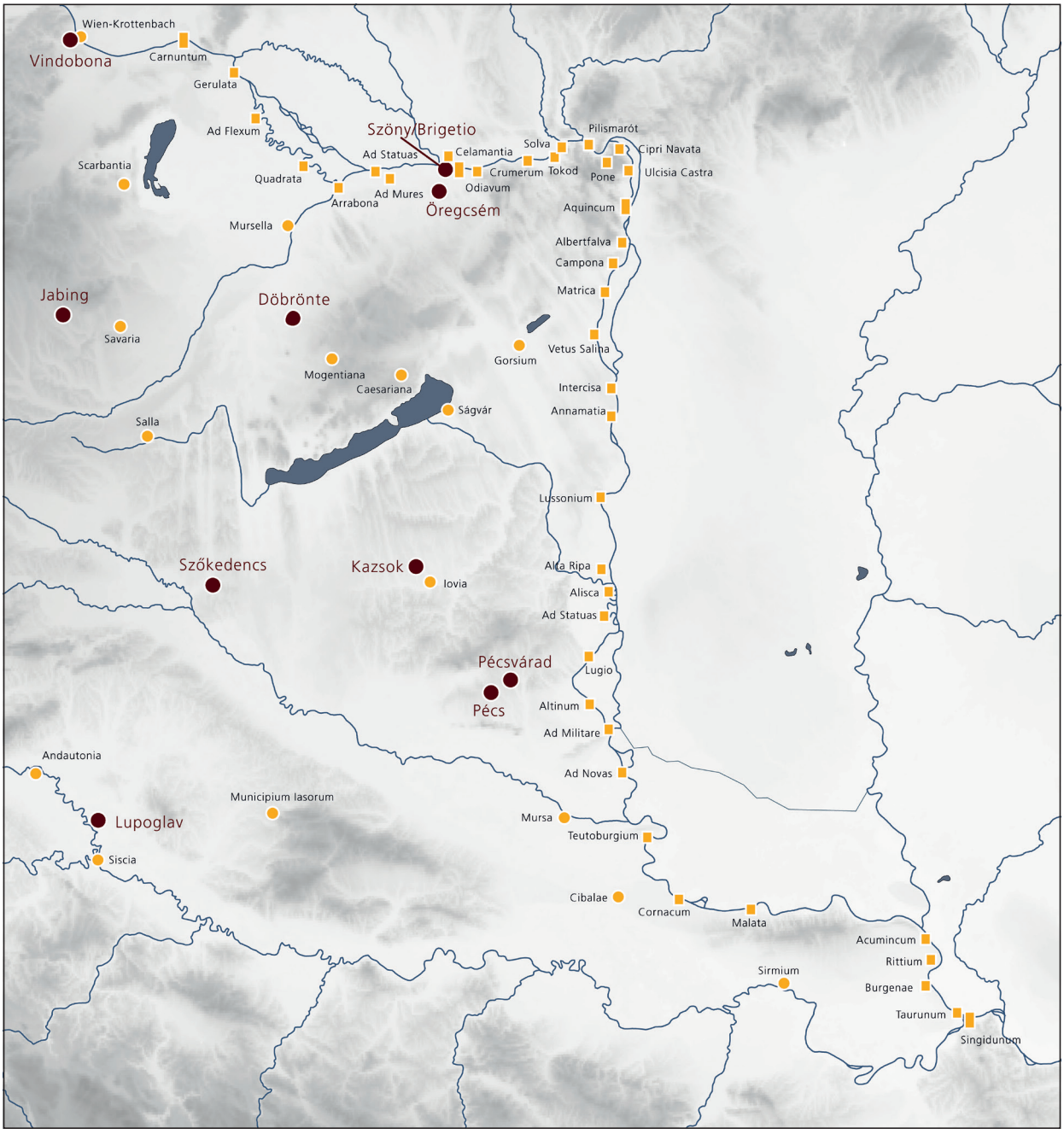


Fig. 293 Hoards concealed around 374 (brown dots). – (Map E. Istvánovits; M. Ober, RGZM).

past hostility. And being thoroughly subdued, they did nothing for some time contrary to the treaty of peace, being more especially terrified because a strong force of Gallic soldiers had come to the defence of Illyricum[1103]. Already teetering, the Empire nevertheless managed to repel the barbarians. The coin hoards from Árpás and Vinkovci, buried at a slightly later date,

1103 Ammian XXIX.6.12-16.

are an indication that peace was not easily restored[1104]. By the time the imperial troops arriving from Gaul reached the front in 375, the barbarians had returned to their lands laden with booty. The coin hoards from Öcsöd[1105] and Hajdúnánás-Tedej[1106] can perhaps be linked to this event. Irrespective of whether the high number of coins reached the Barbaricum as war booty or whether the Sarmatians had acquired the money by some other means, their burial and the fact that they were not retrieved at a later date indicate that there were serious clashes on the Hungarian Plain as well. It is probable that the Roman reprisal affected, not only the Quadic lands, but also Sarmatian territory[1107].

Zosimus covered the events rather briefly:

> Valentinian, roused by the intelligence of these events, marched from Celtica into Illyricum, for the purpose of opposing the Quadi and the Sarmatians, and consigned the command of his forces to Merobaudes, who was a person of the greatest military experience. The winter continuing unusually late, the Quadi sent ambassadors to him with insolent and unbecoming messages. These so exasperated the emperor, that through the violence of his rage, the blood flowed from his head into his mouth, and suffocated him. He thus died after having resided in Illyricum nearly nine months, and after a reign of twelve years[1108].

Ammianus Marcellinus described what happened at greater length:

> At the beginning of the spring Valentinian quitted Treves, and proceeded by rapid marches along the usual high roads. And as he approached the districts to which he was hastening, he was met by ambassadors from the Sarmatians, who threw themselves at his feet, and, with prayers, breathing no wish but for peace, entreated him to be favourable and merciful to them, assuring him that he would not find any of their countrymen implicated in or privy to any evil action. And when they had frequently repeated this assertion, he, after careful deliberation, made answer to them, that these matters must be diligently inquired into by an accurate investigation in the district where they were said to have happened, and if they had happened, then they must be punished. After this, when he had reached Carnuntum, a city of the Illyrians, now indeed in a desolate and ruinous state, but still very convenient for the general of an army, he from thence sallied out whenever either chance or skill afforded him an opportunity; and by the possession of this post in their neighbourhood, he checked the inroads of the barbarians […]
> The emperor remained at Carnuntum; and during the three summer months he occupied himself uninterruptedly in preparing arms and magazines […] intending to take a favourable season for attacking the Quadi, who had lately caused an atrocious disturbance […] Accordingly,

1104 Alföldi 1963, 96. It has been suggested that the Árpás hoard had been deposited in 377, indicating yet another barbarian raid (Radnóti 1942, 15).

1105 Alföldi 1963, 97. 103.

1106 In his evaluation of the Hajdúnánás-Tedej hoard, resembling the one from Öcsöd regarding its composition and latest coins, Soproni 1966/1967, 116, challenged the idea that the coins had reached the Sarmatians as part of a war booty. However, he did not offer an alternative explanation for their presence.

1107 The hoards from the Barbaricum and Ammian's report quoted above – according to which the two legions in Pannonia and Moesia had been routed by the Sarmatians and not the Quadi – challenge Bernát's 2006, 191, view that Valentinian had not been concerned with the Sarmatians' role. It seems more likely that the Romans, as so often before, sought to create a rift between the two peoples and first strove to establish a status quo on the Quadic front. Seeing that our sources are silent on how the war ended, it seems likely that the Sarmatians had been dealt with after the Quadi.

1108 Zosimus IV.16. – Sozomenos VI.36 described the Sarmatian delegation in his report on the same event.

having sent forward Merobaudes with a strong force of infantry under his command, and Sebastian for his colleague, to ravage the districts of the barbarians with fire and sword, Valentinian speedily moved his camp to Aquincum; and having with great rapidity made a bridge of boats in order to guard against any sudden mishap, he crossed the river in another place and entered the territories of the Quadi, who from their precipitous mountains were watching for his approach; the main body of their nation, in their perplexity and uncertainty of what might happen, had taken refuge with their families in those hills; but were overwhelmed with consternation when they unexpectedly saw the imperial standards in their country. Valentinian advanced with as much rapidity as he could, slaughtering every one of whatever age whom his sudden inroad surprised straggling about the country, and after burning all their dwellings, he returned safe without having experienced the slightest loss. And then, as autumn was now on the wane, he stopped awhile at Aquincum, seeking where best to fix his winter quarters in a region subject to very rigorous frost.

After this event ambassadors arrived from the Quadi, with humble supplications, entreating peace, and oblivion of the past: and that there might be no obstacle to their obtaining this, they promised to furnish a body of recruits, and some other things which would be of use to the Roman state. And after they had been received, and had obtained permission to return with the grant of an armistice which they had solicited (but in truth, our want of supplies and the unfavourable season of the year prevented us from harassing them any longer), they were, by the influence of Equitius, who became security for their good behaviour, admitted into the council-chamber. When introduced they seemed quite overcome by fear, bowing down to the ground; and on being ordered to unfold their message, they urged all the customary pretences and excuses, confirming them by an oath; assuring the council that whatever offence had been committed against any of our people, had not been done by the consent of the nobles of the nation, but only by some foreign banditti who dwelt on the borders of the river; they added further, as a fact quite sufficient to establish the truth of their allegations, that the fortress which had been begun to be built both unjustly and unreasonably, had inflamed the savage temper of those rude men to a great pitch of ferocity. By this speech the emperor was excited to most vehement wrath; and as he began to reply to it he grew more indignant, reproaching the whole nation in bitter language, as unmindful of kindness, and ungrateful. But after a time he became pacified, and inclined to a milder view of the case, when suddenly, as if he had been stricken from heaven, his breathing and his voice ceased, and his countenance appeared blood-shot, and in a moment the blood burst forth, and a deadly sweat broke forth over his whole body […] and after a severe struggle he expired[1109].

Valentinian died on 17 November 375. It is unclear how peace and order were eventually restored[1110]. But it cannot be mere chance that the gold coins of Valentinian I and Valens can both be found in the Barbaricum, even if their number is not particularly high[1111]. We know that Sarmatian *coloni* were re-settled in the Mosel Valley under Valentinian, suggesting that the Romans had resorted to *deductio*, their other usual means of pacification[1112].

1109 Ammian XXX.5.1-2, 11, 13-14; 6.1-3, 6.

1110 Alföldi 1942a, 684-685.

1111 Prohászka 2008, 17. Although few in number, the gold hoards, such as the assemblages from Szügy and Ormód, suggest that the Romans resorted to one of their customary tactics for pacifying the barbarians of the Carpathian Basin by paying for the peace.

1112 Auson. *Mosella* 9. Kiss 2008, 20 n. 40, dates this event to the reign of Valentinian.

Recent research suggests that large-scale construction activities began in Pannonia following the end of the war. The walls of the forts at Alsóhetény, Ságvár and Fenékpuszta, which ensured the supply of the military (bread baking, butchery, smithing), were reinforced and rebuilt with round towers having a diameter of 14-15 m. Tóth estimated that over 128.5 m^3 of stone (corresponding to over three thousand wagon loads) had to be quarried and transported for erecting the towers alone. It seems that the 374-375 war had driven the point home: the Roman military leadership finally realised that the barbarian incursions meant an ever-increasing threat[1113].

Wars in the Last Third of the 4th Century AD

Contact between the Iranian and Turkic peoples began when the former first appeared in the Altaj region. Despite the scant literary evidence, the similarities in the mythological traditions of the nomadic tribes of the steppe furnish ample proof for the encounters between them[1114]. The earliest contact between the Alans and the Huns occurred sometime around the turn of the 1st millennium, or in the 1st century AD at the latest, in Inner and Central Asia. The history of the two peoples became intertwined because the Alans' sway extended from the Lower Danube region to Inner Asia. Relations between them became remarkably close following the Huns' appearance in Europe. The Huns apparently acted in concert with the Alans, even if the latter, the true overlords of the steppe, were the dominant power. One of the last occasions when the two peoples joined forces was a campaign in the 330s led by the Alanic King Sanēsan. His army included Hunnic troops, which swooped down on Armenia, but were eventually defeated[1115].
The significance of this campaign is that it indicates that an abrupt change, the Hunnic subjugation of the Alans, had occurred sometime after the 330s. By 375, the Huns had gained the upper hand. They ruled the region of the Ural River in the east, the Caucasus in the south, the Don region in the west and the region bordered by the Ural Mountains in the north. However, the new political constellation hardly meant that the Alans disappeared from history because they were the Huns' principal allies in the campaigns led by the Huns during the next three decades. The Huns would have been unable to defeat Hermanarich's Gothic kingdom without them[1116]. The reconfiguration of power on the steppe brought a change in the relation between the Roman Empire and the peoples living between the Huns and the Imperium. The Huns – and their Alan allies – crossed the Don, the border between Europe and Asia[1117].
Our principal sources for this period are Ammianus Marcellinus and Jordanes. Ammianus' text, based on earlier geographic descriptions by Herodotus, Ptolemy and Pomponius Mela, is unreliable and controversial, giving rise to many debates. At the same time, there can be no doubt about Jordanes' obvious bias in favour of the Goths and his animosity towards the Alans[1118]. What can be sifted out with certainty from the contradictory data from the period before 376 is that:

> […] the Huns, after having traversed the territories of the Alani, and especially of that tribe of them who border on the Greuthungi [Ostrogoths], and who are called Tanaitae, and having slain many of them and acquired much plunder, they made a treaty of friendship and alliance

1113 Tóth 2009, esp. 71. 77.
1114 Suffice it here to mention, e. g. the tradition of Attila's Sword and the Golden Stag.
1115 Faust. Byz. 3.7 (Alemany 2000, 292). Cf. Szász 1994, 100-101, who proposes a different chronology.
1116 Maenchen-Helfen 1973, 22. – Szász 1994, 100-101. See the next chapter for more details.
1117 This event took place in 373 or, more likely, in 374, although the most widely accepted date is 375 (Maenchen-Helfen 1973, 20; Szász 1994, 110).
1118 Maenchen-Helfen 1973, 18-25.

> with those who remained. And when they had united them to themselves, with increased boldness they made a sudden incursion into the extensive and fertile districts of Ermenrichus, a very warlike prince, and one whom his numerous gallant actions of every kind had rendered formidable to all the neighbouring nations. He was astonished at the violence of this sudden tempest, and although, like a prince whose power was well established he long attempted to hold his ground, he was at last overpowered by a dread of the evils impending over his country, which were exaggerated by common report, till he terminated his fear of great danger by a voluntary death[1119].

According to Ammianus, Ermanarich/Hermanarich was succeeded by Vithimir, who:

> […] for some time maintained a resistance to the Alani, relying on the aid of other tribes of the Huns, whom by large promises of pay he had won over to his party; but, after having suffered many losses, he was defeated by superior numbers and slain in battle[1120].

The Alans' role in defeating the Goths is confirmed by a passage in the exegesis to the Testament of Luke written by Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, according to which:

> The Huns threw themselves upon the Alans, the Alans upon the Goths, and the Goths upon the Taifali and Sarmatae; the Goths exiled from their own country, made us exiles in Illyricum, and the end is not yet[1121].

Maenchen-Helfen speculated whether the Alans contributing to Ermanarich/Hermanarich's downfall were the allies of the Huns. He concluded that this was probably the case, even though a passage in Jordanes raises the possibility that there had been Alans who were the subjects of the Goths[1122]:

> When the Getae beheld this active race that had invaded many nations, they took fright and consulted with their king how they might escape from such a foe. Now although Hermanaric, king of the Goths, was the conqueror of many tribes, as we have said above, yet while he was deliberating on this invasion of the Huns, the treacherous tribe of the Rosomoni, who at that time were among those who owed him their homage, took this chance to catch him unawares. For when the king had given orders that a certain woman of the tribe I have mentioned, Sunilda by name, should be bound to wild horses and torn apart by driving them at full speed in opposite directions (for he was roused to fury by her husband's treachery to him), her brothers Sarus and Ammius came to avenge their sister's death and plunged a sword into Hermanaric's side. Enfeebled by this blow, he dragged out a miserable existence in bodily weakness. Balamber, king of the Huns, took advantage of his ill health to move an army into the country of the Ostrogoths, from whom the Visigoths had already separated because of some dispute. Meanwhile Hermanaric, who was unable to endure either the pain of his wound or the inroads of the Huns, died full of days at the great age of one hundred and ten years. The fact of his death enabled the Huns to prevail over those Goths who, as we have said, dwelt in the East and were called Ostrogoths[1123].

1119 Ammian XXXI.3.1-2.
1120 Ammian XXXI.3.3.
1121 Ambrosius X.10, quoted after Maenchen-Helfen 1973, 33.
1122 Maenchen-Helfen 1973, 21-22.
1123 Jordan XXIV.129-130.

While it has been proposed that the Rosomoni mentioned in this passage can perhaps be identified with the Roxolani, most scholars reject this identification. In contrast, there is a consensus that the name Sarus is a variant of Sarosius or Saroes, the name of the ruler of the Caucasian Alans around 500, being an obvious derivative of the ethnonym »Sarmatian«[1124].

Returning to the main narrative of the events, the Huns vanquished Hermanarich's army with relative ease and continued their advance towards the Danube. Following the defeat and the political intrigues in its wake, a part of the Ostrogoths led by Alatheus and Saphrac fled to their western Gothic brethren, while another part remained in the Pontic and submitted to the Huns together with Hunimund, their king[1125].

The Hunnic tide reached the Visigoths in 376. Led by Fritigern, one part of the Visigothic population and the Ostrogoths who had fled to them, sought admittance into the Roman Empire, while Athanarich, known for his enmity towards Rome, attempted to stave off the Hunnic advance at the Siret, but was forced to retreat to the lands neighbouring the Sarmatian territory on the Hungarian Plain[1126]. The Alans regularly crop up among the peoples joining up with both the Ostrogoths and the Visigoths[1127].

Valens, Emperor of the Eastern Roman Empire, granted entry to the barbarian population made up of Ostrogoths, Visigoths, Alans and Huns seeking admittance. The mistreatment of the barbarians by the officials supervising the *receptio* provoked a clash between the Romans and the famished horde seeking a new homeland. Until the end of 377, the barbarians devastated the imperial lands between the Danube and Constantinople, prompting Valens to return from the Persian front to deal with them. He did not wait for the arrival of Gratian, his co-emperor in the west, which was to have fatal consequences. On 9 August 378, two-thirds of the Roman army perished at the Battle of Adrianople (Edirne), Valens among them[1128].

The conduct of Gratian, Emperor of the Western Roman Empire, is quite noteworthy in this context. He set off with reinforcements in response to Valens' appeal in summer 378, crossing the Danube he reached Bononia (Banoštor) and Sirmium (Sremska Mitrovica), from where he went to Castra Martis (Kula), without any apparent fear of a Quadic or Sarmatian attack in the Middle Danube region. Ammianus reported that the Alans attacked the emperor and his retinue at Castra Martis. This attack could not have been a serious affair because the emperor »lost a few of his followers«[1129]. It was a minor skirmish at the most, which would hardly have prompted the emperor to return to Sirmium. In the meantime, around June or July of 378 the situation could suddenly change. Gratian probably turned back from Castra Martis because of the incursions into Valeria. We know of at least one Sarmatian campaign in this year[1130]. It is unclear whether the Western Roman Emperor hastening to Sirmium had learnt about Valens' death by this time, one of the gravest consequences of the catastrophe at Adrianople. The loss of Pannonia and all of Illyricum, which became a *topos* in the public mind by the turn of the 4th and 5th centuries, can probably be linked to the Sarmatian campaigns described above[1131].

On 17 November 379, a year after Valens' death, a victory scored over the Goths, Alans and Huns was reported in Constantinople[1132]. Kovács has aptly pointed out that it is far from certain that this victorious battle was won in Pannonia or that the enemy was a Gothic-Alanic-Hunnic alliance. It is equally possible that these

1124 Maenchen-Helfen 1973, 21-22. The Sarmatian/Alanic origin of the legendary Sarus seems likely despite the fact that this has been challenged in view of the similarity with the name of the Gothic king living around 400 (Wolfram 2001, 45).
1125 Váczy 1940, 66-68.
1126 Váczy 1940, 68.
1127 Alemany 2000, 41-42.
1128 Váczy 1940, 70-71.
1129 Ammian XXXI.11.6.
1130 Nagy 1971, 310-311. 315. – Kovács 2004, 133. It is possible that the events were triggered by Athanarich's westward move, which probably affected the Sarmatians of the Hungarian Plain.
1131 For a detailed discussion, see Kovács 2004, 140.
1132 Chron. Min. I. 243, II.14, 60. – Orosius *Adv.Pag*. VII.34.5. – Mócsy 1974, 340.

peoples had launched their attack separately[1133]. Mócsy assumed that direct Hunnic pressure solely affected the lower reaches of the Danube. Even though the Sarmatians' situation became slightly more consolidated in the Middle Danube region by the 380s following the mass exodus of the Goths[1134], a new Sarmatian incursion is reported from 383-384. Ausonius mentioned that Huns had joined the raids led by various barbarian peoples, the Sarmatians amongst them, from the 380s onward »the wandering bands of Huns had made alliance with the Sarmatian« and »the Getae with their Alan friends used to attack the Danube«[1135].
It is uncertain whether the joint incursion can be interpreted as the Huns' control over the Hungarian Plain or merely a spontaneous alliance between changing barbarian groups, in this case, between the Huns and the Sarmatians.

The Rule of the Huns on the Hungarian Plain

While the Hunnic occupation of Pannonia is a recurring, vigorously debated subject in Roman research, the Hunnic subjugation of the Hungarian Plain – and the Sarmatian territories – is a neglected issue, usually relegated to a footnote. One of the still unresolved problems in research into this period is when the Hungarian Plain came under Hunnic rule. A detailed discussion of the abandonment of Pannonia falls outside the scope of this study. According to the traditional view, Valeria was relinquished to the Huns in accordance with the terms of a treaty concluded in 406 (Alföldi) or 409 (Nagy). Pannonia Prima was ceded next, in 431 (Seeck) or 433 (Alföldi). This issue was recently re-examined by Tóth in the light of recent archaeological evidence. He pointed out that there was no continuity in the toponyms in eastern Transdanubia and that the population leaving the province took along a part of its dead from the Alsóhetény mausoleum. Even though the Cella Septichora in Pécs had been completed, there were no burials inside it. This tallies with the evidence provided by the *Notitia Dignitatum*, from which the data referring to the civil administration of Valeria had been deleted, and with the fact that there were plans to create a new province called Valeria Media. While the Romans had, to all appearances, evacuated the province in haste, they had done so in an orderly manner before handing the territory over to the Huns as part of a treaty concluded in the late 430s. This hypothesis is confirmed by the appearance of *solidi*, in particular of the Ravenna issues of the pretender Johannes minted in 423-425, which Tóth associated with the Huns who supported the pretender on Aëtius' request. In Tóth's view, the late variants of pottery wares with smoothed decoration (**figs 294-295**) found in Transdanubia suggest that the Sarmatians of the Hungarian Plain had also participated in the territory's occupation[1136].
The Hunnic occupation of the Hungarian Plain had obviously taken place before the provinces were relinquished. Maenchen-Helfen contended that the Huns had advanced as far as the Hungarian Plain under Uldin because there was no serious force in the late 370s that could have stopped them. Considering the Huns' intensive activities in the Lower Danube region and the fact that the Goths had left Transylvania, as well as the fact that the Huns' principal allies for the previous three decades had been the Alans, brethren of the Sarmatians, we may agree with Maenchen-Helfen that the Hungarian Plain had come under the authority of the Huns and their Alan allies by the 380s[1137]. The last recorded Sarmatian raid against Pannonia in 383-384 also supports this scenario. Despite the growing absence of written sources, it is quite obvious that

1133 Kovács 2004, 136.
1134 Mócsy 1974, 342. – Kovács 2004, 137.
1135 For a discussion and critical review of the events of the 380s and their sources, see Kovács 2004, 133-134. – Auson. *precat. cos.* VI.28-35.
1136 Tóth 2009, esp. 113-114. 159-189, with the earlier literature. For a detailed discussion of pottery with smoothed decoration, see Ottományi 1981. – M. Kiss 1994, 254.
1137 Maenchen-Helfen 1973, 43. – Cf. Thompson 2002, 33.

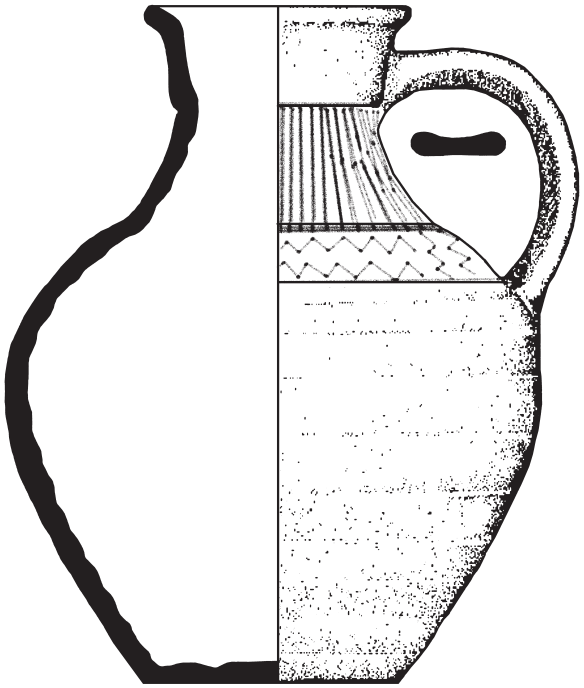


Fig. 294 Jug with smoothed decoration from the Ságvár III cemetery. The appearance of late variants of pottery with smoothed decoration in Pannonia is regarded as proof of the Sarmatians' presence. – (After Tóth 2005b, fig. 11).

Sarmatian pressure on the *limes* suddenly dissipated in the last third of the 4th century, no doubt reflecting a shift in the balance of power on the Hungarian Plain, again confirming Maenchen-Helfen's reconstruction. Citing Ausonius' passage quoted above, Kulakovskij dated the Hunnic invasion to the year 378[1138].

The rapid integration of the earlier Sarmatian population of the Hungarian Plain was no doubt facilitated by linguistic kinship with the Alans. The militant nature of the Hungarian Plain's new overlords could hardly be doubted and their army was provisioned with the various goods produced by the subjugated peoples. Whilst the population of the Hungarian Plain no doubt played an important role in supplying their new masters with grain, their vanquishers also exploited the talents of their craftsmen and most likely took their share of the livestock (**fig. 296**). The massacre of the local population would hardly have served the Huns' interest. The archaeological record and the written sources both indicate an unusually high population density on the Hungarian Plain from the mid-4th century onward, reflected also by the sudden increase of Sarmatian finds during the same period. The enormous demographic peak in the Sarmatian population of the Hungarian Plain can be explained by the successive inflow of population groups fleeing the Huns' westward advance after the evacuation of Dacia. There are virtually no excavations on the Hungarian Plain whose finds do not include relics of the huge Sarmatian population, most of which can be dated to this period[1139]. The written sources reported a huge population in the Danube Valley even after the re-settlement of a hundred thousand Sarmatians (or, according to bolder estimates, some three hundred thousand, although this seems less likely)[1140].

Perhaps we are not mistaken in assuming that with the appearance of their Alanic brethren, the Iranian speaking population previously harangued by the Goths and Romans found itself in a considerably more favourable situation by submitting to the Huns. Under Hunnic administration, warriors could partake in further campaigns and the archaeological finds reflect a flourishing rural life, rather than a declining one, probably as a result of a new market[1141].

The excavations suggest that the overwhelming majority of the population on the Hungarian Plain remained in its homeland. However, this issue can only be conclusively settled by a detailed assessment of the ar-

1138 Kulakovskij 2000, 83-84. – Cf. Mócsy 1974, 342. – Kovács 2004, 137.

1139 The rise in the number of finds is reflected by Párducz's catalogues of Sarmatian finds (Párducz 1941a; 1944; 1950a). Even though his works reflect the state of Sarmatian research over 50 years ago, the tendency reflected by his catalogue has remained unchanged: the finds from the Early Roman period are a fraction of the assemblages dated to later ages.

1140 Ammianus' description of the Sarmatian civil war quoted and discussed in the above (Ammian XVII.12-13) suggests the migration of a sizeable population.

1141 Vaday 1989b, 209, also believed that the new political power brought a positive change in the life of the Sarmatians living on the Hungarian Plain compared to the 4th century, reflected also by the appearance of Roman wares from the east. In her view, the new, strongly mixed population ensured a steady supply of agricultural and other goods for the Huns, as well as new recruits for the military.

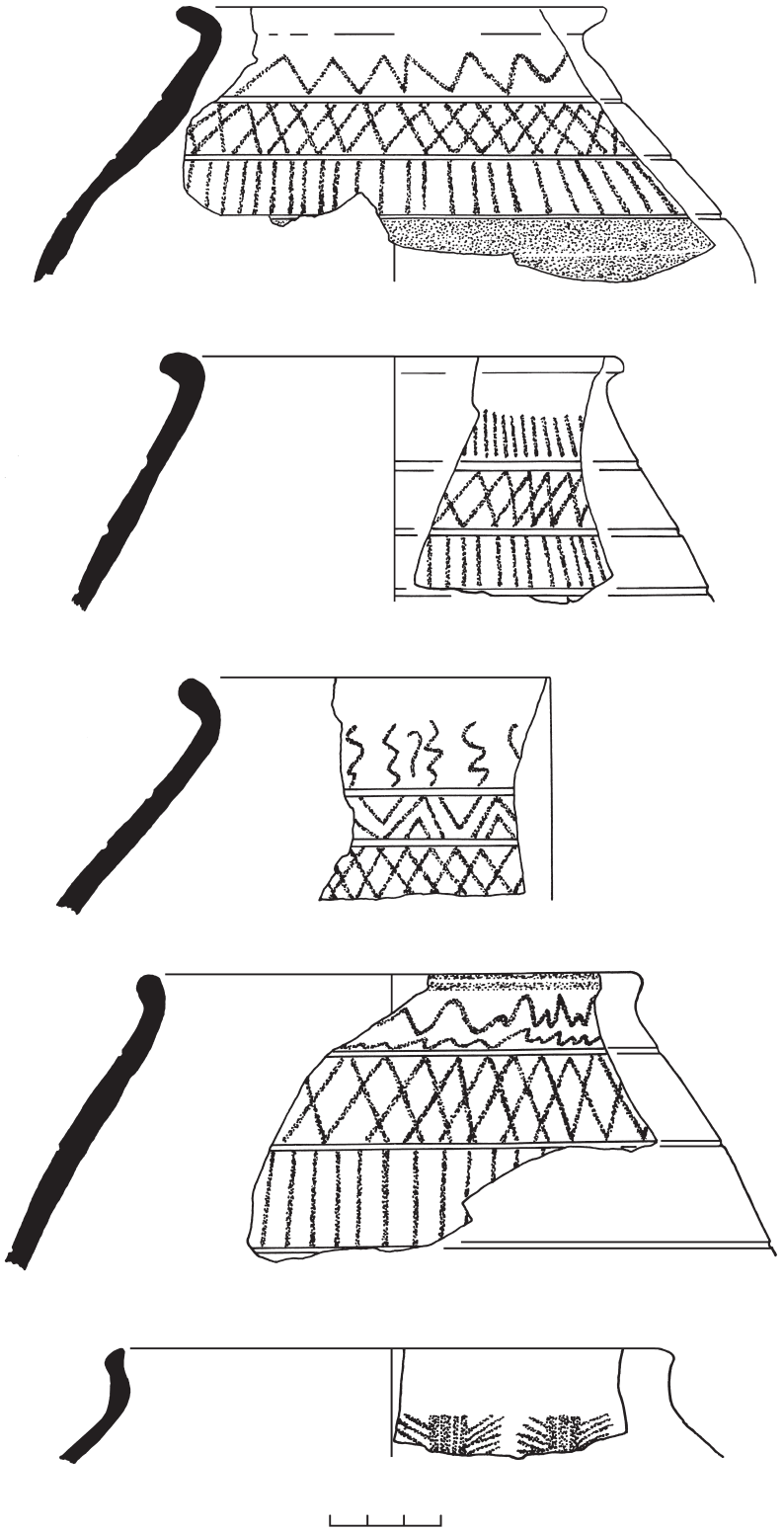


Fig. 295 Characteristic pieces of the late group of pottery with smoothed decoration from the pottery workshop found at Pilismarót-Malompatak. – (After Ottományi 1996, fig. 12).

chaeological finds because there are no contemporary literary references. Precisely dating the archaeological material to within a decade is impossible with currently available techniques. Irrespective of exactly when the Huns occupied the Hungarian Plain, the Sarmatian finds did not disappear and a Sarmatian presence can be demonstrated into the 5th century (**figs 269. 297**). There are no destruction levels on the settlements



Fig. 296 Remains of smoke-house, houses, refuse pit with kitchen waste from Üllő, Site 9 and Ecser, Site 7. – (Excavation and photo of V. Kulcsár and team).

established in the 3rd-4th centuries, although the exact date of their abandonment remains uncertain because datable Roman imports become extremely scarce. The finds reflect the long survival of the settlements and a dense settlement network. The archaeological sites in the Banat likewise indicate the survival of the Sarmatians, as shown by the south to north orientated grave of a woman laid to rest in a bead-embroidered

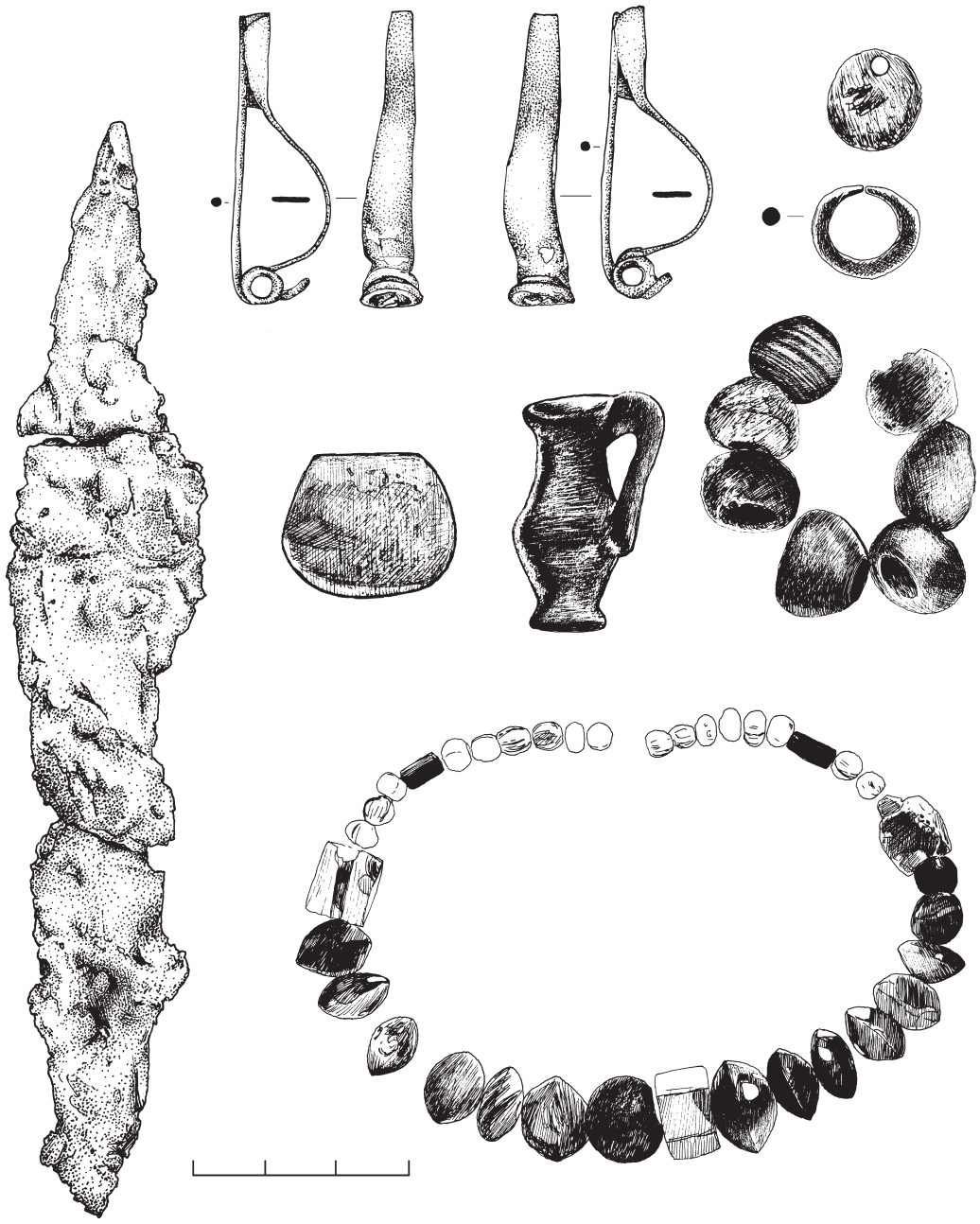


Fig. 297 A 4th century coin was found in the burial at Csongrád-Iskola utca. The coin gives only a *terminus post quem*. – (After Istvánovits/Kulcsár 1994b, fig. 1).

costume, whose burial contained a vessel with smoothed decoration dating to the late 4th- early 5th century, and the child burial without any grave goods uncovered at Dudeşti Vechi in County Timiş (**fig. 298**)[1142]. Even though the existence of a Hunnic centre in the Tisza region is first recorded in the report on Priscus' embassy in 448, it was probably founded earlier, immediately after the occupation of the Hungarian Plain, or perhaps even before that[1143]. The shifts in the Sarmatian settlement network in the Böldi rév area (the

1142 Tănase 2002/2003. This scenario should not be neglected, especially in view of the fact that the site lies close to the broader Szeged area where the Huns' centre on the Hungarian Plain should be sought in the light of Priscus' description.

1143 Judging from the movement of the Hunnic troops, the Hun *ordu* probably lay in the Tisza-Maros-Körös region by the late 420s (Bóna 2001, 181).

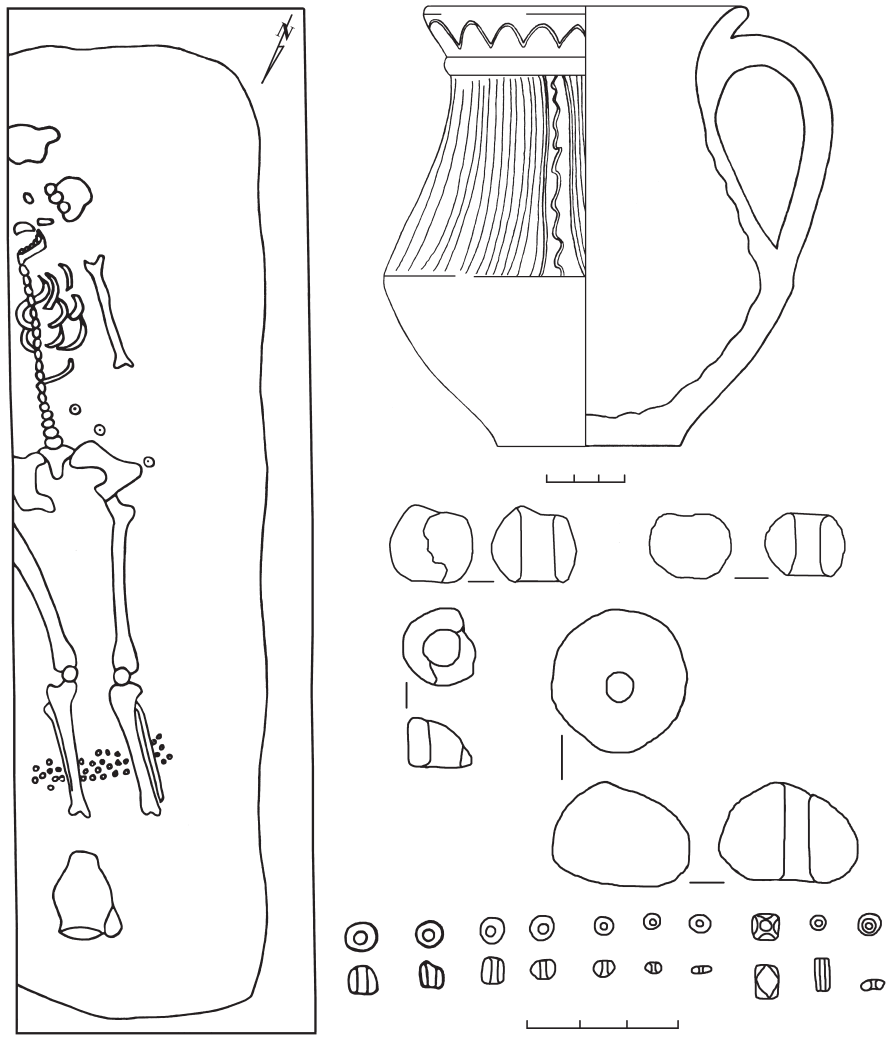


Fig. 298 Burial from the 5th century at Dudeşti Vechi (County Timiş). – (After Tănase 2002/2003).

crossing point at the confluence of the Tisza and the Kurca rivers near Csongrád) are most likely an indication of the changes. The archaeological finds indicated a dense occupation along both banks of the Tisza in the preceding period. The shift occurred in the late 4th and early 5th centuries: while the overall number of sites increased on the right bank (in the Csongrád area), there was a visible decline in the number of settlements on the left bank (in the Szentes area). It would appear that the population created a defence line and retreated behind the river, choosing a location where the passage through the marshy, impenetrable area could be easily controlled. The relocation probably involved a sizeable population, judging from the well investigated area. By 1992, six settlements and six cemeteries dating from the 4th century were known in the Csongrád area, and five cemeteries from the same period in the Szentes area. The sites in the latter area were abandoned in the first half of the 5th century, while eighteen settlements and seventeen burial grounds of the same period have been identified in the Csongrád area[1144].

1144 Vörös 1992, 6. The difficulties in dating must be borne in mind together with the problem of separating the two periods. If these and similar data can be reliably confirmed, Sarmatian studies can also contribute to the location of Attila's *ordu* after 445 and the identification of his burial place.

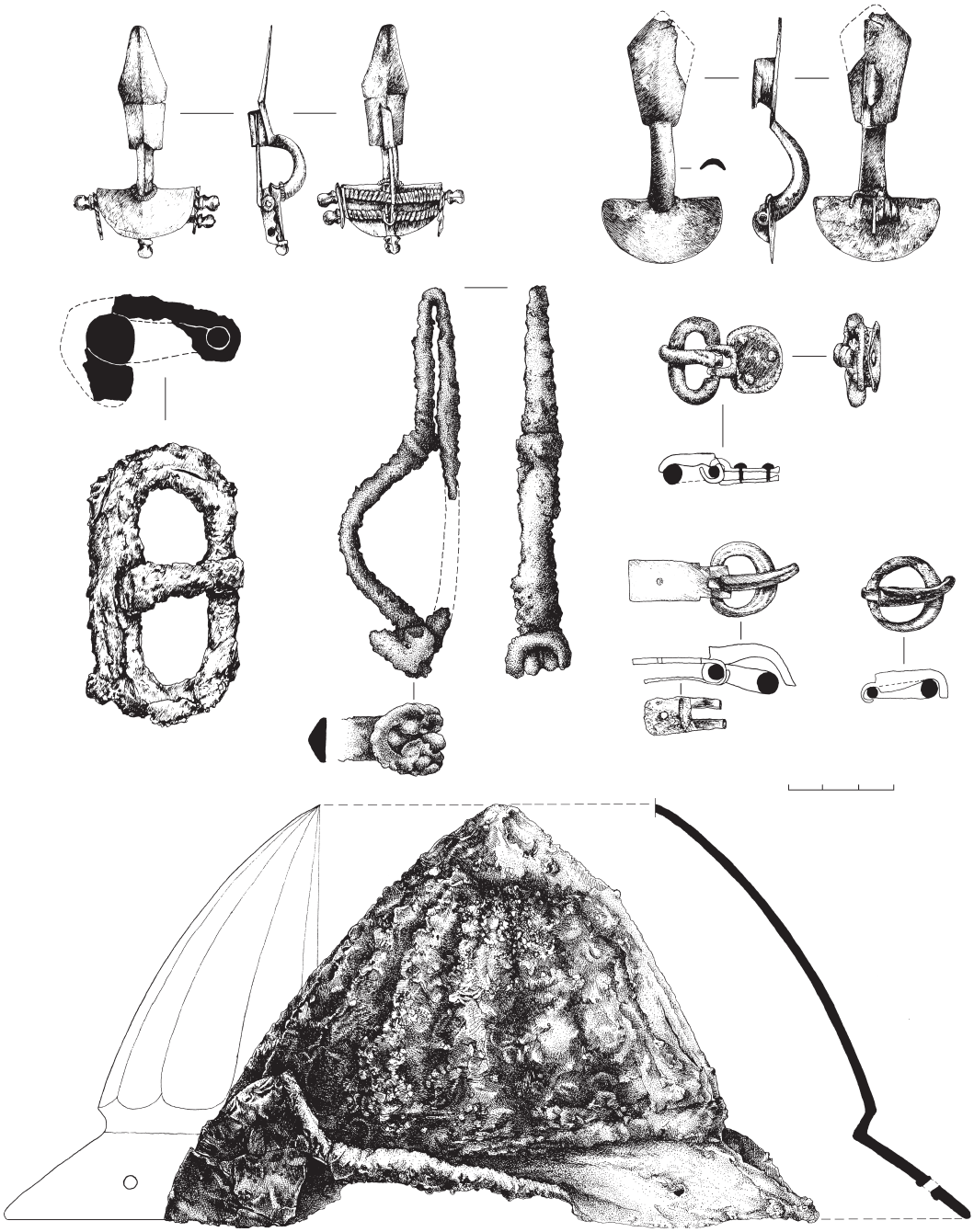


Fig. 299 The increasingly uniform, »international« fashion is reflected in the burials of Tiszadob-Sziget, the type site of the Tiszadob group. – (After Istvánovits 1993a).

At the same time, a radical change can be noted in the Sarmatian material of the Hungarian Plain in the last third of the 4th century. New cemeteries were opened whose burial rite and finds differ from the earlier material culture of the Hungarian Plain. The extent of the differences varies.

The Tiszadob group represents the circle of relatively newly-opened burial grounds (**fig. 299**)[1145]: 153 graves in five cemeteries in north-eastern Hungary can be currently assigned to this group. In many cases, the grave goods, such as the small double-plate brooches and buckles with thickened ring and prong coping over the

1145 Istvánovits 1993a; 1998; 2000.

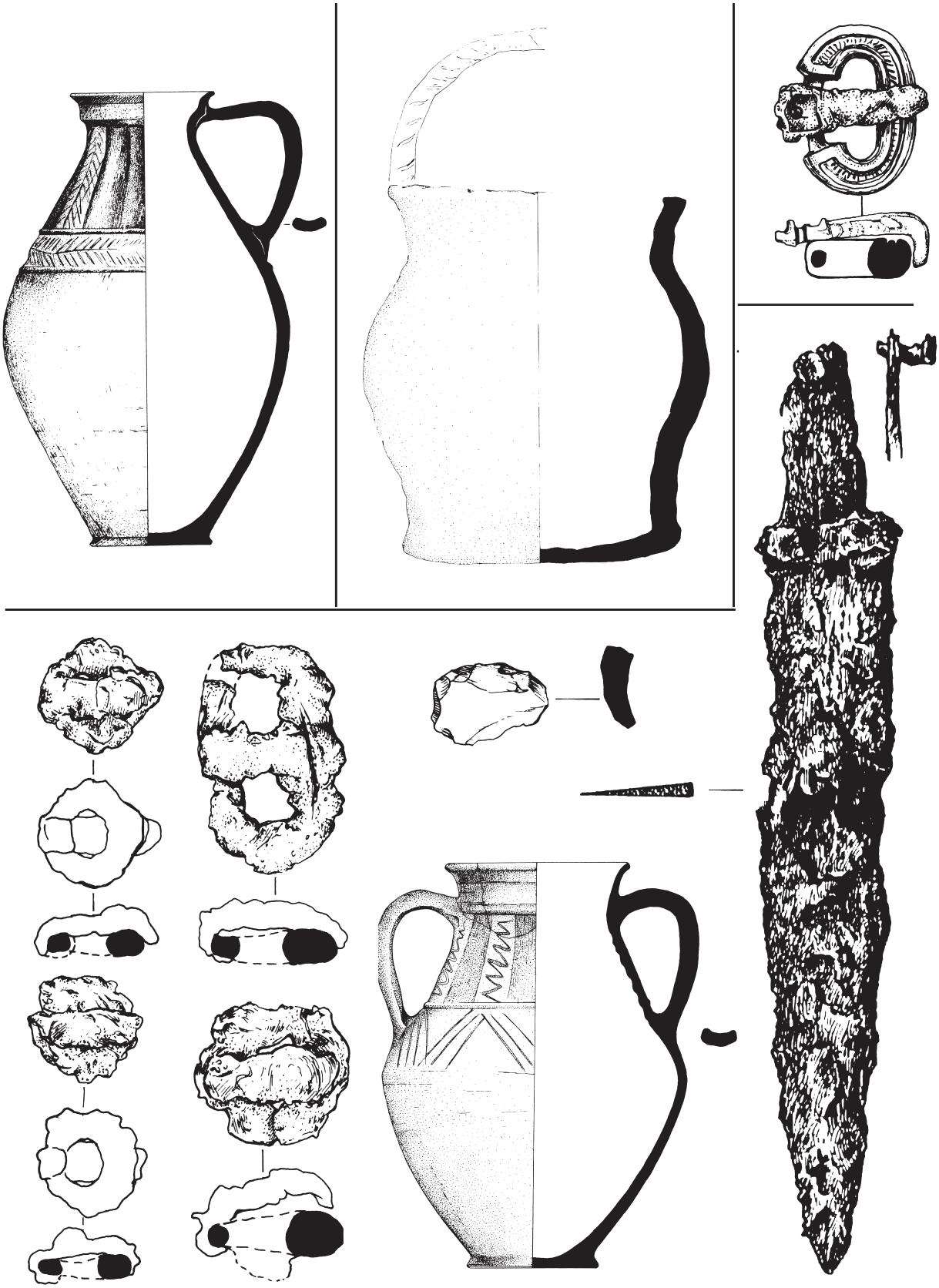


Fig. 300 Selection from the finds of Ártánd-Nagyfarkasdomb. The ethnic attribution of the finds from the early 5th century runs into serious difficulties. The cemetery investigated at Ártánd was used by a multi-ethnic community. – (Déri Museum, Debrecen; I. M. Nepper's and K. Mesterházy's excavation; drawing Zs. Benke).

ring, share many resemblances with similar artefacts of the Marosszentanna/Sântana de Mureş-Černjahov culture. However, these similarities can probably be explained by the period's increasingly uniform international fashion. The burial rite – the south to north orientation (and, rarely, its reverse), the large, wide grave pits, the timbered coffins and the use of funerary shrouds – suggests a Sarmatian rather than a Germanic ethnic background, indicating the presence of a multicultural population in the region instead of a uniform ethnic group.

The same holds true for the Ártánd group in the Berettyó Valley lying farther to the south, the only difference being that in contrast to the Tiszadob group, dominated by Iranian elements, the Ártánd group is characterised by overwhelmingly Germanic traits, such as north to south orientated burials, the deposition of combs and several vessels in the grave, and the placement of a vessel by the head, although Iranian features can also be noted (south to north orientation, beads in the region of the feet and the remains of fire in the grave pit) (**fig. 300**). It would appear that a Germanic group arrived in the Ártánd area, south-east of the Tiszadob territory sometime at the turn of the 4th and 5th centuries.

The Tiszadob group has much in common with the Tápé-Malajdok cemetery and similar burial grounds, lying considerably farther to the south[1146]. The burial rite conforms to the general Sarmatian practice of south to north orientated graves, coffin use, bead embroidered costumes and a vessel placed by the feet. At the same time, a number of uncommon elements also make their appearance, such as two lances and two buckles (one probably used for fastening the weapon belt) in one grave, a mount-decorated belt and long knives (possibly intended as weapons). A close relation can be noted between Grave 5 of the Tiszadob cemetery and Grave 32 of the Tápé-Malajdok cemetery (**fig. 301**). The many similarities between the two burial grounds perhaps reflect a northward migration from the south: the Tápé-Malajdok cemetery in the southern Hungarian Plain was established earlier than the burial grounds of the Tiszadob type.

Mention must be made of the so-called Csongrád group (**fig. 302**)[1147], which has fewer links with the archaeological assemblages of the preceding period than the finds from the cemeteries discussed above. While typical Late Sarmatian traits can be discerned in the burials and especially in the burial rite, various elements of the Hun period make an appearance: pottery with smoothed and fluted decoration; chip-carved (*Kerbschnitt*) buckle; and Levice/Prša type brooches. Some of these, such as the so-called Maeotian swords, croissant-shaped pendants, arrowheads for use with Hunnic bows and the practice of skull deformation, were recent arrivals from the east. A number of Germanic features can also be distinguished, such as the custom of folding swords and the use of shields, bone combs and bone needle-cases, indicating a blend between the earlier population of the southern Hungarian Plain and the groups arriving from the east[1148].

Many burial grounds across the Hungarian Plain remained in use. One of the largest among them was excavated at Madaras-Halmok[1149]. The cemetery at Sándorfalva-Eperjes (**figs 303-304**) was used by a small community of warriors from the earlier population of the Hungarian Plain, or perhaps by several groups who had entered armed service[1150].

The late 4th century material from the Hungarian Plain is more colourful and diverse than that of earlier periods. The cultural connections lead to many different regions, reflecting the multitude of peoples fleeing the Huns (**fig. 305**). Considering that four Hunnic groups are mentioned during the reign of Uldin[1151],

1146 This should not be confused with the Tápé-Malajdok group distinguished by Párducz, which is no longer regarded as a separate group.

1147 Párducz/Korek 1946/1948. – Párducz 1959; 1963. The site published as Kenderföldek is identical with the one quoted as Laktanya/Kaserne (Military Barracks).

1148 For an overview of the Tiszadob and Csongrád groups, and the cemeteries of the Tápé-Malajdok type, see Istvánovits/Kulcsár 1999.

1149 Kőhegyi/Vörös 2011.

1150 Vörös 1982/1983.

1151 Maenchen-Helfen 1973, 71.

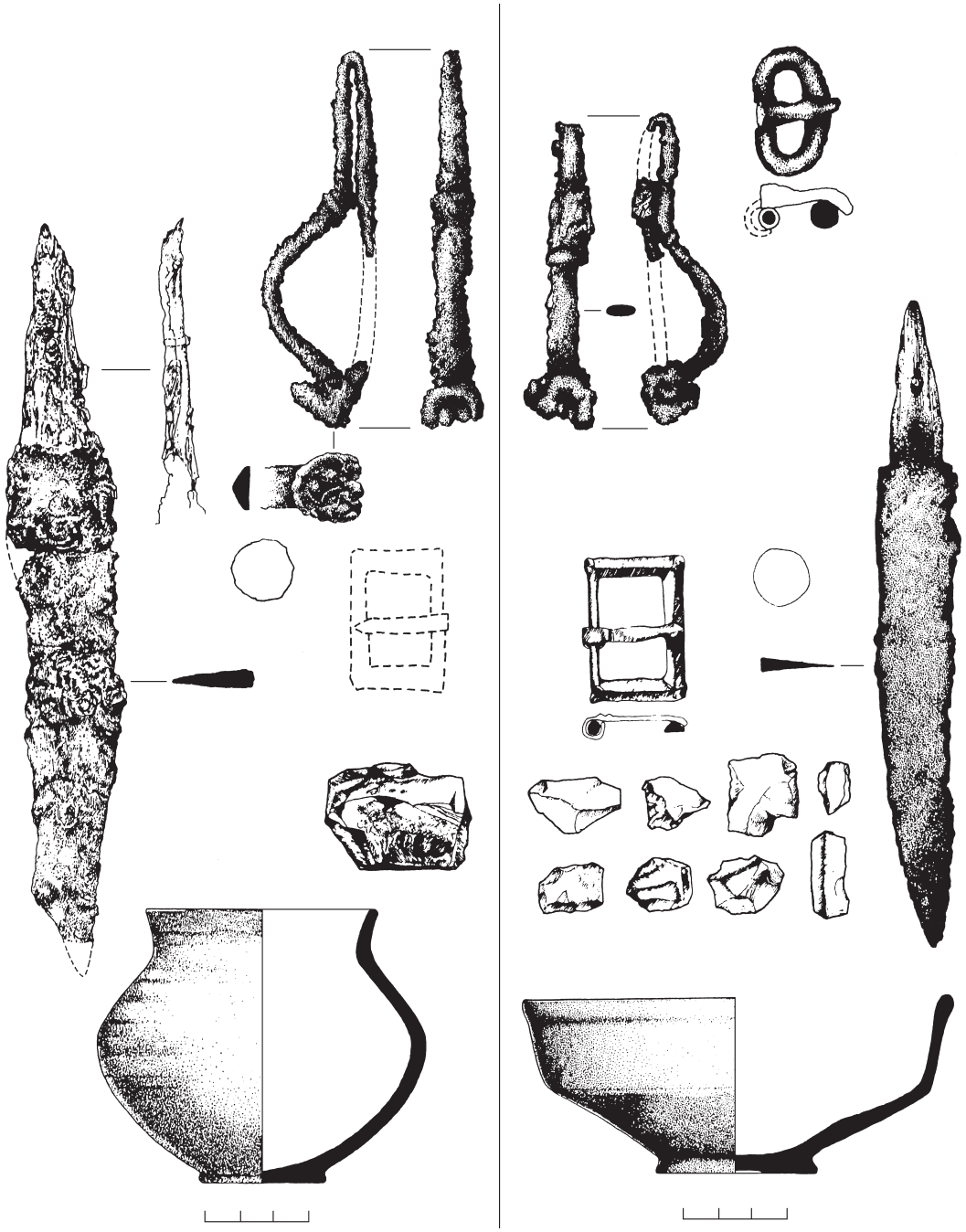


Fig. 301 Grave 5 of the Tiszadob cemetery in the Upper Tisza region and Grave 32 of the Tápé-Malajdok cemetery in the southern Hungarian Plain share many similarities, indicating close contacts between the two areas. – (After Istvánovits/Kulcsár 1999, fig. 4).

one cannot help but speculate on the many dozens of ethnic groups among the peoples conquered by the Huns.

The lack of an established chronology for the Sarmatian assemblages of the Hun period is again a source of uncertainty. Even though certain artefact types are expressly dated to this period, most of the pieces in question probably appeared at an earlier date, but only gained wider currency at this time. These include pottery wares polished to a dark grey or black lustre and adorned with smoothed motifs (one new element is the appearance of figural decoration beside the earlier geometric patterns) – the gritty wares already mentioned

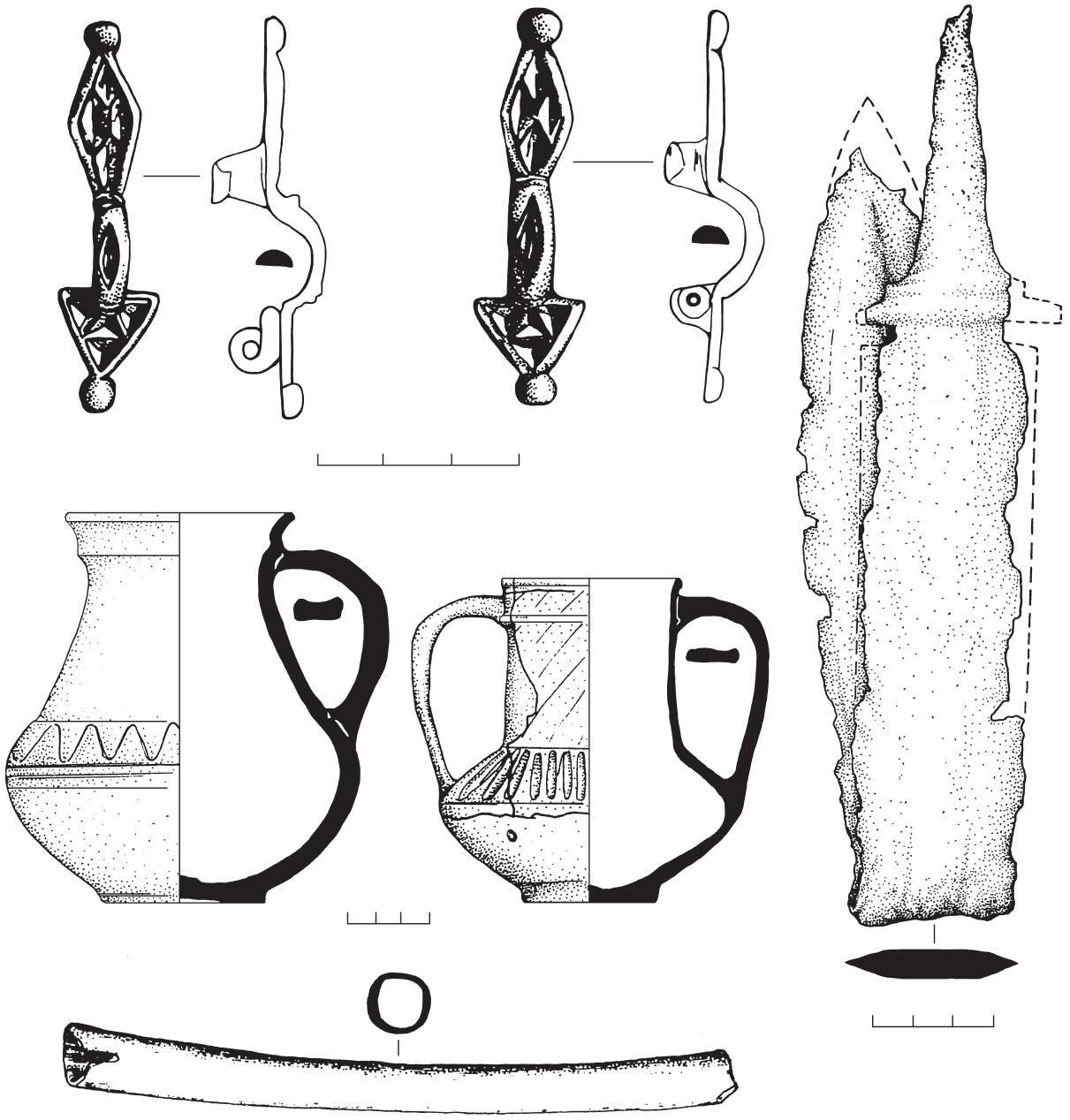


Fig. 302 Selection of finds from Csongrád-Kenderföldek (or Laktanya), the type site of the Csongrád group: vessels with smoothed and fluted decoration, Levice/Prša type brooches, »Maeotian« sword and bone needle-case. The custom of skull deformation and of folding the sword before deposition were also documented. – (After Istvánovits/Kulcsár 1999, figs 18. 20-21).

