

COINS AND IMPERIAL HEADS

The Memory of Rome in the Late Avar Age

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The presence of Roman coins in burial assemblages dated to the Late Avar period (ca. AD 680 to ca. 820) has long been noted, but no explanation was offered for the ‘recycling’ of those artefacts of Roman origin. The paper shifts the emphasis away from the idea that the coins were accidentally found during digging in Roman ruins, and draws attention to the symbolism of the coins, while taking into account the social and cultural context. Coins deposited in graves were clearly selected, with a remarkable preference for 4th-c. coins. Many of them are heavily worn, but still pierced to be worn as pendants. 4th-c. emperors captured the imagination of Avars because of the relative standardization of the imperial portrait. If turned into pieces of jewellery (pendants), coins are typically found in female burials, along with melonseed-shaped beads. However, there are also cases of coins kept in monetary form, and usually found along with other trinkets in pouches deposited in male or child burials. The obverse of the Roman coins inspired the production of belt fittings – belt buckles, strap ends, and belt mounts – decorated with imperial portraits in rows, some to the left, others to the right, in alternation. Such belt fittings have been found in high-status male burials and suggest that the imperial portrait conveyed the idea of empire in general or framed local representations of political power. In the 8th c., the Avars remembered Rome, but not in the manner of a linear and continuous transmission of objects and ideas. Instead, they were interested in imperial Rome, particularly the age during which the imperial power was projected most conspicuously on coins. Unlike the earlier age (6th to 7th c.), those collecting and curating Roman coins during the Late Avar age also imitated and reproduced images of power found on those coins, typically on belt fittings associated with male dress.

Keywords: Austria, Croatia, Hungary, Slovakia, Avars, political power, cemeteries, settlement, hoards, Roman coins, belt fittings.

The presence of Roman coins in burial assemblages dated to the Late Avar period (ca. AD 680 to ca. 820) has long been noted (Fig. 1). That those coins are of no use for dating was met with a shrug by most archaeologists. Some interpreted the coins as indicating trade: in the absence of contemporary coins from Byzantium, the Avars employed old Roman coins (*Staššiková-Štukovská* 1989).¹ Others have regarded the phenomenon of providing the dead with Roman coins as indicating Charon’s obol, a custom believed to have been particularly common in the Carpathian Basin at the beginning of the Late Avar period (*Szenthe* 2019, 237; *Tomka* 1986, 163; contra *Young* 1979, 205). The Hungarian historian A. Alföldi (1895–1981) pointed out the discrepancy between the practice of coin deposition and the supposedly Asian origins of the Avars (*Alföldi* 1934, 287, 288). The Czech archaeologist Z. Klanica (1938–2014) noted that despite the abundance of 2nd-c. coins in western

Hungary (the territory of the Roman province of Pannonia), those who buried their dead in Late Avar cemeteries preferred 4th-c. coins (*Klanica* 1972, 101).²

Though often treated as a special, if not unique phenomenon for the Carpathian Basin, the deposition of coins in Late Avar graves is just the later phase of a practice that started ca. 500 (*Curta/Gândilă* 2024).³ During the 8th and 9th c., that practice is also attested outside the Carpathian Basin (*Belošević* 1980, 28; *Fiedler* 1992, 434, 468, 477, pl. 19: 15; *Mitrea* 1988; *Toropu/Stoica* 1972, 171, 186; *Văzharova* 1976, 136, 137, 275, fig. 170: 9). Nonetheless, nowhere in Europe is the number of Roman coins in early medieval assemblages larger than in the Carpathian Basin. No less than 176 coins are so far known from 8th c. assemblages in Austria, Croatia, Hungary, Romania, and Slovakia, and 108 (61%) of them have been determined with sufficient precision to allow for a statistical analysis.⁴ Much like in the earlier period (6th to

¹ By contrast, *E. Kolníková* (1987, 97) noted that since many of those coins are pierced, they could not have possibly been used for trade.

² Out of 210 Roman coins that *Huszár* 1954 recorded as found in burial assemblages of the Late Avar age, 85% are 4th-c. coins. All Roman coins found in Late Avar graves in Slovakia are 4th-c. coins (*Kolníková* 1973; *Militký* 2020; *Zábojník* 2009).

³ The practice is sporadically attested in the 9th (*Militký* 2020, 232, 233; *Müller* 2010, 41–43, 70, 82, 96) and 10th/11th c. (*Ćirić* 2019, 234–325; *Dragotă/Rustoiu* 2011; *Militký* 2020, 241, 242, 246, 247), as well as in the High Middle Ages (*Ćirić* 2019, 235–241, 247–249, 261–269, 277–279).

⁴ Roman coins have been found in Keszthely-Dobogó (County Zala, Hungary) in a cemetery that clearly has a late, 8th-c. phase. However, most coins cannot be attributed to any graves. Moreover, when that is somewhat possible, the burial assemblages lack any diagnostic artefacts that could be used for dating (*Kiss* G. 1997; see *Huszár* 1954, 84, 85). I have also excluded the lot from Hőgyész (*Huszár* 1954, 80), as nothing is known about the other grave goods with which the coins were associated.

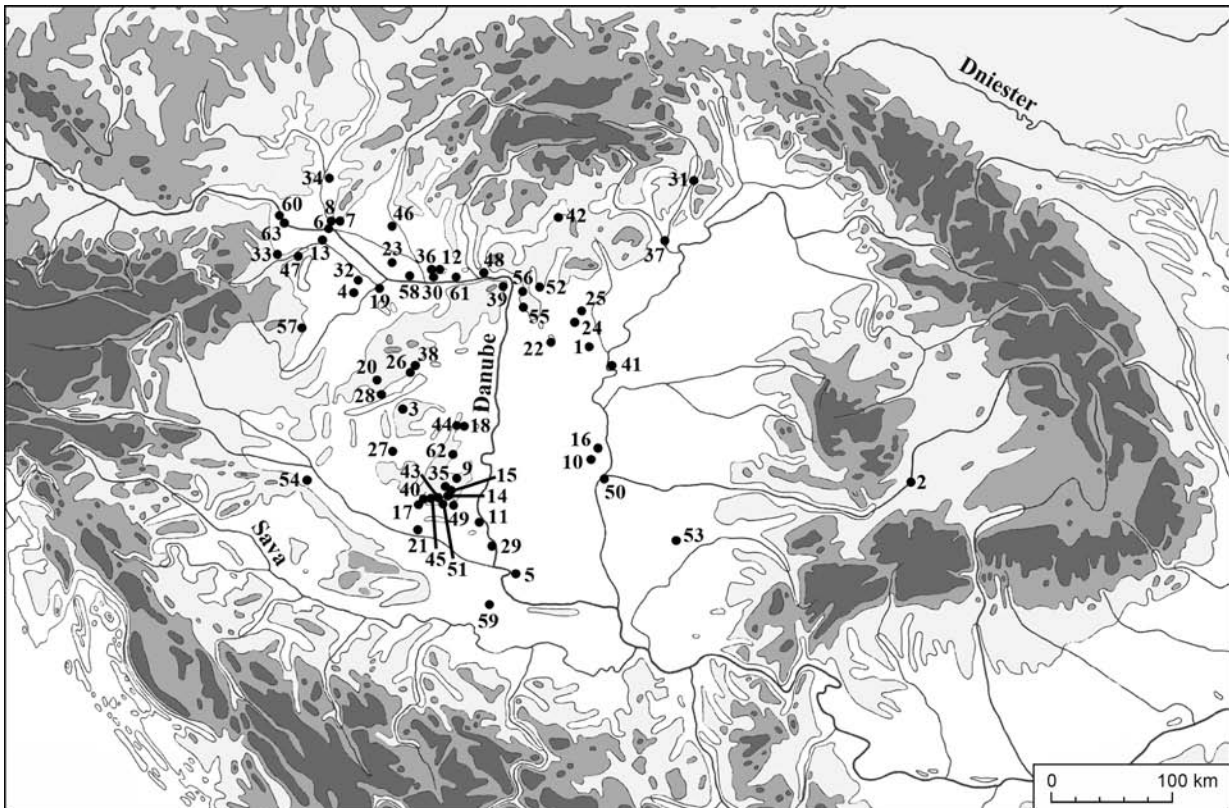


Fig. 1. Main sites with Roman coins mentioned in the text and in the Appendix. 1 – Abony (HUN); 2 – Alba Iulia (ROM); 3 – Andocs (HUN); 4 – Bággyog (HUN); 5 – Bogojovo (SRB); 6 – Bratislava (SVK); 7 – Čataj (SVK); 8 – Cífer (SVK); 9 – Cikó (HUN); 10 – Csengele (HUN); 11 – Dunaszekcső (HUN); 12 – Dvory nad Žitavou (SVK); 13 – Edelstal (AUT); 14 – Erzsébet (HUN); 15 – Fazekasboda (HUN); 16 – Gátér (HUN); 17 – Gyód (HUN); 18 – Gyöng (HUN); 19 – Győr (HUN); 20 – Halimba (HUN); 21 – Harkány (HUN); 22 – Hernádpuszta (HUN); 23 – Holiare (SVK); 24 – Jánoshida (HUN); 25 – Jászapáti (HUN); 26 – Jutas (HUN); 27 – Káposvár (HUN); 28 – Káptalanfőti (HUN); 29 – Kölked (HUN); 30 – Komárno (SVK); 31 – Kechnec (SVK); 32 – Lébény (HUN); 33 – Leobersdorf (AUT); 34 – Moravský Svätý Ján (SVK); 35 – Nagypall (HUN); 36 – Nové Zámky (SVK); 37 – Nyékládháza (HUN); 38 – Öskü (HUN); 39 – Pécel (HUN); 40 – Pécs (HUN); 41 – Pilismarót (HUN); 42 – Prša (SVK); 43 – Rákócziifalva (HUN); 44 – Regöly (HUN); 45 – Romonya (HUN); 46 – Šaľa (SVK); 47 – Sommerein (AUT); 48 – Štúrovo (SVK); 49 – Szebeny (HUN); 50 – Szeged (HUN); 51 – Szellő (HUN); 52 – Szirák (HUN); 53 – Timișoara (ROU); 54 – Torčec (HRV); 55 – Üllő (HUN); 56 – Váchartyán (HUN); 57 – Vasasszonyfa (HUN); 58 – Vefke Kosihiy (SVK); 59 – Vinkovci (HRV); 60 – Vienna (AUT); 61 – Virt (SVK); 62 – Závod (HUN); 63 – Zwölfaxing (AUT). Map drawn by the author.

7th c.), the largest number is that of coins struck for 4th c. emperors, from Constantius Chlorus to Theodosius (75% of all coins that have been identified).⁵ All of them are bronze coins. Based on size, one of them can be classified as AE2 (between 21 and

25 mm), two as AE3 (between 17 and 21 mm), and a fourth as AE4.⁶ There are two pairs of coins of one and the same emperor – in one case Constantine the Great, in the other Constantine II (Čilinská 1982, 354, 355, pl. IX: 5, 6; Kiss G. 1984a, 129, pl. 56: 11–13: 1, 3;

⁵ In addition, there are four specimens without more precise identification: a centenionalis from grave 271 in Cikó (Somogyi 1984, 52), a late 4th-c. bronze coin from grave 67 in Öskü (Rhé/Fettich 1931, 50), and two other specimens from grave 24 in Szeged (Salamon/Sebestyén 1995, 13, pl. 4: 24.2).

⁶ Fettich 1943, 41; Sekelj Ivančan 2010, 30, 31, 352, pl. 8: 42; Somogyi 1984, 57, pl. 26: 393.7; Török 1998, 23, pl. 8: 66.2. The coin in grave 801 from Győr (Fettich 1943, 41) was struck either for Constans or for Constantius II (Huszár 1954, 78), that in grave 242 in Jánoshida – either for Valentinian I or for Valens (Erdélyi 1958, 41, pl. XXXIX: 14). Equally unsure is the attribution of the coin in grave 62 from the Nyékládháza cemetery – Constantine I, Constantius II or Constans (Huszár 1954, 89; Végh 1964–1965, 185). Those coins cannot be attributed with certainty because they are badly worn. The same explanation applies to the imprecision of the identification for a coin from grave 131 in Romonya (Kiss A. 1977, 116, pl. L: 3). On its reverse, one can read FEL (icium) TEMP (orum) REPARATIO, which is a legend that appears frequently on coins struck for 4th-c. emperors, from Constans and Constantius II to Gratian. The state of preservation of several coins does not allow for a classification other than ‘of the Constantinian dynasty’ (Fettich 1943, 33; Huszár 1954, 66; Rhé/Fettich 1931, 43) or ‘of the Valentinian dynasty’ (Somogyi 1984, 43, pl. 5: 36.1; Török 1998, 24, 50, pl. 8: 71.2; 306: 350.5).

