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## EPIGRAPHY AND PAPHYROLOGY

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### SOME CONSIDERATIONS ON THE PROVINCIAL POPULATION IN NORTHERN PANNONIA IN THE 6TH CENTURY IN THE LIGHT OF WRITTEN AND EPIGRAPHIC SOURCES

**Abstract:** In his paper the author deals with the latest period of Roman Pannonia and the problem of the survival of the provincial population. In the study, the author examined all kind of written and epigraphic combining with the archaeological evidence that led the author to the conclusion that provincial Roman population in Northern Pannonia, the modern Hungarian Transdanubia could hardly survive the Hunnic rule. The surprising rich material culture of the Keszthely culture has nothing do with the original Pannonians. The later, mainly Greek epigraphic data are (their list can be found in the Appendix) very sporadic, and they were brought to the Carpathian Basin as import or booties.

**Keywords:** *Late Antiquity, Early Medieval Period, History of Roman Pannonia, Classical Philology, Epigraphy*

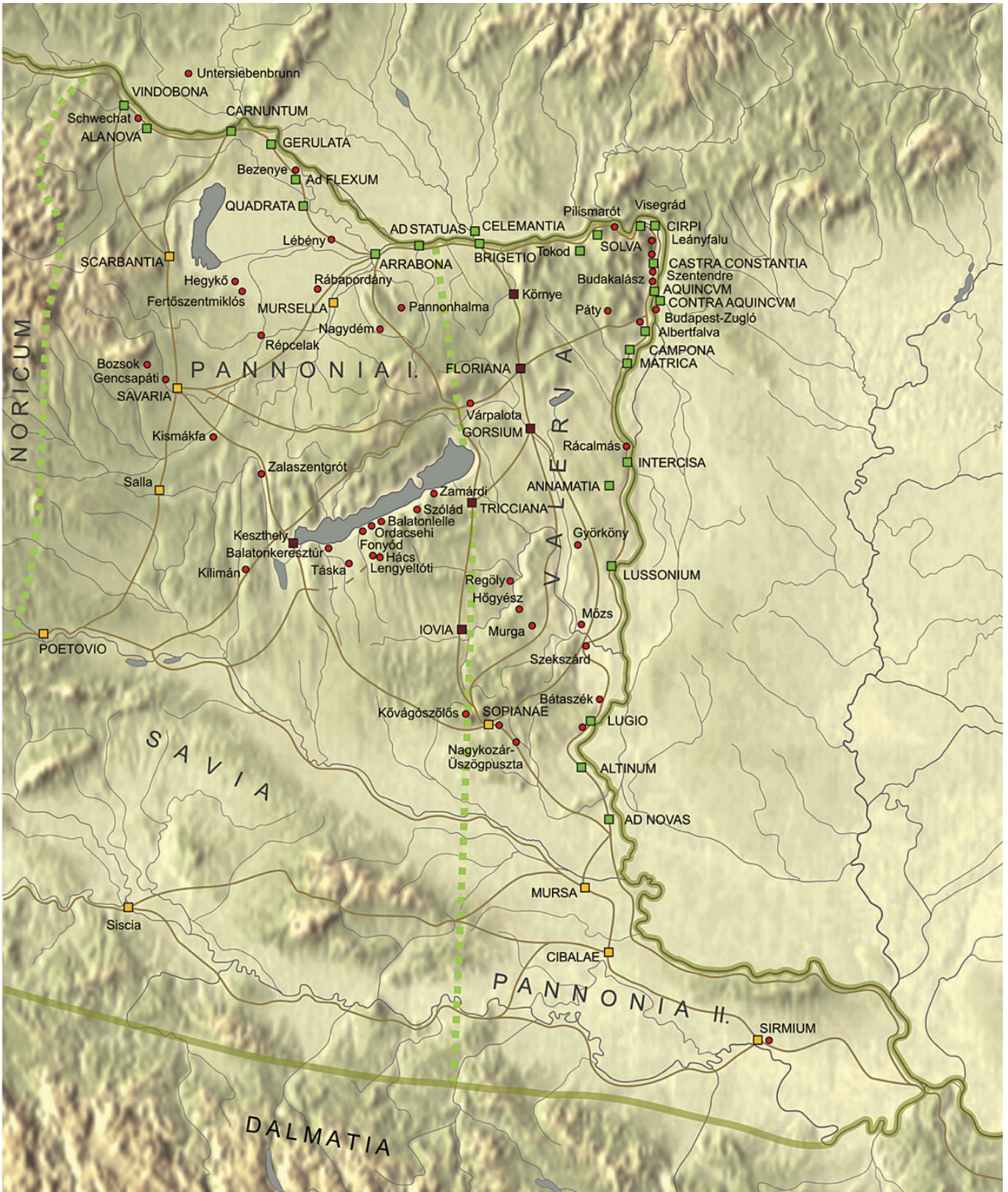
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It is a well-known fact that the Pannonian provinces had a very turbulent history from the very end of the 4th century, and finally, all the provinces were abandoned by the Romans in the 5th and 6th centuries, but in different periods (Fig. 1). Still under Diocletian's and Constantine's reigns, the two *Pannoniae* were divided into four provinces: the former Pannonia superior to Pannonia prima in the North and Savia, the former Pannonia inferior to Valeria in the North and Pannonia secunda with Sirmium. Following the administrative reform of the Roman Empire in the 4th century, the four Pannonian provinces became part of *diocesis Illyricum* together with Dalmatia and Noricum (*ripense* and *mediterraneum*).<sup>1</sup> The dioecesis was part of *praefectura Illyrici* or together with Africa belonged to the Italian prefecture controlled by the West (*Praefectura Italiae, Africae et Illyrici*). After Theodosius I's death, the latter division became permanent, i. e. Western-Illyricum (the dioecesis was called Pannonia or Illyricum) belonged to *praefectura Italiae*, Eastern-Illyricum (dioeceses Moesia/Dacia and Macedonia) survived as *praefectura Illyrici* controlled by Constantinople. This situation can be observed in the lists of the *Notitia Dignitatum* (Not. Dig. Occ. II,1-8, Or. III,1-6), but East Rome never gave its claim to Western Illyricum. In 437 a part of Illyricum, most probably province Pannonia II

<sup>1</sup> ALFÖLDI 1924, 69-75; STEIN 1925; MAZZARINO 1942, 1-59; HOFFMANN 1970, 208-215.



**Fig. 1.** Late Roman Pannonia (after Vida).

came under the control of Constantinople when Valentinian III and Theodosius II's daughter, Eudocia married.<sup>2</sup> From this year, this province or later a part of it was controlled by East Rome.<sup>3</sup>

The four Pannonian provinces were not given up at the same time. First, NE Pannonia, province Valeria was ceded to the Huns probably around 409 (Valeria's civilian governor, the praeses has no chapter in Notitia Dignitatum yet (and deleted from the index too<sup>4</sup>), that was followed by Pannonia

<sup>2</sup> KOVÁCS 2022.

<sup>3</sup> Nov. Praef. and 11.1, Hierocles Synecdemus c. XIX.

<sup>4</sup> Add also Zos. V.50.1; Greg. Tur. Hist. Franc. II.8.