(**figs 306, 1-2; 251**). Some pottery shapes and decorations appear only in this period, among them variants of the so-called Murga-type jugs (**fig. 306, 4-5**). A coin-dated assemblage confirms Vaday's conjecture that the production of vessels with a profiled belt across the middle was begun in this period (**fig. 307**)[1152]. Glass vessels stand out due to their dating value (**fig. 308**). Despite the virtually complete cessation of trade with the Roman provinces, leading to the disappearance of Roman imports from the Sarmatian burials, glassware

1152 Vaday 1985b, 29-33. – Istvánovits/Kulcsár 1994b, 72.

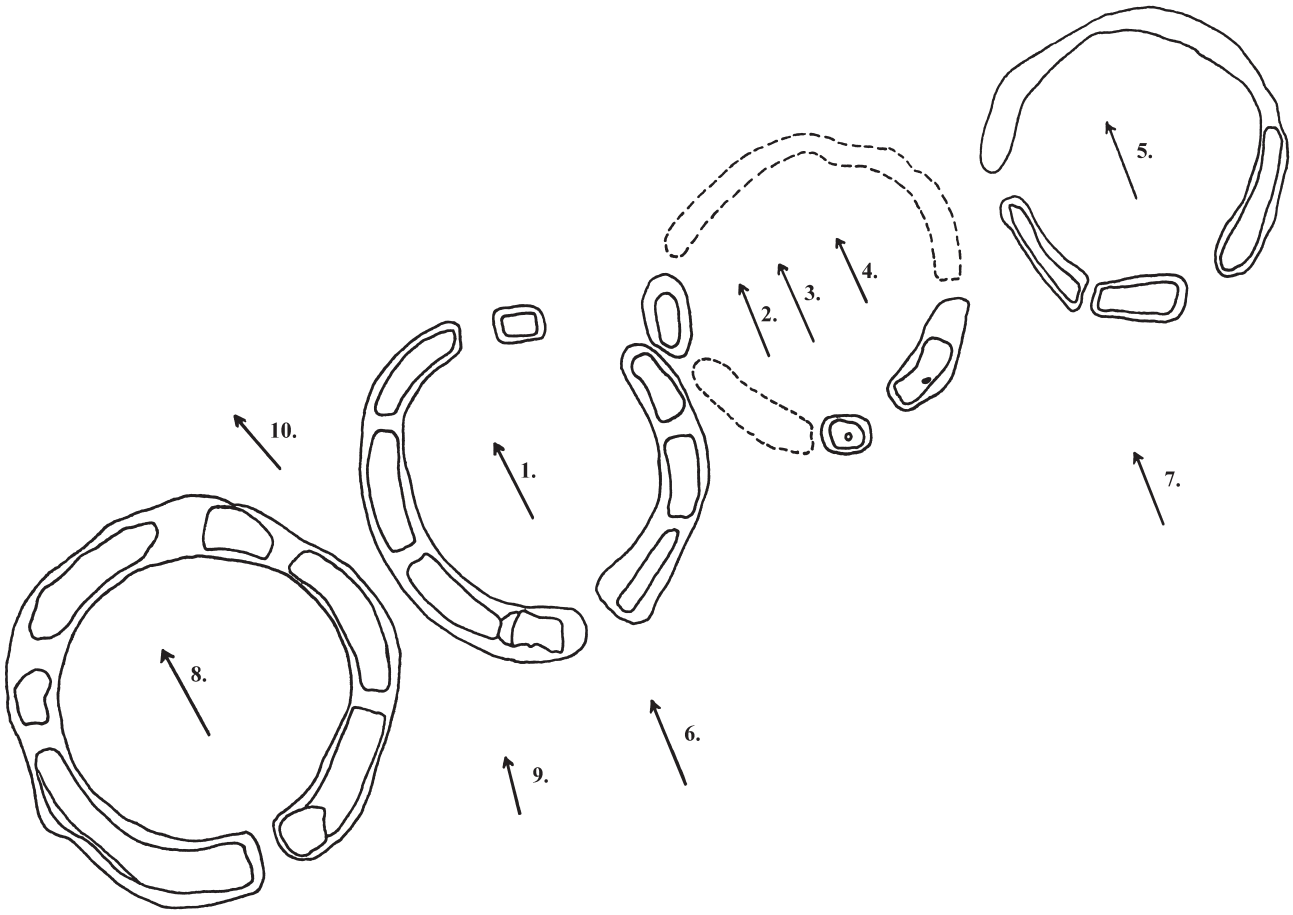


Fig. 303 Plan of the Sándorfalva-Eperjes cemetery, a burial ground used by a community of warriors in the late 4th-early 5th century. – (After Vörös 1982/1983, fig. 2).

can be found in high numbers in the material from the Barbaricum. Many varieties can be distinguished, most of which are traditionally dated to the late 4th and early 5th centuries: ovoid cups decorated with trailing, wavy lines and blue bosses, and their variants; tall cups with everted rim bearing a design of garlands; and conical beakers[1153]. Kowalk-type beakers cut with oval facets represent one of the period's type finds (**fig. 304**)[1154]. The period's jewellery is comprised of brooches with inverted and side-turned feet, which was a popular and widespread type surviving into the Hun period from earlier times; torcs with pear-shaped terminals and a »keyhole« opening; and large silver earrings with polyhedral carnelian beads and a hook and loop fastener (**fig. 305**). Buckles tend to follow the period's international fashion, reflected by the use of a thicker loop with the prong coping over the loop and the popularity of large buckles with the prong extending beyond the loop (**figs 269. 299**). Female costumes lavishly embroidered with beads appear to have gone out fashion: the beads recovered from burials were usually parts of necklaces and rarely adornments of the hemline or the belt. In contrast to the preceding period, glass beads became rarer during the Hun period and were replaced with pieces made from carnelian. The most popular bead types were of the polyhedral stone or glass variety and flat disc-shaped beads carved from amber. Instead of the brighter, colourful sets,

1153 Barkóczi/Salamon 1968.

1154 A. Kiss 1999, 22 fig. 7.

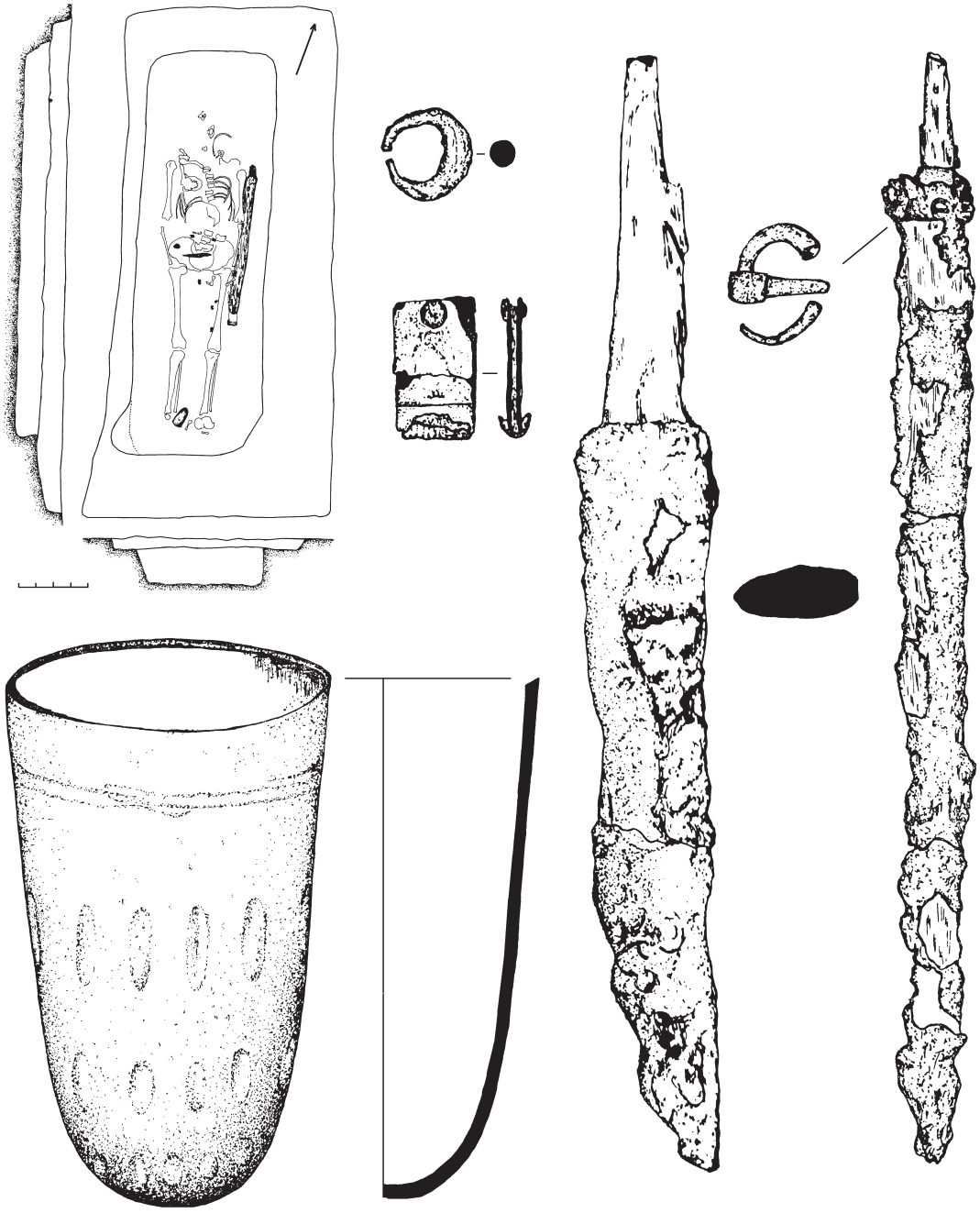


Fig. 304 Finds from Sándorfalva-Eperjes, Grave 5 dated with a Kowalk type cup. – (After Vörös 1982/1983, fig. 9 pls IV, 3; V, 2. 6. 9; VI, 3).

a preference for darker shades (blue and brown) can be noted (**fig. 309**)[1155]. A few differences can also be noted in costume: female belts include variants fastened with buckles, reflecting a new fashion.
From the 5th century onward, the earlier colourful diversity of the material culture disappears and an exactly opposite tendency can be noted, as shown by the rapid uniformisation of the material culture and the ap-

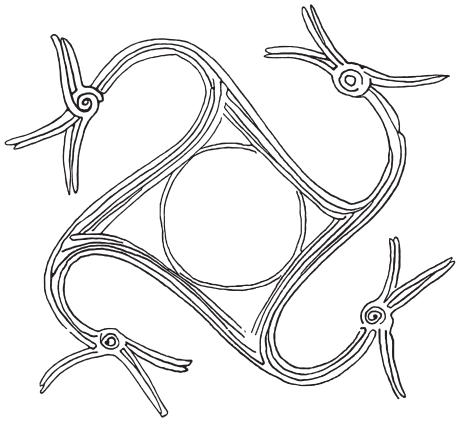
1155 Istvánovits/Kulcsár 1994b, 71-73.



Fig. 305 Sarmatian finds from the Hun period: **1** Tiszaföldvár-Brick factory (after Rome 1993, no. 45, 15). – **2-4** Madaras-Halmok (after Vörös 2003, 24-25). – **5** Kompolt-Kistéri tanya (after Vaday 1997, no. 93). – **6-10** selection of finds from Üllő, Site 5 (KM, excavation of V. Kulcsár and team, unpublished; photo L. Szászvári).

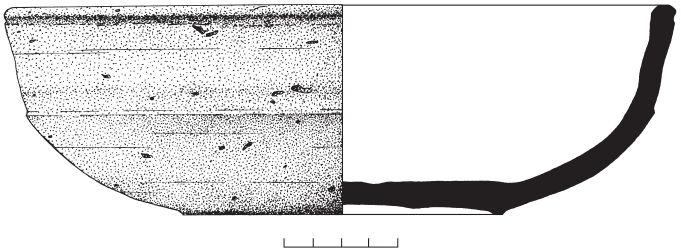


1

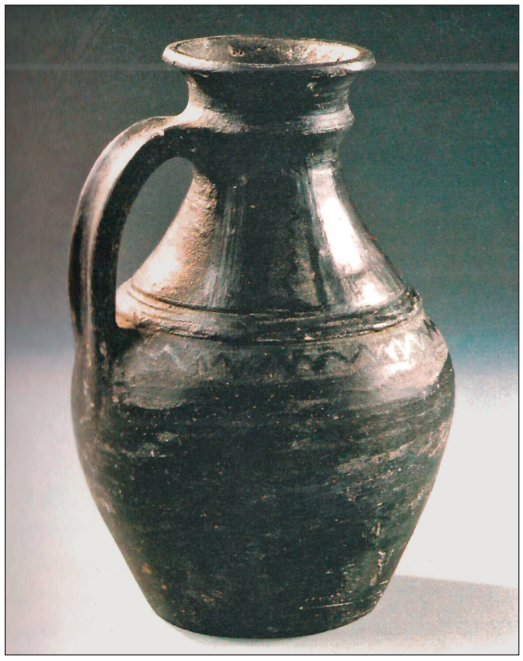




2



3



4



5

Fig. 306 Typical smoothed decoration on late 4th-early 5th century pottery: **1-2** figural smoothed decoration on Sarmatian vessel (after Sóskuti/Wilhelm 2006, figs 29, 2; 33, 1a-b). – **3** bowl with smoothed decoration (after Sóskuti/Wilhelm 2006, fig. 5, 2). – **4** Murga type jug from Murga (after Tejral n.y., 111). – **5** Murga type jug of Sarmatian character from Nagyhalász-Tétke (JAM; photo Z. Toldi).

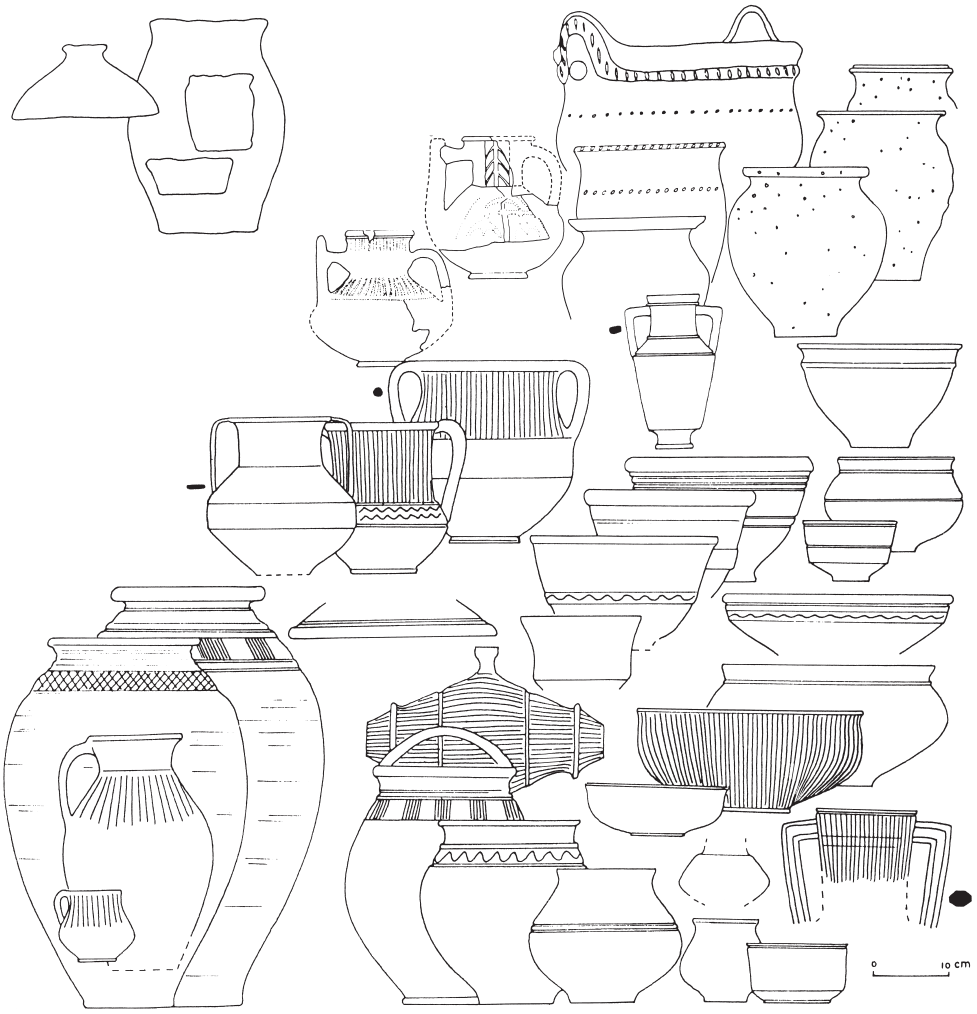


Fig. 307 Characteristic Sarmatian vessels of the Hun period from Tiszaföldvár-Brick factory. – (After Vaday 1994).

pearance of an archaeological horizon with more or less similar find assemblages across an immense area (**fig. 310**)[1156]. The nature of this culture has been best described by Váczy:

> It seems to have been less a case of the »Germanisation« of the Huns rather than of the Germanic peoples adopting several elements of the mounted nomadic culture. These cultural impacts can be principally noted among the eastern Germanic tribes, especially the Goths. […] Around 250 AD […] they toppled the rule of the Iranian Sarmatians (Alans). […] They became familiar with the lifestyle of the mounted nomads of the steppe, they adopted the art of nomadic state administration, they mastered and perfected […] the art of metallurgy, which

1156 This uniformisation is reflected by the regular occurrence of polyhedral earrings, combs, handmade pottery, brooches with inverted foot, torcs and warrior burials. Two contrasting explanations have been proposed for this phenomenon. The traditional view is that this new find horizon can be linked to the settlement of *foederati* groups. More recently, it has been suggested (and we tend to accept this hypothesis) that these finds and cultural phenomena appearing across the entire province can be explained by a general process of barbarisation, as well as infiltrating groups, rather than by the presence of barbarian *foederati* groups. This process began before 380 in the province, as shown by the dating of brooches with inverted foot and torcs (Barkóczi 1960, 123) and it marks the start of the tendency towards uniformisation which peaked during the Hun period on both sides of the Danube. The spread of barbarian (Germanic) costume – as far as Rome – is also borne out by the written sources (Kovács 2004, 137-139).



Fig. 308 Roman glassware of the late 4th-early 5th century from Sarmatian burials: **1** Tápé-Malajdok, Grave 48 (MFM, Szeged; photo E. Istvánovits / V. Kulcsár). – **2. 4** Mezőszemere-Kismari fenék, Graves 29, 30 (after Domboróczki 1997, 91 no. 96). – **3** Kiskundorozsma-Kenyérváró domb (MFM, Szeged; photo E. Istvánovits / V. Kulcsár).

> became the so-called Barbarian style in the West during the Migration period. […] This is one reason for the difficulties in separating the heritage of the Alans from that of the Goths[1157].

Váczy also notes of the Huns that:

> [They] had lived on the Turkestanic steppe for such a long time that they completely adopted its culture. There is virtually no difference between the culture of western Turkestan and the Pontic. We witness how, while in Turkestan, the Huns discarded their dominant leftward orientation typical for the Far East and adopted the rightward orientation that had emerged among the Iranian mounted nomads on the western steppe well before the turn of the millennium. […] Hun culture was strongly allied to the late Alan development. […] Romanism obviously played a major role in the emergence of this cultural syncretism […][1158].

1157 Váczy 1940, 125.

1158 Váczy 1940, 125-126.



Fig. 309 Beads from Tiszadob-Sziget, Grave 18. – (JAM; photo E. Istvánovits / V. Kulcsár).

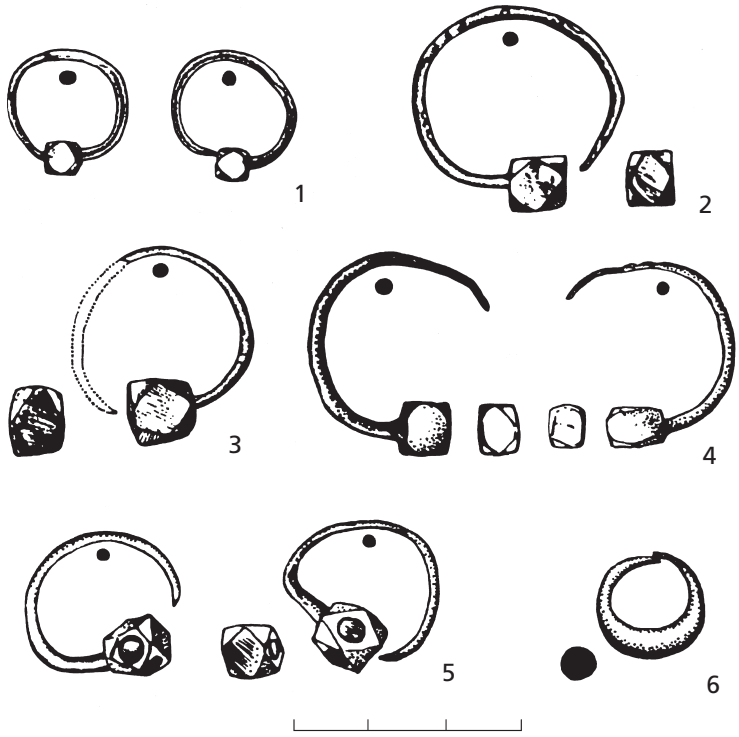


Fig. 310 Polyhedral and crescent shaped earrings – finds of the uniform, »international« fashion at the Great Hungarian Plain: **1-3** Tiszadob-Sziget. – **4** Ártánd-Kisfarkasdomb. – **5-6** Csongrád-Kenderföldek. – (After Istvánovits/Kulcsár 1999, fig. 9).

While it is quite obvious from the literary sources that the vanquished peoples were regarded as Huns from the moment of their submission, it is equally evident they had not immediately relinquished their language, their beliefs or their customs. At the same time, the tendency towards uniformisation in the material culture makes ethnic attributions increasingly difficult. The vanquished willingly acculturated to their conquerors

and made every effort to fit into the new power structure. In the case of the Carpathian Basin, an additional element must be considered, namely, the apparent dissolution of the roughly seventy-years-long Hunnic-Alanic alliance around the turn of the century. The Alans, who had enjoyed a high status until then, are only heard of from Western Europe after 406[1159]. In 405, the Huns and the Alans (or some of their groups at least) were still allies. When Radagaisus, the Gothic king, marched against Rome, Stilicho, first the guardian and, later, the most accomplished general of Honorius, Emperor of the Western Roman Empire, hired Uldin, the Hunnic king to repel their attack. The sources all named the Alans as the Huns' main allies[1160]. In 406 (or perhaps already in 405), the Huns defeated Radagaisus' troops on the outskirts of Faesulae (Fiesole). On 31 December 406, a larger group led by the Vandal Gunderic and the Alan Respendial crossed the Rhine and overran Gaul[1161]. It is uncertain whether the two events were related. While there is nothing in the sources to confirm this scenario, the archaeological evidence led Bóna to assume that the attack of a northern Hunnic wing from Silesia and the Morava Valley, combined with the Huns' advance along the Danube, caught the peoples living in the eastern half of the Carpathian Basin in a pincer movement and they fled in panic. The Vandals and the Suebi were joined by the Alans, whom Bóna located in the Danube-Tisza interfluve, »and thus began the deluge into the Western Roman Empire, and the Age of the Great Migrations«[1162]. Another possibility that should be considered is that the barbarians appearing at the Rhine were in fact the fleeing remnants of Radagaisus' defeated army. This seems logical because it is hardly plausible that all his warriors would have been murdered or led into captivity by the victors. Radagaisus' fleeing soldiers probably retreated towards the Rhine and can be identified with the multitude crossing the river on New Year's Eve. Be that as it may, there is no record of any major attack against Pannonia at this time. The events of 405-406 were undoubtedly sparked by the Huns. What remains uncertain is whether, in contrast to the above line of reasoning, the Huns extended their rule to the Hungarian Plain at this late date or whether these events reflected a more active political interest in the west. In the latter case, it seems likely that the Western Roman Empire was high on the agenda of the Huns' foreign policy. If, however, the Huns had conquered the Hungarian Plain at some earlier date, as suggested above, Radagaisus' attack can most likely be explained by the flight of peoples dreading the Hunnic yoke. Both scenarios are no more than speculation for the time being. In contrast to the intricate tangle of events in the written sources, the archaeological record clearly shows that the overwhelming majority of the Hungarian Plain's population did not leave.

Another intriguing question is how the ousting of the Alans by the Gepids from the upper echelons of the Hunnic court affected the Iranian population. Possible answers to this question can be expected from the study of burials. Being one of the most conservative elements of social culture, burial rites can offer some clues in this respect. The initial research in this field, mentioned above, needs to be followed up in order to identify smaller groups.

1159 Maenchen-Helfen 1973, 71.
1160 Zosimus V.26.3-5.
1161 Orosius *Adv.Pag*. VII.40. – Greg.Tur. *Hist*. II.9.
1162 Bóna 1982, 181; 1984, 266; 1991, 19-20.

THE SARMATIANS AFTER THE SARMATIAN PERIOD

The historical role of the Alans in Eastern Europe during the Migration period is an oft-discussed, but little-known issue. The main difficulty is that the Alan tribal alliance disintegrated after the arrival of the Huns: the Alanic tribes became part of various Turkic tribal confederations and disappeared from the scene in the meagre sources. The single exceptions are the Alans settling in the Caucasus, about whom there is an abundance of literary evidence. Archaeological and historical research tends to attribute a significant role to the Alans, both regarding their existence as a people and the survival of certain elements of their material culture[1163].

Today, there are about 150-200 million people speaking an Iranian language[1164], whose ranks include the groups who were the descendants of the steppe Scythian-type peoples discussed in the previous chapters. Although references to the Sarmatians/Alans become increasingly rare after the Hun period, there can be no doubt that they maintained a presence across Eurasia for a long time, indeed to this very day. The Caucasian Ossets are regarded as the Alans' direct descendants who preserved the ancestral language, while the Hungarian Jas (*Jász*/Jassones/Iazyges) at the other end of the spectrum preserve some vestiges of their Sarmatian/Alanic identity at the most. The ethnographic record indicates that as part of the Chorezmian population, the Saka-Massagetae and the Alans were dominant components of several still-thriving peoples of Central Asia, such as the Karakalpaks, the Uzbeks and the Turkmens[1165]. In the following, we shall briefly survey the most important evidence relating to the continuation of the Sarmatians and the Alans from the Hun period to the present.

ALANS ON THE EURASIAN STEPPE

In the chapter covering the Late Sarmatian Age of the steppe, we saw that, like the »known« world, the steppe was also affected by a deep crisis from the 3rd century onward, reflected by the profound transformation of the Sarmatian *oikumene* after the appearance and expansion of the Huns and the Germanic peoples, the onset of the Great Migrations, and the final disappearance of the Late Scythian culture. One indication of these events in the archaeological record is the emergence and diffusion of the Černjahov-Marosszentanna/Sîntana de Mureş culture. We should also bear in mind that it is most unlikely that a thousand-year-old culture (and its representatives), such as that of the Scythians, Sarmatians and Alans, could have disappeared within the span of a few generations. As a matter of fact, there is ample evidence to the contrary.

Alans in the Crimea

It seems instructive to discuss this region separately from other parts of the steppe because there is a long trail of evidence for the survival of the Alans in this region. After the Huns occupied the steppe in the Lower

1163 Harmatta 1975, 256.
1164 For their distribution, see Makkay 1997a, 5-6.
1165 Tolstova 1979, 154.

Don region in the last quarter of the 4th century, some Alanic groups fled to the Crimea, as shown by the appearance of a series of new cemeteries. The two most important sites are Skalistoe and Lučistoe. The Huns also entered the Crimea at the close of the 4th century. Their archaeological heritage can be demonstrated in the central and northwesterly steppe regions of the Crimea and on the Kerč Peninsula. Procopius' remarks suggest that the Huns had occupied the region between the Bosporus and Chersonesus, and it is possible that they had a hand in the political collapse of the Bosporan Kingdom, although this hardly meant that life had ceased there[1165a]. From the 6th century onward, the mountainous region of the Crimea controlled by Byzantium was populated by Goths and Alans, whose archaeological heritage reflects a strong Byzantine cultural influence and ethnic inter-mingling (**fig. 311**). The Gothic-Alanic population weathered the political storms, when the Khazars seized control over the region in the 8th century, and they absorbed the new Byzantine and Bulgarian ethnic groups. These groups all professed Christianity; the common religion no doubt eased the blending between them. According to the written sources, the Goths and the Alans preserved their ethnic identity even during the turmoil of the Middle Ages (the Seljuk Turkish occupation, the Mongolian invasion, the advance of the Golden Horde and the rule of the Crimean Tartar Khanate) and amidst the colourful ethnic kaleidoscope characterising the Crimea. A travel account written by the Venetian merchant Josaphat (Giosafat) Barbaro in the 15th century mentioned that the two tribes had co-mingled to the extent that they called themselves Gothoalans. Their archaeological and historical traces can be followed up to the 18th century[1166].

Alans in the Northern Pontic

The reflection of the Hun invasion in the archaeological record of the steppe raises some intriguing questions. The first of these is how the Huns' material and spiritual culture – their archaeological legacy, their burial customs and their beliefs – relates to the earlier Sarmatian/Alanic heritage[1167]. We may agree with the scholars who interpret the appearance of new elements in the burial rite, such as cremation and solitary graves without a kurgan raised over them, as reflecting the influx of a new population. However, we also know that the Sarmatians/Alans left a lasting imprint on the Huns' life, their material culture and their beliefs[1168].

We are faced with the problem that the sources fall silent on the steppe Sarmatians/Alans after the Hun invasion. The literary references indicate that the region between the Danube and the Don was occupied by the Kutrigur tribal alliance in the mid-6th century: the Utrigurs settled on the left bank of the Don, the Kutrigurs on the right bank. The ethnic make-up of this tribal alliance is not fully known. However, it is clear that the Avars subjugated the earlier population of this region during their expansion and ruled over them until the early 7th century, when they were ousted by the Bulgars coming from the Kuban Valley, who had in turn fled from the Khazars[1169]. Nothing is known about the Alans during this period. What we do know is that they re-appeared as the Jas in the 10th century[1170], suggesting that the Alans had not disappeared from the steppe during the previous five hundred years, but had weathered the successive storms of various nomadic conquerors. The ethnic attribution of the few archaeological assemblages from this period, designated as late nomadic burials by Russian and Ukrainian scholars, is uncertain. For example, the lavish late 4th century burials without a kurgan known from the Lower Dnieper region, along the Volga, on the

1165a Ajbabin 1999, 56-57. 71. 73. 77. – Procop. *Goth.* IV.5.23-30. – Gajdukevič 1949, 480-481.
1166 Ajbabin 1999, 225-230.
1167 See Zaseckaja 1999, for an overview.
1168 Makkay 1995; 1997b. – Istvánovits/Kulcsár 1998, 224-225.
1169 Harmatta 1975, 258. – Szádeczky-Kardoss 1998, 20-21.
1170 Bubenok 1997, 16-18.

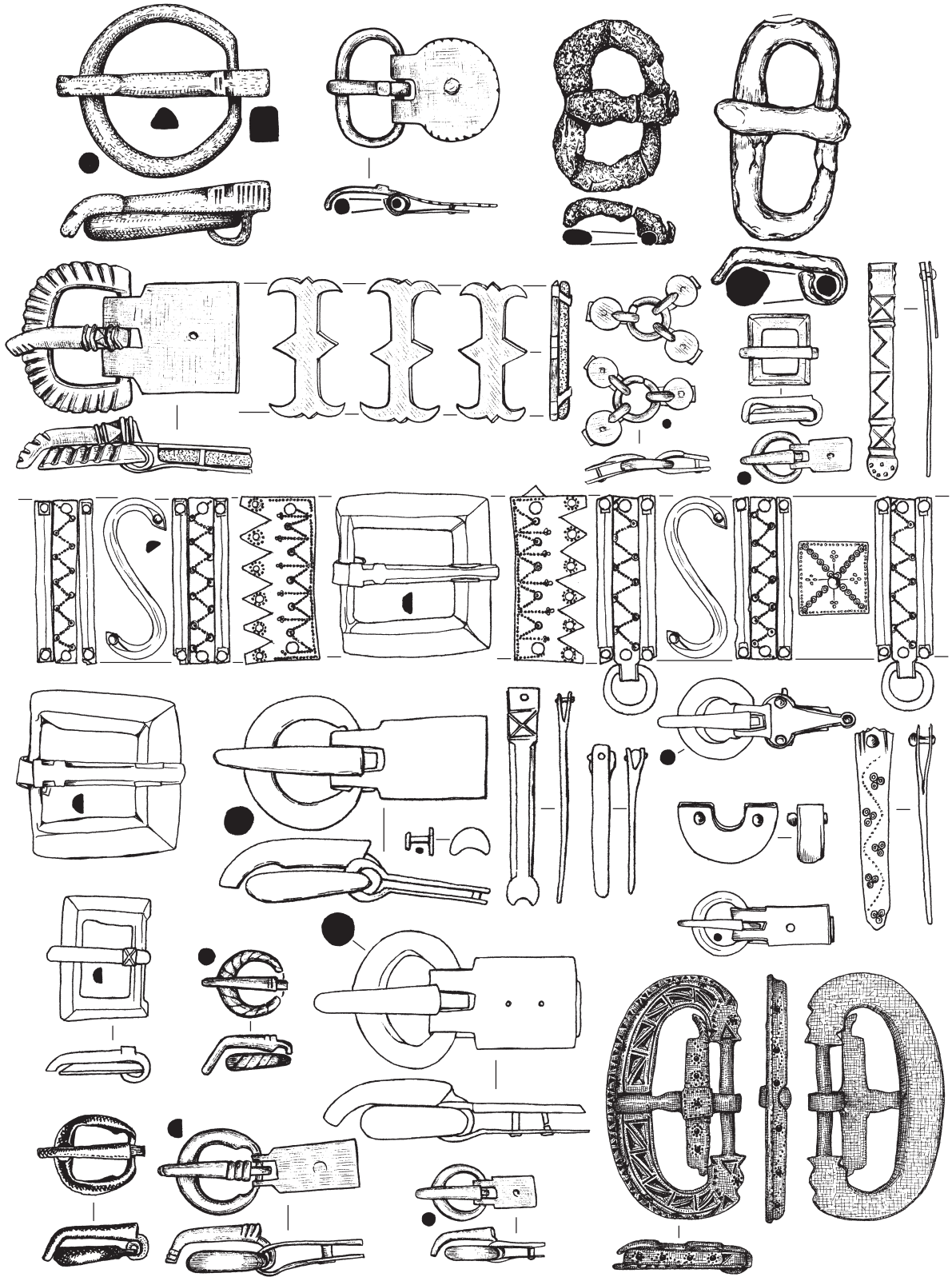


Fig. 311 Selection of finds from Lučistoe, a typical site of the 5th-6th century Gothic-Alanic population in the mountains of the Crimea. – (After Ajbabin/Hajredinova 2008, fig. 25).

northern shore of the Sea of Azov, in the Prut Basin and a few other areas were initially identified on the basis of their burial rite as the relics of a remnant Sarmatian population, but were later linked to the Huns[1171]. Most scholars agree that the Alans were one of the major ethnic components of the Saltovo-Majak culture flourishing in the Don region from the second third to the middle of the 8th century. This is only conceivable if merely a part of the Sarmatians/Alans had been assimilated or had fled the Hun invasion, or if we assume that they had returned to the steppe. In the latter case, the agrarian Alans in question had moved to the region from the northern Caucasus around the 730s, at the time of the culture's emergence, after they had been expelled from their homeland by the Arabs. They probably encountered the Bulgars on the steppe. The Alans settled on the more northerly, forested steppe, while the Bulgar-Turks lived in the south[1172]. This ethnic divide is reflected in the burial rites practised by the Saltovo culture: catacomb burials dominate in the north and simple shaft graves in the south. The written sources reported that the southern areas were peopled by Bulgars. At the same time, scholars have suggested that elements of the Sarmatian tradition can be distinguished in the cemeteries of the latter region as well. In this case, however, we can hardly speak of a returning population. It seems more likely that the sources do not mention the larger Iranian groups that had remained there because they had been integrated into the new Turkic tribal alliance[1172a]. It is quite certain that two centuries earlier, at the time of the Hun conquest, an Iranian population had dominated the region north of the Sea of Azov and west of the Don. Harmatta contended that Ammianus' expression, *regiones Halanorum*, referred to a sizeable territory populated by the Alans[1173]. It seems inconceivable that a mass of people would have disappeared without a trace and it seems quite certain that the Alans of the Saltovo culture retained their custom of burying their dead in catacomb graves. It is unclear, however, which population interred its dead in the simple shaft graves.

In the 10th century, the Alans, who appear as Burtas in the Arab and Persian sources[1174], moved to the Middle Volga region from the forested steppe of the Don region. Bubenok has argued that one and the same population is denoted by different names in the literary sources, a point that seems especially true for the Iranian population of the southern Russian steppe. European writers generally called them Alans, while Persian reports designated them as As in the 13th century. The Iranian speaking groups appear as Jas in Old Russian writings until the mid-12th century; later, they can perhaps be identified with the Brodniks. Together with the Alans, the earlier Sarmatian groups were probably absorbed by the region's later populations and thus played a role in the ethnogenesis of the Khazars, the Petchenegs, the eastern Slavs and other population groups[1175]. Writing in the 11th century, Al-Biruni mentioned the Alans living beyond the Caspian Sea, whose language had by then become an amalgam of the Chorezmian and Petcheneg tongues[1176]. In the 13th century William of Rubruck, the Franciscan friar who travelled to the Mongolian court on King Louis IX's orders, described the Christian Alans living in the Crimea and the Urals. He also mentioned Alans who served as soldiers in the Mongolian ruler's army and groups who had settled with their families on Chinese shores in the Far East[1177]. Scattered references to the Alans can be found in the works of Giovanni da Pian del Carpine (John of Plano Carpini) from the same period[1178]. Early Russian chronicles mention the Jas eleven times

1171 Melyukova 1987, 116.

1172 Kouznetsov/Lebedynsky 2005, 150. If we accept the re-migration theory, an explanation must also be sought for the peculiar position of the Bulgars, whose land was wedged inbetween the two Alanic territories.

1172a For a good overview of previous research, see Bubenok 1997, 39-44. It is quite obvious that the different views are at variance with each other and that the linguistic, archaeological, historical and anthropological data need to be reconciled with each other.

1173 Ammian XXXI.3.1. – Harmatta 1975, 257.

1174 The Burtas are alternately equated with the Alans and the Finno-Ugrians, see Eggers 1998, 21 n. 124. Harmatta 1975, 260-261, suggested that the name can perhaps be related to the Borata kindred appearing in the Nart Epic. The problem has been recently discussed by Bubenok 2008.

1175 Bubenok 1997, 172.

1176 Tolstova 1979, 154.

1177 Farkas 2000b, 4.

1178 e. g. Carpini IV.26, VII.9.



Fig. 312 Kič-Malka, an early medieval Alanic hillfort (Kislovodsk Basin). – (After Korobov 2012, fig. 7).

between 965 and 1278[1179]. At the end of this period the centre of the Alanic lands between the Don and the Danube was probably Iaşi (known as Jászvásár, »market of the Jas« in Hungarian), whose first mention dates from 1232[1180].

ALANS IN THE CAUCASUS

Following Abramova's research, the earliest archaeological traces of an Alanic presence in the Caucasus are generally identified with the catacomb graves of the 2nd-4th centuries in the Central Caucasus[1181]. The burial rite of these graves, such as catacombs under kurgans and other cultural elements, resembles the funerary practice of the population identified with the Sarmatians/Alans living in the northern, steppe areas of the Caucasus[1182]. A chain of Alanic hillforts and their cemeteries dating from the 6th-12th centuries stretches from the Taman Peninsula to the Caspian Sea along the foothills (**fig. 312**)[1183]. Several differences can be noted in the archaeological culture of the eastern and western region of the northern Caucasus populated by the Alans during this period, with the divide between the two marked by the Kislovodsk Basin. The sites of the eastern group extend far into the dry steppe along the Caspian Sea in the north, while in the south they dot the mountain region. The Alanic tribal alliance is characterised by a sedentary life-style and a dense settlement network during this period, whose sites – fortified settlements, town-like settlements, hillforts on high peaks – are fairly well-known from the excavations. The material heritage of the Alans is made up of richly varied assemblages blending steppe Sarmatian/Alanic elements and the culture of the autochthonous mountain groups. By the end of the 1st millennium AD, there emerged a fairly uniform Alanic culture in the Caucasus[1184]. The burial rite was dominated by the catacomb tradition

1179 Pčelina 1963, 157.
1180 http://lexikon.katolikus.hu/ s. v. Jászvásár.
1181 Gabuev/Malašev 2009, 6-8, with an overview of previous research and the earlier literature.
1182 Gadlo 1979, 35-36.
1183 Gadlo 1979, 70. For a reconstruction of the territory controlled by the Alans as recorded in the written sources, see Munkácsi 1904, 6.
1184 Gadlo 1979, 200-201.

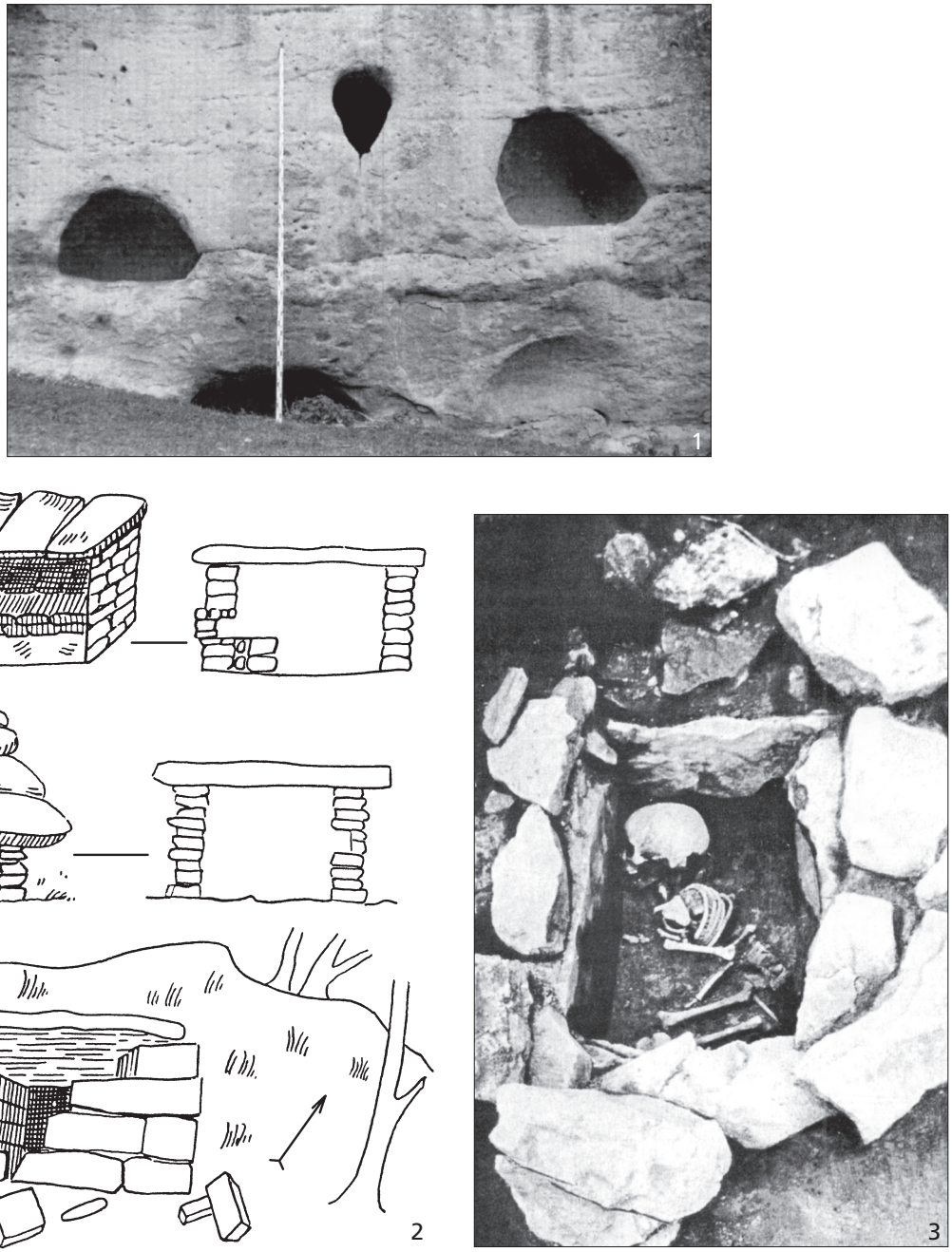


Fig. 313 Alanic burials in the Caucasus: **1** niche graves carved into the rock (after Kazanski/Mastykova 2003, 190). – **2** burials in stone chests from the Kuban region (after Kouznetsov/Lebedynsky 2005, 180). – **3** 7th century burial in stone chest, Ullubaganaly, Grave 21 (after Kovalevskaja 2005, fig. 3).

between the 4th and 9th centuries. Currently, we know about a thousand catacomb graves in the foothill region, while burials in stone chests and niche graves carved into the rock were the norm in the high mountains (**fig. 313**)[1185].

The history of the Caucasian Alans in the second part of the 1st millennium was essentially determined by their geographic location. Their lands came under the cross-fire of Byzantine and Sassanian interests. Both

1185 Korobov 2003, 5-7.



Fig. 314 Aspar, a high-ranking official in the Byzantine court, and his family portrayed on a silver platter. – (After http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/2/28/Missorium_Aspar_434.jpg [9.1.2012]).

powers sought to enlist the Alans controlling the Caucasian passes as their allies. It is therefore hardly surprising that there are data showing that Byzantium made diplomatic overtures to the Alans of the western Caucasus, while their brethren in the eastern regions were wooed by the Persian Empire. In addition to the archaeological evidence, the written sources also mentioned the Byzantine connection. There were several high-ranking officials of Alanic stock at the Byzantine court, perhaps most renowned among them being Flavius Ardabur Aspar, who in the late 5th century was appointed *magister utriusque militiae* (»Master of Soldiers«) and thus probably played a key role in shaping imperial policy. Through his son's marriage, he was elevated to the rank of caesar, and there was very little between him and the imperial throne (**fig. 314**)[1186]. The influence of the Alans in Byzantium is amply reflected by the fact that they were the ones who »introduced« the Avars to the imperial court. Although dating from a much later age, mention must be made of a Catalan report from the early 14th century, according to which Alan mercenaries served under the Byzantine flag[1187].

The earliest archaeological traces of the Alans tally neatly with the information contained in the Armenian and Georgian sources from the early and mid-5th century, which located the Alans in the Caucasus[1188]. Cer-

1186 Sanakoev 1992. – Doguzov 1992. – Dzattiaty 1992.
1187 Alemany 2000, 302-308.
1188 Gadlo 1979, 28. 46-48.

tain passages in the 11th century biography of Vahtang Gorgasal, the famed eastern Georgian ruler reigning in the late 5th century, have led scholars to suggest that Alans from the northern Caucasus served among his bodyguards[1189].

In the 6th century, Procopius located the Alans in the area adjacent to the Sabirs[1190]. In 549-550, the Alans fought as allies in Lazika, supporting the king of the Lazi[1191] and Byzantium against Iran, although they later switched alliances. The Alanic tribal confederation apparently played a dominant role in the northern Caucasus and expanded its territory. Procopius' passages would imply that the Alans lorded over the western and central regions of the Caucasus and that their land extended as far as the Darial Pass[1192].

After 576, the Alans of the northern Caucasus came under the rule of the Turkic Khaganate and the power of their tribal alliance waned. While at the Byzantine court, Turxathos, the prince of the western Turks, boasted to Valentinos, the Byzantine envoy, how he had defeated the Alans. We learn that the Turks treated the Alans as their slaves and, more importantly for us, that they regarded them as a separate people[1193]. The expansion of the Khazar state into the Caucasus was immediately followed by an alliance with the Alanic ruler, an event recorded in the best-known sources of Khazar history, the Khazar-Jewish correspondence. The anonymous author of the Cambridge Document recorded that the alliance was necessary because the Alans were the most powerful people among the neighbouring nations[1194]. Along with other peoples, the Alans fought as auxiliaries in the Byzantine army, supporting the Khazars in the emerging Khazar-Arab conflict. Although during the 7th century, the Arabs led several campaigns against the Alans in the northern Caucasus, they were unable to gain a permanent foothold in the region[1195]. Theophanes, the single western source on Alania from the late 7th- early 8th century[1196], spoke of an Alanic ruler, perhaps an indication of independence. Theophanes reported that the Alans were the single independent ethno-political formation in the region north of the Caucasus[1197]. The Khazar-Jewish correspondence also recorded that the Alans supported – or had no choice but to support – the Khazar military expeditions because otherwise the Khazars could hardly have used the main Caucasian pass, the Darial Pass (**fig. 82**), also known as the Alanic Gate, during their campaign against Transcaucasia in 730-731[1198]. In the late 9th and early 10th centuries, the Alans appear as the Khazars' allies, but they soon turned against them, probably reflecting the weakening of the Khazar state. Ibn Rusta's account, mirroring conditions in the 9th-10th centuries, would suggest that the Alanic lands extended for at least 200-250 km from east to west. After the fall of the Khazars, the Alans made their bid to extend the lands under their dominion both northward and westward. The medieval Alanic kingdom was born at this time, as recorded in the Arab sources and by Constantine Porphyrogenitus, who described the Alans as the equals of the Khazars[1199].

There are indications that some Alan groups had embraced Zoroastrianism between the second half of the 7th century and the 9th century, although it is far from clear to what extent this was widespread. Two buildings interpreted as fire-temples, one in Humarin in the Upper Kuban region, the other in Nižnij Arhyz (Karachay-Cherkessia), and the niches carved in rock for entombing the dead in the Kislovodsk area and in Karachay-Cherkessia are cited as proof for this. The rock graves are regarded as evidence for Zoroastrianism because they conform to the religious precept that the body of the deceased should not »defile« the earth. It has been suggested that the new religion reached the western Alanic lands through Sogdian merchants

1189 Dzattiaty 1995.
1190 Procop. *Pers*. II.29.15.
1191 Procop. *Pers*. II.30.28. Living mostly in Turkey, the Lazi are a Caucasian people speaking a tongue related to Georgian.
1192 Procop. *Goth*. IV.3.4-5. – Gadlo 1979, 97-101.
1193 Menandros *Exc.de leg.* 208, quoted after Szádeczky-Kardoss 1998, 45. – Kulakovskij 1899, 48.
1194 Alemany 2000, 332-337.
1195 Gadlo 1979, 168-169.
1196 Alemany 2000, 198-204.
1197 Gadlo 1979, 167-168.
1198 Gadlo 1979, 131. 153.
1199 Kulakovskij 1899, 52-53. – Gadlo 1979, 191-194.



Fig. 315 10th century church in Nižnij Arhiz (Karachay-Cherkessia), regarded as the Alans' capital. – (After http://i2.guns.ru/forums/icons/forum_pictures/003541/3541009.jpg [9.8.2011]).

travelling the Silk Road. An alternative possibility is that following the Arabic conquest of Iran and Central Asia from the mid-7th century, the northern Caucasus became a refuge for the adherents of Zoroastrianism and other religions persecuted by Islam. Western Alania officially converted to Christianity in the 10th century under influence from Byzantium. The centre of the Diocese of Alania and its cathedral were located in the fortified settlement of Nižnij Arhiz (**fig. 315**)[1200].

Various dynastic marriages are eloquent testimony to the significance of the Alans in the Middle Ages. For example, Tamara, the Georgian Queen (1184-1213) who was of Ossetian lineage on her mother's side, married David Soslan, King of Alania[1201].

1200 Rudnickij 2001.

1201 Abaev 1990, 417-419.

The Alans disappear from the pages of the eastern, western and Russian chronicles and other documents from the 15th century[1202], and are succeeded by the Iranian-speaking Ossetians on both sides of the Darial Pass (the Alanic Gate). Suffice it here to mention a single piece of evidence for the Alanic-Ossetian continuity: a passage that was first interpreted by the Hungarian scholar Moravcsik. The text in question is the epilogue to the Theogony of Johannes Tzetzes, the 12th century Byzantine poet, who recorded a sentence in Alanic that also makes perfect sense in Ossetian[1203].

ALANS IN WESTERN EUROPE[1204]

Before dealing with the Alanic presence in Western Europe, we must briefly return to the events of the early 5th century. In 401, the Alpine provinces fought bitter battles with the Vandals, whose ranks possibly included Alanic groups. It is unclear where the Alans were located between 402 and 406: whether they returned to the east or whether they remained in Western Europe as *foederati*. Neither do we know when exactly the Alans banded with the Vandals and even less is known about when and where the Suebi joined them. Only this much is certain, that in late 406, the Vandals, the Alans and the Suebi gathered up their families and began their westward trek. They defeated the Franks defending the Empire's border and crossed the Rhine on the first day of 407. A smaller band raided northern Gaul, another group moved into the Rhône Valley, while the main group migrated south-westward in Gaul. Embroiled in their own inner affairs, the Romans took little notice of them[1205]. In 409, this contingent crossed the Pyrenees and entered Spain[1206]. Roman diplomacy played off the Visigoths against them, resulting in the slaughter of a substantial number of Vandals and Alans. In 429, the remnants marched to Africa, relinquishing the Iberian Peninsula to the Visigoths[1207]. One sign that the Alans retained their ethnic identity after the interlude in Hispania is that the leader of the barbarian Carthaginian state is regularly styled as the Vandal-Alan king in the literary sources. The North African interlude was ended by the campaign led by the Byzantine general, Belisarius, in 533, after which we no longer hear of Alans in this part of the world[1208].

The other Alanic group marching into southern Gaul with the Visigoths broke away from their former allies in 414. The Romans forced the Goths into Spain, while the Alans received land between Toulouse and the Mediterranean in exchange for their loyalty. From here, the Alans controlled several coastal routes, such as the Via Domitia connecting Gaul with Spain. The memory of the Alans' settlement in this region is perhaps preserved by various toponyms in southern France, such as Alan in Haute-Garonne and Alaigne in the département of Aude[1209].

Archaeological evidence for the Alans' presence has recently also come to light. Two daggers or swords of the »Maeotian« type with a cross-shaped groove under the hilt of northern Caucasian origin that can be definitely linked to the Alans were recovered from the River Lot near Sainte-Livrade-sur-Lot in Aquitaine (district Lot-et-Garonne) in southwest France. It has been tentatively suggested that the daggers can perhaps

1202 Kulakovskij 2000, 31.
1203 Moravcsik 1929.
1204 This subject has been most comprehensively discussed by Bachrach 1973, whose book is the most authoritative study on the subject. Most scholars tend to quote his findings. In this section, we have kept the already known facts to a minimum because our aim is to review the new advances in this field.
1205 Czúth/Szádeczky-Kardoss 1956.
1206 Cf. Orosius' *Adv.Pag*. VII.38, description of the events of 418-419: »[…] nations irresistible in numbers and might who are now oppressing the provinces of Gaul and Spain (namely, the Alans, Suebi, and Vandals) were induced by Stilicho to take arms on their own initiative […]«.
1207 Czúth/Szádeczky-Kardoss 1956, 175.
1208 Kuznecov 1992, 20.
1209 Bachrach 1973, 28-30.

be regarded as the heritage of an Alanic group, who after a two-year-long sojourn in Gaul migrated to Spain through Aquitaine, while others settled near the town of Bazas. The site lies near Excisum (Eysses), a Gallo-Roman settlement at the junction of major strategic roads[1210]. A similar sword has recently been found at Flins-sur-Seine farther to the north of Gaul (Île-de-France). Although the sword did not have a specific archaeological context, it was found in a Gallo-Roman-Germanic milieu (**fig. 316**)[1211].

According to Gaulish sources, the Alans moved into the deserted lands along the Rhône in the 440s, which is also confirmed by the toponyms such as Allan and Alençone in the département of Drôme. The Alans settling here were given the task of controlling the Bagaudae and of checking the Visigoths' eastward expansion[1212].

At the Battle of the Catalaunian Plains (Battle of Châlons) in 451, the *laeti* and Sarmatians of Gaul were joined by the Franks, the Armoricians, the Burgundians, the Saxons, the Riparians and the Olibriones to form the Gallian auxiliaries of the united Gothic-Roman army[1213]. In 457, the Alans participated in the campaign against the Hispanian Vandals led by Majorian, one of the last Roman emperors. After their defeat by the Vandals, the Alans ravaged southern Gaul and raided northern Italy. Their leader Beogar was killed in battle near Bergamo in 464. The remnants of his warriors probably divided, with some returning to Gaul and others settling in northern Italy among their Sarmatian and Alan brethren, who had migrated there earlier[1214].

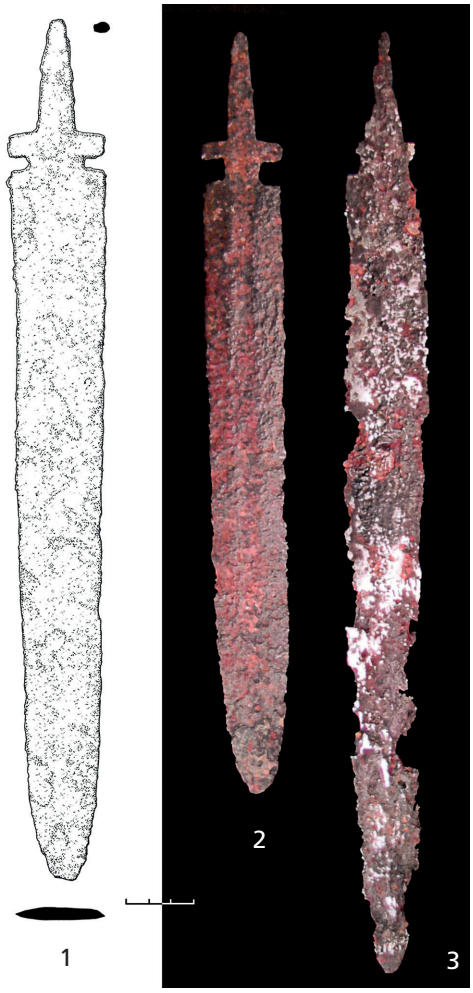


Fig. 316 »Maeotian« type swords associated with the Alans from France: **1-2** Sainte-Livrade-du-Lot (after Garnier/Daynès/Lebedynsky 2007). – **3** Flins-sur-Seine (after Barat/Soulat/Gauduchon 2009, fig. 3).

Similar to the situation in Italy, Iranians arrived in two major waves in Gaul: the Sarmatians from the Hungarian Plain transplanted in the 4th century and the Alans arriving in the early 5th century. Regarding the latter, we have no way of telling to what extent they represented steppe culture and to what extent Sarmatians from the Hungarian Plain had mingled with them. Imprints of both groups can be discerned in the archaeological and linguistic (toponymic) record. Toponyms that can be derived from the Alans' ethnonym mentioned above, such as Alaincourt, Alagne and Alain occur across France, as do place names reflecting a Sarmatian presence such as Sarmasia, Sermoise, Sarmace and Sarmeses[1215].

The Alans merged with the surviving Gallo-Roman aristocracy within a few generations. This is all the more intriguing because, in contrast to the Goths who had embraced Arianism, the Alans had not converted to

1210 Garnier/Daynès/Lebedynsky 2007. – Lebedynsky/Garnier/Daynès 2006/2007.

1211 Barat/Soulat/Gauduchon 2009. We are greatly indebted to Lebedynsky for calling our attention to the sword finds from France.

1212 Bachrach 1973, 31-33.

1213 Jordan XXXVI.191.

1214 For the settlement of the Sarmatians in Italy, see also Bachrach 1973, 31-33.

1215 Kovalevskaja 1993.

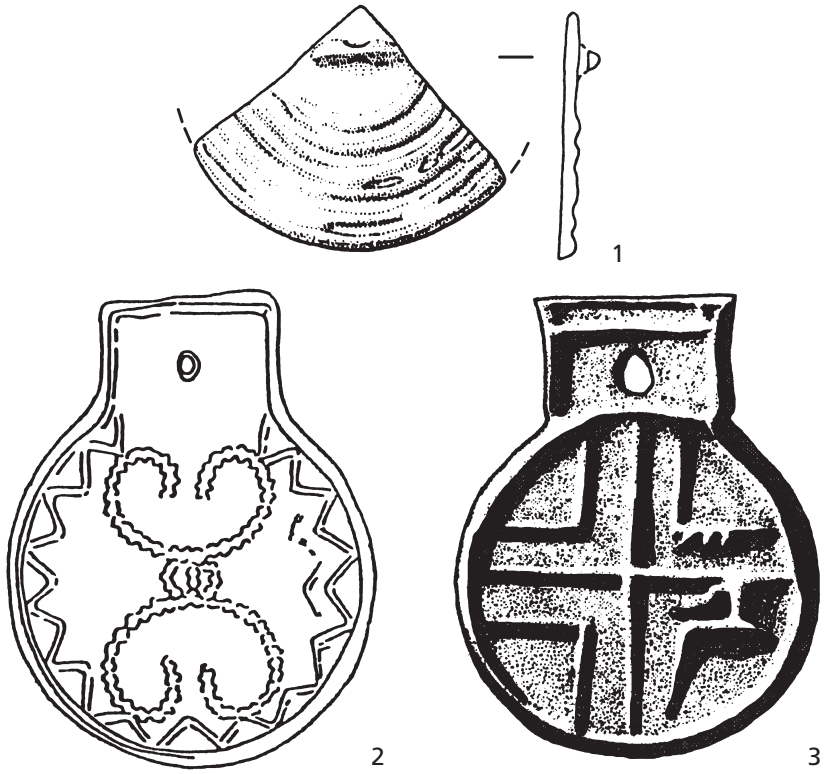


Fig. 317 Mirrors of Sarmatian character from Western Europe: **1** Saint-Sulpice (Switzerland) (after Kouznetsov/Lebedynsky 2005, 100). – **2** Reims-Fosse Jean-Fat (after Kazanski 1986, fig. 2). – **3** Krefeld-Gellep (Lower Rhine region) (after Pirling 1993, fig. 9).