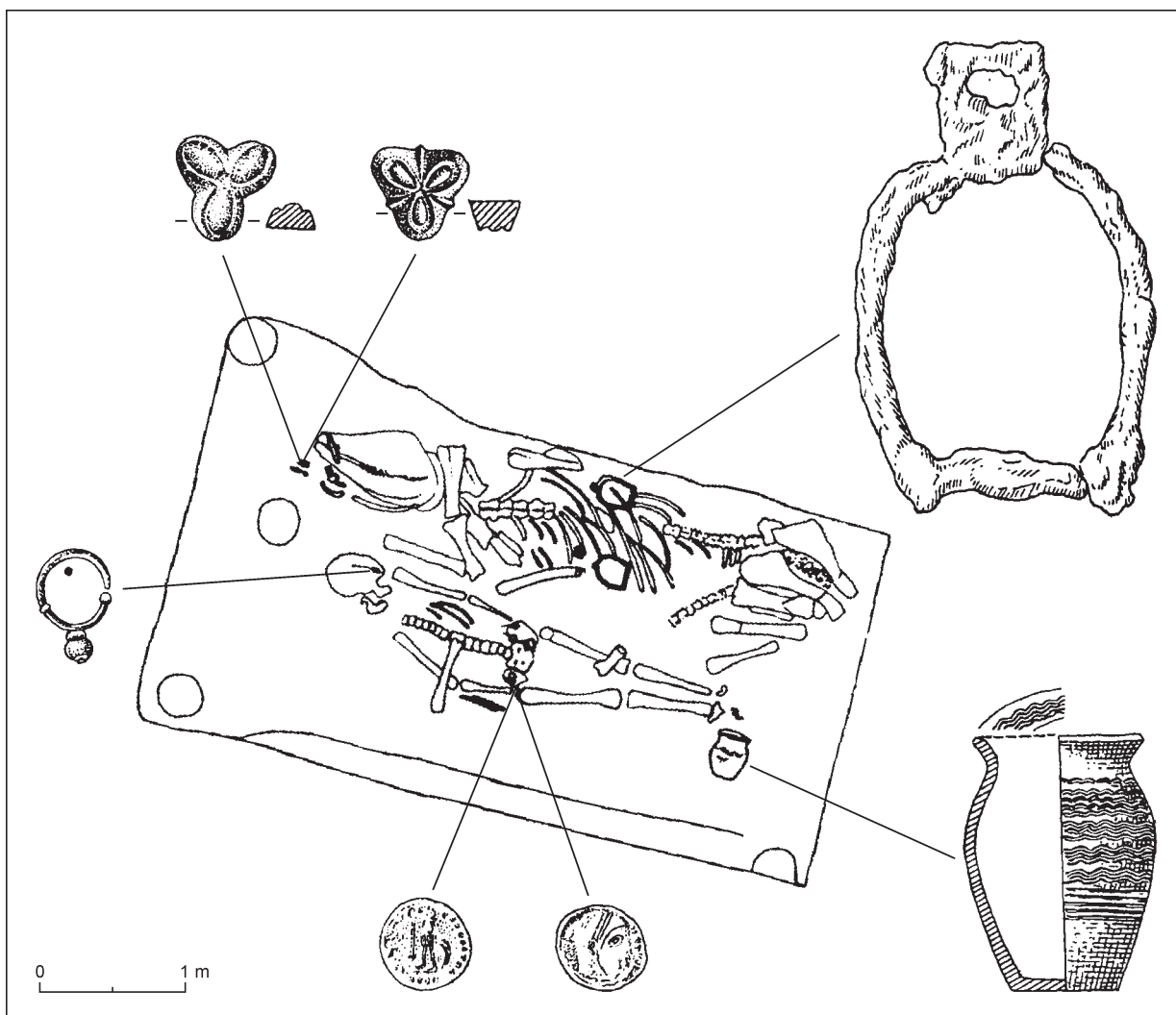


Fig. 2. Komárno, grave 23. Double burial (of a woman and a horse), with selected artefacts: two unpierced coins struck for Constantine the Great, golden earring, belt mounts of the horse gear, stirrup, ceramic pot (after Čilinská 1982).

for identification *Huszár 1954, 93*).⁷ However, in grave 317 of the cemetery excavated in Cikó, a pierced coin struck for Vetrano in AD 350 was associated on the same necklace with another struck for Aurelian in the 270s (*Somogyi 1984, 54, pl. 21: 317: 1*).⁸

Constantine the Great is the emperor with the largest number of coins in the entire group dated to the 4th c. More than half of all coins struck for Constantine the Great (11 out of 21 specimens) are not pierced. Although damaged, one of the two coins from grave 31 in Sommerein is obviously a *nummus* with the emperor's laureate head to right and the

legend PROVIDENTIAE AVGG (*Daim/Lippert 1984, 187, 223, pl. 24: 6: 1*). Of the same type is the coin from grave 102 in Cífer (*Zábojník 2009, 409, fig. 2: 1*). The other coin from Sommerein is a fragment of a coin with the diademed head of Constantine to the right and, on the reverse, two soldiers facing each other with the legend GLORIA EXERCITVS (*Daim/Lippert 1984, 187, 223, pl. 24: 6: 2*). The pierced coins in grave 2 from Fazekasboda and grave 261 from Štúrovo, as well as one of the two unpierced coins from grave 23 in Komárno have the same legend (Fig. 2; *Huszár 1954, 77, pl. XIX: 142; Zábojník 2009,*

⁷ In grave 71 of the cemetery excavated in Pilismarót, there are 6 late 4th-c. (unidentified) coins, some at the neck, some by the right leg of the female skeleton (*Szabó 1975, 258*). There were three coins in grave 44 of the cemetery excavated in Dunaszekcső: one of them was Roman, another a Celtic coin (*Sós 1966–1967, 106*). The pierced coin struck for Constantine II and found in grave 39 of the same cemetery was associated with a bronze imitation of a Byzantine solidus (*Szabó 1975, 256, 257*).

⁸ Both coins are chipped and pierced in the same location in relation to the emperor's portrait. For a pierced coin of Aurelian found in a child grave in Istria (southeastern Romania), see *Fiedler 1992, 434, pl. 19: 15*.

411, 413, fig. 2: 3, 7; for identification see also *Militký* 2020, 224, 225). On the coin from grave 230 in Čataj with the inscription VICTORIAE LAETAE PRINC (ipum) PERP (etuae) the portrait of the emperor is helmeted (*Militký* 2020, 222; *Zábojník* 2009, 404, fig. 2: 5). The coin is unpierced, like those of a different type from Komárno. Unpierced are also the specimens in a comparatively better state of preservation from the cemetery sites in Győr, Halimba, Komárno, and Závod, as well as that from the settlement site in Torčec (*Čilinská* 1982, 354, 355, pl. IX: 5, 6; *Fettich* 1943, 25; *Török* 1998, 44, 53, pl. 32: 277: 3; 39: 382: 2; *Wosinsky* 1896, 18–20; for Torčec see *Sekelj Ivančan* 2010, 30, 31, 352, pl. 8: 42).⁹ Well preserved is also the coin from grave 297 in Győr (*Fettich* 1943, 25). Because of that, one can clearly see that the portrait on the obverse is not that of the emperor, but the personification of Rome, wearing a helmet and the imperial cloak, with the legend VRBS ROMA. This is in fact a commemorative issue struck at some point after AD 330 with the image of the she-wolf with Romulus and Remus on the reverse.

In contrast to the coins struck for Constantine the Great, half of those of his son, Constantius II – the second largest lot in the 4th-c. group – are pierced (9 out of 18 coins). The same applies to the coins struck for Constans – the third largest lot in that group (6 out of 12 coins). While the coins of Constantine the Great come from eight different mints (Aquileia, Arles, Constantinople, Cyzicus, Nicomedia, Rome, Siscia, Ticinum), none of them represented by more than one specimen, the list of mints is far shorter for Constantius II – Heraclia, Rome, and Siscia – with five specimens from Siscia, far more than from any other mint. This is also true for the coins struck for Constans, Constantine II, and Valentinian I: half of all coins of those emperors that have been found in Late Avar graves (5 out of 10, 3 out of 6, and 4 out of 8 coins, respectively) are from the mint in Siscia. In fact,

more than half (54.5%) of all coins from Late Avar graves for which we have a mint identification were struck in Siscia.¹⁰

Where skeletons have been sexed, 4th-c. coins appear mostly in graves of women (32 instances). Far fewer are the graves of men (12) and children (6) with 4th-c. coins. Given that almost all coins found in female graves are pierced, they are typically found at the neck, in the company of beads, especially the characteristic melonseed-shaped beads (*Éber* 1902, 245, 255; *Eisner* 1952, 161, 162; *Erdélyi* 1958, 21, 41; *Kiss A.* 1977, 76, 116; *Kiss G.* 1984a, 130, 131; *Pástor* 1971, 110; *Rhé/Fettich* 1931, 45; *Somogyi* 1984, 43, 52, 54, 57, 59–61; *Szabó* 1975, 256, 257; *Točík* 1968, 58).¹¹ When found in male graves, 4th-c. coins are often in or by the left hand (*Daim/Lippert* 1984, 187; *Kiss A.* 1977, 39; *Rhé/Fettich* 1931, 24).¹² This position suggests a symbolic deposition, something akin to the idea of Charon's obol.¹³ The same may be true for coins deposited next to the skull (*Fettich* 1943, 37; *Streinz* 1978, 496) or by the feet (*Garam* 1975, 81; *Kiss G.* 2006, 221).

When associated with such artefacts as flint stones, flint steels, strap ends or arrowheads, 4th-c. coins were probably deposited in pouches (*Fettich* 1943, 22, 25; *Kiss A.* 1977, 41; *Salamon/Sebestyén* 1995, 95; *Török* 1998, 43, 53; see also *Čilinská* 1976, 444). The coins found in pouches were most likely selected carefully for deposition by those organizing the burial ceremony. Associated with rituals performed during the funeral may have also been the coins struck for Aurelian, Gallus, and Constantine the Great that were found in the filling of the pits of graves 81 and 150 in Zwölfaxing, as well as 41 in Romonya, respectively (*Kiss A.* 1977, 112, 113; *Lippert* 1969, 138, 148).¹⁴ They may have been thrown symbolically into the grave during backfilling. In a similar way may be interpreted the presence of a *nummus* struck for Constans in Siscia and found inside the urn of the cremation grave 6 in Vinkovci

⁹ The coins from graves 449 in Cikó (*Somogyi* 1984, 60, pl. 31: 449: 4) and 837 in Győr (*Fettich* 1943, 25) are worn, but not pierced.

¹⁰ The oldest is the coin struck for Gallienus and found in a female grave in Prša (*Točík* 1963, 124, 126, pl. I: 8, 9).

¹¹ Pierced, 4th-c. coins have also been found in the company of beads in graves of children (*Kiss A.* 1977, 28; 2001, 129). For melonseed-shaped beads as characteristic for the Late Avar age, see *Vida/Völling* 2000, 85–88. The association with melonseed-shaped beads is also attested for graves with skeletons that have not been sexed (e.g. *Börzsönyi* 1904, 24). Melonseed-shaped beads are also associated with coins that have not been identified (*Čilinská* 1966, 86, 87; *Ferenczy* 1963, 86; *Garam* 1972, 154; *Huszár* 1954, 77; *Kiss A.* 1977, 117; 2001, 129; *Schmid* 2015, 132; *Somogyi* 1984, 52; *Török* 1998, 57, 60).

