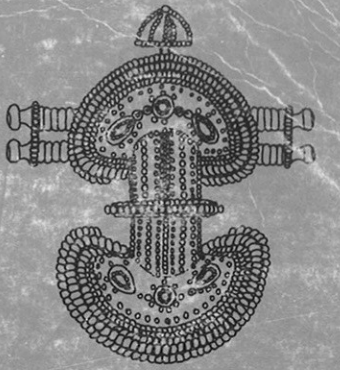


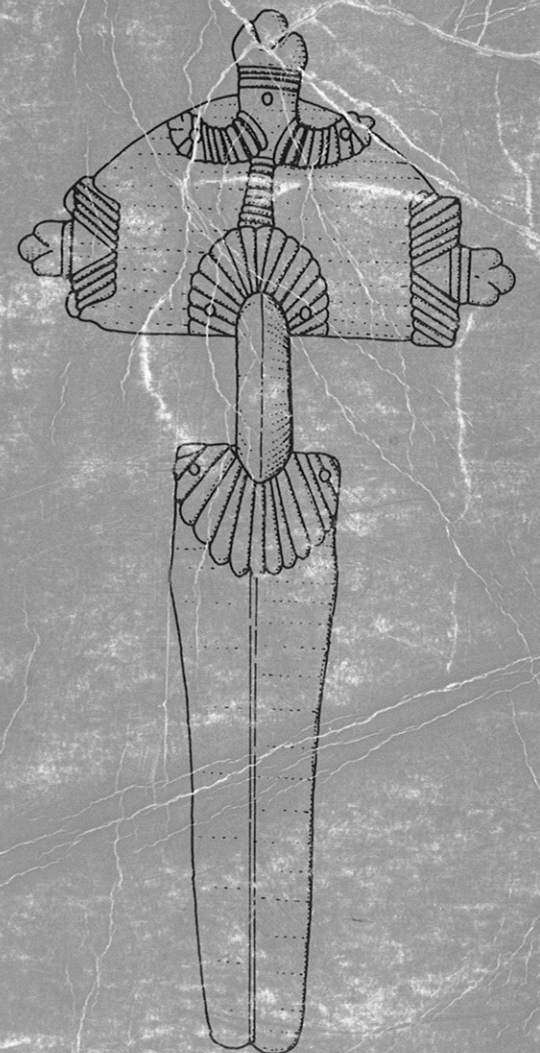
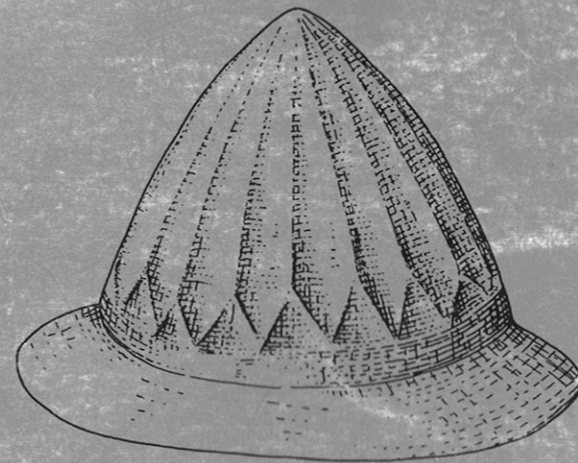
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PROBLEME DER RELATIVEN  
UND ABSOLUTEN CHRONOLOGIE  
AB LATÈNEZEIT  
BIS ZUM FRÜHMITTELALTER



KRAKÓW 1992

PROBLEME DER RELATIVEN UND ABSOLUTEN CHRONOLOGIE  
AB LATÈNEZEIT BIS ZUM FRÜHMITTELALTER

Materialien des III. Internationalen Symposiums:  
Grundprobleme der frühgeschichtlichen Entwicklung  
im nördlichen Mitteldonauegebiet

Kraków — Karniowice 3.-7. Dezember 1990

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dem Initiator der Tagungen  
„Grundprobleme der frühgeschichtlichen Entwicklung im Mitteldonauegebiet”,  
zum 50. Geburtstag gewidmet*



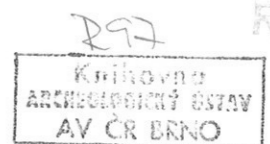
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## VORWORT