Christianity at this time. Claudius Marius Victor, a local poet writing in the 5th century, mentioned that instead of revering gods, the Alans venerated their ancestors[1216].

A grave uncovered at Reims-fosse Jean-Fat, Reims, contained a Sarmatian mirror pendant bearing a tamga sign whose counterparts are known from the Crimea and the Lower Dnieper region. The mirror was found together with a double-plate brooch of the type current in the late 4th and first half of the 5th centuries (**fig. 317**). The site lies in an area between Reims and Amiens where, according to the *Notitia Dignitatum*, there was a Sarmatian colony (*Praefectus Sarmatarum gentilium, inter Renos et Tambianos provinciae Belgicae secundae*)[1217]. A similar Sarmatian mirror was brought to light from a burial dated in the second half of the 4th century in the Krefeld-Gellep cemetery in the Lower Rhine region[1218] and the fragment of an undecorated mirror of the steppe type with a suspension loop is known from Saint-Sulpice in Switzerland[1219]. These mirrors can probably be seen as the heritage of Sarmatians transplanted to these regions before the Hunnic conquest. A later period is indicated by a series of 5th-century barbarian warrior finds from Lower Normandy, which can in part be linked to the Alans. The burials differ from the graves of the local Late Roman population both anthropologically and regarding the finds, which can be best likened to assemblages in the Danube region[1220]. The plate brooches from the Saint-Martin-de-Fontenay burial ground and the Airan find (Moult) reflect the fashion of the Danube region, while the diadem is virtually identical with a piece from the Gothic-Alanic cemetery at Lučistoe in the Crimea (**figs 318-319**). Pilet associated these finds with the warrior graves along the *litus saxonicum* (Saxon Shore), the defence line constructed for warding

1216 Mar.Vic. *Aleth*. 3.189-193, after Alemany 2000, 44-45.
1217 Kazanski 1986; 1993, 176 fig. 3. – Not.Dign. Occ. XLII.67.
1218 Pirling 1993, 112 fig. 9.
1219 Kouznetsov/Lebedynsky 2005, 100.
1220 Pilet et al. 1993.



Fig. 318 W shaped ornaments are usually associated with the Alans. Ornaments of this type, probably adorning a headdress, have been found at: **1** Lučistoe in the Crimea (photo E. Istvánovits / V. Kulcsár). – **2** Regöly in Hungary (after Bóna 1991, pl. 15). – **3** Airan in France (after L'Or 2000, no. 12, 1. 6).

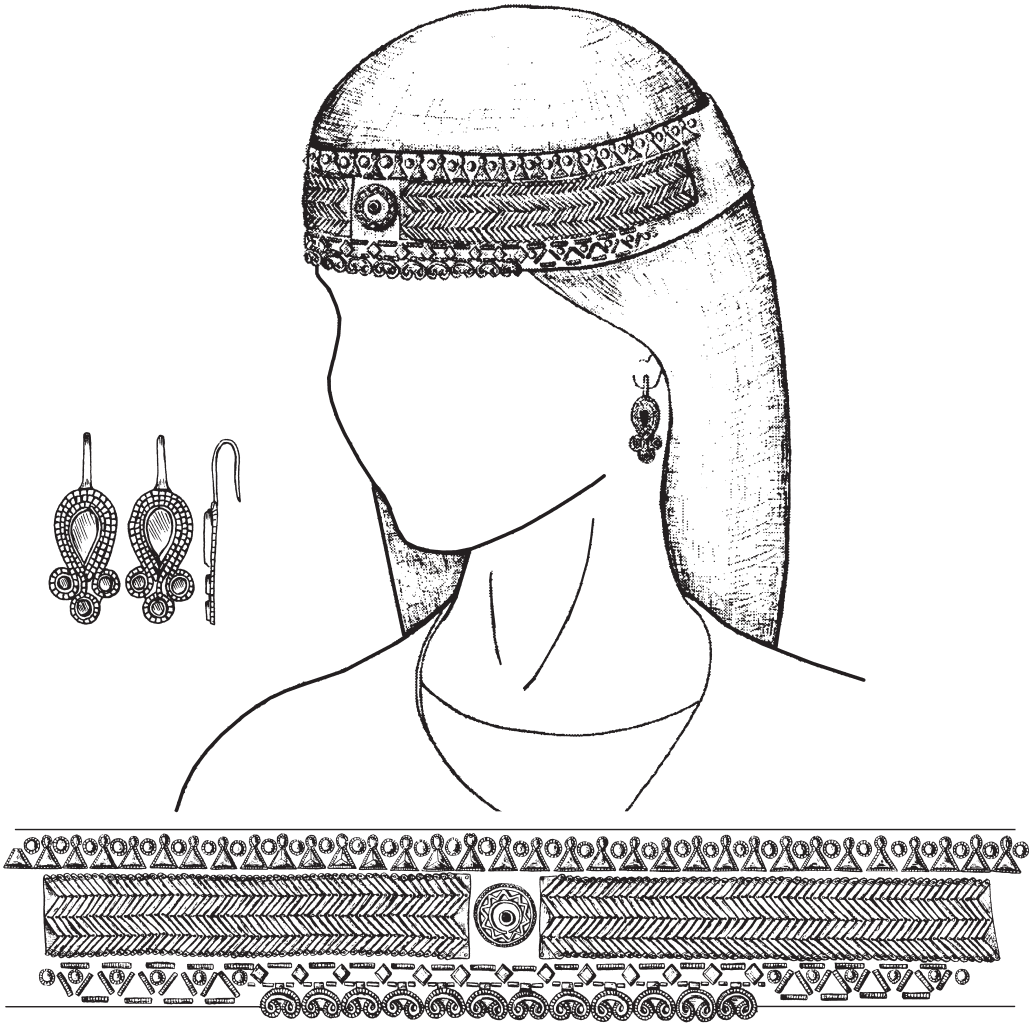


Fig. 319 Lučistoe – the earring similar to the one from Airan and the reconstruction of the headdress/diadem. – (After Hajredinova 2002, fig. 10; Ajbabin/Hajredinova 2008, fig. 26, 1-3).

off attacks from the coast[1221]. While the ethnic affiliation of the barbarians defending the »Saxon coast« remains uncertain, the ornate polychrome ornament of the Airan find made in the steppe Sarmatian style would suggest that their ranks included Sarmatians/Alans who played a key role in the emergence of a more or less homogenous fashion, the so-called Danubian costume, of the Huns' subjects.

SARMATIANS IN BRITAIN

Britain represents another important locale of the Sarmatians' presence in Western Europe. An oft-cited passage by Cassius Dio reported that, according to the peace treaty concluding the Marcomannic Wars, the emperor sent a 5,500 strong Iazygian cavalry to Britain[1222]. Their presence has also been attested archaeologically at the northern border of Roman Britannia and it is possible that their memory also survived

1221 Pilet 1995; 2001.

1222 Dio LXXI.6.

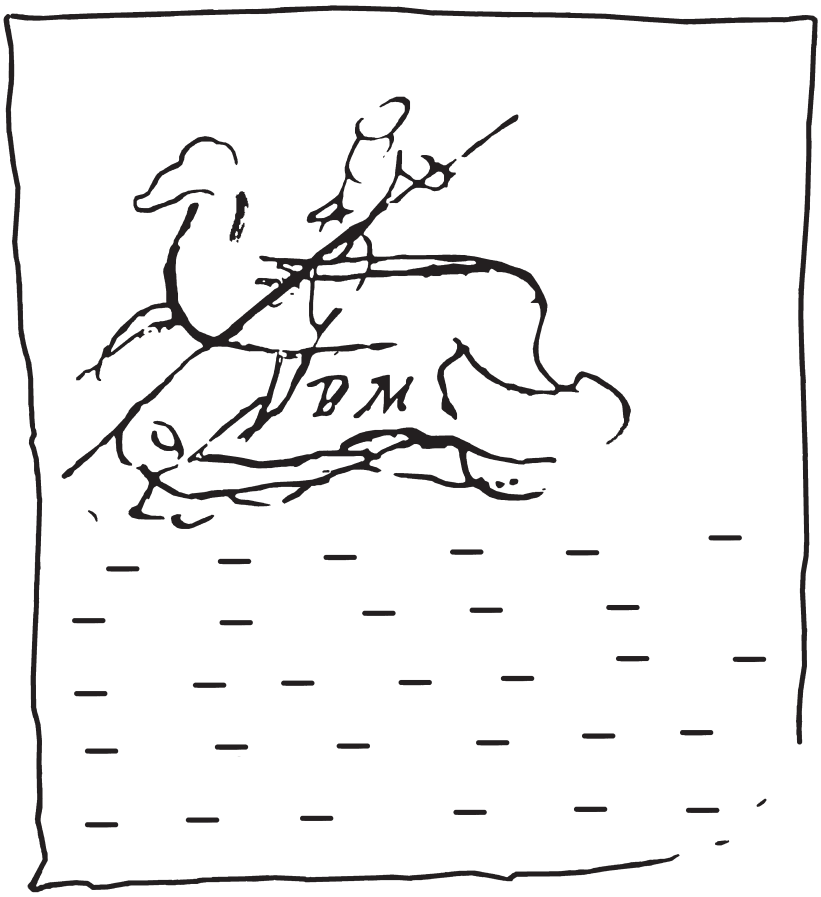


Fig. 320 A tombstone from Ribchester is regarded as evidence for the Sarmatians' presence in Britain. The text of inscription reads: D(is) M(anibus) /[…de(?)]c(urio) al(ae) Sarmata[rum] (»To the spirits of the departed … decurion [?] of the Cavalry Regiment of Sarmatians…«). – (After Wright/Richmond 1955, no. 595).

in medieval epic tradition. Currently, we know of six Roman inscriptions which can be associated with the Sarmatians. Three of these were found in Ribchester (Bremetennacum) (**fig. 320**). The Roman camp lies along a road in the north, which was already a major route in the Roman period, and it seems likely that it had been continuously garrisoned by cavalry troops. According to an inscription from 238-244, one of these was the *numerus equitum Sarmatarum Bremetennacensium*. By the 4th century, the *numerus* had become the *cuneus Sarmatarum* in the *Notitia Dignitatum*. The *ala Asturum*, comprising light cavalry equipped with Western European arms, was also stationed in the fort. The size of the Ribchester fort suggests an *ala* of 500 soldiers. According to Richmond, this indicates that the Sarmatians were divided into smaller, probably also 500-strong units in various part of the frontier zone, and it is possible that there were eleven such Sarmatian units acting as auxiliaries on the testimony of the inscriptions. The *Notitia Dignitatum* mentioned that *cataphractarius* troops were stationed in the fort of Morbium. In Richmond's view, they were the descendants of the Sarmatians[1223].

The eye-shield from a cataphract horse-mail found at Chester on Hadrian's Wall can perhaps be regarded as the heritage of one of these troops. A few beads from the Chester fort are similarly linked to the Sarmatians because their best analogies are known from the Hungarian Plain[1224]. Rowntree mentions beads and metal artefacts from other sites that can also be linked to the Sarmatians, as well as six stone steles whose

1223 Richmond 1945, 15. 18.

1224 Sulimirski 1970, 176 fig. 66.



Fig. 321 Dragon banner on the Bayeux Tapestry. – (After Grape 1994, 164).

inscription refers to Sarmatian units (e. g. *numerus equitum Sarmatarum*), or bear depictions of Sarmatian mounted warriors with dragon standard, long lance and scale armour (**fig. 220, 3**)[1225].

SARMATIANS IN THE ARTHURIAN LEGENDS?

An imaginative and controversial theory claims that certain elements of the Arthurian legends preserve the memory of the Sarmatians/Alans in Western Europe because the best parallels are to be found in the Nart Epic of the Caucasus and in the works of Herodotus, such as the magical chalice and the sword in the stone conferring strength and power to its owner. Taking up Nickel's idea, Littleton and Malcor asserted that the Iranian epic motifs permeating Western European legends and mythic narratives originated from the Sarmatian auxiliaries in Britain and the Alans settling in Gaul, and that they were transmitted through the Arthurian cycle[1226]. Makkay has devoted several studies to the Hungarian dimensions of this theory[1227]. For our part, we are not wholly convinced by the arguments that challenge King Arthur's indigenous Celtic roots and claim that the legendary ruler of the British Isles was of Sarmatian stock, even if there can be no doubt that the successive Iranian groups settling in Western Europe had an impact on both spiritual culture and the art of warfare, and it does not seem too far-fetched to assume that the roots of medieval chivalric culture can be traced to the Sarmatians/Alans of the Late Roman Age and the Early Migration period[1228] (**figs 220, 1; 321**).

THE SARMATIAN/ALANIC INFLUENCE ON EUROPEAN CULTURE: POLISH SARMATISM

The belief shared by Polish noblemen of the 16th-18th centuries that they were descended from the Sarmatians gave rise to the cult of Polish Sarmatism, which permeated all aspects of life. Polish noblemen adopted an attire with accentuated oriental elements such as a long, belted caftan and a distinct headgear, they pursued a distinctive style of warfare and, even more importantly, Sarmatism gave the nobility a sense of historical unity and was a source of national pride (**fig. 322**). The belief in a shared past traceable to

1225 Rowntree 2011. We would here like to thank Rowntree for kindly showing us her manuscript and permitting us to quote from it.

1226 Nickel 1975. – Littleton/Malcor 1994.

1227 Makkay 1996; 1998c, both with the earlier literature.

1228 One clear indication of the Sarmatian heritage is the dragon banner appearing on the Bayeux Tapestry. The Sarmatian origins of this banner are evident from the trail of various artefacts and depictions leading from Central Asia to the British Isles (Makkay 1996).



Fig. 322 Polish nobles regarded themselves as descendants of the Sarmatians. Polish noblemen's portraits from the 17th-18th century. – (After rugiland.narod2.ru/antropoestetika/galereya_sarmatskogo_portreta/ [9.8.2012]).

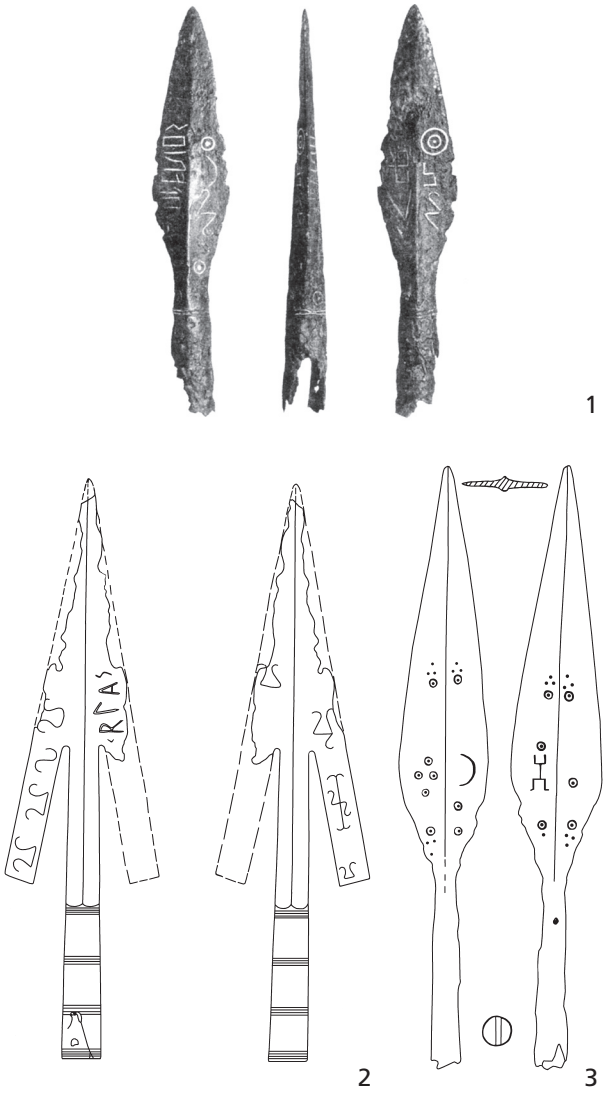


Fig. 323 Lances bearing tamga signs and runes from the second half of the 2nd century: **1** Suszyczno. – **2** Rozwadów. – **3** Bodzanowo. – (After Voronjatov/Mačinskij 2010, fig. 8, 2-3).

the Sarmatians was an important part of the ideology of the multi-ethnic Polish-Lithuanian state. At its core stood the love of freedom, a defining element in the Polish national character[1229]. Using the term »Sarmatia« to denote Poland first appeared in documents from the first half of the 16th century, at roughly the same time that Ransanus claimed a Sarmatian origin for the ancient Hungarians.

Usually two passages from Pliny were cited, according to which, the Vistula marked the boundary of the Sarmatian lands[1230].

Sulimirski's comprehensive overview of Sarmatian archaeology and history is usually cited as the academically well-grounded source of the theory of Sarmatian-Polish kinship. Based on a series of uncertain linguistic arguments, such as the distribution of Chotin/Hotin type place-names, Sulimirski claimed a Sarmatian/Alanic origin for the ancestors of the Serbs and Croats, and he identified Jordanes' Anti with the Aorsi/Alans. In his view, Lesser Poland, Silesia and the southerly regions of Greater Poland were already occupied by the Anti, a »Sarmatian« tribe, from the late 2nd century. He claimed that the Alans were the ruling elite in the northern Slavic territories during the Hun period and that a series of lavish assemblages, such as the one from Jakuszowice, represent their heritage. Sulimirski believed that the Alans had later been assimilated by the Slavs[1231]. Sulimirski's views, which are rather incoherent to say the least, were never taken seriously and discussed in Polish academic publications, which was tantamount to their rejection and thus the question of how Polish Sarmatism spread remained open.

Even so, there were attempts to demonstrate the traces of Sarmatian influence or at least of Germanic-Sarmatian contact on Polish territory, even if not of an actual Sarmatian presence. These traces are extremely scant and, in some cases, unconvincing[1232]. Several studies have been devoted to the silver lances bearing Sarmatian tamga signs, sometimes together with Nordic runes, most of which came to light in Poland, although a few specimens are also known from Germany and Norway. These lances are generally regarded as evidence for contact between the Sarmatians and the Germanic peoples (**fig. 323**)[1233]. Nickel had already claimed a relation between the Sarmatian and Turkic signs, and the Glagolitic alphabet and various medieval

1229 Grzybowski 1996. – Borowski 2001.

1230 Plin. *NH* IV.XII.81, IV.XIII.97. The same information appears in Pomp. Mela 3.28, and Ptolem III.5. All three authors probably drew from the same source which contained this erroneous description because there is nothing in the archaeological record to suggest the Sarmatian occupation of Polish »Sarmatia«.

1231 Sulimirski 1970, 189-196.

1232 Dobrzańska 2001.

1233 Ščukin 1994, 486-490.

marks, including those of the »Sarmatian« Polish nobles (the idea of the common origin of the Sarmatian and medieval Polish signs was first suggested by Sulimirski[1234]). However, there is very little actual resemblance between these tamgas from different periods, different regions and widely differing cultural contexts, and we would therefore agree with Dračuk that these were not cultural borrowings, but represented independent developments from basic prototypes[1235]. As far as contact between the Sarmatians and the Germanic peoples are concerned, some scanty traces have been documented in both the Przeworsk and the Wielbark culture[1236], as well as in the Sarmatian territory in the Hungarian Plain. The study of the nature of the contact between the two peoples remains a task for future research.

IRANIAN ELEMENTS IN THE HUNGARIAN CONQUEST PERIOD: THE ROLE OF SARMATIAN STUDIES IN CONQUEST PERIOD RESEARCH

The migration which in Antiquity was linked to the Scythians, was also closely related to the expansion of the Finno-Ugrian peoples, and especially of the Ugrian-Hungarian tribes. The Scythian question thus deserves our attention not only as a general field of scholarly study, but also in view of our own special research priorities, and it imposes upon us the obligation to shed light on newer and newer dimensions of this issue[1237].

There is increasing evidence that the ancestors of the Hungarians led by Árpád had come into close contact with various Iranian peoples during their steppe history before their occupation of the Carpathian Basin in the late 9th century. The Iranian loan-words in Hungarian are eloquent testimony to these contacts[1238]. We know that these do not include words adopted from the Jas (*Jász*) population arriving in Hungary in the 13th century[1239]. However, there is still much uncertainty as to when and where these loan-words entered the Hungarian language. Almost all regions of the vast expanse between the Caucasus and the Carpathian Basin have been proposed as possible contact points. Most scholars agree that the ancient Hungarians adopted one part of the Iranian loan-words from the Sarmatians/Alans[1240].

One key passage for elucidating this issue can be found in Simon de Keza's (Kézai Simon) 13th-century chronicle in the narrative of the Hungarians' origins where he mentioned an Alanic tribal leader. While pursuing the miraculous stag in the Maeotian marshland, Hunor and Magor, the mythical ancestors of the Huns and the Hungarians, come upon the daughters of prince Dulo and marry them (**fig. 324**). The Dulo kindred can be traced back to the 3rd century: the name appears on inscriptions from Tanais and it survived in the form Dulatae among Ossetian family names[1241]. The name Duli appeared in the Tisza region on Julius Honorius' map from the 4th century, which according to Bóna can be identified with the Alans[1241a]. However, a detailed overview of these intriguing bits of information would exceed the scope of this study. A meticulous

1234 Sulimirski 1970, 154. 166-167.
1235 Nickel 1973. – Dračuk 1975, 93.
1236 For a comprehensive overview, see Dobrzańska 2001 and Kokowski 2003.
1237 Nagy 1909, 111.
1238 For Alanic loan-words, see Munkácsi 1904.
1239 Makkay 1997a, 36-40.
1240 For a summary of the debate, see Makkay 1995, 90-103; 1997a, 34-41.
1241 The name Dulo is relevant to the research on the ancient Hungarians because it is identical with the name borne by the dynasty of the Onogur Bulgar khans (Korai magyar 1994, 118; Róna-Tas 1996, 63. 188), suggesting that one group of the Onogur Bulgars perhaps had an Iranian ancestry. Another argument supporting this possibility is that the name of Asparuh, son of Kuvrat the Bulgar khan, has a Middle Iranian etymology (Abaev 1979, 281-282).
1241a Bóna 1986, 63 quoting Schmidt 1941, 105.



Fig. 324 Hunor and Magor pursuing the miraculous stag in the 14th century Illuminated Chronicle. – (After Chronicon Pictum, Folio 5).

assessment of these scattered references remains the task of future studies in the history of the ancient Hungarians. The relevance of the Iranian world of the steppe for the history of the ancient Hungarians has long since been recognised. Fodor, one of the leading scholars of the prehistory of the ancient Hungarians, aptly noted over four decades ago that: »After the separation of the Ugrians, the ancestors of the Hungarians should probably be sought on the territory of the ›Sarmatian culture‹ in Western Siberia and the South Ural region. Advances in clarifying the origins of the ancient Hungarians can be expected from the large-scale archaeological investigation of this period in these regions«[1242].However, this field has been undeservedly neglected by research. Its significance is indicated by a few scattered studies, such as Makkay's writings[1243].

SARMATIAN SURVIVALS: THE JAS IN THE CARPATHIAN BASIN

The possible survival of Sarmatian groups in the Carpathian Basin is an important, yet little explored issue in Sarmatian studies despite the fact that it also has a major relevance for Hungarian ethnogenesis.
The archaeological finds of the Hungarian Plain and Transdanubia dating from the late 4th and early 5th centuries reflect a gradual uniformisation. An ethnic attribution is difficult, often downright impossible, owing to the period's general fashion across extensive regions. Possibly the best approach to the identification of ethnic groups is through burial rites. However, it must be borne in mind that this will at best lead to the separation of ethnic groups based on our own criteria. The real question is what sense of ethnic identity the period's groups had. However, this chapter is hardly the place for a detailed discussion of this thorny issue. Kiss correctly pointed out that ethnic affiliation has remained one of the cardinal issues of archaeological research in the Carpathian Basin since the seminal work by Jankovich and Pulszky[1244]. The markedly homogeneous find assemblages of the 5th century pose serious obstacles to research in this field. According to one major trend in archaeological research, everyone was a Hun under the Hunnic rule, the implication being that, although research into ethnic affiliation during this period is, in a sense, meaningless, it is nonetheless important for understanding the history of the Carpathian Basin because it would otherwise be impossible to fully understand the linguistic and cultural influence on the later populations settling in this region, the ancient Hungarians among them. Research into the fate of the huge Sarmatian population and the incoming Alans can hardly be neglected, even if we are fully aware that this issue will likely come under heavier critical fire than any of the previously raised questions.

1242 Fodor 1973, 29-30 n. 98.
1243 Makkay 1995, 88-108; 2009, 78-80 *passim*.
1244 A. Kiss 1994, 167.

The written sources contain few references to the Sarmatians of the Hungarian Plain following the appearance of the Huns in the Carpathian Basin, despite the fact that the historical records clearly indicate that they continued to play an important role in the region's history up until the Avar period[1245]. It is quite certain that the Sarmatians did not hesitate to exploit the Romans' dire situation and they strove to acquire as much plunder as possible[1246]. Even though some groups moved west after the Hun conquest, the overwhelming majority of the Sarmatian/Alanic population remained in its former lands. The archaeological record would suggest that a huge mass of this population lived on the Hungarian Plain during the 5th century and there can be no doubt that they lived to see Gepidic rule.

Vaday has noted that a destruction level dating from the close of the Hun period can be observed in several settlements in the Middle Tisza region and in the southerly regions of the Hungarian Plain. The human and dog remains in these destruction levels would perhaps indicate that the Gepids destroyed these settlements (**fig. 325**)[1247]. However, our own field observations made during several decades of research indicate that destruction levels are the exception, rather than the rule in Sarmatian settlements of the Hungarian Plain. Only in rare cases had the houses been burnt down and most had been systematically emptied before their abandonment as shown by the relatively few artefacts found inside them and the lack of household articles that would have been discovered inside the houses had they been destroyed suddenly. Neither can the skeletons found inside refuse pits be interpreted as an indication of destruction[1248].

The possible survival of Sarmatian groups into the Gepidic period has not been examined yet, despite the fact that strong Sarmatian/Alanic cultural influences can be noted in the burials of the 5th century, such as south to north orientation, the deposition of mirrors and skull deformation, etc. The assumption that the local population did not migrate to a new homeland is best borne out by the ceramic wares. The new eastern wares appearing in the traditional ceramic inventory of the Sarmatian settlements are generally dated to the Hun period and interpreted as an indication of a Sarmatian population remaining in its former territory and providing various services to the nomads[1249].

It should be recalled that some areas lack finds and sites that can be associated with the Gepids. These areas include the greater part of the Upper Tisza region where the 5th and 6th century finds brought to light during the recent years differ markedly from the »classical« Gepidic assemblages of the Hungarian Plain. A catacomb grave with a niche at one end of the grave pit excavated in Kótaj-Verba-tanya yielded silver gilt radiate-headed bow brooches (*Bügelfibeln*) of the type current in the early 6th century (**fig. 326**)[1250]. The catacomb grave points towards a steppe or Caucasian-Iranian population. Considering that the Upper Tisza region was not part of the classical Gepidic settlement territory on the testimony of the finds, this burial perhaps represents the first clue to determining the region's ethnic conditions during the Hun period and its aftermath. The period's population was probably extremely mixed. Whilst the separation of individual groups based on the archaeological evidence has been a research priority for some time and several theories have been proposed for identifying ethnic affiliation[1251], few advances have been made in this respect. The great difficulty for research in this area is the paucity of written sources and their unreliability, as well as the fact that the original local population was already strongly mixed and that many new population groups were swept along by the immigrants arriving from the steppe[1252]. The date of the Kótaj grave assemblage suggests that, in addition to groups fleeing the Hunnic advance, new waves of immigrants should be assumed after the Battle of Nedao.

1245 Harmatta 1952, 279. – Szádeczky-Kardoss 1998, 34. – Makkay 1997a, 29.
1246 Alföldi 1924/1926, 59.
1247 Vaday 1989b, 209-210.
1248 Istvánovits 1999, 176-178.
1249 e. g. Vaday 1989b, 209.
1250 Unpublished, from A. Jakab's excavation in 2006. We would like to thank him for sharing this information with us.
1251 e. g. Werner 1956. – Bóna 1991. – A. Kiss 1994; 1997. – Bierbrauer 2006. – Mesterházy 2009.
1252 For the problems of determining ethnic affiliation, see Brather 2004.



Fig. 325 The bodies dumped into pits found mostly on late Sarmatian settlements can probably be associated with ritual activities: **1** Nyíregyháza-Oros (G. Pintye's excavation, unpublished). – **2** Ecser, Site 7 (K. Kővári's excavation, unpublished).

Returning to the Gepidic period, there are also other areas – as in the Upper Tisza region – where typical Gepidic finds are lacking. There is still no adequate explanation as to why the Danube-Tisza interfluve and the Jászság area in the Middle Tisza region are virtually »empty« during the Gepidic period, without any 5th or 6th century Gepidic finds[1253]. Assuming that this region would hardly have remained unpopulated for some four generations, the need for a chronological re-assessment of the Sarmatian finds becomes even more pressing, especially in view of the region's later history and, specifically, of the later settlement of the Jas in this region. Moreover, the mass survival of the Sarmatian population seems even more probable here than in the territory east of the Tisza.

In addition to this extensive territory devoid of Gepidic finds, greater attention must be accorded to smaller pockets. An important example is the Tiszasziget area (formerly known as the village of Ószentiván) near the Hungarian-Serbian border in the southern part of County Csongrád. Here Pópity recorded 20 Sarmatian sites during his systematic field surveys in the area, but did not find any traces of a Gepidic occupation[1254].

A Sarmatian presence in the Carpathian Basin until the second half of the 5th century is indicated by certain passages in Jordanes' *Getica*[1255], although it remains unclear where exactly the Sarmatians should be sought:



Fig. 326 Excavation of a catacomb grave at Kótaj-Verba-tanya. – (A. Jakab's excavation, unpublished).

> […] the Sauromatae, whom we call Sarmatians, and the Cemandri and certain of the Huns dwelt in Castra Martis. […] The Sciri, moreover, and the Sadagarii and certain of the Alani with their leader, Candac by name, received Scythia Minor and Lower Moesia.

Jordanes' text would suggest that Sarmatian and Alan groups had been dispersed over several areas[1256]. The Sarmatians, or at least some of them, are generally believed to have occupied areas near the Danube. The opinions are differing, some scholars favour the northern part of the Danube-Tisza interfluve (we should at this point recall the lack of Gepidic finds in that area, especially in the Jászság region), although the southern part of the interfluve is sometimes also suggested. The location of the areas occupied by the Sciri

1253 Bóna et al. 1993, map between pp. 172 and 173.
1254 Pópity 2006, 111-112.
1255 Jordan L.265, LIV.277, LVI.285.
1256 Jordan L.265. The treaty that allowed various Iranian groups (Sarmatians, Alans, Sadagari) to settle in the territories mentioned by Jordanes was probably concluded with Emperor Marcian in 455; see Kiss 2004, 155, for an evaluation of the passage.

and the Sarmatians relative to each other is also unknown, and it is therefore unclear which of them lived in the north and which in the south. Jordanes mentioned two Sarmatian kings by name, suggesting that Sarmatian rule had survived over two separate territories[1257].
It would appear that the two Sarmatian kings, Beuca and Babai, supported the Suebi against the Goths in 469.

> The kings [of the Suavi], Hunimund and Alaric, fearing the destruction that had come upon the Sciri, next made war upon the Goths, relying upon the aid of the Sarmatians, who had come to them as auxiliaries with their kings Beuca and Babai. They summoned the last remnants of the Sciri. […] They had on their side the Gepidae also, as well as no small re-enforcements from the race of the Rugi and from others gathered here and there. Thus they brought together a great host at the river Bolia in Pannonia and encamped there[1258].

The Goths defeated this army[1259]. It would appear that the Sarmatians returned to their lands and managed to avoid a retaliatory campaign by Thiudimer, the Gothic king, and that they even defeated a Roman general. In the meantime, Theoderich returned from the Byzantine court, where he had been held hostage, and in 472, eager to prove his mettle:

> [He] took to himself […] almost six thousand men. With these he crossed the Danube […] and marched against Babai, king of the Sarmatians, who had just won a victory over Camundus, a general of the Romans, and was ruling with insolent pride. Theodoric came upon him and slew him, and taking as booty his slaves and treasure, returned victorious to his father. Next he invaded the city of Singidunum, which the Sarmatians themselves had seized […][1260].

It would appear, then, that Singidunum was in Sarmatian hands until the early 470s. Although the Sarmatians eventually lost control over the city, they remained in the vicinity because we hear about Sarmatians in the area beyond the Sava in 473, when the Ostrogoths left Pannonia:

> […] Thiudimer [military leader of the Ostrogoths] […] crossed the river Savus with his men, threatening the Sarmatians and their soldiers with war if any should resist him[1261].

These events certainly indicate that the Sarmatians still played an active role in the history of the Carpathian Basin. In 516, Emperor Anastasius still bore the title *Sarmaticus*, perhaps another reflection of the Sarmatians' presence[1262].

1257 Jordan LIV.277. – Kiss 1981, 170-172, with an overview of the earlier literature; Kiss/Fazekas 2005, 268-269 map on p. 270. The rampart in the Kiskunság (Cumania Minor) region must be mentioned in this respect because some scholars believe that it was constructed by the Sarmatians as a defence against the Gepids infiltrating from the south (Bóna 1986, 69). If this was indeed the case and the rampart can be dated to this period, it would play a crucial role in determining the location of the Sarmatian territory. However, the date of this earthwork – if it was indeed one – is uncertain and it would therefore be unwise to base elaborate theories on this assumption.

1258 Jordan LIV.277. The battle was fought by the River Bolia, a name only appearing in Jordanes' narrative. The name of the river is believed to be of Germanic (Quadic) origin and is generally identified with the Ipel/Ipoly (Lotter 1985). For a recent overview of the events, see Kiss/Fazekas 2005, with a survey of the earlier literature. Kiss and Fazekas also proposed that the Bolia be identified with the Sárvíz in Transdanubia. See also Kiss 1997, 109. 118-120. We can see that the identification of the Bolia is still undecided and the exact location of the Sarmatian settlement territory thus remains uncertain.

1259 Jordan LIV.279.

1260 Jordan LV.282.

1261 Jordan LVI.285.

1262 Alföldi 1942a, 687, with the relevant sources.

The archaeological record is of little help at present because the upper chronological boundary of the Sarmatian settlements and cemeteries remains uncertain. There can be no doubt that, judging from recent large-scale excavations, there are cemeteries across the Hungarian Plain, including the Upper Tisza region, that were still used in the early 5th century, as we see from the buckles with thickened frame and prong coping over the frame and the glass vessels (**fig. 269**) found in the burials. One of these burial grounds is the recently published Madaras cemetery in the southern part of the Hungarian Plain, one of the most important sites of the period in question[1263]. Several cemeteries were opened in the second half of the 4th century. The burial rite observed in these cemeteries suggests that they also contain the graves of the earlier Sarmatian population of the Hungarian Plain, even though the grave goods reflect a much wider range of cultural contacts than before (e. g. Tápé-Malajdok: **fig. 301**; Sándorfalva-Eperjes: **figs 303-304**; and Tiszadob-Sziget: **figs 299. 301**)[1264].

According to our present knowledge, the latest graves can hardly be dated after the first third of the 5th century. The only burials that can be securely dated to the middle third of the 5th century are the burials with »Maeotian«-type swords with rectangular cuts on the blade under the hilt, such as those found in the cemeteries at Jászberény and Csongrád-Kenderföldek/Laktanya (Military Barracks) (**fig. 302**). The latter burial ground also stands out by the high number of burials, 138 in all[1265]. The assessment of the finds from this cemetery will no doubt contribute to a clearer picture of the 5th century Sarmatian presence in the Carpathian Basin.

The written sources are virtually silent about the Sarmatians of the Hungarian Plain for almost a century. This silence is broken by a passage in Paul the Deacon's history of the Langobards:

> It is certain that Alboin then brought with him to Italy many men from various peoples which either other kings or he himself had taken. Whence, even until today, we call the villages in which they dwell Gepidan, Bulgarian, Sarmatian, Pannonian, Suabian, Norican, or by other names of this kind[1266].

This would suggest that the Langobards subdued the Sarmatians after their arrival in Pannonia and that when they departed for Italy in the face of the Avarian occupation, they dragged along the subjugated peoples, the Sarmatians among them. Obviously, this should not be taken to imply that all the Sarmatians left with the Langobards, especially because the Langobards were most probably accompanied by population groups from Transdanubia. The Sarmatian groups which had perhaps lived under Gepidic overlordship, probably stayed on under the Avars. Even less is known about the size of the Sarmatian population in Transdanubia than on the Hungarian Plain. It would appear that in addition to Sarmatian *foederati* or *laeti*, Sarmatian groups settled in Pannonia and Valeria after the abandonment of the provinces, sometime in the late 430s[1267], at the time of the Hunnic rule. If it can be conclusively proven that the Sarmatians had a major influence on the late Transdanubian ceramic wares with smoothed decoration (**figs 294-295**)[1268], then their number was probably quite high. Following the departure of the Langobards to Italy, the Sarmatian groups on both sides of the Danube probably became subjects of the Avars. The sources thus furnish indirect proof for the survival of the Sarmatians/Alans at least into the Avar period[1269].

1263 Kőhegyi/Vörös 2011.
1264 Párducz/Korek 1946/1948. – Vörös 1982/1983. – Istvánovits 1993a.
1265 Párducz 1959, 310-318; 1963, 47-52.
1266 Paul. Diac. II.26.
1267 Tóth 2006, with a discussion of earlier views and the relevant literature.
1268 Tóth 2005b.
1269 Szádeczky-Kardoss 1992, 34. For the linguistic evidence of survival, see Makkay 1997a, esp. 55.

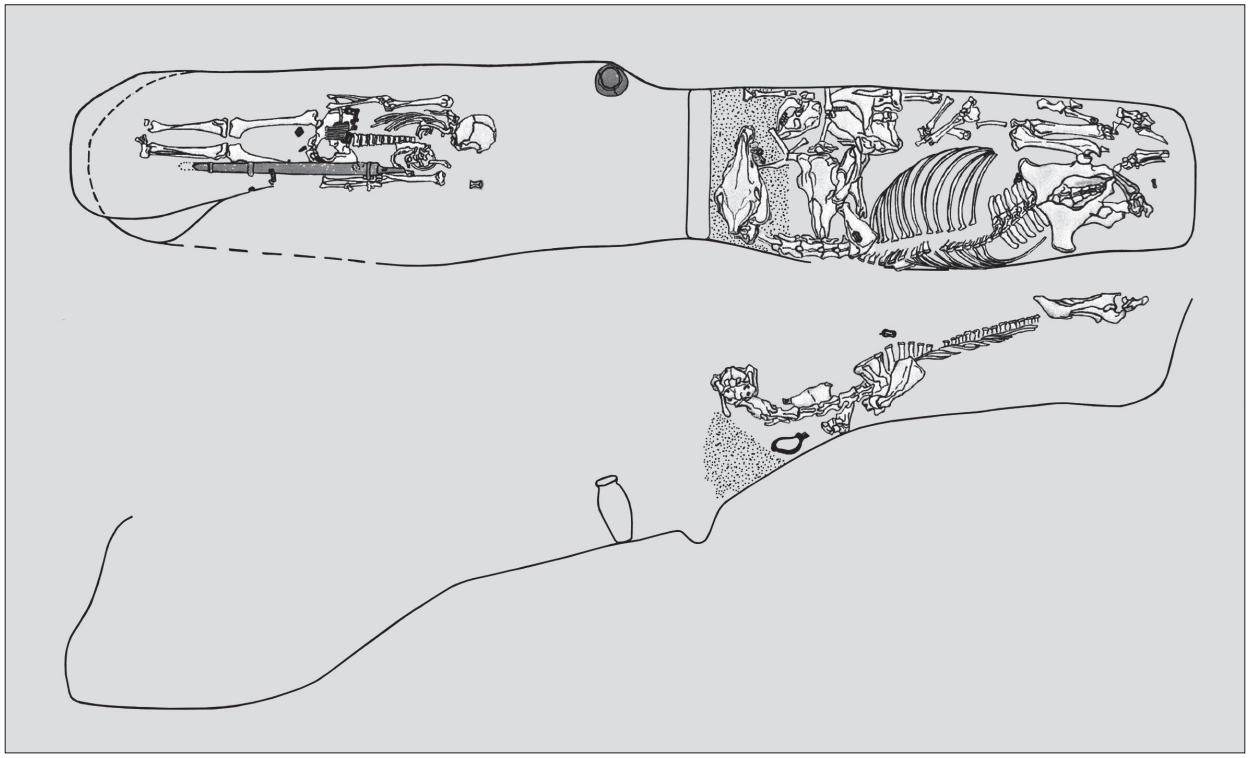


Fig. 327 Male burial in a niche grave at Szegvár-Orom-dűlő. – (After Lőrinczy 2001, figs 8. 10).

There is no direct archaeological evidence for the survival of the Sarmatians into the Avar period. However, new Iranian elements appear in this period, especially catacomb graves with a niche at one end of the grave pit[1270] on the Hungarian Plain, can perhaps be taken as an indication of a possible survival. A minute assessment of these graves will no doubt shed light on whether these burials have a possible Iranian/Alanian origin. This possibility must certainly be considered, given that the deceased laid to rest in some of the niche graves in the Avar cemetery uncovered at Szegvár-Orom-dűlő had a slightly deformed skull and that the grave goods included articles, such as mirrors, that are uncommon among the Avars, but more customary among the Alans (**fig. 327**). The catacomb rite and its more special and rare variant represented by this type of niche graves (Smirnov's Type II)[1271] are typical for the Caucasus. Contrary to the currently accepted viewpoint, it seems most unlikely that graves of this type had evolved and spread independently of each other in various regions[1272].
It seems to us that the population among which the Alans subdued by the Avars can be found should be sought in the southern part of the Hungarian Plain, which is characterised by a distinct set of finds between the Körös-Berettyó line and the Aranka in the Banat[1273]. Certain elements of these assemblages, identified by Lőrinczy, differ significantly from the other Avar finds of the Carpathian Basin. The niche and catacomb graves, the deformed skull of the deceased, the mirrors deposited in the burials, the Caucasian and Pontic parallels to certain artefacts and a burial dug secondarily into an earlier kurgan suggest that this population probably included Alans. Obviously, the assemblages also include a host of elements found across the entire Avar settlement territory which are generally characteristic of the period.

1270 Lőrinczy 1992, 104; 1994, esp. 318-320; 1995.
1271 Smirnov 1972, 74.
1272 This seems to be the case, even though the lack of contemporaneous parallels from the steppe and the Caucasus calls for caution. However, in the case of this peculiar grave form, some sort of connection seems more plausible to us despite the territorial hiatus and the chronological gaps than the assumption that they had evolved from the earlier simple niche graves of the Hungarian Plain. For a good overview, see Lőrinczy 1994.
1273 Lőrinczy 2000, 52-56.

The possible identification of a particular group within the population of the Avar period that is related to the Roman Age population of the Hungarian Plain is a recurring theme in anthropological studies[1274]. The greatest obstacle to any new advances in this field is the extremely poor preservation of the human skeletal remains from Sarmatian burials.

Finally, another indirect indication of the survival of the Sarmatians/Alans into the Avar period is grave looting. The overwhelming majority of the Sarmatian graves, including the ones dated to the latest horizon, are disturbed and looted (**fig. 183**). There is a general consensus that most of these burials were systematically looted at a later date, perhaps during the Avar period. It is also quite obvious that the grave robbers knew exactly the sex, age and perhaps the rank of the deceased[1275]. This is only conceivable if the robbers were capable of interpreting the grave markers, suggesting that the kinsfolk of the deceased tended the graves and were familiar with the burial customs. Proof for contact between the Avars and the Alans comes from Menander's data for the year 558, mentioning a meeting between the two peoples. When the Avars reached the border of the Alan lands in the Caucasus, they requested that the Alans intercede for them at the Byzantine court[1276].

In the light of the above, it would be hardly surprising if new Alan groups from the steppe had reached the Carpathian Basin together with the Avars in 568 and with Kuvrat's son Kuber in the 670s[1277], indeed, it seems highly probable that this was the case. It is quite certain that immigrant groups from the steppe had swept along various other ethnic groups as well, and the Avars were no exception. Suffice it here to recall the colourful diversity of the burial customs practised by the Avars in the Carpathian Basin. The sources leave little doubt that the Avars had subdued a portion of the Alan population. The question is whether the Alanic element can be identified in the archaeological heritage of the Avar period.

In sum, we may probably safely assume the survival of Sarmatian remnants in the Hungarian Plain during the Avar period, as well as the appearance of new Iranian groups probably swept here by the Turkic elite arriving from the steppe. It is therefore hardly surprising that research on the period's religious beliefs and the linguistic record both indicate Iranian cultural influence in the Carpathian Basin up to the Hungarian Conquest period and even afterwards.

This is also borne out by the three different names of the Jas – *oszlár* or *eszlár*, *varsány* (asiān or osiāan) and *jász* – all of which can be derived from the *ās/as* form. The difference between the three forms can only be explained by assuming that in Hungarian each was adopted at a different time and through a different mediator, which would harmonise with the above[1278].

One new advance in this field of research is Kovács's study in which he convincingly demonstrates that the narrative of the single Middle Persian chronicle to survive in the original language, *The Book of the Acts of Ardašir son of Pābag*, written at the turn of the 5th and 6th centuries, is to a large extent identical with three classical Hungarian folk ballad types. Accepting Vargyas's assertion that textual similarities of this type »were hardly born independently of each other«, this would suggest that we should assume »a population group with an Iranian culture in the Conquest period« in the Carpathian Basin[1279].

Similarly to the period between the Hun period and the Saltovo culture on the steppe, traces of the Alan/Sarmatians fade between the Avar period and the early Árpádian Age (the late 10th-12th centuries). At the same time, the date when the Jas first appeared in the Carpathian Basin remains controversial – they appear

1274 For a discussion of the Sarmatians' anthropological material, see Marcsik 2011, 419-421.

1275 Kőhegyi/Vörös 2011, 238, with further literature.

1276 Menandros *Exc.de leg*. 442.3-27. – Quoted after Szádeczky-Kardoss 1998, 45.

1277 Szádeczky-Kardoss 1998, 219-220.

1278 See Makkay 1997a for an excellent overview of the problems surrounding the Sarmatians' survival and the Jas, with the relevant sources and the earlier literature.

1279 Kovács 1996; 1997; 2005.

increasingly in the sources from the late Árpádian Age (13th century) onward. The possible survival of the Sarmatians can hardly be dissociated from the settlement of the Jas in Hungary.

Although a *Monasterium Jaz* appears in a charter of the Székesfehérvár chapter from 1256, it is far from certain that name of the monastery can indeed be linked to the Jas[1280]. The first uncontested mention of the Jas dates from 1318: » [...] *ancille sue emptice nacione Jazonice Elysabeth nominate* [...]«. However, most scholars believe that the Jas arrived in the Carpathian Basin at an earlier date. They sometimes appear as *filiszteus* (Philistines) from the mid-14th century and *jazig* or *jaszig* (Iazyges) in the sources. We are told that in 1323, they fought under the banner of King Charles Robert and that they received various privileges for their services. A charter from 1325 mentions four Jas[1281].

There are three main views on the settlement of the Jas in Hungary. Firstly, according to Györffy and Kristó, there was no Jas presence in Hungary before the 14th century and the settlement of the Jas can therefore be dated to the second half of the 14th century. This theory is based on the lack of any references to the Jas in the literary sources before that period. Secondly, the most widely accepted view since the late 19th century is that the Jas arrived, together with the Cumanians, after the Mongolian invasion of 1241. One of the main proponents of this theory is Selmeczi, who devoted much of his energy to the systematic archaeological research of this problem. In his interpretation, the archaeological finds from Négyszállás, a site that can be associated with the Jas, indicate that the new population had settled in the Jászság region around the mid-13th century[1281a]. The third view is that the Sarmatian population of the Hungarian Plain in the Roman Age survived and maintained a continuous presence. This was first suggested by the Humanist scholar Pietro Ranzano (Petrus Ransanus), a Dominican friar living in the 15th century, whose theory gained widespread acceptance in Hungarian scholarly literature after 1668[1282]. Makkay came to a similar conclusion after studying this question in the light of fresh evidence[1283]. To which we may add that new Iranian groups were probably driven into the Danube Basin by the successive population waves from the steppe (Huns, Avars, ancient Hungarians and Cumanians). The claim that the Jas had only arrived sometime in the late 14th century can be rejected in view of the archaeological evidence, such as the burials in the Négyszállás cemetery in case they can be associated with the Jas[1284]. However, it is far from decided which of the other two scenarios is more plausible.

One argument for a relatively late date is provided by certain words in the so-called Jas glossary, such as *gal* and *bäx*, that in Németh's view are related to the Caucasian Ossetian language. This glossary of forty Jas words was jotted down on the back of a Latin document issued by the Palatine Miklós Garai in 1422, which concerned a lawsuit over the property rights of a certain estate in County Fejér. The glossary was probably compiled at the same time as the document was issued (**fig. 328**). In his analysis of the glossary, Németh argued that the Jas of Hungary spoke a dialect in which elements of a Caucasian substrate can be demonstrated, implying that the Jas had arrived with the Cumanians because their language reflects a late linguistic state which could only have reached the Carpathian Basin through a group arriving from the Caucasus[1285]. While it is quite possible that a new Iranian-speaking group had reached Hungary together with the Cumanians, this does not necessarily exclude the settlement of other groups as well. Irrespective of the above, the remnants of the earlier Sarmatian/Alanic population may have spoken another dialect that had developed locally and independently of the Caucasian one.

1280 For a compilation of the sources on the different names of the Jas and an overview of the relevant literature, see Fodor 1942, 111-115.

1281 Fodor 1942, 112. For a more recent and summarising study, see Alemany 2000, 160.

1281a For a discussion of earlier research on these two theories, see Selmeczi 2005, with an abundant literature.

1282 Fodor 1942, 114.

1283 Makkay 1997a.

1284 Selmeczi 1992a, 101-113; 1992b; 2005.

1285 Németh 1959, *non vidi*; 1960, 23. Sadly, not one single comprehensive new study has been written on the Jas glossary and thus we have no idea whether Németh's views are still tenable or not.

In addition to the linguistic arguments, archaeological evidence is also cited in support of a settlement in the 13th century[1286]. The type finds were unearthed by Selmeczi in the burial ground at Négyszállás, a settlement which was demonstrably occupied by the Jas on the testimony of the written sources. The date of the cemetery's use was based on two coins of Béla III (1148-1196) modelled on Byzantine coins, both of which had been re-used as ornaments (one as part of a necklace, the other as the adornment of a headdress), recalling a coin found in a similar position in the Cumanian cemetery uncovered at Karcag-Orgondaszentmiklós. Selmeczi argued that the Cumanians could not have reached the Hungarian Plain before the first third of the 13th century and thus the difference of roughly fifty years between the minting of Béla III's coins and their deposition in the burials is irrelevant in terms of dating. In his view, there can be no doubt about the contemporaneity of the two sites[1287]. At the same time, the Caucasian Ossetian parallels to several unusual articles, such as cowry shells, needle cases, decorative mounts for headdresses, paired disc clasps and short swords or daggers found at Négyszállás, differing from the usual grave goods of the Árpádian Age, provide conclusive proof for the presence of a Jas ethnic group (**fig. 329**).

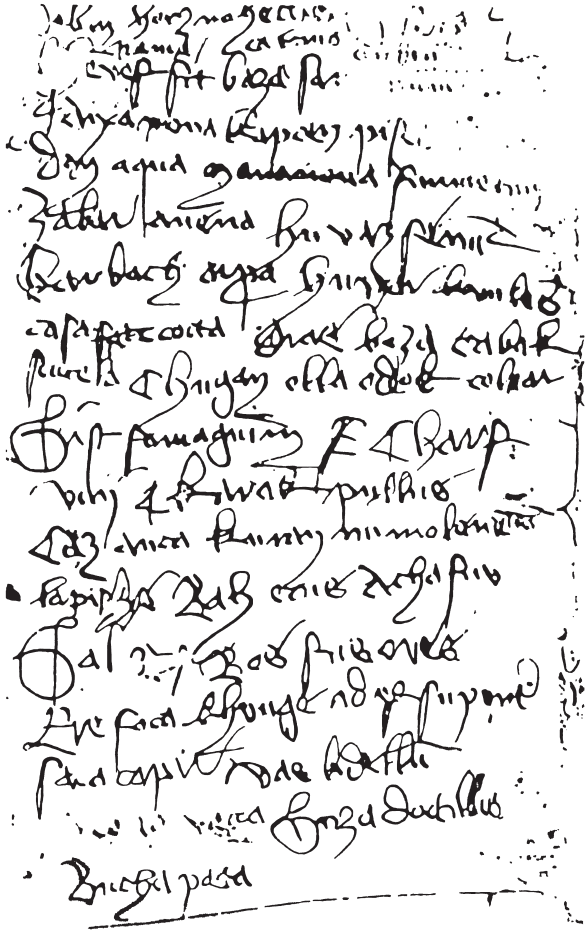


Fig. 328 The Jas glossary from the 15th century contains forty Jas words. – (After Gulyás/Szabó 2003, 33).

Irrespective of the date and ethnic attribution of the Négyszállás cemetery, the problem of finding a plausible explanation for the three different names denoting the Jas (*jász, eszlár/oszlár* and *varsány*) and the parallels in the ethnographic material remains if a single immigration in the 13th century is assumed. The Iranian loan-words in Hungarian pose another problem, as has been mentioned above. It would appear that the evidence rather supports the survival of some Sarmatian/Alanic groups from the Roman Age and the periodic infusion of these groups with new elements in the Carpathian Basin, despite the patchiness of the archaeological record.

The glossary from 1422 indicates that the Jas still spoke their own language in the 15th century. This is also borne out by Georgius Wernherus, a Silesian traveller, who in 1543, recorded that the Jas of Hungary spoke a language differing from Hungarian[1288], and by a passage in Nicolaus Olahus' (Oláh Miklós) work from 1568, in which the Humanist historian and Archbishop of Esztergom mentioned that:

> Hungary comprises a great many nations: Hungarians, Germans, Bohemians, Slavs, Croatians, Saxons, Szeklers, Vlachs, Serbs, Cumanians, *Jas*, Ruthenians and, by now, Turks; these all speak

1286 Unfortunately, most of these studies are rarely based on the archaeological record; instead, we find that the archaeological finds are adjusted to the theory that the Jas had arrived in Hungary with the Cumanians.

1287 Selmeczi 1992a, 103-105.

1288 Alemany 2000, 161-162.

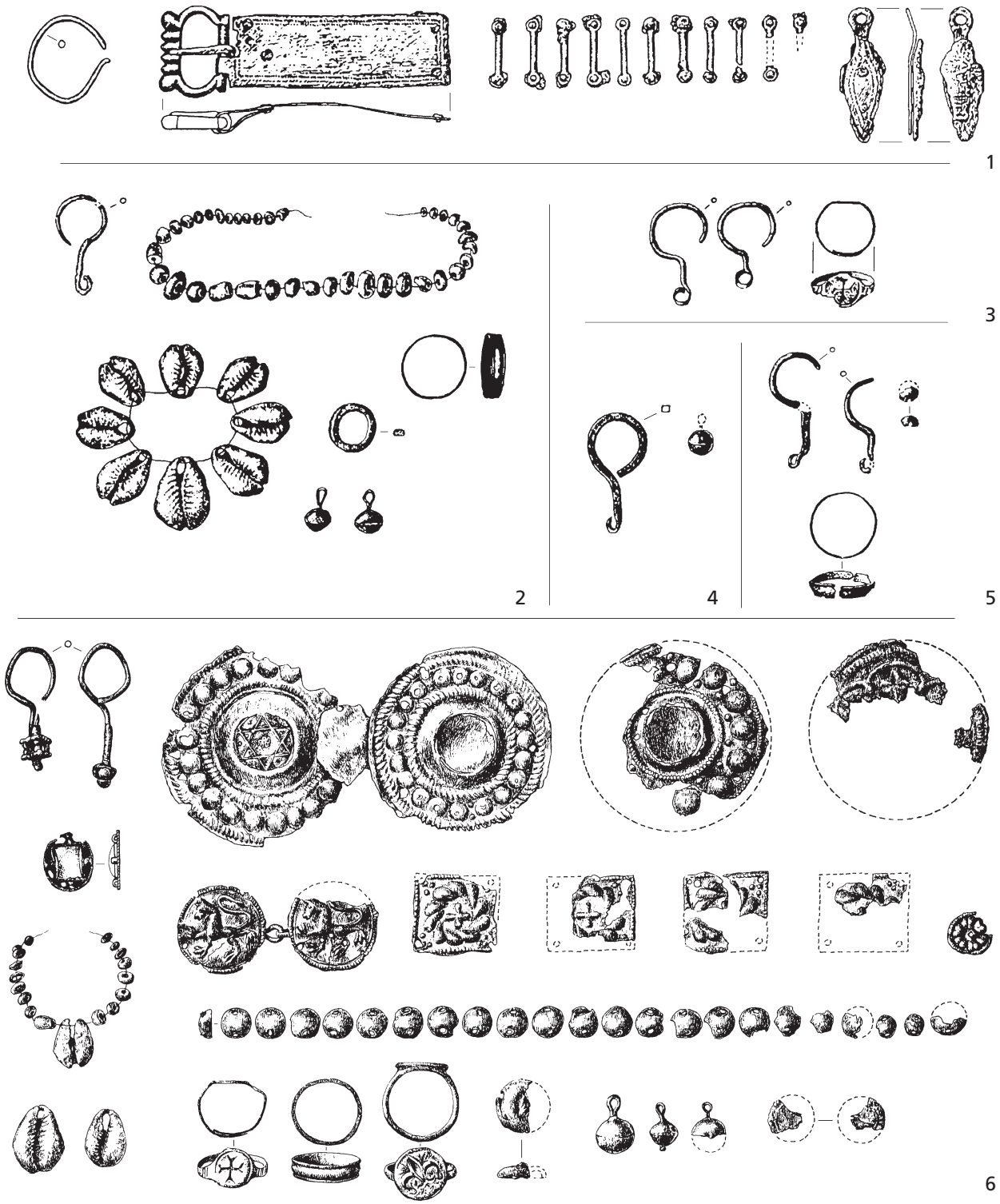


Fig. 329 Selection of finds from the 13th-14th century graveyard around the Négyszállás church associated with the Jas: **1** Cemetery II, Grave 24, 2-6. – **2** Cemetery I, Grave 118; **3** Grave 254; **4** Grave 206; **5** Grave 234; **6** Grave 180. – (After Selmeczi 1992a, pl. VII; 2005, figs 5. 13).

> diverse tongues, although some words bear some resemblance and similarity to each other owing to long habit and mutual contact[1289].

It is therefore hardly surprising that several Jas names such as Bagdasa, Hunoka, Bosonga, Szaburán, Gargán and Budmán appear in the Turkish *defter*s (tax registers) from the 16th century[1290]. Finally, mention must be made of the Dutch traveller Matthias Qua von Kinkelbach who visited Hungary in the 1590s and recorded that the Jas are the descendants of the Iazyges Metanastae and speak a tongue differing from that of the Hungarians[1291]. According to Fóris Ferenc Otrokócsi, the Jas spoke Hungarian in 1692[1292]. While there are no other references to the language spoken by the Jas from later periods, we do know that they enjoyed a certain measure of autonomy until the second half of the 19th century and that they have preserved their sense of identity as Jas, as well as certain customs to this very day. Ethnographers regard them as a distinct group.

1289 Oláh XIX, italics added for emphasis.
1290 Gulyás/Szabó 2003, 31.
1291 Makkay 1997a, 32-33.
1292 Németh 1990, 146. – Makkay 1997a, 32. – Alemany 2000, 162.

AFTERWORD

Reading through the text again, we realised that we undertook an immense task when attempting to review the history of the Sarmatians, a conglomerate of peoples whose history spans over two thousand years and whose migrations took them across the entire length of the Eurasian continent. The growing corpus of data from new excavations makes Sarmatian studies a dynamically growing discipline and we were aware, even while writing our book, how earlier views and our own perspective on one or another issue changed as new discoveries were made. This ebb and flow will be apparent to our readers, too, even as the book is published. Still, we believe that readers both in the East and West will find a comprehensive overview of the Sarmatian peoples useful, especially since these tribes have been somewhat neglected in archaeological publications. The main focus of our book was the Carpathian Basin. In writing the chapters on the Sarmatians' steppe history, we drew from the work of archaeologists, historians and linguists working in that region, while in the case of Hungary and the adjacent territories, we relied on our own excavations and research conducted over the past thirty years (we finished the manuscript in winter 2012).

This book could not have been written without the generous help provided by our colleagues, too numerous to mention, from Novosibirsk to North Carolina, who shared their ideas with us, sent us much-needed publications, provided us with illustrations of their finds and showed us their collections. We are greatly indebted to them all.