¹² This position is also recorded for graves with skeletons of women (*Eisner* 1952, 161, 162; *Somogyi* 1984, 49), as well as for skeletons that have not been sexed (*Wosinsky* 1896, 19). The unidentified coin from grave 163 in Szébény was found in the right hand of the child skeleton (*Garam* 1975, 83).

¹³ The coin struck for Constantine the Great in Nicomedia between AD 324 and 330 and found in grave 108 of the cemetery excavated in Izvoru (southern Romania) was also placed in the man's left hand, but it was wrapped in a piece of cloth. The one in grave 283 of the same cemetery (a follis struck for Diocletian in Thessalonica between 298 and 301) was placed in the right, not in the left hand of a 50-year-old man (*Mitrea* 1988, 382).

¹⁴ The same interpretation does not apply, however, to the centenionalis struck for Valentinian in Siscia and found near one of the graves in the cemetery excavated in Leobersdorf (*Daim* 1987, 218). For another Roman coin found in the filling of a grave pit, see *Mitrea* 1988, 381.



Fig. 3. Gátér, grave 286. Selected artefacts associated with an unidentified, Roman coin. 1 – hoops and handle of a wooden bucket; 2 – penannular fibula; 3 – bronze chain (after Kada 1908).

(Sekelj Ivančan/Tkalčec 2006, 148, 192).¹⁵ When not associated with other artefacts, the deposition on the chest, the ilium, or by the shoulder may also be interpreted symbolically (Erdélyi/Salamon 1980–1981, 155; Kiss A. 1977, 27, 147, 148; Salamon/Sebestyén 1995, 13; Somogyi 1984, 43; Török 1998, 24). In such cases, the coin may have been thrown ritually on the body after it was lowered inside the grave pit.

The coin struck in Antioch for Constantius Chlorus between 295 and 305 and found in grave 192 of the cemetery excavated in Abony was associated with a Roman enameled fibula, a specimen of Riha's type 7.13 dated to the second half of the 2nd and the first half of the 3rd c. (Márton 1904, 310; Riha 1994, 161). A 3rd-c. knee fibula of Riha's type 3.12.4 was found in Káptalanóti in a child grave together with an unidentified Roman coin (Bakay 1973, 24, pl. XXXVII: 7, 29; Riha 1979, 85, 86).¹⁶ An unidentified, Roman coin was found in grave 286 of the cemetery in Gátér

together with a penannular (omega-shaped) fibula of Sellye's type 1 dated between the mid-3rd and the mid-4th c. (Fig. 3; Kada 1908, 337; Sellye 1990, 53).¹⁷ It is important to note that except that in Abony, none of the coins associated with Roman fibulae was pierced. This is also true for the coin of Constantius II found in the left hand of the man buried in grave 31 of the cemetery excavated in Gyód together with a Roman pitcher made of a fine yellow fabric, 'similar to types produced in the early Roman period' (Kiss A. 1977, 39, pl. VI: 4; Krekovič 2012, 90). The associations of both Roman fibulae and Roman pottery with Roman coins strongly suggests that all artefacts were carefully selected, if not curated before being deposited in graves.

Careful selection is apparent in the case of the few 3rd-c. coins found in Late Avar graves. Antoniniani of Gallienus and Carus are worn, but the radiated heads of the emperors can still be distinguished (Huszár 1954, pl. XVII: 5; XVIII: 47).¹⁸ Particularly interesting is the counterfeit from a grave in Gátér. Only the contour of the imperial portrait made it possible to recognize the model of this *fourré* (a silvered bronze) – a denarius of Trajan (Huszár 1954, 76, pl. XIII: 164).¹⁹ Another *fourré* was found in a grave in Timișoara together with a saber, a bridle bit and two stirrups – all of which indicate the grave of a man buried with his horse. This is a counterfeit of a denarius struck for Commodus, but the imperial portrait is barely visible (Cosma et al. 2013, 87, 88, fig. 63: 4; see also Bejan 1983, 489). Much more visible is the head of Hadrian on the coin found in Bagyóg, while only the contour may be distinguished on that of Domitian from grave 494 of the Győr cemetery (Fettich 1943, 31, pl. XI: 9; Huszár 1954, 66, 77, pl. XIV: 16; XIII: 177). Besides bronze, silver was also deposited, albeit in smaller quantity in Late Avar graves. The very worn denarius struck for Faustina Junior in AD 175 was found in a female grave of the cemetery excavated in Jánoshida (Erdélyi 1958, 25, pl. XXVII: 7). Another female skeleton was discovered in grave 7 of the cemetery in Bogojevo, having a denarius of Commodus in the right hand (Pogány 1909, 9, 10). The denarius struck for Salonina from a male

¹⁵ The coin shows no traces of fire, which indicates that it was deposited in the urn, not collected from the pyre together with the ashes. For other 4th-c. coins found inside urns cremation graves of the Razdelna cemetery in northeastern Bulgaria, see Fiedler 1992, 468, 477. This is in sharp contrast to the situation in another, contemporary cremation grave from grave 300 of the cemetery excavated in Izvoru in southern Romania. The silvered bronze coin struck for Severus Alexander was found next to the urn in that grave (Mitrea 1988, 382).

¹⁶ Unfortunately, no illustration has been published for the Roman fibula that was found in Győr, together with two coins, one of Constantius II, the other of Valentinian (Fettich 1943, 41).

¹⁷ For penannular fibulae in Avar-age assemblages, see Tóbiás 2007, 328, 330, 336, 337 (with a list of finds, from which the Gátér specimen is absent).

¹⁸ This is also true for the antoninianus with the legend 'FIDES MILITVM' on the reverse, which was found in grave 59 from Gyód, probably in a pouch. All 3rd-c. emperors who struck coins with that legend are portrayed radiated on the obverse.

¹⁹ It remains unclear whether the traces of gilding on the badly worn and pierced bronze from grave 39 in Gátér indicate a *fourré* or are simply signs of an attempt to make a pendant shinier (Huszár 1954, 76, pl. XXIV: 161; Kada 1908, 337).

grave in that same cemetery was also found in the right hand (*Huszár 1954*, 76, pl. XVII: 166; *Pogány 1909*, 10). The *antoninianus* struck for Otacilia Severa from grave 241 of the cemetery in Zwölfaxing was most likely in a pouch (*Daim 1977*, 108, pl. 11: 241: 10). If the identification is correct, the laureate, bearded portrait of Septimius Severus must be clearly visible on the coin from house 5 in Alba Iulia-Stadion (*Blăjan et al. 1986*, 174, 175).²⁰

The Alba Iulia coin is one of three found in a settlement, not burial context. An AE4 struck for Constantine the Great in Ticinum was found in a refuse pit in Torčec (northern Croatia), while an unidentified Roman coin comes from a house in the Late Avar settlement in Lébény (northwestern Hungary; *Sekelj Ivančan 2010*, 30, 31, 352, pl. 8: 42; *Takács 2002*, 171–176). It is not clear how the presence of those coins in settlements should or could be interpreted. They may have been left behind in a symbolic gesture at the abandonment of the house (*Cameron 1991*). Be that as it may, the fact that they were found in settlement contexts seems to belie the idea that Roman coins from Late Avar graves were accidentally found while digging the grave pits and then reburied with the dead. To judge from the existing evidence, however those coins were obtained, they were kept for a while away from their place of discovery, curated, and then deposited in graves. This is confirmed by the most unusual context in which a Roman coin was found in the Avar age – a hoard of iron implements and weapons. The coin struck for Constantine the Great and found in Moravský Svätý Ján, together with a plowshare, a mattock, three billknives, two spade frames, two battle axes, a lance head, two stirrups and three bridle bits was not pierced (*Bartošková 1986*, 33, 34, 36, fig. 12; for the coin see *Ondrouch 1964*, 136; for the symbolic value of hoards of iron implements and weapons see *Curta 1998–1999; 2011*). Along with it was also a Roman mirror, a clear indication that the presence of the coin in the assemblage was no accident.

None of the coins found in settlement contexts is pierced. However, 73 of all 176 coins deposited in graves (41%) have holes. All of them are bronze coins, as none of the silver coins is pierced. Two of the bronze coins have suspension loops attached (*Točík 1968*, 58, pl. LIX: 8; *Zábojník 2009*, 413, fig. 2: 8). Of those that are pierced, only two have multiple holes, perhaps for being sewn onto the clothes.²¹ In five of the other cases, the hole is right in the middle of the coin, in complete disregard for the imperial portrait.²² In most other cases, however, the hole is carefully drilled to avoid damaging the portrait of the emperor. Most often, its location is behind (11 cases), below (10 cases) or above the head (9 cases).²³ In three different graves of the cemetery excavated in Cikó (317, 393 and 423), the holes were driven through pairs of coins at the exact same location. This suggests a concern for displaying the head of the emperors in the same position with coins hanging from the necklace, along with the beads.

It is remarkable that coins of 4th-c. emperors are more worn than those of earlier emperors, as immediately apparent when one compares the coin of Claudius from grave 18 in Szeged-Fehértó B with that of Valens from grave 102 in Szeged-Kundomb (*Madaras 1995*, 186, pl. 3: 18: 2; *Salamon/Sebestyén 1995*, 78, pl. 15: 102: 1). On the former the features and the hair are clearly visible, on the latter, only the contour of the head. Despite the fact that most 4th-c. coins are badly worn, they were still pierced to be turned into pendants, while several earlier coins were not. It is clear that the piercing took place after the coin was considerably worn, even though on most coins the hole was carefully drilled to avoid damaging the imperial portrait. Assuming for a moment that those who performed the operation collected only worn 4th-c. coins for the task, it is perplexing that they selected earlier coins in a far better state of preservation, and only occasionally chose to turn them into pendants.

Why were 4th-c. imperial portraits preferred to those of earlier emperors? In my opinion, the an-

²⁰ The reverse probably shows Victoria advancing left and holding wreath and trophy. The identification of the worn denarius from grave 11 in Hernádpusztá is uncertain – Lucius Verus or Septimius Severus (*Éber 1901*, 312). No identification whatsoever exists for the coins from graves 43 (*Garam 1972*, 140, fig. 13: 7, 8) and 105 in Andocs (*Garam 1972*, 156, fig. 19: 23), as well as grave 27 in Öskü (*Rhé/Fettich 1931*, 45).

²¹ The coins from graves 93 in Holiare (with three holes; *Zábojník 2009*, 410) and 356 in Halimba (with two holes; *Török 1998*, 51, pl. 37: 356).

²² The coins from graves 99 and 258 in Abony (*Éber 1902*, 255, fig. 5; *Huszár 1954*, 65, pl. XVII: 5), 511 in Holiare (*Zábojník 2009*, 411), 76 in Nagypall (*Kiss A. 1977*, 76, pl. XXX: 1), and 113 in Szébény (*Garam 1975*, 81, fig. 9).

²³ Behind the head: *Erdélyi 1958*, 41, pl. XXXIX: 14; *Huszár 1954*, 65, 77, pl. XVIII: 3; XXI: 179; *Kiss G. 1984a*, 131, pl. 63: 56: 10; *Somogyi 1984*, 43, 57, 61, pl. 5: 36: 1; 26: 393: 7, 8; 31: 464: 3; *Török 1998*, 47, pl. 34: 312: 3; *Zábojník 2009*, 409, 413, fig. 2: 1, 3. Below the head: *Huszár 1954*, 76, 89, 92, pl. XIII: 164; XX: 350, 381; XXI: 163; *Somogyi 1984*, 52, 54, 57, 61, pl. 19: 271: 1; 21: 17: 1; 26: 393: 7; 32: 477: 2; *Török 1998*, 21, pl. 5: 50: 31. Above the head: *Erdélyi 1958*, 21, pl. XXII: 11; *Huszár 1954*, 65, 75, 77, pl. XIX: 142; XX: 169; XXI: 1; *Kiss G. 1984a*, 132, pl. 67: 69: 6; *Somogyi 1984*, 43, 57, 61, pl. 4: 35: 2; 26: 393: 7; 31: 464: 4; *Török 1998*, 31, pl. 15: 144: 4. There are fewer cases of the hole being in front of the emperor's head: *Huszár 1954*, 99, pl. XIX: 453; *Kiss G. 1984a*, 133, pl. 69: 6; *Somogyi 1984*, 49, 59, pl. 14: 193: 6; 29: 423: 12; *Točík 1963*, 124, 126, pl. I: 8, 9.