In der Zeit vom 3. bis zum 6. Dezember 1990 fand in Karniowice bei Kraków das dritte internationale Symposium: „Grundprobleme der frühgeschichtlichen Entwicklung im nördlichen Mitteldonauegebiet“ statt. Die Idee der jährlichen, wissenschaftlichen Zusammentreffen der Archäologen, die sich mit der Problematik der Frühgeschichte — ab Latènezeit bis zum Frühmittelalter in den Gebieten nördlich der mittleren Donau befassen, wurde im Jahre 1989 von einer Gruppe der Forscher aus Österreich, Slowakei und Mähren initiiert, wobei das besondere Verdienst Prof. Dr. Herwig Friesinger vom Institut für Ur- und Frühgeschichte der Universität Wien gebührt. Das erste Symposium fand 1989 in Wien statt, das zweite, von Archeologický Ústav der Slowakischen Akademie der Wissenschaften organisiert, folgte im Jahre 1990 in Nove Vozokany bei Nitra. Die dritte Tagung wurde vom Archäologischen Institut der Jagiellonen Universität in Kraków veranstaltet. Sie wurde von den Mitteln des wissenschaftlichen Projektes: RPBP-III-35 — Dynamik der Siedlungs- und Kulturerscheinungen in der Ur- und Frühgeschichte Polens von dem Hintergrund Mitteleuropas, des polnischen Ministerium für Ausbildung finanziert.

An dem Symposium in Karniowice nahmen 52 Archäologen aus: Bulgarien, Deutschland, Litauen, Österreich, Polen, der Tschecho-Slowakei und Ungarn teil. Das spezielle Thema der Tagung war: „Probleme der relativen und absoluten Chronologie ab Latènezeit bis zum Mittelalter“, es wurden jedoch ebenfalls einige Vorträge gehalten, die die Ergebnisse

der Ausgrabungen an einigen besonders interessanten Fundstellen betroffen haben. Da das dritte Symposium: „Grundprobleme der frühgeschichtlichen Entwicklung im nördlichen Mitteldonauegebiet“ in Polen stattfand, wurden viele Vorträge den Problemen der Gebiete nördlich der Karpaten, die jedoch auch das Vorfeld des nördlichen Mitteldonauegebietes im breiten Sinne bilden, gewidmet.

Leider haben nicht alle Teilnehmer der Tagung in Karniowice ihre Texte zum Druck rechtzeitig eingeleistet. Es fehlen deshalb sehr wertvolle, während der Tagung vorgetragene Beiträge von: Dr. Darina Bialeková („Zur Chronologie der archäologischen Materialien aus dem Ende des 8. und der ersten Hälfte des 9. Jh. im nördlichen Teil des Karpatenbeckens“), Prof. Dr. Herwig Friesinger („Spätantike Höhensiedlungen im nördlichen Niederösterreich“), Dr. Hans Geisler („Beiträge aus bairischen Gräberfeldern zur Chronologie des 5. und 6. Jh.“), Dr. Anton Kern („Neues zur spätkeltischen Besiedlung am Oberleiseberg“), Alois Stuppner („Römisch-germanische Handelsbeziehungen am niederösterreichischen Donaulimes“) und Dr. Erik Szameit („Das frühmittelalterliche Gräberfeld von Hainbuch“). Dagegen umfasst der vorliegende Band die Aufsätze von Doz. Dr. habil. Teresa Dąbrowska, Dr. Aleksander Bursche und Mgr. Judyta Rodzińska, die, obwohl vorgesehen, während der Tagung aus den von den Autoren unabhängigen Gründen nicht vorgetragen wurden.

*Kazimierz Godłowski*

ANDREA H. VADAY

## SARMATIA AND THE ROMAN EMPIRE

The systematic collection and analysis of the Sarmatian find material was begun in Hungary in the last decade. Previous to it there were only two synthetical studies, both of them written by Mihály Párducz. A list of the Roman Age finds from the Great Hungarian Plain was issued in 1931, in which the Sarmatian sites were enumerated in the order of the counties. The study based on a few excavations and mostly on stray material was the pioneering essay on the analysis the Sarmatian material from the Carpathian Basin. It also contained the materials from Bácska and partly from Bánság. The study contained only a few typetables, while the ceramic remains were totally missing from the analysis (M. Párducz 1931). The three volumes of his more recent study, *Remains of the Sarmatian Age in Hungary*, which demanded laborous collectional work, were published in 1941, 1944 and 1950. These volumes already dealt with the pottery, too. The first two volumes discuss the material from the great Plain in chronological order, while the third one contained the Late Sarmatian finds only in part, it mostly described the material, disregarding chronology, which had been omitted from the previous volumes. The greatest problem originated from the fact that the analysis was based on materials from cemeteries and on stray finds, the settlements and their materials were totally disregarded, although the settlements are mentioned, without the material they contained, in the site cataster of the third volume (M. Párducz 1941; 1944; 1950).