I as it was given to Attila probably in 434/435 based on the treaty between Aetius and the Hun king.<sup>5</sup>

Exc. 7 ὄκει τὴν πρὸς τῷ Σάῳ ποταμῷ Παιόνων χώραν, τῷ βαρβάρῳ κατὰ τὰς Ἀετίου στρατηγοῦ τῶν ἐσπερίων Ῥωμαίων συνθήκας ὑπακούουσιν.

The written evidence given by Jordanes also shows that the Huns and other subdued tribes inhabited Pannonia<sup>6</sup>:

XLIII.226 *ab Dacia et Pannonia provinciis, in quibus tunc Hunni cum diversis subditis nationibus insidebant.*

Later, the Goth historian explicitly mentions the Sadagari, one of the Iranian allies of the Huns<sup>7</sup>:

Get. LIII.272 *qui interiorem Pannoniam possidebant.*

Pannonia secunda was occupied by the Huns in 441 following the successful siege of Sirmium during the war against East Rome. At the same time, Savia remained under Ravenna's control as a remark of Priscus Rhetor (Exc. 8.135=11.2 Blockley ... καὶ Κωνσταντιόλου, ἀνδρὸς ἐκ τῆς Παλιόνων χώρας τῆς ὑπὸ Ἀττίλα ταττομένης) implies if there was only a part of Pannonia under Attila's rule that there was another part that was not occupied by the Huns.<sup>8</sup> The Roman rule in this province was strengthened by a Roman demonstrative campaign in 455 under Avitus' reign.<sup>9</sup> After the fall of the Western Roman Empire in 476, Savia was obviously under Odoacer's and Theoderic's control, Pannonia secunda and Sirmium was under the rule of the Ostrogoths (456-473, 504-535) and Gepids (473-504, 535-567), later belonged to East Rome until 582 when the Avars successfully sieged and destroyed the town. In the former periods, only a small part (*pars*) of Pannonia, the territory of Bassianae was controlled by Constantinople as Justinian's Novellae clearly show (Nov. 11 Praef. *certae provinciae sub eius sint auctoritate, id est ... et pars secundae Pannoniae, quae in Bacensi est civitate*). Bassianae was most probably ceded by Theoderic to Anastasius and East Rome in the agreement of 510.<sup>10</sup> The other part of Pannonia secunda was called by Cassiodorus *Pannonia Sirmiensis* (Var. III.23.1, IV.13.1) or simply *Pannonia* (Var. III.24) in contrast to Savia with its new centre Siscia (Var. IV.49, V.14.1, V.15, IX.8.1, cp. Proc. Bell. V.15.26).<sup>11</sup> That is why the question is always arising which Pannonia was understood if a written source mentions the province concerning an event of the 6th century: the territory of the former province or only southern Pannonia, esp. Pannonia II?

On the other hand, neither Ravenna, nor Constantinople controlled northern Pannonia again, even if the Goths were settled down in Pannonia between 456 and 473 (Jord. Get. L.264, LII.270, Proc. Bell. III.2.39)<sup>12</sup> or later the Langobards under Justinian I in 547 including Savia and Pannonia II

(Proc. Bell. VII.33.10)<sup>13</sup> based on the formal permissions of Eastern Roman emperors. With the end of the Roman rule the Roman military units and civilian administration (that is well-known based on the lists of the *Notitia Dignitatum*<sup>14</sup> that shows the situation latest in 409) left northern Pannonia and never returned. Another question is what happened to the civilian population of Pannonia I and Valeria. In my paper I intend to deal with this problem. We have some epigraphic and written sources that show a significant part of the provincials fled to Northern Italy and Rome from the beginning of the 5th century, and another part of them was probably settled down in the region of Salona.<sup>15</sup> Provincials and/or Barbarians who settled down in the province earlier as for instance the *Marcomanni* (cp. Not. Dig. Occ. XXXIV,24) could have followed the Vandals, Alans and other Barbarians of the Carpathian Basin who moved to Gallia in 406. Jerome mentions at the very of his enumeration of the enemies who destroyed the West Pannonians too:

**Ep. CXXIII.15 (409 A.D.)** *Innumerabiles et ferocissimae nationes universas Gallias occuparunt. Quidquid inter Alpes et Pyrenaeum est, quod Oceano Rhenoque includitur, Quadus, Vandalus, Sarmata, Halani, Gipedes, Heruli, Saxones, Burgundiones, Alemanni, et, o lugenda respublica, hostes Pannonii vastaverunt.*

The territory of Pannonia from the 390s was several times destroyed by the armies heading to Italy or coming back (to Italy: 394, 401, 405, 407-408, back from Italy: 395, 403). These events necessarily implied the flee of the *Pannonii* or they could have become prisoners of war too. The provincials called *Illyriciani* are mentioned in several imperial edicts as the civilian administration had to take care about the status of these civilians as refugees or captives. In these, the personal freedom of the provincials and their redemption were discussed in detail (e.g. in the case of prisoners bought from barbarians: *barbari vendentes*), and their clothing and food were to be provided by the local municipal and church leaders. (Cod. Theod. X.10.25, Const. Sirm. XVI=Cod. Theod. V.7.2 (abridged version)). The decrees issued on 10 December 408 in the uncertain situation after Stilicho's death<sup>16</sup> were addressed in both cases to Theodorus PPO Italiae (PLRE II, Theodorus 9<sup>17</sup>), which excludes their relevance to the situation in Gaul (and Africa).<sup>18</sup> In the first case, the decree mentions only *Illyriciani* who were forced to flee due to expected barbarian incursions: *cum per Illyrici partes barbaricus speraretur incursus, numerosa incolarum manus sedes quaesivit externas, ille ut illyricianos omnes, quos patria complectitur vel alia quaelibet terra susceperit,*

<sup>13</sup> BÓNA 1956, 237-238; GRAČANIN 2007, 37-38 N. 141-142; SARANTIS 2009, 26-27; SARANTIS 2016, 95-101.

<sup>14</sup> Occ. I,40-42, 51, 82-83, 87, II,29-30, 32, IX,17-22, XI,4, 10-11, 22, 24-25, 39, 46-48, 86, XXXII-XXXIV.

<sup>15</sup> BRATOŽ 2011.

<sup>16</sup> The preface of the Const. Sir. XVI refers evidently to Stilicho: *Punitis auctoribus mali publici laesorum quidem dolori dedimus ultionem*. Cf. Cod. Theod. VII.16.1.

<sup>17</sup> FITZ 1993, 1347-1349 Nr. 976.

<sup>18</sup> SECK 1921, V, 379; ALFÖLDY 1926, 70 ANM. 3; MAZZARINO 1942, 77 N. 1; NAGY 1946, 255-256; VÁRADY 1969, 225-232; WILKES 1972, 386 N. 28; MÓCSY 1974, 348, RÉGÉSZETI KÉZIKÖNYV, 301; LOTTER 2003, 162 ANM. 608; BRATOŽ 2011, 597-599.

<sup>5</sup> Add also Chron. Gall. 116 Chron. min. I p. 660; KOVÁCS 2023, 173-197.

<sup>6</sup> JORDANES 2020, 325 n. 701.

<sup>7</sup> HARMATTA 1942.

<sup>8</sup> KOVÁCS 2023, 176.

<sup>9</sup> KOVÁCS 2020.

<sup>10</sup> STEIN 1925, 362-364; STEIN 1959, II, 156; WOLFRAM 1988, 322-323.

<sup>11</sup> GRAČANIN/BILOGROVIĆ 2016, 117-118.