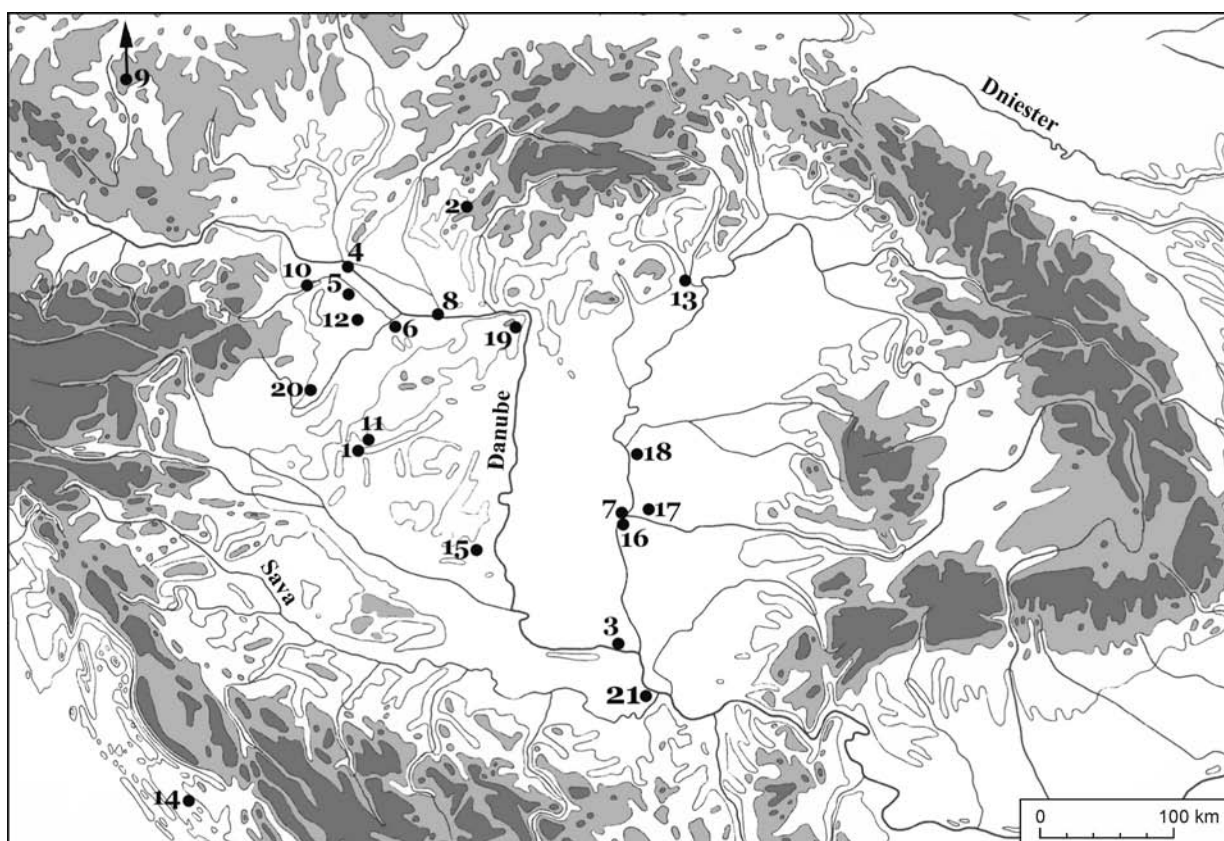


Fig. 4. The distribution of sites featuring belt fittings decorated with Roman imperial portraits. 1 – Alsópáhok (HUN); 2 – Brodzany (SVK); 3 – Čelarevo (SRB); 4 – Čunovo (SVK); 5 – Edelstal (AUT); 6 – Győr (HUN); 7 – Kiskundorozsma (HUN); 8 – Komárno (SVK); 9 – Kosoř (CZE); 10 – Leobersdorf (AUT); 11 – Lesencetomaj (HUN); 12 – Mosonszentjános (HUN); 13 – Sajópetri (HUN); 14 – Smrdelje (HRV); 15 – Szébény (HUN); 16 – Szeged (HUN); 17 – Székkutas (HUN); 18 – Szentés (HUN); 19 – Tinnye (HUN); 20 – Vasaszonfya (HUN); 21 – Zemun Polje (SRB). Map drawn by the author.

swer has to do with the conventional representation of the emperor. Most portraits on 3rd-c. coins, for example, were of excellent quality, true 'emotive descriptions' (Reece 2005, 126). Things changed, however, after the reform of AD 294: coins struck for different emperors could be distinguished only on the basis of the legend. There was a clear move away from individuality and more towards a standard portrait, good for any and all emperors.²⁴ The standardization of the imperial portrait may explain the selection of 4th-c. coins for grave deposition, even if, with worn specimens, the details of the imperial portrait were not visible anymore. What mattered obviously was just the portrait, as a generic description of any emperor. That was the image that was then displayed on the body, not only in death, but very likely in lifetime as well. 4th-c. coins were pierced to be worn as pendants, and there was a great concern for how the image would be seen on that pendant. Some believe that pierced Roman coins became 'acting forces' in history, in that they

played an amuletic role, whether related to social status or not (Vedeler 2018, 13; White 1991, 140). If so, then there was a great deal of continuity from the pre-Avar Early Avar period (6th to 7th c.) in the interpretation of images (particularly of power) from the Roman past. There are of course some differences particularly in the greater emphasis during the Late Avar age on coin-pendants and their association with female, not male graves. That images of Roman emperors were worn more by women than by men may be a hasty conclusion. Unlike the Early Avar age, the imperial portrait from the Roman coins was reproduced on belt fittings that were typically badges of masculinity.

A belt mount discovered in one of the graves of the cemetery excavated in Kiskundorozsma, on the northwestern outskirts of the city of Szeged is perhaps the best illustration of this class of artefacts (Daim *et al.* 2010, 287–289; Mészáros/Paluch/Szalontai 2004, 154, fig. 12: 6; 2006, 102, fig. 6: 6). Made of gilded silver, the fragmentary mount

²⁴ R. Reece (2005, 131) sees this change as coinciding with the shift from individual to collegiate.

consists of a side strip surrounding a panel in which an emperor is depicted in diademed profile to the right, with a brooch on the left shoulder and a bundle of laurel in his right hand raised in front of his face. Because of its elaborate construction, the belt fitting from Kiskundorozsma is believed to belong to a 'group of Byzantine belt sets, strap-ends and fittings from the 8th c.' (*Daim* 2010, 69). In other words, judging from the granulation technique employed for its decoration, this is most likely a Byzantine product. A very similar artefact, re-employed for a box now in Sorpe (Catalonia, Spain) is nonetheless believed to have been made in the Carpathian Basin, during the last decades of the Avar khaganate (*Daim/Prohászka* 2019, 249–254, fig. 1).²⁵ On both the Kiskundorozsma belt mount and the clasp from Sorpe, the portrait reminds one of gold coins struck for 4th-c. emperors, especially Constantius II and Theodosius I (*Daim et al.* 2010, 292). Imperial portraits like those on the bronze coins of that same age were also imitated on belt mounts and strap end cast in bronze, oftentimes gilded, and found on several sites along the Danube and the Tisza rivers (Fig. 4; *Bollók* 2015, 171, fig. 5; *Bugarski* 2022, 360, fig. 6; *Csallány* 1962, 476, pl. XXIV: 30; *Daim* 1987, 240, pl. 63: 2: 1; *Daim/Prohászka* 2019, 249, fig. 2: 1; *Dekan* 1972, 419, fig. 125: 1; *Dimitrijević* 1966, 57, 58, pl. VIII: 15; IX: 1, 2; X: 1a–c; *Fettich* 1943, 21, pl. XX: 21, 22; XXVIII: 5, 6; *Garam* 1975, 80, fig. 8; *Horváth* 1935, 108, fig. 31; *Korek* 1943, 41, pl. 33: 13; *Lobinger* 2016, 163, pl. 22: 4; *Madaras* 1995, 46, pl. 33: 319: 1; *Nagy K. B.* 2003, 28, pl. 43: 12; *Perémi* 2009, pl. 8; *Petrinec* 2009, 16, 17, pl. 88; *Salamon/Sebestyén* 1995, 36, 37, pl. 35; *Sőtér* 1895, 96, 97; *Trugly* 2008, 56, pl. 83: 11; 106: 7; *Vladár* 1978).²⁶ Most spectacular is a belt set with five mounts and a strap end found in a male grave in Zemun Polje (on the northwestern outskirts of Belgrade, in Serbia). The imperial portrait on the former is a diademed bust to the right, while the strap end

has five imperial portraits – three to the right and two to the left, alternating (Fig. 5; *Dimitrijević* 1966, 53, 54; pl. Ia; V: 1–5; VII: 1a, 1b, A–E). All those belt fittings with imperial portraits may be dated to the second half or to the last two thirds of the 8th c. (*Lobinger* 2016, 72). The Hungarian archaeologist Á. Bollók advanced the idea that the portraits on the belt fittings cast in gilded bronze imitate the belt mount from Kiskundorozsma (*Bollók* 2015, 171, 172). However, the model is quite clearly the generic portrait of the emperor on 4th-c. coins.²⁷ It may not be an accident that such coins, as well as belt fittings with imperial portraits were often found on one and the same site, albeit never within one and the same burial assemblage.²⁸ Since no objects with portraits such as those of the 4th-c. emperors are known to have been produced in the Byzantine Empire during the 8th c., if the belt mount from Kiskundorozsma is indeed a Byzantine product, then it must have been a gift for someone inside the Avar khaganate. We can even speculate that the gift was made with the understanding that there was at that time in Avaria a certain fascination with portraits of Roman emperors. The coins that illustrate that fascination were not brought from the Byzantine Empire, but procured locally, through accidental or intentional digging in Roman ruins.²⁹ Probably excavations of that kind produced hoards of Roman coins, which could explain why and how pairs or multiple coins struck for the same emperor were deposited in Late Avar grave.³⁰ However, after being discovered by whatever means and in whatever form (single or hoard finds), the Roman coins were collected, curated, and not immediately deposited in graves. The careful choice of coins, sometimes accompanied by other Roman artefacts implies an intermediary phase between discovery and deposition, in which the selected coin was invested with a special signification that turned it into an 'evocative object'. It is difficult

²⁵ The piece in question is in fact a clasp re-employed as lid for the box. The clasp reached France as part of the booty taken by the Franks from the Avars. It was then re-employed for the box somewhere in the Iberian Peninsula.

²⁶ For a list of finds, see *Daim et al.* 2010, 323–325. For another distribution map, see *Profantová* 2018, 326, fig. 1: 4. All those belt fittings belong to Fanczalszky's class 13a (*Fanczalszky* 2007, 104–106, pl. 51: 3–20; 52).

²⁷ The Slovak archaeologist J. Dekan (1919–2007) believed the imperial portrait on the Late Avar belt fittings to have been inspired by Hellenistic art (*Dekan* 1964, 76, 77) or the portrait of Orpheus (*Dekan* 1972, 408, 409). He also thought that it may have been inspired by Merovingian coins (*Dekan* 1972, 418). More recently, G. Szenthe (2013) wrote of the *interpretatio Avarica* of late antique motifs.

²⁸ Both Roman coins and belt fittings with imperial portraits are known from Edelstal, Győr, Leobersdorf, Szébény, Szeged-Fehértó, and Szeged-Kundomb.

²⁹ This may explain why the vast majority of the coins were found on Late Avar sites in Transdanubia, on the territory of the formerly Roman province of Pannonia.

³⁰ This may also be the explanation for the good state of preservation of older, 2nd to 3rd-c. coins, such as found in Győr and Bágyog. The denarius from Alba Iulia, which was struck for Septimius Severus, was probably discovered by accidental excavations in the ruins of Apulum, a Roman town in Dacia. However, a great number of older coins have been discovered on Late Avar sites located outside the territory of the former province(s), with no Roman ruins whatsoever. This is clearly the case of such sites as Gátér, Hernádpusztá, Szeged-Fehértó and Timișoara.