Since the publication of M. Párducz's pioneering works the quantity of the find material has significantly increased and the white spots of his time have been filled with new sites. This was not the only reason to make a new analysis. The grouping and periodization made by Párducz is also to be revised. It seemed anacronistic that an age with written documents should be analysed without considering these sources, also disregarding the Roman find material, and that the periods should be defined on the basis of alterations and variations in the rite. The data used

for the analysis is also problematic. Although the materials coming from cemeteries were varied, their quantity, however, was not enough to be considered typical and characteristic, or to be divided into finer groups. In the last few decades we have started to collect, analyse and revise the Sarmatian material in the Barbarian part of the Carpathian Basin. Two ways seemed to be offered. One was a chronologically based investigation of the barbarian material of the Carpathian Basin. In this case, however, we had problems with collecting material from Bácska and mainly from Bánság and the emphasis shifted towards the much better investigated Hungarian areas. The other way was to group the materials according to smaller areas. This latter solution was chosen, and two volumes have been prepared up till now: the analysis of the Roman Age find material from counties Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok (central Sarmatian region) (A.H. Vaday 1989) and Szabolcs-Szatmár (Northeastern Sarmatian border area) (E. Istvánovits 1987). The first volume will present and analyse the material of a central Sarmatian area, the other of a peripheral one from archaeological and historical respects. Both will contain a detailed catalogue and the thorough description of the finds different from Párducz's method. These two counties in Hungary were considered less investigated areas, hardly more than a white spot on the map of the Barbaricum. Further investigations are made on the territory of counties Bács-Kiskún and Hajdú-Bihar.

During the collection of material for the first volume we had to face the problem of the missing or very old monographic analysis of some groups of finds. Accordingly, parallelly to the systematic investigation of the Sarmatian sites the revision of the typegroups was also begun. Dénes Gabler had already collected the red slip ware from the Sarmatian Barbaricum, the find material has, however increased significantly and the advances in their analysis inside the Empire and in the research of Pannonia hastened the reestimation of the barbarian materials. After