<sup>12</sup> For their archaeological material see KISS 1979; KISS 1996.

*petere non liceat*. In the second one, provincial refugees and prisoners were mentioned in a war situation (*bellorum curis mixta ratio*), could also include residents of the northern Italian provinces (mainly Venetia et Histria). The mention of the war situation specifically identifies the barbarians with Alarich's Goths (but may also refer to earlier cases (especially Radagaisus' invasion)) who ravaged the territories of Pannonia and Noricum too. At the same time, the predicate of the following half-sentence refers to Pannonian and Norican prisoners: *quos barbaricae feritatis discursus captiva necessitate transduxerat*. Pannonian and other captives are mentioned in the works of Chromatius of Aquileia too (e. g. Serm. 12.2 *Unde Romani qui de captiuitate barbarica, dato pretio, liberantur, non empti, sed redempti dicuntur ... 12.3 Incurrerat enim homo dudum dominationem diaboli, ueluti barbaricam captiuitatem* cf. 37.2).<sup>19</sup>

Christian refugees took the relics of their local saints and martyrs with them. Saint Quirinus' relics from Savaria came to Northern Italy (Aquileia, Grado): ILCV 1910) and Rome. Here, they were kept in the mausoleum called Platonia attached to the San Sebastiano along the via Appia (cf. ILCV 1777 = ICUR 13276, ILCV 1973b = ICUR 9526) as the *passio* Quirini explicitly says: *Passio Quir. 8 Facta autem incursione Barbarorum in partes Pannoniae, populus Christianus de Scarabetensi urbe Romam fugiens, sanctum corpus Quirini Episcopi et Martyris afferentes, secum deduxerunt*.<sup>20</sup> The mention of Scarbantia is a mistake as he was buried in Savaria by the road leading to Scarbantia and in his acts the Christians of Scarbantia were mentioned too (*passio* Quir. 5, 7). The relics of Anastasia from Sirmium (cf. AÉp 2013, 1251) together with the relics of Saint Chrysogonus of Aquileia could have been taken to Rome to the *tituli Anastasiae* and *Chrysogoni* in this period too. The Pannonian origin of Anastasia can be seen in her *passio* (BHL 400-404) too that described several events happened in Sirmium (c. 19-26).<sup>21</sup> Latest at the beginning of the 5th century, the relics of the four (or rather five) Pannonian stonecutters were carried to Rome where there figures and cult could have been mixed with the Roman *cornicularii* called *sancti IIII coronati* (and the IIII fratres of Albano) (cf. Pass. IIII cor. 22).<sup>22</sup> Most probably in the same way, the relics of the martyr Pollio of Cibaleae were brought to Ravenna<sup>23</sup>, in whose honor a church was dedicated in the city (cf. ILCV 1959b, Venant. Fort. V. Mart. 4,683).<sup>24</sup>

As we have seen, the direction of escape of the Pannonian civilian population was primarily Italy, but many chose Dalmatia as well. It was not accidental that the Pannonian *gynaecae* (and the workers) from Bassianae and Iovia were transferred to Salona and Spalathum at the beginning of the 5th century (Not. Dig. IX,46 *Procurator gynaecii Bassianensis*,

*Pannoniae secundae - translati Salonis*, 48 *Procurator gynaecii Iouensis, Dalmatiae - Aspalato*). In the following centuries, several Pannonians from Sirmium fled to Salona: *clarissima femina civis Pannonia*: CIL III 9515 = ILCV 185 = Salona IV/1 193 = AÉp 1973, 403 (425 A.D.)<sup>25</sup>, CIL III 9576=ILCV 4455=Salona IV/1 103: *a Sirmio Salonas adducta est*, CIL III 1987=Salona IV/2 652 *Fl(avius) Fidentius ex comitibus Sirme(n)sis*, CIL III 9551=ILCV 1653=Salona IV/1 219 *sanct(a) abtissa Ioh(a)nna Sermensis* (612 A.D.).<sup>26</sup>

On the other hand, Cassiodorus' *Variae* that cites several edicts concerning Pannonia Sirmiensis and Savia clearly shows the survival and the coexistence of the provincial population with the Goths in Southern Pannonia. Here, they were simply called *Romani* or *provinciales* (sometimes *possessores*: V.14.1, V.15). The edicts Var. III. 24, IV.49 and IX.9 were issued to *universis Barbaris et Romanis per Pannoniam constitutis* and *universis provincialibus et capillatis defensoribus et curialibus Siscia vel Savia consistentibus* and *universis Gothis sive Romanis*.<sup>27</sup> In Savia the *antiqui Barbari* whoever they were married Roman women: Var. V.14. *Antiqui barbari, qui Romanis mulieribus elegerunt nuptiali foedere sociari*.<sup>28</sup> These Barbarians in Savia were Germans, perhaps Suebi: cp. the consciously used variant of the province name Savia/Suavia (i. e. land of the Suebi) in Jordanes' works and in the early medieval manuscript tradition of several other works. The Barbarians recorded their earlier arrival in the 6th century this way (before the Ostrogoths' rule in Italy and Savia).

Much more problematical is the case of Northern Pannonia (the modern Transdanubia and the Burgenland and the Vienna Basin in Austria).<sup>29</sup> As far as we know the civilian population was not evacuated by the Roman authorities when the Roman army left the province as it happened in Noricum ripense in 488 when Odoacer forced the Romans to leave the province and settle down in Italy (*vita Severini* XLIII.5, 7).<sup>30</sup> It must also be mentioned that there was an attempt to interpret the data of Anonymus Ravennas (IV.20-21) and the Tabula Peutingeriana (Seg. V2-VI.1) concerning a *Media provincia* identified by the former with Valeria.<sup>31</sup> According to E. Tóth, this data would have concerned to re-established province Valeria SW of Savia and it could have been connected to the cession of the province to the Huns in 433. In my opinion, no contemporary or later source report on the existence of this Valeria media, the hypothesis must have been ruled out.<sup>32</sup> In my opinion, the 7th century geographer from Ravenna used the same source as the Tabula Peutingeriana did that mentioned a MEDIA PROVINCIA south of the Save as he did the same south of

<sup>19</sup> LIPPOLD 1996, 24-2R; BRATOŽ 2011a, 125-126.

<sup>20</sup> NAGY 1946; RONCAIOLI 1980-1981, 215-249; TÓTH 2002; TÓTH 2009, 187-189; KOVÁCS 2016, 173-178.

<sup>21</sup> DIEFENABCH 2007, 367-369; LAPIDGE 2018, 54-87; KOVÁCS 2019.

<sup>22</sup> KOVÁCS 2016, 185-201 (with further references).

<sup>23</sup> DEICHMANN 1969, 26, 45; DEICHMANN 1974, 360; KOVÁCS 2016, 171-172.

<sup>24</sup> KOVÁCS 2016, 184-185. It cannot be excluded that Demetrius' and Anastasia's cult reached Ravenna from Thessalonica and Constantinople: ILCV 1959, Agn. Lib. pont Rav. 2, 23, cf. F. W. DEICHMANN 1969, 16, 31; DEICHMANN 1974, 301-303; KOVÁCS 2016, 169, 210-211.

<sup>25</sup> WILKES 1972.

<sup>26</sup> WILKES 1972.

<sup>27</sup> GRAČANIN 2011, 77-101; GRAČANIN-ŠKRGLJKA 2014; GRAČANIN 2017.