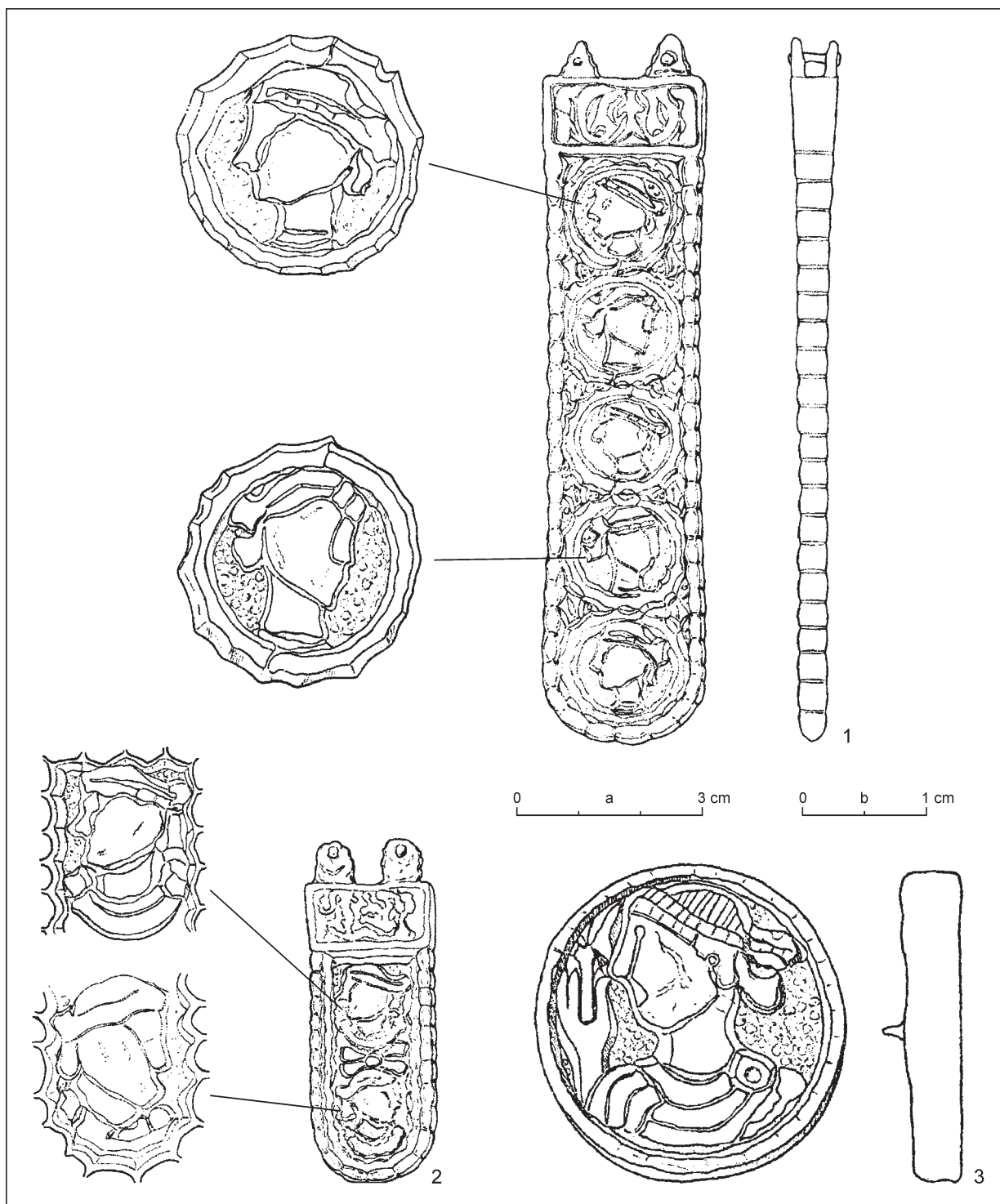


Fig. 5. Zemun Polje, grave 2. Selected artefacts from the belt set in a male burial. 1, 2 – large and small strap ends; 3 – circular belt mount; all decorated with imperial portraits (after *Dimitrijević* 1966). Scale: a – 1, 2; b – 3.

to establish whether the advanced wear of many coins is the result of circulation in Late Antiquity or of manipulation in the Late Avar age, but it is important to note that holes were obviously drilled through worn specimens. In other words, even if heavily worn, coins on which the imperial portrait

was barely distinguishable were still transformed into pendants. If, as it seems probable, the wearing was at least in part the result of manipulation during the Avar age, then it is likely that the reason for piercing a worn coin was simply that it was regarded as an heirloom.

The majority (almost two thirds) of all Late Avar sites with Roman coins produced no more than one specimen. In a few cases, two coins found on the same site come from one and the same assemblage (Pástor 1971, 110, fig. 21: 6; for identification Kolníkova 1973, 130; Daim/Lippert 1984, 187, 223, pl. 24: 6; Végh 1964–1965, 185; for identification Huszár 1954, 89, pl. XX: 350). In seven cases, only three coins per site are known (Daim 1977, 108; Erdélyi 1958, 21, 25, 41; Garam 1972, 140, 154, 156; Huszár 1954, 103; Kiss A. 1977, 39, 41; Kiss G. 1984b, 167; Lippert 1969, 138, 148; Rhé/Fettich 1931, 43, 45, 50; Salamon/Sebestyén 1995, 13, 95), in another three only four coins (Garam 1975, 74, 81, 83; Huszár 1954, 76; Kada 1905, 374; 1908, 337; Kiss A. 1977, 112, 113, 116, 117, 132), and in one case, five coins per site (Huszár 1954, 65). Only single cases exist with eight (Erdélyi/Salamon 1980–1981, 155; Szabó 1975, 256–258), ten (Huszár 1954, 77), thirteen (Török 1998, 21, 23, 24, 29, 31, 43, 44, 47, 50, 51, 53, 57, 60), and sixteen coins per site (Somogyi 1984, 43, 49, 52, 54, 57, 59–61). The largest number of coins per site (21) is from Győr (Börzsönyi 1904, 24; Fettich 1943, 15, 22, 25, 26, 31, 33, 34, 37, 39–41; Huszár 1954, 77).³¹ While the majority (85.7%) of the coins found in Győr are not pierced, most coins from Cikó (87.5%) and Regöly (90%) have holes. In Halimba, almost as many coins have holes (7) as those that do not (6). In some cases, all coins found on the site are either pierced (Holiare, Kechnec) or not pierced (Gyód, Szeged-Kundomb). While there was regional variation in how they were deposited in graves, about the same coins were collected and curated throughout large swathes of Avaria. Most coins found in Győr were struck for 4th-c. emperors, and the same is true for coins from Cikó, Regöly, and Halimba.

A number of conclusions are already apparent. Much like in the earlier period (6th to 7th c.), the majority of the Roman coins deposited in Middle and Late Avar assemblages are of a 4th-c. date (Tab. 1). All of them are bronze coins, with the largest specimens struck for Constantine the Great and his son Constantius II. A large number of 4th-c. coins were struck in Siscia (modern Sisak, in Croatia), but they were found both inside formerly Roman provinces (Cikó, Győr, Halimba, Jutas, Leobersdorf, Nagypall, Regöly, Vinkovci), but also outside them (Abony, Gátér, Prša, Szeged-Kundomb). Several coins were found in the waist area in archaeological contexts

that suggest the existence of pouches, typically with male graves. Unlike the Early Avar age, Roman coins appear in positions relative to the body that could be interpreted as Charon's obol. However, the largest number of coins were pierced and belong to necklaces together with beads. Either in pouches or in necklaces, Roman coins were deposited primarily because of their obverses decorated with imperial portraits. Even when the coins were badly worn, the contours of the portrait could be discerned, which strongly suggests that what mattered was not the portrait of a particular emperor (hardly discernible on 4th c. coins, anyway), but a generic portrait of a Roman ruler. This is substantiated by the fact that when coins were modified to be displayed as pendants, holes were typically drilled in such a manner as to avoid damaging the portrait. The occasional matching of coins with Roman artefacts – fibulae or pottery – further indicates that those who buried the dead in the Late Avar age used such categories of artefacts, along with coins, to conjure a certain image of the Roman past. As 'evocative objects', the Roman coins must have been associated with an era long gone.

The Avars remembered Rome, but not in the manner of a linear and continuous transmission of objects and ideas, but more as 'disparate imaginings of Rome' (Chazelle 2007, 83; original emphasis). They were more interested in imperial Rome, particularly the age during which the imperial power was projected most conspicuously on coins. Unlike the Avars of the earlier age (6th to 7th c.), those of the Late Avar age were more interested in imitating and reproducing such images of power, typically on belt fittings associated with male dress. While the decoration of those belt fittings (typically made of gilded bronze or silver) suggests an exclusive access to what may have been symbols of elevated social status, there is no evidence that the deposition of Roman coins in graves was restricted to any social groups. Like the coin-fibulae in the Carolingian world, belt fittings in Avaria imitated Roman coins (Kluge 2002, 375; Schulze-Dörrlamm 2009, 184).³² However, missing from the Carolingian world is anything similar to the Avar practice of collecting Roman coins and depositing them in graves in symbolic gestures conjuring the Roman imperial past, which were more likely linked to forms of power representation.³³

³¹ Two coins were found in each one of graves 596 and 801. There were three coins in grave 211.

³² All specimens post-date the Avar-age belt fittings with imperial portraits. However, like coin-fibulae, those belt fittings were restricted to males of relatively high social status. They may have been distributed by the ruler to loyal followers. One can even compare the Kiskundorozsma belt mount to the gilded fibula from Karlburg, which contains a solidus struck for Constantius II in 353 (Schulze-Dörrlamm 2009, 184, note 111).

³³ Unlike 8th-c. Avaria, there are no ancient coins in any 8th- or 9th-c. burial in Francia (Schulze-Dörrlamm 2010, 339).

Tab. 1. Roman coins in Middle and Late Avar burials, ca. AD 650 to ca. 830. AE – bronze; AR – silver; C – child; F – female; M – male. Table made by the author.

Emperor	AE	AR	Sex	Position	Observations
Claudius	1	–	–	–	–
Domitian	1	–	M	next to the ilium	–
Trajan	1	–	–	on the chest	counterfeit, pierced
Hadrian	1	–	–	–	–
Lucius Verus	1	–	–	–	–
Lucius Verus	–	1	–	chest	worn
Faustina iun.	–	1	F	–	worn
Commodus	1	–	F	in the right hand	–
Septimius Severus	–	1	–	–	–
Otacia Severa	–	1	–	on the ilium	–
Gallienus	3	–	F	–	worn, pierced
	–	1	M	in the right hand	–
Aurelian	2	–	F	at the neck	worn, pierced
			M	in the filling	
Probus	1	–	–	–	fragment, pierced
Carus	1	–	F	–	pierced
Galerius	1	–	–	–	worn, pierced
Constantius Chlorus	1	–	C	–	pierced
Constantine the Great	21	–	8F, 2M, 3C	4 at the neck on the ilium 3 next to the left hand by the left hip next to the jaw in the left hand	5 worn, pierced 2 worn 3 pierced – – –
Licinius	1	–	–	–	–
Crispus	1	–	F	in the left hand	–
Constantine II	5	–	4F	next to the skull by the jaw on the chest at the neck	2 worn, pierced 5 pierced worn
Constantius II	18	–	6F, 4M	3 at the neck 2 in the left hand next to the skull next to the left hand	6 worn and pierced 2 pierced worn
Constans	12	–	5F, M, 2C	3 at the neck next to the left femur by the feet next to the left hip	pierced 4 worn, pierced 2 worn
Vetranio	1	–	F	at the neck	–
Gallus	3	–	3M	under the left hand in the filling next to the left hand	worn
Jovian	1	–	–	on the neck	pierced
Valentinian I	8	–	4F, C	2 at the neck on the ilium next to the left femur	2 pierced worn worn and pierced
Valens	6	–	3F, 2M	at the neck on the chest next to the left hand	3 pierced
Gratian	2	–	–	–	–
Valentinian II	1	–	–	at the feet	worn, pierced
Theodosius I	1	–	–	–	–

APPENDIX

Coins in Middle and Late Avar assemblages (ca. AD 650–to ca. AD 830)