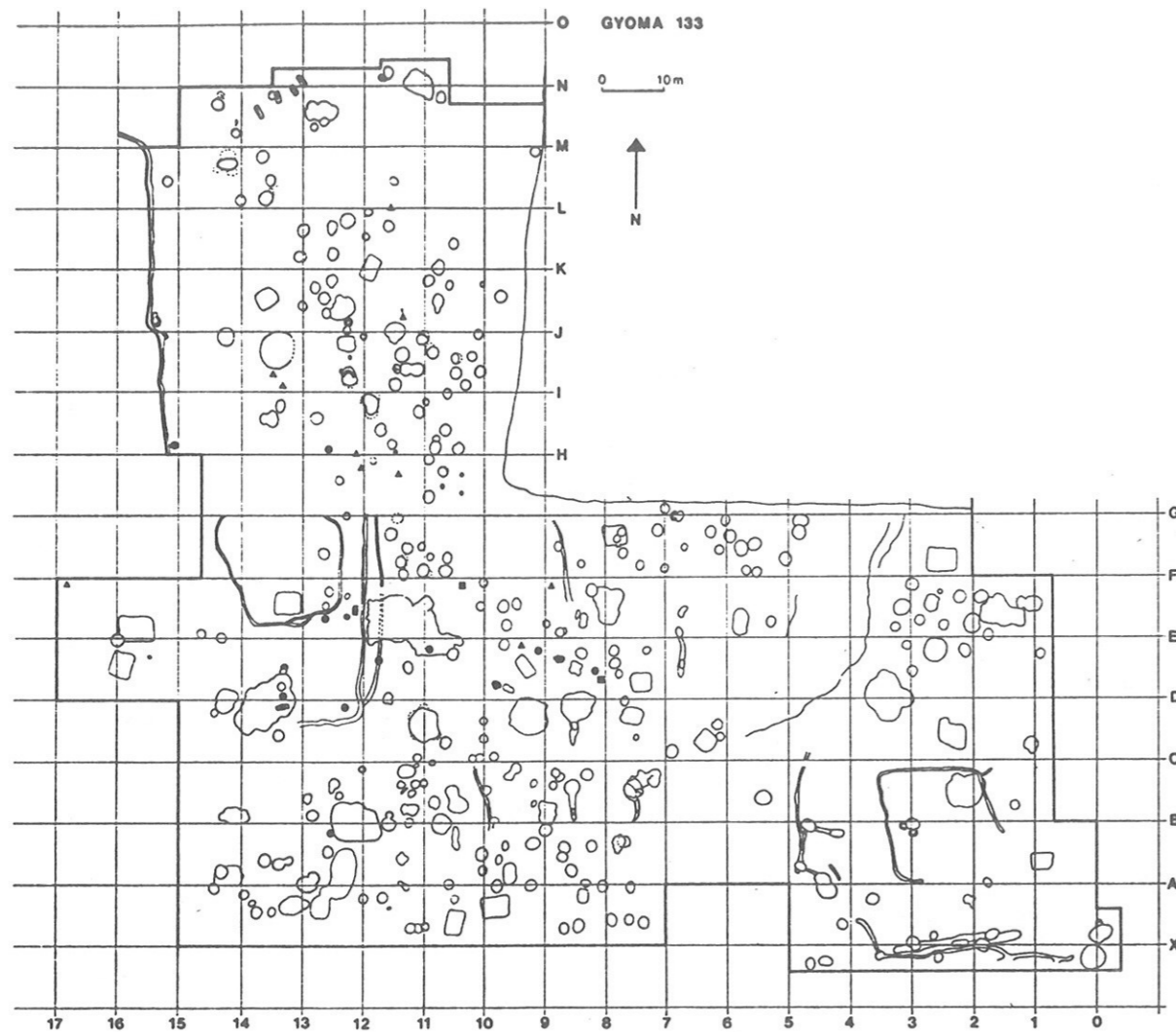


Fig. 1. Excavations' plan of Gyoma 133

several years of delay in the press, the volume on the red slip wares and its imitations from the Sarmatian barbarian territory between Dacia and Pannonia was issued in 1986 (D. Gabler, A. H. Vaday 1986). By the time the book got into the shops there was enough material collected for the next volume (D. Gabler, A. H. Vaday 1990—91). The analysis of this material will be published in the near future. Beside the red slip ware, the brooches of the Barbaricum are also investigated, since these two groups compose the greatest volume of the imported Roman goods and their barbarian imitations.

We had the chance to make the rescue excavation of a large Sarmatian settlement within the frames of the so-called microregion research project of the Archaeological Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences on the Great Hungarian Plain, working in the triangle bordered by villages Szarvas-Gyomaendrőd-Örménykút, in county Békés. The site called Gyoma 133, occupied 17600 square meters (Fig 1). There is only one site in Hungary with similar dimensions in Tiszaföldvár. The Gyoma settlement can be dated from the period between the middle of

the 2nd and the end of the 3rd century, while the one in Tiszaföldvár is dated between the last third of the 4th and the first half of the 5th centuries. Both settlements are of great importance since a great number of finds have been uncovered from authentic circumstances, and in both cases the settlement display such features which could not be found on small excavations unearthing but a few houses and pits.

Site Gyoma 133 was excavated in 1987—1988 and the material was prepared for publication in January, this year (Gyoma 133). During the analysis of the material we realized how neglected the Sarmatian ceramic material was. Anyhow, it can be understood since Párducz based his examinations on cemeteries and stray materials, the former having a few ceramic material, the latter not being suitable for fine dating. On the 17600 m<sup>2</sup> houses, wells, debris and storage pits and workshop pits were unearthed. 99% of the find material consisted of pottery, and all the rest made only 1% (Fig. 2). The first approximate dating was made from the numerous red slip ware fragments. Accordingly the settlement was inhabited between the Antoninus Pius and Severus periods. Other Roman

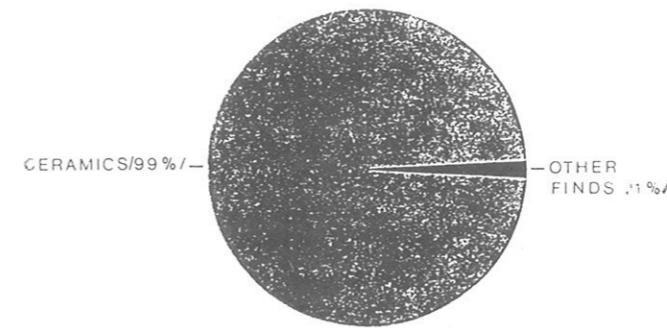


Fig. 2. Archaeological finds from Gyoma 133. Ceramics and other finds

finds suggest, however, that it still existed during Diocletian's era. Since it was a hastened rescue excavation there was not enough time to work in the same way as on a planned excavation, still a possibly total unearthing was envisaged. It means that archaeomagnetic prospecting was made on a part of the settlement, but contrary to the practice applied in a less pressed situation, its results could be evaluated only after the excavation, serving as a control material. The thorough and multispectual analysis of the rich find material and the stratigraphical observations allowed the differentiation of two phases, phase A and phase B. There is not only a chronological discrepancy between the two phases but the settlement structure also changed.