<sup>28</sup> ŠAŠEL 1979; CASTRITIUS 1995.

<sup>29</sup> TÓTH 1976; TÓTH 1987.

<sup>30</sup> *Onoulfus vero, praecepto fratris admonitus, universos iussit ad Italiam migrare Romanos. ... dum universi per comitem Pierium compellerentur exire ... cunctis nobiscum provincialibus idem iter agentibus, qui oppidis super ripam Danuvii derelictis per diversas Italiae regiones varias suae peregrinationis sortiti sunt sedes*. Add also Orig. gent. Lang. 3, Paul. Diac. Hist. Lang. I.19; LOTTER 1976, 118, 159-165; LOTTER 2003, 28, 168-169.

<sup>31</sup> TÓTH 1989, 197-226.

<sup>32</sup> KOVÁCS 2020a.

the Alps in Italy. Here, another MEDIA was mentioned (Seg. IV.2-3: corrupted name of Raetia?). Anonymus intended to interpret his source and he identified this Media with Valeria that would have located between the two Pannonias.<sup>33</sup> If my argumentation is correct the civilian population of northern Pannonia was not forced to leave the province and the archaeological finds of the Eastern Pannonian cemeteries show the survival of the civilian population even in the Hun period of the province (409/434-454). Based on the analysis of the cemeteries of Csákvár (with more than 1900 graves) and Szabadbattyán, L. Barkóczi and Á. Salamon separated two periods<sup>34</sup>: 1. Csákvár-type (from the end of the 4th century: with for instance polyhedron earrings, lunula pendants, Roman glass finds or typical late Roman-German bone combs, burnished and lead-glazed, pottery, brooches with inverted foot) 2. Szabadbattyán-type here there are Roman finds together with typical Hunnic and German ones: as cicada or plate brooches, nomad mirrors and there are deformed skulls too.<sup>35</sup> The most convincing finds were found in the grave Nr. 734 of the Csákvár cemetery where solidi of Johannes, the usurper (423-425), Honorius and Theodosius II were found.<sup>36</sup> They were most probably donated to the person when 60,000 Huns went to Italy to help the usurper against the Eastern Roman troops in 425.<sup>37</sup> The sources explicitly mention the Hun auxiliaries went home with rich gifts (Philostorgios XII.14).<sup>38</sup> A similar cemetery was used in Solva-Esztergom where again the solidi of Theodosius II were found.<sup>39</sup> The survival of the Roman population and the co-existence with the Huns can be supposed in the late Roman fort of Tokod too where the local grey pottery with Christograms was prepared even in the first half of the 5th century.<sup>40</sup> The problem is the question of the abandonment of these cemeteries because as it seems they did not survive the middle of the century. The written sources hardly mention the Transdanubia in the 5th and 6th century. Because of the uncertain situation following Attila's death in 453 and the collapse of the Hun Empire, Saint Severinus first went to the former Roman auxiliary fort Asturis/Zwentendorf?<sup>41</sup> in the border of Pannonia and Noricum (Eug. v. Sev. Comm. I.1)<sup>42</sup>: *de partibus Orientis adveniens in vicinia Norici Ripensis et Pannoniorum parvo, quod Asturis dicitur, oppido morabatur*. Here, he started to preach to the inhabitants among whom Eugippius mentions presbyteri, members of the clerus and

civilians (but no soldiers): I.2 *presbyteris, clero vel civibus requisitis coepit ... praedicere*. Severinus left the former fort (called already civilian *oppidum* (I.1, 3), the inhabitants *oppidanei*: I.5) very soon, predicted the destruction of the settlement by the Barbarians and went to Commagene/Tulln (I.3). Eugippius clearly shows the survival the civilian population in Western Pannonia too, esp. in walled towns and former military forts where already civilians lived. On the other hand, the situation of Noricum cannot be compared to Pannonia as the life of the Romans and the Rugi federates was much calmer and the survival of the province organization must be supposed (for instance, the remnants of earlier military units stayed: v. Sev. IV.1, XX.1-2, XLIII.2). This data can explain why the earthquake in Savaria in 456 (observed in Commagene too: v. Sev. II.1) that destroyed the town became known in the Empire (Fast. Vind 577 Chron. min. I p. 304).<sup>43</sup>

Several Pannonian *clerici* went to the West as refugees or captives in the second half of the fifth century. One of them was Antonius of Lerinum who lived as a monk on the isle of Lérins in southern Gaul.<sup>44</sup> In his biography written probably between 513 and 521<sup>45</sup>, Ennodius explicitly mentions that he was born in *civitas Valeria* near the Danube in the middle of the 5th century (v. Ant. 7)<sup>46</sup>, later (at the age of 8) he went to Noricum of Saint Severin, but after his death in 488 he fled to Italy. The exact meaning of the term *civitas* has been heavily disputed as it was interpreted as one of the towns of Valeria (Aquincum or Sopianae (Schwarz)) or it was unnecessarily corrected to Lauriacum (Lotter) or identified with Valeria in Dacia ripensis (Tóth)<sup>47</sup>. In my opinion, the correct answer was already given by R. Egger who argued that the word *civitas* should be translated as 'province' or 'part (urban territory of one or more towns) of a province' as the Greek πόλις Νορικόν of Procopius Bell. VII.33.10 and *civitas Noricum* of the *Expositio totius mundi* 57. In our case, we should translate the passage as Antonius was born in province Valeria. The dispute can be solved with a later passage of the biography (v. Ant. 12-13) where Ennodius perfectly describes the destruction of Roman Pannonia (and Noricum) in the 470s-480s even if the enumerated Barbarian tribes do not agree apart from the *Heruli*.<sup>48</sup> As far as I know this is the latest mention of province Valeria with the exception of Anonymus Ravennas. According to his sarcophagus' (6th century) verse inscription on the lid from the 10th c. (Vienne, Église Saunt Maurice),

<sup>33</sup> Rav. IV.20 *Item iuxta ipsam Pannoniam est patria que dicitur Valeria, que et Media appellatur Provincia, pro eo quod reiacet inter super scriptae Pannonias.*

<sup>34</sup> SALAMON/BARKÓCZI 1970; BARKÓCZI/SALAMON 1974-1975; SALAMON/BARKÓCZI 1982..

<sup>35</sup> In my opinion, the newer attempts have not been added anything new to this chronology and the continuity of a cemetery does not mean the continuity of the provincial population: VIDA 2011a; TAMÁSKA-HEINRICH/STRAUB, 2015, 617-651.

<sup>36</sup> NÁDORFI 1996, 96-99; BÓNA 1991, 48, 201-202.

<sup>37</sup> BÓNA 1991, 48.

<sup>38</sup> Cp. Tiro Chron. min. I p. 470, Chron. Gall. a. 452, 100 Chron. min. I p. 658, Sókr. VII.43.1, Cassiod. Chron. 1211, Greg. Tur. Hist. Franc. II.8, Paul. Diac. Rom. XIII.9, Prisc. Frag. 30.1. KOVÁCS 2023, 27-28, 32, 39, 42, 55-56, 66-67, 71, 116, 134.

<sup>39</sup> KELEMEN 2008, 161-170 and *solidi*: PROHÁSZKA 2011, 81 Nr. 86-87.

<sup>40</sup> MÓCSY 1981, 44-45, 80-82; PROHÁSZKA 2003; PROHÁSZKA 2008.