1. [41–54] AE Claudius: Szeged, grave 18 (together with melonseed-shaped beads); *Madaras 1995*, 139, pl. 3: 18: 2.
2. [81–96] AE Domitian: Győr, grave 494 (together with cast strap ends and belt mounts, three arrow heads and bone reinforcement plates of a bow); *Fettich 1943*, 31, pl. XI: 9; *Huszár 1954*, 77, pl. XIII: 177.
3. [98–117] AE imitation of an AR Trajan, traces of silvering: Gátér, grave 296 (on the chest); *Huszár 1954*, 76, pl. XIII: 164 (wrongly indicated as grave 295).
4. [117–138] AE Hadrian: Bágyog, grave 1 (together with two stirrups and cast belt fittings); *Huszár 1954*, 66, pl. XIV: 16.
5. [161–169 or 193–211] AR Lucius Verus or Septimius Severus, denarius: Hernádpusztá, grave 11; *Éber 1901*, 312.
6. [175] AR Faustina iunior, denarius: Jánoshida, grave 122; *Erdélyi 1958*, 25, pl. XXVII: 7; *Huszár 1954*, 80, pl. XV: 211.
7. [180–192] AR Commodus, denarius: Bogojevo, grave 7 (together with a bronze [Roman?] fibula); *Huszár 1954*, 76; *Pogány 1909*, 9, 10.
8. [180–192] AR Commodus, denarius: Timișoara, grave 1 or 2 (together with two cast strap ends, a saber, a bridle bit and two stirrups); *Bejan 1983*, 489; *Cosma et al. 2013*, 87, 88, fig. 63: 4.
9. [195] AR Septimius Severus, denarius, Rome, BMC V, p. 39, nr. 107: Alba Iulia, house 5 (Stadium site); *Blăjan et al. 1986*, 174, 175.
10. [244–249] AR Philip the Arab (struck for Otacilia Severa), antoninianus: Zwölfaxing, grave 241 (together with a flint stone and a flint steel); *Daim 1977*, 108, pl. 11: 241: 10.
11. [253–268] AE Gallienus, antoninianus, worn and pierced: Abony, grave 258; *Huszár 1954*, 65, pl. XVII: 5.
12. [253–268] AR Gallienus (struck for Salonina), denarius: Bogojevo, grave 9 (together with a glass bead, an iron buckle and a bronze belt mount); *Huszár 1954*, 76; *Pogány 1909*, 10.
13. [253–268] AE Gallienus, Siscia, pierced: Prša, grave 2 (together with a fragment of a bronze chain); *Točík 1963*, 124, 126, pl. I: 8, 9.
14. [270–275] AE Aurelian, worn and pierced: Cikó, grave 317 (together with two other, pierced coins and glass beads); *Somogyi 1984*, 54, pl. 21: 317: 1.
15. [270–275] AE Aurelian, antoninianus: Zwölfaxing, grave 150; *Lippert 1969*, 148, pl. 53: 23.
16. [276–282] AE Probus, antoninianus, Cyzicus, fragment: Závod, grave 60 or 61; *Huszár 1954*, 103, pl. XVIII: 521.
17. [282–283] AE Carus, antoninianus, pierced: Cikó, grave 193 (together with glass beads, some of them melonseed-shaped); *Somogyi 1984*, 49, pl. 14: 193: 6.
18. [293–311] AE Galerius (?): Regöly, grave 69; *Kiss G. 1984a*, 132, pl. 67: 69: 6.
19. [295–305] AE Constantius Chlorus, Antioch: Abony, grave 192 (together with a Roman disc-fibula with enameled ornament); *Huszár 1954*, 65, pl. XVIII: 3; *Márton 1904*, 310.
20. [306/307] AE Constantine the Great (GLORIA EXERCITUS), Cyzicus: Fazekasboda, grave 2 (together with two glass beads); *Huszár 1954*, 75, pl. XIX: 142; *Kiss A. 1977*, 28.
21. [307–337] AE Constantine the Great (VICTORIA LAETAE PRINC PERP): Čataj, grave 230; *Militký 2020*, 222.
22. [307–337] AE Constantine the Great (PROVIDENTIA AVGG): Cífer, grave 102 (together with another pierced coin and glass beads); *Zábojník 2009*, 409, fig. 2: 1.
23. [307–337] AE Constantine the Great, Nicomedia: Cikó, grave 423 (together with another pierced coin, glass beads and two bronze bracelets); *Somogyi 1984*, 59, pl. 29: 423: 12.
24. [306–337] AE centenionalis Constantine the Great, Siscia: Cikó, grave 449 (together with two melonseed-shaped beads); *Somogyi 1984*, 60, pl. 31: 449: 4.
25. [306–337] AE Constantine the Great, Aquileia: Győr, grave 837 (together with a flint stone, a strap end and a belt mount of bronze foil); *Fettich 1943*, 25; *Huszár 1954*, 78, pl. XIX: 186.
26. [306–337] AE Constantine the Great: Halimba, grave 50 (together with glass beads); *Török 1998*, 21, pl. 5: 50: 31.
27. [307–337] AE Constantine the Great, Rome, with a suspension loop: Holiare, grave 323; *Kolníková 1973*, 130; *Točík 1968*, 58, pl. LIX: 8 (wrong drawing).
28. [307–337] AE Constantine the Great, pierced: Kechnec, grave 76 (together with another pierced coin and with glass beads, many of them melonseed-shaped); *Kolníková 1973*, 130; *Pástor 1971*, 110, fig. 21: 6.
29. [306–337] 2 AE Constantine the Great: Komárno, grave 23 (with a double burial – female and horse); *Čilinská 1982*, 354, 355, pl. IX: 5, 6.
30. [307–337] AE Constantine the Great: Moravský Svätý Ján, hoard of iron tools and weapons; *Eisner 1941*, 154; *Ondrouch 1964*, 136.
31. [306–337] AE Constantine the Great (GLORIA EXERCITUS): Štúrovo, grave 261; *Točík 1968*, 69, pl. LII: 3.
32. [306–337] AE Constantine the Great: Szirák, grave 27; *Hampel 1905*, 83; *Huszár 1954*, 99, XIX: 453.
33. [306–337] AE Constantine the Great: Závod, grave 38; *Huszár 1954*, 103, pl. XIX: 520; *Wosinsky 1896*, 18–20.
34. [306–337] AE Constantine the Great: Zwölfaxing, grave 81; *Lippert 1969*, 138, pl. 33: 5.
35. [308–324] AE Licinius: Závod, grave 74 (together with another pierced coin); *Kiss G. 1984a*, 167, pl. 92: 74: 7.
36. [317–326 or 337–361] AE Crispus or Constantius II, centenionalis: Cikó, grave 201; *Somogyi 1984*, 49, pl. 15: 201: 3.
37. [317–340] AE Constantine II, Siscia: Cikó, grave 464 (together with another coin and two melonseed-shaped beads); *Somogyi 1984*, 61, pl. 31: 464: 4.
38. [317–340] 2 AE Constantine II, pierced: Regöly, grave 11, 12 or 13; *Huszár 1954*, 93; *Kiss G. 1984a*, 129, pl. 56: 11–13: 1, 3.
39. [317–340] AE Constantine II, Siscia, pierced: Regöly, grave 56 (together with melonseed-shaped beads); *Kiss G. 1984a*, 131, pl. 63: 56: 10.
40. [317–340] AE Constantius II (?): Kechnec, grave 76 (together with another pierced coin and with glass beads, many of them melonseed-shaped); *Kolníková 1973*, 130; *Pástor 1971*, 110, fig. 21: 6.
41. [317–340, 323–361 or 333–350] AE Constantine I, Constantius II or Constans: Nyékládháza, grave 62 (together with glass beads, one of which is melonseed-shaped); *Huszár 1954*, 89, pl. XX: 350; *Végh 1964–1965*, 185.
42. [320/321] AE4 Constantine the Great, Ticinum: Torčec, pit SJ 014/015; *Sekelj Ivančan 2010*, 30, 31, 352, pl. 8: 42.

43. [321–324] AE Constantine the Great: Halimba, grave 382 (together with a strap end of silvered bronze foil and a flint stone); *Török* 1998, 53, pl. 39: 382: 2.
44. [323–361] AE Constantius II, centenionalis: Abony, grave 30 (together with glass beads); *Éber* 1902, 245; *Huszár* 1954, 65, pl. XXI: 1.
45. [323–361] AE Constantius II, centenionalis, Siscia: Abony, grave 210; *Huszár* 1954, 65, pl. XXI: 4.
46. [323–361] AE Constantius II: Bratislava, grave 765 (female skeleton in a multiple burial, together with melonseed-shaped beads); *Eisner* 1952, 161, 162, pl. 81: 6; *Kolníková* 1973, 130.
47. [323–361] AE Constantius II, centenionalis, Rome: Cikó, grave 393 (together with two other pierced coins and melonseed-shaped beads); *Somogyi* 1984, 57, pl. 26: 393: 7.
48. [323–361] AE3 Constantius II: Cikó, grave 404 (together with melonseed-shaped beads); *Somogyi* 1984, 57, pl. 26: 393: 7.
49. [323–361] AE Constantius II: Edelstal, grave 151; *Lobinger* 2016, 72.
50. [323–361] AE Constantius II, Siscia, pierced: Gátér, grave 69; *Huszár* 1954, 76, pl. XXI: 163.
51. [323–361] AE Constantius II: Gyód, grave 31 (together with a Roman pitcher); *Kiss A.* 1977, 39, pl. VI: 1.
52. [323–361] AE Constantius II, Siscia: Győr, grave 211 (probably in a pouch, together with two other coins, strap ends and a three-edged arrowhead); *Fettich* 1943, 22; *Huszár* 1954, 77, pl. XXIV: 172.
53. [323–361] AE Constantius II, Siscia: Győr, grave 570 (together with a bronze strap end, a bronze pin, glass beads, and two needle holders made of bone); *Fettich* 1943, 33; *Huszár* 1954, 77, pl. XXI: 179.
54. [323–361] AE Constantius II: Győr, grave 702 (together with bone reinforcement plates of a bow); *Fettich* 1943, 37; *Huszár* 1954, 78 (wrongly indicated as grave 707).
55. [323–361] AE Constantius II, Heraclea: Regöly, grave 77; *Kiss G.* 1984a, 133, pl. 69: 6.
56. [323–361] AE Constantius II (?): Jutas, grave 260 (together with melonseed-shaped beads); *Fettich* 1964, 82; *Huszár* 1954, 81, pl. XXII: 218.
57. [323–361] AE Constantius II, Siscia: Szeged, grave 102 (perhaps in a purse, together with two other coins, a flint steel, and flint stones); *Salamon/Sebestyén* 1995, 95, pl. 15: 102: 1.
58. [323–361] AE Constantius II, Heraclea: Szellő, grave 4; *Kiss A.* 1977, 139, pl. LVII.
59. [324–330] AE Constantine the Great (PROVIDENTIA AVGG): Sommerein, grave 31; *Daim/Lippert* 1984, 187, 223, pl. 24: 6.
60. [330–337] AE Constantine the Great (VRBS ROMA): Győr, grave 297 (together with an iron buckle); *Fettich* 1943, 25; *Huszár* 1954, 77, pl. XIX: 173.
61. [330–337] AE Constantine the Great, Constantinople: Cikó, grave 423 (together with another pierced coin, glass beads and two bronze bracelets); *Somogyi* 1984, 59, pl. 29: 423: 12.
62. [330–337] AE Constantine the Great, Arles: Halimba, grave 277 (together with two flint stones, as well as four strap ends of bronze foil with interwoven ornament); *Török* 1998, 44, pl. 32: 277: 3.
63. [333–350] AE Constans: Abony, grave 99 (together with melonseed-shaped beads); *Éber* 1902, 255, fig. 5; *Huszár* 1954, 65, pl. XX: 2.
64. [333–350] AE Constans, centenionalis: Cikó, grave 393 (at the neck of a female skeleton, together with two other pierced coins and melonseed-shaped beads); *Somogyi* 1984, 57, pl. 26: 393: 8.
65. [333–350] AE Constans: Holiare, grave 37 (together with glass beads); *Kolníková* 1973, 130; *Točík* 1968, 16, pl. XXX: 9.
66. [333–350] AE Constans (?), centenionalis: Jánoshida, grave 106 (together with glass beads and two earrings with glass bead pendants); *Erdélyi* 1958, 21, pl. XXII: 11.
67. [333–350] AE Constans, Siscia, worn and pierced: Nagypall, grave 76 (together with melonseed-shaped beads); *Kiss A.* 1977, 76, pl. XXX: 1.
68. [333–350] AE Constans, centenionalis, worn: Szebény, grave 190; *Garam* 1975, 84, fig. 14: 3.
69. [333–350] AE Constans, Siscia: Vasasszonyfa, grave 310 (female skeleton in a double burial); *Kiss G.* 2006, 221, fig. 3: 310: 3.
70. [333–350 or 337–361] AE Constans or Constantius II: Győr, grave 38 (in a multiple burial with two child and two adult skeletons); *Fettich* 1943, 15; *Huszár* 1954, 77, pl. XX: 169 (wrongly indicated as grave 38).
71. [333–350 or 337–361] AE2 Constans or Constantius II, Siscia, worn: Győr, grave 801 (together with another coin, a Roman fibula and a bronze belt mount); *Fettich* 1943, 41; *Huszár* 1954, 78, pl. XX: 184.
72. [335–337] AE Constantine the Great (GLORIA EXERCITUS): Sommerein, grave 31; *Daim/Lippert* 1984, 187, 223, pl. 24: 6.
73. [337–340] AE Constantine II, Siscia (LRBC 782): Halimba, grave 356 (together with glass beads); *Török* 1998, 51, pl. 37: 356: 4.
74. [337–340] AE Constantine II, Antioch: Pilismarót, grave 39 (female skeleton in a double burial, together with a bronze imitation of a Byzantine solidus); *Huszár* 1954, 92, pl. XX: 381; *Szabó* 1975, 256, 257.
75. [337–361] AE of the Constantinian dynasty: Győr, grave 562 (double burial of a woman and a child, together with a bronze earring); *Fettich* 1943, 33; *Huszár* 1954, 77, pl. XXII: 178.
76. [337–361] AE of the Constantinian dynasty: Győr, grave 707 or 767; *Fettich* 1943, 39; *Huszár* 1954, 77, pl. XXII: 183.
77. [337–361] AE of the Constantinian dynasty: Öskü, grave 17; *Huszár* 1954, 92, pl. XXII: 373; *Rhé/Fettich* 1931, 43.
78. [340–350] AE of the Constantinian dynasty: Bágyog, grave 2 (together with two stirrups and bronze belt fittings); *Huszár* 1954, 66, pl. XXIII: 17.
79. [341–346] AE Constans, Siscia (LRBC 792): Halimba, grave 268 (together with a flint stone, a flint steel, and a glass fragment); *Török* 1998, 43, pl. 29: 268: 2.
80. [347/348] AE Constans, nummus, Siscia: Vinkovci, grave 6 (inside the urn); *Sekelj Ivančan/Tkalčec* 2006, 148, 192, pl. 8: 6.
81. [350] AE Vetrano, Thessalonica: Cikó, grave 317 (together with another coin and glass beads); *Somogyi* 1984, 54, pl. 21: 317: 1.
82. [351–354] AE Constantius Gallus, Siscia: Jutas, grave 108; *Huszár* 1954, 108, pl. XXII: 215; *Rhé/Fettich* 1931, 24.
83. [351–354] AE Constantius Gallus: Romonya, grave 41; *Kiss A.* 1977, 112, 113.
84. [351–354] AE Constantius Gallus: Szeged, grave 102 (perhaps in a purse, together with two other coins, a flint steel, and flint stones); *Salamon/Sebestyén* 1995, 95, pl. 15: 102: 1.