Special thanks are due to Univ.-Prof. Dr Falko Daim, General Director of the Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum in Mainz, who endorsed the idea of this book from the moment it was conceived, and to Dr habil. Dieter Quast, who kindly assisted us in all matters regarding the publication. We are also very grateful to Dr Claudia Nickel for the effective and careful editing work.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

SOURCES

Ambrosius: Ambrosius, Expositio evangelii secundum Lucam. In: Alemany 2000, 2, 16.

Ammian: Ammianus Marcelllinus, Roman History. Trans. Ch. D. Yonge (London 1862).

Anon. *Gesta Hungarorum*: Anonymous, notary of King Béla. The deeds of the Hungarians. Ed., trans. and annotated M. Rady / L. Veszprémy. In: J. M. Bak (ed.), Anonymus and Master Roger. Central European Medieval Texts 5 (Budapest 2010).

Appian. *Mithr.*: Appian's Roman History. Trans. H. White. Loeb Classical Library 3 (London, Cambridge MA 1988).

Aurelius Victor: Sextus Aurelius Victor, Epitome de Caesaribus: A Booklet About the Style of Life and the Manners of the Imperatores. Trans. Th. M. Banchich (Buffalo 2009). www.luc.edu/roman-emperors/epitome.htm (11.4.2009).

Auson. *Mosella*: Ausonius, Mosella. http://wiki.dickinson.edu/index.php?title=Ausonius_Mosella (11.4.2009).

Auson. *precat. cos.*: Ausonius. Trans. H. G. Evelyn White. Loeb Classical Library 96 (London, New York 1919).

Aventinus: Johannes Aventinus, Annalium Boiorum, sive veteris Germaniae. Libri VII. Ed. N. Cisner (Francofurti 1627).

Bagnall/Derrow 2004: R. S. Bagnall / P. Derrow (eds), Historical Sources in Translation: The Hellenistic Period (Oxford 2004).

Carpini: The Long and Wonderful Voyage of Frier Iohn de Plano Carpini. ebooks.adelaide.edu.au/h/hakluyt/voyages/carpini/complete.html (19.9.2012).

Chronicon Pictum: Képes Krónika. 1: Hasonmás kiadás. Sajtó alá rendezte L. Mezey, fordította L. Geréb (Budapest 1964).

CTh.: Theodosiani libri XVI cum constitutionibus Sirmondianis et Leges novellae ad Theodosianvm pertinentes. Ed. Th. Mommsen / P. M. Meyer (Berolini 1905).

Curtius Rufus: Quintus Curtius Rufus, The History of Alexander. Trans. J. Yardley (Harmondsworth 1984).

Demosth. *Formio*: Demosthenes. Trans. A. T. Murray (Cambridge, London 1939).

Demosth. *Lept.*: Demosthenes. Trans. C. A. Vince / J. H. Vince (London 1926).

Dio: Dio's Roman History. Trans. E. Cary (London 1968).

Dio Chrysost.: Dio Chrysostomus, Discourses. Trans. J. W. Cohoon. Loeb Classical Library 358 (London, Cambridge MA 1940).

Diod.: Diodorus Siculus, The Library of History, 12 vols. Trans. C. H. Oldfather / C. L. Sherman / C. Bradford Welles / R. M. Geer / F. R. Walton. Loeb Classical Library 303, 390 (Harvard 1933-1967).

Euseb. *vita Const.*: Eusebius of Caesarea, The Life of the Blessed Emperor Constantine. Trans. S. Bagster, rev. E. Cushing Richardson. www.fordham.edu/halsall/basis/vita-constantine.html (19.4.2012).

Eutrop.: Eutropius, Abridgement of Roman History. In: Justin, Cornelius Nepos, and Eutropius. Trans. J. Selby Watson (London 1886) 401-505.

Excerpta Valesiana: The Anonymus Valesianus, 3 vols. Ed. and trans. J. C. Rolfe. Loeb Classical Library 331 (London, New York 1935-1939).

Faust. Byz.: Faustus Byzantinus, Historia Armeniae. In: Alemany 2000, 7,16.

Florus *Epit.:* Florus, Epitome of Roman History. Trans. E. S. Forster. Loeb Classical Library 231 (London 1929).

Greg.Tur. *Hist.*: Gregory of Tours, History of the Franks, Books I-X. Trans. E. Brehaut (New York 1916).

Herodian: Herodian of Antioch, History of the Roman Empire from the Death of Marcus Aurelius to the Accession of Gordian III. Trans. E. C. Echols (Berkeley, Los Angeles 1961).

Herodotus: Herodotus, The Histories. Trans. A. D. Godley (Cambridge 1920).

Hieron. *Chron.*: Hieronymus, The Chronicle of St. Jerome. Ed. R. Pearse (Ipswich 2005). www.tertullian.org/fathers/jerome_chronicle_00_eintro.htm (19.4.2012).

Hippocrates: Hippocrates on Airs, Waters, and Places. Trans. F. Adams (London 1881).

Homer: Homer, The Odyssey. Trans. S. Butler (London 1900).

ILS: H. Dessau (ed.), Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae I-IV (Paris 1882-1916).

Is.Hisp.: Isidore of Seville's History of the Kings of the Goths, Vandals and Suevi. Trans. G. Donini / G. B. Ford (Leiden 1966).

Itinerarium Burdigalense: The Bordeaux Pilgrim, Itinerary from Bordeaux to Jerusalem. Trans. A. Stewart. The Library of the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society 1 (London 1887).

Iustinus: Marcus Junianus Justinus, Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus. Trans. J. Selby Watson (London 1853).

Jordan: Jordanes, The Origins and Deeds of the Goths. Trans. Ch. G. Mierow (Princeton 1908).

Jordan Rom.: Jordanes, Romana sive De Summa Temporum vel Origine Actibusque Gentis Romanorum. Trans. B. T. Regan. www.harbornet.com/folks/theedrich/Goths/Romana.htm (10.6.2012).

Jos.Flav. *Ant Iud.*: Flavius Josephus, Antiquities of the Jews. In: The Works of Flavius Josephus. Trans. W. Whiston (London 1737). http://sacred-texts.com/jud/josephus/ (2.1.2010).

Jos.Flav. *Bell.Iud.*: Flavius Josephus, Wars of the Jews. In: The Works of Flavius Josephus. Trans. W. Whiston (London 1737). http://sacred-texts.com/jud/josephus/ (2.1.2010).

Khorenats'i 1980: Moses Khorenats'i, History of the Armenians. Trans. R. W. Thomson (Cambridge, London 1980).

Lactant. *de Mort*: Lactantius, On the Deaths of the Persecutors. In: The Ante-Nicene Fathers: The Writings of the Fathers Down to

A. D. 325, vol. 7 (Grand Rapids 1896). www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf07.toc.html (19.4.2012).

Lucan. *b. civ.* (Phars.): The Pharsalia of Lucan. Trans. Sir E. Ridley Longmans (London 1896).

Luc. *Tox.*: Lucian of Samosata, Toxaris: A Dialogue of Friendship. In: The Works of Lucian of Samosata, vol. 3. Trans. H. W. Fowler / F. G. Fowler (Oxford 1905).

Menandros *Exc.de leg.*: Menandros, Excerpta de legationibus. In: Alemany 2000, 5, 9.

MGH AA Chronica minora I.: Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Chronica minora, vol. 1. Ed. Th. Mommsen (Berolini 1892). www.mgh.de/fileadmin/Downloads/pdf/MGH-Gesamtverzeichnis_2007.pdf; www.digital-collections.de/index.html?c=autoren_index&l=en&ab=Mommsen%2C+Theodor (19.4.2012).

Mon.Anc.: Monumentum Ancyranum (Res Gestae Divi Augusti). In: Velleius Paterculus and Res Gestae Divi Augusti. Trans. F. W. Shipley. Loeb Classical Library 152 (London 1924).

Mongol: The Secret History of the Mongols. Trans. F. Woodman Cleaves (Cambridge, London 1982).

Mroveli 1979: Леонти Мровели, Жизнь картлийских царей. Извлечение сведений об абхазах, народов Северного Кавказа и Дагестана. Перевод с древнегрузинского, предисловие и комментарии Г. В. Цулая (Москва 1979).

Not. Dign. Occ.: Notitia dignitatum omnium tam civilium quam militarium in partibus Occidentis. Ed. E. Böcking (Bonn 1839-1853).

Oláh: M. Oláh, Hungária. Trans. B. Németh (Budapest 1985). http://mek.oszk.hu/0600/06072 (19.4.2012).

Opt. Porfyr. *Carm.*: P. Optatianus Porfyrius, Carmina. www.thelatinlibrary.com/porphyrius.html (29.4.2012).

Orosius *Adv.Pag.*: Orosius, A History, against the Pagans. http://sites.google.com/site/demontortoise2000/ (19.4.2012).

Ovid *Ep.*: Ovid, Ex Ponto. Trans. A. S. Kline (2003). www.poetryintranslation.com/PITBR/Latin/OvidExPontoBkThree.htm#_Toc34217865 (19.4.2012).

Ovid *Tr.*: Ovid, Tristia. Trans. A. S. Kline (2003). www.poetryintranslation.com/PITBR/Latin/OvidTristiaBkOne.htm (19.4.2012).

Ovid *Ibis.*: Ovid, Ibis. Trans. A. S. Kline (2003). www.poetryintranslation.com/PITBR/Latin/Ibis.htm (19.4.2012).

Paul. Diac.: Paul the Deacon (Paulus Diaconus), History of the Langobards. Trans. W. D. Foulke (Philadelphia 1907).

Paus.: Pausanias, Description of Greece. Trans. W. H. S. Jones. Loeb Classical Library 93 (London, New York 1918).

Plin. *Ep.*: Letters of Pliny the Younger. Trans. W. Melmoth, rev. F. C. T. Bosanquet (New York 1909-1914).

Plin. *NH*: Pliny, Natural History, 10 vols. Trans. H. Rackham. Loeb Classical Library 370, 392 (Cambridge, London 1989).

Plut. *Galba*: The Parallel Lives by Plutarch. Trans. B. Perrin. Loeb Classical Library 103 (London 1926).

Plutarch *De fort Roman*: Fortuna Romanorum by Plutarch as published in Vol. IV of the Loeb Classical Library edition (London 1936). http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Plutarch/Moralia/Fortuna_Romanorum*.html (4.11.2009).

Pol. *Strat.*: Polyaenos' Stratagems of War. Trans. R. Shepherd (London 1793).

Polybius: The Histories of Polybius. Trans. W. R. Paton. Loeb Classical Library 128 (London 1922-1927).

Pomp. Mela: Pomponius Mela, De situ orbis. http://ourworld.cs.com/latintexts/mela_home_page.htm (30.10.2008).

Pomp. Mela *De chor:* Pomponius Mela, De chorographia. www.thelatinlibrary.com/pomponius.html (29.4.2012).

Procop. *Goth.*: Procopius Caesarensis, De bello Gothico. In: History of the Wars. Trans. H. B. Dewing. Loeb Classical Library 107, 173, 217 (Cambridge, London 1971).

Procop. *Pers.:* Procopius Caesarensis, De bello Persico. In: History of the Wars. Trans. H. B. Dewing. Loeb Classical Library 48 (Cambridge, London 1971).

Pseudo-Scylax: Pseudo-Skylax's Periplous: The Circumnavigation of the Inhabited World. Ed. G. Shipley (Exeter 2011).

Ptolem: Claudius Ptolemy, The Geography. Trans. and ed. E. L. Stevenson (New York 1991).

Scymn.: In: Latyšev 1947/1952-1992/1993, 223-227 (309-313).

Sen. *Thyest*: Seneca, Tragedies II. Trans. and ed. J. G. Fitch. The Loeb Classical Library 78 (Cambridge, London 2004).

Sen. *Nat.Quest.*: Physical Science in the Time of Nero, Being a Translation of the Questiones Naturales of Seneca. Trans. J. Clarke (London 1910).

SHA Ant.: The Life of Antoninus Pius. In: Historia Augusta [Scriptores Historiae Augustae], vol. 1. Trans. D. Magie. Loeb Classical Library 139 (London, New York 1921).

SHA Aur.: The Life of Aurelian. In: Historia Augusta [Scriptores Historiae Augustae], vol. 3. Trans. D. Magie. Loeb Classical Library 263 (London, New York 1932).

SHA Car.: The Lives of Carus, Carinus and Numerian. In: Historia Augusta [Scriptores Historiae Augustae], vol. 3. Trans. D. Magie. Loeb Classical Library 263 (London, New York 1932).

SHA Claud.: The Life of Claudius. In: Historia Augusta [Scriptores Historiae Augustae], vol. 3. Trans. D. Magie. Loeb Classical Library 263 (London, New York 1932).

SHA Gord.: The Three Gordians. In: Historia Augusta [Scriptores Historiae Augustae], vol. 2. Trans. D. Magie. Loeb Classical Library 140 (London, New York 1924).

SHA Hadr.: The Life of Claudius. In: Historia Augusta [Scriptores Historiae Augustae], vol. 3. Trans. D. Magie. Loeb Classical Library 139 (London, New York 1932).

SHA Marc.Ant.: The Life of Marcus Aurelius. In: Historia Augusta [Scriptores Historiae Augustae], vol. 1. Trans. D. Magie. Loeb Classical Library 139 (London, New York 1921).

SHA Maxim.: The Two Maximi. In: Historia Augusta [Scriptores Historiae Augustae], vol. 1. Trans. D. Magie. Loeb Classical Library 139 (London, New York 1921).

SHA Prob.: The Life of Probus. In: Historia Augusta [Scriptores Historiae Augustae], vol. 3. Trans. D. Magie. Loeb Classical Library 263 (London, New York 1932).

SHA Trig.Tyr.: The Lives of the Thirty Pretenders. In: Historia Augusta [Scriptores Historiae Augustae], vol. 3. Trans. D. Magie. Loeb Classical Library 263 (London, New York 1932).

Sozomenos: The Ecclesiastical History of Sozomen, Comprising the History of the Church from A.D. 323 to A.D. 425, trans., rev. Chester D. Hartranft (Edinburgh 1890).

Statius: Publius Papinius Statius, trans. J. H. Mozley (London, New York 1928).

Steph.Byz.: In: Latyšev 1947/1952. 1992/1993, 187(273).

Strabo: The Geography of Strabo, 3 vols. Trans. and ed. H. L. Jones. Loeb Classical Library 182 (Cambridge, London 1924).

Sueton: Suetonius, The Lives of the Twelve Caesars. Trans. J. C. Rolfe. Loeb Classical Library 31, 38 (Cambridge 1913-1914).

Sync.: Georgius Syncellus. Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae, vols 22 and 23. Ed. L. Dindorf (Bonnae 1829).

Székely 1854: Székely István magyar krónikája, 1558. In: F. Toldy (ed.), Tizenhatodik századbeli magyar történetírók régi kiadások és kéziratok után. Újabb Nemzeti Könyvtár 3 (Pest 1854) 2-66.

Tacit.: Complete Works of Tacitus. Trans. A. J. Church / W. J. Brodribb / L. Cerrato (New York 1942).

Zon.: Ioannes Zonarae, Annales. Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae. Trans. M. Pinder, ed. B. G. Niebuhr (Bonnae 1844).

Zosimus: Zosimus, The History of Count Zosimus, Sometime Advocate and Chancellor of the Roman Empire (London 1814).

REFERENCES

Abaev 1949: В. И. Абаев, Осетинский язык и фольклор 1 (Москва, Ленинград 1949).

1965: В. И. Абаев, Скифо-европейские изоглоссы (Москва 1965).

1971: В. И. Абаев, О некоторых лингвистических аспектах скифо-сарматской проблемы. In: П. Д. Либеров / В. И. Гуляев (eds), Проблемы скифской археологии (Москва 1971) 10-13.

1972: В. И. Абаев, К вопросу о прародине и древнейших миграциях индоиранских народов. In: В. И. Кузищин (ed.), Древний восток и античный мир. Сборник статей, посвященный профессору Всеволоду Игоревичу Авдиеву (Москва 1972) 26-37.

1979: В. И. Абаев, Основы иранского языкознания. Древнеиранские языки (Москва 1979).

1990: В. И. Абаев, Происхождение осетинских фамильных имён CÆRAZONTÆ и ÆGHUZATÆ. In: В. И. Абаев, Избранные труды. Религия, фольклор, литература (Владикавказ 1990) 408-422.

Abramova 1992: М. П. Абрамова, Некоторые особенности взаимоотношений ираноязычных кочевников и оседлых племён Предкавказья [Some pecularities in the relations between the Iranian-speaking nomades and the sedentary tribes of the North Caucasus]. PA 1992/2, 20-31.

1993: М. П. Абрамова, Центральное Предкавказье в сарматское время. (III в. до н.э. - IV в. н.э.) [Central Ciscaucasia (Predkavkaz'e) in the Sarmatian Period (3rd century BC - 4th century AD)] (Москва 1993).

1994: М. П. Абрамова, Некоторые особенности материальной культуры сарматов Центрального Предкавказья. In: Проблемы истории и культуры сарматов. Тезисы докладов международной конференции (Волгоград 1994) 8-15.

ADAM: J. Szentpéteri (ed.), Archäologische Denkmäler der Awarenzeit in Mitteleuropa. Varia Archaeologica Hungarica XIII/1-2 (Budapest 2002).

Afghanistan 2006: P. Vallaud (ed.), Afghanistan les trésors retrouvés. Collections du musée national de Kaboul. Guimet Musée National des Arts Asiatiques (Paris 2007).

Agulnikov/Simonenko 1993: S. M. Agulnikov / A. V. Simonenko, A late Sarmatian bridle set from Moldova. ComArchHung 1993, 91-97.

Ajbabin 1999: А. И. Айбабин, Этническая история ранневизантийского Крыма (Симферополь 1999).

2003: A. I. Ajbabin, Zur Datierung des germanischen Einfalls auf der Krim. In: C. von Carnap-Bornheim (ed.), Kontakt – Kooperation – Konflikt. Germanen und Sarmaten zwischen dem 1. und dem 4. Jahrhundert nach Christus. Internationales Kolloquium des Vorgeschichtlichen Seminars der Philipps-Universität Marburg, 12.-16. Februar 1998. Schriften des Archäologischen Landesmuseums 1 = Veröffentlichungen des Vorgeschichtlichen Seminars Marburg Sonderband 13 (Neumünster 2003) 65-78.

Ajbabin/Hajredinova 2008: А. И. Айбабин / Э. А. Хайрединова, Могильник у села Лучистое. I: Раскопки 1977, 1982-1984 годов [Summary] Боспорские исследования 4 (Симферополь, Керчь 2008).

Albeker/Bíróné 1969/1970: M. Albeker / K. Bíróné Sey, Antoninianus lelet Felsőtengelicről. NumKözl LXVIII-LXIX, 1969/1970, 13-23.

Alekseev 1992: А. Ю. Алексеев, Скифская хроника (Санкт-Петербург 1992).

2003: А. Ю. Алексеев, Хронография Европейской Скифии VII-IV вв. до н.э. [Chronography of European Scythia (7th-4th centuries BC)] (Санкт-Петербург 2003).

Alekseev 2000: В. П. Алексеев, Монеты царя Фарзоя из Тиры [The Coins of King Pharsoes from Tyra]. Stratum Plus 2000/6, 174-177.

Alekseeva 1982: Е. М. Алексеева, Античные бусы Северного Причерноморья. САИ Г1-12 (Москва 1982).

Alemany 2000: A. Alemany, Sources on the Alans: A Critical Compilation. Handbuch der Orientalistik 8, 5 (Leiden, Boston, Köln 2000).

Alföldi 1924/1926: A. Alföldi, Der Untergang der Römerherrschaft in Pannonien (Berlin, Leipzig 1924/1926).

1929: A. Alföldi, A gót mozgalom és Dácia feladása. Egyetemes Philologiai Közlöny LIII/VIII-X. 1929 (aug-dec.), 161-188.

1936: A. Alföldi, Pannonia rómaiságának kialakulása és történeti kerete. Századok 70, 1936, 1-37. 129-162.

1939a: A. Alföldi, Die Roxolanen in der Walachei. In: VI. Internationaler Kongress für Archäologie (Berlin 1939) 528-538.

1939b: A. Alföldi, Barbár betelepítés Pannoniába Nero korában [Eine Übersiedlung von barbarischen Massen nach Pannonien unter Nero]. Epigraphica II. ArchÉrt 66, 1939, 103-107. 263-265.

1940a: A. Alföldi, Daci e romani in Transilvania. Biblioteca della »Mattio Corvino« 9 (Budapest 1940).

1940b: A. Alföldi, Dákok és rómaiak Erdélyben. Századok 74, 1940, 129-180.

1941/1999: A. Alföldi, Erdély népei az ókorban. In: E. Mályusz (ed.), Erdély és népei (Budapest 1941); szerkeszett, bővített kiadása (ed. A. J. Vistai) (Budapest 1999) 9-20.

1942a: A. Alföldi, Az eraviszkuszok Buda földjén. In: K. Szendy (ed.), Budapest története I. Budapest az ókorban I (Budapest 1942) 135-171. – A pesti oldal új urai. In: K. Szendy (ed.), Budapest története I. Budapest az ókorban I (Budapest 1942) 172-235. – Aquincum a későrómai világban. In: K. Szendy (ed.), Budapest története I. Budapest az ókorban II (Budapest 1942) 670-746.

1942b: A. Alföldi, Zur Geschichte des Karpatenbeckens im I. Jahrhundert v. Chr. Ostmitteleuropäische Bibliothek 37 (Budapest, Leipzig 1942).

1943a: A. Alföldi, Keletmagyarország a római korban. In: J. Deér / L. Gáldi (eds), Magyarok és románok. A Magyar Történettudományi Intézet Évkönyve 1943 (Budapest 1943) 1-93.

1943b: A. Alföldi, A régi pénzek tanuvallomása a honfoglalás előtti Magyarország történetéről. NumKözl XLII, 1943, 14-25.

1967: A. Alföldi, Studien zur Geschichte der Weltkrise des 3. Jahrhunderts nach Christus (Darmstadt 1967).

Alföldy 1966a: G. Alföldy, Barbareneinfälle und religiöse Krisen in Italien. In: A. Alföldi (ed.), Bonner Historia-Augusta-Colloquium 1964/1965. Antiquitas R. 4 (Bonn 1966) 1-19.

1966b: G. Alföldy, Ein Bellum Sarmaticum und ein Ludus Sarmaticus in der Historia Augusta. In: A. Alföldi (ed.), Bonner Historia-Augusta-Colloquium 1964/1965. Antiquitas R. 4 (Bonn 1966) 21-34.

Alföldy 1954: M. R. Alföldi, A rábakovácsi római ékszerlelet. FA VI, 1954, 62-73.

1963: M. R. Alföldi, Fragen des Münzumlaufs im 4. Jahrhundert n. Chr. Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte 13, 1963, 75-104.

Almássy 2009: K. Almássy, Celts and Dacians (?) in the Great Hungarian Plain: 1st c. BC - 1st c. AD. In: V. Salač / J. Bemmann (eds), Mitteleuropa zur Zeit Marbods (Praha, Bonn 2009) 251-268.

Alram 1996: M. Alram, Die Geschichte Ostirans von den Griechenkönigen in Baktrien und Indien bis zu den iranischen Hunnen (250 v. Chr. - 700 n. Chr.). In: Weihrauch 1996, 119-140.

Ambroz 1966: А. К. Амброз, Фибулы юга европейской части СССР II в. до н.э. - IV в. н.э. САИ Д1-30 (Москва 1966).

Angyal/Balla 1972: K. B. Angyal / L. Balla, Studia Dacia I. DMÉ LIII, 1972 (1974), 149-175.

Antičnye 1984: Г. А. Кошеленко / И. Т. Кругликова / В. С. Долгоруков (eds), Античные государства Северного Причерноморья. Археология СССР (Москва 1984).

Aptekarev 1987: А. З. Аптекарев, К вопросу о восточной границе Боспорского царства во второй пол. IV – первой половине III вв. до н.э. In: Б. А. Раев (ed.), Античная цивилизация и варварский мир в Подонье-Приазовье (Новочеркасск 1987) 29-30.

Aquincum n. y.: K. Póczy / K. Lengyelné Kurucz (eds), Aquincum. Budapest a római korban / Das römische Budapest (Budapest n. y.).

Arheologia 1986: В. Д. Баран (ed.), Археология Украинской ССР (Киев 1986).

Ascherson 1995: N. Ascherson, Black Sea (New York 1995).

Austin 1981: M. M. Austin, The Hellenistic World from Alexander to the Roman Conquest. A Selection of Ancient Sources in Translation (Cambridge 1981).

Babeş 1999: M. Babeş, Ein Tamga-Zeichen aus der dakischen Siedlung von Ocnița (Buridava). In: N. Boroffka / T. Soroceanu (eds), Transsilvanica. Archäologische Untersuchungen zur älteren Geschichte des südöstlichen Mitteleuropa. Gedenkschrift für Kurt Horedt (Rahden/Westf. 1999) 223-239.

Babolcsi 2004: A. Babolcsi, Torquesek a szarmata kori temetkezésekben az Alföldön [unpubl. PhD thesis Univ. Szeged 2004].

Bachrach 1973: B. S. Bachrach, A History of the Alans in the West. From their First Appearance in the Sources of Classical Antiquity through the Early Middle Ages (Minneapolis 1973).

Bagnall/Derrow 2004: R. S. Bagnall / P. Derrow (eds), Historical Sources in Translation. The Hellenistic Period (Oxford 2004).

Balabanova 1988: М. А. Балабанова, Динамика морфологического облика населения Волго-Донского междуречья, Нижнего Поволжья и Южного Приуралья в раннем железном веке. In: В. Я. Кияшко / В. А. Ларенок / В. В. Потапов (eds), Проблемы археологии Юго-Восточной Европы (Ростов-на-Дону 1998) 3-5.

Balahvancev 2005: А. С. Балахванцев, Среднеазиатские дахи в IV-II вв. до н.э.: происхождение, хронология, локализация. In: В. П. Никоноров (ed.), Центральная Азия от Ахеменидов до Тимуридов. Археология, история, этнология, культура. Материалы международной научной конференции, посвященной 100-летию со дня рождения Александра Марковича Беленицкого (Санкт-Петербург 2005) 64-67.

Balahvancev/Jablonskij 2008: А. С. Балахванцев / Л. Т. Яблонский, Серебряная амфора из Филипповки. In: Л. Т. Яблонский (ed.), Ранние кочевники Волго-Уральского региона (Оренбург 2008) 29-38.

Balás 1961: V. Balás, Az alföldi hosszanti sáncok [Die Längswälle der Tiefebene]. RégFüz II, 9 (Budapest 1961).

1963: V. Balás, Die Erdwälle der Ungarischen Tiefebene. ActaAH 15, 1963, 309-336.

Balbi 1897: A. Balbi, Egyetemes földrajz a művelt közönség számára. Negyedik kötet. Újból megírta és tetemesen kibővítette Dr. Czirbusz Géza. Történeti nép- és földrajzi könyvtár (Nagybecskerek 1897).

Balla 1965: L. Balla, Dacia II. századi hadtörténetének kérdéseihez (106-167) [Zu den Fragen der Kriegsgeschichte Daziens im 2. Jahrhundert]. ArchÉrt 92, 1965, 141-147.

1968: L. Balla, Adatok Dácia II. századi hadtörténetének kérdéseihez (II.) A katonai diplomák (106-164) [Contribution à l'histoire militaire de la Dacie II. Les diplomes militaires (106-164)]. DMÉ L, 1968 (1970), 111-144.

1969: L. Balla, Guerre Iazyge aux frontières de la Dacie en 107/108. Acta Classica Universitatis Scientiarum Debreceniensis V, 1969, 111-113.

1981: L. Balla, Recusantes provinciales in Dacia. DMÉ LXII, 1981 (1983), 119-129.

Balogh 2009: Cs. Balogh, Telepek és temetők Makó, Igási járandó I. lelőhelyen. In: Cs. Balogh (ed.), Nyomvonalba zárva. Régészeti

feltárások az M43-as autóút és a Makót elkerülő út nyomvonalán (Szeged 2009) 30-33.

Balogh et al. 2005: Cs. Balogh / A. Korom / B. Kóbor / A. Türk, Eine Scheibenfibel mit Emaileinlage (Einzeltyp) aus der Gemarkung von Kistelek (Kom. Csongrád) (Kistelek, Flur »Gera-föld«, Objekt 216). MFMÉ-Stud.Arch XI, 2005, 37-50.

Barat/Soulat/Gauduchon 2009: Y. Barat / J. Soulat / S. Gauduchon, La présence d'un établissement germanique au début Ve siècle à Flins-sur-Seine (Yvelines)? Antiquités Nationales 40, 2009, 183-192.

Barceló 1992: P. Barceló, Constantius II. und die Limiganten: Einige Präzisierungen zu Amm. Marc. XIX 11. Klio 74, 1992, 422-430.

Barkóczi 1957: L. Barkóczi, Die Grundzüge der Geschichte von Intercisa. In: I. Borzsák (ed.), Intercisa II. (Dunapentele) Geschichte der Stadt in der Römerzeit. AH XXXVI (Budapest 1957) 497-544.

1959: L. Barkóczi, Transplantations of Sarmatians and Roxolans in the Danube Basin. Acta Antiqua VII, 1959, 443-453.

Barkóczi/Salamon 1968: L. Barkóczi / Á. Salamon, IV. század végi és V. sz. elejei üvegleletek Magyarországról. ArchÉrt 95, 1968, 29-39.

Barnes 1982: T. Barnes, The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantin (Cambridge 1982).

Bartosiewicz 1999: L. Bartosiewicz, A lelőhely állatcsontanyaga [Archaeozoológia]. In: J. J. Szabó / T. Petercsák (eds), Kompolt-Kistér. Újkőkori, bronzkori, szarmata és avar lelőhely. Leleletmentő ásatás az M3-as autópálya nyomvonalán. Heves megyei régészeti közlemények (Eger 1999) 279-338.

Bejan/Măruia/Tănase 2011: A. Bejan / L. Măruia / D. Tănase, Un mormânt cu podoabe de aur din epoca sarmatică timpurie descoperit la Sânnicoulau Mare – Selişte (jud. Timiş). Analele Banatului XIX, 2011, 161-180.

Beldiman 1990: C. Beldiman, Semne de tip tamga din Dacia preromană [»Tamga« signs from Preroman Dacia]. Thraco-Dacica XI/1-2, 1990, 139-151.

Beljak/Pažinova 2012: J. Beljak / N. Pažinova, Das Geheimnis der frühmittelalterlichen Wälle im Zvolener Talkessel (Slowakei). In: A Liska / I. Szatmári (eds), Sötét idők rejtélyei: 6-11. századi régészeti emlékek a Kárpát-medencében és környékén (Békéscsaba 2012) 297-324.

Benea 1986: D. Benea, Das Römerlager von Tibiscum und seine Rolle im Verteidigungssystem von Südwest-Dakien. In: Studien zu den Militärgrenzen Roms III. 13. Internationaler Limeskongreß Aalen 1983. Forschungen und Berichte zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte in Baden-Württemberg 20 (Stuttgart 1986) 451-460.

1995: D. Benea, Un atelier de verrier à Tibiscum. In: Annales du 13e congrès de l'Association Internationale pour l'Histoire du Verre (Pays Bas 1995) 193-200.

1997: D. Benea, Die Glasperlenwerkstatt von Tibiscum und die Handelsbeziehungen mit dem Barbaricum [A glass bead workshop at Tibiscum and its trade connections with the Barbaricum]. In: U. von Freeden / A. Wieczorek (eds), Perlen. Archäologie, Techniken, Analysen. Akten des Internationalen Perlensymposiums in Mannheim vom 11. bis 14. November 1994. Kolloquien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte 1 (Bonn 1997) 279-292.

1999a: D. Benea, Archäologische Forschungen auf dem Limes der Dacia Apulensis, 1983-1994. In: N. Gudea (ed.), Roman Frontier Studies. Proceedings of the XVIIth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies (Zalău 1999) 171-186.

1999b: D. Benea, Dacia Sud-Vestică în secolele III-IV. Interferențe spirituale [Zusammenfassung] (Timişoara 1999).

2002: D. Benea, Römische Werkstätten in Dakien (I) (mit Bezugnahme auf die Herstellung von Schmuckstücken und militärische Ausrüstungsgegenstände aus Bronze). In: K. Kuzmová / K. Pieta / J. Rajtár (eds), Zwischen Rom und dem Barbaricum. Festschrift für Titus Kolník. Communicationes Instituti Archaeologici Nitrensis Academiae Scientiarum Slovacae V (Nitra 2002) 31-53.

2004: D. Benea, Die römischen Perlenwerkstätten aus Tibiscvm / Atelierele Romane de mărgele de la Tibiscvm (Timişoara 2004).

Bernát 2006: P. Bernát, I. Valentinianus védelmi koncepciója és a 374-75-ös kvád-római háború. Kard és toll, 2006/3, 182-200.

Bertók 1997: G. Bertók, Ripa Sarmatica: Late Roman Counterfortifications on the Left Bank of the Danube. In: W. Groenman-van Waateringe / B. L. van Beek / W. J. H. Willems / S. L. Wynia (eds), Roman Frontier Studies 1995. Proceedings of the XVIth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies. Oxbow Monograph 91 (Exeter 1997) 165-172.

Bezuglov 1990: С. И. Безуглов, Аланы-танаиты: экскурс Аммиана Марцеллина и археологические реалии. In: В. Е. Максименко (ed.), Историко-археологические исследования в Азове и на Нижнем Дону в 1989 г. вып. 9 (Азов 1990) 80-87.

1997: С. И. Безуглов, Воинское позднесарматское погребение близ Азова. In: В. Я. Кияшко (ed.), Историко-археологические исследования в Азове и на Нижнем Дону в 1994 г. вып. 14 (Азов 1997) 133-142.

2000: С. И. Безуглов, Позднесарматские мечи (по материалам Подонья) [Late Sarmatian Swords]. In: Ю. К. Гугуев (ed.), Сарматы и их соседи на Дону. Материалы и исследования по археологии Дона, выпуск 1 [The Sarmatians and their Neighbours on the Don] (Ростов-на-Дону 2000) 169-193.

2003: S. I. Bezuglov, Alanen-Tanaiten und Germanen der Maiotis – Fragen der Kontakte in spätrömischer Zeit (3.-4. Jahrhundert). In: C. von Carnap-Bornheim (ed.), Kontakt – Kooperation – Konflikt. Germanen und Sarmaten zwischen dem 1. und dem 4. Jahrhundert nach Christus. Internationales Kolloquium des Vorgeschichtlichen Seminars der Philipps-Universität Marburg, 12.-16. Februar 1998. Schriften des Archäologischen Landesmuseums 1 = Veröffentlichungen des Vorgeschichtlichen Seminars Marburg Sonderband 13 (Neumünster 2003) 89-101.

Bezuglov/Zaharov 1988: С. Безуглов / А. Захаров, Могильник Журавка и финал позднесарматской эпохи в Правобережном Подонье. Известия Ростовского областного музея краеведения, вып. 5 (Ростов-на-Дону 1988) 5-28.

Bichir 1993: Gh. Bichir, Date noi cu privire la pătrunderea sarmaților în territoriul geto-dacic (I) [Nouvelles données concernant la pénétration des Sarmates dans le territoire géto-dacique (I)]. SCIVA 44/2, 1993, 135-169.

Bičurin 1950: Н. Я. Бичурин (Иакинф), Собрание сведений о народах, обитавших в Средней Азии в древние времена II (Москва, Ленинград 1950).

Bidzilja/Rusanova 1993: В. И. Бидзиля / И. П. Русанова, Липицкая культура. In: И. П. Русанова / Э. А. Сымонович (eds), Славяне и их соседи в конце I тысячелетия до н.э. – первой половине I тысячелетия н.э. Археология СССР (Москва 1993) 96-104.

Bierbrauer 2006: V. Bierbrauer, Gepiden im 5. Jahrhundert – eine Spurensuche. In: V. Mihailescu-Bîrliba / C. Hriban / L. Munteanu (eds), Miscellanea romano-barbarica in honorem septagenarii magistri Ion Ioniță. Honoria 2 (Bucureşti 2006) 167-216.

Bíróné 1978: K. Bíróné Sey, A döbröntei későrómai éremlelet [The late Roman coin find of Döbrönte]. Veszprém Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei 13, 1978, 51-88.

Bíróné/Palágyi 1983: K. Bíróné Sey / Sz. K. Palágyi, A balácai éremlelet [The Baláca coin find]. ComArchHung 1983, 63-78.

Blavatskij 1964: В. Д. Блаватский, Пантикапей. Очерки истории столицы Боспора (Москва 1964).

Blockley 1998: R. C. Blockley, Warfare and Diplomacy. In: The Late Empire, A.D. 337-425. The Cambridge Ancient History XIII (Cambridge 1998) 411-436.

Bobu Florescu 1965: F. Bobu Florescu, Das Siegesdenkmal von Adamklissi Tropaeum Traiani (Bukarest, Bonn 1965).

Bogdanova 1989: Н. А. Богданова, Могильник первых веков нашей эры у с. Заветное. Археологические исследования на юге Восточной Европы. Труды ГИМ 70, 1989, 17-70.

Bóna 1982: I. Bóna, Die Hunnen in Norikum und Pannonien. Ihre Geschichte im Rahmen der Völkerwanderung. In: Severin zwischen Römerzeit und Völkerwanderung [exhibition catalogue Enns] (Linz 1982) 179-200.

1984: I. Bóna, A népvándorlás kor és a korai középkor története Magyarországon. In: Gy. Székely (ed.), Magyarország története. Előzmények és magyar történet 1242-ig (Budapest 1984) 265-373.

1986: I. Bóna, Szabolcs-Szatmár megye régészeti emlékei I. In: G. Entz (ed.), Szabolcs-Szatmár megye műemlékei I (Budapest 1986) 15-91.

1991: I. Bóna, Das Hunnenreich (Budapest 1991).

2001: I. Bóna, From Dacia to Erdőelve: Transylvania in the Period of the Great Migrations (271-896). In: L. Makkay / A. Mócsy (eds), The History of Transylvania. 1: From the Beginnings to 1606 (New York 2001) 135-270.

Bóna et al. 1993: I. Bóna / J. Cseh / M. Nagy / P. Tomka / Á. Tóth, Hunok – Gepidák – Langobardok. Magyar Őstörténeti Könyvtár 6 (Szeged 1993).

Bónis/Gabler 1990: É. B. Bónis / D. Gabler, Fazekasság. In: A. Mócsy / J. Fitz (eds), Pannonia régészeti kézikönyve (Budapest 1990) 166-184.

Borowski 2001: A. Borowski (ed.), Słownik sarmatyzmu polskiego – idee, pojęcia symbole (Kraków 2001).

Bosworth 1977: A. B. Bosworth, Arrian and the Alani. Harvard Studies in Classical Philology 81, 1977, 217-253.

Bozsik 2003: K. Bozsik, Szarmata-sírok a kiskundorozsma-subasai 26/78. számú lelőhelyen [Sarmatian graves at site 26/78. in Kiskundorozsma-Subasa]. In: Cs. Szalontai (ed.), Úton útfélen. Múzeumi kutatások az M5 autópálya nyomvonalán / On the road! Museum research along the intended route of the M5 motorway (Szeged 2003) 97-106.

Böhme 1975: H. W. Böhme, Archäologische Zeugnisse zur Geschichte der Markomannenkriege (166-180 n. Chr.). JRGZM 22, 1975, 153-217.

Brašinskij/Marčenko 1984: И. Б. Брашинский / К. К. Марченко, К вопросу об этнической атрибуции Елизаветовского городища на Дону. In: А. Н. Мелюкова / М. Г. Мошкова / В. Г. Петренко (eds), Древности Евразии в скифо-сарматское время (Москва 1984) 24-28.

Brather 2004: S. Brather, Ethnische Interpretationen in der frühgeschichtlichen Archäologie (Berlin 2004).

Breeze/Jilek/Thiel 2005: D. J. Breeze / S. Jilek / A. Thiel, Frontiers of the Roman Empire / Grenzen des Römischen Reiches / Frontières de l'Empire Romain (Edinburgh, Esslingen, Wien 2005).

Brujako 1999: И. В. Бруяко, О событиях III в. до н.э. в Северо-Западном Причерноморье. (Четыре концепции кризиса.) [The Events of the 3rd c. BC in the North-West Black Sea Region. (Four Concepts of the Crisis.)]. ВДИ 1999/3, 76-91.

BSE 1953: Б. А. Введенский (ed.), Большая Советская Энциклопедия 19 (Москва 1953).

Bubenok 1997: О. Б. Бубенок, Ясы и бродники в степях Восточной Европы (Киев 1997).

2008: О. Б. Бубенок, Об обстоятелбствах, месте и времени возникновения этнонима буртас [Concerning the Circumstances, Place and Time of the Origin of the Ethnic name Burtas]. МАИЭТ XIV, 2008, 462-475.

Bunjatjan et al. 1998: К. П. Бунятян / В. Ю. Мурзін / О. В. Симоненко, На світанку історії 1 (Київ 1998).

Calkin 1971: В. И. Цалкин, Животноводство населения Северного Причерноморья в эпоху поздней бронзы и раннего железа. In: П. Д. Либеров / В. И. Гуляев (eds), Проблемы скифской археологии (Москва 1971) 13-15.

von Carnap-Bornheim 2001: C. von Carnap-Bornheim, Das Waffengrab von Geszteréd (Komitat Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg) aus »germanischer« Sicht. In: E. Istvánovits / V. Kulcsár (eds), International Connections of the Barbarians of the Carpathian Basin in the 1st-5th Centuries A.D. Proceedings of the International Archaeological Conference held in Aszód and Nyíregyháza in 1999. Múzeumi Füzetek 51 = Jósa András Múzeum Kiadványai 47 (Aszód, Nyíregyháza 2001) 125-138.

von Carnap-Bornheim/Ilkjær 1996: C. von Carnap-Bornheim / J. Ilkjær, Illerup Ådal 5. Die Prachtausrüstungen. Jutland Archaeological Society Publications XXV, 5 (Moesgård 1996).

Central Asia 1996: J. Harmatta (ed.), History of Civilizations of Central Asia. 2: The Development of Sedentary and Nomadic Civilizations: 700 BC to AD 250 (Paris 1996).

Čežina 1983: Е. Ф. Чежина, Художественные особенности звериного стиля Нижнего Поволжья и Южного Приуралья в скифскую эпоху. АСГЭ 23, 1983, 16-29.

Choyke 1996: A. Choyke, Worked Animal Bone at the Sarmatian Site Gyoma 133. In: S. Bökönyi (ed.), Cultural and Landscape Changes in South-East Hungary II. Prehistoric, Roman Barbarian and Late Avar Settlement at Gyoma 133 (Békés County Microregion). Archaeolingua 5 (Budapest 1996) 307-322.

Cichorius 1896/1900: C. Cichorius, Die Reliefs der Trajanussäule. Textband II-III, Tafelband 1-2 (Berlin 1896/1900).

Cociş 2004: S. Cociş, Fibulele din Dacia Romană / The Brooches from Roman Dacia (Cluj-Napoca 2004).

Crişan 1978: I. H. Crişan, Burebista and His Time. Bibliotheca Historica Romaniae Monographs XX (Bucureşti 1978).

Curtis/Tallis 2005: J. Curtis / N. Tallis (eds), Forgotten Empire. The World of Ancient Persia (London 2005).

Czeglédy 1955: K. Czeglédy, Kaukázusi hunok, kaukázusi avarok. AT II, 1955, 121-140.

Czúth/Szádeczky-Kardoss 1956: B. Czúth / S. Szádeczky-Kardoss, A bagauda mozgalmak Hispániában. AT III, 1956, 175-180.

Dautova-Ruševljan 1990: V. Dautova-Ruševljan, Dosadašnji rezultati istraživanja i problemi pri proučavanju sarmatske kulture u Vojvodini [Current analysis of research and problems investigating the Sarmatic culture in Vojvodina]. Rad Vojvođanskih Muzeja 32, 1990, 81-94.

Davnja 1994: С. В. Головко (ed.), Давня історія України 1 (Київ 1994).

Debec 1971: Г. Ф. Дебец, О физических типах людей скифского времени. In: П. Д. Либеров / В. И. Гуляев (eds), Проблемы скифской археологии (Москва 1971) 8-10.

Demandt 1989: A. Demandt, The Osmosis of Late Roman and Germanic Aristocracies. In: E. K. Chrysos / A. Schwarz (eds), Das Reich und die Barbaren (Wien, Köln 1989) 75-86.

2007: A. Demandt, Die imperiale Idee. In: A. Demandt / J. Engemann (eds), Imperator Caesar Flavius Constantinus. Konstantin der Grosse [exhibition catalogue] (Mainz 2007) 34-43.

Demény-Dittel n.y.: L. Demény-Dittel, A Hatvan-gombospusztai római katonai őrállomás emlékei. Régészeti kutatások (Hatvan n.y.).

Dénes 2001/2007: I. Dénes, Székelyföldi törésvonalak I-III [Valuri medievale în Secuime 1-3. Middle Age's Vallums in Székelyföld 1-3]. Acta Siculica 2000/1 (2001), 215-236; 2003/1 (2004), 99-110; 2006/2, 79-90; 2007, 253-285.

Desjatčikov 1973: Ю. М. Десятчиков, Сарматы на Таманском полуострове [Sarmates sur la presquî'le de Taman]. CA 1973/4, 69-80.

1977: Ю. М. Десятчиков, Арифарн, царь сираков. In: М. М. Кобылина (ed.), История и культура античного мира (Москва 1977) 45-48.

Dinnyés 1991: I. Dinnyés, A hévizgyörki szarmata sírok [Sarmatian graves from Hévizgyörk]. StudCom 22, 1991, 145-201.

2011: I. Dinnyés, A kvád és a szarmata településterület viszonya a császárkorban Pest megye ÉK-i részén. In: K. Kővári / Zs. Miklós (eds), »Fél évszázad terepen«. Tanulmánykötet Torma István tiszteletére 70. születésnapja alkalmából (Budapest 2011) 279-286.

Dittrich 1984: U.-B. Dittrich, Die Beziehungen Roms zu den Sarmaten und Quaden im vierten Jahrhundert n. Chr. (nach der Darstellung des Ammianus Marcellinus) [Diss. Univ. Bonn 1984].

1987: U.-B. Dittrich, Die Wirtschaftsstruktur der Quaden, Markomannen und Sarmaten im mittleren Donauraum und ihre Handelsbeziehungen mit Rom. Münstersche Beiträge zur Antiken Handelsgeschichte VI/1, 1987, 9-30.

D'jakonov 1951: И. М. Дьяконов, Ассиро-вавилонские источники по истории Урарту. ВДИ 1951/2, 257-356.

Dobesch 1995: G. Dobesch, Das europäische »Barbaricum« und die Zone der Mediterrankultur. Ihre historische Wechselwirkung und das Geschichtsbild des Poseidonios. Tyche Supplementband 2 (Wien 1995).

Dobrzańska 2001: H. Dobrzańska, Contacts between Sarmatians and the Przeworsk Culture Community. In: E. Istvánovits / V. Kulcsár (eds), International Connections of the Barbarians of the Carpathian Basin in the 1st-5th Centuries A. D. Proceedings of the International Archaeological Conference held in Aszód and Nyíregyháza in 1999. Múzeumi Füzetek 51 = Jósa András Múzeum Kiadványai 47 (Aszód, Nyíregyháza 2001) 101-115.

Doguzov 1992: К. Г. Догузов, Из истории алано-византийских отношений в VI в. In: Alanica II. Аланы и Кавказ (Владикавказ, Цхинвал 1992) 63-70.

Domboróczki 1997: L. Domboróczki, Mezőszemere-Kismari-fenék. In: P. Raczky / T. Kovács / A. Anders (eds), Utak a múltba. Az M3-as autópálya régészeti leletmentései / Paths into the past. Rescue excavations on the M3 motorway (Budapest 1997) 99-102.

Donskie dresvnosti 1997: В. Е. Максименко (ed.), Сарматы и Скифия. Сборник научных докладов III международной конференции »Проблемы сарматской археологии и истории«. Донские древности 5 (Азов 1997).

Dörner 1971: E. Dörner, Dacii şi sarmaţii din secolele II-III e. n. în vestul României [Daker und Sarmaten im Westen Rumäniens während des 2.-3. Jahrhunderts]. Apulum IX, 1971, 681-692.

Dračuk 1975: В. С. Драчук, Системы знаков Северного Причерноморья (Киев 1975).

Dudás 1885: Gy. Dudás, A római sáncok (Adalék Bács-Bodrogh-megye hajdanához). A Bács-Bodrogh Megyei Történelmi Társulat Évkönyve I, 1 (Zombor 1885) 5-13.

Dumézile 1978: G. Dumézile, Romans de Scythie et d'alentour (Paris 1978).

Dvorničenko/Fëdorov-Davydov 1989: В. В. Дворниченко / Г. А. Фёдоров-Давыдов, Раскопки курганов в зоне строительства Калмыцко-Астраханской и Никольской рисовых оросительных систем. In: К. А. Смирнов (ed.), Сокровища сарматских вождей и древние города Поволжья (Москва 1989) 14-132.

Dvorničenko/Korenjako 1989: В. В. Дворниченко / В. А. Кореняко, Предшественники савроматов в Волго-Донском междуречье, Заволжье и южном Приуралье. In: Stepi 1989, 148-152.

Dzattiaty 1992: Р. Г. Дзаттиаты, Алано-сасанидские отношения по материалам археологических раскопок в Южной Осетии. In: Alanica III. Аланы и Кавказ (Владикавказ, Цхинвал 1992) 71-82.

1995: Р. Г. Дзаттиаты, Алано-сасанидские отношения по материалам археологических раскопок в Южной Осетии. In: Alanica II. Аланы: история и культура. Кавказ (Владикавказ 1995) 101-106.

Dzigovszkij 1993: О. М. Дзиговський, Сармати на заході степового Причорномор'я наприкінці I ст. до н.е. – першій половині IV ст. н.е. (Київ 1993).

Dzigovszkij 2003: А. Н. Дзиговский, Очерки истории сарматов Карпато-Днепровских земель (Одесса 2003).

Enoki/Koshelenko/Haidary 1996: K. Enoki / G. A. Koshelenko / Z. Haidary, The Yüeh-chih and their Migrations. In: Central Asia 1996, 171-189.

Éry 1989/1990: K. Éry, Embertani vizsgálatok Heves megye Kr.e. VIII. századi népességén [Die anthropologische Untersuchung der aus dem 8. Jh. v. Chr. stammenden Bevölkerung des Komitates Heves]. Agria XXV-XXVI, 1989/1990, 119-158.

Farkas 2000a: A. Farkas, Filippovka and the Art of the Steppes. In: J. Aruz / A. Farkas / A. Alekseev / E. Korolkova (eds), The Golden Deer of Eurasia: Scythian and Sarmatian Treasures from the Russian Steppes (New York 2000) 3-17.

Farkas 2000b: Cs. Farkas, Kora szarmata sírok Füzesabony határában (Füzesabony-Kastély dűlő I.). In: T. Petercsák / A. Váradi

(eds), A népvándorláskor fiatal kutatóinak kilencedik konferenciája. Heves Megyei Régészeti Közlemények 2 (Eger 2000) 15-50.

Fedoseev 1996: Н. Ф. Федосеев, Елизаветовское городище Псоя-Танаис. In: В. П. Копылов (ed.), Международные отношения в бассейне Черного моря в древности и средние века. Тезисы докладов VIII международной научной конференции (Ростов-на-Дону 1996) 97-101.

Fehér/Kovács 2005a: B. Fehér / P. Kovács, Early Geographers – The Period of the Roman Conquest. Fontes Pannoniae Antique I (Budapest 2005).

2005b: B. Fehér / P. Kovács, The History of Pannonia between 54 and 166 A. D. Fontes Pannoniae Antique II (Budapest 2005).

Fejős 2001: B. Fejős, Az alán és az ász név összefüggése a középkori forrásokban. In: A. Márton (ed.), A Kárpát-medence és a steppe. Magyar Őstörténeti Könyvtár (Budapest 2001) 7-14.

Fettich 1930: N. Fettich, Der Schildbuckel von Herpály. Sein nordischer Kunstkreis und seine pontischen Beziehungen. Acta Arch. Køb. 1, 1930, 221-262.

Fiedler 1986: U. Fiedler, Zur Datierung der Langwälle an der mittleren und unteren Donau. Arch. Korrbl. 16, 1986, 457-465.

Firsov 2007: K. Firsov, Gräber sauromatischer Eliten. In: W. Menghin / H. Parzinger / A. Nagler / M. Nawroth (eds), Im Zeichen des goldenen Greifen. Königsgräber der Skythen (München et al. 2007) 184-195.

2009: K. Firszov, A szauromata elit sírjai. In: I. Fodor / V. Kulcsár (eds), Szkíta aranykincsek. Kiállítás a Magyar Nemzeti Múzeumban [exhibition catalogue] (Budapest 2009) 47-54.

Fitz 1958: J. Fitz, Septimius Severus pannóniai látogatása i.u. 202-ben [Rezümé]. ArchÉrt 85, 1958, 156-173.

1961/1962: J. Fitz, A regnum Vannianum kérdéséhez. Alba Regia II-III, 1961/1962 (1963), 207-208.

1966: J. Fitz, Ingenuus et Régalien. Collection Latomus 81 (Bruxelles-Berchem 1966).

1973/1974: J. Fitz, Adatok Pannónia pénzforgalmának alakulásához Vespasianus trónralépéséig [Contribution to money circulation in Pannonia until the age of Vespasian]. NumKözl LXXII-LXXIII, 1973/1974 (1974), 15-25.

1979: J. Fitz, S. Soproni, Der spätrömische Limes zwischen Esztergom und Szentendre. Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1978, 231 S., 95 Taf. Recension. ActaAH 31, 1979, 411-413.

1982: J. Fitz, Pannonok évszázada (Pannonia 193-284). Heréditas (Budapest 1982).

Fodor 1942: F. Fodor, A Jászság életrajza (Budapest 1942).

Fodor 1973: I. Fodor, Vázlatok a finnugor őstörténet régészetéből [Skizzen aus der Archäologie der Finnisch-Ugrischen]. RégFüz II, 15 (Budapest 1973).

Fodor 1997: L. Fodor, Szihalom-Budaszög. Késő szarmata – kora népvándorlás kori temető a IV-V. századból [Szihalom-Budaszög. Late Sarmatian and Early Migration Period Cemetery from the AD 4th-5th centuries]. In: P. Raczky / T. Kovács / A. Anders (eds), Utak a múltba. Az M3-as autópálya régészeti leletmentései / Paths into the past. Rescue excavations on the M3 motorway (Budapest 1997) 120-123.

Fornasier/Böttger 2002: J. Fornasier / B. Böttger (eds), Das Bosporanische Reich. Der Nordosten des Schwarzen Meeres in der Antike. Sonderbände der antiken Welt. Zaberns Bildbände zur Archäologie (Mainz 2002).

Frölich 1887: R. Frölich, A bácskai u. n. római sánczok. ArchÉrt 7, 1887, 19-30. 132-138. 207-223. 304-310.

Futó 1969: J. Futó, A Szovjetunió természeti és gazdasági földrajza. In: L. Szabó (ed.), Eurázsia (Budapest 1969) 31-193.

Fülöp 1976: Gy. Fülöp, Újabb tanulmány a római érmek szarmata kori forgalmáról a mai magyar Alföldön [A new paper on the circulation of Roman coins during Sarmathian times on the contemporary Hungarian Plain]. ArchÉrt 103, 1976, 253-262.

Gabler 1972: D. Gabler, Későrómai éremlelet Ács-Vaspusztáról [Ein spätrömischer Münzfund aus Ács-Vaspuszta]. ArchÉrt 99, 1972, 232-239.

2006: D. Gabler, Terra Sigillata, a rómaiak luxuskerámiája. MOYΣEION (Budapest 2006).

Gabler/Lőrincz 1990: D. Gabler / B. Lőrincz, Limestáborok. In: A. Mócsy / J. Fitz (eds), Pannonia régészeti kézikönyve (Budapest 1990) 94-103.

Gabuev 1999: Е. А. Габуев, Ранняя история алан (по данным письменных источников) (Владикавказ 1999).

Gabuev/Malašev 2009: Т. А. Габуев / В. Ю. Малашев, Памятники ранних алан центральных районов Северного Кавказа (Москва 2009).

Gadlo 1979: А. В. Гадло, Этническая история Северного Кавказа IV-X вв. (Ленинград 1979).

Gaglojti 1995: Ю. С. Гаглойти, К вопросу о первом упоминании алан на Северном Кавказе. In: Alanica III. Аланы: история и культура (Владикавказ 1995) 44-58.

Gajdukevič 1949: В. Ф. Гайдукевич, Боспорское царство (Москва, Ленинград 1949).

Gallina 1999a: Zs. Gallina, A kiskunsági Ördög-árok. In: A. Szakál (ed.), Halasi Múzeum. Emlékkönyv a Thorma János Múzeum 125. évfordulójára (Kiskunhalas 1999) 67-82.

1999b: Zs. Gallina, Késő szarmata temetőrészlet Kiskunfélegyháza-Kővágóéren. Adalék a szarmata sírszerkezetek és a korabeli sírrablások kérdéséhez [Spätsarmatisches Gräberfeld von Kiskunfélegyháza-Kővágóér. Angaben zur Frage der sarmatischen Grabkonstruktionen und zeitgenössischer Grabberaubung]. In: Á. S. Perémi (ed.), A népvándorláskor fiatal kutatói 8. találkozójának előadásai (Veszprém 1997. november 28-30.) (Veszprém 1999) 7-27.

Garam/Patay/Soproni 1983: É. Garam / P. Patay / S. Soproni, Sarmatisches Wallsystem im Karpatenbecken. RégFüz II, 23 (Budapest 1983).

2003: É. Garam / P. Patay / S. Soproni, Sarmatisches Wallsystem im Karpatenbecken. RégFüz II, 23^2 (Budapest 2003).

Garnier/Daynès/Lebedynsky 2007: J.-F. Garnier / M. Daynès / I. Lebedynsky, Deux poignards sarmato-alains en Lot-et-Garonne. L'Archéologue 88, 2007, 55-56.

Gazdapusztai 1960: Gy. Gazdapusztai, Dák-szarmatakori temető és telep Hódmezővásárhely-Kakasszéken [Могильник и стоянка эпохи великого переселения народов в Какашсеке]. ArchÉrt 87, 1960, 47-50.

Gherge/Amon 2007: P. Gherge / L. Amon, Noi date în legătură cu podul lui Constantin cel Mare de la Sucidava [New data regard-

ing Constantin the Great's bridge in Sucidava]. Pontica XL, 2007, 359-369.

Ghirshman 1954: R. Ghirshman, Iran: From the Earliest Times to the Islamic Conquest (Harmondworth 1954).

Gindele 2010: R. Gindele, Die Entwicklung der kaiserzeitlichen Siedlungen im Barbaricum im nordwestlichen Gebiet Rumäniens [Rezumat] (Satu Mare 2010).

2010-2011: R. Gindele, A császárkori és kora népvándorlás kori anyagi kultúra fejlődésének aspektusai Északnyugat-Románia területén [Probleme betreffend die Entwicklung der Sachkultur in den 2.-5. Jh. im Nordwesten Rumäniens]. In: Zs. Körösfői (ed.), Erdély és kapcsolatai a kora népvándorlás korában [Transylvania and its connections in the Early Migration Period]. Molnár István Múzeum Kiadványai 3 = Publications of the Molnár István Museum 3 (Székelykeresztúr 2010-2011) 205-248.

Gindele/Istvánovits 2009: R. Gindele / E. Istvánovits, Die römerzeitliche Siedlung von Csengersima-Petea (Satu Mare 2009).

2011: R. Gindele / E. Istvánovits, Die römerzeitlichen Töpferöfen von Csengersima-Petea (Satu Mare 2011).

Glebov 2001: В. П. Глебов, Сарматы и Боспор на рубеже эр. In: В. Ю. Зуев (ed.), Боспорский феномен. Колонизация региона, формирование полисов, образование государства. Материалы международной конференции. ч. II (Санкт-Петербург 2001) 194-201.

Glebov/Parusimov 2000: В. П. Глебов / И. Н. Парусимов, Новые сарматские погребения в бассейне реки Сал (о соотношении раннесарматской и среднесарматской культур) [New Finds of Sarmatian Burials in the Sal Basin: The Connection between the Early and Middle Sarmatian Cultures]. In: Ю. К. Гугуев (ed.), Сарматы и их соседи на Дону. Материалы и исследования по археологии Дона. Выпуск 1 [The Sarmatians and their Neighbours on the Don] (Ростов-на-Дону 2000) 61-89.

Godłowski 1993: K. Godłowski, Die Barbaren nördlich der Westkarpaten und das Karpatenbecken – Einwanderungen, politische und militärische Kontakte. Specimina Nova 1993 (1994), 65-89.

Gold 1991: R. Rolle / M. Müller-Wille / K. Schietzel (eds), Gold der Steppe. Archäologie der Ukraine (Schleswig 1991).

Gostar 1961: N. Gostar, Metereaque turba (Ovide, Tristia, II, 191). Studii Clasice 3, 1961, 314-315.

Graf 1936: A. Graf, Übersicht der antiken Geographie von Pannonien. DissPann I, 5 (Budapest 1936).

Grakov 1947: Б. Н. Граков, ΓΥΝΑΙΚΟΚΡΑΤΟΥΜΕΝΟΙ (Пережитки матриархата у сарматов). ВДИ 1947/3, 100-121.

1977: Б. Н. Граков, Ранний железный век. (Культуры Западной и Юго-Восточной Европы) (Москва 1977).

Grape 1994: W. Grape, The Bayeux Tapestry. Monument to a Norman Triumph (München, New York 1994).

Greki 2005: К. К. Марченко (ed.), Греки и варвары Северного Причерноморья в скифскую эпоху. Античная библиотека (Санкт-Петербург 2005).

Gróf/Gróh 2004: P. Gróf / D. Gróh, Visegrád-gizellamajori római erőd és temető. Ókor III/4, 2004, 53-54.

2011: P. Gróf / D. Gróh, Visegrád római kori emlékei. Vezető a római limes Világörökségre jelölt magyarországi helyszínein 4 (Visegrád 2011).