Phase A is the earliest period of the settlement dated to the middle of the 2nd century. Both the archaeological and archaeozoological finds attest an agricultural settlement. The same is true for the archaeological constructions. Phase B is dated from the first half of the 3rd century. Some changes can be observed in the archaeological material and the quantity of the archaeozoological material is decreasing. Among the constructions, in the same time, series of new workshops types appear. They are secondary iron workshops (working with the iron lumps), drying ovens, and great workshops of unidentified functions and ovens were uncovered. The materials of both phases show a coherent picture inside the phases. There were, however some constructions, first of all houses and debris pits, which do not totally fit the two above phases. This is group C in the settlement, which partly belongs to the later period (2nd half of the 3rd century) of the settlement, partly, for lack of unilateral archaeological material and stratigraphical data, cannot be defined exactly. This uncertainty is the reason why this group of finds is not referred to as a phase, but only as a group. We have already shown that the pottery material had a dominant role in the settlement. The picture shows the distribution of the pottery and other finds in the phases and in group C (Fig. 3).

This site offered a good opportunity to study the

relations of the Barbarian and the imported Roman goods.

It could be noted already during the investigation of the material from county Szolnok that two major phases of the barbarian-Roman trade can be distinguished. The first phase was dated to the 2nd half of the 1st and the first third of the 2nd centuries. In this period relatively few imported Roman wares can be found in the Barbarian material and it is rather heterogenous. In 92% it consists of Pannonian goods. From the second third of the 2nd century, however, the situation changes. The Pannonian wares are gradually decreasing replaced by goods from farther provinces as it is demonstrated by the red slip wares and the Roman metal goods. It can be said that the first phase of the Roman-Sarmatian trade was the marketing period, it was random, spreading no farther than Pannonia province.

In the next phase, with the decrease of the Pannonian goods and the increase of commercial wares especially from farther provinces, the trade has reached the imperial level. In this period Pannonia is no more than the intermediater of the long-distance trade towards Sarmatia and the farther German Barbaricum.

The next figure shows the numeric distribution of the barbarian and the Roman imported goods in the material from Gyoma (Fig. 4). The ratio of the imported goods is very low as opposed to the total, although a similar ratio can be observed on other barbarian settlements, too. This ratio evokes the question if against this strong discrepancy, the material can be considered characteristic, i.e. to what degree does it refer to the settlement as a whole and to what degree can it characterize the whole of the barbarian Sarmatia. Our aim was to examine if the result gained from a specific well defined group of materials and phenomena can be correlated to greater units like a settlement or even the whole Sarmatia.

It could be proved only if the total of the find material from Gyoma could be compared with settlement materials of the Barbaricum from the same period. We are, however, faced with the problem that no Sarmatian settlement of this period has been excavated, so this find material will serve as an etalon for future research. To controll our results the following method was chosen. We have already, with Dénes Gabler, collected the red slip ware find material from the whole Sarmatian Barbaricum, and divided it into formal groups. The same was done with the red slip ware from Gyoma, then the formal groups from Gyoma 133 site and those from the whole Sarmatian Barbaricum were put on graph (Fig. 5). It is striking already at the first glance that the two curves show very little difference. It means that the formal distribution of the red slip wares in Gyoma