85. [363–364] AE Jovian, Siscia (LRBC 1267): Halimba, grave 144 (together with melonseed-shaped beads); *Török* 1998, 31, pl. 15: 144: 4.
86. [364–367] AE Valentinian I, Siscia: Halimba, grave 312 (together with melonseed-shaped beads); *Török* 1998, 47, pl. 34: 312: 3.
87. [364–378] AE centenionalis, Valentinian dynasty: Cikó, grave 36 (together with glass beads); *Somogyi* 1984, 43, pl. 5: 36: 1.
88. [364–378] AE Valentinian dynasty: Halimba, grave 71; *Török* 1998, 24, pl. 8: 71: 2.
89. [364–378] AE Valentinian dynasty: Halimba, grave 350; *Török* 1998, 50, pl. 36: 350: 5.
90. [364–375] AE Valentinian I, centenionalis, Siscia: Cikó, grave 35; *Somogyi* 1984, 43, pl. 4: 35: 2.
91. [364–375] AE Valentinian I, Siscia: Győr, grave 304 (together with melonseed-shaped beads); *Börzsönyi* 1904, 24; *Huszár* 1954, 77, pl. XXIII: 174.
92. [364–375] AE Valentinian I, Thessalonica (?): Győr, grave 313 (together with a bronze earring and two belt buckles); *Fettich* 1943, 25; *Huszár* 1954, 77, pl. XXIII: 175.
93. [364–375] AE Valentinian I, Siscia: Győr, grave 801 (together with another coin, a Roman fibula and a bronze belt mount); *Fettich* 1943, 41; *Huszár* 1954, 78, pl. XXIII: 185.
94. [364–375] AE Valentinian I: Nové Zámky, grave 327; *Čilinská* 1966, 66, pl. LIV: 1; *Kolníková* 1973, 130.
95. [364–375 or 364–378] AE Valentinian I or Valens, centenionalis: Jánoshida, grave 242 (together with melonseed-shaped beads); *Erdélyi* 1958, 41, pl. XXXIX: 14; *Huszár* 1954, 80, pl. XXIV: 212.
96. [364–378] AE Valens, centenionalis: Cikó, grave 393 (together with two other coins and melonseed-shaped beads); *Somogyi* 1984, 57, pl. 26: 393: 6.
97. [364–378] AE Valens, Aquileia: Győr, grave 347 (together with two bronze earrings and two bronze finger-rings); *Fettich* 1943, 26; *Huszár* 1954, 77, pl. XXIV: 176.
98. [364–378] AE Valens: Pilismarót, grave 10; *Erdélyi/Salamon* 1980–1981, 155, pl. 4: 10.
99. [364–378] AE Valens, pierced: Regöly, graves 11, 12, or 13; *Kiss G.* 1984a, 129, 130, pl. 56: 11–13: 2.
100. [364–378] AE Valens: Regöly, grave 16 (together with three other coins and glass beads); *Kiss G.* 1984a, 130, 259, pl. 57: 16: 6.
101. [364–378] AE Valens: Szeged, grave 102 (perhaps in a purse, together with two other coins, a flint steel, and flint stones); *Salamon/Sebestyén* 1995, 95, pl. 15: 102: 1.
102. [367–373] AE Valentinian I, centenionalis, Siscia (RIC 15a/X): Leobersdorf, grave 9 (near the grave); *Daim* 1987, 218, pl. 8: 4.
103. [367–375] AE3 Gratian, Siscia (RIC 14c/X): Halimba, grave 66; *Török* 1998, 23, pl. 8: 66: 2.
104. [367–383] AE Gratian, Siscia: Győr, grave 211 (probably in a pouch, together with two other coins, strap ends and a three-edged arrowhead); *Fettich* 1943, 22; *Huszár* 1954, 66, pl. XXIV: 171.
105. [375–392] AE Valentinian II, centenionalis: Szebény, grave 113 (together with another coin); *Garam* 1975, 81, fig. 9.
106. [379–395] AE Theodosius I, Thessalonica: Győr, grave 211 (probably in a pouch, together with two other coins, strap ends and a three-edged arrowhead); *Fettich* 1943, 22; *Huszár* 1954, 66, pl. XXIV: 172.

Undetermined

1. Andocs, grave 43; silver, 2 denarii, very worn; *Garam* 1972, 140, fig. 13: 7, 8.
2. Andocs, grave 97 (with the skeleton of a child, together with melonseed-shaped beads); bronze (?); *Garam* 1972, 154, fig. 18: 41.
3. Andocs, grave 105 (with the skeleton of a child, together with beads); silver, denarius, pierced; *Garam* 1972, 156, fig. 19: 23.
4. Cikó, grave 271 (at the neck of a female skeleton, together with melonseed-shaped beads); centenionalis, 4th c., pierced; *Somogyi* 1984, 52, pl. 19: 271: 1.
5. Cikó, grave 464 (on the right side of a female skull, together with another coin); bronze, pierced; *Somogyi* 1984, 61, pl. 31: 464: 3.
6. Cikó, grave 477 (at the neck of a female skeleton, together with glass beads); bronze, centenionalis, pierced; *Somogyi* 1984, 61, pl. 32: 477: 2.
7. Csengele, grave 56; bronze; *Török* 1980–1981, pl. VII: 8.
8. Dunaszekcső, grave 44 (on the right ilium of a female skeleton, together with another Celtic coin and a third, unknown coin, as well as a Roman bronze fibula); bronze; *Sós* 1966–1967, 106, fig. 49: 10.
9. Dvory nad Žitavou, grave 26 (on the left hand of the female skeleton); bronze, 4th c.; *Točík* 1983, 53, pl. 5: 6.
10. Erzsébet, grave 2 (on the right ilium of a male skeleton); bronze; *Kiss A.* 1977, 27.
11. Gátér, grave 39 (together with a glass bead); bronze, 4th c., worn and pierced, with traces of gilding; *Kada* 1905, 374.
12. Gátér, grave 286 (together with a Roman penannular fibula); bronze; *Huszár* 1954, 76; *Kada* 1908, 337.
13. Gyód, grave 59 (on the right ilium of a male skeleton, perhaps in a purse, together with flint stones); bronze, antoninianus 3rd c.; *Kiss A.* 1977, 41, pl. VIII: 1.
14. Gyód, grave 67 (next to the ilium of a male skeleton, perhaps in a purse, together with flint stones and a flint steel); bronze, 2 specimens; *Kiss A.* 1977, 41.
15. Gyöng, grave 104 (with a male skeleton); bronze; *Rosner* 1971–1972, 125.
16. Győr, grave 545 (in a double burial with a female and a male skeleton, together with cast belt fittings and melonseed-shaped beads); bronze; *Huszár* 1954, 77.
17. Győr, grave 596 (in a double burial with a female skeleton together with a bronze earring with grape-shaped pendant, glass beads and a needle holder made of bone); bronze, 2 specimens, 4th c., one of them pierced; *Fettich* 1943, 33.
18. Győr, grave 599 (by the shoulder); bronze; *Fettich* 1943, 33, 34.
19. Győr, grave 792 (with a male skeleton; perhaps in a purse, together with two strap ends and a belt mount of bronze foil, two three-edged arrow heads, and a bone mount); bronze; *Fettich* 1943, 40.
20. Halimba, grave 129 (on the left side of the skull); bronze, 3rd c., worn and pierced; *Török* 1998, 29, pl. 14: 129: 2.
21. Halimba, grave 426 (on the chest, together with melonseed-shaped beads); bronze, pierced; *Török* 1998, 57, pl. 54: 426: 8.
22. Halimba, grave 462 (on the chest, together with melonseed-shaped beads); bronze, pierced; *Török* 1998, 60, pl. 46: 462: 6.
23. Harkány, grave 6 (on the ilium of a male skeleton); bronze; *Kiss A.* 1977, 147, 148, pl. LX: 1.