Gróh 1994: D. Gróh, Építéstörténeti megjegyzések a limes Visegrád környéki védelmi rendszeréhez [Baugeschichtliche Bemerkungen zum Verteidigungssystem des Limes in der Umgebung von Visegrád]. In: G. Lőrinczy (ed.), A kőkortól a középkorig – Von der Steinzeit bis zum Mittelalter. Tanulmányok Trogmayer Ottó 60. születésnapjára (Szeged 1994) 239-247.

Grosu 1990: В. И. Гросу, Хронология памятников сарматской культуры Днестровско-Прутского междуречья (Кишинев 1990).

1992: В. И. Гросу, Новые данные о царстве Фарзоя и Инисмея. In: Материалы и исследования по археологии и этнографии Молдовы (Кишинев 1992) 141-148.

1996: V. Grosu, Regatul lui Farzoios şi Inismeus [The Kingdom of Farzoios and Inismeus]. Arheologia Moldovei XIX, 1996, 247-252.

Grumeza 2014: L. Grumeza, Sarmatian cemeteries from Banat (late 1st - early 5th centuries AD) (Cluj-Napoca 2014).

Grzybowski 1996: S. Grzybowski, Sarmatyzm. Dzieje narodu i państwa polskiego (Warszawa 1996).

Gubitza n. y.: K. Gubitza, Bács-Bodrog vármegye őskora. In: S. Borovszky (ed.), Bács-Bodrog vármegye II. Magyarország Vármegyéi és Városai (Budapest n. y.) 1-27.

Gudea 2001: N. Gudea, Die Nordgrenze der römischen Provinz Obermoesien. Materialien zu ihrer Geschichte (86-275 n. Chr.). JRGZM 48, 2001, 3-118.

2002: N. Gudea, The northern frontier of Moesia Prima and the western section of the border of Dacia Ripensis between A. D. 275-378. In: K. Kuzmová / K. Pieta / J. Rajtár (eds), Zwischen Rom und dem Barbaricum. Festschrift für Titus Kolník. Communicationes Instituti Archaeologici Nitrensis Academiae Scientiarum Slovacae V (Nitra 2002) 117-126.

Gudkova/Fokeev 1984: А. В. Гудкова / М. М. Фокеев, Земледельцы и кочевники в низовьях Дуная I-V вв. н.э. (Киев 1984).

Guguev 1992: В. К. Гугуев, Кобяковский курган (К вопросу о восточных влияниях на культуру сарматов I н.э. - начала II в. н.э.) [Kobyakovo Barrow (On the Oriental Influence on the Sarmatian Culture of the 1st - early 2nd century A.D.)]. ВДИ 1992/4, 116-129.

Gulyás/Szabó 2003: É. Gulyás / L. Szabó, Jászdózsa. Száz magyar falu könyvesháza (Budapest 2003).

Guščina 1982: И. И. Гущина, О локальных особенностях культуры населения Бельбекской долины Крыма в первые века н.э. Труды ГИМ 54/2, »Археологические исследования на юге Восточной Европы« 1982, 20-30.

Guščina/Zaseckaja 1989: И. И. Гущина / И. П. Засецкая, Погребения зубовско-воздвиженского типа из раскопок Н.И. Веселовского в Прикубанье (I в. до н.э. - начало II в. н.э.). Труды ГИМ 70, »Археологические исследования на юге Восточной Европы« 1989, 71-141.

1994: И. И. Гущина / И. П. Засецкая, »Золотое кладбище« Римской эпохи в Прикубанье [»Golden cemetery« of the Roman age in the Kuban' basin]. Российская Археологическая Библиотека 1 (Санкт-Петербург 1994).

Guščina/Žuravljov/Firsov 2001: И. И. Гущина / Д. В. Журавлев / К. Б. Фирсов, Позднескифские коллекции в собрании Государственного Исторического музея. Труды ГИМ 118, »Поздние скифы Крыма« 2001, 230-238.

Hajnóczi 1987: Gy. Hajnóczi, Pannónia római romjai [Römische Ruinen in Pannonien] (Budapest 1987).

Hajredinova 2002: Э. А. Хайрединова, Женский костюм варваров Юго-Западного Крыма в V - первой половине VI вв. МАИЭТ IX, 2002, 53-118.

Harhoiu 1993: R. Harhoiu, »Tezaurul« de la Buzău – 1941 [Der »Schatzfund« von Buzău – 1941]. SCIVA 44/1, 1993, 41-51.

Harmatta 1941: J. Harmatta, Forrástanulmányok Herodotos Skytika-jához / Quellenstudien zu den Skythika des Herodot. Magyar-Görög Tanulmányok 14 (Budapest 1941).

1946/1948: J. Harmatta, Le problème cimmérien. ArchÉrt N.F. 7-9, 1946/1948, 79-132.

1949: J. Harmatta, The Sarmatians in Hungary. Folia Ethnographica 1/2-4, 1949, 127-154.

1950: J. Harmatta, Studies on the History of the Sarmatians. Magyar-Görög Tanulmányok 30 (Budapest 1950).

1951: J. Harmatta, Studies in the Language of the Iranian tribes in South Russia. Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae I/2-3, 1951, 261-314.

1952: J. Harmatta, The Dissolution of the Hun Empire. ActaAH 2, 1952, 277-305.

1970: J. Harmatta, Studies in the history and language of the Sarmatians. AASzeg XIII (Szeged 1970).

1971: J. Harmatta, Pannonia késõantik fejlõdésének problémái. AT XVIII, 1971, 264-266.

1975: J. Harmatta, Az alánok Kelet-Európában a korai középkorban. AT XXII/2, 1975, 256-261.

1986: J. Harmatta, Elõszó az 1986. évi kiadáshoz. In: Gy. Németh (ed.), Attila és hunjai (Budapest 1986; reprint 1940) I-XXXIX.

1994: J. Harmatta, Nomadic and Sedentary Life in the Great Steppe-Belt of Eurasia. In: B. Genito (ed.), The Archaeology of the Steppes. Methods and Strategies. Papers from the International Symposium held in Naples 9-12 November 1992. Instituto Universitario Orientale. Dipartimento di Studi Asiatici. Series Minor XLIV (Napoli 1994) 565-571.

Havassy 1998: P. Havassy, Katalógus. In: P. Havassy (ed.), Jazigok, roxolánok, alánok. Szarmaták az Alföldön. Gyulai Katalógusok 6 (Gyula 1998) 147-174.

Hazanov 1971: А. М. Хазанов, Очерки военного дела сарматов (Москва 1971).

Hendzsel et al. 2008: I. Hendzsel / E. Istvánovits / V. Kulcsár / D. Ligeti / A. Óvári / J. Pásztókai-Szeõke, »On the Borders of East and West«: A Reconstruction of Roman Provincial and Barbarian Dress in the Hungarian National Museum. In: M. Gleba / Ch. Munkholt / M.-L. Nosch (eds), Dressing the Past. Ancient Textiles Series 3 (Oxford 2008) 29-42.

Hind 2007: J. G. F. Hind, Ovid and the Barbarians beyond the Lower Danube (Tristia 2. 191-2; Strabo, Geogr. 7.3.17). Dacia LI, 2007, 241-245.

Holzer 1989: G. Holzer, Entlehnungen aus einer bisher unbekannten indogermanischen Sprache im Urslavischen und Urbaltischen. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte 521 (Wien 1989).

Horedt 1968: K. Horedt, Zur Frage der Datierung der grossen Erdwälle im Karpatenbecken. Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej XVI/1, 1968, 39-54.

1971: K. Horedt, Zur Geschichte der frühen Gepiden im Karpatenbecken. Apulum IX, 1971, 705-712.

Horváth 1998: G. Horváth, Belsõ- és Kelet-Ázsia természeti viszonyai. In: F. Probáld / G. Horváth (eds), Ázsia, Ausztrália és Óceánia földrajza (Budapest 1998) 128-150.

Hrapunov – see also Khrapunov

Hrapunov 1991: И. Н. Храпунов, Булганакское позднескифское городище (по раскопкам 1981-1989 гг.). МАИЭТ II, 1991, 3-34.

1995: И. Н. Храпунов, Очерки этнической истории Крыма в раннем железном веке. Тавры. Скифы. Сарматы (Симферополь 1995).

2002: И. Н. Храпунов, Могильник Дружное (III-IV вв. нашей эры) [The cemetery of Droozhnoye (3rd-4th centuries)]. Monumenta Studia Gothica II (Lublin 2002).

Hügel/Barbu 1997: P. Hügel / M. Barbu, Die Arader Ebene im 2.-4. Jahrhundert n. Chr. / Câmpia Aradului în secolele II-IV p. Ch. In: Römer und Barbaren an den Grenzen des römischen Daciens / Romani şi Barbari la frontierele Daciei romane. AMP XXI, 1997, 539-596.

Ievlev 1989: М. М. Иевлев, Роль географического фактора в истории Скифии IV в. до н.э. - II в. н.э. In: Ю. Г. Виноградов (ed.), Тезисы докладов областной конференции »Проблемы скифо-сарматской археологии Северного Причерноморья», посвященной 90-летию со дня рождения профессора Б.Н. Гракова (Запорожье 1989) 54-55.

Ignat/Bulzan 1997: D. Ignat / S. Bulzan, Roman imperial period discoveries in the middle basin of Barcău river / Descoperiri de epocă Romană în bazinul mijlociu al răaului Barcău. AMP XXI, 1997, 487-523.

Ishjamts 1996: N. Ishjamts, Nomads in Eastern Central Asia. In: Central Asia 1996, 146-164.

Istvánovits 1984/1986: E. Istvánovits, A Felsõ-Tisza-vidék legkorábbi szarmata leletei – 2-3. századi sírok Tiszavasváriból [The earliest Sarmatian finds of the Upper Tisza region – 2nd-3rd century burials in Tiszavasvári]. NyJAMÉ XXVII-XXIX, 1984/1986 (1990), 83-133.

1993a: E. Istvánovits, Das Gräberfeld aus dem 4.-5. Jahrhundert von Tiszadob-Sziget. ActaAH 45, 1993, 91-146.

1993b: E. Istvánovits, Some Data on the History of the Upper Tisza Region in the Roman Age [Príspevky k dejinám Szatmársko-Beregskej nížiny v dobe rímskej]. Východoslovenský Pravek IV, 1993, 127-142.

1997: E. Istvánovits, Some data on the ethnical and chronological determination of the Roman age population of the Upper Tisza region / Noi săpături arheologice în hotarul localităţii Beregsurány (Comitatul Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg). AMP XXI, 1997, 717-742.

1998: E. Istvánovits, Adatok az Észak-Alföld IV. század végi – V. század elejei lakosságának etnikai meghatározásához [Angaben zur ethnischen Bestimmung der Bevölkerung in der nördlichen Tiefebene am Ende des 4. und Anfang des 5. Jahrhunderts]. MFMÉ-Stud.Arch IV, 1998, 309-324.

1999: E. Istvánovits, Tiszavasvári-Városföldje-Jegyzõ-tag. A Settlement of the 5th Century. NyJAMÉ XLI, 1999, 173-254.

2000: E. Istvánovits, Völker im nördlichen Theißtal am Vorabend der Hunnenzeit. In: J. Bouzek / H. Friesinger / K. Pieta / B. Komoróczy (eds), »Gentes, Reges und Rom«. Auseinandersetzung

– Anerkennung – Anpassung. Spisy Archeologického Ústavu AV ČR v Brně 16 (Brno 2000) 197-208.

2002: E. Istvánovits, Römische Münzen im oberen Theißgebiet. In: K. Kuzmová / K. Pieta / J. Rajtár (eds), Zwischen Rom und dem Barbaricum. Festschrift für Titus Kolník. Communicationes Instituti Archaeologici Nitrensis Academiae Scientiarum Slovacae V (Nitra 2002) 275-285.

2004: E. Istvánovits, Settlements of the Imperial Age in the Upper Tisza Region. Študijné Zvesti Archeologického Ústavu Slovenskej Akadémie Vied 36, 2004, 219-228.

Istvánovits/Kulcsár 1993a: E. Istvánovits / V. Kulcsár, Tükrök a császárkori és a kora népvándorlás kori barbár népeknél a Kárpát-medencében [Der Spiegel der Kaiser- und Frühvölkerwanderungszeitlichen Barbarenvölker im Karpatenbecken. Зеркала варварских народов Карпатского бассейна в римское время и раннюю эпоху переселения народов]. HOMÉ XXX-XXXI/2, 1993, 9-58.

1993b: E. Istvánovits / V. Kulcsár, New Archaeological Phenomena in the Ethnical Picture of Eastern Hungary after the Marcomannic-Sarmatian War. Specimina Nova IX, 1993, 27-35.

1994a: E. Istvánovits / V. Kulcsár, Roman and Germanic Elements in the Armament of the Barrow-Graves of the 2nd-3rd Centuries AD in the Great Hungarian Plain. In: C. von Carnap-Bornheim (ed.), Beiträge zu römischer und barbarischer Bewaffnung in den ersten vier nachchristlichen Jahrhunderten. Marburger Kolloquium 1994 (Lublin, Marburg 1994) 405-416.

1994b: E. Istvánovits / V. Kulcsár, IV. századi éremmel keltezett sírok a kárpát-medencei szarmata Barbaricumban. In: Á. Nagy (ed.), A numizmatika és társtudományok (Szeged 1994) 69-85.

1998: E. Istvánovits / V. Kulcsár, Some Considerations About the Religion, Tribal Affiliation and Chronology of the Sarmatians of the Great Hungarian Plain. Annali dell'Università degli Studi di Napoli »L'Orientale«. Rivista del Dipartimento di Studi Asiatici e del Dipartimento di Studi e Ricerche su Africa e Paesi Arabi 58, 1998, 193-228.

1999: E. Istvánovits / V. Kulcsár, Sarmatian and Germanic People at the Upper Tisza Region and South Alföld at the Beginning of the Migration Period. In: J. Tejral / Ch. Pilet / M. Kazanski (eds), L'Occident romain et l'Europe centrale au début de l'époque des Grandes Migrations (Brno 1999) 67-94.

2000: E. Istvánovits / V. Kulcsár, Iranian-Germanic Contacts in the Sarmatian Barbaricum of the Carpathian Basin. In: M. Mączyńska / T. Grabarczyk (eds), Die spätrömische Kaiserzeit und die frühe Völkerwanderungszeit in Mittel- und Osteuropa (Łódź 2000) 237-260.

2001: E. Istvánovits / V. Kulcsár, Sarmatians Through the Eyes of Strangers. The Sarmatian Warrior. In: E. Istvánovits / V. Kulcsár (eds), International Connections of the Barbarians of the Carpathian Basin in the 1st-5th Centuries A.D. Proceedings of the International Archaeological Conference held in Aszód and Nyíregyháza in 1999. Múzeumi Füzetek 51 = Jósa András Múzeum Kiadványai 47 (Aszód, Nyíregyháza 2001) 139-169.

2002: E. Istvánovits / V. Kulcsár, The History and Perpectives of the Research of the Csörsz Ditch (»Limes Sarmatiae«). In: Ph. Freeman / J. Bennett / Z. T. Fiema / B. Hoffman (eds), Limes XVIII – Proceedings of the XVIIIth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies held in Amman, Jordan (September 2000). BAR International Series 1084, 2 (Oxford 2002) 625-628.

2003a: E. Istvánovits / V. Kulcsár, Szarmata tükörcsüngő a Nemzeti Múzeum gyűjteményéből [Sarmatian mirror pendant in the Hungarian National Museum]. Barbarikumi Szemle I, 2003, 75-78.

2003b: E. Istvánovits / V. Kulcsár, Some traces of Sarmatian-Germanic contacts in the Great Hungarian Plain. In: C. von Carnap-Bornheim (ed.), Kontakt – Kooperation – Konflikt. Germanen und Sarmaten zwischen dem 1. und dem 4. Jahrhundert nach Christus. Internationales Kolloquium des Vorgeschichtlichen Seminars der Philipps-Universität Marburg, 12.-16. Februar 1998. Schriften des Archäologischen Landesmuseums 1 = Veröffentlichungen des Vorgeschichtlichen Seminars Marburg Sonderband 13 (Neumünster 2003) 227-238.

2003c: E. Istvánovits / V. Kulcsár, The Archaeology of the Sarmatian Territories. Burials. In: Hungarian Archaeology at the Turn of the Millennium (Budapest 2003) 271-275.

2006a: E. Istvánovits / V. Kulcsár, Az első szarmaták az Alföldön (Gondolatok a Kárpát-medencei jazig foglalásról) [The first Sarmatians in the Great Hungarian Plain (Some notes on the Jazygian immigration into the Carpathian Basin)]. NyJAMÉ XLVIII, 2006, 203-237.

2006b: E. Istvánovits / V. Kulcsár, Szarmata nemzetségjelek a Kárpát-medencében [Sarmatian clan signs in the Carpathian basin. Nationale Zeichen der Sarmaten im Karpatenbecken]. Arrabona 44/1, 2006, 175-186.

2011: E. Istvánovits / V. Kulcsár, Actual problems of Scythian Age in the Great Hungarian Plain. In: В. И. Молодин / С. Хансен (eds), »Terra Scythica«. Материалы международного симпозиума »Terra Scythica« (17-23 августа 2011 г., Денисова пещера, Горный Алтай) (Новосибирск 2011) 77-81.

2013: E. Istvánovits / V. Kulcsár, The »Upper Class« of the Sarmatian Society in the Carpathian Basin. In: M. Hardt / O. Heinrich-Tamáska (eds), Macht des Goldes, Gold der Macht – Herrschafts- und Jenseitsrepräsentation zwischen Antike und Frühmittelalter im mittleren Donauraum (3.-10. Jh.) (Weinstadt 2013) 195-209.

Istvánovits/Kulcsár/von Carnap-Bornheim 2006: E. Istvánovits / V. Kulcsár / C. von Carnap-Bornheim, The Place of the Barbarian Warrior Burial from Tiszalök-Rázompuszta in the Third Century History of the Upper Tisza Region. Arch. Korrbl. 36, 2006, 91-110.

Istvánovits/Kulcsár/Mérai 2011: E. Istvánovits / V. Kulcsár / D. Mérai, Roman Age Barbarian Pottery Workshops in the Great Hungarian Plain. In: J. Bemmann / U. Brosseder / H.-E. Joachim (eds), Drehscheibentöpferei im Barbaricum. Technologietransfer und Professionalisierung eines Handwerks am Rande des Römischen Imperiums. Akten der Internationalen Tagung in Bonn vom 11. bis 14. Juni 2009. Bonner Beiträge zur Vor- und Frühgeschichtlichen Archäologie 13 (Bonn 2011) 355-369.

Istvánovits/Lőrinczy/Pintye 2006: E. Istvánovits / G. Lőrinczy / G. Pintye, A Szegvár-oromdűlői császárkori telep [Die frühkaiserzeitliche Siedlung von Szegvár-Oromdűlő]. MFMÉ-StudArch XI, 2005, 51-114.

Ivančik 1996: А. И. Иванчик, Киммерийцы. Древневосточные цивилизации и степные кочевники в VIII-VII вв. до н.э. (Москва 1996).

1999: А. И. Иванчик, Современное состояние киммерийской проблемы. Итоги дискуссии [The modern state of the Cimmerian problem. Summerising the discussion]. ВДИ 1999/2, 77-97.

Jablonskij – see also Yablonsky

Jablonskij 1996: Л. Т. Яблонский, Саки Южного Приаралья (археология и антропология могильников) [Saka of the South Aral Sea Area (archaeology and physical anthropology of the cemeteries)] (Москва 1996).

2007: Л. Т. Яблонский, Проблема хронологии и типологизации сарматских культур на современном этапе их изучения (в свете новейших материалов из Южного Приуралья) In: И. В. Сергацков (ed.), Региональные особенности раннесарматской культуры. Вып. II (Волгоград 2007) 4-38.

2010: Л. Т. Яблонский, Прохоровка у истоков сарматской археологии (Москва 2010).

Jablonskij/Rukavišnikova 2007: Л. Т. Яблонский / И. В. Рукавишникова, Вооружение раннесарматского воина (по материалам Филипповского-1 могильника). In: Л. Т. Яблонский / А. Д. Таиров (eds), Вооружение сарматов. Региональная типология и хронология (Челябинск 2007) 16-23.

Jacenko 1993a: С. А. Яценко, Аланская проблема и центральноазиатские элементы в культуре кочевников Сарматии рубежа I-II вв. н.э. [The »Alanian Problem« and Central Asian Elements in the Culture of the Nomades of Sarmatia on the Boundary of I-II c. A.D.]. ПАВ 3, 1993, 60-72.

1993b: С. А. Яценко, Аланы в Восточной Европе в середине I - середине IV вв. н. э. ПАВ 6, 1993, 83-88.

2001: С. А. Яценко, Знаки-тамги ираноязычных народов древности и раннего средневековья (Москва 2001).

Jacobs 1987: B. Jacobs, Das Chvarenah – Zum Stand der Forschung. Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 119, 1987, 215-248.

Jänichen 1956: H. Jänichen, Bildzeichen der königlichen Hoheit bei den iranischen Völkern. Antiquitas R. 1, 3 (Bonn 1956).

Jazigok 1998: P. Havassy (ed.), Jazigok, roxolánok, alánok. Szarmaták az Alföldön. Gyulai Katalógusok 6 (Gyula 1998).

Jónás 1924/1925: E. Jónás, A tiszanagyrévi római éremlelet. NumKözl XXIII-XXIV, 1924/1925 (1926), 38-40.

1929/1930: E. Jónás, Az öcsödi éremlelet. NumKözl XXVIII-XXIX, 1929/1930, 30-44.

1937: E. Jónás, Két római denárlelet Aquincumból. BudRég XII, 1937, 278-288.

Kameneckij 1989: И. С. Каменецкий, Меоты и другие племена северо-западного Кавказа в VII в.до н.э. - III в. н.э. In: Stepi 1989, 224-251.

Karyškovskij 1982: П. О. Карышковский, О монетах царя Фарзоя. In: Г. А. Дзис-Райко (ed.), Археологические памятники Северо-Западного Причерноморья (Киев 1982) 66-82.

1988: П. О. Карышковский, Монеты Ольвии. Очерк денежного обращения Северо-Западного Причерноморья в античную эпоху (Киев 1988).

Kasparova/Maksimov 1993: К. В. Каспарова / Е. В. Максимов, Культура Поянешти-Лукашевка. In: И. П. Русанова / Э. А. Сымонович (eds), Славяне и их соседи в конце I тысячелетия до н.э. - первой половине I тысячелетия н.э. Археология СССР (Москва 1993) 85-95.

Kazanski 1986: M. Kazanski, Un témoignage de la présence des Alano-Sarmates en Gaule: le sépulture de la Fosse Jean-Fat à Reims. Archéologie Médiévale XVI, 1986, 33-39.

1993: M. Kazanski, Les Barbares orientaux et la défense de la Gaule aux IVe-Ve siècles. In: F. Vallet / M. Kazanski (eds), L'Armée Romaine et les Barbares du IIIe au VIIe siècle (Condé-sur-Noireau 1993) 175-186.

Kazanski/Mastykova 2003: M. Kazanski / A. Mastykova, Les peuples du Caucase du Nord. Le début de l'histoire (Ier-VIIe siècle apr. J.-C.) (Saint-Étienne 2003).

Kemenczei 2009: T. Kemenczei, Studien zu den Denkmälern skythisch geprägter Alföld Gruppe. Inventaria Praehistorica Hungariae XII (Budapest 2009).

Kemkes/Scheuerbrandt 1997: M. Kemkes / J. Scheuerbrandt, Zwischen Patrouille und Parade. Die römische Reiterei am Limes. Schriften des Limesmuseums Aalen 51 (Aalen 1997).

Kérdő/Németh 1993: K. Kérdő / M. Németh, Aquincum 1. századi megszállásának kérdéséhez [Zur Frage der Besetzung von Aquincum im 1. Jahrhundert]. BudRég XXX, 1993, 47-53.

Khrapunov – see also Hrapunov

Khrapunov 2005: I. N. Khrapunov, A New Account on the Contacts between the Sarmatians and the Germans in Crimea (On the Materials of the Excavations of the Cemetery of Neyzats in 2001). In: P. Łuczkiewicz / M. Gładysz-Juścińska / M. Juściński / B. Niezabitowska / S. Sadowski (ed.), Europa Barbarica. Ćwierć wieku archeologii w Masłomęczu. Monumenta Studia Gothica IV (Lublin 2005) 185-197.

Kiss 1981: A. Kiss, Germanischer Grabfund der Völkerwanderungszeit in Jobbágyi (Zur Siedlungsgeschichte des Karpatenbeckens in den Jahren 454-568). Alba Regia XIX, 1981, 167-185.

1994: A. Kiss, Stand der Bestimmung archäologischer Denkmäler der »Gens Alanorum« in Pannonien, Gallien, Hispanien und Afrika. Acta Antiqua XXXV, 1994, 167-204.

1997: A. Kiss, Der goldene Schildrahmen von Sárvíz aus dem 5. Jahrhundert und der Skirenkönig Edica. Alba Regia XXVI, 1997, 83-132.

1999: A. Kiss, Glasfunde aus Gräbern des frühmittelalterlichen Karpatenbeckens (400-1000). In: Pannonia and beyond. Studies in Honour of László Barkóczi. Antaeus 24 (Budapest 1999) 217-241.

Kiss 1992: M. Kiss, Besimított kerámiák Lussonium erődjéből [Eingeglätte Keramike aus der Festung Lussonium] NyJAMÉ XXX-XXXII, 1987-1989 (1992), 113-127.

1993: M. Kiss, Zum Problem der barbarischen Ansiedlungen in Pannonien. Specimina Nova 1993 (1994), 185-200.

1994: M. Kiss, Adatok a Murga-típusú korsók kérdéséhez [Daten zur Frage der Krüge vom Murga-Typus]. In: G. Lőrinczy (ed.), A kőkortól a középkorig – Von der Steinzeit bis zum Mittelalter. Tanulmányok Trogmayer Ottó 60. születésnapjára (Szeged 1994) 249-257.

1999: Anonymus Valesianus: Origo Constantini. Fordította és magyarázatokkal ellátta Kiss Magdolna. Specimina Nova XV, 1999 (2000), 77-147.

2002: Jordanes: Getica. A gótok eredete és tettei. Kiss Magdolna gondozásában. Vivarium Fontium 1 (Pécs 2002).

2004: M. Kiss, Alarich. In: Iordanes: Getica. A gótok eredete és tettei. Közreadja: Kiss Magdolna (Budapest 2004) 13-37.

2008: M. Kiss, Gót vezéregyéniségek a késő Római Birodalomban. Getica-kutatások. Vivarium Fontium 2 (Pécs 2008).

Kiss/Fazekas 2005: M. Kiss / F. Fazekas, Hol játszódott le a Bolia folyó menti csata? AT XLIX, 2005, 265-272.

Klepikov/Skripkin 1997: В. М. Клепиков / А. С. Скрипкин, Ранние сарматы в контексте исторических событий Восточной Европы. In: Donskie drevnosti 1997, 28-40.

Kobály 1997-1998: J. Kobály, A Przeworsk kultúrához tartozó harcossírok és fegyverleletek a Kárpátalján [Römerzeitliche Waffenbestattungen in der Karpatoukraine und die Barbarengriffe auf den Limes]. NyJAMÉ XXXIX-XL, 1997-1998 (1998), 113-134.

Kočivniki 1996: J. Chochorowski / R. Abłamowicz (eds), Кочівники України / Koczownicy Ukrainy. Katalog wystawy (Katowice 1996).

Kocsis 2002: L. Kocsis, A Római Kori Gyűjtemény. In: J. Pintér (ed.), A 200 éves Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum gyűjteményei (Budapest 2002) 50-69.

Kocsis/Koós 2003: L. Kocsis / I. Koós, Nagytétény-CAMPONA 2002. In: P. Zsidi (ed.), AQUINCUM. A BTM Aquincumi Múzeumának ásatásai és leletmentései 2002-ben / Excavations and Rescue Work at the Aquincum Museum in 2002. Aquincumi Füzetek 9 (Budapest 2003) 155-161.

Kokowski 1999: A. Kokowski, Archäologie der Goten. Goten im Hrubieszów-Becken (Lublin 1999).

2003: A. Kokowski, Zur Geschichte der gotisch-sarmatischen Beziehungen im Licht der Maslomęcz-Gruppe und der Kulturen des Goten-Kreises. In: C. von Carnap-Bornheim (ed.), Kontakt – Kooperation – Konflikt. Germanen und Sarmaten zwischen dem 1. und dem 4. Jahrhundert nach Christus. Internationales Kolloquium des Vorgeschichtlichen Seminars der Philipps-Universität Marburg, 12.-16. Februar 1998. Schriften des Archäologischen Landesmuseums 1 = Veröffentlichungen des Vorgeschichtlichen Seminars Marburg Sonderband 13 (Neumünster 2003) 275-301.

Kolník 1977: T. Kolník, Anfänge der germanischen Besiedlung in der Südwestslowakei und das Regnum Vannianum. In: B. Chropovský (ed.), Symposium Ausklang der Latène-Zivilisation und Anfänge der germanischen Besiedlung im Mittleren Donaugebiet (Bratislava 1977) 143-171.

Komoróczy 2003: B. Komoróczy, A barbár-római kapcsolatrendszer felbomlása az i.sz. II. században a Pannóniával szomszédos barbarikumban. A markomann háborúk és előzményeik a régészeti források tükrében. PhD thesis, Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem (Budapest 2003).

2006: B. Komoróczy, K otázce existence římského vojenského tábora na počátku 1. století po kr. u. Mušova (kat. úz. Pasohlávky, Jihomoravský kraj) [Zur Frage der Existenz eines römischen Militärlagers am Anfang des 1. Jh. n. Chr. in Mušov (Kataster Pasohlávky, Südmähren). Kritische Bemerkungen aus der Ansicht der provinzial-römischen Archäologie]. In: E. Droberjar / M. Lutowský (eds), Archeologie Barbarů 2005 (Praha 2006) 155-205.

2009: B. Komoróczy, Marcomannia. Der Militärschlag gegen die Markomannen und Quaden – ein archäologischer Survey. In: 2000 Jahre Varusschlacht. Imperium – Konflikt — Mythos (Stuttgart 2009) 114-125.

Korai magyar 1994: Gy. Kristó (ed.), Korai magyar történeti lexikon (9-14. század) (Budapest 1994).

Korobov 2003: Д. С. Коробов, Социальная организация алан Северного Кавказа IV-IX вв. (Санкт-Петербург 2003).

2012: D. S. Korobov, Early Medieval Settlement in Southern Russia: Changing Directions [Les habitats du Haut Moyen-Âge du sud de la Russie: une changement de direction. Frühmittelalterliche Siedlungen in Südrussland: Richtungswechsel. Stanziamenti altomedievali nella Russia meridionale: un cambiamento di direzione]. Medieval Archaeology 56, 2012, 34-59.

Korom/Reményi 2004: A. Korom / L. Reményi, Dunakeszi, Székesdűlő. RKM 2004 (2005), 209-210.

Košelenko 1985: Г. А. Кошеленко, Заключение. In: Древнейшие государства Кавказа и Средней Азии. Археология СССР (Москва 1985) 107-114.

Koshelenko/Pilipko 1996: G. A. Koshelenko / V. N. Pilipko, Parthia. In: Central Asia 1996, 131-150.

Kouznetsov/Lebedynsky 2005: V. Kouznetsov / I. Lebedynsky, Les Alains. Cavaliers des steppes, seigneurs du Caucase Ier-XVe siècle apr. J.-C. (Paris 2005).

Kovács 1996: E. Kovács, A magyar folklór iráni kapcsolataihoz. Jászkunság 42/3-4, 1996, 157-159.

1997: E. Kovács, Egy középperzsa krónika és a klasszikus magyar népballadák. In: L. Szabó / R. Keményfi (eds), Varia ethnographica et folcloristica. Ujváry Zoltán 65. születésnapjára (Debrecen 1997) 181-185.

2005: E. Kovács, Ardakhsír perzsa nagykirály. A perzsa krónika és a magyar népballadák (Debrecen 2005).

Kovács 2001: P. Kovács, Adatok a tetrarchia-kori katonai építkezésekről Pannoniában. AT XLV/1-2, 2001, 141-168.

2004: P. Kovács, Hun kori sír Százhalombattán [Grave from the Hun Period at Százhalombatta]. ComArchHung 2004, 123-150.

2006: P. Kovács (ed.), Az antik Pannonia forrásai Kr.u. 166-tól Kr.u. 192-ig. Fontes Pannoniae Antiquae ab anno D. CLXVI usque ad annum D. CXCII. Fontes Pannoniae Antiquae 3 (Budapest 2006).

2007: P. Kovács (ed.), Az antik Pannonia forrásai a Severus korban. Fontes Pannoniae Antiquae in aetate Severorum. Fontes Pannoniae Antiquae 4 (Budapest 2007).

2008: P. Kovács (ed.), Az ókori Pannonia forrásai Kr.u. 235 és 284 között. Fontes Pannoniae Antiquae ab anno D. CCXXXV usque ad annum CCLXXXIV. Fontes Pannoniae Antiquae 5 (Budapest 2008).

Kovalevskaja 1993: V. B. Kovalevskaja, La présence alano-sarmate en Gaule: confrontation des données archéologiques, paléoantropologiques, historiques et toponymiques. In: F. Vallet / M. Kazanski (eds), L'Armée Romaine et les Barbares du IIIe au VIIe siècle (Condé-sur-Noireau 1993) 209-221.

2005: В. Б. Ковалевская, Кавказ – скифы, сарматы, аланы, I тыс. до н.э.-I тыс. н.э. (Москва 2005).

Kovpanenko 1986: Г. Т. Ковпаненко, Сарматское погребение I в. н.э. на Южном Буге (Киев 1986).

Kőhegyi 1972: M. Kőhegyi, Római pénzforgalom és kereskedelem az Intercisa-Csongrád közötti útvonalon [Römischer Münzumlauf und Handel auf der Strecke zwischen Intercisa und Csongrád]. Cumania I, 1972, 103-113.

1973: M. Kőhegyi, Das erste Siedlungsgebiet der Jazygen in Ungarn. In: Actes du VIIIe Congrès International des Sciences Préhistoriques et Protohistoriques; Beograd 9-15 septembre 1971 (Beograd 1973) Vol. III, 277-282.

1974-1975: М. Кёхедьи, Район первого поселения язигов в Венгрии. MFMÉ 1974-1975-1 (1975), 323-326.

1980: M. Kőhegyi, Sarmatenzeitliche Grabberaubung in Ungarn. In: H. Wolfram / F. Daim (eds), Die Völker an der mittleren und unteren Donau im fünften und sechsten Jahrhundert (Wien 1980) 19-22.

1982: M. Kőhegyi, Kora szarmata aranyleletes női sírok az Alföldön [Frühsarmatische Frauengräber mit Goldfunden in der Grossen Ungarischen Tiefebene]. DMÉ 1982 (1985), 267-355.

1994: M. Kőhegyi, Sírrablás a magyarországi szarmatáknál [Grabberaubung bei den Sarmaten in Ungarn]. In: G. Lőrinczy (ed.), A kőkortól a középkorig – Von der Steinzeit bis zum Mittelalter. Tanulmányok Trogmayer Ottó 60. születésnapjára (Szeged 1994) 277-284.

Kőhegyi/Vörös 2011: M. Kőhegyi / G. Vörös, Madaras-Halmok. Kr. u. 2-5. századi szarmata temető [Summary]. Monográfiák a Szegedi Tudományegyetem Régészeti Tanszékéről 1 (Szeged 2011).

Körösfői 2011: Zs. Körösfői (ed.), Erdély és kapcsolatai a kora népvándorlás korában. Molnár István Múzeum Közleményei 3 (Székelykeresztúr 2011) 95-161.

Krekovič 2001: E. Krekovič, Roman Fibulas in Slovakia. In: E. Istvánovits / V. Kulcsár (eds), International Connections of the Barbarians of the Carpathian Basin in the 1st-5th Centuries A. D. Proceedings of the International Archaeological Conference held in Aszód and Nyíregyháza in 1999. Múzeumi Füzetek 51 = Jósa András Múzeum Kiadványai 47 (Aszód, Nyíregyháza 2001) 95-100.

Krivošeev 2004: М. В. Кривошеев, Хронология позднесарматской культуры Нижнего Поволжья. In: Б. А. Раев (ed.), Сарматские культуры Евразии: проблемы региональной хронологии. Доклады к 5 международной конференции »Проблемы сарматской археологии и истории« (Краснодар 2004) 117-126.

Krivošeev/Skripkin 2006: М. В. Кривошеев / А. С. Скрипкин, Позднесарматская культура междуречья Волги и Дона. Проблема становления и развития [Late Sarmatian culture of the Volga-Don interfluve. The problem of formation and development]. РА 2006/1, 124-136.

Kuklina 1999: И. В. Куклина, Савроматы и сарматы у Овидия. In: А. В. Подосинов (ed.), Древнейшее государства Восточной Европы, 1996-1997 (Москва 1999) 253-270.

Kulakovskij 1899: Ю. А. Кулаковский, Аланы по сведениям классических и византийских писателей (Киев 1899).

2000: Ю. А. Кулаковский, Избранные труды по истории аланов и Сарматии. Византийская библиотека. Составления С. М. Перевалова (Санкт-Петербург 2000).

2003: Ю. А. Кулаковский, История Византии, 395-518 годы. Византийская Библиотека (Санкт-Петербург 2003).

Kulcsár 1997a: V. Kulcsár, New Data on the Germanic-Sarmatian Border Contacts in Northern Hungary / Contribuții la relațiile Germano-Sarmatice din Nordul Ungariei. AMP XXI, 1997, 705-716.

1997b: V. Kulcsár, Császárkori telepásatások a 2. számú főút nyomvonalában (Előzetes jelentés). In: Zs. Korkes (ed.), Kutatások Pest megyében. Tudományos konferencia I. Pest Megyei Múzeumi Füzetek 4 (Szentendre 1997) 374-377.

1998a: V. Kulcsár, A kárpát-medencei szarmaták temetkezési szokásai [Погребальный обряд сарматов Карпатского бассейна. The burial rite of the Sarmatians of the Carpathian Basin]. Múzeumi Füzetek 49 (Aszód 1998).

1998b: V. Kulcsár, Újabb szempontok a hévízgyörki szarmata sírok etnikai meghatározásához. In: T. Asztalos (ed.), Egy múzeum szolgálatában. Tanulmányok Asztalos István tiszteletére. Múzeumi Füzetek 48 (Aszód 1998) 75-84.

2000: В. Кульчар, Новые аспекты этнического определения сарматских погребений из Хевиздёрка [Summary in English]. Донская археология 2000/1, 64-71.

2001: V. Kulcsár, Szarmata sírok Monor, Bereken (Pest megye) / Sarmatian Graves at Monor-Berek (Pest County). RKM 2001 (2003), 79-85.

Kulcsár/Mérai 2011: V. Kulcsár / D. Mérai, Roman or Barbarian? Provincial Models in a Sarmatian Pottery Center on the Danube Frontier. In: E. C. De Sena / H. Dobrzańska (eds), The Roman Empire and Beyond: Archaeological and Historical Research on the Roman and Native Cultures in Central Europe. BAR International Series 2236 (Oxford 2011) 61-80.

Kuzsinszky 1932: B. Kuzsinszky, A gázgyári római fazekastelep Aquincumban [Das grosse römische Töpferviertel in Aquincum bei Budapest]. BudRég XI, 1932, 79-81.

Lakatos 1960: P. Lakatos, Újabb adatok a szarmaták pannoniai betelepedéséhez. AT VII, 1960, 228-231.

1973: P. Lakatos, Quellenbuch zur Geschichte der Gepiden. AASzeg XVII = Opuscula Byzantina 2 (Szeged 1973).

Lamiová-Schmiedlová 1997: M. Lamiová-Schmiedlová, Dacians on the territory of present day Slovakia / Dacii pe teritoriul Slovaciei de astăzi. AMP XXI, 1997, 743-766.

Lányi 1979: V. Lányi, Pannonia pénzforgalma az I. században [Der Geldumlauf Pannoniens im 1. Jahrhundert]. ArchÉrt 106, 1979, 187-198.

1990: V. Lányi, Pénz. In: A. Mócsy / J. Fitz (eds), Pannonia régészeti kézikönyve (Budapest 1990) 210-214. 358-359.

Latyschev 1916: V. Latyschev (ed.), Inscriptiones antiquae orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini grecae et latinae. Inscriptiones Tyrae, Olbiae, Chersonesi Tauricae, aliorum locorum a Danubio usque ad regnum Bosporanum (Petropoli 1916; reprographic reprint Hildesheim 1965).

Latyšev 1947/1952-1992/1993: В. В. Латышев, Scythica et Caucasica. Известия древних писателей о Скифии и Кавказе. ВДИ XIX/1, XX/2, XXI/3, XXII/4, 1947-1950, 1952 / Reprint: Известия древних писателей греческих и латинских о Скифии и Кавказе. (Приложение к журналу ПАВ.) (Санкт-Петербург 1993). [Page numbers are referred to according to the reprint edition.]

Laubschner 1975: H. P. Laubschner, Der Reliefschmuck des Galeriusbogens in Thessaloniki. Archäologische Forschungen I (Berlin 1975).

Lebedynsky 1998: I. Lebedynsky, Tamgas: Flag Emblems from the Steppes. The Flag Bulletin XXXVII/6, 1998, 216-233.

2002: I. Lebedynsky, Les Sarmates. Amazones et lanciers cuirassés entre Oural et Danube (VIIe siècle av. J.-C. - VIe siècle apr. J.-C.) (Paris 2002).

2003: I. Lebedynsky, Les Nomades. Les peuples nomades de la steppe des origines aux invasions mongoles (IXe siècle av. J.-C. - XIIIe siècle apr. J.-C.) (Paris 2003).

2011: I. Lebedynsky, Les Tamgas. Une »héraldique« de la steppe (Paris 2011).

Lebedynsky/Garnier/Daynès 2006/2007: I. Lebedynsky / J.-F. Garnier / M. Daynès, Deux poignards Sarmato-Alains en Lot-et-Garonne. Antiquités Nationales 38, 2006/2007, 161-168.

Levick 1985: B. Levick, The Government of the Roman Empire: A Sourcebook (Beckenham 1985).

Litvinskij 1968: Б. А. Литвинский, Кангюйско-сарматский фарн (к историко-культурным связям племен Южной России и Средней Азии) [The Kang-chu-Sarmatian Farn. (To the historical relations of the South Russian and Central Asian tribes)] (Душанбе 1968).

Loboda/Puzdrovskij/Zajcev 2002: I. I. Loboda / A. E. Puzdrovskij / J. P. Zajcev, Prunkbestattungen des 1. Jh. n. Chr. in der Nekropole Ust'-Al'ma auf der Krim [Summary, Резюме]. Eurasia Antiqua 8, 2002, 295-346.

López Sánchez 2007: F. López Sánchez, Római éremkibocsátás és a szarmata szövetségesek (68-175) [Rome and its Sarmatian allies (AD 68-175)]. NyJAMÉ XLIX, 2007, 89-113.

in print: F. López Sánchez, The Sarmatians and their relations with Rome as evidenced by Roman coinage (A. D. 68-180): from an unstable alliance to a declared hostility. In: Scythians, Sarmatians, Alans. Iranian-Speaking Nomads of the Eurasian Steppes. Autonomous University of Barcelona (in print).

Lotter 1985: F. Lotter, Die germanischen Stammesverbände im Umkreis des Ostalpen-Mitteldonau-Raumes nach der literarischen Überlieferung zum Zeitalter Severins. In: H. Wolfram / A. Schwarcz (eds), Die Bayern und ihre Nachbarn. Denkschriften der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse 179 = Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Frühmittelalterforschung 8 (Wien 1985) Vol. 1, 29-59.

Lőrincz 1976: B. Lőrincz, Die Duces der Provinz Valeria unter Valentinian I. (364-375). Alba Regia XV, 1976, 99-105.

1999: B. Lőrincz, A későrómai hídfőállások bélyeges téglái Valeriában / Die Ziegelstempel der spätrömischen Brückenkopffestungen in der Provinz Valeria. In: A. Gaál (ed.), Pannoniai kutatások. A Soproni Sándor emlékkonferencia előadásai (Bölcske, 1998. október 7.) (Szekszárd 1999) 53-68.

2003: B. Lőrincz, The Linear Frontier Defence System and its Army. In: Zs. Visy (ed.), The Roman Army in Pannonia. An Archaeological Guide of the Ripa Pannonica (Budapest 2003) 25-30.

Lőrinczy 1992: G. Lőrinczy, Vorläufiger Bericht über die Freilegung des Gräberfeldes aus dem 6.-7. Jahrhundert in Szegvár-Oromdűlő. ComArchHung 1992, 81-124.

1994: G. Lőrinczy, Megjegyzések a kora avar kori temetkezési szokásokhoz. (A fülkesíros temetkezés) [Bemerkungen zu den frühawarenzeitlichen Bestattungssitten. (Die Stollengräber)]. In: G. Lőrinczy (ed.), A kőkortól a középkorig – Von der Steinzeit bis zum Mittelalter. Tanulmányok Trogmayer Ottó 60. születésnapjára (Szeged 1994) 311-335.

1995: G. Lőrinczy, Fülkesírok a Szegvár-oromdűlői kora avar kori temetőből. Néhány megjegyzés a fülkesíros temetkezések változatairól, kronológiájáról és területi elhelyezkedéséről [Stollengräber im frühawarenzeitlichen Gräberfeld von Szegvár-Oromdűlő. Beiträge zu den Varianten, zu der Chronologie und territorialen Lage der Stollengräber]. MFMÉ-StudArch I, 1995, 399-416.

2000: G. Lőrinczy, Szegvár területének településtörténete a 6. század végétől a 13. század végéig. In: Gy. Farkas (ed.), Szegvár (Tanulmányok Szegvár község történetéről) (Szeged 2000) 51-88.

2001: G. Lőrinczy, Szegvár-Oromdűlő avar temető. In: P. Raczky / A. Anders (eds), Régészetünk jelentős feltárásai 1975-2000 (Budapest 2001).

Mačinskij 1971: Д. А. Мачинский, О времени первого активного выступления сарматов в Поднепровье по свидетельствам античных письменных источников. АСГЭ 13, 1971, 30-54.

Maenchen-Helfen 1973: O. J. Maenchen-Helfen, The World of the Huns. Studies in Their History and Culture (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London 1973).

Magomedov 2001: Б. Магомедов, Черняховская культура. Проблема этноса [Die Černjachov-Kultur. Das Problem ihrer ethnischen Zuordnung]. Monumenta Studia Gothica I (Lublin 2001).

Magyarország 1984: Gy. Székely / A. Bartha (eds), Magyarország története. Előzmények és magyar történet 1242-ig. 1. kötet (Budapest 1984).

Makkay 1994: J. Makkay, The treasures of Decebalus. Specimina Nova 1994 (1995), 151-215.

1995: J. Makkay, Attila kardja, Árpád kardja. Irániak, szarmaták, alánok, jászok (Szeged 1995).

1996: J. Makkay, The Sarmatian Connection. Stories of the Arthurian Cycle and Legend and Miracles of Ladislas, King and Saint. The Hungarian Quarterly 97/144, 1996, 113-125.

1997a: J. Makkay, Előítéletek nélkül a jászokról. Tractata Minuscula 5 (Budapest 1997).

1997b: Я. Маккаи, Древнеиранский обычай »подношения чаши« и его связи [The ancient Iranian tradition of the »offering of the cup« and its connections]. In: Donskie drevnosti 1997, 143-153.

1998a: J. Makkay, Az indoeurópai nyelvű népek őstörténete (Budapest 1998).

1998b: J. Makkay, Quomodo historia conscribenda sit – avagy hogyan kell történelmet írni? Tractata Minuscula 13 (Budapest 1998).

1998c: J. Makkay, Iranian elements in early Mediaeval heroic poetry. The Arthurian cycle and the Waltharius. Tractata Minuscula 12 (Budapest 1998).

2004: J. Makkay, A magyar őstörténet és a nyugat-szibériai magyar »őshaza« néhány kérdése [Some questions of Hungarian prehistory and of West-Siberian »Hungarian land of origin«]. NyJAMÉ XLVI, 2004, 85-116.

2009: J. Makkay, Indul a magyar Attila földjére (Budapest 2009).

2010: J. Makkay, A lélekhittől Árpád fejedelem sírjáig. NyJAMÉ LII, 2010, 45-74.

Maksimov 1993: Е. В. Максимов, Зарубинецкая культура. Происхождение и этническая принадлежность. In: И. П. Русанова / Э. А. Сымонович (eds), Славяне и их соседи в конце I тысячелетия до н.э.-первой половине I тысячелетия н.э. Археология СССР (Москва 1993) 36-39.

Mamontov 1980: В. И. Мамонтов, О погребениях позднего этапа срубной культуры в Нижнем Поволжье и Волго-Донском междуречье. СА 1980/1, 175-194.

Marčenko 1988: И. И. Марченко, Проблемы этнической истории сиракского Союза в Прикубанье. In: Проблемы археологии и этнографии Северного Кавказа (Краснодар 1988) 68-83.

1996: И. И. Марченко, Сираки Кубани (По материалам курганных погребений Нижней Кубани) (Краснодар 1996).

Marčenko 1990: К. К. Марченко, Боспорские поселения на территории Елизаветовского городища на Дону [Bosporan settlements on the Elisavetovskaya site on the Don]. ВДИ 1990/1, 129-138.

Marcsenko 1995: I. I. Marcsenko, A Kubány-vidék szarmata katakombái [Sarmatian catacombs of the Kuban Region]. MFMÉ-StudArch I, 1995, 303-324.

Marcsik 2011: A. Marcsik, Szarmaták az Alföldön. Újabb adatok a szarmata időszak embertani arculatához (Madaras-Halmok). In: Kőhegyi/Vörös 2011, 419-444.

Maróti 2003: É. Maróti, Die römischen Steindenkmäler von Szentendre – Ulcisia Castra. Ausstellungskataloge 4 (Szentendre 2003).

2008: É. Maróti, Auxiliáris római tábor Szenetendrén. In: K. Ottományi (ed.), Képek a múltból. Az elmúlt évek ásatásaiból Pest megyében (Szentendre 2008) 75-77.

Maróti/Vaday 1980: : É. T. Maróti / A. H. Vaday, Kora császárkori figurális díszítésű, festett kerámia Pannoniában és a szarmata Barbaricumban [Frühkaiserzeitliche bemalte Keramik mit figuraler Verzierung in Pannonien und im sarmatischen Barbaricum]. StudCom 9, 1980, 79-94.

Maslennikov 1981: А. А. Масленников, Население Боспорского государства в VI-II вв. до н.э. (Москва 1981).

Matei 1997: A. V. Matei, Die Töpferöfen für graue, stempelverzierte Keramik aus Zalău / Cuptoarele pentru ars ceramicâ cenuşie ştampilată descoperite la Zalău. AMP XXI, 1997, 367-455.

Matei/Gindele 2004: A. V. Matei / R. Gindele, Fortificația romană de pământ de tip burgus, ataşată valului şi şanțului roman descoperit la Supurul de Sus, jud. Satu Mare / The Earth burgus-type fortress, attached to the Roman ditch and vallum, discovered at Supuru de Sus »Dealul Şoarecului/mouse hill« (Satu Mare County). AMP XXVI, 2004, 283-307.

2009: A. V. Matei / R. Gindele, Sistemul defensiv roman din nord-vestul Daciei descoperit prin cercetările arheologice de la Supurul de Sus (jud. Satu Mare) şi pe baza documentației din izvoarele scrise [Roman defensive system from north-west part of Dacia. Field researches at Supuru de Sus (Satu Mare County) and literature sources]. In: Volum colectiv 1900 de ani de la fondarea Daciei (Bucureşti 2009) 101-126.

Matei/Stanciu 2000: A. V. Matei / I. Stanciu, Vestigii din epoca Romană (sec. II.-IV P. Chr.) în spațiul Nord-Vestic al României [Funde der römischen Kaiserzeit (2.-4. Jh. n. Chr.) im Nordwestgebiet Rumäniens]. Bibliotheca Musei Porolissensis II (Zalău, Cluj-Napoca 2000).

Matolcsi 1983: J. Matolcsi, A középkori nomád állattenyésztés kelet-európai jellegzetességei. In: F. Tőkei (ed.), Nomád társadalmak és államalakulatok. Körösi Csoma Kiskönyvtár 18 (Budapest 1983) 281-306.

Medvedev 2004: А. П. Медведев, Периодизация и хронология сарматских памятников на Среднем и Верхнем Дону. In: Б. А. Раев (ed.), Сарматские культуры Евразии: проблемы региональной хронологии. Доклады к 5 международной конференции »Проблемы сарматской археологии и истории« (Краснодар 2004) 86-94.

2008: А. П. Медведев, Сарматы в верховьях Танаиса (Москва 2008).

Medvedev/Safonov/Matveev 2008: А. П. Медведев / И. Е. Сафонов / Ю. П. Матвеев, Сарматское »княжеское« погребение в кургане у г. Липецка [Sarmatian »prince's« burial in a kurgan near Lipetsk]. РА 2008/4, 97-107.

Meljukova/Moškova 1989: А. И. Мелюкова / М. Г. Мошкова, Введение. In: Stepi 1989, 5-8.

Melyukova 1987: A. I. Melyukova, The Scythians and Sarmatians. In: D. Sinor (ed.), The Cambridge History of Early Inner Asia (Cambridge 1987) 97-117.

Mer Noire 1997: Archeologie de la Mer Noire. La Crimée à l'époque des Grandes Invasions IVe-VIIIe siècles (Caen 1997).

Mesterházy 1986: K. Mesterházy, Frühsarmatenzeitlicher Grabfund aus Veresegyház [Kora szarmata kori sírlelet Veresegyházról]. FA XXXVII, 1986, 137-161.

1986/1988: K. Mesterházy, Münzdatierter spätkaiserzeitlicher Gerätfund aus Hajdúnánás-Tedej. Alba Regia XXIV, 1986/1988 (1990), 53-66.

1994: K. Mesterházy, Pénzekkel keltezett későcsászárkori eszközlelet Hajdúnánás-Tedejről [Ein mit Münzen datierter spätkaiserzeitlicher Werkzeugsfund aus Hajdúnánás-Tedej]. Néprajzi tanulmányok Ikvai Nándor emlékére I. StudCom 23, 1994, 273-292.

2009: K. Mesterházy, Eine Gräbergruppe mit nordsüdlicher Grablegung im gepidischen Gräberfeld von Biharkeresztes-Ártánd-Nagyfarkasdomb. ActaAH 60, 2009, 73-95.

Miklósity Szőke 2008: M. Miklósity Szőke, Biatorbágy, Kukorica-dűlő (Tópark). RKM 2008 (2009), 152.

Milleker 1897/1899/1906: B. Milleker, Délmagyarország régiségleletei a honfoglalás előtti időkből I-III (Temesvár 1897, 1899, 1906).

Miller 1881/1882/1887: В. Миллер, Осетинскіе этюды. I-III. Ученыя записки Императорскаго Московскаго Университета (Москва 1881, 1882, 1887; reprint Владикавказ 1992).

Minns 1913: E. H. Minns, Scythians and Greeks (Cambridge 1913).

Mirković 1993: M. Mirković, Ὑλήκοοι und δύμμαχοι. Ansiedlung und Rekrutierung von Barbaren bis zum Jahr 382. In: K. Dietz / D. Hennig / H. Katetsch (eds), Klassisches Altertum, Spätantike und frühes Christentum (Würzburg 1993) 425-434.

Mitford 1980: T. B. Mitford, Cappadocia and Armenia Minor: Historical Setting of the Limes. In: H. Temporini / W. Haase (eds), Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt II, 7, 2 (Berlin 1980) 1169-1228.

Mócsy 1954: А. Мочи, К вопросу о периодизации раннесарматской эпохи [Zur Periodisierung der frühen Sarmatenzeit in Ungarn]. ActaAH 4, 1954, 115-128.

1958: A. Mócsy, Die spätrömische Schiffslände in Contra Florentiam. FA X, 1958, 89-104.

1962: A. Mócsy, Pannonia. In: Pauly-Wissowa (Stuttgart 1962) 515-776.

1972: A. Mócsy, Das letzte Jahrhundert der römisch-barbarischen Nachbarschaft im Gebiete des heutigen Ungarn. Cumania I, 1972, 83-102.

1974: A. Mócsy, Pannonia and Upper Moesia. A History of the Middle Danube Provinces of the Roman Empire (London, Boston 1974).

1977: A. Mócsy, Die Einwanderung der Iazygen. Acta Antiqua XXV, 1977, 439-446.

1990: A. Mócsy, Barbár betelepülők. In: A. Mócsy / J. Fitz (eds), Pannonia régészeti kézikönyve (Budapest 1990) 239-240.

Mócsy/Bóna 1965: A. Mócsy / I. Bóna, Római és népvándorláskor. In: Gy. Nagy (ed.), Orosháza története (Orosháza 1965) 103-113. 114-135.

Mócsy/Fitz 1990: A. Mócsy / J. Fitz, Eseménytörténet. In: A. Mócsy / J. Fitz (eds), Pannonia régészeti kézikönyve (Budapest 1990) 31-51.

Molev 1995: Е. А. Молев, Властитель Понта (Нижний Новгород 1995).

Mommsen 1917: Th. Mommsen, Römische Geschichte. 5: Die Provinzen von Caesar bis Diocletian (Berlin 1917).

Moravcsik 1929: Gy. Moravcsik, Barbarische Sprachreste in der Theogonie des Johannes Tzetzes. Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher 7, 1929 (1930), 352-365.

Mordvinceva 2003: В. И. Мордвинцева, Полихромный звериный стиль (Симферополь 2003).

Moškova 1989a: М. Г. Мошкова, Среднесарматская культура. In: Stepi 1989, 177-191.

1989b: М. Г. Мошкова, Позднесарматская культура. In: Stepi 1989, 191-202.

1994: М. Г. Мошкова, К вопросу о двух локальных вариантах или культурах на территории Азиатской Сарматии во II-IV вв. н.э. In: А. С. Скрипкин (ed.), Проблемы истории и культуры сарматов. Тезисы докладов международной конференции (Волгоград 1994) 18-23.

Mráv 1992/1995: Zs. Mráv, Castellum contra Tautantum. Egy későrómai erőd azonosításának problémájához [Castellum contra Tautantum. Zum Problem der Identifizierung eines spätrömischen Kastells]. Savaria 22-23, 1992/1995 (1996), 11-19.

1999: Zs. Mráv, »Valentinianus ... in ipsis quadorum terris quasi romano iuri iam vindicatis aedificari praesidaria castra mandavit.« (Amm.Marc., XXIX 6,2) I. Valentinianus kvád külpolitikája egy vitatott Ammianus Marcellinus szöveghely tükrében / »Valentinianus ... in ipsis quadorum terris quasi romano iuri iam vindicatis aedificari praesidaria castra mandavit.« (Amm.Marc., XXIX 6,2) Die quadische Aussenpolitik Valentinians I. im Spiegel einer strittigen Textstelle bei Ammianus Marcellinus. In: A. Gaál (ed.), Pannoniai kutatások. A Soproni Sándor emlékkonferencia előadásai (Bölcske, 1998. október 7.) (Szekszárd 1999) 77-111.

2002: Zs. Mráv, Dunakeszi, Duna sor 28. RKM 2002 (2004), 205-206.

2003a: Zs. Mráv, Hatvan-Gombospuszta fortlet. In: Zs. Visy (ed.), The Roman Army in Pannonia. An Archaeological Guide of the Ripa Pannonica (Budapest 2003) 207-209.

2003b: Zs. Mráv, Archäologische Forschungen 2000-2001 im Gebiet der spätrömischen Festung von Göd-Bócsaújtelep (Vorbericht). ComArchHung 2003, 83-114.

2005: Zs. Mráv, Egy erőd, amely sohasem épült fel. Régészeti kutatások Göd-Bócsaújtelepen, a késő római erőd területén 2000-2001 (Előzetes jelentés) [A never-finished late Roman fortress. Archaeological excavations in the territory of the fortress at Göd-Bócsaújtelep in 2000-2001 (Preliminary report)]. Szántó Kovács Múzeum Évkönyve 7, 2005, 291-332.

2006: Zs. Mráv, Paradeschild, Ringknaufschwert und Lanzen aus einem römerzeitlichen Wagengrab in Budaörs. Die Waffengräber der lokalen Elite in Pannonien [Díszpajzs, markolatgyűrűs kard és lándzsák egy budaörsi római kocsisírból. A helyi elit fegyveres temetkezései Pannoniában]. ArchÉrt 131, 2006, 33-73.

2011: Zs. Mráv, Dunakeszi – Late Roman Fortlet along the Danube. Guide to Hungarian Sites of the Limes that Are Nominated for World Heritage Status (Budapest 2011).

MRT: Magyarország régészeti topográfiája [Archaeological sites of Hungary]. VIII. Békés megye régészeti topográfiája (J. Makkay); IV/2. kötet. A szarvasi járás (D. B. Jankovich / J. Makkay / B. M. Szőke) (Budapest 1989).

Munkácsi 1904: B. Munkácsi, Alán nyelvemlékek szókincsünkben. Ethnographia XV, 1904, 1-19.

Murzin/Rolle 2000: В. Ю. Мурзин / Р. Ролле, Гибель Великой Скифии и царь Атей. In: В. И. Гуляев / В. С. Ольховский (eds), Скифы и сарматы в VII-III вв. до н.э. Палеоэкология, антропология и археология (Москва 2000) 216-219.

Müllenhoff 1866: K. Müllenhoff, Über die Herkunft und Sprache der pontischen Scythen und Sarmaten. Monatsberichte der Königlichen Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, 1866, 549-576.

1892: K. Müllenhoff, Deutsche Altertumskunde III (Berlin 1892).