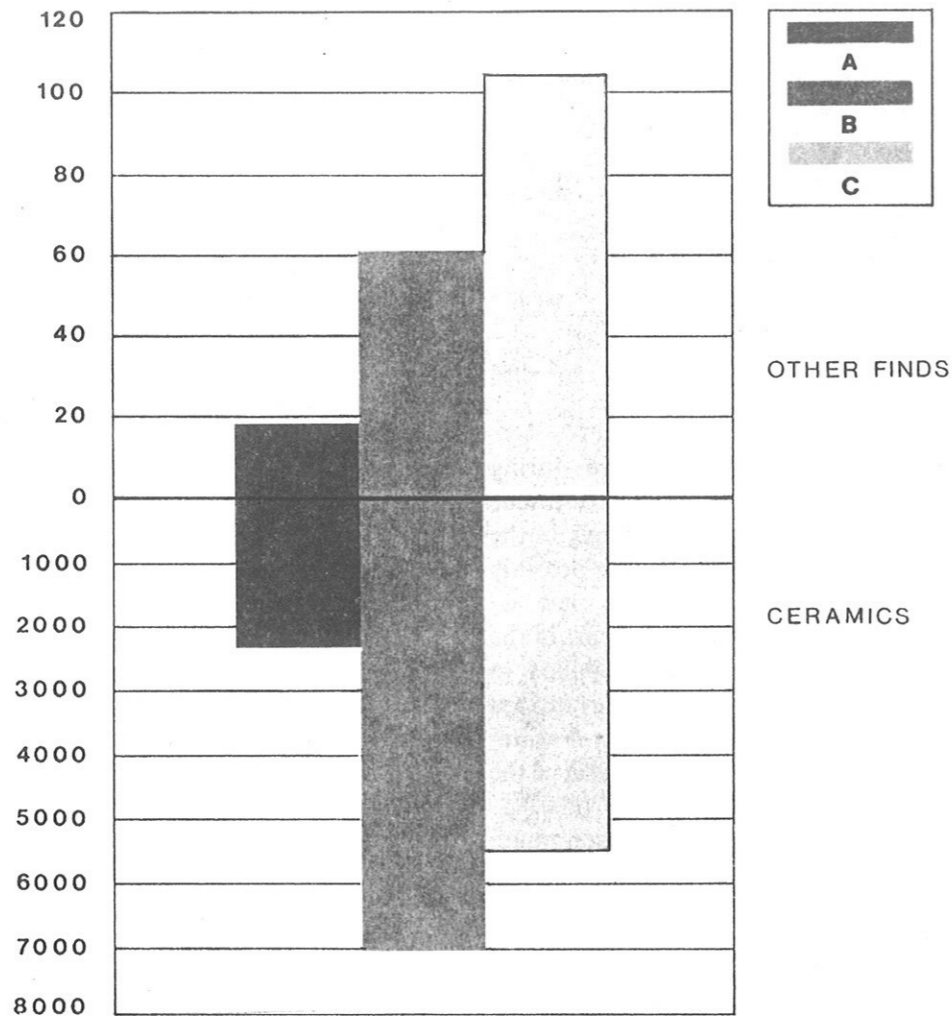


Fig. 3. Ceramics and other finds in groups A-B-C from Gyoma 133

133 is typical and characteristic, i.e. the consequences drawn from this material can be correlated to the whole Barbaricum.

Similar partial control was made about the distribution of the red slip ware in the workshops and in different periods and similar graphs were attained in the case of the Antoninus and Severus ages. It was supposed during the analysis of the material from Gyoma 133 that the barbarian material was also characteristic and typical in the same period. To a certain degree, however, certain discrepancies can be observed inside the Sarmatian Barbaricum. Based

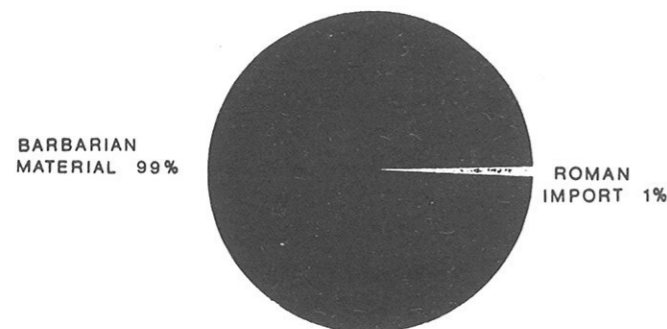


Fig. 4. Barbarian and roman import material from Gyoma 133

on historical data it was supposed that between the Danube and the Tisza, in the vicinity of Pannonia the Roman imported ware would dominate over the barbarian one, which, however was not proved. It was clear, nevertheless, that there is a marked difference between the materials of the central Sarmatian Barbaricum and the Sarmatian border areas especially on the north, northeast. This discrepancy is due to the different origin. In the central Sarmatian area there are dominantly Sarmatian goods, on the borders, in the same time, materials of various barbarian, German and mixed Celtic-Dacian origin are more numerous. Naturally it is the material of the inner areas which is characteristic and typical, homogenous, while that on the borders is mixed. Regrettably enough, due to the initial phase of research and the lack of publications from Romania, it cannot be told if the same was characteristic also on the Sarmatian border areas at Dacia, or if it resembles the phenomena observed near Pannonia.

In Gyoma the Roman imported ware unearthed from nearly 400 constructions, was further analysed. The red slip ware and the other imported Roman goods were separated, i.e. the imported goods from

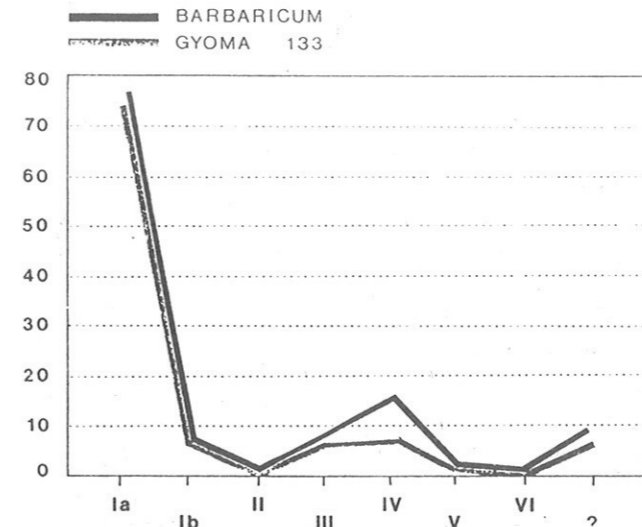


Fig. 5. Terra Sigillata in Sarmatian Barbaricum and in Gyoma 133

the Empire and from the province were treated separately. Their ratio was calculated within phase A and B and group C (Fig. 6). The result underlines the above statements: the import from the province decreases parallelly with the increase of the import from the Empire.