24. Jászapáti, grave 273 (with a female skeleton); bronze; *Madaras* 1995, 73, pl. XXXVIII: 273: 2.
25. Káposvár, grave 17 (with a child skeleton); bronze, pierced; *Bárdos* 1978, 18, 52.
26. Káposvár, grave 43 (with a child skeleton); bronze, pierced; *Bárdos* 1978, 20, 56.
27. Káptalanfőti, grave 25 (with a child skeleton, together with a Roman knee fibula); bronze; *Bakay* 1973, 24, pl. XXXVII: 29.
28. Kölked, grave 411 (at the neck of a child skeleton, together with melonseed-shaped beads); bronze, pierced; *Kiss A.* 2001, 129, pl. 77: B 411: 3.
29. Lébény, house 373; bronze; *Takács* 2002, 171–176.
30. Nové Zámky, grave 440 (at the neck of a female skeleton, together with melonseed-shaped beads); bronze, 4th c., fragment; *Čilinská* 1966, 86, 87, pl. LXVI: 10.
31. Nyékládháza, grave 62; bronze; *Végh* 1964–1965, 185.
32. Öskü, grave 27 (under the neck); silver; *Rhé/Fettich* 1931, 45.
33. Öskü, grave 67 (under the neck); bronze, late 4th c.; *Rhé/Fettich* 1931, 50.
34. Pécel, grave 20 (together with melonseed-shaped beads); bronze; pierced; *Török* 1971, 92.
35. Pécs, grave 8 (between the knees of a female skeleton); bronze; *Nagy E.* 1994, 87, 91, pl. I: M 8: 1.
36. Pilismarót, grave 71 (at the neck and next to the right leg of a female skeleton); bronze, 6 specimens, hammered and pierced; *Szabó* 1975, 258, fig. 7: 4–9.
37. Rákóczi falva, grave 15 (at the neck of a female skeleton, together with melonseed-shaped beads); bronze; pierced; *Schmid* 2015, 132, pl. 15: 3; 54: 17.
38. Regöly, grave 16 (with a female skeleton, together with another coin and glass beads); bronze, 3 specimens, pierced; *Kiss G.* 1984a, 130, pl. 57: 16: 5, 7, 8.
39. Regöly, grave 114; bronze, 4th c.; *Kiss G.* 1984a, 135, pl. 76: 114: 1.
40. Romonya, grave 96 (with a female skeleton); bronze, 5 specimens, pierced; *Kiss A.* 1977, 132, pl. LVI: 4, 7.
41. Romonya, grave 131 (near the jaw of a female skeleton, together with melonseed-shaped beads); bronze (FEL TEMP REPARATIO); *Kiss A.* 1977, 116, pl. L: 3.
42. Romonya, grave 166 (at the neck of a female skeleton, together with melonseed-shaped beads); bronze, pierced; *Kiss A.* 1977, 117, pl. LI: 2.
43. Šaľa, grave 104; bronze, 4th c.; *Kolníková* 1973, 131.
44. Szebeny, grave 113 (at the feet); bronze, centenionalis, 4th c.; *Garam* 1975, 81, fig. 9.
45. Szebeny, grave 163 (in the right hand of a child skeleton); bronze; *Garam* 1975, 83, fig. 12: 6.
46. Szeged, grave 24 (on the left shoulder); bronze, 2 specimens, 4th c.; *Salamon/Sebestyén* 1995, 13, pl. 4: 24: 2.
47. Üllő, grave 174; bronze, centenionalis, 4th c.; *Horváth* 1935, 23, pl. X: 43.
48. Váchartyán, grave 20 (at the neck, together with glass beads, one of them melonseed-shaped); bronze, 4th c., worn and pierced; *Ferenczy* 1963, 86, fig. 6: 19.
49. Veľké Kosihe, grave 22 (on the left ilium, perhaps in a purse, together with flint stones and a flint steel, as well as a glass bead); bronze, 4th c.; *Čilinská* 1976, 444, pl. V: 11.
50. Vienna, grave 138 (with a child skeleton); bronze, pierced; *Streinz* 1978, 486.
51. Vienna, grave 273 (on the right side of the skull of a child skeleton); bronze; *Streinz* 1978, 496.
52. Virt, grave 2 (at the neck of a teenager skeleton); bronze, 4th c.; *Kolníková* 1973, 131.
53. Závod, grave 74 (together with another coin); bronze, pierced; *Kiss G.* 1984b, 167, pl. 92: 74: 6.

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Mince a hlavy cisárov

Spomienka na Rím v neskorovávarskom období

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SÚHRN

Každodennou súčasťou včasného stredoveku rozhodne nebola *romanitas*. „Romanizačné vplyvy“ sa až tak netýkali kvázi priameho, kontinuálneho prenosu textov, predmetov a myšlienok z Antiky, ale skôr reprezentovali „rozličné predstavy o Ríme“. Slovné spojenie M. de Jongovej – „Rím v mysli“ – zatiaľ nepriťahuje pozornosť bádateľov zaoberajúcich sa včasnostredovekou Európou. Tí sa skôr venujú otázkam kontinuity, podobne ako súčasní historici. Mnohí bádatelia považujú za samozrejmé, že oživenie klasickej vzdelanosti bolo v súlade so záujmom o Rímsku ríšu a nepriamo aj rímske dejiny. Takýto záujem sa dal očakávať predovšetkým vo vzdelaných kruhoch prepojených s kresťanskou kultúrou včasnostredovekej spoločnosti.

Naopak, príčina opätovného použitia rímskych predmetov ako sú napríklad mince, šperky, sklo alebo keramika, na územiach, ktoré sa nachádzali mimo vplyvu kresťanskej kultúry, sa často posudzuje len z ekonomického hľadiska. Barbari si istotne nepamätali Rím. Na prvý pohľad sa zdá, že mince, ktoré sa vyskytujú v neskorovávarských pohrebiskách naznačujú, že keď Avari prestali používať mince z Byzancie, pri obchodných transakciách sa spoliehali na „recyklované“ rímske mince. Avšak, pri bližšom pohľade zistíme, že väčšina z nich je prerazená, takže nemohli slúžiť ako prostriedok výmeny. Taktiež archeologické kontexty, v ktorých boli mince nájdené, vyvracajú myšlienky na ich ekonomický význam – mince sa často vyskytovali spoločne s inými rímskymi artefaktmi (sponami), pri ktorých ich ekonomická funkcia neprichádza do úvahy.

Rímske mince sa bežne ukladali do neskorovávarských hrobov 8. stor. v oblasti Karpatskej kotliny, ktorá sa rozprestiera na území dnešných štátov Chorvátska, Maďarska,

Rakúska, Rumunska, Slovenska a Srbska. To, že sa v hrobch vyskytujú len mince z určitého obdobia aj napriek tomu, že ostatné mince boli relatívne rovnako dostupné, vyvoláva otázky o tom, ako boli vnímané rímske dejiny v oveľa neskorších obdobiach. Črtajúce sa vzorce ich sortimentu naznačujú, že tieto artefakty boli cielene vybrané a nie iba nájdene pri náhodnom „kopaní“.

Predkladaná štúdia analyzuje spôsob uloženia mincí v hrobch a ich vzťah k pohlaviu a veku pochovaných, a taktiež ich vzťah k ostatnému hrobovému inventáru. Po prihliadnutí na vyššie zmienené súvislosti je možné konštatovať, že v avarskej spoločnosti predstavovali mince symbol moci.

Podľa vzoru cisárskeho portrétu na averze rímskych mincí zo 4. stor. sa v druhej polovici 8. stor. vyrábali opaskové kovania, ktoré znázorňovali hlavu cisára s diadémom, ako obraz vyjadrujúci odlišnú predstavu politickej autority spojenej s vysokým spoločenským postavením a mužskou identitou.

Avari si síce „pamätali“ Rím, ale nie ako kontinuálny prenos myšlienok a predmetov, ale ako píše C. Chazelle, skôr ako „rozličné predstavy o Ríme“. Viac sa zaujímali o cisársky Rím, kedy sa moc panovníka premietala do zobrazení na minciach. V neskorších obdobiach sa Avari zamerali na napodobovanie a reprodukovanie takýchto obrazov moci na opaskové kovania mužského odevu. Hoci takáto výzdoba opaskového kovania (zvyčajne z pozláteného bronzu alebo striebra) naznačuje, že išlo o symbol vyššieho spoločenského postavenia, zatiaľ neexistujú dôkazy, že samotné ukladanie rímskych mincí do hrobov bolo vymedzené pre určité spoločenské skupiny.

Obr. 1. Lokality zmienené v texte a appendixe s výskytom rímskych mincí. 1 – Abony (HUN); 2 – Alba Iulia (ROM); 3 – Andocs (HUN); 4 – Bágyog (HUN); 5 – Bogojevo (SRB); 6 – Bratislava (SVK); 7 – Čataj (SVK); 8 – Cífer (SVK); 9 – Cikó (HUN); 10 – Csengele (HUN); 11 – Dunaszekcső (HUN); 12 – Dvory nad Žitavou (SVK); 13 – Edelstal (AUT); 14 – Erzsébet (HUN); 15 – Fazekasboda (HUN); 16 – Gátér (HUN); 17 – Gyód (HUN); 18 – Gyöng (HUN); 19 – Győr (HUN); 20 – Halimba (HUN); 21 – Harkány (HUN); 22 – Hernádpusztá (HUN); 23 – Holiare (SVK); 24 – Jánoshida (HUN); 25 – Jászapáti (HUN); 26 – Jutas (HUN); 27 – Káposvár (HUN); 28 – Káptalanfő (HUN); 29 – Kölked (HUN); 30 – Komárno (SVK); 31 – Kechnec (SVK); 32 – Lébény (HUN); 33 – Leobersdorf (AUT); 34 – Moravský Svätý Ján (SVK); 35 – Nagypall (HUN); 36 – Nové Zámky (SVK); 37 – Nyékládháza (HUN); 38 – Öskü (HUN); 39 – Pécel (HUN); 40 – Pécs (HUN); 41 – Pilismarót

(HUN); 42 – Prša (SVK); 43 – Rákóczi falva (HUN); 44 – Regöly (HUN); 45 – Romonya (HUN); 46 – Šaľa (SVK); 47 – Sommerein (AUT); 48 – Štúrovo (SVK); 49 – Szebény (HUN); 50 – Szeged (HUN); 51 – Szellő (HUN); 52 – Szirák (HUN); 53 – Timișoara (ROU); 54 – Torčec (HRV); 55 – Űllő (HUN); 56 – Váchartyán (HUN); 57 – Vasasszonyfa (HUN); 58 – Veľke Kosihi (SVK); 59 – Vinkovci (HRV); 60 – Vienna (AUT); 61 – Virt (SVK); 62 – Závod (HUN); 63 – Zwölfaxing (AUT). Mapa vytvorená autorom.

Obr. 2. Komárno, hrob 23. Hrob ženy s koňom, s vybranými artefaktmi: dve neprerazené mince Konštantína Veľkého, zlatá náušnica, strmeň, kovanie konského postroja a keramická nádoba (podľa Čilinská 1982).

Obr. 3. Gátér, hrob 286. Vybrané artefakty súvisiace s neurčenou rímskou mincou. 1 – obrúč a rukoväť dreveného vedra; 2 – polkruhová spona; 3 – bronzová reťaz (podľa Kada 1908).

Obr. 4. Priestorové rozmiestnenie lokalít s nálezom opaskového kovania zdobeného portrétom rímskeho cisára. 1 – Alsópáhok (HUN); 2 – Brodzany (SVK); 3 – Čelarevo (SRB); 4 – Čunovo (SVK); 5 – Edelstal (AUT); 6 – Győr (HUN); 7 – Kiskundorozsma (HUN); 8 – Komárno (SVK); 9 – Kosoř (CZE); 10 – Leobersdorf (AUT); 11 – Lesencetomaj (HUN); 12 – Mosonszentjános (HUN); 13 – Sajópetri (HUN); 14 – Smrdelje (HRV); 15 – Szebény (HUN); 16 – Szeged (HUN); 17 – Székkutas (HUN); 18 – Szentes (HUN); 19 – Tinnye (HUN); 20 – Vasaszonnya (HUN); 21 – Zemun Polje (SRB). Mapa vytvorená autorom.

Obr. 5. Zemun polje, hrob 2. Vybrané artefakty opaskovej garnitúry z mužského hrobu. 1, 2 – veľké a malé nákončia opaska; 3 – okrúhle opaskové kovanie; všetky zdobené portrétom cisára (podľa *Dimitrijević 1966*). Mierka: a – 1, 2; b – 3.

Tabela 1. Rímske mince nájdené na stredo- a neskorooavarských pohrebiskách datovaných približne do 650–830 n. l. AE – bronz; AR – striebro; C – dieťa; F – žena; M – muž. Tabela vypracovaná autorom.