Müller 2003: U. Müller, Die erste Phase germanisch-sarmatischer Kontakte bis zum Ende der Markomannenkriege (180 n. Chr.) in den schriftlichen Quellen. In: C. von Carnap-Bornheim (ed.), Kontakt – Kooperation – Konflikt. Germanen und Sarmaten zwischen dem 1. und dem 4. Jahrhundert nach Christus. Internationales Kolloquium des Vorgeschichtlichen Seminars der Philipps-Universität Marburg, 12.-16. Februar 1998. Schriften des Archäologischen Landesmuseums 1 = Veröffentlichungen des Vorgeschichtlichen Seminars Marburg Sonderband 13 (Neumünster 2003) 435-445.

Nagler/Čipirova 1985: А. О. Наглер / Л. А. Чипирова, К вопросу о развитии хозяйственных типов в древних обществах. In: А. В. Исаенко (ed.), Античность и варварский мир (Орджоникидзе 1985) 87-91.

Nagy 2003: D. S. Nagy, Nagyszénás-Vaskapu lelőhely szarmata sírjai [Sarmatian graves from Nagyszénás-Vaskapu]. Barbarikumi Szemle I, 2003, 53-63.

2005: D. S. Nagy, Az Orosházi-tanyák, MÁV-homokbánya szarmata temetője [Sarmatisches Gräberfeld aus der MÁV-Sandgrube von Orosházi-tanyák]. Szántó Kovács Múzeum Évkönyve VII, 2005, 11-48.

Nagy 1900: G. Nagy, A magyar viselet története. Rajzolta és festette: Nemes Mihály (Budapest 1900).

1909: G. Nagy, A skythák. Székfoglaló értekezés (Budapest 1909).

Nagy 1997: M. [Margit] Nagy, Szentes és környéke az 1-6. században. Történeti vázlat és régészeti lelőhelykataszter [Szentes und seine Umgebung vom 1. bis 6. Jahrhundert. Eine geschichtliche Skizze und ein archäologischer Fundortkataster]. MFMÉ-StudArch III, 1997, 39-95.

Nagy 1993: M. [Mihály] Nagy, The Hasdingian Vandals in the Carpathian Basin. A Preliminary Report. Specimina Nova 1993 (1994), 157-184.

1997: M. Nagy, Routes in the Carpathian Basin and the Interaction between Romans and Barbarians [Cesty v Karpatské kotlině a vzájemné vlivy mezi Římany a barbary]. In: Peregrinatio

Gothica. Acta Musei Moraviae, Scientiae Sociales Supplementum LXXXII (n. p. 1997) 151-162.

1999: M. Nagy, A pannoniai IV. századi burgus-típusok méretei / Dimensions of 4th century AD burgus-types in Pannonia. In: A. Gaál (ed.), Pannoniai kutatások. A Soproni Sándor emlékkonferencia előadásai (Bölcske, 1998. október 7.) (Szekszárd 1999) 113-140.

Nagy 1954: T. Nagy, Hozzászólás Radnóti Aladár: Pannóniai városok élete a korai feudalizmusban c. előadásához. MTA II. oszt. Közl. 5, 1954, 510-519.

1971: T. Nagy, The Last Century of Pannonia in the Judgement of a New Monograph. Acta Antiqua 19, 1971, 299-345.

1973: T. Nagy, Budapest története az őskortól a honfoglalásig. In: L. Gerevich (ed.), Budapest története I (Budapest 1973) 39-216.

1986: T. Nagy, Traian und Pannonien. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte Pannoniens. In: Studien zu den Militärgrenzen Roms III. 13. Internationaler Limeskongreß Aalen 1983. Forschungen und Berichte zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte in Baden-Württemberg 20 (Stuttgart 1986) 377-383.

Nart 1981: Сказания о нартах. Осетинский эпос. Перевод с осетинского Ю. Либединского (Цхинвали 1981).

Nefëdkin 2002: А. К. Нефёдкин (ed.), Полиэн: Стратегемы (Санкт-Петербург 2002).

Nemeth 1999/2000: E. Nemeth, Die südwestliche Grenze der römischen Provinz Dakien. Allgemeine Bemerkungen [Graniţa sud-vestică a Daciei Romane. Observaţii generale]. Analelele Banatului VII-VIII, 1999/2000 (2000), 387-392.

2005: E. Nemeth, Armata în sud-vestul Daciei Romane / Die Armee im Südwesten des römischen Dakien. Bibliotheca Historica et Archaeologica Banatica XXXVII (Timişoara 2005).

Németh 1990: Gy. Németh, Törökök és magyarok I (Budapest 1990).

Németi 1999: J. Németi, Repertoriul arheologic al zonei Carei / The archaeological survey of Carei Region / Nagykároly vidékének régészeti repertóriuma (Bucureşti 1999).

Németi/Gindele 1997: J. Németi / R. Gindele, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Careigegend im 2.-4. Jahrhundert n. Chr. [Contribuţii la istoricul zonei Careiului în secolele II-IV. p. Ch.]. AMP XXI, 1997, 599-703.

1998/1999: J. Németi / R. Gindele, Aşezarea din epoca romană de la Pişcolt-Lutărie. Satu Mare. Studii şi Comunicări 15-16, 1998/1999, 75-102.

Nepper 1982: I. M. Nepper, Császárkori szarmata telep Biharkeresztes-Ártánd Nagyfarkasdombon [Eine sarmatische Siedlung aus der Kaiserzeit, gelegen auf dem Nagyfarkas-Hügel, Biharkeresztes-Ártánd]. DMÉ 1982 (1985), 101-249.

Nickel 1973: H. Nickel, Tamgas and Runes, Magic Numbers and Magic Symbols. Metropolitan Museum Journal 8, 1973, 165-173.

1975: H. Nickel, Wer waren König Artus' Ritter? Über die geschichtliche Grundlage der Artussagen. Zeitschrift für Historische Waffen- und Kostümkunde 1, 1975, 1-18.

Niese 1955: Flavii Iosephi opera edidit et apparv critico instrvxit Benedictus Niese Apus Weidmannos (Berolini 1955).

Nikonorov 2005: В. П. Никоноров, К вопросу о парфянском наследии в сасанидском Иране: военное дело. In: В. П. Никоноров (ed.), Центральная Азия от Ахеменидов до Тимуридов. Археология, история, этнология, культура. Материалы международной научной конференции, посвященной 100-летию со дня рождения Александра Марковича Беленицкого (Санкт-Петербург 2005) 141-179.

Noll 1954: R. Noll, Zur Vorgeschichte der Markomannenkriege. Archaeologia Austriaca 14, 1954, 43-67.

Očir-Gorjaeva 1993: М. А. Очир-Горяева, Савроматы Геродота. In: Б. А. Раев (ed.), Скифия и Боспор (Новочеркасск 1993) 132-140.

Opreanu 1997: C. Opreanu, Dakien und die Iazygen während der Regierung Trajans / Dacia şi Iazigii in vremea lui Traian. In: Römer und Barbaren an den Grenzen des römischen Daciens / Romani şi Barbari la frontierele Daciei romane. AMP XXI, 1997, 269-290.

Opreanu/Cociş 2002: C. Opreanu / S. Cociş, Artefakte barbarischer Herkunft aus dem römischen Dakien. In: A. Rustoiu / A. Ursuţiu (eds), Interregionale und kulturelle Beziehungen im Karpatenraum (2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.-1. Jahrtausend n. Chr.) (Cluj-Napoca 2002) 227-265.

L'Or 1995: Entre Asie et Europe. L'Or des Sarmates. Nomades des steppes dans l'Antiquité (Abbaye de Daoulas 1995).

L'Or 2000: L'Or des princes barbares. Du Caucase à la Gaule Ve siècle après J.-C. (Paris 2000).

L'Or 2001: L'Or des Amazones. Peuple nomades entre Asie et Europe. VIe siècle av. J.-C.-IVe siècle apr. J.-C. (Paris 2001).

Ottományi 1981: K. Ottományi, Fragen der spätrömischen eingeglätteten Keramik in Pannonien. Dissertationes Archaeologicae II, 10 (Budapest 1981).

1996: K. Ottományi, Eine Töpferwerkstatt der spätrömischen Keramik mit Glättverzierung in Pilismarót-Malompatak. ActaAH 48, 1996, 71-133.

Óvári et al. n. y.: A. Óvári / I. Hendzsel / D. Ligeti / J. Szeőke, Öltözékrekonstrukciók [Reconstruction of Attires]. In: Zs. Vasáros / G. Rezi Kató, Kelet és Nyugat határán. A Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum állandó régészeti kiállítása / On the Borders of East and West. The Permanent Archaeological Exhibition of the Hungarian National Museum (Budapest n. y.) 116-165.

Párducz 1931: M. Párducz, A nagy magyar Alföld rómaikori leletei [Römerzeitliche Funde der Grossen Ungarischen Alföld]. Dolgozatok a M. Kir. Ferencz József-Tudományegyetem Archaeologiai Intézetéből VII, 1931, 74-187.

1935: M. Párducz, Az első Pontus-germán emlékcsoport legkorábbi emlékei Magyarországon / Die frühesten Funde der ersten pontisch-germanischen Denkmälergruppe in Ungarn. A Berlini Collegium Hungaricum Kiadványai 2 (Szeged 1935).

1941a: M. Párducz, Denkmäler der Sarmatenzeit Ungarns I. AH XXV (Budapest 1941).

1941b: M. Párducz, Az örvényi jazig lelet [Der Jazigische Fund von Örvény]. FA III-IV, 1941, 159-165.

1942: M. Párducz, Les trouvailles Sarmatiques les plus anciennes du Bánság. ArchÉrt 69, 1942, 305-328.

1944: M. Párducz, Denkmäler der Sarmatenzeit Ungarns II. AH XXVIII (Budapest 1944).

1946/1948: M. Párducz, Szarmata temető Hódmezővásárhely-Fehértón [Nécropole sarmate à Hódmezővásárhely-Fehértó]. ArchÉrt 7-9, 1946/1948, 283-290.

1947: M. Párducz, Szarmatakori problémák. Antiquitas Hungarica I, 1947, 49-56.

1950a: M. Párducz, Denkmäler der Sarmatenzeit Ungarns III. AH XXX (Budapest 1950).

1950b: M. Párducz, Szarmata sírok Tápiószelén [Sarmatian Graves at Tápiószele]. ArchÉrt 77, 1950, 68-70.

1952: M. Párducz, Adatok a magyaroszági szarmaták társadalomtörténetéhez [К истории общества сарматских племен в Венгрии]. ArchÉrt 79, 1952, 39-47.

1956: M. Párducz, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Sarmaten in Ungarn im II. und III. Jahrhundert. ActaAH 7, 1956, 139-182.

1959: M. Párducz, Archäologische Beiträge zur Geschichte der Hunnenzeit in Ungarn. ActaAH 11, 1959, 309-398.

1963: M. Párducz, Die ethnischen Probleme der Hunnenzeit in Ungarn. Studia Archaeologica I (Budapest 1963).

1973: M. Párducz, Neue Angaben zur Geschichte der Grossen Ungarischen Tiefebene des Mitteldonaugebietes im 4. Jahrhundert u. Z. MittArchInst 4, 1973 (1975), 61-68.

1974: M. Párducz, Tscherniachow-Sîntana de Mures- und frühgepidische Kulturen in Ungarn. ActaAH 26, 1974, 187-201.

Párducz/Korek 1946/1948: M. Párducz / J. Korek, Germán befolyás a Maros-Tisza-Körös-szög késő szarmata emlékanyagában [Les éléments germaniques dans la civilisation sarmatique récente de la région limitée par les fleuves Maros, Tisza et Körös]. ArchÉrt 7-9, 1946/1948, 291-312.

Parlasca 2009: K. Parlasca, Gepaipyris – nicht Dynamis. Die Bronzebüste einer bosporanischen Königin in Sankt Petersburg [Summary. Резюме]. Eurasia Antiqua 15, 2009, 241-257.

Parthey/Pinder 1848: G. F. C. Parthey / M. E. Pinder, Itinerarium Antonini Augusti et Hierosolymitanum (Berolini 1848).

Patay 1969: P. Patay, Neuere Ergebnisse in der topographischen Untersuchung der Erdwälle in der Tiefebene. MFMÉ 1969/2, 105-112.

1980: P. Patay, Tompa. RégFüz I/33, 1980, 57.

2005: P. Patay, Római út Bácskában? [Römerstrasse in der Batschka?]. ComArchHung 2005, 393-406.

2006: P. Patay, A Bácska-Kiskunság-Körösmenti Ördög árka [Der Ördög árka (Teufelsgraben) in der Batschka, in Kleinkumanien und an der Körös]. ComArchHung 2006, 107-122.

Patay/Soproni 1979: P. Patay / S. Soproni, Tompa. RégFüz I/32, 1979, 66.

Patay 2003: R. Patay, Korai szarmata sír Mezőkövesdről. Előzetes jelentés a Patakra járó-dűlőben feltárt szarmata temetkezésekről [Ein frühsarmatisches Grab in Mezőkövesd (Vorbericht über die in Mezőkövesd, Patakra járó-Flur freigelegten sarmatischen Bestattungen)]. MFMÉ-StudArch IX, 2003, 135-143.

Patek 1942: E. Patek, Verbreitung und Herkunft der römischen Fibeltypen von Pannonien. DissPann II, 19 (Budapest 1942).

Patsch 1925: C. Patsch, Beiträge zur Völkerkunde von Südosteuropa. II: Banater Sarmaten. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien Anzeiger 62 (Wien, Leipzig 1925) 181-216.

1928: C. Patsch, Beiträge zur Völkerkunde von Südosteuropa. III: Die Völkerbewegung an der Unteren Donau in der Zeit von Diokletian bis Heraklius. Bis zur Abwanderung der Goten und Taifalen aus Transdanuvien. Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse 208, 2 (Wien, Leipzig 1928) 3-68.

1929: C. Patsch, Beiträge zur Völkerkunde von Südosteuropa. IV: Die quadisch-jazygische Kriegsgemeinschaft im Jahre 374/75. Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse 209, 5 (Wien, Leipzig 1929) 3-36.

1937: C. Patsch, Beiträge zur Völkerkunde von Südosteuropa. V, 2: Der Kampf um den Donauraum unter Domitian und Trajan. Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse 217, 1 (Wien, Leipzig 1937).

Pčelina 1963: Е. Г. Пчелина, О местонахождении ясского города Дедякова по русским летописям и исторической литературе. In: Средневековые памятники Северной Осетии. МИА 114 (Москва 1963) 152-161.

Pecz 1902/1904: V. Pecz (ed.), Ókori lexikon I-II (Budapest 1902/1904; reprint 1985).

Pekáry 1955: T. Pekáry, Statius a dákokról és a szarmatákról. AT II, 1955, 97-100.

Perevalov 1998: С. М. Перевалов, Как создаются мифы (к ситуации в отечественном алановедении). ИАА 4, 1998, 96-101.

Perevodčikova 1994: Е. В. Переводчикова, Язык звериных образов. Очерки искусства евразийских степей скифской эпохи (Москва 1994).

Peškar 1972: I. Peškar, Fibeln aus der römischen Kaiserzeit in Mähren (Praha 1972).

Petersen/von Domaszewski/Calderini 1896: E. Petersen / A. von Domaszewski / G. Calderini (eds), Die Marcus-Säule auf Piazza Colomna in Rom (München 1896).

Pieta 1982: K. Pieta, Die Púchov-Kultur [Пуховская культура]. Studia Archaeologica Slovaca Instituti Archaeologici Academiae Scientiarum Slovacae I (Nitra 1982).

Pilet 1995: Ch. Pilet, Un centre de pouvoir: le domaine d'Airan, Calvados (IVe-IXe siècles). In: F. Vallet / M. Kazanski (eds), La noblesse Romain et les chefs Barbares du IIIe au VIIe siècle (Condé-sur-Noireau 1995) 327-333.

2001: Ch. Pilet, Témoignages de modes germaniques orientales dans la Lyonnaise Seconde (Normandie actuelle): bilan provisoire. In: E. Istvánovits / V. Kulcsár (eds), International Connections of the Barbarians of the Carpathian Basin in the 1st-5th Centuries A.D. Proceedings of the International Archaeological Conference held in Aszód and Nyíregyháza in 1999. Múzeumi Füzetek 51 = Jósa András Múzeum Kiadványai 47 (Aszód, Nyíregyháza 2001) 419-429.

Pilet et al. 1993: Ch. Pilet / L. Buchet / J. Pilet-Lemière / A. Alduc-Le Baousse / Montserrat Sansilbano-Collilieux, L'appor de l'archéologie funéraire à l'étude de la présence militaire sur le limes saxon, le long des côtes de l'actuelle Basse-Normandie. In: F. Vallet / M. Kazanski (eds), L'Armée Romaine et les Barbares du IIIe au VIIe siècle (Condé-sur-Noireau 1993) 157-173.

Pirling 1993: R. Pirling, Römische Gräber mit barbarischem Einschlag auf den Gräberfeldern von Krefeld-Gellep. In: F. Vallet / M. Kazanski (eds), L'Armée Romaine et les Barbares du IIIe au VIIe siècle (Condé-sur-Noireau 1993) 109-123.

Pleiner 1964: R. Pleiner, Die Eisenverhüttung in der »Germania Magna« zur römischen Kaiserzeit. Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission 45, 1964 (1965), 11-86.

Póczy 1957: K. Sz. Póczy, Keramik. In: I. Borzsák (ed.), Intercisa II. (Dunapentele) Geschichte der Stadt in der Römerzeit. AH XXXVI (Budapest 1957) 29-139.

Podosinov 1976: А. В. Подосинов, Скифы, сарматы и геты в »Tristia« и »Epistulae ex Ponto« Овидия. In: В. Т. Пашуто (ed.), Древнейшие государства на территории СССР (Москва 1976) 21-40.

2002: А. В. Подосинов, Восточная Европа в римской картографической традиции (Москва 2002).

Pogrebova 2006: М. Н. Погребова, Центральноазиатская гипотеза происхождения скифской материальной культуры и скифского этноса. In: В. Г. Петренко / Л. Т. Яблонский (eds), Древности скифской эпохи (Москва 2006) 172-193.

Polin 1992: С. В. Полин, От Скифии к Сарматии (Киев 1992).

Polin/Simonenko 1997: С. В. Полин / А. В. Симоненко, Скифия и сарматы. In: Donskie dresvnosti 1997, 87-98.

Pópity 2006: D. Pópity, Terepbejárás Tiszasziget határában 2004-2006 között. (Újabb adatok a falu településtörténetéhez) / Field walking at Tiszasziget in 2004-2006. (New data on the settlement history of the village). RKM 2006 (2007), 105-120.

Prohászka 2000: P. Prohászka, Pannonia és a szlovákiai kvád barbarikum kereskedelmi kapcsolatai a leletek tükrében [Die Handelsbeziehungen Pannoniens und des slowakischen quadischen Barbaricums im Spiegel der Funde]. In: T. Petercsák / A. Váradi (eds), A népvándorláskor kutatóinak kilencedik konferenciája. Heves Megyei Régészeti Közlemények 2 (Eger 2000) 51-70.

2003: P. Prohászka, Angaben zur Archäologie und Geschichte des Wallsystems in der grossen ungarischen Tiefebene (Forschungsgeschichtlicher Überblick der Untersuchungen und Ergebnisse aus den vergangenen zwanzig Jahren). In: Garam/Patay/Soproni 2003, 79-89.

2005: P. Prohászka, Kincsek a levéltárból (Budapest 2005).

2005/2006: P. Prohászka, Gazdag padmalyos női temetkezés Brigetio/Komárom-Szőny Gerhát temetőjéből [Ein reiches römisches Frauengrab mit Nische aus dem Gerhát-Gräberfeld von Brigetio/Komárom-Szőny]. FA LII, 2005/2006, 79-107.

2008: P. Prohászka, Kincsek a levéltárból II. Tanulmányok Európa kora népvándorlás kori régészetéhez [Schätze aus den Archiven II. Beiträge zur frühvölkerwanderungszeitlichen Archäologie Europas] (Budapest 2008).

2009: P. Prohászka, Die römischen Goldmünzen der Spätkaiserzeit aus dem Barbaricum des Karpatenbeckens. Von der Tetrarchie bis zum Ende der Herrschaft von Theodosius I. In: Sz. Bíró (ed.), Ex officina ... Studia in honorem Dénes Gabler (Győr 2009) 471-490.

Prohnenko 2001: И. А. Прохненко, Дакийское войско I в. до н.э. - начала II в. н.э. [Dacian troops of the 1st century BC - beginning of the 2nd century AD]. Carpatica-Карпатика 13, 2001, 124-128.

Prohorova/Guguev 1992: Т. А. Прохорова / В. К. Гугуев, Богатое сарматское погребение в кургане 10 Кобяковского могильника [A rich Sarmatian burial the kurgan 10 of Kobyakovo cemetery]. СА 1992/1, 142-161.

Pseničnjuk 1983: А. Х. Пшеничнюк, Культура ранних кочевников Южного Урала (Москва 1983).

Pulszky 1891: F. Pulszky, Régészeti emlékek az Alföldön. In: Az Osztrák-Magyar Monarchia írásban és képben. VII. kötet. Magyarország II. kötete (Budapest 1891).

Puzdrovskij 2001a: А. Е. Пуздровский, Римско-боспорская война и этнополитическая ситуация в Крымской Скифии в середине в. I н.э. In: В. Ю. Зуев (ed.), Боспорский феномен. Колонизация региона, формирование полисов, образование государства. Материалы международной научной конференции, часть 2 (Санкт-Петербург 2001) 212-217.

2001b: А. Е. Пуздровский, Погребения Битакского могильника первых веков н.э. с оружием и конской уздой. In: Поздние скифы Крыма. Труды ГИМ 118, »Поздние скифы Крыма«, 2001, 122-140.

2007: А. Е. Пуздровский, Крымская Скифия II в. до н.э. - III в. н.э. Погребальные памятники [Crimean Scythia. 2nd century BC - 3rd century AD. Burial Monuments] (Симферополь 2007).

Quast 2015: D. Quast, Zwiebelknopffibeln im Barbaricum nördlich der mittleren und unteren Donau. In: T. Vida (ed.), Romania Gothica II. The Frontier World. Romans, Barbarians and Military Culture (Budapest 2015) 305-328.

Radnóti 1942: A. Radnóti, Az öregcsémi centenionalis pénzlelet. NumKözl XLI, 1942, 11-18.

1954: A. Radnóti, Pannóniai városok élete a korai feudalizmusban. MTA II. oszt. Közl. 5, 1954, 489-508.

Raev 1985: Б. А. Раев, »Княжеские« погребения сарматского времени в г. Новочеркасске. In: В. В. Седов (ed.), Археологические памятники Европейской части РСФСР (Москва 1985) 126-131.

1986: B. A. Raev, Roman Imports in the Lower Don Basin. BAR International Series 278 (Oxford 1986).

1989: Б. А. Раев, Аланы в евроазийских степях: восток – запад. In: М. Ю. Вахтина (ed.), Скифия и Боспор. Археологические материалы к конференции памяти академика М.И. Ростовцева (Новочеркасск 1989) 116-117.

Raev/Jacenko 1993: Б. А. Раев / С. А. Яценко, О времени первого появления аланов в Юго-Восточной Европе. In: Б. А. Раев (ed.), Скифия и Боспор (материалы конференции памяти академика М.И. Ростовцева) (Новчеркасск 1993) 111-125.

Raevskij 1985: Д. С. Раевский, Модель мира скифской культуры (Москва 1985).

Rau 1929: P. Rau, Die Gräber der frühen Eisenzeit im unteren Wolgagebiet (Pokrowsk 1929).

Richmond 1945: I. A. Richmond, The Sarmatae, BREMETENNACVM VETERANORVM and the REGIO BREMETENNACENSIS. The Journal of Roman Studies XXXV, 1945, 15-29.

Riha 1979: E. Riha, Die römischen Fibeln aus Augst und Kaiseraugst. Forschungen in Augst 3 (Augst 1979).

Rome 1993: Rome face aux Barbares. 1000 ans pour un Empire (Abbaye de Daoulas 1993).

Rómer 1878: F. Rómer, Résultats généraux du mouvement archéologique en Hongrie. Compte-rendu de la huitème session à Budapest 1876 (Budapest 1878).

Róna-Tas 1996: A. Róna-Tas, A honfoglaló magyar nép. Bevezetés a korai magyar történelem ismeretébe (Budapest 1996).

Rostovcev 1914: М. И. Ростовцев, Амага и Тиргатао. Записки Одесского общества истории и древностей 1914, 58-77.

1918: М. И. Ростовцев, Эллинство и иранство на юге России (Петроград 1918).

1925: М. И. Ростовцев, Скифия и Боспор. Критическое обозрение памятников литературных, археологических (Ленинград 1925).

Rostovtzeff 1919: M. Rostovtzeff, Queen Dynamis of Bosporus. Journal of Hellenic Studies 39, 1919, 88-109.

1922: M. Rostovtzeff, Iranians and Greeks in South Russia (Oxford 1922).

Rozanova 1956: Н. П. Розанова, Монеты царя Фарзоя. In: В. Ф. Гайдукевич (ed.), Ольвия и Нижнее Побужье в античную эпоху. МИА 50 (Москва, Ленинград 1956) 197-208.

Rowntree 2011: S. Rowntree, The Sarmatians in Britain [unpubl. manuscript 2011].

Rudenko 1960: С. И. Руденко, Культура населения Центрального Алтая в скифское время (Москва, Ленинград 1960).

Rudnickij 2001: Р. Р. Рудницкий, О зороастризме у алан в VII-IX вв. ИАА 7, 2001, 75-86.

Rusanova 1993: И. П. Русанова, Культура карпатских курганов. In: И. П. Русанова / Э. А. Сымонович (eds), Славяне и их соседи в конце I тысячелетия до н.э.-первой половине I тысячелетия н.э. Археология СССР (Москва 1993) 171-181.

Sanakoev 1992: М. П. Санакоев, Аспар. In: Alanica II. Аланы и Кавказ (Владикавказ, Цхинвал 1992) 56-62.

Saprykin 1996: С. Ю. Сапрыкин, Понтийское царство (Москва 1996).

1997: S. J. Saprykin, Heracleia Pontica and Tauric Chersonesus before Roman Domination (VI-I centuries BC) (Amsterdam 1997).

2000: С. Ю. Сапрыкин, Фракия и Боспор на рубеже нашей эры. In: В. Ю. Зуев (ed.), ΣΥΣΣΙΤΙΑ. Памяти Юрия Викторовича Андреева. Античная Библиотека (Санкт-Петербург 2000) 263-269.

2002: С. Ю. Сапрыкин, Боспорское царство на рубеже двух эпох (Москва 2002).

Sarianidi 1989: В. И. Сарианиди, Храм и некрополь Тиллятепе (Москва 1989).

Sarmatskie kultury 2004: Б. А. Раев (ed.), Сарматские культуры Евразии: проблемы региональной хронологии. Доклады к 5 международной конференции »Проблемы сарматской археологии и истории« (Краснодар 2004).

Schmidt 1941: L. Schmidt, Die Ostgermanen. Geschichte der deutschen Stämme bis zum Ausgang der Völkerwanderung (München 1941).

1942: L. Schmidt, Geschichte der Wandalen (München 1942).

Schramm 1985/1986/1987: G. Schramm, Frühe Schicksale der Rumänen. Acht Thesen zur Lokalisierung der lateinischen Kontinuität in Südosteuropa. Zeitschrift für Balkanologie XXI/2, 1985, 223-241; XXII/1, 1986, 104-125; XXIII/1, 1987, 78-94.

1997: G. Schramm, Ein Damm bricht. Die römische Donaugrenze und die Invasionen des 5.-7. Jahrhunderts im Lichte der Namen und Wörter. Südosteuropäische Arbeiten 100 (München 1997).

Ščeglov 1978: А. Н. Щеглов, Северо-Западный Крым в античную эпоху (Ленинград 1978).

Ščukin 1970: М. Б. Щукин, К истории Нижнего Поднепровья в первые века нашей эры. Археологический сборник 12, 1970, 54-67.

1994: М. Б. Щукин, На рубеже эр. Опыт историко-археологической реконструкции политических событий в. III до н.э.-I в. н.э. в Восточной и Центральной Европе [On the turn of erae. An attempt to construct a model of political events in Eastern and Central Europe during the 3rd century BC-1st century AD]. Российская археологическая библиотека 2 (Санкт-Петербург 1994).

2004: М. Б. Щукин, Некоторые замечания о методиках хронологических расчётов эпохи Латена, римского времени и сарматской археологии. In: Sarmatskie kultury 2004, 228-239.

Ščukin/Bažan 1994: M. Ščukin / I. Bazhan, The cloisonné style: Danubian, Bosporian, Georgian or Sassanian? Acta Arch. Køb. 65, 1994, 233-248.

Šedevry 1987: В. А. Набатчиков (ed.), Шедевры древнего искуства Кубани / Art Treasures of Ancient Kuban [exhibition catalogue] (Москва 1987).

Seipel 2000: W. Seipel (ed.), 7000 Jahre persische Kunst. Meisterware aus dem Iranischen Nationalmuseum in Teheran (Wien 2000).

Selmeczi 1992a: L. Selmeczi, Régészeti-néprajzi tanulmányok a jászokról és a kunokról. Folklór és Etnográfia 64 (Debrecen 1992).

1992b: L. Selmeczi, A négyszállási I. számú jász temető [Der Friedhof Nr. I. der Jaßen von Négyszállás]. BTM Műhely 4 (Budapest 1992).

2005: L. Selmeczi, A jászok betelepedése Magyaraországra. Korai jász sírok a négyszállási temetőben [Заселение ясов в Венгрию. Ранние ясские могилы в кладбищах пос. Недьсаллаш]. ComArchHung 2005, 565-586.

Šelov 1984: Д. Б. Шелов, История. In: Antičnye 1984, 8-25.

Sergackov 1996: И. В. Сергацков, Динамика взаимоотношений сарматов Волго-Донских степей с античным миром во II в. до н.э.-III в. н.э. Международные отношения в бассейне Черного моря в древности и средние века. Тезисы докладов VIII международной научной конференции (Ростов-на-Дону 1996) 112-115.

1998: И. В. Сергацков, Сарматское погребение с римским импортом в низовьях Иловли [A Sarmatian burial with imported goods of Roman origin found in the Lower Ilovlia]. РА 1998/4, 150-159.

Ševčenko 1995: Н. Ф. Шевченко, Строительные традиции у меотов. ИАА 1, 1995, 132-139.

Sherk 1980: R. K. Sherk, Roman Galatia: The Governors from 25 BC to AD 114. In: H. Temporini / W. Haase (eds), Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt II, 7, 2 (Berlin 1980) 954-1052.

Sidorenko 1996: В. А. Сидоренко, Фрагмент декрета римского времени из средневековой базилики под Мангупом [The fragment of a decree of Roman time from Medieval basilica near Mangoup]. МАИЭТ V, 1996, 35-58.

Simán 1982: K. Simán, Rézkori és császárkori leletek Mezőzomboron [Copper- and Roman Age finds in Mezőzombor]. HOMÉ XXI, 1982, 101-107.

Simonenko 1991: О. В. Симоненко, Роксолани (пошук археологічних відповідностей). [Сарматы (поиск археологических соответствий). Roksolans (A search for archaeological conformities)] Археологія 1991/1, 17-28.

1993a: А. В. Симоненко, Сарматы Таврии (Киев 1993).

1993b: A. Simonenko, Sarmatian Tribes of the Great Hungarian Plain and the North Pontic Region. Problem of Migrations. Specimina Nova IX, 1993 (1994), 59-64.

1994: А. В. Симоненко, Северное Причерноморье в системе сарматской культурно-исторической общности. In: А. С. Скрипкин (ed.), Проблемы истории и культуры сарматов. Тезисы докладов международной конференции (Волгоград 1994) 15-17.

1999: А. В. Симоненко, Сарматы Северного Причерноморья. Хронология, периодизация и этно-политическая история. Диссертация на соискание ученой степени доктора исторических наук [unpublished thesis, Киев 1999].

2001: А. В. Симоненко, Европейские аланы и аланы-танаиты в Северном Причерноморье [The European Alans and the Alans-tanaitians in North Pontic Region]. PA 2001/4, 77-91.

2004: А. В. Симоненко, Хронология и периодизация сарматских памятников Северного Причерноморья. In: Sarmatskie kultury 2004, 134-173.

2010: А. В. Симоненко, Сарматские всадники Северного Причерноморья [Sarmatian riders of North Pontic Region] Historia Militaris. Исследования по военному делу Древности и Средневековья (Санкт-Петербург 2010).

Simonenko/Lobaj 1991: А. В. Симоненко / Б. И. Лобай, Сарматы Северо-Западного Причерноморья в I в. н.э. (Киев 1991).

Sinica 2008: Е. В. Синица, Сарматское погребение из хутора Хмильна в контексте сармато-зарубинецких отношений. In: О. А. Радюш / К. Н. Скворцов (eds), Germania – Sarmatia. Древности Центральной и Восточной Европы эпохи римского влияния и переселения народов (Калининград 2008) 9-28.

Skarby 2006: Skarby znad Morza Czarnego. Zloto, rzeźba, ceramika z Muzeum Archeologicznego w Odessie / Treasures from the Black Sea coast. Gold, sculpture, pottery from the Archaeological Museum in Odessa [exhibition catalogue] (Odessa, Kraków 2006).

Skripkin 1988: А. С. Скрипкин, К проблеме преемственности савроматов и сарматов. In: Проблемы археологии и этнографии Северного Кавказа (Краснодар 1988) 23-31.

1990: А. С. Скрипкин, Азиатская Сарматия. Проблемы хронологии и ее исторический аспект (Саратов 1990).

1997: А. С. Скрипкин, Этюды по истории и культуре сарматов (Волгоград 1997).

2000: А. С. Скрипкин, Новые аспекты в изучении материальной культуры сарматов. Нижневолжский археологический вестник 3, 2000, 17-40.

2001: А. С. Скрипкин, О времени появления аланов в Восточной Европе и их происхождении (историографический очерк). ИАА 7, 2001, 15-40.

Skržinskaja 1977: М. В. Скржинская, Северное Причерноморье в описании Плиния Старшего (Киев 1977).

1998: М. В. Скржинская, Скифия глазами эллинов. Античная библиотека (Санкт-Петербург 1998).

Skythische Kunst 1986: Skythische Kunst. Altertümer der skythischen Welt. Mitte des 7. bis zum 3. Jahrhundert v. u. Z. (Leningrad 1986).

Smirnov 1957: К. Ф. Смирнов, Проблема происхождения ранних сарматов. СА 1957/3, 3-19.

1961: К. Ф. Смирнов, Вооружение савроматов. МИА 101 (Москва 1961).

1964: К. Ф. Смирнов, Савроматы. Ранняя история и культура сарматов (Москва 1964).

1972: К. Ф. Смирнов, Сарматские катакомбные погребения Южного Приуралья-Поволжья и их отношение к катакомбам Северного Кавказа. СА 1972/1, 73-81.

1975a: К. Ф. Смирнов, Сарматы на Илеке (Москва 1975).

1975b: К. Ф. Смирнов, Сарматы – огнепоклонники. In: Археология Северной и Центральной Азии (Новосибирск 1975) 155-159.

1984: К. Ф. Смирнов, Сарматы и утверждение их политического господства в Скифии (Москва 1984).

1989: К. Ф. Смирнов, Савроматская и раннесарматская культуры. In: Stepi 1989, 165-177.

Smirnov/Popov 1972: К. Ф. Смирнов / С. А. Попов, Саромато-сарматские курганы у с. Липовка Оренбургской области. In: Памятники Южного Урала и Западной Сибири сарматского времени. МИА 153 (Москва 1972) 3-26.

Sokrovišča 2008a: Л. Т. Яблонский (ed.), Сокровища сарматских вождей (Материалы раскопок Филипповских курганов) / Treasures of Sarmatian rulers (Materials of excavation of Filippovka burial ground) (Оренбург 2008).

2008b: Сокровища сарматов. Каталог выставки (Санкт-Петербург, Азов 2008).

Solomonik 1959: Э. И. Соломоник, Сарматские знаки Северного Причерноморья (Киев 1959).

Soproni 1978: S. Soproni, Der spätrömische Limes zwischen Esztergom und Szentendre (Budapest 1978).

2003: S. Soproni, Die historische Auswertung der Erdwälle. In: Garam/Patay/Soproni 2003, 57-75.

Sóskuti 2009: K. Sóskuti, Késő szarmata temetők és kora népvándorlás kori sírok Óföldeák-Ürmös I. lelőhelyen. In: Cs. Balogh (ed.), Nyomvonalba zárva. Régészeti feltárások az M43-as autóút és a makói elkerülő út nyomvonalán (Szeged 2009) 22-23.

Sóskuti/Wilhelm 2006: K. Sóskuti / G. Sz. Wilhelm, »Sárkányok az Alföldön« I. Besimított szalagos testű figurális motívumok szarmata edényeken (tipológia és elterjedés). In: J. László / R. Schmidtmayer (eds), »Hadak útján...« XV. Tatabányai Múzeum Tudományos Füzetek 8 (Tatabánya 2006) 11-54.

de Ste. Croix 1981: G. E. M. de Ste. Croix, The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World: From the Archaic Age to the Arab Conquests (London 1981).

Stepi 1989: А. І. Мелюкова (ed.), Степи европейской части СССР в скифо-сарматское время. Археология СССР (Москва 1989).

Stepnaja polosa 1992: М. Г. Мошкова (ed.), Степная полоса Азиатской части СССР в скифо-сарматское время (Москва 1992).

Steppengold 2004: E. Wamers / D. Stutzinger (eds), Steppengold. Grabschätze der Skythen und Sarmaten am unteren Don (Frankfurt a. M. 2004).

Stoljarova 2001: Е. К. Столярова, Бусы могильника Бельбек. Труды ГИМ 118, »Поздние скифы Крыма« 2001, 194-222.

Strobel 1989: K. Strobel, Die Donaukriege Domitians. Antiquitas R. 1, 38 (Bonn 1989).

Sulimirski 1970: T. Sulimirski, The Sarmatians. Ancient Peoples and Places 73 (Southampton 1970).

Symonovič 1983: Э. А. Сымонович, Население столицы позднескифского царства (по материалам Восточного могильника Неаполя Скифского) (Киев 1983).

Szabó 1939: K. Szabó, Jazyg-szarmata sírok Kecskemét környékén [Jazygisch-sarmatische Gräber in der Umgebung von Kecskemét]. FA I-II, 1939, 100-108.

Szádeczky-Kardoss 1992: S. Szádeczky-Kardos, Az avar történelem forrásai [Die Quellen der Awarengeschichte]. Magyar Őstörténeti Könyvtár 5 (Budapest 1992).

1998: S. Szádeczky-Kardos, Az avar történelem forrásai 557-től 806-ig [Die Quellen der Awarengeschichte von 557 bis 806]. Magyar Őstörténeti Könyvtár 12 (Budapest 1998).

Szász 1994: B. Szász, A húnok története. Attila nagykirály (Budapest 1994).

Tairov 2006: А. Д. Таиров, Этнокультурные процессы в степях Южного Урала во второй половине V-IV в. до н.э. [Etnho-cultural processes in the South Uralian steppes in the second part of the 5th-4th cc. BC]. PA 2006/1, 71-78.

Takács 2003: L. Takács (comm.), Császárok története (Historia Augusta) (Debrecen 2003).

Tănase 2002/2003: D. Tănase, Două morminte din secolele IV-V p. Chr., descoperite la Dudeşti Vechi (jud. Timiş) [Zwei entdeckte Gräber aus dem 4.-5. Jh. n. Chr. in Dudeşti Vechi (Kom. Timiş)]. Analele Banatului X-XI, 2002/2003 (2004), 233-244.

Tari 1994: E. Tari, Korai szarmata sír Újszilváson [Early Sarmatian grave from Újszilvás]. In: G. Lőrinczy (ed.), A kőkortól a középkorig – Von der Steinzeit bis zum Mittelalter. Tanulmányok Trogmayer Ottó 60. születésnapjára (Szeged 1994) 259-261.

Ţeicu 1999/2000: D. Ţeicu, Opinii privind activitatea metalurgică din Banatul montan în secolele III-IV [Über die Metallverarbeitung im Banater Montangebiet]. Analele Banatului VII-VIII, 1999/2000 (2000), 451-471.

Tejral n. y.: J. Tejral, Das Attilareich und die germanischen gentes im Mitteldonauraum. In: Attila und die Hunnen [exhibition catalogue] (Speyer n. y.) 107-115.

Thomas 1972: E. B. Thomas, Frühkaiserzeitliche Victoria-Statuette aus dem Barbaricum. Cumania I, 1972, 57-81.

1976a: E. B. Thomas, Bronzeplatte einer frühkaiserzeitlichen Paraderüstung. Cumania IV, 1976, 27-34.

1976b: E. B. Thomas, Figuralverzierter Griffschalenhenkel aus Jászszentlászló. Cumania IV, 1976, 21-26.

Thompson 2002: E. A. Thompson, The Huns (Oxford 2002).

Tiracjan 1985: Г. А. Тирацян, Армения в I-III вв. н.э. In: Г. А. Кошеленко (ed.), Древнейшие государства Кавказа и Средней Азии. Археология СССР (Москва 1985) 69-78.

Tolstov 1948a: С. П. Толстов, По следам древнехорезмийской цивилизации (Москва, Ленинград 1948).

1948b: С. П. Толстов, Древний Хорезм. Опыт историко-археологического исследования (Москва 1948).

Tolstova 1979: Л. С. Толстова, Отголоски массагето-аланского субстрата в фольклоре тюркоязычных народов Хорезмского оазиса. In: Этнография и археология Средней Азии (Москва 1979) 154-158.

Topál 1997: J. Topál, Ethnic Compontents in the Cemeteries along the Limes of Pannonia Inferior. In: W. Groenman-van Waateringe / B. L. van Beek / W. J. H. Willems / S. L. Wynia (eds), Roman Frontier Studies 1995. Proceedings of the XVIth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies. Oxbow Monograph 91 (Exeter 1997) 537-545.

Tóth 1978: E. Tóth, Cirpi. Pannonia kora-Flavius-kori hadtörténetéhez. AT XXV, 1978, 181-191.

1982: E. Tóth, Contra Acinco et Bononia. Arheološki Vestnik XXXIII, 1982 (1983), 68-78.

1986: E. Tóth, Dacia római tartomány. In: L. Makkai / A. Mócsy (eds), Erdély története I. A kezdetektől 1606-ig. Akadémiai Kiadó (Budapest 1986) 46-106.

2001: E. Tóth, The Roman province of Dacia. In: L. Makkai / A. Mócsy (eds), The History of Transylvania. 1: From the Beginnings to 1606 (New York 2001) 61-131.

2002: E. Tóth, Római kincslelet. História [Budapest] 24/9-10, 2002, 40-43.

2005a: E. Tóth, Zur Herkunft und Ikonographie der Scheibenfibeln der Keszthely-Kultur. Zalai Múzeum 14, 2005, 183-202.

2005b: E. Tóth, Karpen in der Provinz Valeria. Zur Frage der spätrömischen eingeglätteten Keramik in Transdanubien. ComArchHung 2005, 363-391.

2006: E. Tóth, Valeria vége [The end of Valeria. Das Ende der Provinz Valeria]. Arrabona 44/1, 2006, 579-596.

2009: E. Tóth, Studia Valeriana. Az alsóhetényi és ságvári késő római erődök kutatásának eredményei (Dombóvár 2009).

2011: E. Tóth, A pannoniai késő római besimított kerámia eredetéről (Carpok a Dunántúlon) [Despre originea ceramicii fine (netezite) romane târzie din Panonia (Carpii dincolo de Dunăre). Über die Herkunft der spätrömischen eingeglätteten Keramik in Pannonien (Karpen in Transdanubien)]. In: Zs. Körösfői (ed.), Kutatások a Nagy-Küküllő felső folyása mentén. Molnár István Múzeum Kiadványai 1 (Székelykeresztúr 2011) 293-320.

Tóth/Vékony 1970a: E. Tóth / G. Vékony, Beiträge zu Pannoniens Geschichte im Zeitalter des Vespasianus. ActaAH 22, 1970, 133-161.

1970b: E. Tóth / G. Vékony, Vespasianus-kori építési felirat Aquincumban [A building inscription in Aquincum from the Vespasianus period]. ArchÉrt 97, 1970, 109-115.

Treister 2004: M. Treister, Cloisonné- and champlevé-decoration in the gold work of the Late Hellenistic-Early Imperial Periods. Acta Arch. Køb. 75/2, 2004, 189-219.

Treasures 2009: Treasures of the Georgian National Museum (Tbilisi 2009).

Unbekannte Krim 1999: Th. Werner (ed.), Unbekannte Krim. Archäologische Schätze aus drei Jahrtausenden (Heidelberg 1999).

Váczy 1940: P. Váczy, A hunok Európában. In: Gy. Németh (ed.), Attila és hunjai (Budapest 1940; reprint 1986) 61-142.

Vaday 1970: A. H. Vaday, Szolnok megye római kori pénzforgalma. Jászkunság XVI/3, 1970, 130-138.

1977: A. H. Vaday, Rasparaganus rex Roxolanorum. MittArchInst 7, 1977 (1978), 27-31.

1980: A. H. Vaday, Neuere Angaben zur Frage der Verbreitung des sog. Schildkopfarmringes [Новые данные к вопросу расширения т.наз. щитковых браслетов]. SlA XXVIII/1, 1980, 91-100.

1980/1981: A. H. Vaday, Bemerkungen zur Frage der eingeglätteten Keramik mit figuraler Verzierung. MittArchInst 10/11, 1980/1981 (1982), 121-130. 385-392.

1982/1983: A. H. Vaday, Das Gräberfeld der Jazyges Metanastae in Mezőcsát-Hörcsögös. MittArchInst 12/13, 1982/1983 (1984), 167-188.

1985a: A. H. Vaday, Sarmatisches Gräberfeld in Törökszentmiklós-Surján-Újtelep. ActaAH 37, 1985, 345-390.

1985b: A. H. Vaday, A bagi lelet. Újabb adat a későszarmata besimított kerámia kérdéséhez [Der Fund von Bag. Weiterer Beitrag zur Frage der spätsarmatischen eingeglätteten Keramik]. ArchÉrt 112, 1985, 25-35.

1986: A. H. Vaday, Beitrag zum Fund von Vizesd-puszta. FA XXXVII, 1986, 197-223.

1987: A. H. Vaday, Der Grabfund von Gyulavári. ComArchHung 1987, 73-82.

1989a: A. H. Vaday, Sarmatisches Männergrab mit Goldfund aus Dunaharaszti. FA XL, 1989, 129-136.

1989b: A. H. Vaday, Die sarmatischen Denkmäler des Komitats Szolnok. Ein Beitrag zur Archäologie und Geschichte des sarmatischen Barbaricums. Antaeus 17-18, 1988-1989 (Budapest 1989).

1990/1991: A. H. Vaday, The Dacian Question in the Sarmatian Barbaricum. Antaeus 19-20, 1990/1991, 75-83.

1994: A. H. Vaday, Late Sarmatian Graves and their Connections within the Great Hungarian Plain. SIA XLII/1, 1994, 105-124.

1996: A. H. Vaday, Roman Period Barbarian Settlement at the Site of Gyoma 133. In: S. Bökönyi (ed.), Cultural and Landscape Changes in South-East Hungary II. Prehistoric, Roman Barbarian and Late Avar Settlement at Gyoma 133 (Békés County Microregion). Archaeolingua 5 (Budapest 1996) 51-305.

1997: A. H. Vaday, Kompolt-Kistéri-tanya. Szarmata telep és temető a II-IV. századból [Kompolt-Kistéri-tanya. Sarmatian settlement and cemetery from the A.D. 2nd to 4th centuries]. In: P. Raczky / T. Kovács / A. Anders (eds), Utak a múltba. Az M3-as autópálya régészeti leletmentései / Paths into the past. Rescue excavations on the M3 motorway (Budapest 1997) 93-98.

2001: A. H. Vaday, Military System of the Sarmatians. In: E. Istvánovits / V. Kulcsár (eds), International Connections of the Barbarians of the Carpathian Basin in the 1st-5th Centuries A.D. Proceedings of the International Archaeological Conference held in Aszód and Nyíregyháza in 1999. Múzeumi Füzetek 51 = Jósa András Múzeum Kiadványai 47 (Aszód, Nyíregyháza 2001) 171-193.

2002: A. H. Vaday, Militia inermis, militia armata. Bemerkungen zur Frage des Limes Sarmatiae. In: K. Kuzmová / K. Pieta / J. Rajtár (eds), Zwischen Rom und dem Barbaricum. Festschrift für Titus Kolník. Communicationes Instituti Archaeologici Nitrensis Academiae Scientiarum Slovacae V (Nitra 2002) 201-202.

2003a: A. H. Vaday, A szarmata Barbarikum központjai a Kr.u. 2. században. [Centres of the Sarmatian Barbaricum in the 2nd century]. Barbarikumi Szemle I, 2003, 9-22.

2003b: A. H. Vaday, Limes Sarmatiae. In: Zs. Visy (ed.), The Roman Army in Pannonia. An Archaeological Guide of the Ripa Pannonica (Budapest 2003) 204-207.

2003c: A. H. Vaday, Mezőszemere settlement. In: Zs. Visy (ed.), The Roman Army in Pannonia. An Archaeological Guide of the Ripa Pannonica (Budapest 2003) 209-212.

Vaday/Domboróczki 2001: A. H. Vaday / L. Domboróczki, Mezőszemere, Kismari-fenék. Spätkaiser-frühvölkerwanderungszeitliches Gräberfeldsdetail [Mezőszemere, Kismari-fenék. Késő császárkori – kora népvándorláskori temetőrészlet. Mezőszemere, Kismari-fenék. Late Imperial – Early Migration Period Cemetery fragment]. Agria XXXVII, 2001, 5-206.

Vaday/Kulcsár 1984: А. Х. Вадаи / В. Кульчар, К вопросу о так называемых сарматских пряжках. ActaAH 36, 1984, 239-261.

Vaday/Medgyesi 1993: A. H. Vaday / P. Medgyesi, Rectangular vessels in the Sarmatian Barbaricum in the Carpathian basin. ComArchHung 1993, 63-89.

Vaday/Szekeres 2001: A. H. Vaday / Á. Szekeres, Megjegyzések az Alföld korai szarmata telepeinek kérdéséhez (A jazyg bevándorlás és a megtelepedés kérdésköre) [Bemerkungen zur Frage der frühsarmatischen Siedlungen in der Tiefebene (Der Fragenkreis der jazygischen Einwanderung und Ansiedlung)]. MFMÉ-StudArch VII, 2001, 231-298.

Vaday/Szőke 1983: A. H. Vaday / B. M. Szőke, Szarmata temető és gepida sír Endrőd-Szujókereszten [Sarmatisches Gräberfeld und gepidisches Grab in Endrőd-Szujókereszt]. ComArchHung 1983, 79-132.

Vainberg/Gorbunova / Moškova 1992: Б. В. Вайнберг / Н. Г. Горбунова / М. Г. Мошкова, Основные проблемы в изучении памятников древних скотоводов Средней Азии и Казахстана. In: Stepnaja polosa 1992, 21-30.

Várady 1961: L. Várady, Későrómai hadügyek és társadalmi alapjaik. A Római Birodalom utolsó évszázada (376-476) (Budapest 1961).

1969: L. Várady, Das letzte Jahrhundert Pannoniens 376-476 (Budapest 1969).

Varsik/Prohászka 2009: V. Varsik / P. Prohászka, Nové poznatky o osídlení Vel'kého Žitného ostrova v dobe rímskej [Neue Angaben zur Besiedlung der Großen Schüttinsel in der römischen Kaiserzeit]. In: M. Karwowski / E. Droberjar (red.), Archeologia Barbarzyńców 2008: powiązania i kontakty w świecie barbarzyńskim / Archäologie der Barbaren 2008: Beziehungen und Kontakte in der barbarischen Welt. Materialen aus der IV. Frühgeschichtlichen Konferenz in Sanok 13.-17. Oktober 2008. Collectio Archaeologica Ressoviensis XIII (Rzeszów 2009) 187-209.

Vásáry 2003: I. Vásáry, A régi Belső-Ázsia története. Magyar Őstörténeti Könyvtár 19 (Szeged 2003).

Vasmer 1923: M. Vasmer, Untersuchungen über die ältesten Wohnsitze der Slaven (Leipzig 1923).

Vékony 1989: G. Vékony, Dákok, rómaiak, románok (Budapest 1989).

Vernadsky 1951: G. Vernadsky, Der sarmatische Hintergrund der germanischen Völkerwanderung. Saeculum 2, 1951, 340-392.

Vinogradov 1963: В. Б. Виноградов, Сарматы Северо-Восточного Кавказа (Грозный 1963).

1965: В. Б. Виноградов, Сиракский союз племен на Северном Кавказе. СА 1965/1, 108-121.

1966: В. Б. Виноградов, Локализация Ахардея и сиракского союза племен (по письменным источникам). СА 1966/4, 38-50.

Vinogradov 1994: Ю. Г. Виноградов, Очерк военно-политической истории сарматов в I в. н.э. [Military and political history of the Sarmatians in the 1st century AD]. ВДИ 1994/2, 151-169.

1997: Ю. Г. Виноградов, Херсонесский декрет о »несении Диониса« IOSPE I2 343 и вторжение сарматов в Скифию [The Cher-

sonesian Decree of »carrying Dionysos« IOSPE I^2 343 and the Sarmatian invasion of Scythia]. ВДИ 1997/3, 104-124.

Vinogradov 2005: Ю. А. Виноградов, Боспор Киммерийский. In: К. К. Марченко (ed.), Греки и варвары Северного Причерноморья в скифскую эпоху (Санкт-Петербург 2005) 211-296.

Visy 1970: Zs. Visy, Die Daker am Gebiet von Ungarn. MFMÉ 1970/1, 5-29.

1989: Zs. Visy, A római limes Magyarországon (Budapest 1989).

1994: Zs. Visy, Some Notes on the Defence System of Pannonia in the 2nd and 3rd Centuries AD. In: La Pannonia e L'Impero Romano. Atti del convegno internazionale »La Pannonia e l'Imperio Romano«. Accademia d'Ungheria e l'Istituto Austriaco di Cultura (Roma, 13-16 gennaio 1994) (Roma 1994) 85-96.

1995: Zs. Visy, The Problems of the Dacian Ethnic Group in Hungary. In: Din istoria Europei Romane. Universitatea din Oradea, Seria: Istorie IV (Oradea 1995) 13-104.

2003: Zs. Visy, The Ripa Pannonica in Hungary (Budapest 2003).

2005: Zs. Visy, Verespatak aranya. Zalai Múzeum 14, 2005, 311-315.

2009: Zs. Visy, Mapping the SW limes of Dacia. In: W. S. Hanson (ed.), The Army and Frontiers of Rome. Papers Offered to David J. Breeze on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday and his Retirement from Historic Scotland (Portsmouth, RI 2009) 115-126.

Vlaskin 2000: М. В. Власкин, Раннесарматские погребения могильника Северо-Западный I. In: Ю. К. Гугуев (ed.), Сарматы и их соседи на Дону. Материалы и исследования по археологии Дона, вып. I (Ростов-на-Дону 2000) 9-26.

Voronjatov/Mačinskij 2010: С. В. Воронятов / Д. А. Мачинский, О времени, обстоятельствах и смысле появления сарматских тамг на копьях [Über die Zeit, Umstände und den Sinn der Erscheinung sarmatischer Tamgen auf germanischen Lanzenspitzen]. In: Г. Король (ed.), Germania – Sarmatia II (Калининград, Курск 2010) 57-77.

Vörös 1982/1983: G. Vörös, Hunkori szarmata temető Sándorfalva-Eperjesen [Eine sarmatische Begräbnisstätte aus der Hunnenzeit in Sándorfalva-Eperjesen]. MFMÉ 1982/1983-1, 129-172.

1992: G. Vörös, A tiszai átkelőhely szerepe a 4-5. században Csongrád alatt, a mai böldi révnél. In: Múzeumi kutatások Csongrád megyében 1992, 5-12.

2003: G. Vörös, Barbárok a Római Birodalom határvidékén. Régészeti leletek a madarasi szarmata temetőből (Bács-Kiskun megye) [exhibition catalogue] (Szeged 2003).

Vulić 1929/1930: N. Vulić, Konstantinus' Sarmatenkrieg im J. 358 und 359. Byzantinische Zeitschrift 30, 1929/1930, 374-376.

Weihrauch 1996: W. Seipel (ed.), Weihrauch und Seide. Alte Kulturen an der Seidenstraße [exhibition catalogue] (Milano, Wien 1996).

Werner 1956: I. Werner, Beiträge zur Archäologie des Attila-Reiches (München 1956).

Wheeler 1998: E. L. Wheeler, Constantine's Gothic Treaty of 332: a Reconsideration of Eusebius VC 4.5-6. In: M. Zahariade (ed.), The Roman Frontier at the Lower Danube, 4th-6th Centuries. Studia Danubiana. Pars Romaniae Series Symposia I (Bucharest 1998) 81-94.

Wicker 2011: E. Wicker, Egy két évezreddel ezelőtt élt nemes úrhölgy. A kelebia-vermesjárási szarmata sírleletről. A 10 éve elhunyt Kőhegyi Mihály emlékének. Bácsország 59/4, 2011, 93-95.

Wolfram 2001: H. Wolfram, Die Goten: Von den Anfängen bis zur Mitte des 6. Jahrhunderts. Entwurf einer historischen Ethnographie (München 2001).

Wright/Richmond 1955: R. P. Wright / I. A. Richmond, Catalogue of the Roman Inscribed and Sculptured Stones in the Grosvenor Museum, Chester (Chester 1955).

Yablonsky 2007: L. T. Yablonsky, Excavations of a »Royal« barrow-grave in the Southern Ural. FA LIII, 2007, 85-99.

See also Jablonskij

Zadneprovskiy 1996: Y. A. Zadneprovskiy, The Nomads of Northern Central Asia after the Invasion of Alexander. In: Central Asia 1996, 457-472.

Zaharov 2000: А. В. Захаров, Сарматское погребение в кургане »Крестовый«. In: Ю. К. Гугуев (ed.), Сарматы и их соседи на Дону. Материалы и исследования по археологии Дона. вып. I (Ростов-на-Дону 2000) 27-45.

Zaseckaja 1979: И. П. Засецкая, Савроматские и сарматские погребения Никольского могильника в Нижнем Поволжье [The Sauromatians and Sarmatians graves of the Nikolskoye burial ground in the Lower Volga basin]. Труды Государственного Эрмитажа XX, 1979, 87-113. 188.

1982: И. П. Засецкая, Погребение у села Кызыл-Адыр Оренбургской области (К вопросу о гунно-хуннских связях). In: Древние памятники культуры на территории СССР (Ленинград 1982) 54-77.

1999: И. П. Засецкая, Сармато-аланская традиция в украшениях гуннской эпохи [Sarmatian and Alan Tradition in Decorations of the Huns Times]. АСГЭ 34, 1999, 161-171.

2006: И. П. Засецкая, О новом исследовании по проблемам полихромного звериного стиля [About a new study on the problems of polychrome animal style]. ВДИ 2006/2, 97-130.

Zeuss 1857: J. K. Zeuss, Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme (München 1837).

Zgusta 1955: L. Zgusta, Die Personennamen griechischer Städte der Nördlichen Schwarzmeerküste. Die ethnischen Verhältnisse, namentlich das Verhältnis der Skythen und Sarmaten, im Lichte der Namenforschung (Praha 1955).

Zin'ko 1991: В. Н. Зинько, Об этносоциальной стратификации сельского населения европейской части Боспора в IV-III вв. до н.э. МАИЭТ II, 1991, 39-43.

Zolotye 2001: Золотые олени Евразии [exhibition catalogue] (Санкт-Петербург 2001).

Zoltai 1941: L. Zoltai, Die Hügelgräber der römischen Kaiserzeit in Hortobágy. DissPann II, 11 (Budapest 1941) 269-308.

Zubarev 2005: В. Г. Зубарев, Историческая география Северного Причерноморья по данным античной письменной традиции. Studia historica (Москва 2005).

Ždanovskij 1985: А. М. Ждановский, История племен Среднего Прикубанья во II в. до н.э.-III в. н.э. Автореферат диссертации на соискание ученой степени кандидата исторических наук (Москва 1985).

1988: А. М. Ждановский, Классификация наконечников стрел из курганных погребений Среднего Прикубанья сарматского вре-

мени. In: Проблемы археологии и этнографии Северного Кавказа (Краснодар 1988) 54-68.

Železčikov 1984: Б. Ф. Железчиков, Вероятная численность савромато-сарматов Южного Приуралья и Заволжья в VI в. до н.э.-I в. н.э. по демографическим данным. In: А. Н. Мелюкова / М. Г. Мошкова / В. Г. Петренко (eds), Древности Евразии в скифо-сарматское время (Москва 1984) 65-68.

Železčikov/Pšeničnjuk 1994: Б. Ф. Железчиков / А. Х. Пшеничнюк, Племена Южного Приуралья в VI-III вв. до н.э. In: А. С. Скрипкин (ed.), Проблемы истории и культуры сарматов. Тезисы докладов международной конференции (Волгоград 1994) 5-8.