<sup>41</sup> GROH/SEDLMAYER 2010.

<sup>42</sup> *Tempore, quo Attila, rex Hunnorum, defunctus est, utraque Pannonia et cetera confinia Danuvii rebus turbabantur ambiguis. ...* BÓNA 1973, 298-299, 307-311, 318-319.

<sup>43</sup> *et eversa est Sabaria a terrae motu VII idus Septembr. die Veneris.* TÓTH 2014.

<sup>44</sup> PLRE II, Antonius 6, PCBE Italie, 161 Antonius 5, BALICS 1901, 187-189; BALOGH 1929, 485-488; BALOGH 1932, 147-150; VÁRADY 1969, 346-347; LOTTER 1976, 225-235; ROHR 2001, 109-122; LOTTER 2003, 21, 35-36; GIOANNI 2007, 145-146; TÓTH 2009, 184-186; BRATOŽ 2011, 606; HUDÁK 2019, 121-123.

<sup>45</sup> For its date see GIOANNI 2007, 140-146.

<sup>46</sup> *Benedicitur indiuisa Trinitas Deus noster, qui seruum suum Antonium tanta uirtutum dote sublimem circa Danubii iuminis ripas in ciuitate Valeria Secundino patre lucis huius ianuam iussit intrare.*

<sup>47</sup> This hypothesis must be excluded as Dacia ripensis belonged to East Rome.

<sup>48</sup> *Sed iam peccatorum consummatio Pannoniis minabatur excidium, iam succisa radice substantiae regionis illius status in pronum deflexerat. per incursum enim variarum gentium cotidiana gladiorum seges messem nobilitatis abscederat et fecundas humani germinis terras ira populante desolabat. iam Franci Heruli Saxones multiplices crudelitatem species beluarum more peragebant.* Cp. VÁRADY 1969, 347; LOTTER 2003, 166-167.

Leonianus of Vienne who was born in Savaria in the second half of the 5th century was taken by the Barbarians to Gaul as captive.<sup>49</sup> After his arrival there he took up the monastic life for more than forty years, first at Autun and then at Vienne in Burgundian territory (Vita sancti Eugendi abbatis 127-128=Vita patrum 3.5-6<sup>50</sup>), died in the first half 6th century as abbot. Martinus<sup>51</sup> who was the bishop of Braga in Hispania for 30 years was born still in Pannonia too (*Pannoniis genitus*: (IHC 349a=MGH AA VI/2 p. 195=ICUR II, p. 269=ICERV 275=C. W. Barlow, *Martini episcopi Bracarensis opera omnia*. New Haven 1950, 283 and Venant. Fort. Carm. V.2,11: *Pannoniae ... veniens e parte Quiritis*).<sup>52</sup> In another verse inscription attributed to him from his basilica, a catalogue of Danubian Barbarians who would have been converted by him were also enumerated. Among them the *Pannonii* were also mentioned (cp. the very similar list of Sidonius Apollinaris (V.474-478), but the entire list seems to be fictive. Venantius Fortunatus' expression *Pannoniae ... veniens e parte Quiritis*, i. e. from the Roman part of Pannonia was interpreted by F. Curta as he would have born from Pannonian Roman descendants, most probably wrong.<sup>53</sup>

Based on the written sources, the last Pannonians could have left northern Pannonia and Savaria together with the Langobards in 568 as Paulus Diaconus explicitly mentions *Pannonii* and *Norici* among other elements even if several peoples of his catalogue seems to be fictive as the

<sup>49</sup> FAVREAU/MICHAUD/MORA 1990, 132-134 Nr. 130.

1 *Hic sacer tumulo degit abbas Leonianus*

...

7 *hic vir sanctitate conspicuus in hac urbe Viennensi abbas extitit Sabarie Pannonie ortus, a barbaris captivatus, Gallorum finibus devenit Augustoduni prima deinde Vienne claustrum peculiaris celle conclusus*

Cp. BALOGH 1932, 145-146; MARTINE 1968, 64-66, 376-378; VAN DER STRAETEN 1972, 119-136, esp. 121; KISS/TÓTH/ZÁGORHIDI CZIGÁNY 1998, 73; BRATOŽ 2011, 606.

<sup>50</sup> The vita Eugendi 128 iterates his Pannonian origin: *Fuit namque sanctus iste de Pannonii. quondam exspargente barbaria et in Gallii vinculo captivitatis abductus.*

<sup>51</sup> Around 510-579, see also Greg. Tur. Hist. Franc. V.37, De virt. s. Mart. I.11, Venant. Fort. Carm. V.2,21.

<sup>52</sup> Epitaphium eiusdem

*Pannoniis genitus transcendens aequora vasta  
Galliciae in grernium divinis nutibus actus  
Confessor Martine, tua hac dicatus in aula,  
Antistes cultum institui ritumque sacrorum,  
Teque, patrone, sequens famulus Martinus eodem  
Nomine, non merito, hic in Christi pace quiesco.  
Versus beati Martini Dumiensis episcopi in basilica  
11 Immanes variasque pio sub foedere Christi  
Adsciscis gentes: Alamannus, Saxo, Toringus,  
Pannonius, Rugus, Sclavus, Nava, Sarmata, Datus,  
Ostrogothus, Francus, Burgundio, Dacus, Alanus  
te duce nosse deum gaudent, tua signa Suevus  
admirans didicit, fidei quo tramite pergat.*

Cp. BALICS 1901, 189-190; BALOGH 1929, 490-494; BALOGH 1932, 153-158; ŠAŠEL 1978; FARMHOUSE ALBERTO 1994, 215-223; LOTTER 2003, 32 ANM. 100, 139, 169; BRATOŽ 2011, 607; MATHISEN 2011, 26, 30; CURT 2020; KOVÁCS 2022, 479-480.

<sup>53</sup> In my opinion, the latter opinion must be refuted as in his verse Venantius enumerates the apostles who went abroad to preach as Paul, Matthew, Thomas, Bartholomew, Andrew, and Martin of Savaria. The same did Martin of Braga who came (*veniens* (cp. the gerundium *penetrando* concerning Paul) from Pannonia to Galicia). Despite Curta's opinion, province Pannonia II existed until 582. Curta rejected the Pannonian birth of Martinus despite his epitaph's first line too. Isidore in his *De viris illustribus* 22 mentions that Martin came from Eastern Roman Empire (*ex Orientis partibus navigans in Galliciam venit*) as one can find the same in the epitaph and Pannonia II belonged to Constantinople as I mentioned above.

Sarmatians.<sup>54</sup> One of the last signs of provincials in northern Pannonia concern to Vigilius, who most probably as the bishop of Scarabantia took part in the councils of Grado in 572-577 and 579 (but not mentioned in 590) (MGH Conc. II/2 Conc. Mantuanum a. 827 p. 588, Chron. patr. Grad. 1 (MGH SRLI p. 393): *Caravaciensis*, Cron. pat. Aqui. 7,19-8,1, Ist. Ven. I.11: *Scaravaciensis*).<sup>55</sup> The toponym Scaravacia can only be identified with Scarabantia/Sopron. If it is correct, it can be supposed that the Roman town was a bishopric see even in the 6th century and the inhabitants fled to Italy latest with the Langobards.