Similar analysis was made on the brooch material. It caused, however, more difficulties than the red slip ware. The dating may have a wide range in case of some types even in imperial relation. Not even to mention, that in the case of some less specific pieces we could not even judge in which workshop, workshop area it was made. Here it was rather the lack which meant more information. A good example is the so-called nor-pannonian winged brooch which was scarcely scattered in the Sarmatian Barbaricum, especially at the southern area between the Danube and the Tisza, near Moesia and South Pannonia. Another

example is the more ornamented knee brooch with pelta head plate, which spread only in the SW and northern part of the Barbaricum, while it was totally unknown, as far as we know, in the central regions. The distribution of the email brooches is even in the whole Barbaricum, except for the SE region where they are missing. The former examples can be explained by trade, trade regions, the last one, however, has other reason. From historical sources it is well known that the Sarmatians did not step over the Tisza in the early period, the area beyond the river belonged to Dacians. It was only after the end of Traian's Dacian wars. Decebal's defeat and the founding of Dacia province caused that the Sarmatians stepped over the Tisza and occupied the whole territory till Dacia. Analysing the material from Szabolcs-Szatmár it was revealed that here, beyond the Tisza in the NE part of the Barbaricum there was no find material dated from between Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius. The earliest finds come from the period of the latter's reign. It means, in turn, that the Sarmatians occupied only the middle and lower flow of the Tisza in the period after Traian's reign, while they spread to the NE region only later in the last third of the century. Accordingly the email material, dated from earlier periods is missing here. This data also tells that the local mixed Celtic-Dacian and partly German population did not take part in the Roman trade, it was not functioning as a market.

In the course of the elaboration of the settlement material from Gyoma, yet another problem emerged. A part of the pottery material was made up of the so called 'Dacian ceramics'. Beside the typical and the generally occurring Sarmatian wheeled and hand-made pottery there were many so called Dacian bowls and smaller or larger pots with fingerpressed band

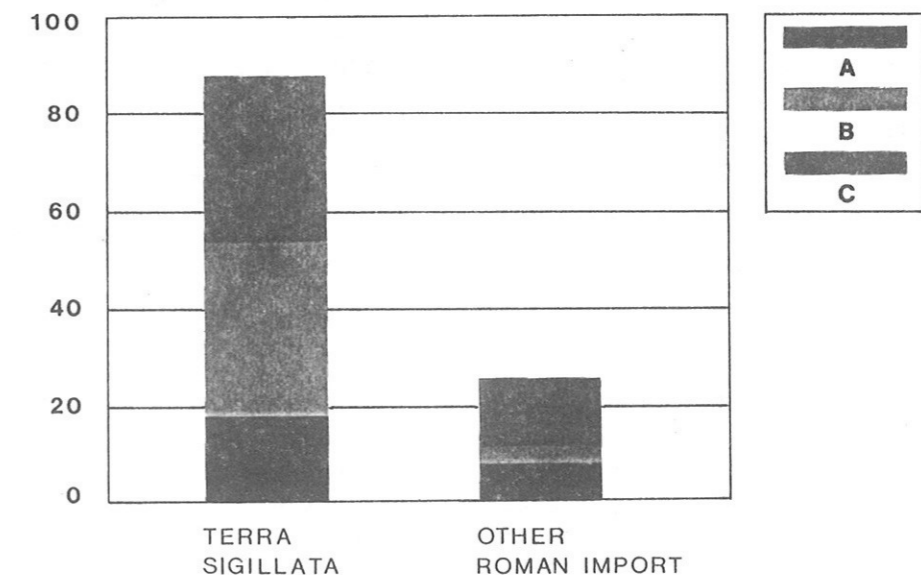


Fig. 6. Terra Sigillata and the other roman import material in groups A-B-C from Gyoma 133



and bulb application ornament. This type of ceramics was found in settlements only on the edges of the Great Hungarian Plain, while inside the Sarmatian occupational area it was noted only in Sarmatian graves.

The Dacian problem has already been mentioned during the analysis of the historical data from the Great Hungarian Plain and from Transdanubia (Zs. Visy 1970). This historical problem has gained, regrettably enough, special emphasis owing to the actual political relations between Hungary and Romania in this century, when Dacian continuity favouring the historical sense of identity have often been deliberately overstressed. It seems that the theory of *sine ira et studio* does not really function in the applied historical sciences. Aware of the above a special care is needed in handling and interpreting the data.