ABBREVIATIONS

AASzeg	Acta Antiqua et Archaeologica, Szeged
Acta Antiqua	Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Budapest
ActaAH	Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Budapest
Acta Arch. Køb.	Acta Archaeologica, Copenhagen
AH	Archaeologia Hungarica, Budapest
Alba Regia	Alba Regia. Annales Musei Stephani Regis, Székesfehérvár
AMP	Acta Musei Porolissensis. Muzeul Județean de Istorie şi Artă, Zalău
Analele Banatului	Analele Banatului – serie nouă, continuă publicațiile anterioare ale Muzeului Banatului, Timişoara
Antaeus	Antaeus. Communicationes ex Instituto Archaeologico Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Budapest
Antiquitas	Abhandlungen zur Alten Geschichte
Apulum	Apulum. Acta Musei Apulensis, Alba Julia
Arch. Korrbl.	Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt, Mainz
ArchÉrt	Archaeologiai Értesítő, Budapest
АСГЭ	Археологический сборник Государственного Эрмитажа. Ленинград, Санкт-Петербург
AT	Antik Tanulmányok. Studia Antiqua, Budapest
BAR	British Archaeological Reports, Oxford
Barbarikumi Szemle	Barbarikumi Szemle. A Barbarikumi Régészeti Társaság kiadványa, Szeged
BudRég	Budapest Régiségei, Budapest
CIL	Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum
ComArchHung	Communicationes archaeologicae Hungariae, Budapest
Cumania	Cumania. Bács-Kiskun Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei / Acta Muzeorum ex comiatatu Bács-Kiskun, Kecskemét
DissPann	Dissertationes Pannonicae, Budapest
DMÉ	A Debreceni Déri Múzeum Évkönyve, Debrecen
Eurasia Antiqua	Eurasia Antiqua. Zeitschrift für Archäologie Eurasiens, Mainz
FA	Folia Archaeologica, Budapest
HNM	Hungarian National Museum
HOMÉ	A Herman Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve, Miskolc
ИАА	Историко-археологический альманах Армавирского краеведческого музея, Армавир, Москва
JAM	Jósa András Museum, Nyíregyháza
JRGZM	Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, Mainz
KM	Kossuth Museum, Cegléd
МАИЭТ	Материалы по археологии истории и этнографии Таврии, Симферополь

MFM	Móra Ferenc Museum, Szeged
MFMÉ	A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve, Szeged
MFMÉ-Stud.Arch	A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve – Studia Archaeologica, Szeged
МИА	Материалы и исследования по археологии СССР, Москва, Ленинград
MittArchInst	Mitteilungen des Archäologischen Instituts der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Budapest
MTA II. oszt. Közl.	Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Történeti Osztályának Közleményei, Budapest
NumKözl	Numizmatikai Közlöny, Budapest
NyJAMÉ	A nyíregyházi Jósa András Múzeum Évkönyve, Nyíregyháza
ПАВ	Петербургский археологический вестник, Санкт-Петербург
РА	Российская археология, Москва
RégFüz	Régészeti Füzetek, Budapest
RIC	Roman Imperial Coinage
RKM	Régészeti kutatások Magyarországon [Archaeological Investigations in Hungary], Budapest
СА	Советская археология, Москва
САИ	Свод археологических источников
SCIVA	Studii şi Cercetări de Istorie Veche (şi Arheologie), Bucureşti
SlA	Slovenská Archeológia, Bratislava/Nitra
Specimina Nova	Specimina Nova. Dissertationum ex Instituto Historico Universitatis Quinqueecclesiensis de Iano Pannonio nominatae. A pécsi JPTE Történeti Tanszékének Évkönyve, Pécs
StudCom	Studia Comitatensia. Tanulmányok Pest megye múzeumaiból, Szentendre
Századok	Századok. A Magyar Történelmi Társulat Közlönye, Budapest
TIM	Tragor Ignác Museum, Vác
Труды ГИМ	Труды Государственного Исторического музея, Москва
ВДИ	Вестник древней истории, Москва

INDEXES

INDEX OF PLACES

Abaújszántó (H) 257
Abony (H) 217, 257
Abrahám (SK) 185
Achardeus / Achardeüs 91-92
Ács–Vaspuszta (H) 327
Acumincum / Acimincum – see also Slankamen (SRB) 314, 335-337, 360
Adamclissi (RO) 224
Adony – see also *Vetus Salina* (H) 232
Adrianople / Hadrianopolis – see also Edirne (TR) 318, 352, 360, 378
Afghanistan
  northern 6, 131, 147, 149-150, 152
Africa
  northern 370, 408
Ahtube (RUS) 35
Aigisos – see also Tulcea (RO) 105
Airan (Moult) (F) 410-412
Akasztó-Döbrögecpuszta (H) 252, 285
Alagne (F) 409
Alaigne (F) 408
Alaincourt (F) 409
Alan / Alanliao / Alanna / A-lan-ja 145
Albania 70, 110, 153
Albertfalva (Budapest, District XI; H) 295
Alburnus Maior – see also Roşia Montană (RO) 263-264
Alençone (F) 409
Alföld (region; H) – see also Great Hungarian Plain 13, 281, 343, 346
Alitub (RUS) 91
Alps (mountains)
  eastern 13
Alsóhetény (H) 376, 379
Altaj (mountains) 8, 10, 146, 150, 376
  Mongolian 3
Altyn Tagh (mountains) 5
Aluta (river) – see also Olt 220, 226-227
Amber Road 262
Amiens (F) 410
Amu Darya – see also *Oxus* 8, 24, 27, 145, 152
Anatolia (region; TR) 17, 86, 293
Aorsia 106, 108-109
Apa (RO) 257
Apatin (SRB) 348-349, 359
Apollonia (Sozopol; BG) 101
Apulum (Alba Iulia; RO) 225
Aquileia (I) 262, 296
Aquincum (Budapest, District III; H) 189, 215, 217, 227, 232, 254, 270-271, 291, 296, 314, 322, 337, 340, 354, 365, 375
Aquitaine (region; F) 408-409
Arabia (region) 4, 6
Arad (RO) 13, 223, 323
  Basin 223
Aral Sea / Lake 8, 59, 145, 151
Aranka / Aranca / Zlatica (river) 424
Ararat, kingdom of 17
Arax/es (river) 21, 23, 84, 111
Ardánháza / Ardanovo (UA, Transcarpathian region) 257
Armaziskhevi (GE) 155
Armenia 94, 108, 110-115, 146, 152-154, 157, 376
Ároktő (H) 344
Árpás (H) 373-374
Ártánd (H) 386-387
  -Kisfarkas-domb 236, 396
  -Nagyfarkas-domb 236, 386
Asia 1, 4, 20-21, 23, 57, 62-63, 83, 105, 152, 155, 376
  Central 1, 3, 5-8, 19-20, 24, 30, 47, 50, 53, 58, 78, 129, 131, 136, 138, 143, 147, 150-152, 163, 167-168, 171, 241, 245, 376, 399, 407, 414
  Inner 1, 3-6, 11, 135, 143, 145, 376
  Minor 4, 6, 28, 81, 84, 86, 173
Aszód (H) 272
Átány (H) 201-202
Athens (GR) 64, 68, 173
Austria 13
  Lower 268
Azov (RUS) 74, 124, 160, 164, 277, 300
  -Aerodrom I 166
  Sea of 10-12, 29, 50, 53, 61, 66-67, 82, 90, 111, 157, 178, 317, 402
Bač (SRB) 368
Bačka / Bácska (region; H, SRB) 191, 222, 225, 335, 344, 349-350, 358

Bačka Palanka – see also *Lederata* (SRB) 222
Bačko Petrovo Selo (SRB) 359
Bactria / *Bactriana* 78, 105, 143-144, 146, 150-151, 161, 241
Bag (H) 231
Bahčisaraj (Crimea) 206, 248
Baja (H) 226, 350, 361
Bajkal, Lake 150
Baláca (H) 294
Balaton, Little 372
Balkan (mountains) – see also *Haemus* 90
Peninsula 28, 219, 293, 315
Balkhaš, Lake 8, 78, 144
Banat (region; RO, SRB) 216, 218, 221-223, 225-227, 229-230, 245, 257, 315, 323, 326, 330, 335, 368, 382, 424
Banoštor – see also *Bononia* (SRB) 315, 378
Bara Osatina (HR) 256, 259
Báránd (H) 288
Barbaricum 173, 181, 185, 190, 210, 219, 221, 225, 235, 251-252, 254-255, 269, 279, 281, 289, 297, 300, 314, 316, 320, 323, 330, 343, 352, 355, 358, 364-366, 368, 374-375, 390
Bashkiria / Bashkortostan (RUS) 33
Baštečki (UA) 245
Bátmonostor (H) 368
Bayeux (F) 414
Bazas (F) 409
Békés, County (H) 365
Békés-Vizesbánom (H) 288
Békéscsaba (H) 194, 200
-Ószőlők 195, 202
Békésszentandrás (H) 226
Béla / Boineşti (RO) 257
Bel'bek (river) 196, 207
Belgrade – see also *Singidunum* (SRB) 339
Beljaevka / Biljajivka (UA) 201
Beloles'e (UA) 202
Beregsurány (H) 263, 288, 303, 307
Berettyó (river) 387, 424
Berettyóújfalu-Herpály (H) 288
Bergamo (*Bergomum*; I) 409
Berveni-Halmos (RO) 323
Bessarabia (region, MD) 350, 358
Biatorbágy (H) 294
Bihor, County (RO) 294
Bilhorod Dnistrovs'kyj / Belgorod Dniestrovskij (UA) 63
Bis-Oba (KZ) 43
Bitak (Simferopol; Crimea) 169
Bithynia 83, 94, 254
Black Forest 13
Black Sea – see also *Euxine* 10-13, 18, 61, 94
Bodrog (H) 257
Bodzanowo (PL) 416
Bölcske (H) 368
Böldi rév (crossing point, Szentes; H) 383
Bolia (river) 422
Bononia – see also Banoštor (SRB) 314-315, 352, 378
Bonyhád (H) 256, 259
Börgönd (H) 291
Borohoro Mountains 4
Borysthenes (river) – see also Dnieper 19, 20, 86-87
Börzsöny Mountains 330
Bosnia and Herzegovina 13
Bosporus
Asian 64, 120
Cimmerian – see also Kerč Strait 16, 54, 63-64, 68, 77, 91, 96-97, 108, 117-118, 155, 157, 173, 400
Brad (RO) 245
Bratislava-Dúbravka (SK) 269
Bratovo (UA, Transcarpathian region) 257
Bremetennacum – see also Ribchester (UK) 413
Brestiv – see also Ormód (UA, Trancarpathian region) 375
Brigetio – see also Szőny (H) 218, 270, 343, 372
Britain 111, 259, 265, 274, 338, 412-414
British Isles 414
Budapest (H) 200, 232, 285, 330, 344
-Eskü Square / Március 15 Square (District V) 192, 270, 271
-Gázgyár (Gasworks) (District III) – see also Óbuda-Gázgyár 266
-Káposztásmegyer (District IV) 195, 204
-Laktanya Street (District III) – see also Óbuda-Laktanya Street 232
Nagytétény (District XXII) – see also *Campona* 232
-Rákos Stream mouth 270 (District XIII)
Budžak steppe 93, 180, 206, 214, 279-280
Bug (river) – see also *Hypanis* 89
South 10, 101, 152, 178, 208
Bukhara (UZ) 150
Bulci (RO) 225
Bulgaria 103, 318, 358
Burgenae (Novi Banovci, SRB) 291
Burgenland (region; A) 372
Buzău (RO) 202-203
Byzantium – see also Constantinople (Istanbul; TR) 154, 400, 405,-407

Callatis (Mangalia; RO) 63, 73, 77
Campona – see also Nagytétény (Budapest, District XXII; H) 232, 315, 317, 358
Capitoline Hill (Rome) 260
Cappadocia 83, 94, 111, 153
Caransebeş (RO) 218
Carei (RO) 289, 323, 357
Carnuntum – see also Deutsch-Altenburg (A) 107, 184-186, 189, 216, 370, 374
Carpathian
Basin 1-2, 12-13, 31, 45, 47, 49, 74, 77, 93, 98, 102, 105, 108, 122, 131, 136, 147, 152, 159, 161, 171, 181, 183-397, 417-429, 431
Mountains 75, 88, 90, 93, 170
Caspian
Depression 8, 11
Gates 110
Sea 8, 10-12, 17, 23-24, 78, 90-91, 110-111, 145, 152, 155, 169, 402-403
Castra Martis – see also Kula (BG) 378, 421
Catalaunian Plains (Châlons; F) 409
Čatalka (BG) 245
Čatyr-Dag (mountain) 175
Caucasus (mountains) 3-4, 10-12, 16, 24, 59, 66, 69-71, 84, 90-91, 111-113, 117, 139-140, 152, 158, 169, 171, 177, 276, 376, 399, 403-408, 414, 417, 424-426
Caucasian foreland
Central Caucasus 214, 403, 406
Fore-Caucasus (Cis-Caucasus) 11
Greater Caucasus Mountains 11
northern Caucasus 47, 56, 58-59, 84, 91, 108, 115, 120, 135, 139, 171, 173-174, 181, 206, 402
north-eastern Caucasus 59, 66, 170
north-western Caucasus 54
southern Caucasus 115
south-eastern Caucasus 69
Transcaucasia(n) 18, 23, 406
western Caucasus 405-406
Čauš (UA) 179-180
Cazaclia (MD) 180
Cegléd (H) 195
Celamantia, castella – see also Iža-Leányvár (SK) 270
Celtica 374
Cenad (RO) 225
Černjahov / Černjahiv (UA) 163, 170-181, 317, 323, 326, 358, 387, 399
Chabon (Crimea) 94, 97
Charax (Aj-Todor; Crimea) 175
Chersonesus, Tauric – see also Sevastopol (Crimea) 15, 75, 82, 94, 96-97, 117, 209, 276, 400
Chester (UK) 274, 413
China 3, 5, 45, 53, 78, 80, 138, 144
Chorezm (region) 23, 30, 50, 145, 399, 402
Cibalae (Vinkovci; HR) 371-372
Cladova (RO) 225
Cluj (RO) 227
Colchis (region) 94
Čonoplja (SRB) 349
Constanța – see also *Tomi* (RO) 105
Constantiana Daphne (RO) 318
Constantinople – see also *Byzantium* (Istanbul; TR) 320, 378
Contra Aquincum – see also Budapest, Eskü Square / Március 15 Square (H) 270-271
Contra Florentiam / Dunafalva (H) 313
Corinth (GR) 173
Covăsniț (RO) 351
Crimea 11, 72-75, 77, 82, 93-98, 109, 117, 119-120, 134, 152, 169, 171, 173-178, 196, 206-207, 209-210, 248, 254, 276, 280, 399-402, 410-411
Crimean
Gothia 174
Mountains 12, 72
Peninsula 3, 12, 64, 117
Croatia 13, 220, 427
Crvenka (SRB) 349
Csenger-Halomdomb (H) 232
Csengersima (H) – see also Petea (RO) 258, 263, 288-289, 303, 307
Csongrád (H) 200, 360, 384, 389, 421
-Endre király utca 241
-Határút 243
-Iskola utca 383
-Kenderföldek / Laktanya (Military Barracks) 389, 396, 423
Ču (river) 145
Cumania Minor – see also Kiskunság (H) 349, 360, 422
Čurug (SRB) 348, 359
Cusus (river) 185
Cvetna (UA) 120
Czech Republic 13
Dači (Azov; RUS) 124, 129-132, 152
Dacia 88-89, 102, 154, 170, 173, 184, 210, 216, 220-221, 225-227, 229, 231-233, 254-255, 257, 263-267, 270, 273, 279, 283, 285, 292-297, 303, 307, 319-320, 322-323, 326, 338, 351, 358, 360, 380
Apulensis 225

Inferior 232, 254-255, 263
Porolissensis 232, 255
Superior 232, 255
Tres Daciae 263
Dandarica 118
Danube (river) – see also *Ister* / *Istros* 1, 13, 24, 52, 71, 74-75, 83, 90, 93, 107, 171, 188, 201, 218, 234, 380, 394, 397, 410, 422
Basin 31, 318, 426
Bend 189, 285, 330-331, 367
Delta 105, 181, 188
Lower Danube 10, 28, 52, 72-73, 75, 87-90, 93, 101-106, 108, 115, 117, 121, 136, 152, 154-155, 160, 170, 173, 178-180, 187-189, 191, 201, 206, 214, 216-217, 220-221, 225-226, 232-233, 246-247, 263, 265-266, 279, 292-293, 295, 311, 315, 317-318, 340, 350, 358, 360, 376-379, 400, 403
Middle Danube 151, 184-187, 217, 221, 225, 255, 260, 262, 265-266, 270, 273, 290-291, 293, 295, 311-314, 317-318, 328-331, 335-336, 339, 344, 352-353, 358-360, 367-369, 371, 378-379, 421, 423
-Tisza interfluve – see also Duna-Tisza köze 13, 188, 191-192, 194, 208, 214, 216, 218, 222-223, 225-226, 228, 234, 246, 285, 315, 320, 335, 344, 349, 360, 397, 421
Darial Pass / *Dar-e Alān* / *Dar-i-Alanan* / *Caspia via* / *Caspiae portae* / *Caucasiae portae* 12, 111, 406, 408
Debrecen (H) 251, 304, 386
-Fancsika 348
-Hortobágyhíd 251
-Lovászzúg 248
Denmark 206
Derbent Pass 12, 91, 111
Derecske (H) 288
Deristuj (RUS, Buryatia) 150
Deserta Boiorum 219
Deutsch-Altenburg – see also *Carnuntum* (A) 185
Dierna – see also Orşova (RO) 222
Dinarian Range 13
Dionysopolis (Balčik; BG) 73
Diosig (RO) 294
Dnieper (river) – see also *Borysthenes* 10, 19-20, 24, 31, 33, 58, 74, 77, 79, 82, 84, 87-90, 92-93, 97-98, 100-103, 108, 114, 117, 124, 151-153, 160-161, 163, 170-171, 178, 290
Lower 71, 96, 108, 151, 400, 410
Middle 103
Dniester (river) – see also *Tyras* 10, 24, 73-75, 103, 109, 129, 131, 140, 160-161, 169, 178, 308
-Dnieper interfluve 170, 290
-Prut interfluve 160, 191, 214, 350
Upper 179, 263
Döbrönte (H) 372
Dobrudja 72, 77, 89, 105-106, 263
Don (river) – see also *Tanais* 10, 24, 27, 29, 34, 36, 49-50, 57-61, 63-64, 68, 71, 74, 77, 83-84, 87-88, 90-92, 98, 117, 136, 150, 152, 155, 159-163, 167, 171, 178, 202, 275, 376, 400
Delta 11, 48, 76, 77, 111, 124, 152, 173, 277, 280, 317
-Dnieper interfluve 74, 79, 84, 87, 93, 97, 100, 163
Lower 34, 56, 77, 92, 98, 124, 131, 133, 147, 151-152, 161, 163-164, 171, 181, 214, 245, 277, 399-400
Middle 160
Upper 124, 170
-Volga interfluve 29-31, 34, 48, 50, 52, 120, 124, 152, 158-159, 169, 199
Dora (river) 184
Dormánd-Zsidó temető (Jewish cemetery; H) 200
Dorobanți (RO) 323
Drava / Dráva (river) 359
-Sava interfluve 294
Drobeta (Drobeta-Turnu Severin; RO) 227, 232
Drôme (F) 409
Družnoje (Crimea) 176-177
Dudeşti Vechi – see also Óbesenyő (RO) 277, 383-384
Dunaharaszti (H) 152, 237, 243-246, 274
Dunakeszi (H) 314, 344, 351-352, 368
-Székes-dűlő 195, 200, 202
Dunántúl – see also Transdanubia 13
Dunapentele – see also Dunaújváros and *Intercisa* (H) 243
Dunaszekcső – see also *Lugio* (H) 360, 368
Duna-Tisza köze – see also Danube-Tisza interfluve 13
Dunaújváros – see also Dunapentele and *Intercisa* (H) 232, 243, 343
Dunavecse (H) 204
Dzungaria (region; PRC) 78
Dzungarian
Alatau Mountains 3
Basin 3-4
Gate 4
Ebi Nor Lake 4
Ecser Site 7 (H) 229, 283, 292, 303, 305, 362, 382, 420
Edirne – see also *Adrianople* / *Hadrianopolis* (TR) 378
Eger (H) 191, 194-196, 200, 202
Egypt 19, 68, 74-75, 94, 295, 342-343

Elek (H) 289
Engers (D) 313
Eran (Iran) 6
Ercsi (H) 291
Erythea (island) 20
Elizavetovka (RUS) 76-77
Endrőd-Szujókereszt (H) 226, 231, 235, 239, 241, 251
Erzurum Plain (TR) 153
Esztergom (H) 185, 427
Euphrates (river) 114
Eurasian steppe 1-2, 5, 13, 15, 24, 79, 168, 245, 399
Europe 2, 10, 13, 57, 60, 83, 105, 337
  Central 78, 190
  East 11, 61-62, 78, 90, 143, 146, 152, 155, 169, 367, 376, 399
  South-East 178
  Western 397, 408-414
Excisum (Eysses; F) 409
Faesulae (Fiesole; I) 397
Far East 4, 168-169, 395, 402
Fejér, County (H) 426
Fenékpuszta (H) 343, 376
Fergana (UZ) 144
Filippovka (RUS) 41-46
Flins-sur-Seine (F) 409
France 48, 408-409, 411
Frikacej / Limanskoe (UA) 180
Fülöpkei Jakabszállás (Jakabszállás; H) 210
Füzesabony (H) 193, 209, 212-213
  -Kastély-dűlő 193-195, 199-202, 205, 208-213
  -Kettőshalom 202, 204
Gadira 20
Galanta (SK) 185
Galați (RO) 202
Galatia-Cappadocia 111
Galgahévíz (H) 277, 280
Gallia
  Belgica 339, 410
  Lugdunensis 339
Gandhara (region; AFG, PK) 163
Ganges (river) 155
Gansu (PRC) 78, 144
Gelej (H) 288
Gelénes (H) 286
Georgia – see also Kartli 12, 70, 113, 152, 154-155, 158
Georgian Military Road 12
Germany 43, 111, 274, 416
Geszteréd (H) 277, 288, 300-301
Ghirişa (RO) 289
Gibárt (H) 257
Gigen – see also *Oescus* (BG) 318
Gobi Desert 4-5
Gorgip(p)ia (Anapa; RUS) 116
Gorsium – see also Tác (H) 266, 294, 343
Gospođinci (SRB) 348-349
Göd (H)
  -Bócsaújtelep 353-355, 370
Gradeška (UA) 180
Graz Basin 13
Great Hungarian Plain – see also Alföld 1, 8, 13, 101, 103, 114, 118, 124, 135, 152, 160, 164, 170, 179, 183, 184, 187-189, 191, 193, 196, 201, 203-204, 206, 209-210, 212, 214-217, 220, 225, 227, 233, 235, 240, 243-244, 246-248, 250, 255-256, 268, 270, 272-273, 275-277, 286, 289-290, 292, 294, 297, 300, 303, 308, 310, 318-320, 322, 330, 335, 337-341, 343-344, 351-353, 357-358, 360-362, 365, 367, 374, 378-381, 383, 385, 387-388, 396-397, 409, 413, 417-419, 423-427
Gruševskoe gorodišče (hillfort; RU) 67
Gyoma-Ailer brick factory (H) 243
Gyula-Szeregyháza (H) 243-244
Gyulavári (H) 288
Gyulavarsánd – see also Vărşand (RO) 191
  -Laposhalom 200
Haemus – see also Balkan 90
Hajdúnánás-Tedej (H) 374
Harta-Kali-major (H) 368
Hatvan (H) 277
  -Gombospuszta 353, 355-356, 370
Haute-Garonne (département; F) 408
Hercynian Forest 107, 184
Hermonassa (Taman; RUS) 68
Herpály (Berettyóújfalu; H) 192, 288, 300-301, 303
Hévizgyörk (H) 161, 164, 272, 277-278, 286, 288, 300
Hindu Kush Mountains 8
Hingan Mountains 3
Hispania 408-409
Histropolis / Histria / Istria (RO) 73
Huang He (Yellow River) 3
Humarin (RUS, Karachay-Cherkessia) 406
Hódmezővásárhely (H)
  -Fehértó 226
  -Kakasszék 226
Hohlač (Novočerkassk, RUS) 120, 124, 126, 152, 203, 245

Holmskoe (UA) 202, 279
Horány (H) 313, 368
Hortobágy (H) 288
-Poroshát 135, 277, 300-301, 304
Hotin / Chotin (type of place names) 416
Hron (river) 215
Hruşca / Gruška (Transnistria) 245
Hsin-chiang (Xinjiang / Sinkiang; PRC) 3-4
Hungary 1-2, 13, 31, 43, 51, 78, 139, 160, 183, 191, 193, 196, 202, 217, 221, 234, 244, 246, 248, 265, 292, 297, 327, 341, 385, 411, 417, 426-427, 429, 431
Hypanis – see also Bug 89
Hyrcania 78, 111, 152
Ialomiţa (river) 350
Iaşi / Jászvásár (RO) 403
Iaxartes (river) – see also Syr Darya 143
Iberia 70, 110, 115, 152, 154-155
Iberian Peninsula 408
Ier / Ér (river) 256, 323, 355
Ilek (river) 43
Ili (river) 144
Illyria 88, 102, 111
Illyricum 189, 259, 291, 296, 318, 334, 336, 369, 373-374, 377-378
India 20, 43, 91-92, 155, 163, 241
Indus 4, 114
Upper 3
Intercisa – see also Dunaújváros / Dunapentele (H) 232, 290, 294, 340, 342-343
Ionia 45
Ipel / Ipoly (river) 422
Iran 6, 45, 60, 163, 406-407
Iranian
Basin 4, 168, 171
Plateau 24
Irtyš (river)
Black / Kara 4
Isaszeg (H) 277, 280
Ister / *Istros* – see also Danube 29, 73, 86-87, 103, 105-106, 218, 261, 265-266, 315, 317, 367, 371
Istria / *Histria* / *Histropolis* (RO) 18, 233, 338, 372
Italy 19, 101, 257, 291, 293, 296, 319, 339, 409, 423
Ivolga (RUS) 150
Iža-Leányvár – see also *Celamantia, castella* (SK) 270
Jabing (A) 372
Jakuszowice (PL) 416
Jászberény 423
-Csegelapos (H) 206, 285-286, 288
Jászság (Iazygia, region; H) 139, 421, 426
Jászszentlászló (H) 252-253, 285
Jupa – see also *Tibiscum* (RO) 222, 230
Kama (river) 47
Káposztásmegyer (Budapest, District IV; H) 195-196, 204
Karachay-Cherkessia (RUS) 406-407
Kara-Kum Desert 8
Karatau Mountains 145
Karcag-Orgondaszentmiklós (H) 427
Kartli – see also Georgia 70
Kazakhstan 10-11, 23, 150
Central 5
Southern 5
Kazakh Uplands 8
Kazbek Mount 12
Kazinka (RUS) 67
Kazsok (H) 372
Kecel (H) 289
-Csukástó 195-196
Kékcse (H) 255-257
Kelebia (H) 192, 201
-Vermesjárás 194-195, 200, 202, 212
Kenderes (H) 286, 288
Kepoi (RUS) 68
Kerč (Crimea) 63, 98, 156, 173, 245
Peninsula 12, 400
Strait – see also Cimmerian *Bosporus* 63, 117, 175
Kermenčik – see also Scythian Neapolis (Simferopol; Crimea) 72, 94
Keszthely (H) 340, 343, 345
Khangai-Daurian forest steppe 11
Kič-Malka (Karachay-Cherkessia, RUS) 403
Kiev Governorate (UA) 171, 245
Kisač (SRB) 348
Kisalföld – see also Little Hungarian Plain 13
Kisdém-puszta (H) 292
Kiskőrös (H) 288
-Csukástó, Rácz-kút 208, 247
-Kiskőrös-Vágóhidi-dűlő-Seregélyes 200, 202, 206
Kiskundorozsma (Szeged; H)
-Kenyérváró domb 395
-Subasa 364
Kiskunfélegyháza-Kecskeméti út (H) 195, 200, 202
Kiskunhalas (H) 349
-Alsószállás-dűlő 349
Kiskunmajsa-Kuklás Jenő földje (H) 195, 200
Kiskunság – see Cumania Minor (region; H) 349, 358, 360-361, 422

Kislovodsk (RUS) 406
Basin 403
Kisoroszi-Pásztorkert (H) 368
Kistelek-Geraföld (H) 368
Kisvárda (H) 257
-Nagyboldogasszony Street 323
Kiszombor (H) 288
Klenovec / Novej Klenovec (SK) 257
Kljajićevo (SRB) 349
Kobjakovo (Rostov-na-Donu; RUS) 120, 124, 127, 129, 152, 245
Kompolt-Kistéri tanya (H) 392
Konche Darya (river) 5
Kopet-Dag Range 8
Körös / Criş (river) 227, 296, 322-323, 343, 346, 349-350, 360, 365, 383, 424
Rapid (Sebes / Crişul Repede) 349
Triple (Hármas) 349
White (Fehér / Crişul Alb) 218
Körösszegapáti (H) 349
Körös-Tisza-Maros region (H) 343
Kosanovo (UA) 179
Kosika (RUS) 120, 131, 152
Kostolac – see also *Viminacium* (SRB) 185, 344
Kostolná pri Dunaji (SK) 185
Kótaj (H) 419
-Verba tanya 419, 421
Kovačica (SRB) 244
Kraszna / Crasna (river) 350
Krefeld-Gellep (D) 410
Krestovyj kurgan (Alitub, RUS) 91
Krymsk (RUS) 68
Kuban Plain 11
Kuban (river) 10, 53-54, 56, 64-70, 84, 90-91, 103, 133, 135, 137, 147, 151, 169, 199, 202-203, 214, 276, 400, 404
Lower 66, 68-69
Middle 68
Upper 66, 406
Kubej / Červonoarmejskoe (UA) 180
Kula – see also *Castra Martis* (BG) 378
Kul-Oba (Crimea) 305
Kuma (river) 11
Kunlun Mountains 5
Kura (river) 111, 113
Kurca (river) 384
Kurči (UA) 180
Kuyu Mazar (UZ) 150
Kvakovce (SK) 257
Kvasovo (UA, Transcarpathian region) 257
Kyrgyzstan 5
Kyzylkum Desert 4, 8
Laba (river) 68-69
-Kuban interfluve 68
Lajosmizse (H) 48-49
Lastovce (SK) 257
Lazika 406
Lazuri-Béla rét / Râtul lui Bela (RO) 323-324, 326
Lederata – see also Bačka Palanka (SRB) 222
Lenin Farmstead (Kolhoz im Lenina, Krasnodar; RUS) 67
Lenkovcy (UA) 202
Lesné (SK) 257
Lilla Harg (S) 300-301
Lipeck-Lenino (RUS) 124, 136
Little Hungarian Plain – see also Kisalföld 13, 185, 189, 216
Ljavandak (UZ) 150
Lop Desert 5
Lop Nor Lake 5
Lot (river) 408
Lučistoe (Crimea) 400-401, 410-412
Lugio – see also Dunaszekcső (H) 360
Lupoglav (HR) 372
Lussonium (Dunakömlőd; H) 343, 345
Macedonia (Roman province) 102, 154, 219, 319, 339
Madaras-Halmok (H) 248, 363, 365, 387, 392, 423
Maeotis / Maeotian lake / *Maiotis* / *Palus Maeotis* – see also Azov, Sea of 26, 50, 61, 67, 84, 91, 146, 173, 216, 315, 317
Makó-Igási járandó I (H) 235
Malaja Kopanja (UA, Transcarpathian region) 257
Malka (river) 66
Manchurian forest steppe 11, 139
Manyč (river) 68, 92
Maramureş County (RO) 289
Maramureş Mountains 13
Marcomannia 267-268, 271
Margum (SRB) 315, 358
Marica (river) 350
Marisia 323
Maros / Mureş (river) 13, 184, 221-222, 225-226, 257, 270, 320, 322-323, 343, 351, 361, 365, 383
Maros-Körös region (H, RO) 296
Marosszentanna – see also Sîntana de Mureş (RO) 171-181, 317, 323, 326, 358, 387, 399
Martfű-Zsófia major (H) 226
Marus – see also Morava 108, 184-185
Mcheta (GE) 154

Media 111, 153, 157
Atropatena 111-112
Medieşu Aurit (RO) 257
Mediterranean 12, 408
Melitene (Malatya; TR) 111
Mende (H) 289
Mezőcsát (H) 209, 213
-Hörcsögös 192, 200, 204, 208-209, 211-212
-Kintelen szőlők 195
Mezőkövesd-Patakra járó-dűlő (H) 248-250
Mezőszemere-Kismari-fenék (H) 353-354, 365, 395
Mezőzombor (H) 270
Micia – see also Veţel (RO) 225
Migulinskaja (RUS) 120
Mihajlovka (UA) 196, 198, 202
Miletus 18, 173
Moesia / Mysia 102-104, 106, 108-109, 117, 121, 187, 216-219, 227, 229, 232, 257, 294-295, 315, 318, 328, 334-335, 339, 361, 367, 370-372, 374, 421
Inferior 105, 231, 254-255, 263, 265, 317
Prima 327
Superior 210, 227, 255, 257, 327
Moldova 93, 206, 245
Moločnaja (river) 82
Mongolia 3, 131
Inner 3-4
Outer 3-4
Mongolian steppe 11
Monor (H) 195, 200, 202
-Berek 287
-Csévpuszta 202
Morava – see also *Marus* 185, 188, 339, 397
Moravia (region; CZ) 186, 268
South 269
Morbium (Piercebridge; UK) 413
Mosel (river) 375
Muhi (H) 257
Mukačeve (UA, Transcarpathian region) 257
Muntenia – see also Wallachia (RO) 317
Mura (river) 294
Murga (H) 393
Mušov (CZ) 268
-Neurissen 269
Nagyhalász-Tétke (H) 272, 393
Nagykálló (H) 323
-Ipari park (industrial park) 327
Nagykörű-Marsó tanya (H) 200, 208, 210
Nagyrév (H) 254
Nagyszénás (H)
-Árpád-halom 226
-Vaskapu 243-244
Nagytétény – see also *Campona* (Budapest, District XXII; H) 232, 315, 317, 320, 358
Nagyvarsány (H) 257
Naissus – see also Niš (SRB) 320
Near East 45, 78, 254
Neckarau (D) 313
Nedao (river) 419
Nedvigovka – see also *Tanais* (RUS) 77
Négyszállás (H) 426-428
Nejzatz (Crimea) 177
Nevinnomyssk (RUS) 68
Niederbieber (D) 274
Niš – see also *Naissus* (SRB) 339
Nižnij Arhyz (RUS, Karachay-Cherkessia) 406-407
Nogajči (Crimea) 124, 134-135, 152
Nógrádverőce / Verőce (H) 313, 368
Noricum 218, 227, 262
Normandy
Lower 410
Norway 416
Novi Sad (SRB) 349, 359
Novočerkassk (RUS) 124, 203
Novorossijsk (RUS) 63, 68, 116
Novoselica (UA) 257
Nyír Plateau (H) 323
Nyíregyháza (H) 200, 256, 289
-Császárszállás, Halomi-dűlő 287
-Felsősima 160, 193, 199-200, 203-207, 226, 236-240, 247, 272, 275-276, 282-283, 288
-Nagy-lapos 279
-Oros 228, 420
-Oros, Auchan 288
Nyírség (region; H) 351
Nyírtét (H) 365
Óbesenyő – see also Dudeşti Vechi (RO) 277
Óbuda (Old Buda, Budapest, District III; H) 254
-Gázgyár – see also Budapest-Gázgyár (Gas-works) 266
-Laktanya Street 232
Ocean 20, 66, 91, 292
Southern 155
Ocniţa (RO) 107, 245
Öcsöd (H) 194, 341, 374
-Bábocka 195, 226
-Mogyoróshalom 226

Odessa (UA) 93, 180, 196, 198, 206
Oescus – see also Gigen (BG) 318
Öföldeák-Ürmös Site 1 (H) 310
Oium 173
Olbia (UA) 15, 18, 30, 75-76, 83, 89-90, 94, 96, 101, 102, 108-109, 173, 245, 276, 295
Olt – see also *Aluta* 121-122, 189-190, 216, 220, 225-226, 229, 290, 322
Oltenia (region; RO) 229, 292, 317
Onagrinum (Begeč; SRB) 314
Opitergium (Oderzo; I) 262
Oradea-Szalkadomb (RO) 323
Ordos (region; PRC) 3, 45
Öregcsém (H) 372
Orel-Samara interfluve 124
Orenburg (RUS) 43
Orgovány (H) 247, 250, 252-253, 285
Orlat (UZ) 139, 150, 157, 274
Orlovka (UA) 178, 181
Ormód – see also Brestiv (UA, Transcarpathian region) 375
Oros (H) 228, 288, 323, 420
Orosháza tanyák, MÁV homokbánya (sand-pit; H) 231, 251
Orşova – see also *Dierna* (RO) 222
Örvény (H) 124, 210
-Seres szőlő 200, 208
Osoj (UA, Trancarpathian region) 257
Oszlár (H) 351
Palakion (Crimea) 94
Palmyra (SYR) 295
Pamir Mountains 24
Range 5, 8
Panda (river) 118
Pannonia 102, 104, 107, 183-184, 187-188, 209-210, 216-219, 227, 231-232, 247, 256, 259, 261-262, 265, 270, 283, 285, 289-296, 300, 311, 314, 317-318, 322, 327-328, 334-336, 338-340, 342-344, 360, 365, 367, 370-372, 376, 378-380, 397, 422-423
Inferior 225, 231, 254-255, 257, 262, 289, 296
Prima 312, 379
Savia 312
Secunda 312, 327-330, 371
Superior 254-255, 257, 261-262
Valeria 312, 329
Pantikapaion – see also Kerč (Crimea) 18, 63-64, 97, 101, 173
Paphlagonia 94
Paraćin (SRB) 339
Parthia 79, 94, 114-115, 259
Parthiscum – see also Szeged 270
Parthiscus (river) – see also Tisza 331
Pazyryk (RUS) 146-147, 150
Pécs – see also *Sopianae* (H) 344, 372, 379
Pécsvárad (H) 372
Pei Mountains 5
Perekop (UA) 72
Isthmus 12, 82
Pergamum 83
Persia 20, 28, 50, 155, 171
Pesčanoe (Crimea) 206
Pesčanyj (RUS) 137
Petea (RO) – see also Csengersima (H) 288
Petneháza (H) 365
Peuce 87
Phanagoreia (RUS) 15, 68, 116
Phasis (river) 83-84
Philippi (Filippoi; GR) 154
Philippopolis (Plovdiv; BG) 293
Piatra Şoimului (RO) 245
Pilismarót-Malompatak (H) 381
Pillars of Heracles (Strait of Gibraltar) 20
Pincum – see also Veliko Gradište (SRB) 335
Pincus (river) 335
Pir (RO) 323
Pişcolt (RO) 323
-Lutărie 325
Ploieşti (RO) 350
Po region (I) 339
Poetovio (Ptuj, SLO) 256, 259
Poiana (RO) 107, 245
Pola (Pula; HR) 233
Poland 172, 416
Greater 416
Lesser 416
Pompeii (I) 251
Pontic / *Pontus* 10-12, 15, 18, 20, 28, 45, 52, 62, 64, 66, 69, 73-75, 79, 101, 106, 108-109, 111, 115-118, 124, 152, 158, 173, 178, 191-193, 201-203, 208, 210, 218, 220, 241, 247, 280, 292, 295, 340, 350, 367, 378, 395, 424
North Pontic region (UA, RUS) 8, 15, 18-20, 23-24, 31, 43, 51, 54, 63-64, 66, 71-72, 74, 77, 79, 81-101, 114-115, 122-123, 131, 139, 146, 151, 155, 158, 160-161, 170, 172-173, 179, 192, 194, 201-202, 206-208, 210, 212, 214, 220, 245, 293, 400-403
Porcsalma (H) 365

Porogi (UA) 109-110, 120, 124, 129, 131, 133, 138, 140, 152, 168-169, 202-203, 210, 244-245
Porolissum (Mojgrad, RO) 221, 303, 350
Prešov (SK) 232
Prista 371
Prohorovka (RUS) 51, 53, 56, 58, 138
Prut (river) 10, 75, 103, 322, 402
-Dniester interfluve 160, 191, 214, 350
Psathis / *Thates* (river) 65
Pusztamonostor (H) 202
-Útépítés (road construction) 195
Pyrenees (mountains) 408
Răcătău (RO) 245
Raetia 262
Ravenna (I) 293, 379
Ravno Selo (SRB) 349
Regőce / Riđica-Idina (SRB) 208, 210
Reims-fosse Jean-Fat (F) 410
Rhine (river) 83, 105, 297, 300, 303, 397, 408
Lower 410
Rhodope (mountains) 90
Rhône (river) 408-409
Ribchester – see also *Bremetennacum* (UK) 413
Rimnicelu (RO) 196
Rioni (river) 10, 84
Romania 1, 13, 89, 106, 183, 191, 222, 225, 230, 244, 277, 351
north-western 263, 289, 294, 323-327
Rome (I) 91, 94, 101, 105-106, 108, 111, 114-119, 135, 154, 171, 185-186, 189, 208, 216-217, 219-221, 224, 234-235, 254, 260, 267-268, 289, 295-296, 315, 337-338, 340-341, 365, 378, 394, 397
Roşia Montană – see also *Alburnus Maior* (RO) 263, 264
Rostov (Rostov-na-Donu; RUS) 74, 77, 124, 196-197
Rozwadów (PL) 416
Russia 3, 20, 64, 90, 139, 402
Sadovyj kurgan (Novočerkassk; RUS) 124, 127, 152
Ságvár (H) 372, 376, 380
Sainte-Livrade-sur-Lot (F) 408-409
Saint-Martin-de-Fontenay (F) 410
Saint-Sulpice (CH) 410
Sakasene 17
Saltovo (RUS) 181, 402, 425
Samara (RUS) 36, 49-50, 124
Samarkand (UZ) 139, 150, 157, 274
Sándorfalva-Eperjes (H) 387, 390-391, 423
Sânnicolau Mare (RO) 191, 199-200, 225, 323
Sântana de Mureş – see also Marosszentanna (RO) 171-181, 317, 387
Sarkad-Körös-hát (H) 244
Sarmace (F) 409
Sarmasia (F) 409
Sarmatae, mutatio (SRB) 339
Sarmatia 2, 63, 88-89, 105, 184, 218, 267-268, 271, 277, 281, 285, 297, 314-315, 317, 328-329
Asian 152, 170
European 57, 169, 216
Sarmeses (F) 409
Sarmizegetusa (RO) 121, 263
Sárvíz (river; H) 422
Satala (TR) 111
Satu Mare County (RO) 256, 263, 289
Saur Mountains 10
Sava (river) – see also *Savus* 294, 422
Savaria (Szombathely; H) 370
Savia 312, 372
Savus (river) – see also Sava 422
Scarbantia (Sopron; H) 343
Scupi (MK) 294
Scythia 20-21, 23, 27-28, 47, 50, 52, 72, 74-75, 81, 155, 173, 319, 339
Minor / Little Scythia 72-73, 75, 89, 105-106, 421
Scythian Neapolis / *Neapolis Scythica* – see also Kermenčik (Simferopol; Crimea) 72-73, 82, 94, 96-97
Şeitin (RO) 225, 323
Şendreni (RO) 202
Serbia 1, 13, 208, 222-223, 225, 344, 421
Sermoise (F) 409
Sevan, Lake 111-112
Sevastopol – see also *Chersonesus*, Tauric (Crimea) 97, 207
Siberia (region; RUS) 3-4, 44-45, 47, 125, 129
Western 4, 11, 151, 418
Silesia (region; PL, CZ, D) 397, 416, 427
Sîmbăteni (RO) 351
Simferopol (Crimea) 72-73, 82, 94, 169
Singidunum – see also Belgrade (SRB) 210, 227, 320, 422
Sinope (Sinop; TR) 94
Siret (river) 103, 225, 245, 350, 378
Sirmium – see also Sremska Mitrovica (SRB) 292-294, 296, 311, 315, 328, 330, 336-337, 370-372, 378
Sirok (H) 257
Širokaja Balka (Novorossijsk; RUS) 116
Sisak – see also *Siscia* (HR) 220
Siscia – see also Sisak (HR) 220
Sivaš (UA) 12, 63
Skalistoe (Crimea) 400

Sládkovičovo (SK) 185
Sladkovskij (RUS) 163
Slankamen – see also *Acumincum* / *Acimincum* (SRB) 335
Slovakia 13, 185, 209-210, 215, 268-269, 350
Slovenia 13
Slovenské Nové Mesto (SK) 232
Smoglovica (UA, Transcarpathian region) 257
Snake Island (Zmeinyj ostrov / Ostriv Zmijinyj; UA) 245
Sogdiana 145
Sokolova Mogila (Kovalevka; UA) 120, 124, 133, 152, 202-203, 208
Someşul Mic (river) 255
Somogy, County 350
Somogyszil (H) 343
Sonta (SRB) 349
Sopianae – see also Pécs (H) 343
Soza 118
Spain 408-409
Sremska Mitrovica – see also *Sirmium* (SRB) 378
Stanovo (UA, Transcarpathian region) 257
Suszyczno (PL) 416
Svaljava (UA, Transcarpathian region) 257
Switzerland 410
Syr Darya (river) 8, 145, 152
Syria 4, 94, 266
Szada-Mélykerektói-dűlő (H) 272
Szank-Móricgát (H) 195, 204
Szarvas (H)
-Lómer halom 288
-Site 23 (H) 226
Szatmár-Bereg Plain 263, 323
Szeged (H) – see also *Parthiscum* 251, 270, 280, 350, 361, 383, 395
-Csongrádi út 200
-Felsőpusztaszer 124, 210, 213
Szegvár-Orom-dűlő (H) 226, 236, 242, 424
Székesfehérvár (H) 291, 426
Szekszárd (H) 342-343
Szemely (H) 256, 259
Szendrőlád (H) 257
Szentendre (H) – see also *Ulcisia Castra* 343
-*Castra Constantia* 343
-Dera patak 368
Szentes (H) 200, 384
-Donát 226
-Kistőke 226
-Nagyhegy 192, 208, 273-274
Szigetújfalu (H) 368
Szihalom (H)
-Budaszög 310
Szob (H) 368
Sződliget-Csörög (H) 230, 275
Szőkedencs (H) 372
Szolnok (H) 251
-Szanda 286, 288
-Szandaszőlős-Airfield 208
-Szőlősi halom 195, 202
Szőny – see also *Brigetio* (H) 372
Szügy (H) 375
Talas (river) 145
Tanais / *Tanaïs* (river) – see also Don 26-27, 29, 50, 57, 61-63, 65, 83-84, 87, 89, 91, 104, 118, 163
Tanais – see also Nedvigovka (RUS) 15, 77, 163, 173-174, 417
-Carskij Kurgan 245
Tápé-Malajdok (H) 322, 361, 387-388, 395, 423
Taphrai (Crimea) 72
Tápiószele-Szumrák-dűlő (H) 200, 202, 211-212
Târian (RO) 323
Tarim Basin 3, 5, 144
Tarnaméra-Urak dűlője (H) 201-202
Târnava Mare (river) 255
Târnava Mică (river) 255
Tatárszentgyörgy (H) 195
Tauris (*Taurica*, Crimea) 72
Teceu Mic (RO) 289
Tenk-Homokbánya (H) 193, 199-202
Terek (river) 11, 66, 91
Ternopol' (Ternopil'; UA) 245
Terpes (H) 257
Teutoburg (D) 188
Thates – see also *Psathis* 65
Theodosia (Feodosija; Crimea) 68, 97
Thermodon (river) 24, 63
Thessalonica (GR) 317
Thracia / Thrace 73, 88, 102, 105, 115, 154, 318
Tibet 3-4
Tibiscum – see also Jupa (RO) 222, 225, 227, 230, 279
Tibur (I) 106, 108
Tien Shan Mountains 3-5, 8, 24
Tillia Tepe (AFG) 131, 140, 146, 148-150, 152, 245
Timiş County (RO) 383-384
Timişoara-Freidorf (RO) 227, 230, 244-245
Tisza / Theiss – see also *Parthiscus* 13, 184, 194, 218, 221-222, 225-226, 228-229, 234, 237, 250, 252, 315, 320, 335, 344, 348-349, 359-360, 365, 383-384, 417, 419, 421

Black 13
-Maros-Körös region (H, RO) 343, 365, 383
Upper Tisza region (H, SK, UA, RO) 189, 255-257, 265, 280, 288, 296, 303-304, 320, 322-323, 326, 335, 357, 365, 388, 419, 421, 423
White 13
Tiszaderzs (H) 226
Tiszadob (H) 385, 387-388
-Sziget 208, 385, 396, 423
Tiszaföldvár (H) 288
-Ókincsemhegy 289
-Téglagyár (Brick Factory) 345, 392, 394
Tiszafüred (H) 200, 226, 288
Tiszakanyár (H) 255, 257
Tiszalök (H) 300-301
-Rázom 300, 302
Tiszántúl (region east of Tisza; H) 13
Tiszasziget / Ószentiván (H) 421
Tiszatarján (H) 192
Tiszavasvári (H) 272, 284, 288
-Városföldje, Jegyző tag 284, 286-287
Tolna County (H) 350
Tomi – see also Constanța (RO) 73, 105
Törökszentmiklós (H) 226, 286, 288
-Surján-Újtelep 204, 345
Toulouse (F) 408
Transaquincum (Budapest-Rákos Stream mouth, District XIII; H) 270
Transcaucasia 18, 23, 406
Transdanubia – see also Dunántúl 13, 188, 262, 339, 343, 346, 350, 359, 379, 418, 422-423
Transdanubian Range 13
Transmaurisca – see also Tutrakan (BG) 318
Transylvania (region; RO) 13, 103, 171, 178, 215, 218, 250, 295, 307, 323, 340, 349-350, 352, 379
Transylvanian Basin 13
Trenčín (SK) 268
Treves / Treviri (Trier; D) 374
Troesmis (RO) 105
Trögern (A) 256, 259
Tsangpo / Brahmaputra (river) 3
Tulcea – see also *Aigisos* (RO) 105
Turan Plain 8
Turkestan 395
Chinese 3
Eastern 24
Turkmenistan 5
Turlaki (Vypasnoe; UA) 201-202
Tutrakan – see also *Transmaurisca* (BG) 318
Tuva (RUS) 23
Tyrambe (RUS) 68
Tyras (river) – see also Dniester 16, 23, 73, 173, 295
Újfehértó (H) 344
Újszilvás-Gólyajárás (H) 203-204, 208-209, 212-213, 241
Ukraine 13, 114, 120, 124, 152, 159-161, 172, 178, 210, 327
Carpathian 255-256
Ulcisia Castra – see also Szentendre (H) 290
Üllő (H) 306, 365
Site 5 283, 292, 298-299, 303, 309-310, 366, 392
Site 9 229, 303, 366, 382
Ullubaganaly (RUS, Karachay-Cherkessia) 404
Ural 31, 36-37, 47, 49-51, 53, 56-59, 84, 98, 136, 158
Mountains 4, 33, 376
Range 8
River 8, 10, 29-30, 33, 48, 376
South Ural region (RUS, KZ) 33-34, 37-38, 43, 47-48, 50-54, 56, 67, 78-79, 150-152, 158, 161, 277
-Volga interfluve 79, 150
Uralsk (KZ) 33
Urartu 16
Urmia Lake 17
Uspe 118
Ust'-Alma (river) 120, 196, 203, 206, 209-210
Ust'-Labinskaja (RUS) 168-169
Ustyurt Plateau 8
Uzbekistan 5
Vác (H)
-Csörögi rét 285
Váh (river) 185-186, 216, 268
Valeria 312, 314-315, 327-330, 336-337, 368-369, 371, 378-379, 423
Media 379
Valkó (H) 348
Valovyj (RUS) 161, 165
Van, Lake 112
Vărşand (RO) – see also Gyulavarsánd (RO) 191, 200, 323
Vas, County (H) 350
Vásárosnamény (H) 257
-Hajnal Street 255
Veliko Gradište – see also *Pincum* (SRB) 335
Verecke Pass 323
Veresegyháza (H) 249-250
Verhnja Viznica (UA, Transcarpathian region) 257
Verőce / Nógrádverőce (H) 313, 368
Ves'njanoe (UA) 120

Vesuvius (I) 108
Veţel – see also *Micia* (RO) 225
Vetus Salina – see also Adony (H) 232
Via Domitia 408
Viminacium – see also Kostolac (SRB) 218, 227, 320, 344
Vindobona – see also Wien (A) 291, 372
Vinogradnyj (RUS) 196-197
Visegrád (H) 355
-Gizella-major 355-356
Pass 13
Vistula (river) 250, 416
Vităneşti (RO) 202
Vizesdpuszta / Vizejdia (RO) 161, 164, 277, 300
Vladičen' (UA) 180
Vojvodina (region; SRB) 13
Volga (river) 10-11, 19, 30, 33-36, 47, 50-51, 53, 56-57, 59, 61, 67-68, 79, 84, 98, 129, 147, 150-152, 158, 160, 170, 181, 400, 402
Don-Volga interfluve 29, 31, 48-50, 52, 120, 124, 158-159, 169, 199
Lower Volga 23, 31, 33-34, 47-48, 50-51, 56, 92, 99, 131, 152, 158, 169, 199, 202, 210
Volhynia (region; UA) 172
Vysočino (RUS) 120, 124, 128, 152
Wallachia – see also Muntenia (region; RO) 189, 196, 227, 266
Wallachian Plain 268
Wien – see also *Vindobona* (A)
-Krottenbach 372
Woodland 20
Zadrost' (UA) 245
Zagyva (river) 270
Zalahosszúfalu (Zalaapáti; H) 256, 259
Zalau (river) 350
Zaporožskij (UA) 152
Zavetnoe (Crimea) 99, 196
Zemplín (SK) 257
Zengővárkony (H) 343
Zhetysu / Semireč'e (»seven rivers« region, KZ) 8
Žutovo (RUS) 152

INDEX OF NAMES

Ababa 154
Abaev, Vasilij Ivanovič 15, 19, 90, 92
Abeacus 65, 91
Abramova, Maja Pavlovna 51, 67-68, 403
Achaemenes 119
Achaemenid(s) 43, 46, 50, 78, 94
Adiabenicus – see also Aurelian 296
Adyrmachus 65
Aelius Caesar, Lucius 254
Aelius Catus 106, 188
Aëtius 379
Agathyrsus 21
Agrippa, Gaius Fonteius 121
Agrippa, Marcus Vipsanius 72, 88-89
Alaric 317, 422
Alatheus 340, 378
Al-Biruni 402
Alboin 423
Alekseev, Andrej Jur'evič 19
Alekseeva, Ekaterina Mihajlovna 207
Alemany, Agusti 145
Alexander the Great 70, 71, 78, 111, 290
Alföldi, András 2, 171, 183, 188-191, 216, 232, 246, 267, 296-297, 311-312, 315, 317, 341, 368, 379
Alica 318
Amage 81-82, 94
Amazasp II 154
Ambrose 377
Ambroz, Anatolij Konstantinovič 209-210
Ammianus Marcellinus 30, 110, 140, 146, 155, 158, 163, 178, 310, 319-320, 322, 327-330, 335, 337, 339, 360-361, 365, 367-368, 370-372, 374, 376-378, 380, 402
Ammius 377
Amorges 27
Amyntas 71
Anastasius (Flavius Anastasius Augustus) – see also Sarmaticus 422
Anatolius (prefect of Illyricum) 336
Antoninus – see also Marcus Aurelius 265-266
Antoninus Pius (Titus Fulvius Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius) 153, 213, 254-255, 270
Appian (of Alexandria) 90, 92
Aquila, Julius Gaius 117, 119
Araharius 329, 354

Archaeanactid(s) 64
Ardabur (Flavius Ardabur Aspar) 405
Ardagdakos 178
Ardarakos 178
Ardarich 178
Ardariskos 178
Ardaros 178
Ardašir 425
Ariaricus 319
Ariminius 186
Aripharnes 64-66, 68, 118
Armenicus – see also Aurelian 296
Árpád 417
Arpoxaïs 20
Arrian (of Nicomedia, Lucius Flavius Arrianus Xenophon) 153
Arsaces 78
Arsaces II 154
Arsacid(s) 78, 111, 154
Arsacomas 65
Artabanus 110
Artashēs 113-114
Artemidoros of Ephesos 87
Arthur 274, 414
Ascherson, Neal 18
Ashkenaz 17
Askhadar 154
Askhen 154
Aspagur 154, 158
Asparuh 417
Aspurgos 116-117, 120
Ateas 71-72, 74
Athanarich 378
Attila 178, 320, 344, 376, 384
Augustus (Caius Octavius; Caius Julius Caesar Augustus) 101, 104, 106, 115, 188-189, 215, 217, 220, 315
Aurelian (Lucius Domitius Aurelianus Augustus) – see also Armenicus, Adiabenicus, Gothicus, Parthicus 154, 293, 295-296
Ausonius (Decimius Magnus Ausonius) 339, 379-380
Aventinus, Johannes 329
Avienus, Festus Rufus 155
Babai 422
Babeş, Mircea 201
Babolcsi, Andrea 204
Bagdasa 429
Balamber 377
Balás, Vilmos 351
Balázs, Attila 279
Balbi, Adorján 8
Balla, Lajos 255
Ballomarius 261
Banadaspus 265
Bar Kochba 254
Barkóczi, László 290
Barnes, Timothy 315
Bartatua 17
Batherus 329
Béla III 427
Béla IV 344
Beldiman, Corneliu 106
Beleznai, Gabriella 258
Belisarius, Flavius 408
Benea, Doina 230
Beninger, Eduard 191
Benke, Zsolt 386
Benveniste, Émile 93
Beogar 409
Bernát, Péter 369
Beuca 422
Bezuglov, Sergej Ivanovič 161, 277
Bierbrauer, Volker 304
Blavatskij, Vladimir Dmitrievič 68
Bóna, István 265, 322, 365, 397, 417
Borata 402
Boros, György 228, 247, 256, 258, 275, 284, 307-308
Bosonga 429
Brutus (Marcus Junius Brutus) 102
Bubenok, Oleg Borisovič 402
Budmán 429
Burebista / Boerebistas 88-89, 90, 101-102, 105, 216, 219-220
Caecina Severus, Aulus 103
Caesar, Gaius Julius 102, 115-116, 119, 215, 219-220
Camundus 422
Cancytus 82
Candac 421
Candidus 261
Cannabaudes 295
Caracalla (Marcus Aurelius Severus Antoninus Augustus) 290
Carpine, Giovanni da Pian del (John of Plano Carpini) 402
Carus (Marcus Aurelius Carus Augustus) 296
Cassius, Avidius 266-267
Cassius Dio (Lucius Cassius Dio Cocceianus) 154, 218, 221, 265, 267, 271, 273, 412

Catualda 185-186
Catus, Sextus Aelius Paetus 188
Celestius 370-371
Cella 337
Charles Robert (Caroberto) 426
Chlorus, Constantius I (Marcus Flavius Valerius Constantius Herculius Augustus) 315
Čipirova, Ljudmila A. 151
Claudius (Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus) 108, 115, 117, 119, 173
Claudius Claudianus, Tiberius 289
Claudius Gothicus (Claudius II; Marcus Aurelius Valerius Claudius Augustus) 295, 322
Claudius Mamertinus 322
Claudius Marius Victor 410
Clemens, Sextus Cornelius 263
Clodius, Albinus (Decimus Clodius Septimius Albinus) 289
Cobus 15, 17
Colaxaïs 20
Commodus (Marcus Aurelius Commodus Antoninus Augustus) 154, 267, 270, 297
Constans (Flavius Julius Constans Augustus) – see also Sarmaticus 326
Constantine the Great (Flavius Valerius Aurelius Constantinus Augustus) – see also Sarmaticus 310, 315-321, 335, 339, 341, 343, 354, 358, 365
Constantine Porphyrogenitus (VII) 406
Constantius II (Flavius Julius Constantius Augustus) – see also Sarmaticus 314, 328-329, 334, 336-337, 352, 354, 360, 365, 371
Cotiso / Coson 102
Cotys 105, 117-119
Crassus, Marcus Licinius 102, 105
Csersz 344
Curtius Rufus, Quintus 23, 105
Cyrus 27
Czeglédy, Károly 111
Cziráky, Gyula 350
Daicoviciu, Constantin 191
Dapyx 105
Darius (I; the Great) 19, 26-28, 90
Decebal 121, 218, 220-221, 224, 227-228, 250, 350
Demetrius of Callatis 63
Demosthenes 64, 68
Dexippus, Publius Herennius 293, 296
Dicomes 102
Didius Gallus, Aulus 117
Diocletian (Gaius Aurelius Valerius Diocletianus Augustus) – see also Sarmaticus 218, 297, 310-311, 313, 315, 338, 343, 352, 368
Diodorus of Sicily (Diodorus Siculus) 64-65, 75, 77
Dion Chrysostom 89
Dionysius Periegetes 152-153
Diophantus 65, 72, 87, 93-97
Dittrich, Ursula-Barbara 335
Diurpaneus 121
D'jakonov, Igor' Mihajlovič 19
Domboróczki, László 365
Domitian (Titus Flavius Caesar Domitianus Augustus) 109, 210, 217-219, 252
Dörner, Egon 323
Dračuk, Viktor Semënovič 240, 417
Drusus, Julius Caesar 183, 186, 188-189
Dudás, Gyula 348
Dulatae – see also Dulo 417
Dulo – see also Dulatae 417
Dumézil, Georges 30, 93
Dynamis 116
Egger, Rudolf 368, 402
Ephoros 63
Equitius 369, 375
Esarhaddon 17
Eubiotus 65
Eudoxos
of Cnidus 63
of Rhodes 63
Eumelus 64-65, 76-77
Eunones 117-119
Eusebius (Eusebius of Caesarea / Eusebius Pamphili) 319-320
Eutropius, Flavius 218
Farkas, Csilla 205, 213
Farnavaz 70
Fastida 322
Fehér, Bence 183
Fiedler, Uwe 350, 355, 360
Filimer 173
Firmus 370
Fitz, Jenő 185, 352-353
Fragiledus / Fraegiledus 329
Frigeridus 368, 370
Fritigern 378
Frölich, Róbert 344, 349, 358-360
Fronto, Marcus Claudius 263
Fuscus, Cornelius 218
Gabinius 368-370