It seems the survival of the provincials cannot be supposed following the end of fifth century in most parts of Northern Pannonia. This observation is also confirmed by the fact the continuity of Roman toponyms and hydronyms cannot be seen in the Eastern and middle parts of the Transdanubia, but there was no later continuity in Scarabantia or Savaria either. The survival of Savaria's name as Sabaria and its re-foundation in the 9th c. Carolingian Pannonia and medieval Pannonia can be explained by the fact that Saint Martin was born here, but it means only the continuity of the settlement and the toponym.<sup>56</sup> The only area where the survival of hydronyms can be observed is in the SW where for instance the names of rivers Arrabona/Rába or Salla/Zala is continuous even today. The Roman name of the lake Balaton, *lacus Pelso* was still known in the 9th century (as Pelissa (Conversio 6) or Bilisaseo (UB I 15)). It cannot be excluded either that the name of the Hungarian town Keszthely may have come from the Latin *castellum* through the Slav word "kostel" and it would concern the late Roman inner fort of Fenékpuszta in the near.<sup>57</sup> In this region, it can also be seen that the settlement area of the Huns, the Langobards or the Avars did not include most parts of county Zala.<sup>58</sup> Based on these facts, some kind of survival of the *Pannonii* can be supposed here., esp. in the marshy areas of the Kisbalaton where the late Roman Fenékpuszta and the Carolingian centre Zalavár/Mosaburg in the 9th century are located.

In this point of view, the most important and unsolved problem is the relation of the Pannonian provincial population and the Romanized people of the so-called Keszthely culture that existed more or less in the period between 568 and 630 AD in the region of Keszthely in a radius of approx. 30 kms and in the vicinity Sopianae-Pécs in County Baranya.<sup>59</sup> The centre of this culture was the abandoned late Roman inner fort at Fenékpuszta built under Constantius II or Valentinian I.<sup>60</sup> It is sure that civilian population of the region moved

<sup>54</sup> Hist. Lang. II.26 *Certum est autem, tunc Alboin multos secum ex diversis, quas vel alii reges vel ipse ceperat, gentibus ad Italiam adduxisse. Unde usque hodie eorum in quibus habitant vicos Gepidos, Vulgares, Sarmatas, Pannonios, Suavos, Noricos, sive alii huiusmodi nominibus appellamus* Cp. POHL 2018, 112-113; LOTTER 2003, 91-92 Anm. 319; BORGOLTE 2013; POHL 2018, 276; CURTA 2020, 133, n. 85; KOVÁCS 2022, 467.

<sup>55</sup> TÓTH 1974; BRATOŽ 2011, 608; POHL 2018, 276.

<sup>56</sup> TÓTH 1976, 112-113; KISS/TÓTH/ZÁGORHIDI CZIGÁNY 1998, 100-129.

<sup>57</sup> PAIS 1954.

<sup>58</sup> BÓNA 1991, 201-202; BÓNA 1984, 303, 322, Maps 24 and 25.

<sup>59</sup> ALFÖLDI 1926, 30-38, 56; KOVRIG 1958, 66-74; BARKÓCZI 1968, 310, SÁGI 1970; BÓNA 1970, 257 J. 122; BÓNA 1971, 296-297; BÓNA 1978, 149-150; BÓNA 1984, 322; SÁGI 1989, 301; STRAUB 1999; DAIM 2000, 57-59; BIERBRAUER 2004; KISS 2008; MÜLLER 2015; MÜLLER 2020.

<sup>60</sup> Summarily see SÁGI 1989, 261-317; HEINRICH-TAMÁSKA/STRAUB

inside the fort already in the 4th century, rebuilt an inner building as a three-aisled Christian temple with an apse (Building Nr. 14)<sup>61</sup> and its cemeteries south of the fort (Nr. I-III and IV) were in use until the 6th century<sup>62</sup>. The fort and the cemeteries were used by the mixed people of the Keszthely culture from the 6th century (probably earlier than the arrival of the Avars). The Christian basilica was rebuilt with three apses and the elite members of the culture were buried inside the fort in the vicinity of the earlier Roman horreum.<sup>63</sup> The others were buried in the southern cemetery near the SW fort wall (Nr. V). The late antique grave goods in both cemeteries are very similar, but golden ones are only from the horreum cemetery. In the graves circular box pressed brooches decorated with late antique or Christian scenes (eagle, Bellerophon, angels with cross, resurrection of Lazarus)<sup>64</sup>, large basket or polyhedron earrings, astragalus pins, styli decorated with pearls (Prismenkörper), snakehead bracelets, small gold tubes adorning hair-nets, stone-inlaid collar adornments<sup>65</sup>. On the other hand, there are Avarian (e. g. belts, earrings) and German (belts, brooches with bird head or S-shaped brooches) finds in the graves. Many scholars suppose that this mixed German and Romanized population can directly be linked to the population of the former province, others (as I. Kovrig and I. Bóna) explain the appearance of the culture with new elements who were deported as captives by the Avars from the Balkans (referring to the deportation of the inhabitants of Singidunum by the Avars in 596 (Theoph. Sym. VII.10, 11, see also later in 623: Chron. Pasch. P 390 p. 713, Nicephorus Patr. Hist. synt. p. 14, Georgius Monachus chron. p. 669, Theodorus Sync. V.10) and the settlement of the mixed people of the Bulgarian Kuvrat in the Avar Empire around 618-619 according to his detailed story in the *Miracula Sancti Demetrii* (II.5 195-196, 199)<sup>66</sup>. L. Barkóczi and Á. Salmon who dug the horreum cemetery attempted to identify them as a Byzantine enclave under the allied Lombards' rule.<sup>67</sup> The situation is not so clear as many finds of the culture are clearly Roman ones, but it seems highly unlikely that a local population with these rich golden finds would have survived the Hun, Gothic and Langobard rule as such a wealthy population never lived in the fort before. These finds including the box brooches can be found in the Balkans, Italy and Dalmatia, especially close parallels of the Bonosa-type styli (Caričin Grad) and the astragalus ones (Rifnik, Rakovčani) are known<sup>68</sup>, but the collar adornments are also very frequent in the late Antique world. In my opinion, a local development of these finds can be ruled out. The other finds are German and/or Avar origin that also refer to a mixed population. Another problem is that the Christian basilica had two periods (end of the 4th c., second half of the 6th c.) with two floor-levels, but in front of the apse postholes

of a hut were observed that cut the first terrazzo floor that contradicts the continuity.<sup>69</sup> It cannot be excluded that a small provincial population survived the 5th century and the Langobardian rule (their cemetery (Nr. IV) can probably be localized near the southern fort wall and the circular towers, but there are too many undatable graves without any grave furniture). On the other hand, they cannot be identified esp. with the leading elite of the Keszthely culture, and their material culture is not the result of a local development.<sup>70</sup> It must mean that other explanations should be preferred: as the theories concerning the captives deported from the Balkan provinces or fleeing provincials from the South following the arrival of the Slavs (Dalmatia and SW Pannonia: G. Kiss) or Romanized Langobards for instance from Friaul (I. Bóna, P. Straub) or Germans from the West (K. Sági).