The history of the Carpathian Basin was reconstructed from the descriptions by Antique authors. Certain finds served as basis for proving, or at least trying to prove, and analysing the presence of the Dacians on the Great Hungarian Plain both in time and in space. It was actually the historical-archaeological debate between András Alföldi and Constantin Daicoviciu which has been inherited. The Archaeological Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences organized a symposium this year on questions of continuity and discontinuity (A. H. Vaday 1990—91; E. Istvánovits 1990—91; Zs. Visy 1990—91). The contributions by Zsolt Visy, Eszter Istvánovits and the author concentrated on this very problem. The so called Dacian archaeological remains found on the Great Hungarian Plain were examined from respect of chronology, their surroundings and authenticity.

The long realized uncertainties became even more pregnant. It was clear that the former direction of research would lead nowhere. The new method was the following. The starting points were the historical data and historical periodization, showing three phases in the Carpathian Basin. The first is the political situation of the Dacians prior to the Sarmatian settlement, the second lasted from the Sarmatian settlement till the end of Decebal's Dacian wars, i.e. till the foundation of Dacia Province.

One of the greatest difficulties on the Plain is lying in the fact that, from the second period on, no pure Dacian find, unit has been found in the area even outside the Sarmatian territory (which can by no means be owed to lack of field work!). A highly similar situation was observed in the phase prior to the Sarmatian settlement. Accordingly, the supposition that Dacian rule meant rather a political than ethnical presence, seems to be justified. The later Sarmatian Barbaricum was a land on the edge of the Dacian territory drawn under the political influence

of the Dacian kings. It lacked economic importance, and the domain over it had importance only in regard of Celtic-Dacian, later Roman-Dacian hostilities. From archaeological point of view, the problem is that no pure Dacian burial is known on the Plain, and the so-called Dacian ceramics was found as grave-good only in Sarmatian graves. Since no early Sarmatian settlements are known — which might have been caused by the transition from nomadic way of life — they cannot help to define the Dacian presence. There is, anyhow, no Dacian settlement known from this early period, not even a Celtic settlement of the local mixed population where similar analysis could be made. It may mean that the lack of such a settlement is accidental, or it has never existed. It is, however also possible that it was found, but due to dating uncertainties it could not be placed chronologically. Accordingly, the question if the grave goods attributed to the Dacians indicate their presence or some kind of trade between the two neighbouring populations, could not yet be answered. Concerning trade, it has already been mentioned in respect of the red slip ware that the Barbaricum as a whole cannot be treated in an analysis as closed unit, since the exchange trade on the borders causes distortions. The Roman trade towards the centre of the Barbaricum and the trade along the borders are to be treated differentially. Concerning the Dacian problem, the similar 'distortions' rooting in the direct neighbourhood of the two populations are to be distinguished. This is the point where the Gyoma settlement proved a lucky site.

A relatively early settlement has been unearthed in the centre of the Sarmatian Barbaricum yielding relatively many and characteristic Dacian pottery within authentic circumstances. The analysis of the find material led to the following results. In the early A phase of the settlement, when animal breeding and agriculture were characteristic, there were hardly any Dacian finds. In the later B phase when the profile of the settlement changed acquiring more industrial features, the quantity of the Dacian material increased (8% of the ceramic material). The Sarmatian material of the earlier phase has survived enriched with new forms and with the Dacian material.

Since no pure Dacian structure has been unearthed in Gyoma, it seems that the settlement had no Dacian past. Later, however, sometime in the last two decades of the 2nd c., following, perhaps in consequence of the Markoman-wars, the Sarmatian settlement underwent some changes. It is not clear if the Dacian populational group was forced to come in the Barbaricum or they settled there on their own will, and where exactly they came from, still their presence, nevertheless, is undoubtedly attested. The quality of the uncovered find material excludes its having been

a trade ware. The coincidence of the appearance of the Dacian material and of the change of function and profile in the settlement is striking and evokes the hypothesis that Dacians dealing with industry, metal processing settled on the Sarmatian territory. The Dacian material seems to decrease in the find units from the C group of the settlement, which, in turn, suggests, that the settled Dacians assimilated to the Sarmatian local population in a very short time, i.e. they did not live separately, but dissolved ethnically, economically and culturally in the surroundings. It is another question if the phenomena are valid on the

whole of the Great Hungarian Plain. The intensive research of the area is limited to the microregion. The plan excavations and sondages have yielded traces of Sarmatian settlements on about 30 spots in an area of cca 20 km<sup>2</sup>, still none of them contained Dacian material except for Gyoma. During the topographical survey Dacian, although never purely Dacian, presence has been documented on several spots. Here, however, the chronological definition is insecure, allowing broader time intervals. In the same time the material composition is casual, consequently unsuitable for quantitative analysis.

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