Gabler, Dénes 327
Gaglojti, Jurij Sergeevič 141
Galerius (Gaius Galerius Valerius Maximianus Augustus) – see also Sarmaticus 274, 310-311, 352
Gallienus (Publius Licinius Egnatius Gallienus Augustus) 293-294
Gallina, Zsolt 359-361
Garai, Miklós 426
Gargán 429
Gatalos 83-86
Geberich 322-323
Gelonus 21
Germanicus 296
Geryones 20
Gindele, Robert 256, 323, 350
Godłowski, Kazimierz 265
Gomer 17
Gordian III (Marcus Antonius Gordianus Pius Augustus) 154, 292-293
Gorgasal, Vahtang 406
Gothicus – see also Aurelian 296, 322
Grakov, Boris Nikolaevič 31, 34, 38
Gratian (Flavius Gratianus Augustus) 371, 378
Gubitza, Kálmán 349
Gunderic 397
Guščina, Irina Ivanovna 135
Gyges 17
Györffy, György 426
Hadrian (Publius Aelius Traianus Hadrianus) 217, 219, 227-229, 231-234, 254, 338, 413
Hecataeus (of Miletus) 27, 34, 93
Hegesippus 155
Heracles 20-21
Heraclitus Ponticus 63
Hermanarich / Ermenrichus / Ermanarich 178, 181, 376-378
Herodian (of Syria / Antioch) 290-292
Herodotus 17-22, 26-27, 29-30, 34-35, 43, 50-51, 60-61, 64, 86-87, 92, 101, 155, 376, 414
Hind, John 87, 92
Hippocrates (of Cos) 51, 61
Holzer, Georg 92-93
Homer 16
Honorius (Flavius Augustus Honorius) 397
Honorius, Julius 417
Horedt, Kurt 322
Hormizd II 315
Hrapunov, Igor' Nikolaevič 175
Hsefarnug 70
Hunimund 378, 422
Hunoka 429
Hunor 417-418
Hvojka, Vikentij Vjačeslavovič (Chvojka, Čeněk) 171
Iallius Bassus (Marcus Iallius Bassus Fabius Valerianus) 261
Ibn Rusta 406
Ingenuus 293
Inismeios / Inensimeios 109, 140, 244-246
Innocentius 336, 360
Istvánovits, Eszter 26, 28, 46, 70, 73, 97, 124, 177, 193-194, 199, 201, 203, 205, 218, 243, 245, 248, 251-252, 260, 272-273, 280, 300-301, 304, 316, 321, 327, 346, 348, 373, 395-396, 411
Iustinus, Marcus Iunianus 23, 65
Ivančik, Askold Igorevič 16
Jablonskij, Leonid Teodorovič 24, 43
Jacenko, Sergej Aleksandrovič 146, 240
Jakab, Attila 258, 289, 419, 421
Jankovich, Miklós 418
Jankovich-Bésán, Dénes 280
Japheth 17
Javan 17
Johannes 379
Johannes Tzetzes 408
Jordanes 121, 172-173, 220, 317, 322-323, 376-377, 416, 421-422
Josaphat (Giosafat) Barbaro 400
Joseph II 348
Josephus Flavius 112, 115
Julia 323
Julian (the Apostate, Flavius Claudius Julianus) 110
Julius Quadratus Bassus, Gaius 232
Julius Valerius, Alexander Polemius 155
Junius Cilo 119
Juvenal 52
Kemenczei, Tibor 48
Khosrov Kotak 154
Kiss, Attila 418
Kiss, Magdolna 323, 339, 343
Kőhegyi, Mihály 183, 192, 194, 196, 206, 210
Komoróczy, Balázs 268
Kovács, Előd 425
Kovács, István 171
Kovács, Péter 183-184, 187, 292, 295-296, 314, 378
Kővári, Klára 420
Kristó, Gyula 426
Kuber 425
Kulakovskij, Julian Andreevič 216, 380

Kulcsár, Valéria 26, 28, 46, 67, 70, 73, 97-98, 124, 177, 193-194, 199, 201, 203, 205, 218, 243, 245, 248, 251-252, 260, 265, 272, 275, 277, 280, 300-301, 316, 321, 327, 346, 348, 395-396, 411
Kuvrat 417, 425
Kuzsinszky, Bálint 266
Lányi, Vera 300, 365
Lentulus, Cnaeus Cornelius 102-103, 188
Leptinus 68
Leuco 68
Licinius I (Gaius Valerius Licinianus Licinius Augustus) – see also Sarmaticus 310, 315, 318
Lipoxaïs 20
Littleton, Scott 414
Lónyai, Györgyné (Mrs György Lónyai) 205
Lőrincz, Barnabás 313, 352
Lőrinczy, Gábor 424
Louis IX 402
Lucan (Marcus Annaeus Lucanus) 110, 140, 187
Lucian (of Samosata) 65
Lucullus, Lucius Licinius 110
Madai 17
Madyes 17
Maenchen-Helfen, Otto 317, 377, 379-380
Magog 17
Magomedov, Boris Viktorovič 171, 178-179
Magor 417-418
Majorian (Flavius Julius Valerius Majorianus Augustus) 409
Makkay, János 2, 15-16, 19, 65, 414, 418, 426
Malcor, Linda 414
Maraboduus 185-186
Marcellianus 368-369, 371
Marčenko, Ivan Ivanovič 53, 65, 68, 84, 135, 203
Marcian (Flavius Marcianus Augustus) 421
Marcus Aurelius (Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus) 1, 188, 258-273, 277, 286, 289, 297, 338
Marcus Vinicius 102, 184, 188, 215
Mark Antony (Marcus Antonius) 266
Mars 157
Marsigli, Ferdinand 358
Martial (Marcus Valerius Martialis) 52, 110
Matei, Alexandru 350
Maximianus (Marcus Aurelius Valerius Maximianus Herculius) 315, 322, 339
Maximin (praetorian prefect) 292, 368
Maximinus Daia (Gaius Valerius Galerius Maximinus Daia Augustus) 310, 315
Maximinus Thrax (Gaius Iulius Verus Maximinus) – see also Sarmaticus 154, 158, 292
Medosaccus 81-82
Menander, Protector 425
Mérai, Dóra 229
Merobaudes 374-375
Meshech 17
Mesterházy, Károly 386
Micca 154
Miklós, Zsuzsa 305
Milleker, Bódog (Felix) 223
Miller, Vsevolod Fëdorovič 15
Minns, Ellis Hovell 93
Mithridates I 94
Mithridates Eupator (VI, Great) 86, 90-98, 101, 110, 116, 135
Mithridates VIII 108, 117-120, 147
M. Nepper, Ibolya 386
Mócsy, András 184, 187, 189, 208, 217, 296, 312-314, 327-328, 335, 352-353, 368, 370, 379
Mommsen, Theodor 111, 189, 341
Moravcsik, Gyula 408
Mordvinceva, Valentina Ivanovna 86
Moses of Chorene (Moses Khorenats'i) 112, 154
Moškova, Marina Glebovna 31, 51
Mráv, Zsolt 343, 354, 368, 370
Mroveli, Leonti 70, 154
Müllenhoff, Karl 15, 93
Müller, Urs 89
Nagler, Anatoli 151
Nagy, Andrea 283, 298
Nagy, Géza 223
Nagy, Margit 322
Nagy, Mihály 343, 358
Nagy, Tibor 219
Narseh 315
Németh, Gyula 426
Németi, János 256, 323
Nero (Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus) 106, 111, 115, 117, 120, 135, 216, 233
Nickel, Helmut 414, 416
Niese, Benedikt 110
Olahus, Nicolaus (Oláh Miklós) 427
Ompsalakos 117
Opreanu, Coriolan 227
Orosius, Paulus 339
Ostrogotha 322
Otho (Marcus Salvius Otho Caesar Augustus) 121

Otrokocsi, Fóris Ferenc 429
Ovid (Publius Ovidius Naso) 52, 89, 105-106
Pābag 425
Pacatus 266
Paeorus 111
Paerisades I 64, 68
Palacus 65, 94, 96
Párducz, Mihály 183, 191-193, 201, 208, 210, 223, 248, 250, 275, 297, 361-362
Parthicus – see also Aurelian 296
Patay, Pál 350, 351, 358
Patay, Róbert 366
Patsch, Carl 183, 317, 335, 368
Paul the Deacon (Paulus Diaconus) 423
Paulovics, István 317
Pavstos Buzand (Faustus of Byzantium) 154
Pekáry, Tamás 214
Peter the Great 125
Petrus Patricius 292
Pharasmenes II 153
Pharnaces 91, 101
Pharnaces I 82, 86, 94
Pharzoios 101, 109, 244-246
Philip (Philip II of Macedon) 65, 71
Philip the Arab (Marcus Julius Philippus Augustus) 293
Phormio 64
Pilet, Christian 410
Pintye, Gábor 420
Plancus, Lucius Munatius 187
Plautius Silvanus – see also Tiberius Plautius Silvanus Aelianus 106, 108, 117
Pliny (the Elder, Gaius Plinius Secundus) 51-52, 73, 90, 105-110, 118, 151, 184-185, 187, 189, 215, 416
the Younger (Gaius Plinius Caecilius Secundus) 254
Plutarch (Lucius Mestrius Plutarchus) 110
Polin, Sergej Vasil'evič 88, 90
Polyaenus 27, 81-82
Polybius 83-84
Pompey (the Great, Cnaeus Pompeius Magnus) 110, 135, 140, 219
Pomponius Mela 52, 65, 105, 376
Pópity, Dániel 421
Porphyrius, Publilius Optatianus 315
Poseidonius 94
Priscus (of Panium) 255, 320, 383
Probus (Marcus Aurelius Probus Augustus) 296, 322, 371
Procopius (of Caesarea, Procopius Caesarensis) 400, 406
Protogenes 30, 75-76, 82-83, 115, 191
Protothyes 17
Prytanis 64-65
Pseudo-Callysthenes 155
Pseudo-Scylax 61-63
Pseudo-Scymnus 63
Ptolemy, Claudius 118, 136, 140, 145-146, 152, 155, 169, 189-190, 216, 376
Pulszky, Ferenc 344, 418
Qin 78
Qua von Kinkelbach, Matthias 429
Rácz, Tibor 298
Radagaisus 397
Radamist 70
Raev, Boris Aronovič 151
Ransanus, Petrus (Pietro Ranzano) 416, 426
Raptus 263
Rasparaganus 233, 338
Rau, Paul 34
Raüs 263
Rausimodus 317
Regalianus (Publius Casius Regalianus) 293-294
Respendial 397
Rhescuporis III 173
Richmond, Ian Archibald 413
Riphath 17
Roles 105
Rómer, Flóris 344, 347
Rostovcev, Mihail Ivanovič 18, 29, 50-52, 63-64, 82, 90, 93, 116
Rowntree, Sandra 413-414
Rubrius Gallus 121
Rubruck, William of (Willem van Ruysbroeck) 402
Rumo / Rumarus 329
Rusa I 16
Sabinus, Gaius Oppius 218
Sacesphares (Sausafar) 27
Saitaphernes / Saitapharnes 82-83
Salamon 351
Sandakhshatru 15
Sanēsan 376
Saphrac 340, 378
Saprykin, Sergej Jur'evič 64, 82
Sargon II (Šarru-ukin) 16-17
Sarmaticus – see also Anastasius, Aurelian, Constans, Constantine, Constantius, Diocletian, Galerius, Marcus Aurelius, Maximin Thrax, Licinius 265, 292, 295-296, 311, 315, 327, 334-335, 422
Sarus / Sarosius / Saroes 377-378
Sassanids 154

Sat'inik 113-114, 158
Saturninus, Marcus Aponius 216
Satyrus II 64-65, 76
Saumacus 97
Saurmag 70
Savin, Aleksandr Mihajlovič 129, 139, 157, 274
Ščeglov, Aleksandr Nikolaevič 82
Schmidt, Ludwig 296
Scilurus 72, 75, 94, 96-97, 109
Scopias 29
Scorilo 102
Scythes 21
Sebastian 375
Seita 344
Seleucids 78-79
Selmeczi, László 426-427
Semënov, Aleksandr Il'ič 129, 139, 157, 274
Seneca (Lucius Annaeus Seneca) 83, 105, 110
Sennacherib 16-17
Septimius Severus (Lucius Septimius Severus Augustus) 290
Shapur I 154
Shapur II 154, 315
Simon de Keza (Kézai Simon) 417
Simonenko, Aleksandr Vladimirovič 88, 90, 92, 98, 160-161, 170, 280
Siracos 90
Skripkin, Anatolij Stepanovič 51, 138, 147, 150
Smirnov, Konstantin Fëdorovič 29, 31, 45, 49-51, 92, 98, 424
Solomonik, Ella Isakievna 240
Soproni, Sándor 314, 335, 352-353, 360
Soslan, David 407
Spadines 91
Spartocids 64
Statius Priscus (Marcus Statius Priscus Licinius Italicus) 52, 255
Stephanos Byzantinos (Stephen of Byzantium) 63
Stilicho, Flavius 397, 408
Strabo 15, 27, 52, 65-66, 68-69, 71-72, 83-84, 86-94, 96, 98, 101, 106, 115-116, 131, 143-145, 151, 219
Strobel, Karl 218
Sudkovskij, Rufin Gavrilovič 112
Suetonius (Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus) 218
Sulimirski, Tadeusz 2, 93, 416-417
Sunilda 377
Szaburán 429
Szászvári, Linda 230, 275, 283, 285, 292, 298-299, 306, 309-310, 332, 392
Székely, István 344
Szekeres, Ágnes 183
Szolnoki, László 288
Tacitus (Publius Cornelius Tacitus) 103, 115, 118, 183, 185, 187, 191, 215, 217, 223, 285
Takács, Levente 295
Tamara 407
Tampius Flavianus, Lucius 217
Targitaos / Targitaüs 19
Tarius Rufus, Lucius 103, 413
Tasius 96
Terentius 368
Tettius Iulianus, Lucius 121, 218
Teuspa 15, 17
Thamyris 27
Theoderic 422
Theodosius (the Great, Flavius Theodosius Augustus) 361, 371-372
Theophanes (St., the Confessor) 406
Theophanes of Mytilene 91
Thiudimer 422
Tiberius (Tiberius Julius Caesar Augustus) 106, 110, 188, 210
Tiras 17
Tiridates 111
Titus (Titus Flavius Caesar Vespasianus Augustus) 109, 115
Togarmah 17
Toldi, Zoltán 272, 393
Tolstikov, Vladimir Petrovič 97
Tolstov, Sergej Pavlovič 30, 145
Tomaschek, Wilhelm (Tomášek, Vilém) 83
Tóth, Endre 341, 376, 379
Trajan (Marcus Ulpius Nerva Traianus Augustus) 106-107, 124, 153, 183, 187, 209-210, 219-224, 227-229, 231-232, 234-235, 246, 252, 318, 350
Trdat III (the Great, Tiridates III) 154
Trogus, Cnaeus Pompeius 65, 144, 155
Tubal 17
Tudrus 285
Tugdamme / Lygdamis 15
Turbo, Quintus Marcius 232
Turxathos 406
Uldin 379, 387, 397
Umabios 108-109
Usafer 329-330, 354, 368
Váczy, Péter 367, 394-395

Vaday, Andrea 183, 189-190, 192-193, 201, 209-210, 212, 235, 240, 250, 270, 275, 297, 353, 365, 380, 389, 419
Valens (Flavius Julius Valens Augustus) 375, 378
Valentinian I (Flavius Valentinianus Augustus) 293, 314, 337, 341, 352-356, 365, 367-376
Valentinos 406
Valerian (Publius Licinius Valerianus Augustus) 293
Valerius Flaccus 110, 155, 184-185
Vannius 108, 183-188, 214, 216
Vargyas, Lajos 425
Varus, Publius Quintilius 188
Vasmer, Max 18, 92
Velius Rufus, Gaius 218, 358
Vernadsky, George 178
Veselovskij, Nikolaj Ivanovič 133
Vespasian (Titus Flavius Caesar Vespasianus Augustus) 111, 115, 121-122, 189, 217
Vidigoia 320
Vima Kadphises 168
Vindex, Gaius Iulius 111, 261
Vinicius, Marcus 102, 184, 188-189, 215-216
Vinogradov, Jurij Germanovič 74-75, 108-109
Vinogradov, Vitalij Borisovič 59
Visumar 322
Visy, Zsolt 250, 263
Vitellius (Aulus Vitellius Germanicus Augustus) 105
Vithimir 377
Vologaesus 153
Vulić, Nikola 335
Wernherus, Georgius 427
Wheeler, Everett 265, 315, 329
Wolfram, Herwig 170, 322
Zanticus 265
Zaseckaja, Irina Petrovna 51, 68, 129, 135, 169
Železčikov, Boris Fëdorovič 56
Zenobia 295
Zeus 19
Zeuss, Johann Kaspar 15
Zgusta, Ladislav 15, 31, 63
Zinafer 329
Zizais / Ziza 328, 330, 335, 365
Zorsines 117-119
Zosimus 293, 296, 315, 317-318, 327, 370, 374
Zyraxes 105

INDEX OF SUBJECTS

adlocutio 274
adoratio 329
Airan hoard (Moult) 410-412
Alanic Kingdom 406
Amazons – see also Oiorpata 24-26, 38, 61, 63, 155
amulets 275-276
animals 23, 31, 37, 45, 47, 49, 56, 79, 124, 138, 302
  camel 45, 91
  cattle 20, 28, 56, 65, 111, 156, 296, 371
  deer 45, 92, 139
  fish 8, 18, 28, 31, 64, 68
  horse 20, 25, 29, 36-38, 43, 54, 56, 59, 61, 65, 82-83, 90-91, 103, 114, 116, 129-130, 136, 156-157, 161, 165-166, 175, 180, 187, 245, 265, 277, 300, 302, 305, 310, 337, 339, 341, 377
  ibex 45
  moose 45
  ram 43, 45
  sheep 45, 53, 56
  snake 20-21
  stag 31, 42-43
    Golden 376
    miraculous 417-418
  wild boar 45
animal style 43, 54, 84, 124, 151
  polychrome 86, 150
  Sarmatian 129, 203
  Sauromatian 44, 47-49
  Scythian-Siberian 44-45
  torquoise and gold 125
Annalum Boiorum 329
Ararat, kingdom of 17
Arch of Galerius 274
Archaeological cultures / groups / periods
  Andronovo culture 24, 31-33, 35, 50
  Antonine period 281
  Árpádian Age 425-427
  Ártánd group 387
  Avar 2, 181
    Early 351, 357, 360, 400, 405, 419, 423-426

Azov-Hévízgyörk-Vizesdpuszta type/group 227, 300
Bajmok-Mórahalom group 361
Bereg culture 303, 307-308, 323-324
Blumenfeld culture 34
Bronze Age 1, 23-24, 31, 33, 45, 50, 53, 138
Carpathian Barrows culture 256, 258, 288
Catacomb culture 19, 23
Černjahov culture – see also Marosszentanna / Sântana de Mureş-Černjahov culture 163, 171-172, 174, 178-180, 317, 399
Csongrád group 387, 389
Great Migrations / Migration period 64, 77, 310, 350, 395, 397, 399, 414
Han period 124, 138, 144
Hellenistic Age 51-52
Hun period 158, 180, 307-366, 387-388, 390, 392, 394, 399, 416, 419, 425
Hungarian Conquest period 417, 425
Iron Age 33, 215
Jamnaja culture – see also Pit-Grave culture 19
Kajakent-Horočoj culture 59
Kaunči I-II culture 145
Keszthely culture 343, 345
Kiszombor-Ernőháza group 361
Kizil-Koba culture 72
Koban culture 59
Kurgan cultures 19, 24, 33, 43
La Tène 75, 84, 98, 210, 246, 248
Lipica culture 104, 210, 263
Marosszentanna / Sântana de Mureş-Černjahov culture – see also Černjahov culture 171, 178, 317, 323, 326, 358, 387, 399
Medieval / Middle Ages 139, 174, 181, 400, 403, 406-407, 413-414, 416
Pit Grave culture – see also Jamnaja 23
Poieneşti-Lukaševka culture 103-104
Prague culture 179
Prohorovka culture 51, 53, 55-56, 58-60, 66, 86, 98, 138, 150, 201
Przeworsk culture 104, 172-173, 210, 255-257, 264-265, 277, 285, 288-289, 303, 323-324, 417
Púchov culture 215
Republican period 268
Roman Imperial period 203, 270
Saltovo / Saltovo-Majak culture 181, 402, 425
Samara-Uralian group 36, 49-50
Sauromatian Age 27, 35, 37, 40, 43, 53
Srubnaja culture – see also Timber Grave culture 19, 23, 31-34, 50, 72
Szentes-Nagyhegy group 192, 208, 273-274
Tápé-Malajdok group 322, 361, 387
Timber Grave culture – see also Srubnaja culture 16, 23
Tiszadob group 385, 387
Volga-Don group 36, 49-50
Wielbark culture 172-173, 417
Zarubincy culture 103-104
Zengővárkony group 343
Zubovskij-Vozdviženskaja group 103, 126, 135, 147
Arian Christianity / Arianism 178, 409
Ashchenaz, kingdom of 17
astragalos 244
Attila's Sword 376
augusti 315
Avesta 24, 30, 83, 91-93, 145
Bagaudae 409
balsamarium 54
Bar Kochba Revolt 254
barbarisation 289, 311, 338, 394
Battle of the Catalaunian Plains (Battle of Châlons) 409
Battle of Nedao 419
Battle of Thermodon 24, 63
Bayeux Tapestry 414
beads 59, 173, 192-193, 200, 202-203, 205-207, 210, 212-213, 227, 230, 235, 237, 240, 277, 279, 281-284, 304, 343, 382, 387, 390, 396, 413
bells 122, 245
belts 20-21, 110, 169, 206, 239, 275, 284, 343, 365, 387, 389-391, 414
beaded 212, 239
blood-brotherhood 305
booty 121, 124, 187, 209, 284-285, 293, 310, 315, 336, 371-372, 374, 422
borders 2-3, 13, 24, 33, 66, 74, 78, 83, 87, 106-107, 114-115, 121, 135, 141, 143, 150, 152-155, 163, 179, 184-185, 188, 191, 220, 225-228, 231-232, 254-255, 259, 263, 267, 270-271, 277, 285, 289-291, 308, 318, 330, 333, 335-336, 343, 350, 352, 354, 360-361, 365, 367-368, 370, 375-376, 408, 412, 421, 425
imperial 220
provincial 220
Bosporan Kingdom 63-66, 68-69, 101, 115, 117, 173, 400
Pontic-Bosporan 94
bracelets 42, 59, 212, 235, 249-250
knobbed 248

snake-terminalled 286
with shield shaped terminals (*Schildkopfarmringe*) 285
brachycranial 52
bridges 222, 232, 260, 318, 328-329, 334, 343, 359, 375
brooches 72, 122, 124, 134, 138, 205, 208-210, 213, 231, 235, 248-251, 281, 323, 351
bow (*Bügelfibel*) 419
box (*Dosenfibel*) 343, 345
crossbow of the Sarmatian (or Alföld) type 281, 283, 285
disc 330, 343, 345
double plate 385, 410
Einsprossenfibel 277
enamelled 208, 281, 283, 343, 359
hinge pin (*Scharnierflügelfibel*) 209
Levice / Prša type 387, 389
Middle La Tène 84, 98, 210
onion-headed (*Zwiebelknopffibel*) 365
plate (*Scheibenfibel*) 304, 310
strongly profiled (*kräftig profilierte Fibel*) 210
anchor *(Ankerfibel)* 235
fantail (*kräftig profilierte Fibel mit trapezförmigem Fuß*) 227, 234
T shaped, Almgren 151, 286
with inverted foot (*Fibel mit umgeschlagenem Fuß*) 304, 309, 362, 390, 394
with side-turned foot (*Fibel mit geschlossenem Nadelhalter / mit seitwärts eingeschlagenem Fuß)* 304, 309, 362, 390
buckles 138, 150, 235, 241, 275, 277, 285, 289, 327, 362, 387, 390-391
Sarmatian 213, 256, 274-277
Scandinavian 301-302
with a double prong (*Doppeldornschnalle*) 277-278, 286
with thickened ring and prong coping on the ring 385, 390, 423
buffer state 188-189, 191, 208, 216
burial rite 36, 49-50, 53, 57, 59, 64, 66, 68, 97-98, 122, 143, 146, 150, 158-159, 168, 171, 174, 206, 234, 249, 277, 300, 340-341, 362, 385, 387, 397, 400, 402-403, 418, 423
barrow – see also kurgan 36, 300-301, 327, 333
catacomb 19, 23, 49, 66, 84, 120, 135, 141, 150, 160, 163, 179-180, 402-404, 419, 421, 424
chamber (*sklep*) 34, 36-37, 129, 151, 174, 176
coffin 150, 212, 235, 238, 361, 387
cremation 49, 173, 175, 191, 225, 250, 258, 265, 303, 327, 341, 343, 400
scattered 258
dromos 151, 174
grave
ditched 159-160, 234, 237, 277, 279
niche 49, 53, 84, 97, 150, 159-160, 175, 179, 340, 404, 406, 419, 424
pit 34, 36, 49, 53, 124, 387, 419, 424
oval 160
rectangular 49, 53, 124, 150, 160
robber's 236
square 98, 361
wide 49, 84, 135, 168, 387
inhumation 179, 245, 327
kurgan – see also barrow 21-22, 35-38, 43, 45-46, 49, 53-54, 56, 66, 72, 84-86, 91, 98-99, 124, 127-130, 133-135, 140, 146-147, 150, 152, 158, 160-161, 163, 165-166, 168-170, 245, 258, 361, 400, 403, 424
orientation
E-W 36, 49, 150, 277
N-S 86, 93, 98, 150, 159, 163, 277, 280, 387
S-N 49, 53, 84, 93, 98, 124, 128, 212, 234, 277, 280, 340, 361, 382, 387, 419
W-E 33, 36, 49, 135, 280, 340, 361
stone chest 404
stone packing 37, 49
timber
construction 34, 49
cover 36, 49
cabochon 193-194, 196, 206-207
caftan 414
Cambridge Document 406
candelabrum 300, 302
canopy 136
carnelian style 179-180
carpet 147
cart 263
Cassius, revolt of 266-267
casus belli 318
cauldrons 36, 124, 151, 245
Cella Septichora 379
censers / incense burners (*kuril'nica*) 36, 54, 97, 122
cereals 18, 28, 31, 64, 69, 227
Christian 341, 402
Christianity 178, 400, 407, 410
chora 74

chronology 15, 18-19, 23, 30-32, 68, 84, 87-88, 108-109, 183, 191-192, 194, 202-203, 208-210, 212-213, 234, 240, 246, 260, 265, 292, 297, 303-304, 323, 343, 349-352, 354, 362, 376, 388, 421, 423-424, 442-443, 447
civil wars 64, 94, 117, 121, 216-217, 289, 294, 310, 315, 318, 320, 322, 326-327, 339, 361, 365, 380
civitas 339
cloisonné 155, 163, 180, 453, 455
coins
antoninianus 295
aureus 109, 121, 300
denarius 102, 121, 219, 281, 444
legends 121, 221, 224, 254-255, 265, 268, 295, 311, 314, 317
DAC[IA] CAP[TA] 221, 224
DACIA FELIX 295
DE SARMATIIS 265, 268
REX QUADIS DATUS 254-255
SARMATIA DEVICTA 268, 317
VICTORIA OTHONIS 121
VICTORIA SARMAT 311
sestertius 254-255
tetradrachm 94
colonus 341, 375
Consularia Constantinopolitana 314
consularis et dux trium Daciarum 263
contact zone 31, 33, 225, 286, 289, 323
costume 28, 85, 133, 135, 161, 208, 212, 235, 240, 275, 279, 281-282, 343, 364, 383, 387, 390-391, 394, 412
cowry shells 427
Crimean Tartar Khanate 400
Dacian
cup 343
Wars 216, 219-229, 234, 246, 248, 252, 254, 273
Daco-Romanian continuity 219
Danubian costume 412
Daphne Plan 318
deditio 329
deductio / deductiones 322, 375
Defence systems 121, 188, 227, 312, 314, 370
Alföld rampart – see also Csörsz Ditch / Dyke 343, 346
Brazda lui Novac (dyke) 318, 350, 358
bridgehead – see also counter-fort 313, 352
burgus 270, 356, 370
counter-fort – see also bridgehead, Nógrádverőce type 121, 227, 313-314, 352-353, 367, 371
Csörsz / Csersz Dyke – see also Devil's Dyke and Alföld rampart 270-271, 277, 310, 313-314, 318, 322-323, 343-361, 365, 370
dava 107, 124, 245-246
Devil's Dyke – see Csörsz Dyke and Alföld rampart 350
ditch 67, 72, 118, 344, 348-351, 358-360
Erkesija (Dyke) 350
fort 369-370, 413
border 368
inner 372, 376
fortified settlement – see also *gorodišče,* hillfort 72, 74, 76-77, 88, 90, 94, 103, 403, 407
gorodišče – see also hillfort, fortified settlement 67
Great Wall (of China) 5, 78, 80
Hadrian's Wall 413
hillfort – see also fortified settlement, *gorodišče* 70-71, 92, 124
Kiskunság rampart 346, 349, 358, 360, 422
Nógrádverőce type fort 313 – see also bridgehead, counterfort
rampart 67, 72, 118, 310, 323, 343-344, 346-351, 354, 357-361, 365, 422
Roman Rampart 344, 358
Greater 346, 348-349, 360
Lesser 346, 348-350, 360
deformed skull – see also skull deformation 161, 163, 168, 245, 424
demography 56-57, 256, 303, 380
diadem 245, 410, 412
diocese 312
Diocese of Alania 407
Diophantus Inscription 72, 87, 96-97
Dominican 426
dragon banner / standard 107, 187, 274, 414
dress ornaments – see also flitters 43, 45, 135, 191-193, 201-203, 206, 237
Drusus Inscription 189
earrings 192-196, 206, 212, 412
crescent shaped 396
decorated with granulation and cabochon inlay 194, 207
polyhedral 394, 396
with granulation 194, 196
with polyhedral carnelian beads and a hook and loop fastener 390
with wire decoration 194, 196, 198, 206
elite 43, 64, 68, 120, 124, 126, 135, 146, 150-151, 161, 164, 245, 268, 280, 300, 416, 425

embroidering 133, 135, 212, 235, 240, 279, 282, 382, 387, 390

Ethnic names, languages

Adyghe 67
Agathyrsi 27, 29
Akkadian 16
Alamanns 368
Alans 2, 15-16, 19, 65, 69, 78, 87, 90-91, 93, 107-117, 120, 124, 131, 133, 135, 138-158, 163, 168-169, 171, 173-181, 241, 244-246, 259, 274, 293, 296, 340, 343, 376-380, 394-395, 397, 399-412, 414, 416-419, 421, 423-427
Tanaite / Tanaitae 163, 166-167, 179, 181, 376
Alanorsi 91, 140, 151
Albanian 69
American 3
Amicenses / Anicenses 333, 335
Anti 416
Aorsi / Aorsians – see also *Hamaxobii* / *Amaxobi*, Wagon-dwellers 66, 87, 90-92, 106, 108-109, 115, 117-120, 124, 131, 140-147, 151-152, 187, 244-246, 416
Proto-Aorsi 51
Arabs 340, 402, 406-407
Arcaragantes / Argaragantes – see also *sarmatae liberi* 320, 326, 330, 335, 337, 339, 360-361, 365
Armenians 71, 91, 111-114, 154-155, 169, 405
Armoricians 409
Aroteres – see Scythians 73
Arraei / Areatae 105
Aryan 140
As / Ias 144, 402, 425
Asaei 152
Asii / Asiani 143-144
Aspurgiani 116
Assyrians 15-17
Astingi / Hasdingi 255, 263
Atmoni 87
Avars 2, 181, 351, 357, 360, 400, 405, 419, 423-426
Babylonian 91
Bactrian 146, 241
Proto-Bactrian 24
Basileans – see also Royal Sarmatians 87
Bastarnians / *Basternae* 87, 89-90, 102-105, 108, 114, 169, 184, 189, 259, 311, 338-339
Bessi 259
Black-cloaks 27, 29
Bohemians 427
Boii 103, 219
Borani 173
Brodniks 402
Budini 27, 29
Bulgarians 358, 360, 400, 423
Bulgar-Turks 402
Burgundians 409
Buri 154, 215, 259, 266-267
Burtas 402
Byzantine 400, 404-406, 408, 422, 425, 427
Carpi 170, 173, 290, 293, 311, 315, 338-341, 343
Carthaginian 408
Cave-dwellers 106-107 – see also Troglodytae
Celts – see also Galatians, Gallic 185, 188, 192, 206, 215, 219, 236, 246-248, 250, 254, 414
Cemandri 421
Chersonesians 94
Cherusci 186
Cimmerians / Kimmerians 15-19, 21, 23-24, 33, 52
Ciziges – see also Iazyges 105
Cobotes 259
Coralli 90
Costoboci 232, 254-255, 259, 263, 265
Cotini 215
Croats 416, 427
Cumanians 426-427
Dacians 89-90, 101-108, 114, 121, 124, 170, 173, 183-184, 187-189, 191, 208-210, 215-227, 232, 234, 236, 245-251, 254-256, 263, 266, 288, 292-293, 303, 323, 343
Free 255-256, 263, 292
Dahae 51, 58-59, 110
Daha-Massagetes 51
Dalmatian 187, 250
Dandaridae 117
Duli 417
Dutch 429
Egyptian 19, 68, 342-343
English 3, 75, 110, 315, 329
Finno-Ugrians 402, 417
Franks 293, 296, 408-409
French 3
Galatians – see also Celts 74-75, 82-83, 86
Gallic – see also Celts 215, 373
Gallo-Roman 409
Geloni 27, 29
Georgian 70-71, 112, 114, 144, 154-155, 158, 405-407

Gepids 2, 172, 178, 296, 303, 320, 322-323, 351, 360, 365, 397, 419, 421-423
German 2-3, 19, 52, 83, 87, 107, 170-171, 173-175, 177-179, 181, 184-186, 188, 191, 205-206, 208, 212, 215-216, 218, 250, 255, 258, 261, 263, 265, 268, 271, 273, 277-278, 285-293, 295-297, 300-301, 303-304, 310, 317, 322, 329, 352, 354, 358, 387, 394, 399, 409, 416-417, 422, 427
Getic 72, 105
Geto-Dacian 89-90, 106
Gothic-Alanic 163, 378, 400-401, 410
Gothoalans 400
Goths 154, 161, 163, 170-173, 175, 178-179, 255, 257, 290, 292-293, 295-296, 310-311, 315, 317-320, 322-323, 327, 340, 352, 376-380, 394-395, 400, 408-409, 422
Gotini 215
Greek 1, 12, 15-16, 18, 20-21, 23-24, 28, 31, 51-54, 63-66, 68, 72-75, 77, 82-83, 89, 96-97, 101, 106, 109-110, 117, 124, 143, 145-146, 169, 172, 192, 206, 247, 317
Greuthungi / Gruthungi – see also Ostrogoths 163, 178-179, 376
Hamaxobii / *Amaxobi* / Wagon-dwellers – see also Aorsi 66, 91, 103, 106, 108, 146
Hephtalites 140
Hermunduri 184, 259, 267
Heruls 173, 179
Hippophagoi (»horse-eating«) Sarmatians 136
Hsiung-nu / Xiongnu 78-79, 81, 144, 150, 168
Hun / Chuni 2, 15, 87, 140, 146, 154-155, 157-158, 163, 168-172, 178-181, 204, 294, 317, 337-338, 340-341, 353, 366-367, 376-383, 387-397, 399-400, 402, 410, 412, 417-419, 421, 423, 426
Hungarians 2-3, 13, 31, 52, 181, 196, 199, 202, 206, 216, 293, 295, 317, 323, 344, 351, 399, 403, 408, 414, 416-418, 421, 425-427, 429
Iami 93
Iazabatae 93
Iazamatai / Iazamatae / Yazamatae 63, 66, 93
Iazygian / Jazyges 66, 87, 89-90, 92-93, 183, 187, 190-191, 193, 206, 214, 216, 220-222, 227, 232, 254, 257, 267, 309, 412
  Iaziges Metanastae 216
Iberians 69, 71, 115, 153
Illyrians 185, 189, 374
Indian 43, 91, 155
Indo-Aryans 19
Indo-European 19, 93, 139, 144
Iranian 1-2, 15, 18-20, 23-24, 30, 52, 60, 63-70, 72, 74, 81, 83, 90-93, 97, 110, 116, 140, 144, 146, 158, 163, 170, 173, 178, 181, 187, 240, 367, 376, 380, 387, 394-395, 397, 399, 402, 408-409, 414, 417, 419, 421, 424-427
Issedons 51
Iurkae – see also Tyrcae 87
Ixibatae 93
Ixomatae 93
Jas / *Jász* (Jassones) 139, 399-400, 402-403, 417-418, 421, 425-429
  glossary 426-427
Jewish 406
Juthungi 295
Kangju 144-146, 152
Karakalpaks 399
Khazars 181, 400, 402, 406
Khotanese-Saka 24, 145
Kushans 144, 150, 161, 163, 168, 245
Kutrigurs 400
Lacringi 255, 259, 263
Langobards 2, 257, 261-262, 423
Latin 16, 19, 52, 89, 110, 115, 146, 189, 426
Lazi 406
Ligii / Lugi 184, 218
Limigantes – see also *sarmatae servi* 310, 320, 326, 330-331, 334-337, 339, 360, 365
Lydian 17, 46
Macedonian 103, 317
Maeotians 50-51, 54, 58, 63, 64-72, 108, 117-118, 247
Manchurian 139
Maneaters 27, 29
Marcomannic / Marcomanns / Marcomanni 185-186, 188, 215, 218, 257, 259, 261, 265, 267-268, 271, 286, 290, 293
Massagetae / Massagetes 21, 24, 27, 30, 51, 87, 110, 146, 154, 169, 399
Median, Medes 17, 71, 91, 111
  Proto-Mede 24
Moesian 103, 108-109, 117, 187, 216, 227, 257, 367, 370, 372
Nabiani 91
Neuri 27, 29
Norican 423
Obii 257, 261-262
Odrysians 105
Olibriones 409
Onogur Bulgars 417
Osi 215, 259
Osroenian 290

Ossets / Ossetian 15, 19, 90-92, 178, 181, 301, 407-408, 417, 426-427
Ostrogoths – see also Greuthungi / Gruthungi 178-179, 308, 322, 376-378, 422
Ovs 70-71, 144, 154-155, 158
Palmyrian 232, 295
Pannonians 104, 187-188, 215, 370-371, 423
Panxani 91
Parni 59, 78
Parthians 23, 59-60, 78, 110-111, 115, 124, 146, 153, 290
Pasiani 143-144
Persians 23-24, 26-29, 35, 43, 64, 110, 117, 154-155, 157, 274, 293, 296, 311, 315, 378, 402, 425
Petchenegs 402
Peucini 87, 259
Phoenician 43
Phrygian 15
Picenses / Ticenses 333, 335
Polish 265, 414-417
Quadi / Quads 185-190, 208, 212, 215, 218-219, 227, 232, 254-255, 257, 259, 265-271, 285-286, 289-290, 292, 320, 327-332, 334, 337, 344, 353-354, 356, 367-368, 370-372, 374-375, 378, 422
Reuxinals – see also Roxolans 94, 96
Riparians 409
Romanian 89, 183, 191, 201, 219, 223, 225, 289
Rosomoni 377-378
Roxolans – see also Reuxinals 51, 65, 86-87, 90-94, 96-98, 108-109, 120-121, 124, 140-141, 151-152, 169-170, 189-190, 216-217, 220-221, 223, 227, 231-233, 235, 246, 254, 259, 265-267, 280, 293-294, 296, 303, 338, 361, 378
Rugi 422
Russian 2-3, 15, 31, 36, 50, 63-64, 90, 131, 143-145, 183, 400, 402, 408
Ruthenian 427
Sabirs 406
Sacarauli / Saraucae 143-144
Sadagarii 421
Saii 82-83, 92, 144
Saka, Sacae 23-24, 27-28, 30, 90, 92, 110, 135, 143-145, 150, 399
  Proto-Saka 24
  Tigraxauda 28
Sanskrit 30
Sarmatians
  Free 322, 334-335, 361, 367, 372
  Royal – see also Basilean 83, 87-88, 90, 92-93
  sarmatae gentiles 339, 341
  sarmatae liberi – see also Arcaragantes 320
  sarmatae servi – see also Limigantes 320
Saudaratae 75, 83
Sauromatae / Sauromatians 15-16, 23-24, 26-27, 29-53, 56-63, 66-70, 75, 78, 84, 87, 90, 92, 104, 106, 108, 146, 150-151, 153, 155, 315, 317, 421
Saxon 409-410, 412, 427
Sciri 75, 83, 421-422
Scordisci 103
Scythians / Scythic 15-30, 32, 34-35, 40, 43-45, 47, 50-53, 57-68, 71-79, 81-83, 87-88, 90-97, 99, 103-106, 109-111, 116-117, 119-121, 124, 139, 144, 146, 150, 152, 157, 171-173, 175, 178-179, 187, 191-192, 196, 203, 206-207, 214, 247-248, 254, 296, 305, 319, 367, 399, 417
  Aroteres 73
  Asian Scythians 27-28
  European Scythians 24, 28
  Late Scythian 73, 94, 97, 99, 119-120, 171, 173, 175, 179, 196, 206-207, 248, 254, 399
  pre-Scythian 32, 214
  Royal Scythians 27, 30, 87, 92
  Scythian farmers 64, 92
Seljuk Turkish 400
Semnones 268
Serbs 416, 427
Sidoni 87
Siraci / Siraces / Siracian 53-54, 56, 64-71, 76, 84, 86-87, 90-92, 108, 115, 117-118, 120, 135, 146-147, 151, 187, 203
Sirmatian / Syrmatae 30, 51, 62-63, 66
Slavs 19, 103, 171, 179, 181, 402, 416, 427
Slovakian 185
Sogdian / Sogdiani 24, 143, 406
  Proto-Sogdian 24
Spalus 173
Suebi / Suevi / Suebian 108, 183-184, 188, 218-219, 259, 285, 295-296, 397, 408, 422
Syrian 290
Szeklers (Székely) 427
Taifals 173, 179, 333, 335, 377
Tauri 27, 29, 72, 94, 118
Taurisci 103
Tauroscythae / Tauroscythians 72, 173
Tervingi – see also Visigoths 178, 295, 307
Thali 108
Thissamatae 75, 83
Thracians 15, 65, 73-74, 89-90, 103, 105, 116-117, 179

Tochari 143-144, 146
Treres 15
Troglodytae – see also Cave-dweller 106-107
Turkmens 399
Turks 146, 163, 181, 376, 399, 402, 406, 416, 425, 427, 429
Tyrcae – see also Iurkae 92
Tyregetan 86-87, 89
Ugrian 140, 418
Ugrian-Hungarian 417
Ukrainian 2-3, 31, 50, 131, 143, 171, 183, 400
Unni 169
Urartian 17
Urgi 87-88, 92
Utrigurs 400
Uzbeks 399
Vandals 172-173, 179, 255, 263-264, 285, 288, 290, 295-296, 303, 320, 322-323, 343, 397, 408-409
Varistae 259
Venedi 179
Victovals / Victohali / Victuali 255, 259, 265, 319-320, 322, 326, 330, 335, 337
Visigoths – see also Tervingi 178-179, 295, 307, 322, 377-378, 408-409
Vlachs 427
Wagon-dwellers – see also *Aorsi, Hamaxobii / Amaxobi* 66, 91, 103
Wusun 78, 81, 144-146
Yancai 144-145, 152
Yüeh-chih 78, 81, 135, 144, 146, 150
Great 144
ethnogenesis 15, 18-19, 23-24, 29-31, 50, 61, 67, 141, 146, 402, 418
Europid 52, 150
Excerpta Valesiana 310, 315, 318-320, 335, 339
expeditio Germanica 262
Expeditio in Sarmatas – see also *Expeditio Suebica et Sarmatica* 218
Expeditio Marcomannica 218
Expeditio Suebica et Sarmatica – see also *Expeditio in Sarmatas* 218
facet(ing) 275, 277, 390
farn / farnah 65, 83
female costume 240, 282, 364, 390
finger-rings 135, 206, 248-249
fire cult 34, 36, 49
flitter – see also dress ornaments 192, 201
foederati 178, 319, 341, 394, 408, 423
Germanisation 394
Getica 121, 323, 421
Geto-Dacian Kingdom 89-90, 101-102, 215, 218, 220-221, 350
gift 82, 108, 153-154, 206, 208, 214, 284, 302-305
Glagolitic alphabet 416
glass vessel 277, 389, 423
Kowalk type beakers 323, 390-391
gold horizon 192, 203, 206-210, 213-214, 220, 234
Golden Cemetery (Zolotoe Kladbišče) 103, 120, 126, 133, 135, 141-143, 147, 151, 202
Golden Horde 11, 151, 181, 400
Gothic Kingdom 181, 376
Gothic Wars – see also Scythian Wars 161, 172
Graeco-Bactrian Kingdom 78, 144, 150
harness 36, 45, 54, 124, 129-130, 135, 161, 163, 165-166, 175, 180, 206, 245, 277
bits 45
blanket 129
ornaments 45, 163
phalera 54, 103, 125, 245
headdress 411-412, 427
Hellenic-Persian kingdoms 64
hides 31, 96
Historia Augusta 292-296
hoard 67, 217, 232, 254-257, 259, 262, 281, 289-292, 294, 296, 320, 327, 341, 372-375
honey 31
horreum 372
hostage 108, 118, 154, 217, 296, 319, 329, 422
house 20, 97, 179, 263, 266, 333, 366, 382, 419
Illuminated Chronicle 418
import 54, 66, 68, 74, 84, 91-92, 124, 127, 129, 135, 171, 178-179, 189, 206, 209, 214, 234, 251-252, 277, 281, 283, 286, 297, 303, 359, 362, 364, 382, 389
Islam 407
Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum 399
jewellery 43, 64, 122, 155, 161, 180, 192-194, 196, 201, 203, 205-208, 212, 248-249, 300, 304, 390
Kartlis Chovreba 70-71, 84
kingdom 82, 86, 91, 111, 117-118, 154, 179, 319, 330
knife 224, 248, 387
knobbed rings (*Ösenanhänger*) 248, 275
Kushan Empire 144, 163
laetus 341, 409, 423
limes 122, 188, 225, 232, 257, 267, 270, 289-291, 294, 297, 315, 318, 335, 338-339, 350, 352, 358, 372, 380

Alutanus / Oltenian 226, 290, 292
Danubian 318, 368
Sarmatiae 355
Transalutanus 220, 226
limitanei 343
litus saxonixum 410
Magyar krónika (Hungarian chronicle) 344
Mangup Decree 108
mansio 269
Marcomannic Wars – see also Marcomannic–Sarmatian War 154, 163, 172, 192, 225-226, 234, 241, 255, 257, 261-262, 265, 267, 270-271, 275-276, 279-280, 289, 297, 412
Marcomannic–Sarmatian War – see also Marcomannic Wars 170, 234, 254, 258, 262, 267-268, 273, 295, 297, 303, 320, 323, 338
Marcus Column 260
matriarchate 38, 84
migration / immigration 8, 19, 24, 31, 51, 54, 56-60, 64, 66-68, 75-77, 79, 81, 90, 93, 98, 102, 118, 122, 143, 139, 150, 169-172, 183, 184, 187, 191-192, 201, 214, 216, 241, 246, 265, 267, 275, 280, 290, 293-294, 310, 322-323, 338, 350, 365, 380, 387, 395, 397, 399, 402, 414, 417, 427, 431
Military Survey Maps 348
millstone 229
Minni, kingdom of 17
mirror 36, 43, 54, 84, 124, 138, 150-151, 192, 212, 234, 243-245, 281, 410, 419, 424
nomadic mirror 343
with perforated edge 251-252
missiones 232
Mithridatic Wars 87, 97
Mongoloid 23, 52, 152, 167
munimentum 370
Museums
Bahčiseraj Museum (Bahčiseraj) 248
County Museum of Satu Mare (Satu Mare) 256
Hungarian National Museum (Budapest) 231, 252, 272, 275, 281, 300
Jósa András Museum (Nyíregyháza) 193, 199-200, 203-207, 226, 228, 247, 256, 258, 272, 275, 282-284, 287, 307-308, 327, 393, 396
Kossuth Museum (Cegléd) 283, 292, 298-299, 306, 309-310, 362, 392
Museum of Banat (Timişoara) 227, 230, 245
National Museum of the History of Ukraine (Kiev) 245
Petőfi Museum (Aszód) 272
State Hermitage (Saint Petersburg) 116, 124-125, 156
Taganrog Museum (Taganrog) 138
Tragor Ignác Museum (Vác) 230, 275, 285, 332
Vatican Museum (Rome) 26
Viski Károly Museum (Kalocsa) 243
Nart epic 16, 274, 301-302, 305, 402, 414
necklace 155, 205, 235, 250, 285-286, 390, 427
needle-case 387, 389
nomadism 3, 6, 98, 214
nomads / nomadic 103, 124, 136, 143-146, 150-152, 155, 160, 163, 170, 189, 208, 227, 343, 367, 376, 394-395, 400, 419
semi-nomads 30
Notitia Dignitatum 314, 339, 341, 354, 379, 410, 413
numerus equitum Sarmatarum Bremetennacensium 413-414
oikumene 399
oil 64
Oiorpata – see also Amazons 24
ordu 383-384
ovatio 218
Pannonian–Dalmatian revolt 187
Parthian Empire / Kingdom 59, 78-79, 114, 171
Parthian War 257, 263
patera 252-253, 285
peace 71, 84, 108, 113, 154, 178, 185, 187, 216-218, 227, 254-255, 257-259, 261, 265-267, 277, 286, 289, 291, 296-297, 311, 315, 318-320, 326-330, 334, 336, 338, 354, 368, 371, 373-375, 412
pendant 193, 196, 199-201, 205-207, 243, 248, 286, 343, 387, 410
crescent shaped – see also lunula 201, 205
lunula – see also crescent shaped pendants 192-193, 196, 199-200, 206, 210, 212, 362
mirror 243, 343, 410
»pocket-microcosm« 248
spherical, framed 286
peregrini dedicti 341
periplus 63
Persian Empire 78, 405
Phrygian Kingdom 17
Polish-Lithuanian state 416
Polish Sarmatism 414, 416
polychrome 86, 122, 129, 150, 163, 166, 412
Pontic-Germanic 191, 208
Pontic Kingdom 94-95, 101, 115
post station 270
Pottery / vessels / ware 33, 35, 66, 70, 84, 86, 122, 163, 174, 179, 210-211, 235-236, 242, 246-248, 250-251, 266, 280, 285, 292, 298, 303, 306-308,

323-326, 340, 343, 351, 358, 364-366, 379-381, 387-389, 393-394, 443, 446, 454
appliqué decoration 247
bowl 364, 393
coarse 251
figural painted 251
gritty 303, 306, 364-366, 388
handmade/hand-built 84, 86, 97, 179, 210, 236, 248, 250, 303, 394
jug 390
Murga type 389, 393
kantharos 247
kiln 307, 366
painted 251, 351
Pompeii red painted bowl 251
rectangular 244
smoothed 179
smoothed decoration 340, 343, 379-381, 387-389, 393, 423
stamped 303, 308, 323-324, 326
storage 228
top-handled 343, 345
triangular 244
wheel-turned 70, 122, 179, 247-248, 251, 303, 323, 326
workshop 266, 300, 365, 381, 443
pouch 235
prisoner 118, 259, 296, 317, 329-330
protectorate 154, 273, 339
Protogenes Decree / Inscription 30, 75-76, 82-83, 115, 191
provincialisation 268, 273
pyxide 212
Raw materials 220, 227
amber 173, 262, 390
amethyst 155
bronze 45, 47, 54, 60-61, 116, 124, 129, 212, 245, 252, 263, 274, 286, 303, 437, 451, 455
carnelian 179, 181, 192-193, 200, 205-207, 210, 213, 237, 282, 390
chalcedony 161
felt 147
flint 235, 241
furs 31
garnet 155
glass 43, 129, 155, 193-194, 196, 227, 230, 277, 281-282, 304, 310, 323, 389-390, 395, 423, 437
glass paste 129, 155
gold 20-21, 31, 41-43, 45, 82-83, 91, 102, 114, 124-127, 129, 132-133, 135-136, 140, 149, 152, 155, 161, 163, 191-196, 198-210, 212-215, 220, 224, 227, 233-234, 237, 243, 245-246, 256, 274, 300, 337, 375-376, 439-441, 443-444, 446, 452, 454-456
horn 107
iron 12, 54, 84, 107, 111, 215, 227, 245, 283, 302, 361-362
limestone 245
nephrite 161, 163
silver 43, 45-46, 56, 103, 109, 224, 277, 281, 286, 303, 390, 405, 416, 419
stone 36-38, 40, 45, 49, 54, 72, 82, 118, 129, 132, 140, 161, 179, 189, 196, 217, 229, 233, 245, 269, 274, 277, 304, 310, 317, 376, 390, 404, 413-414, 457
semi-precious 129, 132, 140, 161, 277
turquoise 124-125, 129
wax 263-264
receptio 311, 338, 378
refuse pit 47, 382, 419
rex 254-255, 285, 338, 455
ripa 225, 352, 371, 437, 447, 449, 456-457
Sarmatica 185, 437
road 5, 7, 11-12, 119, 131, 173, 220, 222, 225-226, 262, 270, 291, 293, 330, 346, 350-351, 358-360, 372, 374, 407, 409, 413, 438
Roman Empire / Empire 1-2, 78, 86, 102, 114-115, 120, 145, 153, 158, 163, 171, 178-179, 186, 188-191, 208, 217, 219, 221, 225, 229, 232, 254, 257-258, 263, 267, 271, 273, 286, 289-290, 293, 295-297, 310, 314-315, 318-320, 322-323, 326-327, 329, 331, 335, 338-339, 341, 343, 352-353, 355, 358, 365, 367, 370, 373, 376, 378, 397, 408, 433, 435, 438, 446-448, 452, 487
Romanism 395
runes 416, 450
Sarmatian-Dacian war 292
sceptre / macehead 137
sceptre-bearers 83, 115, 191
Scythian Kingdom 73-75
Scythian Wars – see also Gothic Wars 172
Seleucid Kingdom 78
settlement 33, 35, 59, 63, 67-69, 72, 74, 76-77, 82, 88, 90, 94, 103, 108, 119, 173, 178-179, 183, 185-187, 189-192, 214-216, 222, 225, 227-230, 234-236, 242, 245-246, 250, 252, 256-257, 263, 266-268, 285, 288-289, 294, 303, 306-307, 311, 317, 319-320, 322-323, 327, 330, 334-335, 338-341, 343, 351, 354, 357, 362, 365-366, 380-384, 394,

403, 407-409, 419-424, 426-427, 438, 442-443, 445, 448, 452, 456
Seuso Treasure 372
shell 36, 427
shoe 212, 235, 240, 279, 337
sickle 229
Silk Road 5, 7, 11, 131, 407
skull deformation – see also deformed skull 159, 167-168, 245, 387, 389, 419
slaves / slavery 31, 75, 106, 113, 118, 158, 319-320, 330, 335, 367, 372, 406, 442
smoke-house 382
Soviet 31, 51, 209, 361
post-Soviet 31, 51
spindle 212, 234, 243-244
spoon 36, 54
spur 265, 275, 300, 310
stamped bricks 313, 353
OFARN 353
stone altar 36, 40, 45, 54
strap end 275, 277
strike-a-light 235, 241
Tabula Peutingeriana 155
tamga 97, 106-107, 109-110, 116, 131, 152, 187, 237, 240-241, 243-246, 254, 274, 343, 410, 416-417, 436-437, 446, 450
terra sigillata 234, 262, 266, 281, 288, 297, 300, 303, 351, 359, 362, 440
Tetrarchy 234, 307, 309-312, 364
textile 150, 235, 442
toiletry articles 54
topos 38, 378
torc 42, 126-127, 129, 134, 192-193, 203-207, 237, 248, 250, 256, 390, 394
with pear shaped fastening mechanism 390
trade 5, 31, 54, 56, 64, 68-69, 77, 82, 92, 96, 131, 154, 171, 193, 208-209, 227, 252, 254, 262, 267, 271, 283-284, 286, 295, 297, 303, 359-360, 389, 437
routes 5, 11-12, 31, 266-267, 359-360, 408
Trajan's Column 107, 221-224, 235
treasure 155, 200, 221, 224, 334, 372, 422, 439, 447, 453-455
Tree of Life 137
triumphus 219
Tropaeum Traiani 224, 438
Turkic Khaganate 406
Turkisation 367
typology 265
Vannius, kingdom of 108, 183-186, 188, 216
Venetian 400
vessel – see also pottery
ceramic – see pottery
bronze 286
gold 21
metal 124, 127
silver 43, 45-46, 56, 286, 405
wooden 42, 45
Victory statuette 252
vicus 295
wagon 155-156, 173, 263
Warfare 27, 29, 59, 64, 285, 328, 414, 438
Ala 153, 217, 232, 413
ala Asturum 413
ala I Bosporanorum 232
ala I Tungrorum Frontoniana 217
archer(y) 17, 113, 232, 290-291, 371
army 17, 27, 29, 64-65, 94, 101-103, 108, 110, 113, 117-118, 153-154, 184, 187, 189, 216, 218, 221, 227, 231-232, 260, 263, 268, 289, 293, 295-296, 311-312, 315, 317-318, 328-338, 341, 370-372, 374, 376-378, 380, 397, 402, 406, 409, 422, 447, 449, 456-457
auxiliary (troop) 121, 220, 232, 284, 290, 334, 343, 370
camp 25, 29, 35, 106, 113-114, 121, 189, 217, 220, 233, 268, 274, 290-291, 295, 317, 334, 336, 351-352, 354-355, 358, 375, 413, 422
auxiliary 220, 290
field 268
castellum 358, 449
cataphractus / cataphractarii 135, 187, 341, 413
cavalry 17, 29, 65, 94, 117-118, 121, 183, 185, 187, 214, 216-218, 227, 261, 275, 310, 332, 338, 341, 371, 412-413
cohort 117-118, 121, 153, 333-334, 371
cohors I Aurelia Antonina milliaria Hemesenorum sagittaria 290
cohors I milliaria nova Severiana Surorum sagittaria equitata 290
comes et magister utriusque militiae 368
legion / legionary 111, 121-122, 153, 188, 218-220, 227, 270, 312, 334, 336, 354, 360, 370, 372, 374
Legio III Gallica 121
Legio V Alaudae 218
Legio XIII Gemina 225
Legio XXI Rapax 218
magister utriusque militae 368, 405

Maximina (troops) 292
mercenary 70, 84, 115, 117, 158, 185-187, 214, 217, 290, 405
Praefectus legionis Transiacinco 354
Praepositura Magistri Peditum 341
scutarii 337, 365
soldier 65, 110, 117-118, 216, 231-232, 259, 267, 274, 290, 293, 296, 312, 328, 331-334, 336-337, 341, 343, 371-373, 397, 402, 405, 413, 422
tribune 334, 336-337, 365
vexillatio 218, 294
war 21, 24, 26-27, 64-65, 69, 71, 76, 78, 83-84, 87, 90-91, 94, 96-97, 101, 108, 110, 113, 115, 117-119, 121, 135, 144, 146-147, 153-154, 157-158, 161, 163, 169-170, 172-173, 178-179, 183-184, 192, 209, 216-221, 225-226, 232-234, 241, 246, 248, 252, 254-255, 257-271, 273, 275-277, 279-281, 284-286, 289, 292, 294-297, 303, 310-311, 315, 318-323, 326-328, 331, 334, 337-339, 354, 361, 365, 367-368, 374, 376-377, 380, 412, 422, 433-434, 443
warrior 16-17, 37, 43-44, 54, 62, 65, 67, 72, 85-86, 131, 133, 135, 146, 157, 163, 170, 174, 181, 224, 277-278, 280, 284, 300-302, 310, 333, 340, 380, 387, 390, 394, 397, 409-410, 414, 443
weapons 37, 43, 45, 84, 96-97, 124, 135, 150-151, 161, 163, 169-170, 206, 235, 264, 277, 279, 300-303, 305, 319-320, 328, 333, 341, 343, 353-354, 362, 387
- armour 43, 135, 145, 157, 187, 252-253, 285, 337, 341, 414
  - ceremonial 252-253
  - plate 187
  - scale 43, 414
- arrow / arrowhead 37, 54, 84, 103, 129, 163, 168-169, 187, 235, 241, 245, 387
  - three-winged socketed 235
- bow 20-22, 25, 65, 96, 129, 163, 168, 188, 290, 387
  - bone stiffening plaques 129, 168, 290
- catapult 153
- dagger 37, 42, 84, 98, 129, 163, 408, 427
  - »Maeotian« 408
- helmet 37, 54, 59, 61, 86, 96, 192
- javelin 25, 290, 329, 333
- lance 277, 387, 414, 416
- mail 37, 54, 135, 413
- quiver 37, 43, 45, 54
  - suspension mounts 45
- shield 96, 173, 180, 192, 265, 300-304, 329, 332, 365, 387
  - boss 173, 192, 300, 303
- spear 37, 43, 54, 96, 173, 227, 278, 300
- sword 84, 96, 98, 111, 119, 122, 129, 132, 138-140, 157, 161-163, 173, 209, 235, 241, 265, 277-278, 290, 300, 302, 328-329, 333-334, 337, 343, 375-377, 387, 389, 408-409, 414, 423, 427, 437
  - hilt 84, 161, 408, 423
  - longsword 161
  - »Maeotian« 387, 389, 408, 423
  - pommel 161, 277
  - ring-pommel 122, 138, 209, 235, 241, 343
  - scabbard 132, 140, 161, 301
  - suspension loops 129, 140, 163, 200, 290

Weltkrise 171
Zolotoe kladbišče (»Golden Cemetery«) 103, 126, 133, 141-143
Zoroastrianism 406-407

The book's aim is to make a comprehensive introduction of the Sarmatians, the crucial people in the world of Iranian language speaking nomads.
The first part of the volume deals with the history and archaeology of these tribes starting from their emergence to the Hunnic invasion after which the Iranian domination of the steppe belt was replaced by the power of Turkic nomads. Based on literary sources and archaeological material, the second part synthesises the history of the Sarmatians in the Carpathian Basin from the 1st to 5th century AD. A special emphasis is put on the steppe relations of the Alföld Sarmatians, innovations brought by new migration waves and, their impact on the autochthonous population. The third part is an outlook to the afterlife of the Sarmatians the traces of which stretch out from Britain to China.