Let us turn to the epigraphic sources now. There are more than 6,000 stone inscriptions from Roman Pannonia and more than 300 of them can be dated mainly to 4th, but some of them later.<sup>71</sup> The case of Sirmium clearly shows the epigraphic culture did not disappear from Pannonia. There are hundreds of early Christian inscribed marble tablet fragments from the northern and eastern Christian cemeteries of the town, but they can hardly be restored or dated as they are too small and too fragmentary.<sup>72</sup> Some of them is surely erected in the fifth century. Among them the epitaph of Marturius must be mentioned first (AÉp 2016, 1280) who was the cupbearer (*pincerna*) of Constantius II earlier, but he died at the age of 90 decades later after his active service. His grave tablet must be dated later (end of 4th or beginning of 5th century) than the earlier Christian inscriptions, because it was decorated already with a cross between A and Ω instead of the frequent Christograms. My most striking observation was during the works of the corpus of the Pannonian Greek inscriptions that how high is the ratio of the Greek inscribed marble fragments from Sirmium (CIGP<sup>3</sup> 129-138, 208-209, and in my new supplement, there are 7 new finds<sup>73</sup>). As most of part of them are marble fragments inscribed with typical late antique characters, they almost surely belong to the Christian inscriptions of Sirmium. Several of them can probably be dated later than the 4th century. Among them there is a lost funerary stela with a tympanum that was published by G. Marsigli with a drawing (Fig. 2).<sup>74</sup> The inscription read more or less correctly by him can probably be restored as follows:

Mnhm̄ion Ακυλίνου  
Πάτροκλου (?) WETRLI  
KOUΕ aĩsim[on ἦ]lqe. (?) οὐδ-  
ις ἀθάνατος ἐτῶν +++  
εἶτ' ἄρ' ἔζησε η̄g ἐτῶν  
τῆς φθόνος οὐκ ἔσοσεν

2009; HEINRICH-TAMÁSKA/ MÜLLER/STRAUB 2012.

<sup>61</sup> SÁGI 1961.

<sup>62</sup> MÜLLER 2010, 238-242.

<sup>63</sup> MÜLLER 2010, 242-245; MÜLLER 2020.

<sup>64</sup> GARAM 1993.

<sup>65</sup> Simplified version of an imperial insigne (cp. the find from Sadovice).

<sup>66</sup> CHARANIS 1970; LEMERLE 1979, 222-234; LEMERLE 1981, 137-162, esp. 143-145; SZÁDECZKY-KARDOSS 1998, 219-220; POHL 2018, 113, 326-339.

<sup>67</sup> BARKÓCZI 1968; SALAMON/BARKÓCZI 1971.

<sup>68</sup> VIDA 2011, 404-405; VIDA 2018, 100-101, 109-110.

<sup>69</sup> Bóna 1970, 252 j. 127; Bóna 1971, 296-297; Bóna 1978, 149-150. Contrast: SÁGI 1989, 295 (his argumentation seems to be incorrect).

<sup>70</sup> In this point of view, I follow the R. Müller's cautious position: see MÜLLER 2015.

<sup>71</sup> KOVÁCS 2004; KOVÁCS 2023a.

<sup>72</sup> MIRKOVIĆ 2017, 202-244; GUYON/FERJANČIĆ 2022, 117-150.

<sup>73</sup> KOVÁCS 2025.

<sup>74</sup> MARSIGLI 1726, T. 41; FEHÉR 2009, 419-424; MIRKOVIĆ 2017, 200 Nr. 192. With a slightly corrected reading: KOVÁCS 2025, 295-296 Nr. 6.

αὐτοῦ τὰ τὸ μνημῖον ἐ-  
 ποιησάν σο[ι] γοναὶ ἐκ τῆς σῆ-  
 j κόμης Σαβαμης ὁ-  
 ρῶν Δολυχέων  
 ΑΙΤΒ ἀν(ν)ώνης Αὐγούστο[υ]  
 Εὐφράτης ἀπὸ τῆς Suri-  
 aj. Αἰώνιον μνημόσι[ν]-  
 ον.

The tympanum was decorated with a cross that clearly shows Aculinus from Syria was Christian. Based on the cross moline (*crux anchorata*), the stela belongs to the latest inscriptions of the town. The latest one is a Greek inscription on a tile that must be dated to the period of one of the Avar sieges of Sirmium (between 568-582) as it is a prayer against the Avars (CIGP<sup>3</sup> 138):



Fig. 2. Belt buckle from Keszthely-Fenekpuszta (after Müller).



**Fig. 3.** The latest inscription from Pannonia - The tile from from Sirmium (after Szekeres).

Χρ(ιστὲ) Κ(ύρι)ε β(ο)ήτι τῆς πόλεος κὲ ρύζον  
τὸν Ἄβαριν κὲ πύλαξον τὴν Ῥωμανίαν|5 κὲ  
τὸν γράψαν(τα). Ἀμή(ν).<sup>75</sup>

This fact clearly shows the growing number of the Greek-speaking population in the fifth-sixth century in Pannonia II that also can be supposed based on the written sources.

Totally different situation can be observed in northern Pannonia. The problem is that no inscribed stone monument is known that was erected in northern Pannonia in the post-Valentinian period. The same can be observed in the case of the "Kleininschriften". With the exception of the above cited pottery finds decorated with Christograms with A and Ω from Tokod, they cannot be dated later than the end of the 4th century. In the following centuries (5th-7th c.) there are only 23 inscribed objects from the Hungarian Transdanubia (see in the Appendix).<sup>76</sup> Among them the bronze modius from Tarján can be connected to the Pannonian Christianity

of the 5th century as it mentions *ec(c)lesia cat(h)olica Sermienses (!)* (AÉp 1999, 1256). Most of them are imported/robbed Byzantine objects, rings, earrings, crosses, lead weights and lead seals that were found in Avarian or Keszthely culture graves. Only three of them were inscribed here. Two of them were found at Fenékpuszta. The first one is the above-mentioned golden hair pin with the inscribed Latin cognomen *Bonosa* from grave Nr. 5 of the horreum cemetery (AÉp 1968, 426) that was probably the name of the girl who was buried here.<sup>77</sup> The stylus was imported as we could see, but the inscription can be interpreted as 'local product'. It was prepared by an unpracticed engraver (cp. the curving parts of the B or the unfinished horizontal hasta of the A). First, the end points of the letters were punched, next he engraved the characters. The hypothesis concerning of the survival of the Latin-speaking *Pannonii* is mainly based on this written evidence. *Bonosa* is typical late antique Latin

<sup>75</sup> NOLL 1989; KODER 2018.

<sup>76</sup> For all kind of Byzantine finds in Avaria see GARAM 2001.

<sup>77</sup> BARKÓCZI 1968, 292-294; VIDA 2011, 404-405; VIDA 2018, 100-101, 250, 254.

Christian name used in Pannonia (earlier ones. Aquincum: Tit. Aq. 644, 987a) and the Balkans and in Dalmatia too (IMS I, 115 and Salona: CIL III 2264, 2274, 2283, 8745, ILJ 2541).<sup>78</sup> Unfortunately, the name does not decide her origin.

Another interesting new inscribed golden belt buckle came to light in chamber grave A of Fenékpusztaszentegyház about 800 m from the Roman fort where a German cemetery was revealed.<sup>79</sup> In the robbed grave a 40-60-year-old (190 cm high) leader of the group was buried with his spatha and other golden grave goods including his antique ring gem decorated with Pegasus.

The punched inscription can be found on the back side of belt buckle decorated with animal head (Fig. 3). First, the inscription was interpreted by W. Seibt, according to him, the last letter is a reversed ligature OY and the text would read in Greek as follows:

Αντικοῦ.

It was translated as Anticus, i. e. conqueror of the Slav Antes. The imperial adjective was used by several Byzantine Emperors from Justinian I (533) to Heraclius (613)<sup>80</sup>, and according to this interpretation, the owner would have been participated in a Byzantine campaign against the Antes as a federate. This interpretation has widely been accepted.<sup>81</sup>

Recently, R. Nedoma and Hans Taeuber interpreted the inscription differently.<sup>82</sup> Taeuber reads the inscription in Greek as follows: Αετικοῦ with the meaning it is “the property of Aetikos’.

On the other hand, Nedoma reads here German runes as follows: wi{t}’ik’o, i. e. the owner would have been called Witiko. In his interpretation, the third vertical stroke (according to him, an ‘T’ must be excluded. It must be added that even Nedoma preferred Taeuber’s reading.

In my opinion, all earlier readings are incorrect. The first letter is clearly a Greek ‘rho’, the second one is an ‘eta’, one can clearly the horizontal dots too. The last letter is a reversed OY or runic O. Based on these observations the text reads as follows:

PHTIKOY, with the meaning the property of Reticus, i.e. Raeticus.

It should mean the inscription was written in Greek, but the name is clearly Latin, and it could refer to the owner’s western origin, he came from the area of the former province Raetia. The other finds from the grave (esp. his spatha, comb, wooden cup decorated with Germanic animal style silver plates) show the German origin of the deceased person as well. The Avars fought successfully in this region against the Bavarians and Franks in 595-596 (Thuringians) (Paulus Diac. Hist. Lang. IV.11-12).<sup>83</sup> Raeticus can also be interpreted as a personal name, a derivative from the province name. It was not a frequent name, but it is attested even in late Antiquity

(ICUR 2786).<sup>84</sup> On the other hand, Raeticus was not a provincial, but he could have been settled in the territory of the former Raetia prima/Curiensis that ceased to exist with the Frank rule decades earlier (A.D. 537-548).<sup>85</sup>

The third inscription is scratched on the back side of an Avarian strap end was found in a grave of the cemetery of Zamárdi, but the following characters do not give us a meaningful text: ΠΙΠΠΙΩΦ.<sup>86</sup>

Summarily, we can conclude that the epigraphy and the written sources do not support the survival of provincials in northern Pannonia in 6th century either. Greek and Latin inscriptions and Germanic finds clearly show the co-existence of several ethnics in the Keszthely culture.

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- <sup>78</sup> KAJANTO 1963, 66; KAJANTO 1965, 123, 275.  
<sup>79</sup> MÜLLER 2000; MÜLLER 2014, 29, 133, 333.  
<sup>80</sup> RÖSCH 1978, 101-103, 167-168.  
<sup>81</sup> KISS 2008, 268; HEINRICH-TAMÁSKA/STRAUB 2009, 58, 117; MÜLLER 2010, 244 ANM. 1449; HEINRICH-TAMÁSKA/MÜLLER/STRAUB 2012, 37; MÜLLER 2015, 29-30; MÜLLER 2018, 110, 113; KARDARAS 2018, 273.  
<sup>82</sup> NEDOMA 2020, 765-769 SG-140.  
<sup>83</sup> SZÁDECZKY-KARDOSS 1998, 110-111.  
<sup>84</sup> GALLEGO FRANCO 1998; KAKOSCHKE 2009, 94, 100; RIB 1684 Vindolanda, AÉp 1996, 1128 Vindonissa, CIL III 5924=11911 Emetzheim, CIL VI 1057=1058=31234 Roma, CIL III 11968 Castra Regina, CIL VI 306361=ICUR 2786 Roma.  
<sup>85</sup> HEUBERGER 1931; REINDEL 1966.  
<sup>86</sup> HARMATTA 1996; FEHÉR 2021, 444-446.

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## APPENDIX

## Greek and Latin inscribed finds from Transdanubia from the Avar period (6th-8th c.)

1. Balatonfüzfő, County Veszprém. Silver cross. Literature: LÁSZLÓ 1968, 50.  
Φῶς ζωή.
2. Balatonfüzfő. Silver bulla. Literature: LÁSZLÓ 1968, 50.  
Πέτρος.
3. Bóly, County Baranya. Earring. Literature: PAPP 1962, 186. (FEIND 2010, Nr. 356).  
Ὀνωρ(ίου)
4. Bóly, County Baranya. Earring. Literature: PAPP 1962, 184.  
Φωτός
5. Csákvár County Fejér. Literature: JÓZSEF 1914, 186.  
Κω(νσταντινουπόλεως)
6. County Fejér. Weight. Literature: GOHL 1901, 195-196.  
Ἰωάν(ν)ου ν(ομίματα) η'
7. Jutas, County Veszprém. Weight. Literature: RHÉ/FETTICH 1931, 32.  
Ν(ομίματα) S.
8. Jutas, County Veszprém. Weight. Literature: FETTICH 1964, 89.  
Ν(ομίματα) γ'
9. See above.
10. Keszthely-Fenekpuszta, County Zala. Silver ring. Literature: LIPP 1886, 152 (FEIND 2010, p. 327 or Nr. 34)  
Ἡρακ(λί)ου or Ἀρκ(αρ)ίου
11. Keszthely-Fenekpuszta, County Zala. Golden hair pin. Literature: BARKÓCZI 1968, 292-294, AÉp 1968, 426.  
Bonosa
12. Kölked-Feketekapu, County Baranya. Nielo-inlaid gold bracelet. Literature: KISS 2001, 280-283.  
Stefanu(s)
13. Nagyharsány, County Baranya. Disc brooch. Literature: PAPP 1963, 115-116.  
Ἀρχάνγελε, βο[ήθη]
14. Pécs, County Baranya. Ring. Literature: ALFÖLDI 1934, 295 Taf. III/7  
Ὀνωρ(ίου)
15. Pókaszeptk, County Zala. Weight. Literature: Cs. SOÓS-SALAMON 1995, 61, 172.  
Ν(ομίματα) β'
16. Pókaszeptk, County Zala. Weight. Literature: Cs. SOÓS-SALAMON 1995, 61, 172.  
(Οὐ)γγ(ία) † α'
17. Pókaszeptk, County Zala. Glass weight. Literature: Cs. SOÓS-SALAMON 1995, 61, 172. (Feind Nr. 408)  
Προκ(οπί)ου or Κ(υ)πρ(ιαν)οῦ
18. Tarján, County Komárom-Esztergom. AÉp 1999, 1256.  
*Italico exagiato uncias XXIII / ec(c)lesiae cat(h)olic(a)e Sermienses (!)*
19. County Veszprém. Weight. Literature: FETTICH 1968, 163.  
Οὐ(γγία) α'
20. Zamárdi, County Somogy. Strap end. Literature: FEHÉR 2021, Nr. 1.  
ΠΙΠΙΩΦ or ΠΙΠ Ἴωφ
21. Zamárdi, County Somogy. Silver ring. Literature: BÁRDOS-GARAM 2014, 59, GARAM 2018, 147, 304.  
Ἡρωνίου
22. Zamárdi, County Somogy. Lead seal. Literature: BÁRDOS-GARAM 2009, 137.  
† BH[.]
23. Závod. Cross. Literature: WOSINSZKY 1896, 1032.  
Ἄγιος ἄγιος ἄγιος Κ(ύριος) Σαβαωθ.